

**THE LIGHT OF
THY COUNTENANCE
GREEK CATHOLICS
IN HUNGARY**

METROPOLITAN
CHURCH
SUI IURIS OF
HUNGARY

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2020

Cover images: wall-painting of the Pantocrator (by Zsolt Maklár) in the Nyíregyháza Seminary Chapel and a fragment of the icon *Christ the Great High Priest* from the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját*)

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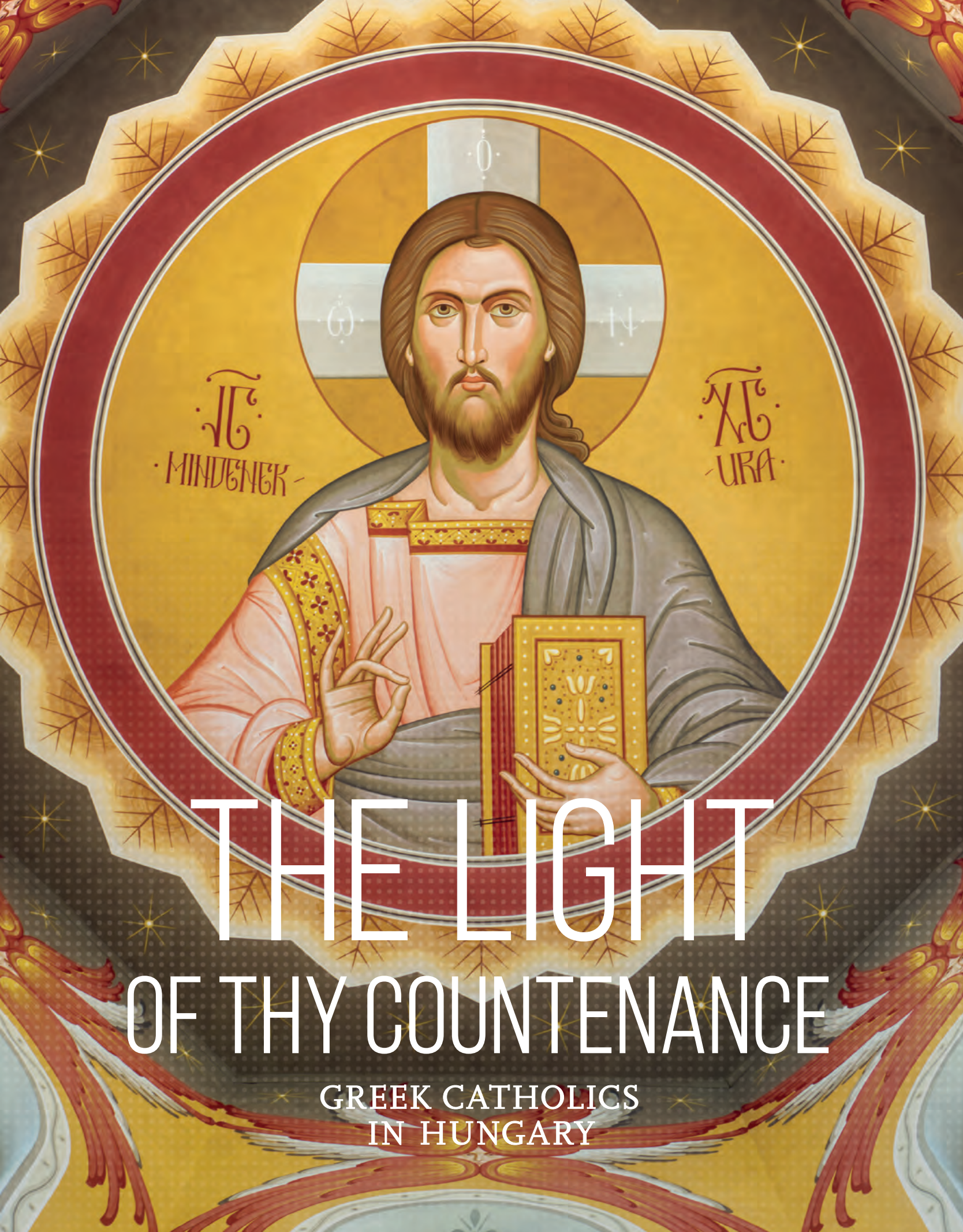
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GREEK CATHOLICS
IN HUNGARY

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Building the Future with an Eye on the Past

This is perhaps the best way to summarise the collection the reader holds in his or her hands. It explores the past of the Greek Catholics of the Carpathian Basin in colourful and informative studies, albeit with the unconcealed intent to ensure that the knowledge collected thus may serve as a foundation for building the future in an authentic way.

When, in 2012, we celebrated the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, in his hortatory speech at the main square of Hajdúdorog, among other things, Cardinal Péter Erdő highlighted two essential points that both characterise Hungarian Greek Catholics and may be regarded as duties that we must continue to discharge as our forebears did. These two attributes denote two directions – two seemingly contradictory forms of behaviour. As Eastern Christians in general, we are also marked by adherence to traditions and strive to honour and preserve the legacy inherited from our predecessors. However, courage has always been in high demand as a prerequisite for progress and development so that, by changing and renewing, we may ensure our survival. The Cardinal captured the mission of the Greek Catholic community in two words: fidelity and courage – fidelity to the past and courage to face the future.

We must admit it: Even we ourselves are little aware of how profound, rich and constructive this past can be in today's world as well. It may well be that, to some, extracting a few coins, necklaces or *sabretaches* from the ground as archaeological finds indicating the presence of the Byzantine Church appears old-fashioned and obsolete. However, these objects of varying sizes, as well as the findings of the related research efforts are all highly revelatory. Not only do they speak of the past but they also explain and elucidate phenomena and processes without which we would not be able to fully understand our contemporary world, either. The fact that, among the early Magyars, there were several princes who were baptised in Byzantium thoroughly reinterprets the belief system of our ancestors settling in the Carpathian Basin, as well as their ties to Christ and the Church. That the Schism of 1054 would not be perceptible among Eastern and Western monastics in Hungary for centuries to come has consequences even for the present. Their distant descendants, the Greek Catholics living here, do not owe their existence to the endeavours of modern ecclesiastical policy or its battles fought with more or less success alone. Even if no continuity may be demonstrated between the early Magyars, an erstwhile flourishing Eastern monastic and ecclesiastical life in the Carpathian Basin and the Greek Catholic communities evolving as a result of later union-oriented efforts, the very fact that the embracing mountain ranges of the Carpathians have always admitted Eastern and Western Christians alike

gives us sufficient reassurance not to feel strangers in our homeland, despite having been stigmatised as such countless times over the centuries. We are Hungarians and Greek-rite, Catholics and Eastern Christians, Europeans and Byzantines. What a combination! Immodest though it may seem from members of such a little Church, in the connection between the two bands of the Holy Crown of Hungary, we are pleased to recognise this dual fate of our Church, which is loyal to Hungary and the Hungarian language yet claims Eastern identity as its own.

We believe that we have a place in the pre-migration original homeland of the Magyars, in the Carpathian Basin, as well as within the borders of a smaller post-Trianon patria. Once we have a place, we also have responsibilities.

As it was suggested in the introductory lines, the present rich collection exposes much of the heritage called Hungarian Greek Catholic. As, when one day, it dawns on the fairy-tale prince growing up in beggarly conditions what inheritance he possesses, so ought we to find for ourselves that the ecclesiastical heritage bequeathed by Christ to our ancestors and to us is an enormous treasure chest and therefore an immense responsibility at the same time. Today, the Church of Christ expects us to experience and show the immeasurable richness of the Eastern Church within the organisational structure of the Catholic Church, while, as repositories of the Byzantine Rite, taking the humble and welcoming love of the Catholic Church to our Eastern brothers and sisters. It is precisely the disdain we have endured from both sides in the course of history that may enable us to champion the calling of unity at any cost and carry the often painfully heavy cross of one another's acceptance. Having been seen like a wall so many times before and still seen like that even today, in our flesh breaking down the dividing walls, let us become authentic followers of Christ, who has also broken down the middle wall of partition in His own flesh and made the two peoples one (cf. Eph. 2:14). What a Christian vocation! – building unity in our own flesh. We, who 'are being transformed into His image from one degree of glory to another by the Spirit of the Lord', let us lead our sons and brethren on this Christian path by 'beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face' in the splendour of our Church (2 Cor. 3:18). All this is disclosed to us as an engaging and thought-provoking time- and cultural map by the wealth of content offered in this compendium.

Debrecen, 20 August 2020

Metropolitan
Fülöp Kocsis



Saint Stephen the Archdeacon and Protomartyr, patron saint of the Archeparchy of Hajdúdorog. Sovereign-tier icon in the iconostasis of the Nyíregyháza Seminary Chapel (Tamás Seres)

CHAPTER I

THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOM OF HUNGARY AND BYZANTIUM

I.1 István Baán:
The Byzantine Church in
the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary

I.2 Etele Kiss: Ut mos est grecorum –
Byzantine Heritage and the Era
of the Árpád Dynasty



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I.1 The Byzantine Church in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary

István Baán

Introduction

The roots of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church *sui iuris* may be traced to the Byzantine Church operating in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. At that time, it would be premature to speak about a Greek Catholic Church as, in Hungary, it dates from 1646, when a group of priests from the Byzantine-(Greek-)rite Orthodox Bishopric, with its centre in Mukacheve (*Munkács*), consisting mostly of Rusyn (or, in contemporary usage, *Ruthenian*) faithful, accepted the jurisdiction of Rome. The present essay describes the Byzantine faithful of this period as Orthodox believers, whose head of Church was the Patriarch of Constantinople all along.

Obtaining an overview of the history of the six centuries from the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin to the Battle of Mohács (1526) is hampered by a number of difficulties. When a contemporary person interested in history wishes to study a particular event or period, they expect to receive a lucid and clear picture. They assume that there is nothing impossible about this expectation since experts are meant to be able to perform this task unobjectionably. But what sources could a historian rely on, what part do the reality and dominant view of the present play in their selection, and does a sense of commitment seen to a certain extent with every historiographer not violate the precept of *sine ira et studio*?

Unfortunately, in the present case, the necessary documents are of a rather small number compared to the situation with other periods or peoples. The current wealth of information creates the impression as though sources – be they written or material/archaeological records – were equally available on any subject. (For instance, at the time of the 1204 and 1453 sack of Constantinople, the entire Byzantine imperial and patriarchal archives were destroyed, and, thus, patriarchal documents produced between 1315 and 1402 are only known from two Viennese manuscripts.) As one must face loss of sources on an enormous scale, it becomes inevitable to create notional constructions resembling a million-piece mosaic or jigsaw puzzle, where the ten-to-twenty pieces available need to be arranged in a fashion so that they will yield a complete picture, while one may frequently have only vague ideas about the contours to be filled. Now an attempt is made to sketch a collage in which the gaps between relatively secure points are not occupied by imagination but by the knowledge of academically verifiable facts about the Middle Ages. However varied

this picture might be, a more ambitious undertaking is not possible at the moment as long as honesty is upheld. Even though a large number of artefacts of Byzantine origin are kept in Hungarian collections (e.g. the Holy Crown of Hungary, the Monomachus Crown or the Esztergom Staurotheke), these items may at most testify to the political-dynastic relations with Byzantium, without speaking of the history of the Orthodox Church in Hungary. Hungary has several specimens of literary heritage that retain traces of the influence of Greek culture, yet it cannot be unequivocally ascertained whether they could be directly associated with the Orthodox Church in Hungary.¹

Historical research on Greek Catholics has so far been conducted diachronically, for the purposes concerned here, within the contexts of Hungarian, Serbian, Romanian, Ukrainian and Slovakian ecclesiastical historiography – as if it was not the same Church that would need to be described. At the same time, these historiographical endeavours ran parallel to various nationalistic ideologies, which were far from congruous with what the other party thought about the same period, nation or geographical area. The national aspect would often become the chief motif, subordinate to the prevailing political-ideological system, only to be reinforced by denominational differences.

In addition, it is a methodological question whether it is possible to detach the discussion from the intense disputes surrounding the processes that took place in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, i.e. in the Carpathian Basin during the Middle Ages. One such dispute concerns the image of the absolute hegemony of the Western, Latin, Catholic Church, while another is related to some unsettled questions of the nations and nationalities inhabiting the region as the life of the Orthodox Churches was in the main concentrated within these communities in the Late Middle Ages.

The beginnings of the Byzantine Church in Hungary

Byzantine sources report that, even prior to their arrival in the Carpathian Basin, the migrating Hungarians had encountered Greek missionaries and, subsequently, missionary bishop Methodius (*Methodios*) the Venerable in the Lower Danube region at about 880, though these events would fail to have noticeable consequences for the early Magyars. Although the Moravian mission of the Apostles of the Slavs, Cyril (*Kyryllos*) and Methodius left few traces in the Carpathian Basin, as of the mid-10th century, the Byzantine Church would conduct

¹ Cf. István Kapitány: *Hungarobyzantína: Bizánc és a görögség középkori magyar forrásokban*, Budapest, 2003.



(1)

significant missionary activities in the same area, this time under the auspices of the Principality of Hungary.² Two chieftains, Bulcsú and Gyula, were even baptised in Constantinople (in 948 and 953 respectively) and they brought a bishop with them in the person of Hierotheos.³

According to the currently prevalent view among historians, the mission of Bishop Hierotheos mentioned in the Chronicle of Skylitzes was primarily intensive in Southern Hungary. At that time or slightly later, the episcopal seat must have been in ancient Sirmium (*Sremska Mitrovica/Szávaszentdemeter*), functioning as the episcopal centre of Pannonia in the 9th century. (Saint Methodius himself bore the archiepiscopal title of this city – though not for long because, in 880, he was forced to flee to the Bulgarian Empire).

Until recently, historians were of the opinion that the Greek Church began to gradually recede as soon as Western missionary activities gained momentum. Some would even argue that Saint Stephen was positively minded to ensure monopoly for the Latin Rite, giving rise to an interpretative framework for understanding his campaigns against Transylvanian chieftains Gyula and Ajtony, who revolted against the king yet embraced Byzantine missionary work. Even if, during the first half of his reign, when his fights for centralisation were under way, Saint Stephen may well have pursued anti-Byzantine policies, he confronted aristocrats with a Greek orientation, eager to attain independence, not for reasons of religion but of power relations. However, from 1018, the Kingdom of Hungary became contiguous with the

² Györffy, 1977, 47–50.

³ Moravcsik, 1984, 85.

Byzantine Empire, and henceforth the Holy King made an alliance with the Emperor Basil (*Basileios*) II, a pact possibly even sealed by the circumstance that the heir to the throne, Prince Emeric, married a Byzantine princess.⁴

The alliance had a considerable impact ecclesiastically as well. In January 1028, Ioannes (*John*), Metropolitan of Tourkia (= Hungary) – as commonly called according to the Greek terminology of the time, attended the Synod of Constantinople convened under the presidency of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites (1025–1043), where hundreds of ecclesiastical issues were decided upon as attested by a codex from Mount Athos and a Parisian codex.⁵ The document is noteworthy chiefly because there is a scarcity of information on the situation of the Orthodox Church in medieval Hungary, a question that this charter may help to elucidate. Based on its position on a contemporary list of bishops⁶, it may be inferred that the Metropolitanate must have been founded by the Patriarch shortly before, in the early 11th century. The existence of the Metropolitanate is also corroborated by the seal of Antonius, ‘Synkellos and President of Tourkia’, currently kept in Washington – probably predecessor or successor to Ioannes because the aforementioned title was most frequently used by metropolitans. Thus, during the second half of the reign of Saint Stephen, ecclesiastically, Hungary was also a metropolitanate under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, and this ecclesiastical organisation was legally recognised and even supported by the king.⁷

This is only evidenced by a single contemporary Greek charter from Hungary.⁸ The deed of foundation of the female monastery in Veszprémvölgy established by Saint

Stephen, in fact, speaks of ‘the Metropolitan Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos’, and the expression undoubtedly indicates that the Convent was subordinate to the Metropolitan, who, in this instance, cannot have been the Archbishop of Esztergom but the ‘Metropolitan of Tourkia’, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁹ (It would be extravagant to suppose that the coronation robe was embroidered here by Greek nuns.)

More detailed information is available on another monastery, that of Cenad (*Marosvár*), located in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁰ According to the Gerard Legend, following the defeat of Ajtony, Bailiff Csanád, Stephen’s general, took ten priests with knowledge of Latin, coming from four monasteries of the country, ‘to the Diocese of Csanád, first and foremost to Oroszlámos (*Oroszlamoš*), where he had a monastery built in honour of the Great Martyr Saint George... Hence they went to Marosvár, where Greek monks were found, conducting services in accordance with their own rite and custom. Afterwards, Bishop Gerard held a council with Bailiff Csanád, who would have the Greek abbot, along with his monks, moved to Oroszlámos, ceding their monastery to the Bishop and his fellow monks, who would reside there until the Monastery of St George the Martyr was built.’¹¹ Thus, at the time when Ajtony was defeated, there was but one religious house in the area, namely the Greek Monastery of Cenad, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. It was in its graveyard that those fallen in the battle were laid to rest, and, at the site of the battle – as he had seen a vision of a lion in his dream and decided to call the place Oroszlámos (*viz.* in Hungarian, *oroszlán* means *lion*) – Csanád had a monastery built, where he would

⁴ Györffy, 1977, 321.

⁵ Olajos, 2014, 81–85.

⁶ Olajos, 2014, 86–89.

⁷ Cf. Baán, István. The Metropolitanate of Turкия. A historical fact or a Gordian knot of historical writing?, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 85 (1/2019), 139–166. The above research findings substantially contributed to the fact that Hungary’s state-founding king and Hierotheos, the first bishop of the Hungarians, were ranked among the saints of the Orthodox Church by the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in 2000; this step was announced in Budapest on 20 August of the same year by Bartholomew I, Patriarch of Constantinople, who attended the Holy Right Hand procession (a solemn procession with a highly venerated relic of King Saint Stephen) – see: *Athanasiana*, 13(2001), 249 and 252.

⁸ Its text: Moravcsik, 1984, 80–81. Cf. Szentgyörgyi, Rudolf. A vespriérvölgyi görög monostor adománylevele – Legelső hazai nyelvemlékünk?, *Magyar Nyelv*, 108(2012), 303–322, 385–399. Patlagean, Évelyne. Une donation royale hongroise rédigée en grec: la charte de Veszprém, in: Michałowski, Roman – Pilch, Bogusława (red.): *Europa barbarica, Europa christiana: Studiae mediaevalia Carolo Modzelewski dedicata*, Warszawa, 2008, 127–134. The renowned Byzantinist gives a profound analysis of the economic terms in the document and concludes that they are identical with the terminology found in contemporary Athonian charters.

⁹ Baán, István. „Turkia metropolitája”: Újabb adalék a bizánci egyház történetéhez a középkori Magyarországon, *Századok*, 129(1995), 1167–1170. Id. „Turkia metropolitája”: Kísérlet a Szent István kori magyarországi orthodox egyházszervezet rekonstrukciójára, in: H. Tóth, Imre (Ed.). *Az ortodoxia története Magyarországon a XVIII. századig*, Szeged, 1995, 19–26. On the Monastery of Veszprémvölgy, see also: Héczey-Markó, Ágnes – Koppány, András. A vespriérvölgyi apácakolostor régészeti kutatásának legújabb eredményei, *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 140(2015), 265–281.

¹⁰ Thoroczkay, Gábor. Szent István okleveleiről, in: Id. *Ismeretlen Árpád-kor: Püspökök, legendák, krónikák*, Budapest, 2016, 51.

¹¹ *Legenda S. Gerhardi episcopi*, 9, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I–II, Edendo operi praeiit Emericus Szentpétery, Budapestini, 1937–1938 (=SRH), II, 493, translated by: Almási, Tibor, in: Kristó, Gyula (Ed.). *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai (=ÁKÍF)*, Szeged, 1999, 418.

transplant the Greek monks of Cenad, thereby providing accommodation to Bishop Gerard and his brethren in Cenad. Cenad remained the Bishop's seat.¹² As the Monastery of Oroszlámos (*Banatsko Aranđelovo*) might have taken even a few years to construct, the Greek monks were able to stay in Cenad for a while. The two communities of two different rites needed to be provided with different locations because each 'conducted services in accordance with its own rite and custom', which would have been virtually impracticable to maintain, had it been done in parallel or even in alternation. No such community is evidenced from this period. The move of the Greeks to Oroszlámos, however, should not be interpreted as 'forced eviction' but rather as a solution to the practical problem described above. The coexistence of the two rites in the Diocese of Csanád did not lead to conflicts under the episcopate of Gerard thereafter, either.¹³

The third Greek monastery in the Kingdom of Hungary known from the age of the Árpád Dynasty (855–1301) is the one in Sremska Mitrovica (*Szávaszent-demeter*). Although the date of the foundation of the monastery is unknown, it may be established that it continued to be one of the most prominent religious houses of Hungary even three centuries on. Its estates were nearly on a par with the sizeable landholdings of the Monastery of St Martin in Pannonhalma by the Mongol Invasion. Its *stavropegic* status (i.e. being directly subordinate to the Patriarch) was unique among Hungary's monasteries until the mid-14th century, which also speaks of its close connections with the Patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁴ (In the Byzantine Church, the practice of bishops having their seats in monasteries unless their sees were in major cities was not uncommon, given that,

from the turn of the millennium, bishops were exclusively selected from the ranks of monks. In missionary areas, this was all the more justifiable.) In terms of the letter of Pope Clement VI, the Abbot of the Monastery of Sremska Mitrovica, functioning as the head of the Greeks, Hungarians and Slavs living there and inhabiting the monastery from the outset, was appointed by the Patriarch of the Imperial City until 1334.¹⁵ Theoretically, it cannot be ruled out that the Abbot had the rank of bishop, or that, possibly, – even if not as late as the 14th century – the prior was the Metropolitan himself.

Apart from the three monasteries referred to above, a number of monastic centres are known to have existed in the 11th century, with only their names surviving: Tihany, Visegrád and other places, where archaeological finds are unfortunately hard to identify. Their number is estimated to be in the hundreds by some scholars.¹⁶

Thus, the situation in Hungary at that time was unparalleled: Two hierarchies existed side by side in the same area, and all that with the king's approval. Even though the two major ecclesiastical centres, Rome and Byzantine, were so alienated from each other that, in Constantinople, the name of the Pope was not entered in the liturgical diptych as of 1009, there is no record of the two Churches engaging in any jurisdictional dispute over Hungary. The dominant view in modern scholarship holds that the significance of the 1054 'Schism' was previously exaggerated, apparently failing to represent a turning point in relations between the two Churches. Estrangement between the Latin and the Greek Church is more likely to have been a slow process instead, with varying degrees of estrangement registered across different regions, and only from the early 13th century, especially from the Fourth

¹² *Legenda Maior*, 8, in: *SRH*, II, 491–492.

¹³ At the martyrdom of Saint Gerard of Csanád, besides the bishop, three associates of his are also mentioned: Bödi, Beszteréd and Benéta (*Beztridus*, *Budi*, and *Beneta*) – the last one escaping death. *Legenda S. Gerhardi episcopi*, 15 (*SRH*, II, 501). In another version: Besztrik, Buldi and Beneta (*Boztricus*, *Buldi* and *Benetha*); a 14th-century chronicle composition, 83 (*SRH*, I, 339), *ÁKÍF*, 396. Only their names have survived; nothing is known of their seats. One may also wonder why they were not canonised in 1083 even though they suffered martyrdom together with Gerard. (As a curiosity, it could be noted that, in the Hungarian Chapel of the Church of Divine Mercy in Krakow built in 2004, a mosaic composition by László Puskás features Gerard with his co-martyrs.) The fact that in 1046 Gerard went to welcome the Dukes Endre and Levente along with three associates of his who shared his ecclesiastical and political views and probably operated in the vicinity of his diocese requires explanation. It is legitimate to ask whether, among the circumstances motivating Gerard's election as bishop, apart from his saintliness and erudition, his origins as a Venetian, the native of a city maintaining particularly good ties with Byzantium, and his presumably balanced position on relations between the Latin and the Greek Church were merely coincidental.

¹⁴ This assertion may only be reinforced by the fact that, until the late 12th century, a Constantinopolitan pilgrims' house joining St Julian's Church was also a constituent of the Monastery. This, in Györffy's reading, is referenced in Béla III's 1193–1196 Charter of Donation: 'Apud Constantinopolitanam civitatem Ecclesiam sancti Juliani cum hospitali, domibus, apothecis et aliis omnibus tenimentis et pertinentiis suis.' Cf. Györffy, 1953, 76.

¹⁵ 18 March 1344, *Acta Clementis PP. VI (1342–1352) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit Aloysius L. Tautu e Pontificia Commissione ad Redigendum C.I.C.O.* (Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, Series III, Volumen IX), Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, MCMLX, No. 33a, 58. Cf. Györffy, 1953, 96–97.

¹⁶ Cf. Moravcsik, 1953, 60. For an assessment of the known architectural details of Byzantine monasteries, see: Szakács, Béla Zsolt. *Rendi hovatarozás és tételrendezés korai monasztikus építészetünkben*, in: Bojtos, Anna (Ed.). *Keleti keresztény kultúra határainkon innen és túl: A 2012. november 9-én rendezett jubileumi konferencia tanulmányai*, Piliscsaba–Budapest, 2015, 166–179.

Crusade (1204), would the realisation of a real chasm dividing the two halves of Christendom begin to dawn on everyone. The point when the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Hungary ceased to exist might have occurred around the same period. It is last mentioned by Ioannes Kinnamos in conjunction with the Greek campaign of 1164, saying that 'the hierarch of the people has his residence in Bács'. As a metropolitan centre, even Titel would seem to be a plausible location, with its dedication to Holy Wisdom – a title without parallel in the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁷ It is hypothesised by some researchers that, in the time of Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196), this ecclesiastical province was still in existence.¹⁸

It is, however, more problematic to explain how the switch from the Greek Rite to the Latin Rite could actually happen in the Metropolitanate of Tourkia. If the process concerned was one of assimilation, it would be wrong to ignore the parallel process that 'identifies the transition from paganism to Christianity as an extended period of time: from the first encounter with Christianity to the time when Christian mentality prevailed, [...] from the late 9th century to the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries' (translated from the Hungarian original).¹⁹ The same could hold true for the context of East and West.

All the same, the abandonment of the Monastery of Sirmium, presumably dedicated to the Great Martyr Saint Demetrius, cannot have happened slowly. In fact, as suggested by the letter of Clement VI from 1344, the Abbot was not answerable to (or, according to a different

interpretation, did not take orders from) a single hierarch of the Kingdom of Hungary, which amounts to unambiguous evidence of schism in the age of the Anjou Dynasty. The Pope also notes that the Monastery left without its abbot has been taken possession of by lay people, necessitating the rectification of the situation by the Bishop of Nitra (*Nyitra*). It is also worth considering the data suggesting that it was precisely at that time, i.e. in the 1330s, that Hungarian monks arrived at the monastic centre of Saint Gregory of Sinai in Paroria²⁰ founded around that time,²¹ though it was located at a distance of many hundreds of miles from the southern ends of the Kingdom of Hungary. (The exact location of Paroria continues to be a matter of debate.)²² One of the chief representatives of Hesychasm had a rather attractive impact on the whole of the Balkan region and, thanks to his disciples, even beyond it. In this relation, it is remarkable that the Jesus Prayer ('Lord Jesus Christ, Son of [the living] God, have mercy on me, a sinner.'), practised by the Hesychast monks, emerges unexpectedly in a contemporary Hungarian source, in the Visions of György, son of Krizsáfán, from 1353, fourteen times, in a regular pattern.²³

The Orthodox Church in East-Central Europe in the 14th century

The attitude of the Anjou Dynasty to the Orthodox communities living in the territory of their empire was not by far so positive as that of the rulers of the Árpád Dynasty

¹⁷ Gábor Thoroczkay argues that 'a patrocínium bizonyosan bizánci hatást mutat, amelynek pontos eredete jelenlegi tudásunk alapján nem fejthető meg' [the dedication shows some Byzantine influence, with its exact provenance impossible to determine based on currently available data] (333), see: A Szent Bölcesség egyháza: A titeli társaskáptalan története a kezdetektől a XIV. század közepéig, in: *Fons – Forráskutatás és Történeti Segédanyagok*, 21(2014), 331–350.

¹⁸ Baán, István. The Metropolitanate of Tourkia. The Organization of the Byzantine Church in Hungary in the Middle Ages, in: Prinzing, Günter – Salamon, Maciej. *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950–1453: Beiträge zu einer table-ronde des XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Copenhagen, 1996.; as well as: (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 3), Wiesbaden, 1999, 45–53.

¹⁹ Font, Márta. *A keresztény nagyhatalmak vonzásában: Közép- és Kelet-Európa a 10–12. században*, Budapest, 2005, 93.

²⁰ Cf. Talbot, Alice-Mary. Art – Gregory Sinaites, in: Kazhdan, Alexander P. (Ed.). *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3, New York – Oxford, 1991, 883.

²¹ 'Mikor jól berendezkedett [megtelepedett] a hegyen, a Kefalarevónak nevezett helyen, madarak röpténél is gyorsabban híre ment, nemcsak a bolgárok, hanem a szerb és magyar és oláh nép körében is.' [When he had set up his abode (i.e. settled) on the mountain, in the place called Kefalarevo, word of his arrival spread faster than the flight of birds, not only amongst the Bulgarians but the Serbian, Hungarian and Vlach peoples, too.] Žitie Teodosija, 16, in: Zlatarski, Vasil N. Žitie i žizn' prepodobnago otca našego Teodosia iže v Trānově postnič'stvovavšago sãpisano svetějšim patriarchom Konstantina grada kyr Kalistom [Sbornik za Narodni Umotvorenija, Nauka i Knizhina, izdava Bãlgarskoto Knizovno Družestvo, II (XX), No 5], Sofija, 23(1904), 1–3. The *Dispute* of Theodosius of Tarnovo written by Kallistos, Patriarch of Constantinople, has survived only in the Church Slavonic language. Gjuzelev, Vasil. *Bulgarien zwischen Orient und Okzident: Die Grundlagen seiner geistigen Kultur vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, Wien – Köln – Weimar, 1993, 116. Năsturel, Petre Ș. „Hongrois et Valaques” ou „Hongrovalaques” dans la vie de S. Théodose de Tărnovo?, in: *Cyryllo-Methodianum*, 3(1975), 163–165.

²² Δεληγκάρη, Ἀγγελικὴ. Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Σιναΐτης Ἡ Δράση καὶ ἡ Συμβολήτου στὴ Διάδοση τοῦ Ἡσυχασμοῦ στὰ Βαλκάνια Ἡ Σλαβικὴ μετάφραση τοῦ βίου του κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαιότερο χειρόγραφο (Ελληνισμός καὶ Κόσμος τῶν Σλάβων, 6), Θεσσαλονικὴ, 2004, 149–195.

²³ 'Domine Jhesu Christe, fili dei viui, miserere michi peccatori!' – *Visiones Georgii: Visiones quas in Purgatorio Sancti Patricii vidit Georgius miles de Ungaria*, A. D. MCCCLIII, Edidit L. L. Hammerich, Kobenhavn, 1931, 104, 9–10. And several times, in an apotropaic or confessional sense: V. Kovács, Sándor (Ed.). *Tar Lőrinc pokoljárása: Középkori magyar víziók*, translated by: Bellus, Ibolya, Budapest, 1985, 56, 61, 63–64, 66, 69, 70–71, 76, 79–80, 86, 91, 94, 97, 121.

had been. However, their importance may also be assessed with reference to the fact that, even as late as 1437, the Emperor Sigismund held fast to his view vociferously articulated for years that the council of union was to be held in Buda rather than in an Italian city.²⁴ He negotiated with the Greek delegates about this option in Eger but did not live to see the completion of the grand plan he had nurtured: The union of the two Churches was declared in Florence in 1439.

The situation felt to be depressing by the Orthodox was further complicated by the appearance of an adventurer, Paulos Tagaris.²⁵ It was against such a backdrop that Dragoş, Voivode of Transylvania, travelled to Constantinople in the summer of 1391 with the request to Antonius IV (1389–1390; 1390–1397), sitting on the patriarchal throne for the second time by then, to take the monastery dedicated to Saint Michael, located in Körtvélyes (*Hrusheve/Szentmihálykörtvélyes*) within his family estate in Maramureş (*Máramaros*), under his hierarchal protection and to endow it with a patriarchal title and prerogatives. The hierarch complied with his request and made the Religious House of Körtvélyes a *stavropegic* monastery with his letter, complete with a lead seal, issued in August. Among other things, the document reveals that the Patriarch appointed the Head (*Kathegoumenos*) of the Monastery, Pakhomios, his *Exarchos* for the areas under the jurisdiction of the Monastery, i.e. Sălaj (*Szilágyság*), Megyesalja, Ugocsa, Borzhava (*Borzsva*), Ciceu (*Csicsó*), Balványos (*Bálványos*) and Voivozi (*Almaszeg*), and mandated him to visit the priests and the people, to supervise the ecclesiastical judiciary, to consecrate newly built churches to patriarchal *stavropegy* and to ensure the commemoration of the Patriarch in the churches and in his monastery. At the same time, Voivode Dragoş and his brother, Balica, were granted the right to elect an Hegumen, with the consent of the monks, after Pakhomios's death. The new Hegumen would have the same rights as his predecessor.²⁶ The status of the Head of the Monastery as *Exarchos* is indicative of two circumstances: On the one hand, it shows that, in the late 14th century, Byzantine patriarchal jurisdiction did not obtain anywhere in Hungary. On the other hand, it also makes it obvious that Constantinople had not relinquished its ambitions to pull East-Central Europe into its sphere of influence again.

Paulos Tagaris prided himself on his family ties with the imperial dynasty. Married in his youth, he left his wife and became a monk and the keeper of a miraculous icon. In this latter capacity of his, however, he behaved in a preposterous manner, so he was obliged to leave Constantinople. In the course of his adventurous travels, he was ordained bishop in Georgia. Over time, he would style himself as 'Ecumenical Patriarch' and subsequently tried to escape the anger of the Patriarch of Constantinople by fleeing to Rome. Having journeyed across the Golden Horde empire, he reached Hungary. At that point, as he confessed, he was tormented by his conscience but he could not relent. Arriving in Rome, he was appointed Latin Patriarch of Constantinople by the Pope. He removed his monastic clothes and lived in luxury, though without 'engaging in fornication or magic practices' – as he would exonerate himself. Finally, he returned to Byzantine in 1394 because, as his death drew near, he was trembling for his salvation and implored the Patriarch for his forgiveness. All this is disclosed in his self-confession, preserved in a Viennese codex. In Hungary, Tagaris ordained the same Simeon bishop as the one who would later, in 1391, be appointed Administrator of Galicia. When, some time later, Simeon found out that he had been dealt with by a fraud, he renounced his episcopal rank and asked the Patriarch of Constantinople to absolve him.

On the basis of the discussion above, an attempt is made to reconstruct the events of 1380–1390 concerning the Monastery of Körtvélyes. Around 1380, on his way to Rome, Paulos Tagaris arrived at the Religious House of Maramureş, pretending to be the Patriarch of Constantinople. Balica and Dragoş, landlords of the area, were concerned about the growing Latin pressure on their Church. Their interests were associated not only with Maramureş but with Moldavia and Halych as well. It appeared expeditious to have their trusted man, Simeon, Hegumen of Körtvélyes, ordained bishop and request exarchal competence for him. (Simeon may have been consecrated as Metropolitan of Halych by the pseudo-patriarch. Nonetheless, he acted as a bishop in good faith for a relatively long time; in Körtvélyes, he was replaced by Pakhomios as Head of the Monastery.) It cannot be established when it became obvious that Tagaris was not identical with the Patriarch of Byzantium. In 1391 the canonical regulation of the ecclesiastical

²⁴ Dölger, Franz. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 5. Teil, Regesten von 1341–1453 unter verantwortlichen Mitarbeit von Peter Wirth. Beck, München – Berlin, 1965, n. 3471.

²⁵ Hunger, Herbert. Die Generalbeichte eines byzantinischen Mönches im 14. Jahrhundert, in: Hunger, Herbert – Kresten, Otto. *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel*, II (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 647), Wien, 1997, p. 193, l. 1–8; p. 197, l. 121 – p. 198, l. 154.

²⁶ Baán, 2013, 101–104.

situation having evolved on the estates of Dragoş and Balica could not be deferred any longer. Dragoş went to Constantinople and reported that, however oddly the existing hierarchical organisation in Maramureş had come into being, the consolidation of the Orthodox Church demanded that the Patriarchate sanction the *status quo*. Therefore, Antonius IV appointed Simeon Administrator of the Metropolitanate of Halych and made Pakhomios *Exarhos*. Furthermore, to avoid the development of an illegal situation – probably only on account of the extraordinary circumstances – he endowed Balica and Dragoş with such succession-related competence as would be available to the Patriarch alone. This seemed to be the only way of ensuring that the region in question remain in the sphere of influence of the Byzantine Commonwealth.

The next piece of data from Körtvélyes dates from 1491. This time, there is no talk of *stavropegy* any more, the exarchal competence has been almost completely lost, and the Hegumen only laments the fact that the Ruthenian priests and serfs under his jurisdiction do not pay him the revenues he is entitled to according to the old conventions.²⁷ None of the significant events of the intervening one hundred years is documented. Körtvélyes, with not only Romanian but also Ruthenian monks living there, in all probability, from the outset, was unable to become an episcopal see. It is reasonable to ask whether this was the case because such did not serve the interests of its Catholicising advowees, or because Byzantium, kept busy by the Ottoman threat, could pay increasingly less attention to it. Alternatively, it is also worth pondering the question whether the prominence of Körtvélyes could naturally wane as a result of the sphere of influence of Mukacheve growing stronger. Whichever way it happened, this notable episode from the life of the Eastern Church in Hungary affords insights into events in East-Central Europe in the period with consequences felt even in the present.

As a result of the advance of the Ottoman Turks, considerable masses of Orthodox Serbs relocated to Hungary in the 15th century.²⁸ In the courts of the despots (Stefan Lazarević, Đurađ Branković and his successors) and the aristocrats (the Jakšićes, Bakićes, Belmoševićes and their associates) clinging to their religion, there must have been some form of ecclesiastical organisation, but concrete data on it are scarce. The antecedents of a few

Serbian monastic institutions in Southern Hungary date to this period. In 1487 King Matthias had a church built in honour of the Dormition of the Theotokos on Csepel Island, in today's Ráckeve, for the Serbs transplanted from Kovin (*Keve*) in the Lower Danube region. In the 15th century, Hungary's Orthodox as far as Maramureş were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Belgrade. This enormous territory could not be served by a single hierarch without assistance. As the first specific piece of data from 1479, the name of Dionisije, Bishop of Ineu (*Borosjenő*), who may have been the Vicar of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, is evidenced. Subsequently, after Belgrade was occupied by the Turks in 1521 and the Metropolitan of Belgrade, finding himself within the Ottoman Empire, lost his jurisdiction over the Serbs left under the rule of the Hungarian king, Ineu, situated in the region of the rivers Criş (*Körös*) and Mureş (*Maros*), became the seat of the Orthodox Bishop for the whole of Hungary under Turkish occupation, bearing the title 'Metropolitan'. Metropolitan Josif, the first and only bishop appointed to the Hungarian title, accompanied by several Serbian senior clergymen, attended the synod held in Ohrid, the centre of the Serbian Church, in 1532. Thereafter, as Serbian immigration intensified, a number of monasteries were established, mainly in Southern Hungary. Some of these would even function as episcopal sees for a while, but this theme ought to be part of a chapter on the Orthodox Church in modern times.

The earliest data on the Romanian Church²⁹ date from the 13th century: The church of Gurasada (*Guraszáda*) was built after 1292, while the church of Densuş (*Demsus*) is a central building based on the Byzantine concept. At that time, wooden churches constituted the overwhelming majority of churches. The Monastery of Prislop (*Priszlop*) was founded by (Saint) Nicodemus of Wallachia around 1400; in Hunedoara (*Vajdahunyad*), a stone church with a Byzantine-type base-plan was constructed in 1458. In this area, the right to ordain priests could initially be exercised by the Bishop of Vicina, located in the Danube Delta, who reported to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1401 Anhim of Wallachia titled himself 'Metropolitan of Ungrovlachia and Exarch of Hungary and the Borderlands'.³⁰ By doing so, he announced his claim for the ordination of Transylvanian priests. The Monasteries

²⁷ Hodinka, 1911, 5–7.

²⁸ Cf. Molnár, Antal. Szerb ortodox egyházszervezet a hódolt Magyarországon, in: Csáki, Tamás – Golub, Xénia (Eds.). *Szerb székesegyház a Tabánban*, Budapest, 2019, 33–64.

²⁹ Cf. László, Makkai. Görögkeleti román papok és templomok, in: Szász, Zoltán (Ed.). *Erdély története*, I, Budapest, 1986, 396–402.

³⁰ Baán, 2013, 112–113.



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of Rév (*Révkolostor/Vad*) and Felek (*Erdőfelek/Feleacu*) were also founded after 1485. In modern times, the dual-monasterial bishopric gave rise to the Romanian Metropolitanate of Transylvania moved to Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár*). Prior to that, the supreme forum of the hierarchy of the Romanian clergy of Transylvania had been the rivalling Metropolitanates of Wallachia and Moldavia. As an Ohridian legacy, the Romanian clergy conducted their services in the Bulgarian ecclesiastical idiom without being placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Tarnovo.

The Monastery of Mukacheve dedicated to Saint Nicholas was opened in the north-east of the country, not far from Körtvélyes. It was founded as his family burial place in 1420 by Fyodor Koriatovych, Prince of Podolia, who granted it lands. Its Hegumen was the priest Luka.³¹ His successor, Ioan, was already a bishop, with jurisdiction over the Greek priests under the authority of the Monastery. In this region, the immigrating Ruthenians created parishes and built wooden churches in ever wider areas as of the 13th century. Thus, an eparchy centred in

Mukacheve evolved by the 16th century, with only loose hierarchical connections with the Orthodox ecclesiastical centres of Galicia and Moldavia, beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary.

After 1526, the former Kingdom of Hungary split into two and then into three parts. The central part of the country was annexed by the Ottoman Empire, monarchical rule continued in the North and in the West – this time under Hapsburg authority – and Transylvania was turned into a vassal Ottoman principality. Orthodoxy lived on in the peripheries of the former kingdom, under the leadership of Serbian, Romanian and Rusyn ecclesiastical centres, no longer organised into a compact structure by the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Orthodox Churches caught in the vice of Catholicism and Protestantism would search for ways of survival within their national contexts.

List of pictures

1. Ruins of the Greek Monastery of Veszprémvölgy
2. Medieval Orthodox Church at Gurasada

³¹ Cf. Véghseő, Tamás. „...mint igaz egyházi ember...”: A történelmi Munkácsi Egyházmegye görög katolikus egyházának létrejötte és 17. századi fejlődése, Nyíregyháza, 2011, 13–14.

I.2 Ut mos est grecorum – Byzantine Heritage and the Era of the Árpád Dynasty

Etele Kiss

The connection between the Byzantine Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary was brought to the fore of modern Hungarian historiography and a wider educated audience by a peculiar event and the related investigations. When, on his death bed, the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II, the uncrowned 'hatted' King of Hungary, returned the Holy Crown of Hungary kept in Vienna to the Hungarian estates, and it was taken in a magnificent ceremonial procession to Buda as the symbol and epitome of Hungarian freedom and independence, he also cast the apple of discord among the Hungarian estates. In fact, they had all along sustained unbroken faith in the link between the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary in AD 1000 and the Papacy, with the newly returned Holy Crown, as well as the notion of the Holy Crown and the idea of Apostolic Kingship it gave rise to, seen as its guarantee (Picture 1).

Understandably, in the age of Enlightenment, the contradiction between the cult of King Saint Stephen's crown interpreted as the gift of Pope Sylvester II and the complex character of the Holy Crown received and exhibited in Buda could not remain unexplored. It is no coincidence that, following the decrees of Joseph II, the physician Sámuel Decsy, in his monumental book, highlighting the Greek character of the lower part of the Holy Crown based on contributions from Hungary's Orthodox hierarchs among others, came from the ranks of the lately emancipated Protestants.¹ To him, the images of 11th-century Byzantine emperors in the lower section of the Holy Crown, acquiring the name *corona graeca* at that time with reference to the language of its inscriptions, supported the assertion previously made by Gottfried Schwarz in 1739 by drawing on Byzantine historiographers, claiming that the origins of Hungarian Christianity were associated with Byzantium rather than the Papacy.²

Thus, in the eyes of the Protestant estates of the realm, this amounted to a confirmation that Christianity had existed in Hungary historically as well outside the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, supplying historical grounds for the Josephian principles of the freedom of faith and thereby eliminating the need to revert to Catholic hegemony even after the reversal of the reforms of Joseph II.

The analysis of the enamel paintings corroborated Schwarz's other views, marshalling Révay's own data in an attempt to disprove the mythical idea of the Royal

Crown Guard which, on the basis of the combination of Greek and Latin inscriptions, argued that the crown had originally been transferred from Constantine the Great to Pope Sylvester I and, subsequently, from Rome, from Pope Sylvester II, to King Stephen I of Hungary.³ This move ushered in the beginning of medieval art history research in Hungary, with the examination of Byzantine artistic ties – as a covert yet permanent track of inquiry – continuing to be part of it to the present day. The extreme fragmentation of the corresponding heritage material hinders the formation of a comprehensive overview, in which the unique geographical and cultural situation of the early migrating Magyars and the newly created Kingdom of Hungary could be properly contextualised between the two halves of the former Roman Empire – a Greek and Latin one – and the respective medieval successor states, beyond the unchallenged dominance of the Latin world.

The present paper does not seek to offer yet another, even more extensive analysis of the relevant heritage ensemble but aims to present its specimens as traces of a unique notion of statehood and cultural diversity, attempting to explore in what ways the various Roman legacies of medieval Christianity were represented in them. Even though a 'Greek' or 'Latin' (mostly Italian, German or French) provenance may be demonstrated for some examples of art in Hungary, this aspect in itself was not so important to medieval customers or masters: They did not know of a 'Byzantine', 'Ottonian', 'Romanesque' or 'Gothic' style, or even of a 'Byzantine Empire'. Romanness, however, was a meaningful concept to them, with partial manifestations in certain empires yet simultaneously transcending these and, in their minds, significantly coinciding with the ethos of '*Christianitas*'. This attitude would prompt clients commissioning major works of art in the era of the Árpád Dynasty to make a choice or, at times, even to search for an ideal synthesis, when, as the most prominent state wedged between two empires, it was frequently to counter their attacks. Of the countless instances of such a synthesis, the most well-known and most significant one is the Holy Crown of Hungary as preserved in its current form.

When, in 893, the men of the Emperor Leo VI the Wise or of his Minister of State, Stylianos Zaoutzes, banned Bulgarian merchants from the market of

¹ Decsy, 1792. For a description, see: *ibid.*, 38–43; for a historical analysis, see: *ibid.*, 75–215. Although Decsy's book contains no reference to the hierarchs, their involvement has been established since.

² Gottfried Schwarz (Gabriel de Juxta Hornad). *Initia religionis christianae inter Hungaros Ecclesiae orientalis adsertae ademque a dubiis et fabulosis narrationibus repurgata: Dissertatio inauguralis historico-critica* [Its first edition with a slightly different title: Halle, 1739; 2nd edition: Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1740; 3rd edition: Cluj (*Kolozsvár*), 1749]. Tóth, 2016, 103–136.

³ Decsy, 1792.



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Constantinople in an effort to cause them to frequent Salonica instead, they were unaware of the avalanche they were about to set in motion; among other things, this would come to be one, if not the main, cause of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin, thanks to the Byzantine-Hungarian and Bulgarian-Pecheneg alliance.⁴ However, when the Magyar tribes settled in the Carpathian Basin, their conversion as the faithful of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was by no means a foregone conclusion since the Empire itself, or its eastern half, had not extended this far prior to the Bulgarian conquest, either. Not long before, the two Greek brothers, Constantine/Cyril and Methodius finally began their enlightening or missionary activities in Pannonia and Moravia under the jurisdiction of Rome as well, and, contemporaneously, Bulgaria also became a missionary territory for Rome in accordance with the agreements made during the first phase of the official negotiations. In the end, the development of Central Europe took a completely different direction from an ecclesiastical and cultural point of view, with imperial pragmatism having the

upper hand. Under pressure from the Frankish Empire, the results of the missionary work of Cyril and Methodius were obliterated in the original locations (with traces of it mostly surviving in Dalmatian areas through the use of the Glagolitic script invented by them, albeit under suspicion of heresy), while their students would prepare the ground in Bulgaria for Slavic Christianity according to the Greek model, laying the foundations of *Pravoslavie* by creating a new alphabet, the Cyrillic script. Thus, the territory of Pannonia, broadly defined – with its centre in Sirmium – remained under the virtual jurisdiction of Rome.

This theoretical setting, however, did nothing to stop the Imperial Court of Constantinople from baptising several of the leaders of the confederation of the Magyar tribes appearing in Constantinople around 948 or, to one of them, Gyula, even assigning a pious monk, missionary Bishop Hierotheos, with jurisdiction over the whole of the country.⁵ Hierotheos's activities ultimately culminated in the creation of a metropolitanate at about the turn of the millennium, though the manner of Byzantine missionary work and the locations of the

⁴ Recent views contrary to *Vita* by Patriarch Euthymios, a source foregrounding the role of Minister Stylianos, tend to pinpoint Emperor Leo VI's own intention in this act, possibly motivated by a desire to support Salonica and secure the succour of Saint Demetrius. See: Magdalino, Paul. Saint Demetrius and Leo VI, *Byzantinoslavica*, 51(1990), as well as: Tougher, Shaun. *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People*, Leiden, 1997, 96–97.

⁵ See the paper by István Baán in the present volume.

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centres of the evolving Orthodox ecclesiastical organisation continue to be a subject of debate on account of the meagre number of relevant documents.

As distinct from direct traces, a somewhat remote reflection of this missionary activity may be preserved in the East-Slavic elements of the Christian terminology of the Hungarian language, as well as by the large number of 10-11th-century Byzantine pectoral crosses functioning as reliquaries found across most of the country.⁶ As Christianity-related words directly adopted from Greek are almost completely absent in Hungarian, and pectoral crosses are also to be found in a number of places where direct Byzantine missionary work would be hard to surmise, it is reasonable to assume that the missionary activities of Hierotheos and his successors were part of a comprehensive process of gradual absorption with Christianity rather acting as an initial step thereof. This gradualness was at the same time also more conducive to the continuation of former, pre-Christianity customs, a fact evidenced in relation to Grand Prince Géza in the description of Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, with numerous instances in early cemeteries alongside pectoral crosses and other Christian objects.⁷ At any rate, unequivocal archaeological traces of this first missionary activity remained practically invisible, even though Byzantine items, jewellery, coins and fabrics were popular with the early Magyars,⁸ in some places even serving as models for local artists.⁹ These specimens, however, were primarily articles of long-distance trade, and the circumstance that, in Byzantine territories, as foes or allies – sometimes as mercenaries – Hungarian soldiers came into contact with the culture and religion of the Empire contributed to their spread. These items only seldom testify to any conscious connections with Christendom though.

⁶ Langó, Péter. Honfoglalás kori sírok Mindszent-Koszorús-dűlőn: Adatok a szíjbefűzős bizánci csatok és a délkelet-európai kapcsolatú egyszerű mellkeresztek tipológiájához, *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve: Studia Archaeologica*, 10(2004), 365–457.

⁷ On the duality of Géza's faith, see: Halmágyi, Mihály. „Kettős hitű” fejedelmek: Gondolatok Géza fejedelem hite kapcsán, in: Almási Tibor – Révész Éva – Szabados György (Eds.). *„Fons, skepsis, lex”: Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendősk Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*, Szeged, 2010, 137–146. To account for the simultaneous usage of pectoral crosses and objects of other, pagan origins, archaeologists have generated various explanations; previously, the denial or relativisation of the Christian character of these was general; nowadays, some slightly more nuanced views are also to be encountered, see: Bollók, Ádám. Pogányság és kereszténység között: A Kárpát-medence a magyar honfoglalás korában, in: *Keresztény gyökerek és a boldog magyar élet*, Budapest, 2010, 39–57. Nonetheless, graves frequently containing a combination of elements of personal religiousness and superstition hardly ever coincide with a particular missionary centre.

⁸ Of these numerous pieces of jewellery (earrings, bracelets, rings, etc.) and other items, golden earrings (Kecel and Páty) and belt buckles decorated with lions and other mythical animal motifs are truly prominent, see: Mesterházy, Károly. Bizánci és balkáni eredetű tárgyak a 10–11. századi magyar sírleletekben, I–II, *Folia Archaeologica*, 41(1990), 87–116; *Folia Archaeologica*, 42(1991), 145–177; Bollók, Ádám. Byzantine Jewellery of the Hungarian Conquest Period: A View from the Balkans, in: Entwistle, Christopher – Adams, Noel (Eds.). *Intelligible Beauty, recent research on Byzantine Jewellery*, London, 2010, 179–191. Bosselmann-Ruickbee, Antje. *Byzantinischer Schmuck des frühen 9. Bis frühen 13. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, 2011, passim.

⁹ Such an example is the oriental ornamentation of the Byzantine bracelet of Bashalom, the motif pattern of which is also found in the mountings of a belt from Nagykőrű.



(3)

Two distinguished and rare specimens of Christian heritage from the Upper-Tisza Region dating from the period of the migrating Magyars are therefore all the more precious: the Byzantine-style portable silver aspersorium with a Greek inscription discovered in Beszterec (Picture 2) and the *sabretache* of Tiszabездéd (Picture 3). The former is contemporaneous with the Hierotheos Mission, representing an early example of mid-10th-century Byzantine ornamental revival. This new style evolved in the court of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus signalling the arrival of a new golden age in response to Antiquity and

partly to the Carolingian Renaissance – though informed by the taste of barbarian peoples as well, whose conversion – hence of the Russians and Hungarians – had just begun. This style further developed early-medieval Chinese ornamentation, becoming a dominant decorative style in Byzantium until the fall of the Empire.¹⁰

At the same time, with its windswept, asymmetrical palmettes and floral motifs seen from a three-dimensional perspective, this ornamentation also came to be part of the western imperial renewal of the turn of the millennium in the environment of Otto III, thus integrating into

¹⁰ Kiss, Etele. A besztereci szenteltvíztartó és a bizánci fémművesség egyes datálási problémái, *Folia Archaeologica*, 45(1996), 201–224. Kiss, Etele. Byzantine Silversmith's work between China and the Ottonians, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 49(1999), 301–314.

a nascent Ottonian and subsequently Romanesque art. In Hungary, it was obviously Hierotheos's mission that introduced the practice of the blessing of waters at Epiphany, the Greek-character of which was remembered even a hundred-and-fifty years later at the foundation of the Cathedral of Zagreb, with a truly unique synthesis created in Latin on the basis of the Byzantine rite.¹¹ The service itself, i.e. the blessing of waters, is regarded as a Sacrament in the Orthodox Church, exerting a powerful impact on popular imagination from the earliest times and accompanied by grandiose public celebrations.¹²

Apart from their use during church services, these portable aspersoria also fulfilled other important functions in the area of monarchic visuality: Sprinkling holy water was a direct means of conveying imperial sacrality, closely related to military campaigns and festive entries, or *adventi*, in the east and west alike. Thus, the Beszterec aspersorium could be a historical specimen of early Byzantine missionary work, though its inscription is problematic: The Greek verse line recorded by ear, with its meaning – 'Christ, the living spring of healings' – is an allusion to the function of the object. However, the journey of this first known piece of ecclesiastical equipment associable with the Hungarian nation all the way to the Upper-Tisza Region cannot be traced, nor is it possible to determine when the first Monastery of Beszterec, where it was presumably employed, was established.

Conversely, it is safe to claim that the *sabretache* of Bezdéd already represents the local outcome of some Christian missionary activity as the cross placed on the central palmette bouquet fits into palmette foliage typical of early-Magyar ornamentation and is surrounded by mythical animals – a simurgh and unicorn – clearly as an unparalleled specimen memorialising a newly baptised nobleman's idiosyncratic definition of faith.

The *sabretache* has given rise to diverse interpretations, including retrospective evidence for the early Magyars' shamanistic beliefs and the myth of the sky-high tree as an expression of religious syncretism, or, more recently, as a depiction of the Crucifixion.¹³ Although these readings are by no means unrealistic, the composition is most likely to evoke Verse 12 of *Psalms* 73 (74): 'Yet God our King is from of old, working salvation in the midst of

the earth.' (The Greek text is a translation based on the so-called *Septuagint* and Latin translations predating the *Vulgate*.) This passage, much cited at Byzantine services honouring the Holy Cross, was unambiguously understood as a prefiguration of Christ's death on the cross, laying the foundations of the cosmic symbolism of the cross in a Greek liturgical environment. At the same time, the Psalm continues with the smashing of the heads of the dragons living in the waters, providing an explanation for the legendary creatures depicted – especially the simurgh – while the text itself is an important component of the rite of baptism.¹⁴

This seems to be in harmony with the fact that the words for 'cross' (*kereszt*) and 'baptism' (*keresztelés*) of East-Slavic origin, adopted by Hungarian presumably as a result of Hierotheos's mission – and, hence, baptism and death on the cross – are related in line with Pauline teaching and the liturgy, whereas the corresponding pair of equivalents do not share the same stem in either Latin or Greek. Naturally, this does not necessarily imply there is a link between Hierotheos's missionary activity and the *sabretache* of Bezdéd, though they might as well be coeval.

In addition, it is fair to suppose that the composition of the picture and the choice of the animals could be informed by other comparable sources as well, such as Verse 22 of *Psalms* 21, as well as other mythological ideas.

Unfortunately, no continuation of this ingenious integrative style seen in Tiszabezdéd is known, just as the incorporation of the ornamentation of the Beszterec aspersorium into the western art of the turn of the millennium or of later periods did not happen in Hungary, either.

Especially in monarchic settings, the middle and the second half of the 10th century were, however, a time of openness all over Europe, with the idea of renewing Christian Romanness often inspiring astonishing choices. Thus, it is no surprise that such a singular and original synthesis emerges in the Hungarian art of the period as well, akin to the somewhat later, so-called Sword of Charlemagne (known as the Attila Sabre in Hungary), kept in Vienna among the imperial treasures, representing a unique cross between Viking and early-Magyar art.

¹¹ Moravcsik, Gyula. The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary, *The American Slavic and East European Review*, 6(1947), 148. Földváry, Miklós István. Vízkeresztvízszentelés a görögök szokása szerint, *Magyar Egyházzene*, 23(2015/2016), 3–28. (The author is grateful to his proofreader, Szilveszter Terdik, for this reference.)

¹² Denysenko, Nicholas E. *The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany: The Eastern Liturgical Tradition*, Ashgate, 2012.

¹³ Bollók, Ádám. *Ornamentika a 10. századi Kárpát-medencében*, Budapest, 2015, 429–501; also see the bibliography cited therein.

¹⁴ *Crucifixion and The Trampling of Dragons During Baptism* appear among the illustrations of the aforementioned Psalm in the margins of 9th-century Psalters. Evangelatou, Maria. Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth Century Marginal Psalters, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 63(2009), 59–116, in particular: Plates 3 and 5.

King Saint Stephen's Hungary adopted many of the distinctive symbols of an ideal – and idealised – sense of Christian Romanness. Some of these were concrete insignia, such as a fraction of the imperial spear presented by the Emperor Otto III, with a nail from Christ's cross in it, originally a Constantinian relic. It was displayed on one of Stephen's earliest coins, but the precious relic (*insigne* in Latin), along with the usage of the symbol, would disappear shortly after his death.¹⁵

An item that may be considered as equivalent to it was a relic of the True Cross, which Saint Stephen obtained from his ally, the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. It would also feature in the Legend of Saint Emeric of Hungary as the Prince Royal's bequest for the foundation of the Polish Monastery of Łysa Góra, and Samuel Aba received such a relic from his kingdom-founding predecessor as well.¹⁶

Hungarian Queen Adelheid, wife of King (Saint) Ladislaus, sent a relic of the True Cross of a considerable size to St Blaise's Monastery in the Black Forest, to her mother's grave, in 1079, providing that it be placed in an ornate reliquary; currently, it is to be found in the treasury of St Paul's Monastery in Lavantall, Austria. She had acquired the relic of the cross from her brother-in-law, King Géza I, raising the possibility that it might have come from the Imperial Court of Constantinople together with the lower part of the Holy Crown.¹⁷

There were many subsequent relics and reliquaries of the True Cross in Hungary. Medieval and early-modern-era inventories of the treasury of the Cathedral of Esztergom record at least four such specimens, but it is questionable whether the extant late-12th-century Byzantine reliquary, the so-called *Esztergom Staurotheke*,

belongs to this group.¹⁸ In addition, three True Cross relics placed in richly decorated cases must have played a major role in the life of the kingdom: the medieval oath-cross finding its way to Salzburg under the auspices of Beckensloher, Archbishop of Esztergom at the time;¹⁹ the so-called *Záviš Cross* in the Bohemian Cistercian Monastery of Vyšší Brod (*Hohenfurth*) (This cross made by Sicilian Normans and adorned by Byzantine enamel plates is believed to have originated in the court of King Béla IV of Hungary);²⁰ as well as a contemporaneous but western reliquary of the cross with an ornate golden setting, which only later – presumably as of the 17th century – became an oath-cross for Hungarian coronation ceremonies, when Cardinal Péter Pázmány fitted it with a base.²¹

As an emblem of the Empire, the Holy Cross was even adopted in the evolving Hungarian heraldry in the time of Béla III, becoming the protector and symbol of the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Patriarchal cross form characteristic of cross reliquaries highlighted the historicity of the cross, as well as its protective power over the kingdom. Later, however, it would primarily come to emphasise the Apostolic character of Hungarian royal authority, i.e. the royal foundations of Hungarian Christianity. At the end of the 13th century, this Patriarchal cross was temporarily expanded by the immortalisation of the relic of the crown of thorns in the time of Stephen V and his children, probably thanks to the connections of the Árpáds and the Anjous.²² Dating from the beginning of the 14th century, the Hungarian orb is also adorned by such a Patriarchal cross, marking a return to the first early-Byzantine representations of the Patriarchal cross, materialising on precisely such globes in coins.

¹⁵ Kovács, László. A szent lándzsa Magyarországon, in: Wiczorek, Alfried – Hinz, Hans-Martin. *Európa közepe 1000 körül*, Budapest, 2000, 571.

¹⁶ Molnár, Imre. Szent Imre emlékezete a lengyelországi Szentkereszt hegyen: Az ezeréves lengyel–magyar történelem egy elfeledett közös kegyhelye, *Honismeret*, 35(2007), 3, 14–16. Derwich, Marek. The Lysa Gora Foundation Myth, *Roczniki Historyczne*, 72(2006), 53–66. Smohay, András (Ed.). *Szent Imre 1000 éve*, Székesfehérvár, 2007, 103, Footnote 22. Samuel Aba's relic of the True Cross is reported by Ortilo de Lillienfeld in his discussion on the provenance of the relic transferred to Melk: Kovács, Éva. *Species, Modus, Ordo: Válogatott tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1998, 179, Footnote 32.

¹⁷ Kusler, Ágnes (Ed.). *Szent Benedek és a bencés spiritualitás* [Exhibition catalogue], Pannonhalma, 2015, kat. III.10. For a description of the history of the cross, see: Schütz, Wolfgang. Die große Kreuzpartikel von St Blasien/St. Paul und ihre drei Fassungen, *Carinthia*, 1(1959), 611–632.

¹⁸ Somogyi, Árpád. *Az esztergomi bizánci sztaurotéka*, Budapest, 1959. Prinzing associates this reliquary with the correspondence between the Emperor Isaac and Archbishop Job – a hardly likely scenario in view of the subsequent Byzantine frame of the *staurotheke*, though dating its making to the late-12th century is indeed feasible, see: Prinzing, Günter. The Esztergom Reliquary Revisited: Wann, weshalb und wem hat Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos die Staurothek als Geschenk übersandt?, in: Asutay-Effenberger, Neslihan – Daim, Falko (Hrsg.). *ΦΙΛΟΠΛΑΤΙΟΝ: Spaziergang im kaiserlichen Garten. Festschrift für Arne Effenberger zum 70. Geburtstag*, Mainz, 2012, 247–256.

¹⁹ See: Wiczorek, Alfried – Hinz, Hans-Martin (Hrsg.). *Europa's Mitte um 1000*, Budapest, Kat. Nr. 02., 03., 12.

²⁰ The cross is unanimously associated with the family of Béla IV in the Hungarian literature, similarly to a significant proportion of Czech authors. A divergent view is offered in: Seipel, Wilfried (Hrsg.). *Nobiles officinae: Die königlichen Hofwerkstätten zu Palermo zur Zeit der Normannen und Staufer im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Wien, 2004, Kat. 58.

²¹ Kovács, 1974, Pictures 38–42 and 28–31. Cséfalvay, Pál (Ed.). *A magyar kereszténység 1000 éve*, Budapest, 2002, kat. 2.17.

²² Kovács, Éva. Signum crucis – lignum crucis, in: Id. *Species, Modus, Ordo: Válogatott tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1998, 341–351.

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The role of the Holy Cross was complemented and, in terms of significance, even surpassed by the possession of the crown, along with the inheritability of the royal title by the kings of Hungary, uniquely in Central Europe for a long time. Even the Hungarian word for king, *király*, derived from the name of Charlemagne, must have entered the Greek language from Hungary in the form *krales*, and it was subsequently adopted from Greek by various Balkan rulers.²³

Crowns were intertwined with countless myths, with descent from the founder of the empire or kingdom and relations to heaven featuring as recurrent themes. The Magyar leaders visiting Constantine VII encountered such an instance, expressed in the argument that the Empire would not grant a crown to foreign rulers as it had been brought to Constantine the Great by an angel from heaven. The tradition of the Holy Crown of Hungary represents a temporal adaptation of this idea in the

early-12th-century Hartvik Legend of Saint Stephen, according to which Pope Sylvester II handed over the crown intended for the Poles to the emissaries 'of an unknown ruler'. Although the historicity of this legend theme and the subsequent fate of Saint Stephen's crown fall outside the scope of the present study, they do provide a justification for the large number of later crowns associated with the Hungarian Court.

As a female crown, the so-called Monomachus Crown is likely to have reached Hungary during the reign of King Andrew I, at the turbulent and bloody time of restoring the kingdom and the faith, and it is safest to associate with the wife of Andrew I, Anastasia, the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Kiev, whose sister-in-law was Monomachus's daughter (Picture 4). The enamel plate of the Monomachus Crown consisting of seven semicircles visualises a rich imperial programme of victory and peace, embedded in

²³ Tóth, Endre. Miért lett király Szent István?, in: Bárány, Attila – Dreska, Gábor – Szovák, Kornél (Eds.). *Arcana tabularii: Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, II, Budapest, 2014, 775–792.



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a paradisaical thematic system. This notion of *pax–eiréné*, associated with imperial virtues, was considered the most timely programme everywhere in Europe, equally endorsed by the Emperor Henry III and Constantine IX.²⁴

This was complemented by the enamel medallions of the two apostolic brothers: Peter, Prince of the Apostles, was a reference to Rome, while his brother, Andrew, the First-Called, was remembered as the converter and first bishop of the predecessor of Constantinople, *Byzantion*. The Schism between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, which the Emperor strove to prevent with all his might, and which, outside certain circles of the higher clergy, would not be seen as consequential or final later, either, happened after the sending of the crown and the death of the Empress Zoe depicted on it but still during the reign of Constantine IX.

However, when during the reign of Géza I, the lower part of the present Holy Crown arrived in Hungary from Constantinople – originally, also as a female crown –, it exhibited a thematic composition that bore a striking resemblance to Saint Stephen's notion of kingdom

establishment, viewed from a 'Roman' vantage point, with, thanks to the activities of its ruler, as prompted by the Emperor, the new nation converted to Christianity – i.e. strengthened in the faith – and becoming a chosen people, a new Israel, while, spiritually, turning Roman, and the saints of the Empire becoming its own patron saints. The lower section of the Holy Crown displays the *de facto* ruler of the Romans, the Byzantine Emperor, in the company of Géza I, King of Tourkia (i.e. Hungary), sharing the same faith, as well as of his co-emperor, his son (Picture 5). According to Roman Law, notionally, this amounted to the subjection of the King, as is suggested by Géza's look in the enamel painting, turning towards the Emperors, though this did not mean demand for actual jurisdiction by the Byzantine Empire.

In the pictorial programme of the Holy Crown, however, law is of secondary importance; the main focus is on the renewal of humankind (the People of God equalling the Romans and the *Turks*, i.e. the Hungarians, in this respect) in Christ, as in the Second Adam,

²⁴ Bárányné Oberschall, Magda. *Konstantinos Monomachos császár koronája*, Budapest, 1937. Kiss, Etele. Új eredmények a Monomachosz-korona kutatásában? *Folia Archaeologica*, 56(1997), 125–164.

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conveyed by the two cypresses by the enthroned Christ, symbolising Paradise. In fact, this people is united into a single body under the leadership of the Emperor – an epitome of being created to the image of God – and of his associate, the Hungarian Monarch.

The bearer of the crown and, through him, the people engage in interpreting and realising the icon theology of Paul the Apostle in a medieval fashion: 'Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven' (1 Cor. 15:49). In the Byzantine tradition, this function of the Emperor as hierarch was emphasised on the first day of Great Lent, the so-called Clean Monday, when the whole people would fast as one so that they might re-enter Paradise, which Adam had lost by eating the forbidden fruit. On this

day, the Emperor would even preach in the main assembly hall of the palace, in the *Magnaaura*, before the Senate and the Court, as an indication of his personal involvement in guiding the people to Paradise.²⁵ This liturgical *Sitz im Leben* may account for the rigour with which the 1092 Synod of Szabolcs prescribed a Byzantine- or Greek-style commencement of Lent, rejecting contemporary Catholic praxis, with the latter also containing the Adamic theme, though earlier, on Septuagesima Sunday.²⁶

This understanding of the People of God, which unites in its ruler, on the one hand, cannot be taken for granted but is to be constantly executed so that it may regain Adam's primordial glory in Christ, whereas, on the other hand, in its crown, it is in fact realised in the sense of medieval representation as though in a silhouette, 'in a mirror dimly' (1 Cor. 13:12), yet unmistakably for the contemporary viewer. This philosophical background was so important to the Hungarian Kings that, upon expanding the band into an 'apostolic crown', among the Apostles, it was precisely this image of the enthroned Christ flanked by cypresses that was depicted again, enriched by cosmic overtones. Moreover, it was this non-legal yet corporative, symbolic and theological definition of the people that could supply the basis of a subsequent, highly legalistic teaching on the Holy Crown.

A few other pieces of Byzantine or Byzantine-like enamelled jewellery could also play a part in Hungarian monarchic visuality, such as the so-called king-headed ring from the area of Szeged, with its band no doubt corresponding to the ornamentation of Byzantine manuscripts, but with no similar rings evidenced from a Byzantine environment to date (Picture 6). During episcopal and royal enthronement (coronation) ceremonies, rings had a central role, but hierarchs and monarchs would present ornate rings to each other as well. Thus, for the king-headed ring, such a function is logical to posit on account of its decoration and place of discovery.²⁷ The church-shaped, enamelled golden jewellery with pearls uncovered in Esztergom is also a special item, most probably made for use in conjunction with court ceremonial attire in one of the centres of Byzantine art (Picture 7), though comparable specimens are mainly known from Kievan Rus'.²⁸ Albeit incomplete

²⁵ See: Kiss, Etele. Az uralkodó a Paradicsom árnyékában: Gondolatok a Szent Korona arbronsának ikonográfiájához, in: Tüskés, Anna (Ed.). *Omnis creatura significans: Tanulmányok Prokopp Mária hetvenedik születésnapjára*, Budapest, 2009, 21–28.

²⁶ This early 'Byzantinism' of the Hungarian Church, along with the continued existence of a married clergy, was already pointed out by Gottfried Schwarz in 1739 and 1740: Schwarz, op. cit., 69–71 (source cited in Footnote 2).

²⁷ Hungarian National Museum; original inventory number: Ann. Jank. 19; current number: 58.68.B. Mikó, Árpád (Ed.). *Jankovich Miklós (1773–1846) gyűjteményei* [Exhibition catalogue], Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest, 2002, kat. 143.

²⁸ Kovács, Éva. Jeruzsálem fülönfüggő Esztergomból, *Építés–Építészettudomány*, 5(1974), 271–277 (= *Species, Modus, Ordo: Válogatott tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1998, 236–243). Dated to the time of Béla III: Mikó – Takács, 1999, kat. II. 27; dated to the 11th century: Őze,

even at the time of its discovery, and thus the decoration of its central section remaining wholly unknown, the enamelled, four-foiled *enkolpion* found in the tomb of Béla III in Székesfehérvár is also indicative of Byzantine influence. Another Byzantine enamelled disc was also found in a later royal tomb in Székesfehérvár. Although the discoverers had the latter converted, it might well be the case that the two objects were not made in Byzantium but Sicily in imitation of Byzantine jewellery.²⁹ Preserving one of the most vivid themes of Hungarian legends from the period of the conquest of the Carpathian Basin and subsequently becoming the symbol of the privileges of the Jász (an Iranian ethnic group settling in Hungary in the 13th century), Lehel's Horn, kept in Jászberény, may be traced to 12th-century Kiev.³⁰

The cultic spheres of early Byzantine missionary activities are unknown. It has recently been suggested that the single-apse, nave-and-aisles church, with four pillars in its centre, excavated in front of the current Roman Catholic Cathedral of Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár*), built from the 13th century and dedicated to Saint Michael, could be Bishop Hierotheos's first missionary centre.³¹ In line with the archaeological stratigraphy of the excavated foundations, this church must have been built between 950 and 1050, though, at present, no clear indications are available to determine its age more accurately. At any rate, in constructing the early Cathedral in the time of Saint Ladislaus, its presence was taken into account. This thesis is primarily predicated on the relatively significant size of the edifice, the dome reconstructed for the area over the central pillar bases, as well as on the identification of Alba Iulia as the seat of Gyula converted in Constantinople – complete with a few Byzantine pectoral crosses from Alba Iulia, found in a cemetery in use during the second half of the 10th century. These are undoubtedly important

arguments, even though the short distance between the pillars seems to presuppose a central tower instead of a dome, akin to the later church of Densuş (*Demsus*). However, in the absence of additional conclusive evidence, identification as Hierotheos's centre cannot be verified beyond reasonable doubt, nor may views arguing for a Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureş–Körös/Criş corner location – including the later colony of the ruler Ajtony – for the centre of the first Gyula, on the basis of the relatively great concentration of Byzantine objects – especially gold coins – be invalidated.³²

The most well-known built heritage of Orthodox missionary work at the time of the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary include a few monasteries, the verifiable ones among them being Veszprémvölgy, Csanád-Oroszlámos (*Majdan/Magyarmajdán*), Visegrád, Sremska Mitrovica (*Szávaszentdemeter*), as well as – most probably – Dunapentele and the two cave monasteries, Tihany and Zebegény. It is somewhat surprising that, as it stands, Byzantine space arrangement was not observed in the churches of Hungary's Orthodox monasteries from the era of the Árpád Dynasty. The best-known of them is the Monastery of St Andrew in Visegrád, founded by King Andrew I, its peculiar apse arrangement – with a main apse closing in a straight line and with semicircular side apses – explored during the latest excavations, clearly following Dalmatian and Italian prototypes. Whereas there is nothing pointing to the existence of a dome, based on currently available data, the original structure also lacked a *narthex* or antechamber, an indispensable component of Orthodox churches.³³

This unique apse arrangement is also encountered in the early Abbey Church of Pásztó. Although there are no data on its original, pre-Cistercian monastic affiliation, it had developed some connections with Pannonhalma by

Sándor – Duerloo, Luc. *Hungaria Regia, 1000–1800: Fastes et défis*, Turnhout, 1999, kat. 25. Its Kievan parallel (25 items) was discovered in the treasure find of St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery in 1824, as well as in a nearby treasure find in 1887. These have lately been identified as the ornament of some ceremonial item – possibly of a monarchic *loros* or episcopal *sakkos* – dated to the 11th century, subsequently converted into a component of a necklace. Pekarska, Ljudmila. *Jewellery of Princely Kiev*, Mainz–London, 2011, 206, 217.

²⁹ Converted along with the other jewellery items of the find, this crown was transferred to the Hungarian National Museum as a bracelet; Inv. No.: 1885.76. Kovács, 1974, 51, Picture 13.

³⁰ Kiss, Etele. A jászberényi Lehel-kürt – kései recenzió néhány elfeledett tanulmányhoz. In: Langó, Péter (Ed.). *Szállástól a mezővárosig, Jászfényszaru, 2000, 67–82*. For divergent views, see: Selmeczi, László. A „Jászkürt”, *Tisicum*, 13(2003), 95–110. Eastmond, Antony. Byzantine Oliphants? in: Asutay-Effenberger, Neslihan – Daim, Falko (Hrsg.). *ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΙΟΝ: Spaziergang im kaiserlichen Garten: Festschrift für Arne Effenberger zum 70. Geburtstag*, Mainz, 2012, 95–118, albeit without any real arguments for a South-Italian localisation of the horn.

³¹ Daniela Marcu Istrate, conducting the excavation, discusses this question in a number of studies; one such paper offers a detailed report: Marcu Istrate, Daniela. Byzantine influences in the Carpathian Basin around the Turn of the Millennium, *Dacia*, 59(2015), 177–213.

³² See also: Madgearu, Alexandru. The mission of Hierotheos: Location and significance, *Byzantinoslavica*, 66(2008), 119–138. Id. Further considerations on Hierotheos' mission to the Magyars, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, II, *Series Historica*, 54(2017), 2–16. He proposes a circa 1000 date for the Cathedral, which was still the seat of an Orthodox Bishopric. See also: Takács, 2018, 208–213.

³³ Buzás, Gergely – Eszes, Bernadett. XI. századi görög monostor Visegrádon, in: Szócs, Péter Levente – Rusu, Adrian Andrei (Eds.). *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben, IV, Satu Mare, 2007, 49–93* (= *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online*, 2012; <https://arheologia.hu/content/arheologia/34/buz-is-eszesxi-sz-izadi-g-ar-ag-monostor-visegr-idon.pdf> [accessed: 1 May 2020]). Takács, 2018, 117–121.

the first half of the 12th century.³⁴ The Greek patristic texts discovered and translated by Cerbanus, a Venetian cleric, as well as the dedication of the translation to Dávid, Abbot of Pannonhalma, as 'Archimandrite' suggest difficult-to-define but real Greek ties.³⁵ Presumably, the monastery – or at least one of its residents – was originally Greek, a circumstance that may well have been seen as a thing of the past in the 12th century. Nonetheless, Abbot Dávid must have been acutely aware of this fact as it was through him that the philhellenic Venetian came to Pásztó.

The original base plan of the church of the Nunnery of Veszprémvölgy excavated in 2000 appears to be even less typical of Orthodox space arrangement, although it is unclear whether the rectangular, single-nave, modest little church with a sanctuary closing in a straight line, was the sole or the chief cult site of the monasteries so generously equipped by Saint Stephen, which came to be Greek due to the language of its unspecified founder.³⁶ The term 'Metropolitan's [translated as 'Archbishop' in Latin] Monastery', used in the charter, however, is most likely to be an allusion to the circumstance that, in this case, the founder must have happened to be an Orthodox hierarch, one of Hierotheos's successors.³⁷

Probably owing their existence to the foundation of King Andrew as well, the cave monasteries in Zebegény and Tihany represent a notable phenomenon. However, their space arrangement is too simple and fragmentary for any substantial conclusions to be drawn, and, aside from the name of the one in Tihany, their Orthodox affiliation is not supported by any clues, either.³⁸ Nevertheless, it is safe to note that both were situated near a monastery: the one in Tihany next to a Benedictine Monastery dedicated to Saint Aignan, while the one in Zebegény – presumably functioning as a site for the asceticism of more advanced monks – next to the aforementioned Orthodox monastery. In the East, asceticism manifested itself in lavra-type communities, but it was also featured in the Benedictine

Rule as an ideal circumstance. The hermit movement of the 11th century represented an important link between Greek and Latin monasticism in Europe and Hungary alike, a noteworthy example being the so-called Deanery Church of Visegrád, not far from the Orthodox monastery. It was built for a spiritual father living his life as a hermit and for his Latin-rite community, and was painted majestically, though in a Byzantine style. It is not impossible that Saint Procopius's Slavic-speaking Benedictine community fled here from the Bohemian Sázava and stayed here for a few years.

Monasteries founded early on, with no known original affiliations with particular religious orders, may have housed Byzantine-rite communities, as may be inferred from the somewhat archaically worded letter of Pope Innocent III from 1204, claiming that, besides a large number of Greek monasteries, there was but one Latin community in the country. The same conclusion may be reached from the fact that even a 1344 papal letter seeks to employ Benedictines to reform the monasteries of the Greeks. As for their possible Orthodox affiliations, there is precious little left for making any definite statements, on the one hand, because, for the majority, even the actual locations are scarcely evidenced, and, on the other hand – as has been pointed out – because properties of church architecture, space arrangement and decoration fail to correspond to rites or religious orders in Hungary.³⁹ The same is true for a handful of smaller churches considered to be Orthodox on account of their unconventional base plans and possibly their dedication, the foundations of which were uncovered during excavations (Gyöngyöspata, Berettyóújfalu-Andaháza, Hajdúhadház-Demeter, Monostorpályi etc.).⁴⁰

In church architecture, the early Árpád Era developed extremely varied types, with centrally positioned buildings occurring in a large number of instances. The most common type was the round church with an apse, spreading from the

³⁴ Lately on Pásztó, see: Valter, Ilona. *Pásztó a középkorban*, Budapest, 2018, 89–99, Pictures 5–8. See also: Takács, 2018, 121–123.

³⁵ The texts were published: Terebessy, Andronicus. *Translatio latina Sancti Maximi Confessoris (De Caritate ad Elpidium L. I–IV), saeculo XII*, in: *Hungaria confecta*, Budapest, 1944. Szigeti, Remigius L. *Translatio latina Ioannis Damasceni (De Orthodoxa Fide L. III. 1–8), saeculo XII*, in: *Hungaria confecta*, Budapest, 1940. Boronkai, Iván. Cerbanus Maximus Confessor- and Johannes Damascenus-fordítása, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 70(1966), 140–142. For a more recent discussion, see: Kapitánffy, István. Cerbanus és Maximus-fordítása, in: Takács, Imre – Szovák, Kornél (Eds.). *Mons Sacer, 996–1996: Pannonhalma 1000 éve*, I, Pannonhalma, 1996, 357–368.

³⁶ Fülöp, András – Koppány, András. A veszprémvölgyi apácakolostor régészeti kutatása, 1998–2002, *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, 12(2002), 1, 5–40. Takács, 2018, 226–227.

³⁷ Szentgyörgyi, Rudolf. A veszprémvölgyi monostor görög nyelvű adománylevele – Legelső hazai nyelvemlékünk? *Magyar Nyelv*, 108(2012), 303–322.

³⁸ Takács, 2018, Taf. XI–XII.

³⁹ The catalogue of the exhibition *Paradisum Plantavit* organised in Pannonhalma in 2001 enumerates 96 monasteries, with sources omitting to mention their Benedictine affiliations or even abbots, and, among the 69 verifiably Benedictine monasteries, the list also includes those that were originally Orthodox, such as that of St Andrew in Visegrád or of St Demetrius in Sremska Mitrovica, and Benedictine affiliations are acknowledged for many of the other monasteries only considerably later. Takács, 2001.

⁴⁰ Takács, 2018, 213–216, 237–239.

ducal and episcopal centres of Central Europe all the way to the smallest villages.⁴¹ Indirectly inspired by the Church of St Mary and of the Martyrs converted from the Pantheon of Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, they are thought to have emphasised a sense of martyrdom, in its original meaning connoting the earthly sites and traces of divine intervention, whereas, for circular and other centrally-positioned churches adjoining palaces, Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel in Aachen was also seen as a model.⁴² In Hungary, the earliest examples could include the one built within the Roman *castrum* in Alba Iulia, the Rotunda of St George in Veszprém and the three- or four-foiled 'St Peter's' church of Székesfehérvár, but several hundreds of them would be built by the 13th century, occasionally with six-foiled base plans (Kiszombor, Karcsa, Horyany [Gerény] and Mănăstur [Kolozsmonostor]). The latter arrangement is believed to have been modelled upon Dalmatian – Zadar – prototypes.

In 11th-century Hungarian church architecture, the demand for central positioning gave rise to more complex and more unexpected patterns as well: the Benedictine Abbeys of Szekszárd and Kaposzentjakab founded and built in the 1060s, as well as, subsequently, the five-nave church of Feldebrő, possibly dating from the late-11th century, arranging space around a central dome or, at times, around a tower, partly modelled on Central- or South-Italian churches unusual in their own environments, too, while barely letting types popular in the West or Byzantium come to the fore.⁴³ Central space arrangement and a central dome or tower in Feldebrő presumably served to highlight a centrally positioned shrine with unknown contents. In the rest, they must have been employed to supply a monumental frame for the founder's tomb.

The two most prominent examples of early church architecture in Hungary, the Provostal Churches of Székesfehérvár and Óbuda of royal foundation, had an enormous three-nave basilica space, corresponding to the ideal Roman base plan as it were.⁴⁴ In the early-11th century,

however, the sanctuary arrangement of the Basilica of Székesfehérvár, with its detached lateral spaces failed to meet the requirements of contemporary liturgy in the West and Byzantium alike. Thus, it has no evidenced coeval counterpart. Consequently, it is reasonable to speculate that the client commissioning the construction endeavoured to attain a unique synthesis. For a prototype, the closest place where the envoys of the Monarch could look to must have been the early-Byzantine basilicas of Ravenna, where Saint Stephen even built a pilgrims' house. Adjoining the sanctuary, the pastophorium-like ancillary spaces of these basilicas, originally used as libraries, archives and treasuries, appeared to lend themselves as the Kingdom's main secular and ecclesiastical treasury – seen as sacral – or as other archives in Stephen's burial church and, subsequently, the coronation church of the kings of Hungary. The mosaic decoration of the Royal Basilica of Székesfehérvár, rare in the West, probably made by Byzantine masters, as well as the splendour of its interior furnishings provided an even more idealistic Roman appearance, which must have been reminiscent of the early Christian basilicas of Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople for visitors. By contrast, in the lesser known construction of Óbuda, the memory of the Greek masters' activities was only maintained by tradition, with hitherto no known archaeological traces though.⁴⁵

At the beginning of the era of the Árpád Dynasty, prior to the flourishing of the Romanesque, similar 'Romanising' tendencies – though not straightforwardly imitative of ancient patterns – were prevalent in church interior decoration. In stone carving, this was primarily apparent in the development of a unique, interlacing acanthus-palmette style, as well as in the introduction of a partly North-Italian acanthus ornamentation, presumably informed by Aquileian patterns, in the 11th century (with the earliest instances dating from about 1040), alongside the ubiquitous looped ribbon-belt decoration of Roman origins.⁴⁶ These represent 'barbarian' continuations of Late

⁴¹ Gervers Molnár, Vera. *A középkori Magyarország rotundái* (Művészettörténeti füzetek, 4), Budapest, 1972. Takács, 2018, 177–189.

⁴² In the case of the circular church of St Vitus in Prague and a Polish church on the Island of Lednica (Ostrów Lednicki), explicit references are found to the Roman Church of St Mary (the Pantheon): Untermann, Matthias. *Der Zentralbauim Mittelalter: Form, Funktion, Verbreitung*, Darmstadt, 1989, 182, 185.

⁴³ Szakács, Béla Zsolt. Bizánc peremén: Rendi hovartartozás és térelrendezés korai monasztikus építészetünkben, in: Bojtos, Anita (Ed.). *Keleti keresztény kultúra, határainkon innen és túl*, Piliscsaba, Budapest, 2015, 166–179. Takács, 2018, 125–137, 157–176. Molnár, István. Újabb kutatás a kaposzentjakabi apátság templomának területén, *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 140(2015), 177–194.

⁴⁴ Beyond Late Antiquity, Miklós Takács derives this basilical space arrangement primarily from contemporary Byzantine and Balkan architecture (Takács, 2018, 65–94), an idea rejected by Béla Zsolt Szakács in his review: Szakács, Béla Zsolt. Bizánc ígésében, *Ars Hungarica*, 45(2019), 529–531.

⁴⁵ Bonfini, Antonio. *A magyar történelem tizedei*, Hungarian translation by Péter Kulcsár, Budapest, 1995, 257.

⁴⁶ Besides Melinda Tóth and Ernő Marosi, its chronology was most thoroughly treated by Sándor Tóth. Tóth, Sándor. *A 11. századi kőornamentika időrendjéhez*, in: Takács, 1994, 54–62. Id. *A 11–12. századi Magyarország Benedek-rendi templomainak maradványai*, in: Takács, 2001, 229–266, kat. V. 1–16. Subsequently, by the same author: *Román kori kőfaragványok a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria régi magyar*

Antiquity's building ornamentation and could look equally familiar to Italian, Dalmatian and Byzantine visitors, albeit corresponding to their own only in part.⁴⁷ In Benedictine churches (Kaposszentjakab, Pécsvárad or the so-called Provostal Church of Visegrád, and possibly even Zalavár), the elements of rood screens conformed to the art of contemporary Italian Benedictines – such as of the Mother Monastery of Monte Cassino – also representing a Latin version of Byzantine – imperial – art, at Byzantine imperial order.⁴⁸ Around 1080 – in some instances, by re-carving Roman stonework – a few specimens around the sarcophagus of Saint Stephen in Székesfehérvár would show signs of experimentation with the use of examples of Byzantine minor art as a source of inspiration, though applying these rather individualistically, in a manner unfamiliar in contemporary Europe.⁴⁹ Apart from the sarcophagus, another pinnacle of this style was the marble *Hodigitria*-type Theotokos icon of Pécsvárad, outstanding even its fragmentariness and the only surviving work of icon making in early-Árpád-era Hungary. The decoration featuring vine scrolls and birds in its frieze sets it apart from its Byzantine counterparts.⁵⁰

In the area of church furnishings, decoration with icons is scarcely evidenced aside from the Pécsvárad marble icon fragment, but a handful of metal icons (cf. the archaeological ensemble from Sálacea [*Szalács*] or Rakovac [*Dombó*]) hint that the use of icons must have been established, even though, similarly to their late successors, metal icons were mainly intended for private devotion rather than for liturgical use in church.⁵¹ Other liturgical objects, such as the fragment of an iron cross from a grave in Veszprém or a base perhaps made for

a cross from Beszterec,⁵² are marks of Byzantine liturgical praxis, though these were also used in Latin-rite churches.

Although, in painting, the hegemony of Byzantine art may well have been unbroken initially, only a minor fraction of this is accessible. This is attested by the insignificant fresco fragments from the church of the Csolt Monastery of Vésztő – e.g. a face, still reflective of conformity to the graphic patterns of the 10th century –⁵³ or a Byzantine fresco series, with the remnants of Greek letters, preserved in the aforementioned so-called Provostal Church of Visegrád in the form of tens of thousands of minute fragments, presumably comprising a *Life of the Virgin Mary* cycle, which was based on a Constantinopolitan antecedent. The Byzantine masters of the latter must have come to Hungary from Kiev in the company of King Andrew I or at his invitation, obviously, in the first place, to work on the decoration of the Greek Monastery of St Andrew, with no known remnants of similar frescoes from that location though.⁵⁴ The Visegrád ensemble, however, also diverges from its evidenced contemporaneous Byzantine counterparts in the depiction of the medallioned scenes of the footing showing animals in fight.

Further specimens of Byzantine art are known from Pécsvárad, and even some – by now lost – mosaic fragments from the Royal Basilica of Székesfehérvár also speak to the involvement of Constantinopolitan artists, but these are too fragmented to point to any internal continuity or school.⁵⁵ The fresco ensemble from the crypt of the church of Feldebrő, dating from a later period, is clearly a Romanesque cycle, and, although, Byzantine inspiration is more implicitly present in its style as well, its roots are to be found somewhere in Western Europe – perhaps in Italy.⁵⁶

gyűjteményében, Budapest, 2010, 11–22. Lately, it has been refined by Ernő Marosi: Művészet a királyi udvarban és udvari művészet az ország közepén, in: Benkő, Elek – Orosz, Krisztina (Eds.). *In medio regni Hungariae*, Budapest, 2015, 30–32.

⁴⁷ North-Italian and Dalmatian parallels of Corinthian capitals with *acanthus spinosa* ornaments have been investigated by several researchers; the latest overview of the subject is supplied in: Takács, 2018, 31–34.

⁴⁸ The Emperor Michael VII Doukas had a multi-tier iconostasis with enamel decoration made by Byzantine masters in Monte Cassino in an age when icon screens consisting of more than two rows were uncommon even in Byzantine churches. In that period, a significant portion of Southern Italy remained under Byzantine jurisdiction theoretically.

⁴⁹ Marosi, Ernő. Die Rolle der byzantinischen Beziehungen für die Kunst Ungarns im 11. Jahrhundert, in: Nickel, Heinrich L. (Hrsg.). *Byzantinischer Kunstexport*, Halle, 1978, 39–49. Tóth, Sándor. A 11. századi kőornamentika időrendjéhez, in: Takács, 1994, 54–62.

⁵⁰ Takács, 1994, kat. I. 28.

⁵¹ Nikolajevic, Ivanka: Depotfundbronzenener Kunstgegenstände aus Rakovac – ein Beispiel des Exports byzantinischer Kunst, in: Nickel, Heinrich L. (Hrsg.). *Byzantinischer Kunstexport*, Halle, 1978, 218–231. Takács, 2001, kat. III. 33–38.

⁵² Takács, 2001, kat. III. 32.

⁵³ Juhász, Irén. A Csolt nemzetség monostora, in: Kollár, Tibor (Ed.). *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*, Szeged 2000, 291–303, Pictures 1–4.

⁵⁴ Takács, 1994, kat. I. 17, kat. I–19. Mecs, Beatrix. Magyarország egyik legrégebbi festészeti emléke: A visegrádi esperesi templom falképtörédei, in: Tüskés, Anna (Ed.). *Ars perennis*, Budapest, 2010, 19–21. Kiss, Etele. Piroška-Eirene and the Holy Theotokos, in: Sággy, Marianne – Ousterhout, Robert G. (Eds.). *Piroška and the Pantokrator*, Budapest, 2019, 268–269.

⁵⁵ Dercsényi, Dezső. A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika, Budapest, 1943, Picture 49. Tóth, 1974, 23–25, Picture 18. Kürtösi, Brigitta M. Középkori mozaikletek a székesfehérvári királyi bazilikából: Készítéstechnikai és történeti kutatás, *ISIS Erdélyi Magyar Restaurátor Füzetek*, 14(2014), 7–13, 89–93. In more detail: <https://docplayer.hu/25858172-Magyarorszag-mozaikletek-archeometriai-vizsgalata.html> (accessed: 11 March 2020).

⁵⁶ Tóth, 1974, 27–37, Pictures 20–29.

From the late Árpád Era, additional Byzantine-style frescoes are also documented from the Southern Territories of the Kingdom of Hungary (Franciscan church, Sremska Mitrovica, and Koprivna [Kaporna]),⁵⁷ along with the frescoes associated with the retinue of Béla IV and his wife, Maria Laskarina, from the lower church of the 'Giselle' Chapel, including the Apostle series and fragments of the *Crucifixion* with the head of the Virgin Mary. The influence of this aulic style of Byzantine origins is palpable in Christ's head, devoid of a context, in Zsámbék, as well as in some of the saints in the window of the Castle Chapel of Lockenhaus (Léka) or in the altarpiece fresco of St George's church in Ják showing Saint George the Dragon Slayer. Nonetheless, these all adorned Catholic churches as well.⁵⁸ It would be intriguing to know what little pictures Saint Margaret of Hungary decorated her private oratory with – a circumstance recorded in her canonisation documents; these might well have been examples of Byzantine or of a peculiar Crusader icon painting. Unfortunately, no items from this category or any comparable specimens are evidenced from Hungary to date.⁵⁹ By contrast, the grandiose mosaic icon of the Virgin Mary kept by the Poor Clares of Krakow could in fact originate in the Court of Béla IV, from Maria Laskarina's dowry – according to contemporary records – as the gift of her sister-in-law, Blessed Salomea of Poland, consort and, subsequently, widow of Coloman, King of Halych (Picture 8).⁶⁰

It is also of a symbolic value that the first dated fresco ensemble of Transylvania, marking the end of the Árpád Era and the beginning of the Anjou Era (i.e. a possible alternative to the former) was created in the current Calvinist church of Sântămăria-Orlea (Óraljaboldogfalva) by the masters of the late-Byzantine fresco-painting school epitomised by the name of Milutin, King of Serbia, though, this time, free from inscriptions, displaying an elaborate *Life of the Virgin Mary* cycle and the scene of the finding of the Holy Cross. Here, the representation of the donator with a Latin inscription, dated to 1311, serves as an allusion to



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the fact that, notwithstanding the by then predominant Romanian population in the environment of Hatég (*Hátszeg*), this church was not Orthodox.⁶¹ This fresco ensemble may also be juxtaposed with a handful of sporadic early-14th-century instances of wall painting in Transylvania and Upper Hungary, showing strong Byzantine influence, such as a Calvary scene from Viștea (*Magyarvista*) or the frescoes of the Antonine Monastery of Dravce (*Szepesdaróc*). However, these connections remain largely unexplored.

In sum, it is appropriate to assert that the presence and influence of Greek ecclesiastical and liturgical tradition are considerably more important than what would be justified by the basically Latin character of King Saint

⁵⁷ Jeremić, Miroslav. Sirmium – Civitas Sancti Demetrii, in: Kollár, Tibor (Ed.). *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon*, Budapest 2010, 605–663. Rostás, Tibor. Graeco opere – görög modorban, I, Szávaasztendemetér és Kaporna 13. századi falképei, in: Tüskés, Anna (Ed.). *Ars perennis*, Budapest, 2010, 31–41.

⁵⁸ Tóth, 1974, 53–56, 59, Pictures 61–62. Rostás, Tibor. Graeco opere – görög modorban, II, A veszprémi „Gizella-kápolna” és a lékai várkápolna 13. századi falképei, in: Székely, Miklós (Ed.). *Kóstolni a szép-tudományba: Tanulmányok a Fiatal Művészettörténészek IV. konferenciájának előadásából*, Budapest, 2014, 9–32.

⁵⁹ *Árpád-házi Szent Margit legrégebb legendája és szentté avatási pere*, Hungarian translation by Ibolya Bellus and Zsuzsanna Szabó, Budapest, 1999, 43, 136.

⁶⁰ Dańb-Kalinowska, Barbara. Die Krakauer Mosaikikone, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 22(1973), 285–299. Rózycka-Bryzek, Anna. Mozaikowa ikona Matki Boskiej Hagiosoritissy w klasztorzess: Klarysek w Krakowie, in: Gadomski, Jan et al (Eds.). *Magistro et Amico amici discipulique Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Kraków, 2002, 405–426.

⁶¹ Most extensively described in: Szabó, Tekla. Női viseletek az óraljaboldogfalvi falképen: Nyugat és kelet találkozása, in: Tibor, Kollár (Ed.). *A szörvény emlékei*, Budapest, 2013, 167–216. More recently: Prioteasa, Elena Dana. *Medieval Wall-Paintings in Transylvanian Orthodox Churches*, Bucharest, Cluj, 2016, 174–176, Fig. 6–10.

Stephen's church organising efforts. On the one hand, the Christian vocabulary of the Hungarian language – singularly, almost exclusively Slavic in origin – has preserved the imprint of Hierotheos's Orthodox missionary work, though, as noted for Sremska Mitrovica, the service conducted in Hungarian as well would lapse into oblivion completely. On the other hand, this ritual praxis may have been familiar not only to the peoples of the Southern Territories but even to many of the kings of Hungary and their family members, from monasteries of royal foundation, in Visegrád, Veszprémvölgy and elsewhere. Two characteristics of the early Hungarian Church inherited from the Greeks – the practice of the Great Blessing of Waters and the Orthodox observance of Great Lent – are immortalised, transmitted and also explained by two unparalleled and significant objects of Byzantine origin: the aspersion of Beszterec and the lower section of the Holy Crown of Hungary. Along with the institution of a married clergy, some of these customs may have been consigned to history by the 12th century, while further Orthodox elements would be incorporated by the end of the century, such as the elevation of Saint Demetrius as a patron saint of the country⁶² or the celebration of abstract and mystical feasts such as the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple.

At the same time, specimens of Byzantine heritage surviving in or associated with Hungary may frequently be traced to a significant Byzantine or Balkan network of connections of the Hungarian Royal Dynasty. The respective items are, in a number of instances, truly unique, thus, at times, even calling their Byzantine affiliation into question. With the Romanesque becoming general, the possibility of an alternative and hence Byzantine influences tended to fade. The only area where their continuation was nonetheless most pronounced to the end of the era of the Árpád Dynasty and even beyond was painting.

Nevertheless, openness to innovation would persist, exemplified by a number of innovations attributed to Béla III thanks to a 'Roman' background acquired in Constantinople, including the introduction of red marble and the Gothic, but, much later, even the beginning of Renaissance also had such a 'Roman' background in the time of Matthias Corvinus. In imperial terms, this would correspond to the unique western transformation in Byzantine culture initiated by Piroska-Eirene, wife of John II Komnenos, opening the culture of the Komnenian era to universality more than anything else.⁶³

The present paper has been an attempt to relate these new phenomena – the maintenance of the possibility of



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choice – to a sense of new Romanness – the new People of God – a notion which would from time to time be raised by the leading elite from the time of the establishment of the Kingdom, though mostly only intuitively and instinctively, with its verbal exponents hardly known at all. In this ideal case, the two sides of Romanness – Greek and Latin – would appear as one another's complements, as evident in the Holy Crown of Hungary, duly conveying Hungarian liberty in multiple dimensions – along with the need for universality. Thus, in this respect, no other European symbol is likely to be its match.

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⁶² For more detail on this subject, see: Tóth, Péter (Ed.). *Szent Demeter: Magyarország elfeledett védőszentje*, Budapest, 2007.

⁶³ Sággy, Marianne – Ousterhout, Robert G. (Eds.). *Piroska and the Pantokrator*, Budapest, 2019.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF ECCLESIASTICAL UNIONS

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II.1.1 The Antecedents, Conclusion and Outcome of the Union of Uzhhorod (Ungvár)

Tamás Véghseő

The historical development of Hungary's Greek Catholic Churches began in different periods of the 17th century. The first union was concluded in the southern portions of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1611 with the Orthodox South Slavs fleeing the Ottoman Turks north.¹ In the middle of the century, communities of Rusyns living in the north-eastern regions of the Kingdom were organised into a Church united with Rome starting with the 1646 Union of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*).² From the final years of the 17th century, Romanians from Transylvania and the Partium would join the Catholic Church in large numbers through the Union of Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár*).³

A factor with fundamental consequences for the situation of 17th-century Hungary was the division of the country into three parts, a condition that would last from 1541 for as long as a hundred-and-fifty years. After the devastating Battle of Mohács in 1526, the central part of the country would gradually be incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. Western and northern areas were under the authority of the Hapsburgs as kings of Hungary. (This entity is referred to as Royal Hungary.) As a vassal Ottoman state, the eastern part of the country and Transylvania were organised into an autonomous principality. Relations between the Principality of Transylvania and Royal Hungary centred in Vienna were riddled with severe political tensions, culminating in military clashes. The tripartite division of the country would gradually cease to exist from the last decade of the 17th century: First, the Principality of Transylvania was integrated into the Hapsburg Empire, and, subsequently, as a result of the Ottoman-Hapsburg wars, the territory under Ottoman occupation was also liberated.

Contemporaneously with the Ottoman advance and the division of the country into three parts, the ideologies of the Reformation emerged, gaining ground relatively rapidly in all three sections of the country. Besides the Lutheran, Calvinist and Zwinglian movements of the Reformation, the Radical Reformation also appeared in Transylvania with the creation of the Unitarian Church. By the end of the 16th century, as a result of the internal struggles of Hungarian Protestantism, various Protestant

denominations had been formed: The majority was constituted by a uniquely Hungarian version of the Calvinist-Zwinglian movement, institutionalised as the Hungarian Reformed Church. The Principality of Transylvania became their chief stronghold, but they also consolidated their positions in the territories under Ottoman occupation, as well as – thanks to the involvement of a few influential aristocratic families – in Royal Hungary, too. Although a denomination surpassed in size, the Evangelical Church constructed upon Lutheran foundations also became a force to reckon with on account of the Lutheranised cities and towns and endorsement by the aristocracy.⁴

The Catholic Church suffered serious losses. By the end of the 16th century, only a mere 10 per cent of the population of the three sections of the country had remained Catholic. At the same time, as a Hungarian peculiarity, Catholic ecclesiastical structures had been left intact. Episcopal sees were not transformed into Protestant church centres. Protestant denominations under formation created completely new ecclesiastical centres. Church estates were mainly expropriated by aristocratic families. A significant proportion of the Catholic lower clergy and of the religious joined one of the branches of the Reformation, whereas the replacement of senior clergy from the new generations was not ensured due to the power struggle over the right of appointment. Late-16th-century Catholic conditions are well illustrated by the data that, in 1590, there were as few as three very old bishops in Royal Hungary. The Catholic senior clergy were expelled from the territories under Ottoman occupation and the Principality of Transylvania.⁵

A way out from the hopeless situation of Catholicism in Hungary was represented by the reform programme of the Council of Trent. The leading figure and an iconic character of the Hungarian Catholic renewal was Péter Pázmány, a Jesuit and subsequently Cardinal and Archbishop of Esztergom, who reversed the situation of Hungarian Catholicism during his three-decade long activities, which lasted until 1637. The success of his efforts would be encapsulated by posterity in the

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¹ On union in the Southern Territories of historic Hungary, see: Šimrak, 1931; Horányi, 1936; Džudžar, 1986; Ikić, 1989; Molnár, 2008.

² On the Union of Uzhhorod, see: Hodinka, 1909; Lacko, 1965; Véghseő, 2011.

³ On the development of the Greek Catholic Church in the Partium, see: Ghitta, 2008; Gorun, 2008; Véghseő, 2003, as well as, from the extensive literature on the union of Transylvanian Romanians: Bârlea, 1990; Suttner, 2005; Suttner, 2008.

⁴ In more detail: Bitskey, István. *Hítviták tűzében*, Budapest, 1978. On the activities of the Catholic Church in the territories under Ottoman occupation, see: Molnár, Antal. *Magyar hódoltság, horvát hódoltság: Magyar és horvát katolikus intézmények az oszmán uralom alatt* (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek / Értekezések), Budapest, 2019.

⁵ For more detail on the 16th-century conditions of the Catholic Church, see: Hermann, Eged. *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig*, Munich, 1973, 209–229.

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following – no doubt – hyperbolic assertion: ‘Pázmány was born in a Protestant Hungary and died in a Catholic Hungary.’ His name became synonymous with the re-Catholicisation of a number of aristocratic families, the renewal and institutionalisation of priest training, the founding of a university, the laying of the foundations of Catholic theological literature in Hungarian and the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. He generated a layer of clerics that would be capable of continuing the work of Catholic revival after his death. By doing so, he paved the way for further development, leading to a situation in which Catholics would be the majority within the population of the Kingdom of Hungary in the middle of the 18th century.⁶

Notwithstanding every effort by Pázmány and his successors, the outcome reached in Poland failed to materialise in Hungary: Poland had travelled a similar journey, but, responding to the spread of Protestantism, the Counter-Reformation scored a resounding victory there and created a 100-per-cent Catholic Poland. With the political and military support of the Calvinist Principality of Transylvania, Protestantism in Hungary achieved recognition in a legal sense and would continue to be a consequential factor.

Thus, in the Kingdom of Hungary, it was two major Protestant denominations – Lutheran and Calvinist – as well as the Catholic Church that underwent the process described by the term confessionalisation (German: *Konfessionalisierung*) in historiography. Western-European historiography already defined the characteristics of the process of confessionalisation common to all confessions a decade ago. In brief, these are the following: 1. consciousness of being in exclusive possession of truth leading to Salvation; 2. development of clear creed formulas and repudiation of possibilities of heterodox interpretations; 3. provision of capable representatives for articles of faith (trained priests, ministers and school masters); 4. creation of a confession-specific education system; 5. reorganisation of the education system and endeavour to secure educational monopoly; 6. use of religious propaganda and censorship; 7. development of forms of worship characteristic of the given confession and accentuation of

rites distinct from those of other confessions; 8. evolution of distinctive language use; 9. development of instruments of intra-confessional control (synods, visitations, catalogues, church records) and removal of dissidents; 10. creation of an ecclesiastical structure of its own; 11. symbiosis with state authorities.⁷

As a result of the process of confessionalisation, Hungary’s Catholic Church and Protestant Churches enabled high-quality church life, as well as an ecclesiastical culture and academia with respectable European ties. The latter were based on the relations built in educational centres in Germany in the case of Protestants, while, for Catholics, in Rome.⁸ In sum, it may be concluded that the process of confessionalisation was simultaneously a modernisation process as well on the Catholic and Protestant side alike.

Orthodox communities living among Catholics and Protestants in different regions of the Kingdom of Hungary were completely avoided by this modernisation process. While, in their environment, drawing on foreign impulses, the Catholic and Protestant denominations experienced spectacular development in the area of ecclesiastical life, to Hungary’s Orthodox living in the peripheries of Orthodoxy, progress remained out of reach. Both Balkan and Slavic Orthodoxy went through a period of crisis at the time. New impulses or innovative ideas were not to be expected from either region. Moreover, in this period, both the Greek and the Slavic Orthodox elites tended to establish contact with western Protestant communities in an effort to acquire up-to-date reformatory inspirations.⁹

Thus, for Hungary’s Orthodox communities, the query how to open the way to modernity and to a new era in their context was raised as a vital question.

It is at this point that the concept of union needs to be elucidated in the light of the prevailing historical context.

Ecclesiastical union is first and foremost the moment when canonical unity broken by the Schism is restored. In the history of the Church, the most important union, subsequently looked upon as a model, was the agreement made at the Council of Florence in 1439, which was supposed to eliminate the split of 1054 between Rome and Constantinople. In the Union of

⁶ On the life and work of Pázmány, see: Bitskey, István. *Pázmány Péter*, Budapest, 1986.

⁷ Cf. Tusor, Péter. A katolikus felekezetszervezés problémái az 1630–1640-es évek fordulóján (Egy Rómába írt egri püspöki jelentés alapján), in: Szabó, András (Ed.). *Mezőváros, reformáció és irodalom (16–18. század)*, Budapest, 2005, 123–124. For more detail on the process of confessionalisation, see: Reinhard, Wolfgang. *Felekezet és felekezetszerveződés Európában: A tudományos diskurzus fejleményei*, Budapest, 2017.

⁸ In the case of Catholics, the German-Hungarian College played a prominent role. Cf. Bitskey, István. *Hungariából Rómába: A római Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum és a magyarországi barokk művelődés*, Budapest, 1996.

⁹ Florovskij, Georgij. *Vie della teologia russa*, Genova, 1987, 53.

Florence, urged by the Ottoman threat yet short-lived, a consensus was reached on the questions of papal primacy, the *Filioque*, purgatory and the material of the Eucharist. Although the Union concluded with the Greeks – also signed by Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev – did not last for long, it would serve as a model for the unity to be attained with the Syriacs, Chaldeans, Copts and Armenians in the years to come.

The Florentine model of ecclesiastical union is essentially based on compromise reached by the opposing parties through negotiations. In post-Tridentine Catholic Church, the definition of union would change, with the understanding that union meant the return of Eastern Christians from a state of schism to the Catholic Church becoming prevalent.¹⁰ Such a return could be made contingent on certain conditions, but it is basically not about an agreement between equal parties but about the Catholic Church readmitting Eastern Christians who became schismatic over time.

Ecclesiastical unions in Eastern- and Central-Europe would be defined by this way of thinking. This attitude may be discerned for the first time in the late-16th-century union of the Church of the Ruthenians of Poland, the Metropolitanate of Kiev and the bishoprics under its jurisdiction (Union of Brest, 1596). The Union was advocated by the Ruthenian bishops themselves as they hoped that restoration of unity with the Catholic Church would enable reforms in their ecclesiastical life, ensure their social progress and curb the menace of assimilation, while contributing to the preservation of the Byzantine Rite and their ecclesiastical traditions. However, at the conclusion of the Union, not all of the Ruthenian bishops were in attendance, and a parallel, i.e. Orthodox, hierarchy would soon evolve. Therefore, alongside the Greek Catholic Church known today as Ukrainian, a Ruthenian/Ukrainian Orthodox Church would also remain.¹¹ At the same time, this exposes one of the most distressing aspects of modern-era ecclesiastical unions as well: Even though targeting the restoration of the unity of the Church, they almost invariably result in divisions in the Eastern-rite Churches concerned.

17th-century ecclesiastical unions in Hungary would be modelled upon the Union of Brest. The main difference was though that Orthodox ecclesiastical structure was not by far as well-organised and unified as that of the Ruthenian Church, and the social stratification of the Orthodox population was also simpler than in Poland. The nobility and the middle class were insignificant, and an ecclesiastical organisation properly regulated under public law and acknowledged by the country's legislation was lacking, too. Hungary's Orthodox lived on the peripheries even in two senses: in the frontiers of East-Slavic and Balkan Orthodoxy, as well as on the periphery of Hungarian society. The latter is more relevant since the presence or absence of social integration is by no means an insignificant factor in relation to either everyday existence or ecclesiastical life.

Social groups of Byzantine-rite Christians would for long escape the attention of the majority of society: 'Nobody had their welfare at heart' – as a clerk of the Hungarian Royal Council put it in 1642.¹² As their own internal resources were insufficient, the idea of union as a solution did not originate with the Byzantine-rite communities as it did in the case of the Ruthenians of Poland but much more from the Catholic and Protestant milieu around them.

For, when the process of confessionalisation appeared to come to a close, and dividing lines between the Catholic and Protestant denominations were drawn and consolidated, interest in Orthodoxy increased on the part of Catholics and Calvinists alike. Regarding the reformation and social integration of these church communities, a Catholic and a Protestant alternative was formulated respectively. As the scope of the present discussion does not allow for a treatment of the features of the Protestant alternative, the details of which are still lesser known, it will suffice to note that it was implemented in the Principality of Transylvania and in the estates of the Calvinist ducal family, the Rákóczi, in North-Eastern Hungary, and it aimed to lead the respective Romanian and Rusyn Orthodox communities to Calvinist Reformation through the liturgical and church

¹⁰ On the Florentine and Tridentine models, see: Szabó, Péter. A keleti közösségek katolikus egyházba tagozásának ekkleziológiai elvei és jogi struktúrái az uniók korában, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Rómából Hungáriába: A De Camillis János József munkácsi püspök halálának 300. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai*, Nyíregyháza, 2008, 15–33.

¹¹ On the Union of Brest, see: Dmitriev, Mihail. Historische Voraussetzungen und die Genese der Union von Brest: Fakten und Deutungen, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 56(2007), 322–343. For the documents of the Union of Brest, see: Suttner, Ernst Chr. – Zelzer, Klaus – Zelzer, Michaela. Dokumente der Brester Union, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 56(2007), 275–321.

¹² Véghseő, 2011, 33.

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use of the vernacular.¹³ The experiment is most important from the point of view of the liturgical introduction of the Romanian language since the use of Romanian in the liturgy began in the Romanian and subsequently Greek Catholic Churches of Transylvania at the encouragement of the Calvinist Princes.¹⁴

As opposed to the Calvinist alternative, the ecclesiastical union offered by the Catholics – albeit Tridentine in its spirituality – proved to be considerably more attractive from the perspective of guaranteeing the survival of Eastern theology and church traditions, i.e. the Byzantine Rite.

Although the Union of Márcsa in 1611 was chronologically the first one, in significance, it was eclipsed by the union of the Byzantine-rite Christians – predominantly Ruthenians/Rusyns – living in as many as thirteen counties in the north-eastern region of the Kingdom of Hungary. In this region, Byzantine-rite Christianity was introduced by immigrating Ruthenians, appearing in ever greater numbers from the time of the Mongol Invasion.¹⁵ Socially, organised colonisation and spontaneous settlement affected serfdom because Hungary's demesnes of the Crown and private feudal estates were in need of agrarian population. From areas north east of the Carpathian Mountains, frequently entire villages relocated, bringing not only their priests but – in many cases – even their wooden churches with them. A unique case in colonisation history is the settlement of Fyodor Koriatovych, Prince of Podolia, in the late 14th century, fleeing to Hungary after his conflict with Vytautas the Great, Grand Duke of Lithuania. He was granted the Demesne of Mukacheve by Sigismund, King of Hungary. This decision would have great importance for the Greek Catholic history of the region. Koriatovych in fact founded a monastery and a church in Mukacheve-Chernecha Hora (*Munkács-Csernekhegy*), functioning as a clan burial place (Picture 1). Although the Koriatovych family failed to give rise to a dynasty, the monastery would remain. Moreover, going through an atypical process of development, the prior (*hegumen*) of the monastery was ranked as bishop as of the late



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15th century. In a legal sense, the Bishop of the Monastery of Mukacheve was not considered a hierarchy with regular jurisdiction over a specific geographical area. His appointment was not dependent on the monarch, either, but on the private feudal lord owing the Demesne of Mukacheve at the time. It would be appropriate to speak about 'quasi-jurisdiction' exercised as a function of momentary power relations and possibilities.¹⁶ The Bishop himself, the other monastics of the Monastery and the priests working in the area all lived in bondage and did not possess the same rights as the Catholic clergy and later the Protestant church elite had.¹⁷

At the beginning of the 17th century, the Demesne of Mukacheve was acquired by the Rákóczi, who also obtained the Principality of Transylvania. Thus, the Monastery was placed under Calvinist control. The similarly prominent adjacent Demesne of Uzhhorod, however, was possessed by the Homonnai-Drugeths having returned to the Catholic Church. Catholic-Calvinist rivalry in the region encompassed the Orthodox population as well. Jesuits and missionaries of other religious orders operating in the estates of Catholic landowners not only strove to re-convert Calvinists but also attempted to convert Byzantine-rite Christians to

¹³ A case in point is the safe-conduct document of John Sigismund Zápolya, Prince of Transylvania, issued to the Monastery of Mukacheve (*Munkács*) in 1570, pledging free practice of religion but also stipulating that the activities of Protestant preachers be hampered by no-one. Hodinka, 1911, 17–19.

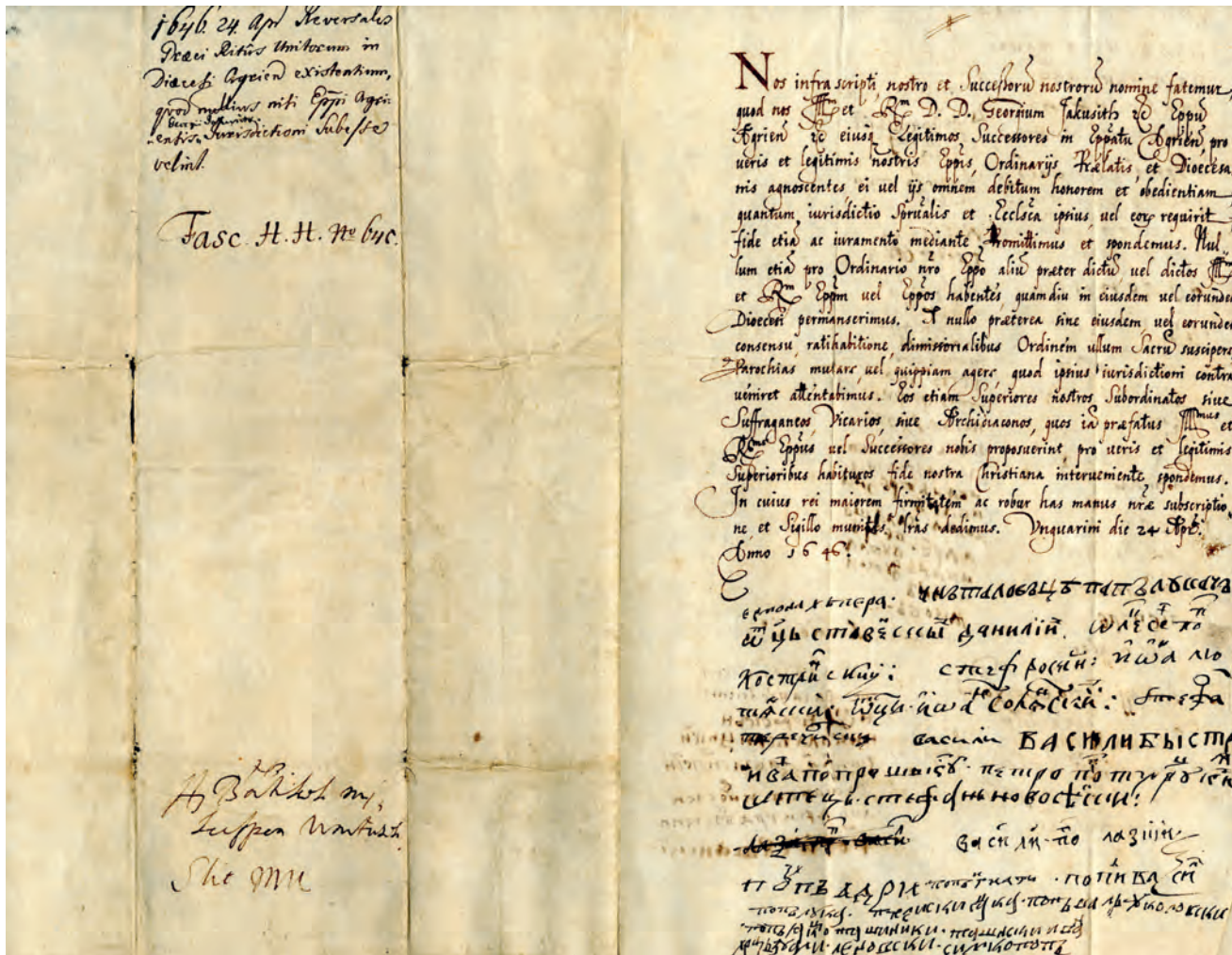
¹⁴ For a more recent discussion on the subject, see: Nagy, Levente. Kálvinista és/vagy katolikus unió: A reformáció helyzete az erdélyi románok közt a 17. század végén, *Századok*, 152(2018), 623–650.

¹⁵ On the Ruthenians (Rusyns) in more detail, see: Bonkáló, 1996 and Hodinka, 1923.

¹⁶ For more detail, see: Hodinka, 1909, 90–175.

¹⁷ 'It is an uneducated and simple people, all peasants and villagers. Almost none of them is literate, and only few are adept at the handling of weapons. Nearly all of them deal with farming and animal husbandry' (translated from the Hungarian original) – as György Lippay, Bishop of Eger, describes them. Tusor, 2002, 204.

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the Latin Rite.¹⁸ Conversely, on the Calvinist side, efforts were made to create a Byzantine-rite Church with a Calvinist character.

Despite some success in conversion to the Latin Rite, the Homonnai-Drugeths did not approve of this method. As the family also owned lands in neighbouring Poland, they were able to follow the practical implementation of the late-16th-century Union of Brest. Union defined as regulated incorporation into the Catholic Church seemed to be substantially more expeditious in the long term than plain Latinisation triggering considerable resistance in the populace. Attempts to adopt the Polish practice were made as early as 1614, when, under the direction of Atanasij Krupeckyj, Bishop of Przemyśl, György Homonnai-Drugeth sought to proclaim union with the Catholic

Church in the Demesne of Uzshorod. The attempt was a spectacular failure because the Bishop of Mukacheve living under Calvinist control, i.e. the actual leader of Byzantine-rite Christians, was left out of the respective processes.¹⁹

A breakthrough was enabled from 1633, when Bishop Bazil Taraszovics from Poland was made head of the Monastery of Mukacheve, who was ready for the union. This time, on the Catholic side, he could count not only on the lay Catholic landowner but on the active involvement of György Lippay as well, who entered the Episcopate of Eger in 1637.

Union also endorsed by the Bishop of Mukacheve was to be concluded in December 1640, with Bishop Lippay and Bazil Taraszovics having agreed even on the time and place of the event. However, the Rákóczi

¹⁸ Tusor, 2002, 206.

¹⁹ For more detail on the Krasny Brod (*Krasznibród*) attempt, see: Véghseő, 2011, 30–32.

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obtained knowledge of the clandestine talks, and Bazil Taraszovics was thrown into captivity by the landowner's men in Mukacheve.²⁰

Although Bishops of Mukacheve had been subject to similar atrocities by the landowners in the preceding decades, Taraszovics's arrest activated hitherto unknown forces. As he was sent to the dungeon of Mukacheve on account of his intention to join the Catholic Church, the Court, the Bishop of Esztergom and – via the Nunciature in Vienna – even the Holy See would take action to ensure his release. Due to the strong Catholic intervention, the Rákóczis were obliged to free the Bishop but forbade him to return to the Monastery of Mukacheve.²¹

Even though the exposed attempt of Bishop Taraszovics failed, it did signal that the process was unstoppable. He may have been excluded from controlling the flow of events, his attempt nevertheless prompted the Homonnai-Drugeths – especially the wife of Lord Chief Justice János Homonnai-Drugeth, Anna Jakusics – to mount additional efforts. With the involvement of Péter Parthén and Gábor Kossovics, Basilian monks from Poland authorised by Anna Jakusics, following several years of preparations, the event that is known to posterity as the Union of Uzhhorod took place on 24 April 1646 (Picture 2). Much as the actual sequence of what happened awaits clarification even today,²² it is a fact that, in those years, the Greek Catholic Church was born in the Demesne of Uzhhorod, under the following three conditions:

1. Following the endorsement of the Union, the Byzantine Rite would remain intact; in other words, the Catholic side would not make any attempt at introducing the Latin Rite.

2. The leader of the community would be appointed by way of election, in accordance with centuries-old traditions. The election would be confirmed by the Holy See.

3. Priests accepting the Union would receive the same rights and privileges the Latin-rite priests had.

In return for the fulfilment of these three conditions, the Greek Catholics recognised the supremacy of the Pope and the teaching of the Catholic Church.²³

The initiative starting in Uzhhorod would spread in the north-eastern regions of the country slowly. In the Demesne of Mukacheve, the Union could be implemented only after 1660, when Prince György Rákóczi died, and his widow, Zsófia Báthory, returned to the Catholic Church. The Monastery became Greek Catholic only in 1664, once Taraszovics's successor, Bishop Péter Parthén, elected in 1651, had been granted permission by Zsófia Báthory to take possession of the Monastery.²⁴ In the ensuing years and decades, the Union would expand to the south and west alike, but it would only come to a close with the union of the Maramureş (*Máramaros*) region in 1721.

Union in itself represented only the beginning of the integration of Byzantine-rite Christians, and its wider dissemination suffered significant delay owing to a few hindrances. Three of these must be highlighted here:

Lack of regulation in the status of Byzantine-rite ecclesiastical organisation under public and canon law

Under Hungarian public and canon law, the Bishopric of Mukacheve was non-existent. Therefore, the appointment of the Bishop of Mukacheve was also an unresolved matter. As advowee, Zsófia Báthory, insisted on keeping the right of appointment for herself as it had always been

²⁰ Véghseő, 2011, 43–48.

²¹ Véghseő, 2011, 50–53.

²² The succession of events reconstructed by Antal Hodinka (Hodinka, 1909, 252–319), which would come to be accepted by subsequent scholarship as well (e.g. Lacko, 1965), is fundamentally questioned by the document of the Union of Uzhhorod of 24 April 1646 discovered in 2015. This in fact does not contain the conditions of union but merely a declaration by sixty-three Orthodox priests that hereinafter they would recognise the Bishop of Eger as their hierarch (cf. Gradoš, 2016). The new discovery also allows for new theories. Thus, it would appear legitimate to assume that the clerical meeting on St George's Day (24 April, i.e. the name-day of György Jakusics, Bishop of Eger) was a recurrent occasion in the 1640s. This is also bound to modify the interpretation of the data in the Greek Catholic archdeans' letter to the Pope from 1652 suggesting that the Union of Uzhhorod took place on 24 April 1649. Hodinka regarded the 1649 date as a simple typo, which would be supported by the circumstance that Bishop Jakusics mentioned in the letter by name had died in 1647. However, as on 24 April 1646, the conditions of union discussed in detail in the archdeans' 1652 letter were not specified, it is well conceivable that union was achieved in multiple steps: recognising the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Eger at the St George's Day clerical meeting in 1646 and formulating the conditions of union in 1649. Not only can it not be ruled out but it even seems highly probable that there were such clerical convocations in 1647 and 1648 as well, an 'institution' (i.e. a meeting of the clergy of a particular region in the centre of the respective region) that was evidenced both before and after the Union.

²³ For more detail, see: Hodinka, 1909, 252–319; Lacko, 1965, 91–113; Véghseő, Tamás. *Unió, integráció, modernizáció: A Rómával való egység háttere a munkácsi püspökségben (17. század közepe)*, *Athanasiana*, 32(2009), 9–36; Véghseő, 2011, 53–61.

²⁴ Véghseő, 2011, 61–68.

one of the rights of the local landowner. By contrast, the argument of the Royal Court was that the Union, i.e. integration into the Catholic Church, had fundamentally altered the situation, making the appointment of the Bishop of Mukacheve a right of patronage. Lack of regulation in the matter entailed that, from 1665 to 1689, i.e. in a period crucial to the spread and consolidation of the Union, the community was not headed by a bishop, but rivaling candidates appointed in Vienna or by Zsófia Báthory would vie for jurisdiction instead.²⁵ The problem was solved in 1689, when, on the initiative of Cardinal Lipót Kollonich, Leopold I, King of Hungary, appointed János József De Camillis Bishop of Mukacheve (1689–1706), who succeeded in laying the foundations of a Tridentine-type reform of the Greek Catholic clergy.²⁶ Since the Principality of Transylvania was also incorporated into the Hapsburg Empire in 1690, the right of appointment was unequivocally removed from the scope of advowson thereafter. In agreement with the Holy See, the Viennese Court intended to rectify the unregulated status of the Bishopric under public and canon law by placing it under the jurisdiction of the territorially competent Bishop of Eger. This decision did not cause any problems in the life of Bishop De Camillis because Cardinal Lipót Kollonich ensured free operation for the Bishop of Mukacheve against the Bishop of Eger. Following Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711), however, Gábor Erdődy, Bishop of Eger, took the initiative and appointed De Camillis's successor, Gennadius Bizánczy, as his own Vicar (a so-called 'rite-vicar') in 1715 and demanded that he take an oath of allegiance.²⁷ From that point, the institution of 'rite-vicariate' would be a source of severe conflicts between the Greek Catholic

clergy and the Bishopric of Eger. Greek Catholics lodging an appeal with the Holy See suffered defeat in 1718 as the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* approved the practice of the Bishops of Eger,²⁸ who employed the 'rite-vicariate' to hamper the development of the Greek Catholic Church even when Bishop Bizánczy was alive.

The difficulties of reinforcing Tridentine-type reforms

One of the most important arguments in favour of regulated integration into the Catholic Church was that the Union would enable the Greek Catholics to share in the benefits accumulated by the Catholic Church thanks to the Tridentine reform. Thus, the Church of Byzantine-rite Christians could also be given a chance to organise itself into a confession in the modern sense and create an ecclesiastical life according to the standards of the period. In this regard, a key component would have been establishing the system of Tridentine-type priest training or, at a minimum, ensuring that Greek Catholic seminarians would have access to places where Latin-rite priest education was provided. The first initiatives producing concrete results happened only about half a century after the Union of Uzshorod. Bishop De Camillis made the resolution of the issue of priest training a central theme of his episcopal programme. He repeatedly requested help from his advocate Cardinal Lipót Kollonich and the Sovereign to establish a seminary of his own. However, he scored success only during the final years of his episcopacy. Thanks to Kollonich, from 1704, the studies of a few seminarians from the Eparchy of Mukacheve in Trnava (*Nagyszombat*) would be financed from a permanent fund, the so-called Jány

²⁵ For more detail on the candidates for the episcopate, see: Baran, Alexander. *Quaedam ad Biographiam Josephi Volosynovskij Episcopi Mucacovoensis* (1667), *Analecta OSBM*, Section II, Volume VIII (XIV), 1–2, 1954, 209–227; Id. Archiepiscopus Theophanes Maurocordato eiusque activitatis in Eparchia Mukacoviensis, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 27(1961), 115–130; Id. Archiepiscopus Raphael Havrilovič eiusque activitatis in eparchia Mukačoviensis, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 31(1965), 119–124; Baán, István. A munkácsi püspöki szék betöltése 1650 és 1690 között, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *A görög katolikus örökségkutatás útjai: A Nikolaus Nilles SJ halálának 100. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai*, Nyíregyháza, 2010, 161–166; Id. *Theofánisz Mavrogordatosz (1626–1688), paronaxiai metropolita, munkácsi adminisztrátor – Theophanes Mavrogordatos (1626–1688), Metropolitan of Paronaxia and Adminsitrator of Munkács, Nyíregyháza*, 2012; Véghseő, Tamás. „...patriarcham graecum convertit ad unionem...”: A római Német–Magyar Kollégium három egykori növendéke és az ungvári unió, *Athanasiana*, 23(2006), 29–48; Id. A bazilita Kulczycky Porphyrius munkácsi helynök négy levele Kollonich Lipót bíboroshoz 1688-ból, *Athanasiana*, 24(2007), 137–154.

²⁶ From the currently extensive literature on the activities of De Camillis, see: Fyrigos, Antonis. A khioszi De Camillis János munkácsi püspök tanulmányai és lelkipásztori tevékenysége, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Rómából Hungáriába: A De Camillis János József munkácsi püspök halálának 300. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai*, Nyíregyháza, 2008, 57–114; Baán, István. De Camillis szebasztei püspökké és apostoli helynöké váló kinevezése és felszentelése, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Rómából Hungáriába: A De Camillis János József munkácsi püspök halálának 300. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai*, Nyíregyháza, 2008, 139–148; Véghseő, Tamás. „...melioem ordinem vivendi introducere” – Egy görög katolikus püspök sajátos feladatai és lehetőségei Magyarországon a felekezetszerveződés korában: Hat ismeretlen De Camillis-level tanulságai, *Athanasiana*, 30(2009), 85–118; Baán, István. *Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis görög misszionárius és munkácsi püspök (1689–1706) levelei – Letters of Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis Greek Missionary and Bishop of Munkács (1689–1706)*, Nyíregyháza, 2017.

²⁷ Hodinka, 1909, 513.

²⁸ Hodinka, 1909, 541–542.

II.1.1

Foundation.²⁹ Compared to the actual demand of the Eparchy, the handful of foundation-supported places was extremely little, but the concomitant result and significance were nonetheless discernible: Practically all the Bishops and Vicars of Mukacheve were educated there.³⁰ The first institution of locally available priest training was created only in the mid-18th century, on the initiative of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky in Mukacheve, with Maria Theresa's financial support.³¹ Prior to that, village priests would transmit their knowledge to their sons, son-in-laws or other young men from the village themselves. This was also the way they had acquired their knowledge, restricted to the performance of the most essential priestly tasks. It was a rare privilege if a monastery was able to offer some training, similarly limited to the transmission of basic knowledge.

Delay in the social and legal emancipation of the Greek Catholic clergy

Although central royal power was from the outset intent on ensuring that Greek Catholic priests would be extricated from serfdom, this endeavour would be met with massive resistance on the level of counties and demesnes. United under the leadership of Count Miklós Bercsényi, Catholic and Protestant landowners sabotaged the execution of high-level provisions such as the letters-patent issued by King Leopold I in 1692, ordering that the rights of the Greek Catholic clergy be guaranteed.³² In the letters-patent, the fact that the landowners refused to grant Byzantine-rite priests the rights the clergy were entitled to was labelled scandalous even by the Monarch. While schismatics, they had not proved to be worthy of the protection of the Catholic Church. As Catholics, however, they were to be recipients of the same rights. Therefore, by his royal authority, he ordered that Greek Catholic priests enjoy the same exemptions that were provided for the Latin-rite clergy by law. He declared that whoever would not abide by this ordinance would be subject to the same judgement as if he had infringed the rights of Latin-rite priests. He called upon landowners to provide plots for churches, parish buildings, cemeteries and schools. He also extended the rights to priests' male children born in lawful marriage.

The resistance of the local nobility could be explained by economic reasons, as well as by reasons of

principle. Ensuring the rights of the clergy entailed financial burdens as well, for not only would they be deprived of tax receipts but they would also be liable to allot parish lands. However, reasons of principle surpassed economic ones in importance: The position of the counties concerned was that the Monarch did not have the right to decide on matters of such weight without consulting Parliament. As the north-eastern region of the country had a history of opposition to the Hapsburgs, efforts to delay the emancipation of the Greek Catholic clergy would be successful for a long time.

Advance in this respect could materialise only after Rákóczi's War of Independence, with local political and economic relations undergoing a complete overhaul. In consequence of the estate seizures in the wake of the reprisals, the Treasury came to be the greatest landowner in the region, enabling Bishop Gennadius Bizánczy to initiate the reinforcement and execution of the Leopoldian letters-patent at the Court. In response, in August 1720, King Charles III issued his charter by way of reinforcement and ordering execution,³³ gradually bringing about the actual social and legal emancipation of the Greek Catholic clergy.

List of pictures

1. The Monastery of Mukacheve in the 19th century. Water colour by Sándor Lámfalussy. The Hungarian National Museum, Hungarian Historical Gallery (MNM TK), Inv. No. 56.1576
2. The document of the Union, 24 April 1646. Štátny archív v Prešove, fond Homonnai Drugeth, inv. n. 652, 8/1646.

²⁹ Hodinka, Antal. *Papnövendékeink Nagyszombatban 1722-től 1760-ig*, *Zorja-Hajnal*, 1(1941), 18–29.

³⁰ Šoltés, 2010, 238.

³¹ Udvari, 1994, 75–76.

³² The text of the letters-patent: Hodinka, 1911, 347–350.

³³ Hodinka, 1909, 749–750.

II.1.1 Imaginary Depiction of Fyodor Koriatovych (Tódor Koriatovics), Prince of Podolia

Catalogue II.1



1799, János Fülöp Binder (1736/7–1811)
paper, copperplate engraving; 18.5 × 13.4 cm
(7.2 × 5.8 in) (plate)

Signed low right: Binder sc.

Inscription: Theodorus Koriathovics, Princeps Ruthenus,
Dux de Munkáts, et Podoliae Basilianorum ad Munkács
fundator Anno. 1360

Published: *Basilovits, Joannicius: Brevis notitia foundationis
Theodori Koriathovits..., Cassoviae, 1799, I, title page
endpaper image.*

MNM TK, Inv. No. 2508.

Escaping following the throne struggles in Lithuania, Fyodor Koriatovych asked for refuge from Sigismund of Luxemburg, who presented him with the castles of Mukacheve (*Munkács*) and Makovica, and the counties of Bereg, Sáros and Máramaros. Based on a charter issued in 1360, the funding of The St Nicolas Monastery in Mukacheve (Chernecha Hora/Mount Csernek) is traditionally attributed to him. The authenticity of the charter was questioned in 1493 by John Corvinus, the son of Matthias Corvinus, this dispute continued into the 18th and 19th centuries. At the beginning of the 20th century historian Antal Hodinka managed to convincingly prove that the contents of the charter can not be authentic. The most important arguments of Hodinka concerning the

contents of the charter were the following: Fyodor Koriatovych was not in Hungary during the period of issuing, he only fled Lithuania in 1393 and only then did he receive the county of Mukacheve from Sigismund (1387–1437), which he directed until his death in 1414. Furthermore, the gifts of the charter infringed the interests of the Mukacheve Estate and the rights of the Roman Catholic parson to such an extent that it would have been impossible for Koriatovych to gain a royal pledge for the document. Even though Koriatovych marks the monastery as his place of burial in the charter, later his tomb is not mentioned or referred to at all. In addition, at the time the monastery was most probably only a simple wooden building, unfit for a representative place of burial. Hodinka considers that the charter was assembled by the monks of the Monastery after the death of the wife of Koriatovych (1418), and its spuriousness was already discovered in 1493. However, Matthias Corvinus reinforced the gifting of two villages in 1458, while the whole charter was reinforced by Leopold I (1657–1705) in 1693, which act was disputed numerous times in the following centuries by the plaintiffs. The exact founding date of the Monastery can not therefore be established firmly, most probably it can be dated to the first decades of the 15th century. It is also possible that Koriatovych brought monks with himself who decided to settle here. Before Koriatovych, the castle and estate of Mukacheve belonged directly first to the King, and later to the Queen. King Louis I of Hungary (1342–1382) was rather hostile to non-Catholic Christians, therefore the possibility of founding an Orthodox monastery during his reign is considerably low. (Cf. earlier literature: Szilveszter Terdik. *A munkácsi Szent Miklós kolostor*, website: <http://www.byzantinohungarica.com/index.php/tortenelem-01/terdik-szilveszter-a-munkacsi-szent-miklos-kolostor> [Accessed: 1st March 2020]) (M. G.)

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Terdik, 2014a, 23–24, 144.

II.1.1 Lord Chief Justice János Homonnai Drugeth

Catalogue II.2



1722, Johann Friedrich Rosbach (active in Leipzig during the 1720s)

paper, copperplate engraving; 15.5 × 11 cm
(6.1 × 4.3 in) (pared)

Inscription: Johannes Humeney.

Published: Khevenhüller, Franz Christoph. *Conterfet Kupferstich (soviel man deren zu handen bringen können) deren jenigen regierenden grossen Herren, So von Käysers Ferdinand dess Anderen Geburt...*, Vol. 2, Leipzig, 1722, 443.

MNM TK, Inv. No. 1667.

Stemming from an honourable Habsburg-friendly family, János Homonnai Drugeth (1609–1645), was appointed Lord Chief Justice and general of Upper Hungary in 1636 following his father. As Count of Ung and Zemplén counties and owner of the estates of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) and Humenné (*Homonna*), he was one of the most influential landowners of Upper Hungary. He was in support of the catholicisation of the Eastern Churches, the unionist movement emerged from his estates. In 1641 he protested the incarceration of the first Bishop of Mukacheve, Bazil Taraszovics. His wife, Anna, Jakusics invited the Jesuits to Uzhhorod. The brother of his wife, György Jakusics was Bishop of Eger, therefore he supported him in his endeavour to establish the Union of Uzhhorod, which happened in the year following his death. Aside from this engraving, no early modern depiction of him is known to us, thus this piece, published in Leipzig nearly eighty years following his death, is most probably an imaginary portrait of him. (M. G.)

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II.1.1 György Jakusics,
Bishop of Eger
Catalogue II.3



1650, Elias Widemann (1619–1652)

paper, copperplate engraving; 14.7 × 10.8 cm
(5.7 × 4.2 in) (pared)

Signed low right: E. Widenman scalp:

Circular inscription: GEORGIVS IAKVSITH de ORBONA,
EPISCOPVS AGRIEN: PERP: COM. de HEVES, S.C.Rq'M.
CONSILIARIUS.

Motto: NIL VICINIUM QUAM MORS VITAE.

Published: Widemann, Elias. *Icones Illustrium Heroum
Hungariae*, Wien, 1652 (modernised title, RMK, III, 1797,
App. Hung. 848.), Picture No. 38.

MNM TK, Inv. No. 2215.

Stemming from an aristocratic Lutheran family, György Jakusics (1609–1647) converted to Catholicism when he was fourteen, following which he studied in Rome with the support of Péter Pázmány. His religious career developed at a quick pace. After his ordination in Rome in 1632, he was soon appointed Camerlengo, Provost of Óbuda, Vicar General of Esztergom, Bishop of Szerém (*Syrmia*), and in 1637 Bishop of Veszprém. From 1642, as Bishop of Eger, he proceeded the endeavours of his predecessor, György Lippay, who was appointed Bishop of Esztergom, to achieve a union with the Eastern Churches of Sub-Carpathia. His sister, Anna Jakusics was the wife of one of the most influential landowners of Upper Hungary, János Homonnai Drugeth. On his initiative, on 24th April 1646 in the Fortress Church of Uzhhorod sixty-three Rusyn Orthodox priests joined the Catholic Church and accepted the supremacy of the Roman Pope (The Union of Uzhhorod). On the portrait engraving by Elias Widemann – published in the portrait collection of one hundred Hungarian aristocrats in 1652 – the short-haired High Priest is depicted with a bare head, a goat beard and a bishop's mozetta. The motto under the portrait says 'No things are as close to one another as death and life'. (M. G.)

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Rózsa, 2006, Kat. 1652/38.

Véghseő, 2011, 54.

II.1.1 György Lippay,
Bishop of Esztergom
Catalogue II.4



1649, Elias Widemann (1619–1652)
paper, copperplate engraving; 14.7 × 10.8 cm
(5.8 × 4.2 in) (pared)
Signed low right: Elias Wideman sculp:
Circular inscription: GEORGIVS LIPPAY de ZOMBOR,
ARCHIEPISCOP' STRIGON: lociq eiusdem COM: PERP:
PRIM: HVNG: LEG: NAT: SVM: SEC: et CANC: S.C.Rq'M.
INT: CONS:
Motto: CONIVNGERE DEO ET SVSTINE.
MNM TK, Inv. No. 2938.

György Lippay (1600–1666), who had studied in Vienna and then in Rome returned to Hungary in 1625 as a priest where he begun his ecclesiastical career under the patronage of Péter Pázmány. In a short time he fulfils the roles of Canon, then Provost, and from 1633 he was Bishop of Veszprém. He maintained amicable relations with Vienna where he was appointed Royal Chancellor in 1635, while from 1637 he was Bishop of Eger. Lippay was a fierce supporter of the union with the Eastern Churches, which was partly due to the fact that the ardent Tridentine hierarch was aware of the fact that protestantism was also gaining ground in Eastern Hungary amongst the believers of the Eastern traditions. He negotiated with Bazil Taraszovics, Orthodox Bishop of Mukacheve and arranged for his catholicisation which took place in 1642

in Laxenburg in the presence of the Papal Nuncio and Emperor Ferdinand II. From this year on, as Bishop of Eger he was supporting the cause of the union, which was hindered by the Princes of Transylvania.

The portrait of Bishop Lippay was not published in the portrait album of 1646 by Elias Widemann (*Comitivm Gloriae centvm Qva Sangvine Qva Virtute Illvstrivm Herovm Iconibvs Instrvctvm...*, Wien, RMK, II, 669; App. Hung. 841; RMNy, III, Appendix 182.) even though he had been appointed the highest Hungarian ecclesiastical dignity four years earlier. If the indicated year is credible, then the piece was made in 1649 and was not published in any of the Widemann portrait series. The picture was probably created on the basis of the 1641 engraving by Wolfgang Kilian, which is underpinned by the mirrored position of the Bishop. Wiedmann changed the soutached priest outfit (worn by János Héderváry, Abbot of Zirc, Péter Petrachich, Bishop of Zagreb and György Széchényi, Bishop of Veszprém in his 1652 collection) to mozetta and drew a slightly longer beard. The reason for Wideman to create another copy of his own engraving for his portrait collection of 1652 without changing the setting, the inscription, and the motto could be that this edition portrays each bishop – from György Draskovics, Benedek Kisdý and György Szelepcsényi to Zsigmond Zongor – without birettas. The new portrait has simpler tones and background shading, yet the face is more characteristic and the splendour of the tafetta shawl is the only new addition. This individual copy exhibits well that in the edition of the portrait collection considerations of aesthetics also played an important role besides considerations of content. (M. G.)

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Rózsa, 2006, Kat. 1652/48.
Véghseő, 2011, 41.

II.1.1 Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary

Catalogue II.5



1670, unidentified German master

paper, copperplate engraving; 17.5 × 12.3 cm

(6.9 × 4.8 in) (pared)

Inscription: *Ferdinandus III. D. G. Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae...*

Published: *Id. Merian, M. Theatri Europaei Continuatio...*, 3, Frankfurt (Main), 1670, 735.

MNM TK, Inv. No. 6311.

It was under the reign of Ferdinand III (1637–1657), who was crowned king in Sopron so young that his father was still alive, that the first attempt to restitute the Orthodox Episcopate of Mukacheve to the Catholic Church happened. In May 1642, in the chapel of the Palace of Laxenburg, Bazil Taraszovics, Bishop of Mukacheve converted to Catholicism following the negotiations with György Lippay, Bishop of Eger. Present were Gasparre Mathei, Bishop of Athens and Papal Nuncio to Vienna, and the Monarch. This attempt, however, was not successful as the conversion of the Bishop was not followed by the clergy living under the rule of the Prince of Transylvania and Taraszovics was not allowed to return to the Bishopric of Mukacheve. It was only four years later, after the Treaty of Linz, that it became politically possible to promote the cause of the union. György Jakusics, Bishop of Eger invited the clergy following Eastern rites to Uzhhorod on 24th April, 1646, where sixty-three of them signed the document ratifying the union and accepted Pope Innocent X as their sovereign pontiff. This marked the beginning of the long process of uniting. On the engraving, the Sovereign wears an archaic ruff, the imperial mantle, and holds a sceptre in his right hand. On his chest he wears the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The depiction was probably based on sketches resembling Ferdinand II by the publishing house of the Merian family of Frankfurt. (M. G.)

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Véghseő, 2011, 51.

II.1.1 Commemorative coin of Pope Innocent X *Catalogue II.6*



1648, Gaspare Morone-Mola,
bronze, 37 mm (1.4 in)
MNM ÉT (Hungarian National Museum, Coins Collection),
Inv. No. N.III.100.980.
Obverse: *INNOCEN · X · PON · MAX · A · IIII* (circular
inscription). The half-length portrait of Innocent X, right
profile, bearded, in a velvet camauro and an embroidered
mantle. Bead trim. Signed down left at the shoulder: ·GM·
Reverse: *INSIGNITIS – VATICANIS – SACELLIS* (circular
inscription). The barrel vaulted nave of St Peter's Basilica
in Vatican City from a front perspective, with the baldachin
and the altar in the centre. Bead trim.

The prolific coin art of Gaspare Morone-Mola spans the reign of four consecutive popes from Urban VIII to Clement IX. He was appointed engraver of the papal coinage in 1640, after the death of his uncle, the similarly gifted Gaspare Mola. In the following quarter of a century he was commissioned the die design of nearly all important papal commemorative coins and numerous circulation coins. He regularly signed his coins with his initials, G. M. but he also used MORO or MORONE signing in certain cases. He was commissioned nineteen different coin designs by Pope Innocent X. From these, we know of four portrait coins, each of which proves the mature portrayal techniques and high level of precision of the artist. This coin was forged in 1648, in the fourth year of the reign of Innocent X, at the time of the Peace of Westphalia which was not in favour of the interests of the papacy. On the reverse, the barrel vaulted nave of St Peter's Basilica in Vatican City is depicted from a front perspective. In the middle, above the tomb of Saint Peter, is the high altar with the bronze baldachin standing on twisted columns, designed by Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini. The coin also clearly depicts the ornaments on the pillars of the nave which were also made according to the design by Bernini from 1645, commissioned by Pope Innocent X.

During the second year of the reign of Innocent X a significant turn occurred in the life of the Orthodox people of North-Eastern Hungary as some of the priests joined the Roman Church. The Charter of Union was signed by sixty-three priests on 24th April, 1646 in Uzhhorod. The so-called Union of Uzhhorod ensured the integrity of the Eastern rite and provided the same privileges to the united clergy as the clergy of Latin rite had. The Charter of Union was sent to Pope Innocent X in 1652, asking for the blessing of His Holiness regarding the contents. (M. P.)

II.1.1 **George II Rákóczi,**
Prince of Transylvania
Catalogue II.7



1650s, Joannes Meyskens (1612–1670)

paper, copperplate engraving; 17.2 × 12 cm

(6.7 × 4.7 in) (pared)

Signed low right: Ioan. Meyskens exc. Antverpiae.

Inscription: Georgius Rakoczii, D. G. Princeps Transsylvaniae, Moldaviae Dux, Comes Palatinus Transalpiensis, Partium Regni Hungariae Dominus, et Siculorum Comes etc.

MNM TK, Inv. No. 3738.

Son of George I Rákóczi and Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, heir of his father, Prince of Transylvania 1648–1660. During his reign he fostered the spread of protestantism on his estates in Transylvania and Upper Hungary and hindered the union of Eastern Rite Christians with Rome.

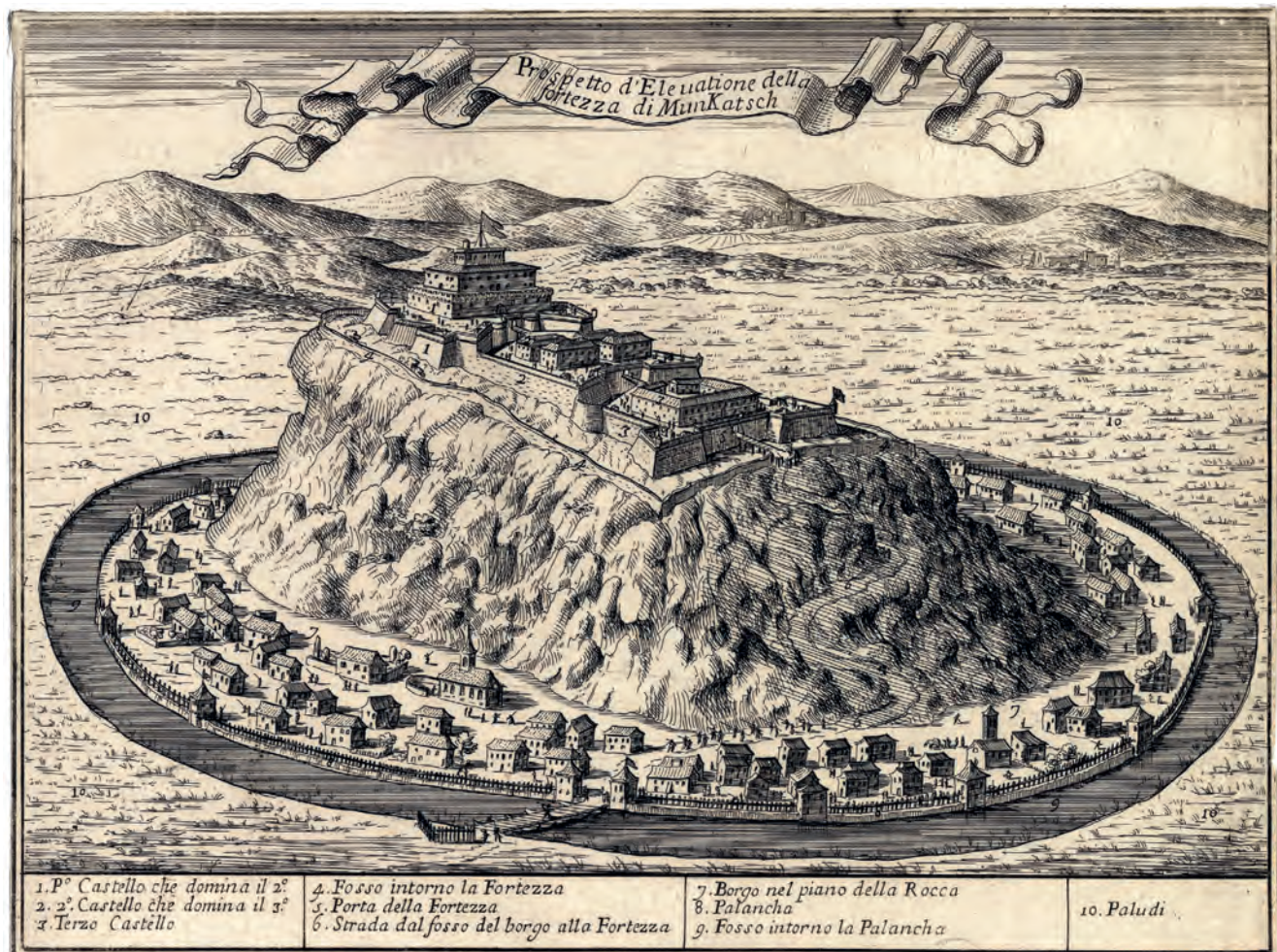
In Mukacheve, which was part of his estates, he did not allow the institution of unionist bishops and in 1652 he set up the Bishopric of Máramaros under the reign of Simeon Petrasko Orthodox Bishop. This was based in St Michael's Monastery in Körtvélyes until 1658. His wife, the Catholic Zsófia Báthory converted to the Reformed tradition for the period of their marriage, however, after the death of her husband and her return to their Hungarian estates she recatholicised together with her children. The portrait by Meyskens depicts him in dolman and pelisse, with a *süveg* (a type of Hungarian hat made of leather resembling a mitre) adorned with a fur trim and a plume on his head, nevertheless, the prince's mace is missing from the picture. Frederik Bouttas created a mirrored copy of the engraving around 1660 which was later copied by Matthias Sommer and published as an illustration of the *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus oder der Ungarischen Kriegs-Empörungen historische Beschreibung...* (Franckfurt, 1665) making it well known in Europe. (M. G.)

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II.1.1 The View of Mukacheve

Catalogue II.8



1686, Giovanni Giacomo Rossi (1627–1691)
 paper, copperplate engraving; 20.4 × 26.5 cm (8 × 10.4 in)
 Inscription: *Prospetto d'Eleuatione della fortezza di Munkatsch.*
 Published: Rossi, Giovanni Giacomo. *Teatro della Guerra contro il Turco...*, Roma, 1687.
 MNM TK, Inv. No. T.1261.

The control of the castle of Mukacheve was transferred to the Kuruc (anti-Habsburg) uprising leader Imre Thököly following his marriage to the widowed Ilona Zrínyi in 1682. After the unsuccessful Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683, by the order of the sultan, the Pasha of Várad (*Nagyvárad / Oradea*) arrested Thököly, therefore his wife and two children (Julianna Rákóczi and Francis II Rákóczi) retreated to the Castle of Mukacheve. The Austrian imperial forces started the siege of the castle in 1685 which lasted for three years with minor interruptions. The roughly four thousand defenders of the castle led by Ilona Zrínyi successfully withstood the blockade of the Habsburg army captained first by Antonio Caraffa, then by Aeneas Sylvius von Caprara. It was on 15th January, 1688

that the agreement on the surrender of the castle was signed by Ilona Zrínyi. It provided amnesty and the return of the confiscated estates to the defenders. Ilona Zrínyi moved to Vienna with her two children who were put in the custody of Leopold I, providing complete safety and the retention of their inherited estates. The lengthy siege aroused interest all over Europe, thus numerous reports were written and the first paintings depicting the view of Mukacheve were also created. The scenic engraving of Giovanni Giacomo Rossi appeared on the same page as the layout of the castle and the view of Sâniob (*Szentjobb*). In the picture, the castle is depicted sitting diagonally on a rock shelf above a diagrammatically drawn town surrounded by ditches and palisades. Following the contemporary descriptions, the castle has three lines of defence and it is possible that the image was based on a quite precise military blueprint. The image is supplemented with a legend describing the meaning of numbers 1–10 in the picture. (M. G.)

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II.1.2 The Liturgical Tradition of the Historic Eparchy of Mukacheve (Munkács)

András Dobos

The roots of the multi-ethnic Eparchy of Mukacheve

Even though Byzantine Christianity had been present in the Carpathian Basin prior to the arrival of the Hungarians,¹ and, even among the Hungarians, there were numerous individuals who were converted to the Christian faith by Byzantine missionaries,² written records of the liturgical practice of these centuries barely survive. The Mongol Invasion destroyed even the last traces of the Byzantine Rite and left but ruins of the formerly flourishing monasteries.³ Any continuity between the missionary activity begun by Cyril and Methodius or the Byzantine presence at the time of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin and affecting the medieval Hungarian nation, on the one hand, and the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve, on the other, is impossible to substantiate with data.⁴ The core of the latter ecclesiastical structure was constituted primarily by Vlach⁵ and East Slavic groups settled in the border lands of historic Hungary

following the Mongol Invasion. These ethnicities, out of which the Slavic ethnic group called Ruthenians or, more accurately, Rusyns⁶ would come to have a dominant role in the history of the Eparchy, were part of Orthodox Christendom. As, in post-Mongol Invasion Hungary, no Orthodox ecclesiastical organisation existed, a degree of loose authority in church affairs could be provided only by the hierarchies of the neighbouring countries.

The centres of liturgical or, in general, ecclesiastical life were the monastic communities, with the larger ones gradually taking the faithful rapidly growing in number under their jurisdiction. Two monasteries are evidenced, with their origins fading in the obscurity of history, though their existence may be verified by documents as of the 14th century: the Monasteries of Körtvélyes (*Hrusheve/Szentmihálykörtvélyes*)⁷ and Mukacheve.⁸ The rivalry of these two religious houses was concluded by the triumph of the latter, and its prior already bore the title bishop from the late 15th century at the latest. The clergy under the leadership of the Bishop of Mukacheve entered into

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¹ The impact of the activity of Cyril and Methodius in Pannonia is documented in a handful of written records, cf. Žeňuch, Peter. *Источники византийско-славянской традиции и культуры в Словакии – Monumenta byzantino-slavica et latina Slovaciae*, Roma – Bratislava – Košice, 2013, 18–31. The question whether anything from their missionary work could survive the vicissitudes of the ages or, in other words, if any continuity between the ecclesiastical structure created in the 9th century and current Christian presence may be demonstrated continues to be a subject of debate.

² The most extensive material on the medieval Hungarian connections of Byzantine Christianity was compiled by Gyula Moravcsik, cf. Moravcsik, 1953; Id. Honfoglalás előtti magyarság és kereszténység, in: Serédi, Jusztinián (Ed.). *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján*, I, Budapest, 1938, 174–211, 388–422. Other general overviews: Ivánka, Endre. Griechische Kirche und griechisches Mönchtum im mittelalterlichen Ungarn, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, VIII(1942), 183–194; Révész, Éva. *Régészeti és történeti adatok a kora Árpád-kori bizánci-bolgár-magyar egyházi kapcsolatokhoz*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Szeged, 2012. On a possible Byzantine-rite ecclesiastical organisation, cf. Baán, István. Turкия metropolíájáról egy negyedszázad múltán – Válaszadási kísérlet a felmerült problémákra, in: Id. – Göröf, Tibor (Eds.). *Bizáncon innen és túl: Tanulmányok*, Nyíregyháza, 2018, 207–231; Koszta, László. Byzantine Archiepiscopal Ecclesiastical System in Hungary?, in: Olajos, Terézia (Ed.). *A Kárpát-medence, a magyarság és Bizánc – The Carpathian Basin, the Hungarians and Byzantium*, Szeged, 2014, 127–144.

³ Cf. Moravcsik, Gyula. Görög nyelvű monostorok Szent István idején, in: Serédi, Jusztinián (Ed.). *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján*, I, Budapest, 1938, 387–422.

⁴ From the late 18th century, the view that the Eparchy of Mukacheve was one of the seven Pannonian bishoprics founded by Cyril and Methodius would persist for one century, a position regarded as completely unfounded by most historians in recent times, cf. Hodinka, 1909, 58–64, 182–186; Pekar, Basilius. *De erectione canonica eparchiae Mukačoviensis* (an. 1771), Romae, 1956², 18.

⁵ It is hypothesised by some that a Vlach colonisation could precede subsequent Slavic settlement in many places; cf. S. Benedek, 2003, 11–12.

⁶ The origin of the Rusyns continues to raise a number of questions even today. According to the prevalent view, diverse ethnic groups from areas north east of the Carpathian Mountains (Galicia, Volhynia and Podolia) became a unified people in the Carpathian region. The various dialects of the Rusyn language also corroborate this thesis. For the ethnogenesis and colonisation of the Rusyn nation cf. Magocsi, Robert Paul. *With Their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns*, Budapest–New York, 2015; S. Benedek, 2003; Bonkáló, Sándor. *A rutének*, Basel–Budapest, 1996²; Hodinka, Antal. *A kárpátaljai rutének lakóhelye, gazdaságuk és múltjuk*, Budapest, 1923; Петров, Алексей. *Об этнографической границе русского народа в Австро-Угрии: о сомнительной «венгерской» нации и о неделимости Угрии*, Петроград, 1915.

⁷ On the foundation of the Monastery of Körtvélyes destroyed in the 17th century cf. Baán, István. A körtvélyesi monostor, *Vigilia*, 10(1988), 1988, 749–754; as well as the author's paper published in the present volume. The significance of the Monastery in its day is illustrated by the fact that it obtained *stavropegic* status from Anthony IV, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1391.

⁸ The hitherto most detailed description of the origins and history of the Monastery of Chernecha Hora (*Csernek-hegy*), situated in the vicinity of Mukacheve, is found in the large-scale historical work of Antal Hodinka: cf. Hodinka, 1909, 90–175. Notable additional points on the foundation are also supplied in: Петров, Алексей. *О подложности грамоты князя Федора Кориатовича 1360 г.: Материалы для истории угорской Руси*, III, Санктпетербургъ, 1906.

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union with the Catholic Church in the 17th century, and, as the first stage of the union process lasting over a century, part of the clergy signed the document on unification in 1646.⁹

The Eparchy of Mukacheve has been characterised by ethnic diversity from the beginnings. As has been pointed out, the earlier wave of Vlach settlement was followed by the immigration of Rusyns. Fleeing the Turks, numerous other ethnic elements also arrived here from the Balkans, referred to by the collective term 'Greek merchants' in the corresponding sources.¹⁰ The region received substantial numbers of people of Serbian descent ('Rascians'), such as the Hajduks, who settled in Hajdúdorog, resolutely adhering to the faith inherited from their forefathers, despite losing their ancestral language rather early.¹¹ Moreover, the union attracted members of other denominations in large numbers as well. At least, Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky (1743–1767) was pleased to report to the Holy See that the number of his faithful had considerably grown in one century, not least thanks to converts from Hungarian and Slovak Protestant communities, as well as from Jewish synagogues.¹²

Sources on the liturgical tradition of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve

The Eparchy boasts relatively early specimens of liturgical heritage since the oldest items date from the 12th century. The most ancient and most well-known texts, such as the Mukacheve and Imstichovo (*Misztice*) fragments, the Koroleve (*Királyháza*) Gospel and the Mukacheve

Psalterium, reveal hardly anything from the local liturgical practice because, apart from the fact that these are predominantly replicas made not in the territory of the Eparchy, they contain mainly scriptural texts, thus carrying no clues about liturgical peculiarities. The only early example with some specific reflections of the local liturgical traditions would be the *Poluustav* of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) recorded in the early 14th century, which was unfortunately lost in 1971 though.¹³

All these sources are written in Old Slavic or, more accurately, Church Slavonic as the majority of the monasteries and parishes in the territory of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve were Slavic or Romanian speaking – and, at that time, even the Romanians used the Slavic language during their worship.¹⁴

The first liturgical sources affording insight into local praxis are the hand-written *Euchologia*¹⁵ or, to use the Slavic term, *Sluzhebnyks* dating from the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. Ten such specimens have been discovered in two collections,¹⁶ namely in the former Episcopal Library of Uzhhorod – today a section of the University Library – and in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

In view of the ethnic composition of the Eparchy, it would be reasonable to assume that the diversity referred to above could leave a mark on the liturgical tradition. This was also Antal Hodinka's stance on the matter, being the first to note the rich material in episcopal and monasterial libraries. He did not have the opportunity to conduct an in-depth analysis, but, even at

⁹ Cf. Gradoš, 2016, 303–314; Lacko, 1965.

¹⁰ Cf. Papp, Izabella. Görög kereskedők, in: *Magyar katolikus lexikon*, IV, Budapest, 1998, 180–182.

¹¹ It is precisely this parish of Serbian origins that would have the most important role in the century-long fight for the liturgical use of the Hungarian language later.

¹² Cf. the Bishop's 1759 report to the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*: Lacko, Michael. Documenta spectantia regimen episcopi Mukačevensis Michaelis Manuelis Olšavsky (1743–1767), *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 25(1959), 81.

¹³ Любашенко, Вікторія. Церковні рукописи Галицько-Волинської Русі XII–XIV століть: спроба узагальнення (закінчення), in: Александрович, Володимир (ред.). *Княжа доба: історія і культура*, 5, Львів, 2011, 105. Strictly speaking, the *Poluustav* is not in fact a liturgical book but a collection comprising the everyday rules of monastic life and a few prayers. Its only description: Колесса, Олександр. *Ужгородський «Полуустав» у пергаментовій рукописі XIV в.*, Львів, 1925.

¹⁴ The Slavic language was gradually supplanted by Romanian from the 16th century, while, by the late 18th century, the latter had completely replaced the former in services, cf. Rohály, Ferenc. Magyarországi keleti liturgiák, *Keleti Egyház*, 10(1943), 58–59.

¹⁵ In a broader and more ancient sense, the term *Euchologion* denotes the liturgical book that includes the Divine Liturgy, the invariable parts of the daily Divine Office relevant to the priest celebrating the liturgy, as well as other sacred acts or, to use the Western terminology, the order of the celebration of the Sacraments and sacramentals. Later the meaning of *Euchologion* was restricted to a book comprising the latter services, while the volume containing the text of the Divine Liturgy began to be called *Liturgikon*. In the Slavic languages, with reference to the more specific interpretation, *Euchologion* corresponds to *Trebnyk*, whereas *Liturgikon* corresponds to *Sluzhebnyk*; cf. Желтов, Михаил. Евхологий, in: *Православная энциклопедия*, 17, Москва, 2000, 699–700; Velkovska, Elena. Libri liturgici bizantini, in: Chupungco, Anscar (Ed.). *Scientia liturgica*, I, *Introduzione alla liturgia*, Casale Monferrato, 1998, 243–258.

¹⁶ Precious liturgical manuscripts are also held in other collections, including the Libraries of the St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College of Nyíregyháza and of the Theological Faculty of the Greek Catholic Theological College of Prešov (*Eperjes*), as well as the Stefanyk National Science Library, Lviv. At the same time, there is not a single *Euchologion* among these manuscripts that would be of local provenance and would pre-date the 17th century. Therefore, they are immaterial to research on this subject.

first sight, it occurred to him that the manuscripts showed substantial linguistic variance.¹⁷

Although differences between the manuscripts are indeed salient philologically, some appearing to be particularly interesting, some others containing unknown liturgical peculiarities, in terms of their content, a surprisingly uniform praxis materialises.¹⁸ All *Euchologia* were written under the influence of the first version of the *diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos, Patriarch of Constantinople (1353–1354; 1364–1376). In liturgical terminology, *diataxis* means a detailed system of rules governing the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, structured as a collection of rubrics.¹⁹ Philotheos wrote the first variant of his *diataxis*²⁰ still in the years when he was a monk on Mount Athos; he would subsequently revise it. The second draft developing thus, along with the Slavic translations made from it, spread in most Byzantine-rite Churches or at least made some impact on them. The oldest hand-written *Euchologia* of the Eparchy of Mukacheve are, however, in close connection with the Slavic translation according to the so-called Athonian recension, derived from the first version.²¹ This variant presumably developed in Athonian Serbian circles would become widespread primarily in the Balkans (in the Serbian and Bulgarian Churches). Thus, the Mukacheve tradition – at least in its oldest form reconstructed as part of the present inquiry – may be traced to Balkan roots. This body of tradition had been brought by the first Vlach settlers via Moldavia, and thus it became common in the Byzantine-rite monasteries in the north-eastern region of the Carpathian Basin, over time dispersing from there to

individual parishes as well. Nearly the same liturgical tradition came from a different direction, through mediation by the Serbs.

The effect of the Union of Uzhhorod on liturgical life

At the time of entering into union with Rome, a relatively uniform liturgical practice was dominant in the monasteries and parishes of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve, at least as much as this may be inferred from the extant documents. In fact, the liturgical texts are indicative of a degree of uniformity, which may obviously be attributed to the role of the monasteries as liturgical centres. The fact that, in this period – but even in the one hundred years following the union – there was neither a seminary nor any theological school here, and no episcopal office, either, should not be overlooked. It seems legitimate to ask whether union with Rome brought any changes in the sacramental practice of the hitherto Orthodox faithful, and, if it did, of what character these changes were.

Surprising though it may sound, from the first decades of unity, there are no data suggesting that the altered situation in ecclesiastical policy would represent a turning point in this regard. The Catholic senior clergy cared precious little about questions of rite, for they did not see the rite-specific peculiarities of the united Eastern communities as a dangerous anomaly at that time yet. More conspicuous is a change attributable to an entirely different factor though. As of the 17th century, printed liturgical books would also reach Byzantine-rite communities in the north-eastern portions of the Kingdom of Hungary in ever larger quantities. Whereas

¹⁷ Cf. Hodinka, 1909, 787–791.

¹⁸ This assertion is based on an examination of the ten oldest known hand-written *Euchologia*. Seven of the manuscripts may be found in the former Episcopal Library in Uzhhorod, constituting part of the University Library nowadays. Their shelf marks are: 30 D (570), 31 D (497), 32 D (403), 33 D (80), 34 D (90), 37 D (335), 38 D (68) – cf. Štrepel, 2012. The National Széchényi Library, Budapest, holds an additional three manuscripts, which found their way to this public collection thanks to Antal Hodinka: *Quart. Eccl. Slav.*, 11; *Quart. Eccl. Slav.*, 12; *Quart. Eccl. Slav.*, 13 – cf. Cleminson, 2006, 78–90. The analysis performed for the purposes of the present study was mostly confined to the text of the *Liturgy* of Saint John Chrysostom. Further investigations involving all of the *Euchologia* might enrich liturgical scholarship not only in Hungary but also internationally with additional valuable insights.

¹⁹ On the genre of the *diataxis* in general, cf. Taft, Robert. *Diataxis*, in: Kazhdan, Alexander P. (Ed.). *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1, New York – Oxford, 1991, 619.

²⁰ For the two versions of the text of Philotheos's *diataxis*, as well as for the Slavic translations made from them, cf. Zheltov, 2010, 346–348; Афанасьева, Татьяна. К вопросу о редакциях славянского перевода Диатакиса Божественной литургии патриарха Филофея Коккина и об авторстве его древнерусской версии, *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка*, 2013, 67–85.

²¹ The proposed affinity of the respective *Euchologia* with the first variant of Philotheos's *diataxis* is predicated on the following observations: 1. The prayers accompanying the donning of the priestly vestments are omitted; the text furnishes only the formulae intended for the deacon. 2. The row of commemorations on the third *prophoro* (sacrificial bread) opens with John the Baptist in current Slavic praxis and in the second, revised variant of the *diataxis*. In the first version of the *diataxis* and, consequently, in the translation according to the Athonian recension, the commemorations on the third *prophoro* commence with the commemoration of the Life-Giving Holy Cross, followed by commemorations of the Bodiless Powers of Heaven and of the Baptist. 3. The deacon may place commemorative particles (for both the living and the dead) on the *diskos*, on his own behalf. On the distinctive features of individual Slavic translations, cf. Zheltov, 2010, 351.

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typography would normally result in a sense of uniformity in the area of liturgy,²² it set in motion the opposite process in the Eparchy of Mukacheve. Book import compensating for the absence of a local printing press gave rise to a kind of liturgical medley. Nonetheless, first and foremost thanks to the rapidly developing infrastructure of the Eparchy established in 1771 even canonically, gradually a uniform local tradition did evolve, affirmed by institutions such as the Cathedral of Uzhhorod²³ or the Seminary. These would assume the role previously played by monasteries in cherishing the liturgy.

The core of the gradually developing local tradition was formed less in conjunction with concrete liturgical components. Instead, it tended to be rooted in a profound conviction characteristic of the mentality of the clergy and the faithful alike for a long time, namely the notion that they had impeccably preserved the tradition inherited from their forefathers, and thus the rite remained devoid of any external influences, primarily coming from the Roman Church. The latter influences are conventionally referred to as Latinisation. The Greek Catholics living in the north-east of Hungary were particularly proud of the fact that they had not allowed alien liturgical customs to infiltrate their ancient services, thereby preventing the rite from being 'compromised' – a feat many uniate Churches could not lay claim to.

Naturally, this conviction was only partly true. Alien elements such as Eucharistic Adoration, organ music or the use of unleavened bread, i.e. wafers or hosts, in fact eluded praxis in this region. In the Eparchy of Mukacheve, adherence in terms of constructing iconostases was evident well up to the 20th century – a practice that was gradually abandoned in Galician churches already from the 17th century or lived on in a drastically simplified form wherever

iconostases were still erected.²⁴ Even the Divine Liturgy would be celebrated intact, in its form established by the 14th century, for a long time. The concept of private Masses²⁵ was unknown, similarly to the Feast of Corpus Christi or the Immaculate Conception.

At the same time, the policies of the Catholic Church affecting Uniate communities significantly changed nearly half a century following the union. Latin-rite senior clergymen felt it necessary to act as guardians of the Uniates, who – they argued – had not yet sufficiently internalised Catholic teaching, defined primarily as the Scholastic doctrines endorsed at the Council of Trent.²⁶ Around the mid-1700s, they implemented dramatic mutations in the services and, only to mention a few of the most blatant ones, terminated the communion of infants and the rite of the *zeon*.²⁷

The implementation of these measures was modelled upon the decrees of the 1720 Synod of Zamość of the Ukrainian Uniate Church. At this provincial synod, a number of resolutions were made with an impact on the sacramental order of the Church. As the Latinisation tendency had been dominant among the bishops of the Metropolitanate of Kiev for decades, the synodal fathers sought to harmonise liturgical praxis with the sacramentology of the Council of Trent. Issued by a local synod, the decisions of the Synod of Zamość were not binding for the Eparchy of Mukacheve, yet they affected its fate. At this time, the Bishop of Mukacheve, along with his priests, was subordinated to the Bishop of Eger. The Holy See was for long reluctant to give official recognition to the Eparchy of Mukacheve as in no way could its foundation be ascertained. In case an Eastern Church intended to unite with Rome, ordinarily it would be placed directly under the jurisdiction of the Holy See. With Mukacheve, the

²² Cf. Taft, Robert. *A bizánci liturgia* (Bizánc világa, X), Budapest, 2005, 123–124.

²³ The church once owned by the Jesuits was donated by Maria Theresa to the Greek Catholics after the dissolution of the Order. In the building, modifications required by the regulations of the Byzantine Rite for a liturgical space were executed in line with the ideas of Bishop András Bacsinszky. The converted church functioning as a cathedral, similarly to the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs completed a few decades earlier, served as a model for the interior furnishing of a constantly growing number of stone churches in the Eparchy. On the history of the two churches mentioned, cf. Terdik, 2014a, 76–120.

²⁴ Cf. Takala-Roszczenko, Maria. *The 'Latin' within the 'Greek': The Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the Context of Ruthenian Eastern Rite Liturgical Evolution in the 16th–18th Centuries*, Joensuu, 2013, 141–142.

²⁵ This assertion does not apply to religious houses, undergoing a series of substantial reforms as early as the 18th century and introducing a range of previously unfamiliar customs modelled on foreign examples.

²⁶ Cf. Véghseő, Tamás. Az 1750–1752 között lezajlott vizitáció történeti háttere, in: Véghseő–Terdik–Simon–Majchrics–Földvári–Lágler, 2015, 7–11.

²⁷ *Zeon* is the hot water poured into the chalice before communion, symbolising the enlivening presence of the Holy Spirit. On its development, cf. Taft, Robert F. *The Precommunion Rites: A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, V (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 261), Rome, 2000, 441–472.

situation appeared to be more complex from the outset. In fact, the Bishops of Mukacheve owed obedience to the Bishops of Eger as of the early 18th century, with the latter regarding them as their Greek-rite Vicars. The Latin senior clergymen took advantage of the unfavourable status of the Uniates and left no stone unturned to ensure that Rome would not establish an independent diocese for them.

The new liturgical regulations also fitted such a political programme of the Bishops of Eger. It is remarkable that, whereas the aforementioned liturgical changes were effected by internal reforms in the Ukrainian Church, the clergy and the faithful of the Eparchy of Mukacheve experienced them as the result of external coercion.

After a decade of uncertainty and tension, Maria Theresa founded the Eparchy of Mukacheve in 1771, to be canonised by Pope Clement XIV in his Bull *Eximia Regalium*. This ushered in an era in which the liturgy was able to develop freely. The creation of the institutional structure of the Eparchy fell to Bishop András Bacsinszky, who was particularly vigilant to ensure that services were conducted in a dignified manner.²⁸ When in 1773, Maria Theresa summoned the Uniate bishops of the Kingdom of Hungary to council,²⁹ Bacsinszky excelled among the Serbian and Romanian bishops with his conservatism and made a statement in support of the preservation of ancient liturgical forms.³⁰

With the canonical establishment of the Eparchy, the old wish of the clergy also seemed to come to fulfilment: They attained a legal and social status that the Latin-rite Catholic clergy had enjoyed for a long time. One of the major – if not the most important – motivating factors for uniting with Rome from the perspective of priests was liberation from the duties of serfdom. Interpreting it as mere selfish interest would be an oversimplification of reality. As long as the clergy did not enjoy some type of immunity, church life was

restricted in its entirety since an officiating priest – just as the cantor – could at any time be dragged from the altar by his landowner to the fields.³¹ Such cases were by no means uncommon, on the one hand, because the Byzantine calendar enumerated numerous feasts that were unknown in the Latin Rite and, on the other hand, because the Orthodox used the Julian Calendar, while, in Hungarian territories, the Catholics and the Calvinists had adopted the Gregorian version almost everywhere from late 16th century.

However, the emancipatory process of the Byzantine-rite community entailed some unexpected consequences. Much as the free practice of religion had by now become wholly uninhibited and the clergy had been granted the desired social status, it would seem that the outcome benefited only them. Even in the time of Bishop Bacsinszky, ecclesiastics began to display signs of languishing devotion and reduced liturgical activity. Many of them stepped on the road of secularisation and were neglectful of services and fasts, and frequently even abandoned their Slavic native tongue, opening a chasm as it were between them and the people.³² It may be imputed to this secularisation that, by the mid-1800s, the Divine Office was hardly ever prayed in many parishes, and less common services, such as the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts or the Penitential Canon of Saint Andrew of Crete, completely disappeared.³³

Rite as a force of identity formation

Despite the processes discussed above, the consciousness of the faithful and the clergy was characterised by a conservative attitude to questions of rite. They continued to celebrate services in fidelity to the traditions of their forefathers. Pride over liturgical heritage intensified from the middle of the 19th century, a phenomenon which may in the main be linked to two causes. The first one is the encounter with Russian

²⁸ As one of his acts, for instance, he sent graduate monks to the Cave Monasteries of Kiev with a view to studying the services, cf. Недзельский, 1932, 87.

²⁹ For the antecedents and progress of the so-called Synod of Vienna, see: Lacko, 1975.

³⁰ A case in point would be the situation when other bishops demanded the removal of saints who had lived after the Great Schism (such as the miracle-working Muscovite hierarchs) from the church calendar, Bacsinszky emphasised that these were saints revered by the people, whose veneration even the Holy See did not object to, cf. Lacko, 1975, 14–15, 43–44, 76, 245–248.

³¹ Cf. The report of Archbishop György Lippay to the Holy See from the year 1654: Hodinka, 1911, nr. 126, 169. Lippay was among the first to note the miserable situation of the Rusyn people.

³² In his circulars, András Bacsinszky already reproaches his priests for all this. Cf. Udvari, István. The Circulars of András Bacsinszky, Bishop of Munkács (1732–1772–1809) Belonging to the Period of Maria Therese, *Studia Slavica Hungarica*, 48(2003), 287–289.

³³ Bishop Bazil Popovics (1837–1864) levels a long list of accusations at the clergy on account of their service-related neglect, cf. 892. sz. körlevél, 1840. március 19., Sárospataki protokollum; 1219. sz. körlevél, 1834. december 5, Tokaji protokollum, Archives of the Eparchy of Miskolc, GKPL, III–2–b.

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culture enabled after 1849 by the sojourn of Russian troops in Hungary.³⁴ The second factor is associated with the first one: the national awakening of the Rusyn people and its search for identity. Amazing as it may sound, rite had a crucial part to play in all this. When – virtually as last of all of Hungary's nationalities – the Rysin community embarked on its process of awakening, the minor intelligentsia in its ranks realised that a people could hardly survive without a literary language. Initially, this national revival did not assume any political colouring. Although representatives of the Ukrainian people, also in a state of agitation at the time, sought to connect with their Rusyn 'brethren', their approach would usually be met with cold indifference on the part of the latter. To them, Russian language and culture represented a sense of standard, which is no doubt incomprehensible given that, in both their language and customs, Hungary's Rusyns were by far closer to the Ukrainians.

The Russophilic emotions of the Rusyn intelligentsia may be explained by historical and aesthetic reasons, as well as with reference to the linguistic justification that they felt a sense aversion to the Ukrainian language abounding in Polonisms. To the Rusyn ear, Russian sounded more appealing and more archaic, chiefly because it was perceived to be closer to Church Slavonic, which had had a lasting influence on the Rusyn vernacular.³⁵

Nevertheless, the choice in question appeared to be defined by a wholly different factor. The Rusyns looked upon the liturgical tradition of the Russian Church with admiration, recognising their own tradition in it, but viewed the Latinising practice of the Ukrainians with contempt, saying that 'they had compromised the Rite'.³⁶ The mid-1800s saw the start of a real liturgical mini-renaissance, as attested by liturgical commentaries and catechisms in Russian.³⁷

A break in tradition

Notwithstanding the sense of pride felt over the ancestors' liturgical tradition in the Eparchy of

Mukacheve, they were unable to eschew foreign influence completely. From the 19th century, services were less shaped by any external coercive force, but internal influences came to the fore instead. Even though the training of priests happened predominantly in Uzhhorod, there were always individuals who were educated at Latin seminaries, where their mentality would be formed by Scholastic sacramentology even inadvertently. In many instances, the leading elite of the eparchies came precisely from the ranks of such seminarians, studying in Pest or abroad. Several 19th-century bishops, commonly remembered as figures knowledgeable and passionate about the liturgy, left a mark through their controversial activities on liturgical life. Bishop Bazil Popovics (1837–1864) was regarded as somebody who genuinely cared about the cause of the divines services. He was the last to wear a *klobuk*³⁸ and to use the *zeon* and *ripidions* during his hierarchal services. The Imperial Secret Police constantly kept him under surveillance due to his putatively suspicious Russian relations. At the same time, he was also the first bishop not to wear a beard and he obliged his priests to celebrate the Divine Liturgy daily, a practice that was completely foreign to Byzantine spirituality and would later entail severe consequences for the spirituality of the clergy and the liturgical view of the people.

In spite of all the changes, the spirituality of the Eparchy continued to be defined by liturgical conservatism. Over the centuries, the aforementioned Latinisms either left their marks as a result of external influence or entered unnoticed, for example via priest training or dictated merely by fashion, without the clergy's cognisance. At any rate, it may be concluded that, in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, as well as in the Eparchy of Prešov created out of it in 1818,³⁹ the rite was retained in a comparatively purer form than in many other united Churches. This is supported by the protocol of the eparchy-wide canonical visitations of Miklós Tóth,

³⁴ Cf. Недзельский, 1932, 125–132.

³⁵ Cf. Геровский, Георгий. *Язык Подкарпатской Руси*, Москва, 1995, 46–61.

³⁶ 'Rite compromising' established itself as a technical term in the 19th century. Cf. Sztripszky, Hiador. *Moskophilismus, ukrainismus és a hazai rusznákok*, *Budapesti Szemle*, 153(1913), 288–290.

³⁷ The most popular of these were Alexander Duhnovych's Catechism (*Літургическій Катихись, или изъясненіе с. літургіи и нькоторыхъ церковныхъ обрядовъ по Новой Скрижали*, Будинь, 1851) and Yevgeniy Fentsik's manual (*Литургика или объясненіе богослуженія святой, восточной, православно кафелической церкви, въ Будапештѣ*, 1878).

³⁸ In Byzantine-rite Churches, it is the everyday headwear of monks and bishops, consisting of a hard, hat-like upper part and a long, usually black veil.

³⁹ For the story of the foundation of the Eparchy, cf. Duhnovič, Aleksander. *The History of the Eparchy of Prjašev* [translated by Basilius Pekar from the Latin manuscript] (*Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, ser. II, sec. I, vol. XXV), Romae, 1971².

II.1.2

Bishop of Prešov (1876–1882).⁴⁰ The Bishop detected a number of irregularities regarding the order of services, mostly consisting in the arbitrary abridgement of the Divine Liturgy and in the abandonment of a few obligatory services. In addition, it is also worth remarking that he discovered elements alien to the Eastern liturgical spirit only in a handful of parishes. He firmly prohibited Sacramental Adorations and processions with the Eucharist in places where these were in use, with the rationale that these piety practices were uncommon in both the Mother Diocese of Mukacheve and the Cathedral of Prešov, and did not constitute part of the ancient tradition. It must be noted that, even as a consequence of its location, the Eparchy of Prešov had always been more open to liturgical innovations, and, in the Bishopric of Mukacheve, there was a sense of aversion to whatever was not considered to be compatible with tradition.

The inter-war period resulted in a break in liturgical thinking. In consequence of the Treaty of Trianon, except for a few parishes, the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov became part of the territory of Czechoslovakia, where the state preferred to support the consolidation of a national Orthodox Church, which would be easier to control.⁴¹ In such an atmosphere, rite became what it had never before been in the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve: a distinctive feature. Henceforth, primarily the clergy, but over time the faithful as well, expressly endeavoured to differentiate themselves from the Orthodox by means of ritual elements, gestures or previously unfamiliar services. Sacramental Adoration, the cult of the Sacred Heart and other devotional practices of Latin origin, which were seen as strengthening ties with the Catholic Church, spread quickly. The pioneers of the new spiritual movement were from the ranks of the reformed Basilian Order.⁴²

Under the altered political circumstances, this time, the leaders of the eparchies strove to establish connections with the Ukrainian Church. They adopted its liturgical books, which they would for long be reluctant to use. In 1942, however, the Holy See issued new liturgical texts cleansed from certain Latin elements, in part with a view to stemming the aforementioned processes that increased the distance

from the Orthodox even in the area of rite. The new books were compulsory for those eparchies where the decrees of the Synod of Zamość were in effect. Although the Eparchy of Mukacheve was not one of these, those in charge made a decision in favour of the new *Liturgikon*.⁴³ This step literally concluded the unique development of the Mukacheve liturgical tradition. The liquidation of the Eparchy of Mukacheve and of the Eparchy of Prešov by Communist state authorities in 1949 and 1950 respectively would have put an end to any internal liturgical development anyway. The Eparchies revived in the meantime are currently in search of their liturgical identity. Their heritage partly lives on in Daughter Churches such as the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, the Byzantine Catholic Archeparchy of Pittsburgh, PA, or the Eparchy of Ruski Krstur (*Bácskerekesztúr*), Serbia.

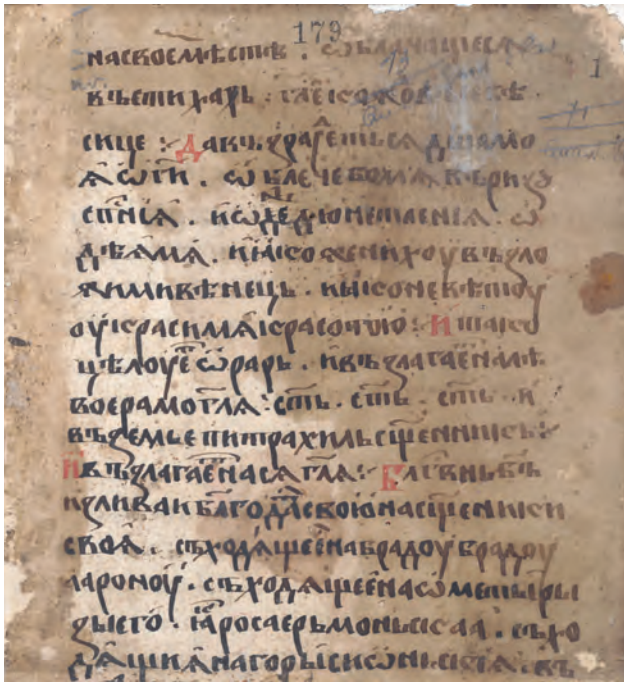
⁴⁰ Cf. Dobos, András. *Prassi e teologia circa l'Eucaristia nella storica eparchia di Mukačevo dall'unione di Užgorod fino alla metà del XX secolo*, Dissertazione di dottorato, Roma, 2019, 281–282.

⁴¹ Cf. Пекар, Атанасій В. *Нариси історії церкви Закарпаття*, I, Рим, 1967, 128–132.

⁴² Cf. Пекар, Атанасій В. *Василіяньська провінція св. Миколая на Закарпатті* (Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni, III/IX, fasc. 1–4), Roma, 1982.

⁴³ Cf. Пекар, Атанасій В. *Нариси історії церкви Закарпаття*, II, Рим–Львів, 1997, 45–46.

II.1.2 Euchologion Catalogue II.9



Mid-16th century; Ruthenian setting
paper, ink

i + 181 + i folio

19 × 13.5 cm (7.5 × 5.3 in)

Binding: modern, leather spine, remains of an earlier
leather binding on the back cover.

Conservation: Lászlóné Magyari, 1953.

OSZK, Quart. Eccl. Slav. 13.

This Euchologion dated to the middle of the 16th century is one of the oldest liturgical relics from the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve. It is one of the fourteen manuscripts that were donated to the archives by Antal Hodinka in 1904. Its exact origin is unknown except for the fact that it was created in a Rusyn setting. The scribe was mostly following the norms of the Tarnovo school.

The contents of the manuscript categorise it as an Euchologion. In its original form, unlike its present use, an Euchologion contained not only the order of sacraments and various blessings but also the liturgies and the regular sections of the Divine Office regarding the officiating priests. This manuscript includes the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom and the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, the order of the morning and evening prayers – the Matins and the Vespers –, the rite of entering brotherhood, the rite of Christian initiation – baptising and other rites –, the Kneeling Prayers of Pentecost, the great and lesser blessings of water, the rite of marriage, remembering the dead, the scripts of penitence, and numerous more blessings and

prayers for further occasions. The manuscript is incomplete as the penitence service that is at the back of the book is fragmented.

The order of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom is according to the diataxis of Philotheos Kokkinos Patriarch of Constantinople (1353–1354, 1364–1376), and is based on the Slavonic translation of the first, so-called Athonite version of the text. This first version of the diataxis of Philotheos is followed by the first printed Slavonic Liturgikons, such as of Târgoviște (1508), Goražde (1519) and Venice (1519). Its primary difference from the second text which is still used by most Byzantine rite churches is that during the Proskomedia, the preparatory phase, the commemoration starts with the Holy Cross. Furthermore, it allows the deacon to place commemorative morsels on the diskos following the priest. However, it differs from the Athonite version and thus from the printed books in that it includes the prayer the deacon recites during the donning of the orarion, a narrow stole, and the troparion of the third hour of prayer before the epiclesis. Furthermore, it does not mention Saint Athanasios of Athos and Saint Simeon during the Proskomedia but includes Joachim and Anne. (A. D.)

Bibliography

Cleminson–Moussakova–Voutova, 2006, 78–79;
Афанасьева, Татьяна Игоревна. К вопросу о редакциях славянского перевода Диатаксиста Божественной литургии патриарха Филофея Коккина и об авторстве его древнерусской версии, *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка*, 2013, 67–85.

II.1.2 Tetraevangelion

Catalogue II.10

Mid-16th century; Ruthenian setting

paper, ink

i + 328 + i folio

Binding: half leather binding, marbled paper, modern.

33 × 20.5 cm (13 × 8 in)

Conserved.

OSZK, Fol. Eccl. Slav. 13.

The Gospel Book has a special role amongst the liturgical books of the Byzantine Churches. In the middle of the altar of every church a copy is present as a constant symbol of the living Christ in the community. During the Divine Liturgy and at certain times during other rites, the deacon or the priest moves it in a procession from the sanctuary to the nave or outside the church and then back to the altar. On special occasions such as the morning service on Sundays (Matins) the members of the community pay homage to the risen Christ by kissing the book.

The first Gospel Books designed for liturgical use are known as *Tetraevangelions*. The Greek word means 'Gospel of Four'. The name alludes to that these books contain the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John in the canonical order prescribed by the Council of Laodicea (361). It was only from the 8th century that the Gospel Books started to follow the events of the liturgical year instead of the canonical order. These editions, also called *Aprakos* in Greek, correspond to the Western Evangelistarium and do not contain the full Gospels but selected pericopes, commonly starting with the section of Gospel of John prescribed for Easter Sunday. The Churches of Byzantine rite using Church Slavonic prefer using the Tetraevangelion, while Greek Churches use the *Aprakos*.

Traditionally it is the Tetraevangelion that is kept on the altars of the churches of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve. One of the first entirely preserved liturgical artefacts of the Eparchy, the Gospel of Korolevo (*Királyháza*) from 1401 is also a book of this kind.

The book presented here is dated to the middle of the 16th century. In terms of its style and spelling the scribe followed the Tirnovo norms of Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic, however, the frequent slips in the language clearly point to Eastern Slavonic roots, suggesting that the Tetraevangelion was created in a Rusyn environment. The earliest handwritten note on the pages reveals that the book was bought for the benefit of the church of Malmos (*Stroyne*; in the former Bereg County) by a priest called Peter and his wife for the price of a cow and a bull.

The book introduces the text of each Gospel with the notes of Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid († 1107), while it also contains a fragmented synaxarion and

a calendar referring to the Serbian Saint Sava and Saint Simeon. This latter content postulates the Serbian origin of the prototype text.

The first page of each Gospel is ornamented by a header of tendrils painted red. Most of the initials are characterised by the Balkan braided pattern. (A. D.)

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Cleminson–Moussakova–Voutova, 2006, 23–25, Plate 10.
Ткаченко, Александр Анатольевич. Евангелие служебное, in: *Православная Энциклопедия*, 16, Москва, 2007, 687–688.

II.1.2 Tetraevangelion

Catalogue II.11



*Last quarter of the 16th century; Ruthenian setting
paper, ink, illuminated
i + 292 + i folio*

*Binding: full brown leather, ornamental and figurative
patterns, traces of gilding, 17th century
33 × 21.5 cm (13 × 8.5 in)*

*Conservation: Lászlóné Magyarai, 1956.
OSZK, Fol. Eccl. Slav. 6.*

Only a handful of early books ornamented with painted miniatures are preserved from the area of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve. This Evangelion contains full-page portraits of the four saint authors depicting them during the act of writing: Saint Matthew (fol. 15v, 275 × 175 mm / 10.8 × 6.9 inches), the low left corner is fragmented; Saint Mark (fol. 92v, 281 × 182 mm / 11 × 7.1 inches); Saint Luke (fol. 143v, 288 × 145 mm / 11.4 × 5.7 inches) and Saint John (fol. 255v, 285 × 175 mm / 11.22 × 6.9 inches). The frames of the miniatures are simple, the evangelists work in front of an architectural background, in building interiors, except for John, who is depicted in his old age as he sits in front of the landscape of Patmos Island looking at the

sky. The book also contains several well-formed ornaments and large initials of braided pattern at the beginning of each Gospel.

Besides the text of the four Gospels the book also contains the following: at the front of the book a synaxarion, introductory notes from Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid († 1107) preceding each Gospel, and at the end of the book a calendar followed by readings for the period of Lent and other selected texts.

In terms of style and spelling the text is characterised by the Tirnovo norms of Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic with clear Eastern Slavonic notes, indicating a Rusyn origin. The handwritten note in the book states that the copy was bought by Aleksey and his wife for St Michael's Church of 'Csorna'. This name probably denotes the village of Csarnatő (*Cherna*) of the historic Ugocsa County. The book was transferred to the library in 1904 by Antal Hodinka. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Cleminson–Moussakova–Voutova, 2006, 26–28, Plate IV, 11, 12.
Puskás, 2008, 47–48, 19. kép (ill.)



II.1.2 Tetraevangelion, the so-called Codex of Piricse *Catalogue II.12*



*Last quarter of the 16th century;
paper, ink
[389] fol.*

19.6 × 32.4 cm × 8 cm (7.7 × 12.8 × 3.1 in)

*Of its former leather binding only the wooden boards
remain, without leather, with four ribs and traces of clips.*

Conservation: 2019.

SZAGKHF, Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. M-1058 (Ms20008).

This manuscript written in Church Slavonic is probably the most well-known sample of the Greek Catholic book artefacts and has become known in the scientific community as the Codex of Piricse, named by Árpád Somogyi, its first describer. Subsequently, Julianna M. Pandur and Mihály Kocsis also analysed the book and have confirmed its Eastern Slavonic origin based on its linguistic characteristics. Thus the Codex of Piricse is regarded as one of the earliest Hungarian Greek Catholic manuscript artefacts written in Cyrillic. Based on the watermark (lily) Julianna M. Pandur dated the copy earliest to 1570.

Regarding the contents, the volume is a Tetraevangelion containing the full texts of the four Gospels, introductory notes preceding each by the Bulgarian Theophylact, and an ancillary table containing the order of the Gospel readings. At the back of the book a festive calendar sets forth the order of readings suited for the time of Lent and other special occasions.

Originally, the manuscript was decorated with three headers of braided ribbons and one of floral ornaments while the notes preceding the Gospels are adorned with initials painted in red complemented by subtle floral ornaments.

The headers with braided ribbons have already been considered signs of Balkanoid influence by earlier researchers of the volume, while the single different header relates to the Renaissance acanthus and tendril ornaments of headers appearing in the Eastern Slavonic prints at the end of the 16th century. The closest exemplar was found in the books printed in Vilnius by the Mamonich brothers, especially in the breviary printed in 1575 by Piotr Timofeyev Mstislavets (Časovník). Mstislavets, who moved to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Moscow and started his career in the workshop of Ivan Fyodorov, the father of Eastern Slavonic book printing, was the printer of the Mamonich brothers in Vilnius between 1574 and 1576. The workshop probably continued using his printing blocks after his departure.

The complex, round header of triple braid preceding the Gospel of Matthew in the Piricse manuscript may also be based on a printed prototype. Somewhat surprisingly, the Serbian Liturgikon exhibits similarities with the header of the *Služabnik* printed in Venice by Božidar Vuković in 1519. Researchers of early Serbian and Eastern Slavonic book printing have long been aware of the document for which the printing block of the braided header of the Liturgikon of Venice was re-cut. This was the *Služebnik* printed in 1583 in Vilnius in the Mamonich workshop, the document through which the early Balkan motif made its way into the Eastern Slavonic book craft. Thus it can be concluded that despite the analogies of the ornaments in the Codex of Piricse with Balkan motifs, it is possible that the volume was printed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, most probably in the last quarter of the 16th century, furthermore, its illustrations were already influenced by the woodcut artwork of Eastern Slavonic printed books.

The manuscript did not originally contain genuine figural depictions, the three full-page portraits of the Evangelists (John labelled 'Mark', while Mark and Luke labelled 'John') are woodcut prints which were removed from a Gospel Book printed in Lviv (Tipografia bratsva,

1636 or 1644) and placed into the Codex of Piricse. Based on the note on the last page this modification was carried out in 1666 (or definitely after 1636/1644): 'Note! The date [1666] printed on the board by the bookbinder, that is: year 1666.'

This note, together with the Cyrillic note that is a copy of an earlier footnote preceding it was created on 20th March 1876 by Ágoston Jenkovszky priest of Piricse. The provenance of the book is also attested to by the Hungarian note on the first endpaper: 'Property of GCat. Church note by: Ágoston Jenkovszky GrCatpr. 876'.

The Cyrillic footnote copied by Jenkovszky is of Ukrainian editing in Church Slavonic and is on pages 123v–145. It states that the book was transferred by Vasil, son of the priest of Kenderes (?), Semion, and his wife, Mária to priest Grigori in order to redeem a 'szerindár' (mentioning on forty liturgies) on 1st October 1728, during the time of hieromonk Partenij Santuskij. The handwritten note also states that in case Vasil becomes a priest, the book shall be his in return for another 'szerindár' provided by him for Grigori:

'Siû knigu rekomuû // Ev[an]g[e]lie dav' Vasil s[y]n' popa // Semion Kedreskogo popa Grigorievi // za svoim ocem našâ // naima i ere[i] Semion iva svoev" // roditelnic' na imâ // Mariâ // i tak dav' popa Grigorievi // aby im" // služiv' serindar edin // i aby tuû knigu nihto // ne mug' // ouzâti // vud popa grigi okret // Vasil sn' popa Šimonuv' // atak až' Vasil popom budet // a lita aby i Vasil ouzâv' // âk' popa Grigori zaplati // serindar togosâ btlo pri // ermonahu Partheniû Santuskomu // roku B[o]žji [1728] m[e]s[â]ca oktobri' [1] (X. G.)

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M. Pandur, Julianna. Két XVI. századi cirill-szláv tetraevangélium a nyíregyházi Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola könyvtárában, *Könyv és Könyvtár*, 14(1985), 121–135.
Kocsis, Mihály. *Tizenhatodik századi ukrán egyházi kézirataink és helyesírásuk*, Szombathely, 2008, 143–157.



manuscript, 1585

paper, black and red ink

30 × 19 × 7 cm (11,8 × 7,5 × 2,75 in)

brown full leather binding

Conserved.

Herman Ottó Museum, Miskolc, Inv. No. 2019.46.1.

This manuscript Tetraevangelion written in Church Slavonic is from Baktakék. The black ink of the text is decorated with red initials, header texts, ornamented trims, and headers of black and red stylised braid adornment. The spelling reflects Moldavian-Wallachian characteristics.

The book, which is dated by a long note at the end to 1585, is one of the earliest remaining Cyrillic manuscripts preserved in a Greek Catholic environment. By its appearance, the note looks quite dissimilar to the main text of the book, however, on the basis of its content the author is the same as the copyist of the Gospels who probably tried to separate his 'private note' from the main text by writing in a different manner.

The long, Cyrillic note which also shows Western Slavonic characteristics starts by the author expressing his gratitude to God for being able to finish the copying of the book. In the next part, he names himself as the copyist of the text: 'Priest Vakh, who created this note in the glorious village of Krosna on 14th May, 1585:

'Spisana Ey[ange]lija sja s[vâ]taa naimâ / Vakhom" s[vâ]šeny[ko]m" v" slavno[i] v[e]si Kros/noj kã č[e]sti i kã hvalě m[i]lostivo/mu B[og]ã v" Troici edinomu kã po[ž]itku d[u]š[ev]nomu včnomu i ku s[vâ]toi / c[e]rkvi živoi založenâ s[vâ]togo arha/agg[e]la g[ospod]nâ Mihaila Velikag[o] slugy / s[vâ]togo B[og]a naš[e]go, lěta ot narož[e]nâ / s[y]na B[og]žia 1585 m[ě]sâ]ca maa d[e]n" / 14.'

In the third part of the note, he names himself again while he is asking for the pardoning of his sins and is asking the future readers of the book to remember his name.

On the foot of unnumbered pages 15–18 and continuing on the vertical inner edge of page 19 there is a handwritten property note, most probably from the 18th century. The note states that the Gospel belonged to Gregorij Zsugrovics, a priest in Szolnok, also adding 'havaji' to his name:

'Siâ kniga // glagolema // â Ey[an]gelie svâšenogo // ere â Gregoriâ sonoc'kago // Žugroviča // gavaevskogo'

László Kárpáti identified this as a reference to the village of Havaj, next to Makovica, which indicates that the Rusyns settling in Abaújszolnok and Baktakék (also called *Kéty*) came from Sáros County to the area of Cserehát, or at least their priest, Gregorij, could be the ancestor of priest János Zsugrovics, whose name was inscribed next to the date of construction (1758) on the lintel of the western door of the wooden church of Szolnok (Abaújszolnok) (Kárpáti 1999, 681). The valuable old Gospel Book created in an Orthodox environment has thus been taken to Abaújszolnok and Baktakék by the Rusyns of Sáros County. (X. G.)

Unpublished



16–17th centuries

paper, red and black ink

30 × 19 × 7 cm (11.8 × 7.5 × 2.75 in)

[317?] fol.

Brown full leather binding. Affixed to the inside of the covers are fragmented woodcuts.

Conserved.

Herman Ottó Museum, Miskolc, Inv. No. 2019.46.2.

This manuscript book from Baktakék was most probably copied in an Eastern Slavonic area in an Orthodox environment. Its elaborate decoration consists of braided headers, terminals, and initials.

The manuscript is of Ukrainian editing and was written in Church Slavonic, the footnote on pages (ff. [3]–[31]) is from the 18th century, the time of the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–1780) as it gives account of Mihko and his wife donating the book which cost 10 Theresa gold coins to the Church of St Paraskevi of Stebník.

'Siū knigu // rekomuū // Apostol" // kupil" // rab" B[o]žij // najmâ Mihko // i svoev" ženoū naimâ // Donev" do sela // Stebnika // a do c[e]rkvi založenie // a hramu

(1)



s[vâ]toj Velikoj // m[u]č[e]nicě Paraskovi // dal za nû // zlotyh" devât" Thereskih" // [...] // tery otceve i bratia // kotoryi budete na nih" // čytati povinste // za nih G[ospod]u B[og]a prositi aby // račil G[ospo]d" B[og]" grěhi // odpustiti. A po sem světě // aby ih G[ospo]d" B[og]" račil priati // do c[a]rstvía n[e]b[es]nago aby s nim // v c[a]rství n[e]b[es]nom opočilvali // ktoromu neh budet č[es]t' i slava // navěki věkom. Amin'. // Aktoby mal sej Ap[os]t[o]" // od sei c[e]rkvi oddaliti tedy // bym s nim na toitom světě // sud" mal»

Stebník (*Esztebnek/Sztebnik*), where the footnote was written, is a Rusyn village near the city of Bardejov (*Bártfa*). In the middle ages it used to be part of the Demesne of Zborov (*Makovica, Zboró*). The parish was visited by Manuel Olsavszky Greek Catholic Bishop of Mukacheve in 1750, however, the date of establishment and building of the wooden Church of St Paraskevi was already unknown by then. All the required volumes were available in the church at that time – amongst them the Apostle – however, there is no proof confirming that it was this copy (cf. Véghseő–Terdik–Simon–Majchrics–Földvári–Lágler, 2015, 136–137). (X. G.)

It is also unknown when and how the Apostle was transferred to Baktakék. Presumably it is this book that is mentioned together with the manuscript Gospel Book in the report of the 1877 canonical visitation. ('Evangelium et Apostol in manuscripto, antiquum', AGKA Inv. č. 479, Rok. 1877, Sign. 27). The coloured woodcut fragments glued onto the covers, which are probably from the 18th century, are rare artefacts of popular graphic art. Even though this type of printing entailed that each printing block was used numerous times, only a few copies could be preserved. In one of the fragments there is the bust of God Father, wearing a cope and papal tiara, with a halo around His head, stars in the background and drape-like clouds towards the corners. Based on the halo and the hair in front of

(2)



the bust, and a fragment of a horizontal bar of a cross and a lower arm, it can firmly be stated that He is holding the Crucified Son in His hands.

This iconography follows a certain type of depiction of the Holy Trinity called '*Gnadenstul*' (throne of grace; Picture 1). By the papal tiara and the ornate passementerie of the cope it is rather possible that the cut was based on the copy of one of the Holy Trinity miraculous icons of the Lower Austrian place of pilgrimage, Sonntagberg. This place, established in the 15th century and most popular during the Baroque times, was well-known throughout Central Europe (cf. Gugitz, 1956, 193). Based on the Cyrillic text fragments on the trim, this woodcut was probably made in a Polish-speaking area, but in a Ukrainian environment. On the woodcut fragment of the back cover two martyr women are depicted in a three-quarter profile view amidst stylised flowers (Picture 2). They wear crowns on their heads and hold palm leaves in their hands, however, even despite these attributes it is impossible to identify them. The colouring is similar to the previous work, thus both were possibly printed in the same workshop. Such types of woodcuts, occasionally rather rough in quality, were presumably designed for personal prayers (cf. Стаценко, 2003, 90–91) and sometimes they were dated to the 17th, at other times to the 18th century. These cuts were also used in churches, framed or applied to wood, but it seems that due to their notably large size even bookbinders made use of them. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

II.1.2 Tetraevangelion Catalogue II.15



The Print of the Confraternity of the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Theotokos, Lviv, 20th August, 1636 (Printer: Mihail Sliozka.)

'Evangelion sireč Bl[a]gověstie b[ogod]u[h]novennyh evangelist'.

V^o Lvově, tšaniem Bratstva Stayrop[igion], hrama Ouspenia Pr[esvâ]t[ý]a B[ogorodica, v lěto ... o[t] r[o]ž[des]tva H[risto]va 1636. avg[usta] 20.^o [12], 412, [3] fol., ill. (Woodcuts); 2^o (32 cm / 12.6 inches) Binding: velvet over wood cover, with corner and edge mounts and clasps. 17th and 19th centuries 31.5 × 19.5 × 8.2 cm (12.4 × 7.6 × 3.2 in) Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, Inv. No. 57.117.

This Gospel Book of the Museum of Applied Arts, as indicated by its long title, was published under the blessing of Patriarch Mohila Petr by The Print of the Confraternity of the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Lviv (Lemberg) in 1636. The name of the printer, Mihail Sliozka, can be found on the trim of the Christ the Pantocrator cut on the back side of the title page.

The book contains 61 woodcut illustrations besides numerous headers, terminals, initials and the frame of the title page. This latter is the work of *Hierodeacon*

Georgiy from 1636, who signed his name in the lower corners of the woodcut, while the date – similarly to the date of publication – is written in traditional Church Slavonic around the illustration of the dormition of Theotokos. This frame was used by the Confraternity in at least five more editions of the Gospel Book, which means that it was still in use more than one hundred years after its creation.

On the title page the title and publication data appear in a cartouche resembling a Western Renaissance altar on the foot of which, in an oval image there is the depiction of the Dormition of the Theotokos. This central, architectural element of the composition is crowned by the group of three of the Deesis, and Christ, the Theotokos and Saint John the Baptist. On each longer margin of the page there are six medals set amongst vines with the busts of the Apostles, while on the foot of the page there are the busts of Jonah, Isaiah, Moses, and Daniel.

A curiosity of the unsigned full-page illustrations of the Evangelists is that contrarily to iconographic traditions, Saint John the Theologian is depicted with a lion while Saint Mark with an eagle. Research attributes the full-page cuts from 1636 to the multitalented Galician monk, Pamva Berinda woodcutter and typographer (? –1632). Berinda had created the woodcut portraits earlier, in the 1600s, based on the depictions of the Gospel Book by Petr Mstislavets published in Vilnius in 1575, which rely on Western prototypes.

The woodcuts illustrating scenes and parables of the Gospels in the 1636 Lviv publication also have Western prototypes, which is evinced by the Renaissance clothing of the figures and the compositions typical of images of German origin. (For example, the depiction of the *Prodigal Son* is traced back to the work of Hans Sebald Beham, German woodcutter, made in 1540.) These compositions were frequently printed in the publications from Lviv in the 17th century and were probably transferred to the city from the small print shop of the Church of the Dormition in Krylos.

The illustrations and portraits of the book presented here, as well as the oeuvre of Pamva Berinda aptly indicate the complex system of ties of the early 17th century Eastern Slavonic book and printing culture. Berinda met Gedeon Balaban Bishop of Lviv at the end of the 16th century (1579), who founded the other important, though perhaps less productive print shop of the time, in Striatin. The equipment of this print shop was later transferred to the printing house of the Kiev Monastery of Caves. During the 1610s, Berinda worked at the Bratstvo print shop in Lviv as a typographer, then for the next decade he was an editor at the printing house of the Kiev Monastery of Caves.

The book of the Museum of Applied Arts is the first Gospel Book by the print shop of the Stavropigion Confraternity (Lviv Uspenskoe Bratstvo) of the Dormition Cathedral, followed by numerous further editions during the 17–18th centuries. In the first half of the 17th century, the print shop of the Stavropigion Community of Lviv and the print shop of the Kiev Monastery of Caves were the most productive centres of Eastern Slavonic liturgical printing. The earliest known work of the former is from 1589. Following its joining to the union in 1708 and receiving the exclusive rights to publish liturgical books for the Western Ukrainian region in 1730, the Community's print shop had a major role in providing the supply of liturgical books for the congregations united with Rome. Approximately half of the 17th century liturgical prints extant among the Hungarian Greek Catholics is from this print shop.

On the foot of the first page of this Gospel Book there is a fragmented, handwritten, subsequently renewed note of donation in Church Slavonic from the second half of the 17th century, perhaps from 167(?)4, according to which the book was donated to the Church of Ascension of Jesus Christ and St Paraskevi of Chortoryisk of the province of Volyn.

'Maxim [Vumoga?] // vo imâ Otca i S[y]na i S[vâ]tago // D[u]jha siû k'nigu rekomuû // Ev[ange]l'ie tetr" rab" B[o]žij [...] // [?] // za sp[a]senie svoe i za roditelej svoih // i pridal siû k'nigu do c[e]rkvi // Vozneseniâ G[o]s[po]dnâ i Velikomučnici // Hristovoi Paraskovi vo gradi Čertarisku // za deržavie ego m[ilos]ti Samoelâ večšna[...]ogo // Očvoznogo Koron"nogo voevodiča [?.eč]skogo // v roku 16[?]4 m[esâ]ca avgusta // dnâ 5 i aby nebyla rušenaâ // ot togo mësca vo večnye časy.' (X. G.)

Bibliography

Гусева–Каменева, 1976, Kat. 65.
Запаско–Ісаєвич, 1981, Kat. 253.

The front cover of the Gospel Book is decorated with five carved mounts of gold plated silver. The back cover has a single piece of such mount in the centre accompanied by four simple, rustic copper buttons at the corners and two copper mounts forming leaves affixing the book clasps to the cover.

On the front cover the edges of the silver mounts were folded back 1 centimetre, thus the picture fields emerge from the plane. The central field is formed by eight slightly stretched cusps, the four central axes of which are in the form of an ogee arch. *The Crucifixion* is carved on the plate: in the centre there is Christ hanging on a cross with three crossbars, one is slanted, above



Him there are two angels bereaving Him. Under the cross on the right there are His mother and Mary Magdalene, while the Beloved Disciples and centurion Longinus are standing on the other side. Besides the name of the scene, the image also contains the names of the characters, furthermore, at the foot of the cross there is the skull of Adam, and the walls of Jerusalem can be seen in the background.

The corner mounts of the volume are adorned with carved images of the Evangelists. The elderly Saint John the Theologian is in the upper left corner, he raises his sight to the divine light that comes from above while he dictates to his disciple, Prokhor, who sits in front of the rocky cave. In the right corner there is Matthew, seated in a stylised interior, writing on an ornate desk. Similarly composed are the carved portraits of the other two Evangelists, Luke and Mark: both of them are writing in front of a background of ornate buildings. The Evangelists can be identified by inscriptions, their usual symbols are absent. The central mount on the back resembles a Greek cross ending in cusped leaves and does not emerge from the pane of the cover except for the button in the middle, which has been damaged. The whole mount is decorated with stylised, twisted

palmette-like ornaments. The fine lines of the front cover prove that it is the work of a talented and skilled master of the craft. The style of the drawings resemble the advanced Russian miniature and icon paintings of the previous (15–16th) centuries (c.f. Popowa, O. S. *Altrussische Buchmalerei 11. bis Anfang 16. Jahrhundert*, Leningrad, 1984, kat. 36, 38, 39, 43, 48). Similar resemblance was observed in the case of the convex metal mounts of the *Gospel Books of Novgorod* (Gnutova–Ruzsa–Zotova, 2005, 62, 103. a–d). The plates of similar shape and use preserved in the Museum of Applied Arts of Moscow are probably the work of a smith of lesser talent (Inv. No. МД-456/ 1–5). The central mount of these depicts the Deesis, and the Evangelists are portrayed according to a different style of iconography. Nevertheless, they share the roots of traditions with the ones kept in Budapest. Several Gospel Books with similar covers deriving from former Rusyn regions are kept in Polish collections, however, none of those amount to the one kept in Budapest in terms of artistic value. The permanent exhibition of the History Museum of Przemyśl (*Múzeum Historii Miasta Przemyśla*) had one of them on display (2012), while the display of sacred arts of the local National Museum (*Muzeum Narodowe*) also showed two copies collected from the former Greek Catholic churches of the region. On a small silver mount of the front cover of one of these exhibits a carving of the year of crafting, 1670, can be observed. The mounts of these Polish examples lack gilding and appear to be more sylvan than those of the book in Budapest, about which research has fairly assumed that they must stem from one of the major Russian centres, perhaps Moscow. The copper mounts on the back cover were presumably installed during a re-binding of the book in the 19th century. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Gnutova–Ruzsa–Zotova, 2005, 230, No. 99.

Liturgikon

Catalogue II.16

Lviv, print shop of Mihail Sliozka, 23rd August, 1646.
'Leiturgiariion, si est' Sluzhebnyk" ot lyturgij s. Vasilija, Ioanna Zlat. i Preždesvâšennyh"... n[ŷ]jně že izdan" v četvertoe tšaniem" i iždiveniem"... Arsenia Želiborskogo...
Vo Lvově, v typografii Mihaila Slioski, roku B[ŷ] žogo 1646. avgusta 23'
[6], 308, [2] fol., ill. (woodcuts); 4°
14 × 18 × 4.5 cm (5.5 × 7 × 1.8 in)
Fragmented, preserved pages: fol. 12–279.
Conservation: Péter Kovács, 2020.
Nyíregyháza, SZAGKHF, Inv. No. M-920 (Ant10467)

Several pages are missing from the front and the end of this Cyrillic Liturgikon (Sluzhebnyk) written in Church Slavonic and printed in red and black ink. Its origin was identified based on the woodcuts as being the edition published in the print shop of Mihail Sliozka in Lviv on 23rd August, 1646. The volume was transferred to the Library of St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College (SZAGKHF) in 2010 from Nyírdersz in a rather worn condition.

On the front page of the complete copies it is stated that this Sluzhebnyk had already been published three times by the print shop of the Kiev Monastery of Caves and that this edition was printed on commission by Arsenij Želiborskij. Written in Ukrainian and signed by the Bishop himself, the foreword states that the reason why the volume was not printed in the print shop of the Church of St George, Lviv run by Bishop Želiborskij is that that workshop was busy with preparing the new edition of the catechism of Petr Mohila. The initials of the printer, Mihail Sliozka appear in an ornamental frame on the back of the cover page.

As recorded in the history of printing, Sliozka had to face adversity for printing this Liturgikon with the support of Bishop Želiborskij of Lviv in defiance of the ban of Petr Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev. Mohila, who saw Sliozka as the main competitor to the print shop of the Kiev Monastery of Caves, laid anathema on the printer, also banning him from Christian burial. However, as Mohila deceased some months after the publication, the curse lost its validity and Sliozka actually attended the burial of the Metropolitan in Kiev as member of the delegation of the Lviv Confraternity.

In the 17th century Lviv, besides Kiev, was the centre of Eastern Slavonic book printing, especially due to the productive work of the print shop of the Stavropigion Confraternity of the Assumption (Uspenskoe Bratstvo) of the Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos. Mihail Sliozka was first printer of the Confraternity then he established a private workshop in 1639, which functioned in Lviv until 1660. The earliest Sliozka print in the Library of the Theological College of



Nyíregyháza is the *Pentecostarion* from 1642, which was in use at the parish of Makó. The Library also has a second copy of the 1646 *Lviv Liturgikon* which was transferred here from Nyírpazony.

The cutter of the illustrations of the *Sliozka Liturgikon* was a certain Iliia, whose signature can be found on the full page cut depicting Saint Gregory the Dialogist and on the header containing illustrations of the Descent to Limbo, the Crucifixion, and the Burial of Christ. The other two full page cuts follow the traditions and show the compilers of the liturgy, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil the Great. Moreover, it also contains a woodcut depicting the Last Supper and the altar table above which there are three icons, The Theotokos with the Child, the Crucifixion with Griefers, and Christ the Pantocrator. A further illustration shows the Proskomedia with the commemorative morsels on the diskos.

On the foot of pages 102–109 of the exhibit there is a fragmented hand written note of donation in Cyrillic. It states that the *Sluzhebnik* was purchased for the church of Kriva or Krive in June 1666 by Matej Zekácsa (Székács?) and his wife, Anna:

‘... kupil” Sluzhebnik Matěj // Zěkača Birov i z ženoû // svoeû Annoû za svoe otpuše[...] // grěhov do crkve

kriveckoj // pridaet ej nerušimo // za zolotyh sěj: // rok [1666] m[ěsâ]ca iûl dnâ [...] // Ioan Star m. v. m.’

There are and were several Greek Catholic Rusyn villages with similar names – for example Kriva (*Nagykirva*) in the Maramureş (*Máramaros*) region or Uličské Krivé (*Kriva/Görbeszeg*) in the Zemplén county on the estate of the Homonnai Drugeth family – the exact church has not yet been reliably identified. (X. G.)

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- Гусева–Каменева, 1976, Кат. 91.
 Каратаев, 1883, kat. 597.
 Запаско–Ісаевич, 1981, Кат. 352.

II.1.2 Tetraevangelion Catalogue II.17



Printing House of the Confraternity of the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Theotokos, Lviv, 11th June, 1670. (Printer: Stefan Polovecky)

'Evangelion sireč" Bl[a]gověstie b[o]god[u]hnovennyh evangelist"... trecticeû izdadesâ.

V" Lvově, tšaniem ... Bratstva Ivov: Stavropigion, hrama Uspeniâ Pr[esvâ]tyâ B[ogorod]ca, v lěto ... o[t] r[o]ž[des]tva H[risto]va 1670. iûniâ 11.'

[12], 412 fol., ill. (woodcuts); 2^o

Binding: wooden boards, full brown leather, embossed, gold plated, with clasps, patterns, and figural medallions, 17th century.

22 × 32.8 × 7.8 cm (8.7 × 12.9 × 3 in)

Conservation: Péter Schramkó, 2002.

Nyíregyháza, SZAGKHF, Inv. No. M-920 (Ant10467)

This volume written in Cyrillic Church Slavonic is the third edition of the Gospel Book by the Confraternity of the Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos, Lviv. It was printed in black and red ink and is illustrated by several full page and inset woodcuts which were signed by three different names, Hieromonk Dorothei, Ilia, and V. Th. Z. The frame of the front page is the composition of fifteen Gospel scenes, and the signature is in the image of the Vision of Saint Peter of

Alexandria: 1646 V.Th.Z. The choice of images reveal that the frame was originally created for an earlier edition of a Pentecostarion. The woodcut on the back of the front cover was made by Ilia according to the Cyrillic signature. The printer, Stefan Polovecky placed his Cyrillic signature in the ornament of the printed frame: 'Stefan Polove: Maister'.

Printed in one thousand three hundred copies, the literature differentiates two versions of the 1670 Lviv Gospel Book. One variant has the vine-medallion frame composition from the front page of the first edition cut by *Hierodeacon* Georgy in 1636. On the colophon there is a composition of five images designed by Ilia, dated to the same year, with the *Descent into Limbo* in the centre. This exhibit is, however, of the other variant. In these prints, the frame of the front page is the composition of Gospel scenes dated ten years later, while on the colophon there is a full page set of seven images from Ilia with a Western-style depiction of the *Resurrection of Christ* in the centre. A further difference from the first version is that from the portraits before each book, the one depicting Saint Matthew bears the Cyrillic signature of Hieromonk Dorothei. From the other three portraits, the woodcut of Saint John The Theologian bears the date 1669 besides the name of Dorothei.

Cutter Hieromonk Dorothei copied the full page portraits of Evangelists of the 1670 Lviv *Gospel Book* in 1669 from the works of Pamvo Berinda created at the turn of 16–17th centuries for the Gospel Book issued by the Confraternity of Lviv in 1636. Dorothei corrected the century-old 'mistake' of the original illustrations, the mismatched symbols of Saint Mark and Saint John The Theologian, thus on these copies the former is correctly accompanied by the lion while the latter by the eagle. However, Dorothei also transformed the style of Berinda's portraits changing the original Western Renaissance design to simpler, more provincial shapes.

The smaller, inset pictures in the volume are the early, Western-style, Renaissance woodcuts used as returning illustrations in the different editions of the Gospel Book issued by the Confraternity of Lviv in the 17th–18th centuries.

Similarly to the second, 1644 edition, the 1670 edition of the Gospel Book by the Confraternity was probably rather popular amongst the domestic Greek Catholics because several copies have been transferred to the most significant collection in Hungary, the Library of the Theological College of Nyíregyháza (from the parishes of Kántorjánosi, Kisléta, Nyírderzs, and Balsa).

As stated by the handwritten Church Slavonic note of donation on the foot of the first pages (pp.



[3]–12), the exhibit was donated a few years after its printing, in 1679, to the Church of Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker of Mándok by a certain Stefan Poltavsky:

'Roku B[o]ž[o]go 1079 [below it by an other hand:] Roku B[o]ž[o]go 1679 / siū knigu [...]vaeme // kupil" rab" B[o]žii Stefan // [?]rurovič Poltavskij: // zlotyh [18] ugoriskih" // i pridal ej do hramu // [...]tgo otca Nikoly // do c[e]rkve mandockoj // za svojih otpušenie grěhov" // htobyj měl" // otdaliti ot toi crkve mandockoj // takou pričinou // da budet proklât Anathema // 1679.'

The note says that Stefan bought the book for 18 'Hungarian gold coins', most probably from a Galician trader who was at the time catering for the liturgical book needs of the domestic united parishes.

An undated note on the endpaper of the book exposes the wavering of the Rusyn author in the Hungarian language, since the traditional curse formula directed at anyone stealing the book was added to the Hungarian sentence in Church Slavonic written first in Latin, then in Cyrillic script:

'Mándoki Czerkóba / való ez Szent / Evángyeliom: / Es pedig azki ellopno vagy / is elvine az Mándoczkoi / Cerkvi [innen cirille:] tot" bude proklâ/ty navěki:'

The same bilingualism is recorded by the handwritten note on the back endpaper of the volume:

'Do mándoká Válásnae / Cie Evánhelie / Az az Hogy ez Szent Evángyeliom / Mándoki Czerkóba / Való. (X. G.)

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 Ојтози, 1985, Кат. 28/3.
 Гусева–Полонская, 1990, Кат. 194.

II.1.2 Gospel Book

Catalogue II.18



The Print of the Confraternity of the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Theotokos, Lviv, 1722 (Printer: Vasiliy Stavnickyy)

Evangelion sireč" Bl[a]gověstie b[o]god[uh]novennyh evangelist".

V" Lvově, tšaniem ... Bratstva Lvovskago Stavropigion, hrama Uspeniä Pr[esvâtyâ] B[ogorodi]ca ..., v lëto ... o[t] r[o]ž[destva] H[r]isto]va 1722.

[10], 412, [14] fol., ill. (woodcuts); 2°

Binding: wooden boards, brown full leather, with gold painted leather (Crucifixion), two clasps.

21.1 × 31.4 × 8 cm (size of binding)

(8.3 × 12.4 × 3.1 in)

Conservation: Henriette Fehrentheil.

Nyíregyháza, SZAGKHF, Inv. No. M-185 (Ant20016)

This volume written in Cyrillic Church Slavonic is the sixth edition of the Gospel Book by the Confraternity of the Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos, Lviv. It was printed in black and red and contains several full page and inset woodcuts that had already been used in the previous editions. Its front page frame, also used in the first edition, is the 1636 composition of Hierodeacon Gregory. On the top there is the group of the Deesis, on

the two sides there are the portraits of the Apostles in medallions amongst vines, while the frame is closed by the illustration of the Dormition of the Theotokos at the bottom. In the woodcut on the back of the front page a similar theme referring to the publisher, the Confraternity, the Assumption can be seen, however, it is complemented by the scene of the *Coronation of the Immaculate Theotokos* and references to the town of Lviv: on the left there is the Korinakt Tower, in the middle there is the city gate with the triple towers also featured on the coat of arms of Lviv, and the lion was printed on the bottom frame. On the cut on the colophon the initials N. Z. and the date 1679 can be observed in Church Slavonic symbols, indicating that the cutter of the picture was Nikodim Zubricky. The Cyrillic sign of the printer, Vasiliy Stavnickyy is in the frame set on the side: 'Vasilij S: Drukar'. The third illustrator of the volume was woodcutter Evstathiy Zavadovsky, whose Cyrillic signature is present on the full page portraits of Saint Matthew, Saint Mark and Saint John The Theologian together with the dates 1681, 1682, and 1683 in Arabic numerals. Furthermore, among the numerous insets, cuts, and figural headers of Western Renaissance style familiar from the earlier editions of the *Lviv Gospel Book* a *Golgotha scene* can be found made by Iliia in 1639.

The 1722 *Lviv Gospel Book* was also rather popular amongst the Hungarian Greek Catholics, at least six copies from different parishes (Tolcsva, Nyírgelse, Gadna, Hejőkeresztúr) were transferred to the Library of the Theological College of Nyíregyháza.

As indicated by the stamp on the inner side of the front cover, the volume on exhibit used to belong to the library of the Monastery of Máriapócs: 'The stamp of the Monastery of Máriapócs'. (X. G.)

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Запаско-Ісаєвич, 1984, Кат. 1001.

Ojtozi, 1985, Kat. 60.

II.2.1 The Architecture and Art of Wooden Churches in the Eparchy of Mukacheve (Munkács) in the 17th and 18th Centuries

Puskás Bernadett

The environment of the Bishopric: the Carpathian Region

The characteristics of the 17th-century art of the Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*) were defined by its heritage and environment. Its parishes were formed in the eastern part of historic Hungary, in the frontier zone. By virtue of its Byzantine Rite but even more of its culture, the Bishopric was part of the wider Carpathian Region, which, from the post-Mongol Invasion period, comprised the Ruthenian areas of the Galician and Volhynian territories of the Kingdom of Poland, in close connection with the Belarusian areas of Lithuania, extending to Moldavia in the south. The extent and variegated character of the region affected not only its secular but ecclesiastical and artistic life as well.

Within the unique local art of the Carpathian Region – distinct from Russian and post-Byzantine Balkan art – it is mainly in the area of icon painting that the interaction of different influences is in evidence. In the area lying between East and West, not only northern and southern, Balkan influences were present: From as early as the 12th century, Central-European Romanesque and, subsequently, the Gothic style also left their mark. A peculiarity of local icon painting preserving Byzantine iconography consists in the fact that it became characteristically Central-European in its idiom. This process would continue in the 17th century as well.

The evolution of 17th-century art was also impacted by other phenomena. Ecclesiastically, a prominent event of the region was the 1596 Union of Brest, joining Eastern church communities to the Catholic Church. Entering into union, the Bishopric of Mukacheve had been tied to the bishoprics north-east of it by artistic links even before. Of the latter, however, Przemyśl effectively became Greek Catholic only in 1691, followed by Lviv in 1700. Thus, changes in art related to the Latin Rite would materialise not with the union itself but later, in the second half of the 18th century, as a result of the Synod of Zamość, with a markedly baroque spirituality. Besides urban development and the rise of the middle class, intensifying European orientation in the territory of multi-ethnic Poland and Lithuania unified in 1569 brought about a truly conspicuous transformation in art phenomena. Aware of the importance of state-of-the-art European approaches

and schooling, this attitude was also embraced by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mogila (1633–1647), of Moldavian descent.¹

By the early 17th century, the Vlach-Ruthenian colonisation of the western borderlands from the south as far as Lesser Poland, primarily affecting mountainous areas and the surrounding parts, had ended, producing hundreds of small settlements in the territory of the Bishopric of Mukacheve as well. These were rural communities, for which adherence to the faith of the ancestors was also an important manifestation of cultural identity. To their members south and north of the Carpathian Mountains, one of the dominant contexts of spiritual life was represented by monasteries in the countryside, whereas, at the fairs held in towns of varying sizes, they were able to encounter the new cultural phenomena of everyday life from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. However, peripheral position, enabling the reception of various influences, resulted in difficulties as well, for centres on a scale allowing for contributions to the development of post-Byzantine art amid the changing circumstances failed to evolve. Nevertheless, despite the absence of major local centres, it was precisely the economic and ecclesiastical connections established along the roads running through mountain passes that permitted the Eparchy of Mukacheve, seen as conservative from the perspective of both Hungary and the neighbouring Byzantine-rite eparchies, to avoid exclusion from the cultural changes characterising this significant period.

Variable and invariable forms in the architecture of wooden churches

According to the testimony of the canonical visitations in the mid-18th century, the number of churches built of solid material was insignificant in the Bishopric of Mukacheve. With the exceptions of the rotunda of the Monastery of Mukacheve representing the centre of the Eparchy and the buildings in Körtvélyes, monastery buildings were also constructed from wood until the 18th century. This feature was not the result of a dearth of financial resources as this was the case north east of the Carpathians, in Galician towns as well, with quite imposing wooden edifices in some places.² Wooden-church architecture was thus integral to tradition. Thanks to this easily

¹ Subsequently, Yosyf Shumlyansky (Józef Szumlański), the first Greek Catholic Bishop of Lviv, also issued his ordinances and books with a view to enhancing the standards of ecclesiastical life, deploying union to ameliorate spirituality and counterpoise Muscovite interests. It was from the printing block of his *antimins* that György Bizánczy, Bishop of Mukacheve, had his own *antimins* printed. On confessional civilising, see: Wawrzyniuk, Piotr. *Confessional civilising in Ukraine: the bishop Iosyf Shumliansky and the introduction of reforms in the diocese of Lviv 1668–1708*, Huddinge, 2005.

² Tapac, 2007, 23.

II.2.1

accessible and well-known construction material, nearly in every village in the whole region, at least one small-size, 6-7 m (20-23 ft) wide, log-walled wooden church could be built, in a form in many ways generally applicable in the light of centuries of routine yet unique in its details. The architecture of wooden churches in the region was influenced by the technology and treatment of forms characteristic of the defensive buildings of the medieval world, adjusted to Byzantine definitions of liturgical space and liturgical requirements.³ The 17th-century wooden churches of Eastern-rite communities conformed to the tradition of the preceding centuries in the Eparchy of Mukacheve and beyond its north-eastern boundaries alike: Consisting of the sanctuary in the east, a nave in the centre and the vestibule-like female church section called *babinec* in the west, they were built from central square-shaped sections arranged around a single axis. In the wall between the space for women and the nave, wide profiled peeping holes and a central open entrance were cut; in the wall between the nave and the sanctuary, doors opened, too, with icons placed between and above them.

In their exterior appearance, churches show a high degree of variation, corresponding to the different architectural traditions converging in the territory of the Eparchy. On the basis of individual areas and the dialects of their inhabitants, the extant wooden churches may be categorised into four basic types. However, since carpenters would set the proportions and create the decorative details of the particular churches in compliance with local requests, further sub-categories emerged as well.

Alluding to the name of a local people, the *Boyko* type church became widespread in the area of the north-eastern passes of the Carpathians, with several examples in Galician territories, across the mountain ridge, as well. It is exemplified by St Nicholas' church in Husnyy (*Huszna*), with its base forms associated with its 1655 erection, though later it would be exposed to multiple interventions.⁴ The lower part of the log-walled church is protected by eaves running around all three sections. Above, all the sections were given their own roofs, among which the middle one protrudes as a polygonal top, rendering the silhouette of the church tiered pyramidal. Not only with its width but also with its height, the



(1)

square-shaped nave materialises as the most accentuated mass; smaller in size, the sanctuary in the east and the *babinec* in the west were added in perfect symmetry. On the one hand, this church type is reminiscent of the fortress churches of the Galician borderlands, of which one of the most well-known one was the 16th-century church of Posada Rybotycka, near Przemyśl, decorated with medieval murals. On the other hand, it is this mass- and space arrangement that best retains certain principles of Byzantine central-domed churches. Next to such wooden churches, it was common to build bell-cage structures with a square-shaped base, topped by diverse spires.⁵

In the Upper-Hungary areas of the Eparchy, churches of the *Lemko* type, indicative of the dialect spoken there, are considerably more common. This type is also found in large numbers on the Polish side of the Carpathian Mountains. St Nicholas' church in Bodružal (*Rózsadomb/Bodruzsál*), built in 1658 and modified several times subsequently, represents this type (Picture 1). It is characterised by mass formation growing dynamically westwards and culminating in a steeple, followed by the separate, multi-tier roof structures of individual church sections of increasing height. The steeple is not necessarily an element borrowed from western architecture: It was present in the region's secular architecture as well, initially fulfilling defence- and signalling functions. However, western steeples would also be used to house bells precisely as of the 17th century. It was from this time that bell ringing became

³ Тарас, Ярослав. Генеза сакральної дерев'яної архітектури українців Карпат, in: Дзюба, І. (ред.). *Етногенез та етнічна історія населення Українських Карпат: У 4 т., Т. 2, Етнологія та мистецтвознавство*, Львів, 2006, 178–273.

⁴ Сирохман, Михайло. *Дерев'яні церкви та дзвіниці Закарпаття*, Ужгород, 2016. It has recently been fitted with new sheet-iron casing.

⁵ Тарас, 2019, 21–23.

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general in conjunction with the liturgy in Galicia.⁶ In Bodružal, a relatively small sanctuary covered by a pyramidal shingle roof and a higher squat nave are followed by a *babinec* of approximately the same width, topped by a tower, closing in a colonnaded porch in the west. The steeple is a wholly closed structure with two small windows.⁷ Nonetheless, due to bell ringing, the space on the west side was built as a timbered and thus more flexible construction. In the 18th century, the steeples of a number of *Lemko*-type churches were raised by a baroque shingle steeple, substantially altering their original character, though not containing any bells inside.

The church type called *Tisza-Valley* or *Máramaros/Maramureș* is most typical in Ugocsa and Máramaros Counties, with the building structure evocative of the silhouettes of local Romanesque or Gothic churches and well illustrating conformance to the architecture of the

area. Its earliest extant examples are St Nicholas' church in Kolodne (*Darva*), with its log-walling dated to the 15th century, (1470, 18th century) and the wooden church of Sereďnje Vodyane (*Középpapsa*) with the same title (17th and 18th centuries; Picture 2).⁸ The church form consists of a low sanctuary closing in a straight line or polygonally and a considerably larger space stretched along the longitudinal axis, segmented by partition walls into a square-shaped nave, a relatively short *babinec* and a narrow outside porch in front of the entrance, the latter two also coming together to form a square in their base plans. This type is *inter alia* evidenced in St Michael's church in Krainykovo (*Mihálka*) (1668). Its sanctuary and nave are covered by pitched shingled gable roofs. Due to the recessed log-walling of the upper-storey section, the cross-section of the interior space evokes a basilical structure. In the church interior, several archaic

⁶ Tapac, 2019, 24–25.

⁷ Pavlovský, 2007a, 8–19.

⁸ Tapac, 2007, 432–435.

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arrangements were employed. For instance, in the wall between the *babinec* and the nave, horizontal peeping holes were cut around the entrance, and, over the *babinec*, a gallery was created with a similarly simple aperture towards the inner space. Over the vestibule, a shingle-covered spire with a timbered turret reaching to the sky was erected. A simpler variant of this church type is the wooden church of Mándok (Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre), completed by 1676 according to the inscription carved above the entrance. Subsequent schematisms of the Eparchy of Mukacheve record all non-brick churches as wooden churches, though – as distinct from the wooden churches of mountainous areas timbered out of plank oak- and pine-beams – their flatland counterparts must have been wattle-and-daub churches.⁹

The *house-type wooden church* of Moldavian and Bukovinian origins acted as a conduit for transmitting the oldest architectural traditions of the region.¹⁰ In the Bishopric of Mukacheve, a late instance of this is the church of St Michael in Topoľa (*Kistopolya*), in Upper Hungary, built at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries and subsequently partially rebuilt, composed of three sections of differing proportions as customary, with a polygonal sanctuary though.¹¹ The building is shielded by a steeply rising roof: its shingle-covered even surfaces running down virtually conceal the walls; the resultant wide eaves are supported by pillars. As opposed to the standard type, here a west entrance was made, with a short west tower fitted on the ridge board signalling that, despite the building's plain form, it is not a residential house.

Wherever possible, the church building would be situated on a hilltop. In some places, the church would be enclosed by a wooden fence complete with a portal with shingled eaves; beyond the fence, lay a graveyard. In the garden, the building would be sheltered from the wind by a ring of trees. Each church type continued to exist in the 18th century as well, with even more spectacular, composite baroque spires. It was at that time that base structure was expanded symmetrically in a transversal direction, giving rise to the form of the *Hucul church* with a cross-shaped floor plan and a central spire. Although, in terms of base plan and mass formation, this type comes closest to Byzantine central stone buildings, it failed to



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become prevalent even in Galicia. In the Eparchy of Mukacheve, one of its late examples is found in Yasinya (*Kőrösmező*): the so-called Struk Church (1824; Picture 3).¹²

Wooden churches were decorated with carved pillars, as well as carved archaic Sun-motifs, plaitwork and serrated patterns around the entrance (Uzhok [*Uzsok*]; Picture 4).¹³ Much as the 17th century was a period of ecclesiastical union, there were no radical changes in the architecture of wooden churches either in that century or in the next one. Even after the 1646 Union of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*), traditional forms and spatial division inherited from the previous centuries continued to

⁹ Domanovszky, György. *Magyarország egyházi faépítészet: Bereg megye*, Budapest 1936, 43. For example, the 'Russian' church in Újfehértó, see: Cat. III.19.

¹⁰ Шевцова, Галина. Східна Європа та Україна: ступінь впливу народного житла на формотворення дерев'яної церкви, *Містобудування та територіальне планування*, 37(2010), 565–571.

¹¹ Pavlovský, 2007b, 120–129.

¹² On wooden churches with cross-shaped base plans, see: Тарас, 2007, 416–429.

¹³ Болюк, Олег. Профілі та різьба, in: Павлюк, С. (Ред.): *Церковне мистецтво України, 1, Архітектура: Монументальне мистецтво*, Харків, 2018, 547–550.

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define buildings. It is only in the area of decorative elements, unrelated to the rite, that signs of the late-Renaissance may be discerned. These include the use of an arcaded tower gallery and strongly protruding horizontal cornices.

From the end of the 17th century, the broad eaves encircling the building would be substituted by boarding or shingling to protect the walls. This resulted in replacing small window openings with larger windows and therefore in the creation of a brighter interior space, with even murals painted in it. At the same time, a more significant change was that, in response to baroque demands for a unitary interior, the partition walls between the nave and the women's section were later removed from some 17th-century wooden churches, or the separation of the sexes would be marked only symbolically, by pillars holding the gallery.

Built from stone and covered with a stone slab, a constant feature of wooden churches was the roughly cubic altar, which could be circumambulated. One of the

earliest known specimens survives in Kolodna (15th century).¹⁴ As reflected by the window cut in the east wall of the sanctuary, the altar was erected slightly away from the main axis of the building in a southerly direction so that sufficient space would be left at the north wall of the sanctuary for the Table of Oblation. Similar asymmetry is evident in the wooden church of Mándok as well, where the entire sanctuary was moved slightly to the north at the time of construction. In wooden churches, originally two doors opened in the common wall of the sanctuary and the nave, the north one leading to the *Prothesis*, while the central, so-called Royal Doors, with a slight southward orientation, leading to the altar, with icon-retaining beams protruding above them. Later, this location would serve as the place of the iconostasis.

From the rood-screen-type templon to the five-tier iconostasis

Akin to wooden church architecture, the 17th-century icons and iconostases surviving in the territory of the Eparchy

¹⁴ The altar in the church of Oleksandrivka (*Ósándorfalva*) was made with a widening pedestal and altar slab. Приймич, 2017, 274, 4, Picture 134.

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of Mukacheve demonstrate that this area is situated at the crossroads of different pragmatic and aesthetic arrangements. Owing to existence on the peripheries, those living here preserved a number of ancient arrangements while experiencing the change of perception that affected the whole region after the last decades of the 16th century.

The construction of the iconostasis during the first third of the 17th century followed the ancient practice of the preceding century as a model. As customary in the Carpathian Region, the earlier surviving icons were part of a rood screen – referred to as *templon* (*tjablo*/тябло) –

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composed of simple, moulded, icon-retaining beams. Based on their thematic composition, they could constitute only two rows of icons: *Theotokos*, saints and *Deesis* from Rovné (*Róna*) (1550–1580, Šariš Museum/Šarišské Múzeum, Bardejov [*Bártfa*]).¹⁵ The two-tier iconostasis is of Balkan – as a matter of fact, Byzantine – origins, which was also embraced in Kievan Rus' at a time. In the 14th and 15th centuries – probably in the time of Metropolitan Cyprian – the high iconostasis evolved in the northern Slavic areas, while, in the Carpathian Region and Galicia, an archaic version of the traditional Balkan form would obtain until the middle or end of the 16th century. This may have been related to conservative liturgical

practice, or it might also have been a consequence of the log-wall arrangement of the east nave wall. Furthermore, adherence to the traditional pattern must have been reinforced by the fact icons were still painted under church supervision at the time. The local iconographic and technological practice of the previous centuries was kept alive by workshops initially within monasteries and subsequently in Przemyśl, an episcopal centre playing a pivotal role in the 16th century.¹⁶ This practice would be followed in the Eparchy of Mukacheve as well. Due to its lack of ornamentation, the icon-retaining frame has been preserved only in a few exceptional locations in Galicia; in most places, it would later be removed, only to be replaced by a new ornate iconostasis. However, in the southern territories of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, this archaic form continued to exist as late as the 17th century. In Novoselytsya (*Csarnatőújfalú/Sós-Újfalú*), Ugočsa County, two asymmetrically positioned doorways are cut in the closed wall between the nave and the sanctuary of the wooden church built in 1669: the narrower deacon's door on the north side and the wider Royal Doors to the right of the central axis of the church (Pictures 5–6).¹⁷ The positions of the former sovereign-tier icons are marked by supporting peg fragments. The horizontal beam protruding from the wall above them were also designed to hold icons.

As inferred from 15–16th-century iconography, in the Carpathian Region, the Sovereign Tier was constituted by two or three icons initially: *Theotokos with the Infant* (in some places, with the inscription 'Incarnation') and the patron saint of the region, Saint Nicholas, or the titular saint or feast of the church.¹⁸ Of Pantocrator icons, a mere handful have survived in the entire region from before the 16th century. In Novoselytsya, traces of sovereign-tier icons may be detected: north of the deacon's door, presumably of the icon of Saint Nicholas, south of it, in the same row, of a narrower icon – probability that of the *Theotokos with the Child Jesus* – and, on the wider wall section after the Royal Doors, of a larger horizontal icon – possibly of the title feast of the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos.

¹⁵ Grešlik, 1994, 22–25.

¹⁶ Aleksandrowycz, Wołodmyr. Malarze południowo-wschodnich terenów prawosławnej diecezji przemyskiej w drugiej połowie XVI wieku, in: Gienza, Jarosław – Stepan, Andrzej (red.). *Sztuka cerkiewna w diecezji przemyskiej* [Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 25–26 marca 1995 roku], Łańcut, 1999, 73–88.

¹⁷ Дружок, Галина – Скоп, Лев. *История создания алтарной преграды в церкви Успения Богородицы в с. Новоселице на Закарпатье, Памятники культуры: Новые открытия – Письменность – Искусство – Археология – Ежегодник 1989*, Москва, 1990, 204–218.

¹⁸ Зілінко, Роман. Давній український іконостас: Дерев'яні церкви, *Галицька брама*, 145–146(2010), № 4–5, квітень–травень, 32–37; Островський, Юрій. Архітектонічно-декоративна виразність та процес формування українського іконостасу, in: *Апологет – Християнська сакральна традиція: Віра, духовність, мистецтво* [Матеріали II Міжнародної наукової конференції, м. Львів, 24–25 листопада 2010 р.], Львів, 2010, 38–45.

In Novoselytsya, the second row of the iconostasis must have been occupied by feast icons as detachable images as, in 1673, additional icon rows were painted as murals on the wall section over the sanctuary: Apostles and Prophets.¹⁹ On the other side of the Carpathians, icons of the feasts were initially accommodated on the edges of the *Deesis* row and subsequently, from the early 16th century, in a separate row. However, the three-tiered iconostasis would fail to become standard practice even by the end of the 16th century.

Although the segmentation of the Carpathian iconostasis continued to be dominated by the horizontal, linear arrangement dictated by Balkan tradition, its archaic asymmetry would undergo regularisation as of the mid-16th century. It was at that time that the Royal Doors were fitted with wings painted as icons and were placed in the main axis (Door-wings from Kružľov [*Kótelep/Kruzsló*], 1580-1600, Šariš Museum, Bardejov), another deacon's door was opened in the south, and the number of sovereign-tier icons kept growing. The number of icons on the two sides of the main axis in the upper rows also became more even, even though – as indicated by the corresponding specimens – this had not always been the case previously. In the early 17th century, this symmetrical base form came to be prevalent. Additionally, the pictorial programme was expanded by a fourth, so-called Prophet Tier.²⁰

In the North-Eastern Carpathian Region, the system of 17th-century iconostasis tiers differed from that established in Russian areas since, in the former, the next row above the sovereign-tier icons was the row of feast icons, sequenced according to the order of the liturgical year, with the *Deesis* aligned with icons of the Apostles placed only above it. In this composition, contrary to the practice of the preceding centuries, the Pantocrator's throne was not surrounded by the various orders of saints any more but – reflecting the influence of Balkan iconography – by the Apostles.²¹ The fourth row comprised the Prophets, including additional Old Testament figures. However, even at that time of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky's visitation, in the Bishopric of Mukacheve, in villages of modest means, the prophet

icons were either absent or substituted by images painted on a long canvas (Apostle- and Prophet Tiers, St Luke's church, Tročany [*Trocsány*], second half of the 17th century). In other places – such as in Novoselytsya – murals were used instead. As a further option, the Apostles and the *tondi* of the Prophets were painted on a common board (Šarišský Štiavnik [*Sósfüred/Scsávnik*], Šariš Museum, Bardejov).²²

The iconostasis closed with a painted cross depicting the crucified Christ or the *Crucifixion* scene, with two groups of ancillary figures: the Three Maries, as well as John the Evangelist, Joseph of Arimathea and Longinus. Thus, in the ensemble of icon rows, a central vertical axis was made distinct, with the representations arranged around it presenting the principal themes in the theological teaching on Christ. On the Royal Doors, the figures of the Four Evangelists convey the Christian good news, while the *Annunciation* evokes the incarnation of the Word. As the central icon of the Feast Tier, the *Mandylion*, the Not-Made-By-Hands Image of Christ, was featured in some places, but, as of the first decades of the 17th century, it would be replaced by the *Last Supper*, the scene of the Institution of the Eucharist. For the central icon of the *Deesis*, the enthroned Pantocrator of the *Last Judgement* was already painted in liturgical vestments as the High Priest.²³ Less commonly, in the middle of the Prophet Tier, Christ Emmanuel is shown in the *Theotokos of the Sign* icon type.

While, in the first half of the 17th century, archaic arrangements continued to exist in the southern part of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, primarily with the rise of a multi-ethnic middle class in the cities and towns of Galicia, late-renaissance decorative principles and motifs came to prevail in the constructions of Lviv and subsequently Zhovkva, in the furnishings and iconostases of their churches, as well as in the ornamentation of their printed books.²⁴ Icons were encased in renaissance frames, and, segmented by cornices, the iconostasis became an ensemble with three doors, organised along vertical axes. Supplied with rich painting and carved decoration, the structure defined by the giant order was able to function as a device of communal-ecclesiastical

¹⁹ Puskás, 2008, 83–85.

²⁰ Гелитович, 2017, 40.

²¹ Гелитович, 2017, 32.

²² Greslík, 1994, 38.

²³ Puskás, Bernadett. Krisztus, a Nagy Főpap alakja a Kárpát-vidék ikonfestészetében, in: Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *A papságról a papság évében 2009. november 26-án rendezett szimpozium anyaga* (Liturgikus örökségünk, 10), Nyíregyháza, 2009, 67–84.

²⁴ Александрович, Володимир. Жовківський осередок майстрів українського малярства та різьблення: початки традиції, in: *Жовква крізь століття*, Вип. 1, Матеріали наукової конференції, присвяченої 15-ї річниці утворення ДІАЗу в Жовкві 22–24 квітня 2010 року, Жовква, 2010, 375–385.

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visuality on a par with mannerist Roman Catholic altar structures and epitaphs. The inspiration was derived from Flemish models, with their innovations neatly fitting with the requirements of the Lviv Orthodox fraternity for self-expression. A series of secular artists emerged, while the number of monastic workshops adhering to the old traditional forms would decline by the end of the 16th century, along with the demand for their work. None of this had any impact on the essential aspects of the iconostasis, i.e. its pictorial programme, though.

The archaic iconostasis structures of the Eparchy of Mukacheve also underwent structural, formal and decorative changes thanks to the masters coming from the neighbouring northern and eastern bishoprics. Renaissance-type painted arcade arches first appeared in the background of icons (Apostles from Matysová [Máté/Matisova], early 17th century, Museum of Stará Lubovňa [Ólubló], L'ubovnianske Múzeum). Later, depictions would be enveloped by painted dark-blue frames, decorated with 'gems', stylised tendril motifs or angelic heads; subsequently, icon board frames were fitted with carved, silver-foiled, glazed arched templets and rosettes. The iconostasis of Šemetkovce (*Semetkóc*), erected during the second half of the 17th century, consists of framed icons arrayed in a frieze-like fashion. Here, the number of icons on the left and right side is already the same (six on each side), yet they are not aligned vertically so strictly as in some Galician iconostases or in the baroque iconostases of the area from the turn of the century.

At the end of the 17th century, new rows were added to the iconostasis. In the picture areas below the sovereign-tier icons, *predella* icons were placed. Their thematic composition would be varied: Besides Old- and New Testament themes, scenes of historical significance were also featured.²⁵ Certain workshops recommended their own established thematic selections. In this way, as a result of the activities of the Rybotycze workshop operational from the 1640s, the figures of Saint Anthony and Theodosius Pechersky appeared in Tolcsva as well. In larger Galician iconostases, a passion icon tier was introduced, in some places complete with compositions for the Sundays following Easter Sunday; the latter are

also found in the upper sections of the iconostasis of Nyírparasznya (18th century). Although the number of the icons would not change in later periods, the late-renaissance structure of the iconostasis was modified in the early 18th century. Its most prominent icons – *Christ the High Priest* and the sovereign-tier icons – were given an architecturally grandiose, emphatic baroque frame, typical of the Carpathian Region, topped by a pediment formed out of interrupted cornices and adorned by a pair of columns with fretwork-carving. The doorways of the iconostasis were rendered portal-like, with painted figures on the portals and the upper arch alike. The Eparchy of Mukacheve preserved archaic arrangements in this respect as well: The door arches would frequently display painted seraph figures, evocative of one of the Old Testament prefigurations of the Royal Doors: the Ark of the Covenant guarded by seraphim.²⁶

In 17th-century iconostases, the importance of fretwork carving increased, first appearing on the Royal Doors – replacing door-wings painted in an icon-like manner – and subsequently around the medallions showing the Prophets. An inscribed specimen is the Royal Doors from Kurov (*Kurova/Kuró*) (Šariš Museum, Bardejov), dating from 1654. The piece is composed of a painted and gilded tendril with grape bunches and leaves, with medallions depicting the *Annunciation* and the Four Evangelists in line with tradition.

In Transcarpathia, several 18th-century examples of door-wings representing the *Tree of Jesse* have survived, with a foliated scroll branching from the side of the reclining figure surrounding the depictions of Jesus' Old Testament ancestors.²⁷ In 18th-century village iconostases, prophet medallions constituted pyramidal compositions encompassed by floral scrolls. The structure itself with cornices and pillars was not subjected to any major formal or decorative transformation during the 18th century. Arranged in tiers, the first clearly baroque construction which represents a departure from traditional cornice segmentation was built in Huklyvyi (*Zúgó/Hukliva*) in 1784; its icons were painted by Franz Peyer.²⁸

In the Eparchy of Mukacheve, iconostases with interrupted structures and late-baroque carvings would become widespread in Upper Hungary and

²⁵ Пелех, Мар'яна. Розвиток символіки та іконографії у пределах іконостасів Галичини XVII–XVIII ст., *Вісник Закарпатського Художнього Інституту*, 7(2015), 82–86.

²⁶ A seraph is seen in a 17th-century royal-door fragment from Transcarpathia for similar reasons (privately owned item from Bukivts'ovo [Ungbükkös]). Александрович, Володимир. Комплекс ікон передвітарної огорожі в українській церковній традиції княжої доби, in: *Апологет: Християнська сакральна традиція: Віра, духовність, мистецтво* [Матеріали V Міжнародної наукової конференції м. Львів, 23–24 листопада 2012 р.], Львів, 2012, 50.

²⁷ Приймич, 2014, 118–119.

²⁸ Puskás, 2010b, 691.

Transcarpathia as of the last third of the 18th century. Although baroque arrangements obviously speak to Catholic influence, they do not owe their popularity to the 1720 Synod of Zamość alone. In fact, adjustments to western late-renaissance and, subsequently, baroque aesthetics are also evident in specimens from Orthodox areas, indicating a change in general aesthetic perception, which started in Lviv in the course of the 17th century. After a major fire, the city was rebuilt by Italian and German masters. The renaissance and mannerist forms they employed would be utilised by the builders and woodcarvers of iconostases – initially in the workshops of the city and later in Zhovkva workshops as well. Book graphics and sample books from the west could play a role similar to local western-type architecture.²⁹ Through the 17th-century painting school of the Kiev Lavra, the structure type westernised in terms of both its new structural and decorative principles, as well as its style, brought about some major changes far beyond the Carpathian Region – in Russian and Serbian areas – as well, giving rise to ‘flem’ (Flemish) type baroque carving, coupled by the ‘friag’ (western-like, Italian) icon-painting style.³⁰ However, in workshops in the North-Eastern Carpathian Region, icon painters continued to apply graphically two-dimensional forms within the bounds of the baroque icon as long as the mid-18th century, even if no longer in the original medieval abstract idiom.

In the modest and rather dark interiors of small rural churches, set at the centre of attention, the iconostasis was complemented by the sight of wall icons, processional crosses, double-sided portable icons, as well as altarpiece- and icon-retaining structures combined with the tabernacle from the 18th century – the so-called *kivots*. Rybotytsze masters, active in Transcarpathia as well, made sacramental houses from the middle of the 17th century, though their form and iconography would not be fixed even by the early 18th century.³¹ As, due to the low clearance of the sanctuary, the practice of erecting a baldachin over the altar failed to develop, altar icons would be closed with baldachin-like elements instead (Bukivts’ovo). The baldachin materialised only with the construction of stone churches in the late 18th century.³²

As wooden churches in the Carpathian Region were built from square-cross-section beams, they would be suitable to accommodate wall paintings once gaps were filled and grounding was applied. The appearance of murals in wooden churches was at first linked to a visually prominent element, the iconostasis, directing attention to the sanctuary. Murals on the east wall would always act as substitutes for the upper rows of the iconostasis. In 1673, in Novoselytsya, commissioned by Yur Ivashchyn, *Christ Enthroned* was painted with Apostles; above them Joachim and Anne with the Prophets, and the *Crucifixion* at the top. Individual figures from the rows continue on the side walls of the nave, displaying two other popular compositions: the *Last Judgement* with the inscription ‘Раб божий Юра Петришинъ сее второе пришествие дал змальовати за здравие свое и за отпущение грехов року божого 1662’ on the north wall (Picture 7) and the Passions of Christ on the south and west walls, with the *Tree of Jesse* composition above them.³³ The donators, the names of the masters and the year of painting are commemorated by several inscriptions. In accordance with Byzantine iconography, on the barrel-vault wooden ceilings of the naves of wooden churches, themes pertinent to the sanctuary, scenes of Old Testament sacrifice offering and *Virgin of the Sign* compositions tended to be featured within circular areas. In Transcarpathia, six mural ensembles survive – mostly from the second half of the 18th century (e.g. Kolodne and Krainykovo). In Oleksandrivka, compositions evocative of the end time, still in a graphic manner yet in baroque style, were painted on the side walls of the church by Stefan Terebelsky in 1779: the Wise and Foolish Virgins in circular areas, with the Horsemen of the Apocalypse above them; in the sanctuary, the traditional iconography of the Holy Hierarchs was kept though. In Upper Hungary, a number of mural series extending over the whole of the church interior are evidenced as of the second half of the 18th century. In these, depictions embedded in baroque-type ornamentation exemplify a synthesis of Eastern tradition and Western iconography: *The Coronation of Mary* and the *Three Hierarchs* (Kožany [Kozsány], 1793–1797).³⁴

²⁹ Драган, 1970, 43–49, 73–78; Юркевич, Юрій – Гелитович, Марія – Олейнюк, Надія. *Царські врата українських іконостасів*, Львів, 2012, 24–27.

³⁰ Оляніна, Світлана. Символічна структура флоральної декорації українських іконостасів, *Культурологічна думка*, 2015, № 8, 97–112.

³¹ Косів, 2018d, 77.

³² Приймич, 2014, 88.

³³ Козак, Назар. Монументальне малярство XVII–XVIII століть в дерев’яних церквах, in: Павлюк, Степан (ред.). *Церковне мистецтво України: У 3-х томах, Т. I, Архітектура – Монументальне мистецтво*, Харків, 2018, 687–701.

³⁴ Božova, Jana – Grešlík, Vladislav. *Drevené kostolíky v okolí Bardejova*, Bardejov, 1997, 101–105.



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Icon-painting tradition in the early 17th century

The diverse artistic connections of the Bishopric of Mukacheve are most palpable in icon painting. From the Middle Ages, routes across north-south mountain passes enabled acquaintance with artistic arrangements from remote areas, as well as their adaptation to the local tradition. In the century following the Mongol Invasion, two monasteries along the Ruthenian Road, Spas and Lavriv (*Lawrów*) in the vicinity of Staryi Sambir (*Stary Sambor/Ószambor*), housed icon-painting workshops. On the south-western side of the Carpathians, medieval icon painting is also associated with the Monastery of Krasny Brod (*Krasznibród*) founded in the 14th century.³⁵ Some artistic activities must have been conducted in the Monastery of Mukacheve as well because several handwritten books with figural miniatures survive from the area. The majority of the 16th-century icons known

from the north-eastern part of the Eparchy of Mukacheve are likely to have been works by icon painters from north of the Carpathians (*Deesis*, from Rovné, Šariš Museum, Bardejov).³⁶ From the 15th century, Przemyśl was regarded as the most significant icon-painting centre, where – as suggested by the relevant sources – icon painters of the workshop under the influence of the local Bishopric were ecclesiastical persons or members of clerical families.³⁷ Preserving traditional iconography, they produced a truly unique synthesis in icon painting, with formal arrangements and decorative details reminiscent of Romanesque murals and manuscripts, besides the two-dimensional painting fashion and saturated colour use peculiar to North-Russian icon painting. In the first half of the 16th century, along with certain iconographic patterns coming from Moldavia, the graphic character became even more marked under southern influence.

³⁵ Александрович, Володимир. Образотворче та декоративно-ужиткове мистецтво: Українська культура XIII – першої половини XV ст., in: *Історія української культури*, Том 2 (Українська культура першої половини XIII–XVII століть), Київ, 2001, 279.

³⁶ Grešlík, 1994, 22–25.

³⁷ Александрович, 2000, 312.

In the mid-16th century, a smaller icon-painting workshop was created in Sambir (*Sambor/Szambor*), where even secular artists would work, occasionally crossing the border to Hungary (Saint Michael from Koločava [*Alsókalocsa*], Museum of Folk Architecture and Life, Uzhhorod).³⁸ This period represented the final decades of the Late Middle Ages in the post-Byzantine art of the region. Notwithstanding some stylistic differences, a shared feature of the icons painted in this period is that, in addition to the essential north-south connections – by virtue of the west-east frontier zone function of the region – masters developed a local, East-European stylistic adaptation of Byzantine iconography well before the era of ecclesiastical unions, incorporating numerous Gothicising formal details and decorative motifs into their idiom.

With such antecedents, it could hardly seem odd that the style of the 17th-century icons of the Eparchy of Mukacheve also fuses various patterns. Although, in the transitional period following the turn of the century, substantial differences emerged in the region in conjunction with the profound changes in culture and ecclesiastical policy, links mostly to the art of the north-eastern Byzantine-rite bishoprics would live on.

In Galicia, two trends in icon painting came to the fore already in the 16th century – an ecclesiastical or noble one and a provincial or artisanal one – as, on the one hand, the structural expansion of the iconostasis resulted in more work for icon painters, and, on the other hand, the small-town middle class and, subsequently, well-off villagers appeared as new clients. Nevertheless, earlier workshops lost their significance parallel to the economic and artistic development of Lviv with a rapidly rising middle class.³⁹ In 1572, Ivan Fedorov opened a printing press in the city, which had grown into a centre of secular culture. During the 17th and 18th centuries, a number of printed liturgical books were made in a range of other printing presses; thanks to booksellers, some of these would even reach churches in the Eparchy of Mukacheve.⁴⁰ The graphic plates of the printed books were inspired by western, Flemish engravings. Thus, created in a plastic style, the icons of the local Orthodox icon-painting

workshop exhibited traits of European Renaissance and subsequently of Mannerism. These icons were in high demand in the broader area around Lviv as well.⁴¹

By contrast, the legal status of the Eparchy of Mukacheve was undefined and subject to subordination, with limited financial resources. The spiritual weight of its monasteries and episcopal centre could not even come close to ecclesiastical and secular centres on the other side of the Carpathians, exerting an impact on the culture of the entire region. Its faithful lacked a financially or intellectually influential secular layer even in the 17th century. The clients were simple rural parishes with priests burdened by corvée. While the number of churches grew, there are no data on the activities of an independent local artist or workshop until the middle of the century. In the practice of iconostasis construction, forms open to innovation were brought to the territory of the Bishopric of Mukacheve noted for its conservatism by masters from the Polish side of the Carpathian Mountains.

In Upper Hungary, icons representing typical new stylistic variants have been preserved in several places from the 30s of the 17th century. In graphics and ornamentation, they are already characterised by renaissance or – in some instances – mannerist features: dynamic sketching and elongated proportions in the depiction of figures. However, they still adhere to the principles of medieval-type abstract space representation; compositions consist of unshaded shapes and plains. Their masters are from the area of Nowy Sącz (*Újszandec*) and Muszyna; the icons already display donation formulas and signatures. (*Crucifixion* from Rešov [*Ressó*], 1634, St Luke's church, Tročany; *The Last Judgement* by Paweł Muszyna, mid-17th century, The East Slovak Museum/Východoslovenské múzeum, Košice [*Kassa*]).⁴²

Itinerant icon-painting workshops

Whereas, during the first half of the 17th century, secular icon painters worked individually, in the middle of the century – to improve the efficiency of delivering orders – joint workshops would be organised.⁴³

³⁸ Puskás, 2008, 41.

³⁹ Александрович, Володимир. Львівський осередок українських малярів другої половини XVII століття, in: *З історії західноукраїнських земель*, Вип. 2015, 10–11, 37–70.

⁴⁰ Ojtozi, 1985.

⁴¹ Deluga, Waldemar. The influence of Dutch graphic archetypes on icon painting in the Ukraine, 1600–1750, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 34(1996), 1–26.

⁴² Szanter, Zofia. Muszyńscy malarze ikon w XVII wieku, in: *Zachodnioukraińska sztuka cerkiewna. Dzieła – twórcy – ośrodki – techniki* [Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 10–11 maja 2003 roku], Łańcut, 2003, 199–221; Grešlík, 2002, 20–26.

⁴³ Александрович, 2013, 28.

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In Sudova Vyshnya (*Sądowa Wisznia*), situated halfway between Przemyśl and Lviv, a handful of individual icon painters worked from as early as the late 16th century – at times with ties to Lviv, while at other times to Przemyśl; a major local workshop began to be formed only after 1635.⁴⁴ Artists associated with this location had a predilection for signing their works, emphasising their affiliation with the workshop (*wiszenski*). This way, their migration southwards, towards the Bishopric of Mukacheve, may be clearly traced. Their icons testify to a variety of individual styles. With works of high standard, most prominent among the Vyshnya icon painters was Ilija Brodlakowycz-Wiszeński (Ilya Brodlakovich), whose career also started in Sudova Vyshnya in the 1640s. Presumably on account of his qualities as an artist trained in Lviv, he must have been one of the chief founders of the workshop.⁴⁵ He worked on both sides of the Carpathians. Arriving in Hungary, he settled in Mukacheve and opened his workshop. His icons painted between the 1640s and the 1670s survive in Galicia, as well as in the area of Mukacheve and Baia Mare (*Nagybánya*). Of these, the icons the *Archangel Saint Michael* and the *Theotokos with the Infant* from Rosvigova (*Oroszvég*) (currently part of Mukacheve) are marked by particularly detail-oriented, accurate and proportional graphics, rich colour tones, as well as texturally realistic and effectively spatial painting of faces, hands and drapery. Brodlakowycz's icons were made in two slightly different styles, suggesting the involvement of two masters, or possibly of a student or successor. Sometimes in painting manner, sometimes only in terms of iconography, the Vyshnya masters already worked with a clearly renaissance mindset. Their icons are lined by late-renaissance painted frames. Originally a native of the townlet, Jackó painted a number of signed icons for the Transcarpathian village of Domashyn (*Domafalva*) in the mid-17th century (*Crucifixion*, *The Last Judgement*, 1658).⁴⁶ A votive portrait icon is also attributed to him (the votive death image of Fedya Stefanikuv, 1668, Lviv National Museum). The icons of Ioan Szczyrecki (Ivan Shchirecky) of Vyshnya are still mostly two-dimensional; scenes are

presented in abstract, hint-like environments. At the same time, the *predella* scenes painted by him recall the late-renaissance edifices of the contemporary town, with their New Testament characters featured in early-baroque apparel (iconostasis of the church of Saint John the Baptist, Sukha [*Szuha*], 1679).⁴⁷ The arrangement is an example of the renaissance-type contemporary adaptation of biblical, New Testament events. This rendering related to the present is also encountered in certain feast icons later (*Flight to Egypt*, *Entry into Jerusalem*). Several artists with the name Stefan Wyszynski were members of this workshop. One of them painted icons for Botelka near Turka in 1656 and for Stuzhycya (*Patakófalú*) in 1688. The latter order probably included the painting of a signed double-sided votive icon as well (*Crucifixion/Mary with Child* from Stuzhycya, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, see: Cat. II.24). The other master with the same name worked in Tyushka (*Csuszka*), near Valava (Ökörmező), in a considerably more provincial style.⁴⁸ His activities date to the late 17th century and the early 18th century.⁴⁹ Thus, the signed and dated *Crucifixion* from Stavne (*Fenyvesvölgy*) from 1729, known from an old photograph kept in the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, is likely to be his work (Picture 8).⁵⁰ The activities of the Vyshnya workshop may be traced even in the second half of the 18th century, though its importance would diminish at that time.

Compared to the icons of the icon-painting workshop of Vyshnya, the works of icon painters from Rybotycze are much more uniform in style. From the 1640s until well into the 1760s, the activities of the artists of Rybotycze in the vicinity of Przemyśl are extensively documented. Travelling with multiple workshops, they would accept assignments involving the full pictorial furnishings of churches: iconostases, altar- and processional icons, crosses, banner pictures and *plashchenitsas*. In the workshops, woodcarvers/sculptors, painters and carpenters would work side by side. The number of works made by them is immense. They worked not only in West Galicia but in numerous villages in Upper Hungary and Transcarpathia as well, primarily

⁴⁴ Гелитович, Марія. Вишенські майстри в історії українського іконопису XVII століття, in: *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, Т. 261, *Праці Комісії образотворчого та ужиткового мистецтва*, Львів, 2011, 209–222; Александрович, 2013, 12–13.

⁴⁵ Александрович, 2013, 19.

⁴⁶ Гелитович, Марія. Іконостас 1653 р. церкви Івана Хрестителя у Дністрику Головецькому майстра Яцька з Вишні, *Вісник Львівського університету – Серія мистецтво*, 9(2009), 167–168.

⁴⁷ Откович, Василь. *Народна течія в українському живопису XVII–XVIII ст.*, Київ, 1990, 86–87.

⁴⁸ Драган, 1970, 95.

⁴⁹ Александрович, 2013, 19.

⁵⁰ Photograph by Hiador Sztipszky from 1912, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, F 13717, 13718.

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for rural churches.⁵¹ The stylised white block of the Monastery of St Onuphrius in Rybotycze, along with its red, baroque-style spires, may be identified in several of their icons. The quality of their works is poorer, graphic properties are more schematic, figures are squat, and a few typical face types recur in the depictions. Their colour palette is limited to four or five colours. Painted mainly in a two-dimensional manner, shapes in cinnabar, greyish blue, ochre, brown and olive green are highlighted by stark, thick, black contours (Saint Anthony and Theodosius Pechersky, Tolcsva, see: Cat. II.34). Their decorative iconostases consisting of baroque-style frame structures painted red proved to be highly popular though. The icons from Baktakék and Gagyvendégi have survived in such original frame structures (see: Cat.

II.28–31). Even though, in Galicia, episcopal prohibitive ordinances and the belittling remarks of visitations were utilised in an attempt to disable the operation of the workshop, the artists completed numerous church ensembles, which would subsequently be preserved in several locations. They did not sign their works, but the names of a number of master icon painters and woodcarvers are evidenced in charters.⁵² In spite of failing to represent high standards as painters, these artists had a flair for harmonising colours, and they were adept at combining structural, decorative and iconographic elements.

At the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as in the 18th century, a third icon-painting workshop with a peculiar style was active as well, also migrating from Galicia, via Upper Hungary, all the way to Szatmár/Sătmar, primarily delivering the orders of rural parishes.⁵³ Its starting point remains unspecified as yet, though several icons originate from a small settlement called Slavs'ke, near the townlet of Skole. Therefore, a number of 17th-century icons of a comparable style from Upper Hungary are also attributed to artists from the area of Slavs'ke.⁵⁴ Works by masters painting in this style were extremely widely distributed: in the Districts of Drohobych and Skole in the north, in the area of Snina (*Szinna*) in Upper Hungary, in Svalyava (*Szolyva*) and Volovets (*Volóc*) in Transcarpathia and in Szatmár/Sătmar in the south.⁵⁵ In comparison with the practice of the artists of Sudova Vyshnya and Rybotycze, it was mostly in this workshop that post-Byzantine iconography was preserved without using elements borrowed from Western iconography. A peculiarity of these masters was depicting figures spatially, with plastically modelled faces and hands, against generously simplified drapes, in a graphic, two-dimensional environment (Bukivts'ovo, 18th century).⁵⁶ The details of the oval faces are highly accentuated, providing justification for the inclusion of the former icons of *Saint Nicholas*, the *Theotokos* and the *Annunciation* from Hodász in this group (see: Cat. II. 37–40). The role of these workshops would wane in the second half of the 18th century.

With the beginning of stone-church construction, the production of furnishings, based on plans submitted in advance, also came under control. Various masters

⁵¹ Косів, Роксолана. Структура та іконографія іконостасів стилістики майстрів з Риботич 1680–1740-х рр., *Вісник Львівської національної академії мистецтв*, 32(2017), 130–141.

⁵² Косів, 2018d, 81.

⁵³ This category is represented by the icon *Theotokos with the Infant* from Peleş (*Nagypeleske*). Pallai – Terdik, 2006. See: Cat. II.37.

⁵⁴ Grešlík, 2002, 65–69.

⁵⁵ Приймич, 2017, 74–75.

⁵⁶ Приймич, 2014, 89; Приймич, 2017, 74–78.

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undertaking assignments individually were engaged. Among them, Mihály and Tádé Spalinszky were especially notable, though their high-quality works were already painted in baroque style.

Iconography in the period of ecclesiastical unions

In the first third of the 17th century, in wooden churches, the view in terms of content and pictorial composition was defined by the trio of an iconostasis of two or three rows and the large-size icons on the two side walls – the pictures of the *Passion*, comprising multiple scenes, as well as of the *Last Judgement*. These decades were spent by introducing additional tiers of icons and by gradually transforming the style of icon painting. Changes relevant to iconography cannot be demonstrated. Thus, irrespective of their education, icon painters arriving in the Eparchy of Mukacheve would observe the principles of traditional icon painting in their work. The thematic selection of the icons in the Sovereign Tier of the iconostasis continued to conform to 16th-century types: three-quarter-figure, traditional depictions of Saint Nicholas, the Theotokos and Christ. However, in the 17th century, the symbolic image above the Royal Doors, the icon of the *Mandyllion*, a relic of Christ, came to be replaced by a western-type composition of the Last Supper, evocative of the Eucharist, showing the company around the table.⁵⁷ The innovations were connected to the appearance of small-town guilds and, as a matter of course, tended to represent technological advancement at first: More fashionable – late-renaissance – background patterns, as well as frames and carvings made with novel profiles emerged, i.e. only elements that would not affect any essential aspects of the icon.⁵⁸

The style of Galician icon-painting workshops was transformed parallel to the rise of the middle class there. The most significant change may be traced to the perception-formation potential of printed books introducing Flemish, late-renaissance depiction techniques, which at once supplanted arrangements that visualised medieval and abstract iconic space scarcely comprehensible in the modern age.

In the region and in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, the iconographic thematic selections used by the masters included both themes representing a continuation of

local medieval tradition and thus images of Saint Nicholas, the Bishop, generally considered to be principal protector in the whole of the Carpathian Region, as well as depictions of Saint Demetrius, Saint Paraskevi, Saint Michael, Peter and Paul, Princes of the Apostles, and – less commonly – of the holy hermits, Saint Onuphrius and Saint Simeon Stylites, as titular saints of the churches. For a while, the local cult of Saint John of Suceava, whose relics were transported to Zhovkva by John Sobieski in 1690, would flourish. Several icons of him were made in Upper Hungary as well (Nižný Hrabovec [*Alsógyertyán/Alsó-Hrabóc*], 1690–1720, Šariš Museum, Bardejov).⁵⁹

In the articulation of iconographic preferences, no conscious commitment is necessarily to be found. It was in conjunction with the activities of the Rybotycze workshop that a Saint Anthony and Theodosius Pechersky iconography became widespread. Their depictions would appear in the new, lowermost row of the iconostasis from the 1650s to the middle of the 18th century; as suggested by some explanations, such arrangements were disseminated by minor artists with the intention of stressing Kievan connections.⁶⁰ As a rule, Kievan saints were included as *predellas* of icons of the Theotokos. Therefore, this is more likely to be an instance of typological practice defined not by principle but by time-honoured procedure, for rural iconostases tended to be patterned on a largely identical pictorial programme. This is made all the more plausible by the fact that the activities of this workshop are associated with the use of clearly western-type elements, such as the crowns on the heads of Mary and Jesus, reflecting not the prevailing ecclesiastical conditions but the commonly employed symbolism of the time (Queen of Heaven). Types favoured by the Rybotycze masters included an *Eleusa* – *Theotokos with the Infant* depiction in which – in line with the late-medieval tradition of the Carpathian Region – Mary held a white flower in her hand.⁶¹

In the 17th century, the traditional cult of the Theotokos was complemented by the veneration of devotional icons in both the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic areas of the region. This development is illustrated by the evolution of a number of pilgrimage sites such as Werchrata in Galicia, as well as Krasny

⁵⁷ For 17th-century examples of the *Mandyllion*, see: Grešlík, 2002, 44–45.

⁵⁸ Приймич, 2014, 111.

⁵⁹ Grešlík, 2002, 72–73.

⁶⁰ Косів, 2018a, 93–107.

⁶¹ Федак, Марта: *Особливості іконографії образу «Богородиця нев'янучий цвіт» в українському іконопису XVI–XVIII століть: Студії мистецтвознавчі: Архітектура – Образотворче та декоративно-вжиткове мистецтво*, НАН України, ІМФЕ ім. М. Т. Рильського, Київ, 2017, 44–53.

Brod, Klokočov (*Klokocsó*), Pócs (subsequently: Máriapócs), Cluj-Nicula (*Kolozsvár-Mikola*), Krychovo (*Kricsfalu/Kricsfalva*) and Boronyava (*Husztbaranya*) in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, with their wonder-working icons becoming widely known through replicas and engravings.

Although the 17th century was an era of ecclesiastical unions, this was not directly apparent in iconography yet. That western-type attitudes essentially meant a methodological approach rather than a theological understanding is corroborated by the fact that Peter Mogila's Kievan Academy also introduced a Jesuit Scholastic educational system without renouncing its Orthodoxy. The integration of elements borrowed from Latin iconography into local iconography took place on a large scale in the 18th century, in part with the general spread of the Baroque as a universal style and in part as a consequence of the Synod of Zamość, with its accelerating effect on the related processes. Prior to this point, it would be inappropriate to speak about any major iconographic changes in the Carpathian Region. The mostly exceptional instances of effectively programme-like compositions could be ascribed to the peculiar status of the clients. For example, icons and other images of Saint Josaphat Kuntsevych, the martyred Bishop of Polotsk, became widespread in Polish areas in the 18th century when three Bishoprics – Lviv, Przemyśl and Lutsk – entered into union. The picture type *Arbor Virginis* is also mainly known from Roman Catholic settings in Polish territories. In the Eparchy of Mukacheve, Ioan Brodlakovich's double-sided votive icons with *Madonna of the Rosary* and *Crucifixion* depictions may also be mentioned as such rare specimens (County Art Museum/Muzeul Județean de Artă, Baia Mare).⁶²

The 17th century saw the appearance of numerous compositions with symbolic content in the Carpathian Region and thus in the Eparchy of Mukacheve as well. Among these, the composition *The Tree of Jesse*, visualising the genealogy of Jesus in allusion to His true human nature, has a long-standing tradition in Western and Byzantine iconography alike and was also displayed in the engravings of liturgical books in the 17th century.

In the Carpathian Region, it first emerged in mural painting, its best known example in the Eparchy of Mukacheve being a composition on the west wall of the wooden church of Novoselytsya, painted in the 1670s. From the 18th century, the theme was transferred to the iconostasis and gradually disappeared from monumental art. In Transcarpathia, Jesse was carved as the Royal Doors of the iconostasis in two versions: as a reclining or sitting figure, with six crowned half-figures cut around in a silhouette-like fashion or medallions showing crowned and haloed Old Testament characters on each side in an intricately branching floral scroll with leaves and flowers or grape bunches above him.⁶³

Compositions shifting focus to the commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ also began to appear as of the late 17th century. Initially, extracted from Passion compositions, sitting *Grieving Christ* or standing *Sorrowful Christ* icons were made (altar icon, Nyírderzs, 18th century, Nyírderzs, see: Cat. II.27), along with *Pietà* icons. Pointing to the mystery of the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice, compositions with more complex symbolism were created under the influence of engravings, providing proof of the notion that substantial alterations in iconography were linked to works of theological literature and the illustrations accompanying them. Such a representation is, *inter alia*, *Christ the Vine*, a reference to the bread and wine transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ in the Divine Liturgy. The title page of the Lviv *Liturgicon* issued in 1699 featured the composition *Christ Pressing Grapes* by Nikodym Zubrzycki. Called *Source* in visitation documents, the theme painted by inspiration from this engraving materialises with the Rybotycze icon painters, who would frequently incorporate this composition into their painted and carved altar structures.⁶⁴

In Bukivts'ovo and Kostryna (*Csontos*), the figure of Christ with a vine tendril shooting from His side was displayed on the doors of tabernacles. Another composition belonging to this thematic unit, the Eucharistic representation of Christ standing in a chalice, has also been preserved in Bukivts'ovo.⁶⁵ The iconography of the large icon on the wooden altar structure functioning as a frame for tabernacle was not

⁶² Puskás, Bernadett. Quelques données concernant les icônes d'Illa de Wisznia, peintre de Munkács, *Apulum: Series Historia & Patrimonium*, 50(2013), 47–70.

⁶³ Косів, Роксолана. Ікони на полотні «Древо Єсееве» другої половини XVII ст. зі збірки Національного музею у Львові, *Народознавчі зошити*, 150(2019), 1383–1385; Приймич, 2014, 119–120.

⁶⁴ Косів, Роксолана. Євхаристійні образи Христа у творчості риботицьких майстрів 1690–1750-х рр.: Джерела іконографії та причини популярності, *Вісник Національної академії керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв*, 35(2018), 305.

⁶⁵ Приймич, 2014, 89, 98; Косів, Роксолана. *Спас–Виноградна Лоза: Ікони зі збірки Національного музею у Львові імені Андрія Шептицького: монографія*, Львів, 2016, 88.

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completely set but could depict various themes – among others, the scene *Descent from the Cross* or the *Protection of the Theotokos as Mary in a Cloak* in Ladomirova (*Ladomérvágása*); in the same location, the depiction *Christ the Vine* is painted on the door of the tabernacle. Specimens associable with the Rybotycze masters with the finest treatment of detail have survived from the 1750s and 1760s in Upper Hungary.⁶⁶

A secondary stratum of iconographic changes is constituted by the representation of contemporary dresses, townscape and buildings in feast icons. This was related to a general change of perception that, thanks to the engravings and decorative components of printed liturgical books, reached Orthodox areas as well in the course of the 17th century, against the backdrop of decorating iconostases with baroque and, subsequently, with rococo carvings. Aside from formal innovations, its importance consisted in the fact that – under the influence of Western art – by disclosing the original theological meaning, it was the contextualisation of events from the Gospel in a local environment and time frame that addressed the viewer of the icon, as opposed to the former abstract iconic space.

The most fundamental liturgical books arrived in the Eparchy of Mukacheve predominantly from the printing presses of Lviv. The *antimins* of rural parishes also originate from here. Bishop Visitation documents from the 18th century repeatedly record instances of keeping the *antimins* of the Bishops of Przemyśl in churches in the northern territories of the Eparchy of Mukacheve. This circumstance could merely be a sign of clerical movement, though it might also indicate the impreciseness of jurisdictional boundaries. The first printed *antimins* was issued by Bazil Taraszovics, Bishop of Mukacheve (1633–1651), before 1638. According to its dedication formula, he was Bishop of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Mukacheve, Maramureş and All Hungarian Land. The *antimins* decorated by a woodcut depiction conforms to ancient iconography: Set in a circular area, it is adorned by the figures of the Pantocrator and the Four Evangelists. As for sources on its making and analogies, the only surviving data suggests that the Bishop adopted it from book printers.⁶⁷ A similar composition is followed by the *antimins* of János József De Camillis issued after 1689. As stated in its formula, he was 'Bishop of Sebaste, Mukacheve, Maramureş and others (*sic!*), Apostolic Vicar of All

Hungarian Land and Advisor to his Imperial and Royal Majesty'. In its woodcut composition, the half-figure image of the Pantocrator is accompanied by the upright figures of the Theotokos and John the Baptist.⁶⁸ Afterwards, new baroque types of *antimins*, the printing blocks of which were made in Lviv, would gain currency.

Between East and West

In every branch of the art of the Carpathian Region, the 17th century brought changes of different kinds, occurring in different areas at different times. However, a common feature of these became evident in the fact that, while adhering to traditional liturgical space structuring and iconography, local post-Byzantine culture searched for European and state-of-the-art forms of expression to match them. Stylistic phenomena accompanying the rise of the middle class in Galicia reached the territory of the Bishopric of Mukacheve with some delay, so it is in local architecture that earlier forms are best preserved. Even iconostasis construction retained archaic arrangements in some places, especially in the southern sections of the Bishopric. Nonetheless, thanks to the activities of Galician itinerant workshops in Upper Hungary and Transcarpathia, by the end of the 17th century, iconostases expanded into five-tier screens could be built in local rural churches as well, with richly carved, late-renaissance and, subsequently, early-baroque structures and icons executed in a modern manner of painting. In iconography, the appearance of picture types contemplating the Passion and the Eucharist represented a sense of novelty. In the whole region, a new approach in the art of the local Eastern Church was enabled by the spread of graphic reproduction, printed books decorated with illustrations which gave new renderings of Western compositions, as well as designs and patterns.

List of pictures

1. The wooden church of Bodružal
2. The wooden church of Serednje Vodyane
3. The wooden church of Uzhok
4. The wooden church of Yasinya
5. The iconostasis of the wooden church of Novoselytsya
6. The iconostasis of the wooden church of Novoselytsya
7. A segment from the *Last Judgement*. Mural in the wooden church of Novoselytsya
8. Icon of the *Crucifixion* by Stefan Wyszyński, 1729. Photographed by Hiador Sztripszky, 1912

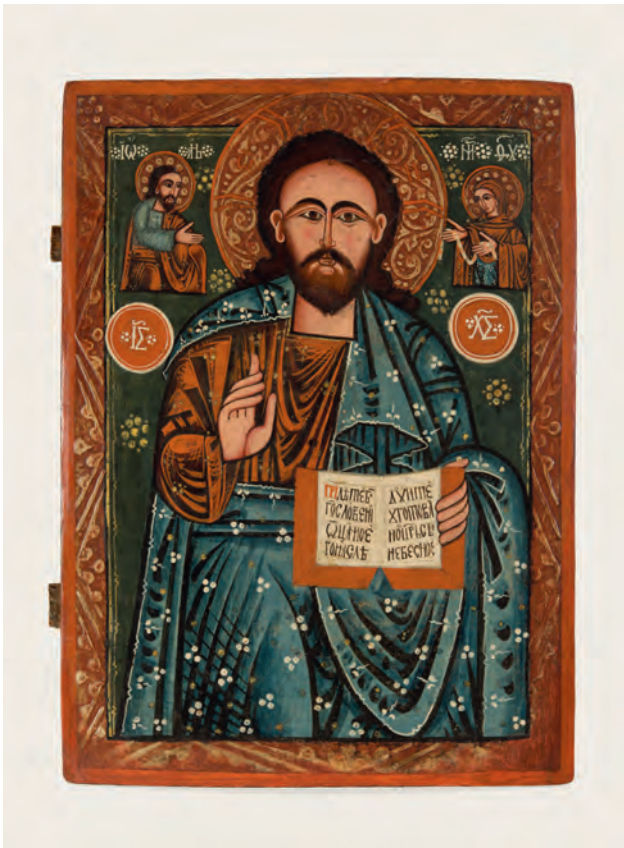
⁶⁶ Kocib, 2018d, 78–79.

⁶⁷ Puskás, 2002, 59–65.

⁶⁸ Puskás, 2008, 112.

II.2.1 Christ the Teacher

Catalogue II.19



Mid-17th century, Mihail Popovich (attribution)
wood, tempera
76 × 55.5 cm (29.9 × 21.9 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 91.14.1.

This piece is a three-quarter portrait of Christ, who gives blessings with His right hand and holds an open book in His left, with a Church Slavonic quote in it: 'Прїдѣте б^гословени ѿца моего наслѣдуйте уготовано цѣрство небесное' ('Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' (Matt 25:34b [Slavonic transcript by András Dobos]). His chiton is red on black while His himation is blue and black. His garment is adorned with white and yellow dots while the lace of the robe was emphasised by the painter using white lines. Next to the shoulder of Christ there are the initials of His Greek name in white, each scripted in a red medallion. His halo, similar to the frame of the icon, is decorated with ornaments embossed into gesso, has a red margin, and into it the artist also painted the cross and the three Greek characters meaning 'The One Who is'. Above the right shoulder of Christ there is the half-length portrait of Saint John the Baptists with an intercessory hand gesture, while on the left side the Theotokos appears in a similar posture. The abbreviation of their names and titles appear above

them and their halo is enriched with round embossed motifs. The Theotokos is holding a striped ribbon – an orarion/omophorion? – in her hand which is traditionally a characteristic of the depictions of Saint Nicholas and is thus confusing in terms of iconography.

The icon was first described by Zsuzsa Varga who considered it to be of Rusyn origin from the end of the 18th century, this idea was later adopted by relevant literature. The works most similar in style to this icon are preserved in Maramureş (*Máramaros*); three icons in the lower and upper churches of Budeşti (*Budfalva*), both of which are devoted to Saint Nicholas. All three icons were originally in the lower church built around 1634 and were most probably parts of the same iconostasis: *Christ on the Throne* (90.5 × 60 cm / 35.6 × 23.6 in), *The Theotokos on the Throne with the Infant* (91 × 60 cm / 35.8 × 23.6 in), and the similarly sizeable *Martyr Saint Paraskevi* with scenes of her life. The Church Slavonic inscription in the icon of *Christ on the Throne* states the year of creation, 1647, and the name of the donator (Nikita Opris). Seven more feast icons belong to this set. On the 17th century boards Alexander Ponehalski painted new icons in the 18th century while working on the iconostasis of the lower church of Budeşti. Furthermore, a monumental icon of the Last Judgement is hung on the northern wall of the porch of the church. Marius Porumb considered that the painter of this icon is the same master as that of the Saint Paraskevi painting. Numerous inscriptions in Church Slavonic can be observed on it, analysed and transcribed by John-Paul Himka several years ago. In his opinion, one of these texts is probably from the painter himself, who was from the 'Russian land of Kolom' (Коломия, Ukraine) and was called Mihail Popovich – cf. Betea, Raluca. Icoana Judecâții de Apoi din biserica de lemn din Budeşti Josani (Județul Maramureş), *Apulum, series Historia et Patrimonium*, 50(2013), 74–75, 78. It was this painter who also created the *Holy Trinity* icon (*The Hospitality of Abraham*) for the upper (Saint Paraskevi) wooden church of Sârbi Susani (*Szerfalva*). Presumably two more feast icons belong to this group (*The Nativity of Jesus Christ* and *The Ascension of Jesus Christ*) which are in the wooden The Dormition of the Theotokos Church, Şieu (*Sajó*) (Porumb, 1975, 11–13, 44, Fig. 13–15; Porumb, 1998, 63–65, 363, 396). The works of the master are easy to identify based on his characteristic style: the proportions of the figures are heavier towards the heads and hands, the strong outline of the eyes extend to the ears while the skilled depiction of the wrinkles of the clothes and the balanced use of vibrant colours suffuse the pictures with soothing vividness. He most probably skilled himself in Polish-Ukrainian regions where the tradition of using decorative embossed gesso backgrounds and haloes had developed a century earlier.

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The Deesis icon of the icon collection of the National Museum in Cracow has a similar background and painting method and is dated to the same period. (cf. Kłosińska–Zinovieff, 1987, kat. 13). The artists from the other side of the Carpathians also visited further regions of Transylvania. Several works from the 17th century are preserved in Mureș County by one of them, whose style and background embossing technique – as much as the overlays allow us to see – resemble that of the master of the icons of Budești (cf. Dumitran, 2014, 129–130, 139–143, fig. 8–12). (Sz. T.)

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Puskás, 1991, 56 (Image), 78, kat. 161.
Puskás, 2008, 182–183, Image 144.

Annunciation – Nativity of Jesus Christ, double sided icon

Catalogue II.20



*End of the 17th century, Mihail Popovich (attribution) – 1760–1780, Alexander Ponehalski (attribution)
fir board, tempera–oil painting
46 × 38 cm (18.1 × 15 in)
Conservation: Dóra Boldizsár (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2017/2018.
Private collection*

On the iconographic left side (right from the front) of the Annunciation icon, the Theotokos stands in a blue himation and red maphorion, and holds a white thread in her raised hand on which a spool hangs. A table with red sides and a blue top can be seen on her right. Gabriel Archangel is opposite to Mary. He is dressed in red and blue clothing, gives blessings with his right hand and holds a white rod which ends in a cross in his left. His wings are of deep red colour with yellow and red spots of a droplet shape, representing plumage. The ground of the scene is green and adorned with stylised vegetation while in the background a section of an ochre city wall can be observed, bordered on either side with buildings with tympanums. On the top of the composition, along the middle axis, the divine assistance is referred to by three beams of light which come from the blue-white semicircular fields of the open sky. The Church Slavonic name of the scene can be deciphered directly under



them: 'БЛ[А]ГОВѢЩЕНИЕ' (*Annunciation*). In the halo of the saints there are small, embossed, pearl-like circlets with their abbreviated Slavonic and Greek names above them. The original, embossed ornamental frame has become dilapidated by now, larger sections remain only on the right side. Based on the style of the work and the analogous icons in Maramureş, the painter of this piece is probably the same as the master of the *Christ the Teacher* kept in the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest. He worked during the 17th century and was called Mihail Popovich (cf. kat. II.19).

Onto the other side of the board the Nativity of Jesus Christ was painted in the 18th century. The picture was split into two by the artist along the middle axis: on the iconographic right (left from the front) a building can be seen with a tile roof and a chimney, in which Saint Joseph and Virgin Mary stand while they receive the homage of the Three Kings and two Shepherds. The former are on their knees, while the latter are standing, one of them removed his hat to show his reverence. Little Jesus is clad in a white shirt and stands on a table resembling an altar, gently held by His mother. At the foot of Saint Joseph, the ox and the donkey are also present. Above the hill behind the kings and shepherds, the sky opens up twice: in the centre of the field on the main axis there shines the Star of Bethlehem,

while in the one on the right side white beams radiate from above the clouds towards the ground. The silver foiled background has a gold-like varnish and is ornamented with carvings that resemble oak leaves. The inner rim of the profiled frame dowelled to the edges of the icon has a similar decoration while the thicker sections are russet, and the outer rim is vivid red. On the profile of the top frame lath there is a faded Cyrillic Romanian inscription in black ink: 'НАЩЕРЕА ЛѢЙ ЙІСХСЪ ХРИСТОС' (*Nativity of Jesus Christ*). Besides the abbreviated Greek name of the Theotokos, the composition also contains the name of Saint Joseph: 'ЙСОСІФ'. On the outer side of the right side frame lath the Church Slavonic name of the feast can be deciphered: 'РОЖДЕСТВО ЙСА ХСА'.

On the basis of the iconography and style of the artwork this piece can be attributed to Alexander Ponehalski, Greek Catholic icon painter who was active during the second half of the 18th century in Máramaros County. Ponehalski painted iconostases for several communities. Most often he painted the icons of the Sovereign Tier on wooden boards, while those of the higher tiers on the coated log walls of the wooden churches. The Ukrainian literature considers Ponehalski a Galician itinerant painter, while the Romanian tradition emphasises his local relations because he lived in Brebeşti (*Bárdfalva*) with his wife, Elena, and worked on the wooden churches of the region from there. His earliest signed work is from 1754 in the wooden church of Călineşti–Căieni (*Felsőkálinafalva*), but several earlier icons have already been attributed to him. The Museum of Ethnography, Budapest also has some pieces that are most probably his work (Terdik, 2016, 55–60). Ponehalski had an inclination to re-use boards – as in the case of this icon – often by splitting bigger, probably damaged boards while also preserving the fragments of the original compositions on the back (cf. Terdik, 2016, 61–62; Terdik, Szilveszter. Szent Miklós-ikon Borsáról, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 38[2017], 12. szám, 16). (Sz. T.)

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II.2.1 Fragments of a Passion icon *Catalogue II.21*

Mid-17th century, unidentified icon painter from
the Carpathian Region
wood, tempera

left side: 182 × 44.5 cm (71.6 × 17.5 in), right side:
180 × 46 cm (70.9 × 18.1 in), the middle board is missing
Conserved.

Budapest, Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 87 195/1–2.

This icon was collected by Hiador Sztripszky during 1908–1910 from Hajasd (*Volosyanka*) in the Ung County for the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest together with its pair, *The Last Judgement* icon. The hardwood structure originally consisted of three vertical sections. Of these, the middle board was already missing at the time of collection. On the two vertical outer edges of the icon a thin, profiled and painted frame was mounted. On the left side board only the lower section of the painting is faded, whereas on the right side board nearly half of the image has disappeared.

Depicting the events of the Passion of Jesus has been part of the iconography of the Christological festive cycle of early Byzantine times. In the Carpathian Region, the portrayal of the sufferings of Jesus on icons has a tradition going back to the 15th century, when the painting of large wall icons became a custom. These icons were always placed in the nave, most often on the northern wall. The depictions follow the account of the New Testament. The image in the centre is always the Crucifixion which is surrounded by the other scenes of the Passion cycle. From the beginning of the 17th century, the icon cycle starts with the scene of Lazarus Saturday preceding Palm Sunday and most often ends with the Resurrection or in some cases with the Sending Out of the Seventy. In the icon painting of the Carpathian region Western composition and iconography techniques have been present from the 15-16th centuries. This is especially true of the Passion icons, even the earliest samples of which often follow the examples of German engravings.

On the remaining boards of the Hajasd icon the images are composed into six horizontal tiers and even though the paint layers have been damaged in several places it is clearly visible that the techniques used are typical of the iconography of the Netherlands and the figures are painted in a mannerist style. By the characteristics of the work it can be concluded that the icon was created based on engravings by Adriaen Collaert (1560?–1618) which were in turn based on engravings by Marten de Vos. Titled *Vita, Passio et Resurrectio Iesu Christi varijs Iconibus a celeberrimo pictore Martino de Vos expressa, ab Adriano Collart nunc primum inaesincisis*, this cycle of engravings was published in several editions following 1636 in Eastern





Europe and the Balkans and has significantly altered the style of visual representation of post-Byzantine icon painting. The compositions of the original engravings were enriched with numerous narrative details.

The painter of the Hajasd icon borrowed several of these which enable the identification of the most fragmented scenes as well, even if in some cases the original horizontal etchings were recomposed into a vertical format. Thus, with further help from the order of the images, the course of the imagery can be completely reconstructed even in the absence of the middle board.

The chronological order proceeds in a traditional, horizontal manner from left to right and from top to bottom except for occasional mismatches. Row 1, from left to right: *Transfiguration of Jesus*, *Raising of Lazarus*, *[Entry into Jerusalem]*, *Last Supper*. Row 2, from left to right: *Jesus Washes the Disciple's Feet*, *[Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane]*, on the right: *Arrest of Jesus*. Row 3, from right to left: *Jesus before Caiaphas*, *Jesus before Pilate*, *[Pilate's Washing Hands]*, *Flogging of Christ*, *Crown of Thorns*. Row 4, on the right: *Christ before Herod*, *Ecce Homo*, on the left: *Carrying the Cross*. Row 5, from left to right: *Crucifixion*, *[In rows 4–5, in the middle: Golgotha]*, *Descent from the Cross*. Row 6, from left to right: *Burial of Christ*, *[Descent to Limbo]*, *Resurrection*. The Cyrillic inscriptions naming the scenes were placed either in the background of the pictures or in the fields between the images. Although the reconstructed twenty-scene-course of the cycle follows the order of the carvings from the Netherlands it does not contradict the local iconographic traditions as they reflect the Byzantine liturgical order of the Holy Week preceding Easter.

The painter of the icon copied the arrangements of the figures as well as the depiction of the architectural spaces and landscapes of the engraved prototype. However, he also tried to suit the imagery to Eastern iconography: Christ has a halo with Greek initials, Lazarus is in a burial shroud, and women are painted wearing maphorions. Moreover, similar to the Hajasd Last Judgement icon, he amended the theme by including contemporary clothing, local artefacts, and wooden tools. The dark contours highlighting the shapes, the warm colours, the moderate toning, and the characteristic faces all indicate that the master was related to the workshop of the Galician Sudova Visnya (Судова Вишня). (В. Р.)

Bibliography

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 Puskás, 2008, 105.
 Puskás, 2011.

II.2.1 The Last Judgement

Catalogue II.22



End of the 17th century, unidentified icon painter from the Carpathian Region
wood, tempera
183 × 132 cm (72 × 52 in)
Conservation: Mátyás Horváth, 2019–2020
Budapest, Museum of Ethnography,
Inv. No. 87 194/1–3.

This icon was made on a board consisting of three vertical sections of hardwood, has a gesso priming and was painted with tempera. The board used to have a thin, profiled and painted frame affixed to it, the lower lath of which was missing (it was replaced during the last conservation). The icon is from Hajasd (*Volosyanka*), Ung County. It was collected for the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest by Hiador Sztripszky in 1908–1910 together with its pair, the *Passion* icon.

The composition of *The Last Judgement* was formed during the middle Byzantine period and its iconography survived the next centuries with only minor alterations. This theme was rather popular in the Carpathian Region where its earliest examples are from the 15th century. Traditionally these icons are of large size and placed on the northern or western walls of the nave or in the porch of the churches. The course of iconography was based on the Apocalypse and other



biblical books, descriptions of apocrypha and patristic texts, especially the homilies of Saint Ephrem the Syrian.

The Hajasd icon is an example of the detailed versions. The composition consists of five horizontal tiers. The first one represents the sky which is rolled up as a parchment referring to the End. In the middle of this tier and at the same time in the ideational centre of the icon Jesus Christ can be seen in white clothing in a bright halo held by four angels. The Pantokrator's upwards and downwards gestures refer to the Judgement. On His side there are the Theotokos and Saint John the Baptist with their hands lifted to prayer, and Orders of Angels can be seen next to them. On each side they hold three spheres with the inscription 'Holy' referring to the liturgical song of Trisagion. On the right side of the upper tier next to the empty cross there is the sphere of the faithful angels, and the fall of the rebel angels is also visible.

At the middle axis of the second tier there is the so-called Hetoimasia, the prepared, empty throne, with the Lamb of the Apocalypse and the Gospel Book with the following text: 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' (Matt 25:34). The throne is surrounded by the sitting Twelve Apostles. The thepsychostasia, God's right hand bearing the souls lifts a scale underneath, and next to it Adam and Eve are on their knees. Next to the Primal

The Theotokos with the Infant Jesus – Eleusa *Catalogue II.23*

Parents, on the right of the picture there is a line of saints including archbishops and priests, martyrs, monks, monarchs and saintly virgins. Moses can be seen on the other side, pointing at the Hetoimasia, warning the representatives of different peoples. The identification of the representatives is aided by inscriptions; unbelieving folk, such as Turks, Tatars, and Moors, but also Polish, Hungarians (Uhri), and Rusyns are represented.

In the fourth tier, the Heavenly Jerusalem was painted under the line of saints. Behind its closed walls the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob hold the saved, the Theotokos sits on a throne amidst angels, and the Penitent Thief is also present. Outside the wall the good and bad ways of dying are depicted together with the scene of confession. At the other end of the tier there is a sphere representing the Earth with the Church of Jerusalem, close to which the dead arise at the sound of the fanfares of angels. In the lower tier, the Righteous line up in front of the gate of Paradise while on the other side the cauldrons of hell and the gaping mouth of Hades can be observed swallowing the damned ushered by devils. Coiling out from here the Serpent of Sins can be seen, as it bites into Adam's heel. Next to the serpent, angels and devils fly with the souls of the deceased and small signs with inscriptions. In the lower tier numerous naked figures represent the sins. The detailed, actualized, and judgemental depictions are characteristic of The Last Judgement icons of the Carpathian Region, these depictions are emphasised not only by the inscriptions but also by elements such as the distinctive presentation of different peoples, contemporary clothing and sinful occupations including a miller and a tavern scene. A fragmented note of donation can be observed at the bottom of the icon.

On the basis of its stylistic characteristics, *The Last Judgement* icon of Hajasd belongs to a distinguishable group of icons and other iconographic relics. These are related to the workshop of Sudova Visnya in the region of Lviv. Their first master to settle in the Mukacheve region was Ilija Brodlakovich-Vishenszky. The Hajasd icon shares several details with *The Last Judgement* icon of Plavie, thus it can also be dated to the middle of the 17th century. (B. P.)

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 Fejős–Lackner–Wilhelm, 2001, 142.
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 Himka, 2009, 234.
 Berezhnaya, Liliya – Himka, John-Paul. *The World to come: Ukrainian Images of the Last Judgment*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2014, 255–256.



*End of the 17th century, South-Polish icon painter,
wood, tempera
109.5 × 91 cm (43.1 × 35.8 in)
Conserved.
Greek Catholic Church of St Peter and Paul,
Mogyoróska*

Based on the size and the shape of the remaining frame structure of this icon it most probably belonged to the Sovereign tier of an iconostasis wider than 6 meters, the original location of which is unknown. Its composition consists of the half-length portrait of the Theotokos with the infant Jesus in her left arm, Who holds a parchment on His knee with His right hand. Both of them wear traditional clothing, the Theotokos a blue dress, a white coif, and a russet maphorion while the Child is in a loose, chiton-like white shirt tied at the waist and a red ochre himation. Mary tilts her head towards her Child while Jesus nests in her arms and gently touches His face to His mother's face. Both look towards us. The icon belongs to the Glykophilousa – 'Sweet Kiss' – type of depictions, which has several subtypes. The Mogyoróska icon exhibits three typical motifs: the infant Jesus places His left hand in the extended palm of the Theotokos, He crosses His legs and turns His right sole slightly towards us, and the maphorion of Mary is cast over her shoulder and folded down in graphic wrinkles over her front.

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In the iconostases of the Carpathian Region, Glykophilousa-type icons were much less widespread than the Hodigitria-type (Our Lady of the Way). However, from the first half of the 17th century, from Kiev to Stary Sącz, even in Transylvania, but especially in Lesser Poland a line of icons of this composition were created in different versions. The common motif of these is the left hand of Jesus resting in His mother's hand. Glykophilousa-type icons were considered to be the reproductions or variants of the Werchrata-Krechov icon adding that the prototype was the Lydda – or Roman – Mary icon known from written records (Kłosińska, Janina: *Ikony Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe*, Kraków, 1973, 174). Nevertheless, the Lydda-Roman Theotokos was originally a Hodigitria-type depiction which was combined in the 18th century with Russian carvings of the Eleusa-type. The Mary icon of the Basilian Monastery of Werchrata was created in the first half of the 17th century in Zamość. Its miracles started later, in 1688 and it was Józef Szumlański Archbishop of Lviv (1667–1708) who pronounced it a miraculous icon. In 1808, amongst many other Basilian monasteries, the one in Werchrata was also closed down and the monks moved the icon to Krechov. Here, the miracles continued, expanding the reverence around the picture now also known as the Krechov icon.

The Glykophilousa is a variant of the Middle Byzantine Eleusa depiction type which arose in the Palailologos period. (Лазарев, В. Н. Византийская икона комниновской эпохи, in: *Ibid: Византийское и древнерусское искусство*, Москва, 1978, 18). At the time the composition became more lyrical and was assigned a complex theological meaning. First of all, the Theotokos embraces her Child as an intercessor between His mundane and deictic beings. At the same time she radiates a motherly sadness over the human suffering ahead of Him – His heel and sole of His sandal turned outward refer to the Passion. Finally, the Eleusa-type embrace is interpreted as the engagement of the fiancé and fiancée, of Christ and the Church – see Этингоф, О. Е. К иконографии „ласкающей Богоматери” („Гликофилусы”), in: *Древнерусское искусство: Балканы, Русь*, Санктпетербург, 1995. Later both the Glykophilousa and the *Suffering of the Theotokos* referring to the *Passion* became popular in Post-Byzantine Crete and Italo-Greek arts. The first examples of these are from the second half of the 15th century from the Candia workshop of Andreas Ritzos of Crete (1421–1492), however, they were made in greater numbers from the 16th century. Its composition is identical with the Mogyoróska icon except for three minor differences: the sandal of the outward-turned foot of the Infant Christ falls off, and Mary's coif and Jesus's chiton are blue, not white. This iconography was also

popularised by the 1614 carving of Raphael Sadeler (1584–1632), born in Antwerp but later working in Venice. (Biskupski, Romuald. *Ikony ze zbiorów Muzeum Historycznego w Sanoku*, Warszawa, 1991, 273, kat. 63). Some of the Italo-Byzantine icons made their way to the Carpathian region, nevertheless, the carvings were probably more inspirational. The Glykophilousa Theotokos appeared in, amongst others, the 1651 Festive Menea of Lviv.

The stories of the more notable icons relate their miraculous appearance (for example, the Bratski icon of Kiev appeared floating on the River Dnieper while the Lopenka icon appeared on a tree). Thus the story of the Lydda *Escape of Luke* icon was probably added later, at the end of the 17th century or at the beginning of the 18th century. In these, the intercession of the Theotokos is most often depicted on the community level, such as the protector from the Tatars, but is manifested on a personal level, in miraculous healings. In the Mogyoróska icon, the message of the image type is not only represented by the imagery but – as an exception amongst analogous works – a quote from the Akathistos also presents the plea of avoiding the sufferings: 'О всепетая Мати, рождшая всех святых Святейшее Слово, нынешнее приемши приношение, от всякия избави напасти всех, и будущия изми муки, Тебе вопиющих: Аллилуиа.' ('O all-praised Mother Who didst bear the Word, holiest of all the saints, accept now our offering, and deliver us from all misfortune, and rescue from the torment to come those that cry to Thee: Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!') (*Akhatist hymn 12*[13] Kontaktion, Oikos).

By the quality of painting regarding precise drawing, pleasant proportions and fine details, the Mogyoróska icon is an exquisite example of contemporary icon painting. On the basis of its style it is the work of a Southern Polish master. The depiction of Mary's face, the wrinkles of the maphorion and the pattern of the Renaissance carved background show us that it is the closest analogue of the Glykophilousa-type icon preserved in the History Museum of Sanok dated to the 17th century and of unknown origin. (B. P.)

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- Puskás, 1996b, 10, 27.
- Puskás, 2008, 78, 125, 38. kép

II.2.1 The Theotokos with the Infant Jesus –
 Glykophilousa / Crucifixion, double sided icon
 Catalogue II.24



cca. 1688, master Stefan Wyszyński from Sudova Visnya
 wood, tempera
 81.5 × 69 cm (32 × 27 in)
 Conservation: Kata Orbán (University of Fine Arts,
 Budapest), 2005/2006,
 Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 81.79.156.

The icon was collected for the Museum by Sztripszky Hiador in 1912 from Patakófalú (*Ósztuzsica, Смара Стужиця*). The vertically elongated octagon is painted on both sides and is framed by carved and painted laths. The paint is severely damaged or missing in some areas.

A version of the Eleusa, or 'The Merciful Theotokos with the Infant Jesus' can be seen on one side of the board. It is also called Glykophilousa, or 'Sweet Kiss' composition as it shows the Theotokos in a tight embrace with her Child and their faces touch gently. Around their heads there is a white and red halo of beams of light. Mary wears an olive dress under a red maphorion which is cast over her right shoulder. Around her face, only the edge of her white coif is visible from under her robe. The maphorion is adorned with a star, a reference to her virginity, and a simple white trim. Only traces of the dark lines outlining the wrinkles of the drapery remain. The Infant Jesus wears a white chiton with a red belt and

an ochre himation. His hand gesture suggests that, as it is typical in this kind of depiction, He placed His right hand in His mother's hand. The remains of the paint around the maphorion indicate that the Child embraced His mother's neck with His left hand. On the ochre background, Greek initials can be observed and the picture field is framed by a dark strip of clouds. The Late Byzantine form of the Glykophilousa became popular in the West in the 16th century via the Italo-Byzantine icons of Crete. This type of picture depicts the motherly and intercessory roles of the Theotokos at the same time. It was painted in several versions in the Carpathian region in the 17th and sometimes in the 18th centuries. Many of these icons were considered miraculous: for example the ones in Łopienka, Chłopice and Werchrata; the latter was subsequently moved to Krechov and continued to manifest miracles there.

The *Crucifixion* was painted on the other side of the board. In the centre of the composition there is the cross with the Crucified, the dead Christ, Who wears the Crown of Thorns. The letters on the horizontal bar of the cross and the inclined foothold read 'IC XC NIKA' referring to the resurrection. The composition of the Cross and the figures asking for intercession fill the picture with symbolic meaning. On the left there is a long haired, moustached

II.2.1

young man in a pelisse, boots and spurs, his sabre tied to his side, his hands clasped in prayer, a woven scarf over his right hand. A cauldron can be seen at his feet, while a young girl appears next to him, clad in white. On the right side of the cross there is another child of similar age and their mother, the wife of the man, in a shawl covering her head, a light-coloured dress down to the ground, with hands also clasped in prayer. Behind the cross a desolate plain can be seen with only an occasional tuft of grass and there is a white mountain range on the horizon. Between the spheres of the Earth and sky, at the upper third of the field there is a distinct borderline, emphasised not only by the contrast of white and blue but also by a curved line of red-white clouds. Above this, the background is gold ochre which refers to Heaven, where the symbol of the End, the double motif of the Sun and the Moon appear over the top of the cross.

In the background, a votive inscription can be read in the white band of the sky: 'Сей обра(з) дал и(з)робити рабъ / божий мило и з жоною своє в / за доброе здорова своє и за пр(ес)тавшого / небощика стефана / аш... которого /як атошув осемъ рок...' ('This picture was made by the humble servant of God... together with his wife for good health and the deceased Szebán, who passed away eight years ago.') The inscription ends with a signature on the right: 'Стефан малар вишенски', which is repeated in Latin characters at the bottom of the picture: 'stefan wyszynski'.

Several artists who also took commissions further from the town worked for the painting workshop of the town of Sudova Visnya (*Судова Вишня*) near Lviv (*Lwów, Lemberg*) active from the middle of the 17th to the second half of the 18th century. The style of the masters of this workshop is characterised by a blend of the traditional flat graphics and three-dimensional shaping, the latter an influence of the Lviv masters. Unlike more provincial icon painters, the masters of Visnya tended to sign their work. Several of them used the name 'Stefan' and their pieces were identified in Dobromyl, in Botelka (1656) in the vicinity of Turka, in the Subcarpathian region (now *Zakarpattia Oblast*, Ukraine), in Csuszka (*Туська*), and also in Patakófalú, where this double sided icon is from. The church in Patakófalú was built during the time of János Bradács Bishop of Mukacheve (1768–1772), and was significantly transformed in 1905 (*Сирохман/ Syrokhman*, 2000, 127). Its iconostasis, the current location of which is unclear, was still there around 1970, and according to its inscription it was painted in 1688 by Stefan Wyszyński (*Драган*, 1970, 95). The identical names suggest that the master was the same as that of the double sided icon.

The artists of Visnya always followed a single style and created identically shaped double sided icons, while

the artists of other workshops tended to vary their creations. The double sided icons from the 17th–18th centuries probably had various functions. It is likely that they were used as procession icons, epitaph pictures and votive icons and included the image of the commissioner. The latter two types were not used for processions, instead they were placed in the nave or the porch of churches (Косів, 2018e, 55). The Patakófalú icon was probably a votive-type icon. It was originally hung on the ceiling of the church as indicated by the thick cord of red and white threads attached to the frame. The family on the icon was probably one of the families where the man was involved in the protection and direction of the area and thus gained fortune and privileges. Their relation to the small village is, however, unknown, and also the meaning of the cauldron and the scarf, as no references are made to them in the inscription. (B. P.)

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Megmentett műkincsek, 2006, 10–11, kat. 7–8.

II.2.1 Christ the Saviour

Catalogue II.25



End of the 17th century, unidentified icon painter,
Rybotycze School
wood, tempera

110 × 72.5 cm (43.3 × 28.5 in)

Conserved.

Ascension of Jesus Greek Catholic Church, Baktakék

The icon is still in its original, modest frame decorated with simple red, light blue and white stripes on black. Its outer edge is red. Following late Renaissance traditions, the field of the icon is framed by semi-circular carved motifs: the profile rests on small consoles while in the two upper corners tendril ornaments contrast with a red background. The carved sections are silvered but have a gold-like appearance due to the yellow varnishing. The gesso background of the field is also silver-foiled and varnished and its surface has a late Renaissance carved brocade pattern.

In the middle axis of the image a frontal three-quarter portrait of Christ the Saviour can be seen. Compositions including the figure from the knees up are not unusual in the icon painting tradition of the areas north of Byzantium. The Saviour gives blessings with His

right hand and holds an open Gospel Book in His left, which reads 'Придѣте, благус(ло)венїи Цѡцамоого, наслѣдите оуготованое с(в)тѣвам царство н(е)бесное Цѡпочатку(мира)' (Matt 25:34). The garments of Christ were created with firm brushstrokes: a red on brown chiton and a light blue himation, the ochre toned white lining of which is made visible by the wrinkles of the drapery. His face is framed by the soft lines of locks hanging on both sides of His cheek and a beard. The lower section of the figure was painted in a less detailed way and each feature is surrounded by a thick black contour line. Traditional Greek initials feature in the haloes and in the background: 'O CΩH, IC XC'.

Depicting Christ the Pantocrator in half-length portraits was the most common method in Byzantine iconography. However, according to the remaining icons of the Carpathian region Late Middle Ages, it was more customary in this area to depict Him in full-length on a throne or in a triple mandorla, while His half-length portraits were nearly always supplemented with the Apostles. The type without the accessory figures became standard from the 17th century. Its first known example in the area of Historic Hungary is the *Christ* icon of Šarišský Štiavnik (Scsávnik/Sósfüred, 1608, Bardejov, Saris Museum) by Ioan Černecký, icon painter from Lviv, accompanied by a detailed inscription also mentioning King Matthias Corvinus and Zsigmond Rákóczi, famous Hungarian historical figures.

The red-brown chiton and the mundane, blue robe of the Baktakék Christ refer to His divine character. His straight look is characterised by short and thin eyebrows and the shape of His moustache and beard. Based on the style, the master of the icon most probably belonged to the Rybotycze School. The closest analogue to the painting is the *Pantocrator Suszyca* of Wielka dated to the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries (Велика Сушиця, today: Lviv, Open Air Museum). However, despite similarities in the angle, gestures and depiction of the textiles, the Baktakék icon is a slightly more naive work. Based on its size and composition, the Baktakék icon was probably a Sovereign tier icon in an iconostasis, perhaps in the predecessor of the Baktakék church built in 1725, or elsewhere. (B. P.)

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II.2.1 Simeon Stylites

Catalogue II.26



Middle – second half of the 17th century, unidentified icon painter from the Carpathian Region
wood, tempera
94.5 × 68 cm (37.2 × 26.8 in)
Conservation: Ágnes Zsíros (College of Fine Arts), 1994/1995.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2010.167 (A 54).

The icon is from Makkoshotyka where it probably served as the titular icon of the wooden church. It was made on a segmented wooden board that had a transversal support on the back. On its front, the field and the frame are separated by wooden profiles. The picture was painted on a gesso with canvas priming, while the side bands' paint was applied directly on the wood. The icon depicts Simeon Stylites the Younger, born in Antioch in 521, who chose to live in a form of asceticism special to Syria; he lived his whole life on the top of a column praying and teaching his disciples. Following his death, reverence for him swiftly spread in Byzantium and the whole Eastern Church. Although not in meaningful numbers, his icons were also preserved in parishes on the Galician side of the Carpathians, dated from the

16th century and later. In the honour of the Saint a monastery of Eastern Rite was built in the vicinity of Rybotycze, the wooden church of which was already mentioned in the records in 1311. It was in 1409 that a monk called Lavrentij painted an icon of the Saint on the column for the monastery. The reverence for the Saint did not diminish with the passage of time, which is confirmed by works of the Rybotycze icon painter workshop.

As opposed to the earlier Galician examples of the depiction of the Saint, the Makkoshotyka icon is not a genre painting but shows him from the front, in a half-length view, seated in a cup-like capital. The prototype for the composition may have come from liturgical books with similar depictions. His lined undergarment is grey blue, there is a white mantle on it, and he wears the characteristic piece of the monks who have taken a vow, the bluish grey koukoulion adorned with five crosses. He holds a cross in his right hand and a long parchment lays open in his left, its calligraphy indicates that the icon was made in Polish territories. The Church Slavonic inscription on the parchment is identical with the one on the Chyrzynka icon of Simeon Stylites (Łańcut, Castle Museum). The troparion of the Saint reads as follows: 'Терпѣніа столпъ былъ (Еси), ревнова(вый) правтцемъ, пр(е)п(о)д(о)бне, юву во страстехъ, юсифу во искушеніихъ, и безплотныхъ житильству, (сый) в телеси', and continues in small letters: 'Симешне, втченашъ, моли Христа Бога спастиса душамъ нашымъ.' On the shaft of the white column there is a long, handwritten note of donation, now fragmented, stating the good will of a certain Father Georgij. The background of the painted field is silvered, with a late Renaissance-style brocade pattern.

A special characteristic of the icon is that it abounds in inscriptions. From the top, the picture is bordered by a curved line of paint and carvings with the abbreviated name in Old Slavonic above them: 'Simeon Stylites of holy life'. On the greyish-blue trim around the picture there are further inscriptions in Cyrillic characters. The feast of Saint Simeon is at the beginning of the Church Year and it is the liturgical songs of this day that are inscribed on the trim. On the left there is the 2nd-tone troparion of the Indiction: 'Содѣтелювсѣа твари, иже времена и лѣтаво Своѣй Власти положивый (благослови вѣнецлѣта благости Твоѣа, Господи, сохраниаа вѣмирѣлюди и градѣтвой, молитвами Богородицы, и спаси ны)'. On the right there is the 1st-tone troparion of the Theotokos: 'Радуйса, вбрадованнаа Богородице дѣво, пристанище и предстательнице роду челоувѣческому, изътеб Ебовоплотиса избавитель міру: Единабо Еси + (мати идѣва, прис) ноблаго (словеннаа, и преп)рославлен(наа, моли ХристаБога миръ

даровативсейвсєленнѣй).’ The quote presumably continued at the bottom of the icon.

Based on the stylistic characteristics and the calligraphy of the inscriptions, this piece was made in the workshop of an unidentified Galician town or by a master from one of these workshops. Kosiv Roksolana suggests that the style of the icon is close to that of Ivan Krulickij, icon painter of Rybotycze, and thus it dates later, to the beginning of the 18th century. However, the inscription contains ligatures and Cyrillic calligraphy that were rarely applied by the masters of Rybotycze. Yet, it is still possible that they worked based on an earlier prototype. (B. P.)

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First half of the 18th century, master from the Carpathian Region
 wood, tempera

180 × 170 cm (70.9 × 66.9 in)

Last conservation: Ferenc Varga, 2020.

Holy Protection of the Theotokos Greek Catholic Church, Nyírdersz

This icon was preserved in its original, recessed, painted frame structure richly ornamented with carvings. The pediment, the voluted columns and the side-wing ornaments are adorned with fretwork carvings of stylized vine leaves. A cross arises in the middle of the pedestal. A profile of shell motifs can be observed around the field of the arched picture. On the dark bluish base colour of the frame the gilding and the glazing are well visible.

The icon depicts Christ standing on a podium, slightly turned towards the right, and looking down with an expression of sorrow on His face. He wears a purple mantle and loincloth and holds His tied hands in front of Him with a cane in His right hand. On His body, blood comes out from the wounds obtained when He was

flogged. The podium, which is depicted in a flat, medieval-style manner, stands on a gridded floor rendered in a perspective by coherent lines. The gilded background is adorned with three-dimensional, mannerist-style gilded tendrils.

The depiction of the suffering of Christ was present in the iconography of the Carpathian Region in the Middle Ages also, on large size complex wall icons. In the 17th century the representation of the events of the Holy Week had a separate tier in the sizeable Galician iconostases. From these images, the depiction of the Suffering Christ became an individual image by the end of the 17th century in the iconography of the Carpathian region, together with several other themes that refer to the mystery of the Eucharist. These icons were placed on the altar, creating a similar look to the altar structures of Roman Catholic churches. The compositions were based on the drawings of Western carvings or Galician engravings following Western prototypes.

The Christ of the Nyírderzs icon is similar to the figure of the *Ecce Homo*. Similar Flemish engravings were also made, thus they probably have one single prototype. The above average quality of the painted details, the proportions, the three-dimensional shape of the figure of Christ, and the artistic background and carvings indicate that icon is not the work of the Galician itinerant masters working in Transcarpathian Region. However, no other work of the master of this icon is known today and the piece lacks inscriptions, even the traditional initials of Christ are missing from the halo. The inner carvings of the frame and the stylised vine leaves and bunches resemble the style of wood carvers coming from the south and working around Nyírderzs. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2008, 214–216.



Second third of the 18th century, unknown icon painter,
Rybotycze School
tempera, wood
129.7 × 96.2 cm (51 × 37.9 in)
Conserved
Ascension Greek Catholic Church, Baktakék

In this former Sovereign-Tier icon the Theotokos appears in a three-quarter view. The iconography is of the Hodigitria-type, 'Our Lady of the Way': The infant Jesus sits on the left arm of His mother, Mary points to the sky with her right hand. Both are in a nearly completely straight posture. The Theotokos is dressed in a dark blue chiton and a dark red maphorion with a green lining and wears a crown on her head. Her dress is adorned with a gold trim and the traditional star motifs on her forehead and shoulder. Jesus as the Pantocrator is also depicted with royal insignia. He wears a crown and in His hand is the Globe with the Cross displaying the inscription 'CΤЪ, CΤЪ, CΤЪ' ('Holy, Holy, Holy'). His clothing consists of a gold ochre mantle over a white chiton with a red ribbon belt; the latter became part of the clothing of the infant Jesus in the depictions from the 17th century. In the

silver-foiled, Renaissance-style sleek background the traditional Greek abbreviations of names are featured.

In the middle of the 17th century, as a result of the influences of the Western European aesthetics and the design of Baroque altars, the earlier late Renaissance-style, flat-profile icon frames were replaced by architectural, strongly recessed frame structures. The most powerful element of the Baktakék icon's frame is the pediment articulated by multi-sectioned concave arches. On the top, it is bordered by protruding ledges adorned with fretwork carving while, in the middle and on the two sides, projecting consoles finishing in ledges decorate the piece. The two extreme consoles are held by split shafted, footed columns with capitals of stylised leaves and buds. The lower section of the frame recesses towards the icon, it is straight on the bottom and on the sides, while it finishes in a semi-circle at the top. The front of the frame is painted vermillion, which is in contrast with the dark olive of the recessed surfaces. The frame structure is ornamented with numerous carvings which are silver-foiled and glazed with a yellowish varnish creating a golden look, rosettes on the pediment, floral tendrils in the lower sections, and a notched column profile. This type of frame was used for the most prominent icons of an iconostasis: those in the Sovereign Tier and the icons in the main axis of the upper rows, close to the icon of *Christ the High Priest*. This structure originated with the Rybotycze painter workshop near Przemyśl and became popular not only in Western Galicia but also in the territory of the Bishopric of Mukacheve. The stylistic characteristics of the Baktakék Theotokos icon indicate that it is related to the masters of the Rybotycze School who started using three-dimensional techniques in the 18th century.

From the account of the 1750-1751 visitation of *Manuel Olsavszky*, Bishop of Mukacheve, it is known that the wooden church of Baktakék was built around 1725 and, at the time of the visitation, it had all of the icons except for the Apostles which were about to be painted. As the masters of Rybotycze took commissions for full iconostases only, this icon was either brought to Baktakék from elsewhere or the reference of the visitation should be understood as actually documenting the process of the creation of the structure. (B. P.)

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Second third of the 18th century, unidentified icon painter, Rybotycze School
 wood, tempera
 129.7 × 96.2cm (51 × 37.9 in)
 Conserved.
 Ascension of Jesus Greek Catholic Church, Baktakék

This icon is encased in a complex architectural frame structure and used to serve as a Sovereign Tier icon of an 18th century iconostasis together with the Baktakék *Theotokos* icon preserved in the same frame structure. As common for the Sovereign Tier icons, Christ the Saviour is depicted in a three-quarter portrait view. Christ appears as the Pantocrator, wearing the traditional red chiton tied with a gold ochre belt and a blue mantle with a gilded trim. He gives blessings with two fingers of His right hand and holds an open book in His left hand, inscribed in which is the most often quoted Church Slavonic text ('Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' [Matt 25:34]), referring to the Last Judgement. As The Lord of the Universe, He wears

a detailed, ornate crown on His head. This motif became customary from the beginning of the 18th century in the practice of the Rybotycze workshop and was rarely used by others. The background of the image is a late Renaissance-style brocade pattern with leaves and tendrils, the surface of which is, like that of the other motifs of golden look, silvered and yellow glazed. On the basis of the characteristic physiognomical features of Christ's wide face and the details of the frame structure, the icon is the work of the Rybotycze masters. The refined toning also tells us that it can be dated to the last decade of the functioning of the workshop. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2008, 180, 225, picture 73.



1750–1760, unidentified icon painter of the
Rybotycze School
wood, tempera

121 × 102 cm (47.6 × 40.2 in)

Conservation: Ildikó Jeszeniczky, 1994–1996

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
2010.168 (A 55).

This icon is from Gagyvendégi. The painted board with a silver-foiled background was preserved with its Baroque frame. The altar structure-like frame is a typical example of the type that became widespread on the basis of the work of the Rybotycze workshop. The consoles of the rich, multi-sectioned pediment with fretwork carvings are joined on the lower section by a pair of columns. The frame has a characteristic red colour which forms a strong auxiliary contrast with the dark green inner edges. The pediment and the recessed frame are adorned with silver-foiled carved motifs glazed with a yellow varnish. The ceremonial look of the frame is intensified by the fretwork wings of silver-foiled tendrils with shells of golden impression. The pediment is crowned by a three beam slanted cross.

Similar frames can be found on the Polish side of the Carpathians and in the churches of the Mukacheve Bishopric in the former Upper Hungary. The triple leaf on the frame of the Gagyvendégi icon decorating the side consoles is a rare element. Similarly rich framing was customary on the altar of the sanctuary, sometimes joined to the tabernacle, at other times individually. Furthermore, they were also designed for the Table of Oblation, with probably a cross on top. This information confirms that the Gagyvendégi icon functioned as an altarpiece.

The icon depicts the Gospel event of the Descent from the Cross. On the ladders leading to the horizontal bar of the cross, in the background there are a young man on the left and Nicodemus on the right. With the help of a white shroud, together with Joseph of Arimathea depicted at the right bottom, they lift the body of Jesus from the cross. At the foot of the cross on the left Saint John the Evangelist helps them, while in the foreground there are The Three Marys. The bosom of the Theotokos, as customary in late medieval-style depictions, is pierced by a dagger, symbolising her pain. On the top, from amongst the clouds, the grey-bearded God clad in a red mantle looks down at the scene, gives blessings and sends the Dove of the Holy Spirit. In the background, stylised buildings border the scene. The background is decorated with a carved and silver-foiled late Renaissance pattern glazed to gold.

The icon was created using only a limited amount of colours and toning and has a slightly two-dimensional effect. The figures are thickset, their movements are ungraceful and the details of the faces are graphic. On the basis of its stylistic characteristics, the icon is clearly the work of the Rybotycze icon painter workshop, and the iconographic details also correspond to the type most frequently painted by the Rybotycze masters. The workshop was active from the 1670s to the 1760s, its members rarely signed their pieces and their abundant relics are rather consistent. (Kociv, 2018b, 56). The masters tended to paint certain iconographic themes with only minor alterations, thus numerous compositions similar to the Gagyvendégi *Descent from the Cross* icon remained on the Polish side of the Carpathians. The icon painters worked jointly with wood carvers and carpenters; documents referring to five wood carvers remain from the first five decades of their operation. (B. P.)

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 Puskás, 2012, 20, 41, kat. 7.



1750–1760s, unidentified icon painter of the
 Rybotycze School
 wood, tempera

147.5 × 95.5 cm (58 × 37.6 in)

Conservation: Péter Gedeon, 1996

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
 2010.169 (A 56).

This icon depicts Saint Nicholas Bishop of Myra in a three-quarter view. The Saint Bishop is depicted in a Baroque style, slightly turned to the right, which posture was adopted in the 18th century by the icon painters of the Carpathian Region from the cuts of printed liturgical books. He is dressed in a light blue sakkos ornamented with golden leaves. Around his neck there is a red omophorion with golden crosses and a pectoral cross, while on his head there is a tall mitre adorned with cherubs. He is holding a crozier with a cloth in his right and an ornate, greyish blue closed Gospel Book with an inset composition of the Cross and other instruments of the suffering. The Bishop is turning

his observant gaze towards the onlookers. The eyes, the detailed grey hair and beard, and the fine physiognomy were painted with tender lines and a three-dimensional representation. This is in contrast with the depiction of the clothing which nearly entirely lacks tones. The details of the ornaments of the drapery are, however, precisely drawn. The icon's viewpoint and the garments follow the characteristics of the icon type that was painted by the masters of Rybotycze in the first half of the 18th century. However, its painting technique is more advanced than that of the artists working primarily for village churches. The icon of *Saint Josephat Kuntsevych* (second half of the 18th century, Łańcut, Castle Museum), which, despite its theme, originally functioned as a side altar, is also characterised by a similar duality and is now considered to be the product of the Rybotycze School even though this would be the only icon of this theme in the oeuvre of the workshop.

The icon from Gagyvendégi was preserved in its original frame structure with a Baroque-style sectioned pediment. The multi-sectioned border ledge is ornamented with carvings: a wave profile and stylised fretwork floral motifs emphasised with silver foil and yellow varnishing. The ledge of the red pediment is supported by consoles with sun-motif rosettes on the sides. The inner edges of the frame are also ornamented with silver-foiled tendrils over an olive green background. Two columns of split shafts and capitals formed of buds and carved vertical profiles adorn the frame, such elements started to replace columns of fretwork carving of vines from the 18th century (Kocib, 2018b, 55). On the top of the frame structures, the masters most often left an opening for a silver-foiled fretwork pedimental ornament. Plain tendrils were used for the two inclined sides of the ledger while in the mesial horizontal ledger a medallion, most often depicting a cherub, was encased among tendrils. A closing cross indicated that the framed icon had an altar icon function. In the case of the Gagyvendégi Saint Nicholas icon it is possible that the pedimental cross was transferred from another icon. (B. P.)

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 Puskás, 2008, 224, picture 71.
 Puskás, 2012, 20, 41, kat. 8.



End of the 17th century – first third of the 18th century, unidentified icon painter, Rybotycze School wood, tempera
 102 × 63 cm (40.2 × 24.8 in) (framed)
 Conservation: Klára Nemessányi, 1994
 Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 1999.45 (A 1).

This icon was found in Tolcsva, on the loft of the church in 1984 by Géza Nagymihályi. Based on its size it was made for the Sovereign Tier (the lowest tier) of the iconostasis, however, the church in Tolcsva is dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos and the closest church dedicated to Saint Michael is in Rudabányácska. The board was originally bordered by a frame with red, dark blue and claret dots on a white base, however, only the right side of this is preserved today. The icon field is bordered with a Late Renaissance-style semi-circular line of silver-foiled carvings that were varnished with a yellow glaze. Of these, only the carved arch profile remains, together with the right side console and the

rosette motif adorning the greyish blue field on the right. The Late Renaissance brocade background pattern popular in this period in the Carpathian Region consists of thick leaves on this icon.

In the field of the picture the straight, knee-length portrait of Saint Michael Archangel was painted. He appears as traditionally depicted, a youth with shoulder-length hair and no beard, clad in antique-style clothes. As Archistrategos, the Supreme Commander of the Heavenly Host, he has been pictured in a military outfit since the Middle Byzantine times. On the Tolcsva icon his garments consists of a greenish tunic, a blue shirt, and a golden ochre corselet with mail and red protective leather bands under it. A red mantle is draped over his shoulder and left arm in wide ripples. Behind him there are his wings, the distinguishing feature of spiritual beings depicted embodied. The bare sword in his right and its sheath in his left draw a dynamic diagonal line into the static composition.

The paint layers of the icon are rather worn. However, it is still identifiable that the decorative colours and certain analogous details match the style of the Nižný Hrabovec (*Alsó-Hrabóc/Alsógyertyán*) icon of *Suceava Saint John* (1690–1720, Bardejov, Saris Museum). On the basis of the characteristic icon painting techniques both icons can be attributed to the Rybotycze workshop. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2012, 18, 36, kat. 1.

The Theotokos with the Infant Jesus

Catalogue II.33



*First third of the 18th century, unidentified icon painter,
Rybotycze School
wood, tempera*

101 × 60 cm (39.7 × 23.6 in)

Conservation: Ferenc Springer (wooden board), Zsófia Imrik, 2020 (painting).

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza

The icon was collected in Tolcsva in 1996 together with its pair, the icon of *Saint Nicholas*. The two icons were made on boards of different sizes and shapes, however, their stylistic characteristics relate them.

The icon of Mary was found split into two pieces and a substantial amount of the board was missing in the upper-middle section. Nevertheless, it was still possible to reconstruct the composition. The figures of the Theotokos and the Infant Jesus are depicted close to each other and both are clad in traditional clothes. Mary wears a blue chiton with a golden epimanikion and a dark red maphorion with a green lining, while Jesus is in a white shirt and a red mantle. On the forehead and shoulder of

Mary there are star motifs indicating her virginity. On their heads there are ornate mitres in round haloes carved into the background. This element was borrowed from Western iconography by post-Byzantine icon painters to indicate their status of Lord of Heaven. The Child, Who is nested on the left arm of Mary, gives blessings with His right hand and places His left hand in the palm of His mother's hand extended towards Him; a reminder of a similar gesture of the depictions of *Our Lady of Perpetual Help*. Their faces touch gently. The composition thus blends the Hodigitria and Eleusa type portraits. Despite the large amount of missing paint it is visible that the details of the icon indicate that it is the work of a master of the Rybotycze School in Galicia. These characteristics include the reduced number of colours, the flat depiction, the strong contours of the wrinkles of the drapery, the large eyes on the faces, the thin eyebrows, and the red cheeks. The painting technique of the drapery and the carnation is analogous to that of the *Zohatyn Eleusa* icon of the Rybotycze workshop (1710–1730, Sanok, Museum of Folk Architecture). The two upper corners of the icon were truncated, which indicates that it used to have a characteristic Baroque architectural frame similar to the Baktakék Theotokos icon.

The *Saint Nicholas* icon collected together with this icon was also substantially damaged (56 × 83 cm [22 × 32.7 inches], Inv. No. 2010.166 [A 53]). The most significant paint deficit was on the area of the face, along the line of the nose. That icon depicts the Hierarch of Myra according to the traditions of iconography. It is a forward, half-length portrait, in which he is clad in full regalia: a light blue brocade sakkos with a stylized pattern, a red omophorion with crosses, and a pectoral cross. The crozier, the mitre on the head of the Bishop, and the halo around it are carved, thus they almost blend into the brocade pattern of the silver-foiled background. Saint Nicholas is holding a crozier with a cloth in his right hand while he is supporting a Gospel Book in red leather binding with his left. A peculiarity of the icon is that due to the hand painted too high the book quasi levitates over the table in front of the Holy Bishop. On the table an ink bottle and an open parchment can be seen with two decipherable lines. The picture field used to be bordered with a semi-circular profile on the top. The upper corners of the rectangular board were adorned with round motifs, only traces of them can be seen now in the red background. Of the name inscription only the first few letters are decipherable: 'ССѠН'. Analogous compositions remain in larger numbers in the region of Galicia. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2012, 18, 36, kat. 2.

Saint Anthony and Saint Theodosius of the Kiev Caves

Catalogue II.34

1720–1730, unknown icon painter, Rybotycze School wood, tempera

75.5 × 92 cm (30 × 36 in)

Conservation: Ágnes Tordainé Bucsi, 1996.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2010.165 (A 52).

The icon was collected in Tolcsva where it had a secondary position, it was integrated into the stipes of a side altar. The board is framed by profiled pilasters on the sides, the pilasters are closed by red consoles decorated with a silvered, carved leaf motif. Above the consoles there is a ledge closed by a silver-foiled, carved profile. The structure stands on a greenish grey pedestal.

The founder Saints of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, Saint Anthony and Saint Theodosius monks are depicted in the field of the picture. These two Saints of the Eastern Slavic Christianity are rarely depicted in the late medieval icon painting of the Carpathian region. They are more frequently depicted from the middle of the 17th century, mainly from 1670 to 1750 by the masters of Rybotycze working in Przemyśl and in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, while this topic was still not too frequently depicted in the churches of the Bishopric of Lviv (Kociv, 2018a, 101).

The two monks stand facing one another in the foreground of the icon, dressed in traditional monk robes, a greyish black cassock and a dark brown mantle with white lining. They are depicted with uncovered head, like on a header of the *Acts and Epistles of the Holy Apostles* published in 1654 in Lviv, with a crucifix-ornamented koukoulion at their neck, pushed back in the style of a hood. Around their head there is an irregular-shaped red halo. A stone building can be seen with a red dome on the hill rising from the low horizon, crowned by a lantern with an onion dome. Sharp pine tops of stylised pine woods can be seen on the side in the background. The hand gesture of the monks is mirrored, both of them raise one hand to the chest while in the other hand they hold an unfolded scytale. An inscription of the scytale of the long- and grey-bearded Saint Anthony can be deciphered on the left side: 'Г(оспо)ди да будетъ благословеніе на мѣстѣ семъ' ('May the Lord bless this place!') Not only can the inscription refer to the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, it can also refer to the church where the icon was made. The following inscription can be found on the scytale of Saint Theodosius, with a shorter grey beard, on the right side: 'Г(оспо)диво имапр(есвя)тыя Б(огороди)ца создаѣ домъ сей.' ('Lord, this house is built in the name of the Theotokos.') Initials of Mary in the middle of a light blue, cloudy sky in a red field of light, written in the Latin letters, replace the figure of the Theotokos that is traditionally used in this kind of iconography. The church



tower is highlighted by a triple beam of light coming from the clouds surrounding the field of light as they open up. The names of the two monks can be seen above them on the two sides: 'СВЯТЫЙ АНТОНИЙ'; 'СВЯТЫЙ ТЕОДОСИЙ'.

Iconostases in the Carpathian Region were enriched by the predella placed in the fields under the main icons in the 18th century, the iconography of these was less constrained than that of the upper sequences of icons. With a few exceptions, the founders of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves were always presented in this order, their icon was traditionally placed under the main icon of the *Theotokos with the Infant*. This iconography was based on etchings published in liturgical books in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves and Lviv. The thematic concept was not the result of conscious orientation though, it rather reflects on the fact that the strong visual connection of the main icon of the Theotokos and the icon of the Saints of the Caves became typical. In line with this, there will be an equally strong connection between the main icon of Jesus Christ and the predella representing Peter and Paul Chief Apostles. The typical elements of style, like the environment, the figures and the schematic representation of their clothes, the colour patches, and the contouring suggest that this

icon of Tolcsva was made in the workshop of Rybotycze. Regarding topic and style, numerous analogies of the icon are known on the Galician side of the Carpathians (Ulucz, 1690, icon of unknown origin 1720–30, Historical Museum in Sanok) and in the historic Upper Hungary as well.

The style of the icon of Dobroslava (*Dobroszló*), presumably made in the 1730s, is rather similar, but its iconography is somewhat different: the two Saints are depicted on their knees with prayer beads in their hands. Saint Anthony and Saint Theodosius of the Kiev Caves have been represented from the 17th century mainly in the Archdiocese of Przemyśl, but several examples can be found in the Zakarpatska Oblast. With the decay of the Rybotycze School their representation becomes less popular though, and in the second part of the 18th century the tradition of depicting these Saints fades away. (B. P.)

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II.2.1 Processional cross with depictions of the crucified Christ and the Epiphany

Catalogue II.35



1730–1750, unknown icon painter, Rybotycze School
wood, tempera
86 × 63 cm (34 × 25 in)
Conservation: István Bóna Jr, 1993-1994.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
1999.46 (A 2).

Of this painted processional cross collected in Tolcsva in 1984 only fragments could be preserved, its lower quarter and the third cross bar are missing. The crucified Christ can be seen on one side with a red background, accompanied by the Sun and the Moon painted at the two ends of the long horizontal bar. The abbreviation of a title can be read on the upper bar in Cyrillic characters: 'ИХЦІ'. The Epiphany is depicted on the other side of the cross because it was also used as an accessory of the procession on the occasion of the Epiphany of Our Lord, when the rite of the blessing of the waters was traditionally held at the creek of the village. The two topics are intertwined in a theological aspect as well since baptism, by washing away the original sin, means partial victory over evil accomplished by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross.

In this composition with a greyish green background, Christ is also emphasised by the size of His figure, His standing figure practically covers the vertical bar of the cross. He drops His left hand and raises His right to his chest. His head and the halo around it are in the intersection of the vertical and horizontal bars. Dressed suitably for baptism, He wears a white robe, and the waves of the Jordan are represented by a few stylised

wavy lines in a white, drop-shaped patch. Half figures of further participants of the scene are depicted on the long horizontal bar: Saint John the Baptist on the left and an angel holding a shawl on the right. Next to them, stylised white, red and greenish rocky mountains show the environment. The upper horizontal bar of the cross is connected to the cross in a T-shape, in line with the typical cross shape that was highly popular in wood carvings from the Carpathians from the 16th to the 19th century as a hand cross or an altar cross. The upper body of God the Father can be seen in the red field framed by a range of clouds on the upper cross bar. He looks down, observing the scene, and gives blessings with arms outstretched. The dove of the Holy Spirit descends from Heaven in a triple beam of light.

Wooden processional crosses painted on both sides were typical church supplies in the 17th–18th centuries, and were placed close to the iconostasis. By then they had a permanent, seven-pointed shape and their vertical bar did not extend beyond the horizontal upper bars. The longest, middle bar was usually placed on the upper quarter of the cross or eventually it marked one third of the cross. The upper and lower horizontal bars normally had the same length, however, there were instances when the lower bar could be slightly longer. The lower cross bar was usually straight, but it could also be slanted. The horizontal bars might end in carved leaf motifs. At the bottom, the processional cross ended in a painted sphere that also served as the anchorage of its handle (Kociv, 2018c, 226). Its painted surface was usually in a frame made of thin, silver-foiled, profiled bars, which is also true for the cross from Tolcsva. The depictions of the cross from Tolcsva were painted only with a few colours, stout shapes can be seen outlined by intense black contour lines. Typical elements of style and the round faces suggest that the artist was a master of the Rybotycze School. A close analogy to the cross from Tolcsva is the cross from Muszynka, also containing wide faces (1730–1750, Historical Museum in Sanok). On the basis of the analogies, the depictions on the missing horizontal bar can be guessed: probably Adam's skull was on the side where the Crucifixion was represented, and a winged cherub was on the side of the Epiphany scene. (B. P)

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- Puskás, 2012, 19, 40, kat. 5.

II.2.1 Deesis

Catalogue II.36



Mid-18th century (1733 ?), unknown Galician (?) painter
wood, oil

81 × 57 cm (32 × 22 in)

Conservation: Erika Mészáros, 2019–2020

Herman Ottó Museum in Miskolc, Inv. No. 53.4733.1.

Christ, clad in an episcopal robe, sits on a throne in the central axis, the background is decorated with a gilded, carved pattern. With His right hand He gives blessings, in His left hand He holds an open book with a Bible quote in Church Slavonic language: 'глаꙗкезача / Воꙗаꙗкаꙗ боса: и дастеміаѣстѣ: вожаждаꙗся: и напоистема: болеꙗ и посѣѣстемене.' – For I was an hungered, and you gave me meat: I was thirsty, and you gave me drink: I was a stranger, and you took me in...' (Matt. 25:35–36, Slavonic transcript by András Dobos). Christ's sakkos is red, with a gold pattern and passementerie, blue lining, and His episcopal omophorion is white with black crosses. His epimanikia and epitachelion are blue with gold passementerie, like His mitre with the fragmented shape of two six-winged cherubim. Another cherub can be seen on the epigonation under His right hand. A round-shaped podium, similar to an ambo, can be suspected under the decorated throne. The Theotokos is on Christ's left side, and Saint John the Baptist stands on the clouds on His right side. The former is clad in a blue robe with red

lining, in a pinkish tunic, while the latter is clad in a camel hair dress with a belt and a green robe on top. The way they raise their hands towards Christ is not the hand gesture commonly used in Byzantine tradition, they hold their hands pressed together in line with Western tradition. The upper bodies of two angels float above the backrest of the throne, they hold globes with abbreviated Slavonic 'holy' words on them.

The abbreviated forms of the Greek and Slavonic names of the depicted figures are written in the nimbuses in red. The icon was originally placed in the iconostasis of the church of Rakaca, in the central axis of the sequence of Apostles. It was made by an unknown painter, probably from a nearby town or from Polish territory. This kind of representation of Deesis was also spread in printed graphics in the 17th century as it can be seen on a woodcut from 1664 (cf. Стасенко, 2003, 90, fig. 157).

The iconostasis is also mentioned in connection with the history of the Parish of Rakaca in 1939: 'Protestantism spread also in Rakacza, but it was not until 1614 that an autonomous church was established. When the locals fled because of high taxes, a high number of Slovak and Ruthenian settlers arrived, and by 1723 a church was built for them (its old iconostasis and chasuble are in the Borsod-Miskolci Museum), the Reformed tradition began to wane.' (Antal Csíkvári [ed.], *Borsod vármegye [Borsod, Gömör és Kishont k. e. e. vármegyéék]*, Budapest, 1939, 115.) The old church was destroyed in Rakaca in 1920 but the memorial of its construction carved in stone in Church Slavonic language was preserved in the new building (photo: <https://www.bucsujaras.hu/rakaca/nz17.jpg> accessed: 01 March, 2020). There is no information on when and how much of the old equipment was transferred to the museum in Miskolc. Rakaca was undoubtedly the wealthiest among the Greek Catholic parishes of Borsod County in the 18th century. Besides a photo preserved in the parish, showing its tower topped by a monumental onion roof, the shape of the stone church of Rakaca was also described in surveys and in visitation records. Manuel Olsavszky, Bishop of Mukacheve visited Rakaca in 1751, and it was noted that the church was "beautifully decorated with all kinds of pictures", presumably referring to the iconostasis. Miklós Tóth, Bishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*) performed a canonical visitation in Rakaca in 1877 in the records of which the iconostasis was also described: it was erected in 1733, it was already in a decrepit state, it had four tiers of images, and the cross and the mourners (the Theotokos and Saint John the Theologian) were missing from the top. From its three doors, the Royal Door was decorated with a composition of grapevine-carving and twelve medallions representing the

Old Testament Patriarchs. Instead of the *Last Supper* a so-called Mandylion (portrait not-made-by-hands) of Christ was hanging above the door (cf. AGKA Inv. č. 479, Rok. 1877, Sign. 43, kan. vžit., Rakaca). On the basis of its structure and description, the iconostasis is most similar to the picture stand of the church of the nearby Chorváty (*Tornahorvátí*) which was transferred to Budapest in 1907. From the top of this work of art, disassembled, preserved in the Museum of Ethnography, the figures of the Golgotha scene are missing. This might be due to the fact that the nave of the church in Chorváty has a flat ceiling, similar to the nave in Rakaca, also with the *Saint Mandylion* instead of the *Last Supper*, and the Royal Gate was decorated by the images of Prophets (Terdik, 2011b, 15–17). The icon of *Deesis* could be seen also in the middle of the representation of the Apostles in Chorváty (Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 2020.7 30, painted surface: 86 × 52 cm [34 × 20 in]), in a style that is very close to that of Rakaca; I presume they were made by the same artist. Therefore, the pieces of the iconostasis that are considered to be the oldest, also on the basis of their style (a significant part of the sequence of the Apostles, Feasts and Prophets), are presumably from the 1730s, and they are classified as the equipment of the former church integrated into the new church in the 1770s. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished



First part of the 18th century

wood, tempera, oil

106 × 98 cm (42 × 39 in)

Conservation: Tamás Seres (wooden board, painting; University of Fine Arts, Budapest, 2010/2011), Mária Szabóné Szilágyi (column fragment, column reconstruction).

Greek Catholic Church of Saint Michael and Gabriel Archangel, Peleş (Nagypeleske)

This icon painted on thick gesso with tempera (partially with oil) on a wooden board shows the Virgin Mary in a blue tunic and a red maphorion with green lining and golden hemming, holding her Son in her left hand, pointing at Him with her right hand. The colour of the robe of the Infant is orange, His shirt is white, tied with a red belt, He gives blessings with His right hand, but instead of the usual book, in His left hand He holds a globe. The background of the icon is silver-foiled, coated with gold-looking varnish, decorated with an ornament composed of acanthus leaves carved into the gesso. The abbreviation of the Greek names of the Theotokos and Jesus can be seen in the elongated blue fields in the background, and in the nimbus of the Infant the conventional Greek words 'ho ón' ('the One Who is') can also be deciphered. Around the upper part of the icon there is a frame made of profiled bars fixed to the panel, and in the fields outside the frame there are two

carved, six-petal flowers. Of the columns that once decorated the frame only a fragment of the pedestal of one and the wrought iron nail holding the carving of the other were preserved.

On the basis of its style and historic data on the wooden church of Peleş (*Nagypeleske*), the icon was presumably made in the first part of the 18th century. Several icons made by this master – or by his workshop – were preserved in the territory of the former Eparchy of Mukacheve. Items that were very close to this one regarding iconography and painting style were collected from the churches of Kántorjánosi and Hodász in the historic Szatmár County (*The Theotokos* [Cat. II.39.], *The Annunciation* [Cat. II.40.], Saint Nicholas, Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza). It shows the highest resemblance to the icon of Saint Nicholas collected in Nagydobos: their style and also their size and frame ornament are the same, which suggests that they used to belong to the same iconostasis, namely to the iconostasis of Peleş (cf. Cat. II.38.).

A few more icons made presumably by the same artist can be found in churches of today's Zakarpatska Oblast, Slovakia and Western Ukraine. An example of this is the Eleusa icon of the Theotokos preserved in the wooden church of Suchiy (*Сухуї/Şzárzpatak*), its columns decorating the frame served as a model for the reconstruction of the columns from Peleş. However, no iconostasis is known where all the icons would originate from this artist. The icons of the Sovereign Tier are usually the works of his, three of them in particular (Saint Nicholas, the Theotokos, Saint Michael), as it can be seen in the wooden church of Bukivtsovo (*Буківцьово/Ungbükkös*) (icons: Приймич, 2014, 88–89). In the stone church of Turitsya (*Туриця/Nagyturica/Nagyturaşzög*) only the four main icons, presumably preserved from the former wooden church, were made by this painter, although here the icon of *Christ the Teacher* also seems to be made by the same painter. This was disassembled a few years ago, and the plan is to put the old icons into the new Greek Catholic church that is being built in the village. (Sz. T.)

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First part of the 18th century

wood, tempera, oil

86 × 65 cm (34 × 26 in)

Conservation: Zsófia Mária Pethes, Réka Szák-Kocsis (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2018/2019.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2016.298 (A143).

First, a thick gesso layer was applied on the wide board, then, following the pre-drawn pattern, the three-quarter-view portrait of the Wonderworker Saint was painted with oil. The Bishop wears a blue sticharion and a pinkish cope with orangish lining, once decorated with tiny silver Greek crosses, hardly visible today. He has a red omophorion with four silver Latin crosses coated with gold varnish, the embroidery-looking ornaments were mainly worn off. The pectoral cross indicating the title of the Bishop was made in a similar way. Saint Nicholas gives blessings with his right hand, and with his left hand he presents the Gospel. The silver-based central field of the red cover was originally decorated with a cross. The Bishop's face is delicately drawn, his moustache,

II.2.1

short full beard and his hair are grey, his mitre decorated with faded, carved patterns covers the few ornamented locks of his grey hair. His straight nose, his mild-looking eyes gazing into the distance on the right are all accentuated in his face.

The background of the icon is silver-foiled and coated with gold-looking varnish, decorated with an ornament composed of acanthus leaves carved into the gesso. The name of the depicted figure can be seen in the elongated fields in the background in Cyrillic characters. Despite the severely deteriorated letters, the name can still be deciphered: 'Father Saint Nicholas'. Profiled bars fixed to the board border the upper part of the icon in a semi-circular frame, a part of which was missing; it was restored during the conservation of the object. In the two arched fields surrounded by the arched frame and the picture rail (now missing, it was fixed where there are three holes on top of the wooden board) a carved, five-petal, stylised flower can be seen. Carved columns were originally fixed to the laths of the frame on the longer, vertical side of the wooden board, their place can be assumed from the holes at the bottom and at the top of the frame. After the degradation of the columns these parts were painted brown, just like the much thinner lath serving as the lower frame of the wooden board, but this layer was removed during the last conservation. A fragment of an inscription in Cyrillic letters was discovered on the lower bar during cleaning, a few decipherable words ('sej obraz' – 'this picture'...) suggest that it commemorated the donor of the picture.

The painter of the icon and the date of origin are unknown, but on the basis of the style of similar pictures it can be assumed that this icon was made in the first part or in the middle of the 18th century. An icon of Saint Nicholas found in Hodász is quite similar, with a much simpler shape and frame and with slightly richer iconography, showing Christ above the shoulders of the Holy Hierarch reinstating him to his function, and showing the Theotokos also (Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2010.176 [A 63]; Puskás, 2012, 22, kat. 16). Several icons made by this master have been uncovered in the territory of the former Eparchy of Mukacheve in recent years. Regarding the style and the structure of the frame, the icon of the Theotokos preserved in Peleş (*Nagypeleske*), seems to be closely related to the panel coming from Nagydobos. The possibility of these two icons belonging to the same iconostasis had arisen earlier. However, there is no information yet on when and how the icon of Saint Nicholas was transferred to Nagydobos. In Peleş, the equipment of the former wooden church was transferred to the church built in the first part of the 19th century. A contract for the creation of the actual iconostasis was

signed in November, 1906. The old icons of the iconostasis, the ones that had become redundant, were sold to churchgoers in the summer of 1907. Although the number of customers and the number of pictures were noted, there is no information on who bought which icon. The icon of Saint Nicholas was transferred to Nagydobos most probably by way of purchase. First it was placed in the church, then it was removed, and a few decades later it was collected and duly preserved by Géza Nagymihályi. (Sz. T.)

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II.2.1 Hodigitria

Catalogue II.39



First part of the 18th century

wood, tempera, oil

80 × 45 cm (31 × 18 in)

Conservation: Vivien Hutóczy (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2014/2015.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 1990.50 (A 6).

In this representation of the Theotokos painted on a wooden board with a traditional canvas on gesso priming, the Infant Jesus holds a book in His hand. The frame of the icon is made of simple profiled laths. The wooden board seriously dilapidated during the centuries: it cracked, it was bent in several directions, and due to high humidity the painted layers, the foundation on its lower parts, and the wooden board was also severely damaged. Moreover, a previous insect infestation caused it to become fragmented. Furthermore, the lower lath of the frame fitted to the

wooden board and made at the same time as the icon was lost, causing further weakening in the panel's solidity. Fortunately, the figural parts were not seriously damaged, the face and hands of the Theotokos remained intact, only some parts of the clothes were missing, and there was a significant, disturbing crack on the face of the Infant Jesus. The material of the wooden panel was strengthened, pulled together along the cracks, the unfitting repaint was removed from the background that was originally decorated with carved patterns coated with gold-looking varnish and silver-foil, the missing parts of the priming and the painted details were completed, and a new lath was added in place of the missing one. Aesthetic conservation was moderate.

The painter and the time and place of preparation of the icon are unknown. In earlier art history books it was dated to the second part or the last decades of the 17th century. The most similar icon to this one is the Sovereign Tier *The Theotokos* icon of the iconostasis of the church of Bukivts'ovo (Буківцьово/*Ungbükkös*) (photo: Приймич, 2014, 88–89). Dating the icon to a later date (first part or middle of the 18th century) may be supported by the fact that similar works of art, found in the parishes of Szatmár, not far from Kántorjánosi, come from places where Greek Catholic parishes were established and the first churches were built only after the suppression of Rákóczi's War of Independence. These icons must have been made by the same painter, or at least they come from the same workshop. The similarity between the icon from Kántorjánosi and the icon of the Theotokos from Peleş (*Nagypeleske*) suggests that they were made by the same artist. The frame of the icon from Peleş is more ornamented, but there are only a few tiny differences between the two images (cf. Cat. II.37). Although the icons of Saint Nicholas and *The Annunciation* represent different topics, regarding their style, technique and size they are closely related to the icon from Kántorjánosi (Cat. II.40). This close similarity suggests that the image from Kántorjánosi could originally have belonged to the church in Hodász, where the iconostasis was transformed in 1779 and two new Sovereign Tier icons, *Christ the Teacher* and the icon of the Theotokos, were made (the year 1779 can be deciphered on the former one, now both are in the Greek Catholic Art Collection, cf. Puskás, 2012, 23, kat. 18–19). Thanks to the new icons, the earlier main icon from Hodász became redundant, so the icon that is now known as the icon from Kántorjánosi was probably donated to the church of the adjoining village. In the absence of accurate information in the archives however, all this remains a hypothesis. It should be considered though that the parish of Hodász and that of Kántorjánosi were both

established after 1722, their wooden churches were quickly built, and the icons in question originally belonged to their implements. In the 19th century a new church was built in both places, and the former iconostases were transferred to the new churches. The other main icons are not known from Kántorjánosi, but several icons made later than the icon of the Theotokos by other artists were preserved and transferred to the Greek Catholic Art Collection: six feasts on two boards, Inv. No. 1997.47–48 (Puskás, 2012, 21, kat. 11–12); *Saint Peter the Apostle and Saint Mark the Evangelist*, Inv. No. 2016.359 (A 145) (Zsámbéki, 2018, 8, kat. 5). (Sz. T.)

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First part of the 18th century
wood, tempera, oil

82.5 × 45 cm (32.5 × 18 in)

Conservation: Péter Gedeon, 1996.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2010.179.

The Holy Virgin stands in front of the canopy with its half drawn curtain on the left side of the composition, she wears a blue tunic, a red maphorion with ochre lining and extends her hand. Archangel Gabriel, who is a half-head taller than the Theotokos, appears on the right, wearing a white sticharion and a red dalmatic tied with a belt around the waist. He points to the sky with his right hand and holds a white lily with three branches in his left. A fragment of a building can be seen behind the angel, between them there is an open book on a table covered by a white cloth. The stone of the floor of the interior is shown in a perspective by the shortening of the stones. The silver-foiled background of the icon is ornamented

with acanthus motifs. The Dove of the Holy Spirit appears above, amidst clouds, on the central axis. Above the shoulder of the Virgin Mary the abbreviation of her Greek name can be seen in red. The original frame of the wooden panel made from profiled laths was partially preserved on the left side and at the bottom while the bar on the right side is completely missing. The upper corners of the wooden panel were truncated, and later arched bars with a different profile, with richer carved patterns, were put to the arched parts and to the upper edge.

The icon was transferred to the collection from the Greek Catholic Church of the Annunciation in Hodász, together with other fragments and painted icons. From these, only the icon of Saint Nicholas seems to be from the same period as this panel, and presumably both images used to belong to the Sovereign Tier icon sequence of the iconostasis of the former wooden church of the parish established in the early 18th century. The icon shows the closest analogy with the icon of the Theotokos from Kántorjánosi (Cat. II.39) and the icons of Peleş (*Nagypeleske*) (Cat. II. 37–38.), based on which the *Annunciation* can also be dated to the 18th century. The upper part of the icon of Saint Nicholas from Hodász was also truncated, most probably during the transformation of the iconostasis in 1779, when two new central Sovereign Tier icons, a sequence of feasts and a sequence of Apostles were made (cf. Puskás 2012, 23–26). The artists of the carvings of the new icons, which were only partially preserved, are also unknown, their stylistic similarities suggest that they were made in a workshop that was still active in the area of Szatmár in the early 19th century (see: Terdik, 2011a, 45–46; Terdik, 2014d, 200–202). In Hodász, the new brick church was finished in 1810 (Entz, 1986, 431–432), and the old implements were transferred to the new church. On 5th October, 1827 the church was destroyed by fire, the roof and the tower were also on fire (DAZO, fond 151, opis 8, no. 584, fol. 1–2), but the iconostasis partially survived. From the 1828 spring offer of painter János Lengyel it is apparent that the windows broken by fire damaged the iconostasis also: some of the images and carvings were taken out, but some of them were burnt (*ibid.*, fol. 20). In the inventory of the church completed in 1875, the iconostasis was said to be in good condition. The iconostasis was made 'in three segments', i.e. in three layers ('... freshly cleaned and gilded, old images', DAZO, fond 151, opis 15, no. 2126, fol. 32v–33r, 35r). It was dismantled though in the middle of the 20th century and had to wait for better times in the attic of the church until the end of the century. (Sz. T.)

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(1)

Second part of the 18th century

wood, oil

105 × 82 cm (41 × 32 inches)

Conservation: Eszter Kutas, 1989.

Budapest, Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 81.79.147.

The three-quarter portrait of Christ appears in front of a gilded background decorated with floral motifs. With His right hand He gives blessings, in His left hand He holds an open book with the following inscription: 'Прїдѣте б^ггословени Сѡца моего наслѣдуйте уготовано цѣрство небесное' – 'Come, You who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' (Slavonic transcript by András Dobos). His chiton (undergarment) is red, with gold lace, blue lining, tied with a blue tie around the waist, His himation (or robe) is blue with light coloured lining and gold trimmings. Christ has a mild-looking face, with slightly curly, light brown hair falling over His shoulders lying smoothly on His head. His moustache is accentuated, sharply separated, and his beard ends in two sharp streaks. The icon is in an arched, strongly profiled frame, with two twisted columns on the two sides, with leaf ornamentation closed by capitals of leaf ornaments, standing on pedestals framed by profiled bars that also hold the icon, and fretwork Rococo style carvings are fitted to the arched frame of the picture.



(2)

This icon of Christ belonged to the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic wooden church of Viškovce (*Viskó*) in the historic Sáros County. In 1901, the building was examined and partly assessed by Ottó Sztehlo from the National Committee on Monuments during the demolition of the building. He considered the carved structure of the iconostasis a masterpiece of applied arts and stated that its preparation had had at least two stages. He also noted down the Latin inscription found on the frame of the main icon, considered to be older, presenting a *Congregation of Angels*. According to the inscription, the icon was painted by Anton Dwornitzki in 1761. The local priest then offered the equipment for sale and Sztehlo supported this idea. Finally, the Museum of Applied Arts bought the iconostasis and the corresponding four candlesticks in 1902, for 800 crowns (Terdik, 2011b, 10–12). A photo from the archives shows that it was exhibited in the museum (Museum of Applied

Arts, Repository, FLT 27295, Picture 2). In 1915, the whole composition was handed over to the Ethnography Collection of the Hungarian National Museum as a deposit, therefore today it can be found in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, but its sequences of Feasts and Apostles are in the model of the wooden church of Mándok exhibited in the Hungarian Open Air Museum in Szentendre.

It seems that the icon of the *Congregation of Angels* is indeed older than the other icons of the screen, since it has a bigger frame with a more archaic shape, and the style of the painting is also different. The other icons of the iconostasis show a uniform style, they were presumably made by one artist who was possibly active a few decades later. It cannot be ruled out either that it was Antal Dvorniczky, artist from Prešov (*Eperjes*), who was later also commissioned to work as a painter. On the basis of stylistic considerations, earlier I attributed several

other icons, also iconostases, e.g. the iconostasis from Nova Polianka (*Mérgesvágása*) (today in the church of Lutina [*Litínye*]), to the (perhaps second) painter working in Viškovce, see Terdik, 2011b, 12.

I attributed the carved implements of several churches (e.g. Nova Polianka, Potoky [*Pataki*], Jakušovce [*Jakabvölgy*]) in the historic Sáros County and in the region of Upper-Zemplén to the master carver or workshop that made a significant part of the composition, including the frame of the icon of Christ. After a revision of the memories of the neighbouring Polish territories it seems that this master could have also worked there, or could have come from there, as several iconostases were preserved in the wooden churches of the Lemkovski region that could as well be their work (Banica, the painting of the iconostasis from 1787, Bielanka, the painting of the iconostasis from 1783; Bartne, doors and certain items of its structure; cf. Żak, Jerzy – Piecuch, Andrzej: *Lemkowskie cerkwie*, Warszawa, 2011, 132–134, 200–203, 228–231).

The style of this carver (twisted columns, acanthus ornaments, solid structural proportions), predominant from the end of the 17th century to the 1730s, already seemed archaic in those times which could not be changed by a few Rococo style motifs. Maybe it was due to this conservative approach that this style was highly successful in village communities. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished



(1)

Second part of the 18th century
wood, oil

85.5 × 63 cm (33.5 × 24.8 in)

Conservation: Zsófia Galántai (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2005/2006.

Budapest, Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 81.79.152.

This icon is a Hodegetria type icon, i.e. it is a depiction of the Theotokos holding the Child Jesus at her side while pointing to Him as the source of salvation for humankind. The Virgin holds her Infant in her left hand, pointing at Him with her right hand. Her maphorion is red, with ornamented passementerie, green lining, and her tunic is blue. The Infant Jesus stretches out His blessing right hand, and in His left He holds a roll. The usual abbreviation of the Greek title of Mary can be seen in the background, among richly shaped floral ornaments, and she wears a crown. Approximately one third of the icon (the head and the left side of Jesus and the background) had to undergo conservation due to severe damages. The Romanian donation inscription, written in Cyrillic characters in the lower section, is also fragmented, the name of the customer and the date of preparation can hardly be deciphered, or were demolished: 'Ačasta s[făntă] icoană s'au zugrăvit cu cheltuiala sfântii sale... Ioa...' The gesture of the Virgin

II.2.1

(2)



two icons are almost identical. These two icons are rare examples of the work of a painter whose name is not yet known but who was active in the last few decades of the 18th century in Máramaros County or in one of the neighbouring counties. (Sz. T.)

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Megmentett műkincsek, 2006, 8.

Terdik, 2016, 61–62, Photos No. 7–8

Mary, the hand and leg position of the Infant and the floral ornaments of the background suggest that the prototype of this icon could be an etching representing an icon of the weeping Virgin Mary of Cluj. This icon was transferred to the collection of the museum by way of purchase, presumably from Borşa (*Borsa*), Máramaros.

The fact that a few years ago its twin counterpart was transferred from the heritage of György Leszkovszky painter (1891–1968) to the Town Museum of Gödöllő (Inv. No. K.2014.1) can help determine the age of the icon more precisely. The inscription at the bottom of the icon in Gödöllő, even though the icon itself is much more fragmented, can be easily deciphered. It tells us that the icon was bought by a priest, István Mihályi and his wife in 1782 for the repose of the soul of their son and daughter-in-law and all the family. Exactly the same text was already published by Ioan Bârlea in 1909 among the inscriptions of the icons of the wooden church of Saint Michael in Borşa. Therefore it can be assumed that this icon of the Theotokos was probably placed in a wooden church in Borşa in the early 20th century, probably in the church in Alsóborsa.

The two icons must have been made by the same artist. Furthermore, as it was confirmed by inspections during conservation, the preliminary drawings of these

II.2.2 The Wooden Church of Mándok

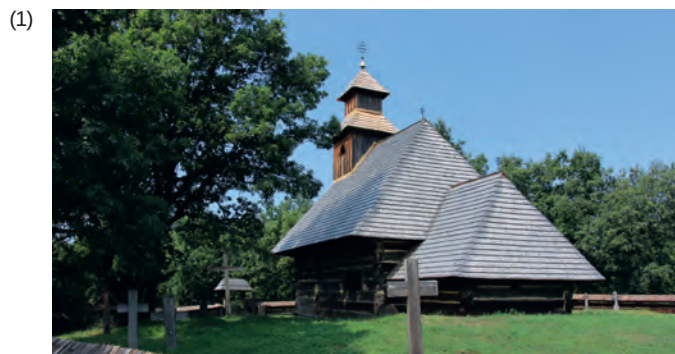
Szilveszter Terdik

Attached to the so-called Upper Hungary ensemble of the Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre, the renovated wooden church of Mándok was opened to visitors in 1978.¹ Ten years earlier, Miklós Dudás, Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog, had permitted the nascent open-air museum to purchase the building.² The dismantling of the wooden church began in late May of 1971 and was completed by the beginning of the next month. Subsequently, it took nearly a decade to rebuild it in its current form (Picture 1).

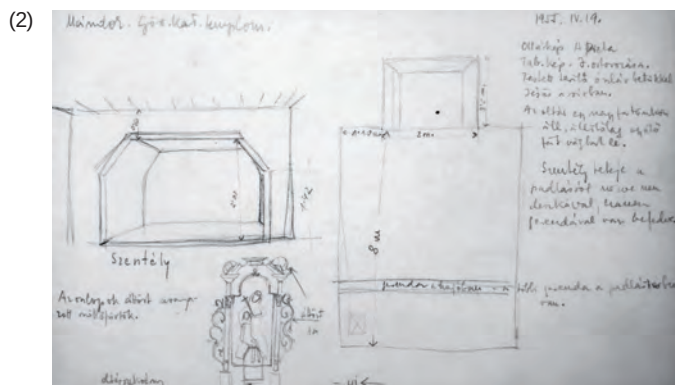
The first known sketch survey of the church meeting academic standards was prepared by an archaeologist of the Jósa András Museum, Nyíregyháza, Emília Szentés Risztics in 1955³ (Picture 2). A large amount of drawing- and photo-documentation was made about the building prior to its dismantling as well⁴ (Picture 3).



(3)



(1)



(2)

Researchers date the appearance of Greek Catholics in Mándok to the period after 1650. One of the first documents relevant to them, preserved in the original, survives in the Diocesan Archives. In his letter written in the nearby Castle of Tizsaszentmárton on 3 June 1680, the local landowner, 'chief steward' of the Forgách family of Halič (Gács), János Makfalvy, called upon the magistrates and principals of Mándok to leave the 'Russians' living in their midst in the service that they had been assigned to perform during the tenure of Péter Bodnár, as well as not to disturb their 'batko', i.e. priest. As described, they live in abject poverty, and the farmers own a total of eight oxen. Therefore, it is demanded that they not be forced to do cart duty to Nagykálló but should only serve on foot as they did before.⁵ On 3 April 1686, István and Simon Forgách's plenipotentiary farm bailiff notes on the reverse side of the same letter that he affirms the content of the charter of emancipation of the 'Russians' of Mándok gained at the time of settlement until the landowner provides otherwise.⁶

The settlement document mentioned in the letter is as yet unknown, nor is it possible to establish who Péter

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¹ Kecskés, 1982. Kurucz, Albert – Balassa, M. Iván – Kecskés, Péter. *Szabadtéri néprajzi múzeumok Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1987, 104–105. Cseri, Miklós – Horváth, Anita – Szabó, Zsuzsanna (Eds.). *Fedezze fel a vidéki Magyarországot!*, Kiállításvezető, Szentendre, Szabadtéri Néprajzi Múzeum, 2011, 224–225.

² Records concerning the selling of the church: GKPL, I–1–a (2), 1376/1968, *ibid.*, I–1–a, 2264/1968.

³ The drawings survive in her sketch-book, privately owned.

⁴ See in the Documentation Department of the Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre.

⁵ The foundation history of the parish is discussed, and a transcript of the first letter is published by: Papp, [1939], 11.

⁶ NYEL, II–40–a (Box 1).

II.2.2

Bodnár, described with the epithet 'poor', was – possibly an allusion to the fact that he was not alive any more at that time. The sources presented so far do not specify the exact date of settlement. It is not known which region the 'Russians' had come from, either. The epithet 'Russian' denoted not simply ethnic but rather religious affiliation in this period. It must have been used as a reference to serfs of mostly Rusyn origin who had come from the neighbouring counties less rich in land, in the hope of a better life. As for Bodnár, he must have been a 'businessman' managing the settlement process.

The time of the construction of the church is evidenced by the Cyrillic-script date carved into the lintel of the entrance, below the inscription 'Jesus Christ Conquers'. The letter-numerals had different readings: Some would decipher them as 1640, while others as 1670.⁷ Based on a consensus among Slavists, museologist Péter Kecskés, conducting an investigation of the church, deemed the 1670 reading acceptable,⁸ though 1676 would appear to be feasible, too.⁹

Unfortunately, even 18th-century censuses do not reveal actual dates for the settlement or the construction of the church. In 1775, it was only alluded that the roof of the church had been renovated three years earlier. In that period, the *antimins* was from the time of Bishop György Bizánczy (1716–1733), an indication which again fails to furnish any secure clues for the dating of the building.¹⁰ The larger one of the 18th-century church bells exhibits a date, with precisely the third digit missing. Nevertheless, in the literature, it is usually posited to have been made in 1709.¹¹

On the village hill called *Bukóc*, the wooden church was built of finely carved oakbeams and covered with pine shingles. Its base plan is extremely simple: The rectangular nave is joined by a similarly shaped but narrower and shorter sanctuary. (The dimensions of the entire building are 13 × 5.86 meters / 42.65 × 19.22 feet). Local tradition had it that the altar of the *cerko* – as the community called the

wooden church – was created by carving the trunk of a live tree, but, during the dismantling, it became obvious that the thick, prismatic log had been brought here from a different location. The church was rebuilt in the late 19th and early 20th century: The central partition dividing the nave into two parts marking the boundary between the women's and men's church was removed, and the same fate befell the wall separating the sanctuary and the nave, originally holding the iconostasis. Based on the marks they had left behind, the removed walls were authentically restored during the reconstruction.¹² The west steeple and a small porch in front of the entrance were built later, perhaps in the 19th century. As, in the course of the reconstruction, the roof structure of the church was also restored in its original form, the porch was abandoned, but the steeple was retained. The mullions



(4)

⁷ His drawing was published in: Kecskés, 1982, [6]. It displays several letters that may be interpreted as numbers: A X O S M. 1670 may be established with certainty, but the ensuing Cyrillic S ('z') corresponds to 6. The letter M, which follows, theoretically corresponding to 40, albeit not part of the number, might be the starting letter of the word for 'month', but the continuation of the inscription is missing. It was deciphered by Endre Cs. Tóth as 1640. His letter in this relation with a photograph: GKPL, I-1-a, 1896/1963. This data was also adopted in the listed-building topography of the County, based on the document kept in the parish office: Entz, 1987, 59. The latter must have been the ledger (*Ratiotinium*) of the church maintained between 1837 and 1912. Its final page has a hand-written note of the text above the church entrance but with the date of construction written in Arabic numerals: '1640: Esztendöben /Az ájtó Letzeken kivan Vágva' [In the year 1640 / It is carved into the lintel] – a reference to the inscription. The ledger is held in the archives of the parish.

⁸ Kecskés, 1982, [3–6].

⁹ See: fn 7; Puskás, 2008, 76.

¹⁰ Végheő–Terdik–Majchrics–Földvári–Varga–Lágler, 2016a, 37.

¹¹ Kecskés, 1982, [5]; drawings of the church bells: *ibid.*, [8].

¹² Balassa, M. Iván. A rekonstrukció és másolat kérdése a szabadtéri néprajzi múzeumok építésében, *Műemlékvédelem*, 17(1973), 173–174.

(5)



were also refitted; the wrought-iron grills in front of them are genuine. According to the old ledger, the roof of the church was thoroughly renovated in 1837 and 1862; a new entrance was also made at that time. In the photographs taken prior to the dismantling, it is clearly visible that the walls of the church were plastered over and whitewashed. In 1863, payment was made for 2 bushels of lime; in 1903, the plastering of the interior walls cost a significant amount.¹³

Very little has been preserved from the 18th-century furniture of the church. The altar had a *Pietà* picture in an ornately carved, bevelled frame (Picture 4). This icon was lost during the reconstruction, or, at least, it was not returned to the church; at the moment, only its lower structure comprising the tabernacle is found on the altar. The bolt-type lifting door of the sacrament house is decorated by a depiction of the flogged Christ (Picture 5). The iconography of the altarpiece and of the tabernacle, as compositions alluding to the Eucharist, was already widespread in the Carpathian region in the 18th century.¹⁴ A number of similar tabernacles are evidenced from wooden churches.¹⁵ The bolt-type arrangement could perhaps be explained by the fact that the poor community could not even afford to place an order for a metal lock with a locksmith.

It was also during the dismantling that the uniquely shaped, elaborate 18th-century Royal Doors were

(6)



¹³ Számadáskönyv [ledger], 1837–1912. (In the parish archives)

¹⁴ *Pietà* is frequently featured on the high altar or on the table of oblation. In Polish collections: for example, in the Sanok History Museum (Sanok, Muzeum Historyczne), see: Kułakowska-Lis, 2008, 86–88. Other specimens: Gienza, 2017, 385. Examples from Upper Hungary: Kozány (Kozsány), high altar of a wooden church (Pavlovský, 2007a, 61.); Ladomirová (*Ladomérvágása*), on the table of oblation (Pavlovský, 2007b, 79); (Uličské Krivé [*Ulics-Kriva/Görbeszegj*]) on the high altar of a wooden church (Pavlovský, 2008, 132). It is also featured on the high altar of the wooden church of Habura (*Laborcfő*) (moved to Hradec Králové, Czech Republic), see: Dudáš – Jiroušek, 2013, 154. Also in the wooden church of Ruská Bystrá (*Orosz-Bisztra/Oroszsebes*): *ibid.*, 129. The image of the flogged Christ decorates the tabernacle of the old high altar of the church of Sárospatak as well, see: Terdik, 2011a, 162, Pictures 15–16.

¹⁵ At the icon exhibition of the Saris Museum in Bardejov (*Bártfa*) (Šarišské múzeum, Bardejov), several specimens are on display.

II.2.2

recovered, with depictions of characters from Jesus' Holy Genealogy in small medallions surrounded by exuberant leaves from behind the sitting, relief-carving figure of Jesse holding a scroll in his hand (Picture 6). The Doors were made in the first half of the 18th century; in all probability, they were procured by the community from itinerant masters periodically coming from the other side of the Carpathian Mountains, as must have been the case with the altar as well. These days, the 'twins' of the Mándok Royal Doors are also found in various Polish collections as well,¹⁶ but very similar instances have survived in historic Upper Hungary¹⁷ and today's Transcarpathia, too.¹⁸

As the pictures of the iconostasis had not been recovered,¹⁹ during the reconstruction of the wooden church, icons to be placed on the icon screen were selected from the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest (Picture 7). Three of the four sovereign-tier icons made in the 1770s were bought by Antal Szmik, a collector from the Greek Catholic church of Borşa (*Felsőborsa*) in Maramureş (*Máramaros*) in 1906.²⁰ The icon of Saint Nicholas is different in style from the other icons yet dates from approximately the same period; its exact provenance is as yet unknown. Its peculiarity is that its board was part of a considerably larger *Last Judgement* icon, a fragment of which survives on the reverse in good condition.²¹ The Apostle- and the Feast-Tier found their way first to the collection of the Department of Applied Arts and subsequently to the Ethnographic Department of the Hungarian National Museum from the former wooden church of Vyškovce (*Viskóc/Viskó*), Sáros County. As the picture depicting the Last Supper had been damaged, it was replaced by another icon, the so-called Not-Made-By-Hands Image of Jesus. The latter picture is from the former iconostasis of the church of Chorváty (*TornaHorvát*), also purchased by the Museum of Ethnography in the early 20th century.²²

The remaining furnishing items of the church also come from various places, mainly through the previous collection activities of the Museum of Ethnography,

Budapest. The high-armed chairs with arm rests were purchased directly from Aradványpuszta, but they were originally in the church of Nyíradony; they were made in the second half of the 19th century. The importance of the church of Mándok is increased by the fact that it is the earliest extant wooden building and the sole surviving wooden church in post-Trianon Hungary.

List of pictures

1. The wooden church of Mándok in the Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre
2. A sketch survey drawing of the wooden church of Mándok from 1955. Mrs Lajos Szentes's sketch book, privately owned item
3. The wooden church in its original location, prior to the beginning of demolition. Documentation Department, Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre
4. The sanctuary of the wooden church during demolition. Documentation Department, Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre
5. Tabernacle, 18th century. The wooden church of Mándok, Szentendre
6. The Royal Doors of the wooden church, 18th century
7. The interior of the wooden church of Mándok, see the opening picture of Chapter II.

¹⁶ See: Gumińska, Bronisława. *Gallery „Orthodox Art of the Old Polish Republic”: The National Museum in Cracow, The Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace*, Guidebook, Cracow, 2008, 74, 85; as well as the permanent exhibition of Muzeum Historyczne, Sanok.

¹⁷ As part of the iconostasis of the wooden church of Nová Sedlica (*Újszék*) – currently in the Open Air Museum of Humenné (*Homonna*), see: Pavlovský, 2008, 85–87. Such a set of Royal Doors is also featured at the permanent exhibition of the East Slovak Museum (*Východoslovenské múzeum*), Košice (*Kassa*), see: Dudáš – Jiroušek, 2013, 149.

¹⁸ Приймич, 2014, 120.

¹⁹ Mention is also made of the icon of Saint Nicholas, which was allegedly from the iconostasis, as well as of an icon of Saint Stephen with a Cyrillic-script inscription, the original position of which is not disclosed. See: Entz 1987, 60.

²⁰ Terdik, 2016, 55–57.

²¹ Terdik, Szilveszter. Szent Miklós-ikon Borsáról, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 29(2017). 12. szám, 16.

²² Terdik, 2011b, 16.

II.2.2 Chalice

Catalogue II.43



Early 15th century
gilded silver, cold-formed, beaten; damaged and repaired
height: 16.6 cm (6.5 in), base diameter: 10.7 cm
(4.2 in), top diameter: 9 cm (3.5 in)
Hungarian National Museum, 1913.47.1.

The chalice stands on a six-lobed, simple base, its vertical lower part is ornamented by a tracery type pressed ribbon, without a fretwork pattern. Between the base and the widening cup there is a flattened sphere-shaped node, divided by eighteen segments with six-sided foot rings decorated with clover-like three-leaf stamped ornaments on each side. The cup of the chalice is clearly widening towards the top, and the segmented node still follows the tradition of the 13th–14th

centuries, while the six-lobed base already shows the influence of the 15th century. It is possible that the base was added later, but most probably this Gothic chalice from Borşa (*Borsa*) is a slightly archaic memory from the early 15th century. The Transylvanian clenodia from Sântioana (*Szászszentiván*) and Ghinda (*Vinda*) from the 15th century are chalices with a similar structure, although their cup is higher, more suited to the taste of those times.

The town of Borşa lies at the bottom of the Rodna Mountains in Máramaros County, it was first mentioned in a certificate in 1365 as a property of Bogdan who left for Moldavia and donated this property to Voivode Dragoş by Louis the Great, upon whose request in 1391 Anthony IV Patriarch of Constantinople issued the stavropegic certificate of St. Michael's Monastery. Romanian gentrymen lived in the village at least from the 16th century. Earlier there were two wooden churches in the village, both were built in honour of the Holy Archangels in the 18th century. One is still standing: once a Greek Catholic, now an Orthodox church, but it was preceded by another wooden church in the 16th century which was replaced by a stone church at the end of the 19th century. The company called Rétay és Benedek presumably took the chalice over from this latter Greek Catholic church, and passed it on in 1913 to the Hungarian National Museum (cf. Terdik, 2016, 56–57). The medieval church of the town is unknown, but it is possible that the chalice was not used locally, it could as well be in the spoil taken after the huge victory of 1717 over the Tatars, where the redeeming forces were led by the local Greek Catholic priest, former Kuruc (armed anti-Habsburg rebel) Sándor Lupu. Unfortunately there is no inscription that would refer to the founder or to the use of the chalice. (E. K.)

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II.2.2 Diskos

Catalogue II.44



1648, unknown goldsmith from Hungary
gilded silver; hammered, engraved
diameter: 15.2 cm (6 in)
Conservation: Veronika Szilágyi, 2016.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
2015.291 (B 65).

A Hungarian inscription can be seen on the outer edge of the rim of the deepened-plate-shaped diskos presumably made of gilded silver. 'BODNOVITS U[...].S DEMIEN VR VACZORAIA KISZOLGALTATASARA CZINALTATTA, ISTEN TIZTESSEGERE A.D. 1648.' On the rest of the rim there are the engraved standing figures of the Apostles, separated from one another by wreaths. They can be clearly identified on the basis of their Latin names and the

symbols they hold in their hands, their so-called attributes. Peter ('S. PETRVS') with a key, Andrew ('S. ANDREAS') with an X-shaped, so-called Saint Andrew's Cross, James the Great ('S. IACOBVS') with his walking stick with a gourd, John ('S. IOHANNES') with a chalice, Philip ('S. PHILIPVS') with a cross, Bartholomew ('S. BARTHOLOMEVS') with a knife, Judas Tadeo ('S. IVDAS THAD[EVS]') and Thomas ('S. THOMAS') with a spear, James the Less ('S. IACOBVS MINOR') with a club, Simon ('S. SIMONVS') with a saw, Matthew ('S. MATTHEAEVS') and finally Matthias ('S. MATTIAS') with an axe. The central, deepened, slightly convex part of the diskos is ornamented with the standing figure of Christ, and the abbreviation of His Greek name can be seen above His shoulders ('ΙΣ ΧΣ'). The three Greek letters

traditionally seen in Byzantine depictions ('ο ωΗ' = 'the One Who is') can be read in His halo. The goldsmith who made the plate depicted the Apostles on the basis of then well known engravings, probably from the Netherlands, at least this can be assumed from the use of Latin names and from leaving out the Evangelists but depicting Paul and Matthias, as this was not typical in Post-Byzantine art. Besides the Latin names and the Hungarian inscription, the Greek letters of the image of Christ make it clear that this plate was originally designed for Byzantine liturgical use, although the goldsmith presumably belonged to a different denomination.

The diskos was registered in 1780 in the church of Nagykálló, its inscription was published in Latin translation, the name of the donor was indicated as 'Damjan Bodnovics Üveges'. It seems that the tiny part of the rim that was later missing was still there in 1780, since the word 'Glazier' is now indecipherable. The donor Damján was mentioned once more in this record: he arranged the binding of the Book of Gospels of the church (GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 5, no. 20). This information may confirm that the diskos was originally made for the church of Nagykálló, although there is no such reference in the inscription. The donor might have been one of the first 'Rascians' founding the parish, more research is necessary to identify this person.

In 1822 the Diskos was registered in Napkor, together with the chalice and the asterisk. How did they get there? Although the Parish of Napkor did exist at the end of the 17th century, most of its believers were resettled to Kiskálló in the middle of the 18th century by the landlords, thus the Parish ceased to exist. In 1768 even the wooden church was knocked down, and its material was used for the construction of a new church at a new location, finished in 1771. The tin chalice and the Slavonic liturgical books of the church of Kiskálló were also from Napkor (GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 5, no. 20). Despite the resettlement, there were still Greek Catholics in Napkor, their number started to rise again, therefore they built a new church from wicker with the support of the Kállay family, but they were still served from Nagykálló (until 1814). This old smithwork and the corresponding asterisk and chalice were then presumably transferred to Napkor (cf. Cat. II. 45-46) as donation from the mother church, Nagykálló. (Sz. T.)

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 Rákossy-Kontsek, 2019, 216-217.

Asterisk

Catalogue II.45



*Mid-17th century, unknown master from Hungary
 gilded silver; hammered, cast, engraved
 height: 8.2 cm (3.2 in) diameter: 7.5 cm (3 in)
 Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
 2015.292 (B 66).*

Decorated with patterns composed of leaf and floral motifs engraved on the outer side of two silver ribbons folded to a semi circular shape, with finely picked edges, the word 'STEL/LA' (star) can be read in the middle of the upper one. The two items were joined together with a screw in a way to make it easy to turn the ribbon. The outer shank of the screw is a Greek cross sitting on a hemisphere, ending in lances, with carved decoration at its vertical stem, while the abbreviation of the Greek name of Jesus Christ can be read on the two horizontal ends. A gilded, six-pointed star was hung on the inner head of the screw in the 20th century.

This asterisk was probably made together with the diskos from 1648 or slightly earlier, and shared its fate: in 1780 it was registered in the church of Nagykálló, from 1822 in Napkor, and in 1970 it was transferred to the episcopate of Nyíregyháza. It is even more important because in the light of present knowledge this is the earliest liturgical object preserved in its kind from the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve. (Sz. T.)

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 Legeza-Ivancsó, 2013, 24-25.
 Rákossy-Kontsek, 2019, 217.

II.2.2 Chalice

Catalogue II.46



1668, unknown master from Hungary
partially gilded silver and brass; hammered,
cast, engraved
height: 19.5 cm (7.7 in), base diameter:
13 cm (5.1 in)
Conservation: Veronika Szilágyi, 2016.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
1999.5 (B 5).

This Gothic shaped chalice has a six-lobed brass base; its vertical rim is decorated with fretwork motifs, while its arched sides are decorated with carved motifs. Its stem is short, its rounded node is surrounded by folded, "rippled" plate rings. The silver basket of the cup is ornamented with a fretwork pattern, it is hammered, not gilded, it is decorated with floral and leaf motifs, and a fragment was missing, it was replaced during the last conservation. A Latin inscription can be read on the inner side of the base of the chalice: 'HOC OPUS FIERI FECIT ECCLESIA NECPALIENSIS ANNO 1668.' Meaning: 'This item was made by the church of Necpaly in 1668.'

Necpaly (*Necpál*) is a town in the former Turóc County, its population converted to Lutheran faith in the 16th century although according to the visitation record of 1559, the married vicar Nicholas still administered the sacraments following the Catholic method (cf. Ilona

Tomisa (szerk.). *Katolikus egyház-látogatási jegyzőkönyvek, 16–17. század*, Budapest 2002, 44). In 1697, the medieval church has a Catholic priest again (Esztergom, Prímási Levéltár, Can. vis. 1697, Lib. 10, p. 31.), but the Lutherans can also practice their religion as Necpaly was listed in Article XXVI of the National Assembly held in Sopron (1681) as a place where Lutherans can have services and freely practice their religion (Esztergom, Prímási Levéltár, Can. vis. 1713, Lib. 16, p. 110.). The date on the chalice suggests that originally it was probably made for the Evangelical community. In the Catholic church a gilded copper chalice was registered during the visitation in 1713 (Esztergom, Prímási Levéltár, Can. vis. 1713, Lib. 16, p. 110.), and it was also mentioned in the other visitations of the 18th century, but probably it is not the one presented here.

This chalice was registered on 21 December 1780, during the visitation of the parish of Nagykálló, as part of the equipment of the church in Nagykálló (GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, no. 20). The name of Necpaly was unknown to the person writing the record in Latin, it was interpreted as Nagy-Pályi, possibly referring to the nearby village of Ó-, or back then Olasz-Pályi. When and how the chalice arrived to Nagykálló was already a mystery during that visitation. It is conceivable that it got so far away from its original destination in the turbulent times of the late 17th – early 18th century.

At the end of the 18th or at the beginning of the 19th century, the chalice was donated further, together with a diskos and an asterisk (see Cat. II.44–45.), to the re-established parish of Napkor in the neighbourhood. In 1771, a new church was built in Kiskálló from the material of the demolished wooden church, the equipment was also transferred here according to the inventory of 1780 (GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, no. 20). The construction of a new church started in Napkor in 1794 (Véghseő–Katkó, 2014, 52–54). In the inventory of this wicker church, the asterisk, the diskos and this chalice were mentioned together, the date of preparation of two of them was also indicated. The year 1666 for the chalice might be a clerical mistake (Nyirán–Majchricsné, 2017, 248). These items were mentioned in the later inventories of the church as well, they were transferred to the episcopal centre in Nyíregyháza around 1970. (Sz. T.)

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Rákossy–Kontsek, 2019, 216.

II.2.2 Altar Cross

Catalogue II.47



1698, unknown master from Hungary
silver, partially gilded, wood; drawn, cast, engraved,
chiselled
height: 50 cm (19.7 in); width: 40 cm (15.7 in),
base diameter: 13 cm (5.1 in)
Conservation: Veronika Szilágyi (metal), Mária Szabóné
Szilágyi (wood), 2016.
Greek Catholic Art Collection, Inv. No. 2015.285 (B 59).

This item consists of several parts. The core presumably made of walnut wood is hidden by silver plates composing the Latin cross, this core makes the whole structure more solid. The cross has three-lobed bars, and there are two-winged, cast, gilded cherub heads placed diagonally at their intersection. The plates of the cross were fitted with screws. The cylindrical item



composing the core of the base and stem was soldered to the lowest lobe, the threaded element fitted to the inner side of the footplate can be screwed there, so the demountable elements can be fixed to one another. The cross is decorated with two carved compositions with gilded figural details. On one side there is the crucified Christ with the two-two letters of the abbreviation of His Greek name, and there are also Greek characters ('ο ωυ' – 'I am') in the cross shape of His halo. An abbreviation can be read in Cyrillic characters ('ИИЦІ' = 'INRI') in the upper lobe. The scene of Jesus' baptism unfolds on the other side: Christ stands in the Jordan, wearing a groin cloth, with His arms crossed, there is a big fish under His feet, referring to the dragon hiding in waters mentioned in water blessing prayers. The dove symbolising the Holy Spirit appears above the beams of light pointing towards the Saviour. The above mentioned Greek characters appear next to the head of Christ and in His halo. The half-figure of Saint John the Baptist appears in the left bar, identified by an inscription in Cyrillic letters: 'СТЙ ІоанІ'. The depiction of an angel can be seen in the other lobe, holding perhaps a shawl in his hands. In the Post-Byzantine tradition it is common to depict Jesus's crucifixion on one side of the cross and His baptism on the other since these crosses played a significant liturgical role during water blessings.

The base of the cross is made of a beautifully segmented drawn plate; the surface of its widening stick and the horizontal surface of the upper rim are decorated with cold formed, gilded floral ornaments. An inscription can be read on the convex bottom plate inside the base,

referring to the owner of the cross and the date when it was made: 'KALLAI RACz ECLESIA KERESZTi. ANNo. 1698'. And one line below: 'RENOVÁTA 1790'. The year of a later intervention ('1859') is also indicated below that, with the exact weight of the object engraved underneath: '61¾ lat' (app. 1100 grams). The Hungarian inscription could be made when the cross was made, although the letters and numbers of the text commemorating the renovation of 1790 are also similar. The cross was first mentioned in 1780 in the records of the visitation of the Parish of Nagykálló by the Dean. The inscription was not included in it but the year 1698 was (GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, no. 20), which suggests that the year was already on it at that time, and presumably the text as well. The degree of the two later stages of renovation cannot be assessed.

On the base of the cross there is a bar composed of several parts. Onto the vase-shaped element that means the lower part of the bar, three, also cast, handles were soldered, decorated with herms, then it was all gilded. This part holds the node put together from two hemispheres. On the upper part of this, a multi-petal-flower-like hemispherical plate was fitted with finely twisted (filigree) wires, and a ring was put on it, folded back, with a carved surface, giving an undulating effect. When cleaning the object, it came to light that the drawn plate with the filigree wires was originally decorated with enamel ornaments: the traces of white and yellow paint can be observed in the floral motifs, and yellow, black and green paint can be observed in the leaf motifs. (The colour recovery of one of the 'petals' was made by Veronika Szilágyi). The broken parts were replaced with silver.

The style of the cast and engraved figural parts of the cross was a style that was typical in western art in those times, the fact that it was not designed for Latin use is clearly indicated only by iconography and the inscriptions. The master of this piece is unknown, although it must be noted that the name of 'Joannes Komaromi aurifaber' (goldsmith) was registered in the population registry of Nagykálló in 1699, cf. Mező, András. Nagykálló személynevei a XVI. és XVIII. században, in: Csepelyi Tamás – Ratkó József – Orosz Gézáné – Szücs Imre (szerk.). *A Nagykállói járás múltja és jelene*, Nagykálló 1970, 105. As a local master, he could perform such jobs. (Sz. T.)

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1661, unknown master from Hungary
 silver, hammered, engraved
 diameter: 19.6 cm (7.7 in)

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2015.289 (B 63).

On the wide rim of the round, hollow plate there are engraved contours interrupted by two engraved wreaths, and only the date can be deciphered from the engraved, now indecipherable inscription that can be seen in them in Cyrillic characters. The central, slightly convex part of the hollow is decorated with a bulging, rayed, engraved

eight-pointed star. The plate was used for distributing prosphoron in big feasts when little pieces of bread were distributed to the believers during oil anointing (*Mirovanije*).

This object was listed in the inventory of the church of Nagykálló both in 1780 (GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, no. 20) and in 1822 (Nyirán–Majchricsné, 2017, 231). The year 1661 was indicated in both instances as the year of preparation, the content of the inscription is not indicated, probably it was already hardly decipherable. Péter Görömbei was certainly referring to this bowl when presenting the antiques of the parish in 1882: 'Presently there are two antiques of the Greek Catholic Church. One is a silver bowl with an indecipherable Rascian inscription from 1661. The other one is a richly decorated silk cover for a communion chalice, with the following inscription: 'It was bought by Rác with the town's money... for the church of Nagykálló in 1677, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' The inscription is in Rascian language.' Unfortunately, it faded away. In any event, the five silver objects, the preparation of which took half of the 17th century, and which are preserved in the Parish of Nagykálló, are unique in all the area of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve. It is a good demonstration of how wealthy the Rascians settling down in the towns of Szabolcs County (Hajdúdorog, Hajdúböszörmény, Újfehértó, Királytelek) in the early 17th century were, and also their allegiance to their own Church. These Hungarian inscriptions show at the same time that the use of Slavonic language in these communities was practically limited to the services. (Sz. T.)

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 Rákossy–Kontsek, 2019, 217.



17th century, territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Union
 silver; cold formed, engraved, cast
 height: 26 cm (10.2 in); width: 15 cm (5.9 in); 440 grams
 (0.97 lbs)

Conservation: Noémi Varga, 2017.

Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, Inv. No. 70.279.1.

Triple cross, the vertical long bar does not extend beyond the upper, shorter bar that is similar to the panel above the cross. The lower, shorter bar, similar to the footrest, is tilted. The opposite corners of the parallel bars were truncated, which brings some "turbulence" into the static basic form. A depiction of the crucified Saviour, with a crown of thorns on His head, was engraved into the front panel of the cross. The inscription of the panel identifying Jesus on the upper bar is the abbreviation of the Slavonic translation in Cyrillic characters: 'I. H. I.' Another scene was engraved to the other side of the cross: *The Baptism*



of Jesus in the Jordan. The Saviour stands in the river with His head bowed, raising His right hand as if giving blessings. In the halo with crosses around His head, the traditional three Greek name characters can be read, above His shoulders there is the abbreviation of His Greek name ('IC XC'). On the right of Christ, on the bar of the cross there is the half figure depiction of John the Baptist, pouring water on Messiah standing in front of him, while on the other side an angel holds Christ's clothes. A dove symbolising the Holy Spirit floats above, and the Father's words can be read in the sky opening up in the upper bar. 'СЕ ЕСТЬ СИЪ МОИ / ВЪ ЛЮБЛЕНЫИ / СЪНЕЖЕ БЛГО / ИЗВОЛИ' – 'This is my beloved Son...' (Matt. 3:17). The depictions, that of Christ crucified in particular, are characterised by fine lines. The side of the cross is held together by a plate with rhomboid ornaments, between two strings of pearls. At the lower part, the handle is connected to a flattened node.

On the basis of its shape and engravings, already showing the influence of Western art, this cross is most closely related to objects preserved in Ukrainian territories from the 17th century. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished



18th century, North-East Hungary or Southern Poland tin; cast, engraved
height: 39 cm (15.4 in); width: 18 cm (7.1 in), base diameter: 13.7 cm (5.4 in)
Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, Inv. No. 69.244.1.

The bars of the Latin cross have three-lobed endings. Christ crucified was engraved on one side, and the half-figure of the Father was engraved to the upper lobe. In Christ's halo the three Greek letters of the traditional cross shape can be observed, while above His head the Cyrillic 'ИХЦІ' inscription, and above His shoulders the abbreviation of His name ('IC XC') can be seen. A disproportionately big Adam's skull and two legs are placed in the lower lobe. On the other side of the cross, the scene of The Baptism of Jesus unfolds: there is the standing full figure of the Saviour, one of the Greek characters was not written to the correct place in His halo



with crosses. The dove symbolising the Holy Spirit descends from above, on Christ's right there is the Forerunner, John the Baptist, and on His left an angel can be seen at the lobed ends of the bars.

The cross was assembled from several parts, the narrow sides are not decorated, and the base is connected to the bar by a screw thread. The cross is fitted into the pear-shaped node decorated with leaf motifs standing on a round, deepened base. The drawings are quite simple, the artist was probably not too experienced. Besides liturgical objects in a narrower sense (chalices, diskoses etc.), in the 18th century such altar crosses standing on altars were also made of tin, which was, no matter how incredible it is, considered sumptuous in the Greek Catholic communities of modest financial means. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished



(1)

North-East Hungary, 18th century
tin; cast

height: 18 cm (7.1 in), base diameter: 10 cm (3.9 in)
Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, Inv. No. 69.259.1.

On the wide, bell-shaped base a multi-segmented bar is fitted, holding the cup with its widening rim. The bands decorating the cup are similar to those of the base. A cross shape can be seen in a rectangle between the bands on the side of the cup, and the 'IC XC HI KA' characters, i.e. the inscription 'Jesus Christ Conquers' was engraved between the bars of the cross. This stylised depiction may refer to the so-called Lamb, i.e. the middle part of the pieces of prosphoron, the Eucharistic bread, cut into blocks, indicated on top by the letter combination also present here.

A chalice was transferred to the museum together with the cross (Cat. II.50) from the collection of István

(2)



Fehér. It was presumably made in the 18th century, when the use of tin chalices was still prevalent in Greek Catholic churches. Numerous items were preserved also in Slovak and Polish collections, they are mainly from Greek Catholic churches. In the ethnography-church art exhibition in the Basilian gymnasium in Uzhhorod, Elemér Kőszeghy also recorded a few pieces (Museum of Applied Arts, Repository, asset inventory of Elemér Kőszeghy, CXXXVIII. Plate No. 45, Photo No. 2). Similar chalices are also known from the Balkans as they were used by Orthodox Christians for a long time (cf. Милановић, 2008, 340–342, cat. 232–233). (Sz. T.)

Unpublished



18th century, Hungary

tin; cast

diameter of the diskos: 11.4 cm (4.5 in), height of the asterisk: 5.4 cm (2.1 in)

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 1999.1–2 (B 2.1–3).

Simple items without any special decoration. The double cross at the end of the screw of the asterisk is a rarity. Fewer of them were preserved compared to tin chalices. Due to their small size and insignificant appearance they vanished more easily. The origin of the items transferred to the collection of Nyíregyháza is unknown. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

II.2.2 Ciborium

Catalogue II.53



Late 18th century, early 19th century
wood; turned, carved, gilded, silvered, lustred
8.7 × 18.5 cm (3.4 × 7.3 in)
Conservation: Tamás Seres, 2019.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
2015.235 (B 79).

The sphere-shaped cup sits on a convex base and a stem segmented by a simple node, and on the upper part of the sphere, at the intersection of the bars there is a Greek cross that was later strengthened by a string. The top is decorated by seven little, removable spheres. The round holes serving for the fixture of the spheres could also support the ventilation of the closed vessel, which could be necessary because the leavened Eucharistic bread could easily grow mould in the humid church interiors. The surface of the ciborium is mainly gilded, silvered, and its segments are highlighted by beautiful red and wine-red lustres.

Under the influence of Latin communion chalices made of metal, partly serving as models, wooden ciboria appeared in Greek Catholic churches from the 18th century, to preserve the Eucharist stored for the sick. From the records of the first big, comprehensive visitation of the Eparchy of Mukacheve (1750–1752) it is clear that in many churches in those times there was not even a tabernacle, the Blessed Sacrament was stored in wooden, box-shaped containers or tin or wooden ciboria, directly on the altar table. While in the Greek Catholic wooden churches of the historic Upper Hungary and the Kingdom of Poland such ciboria were preserved in many places, often with different proportions and shapes – most of them can be found in different museums' collections today –, there are only three such instances found in Hungary. One, certainly the oldest one is the one presented here, it was transferred to the collection from Abaújszántó. The origin of a bigger and presumably younger item is unknown, its proportions are more in line with those of metal ciboria (GKEMGY, Inv. No. 2015.236. [B 80]). Similar items were on display in the ethnography exhibition opened in the Basilian gymnasium of Uzhhorod in May 1941 (cf. page 137. Photo No.2). One vitrine of the exhibition was recorded by Elemér Kőszeghy, but he did not provide a detailed description of the ciboria (Museum of Applied Arts, Repository, asset inventory of Elemér Kőszeghy, photo *ibid.*: CXXXVIII. Plate No. 45), and these objects disappeared in the turbulent war and post-war times. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Rákossy–Kontsek, 2019, 217.

II.2.2 Ciborium *Catalogue II.54*



*Second part of the 19th century
wood; turned, painted
height: 36 cm (14.2 in), base diameter: 11.5 cm (4.5 in)
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza*

The top and the bottom of this chalice-shaped ciborium with a segmented surface are both removable, this may also justify the slightly exaggerated dimensions of the foot. It is possible that the lower part was made for carrying the particles necessary to care for the sick (particles of the Eucharist). The communion of the sick (on the first Friday of every month) became widespread in canonical practice in the 19th-20th centuries, which can help explain the characteristics of the shape and the dating of the object also. The top of the ciborium is decorated with a cross with the



abbreviation of the Greek name of Jesus Christ ('IC XC') and the word 'NIKA' ('Victory') on it.

It is interesting to note that a red painted wooden ciborium was also recorded during the canonical visitation in February 1780 in Nyírlugos ('Ciborium ex metallo nullum, sed ligneum solum, coloratum rubrum', GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 5, no. 20). It is clear that the object presented here cannot be identical with that one, it is conceivable though that when this one was made, the selection of this red colour was a conscious choice reflecting on the presumed colour of its direct predecessor. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Rákossy-Kontsek, 2019, 217.

II.2.3 The Greek Catholic Heritage Material of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest

Krisztina Sedlmayr

As part of its ecclesiastical collection, the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, holds extensive and significant Greek Catholic heritage material. This variegated ensemble is of an emphatically 'ethnographic' character – besides the peculiar features of specimens of church art, the unique flavour of the collection is constituted by carved candlesticks, bread stamps, *aspergillum*s woven out of plant stems, church leaning staffs, dressed-up figures, Good Friday wooden hammers and clappers, glass pictures and Christ-figures enclosed in cabinets. These items found their way to the Museum mostly from use by rural communities in Hungary, by way of on-site collection. The religious material used by and obtained from the Greek Catholic population is in fact the heritage of this denominational community even if some objects were made by Orthodox masters or show Western-Christian pictorial traditions, as, for example, the pictures of the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját*). After the Roman Catholic ensemble, the Greek Catholic heritage material is the second largest unit within the ecclesiastical collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest. Its value and importance are increased by the fact that it contains a great many ethnographically early items from the 18th century and even a few 17th-century ones as well.¹ Its parallels may be found in the ethnographic museums of Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and Romania. Researchers investigating the religious art of the Greek Catholic community have played a substantial part in processing emblematic works of art, iconostases and large-size church icons in the collection. The collection may, however, be interpreted from the perspective of ethnography as well. The present study outlines the history of the expansion of the collection, its major specimen units, as well as its existence within the museum primarily from such an angle.

History of expansion

A large part of the Greek Catholic material was collected by Hador Sztripszky (1875–1946) in Transcarpathian Rusyn villages at the turn of the 1910s. In those years, the Ethnographic Department of the Hungarian National Museum paid special attention to the archiving of the ethnographic material of Hungary's religious communities. It was at that time that, aside from the Greek Catholic specimens, several furnishing items from Calvinist churches and the majority of the institution's Jewish objects were added to the collection. However, whereas the Jewish material is clearly

a reflection of religious practice, the Greek Catholic collection at the same time functions as a 'document' of the folk culture of the Rusyn nationality.

Besides his job as royal assistant school-inspector in Sighetu Marmătie (*Máramarossziget*), Hador Sztripszky, a linguist, ethnographer and son of a Greek Catholic school master and cantor, performed field work for the first time in his native land as an external contributor for the Ethnographic Department in the summer of 1909. In the next one and a half years, he collected over a thousand ethnographic items in the villages of Máramaros, Ung and Ugocsa Counties. Thanks to his letters to Director Vilibald Semayer and his collection reports, one may with unprecedented accuracy follow his collection journeys and form an idea of the methodology of contemporary ethnographic field work. The collection is indicative of his exceptional affinity for objects of everyday life yet revelatory of local peculiarities. In his selection, pieces of craftwork from wood, bark and wool, as well as tools speaking to archaic features represent a prominent segment. The relative homogeneity of the Sztripszky Material is the result of several factors: It comes from the rural communities of a small geographical area, it reached the Museum within a short period of time, and it is suggestive of a mature ethnographer's concept, as well as of a conscious choice. In Sztripszky's interpretation, geographical and climatic properties are central to culture: The ensemble collected for the Museum of Ethnography encapsulates the material culture of Transcarpathia's wet mountainous region, rich in pine forests and rivers.² Apart from the implements of alpine shepherding, grassland and dairy farming, gathering, fishing, hunting and forestry, he also concentrated on objects associated with folk customs. Of outstanding value is the extensive heritage material of folk religion, enabling him not only to lay the foundations of the Eastern-Christendom-related collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, but also to take a prominent part in the preservation of the traditional culture of the Transcarpathian Rusyn minority. The description tags of the objects frequently include the label *Rutén* (Ruthenian) or *Hucul* (Transcarpathian). It is, however, obvious that, in his field work, he would never transcend the bounds of exploring the material culture of the people and religion that represented a secure environment to him: In the course of his collection trips in Maramureş (*Máramaros*), he purchased but a single

¹ Szacsavay, 2000, 413.

² Udvari István – Víga Gyula. A néprajzos Sztripszky Hador, *Néprajzi Értesítő*, 81(1999), 147–175.

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object associated with the Jewish people and its religious practice flourishing in the area – a church snuffer – for the Ethnographic Department.

The material relative to the Greek Catholic Church must have been added to the public collection in consequence of a systematic replacement of items at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Icons and sculptures deemed to be shabby or worn out could be sold by the local representatives of the Church, and the money earned could be spent on the procurement of new furnishing items. Hiador Sztripszky visited the Greek Catholic villages of Transcarpathia one after the other precisely in the years when both the clergy and the faithful were happy to see new, mass-produced or even factory-made products and equipment take the place of 18th- and 19th-century items, and the Hungarian National Museum opened the way for its Ethnographic Department to buy the replaced objects: '... I have posted a chestful to be sent by train as express goods, the outcome of my collecting tour in Máramaros. The candlesticks, chandeliers, etc. are all products of a bygone era, for the Russians tend to decorate their churches with more ornate, factory-made merchandise nowadays (...). The most intriguing of these is sculpture ware. The Greek Rite does not tolerate anything like that these days; only paintings are accommodated in the church. But in the olden days, one could not lay one's hands on so fine paintings as today's 5–10-Krone oil paintings. Therefore, the pictures of the iconostasis required by the Greek Rite were substituted by wooden statues. However, modern times have swept away these as well – outside to the church attic or to the belfry. It was from such places, right from the dust, that I gleaned them with great labour'³ (translated from the Hungarian original) – he recounts in his letter from 6 July 1909. The chest dispatched two days earlier contained valuable church furnishings collected mostly in Rakhiv (*Rahó*) and Yasinya (*Kőrösmező*), as well as, to a lesser extent, in Bistra(?) (*Bisztra/Petrovabisztra*), Lunca la Tisa (*Kislonka*) and Sokyrnytsia (*Szeklence*). A significant proportion of the predominantly wooden objects were in poor condition and broken, but their salvaging and transfer to the Museum were encouraged by the management, in agreement with the collector, though. It is also revealed in the letter that, in exchange for the objects acquired, he promised new

pictures, banners and censers to the Church, as well as religious books to private individuals.

The statement of accounts of his field work conducted among the *Hucul-Ruténs* (Transcarpathian Ruthenians) of the *Máramaros* Region from 5 November to 22 December 1910 is kept in the Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest.⁴ At that time, the assistant guard of the Hungarian National Museum would already pay – usually a small amount – for the collected specimens on site.⁵ The aim of the field work was not only 'to conduct a comprehensive collection of the ethnographic wealth of the Transcarpathian Ruthenian community of Máramaros' but also 'to study the naïve folk church pictures of Radvác in Ung County'. As part of his intensive winter collection trip, Sztripszky sent 507 items to Budapest. The collection included glass pictures, woodcuts and a *Last Judgement* icon from the wooden church of the Rusyn village of Hukliviy (*Zúgó/Hukliva*), Volovets (*Volóc*) District. The lead-glazed tiles of an 18th-century stove dismantled in Bogdan (*Tiszabogdány*), with its concave circular pieces decorated with depictions of the *Virgin Mary with Child*, represents a unique unit within the collection (Inv. No. 58.45.2–3).

The Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, holds at least three disassembled 18th-century iconostases from rural Greek Catholic churches.⁶ The icon screens of Chorváty (*Tornahorváti*) and Viškovce (*Viskó*) were incorporated into the ethnographic collection under the directorship of Vilibald Semayer, who interpreted his discipline in particularly broad terms. The iconostasis and the altar of the Greek Catholic church of Chorváty, dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos, were dismantled and transported to Budapest by the staff of the Hungarian National Museum in 1908. The material was transferred to the Ethnographic Department in 1915, but it was assigned a register- and inventory number only decades later, in 1981. In 1902, the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, purchased the iconostasis of a village church, with the actual place of origin soon lapsing into oblivion. However, based on Szilveszter Terdik's investigations, it has been established that the dismantled iconostasis came from the Greek Catholic church of Viškovce in Sáros County.⁷ A few years later, the Museum of Applied Arts handed over the specimen to the Ethnographic Department, where it is seen erected in

³ Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, NMI, 90/1909.

⁴ Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, NMI, 8/1911.

⁵ For example, for the glass picture on the theme *Coming of the Holy Spirit*, inventory number 88762, collected in Rakhiv, as little as 50 fillérs was paid (Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, NMI).

⁶ On the research history of the iconostases, see: Terdik, 2006, 143–153; Terdik, 2011b.

⁷ Terdik, 2006, 144–150.

photographs from 1915.⁸ The rococo iconostasis dismantled in the Greek Catholic church of Velyki Kom'yaty, Ugocsa County, in 1913 was moved from the Museum of Applied Arts to the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, actually to its cramped storage in Könyves Kálmán körút around 1970.

In the 1910s, Aurél Filimon (1891–1946), a subsequent founder of the Mureş County Museum, collected several Greek Catholic objects in the territory of Máramaros County, in the villages Vişeu de Mijloc (*Középvíó*) and Săcel (*Izszakcsal*). Individual pieces of the ensemble under the inventory number 106447–106459: 'prosporo bread stamp', two carved church candlesticks, icon of Saint Nicholas, a painted 'rather old devotional picture' and other icons; a total of ten objects are currently included on the collection's list of missing items; having lost their inventory numbers, some of them were presumably given new numbers later. In the course of the revision conducted in the collection over the past few years, however, it was possible to identify several of the collected items. The 'revolving cross' (*forgókereszt*) (Inv. No. 106456) entry in the stock-book fits a cross-shaped icon carved out of a lime-wood board, painted on both sides, with two of its metal revolving components also recovered. The obverse of the specimen traced with thin, dark outlines, painted in tempera, features the depiction *Christ on the Cross*, while its reverse displays the three-figure scene of the *Baptism of Christ* (Inv. No. 2018. 161.1).⁹ The item labelled 'carved angel' (*faragott angyal*) is, in all probability, identical to the carving decorated with an angelic head lying about in the storage for decades. Judging from the dates on the description tag, the two 'devotional pictures with towers' (*tornyos szentkép*) are the same as the two *pomelnics* found in the collection, shorn of their inventory numbers (Inv. No. 106449, 106450).¹⁰

In the early 1910s, the collection was enriched by the addition of objects of custom associated with Greek Catholic communities. In Repedea (*Oroszkő*), Poienile de sub Munte (*Havasmező/Ruszpolyána*) and Câmpulung Ia

Tisa (*Hosszúmező*), Hador Sztripszky collected church clappers used during the Good Friday service (Inv. No. 78275, 78276, 85199). From the Ung County village of Kostrino (*Csontos/Kosztrina*), he brought an atypical table version of church clappers, with the remark 'turning mechanism, to be used in the belfry on Good Friday' (Inv. No. 86672). Another noise-making instrument instead of bell ringing on Good Friday is the wooden hammer; the collector bought four such items in Dubove (*Dombó*) (Inv. No. 83663–83666). The dressable Mary-figure carved from wood was acquired in Stavne (*Fenyvesvölgy/Sztavna*) (Inv. No. 87207). In the church, it was 'placed in front of a crucifix picture made in a niche-like fashion'. The Mary-figurine and the dressed-up wooden angels collected in Stavne were used during processions. Sztripszky considered the presence of this object type in Rusyn folk culture to be a result of the coexistence with Slovak Roman Catholics. An integral part of Greek Catholic Easter traditions is the baking of *paskha*, i.e. curd cheese bread, decorated with a round plait symbolising the crown of thorns worn by Christ, a cross, or a bird or rose formed out of dough, at the top. A staved wooden bowl for holding *paskha* was acquired in Bogdan. As suggested by the explanation on the description tag, it was 'used at the blessing of Easter foods' (Inv. No. 88428). In 1911, in the village, Elek Mikita, the local priest, bought a three-pronged candle made from yellow wax, fitted into a soft wooden holder enveloped in red canvas (Inv. No. 90354). The description tag features a notable piece of data concerning the use of the object: 'It is dipped into the river at Epiphany'. In the cold January weather, dipping the burning triple candle into an ice hole cut in a cross shape on the frozen White Tisza, the priest would extinguish it in accordance with the rite of the blessing of waters, and the villagers would take holy water from there to their homes.

In 1912, Antal Szmik sold the altarpiece *The Coronation of Mary* (100690) and the icons from the Sovereign Tier of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Borşa (*Borsa*) to the Museum (100686–100689,

⁸ The glass negatives of the iconostasis of Viškovce made in the building of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, where it was also erected, prior to its handover: F 342790-F 342791. The glass negative (F. 341748) and two paper photographs made of the specimen in the Budapest Industrial Hall in 1915: F 327663-F 327664. Place of storage: Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest. One paper photograph was published in: Terdik, 2006, 149, Picture 2.

⁹ The object was conserved by Erika Tímea Feketics as her degree work at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts in 2007. At that time, the icon was placed in a climate case: *Megmentett műkincsek, 2007 – Diplomamunka-kiállítás*, Magyar Képzőművészeti Egyetem – Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum / Preserved Art Treasures, 2007 – Exhibition of Diploma Works, Hungarian University of Fine Arts – Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 2007, 11, kat. 6. I wish to use this opportunity to thank collection manager Réka Szekrényesy for locating and identifying the remaining components of the item.

¹⁰ *Pomelnics* are painted boards with the names of the living and deceased founders and benefactors of a particular church written on them as they are constantly remembered in the so-called *Proskomedija* part of the liturgy. *Polmenics* may take different forms: a board or a triptych, or even decorated with icons. They are kept on the table of oblation (*Prothesis* or *Proskomedija*) in a church.

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100691).¹¹ In 1927, he presented a three-pronged, painted and carved candlestick from Maramureş (Inv. No. 126822) to the Museum. In 1928, as a donation by Royal Prince Albrecht, three Rusyn sculptures and an icon were added to the collection. In 1939, the Museum purchased three church candlesticks collected in Svaliava (*Szolyva*), from Jenő Lehóczky (Inv. No. 136434–136436). As of the 1960s, thanks to the offer a burgeoning antiquities trade, the collection was enriched with a significant number of icons, glass pictures and hand crosses from Maramureş. In 1986, the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, bought Károly Paszternák's collection of over ten-thousand devotional pictures. Among the printed pictures issued for the purpose of private devotion, Máriapócs, the most important place of pilgrimage of the Greek Catholic community, is also featured by a prominent ensemble.

Church icons and liturgical objects

In the North-Eastern Carpathians, large icons of a set thematic composition were placed on the walls of the church nave or in the vestibule as of the 15th century. Functioning as wall-pictures and instruments of personal devotion, icons of the *Passion* and the *Last Judgement*, along with the iconostasis, marked the theological highlights.¹² In 1911, out of the furnishings of the Rusyn Greek Catholic wooden church of St Nicholas in the Ung County village of Volosyanka (*Hajasd/Voloszánka*), Hiador Sztripszky purchased a truly magnificent *Last Judgement* icon, composed of three independent boards (Inv. No. 87194).¹³ The icon made in the third quarter of the 17th century depicts the coming of the Last Judgement in horizontal segmentation. This work and its matching counterpart, the *Passion* icon of Volosyanka (Inv. No. 87195), preserved in fragments, were made by an unknown master, possibly a Galician icon painter.¹⁴ Local allusions give a peculiar ethnographic value to the icons: The painter embedded the scenes from the Bible/Gospel in his own age and environment. In the right-hand section of the *Last Judgement* icon, representatives of the neighbouring

nations stand in line behind Moses, while, in one corner of hell, revelling figures in the Rusyn costumes of Maramureş are seen.¹⁵ In her study, in addition to a thorough and extensive description of the *Passion* icon, Bernadett Puskás also makes an attempt at reconstructing the missing central board and the nearly completely destroyed painting of the left-hand element. She concludes that the master utilised the Flemish Adriaen Collaert's engraving series as a prototype.¹⁶

Sztripszky bought the other *Last Judgement* icon of the collection (Inv. No. 87201) in the village Bistra, Máramaros County. He must have brought with him two boards of the icon originally painted on three boards: The description tag of the item reads: 'Last Judgement on wooden boards' (*Utolsó ítélet deszkalapokon*). According to Éva Szacsavay's definition, the faded tempera painting belongs to the 18th-century Greek Catholic apocalypse type; its painting style is more naïve than that of the icon from Volosyanka. It is the work of a rural master, presumably with less solid iconographic knowledge; the composition shows idiosyncratic arrangements in some instances. It accentuates the simplified, popular representation of death shown with a broom and a scythe, as well as of the masses of the damned. At the closed gates of heaven, the saved beg entry, led by Saint Peter.¹⁷ The scenes are not organised into sections but, intertwined, fill the space available in an irregular manner.

One of the finest icons of the collection is from the early-20th-century Maramureş collection: the *Hodogitria* icon of the Theotokos, a late-18th-century version of the weeping miraculous picture of the Jesuit (subsequently Piarist) church of Cluj-Napoca (*Kolozsvár*) (Inv. No. 81.79.152). The base of the icon is a pine-wood board; against a sleek gold background, the half-figure image of the Virgin Mary, with the Child in her left arm, points at Him with her right.¹⁸

In the Greek Catholic villages of Budeşti (*Budfalva*), Kalini (*Alsókálinfalva*) and Kolochava (*Alsókalocsa*), as well as in other unnamed places in Maramureş, Sztripszky

¹¹ Currently, three of the latter icons are part of the iconostasis reconstruction erected in the Greek Catholic church of Mándok in the Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre, see: Terdik, 2016, 56.

¹² Puskás, 1991, 6

¹³ The receipt provided by the priest of Volosyanka to the Hungarian National Museum in acknowledgement of the 50 Kronas received for the three pictures painted on boards and one painted on canvas is kept in the Ethnological Archives: Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, NMI, 98/1910.

¹⁴ Puskás, 2011, 327.

¹⁵ The item was described by Zsuzsa Varga in conjunction with the exhibition *A Népművészet évszázadai II. – Képek és szobrok*, in Székesfehérvár in 1969.

¹⁶ Puskás, 2011, 327–334.

¹⁷ Szacsavay, 2000, 403–432.

¹⁸ The icon was conserved by Zsófia Galántai at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts in 2005–2006. For its description, see in the present volume, cat. II.42.

collected a series of engravings with shades of yellow/red/brown, printed 'on a quarter of a sheet of paper' (*negyed árkus papír*), stuck to wooden boards. The pictures originating with Hășdate (*Szamoshesdát/Hesdát*) engravers would be coloured with water colour, and, stuck to pine-wood boards or hardwood plates, they would be fitted on the walls of churches as icons, substituting for the work of icon painters by means of this multiplication procedure.¹⁹ 'Producing a proof after a Hășdate woodcut stereotype, including easy manual colouring, was a highly fruitful job. Family workshops could churn out hundreds of thousands of icons with Cyrillic inscriptions and other pictures on secular themes with Latin-script texts intended primarily for Hungarian customers, on a yearly basis' (translated from the Hungarian original) – as recorded by Hungarian architect and ethnologist Károly Kós.²⁰ The Hășdate woodcuts of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, also display inscriptions in the Cyrillic script, which are mostly difficult to decipher. The icons of Saint George, Saint Nicholas, *Christ on the Cross* (Inv. No. 83671, 83673 and 83674) brought from Budești, and the Kalini icon of Saint Gregory the Theologian, Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom (*The Three Holy Hierarchs*) (Inv. No. 85205), which Sztripszky calls 'stereotyped church pictures' (*sablonos templomi képek*), are of an upright format. The depictions of the *Annunciation* and the *Three Holy Hierarchs* (Inv. No. 85729) bought in Kolochava, as well as the icons of the *Theotokos with the Infant* and *Christ the Saviour of the World* (Inv. No. 85728) consist of two pictures stuck next to one another on a horizontal pine-wood board.

The narrow windows of wooden churches admitted little light, so brightness was for centuries provided by wax candles. The carved and painted candlesticks were part of the furnishings. The candlesticks with wooden branches hanging from the ceiling in Maramureș churches are evocative of 17th-century bronze chandeliers from the Netherlands. In his letter from 6 July 1909, Sztripszky reports that he also posted to the Museum a 'chandelier' (*csillár*), an item 'painted green, decorated with a two-faced angelic head' (*zöld festésű, 2 arcú angyalfővel díszített*), with 'all of its supplements packed as one unit in wood shavings, with broken parts numbered' (*összes mellékletei faforgácsban együtt vannak, a letörött darabok részei számozva*) (Inv. No. 78277).²¹ During this collection trip, he purchased several candlesticks for the collection: '3

painted white candlesticks, 1 single, 4 simple, and 1 elongated wall-candlesticks' (*3 fehér, festett gyertyatartót, 1 barna egyes, 4 egyszerű, 1 hosszúkás faligyertyatartót*) in Yasinya (*Kőrösmező*), and '2 large, green-painted, carved triple candlesticks' (*2 nagy, zöld-színes, faragott 3-as gyertyatartót*) in Rakhiv (*Rahó*).

Acquisitions from Maramureș enriched the material of the Ethnographic Department with a few noteworthy liturgical objects – Rusyn wood carvings and metal work – as well. Both sides of the Patriarchal altar cross carved from wood, from Ternovo (*Kökényes*), are richly covered with recessed carving (Inv. No. 85198). One side of the cross bears the image of the crucified Christ, while the six branches feature mourners in pairs. The other side of the cross shows the Theotokos with the Infant. The chiselled cross with its perfunctory carving speaks of medieval traditions of depiction and surface decoration. In Hungarian public collections, the *aspergillum* made out of plant stems or bristles, fixed on a carved wooden or turned handle, appears to represent a unique object type. Hiador Sztripszky collected two specimens composed of various sedge and bass, with carved handles, in Volosyanka (Inv. No. 86788, 86789). Fixed on a turned handle, Elek Mikita's *aspergillum* from Bogdan is made from by now mostly scarce bristles (Inv. No. 90355; Picture 1). The surface of the lidded pewter chalice (*ciborium*; Inv. No. 85201) is decorated with a plain etched cross outline and floral ornaments, while its lid is adorned by a cross shape. In 1909, Hiador Sztripszky also acquired an ensemble related to the use of incense, which has a prominent place in the rite of the Eastern Christian Church. The incense holder from Repedea (Inv. No. 78177) and the incense spoon from an unspecified village in Maramureș (Inv. No. 78178) have unfortunately been lost by now. Censors pressed out of soft metal alloy, with fretwork lids, hanging down on chains or wool strings, are partly found in the collection today as well though. One of the four censors – the missing one (Inv. No. 78179–78182) – might be identified as the specimen supplied with a stock control number, hanging on a chain. Jenő Lehóczky acquired two censors pressed out of copper plate, with a repoussé base, in Svaliava in 1939 (Inv. No. 136439, 138052).

Truly special specimens of the collection are the church leaning staffs. The three sticks carved out of a single composite piece of hardwood, terminating in

¹⁹ Szacsavay, 2000, 407.

²⁰ Kós, 1994, 198–210. On the woodcuts, also see: Knapp, Éva – Tüskés, Gábor. *Populáris grafika a 17–18. században*, Budapest, 2004, 227–239.

²¹ Ethnological Archives of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, NMI, 90/1909. The collection also includes another painted and carved wooden chandelier from Maramureș, on display in the Mándok wooden church of the Hungarian Open Air Museum, Szentendre, for decades (Inv. No. 78211).



(1)

a concavely shaped horizontal section, were collected by Hiador Sztripszky in Sokyrnytsia (Inv. No. 78267–78268) and Kalini (Inv. No. 83661) in 1909. Parallels of this item type are to be found in Ethiopian and Coptic Christian communities, even though, in both places, it is their ritual role that is of primary importance.²² However, the leaning staffs of Maramureş functioned as mere physical support for the infirm during long church services.

Icons, glass pictures and statues

Adolf Müller bought an iron-plate oil painting, with the image of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs, in Máriabesnyő in 1913 (Inv. No. 120037).²³ The picture made in the first half of the 19th century is the work of a German master; his name appears on a tree-trunk in the bottom left corner of the picture: 'J: Pichler f.' The upper section of the dynamic picture features a red baldachin, with angels holding the miraculous icon of Máriapócs underneath. 'At the bottom of the picture, a group of people send their prayers to heaven. The group includes a mother with her baby and another mother with two of her children, a peasant with a flail, a sick woman lying in bed, a beggar leaning his leg on a crutch and a prisoner in handcuffs. The background features a fortified city with several churches'— as Klára Csilléry, custodian of the collection in the 1960s, describes the item.²⁴

The icon of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, painted on a sheet of softwood, which is made particularly notable by the local costumes of the shepherds with their sheep,

appearing alongside Mary and Joseph, was acquired by Hiador Sztripszky in Stuzhytsya (*Patakófalú*) (Inv. No. 87198). The figure kneeling in the foreground wears white and grey laced frieze stockings and jacket, with moccasins on his feet. Next to him, there is a character dressed in a long black sleeveless frieze cape, with a rosemary branch on his high fur cap bordered with red. Two shepherds covered in black capes with crooks in their hands are seen in the background.

In 1909, he bought two glass pictures in Sighetu Marmăției (*Máramarossziget*): Theotokos (of Cluj) from Nicula (*Füzesmikola*) (Inv. No. 78202) and a *Last Supper* composition by a Slovak workshop in Upper Hungary (Inv. No. 78201). In December 1910, he acquired four glass pictures in Bogdan and in another village in the District of Rakhiv for the Museum. *Holy Trinity* (Inv. No. 88498) and *Pietà* (Inv. No. 114966) from a Slovak workshop in Upper Hungary were also added to the collection. The particularly fine depictions of the *Archangel Saint Michael* (Inv. No. 88499) and the *Emanation of the Holy Spirit* (Inv. No. 88762), made in Nicula, merit closer scrutiny. As the pilgrimage church of Nicula, along with its Basilian monastery, was an important place of pilgrimage for the Greek Catholic population of Northern Transylvania and Transcarpathia, the local workshop and the use of glass pictures are highly relevant to the subject of the present paper.²⁵ The black-contoured details of the two glass pictures painted in harmony with the pictorial traditions of the workshop are filled by vivid and bright colours. Masters

²² I wish to thank Balázs Déri for the information he shared and for his assistance.

²³ For a more detailed description of the painting, see in the present volume, cat. IV.12.

²⁴ Website: <http://gyujtemeny.neprajz.hu/neprajz.01.01.php?bm=1&kv=393946&nks=1> (accessed: 30 March 2020)

²⁵ Apart from presenting the handful of specimens unequivocally associated with the Greek Catholic Church, a volume entitled *Üvegképek* [glass pictures] by Éva Szacsavay, discussing the dozens of other Nicula glass pictures of the collection, was published in the item-catalogue series of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest. See: Szacsavay, Éva. *Üvegképek* (Catalogi Musei Ethnographiae, 2), Budapest, 1996.

working there would admix vegetable colouring matter to earth colour, enhancing the expressivity of the their pictures with the vivid hues thus synthesised. The figure of Saint Michael highlighted from a deep blue background conveys a sense of strength and dynamism. With a gold border and belt on his intense red, thickly pleated garment, he holds a sword in his right and a chalice in his left hand, with details in gold on his bottle-green wings. The surface of the Pentecost-themed picture is literally filled by the figure of the Virgin Mary and the compact mass of the disciples clothed in red. At the top of the painting, against a dark-blue background, flanked by a Cyrillic inscription, the Holy Spirit appears as a green-winged white dove wreathed in clouds. An emphatic part of the composition is the wide, red-and-white, asymmetric framing. Unfortunately, the glass picture *The Emanation of the Holy Spirit* is broken and it may have been broken already at the time of its acquisition: Sztripszky obtained it for as little as 50 fillérs, while he spent 3.50 Kronen on the *Saint Michael* and *Holy Trinity* pictures.

The 17th-century wooden Maramureş statues collected by Sztripszky are Calvary components, representing a continuation of medieval wood-carving traditions: a Corpus with moveable arms, the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist, Christ carrying the cross and collapsing under its weight, reliefs of the sun and the moon and the *Holy Spirit in the Form of a Dove* (Inv. No. 78168, 78186, 78190, 78194, 138097, 68.120.107, 68.120.110, 68.120.111). Based on clues pertinent to criticism of style, Zsuzsa Varga considers the ensemble to be the work of a single pair of hands or, at least, of a single workshop.²⁶ The note 'a red, curved statue from Rakhiv' (*piros, görbe szobor Rahórol*) in Sztripszky's letter possibly refers to a coloured Calvary element. 'Hucul-Russians (i.e. Transcarpathian Ruthenians) having an exquisite affinity with sculptural art, their masters would emerge from the ranks of the people. Aside from their value in art history and ethnography, these statues carved out of a single piece of wood also have special significance in cultural history' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁷

The works presented by Prince Albrecht constitute a distinctive ensemble of Greek Catholic Rusyn items. The item under the inventory number 127927 is a scene enclosed in a wooden box: A polychromatic Christ-figure carved out of softwood presses a bunch of grapes with

hands; the spurting liquid is collected into a chalice by a kneeling angel. Christ wears a loin-cloth on His body and a crown of thorns on His head. The frame features the inscription 'Source of Our Life' in Ukrainian. Its matching counterpart is a carved and painted wooden statue placed in a wooden box: a depiction of the *Sorrowful Christ*, leaning His right elbow on His right knee (Inv. No. 127926). One of His feet is supported by a skull; He holds a reed in His left hand. The two items were probably made by the same hands.²⁸ Wearing a white garment, the Christ-figure of the naïvely formulated sculpture *The Good Shepherd* (Inv. No. 127924) holds a sheep around His neck; His hands and bare feet are covered in stigmata.²⁹ The provenance of the specimen is not included in the stock-book, but, with reference to the idiom of the statue, it is fair to posit that it is also an example of Rusyn woodwork. The fourth component of the ensemble is a Russian icon of Saint Alexius the Metropolitan and of the nun Saint Isidora, painted on wood, enclosed in a small glazed oak cabinet (Inv. No. 127925).

The museum history of the Greek Catholic collection

The larger specimens of the ecclesiastical collection – primarily dismantled church furnishing items – were particularly badly impacted by the frequent moves and permanently poor storage conditions of the institution. Insufficient storage capacity made registration, inventorying and preservation difficult. The processing of units of exceptionally valuable specimens progressed slowly: 'The prescient aspirations of the great collectors at the dawn of this century have not been fulfilled, so to speak, on our grounds as yet' – as Zsuzsa Varga notes in 1969 (translated from the Hungarian original). This remark was absolutely applicable to the history of the iconostases and church icons as well. The forgotten material collecting dust in chests remained virtually unknown to researchers of religious art and visitors alike.

The seemingly dead unit started to revive in the early 2000s: Research in art history, museology and conservation exposed the history of the production, use and collection of the ensembles and rendered separate segments and details meaningful.

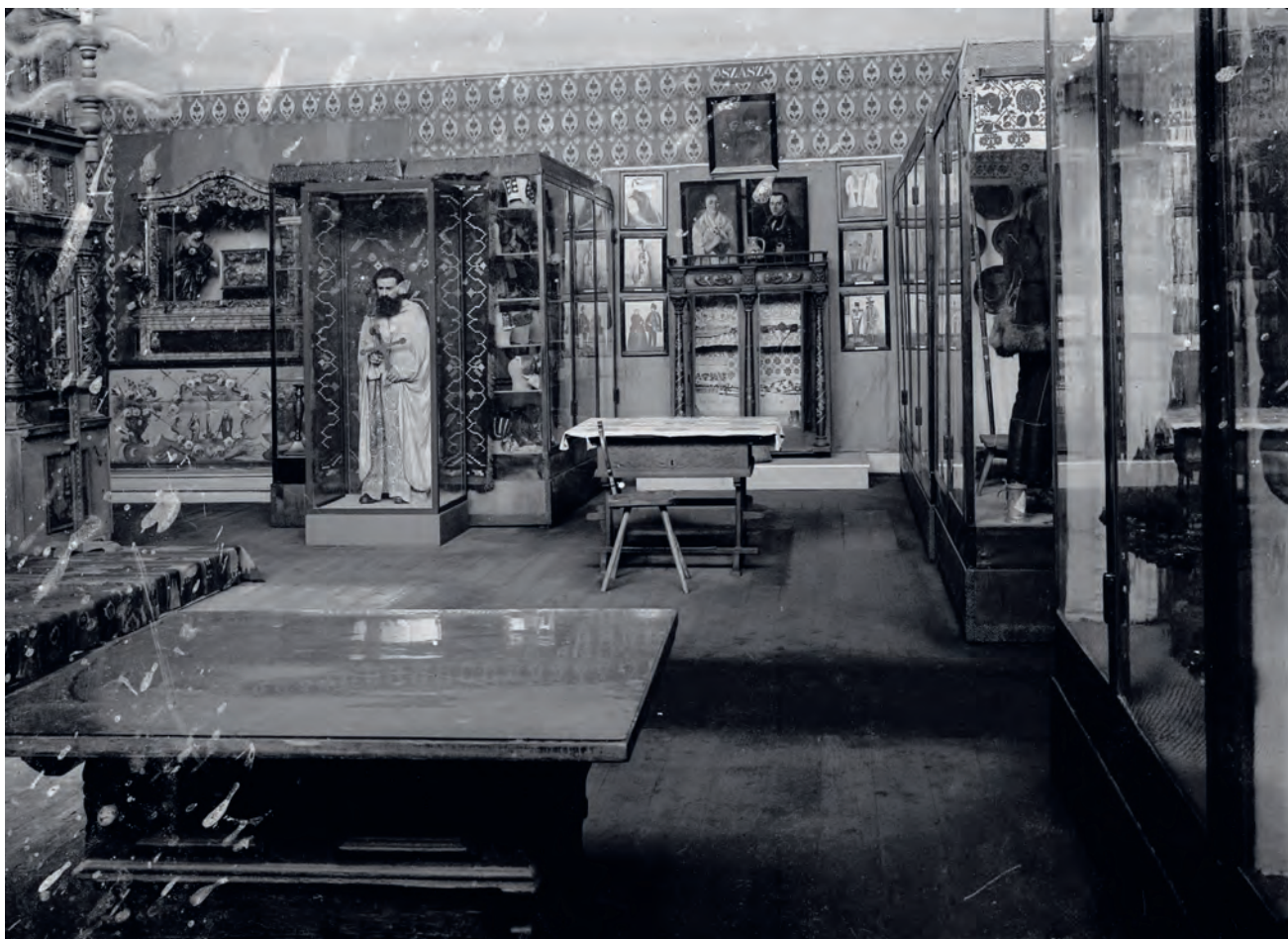
Through cooperation with the Hungarian University of Fine Arts, several precious works of art contained in

²⁶ The round beardless face appearing in front of rays was identified by Hiador Sztripszky as Christ's head. This interpretation persisted until most recently. On the basis of Szilveszter Terdik's investigations and analogues from Maramureş, now it seems reasonable to identify it as a representation of the sun. For a more detailed presentation of the ensemble, see in the present volume, Cat. II.55–62.

²⁷ Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, NMI, 90/1909.

²⁸ Szacsavay, 2011, 89–90.

²⁹ Szacsavay, 2011, 88.



(2)

the Greek Catholic material have been conserved by graduating students. The altarpiece of Chorvát, *The Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, (see in the present volume: cat. III.28.), two medallions of the iconostasis, an icon painted on both sides, a replica of the miraculous icon of Cluj and a pair of pilaster strips from the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty have been given a new lease of life as part of degree works or senior undergraduate works.

The conservation of the poorly preserved iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty began in 2005 thanks to the grant of the Hungarian National Cultural Fund. As a result of years of work taking place in several stages with the involvement of university students, the four sovereign-tier icons and their frames, along with two console tables and some of the gilded rococo carvings, were renewed.³⁰

This project came to a halt for years to come, and the plan to present the completed pieces to visitors has not come to fruition, either.

Exhibitions

The exhibition organised in the Budapest City Park in 1896 to mark the Millennium of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin offered a grandiose contemporary ethnographic overview of Hungary. János Jankó, Director of the Ethnographic Department, actively participated in the collection of the material himself. In the 'Ruthenian' house of Bereg County, the simple furniture was complemented by two framed oleographs hung on the wall: depictions of Saint Michael (Inv. No. 23519) and of the miraculous statue of Mariazell (Inv. No. 23518).³¹ The extraordinary popularity of late-19th-century oleograph

³⁰ The project was conducted by Eszter Kutas and Lajos Velledits. For their report on the conservation, see: https://www.neprajz.hu/binaries/content/assets/restauralas/rest_magyarkomjat_2-1-converted.pdf (accessed: 10 March 2020).

³¹ Szacsavay, Éva. A nemzetiségek a milleniumi kiállításon, in: Eperjessy, Ernő (Ed.). *Tanulmányok a magyarországi görög, bolgár, lengyel, örmény, ruszin nemzetiség néprajzából*, I (Nemzetiségi Néprajzi Tanulmányok), Budapest, 1996, 224.

(3)



prints on religious themes is illustrated by the fact that, as 'the presents of the counties', they arrived at the exhibition from the whole of the country, laying the foundations of the Museum's subsequent oleograph collection.

In the photograph taken in the 'Folk Costumes' Room of the exhibition in the Industrial Hall in the Budapest City Park, several Rusyn Greek Catholic items of the ecclesiastical collection are seen (F 342765; Picture 2). The foreground of the picture taken between 1912 and 1921 features a wooden chandelier acquired in Maramureş, hanging from the ceiling, with a section of the erected iconostasis of Viškovce next to it. In front of the sovereign-tier icons, Transcarpathian *Troitsa* (*Trinity*) candlesticks are placed; the *Ambon* and the deacon's doors are covered in coloured carpets from Maramureş. In the middle, a priestly vestment, gift of the Greek Catholic parish of Sânmărtin (*Szentmárton-macskás*), Kolozs County, is seen on a bearded mannequin in a large glass cabinet. The apparel is a *sticharion* (a tunic-like garment similar to the *alb*) sewn from thick linen fabric, with a pressed design; on the indigo-pressed textile, large tulips, roses and grape bunches create a decorative pattern against a white

basis. The *phelonion* (chasuble) is made of thin linen with a colourful floral pressed design (Inv. No. 96318–96319). In its hands, the figure holds a softwood carved hand cross (Inv. No. 79584) and an *aspergillum* (Inv. No. 86788) collected in Hăşdău (Hosdó), Hunyad County. A glass negative made in the 'Folk Traditions' unit of the exhibition in the Industrial Hall shows a section of the iconostasis of Chorváty (Inv. No. F 341747; Picture 3). Thus, in the 1910s, visitors of the Industrial Hall could marvel even at two erected Greek Catholic iconostases and were able to form a comprehensive idea of the unique material culture of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's Rusyn minority.

The ecclesiastical collection and the Greek Catholic material were introduced for the first time with great solemnity in the Csók István Picture Gallery of the King Stephen Museum of Székesfehérvár in 1970. Zsuzsa Varga, organiser of the exhibition *A Népművészet Évszázadai II. – Képek és szobrok* [Centuries of Folk Art 2 – Pictures and Sculptures], presented the finest religious objects of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, to the visitors. In her study published in the Exhibition Catalogue, she provides an interpretive frame

II.2.3

for the material, which continues to be relevant even today: She projects the furnishing items of village churches and the not infrequently serially produced pictures and statues from rural cottages as popular visual art with its own peculiar course of development. The Greek Catholic material was exemplified by icons, statues, iconostasis sections, hand- and altar-crosses, a chandelier and candlesticks. The front cover of the Exhibition Catalogue also displayed a fragment from the *Last Judgement* icon of Volosyanka.

At the permanent exhibition *Traditional Culture of the Hungarians* of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, active from 1991 to 2017, Greek Catholic communities were also represented by a number of specimens. The ensemble was dominated by the *Teaching Christ* icon from the iconostasis of Viškovce, Sáros County, in both size and quality. The distinctive flavour of Rusyn wood carvings was hinted at by a candlestick belonging to the furnishings of the Greek Catholic church of Yasinya (Inv. No. 78211) and another one from an unknown location in Maramureş (Inv. No. 126822), as well as by two hand crosses: one acquired in Ternovo in 1909 (Inv. No. 85198) and the other one purchased in an antique shop in 1972 (Inv. No. 72.45.1). The unit presenting the exhibits of the Greek Catholic Church were complemented by Hiador Sztripszky's woodcuts stuck to pine-wood boards, collected in Budeşti (Inv. No. 83671, 83673) and Kalini (Inv. No. 85729).

At the exhibition *Kelet és Nyugat között – Ikonok a Kárpát vidéken a 15. és 18. század között* [Between East and West – Icons in the Carpathian Region Between the 15th and 18th Centuries] of the Hungarian National Gallery in 1991, curator Bernadett Puskás put on display a remarkable selection from the Maramureş material of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest: the *Last Judgement* (Inv. No. 87194) and *Passion* (Inv. No. 87195) icons collected in Volosyanka, as well as the *Deesis* icon (Inv. No. 78217), the fretwork Royal Doors decorated with grape bunches (Inv. No. 78220) and the *Teaching Christ* icon (Inv. No. 91.14.1) collected in the area of Yasinya.³²

2000 saw the opening of *Images of Time*, an exhibition of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, which exposed the 'star items' of the rich collection, interpreting the theme of time in a broad sense. Éva Szacs vay incorporated two *Last Judgement* icons from

the ecclesiastical collection into the unit 'Ezredvég, világvége, századforduló' [End of the Millennium, Apocalypse, Turn of the Century].³³

The Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art was opened in Nyíregyháza in 2000, with its previous exhibition material rearranged. For the permanent exhibition *A magyar görögkatolikus egyház művészeti emlékei* [The Artistic Heritage of Hungary's Greek Catholic Church], the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, has loaned several valuable 18th-century icons, icon fragments, two Royal Doors and a processional cross. As part of the exhibition, a fragment of the *Passion* icon of Volosyanka, the *Deesis* icon (Inv. No. 78217), two Royal Doors (78220 and 78221) and the icon of Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory (of Nazianzus) the Theologian (Inv. No. 78185) from the Maramureş collection are on display. The processional cross (Inv. No. 68.120.128) received a stock control number in 1968, while the *Teaching Christ* icon (Inv. No. 91.14.1) in 1991; it seems likely that these items of unknown origin also found their way to the Ethnographic Department in conjunction with the early-20th-century Maramureş collection.

Deprived of its religious meaning, the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty removed from its original location over a hundred years ago, the *Last Judgement* icon of Volosyanka and the miniature model of the Maramureş wooden church have been conserved for the International Eucharistic Congress, and the public will be able to view them in their pristine glory soon. Along with the two dozen other Greek Catholic items borrowed from the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, the source community may also take possession of them symbolically again.

List of pictures

1. Aspergillum
2. Ethnographic exhibition in the Budapest Industrial Hall
3. Ethnographic exhibition in the Budapest Industrial Hall, with the iconostasis of Chorváty

³² Puskás, 1991.

³³ Szacs vay, Éva. Ezredvég, világvége, századforduló, in: Fejős, Zoltán et al. (Eds.). *Időképek: Millenniumi kiállítás a Néprajzi Múzeumban*, Budapest, 2001, 142–143.

II.2.3 Christ Crucified

Catalogue II.55



Máramaros, 18th century
wood; once painted
height: 167 cm (65.8 in), width: 121 cm (47.6 in), thickness:
20 cm (7.9 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 78168.

The arms were fixed to the body carved from one piece of wood with pins. Christ bows His head, His crown of thorns is vastly destroyed, His ribs stand out, His groin cloth is held by a tough rope. Blood drops painted with intense red paint can be seen on His neck, face, lips and sides. Zsuzsa Varga defined this sculpture as a Ruthenian work from Máramaros, and dated it to the end of the 17th century. The carving is indeed characterised by intense, reduced but highly expressive forms, which is not that much typical of the age of the object but rather of the archaism typically applied by self-taught “folk” masters of the basically rustic elaboration, therefore the suggested date of preparation could be later, it could be the 18th century when wooden construction was booming in Máramaros.

Bibliography

Puskás, 1970, 21, kat. 12–13.
Szacsvey, 2011, 95.

Our Lady of Sorrows

Catalogue II.56



Máramaros, 18th-19th centuries
wood; carved, painted
height: 93 cm (36.6 in), width: 31 cm (12.2 in), thickness:
19 cm (7.5 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 68.120.111.

Crude sculpture carved from one piece of hard wood. The Virgin Mary is represented in an S shape, with her head tilted to the left, covering her face with her left hand, holding her left elbow with her right hand. From the original colours, the ochre colour of her face and the red colour of her tunic were preserved in the highest degree. According to Zsuzsa Varga, it could belong to a Golgotha scene and could be made by a Ruthenian workshop in Máramaros in the 18th century. It must be the counterpart of Saint John The Theologian. On the basis of their style, Éva Szacsvey attributed several other sculptures to this master.

Bibliography

Puskás, 1970, 20, kat. 10.
Szacsvey, 2011, 95.

II.2.3 **Saint John The Theologian**
Catalogue II.57



Máramaros, 18th-19th centuries
wood; carved, painted
height: 89.5 cm (35.2 in); width: 33.7 cm (13.3 in),
thickness: 14 cm (5.5 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 78186.

The elaboration of this sculpture is highly similar to that of *Our Lady of Sorrows*, its posture reflects the gestures of that one, although she raises her left hand in front of her, therefore her hand was broken. Its colours are also similar but in a better condition than the colours of the other sculpture.

Bibliography

Varga, 1970, 21. kat. 11.
Szacs vay, 2011, 95.

Secondary Figure (Captain?)
Catalogue II.58



Máramaros, 18th-19th centuries
wood; painted
height: 45 cm (17.7 in); width: 23 cm (9.1 in), thickness:
13.3 cm (5.2 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 78190.

This one is shorter than the former two sculptures, in a three quarter view portrait. His head is slightly tilted to the left, and he joins his hands for prayer. He has a full beard and curly hair. The colours are fragmented, its red colour was preserved in the best condition here, too. On the basis of analogies, in the Golgotha scenes of Máramaros he usually stands next to John the Evangelist. He may be the Captain.

Bibliography

Varga, 1970, 13–15.
Szacs vay, 2011, 93.

II.2.3 Sun

Catalogue II.59



Máramaros, 18th-19th centuries
wood; carved, painted
diameter: 33.5 cm (13.2 in), thickness: 6 cm (2.4 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 78194.

In the centre of the round carving there is a human face without hair or beard, surrounded by wavy rays. Blue and red paint chips can be observed on it. On the basis of analogies, it can be identified in Golgotha scenes from Máramaros as the Sun appearing as the counterpart of the Moon. It is possible that Hiador Sztripszky collector mistakenly identified this item as a sculpture of the head of Christ (cf. Szacs vay, 2000, 421–423), or at least the information on it was associated to this carving in the first publication of the item.

Bibliography

Szacs vay, 2011, 184.

Moon

Catalogue II.60



Máramaros, 18th-19th centuries
wood; carved, painted
height: 28 cm (11 in); width: 23 cm (9.1 in), thickness: 6 cm (2.4 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 138097.

On the left side of the originally round carving, a Turkish-looking man with a catfish moustache looks out from behind the crescent. The colours of the carving are relatively well preserved. On the basis of analogies, in Golgotha scenes from Máramaros it can be identified with the Moon. It was collected by Béla Gunda (1911–1994) in Săliştea de Sus (*Felsőszeliste*).

Bibliography

Szacs vay, 2011, 186.

II.2.3 Christ Collapsing under the Cross

Catalogue II.61



Máramaros, 18th-19th centuries
wood; carved, painted
length: 100 cm (39.4 in); width: 25 cm (9.8 in), thickness:
14 cm (5.5 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 68.120.110.

Christ crouches, almost lies on the ground, with His crown of thorns, clad in red, turning His head to the left, leaning on His hands and knees. His limbs were partly broken down, the wreath is also damaged but the colours are intact. One of two items listed in the catalogue of objects collected by Hador Sztripszky in Máramaros in 1909 can possibly refer to this sculpture: '1 curved red sculpture from Rakhiv' (quoted by: Szacs vay, 2000, 422); the writing after the sculptures belonging to the Golgotha scene: 'Wooden sculpture, red, in a lying position' (ibid., 423). Taking elements of style into consideration, Zsuzsa Varga associated this sculpture to the standing figures of the Golgotha scene, and dated it to the 18th century.

Bibliography

Varga, 1970, 19, 20.
Szacs vay, 2011, 106.

Christ Carrying the Cross, Crowned with Thorns

Catalogue II.62



Máramaros, 18th-19th centuries
wood; carved, painted
height: 44 cm (17.3 in); width: 34 cm (13.4 in), thickness:
13 cm (5.1 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 68.120.107.

Christ falls on His knees while carrying the heavy wooden cross, the forearm and the cross are missing from the sculpture. He turns His head to the left as if looking for a viewer. He is crowned with thorns, clad in red. The expression on His face reflects pain. Although the colours are faded away, big patches of colour are still visible on His piece of cloth. Regarding style and age, it is similar to the standing figures of the Golgotha scene.

Bibliography

Varga, 1970, 40.
Szacs vay, 2011, 105.

II.2.3 The Dove of the Holy Spirit *Catalogue II.63*



wood; carved, once painted
length: 16.5 cm (6.5 in); width: 20.5 cm (8.1 in), thickness:
5.5 cm (2.2 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 68.120.159.

Bibliography

Szacsvay, 2011, 187.

Sculptures from Máramaros

The majority of the sculptures presented here were collected by Hiador Sztripszky, who was a royal education inspector assistant living in Sighetu Marmației (*Máramarossziget*), a few years later he was already an associate of the Ethnography Collection of the Hungarian National Museum, the objects were collected in the Greek Catholic wooden churches of Ruthenian (Hucul) villages of the county. The following places are listed in his report on the collection of these objects: Rakhiv (*Paxiv*), Yasinia (*Kőrösmező/Ясиня*), Bistra (maybe: *Petrovabisztra*), Lunca la Tisa (*Kislonka*) and Sokyrnytsia (*Szeklence/Сокирниця*). The bigger group of sculptures, consisting of seven pieces, certain pieces belonging to the same Golgotha scene, came presumably from this latter place, Sokyrnytsia (Szacsvey, 2000, 421–423). The corpus and the three grieving figures could belong to one scene originally, and maybe the Sun and the Moon too, arriving later from Máramaros to the collection. Another, bigger sculpture depicting John the Evangelist, holding a book in his left hand, could also be collected by Sztripszky, but its head is quite fragmented (Inv. No. 68.120.109; Szacsvey, 2011, 177). Regarding style, a sitting, beardless figure clad in a groin cloth can also be classified as part of this scene, but it has not been clearly identified (Inv. No. 68.120.106; Szacsvey, 2011, 104), and the fragmented head of a half-winged angel also belongs to this scene (Inv. No. 68.120.102; Szacsvey, 2011, 187). The sketchy notes made by Sztripszky do not seem to be satisfactory for the identification of the place of origin of the sculptures, nor can the items that used to belong to the same composition be reconnected on the basis of these notes. It seems that the pieces of two or even more Golgotha scenes were put to the same place in the collection. Sztripszky noted down that he collected these items in the storage rooms of wooden churches but he fails to give a satisfactory explanation of their original function. He rather reflects on how it is possible that so many fragments could be found among Greek Catholic Rusyns and Romanians, who clearly reject sculptures. He gives a financial reason for the creation of sculptures, saying that they did not have enough money to hire a painter, which can be partly true, but if it were true, it is still unusual that most of the wooden churches with a completely painted interior were preserved in the Máramaros region in the 18th century (cf. Bratu, 2015). It seems more plausible that these sculptures were designed for outdoor use, to partially uncovered chapels, where the depictions of the Saints were more exposed to weather conditions than in a church. In this case, these thoroughly painted works

(1)



of art with their rustic carving were far more long lasting than icons painted on wood or on metal plates. The sculptures representing Christ carrying the Cross could also belong to these Golgotha scenes, but they could as well stand in separate chapels. Their use in the interiors of churches is hardly conceivable.

A group of sculptures preserved in the covered chapel at the edge of Berbești (*Bârdfalva*, Maramaros County, today Romania) shows the best analogy on how the Golgotha scene sculptures of the Museum of Ethnography were originally placed (Picture 1, Zsuzsa Tóth). A photo was taken presumably of this memory in the early 1940s, showing the earlier condition of the item (Picture 2, Fortepan). Among roadside crosses, called *Troica* (Holy Trinity) in Romanian, this cross is also called Rednik-cross, named after the family that erected it, and it is dated to the 18th century. The Rednik family played a significant role in the life of the Greek Catholic community in Transylvania, a member of the family, Athanase, became Bishop of Făgăraș (Fogaras) (1764–1772). From the items of the museum, the sculpture of the Theotokos, John the Apostle holding a book in his hand, the figure of the Captain, and the Sun and the Moon on the rear wall of

(2)



the chapel are closely related to the sculptures still standing at their original places. The sculpture of the crucified Christ in *Berbești* is completely different from that in the Museum of Ethnography. It seems that in Maramaros there were many more memories of this kind once, as the fragments of one of them can also be found in the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Ethnography of Sighetul Marmăției (Muzeul Etnografic), its figures are similar to those of *Berbești*, even the *Hodegetria* icon carved into the relief at the foot of the cross is preserved in both places.

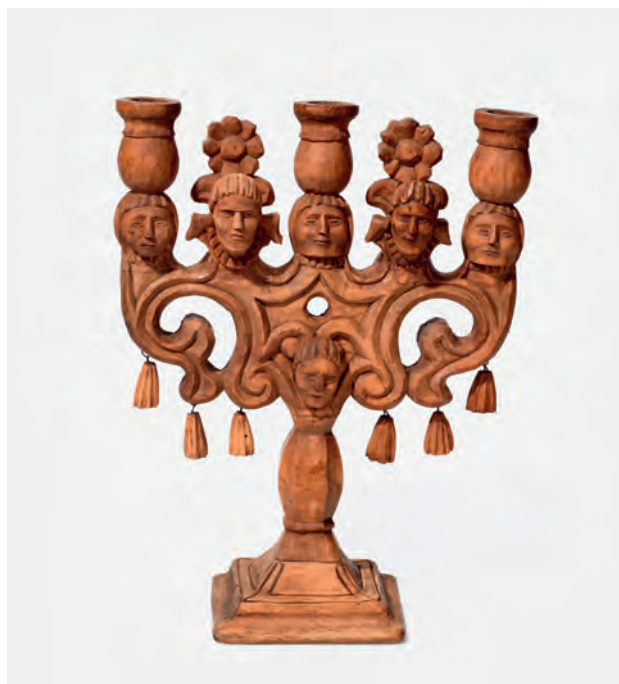
Sztripszky's statement, according to which the use of sculptures is totally incompatible with the Byzantine tradition, is only partially plausible. It is true that for instance András Bacsinszky, Bishop of Mukacheve was clearly against the use of sculptures (cf. Terdik, 2014a, 113–115), but his predecessors were less strict. The chapel that is now standing in the Village Museum of Uzhhorod, decorated with a carved Golgotha scene, is from the Greek Catholic tradition, similar objects were documented in the Zakarpatska Oblast in their original places even after the First World War. It is more interesting though that even among Greek Catholics of Transylvania there are roadside crosses ornamented with a carved corpus, despite the fact that they placed more emphasis on the purity of the rite than the Greek Catholics of the Eparchy of Mukacheve. Several Romanian crosses can be found at the edge of Glăjărie (*Görgény-üvegcsűr*), with carved corpuses, and surprisingly, the sculptures of the Patron Saints of the church,

(3)



Michael and Gabriel, were placed on the upper ledge, in the iconostasis of the former Greek Catholic wooden church of the village. These sculptures were made by a folk master in the 19th century.

I only know of one such item preserved in Hungarian territory. In 2010, three sculptures carved from linden wood were transferred to the Greek Catholic Art Collection from the former building of the Parish of Nagydobos, from the historic Szatmár County, they were in a rather bad shape. Their conservation was performed by Ilona Csík in 2012 (Picture 3). The figure of the crucified Christ (Inv. No. 2011.193. [A 80]) is quite fragmented, His open arms and His feet are missing. The sole and the hands were missing or damaged from the figures of Our Lady of Sorrows (Inv. No. 2011.193. [A 81]) and John the Apostle (Inv. No. 2011.193. [A 82]), even the head of the Beloved Disciple was broken down. The original place of destination of the Golgotha scene is unknown. There is an idea that it could serve as decoration on the frontispiece of the iconostasis, as such examples are known from wooden churches from the former Upper Hungary (e.g. Venéce/Lukov-Venecia). By the end of the 17th century this practice appeared also in certain churches in the Moscow Kremlin (See: Terdik, 2018, 135–136.). Regarding the sculptures of Nagydobos, due to the intense, although secondary, protective tarry paint it cannot be ruled out that they once stood in an outdoor, uncovered chapel as it can be seen in the open air Village Museum of Uzhhorod in a roadside building with walls made from harrow. The carving that sometimes seems harsh could be made by a folk master in the 18th or 19th century. (Sz. T.)



19th century

wood; carved

height: 30.5 cm (12 in); width: 24 cm (9.4 in)

Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 78211.

Hiador Sztripszky collected several footed and wall candlesticks in Kőrösmező in the summer of 1909. In his letter written from Máramaros to the director of the Department of Ethnography, he described the respective items as 'three-arm', 'coloured', 'round footed', 'elongated, wall', 'big green coloured, carved', 'white painted single', 'brown painted single'. The '3-arm candlestick with wool' must refer to the item with inventory number 78211, the above information is also indicated on its inventory tag. Hucul 'Holy Trinity Candelabrum', an emblematic type in Ruthenian religious art. Analogies can be found in big collections in the neighbourhood, and its counterpart can be found in the Ivan Honchar Museum in Kiev.

The footed, three-arm candelabrum was carved from soft wood in the 19th century. It is unpainted. Fretwork carving and anthropomorphic representation constitute the richness of its decoration. Its foot and leg recall the forms of candlesticks with metal arms, the arms issue from two dynamic, fretwork volutes. Typical accessories of Ruthenian candlesticks, textile tassel looking carved pendants are hanging from the bottom of the corpus.

The relationship between the three-arm candlestick and the Holy Trinity is absolutely associative. The three faces appearing under the cups are very specific on this

candlestick: in the middle there is God the Father, and on the two sides there is the Son and the Holy Spirit. In the Church collection, on the two other footed candlesticks from Kőrösmező a specific element of folk art can be observed: the figures of the Holy Trinity are symbolised by flowers / rosettes.

Tiny wings indicate that the two faces appearing between the arms are faces of angels. The pairs of wings of cherubim and seraphs, belonging to the highest order of angels, are replaced here by the leaves of flowers. This is how this representation corresponds to the teaching of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, according to which only angels of the highest order can directly see God, while angels from lower orders can only see Him through the eyes of angels of the highest order.

Three-arm Holy Trinity candlesticks were the accessories of every Holy Liturgy and Blessing of Epiphany Water. (K. S.)

Unpublished



wood; carved, painted

height: 56 cm (22 in); width: 41.5 cm (16.3 in), thickness: 13.5 cm (5.3 in)

Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 126822.

This three-arm, footed candlestick was collected by Antal Szmik in 1927 in Máramaros. It was made in the first part of the 19th century and belongs to the Ruthenian, so-called Holy Trinity type of candlesticks. It is richly carved, with blue and red paint, gilded. It stands on a square foot, and the arms of the candlestick issue from the base divided into three square fields above the stem. In the central field of the base there is a tiny image representing God the Father with a triangular halo, surrounded by a wreath of clouds. In the fields on the two sides there are convex carved flower heads symbolising the other two figures of the Holy Trinity, with stylised roots underneath. The object is characterised by accentuated, fretwork, diagonal branches. The shape and red colour of the roots are repeated on the edges of the branch in the middle. Textile-tassel-looking carved, blue and red pendants hang from the end of the branches. Iron thorns can be found in the cups.

The three-arm candlestick is an accessory of the Greek Catholic Easter liturgy and the Epiphany service. The decoration and high level design suggest that the item was made for church use, even though carved, three-arm candlesticks had important functions and served as typical decoration in Greek Catholic households as well in the neighbourhood. (K. S.)

Unpublished

II.2.3 Model of a Ruthenian
Wooden Church
Catalogue II.66

(1)



1909

hard wood

height: 140 cm (55.1 in); width: 102 cm (40.2 in); width:
158 cm (62.2 in)

Conservation: Gyula Balázs, 2020.

Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Inv. No. 2019.68.1.

Scale model of Saint Michael's Greek Catholic Church from Taracújfalu (*Felsőneresznicla/Новоселиця*), the work of a local peasant-handyman. It used to belong to a bigger composition with a Ruthenian house, stable, pigsty, corn storage, well, hay rack. The models were bought in the village by Priest Elek Vaszkó and sold to the Department of Ethnography of the National Museum in 1909. There is a letter in the Ethnology Repository of the museum written by Vilibald Semayer Director in December, ordering the payment of 100 crowns for the "Ruthenian model houses" (Museum of

II.2.3

(2)



Ethnography, Ethnology Repository, 139/1909). It can be assumed that the pastor ordered the creation of the typical village houses of Máramaros upon the museum's request.

Display models were popular means of interpretation in museums in the early 20th century. See below a description of model creation for museums, written by Zsigmond Bátky, published in his guide to organise museums of ethnography (*Útmutató néprajzi múzeumok szervezésére*) published in 1906. 'Models, or at least drawings of photographs should only be made of objects that cannot be moved, like buildings, mills, bridges etc., or are too big, like boats, storages, cages, cars etc., or of objects that can be represented in a smaller version without significant changes, this has to be assessed every time. It shall always be kept in mind though that models are made out of necessity, as auxiliary items. [...] Models can have different dimensions, it is up to the client to find the right dimensions. For buildings a 1/10-1/20 proportion is recommended.' (Bátky, 1906, 10–11.)

Thanks to the integration of the collection of the Oriental Academy of Commerce, the Department of Ethnography of the National Museum was enriched by several model houses and churches in the 1910s. István Györffy was commissioned by the museum as the superintendent of the collection, also in charge of enriching the collection. Russian soldiers in detention camps of World War I often passed their time by carving wood, they often made scale models of the landmarks of their home town. Dozens of scale models of churches and synagogues were noted down in the inventory ledger of the collection of the Oriental Academy (Museum of Ethnography, Ethnology Repository, 1/f-i/7, Archive records, procurement records No. 3). This material was deemed uninteresting by the committee established by the Museum of Ethnography in the 1950s, and was therefore destroyed. In the scrap records, the church model mentioned

above, preserved as a sample, was definitely not the work of a Russian war prisoner, it was the model of Taracújfalu. The original inventory number of the item was deleted in 1965.

Several analogies of the Greek Catholic material of the Museum of Ethnography can be seen in the photograph taken in the ethnography exhibition organised by the Basilian monastery of Uzhhorod in 1941. An icon of *Christ the Teacher* in the background, carved altar crosses in a container, covered wood and tin chalices, braided matzah. In the exhibition hall, several wooden church models similar to the model of Taracújfalu were exhibited, with towers and shingled roofs (Repository of the Museum of Applied Arts, asset inventory of Elemér Kőszeghy, 1941, Plate CXXXV.5, 45, Picture 2).

The Greek Catholic wooden church of Taracújfalu was burnt down in 1928, but the building is beautifully visible in the archive photographs taken before (Vavroušek, 1929, 209; Сирохман/Syrokhman, 2000, 565–568, fig. 666). The portico, with its carved columns, and the tower covered by a pyramid roof above the porch are typical parts of the single-nave timber church.

The model was carved from hard wood, it shows a large building with a timbered structure. Its single-nave, round sanctuary is covered with a high roof. The entrance is from the columned portico. On the two sides of the nave there are narrow, horizontal windows. It has a shingled roof, and underneath the roof, on the two long walls and on the side of the entrance, there is a water bar consisting of three rows of shingles. The characteristic, high roof of the church cannot be seen on the model, it is replaced with a short, shingled closure. The question of restoring the tower arose during the item's conservation, but for museological reasons the idea was rejected. (K. S.)

Unpublished

CHAPTER III

THE CONSOLIDATION OF GREEK CATHOLIC IDENTITY – THE CONVERGENCE OF BYZANTINE HERITAGE AND THE BAROQUE

III.1 The Hardships of Confessionalisation

III.1.1 Tamás Véghseő:

The Status of the Greek Catholics in the 18th Century

III.2 Challenge and Responses: Greek Catholic Baroque?

III.2.1 Szilveszter Terdik: The Eparchy of Mukacheve (Munkács) and the Arts in the 18th Century

III.2.2 Szilveszter Terdik: The Altar of Abaújszolnok

III.2.3 Tímea Bakonyi – Alexandra Erdős – Zsófia Imrik – Edina Kránitz: The Conservation of the Altar of Abaújszolnok

III.2.4 Szilveszter Terdik:

The Iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (Magyarkomját)

III.2.5 Tímea Bakonyi – Alexandra Erdős – Zsófia Imrik – Edina Kránitz: Conservation of the Iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (Magyarkomját)

III.2.6 Irén Szabó: The Species of the Eucharist – The Tradition of Prophoro Making in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church



III.1.1 The Status of the Greek Catholics in the 18th Century

Tamás Véghseő

The instruction of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* issued in 1718, reaffirming the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Eger over the Greek Catholics,¹ would define the limited and increasingly diminishing framework in which Byzantine-rite Catholics having entered into union with Rome were able to work to improve their own ecclesiastical life. This period and subjection to Eger are characterised by a sense of duality. It is undeniable that, in the decades following the conclusion of the Union of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*), approximating the quality of Greek Catholic ecclesiastical life to Tridentine norms seen as a standard at the time was not successful. Thus, 'guardianship', considered necessary and indispensable by the Roman Catholic bishops and their advisers starting from Cardinal Lipót Kollonich,² was to some extent justifiable. At the same time, the measures taken in conjunction with the Greek Catholics in Eger in a number of instances failed to promote integration but rather perpetuated or literally exacerbated backward conditions. Through the policies of Charles III and subsequently of Maria Theresa, the central authority, with a vested interest in the integration of Greek Catholics, initially strove to guide the respective processes in a favourable direction as a 'benevolent catalyst' and then, recognising the untenability of the system of the 'rite-vicariate', it irrevocably committed itself to the autonomy of the Greek Catholic Church.

In addition to his letters-patent³ issued in 1720, Charles III fostered the development of Greek Catholic ecclesiastical life by creating a ministers' fund (*cassa parochorum*) (1733) and by extending it to the Greek Catholics. A prerequisite for the determination of the complementary benefits paid by the state to ensure the sustenance of ministers (*congrua*) was a survey of real income conditions. This task was completed by the successors of Bishop Bizánczy – Simon Olsavszky

(1733–1737), György Blazsovszky (1738–1743) and Mánuel Olsavszky (1743–1767) – through censuses conducted in several phases as of 1737.⁴

Of the Byzantine-rite vicars listed, particularly prominent was Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky, who, during his nearly a quarter-century long tenure, made significant and enduring initiatives in a number of areas of ecclesiastical life and led the last stage of the struggle for liberation from Eger.

Bishop Olsavszky was one of the Greek Catholic priests who, raised in the Seminary of Trnava (*Nagyszombat*), constituted the new, 'Tridentine-compatible' elite of the Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*).⁵ As a deputy, he assisted his brother, Bishop Simon Olsavszky, as well as his successor, György Blazsovszky. As early as one year after his appointment, he founded a school in Mukacheve, making an attempt at training priests, cantors and school masters. In 1746, he published a Latin course-book with basic catechetical knowledge in Latin and Church Slavonic.⁶ He also attempted to create a printing press equipped with Slavic font as well in an effort to mitigate the shortage of liturgical books in his Eparchy. This undertaking of his did not succeed though.⁷ Between 1750 and 1752, he conducted canonical visitations⁸ in his vast diocese, concluding with the repeated issuance of an eparchial book of rules on the administration of the Sacraments and the conduct of the clergy in 1756.⁹ He completed the construction of the church in Máriapócs commenced by Bishop Bizánczy but subsequently interrupted, and – overcoming the objections of Barkóczy, Bishop of Eger, as well as of the Conventual Franciscans in Nyírbátor – he entrusted the supervision of the pilgrimage site to Basilian monks (Picture 1).¹⁰ In Mukacheve, he embarked on an episcopal palace building project after, on the initiative of the Basilians, he was to leave the Monastery of

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¹ Hodinka, 1909, 541–542.

² On the ideas of the Jesuit advisers, see: Véghseő, Tamás. Jezsuiták és görögkatolikusok Északkelet-Magyarországon a 17. század második felében, in: Szabó, Irén (szerk.). *Katolikus megújulás Északkelet-Magyarországon: Művelődéstörténeti konferencia a jezsuita rend sárospataki meglepedésének 350. évfordulója alkalmából*, Sárospatak, 2014, 214–226.

³ Cf. the author's previous paper in the present volume.

⁴ On this subject, see: Véghseő – Terdik, 2015.

⁵ On his activities, see: Lacko, 1961 and Udvari, 1994, 180–187.

⁶ *Elementa puerilis institutionis in lingua latina*, (facsimile edited by István Udvari), Nyíregyháza, 1999.

⁷ Hodinka, 1909, 813.

⁸ For the relevant protocols, see: Véghseő – Terdik – Simon – Majchrics – Földvári – Lágler, 2015.

⁹ Udvari, 1994, 181–187.

¹⁰ Puskás, 1995, 172–175; Terdik, 2014a, 35–37.



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Mukacheve-Chernecha Hora (*Munkács-Csernekhegy*), the traditional seat of the Bishops of Mukacheve.¹¹ Upon Maria Theresa's instruction, he visited the Romanian Greek Catholic communities of Transylvania in 1746 and, subsequently, in 1761 and countered the challenge posed by Serbian itinerant monks attacking the union. A summary of his activities in Transylvania was a collection of his exhortatory speeches for upholding the union, published in several languages.¹²

The greatest trial of his zealous episcopal service, as well as the hardest battle of his life, was the representation of the interests of the Greek Catholics vis-à-vis the hierarchs of Eger, Bishops Ferenc Barkóczy (1744–1761) and Károly Eszterházy (1762–1799).

The most spectacular of the policies of the two Bishops of Eger is one of Ferenc Barkóczy's instructions. On 8 May 1747, the Bishop of Eger ordered

that the Greek Catholic priests become the chaplains of the territorially competent Roman Catholic priests.¹³ In other words, local Latin-rite parish priests were to supervise the activities of Greek Catholic priests as the Bishop of Eger supervised the activities of the Bishop of Mukacheve relegated to the status of 'rite-vicar'. By taking this measure, Bishop Barkóczy proclaimed Greek Catholics second-rate Catholics even officially, naturally prompting protest and ushering in yet another phase in the conflict referred to above.

Following the introduction of the ordinance, Bishop Barkóczy began inspecting the Greek Catholic clergy by means of canonical visitations. It is widely known that he was by no means pleased with the first-hand experience he gained during his tour. He even recorded his negative impressions in the protocol and, as early as July 1748 – according to contemporary sources, under rather humiliating circumstances and

¹¹ Terdik, 2014a, 25–27.

¹² In Hungarian: *A szeretet kötele az az a nap-keleti és nap-nyugati anya szent egy-ház-között-való egygyességről lőtt beszéd*, Péts, [1765]. In Latin: *Sermo de sacra occidentalem inter, orientalem Ecclesiam unione...* Tyrnaviae 1761. Basilovits, 1799, III, 48–79.

¹³ Pekar, 1992, 51.

demanding another oath of allegiance – he obliged Mánuel Olsavszky, Bishop of Mukacheve, to rectify what he had identified as errors.¹⁴

A look at the list of conditions and practices perceived as unacceptable by the Bishop of Eger makes it obvious that some of these were real problems of ecclesiastical discipline, while others merely reflected lack of understanding of the differing praxis of the Byzantine-rite Church and the resultant disapproval thereof. It is indisputable that the educational background of the Greek Catholic clergy still failed to fully align with the expectations of the time. It is also indubitable that the widespread practice of widowed priests remarrying was not in compliance with the regulations, either. Furthermore, the practice that the Greek Catholics did not observe the feasts of the Latin Church (but, as the Bishop put it: 'they would idle away in their homes instead'), as well as the fact that they did not commemorate the hierarchy, i.e. the Bishop of Eger, in the liturgy also contravened the regulations contained in the unequivocal instruction of the Congregation of Propaganda issued in 1718.

In contrast with these, it would, however, be hard to classify reproaches that were clearly motivated by a rejection of the traditions of the Byzantine Rite as justifiable objections. Such an example would be infant communion, which the Bishop encountered primarily in Szatmár County and which he proceeded to prohibit. It was also with puzzlement that he commented on the rite of the *zeon*, involving the priest admixing a few drops of hot water to the Holy Blood, uttering the following words: 'The fervour of faith, full of the Holy Spirit.' It would be equally difficult to justify the Bishop's reproof about the Greek Catholic priests not knowing and not reciting the *Angelus* (at the ringing of the bells, while kneeling) as was prescribed in Hungary by a court synod from 1307. He also blamed Greek Catholics for endeavouring to ensure the presence of seven priests at the administration of the Unction of the Sick and – in case this was not possible – for having the priest(s) present say the prayers on behalf of all seven priests.

To redress the perceived or real irregularities of Greek Catholic ecclesiastical life, Bishop Barkóczy

compiled a set of instructions reflecting his conviction that, since the standards of the praxis of the Greek Catholics were still far from the Tridentine norms and the criteria for a modern confession, control over them was to be made tighter. Letting them go on their way would sooner or later lead to autonomous development in matters of faith, thus posing a threat to the union itself. At last, at Maria Theresa's command, the Instruction was not promulgated.¹⁵ The Monarch also ordered that the Council of the Governor-General monitor how the conflict would unfold.¹⁶ Simultaneously, by way of preparing a resolution, the training of Greek Catholic priests started in Eger with her support. Although, as has been mentioned above, in 1744, Bishop Olsavszky had also established a school in Mukacheve, where even ordained priests were educated, it was not a seminary. As Vicar to the Bishop of Eger without revenues of his own, he could have no chance to accomplish that. From 1754, assisted by an annual budget of 1200 forints provided by Maria Theresa, six Greek Catholic ordinands could study under the guidance of a rite professor.¹⁷ Given that, in this period, five- to six-hundred Greek Catholic priests operated in the region, training in Eger was in itself inadequate to eliminate the deficiencies of priest education. At the same time, alongside the training opportunity at the University of Trnava offered to talented Greek Catholic young men from parishes of the Szepesség, scholarships in Eger guaranteed a framework at least for the education of the Greek Catholic leading elite.¹⁸

In exploring the reasons behind the restrictive measures enacted by the Bishops of Eger, first and foremost, statistical data from the region must be scrutinised. In the mid-18th century, 1129 settlements inhabited by Greek Catholics were under the curtailed jurisdiction of the Byzantine-Rite Vicar of Mukacheve. Only 453, i.e. approx. 40%, of these were purely Greek Catholic. 676, i.e. 60%, were denominationally mixed locations, with Greek Catholic living side by side with Roman Catholics and/or with one or both of the two Protestant denominations.¹⁹ In villages with mixed populations, the future of individual denominations was

¹⁴ Дулишкович, Иван. *Исторические черты Угро-Русских*, III, Ungvár, 1877, 137–149.

¹⁵ The Instruction was published: Véghseő, Tamás. *Barkóczy Ferenc egri püspök kiadatlan instrukciója az Egri Egyházmegye területén élő görögkatolikusok számára (1749)*, Nyíregyháza 2012.

¹⁶ Hodinka, 1909, 607.

¹⁷ For more detail, see: Földvári, Sándor. Eger szerepe a kárpátaljai ruszin, görög katolikus kultúrában, in: Beke, Margit – Bárdos, István (Eds.). *Magyarok Kelet és Nyugat metszészonalán: A nemzetközi történetészkonferencia előadásai*, Esztergom, 1994, 297–308.

¹⁸ Véghseő, 2013, 50.

¹⁹ Šoltés, 2010, 235.

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largely dependent on the priest residing locally, who would follow his parishioners from birth to death and would exert a decisive influence on mixed marriages, as well as on the confessional affiliation of the children born from such. In this area, of the denominations found in the region, no doubt Roman Catholics fared the worst. Bishop Barkóczy himself admitted on several occasions that, in his diocese, there were three or four Greek Catholic priests to one Latin-rite priest. In 1745, there were as few as 244 Latin-rite parish priests and 17 chaplains in the Diocese of Eger, and, one county (Máramaros) had not a single Roman Catholic priest living there.²⁰ By contrast, the number of Greek Catholic priests was in excess of 800 in the same period. Trends at the time indicated that the number of villages with Greek Catholics was bound to increase even further, primarily thanks to southward migration. From the perspective of Latin-rite Catholicism, it must also have appeared to be a worrisome phenomenon that originally Roman Catholic churches were transferred to use by the Greek Catholics in places where the indigenous population had partially or completely vanished owing to epidemics, and Greek Catholic inhabitants had taken their place. The number of Greek Catholic parishes in the Szepesség doubled within a short time.²¹

Thus, measures associated with the names of Bishops of Eger, which were felt to be severely restrictive from the point of view of the Greek Catholics, primarily need to be interpreted in the context of denominational expansion and reduction. For the Bishops of Eger, the possibility of demographic changes, i.e. the growing number of Greek Catholics, altering the ratio of denominations in their diocese materialised as a realistic threat. Therefore, they sought to integrate Greek Catholic communities into the local Catholic Church to the greatest possible extent and to maintain the strictest possible control over them.

By the 1760s, conflicts stemming from the opposition between the Bishop of Eger and the Greek Catholics had totally undermined relations between the two denominations, and, in 1765, even a schismatic

movement aiming to dissolve the union was launched in Hajdúdorog, the largest parish in the Eparchy of Mukacheve.²² Subjection to the Roman Catholic hierarchy and its consequences meant such a trauma to some Greek Catholics that they even considered being under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Metropolitan of Sremski Karlovci (*Karlóca*) more tolerable by comparison. Although the schismatic movement of Hajdúdorog would soon die away, it became straightforward that the resolution of the problem could not be deferred. Maria Theresa took the necessary steps in relation to the Holy See, while, having enlisted the support of János Bradács, appointed Apostolic Vicar in 1768,²³ as well as of the clergy, András Bacsinszky, an outstanding Greek Catholic ecclesiastical personality of the period,²⁴ informed the Empress of the *status quo*. In the autumn of 1769, a delegation headed by Bacsinszky left for Vienna in order to apprise the Court of the humiliating reception that Károly Eszterházy, Bishop of Eger, had given to Bishop János Bradács and his entourage – actually not for the first time.²⁵ Following prolonged negotiations and diplomatic skirmishes, the issue of the establishment of the Eparchy was finally settled in 1771, when, with the approval of the Holy See, Maria Theresa took action to effect its canonical establishment.²⁶ The Bishop of the Eparchy was János Bradács, who passed away as early as 1772 though. Subsequently, András Bacsinszky was appointed. It was during his nearly four-decade long episcopacy that the ecclesiastical and social integration of the Greek Catholics was achieved (Picture 2).

Prior to the presentation of the details of András Bacsinszky's episcopacy, it is well worth remembering an important characteristic of his Hajdúdorog years that would be of significance in terms of the process of Greek Catholic integration as well. In the years he spent in Hajdúdorog, Bacsinszky fully adapted to the vernacular environment he was surrounded by. He kept parish records in the Church Slavonic language and corresponded with the faithful, the town authorities and the clergy of Szabolcs in Hungarian, with the county authorities in Latin and with the eparchial authorities in

²⁰ Sugár, István. *Az egri püspökök története*, Budapest, 1984, 184.

²¹ Šoltés, 2010, 238.

²² For more detail, see: Janka, 2014.

²³ On Bradács, see: Udvari, 1994, 187–190.

²⁴ On Bacsinszky, see: Véghseő, 2014.

²⁵ Véghseő, 2013, 52–53.

²⁶ For more detail, see: Janka, György. A munkácsi egyházmegye felállítása, *Athanasiana*, 4(1997), 57–81. Alexander Baran (coll.). *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, XIII, *De processibus canonicis Ecclesiae Catholicae Ucrainorum in Transcarpathia*, Roma, 1973. Vanyó, Tihámér Aladár. *A bécsi pápai követség levéltárának iratai Magyarországról, 1611–1786*, Budapest, 1986, 107–113.

Ruthenian. He would retain this linguistic syncretism as bishop as well and would be even supportive of the Hungarian liturgical translations made at the time.²⁷ This speaks of a general sense of openness, manifest in appreciation and respect for other languages and cultures. Although a faithful child of his Rusyn people intending to develop its culture, he did not approach other languages with hostility or see them as a potential menace but discovered additional manifestations of a shared heritage in them and acknowledge their role in cultural mediation.²⁸

A few months after Bacsinszky's appointment as bishop,²⁹ Maria Theresa called Hungary's Byzantine-rite Catholic bishops to Vienna for a meeting of rather great import.³⁰ In different eparchies, different legal customs and disciplinary regulations were in force, a situation that appeared to be in need of change. Maria Theresa's desire was that the Greek Catholic bishops should jointly select the ecclesiastical books to be printed, determine their language and uniformise disputed liturgical texts. The bishops holding talks in the Croatian College of Vienna also needed to decide on the number of feasts as – for economic and social reasons – the Queen wished to maximise it at sixteen. Following long debates on this matter, the bishops asked the Monarch to mandate a reduction of feast days in relation to the Orthodox as well. An important point on the agenda of the discussions was the improvement of the clergy's living conditions. For the hierarchs, the sole resolution of the issue seemed to be the enforcement of the royal letters-patent issued for uniate priests. These placed the Greek Catholic clergy on a par with Latin-rite priests. The bishops made concrete propositions to the Queen to have presbyteries built, arrange for parochial lands providing for the sustenance of the clergy to be staked out everywhere, set the amount of priests' emoluments to be provided by the faithful and ensure the livelihood of priests from state funds if needs be. They were resolved to encourage counties and landowners to create a Greek Catholic school system. From the point of view of social perception, they also deemed it important to decree that, in official documents, the Eastern Christians united with Rome be called not Greek-rite Uniates but Greek-rite Catholics and,



(2)

likewise, their priests not *popes* but ministers or parish priests. The bishops also raised their voice against the popular missions of Roman Catholic monks organised in Greek Catholic communities with the aim of winning over the Byzantine-rite Catholic faithful to the Latin Rite. They requested the Queen to exhort the Latin hierarchs to respect Greek Catholics.

Having listened to the position of the Hungarian Chancellery, Maria Theresa approved the resolutions of the synod of 28 June 1773 and issued an instruction to address the problems exposed at the convocation.

The Queen creating a chapter of seven on 12 July 1776 was integral to the development of the Eparchy of Mukacheve.³¹ She appointed the first canons and

²⁷ Nyirán, 2014.

²⁸ For more detail, see: Udvari, 1994, 196–201; Udvari, 1997, 134–160.

²⁹ Baán, István. Bacsinszky András munkácsi püspökké való kinevezése, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Bacsinszky András munkácsi püspök: A Bacsinszky András munkácsi püspök halálának 200. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai*, Nyíregyháza, 2014, 61–84.

³⁰ Sources on the Viennese Synod of Bishops: Lacko, 1975.

³¹ The statutes of the Chapter were published in: Papp, György. *A munkácsi egyházmegye székeskáptalanjának statutumai*, Ungvár, 1942.

III.1.1

provided for their remuneration. As the Bishops of Mukacheve had no estates but only two unsteady sources of revenue at their disposal – the *cathedraticum*, i.e. the small sum of money paid by priests or parishes to the Bishop annually and the duty payable for ordinations – in her deed of gift from 23 October 1776, Maria Theresa donated the Abbey of Tapolca to the Bishopric of Mukacheve. András Bacsinszky was the first Hungarian Greek Catholic bishop to become a member of the House of Magnates and a true inner privy counsellor.³² As a member of the House of Magnates, he attended the Diets of 1790–1791, 1792 and 1796, where he had the opportunity to be acquainted with the basic principles of the national movement evolving at the time so that he might adapt those to promote the prosperity of his Rusyn people.

In Bacsinszky's time, the Bishopric of Mukacheve comprising thirteen counties had 729 parishes with just as many priests operating in the territories of sixty deaneries.³³ To facilitate the governance of the Eparchy, in addition to the existing Szabolcs County Vicariate, the Bishop established the External Vicariates of Szatmár/Sătmar (1776) and Košice (Kassa) (1787).

The seat of the Bishopric was in the city of Mukacheve until 1778 and subsequently in Uzhhorod, where the episcopate received the building of the dissolved Jesuit Order.³⁴

By moving the Episcopal See to Uzhhorod, the Seminary was also accommodated there (Picture 3). The training programme was extended to four years. Apart from Mukacheve and Uzhhorod, clerics from the Eparchy of Mukacheve also studied in Trnava, Eger, Vienna, Pest and Lviv in the 18th century. In one of his circulars from 1805, Bishop Bacsinszky noted that 120 clerics from the Eparchy of Mukacheve studied in Uzhhorod, Trnava, Eger and Pest through state financing. He would address the issue of priest training so close to his heart in several of his circulars. As the chief prerequisite for admission, he specified knowledge of the Church Slavonic language and familiarity with ecclesiastical singing. Bacsinszky pointed out to the addressees that it would be doing a disservice to the liturgical language, education in the mother tongue and the 'Russian rite' if, following their



(3)

secondary-level Latin studies, young men were to continue their training at Latin (Roman Catholic) seminaries. He ordered that, prior to the entrance examination, parish priests should teach their sons their paternal language, religion and lore and reinforce these in them' (translated from the Hungarian original). Bacsinszky also prescribed that young men attending Latin schools in preparation for the priestly vocation take an examination in the 'Ruthenian subjects' during school holiday.³⁵

The Bishop laid great emphasis on cantor training as well. For the Greek Catholic villages, school masters and cantors were trained at the Carei (*Nagykároly*) school, as well as at the monastery schools of Krasny Brod (*Krasznibrod*), Bukovce (*Bukóc*), Mukacheve and Máriapócs. Data from the final third of the century also suggest that cantor training took place at the seats of deaneries, including Hajdúdorog, in Rusyn and Romanian. The question of Greek Catholic school-master training would only be resolved by the establishment of the training centre in

³² Forgó, András. Batthyány József esztergomi érsek szerepe a görögkatolikus egyháziak országgyűlési részvételében, *Athanasiana*, 36(2013), 69–81.

³³ Data on the Eparchy of Mukacheve from the years 1792 and 1806: Bendász–Koi, 1994; Udvari, 1990.

³⁴ On the conversion in more detail, see: Terdik, 2014a, 76–128; on Bacsinszky's episcopal representation: Puskás, 2014.

³⁵ Udvari, 2001, 76. Also: Vasil, 2014.

Uzhhorod in 1793, with education provided in the contemporary Rusyn literary language.³⁶

The Bishop also saw the development of the lowest level of education, the network of elementary schools, as important. The curriculum for Catholic elementary schools had been determined over two centuries earlier by the 1560 Trnava Regulations: the text of the catechism, reading, writing and singing. In light of the circulars, essentially the same is evident in relation to Rusyn elementary schools as well. As the most important task of elementary schools, however, Bacsinszky identified the teaching of Christian subjects and catechising. In his circulars, he mandated catechesis for children of both sexes from six to fourteen years of age. Owing to the massive shortage of books, this form of instruction was performed without books in most places. The absence of catechisms could only be mitigated by the work of János Kutka published in Buda in 1801. (He also authored a Rusyn primer in 1799). Purchasing Kutka's Catechism was made compulsory for every parish by Bacsinszky in a separate circular. Young people were required to take an examination on the material covered in the Catechism before marriage. As for cantors, he obliged them to learn the entire contents of the book by heart, for 'whoever wishes to teach others, ought to be learned himself, too' (translated from the Hungarian original).³⁷

On the initiative of the Director of the University Press, in 1806, the Council of the Governor-General solicited Bacsinszky for his opinion as to what books he required to be published for the elementary schools of his Eparchy and what letters were to be used in printing. Bacsinszky submitted a claim for the printing of nearly a dozen books. Aside from textbooks needed for the acquisition of good morals, Christian teachings and liturgical knowledge, he considered it necessary to print a book on arithmetic, as well as one that discussed the duties of a good citizen. Similarly to biblical stories, he intended to disseminate the latter two in the vernacular. His initiatives also included the five-volume *Holy Bible* in the Rusyn language published by the University Press of Buda in 1804 and 1805. Its text was edited by Gergely Tarkovics, the future Bishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*).³⁸

The initiatives and spectacular accomplishments of the Bacsinszky Era concluded a protracted

integration process lasting one and a half centuries and periodically stalling completely before gathering momentum again. From Maria Theresa's time, the engine of the process was clearly the Viennese Court, with the Greek Catholics as local allies of the central state authorities assigned a special role in its ecclesiastical and social policies.

With the Bishop's death in 1809, the Bacsinszky Era ends in the Hungarian Reform Era. The flaring up of Hungarian national sentiments, the sacralisation of the 'nation' and the resultant compulsion to accommodate brought new opportunities and new challenges for Hungarian Greek Catholics and the Greek Catholics of Hungary.

List of pictures

1. The main gate of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs with the coat-of-arms of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky
2. Portrait of Bishop András Bacsinszky by Franz Linder, 1792. Joseph Bokshay Transcarpathian Regional Art Museum, Uzhhorod
3. Maria Theresa with the base plan of the Seminary (Castle) of Uzhhorod. Elemér Kőszeghy's Inventory of Movable Property. Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, Documentation Department, CXXXVII, Plate 26

³⁶ Udvari, 2001, 77.

³⁷ Udvari, 2001, 78-81.

³⁸ Kocsis, 2014. On Bishop Bacsinszky's library, see: Véghseő, 2016.

III.1.1 Portrait of Mánuel Olsavszky Bishop of Mukacheve *Catalogue III.1*



between 1758–1767, Mihály Spalinszky
canvas, oil
250 cm × 167 cm (98.4 × 65.7 in)
Conservation: Elek Kerekes, 1988.
Collection of the Order of Saint Basil the Great,
Máriapócs, Inv. No. 2017.9.1.

Full portrait of Mánuel Olsavszky Bishop of Mukacheve (1743–1767). The Hierarch stands in the middle of a room with a squared floor, turning slightly to the left, looking at us. Following the traditions of the age, his clothes combine Eastern and Latin high priestly garments: his dark cassock with red buttons is tied with a cingulum, he is wearing a greca made of dark blue, patterned brocade and a reddish dark brown mandias. His head is uncovered, with long, curly, slightly greyish parted hair. He raises his right hand to give blessings, while he holds the pectoral cross, a smithwork, to emphasise a specific iconographic motif indicating title in portraits of high priests. On his right, on the table covered with red velvet there are episcopal liturgical

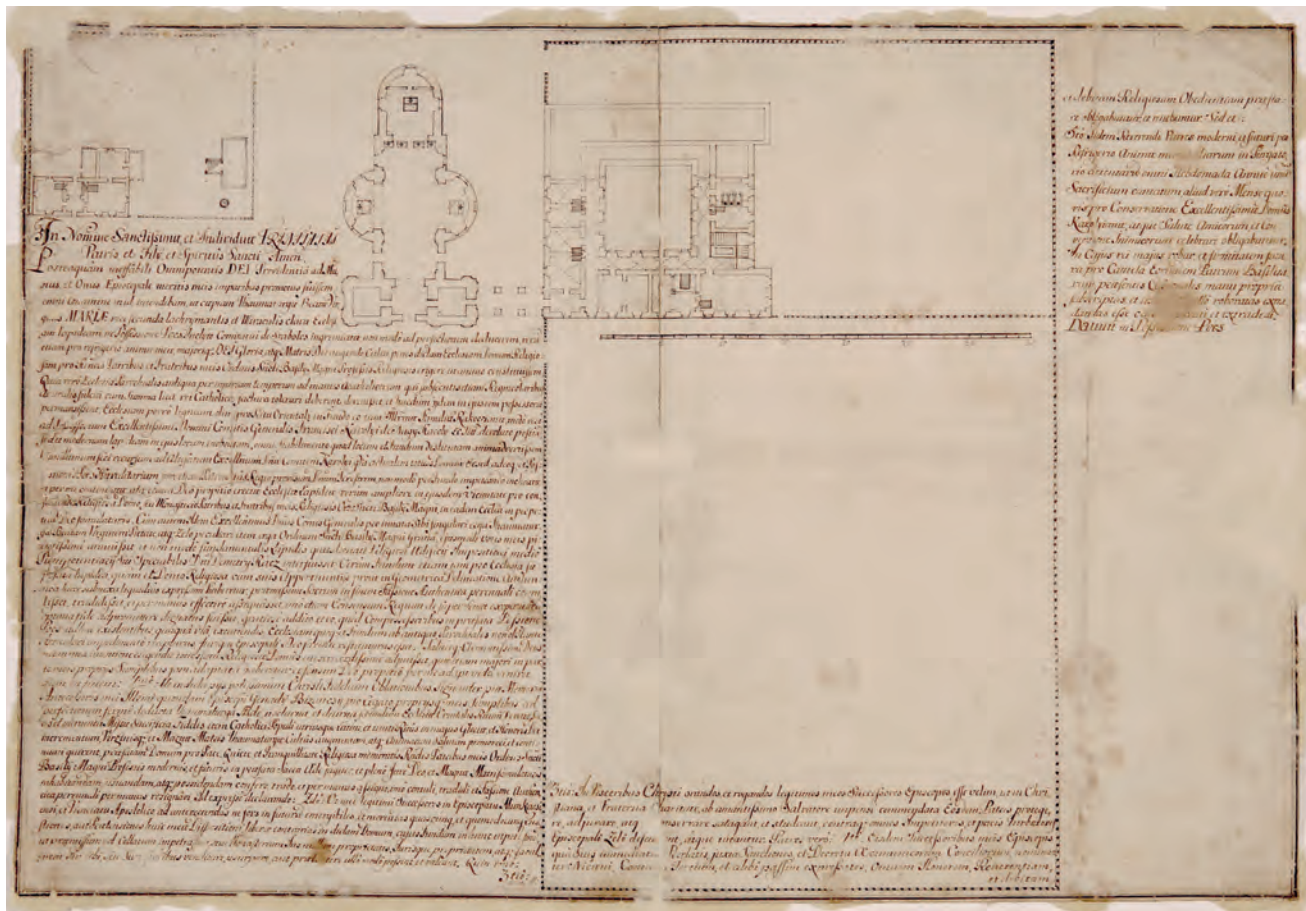
symbols and emblems of authority: the mitre, the shepherd's crook and the Book of the Gospels, and other objects related to priestly virtues of high priests: an ornamented vase with lily-like flowers, and a plan that impressively extends beyond the table, with a compass. On the left side of the dark room there is an inlaid book cabinet, the light coming from the window recess behind makes the room look larger, furthermore, the Baroque style wall paint and the dark blue curtain with gold tassels, appearing as the closure of the background, contribute to the elegance of the room. An archaic representation of the perspective can be observed, the plane of the book cabinet and the steeply rising surface of the table in the background give a quasi medieval impression. Despite that, according to the Baroque ideal, this is the portrait of the virtuous, wise and patron high priest, depicted in a representative way because it is a full portrait. The depiction of the painting commemorates the fact that it was Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky who gave fresh impetus to the construction of the church of Máriapócs when it had come to a halt, and he also had a Basilian monastery built to serve the place of pilgrimage.

There is a reference to the painter of the portrait in a letter written in November 1767, when the Bishop died. According to the letter, his successor, János Bradács who arranges the funeral, also orders a catafalque portrait and commissions a painter called Mihály to make a copy of a half-length portrait (Basilian Archives, Máriapócs). On the basis of the elements of style of the painting, the painter was Mihály Spalinszky, who, besides creating sacral art and icons, was also an experienced portrait painter. Several other portraits can be attributed to him, among which there is a half-portrait of Mánuel Olsavszky in the Boksay József Museum of Fine Arts in Transcarpathia in Uzhhorod, the painting instruments used for the half-portrait were identical with the ones used for the full portrait. The half-length portrait belongs to the portrait gallery of the Bishops of Mukacheve. (B. P.)

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Terdik, 2014a. (On the portrait: Photos 41, 25.)

III.1.1 Plan of the Church Buildings of the Shrine in Máriapócs, with the Provisions of Mánuel Olsavszky Bishop Catalogue III.2



01 December 1753
paper, ink
35.8 cm × 52.5 cm (14.1 × 20.7 in)
Conservation: Péter Kovács, 2020
Collection of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, Máriapócs
Inscription on the outer side of the paper:
*Delineatio Ecclesiae M[aria]-Pocsiensis, et testamentum
Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini Michaelis Olsavszky
Episcopi Rossiensis, et Munkácsiensis*

In the first part of the document, Mánuel Olsavszky Bishop of Mukacheve summarises how he finally managed to finish the construction of the Church of Máriapócs, continuing the work of his predecessors. He also writes about the role Ferenc Károlyi, a count becoming a local landlord as the owner of the Rákóczi estates, played not only in the establishment of the new, solid church but also in that of the corresponding Basilian monastery, then he also actively participated in the construction from 1749, from the solemn laying of the foundation stone. In the other part of the document, in 5 points he describes the obligations and tasks of Basilian monks moving into the monastery. The document is even more special because besides

the text, the exact plans of the church and the Basilian monastery and the fences of the corresponding garden are also included in it. The building and yard of the former parish, also inhabited by Basilians until the new monastery was built, deserves special attention as this building completely disappeared by the middle of the 19th century. The drawing also confirms that the building of the monastery was far from finished in 1753, the east wing was completely missing. (Sz. T.)

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Monasterium M. Pocsense*, in: Basilovits, 1799, III, 37–41
[unabridged edition].
Puskás, 1995a, 175, Photo No. 8

III.1.1 Queen Maria Theresa Catalogue III.3



1770, Joseph Ducreux (1735–1802) and Jacob Matthias Schmutzer (1733–1811)

paper, coloured copperplate engraving

38.7 × 27.2 cm (15.2 × 10.7 in) (cropped around)

Indicated on the left and right under the picture: Gemalt von Du Greux K. K. und K. Französl. Maler / In Kupfer gegraben von Jacob Schmutzer K. K. Hof Kupferstecher 1770.

Inscription: MARIA THERESIA ROM. IMPERTATRIX VIDVA. HVNGARIAE. BOHEMIAE ETC. REGINA. ARCHIDVX AVSTRIAE. DVX BVRG. ETC. M. PRINC. TRANSYLVANIAE. COMES TYROLIS ETC.
MNM TK, Inv. No. 3264.

In 1771, Pope Clement XIV, on the initiative of the Queen of Hungary Maria Theresa (1740–1780), established the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Mukacheve, then Pope Pius VI, also supported by the Queen, approved the foundation of the Greek Catholic Eparchies of Oradea („Indefessum Personarum...”) and Križevci („Charitas illa...”) in his bulls issued in June 1777. The queen is depicted in black, wearing a bonnet, since following the death of her husband (1765), Francis I Holy Roman Emperor and Duke of Lorraine, she always wore mourning garments in

public appearances and in her representative portraits in the remaining fifteen years of her reign. Being Great Master of the Order of Saint Stephen, founded by her in 1764, she wears the cross of the Order, decorated with gems, on a ribbon bow on her chest. The painting that served as the prototype of this engraving was made by Joseph Ducreux (1735–1802), of Lorraine origin, who went to the Imperial Court in Vienna to paint the official portrait of Marie Antoinette, the bride of the Heir (the future Louis XVI). He also painted other members of the imperial family, the pastel painting he made of Maria Theresa is today in the collection of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna (Akademie der bildenden Künste, Inv. No. 207). The ageing Queen does rarely pose for artists, therefore the portrait made by Ducreux is extremely popular, numerous copies were made, and it also served as a prototype for several etchings. (M. G.)

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III.1.1 Portrait of András Bacsinszky bishop of Mukacheve

Catalogue III.4



from 1773 to 1777, unknown painter
canvas, oil

61 × 46 cm (24 × 18.1 in)

Conserved.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
1999.67.

This portrait is a half-length portrait of András Bacsinszky Greek Catholic Bishop of Mukacheve (1772–1809), clearly visible in front of a homogeneous dark background. The composition of the painting follows the contemporary tradition of Baroque portraits of high priests. The Bishop slightly turns to the right, while with his face to the front he looks at us. Corresponding to the trends of the age, under Latin influence, he wears a bluish black cassock with red buttons, tied with a red cingulum, and a pallium with red lining and a red collar. On his head he wears a pileolus. Furthermore, the painting also copies a typical element of the iconography of portraits of high priests: with an emphatic gesture, András Bacsinszky holds his episcopal pectoral cross decorated with red gems in his right, referring to his rank. The characteristic, high forehead, the brushed back hair, the physiognomic traits of the face all recall the full

portrait of the Bishop of Uzhhorod (Franz Linder, 1792, Ungvár, Jozsef Boksay Transcarpathian Fine Art Museum). The similarities between the depiction of the pectoral crosses in the two portraits as refined smithworks suggest that specific personal items are depicted. The detailed elaboration of the painting also shows the *Crucifixion* composition of the episcopal ring.

The portrait depicts the Bishop as a young man in his forties. His short beard is not greying yet, contrarily to the portrait of Uzhhorod. The younger painting, made in Uzhhorod, was made for representational purposes, therefore it shows the Bishop in an entourage closed by a velvet curtain, with the accessories of the Bishop's liturgical garments, the crown and the shephard's crook also depicted on a little table. The copy from Nyíregyháza is rather a personal representation, there is no signature or indication of year on it. It could be made when András Bacsinszky was appointed bishop. The richly elaborated details suggest that it could be the work of a skilled local master, or maybe that of the leading painter or a pupil of the leading painter of the eparchy. The origin of the painting is unknown. Since András Bacsinszky served as a parish priest in Hajdúdorog for 12 years after his ordination (1756), then as an Archdean, he was aware of the significance of that parish, therefore it is possible that he wished to have this portrait there. It is more plausible though that he wanted to send it to Máriapócs, to the most important Greek Catholic shrine in East Hungary. Since the portrait could be made at the beginning of his episcopate, its sole function is documentation, remembrance. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2014, 173–195.

III.1.1 Protection of the Theotokos

Catalogue III.5



1781, Mihály Spalinszky

wood, oil

95 cm × 76.3 cm (37.4 × 30 in)

Conserved.

Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest – Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. No. 57.17M.

The icon was transferred to the collection of the Hungarian National Museum from Choňkovce (*Alsóhunkóc*), Ung County in 1900 because the figure of Maria Theresa and Joseph II was easily recognisable. In its medieval, Slavonic type iconography, the two-level composition shows two events of the Protection of the Theotokos. At the bottom, Blessed Andrew the Fool-for-Christ (9th century), standing in front of the group on the right, points at the revelation represented in the upper sphere of the icon: Mary opening her shawl over those present in their protection, and the angels and saints accompanying her. Saint Romanos the Melodist, a deacon who, with the support of the Theotokos, could compose fabulous hymns (6th century), stands in the centre, on the ambo. On his scytale, the Church Slavonic lyrics of liturgical chants and kontakia sung on the feast of the Protection of the Theotokos can be read. 'Дева днесь предстои твъ Церкви, и с лики с(вя)тых не види мозаны молитса Богу: анг(е)ли със(вя)тели поклоняются, ап(осто)ли жесо пророки лико(в)ствуют:

нас боради Б(огороди)ца моли Превечнаго Бога.' On the left, instead of the Byzantine Emperor and his Court participating in the Sacred Liturgy, there are the depictions of people who were alive when the icon was painted. Maria Theresa, who settled the disputed status and allowances of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, was honoured as the worldly patroness of Greek Catholics, this is why she can take the place reserved for Byzantine Emperors in the composition, together with her son, Joseph II. The traits of several members of her escort are typical portrait-like traits, András Bacsinszky Bishop of Mukacheve (1772–1809) can be recognised with certainty on the basis of contemporary representations, and at the back, in a brown overcoat it could be Chancellor Kaunitz standing among other worldly personalities and clergymen, another group of whom can be seen at the back on the left. The year 1781 can be seen on the front plate of the stairs of the ambo, it corresponds to the dating based on the applied painting method. There is no donation inscription, no signature on the icon. The ornamentation of the portraits, drapes, the refined elaboration of the figures suggest that the painter was a skilled, experienced, talented painter. On the basis of the elements of style it corresponds to the oeuvre of Mihály Spalinszky.

On the basis of its size and theme, this could be the altar painting of the church of Choňkovce originally, and it was not the main icon of the iconostasis since the main feast of the church was *The Annunciation*. At the end of the 19th century, new church equipment was ordered from the Spisák workshop, and the copy of the *Protection of the Theotokos* was also finished and placed on the main altar (cf. Terdik, 2011a, 81, Photo No. 110). Since the themes of the paintings of main altars were in the 18th century related to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, mainly such representations could be found here. *Protection*, the icon showing living historical figures, is a rarity in its function. Probably the whole iconostasis was painted at that time, and only a few icons, representing feasts (*Annunciation, Meeting Simeon, Flight to Egypt, Epiphany, Entry into Jerusalem*) were preserved. These icons on analogia can be attributed to the painter on the basis of similarities in style. (B. P.)

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III.2.1 The Eparchy of Mukacheve (Munkács) and the Arts in the 18th Century

Szilveszter Terdik

The 18th century brought a number of changes in the life of the Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*). It was only in the last quarter of the century that the benefits – primarily economic ones – promised at the time of the conclusion of the union, mostly improving the living conditions of the clergy, would become perceptible for the large but economically rather underdeveloped Greek Catholic populace mainly living in serfdom in the counties on the peripheries of the Kingdom of Hungary. After a long struggle, in 1771, the Eparchy was established canonically as well, and the creation of all the central institutions would soon follow.¹ Aimed at providing more efficient pastoral care for the faithful, the closing act of the rationalisation process was the reorganisation of the parish system prolonged for several decades and concluding only at the beginning of the 19th century. This involved the reduction of the number of priests in some areas (*Maramureş/Máramaros*), as well as the foundation of new parishes in other regions. The consolidation and rationalisation of organisational structures gradually enabled Western attitudes to prevail even in religious practice. These processes would most readily influence the thinking and way of life of certain groups within the clergy, while the overwhelming majority of communities of the faithful would for a long time continue to adhere to ancient Eastern traditions. The disintegration and disappearance – or rather massive retreat – of the latter happened parallel to the transformation of agrarian society and were chiefly precipitated by it.² Artistic activities in the territory of the Eparchy were characterised by similar tendencies: Nobody was exempt from the effect of the dominant style of the time, the Baroque. The degree of adhering to traditions and openness to innovation could in many cases greatly vary across clients and even artists. This variety

resulted in a highly colourful picture, of which only the main outlines will be highlighted in what follows.

Church architecture

In the 18th century, the vast majority of churches in the territory of the Eparchy were built of wood, and this ratio could not be substantially altered even by construction works accelerating during the second half and at the end of the century. Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky visited nearly all the parishes between 1750 and 1752. In the summaries produced when the visitation was concluded, he also included comments on church buildings. From these, it may be established that the two counties visited in the first year (Zemplén and Sáros) had 21 stone- and 274 wooden churches, while, of the 330 churches in the six counties visited in the second year (Abaúj, Borsod, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Máramaros and Ugocsa), a mere 12 were stone-built, and the situation was not any better even in the territories of the two counties visited during the third year (Bereg and Ung), with 130 wooden and 12 stone-built churches in the former and 79 wooden- and 5 stone churches in the latter.³ Thus, only 50 of the 851 churches were built of stone, representing 6 per cent of the entire building stock.

Wooden churches exhibited a high degree of formal diversity across regions, which would further intensify in the 18th century: In specimens from Upper Hungary – more specifically, in the case of wooden churches of the so-called *Lemko* type – the respectability of the buildings was enhanced by complex onion-shaped spires, whereas, in Máramaros and Szatmár Counties, where the so-called Gothicising type retained its prevalence, the same function was fulfilled by tower structures of increasing heights, fitted with turrets.⁴

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¹ On the details of this process, see the studies by Tamás Véghseő in the present volume.

² On the development of liturgical attitudes, see András Dobos's first study in the present volume. On the causes and consequences of the increasing distance between the clergy and communities of the faithful, see also: Cserbák, András. *A magyar görög katolikus népi vallásosság művelődéstörténeti háttere*, in: Tüskés, Gábor (Ed.). *„Mert ezt Isten hagyta...”: Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből*, Budapest, 1986, 275–310.

³ Véghseő – Terdik – Simon – Majchrics – Földvári – Lágler, 2015, 240, 527, 683. The Szepesség and Torna and Gömör Counties, which also had Greek Catholic populations, were not under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mukacheve at this time yet.

⁴ For a work of permanent relevance on Slovakian wooden churches, see: Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Бланка – Пушкар, Імрїх. *Дерев'яні церкви східного обряду на Словаччині, Науковий збірник Музею української культури в Свиднику*, 5, Пряшів, 1971. For recently collected old photographs of wooden churches from Upper Zemplén (*Zemplén*) and Sáros County, see: Syrochman, Mychajlo – Džoganík, Jaroslav. *Stratené drevené cerkvi severovýchodného Slovenska*, Svidník, 2019. For a basic work on Maramureş churches, see: Baboş, 2004. In general: Puskás, 2008, 25–31, 72–77, 141–145.

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Some of the stone churches were not built by the Greek Catholics themselves, but, thanks to the good will of landowners, they could take over the deserted/derelict medieval churches of previous communities extinct or strongly depleted owing to war and epidemics.⁵ During the first half of the 18th century, on account of their floor-plan arrangement – the polygonal closing of the sanctuary in particular – some of the churches built from a solid material may be regarded as buildings of a Gothicising character, without representing a marked departure from wooden churches in terms of their proportions. This type is exemplified by the parish churches of Nagykálló and Sátoraljaújhely; both towns were county centres at the time.⁶ At the end of the century, however, they were even considerably rebuilt – especially the church of Sátoraljaújhely. As a result of raising the steeple and the sanctuary, the mass ratios of the building would significantly change, and, as is evident from contemporary written sources, the transformation of the Sátoraljaújhely church was motivated by the demand of the period to approximate to Latin churches.⁷

The other major type is represented by the so-called *kliros*-type buildings. These are made distinct by the fact that, at the east end of the nave, two lateral apses were built to accommodate choir stalls or *kliroses* – a term that would subsequently be extended to the corresponding part of the church as well, though the same expression denoted the cantors' own seats, too. This building type evolved in monastery architecture after the turn of the first millennium, presumably on Mount Athos, only to reach the Carpathian Basin via Balkan or, possibly, Moldavian mediation. In the Eparchy of Mukacheve, the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs begun by Nikodémus Liczky, a master building from Košice (*Kassa*), in 1732 was already patterned on this type, even though, in this baroque church combining central and longitudinal space arrangement, the two lateral apses adjoining the nave were not reserved for the monastic *kliros* (choir) but for the side altars and were used as chapels. The *kliroses* or choir stalls, closed from the side of the congregation, were set at the east end of the nave, in front of the



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iconostasis. However, in Hungary's other Basilian monasteries, which drew on the church of Máriapócs in their arrangements, the floor plans were modified in a way that the lateral apses were moved towards the east end of the nave and would clearly come to function as sections reserved for the singers; examples include Maliy Bereznia (*Kisberezna*), Krasny Brod (*Laborcrév/Krasznibród*) and Bukovce (*Bukóc*), as well as subsequently Bixad (*Bikszád*) and Imstichovo (*Misztice*).⁸ The space arrangement of the church of Máriapócs and the Basilian monastery churches built in the middle of and during the second half of the century also became model-like for parish church construction projects starting slowly in the second half of the 18th century. Early instances of this are the parish church of Carei (*Nagykároly*) and the former parish church of Mukacheve.⁹ The construction of the former commenced in 1737 and was complete only two years later according to the date on the extant original

⁵ Terdik, Szilveszter. Biserici greco-catolice de origine medievală din Sătmarul istoric, in: Szócs, Péter Levente (Ed.). *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania – Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben – Medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Transylvania*, Satu Mare, 2012, 85–106.; Terdik, 2014h, 178–188.

⁶ The church of Nagykálló was built between 1731 and 1733. On 8 September 1732, in the house of parish priest Mihály Olsai in Máriapócs, Mrs Miklós Horváth née Mária Michalovics Lázár donated several estates (*szálláses* [homesteads]) 'to the Rascian Church of Nagykálló' (*a kállai Rácz Ecclesiának*), actually to support the construction 'of the half-built church' (translated from the Hungarian original). DAZO, fond 151, opis 1, no. 502.

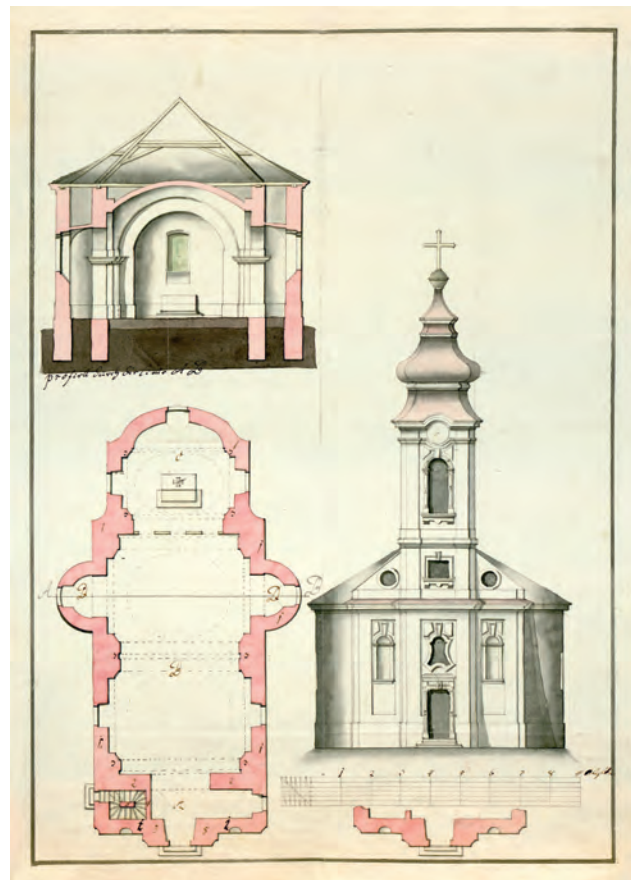
⁷ Terdik, 2011a, 15–17.

⁸ Terdik, 2014a, 37–40. Terdik, Szilveszter. Monasteriové chrámy baziliánov v Uhorsku v 18. storočí, in: Coranič, Jaroslav (red.). *História Rádu baziliánov sv. Jozafáta*, Prešov, 2017, 133–148.

⁹ The church of Mukacheve was built in the 1740s; its floor plan arrangement is displayed in a layout from 1752: Terdik, 2014a, 26, Picture 10.

wrought-iron steeple crosses. During the construction work, account was in all probability taken of the plans of the church of Máriapócs, and the architects of the two are likely to have been a single person. The church of Carei is also special because it is the only 18th-century building in the whole of the Eparchy where a regular dome was constructed (Picture 1). The client commissioning the construction of the two-steepled, domed church of proportions by far more monumental than warranted by its floor plan was Demeter Rácz, the son of a 'Greek' merchant family from Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*), who, as the plenipotentiary farm bailiff of the noble dynasty of the Károlyis, maintained friendly relations with both the Bishop of Mukacheve and the Basilians: He attended the laying of the foundation stone of the Monastery of Pócs in 1749 and, in the 1760s, he supervised and financed the building of the Monastery of Mukacheve as well, where he was laid to rest in 1782.¹⁰

In the course of church construction works from a solid material intensifying during the second half of the century, the *kliros* type emerged as the dominant pattern. This form was also observed in the most populous parish of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, the town of Hajdúdorog, in building a new church in the site of the former church presumably dating to medieval times. The parish of Hajdúdorog, founded in the first half of the 17th century, was among the oldest; its parish priest by the name of Radivoj Marinics is mentioned as early as 1638.¹¹ However, in the second half of the century, one church was shared by two parishes – a 'Rascian' and 'Vlachian' one – and the order of sermons was regulated for the two priests in 1667.¹² The foundation stone of the new church was laid by Archdean and local parish priest András Bacsinszky,¹³ later Bishop of Mukacheve (1772–1809), and the complete house of worship was consecrated in November 1772.¹⁴ The original baroque form of the church



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exterior may be roughly reconstructed on the basis of an 1859 engraving (see in the present volume: p. 336).¹⁵

A large number of Greek Catholics lived on the estates in North-Eastern Hungary confiscated after Rákóczi's War of Independence and kept in treasury administration. In these demesnes, advowson was exercised by the Treasury through the Exchequer, though intensive involvement with a positive impact on

¹⁰ On the church of Carei, see: Terdik, 2014g; Terdik, Szilveszter – Vadas, Krisztián. *A nagykárolyi görögkatolikus egyházközség története*, Nagykároly, 2016.

¹¹ The name *Dorog* is found among the settlements designated for Bocskai's Hajduks between 1606 and 1608. However, it seems that the Hajduks settled here only in 1616 under the leadership of Száva Deli, Commander of Lipova (*Lippa*). It was then that Palatine György Thurzó issued his letter permitting their settlement. In 1632, their privileges were reaffirmed, and the settlement was granted the rights the other towns of the Hajduks were already entitled to. Cf. Komoróczy, György (Ed.). *Hajdúdorog története*, Debrecen, 1971, 50–51, 221–235. The eminence of the parish is indicated by the fact that, at the Synod of Királytelek (1638), Bazil Taraszovics, Bishop of Mukacheve, appointed Marinovics Archdean of the Transtisza Deanery. Hodinka, 1911, 70–73.

¹² The Hungarian text of the agreement was published in: Udvari, István. Adalékok a XVIII. századi hajdúdorogi cirill betűs iratokhoz, *A Miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum évkönyve*, 25–26(1988), 331. In Szabolcs County, the parishes of Hajdúböszörmény, Újfehértó and Nagykálló were also regarded as 'Rascian'. Their foundation was connected to the Hajduks, as well as to the presence of border fortress soldiers in the early 17th century.

¹³ Luts kay, Michael [Lucskay, Mihály]. *Historia Carpatho-Ruthenorum: Sacra, et Civilis, antiqua et recens usque ad praesens tempus, Ex probatissimis auctoribus Diplomatum Regiis, et Documentis Archivi Episcopalis Dioecesis Munkacsensis elaborata, Науковий збірник музею української культури в Свиднику*, 18, Prešov, 1992, 129.

¹⁴ For further details of the construction work, see also: Terdik, 2011a, 20.

¹⁵ Takács, Ede. *Hajdu-Dorog, Vasárnapi Ujság*, 6(1859), 29.

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construction projects would only be seen in the final quarter of the century. In the villages of the demesnes in Lower Zemplén – mostly Hegyalja – and along the rivers Tisza and Bodrog, as well as in the valley of the river Uzh (*Ung*), many churches were built, predominantly conforming to the *kliros*-type form. Most of the work and expenses of construction were shouldered by the communities, but, in the drafting of plans, masters also employed by the Treasury would play a major part. Of the plans, a relatively large number survive; upon their scrutiny, it often becomes obvious that the building in question was in the end executed not in the location indicated in the plan but somewhere else: For example, the church proposed for Abaújszántó bears closer resemblance to the churches of Tokaj, Sárospatak and Végardó (Picture 2).¹⁶

In conjunction with the reorganisation of the parish system commencing in the 1770s, the Vienna Agency of Architecture also approved standard designs in proportion to the financial capabilities of individual communities, usually in three price categories. For the Greek Catholics, a design series was prepared in 1779 by Lorenz Lander, oddly not featuring the *kliros*-type variant at all –¹⁷ possibly because it was deemed too expensive. In fact, Lander was well familiar with the region: He had visited Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) on multiple occasions, making plans for the conversion of the castle into an episcopal centre, which was supposed to contain a grandiose cathedral with a Greek-cross floor plan. Lander's vision could not come true; the former Jesuit church was turned into a cathedral instead.¹⁸ The episcopal principal church created out of the existing church could hardly have become a model for new parish churches to be built in the Eparchy.

In sum, it may be stated that the base form of churches built from a solid material in the 18th century barely differed from that of contemporary Latin rural churches. They did, however, possess a few peculiarities in terms of architecture and furnishings that would be adhered to in virtually all Greek Catholic churches to the

late 19th century: 1. *ad orientem* position – i.e. the sanctuary faced east; 2. The altar was placed in the centre of the sanctuary and could be circumambulated; for the Table of Oblation, even an alcove was created; 3. A separate sacristy would never be built; 4. An iconostasis would always be erected in the triumphal arch (Its position would be marked in standard designs as well); 5. The level of the *solea* (outer sanctuary) would usually be raised by a step; 6. Choir stalls were placed at the east end of the nave, on the *solea* or close to it, with separate apses and recesses built for them (*kliros* or – in the Romanian terminology – *strana*); 7. The centre of the nave had railings dividing men and women;¹⁹ 8. There were no kneelers but *stasidia*, chairs and benches; 9. No gallery was built at the west end of the nave – in case there was one, it was not used by the cantor for singing; 10. There were no side altars at all, except in Basilian churches and the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. Church exteriors frequently attracted attention with their extensively segmented, turreted elements fitted over individual spatial units, setting them apart from the Roman Catholic churches of the period even in external form.²⁰

As a matter of course, a number of wooden churches continued to be built, even though, in 1797, the Royal Council of the Governor-General urged that only solid materials be used for construction purposes.²¹ Evidence also suggests that old churches were sold and purchased: For instance, the old wooden church transported from Korytnyany (*Kereknye*), Ung County, and rebuilt was consecrated in Petneháza, Szabolcs County, on 31 August 1802.²²

The furnishings of baroque churches

Efforts were made to produce new wooden furniture of a uniform style for the continuously growing number of churches built from a solid material during the 18th century. As money for this purpose would often become available only years later, it was not at all uncommon for the icons or even for the full iconostasis

¹⁶ Reference of the Abaújszántó plan (45 × 31 cm [17.71" × 12.20"]): MNL OL, T 62, no. 1393/1. Published by: Terdik, 2011a, 17–30; Terdik, 2013a, 91–94. Plans from the former Archives of the Eparchy of Mukacheve and other archives have lately been published by: Liška – Gojdič, 2015, 65–86.

¹⁷ On standard designs, with previous literature, see: Terdik, 2013a, 89–90.

¹⁸ Initially, the intention was to convert the by then dilapidated medieval church in the grounds of the castle into a cathedral, where the 1646 Union of Uzhhorod is thought to have been concluded. For more on the subject, see: Terdik, 2014a, 76–120. On the castle church, also see: Terdik, Szilveszter. Ungvár, vártemplom, in: Kollár, Tibor (Ed.). *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig*, Nyíregyháza, 2013, 196–205. Exactly when the castle church perished is as yet unknown. As late as 1797, a plan was drafted, suggesting that reconstruction was still an option at that time. The drawing was published in: Liška – Gojdič, 2015, prílohy XVIII.

¹⁹ These would not survive practically anywhere, except in the Érpatak Little Church.

²⁰ On this subject, see: Terdik, 2011a, 19, Picture 9

²¹ Puskás, 2008, 156.

²² DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1054, fol. 14.

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of the former church to be transferred to the new one. Fragments from the furnishings of demolished wooden churches may be identified even today: the Royal Doors in Tornabarakony, with the original function restored as part of a modern icon screen, just as it happened to the Nyírlugos specimen daring from first half of the 18th century (Picture 3).²³ A similar procedure was applied in the Greek Catholic (currently Orthodox) church of Andrid (*Érendréd*) in the late 19th century in moving the Royal Doors with vine tendrils, grape bunches and six

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inverted heart-shaped areas, of a structure comparable to that in Nyírlugos but less refined in craftsmanship, into the new iconostasis.²⁴ The fragmentary Royal Doors of the old church of Nyírpazony were also renewed a few years ago (Picture 4).²⁵ Significant iconostasis fragments from earlier wooden churches are also known from Hodász and Kántorjánosi.²⁶ Naturally, instances where the old iconostasis continues to stand in its original location in a new church also exist.²⁷ According to early-19th-century sources, in some cases, unneeded old

²³ The door wings were conserved at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts in Budapest in 2009 and 2010. Terdik, 2009, 124–129. They returned to the church in 2020, into the new iconostasis made by József Gergely, a teacher from Mátészalka.

²⁴ Marta, Liviu (coord.). *Andrid: Ghid Cultural și istoric – Érendréd: Történelmi és kulturális kalauz – Andrid: A Cultural and Historical Guide*, Satu Mare, 2011, 24–25.

²⁵ GKEMGY, Inv. No. 2015, 208 (A 96). Terdik, Szilveszter. Egy régi királyi ajtó Nyírpazonyból, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 27(2016), 4. szám, 13.

²⁶ On these, with previous literature, see: Puskás, 2012, 20–26.

²⁷ E.g., in Nyírparasznya, where a complete iconostasis was bought from the demolished wooden church of Pidhoriany (*Podhering*), near Mukacheve, in 1905, see: Terdik, 2014f. In Fanchykovo (*Fancsika*), Ugocsa County, the old iconostasis was neatly salvaged: Terdik, Szilveszter. Fancsika – A görögkatolikus templom ikonosztázionja, in: Kollár, Tibor (Ed.). „...ideje az építésnek...”: A Rómer Flóris Terv műemlék-helyreállításai, Budapest, 2018, 57–64.

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furnishing items were brought for the newly completed stone church from a different place. In his 1803 report on the consecration of the church of Zemplín (*Zemplén*), the head of the Deanery mentions that he asked the neighbouring parishes to give old books and icons to the new church.²⁸ In one of his letters, the parish priest of Kenézlő notes that they received four sovereign-tier icons of the demolished wooden church of Makkoshotyka for their new church from the parish priest of Sárospatak in 1794. Members of the parish council would in turn sell these to the community of Abaújszántó for 30 forints with his consent in 1805 as these old pictures were not needed by them, and even their survival became uncertain.²⁹ This piece of data is noteworthy because the icon of Saint Simeon Stylites, presumably one of the sovereign-tier pictures of the wooden church of Makkoshotyka, remained in Sárospatak as long as the late 20th century (see in the present volume: Cat. II.26), implying that the parish priest of Sárospatak must have passed on a different picture.

Much as the new wooden furniture and painted icons produced in this period invariably show the influence of the Baroque, the dominant style of the time, it is possible to divide them into distinct groups. Whereas the impact of the architectural form of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs is easy to discern in the Eparchy, this is not true about its monumental iconostasis made, at the request of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky, by a carver of Balkan origins, Konstantinos Thaliodoros, in 1748 and 1749. Almost completely patterned on the structure widespread in the Balkans at the time, the iconostasis of Máriapócs characterised by emphatic cornices, rich carving and a monumental pedimental cross effectively

remained unparalleled in the territory of the Bishopric of Mukacheve, though its maker could no doubt have adroitly adapted to the local conditions as well.

In addition to the assignment in Máriapócs, its carver also worked for a short while at the other two Greek Catholic episcopal seats, Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) and Blaj (*Balázsfalva*), and probably returned to the Balkans afterwards.³⁰ The icons of the iconostasis of Máriapócs were painted by Péter Csongrádi, an Orthodox master, between 1752 and 1755; nearly three decades later, their works were replaced and partially repainted by Mihály Spalinszky, who had by then worked in the territory of the Bishopric for several decades and must have been considered to be the best trained painter.

Mihály Spalinszky's biographical data are unknown. He is believed to have been of Galician origins; he must have obtained his training as a painter there – possibly in a Basilian monastery.³¹ His first signed work was the cover page of the Marian Congregation Album of the Jesuits from 1756, depicting the *Annunciation*.³² Bernadett Puskás also credits him with the pictures of the splendid iconostasis of St Nicholas' church in Sátoraljaújhely. In its structure and style, this ensemble still conforms to the forms established in Galicia in the 17th century; its carver is unknown, and, according to the date displayed at the bottom left corner of the icon of the Theotokos, the pictures were made in 1759 (Picture 5).³³ In April 1778, Bishop Bacsinszky contracted Mihály Spalinszky for painting the new iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, as well as the icons of the two tables of oblation in the sanctuary for 500 Rhenish guilders.³⁴ After this major commission, he also delivered some

²⁸ 'Pro cujus Ecclesiae quali tali ornamento, ordines feci, ut ex vicinis Ecclesiis tam libri, quam et Icones etiamsi antiquae conferentur pro posse omnia fierint.' Mihály Krutsay's report to András Bacsinszky, dated 31 May 1803, DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1204, fol. 4. The 18th-century icon which has been conserved of late may have found its way here at that time, too: Terdik, Szilveszter. Jézus siratása-ikon Zemplénben, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 29(2018), 3. szám, 16.

²⁹ 'Anno praeterito Curatores mei Vetustas quatuor Imagines, ex Eccl[esi]a Hokykaiensi desolata, a pie defuncto Joanne Gáts Parocho Patakiensi gratuito colatas, & per supradictos Curatores Ecclesiae Kenézlőiensis Anno 1794 in tantum quantum renovas, G. C. Ecclesiae Szantoviensis Curatoribus 30o Rflnis cum scitu, & consensu meo, vendiderunt, praehabita ex ratione ea quod Ecclesia nostra nullam amplius necessitatem illarum Imaginum, neque locum habitura sit ergo potius in Ecclesia seu in Templo, et debito honore, venerationeque habentur & conserventur ibidem; quam in Podio, vel in aliquo alio abstruso loco inficiantur et destruantur.' András Gojda's letter to Bishop Bacsinszky, dated 16 April 1806, DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1596, fol. 10. Around this time, the icons of the iconostasis of Kenézlő were already under preparation. See: *ibid*.

³⁰ Terdik, Szilveszter. „Sculptor constantinopolitanus”: Un intagliatore greco a Máriapócs nel Settecento, in: Végheő, Tamás (Ed.). *Symbolae: Ways of Greek Catholic Heritage Research*, Papers of the conference held on the 100th anniversary of the death of Nikolaus Nilles, Nyíregyháza, 2010, 247–267. Id. Artists from the Balkans in the Service of Greek Catholic Bishops (18th century), in: Rakocija, Miša (red.). *Niš and Byzantium*, Twelfth Symposium, Niš, 3–6 June 2013 (The Collection of Scientific Works, XII), Niš, 2014, 477–488.

³¹ Puskás, 2015, 138.

³² The work has been destroyed; it was identified, and its old photograph was published by the author of the present study: Terdik, 2014a, 99, Picture 120.

³³ Puskás, 2015, 127–128. Bernadett Puskás also supposes the involvement of Tádé Spalinszky, a Basilian painter, and thus deems the dating of the ensemble to a decade later even possible.

³⁴ For the text of the contract, see: Terdik, 2014a, 262–263.

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smaller assignments in the Cathedral and in the Episcopal Palace in 1780 and 1781.³⁵ A few years later, he was contracted to paint the new icons of the iconostasis of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs and, in 1787, he issued a quotation for the painting of the pulpit, though, eventually, the work would not be performed by him.³⁶ In the same year, he also worked in Tokaj, where, by now, only the Apostle Tier has been preserved in its original function from the baroque-era iconostasis, an ensemble substantially transformed several times in the 19th century.³⁷ It seems clear that Spalinszky demonstrated the best of his talent in the

Uzhhorod icons: Details and individual themes are most meticulously treated in this ensemble. Of his subsequent works, the Apostles of Máriapócs and Tokaj are compositions painted with similar care yet in a simplified form. The latter would also serve as models for his followers, as illustrated by the activities of Vencel Viller in Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját*) and Kenézlő.³⁸ From the 1770s, data on the activities of a Basilian painter, Tádé Spalinszky, are available as well.³⁹ Whether Tádé was related to Mihály genetically and professionally is as yet impossible to decide in the absence of sources, nor can it be determined if András

³⁵ Terdik, 2014a, 97.

³⁶ Terdik, 2014a, 65–66, 75, 250–251.

³⁷ For a description of the lyre-shaped sovereign-tier icons, see in the present volume: Cat. III.36–37. During the episcopal visitation in 1940, two further sovereign-tier icons were specified; their current location has remained unknown ever since. The fourth sovereign-tier icon depicted Saint Basil the Great, with heretical books destroyed beside him. Cf. Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2014, 58. A similar picture of Saint Basil was on one of the side altars of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs, with a full-figure of the Saint, yet also presenting the destruction of the heretical books emphatically. The painting must have been Mihály Spalinszky's work; it was replaced in 1948 and has been lost by now. Old photographs: The Collection of the Order of St Basil the Great, Máriapócs. On the 19th-century transformation of the iconostasis of Tokaj, see: Terdik, 2011a, 79–80.

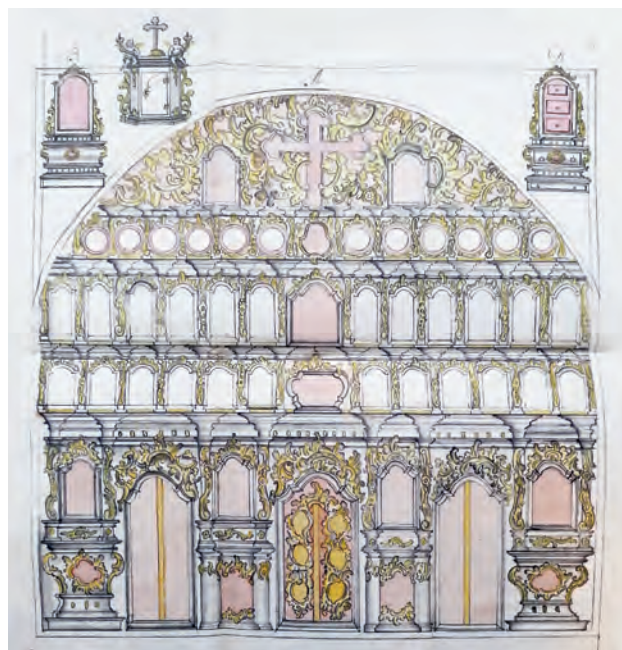
³⁸ See the study on the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty in the present volume.

³⁹ With previous literature: Puskás, 2015, 129–138.

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Spalinszky, a painter mentioned in recently explored documents, was from the same family.⁴⁰

Although the Jesuit church of Uzhhorod converted into a cathedral failed to become a model in the Eparchy, its new and magnificent rococo furnishings did so much the more. For the making of the iconostasis, the high-altar and the two tables of oblation, Franz Feck from Košice was contracted in 1776, but, following his death, the work was complete by his brother, Johann, in 1779. In the next decade, the pulpit and the bishop's throne would also be made by him.⁴¹ In all probability, the masters living in Košice but educated in Vienna were recommended to the bishop by the treasury administration. It is reasonable to assume that it was Bishop Bacsinszky himself who communicated his ideas to the Roman Catholic sculptors, who were totally unfamiliar with Byzantine traditions. Even if somewhat later, he did commit his expectations to writing: In 1799 and 1800, the three Greek Catholic Bishops of the Kingdom of Hungary (the Bishops of Mukacheve, Oradea and Križevci [Kőrös]) briefly outlined for the Council of the Governor-General what essential furniture and equipment a Greek Catholic church needed. The three Bishops' requirements well reflect the peculiar traditions of their eparchies. Bacsinszky, for instance, also considered it necessary to make a baldachin or altarpiece for the altar and four small altars to be placed in front of the four sovereign-tier icons for the iconostasis, while the others did not.⁴² By doing so, he inevitably perpetuated customs in the territory of the Eparchy that had become widespread in the time of his predecessors. The rococo carvings, structure and ornamentation of the iconostasis of Uzhhorod would come to be an inexhaustible source for the newly built churches of the Eparchy for a long time. (See the opening picture of Chapter III.) The work was so outstanding that artists and clients alike thought they were to look to it as a model. This is occasionally even



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referred to in the texts of surviving contracts,⁴³ and it must have coincided with the Bishop's expectation as well.

The spread of the rococo idiom of the Uzhhorod furnishings was also promoted by the circumstance that their sculptor, Johann Feck, continued to obtain commissions in the Eparchy: In 1786, he drafted a plan for the iconostasis of the church of Balsa,⁴⁴ and the Velyki Kom'yaty ensemble might have been made in his workshop as well, sometime after 1792. In the late 18th century and during the first decades of the 19th century, his style and forms would be embraced by many, whose discussion would be outside the scope of the present study. Only one iconostasis design prepared in conjunction with the renovation of the church of Tokaj in 1791 will be highlighted (Picture 6). The draft was made by sculptor Johann Gaspar Ertl (Ertl, Erdt), who submitted a quotation for the renovation and production

⁴⁰ According to a statement of accounts from 22 September 1778, András Spalinszky gilded the steeple cross of the church of Michalovce (*Nagyimihály*) for 35 Rhenish guilders and 30 kreuzers. DAZO, fond 151, opis 1, no. 2714, fol. 16. He died in 1789. His daughter asked the bishop to help her collect the price of the Prophet Tier of the iconostasis of Falkušovce (*Falkus*) (13 Rhenish guilders and 36 kreuzers). DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 1428.

⁴¹ For more detail on the subject, see: Terdik, 2014a, 91–115, 261, 264.

⁴² Terdik, 2009, 135–36. Only in Basilian churches were the small altars in front of sovereign-tier icons also used for celebrating the Divine Liturgy. In parish churches, they were usually used by Roman Catholic priests for saying Mass, a practice recorded in Nyíregyháza and Buj in 1781. On the former, see: Nyirán, János – Majchricsné Ujteleki, Zsuzsanna (Eds.). *Források a nyíregyházi Szent Miklós görögkatolikus székesegyház történetéhez*, Nyíregyháza, 2017, 184. On the latter, see: GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 2, No. 16.

⁴³ For example, from Hajdúdorog from 1799: Terdik, 2011a, 89–90.

⁴⁴ The plan was published by: Puskás, 2008, 198, Picture 181. Even if it was executed, it would be replaced by a new one after 1900: Terdik, 2011a, 81.

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of wooden furnishings.⁴⁵ As a peculiarity, above the iconostasis, the draft features sketches of a tabernacle, a table of oblation and a wardrobe as well. The reconstruction of the church of Tokaj was necessitated by the fact that, citing war times as a legal ground, Zemplén County requisitioned the building in 1789 and used it as a granary. During that period, the community was forced into a little chapel, and, when the church was returned to them on 21 November 1791, the parish priest found that the building had sustained serious damage, which he would soon attempt to repair.⁴⁶ It is somewhat odd that, in connection with the iconostasis, no mention is made of the fact that its

painting was completed by Mihály Spalinszky in 1787, not long before it was used as storage facility. It is perhaps equally strange that, in drafting his plans, Ertt did not take the rare lyre-shape of Spalinszky's pictures into account, either (see: Cat. 36–37), even though the intention must have been to retain the icons painted a few years earlier. The iconostasis of the church of Fábíánháza may also be noted. It is likely to have been made after 1800; its carver and painter are unknown as yet, though especially the former was undoubtedly guided by the Uzhhorod specimen as a paragon, which is easy to pinpoint in a number of components of the icon screen (Picture 7).⁴⁷

Similarly to his sculptural works, Mihály Spalinszky's Uzhhorod icons became important points of reference in the Eparchy. His painting style is in multiple ways linked to Ukrainian baroque painting, where the application of Western prototypes had gained currency well before, particularly in the narrative scenes of the feasts and in the depiction of the Apostles and Prophets. At the same time, it is also evident that, for the base icons constituting the bottom row of the iconostasis, the ordinary forms of Byzantine art were more strongly adhered to.

The distinctness of this baroque-based style, employing a number of realistic elements, from the previous one was perceived by contemporaries as well. At least, this is what is alluded to in the letter of József Szécsényi, a painter from Carei, to Bishop Bacsinszky written on 16 September 1790. In it, he plaintively speaks of certain objections against him concerning his iconostasis in Tíream (*Mezőterem*): '... where, in accordance with the form of Your Excellency's church in Ungvár [Uzhhorod], I painted a complete iconostasis, which even the late Bishop Májer [*sic*], who has departed to the Lord, approved of. Even though there are also some here who do not like this work, either, as they claim that, having lived in misery, the images of saints must be sable, meagre and melancholy and not joyous or bright in their visage; and the figures in the lower large pictures ought to be painted seated on chairs as in those commissioned by the *Archiereus*'

⁴⁵ Reference of the draft and the quotation: DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 377, fol. 3, 11. For the sculptural works, he demanded a total of 777 Rhenish guilders, of which the cost of the pieces on the iconostasis would have amounted to 120 guilders. Ertt was granted civic rights in Prešov (*Eperjes*) in 1757 and is probably identical with the sculptor who conducted estimates in the monastery of the Conventual Franciscans in that city in 1787. Aggházy, 1959, I, 131, 190. He was from Farfrancken, Swabia. Bodnárová, Miloslava – Chmelinová, Katarína. *Umelci a umeleckí remeselníci Prešova v 16.–18. Storočí*, *Ars*, 39(2006), 236. A photograph of the plan was first published by: Приймич, 2014, 139.

⁴⁶ The painting assignment (here mainly coating only) would have been performed by István Kállay, a painter from Tokaj. He worked as an appraiser in the dissolved Pauline Religious House of Tokaj in 1786. Cf. Garas, Klára. *Magyarországi festészet a XVIII. században*, Budapest, 1955, 225. For the masonry work, the quotation was submitted by master János Szuda. The documents of the case and quotations by additional masters: DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 377, fol. 1–16.

⁴⁷ On the iconostasis of Fábíánháza, see: Terdik, 2014d.



(translated from the Hungarian original).⁴⁸ Tiream was a Romanian parish in Szatmár/Sătmar, where the community must have been characterised by a relatively high degree of conservatism. What type of painting the 'critics' would have considered more acceptable may be imagined on the basis of certain sets of specimens surviving in the wooden churches of Maramureş, Szatmár/Sătmar and Bihar/Bihor, at times marked by a simplicity verging on schematism.⁴⁹ The last, formal objection, stressing that saints in the sovereign-tier icons ought to be seated, is also an allusion to the Balkan tradition widespread in Romanian areas, which was clearly applied in the Cathedrals of Oradea and Blaj as well.⁵⁰ Szécsényi's self-introduction to the Bishop was not ineffective, for, in the following year, he donated an icon painted by him to the church of Abaújszántó (see: Cat. III.38). However, it seems that the new style would triumph even in the Romanian parishes a few years later. In the Hungarian contract concluded with Antal Vörös, 'a painter of credit', on 1 October 1804 for the painting of the iconostasis of the church of Supuru de Jos (*Alsószopor*), it is unequivocally stated that: 'In one word, by the terms of this Contract, the work is bound to be akin to the work in the Cathedral

Church of Ungvár [Uzhhorod]' (translated from the Hungarian original).⁵¹ The still unidentified master of the iconostasis of the church of Nyíracsd employed simpler devices: The prototypes of his Apostle Tier come from this tradition. He completed his work in 1794 according to the date on the scroll of the Prophet Aaron (Picture 8); the structure was made by Mihály Zetz, a carpenter from Debrecen, a year earlier.⁵²

Besides the Rococo, attempts were also made to introduce styles making use of more classicising forms. An early, unexecuted plan was prepared in conjunction with the furnishings of the church of Kamienka (*Kövesfalva/Kamjonka*) in the Royal Demesne of Stará Lubovňa (*Ólubló*) in the Szepesség. As the treasury administration sought to reduce the costs of the construction work, the submitted designs for the 'two altars', of which one must have been the draft of the high-altar and the other that of the iconostasis (*viz.* in contemporary usage, the latter was called 'great altar' (*nagy oltár*), were sent to Bishop Bacsinszky for assessment, along with the related budget. Two questions were asked as well: 1. Was sculptural work essential? 2. Could it possibly be substituted by suitable painting work instead? Describing the place and structure of the iconostasis and the altar, in his response, the Bishop pointed out that sculptural work was indeed necessary and noted that it could not be replaced by painted arrangements in either case. In addition to the designs received, he also enclosed a new design marked 'NB' (*Nota bene!*), which he had commissioned, stressing that it was simpler and clearer than the others. He also promised to write to the dean and the parish priest requesting them to adjust this design to the properties of the church and make the corresponding budget.⁵³ Several designs associated with the document survive: two iconostasis drafts – one signed by masters from the Szepesség⁵⁴ and another,

⁴⁸ DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 230, fol. 21–22. A reference to Gergely Major/Grigore Maior, Greek Catholic Bishop of Făgăraş (*Fogaras*) (1772–1783). The Tiream iconostasis does not exist anymore.

⁴⁹ In Maramureş, examples include Alexander Ponehalski, Radu Munteanu, as well as other anonymous painters. Cf. Bratu, 2015, 94–217.

⁵⁰ Terdik, 2014a, 171–173, 199–206.

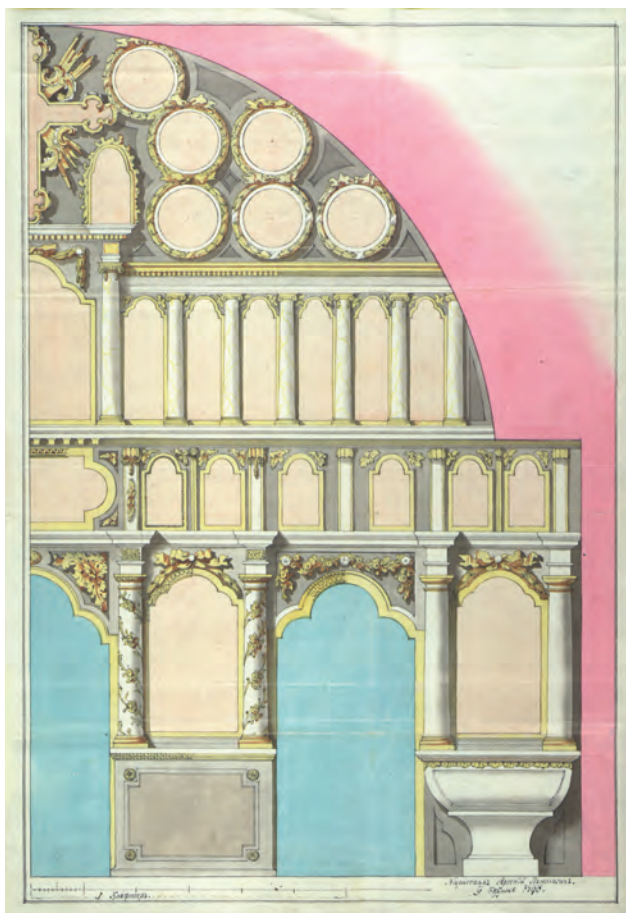
⁵¹ DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1335, fol. 38. According to the date under the main cornice on the south wall of the nave, the church was built in 1792. The iconostasis is no longer there.

⁵² The carpenter's name was uncovered during the latest conservation project; the reverse of one of the pilaster strips displayed the artist's autographic pencil inscription. Mihály Zetz (Setz) registered in the Carpenters' Guild of Debrecen in 1790 and was admitted the next year. On his activities, see: Zlinszkyiné Sternegg, Mária. A ladás asztaltól a gömbasztalig, *A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*, 60, Debrecen, 2008, 196–198. Situated on the edge of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, Nyíracsd belonged to the Eparchy of Oradea.

⁵³ 'Idcirco simplicius, et clarius Planum delineari curavi, quod etiam isthic sub NB demisse advolvo, in quo praeprimis sculptoris, atque Pictoris labores compendiantur.' Bishop Bacsinszky's letter was written in Buda on 14 October 1790: MNL OL, E 87. 50, Batch 26, Fons 1790, fol. 3–4.

⁵⁴ Reference of the iconostasis design: MNL OL, T 62.959. In the former location of the draft, a budget for the iconostasis and one for the high-altar are also found (with a total value of 881 Rhenish guilders): MNL OL, E 87. 50, Batch 26, Fons 1790, fol. 5. The draft was published in: Puskás, 2008, 166, Picture 103

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with the designation 'NB' referred to by Bacsinszky, which was drawn by Arsenij Pantasić in Buda in 1790, as indicated by the Cyrillic inscription at the right corner (Picture 9).⁵⁵ The latter was none other than Hungary's Orthodox painter, calling himself Arsenije Teodorović from the mid-1790s (in the Hungarian literature known as Arsza Teodorovics) who would become an acclaimed artist a few years later. His draft showing only half of the iconostasis is considerably more precise, more refined and more richly coloured than the average of the time. It also indicates possibilities of gilding and marmoration. As a sign of the artist's

training, in individual rows, even giant orders are sequenced in the classical order: Doric capitals are featured in the Sovereign Tier, while the Apostle Tier is dominated by Ionic columns. In drafting the design, he probably consulted the Bishop in person, a circumstance hinted at by the small altar (*prestol*) in front of the outer sovereign-tier icon. In fact, this arrangement was unknown in Orthodox praxis, and, even in Hungary's Greek Catholic eparchies, it became general only in the Eparchy of Mukacheve under Bacsinszky's influence. Born in Perlez (*Perlasz*), Banat, Teodorović was exactly in the middle of his studies at the Arts Academy of Vienna at the time he produced the draft. (He was a student of that institution from 1788 to 1792).⁵⁶ When or how he was acquainted with Bishop Bacsinszky cannot be ascertained. They may have met in Vienna, where the Bishop would frequently sojourn on account of matters of national importance, or even in Buda because Bacsinszky's letter was written there, and the draft was also made there as testified by its signature. A unique record of their acquaintance was a by now lost portrait, which was described by Elemér Kőszeghy in Uzhhorod in 1941: 'Bp András Bacsinszky's caricature. Water-colour on paper. An elongated portrait, which was to be viewed through a former (currently missing) pair of spectacles at the end of the board used for fixing the paper, causing the funny-looking, stretched image to appear as an ordinary drawing. The text at the bottom right read: *Arseni Pantasi fecit 1790*' (translated from the Hungarian original).⁵⁷ It must have been an anamorphosis, i.e. a distorted drawing that may be fully interpreted with the help of a mirror or lens (e.g. a cylinder) placed on it, for the composition will 'fall into place' only in the image produced on the surface of the mirror – though, for this instance, later commentators posited a special lens. Judging by Teodorović's portrait amounting to painting bravura, it is reasonable to assume that he was on friendly terms with the Bishop of Mukacheve, or perhaps he used this piece to curry favour with him in the hope of further commissions.

⁵⁵ MNL MOL, T 62, 969/4. This draft, as well as the designs of two altars and a pulpit (*ibid.*, T 62.969/1–3) were extracted from the records representing the continuation of the case: MNL OL, E 87. 61, Batch 5, Fons 1791. One of the altar designs may also have been drawn by Pantasić; although it lacks a signature, its style agrees with that of the iconostasis (MNL MOL, T 62. 969/3). The plans also include a budget dated 1791, which was made by masters from the Szepeesség. It already contains the entire sculptural and painting work of the church, and its value is nearly one and a half times greater (2736 Rhenish guilders) than the previous quotation. *Ibid.*, fol. 281–282.

⁵⁶ Buzási, 2016, 261. Plečaš, Ksenija. Arsenije Teodorović életútja, in: Csáki, Tamás – Golub, Xénia (Eds.). *Szerb székesegyház a Tabánban: Az eltűnt Rácváros emlékezete*, Budapest, 2019, 322–323.

⁵⁷ Owner: Episcopal Secretary Miklós Murányi. Documentation Department, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, Elemér Kőszeghy's Inventory of Movable Property, Uzhhorod. He did not even enclose a detailed description or photograph at the time of collection. It is believed that he considered the item worthwhile to mention by virtue of its special production technique.



Although the Kamienka assignment was not given to him, he would subsequently receive a number of commissions from Greek Catholic clients as well.⁵⁸ Even if not directly, his classicising experiment did have some impact: In the carved sections of the iconostasis of St George's church in Bodrogkeresztúr, which were allegedly made in 1801, classicising arrangements may also be seen.⁵⁹

Distinct from the Uzhhorod example and lacking rococo elements, a prominent specimen of classicising late-baroque decorative sculpture in the Eparchy of Mukacheve is the furniture of the church of Hajdúdorog. For the carving of the monumental iconostasis, Miklós Jankovics, an Orthodox sculptor from the Southern Territories of the Kingdom of Hungary settling and working in Eger, was contracted in 1799 (Picture 10). In the contract, reference is made to the iconostases of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, the Greek Orthodox church of Pest and of the Serbian Orthodox Cathedral of Sremski Karlovci (*Karlóca*) as prototypes to be considered.⁶⁰ This broad horizon features works, on the one hand, familiar to the clients (Uzhhorod) and, on the other hand, representing the own repertoire of the master employed. Jankovics could refer to the church of Pest as his own work, whereas the roots of his style are illustrated by the monumental iconostasis of Sremski Karlovci erected by members of the Marković dynasty of Novi Sad (*Újvidék*) and their students in the 1770s.⁶¹ The iconostases of several Greek Catholic churches (Szerencs, Sajópálfala) were made in Jankovics's workshop, possibly already with the involvement of his student from Eger, Péter Pádits, in the early 19th century, to be followed by Pádits's independent assignments (Abod, Abaújszántó).⁶² Pádits's most grandiose work came to be the iconostasis of the Serbian Orthodox Cathedral of Buda (1813), the icons of which were

painted by Arsenije Teodorović (1817–1820). During the brief stay of the latter in Eger, the two would become each other's children's godparents.⁶³

The iconostasis of Hajdúdorog is different from that of the Uzhhorod Cathedral not only in its sculptural but in its painting style as well. Still during Bishop Bacsinszky's lifetime, in 1808, two painters originally from Baja, János Szüts and Mátyás Hittner, were contracted for the grand work, causing them to relocate with their families from Miskolc to the Hajduk town. In their contract, it was remarked that the pictures would be allocated 'in accordance with the rite' (*ritus szerint*) and would be made 'to the best taste of today's world' (*mai világnak leg jobb ezléssére*), understood as a light base and the depiction of saints 'in historically realistic terms' (*a maga eredeti valóságában*), with natural colours.⁶⁴ The work prolonged for years was accompanied by numerous conflicts: The painters would first quarrel with the town and later with one another as well. Szüts remained in Hajdúdorog, but Hittner settled in Košice. The latter's involvement in other Greek Catholic churches is in evidence (e.g. the four sovereign-tier icons in Tokaj).⁶⁵ Although, presumably, neither of them had attended an academy, their art was thoroughly affected by artists studying in Vienna, who worked on the monumental iconostases of Orthodox churches in Hungary at the time. Such an artist was Arsenije Teodorović, whose first major commission was the painting of the iconostasis of St Nicholas' church in Baja, Hittner's native town, from 1793 – a specimen that they must have had the opportunity to see. In Miskolc, they were also able to scrutinise the works of Anton Kuchlmeister, a Viennese painter, who worked in Pest and in most of the Orthodox churches of North-Eastern Hungary from 1801.⁶⁶ The painters of the Hajdúdorog icons drew on

⁵⁸ He painted the icon screens of the Greek Catholic church of St Nicholas in Ruski Krstur (*Bácskeresztúr*) from 1795 to 1797 and of St Demetrius' church in Beiuș (*Belényes*) in 1811.

⁵⁹ The name of the carver was Lőrinc Jesper. Aggházy, 1959, II, 287. The icons were painted by a hitherto unidentified master in 1807, according to the date concealed at the bottom left corner of the sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos. The iconostasis was discussed by: Simon, Katalin. A bodrogkeresztúri görög katolikus templom ikonosztáziója, in: Tüskés, Anna (Ed.). *Ars perennis*, Fiatal Művészettörténészek II. Konferenciája, 2009, Budapest, 2010, 303–308.

⁶⁰ Terdik, 2011a, 50–53. For the contract made with the carver, see: *ibid.*, 89–90.

⁶¹ On the activities of the Markovičs, see: Кулић, Бранка. *Новосадске дрворезбарске радионице у 18. веку*, Нови Сад, 2007. On their student, Manojlovics, contracted for the iconostasis of Baja in 1788, see: Golub, Xénia. *Ortodox fafaragók magyarországi működéséről a legújabb kutatások tükrében: Avram Manojlovics képfaragó munkái*, *Műemlékvédelem*, 55(2011), 366–373.

⁶² Terdik, 2011a, 53–54.

⁶³ On this subject, see: Simiç, 2019, 129–178. Kulić, Branka. A budai ikonosztáz faragványai, in: Csáki, Tamás – Golub, Xénia (Eds.). *Szerb székesegyház a Tabánban: Az eltűnt Rácváros emlékezete*, Budapest, 2019, 179–188.

⁶⁴ For the text of the contract, see: Terdik, 2011a, 90–91.

⁶⁵ On their assignments in Hajdúdorog and elsewhere, see: Terdik, 2011a, 54–65.

⁶⁶ For a recent discussion on Kuchlmeister's activities, see: Terdik, Szilveszter. A tabáni székesegyház oltára és liturgikus tárgyai, in: Csáki, Tamás – Golub, Xénia (Eds.). *Szerb székesegyház a Tabánban: Az eltűnt Rácváros emlékezete*, Budapest, 2019, 205–210.

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the same engraving tradition as their contemporaries of greater significance did,⁶⁷ but the intention to follow late-baroque Viennese academicism is discernible in the manner of painting, composition structuring, as well as in the application of dark and natural backgrounds as well (Pictures 11 and 12).

Despite the use of images constituting an indispensable cultic element in Byzantine tradition, surprisingly few episcopal pronouncements on artistic activity are known from the period. In his circular from 26 July 1769, Bishop János Bradács admonished

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priests only to commission painters who could verify their eligibility for the assignment with a stamped certificate.⁶⁸ András Bacsinszky, during whose tenure the production of new church furnishings gathered a considerable momentum, is known to have issued a decree of this type, too. It seems that he made the decision to sponsor someone's education at the Viennese Academy only after much deliberation. In 1802, he sent seminarian Mihály Mankovits to Vienna to study painting; he would return home only years later, following the Bishop's death, though.

⁶⁷ Arsenije Teodorović's use of engravings was explored in connection with the iconostasis of the Tabán Cathedral. The engraved prototype posited for the *Resurrection* icon of that church (see: Simić, 2019, 164–165) is more closely adhered to by the *Resurrection* picture in the central axis of the iconostasis of Hajdúdorog. On the latter, see: Terdik, 2011a, 62, 174, Picture 54.

⁶⁸ Udvari, 1994, 190. Id. *Szöveggyűjtemény a ruszin írásbeliség tanulmányozásához*, II, Blazsovszky Gábor, Olsavszky Mihály Manuel, Bradács János püspökök és koruk – *Собрание источников для изучения русинской письменности*, II, Епископы Гавриил Блажовский, Мануил Ольшавский, Иоанн Брадач и их время, Nyíregyháza, 2005, 72–80. Puskás, 2008, 199–200.

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Diocesan Exarch Mihály Bradács recommended Mankovits to the clergy in 1813,⁶⁹ and he would in fact proceed to become the first official painter of the Eparchy of Mukacheve.⁷⁰

Thanks to the processes taking place in the second half of the 18th century, while the role of the iconostasis remained unchanged, its form was substantially altered: In churches built from a solid material, which were much brighter and higher in clearance than wooden churches, it became an increasingly more fretwork-like structure transmitting

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light from behind as well. At that time, the ratio of sculptural and painting parts was still balanced, but an approach perceptible even to this day, which values an ornate carved structure more than the icons in the iconostasis, would gradually intensify.

Liturgical equipment

In the Eparchy of Mukacheve, precious few truly old liturgical objects survive. As also Bishops primarily lived in the St Nicholas Monastery of Mukacheve, a number of old items of metalware were kept there.⁷¹ Even in

⁶⁹ He is mentioned in the second point of the circular. Place and date of issuance: Uzhhorod, 22 October 1813 GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 22, No. 19.

⁷⁰ Beszkid, 1914, 422.

⁷¹ On the former equipment of the church, see: Terdik, 2014a, 24. On the night of 27 August 1862, a silver censer, three chalices and some liturgical fabrics were stolen from the monastery church. DAZO, fond 64, opis 3, no. 41, fol. 57.

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Máriapócs, virtually the only reminders of the richness of the baroque equipment are the silver mountings of the Gospel Book.⁷² The ample equipment of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, partly inherited from the Jesuits, is reported by a contemporary inventory.⁷³ An ornate new container for the Cathedral's relic of the True Cross, with the sumptuous 17th-century reliquaries given by Maria Theresa on its two sides, was made in the time of Bacsinszky. The former has been preserved to the present day, while the latter two have been lost.⁷⁴ Silverware indicating episcopal rank, which also came from Vienna, has survived as well.⁷⁵ Designs of a splendid rococo chalice and perhaps of a Communion spoon have been discovered in the Eparchial Archives. Detached from the original context, the time of their making or their master cannot be established (Pictures 13 and 14).⁷⁶ In all probability, they date from the second half of the 18th century; comparable drawings are scarcely evidenced in the Hungarian material.⁷⁷

It is apparent from the protocols of 18th-century visitations that a large proportion of the liturgical objects were made of pewter, gilt brass or – less commonly – of silver. Very little data is available on how these items were procured. An entry in the ledger of the community of Hajdúdorog on the year 1778 represents a rare piece of data, reporting that a new silver chalice had been made in Vienna from the legacy of parish priest Tódor Sarkadi, as well as from the community's own resources.⁷⁸ The church did not have much more silverware in 1812,

either.⁷⁹ Chalices with donation inscriptions from the end of the century (cf. Cat. III.10–11) are generally simple items lacking virtually any complex details, which also indicates the patrons' limited financial means.

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⁷² Terdik, 2014e, 18.

⁷³ Terdik, 2014a, 266–267.

⁷⁴ Terdik, 2014a, 100–104.

⁷⁵ Puskás, 2014, 177–178, 247–249.

⁷⁶ The drawings display neither dates nor the master's name, and the related documentation has not been found to date. In the drawing of the spoon, the tip of the handle features the crucified Christ, whereas the bowl exhibits the figure of a native (?). The corrupt Latin text on the handle reads: 'DEUS, pretkter / MEUS' (*sic!* – a distorted form of *protector*). This might be a patchwork quotation from Psalm 17, Verses 3 and 4. On the reverse of the sheet, the drawing of a minute head is also seen, along with indications of the former archival location: 'de aedificiis, et Ecclis in gen. 4'. DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 1669, fol. 1. On the reverse of the drawing of the rococo chalice: 'de aedificiis, et Ecclis in gen. 4. Delineatio Calicis et ear[um] av hunc requistor[um]': *ibid.*, fol. 2.

⁷⁷ It is fair to assume that they were made prior to the purism characteristic of the time of Joseph II. For the designs of the liturgical metalware associated with the latter, made by Joseph Lasser in 1788, see: Feld, István – Velladics, Márta. *Magyar építészet, 2, Buda elfoglalásától József nádor koráig (1541–1808)*, Budapest, 2016, 258.

⁷⁸ 'NB. This year, we have had a new chalice made in Vienna and had it brought thence, financed from the 100 guilders secured from the legacy of our parish priest, the Rev. Tódor Sarkadi; we also added 19 guilders and 44 kreuzers ourselves from the funds of the church. Thus, for the chalice concerned, we paid a total amount of 119 Rhenish guilders and 44 kreuzers' (translated from the Hungarian original). GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 9, No. 16. In 1789, they bought a brass censer and some candlesticks in Debrecen: '11a Augusti – In Debrecen, we purchased a censer or thurible – 7 Rhenish guilders, 30 kreuzers / 2a 4 brass candlesticks for the altar – 5 Rhenish guilders, 30 kreuzers / 3a one snuffer – 7 kreuzers' (translated from the Hungarian original). GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 10, No. 29.

⁷⁹ This included liturgical objects: '1. One large gilded chalice / 2. A diskos, asterisk and knife to go with it / 3. Another smaller chalice / 4. A diskos and asterisk to go with it / 5. A silver pyx *pro viatico* – spherical / 6. [silver pyx *pro viatico*] encrusted with different stones / 7. Three Communion spoons (1–7 all silver) / 8. A new silver censer / 9. An antique brass censer, with a matching brass boat for the incense / 10. Two silver lamps with all matching parts / 11. Four iron snuffers / 12. 11 brass candlesticks / 12. 8 wooden [candlesticks] / A wooden pyx for the Sacrament (...) / 17. A brass chalice with matching brass diskos (...) / 18. A split platter' (translated from the Hungarian original). GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 21, No. 34.

III.2.1 Epitrachelion Catalogue III.6



17th century, unknown Orthodox workshop from the Balkans; sateen weave, chain pattern silk, linen, silk taffeta, silver and gilded silver metal threads, spangles total length: 282 cm (111 in); width: 16 cm (6.3 in) Purchased from the Greek Catholic Parish of Zlatna in 1889.
Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, Inv. No. 13526

Inscriptions of the depicted saints, from top to bottom, from left to right: Christ as High Priest in the centre of the neckline: IC XC; Archangel Gabriel: Γ(...); the Theotokos:

MP ΘΥ; Saint Peter the Apostle: Ο [Α]ΓΙΟ[Σ] // ΠΕΤΡΟΣ; Saint Paul: Ο (...) // ΠΑΥΛΟΣ; Saint Matthew the Evangelist: (...) // [ΜΑΘ]Ε[Ι]Ο[Σ]; an evangelist without any inscriptions preserved, presumably Saint John; Saint Mark the Evangelist: Ο/ΑΓΙΟΣ // [ΜΑΡ]ΚΟ[Σ]; Saint James the Greater: Ο /Α[Γ]ΙΟ[Σ]//[Ι]ΑΚ[Ο]ΒΟ[Σ]; Saint Simon the Apostle: Ο/ΑΓΙΟΣ //ΣΙΜΩΝ; Saint Andrew the Apostle: (...) // ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ; Saint Luke the Evangelist: Ο/ΑΓΙΟΣ // ΛΟΥΚΑΣ; Saint Bartholomew the Apostle: Ο/ΑΓΙΟΣ //ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΕΟ[Σ]; Saint Philip the Apostle: Ο/ΑΓΙΟΣ // ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ[Σ]; Saint Thomas the Apostle: Ο/ΑΓΙΟΣ //ΘΟΜΑ[Σ]

At the bottom of the *epitrachelion* there is a Serbian inscription written in Cyrillic characters: Саи петраиль приск[?] / цание[?] уч[.]ъ[?] у све/таго // [пр]иложи Милица/ [цр]квусвою харис/тратига

Sai petrail" prisk[?] / anie [?] u č[.]" [?] u sve/tago // [pr]iloži Milica / [cr]kvusvoju haris/tratiga

The base fabric of this liturgical garment is red, sateen weave silk with embroidery made with convex metal thread, stitched in a pattern, depicting the halo of the figures, their garments, the represented architectural elements, columns, flowers and the friezes serving as the contours of the fields. The embroidery was made with the use of flay yarn. The inscriptions and names that can be read on the objects were also made with metal threads, with double sided flat stitches. The faces and limbs of the depicted people were made with the application of needle painting, with silk yarn, contoured with dark brown silk yarn. In some of the fields there are spangles stitched with a golden bullion thread. The reverse is stiffened by linen lining, and it is covered by a very fragmented pink silk taffeta outer lining. The outer hemming is in a patterned, woven golden passementerie frame that was probably made later, in the 19th century. There used to be tassels on it, by now only their tiny stubs are visible.

Christ as a High Priest appears on the neckline, in the medallion seen in the central axis of the item, in full episcopal ornaments – with a mitre on his head, wearing a sakkos decorated with crosses and an omophorion which seems to be repeated on his lap, giving blessings with both hands. Such representations of Christ appear in epitrachelions from the 15th-16th century. Cards made to the embroideries representing Christ as a High Priest, showing a strong resemblance to these ones, were preserved in the Benaki Museum, Athens, from the 18th century (cf. Vassilaki, Maria. *Working Drawings of Icon Painters after the Fall of Constantinople: The Andreas Xyngopoulos Portfolio at the Benaki Museum*, Athen, 2015, 143–144, kat. 111–113), which also shows the popularity of this iconography type lasting for centuries.



On the epitrachelion, the Saints stand on seven-seven three-lobe ogee arched niches in the central axis, on columns: Archangel Gabriel is greeting Virgin Mary on top, and the apostles can be seen under them. The names of all the Saints are written in Greek, and Oriental type floral ornaments can be seen on the 'pedestal', next to the figures. The faces and the silk woven body parts of the saints mostly faded away, bigger fragments were preserved only from the faces of Archangel Gabriel, the Theotokos and Philip the Apostle. Clothes made with metal threads are much better preserved. The scene of *The Annunciation* and the figures of the Apostles follow the traditional Byzantine iconography and style, hardly influenced by patterns from the west, its plant ornaments, the spectacular Italian pots on the side of Christ blessing and further floral motifs suggest that it could not be made before the 17th century. Regarding the shape of the figures though we can find parallels with earlier memories. In the aspect of shape and arrangement, an item from 1553, now in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church of Belgrade, is closely related to it, on that item the figures of the apostles were embroidered with metal threads on red base fabric, standing in ogee arched niches, with

floral patterns on the edges (Милеуснић, 2001, 79–80). An epitrachelion of the Benaki Museum in Athens, dated to the mid-16th century, also has a similar composition, but instead of *The Annunciation*, above the Apostles there is the figure of *Deesis* – cf. Egger, Hanna (Hrsg.): *Ikonen – Bilderin Gold: Sakrale Kunst aus Griechenland*, Graz, 1993, 292–293, kat. 135. The epitrachelions of the 16th-17th centuries, partially originating from Constantinople, preserved in Wallachia and Moldavia, are rather considered as prototypes in the aspect of iconography and shape. Their style and the masters who made them are not the same – cf. Durand, Jannic – Giovannoni, Dorota et al. (eds.): *Broderies de Tradition Byzantine en Roumanie du XV^e au XVII^e Siècle: Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand*, Paris, 2019, 38–49.

Reconstructed meaning of the inscription at the bottom of the object: 'This epitrachelion was donated by Milica to the Church of the Chief Commander'. The word 'petrail' (instead of 'epitrahilj') and the word 'haristratig' ('arhistratig') are both examples for how Church Slavonic expressions were distorted in vernacular language. The inscription written in Church Slavonic, edited in Serbian, was presumably made by an



embroiderer who was not totally familiar with the meaning of the words. The word Milica suggests a Serbian female donator. The linguistic features of the inscription confirm that the object was made in the 17th century. On the basis of the Greek inscriptions and the misspelled (?) Serbian inscription it is conceivable that it was made in a monastery with Greek majority in the Ottoman Empire. It does not seem to be closely

related to the textiles of the 17th century originating from Constantinople – cf. Papastavrou, Elene – Filiou, Daphni: On the beginnings of the Constantinopolitan school of embroidery, *Zograf*, 39(2015), 166–168.

The epitachelion was offered for sale by László János Zlatna Transylvanian Greek Catholic deacon-parish priest to the National Museum in 1889. Excerpt from his letter: 'In the Greek Catholic church of Zlatna, built in 1424, according to experts there are several archaic objects. Our church guardianship selected two excellent archaic items from them for sale to enrich the church. These items (an old gilded silver chalice weighing 274 grams [0.6 pounds] and a silk shawl with the representations of the Apostles, sewn with gold-silver threads) enclosed can be bought by the museum in the below conditions.' The purchase price of the silver object is 200 forints, that of the fabric is 150 forints. The deacon also made the transcript of the inscription of the *epitachelion* from Cyrillic to Latin characters, and it was meticulously copied to the rear side of the letter in the National Museum (the translation and interpretation of the meaning were ignored). Director Ferenc Pulszky forwarded them to the director of the Museum of Applied Arts, Jenő Radisics. The epitachelion was finally bought by the museum for 100 forints (IMM Repository, 66/1889).

There have been several researches on the history of the church of Zlatna. It was presumably built by Saxon settlers in the 13th century, probably taken over by the Romanian Orthodox community in the late 14th or early 15th century, and it could be a significant church in the area. By 1744 it must have been used by Greek Catholics because following its renovation and painting it was consecrated by Inocențiu Micu-Klein Bishop of Făgăraș (*Fogaras*) (1729–1751) (earlier bibliography: Petrov, Gheorghe. Biserica 'Adormirea Maicii Domnului' din Zlatna, jud. Alba, in: *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, II, Satu Mare, 2002, 123–135). There is no indication of any local roots of the donor Milica in related literature. The inscription on the fabric is 'Chief Commander' referring to a church dedicated to the protection of an archangel, while the church of Zlatna was dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos. There is no indication of any changes regarding the feast the church was dedicated to, even though it cannot be ruled out either, but the sumptuousness of the object suggests that this was not its original place of destination as similar objects were often princely donations given to monasteries. When and how exactly it was transferred to Zlatna cannot be stated yet. (X. G. – A. P. – Sz. T.)

Unpublished

III.2.1 Blessing Cross Catalogue III.7



carving: Mount Athos, metal casing: Master Neagoe, Wallachia or Moldavia, 1681
boxwood; gilded silver, stones (turquoise); cast, engraved
length: 22.5 cm (8.9 in); width: 13 cm (5.1 in),
height: 2.5 cm (1 in)
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza,
Inv. No. 1999.13 (B 13)

The fretwork boxwood carving has the shape of a Latin cross, with four fields on both sides, the ones in the middle are longer than the ones at the end of the bar. The Baptism of Jesus is the central representation on one side, His crucifixion on the other side. On both sides, at the bottom and on the top of the vertical bar there are auctor portraits of the Evangelists sitting, and on the horizontal bars the main scenes are accompanied by half-length portraits: next to the crucifixion there are the Saints Constantine and Helen,

next to the baptism scene there are Archangels, one on each side, with their hands covered.

The carving was put into a metal casing with ogee arched frames around the fields. Tiny crosses issue from the leaf motifs at the end of the bars, and a handle ending in a decahedron-shaped knob is connected to it, divided by a knot motif in the middle. Four dragons were fitted to the sides of the cross, combined with floral motifs, the two upper dragons were truncated to match the proportions of the cross. On both sides, at the intersection of the cross's bars, two red gems were placed into the upper part of the casing recalling flower petals, and two blue gems into its lower part. The following inscription can be read on the side of the handle containing the *Crucifixion*: 'ПОМЕНИ Г[ОСПОД]И / РАДУЛЛ[Е]Т #ЗРП' and most probably the letter 'Θ' under the inscription also belongs here. Which means: 'Remember, O LORD, Radul, in the year 7189'. The year



given here, calculated from the Creation, is the year 1681 calculated from the date of birth of Jesus. Another inscription on the two other sides of the knob: 'кѹко / рѣ(?)кѹ'. On the lower side of the knob there is an inscription in a semi-circle: 'МЕЩЕРҮЛ НѢГОЕ' – that is 'Neagoe Mesterul', indicating Master Neagoe, the creator (of the metal parts) of the object.

The tradition related to the origin of the object was already published by Borovszky: 'The Greek Catholic Church has got an exquisite, 20 cm high gilded silver cross with an artistically carved wooden insert with an icon. This precious cross was made in 1628 (*sic*), and a Russian general donated it to the Church in 1848. The Church also possesses an old silver cup and an identical plate from 1623.' The year on the cross was presumably incorrectly indicated but it must refer to this object. Unfortunately the latter liturgical objects were not preserved.

Oral tradition preserved the most information on the history of the cross, saying that the village community admitted an injured Russian officer to the parish, where he was hospitalised. To express his gratitude, he donated this cross to the church. There is no information on how he obtained the cross. The Russians were in a close relationship with Moldavia and Wallachia, and a part of the former, Bessarabia was under Russian control from 1812, so the officer might as well have received the cross in his former base. Although the cross is described in the inventory performed in the parish on 4 October 1881 ('gilded hand cross with an old carved wooden insert'), the origin of the cross is not mentioned, neither

is it mentioned in the records of the canonical visitation of 1940, all they include is the description ('Hand cross: abundantly gilded 13 carat silver', published by: Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2014, 116).

The local community is still strongly attached to it, the respect for this cross was passed on from generation to generation. The honour of this cross was in focus twice a year, which helped the preservation of the story of its origin. It was exhibited in the centre of the church, decorated, on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, on 14 September, and on the Sunday of the Holy Cross, which is the Third Sunday of Great Lent. Otherwise it is stored in the parish. In the 1970s it was taken away from the parish for conservation, for which the believers of the filial church of Sáradsadány also donated money. After conservation it was transferred to the Greek Catholic Art Collection in Nyíregyháza.

The carved part of the cross belongs to the group of the so-called Mount Athos wood carvings. The tradition of making wood carvings from boxwood, a process that requires a lot of patience, appeared on Mount Athos at the end of the 16th century, and they were taken by monks on their fundraising trips and donated or sold to Orthodox believers. The ornamented metal casings were sometimes made on the Holy Mountain, but often they were ordered by the new owner and made in the workshops of goldsmiths. Some of them can be found in Greek Catholic churches in Hungary, their origin is unknown though; three of them are preserved in the Greek Catholic Art Collection. According to the asset inventory of Elemér Kőszeghy performed in 1941, the Greek Catholic cathedral of Uzhhorod and that of Oradea also had a cross respectively from mount Athos, a photograph was taken of the cross of Oradea (Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, Repository, asset inventory of Elemér Kőszeghy). (A. T. K. – Sz. T.)

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- Puskás, 1996b, 26.
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III.2.1 Mount Athos Cross in a Leather Case *Catalogue III.8*



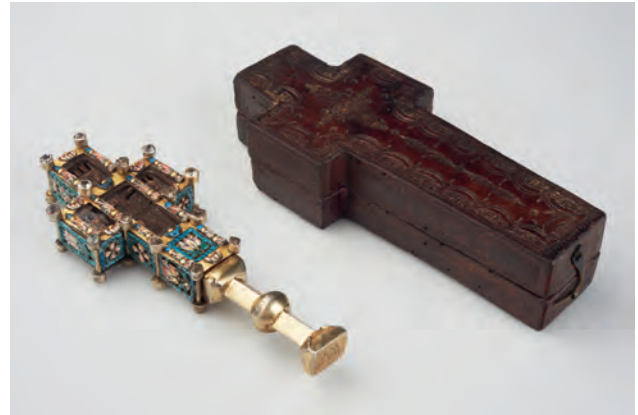
17th-18th centuries: wood carving: Mount Athos; metal casing, leather case: Transylvania (?)
boxwood, gilded silver, painted enamel, glass; wood, leather, textile

length: 18 cm (7.1 in); width: 6 cm (2.4 in), thickness: 2 cm (0.8 in)

Conservation: Mária Szabóné Szilágyi (boxwood), Veronika Szilágyi (metal, enamel), Hajnalka Tóth (leather case), 2015–2016.

Saint Nicholas Hungarian Greek Catholic parish, Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti)

On one side of the fretwork cross carved from one piece of boxwood there is a scene of the *Baptism of Jesus* showing a three quarter view of Christ making a step in the river Jordan, the Forerunner pours water on His head, an angel stands behind him, and an arched beam coming from Heavens indicates the Word of



God the Father. A Greek inscription, now hidden behind the metal frame, can be deciphered on the frame of the composition: 'H ΒΑΠΤ[IC]IC'. In the two shorter, horizontal bars of the cross, in ogee arched niches the scene continues: the half-length portrait of the profile of two angels shows them turning towards Christ, holding his clothes in their hands. The half-length portrait of an Evangelist holding a book can be seen in the upper quarter of the vertical bar. The composition of the other side is similar, its central scene shows the crucifixion of Christ, with a Greek inscription: 'H CTABPO[C]C'. Under the Cross of the Crucified Saviour a woman (maybe Mary Magdalene) and a bearded man, presumably the Captain, are standing, while in the left horizontal bar another woman, most certainly Our Lady of Sorrows, and in the right horizontal bar the beardless, half-figure representation of the Beloved Disciple are easily recognisable. At the end of the vertical bar there is another Evangelist. The metal casing, including the carving, is gilded silver decorated with different colourful (white, blue, yellow, pink) flowers painted on tiny fretwork plates, mainly enamel plates decorated with tulips. The plates of the metal frame were joined together with silver wires, and polished glass pebbles can be found at the end of the silver wires. The lower quarter of the vertical bar of the cross is covered with enamel elements on both sides although the portraits of two other Evangelists are located under them. This can be explained by the fact that the lower part of the carving was already probably damaged when the present metal frame was made, and this is how the missing parts of the carving were concealed. The handle of the cross is made of gilded silver, it is a diagonally turned, square segmented block, in the middle of which there is a spherical node ending in a truncated pyramid both at the top and at the bottom. The lower sides are decorated with leaf motifs, and Mary's monogram can be seen in Latin characters on the base plate. Missing enamel side plates were also

replaced in the last conservation. Mica plates were fixed to the two sides to protect the carving.

The boxwood carving belongs to the group of so-called Mount Athos carvings that were indeed made by monks living on the Holy Mountain from the end of the 16th century and spread by them in the Orthodox world. It is difficult to date them on the basis of their style because they are characterised by strong conservatism in the use of shapes. This sample could be made in the second part of the 17th or even in the early 18th century. The metal frame decorated with tulip painted enamel could be made in the 18th century, probably in the first part of the century, maybe in the nearby Transylvania. Mary's monogram written in Latin characters on the knob of the cross's handle suggests that the goldsmith, or rather the customer was not Orthodox. There is only one known altar cross in the collection of Transylvania that is similar, with a refined, enamel, Mount Athos wood carving, preserved in the Hungarian National Museum (Inv. No. 1849.11), its inscription suggests that it could be made around 1735 in Braşov (*Brassó*). It is rare to have the original leather case of the 18th century preserved as well, the one in which the object was transported; on the basis of the applied technique and its pressed, gilded decoration it was probably made by a Hungarian or Transylvanian master.

The Parish of Saint Nicholas in Satu Mare was founded by 'Greek' merchants in the second part of the 17th century who, despite their losses suffered during Rákóczi's War of Independence, supported the reorganisation of the community and the construction of a new church in the 1720s. There is no information on when the community received this cross. The following entry could be found in the inventory performed in the church in 1843: '10. A colourful cross at the icon on an analogion is the gift of Mihály Tánya Sr' (in a document of the archives of the parish). Due to the succinctness of the description it cannot be clearly associated with this cross, and it is also hardly believable that the most precious cross of the parish could be kept constantly in the nave, although this option cannot be ruled out either. Mihály Tánya Sr. was a local parish priest when the inventory was made. It is more plausible that this item was brought here by a rich 'Greek' merchant family in the past century. (Sz. T.)

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Terdik, Szilveszter. Posztbizánci miniatűr faragványok a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, *Folia Historica*, 32(2016), 87–88, Picture No. 16.



*First part of the 18th century, unknown goldsmith gilded silver; hammered, cast, chiselled
height: 27 cm (10.6 in), top diameter: 6.6 cm (2.6 in), base diameter: 16.6 cm (6.5 in)*

Holy Protection of the Theotokos Greek Catholic Church, Makó

A few elements of the suffering of Christ are represented in the decoration consisting of ribbon and flower motifs on the six-lobed, convex base of the chalice. On its vase shape node there is a fretwork carving decorated white silver calix with ribbon and floral motifs. A *Vera Icon*, i.e. a relief of the Head of Christ can also be observed in its ornaments. The chalice has a protruding rim. On the basis of its style, according to related literature it could be made in Hungary in the first part of the 18th century. (Sz. T.)

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Puskás – Tóth, 2004, 10.

III.2.1 Chalice

Catalogue III.10



1781, Mátyás Szaczlauer (?)

gilded silver; hammered

height: 23 cm (9.1 in), top diameter: 10 cm (3.9 in), base diameter: 16 cm (6.3 in)

Conserved by: János Seremetyeff-Papp, 2009.

Holy Protection of the Theotokos Greek Catholic Church, Görömböly

Inscription on the inner rim of its base: Andr: Eppus Munkatsien. Eccla G. R. C. Görömböli. donavit 1781.

A cup with a protruding rim can be observed on its simple, vase-shaped node connected to the four-lobe convex base. The 'MS' initials next to the number 13 indicating the fineness of the metal on the outer, horizontal rim of the base could refer to Mátyás Szaczlauer from Trnava (*Nagyszombat*), who was active in the town between 1769 and 1800 (cf. Kőszeghy, 1936, 269). According to the Latin inscription, the chalice was donated to the church by András Bacsinnszky Bishop of Mukacheve in 1781. Not only was Bacsinszky the spiritual leader of the town, from 1776, when the respective Bishop of

Mukacheve was granted the title of the Abbot of Tapolca and the corresponding revenues, he was also the patron of the village (Baán István. A görömbölyi görögkatolikus egyházközség a 18. században, in: *Id. Bizáncan Innen és túl: Tanulmányok*, Nyíregyháza 2018², 493; Puskás, 2014, 182). The chalice was conveyed to the community as a manifestation of the care provided by the patron. (Sz. T.)

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Puskás, 2014, 186, 257, 18. kép [Picture No. 18, before conservation]

III.2.1 Chalice

Catalogue III.11



1796, Pál Szakmáry (1743–1816)
silver; hammered, chiselled, once gilded
height: 24 cm (9.4 in), top diameter: 8.5 cm (3.3 in), base
diameter: 14.5 cm (5.7 in)
Nyíregyháza: Greek Catholic Art Collection, Inv. No.
2017.1.1.

Inscription around the inner rim of its base: Pro Ecclesia
G. R. Búdensi. 1796. Sumptibus ejusd: Eccles: curavit
Steph: Lupess

A laurel wreath can be observed on the lower rim of the round base of the chalice, on the narrowing stem there are three laurel wreaths hanging on a ribbon, linked by loosened laurel strings, and the remaining surface of the stem of the base is decorated with floral and grape motifs. The node has the shape of a richly segmented vase, and the wreath, string and grape motifs of the base are repeated on the cup. The chalice has a protruding rim.

On the lower rim of the base of the classic style, late Baroque chalice, but also on the cup, the initials

'PSz' are clearly visible next to the number 12 indicating the fineness of metal and next to a hardly decipherable figural motif. The initials might refer to Paulus Szakmáry, a master working in Prešov (*Eperjes*) from 1772 until his death (1816) (cf. Kőszeghy, 1936, 105, 640). According to the Latin inscription engraved in the inner rim of the base, the chalice was ordered by István Lupes for the church of Búd, paid by the same church. The town of Búd is now called Tiszavasvári, István Lupes served there there from 1792 to 1804. From there he moved to the Parish of Tímár, where thanks to a Hungarian liturgical manuscript copied in 1814 he became known to professionals of liturgical history (cf. Cat. IV.37). (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

III.2.1 Communion Spoon *Catalogue III.12*



*19th century
copper, gilded
Greek Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas, Aranyosapáti*

The handle of the spoon grows wider towards the head, there is a slot along its central axis, and at its end there is a pine-cone-looking terminal ornament. Presumably this item was not designed for sacramental use. It was found in the church altar made in the early 19th century, covered with a wall but transformed several times. Its significance is heightened by the fact that this is the first known communion spoon from the area of the Eparchy of Mukacheve. (Sz. T.)

A Pair of Candlesticks *Catalogue III.13*



*18th century, unknown workshop in Hungary
tin; cast, punched
height: 51 cm (20.1 in); width: 11 cm (4.3 in)
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
1999.36. (B 31.1–2).*

The volute components standing on the knobs pressed by eagle claws composing the feet of the candlesticks make a 120° angle with each other. The side of the foot is decorated with roughly formed leaf motifs. The bars look like twisted balusters with a node in their centre. The candle drip catchers are strongly deformed. Such tin candlesticks were used in numerous Greek Catholic churches in the 18th century, especially on the altar, but in many parishes this was considered luxury since they made everything they could from wood. Due to the fragility of tin however, there are hardly and such objects preserved. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

III.2.1 Flask

Catalogue III.14



around 1775

tin; cast, engraved

15 × 10 × 5.5 cm (5.9 × 3.9 × 2.2 in)

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2015.286. (B 60).

A standing block flask with arched segments on its upper, shorter corners, with a thin screw mouth, the original cap is missing. A Slavonic inscription can be seen on one of its wider sides: 'МВРНИЦА СОБОРА САБСОЛЧАНСКАГСО 1775' – 'Vessel for Myro of the Szabolcs borough, 1775'. This inscription makes it clear that the *myro* consecrated in the cathedral of Uzhhorod in the Divine Liturgy on the evening of Holy Thursday was sent to the archdeaconry of Szabolcs in this flask in 1775, and the Archdean made sure that every parish received from it. The centre of the archdeaconry of Szabolcs was in Hajdúdorog, therefore this tin flask was presumably preserved there.

The *myro*, i.e. the fragrance oil (chrism) was consecrated solely by the Bishop also in the Eparchy of Mukacheve. According to the regulations, it was cooked in the episcopal centre during Lent by adding numerous (depending on traditions up to 40) herbs to olive oil. *Myro* was used by ministers during the celebration of the sacrament of Confirmation, for anointing, but the bishop used it for other consecrations as well (e.g. altar, church), which were his privileges. According to visitation records of the 18th century, the smaller portion sent to parochial churches was held in bowls on the altar, often in the tabernacle (if there was one) or in the drawers corresponding to the tabernacle. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

Holy Water Bowl

Catalogue III.15

(1)



1778

copper; hammered

height: 63 cm (24.8 in), top diameter: 36 cm (14.2 in), base diameter: 21 cm (8.3 in)

Holy Protection of the Theotokos Greek Catholic Church, Miskolc-Görömböly

On the cylindrical base, wider at the bottom, there is a goblet-shaped cup profiled with nosings, covered with a bell-shaped, hammered, profiled lid that looks like a flower petal or a roof tile, with a knob on its top. Engraving can be observed on the lid: a double cross issues from a heart, with Cyrillic characters on the cross in two lines: 'Ц' and 'Г', the abbreviation of the words 'Church of Görömböly', and the year 'АΨОН' = 1778 can be deciphered under them. Next to the cross: Inscription: 'IC XC'.

The Holy Water bowl was not mentioned specifically in the records of the canonical visit of the parish in 1877. Its existence can be assumed from the answer to question 121, asking who kept the keys of the baptismal font, and the answer was: 'It has no keys.' (AGKA Inv., č. 478, Sign. 16, Rok. 1877, Kan. viz., Translation made on the basis of a copy: Gyulai Éva. A görömbölyi görögkatolikus egyház 1877. évi canonica visitatioja [1. rész], *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, 1(2000), 1., 110–134.)

(2)



Such bowls were preserved in so good quality only in very few places since Water Blessings normally took place at wild waters, and the Holy Water preserved for the church was usually consecrated and kept in wooden buckets until very recently. More richly decorated copper bowls of a similar size but different shape were transferred to the Greek Catholic Art Collection from Sajópetri, designed in the 18th century for Water Blessings and the preservation of Holy Water (height: 42 cm [16.5 in], base diameter: 50 cm [19.7 in], Inv. No. 1999.35 [B 35]). The initials 'IHS' can be seen on its removable, flat lid, and in the cartouche in the hammered floral ornaments around the stem of the cup there is an engraved Church Slavonic inscription with the indication of the year: 'Семіѡнь Чйрскый / Парохъдал Стра/пїтїроку ꙗѡѡ' (Picture 2). According to the inscription, it was made by Simon Csirszky parish priest in 1770. He already served in the village in 1751, during the visitation of Mánuel Olsavszky Bishop of Mukacheve (Véghseő–Terdik–Simon–Majchrics–Földvári–Lágler, 2015, 291). Smaller, more sophisticated copper bowls can be found in the churches of Hejőkeresztúr and Tokaj (I brought the latter one to the Greek Catholic Art Collection in 2010), both are presumably from the 18th century. (Sz. T.)

III.2.1 Altar Cross

Catalogue III.16



First part of the 19th century, Russian Empire
bronze, copper, cast, hammered, gilded
height: 40 cm (15.7 in), base diameter: 17 cm (6.7 in)
Eparchy of Miskolc

See below the description of the altar cross in the records of the canonical visitation in 1877: '30. Pacificale altaris ex argento chinensi, in statu bono. Aliud antiquum cum fusa effigie, in statu usuabili. – Tertium supra mensam prothesis antiquissimum e materia auri. //

Ad Nr. 30. Pacificale, praetensive e materia auri est triplicatum, 41 centimetra amplum, in basi habet quatuor Evangelistarum effigies exsculptas, inter has effigies, trochleis firmatas, sunt aliae quatuor figurae exsculptae,

quarum duae uvas et duas spicas aequae uvae sculptae, infra tertium ramum crucis transversum habetur effigies mortis, supra effigiem mortis et infra pedes crucifixi Salvatoris sunt in duobus ordinibus cyrillicae literae, et quidem in primo ordine М. Л. in secundo Р. Б. – In secundo et tertio ramo est effigies ipsius Salvatoris, circa caput circulo et in circulo СΩОН gaudentis; supra caput Salvatoris est inscriptio: І.Н.Ц.І. in secundo seu medio ramo est inscriptio: Распятіе Господа Бога и Спаса Нашего Іисуса Христа Сына Божія literis cyrillicis; in secundo ordine magnis literis: ІС ХС. In tertio ordine habetur: Кресту твоему поклоняемся Владыко, и святое воскресеніе твое славимъ. Infra hunc ordinem ad dexterum latus est: НИ ad sinistram latus КА. Supra secundum seu medium ramum crucis sunt effigies duarum Angelorum, quorum figurae in superiori parte tertio ramos est effigies Spiritus Sancti in forma columbae, cum inscriptione: Святой Духъ. Ex utraque parte effigiei Spiritus Sancti sunt effigies angelorum capitibus duarum, quasi de coelo supra caput crucifixi Christi volantes, cum inscriptione: Ангела Гдни; et in infimo ordine est inscriptio maioribus literis: Цр Свята (sic!). Supra tertium ramum in columnali ramo est effigies Dei Patris cum inscriptione Гдь Саваотъ, et in sinistra parte Dei Patris effigiei est globus mundi, supra quem habetur signum triplicatae crucis. Inscriptiones omne literis cyrillicis in metallo praetensive sculptae; sed ex his omnibus inscriptionibus neque aetas, neque procurator aut donator tam pretiosi pacificalis cruci potest.' (AGKA Inv., č. 478, Rok. 1877, Sign. 18, Kan. viz., 36. o.)

A sequence of vertical leaves runs around the lower, convex rim of the cold formed, once gilded copper base; the convex part above that is segmented to areas by four bands decorated with grape motifs, and removable, silver-foiled, oval-shaped portraits of Evangelists are fixed to the middle of the segments. From the base, a vase-shaped cast node issues, decorated with grape leaves, on top of it cold formed acanthus leaves cover the fixture of the cast bronze, gilded, eight-pointed cross. The lower bar of the cross is diagonal, and two six-winged cherubim appear on the central bar. The front plate of the cross, on the smaller, convex cross with a similar shape bears the image of the Saviour crucified, with the traditional three Greek characters on the cross in His halo. A relief of the abbreviated version of the Slavonic translation of the explanatory inscription ('І.Н.Ц.І.') ordered by Pontius Pilate can be seen on the upper bar of the inner cross. The abbreviation of the Greek name of Jesus Christ ('ІС. ХС.') appears at the end of the long bar of the cross, also in the form of a relief, while under the long bar the liturgical song prescribed for the days of the



Exaltation of the Cross, 14 September and the third Sunday in Lent, on the so-called Sunday of the Holy Cross, can be seen ('Before Thy Cross we bow down in worship, O Master, and Thy holy Resurrection we glorify'), the name of the event can be seen above the bar ('The Crucifixion of our Lord, God and Saviour, Jesus Christ'). Next to the cross, above the spear and the sponge pinned to a cane, the Greek word 'NIKA' can also be deciphered, which, together with the name of the Saviour means: 'Jesus Christ Conquers'.

Two weeping angels, shocked by the sight of the Crucified One, can be seen in the upper bar of the cross, with their hands covered (with the recessed inscription: 'Angels of the Lord'). The title 'King of Glory' can be seen under the angels, referring to Christ. The dove symbolising the Holy Spirit floats above the angels, and above the dove, the Holy Trinity is completed with the

cloud wreath reading 'Lord of Hosts', giving blessings with His right, holding a globe in His left.

In the slanted bar, four Cyrillic characters ('М.Л.Р.Б.') can be seen under the footrest, on the cross, some sources interpret it as: 'The place of execution has become Paradise.' Adam's skull can be seen at the foot of the cross, in a small cave (inscriptions: Давыдов, 2010, 105).

There is no information on when and from where this cross was brought to the church. By 1877 it must have been there, since a detailed Latin description of the object was found in the records written by Miklós Tóth Bishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*) on the occasion of his canonical visitation, which clearly indicates that he also liked this unique piece of art (see above). Russian researchers date such Russian cross casts to the end of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Давыдов, 2010, 75, 82). Altar cross versions of this type are rare. The style of the base is completely different; it could be made by a different workshop, but its style suggests that it was made in the early 19th century. Its grape motif used as a Eucharistic symbol suggests that it was designed to be used on the altar. The cross was possibly brought to the church in the first part of the 19th century by Russian merchants or soldiers who had been to Hegyalja. The author of the description laconically mentions in 1877 that none of the inscriptions on the object indicates its age or the customer who ordered it or the name of the donator, which means that nobody remembered how and when it was acquired.

It is strange that another, identically cast hand cross is preserved in the same church. It was brought to the church presumably only after World War II, a soldier brought it home from the front line. It is clearly visibly that its handle was made with a different mould, decorated with the *Arma Christi*, i.e. the items of the Instruments of the Passion. A very similar item was made close to Moscow in the 19th century (cf. Gnutova-Ruzsa-Zotova, 2005, 94, kat. 179).

Church Slavonic quotes, hymns and apocrypha, are written on the reverse of both crosses. The first one is the Exapostilarion of the Matins from the Oktoechos for Wednesday and Friday, chanting the glorification of wood so expressively: 'Christ, you are the guardian of the universe; Christ, you are the adornment of the Church; Christ, you are the sceptre of kings; Christ, You are the strength of believers; Christ, you are the glory of angels and the dread of the devils!' (Sz. T.)

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III.2.1 Relic Case Catalogue III.17



Second part of the 18th century, early 19th century,
Palestine (?)
wood, mother-of-pearl, textile, iron, silver, bone; engraved,
hammered
height: 13.5 cm (5.3 in); length: 23 cm (9.1 in);
width: 13.5 cm (5.3 in)
Conservation: Tamás Seres, Mária Szabóné Szilágyi
(mother-of-pearl), Veronika Szilágyi (metal), 2014/2015.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza,
Inv. No. 2010.194 (B 25.2)

The wooden elements of the block-shaped case were joined together without metal studs, with bolts and wood studs. Its top looks like a truncated pyramid, it has trapezoid sides. Inside, on the rear side of a hammered, chiselled silver plate, the bone relics of different saints were fixed with metal bands soldered on the plate.

The Greek name of the respective Saint was carved on the frame band of the irregular-shaped holes. The surface between the holes was filled with a composition of Late Baroque, Rococo flowers and ornaments. The relics of the following saints were placed in the silver plate, from left to right: unknown male saint ('Ο ΑγΙος') – the relic is missing, if there was any; Saint Marina ('Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΝΑ'); Saint James ('Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΗΑΚΟΒΟΣ'); Saint Anna ('Η ΑΓΙΑ ΑΝΑ'); Saint Pantaleon ('Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΙΜΟΝΟΣ'); Saint Nicetas ('Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΤΑΣ'); Saint Paraskeva ('Η ΑΓΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΒΗ'), and Saint Pantaleon once again ('Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΙΜΟΝΟΣ'). The inner side of the top of the case was covered with red velvet, it was preserved only on the shorter right element.

The outer sides of the case were covered with mother-of-pearl sheets, scenes were engraved in the

III.2.1

segments composed of square-shaped sheets, and the lines were emphasised with black paste. The segments are separated from one another by ebony veneer sheets or by bands of alternating moulded sheets and mother-of-pearl sheets. Before the conservation, except for very few sheets, the complete outer covering was missing. Some of the mother-of-pearl sheets were also missing, which was still noticeable after the reconstruction of the outer covering: on the tiny replacement sheets in the fields with the depictions of scenes, being of a different colour, only the frame lines were remade, the missing figural parts were not completed. Traces of glue on the case helped identify the original place of the preserved sheets. Fourteen segments of different sizes could be reconstructed altogether: *Jesus's entry into Jerusalem and the Baptism of Jesus* (on the two shorter sides, 6 × 9 cm [2.4 × 3.5 in] segments); *The Annunciation, The Birth of Jesus, Saints Constantine and Helen, A Healing Miracle of Jesus Christ* (four segments of 5,7 × 8,8 cm [2.2 × 3.5 in] on the longer sides of the case); *The Theotokos with the Infant (Axion Estin, i.e. 'Truly Meet' type)*, two standing Apostles, one of them is Saint Peter (two segments of 4,7 × 6,4 cm [1.9 × 2.5 in] on top of the case); *Crucifixion, Lamentation of Christ, Jesus's Transfiguration and Apparition to Mary Magdalene* (5 × 6,3 cm [2 × 2.5 in] segments on the longer, slanted sides of the cover); *The Resurrection of Jesus* and an unidentified fragment (5 × 5 cm [2 in] segments on the shorter, slanted side of the cover). Iconography and Greek inscriptions helped the identification of the depictions. Traces on the bottom of the case suggest that it also had four legs, they were reconstructed during conservation. The iron elements of the case were adequately conserved, the missing parts were replaced, just like the rings in which the strings regulating the opening angle of the lid were tied.

Information was shared on relic cases with a similar shape from the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos as well. They are inlaid with mother-of-pearl, but the decoration is only ornamental, not figural; according to researches they were made in the 17th century (cf. Милановић, 2008, 417, 421, cat. 296–297). Other objects with different functions but with the same mother-of-pearl technique as that applied on the case of Nyíregyháza were also preserved at the same place. On an altar cross, the corpus and the image covering the foot, representing Saints Constantine and Helen, both consist of engraved, black modelled mother-of-pearl sheets. According to its description, the object was made in the Holy Land in the 18th century (ibid., 374, cat. 258). A decorated frame of an icon is also preserved here, covered with mother-of-pearl engraved sheets finished with black paste. In the central axis of the upper part of the frame, the main scene is *The Last Supper*, with *The Death of the Mother of God* as



the main scene on the right, and the episodes of the story of Jesus Christ's suffering in the remaining segments of the picture. The images are accompanied by Greek inscriptions, the open surfaces between the images are decorated with floral motifs and cherub heads made on the basis of the motifs of mother-of-pearl-coated pilgrim souvenirs from the Holy Land (Petkovic, Sreten: *The Icons of Monastery Chilandar*, Monastery Chilandar, The Holy Mountain Athos, 1997, 180). Cases preserved in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade, showing a similar shape, are dated to the 18th century, they were also covered with solely geometrical ornaments. A big altar cross is preserved here as well though, covered with carved, black coloured mother-of-pearl sheets. The shape of the cross is closely related to the shape of crosses brought by pilgrims from the Holy Land, and the image of Saint Lazarus, King of Serbia suggests that Palestinian masters were able to make anything for the customer's request, on the basis of an engraved prototype (cf. Милеуснић, 2001, 89–91).

The relic case of Nyíregyháza was also presumably made in the Holy Land or in another area of the Ottoman Empire with an Orthodox population, at the same time as the silver plate but possibly in a different workshop. Most probably it was brought to Hungary by "Greek" merchants, i.e. Christian merchants from the Balkans, or by Orthodox travelling monks. It was transferred to the collection from an unknown place in the second part of the 20th century. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

III.2.1 Altar Cross

Catalogue III.18



19th century, Palestine
wood, mother-of-pearl
height: 32 cm (12.6 in); width: 12 cm (4.7 in), depth:
7.5 cm (3 in)
Conservation: Mária Szabóné Szilágyi, 2014–2015.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza,
Inv. No. 2010.194 (B 25.1)

The mother-of-pearl is a hard, iridescent material that can be found on the inner side of the shell of molluscs (shells, snails), in carved form it has been widely used as decoration from ancient times. The core of the cross from Nyíregyháza is made of pine wood, the oil tree on its reverse is covered with a veneer sheet, its side plates and front plate are coated with mother-of-pearl. The parts of the front plate composed of several elements are carved: in the cross-shaped central segment there is a refined relief depicting Christ crucified. The figure of the Saviour was originally made of a T-shaped mother-of-pearl plate, but the lower third of the vertical bar, i.e. Christ's legs under his knees, was broken down and is missing. The inscription written in Slavonic characters, identifying Jesus of Nazareth as the King of the Jews, was written on

a small separate plate, and it was also preserved. The lobes at the end of the Latin-cross-shaped wooden core were also decorated with carvings: the three quarter view of a weeping woman, presumably Mary Magdalene on the left, and Adam's skull at the bottom of the cross. The carvings of the other two bars are missing. The full-length portrait of Our Lady of Sorrows was preserved on the longer bar, on the handle of the cross. The two missing parts were reconstructed on the basis of analogies in a similar style, from the same period: the Father and the Holy Spirit can be found in the lobe above the cross, and the depiction of Saint John The Theologian, the Beloved Disciple can be seen in the right lobe. The supplements were drawn by Tamás Seres, painter-conservator artist, and carved from mother-of-pearl by Mária Szabóné Szilágyi woodcarver-conservator artist on the basis of these drawings. The cross was later fixed on a beautifully carved, richly profiled foot.

It is difficult to date the cross. The creation of crosses, images and models of the Holy Sepulchre decorated with mother-of-pearl carvings for pilgrims became more and more popular in the Holy Land from the 17th century. They were carved by Palestinian Christian masters living in Bethlehem and Jerusalem, mainly following the local Latin Rite, encouraged by Franciscans, from the last decades of the 16th century (cf. Bagatti, Bellarmino. *L'industria della Madreperla a Betlemme*, in: Piccirillo, Michele: *La Nuova Gerusalemme: Artigianato palestinese al servizio dei Luoghi Santi*, Bergamo, 2007, 225–233). In line with the intensifying presence of Russian political life and pilgrims, from the 19th century the number of objects with Slavonic inscriptions, often with Orthodox iconography, was also increasing. Significant collections were preserved in Saint Catherine's Monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai and in the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg – see Piatnitsky, Y. – Baddeley, O. – Brunner, E. – Mango, M. M. (eds.): *Byzantium Russia, Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century*, St. Petersburg, 2000, 224–226, 453–456). Photographs of two crosses with shapes very similar to the cross in Nyíregyháza were published from the treasury of the Serbian Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos (Милановић, 2008, 51). On the basis of published objects it can be assessed that the cross of Nyíregyháza was probably also made in the Holy Land for Orthodox pilgrims at the end of the 19th century or in the early 20th century. There is no information on when and from where the cross was brought to the collection. (Sz. T.)

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III.2.1 Bench

Catalogue III.19

(1)



1833

wood; carved

height: 136 cm (53.5 in); width: 71 cm (28 in), depth: 41.5 cm (16.3 in)

Conservation: Fragment of the image of *The Last Supper*: Nelli Sántha, Anna Vihart (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2018/2019.

Annunciation of Our Lady Greek Catholic Church, Újfehértó

Single seat bench, presumably from oak boards. It has an arched backrest, with carved laurel garlands on its edge and an oval field in the central axis, surrounded by a snake eating its own tail, wearing a five-pointed crown, with an inscription indicating the creator and the year of preparation: 'NS / MOSOL/LYGO JÁNOS / 1833'. Only one of the side sheets, the left one is carved: under the armrest ending in a snail pattern, between two rows of discs there is a centrepiece composed of leaf motifs.

Újfehértó is a relatively young town, it was founded around 1600 at the boundaries of three abandoned villages. The local parish was founded by 'Rascians', i.e.

(2)



Orthodox *Hajduks*, just like the *hajdú* towns of the County. They came mainly from Hajdúböszörmény, and settled down here in 1630. They preserved their *hajduk*-specific privileges until the 18th century, their living quarters were surrounded by ditches and paling, the town was also known as Rácfejtó at the time (Sipos, 2000, 190–206). Their priest Theodor was mentioned in 1687 (Entz, 1987, 406). In the first part of the 18th century there were already two parishes with separate wooden churches, one was used by the 'Russian', i.e. Church Slavonic speaking community, the other one was used by the Romanian community. Both wooden churches were mentioned in 1738, in the register of serfs paying their taxes in cash written by the Piarists of Debrecen (PMKL, II.11, Debreceni Rendház Levéltára, Status Domus 1736–1770, fol. 8). A silver chalice and a diskos from 1698 were mentioned in the equipment of the 'Russian' parish during the canonical visitation in 1780, which indicates the archaism and authority of the parish, while the smaller Romanian parish gradually faded away, it did not have a priest any more (GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 2, no. 16). The two parishes

III.2.1

were unified in 1806, in 1822 the Romanian wooden church was used by the parish as a pantry (!), its iconostasis was mentioned in the church of Kiskálló at the same time (Nyirán – Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2017, 97, 206). The present church was built in 1832, it is confirmed by the year engraved in the segmental arch of the classic style stone frame of the church entrance (Entz, 1987, 406.). It is obvious that this bench was already made for the new church. The customer cannot be easily identified. Three people were documented in the death certificates under the name János Nemes Mosolygó: the first one deceased on 16 December 1837, at the age of seventy; the second one on 09 January 1843, at the age of twenty-seven; the third one on 14 June 1844, at the age of forty-six. (MNL SZSZBML, IV. 451/468, Újfehértó, Copy of the Greek Catholic register. Thanks to László Szemán archivist for the data.) Presumably the first person was the one who ordered and used the bench, in 1833 this person was aged enough and had enough authority to have a separate, more representative seat in the church. On the basis of the position of the carved side panel it seems that the bench was originally in the nave, on the northern side, because that is where its details were clearly visible. There is no information on any such benches from other Greek Catholic churches. Only one similar bench was preserved in Tokaj but that one is much more modest. A stool-shaped bench was preserved in Aranyosapáti, with a side rest that has similar decoration to the bench of Újfehértó, probably made in the 1840s (Picture 2).

Excerpt from the topography of monuments of the county: 'The bench was fixed with a figural, painted sheet, probably with the panel of a former iconostasis, representing Christ and two other figures.' The fragment mentioned here was detached and underwent conservation in 2019 (Picture 3). The wooden panel tailored to the width of the bench, strongly truncated at least on two sides, is in fact a fragment of an icon. Not only three but many more figures can be observed on it, sitting around a round table. It is clear that this is a fragment from a depiction of *The Last Supper*, but the main figure, the figure of Jesus Christ was not preserved. The table is set, there are plates, cutlery for everyone, in the centre there is a chalice and a loaf of bread, and a bigger bowl that was probably for paschal lamb. The lower quarter of the composition is complete, the figures of four Apostles are almost intact. To the left of the former central axis there is Judas from a profile view, with the money bag on his belt, on his right two Apostles face one another, and the other Disciple sitting next to them might be looking at Christ. Three more Disciples must have been on this side, only fragments of



(3)

them were preserved: only the left hand of John leaning on Jesus' bosom was preserved. There were six more Disciples on the other side, from them Judas is intact, and the upper part of the head of another Apostle turning away from the table, and the fragment of the face of another disciple can be seen on the truncated edge of the wooden panel. A sketch made to a previous plan was discovered under the painting and where the frame used to be, it fitted narrow arches of arcades. The traces of bolts can be observed on the right side of the panel and at its bottom, probably they served for fixing a thick decor frame.

Where can this fragment come from? Most probably from the previous church. The equipment of the actual building was made by the Rétay and Benedek Art Institute in 1913 – cf. *Egyházi Műipar*, 14(1913), 3. szám, 44. The old icons and equipment of the former church were probably used until the new equipment was made. With the arrival of the new equipment the old objects became redundant. Somebody decided to recycle this thick wooden panel to increase the stability of the bench: it was cut to size, and with the painted figures down it was nailed to the bottom of the seat. Fortunately the painted part was on the inside, so it survived the influence of humidity even when it was close to the wall, although important surfaces were destroyed after its recycling.

The old church was rather well documented in the records of the canonical visitation in 1780 (GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 2, no. 16). Then it was believed that the church was built by the local community from wicker (wickerwork glued together with mud), at the place of the previous church. The walls of the church were decorated with episodes of the passion of Jesus, the wooden vault above the church for men was also colourful. The roof was repaired in 1771, in 1774 the

III.2.1

walls were plastered and whitewashed from outside, and six years later the foundations were solidified with bricks. The altar, with the image of Christ crucified, stood on a wooden board placed on a tree trunk. The iconostasis was built partly from money raised by fundraising, partly from the donation of Sir Zsigmond Rácz in 1763, for 200 guilders, or ducats, and 50 chalders of wheat. It was an elegant iconostasis with three doors, with the images of the main feasts. The 'church for women' (the west part of the nave) was separated by beams, and old main icons, the depictions of the Punishments in Hell and the Parable of the Prodigal Son are painted on its walls. This all suggests that *The Last Supper* was not on the altar, it probably belonged to the iconostasis. The wall of icons had at least three sequences: main icons, feasts and Apostles, and iron candlesticks were placed in front of the latter. The name of Zsigmond Rácz was mentioned once more in the records: He bought the smaller, 75-pound bell of the church in 1766. The registry of serfs paying their taxes in cash already included his name or his father's name in 1738. Their family could be an old and respectable family in the parish, because a certain Zsigmond Rácz was already mentioned in 1648 (cf. Sipos, 2000, 199), and there could only be one family where such an uncommon name is inherited from generation to generation.

On the basis of the records, the icon could be made in 1763. Its painter used western engraved prototypes going back to Albrecht Dürer's composition of *The Last Supper*. The painter of the iconostasis of Nyírparasznya also used a similar prototype in the 1780s, which shows the popularity of this prototype (cf. Terdik, 2014f, 228). (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Entz, 1987, 406.

Cabinet with a revolving bookcase

Catalogue III.20



Second part of the 19th century
height: 145 cm (57.1 in); length: 72 cm (28.3 in); width: 58.5 cm (23 in)
Conservation: Ferenc Varga, 2020.
Greek Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas, Tokaj

On one side of the block-shaped cabinet standing on four legs there is an arched door, and there is a bookshelf inside. In the centre of the cover of the cabinet, the revolving, roof-shaped book rest, which is a few centimetres longer and wider than the cabinet, is placed on a balustrade-shaped neck. At one end of the revolving part there is an arched opening.

In the church of Tokaj, both *kliroses* contained a bench for the cantor, now only the revolving part of one is preserved, the shape of the corresponding seats is unknown. From the second part of the 20th century they were not used any more, and from their places they were moved to the gallery of the church. According to the church inventory performed during the canonical visitation in 1940, they were still there (cf. Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2014, 59).

This is the only *kliros* with a revolving book case preserved intact in the Metropolitan Archeparchy of

Hajdúdorog. During church visits in the 18th and 19th centuries the condition of the choir stall, called 'choir' or 'kliros' (or in a distorted form 'kriros') was always checked as well. In the Byzantine tradition, the place occupied by the cantor is the soleas at the two ends of the outer sanctuary. In our wooden and stone churches, if there was no separate, semi-circular kliros, the place reserved for the cantor was indicated by benches placed in parallel with the wall of the nave, and book cabinets with revolving parts could also be placed in front of them. If there was no such book cabinet, the cantor simply put his books on the parapet of the bench. However, in the 20th century their original function faded away since cantors gradually moved to the west gallery, and as the furniture lost its function, it was removed from the church interior. Small benches were in some instances preserved in their original places (e.g. Makó, Csengerújfalu, and in Biri the two-seated bench reserved for the cantor in the former wooden church is now on the gallery of the church). Today, revolving book cabinets similar to the one in Tokaj are gone. The two kliroses were also mentioned in the nearby Bodrogolaszi in 1940 (cf. Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2014, 118), but in 2010 I only found a fragment of one of the book holders, the revolving part and the cabinet with a missing door, with a secondary function, in the base of the tower. There is information on the creation of the kliroses in the general ledger of the parish as well: they were installed in the 1870s. There are two similar kliroses from the 19th century in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church in Nagykároly, they are intact. The revolving parts of these are slanted on four sides, compared to the kliroses of Tokaj, where they are slanted only on two sides. There has been a rediscovery of the place of cantors in the church in the past ten years, therefore revolving book holders can be found in more and more parishes (e.g. Nyíregyháza, Debrecen, cathedral). (Sz. T.)

Irmologion

Catalogue III.21



17th-18th centuries

276, fol.

150 × 185 × 5 cm (59 × 72.8 × 1.97 in)

paperback with brown leather on the spine and the corners; damaged, incomplete

SZAGKHF, Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. M-1040 (Ms10003).

The *Irmologion* (*Heirmologion*) is the 'collection of irmoses', i.e. a book of canticles. *Irmoses* are long parts of odes that are difficult to learn, this is why canticle sheet music collections preserving liturgical music of Byzantine Rite Christianity are named after them. *Irmologia* contain the main invariable and variable chants of the three main kinds of worship (Divine Liturgy, Vespers, Matins) chanted on Sundays and days of feasts.

The first printed *Irmologion* in East Slavic territories was published in Lviv in 1700, and in Vienna the first such chant book was published in the printing house of Joseph Kurzböck 'Illyrian', without sheet music, not exactly designed for the Uniate population. In the 18th century, Greek Catholics in Hungary used *Irmologia* made in the printing houses of Lviv and Pochaiv, and a surprisingly high number of manuscript copies were used until quite recently (until the end of the 19th century). The majority of the manuscript *Irmologia* preserved among Greek Catholics from the 17th century contain only melodies that are difficult to sing. Illustrations can be found mainly in the headers and in the form of initials.

From manuscript *Irmologia* decorated with rare, figural compositions, the *Irmologion* of Sajópálfala deserves attention, described by László Kárpáti (Kárpáti, 1985, 171–177; Kárpáti 1986, 328–347). (See also: Cat. III.22).

The Church Slavonic manuscript *Irmologion* with sheet music that was brought from the Monastery of Máriapócs to the library of St. Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, Nyíregyháza, was probably made in the 17–18th centuries. It contains the Dogmaticon of the Irmologion: the *stihiras* greeting the Theotokos, chanting about truths of faith, dogmas, related to the Incarnation of the Word.

Colourful, ornamental headers and initials can be observed on the edges of the sheet music corresponding to the respective sound. Late Renaissance floral and tendril motifs can be seen on the headers, strongly influenced by folk style. A simpler plait motif also appears in initials.

Several Hungarian manuscript entries can be found in the *Irmologion*: 'Tótsik György Gebej [today: Nyírkáta] kántor'; 'Deváhó János tanult... 1820'; on the rear endsheet 'Telepi Jánovics' (correctly Telepjánovics). On the inside of the endsheet at the beginning of the book a 'Stamp of the Library of the Monastery of Máriapócs' is visible. (X. G.)

Bibliography

Ojtozi, 1982, 128., Ms. kat. 16.
Baán–Damjanovics, 2018, 577.



Copyist: János (?) Fetko (Fekete), before 1755
paper, manuscript, illustrated
203 fol.

in brown leather cover, with pressed pattern
height: 19.2 cm (7.6 in); width: 15.5 cm (6.1 in), thickness:
4.3 cm (1.7 in)

Archdiocese Library of Eger, T.XVI.12.

This *Irmologion* is more than a simple sheet music book, the contents of which cannot be much different from the other samples described in this present volume, this *Irmologion* is also a richly illustrated volume (32 pages are illustrated with some kind of drawing). Most of the drawings are headers but there are also full-page illustrations and some initials. It seems that the sheet music and the corresponding texts and pictures were made by the same person. Regarding figural drawings though, especially those that are closer to the representations of the Byzantine tradition, the precursors could be front pages or inline wood engravings of liturgical books from the 17th century, treated with much flexibility by the illuminator. The figures drawn with brown ink were often accentuated by ochre and/or green colours. There is a wide range of iconography depictions: scenes from the Gospels, from the lives of saints, or simply the depiction of a saint. The headers and the richly formed initials were often composed of purely ornamental variations (for their iconographic description see:

Kárpáti, 1986, 346–347, footnote 27). The illustrator used Roman Catholic etchings and Byzantine depictions as prototypes (e.g. the Holy Family, Saint Francis or Saint Anthony of Padua). Information on the Fetko (Fekete) family from Sajópálfala was written in Latin on the inner cover page of the book, and several illustrations were accompanied by Latin texts, which suggests a certain level of Latin knowledge. These Latin and other Slavonic entries make it clear that the Greek Catholic Church of Sajópálfala was already used in the 18th century. The members of the Fetko family served as cantors in the community for centuries. László Kárpáti assumes that the copyist of the book could be János, who wrote the first note in the book in Slavonic language (1755).

This present volume also includes a wide range of illustrated *Irmologia* from the territory of present Hungary. There are two samples though that were brought to the centre of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, to Uzhhorod at the dawn of World War II, and in 1949 to the University Library of Uzhhorod. One is from Gadna, the other one is from Hodász, and the information written in them in Hungarian confirms that in the 1930s they were still preserved in the parish. These are richly illustrated volumes with ornamental headers and decoratively shaped letters, and the style of figural drawings is more in line with traditions of the previous centuries, which makes them look older but they could not be made earlier than the 18th century (for a brief description from the 16th century see: Štrepel, 2012, 171–174, 45D, 46D). (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

- Балецкий, Э.: Эгерский рукописный ирмологий, *Studia Slavica*, 4(1958), 293–322.
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 Kárpáti, 1986, 328–347.



19th century (before 1857)

+74–251 fol.

20.5 × 23.8 × 3.5 cm (8.07 × 9.4 × 1.4 in)

Conservation: Péter Kovács, 2020.

SZAGKHF, Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. M–1054 (Ms20004).

This Church Slavonic *Irmologion* with sheet music was donated to the Greek Catholic Parish of Nyírcsászár by Ferenc Juhos in 1857. On the endsheet at the end of the book he also includes a longer manuscript with biographical information on his own life and on his family:

'I was born on 21 November 1803, got engaged to the unmarried daughter of András Vojdits, Maria on 11 January 1831, we got married on 31 January 1831. My daughter Mártha was born on 23 December 1831, baptised on 24 December. My son Gyuritzsa was born on Palm Sunday in 1834 and died on Good Friday. My son Mihály was born on 14 September 1835, my son János was born on 9 June 1837, and died. My other son János was born on 9 July 1843.

I offer this *Irmologion* to the Greek Catholic Church with the request to keep this page. 7 April, Császári, donator: Ferentz Juhos m.p. Royal notary'

The book contains the *Dogmaticon*, the Song of the Theotokos of the *Oktoechos*, followed by melody samples of the *Oktoechos* under the title *Podobna*. These content units are introduced by figural-ornamental headers: naive drawings coloured by

watercolour. The first letter of the canticles is also a colourful, primitive initial. The *Irmologion* from Nyírcsászári is incomplete, the canticles of the first three melodies are missing, the Dogmaticon of the fourth melody can be found in the first complete chapter. Schematic representations of the central medallions of the header: *The Crucifixion*, a martyr saint, a Christogram. The header of the fifth melody is different from the others, it is filled with a colourful ornament in a square mesh on the two sides of the Latin cross, recalling the world of cross-stitch embroidery. The header introducing the chapter including the *podobnas* of the *Oktoechos* is decorated with the medallion of *Theotokos with the Infant*.

Irmologions (ten *Irmologia*) constitute one third of the manuscript collection of the library of the Theological College in Nyíregyháza. The oldest one is from the 17th century, the youngest was made in 1890 in Máriapócs. The proportion of manuscript *Irmologia* in the collection in Nyíregyháza confirms that until the end of the 19th century, manuscript culture survived among Greek Catholics living in the Kingdom of Hungary since they did not have their own printing houses to print liturgical books in Church Slavonic language. (X. G.)

Bibliography

Baán–Damjanovics, 2018, 578.

Psalm Book and Book of Revelation

Catalogue III.24

Psaltir" bl[a]žennago Pror[o]ka i C[a]râ D[a]v[i]da. i Apokalipsis" s[vâ]ttago Ioanna B[o]goslova. Zde spisasa Ioannom Ugasevičom pěvcem" Nevěččânskiâ C[e]rkvi. Pri hramě Pokrov" Pr[e]s[vâ]tyâ Vl[a]d[i]č[i]cy našeâ B[ogorod]icy, i Pr[i]sno D[ě]vy M[a]rii. Roku B[o]žjâ 1805 m[ě]s[â]ca marta dnâ 17.

Juhaszevics János (1741–1814), Nyevice, 1805
paper, ink

167 fol. (pagination with Church Slavonic characters)

19.5 × 24.8 × 3.5 cm (7.7 × 9.8 × 1.4 in)

without binding

Conservation: Péter Kovács, 2020.

SZAGKHF, Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. M–1051 (Ms20001).

The tradition of copying liturgical books was preserved for quite a long time among Greek Catholics in Hungary, since Church Slavonic materials for this purpose were not printed in Hungary before the early 19th century. An example for such a late manuscript, but with frames, with headers decorated with ornamental-figural motifs, with initials, written in red and black ink and illuminated, is the *Psalm Book* written in Church Slavonic language, copied in Nyevitske (*Невуцьке/Nyevice*) by János Juhaszevics (Ioann/Ivan Jugaszevics-Szkljarszkij). According to the information indicated on its cover page, it contains *Psalms* written by Saint David, the Prophet, and the *Book of Revelation* written by Saint John The Theologian, and was copied by 'Ioann Jugaszevics', cantor of the church of the Protection of the Theotokos in Nyevitske on 17 March 1805.

Besides the *Psalm Book*, the manuscript also contains the text of the *Book of Revelation*. It is followed by two charts: the first one shows the years of indiction from 1805 to 1848 AD, the second one is the aid to determine the date of Easter ('KIûč pashalnj'). This is followed by a fragmented explanatory chapter related to the former chart.

A figural header can be found in two instances in the manuscript, an Eleusa (Umilenije) icon of *The Theotokos with the Infant* was drawn by Juhaszevics in the medallion of the header. Otherwise the different chapters were introduced by headers decorated with geometric or plant ornaments. He made full-page illustrations before the bigger content units of the book by gluing depictions following western iconography in the book, with copperplate engravings, and drew refined ornamental frames around them. The origin of the used etchings has not been identified yet, no inscriptions or indications were found on them.

He depicted the glued icon of the Holy Trinity, certainly the first one from the icons of the 18th century, on the inside of the actual cover of the manuscript, on the basis of the so-called *Notgottes* iconography: the



Father in His Heavenly Glory, surrounded by the heads of angels, wearing a mitre, holding Christ crucified in front of Himself, and the dove of the Holy Spirit floats under the half-figure of Christ. The next glued icon shows the five Holy Wounds of Christ. The scribe left his signature in Church Slavonic, in Cyrillic characters and the year 1805 under the depiction of the third icon with an etching, the *Immaculata*: 'Ioann Ūgasevič' 1805, m[ěšâ]ca Avgusta, dnâ [?30]'. This information also refers to the speed of making manuscript copies: Most certainly Juhaszevics started to work on the manuscript on the day indicated on the cover, on 17 March, and in August he finished 126 pages.

At least thirty-eight manuscripts are attributed to Juhaszevics by researchers. *Irmologions*, canticle books and calendars copied with a refined handwriting, illustrated with his own artistic drawings, usually inspired by etchings from printed materials, turned this multitalented cantor-scribe into the most well-known Rusyns Greek Catholic copyist. A less decorated sample of his work is preserved in the library of the College in Nyíregyháza, one of the ten *Irmologia* attributed to him from 1800 (Ms20003).

Juhaszevics was born in Prikra, Sáros County, in 1741. He started his studies in the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood School at the age of fifteen, where he learned to be a cantor and acquired the art of book copying. He was a cantor in his home town from 1761 to 1763, and he also wrote his first book of canticles

here. In 1766, as the founder of the local church he wrote his signature with a double family name. From 1795 to 1814 he worked as a cantor-teacher, caretaker of the parish and the village judge in Nyevitske, close to Uzhorod. He was an active copyist until the end of his life. He died on 15 December 1814.

Researchers studying the heritage of the Carpathian region in fine arts and music have become deeply interested in the work of Juhaszevics in the past two decades. The abundant Ukrainian literature has not studied the *Psalms Book* yet, even though it is unique because besides the drawings he made, he also glued western etchings in it. (X. G.)

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 Сопко, Одарка: *Рукописна спадщина Івана Югасевича на зламї XVIII–XIX століть*, Львів, 2017 (with earlier literature).

III.2.1 Church Model

Catalogue III.25



*First part of the 20th century, Imre Biri tinker
galvanised tin; painted
height: 118 cm (46.5 in); length: 60 cm (23.6); width: 40 cm
(15.7 in)
Holy Protection of the Theotokos Greek Catholic
Church, Makó*

A horizontal, block-shaped nave with edged corners, with a pitched roof and a proportionate tower on top of it. There are door wings on its main façade, made from wooden-door-looking plates, a lunette with shell motif ornaments above the entrance, and identical lunettes can be seen on the upper level of the tower, above the four windows with Venetian blinds. The church has a pedestal, a proportionate entablature, and the walls between the three-three windows on the main façade and on the longer sides of the nave are segmented by pilasters with Doric capitals. On top of the ledge of the main façade the name of the artist can be seen in the form of an oval overlay: 'Biri Imre Bádogos Makó' ('Imre Biri tinker, Makó'). The master inserted a round window with Venetian blinds on the middle level of the church to provide light to the attic, and the main façade

is closed by voluted arches on both sides. The spire is beautifully proportioned and closed down by an onion profile. The walls and the bigger surfaces of the roof are painted yellow, the segments, the spire and the elements of the roof above the edged part have a copper colour paint, while the gate, the window frames, the blinds and the plant ornaments under the windows of the nave are green. The original crosses are missing, the actual ones are reconstructions. Glass panels are mounted into the windows of the nave. This also suggests that originally it was designed as a Nativity scene (and this is how it was used up to recent times), and an icon and candles could create Christmas atmosphere.

The exact date of preparation is unknown. From 1900, Imre Biri often appeared in local media as a well-known tinker. He returned from World War I probably with injuries, since he was considered a war invalid. His authority in town can be represented by the fact that he was also a member of the municipal council called 'Parliament' in local media. He gained nationwide reputation thanks to the erection of the cross of the Catholic church tower in Makó-Újváros in 1913, as according to the announcement of the celebration in the local journal '*Maros*', the master was expected to raise a toast thirteen times and drop down his wine glass or a small souvenir after each toast. Due to the ambiguous wording of the announcement, national papers also published this piece of news, several of them added anticlerical comments (e.g. How many glasses does it make?, Toast on Top of the Church, *Szeged és Vidéke* 07 April 1913, 6; Dedication, *Borsszem Jankó*, 13 April 1913, 13; Erection of a Cross With Mime Drinking, *Népszava*, 20 April 1913, 9–10). The erection of another crucifix by Biri also appeared in the news in 1928: 'In Csanádpalota, something miraculous happened during the blessing of the crucifix. Imre Biri craftsman from Makó dropped a glass in front of an audience from 40 m height, from the top of the tower, emptying it to the resurrection of Greater Hungary. The weak glass fell in front of the church, on granite, but instead of breaking it bounced back one and a half meters [59 inches], then fell on its foot and stopped intact. Those present suggest that this miraculous event reflected the unbreakable unity of Greater Hungary.' (*Mi újság Vidéken?*, *Kis Újság*, 41[1928], 127. szám, 6.)

Imre Biri lived in 2, Lehel Street, Makó, and he was a member of the board of directors of the volunteer fire brigade. Biri died in 1936, at the age of fifty-nine, due to his injury from the front line, according to his obituary (see Makói hírek, *Délmagyarország*, 12[1936], 259. szám, 7). His memorial service took place following the Roman Catholic tradition on 03 November (*Makói Újság*, 2[1936], 251. szám, 3). (Sz. T.)

III.2.2 The Altar of Abaújszolnok

Szilveszter Terdik

The settlement Szolnok (Abaújszolnok) is located in the southern part of historic Abaúj County, in the District of Szikszó. In the early 18th century, the village was colonised by Rusyns, who would soon build a wooden church there. In 1741, during the tenure of Gergely Zuhrovics (Zsugrovics) as parish priest, the building was in a sorry state,¹ yet, six years later, it was found to be in good repair.² From 1751 and 1752, the protocols of even two visitations survive, revealing local conditions. According to the first of these, the wooden church was in a moderately poor condition, it was blessed by Dean Dudinszky, and its *antimins* was from the time of Bishop Bizánczy (1716–1733), the latter circumstance also serving as an indication of the approximate time of the blessing of the church; in connection with the pictures of the church, it is noted that all of the sovereign-tier icons were new and had not been blessed. The other protocol contains only the parishes of the Deanery of Cserehát at the time; the church is described as new and built from wood; it was supplied with the necessary equipment; the name of the parish priest was János Zsuhrovics (Zsugrovics)³ – presumably son of the previous priest.

The wooden church concerned was described and even surveyed by Viktor Myskovszky (1838–1909), an art teacher from Košice (Kassa), during his excursion to Abaúj County. In the report of his study trip, without the drawings, Myskovszky published only a hand-drawn representation of the Cyrillic text engraved in the beam above the west entrance of the wooden church, suggesting that the church was built in 1758, in the time of the priest 'Zsohrovics János'.⁴ He was pleased to remark that he had been able to prepare the drawings in time because he had learnt from the local parish priest that the wooden church would be demolished and a new one would be built in its place as soon as

the opportunity arose.⁵ The two drawings were partially published in 1999 by László Kárpáti, who also conducted a detailed architectural analysis of the former building, specifying its type as a Lemko wooden church typical of Southern Poland and Upper Hungary.⁶ In the present paper, the survey drawings are reproduced in their entirety: The first page features the base plan and the front view of the south side of the wooden church (Picture 1),⁷ while, on the next page, the longitudinal section and the survey of the west gate of the building are presented (Picture 2).⁸ By comparing the date above the former west entrance (1758) to the data in the 1752 protocol speaking of a new wooden church, it may be established that the former date refers to the final completion of the building.

In 1893, Myskovszky was also invited to participate in the planning of the national exhibition to mark the Millennium of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin (896). At that time, he returned to his surveys from Abaújszolnok; he envisaged the Greek Catholic wooden church to be put on display at the exhibition as modelled on the church there.⁹ Again, he produced two drafts, one featuring the longitudinal- and cross-section of the church and the other showing the south front and the base plan. In comparison with the drawings from 1876, it was a novelty that, this time, he also displayed the cross section of the nave as well on the first page, with the drawing of a full iconostasis seen in it. Although it might be speculated that this iconostasis could also document the furnishings of the church of Abaújszolnok, the fact that the sanctuary includes the drawing of a baldachined altar, which cannot have stood in that location, ought to prompt caution. In making the 1893 plans, Myskovszky probably drew on his memories about other wooden churches; for

The paper was written with the support of the Research Group 'Greek Catholic Heritage' under the Joint Programme 'Lendület' (Momentum) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College.

¹ Véghseő – Terdik – Simon, 2014, 106.

² Véghseő – Terdik, 2015, 147.

³ Véghseő – Terdik – Simon – Majchrics – Földvári – Lágler, 2015, 281–282, 497–498.

⁴ 'Sozdan' est' hram' sei pri ierei Ioanne Žugroviče 1758' – 'This church was created in the time of the priest János Zsugrovics, 1758', transcription and translation by Xénia Golub.

⁵ Myskovszky, Viktor. Az 1875-ik év nyarán tett régészeti utazásom eredménye, *Archaeologiai Közlemények*, 10(1876), 3, 71–72.

⁶ Kárpáti, 1999, 678, Pictures 1 and 2

⁷ Paper India ink, colour India ink, 563 mm × 398 mm (22.16" × 15.67"), Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Centre, Archives of Plans, Inv. No. K 910.

⁸ Paper India ink, colour India ink, 563 mm × 400 mm (22.16" × 15.74"), Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Centre, Archives of Plans, Inv. No. K 911.

⁹ The two drawings: Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, R 2634–2635, published in: Tasnádi, Zsuzsanna. *Ácsolt fatornyok – védelmező templomok. Válogatás a Néprajzi Múzeum grafikáiból, fényképeiből* (A Néprajzi Múzeum Kamarakiállítás, 19), Budapest, 2013, 5–6. The plans were not implemented; in the exhibition area, only the replica of the Calvinist church of Izvoru Crișului (*Körösfő*) was built.

(1)



instance, he mentioned a baldachin in the description of wooden churches from Sáros County.¹⁰

In Abaújszolnok, the new church built from a solid material in an eclectic style was completed by 1895.¹¹ The building had retained not only its old title feast (the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, 29 August) but also some of its furnishing items: an 18th-century processional icon (see: Cat. III.29), the *antependium* of the baroque altar (see: Cat. III.27), as well as its

(2)



reredos, placed on one of the *prestols* (console tables in front of the sovereign-tier icons) of the former iconostasis, on the south side of the nave, under the window closest to the sanctuary.¹² While the former two specimens were conserved in the past few years, the reredos of the altar has been restored very recently (Picture 3). From the former iconostasis of the wooden church, two sovereign-tier icons, the *Teaching Christ* and the *Theotokos*, were also evidenced, but they were stolen in 1995.¹³

¹⁰ In the description of the wooden church of Ondavka (*Ondavafő*), he mentions a 'canopy' (*mennyezet*) standing on four pillars as an arrangement reminiscent of altars of the 'Byzantine ciborium-type' (*bizanti ciborium-féle*). Myskovszky, Viktor. Adalék régi fatemplomaink ösmeretéhez, *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 14(1894), 246.

¹¹ *Schematismus Venerabilis Cleri Graeci Ritus Catholicorum Dioecesis Eperjesiensis pro Anno Domini 1898*, Eperjes, 1898, 127.

¹² Its baldachined high altar was made in 1896 according to the inscription on its back: 'ISTEN DICSŐSÉGÉRE / adományozta! / Kriván Ferencz; egyházi gond. / nokok: Kriván Ferencz, / 200. forintot adományoztak. / Olajütő Fedor János; Bubno Já. / nos, Galvács Mihály; Számadó / István 60 forintot adományoztak / Bukszár György nyéstei zse: / lér 50. forintot adományozot. / KOVALICZKY PÉTER készítete / UNGVÁR 1896 ban.' (To the Glory of God donated by Ferenc Kriván. Church curator Ferenc Kriván donated 200 forints, church curators János Olajütő Fedor, János Bubnó, Mihály Galvács and István Számadó donated 60 forints, and György Bukszár, a villein from Nyésta, donated 50 forints. Made by Péter Kovaliczky in Uzhhorod in 1896.) The iconostasis and the table of oblation were made in the Budapest company Rétay és Benedek Műipari Intézet in 1903, *Egyházi Műipar*, 5(1904), 2. szám, 7.

¹³ Puskás, László. *Házad ékessége: Görögkatolikus templomok, ikonok, ikonosztázok Magyarországon*, Nyíregyháza, 1991, 93–94; Kárpáti, 1999, 685–686, Pictures 7 and 8; Puskás, 2008, 185–186, 248, Pictures 138 and 139. On the theft, with actual data on the pictures: *Cent Objects Disparus / One Hundred Missing Objects: Looting in Europe – Pillage en Europe*, Barcelona, 2001, 69.

(3)



The significance of the structure regarded as large in Greek Catholic terms but only barely on a par with an average side altar in scale by Roman Catholic standards (height: 242 cm [95.27"], width: 253 cm [99.60"]) is not defined by its size. In Hungary, very few 18th-century Greek Catholic altars have been preserved (e.g. Nyírdersz and Sárospatak), with the one in Abaújszolnok retaining its original form the most.¹⁴

The church inventory compiled in 1877 reveals the size and shape of the table holding the structure, and it is also clearly indicated that its pediment at the time was more complex and higher than the present one, even decorated by two paintings: *the Baptism of Jesus (Epiphany)* and a depiction of the Father at the top. The total height of the structure was 2 m 84 cm (9.31 ft). By subtracting its current height (242 cm [95.27"]) from

¹⁴ Works on the altar to date: Puskás, 1996, 14, 31, kat. 64. The altar is described in more detail in: Kárpáti, 1999, 687–693, Picture 5; Puskás, 2008, 185–186, Picture 151.

III.2.2

this value, a pediment height of approx. 50 cm (19.68") may be estimated.¹⁵ Most probably, the carved fragments subsequently attached to the upper section of the altarpiece were part of the ornamental segments of the latter. The altar is bevelled; its main picture fitted into a frame closed with a prominent arched cornice between two columns with fretwork carving shows the Crucifixion. In the composition painted on a wooden board – possibly based on western engraved prototypes – apart from His mother and the beloved disciple, the Saviour is accompanied by Maria Magdalena falling to the ground at the bottom of the cross and embracing it. It may only be deduced from the carved gilded background evocative of the Rococo and the Church Slavonic inscriptions flanking the depicted saints that the picture was made at the request of the Greek Catholic community (Picture 4). The footing of the altar structure is segmented by surfaces framed by templets, with carved rosettes in their centres, while the central axis is occupied by the sacrament house, with a *prophoro* piece, the Lamb, cut in a square shape surrounded by rays, shining over a chalice on its gilded and lustrated door. The Patriarchal cross adorning the sacrament house is from a later period; the gilded carving fitted on its top in all probability belonged to the lost original pediment. The main picture was complemented by two richly carved wings, with two upright figures in irregular picture areas: King David on the left and the Prophet Nathan on the right; the former holds a harp, while the latter has an open scroll in his hand with a biblical quotation (и гдѣ ѿиатъ согрѣшеніе твоє – ‘The Lord also has put away your sin...’ – 2 Sam. 12:13b). The inscription aids the interpretation of the picture: Guided by God, the Prophet goes before the monarch and reprimands him for seducing Uriah’s wife; he makes the king realise the severity of his transgression through a parable, prompting him to do true penance; according to tradition, it is then that King David composes the most well-known penitential prayer, the 50th Psalm. During an informal conversation a few years ago, László Kárpáti proposed that the lateral pictures were made after the cover illustration of a Psalter printed in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. This composition was displayed already on the front cover of the 1728 edition and would also emerge in



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subsequent versions with a slight modification: the text on Nathan’s scroll is absent from the engraving of the 1755 variant.¹⁶

Thus, it may seem that, in Abaújszolnok, in painting the image of Nathan, the first variant of the engraving was used as a starting point, implying that a copy of the Psalter could be available to the painter. This assumption appears to be reinforced by the protocol of the 1752 visitation of the parish, where it is emphasised that, in addition to the necessary liturgical books, the community also possessed a Psalter with explanations (*‘Psalterium explicatum’*).¹⁷ Based on the Nathan image appearing on the altar, it would seem likely that they actually owned the 1728 Kiev edition. Seldom is it the case that reference to the on-site existence of the engraved prototype of a baroque painting is available. Furthermore, it may also be inferred that, in the selection of the prototype, as well as in the

¹⁵ Cf. Kárpáti, 1999, 689. This pediment must have perished as early as circa 1900 as the style of the considerably smaller supplement made with leaf-ornaments is suggestive of an early-20th-century date.

¹⁶ Запаско – Ісаєвич, 1984, kat. 1097. Subsequent editions: *ibid.*, kat. 1917, 1919, 2144. Cf. the description of the Nyírgyulaj Psalter in the present volume, Cat. III.26.

¹⁷ Véghseő – Terdik – Simon – Majchrics – Földvári – Lágler, 2015, 497. It is no longer listed in the 1877 inventory. Kárpáti, 1999, 691–692.

(5)



specification of the iconographic programme of the altar, the local parish priest, Zsuhrovics, played a major role. The Crucifixion theme of the altarpiece was a straightforward choice since Christ's sacrifice of the cross is the archetype of the sacrificial act of the Divine Liturgy as well. The appearance of David and Nathan, however, is not known from elsewhere: Most certainly, the parish priest intended to clarify it to penitents that the death of Christ not only broke the curse of ancestral sin symbolised by the motif in the main picture – Adam's skull at the bottom of the cross – but, in the Sacraments of Confession and the Eucharist, it would also wash away the personal sins of true penitents, whose paragon could be David. The former pedimental picture showing the Baptism of Jesus was an allusion to the patron saint of the church, John the Baptist, as well. Perhaps it is no coincidence that it was precisely this scene that was absent from the *antependium* on the front plate of the altar. The programme of the altar structure was harmonised with that of the frontal.

Data on the painter, carver or the exact time of the production of the altar have not been discovered to date. The style of the two lost sovereign-tier icons and of the paintings of the altar is indicative of a single pair of hands, while the *antependium* is reflective of finer skills; the

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processional icon suggests a master with considerably weaker training though. If the data in the protocol of the 1751 visitation recording that the sovereign-tier icons were new were applicable to the paintings nowadays familiar only from photographs,¹⁸ it is appropriate to assume that the altar was made in the same period, i.e. in the middle of the 18th century. For some time, László Kárpáti would attribute the two sovereign-tier icons to József Szécsényi,¹⁹ a proposal which would require further investigation given the only known signed work by the painter from 1791 (see: Cat. III.38). With reference to their style, however, the paintings of the Holy Unmercenaries Cosmas and Damian painted in cartouches on the front plates of two *prestols*, surviving in the Greek Catholic church of Mogyoróska, could be associated with the painter of the altar of Abaújszolnok (Pictures 5 and 6). Just as the pictures of the Abaújszolnok altar, these works are also characterised by dynamic forms, slightly exaggerated extremity proportions and vivid colour use. In 1751, the wooden church of Mogyoróska was described as built one year earlier to replace the old dilapidated one; it had a splendid steeple and was fitted with all manner of new pictures.²⁰ Based on this information, the making of the two tables may be dated to the middle of the 18th century, similarly to the altar of Abaújszolnok.

¹⁸ At the time of the 1877 visitation, it was not known when the iconostasis had been made. Apart from some dimension data, it is also indicated that it consisted of three rows; there were six pictures on the Royal Doors, with the *Last Supper* above them, and the door bevels bore the pictures of the authors of the liturgy. Kárpáti, 1999, 691. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that it dated from the 18th century. At that time, on the south wall of the nave, pictures of the 'old iconostasis' are also mentioned (Kárpáti, 1999, 692), which might have been even earlier pieces from the former wooden church.

¹⁹ Kárpáti, 1999, 685–686, Pictures 7 and 8. Herein, he did not elaborate on the attribution but marked it in the inscriptions of the pictures conditionally.

²⁰ Véghseő – Terdik – Simon – Majchrics – Földvári – Lágler, 2015, 295. At the time of the 1786 census, the church was known to have been built in 1741. Concerning its shape, it is noted that it was surrounded by a porch all around, a circumstance also considered in estimating its capacity: Its interior and the porch combined could hold three-hundred people. See: Véghseő – Terdik – Majchrics – Földvári – Varga – Lágler, 2017, 157. Cf. Demjanovich Emil: Mogyoróska, *Görög Katholikus Hírlap*, 3(1905), 5.

Its reredos, very similar to the altar of Abaújszolnok, was added to the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, from the Greek Catholic church of Chorváty (*Tornahorváti*). By juxtaposing the currently disassembled, extremely fragmentary structure with the Abaújszolnok specimen, it may be established that they are essentially of the same construction: The shafts with fretwork carving, the position of the picture, its bevelled frame, as well as the entire footing, but – first and foremost – the sacrament house, show correspondences possibly hinting at a single master. The wing pictures of the two reredoses are, nevertheless, different in shape and size, and the ornaments are also differently structured. On the altar of Chorváty, however, even the original pediment has survived. Incorporating innovations mainly in the ornaments only, its carver transmitted the base forms developed in the 17th century, which would maintain a palpable presence in the art of Greek Catholics in the Carpathian Region even as late as the beginning of the 19th century; presumably, these forms were kept alive by the communities' strong sense of respect for tradition for such a long time.

Upon seeing the close connection between the carved sections of the two altars, it would seem logical to conduct a comparison of the altarpieces as well: The Chorváty altarpiece (see: Cat. III.28), which may have been produced somewhat later than the one in Abaújszolnok, displays refined painting arrangements, which speak of a more mature and better-trained painter. It may be determined that the masters of the two altars must have been skilful painters from a nearby city (Eger or Košice), more familiar with western iconography, who, by carefully reproducing the sleek gilded background and the inscriptions in Greek and Cyrillic, also endeavoured to comply with the requirement of adhering to tradition, most probably expressed by the clients.

The style of the painter whose Hodigitria-type picture of the Virgin Mary painted on an wooden board, with a sleek gilded and silver-plated background, is kept in the Roman Catholic church of Krasznokvajda is close to that of the masters working in the two Greek Catholic churches – particularly of the one in Chorváty.²¹ From the inscription on the reverse of the wooden board, it may be ascertained that it was commissioned by

Deputy-Lieutenant József Szentimrey (1721–1776), local landowner and advowee of the church, in Eger in 1764. Unfortunately, from the painter's name, only the Christian name *Jakab* may be deciphered; the surname has been damaged by the split running across the board, making unambiguous transcription impossible.²² In this context, it is also well-worth considering this painting because, based on its inscription, it must be the work of a Roman Catholic master, who nonetheless created a composition that could pass even for a sovereign-tier icon of a contemporary iconostasis. Obviously, he must have produced a replica of an ancient miraculous icon in line with the client's intention. Of the miraculous icons in the Kingdom of Hungary, the Krasznokvajda painting shows affinity with the 17th-century icon of Cluj (*Kolozsvár*), originating in an Orthodox environment, with numerous engravings made of it during the 18th century.²³ Not only did these mass-produced drawings retain the Byzantine character of the icon, but they also demonstrated a predilection for presenting floral ornaments in minute detail in the background, as is the case with the specimen from Krasznokvajda. At any rate, it cannot be ruled out that the painter from Eger could employ a different prototype though.

However, the Krasznokvajda example also highlights the fact that, essentially, it could not be only the consequence of the local community's initiative that high-quality works of art surpassing contemporary rural standards – a case in point would be the *antependium* – were made for the church of Abaújszolnok. In all probability, advowee Pál Tiszta, gaining land grants for Selyeb, Monaj and Abaújszolnok from Maria Theresa in 1750, also played a role in selecting and recommending masters.²⁴

List of pictures

1. The base plan and south façade of the church of Abaújszolnok, 1876, by Viktor Myskovszky
2. The longitudinal section and the west gate of the church of Abaújszolnok, 1876, by Viktor Myskovszky
3. The altar of Abaújszolnok
4. Crucifixion. The altar of Abaújszolnok
5. Saint Cosmas. Greek Catholic church, Mogyoróska
6. Saint Damian. Greek Catholic church, Mogyoróska

²¹ I wish to thank painter and conservator Klára Nemessányi for her permission to use her photographs of the painting.

²² 'Curavit pro Ecclesia Vajdensi / Spect. D. Josephus Szent-Imrey / Ordin. Judlium Anno 1764. Agriae / Jacobus K[ra]c[k]er[?]'(?). To date, no data pointing to a painter with a similar surname working in Eger have been discovered by reviewing municipality records or the 1764/1765 register of taxpayers. It may be the case that he was not an Eger citizen.

²³ Cf. Szilárdy – Tüskés – Knapp, 1987, 106–107, Cat. 136–145. Dumitran, Ana – Hegedűs, Enikő – Rus, Vasile. *Fecioarele înlăcrimate ale Transilvaniei: Preliminarii la o istorie ilustrată a toleranței religioase*, Alba Iulia, 2011, 66–82.

²⁴ On the land grants: Borovszky, 1904, 549; Véghseő – Terdik – Simon – Majchrics – Földvári – Lágler, 2015, 497.

III.2.3 The Conservation of the Altar of Abaújszolnok

Tímea Bakonyi – Alexandra Erdős – Zsófia Imrik – Edina Kránitz

Of all the poorly preserved works of art which have been conserved in conjunction with the exhibition of the 52nd International Eucharistic Congress presenting the Greek Catholic community, the altar from the church of the Beheading of St John the Baptist in Abaújszolnok has undergone the most conspicuous aesthetic change.¹ From beneath subsequent 20th-century coats of brown and bronze paint employed with a view to harmonising the furnishings of the church, the original colour composition of the altar dating from the second half of the 18th century has emerged thanks to recent interventions: marmoration painted with light blue, green and pink, the original poliment gilding of the carvings, as well as ornaments lusted in red, green and yellow.

The condition of the altar prior to conservation

The reredos, the altarpiece, the two side-wings, the tabernacle and other carved components of the altar arrived at the conservation studio structurally enfeebled and in a rather contaminated condition. The joints of the altar cabinet had disengaged – causing 3–5 mm (0.12”–0.2”) large gaps in some places. On the right-hand side of the altar, in front of Saint John the Apostle, a prominent split ran along the joint of the boards, from bottom to top, across two-thirds of the plate. At the joints of the side-wings, a spilt was formed in the bases. The picture of King David had been pierced through at the angel's wing. The painted layers of the altar were in general sufficiently solid, but sporadic areas of peeling and blisters were also to be anticipated. The marble imitation and the pictures were heavily contaminated with dust, with cobwebs and wax flows also occurring on the surface. Attempts had been made to correct the gilded background of the altarpiece with bronze-powder paint in several locations, with repainting evident on the figures. The varnish finish of the paintings had turned yellow and was aged, unable to fulfil its function.

Stages of conservation

For the success of exploration and preservation, it was expeditious to disassemble the altar structure. Individual elements had originally been joined together with wooden pins and glue. During a previous renovation of the altar,

loosened and separated applied ornaments had been reinforced with pulled dowels, and larger gaps had been sealed.

Through solvent tests,² it became apparent that the original painting of the altar corresponded to the vivid marble painting customary in the Baroque and Rococo era and was by far superior to the repainting in artistic quality as well. The arguments seemed to be in favour of removing the second coat.



(1)

As opposed to treatment with solvents, mechanical exploration following the heating of the surface afforded a safer and faster solution in uncovering the original layers of the reredos and the tabernacle. To remove the discoloured and crackled varnish layer from the original marmoration, recourse was made to a chemical method. The use of water-free denatured alcohol (ethanol) or, in a few cases, of 3–5% ammonium hydroxide (combined with acetone wiping) proved to be the best course of action.

Thick coats of repainting and seals on gilded carvings and on the frames of the side-wings were removed with solvent packs³ or mechanically, with a scalpel. After pre-moistening with ethanol, repainting residues were treated mechanically, with a scalpel.

The exploration of the specimen produced significant aesthetic changes. On the reredos, marble imitation in two tones of blue, green and pink was exposed from

¹ Diameter: 204 × 256 cm (80.31” × 100.79”). Material and technique: paintings: oil, engraved, punched poliment gilding, wooden board. Altar structure: marmoration, pine-wood. Carvings: gilding, silver-plated lustre, lime-wood. Owner: Greek Catholic parish of Selyeb

² First, surface contamination was removed with a mixture of a 5% diluted solution of fatty alcohol sulphate and an anionic detergent, and, subsequently, water-free denatured alcohol was used to dissolve the discoloured layer of varnish. The remainder of solvents were wiped off with white spirit. Reredos, tabernacle and carved ornaments: Subsequent layers of paint could be removed with a mix of 85–95% of dichloromethane, 3–9% of methyl alcohol and 1–3% of pine resin, combined with white spirit wiping, as well as mechanically with a scalpel.

³ Ingredients: industrial paint remover, 5% diluted solution of formic acid and 5% paint stripper (Kromofág) (1:1:1). Packs were applied with simultaneous acetone wiping.

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beneath the brown marble painting (Picture 1). The tabernacle also regained its dark-blue and pink marmoration, and it became obvious that, of its beads, originally only upper one had been gilded with the poliment technique. The frame motif on the door of the sacramental house and the central carvings had also been made with glossy gilding, the *Amnos* (Lamb) in the middle had been silver-plated, and, in the background around the chalice, remnants of red lustre surfaced. Original coats of paint had not survived on the lock mechanism or on the hinges.

The exploration of the curtain carvings along the entablature uncovered the lustrated decoration on silver-foil.⁴ The sequence of the colouring preserved in a rather fragmentary condition had been as follows: 2 units of pinkish-red varnish pigment, 1 unit of yellow varnish pigment or shellac, 2 units of bluish-green, 1 unit of opaque red (not varnish pigment, with no silver-foil under it), 2 units of yellowish-green, 1 unit of yellow. The grape motifs of the fretwork gilded pillars had also been decorated with lustring, with the use of paint of two kinds of red and two shades of green. The carved vases on the top of the cornice had been gilded, and the flowers

(3)



had been made with red, yellow and green lustre. The left vase survived in a rather fragmentary condition: The gilding, along with the original grounding, was almost completely missing; the worn-out surface had been thoroughly painted over.

The exploration of the altarpiece happened in multiple phases. To remove discoloured and darkened varnish layers in areas painted in blue – owing to potential sensitivity to alkalis – mainly acetone, and in certain instances, a 1:1 mix of water-free denatured alcohol and a nitrogenous reducer was used. The latter solvent mixture proved to be effective in exploring the gilded background as well. On the remainder of the picture, 2–5% ammonium hydroxide with acetone wiping appeared to be most efficient. The old, thickly applied seals were crackled in a number of places, covering the original painted layers, in an approx. 10 cm (3.94") wide area along the split next to the figure of John the Apostle. In these sections, lute was removed with the help of paint stripper packs (Pictures 2–3).

The altar wings were explored similarly to the icon of the *Crucifixion*: On the gilded background, aged varnish layers could be removed safely with a 1:1 mix of

⁴ The thick coats of repainting covering lustrated surfaces needed to be removed mechanically, combined with heating, as the original surface proved to be sensitive to treatment with solvents.

water-free denatured alcohol and a nitrogenous reducer. On the rest of the painting, exploration continued with 5% ammonia liquor. A substantial amount of repainting was found (e.g. on the hair and beard of the Prophet Nathan); it could be dissolved with the help of a nitrogenous reducer. The removal of improperly applied seals was effective mechanically, with the use of a scalpel.

The altar cabinet and the reverse sides of the pictures were cleaned with a 2–3% diluted solution of fatty alcohol sulphate.

The exploration was followed by the preservation of the base and of the painted, gilded surfaces. The spongy and powdering timber was dried from the back with a 5% and, subsequently, a 10% nitrogenous reducer solution of Paraloid B72 synthetic resin. Decorated and painted surfaces were protected with a 2–5% solution of the material in two layers.

In the footing sections of the reredos and of the tabernacle, as well as on the entablature, several missing elements needed to be supplemented. The supplements were made from lime-wood, and they were fixed in position with Palma Fa Normal (polyvinyl acetate) and Brik-Cen B-1438 single-component polyurethane adhesive. Splits in the bases of the icons were filled with lime- and pine-wood, while defects in the carvings and the fretwork pillars were replaced by additions of the same material as the original timber.

When aesthetic restoration began, sealing pulp of different colours was used for surfaces of different types: blue for the blue marmoration, brown for the gilding and white for bright areas⁵ (Pictures 4–5).

In supplementing the worn-out and incomplete gilding, a red first coat was employed on lute surfaces,⁶ with mica pigments⁷ and ormolu precipitated on aluminium base (Malergold) applied on it with a gum-arabic medium. On major defects, mica pigments were applied in a wax medium (Malergold without powder, mixed with powder pigment).⁸

The gilding on the door of the sacramental house was so fragmentary that it was expeditious to use line retouch, Kremer mica pigments and Malergold powder. The missing upper part was replaced by glossy gilding following priming. Metal hinges were passivated with

Dupli-Color Penetrator anti-corrosion primer and Paraloid B72 synthetic resin dissolved in a nitrogenous reducer.

On the seals of the curtain carvings along the entablature, red bole⁹ and, subsequently, silver Schmincke water-colour were applied. Green and pink lustres were retouched with a mixture of oil paint and Talens 004 retouch varnish and reconstructed as necessary. The opaque red decoration between areas of lustring was reconstructed with a mix of Selhamin red bole, powder pigment and rabbit-skin glue. Following ground-coating with red bole, defects on gold-lustred profiles were retouched with silver water-colour, and the surface was protected with dense shellac in two layers. Afterwards, a layer of ochre, red and brown oil paints was applied in an effort to imitate gilding.

Deficiencies and worn-out areas of the icons were ground-coated with water-colour. Additions to the gold background were made with mica pigments mingled in gum-arabic and Malergold powder.

After painting over with water-colour, painted surfaces were varnished with a mix of approx. 10% Paraloid B67 synthetic resin dissolved in white spirit and 10% Kauri-pine resin dissolved in turpentine. On picture surfaces and on the painted areas of the altar structure, the closing retouch and the additions were made with reduced oil-content oil paint, with the material of varnish used as a painting agent. On the pale-blue painted marmoration on the vertical surface of the reredos, coloured glass-dust was admixed to the oil paint in order to imitate the granularity of the original layers.¹⁰

Assembling the altar

During the assembly, components were stabilised with the help of a wood working adhesive and dowels; for parts that were difficult to fix, a nail gun was used. Due to the warping of the altarpiece, the edge was cut onto the arc of the panel picture to ensure as close a fit as possible. The back of the tabernacle was not genuine: A 3 mm (0.12") plywood plate had been fixed on it with pulled dowels, failing to fit the surface of the reredos. Thus, its removal was justified – and even more so because, for aesthetic reasons, it was determined that the tabernacle would be reattached to the altar structure with screws. This way, it may be easily dismantled if required.

⁵ Ingredients of the sealing pulp: 7% mix of rabbit-skin and cow-hide glue, 1:1 mix of Champagne chalk and dolomite, triple mix, Palma Fa Normal (polyvinyl acetate) woodworking adhesive, powder pigment and gouache paint.

⁶ Red first coat: Selhamin Poliment Piemont Red bole, gold-ochre and cadmium red powder pigment, 1:10 rabbit-skin glue medium.

⁷ Kremer IRIODIN 351 Sonnenperl, Sonnengold and Colibri Gold.

⁸ Ingredients of wax medium: Biopin, Naturfarben, Antikwachs (containing bees-, carnauba- and candelilla-wax).

⁹ Mixture of Selhamin red and yellow bole, Buchbinderleim medium.

¹⁰ Glass-dust: Kremer Farbglas Stahlblau, Transparent.

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The pedimental ornament composed of three parts had been considered to be a late-19th-century or early-20th-century addition. Its surface was covered in bronze-powder repainting and a thick layer of contamination. During the exploration, it was revealed that originally all three elements had been gilded, but that layer had been reworked at least twice over time. As the metal plates on the gilding had been preserved in good condition, it was decided to expose and restore that layer because further chemical treatment would have entailed massive damage to the original gilding.

Tassels hanging from the cornice of the reredos had been subsequent additions without any structural or iconographic consequence. Therefore, they were not returned at the end of the conservation.

With reference to the quality of execution and the use of materials different from the original surface, it was found that the Patriarchal cross placed on the top of the sacramental house was not genuine. With a view to creating iconographic unity, a decision was made in

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favour of its retention. Its surface was restored, and it was fixed in position with dowels.

Following the application of Talens 004 aerosol retouch varnish used as a final coat on the entire ensemble, the altar may now shine again as it once did.¹¹

List of pictures

1. The marmoration of the altar during exploration
2. A segment of Saint John the Apostle during exploration
3. The completed section
4. A segment of King David, explored and sealed
5. After completion

¹¹ Professionals involved in the conservation: Tímea Bakonyi, Dóra Fekete, Zsófia Imrik, Gergely Kolozsvári, Péter Kozma, Edina Kránitz, Edit Mikó, Tamás Seres, Noémi Tatay and Alexandra Török-Erdős.

III.2.3 Psalm Book with explanations Catalogue III.26



Kiev, printing house of the Monastery of the Caves, 1755
Psaltrir"

[Київ], в" ... Кієвопечерської лаврѣ..., в" лѣто... 1755
[9], 37, 337 fol.; ill. (wood engravings); 2^o
black leather cover, with blindblocking, 19th century
19.5 × 27.7 × 6.7 cm (7.7 × 10.9 × 2.6 in)
SZAGKHF, Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. M–364 (Ant 20205).

This Psalm Book (*psaltrir tolkovaja* in Slavonic language) written in Church Slavonic language, in Cyrillic characters, with explanations, was made in the printing house of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves with black-red printing in 1755. This is a rarer kind of Psalm Books where every line of the psalms divided into *kathismas* for liturgical purposes is followed by an explanation. The Slavonic version of this book type was made by Maksim Grek, by translating the explanations of psalms coming from the Church Fathers.

Kiev, this centuries-old centre of Slavonic book printing proudly proclaimed their *stauropeg* rights gained from the ecumenical Patriarch until Peter the Great Russian Tsar brought them under the supervision of the Moscow Synod in 1720. The title of the book published thirty-five years later, during the reign of

Elizabeth Empress of Russia, in which the opening prayer is followed by a long list of titles of the empress ordering the publication of the book before indicating the title of the book itself, is related to this. In 1755, the Lavra Printing House in Kiev published another, smaller, quarto-size *Psalter*, which was a much more widely spread Psalm Book of the basic type, without explanations of the Psalms.

The illustrations with etchings of the book presented here were made by Hierodeacon Sevastian and F. B. engravers. Although besides the less refined lines of woodcuts, etchings also appeared in Ukrainian book graphics in the 1630s, in liturgical books used by Uniates in Hungary they became generally used only in the middle of the 18th century.

The name of God appears on the upper frame of the cover in Hebrew characters, among clouds, in brightness, and the Baroque building of the main church of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves can be seen at the bottom in the central axis of the composition. On the two sides of the field containing the title, in front of a niche-looking architectural background there are the figures of David and Nathan, in two smaller cartouches under them there are two secondary representations (water from a rock on the left, and perhaps David and an angel on the right). From the first part of the 18th century, several other Psalm Books have the same frame composition on their cover in the Monastery (1728, 1755, 1760). On the inside of the cover, on the etching made by Hierodeacon Sevastian, King David and Nathan the Prophet can be seen in a Baroque interior, with an inscription written upside down in the text field between the two of them (indication: 'Ierd: Sevas:' [Hierodeacon: Sevastian]). The third full page etching of the book also represents King David, while the fourth one shows the Crossing of the Red Sea.

The few liner notes written in Cyrillic characters refer to liturgical instructions. According to the Latin manuscript note on pages 3–11, the book belongs to György Mosolygó Tót, bought by István Mosolygó Tót former Dean of Huszt as a bound book on 03 April 1789:

'Hic Liber est // Georgi (sic!) Tótt alias Mosolygó // comparatus per Stephanum Tott, aut Mosolygo, // Oppidi Huszt // quondam Archidiaconum // in compactura Corbéctus // Anno 1789. die 3^a Febr.'

According to the stamp visible on the cover page ('Stamp of the Greek Catholic Pastoral Office in Gyulaj'), the book belonged to the parish of Nyírgyulaj. (X. G.)

Bibliography

- Ojtozi, 1985, kat. 90.
Запаско–Ісаєвич, 1984, kat. 1919.

III.2.3 Antependium with scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist

Catalogue III.27



18th century, Hungarian painter
canvas, oil

78 × 134 cm (30.7 × 52.8 in)

Conservation: Zsófia Polyák (University of Fine Arts,
Budapest), 2016/2017.

Greek Catholic church of the Beheading of Saint John the
Baptist, Abaújszolnok

Today: The Dormition of the Theotokos Greek Catholic
Cathedral, Miskolc

Rectangular-shaped icon painted on canvas, stretched on a blind frame, its size was conserved during the last conservation, originally it was fixed to the front plate of the main altar table in the former wooden church in Abaújszolnok (cf. AGKA Inv., č. 480, Rok. 1877, Sign. 53, Kárpáti 1999, 690). Five scenes can be seen in the fields of the *antependium* surrounded by carved-frame-looking ornaments, painted with brown lines on a gold base. The central composition is the biggest one: the Forerunner in front of a green background with rocks, pointing at the sky with his left hand, and at Christ standing in front of him with his right hand. The two main figures were once painted gold, and the following, now faded Church Slavonic inscription can be deciphered: Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world! (Cf. John 1:29 and John 1:36)

Two-two more scenes can be seen on the edges of the shorter sides of the painting, one above the other:

In the upper left corner: Archangel Gabriel appears to Zechariah in the Church of Jerusalem, announcement of the birth of the Forerunner (Luke 1:5–25).

The counterpart of the scene then represents the birth of Saint John (Luke 1:57–66). The bed of the mother can be seen in the background of the composition, in the foreground there are midwives bathing the newborn baby and Zechariah writing the name of the Infant on a board. In the lower left corner the prophet can be seen in Turkish style garments, standing in front of the throne of Herod, who most probably reprimands him for his illegal relationship (cf. Mark 6:18, Luke 3:19). An unusual solution and a spirited idea of the painter can be observed here: an oval, Rococo portrait of Herodias refers to the forbidden relationship of the king. The consequence of the reprimand, the martyrdom of Saint John can be seen in the fourth scene: the executioner is giving the cut off head of Herodias to his daughter, represented in Baroque style clothes as a lady, under the gallows (Mark 6, 19–28).

The *antependium* was presumably made when the former wooden church was built, around 1758. No information has been found on its painter yet, it could be the same master who made the paintings of the *altar retabulum* but the details of this painting are more elaborate. Memories related to the Rococo ambience of the scenes of the Forerunner, though presumably without any direct relationship except for

a similar style model etching in the background, are the medallions on the ceiling of the chapel dedicated to Saint John the Baptist in Prądnik Czerwony, Poland, representing scenes of the Forerunner in 1761. They were made by Jan Neinderffer painter of Moravian origin, who lived in Cracow from 1756 to his death in 1776 (cf. Dettloff, Paweł: Jan Neinderffer – krakowski twórca rokowych malowidełściennych, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 78(2016), 62, ill. 11.)

This kind of altar ornaments is rare in our practice, it was presumably inspired by the decorated Baroque altars of the Latin Church where it was commonly used. According to data from the archives, Mihály Spalinszky also painted *antependia* for the Cathedral in Uzhhorod in 1781 (Terdik, 2014a, 101). (Sz. T.)

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Second part of the 18th century, master from Hungary
pine wood, oil

141 × 98 cm (55.5 × 38.6 in)

Conservation: Enikő Jilg, Éva Pecze (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2008/2009.

Budapest, Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 2020.62.1–11.

The description of the former altar of the Greek Catholic church in Chorváty (*Tornahorváti*) from 1877: 'Altare lapideum uno gradu circumdatum et secundo gradu in tribus partibus provisum et asseribus in anteriori seu occidentali item septentrionali et meridionali lateribus obductum colore tinctum et ornamentosante centum annos inauratio decoratum, cum his 115 cm lat. 201 cm longum baldachinum destitutum, sed imagine assumptae BMV. 96 cm lata 136 cm alta margine, incirculis inaurata inclusa et inter duas sculptas inauratas intus vacuas columnas sita provisam; columnis in latere innituntur ciradae inauratae, quibus inclusae habentur effigies S. Joachim in dextera et Annae in sinistra parte. / Tabernaculum ligneum 33 cm lat. 44 cm altum portula inaurata et in lateribus inauratis ornamentis provisum, in portula est figura calicis supra quam splendet figura prosporae signo crucis insignatae et inauratis radiis ornatae,

III.2.3

tabernaculum est sera et clavi provisum, clavis in portula conservatur.' (AGKA Inv. č. 478. Rok. 1877. Sign. 21. Kan. viz. / canonical visitation)

Virgin Mary sits on a cloud above an open stone sarcophagus, angels help her assumption into Heaven. Two big angels and a smaller one and five cherubim accompany her, cherubim peep out from under the cloud and under the robe of the Virgin blown by the wind. Mary wears a pinkish tunic, a blue robe, her veil slipped down to her shoulders, and her brown hair is uncovered. She looks up at the sky, opening her arms wide, turning her hands into opposite directions, which makes her look gracious. The sculptural form of the angels show dynamic, refined painting solutions. The lid of the sarcophagus is leaned to its side, and red roses are scattered on the white shroud draped over the grave. Engraved, gilded Rococo motifs can be seen in the background of the picture.

This icon was standing in a decorated frame on the main altar of the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Chorváty. The altar was described in detail in the records of the canonical visit of the parish in 1877. It shows that the altar table was made from stone, its three sides were covered with wood with painted and gilded ornaments. The altar was decorated with the icon of the Blessed Virgin assumed into Heaven, placed between two gilded columns with a fretwork carving, with the figure of the Father decorating the pediment, while in the field fixed to the two sides, with an ornamented frame, Saint Anne and Joachim are depicted, the parents of the Blessed Virgin. The exact dimensions of the tabernacle were also published, and according to the description the door was decorated with a chalice, and a prosphoron (Lamb) indicated by a cross shone above the chalice, referring to the Eucharist.

The altar was bought by the Hungarian National Museum, together with the iconostasis of the church in the early 20th century. The identification of the pieces of the superstructure preserved today in the Museum of Ethnography was completed in 2019. Although in fragments, most parts of the once main altar are still preserved. Regarding form, it is most closely related to the main altar of Abaújszolnok, although icons of a different shape were placed on its pediment and side wings. The area of the pedestal of the retabulum and the tabernacle are almost identical in the two works of art. On the basis of the close stylistic and structural similarity between carved parts of the fragmented altar from Chorváty and the complete altar from Abaújszolnok it seems to be obvious that the two can be considered the work of the same master/workshop. The painters of the icons also show a similar style and

follow a similar tradition, they might be skilled, probably urban painters who were more familiar with the iconography of the west, and the painter of the icon in Chorváty seems to be the more talented one. The altar was probably made when the church equipment was transformed in 1774, the master then painted the icon of the main altar and also four new main icons to the extended iconostasis. In the iconostasis, in the main icon representing the event the church was dedicated to, the painter follows the type of representation of the Dormition of the Theotokos that is closer to Byzantine iconography, i.e. Our Lady peacefully falls asleep among the Apostles, and her soul passes on to her Holy Son. With the body of the Virgin Mary rising into Heaven and with her glorification, the altarpiece shows the continuation of the event depicted in the nave. (Sz. T.)

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III.2.3 Processional icon painted on both sides:
The Theotokos with the Infant – Crucifixion
Catalogue III.29



End of the 18th century, Hungarian painter
 wood, oil; carved, painted, gilded
 wooden panel with a frame: 74 × 50 cm
 (29.1 × 19.7 in), baldachin: 146 × 70 × 34 cm
 (57.5 × 27.6 × 13.4 in)

Conservation: Zsófia Polyák, Mária Lilla Pacsika, Nóra Pálmai (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2017/18.
 Greek Catholic Church of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, Abaújszolnok
 Today: Greek Catholic Cathedral of Dormition, Miskolc

A baldachin is held by four carved lesenes with wavy sides standing on a lying block-shaped pedestal with a drawer (originally presumably money box) and four angular holes in it for the carrying bars. A ceiling decorated with wooden tassels covers a wooden board painted on both sides, closed down by a segmental arch, with a frame decorated with a carved laurel sequence. The outer side of the baldachin is blue, its painted motifs on the sides and edges look like wood carving. The edges of the ochre colour lesenes are silvered. On top of and on the sides of the icon there are silvered, lustrated fretwork wood carvings composed of grapes and floral ornaments

with an upside down heart in the central axis. During conservation it came to light that the heart could originally be found on top of the baldachin, at the place of the gilded Latin cross that was later found there. On one side of the wooden board there is a half-figure representation of the Theotokos, holding her Divine Child in her left hand, pointing at Him with her right hand. Her tunic is blue, her maphorion is red with a green lining, with silver colour passementerie with a black painted pattern, even her translucent veil and a black pearl necklace are visible. The head of the infant Jesus touches His mother's face, He gives blessings with His right hand and holds a rose in His left hand. He is dressed in a white shirt with black painted rim ornament and an ochre robe. The icon has a silver background with the usual abbreviations in it. The scene of the *Crucifixion* can be seen on the other side of the wooden board: the Theotokos and John the Apostle stand shocked on the two sides of the crucified Saviour, each one holding a white shawl in their hands, and Adam's skull can be seen at the bottom of the cross. The inscription pinned to the cross is in Cyrillic characters. The background is silver, and the silhouette of Jerusalem looms on the horizon.

In the description of the wooden church in Abaújszolnok recorded in 1877, according to the answer given to question 59, an icon representing *The Last Judgment* and a copy of the icon from Máriapócs were hanging on the northern wall, but the portable icon was also mentioned here: 'effigies portatilis BMV', i.e. the portable icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary (AGKA Inv., č. 480, Rok. 1977, Sign. 53, Kan. viz.). The side showing the icon of the Virgin Mary was visible when the description was made, probably this is why only this icon is mentioned.

Several pieces by this master, working in a style that is very similar to that of the painter of the processional icon in Abaújszolnok, are known from wooden churches of the historic Sáros County: for example the iconostasis and the icons of the main altar in Bodružal, with the icon of the *Crucifixion* on the main altar (cf. Pavlovský, 2007, 12–18.); the icons of the main altar in Šarišský Štiavnik also showing the *Crucifixion* (cf. Rešovská, Margita. *Jaroslav Rešovský [1953–2008] maliar a reštaurátor*, Prešov, 2013, 23). The wall paintings of the wooden church in Kožany could also be made by the same painter between 1793 and 1797, the painter of these paintings has not yet been identified (cf. Puskás, 2008, 161). It is not yet known who this painter, sometimes applying quite simple painting solutions, was, but the preserved objects listed here were probably made at the end of the 18th century. How the processional icon was brought to Abaújszolnok is also unknown. Thanks to its genre it could be brought from a farther place, it was possibly bought by believers in the kermis of a place of pilgrimage in Upper-Zemplén.

Processional icons of this kind are known from Greek Catholic villages of northern counties: one for example from the wooden church in Ruská Bystrá, although the structure of its baldachin is different (cf. Pavlovský, 2008, 94), or on the altar of the Baroque cemetery chapel in Cigla, where the frame structure and the baldachin of the icon are similar to the one in Abaújszolnok (cf. <http://www.grkatpo.sk/?fotogalerie&id=225>, accessed: 24 February 2020), and the same is true for the processional icon of the church in Staškovce (cf. <http://www.grkatpo.sk/?fotogalerie&id=214>, accessed: 24 February 2020). (Sz. T.)

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Zsámbéki, 2018, 9, kat. 6.



1779, workshop of Stefan Tenecki (?)

wood, oil

32.2 × 24.5 × 2.8 cm (12.7 × 9.6 × 1.1 in)

Conservation: Dóra Fekete, 2020.

Holy Protection of the Theotokos Greek Catholic Church, Makó

The upper part of the field of the picture is dominated by Christ ascending to Heaven, giving blessings with both hands. The pink sky opening up behind clouds is brightened by white beams from behind the gilded halo of the ascending God-man. His footprint is also visible on the rock under Christ, revered since ancient times in the Holy Land, and from the Baroque age it became part of Post-Byzantine depictions following western precursors. The usual abbreviation of His Greek name can be seen above the shoulders of Jesus, while the name of the scene can be deciphered in Church Slavonic close to the upper edge of the panel: 'Во[з]несение Господне' – *The Ascension of the Lord*. Those remaining are divided into two groups. The ones on the right of Christ are led by the Theotokos with two angels on her two sides, the angels wear respectively a white robe and a green orarion (or rather stole). The usual abbreviation of her Greek name can be seen above the Virgin Mary. The face of only one of the Apostles standing behind them is visible. The Apostle standing at the head of the other group of disciples stands in a dynamic position and



observes what is happening, the faces of three Apostles are visible behind him, one of them in a profile view. After cleaning, a carving of the year 1779 became visible on the rear side of the icon.

The Greek Catholic church still existing in Makó was built from 1776 to 1778, and although it was consecrated only in 1786 by Mózes Drágossy Bishop of Oradea, the church was used from the time of the construction (Puskás–Tóth, 2004, 5). The icons were made when the community started to use the new church. A Greek Catholic community could hardly ever afford icons on analogia. Besides Makó, thirteen icons of feast on analogia were known from the cathedral of Uzhorod from the end of the 18th century, but later they disappeared (Terdik, 2014a, 263). Only three were preserved from the icons from Makó, besides the one presented here *The Protection of the Theotokos* and *The birth of Jesus* were preserved, with Romanian inscriptions and a strong repaint from the end of the 19th century, since all the other icons were stolen from the sacristy after 1991 (Puskás–Tóth, 2004, 20). The recently found icon of the *Ascension* is even more important because, unlike other icons on analogia, it was not repainted, only the blue layer protecting the reverse of the icon can be younger than the rest. Purchasing the icons of feast could be motivated by the fact that on the iconostasis itself, made probably at the same time as the icons or somewhat later, the sequence

of Apostles and Prophets is accentuated, while the sequence of feasts is incomplete, although it cannot be determined how much the original imagery was changed in the conservation including repaint in 1887 (cf. Puskás–Tóth, 2004, 14–19).

A panel of the same genre was also preserved in the Orthodox church in Békés, its iconography is similar to the icon in Makó (now it can be found in the collection of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Gyula: 30 × 23 cm [11.8 × 9.1 in], Inv. No. 91.79.1; Csobai, Elena – Martin, Emilia. *Vestigiile Bisericii Ortodoxe Române din Ungaria – A Magyarországi Román Ortodox Egyház kincsei*, Giula, 2013², 65, Picture No. 24.). From the twelve icons on analogia from Békés, in the lower right corner of the panel representing the *Three Holy Hierarchs* the year 1773 and the initials 'C. T.' can be seen in Cyrillic characters, on the basis of which all the icons of feast are attributed to Stefan Tenecki, court painter of the Orthodox Bishop of Arad. The Orthodox parish in Békés was founded in 1781, the construction of the church was finished by the end of the decade, painting tasks (iconostasis, wall paintings) were also completed by Tenecki. The end of the works is indicated by the year 1791 visible in the composition of *The Theotokos* above the gallery. He also painted the *Ascension* in the four-lobe stucco field above the church altar (cf. Nagy, Márta. *Ortodox falképek Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1994, 67–69), following a prototype of identical composition with the icon in Makó. The situation was similar in the Orthodox church in Szentes, where some icons of feast on analogia were also preserved, dated from 1786 from the workshop of Tenecki (Nagy, Márta. *A görög diaszpóra egyházművészeti emlékei*, I, *Ikonok, ikonosztázionok*, Debrecen, 1998, 132–135). Neither in Békés, nor in Szentes is there a sequence of feasts in the iconostases also painted by Tenecki (ibid., 161–168). The style of the painter of the icon in Makó is different from that of Tenecki, the figures are more statuesque and the applied painting solutions are vaguer. We might not be too far from the truth by looking for the painter of this icon among Tenecki's (Serbian, Romanian) disciples who became independent. (Sz. T.)

III.2.3 Christ, the High Priest

Catalogue III.31

1783, Mihály Spalinszky

canvas, oil, wooden board (wooden frame from the second part of the 20th century)

108 × 68 cm (42.5 × 26.7 in)

Conservation: Vivien Hutóczki (canvas painting); Róbert Cseke (wooden board) (University of Fine Arts, Budapest), 2013/2014.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv.

No. 2015.207 (A 95)

In the gilded background of this composition, Jesus Christ sits on a Baroque throne with a backrest and an armrest, wearing full High Priest vestment. His episcopal ornaments are complete: He wears a white sticharion with golden lace, a pink epitachelion, a pink sakkos, and pink epimanikia with gold passementerie and a lace hem. His omophorion is decorated with white, and adorned with red Greek crosses. There is a gold pectoral cross around His neck, a bishop's mitre decorated with two seraphs on His head, and another seraph can be seen on the hypogonation hanging on His side. Christ gives blessings with His right hand while in His left hand He holds an open book with a Gospel quote in Church Slavonic: 'Прійдѣте бл҃гословенїи Цѡца моего наслѣдѹ те оуготованѹе вам цр҃твїе Цѡ сложенїа мїра Ев҃ѣ. Маѣ. за҃чї: р҃с҃' – 'Come, You who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Matthew Part 106' (Matt. 25:34 – Slavonic transcript by András Dobos). A fragmented year number can be observed on the legs of the throne, unfortunately very little remained from the last digit, it might be 1783 or 1785. The icon once stood in the central axis of the sequence of Apostles in the iconostasis of the Church in Máriapócs.

Over the centuries, the canvas of the picture almost completely detached from the wooden panel and became crumpled, the paint peeled off in certain places, thus it had to be detached during restoration in order for the two panels to be restored separately. It came as a great surprise that a very faint imprint of an earlier icon, also depicting *Christ the High Priest*, became visible on the grey primer layer of the wooden panel. Apart from one or two small fragments of the gold background, practically nothing was left of the original layers of this earlier painting, yet the contours of the composition were outlined on the wooden board because the scraped off paint soaked into its material. The painter-restorer artist Kornélia Forrai observed that the composition of the lost image is related to the icon of *Christ the High Priest* in the middle of the sequence of Apostles in the iconostasis of the Orthodox Church of the Transfiguration of Our Lord in Szentendre, attributed to an unknown painter (1745/1746). It seems that the unknown



painter who worked in Pócs in the 1750s and the unknown artist in Szentendre used similar prefigurations.

Bernadett Puskás earlier identified the artist of *Christ the High Priest* painted on canvas as Mihály Spalinszky. A contract concluded in 1783 (or 1785, the year indicated in Cyrillic characters is not clear) with Spalinszky on the creation of the icons of the iconostasis of the church in Pócs was preserved in the Basilian archives. The data from the archives is also confirmed by the artistic style of the painting, a style identical with other signed works made by him. In 1777, he painted the icons of the iconostasis of the Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) Cathedral also. Unfortunately, neither the sources from the archives nor the restoration could specify the reason for changing or repainting the icons of the iconostasis of Máriapócs in the 1780s.

The icons of the iconostasis of Máriapócs were replaced once again in 1896. From the removed icons only five remain, this, and the icons of four Apostles (Cat. III.33–36). According to the inventory of the church performed in 1900, at that time the '4 old main images', i.e. the old Sovereign Tier images, were kept in an 'inner chapel' (DAZO, fond 64, opis 4, no 423, fol. 23r), but the

pieces known today are not mentioned. Fortunately, in the first part of the 20th century the Basilians found new functions for them so they could be preserved. This is also confirmed by the fact that their Slavonic inscriptions were replaced by Greek ones, which were actually not preserved on the icon of Christ during the restoration. The Greek inscriptions became relevant after the foundation of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog as in 1912 Ancient Greek was still the declared liturgical language for Hungarian Greek Catholics. The canvas painting was refitted onto the wooden panel after restoration. The icon is in a modern frame and during conservation it was marbled to fit the painting better. (Sz. T.)

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1783 (?), Mihály and Tádé (?) Spalinszky
 pinewood, canvas base, oil
 106.5 × 55.5 cm (41.9 × 21.85 in)
 Conservation: Klára Nemessányi, 1993–1994.
 Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 1999.61 (A 17)

The icon was collected in 1982 from Mariapócs, together with the icons of three Evangelists. It once served as one of the depictions of the iconostasis in the sequence of Apostles of the Greek Catholic church of the place of pilgrimage. The wooden board with a round-arched closure has a canvas base, and the panel is strengthened with a strap at the back.

Like in icons of the Evangelists preserved from the sequence of Apostles, in this composition a man stands on the ground with a low horizon. The Apostle with grizzled hair and beard is dressed a long, light blue shirt, a yellow robe, and sandals on his feet. He raises his right hand in front of him while holding a knife in his left hand, which attribute refers to the martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew. In the background of the icon, next to the golden aureole of the Saint, in line with his shoulders an inscription can be deciphered: 'СѢТ Апл Варѣоломе'. Saint Bartholomew slightly turns to the right, therefore this icon was also located on the left side of the iconostasis. Only a few small details differentiate this icon from representations of the Evangelists painted with large summative colour patches. Plants painted with refined lines, lying on the ground, and a Cyrillic character ('Ф') on the blade of the knife are examples of such details. The same Cyrillic sign appears in two more icons painted in the same period. It appears on the blade of the sword held by Saint Paul the Apostle in his icon in the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Church in Sátoralja-újhely, and also on the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, on the knife held by Saint Bartholomew. The Cyrillic 'F' can be identified as the mark of Tádé Spalinszky (1747–1809), since the painting method and the technical aspect of the icon units are coherent, and they were made almost at the same time.

The name of the Basilian monk Tádé Spalinszky appears several times in the documents of the Hungarian Chapters of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, where he is also mentioned as a painter. In 1784, he was mentioned as a member of the Monastery of Krasnibrod, then in 1786 he lived in Mukacheve again. Meanwhile though he could work in Máriapócs, together with Mihály Spalinszky, who undertook the painting of the icons of the iconostasis in 1783. (B. P.)

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 Puskás, 2015, 120–139.



1783 (?), Tádé and Mihály Spalinszky (?)
 wood, oil

106.5 × 56 cm (41.9 × 22 in)

Conservation: Éva Csépany, 1993–1994.

Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic Art Collection, Inv. No. 1999.60 (A 16)

The icon once belonged to the iconostasis of the church built at the Greek Catholic place of pilgrimage in Máriapócs, together with four other surviving paintings. The portrait was painted on a wooden board with an arched border without a canvas base. On the back of the board the imprint of two bracers and fragmentary marbling is visible.

The figure turns slightly to the right in a desolate environment and a low-horizon. The soil beneath his feet is simple and brown, therefore the emphasis is on the Apostle who wears colourful clothing. His right arm holding a plume raises to the side while he places his left foot on a rock, which lends movement to his otherwise calm figure. On the background of the icon, in line with the shoulder of the figure, there is the abbreviated Church Slavonic name: 'Ст Євр Маѡей'. Matthew holds an open book in his left hand in which the first lines of his Gospel can be read in Church Slavonic: 'Книга родства Исуса Христа, сына д(а)в(и)дова, сына Авраамла. Авраамъ роди Исаака. Исаакъ жероди Іакова. Іаков...' (Matt. 1: 1–2).

In the Baroque period the convention was to paint the Apostle individually or paint them in pairs within one frame. On the large icons of the most significant iconostases, the composition portrays only a single figure. On the multi-tier iconostasis of Máriapócs this icon was part of the Apostle Tier, where on either side of the central *Christ on the Throne* icon the images of the two main Apostles, Peter and Paul are followed by those of the four Evangelists. The icon of Matthew, who is depicted with grey hair and a long beard was probably on the left side of the sequence, probably next to Saint Peter. He is dressed in a long, reddish pink shirt tied with a ribbon belt, sandals and a blue-grey mantle waving around his waist.

The glazing technique and the soft plasticity of the transitions of tones indicate that the artist was most probably a master of an established workshop. Two documents were preserved in the Máriapócs archives of the Order of Saint Basil on the painting of icons. According to the 1783 contract written in Ruthenian, Mihály Spalinszky undertook the painting of all the icons of the Máriapócs iconostasis for 130 German gold coins, 12 of which he took as advance payment. Subsequently, on 10th April, 1787 he submitted an offer for painting the illustrations of the pulpit. The details of the life of the artist are unknown. Presumably he is identical with the painter named Mihály, who worked in the 1760s for the Bishop of Mukacheve. Information on Tádé Spalinszky (1747–1809), the icon painter of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, is much more abundant, he was probably the brother of Mihály, most certainly of Galician origin. The signature of the master can be found, among others, on one of the icons of the iconostasis in Uzhhorod, as well as on one of the surviving icons in Máriapócs. Therefore, Tádé probably also worked on the stylistically uniform sequence of images in Máriapócs. Icons related to the painting style of the Spalinszky brothers and of similarly high quality were

prepared in the workshops of Galician towns and Basilian monasteries. On the other side of the Carpathians, in Zhovkva (Жовква), Lviv, the icon painting workshops specialised in Baroque style icons. From monk painters, Jov Kondzelevich was the most significant painter at the end of the 17th century, at the beginning of the 18th century. It is known that he continued working until the 1740s and acted as the leader of an icon painting workshop in case of larger commissions. However, no work of art or data closely related to the Spalinszky brothers was found on Galician territory. (B. P.)

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 Puskás, 2015, 120–139.

III.2.3 Saint Mark the Evangelist *Catalogue III.34*



1783, Mihály and Tádé (?) Spalinszky
wood, oil
105.5 × 56 cm (41.5 × 22 in)
Conservation: Éva Csépany, 1996.
Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic Art Collection, Inv. No.
1999.59 (A 15)

This icon is one of the five boards collected in 1982 from Máriapócs which stood in the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in the tier of the Apostles. The surviving Evangelist icons of Máriapócs were shaped similarly, all of them were made on boards with an arched border. The compositions of images are in harmony with each other.

The Apostle stands on desolate, brownish ground under a low-horizon, in front a background of a calm sky spotted only by a few semi-transparent, white clouds. He

holds a quill in his right hand and an open book turned towards him in his left hand. On the background of the icon, in line with the shoulder of the figure there is the abbreviation of his name in Church Slavonic: 'Ст Євр Маѣй' (overpainted with Greek characters). Mark the Apostle is depicted with long, brown hair and a long beard, and his figure faces slightly to the right while he looks at the spectator. Since the icons portraying the Evangelists in this sequence of paintings were placed following the depictions of Saint Peter and Saint Paul on the two sides of the central *Christ on the Throne* icon, the portray of Saint Mark was most probably on the right side of the tier and came third following Saint Peter and Saint Matthew the Evangelist. Over his long, red shirt he wears a blue ribbon belt and a blue mantle, which is draped over his left shoulder and pulled forward from the right, creating dynamic waves on the material. He wears sandals. Saint Mark, unlike Matthew the Apostle, places his right foot on a rock, thus the portrayal of the two Evangelists has a diverse configuration with a harmonious impression.

The iconography of the portrayal of the Apostles was quite consistent since early Christian times: all of them were depicted in Hellenic-style garments or their stylised forms without individual attributes. Subsequently, it was the Evangelists who were the first to be differentiated by the attribute of holding a book. Usually, their depictions lack personalisation as they are not mentioned separately in the Divine Liturgy. The only exceptions are those who have their own feasts, whose portraits had had regular features since the Early Christian period. Later, these features became more elaborate and constrained based on the descriptions in the book of Dionysius of Fourna, 18th century icon painter from Mount Athos, Russian Podlinniks (descriptions of icons), the drawing book of the Lavra icon painting workshop in Kiev, and printed liturgical books decorated with engravings.

On the basis of the contract signed in Máriapócs in 1783, the icon was painted by Mihály Spalinszky. However, based on the signature symbol visible on the icon of St. Bartholomew of the same sequence, presumably Tádé Spalinszky (1747–1809) also contributed to the creation of the otherwise stylistically harmonious Apostles Tier. (B. P.)

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- Terdik, 2014a, 59, 250 (források: 1.8–9).

III.2.3 Saint John the Evangelist Catalogue III.35



1783 (?), Mihály and Tádé (?) Spalinszky

wood, oil

105.5 × 55 cm (41.5 × 21.6 in)

Conservation: Éva Csépany, 1996.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.

1999.58 (A 14)

The icon belonged to the former sequence of Apostles of the Máriapócs iconostasis. Similarly to the Saint Matthew and Saint Mark icons from Máriapócs, this one was also made on a wooden board with a thin gesso, without a canvas grounding. The size of the wooden panel fits into the sequence. There used to be two braces on the reverse.

On this round-arched panel, a beardless young man can be seen with long brown hair on a greyish

ground with a low horizon. He is dressed in a long, light blue shirt tied with a yellow ribbon belt and a pale pink mantle. The name of the figure can be read in the blue sky in the background: 'Ст Євр Івань'. His right hand is raised in an accentuated way, holding a quill, while with his lowered left hand he holds an open book against his knee, with the first lines of the Gospel of John in it:

'Въ (началъ бѣ слово, и слово бѣ оу) Бога, и Богъ бѣ слово. Сей бѣ искони оу Бога: всатѣ мѣ быша, и бѣ...' (see John 1:1–3). Later, the inscription was overpainted with the first words of the Greek version. The quill is not a typical attribute of the representations of standing Apostles, it comes from compositions with Apostles sitting at a lectern desk, giving room for dynamic hand gestures in Baroque portraits. The Evangelist is placing his right foot on a rock, showing a mirror image of the lower part of the icon depicting Mark the Apostle. His left-turning figure was most probably in the sequence of Apostles on the left of Christ, the third one following Saint Paul and Luke the Evangelist whose icons were not preserved. Depictions of the Apostles appeared as an independent sequence of icons in the iconostases from the mid-16th century in the Balkans. Earlier, only the figures of the two main Apostles, Peter and Paul belonged to the composition of *Deesis*, worship.

The prefigurations of the Evangelists of Máriapócs are unknown, they could be engravings. Certain repetitive details of the composition in the sequence of icons suggest, however, that the painter probably used a multi-functional sample. The elements of style of the icon of John the Evangelist are also related to the former icons of the sequence of Apostles in Máriapócs, to the representations of Saint Matthew and Saint Mark Evangelists. Thus the agreement from 1783 can also refer to this panel: its painter is the same Mihály Spalinszky as the signer of the documents from Máriapócs, who probably worked together with Tádé Spalinszky (1747–1809). The composition is also related to the icon of John the Evangelist in the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2008, 188, Picture No. 121

Puskás, 2012, 27, 53, kat. 35.

Terdik, 2014a, 59, 250 (források: 1.8–9).

III.2.3 The Theotokos with the Infant Jesus *Catalogue III.36*



1787, Mihály Spalinszky
pinewood, oil
83 × 59 cm (32.6 × 23.2 in)
Conservation: Beatrix Mérey, née Bán 1993–1994.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
1999.57 (A 13)

The icon of the Theotokos, a counterpart of the *Christ the Teacher* icon, was collected before the church collection in Nyíregyháza was founded in 1983, according to a later inventory entry from the vicinity of Nyíregyháza. The portrait is made on a lute-shaped wooden board on gesso without a canvas grounding. On the reverse, two cross straps secure the board. During the conservation of the icon, the year painted on the clothes of Mary became visible.

The Theotokos is represented in a three-quarter view, in traditional attire, blue undergarments and a red maphorion covering her head and shoulders. From the usual three stars symbolising the perpetual virginity of Mary before, during, and after the birth of Christ, only one is visible here, on her shoulder. Her head is slightly tilted to the side, in her left hand she holds the Infant Jesus, who, as the Pantocrator, wears a golden ochre himation over His white robe. They lean towards each other, their faces touch.

This icon belongs to a basic representation type of the Theotokos, which, with its composition and denomination – Eleousa, 'Merciful', or in other words Glycophilusa, 'Sweet Kiss' – refers to the affectionate relationship between Christ and His mother and indirectly refers to the self-sacrificing philanthropy of the Saviour. Jesus gently holds His mother's chin. This rare moment is typical of a late, 14–15th century Cretan icon painting type also known in Moscow. The Infant Jesus traditionally holds a book referring to the *Scriptures*. The most striking peculiarity of the icon is that in her right hand the Theotokos holds a white rose, the symbol of innocence. The first similar icon representation comes from the North-Eastern region of the Carpathians, from the second part of the 16th century. It is rooted in the early Christian Byzantine East but became a popular Theotokos portraying style in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine iconography, known as the Greek *Rodon to Amaranton* (*Unfading Rose*).

The depiction is traditionally accompanied by the Greek abbreviations of the names of the Theotokos and Jesus Christ. The icon painted on a Late Baroque lute-shaped wooden boards is a rarity in preserved records. This characteristic form can also be found in the upper part of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Church in Tokaj, in the original sequence of icons of the iconostasis, with the same year indicated in the inscription of the reverse: 'Ano 1787 Pinxit / Michael Spalinszky / sub / Parocho Michael Gregorovics / Curatore Ecclesiae Joanne / Zavadkay / Tokaini'. The relationship of the icons is also confirmed by a number of stylistic details: the painting of facial details, garments and the ornaments decorating the trimming of clothes, the use of colour, and the glaze applied in the painting technique. Based on these, the Icon of the Theotokos originally belonged to the collection from Tokaj. It could be the icon of the Sovereign Tier of the Late Baroque iconostasis, also made by Mihály Spalinszky. Close analogues of the icon of the Theotokos can be seen on the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Church of Sátoraljaújhely and the Greek Catholic Cathedral of Uzhhorod, although their assessment is difficult because the icon of Mary of the latter iconostasis was significantly repainted. (B. P.)

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- Puskás, 2012, 26, 52, kat. 33.

III.2.3 Christ the Teacher

Catalogue III.37



1787, Mihály Spalinszky
pine wood, oil
83 × 59 cm (32,7 × 23.2 in)
Conservation: Éva Derdák, 1993–1994.
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
1999.56 (A 12)

The icon painted on a lute-shaped board, together with the icon of the Theotokos painted on a similar board, were collected in 1982, and were recorded as icons from the region of Nyíregyháza. Both icons were made on a thin foundation, without subcanvas. Two straps are missing from the reverse.

The icon is a traditional, facing, three quarter view representation of *Christ the Teacher*. He is dressed in a red chiton tied with a dark blue ribbon belt, referring to His human nature, and the blue robe above Him symbolises His divine character. Both garments have a gold colour hemming composed of refined motifs, like in its counterpart, the depiction of the Theotokos. The wood grain is visible through the vapour-thin gold colouring. The Greek characters of the traditional abbreviation of His name can be seen in the halo around the head of Christ: 'O C N' – 'the One Who is'. The representations of Christ belong to the most

important sacral representations in a dogmatic point of view. Saint Paul calls Christ the image of the invisible God (Cor 1:15). Therefore the icons of Jesus Christ always show Jesus in His divine character, strictly from the front, with a portrait like the one known from the *Mandyliion*, with long hair and a beard, with a cruciform halo. The Saviour holds His right hand with initials on it ('XP') to give blessings. Christ holds the open book of the *Holy Scripture* in His left hand as the Eternal Word, with a Church Slavonic quotation from the Gospel: 'Прїдѣте комнѣ в ситруждающїиса и вбремѣннїи, и азѣоупокоювы: возмѣ теигомое на себе и научитеса вт мене, акккротокъ є(смь) и смиренъ с(є)рдцемъ: и обращетепокой (душамъ вашымъ)' (Matt. 11:28–29).

No mint master mark can be found on the icon; on the basis of the shape, size and elements of style of the panel it is the counterpart of the icon of *The Theotokos with the Infant* preserved together with this icon. Both icons belonged to the main icon sequence of the iconostasis in Tokaj. The condition of the iconostasis shows that it was subject to significant transformation, most of the icons were replaced in 1885. The support-connecting beams of the sequence of Apostles and feasts were preserved from the former support elements though, and the icons of the former are also the original ones. The transformation is clearly visible on the rear side of the iconostasis, from the side of the sanctuary. Here it is visible that the contour of the wooden board of the icon of *Christ the High Priest* was fixed, but originally it was also lute-shaped, like that of the icon of Christ. The identification of the icons preserved in the Greek Catholic Art Collection in Nyíregyháza was easier thanks to the inscription on the reverse of the sequence of apostles commemorating the conditions of painting and the master (see transcript in the description of the previous item). The third original icon of the main icon sequence in Tokaj is also known: it is identical with the icon of Saint Nicholas integrated into the pulpit of the Greek Catholic church in Tokaj, its elements of style suggest that it could also be made by Spalinszky. (B. P.)

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- Puskás, 2012, 27, 52, kat. 34.

III.2.3 Our Lady of the Way Catalogue III.38



1791, József Szécsényi (Szécsényi)
wood, oil, gilded, engraved background, in a frame carved
at the same time
51 × 42 cm (20.1 × 16.5 in)
Deposit of the Eger Lyceum, István Dobó Castle Museum,
Inv. No. 55.546.1.

The manuscript of the following inscriptions can be seen on the reverse of the icon: EXCELL. ILL. ac REVER. D C MI Nris / ANDREAS BACSINSZKI / Episcopus Munkatsiensis / Iconem hanc Ecclesiae Oppidi Szántó in Reo Camer. / Dominio Regécz neo erectae donavit anno 1791. die 7. 8bris

This is followed by three vague, indecipherable lines written with faded black ink. The following inscription can be read under the crosspiece of the icon: Pinxit Josephus Szécsényi Anno 1791 die [...] may / Magnó Károlyini

The Theotokos, depicted in a three quarter view, holds her Holy Son in her left hand, pointing at Him with her right hand. The Virgin Mary is dressed in a dark blue tunic and a red robe with gold passementerie and with a blue lining, and a translucent lace veil is also visible on her forehead. The infant Jesus is dressed a chiton (shirt) with a blue belt tied in a bow on His waist, his himation is an ochre colour himation with pink lining. With His right hand He gives blessings, in His left hand He holds a book. Their faces are represented in a rosy red, chubby style that is typical of the Baroque



style, their fingers are also swollen, they gaze mildly toward the horizon. In the background of the icon, among acanthus and other floral motifs carved into gesso, the traditional abbreviation of the Greek names of the Theotokos and God and Jesus Christ can be seen, and the Greek inscription meaning 'the One Who is' can also be seen in the halo of Jesus. Only the haloes, characters and ornaments are gilded, not the whole background. The wooden board was inserted into a partly gilded wooden frame with refined carving, presumably made at the same time with the icon.

It is rare to find records not only of the donator of the icon but also of the name of its painter and the exact date of preparation. All this can be found on the reverse of the wooden board; the commemorative inscriptions made at different times clearly indicate that this icon was donated by András Bacsinszky Bishop of Mukacheve to the new church built in the town of Szántó in the Manor of Regéc of the Royal Chamber on 07 October 1791, according to the first inscription. According to the other inscription, the icon was painted by József Szécsényi in the same year in May, in Carei (Nagykároly).

In the town of Abaújszántó, Greek Catholics had to try to build a church several times, finally it became possible with the support of the King, the construction lasted from 1788 to 1791, and the church was consecrated in the following year on the day of the Ascension (Beszkid, Sándor. Paróchiánk története,

Abaújszántó, *Görög Katholikus Hírlap*, 3[1905], 7. szám, 4–5; Terdik, 2011a, 24, 87–89). It seems that it was important for the Bishop to contribute to this great work in person, according to contemporary sources it totally exhausted the funds of the community. There is only scattered information on the life of the painter József Szécsényi (Garas, 1955, 255), this is the only work of art that can definitely be attributed to him, although a letter written on 16 September 1790, addressed to Bishop Bacsinszky, contains several other works of art made by him, in different Greek Catholic churches. According to the letter, Basil Kozák Dean prohibited him from making the altar and royal entrance of the wooden church in Moftinu Mic (*Kismajtény*). Szécsényi did not know why he was not allowed to do that, he received no explanation, therefore he appealed to the Bishop and provided a list of his works made in the eparchy: a painted iconostasis in Tiream (*Mezőterem*); he also attached two parochial certificates written in Slavonic language, they suggest that he had also worked in Shalanki (*Шаланку/Salánk*). He would have painted even more, but due to the assignments he received from Counts of the Károlyi family he did not have time for that (DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 230, fol. 21–25). His works mentioned in the letter have already faded away, only fragments of a Baroque iconostasis were preserved in Shalanki, presumably made by him. It is possible that bishop Bacsinszky noticed the activity of Szécsényi, and the following year he ordered the icon of the Theotokos from Szécsényi and donated it to the new church in Szántó. At the moment there is no information on later works by Szécsényi, the exact date of his death is also unknown. In 1797 he was already dead, his widow was mentioned that year in Carei (Kemény, Lajos. Wurzinger Mihály, *Művészet*, 14[1912], 323). The icon in Abaújszántó was transferred to the collection of the Eger Lyceum in 1941 from the heritage of Zoltán Tóth priest of Dévaványa (Archive of the Archdiocese of Eger, 427–428/1941; thanks to Petra Kárai-Köves for this information). (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

Altar Cross

Catalogue III.39



1791, unknown painter from Hungary
wood, oil

75 × 42 cm (29.5 × 16.5 in)

Conservation: Fruzsina Csanda, 2020.

Ascension of Jesus Greek Catholic Church, Abaújszántó
Inscription on the reverse of the lower bar of the cross:
S. K. T. P. / 1791.

A Latin Cross composed of several parts, inserted into a profiled foot, with three-lobe bar ends. Only its main view is painted: the crucified Saviour can be seen with a crown of thorns on His head in front of a blue background, the initials of the translation of the Slavonic inscription ordered by Pilate can be deciphered above Him (‘IHU I’), then a dove floats symbolising the Holy Spirit, and at the end of the bar with the lobes the figure of the Father can be seen with a triangular halo, looking at His Son from amidst the clouds with arms wide open. To the right of Christ there is His mother, to His left there is a half-figure view of His Beloved Disciple in the lobes. Mary Magdalene can be seen at the foot of the cross, observing what is going on, holding an oil jar in her hand. The foot of the cross is also painted, and, compared to other figural elements, it is filled with a disproportionately big Adam’s skull and bones. On the reverse of the cross there is a year number indicating the year of painting; there is no satisfying explanation of the meaning of the characters above the year number though.

As this cross, according to the year indicated on it, was made in the last year of the construction of the church in Abaújszántó, presumably it stood on the altar and was moved to the nave only when the actual equipment was finished. In the nave it plays a more important role at Easter time as an accessory of the Holy Sepulchre. (Sz. T.)

III.2.3 Processional Cross

Catalogue III.40



1791 (?), unknown painter from Hungary
wood; oil
height: 158 cm (62.2 in); width: 32 cm (12.6 in)
Ascension of Jesus Greek Catholic Church, Abaújszántó

A double cross with three-lobed bar ends. In the Carpathian region it was typical from the 17th century to depict the Crucifixion on one side of the processional cross and the Baptism of Jesus on the other, and the same is true for most altar crosses and hand crosses designed for the altar. The Saviour crucified, the inscription, the Father, Our Lady of Sorrows and John the Evangelist are represented in an extremely similar way to the representation on the altar cross. The dove symbolising the Holy Spirit is more accentuated though, it can be seen in a halo in the centre of the upper bar, accompanied by two-winged cherubim on the bars. Mary Magdalene is missing from the longer vertical bar of the cross, but three blocks of the soldiers casting lots on the robe of Jesus and under them Adam's skull are visible. The upper parts of the other side are practically the same as the former side, although here the Church Slavonic name of the Holy Spirit can also be seen on

the two sides of the dove: 'Σ Δ[Υ]Χ'Β'. Jesus stands in the Jordan, crossing his arms on his chest. On his right, at the end of the bar of the cross, the scene of the Baptism can be observed, and an angel holding a white shawl accompanies him on his left. The abbreviation of His Greek name can be seen above the shoulders of Christ: 'IC XC'. Under the Saviour, on the long vertical bar there are two cherub heads with clouds, and at the bottom the image of a rock can be observed and an axe placed on a tree trunk. The former one refers to the admonition of the Forerunner: 'Even now the axe is laid to the root of the trees' (Luke 3:9).

On the basis of its style and shape, this cross can be attributed to the same artist who made the altar cross in 1791, they were probably made at the same time or almost at the same time. (Sz. T.)

III.2.4 The Iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (Magyarkomját)

Szilveszter Terdik

Through the mediation of Sándor Szabó, a carver from Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*), the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, purchased the rococo iconostasis of the late-18th-century Greek Catholic church of Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját/Nagykomját*) for 300 Kronas in 1913. The dispersal of the ensemble would begin exactly half a century later: A few of its pieces were taken to the Ferenczy Museum in Szentendre in 1963, while the remaining parts were handed over to the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, in 1970.¹ The iconostasis returned to the forefront of scholarly attention one and a half decades ago; thanks to successful grant applications, its Sovereign Tier was even renewed partially.² In conjunction with the work commencing then, the author of the present paper prepared a reconstruction drawing of the carved structure of the iconostasis,³ the accuracy of which would be verified by an old photograph discovered a few years later in the Documentation Department of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, capturing the condition of the iconostasis in its original location⁴ (Picture 8). In 2019, however, all the pictures of the iconostasis and even a handful of its carvings could be conserved, affording a golden opportunity to rethink some previous art-historical considerations and revise them in the light of recent research findings.

As archival sources on the making of the ensemble have not been found so far, the age and masters of the carvings and paintings may be proposed on the basis of stylistic observations.

With reference to their structural arrangements and stylistic properties alike, the wooden structure and the

ornamental carvings are in every respect closest to the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*). A characteristic of iconostases of this type is that they hold a frontally almost invisible structure consisting of worked laths and grills attached to horizontal beams built into the triumphal arch of the church, with finely shaped carvings frequently showing fretwork, naturalistic floral elements and rocailles or a combination of such, snugly fitted on it. The iconostasis of Uzhhorod was started by Franz Feeg/Feck from Košice (*Kassa*) in 1776 and, after his death, it was completed by his brother, Johannes Feeg/Feck in 1778; the activities of the latter are evidenced in Upper Hungary until the late 18th century.⁵ From the data collected by Enikő Buzási, it may be established that Franz and Johann studied for one year at the Arts Academy of Vienna in 1750 and in 1753 respectively. According to the register of the institution, they lived in Vienna, and their father was a sculptor.⁶ Franz married in Košice in 1765; in the local records, he is said to have been of Silesian origin, possibly indicating that he had come to Hungary from there after Vienna. Johann married elsewhere; prior to Košice, his presence in Kežmarok (*Késmárk*) may also be ascertained, but it is not known where he wed. As, at the moment, neither the exact date of Johann Feck's death nor the time when the wooden sections of the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty were made are known, it may only be surmised that this work could also be created in his workshop – possibly under his supervision – during the final decade of the 18th century.

The carvings on the iconostases of Uzhhorod and Velyki Kom'yaty were similar not only in their style but in

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¹ On the collection-history-related aspects of the iconostasis, see: Terdik, 2006, 150–152.

² For a study on the conservation of the iconostasis, see in the present volume.

³ The drawings were digitised by Maxim Mordovin. I wish to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to him for his assistance. Terdik, 2011b, 12.

⁴ The photo positive was made by Imre Tóth S. Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, Documentation Department, FLT 27296. Published for the first time in: Terdik, 2014a, 96, Picture 114

⁵ Terdik, 2014a, 94–101. A review of the Roman Catholic parish records of Košice has yielded the following data on them: Franz Feck married Anna Maria Pajerin on 6 November 1765; it is stated that the groom was of Silesian origin. Their children were baptised on the following dates: Ignatius Jos[ephus] Math[aeus] on 21 February 1770, Anna Maria Dorothea on 31 July 1771, Anton Vincentius on 21 October 1772, Anna Júlia on 19 January 1774, Johann Nep[omucenus] and Franciscus on 25 April 1778; the latter two were twins, and Franciscus was already buried on 23 July. The father passed away on 16 June 1779 at the age of 42; at that time, the name of the sculptor's wife was written as Anna Pajer. The data included on Johannes Feck are not so numerous: On 2 January 1781, he and his wife, Susanna, had their son, Johannes, baptised, whom they would already bury on 24 November 1782. On 4 November 1782, their daughter, Elisabeth, was baptised. The first two children's godparents were Venceslaus Viller and Anna Brantin, without any indications of the two of them being a married couple. Their sons, Johannes (for the second time), Johannes Martinus and Franciscus, were baptised on 4 December 1785, on 10 November 1789 and on 15 September 1791 respectively. The date of Johann Feck's death is not disclosed, but it is certain that his widow, Susanna Feeg, died in Košice on 10 January 1824, at the age of 68. Apart from them, the records also mention a certain 'sculptor' Ladislaus Fek, who, together with his wife, Anna, had his little son, Johannes, baptised on 22 December 1780. It cannot be established whether he was genetically related to the two sculptors with the same surname. The parish records may be researched as digital photographs at: <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/693000?availability=Family%20History%20Library>.

⁶ Buzási, 2016, 122–123.

III.2.4

terms of the surfaces of their structures as well: Carved ornaments and frames were completely gilded, and some of the fruits, leaves and flowers were even painted with coloured varnish, i.e. lustred, while the other components were covered with *polierweiss*. In Uzhhorod, these were undertaken and executed also by a master from Košice, Vencel Wellerovszky.⁷ The resultant white surface was 'dynamised' with gold veins evocative of marmoration, which were even restored on the conserved elements of the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty – on the sides of the tables, on the Sovereign Tier cornice and on the frame of the Royal Doors – but are longer seen in the Uzhhorod ensemble. On the chalk-grounding of the frames of the sovereign-tier icons, prior to gilding, convex ornamental decoration was made, also visible in both locations. Smaller frames were punched subsequent to gilding. However, gilding and 'porcelainising' – as white surface making was called at the time – were not the responsibility of sculptors but of a separate master or of the painter. This latter arrangement was the case in Velyki Kom'yaty as well, but here the gilder and the painter were probably a single person.

Since no archival source on the painting of the pictures of the iconostasis is evidenced, recourse must be had to observations pertinent to criticism of style in this instance as well. Similarly to the sculptural elements, it is clear that the painter of the pictures in Velyki Kom'yaty was well acquainted with the paintings of the Uzhhorod iconostasis, the works of Mihály Spalinszky (1778–1779).⁸ The master working in the territory of the Eparchy of Mukacheve from 1756 still received several commissions in the Cathedral of Uzhhorod and the Episcopal Palace in the 1780s, as well as in Máriapócs and in Tokaj (1787), but afterwards he would disappear from sources, suggesting that he probably did not work or could even be dead in the last decade of the century. Thus, it also seems unlikely that he was involved in the activities in Velyki Kom'yaty.

Despite a number of differences in minute details, the iconostasis of the church of Kenézlő, once part of Szabolcs County, bears a very close resemblance to the Velyki Kom'yaty ensemble in both style and iconography



(1)

(Pictures 1 and 17).⁹ The picture screen, also modelled on that of Uzhhorod, was erected in 1801; unfortunately, the carver's name is not mentioned.¹⁰ However, from a recently discovered letter by the local parish priest, it may be gathered that the painting and gilding of the iconostasis were completed by 'Venceslaus Willer' (Viller), a master from Košice, on 12 March 1806.¹¹

In 1789, Vencel Viller worked on the gilding of the bishop's throne and pulpit of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, carved by Johann Feck. He was granted civic rights in Košice in 1790, and, at that time, it was also recorded that he was from Polička (*Politschka*), a town on the Czech-Moravian border.¹² It may determined from the

⁷ He was contracted on 19 March 1778, for a one-year assignment for 2000 Rhenish guilders. Terdik, 2014a, 96–97.

⁸ Spalinszky was contracted for the painting of the icons in April 1778. Terdik, 2014a, 100–101.

⁹ Puskás, 2008, 278–279, Pictures 158–161 and 164

¹⁰ 'Anno 1801 Bema, seu Iconostasion novum ex dispositione testamentaria Theodori Gojda, curavit Parochus loci qua filius Rfnis 350.' From the Parish Charter. GKPL, Miskolc, I–1–b, Kenézlő. Hence, the local parish priest had it made from the sum dedicated for this purpose in his father's will. Terdik, 2011b, 14.

¹¹ In his letter written on 10 April 1806, parish priest András Gojda reports to Bishop András Bacszinsky that the pictures of the iconostasis, along with its gilding, were completed on 12 March and requests permission for their blessing: 'Ab initio semper sollicitudo meae maxima haec fuit, ut Domum Dei, seu Ecclesiam meam Kenézlőiensem ad perfectionis statum perducere possim, quod pium, et salutare opus Deo Juvante jam ex toto finitum est. Nam die 12a Martii a. c. Venceslaus Willer Pictor Cassoviensis non solum Picturam Bematis, ast etiam inaurationi [...] honorifice ex integro terminavit.' DAZO, fond 151. opis 6, no. 1596, fol. 10

¹² Terdik, 2014a, 112.

Roman Catholic parish records of Košice that his wife's name was Elisabeth, they had two children, and the master died in the same place on 21 June 1806, at the age 58.¹³ Perhaps, the iconostasis of Kenézlő happened to be his last major assignment. The possibility that Viller could be identical with Vencel Wellerovszky, with his name also occurring in the form Villerovszky, who gilded and 'porcelainised' the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhorod, has been considered. Based on parish record entries, the question cannot be decided conclusively; further sources would be needed, though the possibility is real.¹⁴ The German-like sound of the shortened form of a Slavic name might have been more appealing to the citizens of Košice. Viller maintained excellent relations with Johann Feck: They were each other's children's godparents, a circumstance that may have been a consequence of or an antecedent to their joint assignments.

According to archival sources explored of late, another one of Viller's Greek Catholic commissions was connected precisely to the centre of historic Ugocsa County, Vynohradiv (*Nagyszőlős*), in the vicinity of Velyki Kom'yaty. On 21 March 1799, local parishioners approached Bishop András Bacsinszky in a letter written in Hungarian asking him to support the completion of the iconostasis of their

new church. As they pointed out, the assignment would be undertaken by a painter (*pictor*) from Košice, by the name of Viller, for 1400 guilders, but they did not have enough money.¹⁵ The Bishop's reply remains unknown. A year later, in 1800, the condition of the parishes in the Deanery of Vynohradiv was also surveyed. Of the villages of the Deanery, a church built from a solid material was found only in Velyki Kom'yaty and Vynohradiv; in the other places, churches were made of wood. For the church of Vynohradiv, it was remarked that the painting – which must be a reference to the pictures of the iconostasis – was still missing.¹⁶ The settlement documents of the Greek Catholic parishes of the county were collated in 1803, and it was also indicated what additional items of equipment or furniture were required in each church.¹⁷ In the church of Vynohradiv, at least an additional 1000 guilders was to be spent on the iconostasis at that time, suggesting that it continued to lack painting and gilding; in all probability, the Bishop sought to obtain state funding for the completion of the work.¹⁸ It is as yet impossible to ascertain when Viller finished painting and gilding. At any rate, in the second half of the 19th century, he was regarded as the master behind the icons.¹⁹ The church of Vynohradiv was renovated at the beginning of the 20th century, and its

¹³ His widow's name was Elisabeth. Data are available on the birth of two of their children: Anna Nepomucena was baptised on 21 April 1781, while Dominicus on 7 August 1783. The godparents of both children were Jonann Feck and his wife, Susanna: <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/693000?availability=Family%20History%20Library>.

¹⁴ This possibility has been pointed out to me by Levente Csomortány, to whom I wish to say thanks. Vencel Vilerovszky married 18-year old Elisabeth Kurner at the age of 27 in Košice on 27 April 1778: <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/693000?availability=Family%20History%20Library>. Thus, Vilerovszky was born in 1751, whereas, according to his death certificate, Viller was born in 1748. Parish record data are known to exhibit occasional differences of a few years though. The wives' first names coincide, and Vilerovszky is not featured later.

¹⁵ 'Ezen alkalmatossággal azt is tudósíttuk Ektzellenciájának hogy mi akornánk Isten segettségéből a Templomunkban Pingáltotni mint hogy Szniczár munka kész egészen. Kassai lakos Viller nevezető Pingáló fel válna ki is most Tornára Pingált Szőlősen tette és teszi munkáját szép Pingállása tecczik sok helyeken is akit vegben vitt, kér tőlünk ezer Négy száz forintokat, de tán oltsóban is engedne ha véle igoz alkuban erednének; Erednének is de igen szegenyek vagyunk se honnét gyamalásunk ha volna tsak kevés segettségünk is, hozzá fognánk hogy mentül hamarébb Isten dítsőségére folytatodnék, hogy elő hozzuk a légyen a munkához kit Ektzellenciája javasollya vagy szabadétyta, le borult Nagy alázatossággal kérnénk az Egész Ungvári Klerust ki mivel ha tecczik meg segéte bennünket hogy a munkához elő mozdulhatnánk annyiba mennyibe lehetne.' [In this wise, we advise Your Excellency that, with the help of God, we wish to arrange for painting to be done in our church as the carving is complete. A painter from Kassa, by the name of Viller, is willing to make this undertaking. He has lately painted in Torna and has done and does his job in (Nagy-)Szőlős. His fine painting is liked in many places. He regularly demands about 1400 forints for what he has made, but he might even make a better offer if we could close a good deal with him. We would do so gladly, but we are too poor and have no patronage from anywhere. Even with a little help, we would see to it that the work will resume in due course to the glory of God, and we may bring forth whomever Your Excellency recommends or frees for this purpose. We would prostrate ourselves before the whole clergy of Ungvár and beseech them, who would certainly help us if they so please so that we may progress with the work as much as we can.] DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 263

¹⁶ 'Ecclesia #. Pictura Imaginum destituta.' DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 581, fol. 2

¹⁷ DAZO, fond 151, opis 6. no. 1122, fol. 42–69

¹⁸ 'Ecclesia in Matre hac Parochia est ampla, murata non ita pridem exstructa, ad plenam nihilominus consistentiam adhuc non est deducta, tum ideo, quod portis, quas decpris, et sconstitatis ratio exigit, necessario item ornatu, et supellectilibus sacris destimatur, sed et ideo, quod sedilibus [...] – 1mo Pro Bemmate seu Iconostasio ejectantur – 1000 Rfl.' DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1122, fol. 42v. This part of the document was published by Bazil Hadzsega: Гаджега, Василий: Додатки к исторіѣ Русинѣв и руськихъ церквей в жупѣ Угоча, *Науковий Зборник Товариства „Просвѣта“ в Ужгородѣ*, V(1927), 51, Footnote 2. Without specification of the source, it is referred to by: Сирохман/Сырохман, 2000, 362.

¹⁹ In the 1879 inventory of the church, the following note is included on the painter of the iconostasis: 'Oltára a hajótól el van különítve az ungvári püspöki templom mintájára bizonyos Viller kassai képíró által festett képállvány által. Az oltáron van díszes tabernaculum, [...] e felett a Sz. Háromságnak a B. Sz. Máriát koronázó ízletesen festett képe baldachinum nélkül...' [Its altar is separated from the nave with a picture screen painted by one Viller, a painter from Kassa. The altar holds an ornate tabernacle (...), with a tastefully painted picture of the Holy Trinity crowning the Blessed Virgin Mary over it, without a baldachin...] DAZO, fond 151, opis 16, no. 2175, fol. 5

(2)



(3)



baroque furnishings were replaced, so the iconostasis is no longer in its original place.²⁰

At the time of the 1800 census, the church of Velyki Kom'yaty is described as built from a solid material and fully supplied with sculptural works,²¹ a possible allusion to the fact that its altar and the wooden sections of its iconostasis were complete. Based on the data collated in 1803 but possibly recorded even earlier, the construction of the church ended exactly in 1792, but at least an additional 800 guilders was meant to spent on the iconostasis.²² The amount implies that painting and gilding must still have

been pending here as well. Whereas, in Vynohradiv, initially 1400 and subsequently only 1000 guilders was needed for the painting of the iconostasis, Velyki Kom'yaty was 800 guilders short. The price difference may be a realistic reflection of the difference in the size of the two churches. If it was indeed Viller who worked in Velyki Kom'yaty as well, the painting may be dated to the period between 1800 (or rather 1803) and 1806.

As has been suggested above, several fragments from iconostases from the former counties of Sáros and Ugocsa show close stylistic connections with the Velyki

²⁰ Сирохман/Syrokhan, 2000, 362. Although it has not been confirmed by archival sources, it is conceivable that the old iconostasis of Vynohradiv was transferred to the church of Nove Selo (*Tiszaújhely*), where the current church was built in 1924 and 1925. On the date of construction, see: Сирохман/Syrokhan, 2000, 366–367. The pictures of the iconostasis of Nove Selo are reminiscent of Viller's works even despite the massive repainting. With reference to their large size, they are not likely to have been originally made for the former wooden church of the village. The wooden structure is from the 20th century. For a photograph of the iconostasis, see: Marosi, István. *Görögkatolikus magyarok Kárpátalján: Közösségek és templomok*, Nagybégány – Beregszász, 2014, 132.

²¹ 'Ecclesia # solida. Labore sculptoriosi ex integro provisa'. The parish priest was György Popovics, aged 36, ordained 11 years earlier. DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 581, fol. 1

²² 'Ecclesia est murata per ipsos Loci Incolas recensius Anno nimirum 1792. exstructa requisito nihilominus ornata, et praeprimis Bemate minus provisa, quam in finem ejectamur. 800 Rfl.' Other deficiencies related to minor liturgical equipment. DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1122, fol. 49r.

(4)



Kom'yaty icons.²³ The circle may be further expanded with the subsequently modified iconostases of Korolevo (*Királyháza*), Ugocsa County, and Chabanivka (*Bacsó*), Ung County: Even though the Sovereign Tier of the former is from a later period,²⁴ the latter has retained the entire original picture set in spite of the alterations.²⁵ Naturally, it may well be the case that, on the basis of archival sources emerging in future, the list of

(5)



iconostases currently attributed to Viller will be expanded – or reduced for that matter.

In Viller's activities, it is remarkable that first he worked as a gilder and, a little later, as a painter as well. Nothing may be ascertained regarding his prior training; he most probably worked alongside Johann Feck and he may even have won the commissions in Uzhhorod through him. It must have been there that he

²³ The icons from Helcmanovce (*Nagykuncfalva/Helcmanóc*) at the permanent exhibition of the Saris Museum, Bardejov (*Bártfa*). Terdik, 2011b, 13–14. The icon of *Saint Nicholas*, which is now in the collection of the Zemplín Museum (Zemplínske múzeum), Michalovce (*Nagymihály*), could also be part of this ensemble (110 × 77 cm [43.31 × 30.32"]). Inv. No. NSU–46. The repainting of the Apostle Tier from the wooden church of Tarna Mare (*Tarnafürdő*) (currently at the permanent exhibition of the Satu Mare County Museum/Muzeul Județean Satu Mare/); the iconostasis of the wooden church of Novoselytsia (*Sósújfalu/Csarnatőújfalú*). Terdik, 2011b, 13. Cf. the Picture on the page 85 in this volume.

²⁴ No mention is made of the iconostasis of the current church of Korolevo, constructed in 1864. Cf. Сирохман/Syrokhan, 2000, 383. For the iconostasis there a quotation was submitted by carver Péter Kovaliczky in 1880. It seems that, for the structure made at that time, earlier pictures were utilised; only the sovereign-tier icons were replaced.

²⁵ The church of Chabanivka was built in 1881, see: Сирохман/Syrokhan, 2000, 68–69. The former church was a wooden church. According to its inventory compiled in 1880, its *antimins* was presented by Bishop Bacsinszky in 1793, (possibly a reference to the date of construction and consecration), and it is commented that 'its iconostasis was painted in good condition' (translated from the Hungarian original). DAZO, fond 151, opis 16, no. 2174, fol. 7v. At the time of the compilation of the 1835 inventory, the wooden church was known to have been built about 44 years earlier, i.e. around 1791. DAZO, fond 151, opis 8, no. 1358, fol. 23r. Thus, the late-baroque iconostasis must have been made in the late 1790s, and, expanded by one row, it was retained in the new church as well. I wish to thank Father Makariy Medvid for the photographs of the iconostasis.





study the paintings of the Cathedral, and the possibility that he could even make Spalinszky's acquaintance cannot be discounted, either, especially if the gilders Viller and Villerovszky were indeed the same person. Whichever way it happened – in a manner still difficult to reconstruct in detail – Viller came to be a master who would reproduce Spalinszky's style with the greatest precision in the Eparchy of Mukacheve at the turn of 18th and 19th centuries. Viller would adhere to his prototypes most faithfully in the Sovereign Tiers of iconostases²⁸ (Pictures 1–3). Depictions of the feasts could also draw upon common sources, but, adapting to the board sizes of the smaller iconostases he was assigned, Viller would considerably simplify compositions (Pictures 4 and 5). In the icons of the Apostles, he would apply even more changes: The Apostles of Kenézlő and Velyki Kom'yaty are very similar but they differ

²⁸ The quotation placed in the open book in the hand of the teaching Christ is the same as almost everywhere else: 'Прїидѣте бл҃гословенїи оца моего, наследуйте оуготованное вамъ цѣствие со сложенїа мїра. Возалкаѡ бо ся и дасте ми їасти. Матф. Гл. Кѣ.' – 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food' (Matt. Ch 5; transcribed by András Dobos).

²⁹ Matthew the Evangelist: 'Книга Рождства Ісѡа Х҃҃а Сїна Дѡва. Сїа Аврамла. гл. а.' – 'The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham' (Matt Ch 1). Luke the Evangelist: 'Понеже оубо мнози начаща чинити повѣст. о из. лука ꙗ гл. а.' – 'Inasmuch as many have undertaken to compile a narrative...' (Luke Ch 1). John the Evangelist: 'В началѣ бѣ [слово] и [слово бѣ] оу брѣ. [И] брѣ бѣ Слово. гл. а.' – 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God' (John, Ch 1). Peter the Apostle: 'Сми[рите]ся оу[бо] подѣ крѣпкую руку Божию, да вы возне[сет] во времяя] гл. ѣ.' – 'Humble yourselves, therefore, under the mighty hand of God so that at the proper time he may exalt you' (Ch 5). Philip the Apostle: 'Апѣль Филип / Гдѣи покажи намѣ оца и довѣбѣть намѣ. Іванѣ гл дї.' – 'Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us' (John Ch 14) – transcriptions by András Dobos.

³⁰ Cf. Terdik, 2011a, 43–44.



from those of Uzhhorod in a number of ways, showing closer affinity with Spalinszky's Apostles in Máriapócs and Tokaj instead. It is noticeable that Viller places significantly more inscriptions in the open books held in the hands of the Apostles than Spalinszky, possibly dictated by the demands of the customers (Pictures 6 and 7).²⁹ The prototypes of Spalinszky's Apostles go back to the mass-produced graphic plates from the Netherlands widespread in the second half of the 16th century, presumably familiar to him, mainly in a form distilled and transformed by the Kiev Painting Academy, from the engravings illustrating the liturgical books published by printing presses in Kiev.³⁰ Perhaps having even inherited Spalinszky's models, Viller also worked from similar material but he would vary his prototypes freely. In the axis of the Apostle Tier, Christ as the Great High Priest appears, with an open book in His

was faced with the fact that church construction projects intensifying during the tenure of Bishop Bacsinszky generated a great demand for the making of new and impressive-looking furnishing items. It could also become obvious to him that the iconostasis of Uzhhorod would come to function as a model in the whole of the Eparchy. In Velyki Kom'yaty, in all probability, Viller or his workshop performed the gilding and prepared the *polierweiss* surfaces as well. A notable detail on the practice of the workshop may be derived from the fact that, at the top of the cornice closing the Sovereign Tier of the iconostasis, in the area in front of the feast icons, pencil inscriptions of the names of individual feasts in German have been discovered, presumably designed to facilitate the replacement of the boards, just as the currently barely legible Arabic numerals written on their reverse sides did.²⁶ It is unlikely that he transported so many boards and carvings to Košice because, on account of the road

²⁶ Comparable inscriptions and numbers have been found on the iconostasis of Fábriánháza as well. Cf. Terdik, 2014d, 195.

²⁷ Terdik, 2011a, 54–62.



conditions and transport facilities of the time, this could have resulted in substantial damage of the material. It is reasonable to posit that he went to the location himself and strove to complete the tasks as quickly as possible on site, as the masters working in Hajdúdorog a few years later did, too,²⁷ though, of course, transportation cannot completely be ruled out, either.



It is uncertain when Viller began painting icons; painting activities of a different type by him are not evidenced, though there must have been such instances as well as the inhabitants of Vynohradiv allude to 'his painting in Torna' in their 1799 letter. Since there was no Greek Catholic community in Turňa nad Bodvou (*Torna*), he must have received a commission for the Roman Catholic church, possibly the County Hall or the Palace. It is also possible that Viller identified a grand opportunity in the 'market niche' created by the death of the ageing Mihály Spalinszky. During his assignments in Uzhhorod, he must have been able to

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(13)



hand – just as in Uzhhorod –³¹ but with the omission of the Theotokos and John the Baptist (Picture 13). In the Prophet Tier, an even greater scope for different arrangements is provided: Whereas, in Uzhhorod, Spalinszky had painted half-figure Prophets in four-foiled picture areas, in Velyki Kom'yaty, Viller depicted them in full figure, against varied backgrounds (Pictures 11 and 12). He would proceed in like manner in the ensembles of Koroleve and Chabanivka, though, adjusting to the properties of the respective structures, he would feature two upright Prophets in a single picture area in the latter instances. In Kenézlő, where the carver faithfully reproduced the basic patterns of the iconostasis of Uzhhorod, Viller also returned to the half-figure form but diverged from the Uzhhorod compositions by including a large number of inscriptions here as well: Exactly half of the Prophets hold inscribed scrolls in their hands. In the picture of the crucified Saviour closing the pediment of the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty, his vision as a painter is manifested in a number of details. The greenish skin colour of Christ painted with cold shades serves as an indication of the genuineness of His death. He also employed the same cold skin colour in painting Mary lying on her bier in the icon of the *Dormition of the Theotokos* in the Feast Tier. A surprising component of the

(14)



cross is Adam's skull visualised in a naturalistic fashion, even with an hourglass placed upon it by the painter as an iconographic curiosity, with a bird (dove?) perching on its top (Picture 14). In contemporary iconography, as a symbol of transience, the hourglass was frequently an attribute of death but, combined with the crucifix, it could also be featured in so-called *Memento Mori* depictions, an indispensable constituent of which was the skull. There are also examples of a bird with a flower in its beak sitting in compositions of the latter type, as a possible allusion to the soul.³² Presumably, the bird on the hourglass is a symbol of the human spirit here as well. Through these elements, by addressing the viewer individually and reminding him or her of his or her own sinfulness and death, the painter emphasised the personal aspect of the meaning of the skull symbol denoting the fall of the whole of human kind, which was reversed by Christ's death.

³¹ 'Придоша к нему и сотвори два надесати да будут с ним и да посылает ихъ проповѣ[дати]. Марк гл. г.' – 'And He appointed twelve so that they might be with Him and He might send them out to preach' (Mark Ch 3, transcribed by András Dobos).

³² Cf. Szilárdfy, Zoltán. *A magánáhitat szentképei a szerző magángyűjteményéből, I, 17–18. század* (Devotio Hungarorum, 2), Szeged, 1995, 32, 44, kat. 65, 228 ld. *Ikongráfia – Kultusztörténet: Képes tanulmányok*, Budapest, 2003, Picture LXXV

(15)



Viller adopted an arrangement, originating in Ukrainian areas in the 17th century, which included the painting of the two liturgy-composer Church Fathers, Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom on the bevelled jambs of the Royal Doors, as well as of a dove in the arch of the doors as a reference to the Holy Spirit.³³ In the iconostasis of Chabanivka, he ventured even further: On the frames of the deacon's doors, he placed naturalistic, painted bouquets of flowers tied around with a ribbon. Within the material attributed to him, it is solely in these paintings that he perceptibly transcended the method of icon painting, essentially confined to reproduction, which he would take rather seriously. This could be explained not necessarily by theoretical but rather by practical reasons – such as efficient time management during work, and, through these bouquets, he also succeeded in demonstrating his familiarity with other genres of painting (e.g. still life) (Pictures 15 and 16).

List of pictures

1. Teaching Christ from the iconostasis of Kenézlő
2. Theotokos with the Infant. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.14

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3. Teaching Christ. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.28
4. The Nativity of Jesus Christ. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.49
5. The Entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.63
6. Saint Luke the Evangelist. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.80
7. Saint Bartholomew the Apostle. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.76
8. The iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty in its original location Old photograph, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest
9. The conserved components of the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty
10. The Royal Doors. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.21–22.
11. Saint David the Prophet. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.112
12. Saint Moses the Prophet. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.114
13. Jesus Christ the Great High Priest. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.87
14. The Crucified Saviour. NM, Inv. nr. 2018.124.136
15. Saint Nicholas in the Sovereign Tier, Chabanivka
16. Bouquet of flowers, fillet of the deacon's door, Chabanivka
17. The iconostasis of Kenézlő

³³ The inscription in the open book of one of them reads: 'Со страхомъ Б'жимъ и со вѣрою присту(пите).'- 'Approach with fear of God and with faith' – transcribed by András Dobos.



III.2.5 Conservation of the Iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (Magyarkomját)

Tímea Bakonyi – Alexandra Erdős – Zsófia Imrik – Edina Kránitz

(1)



(2)



The iconostasis was partially conserved in 2018 and 2019, in conjunction with the exhibition of the International Eucharistic Congress presenting the Greek Catholic community. The start of the work was facilitated by the fact that the fragments of the iconostasis were systematised, as well as some of the decorative carvings were dusted and partially preserved in the period 2004–2006, thanks to the cooperation between the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, and the Institute of Conservator Training of the Hungarian University of Fine Art.¹ As part of the present project, apart from the icons, the two wings and portals of the Royal Doors, the frames of the icons, the pedestal under the grievers, the cornices above the Sovereign Tier and two console tables (the so-called *presto/s*) were conserved. In addition to the

items listed, a number of carvings are also part of the iconostasis. Some of them are fretwork ornaments, which were placed above the icons or above the entablature of the iconostasis. Of these, the fretwork carvings above the four sovereign-tier icons and the Royal Doors had been conserved in 2009.² In the present project, the ornaments above two pictures in each of the three upper rows, as well as the large pedimental carved elements to the two side of the grievers were completed. The other group comprises the carved pilaster strips, functioning as decorative components beside and between the icons. The pilaster strips belonging to the Sovereign Tier are the most varied; two of them had been restored at the Hungarian University of Fine Art two years earlier; this time, the remaining six pieces

¹ Kutas, Eszter – Szacsavay, Éva – Puskás, Bernadett – Terdik, Szilveszter. Múzeumi „leletmentés”: A magyarkomjátí görög katolikus ikonosztázió restaurálása, konzerválása és rekonstrukciója, *Magyar Múzeumok*, 12(2006), 2. szám, 3–6.

² Website: https://www.neprajz.hu/binaries/content/assets/restauralas/rest_magyarkomjat_2-1-converted.pdf (accessed: 10 March 2020).

(3)



were preserved. The aesthetic reconstruction of other structural elements was not included in the project.

The condition of the icons upon receipt

On visual inspection, it was established that, in general, the wooden boards were sufficiently solid. Signs of active insect infection were not seen on them. Only two of the icons had a split base. The splits ran vertically, corresponding to the direction of the fibres in the boards. Partial splits were visible on two other pictures. On four icons, problems and deformities (knags and other dislocations) stemming from the structure of the wood resulted in damage to priming- and paint-layers.

The picture frames were in a rather incomplete and badly damaged condition. In fact, these frames were originally dowelled to the picture boards, but most of the locks came loose over time. Thus, at the time of receipt, a number of fillets were missing from the icons – especially in the Prophet Tier. On some boards, even traces of gluing were detected, suggesting that preliminary attempts had been made to reattach these fillets (Pictures 1 and 2).

(4)



Upon delivery, peeling layers were evident on nearly all of the icons. The painted surfaces of eighteen pictures had been protected with rolling paper as part of a previous intervention. In most instances, the picture surfaces display a moderate number of gaps, ranging from a few mm² to a few cm² in size. A very small number of pictures surviving in an extremely incomplete and fragmentary condition were also found among the paintings of the ensemble. There were paintings that had been conserved previously. Not all of these earlier interventions were considered to be ethical though due to the extensive reworking of the original surfaces. The conservation of certain icons, such as that of the Sorrowful Mother (one of the so-called Griefers), had been interrupted (Pictures 3 and 4). Although the original painted layers of the icon were stable, the seals applied in the course of previous interventions had desiccated and cracked, detracting from their bond. To ensure protection for the original painted layers, the old seals needed to be removed subsequently.

The painted surfaces of many icons were badly worn out. In places where the paint had peeled off, the white colour of priming and the greenish colour of the first coat were exposed. The abraded surface must have been the outcome of earlier excessive cleaning.

Preliminary examinations and observations on production techniques

The picture surfaces were typically dull in appearance. According to UV-luminescence photographs, neither the painted surfaces of the icons nor the gilding of the fillets were originally varnished. Icons conserved earlier at different times are exceptions in this regard: These may have been supplied with unevenly applied protective coating. Even instances of varnish flow were discovered on several paintings. Surfaces not treated in a uniform way (dull and shiny sections alternating) created a rather disturbing aesthetic effect. Their protective layers luminesced to varying degrees. The glue left after the removal of the adhesive reattachments with rolling paper also caused uneven luminescence. The three previously conserved icons from the Prophet Tier had been heavily painted over. In the UV-luminescence photographs, the repairs appeared in tones darker than their environments. On some pictures, along the cracks, the surface was shiny, covering an area of a few cm². Photo-technological examinations registered strong luminescence in spots in some places. This was an indication of the glue flowing on the picture surface owing to the subsequent gluing and fixing of the frames and of the wood. Orange luminescence suggested that the conserved decorative frames of a few icons must have been preserved with shellac.

The surfaces of the icons were covered by layers of dust and dirt. The picture surfaces of twenty-nine paintings were found to be particularly contaminated. Compared to the others, the tone of these pictures was considerably darker due to the accumulation of dust and other contamination. Thus, fine details or differences in tone were not discernible in the paintings (Pictures 5 and 6).

In making polished cross-sections, the aim was to explore the stratification and material of the ensemble accurately. Apart from UV-luminescence photographs, it was polished cross-sections that provided the most precise answer to the question whether originally the surface had been treated after painting. During the assessment of the samples, it became obvious that there was no original varnish layer over the paint layers. Therefore, it seemed likely that the icons and their decorative fillets had not been varnished. It was imperative that such information be obtained because, in the course of aesthetic restoration, it was on the basis of this circumstance that decisions were made for the attainment of a duller or shinier picture surface.

Even once photo-technological examinations were conducted, it remained dubious if the greyish, contaminated uppermost layers of surfaces made with the help of the *polierweiss* technique could be genuine. To solve the conundrum, a sample was extracted from the white surface of the right wing of the Royal Doors. It was revealed that a second coat of white paint had been applied on the leaded *polierweiss* layer subsequently. The correction also contained zinc-white, whereas only lead white was found in the original layers. The lead-white pigment of the original *polierweiss* layer materialised along with kaolinite and calcite. Judging by the particularly even surface in the cross-section, the surface of the white layer may well have been polished.

Based on the cross-sections, corroded bronze-powder corrections were discovered on the gilding of the wing of the Royal Doors, on the grape leaves originally lusted with green, as well as on the repainted fillets of the icons.

Two kinds of priming were identified in the ensemble. The bases of the icons were grounded with pulp of a composition and stratification different from that used for the fillets, the carvings and the Royal Doors.

The icons were supplied with one or two layers of yellow priming. The two yellow ochre layers were probably applied one upon the other with an oleaginous medium, according to the 'wet-on-wet' method. When the yellow priming was dry, two layers of white priming were applied on the surface, composed of a lead-white pigment that contained calcite as well, instead of natural barium sulphate. The white priming layers must also have utilised an oleaginous medium, but, based on the rather mild colour change in response to the acid fuchsin test, the use of a mixed, i.e. oleaginous and glutinous, medium cannot be ruled out. Under the clothes and body colour of the figures, as well as beneath the gilding in some places, a greenish-blue first coat, consisting of a mixture of yellow and blue pigments, was applied.

The priming of the rest of the ensemble is different from the practice described above. Upon the pre-glued wood surface, grounding with calcite binder particles was applied in multiple layers. Layer boundaries are blurred suggesting that priming was done with the method 'wet-on-wet'. The lowermost layers are of rougher granularity, while the ones above them are characterised by a medium/small granule size. A brownish, translucent medium may be discerned; the acid fuchsin test detected protein content in it (glue).

Samples were taken from the matt gold background of the icons, the glossy gold layers of the fillets, the glossy gilded decorations of the carvings, the repainted gilding of the Royal Doors, as well as from mordent gold garment ornaments. In addition, the metal decoration of Saint Peter's Key was also examined, and it was identified as silver-foil.

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The gold backgrounds of the icons and the gilded border stripes of garments are stratified in the same way. On the top of the priming, an insulating coating was applied, which did not seep into the priming but settled on its top. This fact also proves that suction is not a property of the priming. (In other words, even if there is a glue-type medium in it, the oil content is probably proportionally higher.) The acid fuchsin test demonstrated protein content for the isolating layer. It was upon this layer that the light-yellow base layer containing lead-white, yellow, red and black granules was applied, with the gold foil imposed on it by gluing.

The yellow base layer of the metal ornaments of the fillets is substantially thinner and medium-richer than the base layer of the gold backgrounds of the icons, and, besides, it contains a smaller quantity of white granules. There is no insulating coating running under it, either. The gilding of the carvings agrees with that of the fillets, though the base layer in these sections has a considerably more reddish tone than on the frame.

The painter's palette consists of pigments of the following colours: blue, green, two kinds of red, yellow, white, black and brown. Based on microscopic examinations, micro-chemical tests and photo-

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technological assessments, the presence of the following pigments may be inferred: Prussian blue, verdigris, cinnabar, red lacquer pigments, yellow, ochre and lead-white. As indicated by a negative acid fuchsin test, the medium of the paint used on the icons is oil.

Work processes of conservation

To avoid potential damage to the specimens during transportation to the studio for conservation, the unstable layers of painted and decorated surfaces were fixed in their place of storage, in the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest. This action was executed with water-based Plextol B500 acrylic dispersion diluted with water in a 1:3 and 1:4 ratio with white spirit primary treatment.

The solidification of the timber of the specimens with a treatment agent was warranted by the massive insect-induced damage. In the locations of the missing ornamental fillets of the icons, as well as with the carvings and pilaster strips, the wood had become literally spongy in consistence. On the reverse of the cleaned wooden boards, carvings and structural elements, damaged parts were solidified with ethyl-methacrylate-copolymer-based, 5 and 10% Paraloid B72 synthetic resin dissolved in a nitrogenous

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(8)



reducer. It did not seem necessary to perform impregnation on the structurally stable sections of the specimens as this could have caused the timber to oversolidify (becoming brittle and plastic-like).

The layers of contamination covering the originally unvarnished icons were removed with a 5% diluted solution of fatty alcohol sulphate, in some cases with surfactant or sodium carbonate reduced with water, combined with acetone wiping. Water-soluble second coats were dissociated with a nano-technological sponge. On previously treated, varnished icons, the surface was explored by means of wiping with water-free denatured alcohol or acetone white spirit.

Layers of contamination along the gilding were removed with a 5% diluted solution of fatty alcohol sulphate. On blackened bronze-powder second coats, wiping with a mixture of 5% formic acid and gel-like Metylan with white spirit produced the desired result. On repainting residues, dimethyl-formamide was employed, also combined with white spirit wiping. Minor instances of contamination left on the surface were removed with a scalpel.

The grey layer of repainting covering *polierweiss* surfaces was removed with sodium carbonate or a 5% diluted solution of fatty alcohol sulphate. On additions with a stronger bond, paint stripper or 3-6% ammonium hydroxide was used. With the cornices below the Feast Tier, on account of the sensitivity of the original layers, no solvent treatment was applied. Thus, subsequent coats were removed mechanically with emery paper.

On lustrated surfaces, ethyl cellosolve was employed to dissociate painted-over layers.

The reverse sides of the specimens were cleaned with a wet sponge; for contamination with a strong bond, a diluted solution of fatty alcohol sulphate was used, ensuring that the paint coat on the reverse and the inventory numbers or other labels would not be damaged. Finally, the surface was wiped dry with a moistened cotton cloth, and, subsequently, the powdering paint coat providing protection for the reverse sides of the icons was preserved with gel-like Metylan with water-free denatured alcohol.

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The completed wood work may be categorised into two groups: 1) structural consolidation; 2) aesthetic additions and substitution of missing parts.

1) Structural consolidation was primarily required in the case of the cornices, the console tables, the Royal Doors and the pedestal of the Golgotha scene, where disintegrated components removed from one another were returned to their initial positions with the help of dowels and end-tenons, in accordance with the original techniques. Repairing the wooden boards of icons, with cracks patched with thin pointed splinters cut in a V-shape and with glue, by means of manual and mechanical methods, could also be included in this category.³

2) Wood substitution activities of an aesthetic character may be divided into two subgroups: One type represents wood sculpture work: Mainly the missing elements of the Royal Doors needed to be re-carved. Carved elements were fixed to the material of the original specimen by means of gluing or, in some places, dowelling (Pictures 7 and 8). Another type of wood substitution operations was called upon more

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frequently: supplements demanding carpentry- or cabinet-making skills. Activities from this category: substitution of the missing picture frame components (made on the basis of the original profiles, with an etching knife manufactured for this purpose, and subsequently, cut to size, fixed to the picture plates with dowels), as well as the *polierweiss* frames of the icons *Christ the High Priest* and *The Last Supper* and the truly unique wood work of the two console tables not conserved previously (Pictures 9 and 10). To expand the above list, the reconstruction of the lost triple-arched closing element of the portal of the Royal Doors could also be added.

In wood work reconstruction, an effort was made to employ methods identical to the original techniques. It was ensured that the timber would agree with the original material of the specimen in every case. For gluing, PVAc- (Palma Fa) and PU- (Bison PU MAX) based wood working adhesives were used.

Deficiencies on painted surfaces were sealed with the following mixtures: 7% rabbit-skin and cow-hide glue, 1 unit of mountain chalk, 1 unit of dolomite, triple

³ In other words, cracks and splits on the wooden boards were filled with slats carved to size, of the same timber as the material of the boards, thereby preventing the expansion of cracks.

mix,⁴ polyvinyl acetate (Palma Fa Normal). To ensure an easier fit, for defects affecting thinner layers of paint, sealing pulp with 1 unit of kaolinite added to the chalk and dolomite was used.

In the case of the ornamental frames, the material of the grounding of the new fillets was a mixture of 8% rabbit-skin and cow-hide glue, as well as of 1 unit of dolomite and 1 unit of Champagne chalk. Prior to grounding, the painted surface was masked to avoid damage. The material of the seal of the original fillets is identical with the pulp used for the picture surface, the only difference being that, in this instance, the material was coloured with pulverised paint to enable an easier fit for the retouches.

On *polierweiss* surfaces, a little Bohemian green earth pigment was admixed to the white sealing pulp.

The incomplete and worn matt gold backgrounds of the icons and the mordent decorations of garment borders were retouched with nacreous mica pigment containing a gum-arabic medium, in a integrative or distinctive (stippling) manner depending on the damage of the original surface. On the fragmented and incomplete fillets of the icons, to substitute for the deficiencies of the worn glossy gilding, distinctive retouch consisting of minute lines proved to be appropriate (with mica pigments containing a gum-arabic medium). On newly made and grounded fillets and carving sections, poliment gilding was employed: The surface was insulated with shellac, and the additions were covered with bole.⁵ New, gilded surfaces were patinated to create an aesthetically more coherent general impression. First shellac mixed with dolomite powder and powder pigments was applied on the surface. Once the layer was dry, Mussini oil-resin paint (Sfumato, Van Dyck-brown) was used to adjust the complemented gilding to the colour of the original surface. In line with the original technique, defects of the lusted surfaces were repaired with silver foil.

The white surface, covered with a substantial amount of dust contamination at the time of delivery, was made with the help of the *polierweiss* technique. The tables had been explored before; the remaining layer was considerably worn out. Approx. 90% of the decoration of the tables was lacking; in the remaining section, bronze-powder repainting, as well as discoloured red and green lustre emerged. The table tops had split in a number of places, and deficiencies of

the timber were also evident. The cornices and the pedestal were structurally unstable. Approx. 80% of the *polierweiss* surface of the supporting elements was worn.

Conservation: Dust was removed from the *polierweiss* surfaces, and they were cleaned locally with a glass pencil or fatty alcohol sulphate. On the gilded sections, subsequent coats of paint were removed with 5% formic acid applied in Metylan packs, combined with wiping with white spirit. Following preservation and structural consolidation, major defects were sealed with Palma Fa glue mixed with wood powder. *Polierweiss* layers peeled off to the base, along with the surfaces of the new additions after prior insulation with glue, were complemented with adhesive chalk.

The upper beads and carvings of the console tables, as well as the frame of the mirror section of the pedestal and the additions of the carvings on it were gilded. The technical implementation of glossy gilding happened in the manner described above.

It was decided that the cornices, the lower beads of the tables and the pedestal would be metallised. Under the metal plate, bole with a glue-type medium was placed. To the moistening liquid used for fitting, a few drops of Plextol B500 acrylic dispersion were added, to ensure that the metal plates would bind to the bole layer properly. Subsequently, the beads were polished similarly to the glossy gold surfaces. Metallisation was aligned the extant original surface in colour, with the patina used for gilding.

Polierweiss was retouched, and its surface was treated with a mixture of 30 ml of 2-3% book binder's glue and of 12 gr of Selhamin Poliment white bole, soap gratings and titan-white powder pigment. Afterwards, the surface was rubbed with Biopin Antik Wax, and, wherever necessary, the colour was adjusted with oil paint by tapping.

The gilded vein was retouched with the use of mica pigment with gum arabic. Areas of wear and defect on the painted surface were ground-coated with watercolour. An effort was made to deal with formal reconstructions (faces, garment pleats) through ground-coating as accurately as possible. Subsequently, on the surface of the specimen, a Talens 004 dividing layer was applied with aerosol retouch varnish.

The concluding retouch was performed with reduced oil-content oil paint and thin glazes; as

⁴ Composition of the triple mix: 1 unit of linseed oil, 1 unit of Kauri-pine resin dissolved in turpentine, 1 unit of Venice turpentine.

⁵ Yellow and a small amount of red bole mixture was utilised (Selhamin Poliment, Sonderhoff Chemicals GmbH, Ligurian Yellow, Piemont Red). The medium of the bole was glue.

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List of pictures

1. The icon of Christ the High Priest with a search window
2. The picture of Saint Thomas the Apostle during the cleaning process
3. The Sorrowful Mother; condition upon receipt
4. The Sorrowful Mother; complete
5. The Presentation of the Theotokos in the Temple; condition upon receipt
6. The Presentation of the Theotokos in the Temple; complete
7. A fragmentary section of the Royal Doors at the time of delivery
8. A section of the complete Royal Doors
9. *Prestol* in front of the icon of Saint Michael at the time of delivery
10. Complete table
11. Saint Michael icon

a painting agent, the material of varnish was used. It was an important consideration that the aesthetic appearance of the originally unvarnished icons should not change significantly as a result of conservation. Therefore, in applying the protective coat, a uniformly matt effect was sought. Thus, the closing protective layer was applied with LUKAS 2324 satiny varnish, pulverised, on the surface.

With lustrated surfaces, in the original sections, shellac mixed with dolomite and colour powder pigment was applied, followed by reduced oil-content oil paint mixed with the material of varnish – thinly, in multiple layers so that silver would shine through from beneath them. When one layer was dry, another layer would be put on the next day.⁶

⁶ Professionals involved in the conservation: Tímea Bakonyi, Alexandra Erdős, Zsófia Imrik, Gergely Kolozsvári, Edina Orbán, Tamás Seres and Erika Szokán. Other participants of the project: Dóra Fekete, Zsófia Márk, Nóra Somodi and Katalin Szépvölgyi as conservators.

III.2.5 Antimension of György Gennadius Bizánczy Bishop (1716–1733)
Catalogue III.41



End of the 17th century, early 18th century, unknown master
 from Galicia (Lviv?)
 woodcut, canvas
 32.5 × 43.5 cm (12.6 × 17.1 in)
 Greek Catholic Art Collection, Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
 1995.95 (A 10)

The *antimension* used in the Byzantine Church is a rectangular white piece of cloth with a relic sewn into its rear side. This item is indispensable in the Divine Liturgy, it is among the most important furnishings of the altar, the equivalent of an altar stone. Its observe is decorated with an embroidered, painted or printed depiction. The iconography of the depictions refers to the sacrifice of Christ on Good Friday and, in connection with it, to Christ present in the Eucharist. The relic cloth serves as a memory of jurisdiction as well, since the depiction is accompanied by a dedication, the changing parts of which indicate the name of the senior clergyman consecrating and distributing the cloth and also the church where it was supposed to be.

The empty cross stands in the centre of the composition. Around the cross there are items recalling the Passion: the whip, the scourge, and the sponge on a reed and the lance are placed against the cross. In the intersection of the bars of the cross the place of the relic is indicated by a wreath of thorns. Three angels raise the body of the dead Christ on a large shroud into the coffin at the foot of the Cross. Half-figure depictions of the four Evangelists can be seen in the four corners of the shawl, in mannerist style, oval medallions decorated with shell ornaments, with their abbreviated names in Cyrillic characters: Matthew and Mark at the top, and Luke and John at the bottom. Other inscriptions of the *antimension*, placed at the cross: 'ІНЦІ' in the title plaque, 'ІС ХС НИКА' around it. Above the scene: 'Б(о)ж(є)ственный и с(ва)щенный ѿлтарь Г(оспод)а Б(о)га и Сп(а)са н(а)шего І(су)са Х(рист)а. Осв(а)щень Бл(а)г(о)д(а)тію / Всес(ва)т(а)го и животворящагв Д(ух)а. Рукодѣйствен же и благ(ослов)ень, Б(о)голюбивым / Г(оспо)диномъ ѿцемъ Гевр(гий): Генадій Бизанті Милостію Б(о)жією и С(вата)го Ѳрона Ап(осто)лскога, Еп(иско)пъ /

Севастійські, Мукачевські, Марамороскі, Маковинський, Спільський, и всеї землі угорски / Горней долиней и стран до ней належитих. / Вѣкарій Ап(осто)лский и его Цесарского / и Крoлевского Маєстату / Совѣтник. In the lower field in a frame of tendril ornaments: При держ(аве): Пресв Ѡ(тлаго): Карола цесара Римско(го): Положен / Во храмъ ... Рока М(еса)ца Дна / Во еже свашенoдѣйствовати на немъ Б(о)жественую Лвтургію.'

It is only the inscription of this *antimension* that is different from the *antimensions* of several Bishops of Galicia, e.g. from the *antimension* of Hieronim Ustrzycki Greek Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl (1715–1748) (Ткачук, 2018, 71, Photo No. 48). The quasi simultaneous use of two relic clothes with identical drawings suggests that both Bishops obtained them from the same printing house after their consecration. The printing blocks of the *antimension* consisted of several items, therefore the ornaments of the frame and the inscriptions were replaceable. Making exact copies of printing blocks is also technically possible, thus identical copies could be made, up to one thousand samples could be printed from one printing block. This is why a certain composition was well spread in several large eparchies.

The prototype of this composition was an *antimension* composed with four angels by Petr Mohila, which was the first composition depicting the symbolic, liturgical theme of *The Entombment*. On the basis of this composition, an engraver from Lviv, recognised for his book illustrations in Kiev and Iași (*Jászvásár*), master Luka made an *antimension* with three angels in 1669, ordered by Józef Szumlański Orthodox, then Greek Catholic Bishop of Lviv (Yurchyshyn-Smith, 2001, 198). After 1684, the Bishop of Lviv ordered another version of his *antimension* from an unknown master, with slightly different details due to his new titles. The grass seen on the *antimension* of Mukacheve also appeared in this version. The finished composition was later used several times. The *antimensions* of the brother of Józef Szumlański, Anatazy Iuck Bishop of Ostrog, were made from this block in 1687, with a different text (Ошуркевич, 2013, 366). Furthermore, Warlaam Szeptyczki Bishop of Lviv, who, besides Józef Szumlański, was another significant promoter of the Union of the Lviv-Halych Eparchy, also had his *antimension* made from this block or from its copy. On the new woodcut, the Szumlański coats of arms disappeared from the corners, and the lower text field was placed in an ornamented frame.

The printing block was not taken out of service after the death of Warlaam Szeptyczki. First a relic cloth was printed from it for Hieronim Ustrzycki Greek Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl, then in the following year, when György Bizanczy was consecrated Bishop by Luka Lev

Kiszka, the Bishop of Mukacheve also had an *antimension* printed from this block. A distinguishing feature of *antimensions* is that they give a precise indication of the jurisdiction of the Bishop in Hungary: from Sebastia, Mukacheve, Máramaros, Makovica, Szepes, all Upper Hungary and the Great Hungarian Plain with the Bishops, Apostolic Vicars, Counsellors of His/Her Imperial and Royal Majesty of all the related regions. (B. P.)

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 Puskás, 2008, 205.

III.2.5 Antimension of György Blazsovszky Bishop (1738–1742)

Catalogue III.42

1730-1740, unknown master

canvas, copperplate engraving

Once in the collection of the Order of Saint Basil the Great in Máriapócs.

The central part of the composition shows the scene of *The Entombment of Jesus Christ*, and on the two sides there are three-three more fields of the picture in acanthus leaf and garland ornaments. The empty Cross can be seen in the main axis, following the old tradition, with the objects symbolising the sufferings of Jesus Christ and the traditional inscriptions: 'ИЦІ' in the title plaque, 'IC XC НИКА' around it. The corpse of Christ can be seen on a shroud on the baroque style sarcophagus at the foot of the Cross. Five mourners stand behind him: Nicodemus wearing a turban, Saint John the Evangelist, the Theotokos with her hands clasped standing in the middle, with a long sword standing out from her chest, a motif of western iconography symbolising her pain as a mother, and Mary Magdalene and Joseph of Arimathea stand on the right. The name inscriptions written around their head in Cyrillic characters help their identification. Following earlier tradition, the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and their symbols are represented in the four corners of the *antimension*. Compositions representing the objects of suffering can be found among them, following western iconography: the seamless robe on a lance with a hyssop stalk, the purse, sword, metal gloves on the left and the column of scourging on the right with the rooster, the whip, the scourge, the hand washing bowl and the ladders on it. The invariable texts of the *antimensions* can be deciphered on the ribbon along the upper edge of the *antimension*.

'Б(о)жественный и с(ва)щенный ѿлтарь Г(оспод)а
Б(о)га и Сп(а)са нашего И(с)уса Хр(ис)та / Ос(ва)щень
Бл(а)г(о)датію всес(ва)тагw и животворящагw Духа.'

The dedication can be found in the text field at the bottom: 'Рукодѣйствен же и Осващень / господиномъ
ѿчемъ ГЕѾРГИЕМЪ ГАВРИЙЛОМЪ / БЛАЖОВСКИМЪ,
ЕПИСКОПОМЪ АГНЕНСКИМЪ / МУКАЧОВСКИМЪ и
МАРАМОРОЙСКИМЪ / вѣкариемъ апостолскимъ
воеже с(ва)щеннодѣйствовати на немъ Бжественую
Лвт(у)ргію. До храму ... року А ЧМ... М(еса)ца ... Днѧ.'

A copperplate engraving is a precise, detailed drawing with the application of tones in several instances. The depiction of *antimensions* meant painted or embroidered woodcuts in Eastern Europe until the end of the 17th century. The relic clothes decorated with copperplate engravings were spread following the *antimensions* made by Ivan Sczyrski, master from Chernihiv, he made the first one in 1694 for Adrian Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow. Graphics called 'frjág', i.e. Italian style graphics represent the composition of

The Entombment, with numerous changes compared to previous *antimensions*, for example the order of the figures is different, the Passion is complemented with a western type still life composition and early Baroque ornamentation. Copies of the composition were widespread. The *antimension* of Atanazy Szeptycki Bishop of Lviv, made in 1724 in an excellent quality, combines elements of earlier engravings made by Sczyrski – *antimensions* of Zacharia Kornilovich Bishop of Pereiaslav, Ioann Maksymowycz Patriarch of Chernihiv and Joasaf Krokowski Metropolitan of Kiev – without any indication of the year or signature of the master.

The *antimension* of György Blazsovszky Bishop follows the *antimension* of Atanazy Szeptycki issued already as Metropolitan of Kiev, the iconography of which was made by a significantly less skilled master around 1730, both in terms of composition and figural details. Since György Blazsovszky was consecrated Bishop by Atanazy Szeptycki, it is possible that the *antimension* was ordered in connection with this, and the first three numbers of the 1740s can be deciphered in its dedication. The jurisdiction text is more succinct than earlier, the Hierarch is mentioned as *agni* (*Agnus* titular bishop), Bishop of Mukacheve and Máramaros and as Apostolic Vicar. (B. P.)

Bibliography

- Puskás, 1994, 45–56.
- Puskás, 2008, 205–206.

III.2.5 Antimension of Mánuel Olsavszky Bishop (1743–1767) *Catalogue III.43*



1743, unknown master
canvas, copperplate engraving
38 × 44 cm (15 × 17.3 in)
Collection of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, Máriapócs,
Inv. No. 2017.37.2.

Regarding composition and iconography, this *antimension* belongs to the same group with the relic clothes ordered by Mánuel Olsavszky's predecessor, György Blazsovszky Greek Catholic Bishop of Mukacheve from Galicia. Its central scene is *The Entombment* with the empty Cross of Christ in the background and objects referring to the Passion – the whip, the scourge, the sponge on the reed leaning against the cross, and the lance. The scene in the foreground, like on *antimensions* with compositions based on a Gospel event, i.e. on the historic *Entombment*, combines three types of iconography. The empty Cross symbolises the *Removal*, the mourners standing under the cross and crying, wringing their hands, then John the Evangelist, the Theotokos and Mary Magdalene are figures of the Lamentation scene, and Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea represent *The Entombment* itself. Similarly to the *antimensions* of the previous century, the Evangelists can be seen in the four corners of the relic cloth, they bring the events forward to the context of *The Annunciation*. In this context, the composition extends beyond historical time, and it connects the image of the redeeming sacrifice of Christ to the time of holiness. The iconography represents Christ in the Eucharist related to the liturgical commemoration performed on the *antimension*. Christ covered in the shroud also suggests the specific function of the *antimension*.

The emblems of the Passion depicted in the two central medallions recall the composition of the western *Arma Christi*. Nevertheless, the master left out the western iconographic motif of the sword standing out from Mary's heart. The *antimension* is rich in details, its drawing is more refined than that of the *antimension* of bishop Blazsovszky. The three-dimensional character of forms is accentuated by picturesque tones, suggesting that the unknown master had higher skills. The consecration of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky took place already in the church of Máriapócs, with the contribution of the Bishop of Făgăraș. Although it cannot be excluded that the *antimension* was made in Galicia – the popularity of Galician engravers is well known –, no such indications have been found. The traditional inscriptions can be deciphered on the *antimension*, indication of Mánuel Olsavszky as Bishop of Rhosus (titular bishop of Rhosus), Mukacheve and Máramaros, Apostolic Vicar and Imperial Counsellor. (B. P.)

Bibliography

- Puskás, 1994, 45–56.
Puskás, 2008, 206–207.

III.2.5 Antimension of András Bacsinszky Bishop (1773–1809)

Catalogue III.44



1773, Johann Ernst Mansfeld
canvas, copperplate engraving
41.5 × 48 cm (16.3 × 18.9 in)
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No
2017.2.1.

Thanks to the *antimension* of György Blazsovszky Bishop (1738–1742), a decorative Baroque *antimension* type was introduced in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, from Galicia, designed following a complex iconographic programme. His successors, Mánuel Olsavszyk (1743–1767) and János Bradács (1768–1772) Bishops also followed this prototype when ordering their relic clothes (Ошуркевич, 2013, 367). András Bacsinszky Greek Catholic Bishop of Mukacheve (1773–1809) also follows this tradition. Being a Bishop consecrated in Hofburg, benefiting from his new, west-oriented relations, he ordered an *antimension* block from an Austrian master. The relic cloth follows the pattern that is considered traditional by then, its design is more refined. The complex scene of *The Entombment* can be seen in the centre, following the *antimensions* of his direct predecessors: three mourners stand between Nicodemus holding the corpse of Christ and Joseph of Arimathea, the one in the middle is the Theotokos with Saint John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene on her two sides. The empty Cross of Golgotha and the objects of the Passion can be seen in the background. The former frames of *antimensions*, with acanthus leaves and garlands, were replaced by classic late Baroque style frames decorated with shell, acanthus and garland ornaments. The half-figures of the four Evangelists and compositions of the emblems of the Passion can still be seen in them. Traditional inscriptions can be read on the *antimension*, indicating András Bacsinszky as Bishop of Mukacheve and Imperial-royal Counsellor, and the name of the master and the year of preparation are indicated in the lower right corner of the relic cloth: 'J. Mansfeld Sculp. Viennae 1773'. (B. P.)

Bibliography

- Puskás, 1994, 45–56.
- Puskás, 2008, 206–207.
- Puskás, 2010b, 685–694.

III.2.5 Antimension of István Miklósy Bishop (1913–1937)

Catalogue III.45



Z. Szalay Pál (1891–1975)

letterpress printing made from a metal block, canvas
37.5 × 50 cm (14.8 × 19.7 in), block size: 29.2 × 41.1 cm
(11.5 × 16.2 in)

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No.
2015.264 (C 48)

Instead of a relic cloth, the first Bishop of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Hajdúdorog used the slightly modified *antimension* of his predecessor, Gyula Firczák Bishop of Mukacheve (1891–1912) after his appointment. The relic cloth of Firczák was made including the print made by Mansfeld in 1773, and Anton Bobulsky (1877–1951) journalist, writer and publisher from Mukacheve fostered its publication. This was the last item of the sequence of compositions using the traditional elements of Baroque *antimensions* from the previous centuries. Two signatures can be found on the engraving: that of Mansfeld in the lower right corner, and a signature from the conservation in the lower left corner: 'A. Бобульскій 1905'. The composition represented the Entombment of Christ, with five side figures and the cross in the background, and the four Evangelists and the objects of the Passion in medallions on the sides. In a square-shaped segment glued to the lower part of the *antimension* a Hungarian dedication could be deciphered: 'Consecrated by: István Miklósy bishop of Hajdúdorog, on Holy Thursday 20 April 1916'.

In 1926, the bishop of Hajdúdorog ordered the printing block of his new *antimension* from Pál Z. Szalay (1891–1975) painter and graphic artist. The depiction combines the iconography of the *Descent from the Cross* and *The Lamentation*. In the foreground of the horizontal rectangle-shaped field with cropped corners, slightly to the left of the central axis, the Theotokos can be seen leaning over her Son's body. Saint John the Evangelist supports Jesus from the left, and the mourning Mary Magdalene embraces the leg of the

Saviour from the right. The asymmetrically composed scene is in a frame of rocks, with a cross motif in the background surrounded by a halo, with the 'IC XC' characters from which a beam of light is reflected on the cross. The frame of the field of the picture is a Greek inscription. Half-figures of the Evangelists and their symbols can be seen in the four corners of the *antimension*, in octagonal segments: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The profile view of angels can be seen in two segments with a cross on the two sides of the frame, and the bands on the top and on the bottom show dedications printed later. The artist, who studied in the School of Sample Drawings, continued his studies in Baia Mare (*Nagybánya*) and Rome, the block was carved following the common taste of the age in religious art. The composition and the decorative motifs complementing the fields of the frame make an eclectic impression. (B. P.)

Bibliography

Kasinec, Edward – Struminsky, Bohdan A. *Byzantine-Ruthenian antimensia in the Episcopal and Heritage Institute Libraries of the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic*, Passaic, 1981, 30–31., kat. 31 (The first *antimension* of Bishop Miklósy with incorrect master name).

III.2.5 The antimimension of Fülöp Kocsis Bishop

Catalogue III.46



coloured design: Teréz Makláry, 2011, mixed technique, watercolour paper

typography print, silk

45 × 54.5 cm (17.7 × 21.4 in)

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2020.2.69.

An antimimension is a liturgical object following in its function and representation the tradition of the shrouds of Holy Friday (*epitahios*). From the Bishops of Hajdúdorog, Fülöp Kocsis was the first one to order the design of a relic cloth following this tradition in iconography and also in its inscriptions. In the horizontal field of the picture the Entombment of Jesus is represented symbolically, where instead of the historic figures of the Gospel story, two angels place the corpse of Christ into the coffin. The composition is related to the iconography of the Great Entrance of the Divine Liturgy, where heavenly choirs of angels play a crucial role. The first symbolic representation of *The Entombment* was found on the antimimension of Péter

Moglia (1630s). Its iconography corresponds to the 'King of Glory' type which was also used in the same period in the Carpathian region, in the diocese of Luck, depicting two angels around Christ standing in the grave. The veneration of the Corpse of Christ descended from the cross is accentuated in the centre of every type, thus highlighting the symbolic, liturgical, Eucharistic reference of the scene.

The design of the antimimension was made by Teréz Makláry graphic artist, icon painter. The actual version was a modified version of her first square-shaped sketch. The composition in the horizontally oriented field of the picture is dominated by two central axes. The empty cross stands in the vertical axis, segmenting the scene. It is the most ancient motif of antimimensions, it has been complemented with the objects of the Passion, the sponge and the lance, for centuries. Its inscription refers to the resurrection: 'IC XC NIKA'. The corpse of Christ is in the horizontal axis of the representation, and the two, symmetrically depicted angels lean over him, forming a triangle. The sarcophagus painted according

Epitaphios (Sepulchral Shroud)

Catalogue III.47

to the rules of reverse perspective confirms that the viewer is in the focus of the scene. The setting and the background are represented in an iconic style: the plane of the wall of Jerusalem can be seen between the foreground and the background, with the stylised rocky peaks of the Golgotha, the motifs of a few buildings at the back. The central-shaped one on the right recalls the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Figures of *antimensions* represented according to centuries-old tradition can be seen in the four corners of the composition, in square-shaped fields of the picture: the half-length portraits of the Evangelists with their attributes: Saint Matthew, Mark, Luke and John with a scytle or a book in their hands. The original coloured design had more of a pastel effect than the print from the printer. The background of the four corner fields of the picture and that of the scene are deep bluish grey, on which subtle tones of pink, mild ochre and the warm shades of reddish burnt sienna apply well, counterbalanced by the grey shades of the sarcophagus, sepulchral shroud and the setting muted by bluish-green tones. Iconic-graphic approach and toning with a mild effect of spatial depth are combined in the characteristic, unique style of the icon painter. The traditional Hungarian printed inscription of *antimensions* can be read under the scene: 'This antimension, i.e. holy altar, was consecrated by the grace of the ALL-Holy and LIFE-CREATING Spirit to present the holy sacrifice of the Lord's body and blood, [completed with handwriting] in Csengerújfalu. Consecrated by Fülöp Kocsis Bishop of Hajdúdorog by the grace of God on 21 April 2011.' The frame of the field of the picture is a band of inscription, with Byzantine crosses in the corners, with an inscription that can also be read on Easter shrouds. Fülöp Kocsis Bishop gave the original watercolour model (see the photo) of the *antimension* to Pope Benedict XVI in 2012 in Rome, during his pilgrimage on the occasion of the centenary of the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog (cf. Zadubenszki – Szabó, 2012, 102). (B. P.)



(1)

Late 18th century

canvas, oil

98.5 × 150 cm (38.8 × 59 in)

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza

Canvas painted white, with the dead Christ lying in the middle. Bloody traces of wounds can be seen on His head and forehead from the wreath of thorns, on His knees and shoulders from carrying the cross, and on His hands and feet from the nails, on His side from the lance. The closed eyes of the Saviour and the bluish colour of His body, symbolising the cool temperature of His body, confirm His death. In the gold halo of Christ, the traditional Greek characters can be read in the bars of a cross ('O ΩN'), with the abbreviation of His name above His shoulders ('ΙΣ ΧΣ') written in gold letters. On the edge of the shroud, the Church Slavonic text of the 2nd-tone *troparion* that was constantly chanted at the end of the Entombment Vespers of Holy Friday, during the procession performed with the *plashchanitsa*: 'And Joseph bought a linen shroud, and taking him down,

(2)



wrapped him in the linen shroud and laid him in a tomb.' In the four corners there are simple ornamental motifs also painted black. From where and when it was transferred to the collection remains unknown.

The representation of the mystery of Holy Saturday, the Lamentation of Christ or the dead body of the Saviour lying perfectly still, with a woven, embroidered or painted shroud (*Epitaphios*, *plashchanitsa*) is an ancient tradition of our Church, from Holy Friday to the Resurrection it is placed on the Easter Sepulchre, from Easter to the Assumption it is placed on the altar. The most beautiful samples of *Epitaphios* in the Byzantine tradition from the 14th century, with varied iconography (The Dead Christ, Lamentation etc., a selection of them: Woodfin, Warren. Liturgical Textiles, in: *Byzantium: Faith and Power [1261–1557]*, New York 2004, 312–318.). In the areas of the Carpathian region inhabited by Rusyns, including the Eparchy of Mukacheve, the earliest preserved samples are from the middle of the 17th century. Only the representation of the Dead Christ can be seen on them, with mourning angels sometimes, mainly in the company of two-winged, Baroque cherubim (cf. Marcinowska, Maria [ed.]. *Unter Deinen Schutz...: Ikonen von 15. bis*

18. Jahrhundert aus den Polischen Karpaten/Under Your Protection... 15th – 18th century icons from the Polish Carpathians [Nowy Sącz, 2005/06], 54, 108, kat. 5, Gienza, 2017, 486–487).

There is no information of any samples from before the 18th century in the area of the Eparchy of Mukacheve. According to information found in the archives, Mihály Spalinszky received money from the cashier of the cathedral of Uzhhorod in 1781 for a *plashchanitsa* as well, possibly it is this item that was recorded in the inventory of the church a few years later (Terdik, 2014a, 107, 269). Another *plashchanitsa* is preserved in the episcopal palace of Uzhhorod, presumably from Bilky. It is rather similar to the one preserved in Nyíregyháza, they were probably made by the same master (Picture 2). The depictions of Christ are extremely similar, the sample from Bilky has a more elegant design and was made on a more subtle material, therefore the painted figure is surrounded by the remaining parts of the original fabric instead of a homogeneous white background. The liturgical text running around is painted gold, instead of black, and even six-winged cherubim appear in the four corners. The year of preparation can be seen in black paint on the outer gold frame of the text under the feet of Christ: 1783. The style of the paintings is definitely similar to the style of Mihály Spalinszky, therefore it is possible that both objects were made by him or by one of his so far unidentifiable followers. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Puskás, 1996b, 31, kat. 74.

III.2.5 Resurrected Christ

Catalogue III.48



The Resurrected Christ in a white groin cloth, in a red robe blown by the wind, giving blessings with His raised right hand, holding a victory banner in His left hand. The three quarter view of His profile is surrounded by a halo. The curiosity of the icon is that the figure is cropped around. A wooden support is fitted to the reverse of the wooden panel.

Representations of the *Resurrected Christ* of this kind most certainly imitate sculptures representing the same theme, used by Roman Catholics in Resurrection processions and placed on the altar until the feast of the Ascension. The transformation of the sculpture composition into a two-dimensional representation meant following the traditions of the Byzantine rite. The sample in Sárospatak is unique in the present Hungarian collection. Although there is information on icons of this kind used in other towns, they were made much later. This kind of icon could arrive from the other side of the Carpathian Mountains, from Greek Catholics living under Polish jurisdiction, since there are many more such objects dated from the 18th century in the collections of museums in that area (e.g. Sanok, Muzeum Historyczne). The item presented here could also be imported from there. (Sz. T.)

Late 18th century

wood, oil

height: 71.5 cm (28.1 in); width: 36 cm (14.2 in)

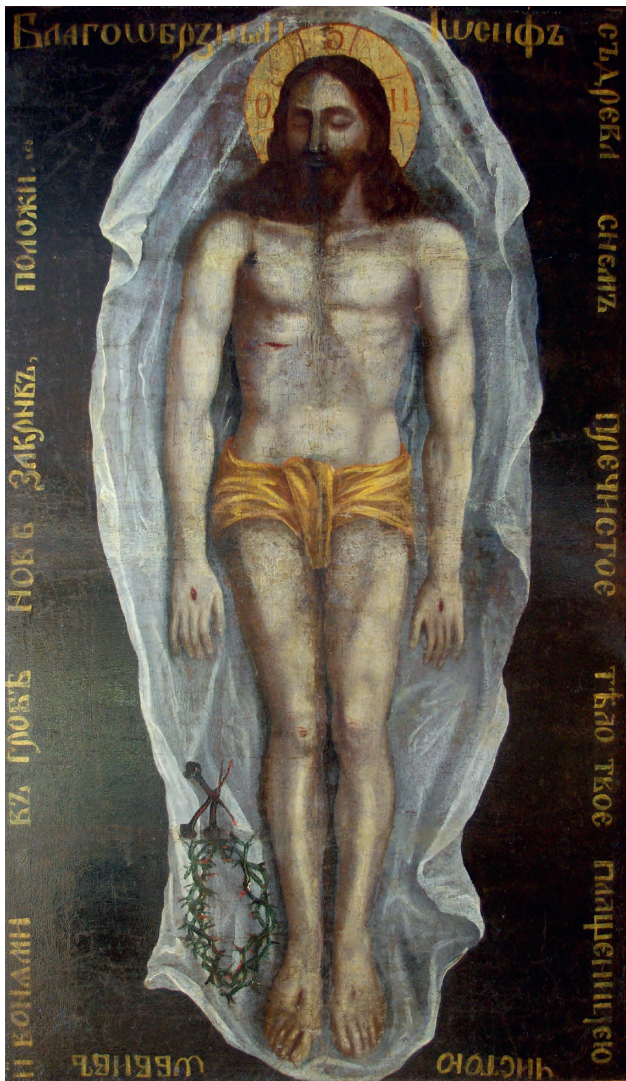
(without the flagpole)

Conservation: Ferenc Varga, 2019.

Greek Catholic Church of Saint Peter and Paul,
Sárospatak

III.2.5 Epitaphios (Sepulchral Shroud)

Catalogue III.49



1858

canvas, oil

79 × 125 cm (31.1 × 49.2 in)

Conservation: Tamás Seres (in cooperation with Alexandra Erdős, Zsófia Márk, Fanni Mogyoróssy, Tamás Szabó, Veronika Szalai), 2016.

Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 1999.113.

On the painted side of the sepulchral shroud, in front of a dark brown background, the body of the dead Christ is placed on a shroud with its edge folded up: His limbs are neatly arranged, the wounds on His hands and feet and on His knees are cleaned and clearly visible, His long brown hair falls on His shoulders, and Greek characters ('the One Who is') can be seen in the cross in His halo, His groin cloth is ochre and yellow, and the bloody wreath of thorns and three iron nails were placed next to His right foot. The well-known *troparion* ('God-fearing Joseph...')

is written in yellow characters on the edge of the shroud in Church Slavonic language. The icon was originally surrounded with a band of metal thread as well.

An inscription can be deciphered on the rear, white canvas of the lining written with ink: „E Sz: This *plashchanitsa* was bought by the undersigned on 14 April 1858 together with an *Aër*, with the buyer's own money. Ily[kó] György priest at that time in Mada.” From this it is obvious that the sepulchral shroud was donated to the church by György Ilykó, priest of the parish of Nyírmada at that time, together with an *Aër* (which was probably a ciborium cover). The parish of Nyírmada was founded in 1753, its first wooden church was also built then, believers gave money for the construction. The construction of the church dedicated to Saint Nicholas Bishop, still existing after several transformations, started in the 1840s, the construction took a long time, the church was finished in 1858 with significant State aids. At the end or quasi end of the construction, the local minister was presumably inspired to contribute to the liturgical equipment of the completed building. According to information obtained from the schematism of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, György Ilykó was already a priest in the market town of Nagymada, as the town was then called, in 1845. One and a half years after the donation of the *plashchanitsa*, on 15 November 1859, at the age of forty, he deceased here of apoplexy in the seventeenth year of his priesthood.

The dedication does not include information on the price, place or painter of the shroud. Presumably he could order the painting from a nearby town. Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*) was the important economic centre of the area at that time, information on several painters can be found from Satu Mare. A relatively old sepulchral shroud, dating from 1876, was also preserved in St Nicholas Church in Satu Mare, its style is closely related to the sepulchral shroud from Nyírmada although that one was made on white silk, the composition of the shroud painted under the body is also different, and the inscription on it is also Hungarian, not Slavonic (Terdik, 2014b, 116.), but both shrouds were presumably made by the same, so far unidentified, painter. (Sz. T.)

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III.2.5 Epitaphios
(Sepulchral Shroud)
Catalogue III.50



Early 20th century
canvas, oil, gilded
109.5 × 90 cm (43.1 × 35.4 in)
Conservation: Dóra Fekete, 2020.
Greek Catholic Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos,
Sajószöged

This is an unusual composition: the body of the dead Christ is lowered on a white sheet into an empty stone sarcophagus by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. The cross is in the background, the lance and the sponge holding the reed are leaning against it. The three quarter views of the Evangelists can be seen in the four corners. Objects related to the suffering are depicted in the frame.

This kind of *plashchanitsa* was offered to parishes in the early 20th century by the Rétay and Benedek Art Institute (Műipari Intézet), the one in Sajószöged was also probably bought from them. Three design options were offered in the company's product catalogue, in three different price ranges, and the woodcut image of the *plashchanitsa* was also published in the catalogue. This sample belongs to the second type: 'Artistically painted with oil paint on canvas, on gold leaf, the edges are hemmed with four times gilded passementerie – from K 110 to K 120.' (Catalogue of the Rétay and Benedek Art Institute, around 1915, incomplete sample, 58, Item No. 509; Private collection). The style of the painting is already different from that of icons sold by the Art Institute later in the Nazarene style, it seems that the painter of this one was rather inspired by more realistic artistic movements of the 19th century. (Sz. T.)

Epitaphios
(Sepulchral Shroud)
Catalogue III.51



1991, László Puskás
casein oil tempera, canvas; 80 × 125 cm (31.5 × 49.2 in)
Greek Catholic Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos,
Felsőzsolca

The field of the picture consists of two zones of the same size. The body of the dead Christ is represented in the lower one, almost from a top view. Half figures of the traditional historic figures of *The Entombment* compositions can be observed in the upper zone, standing behind the catafalque: Mary, the Theotokos and the women mourners on the left, in the middle – in front of the empty cross that is halving the background – John the Evangelist, and on the right Joseph of Arimathea, a disciple and Nicodemus with the ladder. On the painted frame there is the Hungarian text of the *troparion* chanted on Holy Friday.

The internal arrangement of the composition is confirmed by the balance of colour patches: the cinnabar robe of John in the middle, two darker, wine red patches on the two sides, and the contrast of the cinnabar and the dark oil green at the back. The faces and hands match the golden ochre tone of the background. The lightest patch, the white canvas highlights the figure of Christ. The difference between the perspectives, the different planes refer to the catafalque being an altar. Essential shapes are depicted with a flat painting style, graphically expressed shapes and three-dimensional effects.

The sepulchral shroud of Holy Friday was ordered by Albert Vatamány parish priest in connection with the internal painting of the Greek Catholic church in Felsőzsolca. The figural wall paintings of the vault, the original colour designs of the walls and sections were also made by László Puskás in 1991. László Puskás painted several *plashchanitsas* with similar compositions in the 1990s, with Hungarian and Ukrainian inscriptions for Greek Catholic churches in Hungary and abroad. (B. P.)

Bibliography

Puskás, 2020, kat. 245.

III.2.5 Epitaphios
 (Sepulchral Shroud)
Catalogue III.52



Late 20th century
 fabric: Edit Lázár, sketch: László Puskás
 wool, silk; woven
 80 × 115 cm (31.5 × 45.3 in)
 Tihany Abbey, Benedictine Monastery, Tihany

This is a composition with many figures, with the depiction of the dead Christ in one half of the field of the picture in the foreground, with Mary and two women above Him lamenting over Christ, John the Apostle in front of the cross in the central axis, then Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus and a bearded man can be seen holding a ladder. The text of the traditional *troparion* can be read along the frame, with the 'IC / XC / NI/KA' inscription ('Jesus Christ Conquers') in the corners.

The composition was made on the basis of a sketch made by László Puskás. Its closest variety is a painted *plashchanitsa* with the initials of László Puskás painted in 1994, its current location is unknown (Puskás, 2020, cat. 247). The cold colour palette of the woven sepulchral shroud based on blue colours, the dark-light effects applied differently from the style of László Puskás, and the look of the figures highlighted with white colour all suggest that the colourful cardboard was made by the person who made

the tapestry, or who, knowing the work of László Puskás, made significant changes to it, using it only as a prototype.

It was ordered by Domonkos Kiss OSB for the St Sabina Chapel of the Benedictine House of Studies in Budapest, then it was transferred to Bakonybél, from where it was taken to Tihany. Its design and the fact that it is a real woven tapestry make it unique in Hungarian collections. (Sz. T.)

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Terdik, 2012, 6, 21.

III.2.5 Epitaphios
 (Sepulchral Shroud)
 Catalogue III.53



2014, Erzsébet Szekeres
 canvas, threads made of cotton, wool and metal;
 embroidered, sewn
 Greek Catholic Church of the Exaltation of the Holy
 Cross, Gödöllő

A composition of *The Lamentation of Christ* with many figures: the Theotokos mourns the Saviour squeezing His dead body placed on a white shroud on a rock. Joseph and Nicodemus try to kiss the feet of Jesus, and John the Apostle and five women observe the drama from the background. The cross stands in the central axis, with the lance and the reed from the objects of suffering, with the Sun and the Moon and two two-winged cherubim respectively on the two sides, and in the foreground of the composition two angels hold a white shroud. The portrait medallions of the four Evangelists are in the four corners, and the text of the traditional *troparion* can be seen along the frame.

The construction of the new church started in Gödöllő in 2011, its consecration ceremony was held by Fülöp Kocsis Bishop of Hajdúdorog on 14 September

2014. The shroud was donated to the church by Erzsébet Szekeres textile artist.

The image of the shroud was published by Magyar Posta (Hungarian Post) on 6 March 2017 on the occasion of Easter as its first daily stamp, the photo of the shroud was also published on the decorative envelope, and the description of the work of art was published on the reverse. (Sz. T.)

III.2.6 The Species of the Eucharist – The Tradition of Proshoro Making in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church

Irén Szabó

In the Greek Catholic Church, the material of the Eucharist is leavened bread made from pure wheat flour and wine. The faithful participate in the consecrated Holy Gifts under both Kinds to the present day. This tradition goes back to early Christian praxis, when members of the community would take the bread, wine and oil for communion, and the minister would choose the most suitable one for the breaking of bread, and the rest would be consumed at a communal agape feast. In the early centuries of Christianity – as required by the community – the Eucharistic liturgy was celebrated with the whole community in attendance.

Unleavened bread used in the Western Church began to spread in the Carolingian era with the rediscovery of Old Testament books. The use of unleavened bread was common with the Armenians from as early as the 6th century. In the Western Church, celebrating Mass would be gradually detached from the community and transformed into a clerical act as of the 8th and 9th centuries. With the spread of a liturgical idiom and the practice of private Mass, the praxis of saying Mass independent of the community would come to be established.¹ As the communion character of the Mass weakened, the reception of Communion by the faithful gradually decreased. A parallel process was the elimination of Communion under both Kinds, along with the concomitant theological disputes,² directing attention at one of the Eucharistic Species: bread and its material. A serious debate of these centuries between the Eastern and the Western Church was the question of whether to use leavened or unleavened bread. The Council of Lyon (1274) endorsed and declared the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Mass in the Western Church. The ongoing dispute was closed by the Council of Florence in 1439.³ The Council of Florence, negotiating union, pronounced that the host

and leavened bread were equally valid material of the Eucharist. Informed by aspirations for unity, the conciliar decree elevated a dual praxis existent for centuries to the level of reciprocal validity.⁴

The preparation and selection of the bread to be placed on the altar have a unique tradition dating from the early Christian period. In terms of its form and way and circumstances of making, it would become distinct from the bread intended for everyday consumption gradually. The fact that bread is a piece of our quotidian human material reality and, when placed on the altar, becomes the Body of Christ through consecration, also defines the manner in which this bread is made. The power of the Sacrament that will be has an impact on the way of its making, as well as marks it out and sets it apart from ordinary patterns.

One form of designation is the marking on the bread. The practice of marking evolved early. Initially, sacrificial bread was marked only with a cross; in later centuries, seals conveying complex information were stamped on the dough before baking.

In the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the custom of cutting the sign of the cross or the letter 'X' of the Greek alphabet into the dough prior to baking became widespread. Such *panes decussati*, or 'loaves of bread marked with the cross', were the antecedents to subsequent Eucharistic bread marked with a stamp.⁵

Some sources suggest that, instead of ordinary loaves of bread, *proshora* (προσφορά) marked with an inscription were used from as early as the 4th century or, according to others, from the late 7th and early 8th century.⁶

Sources from the field of theology and ecclesiastical and liturgical history are supported by research in material history and archaeology. As attested by early stamps, seals already developed a variety of forms in 5th-century early- and late-Byzantine practice.⁷ Bread stamps had

¹ Szabó, 2012, 181–182.

² The Council of Constance (1415) rejected Communion under both Kinds for the laity.

³ Cabié, Robert. L'Eucharistia, in: Aime Georges Martimort (Ed.). *La Chiesa in Preghiera: Introduzione alla Liturgia*, Brescia, 1993, 161. I wish to thank Miklós Gyurkovics for recommending this source and translating the corresponding section for my purposes. Verbényi, István – Füzes, Ádám. *Liturgia, II. év: Az Eukarisztiát ünnepeljük*, Jegyzet, Magyar Liturgikus és Egyházzenei Intézet, Budapest, 2002. Website: <https://penta.hcbc.hu/kantorkepzo/jegyzet/jlit2.htm> (accessed: 29 March 2019).

⁴ Szabó, 2012, 200–202.

⁵ Preda, Nicolae. *Az Isteni Liturgia és az Eucharisztia gyakorlata a Román Orthodox Egyházban, különös tekintettel az Eucharisziában használt kenyérré*, Eucharisztikus Tudományos Konferencia [Academic Conference on the Eucharist], Esztergom, 27–29 November 2018. The online version of the talk: http://tar.eucharisztikuskongresszus.com/Eucharisztikus_tudomanyos_konferencia_2018/Eloadasok_szoveg/Preda_magyar.pdf (accessed: 7 March 2019).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The online catalogue of the British Museum presents thirty-eight bread stamps from its collection, including the descriptions and photographs of two 19th-century Bulgarian and a late-20th-century bread stamp from Syria, besides seven early- and late-Byzantine specimens. Website: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=bread+stamp&images=true&object=20185 (accessed: 11 March 2019). For a seminal work on the subject, see: Galavaris, George. *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps*, London, 1970. For an additional treatment of the subject, see: Galavaris, George – Hamman-Mac Lean,

been known in pre-Christianity periods and in cultures outside Christendom as well, but, based on the inscription and iconography, Eucharistic bread stamps may easily be identified among archaeological finds and in museum collections.⁸ Several of these seal forms, inscriptions and patterns continue to exist and to be used to mark the bread to be placed on the altar in various Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches to the present day.

A *prophoro* bread stamp collection of an outstanding magnitude is found in the Ethnographic Museum (Museul Etnografic) of Sighetu Marmației (*Máramarossziget*).⁹ Nearly thirty of the ninety-three-item collection are on display at the exhibition. This ensemble, rich from a folk-art point of view as well, has been preserved thanks to the collecting efforts of paediatrician Victor Pop and Antal Mircea, a Greek Catholic priest, in the mid-20th century. In Maramureș (*Máramaros*), Romania, the Eucharistic bread stamp (*pecetar*, *prescurnicer*) became a peculiar specimen of wood-carving folk art.¹⁰ For the liturgy commemorating the dead, the family concerned offered the sacrificial bread, mostly made with their own bread stamp in each case. The survival of this rich body of specimens was aided by this folk practice until the 20th century.

In Hungary, the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, holds ten *prophoro* stamps, under the inventory label 'bread stamp' (*kenyérpecsételő*). Five of these are featured in the online catalogue as well.¹¹ Specimens acquired in the first few years of the 21st century were made in the late 19th and early 20th century and were in use until the end of the 20th century.¹² The inscription on every piece is the traditional Christogram: IC XC NIKA.

To date, no investigations have been done into the rules and regulations established in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church for the preparation of the bread to be placed on the altar or into the associated customs.

Vis-á-vis the territory of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*), protocols of canonical visitations, as well as episcopal circulars could contain data on the making and use of the Eucharistic bread from as early as the beginning of the 18th century. From the 18th and 19th centuries, several archival sources containing direct or indirect data on the preparation of the *prophoro* are available. For the purposes of the present study, two groups of such sources have been reviewed and utilised. In the protocols of the canonical visitations of János Kopcsay, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, conducted in the Lower-Szabolcs deaneries of the Arch-Deanery of Hajdúdorog in 1780 and 1781, inquiries were made about the making of the *prophoro* in the survey of nineteen parishes.¹³ The other source is constituted by the protocols of the canonical visitations¹⁴ in Szabolcs County during the tenure of Elek Pócsi, Bishop of Mukacheve (1816–1831).

The name of the Eucharistic bread

The name of the leavened Eucharistic bread in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church is *proszfora* [*prophoro*], derived from the Greek verb *prospherein*, meaning 'to offer'. Popular usage has generated a number of variants: *proszkura*, *proszkurka*, *proszkuja*, *praszkuła*, *paszkula*, *preszkura* and *peszkurki*. In the vernacular, names such as *papkalács* [priest's loaf], *Jézuska kenyere* [bread of the Little Jesus], *Jézuska-kenyérke* [Little Jesus-little bread], and *Jézuska kalácsa* [loaf of the Little Jesus] have also been coined.¹⁵ Among the clergy, the term *oltárkenyér* [Eucharistic bread] enjoys/enjoyed currency, while an 18th-century source calls it *áldozati kenyér* [sacrificial bread].

The *prophoro* is made locally, in the parish community, and it may be baked only by designated individuals. It is precisely this circumstance that has given rise to a sense of variety and evolving tradition worthy of

Richard. Brotstempel aus der Prinz Johann Georg-Sammlung in Mainz, *Hefte des Kunstgeschichtlichen Instituts der Universität Mainz*, 3(1979).

⁸ Kakish, Randa. Ancient Bread Stamps from Jordan, *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, Vol. 14, 2(2014), 19–31.

⁹ Pop, Victor – Șăineț, Sabin. Pecetarea maramureșene, *Acta Musei Maramorosiensis*, 1(2002), 305–308.

¹⁰ In his book illustrated with photographs, Romulus Pop analyses the history of the object, with a primary emphasis on folk-art motifs. He hypothesises that, in the Maramureș region, stamping bread brought for the commemoration of the dead has a tradition dating to the Middle Ages. The oldest piece bearing a date is from 1729. Pop, Romulus. *Glasul pecetarelor* (Biblioteca Revistei Familia), Oradea, 1993, 36.

¹¹ The oldest datable bread stamp, featuring the date 1867, is from Baia de Arieș (*Aranyosbánya*), see: <http://gyujtemeny.neprajz.hu/neprajz.01.01.php?bm=1&kv=320822&nks=1> (accessed: 10 May 2020).

The rest of the items are also from the territory of today's Romania; they were made in the late 19th and early 20th century and were in use until the end of the 20th century. They were added to the collection of the Museum during the first half of the 2000s.

¹² For their descriptions, see in the present volume: Cat., III. 54–56.

¹³ The unpublished archival material of the visitations was researched by Szilveszter Terdik, who made a selection of data on *prophoro* preparation with collegial care, translated it from Latin and made it available to me, for which I wish to express my gratitude to him.

¹⁴ Nyirán – Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2017.

¹⁵ Bartha, Elek. *Görög katolikus ünnepeink szokásvilága*, Debrecen, 1999, 21. As well as: Bartha, 1982, 805.

research regarding the process and manner of preparation and the tools used.

The present study provides an overview of the customs currently alive in Hungary's Greek Catholic Church in relation to the making of the *prosphoro*, which serves as the material of the Eucharist. Aside from a small number of written sources, the paper mainly draws on material acquired through interviews. Ninety per cent of the interviewees were *presbyteras*, i.e. the wives of Greek Catholic priests. Answers were sought to questions such as 'Who may bake the *prosphoro*?', 'What is it made of?', 'What tools are used?', 'What is the process of making?' and 'How does the community use the ready *prosphoro*'?

Over the centuries, a practice largely uniform yet rich in noteworthy local and individual variations has evolved.

Who bakes the *prosphoro*?

In the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, the baking of the *prosphoro* mostly continues to be the task of the priest's wife even today. This assertion is corroborated by data from 18th- and 19th-century sources as well. In a record documenting the condition of the parish of Görömböly in 1769, it is recounted that 'the sacrificial bread is baked by the priest's wife; the flour needed is at times supplied by the priest and at others purchased from the money of the Church or given for free by the faithful' (translated from the Hungarian original).¹⁶ Over a hundred years later, the *canonica visitatio* protocol of the Bishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*) notes about Görömböly that 'the priest is entitled to the price of 188 litres (6 *koreces*) of wheat from the church cash for the Eucharistic bread' (translated from the Hungarian original).¹⁷

In János Kopcsay's visitation, twenty parishes of three deaneries were surveyed. Of these, there are no data on *prosphoro* making from Penészlek; in Rácfejtó (today's Újfehértó), there were two parishes – a Ruthenian and a Romanian one – with different practices.

In thirteen of the twenty parishes surveyed, the *prosphoro* was baked by the priests' wives. In Voivozi (Érkenéz),¹⁸ '*prosphoro* are baked by a designated old

woman, but other women also bring them from time to time',¹⁹ and, in Nagykálló, '*prosphoro* are baked by a designated widow from the flour collected from the people, [baking being] under the supervision of the parish priest' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁰ For Kállósemjén, it is noted that the parish priest was not careful enough in this regard: '*Prosphoro* are baked by different women, without supervision by the parish priest' (translated from the Hungarian original).²¹ Thus, indirectly, it may be inferred that *prosphoro* making had its own criteria, which were to be met by the parish priest. Had this principle been observed everywhere, apparently scandalous instances such as the one in the Romanian parish of Rácfehértó (today's Újfehértó) could have been avoided: '*Prosphoro* are baked here by some women indiscriminately. Therefore, not everything is prepared duly. What is more, the Divine Liturgy is at times not celebrated through their fault' (translated from the Hungarian original).²²

Examples of priests baking the Eucharistic bread are found in the past and present alike. Although this occurs in today's Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, it by no means represents general practice. It could be a research topic in its own right to explore the relevant tradition in the Greek Catholic Churches of other countries or in the Orthodox Church. It was a historical peculiarity that, following the 1950 dissolution of religious orders, a number of nuns returned to their native villages and, in addition to various responsibilities associated with support activities in the church, they were also entrusted with the baking of *prosphoro*. This was the practice in Mándok in the 1960s, as well as in Viszló, Hajdúdorog and Máriapócs as long as until the 1990s. Sometimes it happened that, in places with single, widowed priests, the *prosphoro* would be baked by a devout, older woman from the congregation.

Prosphoro baking was considered to be an honour by both the community and the individuals to whom it was assigned as a responsibility. Apart from ecclesiastical regulations, the congregation could also formulate and enforce requirements for *prosphoro* making.

¹⁶ Baán, 1996, 57.

¹⁷ Gyulai, Éva. *A görömbölyi görögkatolikus egyház 1877. évi canonica visitatiója*, 2000, 216. kérdés. Website: <https://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/gyulai.htm> (accessed: 18 February 2020).

¹⁸ At the time of the visitation (1780), it was part of the Deanery of Hajdúdorog.

¹⁹ '*Prosphoras pinsit senex foemina determinata: conferunt tamen reliquae mulieres ad Ecclesiam.*' GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, nr. 20.

²⁰ '*Prosphoras pinsit determinata Vidua, ex farina inter Populum colligi solita, cui rei Parochus invigilat.*' GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, nr. 20.

²¹ '*Prosphoras pinsunt diversae foeminae ex farina collata, non advigilante Parocho.*' GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, nr. 20.

²² '*Prosphoras hic indifferenter pinsunt quaecunque foeminae: ideoque nec debite praeparantur omnes: Sacrum insuper ob defectum earum subinde non est.*' GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 2, nr. 16.

In Álmosd²³ and Bedő, the practice of entrusting *prosphoro* making to devout women who conformed to the community's concept and expectations about chastity and unchastity has been encountered. Only unmarried or widowed women whose menstruation cycle had certainly stopped due to their age could bake the *prosphoro*. Thus, for example, in Bedő, the newly installed priest's young wife was not able to bake the *prosphoro*, but the task was done by a widowed female school teacher instead.²⁴ The continuance of former church rules must also have contributed to the survival of such archaic conceptions of chastity and unchastity. In an interview with the young Romanian Orthodox priest of the neighbouring village of Zsáka, on the preparation of the Eucharistic bread, he pointed out that, in the seminary (in Oradea), they had been taught that the *prosphoro* was to be baked by the priest. On the day of the baking, a fast was to be observed, and forbearance from conjugal life was compulsory. Examining how the system of customs of these Greek Catholic communities with a Romanian ethnic background relates to the customs common in the neighbouring Eparchy of Oradea, under the jurisdiction of which they also once lived, and to what extent the practice distinct from the customs in Hungary's other Greek Catholic communities might be in connection with their different ethnic background could be the subject of further material collection. As suggested by the documentation of Kopcsay's 1780 visitation, the *prosphoro* was baked by the priest's wife in Rácfejtő's Ruthenian parish, whereas, in the congregation of the Romanian parish, 'by one of the women without any distinction' (translated from the Hungarian original).

Data from recent material confirm that *prosphoro* making is widely seen as a responsibility of the wives of priests, and any divergent practices are found only sporadically. Proportions, as well as the manner, circumstances and tools of preparation have been transmitted by priests' wives from generation to generation for centuries. One major strand of tradition is the multi-generational knowledge passed on in priests' families, with the grandmother, mother and daughter sustaining a single tradition even for two centuries. Those joining these families by marriage adopted and learnt the way of *prosphoro* making from the preceding generation

of priests' wives. One *presbytera* related that when she knew that she would be a priest's wife, she went to her grandmother, who also happened to be one. She showed her how to bake the *prosphoro* and gave her a bread stamp. The *presbytera*-grandmother sent her on her way, saying: 'Child, remember that the first thing is visitation and the second is *prosphoro* baking!'²⁵ It is also common that the priest's wife mother-in-law teaches her daughter-in-law this. A girl not born into a priest's family could approach the wife of her own parish priest with confidence. In some cases, priests' wives have learnt *prosphoro* making from their husbands. Mastering *prosphoro* baking has never taken an institutional form. According to recollections, as early as the 1980s, there were pre-ordination retreats where learning *prosphoro* baking was part of the training for future priests' wives. In 1992, Pál Bacsóka organised a pre-ordination retreat in Máriapócs during which future priests' wives were also shown *prosphoro* making as part of the retreat. The training was delivered to the wives of the candidates by *Presbytera* Mrs Sándor Szabó née Margit Gebri, with the participants baking the first *prosphoro* of their lives in the kitchen of the parish of Máriapócs. At the beginning of a shared vocation, their newly ordained husbands used these to celebrate their first Holy Mass.

The material of the *prosphoro*

The material of the Eucharist, and hence of the *prosphoro* as well, is regulated by strict ecclesiastical rules, and adherence to these is closely watched. The most important ingredient is pure wheat flour. Obtaining the grain and flour needed for the preparation of the *prosphoro* has not always been unproblematic. Sources familiar to the author suggest that a dual practice was established regarding the procurement of *prosphoro* flour. In one, the parish priest used his own grain, which was most probably harvested from church lands. The other common custom was that the necessary quantity was carried to the parish by the parishioners. In 1780, in Nyírbélték, '*prosphoro* are baked only by the wife of the parish priest from flour collected from the people by a particular woman' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁶ In Nyírlugos, '*prosphoro* are baked by the wife of the parish priest mostly from her own flour, but she also

²³ Álmosd: 'The tradition there is that the *prosphoro* is baked by a widow; one who goes to church and approaches the Sacraments.' From the data supplied by Mrs László Feczák, née Nagyzezsda Gajdos, wife of the father serving there from 1991 to 1998. Date of collection: 17 April 2000.

²⁴ The author's own collection, 1998.

²⁵ Mrs László Feczák née Nagyzezsda Gajdos, personal communication, 17 April 2000 Her grandmother, *Presbytera* Mrs János Csépes, was the wife of János Csépes (1918–1953), a martyred priest from the Eparchy of Mukacheve. *Visitation* means a series of visits paid to the priests of a particular deanery, which a newly appointed priest was supposed to do.

²⁶ 23 February 1780, GKPL, IV–1–a, fasc. 5, nr. 20.

has a different kind of flour that is collected by a certain woman' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁷ In the Greek Catholic community of Hugaaj (today's Érpatak), '*prophora* are baked by the parish priest's wife, with the flour collected by a woman charged with this task' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁸ In Oros, '*prophora* are baked by the wife of the parish priest from flour collected from the congregation' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁹ In Buj and Nyíregyháza, the *prophora* is baked by the parish priest's wife 'from the collected flour' (translated from the Hungarian original).³⁰ In Nyírpazony, '*prophora* are baked by the wife of the parish priest, with two *mérős* (187.4 litres/41.22 gallons) of wheat provided by the congregation every year' (translated from the Hungarian original).³¹ From the data, it was not possible to establish where the grain was obtained from in cases where the *prophora* was baked by a parishioner.

The expenses of the wheat and flour needed for the *prophora* were almost completely funded from the donations of the faithful even at the beginning of the 20th century. Along with other produce, the flour would be carried to the parish building usually in autumn. In some parishes, it was collected in the church. In Basko, collecting *prophora* wheat was the responsibility of the parish council members.³² In Tornospálca, the custom of donating wheat was alive as long as until the first decade of the 21st century: The wheat was carried to the parish building by parishioners before the title feast of the church. From the second half of the 20th century, donation in kind tended to be replaced by monetary donation, the so-called *prophora* money, regarded as the money of the priest's wife in a number of places because she baked the *prophora*. The faithful would give the money with the

prophora distributed as *antidoron* on feasts with an *artoklasia* service.

At the time of World War I, when pure wheat-flour supply was threatened, the timely procurement of flour of the appropriate quality was pointed out to the clergy in a separate episcopal ordinance,³³ an issue that Bishop István Miklósy would continue to issue provisions on later as well.³⁴

Nowadays, it is general practice to bake from the pure wheat flour purchased in shops. A different custom is to use pastry flour half-and-half. Some argue that it gives the flour better quality and greater elasticity, while others claim that it only causes it to crumble and thus prefer not to use it. The choice is governed by individual practice and experience. As a new phenomenon, it has been found that a father ordained two years ago bakes the *prophora* himself and mixes wholemeal wheat flour to the flour, saying that this way the bread will have the grain in whole in it.

Apart from pure wheat flour, the proper ingredients of the *prophora* are water, yeast – formerly leaven – and a little salt. In a few cases, salt has been found to be dispensed with. Concerning the use of salt and yeast alike, it is pointed out that the flavour of neither is to be made distinctly perceptible. The taste of the *prophora* must be neutral.

No regulation has been discovered regarding quantities, form or the ratios of the ingredients. The *prophora* is expected to be untainted. As it was made with yeast, it could not be kept for long with the danger of moulding or complete desiccation. It is a universal practice that, before feasts with an *artoklasia* service, five *prophora* are baked. In the Eastern Church, the *artoklasia* service or *lity* is associated with the service conducted

²⁷ 24 February 1780, GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 5, nr. 20.

²⁸ 16 December 1780, GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 5, nr. 20.

²⁹ 23 December 1780, GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 5, nr. 20.

³⁰ 14 February 1781, GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 2, nr. 16. 10 March 1781, GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 2, nr. 16.

³¹ 7 March 1781, GKPL, IV-1-a, fasc. 2, nr. 16.

³² Bartha, 1982, 803. Additional data on the collection and donation of *prophora*-wheat and -flour are included herein.

³³ Title of provision 4442 of circular 1914/XVI by István Miklósy, first Bishop of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog: *Proszforához tiszta búzaliszt előre beszerzendő* [Pure wheat flour is to be procured for the *prophora* in advance]: 'In a number of extraordinary measures on account of the war, the state government has ordered that only 15 per cent of the quantity of wheat flour potentially produced by the mills may be put on the market pure, while the remainder may be sold only with the addition of barley- and corn-flour. Since further restrictions are expected in conjunction with the sale of flour, I ordain that churches procure the pure wheat flour necessary for the Eucharistic bread for the whole year now. For the material of the Eucharist is bread (*prophora*) made from pure wheat flour, and Mass may exclusively be said validly with such' (translated from the Hungarian original). Ivancsó, 1998, 15.

³⁴ Title of Liturgical Instruction 1918/IX 4451: *Az oltárkenyér készítéséhez szükséges gabona biztosítása* [Provision of the grain necessary for the making of the Eucharistic bread]: 'According to the Decree issued by the Minister of Religion and Education, in the course of war-time crop accounting with individual denominations, the grain required for the Eucharistic bread or for other ecclesiastical purposes may be withheld, or, in case the crop or the dues in kind to be delivered by the faithful are lacking, the missing quantity must be issued from the wheat supplies of the authorities' (translated from the Hungarian original). Ivancsó, 1998, 48.

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early in the morning or on the eve of major feasts, with the five loaves of bread, wheat, wine and oil placed in the church blessed during solemn supplications. These are arranged on a so-called *lity* set. Some of the five blessed loaves will be used by the priest for the celebration of the festive liturgy, while the rest is cut up and handed out as an allusion to the biblical event when Jesus satiated five thousand people with five loaves of bread.

Some priests' wives have made this practice permanent and bake five loaves of bread every week. The bread used is a set of roll-size small loaves. The five pieces are usually made from 500-700 g (17.63-24.69 oz) of flour. In the past, in addition to the five little loaves, this quantity was also used to make a larger one that was utilised in the days after the feast, with the required amount always cut off.

The quantity would depend on how large the parish was, how many people attended Mass on Sundays and weekdays, and how many affiliated communities which the priest served belonged to the mother church. A priest's wife was supposed to be familiar with the needs of the parishes and the different amounts of *prosporo* used in different places, as well as to keep an eye on the pace at which the *prosporo* was consumed and bake accordingly. The Eucharistic bread would be consumed at different paces on feast days and weekdays. Consumption rates were different in places where, at the time of funerals, everyone from the village was present in church, and the relatives of the deceased were expected to go to confession and communicate.

Outside pre-feast preparations, the general practice is to bake from 700 g – 1 kg (24.69 – 35.27 oz) of flour. Examples of various practices from times accessible to memory have been identified in the present as well. In some instances, priests' wives regularly bake many small *prosporo*, while, in some others, they could bake two or three larger ones with the necessary amount cut off. Conversely, another *presbytera* said that she would never bake from less than 2 kg (4.41 lb) of flour. In Alsóregmec, a widowed priest served from 1995 to 2004. The *prosporo* would be baked by an old woman whose opinion was that the right proportion for the *prosporo* was 120 g (4.23 oz).³⁵

Under normal conditions, storing baked *prosporo* was possible for up to two weeks. Therefore, cutting up and drying the *prosporo* in advance were allowed. In this relation, a father ordained in 1965 reported that, at the

Greek Catholic Seminary in Nyíregyháza, professor of liturgics Ferenc Rohály had taught that it was permitted to cut up and completely dry the *prosporo* in advance if needs be. The word *completely* is of special significance.³⁶ The problem of preserving the Eucharist emerges in a 1769 parish source from Görömböly: 'In the first description of the interior of the church, it is mentioned the Eucharist was reserved in a wooden sacramental house, in an pewter *ciborium*, on the altar, and was replaced every eight days. This is already reflective of Latin influence because, according to ancient tradition, the Eucharist would be replaced once a year, on Holy Thursday, by drying it out completely over the live coal of the censor.'³⁷

Storing *prosporo* cut up and fully dried out for Mass was standard practice in parishes. This was justified by priests' wives with the argument that, should they be prevented from baking the *prosporo* in any way when there was no more left of it, the priest would have some for saying Mass with. Sometimes it happened that the *prosporo* was cut up at home by the priest's wife.

From the 1960s, with the spread of the refrigerator, storage for longer periods and, later, even freezing became possible. Wrapped in a cloth inside a closable box, many small *prosporo* are placed in the deep freezer, and the necessary amount is taken out.

The preparation of the *prosporo* is accompanied by a peculiar understanding of the concept of chastity not only in relation to the individual but with regard to the circumstances and the use of objects as well. As everyone makes the *prosporo* in their own household, in the environment where the everyday life of the family takes place, general and individual forms of separation and designation have evolved. Invariably, all the interviewees set the tools used in making the *prosporo* aside. The bowl in which the dough is kneaded is used only for this purpose. It even has a name of its own: the *prosporo* vessel (*proszforástál*). It could be a simple plastic bowl in which kneading may be done conveniently. There are some who employ enamelled vessels previously used by their mothers as well; such a vessel is called a peasant's bowl (*parasztál*). Of late, stainless bowls have also emerged. The use of a muffin tin is an innovation, offering the opportunity to bake twelve identical small *prosporo* simultaneously. The baking mould is utilised only for *prosporo* making. It is also common to designate the cloth used for covering the dough. Although this is not

³⁵ Author's own collection, 7 January 1998 Data supplied by: Mrs József Rusznák, aka Fánika néni.

³⁶ The Right Reverend Péter Szabó (1926–2018), the late parish priest of Alsóregmec, personal communication, 6 January 1998.

³⁷ Baán, 1996, 54.

practised universally, it is a general rule that the cloth must be clean and spotless. Once it is baked, the bread is extracted from the baking tray and placed on the same cloth. No fabric softener is used to wash this item for fear the fragrance might be smelled in the *prosphoro*.

The notion of chastity also involved using clean flour for *prosphoro* baking at all times, which meant that it was opened on that particular occasion and had not been used for other purposes before.³⁸

Prosphoro baking always begins with prayer. One *Our Father*, *Hail Mary* or a short prayer: *Lord have mercy!*, and *Have mercy upon me...*, and the sign of the cross. Some will light a candle. The one who makes is aware of her chosenness. 'One ponders what is going become of this!'³⁹ Usually an effort is made to choose the time of baking in a way that it may proceed undisrupted; for example, at night when the children no longer disturb.

In reference to the working of the dough, the words *dagasztás* and *gyúrás* (both meaning 'kneading') are used interchangeably, though *gyúrás* is more common. The consistency of the *prosphoro* is appropriate when it is thick enough and does not have any holes in it. In case it does, it will crumble easily and parts cannot be cut off conveniently. At the same time, it needs to be elastic without crackling. The dough is made dense, it is thoroughly worked and left to rise. An hour later, it is reworked so that the dough will be perfectly smooth. The *prosphoro* is moulded by hand and separated into equal parts. Knife is not employed. The small loaf shaped by hand is left to rise, and, before it is put in the oven, a stamp is pressed on it. According to one *presbytera*, the *prosphoro* is baked well when it is evenly crackled in a circle, and the lower and upper parts become clearly separate, for that shows that Jesus was both God and man.⁴⁰

The *prosphoro* stamp

As discussed in the first section of the present paper, data on bread stamps used for marking the sacrificial bread are available from as early as the 5th century. The Christogram universal today has been in use since the 8th century.

The current Hungarian Greek Catholic practice is also part of this tradition. The *prosphoro* stamp features a cross with arms of equal length, with the Christogram (IC XC) in the two areas above the arms of the cross.



(1)

In the lower area, the Greek word NI KA is displayed. The cross is the sign of victory in itself. The full English translation of the stamp is: 'Jesus Christ Conquers'.

The bread stamp is given to the priest's wife at the time of ordination. It may be presented by the bishop or a priest – possibly even by her husband – but it may also be inherited within a family from mother to daughter or granddaughter.⁴¹ Sometimes – as is the case in Tornyospálca, for example – the bread stamp is the property of the parish and is left behind in the parish building by each priest's wife. There are just as many bread stamp versions as there are individual bread stamps, though the inscription on the stamp is immutable. It is usually made of wood. There is a wide variety from rudimentary carvings to real master pieces.

Following the changes of the 1990s, free practice of religion also resulted in a surge in the trade of devotional

³⁸ Mrs János Grunda *née* Mária Mosolygó, personal communication, 4 October 2018. She learnt this practice from her mother and thus does the same.

³⁹ Mrs Sándor Szabó *née* Margit Gebri, personal communication, 3 October 2018. The sentence 'One ponders what is going become of this!' was accompanied by a long pause and tears in her eyes.

⁴⁰ Mrs Miklós Telenkó Snr, personal communication, 1992.

⁴¹ Mrs László Feczák *née* Nagyvezsda Gajdos received it from her grandmother, the widow of the Right Reverend János Csépes, martyred in Transcarpathia, and brought it to Hungary with her.

items in Hungary. Nowadays, bread stamps are available in shops selling religious articles as well. Greek Catholic religious articles shops procure bread stamps mostly from Ukraine. While previously unique carvings dominated, the items available in shops these days are characterised by uniform machine processing. Alongside wooden bread stamps, metal ones have also appeared.

Rolling the dough out and cutting out loaves with the help of some circular cutters seem to gain currency as a new method of preparation. In this procedure, two pieces are fitted on one another as a matter of course, and the *prosphoro* is baked that way. This practice is less than a decade old and was initially propagated by Archbishop Fülöp Kocsis. During his novitiate in the Byzantine-rite Benedictine Monastery of Chevetogne, Belgium, he learnt this technique and brought the monastic tradition of that community with him. An introductory film has been made on this new method of *prosphoro* making and it has been posted on a popular video-sharing site.⁴² This new resource is expected to contribute to the transformation of *prosphoro* making methods and techniques in younger generations of priests and priests' wives.

The use of the *prosphoro*

The *prosphoro* primarily functions as the material of the Eucharist in the Divine Liturgy. The bread consecrated (transubstantiated) in the liturgy is the Eucharist, one of the seven Sacraments of the Church. This obvious fact is to be emphasised because the Greek Catholic Church also uses the *prosphoro* as a sacramental, but the two are essentially different.

On the eves of major feasts, as part of the service of *lity*, the five *prospora* are blessed (Picture 1) and placed on a *lity* set, along with wine, wheat and oil.⁴³ Cut into minute pieces, the small blessed loaves are distributed at the end of the festive service accompanied by anointing with oil.⁴⁴ This is called *antidoron* or *antidoron* dispensation. The term, meaning

reciprocal gift, which continues to be used in the present, reflects the retention of the early Christian practice of the community consuming the part of the gifts brought for the Communion that was not used during the service together (Picture 2).

In the Greek Catholic Church, the tools used for the cutting and dispensation of the Eucharistic bread are treated with special attention and are inspected during *canonica visitatio*. Designated objects and tools employed exclusively in conjunction with the *prosphoro* include the knife or lance for cutting up the bread. The board placed under the *prosphoro* and the knife would not be used for other purposes; these items would be kept in the church.⁴⁵ Among church equipment items, the church inventories compiled in the course of the canonical visitations in Szabolcs County in 1822 register the knife for cutting the *prosphoro* and the plates and platters designed for the dispensation of the *antidoron*. The inventory of the Greek Catholic church of Buj from 28 April 1822 lists 'one knife for cutting the *prosphoro*','⁴⁶ the inventory of the church of Kállósemjén from 2 May 1822 has 'one *prosphoro* cutting knife','⁴⁷ for the same location, another entry says: 'one small pewter plate for the dispensation of the *prosphoro*.'⁴⁸ The inventory of the church of Nagykálló contains the following description: 'a small silver plate for the *antidoron* from 1661'.⁴⁹ A peculiarity of this object is that, along with several liturgical items specified in the inventory, currently it is found in the Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art, Nyíregyháza.⁵⁰ In the inventories, the most frequent label is simply 'knife'. The expressions 'platter' and 'plate' most probably denote vessels for the dispensation of the *prosphoro*. Question 39 in the protocol of the *canonica visitatio* conducted in the parish of Görömböly on 5 and 6 September 1877 at the order of Miklós Tóth, Bishop of Prešov, inquires if the 'the *dornik* is for the cutting of the *prosphoro*, and if the tray and lance are for slicing'. The answer states: 'There is a *dornik* and is owned by the priest. There is also a tray, a lance and a casket...'⁵¹

⁴² Megszentelt ételek – Az áldozati kenyér 1. Website: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d25-GV2Ya7I> (accessed: 10 May 2020).

Megszentelt ételek – Áldozati kenyér 2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yx-Eog58Glg> (accessed: 10 May 2020).

⁴³ For a description, see: Cat. III.58.

⁴⁴ The priest anoints the faithful on the forehead with blessed fragrant oil (myrrh) while saying: 'Christ is in our midst!' In response, the anointed believer says: 'He is and shall be!'

⁴⁵ In some instances, the *prosphoro* was cut on the board of an old, faded icon. This was done in Tolcsva in the second half of the 20th century. Father Dr Miklós Verdes, personal communication

⁴⁶ 'Culter pro scindendis prosphoris 1', Nyírán – Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2017, 168.

⁴⁷ 'Cultellus pro scindenda prosphora 1', *ibid*, 175.

⁴⁸ 'Orbicularis cupereus pro anaphora distribuenda serviens 1', *ibid*, 183.

⁴⁹ 'Orbicularis argenteus anno 1661. factus pro anaphora deserviens.' *Ibid*, 240.

⁵⁰ For a detailed description, see in the present volume: Cat. II.48.

⁵¹ Gyulai, Éva. *A görömbölyi görögkatolikus egyház 1877. évi canonica visitatiója*, 2000. Website: <https://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/>

(2)



Antidoron is always distributed on feasts with an *artoklasia* service. Albeit not practised generally, the distribution of the unused parts of the *prosporo* is common after Sunday and weekday liturgies. A favourite delicacy of children, these are often given to altar servers. In priests' families, it is common to cut up one of the freshly baked *prosporo* and give it to the children. Children will at times drop in on the women baking the *prosporo* and ask: 'Do you have Little-Jesus bread?'⁵² They will be given from the freshly baked batch. In adulthood, phrases such as 'I grew up on the *prosporo* of the church!' (*Ott nőttem fel a templom prozforáján!*) may become synonymous with one's close ties with the church and the services.⁵³ (One interviewee used this turn of phrase to express his faithfulness to the services.)

Prosporo distributed as *antidoron* creates a sense of community because even those who for some reason cannot receive Communion may share in it. It is a widespread practice to take home from the *prosporo* to those staying at home. The *prosporo* used to be an Easter present in the life of several communities. Amid the countless duties of the Holy Week, priests' wives devoted time to bake fifty to a hundred *prosporo* so that every family would have some in their basket at the Blessing of the Food. In Komlóska, the *presbytera* even baked a hundred-and-fifty pieces in 1995. Walking around before the Blessing of the *Paskha*, the caretaker of the

parish would place a piece in each basket. In Lácacséke, Bodrogek Region, the *prosporo* would be baked on Good Friday. It would be delivered in the village by five or six children, ensuring that not a single family was left out. They would receive a couple of forints and some cake for the job. On Easter Sunday, everyone would bring their own *prosporo* along with the other foods to be blessed, and it would be placed on the breakfast table.

Data on the folk usage of the *prosporo* and the popular beliefs associated with it are found in ethnographic literature. Respecting its use as a Eucharistic sacramental, an analytical study was written by Elek Bartha.⁵⁴

New phenomena in the use of the *prosporo*

In recent years, the *prosporo* has stepped outside settings with immediate connections to the church and services and has materialised as an instrument of pastoral care in a broader sense as well. As part of an introduction to sacramental life and preparation for First Communion, a *prosporo* is baked jointly on the day preceding First Communion.⁵⁵ As *realia* or a reward, it is also taken to religious education classes in schools.⁵⁶ In the Greek Catholic Kindergarten of Homrogd, a *prosporo* was baked jointly during a group session. In Panagia Központ (Panagia Centre), Budapest, the Fast of the Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, commenced with joint *prosporo* baking, followed by the Vespers. These examples also aptly illustrate that, beyond its function as a Sacrament and a sacramental – in fact, precisely in consequence of these two aspects – the *prosporo* continues to possess the potential to create a sense of community. In terms of its use and preparation, as well as the attitude towards it, the *prosporo* is typically a 'being' in an intermediate state. While in the kitchen, it is a simple loaf of bread with the promise of Sacrament. Attitude towards it is defined by what will become of it during the Divine Liturgy. This rich semantic scope allows its versatile manifestations. The new settings of *prosporo* making and the novel functions of its usage open further research areas for ethnographic scholarship.

gyulai.htm (accessed: 18 February 2020). *Dornik*: a Church Slavonic term; a wooden tray used for cutting the *prosporo* with the potential to stop crumbs from falling.

⁵² Author's own collection, 07 January 2000 Data supplied by: Mrs József Rusznák. 'Children on their way home from school often stop by and shout in: 'Fánika néni, Do you have Little-Jesus bread?' Then, I always give them some once it is baked.'

⁵³ Author's own collection, Miklós Vancza, Mikóháza, 1999.

⁵⁴ Bartha, 1982.

⁵⁵ *Presbytera* and catechist Mrs László Obbágy *née* Veronika Mosolygó, personal communication (author's own collection), 2 October 2018

⁵⁶ *Presbytera* and catechist Mrs János Grunda *née* Margó Mosolygó, personal communication (author's own collection), 3 October 2018

III.2.6 Prosporo Stamp

Catalogue III.54



1867
talc; carved, engraved
8 × 3 cm (3.1 × 1.2 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 2002.14.3.

The square-shaped seal surface continues in a gradually narrowing cone and is closed down by a curved, pierced button on top. The carvings of the raw talc surfaces are highlighted by dark discolourings, in some instances by deliberate painting. Inscriptions and carved decoration can be seen on the conical sides: '1867', presumably in Cyrillic characters above the year: 'P', the figure 8 with an open top is 'oy', and on the second side: 'S P', on the third a carved cross, on the fourth the hardly visible trace of a symbol. The seal surface is a carved square, divided into four segments by an equilateral cross, with the following inscription: 'IC XC NI KA'. In the third syllable of the text meaning 'Jesus Christ Conquers' the master uses the letter 'I' of the Cyrillic alphabet. The process of change in Romanian language in the mid-19th century can be perceived in this tiny feature: in line with a strong Latinisation of the language, Cyrillic characters were replaced by Latin characters. For the artist making the

object, Cyrillic characters were still a common folk practice in 1867, either because of earlier routine or due to the influence of inscriptions seen in church icons.

The *prosporo* stamp was transferred from the collection of Dr. Tibor Lenkei to the religious collection of the Museum of Ethnography by way of purchase in 2002. It was registered in the inventory and described by Éva Szacsavay in 2003. The title of the descriptive card is 'bread seal'. It was made in Baia de Arieş (*Aranyosbánya*) in 1867. Both Hungarian and Romanian ethnic origins are indicated. Information on its use needs to be clarified. Besides Easter bread, sacramental bread is also marked with the stamp. (I. Sz.)

Unpublished

III.2.6 Prosphoro Stamp Catalogue III.55



The handle of the stamp carved from fruit wood forms a cross with curved bars. Its rear side is flat, while its front is richly decorated with inscriptions. A six-winged cherub can be seen in the intersection of the bars of the cross. Next to the upper wings of the cherub there is the inscription 'IC' (Jesus), next to the lower wings there is the 'XC' (Christ) abbreviation, above the wings on the left and right 'NIKA' (conquers), and under the wings 'M K (?) MR', presumably referring to Mary the Theotokos. Further inscriptions of the vertical bar of the cross in the upper zone, read in Cyrillic letters: 'IHPK' (in Latin characters: 'INRK'), in the lower zone: 'ICON'.

The traditional engraving, 'Jesus Christ Conquers' can be deciphered on the foot of the stamp; the reflection of the acronym in Greek characters: 'IC XC NIKA'.

Traces of red paint can be perceived in the cracks. The *prosphoro* stamp was transferred from the collection of Dr. Tibor Lenkei to the religious collection of the Museum of Ethnography by way of purchase in 2002. It was registered in the inventory and described by Éva Szacsavay in 2003. Title of the descriptive card: 'bread seal'. It was made in Zlatna (*Zalatna*), Alsó-Fehér County, between the end of the 19th century and 1914. This item is related to a Greek Catholic community. (I. Sz.)

Unpublished

Between the end of the 19th century and 1914
fruit wood; carved
18.1 × 6.9 × 3.5 cm (7.1 × 2.7 × 1.4 in)
Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 2002.14.4.

III.2.6 Proshoro Stamp

Catalogue III.56



1879

talc; carved

6 × 3.3 × 3.2 cm (2.4 × 1.3 × 1.3 in)

Museum of Ethnography, Inv. No. 54317.

A yellowish, bone white talc stamp with the shape of a truncated pyramid, its seal surface is the traditional square shape divided into four segments, with the negative effect of the 'IC XC NIKA' inscription, the third syllable is difficult to decipher. It probably shows the indeterminate shapes of the Cyrillic 'I' and 'N' characters. The front is decorated with an altar cross with little globules at the ends of its bars, the 'XC' Christogram can be seen between the bars. The characters of the name of the owner are carved into its rear side: 'CLIG'. In the upper third of the stamp there is a bore for hanging the stamp. The year 1879 can be found on the upper plate of the truncated pyramid.

The item was collected and donated to the museum by Dr. Zoltán Szilády. It was made in Lopadea Veche (*Oláhlapád*), in the historic Alsó-Fehér County. It was registered in the inventory in 1904 as an 'impression stamp'. The object was described by Erzsébet Györgyi in 1960. (I. Sz.)

Unpublished



III.2.6 **Diskos**
Catalogue III.57



2017, Géza Sallai
bronze
10.5 × 14.5 × 14.5 cm (4.1 × 5.7 × 5.7 in)
Privately owned.

This bronze statuette represents the tiny parts of prosphoron cut in the Proskomedia and placed on the footed diskos in the way prescribed by liturgical books. The biggest fragment is the Lamb with the inscription 'IC XC NIKA' written into the bars of the Greek cross. The triangle part symbolises the Theotokos, the smaller parts arranged in a row symbolise the Apostles and other saints. (Sz. T.)

Lity set
Catalogue III.58



Early 20th century
metal alloy, painted enamel
Ascension of Jesus Greek Catholic Church, Hejőkeresztúr

The high foot holds a wide tray with a protruding rim, with another, much smaller tray rising on a narrow bar from the middle of it. Around the middle one on the big tray, there are three urn-shaped bowls, each one topped with a cross, placed at equal intervals, while behind the small tray a cross was fixed on a higher bar between two candles, and the crucified Christ can be seen on a painted enamel cross. The trays and the robe of the foot are decorated with floral ornaments.

This set is placed on a small table (tetrapod) in the middle of the church nave during lity. The vigil is traditionally held during wakes before big feasts, at the end of the ceremony the five loaves of bread (*prosfhora*) placed on trays are consecrated by the priest. One of the five loaves of bread is placed on the central tray, with that loaf the priest consecrates the four loaves on the big tray, kisses this loaf of bread, and there are three little bowls with wheat grains, oil and wine. The consecrated bread is cut and offered to the believers while performing the rite of anointing with fragrant oil.

Until the 16-17th centuries there was no specific object designed for this ceremony: the loaves of bread and everything that was to be blessed was consecrated

in their own dishes, placed on trays on the tetrapod, like in Greece even today. This is how it is represented in the illustrations of ceremonies found in liturgical books published in the 17th century (cf. Стасенко, 2003, 100, fig. 175–176). Other elaborate, silver samples appeared with a similar structure in Orthodox monasteries in the Balkans from the 17th century (e.g. Studenica, Treasury; Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, from 1609: Милеуснић, 2001, 56–57). If it was too expensive to have a metal set, in the 19th century it could be made even from ceramic, like the one preserved in the area of the Orthodox Eparchy of Niš (Дрча, Слободан. *Хришћанство у Нишукрозвекове*, Ниш, 2013, 56, 165, cat. 61). They became widely spread in the Eparchy of Mukacheve from the end of the 19th century, when they appeared in the offer of so-called art institutes specialised in large scale production of religious equipment and liturgical objects. The set from Hejőkeresztúr was probably also ordered and bought from an ornament producer. Similar but not identical objects were advertised in the product catalogue of the Réтай and Benedek Art Institute published around 1915 (p. 117). Names of the item in the catalogue: 'pricholebnica, artoklasia, lythia', the second and the third name are the names of the ceremony, but Greeks use the same name for the vigil set. Serbians call the item петохлебница, Russians call it Литийный прибор, литийное блюдо от литийница, the oldest one was allegedly preserved in Saint Catherine's Monastery (see Ткаченко, А. А.: *Благословение хлебов*; <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/149327.html>; accessed: 1 March 2020). (Sz. T.)

Antidoron dispensing plate

Catalogue III.59



1776, master from Hungary
tin; cast, engraved, chiselled; diameter 34.50 cm (13.6 in)
Greek Catholic Art Collection – Nyíregyháza, Inv. No. 2015.293 (B 67).

A plate-shaped bowl with a big diameter, a concave rim decorated with an engraved pattern composed of alternating stylised leaves and flowers on the inside, starting from the initials and year number placed between the two branches. The Greek initials (ΘΝ ΘΔ) are separated by an asterisk, and the year 1776 can be seen under them. The scene of *The Crucifixion* is on the upper part of the hollow part of the bowl, with smaller size Military Saints on horseback, facing one another under the scene of the Crucifixion: Saint Demetrius and Saint George, the former one stabs the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan, the latter the dragon, with their lances. The 'INRI', or in a Greek way 'INBI' abbreviation can be deciphered in the band of the phrase above the cross, and the Greek characters of their names can be observed in the haloes of the Theotokos and Saint John, the latter one rather faded. The Greek names of the Military Saints can be seen above their shoulders: 'ΟΑΓΙος / ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙος and ΟΑΓΙος / ΓΕОРΓΕος (sic!)'. The lower part of the bowl is leaky, a part of the rim was once broken but repaired. The style of the figures is rather simple.

It could be the gift from Greek merchants living in Tokaj, who in the middle of the 18th century claimed themselves Uniates due to public pressure but secretly preserved their Orthodoxy. The object is not mentioned in the canonical visitation in 1940 in the Greek Catholic Church in Tokaj, from where the plate was brought to Nyíregyháza in 2010 (Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2014, 58–60). (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSOLIDATION OF HUNGARIAN IDENTITY: FROM THE HAJDÚDOROG MOVEMENT (1868) TO THE METROPOLITANATE OF HAJDÚDOROG (2015)

IV.1 Máriapócs: Hungary's National Shrine

IV.1.1 Szilveszter Terdik: Máriapócs – Our National Shrine

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IV.4.1 Tamás Véghseő: The Situation of the Greek Catholics from Socialism to the Foundation of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate



IV.1.1 Máriapócs – Our National Shrine *Szilveszter Terdik*

The significance of Máriapócs transcends Hungary's borders, for numerous replicas of the icon of the Theotokos kept in the pilgrimage church are highly venerated not only in the neighbouring countries but in a number of locations in Western Europe as well.¹ The importance of the cult site connecting countries, nations and various Christian communities was recognised by the Hungarian Episcopacy granting it the prominent title National Shrine in 2005.

The name of the village of Máriapócs situated on the edge of historic Szabolcs County is first mentioned in written records in the 13th century as *Pócs*. Despite a series of reconstructions, the medieval Roman Catholic church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the centre of the settlement, once surrounded by a graveyard, retains a number of features of its original form even today.² In Pócs, the Greek Catholics are mentioned for the first time in 1666. It is noted that they intended to gain possession of the church, which had become Calvinist at the time of the Reformation – a step that was conclusively countered by the Calvinists then.³ In the 17th century, it was most probably the landowners of the village who settled the Rusyn families from their estates in the Carpathian Mountains who would build a wooden church for themselves.

The first weeping

On Sunday, 4 November 1696, in that wooden church, Mihály Eöry, a local farmer, noticed during the Divine Liturgy that tears profusely flowed from both eyes of the icon of the Theotokos, which was probably part of the iconostasis. News of the extraordinary event would soon spread not only in the village but in the area as well. With brief interruptions, the miracle would continue until 8 December (although, according to the local parish priest, only until 3 December, which was the feast of the Presentation of the Theotokos in the Temple by the Julian Calendar). On that day, General Johann Andreas von

Corbelli, the Košice (*Kassa*) Commander-in-Chief of the imperial troops stationed in North-Eastern Hungary, accompanied by a number of soldiers and officials from Nagykálló, went there in person in order to ascertain the genuineness of the miracle. According to his letter written in Tokaj on 1 January 1697, he removed the picture from its place in the presence of many Catholics and non-Catholics in Pócs and, subsequently, had it examined. As no sign of fraud was detected, he regarded the miracle as authentic. As described by contemporary records, on the last day of the weeping, it was so cold that even the wine and water in the chalice would freeze, Mary's tears continued to be shed in profusion though. An official inquiry was ordered by György Fenessy, Roman Catholic Bishop of Eger (1687–1699); witnesses were heard by Csethe József, Canon of Eger and Archdean of Szabolcs, as well as by András Damján, parish priest of Tokaj, on the scene on 26 December 1696 and on the following days. Fourteen of the thirty-six witnesses were locals, including some Protestant noblemen; the rest were mainly from the ranks of the German army stationed in Nagykálló. The weeping was attested by all; several of them even claimed that the cloth on which the tears were collected had been taken by a soldier. The validity of the minutes was verified by András Petes, Provost of Eger and elected Bishop of Ansaria (1696–1713), in Košice on 2 January 1698.⁴

The testimony of the eighth witness, László Csigri, a 45-year old magistrate, reveals that he had had the weeping icon painted in honour of a pledge or a simple decision – he would refuse to specify – 21 years earlier (i.e. in 1675), by István Papp, brother of Dániel Papp, the local parish priest, for 6 Hungarian forints. Pressured by his parents, he failed to pay for the image. Two weeks later, he fell gravely ill, and the school master reminded him of his vow, which he delivered on later and even made a recovery.⁵

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¹ Aurenhammer, 1956, 84–87; Ivancsó – Betz – Imfeld, 1997, 73–86; Terdik, Szilveszter. *A pócsi Szűzanya kegyképének másolatai*, in: Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *A máriapócsi kegykép harmadik könnyezésének centenáriuma alkalmából rendezett nemzetközi konferencia anyaga*, Nyíregyháza, 2005, 49–61. Also see Katalina Földvári's study in the present volume. On the replicas in Transylvania: Mihály, Ferenc (Ed.). *Mária-tisztelet Erdélyben: Mária-ábrázolások az erdélyi templomokban*, Székelyudvarhely, 2010, 26–27. Terdik, Szilveszter. [A pócsi kegykép két erdélyi másolata], *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 21(2010), 8. szám, 4. Replicas of the icon of Máriapócs may also emerge in rather unexpected places: For instance, in the background of an 1888 group photograph of the staff of the Steindl Office designing the Hungarian Parliament building, a copy of the Máriapócs icon hangs on the studio wall. The photograph was published in: Sisa, József. *Steindl Imre (Az Építészet Mesterei)*, Budapest, 2005, 121. Unfortunately, the origins and subsequent history of the replica are hitherto unknown.

² Németh, Péter. *A középkori Szabolcs megye települései*, Nyíregyháza, 1997, 155–156.

³ Terdik, Szilveszter. Középkori eredetű görög katolikus templomok a történeti Szatmár vármegyében, *Athanasiana*, 32(2010), 119. Finally, in 1767, the medieval church was given to the Roman Catholics. Soós, Imre. *Az egri egyházmegyei plébániák történetének áttekintése*, Budapest, 1985, 462–463.

⁴ For an account of the first weeping with previous literature, see: Magyar, 1996, 85–96. Minutes of the inquiry are held in the Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest: Hevenesi Collection, XLI, 401–414. First published and translated in: Uriel, 1907, 50–74. For a critical edition of the Latin text, see: Janka, 1996, 138–147.

⁵ Janka, 1996, 141.

IV.1.1

The votive picture found its way to the church; allegedly, it was purchased and presented to the Church by Lőrinc Hurta⁶ (Picture 1). The icon was painted in tempera on a 50 × 70 cm (19.68 × 27.55") maple-wood board. The half-figure Theotokos points at the Infant sitting on her left arm, blessing with His right and holding a red three-branched flower reminiscent of a rose or rather of a lily in His left hand. The composition exemplifies the *Hodigitria* ('Our Lady of the Way') icon type. Its iconographic properties were recognised as early as the 18th century, and, in a sermon on the first weeping delivered in Hungarian, it was associated with the ancient Marian icon of the Roman Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore attributed to Luke the Evangelist, representing the same type: 'Ez a Csudálatos Kép (ti. a pócsi), mellyrűl itt szólunk, csekély móddal rajzoltatott-le egy fa táblára; hasonlít magában azon Képhez, melly Romában tartatik, és *Maria Major* névvel Deákul neveztetik' [The miraculous icon (i.e. that of Pócs) which is spoken of herein was drawn on a wooden board by modest means; it is *per se* akin to the picture which is kept in Rome, in a church called *Maria Major* in the Latin tongue].⁷ The flower appearing in the hand of Mary or Jesus is known in eastern and western art alike from the Middle Ages; in Byzantine iconography, it must have been inspired by the poetic imagery of the *Akathist Hymn*, describing Mary as 'unfading bloom'.⁸ In line with tradition, Mary's robe is crimson, adorned on her forehead and shoulders by stars symbolising perpetual virginity; her undergarment is green. Albeit uncommon in icons, Mary wears two strings of pearls, just as the infant Jesus does, with a Greek cross hanging from a chain around His neck, placed over His ochre attire. Perhaps, the painted jewellery may be interpreted as an influence of western art, but they might just as well be an indication of the fact that the painter knew icons that the faithful decorated with real jewellery. The cross worn around Jesus' neck could also have a symbolic meaning as a reference to the forthcoming



(1)

passion of the Divine Child. The halos of the Theotokos and of the infant Jesus, as well as the picture frame were fitted with raised decoration. Above Mary's right shoulder, the abbreviated version of 'Mother of God' in Greek is displayed, while, above her Child, that of His Greek name ('Jesus Christ') is inscribed. In the upper corners of the picture, in the areas flanked by an inner arched frame, two-winged angels hover,⁹ with the following 'Russian' text written at its bottom: 'This image was erected by servant of God, ..., for the forgiveness of his sins'. The person's name is illegible.

⁶ Lőrinc Hurta's name does not appear in the first inquiry minutes; from an 18th-century work in German discussing the history of the miraculous icon, cited by: Uriel, 1907, 43–44.

⁷ [No Author]. *Nyirpocs nevű helységben könyvező Boldogságos Szűz Maria első képének eredetiről, és annak Bécs-való viteléről, rövid summába foglalt Igaz Beszéd*, [n. p., n. d.], National Széchényi Library, Budapest, 326.296. In the early 19th century, even an engraving showing a replica of the Roman icon with the inscription 'The Blessed Virgin of Pócs' was issued. Terdik, 2011a, 60; Terdik, Szilveszter. Egy római kegykép sajátos ökumenizmusa: A római Lukács-ikon példája. *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 6(2019), 3–4. szám, 114–115. Cf. also: Tüskés, 2010, 275, Picture 13.

⁸ Its iconographic tradition was treated extensively in: Puskás, 1996a, 97–117. Stylistic parallels of the painting are found among the icons of Maramureș (*Máramaros*): See: *ibid.* Of late, an icon of the Theotokos of a similar style, presumably from Maramureș, has recently been discovered in a Swiss collection. Cf. *Heilige, Wunder und Visionen: Ikonen aus der Schenkung Gürtler Kunstmuseum St. Gallen*, Berlin, 2016, 62, kat. 35.

⁹ The painter must have been inspired by similar cherubim in the engravings of Slavic liturgical books: Cf. Гусева, А. А. – Каменева, Т.Н. – Полонская, И.М. *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII вв., Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Г. Б. СССР имени Ленина, Вып. II, Том 1, Киевские издания 2-й пол. XVII в.*, Москва, 1981, kat. 1167, 1569, 1674; Стасенко, 2003, 138–139.

(2)



The weeping icon could not stay in Pócs for long. By 1 March 1697, it had been taken to the Roman Catholic church of the more centrally located Kálló (today's Nagykálló) and was subsequently transported to the Imperial City soon at the Monarch's command. *En route*, copies were made of it; as tradition has it, two of these were commissioned by the Jesuits in Barca (*Bárca*) near Košice (today part of Košice). These pieces are identical to the replicas found in St Elisabeth's Cathedral in Košice and in the church of the nearby village of Malá Vieska (*Sároskisfalva*).¹⁰ With stopovers in Pest, Buda and Győr, the icon arrived in Vienna on 4 July 1697 to find its ultimate home in the Cathedral of St Stephen.¹¹

At the time of the first weeping, the tears falling from the icon were collected by the local parish priest onto a silk

cloth. He would present that cloth to the Bishop of Eger, who would in turn entrust it to the care of the Jesuits. At last, it reverted to the Bishops of Eger, who, in the 19th century, exposed it for public veneration in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary in the new Cathedral, along with a replica of the miraculous icon, as it is still seen today.¹²

The second and the third weeping

The people of Pócs refused to resign themselves to the removal of the miraculous icon. Although the original picture would never return to the village, in 1698, the copy said to be bound for Pócs was received in Buda with great respect. However, it seems that this piece did not reach its destination, either, as in January 1715, István Telekessy, Bishop of Eger (1699–1715), notes in a letter of his that, eight years ago (i.e. in 1707), he dispatched a replica made in Vienna to Pócs, adding that it is not held in great esteem in the village, and therefore he is considering having it moved to the more centrally positioned Nagykálló. His imminent death did not permit further transportation though¹³ (Picture 2).

One Thursday, on 1 August 1715, cantor János Molnár noticed the weeping of the replica made after the first miraculous icon, while Mihály Papp, the young parish priest, conducted the morning service in the wooden church of Pócs. The miracle was first reported to Vicar Gennadius Bizánczy, residing in Nagykálló, who did not happen to be at home at the time. The miracle would recur on the next day and then on 5 (25 July by the Old Calendar, i.e. the feast of Saint Anne). In addition to local individuals, eyewitnesses included the soldiers of the garrison of Nagykálló, Imperial High Commissioner Paul Siess and the postmaster of Nagykálló. In the days following the weeping, authorised by the Bishop of Eger, János Kiss, Provost and Titular Bishop of Ansaria, and Canon János Antal Kiss, investigated the event officially, interrogating, on one occasion, eleven and, on another, six witnesses, some of whom were Protestants. The picture was removed from its place and subjected to close inspection. The minutes were concluded on 25 August 1715, with the statements of the local parish priest and the cantor recorded in Rusyn appended.¹⁴ The validity of the second weeping was

¹⁰ Jordánszky, 1836, 116–117. Barna, Gábor. Görög katolikus búcsújáró helyek az egykori Északkelet-Magyarországon, in: Barna, Gábor (Ed.). *Vallási néprajzi tanulmányok* (Szegedi Vallási Néprajzi Könyvtár, 46; A Vallási Kultúrakutatás Könyvei, 14), Szeged, 2014, 69.

¹¹ On the transfer, with related previous literature, see: Terdik, 2001, 123–131. Also see Katalina Földvári's study in the present volume.

¹² Jordánszky, 1836, 108–109.

¹³ Uriel, 1907, 109; Puskás, 1995a, 169.

¹⁴ The minutes are kept in the Archiepiscopal Archives of Eger, Archivum Vetus 1800. For their description, also see in the present volume, Cat. IV.14. The Latin original was published: *Vera relatio super fletu, et lachrymatione secundae sacrae Imaginis Pocsensis Beatae Mariae Virginis, Cassoviae*, ex Typographia Landereriana, 1776, 2–34. At that time, a German and Hungarian translation were also published; for a presentation of the latter, see in the present volume, Cat. IV.15. The Hungarian translation was republished: Lupis, I. Sylvester. *Mária-Pócsi Nefeletjs vagyis*

acknowledged by Gábor Antal Erdődy, Bishop of Eger (1715–1744), on 19 September, and, in his letter to Vicar Bizánczy, he proclaimed Pócs a place of pilgrimage of the Virgin Mary.¹⁵ It was afterwards that the village could adopt the name of Mary.

Another weeping of the second miraculous icon began on 3 December 1905. Leading a group of pilgrims into the church, Basilian monk Kelemen Gávris, guardian of the miraculous icon – upon opening the picture frame of the icon – noticed that the face of the Virgin Mary was darker than usual, the white of her right eye was reddish, and tears trickled down from it across the cheek terminating in a lentil-size teardrop. The monk used a pink cloth to collect the teardrops. The weeping would continue until 19 December uninterrupted and would resume on the last two days of December as well, lasting altogether eighteen days. The authorities of the Eparchy of Mukacheve had the incidents investigated officially on this occasion as well, with the involvement of ecclesiastical and secular individuals. The minutes of the witness interviews were published in print as well.¹⁶ The event was also treated in the press of the time. A later statement of one of the eyewitnesses on the weeping is recorded on audiotape.

The pilgrimage church

The site of the first weeping, the wooden church, was in such a poor state of repair by the late 17th century that, in 1701, Leopold I granted permission to Mátyás Mészáros, a resident of Pócs, who had been heard as the seventh witness in the inquiry into the weeping, to collect donations for the construction of a new church. In the authorisation, the Emperor Leopold made a separate mention of the Triumph at Senta (*Zenta*) (1697). However, the construction plans came to nothing, probably owing to the wars of the ensuing years. In 1714, József Hoderhárszky, Bishop of Mukacheve (1707–1715), submitted a proposal to the

Sovereign for the construction of a new church and Basilian monastery in Pócs, but the plan could not come to fruition because the Bishop of Eger preferred to see the Franciscans attend to the pilgrimage place.¹⁷

Eventually, the building of the new stone church was commenced by Bishop Bizánczy, with the approval of the Bishop of Eger; the plans were prepared by Nikodémus Liczky, a master builder from Košice, and the solemn foundation stone laying ceremony took place on 8 September 1731. Following the death of Bishop Bizánczy in 1733, the construction of the church slowed down. Although his successors, Simon Olsavszky (1733–1737) and György Blazsovszky (1738–1742), also endeavoured to continue the project, the construction activities only gathered a new momentum from 1742, the year of Mánuel Olsavszky's (1742–1767) episcopal appointment. Due to the changes of bishops, the original plans were modified, yet Liczky would continue to supervise the construction and draw new plans.¹⁸ While the construction was under way, the church continued to be in use, so much so that, when, in October 1740, coming as a pilgrim, János Szent-Iványi, Lord Lieutenant of Bereg County, passed away in his son-in-law's house in Máriapócs, he was to be buried in the wooden church, in a walled tomb created in front of the miraculous icon as he could not be transported to Vranov nad Topľou (*Varannó*) due to the plague scare.¹⁹ During the construction, the old church was encircled by the walls of the new church, and, when the latter was complete, the former would be simply dismantled. The memory of the old church has only been preserved in its title feast as the new church was also commended to the protection of the Archangel Saint Michael (Picture 3).

The pilgrimage church was consecrated on 8 September 1749 for the first time, but its ceremonial consecration was held in 1756. The completion of the construction and the *ktetors* are also commemorated in

a Pócsi Boldogasszony csodatevő, könnyező képének hiteles története, csodái, búcsui imák és énekek füzére, Ungvár, 1899, 26–53. Uriel, 1907, 113–149. A new edition of the Košice booklet with modernised spelling was published: *Igaz beszéd a második pócsi Szűz Szent Mária képének sírása és könnyezése felől*, Budapest, 2015. The text of the statements of the parish priest and the cantor in Ruthenian was published and translated into Hungarian by: Удварі, Іштван. Два найстарши руски язиково памяткии Маряповчу у Мадярскей зоз 1715 року (Походзене Плачущей Богородици), *Нова думка*, XIX, ч. 84, 1990, 15–19. Udvari, 1992, 136.

¹⁵ The original of the letter was in the archives of the Bishopric of Mukacheve; an attested copy was printed in 1775; the certification was appended by Diocesan Chancellor Elek Ilkovichs. The text and translations of the letter were included in the booklet published in Košice in the late 1770s. A Latin version printed separately is available in the Archives of the Monastery of Máriapócs, while the printed Hungarian version is displayed in a frame on the wall of the pilgrimage church. The two letters were reproduced in: Gánicz, Tamás – Legeza, László – Terdik, Szilveszter. *Nemzeti szentélyünk, Máriapócs*, [Budapest], 2009, 36–37.

¹⁶ *Adatok a Boldogságos Szűz Anya mária-pócsi kegyképének 1905. évi december havában történt könyvezéséről*, Ungvár, 1906.

¹⁷ Dudás, Bertalan. *A baziliták szerepe a hajdúdorogi egyházmegye életében*, in: Timkó, Imre (Ed.). *A Hajdúdorogi Bizánci Katolikus Egyházmegye jubileumi emlékkönyve, 1912–1987*, Nyíregyháza, 1987, 103.

¹⁸ Terdik, Szilveszter. *A máriapócsi kegytemplom építésére és belső díszítésére vonatkozó, eddig ismeretlen források*, *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve*, 50(2008), 525–529. Terdik, 2014a, 31–36.

¹⁹ Mészáros, Kálmán. *Szent-Iványi János beregi főispán halála: Adalék az 1740. évi szabolcsi pestisjárvány és a máriapócsi kegyhely történetéhez*, *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle*, 2016, 3, 75–79.

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the Latin inscription on the stone frame of the main entrance decorated with the coat-of-arms of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky. Nonetheless, work was not fully finished even at this point, for the construction of the steeples would continue in the following year as well.²⁰

At the time of its building, the pilgrimage church was regarded as the most impressive Greek Catholic church in Hungary; at that time, there were barely a few stone churches in the Eparchy of Mukacheve. In accordance with ancient traditions, its elongated sanctuary closing in a semicircle is arranged *ad orientem*. On the north and south sides of the nave, lateral apses with three-centred-arch base plans were built; with a view to facilitating the movement of pilgrims, in the west section of the nave, two side doors were opened. The west façade is dominated by two monumental steeples, which were raised by one level between 1856 and 1861, for the centenary of the consecration. The onion-shaped design

of the new spires with roof lanterns was modelled on the spires of the church of the Conventual Franciscans in Miskolc.²¹ The main gate is surrounded by an ornate stone frame; the bronze door wings were made in memory of the 1991 papal visit by Sándor Tóth (1933–2019), a sculptor working in Nyíregyháza. In the central axis, the upper level of the main façade features a niche, with a mosaic of the Teaching Christ fitted into it in 2014, based on Ádám Kisléghi Nagy's design.²²

A signature feature of the church exterior is the finely segmented roof design, with gracefully proportioned turrets composed of onion-shaped elements, which rise over the sanctuary and the lateral apses, lending the whole building an elegant silhouette. At the end of the 19th century, the former shingle roof was replaced by metal plates, which in turn were substituted by a copper cover in 1990. The first sacristy was built on the south side of the sanctuary in 1896; its place was taken by a new one in the 1940s.

²⁰ Terdik, 2014a, 35–37, 41.

²¹ Terdik, 2014a, 43–44.

²² Estivill, Daniel. *Kisléghi Nagy Ádám*, Budapest, 2014, 102–103.

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The interior arrangement of the pilgrimage church is also monumental. The entire church is vaulted; the space between the steeples is spanned by a gallery. The archivolts segmenting the groined vaults issue from plain capitalised wall pillars; brightness inside is provided by a double row of windows. Pilgrims of the present may also appreciate the effect this 37-meter (121.39-foot) long, 18-meter (59.06-foot) wide and 16-meter (52.49-foot) tall church could produce on masses of the faithful accustomed to small village churches mainly built of wood.

The overall appearance of the church interior is defined by the iconostasis. (Picture 4) From December 1748 to August the next year, for 550 Rhenish guilders, the lavishly carved structure was carved by

Konstantinos Thaliodoros, a sculptor claiming Constantinopolitan heritage, who had probably been recommended to Bishop Olsavszky by Balkan Christian ('Greek') merchants settling in the country. In that period, the master also worked in two other Greek Catholic cathedrals, in Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) and Blaj (*Balázsfalva*), Transylvania.²³

The distribution of the icons is in accordance with the traditions: the four sovereign-tier icons in the bottom row with three doors, twelve feasts in the second row with the *Last Supper* in the centre, followed by Christ as the Great High Priest along with the Twelve Apostles. The pediment of the iconostasis is unique, with prophets painted in nine picture areas among floral motives with rich fretwork carving. In its central axis, an enormous pedimental cross rises, with the figures of the mourners, the Theotokos and Saint John. Below the cross, two carved flying angels hold a crown above the icon of the dead Christ resting in the tomb, with the reliefs of two dragons twisting in opposite directions appearing underneath. The feebleness of their scaly bodies, formidable looks and sharp teeth is conveyed by their drooping pointed tongues because, by His death on the cross and resurrection, Christ also triumphed over the dragons symbolising Evil, hiding in the nether regions of the earth. In fact, as the Church Fathers explain, Hades swallowed the crucified Christ like a bait as it were, not suspecting that this dead One was not only Man but also God, who was capable of destroying its power.²⁴

For the painting of the structure of the iconostasis, as well as possibly of some of the icons, 925 Rhenish guilders were paid to anonymous painters from Košice in August 1756.²⁵ The original painting of the carved sections imitating blue, red and pink marble was explored and partly restored during the 2010 conservation.²⁶ Under the prophet icons of the pediment, fragmentary but restorable depictions dated to the time of the first painting were uncovered. Péter Csongrádi, a 'Rascian' painter from Eger, was contracted for the painting of the icon screen for 500 guilders on 20 January 1752. The images of the Prophets were painted by him. In the course of conservation, the original icons of the two mourners, works by a different unknown painter, probably active in the late 18th century, were also discovered.²⁷ As testified

²³ Terdik, 2014a, 57–68.

²⁴ Terdik, 2014a, 61.

²⁵ Terdik, 2014a, 59.

²⁶ For a presentation of the conservation, see: Szentkirályi, Miklós. *Gránátalma a szárnyasoltáron: Egy restaurátorművész műhelytitkai*, Budapest, 2012, 196–297. For a list of the conservators involved in the project, see: *ibid.*, 216.

²⁷ Csongrádi completed the work in January 1755. For his contract, see: DAZO fond 151, opis 1, no. 1351, fol. 1. Terdik, 2020, 9–11, Terdik, 2014a, 64–67.

by a contract from 1783, the first pictures of the iconostasis were replaced with icons of the painter Mihály Spalinszky.²⁸ In the second half of the 18th century, Spalinszky was the most prominent artist of the Eparchy of Mukacheve. His first signed work may be dated to 1756;²⁹ as of the 1760s, he would regularly receive commissions from the Greek Catholic bishops.³⁰ His most important work was the painting of the monumental iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*), for which he was contracted by Bishop András Bacsinszky (1772–1809) for 500 Rhenish guilders on 30 April 1778;³¹ he completed the assignment as early as 1780. It is understandable that, a few years later, he was commissioned to paint the new icons of the pilgrimage church. Spalinszky's pictures were extracted in 1896; now only five compositions survive: the icons of four Apostles and of Christ as the Great High Priest.³²

In 1896, to honour Hungary's Millennium, at the request of the Basilian fathers, large-scale activities were also started in the interior of the church of Máriapócs, under the leadership of the brothers Gyula and Imre Spisák, painters and carvers from Budapest. The walls, the altars and the iconostasis were repainted, its pictures were replaced again and three new doors were made on it. The four new sovereign-tier icons of the iconostasis are approximately twice as large as the original ones, upsetting the equilibrium of carvings and painted surfaces in the bottom row. From the conservation of 2010, the only extant work by the two brothers is the image of the crucified Christ, which is a faithful replica of the original baroque composition. (The latter is preserved in an extremely fragmented condition under the current composition painted on canvas). At that time, the iconostasis was also richly gilded, and the original marmoration was repainted.³³

The miraculous icon was originally placed in the centre of the church, in the iconostasis above the Royal Doors. In 1912, the icon was encased in a fire-resistant metal cabinet;³⁴ it may have been then that the carvings adorning the gateway arch above the Royal Doors and the cornice were mutilated. In 2010, the incomplete parts were restored, making the two-headed eagle holding a sceptre



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and a sword in its claws – a popular imperial and subsequently ecclesiastical symbol in Byzantium as well – in the arch above the Royal Doors visible again. In the reconstructed central picture area of the cornice, the so-called Not-Made-By-Hands Icon of Christ (the *Mandylion*) (feast: 16 August) was placed, in line with the ancient practice of the Byzantine communities of the Carpathian Basin, according to which this is the distinguished place for the face of Christ in the interior decoration of churches.³⁵

The high altar carved from black and pink marble in the centre of the sanctuary was donated by Count Pál Forgách, Roman Catholic Bishop of Oradea (1747–1757), in 1750, as attested by the Latin inscription on the sides of the

²⁸ He accepted to paint the iconostasis for 130 German Guldens in 1783. Puskás, 2008, 187, Picture 153; Terdik, 2014a, 65–66.

²⁹ Terdik, Szilveszter. Az egykori jezsuita templom székesegyházzá alakítása Ungváron, Bacsinszky András püspök (1772–1809) idejében, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Bacsinszky András (1732–1809) munkácsi püspök, A Bacsinszky András munkácsi püspök halálának 200. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai* (Collectanea Athanasiana, I/6), Nyíregyháza, 2014, 215, 278, Picture 14; Terdik, 2014a, 99.

³⁰ Puskás, 2008, 186–187.

³¹ Terdik, 2014a, 100–101.

³² For descriptions of the icons of *John, Mark, Bartholomew, Matthew* and *Christ the High Priest*, see in the present volume, Cat. III.31–35.

³³ Terdik, 2011, 80–81, 135–137. The iconostasis was conserved in 1957 as well; the pictures were partially repainted: Terdik, 2014e, 24, Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyírán, 2019, 301–303.

³⁴ Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyírán, 2019, 45–47, 57–58.

³⁵ The carvings were reconstructed by restorer Péter Szathmáry; the icon was painted by painter Ádám Kisléghi Nagy.

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altar table. It acquired its present form in 1896, when its tabernacle was also made. Its baroque baldachin, along with the eclectic additions, some of which have been lost, was dismantled in 1944.³⁶

In the two lateral apses of the nave, side altars were added, the costs of which were covered in the 1750s by Countess Rozália Gersei Petheő living as a widow in neighbouring Ófehértó, as indicated by the coats-of-arms attached to them. Data on the baroque altars or the carvers of the pulpit have not been found to date; based on clues pertinent to criticism of style, it may be surmised that they were made in the workshop of Josef Hartmann working in Košice.³⁷

The former altar of the Holy Cross on the north side was transformed into a devotional altar by Franciscan woodcarvers from Pécs in 1944 and 1945, on the basis of the plans of József Boksay (1891–1975), a painter from Uzhhorod: In place of the former altarpiece, the miraculous icon in an ornate frame was accommodated.³⁸ The altar table was moved forward, a pair of stairs was built behind it, and even two side doors were opened on the apse, affording access to the miraculous icon from the interior of the church and the churchyard alike. The cloth used to soak up the tears at the time of the third weeping was also placed directly under the icon, in an ornate frame. The picture of God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit above the miraculous icon is Gyula Spisák's work, probably a copy of the original baroque painting. The two lateral compositions representing angels playing music were painted by Manó Petrasovszky (1902–1976); they were completed by 1948. The ceremonial transfer of the miraculous icon took place on 8 September 1945.³⁹ Towards the end of World War II, when news of the front approaching was received, the miraculous icon was hidden in the cellar of the monastery in October 1944 and was returned only on 30 May 1945, that time still to its original place on the iconostasis.⁴⁰ To replace the original picture, Manó Petrasovszky painted a replica, which was later kept by Bishop Miklós Dudás in his private chapel; currently, it is held in the Nyíregyháza Seminary⁴¹ (Picture 5).

Even in the 18th century, there were choir stalls, i.e. *klirosos*, reserved for monks in the foreground of the iconostasis, nowadays evoked by new oak seats with elbow rests (*stasidia*).

The vaults and side walls of the pilgrimage church richly decorated with baroque illusionistic domes and other architectural elements were painted in the 1750s by István Izbéggy Veres, an artist living in Košice, by drawing on the engravings of Andrea Pozzo, a famous Italian Jesuit.⁴² The murals were painted over in 1896, but the ceiling frescoes of the nave and the sanctuary were cleaned and repainted by József Boksay in 1943. The row of angels adorning the cornices of the lateral apses was also made by him. He painted Eastern Church Fathers in the upper dummy windows in the sanctuary, the Virgin Mary assumed into heaven on the vault in front of the iconostasis, the Four Evangelists under the illusionistic dome on the central vault and the apotheosis of Saint Basil the Great on the final vault section of the nave.⁴³ It was suggested that he should be commissioned to make new pictures for the iconostasis as well, but eventually this proposal failed to materialise.⁴⁴

The murals of the sanctuary were made by painter Manó Petrasovszky in 1944 and 1945: In the centre of the grandiose scene of the apse, the Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus receives the offering of the country by King Saint Stephen, surrounded by Saint Stephen the Protomartyr, patron saint of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, and Hungarian saints, who are joined by pilgrims of different nationalities, with historic figures connected to the place of pilgrimage appearing in their midst. Count Ferenc Károlyi (1705–1758), who, as local tradition has it, was healed here, leans on a crutch. The Calvinist man from Nagykálló who vowed to give a hive of bees to the church if he was healed is depicted with a beehive in his hands. Once healed, he refused to fulfil his pledge, causing the bees to make the journey by themselves and settle in the crack on the north apse created during the Érmellék Region earthquake, where their distant descendants continue to live to this day. Two other murals by Petrasovszky present the 'birth' of the Species of the Eucharist: bread and wine.⁴⁵ From 1946 for

³⁶ Terdik, 2014a, 55–57. Its altarpiece depicting the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was transferred to the new church of Érpatak.

³⁷ On the side altars and the history of the pulpit, see: Terdik, 2014a, 72–75.

³⁸ For the correspondence on the arrangement of the altar, see: Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 171–172, 183–197.

³⁹ Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 220–22.

⁴⁰ Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 212–214, 218–219. In 1947, the icon was secreted again, but it is not known when it was returned: Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 240–241.

⁴¹ Wooden board, oil painting, 76 × 55 cm (29.92 × 21.65”).

⁴² Terdik, 2014a, 44–54.

⁴³ Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 168–169.

⁴⁴ Terdik, Szilveszter. Boksay József festőművész (1891–1975), *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 5(2018), 3. szám, 65–67.

⁴⁵ For more detail on the picture, with previous literature, see: Terdik, 2013b, 195–197.

over a decade, ten stained-glass windows would be made on the basis of Petrasovszky's design, in the Budapest workshop of József Palka.⁴⁶

Under the central section of the church nave, even a crypt was constructed. In 1767, the embalmed body of Bishop Olsavszky, who died in Mukacheve, was buried here, and, in 1757, Rozália Gersei Petheő, the great benefactor of the church, also found her final resting place here. It also serves as the burial place of the Bishops of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. Miklós Dudás, a native of the place, who had been a Basilian monk before he became bishop in 1938, rests here, too. He and his brother, Bertalan, who was also a Basilian and even Provincial of the Order, made a tremendous contribution to the restoration of the pilgrimage place of Máriapócs.

Basilian presence

The Bishops of Mukacheve sought to entrust the place of pilgrimage to the Basilian fathers' spiritual care very soon. On 18 May 1749, Demeter Rác (1706–1782), the Greek Catholic farm bailiff of Count Ferenc Károlyi, proprietor of the village, laid the foundation stone of the new monastery. The construction of the two-storey monastery with a rectangular floor plan, complete with a closed courtyard, connected to the church through a passage set on arcade arches, began south of the church, on the basis of Nikodémus Liczky's plans. In consequence of the protest of the Bishop of Eger and the Conventual Franciscans of Nyírbátor, construction work was intermittent, but Bishop Olsavszky eventually obtained even Maria Theresa's approval for the building of the monastery. The stability of the religious house was enabled by Count Ferenc Károlyi's noble gesture in 1757, whereby he presented nearly the whole village to the Basilians.⁴⁷

The monastery was an important location for Greek Catholic culture and education as it also housed a school.⁴⁸ Thus, Bishop András Bacsinszky was able to ensure that it would not be afflicted by Joseph II's measures aimed at the dissolution of religious orders. In 1950, however, the operation of the Order was banned, monastics were

forced to leave the monastery, and they could return only in 1990, though they would regain the buildings only later. The history of the place of pilgrimage is presented by an exquisitely organised exhibition on the ground-floor of the south wing.

On the northern side of the square outside the pilgrimage church, Basilian sisters also settled prior to World War II. Their new monastery, which would function as a pilgrims' house as well, was built at that time. They were also dispersed but would return, and now they operate a social welfare home in an expanded and refurbished building.

Summary

From the time of the first weeping, the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs attracts pilgrims, visiting this sacred place in the hope of spiritual and physical healing. The pilgrimage site obtained several indulgence privileges from the Popes in the 18th and 19th centuries. Benedict XIV (1740–1758) granted indulgence for seven Marian feast days, which the Basilians would interpret as applying to the corresponding feasts in the Gregorian Calendar and the Feast of Assumption and the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary by the Julian Calendar.⁴⁹ The bishops building the church emphasised on a number of occasions that the new church would cater for the spiritual needs of both rites, i.e. of the Greek- and Latin-rite faithful. Until the calendar harmonisation in 1916, major Marian feasts would be celebrated according to both calendars; feasts by the Gregorian Calendar would primarily be attended by Roman Catholic, while those by the Julian Calendar by Greek Catholic pilgrims. Prominent pilgrimages included the Feast of Saint Elijah (20 July), formerly linked to 'marriage market' – as was the pilgrimage of the Latin-rite faithful on the Feast of the Nativity of Mary.⁵⁰

The past half a century has seen several historic pilgrimages to the site. In 1946, at the pilgrimage on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, on the 250th anniversary of the first weeping and the 300th anniversary of the Union of Uzhhorod, the guest preacher was

⁴⁶ For documents on the windows, see: Olbert, 2010, 64–65, Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 227–229.

⁴⁷ Puskás, 1995a, 172–176. Terdik, Szilveszter. Rác Demeter, egy XVIII. századi görög katolikus mecénás, *A Nyíregyházi Józsa András Múzeum Évkönyve*, 49(2007), 368–370.

⁴⁸ Udvari, István. Adatok a máriapócsi iskoláról, in: Udvari, 1994, 134–143.

⁴⁹ The correspondence between Bishop András Bacsinszky and Basilian Prior Szilveszter Kovacsák on the matter: DAZO, fond 151, opis 1, no. 2817.

⁵⁰ On the ethnography of Greek Catholic pilgrimages, see: Bálint – Barna, 1994, 105–117. The popularity of the pilgrimage site of Máriapócs is illustrated by the fact that numerous printed booklets containing prayers and piety practices associated with the wonder-working icon were published as of the mid 19th century, with their nationwide dissemination also demonstrated by Sándor Bálint's collection: N. Szabó, Magdolna – Zombori, István (Eds.). *Vallásos ponyvanyomtatványok Bálint Sándor hagyatékában* (Devotio Hungarorum, 14), Szeged, 2010, 163–167, kat. 432–448.

Prince-Primate József Mindszenty.⁵¹ In commemoration of the double anniversary, Pope Pius XII conferred the title *Basilica Minor* on the pilgrimage church in 1948.⁵²

A salient day in the history of Máriapócs was 18 August 1991, when, as part of his visit to Hungary, Pope John Paul II celebrated Byzantine liturgy in Hungarian before the miraculous icon, with immense crowds of believers from Hungary and abroad in attendance.

In 2005, the miraculous icon was cleaned and conserved by conservator Szilvia Hernády in the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.⁵³ On 3 December, in the presence of the members of the Hungarian Episcopacy, Primate Péter Erdő, Archbishop of Esztergom-Budapest, crowned the icon anew with a golden halo blessed by Pope Benedict XVI in Rome. It was then that Máriapócs was proclaimed a National Sacred Site of Hungary.

In the course of 2009 and 2010, the exterior of the pilgrimage church was fully renewed, its environs were neatly arranged, the church interior was fitted with underfloor heating and new flooring, and the furnishings were conserved completely, while the murals partially. Ceremonial consecration attended by a number of Greek and Roman Catholic bishops took place on 11 September 2010. The guest preacher of the festival was Cardinal Christoph Schönborn, Archbishop of Vienna.⁵⁴

At that time, as a civil initiative, supported by various organisations, a wooden church was also built in the courtyard of the Basilian monastery to evoke the atmosphere and context of the first weeping. In its size and structure, the small church is patterned on the wooden church of Mándok. The sponsor of the construction, Miklós Szunai, even purchased a fine replica of the miraculous icon, which was placed in the wooden church.⁵⁵ The pictures of the iconostasis were painted from public funding in Transcarpathia in 2011.⁵⁶ The structurally complete building was blessed on

1 October 2010, and its ceremonial consecration was conducted two years later, on 17 May, on the Feast of the Ascension – declared to be the title feast of the wooden church – by Diocesan Bishop Fülöp Kocsis.⁵⁷

2015 was pronounced the Tricentennial Year of the Second Weeping. Commemorations were not confined to Máriapócs, but, as in 2005, the miraculous icon went on a nationwide tour.⁵⁸ The central event of the Tercentenary was the 16 August grand pilgrimage in Máriapócs. On that occasion, a new church bell cast from the donations of the faithful ('The Bell of Peace', weighing 1.65 tonnes (32.48 cwt), tuned C sharp, made in Poland)⁵⁹, blessed by Sviatoslav Shevchuk, Major Archbishop of Kiev, was hoisted into place in the south steeple, which had been vacant since World War I; the principal celebrant of the festive liturgy was Archbishop Cyril Vasyli', Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches from Rome.

2019 saw the enrichment of the interior of the Basilica with the addition of the mosaic pictures of Greek Catholic Bishops and Martyrs Blessed Theodore Romzha (*Tódor Romzsa*) and Blessed Pavol Gojdič (*Pál Gojdics*) in the niches next to the side doors.⁶⁰

Thanks to countless development projects, the environment of the pilgrimage site has improved aesthetically over the past decade. Outward growth will certainly foster the growth of numerous spiritual fruits in the souls of open-hearted pilgrims and visitors to Máriapócs.

List of pictures

1. The first icon of Pócs, 1675 Stephansdom, Vienna
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5. Replica of the miraculous icon by Manó Petrasovszky, 1944

⁵¹ Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 232–239.

⁵² Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 242–246.

⁵³ GKPL, I–1–a, 175/2005.

⁵⁴ Feczko, Ágnes – Szabó, Sándor (Eds.). *A felújított máriapócsi kegytemplom megáldása: 2010. szeptember 11.*, Nyíregyháza, 2010.

⁵⁵ The picture emerged at an auction of Nagyházi Gallery and Auction House, Budapest, in 2008. Cf. Tüskés, 2014, 154, 179, Fig. 2.

⁵⁶ Website: <https://hd.gorogkatolikus.hu/hirek-archiv-kiir&hir=1042> (accessed: 30 March 2020).

⁵⁷ Website: <https://hd.gorogkatolikus.hu/hirek-archiv-kiir&hir=695>, <https://hd.gorogkatolikus.hu/hirek-archiv-kiir&hir=1753> (accessed: 30 March 2020).

⁵⁸ For reports on the events of the Tricentennial Year, see: *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 2(2015), 2. szám

⁵⁹ In 1915, the pilgrimage church had eight bells, the largest being the one in the south steeple (weight: 3.3 tonnes [64.96 cwt] incl. crown); see: Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 97. Seven of these, including this large bell, were requisitioned during World War I; see: Szemán, László. *Első világháborús harangrekvirálás Szabolcsban és Szatmárban: A görögkatolikusok harangjainak háborús célokra való fordítása, A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*, 21(2019), 190. See also: Id. Harangrekvirálások a második világháború idején a Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegyében, *Athanasiana*, 40(2015), 63–84. During World War II, another one of the four bells left was removed; see: Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 200.

⁶⁰ The mosaics were made in the workshop of Josif Droboniku (1952–2020) in Lungro, Southern Italy, where the Albanian Orthodox artist had founded his Arberart Studio in the centre of the local Greek Catholic Eparchy.

IV.1.2 The Cult of the Miraculous Icon of Máriapócs in Vienna

Katalin Földvári

*'O Mutter mild, dein Gnadenbild, sey unser Zuflucht,
Schuß und Schild'*¹

The miraculous icon labelled *Ungarische Madonna* or *Unsere Liebe Frau von Wien* by the Viennese is the Stephansdom's most highly prized image of the Virgin Mary to this day.² The icon is a popular destination for visitors, mostly from Hungary, as well as from other parts of Austria and the neighbouring countries.

The miraculous icon of the weeping Virgin Mary played a prominent role in the Marian cult of the Hapsburg Dynasty,³ acting as a perpetual monument to the victorious battle at Senta (*Zenta*), which Abraham a Sancta Clara (1644–1709) ascribed to the intercession of the Virgin Mary of Pócs (Máriapócs) in his speeches.

Once news of the weeping of the miraculous icon (4 November to 8 December 1696) reached Vienna, at the request of the Empress Eleonore and advised by Capuchin Friar Marco d'Aviano (1631–1699), the Emperor Leopold I ordered that the miraculous icon be transported to Vienna.⁴ Following the arrival of the icon, High Mass was celebrated and festivities were held in the city for five months (7 July to 1 December 1697). In Vienna, the picture was received by a hundred thousand believers, and the Bishop of the city, Count Ernst von Trautson, accompanied by his priests, went to greet it in a procession and escorted it to Favorita, the chapel of the Imperial Summer Palace, where it was welcomed by the imperial-royal couple. On 7 July 1697, the icon was

transferred from the chapel to the aulic church of the Augustinians, where the Empress Eleonore adorned it with a rose composed of diamonds and precious stones.⁵ Afterwards, the picture was carried in a procession to the Cathedral again and it was placed on the altar next to the treasury; for fourteen days, ordinary people could also pay their tribute.⁶ Subsequently, as requested by the parishes of Vienna, the icon was presented in all the churches of the city; in each place, it was exposed for public veneration for three days.⁷ On 1 December 1697, in a solemn procession, it was returned to the Stephansdom, where it was accommodated on the high altar⁸ (Picture 1). To mark the occasion of its placement in the Cathedral, the Empress Eleonore presented the miraculous icon with the so-called *Rosa Mystica* frame and an ornate festive garment.⁹

While the miraculous icon of Pócs toured the imperial city, Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736) defeated the Ottoman Turks at Senta on 11 September 1697. The acclaimed homilist Abraham a Sancta Clara attributed this victory to the miraculous power of the Pócs icon, the intercession of the Virgin Mary of Pócs: In his homilies, he explained that the picture saved Christendom from its foes, with its mantle protecting first and foremost Austria and its constituent countries. Thus, the miraculous icon of Pócs was seen as the palladium of the Hapsburg Dynasty. In 1701, the Emperor issued a bull to promote faith in the miraculous power of the Virgin Mary of Pócs and to encourage subjects to pray to

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¹ Source of the motto: Zennegg, 1739, 149.

² Gruber, 2013, 40–41.

³ For more detail, see: Földvári, 2015, 93–117.

⁴ For more detail, see: Terdik, 1999, 156–157. The Monarch turned to György Fenesy, Bishop of Eger, who would authorise Canon Count Imre Csáky to execute the ordinance of Leopold I. On 1 March 1697, accompanied by the gun salute of 150 soldiers, the miraculous icon was removed from the iconostasis, and first it was taken to Nagykálló, from there to Košice (Kassa) via Tokaj and then to Vienna via Pest, Buda and Győr. See: Magyar, 1996, 85–97.

⁵ According to Annemarie Fenzl and Johann Weißensteiner, the rose symbol may be traced to depictions of the Little Jesus of the type in which the Child holds a red flower in His hand. See: Fenzl – Weißensteiner – Guber, 1997, 235.

⁶ Magyar, 1996, 93–94.

⁷ The journey of the miraculous icon is described in detail in: *Heylsamer Gnaden-Brunn...*, 1703, 28–46. Thus, a total of 33 processions were held with the icon, and, in the churches, 126 sermons were delivered, 103 High Masses with musical accompaniment were celebrated, 68 vespers and 91 litanies were sung, and 136 rosaries were prayed in public before it. *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸ Here, before the icon, Low Mass was said several times a day – in winter, between 5 and 12 am and, in summer, from as early as 4 am – and High Mass was celebrated from 11 am. In the afternoons, the Litany of Loreto was prayed daily from 5 pm, and the rosary was recited three times a day – at 9 and 11:30 am and after the Litany of Loreto. On Sundays and feast days, the rosary was accompanied by the sound of the trumpet and the drum. Each rosary was concluded with additional prayers, read by an ecclesiastical individual appointed for this purpose. To ensure continual recitation of the rosary this way, Jakob Daniel von Tepsern, Mayor of Vienna for eight years, started a 2000-Gulden fund. For more detail, see: Földvári, 2017a, 407–423.

⁹ As Rudolf Bachleitner points out, this novel way of installing the picture whereby the silver frame and the large aureole formed a unit with the altar table and the tabernacle of the high altar would become exemplary for a number of Viennese churches subsequently. The *Rosa Mystica* frame adorned the icon to 1776, when it was replaced by precious stones made by court jeweller Franz Mack. For a description of the frame and the festive garment, see: Bachleitner, 1961, 355; Fenzl – Weißensteiner – Guber, 1997, 235–238; Fenzl, 2014, 3.

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her for victory over the Turks.¹⁰ Thus, in the late 17th and early 18th century, the icon of Pócs came to be a protector not only of the city of Vienna but of the whole of the Hapsburg Empire as well (Picture 2).

In the course of the 18th century, a variegated cult evolved around the original icon of Pócs placed in the Stephansdom of Vienna, with its outlines well pronounced in contemporary works.¹¹ The development of the cult surrounding the miraculous icon was to a large extent defined by the printed material *Abgetrocknete Thränen*¹² published in 1698, on the one hand, significantly contributing to the icon soon becoming the number one cultic image of Vienna held in highest esteem and, on the other hand, amplifying the moments that could make the ties between the miraculous icon and the populace of Austria and Vienna more intimate.¹³ To the end of the volume, a 54-page work was appended, containing three sermons by Abraham a Sancta Clara under a single a title.¹⁴ These homilies relate to the miraculous icon of Pócs in a variety of ways; the most important one among them is the sermon entitled *Aller Freud und Fried*, which would play an influential part in delineating the scope of the cult in Vienna.¹⁵

Two feast days observed to this day are associated with the icon. To celebrate the arrival of the miraculous icon in Vienna, every year, on the Sunday after 2 July, a festival attended by the Emperor would be held. The memorial day of the weeping (4 November) would be commemorated as a three-day solemnity, with two High Masses each day.¹⁶ In 1747, the 50th,¹⁷ while, in 1797, the

¹⁰ Zeinar, 2003, 257.

¹¹ Földvári, 2017a, 407–423.

¹² *Abgetrocknete Thränen...*, Nürnberg–Frankfurt, 1698.

¹³ Three main elements underlay the cult of the miraculous icon: 1. Cessation of weeping: The icon did not weep in Vienna. 2. The miraculous icon found a home in the imperial city: In the frontispiece of the volume, the icon is featured in the Maria Stiegen Church, with the inscription *in propria venit* above it, suggesting that the picture had come home and returned to its own property. 3. The icon would provide protection against the Ottoman-Turkish threat. For more detail, see: Knapp, 1996, 61–79.

¹⁴ *Aller Freud und Fried* (composed on 22 September 1697), *Brunst zu Wienn von Wasser* (heard on 8 August 1697) and *Baare Bezahlung* (delivered by Abraham a Sancta Clara on 22 September 1697, during the pilgrimage in Wiener Neustadt to commemorate Vienna's deliverance from the Turks in 1683).

¹⁵ The cult elements manifest in the texts of the homilies allude to the special patronage of Mary conveyed through a specific devotional icon: 1. The miraculous power of the icon is emphasised: The simple *Tafel* (i.e. board) has become *Gnadenbild* (i.e. a devotional picture). 2. The local and national characteristics of the image of Pócs, as well as its integration into the local political context are highlighted (public veneration by the Imperial Family and its function as a palladium ensuring the peace of the empire). 3. At the same time, the relationship between the picture and Hungary is given a negative assessment: Hungary failed to take proper care of the miraculous icon; Hungary is a bad neighbour to Austria. The summary of the volume is thus meant to argue for the expropriation of the picture and to make its Austrian cult more direct. 4. Elements of special patronage include the Turkish theme as the icon provides protection against the Ottoman threat. 5. The question of the purport of the weeping is raised several times: Why did the Virgin Mary of Pócs weep? The homilies account for this miraculous event in various ways: a) the weeping was the picture's cry for help, for it was in danger in Hungary, necessitating its transfer to Vienna; b) through the miracle, Mary evinced her compassion for Hungary; c) the Virgin Mary shed tears of joy over the victory at Senta.

¹⁶ The first one was celebrated from 9 am, the second one from 11 am; when members of the imperial court were present, the bishops and other senior clergymen invited to the 11 o'clock Mass would conduct the vespers, deliver sermons and pray the litany. See: Zennegg, 1739, 26–29.

¹⁷ The fifteen speeches delivered before the miraculous icon during the festival from 1 to 9 July 1747 were compiled in: *Funftzig-Jähriges Jubel-Fest...*, Wien, 1747.

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100th anniversary of the transfer of the picture to Vienna was remembered amid baroque festivities.¹⁸

From the time of the arrival of the miraculous icon in Vienna, the Cathedral had two orchestras with two conductors for nearly a hundred years; one orchestra would exclusively be dedicated to the service of the icon of Pócs.¹⁹ To enable the continuity of services at the altar, apart from the city of Vienna, numerous private individuals started funds.²⁰ Musical accompaniment was made more colourful by the development of a unique repertoire of songs in honour of the icon of Pócs during the second half of the 18th century. The chapter *Marianische Lob- und Bitt-Gesänger, oder Reim-Gebett* of the volume edited by Christoph Zennegg and published in Vienna in 1739 contained twenty songs addressing the weeping icon of Pócs to be sung during processions or pilgrimages and as part of the vespers.²¹

The presentation of gifts begun by the Empress Eleonore would be continued by a number of dignitaries ever since the icon was installed in the Stephansdom.²² As signs of homage, countless votive gifts were placed on the miraculous icon,²³ as well as on the surrounding walls.²⁴ Even in the early 18th century, among the votive objects – alongside jewellery – various figures cast from wax showing babies in swaddling clothes, female and male individuals, teeth, legs, hands, eyes, breasts

¹⁸ To honour this anniversary, the following volume was published: *Gebet und Gesang...*, Wien, 1796.

¹⁹ The musical accompaniment of services dedicated to the miraculous icon of Pócs was discontinued in consequence of the prohibitive measures of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. The liturgical ordinance issued in 1783 would no longer allow Mass to be celebrated with songs or organ accompaniment in any of Vienna's churches, just as it forbade Mass on feast days and Sundays to be accompanied by an orchestra and required that foundation Masses be also stopped. For more detail on the music performed near the miraculous icon, see: Hochradner – Vörösmarty, 2000, 133–176.

²⁰ Joseph Ogesser remarks that, at the request of the City Council, a large silver chandelier worth 7251 Guldens was made in 1747, followed by six silver candlesticks valued at 7251 Guldens (Ogesser, 1779, 302). Furthermore, the Council ordered that solemn High Mass be celebrated at the miraculous icon every day, a practice which would continue until the ordinance of Joseph II. To make the musical accompaniment of services in conjunction with the icon of Pócs more dignified, some chose the miraculous icon as their heirs: In 1707, in his will, court merchant Michael Kurz provided that the services at the miraculous icon of Máriapócs mandated for Sundays and feast days be conducted with a musical accompaniment more splendid than previously, starting a fund of 17 700 guilders for this purpose. A similar will was made by a Viennese citizen by the name of Franz Zwegen, as well as court scribe Andreas Huttauer in 1716 and Adam Perchtold, parish priest of Gnadendorff. See: Donin, 1884, 14; Magyar, 1996, 95; Ogesser, 1779, 302.

²¹ Zennegg, 1739, 133–172. In addition to the mostly multiple-verse songs, the reader could find the corresponding tune in each case as the compiler of the volume either made the notes available or made a reference to a well-known church song patterned on the same melody. With the texts, occasional allusions to common Marian songs were included. These were invariably earlier compositions newly adapted (probably by Christoph Zennegg). As the texts published by Zennegg were explicitly meant to be performed at the Máriapócs Altar, their use was confined to the veneration of the miraculous icon of Pócs. See: Hochradner – Vörösmarty, 2010, 165–175.

²² Apart from works presenting the history of the icon, the subject is also prominently covered in the book *Erneuert- und vermehrter Gnaden-Brunn...* Cf. Bachleitner, 1961, 355; Cser-Palkovits, 1984, 60; Ogesser, 1779, 301; Zennegg, 1739, 29–30.

²³ Joseph Zykan reports that, in 1961, the original icon of Pócs was X-rayed, revealing a number of minute holes in the wooden board of the picture, which could indicate that smaller gifts must have been attached by means of nails (Zykan, 1971, 5). On 19 March 1903, the jewellery fitted on the miraculous icon, along with the golden crowns worth 20 thousand Kronen, was stolen by unidentified perpetrators (Gruber, 2011, 129).

²⁴ For more detail, see: Földvári, 2014, 295–302.

IV.1.2

and horses were on display.²⁵ Besides votive figures, donating plaques of gratitude was also popular.²⁶

In case of extraordinary threats, the Virgin Mary would always be invoked 'officially' through the miraculous icon of Pócs; at times of epidemics and wars, processions and multiple-day prayer services were held, with ecclesiastics, the laity and societies appearing according to a set schedule for prayer and singing.²⁷

However, once the Ottoman menace was over, the 18th century saw several changes in the veneration of the miraculous icon of Pócs (the first among the so-called Turkish Madonnas), with prayers addressed to it more in the hope of deliverance from the plague this time, as was the case with other icons invoked previously under the threat of a Turkish invasion.²⁸ Gustav Gugitz *Sagen und Legenden der Stadt Wien* In his book entitled *Sagen und Legenden der Stadt Wien*, Gustav Gugitz observes that, in addition, the miraculous icon of Pócs also served as a safeguard against fire: '... the miraculous icon also gave Vienna protection against fire. In the steeple of the Stephansdom, a red flag decorated with the image of the

Virgin Mary of Pócs would be raised in the direction of the spot where the fire was detected.'²⁹

Moreover, concerning the miraculous power of the image, the belief that those praying to it would be healed from diverse diseases increasingly came to the fore.³⁰ In his work offering a description of the Stephansdom published in 1906, Emil Hofmann notes that this Madonna was revered by the people as 'the rescuer of those suffering from grave illnesses'.³¹ In 1735, Thomas Ertl already mentions only two themes of the cult of the miraculous icon of Pócs: 1. The Turkish theme was combined with the cult of Loreto: the Litany of Loreto would be recited at public prayer services. 2. The other principal feature was constituted by the miracles credited to the devotional icon (e.g. child birth, deliverance from imminent danger, recovery of ailing limbs, rescue from shipwreck and deliverance from the plague).³²

The popularity of the icon is illustrated by the fact that, during the 18th century, numerous copies of it were made, which were venerated not only in the city of Vienna but in various places in Austria,³³ Germany³⁴ and

²⁵ Gugitz, 1955, 42.

²⁶ For example, in 1722, Friedrich Tilmez speaks of 'innumerable votive items and plaques of gratitude' (Tilmez, 1722, 275).

²⁷ The Emperor Charles VI also acted thus in 1713, when the plague broke out in Vienna again; following a procession, he prayed to the icon of Máriapócs. See: Zennegg, 1739, 28–29.

²⁸ The collection of songs compiled by Christoph Zennegg also contains examples in which the Weeping Virgin Mary was expressly entreated for protection against the plague: Zennegg, 1739, 140–142 (*Um Abwendung der Pest*), 149–151 (*Bitt-Gesang*), 151–152 (*Bitt-Gesang*).

²⁹ Gugitz, 1952, 90–91.

³⁰ This is substantiated by the instances recorded in two extant books of miracles: *Heylsamer Gnaden-Brunn...*, 1703, 57–279; Zennegg, 1739, 36–172. On answered prayers said before the icon, see: Földvári, 2017b, 122–132.

³¹ Hofmann, 1906, 153.

³² Ertl, 1735, 11–19.

³³ The reproduction of the miraculous icon found in the church of Altenfelden, Austria, was discovered by Maria Magdalena Gahleitner, a peasant woman, in 1793, while she collected hay. In the next five years, the picture was kept in a rural cottage until a woman called Teresia Bichler was instructed in her dream to return it to the place where it had been found. Her son, Mathias, fixed the icon on a tree next to a healing spring. The image concerned is a copperplate depicting the miraculous weeping in Máriapócs. The Abbey of Heiligenkreuz also boasts a replica of the devotional icon. Placed at the entrance to the treasury, it dates from the 17th century. The reproductions found in Petronell-Carnuntum and Rapottenstein are linked to the castles of the Abensperg-Traun family. The genesis of the Petronell picture may be dated to the late 17th century, whereas the copper replica of Rapottenstein is mentioned in a 1736 inventory. The latter image was later lost. The copy hanging above the sacristy door of the church of St Elisabeth in the village of Ginzersdorf dates from around 1800. The *Hodigitria* is modelled on the icon in Vienna. On the so-called plague-altar of the south chapel of the parish church of Rastefeld dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, there are two Máriapócs images styled on the picture of Altenfelden. The church of Stranzendorf was built in 1733; the stucco altar in front of its east wall exhibits a Marian icon. The depiction is a highly faithful copy of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs. The legend of the pilgrimage site Weichselbaum relates the story of a Cistercian monk, who, in 1749, fixed a Marian image on a tree, which was carried by woodcutters to the town of Weichselbaum. However, the picture would return to the location of its discovery, and, as soon as these miraculous events were divulged, a series of pilgrimages would ensue, culminating in the construction of the current small church between 1792 and 1793. The devotional icon replica of the church of Telfs in Tirol is closely connected to the history of the local monastery: Provincial P. Eustach had vowed that, in case the Emperor Leopold I approved the foundation of the monastery, he would take a copy of the Marian icon to Telfs. The icon he had pledged was made in 1700, and it was brought into contact with the original so as to transfer the miraculous power of the devotional icon. Furthermore, Hans Aurenhammer makes a brief mention of the replicas seen in the parish church of Aggsbach-Markt (image made circa 1700), as well as in the churches of Berndorf and Klausen-Leopoldsdorf (Hans Aurenhammer, 1956, 86–87; Ivancsó – Betz – Imfeld, 1997, 77–82).

³⁴ The parish church of Kindsbach dedicated to the Feast of the Visitation holds a replica of the miraculous icon, which found its way to the town thanks to an officer called D. P. H. Biot in 1704. Accounts of answered prayers before the icon launched a series of pilgrimages in the 18th century. The icon replica of the parish church of St Paul in Passau was painted in 1700 by Franz Werner von Tamm (1658–1724), painter of the Viennese Imperial Court, who portrayed the Virgin Mary surrounded by a rose wreath, as a reference to the title *Rosa Mystica*. The devotional icon replica of the Benedictine Monastery of Vornbach made in 1700, which is currently kept in the conference room of the Abbey, is also Von

(3)



Switzerland³⁵ as well. These reproductions were not merely instruments of piety and remembrance but, akin to the original miraculous icon, they also ensured the presence and operation of the Saint, whereby the replicas themselves would become wonder-working devotional images that, thanks to the associated legends, gave rise to a pilgrimage- and votive-cult and a wide range of prayers and devotions.³⁶

From 18th-century Vienna, four replicas of the original miraculous icon of Pócs are known; of these, the legend pertaining to the icon in the church of St John of Nepomuk in Leopoldstadt (2nd District) is highlighted by several authors.³⁷ The picture was especially venerated during the plague that broke out in 1723, and, years later when the disease recrudesced in the city of Vienna, people would visit not only the original miraculous icon but this replica as well: 'When Vienna was gripped by the plague in 1730, and a few houses needed to be closed down as a result, the sick climbed out through the windows and succeeded in making their way to the image of the

Merciful Mother, stayed there to pray all night and, in the morning, freed from their predicament, went home in perfect health'³⁸ (Picture 3).

According to Hans Aurenhammer, in the parish church of the Fourteen Holy Helpers in Lichtenal-Vienna (9th District), a replica of the miraculous icon was placed on the high altar on 22 October 1820.³⁹ The picture shows the Viennese icon with lavishly decorated baroque crowns, pearls, necklaces and golden ornaments. The lower one-third of the reproduction is adorned by silver votive hearts symbolising granted requests made to the Theotokos.⁴⁰

The icon replica of St Nicholas' church in the 3rd District of the city has unfortunately been lost over time. Aurenhammer comments that veneration of the miraculous icon in case of fire was recorded by a devotional picture held in a private collection, in which the anonymous artist depicted Saint Florian and Saint Nicholas blessing the icon, with a procession passing outside St Nicholas' church underneath. The inscription of the picture read: 'Protect the whole country from fires and all dangers at all times!'⁴¹

Lastly, the Viennese church of the Conventual Franciscans also held a replica of the miraculous icon, presumably donated by the Viennese mystic, Christina Rigler, in 1706, though – unfortunately – this one has not survived, either.⁴²

List of pictures

1. Procession with the miraculous icon in Vienna. Manó Petrasovszky (an illustration in *Ékes virágszál*, 1946)
2. The miraculous icon on the Stephansdom's high altar. Engraving, 19th century (based on Donin, 1884)
3. Replica of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs in the Viennese church of St John of Nepomuk

Tamm's work. See: Ivancsó – Betz – Imfeld, 1997, 82–84.

³⁵ The small pilgrimage church of Vals also boasts an icon replica, donated by Johan Berni van Leis, chaplain of Vals, in 1707. He studied theology in Vienna at the time of the arrival of the miraculous icon there, and so he acquired the copy. The replicas in the chapels of Verdasio and Siebeneich also capture the miraculous weeping of the original icon with bloody tears. In the latter icon, below the image of the Virgin Mary of Máriapócs, beggars and the infirm with various disabilities are featured, corresponding to votive pictures. See: Ivancsó – Betz – Imfeld, 1997, 84–86.

³⁶ Rettenbeck, 1963, 87–89.

³⁷ Gugitz, 1952, 97; Köhler, 1846, 66–68.

³⁸ According to Köhler, this may be corroborated by historical data as it is known that, in this part of the city, not a single person died of the plague at that time: Köhler, 1846, 67.

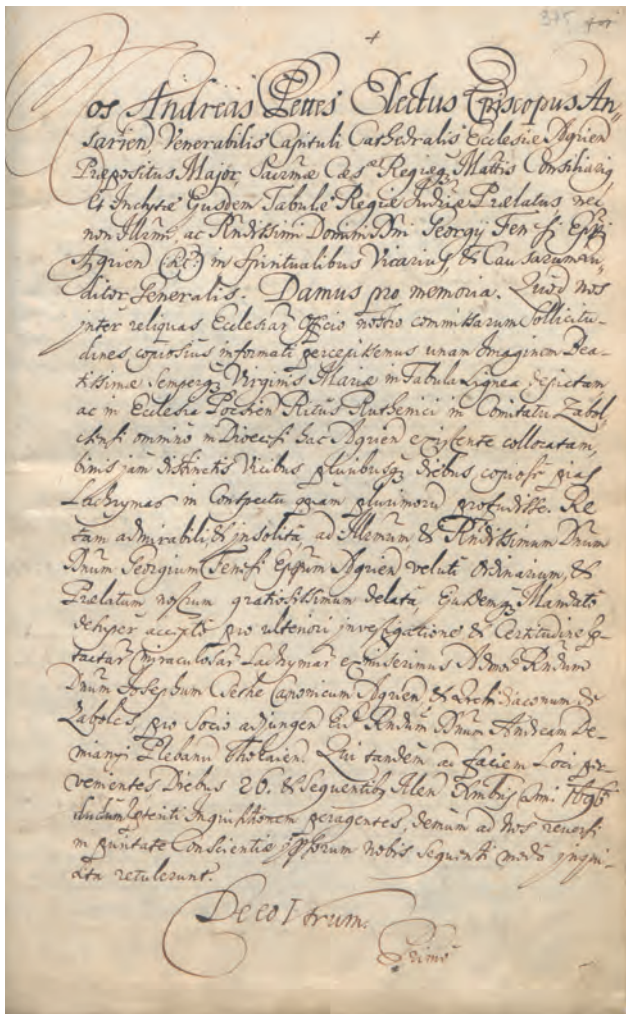
³⁹ Aurenhammer, 1956, 86.

⁴⁰ Ivancsó – Betz – Imfeld, 1997, 39.

⁴¹ Aurenhammer, 1956, 86–87.

⁴² Aurenhammer, 1956, 86; Gugitz, 1955, 32.

IV.1.2 The Official Report of the First Lacrimation in Pócs Catalogue IV.1



paper, ink
33.6 × 21.3 × 4 cm

Coll. Hev. XLI, 401–414, Hevenesi Collection, Eötvös
Loránd University (ELTE) Library, Budapest

The report survived in two copies. The first one is preserved by the Archdiocesan Archives of Eger (Archivum Vetus 1800), the other one is presented here, which is part of a colligatum volume from the Hevenesi Collection of the University Library.

This report informs us about the origin of the first icon of Pócs. The eighth witness, 45-year-old Greek Catholic Judge László Csigrí testifies that he had the picture painted by István Pap, the brother of the local parish priest twenty-one years before the tears appeared (i.e. in 1675). The painter wanted 6 Hungarian gold forints for the picture, which was found too much by customer László Csigrí's parents, so it was not paid. But Csigrí fell into a serious illness lasting for twelve weeks and he recovered only after making another vow to have another picture painted.

The first Mary-icon was placed on the iconostasis of the local Greek Catholic wooden church and came into prominence later on 4 November 1696. During the Sunday liturgy, while singing the “Sanctus...”, 50-year-old Greek Catholic farmer Mihály Eöry was the first to notice tears flowing from both eyes of the Mother of God icon. He told it to the people around him and everyone was amazed by this extraordinary phenomenon. The lacrimation lasted continuously for two weeks, then intermittently until 8 December. According to the records, it was so cold at the church in Pócs on that day, that the wine and water in the chalice was frozen, but Mary's tears fell abundantly.

The first official ecclesiastical report, the letters of parish priest János Jakab Kriegsman from Nagykálló to Archbishop of Esztergom Lipót Kollonich and to Bishop of Eger György Fenessy were dated 16 November 1696. He reported the circumstances of the miracle and he wanted to get the painting transferred from Pócs to his church in the more centrally located Kálló. The news of the miracle also reached Prince of Transylvania Ferenc Rákóczi II, who referred to the lacrimation twice in his letter to the Bishop of Eger on 3 December 1696. He wrote that his sins could also have caused the lacrimation and Mary may have wept as a sign of future troubles. His words became prophetic, thinking of the war of independence that broke out later (1703–1711).

Bishop György Fenessy of Eger instructed Grand Provost and Titular Bishop András Pethes at the beginning of December 1696 to carry out the official investigation prescribed by canon law in such cases. The Grand Provost instructed Canon of Eger and Archdeacon of Szabolcs County József Csethe and Parish Priest of Tokaj András Damián to carry out the inspection on site. The two envoys could only start the investigation in Pócs on the second day of Christmas due to the winter weather conditions.

The document certifying the lacrimation consists of three structural units: A) András Pethes's certificate of authenticity dated 2 January 1698 in Košice (Kassa, pp. 401, 414), providing a framework to the other documents; B) The investigation report on the lacrimation in Pócs on 26 December 1696 and the following day (pp. 402–412); C) A testimony written by Imperial General Corbelli dated 1 January 1697 in Tokaj (p. 413). Following the rules of diplomacy (*intitulatio, salutatio, vysta, narratio*), András Pethes's certificate tells the date, the circumstances and the persons of the canonical examination ordered by the Bishop of Eger, as described above. The actual testimonies (B) and Corbelli's testimony (C) are contained by the essential part, the *dispositio*. The *corroboratio* (confirmation) was done with the vicar's seal and the document ends with the *eschatocollum*: place of issue, date and signature.

Canon József Csethe and Parish Priest András Damián questioned thirty-six witnesses under oath in the testimonies on 26 and 27 May 1696. Based on these, the following was established: The lacrimation lasted from 4 November 1696 to 8 December 1696. The colour of the tears varied: thirty witnesses observed white, brightly coloured tears and six witnesses bloody, reddish-white tears. Eleven people testified that tears flowed more abundantly from the right eye than from the left eye. Eight people saw that the shawl placed under the picture was taken away by a German officer. Ten people testified that they also touched the tears with their own fingers: no one saw any trace of fraud. More than twenty people confirmed the investigation carried out in the presence of General Corbelli on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception on 8 December 1696, when the icon was examined before the eyes of many military officers and county officials and no tricks were found. This was confirmed by General Corbelli in a separate document (C). Six people heard that a sick child had been healed shortly after touching the image and this could only be confirmed under oath by Parish Priest Kriegsman from Kálló, who raised the child there with his own hands.

Witnesses were chosen from the widest possible range of people: the territorially competent Greek and Roman Catholic priests, a camp chaplain, a judge, a notary, a schoolmaster, a clergyman, wealthier farmers and military officers were interrogated. There were nobles and public figures, Catholics and Protestants, men and women. Everyone unanimously acknowledged the miracle, so the authenticity of what happened can be established with complete certainty. (Gy. J.).

Bibliography

Uriel, 1907, 50–74.
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Mother of God of Pócs Helps the Imperial Army in the Battle of Senta *Catalogue IV.2*

1697

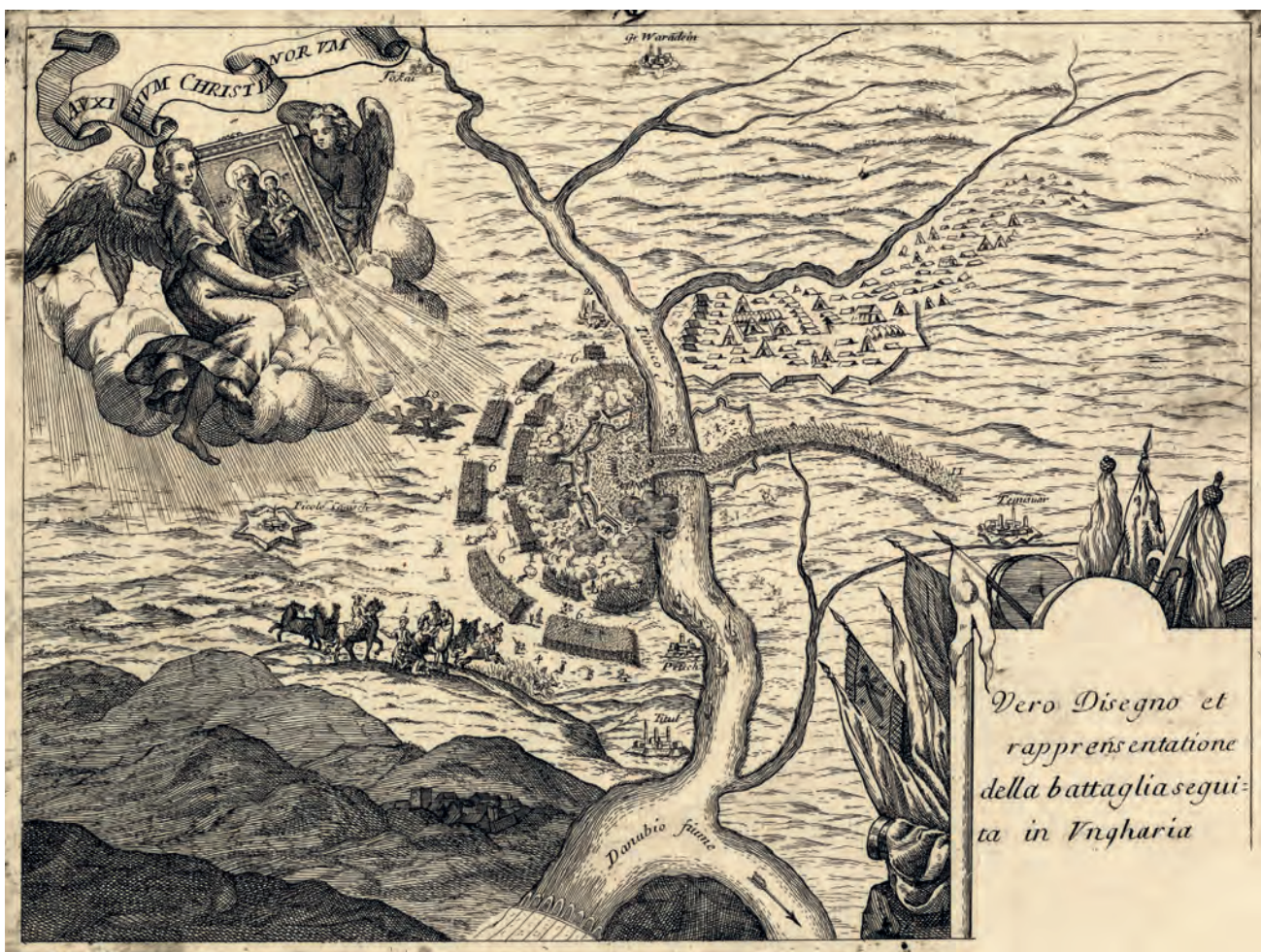
copperplate engraving on paper
24.8 × 33.1 cm (plate size)

Caption in Italian: Vero Disegno et rappresentatione della battaglia seguita in Ungheria (Genuine drawing and depiction of the battle fought in Hungary)

On a sentence strip above the image: AVXILIUM CHRISTANORVM.

MNM TK, No. T.6333.

In 1675, Judge László Csigri of Pócs had István Pap paint an icon of Mary in memory of his liberation from the Turks. The completed picture was finally bought for 6 Hungarian forints and donated by Lőrinc Hurta to the wooden church in Pócs. The Mother of God Hodigitria type image was first seen in tears on 4 November 1696 in the church of Pócs, which lasted until 8 December with short interruptions. The miraculous event was reported by Parish Priest Jakab Kriegsman from Kálló (Nagykálló) to Archbishop of Esztergom Lipót Kollonich on 16 November. The imperial court in Vienna was soon informed about the miracle and took the picture to Vienna on the initiative of Capuchin monk Marco d'Aviano. The icon arrived in the imperial city on 4 July 1697 and was received with great splendour and numerous prayer-meetings were held in its honour under the direction of the Capuchin monk, asking for its intervention against the Turks. The icon was taken around in an ornate procession to the churches of Vienna, exposed and honoured everywhere for eight days, and then permanently placed at Stephansdom on 1 December, where it is still highly esteemed. The icon of Pócs was just in the church of the Scottish Benedictines (Schottenkirche) in Freyung on 11 September 1697, when the imperial troops led by Prince Eugene of Savoy won a decisive victory over the Ottoman army, that was just about to cross the Tisza River at Senta (*Zenta*). The Battle of Senta finally proved that the Ottoman court could no longer exert its influence on Hungarian territories and the process had begun that led to the Treaty of Karlowitz, signed with the Ottomans two years later. The news of the victorious battle soon became associated with the Viennese cult of the icon of Mary from Pócs and through Marco d'Aviano, soon reached Venice, which was in connection with the Turks. The leaflet with the engraving on the top (exhibited here) was probably also made for the Venetian public (the complete engraving can be found in the National Széchényi Library; App. M. 1059). The flyer was printed by Gian Battista Finazzi, who operated a printing house in Venice (*Si vende dal Finaz[z]i*), the title of the battle description below the picture: *Rappresentatione Delle armi vittoriose del'Invittissimo e sempre augusto Leopoldo*



Primo Imperador Romano ... et della segnalata vittoria ottenuta a Senta in Ungaria ... alli 11. Settembre 1697 ... sou essercito. The text below explains the battlefield referring to the numbers on the engraving, describes the battle and the glorious victory of the imperial army, the death of the Ottoman commander-in-chief, the Sultan's escape to Timișoara (*Temesvár*) and the abundant booty. The last sentence mentions Mary's intervention „through her hot, loving tears with which she signaled the victory, let it be gratefulness and glory to her forever”. The name of Pócs or Kálló is not mentioned in the text, but the reference to the tears and the image of Mary held by two angels in the top left corner of the picture make it clear that it is the icon from Pócs. The motto above (*Auxilium Christianorum* – The Help of Christians) refers to Mary's help against the Ottomans from the victory in Lepanto mainly in an Italian context and the title was also included in the text of the *Loreto Litanies*. Some copies of the leaflet can also be found in the volume of Vincenzo Coronelli's *Teatro delle città e porti principali dell'Europa* (Venetia, 1697). This depiction is closely related to the oil painting of the Battle of Zenta in the collection of the

Heeresgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna (unknown master circa 1700, 87.5 × 125 cm, Inv. Nr. 15/16/1983). The icon of Pócs with the inscription “Auxilium Christianorum” is held in the same way by two angels above the bird's eye view of the battle in the picture, as it is seen in the etching on the leaflet. Their common antitype may have been the Viennese engraving, which may have reached Venice and to which the text of the leaflet also refers (*Venuto da Vien[n]a*). (M. G.)

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Szalai–Szántai, 2006, Catalog. Zenta 1697/2.
Terdik, 1999, 160–161.
Terdik, 2001, 135.
Mohay, 2008, 540.
Tüskés, 2010, Cat. 1.
Tüskés, 2014, 167, Cat. 1.

IV.1.2 The Icon of Pócs

Catalogue IV.3



by Peter Schenk, 1697 (?),

mezzotinto on paper

251 × 183 mm, plate: 245 × 178 mm

A mark in the lower left corner of the page: Pet: Schenk

fec: et exc: Amstelod: cum Privil:

Zoltán Szilárdy's collection (formerly in the Historical Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum, no. 58.3736),
Diocesan Museum of Székesfehérvár, No. SzGy 127.

It is one of the earliest known small graphic depictions of the Pócs icon, which was certainly made after its arrival in Vienna, although the German caption below the image only mentions the lacrimation in Pócs (Bööz), Upper Hungary, on 4 November 1696. This depiction almost completely breaks with the abstract style of the original image, characteristic of icons, the figures appear in a realistic way, leaving only the setting typical of the Hodigitria type and some specific elements of the original composition (the flower in Jesus' hands, the shape of the Virgin's robe). The engraver did not pay attention and changed the original setting, when making the print (i.e., the Virgin is holding her child on her right instead of her left). The print was presumably made by German engraver Peter Schenk Sr (1660–1711), who lived in Amsterdam from 1675, where he learned the tricks of making mezzotinto and then founded a workshop and a shop. The picture was presumably made to an order from Vienna. (Sz. T.).

Bibliography

Szilárdy Zoltán: *A magánáhitat szentképei a szerző gyűjteményéből*, III, *Alkalmazott szentképek (16–21. század)* – *Kleine Andachtsbilder aus der Sammlung des Verfassers*, III, *Angewandte Andachtsbilder (16–21. Jahrhundert)*, (*Devotio Hungarorum*, 12.), Szeged–Budapest, 2008, 276–277, Cat. 195.
Tüskés, 2014, 168, Cat. 4.

IV.1.2 Icon Album

Catalogue IV.4

(1)



Imagines Sacrae B. M. V. et Sanctorum Hungariae
17th–19th century
paper, 24 engravings pasted up, the large ones folded
paper binding with leather spine
35 × 28 cm
OSZK, App. M. 1227.

As the handwritten title of the volume reveals, it is a collection of icons of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Hungarian saints. This album is a repository of the rare and special iconography of the Hungarian saints in addition to the depictions of icons and various places of worship. It also contains a pen drawing in addition to the engravings.

Zoltán Szilárdfy was the first to draw attention to the engravings of this album, then he published several of its pieces, including the most important ones related to Máriapócs – Szilárdfy, Zoltán. Magyar barokk szentképek, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 30(1981), p. 118, 119, 125, 129, Pictures 8., 20.; Szilárdfy, 1984, Pictures 18–20. The excellent engraving by Master Johann Andreas Pfeffel (1674–1750) is particularly noteworthy among them, depicting the icon of Pócs, girdled with the palms of victory on the back of the imperial double-headed eagle, which offers the olive branches of peace to the Virgin Mary with its beaks, on a triumphal chariot led by various allegorical figures in the sky above the view of the victorious Battle of Zenta (11 September 1697). There are weapons and an

Ottoman prisoner referring to the defeated enemy in the foreground of the lower part of the picture and the equestrian portrait of Archduke Charles, later King Charles III of Hungary in the middle. The engraving was preserved on the thesis sheet of Count Boldizsár Batthyány's dispute in Graz in 1698, the related text was cut off and pasted into the album (Picture 1).

The more detailed descriptions of the eight engravings related to Pócs in the album were also completed in several stages (cf. Szilárdfy–Tüskés–Knapp, 1987, 112–113; Tüskés, 2010, 274, 275, 277, 279–282; Tüskés, 2014, 168–170, 172–175). High-quality reproductions of these engravings were published in 2009 (*Our National Sanctuary, Máriapócs* by Tamás Gánicz–László Legeza–Szilveszter Terdik, Budapest, 2009, 24, 52–54).

This volume also includes the ex libris stamp of Ferenc Széchényi, the founder of the library, so it is often called the Széchényi Icon Album, although this stamp was used even after the count's death in the 1840s, so it is still not possible to tell whether this volume was really owned by Széchényi or it was given to the library's collection by someone else (cf.: Knapp, Éva. Szent Imre? Szent László? II. Lajos? IV. Ferdinánd?: Egy „befejezetlen” tézislap ikonográfiai meghatározásához, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 56[2007], 289, footnote 3). (Sz. T.)

IV.1.2 The Weeping Icon of Máriapócs on a Flyer
 Catalogue IV.5



Published by Stephan Maystetter, an unknown engraver from Augsburg, 1698, copper engraving print on paper, 39.5 × 31.7 cm, section edge: 17 × 14.4 cm
 Marked bottom right: Augsburg, zu finden bey Stephan Maystetter briefffmahler.
 MNM TK, No. 58.3747.

The title of the flyer: Warhaffte Beschreibung dess wunderbahrllich-weinenden Marien-Bilds in Hungarn zu Petsch.

The title of the engraving: Wahre Abbildung unser Lieben Frauen Anno 1696 den 4 Novmb zu Böötz in ober Ungaren zum erstem mahl aus beiden augen und unterschiedlichen Mahlen geweinet ist auff befelch Ithro Kay May nach Wien gebracht worden und den 7. Juli 1697 mit der ganzen Clerisey nacher St. Stephan in die Th umkirchen bekleidet worden und alda mit grosser Andacht ver erht wirdt.

The text of the Catholic leaflet from Augsburg tells about the wonderful lacrimation of the Mary icon in Pócs, its removal to Vienna and the author argues with the Protestant teachings in an apologetic framework. The engraving shows the icon in an oval frame on an altar-like platform of architectural elements decorated with garlands of flowers. There is an angel statue on each side. The engraver also depicted the wonderful tears on Mary's face. (G. M.)

Bibliography

- Bálint–Barna, 1994, 24.
- Szilárdfy, 1996, 159.
- Szilárdfy, 2003, 124.
- Mohay, 2008, 540.
- Tüskés, 2010, Cat. 8.
- Tüskés, 2014, 168, Cat. 10.

IV.1.2 The Mother of God of Pócs
as Rosa Mystica
Catalogue IV.6



On a spread table (or altar), two angels hold a regular circle-shaped shield with edges reminiscent of stylized flower petals, where the middle tondo is filled with the depiction of the icon of Pócs. The rim of the shield consists of three rows of lobes, larger and larger towards the edge, each of them with a socketed gemstone in the centre and the edge of each lobe is adorned with a socketed row of pearls. The title on the sentence strip above the composition comes from the *Loretto Litanies*: “Mystic Rose”. On the tablecloth covering the front of the table, a German-language caption describes the lacrimation of the icon in Hungary and its removal to the Stephansdom in Vienna. The last sentence in smaller letters says that the engraving was published by Matthias Pfeffer.

The Mother of God of Pócs was first named “Rosa Mystica” by Empress Eleonora, which was further accentuated by its silver decorative frame evoking a rich garland, made after the final placing of the icon at the St. Stephen’s Cathedral. The title is stylized by emphasizing the role of the icon as a palladium, i.e., a protective shield on this engraving. (Sz. T.)

Unpublished

around 1700

copper engraving on paper

31 × 40.7 cm, section edge: 26.2 × 33.5 cm

Restored.

Collection of Zoltán Szilárdy, Diocese Museum of Székesfehérvár, No. 2019.427, Pic. 1.

Caption: Rosa Mystica.

Wahre Abbildung unser Lieben Frauen so 1696. / den 4. Novemr zu Boës in ober Ungarn zum ersten mahl auß / beeden augen und unterschiedlichen Mahlen geweinet ist / auch auß befelch Ihre Kaysl: Mayt: alhier gebracht wor: / den, und den 7 Jul 1697 mit der ganzen Cleri sey na: / cher St Stephan in die Thumkirchen bekleidet / worden und alda mit grosser Andacht vererht / wirdt. / zufinden in Küssen Pfenning bey Matthias Pfeffer

IV.1.2 The Map of Hungary with the Mother of God of Pócs
Catalogue IV.7



1710
 copper engraving on paper
 43.1 × 27.7 cm, engraving edge: 36.4 × 23.8 cm
 Collection of Zoltán Szilárdfy, Diocese Museum of Székesfehérvár

The title is held by two little angels in a cartouche in the top right corner above the geographical map of the Kingdom of Hungary. The icon of Pócs stands to the right on a pedestal decorated with garlands of flowers with a worshipping noble young man in front. The icon of Pócs was seen in tears three times according to the explanatory title, which is a sign of Mary's piety towards Hungary. The composition refers to the idea of *Regnum Marianum*, which became one of the cornerstones of Hungarian Catholic identity in the Baroque period. At that time, the icon of Pócs sometimes appeared on allegorical pictures together with the icon of Cluj (*Kolozsvár*), as the protective shields of Hungary (the former) and the Principality of Transylvania (the latter, cf. Szilárdfy–Tüskés–Knapp, 1987, 183–185). This map was made for Henricus Scherer's *Atlas novus, exhibens orbem terraqueum* (Augsburg, 1710). (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

- Bálint–Barna, 1994, 116.
- Szilárdfy, 1996, 164, Picture 6.
- Szilárdfy, 2003, Pictures 125, 262–263.
- Tüskés, 2010, 276, Cat. 13.
- Tüskés, 2014, 169, Cat. 15.

IV.1.2 Sacristy Cabinet Door with the Icon of Pócs

Catalogue IV.8



Early 18th century
copper engraving (?) on paper, ink, textile, pearls, metal thread; coloured, collage, embroidered
contemporary oak frame with carved, pierced gable shaping Mary's monogram, including contemporary glass
height: 68 cm (+ upper frame decoration: 18 cm), width: 50 cm
Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Collection, No: 1.1.2011, Sárospatak

Only the faces and the hands, as well as the cherubs placed in the arches of the upper corners were completely preserved from the engraving, almost the same size as the original icon of Pócs, the rest were mostly cut out. The contours of the frame and the figures were also preserved and the background was cut out, so that the remaining stripes are reminiscent of curtains drawn on two sides. Several lines were intensified with paint on the remaining parts of the engraving (for example, the contours of the faces, the eyebrows with black, the lips, some borders of the clothes, the wings of the cherubim and the flower in Jesus' hand with red), but the cut-outs were filled with textiles of various colours (white, red, green, ochre), applied to cardboard. The clothes of the child Jesus were made almost completely more varied, the robe of Virgin Mary in only a few spots, with embroidery and trimmings of gold and silver thread. The place and time of the making is unknown and no copy of the Pócs icon made by such a large-scale reproduction has appeared elsewhere until now.

The Jesuit monks settled in Sárospatak in 1663 at the invitation of Zsófia Báthory. They worked for 110 years in the town and reorganized the Catholic religious life in an area of one hundred kilometres from Szerencs to Kráľovský Chlmec (*Királyhelme*c). An important method of Catholic renewal and mission was the propagation of reverence for Mary, the celebration of her feasts with spectacular processions. These were held with crosses and church flags on 15 August, Assumption Day in Sátoraljaújhely and on the Feast of the Nativity of Mary on 8 September, in Tolcsva.

The reverence for the Pócs icon was been present in the life of the Jesuit order from 1697. One of the first copies of the weeping icon, transported to Vienna, was the image painted by the Jesuits in Barca, which can now be seen in the Cathedral of Košice (*Kassa*). The scarf, soaked in the tears of the icon, was taken first to the Jesuits of Eger.

The first sign of veneration of the Pócs icon in Sárospatak appeared very early, in the second year after the lacrimation, in 1698 in the *historia domus* of the Jesuit convent: "And in order to grow the love and respect of the Queen and Our Lady of Hungary as much as possible in the heart of her subjects, we decided to place her repeatedly and abundantly weeping and recently painted image from Pócs, in which she lamented the condition of Hungary, in our church. Therefore, for the eternal memory of this sacred image, a small altar was made in the form of a two-headed eagle and on its breast this image began to move the hearts of the believers in reverence of the

great Patron of Hungary, the Mother of God. This reverence began with the offering of a crucifix made of pure silver by the generosity of the noble Mr. György Kőrösy." (*Historia Residentiae Patakiensis, Annuae Litterae*, 1663–1753, Budapest, ELTE University Library, Ab 95/1; *The History of the Monastery of the Society of Jesus in Sárospatak, 1663–1769*, translated by István Fábián, Library of the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Collection in Sárospatak, Manuscript, 126.). A painted picture is mentioned by this source. Since there was a close connection between the cloisters of Košice and Sárospatak – the friars and teachers moved between the two houses – it can even be assumed, that a copy of the first weeping icon could have been taken to Sárospatak. The Mary icon of Pócs was placed on a separate altar and was adorned with two silver crowns in 1699. (*ibid*, 128.) "A huge damask flag was bought for the church with the image of St. George, the patron saint of our benefactor on one side and the weeping Mary image of Pócs on the other side" in 1702 (*ibid*, 131).

The image presented here is the middle door of the upper part of the sacristy cabinet from the Jesuit period in the parish church of Sárospatak. "The dressing cabinet was made in the sacristy by an experienced joiner, which was divided into small chests and drawers along its entire length, serving not only the complete comfort of the celebrant priests, but also the better preservation of the vestments and other church textiles" according to a note in the *historia domus* in 1721 (*ibid*, 155). But the image on the cabinet door is mentioned neither here nor later – however, this date may also indicate the approximate time of its making.

It was not uncommon to convert engravings into collages in this period, although such a large piece is not known in Hungarian collections. However, a coloured engraving, remade with a similar technique after the Kolozsvár-icon was also preserved in the collection of the Ethnographic Museum, for which an engraving by Josef Ernst Mansfeld was used in the 18th century (no. 68.181.1, published: Dumitran, 2011, 74, 80, fig. 4). (I. Sz. – Sz. T.)

Unpublished



18th century

oil on copper plate; in a carved, painted, gilded wooden frame, under glass

painting: 78 × 55 cm, frame: height: 114 cm (with gable decoration: 137 cm), width: 49 cm, depth approx. 7 cm

Conservation: painting and frame by István Makói Juhász and Dóra Boldizsár; votive objects by Veronika Szilágyi, 2016.

Holy Cross Parish Church (Old Church), Tata

The image painted on the copper plate is a rather precise copy of the original icon, suggesting the painter must have seen the original or at least an exact copy of it. He added only one thing: the tears flowing abundantly from Mary's eyes. The frame of the icon copy is also nicely shaped, richly profiled and carved, it is opening and glazed. The basic colour of the frame is green, the ornamental carvings in relief are gilded and the five-petalled flowers inserted in the ribbon motifs on the frame of the opening wing were red-lustrated. A monogram of Mary is painted on a cartouche placed in the central axis of the pierced gable ornament. The image was and is still decorated with crowns,

votive objects and jewellery, mostly dating back to the 19th century. The image was punched in several places in order to fix them,

We know nothing about the origin of the picture. Parish Priest Adolf Mohl, who wrote the history of Catholic churches in Tata, did not mention it at all in the description of the Old Church. He noted only in connection with the chapel founded by the Esterházy family for the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in 1875, that the altar was originally decorated with a “venerable” image of Mary, which was later replaced by a statue, but he did not describe the further history of the picture (cf. Mohl, Adolf. *Tata plébánia története*, Győr, 1903, 178). It is strange, that when data on parishes were collected for the *Encyclopedia of Mary* in 1951, Kálmán Németh did not refer to this picture, when listing the depictions of the Virgin Mary in Tata's churches. Although he mentioned two icons in the old church (“An icon in the front right of the aisle, a gift from Lajos Nyári and his wife. A larger icon with a Russian caption on the backside altar of the Gospel side”. Perger, Gyula. „*Oltalmad alá futunk*”: *Mária-enciklopédia*, 1950, Győr 2010, 176), but we cannot clearly identify any of them with this picture based on these short descriptions. How odd that the multitude of crowns and votive gifts placed on the Pócs copy, which are clear signs of respect for the icon, did not attract the attention of the data collector. The Esterházy family may have played a role in bringing the picture here or perhaps to this area—although its presence cannot be detected in the chapel of their Tata castle, either—because a copy of the icon from Pócs was placed above one of the entrances to their palace in Vienna – cf. Galavics, Géza. A soproni „Esterházy-Madonna”, in: Környei, Attila – G. Szende, Katalin (szerk.): *Tanulmányok Csatkai Endre tiszteletére*, Sopron, 1996, 196–197, Picture 5. (Sz. T.)

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Szilárdy, 2003, 125, Picture 37.
Tüskés, 2014, 155, 179, Fig. 3.



Around 1760 (?)

oil on canvas, with gold-plated metal applications; wooden frame with artificial marble and gilded copper fittings on the front, glazed

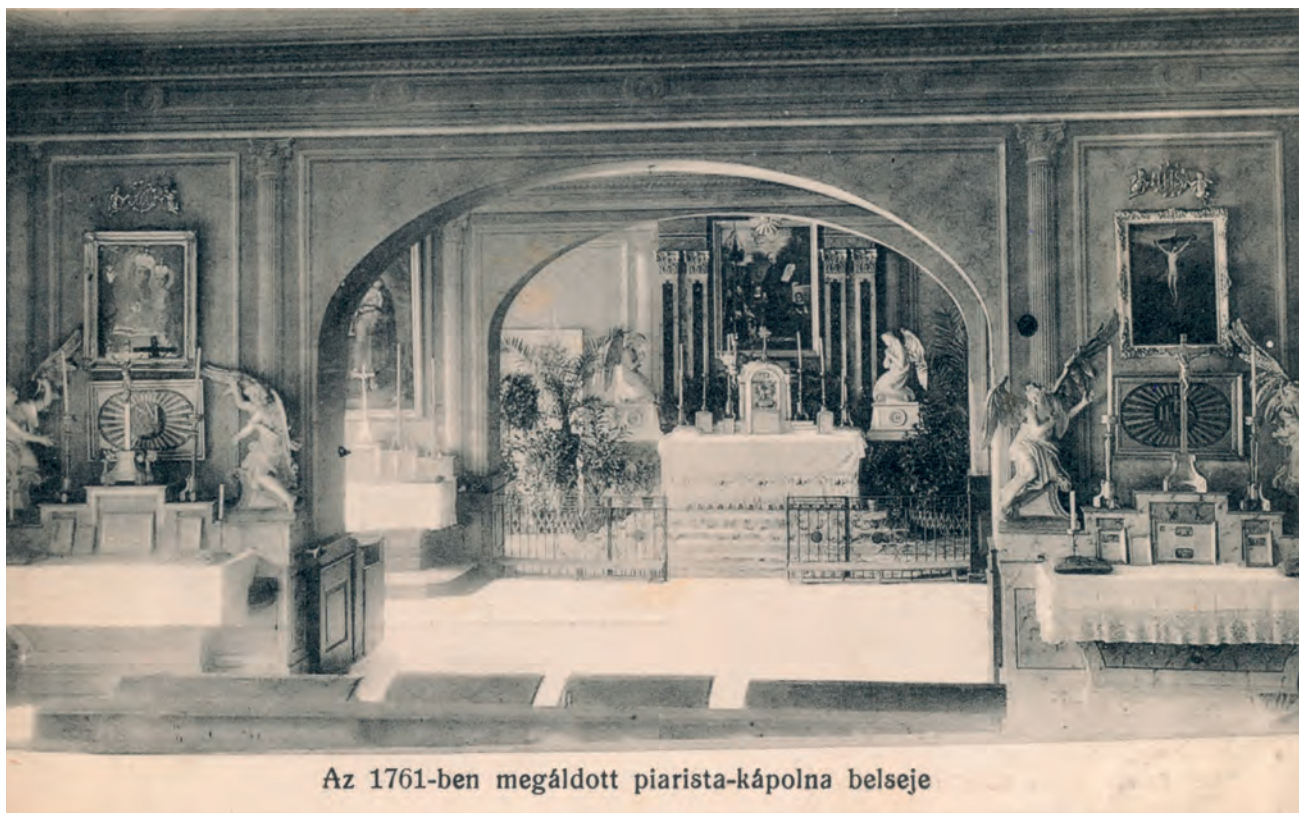
painting: 74.5 × 92.5 cm; frame: 92.5 × 110.5 cm

Conservation: painting by Anna Vihart; cleaning of the frame and the metal objects by János Szabó, 2019. Painting Collection, 2011.158.1.P, Piarist Museum, Budapest

Reverence for the images of the Mother of God also accompanied St. Joseph Calasanz (1557–1648), the founder of the Piarist order (originally known as *Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum* – Order of Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools) throughout his life. For example, the *Madonna dei Monti* of Rome, which he had previously liked to visit, appeared in a vision before him a few days before his death and filled him with hope for the future of the Piarist order.

The main object of the later Piarists' reverence for Mary became the image of the *Queen of the Pious Schools* (*Regina Scholarum Piarum*) in the church of

(1)



Az 1761-ben megáldott piarista-kápolna belseje

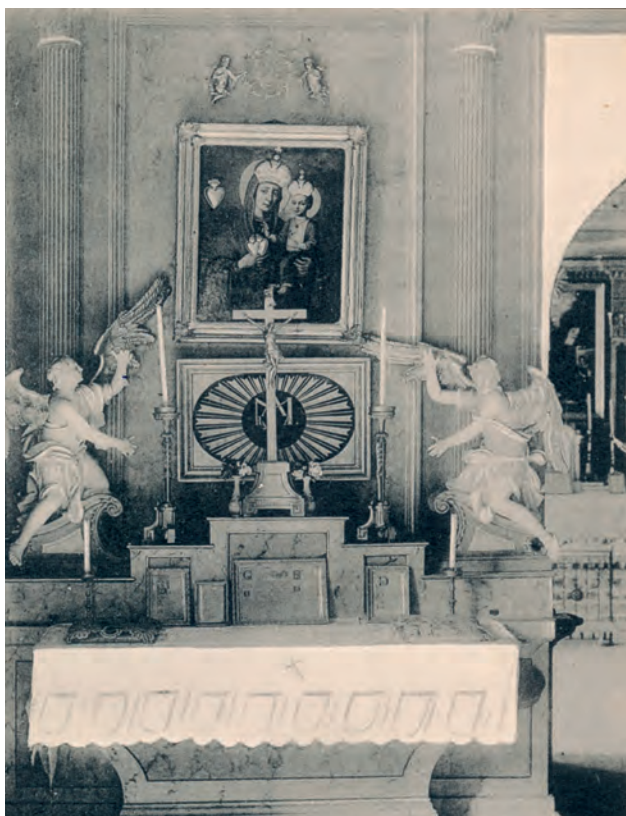
San Pantaleone in Rome, which was placed on the main altar of the church in 1688. Hungarian Piarists mostly placed copies of this icon on the side-altars of their churches and chapels during the 17th and 18th century – in Prievidza (*Privigye*), Nitra (*Nyitra*), Kecskemét, Sátoraljaújhely, Tata and Vác – but it also happened, that copies of other wonderworking depictions of the Virgin Mary became the objects of reverence. In one of the tower chapels of the Piarist Church in Kecskemét, there is a copy of the *Weeping Virgin Mary* icon of the St. Nicholas Church in Trnava (*Nagyszombat*) and the Piarist Museum's Painting Collection (see 2011.625.1.P) also preserves a similar copy from an unknown location. At the earlier Piarist church in Carei (*Nagykároly*), a copy of the Pócs icon was placed on the main altar above the tabernacle and its reverence was also strongly patronized by the Károlyi family (Inventarium, 1759, PMKL, Fasc. 11. Status Domus Karolinensis 1741–1848. cf. Terdik, 2014e, 37).

The Piarists of Pest furnished and began to use their chapel in 1761 on the main square of the city, on the first floor of the Esterházy Palace, which was purchased in 1755. The main altar was dedicated to St. Joseph Calasanz and one of the four side altars was dedicated to the Virgin Mother of Pócs from the beginning, but already in 1766 for sure. The rich furnishings of the new chapel included the copies of

a number of statues popular in this period, such as the Virgin Mary of Mariazell, the Mary Help of Christians and the Child Jesus of Prague (PMKL, II.9.a, Pest Convent Archives, Old period, For. 8, Fasc. 1, Status domus Pestiensis, 1766). Most of them perished over the decades, but a copy of the Pócs icon remained on one of the side altars until the elimination of the chapel in 1913, as evidenced by photographs (such as the series of postcards published by József Barcza) (Pictures 1–2). The chapel and the altarpieces were repainted and cleaned by a master named Arnt in 1840. The icon was then temporarily removed from the altar, the silver-plated frame and the votive objects (*“anathemata”*) placed inside the glass and in the two other frames were cleaned by goldsmith Ferenc Paschberger from Pest for 55 forints with the help of a joiner named Rohrer (PMKL, II.9. a, Archives of the Pest Convent, Old period, Lib 1, Historia domus Pestiensis, 1717–1864, pars II, 42).

The oil painting on canvas basically follows the depiction of the original icon, but it shows significant differences in its style and details. The copy, presumably based on engravings, follows the traditions of Western painting, the faces and limbs are softer, fuller, bigger, the rendering is finer, more vivid, more detailed in terms of perspective, drawing, use of colours and light-shadow effects. The depiction of the

(2)



face, the hand position and clothing of the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus also shows subtle differences, their halo is unadorned on the copy. Virgin Mary and the child Jesus, depicted with an apple-cheeked charming and restrained smile, look at the viewer with kind, large brown eyes and the tears were also painted on Mary's face. Unlike the original icon and most its copies, the child Jesus does not turn his right hand to the side, but he makes a more determined blessing movement by holding up his thumb, forefinger and middle finger, while bending his ring and little finger. The copy of the painting is placed in a rectangular frame without an arched top, from which the cherub images adorning the original icon were also omitted.

The Piarist copy of the Pócs icon was fixed in a wooden frame with artificial marble and with gilded copper fittings on the front. Inside the frame, there is a full glass window that can be locked and opened with a key. There are gilded silver votives on the oil painting, fixed with wires pierced through the canvas of the icon: there are crowns on the head of Mary and the child Jesus. The two intertwined, flaming hearts above the heart of the Virgin Mary are adorned with red gems (essonite?). There is a Piarist coat of arms made of gilded metal instead of silver in the upper left corner. However, the Piarist coat of arms is replaced by another larger votive heart, certainly made of gilded

silver, resembling an intertwined double heart in its style on a photograph or postcard depicting the side altar of the old Piarist chapel in Budapest around 1913.

The painting was kept in the Piarist convent in Budapest after closing of the chapel. It was placed on one of the side altars of the Piarist chapel at their building on Mikszáth Kálmán Square between 1953 and 2011 and it was added to the Painting Collection of the Piarist Museum after the monastery moved in 2011. (P. B.– A. K.)

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IV.1.2 The Mother of God of Pócs in a Wreath of Flowers

Catalogue IV.11

(1)



18th century
oil on wood
114.5 × 76 cm
St. Michael (Pozharevachka) Serbian Orthodox Church,
Szentendre

Against a dark background, a magnificent wreath of flowers surrounds the icon of Pócs, its light ochre background seems to shine. The copy of the icon follows the original quite accurately in its details, creating an exciting contrast with the flowers painted in an almost naturalistic way with their simplicity. The top of the picture was mutilated sometime in the past. The origin of the painting is not yet known, nor is it known when it was taken to the sanctuary of Pozharevachka, where it is currently preserved. It is not included in the 19th-century inventories of the church, although four icons of the Mother of God are mentioned in the sanctuary in 1890, but none of them are identical with this one. There is also a very similar, but much lower quality copy of the Pócs icon here. That composition, painted on canvas, was placed in a black frame (size with frame: 104 × 83 cm) and it seems that the artist painted a variant of the icon on a wooden

(2)



board. One of the descriptions of the “icons in the sanctuary” part of the inventory may refer to this painting: a large canvas picture in a simple black frame showing the Mother of God (Inventories 1787–1890, Archive of the Serbian Orthodox Eparchy, Szentendre). It is possible, that the icon of Pócs painted on wood was bought here from another church, which had ceased to exist in the 20th century.

The presence of the icon of Pócs is not typical in a Serbian environment, but it is not completely unusual. The Serbs, as the privileged Orthodox people of the Habsburg Empire, must have known the icon in Stephansdom, Vienna and they may have been touched by the anti-Ottoman aspect of the cult of the picture, which was one of the main motifs of its reverence in Vienna in the 18th century.

However, copies of the Pócs icon surrounded by flower wreaths are also rare in a Catholic environment, although this motif appears several times in more modest forms on engravings, inspired perhaps by the first silver frame of the icon in Vienna, donated by Empress Eleonora, emphasizing the title “*Rosa Mystica*”. However, two paintings with flower wreaths similar to that of Szentendre are also known from

(3)



Bavaria. One of them was painted for the Benedictine monastery in Vornbach am Inn. It was painted by German painter Franz Werner Tamm (1658–1724) in 1700 according to the sign on its back. The flower wreath around the icon is held by three angels. Not long after, he also painted the same composition on the gable of the main altar of the St. Paul's Parish Church in Passau: he omitted one angel in order to adjust to the oval field of view, but he enlivened the ochre background of the icon with several monochrome angel heads (cf. *Zwei bisher unbekannte „Maria-Pötsch“-Kopien in Ostbayern* by Schäffer, Gottfried, *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 1970/71, 188–189. See also: <https://www.badfuessing-erleben.de/home/kulturelles-aus-der-region/das-gnadenbild-maria-pocs-im-schloss-vornbach> [downloaded: 10 March 2020]) (Picture 2). The painting of images of Mary surrounded by a wreath of flowers already dated back nearly a hundred years at that time. They represent a “spiritual” subspecies of still lifes, that were becoming increasingly popular in Baroque art and can be seen as an invention of Dutch Catholic painters: Jan Brueghel Sr., one of the prominent figures of Reformed Catholicism painted one of the first such compositions

in 1608 for Archbishop of Milan Federico Borromeo, reflecting the sensitive thinking of the age (Das Geistliche Stillleben by Prohaska, Wolfgang in: *Das Flämische Stillleben, 1550–1680*, Ausstellungskatalog, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, 2002, 321–325). Tamm certainly became acquainted with this form of image during his studies in the Netherlands and he also used his knowledge as a court painter in Vienna.

The distant reminiscence of still lifes augmented with sacred components is a copy of the Pócs icon painted by Jenő Medveczky (1902–1969) for the Greek Catholic Church of St. Florian in Buda, where the icon is floating above and in front of a rich and colorful bouquet of flowers (cf. Legeza, 2011, 27). When he revived this rare type of image, Medveczky was perhaps inspired by the baroque style of the church and was motivated by the opportunity to show his versatility as painter (Picture 3).

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Szilárdfy, 1996, 157.

Szilárdfy, 2003, 125–126.

IV.1.2 The Icon of Pócs with the View of Vienna and a Group of Sufferers

Catalogue IV.12

(1)



by Josef Pichler, around 1800,
oil on metal plate, gilded wooden frame (19th century)
height: 40 cm, width: 32 cm, thickness: 6.5 cm
Signed in the bottom left corner on the wooden frame: J:
Pichler f.
Ethnographic Museum, no. 120.037

The icon of Pócs appears under a canopy in an oval-shaped ornate frame with olive branches as a symbol of peace and a flying imperial eagle wearing imperial insignia below. These and the military flags arranged in two groups behind the canopy indicate, whose protection was trusted by the emperor and his court, as well the believing people of his countries in the fight against the Ottomans, who threatened the peace of the Habsburg Empire. The icon is held by an angel on the right, accompanied by another one on the left, the latter holding a crown and a sceptre in his hands, alluding to the dignity of Virgin Mary, the Queen of Heaven. Little angels and cherubs are flying and hiding under and in front of the fabric of the canopy, some of them playing with the tassels. Under the depiction, dominating the top of the picture, five pigeons hold a sentence strip, showing the first half of the oldest, well-known prayer to Virgin Mary in Latin:

(2)



“Sub tuum praesidium confugimus Dei Genitrix, nostras Deprecationes ne despicias” – “We hurry under your protection, Virgin Mother of God, do not despise our supplication...” A group of sufferers (suffering from epidemic, famine, sick people, orphans, prisoners, mothers, etc.) raise their pleading eyes and hands towards the icon in front of the view of Vienna.

Zoltán Szilárdfy observed, that the painting closely follows the engraving of Viennese master Franz Leopold Schmittner (1703–1761), which may have been made around 1740 (OSZK App. M. 1227, Picture 2). The painter may be identical with Josef Pichler (1730–1808), who studied at the Academy of Arts in Vienna and worked in several locations in Hungary (cf. Buzási, 2016, 215–216). (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Szilárdfy, 1984, Picture 20

IV.1.2 Monstrance with the Copy of the Pócs Icon

Catalogue IV.13



stand and nodus: 1680; ostensory: 1750 and 1760
Master sign: "IL"; of Augsburg (?) hallmark.
silver, gilded, hammered, chiseled, polished stones,
beads, enamel
height: 72 cm, stand width: 20 cm, sunburst width: 37 cm
Inv. No. 1856, Schatzkammer des Stephansdomes, Wien

The iconography of the painted enamels adorning the monstrance refers to the Passion of Christ. There are the following scenes on the stand: *the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, Christ on the Mount of Olives and the Capture of Christ*. There are images of the Pócs icon in the top, middle and lower part of the monstrance and *the Crown of Thorns, the Ecce Homo, the Whipping, The Stations of the Cross, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection* around the heart-shaped holder.

The stand is adorned with leaves and four cherub heads, the enamels between them are placed in a wavy silver frame. There are cherubs on the three sides of the vase-shaped nodus: one of them holding a book, the other one an incense burner and a third one holding

a chalice and a piece of sacramental bread. The paten, surrounded by a wreath of rays, is heart-shaped in the middle of the monstrance and is framed by polished stones (glasses) of different colours. The whole monstrance is crowned by a cross adorned with socketed stones and there is an embossed bust of the benedictory Father God under that and a dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit below the enamel image of the Pócs icon. The Eucharistic centre of the object is marked by the sacramental bread, placed with the two embossed elements in a trinitarian context, while the enamel images evoke the Passion of Christ and the depiction of the Pócs icon bears a Marian aspect, the meaning of incarnation.

The stand and the nodus were taken from an older monstrance and reused for making the upper part of this monstrance during the reign of Maria Theresa. Unfortunately, there is no information about the donor or customer of the monstrance; it was still in use at the Thanksgiving liturgy on New Year's Eve a few years ago. (R. G.)

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IV.1.2 The Report of the Interrogation about
the Second Lacrimation in Pócs
Catalogue IV.14



*Fassiones super lacrymatione Imaginis Beatae Mariae
Virginis in Póts habitae Anno 1715. Die 25. Augusti*
24 pages
31.7 × 18.9 cm
Authentic copy with the wax seal of the two canons who
conducted the investigation.
Archivum Vetus 1800, Archives of Eger Archdiocese

The copy of the first icon, which was taken to Vienna, was also seen in tears in the wooden church of Pócs in the first half of August 1715. The locals first notified vicar Gennadius Bizánczy, who lived in nearby Nagykálló, but he was not at home at that moment. Finally, the miraculous events were officially investigated in the second half of the month by Provost János Kiss, the Honorary Bishop of Ansaria and Canon Antal János Kiss, commissioned by the Bishop of Eger: eleven witnesses were interrogated first and six witnesses, some of them Protestants, another time.

The report was finalized on 25 August 1715 and the testimonies of the local parish priest and the cantor in Rusyn language were also attached. The authenticity of the second lacrimation was acknowledged by Bishop of Eger Antal Erdődy Gábor (1715–1744) on 19 September and Pócs was declared a holy place of the Virgin Mary in his letter to Vicar Bizánczy. The report of the second lacrimation was first published in 1776 in Košice, printed in three different languages (Latin, German and Hungarian) and its text was taken over later by devotional and more scientific publications. (cf. the next item of the catalogue and my study on Máriapócs in this volume, Footnote 14.) (Sz. T.)

IV.1.2 Oration about the Second
Lacrimation in Pócs
Catalogue IV.15



Igaz beszéd a' második pócsi Szűz Szent Mária képének sírásá, és könnyezése felől az az: a' melly mostan közönséges tiszteletre ki-tétetvén nemes Szabólc's vármegyében lévő pócsi helységben (Magyar Országban) tiszteltetik, első, második, és ötödik augustusban 1715dik esztendőben leg-bővebb könyveket ki-öntött Kassán, Landerer Michály' bötüivel [1776]
(A true speech about the weeping and lacrimation of the second Virgin Mary icon of Pócs, which is now exposed and revered in the community of Pócs in the noble Szabólc's County [Hungary] and wept tears abundantly on the first, second and fifth of Augusts in the year 1715)
Printed by Michály Landerer in Kassa [1776]
36 pages, p. 8
Stamped by Ferenc Széchényi
OSZK, 833.975.

As the lengthy title of the small-sized publication shows, it tells about the second lacrimation in Pócs in 1715. After

a brief introduction, where misunderstandings about the date of the lacrimation are clarified, the documents of the investigation of the lacrimation are published, "the original of which is still kept in the Episcopal Archives in Eger". The introduction of the two canons is followed by the testimony of Parish Priest Mihály Papp and Schoolmaster János Molnár, followed by the questions they asked and the answers they received. Then the testimony of nine more witnesses is given; the report of the subsequent brief interrogation of six more witnesses were recorded on 18 August 1715 by Parish Priest of Mád György Lőrinczfy and Parish Priest of Tállya Mátyás Francz in Pócs. The volume ends with a prayer, a long song and a five-point summary about the lacrimation. The engraving by János Fülöp Binder on the frontispiece shows the icon under a canopy above the pilgrimage church in Pócs (glued to this volume after the printing). The work, published in both Latin and German, does not mention who was behind the publication. (Sz. T.)

IV.1.2 The icon of Máriapócs with the View of the Pilgrimage Church and the Basilian Monastery

Catalogue IV.16



early 19th century
engraving on paper

plate size: 12, 4 × 8.5 cm

Caption: A' B. Sz. Mária Képe. mely 1715-dik esztendő Juliusnak 31-dik és Aug. 1-ső és 3-dik napjain könyvezett Póts on N. Szabolcs Vármegyében.

The picture of the B(lessed). V(irgin). Mary, who wept tears on the 31st of July and the 1st and 3rd days of Aug. 1715 in Póts in N(oble) Szabolcs County.

MNM TK, No. T.739.

Bishop of Eger István Telekessy sent a copy to Pócs to replace the original icon in 1707, which had been taken to Vienna in 1697. In early August 1715, this second icon was also seen in tears, as a result of which the church soon became a frequented place of pilgrimage. The small wooden church was replaced by the present stone church, the construction began in 1731. A Basilian monastery was attached to the side of the church, the construction began in 1749. Under the icon, there is a view of the church and the monastery, where a group of pilgrims is heading to with a flag. Above them, the icon is held by cherubs under a canopy in the clouds. The antitype of this picture is an icon in engraving by Gottfried Prixner from around 1800 (OSZK, App. M. 1227, verso IV, Album of Icons). (M. G.)

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Tüskés, 2010, Cat. 43.

Tüskés, 2014, 174, Cat. 47.

IV.1.2 Printing Plate with the Icon and the Church of Máriapócs

Catalogue IV.17



by János Fülöp Binder (c. 1736–1811) second half of the 18th century,

copper

18 × 12 cm

Sign at bottom right: Binder sc.

Caption:

Vera Effigies B.V.M., quae ad normam primae Pocsini in Hung- / aria A: 1696. saepius Lacrimantis, ac dein Viennam ablatae / expressa et in illius Loco relicta rursus A° 1715. Lacrymas pro- / [fu]dit 31 July 1^a et 3 Augsti (!) Collection of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Máriapócs, 2017.73.14.

János Fülöp Binder was working in Buda, and made several engravings of the second icon and pilgrimage church of Máriapócs, differing, however, in several respects from the composition presented here (cf. Cat. IV.15., Tüskés, 2014, Cat. 32, 34). Binder basically copied an engraving made by Franz Feninger around 1750. (OSZK, App. M. 1227, IV. recto, Picture 1) – as in the case of previous versions – retaining the quotation from the Bible in Latin running on a ribbon below the icon (“Portans ramum Olivae virentibus foliis in ore suo. Gen. 8. v. 11.”), interpreting the depiction of the olive tree and Noah’s Ark on both sides of the temple, as well as a dove flying above the building, holding an olive branch in its beak. The ark and the dove may refer to the restored unity of the church (cf. Szilárdfy, 1984, Fig. 18). However, the pilgrimage church was depicted by Binder from the north instead of the south with the already completed (1753) Basilian monastery. The plate was certainly ordered from him by the monks of Máriapócs and it is almost a miracle, that it survived despite the forty-year dispersal of the Basilian order from 1950.

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Puskás, 1995a, 173, 187, Picture 5.

Puskás 2008, 212–213, Picture 204. (with the photos of its modern print).

Penitential Prayer with the Icon of Máriaipócs and the View of the Church
Catalogue IV.18



mid-19th century
woodcut print on paper
sheet size: 20.4 × 17.5 cm, section size: 11 × 7.3 cm
Caption:
A' Paenitentia Tartó Bűnösnek Pócsot Könyvező Boldogságos Szűz Máriához Nagy Aszszonyunkhoz Áltatos Imadsága.
The devout prayer of the sinner doing penance to Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pócs
MNM TK, no. 61.321.

The simple quality prayer sheet was made for pilgrims, who repented of their sins and begged for the intervention of the Virgin Mother of Pócs. In the lower part of the provincial woodcut, there is a view of the church in Máriaipócs, where processions of pilgrims arrive from three directions. The icon is held by cherubs under a canopy on the clouds on the top, showing an inversely reflected version of the original icon of the Mother of God. The antitype of the composition is a copper engraving by Franz Feninger from the 1750s or one of its later copies. (G. M.)

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- Tüskés, 2010, Cat. 57.
- Tüskés, 2014, 175, Cat. 63.

Sketches for the Two Stained Glass Windows of the Church in Máriaipócs
Catalogue IV. 19.a–b



by Manó Petrasovszky, 1947
watercolor on paper
59 × 33.5 cm (with frame)
Collection of the Order of St. Basil the Great, No. 2017.138.2–3. Máriaipócs

One of the sketches shows the witnesses of the lacrimation of the miracle: peasant Mihály Eöry is highlighted among the people of Pócs, who first noticed the tears on the icon of the Mother of God (caption: “The First Miraculous Lacrimation of the Icon on 4 Nov. 1696”). The other sketch shows the testimony of Captain General of the imperial troops Corbelli (caption: “General Corbelli Testifies the Miraculous Lacrimation on 8 Dec. 1696”).

The renovation of the church during World War II was finished by ordering coloured stained glasses for the the large windows at the nave and the sanctuary. Two windows of the sanctuary were completed first in 1946 and these compositions here were placed on both sides of the newly designed shrine in the northern apse of the nave a year later. The completed works differ from the sketches



in some details. The last stained glass pieces in the other windows of the nave (except above the western chancel) were completed by 1953. Their plans and colour sketches were also drawn and painted by Manó Petrasovszky in consultation with the Basilians first, then – after the abolition of the order in 1950 – with Parish Priest Sándor Bodnár and Diocesan Bishop Miklós Dudás about the themes and the details of the compositions. The iconographic program of some windows were modified several times. The glasses were made at the workshop of József Palka in Baross Street, Budapest, after the nationalization of industry. Petrasovszky personally instructed the master, who visited him a couple of times in Budapest. The windows adorning the nave of the church often testify the artist's truly creative sense of form and witty iconographic ideas, providing a fresh splash of colour in the genre of stained glass, which had already become quite dull and conventional by this period. (Sz. T.)

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Olbert, 2010, 64–65.
Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 229, 256.



by László Skinta, end of the 20th century
wood, metal, paper; carved, painted
length: 82.5 cm, width: 62.50 cm, height: 107 cm
Collection of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Máriapócs

The model of the church in Máriapócs follows the original dimensions and details of the building proportionally and accurately. Its special feature is that the nave can be rotated 90 degrees on the baseboard, revealing the interior of the church, where the furnishing objects are visualised partly with models, partly with paintings and photographs by the artist. The blue colouring of the model shows, that its maker presented the pre-1991 conditions

The model of the church was made for the museum of the Hungarian Basilian fathers, who fled to the United States in 1956 and eventually settled in Matawan, New Jersey. According to József Erdei, the last Basilian father there, now living in Máriapócs, the model was made in a year and a half by László Skinta, the brother of the member of the order István Skinta. The cult of the Weeping Virgin Mary was cultivated actively and their church in Matawan was also dedicated to the Icon (cf. Dudás, Bertalan – Legeza, László – Szacsavay, Péter. *Baziliták*, Budapest 1993, 24). Although the monastery in Matawan was closed a few years ago, the veneration of the Weeping Virgin of Pócs is alive in both Greek Catholic and Orthodox communities in the United States (cf. Papp Faber, Erika. *Égi Édesanyánk könnyei: Tizenkét könnyező Mária-kép a Kárpát-medencében*, Budapest, 2008, 48). (Zs. M. U. – Sz. T.)

IV.2.1 From the Hajdúdorog Movement to the Creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog (1868–1912)

Tamás Véghseő

Embedded in the context of early-modern age confessionalisation,¹ initiatives leading to the creation of the Greek Catholic Churches in various regions of the Kingdom of Hungary were started from the first decades of the 17th century.² Following the unions concluded in the Southern Territories (Márcsa, 1611),³ in the north-eastern counties (Uzhhorod/*Ungvár*, 1646),⁴ in the Partium (last decade of the 17th century)⁵ and in Transylvania (turn of the 17th and 18th centuries)⁶ – as a result of several centuries of development – Greek Catholic ecclesiastical organisation evolved gradually. The liturgical language of the Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*) of ancient foundation yet canonically established only in 1771, as well as of the Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*) created out of it in 1818 was Old Slavonic (or, more accurately, Church Slavonic). By contrast, in the Eparchies of Făgăraş (*Fogaras*) and Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) established in 1721 and 1777 respectively, as well as in the Eparchies of Gherla (*Szamosújvár*) and Lugoj (*Lugos*) established in conjunction with the 1853 creation of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate – primarily under the influence of the activities of the 17th-century Protestant Princes of Transylvania – services were conducted in Romanian.

In the evolution of the Greek Catholic communities with a Hungarian national identity in these eparchies, population movements beginning at the time of the Ottoman-Hapsburg wars and concluding with the resettlements of the period following the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks from Hungary played an important part. The most ancient area of Hungarian Greek Catholics, the majority of the villages of historic Szabolcs County, were depopulated in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries. As the investigations of Russian historian Alexei Petrov reveal, a considerable proportion of the population fled from the military conflicts to the north, to today's Transcarpathia, where

they would exchange their language and become Rusyn and Byzantine-rite. In the first half of the 18th century, the villages of Szabolcs County were, among others, repopulated by Rusyns, with the names of those previously escaping from the area likely to be found in their ranks. The religion of the new inhabitants of the Szabolcs villages was adopted by the remaining Hungarian population as well, which would cede the medieval church of the particular settlement to the Greek Catholic community, provided it had been left intact. In everyday language use, however, the language of the indigenous residents came to be prevalent: The newcomers adopted the names of settlements, fields, meadows, brooks, etc.⁷ Moreover, demand for the use of Hungarian appeared even in church language use. The late 18th century saw a succession of Hungarian translations of the liturgy, and Hungarian would also become the language of church sermons in a number of places.⁸

Another important centre of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community is Southern Zemplén. During the 16th and 17th centuries, this region sustained substantial population losses as well. Concerning the evolution of Greek Catholic communities in the area, Péter Kónya, a historian from Prešov, has demonstrated that, as of the 1670s, as well as after 1711, when the re-Catholicisation of the region gathered new momentum, numerous Calvinist Hungarian families would become Greek Catholic. Furthermore, many of the Rusyns planted in villages of a mixed ethnic composition became Magyarised, as was the case in the villages of Szabolcs.⁹

Among Hungarian Greek Catholic communities, Hajdúdorog, the most populous parish in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, merits special attention.¹⁰ The denominational features of the town remaining dominant even today developed in the first years of the 17th century, when the Hajduks of Stephen Bocskai

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¹ On early-modern age confessionalisation and the evolution of the Greek Catholic Churches, see: Véghseő, Tamás. *Unió, integráció, modernizáció: A Rómával való egység háttere a munkácsi püspökségben (17. század közepe)*, *Athanasiana*, 32(2010), 9–36.

² For sources on early-modern age unions, see: Nilles, 1885.

³ On the union in the Southern Territories of historic Hungary, see: Šimrak, 1931; Horányi, 1936; Džudžar, 1986; Ikić, 1989; Molnár, 2008.

⁴ On the Union of Uzhhorod, see: Hodinka, 1909; Lacko, 1959; Lacko, 1965 and Véghseő, 2011.

⁵ On the development of the Greek Catholic Church in the Partium, see: Ghitta, 2008; Gorun, 2008 and Véghseő, 2003.

⁶ From the extensive literature on the union of Transylvanian Romanians, see: Bârlea, 1990; Suttner, 2005 and Suttner, 2008.

⁷ Udvari, 1994, 109–111.

⁸ Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 51–55.

⁹ Kónya, Péter. A zempléni magyar görög-katolikusok származásához, in: Buzalic, Alexandru – Dușe, Călin Ioan (Eds.). *Biserică și societate*, Cluj, 2015, 289–300.

¹⁰ Udvari, 1990, 119.

(Prince of Transylvania and Hungary from 1605 to 1606) settled in the region and in the town of Hajdúdorog. Although the majority of the Hajduks, as well as of the six towns of Hajdú County settled by the Hajduks, were Calvinists, Hajdúdorog was colonised by Orthodox Hajduks called 'Rascians', suggesting that they must have been groups mainly relocating from the southern portions of the country, holding on not to their language but to their religion. Similarly to the villages of Szabolcs, Hajdúdorog also endured massive losses during the 17th century. Nevertheless, the market town survived the troubled times and became the centre of Byzantine-rite Christianity in the region. For historical reasons (cf. the memory of Bocskai) and under the influence of the nearby Calvinist towns of the Hajduks, in the identity of the residents of Hajdúdorog, affiliation with the Hungarian nation came to be an essential component.

In some parts of Szatmár and Bihar Counties, processes akin to those in Szabolcs and Southern Zemplén took place in a Romanian–Hungarian relation. In certain villages of Szabolcs, besides Rusyns, Romanians were also planted, assimilating as the Rusyns did.

Thus, regarding the origins of Hungarian Greek Catholics, two sources may be identified: the conversion of an ethnically Hungarian population to the Byzantine Rite and the Magyarisation of communities with a Rusyn and Romanian ethnic background.

From the late 18th century, Greek Catholic communities with a Hungarian national identity promoted the use of Hungarian in liturgical praxis. The movement of national awakening commencing with the Diet of the years 1790 and 1791, with the programme of cultivating the Hungarian language featured prominently, had an impact on Hungarian Greek Catholics as well. As tradition has it, the parish priest of Hajdúdorog, András Bacsinszky (parish priest from 1763 and, subsequently, Bishop of Mukacheve from 1772 to 1809), supported the liturgical use of the Hungarian language.¹¹ Therefore, it is not a matter of accident that György Kritsfalusi, a teacher from Uzhhorod and author of one of the first surviving translations of the liturgy into Hungarian, dedicated his work to him in 1795. In his dedication, Kritsfalusi writes:

'... not only ever since I have had the honour to reside in this city of Ungvár (i.e. Uzhhorod) but in other places, too, I have been exhorted to undertake this Work by some benefactors of mine in every way' (... *nem tsak a' miólta ezen Ungvár várossában szerentsém vagyon lakni, hanem máshelyütt-is némelly jóakaróimtól ezen Munkának fel-vállalására minden módon ösztönöztetem*).¹² This remark is a reference to the fact that, among Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics, a pronounced demand for a Hungarian translation of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom had been registered by then. The young teacher working at an episcopal see must have been motivated to prepare his translation by the prospect of it serving as the basis for an official Hungarian-language edition once it secured the Bishop's imprimatur. Translations of the liturgy would, however, circulate only in manuscript for a long time;¹³ the first to be published in print was a prayer book containing liturgical texts and private prayers in 1825.¹⁴

A series of acts passed by Reform-era parliaments seeking to expand the scope of the usage of the Hungarian language, closing with the declaration of Hungarian as the language of the state in 1844, spurred Hungarian Greek Catholics to action as well. In those decades, the counties also made a significant contribution to the cultivation and propagation of the Hungarian language. All this would result in the use of Hungarian becoming increasingly connected to affiliation with the Hungarian nation and loyalty to the state at the level of local communities. This way, Hungarian Greek Catholics found it ever harder to bear the situation that, while they identified themselves as Hungarian and spoke Hungarian in their everyday lives, the majority of society would question their Hungarian identity and loyalty on account of the Old Slavonic or Romanian language they used in their church services. Despite the instruction of the liturgical language in schools, the number of those understanding church services declined rapidly, frequently generating instances of mishearing bordering on the ridiculous.¹⁵

The question of introducing the Hungarian language in the liturgy was for the first time exposed nationally in the Parliament of 1843 and 1844. Via their envoy, the people of Hajdúdorog requested that Greek Catholic liturgical books be translated into Hungarian

¹¹ Udvari, 1997, 139. Most recently on Bishop András Bacsinszky: Véghseő, 2014; Janka, 2014; Vasil', 2014 and Véghseő, 2016a.

¹² The text of the liturgy translation was published by Hiador Sztripszky: Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 463–501.

¹³ The latest edition of two hand-written 19th-century *Euchologia*: Nyirán, 2012.

¹⁴ *Imádságos könyvetske*, Kassa, 1825. For its description, see in the present volume: Cat. IV.38.

¹⁵ E.g., with the simplest Trinitarian formula: 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, [and of the Holy Spirit. Amen]' – *Otsa i syna? – Adsz-e szénát?* (Hungarian for 'Will you give me hay?')

and published at the expense of the state. Even though, in principle, the idea was widely endorsed, Parliament failed to pass legislation on the required amount.¹⁶

Attending Parliament as a young clerk, Lajos Farkas (1821–1894), a native of Hajdúdorog and the initiator of the organised movement of Hungarian Greek Catholics, as well as its leader for decades, on that occasion, had the first chance to experience the indifference and ungenerosity of national politics about Hungarian Greek Catholics.¹⁷

It was not long before the obstacles to the liturgical use of the Hungarian language became obvious in ecclesiastical contexts as well. In 1845, the priest Antal Petrus conducted the whole liturgy in Hungarian in Hajdúdorog, prompting protest from the Archdiocesan Authority of Eger. The letter sent to the Bishop of Mukacheve cited a fact that would be reiterated so many times afterwards: Hungarian was not a canonised liturgical language, and hence its use was not permitted.¹⁸ In spite of the difficulties, the Hajdúdorog community kept the issue of translating and publishing liturgical books on the agenda. The formation of the first Hungarian government responsible to Parliament (17 March 1848) shone a light of hope that the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholics would receive support at the highest levels of politics. Such a hint is found in the letter of József Eötvös, Minister of Religion and Education, to Vazul Popovics, Bishop of Mukacheve (1837–1864), dated 19 June 1848, stating that, on his part, he was ready to lend all manner of support for the publication of liturgical books translated into Hungarian.¹⁹ This light of hope was extinguished by the eruption of the War of Independence and its subsequent suppression. In the Bach Era, as opposed to Hungarian national questions, the demands of ethnic groups were given priority. From the perspective of Hungarian Greek Catholics, support for the governance of Romanian Greek Catholics was of special significance. As, during the Hungarian War of Independence, Transylvanian Romanians had evidenced their fidelity to the Hapsburg Dynasty, they could justifiably count on support for their national demands. Their requests for the development of their ecclesiastical organisation were heeded in 1853, when the Monarch elevated the Eparchy of Făgăraş to the rank of

archbishopric under the name Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár*)-Făgăraş, assigned the Eparchy of Oradea, previously under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Esztergom, to the new Archbishopric and established new episcopates in Gherla and Lugoj. Thereby, the new Romanian Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Province of Transylvania was created, with its ethnic character clearly accentuated. A particularly strong and, thanks to the schooling system, efficient ecclesiastical organisation was successful in representing Romanian national interests, even vis-à-vis the efforts of Hungarian Greek Catholics, among others.

In this unfavourable political situation, preparing further Hungarian translations and removing the hurdles from the path to the liturgical use of the Hungarian language seemed to be a viable course of action. It was under such circumstances that *Óhitű imádságos- és énekes könyv* [Old Believers' Prayer- and Song-Book], edited by Ignác Roskovics, a priest from Hajdúböszörmény, was published in 1862;²⁰ its use would spread widely. In 1863, the people of Hajdúdorog submitted a petition about the use of the Hungarian language to Vazul Popovics, Bishop of Mukacheve (1837–1864). The hierarch appeared to be open in relation to granting approval but asserted that this could only happen if official and verified liturgical translations were made. In his circular issued on 22 May, he was, however, obliged to order that, until the official approval of Hungarian, the Divine Liturgy was to be celebrated exclusively in Old Slavonic, and only certain parts (the Gospel, the prayer 'O Lord, I believe and confess...' and hymns) could be conducted in Hungarian.²¹ The ordinance was issued at the behest of János Scitovszky, Archbishop of Esztergom (1849–1866), whose stance on the question of language use was determined by the apprehensions of the Roman Catholic Church. As, in many settlements, Greek Catholics lived side-by-side with Roman Catholics, it was feared that demand for the use of Hungarian would be articulated among the Latin-rite faithful as well. This fear profoundly defined the thinking of Roman Catholic bishops, who ignored the fact that the attitude of the Eastern Church to national languages traditionally differed from that of the Western Church.

¹⁶ Petrus, 1897, 20–21.

¹⁷ Farkas, 1896, 56.

¹⁸ Petrus, 1897, 22–23.

¹⁹ Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 66–67.

²⁰ Debrecen, 1862. By 1898, a total of eight editions had been published. On liturgical publications in Hungarian, see: Ivancsó, 2006. For a description, see in the present volume, Cat. IV.40.

²¹ *Emlékkönyv*, 1901, 79.

IV.2.1

The intervention of the Archbishop of Esztergom compelled the Hajdúdorog community to realise that, concerning the question of language use, they were to move beyond the eparchial context. They were encouraged even by a more liberal political climate to advance their claims publicly nationwide again. In 1866, they presented petitions to the Monarch, the Prince-Primate, the Lord Chancellor's Office and to Parliament. In these petitions, they declared their national identity ('... we are Hungarians and wish to remain so to eternity') and requested that this be acknowledged. They painfully observed that, despite living in their own country as Hungarians, they were mocked as *Muszkas* (Hungarian folk term for Russians) or *Oláhs* (Hungarian folk term for Romanians) due to the language of their rite. They cited the example of the Romanian Greek Catholics, who had also been granted the privilege to develop their ecclesiastical organisation shortly before. They were justified in posing the question: Once the Romanian Greek Catholics could use their native language in the liturgy and have their own ecclesiastical organisation in Hungary, why could the Hungarian Greek Catholics not claim the same? At the same time, they also alluded to the fact that the intensifying nationality movements posed a serious threat to the Hungarian Greek Catholics. They repeatedly requested that Byzantine-rite liturgical books be translated and published at public expense, and they voiced their demand for the creation of a separate eparchy for the Hungarian Greek Catholics, or – in case this was not possible for financial reasons – a vicariate with its seat in Hajdúdorog.²²

The afterlife of the petitions had a sobering effect on the people of Hajdúdorog: They would never receive a reply from anywhere. Notwithstanding their references to national interests, the 200-thousand-strong Hungarian Greek Catholic population and its rightful claims, they were unable to overcome the stereotypes ingrained in the public mind. Public opinion would closely associate the Eastern Rite with the world of ethnic groups and was unable to abandon the notion that 'Hungarian identity' and 'Byzantine Rite' were two mutually exclusive concepts. Albeit officially unarticulated, the idea that those Greek Catholics who wished to identify with the Hungarian nation in their emotions and language use ought to opt for rite- or denomination-changing prevailed tacitly. In contrast to this proffered option, the road on which Greek

Catholics – with the people of Hajdúdorog in the vanguard – staunchly adhering to the Byzantine Rite, the Catholic faith and Hungarian identity set out was one of struggle for acceptance and tribulations.

Whereas, in Hajdúdorog, the liturgical use of the Hungarian language in practice was mostly ensured by the town government, in other places, church authorities would enact restrictive measures. Incidents in Makó underscoring the gravity of the conflicts stemming from the employment of Hungarian as a liturgical language happened to coincide with the petitions of 1866. The town's nearly 2000-member Greek Catholic community had used Hungarian as a church language for decades. In 1866, a Romanian speaking minority of fifty intended to terminate this custom, and they were supported in their effort by Iosif Papp-Szilágyi, Bishop of Oradea (1863–1873). In the antagonistic situation disrupting the internal peace of the community for years, the Bishop adopted the position that services were by no means to be conducted in Hungarian. He was determined to force the residents of Makó to hire a Romanian school master and cantor, who would also be responsible for leading church singing.²³ The actions of Bishop Papp-Szilágyi justified the fears cited by the people of Hajdúdorog in their petitions in the year 1866: An alien liturgical language was a threat to Hungarian identity and could lead to the assimilation of Hungarian communities.

The people of Hajdúdorog recognised that it did not suffice to make references to the Hungarian Greek Catholic faithful of other towns and villages, but they should join forces and bring their cause to the public's attention nationwide. Even in their petition to the House of Representatives in 1866, they sought permission to hold a national conference for Hungarian Greek Catholics. This national congress was convened for 16 April 1868 in Hajdúdorog. 33 parishes delegated their representatives (as many as 220 of them), and 20 priests attended the event. In addition, 19 parishes and 11 priests expressed their approval of the resolutions in writing. As a result of the deliberations, the goals to be attained were formulated: 1. the creation of a Hungarian bishopric with its seat in Hajdúdorog; 2. the translation and publication of liturgical books at public expense; 3. the affirmation of Hungarian as a liturgical language. The congress established a Standing Executive Committee with Lajos Farkas, Lieutenant of Hajdúdorog,

²² Farkas, 1896, 24–41.

²³ Janka, György. A magyar liturgikus nyelv és a makói görög katolikusok, *Athanasiana*, 9(1999), 51–70.

(1)



a person with outstanding merits in the organisation process, elected as its head²⁴ (Picture 1).

The Standing Executive Committee dispatched delegations to Uzhhorod, Pest and Esztergom. Despite the favourable reception, the petitions were not responded to this time, either. Amid all the urging and repeated enquiries, it became straightforward again that the question of the liturgical use of the Hungarian language aroused considerable fears in the Roman Catholic hierarchs. This was unequivocally communicated by Titular Bishop István Lipovniczky, Advisor to the Ministry of Religion and Education, to Lajos Farkas, who recalls the Advisor's words thus: 'For who can guarantee that, once today they allow us to conduct worship in the Hungarian tongue, tomorrow the Hungarian-speaking Latin-rite faithful of Komárom will not demand the same? This is, after all, impossible to grant' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁵

The Congress of Hajdúdorog combined the cause of the Hungarian liturgy with the demand for the creation of a separate bishopric for the Hungarian Greek Catholics. During his canonical visitation in Hajdúdorog in September 1871, István Pankovics, Bishop of Mukacheve (1866–1874), displayed signs in his conduct that would confirm a sense of conviction in the community of Hajdúdorog that, in spite of the myriads of obstacles, the accomplishment of their objectives had come within reach. He did not raise any objections to

the Divine Liturgy being conducted in Hungarian in his presence. Moreover, in one of the moments of solemnity, he even declared that he considered it the greatest mission of his life to become the first Hungarian Greek Catholic bishop.²⁶

Following such antecedents, the Monarch's decision to found an external vicariate on 17 September 1873, within the Eparchy of Mukacheve, for 33 Hungarian-speaking parishes, with its seat to be located in Hajdúdorog, caused immense disappointment. The state authority overseeing the preparations for the establishment of the external vicariate took full account of the concerns of the Roman Catholic hierarchs about the use of Hungarian as a liturgical language. Furthermore, since the Greek Catholics openly admitted that one of the chief purposes of a bishopric of their own would be 'to raise the Hungarian language to the altars', they unintentionally supplied a substantive counter argument against the establishment of the eparchy. Although the idea of founding an external vicariate was proposed by none other than the Hajdúdorog community in case the creation of the eparchy was impeded by financial difficulties, they envisaged that its jurisdiction would encompass all Hungarian-speaking congregations. As opposed to the previous proposal, the Congress of Hajdúdorog held in 1868 made an unambiguous request for the establishment of an autonomous eparchy. The central government realised that it had to provide some kind of response to the demands of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, which in turn needed to be harmonised with the other interests of the Church. Therefore, the founding of the external vicariate may be seen rather as an intermediate solution. In 1875, Bishop Pásztyei appointed Cathedral Canon János Danilovics as the first external vicar, whose, by any standards, rather limited jurisdiction extended only to the parishes of the Deaneries of Hajdúdorog, Karász, Máriapócs, Nagykálló, Nyírbéltek and Timár within the Archdeanery of Szabolcs. Although, subsequently, this would be expanded by the addition of the Deanery of Nyír from the Archdeanery of Szatmár, it would continue to comprise only a fragment of the Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholic parishes.

Vicar Danilovics scored substantial success in the area of liturgical translations though. In May 1879, he

²⁴ Farkas, 1896, 44–56. On the Congress of Hajdúdorog, see: Janka, György. A magyar görögkatolikusok első nagygyűlése Hajdúdorogon 1868-ban, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). Hajdúdorog, 1868–2018: *Tanulmányok és források a magyar görögkatolikusok történetéhez*, Nyíregyháza, 2019, 29–54; Véghseő, Tamás. Hajdúdorog, 1868 – Hajdúdorog, 1912, in: Id. (Ed.). *Hajdúdorog, 1868–2018: Tanulmányok és források a magyar görögkatolikusok történetéhez*, Nyíregyháza, 2019, 55–74.

²⁵ Farkas, 1896, 72.

²⁶ Farkas, 1896, 80–82.

proposed the creation of a translation commission, the thirteen-year-long work of which he would supervise himself. The outcome of these operations was the translation and publication of four liturgical books.²⁷

No sooner had the Translation Commission been established and news of its activities spread than, on the initiative of Cardinal Lajos Haynald, Archbishop of Kalocsa (1867–1891),²⁸ a prohibitive ordinance on the liturgical use of the Hungarian language was dispatched from Rome. The Holy See obliged the Bishop of Mukacheve to restore the use of the Old Slavonic language completely. Bishop Pásztyeli apprised the priests of the ban on the use of the Hungarian language in a circular, but this would fail to bring about any fundamental changes in the established practice.²⁹ The Standing Executive Committee, however, holding a meeting in Hajdúdorog on 23 January 1881, was all the more prompted by this circumstance to take action. As a result of the consultations, members of the Committee presented petitions to the King, the House of Representatives and Ágoston Trefort, Minister of Culture. In the submitted documents, it was pointed out that the external vicariate had not solved the problems of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, and thus the request for the creation of an independent eparchy was reiterated.

In the petition presented to Parliament, it was hinted that the new Eparchy would be conducive to the spread of Hungarian as the language of the state in parishes inhabited by ethnic groups.³⁰ Although this allusion was primarily designed to enlist the support of representatives sensitive to political messages, it did prove to be fatal for the domestic and international assessment of the Hajdúdorog Movement. From that moment, the initiative launched mainly with a view to fulfilling spiritual needs would be interpreted by society at large and, most of all, by part of the press as a nationalist movement, aimed at Magyarising ethnic

minorities. This stigma was virtually irrevocably attached to the movement by those opposing the Hungarian liturgy and the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric.

The petitions submitted in the year 1881 were favourably received by King and Parliament alike. The Government solicited members of the Episcopacy and the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Budapest for their opinions, all but Pásztyeli, Bishop of Mukacheve, and Miklós Tóth, Bishop of Prešov (1876–1882), objecting to the foundation of the new bishopric. The words Advisor Lipovniczky uttered in connection with the introduction of Hungarian as a liturgical language a decade earlier remained applicable. Upon seeing the bishops' opposition, the Government removed the question of the establishment of the eparchy from the agenda for one decade, and, from that point, those in government circles would adopt the position that the founding of a new Greek Catholic eparchy was not to be considered until the Holy See permitted the use of the Hungarian language.³¹

Unexpected and humiliating rejection would frustrate the activities of the Standing Executive Committee for years. Further concrete steps were enabled by the political atmosphere of the 1896 Millennium celebrations, marking the 1000th anniversary of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin. Hopes, however, ended in painful failure this time as well. Members of the Committee sought to give weight to their embassy to Budapest before the public of the capital city and of the country by celebrating the Divine Liturgy in Hungarian in the University Church on the morning of 27 June. The event was covered by the press in great detail: Many press reports were made on both the preparations and the festive Divine Liturgy itself. The report of *Pester Lloyd* soon reached Rome, where, on 20 August, the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs

²⁷ 1) *Aranyszájú Szent János atya szent és isteni Liturgiája* [The Holy and Divine Liturgy of Our Father Saint John Chrysostom], Debrecen, 1882. 2) *Görög katolikus egyházi szerkönyv (Euchologion)* [Greek Catholic Euchologion], Debrecen, 1883. 3) *Szent Nagy Bazil atya szent és isteni Liturgiája, továbbá az előszenteltek liturgiája s egyéb egyházi szolgálatok papi imádságai* [The Holy and Divine Liturgy of Our Father Saint Basil the Great and the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts, with the Priestly Prayers of Other Church Services], Debrecen, 1890. 4) *Görögszertartású általános egyházi énekkönyv a hozzávaló imákkal*, fordította: Danilovics János [A General Byzantine-Rite Ecclesiastical Chant Book with Related Prayers, translated by János Danilovics], Debrecen, 1892. For a more detailed description of the liturgical books, see in the present volume, Cat. IV.41.

²⁸ The role of Cardinal Haynald is illuminated by a document on the Hungarian liturgy kept in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs: Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 397–403.

²⁹ Pirigyi, 1990, 93.

³⁰ Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 138–182.

³¹ On the failed attempt, see: Véghseő, Tamás. Kísérlet egy magyar görögkatolikus püspökség felállítására 1881-ben, in: Somorjai, Ádám – Zombori, István (Eds.). *Episcopus, Archiabba Benedictinus, Historicus Ecclesiae: Tanulmányok Várszegi Asztrik 70. Születésnapjára*, Budapest, 2016, 315–325.

discussed the case along with the dispatches of Kolos Vaszary, Archbishop of Esztergom (1891–1912), and János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov (1882–1911), which had been requested in the meantime. As a result of the inquiry conducted by the Holy See, on 2 September, it was decided that both the use of Hungarian language and the publication of liturgical books amounted to grave abuse calling for termination. This was communicated to the Prince-Primate, as well as to the Bishops of Mukacheve and Prešov by Cardinal Mieczysław-Halka Ledóchowski on 20 September. The Holy See obliged the bishops concerned to do everything in their power to terminate the introduced instances of abuse, exercise strict control over the parishes that were most prominent in using Hungarian and remove those priests who were sympathetic to the Hajdúdorog Movement.³²

Until March 1898, the Hungarian Government sent as many as three memoranda to the Holy See, each urging that the prohibition be revoked. Apart from a spiritual need and historical antecedents, the memoranda mostly cited the language use of the Romanian Greek Catholics and expressed a sense of resentment that the Holy See denied Hungarians what it granted to the Romanians. As for the church response, Prince-Primate Vaszary and Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukacheve (1881–1912), were unanimous in requesting relaxation of the rigour of the prohibition, while János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, would promulgate the prohibitive decision without delay. Opponents of the Hungarian liturgy also sent their position to the Holy See. Of ecclesiastics, Gyula Drohobeczky, Bishop of Križevci (*Kőrös*) (1891–1920), presented his gravely deprecatory opinion in detail on the movement of Hungarian Greek Catholics and on Bishop Gyula Firczák, sympathetic to their cause, alike in several letters. On the part of the Romanians, Vasile Lucaciu, a Greek Catholic priest engaged in politics in the Romanian National Party, as well as Vasile Hossu, subsequently Bishop of Lugoj and Gherla, strove to make the movement of Hungarian Greek Catholics look like an initiative with a purely political focus and discredit it before the Holy See. Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903) requested Jesuit scholar Nikolaus Nilles, an academic authority on the history and liturgy of the Eastern Churches, to study the question as an expert.

Though discarding the arguments of the Hungarian Government, he did not regard prohibition of the Hungarian language as warranted. Inconclusively, he advised that the Holy See had better exploit the zeal of the Hungarian Government, succeeding in having doctrinally impeccable liturgical books published at the expense of the state.³³

The exchange of diplomatic notes following the Hungarian liturgy in the University Church of Budapest and its implications for domestic politics gave the movement of Hungarian Greek Catholics an irreversibly political angle. On account of the consequences, the celebration of the liturgy in Hungarian in the capital was seen by some as a mistaken action and an unnecessary provocation. Extremely harsh as the reaction of the Holy See was, entailing major disadvantages, it simultaneously compelled Hungarian Greek Catholics to take well-considered action and search for new avenues. As a new initiative, in June 1898, the National Committee of Greek-Rite Catholic Hungarians was formed in Budapest, with Jenő Szabó (1843–1921), retired ministerial advisor and member of the House of Magnates, as its president (Picture 2). In the course of his long career at the Ministry, Szabó had had the opportunity to acquaint himself with the traps of politics, so, under his leadership, the National Committee made an attempt at bringing the cause of Hungarian Greek Catholics out of the quagmire of politics. As the issue of the establishment of the eparchy was primarily dependent on political will and negotiations and was susceptible to becoming hostage to uncontrolled games, the National Committee adopted the position that it would try to obtain endorsement for the Hungarian liturgical language under the existing diocesan circumstances. Additionally, the purification of the liturgical movement from nationalistic hints, as well as the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar in Hungarian-speaking parishes were identified as objectives. 113 parishes, 568 affiliated churches and 134 527 believers subscribed to the programme.³⁴ After slightly longer than a decade – having experienced the intransigence and Romanianising efforts of the bishops of the Romanian eparchies – the National Committee returned to the idea of an independent eparchy, all the while unrenounced by the Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog.

³² Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 245–246.

³³ Véghseő, Tamás. Nikolaus Nilles és a magyar görögkatolikus liturgia ügye, in: Id. (Ed.). *Symbolae: Ways of Greek Catholic Heritage Research*, Papers of the conference held on the 100th anniversary of the death of Nikolaus Nilles, Nyíregyháza, 2010, 81–89.

³⁴ *Emlékkönyv*, 1901, 3–10; Mayer, 1977, 144–152.



(2)

The programme of the National Committee included the organisation of a pilgrimage to Rome aimed at demonstrating the existence of Hungarian Greek Catholics. The first call issued in early November 1898 read: '1. To prove that Greek Catholic Hungarians faithfully adhere to the centre of the unity of the Church, Rome, and that this adherence is predicated upon living faith, pure conviction and unstinting love. 2. To counter

those who have informed the Holy See that there are no Greek Catholic Hungarians at all, we intend to use this pilgrimage to evidence our existence and the fact that we are sufficiently numerous to be taken into account. 3. Finally, we must demonstrate to His Holiness that, when, akin to our brethren in faith, we seek that our tongue be elevated to the rank of liturgical language, we but fight religious indifference, disdain for the faith and apostasy,

which have reared their head in our midst, and our movement is thoroughly pure, genuine and Catholic' (translated from the Hungarian original).³⁵

The pilgrimage took place from 6 to 9 March in the Jubilee Holy Year of 1900. It was attended by 461 pilgrims (including 67 priests). János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, accepted to lead the pilgrimage, while Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukacheve, joined the pilgrims in Rome. They arrived in the Eternal City after many vicissitudes, where they learnt the disconcerting news that Pope Leo XIII might not even receive them. The papal audience was eventually held on the last day of their stay in Rome. In his brief greeting speech, Bishop János Vályi requested approval for the Hungarian liturgy from the Pope and he handed over the memorandum in which the Hungarian Greek Catholics had summarised their request. The organisers had previously informed the Secretariat of State of the content of the request to be submitted. Via the Nuncio, the latter clarified that a prompt response to it from the Holy Father was obviously not to be expected. Subsequent documents of the Secretariat in conjunction with scrutiny of the memorandum by the Holy See highlight its respectful tone and moderate style.³⁶ Both the behaviour of the pilgrims and the text of the memorandum significantly ameliorated the unfavourable assessment of Hungarian Greek Catholics in Rome formed on the basis of the incoming information hitherto.

After the Roman pilgrimage, the National Committee published an ornately designed memorial volume with two maps, a number of photographs, the story of the antecedents and process of the pilgrimage, the text of the memorandum handed over to the Pope and a list of the participants.³⁷ The cover page of the memorandum was decorated by the painting *Our Lady of Hungary* by painter Ignác Roskovics (1854–1915), member of the National Committee (son of Arch-Provost Ignác Roskovics, translator of the liturgy). The historical section was compiled by historian Antal Hodinka (1864–1946), the ultimate authority on the history of the Greek Catholics. In the presentation of the history of Byzantine-rite Catholic Hungarians, he marshals the facts and arguments that were increasingly relevant to the self-reflection of Hungarian Greek Catholics as of

the second half of the 19th century. In the thinking of the majority of society, Eastern Rite was associated with Slavic and Romanian ethnic groups, whereas, the stereotypical religious attribute of the Hungarian nation was the Latin Rite or Protestantism. Meanwhile, as an outcome of historical research, it became ever more indisputable that the Hungarians had first encountered Byzantine-rite Christianity, certain Hungarian dignitaries had converted to Christianity in Byzantium in the 10th century, and, consequently, in the person of Bishop Hierotheos, an Eastern-rite missionary bishop had operated in Hungary. Even though King Saint Stephen decided in favour of Latin-rite Christianity, representatives of the Byzantine Rite – mainly monastics – would be able to continue their work among the Hungarians for a long time. The presence of the Byzantine Rite among the Hungarians in the era of the Árpád Dynasty, as well as the series of historical facts supporting that, played a considerable part in the development of the self-reflection of 19th-and-20th-century Hungarian Greek Catholics. It was especially important in the atmosphere of the 1896 Millennium celebrations that they could point to the fact that the history of the Hungarian nation served as proof that 'Hungarianness' and 'Eastern Rite' were not mutually exclusive concepts. Thus, the process of their identification started from the distant past. Having the majority of society accept it did prove to be a journey rife with trials and tribulations though.

Although the pilgrimage failed to produce a total breakthrough, and the Holy See would continue to maintain the strict prohibition in principle, it undoubtedly rendered great service to the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholics. It may be interpreted as a sign of relaxation that, after the pilgrimage to Rome, Viennese Nuncio Emidio Taliani (1896–1903), in agreement with the aforementioned Nikolaus Nilles, proposed tacit tolerance of the established practice of language use.³⁸ The Holy See did in fact choose this option: It was decided that only then would a new official position be issued if further signals were sent by the respective bishops and the Hungarian Government, or word of tendencies endangering the Greek Catholic Churches (such as schisms or instances of apostasy) was received. In this case, the Holy See appeared to be ready to leave decisions on language use to the wise discretion of the

³⁵ *Emlékkönyv*, 1901, 11.

³⁶ Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 487

³⁷ *Emlékkönyv*, 1901, 67–98.

³⁸ Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 476–480.

(3)



bishops concerned and have the published Hungarian liturgical books inspected by experts.³⁹

Concerning the liturgical use of the Hungarian language, even prior to the Roman pilgrimage, Prince-Primate Kolos Vaszary articulated the proposal that it should affect only certain parts of the liturgy deemed to be less important. He also sent this proposal to the Holy See, adding that there was no chance left for the complete exclusion of the Hungarian language – i.e. for the prohibition of the Holy See to be imposed in full.⁴⁰ Subsequently, he recommended the use of Koine Greek to the National Committee because he was well aware that the Holy See would not approve the complete liturgy in Hungarian only. This suggestion was not accepted by the National Committee because it continued to trust that the request submitted in 1900 would be given a positive assessment.⁴¹ At the same time, temporary tolerance of the practice introduced in the Greek Catholic parish of Budapest organised as of 1895 and officially established within the Archdiocese of

Esztergom in 1905 also reinforced such impressions. The parish of Budapest was headed by Emil Melles, Archdean of Szatmár, who was a committed exponent of the Hungarian liturgy. In the parish established for all the Greek Catholic faithful of the capital – i.e. not only for Hungarian-speaking believers – he introduced the practice established in the Hungarian-speaking areas of the country: Apart from the Words of Institution and the priest's silent prayers, he would conduct all other parts of the liturgy in Hungarian. This would lead to internal conflict, eventually necessitating action by the Holy See. In 1907, first the Romanians of Budapest were removed from the jurisdiction of the parish and returned to the control of the competent Roman Catholic parishes. Finally, in 1909, in consequence of repeated complaints to Rome, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith declared the parish of Budapest Ruthenian-rite and prohibited the liturgical use of Hungarian. At that point, accepting the Prince-Primate's previous recommendation, Budapest Greek Catholics began to use Koine Greek in the essential parts of liturgy.⁴²

Koine Greek as a liturgical language was just as alien to Hungarian Greek Catholics as Old Slavonic or Romanian. Through its usage, the widespread accusation, especially intensively propagated by Hungary's ethnic communities in Rome, that the Hungarian liturgical movement was but a political device exploited by the Government to achieve the Magyarisation of ethnic groups could be invalidated.

In response to yet another prohibition by the Holy See, the National Committee also reverted to the ideal of an independent bishopric and, at the end of 1910, jointly with the Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog, it proposed to the Government that it make an authoritative decision on the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy.⁴³ This proposal was seemingly inconclusive. On 30 June 1911, Jenő Szabó repeated the appeal for foundation in an emotional speech in the House of Magnates, suggesting that it was hoped that a Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric would be instrumental in legalising the existing praxis around the use of Hungarian as the language of the liturgy. Responding on behalf of the Government, Minister of Religion and Education János Zichy ensured Hungarian Greek Catholics of his good will but continued to stress

³⁹ Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 490.

⁴⁰ Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 386–387.

⁴¹ Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 332.

⁴² Pirigyi, 1990, 108.

⁴³ Pirigyi, 1990, 105.

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that first the Hungarian language was to be recognised by the Holy See, and only then could the foundation of an eparchy be considered.⁴⁴ Perhaps, even the Minister himself was unaware that, authorised by Franz Joseph, Prime Minister Károly Khuen-Héderváry had initiated secret negotiations with the Holy See about the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy in April⁴⁵ (Picture 3). Following the first favourable reactions from the Holy See, at the time of Jenő Szabó's speech in the House of Magnates, the Hungarian Government was resolved to obtain the consent of the Holy See and present it to the public as soon as possible. The proposal of the National Committee and of the Standing Executive Committee was received by the Government at a time when, along with the Monarch, it prepared for the parliamentary debates of laws of great import. Of these, the new Army Act, the acceptance of which appeared uncertain, was highly prominent. To gain the support of political parties, the Monarch needed a gesture that could enable him to evince his attention to the Hungarian nation. By fulfilling

⁴⁴ Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 307–318.

⁴⁵ The letter of Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry to Pope Saint Pius X: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 190–191.

⁴⁶ The authorisation of Lippay by the Prime Minister's Office: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 183–184.

⁴⁷ The Prime Minister's letter to the Pope: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 198–199.

(5)



the old desire of Hungarian Greek Catholics, the national character of which was undeniable, the Monarch was bound to secure the backing of Parliament. However, as the Holy See was also to assent, initially bypassing diplomatic channels, Franz Joseph made an enquiry at the Holy See via Papal Count and Chamberlain Bertalan Lippay, a painter, as an intermediary,⁴⁶ and subsequently – officially but still in secret – initiated the necessary talks through the Prime Minister. With full sincerity, Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry exposed the benefits of the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy for domestic politics to the Holy See and explained how pleased the Monarch would be if the Holy See were to assist him in implementing his plans.⁴⁷ It was also obvious to the Hungarian Government that negotiations were time-consuming, but, from the summer of 1911, it would make repeated requests to the Holy See to let it make its consent to the establishment of the new Eparchy public for political reasons as soon as possible. On the contrary, the Holy See wished to refrain from

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public announcements until it was the given assurances by the Government not only for the funding of the diocese but about the prohibition of Hungarian as a liturgical language as well.⁴⁸

As part of the negotiation process, on 9 November, the Episcopacy was also solicited for its position. Three decades earlier, Hungarian Greek Catholics had been deeply crushed by the bishops' refusal. This time, however, a powerful monarchic will was evident to all the bishops, so there was no question about adopting the endorsement.⁴⁹ Franz Joseph's petition was delivered to the Holy See by the newly appointed Archbishop of Kalocsa, János Csernoch (1911–1912); it specified Koine Greek as the liturgical language of the new Eparchy. Episcopacy deliberations were attended by the hierarchs of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate as well – Archbishop Victor Mihályi (1894–1918), Demetriu Radu, Bishop of Oradea (1903–1920) and Vasile Hossu, Bishop of Gherla (1903–1912) – who also voted in favour of the foundation of the new Eparchy. In their letter to Viennese Nuncio Alessandro Bavona (1911–1912), they stated: '... we applauded the plan [i.e. the foundation of an eparchy for the Hungarian Greek Catholics] supportively and did not raise any objections upon hearing that as many as seventy parishes of our Archiepiscopal Province were to be reassigned to the new Eparchy...' (translated from Hungarian). At the same time, they asked the Nuncio to ensure that the parishes to be reassigned be not selected without their approval.⁵⁰ After their sessions over the following months, however, they acted jointly to further their interests and succeeded in having the already demarcated boundaries of the new Eparchy changed and the parishes claimed by them unselected. Simultaneously, they deployed all means available to bring it to the attention of the Holy See that, even though the official liturgical language of the new

Eparchy was to be Koine Greek, it would definitely be used to foster Magyarisation. Fervent attacks against the proposed Eparchy were carried out by Demetriu Radu, Bishop of Oradea, in particular, prompting reactions of dismay from Francesco Rossi-Stockalper in charge of the Nunciature following Archbishop Bavona's death (12 January 1912). As early as February 1912, the *Chargé d'affaires* signalled to the Holy See that not only did Bishop Radu incite the clergy of his Eparchy to rebel against the proposed Eparchy but he had also contacted Heir Presumptive Franz Ferdinand and sought his intervention.⁵¹ The Heir Presumptive fully sided with the Romanians and instructed Ludwig von Pastor, Director of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, to ensure that the Holy See would attempt to prevent the establishment of the Eparchy.⁵²

Talks were also meant to be disrupted by a newspaper article that, on 9 February, made a sensation out of the false news that the Holy See had approved the liturgical use of the Hungarian language.⁵³ This made the Holy See cautious, and it would take the Hungarian Government several months of negotiations and a written undertaking to dispel uncertainties.⁵⁴ The successful conclusion of the negotiations was reported in the papers on 13 April 1912. Afterwards, on 6 May 1912, Franz Joseph, as Patron of the Hungarian Catholic Church, founded the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in accordance with the regulations of Hungarian public law, to be canonised by Pope Saint Pius X (1903–1914) in his Bull *Christifideles graeci* on 8 June⁵⁵ (Pictures 4 and 5). The Preamble of the Bull of Foundation sets out the reasons justifying the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. Hungary's Byzantine-rite Catholics had always evidenced their adherence to the faith, as well as their affiliation with the Apostolic See. At the same time, by creating their ecclesiastical structure, the Popes promoted their development and, whenever it was necessary, established new eparchies for them.

⁴⁸ On 28 June 1911, via Bertalan Lippay, the Hungarian Government requested permission for making a public announcement, which was nonetheless prevented by Giovanni Bressan by wire the next day: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 210.

⁴⁹ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 370–371.

⁵⁰ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 363–365.

⁵¹ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 415–418.

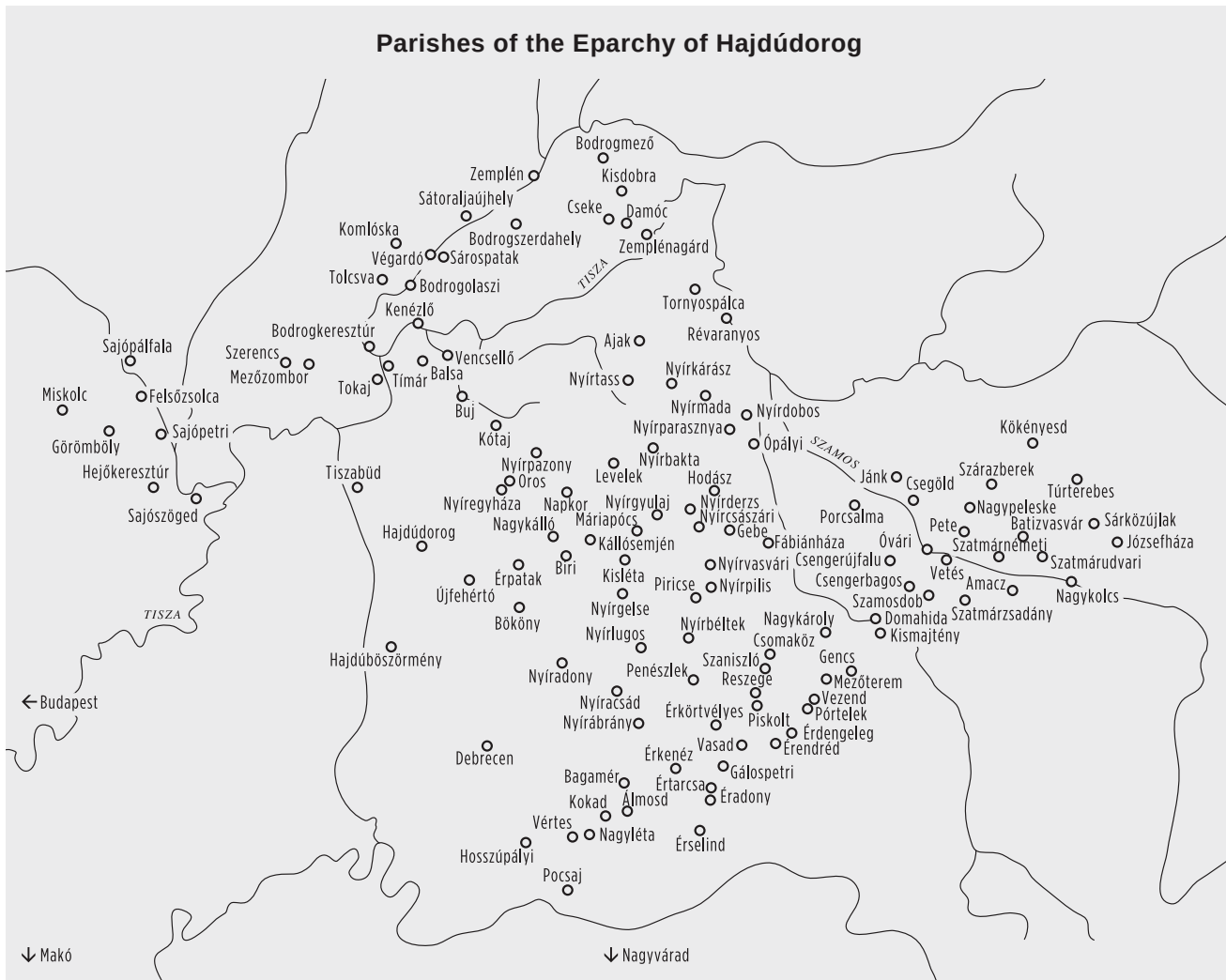
⁵² On the authorisation of Pastor, see: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 688–689. See also: Salacz, Gábor. *Egyház és állam Magyarországon a dualizmus korában: 1867–1918*, Munich, 1974, 157; Niessen, James. Hungarians and Romanians in Habsburg and Vatican Diplomacy: The Creation of the Diocese of Hajdudorog in 1912, *The Catholic Historical Review*, LXXX(1994), 253–254; Cârja, Ion. La Santa Sede e l'identità nazionale romana nel contesto della fondazione del Vescovado di Hajdudorogh (1912), *Anuarul Institutului Italo-Român de Studii Istorice*, I(2004), 152–161; Id. L'arciduca Francesco Ferdinando e i romeni greco-cattolici nel contesto della creazione della diocesi di Hajdudorogh (1912), *Quaderni della Casa Romana*, 3(2004), 341–352.

⁵³ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 575–579.

⁵⁴ Some versions of the undertaking: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 528, 634, 638, 646.

⁵⁵ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019a, 708–714.

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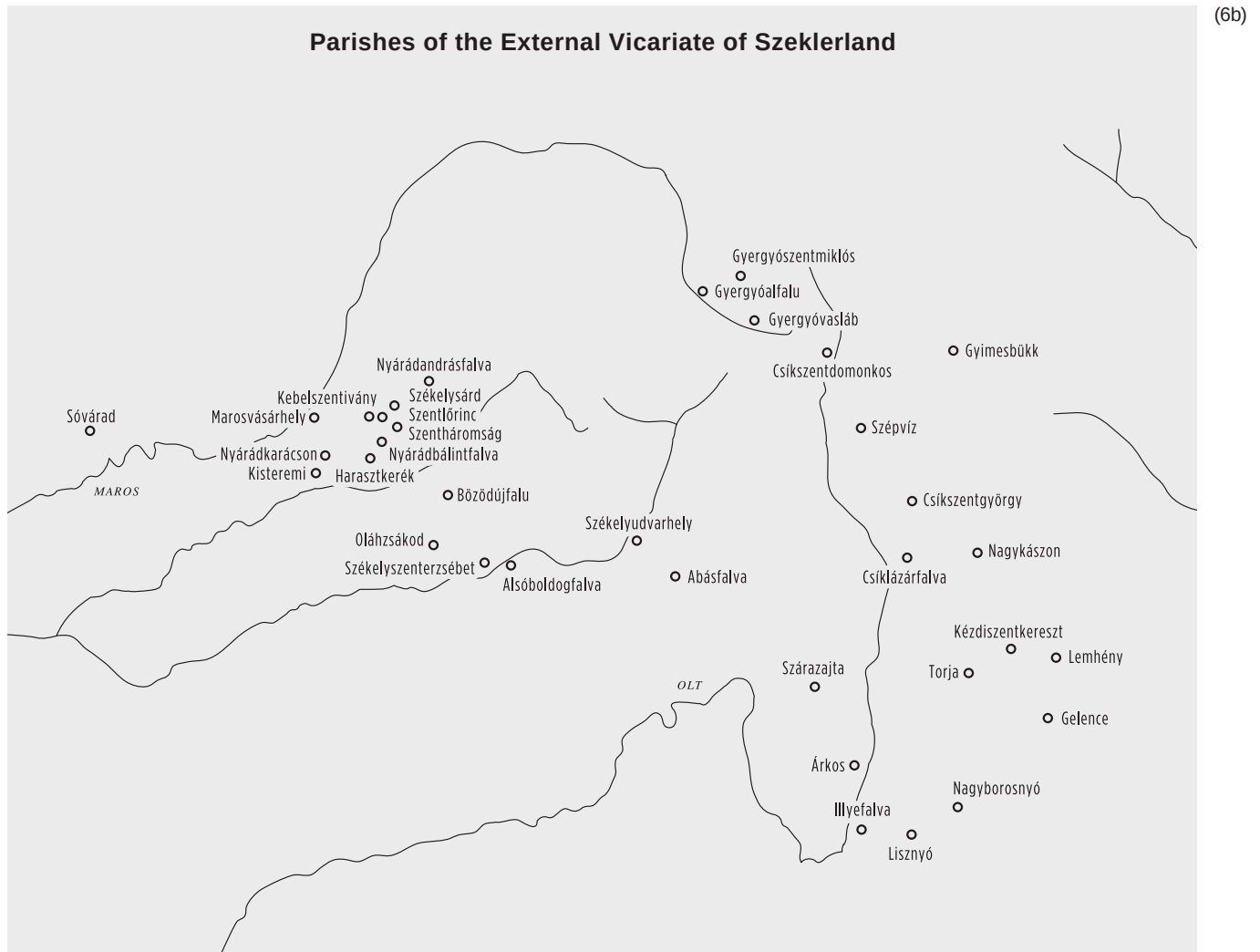


This was the reason why Pope Pius IX founded the Bishopsrics of Lugoj and Gherla and the Archiepiscopal Province of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș for the Romanian Greek Catholics. The Bull notes that, among the Byzantine-rite faithful, the number of those who use the Hungarian language, incessantly asking the Holy See to found an eparchy for them, has increased. Compliance with their request has become urgent for two reasons:

1. The creation of the Eparchy may contribute to the strengthening of religion, peace and unity among the Byzantine-rite faithful speaking different languages;
2. The danger of employing national languages in the liturgy, condemned by the Popes on several occasions, may thus be eliminated. To add emphasis to this point, the Bull of Foundation clarifies that Hungarian may never be used in the liturgy. The liturgical language of the new Eparchy is Koine Greek. The national language may be utilised to the extent allowed by the Holy See for the Western Church. However, the official liturgical language is to be introduced only three years later;

by that time, all priests must master it. In the interim, in every church, services may be conducted in the language in which they are conducted currently, except for Hungarian. Thus, according to the position of the Holy See, the purpose of the new Eparchy is precisely to curb the liturgical use of the Hungarian language.

At the recommendation of the Hungarian Government, the Holy See assigned 162 parishes to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. Of these, one had belonged to the Archdiocese of Esztergom, eight to the Eparchy of Prešov, seventy to the Eparchy of Mukacheve, four to the Eparchy of Gherla, forty-four to the Eparchy of Oradea and thirty-five to the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș (Picture 6). According to census data from the year 1910, 215 498 believers were incorporated into the new Eparchy. Of this number, 183 757 were native speakers of Hungarian, 26 823 were native speakers of Romanian, 1623 were native speakers of Slovakian, 968 were native speakers of Ruthenian, and 2509 were



native users of other languages. 40 per cent of Greek Catholic Hungarians, i.e. 120 747 people, were not comprised in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog; two-thirds of them remained under the jurisdiction of Slavic and one-third under the jurisdiction of Romanian bishoprics. This apparently odd arrangement was warranted by an idiosyncratic vision of national policy. The Government did not deem it expedient to include all the Hungarian Greek Catholic communities in the new Eparchy, causing the former eparchies to assume a purely ethnic character. The Government did not perceive any threat to the existence of Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity in the Eparchies of Prešov and Mukacheve as the leading elite of both eparchies, including the Bishops, tended to have a Hungarian identity.

The Romanian eparchies, however, had served as institutions of Romanianisation even in the preceding decades. The Government intended to cater for the language-use-related right of those Hungarian Greek Catholics who were not incorporated into the new Eparchy by assigning as many as two dozen Romanian parishes to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in the hope that a sense of reciprocity would evolve between neighbouring Hungarian and Romanian bishops: Once the rights of Hungarians remaining in the Romanian eparchies were respected by the Romanian bishops, the Bishop of Hajdúdorog would also care for his Romanian faithful.⁵⁶

As the parishes annexed from the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraş were rather far from the centre, the

⁵⁶ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 537. This purely political idea based on reciprocity would for decades stigmatise the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog as, both in the eyes of Hungary's ethnic groups as well as internationally, it was degraded to a device of the nationalistic Hungarian Government.

Pope permitted the Bishop of Hajdúdorog to govern them with the help of an external vicar. The church of Hajdúdorog was elevated to the rank of cathedral by the Pope. In line with the agreement with the Hungarian Government, the remuneration of the Bishop, the canons and the central officials was to be provided by the Hungarian state. The endowments of the eparchies ceding the parishes were left intact. The Bull emphasised that one of the most pressing tasks was the establishment of a seminary, the financial conditions for which were to be provided by the Government. The Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was incorporated into the Archbishopric Province of Esztergom.

To enact the provisions of the Bull of Foundation, the Pope authorised Viennese Nuncio Raffaele Scapinelli di Leguigno (1912–1916), who issued the implementing Regulation of the Bull *Christifideles graeci...* on 17 November 1912.⁵⁷ Therein, he notified all concerned that, as Apostolic Administrator of the new Eparchy, he had appointed Antal Papp, Bishop of Mukacheve. The implementing Regulation highlighted the act of the Bull of Foundation concerning the prohibition of the liturgical use of the Hungarian language and pointed out that not only was Koine Greek to be mastered by the priests, but they were also supposed to ensure that the faithful participating in liturgical actions would at least learn to read it. It allowed the use of Hungarian solely in devotions outside the liturgy, private prayer, homilies and the teaching of the people.

News of the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog filled Hungarian Greek Catholics with an immense sense of joy. Their decades-long fight and struggle riddled with disappointments had ended. New avenues and prospects opened to them. Although it was clear that considerable tasks lay ahead of the new Eparchy, at the moment of foundation, Hungarian Greek Catholics made a move towards autonomy full of well-founded hopes.

Even the moments of celebration were tarnished by events that foreshadowed the severe problems of the

future. Immediately after the announcement of foundation, a blizzard of protesting telegrams were sent from the Romanian eparchies – primarily from that of Oradea headed by Demetriu Radu – to the Viennese Nunciature.⁵⁸ A few weeks later, parishes assigned to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog were able to voice their disapproval in forms in Romanian and Italian prepared by the Romanian Bishop in advance. The Romanian press would also join in this organised protest.⁵⁹ Articles fuelled by strong sentiments called on both bishops and priests, along with their congregations, to engage in resistance. They demanded withdrawal of the ‘murderous Bull’ by the Holy See and threatened schism with Rome.⁶⁰ In a number of places, organisation of the Eparchy was hindered by returning the Apostolic Administrator’s first circular, hampering the activities of the installed priests and even assaulting Mihály Jaczkovics, External Vicar of Hajdúdorog (1911–1913), dispatched to oversee the takeover of parishes.⁶¹ The Romanian bishops sought to send a delegation to Rome, but this was firmly rejected by Secretary of State Merry del Val.⁶²

To enable a speedy resolution of the intense situation and alleviate tensions, the appointment of the first Bishop of Hajdúdorog in short order and a possible revision of the Bull of Foundation seemed necessary.

Franz Joseph appointed the first Bishop of the Eparchy on 21 April 1913, in the person of István Miklósy (1857–1937), parish priest of Sátoraljaújhely and Archdean of Zemplén.⁶³ The Bishop-Elect had been a member of the National Committee and attended the pilgrimage to Rome. For his episcopal motto, he chose: ‘Success in Perseverance’ – as a reference to Hungarian Greek Catholics’ decades-long struggle ultimately closing with success. He was consecrated in Hajdúdorog on 5 October 1913. The rite of consecration and enthronement was performed by Gyula Drohobeczky, Bishop of Kriş (1891–1919), with the assistance of Ágoston Fischer-Colbrie, Bishop of Košice (1907–1925) and József Lányi, Consecrated Bishop of Tinnin, Canon of Oradea, a confidant of Franz

⁵⁷ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 234–236.

⁵⁸ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 141–143.

⁵⁹ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 275–277.

⁶⁰ For an overview of press reactions, see: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 102–106. On the protest, see: Papp, György. *Voci Romene Contro la Diocesi di Hajdudorog*, Budapest, 1942.

⁶¹ The letter of Nuncio Scapinelli to the Secretariat of State: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 338–341. Reports by local state authorities: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 343–348. Press coverage of the attack against Vicar Jaczkovics: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 330–338; as well as: *Görög Katholikus Szemle*, 14(1913), 11(16 March), 2.

⁶² Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 61.

⁶³ Documents of the negotiations between the Holy See and the Hungarian Government: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 289–291, 293–295.

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Ferdinand. The ordination was attended by 136 priests, including a large number of Romanians. The Papal Bull of Appointment was read by Artúr Boér, Romanian Dean of Caşin (*Magyarkászon*). Bishop Miklósy appointed Mihály Jaczkovics as his vicar and János Slepkovszky, parish priest of Nyírpazony, as his secretary. Once the official documents had been received, the new Eparchy began a life of its own.

During the time between the appointment and ordination of Bishop Miklósy, the Holy See and the Hungarian Government agreed to conduct partial revision of the Bull of Foundation. Russia, Serbia and Romania had also protested at the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog through official channels to the Holy See. Cardinal Secretary of State Rafael Merry del Val considered the revision necessary with a view to allaying international tension. For reasons of international and domestic politics, Prime Minister István Tisza endeavoured to reach a compromise with the Romanians. The creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog came to be a point on the agenda of the talks. In the course of the negotiations extending into the year 1914, both the Prime Minister and Béla Jankovich, Minister of Religion and Education, advocated the position that a revision was possible on the basis of the principle of reciprocity. It was argued that parishes with a demonstrably Romanian majority ought to be returned to the Romanian mother eparchies, but, in places with a considerable number of Hungarian Greek Catholics in Romanian eparchies, separate parishes were to be organised and added to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. This was, however, rejected by the Romanian bishops.⁶⁴ Owing to the eruption of World War I, revision stalled, and, due to the Diktat (i.e. dictated peace) of Trianon concluding the war, it became anachronistic as, this way, the Romanians gained substantially more. Prior to the completion of the revision, the Viennese Nuncio refused to hand over the original copy of the Bull *Christifideles graeci...* to Bishop Miklósy, causing it to remain at the Nunciature, from where, along with other files, it was transferred to the Secret Archives of the Vatican, where it is still kept.

The first issue of eparchy organisation of outstanding immediacy was to determine the location of the episcopal seat. The Bull of Foundation specified Hajdúdorog as seat, and, on account of the indisputable merits and sacrifices of the town, it was widely anticipated that Bishop Miklósy would establish his

residence there. Naturally, the people of Hajdúdorog expected such a scenario as well and, ready to make further sacrifices, announced their claim for the seat on 12 September 1911. At the same time, it was also an undeniable fact that, logistically, Hajdúdorog was positioned unfavourably. Lacking any major cultural institutions, the town was hard to access from most parishes. Conversely, three cities, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza and Carei (*Nagykároly*), appeared to be superior choices from the point of view of transport and educational institutions alike. At that time, the Hungarian Royal University opened its doors in Debrecen, with the possibility for the creation of a Greek Catholic Theological Faculty – as envisaged primarily by the National Committee. In Nyíregyháza, plans for the establishment of a state teacher training institute were under way, potentially suitable for laying the foundations of Greek Catholic higher education as well. Carei had a Piarist principal grammar school and a boarding house. The latter two cities positively applied for the episcopal seat and required funds for the creation of the related institutions.⁶⁵ The majority of the Eparchy's clergy championed Nyíregyháza, and the National Committee would also throw its weight behind this option soon. Bishop Miklósy elected not to close the question of seat permanently but opt for a temporary solution. This was also justified by the fact that the Government had undertaken to create the necessary eparchial institutions, and the relevant details had not been clarified yet. The development of an institutional system was to be preceded by a long series of negotiations, which the Bishop would not want to influence by appointing a seat prematurely. In the summer of 1913, Bishop Miklósy decided to establish his seat in Debrecen provisionally, for a period of three years. For this purpose, he rented spaces in the building of the City Chamber of Commerce and Industry and, after his consecration in Hajdúdorog, he entered the city on 15 October amid great pomp and ceremony.

Once the question of seat was temporarily yet rationally solved, it seemed that nothing could impede the process of eparchy organisation. Gradually, order and calm were restored even in the parishes annexed from the Romanian eparchies as discussions between the respective bishops, the Government and the Holy See about the revision of the Eparchy gave the Romanians cause for hope. This peaceful period would last only for a few months though. In January 1914,

⁶⁴ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 605–607.

⁶⁵ Documents on the question of seat: Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 65–76, 79–84, 505, 514.

Bishop Miklósy publicly repudiated the idea of revision,⁶⁶ filling wide sections of the Romanian Greek Catholic community with a sense of disappointment. On 17 February, the talks held by Prime Minister István Tisza with the representatives of Hungary's Romanians on a possible political agreement, including the question of a revision of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, were interrupted for good.⁶⁷

A few days later, on 21 February 1914, a letter sent from Chernivtsi under the pseudonym 'Anna Kovács' arrived at the Episcopate. The author of the letter informed the Bishop that she had posted a box containing 100 koronas, a gilded church chandelier and a leopard-skin rug to his address. The parcel weighing 20 kg (44.09 lb) was received on 23 February. When Episcopal Secretary János Slepkovszky attempted to open the parcel with an axe, its contents exploded. The explosion of a pressure of nearly 2000 atmospheres destroyed the walls, ripped the ceiling and shattered Vicar Mihály Jaczkovics and Secretary János Slepkovszky into pieces and lethally wounded lawyer Sándor Csath LLD, Legal Adviser of the Eparchy, who would stay alive for one hour after the assassination. József Dávid, a student of law, as well as Eparchial Scribes Elek Kriskó and Miklós Bihon sustained severe injuries, while several residents of the house suffered minor injuries. Before the parcel was opened, Bishop István Miklósy had been invited to a different room to answer a telephone call, so he sustained only lighter injuries.⁶⁸

The plot shocked the whole of Hungarian society. The funeral of the victims on 25 February was attended by 30-thousand people. The funeral service was conducted by Bishop Miklósy himself. The martyrs were regarded by the entire nation as its own. The Bishop received a large number of condolences from all parts of the country and even from abroad. Launched at once and extended to Romania as well, the investigation determined that the parcel had been posted by two adventurers: the Romanian Ilie Cătărău and the Russian Timotei Kirilov. As both were associated with the Romanian and Russian secret services, it was obvious

that they had acted on authority. The eruption of World War I and the counteraction of the Romanian authorities⁶⁹ prevented their arrest and the case from being fully unravelled. The plot was aimed at disrupting the internal peace of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which particularly served the interest of Russia readying itself for war. It was also during these weeks that the notorious 'schism-suit' of Maramureş (*Máramaros*) took place, with a Russian secret service background as well through the person of Count Vladimir Bobrinsky, President of the Russian Association of Galicia.⁷⁰ As Romanian–Hungarian tensions fomented in the course of the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog had seemed to subside, a bloody bomb plot with leads to Romanian perpetrators and to Romania appeared to be a suitable device to deepen ethnic antagonisms and, consequently, to undermine the power of the Monarchy. A few months later, another assassination, the murder of Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo, led to World War I, which would end with fatal consequences for both Hungary and Hungarian Greek Catholics.

The Debrecen bomb plot raised the problem of the episcopal seat again. On 21 March, Bishop Miklósy held talks with Prime Minister István Tisza and Minister of Culture Béla Jankovich. At the meeting, it was decided that the episcopal seat would be transferred to Nyíregyháza. On 23 September 1914, Bishop Miklósy moved to Nyíregyháza.⁷¹

On 31 July 1915, Bishop Miklósy appointed Gyula Hubán, a priest from Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*), as External Vicar for the governance of the Szeklerland parishes reassigned from the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraş. The organisation of the External Vicariate had been started by Exarch Antal Papp, authorising Vicar Jaczkovics to select a suitable seat. Drawing on his locally based experience, he favoured Târgu Mureş (*Marosvásárhely*). Later, this choice was endorsed by Bishop Miklósy as well, so the city became the seat of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Vicariate of Szeklerland.⁷²

The eruption and prolongation of World War I, as well as a constantly deteriorating economic situation, had

⁶⁶ Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 590–591.

⁶⁷ At the same time, interruption of the talks was proposed by Archduke Franz Ferdinand to the Romanian party because the heir to the throne preparing for his reign would not benefit from a Romanian–Hungarian compromise: Horváth, 2004, 139.

⁶⁸ The details of the Debrecen bomb plot were explored by Márton Áron Katkó on the basis of archival sources: Katkó, Márton Áron. Az 1914-es debreceni merénylet, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Symbolae: Ways of Greek Catholic Heritage Research*, Papers of the conference held on the 100th anniversary of the death of Nikolaus Nilles, Nyíregyháza, 2010, 289–321.

⁶⁹ In his memoirs, Romanian politician Alexandru Marghiloman recalls hearing from King Charles himself how difficult it had been for the Romanian authorities to hide Cătărău from the investigators. Horváth, 2004, 140.

⁷⁰ Bobrinsky was present at the second hearing of the schism-suit in Maramureş and, on his way home, he met Cătărău. Horváth, 2004, 139.

⁷¹ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1914/XI. Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 721, 742–743.

⁷² *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1916/VII. Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 787.

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an extremely negative impact on the organisation process of the Eparchy. Owing to the war situation, the Government was unable to deliver on its undertakings. The failure to construct an episcopal seat and a seminary in particular entailed substantial disadvantages. The Eparchy was not properly endowed, either. This was somewhat offset by the legacy of Árkád Pásztor, a Basilian monk outside monastery, who, in 1915, bequeathed 1149 hectares (2840 acres) of arable land and 172 hectare (426 acres) of forest and vineyard, along with farm-buildings, in Szatmár County, to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.⁷³

With the approval of Antal Papp, Bishop of Mukacheve, ordinands of the Eparchy were educated at the Seminary of Uzhhorod. At Bishop Miklósy's request, the superiors paid special attention to ensuring that, in accordance with the provisions of the Bull of Foundation, seminarians from the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog would acquire the necessary skills in the use of Koine Greek.⁷⁴

The joint meetings of the three Hierarchs, Antal Papp, István Novák and István Miklósy, held in Nyíregyháza in 1916 and 1918, were an apt expression of the close ties between the three Eparchies. At the first conference, the Bishops made a decision to switch to the Gregorian Calendar, which was introduced on 24 June 1916. The transition happened seamlessly in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, while, in the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, it was met with massive resistance. In response, in 1918, the Julian Calendar was reinstated in the former, whereas, in the latter, the use of the Gregorian Calendar was made optional. At the 1918 conference, discussions focused on the situation of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics left outside the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, the extension of the effect of the 1917 Code of Canons, as well as on the question of the pension of priests and widowed priests' wives.⁷⁵ The cooperation of the three Greek Catholic Bishops with a promising start was crushed by the changes after World War I.

The turmoil following the war-induced collapse of 1918 had an immediate effect in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. Under the leadership of Romulus Marchiș, parish priest of Carei and Archdean of Szatmár, part of the parishes formerly under the jurisdiction of Oradea

arbitrarily pronounced their session from the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. Through the Nuncio, they requested the Holy See to create a vicariate for all the parishes previously allocated to Oradea. Bishop Radu officially disowned the arbitrary step amounting to a gross violation of canon law, yet he asked the Holy See that he might be the Ordinary of the parishes concerned. On the contrary, Bishop Miklósy sought severe punishment for the rebellious Archdean. Heartened by the successes of the Romanian offensive beginning in the spring of 1919, Bishop Radu urged the Holy See to issue a response in a succession of letters. Romanian troops occupying Nyíregyháza captured Bishop Miklósy and took him to Debrecen, coercing him into surrendering forty-four parishes. At his point, the Nunciature could no longer establish contact with Bishop Miklósy, and no substantive reaction to the communications sent by the Holy See was received from the Hungarian Government. As the areas of the respective parishes were effectively placed under the control of the Romanian Army, the Holy See assigned them to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Oradea on 10 May 1919. A few months later, Vasile Suci, Vicar of the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș, requested that the thirty-five parishes of the External Vicariate of Szeklerland be reassigned to the Archeparchy, which was ordered by the Holy See on 29 July.⁷⁶

List of pictures

1. The church of Hajdúdorog. Woodcut, *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 6(1859), 3, 29.
2. The portrait of Jenő Szabó by an unknown painter. Canvas, oil, early 20th century. Collection of the Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Museum, Nyíregyháza (GKEMGY), Inv. No. 1999.71 (A. 27)
3. The portrait of Franz Joseph. Paper, oleograph, early 20th century. GKEMGY, Inv. No. 2015.313. (A.139)
4. The portrait of Pope Pius X. Photograph, early 20th century. Diocesan Library, Székesfehérvár
5. The title page of the Bull *Christifideles graeci...* Parchment, painted. Vatican Apostolic Archive (Archivio Apostolico Vaticano), Arch. Nunz., Vienna, busta 766, fasc. 9, fol. 461v
6. The parishes of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in 1912. Map

⁷³ For recent discussions on Árkád Pásztor, see: Endrédi, Csaba. Pásztor Árkád: A legenda tovább él, *Athanasiana*, 35(2013), 122–169. Honca, Ciprian-Emanuel. Árkád Pásztor: O schiță biografică, *Satu Mare – Studii și Comunicări*, XXXVII(2019), 19–37.

⁷⁴ Pirigyi, 2001, 88.

⁷⁵ Pirigyi, 1990, 119–120; Véghseő – Katkó, 2019b, 809–823.

⁷⁶ The documents of the case in the Vatican Apostolic Archive: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Arch. Nunz., Vienna, busta 797, fasc. 9/2, fol. 300–317.

IV.2.2 Art Trends in the 19th and 20th Century and Greek Catholics

Szilveszter Terdik

The Age of the Painters of the Eparchy: the 19th Century

Mihály Mankovits returned home from Vienna in 1813 and became the first official painter of the Eparchy of Mukacheve. Bishop Bacsinszky noticed the young man's talent, who encouraged him to study at the Academy of Fine Arts in the Imperial City, but the old high priest did not live to see the homecoming of his protégé.¹ Mankovits held office until his death in 1853, although it was increasingly difficult for him to work in his last years because of his illness. Several of his many iconostases have survived, but we do not know any of his works from the area of the present Hajdúdorog Metropolitanate. He worked mostly under Bishop Elek Pócsi (1816–1831) and Bazil Popovics (1838–1864). He painted the official portrait of the former (Picture 1).² Archival documents testify that both high priests listened seriously to Mankovits' opinion concerning the orders of the parishes, and the pastors were always warned through the deans of the importance of consulting the painter of the Eparchy.³

The style of the master was determined by the pictorial traditions of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, that became dominant at the end of the previous century on the one hand and by the painter's academic studies and experience he gained during his travels on the other hand. Mankovits sometimes tried to push the boundaries even on the most traditional part of the iconostases, on the main images, when, for example, in the case of depictions of the Mother of God, he also used forms borrowed from the Madonnas of the Italian and Spanish Baroque religious paintings. Adherence to the late Baroque style of the Vienna Academy was not as dominant in his painting as in the art of the painters of the Hajdúdorog iconostasis, János Szűcs and particularly Mátyás Hittner. Mankovits worked with several assistants to fulfil his orders received from the vast area of the eparchy.

Uniquely, he always mentioned them by name in the Latin memorial inscriptions of their making on the backside of iconostases.

Several painters wanted to get the vacant post after Mankovits' death. Bishop Popovics only appointed his successor a few years later, Ferdinand Vidra (1815–1879), a Roman Catholic born in Veszprém, influenced by the art of the Nazarenes, a widely travelled artist after his study trip to Italy. Vidra was already working on the iconostasis of Buj in Szabolcs County in 1854 and he was a "restorer" in the cathedral of Uzhhorod, where he painted a large ceiling mural in the nave in 1858. He settled in Bilky (*Bilke*), Bereg County and painted only religious subjects. Bishop Popovics regulated the duties of the painter of the eparchy in detail in his letter of appointment in 1859.⁴ Numerous works by Vidra still exist today, mainly in Transcarpathia, but he also painted the iconostasis of the church in Garadna, which once belonged to the Eparchy of Prešov.⁵

György Révész (1821–1875); of Greek Catholic origin, represented a similar trend in art. He studied at the Vienna Academy for a year in the early 1840s, settled in Uzhhorod after returning home, hoping to receive many orders from the bishop. He also painted several iconostases at that time, including one in Streda nad Bodrogom (*Bodrogszerdahely*), which has survived in the best condition. He fought in the War of Independence of 1848 and had to hide for a while after the defeat. He lived and painted in Munich in the 1860s. He received large assignments in Hajdúdorog and Sátoraljaújhely after returning home, settled in the latter city and died there as well.⁶

Révész already painted a picture of *The Last Supper* for the church of Hajdúdorog in 1857 (see Cat. IV. 24). When the church was rebuilt from 1868 to 1869 in the Romantic style of the period, and was added side-aisles with galleries on the north and south sides, he was commissioned to paint a mural with a special iconography on the ceiling vault of the

The paper was written with the support of the Research Group 'Greek Catholic Heritage' under the Joint Programme 'Lendület' (Momentum) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College.

¹ On the academic training in Vienna in the period: Jávör, Anna: *Művésznövendékek Bécsben: Az akadémiai képzés lehetőségei, gyakorlata és rangja a 18. században*, in: Buzási, 2016, 9–34. Beszkid, 1914, 422–427.

² Oil on canvas; 104 × 78 cm. The painting is not signed, but it is attributed to Mankovits based on considerations of style criticism. Uzhhorod, József Boksay Transcarpathian County Museum of Fine Arts, No. VF 95.

³ Mankovits' painting work has been worked up since 2017 and the first results are available here: http://magyaramagyarert.hu/images/pdf/pixit_mankovits_mihaly_uj.pdf (downloaded: 30 May 2020).

⁴ Puskás, 2008, 261–262.

⁵ Terdik, 2011a, 73–74.

⁶ I briefly described his life and art: Terdik Szilveszter. Révész György (1821–1875) festőművész, *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 4(2017), 2. szám, 70–73.

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western apse of the nave: *The Destruction of Idols in the Age of St. Stephen*. This theme was already present in Hungarian art since the 18th century, but there was an important novelty in Révész's composition: King St. Stephen, who erected the cross, was accompanied by Greek instead of Latin bishops. One of them was certainly Hierotheos, who was sent with the chieftains baptized in Constantinople to convert the Hungarians according to the Byzantine chronicles.⁷ In Hungarian historiography, the Greek mission in the 10th century was first dealt with by the

protestant Gottfried Schwarz in the first half of the 18th century, using it as a historical argument against the claims emphasizing the importance of the papacy in Hungarian Christianity.⁸ Hungarian Greek Catholics could already encounter the fact of the early Byzantine conversion and the person of Bishop Hierotheos in the teaching part of the first Hungarian songbook published by Parish Priest of Hajdúböszörmény Ignác Roskovics Sr (1822–1895). One of the important messages of the text was that the Byzantine conversion in Hungary preceded the arrival of Latin missionaries.⁹ The emerging movement, fighting for the establishment of an independent Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy and the official acceptance of Hungarian as a liturgical language, also held its first general assembly in Hajdúdorog in 1868. The relationship between Hungarians and Byzantine Christianity in the age of the Árpád dynasty was strongly emphasized among the historical arguments of the Hajdúdorog movement. Révész's mural was the first visual imprint of this movement.

After the deaths of Bishop Popovics and Vidra, the role of the painter of the eparchy was no longer as decisive as earlier. Ignác Roskovics Jr. (1854–1915) – the son of the aforementioned presbyter – emerged in the last decades of the 19th century, was the first Hungarian Greek Catholic artist to gain a really nationwide fame. He studied painting in Budapest (1875–1880) and then in Munich for three years. He won various state and church scholarships and awards, and soon became one of the favourite artists of the period, creating both altar and genre paintings.¹⁰

His early work was a picture of St. Cyril and Methodius, painted in 1876 and signed in Cyrillic letters, presumably based on Nazarene engravings, probably commissioned by the Bishop of Mukacheve¹¹ (Picture 2). He also painted iconostases: four main images for Búdszentmihály (today: Tiszavasvári) and

⁷ More details about the mural: Terdik, 2013b, 189–190, Picture 1. The painting perished in the 1930s.

⁸ The latest historiographical study of this issue: Tóth, 2016, 103–136.

⁹ It was first published in 1862 (see Cat. IV. 40) and then several times more. I quote an explanation of the sentence of the *Creed* concerning the Church from the 1893 edition: "However, there are mostly two rites in the Catholic Church: there is the Greek rite in the 1st eastern countries, followed by the Greeks, Russians and Romanians, the Arab, Syrian and Chaldean peoples, each listening to the Divine service in their own language, the first Hungarians were converted to this Greek rite by the former Greek Bishop Hieroth and as the oldest rite in Hungary, it is called old, that is, the faith of the old rite; the 2nd rite is the Latin, most prevalent in the western parts and is followed in Latin everywhere among the different nations." *Prayer and Songbook of the Old-Faith—According to the Eastern or Greek Rite of the Holy Ordinary Apostolic Mother Church—for the Spiritual Edification of Greek Catholic Christians*, translated and edited by Ignác Roskovics, Debrecen, 1893, 13 [Seventh edition].

¹⁰ Gamassa-Szabó, Bernadett. Roskovics Ignác – Egy méltatlanul elfeledett festő legkiemelkedőbb munkái, in: Kerny, Terézia – Tüskés, Anna (szerk.): *Omnis creatura significans*, Budapest, 2009, 279–283. Terdik, Szilveszter. Roskovics Ignác (1854–1915) festőművész emlékezete, *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 4(2017), 4. szám, 46–47.

¹¹ Oil on canvas; 114 × 76 cm. Uzhhorod, József Boksay Transcarpathian County Museum of Fine Arts

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a complete iconostasis for Krasna (*Красна/Tarackraszna*) in 1879.¹² He was commissioned to paint the whole Cathedral of Prešov in 1880. He completed most of the work: he conserved the baroque murals of the nave's vault, placed portraits of the Church Fathers next to them, painted the sanctuary completely – depicting Cyril and Methodius in the apse, the four evangelists and the Holy Trinity on the vault, but he stopped his work painting large-scale

compositions on the side wall of the nave for an unknown reason.¹³ Although he lived in Budapest from 1885, formally he still held the title of the “official painter” of the Eparchy of Mukacheve. Roskovic received important government orders in 1900: He painted the picture program of the so-called St. Stephen's Hall in the Royal Castle of Buda, rebuilt by Alajos Hauszmann. He was awarded the Small Gold Medal of the State for his plans in 1900. He also won the competition for a new altarpiece, depicting St. Stephen in the Buda Castle Church a year later.¹⁴

One of his last large Greek Catholic assignments was related to the Church on Rózsák Square in Budapest. He painted his altarpiece *The Patrona Hungariae* (see Cat. IV.27.) in 1905 and he was commissioned to paint the pictures of the iconostasis on canvas two years later. The remodelling of this former Roman Catholic church according to the requirements of the Byzantine rite was largely paid by the patron, the Capital City. A traditional, multi-line, multi-image iconostasis was initially envisaged according to the plans preserved in the Budapest Archives¹⁵ (Picture 3), which, however, was only realized as an open structure of accentuated medieval structural elements containing a few but monumental paintings (Picture 4). Roskovic must have painted the two main pictures (*Christ the Teacher and The Mother of God with the Child*) and *The Last Supper*. The three figures of the Calvary group on the pediment may also be his work, as well as the *Annunciation* on the fence-like Royal door made of wrought iron, but the David and Moses medallions above the main images seem to be of a different style.¹⁶ We do not yet know, who was behind the radical simplification of the original design of the iconostasis. Roskovic's two main icons had a great influence on Hungarian Greek Catholics until the middle of the 20th century.

¹² Приймич, 2014, 169–170.

¹³ The viewer is clearly informed in a rather unusual way, in the signature of his large mural (*Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane*) painted on the north side of the nave: “Interrupted/16 Dec1881/ Roskovic”. He was requested to paint the work in September 1880 (AGKA, Protokoll Podaci, 1880, Inv. Č. 185, signat. 3026). Roskovic asked for a payment of HUF 400 for the conservation of four old paintings on the ceiling of the nave on 19 November 1881, which was approved (AGKA, Protokoll Podaci, 1881, Inv. Č. 186, signat. 3258). It is not yet known, why he stopped to do it a month later.

¹⁴ Roskovic also painted two compositions related to St. Stephen near the doors in addition to the full-figured paintings of the kings and saints of the Árpád Dynasty. The paintings in the hall were made with faience-porcelain technique of the Zsolnay Factory, the cardboards of the pictures were also painted with oil in size 1:1 by Roskovic. The two compositions of St. Stephen survived. More details about them: *Aranyérmek, ezüstkoszorúk: Művészkultusz és műpártolás Magyarországon a 19. században*, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1995. június–november [Kiállítási katalógus], Konceptió: Sinkó, Katalin, Budapest, 1995, 340–342. Terdik, Szilveszter. Egy XIX. századi ikonográfiai kísérlet, II, Roskovic Ignác Szent István-képei a budai várban, in: Kerny, Terézia – Smohay, András (szerk.). *István a szent király: Tanulmánykötet és kiállítási katalógus Szent István tiszteletéről halálának 975. évfordulóján*, Székesfehérvár, 2017, 178–183. The hall was almost completely destroyed in World War II and is currently reconstructed.

¹⁵ Ink on paper. BFL, XV. 17. d, 328, KT T 20/81 / a.

¹⁶ On matters related to the iconostasis: Terdik, 2013b, 201, footnote 24.

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The photo of *Christ the Teacher* was placed on the endpaper of the songbook published in 1929, edited by the parish priest of Rózsák Square, Gábor Krajnyák, which further increased its publicity. Roskovics paintings were copied on some iconostases with more or less success (for example: Nyírkáta, Beregdaróc, Nyírmártonfalva).

Roskovics did not abandon his academic style in his works commissioned by the Greek Catholics, sometimes only the setting of the figures – especially in the case of the main icons – and the homogeneous golden background of the paintings and the Greek letters indicate which church community was his client. There is nothing to be surprised about in this period: the art of the Orthodox world was also dominated by academism, the rediscovery of the technical and formal heritage of traditional icon painting just began at that time.¹⁷

¹⁷ All about it: Gatrall – Greenfield, 2010

¹⁸ See their activities: Terdik, Szilveszter. „Kitűnő munka, kiváló versenyképesség és nagybantermelés”: Rétay és Benedek egyházi műiparintézete, *Fons*, 15(2008), 325–360.



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Businesses, so-called arts and crafts institutes, specializing in the production of cheap and fast to make equipment and devotional articles emerged on the Hungarian Greek Catholic “market” in the last decade of the 19th century. Some of them survived even until the nationalization.¹⁸ The number of individual painting assignments fell sharply due to the strong role of these institutes.

Church constructions at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries

Most of the communities committed to the aspirations of Hungarian Greek Catholics lived in larger towns on the periphery of the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov. The significance of these parishes was shown in the later established Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, as they became the dominant, opinion-forming communities of the new Eparchy, where the emerging Greek-Catholic middle-class of white-collar workers lived. New churches were built in these towns due to the boom after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, which was further enhanced by the festive atmosphere of the millennium of the country's existence at the end of the century.

Construction began in Nyíregyháza in 1895 and the new church was consecrated two years later, on 10 October. The eclecticism of the cross-shaped building with its two-tower façade was also noticed by the contemporaries, when they emphasized: “The new church is so cleverly composed of the elements of the real Greek, so-called Byzantine (sic!) and modern (renaissance) architectural systems, that it gives the

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viewer the overall impression of an integrated work...¹⁹ The new monumental church in Hajdúböszörmény, consecrated on 8 May 1898 by Bishop Gyula Firczák, also had two towers. An elongated sanctuary joined the three-aisled hall here.²⁰

The independent Greek Catholic parish of Debrecen, affiliated to Hajdúböszörmény, was only founded in 1902 after several attempts. Architect János Bobula Jr of Budapest (1871–1922) was contracted in 1906 for building the church. The new church was completed two years later, but the money ran out, so the building was consecrated only on 22 May 1910 by Bishop Firczák.²¹ The church, oriented towards the east, has a regular Greek cross floor plan

and a dome. The sanctuary is polygonal (enclosed by three sides of the octagon) and the tower was built on the left side of the main entrance. A narthex is connected to the western arm of the cross and the façade is dominated by a rose window above. The whole building was covered with red brick, while the courses were made of white limestone and artificial stone (Picture 5).

Bobula first designed a Greek Catholic church in Neo-Byzantine style in 1904, in Jakubany (*Szepesjakabfalva*), and published his drawings in his own magazine, the *Budapesti Építészeti Szemle* (*Budapest Architecture Review*), as a result of which the people of Debrecen asked him to do this work. He defined his church as of “Romanizing Byzantine” style, as it evokes the Byzantine proportions of the building and the Romanesque style in many details.²² The construction of the church in Jakubany began later, than in Debrecen and the works took a longer time, than planned. Bobula also designed the furnishings of the church in Debrecen together with an iconostasis according to the floor plans, but this was not realised due to the lack of money. But the altar with a Byzantine canopy and the pulpit were completed by the Rétay and Benedek Institute of Art from Budapest.²³

Bobula took part in longer study trips to England and other Western European countries and successfully combined traditional historicizing elements with new trends, which was also reflected in his application of the latest technical achievements (for example the vaults and the concrete dome were built with the so-called Rabitz technique). The details of his Byzantine churches sometimes really came from the Romanesque style, yet the mass ratios of the buildings seem to be innovative. The tall nave is illuminated by many windows, but Bobula abandoned the drum of the domes and opened the windows directly into the dome,

¹⁹ A nyíregyházai gör. szert. kath. új templom, in: Melles, Emil (szerk.): *A Szent Kereszt naptára az 1897. közönséges évre*, V. évfolyam, Ungvár, [1896], 80–83. The church was built according to the plans of local architect Bertalan Vojtovics. It has been the Cathedral of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza since 2015. See its history: Nyirán, János – Majchricsné Ujteleki, Zsuzsa. *Források a nyíregyházi Szent Miklós görögkatholikus székesegyház történetéhez*, Nyíregyháza, 2017.

²⁰ A h.-böszörményi új templom, in: Melles, Emil (szerk.): *A Szent Kereszt naptára az 1899. közönséges évre*, VII. évfolyam, Ungvár, [1898], 60–63. The church was designed by Architect Vilmos Kolacsek of Kassa (Košice). The entire church had to be demolished for static reasons, with the exception of the two towers, in 1983. The church in Böszörmény is close to the Greek Catholic church in Kassa in its style. The construction began in 1882, but its towers were only completed at the beginning of the 20th century. Cf. Borovszky, 1904, 147–148. Szeghy, Gábor. *Katedrális chrám košických gréckokatolíkóv*, *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 61(2013), č. 3, 40–45.

²¹ A debreceni gör. kath. egyház szervezésének és építkezéseinek története, in: *Görög katolikus naptár 1911-iki évre*, Ungvár, 1910, 50–73.

²² A szepesjakabfalvi gör. cath. templom, in: *Budapesti Építészeti Szemle*, 13(1904), 281–282. The floor plan is on page 282 and next is the drawing of the south facade of the church.

²³ The plans were published: altar (without canopy): *Egyházi Műipar*, 10(1910), 102; pulpit–ibid., 103. He also designed the altar for the seminary chapel in Ungvár, which is similar. The plan: *Egyházi Műipar*, 7(1907), 152.



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evoking early Byzantine architecture (Picture 6). The bell tower was a highlighted element, which was alien to Byzantine traditions, but the designer had to observe the needs of the audience socialized in Western culture. In addition to the abundant light inside the churches, the indivisibility and the unity of the space were important, providing a sufficient space for the liturgical movements, while making the liturgical acts clear and easy to follow for the believers at the same time.

Bobula designed a Greek Catholic church in Čemerné (*Varannó-Csemernye*), built in 1914, with a different structure and floor plan, than the churches in Jakubany and Debrecen – octagonal nave and tower in the middle axis of the facade.²⁴ This church was considered by many people to be the work of Ödön Lechner, an outstanding master of Hungarian national architecture due to its Art Nouveau solutions.²⁵

The construction of the first Greek Catholic church in Miskolc began in these years. Parish Priest Szólón

²⁴ Construction began in 1913 and the church was already blessed by Canon of Prešov, József Vojtovics a year later. Vojtovics submitted the case of the church construction to the Bishop of Eperjes in a letter dated 14 March 1913, saying that the former church had become life-threatening and had been closed by the authorities. The new church was designed by the “famous architect” János Bobula. Contractors Lizits and Páltsek from Eperjes were assigned with the construction, while Péter Melocco with the cement and stone works. The cost of the works was estimated at 68,395 crowns (AGKA, 1376/1913). The iconostasis and altar in the new building were completed in 1892, suggesting that they were saved from the previous building. Cf. *Schematismus Venerabili Cleri Graeci Ritus Catholicorum Dioeceseos Prešovensis (Fragopolitanae) et Administraturae Apostolicae Dioec: Munkačensis in Slovachia, Pro anno Domini 1944*, Prešov, 1944, 105–106.

²⁵ Krasny, 2003, 301–302; Borza–Gradoš, 2018, 692. Bobula already used several architectural elements of the church (e.g. the haystack

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Schirilla proclaimed his objective in 1908: “We will start the construction of the church, which will be the centre of the Hungarian altar language in the Eparchy of Prešov, from where it will spread further among non-Hungarian speaking churches.”²⁶ Construction began in 1910 according to the plans of János Galter Jr. and the church was consecrated on 15 September 1912 in honour of the Dormition of the Mother of God.²⁷

The floorplan of the church forms a Latin cross and the tower emerges on the façade. The architecturally modest exterior plaster ornaments also feature Art Nouveau and historicizing motifs of the period.

The furnishings of the church in Miskolc are special and unique. At the request of the parish priest, the canopied altar, erected in 1912, was decorated with “Hungarian” motifs and the construction of the iconostasis was also continued in Hungarian style, but it was only completed in 1918²⁸ (Picture 7).

The furnishings were made by Rétay and Benedek’s Institute of Art in Budapest. Usually the carvings were made in their workshops, but the paintings, which seem to be the Byzantine versions of Nazarene art, were presumably obtained from other workshops in Southern Germany and Bohemia. The demand for being Hungarian was met by decorating the homogeneous surfaces of the furnishings with so-called national ornaments in Miskolc. Certain trends, intensified from the end of the 19th century, tried to discover the ancient layers of the art of each modern nation in ornamentation. In Hungary, József Huszka, a drawing teacher from Szeklerland (Transylvania), was an obsessed researcher of the subject. His books presented the Hungarian ornamentation of “Turan”, that he considered to be ancient and directly related to folk decorations, embroidered coats and embroidery, etc. His teachings were not accepted by the scholars of his time, yet his collections had an impact on the art of the period.²⁹ Ödön Lechner tried to translate this oriental form of expression into architecture: the best example was the building of the Museum and School of Applied Arts in Budapest, completed in 1896. There are similar motifs on the furnishings of the church in Miskolc two decades later: in addition to the Hungarian ornaments covering the iconostasis and the canopy, the recessed and notched pillars of the canopy evoke the ceramic columns of the open foyer of the Museum of Applied

arches of the ground floor of the tower) on the tower of the Munkács Town Hall (1899–1901). Cf. Deschmann Alajos: *Kárpátalja műemlékei*, Budapest, 1990, 93, Picture 106.

²⁶ *Egyházi Műipar*, 9(1909), 41.

²⁷ About the church construction: Papp, András. *Halasztani immár nem lehet: A miskolc-belvárosi (Búza tér) görögkatolikus egyházközség megalakulása és küzdelmei*, Miskolc, 2010, 69–79.

²⁸ Terdik, Szilveszter. A vallás, a kultúra és a nemzet emlékműve – A nagyszebeni ortodox székesegyházról, in: Keller, Márkus (szerk.), *Szemközt a történelemmel* (Studia Ignatiana, III), Budapest, 2003, 85–86. The structure of the latter is unusual, as a large opening was left in the central part, so that the main altar remains visible from the nave. This solution was presumably introduced in the Eparchy of Eperjes in the late 19th century under Galician (Ukraine) influence.

²⁹ On the theories of ornamentation in the 19th century, the roots and their influence: Debates About National Ornamentation Between 1873 and 1907 by Katalin Sinkó: *Viták a nemzeti ornamentika körül 1873–1907 között*, in: Vadas, Ferenc (Ed.), *Romantikus kastély: Tanulmányok Komárik Dénes tiszteletére*, Budapest, 2004, 399–434.



Arts, designed by Lechner, who was inspired by the forms of Indian and Persian buildings.³⁰

The interwar period between the two wars and the first decades of socialism

Greek Catholics were not in an easy position in the traumatized environment of Hungary following the First World War and the collapse of the Monarchy. The appropriate institutions of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog were not established due to the war, it did not have its own seminary and the ordinands were educated in the Central Roman Catholic Seminary in Budapest. Public opinion became hostile again, the Hungarian identity of Greek Catholics was often questioned, sometimes calling them Romanian or sometimes Slavic.

In this perspective, it is no wonder that relatively few works of art were made in the interwar period. Hungarian saints began to occupy a prominent place in the iconography of Greek Catholic churches from the 1930s, as a result of the jubilee years proclaimed

in honour of St. Emeric and St. Stephen. A new altar was built in the church on Rózsák Square in Budapest in 1934, with Byzantine motifs taken from the so-called St. Stephen's sarcophagus. The nave was also repainted at this time, highlighting historical themes: one of the murals shows St. Stephen and Queen Gizella visiting the Greek nuns in Veszprémvölgy, who worked on the coronation mantle. This painting is one of the early works of Manó Petrasovszky (1902–1976), who was born in a family of priests and graduated from the Budapest School of Applied Arts.³¹ The interior of the Baroque St. Florian's Chapel on Fő Street in Buda, which had become the property of Greek Catholics, was renovated a few years later. The iconography was developed by Greek Catholic Art Historian Tibor Gerevich (1882–1954), the pictures were painted by Jenő Medveczky (1902–1969) of the Roman School.³²

The culmination of the historical theme and Petrasovszky's work at the same time is a monumental panel he painted in the apse of the Church in

³⁰ Sisa, József. Lechner: Az alkotó géniusz, in: Id. (Ed.): *Lechner: Az alkotó géniusz*, Budapest, 2014, 19–20.

³¹ Terdik, 2013b, 193–197, Pictures 3 and 4. About Petrasovszky's life and oeuvre: Olbert Mariann: Petrasovszky Emmánuel (1902–1976), *Miskolci Keresztény Szemle: a KÉSZ ökumenikus kulturális folyóirata*, 3(2007), 2. szám, 62–80; Olbert, 2010; Matits, Ferenc – Olbert, Mariann. Petrasovszky Leó és Emmánuel festőművészek munkássága, *A Herman Ottó Múzeum évkönyve*, 49(2010), 365–378.

³² Memorial inscriptions refer to the renovation in 1938 in the vestibule of the church. Legeza, 2011, 30; Terdik, 2013b, 195–196.

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Máriapócs in the first years of the Second World War, featuring important figures related to the history of the shrine and Hungarian Greek Catholicism in addition to presenting the veneration of Mary in Hungary.³³

Petrasovszky was commissioned to paint several churches in the communist period. He decorated the triumphal arch of the church in Miskolc with a mural depicting Hungarian saints worshipping the *Patrona Hungariae* in the first half of the 1950s, so a Hungarian theme was added to the Hungarian ornamentation three decades later.³⁴ We can read about Petrasovszky's artistic principles, his relationship to religious themes and the Eastern tradition in his writings published in the columns of the magazine *Keleti Egyház (Eastern Church)* before the Second World War. He learned icon painting mainly from the works of German Catholic authors, whom he considered to be worth following. He did not touch on the issue of Hungarian Greek Catholic art separately, but he was rather interested in the relationship with the Eastern tradition.³⁵ In comparison, he basically

referred to the traditions of icons only by using the golden background and Greek letters in his works, like Roskovic's. His style was initially determined by Baroque religious painting and the realistic experience of the modern age on his early murals (Végyardó) and his altarpieces (Martyrdom of St. Peter and Paul, Sárospatak, 1942; Picture 8) alike. His painting became more expressive during the decades of communism and seemed to be inspired by the late Gothic style of Germany, especially Grünewald: his figures became elongated, sometimes almost distorted, referring to the spiritual experience of the depicted persons (cf. the former altarpiece of St. Nicholas Church in Nyíregyháza, painted in the 1960s; Pic. 9).

The rediscovery of icons after the Second Vatican Council

The relationship with the iconostasis radically changed several times in the area of today's Hajdúdorog Metropolitanate in the 20th century. The beginning of the break with the traditions was indicated by the fact

³³ Terdik, 2013b, 195–197, Pictures 5 and 6. The sketch of the mural: *ibid*, Cat. 442. 251. Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 201–209.

³⁴ The painting of the mural was commissioned in 1951 and consecrated in 1954. GKPL, I–1–a, 2203/1951, 1587/1952, 1286/1954, 1729/1954.

³⁵ Petrasovszky Emánuel: A bizánci művészet szelleme, I–VI, *Keleti Egyház*, 1(1934), 65–69, 95–100, 154–158, 191–195, 227–232, 258–263. *Id. A bizánci képrás mai szemmel, Keleti Egyház*, 4(1937), 60–66, 171–178.



that most of the city churches built around 1900 no longer had any iconostasis (e. g. Nyíregyháza, Hajdúböszörmény, Debrecen) and the existing ones were demolished in many places in the interwar period. This trend lasted until the 1960s.³⁶

What could have been the reason why the central towns of the later Eparchy of Hajdúdorog were the first in the Carpathian Basin, where the special decoration of Greek Catholic churches, the iconostasis, was deliberately neglected? Obviously, much depended on the financial strength of the community, but a more important factor could have been the attitude of the priest and the believers. It should be noted about the financial background, that the First World War proved fatal for several parishes, because the money collected for the iconostasis was invested in war loans, which became completely devalued and no funds were left for these works later. The attitude of the clergy and the believers to the Byzantine liturgy must have changed by the beginning of the 20th century and became dominant in the first half of the century. Due to Roman Catholic influence, more and more people believed that the altar and the priest should be seen

during the liturgical acts. The iconostasis could no longer be seen in its original context, as a link mystically connecting the heavenly forces and the earthly community, but it was rather regarded as a wall disturbing and separating the spectacle. It is difficult to decide which group played a greater role in the spread of the new approach: the clergy or rather that part of the believers, who wanted to conform to the majority of the society in all areas, including the Latin rite of the Catholic Church, which was regarded to be of a higher order at that time. An important factor in the development of resentment against the iconostasis may have been the fact that the Greek Catholic clergy studied almost entirely in a Roman Catholic environment in the interwar period, which posed a threat to the Greek rite, as István Miklósy, the first bishop of the Eparchy warned, when he urged the government to set up a Greek Catholic seminary. Although the ordinands studying in the Latin seminary had rite teachers, the two churches in the capital did not set a really good example with their furnishings.

It seems that Bishop Miklós Dudás did not encourage the building of iconostases until the 1960s,

³⁶ I have already written about this issue before: Terdik, Szilveszter. La trasformazione del ruolo dell'iconostasi nella tradizione greco cattolica ungherese, *Folia Athanasiana*, 14(2012), 59–66.

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although he did not support the demolition of the existing ones at all. Every dean was asked in 1960 to report in detail, when and where, who and why demolished an iconostasis in each district. We only know some of the answers. Thereafter, the Eparchy emphatically drew the priests' attention to the fact, that the furnishings of the churches could not be changed without the bishop's permission.

A radical change was brought about by the decision of the Second Vatican Council on the Eastern Catholic Churches, which encouraged them to return to the original traditions of their rite. Of course, this also had an effect on the formation of liturgical spaces.

An iconostasis was built in the Eparchy after a long time, in the chapel of the seminary, on the initiative of Pál Bacsóka (1929–1995), with the blessing of Bishop Miklós Dudás in 1965.³⁷ The pictures of the iconostasis were painted by Alice B. Bélaváry³⁸ (Picture 10).

It was a big problem that there were no artists familiar with icon painting at that time, as the technical and iconographic knowledge severely declined in Orthodox communities from the 19th century, as they also came under almost complete Western influence. The relationship to icons began to change radically throughout Western culture from the early 20th century, especially after the First World War. Icon painting was despised by painters, who pursued realism and naturalism in art, favoured by the academies, but it was just rediscovered by avant-garde groups of modern artists. They were particularly impressed by the abstract nature of the icons. The Soviet Union sold the icons of many demolished churches to the West, although later they began to restore the more valuable pieces themselves, and consequently the traditional technique of icon painting was rediscovered.³⁹ Hungarian Greek Catholics could read about the second flourishing of icons from the articles of Manó Petrasovszky in the 1930s. However, the effect of the rediscovered icons in Hungarian cultural life can only be seen really from the 1960s. The publishers of the Socialist Bloc published a number of icon albums. The “friendly” socialist countries became the almost exclusive destination due to travel limitations, where the receptive Hungarian audience directly saw the icons.

The availability of art albums also determined the pictorial program of the churches. Painter János Szilágyi (1911–1978) worked in several places from the 1960s. He painted a large mural in the apse of the church of Mátészalka in 1967, commemorating the first Hungarian Holy Liturgy celebrated in Rome, according to the text on the painting. It is already visible on the Christ of this mural, that Szilágyi used albums of old Russian paintings as models (Pic. 11). When he planned the painting of the church in Csengerújfalu in 1973, Bishop Dudás asked him to make the

³⁷ Új ikonosztázion Nyíregyházán, *Új Ember*, 21(1965), 52. szám, 6. Nagymihályi refers to the Council and briefly outlines the process: Nagymihályi Géza. Régi és új a görögkatolikus magyarság egyházművészetében, in: Timkó, Imre (Ed.). *A Hajdúdorogi Bizánci Katolikus Egyházmegye jubileumi emlékkönyve, 1912–1987*, Nyíregyháza, 1987, 78–80.

³⁸ Alice B. Bélaváry was the daughter of painters István Burchard Bélaváry and Enrica Coppini and the widow of painter Ödön Vaszkó. She was living in Pestszentlőrinc and died on 19 December 1972 in Budapest. Her art was defined by the modern trends of the period. She also painted iconostases for Tiszaeszlár and Rakaca (for the chapel). Her art was praised mainly in the Catholic press in the 1960s. See: Freskókartonok között, *Új Ember*, 18(1962), 46. szám, 4. Sinkó, Katalin. Bélaváry B. Alice műtermi kiállításáról, *Vigilia*, 28(1963), 6. szám, 373.

³⁹ Gatrall – Greenfield, 2010. Jazykova, Irina. „Io faccio nuova ogni cosa”: *L'icona nel XX secolo*, Bergamo, 2002.

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compositions even more Byzantine in terms of iconography, based on an icon album from Novgorod.⁴⁰

Parish churches also began to construct iconostases after the example of the seminary chapel. Pál Nagy-Megyeri (Mezőzombor, Ózd, Nyírlövő) was considered an artist, who surpassed copying and making only reproductions. He was inspired by modern painting and used a more abstract formal language,

Painter László Puskás came from a family of priests in Transcarpathia. He graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Lviv and received assignments since the 1980s. He integrated the best of modern art in his icon painting. He painted murals in the churches of many places (e.g. Garadna, Felsőzsolca, Sárospatak, Hajdúdorog) in addition to iconostases (e.g. Mogyoróska, Vizsoly). He also made mosaics mostly for Roman Catholic, but also Orthodox orders after 1990. His most significant work was the cycle of Hungarian saints in the Hungarian chapel of the

⁴⁰ Noted by my father, Mihály Terdik, the parish priest at the time.

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Sanctuary of Divine Mercy in Kraków and a mosaic of the martyr Blessed Tódor Romzsa in the garden of the Greek Catholic Chapel of Sárospatak-Kispatak in 2011 (see also Cat. III.51., IV.49–51.).

László Kárpáti studied drawing and humanities and then worked as a museologist. He began to work as an artist in the late 1970s, observing technical and formal traditionalism. His icons are characterized by a very precise structure of drawing and a restrained, sometimes almost avant-garde use of colours (see Cat. IV.48). He has also revived traditional decoration techniques in several cases. His works are there in many of our churches, even in Hungarian communities in Slovakia (Nagytárkány/Velké Trakany, Királyhelmece/Kráľovský Chlmec).

Icon painting also gained a new momentum after the political changes: a group of artists, who graduated from the College (later University) of Fine Arts, deliberately began to paint icons. One of them, Zsolt

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Maklary paints icons in “full-time”, taking only church and private orders (see Cat. IV.52–53). His wife, graphic artist Teréz Maklary also became a partner in his work and she painted some groups of pictures on her own (e.g. Nyírlövő, Nyíregyháza-Örökösöld; Pictures 12–13). Zolt Maklary introduced a quality showing technical and iconographic knowledge in his church mural painting, that had long been unknown for Hungarian Greek Catholics. In addition to his murals (e.g. Tiszaújváros [Picture 14], Bekecs, Gáva, Kispaták, Szatmárnémeti, Tokaj), his iconostases are also of outstanding significance (e.g. Hajdúböszörmény, Gáva, Bekecs, Nyíregyháza-Kertváros, Debrecen; Picture 15). His works can also be found in Hungarian Greek Catholic churches across the border. He is currently working on the murals of the rebuilt chapel of the seminary in Nyíregyháza. His art is characterized by a conscious search for a specific Hungarian way of icon painting.

Sculptor Géza Sallai, teacher at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts in Budapest, made the new bronze gate of the Hajdúdorog Cathedral for the centenary of the founding of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in 2012 (Picture 16),⁴¹ in addition to some iconostases (e.g. Nyíregyháza-Jósaváros, Szirmabesenyő, Lövőpetri). The iconography evokes the typological system of medieval antecedents, the formation of the figures starts from Byzantine shapes, but the motifs of the frame structure are surprisingly modern.

Viktória Monostory creates and experiments in various genres in addition to traditional reproduced graphic works and panel pictures. She created an icon with a special effect most recently, combining the techniques of making enamel, glass and mosaic (cf. Cat. IV.61).

The representatives of the younger and the youngest generations are the painter-restorers, who also paint icons. János Korényi (iconostases: in Satu Mare and Szolnok) and Tamás Seres started from very different traditions and they have a perfect technical knowledge. Sometimes they try to surpass the present possibilities and boundaries of icon painting. Tamás Seres gave evidence of a technical and not only formal diversity, when he painted exterior murals, that are rare in our tradition (on the facade of the Bishop’s Residence and the Cathedral in Miskolc, the Monastery of Sajópálfala). Among his iconostases, the monumental paintings in the St. Nicholas Cathedral in Nyíregyháza are also very diverse in terms of iconography (its stone-clad structure was designed by László Kárpáti), which characterizes the iconostasis of the seminary chapel that is now being built (Pictures 17 and 18).

We can say that the existence and the necessity of the iconostasis is perhaps not questioned by anyone in the clergy today and not disputed by the majority of the believers. The painters and carvers, who work on iconostases, are mostly well acquainted with the traditions, but they are also highly trained in arts and crafts. Of course, the real question is whether these iconostases built with a great material sacrifice are accompanied by a proper reflection on behalf of the community: that is, whether they really promote the deepening of faith, or just become empty monuments of exhibitionism. Because it is not the size of the iconostasis, the amount of the shining gold, but instead its quality and rather the internal life of the communities, which really shows that the icons—fulfilling their

⁴¹ Lakos, Attila. Sallai Géza hajdúdorogi bronz templomkapujáról, *Műértő*, 14(2012), 12. szám, 8.



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original role—can and could form their customers and observers to become the true witnesses of the Word.

The issue of tradition and modernity in architecture

The relevant reinterpretation and application of the Byzantine tradition in architecture is much more difficult than in painting. The architecture of Greek Catholicism in the interwar period was determined by the attraction to the Neo-Baroque (e.g. the churches of Nyírbátor and Penészlek), as it was typical of the majority religious communities in the country. The new central buildings of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in Nyíregyháza were designed in Neo-Baroque style in the 1940s, of which only the Episcopal Palace was not built (see Cat. IV.36).

It was not easy to build a church for a long time after the communist takeover and the building

communities often had to face the deliberate objection of the authorities.⁴² The seminary in Nyíregyháza set a good example in reviving the tradition, as in the case of the iconostasis. The bishop at that time, Imre Timkó was committed to the revival and strengthening of Eastern spirituality and he set the objective that the change in mentality should also be reflected in external shapes. In the case of the churches, he wanted to give a model with the new chapel,⁴³ designed by László Dávid and consecrated on 16 August 1981. The building really followed the traditions of Byzantine architecture: the dome sits on an octagonal drum above the square-shaped central hall and the sanctuary is enclosed by the three sides of the octagon. You can enter the liturgical space of the church through a small narthex. The exterior masonry was covered by brown and yellow ceramic tiles with horizontal stripes.

⁴² Rév, 1987, 8. Everything required permission from the State Office for Church Affairs. See the articles by Edit Lantos about the church constructions of the period, e.g. Lantos, Edit. Logikai készlet: Új építésű római katolikus templomok (1960–1970), *Ars Hungarica*, 44(2018), 135–154.

⁴³ Timkó, Imre. A bizánci liturgiát körülvevő kultikus egyházművészet, in: Id (szerk.). *A Hajdúdorogi Bizánci Katolikus Egyházmegye jubileumi emlékkönyve, 1912–1987*, Nyíregyháza, 1987, 65–75.

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The church and the parsonage of Edelény was the Greek Catholic building of the period, which received the most attention and recognition from the profession.⁴⁴ It was designed by Ferenc Török in 1979, who had already designed several churches since the

1960s and it was completed in 1983. It was commissioned by Suffragan Bishop of Hajdúdorog Szilárd Keresztes, who expected the designer to study the Byzantine traditions thoroughly before starting the work according to the architect's recollection, even by undertaking a study trip to Greece. The architect began to implement the plans to meet these requirements. Török said that he was captivated by the double attachment to the Eastern Catholic Church, his adherence to Eastern traditions during the design of the church and the loyalty to Rome at the same time, that could have been reflected in architecture according to him. At the same time, the house, the church marks the unchangeable in the changing world for the architect, that he thought to have really experienced at the buildings of the monasteries of Athos. The completed church in Edelény has a hexagonal floor plan, the roof has a low pitch and an open truss with a hexagonal glass lantern in the middle. The whole church was covered with crushed grey marble from Rakaca. It really seems to evoke Eastern traditions with the use of local materials, due to the contrast of stone and wood and with the impressive, Mediterranean-inspired exterior and central floor plan.⁴⁵

Ferenc Török and his students designed several churches in the following decades, which were also appreciated by the profession: e.g. Nyíregyháza-Jósvaváros, Kazincbarcika, Fehérgyarmat (the last two were designed by Mihály Balázs), Hodász, gypsy and Hungarian church (Gábor Csanádi), Csepel (Péter Fejérdy). The most significant project after the turn of the millennium was the new building of the College of Theology in Nyíregyháza, designed by Mihály Balázs. Next to this building, the construction of the new museum of the Metropolitanate and guest house will start now (plans: Mihály Balázs, Dávid Török).

Of course, masters of other architectural trends were also represented here. Several buildings were designed by Csaba Bodonyi (e.g. Encs, Ózd, Szikszó). The "organic" architects were represented by Tamás Nagy (Szolnok) and Imre Makovecz, who designed the church in Csenger with a wooden dome, which replaced the modern basilica—designed by Ferenc Bán and consecrated in 1983—fifteen years later.

The general features of churches built between 1980 and 2008 can be summarized as follows: 1. a floor plan using regular central shapes: square, circle,

⁴⁴ Rév, Ilona. Napjaink templomépítészetéről, *Művészet*, 27(1986), 9. szám, 44–47. Rév, 1987, 93–95.

⁴⁵ *Architektúra – Vallomások: Török Ferenc*, Budapest, 1997, 22–23, 40. Floor plan and good photo documentation with a short description by Ferenc, Török: *Magyar Építőművészet*, 76(1985), 1. szám, 31–33.



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octagon and hexagon, which are sometimes extended with different asymmetrically structured annex spaces to break the centrality; 2. the combination of natural materials, stone, brick and wood cladding and structures, wood is mostly used in dome-like and tower-like superstructures or lanterns; 3. they deliberately (?) do not have spherical shapes (dome or half-dome) due to technical difficulties and high material costs on the one hand, as well as the fear of becoming similar to the substandard orthodox church buildings in neighbouring countries on the other hand; 4. the relationship of architects to the other genres of art is not always clear: there is often resentment and distrust against murals, icons and decorations.

Although most of the architects sought to study the traditions and the liturgy of the commissioning community in order to take them into account in the design, the judgment of the community of the users about the result was often ambiguous. No wonder, as the Greek Catholic communities are also diverse, constantly



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seeking new ways. Buildings of the Latin tradition would still be an example to follow for many of them.

The Liturgical Committee of the Eparchy began to work actually from the time of Bishop Fülöp Kocsis, where, in addition to the bishop (bishops from 2011), theologians and secular experts compiled a document on the fundamentals of church building to help the architects commissioned to design churches (the Committee of Ecclesiastical Art and Church Building was set up in 2015 after leaving the Liturgical Committee).

The document strongly urges the active application of the Byzantine tradition in the spirit of the *Instruction to the Eastern Catholic Churches*,⁴⁶ issued in Rome in 1996, but also draws attention to the importance of observing the local traditions. Only a few churches were built in the last decade (e.g. Miskolc-Szirma, Gödöllő, Dunakeszi, Nyíregyháza-Örökösöld, Szikszó, Budaörs). It is not easy to assess them: they formally draw a lot from the

⁴⁶ The document was issued in 1996, but the Hungarian translation was only published in 2010. The title: *Instructions for applying the liturgical provisions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*, <https://katolikus.hu/dokumentumtar/2976> (downloaded on 1 May 2020).

Byzantine tradition, which was sometimes too little for the client, but rather too much for the architects. It is not yet clear where the thin borderline between tradition and modernity lies (or may lie), that would connect the ordering communities and the architects, who are loyal to their professional principles, instead of separating them.

List of pictures

1. Bishop of Mukacheve Elek Pócsi's portrait by Mihály Mankovits. Transcarpathian Boksay József County Museum of Fine Art, Uzhhorod
2. Saint Cyril and Methodius by Ignác Roskovics, 1876. Transcarpathian Boksay József County Museum of Fine Art, Uzhhorod
3. The plan of the iconostasis at the church on Rózsák Square in Budapest, 1905. Budapest City Archives
4. The iconostasis at the church on Rózsák Square in Budapest.
5. The Protection of the Mother of God Greek Catholic Cathedral in Debrecen
6. The dome of the cathedral in Debrecen with murals by Ferenc Lohr, 1910.
7. The iconostasis at the Dormition of the Mother of God Greek Catholic Cathedral in Miskolc
8. *The Martyrdom of the Apostles St. Peter and Paul* by Manó Petrasovszky.
9. *Crucifixion* by Manó Petrasovszky. Episcopal headquarters, Sárospatak
10. *Iconostasis* by Alice B. Bélaváry, 1965. The inner chapel of the Seminary in Nyíregyháza
11. *The Reigning Christ* by János Szilágyi, mural. The Protection of the Mother of God Greek Catholic Church, Mátészalka
12. *The Mother of God with the Child* by Teréz Maklárý. Holy Trinity Greek Catholic Church, Nyíregyháza-Örökösöld
13. *Christ the Teacher* by Teréz Maklárý. Holy Trinity Greek Catholic Church, Nyíregyháza-Örökösöld
14. *Pantocrator* by Zsolt Maklárý. Greek Catholic Church, Tiszaújváros
15. *Iconostasis* by Zsolt Maklárý, 2011, Cathedral, Debrecen
16. Bronze gate by Géza Sallai, 2012. First Cathedral, Hajdúdorog
17. *The Mother of God with the Child* by Tamás Seres. Iconostasis at the Seminary Chapel of the Protection of the Mother of God, Nyíregyháza
18. *Christ the Teacher* by Tamás Seres. Iconostasis at the Seminary Chapel of the Protection of the Mother of God, Nyíregyháza



by Mátyás Hittner (?),
first half of the 19th century,
oil on wooden panel
133 × 70 cm, supplemented 154,5 × 70 cm
Conserved by Alexandra Erdős, Tamás Sándor Szabó
(Hungarian University of Fine Arts), 2015/16.
Greek Catholic Church of the Protection of the Mother of
God, Nyírpazony

The Mother of God stands on a foreshortening light-coloured ground against a brown background, holding her child on her left hand and a translucent globe in her right hand, which Jesus seems to support with his left and bless with his right hand. The Virgin Mary's surprisingly colourful clothes are richly pleated: her underdress is white and blue, her robe is pale and darker pink with a green lining and a thick ochre border. There are no captions on the picture, a golden halo shines around the head of the Virgin Mary and Jesus.

The parish of Nyírpazony was founded at the end of the 17th century. The first wooden church was replaced by an adobe church, built by the community from around 1760 and consecrated on 7 May 1766 (according to the old calendar) by Dean of Szabolcs and Parish Priest of Hajdúdorog András Bacsinszky. The records of the 18th and 19th century visitations show, that the church had an iconostasis (1781, GKPL, IV – 1 – a, fasc. 2, no. 16). The picture wall was renewed around 1822, but it is not clear how it was done and the dean visiting the parish was not satisfied with the result (Nyirán–Majchricsné Ujteleki, 2017, 313). No altarpiece was mentioned during any of the visits. Local Parish Priest Miklós Máthé described the iconostasis in more detail in 1895: his description says that the four main pictures were painted on wooden panels and the other rows of pictures on canvas –cf. *Kelet*, 8(1895), 7 February. Late-19th-century inventories record a Marian image for the altar. In 1881, the following entry was made: 'The altar is brick-built, with one step at the front; the altarpiece painted on a board shows the Blessed Virgin holding the Infant Jesus in her left arm' (translated from the Hungarian original). (DAZO fond 151, opis 14, no. 16, fol. 10r)

In 1929, the local parish priest asked for permission from Bishop István Miklósy to examine an old image of Mary owned by the parish and, if it was valuable, to offer it for sale to the Primate's Gallery (now the Christian Museum) in Esztergom and spend the money for building a new church. The bishop authorized the investigation, but we have no information as to whether it was done. According to the parish priest, this picture used to be an altarpiece (GKPL, I–1–a, 1929/940). A new church was built between 1930 and 1935 to replace the old church, which was in a poor condition. It was then or perhaps even earlier, that the old iconostasis perished and only the royal door survived. At the moment, it is not possible to decide whether the icon presented here is the same as the altarpiece mentioned in 1929 or as the sovereign-tier icon of the Mother of God from the

old iconostasis. Of the two options, the former appears to be more plausible, especially in light of the 1881 inventory cited above.

The icon of the Mother of God was truncated at the bottom and the top at some time and a closer examination of its conservation also revealed, that it was originally closed in an arc, as the imprint of an arched frame could be observed in the painting of the dark background. We have no information about the painter of the image. On the basis of style criticism, we classified it among the works of Mátyás Hittner, a painter born in Baja. According to archival sources, the main image of the Mother of God on the iconostasis in Hajdúdorog is certainly his work. The pictures in Hajdúdorog and Pazony show similar pictorial solutions, based on which the latter is also dated to the first decade of the 19th century and it is conditionally considered to be Hittner's work. During the conservation, the arched top of the Pazony image and the cut-off lower section were also restored and Mary's missing foot was painted after the pattern of the main image in Hajdúdorog. The Pazony icon may once have been highly revered in the community, as the traces of the nails on which jewellery and votive gifts could once be hung can still be seen on the shoulders of the Virgin Mary. (Sz. T.)

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- Terdik, 2011a, 64, 180, Picture 76.
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Megmentett műkincsek, 2016, 7, kat. 4.
 Erdei T., Lilla. Megmentett műkincsek, *BBC History*, 6(2016), 9. szám, 15.

IV.2.2 Bishop St. Nicholas the Wonderworker *Catalogue IV.22*



by István Melczer, 1849
oil on canvas; contemporary gilded wooden frame with
cast decorations
painting: 74.5 × 61 cm, frame: 88 × 73.5 cm
Conservation: Róbert Cseke (Hungarian University of Fine
Arts), 2012/13.
Greek Catholic Church of The Nativity of the Mother of
God, Csegöld

Writing on the back:
A csegöldi templomnak / adta / B. Vécsey Miklós. /
Festette Melczer István / kir. Táblai Előadó / 1849
esztendőben Pesten.
For the church in Csegöld / given / by Miklós B. Vécsey. /
Painted by István Melczer / Clerk at the Royal Court of
Justice / in 1849 in Pest.

Bishop St. Nicholas stands in full bishop's vestments in a frontal setting against a blue background (his Old Church Slavonic name is written in Cyrillic in the background), blessing with his right hand, holding an open book in his left hand, where the beginning of the gospel passage of his feast can be read in Old Church Slavonic: "And he came down with them, and stood on a level place ..." (Luke 6:17). There is a sea or river with different types of boats behind him.

Csegöld's Gothic brick church was built in the 14th century and rebuilt at the end of the following century, then taken away from the Reformed Church by the Vécsey

family, the patrons of the village in 1780 and handed over to the newly settled Roman Catholic serfs and five years later it was transferred to the larger Greek Catholic community. Although the building suffered major alterations in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century, it still retains many medieval details (cf. Terdik, 2014h, 179–180).

The significance of the image of St. Nicholas is raised by the fact that the memories of the personal care of the patron is quite rare in our churches. However, Baron Miklós Vécsey (1789–1854) not only wanted to please his Greek Catholic serfs, but also expressed his respect for his own patron. Incidentally, Vécsey dealt a lot with the country's water affairs, especially with the issue of the regulation of the Tisza River, which may also have encouraged him to honour the patron saint of sailors, Bishop Miklós in this form. The painter of the picture, István Melczer (1810–1896), was not a professional artist, only an art-loving lawyer, who could certainly have had a close relationship with Vécsey, perhaps in connection with national politics. This image is a dilettante work in a good sense, its creator presumably copied Serbian or Greek engravings and icons, which were also easily accessible in Pest, as these two Orthodox communities had churches in the city.

A year later – perhaps encouraged by the gift of the patron – the community began to build the iconostasis on its own. József Stéfány, a painter living and working in Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*) was contracted for woodwork, painting and gilding. He undertook to complete the work by 26 July 1851, for which he received 500 forints in four instalments and 8 butts of wheat (NYEL, II–4–a). The iconostasis completely perished during the reconstructions, we can only have an idea about it on the basis of a photograph taken around 1900: it was a plank wall filling almost the entire triumphal arch and was adorned with a few very simple carved ornaments. Almost nothing can be seen from the paintings on the photo, all that is certain is that Vécsey's painting of St. Nicholas was on the iconostasis as a main picture. (Sz. T.)

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Terdik, 2011a, 75–76, 185, Picture 88.

IV.2.2 The Removal of Christ from the Cross

Catalogue IV.23



second half of the 19th century

oil on zinc plate

64 × 95 cm

Conservation: Anna Bajzik (Hungarian University of Fine Arts), 2015/16.

Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art Collection, No. 2012,197. (A85), Nyíregyháza

The body of the dead Christ is lowered by three men standing on a ladder with the help of a white sheet, assisted by Apostle John, Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene and a third woman standing in the foreground.

The composition is a distant variant of P. P. Rubens' 17th century altarpiece from Antwerp of the same subject and its painter certainly knew the famous antitype or one of its later versions from an engraving.

The iconostasis of the church in Nyíradony, made in the 1860s, was demolished in 1952 and most of the surviving paintings were given to the Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art Collection in 1983. A photograph from the 1930s was preserved in the Photograph Collection of the Museum of Ethnography, which clearly shows that it had only two lines with thirteen icons (published in Terdik, 2011a, 187, Pic. 96). The main image of St. Michael was signed by Ernő Gyulai in 1865 (Sz. Kürti, Katalin. *Köztéri szobrok és épületdíszítő alkotások Debrecenben és Hajdú-Biharban*, Debrecen, 1977, 26–27, Picture VII).

The painting *The Removal from the Cross* hung above one of the deacon's doors. During the conservation, it turned out that the picture was substantively repainted, which was confirmed by the examination of the other images of the iconostasis: at least two or three painters worked on them.

The Removal from the Cross was reworked very soon after its completion according to the cross-sections taken from its coat of paint. The same was done with the main images of Christ and St. Michael, while the images of the Apostles showed no trace of reworking.

The picture above the other deacon's gate (*The Last Supper*) – whose style is the closest relative of this painting – was repainted in a similar way. On this basis, we can assume that the paintings in the lower line were made earlier than those of the apostles, so the painter of the latter had to “standardize” them and harmonize the already existing paintings with his own works. During the rework, the background of all the paintings was changed to a characteristic purple, cloudy sky. Only the icon of St. Michael has a signature (Ernő Gyulai) on its upper coat of paint, which is different in style, but we can still not clearly identify the painter of *The Removal from the Cross* on this basis. We know from the research of Katalin Sz. Kürti, that Gyulai's name appeared in 1863 together with István Burszky, another artist from Debrecen and they worked together several times according to the contemporary press. There is no information available about Gyulai after his work in Adony in 1865, he seems to have left Debrecen for good. Burszky died in 1877 – cf. Sz. Kürti Katalin: *Régi debreceni családi képek* (A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, 48), Debrecen, 1987, 22, 24. The closely following painting interventions on the pictures in Nyíradony suggest, that they also worked together here and Gyulai may have completed and standardized the paintings. The other work of the painter is not or little known. (Sz. T.)

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Megmentett műkincsek, 2016, 5, kat. 2.

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IV.2.2 The Last Supper

Catalogue IV.24



by György Révész, 1857
oil painting on canvas in contemporary frame
87 × 178 cm with frame:
Conserved by Ferenc Varga, 2020.
Signed at the bottom left: festette Révész 857.
The first Greek Catholic Cathedral of the Presentation of the Mother of God, Hajdúdorog

Most of the disciples sit behind a table set with a long white tablecloth. Christ sits in the centre, blessing the bread in his left hand with his right hand, certainly saying the very founding words of the Eucharist. The figure of the Saviour is highlighted by the dazzling light of the background, shining and then gradually fading from behind the two columns of the room, surrounded by drapery. A two-armed candle hangs from the ceiling. Five disciples sit on the left of Christ, one of them stands at the end of the table. Judas sits in the foreground, staring at Christ with a distorted look and slightly leaning forward, squeezing his purse in his left hand on his thigh. Of the seven disciples at Jesus' right, the unbearded John sits next to the Master, one of the two disciples at the end of the table stands, but they can hardly be seen in the darkness. The full-figure apostle sitting in the foreground raises his right hand in front of his forehead, as if blinded by the bright light coming from behind the Master. The water jug at his outstretched left foot may refer to the foot washing.

The details of how the picture was ordered are not yet known. It was the main altarpiece of the Hajdúdorog Cathedral until the 1950s, when it was replaced by

a large canvas painting by Manó Petrasovszky (see Cat. IV.47.). Its painter, György Révész studied painting in Vienna in the 1840s and then in Munich after the War of Independence in 1848, in which he also took part. He wanted to become the official painter of the Diocese of Mukacheve before the revolution, but he was not appointed by the chief pastor in the end. He also painted several iconostases and pulpits in other churches. He received a larger assignment in 1868, when he painted *St. Stephen Converts the Hungarians* on the vault above the western gallery, ten years after the completion of the altarpiece in Hajdúdorog. (Sz. T.)

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IV.2.2 Chalice

Catalogue IV.25



1880s, master stamp B, Diana-head hallmark
silver, gilded; hammered, cast
height: 24 cm, stand diameter: 16.5 cm, mouth
width: 9.8 cm
Conserved by Veronika Szilágyi, 2017.
Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art Collection, No. 1999.8.
(B 8), Nyíregyháza

The stand of the chalice has a profiled rim, the mantle is cone-shaped and is adorned with two lines of cast silver overlays depicting Greek crosses, shining in front of a background with aureole, placed in medallions of different diameters. The vase-shaped nodus has reliefs of instruments referring to the Passion of Christ. Among the floral ornaments of the bowl, there are silver twenty-kreuzer coins, mint between 1839 and 1848, each showing the side with the *Patrona Hungariae*. An engraved inscription runs around the edge of the stand: „Gavora József. Budapest Pásztor Árkád 1883 november 20-án. – József Gavora. Budapest, Árkád Pásztor on 20 November 1883.”

József Gavora operated a company trading in devotional articles with József Zambach from 1880 in Budapest – cf. *Központi Értesítő*, 5(1880), No. 125. Árkád Pásztor (1844–1916) was a Basilian monk, who served in Máriapócs at the time of making the inscription, but it is not yet known what event was commemorated by this chalice. It is possible, that it was made for sale, as the companies trading in sacred objects also turned up at the pilgrimages in Pócs. However, Pásztor's relationship with his order deteriorated and he carried on priestly work independent of the Basilians from 1902. He bequeathed his property and estates to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, founded in 1912. He died at their temporary headquarters in Nyíregyháza during the First World War. This chalice came into the possession of the Eparchy from his legacy, which evokes the memory of goldsmith's works with coins by its making technique, popular in the 16th and 17th centuries. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Puskás, 2012, 9 (photo without description)

IV.2.2 Memory Book on the Roman Pilgrimage of Greek Catholic Hungarians

Catalogue IV.26



*A Görög Szertartású Katolikus Magyarok Országos Bizottsága kiadása
(Memory Book on the Roman Pilgrimage of Greek Catholic Hungarians
Published by the National Committee of Greek Catholic Hungarians)
Hungária Nyomda, Budapest, 1901
206 pages, 18 photo boards, two maps
in red leather binding with gilded printed letters and embellishment
36.7 × 27.4 × 2.8 cm
Conserved by Péter Kovács, 2020.
Library of the Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, No. M 1621*

In the Jubilee and Holy Year of 1900, the National Committee of Greek Catholic Hungarians organized a representative pilgrimage to Rome for four hundred and sixty-one people, led by Bishop of Prešov János Vályi and Bishop of Mukacheve Gyula Firczák. The papal audience took place at 11 a.m. on 9 March in the so-called Hall of Beatification (*Aula delle Beatificazioni*). The Hungarian pilgrims marched through the *Scala Regia*, led by the two bishops and followed by Jenő Szabó and university student János Prodán, who carried the Peter's Pence of the pilgrims in a red velvet purse on a green silk pillow, as well as a Latin memorandum written on parchment sheets bound in white cordwain, the cover of which was adorned with the painting *Patrona Hungariae* by Greek Catholic painter Ignác Roskovics. Pope Leo XIII marched into the chapel after 12 noon amid the cheers of the pilgrims. He prayed on his knees at the altar and then gave apostolic blessings. Then he sat down and first received the Greek Catholic bishops, who kissed his hand. János Vályi greeted him in Latin. He emphasized in his speech, that the priests and the followers of the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov were happy to come to Rome in the Holy Year of the Jubilee to express their gratitude and gain full indulgence. They wanted to express their deepest loyalty and homage to the Holy Father for the many good deeds that he did for them. He wanted to bring the attention of the Holy Father to the memory book in which two hundred thousand Greek Catholic Hungarians wished the apostolic approval of the Hungarian language in the Byzantine liturgy. For the reasons set out in the memorandum, he asked the Holy Father to listen to the righteous wishes of the Hungarians and to sanctify the use of the Hungarian language in the liturgy by approving it.

In his reply, Pope Leo XIII expressed his joy, that the Greek Catholics of distant Hungary made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the great apostles in the year of the Jubilee and showed their allegiance to the Holy See. He assured them of his continuing paternal care and apostolic blessing. The audience ended then and the pilgrims said goodbye to the Holy Father amid cheering and tears of joy. The pilgrimage could achieve a result: it demonstrated that there was a significant number of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics, whose situation the Holy See had to solve.

A representative memory book on the pilgrimage was published in Budapest in 1901 in order to acquaint the grandchildren and the whole of Christian Hungary with the efforts of Hungarian Greek Catholics "not only from a word-of-mouth tradition, but also from an ornate book to be inherited from father to son". The volume

consists of a foreword written by the organizer of the pilgrimage, Jenő Szabó, a thirty-five-page report on the Roman pilgrimage and appendices compiled from documents. Appendix 1 is a draft of the Latin and Hungarian speech, that Bishop of Prešov János Vályi intended to give to Pope Leo XIII. The second one lists the names of the people who took part in the pilgrimage. Appendix 3 contains the text of the memorial handed over to the Holy Father, arguing for the establishment of the Hungarian Eparchy on the basis of historical, liturgical and ecclesiastical considerations, and finally refutes the objections. There are eight annexes to this third Appendix 3. The first one contains the program of the national board, the second one records the list of the presidency and Committee of the National Board, and the third one presents the speech of President Jenő Szabó, which he gave at the time of its foundation. Annex 4 contains the invitation to the Greek Catholics to join the organisation, followed by the signed declaration of its adopters in Annex 5. The sixth one shows the parishes that have joined the National Board as a diocese. The map of Annex 7 shows the settlements inhabited by the Greek Catholic Hungarians in Hungary and Annex 8 those in Transylvania.

The *Memory Book* was reprinted in 2000 by the Károly Mészáros City Library in Hajdúdorog on the occasion of the centenary of the pilgrimage at the initiative of the Association of Local History and City Protection. (Gy. J.)

Patrona Hungariae (Our Lady of Hungary)

Catalogue IV.27



by Ignác Roskovics, 1905

oil painting on canvas in contemporary decorative frame
size: 2.40 × 1.60 cm with the frame:

signed

Conserved by Péter Boromissza, 1999.

Greek Catholic Church of the Protection of the Mother of God (Our Lady of Hungary), Budapest

In front of a shining golden mandorla with sunrays, the Virgin Mary sits on a throne completely covered by clouds, which is only indicated by the three steps leading to it, adorned with white lilies and red roses. The Virgin Mary holds a sceptre in her left hand and the almost naked child Jesus sits on her knees, just covered with a white veil, blessing the Holy Crown held in her right hand, which she raises above the Hungarian coat of arms. The face of the Holy Virgin is youthful, wearing a white veil and a small open, jewelled golden crown shining on her head. Her dress is pink, her robe is green and an angel, sitting on a golden crescent, kisses her feet. A green drapery hangs in the middle of

the deep red background. Roskovics' painting is a modernized version of the *Patrona Hungariae* depictions crystallized in the Baroque period.

The capital became an important site for the aspirations of Hungarian Greek Catholics by the end of the 19th century. The establishment of an independent Greek Catholic parish in Budapest proceeded slowly and the capital was only willing to assume the patronage in 1898, if the liturgical language of the parish became Hungarian. After clarifying the controversial issues concerning the various ecclesiastical jurisdictions, the parish was founded in 1905 by Primate Kolos Vaszary and they were given the disused St. Elizabeth's Church standing on Szegényház Square (today Rózsák Square). At the suggestion of the capital city council and the consistory, that was organized, the primate also allowed the church to be dedicated to Our Lady of Hungary. The requirement to emphasize the national character prevailed in the selection of the new patronage. This feast did not exist in the Byzantine rite, since it was not until 1896, that Pope Leo XIII allowed Roman Catholics in Hungary to honour the millennium on the second Sunday in October. The parish priest of the church on Rózsák Square, Emil Melles suggested the indulgence to be held on 1 October according to the old calendar or 14 October according to the new calendar, on the feast of the Protection of the Virgin Mary. He had previously translated the liturgical texts of the feast into Hungarian and he not only wanted to translate them in Budapest, but also to modify their content, but he did not receive permission to do so.

The capital city council authorized the painting of the altarpiece *The Virgin Mary, Patron Saint of Hungary* by Ignác Roskovics during the renovation of the church in 1905, in the same way as it appeared in small size on the cover of the album handed over to the pope with the request of Hungarian Greek Catholics. In addition to the planned 42,000 crowns for the rebuilding of the church, the capital voted an additional 3,000 crowns for the purposes of the altarpiece, thus supplementing the 3,000 crowns already collected by the parish. Roskovics completed the large canvas painting by the end of the year and the city council authorized the payment in December. The painting was placed on the wall of the narrow sanctuary apse of the church. The apse was enlarged with a skylight booth to provide a better place for the picture in 1907. The iconostasis and the altars were also made in that year. Roskovics also worked on the paintings of the iconostasis, consisting of a few, but large pictures. The main image of Christ was made first and the main image of the Virgin Mary was completed in November 1907

(each cost 3,000 crowns). He delivered *The Last Supper* two years later (it cost 4,000 crowns).

Roskovics' composition became an emblematic work of Hungarian Greek Catholics already in 1900. It was featured not only on the cover of the book handed over to Pope Leo XIII, but also on the binding board of the memory book of the Roman pilgrimage, although it was an embossed version instead of a painting. An enamel version of the painting also appeared on the crosier donated to Bishop of Prešov János Vályi in memory of the pilgrimage, which was also made again for the first Bishop of Hajdúdorog István Miklósy (1857–1937) in 1913 (Cat. IV.33). The respect of the painting strengthened further in World War I and afterwards: Roskovics' work inspired the altarpiece of the church in Debrecen and its copy was painted on the iconostasis of the church in Zemplénagárd in the 1920s. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Terdik, 2013b, 191–193, Picture 2.

IV.2.2 The Portrait of Sculptor Ödön Szamovolszky (1878–1914)

Catalogue IV.28



by Sándor Endrey (1867–1940); 1904
oil on canvas
84 × 100 cm
Signed: Endrey S. 1904.
Private collection

The picture shows the half-figure portrait in a three-quarter view of a determined-looking young sculptor, sculpting with his right hand – though only his upper arm is visible – and holding a piece of clay in his left hand. There is a double sculptural bust on a shelf in the top left corner of the painting, as a quiet observer of the work of art still hidden from the viewer. The double bust, entitled *The First Confession*, was modelled by Szamovolszky on himself and his later wife, Márta Kresz in 1904. The statue was cast in several copies, one of which is kept in the Museum of Fine Arts–Hungarian National Gallery.

The work of Ödön Szamovolszky, a Greek Catholic sculptor at the beginning of the 20th century, has been almost completely forgotten. Born in Veliky Bereznii (*Nagyberezna*), he grew up in Uzhhorod under difficult conditions. Szamovolszky attended the pottery school in Uzhhorod from 1892 and two years later he could continue his studies at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest with the help of a scholarship from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Košice. He was a student of sculptor Lajos György Mátrai (1850–1906) there, from whom he also received independent

assignments. As a fourth-year student, he was commissioned by the Greek Catholics to sculpt the bust of Jenő Szabó (1843–1921), a ministerial councillor and member of the House of Magnates, as a sign of their gratitude for the successful founding of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Parish in Budapest. In 1900, Szamovolszky took part in the Roman pilgrimage of Greek Catholics, where he was one of the organizers of the youth section together with János Prodán. In 1903, he sculpted the busts of the Twelve Apostles for the main gate of St. Stephen's Basilica in Budapest. He became independent together with sculptor János Horvay (1874–1944) at that time and they had a studio at the Royal Castle Bazaar. Their first major order was the statue of Count Dénes Andrásy's wife Franciska, erected in 1905 in Rožňava (*Rozsnyó*). As a result of this success, they could build the 1848 national monument a year later in Košice, which was demolished by the Czechs in 1919. He took part in a new competition for making the War of Independence Monument together with István Gách (1880–1962) in 1907 in Budapest, that they won against the great old sculptors (for example György Zala) despite their young age, due to the influence of the foreign members of the jury (it was unfortunately never built). He also sculpted a bust of Pál Vasvári (1826–1849) on the initiative of the Greek Catholics in Budapest, which was never erected, either. He competed for making the Elizabeth Monument, whose main figure he modelled. The life-size bronze statue of *The Praying Miner* was intended for the tomb of his uncle, Baron Ottó Jacobs and it stands on the main square of Gelnica (*Gölnicbánya*) since 1933.

Szamovolszky was ordered to go for recruitment in early December 1914, which he obeyed despite having a flu, since he was an enthusiastic patriot. During the stand about, his condition got worse, had a pneumonia and died on 28 December. On his deathbed, he allegedly sang the hymn beginning with "Holy God, Holy Mighty..." which shows how important being a Hungarian Greek Catholic was to him. The deceased artist was buried two days later in the Kerepesi Cemetery. The capital provided him a decorative tomb and the church ceremony was performed by Parish Priest Emil Melles. His tomb was inaugurated the following year (removed during communism). Szamovolszky died so young, that he could not complete his large-scale assignments. However, his accomplished works testify, that he was really an excellent artist and a versatile talent. (Sz. T.)

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Terdik, Szilveszter. Szamovolszky Ödön (1878–1914) görögkatolikus szobrász, *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 5(2018), 2. szám, 68–71, Picture 6.

IV.2.2 Memoir of János Prodán
on the Roman pilgrimage
Catalogue IV.29



János Prodán was born in 1878 in Szuha-Bronyka (*Szuhabaranka/Бронька*) in Ugocsa County. His father, Demeter Prodán was a Greek Catholic cantor teacher. Due to their severe poverty, János was raised in Uzhgorod by a childless gendarme couple from the age of four. Thanks to his excellent academic achievements and hard work, he studied law in Budapest, where he was also in contact with the parish at Rózsák Square and became a member of the then important Greek Catholic associations and later took an active part in their work (for example in MAGOSZ). He also took part in the 1900 Roman pilgrimage, assuming a lion's share in the organization. He presented his memories, spiced up with many anecdotal details in 1926, which he also published in print, as evidenced by this publication here. His wife was Paula Kresz, whose sister Márta was married to Ödön Szamovolszky, so he became the brother-in-law of his dear friend, the young and talented sculptor. During the First World War, he actively took part in politics in the Ruthenian Party in Hungary. After the cataclysm, he was employed by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, dealing with issues related to the Eastern Churches as a department counsellor in the ministry, but Greek Catholic bishops also sought his advice before their official visits to the ministry. János Prodán was always proud of his Ruthenian origin and Hungarian identity. He fought for the interests of Carpathian Ruthenia after the Trianon Peace Treaty. He also supported the publications of the Transylvanian Guild of Fine Arts. His last minister was Dezső Keresztury (1945–1947), with whom he had a good relationship. He died in Budapest in 1948. (G. P. – Sz. T.)

Visszaemlékezés az 1900. évi görög katolikus magyar római zarándoklatra. A Szent Miklós Budapesti Agapé Társaság 1926. évi március hó 4-iki agapéján előadta: Prodán János min. osztálytanácsos
(Memoir of János Prodán on the Roman pilgrimage
A recollection of the Hungarian Greek Catholic pilgrimage to Rome in 1900. presented by Ministry Department Counsellor János Prodán at the agape of the St. Nicholas Agape Society in Budapest on 4 March 1926)
Bocskay-könyvnyomda, Nyíregyháza, 1926.
20 pages
16 × 10 cm
Private property.

IV.2.2 Tivadar Szojka's Diary of the Roman pilgrimage

Catalogue IV.30

ink on paper

13 pages

34.5 × 21.5 cm

Conserved by Péter Kovács, 2015.

GKPL, IV – 2 – a., Debrecen

The diary was written by Tivadar Szojka, the secular president of the Greek Catholic Parish in Hejőcsaba. It was kept by his family as a precious memory for eighty-seven years, when it was donated by his grandson, dr. Sándor Pálos to the Archives of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog and he described the history of the document in a cover letter.

The diary was not written directly during the pilgrimage, it can be actually considered a recollection. Yet, since his author began to write it immediately, when he returned from the pilgrimage, it is an accurate and authentic source of the events. Tivadar Szojka felt almost obliged to write a report about the trip "in gratitude", as Borsod County paid the travel expenses of three pilgrims, including him. The writing, completed on 25 March 1900, reveals not only an important event for Greek Catholicism, but also the whole journey and its atmosphere. He describes graphically, how a traveller from a Hungarian village might have been amazed during the pilgrimage in Italy. We can also read in the diary, for example, how much they were afraid during the windstorm, that broke out on the high seas and how they felt, when they finally saw the port of Ancona. It is touching to read, how the pilgrims were amazed by the sights of the Eternal City, the size and splendour of St. Peter's Basilica. (B. L.)

The Last Calvary Journey of Greek Catholic Hungarians, 1896–1912

Catalogue IV.31



A szerző dolgozataiból és beszédeiből egybeállította, bevezetővel és jegyzetekkel kíséri Dr. Sztripszky Hiador (The Last Calvary Journey of Greek Catholic Hungarians, 1896–1912 by Jenő Szabó

compiled from the author's papers and speeches, with an introduction and notes by Dr. Hiador Sztripszky)

Ármin Fritz's Press, Budapest, 1913

515 + XXIII pages

gray paper binding with gold and silver printed letters and with a picture

24.8 × 17 × 3.5 cm

Library of Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, No. M–1618, Nyíregyháza

Note on the cover page:

Tiszteletpéldány a szerzőtől / Miklósy István főesperes-parochus / tulajdona. (Complimentary copy from the author/ owned by Archdeacon and Parish Priest István Miklósy)

Jenő Szabó (1843–1921) came from a family of Greek Catholic priests. After his grammar school studies in Uzhgorod, he graduated from the university in Pest. After internships and drafting jobs, he was employed by the Ministry of Transport from 1868, where he worked as a secretary, then joined the railway

department, where he gradually climbed up the professional ladder and eventually became the head of the department. He worked later as a rapporteur of railway nationalization until his retirement. He did a lot to connect the backward Greek Catholic regions to the railway network. He retired in 1893 and his work was rewarded with several state decorations. Then he became the director of the Commercial Bank and he was the first Hungarian Greek Catholic in 1896, who was appointed a member of the House of Magnates. Taking advantage of this extraordinary opportunity, he devoted himself to the cause of Hungarian Greek Catholicism. He took a leading role in the National Board of Greek Catholic Hungarians, founded in 1898, where he was elected president. The primary objective of the National Board was to authorize Hungarian as the liturgical language, then to introduce the Gregorian calendar and to cleanse the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement of its political and nationalist character acquired in the meantime. Jenő Szabó organized a Roman pilgrimage for four hundred and sixty-one Hungarian Greek Catholics in March 1900. He became the President of the Association of Hungarian Greek Catholics in 1902, whose objective was to create the unity of Hungarian Greek Catholics living in different eparchies.

When Jenő Szabó asked Hiador Sztripszky to compile this book, he had a double objective in mind: first, he wanted to publish a documentary supplement to the *Memory Book* on the Roman Pilgrimage, which would have included documents from the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement from the beginnings until establishing the eparchy; and secondly, he wanted to increase the scholarship foundation for Greek Catholic youth studying in higher education in the capital from the sales of the book. He only partially achieved his goals.

The most important topics of the diverse collection of fifty-four newspaper articles and speeches are the struggle for the legitimacy of the Hungarian liturgical language, the need to establish a Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy and the emancipation of Hungarian Greek Catholics: proving that not only Ruthenians or Romanians can be Greek Catholics, and having a seat after the establishment of the Eparchy.

The Hungarian liturgical language was not authorised and even Jenő Szabó realised, that the solution proposed by Archbishop of Esztergom Kolos Vaszary should have been accepted from the beginning, so that the liturgy should have been pronounced in ancient Greek in the anaphora as in the Latin rite and the rest in Hungarian. The liturgy was celebrated according to this rule in the Budapest

church from 1910. It became also clear, that it would have been impossible to use the Hungarian liturgical language without a Hungarian eparchy, so the previous position, that the authorisation of the Hungarian liturgical language would have been sufficient, had to be revised.

On behalf of the new eparchy, Hajdúdorog was accepted for historical reasons, but with the stipulation that as in the case of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, where the real seat became Uzhgorod, the seat of the Bishop of Hajdúdorog should have been in Debrecen, but the city did not accept this and Nyíregyháza was chosen instead.

Two other contradictions emerge from the articles in the book: one on the part of the Romanian Greek Catholics, whose bishops attacked the establishment of the Hungarian eparchy and did everything they could to prevent the use of Hungarian as the liturgical language. The other is the conflict between the National Board in Budapest and Hajdúdorog, which resulted in a sad division in the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement, which hindered and made it difficult to act in unison and delayed the results.

In the closing remarks of the book, Jenő Szabó named the creation of religious and ethnic peace as the most important objective. That is why he set up a foundation of forty thousand crowns, so that fifteen Greek Catholic young people could receive scholarships every year from the interests and he had the foundation of a boarding school as a long-term objective in mind. The author hoped, that the solution of the problems leading to the salvation of souls should have been the most important task of the first bishop of the new eparchy. (Gy. J.)

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IV.2.2 Emperor and King Franz Josef's Diploma
Appointing István Miklós Bishop of Hajdúdorog
Catalogue IV.32



1913
ink on paper, gilding, in a red leather pallium
42.5 × 62 cm, with the pallium: 46.5 × 67.5 cm
Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives, Debrecen

The appointment of Catholic bishops was the right of the current Hungarian king on the basis of the *ius supremi patronatus*, i.e. the right of patronage in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from the Compromise of 1867 until the existence of that state. The suitable candidate was presented to the monarch by the Minister of Religion and Public Education, usually with the prior approval of the Holy See. The candidate was appointed by the King of Hungary and later preconised by the Pope, i.e. confirmed at the meeting of the Council of Cardinals.

The Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was founded by King Franz Joseph I of Hungary on 6 May 1912 after a long series of preparations and negotiations. It was canonized by Pope Pius X in his bull beginning with “Christifideles graeci...” issued on 8 June 1912.

The Holy See appointed Bishop of Mukacheve Antal Papp apostolic governor of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, who held this position between 17 November 1912 and 5 October 1913.

Archdeacon of Zemplén and Parish Priest of Sátorlajújhely István Miklós was appointed the first bishop of the new eparchy almost a year later, on 21 April 1913 by Franz Josef I. The diploma was drafted and signed, in addition to the king, by real internal secret adviser and Minister of Religion and Public Education Béla Jankovich. The diploma also provided, that all ecclesiastical posts and canonicates were donated to the organizing chapter by the current legitimate king of Hungary on the basis of the right of patronage, allowing the present and future bishops of the eparchy to nominate and present suitable candidates. The royal appointment was announced by Pope Pius X on 23 June 1913.

We do not know the exact reason for the delay, but in fact the founding of the eparchy caused a great international response, especially in Romania, which

Bucharest attributed to the anti-Romanian trend of the Hungarian government (cf. MNL OL, K. 26, 1915-XXV-2855 1912-XXV-926-3356).

The bishop was ordained in Hajdúdorog on 5 October 1913. The ceremony was organized by Vicar of Hajdúdorog Mihály Jaczkovics, on behalf of Antal Papp. The new bishop arrived in Hajdúdorog on 4 October. A ceremony in his honour was already held at the train station with the sound of a horn and a mortar cannon signalling his arrival. He marched into town with a cheering crowd of believers and amid the ringing of bells. Three triumphal gates were erected in his honour and the road to the church was covered with a flower carpet. One hundred and thirty-six priests attended the ceremony. The royal diploma was read by Archdeacon of Szabolcs and Parish Priest of Nyíregyháza Gyula Ruttkay and the papal bull was read by Dean of Magyarkászon Artúr Boér. The ceremony of ordination and investiture was performed by Bishop of Kőrös Gyula Drohobeczky with the participation of Bishop of Košice Ágoston Fischer-Colbrie, as well as ordained Bishop of Tinnin and Canon of Oradea József Lányi. Miklósy's episcopal slogan was: "Success in perseverance". On the day of his ordination, he appointed Mihály Jaczkovics as his vicar and deputy priest of Nyírpazony János Slepkovszky as his secretary. He was commissioned by Jaczkovics to take over the documents concerning the Diocese of Hajdúdorog from Apostolic Governor Antal Papp. This marked the beginning of the independent life of the new diocese.

Miklósy decided to settle in Debrecen after his ordination, but he moved to Nyíregyháza after the assassination attempt against him on 23 February 1914, where he died of a heart attack on 29 October 1937. The high priest was buried in an ornate grave donated by the city – István Miklósy, *Nyírvidék*, 5(1937), 248. szám, 6. and MNL SZSZBML, V.77 26060/1937. His ashes were later transferred to the Church of St. Nicholas in Nyíregyháza, from where they were transferred to the crypt of the Church in Máriapócs in 1979. (B. L.)



by Rétay and Benedek Institute of Art, 1913
 Marking: monogram G. R., wolf head hallmark.
 silver with enamel insert
 St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Cathedral, Episcopal
 Treasury, No. 2019, 212, Nyíregyháza



The peculiarity of the bishop's pastoral staff of the Byzantine ceremony is that two coiled snakes face the cross at the top from opposite directions. The traditional arrangement was also faithfully followed on this pastoral staff, but a cylindrical button was inserted between the two nodi under the cross, with enamel decorations inserted in their medals: one side shows the *Patrona Hungariae* composition by Ignác Roskovics and the coat of arms of István Miklósy, the first Bishop of Hajdúdorog with his Greek slogan ("EN KARTEPIA KARTIOS" / "Success in perseverance") on the other side.

This pastoral staff was first ordered from the company by Jenő Szabó on behalf of the National Board of Greek Catholic Hungarians after the Roman pilgrimage of 1900 and was donated to Bishop of Prešov János Vályi to commemorate the jubilee year. (The drawing of the object with a short description and a letter of thanks from Jenő Szabó: *Rétay és Benedek Műintézet katalógusa*, around 1915, 103, Private collection [fragmentary copy]).

The pastoral staff was already mentioned among the most important pieces of the episcopal

paraphernalia in the price offer sent by the company to Miklósy in Sátoraljaújhely on 25 August 1913. The *Patrona Hungariae* was designed on one side and the bishop's coat of arms on the other side, they requested to send these pictures. The work was realized in this way, although it seems from their letter sent a week later, that Miklósy might have wanted St. Nicholas instead of one of the pictures. The company had already invoiced the bishop's equipment on 30 September, which included "1 piece of bishop's staff, made of silver, chiselled, with an enamel image, with the bishop's coat of arms, with a case", all for 900 crowns. "Paid 25 Oct. 1915" was later handwritten on the invoice: (GKPL I – 1 – g). Miklósy did not hold this bishop's staff at his ordination on 5 October in Hajdúdorog according to the surviving archival photos, perhaps it did not arrive on time due to the late payment. (Sz. T.)

IV.2.2 Incense Burner and Holder

Catalogue IV.34



by Rétay and Benedek Institute of Art, 1913
Marking: stamped signature GR and Diana-head hallmark.
silver, cast and engraved
the Episcopal Treasury of the Diocese of Nyíregyháza, No. 2017.206, 2017.205, Nyíregyháza

The convex sections at the bottom, the top and the hanger of the richly articulated, baroque incense burner are covered with vegetal ornaments and notched decorations. Cast double-winged cherub heads are fitted on the first component at the rings holding the three chains. The incense holder is similarly decorated with a symmetrically arranged triple vine leaf motif on the top. Four rattles were also hung on the chains of the incense burner.

This type of incense burner was also included in the Rétay and Benedek company's product catalogue in two versions, "nickel silver and pure silver", the former for 120 crowns and the latter for 450 crowns. (*A Rétay és Benedek Műintézet katalógusa*, around 1915, Item 138 and 916, private collection [fragmentary copy]). Incense burners were also included in the company's offer of equipment, dated 5 December 1913 for the "bishop's social masses" and for the cathedral: "4 pcs. incense burner, including two of pure silver in Byzantine style, price 450 – and two of nickel silver, chiselled, with incense holder, price 100 – together – 1100 crowns/2 pcs. incense holder made of silver in the style of the above – 150 crowns." It is very likely that the many liturgical

accessories offered here were not actually purchased. An invoice for a much smaller quantity was issued two years later, on 8 July 1915, including such items as: "2 incense burners pure silver in a massive design – 900 crowns/with 2 pure silver incense holder spoons – 150 crowns". The invoice stated that these items were only paid on 25 October (GKPL I – 1 – g). The pieces shown here are certainly identical to one of the silver incense burners and incense holders mentioned here. (Sz. T.)

IV.2.2 The Portrait of Greek Catholic Bishop of Hajdúdorog István Miklósy *Catalogue IV.35*



1913–1914
oil on canvas
82 × 70 cm

*Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art Collection, No. 1999.83
(A. 39), Nyíregyháza*

The portrait shows the first bishop of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in a solemn setting, in a three-quarter figure, using several conventional elements of the Baroque and the 19th century portraits of high priests. The bishop sits in an armchair on the right side of the picture, turning slightly to the left. His arms rest on the armrest of the throne. He wears a purple buttoned reverend with a high priest's pectoral cross. He has a secular award, the Knight's Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph attached to his reverend, received in 1907 for his social merits. He has a purple skullcap on his head. The background of the painting is closed by a purple velvet curtain slightly drawn aside, with a serene sky and a landscape detail behind. The bishop looks firmly ahead, ready for action.

István Miklósy (1913–1937) was appointed the first bishop of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog on 21 April 1913. He was ordained bishop on 5 October 1913. The portrait was certainly made on the occasion of obtaining this honour, probably before the outbreak of war. The features of the bishop are easy to recognize. The portrait may have been painted from a photograph. The snapshots of this period were often made in a photography salon in order to replace portrait painting, using the compositional practice,

the settings and props of the portrait genre. The painter is unknown.

The genre of bishop's portrait became a means of representing episcopal dignity, high rank and at the same time the magnitude of their office during the Renaissance and later, especially in the Baroque period. These portraits mostly show persons in high priest costumes. The bishop's pectoral cross is highlighted and other high priest's insignia is occasionally included. There is a book or prayer book in the hands of the bishops to depict the praying, yet scholar and wise high priests.

In contrast, the portrait of István Miklósy lacks the more spectacular elements and props of the high priest's representation, but rather seeks to capture the personality. Portraits always pay a lot of attention to present the character, in these cases the environment is mostly and intentionally irrelevant, in some cases the background is completely neutral and plain. This painting differs from the traditional pictures in this aspect, too, as the velvet curtain, a prop known from secular representations, played an important role here. (B. P.)

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IV.2.2 The Perspective View of the Episcopal Palace in Nyíregyháza

Catalogue IV.36



by Sándor Haluskay, 1941

ink on paper

38.5 × 54.5 mm

GKPL, I–1–g, *The plans of the Episcopal Palace on Sóstói Road, 2. doboz, Debrecen*

The issue of the seat of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was decided only in 1941, when Nyíregyháza was finally chosen by Bishop Miklós Dudás. A 5,400-square-meter plot of land was allocated by the city on Sóstói Road for the construction of the bishop's palace and six apartments for the canons, another 792 square meters for a chapel, also free of charge and a 6,372 square-meter area was sold for building a boarding school and grammar school—cf. *Nyírvidek*, 9(1941), 23. szám, 3–4.

The Episcopal Palace was designed by engineer Sándor Haluskay, the drawings and technical description were sent to the municipality in August (Debrecen, GKPL, I–1–g, *The plans of the Episcopal Palace on Sóstói Road, 2 d, 26027/1941*). In the following month, the building authority of Nyíregyháza summarized its proposed amendments in ten points, including the redesign of the entire roof, but the plan was approved with the stipulation that the listed conditions should be met by the start of the construction (GKPL, I–1–g, *The plans of the Episcopal Palace on Sóstói Road, 2 d, 32015/1941*). However, the final plans and statistical calculations were presented by the designer only eight months later, when the construction gained new momentum (see *ibid*).

The press wrote in May 1942, that a decision would soon be made on the construction bids and the decisive factor would be the employment of local masters – *Nyírvidek*, 10(1942) 121. szám, 2. The full budget was prepared on the basis of the contractors' quotations by the end of May (GKPL, I–1–g, *The plans of the Episcopal Palace on Sóstói Road, 1. d, Budget, May*

1942). The delivery of building materials to the Sóstói Road plot began on 4 July 1942 – *Nyírvidek*, 10(1942), 149. szám, 2. According to the construction log, the works started on 17 August 1942, managed by engineer Sándor Haluskay and local construction manager Sándor Frigyes. The palace was built in the first phase, although it appears from the tender documents kept in the archives, that bids were given for the construction of the canons' apartments already in April 1941 (GKPL, I–1–g, *The plans of the Episcopal Palace on Sóstói Road, 3 d. Quotations for the canons' apartments, April 1941*). However, neither these nor the other buildings were constructed. Although the Episcopal Palace was built during the war, it was not fully completed. The construction was completed by the city, in exchange for renting the building from the Eparchy. Only the design documentation of the completed building remains, so we know almost nothing about the other planned buildings except their location.

The most prominent part of the main façade of the Episcopal Palace is the central avant-corps, in front of which there is an arcaded driveway with a balustraded balcony on the top, accessible from the first floor. The main façade and the central avant-corps are bounded by Ionic pilasters and an accentuated cornice runs around above them. The façade has 4 and 3 and 4 axes, the stone-framed windows are flat-headed here and round-arched on the central avant-corps. Lesenes (pilaster strips) span the two levels between the four windows of each floor on each side. The attic roof is articulated by two skylights on each side. The rear façade of the building has a similar design, but there are 5 and 1 and 5 windows. There is a balcony upstairs on each side in front of the second and third windows, but only a huge round arched window opens from the central avant-corps, giving light to the staircase. There are two windows on the side facades and no other elements of articulation.

The interior of the building was changed a lot, but we know the original layout from the construction plans. In addition to the main staircase, dividing the palace into two wings in the middle, there are also stairs in the north and south wings. Entering the main entrance on the ground floor, passing the concierge booth and the waiting room, we reach the hall with the main staircase and a corridor leading to each wing. The chapel, the offices and the Council Hall of the Holy See were designed in the north wing, while the office manager's apartment with a study and a reception room, as well as a secretary's room and a guest room were planned on the other side.

Upstairs, above the main entrance, Haluskay designed a huge smoking room, connected to the

IV.2.2

balcony. The saloon and dining room, opening to each other, if necessary, were designed in the north wing, on the side facing the street. A guest room and a guest suite were planned at the back. The bishop's suite with a guest room, a living room, a study, a bedroom and a dressing room was designed in the south wing. Haluskay made good use of the central staircase as a dividing element, separating the various functions of the building. The rooms for church administration were located on the ground floor, while the episcopal suite and the rooms of representation on the first floor according to his plans.

There is a difference between the perspective view drawn in 1941 and the approved plans, in addition to the modifications required by the Building Authority. The Building Authority ordered to replace the simple gable roof with a mansard roof structure with three skylights on each side. At the same time, the change of the central avant-corps of the main façade is striking: its mansard roof is partially covered by the gable, altered several times. In the completed version, the artificial stone coat of arms of Bishop Dudás was placed there and it is still there today. The balcony was designed with a simpler wrought-iron railing instead of a balustrade enclosed by an ornate candelabra on each side. The designer replaced the three large arched windows with three smaller flat-headed ones, above which three circular windows were designed in the gable, thereby increasing its height.

The Episcopal Palace was built in the Neo-Baroque style, which, by the middle of the 20th century, was almost exclusively applied in ecclesiastical architecture, apart from one or two government projects. Among the styles, that appeared after the First World War, the Neo-Baroque is the easiest to distinguish (Pamer, 1986, 12). According to Gyula Szekfű, "The Neo-Baroque way of thinking of the society best suited the Neo-Baroque architecture of the post-Trianon era" (Szekfű, Gyula. *Három nemzedék és ami utána következik*, Budapest, 1934, 404). It is true, that Szekfű saw the post-war Neo-Baroque as an almost Hungarian phenomenon—although it was present in France, Austria and even Scandinavia – but the fact is that the emerging middle class and civil service community at that time wanted to follow the way of life, appearance, and style of the nobility, which hardly had any representatives by that time (Pamer, 1986, 1). After the First World War, Hungary turned to an era, in which it believed to find the "old glory" of the homeland – cf. Ferkai András: *Építészet a két világháború között*, in: Sisa, József – Wiebenson, Dora (szerk.). *Magyarország építészetének története*, Budapest, 1998, 276–277.

The designer of the buildings, Sándor Haluskay was born in 1895 in Novoborovo (*Новоборово/Újbárd*), Máramaros County. We don't know much about his architectural activity and career. He graduated from the József Nádor University of Technology and Economics in 1917, see Hortobágyi Jenő (Ed.). *Keresztény magyar közéleti almanach*, I, Budapest, 1940, 1292. He worked as an engineer in Dalmatia (1917–1918) and at the Hungarian State Railways between 1918 and 1919 (*Magyarország tisztí cím- és névtára*, Vol. 37, 1918), and then at the construction of the Szentendre electric railway until 1921. After that, he was a technical adviser of Szentendre until 1924, then an independent construction company manager. He was a member of the Chamber of Engineers from its establishment in 1925 (*Budapesti Közlöny*, 6 June 1925). He designed canals, road constructions, architectural and civil engineering projects in different communities. His house in Pismány, which is now part of Szentendre, became known as the Haluskay House in art history, as it served as accommodation or temporary home for many young painters of the artists' colony of Szentendre in the 1930s—cf. Sándor Haluskay in: Pethő Zsoltné Németh Erika (összeáll.): *Szentendrei arcképcsarnok*, II, *Elődeink*, Szentendre, 2006, 61. He built a bathhouse, a swimming pool and a beach on the Danube bank at Csillaghegy around 1920. He remained active until his old age. He was a key figure in the boathouse community of the area, taking part in their various events –8 *Órai Újság*, 20(1934), 185. szám, 5. He was a member of the eight-member management of the Római Baths Dunastrand Company, which rented the swimming pools (BFL, XV, 37. d, 60086/1925). He died in March 1970 in Budapest – see *Magyar Nemzet*, 26(1970), 58. szám.

The afterlife of the episcopal palace was not worthy of its original function for a long time. The Investigation Department of the ÁVH (State Protection Authority) was set up here in 1948 with cells in the basement, where people were imprisoned even until 1957 – cf. Az „ávós világ” Szabolcsban, *Kelet-Magyarország*, 50(1993), 179. szám, 5. After that, the Institute for the Protection of Children and Youth worked here for a long time. The building has belonged to the Faculty of Health of the University of Debrecen since 1990.

The Episcopal Palace, together with other ecclesiastical constructions in the city from this period, is a good example of what our ancestors were able to do thanks to the generosity and perseverance of the Catholics and the city during the Second World War. (B. L.)

IV.2.3 Historical Specimens of the Hungarian Liturgy

András Dobos

The origins of the Hungarian-speaking population of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*)

Initially, the overwhelming majority of the population of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve was constituted by Rusyn and Romanian ethnic groups. At the same time, the presence of other Byzantine-rite communities is evidenced by early data. Fleeing the Ottoman conquest in the Balkans, many would find their new home on Hungarian soil: Greeks, Macedonians, Serbs, and it would be hard to tell how many other nations. A more affluent merchant class could afford to build churches and invite priests to conduct the divine services. Such church communities were also crucial to the preservation of national identity. It seems clear that, wherever these ethnic groups were represented only in smaller numbers and lacked any institutions, they would assimilate fast in those places. The case of the Hajduks, regarded as of Serbian provenance, who settled in the area of Hajdúdorog, obtaining privileges, is truly peculiar.¹ In the surrounding region of Hajdúság, they represented but a small island as it were. It is thus no surprise that they lost their native language early – if speaking of a single ancestral tongue in their case could be appropriate at all. The fate of their ecclesiastical identity would be markedly different though. The inhabitants of this town continue to cherish the liturgical tradition of their forebears with pride to this day.

Although, historically speaking, the role of Hajdúdorog is prominent – its community subsequently becoming a standard-bearer in the struggle for the liturgical use of the Hungarian language – it only marginally contributed to the growth of the whole of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community in terms of

demographics. The growth of Hungarian-speaking communities was largely due to parishes situated in the southern part of the Eparchy, i.e. in Borsod, Abaúj, Torna, Zemplén, Szabolcs, Szatmár and Bereg Counties. In these locations, Rusyns and Romanians alike lived in small sporadic clusters, mixed with the Hungarian population. According to the first census, recording data on ethnicity with accuracy and in detail, in 1806, in the Eparchy of Mukacheve encompassing three counties, the ratios of ethnic groups were as follows:² 63.8 per cent Rusyn, 20.9 per cent Romanian (mainly in the four southern counties of the Eparchy), 6.23 per cent Hungarian (in the aforementioned seven counties) and 0.94 per cent Slovak (in four north-western counties). As is apparent, these ethnic groups were concentrated in different regions. At the same time, in many places, coexistence was also in evidence, and – as much as it may be deduced from the relevant documents – hostility between them was not typical. About 8 per cent of the faithful were bilingual – a fact reconstructed from surveys on the language of sermons: Rusyn–Romanian, Rusyn–Hungarian, Rusyn–Slovakian or perhaps even other combinations. Many of the priests spoke or at least understood multiple languages.

In the 20th century, a number of historians blamed the Magyarisation policies of the Hungarian state for the spread of Hungarian among Greek Catholics. However, from the above, it seems straightforward that Magyarisation was more of a spontaneous process. It is undeniable that ethnic policies following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 had an impact on the Eparchy of Mukacheve as well, though primarily affecting the level of higher ecclesiastical ranks, such as bishops.³

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¹ It remains debatable when South-Slavic elements appeared in Hajdúdorog, as well as to what extent these would be a factor in the development of a Byzantine-rite community and how great a role they would play in its consolidation – cf. Dávid, Zoltán. Hajdúdorog népesedéstörténete, in: Komoróczy, György (Ed.). *Hajdúdorog története*, Hajdúdorog, 1971, 43–52. Despite the availability of various lists and censuses of the residents, surnames and first names in themselves cannot be considered as reliable sources in determining nationality. Moreover, epithets alluding to nationality cannot furnish a safe point of reference, either, because the labels *Rác* (Rascian), *Orosz* (Russian) and *Görög* (Greek) frequently reflected religious affiliation or denoted only approximate origins. The town attracted Rusyns and Romanians who had previously settled in the area, mingling with the local populace and linguistically assimilating to their Hungarian-speaking environment. At any rate, it is unquestionable that, at the outset, the religious life of Hajdúdorog sprang from a Serbian or – to put it more moderately – a South-Slavic core. This is also confirmed by a *Euchologion* from the parish, appearing to be purely Serbian in origin, unlike comparable manuscripts dating from the same period. The manuscript is kept in the University Library, formerly Episcopal Library, in Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) (Служебник, 37 D [335], Наукова бібліотека Ужгородський національний університет). In all probability, the manuscript is a copy produced on the basis of a book in Old Slavonic issued in Goražde (Bosnia and Herzegovina) or Venice in 1519. (For the respective editions, cf. Львович Немировский, Евгений. *Славянские издания кирилловского (церковнославянского) шрифта*, Том 1, 1491–1550, Москва, 2009, 330–339).

² Udvari, István. Etnikai, nyelvi viszonyok a munkácsi egyházmegyében, in: Id. (Ed.). *A munkácsi görögkatolikus püspökség jelkészségeinek 1806. évi összeírása* (A Vasvári Pál Társaság Füzetei, 3), Nyíregyháza, 1990, 86–88.

³ Cf. Coranič, Jaroslav. Východná cirkevná tradícia a maďarizačné hnutie v Prešovskom gréckokatolíckom biskupstve v rokoch 1867–1918, in:

The first translations of liturgical texts

Tradition has it that the first Hungarian translations of liturgical texts were prepared by a monk by the name of Izaiás, regarded as one of Bishop Giuseppe De Camillis's (1689–1706) confidants, in the late 17th century.⁴ The Bishop's diary contains several references to a Greek monk by this name, whom he mentions as his 'compatriot', who previously lived on Mount Athos.⁵ At one time, Izaiás served among the Greeks of Debrecen before becoming head of the Romanian priests of Bihar/Bihor. Even if his alleged activities as a translator remain unrecorded, it may well be the case that this monastic did translate texts for the rapidly Magyarised communities of Balkan origins in Debrecen. In the 17th century, such translations would not have counted as exceptional as, in the second half of the 18th century, the first prayer books and catechisms translated from Greek were published for use by the Orthodox faithful even in print.⁶

The first surviving specimen of the full liturgy in Hungarian is a translation attributed for long to Mihály Krucsay. Recent investigations have demonstrated that this translation mistakenly dated to 1793 subsequently⁷ – similarly to another manuscript copied by Antal Papp in Hajdúdorog in 1854 – goes back to the same first text prepared by György Kritsfalusi, teacher of Hungarian at the Grammar School of Uzhhorod, and presented to Bishop András Bacsinszky as a name-day gift in 1795. In his dedication, the translator notes that he 'was encouraged to shoulder the assignment in all possible ways' (translated from the Hungarian original).⁸ What is meant by the expression 'encouragement', Kritsfalusi

omits to explain, but it is safe to assume that he had received encouragement from the steadily increasing cohort of those with no knowledge of Slavic.

One of the seemingly ancillary comments in the dedication in question is remarkable. Having completed his translation, Kritsfalusi appears as though he were excusing himself: 'Albeit filled with fear, I eventually commenced the assignment and, if perhaps hesitantly, I did execute it, certain that, even if failing to please Your Excellency, I will surely not occasion any displeasure' (translated from the Hungarian original).⁹ Bishop Bacsinszky (1772–1809) is remembered by posterity as an outstanding figure of Rusyn cultural history. Akin to his contemporaries, he was convinced that the key to the survival of a nation was language.¹⁰ Even at this point, nationality and religion are two nearly inextricably linked aspects for the Bishop. This is also manifested in the view he propounded that the language of the Rusyns (at that time, usually labelled by the adjective *Russkiy* [Russian]) is virtually identical with the language of divine services, i.e. Church Slavonic. His circulars are informed by concern for the 'fathers' Russian fear of God', which he felt was imperilled since, among the clergy ascending the social ladder, more and more abandoned the Slavic ancestral language, frequently along with the Byzantine Rite – if not faith though. In light of this, Kritsfalusi's enterprise might even appear to be a provocation, but, to prove that his intentions were far from anything of that kind, he attempts to adduce arguments himself. In addition, according to tradition, while parish priest of Hajdúdorog, the Bishop was the first to allow the use of Hungarian in church and even translated a few songs himself.¹¹ Although no historical evidence is available on

Žeňuch, Peter (red.). *Cyriľské a latinské pamiatky v byzantsko-slovanskom obradovom prostredí na Slovensku*, Bratislava, 2007, 173–192.

⁴ On the monk Izaiás, cf. Ivancsó, István. Izaiás szerzetes papi tevékenysége De Camillis püspök idején, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Rómából Hungáriába: A De Camillis János József munkácsi püspök halálának 300. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai*, Nyíregyháza, 2008, 283–292; Terdik, Szilveszter. A bikszádi monostor kegyképének eredete, in: *ibid.*, 318–322.

⁵ Cf. Baán, István (Ed.). *Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis görög misszionárius és munkácsi püspök (1689–1706) levelei* (Collectanea Athanasiana, II/13), Nyíregyháza, 2017, 170–171, 178, 191.

⁶ Cf. Horváth, Endre. Magyar–görög bibliográfia, in: Horváth, László (Ed.). *Studia hellenica*, II, Horváth Endre válogatott tanulmányai, Budapest, 2018, 119–122.

⁷ The original of the Krucsay-text has been lost; it only survives in the 1814 manuscript of István Lupess, parish priest of Tímár. In view of János Nyirán's comparative work, it appears most likely that this text formerly considered as the first translation was, on the basis of a subsequent annotation, dated incorrectly to 1793, whereas, in fact, it represents a variant of Kritsfalusi's translation. Nonetheless, it is plausible that Krucsay did make a translation of his own, with not even a facsimile thereof surviving though, cf. Nyirán, 2011, 37–42. A copy of the Krucsay-text produced by Lupess was published in a facsimile edition: Ivancsó, 2003. The Krucsay-translation was published by Hiador Sztripszky: *A Görög Anya-Szent-Egy-Háznak Liturgiája vagyis Isteni-tisztelete Aranyszájú Szent János szerint: magyarra fordított Ungvárt 1795-dik esztendőben* [The liturgy – i.e. the Divine Worship – of the Greek Holy Church by Saint John Chrysostom: translated into Hungarian in Ungvár (Uzhhorod) in the year 1795], in: Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 451–501. The third extant version copied by Antal Papp is available in juxtaposition with the aforementioned: Nyirán, 2011, 43–96.

⁸ Nyirán, 2011, 37.

⁹ Nyirán, 2011, 37.

¹⁰ Cf. Udvari, István. Bacsinszky András püspök (1732–1772–1809), a ruszin felvilágosodás képviselője, in: *Id.*, 1994, 214–215.

¹¹ No historical proof exists in this regard, but, in the struggle to 'raise the Hungarian language to the altars', references to his name abound, cf.

the permission or the translation, this point in historical memory could hardly be the product of accident. As to the association of the Hungarian *Liturgia* with the name of the Bishop with markedly Slavic sentiments, the explanation could come from Bacsinszky's firm resolution to involve the people in liturgical chant.

The naïve or almost legend-like notion, encountered even in scholarly circles, that, in the churches of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve, services were always conducted with the active participation, i.e. singing, of the people is widely known. Not only is this idea uncorroborated but positively controverted by contemporary documents. However, a circular by Bacsinszky obliging parish priests and cantors to instruct joint singing to the faithful – chief among them, to the school-age youth – does survive.¹² His motivation is complex. The Bishop also cites aesthetic reasons, and, though not stated overtly, it is implicitly conveyed that he expects to save the language of the people this way, ensuring the preservation of religiousness. His strongest argument, however, is a completely different thought, well ahead of his time. He clearly articulates and theologically supports the precept referred to by the Second Vatican Council 250 years later as *participatio actiua*, i.e. the idea that active participation of the whole congregation is integral to the essence of Divine Worship. The assumption that this aspect was paramount to the Bishop is substantiated precisely by his lenient attitude to the liturgical use of the Hungarian language. Unparalleled in the Eastern Churches, his decision to entrust the service of singing to the people, still illiterate in many places at the time, rather than to cantors may have been informed by some influence of Protestant mentality. It must be borne in mind that, as parish priest of

Hajdúdorog, Bacsinszky was head of a parish that was surrounded by Calvinist congregations, and, for the latter, nothing was more natural than common church singing. Active involvement of the people in services would be advocated by a number of hierarchs thereafter.¹³

As of the late 18th century, data are available not only on the celebration of the summit of the liturgy, the Divine Liturgy, at least partially in Hungarian. From the 19th century, several handwritten *Euchologia* survive, a clear indication of the fact that the Sacraments and certain parts of the Divine Office tended to be celebrated in Hungarian increasingly widely.¹⁴

Printed publications

It would not be for almost another century that the first printed *Liturgicon*, which was also the first printed liturgical book in Hungarian, was published in 1882. This of course does not mean that Hungarian liturgical texts intended for Greek Catholic believers had not been published in print before. The first prayer book in evidence, with an extant copy, was the publication entitled *Imádságos könyvetske, a' magyar oroszok lelki hasznokra* [Prayer booklet for the spiritual benefit of Hungarian Russians] published in Košice (Kassa) in 1825.¹⁵ Published in several editions, this book¹⁶ was primarily made for private use. A real breakthrough in the spread of community singing was enabled by *Ó hitű imádságos és énekeskönyv* [Old-believers' book of prayers and hymns], compiled by Ignác Roskovics, published in Debrecen in 1862 for the first time.¹⁷ The collection was specifically designed to facilitate the church singing of the faithful. It is worth pointing out that the first comparable Slavic compilation was published in the Eparchy of Mukacheve only two years later.¹⁸ Albeit

Véghseő, Tamás. A görögkatolikus magyarok mozgalma a kezdetektől 1905-ig, in: Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 33–34. Some sources suggest that Bacsinszky ordered sermons to be in Hungarian and permitted scriptural readings to be read in Hungarian, as well as the singing of Hungarian chants at processions and in the Divine Office (i.e. outside the Divine Liturgy). Other sources also claim to have evidence of his activities as a translator. See: Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 251, 306, 356, 437.

¹² Cf., for example, in Bacsinszky's circular dated 6 March 1798 (published: *Задорожний, Ігор. Єпископ Андрій Бачинський в епістолярній спадщині: До 270-річчя від дня народження*, Мукачево, 2002, 55).

¹³ Cf. Sándor Ladizsinszky's circular no. 1273, dated 8 April 1854 (Protocol of Bácsaranyos, NYEL, III–1–44–b) or Bazil Popovics's circular no. 582, dated 19 February 1861 (NYEL, IV–2–a, 1861/37).

¹⁴ Cf. Nyirán, János. *19. századi kéziratos görögkatolikus szerkönyvek Nyírgyulajból és Fábíánházáról* (Collectanea Athanasiana, II/2), Nyíregyháza, 2012.

¹⁵ The first book edited by the Catholic Church to contain Byzantine-rite liturgical texts in Hungarian was most probably the primer-cum-catechism printed at the order of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky in 1755. Not a single copy of these publications survives though. Sztripszky, Hádor. *Bibliographiai jegyzetek az ó-hitű magyarság irodalmából*, in: Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 424–435.

¹⁶ For a description, see: Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 439–440; Ivancsó, 2006, 1–10.

¹⁷ Cf. Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 439–440; Ivancsó, 2006, 11–32.

¹⁸ Immensely popular and aesthetically impressive, the compilation of hymns *Veliky Sbornik*, critical to nation formation, was edited by Andrej Popovics, parish priest of Velyka Kopanya (*Felsőveresmart*). It was published in Vienna in 1866 (Пекар, Атанасий В. *Нариси історії церкви Закарпаття*, II, Рим–Львів, 1997, 383), though some sources cite an 1864 edition (Сабов, Евмений. *Очерк о литературной деятельности и образовании карпатороссов*, Ужгород, 1925; Недзельський, 1932, 169.).

unofficial in character, Roskovics's book was thus practically the first publication for liturgical use in the Eparchy of Mukacheve. Subsequently, several similar books of hymns were printed, enabling the people to sing services entirely in Hungarian. The compilations of János Danilovics¹⁹ and of Gábor Krajnyák, published in 1892 and 1928²⁰ respectively, were in use in parishes as long as until the dissemination of the hymn book *Dicsérvétek az Urat* [Praise the Lord]²¹ published in 1954.

The first regular liturgical book was printed in Debrecen in 1882.²² This publication, the texts of which were edited by a translation committee of nine,²³ was in effect a concise *Liturgicon*: As it contained the text of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, it was a book expressly aimed at the clergy. Although, liturgically, it complied with the regulations, it was printed without an imprimatur.²⁴ Neither the Bishop of Mukacheve nor the Bishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*) could afford to issue an imprimatur because the Holy See did not consider Hungarian a recognised liturgical language. In no way was the significance of the book diminished as a result though. Aside from the fact that Hungarian Greek Catholics continue to use its 1920 expanded version at present, it is also relevant from the point of view of liturgical history, for it is reasonable to surmise that it is a reflection of the liturgical praxis prevalent in the Eparchy of Mukacheve during the second half of the 19th century.²⁵ Given that no liturgical book in Old Slavonic or Romanian, considered official in the Eparchy to 1965, was produced, either, the Hungarian publications constitute significant sources of liturgical tradition. The *Liturgicon* would be followed by

other liturgical books in Hungarian. The same year, i.e. 1882, also saw the publication of *Apostolos könyv* (Epistle Book),²⁶ and, one year later, a *Euchologion*²⁷ was published, followed by *Evangéliumos könyv* (Gospel Book)²⁸ in 1925.

Fight for the Hungarian liturgical language

As the number of publications grew, attacks on Hungarian services became more fervent as well.²⁹ The Hungarian-speaking faithful were literally left alone in this struggle, which they would liken to the Road to Calvary. While they were mostly only tantalised by politicians, their endeavour was harshly criticised by Roman Catholic hierarchs, and the Romanian Greek Catholic bishops would view their cause with strong antipathy. The Bishops of Mukacheve and Prešov were practically helpless as they could not defy the position of the Latin bishops, quoting the Holy See as the ultimate authority over them. The conviction of the latter holding that the Divine Liturgy could only be celebrated in a dead language appeared to be unshakable.³⁰

The behaviour of the clergy – or at least some of its representatives – with Rusyn sentiments is noteworthy. Their protest was not predicated on considerations of ethnicity or ecclesiastical policy but stemmed from a sense of concern about the purity of the rite. As they claimed, parishes where the Divine Liturgy was celebrated in Hungarian would even 'mutilate' it by omitting certain elements – mainly litanies – occasionally even inserting Catholic hymns into their services.³¹

¹⁹ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 139–184; Ivancsó, István. *Danilovics János Általános egyházi énekkönyve* (Athanasiana Füzetek, 7), Nyíregyháza, 2003.

²⁰ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 467–518; Ivancsó, István. *Görög katolikus egyházunk négy legfontosabb imádságos és énekes könyve*, in: Id. (Ed.). *A „Homo liturgicus” ünnepi szimpozion előadásainak anyaga*, 2017. szeptember 29–30. (Liturgikus örökségünk, XXI), Nyíregyháza, 2017, 475–481.

²¹ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 783–835. On the circumstances of publication and the preceding editorial work, cf. Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *A Dicsérvétek az Urat című énekeskönyvünk megjelenésének 60. évfordulója alkalmából 2014. május 8-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga*, Nyíregyháza, 2014.

²² Cf. Ivancsó, István. *Az 1882-es Liturgikon*, in: Id. (Ed.). *Az első magyar nyomtatott Liturgikon megjelenésének 120. évfordulójára 2002. április 18-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga*, Nyíregyháza, 2002, 27–46; Ivancsó, 2006, 39–43.

²³ Cf. Ivancsó, István. *Az 1879-es hajdúdorogi liturgikus fordító bizottság és tevékenysége* (Athanasiana Füzetek, 1), Nyíregyháza, 1999.

²⁴ It is to be noted that members of the Translation Committee possessed episcopal authorisation though, cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 30–35.

²⁵ At any rate, it seems certain that the Hungarian *Liturgicon* was not translated from a single edition in a different language but was compiled by drawing on multiple texts.

²⁶ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 57–60; Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *Az első nyomtatott Apostolos könyvünk kiadásának 125. évfordulója alkalmából 2007. május 3-án rendezett nemzetközi szimpozion anyaga* (Liturgikus örökségünk, VII), Nyíregyháza, 2007.

²⁷ An expanded edition of the *Euchologion* was published in 1927, cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 99–116.

²⁸ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 407–426; Ivancsó, István. *A magyar görög katolikus egyház Evangéliumos könyve* (Athanasiana Füzetek, 6), Nyíregyháza, 2002.

²⁹ On the battle of the Hungarian Greek Catholics for the liturgical use of their mother tongue, an ample bibliography is available. What follows is a brief selection of a few comprehensive works: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Hajdúdorog, 1868–2018: Tanulmányok és források a magyar görögkatolikusok történetéhez*, Nyíregyháza, 2019; Véghseő, 2012, 6–89; Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913; for the sources, cf. Véghseő – Katkó, 2014.

³⁰ In the case of Romanians, use of the vernacular was rather seen by the Holy See as tolerated as they had conducted their services in that language even prior to the union, cf. Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 304–305.

³¹ Cf. Фенцик, Евгений. Порча нашего обряда, *Листокъ*, II(1886), no. 23, 1886, 449–450; Id. Скромныя примѣчания на вышеприведенное письмо, *Листокъ*, IX(1893), no. 3, 32–33.

From the Roman Catholic perspective, the demand of the Greek Catholics was felt to be Protestantistic and excessively peremptory for two related reasons. In the Latin Rite, the use of the Latin language, incomprehensible to the majority of the people, was a given, and the idea of 'active participation' was in fact regarded as irrelevant at the time as, from the Council of Trent, private Mass was taken to be the ordinary form of the Holy Mass. For the Hungarian faithful, it became clear that the only way for their struggle to succeed was to pursue the cause of having the official use of their native language recognised united in an eparchy of their own.

In 1912, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was established, but Hungarian could not be made its official liturgical language yet. When, after long delays, the Holy See finally acquiesced to the creation of the Eparchy, it stressed repeatedly that the Divine Liturgy could never be celebrated in Hungarian. The Hungarians' vernacular was to be represented in services at a maximum to the extent that was allowed for Divine Worship in the Latin Rite. The new Eparchy comprised parishes that were detached from the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, employing Old Slavonic, as well as from the Eparchies of Gherla (*Szamosújvár*), Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) and Făgăraş (*Fogarás*). Therefore, it would have been practicable to use either of the two languages concerned in the liturgy. However, as the point was precisely to ensure that the Byzantine Rite would not necessarily be linked to minority groups in the public mind within Hungarian society, and as the Government was also keen to evade the accusation long levelled at the dominant Hungarian political movements for the Magyarisation of Rusyns and Romanians, the Bull of Foundation specified Koine Greek for liturgical usage. Although subsequent acts granted a respite for the introduction of Koine Greek, it became increasingly obvious to the Holy See that the Hungarian language could no longer be eliminated from praxis, and the introduction of Greek was unrealistic since a large proportion of the Eparchy consisted of simple parishioners lacking even secondary education. After a while, the warnings from Rome emphasising that the tacit tolerance

of abuse did not by any means amount to approval would also cease. The only result of the demands of the Vatican was that the clergy said the Anaphora of the Divine Liturgy, or a part of it deemed to be especially important, in Greek.³²

Search for liturgical directions in the Hungarian Eparchy

Despite the fact that the language of the new Eparchy came to be Greek, not only did this not bring about any profound changes in language use, but services also continued to be conducted practically as they had been earlier, i.e. in keeping with the peculiar Slavic traditions of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve. Some attempts were made to take account of the relevant Greek books as well. One example of this is the Breviary published in Miskolc in 1938,³³ including indications of differences between the Greek, Slavic and Romanian traditions for services, in a fashion unique in comparison with the books of other Churches.³⁴ Explicitly marking different customs at certain points of the services seemed to be necessary and useful primarily because – even though the language of the Eparchy as defined by Rome was Greek – in the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, Slavic books continued to be regarded as normative. The Exarchate in question was created by the Holy See in 1924 from the parishes of the Eparchy of Prešov remaining within the borders of Hungary, and, in that region, Old Slavonic was still in regular use in most places at that time.

In the period between the two World Wars, the intellectual life of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community was enlivened by exciting debates. The main question was whether it was permissible to open the way for recent devotional forms coming from the Western Church, such as Sacramental Adoration, the cult of the Sacred Heart or May Devotions.³⁵ The Mother Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, once so proud of their conservatism, had long succumbed to the temptation of popular piety practices, chiefly motivated by fear of the spread of the Orthodox Church constantly growing in size and favoured by the state as

³² This is also confirmed by the *Liturgikon* published in 1920, featuring the Anaphora in two languages.

³³ *Dicsérvjétek az Úr nevét* [Praise the name of the Lord], Miskolc, 1938. One year later, a digest of the Breviary, under the title *Énekeljétek a mi Istenünknek* [Sing to our God], was also published, primarily for use by the laity; cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 547–570, 643–657; Id. (Ed.). *A Dicsérvjétek az Úr nevét című zsolozsmáskönyvünk 80. évfordulója alkalmából 2014. november 20-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga* (Liturgikus örökségünk, XIV), Nyíregyháza, 2014.

³⁴ Such a division of the Byzantine Rite obviously presupposes some simplification as even books published in Slavic do not reveal a uniform practice, either, but diversify a purportedly common Byzantine heritage with different customs across ages and locations. In particular cases, the similarity between a Muscovite and Greek book might be greater than between a Kievan and Greek edition.

³⁵ For a description of the general picture, cf. Rohály, Ferenc. *A liturgikus mozgalom elgondolásai a bizánci szertartásra alkalmazva: Mit akarnak a liturgikusok? Keleti Egyház, 3(1936), 170–181.*

well. Liturgical elements imported from the Western Church assumed a distinctive function and became a sign of fidelity to Rome for the Greek Catholics, in principle practising the same rite as the Orthodox. In Hungary, a similar threat was scarcely detectable, but the choice of the Mother Eparchies acted as a source of inspiration for those who would not have minded certain reforms otherwise, either. At the same time, what defenders of the ancient traditions cited as their main argument was that the Hungarian Greek Catholic community remained the sole heir to the old Mukacheve tradition as the eparchies transferred to Czechoslovakia not only were unable to resist innovations but also accepted the Ukrainian liturgical books which they had long demurred at, for they had seen them as corrupting the Rite. Thus, this time, the tables were turned: It was the Hungarian clergy that accused the clergy of Prešov and Mukacheve of adulterating the Rite.³⁶

The battle between the conservatives and innovators finally ended with the victory of the latter. Apart from the reason described above, some others also played a part in this respect. Therefore, as a result of the zealous missions of members of the reformed Basilian Order,³⁷ the spirituality of the clergy educated in Latin-rite seminaries in the absence of a seminary of their own, the International Eucharistic Congress of 1938, as well as owing to land loss, whereas, prior to the war, 9.8 per cent of Hungary's population identified themselves as Greek-rite, the figure dropped to 2.2 per cent by 1920 and kept declining due to mass rite changing.³⁸ Between the two World Wars, existence as a minority and stigmatisation imputed to ethnic affiliations had a depressing effect on Hungarian Greek Catholics, who, seeking social endorsement, were

eager to accommodate to a considerably larger Roman Catholic community liturgically as well, at least in the area of a few emblematic practices.

Although state authorities in Hungary spared the Greek Catholic Church from dissolution, they heavily inhibited its internal spiritual development. Bishop Miklós Dudás's (1939–1972) liturgical ordinances³⁹ from 1954 cannot be regarded as a reform but rather as codifying the existing order, with a view to pre-empting further abridgements and some anomalies. The hymn book *Dicsérvétek az Urat* published in the same year exhibits no new content other than a few prayers adopted from the Roman Catholic Rite or formulae inspired by such, along with the office composed for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. The texts of the chants are identical to those published earlier. In its various expanded editions,⁴⁰ it remains the most widely used hymn book among Hungarian Greek Catholics even today.

The 1990s saw the opening of new prospects for liturgical renewal in Hungary, urged by the Holy See as well.⁴¹ Thus, nearly the whole fund of Byzantine liturgical texts has been published in print, with the revision of previously published texts under way, the first tangible outcome of which is the Psalter issued with the approval of the Holy See in 2018.

³⁶ Cf. Szántay-Szémán, István. *A görög rítus liturgikus könyvei és magyar nyelvre való átültetésük*, Miskolc, 1938, 8–9.

³⁷ Subsequent Bishop Miklós Dudás also came from the ranks of the reform generation, cf. Пекар, Атанасій В. *Василіянська провінція св. Миколая на Закарпатті* (Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni, II/IX, fasc. 1–4), Roma, 1982, 142; Dudás, Bertalan – Legeza, László – Szacsavay, Péter. *Baziliták*, Budapest, 1993, 20.

³⁸ Véghseő, 2012, 52, 62.

³⁹ *Szertartási utasítások Aranyszájú Szent János Liturgiájának ünnepélyes bemutatásához* [Liturgical instructions for the solemn celebration of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom], Nyíregyháza, 1954. The Instruction was issued as a circular as well: *Rendelet a szentmise egyöntetű végzéséről, valamint a szentségek és szentelmények kiszolgáltatásáról* [Ordinance on the uniform celebration of the Holy Mass and on the administration of Sacraments and sacramentals], Ordinance No. 819 promulgated in Circular 1954/XIII; cf. Ivancsó, István. *A magyar görögkatolikuság körlevélben közölt liturgikus rendelkezéseinek forrásgyűjteménye*, Nyíregyháza, 1998, 185–207.

⁴⁰ It is notable that Western devotional forms (Sacramental Adoration, devotion to the Sacred Heart) were admitted only by the third edition published in 1974, cf. Pallai, Béla. Énekeskönyvünk első kiadásának bemutatása, in: Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *A Dicsérvétek az Urat című énekeskönyvünk megjelenésének 60. évfordulója alkalmából 2014. május 8-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga* (Liturgikus örökségünk, XII), Nyíregyháza, 2014, 40–41.

⁴¹ Cf. the liturgical instructions of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches published in 1996 – in English translation: *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (Libreria Editrice Vaticana), Vatican City, 1996.

IV.2.3 The Hungarian translation of the Divine Liturgy

Catalogue IV.37



Liturgy, that is Divine St. Service, or Mass, which was translated into Hungarian from the works of St. John Chrysostom, and written in this book by the Right Reverend Parish Priest of Timár István Lupess in 1814 ink on paper

94 pages

20 × 12 × 1,7 cm

Library of the St. Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, No. M-769, Nyíregyháza

The issue of the first translation of the liturgy into Hungarian caused a headache for researchers for a long time. György Kritsfalusi was the first to translate the full text of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom into Hungarian according to the latest opinion, which was not yet refuted. Kritsfalusi was a teacher at the grammar school in Uzhgorod and prepared his translation in 1795, that he offered to Bishop András Bacsinszky as a name-day gift. This hand-written translation was presumably copied several times later, including this copy here.

This manuscript was written in 1814 by Parish Priest of Timár István Lupess († 1835). A later possessor, Ignác Roskovics, attributed the translation to Mihály Krucsay († 1814), Parish Priest and Canon of Sečovce (Gálszécs) and Sátoraljaújhely later. Roskovics also believed, that Krucsay completed his work in 1793. However, based on a comparative analysis, it is obvious that István Lupess copied the translation of Kritsfalusi or another copy. There is no firm information available, whether Krucsay ever translated the Holy Liturgy or his text was only a link in the line of copies.

The manuscript of Lupess is a variant of the first known liturgical translation from 1795, written by György Kritsfalusi and preserved in the Episcopal Library of Uzhgorod. The text was published in 1913 by Hádor Sztripszky. Other copies are also available, suggesting that the demand for Hungarian texts increased in the 19th century.

A very important question is what text Kritsfalusi, the first translator, worked from. He did not give any information in this regard. A Catholic edition can be immediately ruled out on the basis of clear signs, such as the existence of the rite of the zeon. Looking at the Greek and Slavic Orthodox books from that time, the range of possible publications can be narrowed down quite well. It is striking that the translation provides some Easter-related texts after the communion. The hymns beginning with “Having seen the Resurrection of Christ...”, “Shine, Shine...”, and “Oh, truly great and holiest Passover...”, are to be recited mutely by the priest as communion prayers according to the note here. These were first included in the *sluzhebnik* of Patriarch Nikon of Moscow in 1656 as permanent parts of the liturgy and are not included in any other editions than those published in Moscow. The pre- communion acclamation of the people is also revealing: “Blessed is he, who comes in the name of the Lord” – which, however, was only available in print since the fifth edition of Nikon’s *sluzhebnik* (1658). At the same time, there is no priestly blessing immediately preceding the reading of the gospel in the Hungarian text, which was first included in the reformed Russian *sluzhebnik* in 1667. Based on all this, the first Hungarian translation shows the greatest similarity with the Moscow edition of 1658. This phenomenon is quite surprising, as both the existing library collections and the old parochial inventories suggest that, although Orthodox publications were preferably used in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, they obtained Gospels and books for the holy services from Moscow at most. There were rarely any Liturgicons among them. Why Kritsfalusi used a Moscow edition, may be explained by

the fact, that the news of Patriarch Nikon's book reform spread everywhere at that time, and the products that had left the press after lengthy works of correction were probably considered reliable abroad. This may be the reason, why the translation committee of Hajdúdorog in 1879 almost ignored the instructions of Kritsfalusi's text, as they did not correspond to the Hungarian liturgical practice. (A. D.)

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Nyirán, 2011.
Dobos, 2019, 246–248.

Imadsagos könyvetske a' magyar oroszok' lelki hasznokra

Catalogue IV.38



Kassán, Ellinger István Ts. K. priv. Könyvnyomató költséggel. 1825.

(A Prayer Book for the Spiritual Benefits of 'Hungarian Russians'.

in Kassa, at the expense of István Ellinger's Private Imperial and Royal Book Printer. 1825)

cover page + pages 3-64 + 3-page case

Page 25 to 34 of this specimen is incomplete and some pages remain only in fragments.

Pages 41–42 are also missing.

OSZK, Mor 3530e.

This book is the first Greek-Catholic publication in Hungarian, that contains only prayers. Liturgical texts were already published in earlier prints. This volume is the only surviving copy known in Hungary, coming presumably from the legacy of Hiador Sztropszky to the collection. Its content and text are almost entirely identical to the collection of prayers for Orthodox believers printed by Demeter Karapács in Pest in 1795, published several times later. It was presumably translated by Atanáz Szekeres (1738–1794), a former Orthodox priest from Győr, who later became a Catholic and whose name recurs as a translator in other books with almost the same content.

Although there was another opinion, that the edition was not proved to be a Catholic one, the word *Filioque* ("and from the Son") in the creed makes it clear, that the prayer book was printed for the

Byzantine rite. It should be noted, that the 1795 edition by Karapács did not contain this formula.

It is evident, that it was intended primarily for private use from the twenty-nine prayers, that the editor published under the heading “Prayers under the Holy Liturgy”. Contrary to popular belief, this type of prayer book was not the work of the Uniates. It would be obvious, that it was created in the Greek Catholic group following the pattern of mass prayers prevalent in the Roman Catholic Church, but the first Byzantine ceremony book with such prayers was published in 1595 – shortly before the Union of Brest – the collection *Everyday Prayers* published by the printing house of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilnius. This series of prayers was later taken over by Catholic editions, so it was already included in the *molitvoslov* of Unev (folio 86–101) from 1694. The prayers in the *Prayer Booklet* correspond exactly to these formulas, so it is evident, that the first translator, whoever he was, translated from Slavonic instead of Greek texts, even if “translated from Greek into Hungarian” was written again and again in the title of these Orthodox publications.

The second major part of the book is actually the Canon to the Mother of God, a series of hymns for the morning service celebrated with the Byzantine rite, inspired by biblical odes. The canons usually (except during Lent) consist of eight odes, based on the eight biblical odes – the canticle in the Roman rite. But the Byzantine Church actually knows nine hymns from the Scriptures, the second – the Song of Moses – is sung only in the canons of the three Odes of Lent. The numbering of the canons consisting of eight odes is therefore changed, the third one comes immediately after the first. The numbering of the odes is incorrect in the *Prayer Booklet*, because the third is taken to be the second. It is worth noting that the pages 50 to 61 contain the entire *Akathistos*, embedded in the canon, and not separately, as in the Orthodox edition of Karapács for example.

The small volume may have had an effect on Hungarian translations later, as some of the wording and translation solutions of some of the prayers or songs seem to be preserved in the later texts as well. (A. D.)

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Imádságos könyvetske, a magyar oroszok lelki hasznokra

Catalogue IV.39

Nagyvárad. *Kapható Pauker Dánielnél.*
 (A *Prayer Booklet for the Spiritual Benefit of Hungarian Russians*
 Nagyvárad. Available from Daniel Pauker)
 On the first page of the last sheet: Pest, 1866. printed by J. Kertész.
 69 pages
 OSZK, Mor 3530f.

As it was noted by Hiador Sztripszky, this edition is the same in every respect, as the prayer book published in Košice in 1825 with the same title, except for “some spelling changes”. About forty years passed between the two editions. We do not have any information of any other reprints or publications with this title from that period.

In the case of this edition, it is especially clear that the term “Hungarian Russians” in the title has a multiple figurative sense. The adjective “Russian” referred to the rite already in the first edition, however, it could still indicate the Slavonic origin of the readers. The place of the second edition was Oradea, the episcopal seat of the diocese of the same name, established in 1777, where ethnic Romanians were in the majority.

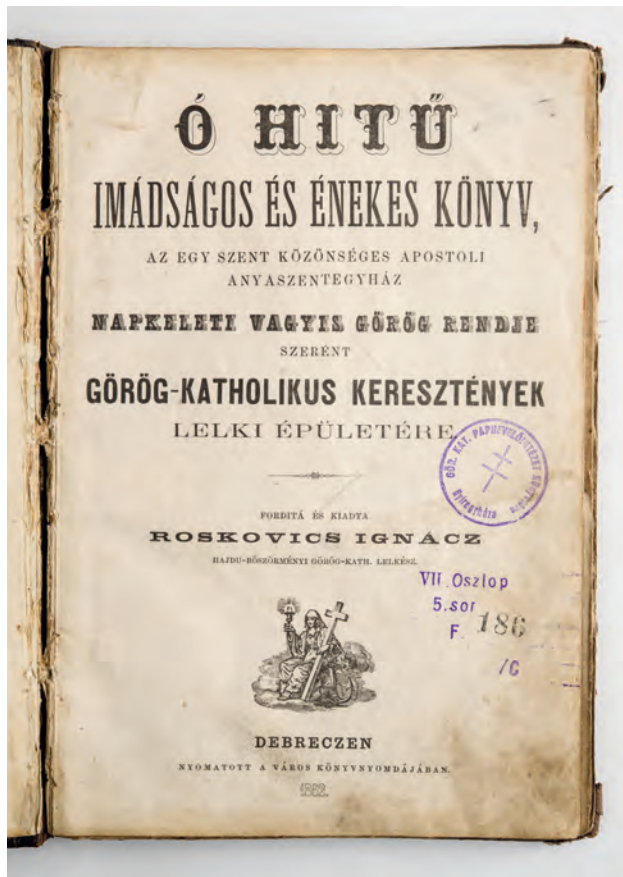
It may give some thought as to what made the publication necessary at all, if the songbook of Roskovics, much richer and written in a more modern language, was available from 1862. The question can be explained by the fact, that in the Diocese of Oradea, even if the Romanian language was officially used in the liturgy, the people were not involved in the ceremonies, which were accompanied only by the singing of the cantor. The people were involved in the liturgical singing due to the urgent measures taken by some bishops in the Eparchy of Mukacheve and Prešov. Even if common singing was sporadically spread in the Romanian parishes, the Romanian nationalist bishops of the period – Iosif Pop Silaghi (Papp-Szilágyi) in the year of the publication – would hardly have tolerated it in Hungarian. Thus, since the people were not involved in the services with their singing at the ceremonies, a prayer booklet simpler and clearer than a songbook proved to be appropriate and sufficient for individual prayer and piety. (A. D.)

Bibliography

- Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 443–444.

IV.2.3 Roskovics' Hymn book

Catalogue IV.40



Ó hitű imádságos és énekes könyv, az egy szent közösséges apostoli anyaszentegyház napkeleti vagyis görög rendje szerént görög-katholikus keresztények lelki épületére. Fordítá és kiadta Roskovics Ignác hajduböszörményi görög-kath. Lelkész. Debreczen nyomtatott a város könyvnyomdájában. 1862.

111 4 unnumbered pages

26 × 18 × 2 cm

Library of the Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, No. M–1685, Nyíregyháza

This was the first collection with the clear aim of involving the people in liturgical singing. It was compiled by Ignác Roskovics (1822–1895), when he was still a parish priest in Hajdúböszörmény. He became the Great Provost of Uzghorod later. Bishop András Bacsinszky was the first in the Eparchy of Munkács to encourage his priests to teach the people, starting with the youth, to participate in the services in this way, too. However, there had been no aid available until Roskovics' book. The first Old Slavonic collection songbook (zbornik) was published only two years later by Parish Priest of Velika Kopanya (*Felsőveresmart*) Andrej Popovics.

Roskovics set up a whole concept in connection with the Hungarian translations. His principle was that Hungarian should prevail above all in the passages heard by the congregation, and that the original liturgical language, that is ancient Greek, should be restored to its dignity. He also considered this principle valid for church services in Old Slavonic and Romanian. In parallel with editing this songbook, he worked on a translation of the liturgy, that he wanted to publish in a multilingual volume. This did not happen in the end, because the Liturgicon was published in Hungarian in 1882.

The contents of the collection are divided into the following parts: 1. basic prayers and catechism 2. private prayers; 3. the public parts of the Holy Liturgy and preparation for the Holy Communion; 4. paraclis; 5. funeral songs; 6. the permanent texts of the daily canonical hours; 7. the changing parts of the canonical hours for Sundays and major feasts.

Given the translation principles outlined above, it is understandable that the editor used sources from different editions and languages. The view, held by some scholars, that he would have taken primarily the Greek text into account, does not seem to be justified with regard to either the Holy Liturgy or the other services. Basically, this could not have been his objective, as the difference between the Greek and the Old Slavonic books was not only of a philological nature, but there were also differences in the course of the ceremonies, and the historical Eparchy of Mukacheve used Old Slavonic books. The fact that he took mainly Slavonic sources during the translation into account is evident from the texts of the canonical hours, partly from their differences in content and partly from the differences in sound notations and the existence of typically Slavonic elements, such as festive eulogies. Roskovics used the Greek text for help in some of the more difficult-to-translate parts of the Holy Liturgy. He did not ignore the Romanian liturgical tradition, either, as many Hungarian parishes

had Romanian roots. It is proved by the fact, that he also included two songs of the great martyr St. Demeter in the festive part with the remark: "Feast of the Romanians."

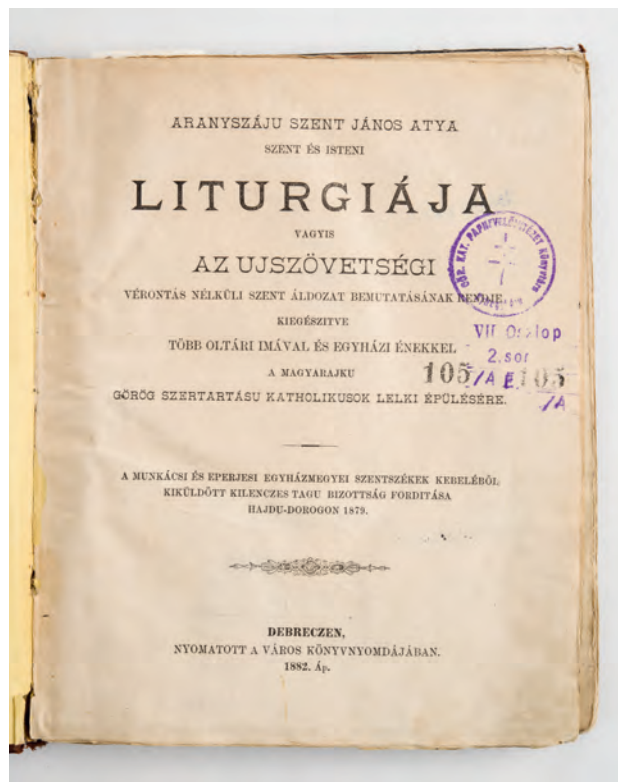
From a liturgical point of view, conservative views are as characteristic of Roskovics as certain reform ideas, and the songbook bears the marks of this duality. Respect for the tradition is manifested, for example, by the fact that the *Filioque* was inserted in the *Creed* in parentheses, or that he published the songs of Gregory Palamas for the second Sunday of Lent, whose reverence, being a post-secession saint, was usually omitted from Catholic publications. It is striking, however, that the text of the *Hail Mary* was included with a clause known in the Roman rite. A sign of the translator's openness to liturgical novelties is the courageous, but unsuccessful attempt to render the canons, originally written in Greek rhythmic prose, to Hungarian in rhyming according to the rules of emphatic poetry.

The popularity of Roskovics' publication was unbroken until the publication of Danilovics' songbook in 1892, and it was printed as late as 1898 for the eighth time, proving that Greek Catholics liked to use it until the early 20th century. (A. D.)

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Aranyszájú Szent János atya szent és isteni liturgiája vagyis az ujszövetségi vérontás nélküli szent áldozat bemutatásának rendje kiegészítve több oltári és egyházi énekkel a magyarajku görög szertartásu katolikusok lelki épülésére. A Munkácsi és Eperjesi Egyházmegyei Szentszékek kebeléből kiküldött kilenczes tagu Bizottság fordítása Hajdu-Dorogon 1879.

(The sacred and divine liturgy of Father St. John Chrysostom, that is, the order of the presentation of the holy communion without the bloodshed of the New Testament with several altar and church songs for the spiritual edification of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics. Translated by the nine-member Committee sent from the bosom of the Eparchies of Munkács and Eperjes to Hajdu-Dorog in 1879.)

*Debrecen, printed in the city's book printing house. 1882
90 + 2 unnumbered pages*

23 × 18.2 × 2 cm

SZAGKHF Library, No. M–1572, Nyíregyháza

Autograph by János Danilovics on the inside page:

Az egyháznak ajándékba. Danilovics (A gift to the church. Danilovics)

IV.2.3

The Liturgikon published in 1882 was a milestone in the birth of Hungarian liturgy. It was not only the first edition containing the text of the Holy Liturgy, but the first book to meet the standards in a liturgical sense in general.

The publication is the first result of the work of a nine-member translation committee set up in 1879 by the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov. In fact, it is only an extract of the Liturgikon in the classical sense, as it includes only a few formulas for special occasions in addition to the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. The Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, as well as the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts and the priestly parts of the canonical hours were published in one volume eight years later, in 1890. The text of the three liturgies were published together only in the 1920 Liturgikon.

The significance of the publication goes beyond Hungarian aspects. The historical Eparchy of Mukacheve developed its own liturgical tradition over the centuries. At the same time, no liturgical books were printed in Old Slavonic, so Hungarian publications are important sources of this heritage. In this aspect, it is understandable that the committee did not translate only one text that had already been published in print in Hungarian, but rather worked on the basis of several versions, taking the local practice into account.

Although the translation committee was set up with the knowledge and approval of the competent bishops, this Liturgikon was not approved by the Church. This shortcoming is self-evident if we take the fact into account, that public worship in Hungarian was considered an abuse by the Roman Catholic High Priesthood in Hungary, referring to the statements of the Holy See and consequently neither the Bishop of Mukacheve nor of Prešov could officially bless the use of the Hungarian text.

In addition to the Proskomidia for the preparation of donations and the text of the *Liturgy* of St. John Chrysostom, as well as some special ceremonies of the Easter season, the so-called special-purpose Liturgy formulas occupy a significant place in the Liturgikon. In the Byzantine rite, the Holy Liturgy by nature unites the common offering of everybody present, that is, the intent of praying of everybody present. The priest celebrating the Liturgy could remember those who contributed materially to the celebration in addition to their prayers, including originally first of all the offering of bread and wine, duly in the Proskomidia. Over time, the notion of *intentio* (intention) infiltrated the United Churches from Latin theology. Accordingly, the Eucharistic

celebration was usually associated with a specific intention of prayer, which was expressed in several places during the Liturgy, for example in the Ectenia or the readings. The first such Liturgikon was not published by the United Churches, but it was an orthodox edition published by the Metropolitan of Kiev Petr Mogila in 1639. Later, texts written for varying intentions – with modifications and extensions – were included in various Greek Catholic editions of Pochaev and Lviv, which the translation committee certainly used.

The *Liturgy* of St. John Chrysostom is still celebrated by Greek Catholic Hungarians according to the text of this edition both in Hungary and abroad. (A. D.)

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IV.2.3 The Book of the Epistols

Catalogue IV.42

Vasárnapi és ünnepi apostolok és evangéliumok a gör. szert. kath. egyházban. Az apostoli sz. szék által hitelesített szöveg szerint, iskolai és magán-használatra. (Sunday and festive epistols and gospels in the Greek Catholic Church according to the text authenticated by the Apostolic Holy See, for school and private use.) Eger, Printing House of the Archbishop's Lyceum. 1882 21 × 14 × 1 cm SZAGKHF Library, No. M–1572, Nyíregyháza

While complete mass-books containing all the texts to celebrate mass became common in the Roman Catholic Church as early as the 12th century, various books were used to celebrate the Holy Liturgy in the Byzantine rite, tailored to the needs of each priest. The priest celebrated the service from the Liturgicon, the deacon read the prescribed pericope from the Book of Gospels, the singers used the volumes of the Octoechos, the Menea and the Triodions, and the reader read the so-called Book of Epistols, the Praxapostol. Essentially, this latter volume includes all the other books of the New Testament in part or in whole, in addition to the four Gospels and the *Book of Revelation*, which was never read in the Byzantine rite. The first reading of the Holy Liturgy is always a passage from the Letters of the Apostles or the *Acts of the Apostles*, while the second is from the Gospel. The structure of the Book of Apostles may be similar to a lecture, containing a selection of readings for each day of the church year. The sections are well separated, each one of them starting with the right upbeat, like addressing with “Brothers!” or the introduction of “In those days”. This type of structure is characteristic of the churches following the Greek liturgical language. On the other hand, Slavic-speaking churches prefer the continuous Book of Apostles. The latter includes each book of the New Testament without interruption, only denoted and the appropriate introductory words are indicated in footnotes. (cf. Praxapostolos by Robert Taft in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, III, New York – Oxford, 1991, 1712–1713; Турилов, Анатолий Аркадьевич: Апостол, in: *Православная Энциклопедия*, III, Москва, 2001, 95–97.)

The first Book of Epistols in Hungarian was published in 1882. The editor, the bishop's secretary Emil Melles (1857–1932), not only wanted to facilitate the service of the liturgical reading with this publication, but also intended it as a kind of textbook for school children. This is also reflected in the content of the book, because it covers not only the passages from the apostles, but also the gospel passages prescribed for Sundays and feasts. The first part contains Sundays and the feasts, which vary depending on the date of

Easter. The second part contains readings for the permanent feasts, as well as the passages of the resurrection from the Gospel to be read at the Sunday morning service and the so-called twelve gospels of suffering for Maundy Thursday. The pericopes prescribed for the intent of all good requests and for the Saturday of Souls are included in the appendix.

The second edition of 1902 is significantly longer than the first one. It includes, among others, the readings (parimias) usually taken from the *Old Testament* for the vespers on the eve of some major holidays.

As for the text of the selected passages, Melles did not make an independent translation, but used the most modern edition of the age, the Káldi *Bible* revised by Béla Tárkányi, which was first published between 1862 and 1865. Káldi translated it from the Latin *Vulgate* instead of the Greek or Old Slavonic *Scriptures*, which would have been desirable in the case of a liturgical book for the Byzantine rite. At the same time, he received approval from the church, and this aspect is not negligible at all, considering that no church authority would have given its consent to a book for liturgical use in Hungarian. The caution of the editor can also be seen in the title, as the purpose of the publication was not indicated as reading in church, but rather for “school and private use”. Yet the volume proved most useful in worship services. The second edition is still in use in some places today despite its ancient language. (A. D.)

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IV.2.3 Danilovics' Hymn book

Catalogue IV.43



Görögszertartásu általános egyházi énekkönyv a hozzávaló imákkal. A görög-katolikus hivek lelki hasznára.

(A general Greek Catholic hymn book with prayers. For the spiritual benefit of Greek Catholics.)

Translated and published by: János Danilovics, Episcopal Vicar of Hajdú-Dorog. 1892

Debreczen, Printed in the city's Printing House 1892. 49. 17.1 × 13.5 × 2.5 cm

SZAGKHF Library, No. M–1669, Nyíregyháza

The hymn book of Danilovics is chronologically the second collection in Hungarian, which primarily served the involvement of the congregation in liturgical singing. Its publication was planned by the nine-member translation committee of Hajdúdorog, as indicated in the service-book edited by the committee and published in 1883. The fact that the title shows only the name of the chairman of the committee, the first vicar in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog is a sign, that he took the lion's share in the translation.

Its significance – in addition to including much more material, than Ignác Roskovics' songbook published thirty years earlier – lies mainly in the fact that his language proved to be long-lasting. Similar publications from the 20th century were all based on this translation.

It is worth noting about the person of János Danilovics, that his translation work came as a bit of a surprise to Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics. He was born into a Ruthenian family in 1836 in Strážske (Órmező). He spent the first decade of his service as a priest in the bishop's office of Uzhhorod. He already obtained the title of canon in 1867. He was elected co-president of the Society of St. Basil in 1872. The Society, initiated in 1864 and officially founded two years later, aimed to promote the intellectual life of the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, mainly through publishing books. Its spirituality was basically determined by the Slavophil movement, which Bishop of Mukacheve István Pankovics (1866–1874) tried to break. Danilovics was his personal secretary and previously known for his opposition to the Magyarization of the Ruthenians, but the bishop succeeded in winning him for the issue of promoting the Hungarian language. It was part of the bishop's policy to appoint a pro-Hungarian person to the Society. Unaware of this background information, the people of Hajdúdorog, who were at the forefront of the struggle for the Hungarian liturgical language received the Ruthenian canon appointed to head the Eparchy set up in 1873 mistrustfully, but he soon proved his sincere commitment to support their objectives.

The songbook begins with an introductory section with the most common prayers. This is followed by a section containing the permanent parts of the daily psalms, including the Holy Liturgy and the songs of the *Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts*. The variable sections begin with an excerpt from the Octoechos, including the songs for the Saturday evening service, the Sunday morning and evening service. The texts for the Sundays and other notable days of the Lent and Easter are followed by the songs of the permanent feasts, and the book ends with the selected formulas of the collective veneration of saints and a calendar.

Its popularity was not surpassed by any other omnibus edition, as it was published fourteen times. The last edition was published without marking the year, presumably in 1913. (A. D.)

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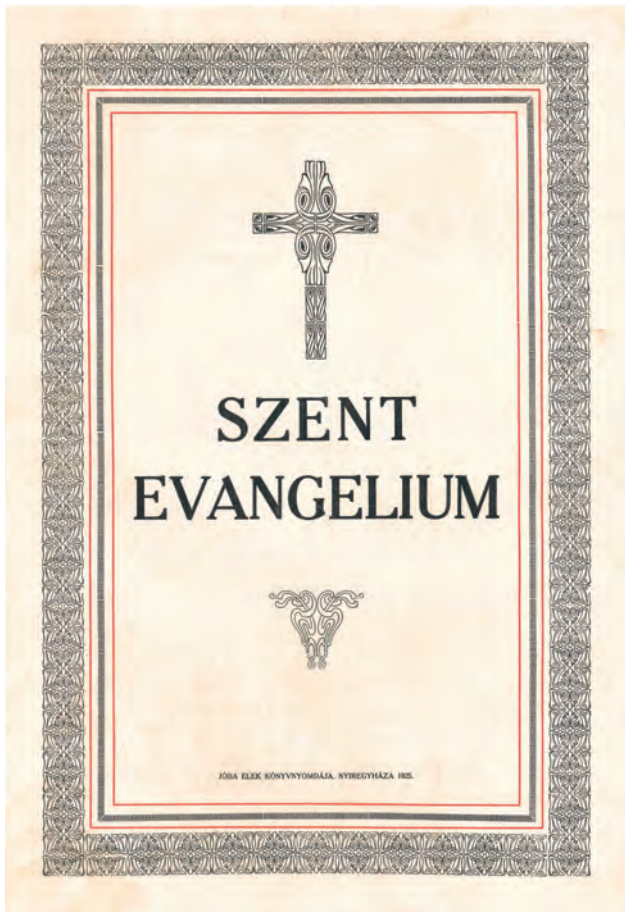
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IV.2.3 The Book of Gospels

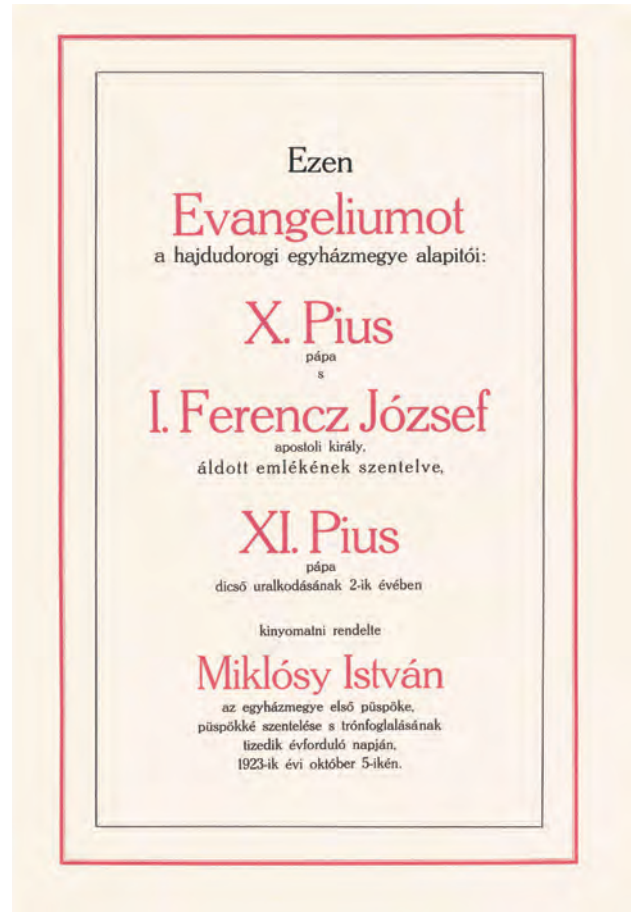
Catalogue IV.44



Szent Evangelium (The Holy Gospel)
Elek Jóba's Printing House, Nyíregyháza,
1925

The Book of Gospels was published in Hungarian in 1925, quite late compared to other liturgical books. The circumstances of the editing and printing are well documented. Bishop of Hajdúdorog István Miklósy (1913–1937) was already considering its publication from the time he took office, but it had to wait more than ten years due to the war and the financial difficulties.

The Gospel pericopes were certainly the first parts in the Holy Liturgy, that were read in Hungarian. This is suggested by the alleged permission of Bishop András Bacsinszky (1772–1809), which was not discovered in the form of any written document so far, but it was referred to again and again during the struggle for a Hungarian liturgy. In any case, it is already evident that Bishop Vazul Popovics (1837–1864), in his decree on the liturgical use of the Hungarian language (No. 4125/1843), authorized only the reading of the passage from the Gospels in Hungarian, that the priest had to read in the Holy



Liturgy. At the same time, however, it was not forbidden to sing in Hungarian.

After all this, it may seem strange that the most important liturgical books were published as the fruit of the work of the translation committee in Hajdúdorog established in 1879, but the Gospels were only published in Hungarian many decades later. Bishop Gyula Firczák of Mukacheve (1891–1912) received a related request, but he made it clear that only the Holy See was competent to authorize the publication. The process was certainly slowed down by the fact, that the Byzantine rite endowed the Book of Gospels with a kind of symbolic value and highlighted it among the other liturgical books. If the Gospel in Hungarian is placed on the altar, Hungarian “rises to the altar”, becoming an “altar language” according to the contemporary terminology.

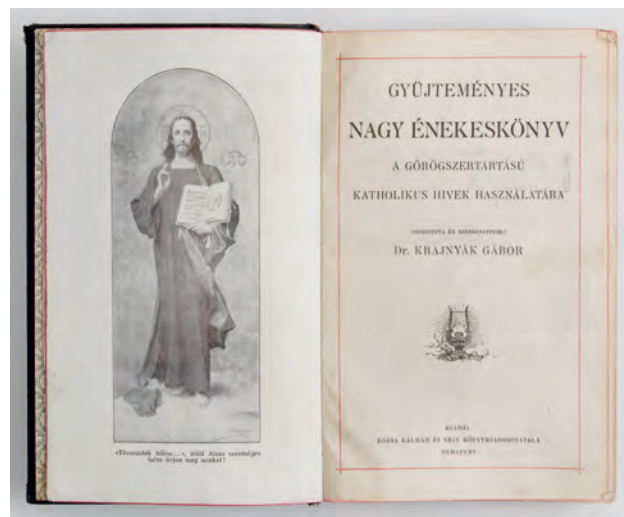
The new Book of Gospels was finally printed with significant expenses, which is shown by the fact, that Bishop Miklósy obliged all parishes to make a financial contribution in the year of publication. In the end, the publication was the most impressive of all until that time. It was printed in two colours on high-quality paper.

This edition was not their own translation; it was taken from Káldi's text, corrected by Béla Tárkányi. The language was already obsolete at the time of the publication of the Greek Catholic Book of Gospels and some people said that it should not have been used, since it was also abandoned by the Roman Catholics in the meantime. It is true that mainly the frequent use of obsolete tenses makes it difficult to understand, although it lends an elevation to the text. Nevertheless, the Book of Gospels was in use for about a hundred years. It is only now that it is slowly replaced by later editions, approved by the Holy See in 2017 *ad experimentum* and which do not follow the form of the *Tetraevangelion*, contrary to local tradition. (A. D.)

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Gyűjteményes nagy énekeskönyv a görögszertartású katolikus hivek használatára

(A book with a large collection of hymns for Greek Catholics)

Translated and edited by dr. Gábor Krajnyák / Published by Kálmán Rózsa's and his wife's Publisher / Budapest 1929.

667 pages, [7] panels

22.9 × 14.4 × 3.2 cm

SZAGKHF Library, No. 1956, Nyíregyháza

The book was published to meet an urgent need. Although the songbook of János Danilovics was reprinted more than a dozen times, it was still impossible to obtain. Gábor Krajnyák, a rite teacher at the Central Seminary, initially wanted to publish a revised edition only. However, the final result was a new songbook, significantly expanded in its content, with a revised text in a new format.

Krajnyák identified important aspects, that revealed the liturgical search for a way for Greek Catholic Hungarians, who lived already in their own eparchy. The songbook of János Danilovics – at least according to Krajnyák – was “implemented exclusively according to the Old Slavonic text”. Therefore, he observed both the Slavonic and the Greek texts during the revision, because “it is impossible to make a good translation from another translation” – i.e. the Old Slavonic. At the same time, with regard to the typical instructions, i.e. the instructions concerning the course of the ceremonies, he insisted on the instructions of the Old Slavonic books, because the common treasure of traditions was built from these, that the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog shared with the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov.

The publication and its preparatory work sparked quite a widespread controversy. This was a sign, that the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgy entered a new era.

It was the first problem that arose again and again in all liturgical languages. The translation of Danilovics already passed completely into the common knowledge and was fixed in the people's memory in many places. The concern was rightly articulated: is it possible or necessary to change the fossilized phrases of the lyrics known from the outside? In connection with Hungarian, although it was not even a canonized language yet, the same dilemma soon arose as in the case of the ancient liturgical languages: can the liturgical language develop together with the common language, or must break away from the spoken language for the sake of its "sacredness"? There was another opinion, that Krajnyák's text was a good starting point, but it was not ready for use in church, so it would be more useful to reprint the old book of Danilovics, than to release a new, semi-finished product, which would soon be followed by new improved editions. The officially invited reviewers did not agree, either. We can also see, that a technical issue was raised for the first time among Hungarian Greek Catholics: what is the better solution, gradualism or a one-time but possibly drastic intervention in the case of a liturgical reform of any scale?

One of the undisputed novelties of the publication was introducing interval signals in the text and giving the musical notes of the most frequently recurring standard melodies in the appendix in order to help collective singing. It was also criticized and in fact opened a debate, that continues until today about the uniformity of singing and the correct prosody.

The Hymn book was popular in the parishes of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog for a long time. It has served even more the collective singing in the Hungarian-speaking parishes of Transcarpathia, than in Hungary, because in the meantime, the new songbook, first published in 1954 and a new facsimile edition of Krajnyák's book (Nyíregyháza, Örökségünk, without pictures and signs) also spread among Hungarian communities over the border after the end of communism. (A. D.)

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Dicsérvétek az Úr nevét! Görögszertartású katolikus ima- és énekeskönyv. Tartalmazza a mindennapi egyházi zsolozsma állandó részeinek magyar fordítását az Apostoli Szentszék által kiadott hiteles egyházi szövegek nyomán, az egyházi év nevezetesebb alkalmaira szóló változó részekkel, – különös tekintettel a magyar nyelvterületen érvényes liturgikus gyakorlatra és közhasználatú szövegekre
(Praise the name of the Lord! A Greek Catholic prayer and hymn book. It contains the Hungarian translation of the permanent parts of the canonical hours for every day according to the authentic ecclesiastical texts published by the Apostolic Holy See, with varying parts for the most notable occasions of the ecclesiastical year—with a special regard to liturgical practice and public texts valid in the Hungarian language area.)
Published by the Chrysostomos Society, István Ludvig Jr's Printing House, Miskolc, 1934
1119 pages
SZAGKHF, Nyíregyháza

The publication known as the "Book of Hours" is still used by Hungarian Greek Catholics. It was first published in Miskolc in 1934 with the approval of Governor of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc Antal Papp (1924–1945).

The United Churches borrowed the genre of the Book of Hours, i.e. the breviary from the Roman Catholic Church. Until the middle of the Middle Ages, the canonical hours, that is, prayer hours consecrating certain periods of the day, were usually celebrated in communities both in the West and the East by the monks and members of the chapter bodies together, and the pastoral priesthood with the people; and several books were required for such public prayers. The ministering priest, the reader and the singers had their own books. In the 11th century, when members of the clergy were frequently not able to participate in the choir, books were published for the Roman rite that allowed anyone to celebrate the canonical hours alone. These editions, extracted from several liturgical books, were called breviaries. The name comes from the Latin word *brevis*, which means "brief". In this case, precisely because it is a collection, that allows the individual prayer of the canonical hours in an abbreviated form. The breviary spread rapidly everywhere from the 13th century due to the new mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans. The reason for its popularity was that even if the lay people missed the canonical hours over time, it continued to live as a private obligatory prayer for the clergy (cf. Radó, Polikárp. *A megújuló istentisztelet*, Budapest, 1975, 38–40).

The obligatory nature of the canonical hours was interpreted differently in the East, but it was certainly not reduced only to the clergy. In the churches of the Byzantine rite – apparently compared to the monastic customs – the canonical hours are celebrated in a reduced, but continuous way, in which the believers can also join. That is why the need for a publication like the Breviary was not needed for a long time.

A whole series of changes took place in the religious life of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve from the end of the 18th century, as a result of which the celebration of the canonical hours almost disappeared in many places. Bishop Vazul Popovics of Mukacheve (1837–1864) reminded his priests several times, that the obligation of the canonical hours was part of the discipline in the ancient Eastern church, even if it was not explicitly codified as in the Western Church. At the same time, Popovics also urged the celebration of the daily Holy Liturgy in his circulars, which can already be attributed to the spiritual influence of the Latin Church. The priesthood took the latter encouragement seriously, while the warning about the obligation of the canonical hours was less observed. At the same time, collective prayer got a new impetus in many parishes with the help of new songbooks published one after the other.

The liturgical renewal between the two world wars was also felt in the Greek Catholic Churches. The question of the canonical hours arose again, but its more regular practice already encountered an important obstacle among Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics at that time. Not all the books needed for praying at the canonical hours were available in Hungarian. The songbooks contained only the most essential parts of many books for singers. This was one of the needs which prompted the idea of publishing a Book of Hours in Hungarian. The other one came from the priestly spirituality already shaped for the Latin rite. If a priest wanted to pray alone those parts of the canonical hours, that the congregation would not have visited, he could ignore three or four other books with the help of such a publication. The Book of Hours thus proved to be a useful tool both for private prayer and the public prayer of the canonical hours, for the priests, the cantor and the people alike.

In many aspects, the Book of Hours is a unique publication in an international context, because it includes the *Liturgy* of St. John Chrysostom and some other ceremonies not related to prayer hours in addition to some parts of the canonical hours. Moreover, the calendar part of the canonical hours, that is, the text of the Saints of the Day and the permanent feasts were published in ten small volumes. This series, entitled *Ménologion* was published in 1939, its parts can be attached to the end of the Book of Hours.

Even more remarkable was the editorial principle that the Book had to reflect all the traditions of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics of various origins. Thus, the Book of Hours always included the instructions and textual versions of the Greek, Old Slavonic and Romanian liturgical books, if they differed from each other. This was necessary also because in the parishes of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc – on the territory of the Diocese of Prešov that remained in Hungary after 1920 – Old Slavonic was used as a liturgical language. The Holy See ordered Ancient Greek to be the official ceremonial language for the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, but the heritage of the Mother Eparchy of Mukacheve, where the Old Slavic elements dominated, also survived in part. In addition, even Romanian was used as a liturgical language to some extent in some parishes. The Book of Hours gave a Hungarian text to the clergy and the congregation, taking all existing traditions into account. An excerpt from the Book of Hours entitled *Sing to Our God* was published for Greek Catholics in 1937.

The Book of Hours used the texts of the Danilovics Songbook and the publications of the translation committee of Hajdúdorog, sung or heard by the people at the ceremonies, which were already fixed in practice. The private prayers and the quietly recited priestly parts were translated mainly from the Greek text by editor János Kozma and to a lesser extent by István Szántay-Szémán. They are two of the leading figures in the theological workshop that defined the intellectual life of Hungarian Greek Catholicism between the two world wars, primarily through the monthly paper *The Eastern Church* published in Miskolc between 1934 and 1943 and several other scientific and educational publications. (A. D.)

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 Dobos, 2019, 552–555.

IV.3.1 The Trauma of Trianon: The Eparchy's Losses and Fight for Survival

Tamás Véghseő

Concluding World War I, the Peace Treaty of Trianon also shook the community of Hungarian Greek Catholics to its core. As a result of border changes, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog lost half of its parishes: Seventy-five were transferred to Romania and four to Czechoslovakia. Besides the eighty-two parishes of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, twenty parishes from the Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*) and one parish from the Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*) remained in Hungary (Picture 1). Beyond severe land losses, Hungarian Greek Catholics had to endure the consequences of a conspicuous decline in their social relevance and perception as well. Whereas, before World War I, 9.8 per cent of Hungary's population were Greek Catholic, this ratio decreased to 2.2 per cent by 1920.¹ This fact, as well as the economic problems of the country, in themselves posed a serious challenge to the fulfilment of the Government's undertakings made in 1912 and thus to the development of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.

The fundamental change in the situation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog prompted the officials of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches to raise the possibility of effecting essential amendments to the Bull of Foundation (*Christifideles graeci...*, 1912).² As the introduction of Koine Greek as a liturgical language failed during the first decade of the Eparchy's existence, Cardinal Nicolò Marini, Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, proposed that the Pope make the Old Slavonic language obligatory for Hungarian Greek Catholics. Cardinal Marini's proposal speaks of a lack of familiarity with the actual situation in Hungary,³ as well as of a sense of distrust of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.⁴ It was Budapest Nuncio

Lorenzo Schioppa who was tasked with informing Prince-Primate János Csernoch, István Miklósy, Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Secretary's proposal. The position of the last one was formulated by Bishop Elect János Csiszárík, Advisor for Church Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In agreement with the two church leaders consulted, on behalf of the Government, Bishop Csiszárík firmly opposed the proposal, which would present the Holy See to the Hungarian public as an instrument of Slavic policies threatening Hungary's very existence. In the face of resolute objections, the introduction of Old Slavonic in the liturgical life of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog would not be put on the agenda again.⁵

In drawing the new state borders as part of the peace treaties ending World War I, decision makers were primarily mindful of economic and ethnic considerations. As aspects of ecclesiastical governance were not prominent, the new frontiers would in a number of instances sever parishes from the corresponding episcopal sees. The Apostolic See sought to remedy the concomitant problems by creating provisional units of ecclesiastical governance.

In post-Trianon Hungary, twenty Greek Catholic parishes were left from the Eparchy of Prešov and one from the Eparchy of Mukacheve; their fate was decided by the Holy See in the summer of 1924 along the lines discussed above, with the persons of the respective bishops also taken into account.⁶ The strongly anti-Catholic Czechoslovak Government aimed not only to remove the (Latin- and Byzantine-rite) bishops appointed in the 'Hungarian Era' but, by supporting the

The paper was written with the support of the Research Group 'Greek Catholic Heritage' under the Joint Programme 'Lendület' (Momentum) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College.

¹ Pirigyi, 1990, 123.

² For more detail on the proposal, see: Véghseő, Tamás. Az Apostoli Szék és a magyar görögkatolikusok kapcsolata a két világháború között, in: Fejérdy, András (Ed.). *Magyarország és a Szentszék diplomáciai kapcsolatai, 1920–2015*, Budapest–Róma, 2015, 152–154.

³ He mistakenly surmised that, in post-Trianon Hungary, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was only left with parishes from the erstwhile Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, i.e. ones using Old Slavonic as the language of the liturgy in the past.

⁴ Officials of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches founded in 1917 had been selected from the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, a dicastery vehemently opposing the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in 1912. Therefore, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy would for a long time remind the officials concerned of their loss of prestige with the Holy See's Secretariat of State.

⁵ The public could learn about this initiative only in 1933, when István Gróh greeted Bishop Miklósy in the columns of the church gazette *Görög Katolikus Szemle* on the twentieth anniversary of his ordination. Gróh describes the foiling of the initiative (which he attributes to Sheptytsky, Ukrainian Archbishop of Lviv) as the accomplishment of the Bishop of Hajdúdorog. See: *Görög Katolikus Szemle*, 20(1933), 1, quoted in: Janka, György. Miklósy István püspök (1913–1937) a korabeli görög katolikus sajtó tükrében, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Symbolae: Ways of Greek Catholic Heritage Research*, Papers of the conference held on the 100th anniversary of the death of Nikolaus Nilles, Nyíregyháza, 2010, 341.

⁶ For more detail on the foundation of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, see: Véghseő, 2015, 154–156. On the history of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, see: Szántay-Szémán, István. A Miskolci Apostoli Kormányzóság első tizenöt éve (1925–1940), in: *A Miskolci Görög Szertartású Katolikus Apostoli Kormányzóság története, területi és személyi adatai fennállásának 15. éves évfordulóján*, Miskolc, 1940, 3–21; as well as: Szántay-Szémán, István. Tizenöt éves a Miskolci Görögkatolikus Apostoli Kormányzóság, *Keleti Egyház*, 11(1940), 235–238.



schismatic movement, to weaken the Greek Catholic Church as well. István Novák, Bishop of Prešov, abandoned his episcopal seat before the new state borders were designated and entrusted his Eparchy to the governance of his Vicar. In 1920, the Pope ordered that the Bishop settling in Budapest be relieved of his duty, who, declining the assistance offered by Holy See, chose to retire despite his young age.⁷ Conversely, Antal Papp, Bishop of Mukacheve, stayed in Uzhhorod. The Czechoslovak Government refused to accept his person for political reasons (as was the case with most of his fellow bishops), endangering the effectiveness of his governing and pastoral activities. Moreover, the

Apostolic See was also concerned about the successes of the schismatic movement. The Holy See found that Bishop Antal Papp, who, during his visit to Rome at the beginning of 1924, reported on the condition of his Eparchy in person as well, could no longer keep the situation that had evolved under control.⁸

In 1923, Czechoslovakia and the Holy See established diplomatic relations, as a result of which a Papal Legate was installed in Prague. Thus, the ordinance of Pope Pius XI regarding the Eparchy of Mukacheve and its hierarch was communicated to those concerned by Prague Nuncio Francesco Marmaggi. At the order of the Secretariat of State,

⁷ The records of Bishop István Novák's case in the Vatican Apostolic Archive (Archivio Apostolico Vaticano): AAV Arch. Nunz., Budapest, busta 5, fasc. 7/7, Eperjes fol. 591–605; as well as: AAV, Arch. Nunz., Budapest, busta 11, fasc. 11/6 (8), Eperjes fol. 440–466.

⁸ The records of Antal Papp's case in the Vatican Apostolic Archive: AAV, Arch. Nunz., Budapest, busta 11, fasc. 11/6 (9), Munkács fol. 467–497.

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on 4 June 1924, Nuncio Marmaggi issued a decree wherein Pope Pius XI appointed Antal Papp Titular Archbishop of Cyzicus, created an Apostolic Exarchate for the parishes of the Eparchies of Prešov and Mukacheve remaining in Hungary, instated the newly appointed Archbishop as Exarch at its head with effect from 1 July 1924 and, effective from the same day, declared the Bishopric of Mukacheve vacant (Picture 2).

The Decree triggered shock in government circles in Budapest as, contrary to prior practice, the Holy See had enacted policies affecting parishes in Hungary without consulting the Hungarian Government. According to the assessment of Budapest, which was amply divulged by the press, with this step, the Holy See had taken the side of Czechoslovakia ill-disposed towards Hungary. The Hungarian authorities attempted to hinder the execution of the Decree by not granting Archbishop Antal Papp a passport despite his repeated requests and, driven by political considerations, they encouraged him to wait until he would be expelled by the Czechoslovak authorities.

The creation of the Apostolic Administration came as a surprise even to the clergy of the respective parishes as, led by Endre Mocsár, Dean and parish priest of Homrogd, they were in favour of joining the

Eparchy of Hajdúdorog or establishing an external vicariate under its auspices. As Vicar-General, governing twenty parishes formerly in the Eparchy of Prešov, Antal Vaskovics, parish priest of Múcsony, also subscribed to this endeavour. By contrast, in his memorandum submitted to Prince-Primate János Csernoch, István Szémán (from 1934, Szántay-Szémán), former Chief School-Inspector of the Eparchy of Prešov, relocated to Hungary, argued for a separate entity as more conducive to the preservation of the temporary character of the status quo – in line with the position of the Holy See.

Organisation of the created Apostolic Administration suffered delay as long as the prevailing situation around the person of the Exarch Elect remained unresolved. The Hungarian Government would not want to acknowledge the action of the Holy See and of the Czechoslovak State by issuing an entry permit and saw waiting for expulsion as expedient in every respect. Thus, it was able to demonstrate the oppressive policies of Czechoslovakia internationally and shift the burden of care for the hierarchy to the expeller. Meanwhile, enjoying the hospitality of his successor, Péter Gebé in Uzhorod, Archbishop Antal Papp was cognisant that the situation was irreversible, and he would soon have to leave the territory of Czechoslovakia notwithstanding the objections of the Hungarian Government. At the same time, he was also aware that he was not to ignore the political interests of the Hungarian Government as his operation in Hungary, along with the recognition of the Apostolic Exarchate, depended on the Hungarian State. On 1 September 1925, the Archbishop received a ten-day ultimatum from the Czechoslovak authorities to leave the country. Via the Nuncio in Budapest – i.e. bypassing the official diplomatic channels – the Hungarian Government sent him the message that, upon his expulsion, the Hungarian border control agency would register a protest, without preventing his entry though. It was after such antecedents that, on 11 September 1925, Archbishop Antal Papp was expelled and conveyed to Hungary amid a large muster of police force and great publicity.

At first, the Archbishop went to Budapest, then moved to Miskolc and, on 27 October 1925, took over the governance of the Exarchate. He created a consultory body as substitute for the chapter. After some hesitation, the Hungarian Government gave its consent to the retention of the endowment of the Abbey of Tapolca, to which he had possessed a personal entitlement as Bishop of Mukacheve.

In organising the Apostolic Exarchate, the first issue to settle was the selection of a seat. Even though

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the city of Miskolc proved to be suitable in all respects, it belonged to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. Therefore – with the support of Archbishop Antal Papp – on 9 November 1925, the Consultory Body requested from the Holy See that the parish of Miskolc be reassigned to the Apostolic Exarchate, and that the Búza tér church be elevated to the rank of cathedral.⁹

The aspect that led to the creation of the Apostolic Exarchate, in this instance, became an impediment to the development of this new unit of ecclesiastical governance. In fact, the Holy See rejected the Consultors' request on the grounds that the temporary character of the Apostolic Exarchate did not warrant expansion of its territory. The Holy See would adhere to this position even at the time of Exarch Antal Papp's subsequent attempts (1929 and 1938).

Later historical events justified the Apostolic See. The number of the Exarchate's parishes would grow not only as a result of organic development (five new parishes were established by 1945) but due to the modification of state borders as well. Following the First Vienna Award (1938), in the territories reverting to Hungary, six parishes of the Košice (Kassa) Deanery of the Eparchy of Prešov and, subsequently, after the reconquest of Transcarpathia (1939), an additional five parishes were added to the Exarchate. Simultaneously, Rudabányácska and Beregdaróc (an affiliated church at the time of the foundation of the Exarchate), originally under the jurisdiction of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, returned to their Mother Diocese. Archbishop Antal Papp (died on 24 December 1945) did not live to see that, in the wake of post-World War II frontier adjustments, these parishes would revert to the Eparchy of Prešov, and Rudabányácska and Beregdaróc, left in Hungary again, would finally be allocated to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.

In Hungarian society, in a state of shock after the Trianon trauma, attitudes to Greek Catholics were marred by a growing suspicion, and the idea that a 'dependable' Hungarian could not be Byzantine-rite reared its head again.¹⁰ As such sentiments would be

palpably manifested in everyday life as well (in public administration, for example, even employment or career advancements could be impacted), a large number of Greek Catholics chose to abandon their rite when selecting individual life strategies. Rite changing was facilitated by the 1929 decision of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches to assign such cases to the competence of nuncios, a major change from previous practice.¹¹ Among the records of the Budapest Nunciature, bulky files dating from the 1930s are found, filled with rite changing requests, with a large proportion pertinent to marriage.¹² In these instances, the Greek Catholic party would typically justify his or her request for rite changing with the argument that, in the absence of such, the family of his or her future spouse would simply not admit him or her. Rite changing decimated the Greek Catholic intelligentsia as predominantly those living in an urban environment came to such decisions. However, (partially successful) rite changing attempts involving entire parishes are also evidenced from the countryside.¹³ Bishop Miklósy strove to stem the surge of rite changing by denying a discharge (*episcopus a quo*), but, through these efforts, he only succeeded in provoking the Latin hierarchs' antipathy, mostly considering transfer to the 'superior' Latin Rite as a natural consequence. As a serious outcome of Bishop Miklósy's resistance, he was completely isolated within the Episcopacy. Furthermore, he would refuse to alter his royalist political views even as the consolidation of the Horthy regime progressed, pitting himself against a Government that generously supported Churches. An apt example of the related detrimental effects was the failure to establish an eparchial seminary and a Greek Catholic theological faculty – magnanimous offers of the cultural policy epitomised by the name of Kuno von Klebelsberg, Minister of Culture. Bishop Miklósy declined this gesture pointing out that he did not see the location in Szeged – where a new academic centre was built by drawing on the relocated University of Cluj

⁹ The documents of the case: AAV, Arch. Nunz., Budapest, busta 14, fasc. 8/5, fol. 300–316.

¹⁰ In 1937, in his speech in Parliament, Smallholders' Party Member of Parliament Mátyás Matolcsy expressed his resentment that, during the colonisation of the Károlyi Estates in Szatmár County, Greek Catholic farm labourers also acquired land. In his opinion, in the vicinity of the Romanian border, it would have been desirable to enable only 'individuals purely of the Hungarian race, with a fully reliable and uncompromising Hungarian pedigree to acquire Hungarian land' (translated from the Hungarian original). Quoted in: Pirigyí, 1990, 129.

¹¹ Previously, requests were to be presented to Rome. The ordinance was revoked in 1940. Szlávik, Antal. *Sajátjogú egyháztagság: Normafejlődés és aktuális kérdések*, Budapest, 2006, 171–172.

¹² E.g. AAV, Arch. Nunz., Budapest, busta 54, 1937, fasc. 2/1–5, fol. 235–533.

¹³ The case of the parishes of Homrogd, Sajóvámos and Tarcal in the Vatican Apostolic Archive: AAV, Arch. Nunz., Budapest, busta 19, 36, 45 and 48.

(*Kolozsvár*) – as appropriate as proposed by the Government. During the session of the Eparchial Synod, he commented: ‘... other times and other people will come; we must not relinquish our rights’ (translated from the Hungarian original).¹⁴

However, Bishop Miklósy’s relations deteriorated not only with the Latin-rite bishops and the Government. Ever since the foundation of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, he had had numerous conflicts with Archbishop Antal Papp as well. One of the causes of their differences of opinion was the allocation of the parish of Miskolc. As has been mentioned above, in agreement with the Archbishop, the Consultory Body of the Exarchate endeavoured to ensure that Miskolc would be reassigned from the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog to the Exarchate. As Bishop Miklósy successfully prevented this, Archbishop Antal Papp could conduct services in the parish church of Miskolc as a guest. Another source of their conflicts was liturgical language use. After the World War, the use of Hungarian gained increasing currency in the parishes of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. The leaders of the Eparchy sought to ensure that, in public parlance and official usage, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog would be referred to as the ‘Hungarian’ Diocese. Such efforts would be aided by radio broadcasts of liturgies launched in the 1930s. Even though no-one questioned his Hungarian identity and loyalty to the Hungarian State, Archbishop Antal Papp was a proponent of the Old Slavonic liturgy. He was chagrined to find that the demand for the use of Hungarian had appeared in certain parishes of the Exarchate as well, and, some of his faithful even communicated their wish to Regent Miklós Horthy to urge the abandonment of Old Slavonic and the introduction of Hungarian. Relying on his prior experience, he developed a sense of conviction that the Czechoslovak Government would abolish the Eparchies of Prešov and Mukacheve by supporting the schismatic movement, thus leaving the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc as the only unit of ecclesiastical governance using Old Slavonic in the region. His sense of responsibility for the preservation of the liturgical tradition in Old Slavonic also contributed to his effort to prevent the Old Slavonic language from

being completely supplanted in the churches of the Exarchate as long as this was possible.¹⁵

As of 1921, a new organisation volunteered to represent the interests of the Greek Catholics.¹⁶ The Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog pronounced its dissolution once Bishop Miklósy was consecrated. At the end of World War I, the National Committee, with its seat in Budapest, practically ceased to exist, too. The Association of Hungarian Greek Catholics formed in 1902, which even published a newspaper under the title *Görögkatolikus Hírlap* [Greek Catholic herald] had stopped its operations earlier. The creation of a new organisation with a nationwide scope seemed imperative. To this end, the first steps were taken by Atanáz Maxim, Prior of the Religious House of Máriapócs, Miklós Fedák, parish priest of Levelek, János Kozma, parish priest of Nyírcsászári, and Dániel Véghseő, parish priest of Nyírbakta. The new organisation, the National Federation of Hungarian Greek Catholics (*Magyar Görögkatolikusok Országos Szövetsége* – MAGOSZ for short) was formed in Máriapócs on 1 October 1921. The statutory congress chaired by Bishop Miklósy was attended by 300 representatives of 70 parishes and as many as 15-thousand members of the faithful. The Patron of MAGOSZ was the Bishop, and, as its Lay President, university professor and Member of Parliament József Illés (1871–1944) was elected. MAGOSZ operated four sections: devotional, cultural, economic and journalistic. It was the last of these that created MAGOSZ Press Company, publishing the Máriapócs Calendar and *Görögkatolikus Tudósító* [Greek Catholic post] under János Kozma’s supervision, as well as, subsequently, from 1929, *Görög Katolikus Szemle* [Greek Catholic review], which, edited by István Gróh, Rector of the Hungarian Royal National School of Arts and Crafts, was intended to function as a link between Greek Catholics living across the country. The Federation also made an attempt at establishing a financial institution of a Greek Catholic character, but Felső Tiszavidéki Bank was unable to fully develop due to the economic crisis. From the late 1920s, MAGOSZ would organise a congress as part of the Budapest Catholic Days every year, partly motivated by

¹⁴ Quoted in Pirigyi, 2001, 95.

¹⁵ For more detail, see: Véghseő, Tamás. A „Rakaca-affér”: Adalék az Apostoli Szék és a magyar görögkatolikusok kapcsolataihoz a két világháború között, in: Tusor, Péter – Szovák, Kornél – Fedeles, Tamás (Eds.). *Magyarország és a római Szentszék, II: Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. században*, Budapest–Róma, 2017, 377–394.

¹⁶ For more detail, see: Pirigyi, 1990, 152–161.

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strengthening relations between the Greek Catholics and Hungarian Catholic society.¹⁷

The task of uniting the Greek Catholic youth was assumed by the Vasvári Pál Circle, originally formed in 1904 but completely reorganised in 1921. Inspired by his commitment and youthful dynamism, members of the Circle wished to follow the example of Pál Vasvári, the Greek Catholic hero of the 1848/1849 Revolution and War of Independence, by advancing the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause and remaining steadfast to the Church. In 1923, the Association of Hungarian Greek Catholic School Masters was formed, and, in 1926, the Federation of Hungarian Greek Catholic Women, based in Miskolc, was established.

In furtherance of the Eparchy's liturgical life, several important publications emerged in the 1920s. The Episcopal Office published the new *Liturgikon*, with the Anaphora printed not only in Hungarian but in Greek as well. This way, Bishop Miklósy meant to signal to the Holy See that, at least, he made some effort to proceed in accordance with the provisions of the Bull of Foundation.

The latest edition of Danilovics's *Énekeskönyv* [Hymn book], revised in 1920 by Budapest chaplain Gábor Krajnyák, an outstanding scholar of the Eastern Rite, was significant primarily on account of the involvement of the faithful in the liturgy. At the end of the decade, *Gyűjteményes nagy énekeskönyv* [Great compilation of hymns], fairly common in parochial usage and playing a central role for a long time, was also published by him. 1925 saw the publication of the new *Evangéliumoskönyv* [Gospel book], while *Szerkönyv (Euchologion)* was published in 1927.

Among the initiatives of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, the academic journal *Keleti Egyház* [Eastern Church], established in January 1934 by István Szántay-Szémán as editor, with Archbishop Antal Papp's endorsement, was remarkable. János Kozma (1884–1958), a teacher of religious education in Miskolc, 'the all-rounder of the intellectual life of the Greek Catholic Hungarian community' (translated from the Hungarian original), made a tremendous contribution to the editorial work of the periodical published monthly to the end of World War II.¹⁸ It was a venue for highly valuable studies in theology,

ecclesiastical history, patrology, canon law, church art and church music. These papers were authored by the most erudite Greek Catholic priests of the Eparchy and of the Exarchate, such as Antal Papp, Miklós Dudás, Ferenc Rohály, György Papp, Gábor Krajnyák, József Legeza, Andor Bubnó, János Liki, Igor Konstantin Zapotoczky, the painter Emmanuel (Manó) Petrasovszky and many others. The journal also published précis of foreign essays on Eastern Christianity in Hungarian translation and reported on every significant event in the life of Greek Catholics in Hungary and abroad. The authors – canon law expert and church historian György Papp, István Szántay-Szémán and Gábor Krajnyák in particular – were conscious to present the presence of the Eastern Church in Hungary, the history of the Greek Catholics, as well as their canonical development in other academic journals and in standalone publications as well.

The editorial board of *Keleti Egyház* also made its mark in the area of liturgical publications. In 1934, it published the book of prayers and hymns *Dicséjétek az Úr nevét* [Praise the name of the Lord] in Miskolc. It contains the invariable parts of the Divine Office of the Church, along with the hymns of feasts and saints. The voluminous publication of over two-thousand pages including the *Menologion* adopted earlier liturgical translations; missing parts were translated by János Kozma and István Szántay-Szémán. It was proofread by Igor Konstantin Zapotoczky and Ferenc Rohály. In the following year, a concise version of the Breviary was also published under the title *Énekeljétek a mi Istenünknek!* [Sing to our God] for the benefit of the faithful.¹⁹

The formation of the St Nicholas Union League of Hungary (*Szent Miklós Magyarországi Unió Szövetség – SZEMISZ* for short) was associated with the editorial board of *Keleti Egyház* as well. In 1939, with István Szántay-Szémán as their President, members of SZEMISZ volunteered to engage in an intensive prayer apostolate, as well as in academic and educational activities to promote the unity of Christian Churches.²⁰

In 1929, the Holy See resolved to create a code of canons exclusively for the Eastern Catholic Churches.

¹⁷ The cancellation of the 1931 congress sparked yet another feud between Bishop Miklósy and Archbishop Antal Papp, which was eventually reconciled by Prince-Primate Serédi: Klestenitz, Tibor. A görögkatolikusok Serédi Jusztinián és Mindszenty József egyházkormányzatában, *Athanasiana*, 33–34(2012), 109–110.

¹⁸ Pirigy, István. *Görög katolikus papi sorsok*, Debrecen, 1999, 76.

¹⁹ For more detail on liturgical publications, see: Ivancsó, 2006; also in the present volume: Cat. IV.44.

²⁰ Pirigy, 1990, 161–162.

In the nearly sixty-year long process, Hungarian Greek Catholic canon law experts participated from the outset. The Eparchial Codification Commission, with Jenő Bányay, László Sereghy, Nicefor Melles, István Bihon and György Papp as its members, was formed as early as 1929. Latest research suggests that the recommendations of the Commission sent to the Holy See may be seen as representing substantial contribution to the whole of the codification process.²¹

Drawing the Trianon borders ushered in a new era in the life of the Basilian Order as well.²² In the territory of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, only one monastery – that of Máriapócs – was left, whereas the Monastery of Mukacheve, active in the training of monastics, was transferred to Czechoslovakia. The similarly significant Monastery of Bixad (*Bikszád*) became part of Romania. Despite frontier changes, all three Monasteries would remain part of the Galician Province until 1932, when the Holy See created the Province of St Nicholas for the Basilians of the three countries, with a Hungarian, Romanian and Rusyn branch. The Hungarian Region came to be headed by Miklós Dudás, who extended the limits of the Order as early as 1933 by commencing the construction of the Religious House of Hajdúdorog. As a result of the First and Second Vienna Awards, the monasteries of the Province returned within Hungary's borders for a few years. After World War II, the Order established religious houses in Makó and, subsequently, in Kispest. Thus, in 1947, the Province of St Stephen could be formed for the three monasteries in Hungary.

Following the death of Bishop István Miklósy on 29 October 1937, the Episcopal See of Hajdúdorog would remain vacant for almost a year and a half. Until the Holy See and the Hungarian Government found an eligible successor, the Eparchy was governed by Vicar Jenő Bányay.

The 34th International Eucharistic Congress, organised in Budapest from 24 to 28 May 1938, coincided with the period of *sede vacante*.²³ In preparation for this distinguished, even

internationally prominent Catholic event of the time – primarily thanks to the organising efforts of Prelate István Szántay-Szémán – the Greek Catholics did everything to 'enable the Eastern Church through this Congress to fulfil such a representative role that would convincingly demonstrate the equality of Eastern and Western Rites before the whole world' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁴ The learned Vicar of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc managed to ensure that the programme of the Congress would include a Greek Catholic Divine Liturgy and a Greek Catholic special session as well. The Divine Liturgy in Greek was celebrated in St Stephen's Basilica on 27 May; Titular Archbishop Georgios Kalavassi, Bishop of Athens, Greek Bishop Dionysios Varoukhas, Bulgarian Bishop Cyrill Kurtyff and István Szántay-Szémán officiated at the service (Picture 3). Papal Legate Eugenio Pacelli, the future Pius XII, was also in attendance and actively participated in the liturgy.

After Bishop Miklósy's death, the Holy See immediately began negotiations with the Hungarian Government and solicited influential Hungarian church personages for their opinions and recommendations.²⁵ Ferenc Luttor, advisor of the Hungarian Embassy to the Holy See, backed the appointment of Antal Papp, but, citing the Archbishop's age, the Congregation for the Oriental Churches soon discarded the suggestion. Congruent with his renown, the Congregation required information on István Szántay-Szémán as well. The views relative to him reaching Rome were of necessity brief: As he was a priest with a family, his candidacy could not be considered. Of the Basilians, the names of Imre Liki and Miklós Dudás were suggested, with the remark that the latter was well known by the diocesan clergy, and they would willingly accept him. Imre Liki's virtues and knowledge were acknowledged by all, but he was lesser known as, authorised by his Order, he primarily worked in Czechoslovakia in those years. The candidate of the Holy See was Bishop Bazil Takách, Hierarch of the Greek Catholics in the United States. In line with the

²¹ Szabó, Péter. A hajdúdorogi kodifikációs bizottság létrejötte (1929) a levéltári adatok tükrében, *Athanasiana*, 48(2019), 227–244.

²² For more detail on the Basilian Order, see: Pirigy, István. A magyarországi bazilita kolostorok egyházi jogi helyzetének alakulása a XX. században, *Posztbizánci Közlemények*, 2(1995), 1–9.

²³ For more detail, see: Véghseő, Tamás. Az 1938-as Eucharisztikus Világkongresszus és a magyar görögkatolikusok, in: Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *Az 1938-as Budapesti Nemzetközi Eucharisztikus Kongresszus 75. évfordulója alkalmából 2013. november 28-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga*, Nyíregyháza, 2013, 9–15.

²⁴ *Keleti Egyház*, 36(1938), 143.

²⁵ For more detail on the succession, see: Véghseő, Tamás. Miklósy István hajdúdorogi püspök utódlása: Új adatok a budapesti nunciatura levéltárából, in: Tusor, Péter (Ed.). *Magyarország és a római Szentszék – Források és távlatok: Tanulmányok Erdő bíboros tiszteletére*, Budapest – Róma, 2012, 325–341.



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established diplomatic practice, the selection of bishops would proceed in a way that, through its representative, the Government would send a list of names it regarded as acceptable to the Budapest Nunciature. Having examined this list, the Holy See would make its own proposal. On 17 December 1937, the Minister of Foreign Affairs dispatched a list featuring the names of Bazil Takách and Miklós Dudás to Nuncio Angelo Rotta. The next day, however, István Csáky, Chief of Staff of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited the Nuncio and notified him that they had by mistake specified the wrong order, and that the number one candidate of the Government was Miklós Dudás. In conjunction with Bazil Takách's nomination, several counterarguments had been supplied, the one most distressing for the Government being that, having moved from Uzhhorod to the United States, the Bishop was a Czechoslovak citizen. Further negotiations took over one more year. As, in January 1939, the Budapest Nunciature obtained information that was compromising for Bishop Bazil Takách, on 25 March 1939, Pius XII finally chose to appoint Miklós Dudás.

The Bishop Elect was born in Máriapócs in 1902 and joined the Basilian Order in 1920. He studied theology in Rome. He was ordained priest by Bishop István Miklósy in 1927. Initially, he taught in the Order's study house in Czechoslovakia and, later, became Prior of the Monastery of Máriapócs. From 1933, he was head of the Hungarian branch of the Province of St Nicholas. He was founder of the Order's Religious House in Hajdúdorog and planted Basilian sisters in Hungary. In 1937 and 1938, he led a compelling missionary tour in the United States. Miklós Dudás was ordained bishop in the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs on 14 May 1939 by Archbishop Antal Papp, with the participation of Endre Kriston, Auxiliary Bishop of Eger, and the subsequently martyred Zoltán Meszlényi, Auxiliary Bishop of Esztergom.

Aged only 37 at the time of his appointment, the new hierarch started work with youthful energy. 'It is my episcopal mission and goal, by deepening faith and rendering it self-confident in our Diocese, to prepare a perfect people for the Lord' (Luke 1:17) (translated from the Hungarian original) – he wrote to the priests

of the Eparchy.²⁶ He could not foresee what powerful forces he would be constrained by in fulfilling his mission during his 33-year long episcopacy. Twenty-seven years after the creation of the Eparchy, the most important task was still the establishment of the most essential institutions. In the autumn of 1939, Bishop Dudás already initiated talks on institutional development with the Hungarian Government. He envisaged creating a seminary in the Episcopal Residence and building an episcopal palace in a different location in the city. This idea of his was accepted by the Ministry, and Pál Szohor, Mayor of Nyíregyháza, indicated that he was ready to deliver on the city's earlier offer about the construction of an episcopal residence. The Ministry urged the creation of a diocesan boarding school, as well as the actual fulfilment of the promise from decades earlier concerning the education of Greek Catholic school masters and cantors at the state teacher training institute.²⁷

The implementation of the grandiose plans was thwarted by the eruption of World War II. Of the Nyíregyháza construction projects, only the building of the Episcopal Palace was commenced in Sóstói út. At the expense of enormous sacrifices, the edifice was complete by the end of the war, but, owing to the political changes, the Bishop could not take possession of it. Under modest circumstances, the *lyceum* (comprehensive secondary school) and the teacher training institute eventually began operating in Hajdúdorog in 1942. One year earlier, on the Bishop's initiative, a people's academy was started in the same place. In the town, in the Basilians' completed Religious House, a student home was created, while the sisters provided accommodation to schoolgirls in their own building. On the initiative of Gyula Kovács, teacher of religious education, St Josaphat's Student Hostel opened in similarly moderate conditions and with a small number of boarders in Nyíregyháza in 1943. The Bishop was also supportive of the development of diocese-level organisations for the National Body of Catholic Agrarian Young Men's Clubs (*Katolikus Agrárfjúsági Legényegyletek Országos Testülete* – KALOT for short) and for the Association of

Catholic Women and Girls (*Katolikus Asszonyok és Lányok Szövetsége* – KALÁSZ for short).

After the re-annexation of Northern Transylvania to Hungary (1940), for years, Bishop Dudás would attempt to persuade the Holy See into letting him exercise jurisdiction over the parishes previously assigned to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. In 1919, thus before the new state borders were designated, with reference to effective control by the Romanian Army, the Holy See ordered within weeks that the respective parishes be reassigned to the Romanian eparchies. As the same swiftness was uncharacteristic of the Holy See during the years of World War II, all attempts by Bishop Dudás failed.²⁸ This would have been the last chance to save the Greek Catholic Hungarian community of Transylvania from loss of identity and assimilation into the Roman Catholic or Calvinist Church.²⁹

Following the re-annexation of Transcarpathia, the Eparchy's ordinands would again be trained in the Seminary of Uzhorod, with Bishop Theodore Romzha, the future martyr, as their spiritual leader. However, this opportunity, also enabling more intensive contact with the Eparchy of Mukacheve, existed only until the autumn of 1944, and, afterwards, the seminarians would return to the Roman Catholic Central Seminary in Budapest. From January 1944, following the death of Diocesan Bishop Sándor Sztojka, Bishop Miklós Dudás would also head the Eparchy of Mukacheve as Apostolic Exarch. In September the same year, it was he who ordained Theodore Romzha (Tódor Romzsa) bishop, to whom he handed over effective governance of the Eparchy.

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1. The parishes of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog after 1920. Map
2. The portrait of Archbishop Antal Papp
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4. The Episcopal Throne. First Cathedral, Hajdúdorog

²⁶ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1939/VI, NYEL, I–1–b.

²⁷ Pirigyi, 2001, 96–97.

²⁸ For more detail on Bishop Dudás's negotiations, see: Sárándi, Tamás. Adalékok a hajdúdorogi püspökség 1940 utáni északerdélyi jogkiterjesztéséről folytatott közvetlen tárgyalások történetéhez, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Hajdúdorog, 1868–2018: Tanulmányok és források a magyar görögkatolikusok történetéhez*, Nyíregyháza, 2019, 109–125.

²⁹ The alarming situation was reported by György Papp in 1942: Papp, György. *A görögkatolikus magyarság helyzete Erdélyben*, Nyíregyháza, 1942.



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IV.3.2 The Episcopal Residence of Nyíregyháza

Zsuzsanna Ujteleki-Majchrics

'... the Bishopric shall set up its seat in the city of Nyíregyháza...'¹

The Greek Catholic tenement palace of Nyíregyháza (1905–1914)

Utilisation of the inner-city plot owned by the Greek Catholic parish of Nyíregyháza was proposed by Gyula Sztankaninecz, administrator of the parish, in 1905. In his petition, he proposed to the highest authority of the Eparchy that a tenement palace be built in the parochial plot located in the city centre and the revenue from the rent be used for paying the credit by instalments for a period of thirty years.² In the parish property, apart from tenement flats, accommodation was envisaged to be provided for the Archdean, other priests and the cantor as well.

The plans of the tenement palace were drawn by a local architect, Miklós Führer, and the construction was completed by László Testvérek, a Budapest firm³ (Pictures 1 and 2). Following the supporting power tests of the foundation,⁴ the foundation stone was laid on 5 August 1908.⁵ The project cost approximately 300-thousand koronas, and three financial institutions were contracted to supply the necessary funds.⁶

In 1908, the weekly newspaper *Nyírvidék* reported the construction project, as well as the fact that spaces on the ground floor had already been rented out.⁷ The tenants intended to operate a pub and a coffee shop as well, but running restaurants and coffee houses within a 100-metre (109-yard) range of churches was prohibited by a valid departmental order signed by the Minister of Commerce. The problem was eventually solved through a complicated approval procedure.⁸

The complete building was inaugurated on 1 May 1909,⁹ and Pannónia Coffee Shop was also opened on the ground floor,¹⁰ though it would work only until August 1914. The reason for its closing was that, as of September that year, the Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog relocated his seat to Nyíregyháza, and the new function of the building as an episcopal residence seemed incompatible with the proximity of such a place of amusement.

The *Art Nouveau* style of the tenement palace is/was made manifest by its dynamic roof arrangement, gable-end shape, as well as the stylised motifs of the plaster reliefs and of the by now perished *sgraffito* ornaments. The house is described by Gyula Koroknay in the following terms: 'Its gates are flanked by a decorative plaster relief on each side, and the building is topped by a pediment. Perpendicular traceries lighten the walls in a fine rhythm, and the little turret on the edge of the roof makes for a good *Art Nouveau* concept' (translated from the Hungarian original).¹¹

The tenement palace had two gateways: one from Bethlen Gábor utca (Szent Mihály utca in 1909) for carriages and another from Bercsényi utca (called Vármegyháza utca at the time) for pedestrians. The Archdean's residence was created in the current Bethlen Gábor utca wing.¹²

From tenement palace to episcopal residence: Bishop István Miklósy's second seat (1914–1937)

István Miklósy, Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog moved from his seat in Debrecen to the tenement palace called Pannónia in Nyíregyháza on 23 September 1914.¹³ In 1914, the Greek Catholic parish of Nyíregyháza contracted building contractor József Kéry for the conversion of the tenement palace,

¹ Source of the motto: NYEL, I–1–b, 3371, 1914, 61.

² GKPL, IV–3,51/1905.

³ NYEL, II–20–a (Box 1, Batch 7). Miklós Führer's plans have been preserved in the county archives: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County Archives of the Hungarian National Archives, V. 83, III, 1d, Görögkatolikus bérpalota tervei, 1908.

⁴ NYEL, II–20–a (Box 1, Batch 7).

⁵ A nyíregyházi görög-katolikus egyház bérpalotája, *Magyar Építőművészet*, 7(1909), 5. szám, 12.

⁶ Miklósy püspök rezidenciája: A kultuszminiszter kiküldöttei Nyíregyházán, *Nyírvidék*, 38(1917), 113. szám, 2.

⁷ Új bérpalota, *Nyírvidék*, 29(1908), 31. szám, 5.

⁸ The Church turned to the City Council, but the Ministry refused to agree to the overriding of a national decree and referred the case to the competence of the local trade authority: NYEL, II–20–a (Box 1, Batch 7); A Pannónia kávéház és a vendéglőkről, kávéházakról stb. szóló szabályrendelet, *Nyírvidék*, 30(1909), 25. szám, 5–6. For more detail, see: Endrédi, Csaba. *Nehézségek és konfliktusok a Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye alapításának időszakában*, Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Debrecen, 2015, 91–92.

⁹ A nyíregyházi görög-katolikus egyház bérpalotája, *Magyar Építőművészet*, 7(1909), 5. szám, 12.

¹⁰ Kávéház megnyitás!, *Nyírvidék*, 30(1909), 20. szám, 9.

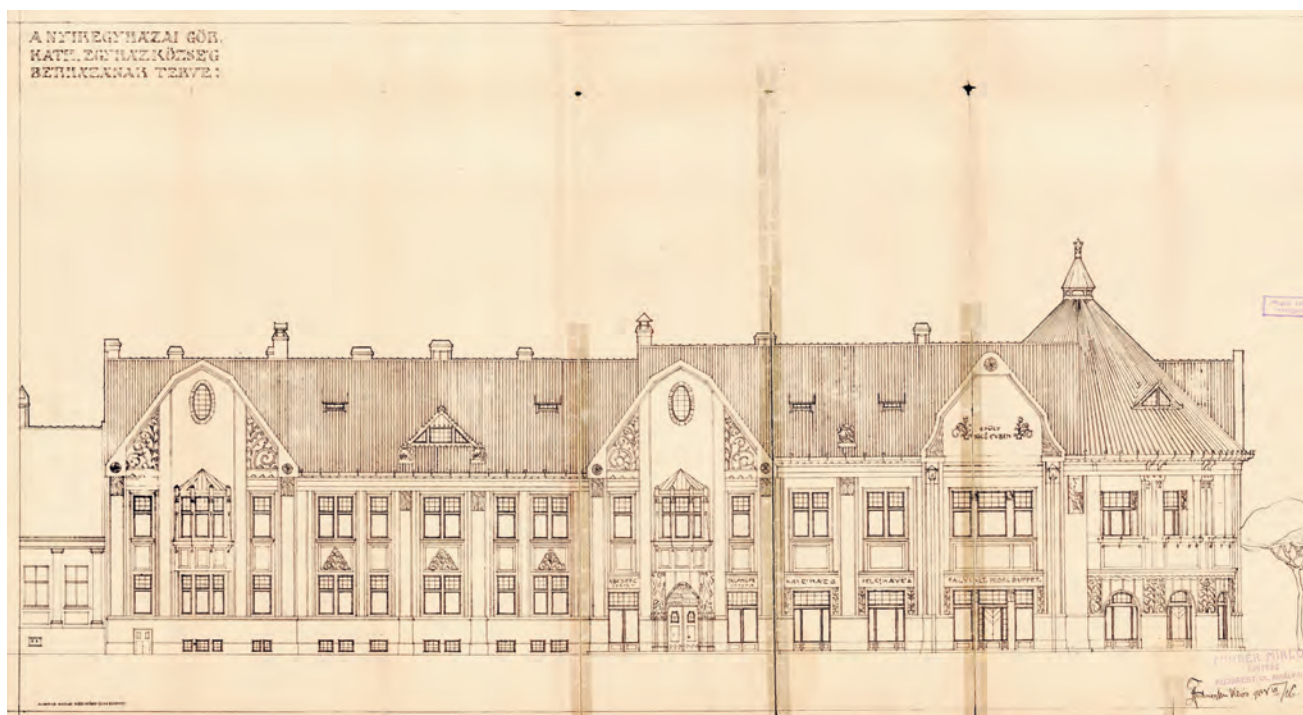
¹¹ Koroknay, Gyula. *Nyíregyháza művészettörténeti emlékei* (Nyíregyházi Kiskönyvtár, 6), Nyíregyháza, 1971, 35. On the contemporary photographic and drawing documentation of the building, as well as on the perished decoration: A nyíregyházi görög-katolikus egyház bérpalotája, *Magyar Építőművészet*, 7(1909), 5. szám, 11–24.

¹² A nyíregyházi görög-katolikus egyház bérpalotája, *Magyar Építőművészet*, 7(1909), 5. szám, 11.

¹³ NYEL, I–1–b, 3371, 1914, 61.

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(2)



whereby the builder made the following undertakings: 'creating an episcopal suite and ancillary spaces on the upper floor, along with the Diocesan Office and its ancillary spaces, as well as, for the bank spaces currently situated on the upper floor, to be converted into an episcopal suite, transforming the coffee shop on the ground floor into bank spaces and creating the related spaces, partly based on plans by architect János Pisszér' (translated from the Hungarian original).

Among other things, the conversion plans also included the plan of a stable.¹⁴

According to the Bishop's intention, the tenement palace was to serve only as a temporary residence, but, as the war intervened, he needed to establish his presence in the long term, and the offices of the Episcopate were also accommodated here. The temporary tenants using the building were given a notice to quit, thus making way for the episcopal residence and the offices entirely.¹⁵

Prior to the creation of the first seat in Debrecen, the city of Nyíregyháza had volunteered to be an episcopal see, enumerating the possibilities afforded by the characteristics of the location. At that time, it offered 250-thousand coronas and a 1785-m² (2135-yd²) plot, on condition though that, besides the episcopal seat, a seminary be established in the plot and a teacher training institute open in the city.¹⁶

Of the aforementioned targets, the seminary and the new episcopal residence did not come to fruition. In his ordinance to Deputy-Lieutenant Dezső Mikecz, dated June 1917, the Minister of Culture requested that the amount offered be granted to the Episcopate by right of discharge. He also pointed out the fact that Nyíregyháza

¹⁴ GKPL, I-1-a, 77/1916.

¹⁵ Miklósy püspök rezidenciája, *Nyírvidék*, 38(1917), 113. szám, 2.

¹⁶ GKPL, I-1-a, 1674/1914.

already had a teacher training institute, and the establishment of the seminary that had been pledged would be due after the war. However, the city intended to deliver payment of the amount offered only after the war;¹⁷ in 1919, citing the failure to establish the seminary as a reason, it did not effect the quarter-of-a-million worth disbursement to the Eparchy.¹⁸

Changes during the episcopacy of Miklós Dudás (1939–1972)

Following István Miklósy's death, the city resumed discussions on the question of the episcopal seat with Bishop Miklós Dudás, a particularly important circumstance in light of the fact that Hajdúdorog repeatedly volunteered to host the episcopal see.¹⁹ In October 1939, based on negotiations between Miklós Dudás and the Ministry of Religion and Education, requirements about the episcopal palace were recorded in four points:

1. The palace continues to operate as a tenement building – a fact difficult to reconcile with the dignity of the episcopal office. As it is too large for the Episcopate, following the appropriate transformations, the seminary should be accommodated here, with apartments allotted to the Rector and four professors in the seminary building. The benefice of the Rector ought to be combined with that of the Canon, thereby diminishing the burden of instructors' salaries for the state. The annual 24-thousand pengő state subsidy must be raised to 30-thousand pengős.
2. In the event the seminary is established, the Episcopal Seat should be transferred to a new location. The payment of the 250-thousand koronas offered in 1912 will be provided by Mayor Pál Szohor.
3. It is necessary to establish a boarding school to raise future seminarians.
4. The State Teacher Training Institute of Nyíregyháza was opened with state support, with the aim of offering Greek Catholic school master and cantor training as well. A Greek Catholic teacher of religious education post must be created, and,

by providing a new building, a separate Greek Catholic section must be established.²⁰

In 1941, the General Assembly of Nyíregyháza welcomed the announcement of Miklós Dudás, Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog, to settle in the city permanently. The 1 February issue of the newspaper *Nyírvidék* gave an account of the extraordinary general assembly: 'Today, the city has exclaimed to Bishop Dr Miklós Dudás: Welcome!' (translated from the Hungarian original) The disbursement of 250-thousand pengős passed in line with the decision of the city would be granted, as well as a 5355-m² (6405-yd²) plot in Sóstói út would be provided, along with an additional 785-m² (939-yd²) plot in Városmajor ceded free of charge, and an area of 6319 m² (7557 yd²) in the same location would be transferred at a purchase price of 17-thousand pengős. The city saw the Greek Catholic construction projects in Sóstói út as new employment opportunities and expected substantial development as a result.²¹ Between 1941 and 1943, the Hungarian Government made an advance of 150-thousand pengős from the state budget for the creation of the diocesan institutions.²² Apart from the Episcopal Palace, the Bishop envisaged the construction of a student home and six canons' apartments in Sóstói út. The Episcopal Palace was built, but the rest of the development plan was prevented by the war.²³ The episcopal centre remained in the Bethlen Gábor utca *Art Nouveau* building hereafter as well.

In reference to the letter of Miklós Dudás, Bishop of Hajdúdorog, dated 6 September 1950, Minister of Religion and Education József Darvas consented to the creation of the Seminary. 'It is with great pleasure that I notify you all that, at the end of September, we shall open the Diocesan Seminary and Theological College at my episcopal residential seat in Nyíregyháza with the help of God' (translated from the Hungarian original)²⁴ – the Bishop wrote in the circular issued with the date 15 September 1950. Bishop Dudás put the spaces of the Seminary at the seminarians' disposal by detaching them from his own suite. The furnishings needed for education were provided thanks to the generous donations of priests and the

¹⁷ A hajdúdorogi püspökség negyedmilliója: Sürgeti a pénzt a várostól a kultuszminiszter, *Nyírvidék*, 38(1917), 143. szám, 2.

¹⁸ A püspökség negyedmilliója, *Nyírvidék*, 40(1919), 71. szám, 2.

¹⁹ GKPL, I–1–a, 200/1941.

²⁰ Pirigyi, 1987, 31.

²¹ In the General Assembly of the city, Councillor Kálmán Bertalan commended the resolution on the permanent settlement of the Episcopate of Hajdúdorog: 'We bid welcome to His Excellency, the Bishop, and say thanks to the Mayor for his provident and successful financial policies...' (translated from the Hungarian original), *Nyírvidék*, 9(1941), 26. szám, 4.

²² Pirigyi, 1990, 184–185; Intézményeink, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 13(1941), 3. szám, 2–3.

²³ See in the present volume, Cat. IV.36.

²⁴ NYEL, I–1–b, 1950, 2784.

faithful. In addition, items from the defunct St Josaphat's Student Hostel were also transferred to the institution.²⁵

Construction projects during the episcopacy of Imre Timkó (1972–1988)

Imre Timkó, the third Bishop of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, considered it his primary task to modernise the Seminary, the Episcopal Suite, the ceremonial hall and the offices. In the courtyard of the Episcopal Office, eight flats were built to cater for the accommodation of professors, superiors and their families. The apartments were designed by architect László Dávid. The financial background of the work was guaranteed by the agreement concluded between the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog and the City Council of Nyíregyháza in 1976. Therein, the Episcopate renounced the property in Sóstói út, and it could spend the amount received in recompense on modernisation. The City Council remitted three-million forints to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.²⁶ This money was only sufficient to cover the furnishings and the equipment; the construction itself amounted to an 18-million investment.²⁷ It was also then that the Chapter terminated the lease of the spaces in the building rented as shops,²⁸ so the building of the priests' apartments could begin in the autumn of 1977, reaching completion by the middle of the following year.²⁹

In 1977, the façade of the old building was in such a poor state of repair that, in the absence of the necessary financial conditions, the ornamental elements were removed from it,³⁰ and the decorative reliefs vanished.³¹ As part of the reconstruction, in the seminary section, rooms for one and two were made for senior students, while lower-year students were accommodated in a shared dormitory. The latter could study in a common study hall, while senior students

would prepare for classes in their own rooms.

The ordinands' section was expanded with a bathroom and a lavatory, and a parlour was created on the ground floor. Instructors' offices, a Prefect's room and a room for the Director of Spiritual Life were added to the Seminary. The kitchen was also relocated.³² On 14 September 1980, the newly constructed part required for the opening of the academic year 1980/81 at the Seminary and Theological College was blessed.³³

From mid-August 1980, a new Byzantine-style chapel was built in the courtyard of the Episcopal Residence within one year. In harmony with the Bishop's ideas, the plans were drawn by László Dávid: The chapel with a square base-plan, topped by a dome, was meant to be a liturgical 'drill ground' for seminarians. In its interior, folding seats (*stasidia*) were placed.³⁴ The plans of the iconostasis of the chapel were complete by then, and their implementation was under way.³⁵

On 17 August 1981, Imre Timkó consecrated the central building and the other sections of the Seminary amid great festivity. The solemn event was attended by members of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy, other Greek Catholic bishops as well as by representatives of the sister Churches and state institutions, and even the Holy See sent its legate³⁶ (Picture 3).

During the transformation process following the construction, the offices of the Episcopate, the Episcopal Archives and Library were arranged in the south section of the Episcopal Palace. The clerical office of the parish of Nyíregyháza and the parish priest's apartment were accommodated in the ground-floor section.³⁷ The Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art founded in 1983³⁸ also came to be housed on the ground floor of the Episcopal Palace; it was managed by Géza

²⁵ Janka, György. *A Szent Atanáz Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola története*, website: <http://byzantinohungarica.com/index.php/janka-gyorgy-a-szent-atanaz-gorog-katolikus-hittudomanyi-foiskola-tortenete> (accessed: 1 March 2020).

²⁶ GKPL, I–1–a (28), 2236/1976.

²⁷ Pirigyi, 1990, 185.

²⁸ GKPL, I–1–a (28), 2236/1976.

²⁹ Pirigyi, 1987, 41.

³⁰ GKPL, I–1–g (Box 9).

³¹ Margócsy, József. *Utcák, terek, emléktáblák*, II, *Újabb fejezetek a régi Nyíregyháza életéből*, Nyíregyháza, 1986, 132.

³² Ivancsó, 1987, 126.

³³ Pirigyi, 1987, 42.

³⁴ Ivancsó, 1987, 127.

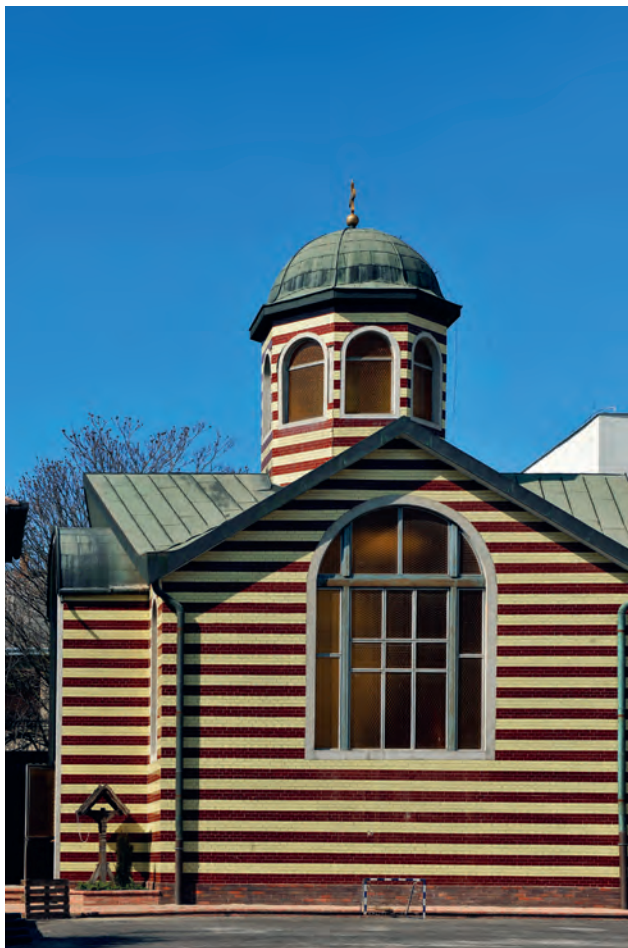
³⁵ Ivancsó, 1987, 127.

³⁶ Pirigyi, 1987, 43.

³⁷ Pirigyi, 1987, 42.

³⁸ Görögkatolikus Egyházművészeti Gyűjtemény (1/14. nyilvántartási számú) működési engedélye [Licence of the Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art (registration number: 1/14)], Archives of the Collection of Greek Catholic Art.

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Nagy Mihályi, a priest and art historian.³⁹ To make museologically processed specimens accessible to the public, initially, the so-called study-store form appeared to be a viable option;⁴⁰ As of 7 May 2000, a permanent exhibition organised by Bernadett Puskás-Janka welcomes visitors.⁴¹

The 75th Jubilee of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was celebrated in 1987. As part of the celebrations, the iconostasis of the Seminary Chapel was also consecrated;⁴² it was designed and painted by László

Kárpáti, and the carved structure was made by Mihály Juhász in Máriapócs.⁴³

The episcopacy of Szilárd Keresztes (1988–2008)

When, in 1991, John Paul II made a pastoral visit to Hungary, two Greek Catholic stops were inserted in his itinerary: Máriapócs and Nyíregyháza. In Nyíregyháza, the Pope, who has been canonised since, was hosted by the Episcopate – a true highlight in the life of the Eparchy and of the city alike.

In preparation for the prominent event, the Episcopal Palace was also refurbished in 1990 and 1991: The façade and the roof structure were renovated.⁴⁴ The extant parts of the original reliefs were removed from the building and replaced by ornamental elements with identical motifs. In the course of the renovation, even the arches of two windows in the exterior corner section were altered.⁴⁵

In 2003, St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College and the library moved to a new building (Bethlen Gábor u. 10–19, Nyíregyháza), and, the space made available thus in the ground-floor section of the episcopal building was occupied by St Athanasius' Books and Religious Items Shop. The library storage was taken over by the Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives founded in 1913. From 5 August 2019, the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza maintains its own archives in the same location.⁴⁶

In the years 2004 and 2005, minor renovations were carried out in the seminary wing: Doors and windows were partially replaced, without any major change to the overall picture: The new doors and windows – nonetheless reflective of the original shapes and forms – do not detract from genuine appearance.⁴⁷

The tenure of Fülöp Kocsis, Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog (2008–2015)

On 11 March 2010, the Consultory Body took a unanimous decision on the demolition of a block of eight flats in the courtyard of the Episcopate.⁴⁸ In the resultant

³⁹ NYEL, I–1–b, IV, 1983, 8.

⁴⁰ Archives of the Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art.

⁴¹ A Görögkatolikus Egyházművészeti Gyűjtemény állandó kiállításának megnyitása, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 11(2000), 6. szám, 4.

⁴² NYEL, I–1–b, II, 1987, 8.

⁴³ NYEL, I–1–c (Roll 19, 1–4). Vázlattervek a képállványról [Drafts of the icon screen], 1986. The iconostasis was moved to the church of the Protection of the Theotokos in Nyírpazony in 2017.

⁴⁴ GKPL, I–1–a (28), 35, 1996.

⁴⁵ GKPL, I–1–a (28), 1646/1990.

⁴⁶ Its registered name as a private archive open to the public is: Nyíregyházi Egyházmegye Levéltára [Archives of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza].

⁴⁷ Gáncz, Tamás and Kepics, Mihály, personal communication

⁴⁸ NYEL, I–1–b, 712, 2010.

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free space, an underground car park was constructed, as well as plans were made for utilising the area and expanding the Episcopal Palace. In the same year, the refectory of the Seminary was decorated with murals by Petro Biro, a Ukrainian painter from Transcarpathia.

The Episcopal Palace as the seat of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza (2015–)

On 20 March 2015, Pope Francis founded the Metropolitan Church *sui iuris* of Hungary and, as a constituent of it – by detaching the area corresponding to the administrative boundaries of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County from the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog – the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza, with its seat in the eponymous city. The newly established Metropolitanate moved to Debrecen, and, with the consecration of Ábel Szocska as diocesan bishop – as of 10 May 2018 – the Episcopal Palace of Nyíregyháza resumed its function as

episcopal residence and houses the Episcopal Office of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza.

To mark the 25th anniversary of the visit of Pope Saint John Paul II, a commemorative plaque was placed on the wall of the Episcopal Palace on 18 August 2016. Between 2016 and 2018, the Episcopal Office of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza was renewed, receiving new office space, similarly to the Seminary, which became a modern institution by the end of the reconstruction. The renovation was enabled by the support of the Hungarian Government and the funds provided by the Environmental and Energy Efficiency Programme of the European Union. The ceremonial inauguration and blessing took place on 10 February 2018.⁴⁹ Recently, the Seminary Chapel in the courtyard of the Episcopal Residence has also undergone a complete renewal: The walls are painted by Zsolt Makláry and Teréz Makláry in keeping with Byzantine traditions, and the new iconostasis has been constructed according to the design of painter and conservator Tamás Seres, who has already painted its icons. The ceremonial consecration of the chapel is expected in October 2020 (Picture 4).

The *Art Nouveau* style of the Greek Catholic Episcopal Palace harmoniously fits into the inner-city environment. Besides representing architectural heritage, it is also the epicentre of the County's religious life and, through its Archives, it is integral to the cultural heartbeat of Nyíregyháza. By collecting, exploring and transmitting the intellectual and artistic treasures of the Greek Catholic community, it contributes to heritage preservation at both local and national levels.

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2. The Episcopal Residence and the Seminary at present (2020)
3. The Seminary Chapel in 2011
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⁴⁹ See the homepage of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza: „Ha az Úr nem építi a házat, hiába fáradoznak annak építői”, website: <https://www.nyirgorkat.hu/?q=hir&id=1736> (accessed: 1 March 2020).

IV.4.1 The Situation of the Greek Catholics from Socialism to the Foundation of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate

Tamás Véghseő

In the autumn of 1944, with the onslaught of the Red Army invading Hungary, the new political elite of the country also arrived. Hard-liner communists fleeing to the Soviet Union after the failure of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic and surviving the Stalinian cleansing campaigns were supplied with clear and straightforward instructions: to create a Soviet-type political regime in Hungary with the help of the Red Army's weaponry. Events unfolded accordingly. Although, at the first parliamentary elections in the autumn of 1945, the Communist Party headed by Mátyás Rákosi suffered a humiliating defeat, the Soviet military leadership coerced the Small Holders' Party winning 57 per cent of the votes into forming a grand-coalition government. Deportations started in the winter of 1944 – the carrying away of members of the population able to work to the Soviet Union for forced labour (known as *málenkij robot*) – provided a sufficiently depressing and intimidating backdrop to all this. The murder of Vilmos Apor, Bishop of Győr, followed by the expulsion of Nuncio Angelo Rotta in April 1945, sent menacing messages to the Churches.¹

The Greek Catholic population living in the eastern territories of the country were the first to become acquainted with the suffering entailed by 'liberation'. In the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, four churches perished in military actions, and a further eight sustained grave damage. Once the front had passed though, Diocesan Bishop Miklós Dudás immediately went on a tour to offer consolation to his much-afflicted faithful.² Following the death of Archbishop Antal Papp, Apostolic Exarch of Miskolc, at Christmas 1945, Pope Pius XII appointed Miklós Dudás as Apostolic Exarch on 14 October 1946, putting the onus of leading all the Greek Catholics of the country on his shoulders as the only hierarch. As his Vicar-General, Bishop Dudás also appointed István Szántay-Szémán.³

In the circular beginning with the line 'A megpróbáltatások nehéz napjaiban' [in the difficult days of trials and tribulations], the Bishop announced the festivities of the dual jubilee of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community: the 300th anniversary of the Union of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*)

and the 250th anniversary of the first Máriapócs weeping.⁴ The central celebrations took place in Máriapócs, at the pilgrimage on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on 7 and 8 September. Due to the increasingly intensifying attacks on the Catholic Church and its schools, as well as against religious education, the festivities were not only conducive to grateful commemoration but became manifestations of testimony, fidelity to the Church and togetherness as well. The Basilian fathers had prepared for the anniversary with renovations for years. Thus, the miraculous icon could welcome the immense crowd of nearly a quarter of a million pilgrims from the new devotional altar. The guest preacher of the pilgrimage was Prince-Primate József Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom, who had been obliged to defend Catholic schools and religious education in a pastoral letter in May the same year. In his festive speech, the Cardinal recalled the events of the weeping and stressed the value of adherence to the miraculous icon. Before the enormous crowd, he noted that celebrators at the 250th jubilee would have been considerably more numerous, had they not been forced by external powers to stay away. He remembered the Hungarians left outside the post-Trianon borders and announced that the Catholics would appeal against the verdict of the 'Parisian judges' to the Holy Virgin. In the prevailing predicament, he pointed to signs of hope: churches, Catholic schools, Christian families and graveyards becoming symbols of faithfulness to the native land. In the light of his later individual fate, his admonishments must have felt prophetic: 'No Hungarian shall cause another Hungarian to be locked up! 'No Hungarian shall report on another Hungarian!' (translated from the Hungarian original)⁵

At that time, the coalition Government's communist Minister of the Interior, László Rajk, engaged in organising intimidating actions against the Catholic Church. Religious associations were disbanded, and an anti-church scandal-mongering campaign was launched in the press. In April, on charges of 'anti-Soviet instigation', Franciscan father Szaléz Kiss was arrested and, in December, he was sentenced to death and executed.⁶

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¹ Balogh, Margit. Szentszéki magyar kapcsolatok a koalíció (1945–1949) éveiben, in: Tusor, Péter (Ed.). *Magyarország és a római Szentszék – Források és távlatok: Tanulmányok Erdő bíboros tiszteletére*, Budapest–Róma, 2012, 367–368.

² Török, 2005, 10.

³ Janka, 2013, 28.

⁴ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, III (1946), 1701/1946, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁵ *Máriapócsi Naptár*, 1947, 37–44.

⁶ For more detail, see: Kálmán, Peregrin. Hét magyar ferences vértanú tanúságtétele a totalitárius rendszerek üldöztetései közepette, *Acta Pintériana*, 4(2018), 51–53.

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A prominent task of the State Defence Department established in 1946 was to fight against 'clerical reaction' and intimidate ecclesiastical persons.⁷

As to the future ideas of the communists coming into power by fraud at the 1947 elections – based on the acts of the Ministry of the Interior managed by Rajk – Christian Churches could be in no doubt. Hungarian Greek Catholics were particularly concerned by the shocking news from the Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*) in Transcarpathia, annexed to the Soviet Union. The brutal murder of Theodore Romzha, Bishop of Mukacheve, (1 November 1947)⁸ and the subsequent ban on the operation of the Greek Catholic Church⁹ adumbrated that Stalin's followers in Hungary would also prepare to take similar steps.

The planned nationalisation of faith schools prompted protests across the country. In Pócspetri, a policeman was fatally wounded by a gun fired accidentally in the turmoil of a protest rally. By indicting and convicting the local parish priest, the Communist Party intended to exploit the incident to intimidate the Catholic Church: its bishops, priests and faithful alike. At the session of the Council of Ministers on 4 June 1948, during which Minister of the Interior László Rajk gave an account of the events in Pócspetri, outlining the schedule of an all-out war on 'clerical reaction' seen as an enemy, Rákosi determined the position of Bishop Dudás, who supported Cardinal Mindszenty's orientation: 'Greek Catholic Bishop Dudás is also one of the arch-enemies of democracy' (translated from the Hungarian original).¹⁰ The communist ministers discussed the scenario of retaliation when Rákosi's sinister words were spoken.

In those days, a document from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs clearly formulated the communist reading of the Greek Catholic question: 'In political terms, the influence of the Vatican materialises not only through the Roman Catholic but, as a matter of course, through the Greek Catholic Church as well. In case a viable Hungarian Greek Orthodox Church were to be established in Hungary, it could function as a battering

ram against the Greek Catholic Church and would enable the raising of the possibility that the Greek Catholic Church might return to the fold of the Old Believers' Church and the Union might be dissolved. (This has happened in Western Ukraine, and it is under way in Poland and Carpatho-Ukraine.) People's democracies must by all means support those Churches whose ecclesiastical supreme authorities are situated not outside the country or at least not in hostile foreign countries'¹¹ (translated from the Hungarian original).

Thus, the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church was primarily meant to mitigate the influence of the Vatican, regarded as an ideological arch-enemy, on the faithful. For this reason, incorporation into the Patriarchate of Moscow, operating 'not in a hostile foreign country' and kept under total Soviet control, was identified as an objective. To promote implementation, requesting the help of his Soviet comrades, Rákosi proposed that a Hungarian-speaking Russian priest be dispatched to Hungary. He was first to unite Hungary's Orthodox communities found under different jurisdictions, totalling a few tens of thousands, and, subsequently, to provide assistance with the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church.¹² Complying with the Hungarian party leader's request, in October 1949, Moscow sent Protoiereus Ivan Kopolovich, who would soon be confronted with the difficulties of the execution of the task he was charged with. Even despite substantial help from the Hungarian State, he was unable to accomplish the goal of bringing Hungary's Orthodox communities under a single jurisdiction, a minimal precondition for the assimilation of the Greek Catholic Church numbering 250 thousand faithful. Although, during his Budapest visit in 1950, Jelevferij, Metropolitan of Prague, expressed his hope that, similarly to what he had done in Czechoslovakia, Kopolovich would succeed in abolishing the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, the chances of doing so grew ever slimmer.

Writing about the Greek Catholics, Kopolovich himself made the following remark: 'They will be a hard

⁷ For more detail, see: Müller, Rolf. *A Magyar Államrendőrség Államvédelmi Osztályának szervezettörténete (1946. október – 1948. Szeptember)*, *Betekintő*, 3(2013), 1–27.

⁸ For a biography of Bishop Theodore Romzha, see: Puskás, László. *Romzsa Tódor püspök élete és halála*, Budapest, 1998.

⁹ For more detail, see: Bendász, István. *Helytállás és tanúságtétel: A Munkácsi Görög Katolikus Egyházmegye hitvalló és meghurcolt papjai*, Budapest, 2014.

¹⁰ MNL OL, XIX–A–83–a–239/5, 10.

¹¹ Quoted in: *Balogh, Margit*. Elvetélt fordulatok az egyházpolitikában: Kísérletek a nemzeti katolikus egyház megteremtésére, in: Ständeisky, Éva–Rainer, M. János (Eds.). *Magyarország a jelenkorban, Az 1956-os Magyar Forradalom Történetének Dokumentációs és Kutatóintézete évkönyve*, 7(1999), Budapest, 237.

¹² For the documents of the attempt, see: Волокитина, Т. В. (et al Eds.). *Власть и церковь в Восточной Европе, 1944–1953, документы российских архивов*, I–II, Москва, 2009.

nut to crack' (translated from the Hungarian original). He noted that the Greek Catholic clergy showed no sign of interest in Orthodoxy. He also hinted that, in the event of dissolution, the majority of the Greek Catholics would rather choose the Latin Church or even one of the Protestant Churches. Simultaneously with (or even prior to) Kopolovich's first-hand experience, Rákosi also realised that a weapon much more effective than actual dissolution was a rhetoric using dissolution as a constant menace. Dissolution would have been a one-time blow, with an extremely dubious outcome – in the worst-case scenario from the perspective of the state authorities, even bringing about the possibility of creating an underground Church, the control and persecution of which could require considerable state security resources. By contrast, threatening with the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church was an applicable device in each and every contentious instance to blackmail the Bishop of Hajdúdorog. It also seems likely that, reviewing the experience from the abolition of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, over time, the Soviets would not insist on destroying the Hungarian Greek Catholic community, either. In fact, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church continued to operate underground, and maintaining control over it was a challenging task for the KGB. The Soviet Secret Service was especially interested in instructions from the Holy See, as well as in the ideas of the Roman Curia and the views propounded by the leading Cardinals concerned. In intelligence gathering, the fact that Hungary had a Greek Catholic bishop who was in contact with the Holy See and who could be surrounded by agents proved to be a definite asset.

This way, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church avoided dissolution, and its fate became intertwined with that of the Roman Catholic Church. Legal operation was in principle guaranteed by the state authorities, though imposing extremely strict limitations on its possibilities and subjecting the episcopal office to total control.

At the end of 1948, following Bishop Mindszenty's arrest, Rákosi's minatory words became reality. In the evening of 30 December, Bishop Dudás was also taken to Budapest for interrogation, straight to the office of Minister of the Interior János Kádár. Kádár showed him a large bundle of documents. As he claimed, they contained evidence based on which they could easily secure a conviction for the Bishop. He also noted that

Cardinal Mindszenty had given damning testimony against him. He called on him to resign and, in that case, the charge would be dropped. The aim of the interrogation was intimidation, and their intention was to 'prepare' the Bishop for the Conference of the Episcopacy scheduled to begin on 4 January. From the minutes of the bishops' discussion, as well as from the report of a secret agent, it may clearly be established that the satanic tactics of intimidation were indeed at work. The tormented Bishop remained reticent all along. Gyula Czapiak, Archbishop of Eger, was of the opinion that Bishop Dudás had been arraigned at the suggestion of János Varjú, an Orthodox priest, who had prepared the ground for Kopolovich's activities before his arrival. In the recess of the meeting, Bishop Dudás shared his fears with a lay person close to the Episcopacy. He was unaware that the individual had for some time been active as a secret agent around the bishops, and he would at once give a report on the confidential conversation... The Bishop told him that, since his meeting with Kádár, he had been unable to sleep. He knew that, as a Greek Catholic, he was to expect harsher treatment from the communists as the brutality of the Soviets with which they persecuted the Churches of Ukraine and Transcarpathia was widely known. He was also apprehensive that the Hungarian communists might hand him over to the Russians. The agent advised him that 'he should not expose himself in favour of the Primate's line of policies and then he could certainly stay out of harm's way' (translated from the Hungarian original). Bishop Dudás was pleased that he had been able to share his fears with someone and felt somewhat reassured by the exchange. However, this relief lasted only a few hours. In the evening of the same day, the bishops met Rákosi and Kádár, who would behave in an extremely aggressive manner. Kádár's target was Bishop Dudás again: He was waving a letter in his hand (with its content remaining unknown) said by the Minister of the Interior to prove the Greek Catholic Bishop's guilt. The agent reporting from the discussions of the Episcopacy the next day made the following statement: 'Dudás, who was relatively composed yesterday, became utterly alarmed again following the denunciation delivered by Minister of the Interior Kádár' (translated from the Hungarian original).¹³

The events of 30 December and 4 January foreshadowed everything that awaited Bishop Dudás

¹³ For the minutes of the session of the Episcopacy and the agent's report, see: Balogh, Margit. *A Magyar Katolikus Püspöki Kar tanácskozásai 1949–1965 között, Dokumentumok*, I–II, Budapest, 2008; therein: I, 37–48.

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in the next nearly one and a half decades: intimidation, blackmail and betrayal by agents.

After the nationalisation of faith schools and as part of the process of a forced pact between the state and the Catholic Church, in 1950, a law terminating the operation licence of religious orders was passed, stating that all male and female monastics were to vacate religious houses by 5 December that year.¹⁴ Thus, the eviction and dispersal of the religious began. In accordance with the law, 34 Basilian monks (16 ordained priest, 14 novices and 4 brethren) and 28 nuns (including four novices) had to leave their religious houses. Their monasteries and the institutions they had maintained were nationalised. The Basilian fathers had no choice but to leave their Hajdúdorog Religious House, as well as their home in Kispest established in 1948. The Province of St Stephen founded in 1947 and led by Father Bertalan Dudás ceased to exist.¹⁵

At the beginning of the new struggle, when external circumstances were perhaps more unfavourable than ever before, Hungarian Greek Catholics could be consoled by the fulfilment of their old wish. Relinquishing part of the Episcopal Residence, Bishop Miklós Dudás established a seminary and theological college in Nyíregyháza.¹⁶ In his letter dated 6 September 1950, he reported the foundation to the Ministry of Religion and Education, which acknowledge it in its response. Albeit, as before, lacking the necessary financial background, Bishop Dudás's unexpected decision was also motivated by the fact that, this way, it was possible to accommodate the novices of the dissolved Basilian Order. The permissive position of the state authorities may seem surprising at first sight since this period was characterised by a systematic deconstruction and closure of Catholic institutions. At the same time, in a sense, Bishop Dudás's step yielded benefits for the communists' designs as well. The official objective in 1950 was still to separate the Greek Catholics from the Catholic Church. From this perspective, it must have appeared to be a positively desirable development to remove

Greek Catholic seminarians from the Central Seminary and thus from the sphere of influence of the Latin Church. On the other hand, total control over the Greek Catholic Church was also facilitated by the circumstance that ordinands were accommodated in a single location – in fact, in the same building as the episcopal office. It was obvious that the institution could only work in complete subjection to the state authorities, providing opportunity to integrate faculty members who accepted to operate as agents. Surviving and hitherto revealed agents' reports prove that the state authorities were able to implement this form of control as well.¹⁷ The communists were also cognisant of the importance of the Seminary: They were well aware of its role in supplying new generations of priests, as well as in the very operation of the Greek Catholic Church. This fact increased the blackmail potential of the state authorities vis-à-vis an even otherwise intimidated bishop.

The Seminary began operating in the last days of September 1950, with five first-year and ten second-year seminarians, under extremely modest conditions. Its first Rector was János Imre Liki, a Basilian monk, who could hold his post until 1958.¹⁸ Vicar István Rojkovich acted as Vice Rector. From 1951, the Prefect was canon law expert János Hollós. A Basilian, Ágoston Orosz, was also installed as Director of Spiritual Life, though the state authorities would tolerate him for no longer than 14 months. His replacement, Gyula Kovács, was able to guide seminarians only for one year as well. After his removal, Jenő Palatitz and, subsequently, Ferenc Rohály, a liturgist of wide learning, could spend more time in this important seminary post. Under pressure from the state, the first few years were also marked by a fluctuation of faculty. In 1952, former Basilian novices also had to leave the Seminary. To ensure proper functioning of the institution, the unstinting work of Basilian sisters expelled from their religious houses was indispensable as well.¹⁹

'... now, upon opening our own Seminary, with a first and second year, in the centre of the Diocese

¹⁴ Law-Decree 1950/34 of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

¹⁵ For more detail, see: Véghseő, Tamás. Magyar baziliták a kommunista rendszerben, in: Boháč, Vojtech (red.). *Reflexia jednoty v diele a posobení blahoslaveného biskupa Vasil'a Hopka (1904–1976) v kontexte eurointegracneho procesu*, Prešov, 2009, 128–137.

¹⁶ Janka, 2001, 227–228.

¹⁷ For the related documents, see: Kahler, Frigyes. Az „Ibolya” dosszié: *Hiányzó lapok „A magyarországi görögkatolikusok történeté”-ből*, Budapest, 2005.

¹⁸ For more detail on János Liki, see: Török, István Izsák. „Bátraké a föld és az ég”: *Dr. Liki Imre János bazilita szerzetes emlékére*, Máriapócs, 2008.

¹⁹ Janka, 2001, 229–230.

under modest circumstances, I humbly pray to the Lord and ask for your steadfast prayer as well: May the opening of our Institute be indeed an act of torch lighting for our Eparchy! May this Seminary become the hearth and home of the Greek Rite on Hungarian soil! And may it be a furnace, which forges the souls of the Bishop, as a father, of his priests and seminarians and of his faithful in faith, love and fidelity to the Church' – wrote the hierarch to his priests in his circular dated 15 September 1950.²⁰ It was particularly the last of the sentences cited that was significant in the light of the events that had transpired over the preceding month. To disintegrate the unity between the priests and bishops, as well as to break the resistance of the latter, in August 1950, representatives of the communist state authorities created the National Peace Commission of Catholic Priests, winning over priests ready to oppose their bishops for its leadership.²¹ The cover activity of the movement was the promotion of peace, but, in reality, it functioned as a parallel authority within the Church. Through the State Ecclesiastical Office established in 1951, the state authorities ensured that the priests joining the movement and accepting leadership functions in it would receive various benefits. The dilemma of the 'broad path' and 'narrow way' faced Greek Catholic priests with a decision, too. All who, opting for active engagement in the peace movement, chose the 'broad path', were already given their reward in the following year under pressure from the State Ecclesiastical Office: They would be eligible for appointment as the new Vicar-General, office manager or archdeacons and deans. Soon, 'peace priests' would be sent to major parishes. Conversely, those shunning the peace movement could expect transfer and sidelining.²² Another instrument of intimidation was the deportation of particular priests: The State Defence Department carried away and held captive Dénes Regős, a Basilian monk,²³ Géza Békés, a priest from Vértes (1950),²⁴ and Miklós Véghseő, a chaplain from Hajdúböszörmény (1952), while their families were unable to find out even about the place of their captivity.²⁵

The state authorities exercised control over the Greek Catholic Church not only via the State Ecclesiastical Office and the 'peace priest' movement but by developing a network of agents as well. Recruitment attempts by the state security services among the clergy were successful in several instances. The motivation for accepting and completing assignments as an agent (intelligence gathering and reporting) varied across individual cases. Some were persuaded into collaborating by means of intimidation or blackmail, while others expected their individual ambitions to be fulfilled and their careers to progress as a result of executing the tasks. There were even priests who performed their work as agents in the conviction that, by doing so, they contributed to the survival of their Church. Priests accepting to be enlisted perceived the communist system so strong and unshakable that they did not take the possibility of its failure into account. The suppression of the 1956 Revolution, as well as the ensuing reprisal and the subsequent consolidation under Kádár would further strengthen this conviction of theirs, leading them in mistaken directions and into dead ends.

Successive adversities undermined Bishop Miklós Dudás's health. Even when the Revolution of 1956 erupted, he was treated in hospital. Taking advantage of transient freedom, he travelled from Budapest to Nyíregyháza in order to remove badly compromised 'peace priests' from key offices. In the spring of the following year, major medical treatment could no longer be deferred: Through the help of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, he was treated in Arosa, Switzerland, from April 1957 to March 1958.²⁶ The related state permission must have been motivated by the state security organs' hunger for information. Once they allowed Bishop Dudás to build foreign relations, it was more likely that, through the informants planted in his surroundings, they could collect valuable information on the Holy See for the whole of the Socialist Bloc.

In April 1959, the Bishop was confronted with a severe crisis. Miklós Beresztóczy, President of the

²⁰ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1950/VIII, 2784/1950, NYEL, I–1–b.

²¹ On the history of the 'peace priest' movement, see: Orbán, Gyula József. *Katolikus papok békemozgalma Magyarországon, 1950–1956*, Budapest, 2001.

²² *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1951/XIII–XIV and XIX, NYEL, I–1–b.

²³ For more detail on Dénes Regős: Török, István Izsák. *„Maradjunk meg mindnyájan a szeretetben”: P. Regős Dénes bazilita atya emlékére*, Máriaapócs, 2005.

²⁴ Békés, Géza. *Jobb jövőnkért!: Emlékirataim*, Nagykáta, 132–146.

²⁵ The unpublished memoirs of his father, Dániel Véghseő (1883–1971), are the author's property.

²⁶ Török, 2005, 47–48.

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nationwide peace movement of priests, intended to give a talk to the students of the Seminary. As the Holy See had excommunicated Beresztóczy and his associates, Bishop Dudás refused to give permission for the talk. He was aware that his deed might entail the most serious consequences. One month earlier, superiors and seminarians had been removed from the Central Seminary for a similar case of defiance. Preparing for every eventuality, on 17 April, he summoned the clergy of Nyíregyháza and the seminarians to the Seminary Chapel and read out his statement to them. In it, he asserted that he was in no position to meet the demand to ignore the act of the Holy See with a public action (i.e. by permitting the suspended Beresztóczy to deliver his lecture). Should the price of his conduct be the dissolution of the Seminary, he would be ready to do that himself. He appealed to the seminarians to be good civilians in such an event. He anticipated so severe possible consequences that, in those days, he even made a will. In the end, Beresztóczy did not come, and the retribution was lighter as well. The Bishop was not allowed to leave the territory of Nyíregyháza for a while, his brother was deprived of his licence, and *congrua* were withheld from the ten priests working around the Bishop.²⁷

Bishop Dudás celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his ordination as bishop in May the same year. On account of such antecedents, he wished for a quiet thanksgiving. In his commemorative speech, viewing the past in retrospect, he appraised his present situation and, looking to the future, he spoke thus: 'Today, twenty years on, on the ruins of great expectations and sacred plans, I keep saying with Job: 'The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away.' Still, something may be left in my crushed soul twenty years on. First of all, my faith – at least in God. But not only that! I also have faith in my Eparchy. Amid all the comprising and balancing, I can still see signs suggesting that there are and – out of the grace of God – there will be people to whom the Catholic faith and the Church are more precious than anything.' Concerning his personal path and hopes, he said: 'There were times when there were masses around me, too. I was also surrounded by tens of thousands when I proclaimed the Kingdom of God in Máriapócs, Budapest, Hajdúdorog and elsewhere. And now, when I have reached the slope of Calvary, I feel as

if I have been left on my own. At times, I am literally cast down by loneliness as though I was clambering up towards the top by myself, to the final scene. Yet it is not like that! I know this perception is deceptive. I am certain that, on the Greek Catholic Hungarians' long road to Calvary, our priests and faithful of good will do not waver on the slope. For we already know that only up on the top do redemption and salvation await us. For there is the cross, and only in it is our salvation. *In cruce salus*' (translated from the Hungarian original).²⁸

The third decade of the episcopacy of the hierarchy, with a 'crushed soul', wearied by the trials and tribulations of the fifties, brought some relief and two important results. The *Ostpolitik* of the Holy See resulted in the conclusion of a partial agreement with the Hungarian State in 1964, without fundamentally changing the situation of the Catholic Church or relaxing strict control, yet producing some concessions.²⁹ Of the concessions given by the state, the most important one for the Greek Catholics was the fact that Bishop Dudás was granted permission to attend the final session of the Second Vatican Council. Even the first session (1962) had been attended by a delegation representing the Hungarian Catholic Church, with Canon Imre Timkó, a professor of the Theological Academy of Budapest, as one of its members. Prior to his departure, the outstanding expert of Eastern disciplines visited his Bishop to ask for his blessing for his journey and request instructions. Bishop Dudás, who had not received an exit permit as yet, did not authorise him to represent the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, telling him that he would leave it to his discretion to decide with whom the professor would talk and what he would say. Professor Timkó had experienced the Bishop's lack of confidence in him even before. It could well be the case that Bishop Dudás knew or at least suspected that the erudite professor had worked as an agent for the state security services since 1955.³⁰ As the Congregation for the Oriental Churches had for a long time been unable to acquire information about the Hungarian Greek Catholics, arriving in Rome, Imre Timkó was asked to make first an oral and then a written report. In his detailed report, the professor pointed out one of the most acute problems of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church – the unregulated situation of the diaspora – to the Congregation. As he had done pastoral work in

²⁷ Janka, 2001, 230.

²⁸ Török, 2005, 67–71.

²⁹ For more on the agreement, see: Szabó, Csaba. *A Szentszék és a Magyar Népköztársaság kapcsolatai a hatvanas években*, Budapest, 2005.

³⁰ For his reports, see: Historical Archives of the State Security Services (ÁBTL), 3.1.2, M–30613/1.

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Budapest himself, he could report practical difficulties by drawing on his own experience and enumerating specific examples, in particular the nearly hostile attitude of the Bishop of Vác, as well as manifestations of the antipathy of the Latin-rite clergy. Although the situation of the diaspora would be resolved only years later, Imre Timkó's report was instrumental in directing the attention of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches to the problem.³¹

Bishop Dudás was able to travel to Rome for the last session of the Council, held from 14 September to 8 December 1965. Following his arrival, he submitted a request to the Secretariat of the Council to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in St Peter's Basilica in the presence of the conciliar fathers.³² His request was by no means extraordinary as each day of the session would begin

with Holy Mass said by a particular conciliar father. The Secretariat of the Council designated 19 November, the memorial day of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, for the liturgy of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishop. Bishop Dudás celebrated the Divine Liturgy entirely in Hungarian. This circumstance may have had no particular relevance to the participants of the Council, but, for Hungarian Greek Catholics, it symbolised the closure of a century of struggle. The countless disappointments of the battle for the Hungarian liturgy and the embitterment caused by repeated prohibitions by the Holy See were once and for all consigned to history with the liturgy in St Peter's Basilica. After his return, the hierarch expressed his pleasure with the following words: 'What our ancestors longed for for centuries has just come true. Their and our best hopes have just borne fruit' (translated from the Hungarian original)³³ (Picture 1).

1968 also saw the fulfilment of another old wish: the regulation of the canonical situation of the Greek Catholic diaspora. The resolution of the Second Vatican Council on the Eastern Churches calls on everyone to preserve, cherish and observe their own rite. Greek Catholics in the diaspora were prevented from doing so by jurisdictional limitations. To eliminate these, in conjunction with his trip to Rome in 1968, Bishop Miklós Dudás requested that his jurisdiction be extended to all the Greek Catholic faithful living in Hungary. Tentatively, Pope Paul VI ordered this initially for a period of three years,³⁴ and, once it expired, he prolonged it for an additional three years. Following the extension of jurisdiction, the Bishop appointed Canon Imre Timkó as Episcopal Vicar with authorisation for the Greek Catholic diaspora areas.³⁵ The Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy issued a separate circular containing practical guidelines for both the Latin- and Byzantine-rite clergy.

The establishment of the Diaspora Vicariate was the last major event in Miklós Dudás's episcopacy. The hierarch battling rapidly deteriorating illnesses tendered his resignation to the Pope, but Paul VI refused to accept it. He raised the possibility of

³¹ A contemporary copy of the report is found in the collection of the Research Group 'Greek Catholic Heritage' under the Joint Programme 'Lendület' (Momentum) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College.

³² On the conciliar Hungarian liturgy, see: Véghseő, Tamás. Magyar nyelvű bizánci szertartású Szent Liturgia a Szent Péter-bazilikában 1965. november 19-én: A történelmi háttér, in: Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *Liturgikus örökségünk V: A vatikáni magyar nyelvű Szent Liturgia 40. évfordulója alkalmából 2005. november 17-én rendezett szimpozium anyaga*, Nyíregyháza, 2005, 13–19; as well as Janka, György. A zsinati magyar görögkatolikus liturgia titkos háttere, *Athanasiana*, 37(2013), 155–163.

³³ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1965/VII, NYEL, I–1–b.

³⁴ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1968/VI, NYEL, I–1–b.

³⁵ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1969/III, 1098/1969, NYEL, I–1–b.

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appointing an auxiliary bishop for his aid and, as a sign of his appreciation, he appointed the gravely ill Bishop member of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches and, subsequently, of the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of the Oriental Code of Canons. In his final circular issued on 21 June 1972, the Bishop notified his priests and the faithful of this and said farewell to them using the words of the Divine Liturgy: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with all of you' (translated from the Hungarian original).³⁶ On 15 July, his life was extinguished by the third heart attack. The obituary commemorating his episcopal service includes the achievements of his activities captured in numbers. In 33 years, he ordained 166 priests. Thus, in the year of his death, the majority of the active clergy received the Sacrament of Priesthood from him. Many of them regarded and still regard him as a model for the priestly service. He founded 31 new parishes and built 44 churches, chapels and places for celebrating Mass or created such in existing buildings. Numbers are inadequate to reflect the sacrifice he made for his Church.³⁷

Bishop Dudás's funeral was conducted in the church of Nyíregyháza on 21 July by Canon Imre Timkó, who was elected Exarch Vicar by both the Diocesan Chapter and the Consultory Body of the Exarchate. Naturally, the funeral was attended by almost all the members of the Episcopacy. Bishop Miklós Dudás was laid to rest in the crypt of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs.

Bishop Miklós Dudás's successor was appointed after two and a half years of negotiations. The protraction of the process did not come as a surprise since this was the first time in the communist era that a Greek Catholic episcopal seat had needed to be filled. Proclaiming the separation of state and church in theory and even affirming it in the Constitution, the communist regime acted in fact contrary to this in practice, insisting on competences previously called right of patronage.³⁸ It was evident that the Government would only approve the appointment of a priest as Diocesan Bishop who demonstrated appropriate loyalty to the Government and the social order of the People's Republic. Following long talks, on 10 January 1975,

Pope Paul VI appointed Chapter Vicar Imre Timkó as Diocesan Bishop of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog and Exarch of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, as well as Canon Szilárd Keresztes as Auxiliary Bishop to the Diocesan Bishop, with the title 'Bishop of Chunavia'. Contemporaries interpreted the dual appointment as the result of a compromise between the Holy See and the Hungarian State and viewed the Diocesan Bishop as the candidate of the state and the Auxiliary Bishop as that of the Holy See. No doubt, the Holy See must have known Auxiliary Bishop Szilárd Keresztes better because, as a student of the Pontifical Hungarian Institute and of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, he studied theology in Rome between 1966 and 1969. During that time, he was in contact with the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. Moreover, it became a widespread rumour that, during his 1968 visit to Rome, Bishop Miklós Dudás introduced him as his potential Auxiliary Bishop and successor to the Congregation. At the same time, nowadays, it is also a well-known fact that Szilárd Keresztes's Roman studies and subsequent career had a heavy price. He succumbed to the recruitment attempts of the state security services 'hesitantly and after lengthy reasoning and persuasion', and, as of 1966, he would undertake and complete assignments as an agent.³⁹ The idea common in the Greek Catholic Church that the Diocesan Bishop was the 'pick' of the state, while the Auxiliary Bishop was the 'man' of the Holy See was typical of the 70s in Hungary but, by now, it seems utterly naïve. By contrast, in reality, the state authorities continued to hold everything under total control and kept everyone they had singled out – or let the Holy See select – for leadership positions in the Church under their thumb in the strictest possible way. The behaviour and thinking of those selected were substantially affected by the development of the *Ostpolitik* of the Holy See. The signing of the partial agreement of 1964, the declaration of the See of Esztergom vacant, along with the shunting aside of Cardinal Mindszenty, the subsequent appointment of László Lékai (1974) and the endorsement of the policy of 'small steps' by the Holy See meant that even Rome did not expect belligerent resistance against the communist regime.

³⁶ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1972/IV, 1332/1972, NYEL, I–1–b.

³⁷ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Körlevelei*, 1972/IV, NYEL, I–1–b.

³⁸ Law-Decree No. 1957/22 extensively regulated the filling of ecclesiastical positions and the procedure for state approval.

³⁹ Szabó, Csaba. „Nyíri” és „Keleti” – Keresztes: Adalékok a görög katolikusok 20. századi történetéhez, *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, VIII/1(2007), 189–205.

Website: <https://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/szabocsaba-nyiri.htm> (accessed: 11 May 2020).

The new Bishops were consecrated in Nyíregyháza on 8 February 1975. During the morning Divine Liturgy, Imre Timkó was consecrated by Joachim Szegedi, Auxiliary Bishop of Križevci (*Kőrös*), with József Ijjas, Archbishop of Kalocsa, and József Bánk, Archbishop of Eger, as co-consecrators. In the afternoon, Szilárd Keresztes's episcopal ordination was already performed by the new Diocesan Bishop, with the participation of Joachim Szegedi and József Cserháti, Diocesan Bishop of Pécs. In his enthronement speech, the new Diocesan Bishop announced the programme of liturgical renewal, with Eastern traditions, Hungarian peculiarities and the requirements of the age forming a synthesis. Among his chief plans, he highlighted the enhancement of the standards of priest education and the implementation of the related infrastructural developments.⁴⁰

An important element in the programme of Diocesan Bishop Imre Timkó was the improvement of the infrastructural conditions of priest training. The concessions offered by the state authorities did not allow for the construction of a new seminary building; only the reconstruction of the Episcopal Residence and the utilisation of the free spaces in the grounds could be considered. The financial background of the work was provided by the redemption of the property in Sóstói út, built by Bishop Dudás and expropriated by the state, well below the actual price. 'Out of the grace of God and the good will of our Government' – as the Bishop put it in his account of the event – talks between the Bishop and the City Council concluded as early as December 1975.⁴¹ The amount supplied by the state proved insufficient to execute the plans. Therefore, the Diocesan Bishop was granted permission to travel to the United States and seek the help of the Greek Catholics living there. The first phase of the work commencing in the autumn of 1977 targeted the completion of an eight-apartment complex to be built in the grounds of the Episcopal Residence for the housing of seminary superiors and the priests serving in the eparchial centre. It was inaugurated in the middle of 1978. This was followed by the transformation of the building section used by the Seminary and the Theological College, the blessing of which could take place in 1980. In August the next year, the Byzantine-style Seminary Chapel, seen as unparalleled at the time, was consecrated. It is

typical that it received a building permit as a liturgical 'drill ground'.⁴² The buildings packed into an extremely narrow space aptly symbolised the situation of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church in the Kádár Regime: Small improvements and advances were allowed but only within high walls, in isolation from society and the inhabitants of the city.

Apart from the betterment of the external conditions of priest training, Bishop Imre Timkó devoted special attention to raising the standards of education as well. In this endeavour of his, he primarily relied on two significant documents of the Second Vatican Council: the resolutions on the Eastern Catholic Churches and on priest training. In priest education, signs reinforcing a return to Eastern traditions (e.g. the Eastern-style cassock) also appeared, and, with a view to modernising the curriculum, the use of central theological textbooks – edited by Auxiliary Bishop Szilárd Keresztes – was introduced, and they have been published continuously since 1972. Reducing the duration of military service to a year and a half in 1982 represented some relief. From 1965, the state had obliged seminarians as well to do the two-year military service standard at the time, designating the infamous, so-called 'first-rate' barracks of Lenti, Nagyatád and Marcali for the purpose. In addition to defence training, time in the army was also meant to foster ideological transformation and identify potential church agents. Political officers working in the military barracks were successful in diverting several seminarians from the priestly vocation; two of them – György Legeza and János Járasi Jnr – suffered such long-term damage to their health as a consequence of the atrocities endured during military service that would prevent them from continuing their theological studies.⁴³ Thanks to the reduction of the duration of military service in 1982, a half-a-year long preparatory course could be introduced for seminarians.

The widely-read Diocesan Bishop was mindful to have the artistic treasures and books found in the parishes – surviving in a precarious condition in a number of instances – identified and collected.⁴⁴ In 1983, he established the Collection of Ecclesiastical Art⁴⁵ and lent his support to the efforts of the experts of Kossuth Lajos University, Debrecen, to investigate old

⁴⁰ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Közlövelei*, 1975/II, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁴¹ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Közlövelei*, 1976/II, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁴² Janka, 2013, 38.

⁴³ Janka, 2013, 35.

⁴⁴ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Közlövelei*, 1980/II, 666/1980, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁴⁵ For more detail, see: Puskás, 2012.

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ecclesiastical books.⁴⁶ Additionally, he also ensured that the Eparchial Library and Archives would be given state-of-the-art accommodation.

In the area of pastoral work, he strove to improve the conditions of attending to the needs of the faithful in a seriously limited environment. In the territory of the Diaspora Vicariate, he created another four new parishes (Csepel, Rákoskeresztúr, Újpest and Pécs). The pastoral care of Greek Catholics living in the diaspora – with their number constantly increasing due to internal migration – was given a renewed impetus by the final, definitive extension of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Hajdúdorog to the entire territory of the country (1980),⁴⁷ as well as by the creation of the Episcopal Vicariate of Budapest and the Deanery of Budapest.⁴⁸

The Bishop was a committed proponent of ecumenical dialogue. This was also enunciated in the episcopal motto (*Katholike – Oikumene*) he chose upon his appointment. A remarkable achievement of the ecumenical movement in Hungary, the first formal session of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Hungary, taking place in Ráday Hall of Residence in December 1987, was the outcome of his activities as well.⁴⁹

Bishop Imre Timkó died on Holy Wednesday, 30 March 1988. His death was unexpected for the clergy and the faithful of the Eparchy. His funeral was held in Máriapócs on 8 April, during the Bright Week of Easter, with numerous members of the Episcopacy in attendance.

The governance of the Eparchy was taken over by his Auxiliary Bishop, Szilárd Keresztes. This time, the *sede vacante* period and the selection of a successor did not take years for obvious reasons. Szilárd Keresztes, regarded by virtually all as the sole potential successor, was appointed bishop on 6 July 1988. The new Bishop was enthroned on 30 July 1988.⁵⁰

Bishop Szilárd Keresztes adopted the defining theme of his enthronement speech from the Gospel passage of the day: 'Unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the Kingdom of Heaven' (Matt. 18:3).⁵¹ The processes seen in the country promised and called for changes. A few days after Bishop Szilárd Keresztes's enthronement, it was

announced that the Hungarian State invited Pope John Paul II for an official visit. In the coming months, the regime that, creating the impression of unshakability, had incited fear in so many would crumble at breakneck speed, like a house of cards. In Hungary, a process of democratic transformation began, with countless hurdles and disappointments, yet ushering in a new era in the life of society and the Church alike.

From the vantage point of the Church, one of the most important moments of democratic transformation was the dissolution of the State Ecclesiastical Office without a legal successor (30 June 1989). Law No. 1990/IV, *On Freedom of Conscience and Religion, and on the Churches*, passed in January the next year, made the liberation of the Churches complete and ensured their free operation.

The beginning of Bishop Szilárd Keresztes's tenure nearly coincided with the restoration of the freedom of the Church. New avenues that had been inconceivable and forbidden paths for decades opened to the Greek Catholic Church as well. Education, social services, youth formation, culture, the world of media, health care, prisons and the army were areas previously off-limits to the Churches. However, with the end of Communism in Hungary, barriers and obstructions disappeared, and these areas would all come to represent new settings for pastoral work. The circumstance that the serious prejudices leading to manifestations of negative discrimination against the Greek Catholics in the decades before World War II almost completely vanished from Hungarian society may also be described as a significant change. Moreover, on account of the beauty and uniqueness of the Byzantine Rite, captivating many contemporary Hungarians in search of directions and guidance, it is more appropriate to speak about a general sense of appreciation for Greek Catholics across society these days.

The extremely rapid social changes required church leaders who were quick to react and ready to take the initiative. It was soon clear that the world of democratic transformation, replete with challenges, was precisely the context in which Bishop Szilárd Keresztes could best put his abilities to use. A whole series of institution foundation and construction would ensue, becoming the most distinctive trait of his

⁴⁶ For more detail, see: Ojtozi, 1985.

⁴⁷ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 1980/III, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁴⁸ Janka, 2013, 38.

⁴⁹ For the joint declaration issued at the meeting, see: *Theologiai Szemle*, 1(1988), 11.

⁵⁰ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 1988/III, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

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episcopacy. On the Bishop's initiative, a faith primary school was started in Hajdúdorog – the first of its kind in the country – as early as September 1990.⁵² One year later, the Greek Catholic Grammar School was also opened in the same place. The structural development of the educational institutions of Hajdúdorog came to be one of the prominent tasks of the following years. Currently, the institution called St Basil Educational Centre is home to a primary school, grammar school, vocational school and a student hostel, along with a kindergarten. In the city of the Episcopal See, St Nicholas Greek Catholic Kindergarten opened in 1996 and moved to a new building in 2004. The primary school was started in an obsolete building acquired through property restitution and compensation in September 1998. After several

years of construction demanding considerable financial sacrifices, the new building of the St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College of Nyíregyháza was blessed in 2003 (Picture 2). In the Exarchate, Bishop Szilárd Keresztes founded primary schools and kindergartens in Miskolc and Rakacaszend. To enable the pastoral care of the youth studying at secondary and tertiary levels, a university- and secondary-school chaplaincy was established in Debrecen, a university- and secondary-school chaplaincy, along with a university- and college hall of residence in Miskolc, a college- and secondary-school chaplaincy, as well as a female college hall of residence in Nyíregyháza, a college hall of residence in Sárospatak and a university hall of residence in Szeged. New parishes were created in the diaspora: Győr,

⁵² *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 1990/II, 1985/1990, NYEL, I–1–b.

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Esztergom, Veszprém, Dunaújváros, Gödöllő, Vác, Pesterzsébet, Szigetszentmiklós, and Szolnok.

The development of the pilgrimage site of Máriapócs was an emphatic element of Szilárd Keresztes's hierarchal programme. The first steps, involving the renovation of the pilgrimage church, were taken in conjunction with the historic visit of Pope John Paul II, providing a new momentum for the development of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church and, specifically, of the pilgrimage site of Máriapócs (Picture 3). To provide for the needs of pilgrims coming to the miraculous weeping icon of the Theotokos, a pilgrims' house was opened in 1999, regularly functioning as a venue for retreats and training schemes. As part of a project of the European Union, Bishop Szilárd Keresztes devoted several years of work to make preparations for the refurbishment of the interior of the pilgrimage church, as well as the reconstruction of its environs, though the implementation was left to his successor.

New fields of pastoral work necessitated the creation of the corresponding institutions in health care, the army and prisons. Hospital chaplaincies were established in Debrecen, Miskolc and Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic priests also serve in the Military Ordinariate of Hungary, and prison chaplains work in Nyíregyháza and Miskolc. Institutions specialising in care for the elderly or supporting mothers in crisis were established in a number of Greek Catholic parishes.

In accordance with the law on freedom of religion, religious orders dissolved in 1950 could resume their activities. The Basilian fathers and sisters returned to Máriapócs. The whole monastery building reverted to the fathers only after considerable delay owing to the social welfare institution operating in it and the politics of procrastination of the General Assembly of Budapest maintaining the institution. Today, it is home to the religious in an almost fully renovated condition. In their Máriapócs and Sátoraljaújhely houses, the Basilian nuns operate care homes for the elderly. Playing pivotal roles in the life of the Greek Catholic Church, both traditional monastic communities must face the problem common to the whole of the Church, manifested in a decrease of monastic vocations. Founded by the Diocesan Bishop, the Community of Dámóc, named after the Resurrection, sought to walk on the new Hungarian roads of Eastern monasticism; its members prepared for their monastic lives in Chevetogne Abbey, Belgium. Atanáz Orosz took his monastic vow in 1996, followed by Fülöp Kocsis in 1998.

Youth pilgrimages to Máriapócs, KÖZ (*Keresztény Összejövetel Zemlénben* [Meeting of Christians in Zemlén]), the Youth Pilgrimage Walk and the Greek Fire Camp have become important settings for youth



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pastoral work, regularly addressing hundreds of young people of different age groups. The Carnival Ball has developed into a Greek Catholic event eagerly anticipated by many every year. Those seeking to experience growth in their prayer life are welcome to attend the Summer Divine Office Camp, while individuals wishing to provide assistance with the summer holiday of children with disabilities are encouraged to join St Damian's Camp.

In the years following the political changes of 1990, the tertiary educational institution of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, underwent not only infrastructural improvements but modifications with a profound impact on the structure of education as well. Provisions of *Sapientiana christiana* (1992), the document of the Holy See regulating the precepts of priest education, were gradually introduced. The duration of priest training was raised to six years, and the Seminary and the Theological College were separated organisationally as well. In the post-Transition era, priest training remained the primary responsibility of the College, though quality improvements would allow for the admission of lay students and the launch of new training programmes. A catechist training correspondence course was advertised as early as 1990, and the full-time version of the same programme was started in cooperation with Bessenyei György Teacher Training College one year later. In 1994, negotiations with the Pontifical Oriental Institute were commenced, as a result of which the College became one of its affiliated institutions on 26 May 1995. Ascending yet another step higher, as of the academic year 2006/2007, the College was declared an aggregated institution of the Pontifical Oriental Institute. This allows for the organisation of so-called licentiate courses, providing a higher level degree in oriental ecclesiastical disciplines than

a university degree. Within Hungary's education structure, the licentiate course fits into the system of doctoral schools. Besides complying with church regulations, the operation of the Theological College is also in full harmony with state legislation. This is confirmed by the conclusions of accreditation visits repeated every five years, the adoption of the Bologna System and the recognition of the latest training programmes by the state. Apart from receiving students from dioceses outside Hungary's borders, the College also broadens its international network of relations by organising academic conferences and regularly releasing publications in foreign languages.

The fall of Communism opened new opportunities for the pastoral work of the Roma community looking back to a decades-long tradition in the Greek Catholic Church. From the early 1940s, in the village of Hodász, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, parish priest Miklós Sója had engaged in pastoral activities among the Roma of the village living in miserable conditions. Not only did he lead them to faith but he also taught them everything that could be conducive to their social advancement. At first, he would teach them by talking to them on the embankment, and later he moved to an adobe chapel built by the Roma. He learnt their language and even celebrated the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom in it. As the fruit of his persevering service of 40 years, he handed over a viable Roma Greek Catholic community to his successors.⁵³ In the years following the political changes of 1990, a new church, kindergarten, care home for the elderly and a crisis centre could be built for the Roma. The Roma had their own parishes created in Hodász and, subsequently, in Kántorjánosi. The accomplishments of Bishop Szilárd Keresztes and of his assistants in the pastoral work of the Roma people were acknowledged by both the competent offices at the Holy See and the non-governmental organisations of the Roma in Hungary.

Once censorship characteristic of the communist regime ceased to exist, to coordinate publication in printed and electronic media, an Eparchial Press Centre was established. The year 1990 saw the relaunch of *Görögkatolikus Szemle* [Greek Catholic review], which, by reaching every parish in the country, continues to function as a real link between Greek Catholics. In 2014, the Greek Catholic printed press offer was expanded by *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*

[Greek Catholic view], a quarterly magazine. On national public-service television and radio, as well as on the channels of local media providers, Greek Catholic church programmes and liturgy broadcasts are regular.

During the twenty years of Szilárd Keresztes's tenure as Diocesan Bishop, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church hosted a number of notable events and functions.

Even though not accompanied by great publicity, one of the most important of these was the pilgrimage of János Szemedi, Bishop of Mukacheve, and of his priests to Máriapócs in November 1989. Having operated underground for decades, bishop and priests could approach the weeping miraculous icon revealing their clerical identity for the first time. The much-afflicted Greek Catholics of Transcarpathia received substantial help from the Hungarian Greek Catholics with the re-organisation of their Church. From the academic year 1990/1991, some of their ordinands could prepare for the priestly vocation at the Nyíregyháza Seminary and College. The Greek Catholic eparchies of Romania and Slovakia also took advantage of this opportunity.

A prominent event in the years of 'restarting' was the first visit of Pope John Paul II to Hungary. Playing a central role in the collapse of the oppressive regimes of Eastern Europe, the Pope came to Hungary for a pastoral visit in the summer of 1991. As part of his visit, he celebrated the Divine Liturgy according to the Byzantine Rite in Máriapócs on 18 August, besides the Hungarian faithful, attended by Greek Catholics from Transcarpathia and Romania in large numbers, with their bishops and priests, freed from persecution not long before. From that moment, Máriapócs regained its international character. Byzantine- and Latin-rite Hungarians, Rusyns, Romanians, Roma, Slovaks and Germans had seen the pilgrimage site of the Theotokos in Máriapócs as their common spiritual home for centuries: After four decades of restrictions, pilgrim groups could travel again from all four corners of the globe.⁵⁴

Just as, in the year 1946, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church had celebrated a double jubilee, the year 1996 marked the 300th and 350th anniversary of the first Máriapócs weeping and of the Union of Uzhhorod respectively. These were coupled with

⁵³ On Miklós Sója's activities, see: Szabó, Irén – Juhász, Éva – Nyíró, András (Eds.). *Útkeresők: Sója Miklós, Nyíregyháza, 2010.*

⁵⁴ An album memorialising the papal visit: Bacsóka, Pál – Puskás, László. *II. János Pál pápa máriapócsi zárándoklata, 1991. augusztus 18., Nyíregyháza, 1991.*

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a significant celebration of the Hungarian nation, the *Millicentenary* of the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin. In the jubilee year, the Hungarian Greek Catholics celebrated with an array of high-profile events. In April, a highly successful exhibition of Greek Catholic ecclesiastical art (curator: Bernadett Puskás) in the Jósa András Museum, Nyíregyháza, was opened by Archbishop Francesco Marchisano, secretary of the office at the Holy See overseeing the preservation of artistic and historical heritage.⁵⁵ At the central festivities, the Grand Pilgrimage of Máriapócs, the Holy Father was represented by Cardinal Roger Etcheberry. Simultaneously, Máriapócs was also host to the International Festival of Greek Catholic Church Choirs, while Hajdúdorog served as a venue for a congress of the representatives of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholic parishes. In September, the First European Congress for Directors of Pilgrimages and Rectors of Shrines was held in Máriapócs.⁵⁶ In October, an eparchial pilgrimage was made to Rome to commemorate the Union of Uzhhorod, while, in November, venerators of the Virgin Mary made their way to Vienna, to the first miraculous icon of Máriapócs kept in the Cathedral of St Stephen.⁵⁷ An academic conference focused on describing the events of the first weeping was organised by St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College.⁵⁸

In the summers of 1997 and 1998, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church undertook to implement two major international meetings: First, the bishops of Europe's Eastern Catholic Churches held talks in Nyíregyháza, followed by an in-service training scheme organised for the heads of the Eastern Catholic seminaries of the continent in the same location a year later.⁵⁹

In the Holy Year of 2000, an eparchial pilgrimage to Rome took place. During the Akathist prayed as part of the joint holy-year Roman pilgrimage of the Eastern Catholic Churches in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Szilárd Keresztes and the choir of the Hajdúdorog Grammar School sang one of the *ikoí* in Hungarian.⁶⁰

In the centenary year of the third Máriapócs weeping, the miraculous icon was conserved. As a closure to the centenary, during the festive Divine Liturgy headed by Cardinal Péter Erdő on 3 December 2005, the miraculous icon was given a new golden crown blessed by Pope Benedict XVI in the square outside St Peter's Basilica in Rome. Afterwards, the miraculous icon went on a two-week 'tour', with the faithful receiving it with prayer in the churches of major parishes. In the same year, the pilgrimage site of Máriapócs was declared 'National Shrine' by the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy.⁶¹

In July 2007, Bishop Szilárd Keresztes reached the age of 75. In line with canonical regulations, he tendered his resignation, which Pope Benedict XVI accepted on 10 November and named the outgoing Bishop Apostolic Exarch until the appointment of a successor. The hierarch leading the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church as Diocesan Bishop for nearly two decades could work in a period the likes of would be hard to find in the history of this Church. Even the outgoing Bishop himself described these two decades as 'exceptionally favourable'. The title of the commemorative volume issued for his 70th birthday, *Ecclesiam aedificans* – 'Builder of the Church' – aptly epitomises the essence of the Bishop's activities. He guided the Greek Catholic Church on new paths confidently and strenuously towards exploiting arising opportunities. During his tenure as Diocesan Bishop, 28 new parishes and organising chaplaincies were created, and 22 churches and chapels were built.

Pope Benedict XVI appointed the successor of Szilárd Keresztes, Diocesan Bishop and Apostolic Exarch, on 2 May 2008. This was the first time the Holy See had been able to select a candidate based exclusively on pastoral considerations, without the constraint of negotiating with the state authorities. Fülöp Kocsis, a monk from Dámóc, was chosen. He was ordained bishop in Hajdúdorog on 30 June 2008 by Bishop Szilárd Keresztes, Ján Babjak, Greek Catholic Archbishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*), and Milan Šašik, Greek Catholic Bishop of Mukacheve. His motto is: 'My Strength in Weakness'.

⁵⁵ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 1996/II, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁵⁶ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 1996/III, 1583/1996, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁵⁷ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 1996/III, 1588/1996, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁵⁸ The conference publication: [Török, József (Ed.)]. *Máriapócs, 1696 – Nyíregyháza, 1996: Történelmi konferencia a Máriapócsi Istenszülő-ikon első könnyezésének 300. évfordulójára*, Nyíregyháza, 1996.

⁵⁹ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 1997/IV and 1998/II, 1302/1998, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁶⁰ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 2000/III, NYEL, I–1–b.

⁶¹ *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Exarchátus Körlevelei*, 2005/IV, 1661, NYEL, I–1–b.

(4)



Bishop Fülöp Kocsis continued the investments prepared by his predecessor and initiated further developments. He completed the reconstruction of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs, in conjunction with which he advertised two pilgrimage walks involving masses in the thousands. In February 2009, the translation of the miraculous icon to Hajdúdorog was followed by hosts of pilgrims, and so was its return in September. The renovation of the pilgrimage church was completed in the summer of 2010. It was ceremonially re-consecrated by Archbishop Cyril Vasil', Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, on 11 September. In September 2009, the Greek Catholic Kindergarten of the Protection of the Theotokos in Újfehértó opened its gates.

In September 2010, the foundation stone of the new building of the Greek Catholic Primary School of Nyíregyháza was laid as well. In Szolnok, St Thomas Greek Catholic Primary School was founded by the Bishop on 1 September 2010. For the Greek Catholic youth studying at Budapest universities, a university chaplaincy and a hall of residence were established. University chaplaincies were organised in Pécs and Szeged as well. To provide coordination for the Eparchy's expanding social responsibilities, the Bishop created St Luke's Charity Service and subsequently developed a Greek Catholic network for the protection of children. New parishes were created in the diaspora: Kecskemét, Érd, Budaörs and Pomáz.

IV.4.1

By establishing the Territorial Vicariate of Zemplén in 2009, Diocesan Bishop Fülöp Kocsis determined a potential course of development for the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc for the future. Upon his initiative, on 5 March 2011, the Holy See expanded the territory of the Exarchate to include the whole of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, transferring 29 parishes from the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog to the Exarchate. On the same day, Pope Benedict XVI appointed Atanáz Orosz, Superior of the Budapest Central Seminary, a monk from Dámóc, as Bishop-Exarch of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, with the title 'Bishop of Panidos'. The new Bishop was consecrated in the Búza tér church of Miskolc, elevated to the rank of cathedral, on 21 May 2011. The consecration was performed by Archbishop Cyril Vasil', Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ján Babjak, Archbishop-Metropolitan of Prešov, and Fülöp Kocsis, Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog. The motto of the Bishop-Exarch is: 'I Love Thee, Lord'.

Preceded by two years of preparations, in 2012, the centenary of the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was celebrated with programmes throughout the year: a pilgrimage to Rome, a commemorative session in the Hungarian Parliament and the European Parliament, as well as various conferences and exhibitions.⁶²

On 19 March 2015, Pope Francis made a decision which was historic for Hungarian Greek Catholics, legally specified in five Apostolic Constitutions or Bulls. With the Apostolic Constitution *In hac suprema...*, the Holy Father created new ecclesiastical frameworks by founding the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Church *sui iuris* of Hungary (Greek Catholic Metropolitanate). The Apostolic Constitution *De spirituali itinere...* granted the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, founded in 1912, the status of archeparchy (Picture 4). With the Apostolic Constitution *Qui successimus...*, the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, established in 1924, was raised to the rank of eparchy. The Apostolic Constitution *Ad aptius consulendum...* founded the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza. On the same day, Pope Francis appointed Fülöp Kocsis, Bishop of Hajdúdorog, as Archbishop-Metropolitan. As Apostolic Exarch of the newly founded Eparchy of Nyíregyháza, Atanáz Orosz, Diocesan Bishop of Miskolc, was named, to be followed by Basilian hieromonk Ábel Szocska in October 2015. The latter was appointed Diocesan

Bishop of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza by Pope Francis on 7 April 2018. His enthronement took place in St Nicholas' Greek Catholic Cathedral in Nyíregyháza on 10 May 2018. His motto is: 'With Thy Help'.

In decade between 2010 and 2020, the number of educational, social, health-care and child-welfare institutions maintained by the Greek Catholic Church grew spectacularly. The three Eparchies of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate have 26 kindergartens, 20 primary schools and 9 secondary schools in 2020. In six special schools, remedial classes are offered to disadvantaged children. In the field of social care, 25 institutions and 54 – mostly parish-run – charity services provide for those in need. The operation of foster homes and the process of raising the children living in them are coordinated by five child-welfare centres.⁶³

The series of measures undertaken as of 2011, altering ecclesiastical organisation in profound ways, created such structures and platforms for Hungarian Greek Catholics that not only follow from the steady development of the past thirty years but also enable further progress in the diverse areas of pastoral work.

List of pictures

1. *The portrait of Bishop Miklós Dudás* by Péter Prokop. Rome, 1967
2. *The Building of the Theological College* by Mihály Balázs, Nyíregyháza
3. Pope John Paul II in Máriapócs
4. The Metropolitan Cathedral of Debrecen

⁶² On the events of the commemorative year, see: Zadubenzski – Szabó, 2013.

⁶³ *Görögkatolikus név- és címtár*, 2020.

IV.4.1 The Coronatio of the Virgin Mary *Catalogue IV.47*



by Manó Petrasovszky, 1953
oil on canvas
*The First Cathedral of the Presentation to the Temple of
Mary, Hajdúdorog,*

The Holy Virgin kneels in a richly pleated red dress and a blue robe with a green lining and a white scarf on her head, on a cloud raised by little angels at the centre of the large arch-topped painting. She looks up to his Son, who appears as the second person of the Trinity, the resurrected Saviour, who supports his cross with his left shoulder and reaches to his mother with his right hand and raises a baroque closed crown with his left hand above her head. A mass of two-winged cherub heads melt into a golden glow around the white dove referring to the Holy Spirit behind the crown, while the Father sits in a dense cloud at the top right of the picture, holding a sceptre in his left hand, supported on a globe and spreading his right hand over the crown. Only one corner of the Tomb of the Virgin is shown in the lower part of the picture in strong foreshortening with a wild rose bush blooming on the sarcophagus. Deaconial angels, dressed in dalmatics and blowing their trombones are vigorously painted on both sides of Mary.

Many components of the painting reach back to the traditions of mature Baroque painting, perhaps Petrasovszky worked up his experiences from his trip to Italy in this picture. We don't know much about the ordering conditions of the painting. In his letter to parish priest Sándor Bodnár of Máriapócs, dated 9 May, 1953, the artist mentioned that he was not able to work for the assignments from Pócs, because he had to undertake "an urgent work for the client" and then he mentioned, that it was the main altarpiece of Dorog and the customer was a private individual. (The text of the letter: Majchricsné Ujteleki – Nyirán, 2019, 278.) Unfortunately, there is no more information about the circumstances of the assignment. The painting was on the main altar until 2005 and after conservation it was placed on the left side of the aisle's western entrance as a pendant of the image of St. Joseph, also large in size and allegedly painted by Petrasovszky in 1958. (Sz. T.)

IV.4.1 The Virgin of the Sign
 Catalogue IV.48



by László Kárpáti, 1981
 tempera on plywood panel,
 127.5 × 99.5 cm
 In the bottom right corner: 1981 / ΑΥΓΑ / Γ
 Greek Catholic Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God,
 Tornabarakony
 Written on the frame: God is with us, understand,
 O nations, and / repent, for God is with us! Therefore the
 LORD himself will give thee a sign: Behold, a virgin shall
 conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name
 Immanuel. Isaiah 7:14.

The Mother of God is shown as a three-quarter frontal image, with arms outstretched and a three-quarter representation of Christ Emmanuel appears in front of her breasts in an *imago clipeata* of a blue background. The background of the icon is ochre, the clothes of the Mother of God is purple and blue, the inside of her robe is decorated with stylized flowers. There are the usual Greek abbreviations above the shoulders of both the Mother of God and Emmanuel. There is a six-winged red seraphim and cherub on both sides of Mary's nimbus looking at the person who is „more honorable” and „beyond compare more glorious” (cf. liturgical song beginning with „It is truly right...”). The icon is one of the distinguished representations of the Incarnation of the Word, which is also interpreted by the quotes from Isaiah running around on the frame, since one of the names of this iconographic type (*the Virgin of the Sign*) also comes from there. The pictorial form also known as *platytera* or *blakherniotissa* existed in Byzantine iconography already before the iconoclasm (726–843) and one of its ancient versions was presumably the main icon of the so-called *blakherné* (source) church in Constantinople, where the relic of the robe of the Mother of God was enshrined. It became one of the most popular depictions in the sanctuary apse in the pictorial program of the Byzantine churches after the iconoclasm, as an icon of the secret of the Incarnation. This icon here was also painted for this reason and placed behind the altar in the apse of the church in Tornabarakony, built in the second half of the 19th century. The iconostasis of the church, painted a year or two earlier, is also decorated with the icons of László Kárpáti, and the frame was also made according to his plans. (Sz. T.)

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 Terdik, 2012, 6, 22, Cat. 5.

IV.4.1 Colour sketch I – III. for
the Series of Murals in Hajdúdorog
Catalogue IV.49

(1)



by László Puskás, 1989
tempera and pen on paper and cardboard
100 × 70 cm each
Private property.

The approximately 280-square-meter dome vault of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Hajdúdorog consists of three sections. As the series of sketches shows, László Puskás designed three compositions for each of the three sections. Considering the significant size of the curved surface, the central scenes are aligned with the longitudinal axis of the aisle and the lateral scenes are oriented transversely towards the side-aisles. Nevertheless, the main and lateral scenes are linked both visually and in terms of iconography.

The series begins with the feasts of the Mother of God above the gallery of the first, western section of the cathedral. Their sequence can be followed by turning towards the main entrance. Above the south arch is the title ceremony of the cathedral, the scene of the Presentation to the Temple of Mary. The larger middle

scene depicts the Dormition and the Assumption of the Mother of God. Related to this is the picture of a feast popular in the north-eastern post-Byzantine tradition, the Protection of the Mother of God over the northern arch. Within each composition, three more subordinate units can be observed following the harmonized boundaries of form and the harmonizing dashes of colours. The story unfolds from left to right and along the vertical axis. The figures of the scenes are also connected by architectural forms.

In the second vaulted section of the cathedral, the focus is on the Coming of the Holy Spirit, the depiction of the Pentecost. It is accompanied by the *Annunciation* on the left and the Birth of Christ on the right. There is a peculiar formal connection between them: they are linked by a ray of light emanating from the heavenly sphere, where the Holy Spirit and a “divine and angelic power” appears in the Star of Bethlehem according to St. John Chrysostom. This solution also carries a theological meaning in addition to the formal connection: it refers to the all-encompassing presence of God

everywhere in time and space. The typological forerunners of the iconography are the 14th century murals in Ubisi, Georgia.

The middle part of the vault section just in front of the iconostasis is filled with the half figure of a monumental Pantocrator, that is several times larger than the scale of the other scenes in accordance with the medieval Byzantine tradition. On its left and right, there are scenes of two more significant feasts of Christ, the *Transfiguration of Our Lord* and the *Resurrection (Descent into Hell)*. At the centre of the lateral scenes, the spheres representing the light of Christ fit into the central triple glory both in form and meaning (see the Picture).

The basic colour of the murals in Hajdúdorog is light and bone-colour. The compositions unfold within a complex articulated outline on this surface. The colour scheme consists of ochre, olive green, red and brown with bone-coloured accents. Each dash of colour appears in multiple arrangements, typical of the painter. The depicted events are placed in front of a stylized landscape and architectural elements, usually depicted in an inverted perspective. At the same time, the traditional iconographic types are redefined so that each line fits into a carefully built larger structure of the composition as a whole.

The issue of the painting of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Hajdúdorog arose in 1987 due to the decomposition of the binder of the previous interior painting. László Puskás was commissioned by the Eparchy to work on the heritage building after viewing the other competitive bids. The plans were completed in 1989 after lengthy consultations. The final version was chosen from the sketches submitted in both versions by the jury of the National Monument Inspectorate with comments on the colours, tones and minor formal details, with the remark of Director Ferenc Mendele: "After seeing the coloured paperboards presented, I would like to confirm on behalf of the National Monument Inspectorate, that it is a high quality work." (Letter No. 7223 of Ferenc Mendele dated 1 June 1989, GKPL I–1–a, 942/1989). The plans were approved and licensed by County Bishop of Hajdúdorog Szilárd Keresztes. (B. P.)

Bibliography

Puskás, 2020, Cat. 265.



by László Puskás, 1990
casein oil tempera on fibreboard
148 × 100 cm
St. Ladislaus Greek Catholic Church, Halásztelek

The upper part of the work combines two compositions and follows the Italian type of the *croce dipinta* (painted cross): it depicts the crucified Christ, with half-figures of the grieving Mary and John. The lower part contains a tabernacle: its door, reminiscent of the function of the object, shows the benedictory Christ with the Eucharist. A vaulted room opens on both sides, where the twelve disciples turn to the Saviour with prayerful gestures. Judas, the leaver stands out among them, so the scene uniquely combines the Eucharistic composition of the *Communion of the Apostles* and the event of the *Last Supper*. The picture also shows the traditional initials, with signs in Hebrew, Latin and Greek on the cross. The year 90 and the painter's monogram is written on the bottom right.

The Icon of Blessed Péter Pál Gojdics with Scenes from his Life

Catalogue IV.51

The internal compositional order of the work, the reduced palette of basically warm colours – red, ochre and burnt sienna – and the contemporary rendering of traditional iconography clearly reflect the painter's style and vision of contemporary ecclesiastical art.

The altar cross, as part of a coherent unit was ordered by Ernő Király as parish priest in Halásztelek, for the prayer hall in the parish, together with two main images of an iconostasis. The altar cross was transferred from there to the new local church. The icons given away at that time perished in their new place. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2020, Cat. 233.



by László Puskás, 2003

casein oil tempera on fibreboard

149 × 60 cm

Central Seminary Chapel, Budapest

The upper part of the strongly elongated picture board shows the half-figure of Blessed Péter Pál Gojdics (1888–1960). The red cross in the raised left palm of

the cassocked young man indicates the acceptance of his later martyrdom. The confessor holds an open book in his right hand in front of him, this passage from the gospel encourages the next generation of priests to undergo the ordeal (1 Peter 4: 12–13).

The namesake saints of the martyr appear in a circle in the top left of the segmental arched icon with the phrase “*virī misericordiae*” – they hand the episcopal insignia to him. Christ holds up a palm branch as the symbol of martyrdom and gives a blessing from heaven in the top right corner. The life of the confessor is shown in three scenes at the bottom of the panel: 1. Péter Pál Gojdics with Spiritual Árpád Hanauer; 2. Private audience of the newly ordained bishop with Pope Pius XI; 3. Bishop Gojdics in the prison cell, wearing an inmate ID number. The writing on the picture is more detailed than usual: the martyr’s name, also mentioning that he was a student of the Central Seminary; a list of events in his life by year; personal sayings and quotes to him.

The operating permit of the Greek Catholic Church was revoked by the government of Czechoslovakia following the Soviet model in 1950. Gojdics, a Basilian monk, who was elected bishop, could not be persuaded, either by fair speech or torture, to join the Orthodox Church. He was sentenced to life in prison, where he died as a martyr in 1960. He was beatified on 4 November 2001. The picture does not show him as a bishop, it is based on a photograph of Péter Pál Gojdics as a seminary student at the request of the client. The picture has a double function, an icon and a memorial image at the same time, which also reminds the students of the seminary that the martyr was like any of them, an ordinary young man, an ordinand.

The painting combines the style of icon and panel picture painter László Puskás. It is basically flat, built from large patches reduced to a few colours. The generalized formal language is counterpointed by some specific details.

The icon was commissioned by Mihály Kránitz, the rector of the seminary, and was placed in the hall of the chapel of the Central Seminary in Budapest, where Péter Pál Gojdics often turned up while studying there. The painter’s monogram and the year, PL 2003 are on the right side. (B. P.)

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Puskás, 2020, Cat. 242



by Zsolt Makláry, 2006

tempera and gilding on wood

110.5 × 68 cm

Greek Catholic Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,
Nyíregyháza-Kertváros,

Christ sits in bishop's vestments on a high, straight-backed throne on two cushions. He gives a blessing with his right hand and holds an open book in his left hand with the text: “Take and eat, this is my body” (cf. Matthew 26:26). There are the usual Greek letters of the depictions of Christ in his nimbus adorned with a cross and above his shoulders. The icon is placed in the central axis of the tier of apostles in the iconostasis of the temple. The apostles stand two by two on either side and turn towards the Saviour. It is common that Christ appears as the Great High Priest at this place in the iconostasis from the 18th century onwards, but usually with another passage from Scripture. The quote here, together with the liturgical vestment of Christ, deepens

the Eucharistic interpretation of the picture, as he is both the high priest and the sacrificial Lamb (cf. Hebrews 4:14–10:18), who gives himself as food in the colour of the bread and wine to the believers: “Thou art He that offerest and art offered, and receivest and art distributed, Christ, our God,” as he says in his prayer before the Cherubikon in the Divine Liturgy. This composition forms a unity with the Communion of the Apostles icon placed at the centre of the tier of feasts above the royal door of the iconostasis and also illuminates the symbolic meaning of the whole iconostasis: it projects the liturgical course of action somehow, that takes place in the sanctuary and the real culmination for the believers in the aisle is sharing the Eucharist.

There are several other rare artistic solutions on this iconostasis: the main images are monumental, larger than life-size, the main figures sit on thrones on the two middle pictures and the Mother of God is a redefinition of the icon of Máriapócs. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Terdik, 2012, 8, 31, Cat. 35.



by Zsolt Maklár, 2011
 painted and gilded larch
 74 × 33.5 cm
 Greek Catholic Chapel of the Holy Apostles,
 Sáropatak-Kispatak

The bust of Blessed Bishop Tódor Romzsa is a gilded reliquary icon painted with the classic technique of icon painting on chalk paint as a primer. The model of the painting was a well-known photo of Tódor Romzsa, which explains the portrait-like face. His blessing right hand is at the centre of the composition. There is a tiny bone relic from the bishop's right hand in a silk-lined, glass-covered, diamond-shaped, copper reliquary in the lower right quarter, at the height of his heart. The human face and hand shine with expressive force from the restrained, almost monochrome brown and beige colour scheme of the episcopal vestments. The expressive power is completed by the gilded glory of holiness. His martyrdom is indicated by the gilded crosses of the omophorion, as well as the reliquary surrounded by gilded beams. The glory protruding from the plane of the image and overlapping the gilded frame almost displaces the otherwise static composition from the frame. The gilded parts are decorated with a chiselled contour. The entire surface of the glory is also covered with cross-shaped chiselled decorations. The writing on both sides of the head says: "Bishop Tódor, consecrated martyr".

The picture was painted on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Tódor Romzsa in 2011, as an offer of Miklós Telenkó Jr's family.

The great-grandfather of Tódor Romzsa was a Greek Catholic pastor in Sárospatak. The image is one of the important objects of the local cult of Tódor Romzsa, it is transferred from the Greek Catholic chapel in Kispaták to the parish church in Sárospatak as part of the festive ceremonies held on the saint's memorial day (31 October). (I. Sz.)



by Tamás Seres, 2014

egg tempera and gilding on canvas

178 × 138 cm

Great Hall of the Greek Catholic Episcopal Palace, Miskolc

The Mother of God sits on the throne with the incarnate Son on her lap, who pulls out the ancestors, Adam and Eve from their graves, while two angels stand in the background. The iconographic antitype of the painting is a miniature from the medieval Serbian psalm book (Cod. slav. 4, fol. 229v) preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The content of the iconography is the last verse of the dawn service (orthros) song praising the resurrection of Christ: "You have given birth, O Virgin to the Giver of Life! You have cleansed Adam from sin, and you have given Eve joy instead of torment; and those who have fallen from life have been made worthy of life again by the true God-man, whom you have incarnated." The first monumental version of the composition was painted on a wooden panel for the Collegium Orientale in Eichstätt. The icon placed in one of the corridors of the Greek Catholic Seminary was accompanied by the icons of prophets and a series of akathistos in 2019, also painted by Tamás Seres. (T. Sz.)

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[s. a.]: Magyar ikonfestő képei díszítik az eichstätti intézményt, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 30(2019), 8. szám, 19.

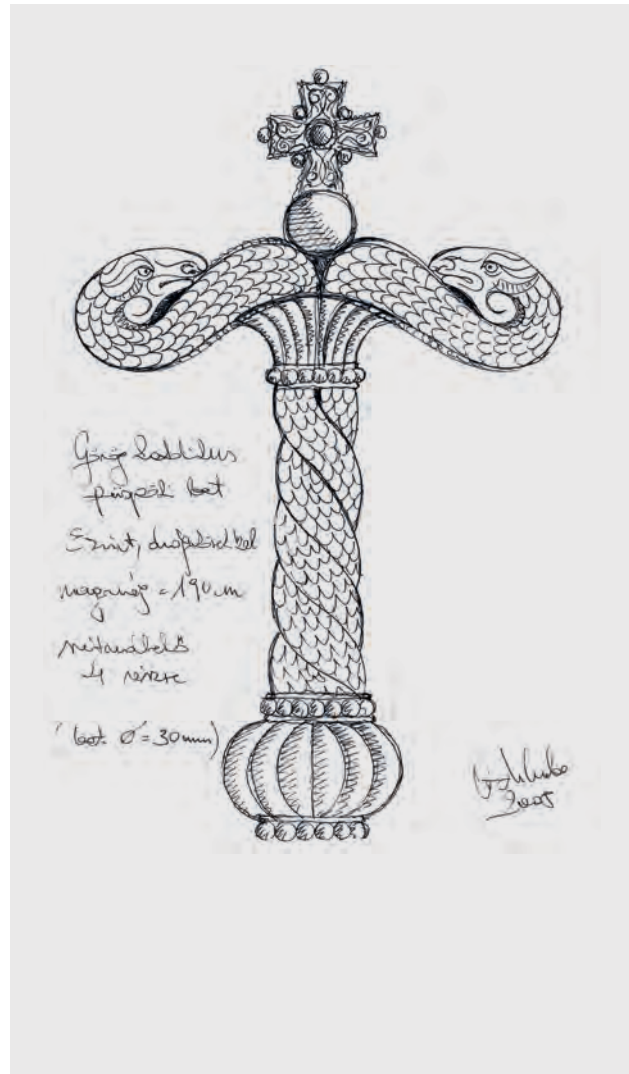
IV.4.1 Crosier

Catalogue IV.55



by Csaba Ozsvári, 2008
silver; embossed, chiselled, engraved and decorated with
precious stones
186 × 21 × 3 cm, diameter of the cross-stem: 5,5 cm

The upper quarter of the pastoral staff, which consists of four separate parts connected by nodes, forms the bodies of two intertwined snakes, ending in two snakeheads or rather dragon heads facing each other. A cross rises among them, standing on a sphere and adorned with precious stones, clamping the bodies of the snakes. The artist used the thousand-year-old techniques of embossing and chiselling. The metal plate was placed on a special pitch bed, the figure and the motif were embossed from the back and then adjusted from the positive side. This procedure required a lengthy and persistent work. The client and the artist consulted István Baán in order to learn more about Byzantine prototypes.



The shaping of the dragon heads also evokes Scythian motifs.

The pastoral staff was made for the ordination of Bishop Fülöp Kocsis in 2008. Formally, it combines the traditional episcopal crozier motif of a cross triumphantly rising above two snakes or dragons, and the shape of a simpler staff of a monastic superior. The shaping expresses the monastic vocation and the episcopal rank of its user. This is confirmed by the bishop's coat of arms engraved on the stem between the two upper nodes of the pastoral staff, the motifs of which include both a stylized bishop's and a monk's pastoral staff.

The crozier is an ordination gift by the devotees of Hajdúdorog and Dámóc. The donors received a personalized and blessed sacred image from the bishop as a reciprocal gift. It is only used by the archbishop metropolitan on major feasts and in the Holy Liturgy. (I. Sz.)

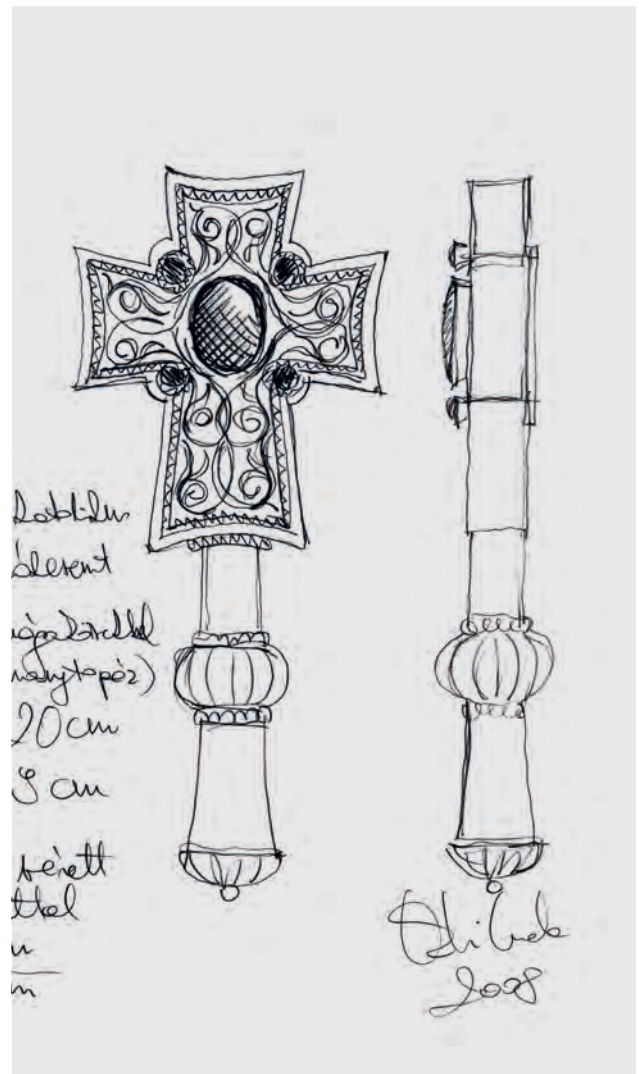
IV.4.1 Blessing Cross Catalogue IV.56



by Csaba Ozsvári, 2008
silver, precious stones; embossed,
chiselled and engraved
22.5 × 10 × 4 cm

An engraved contour decoration runs along the edges of the arms of the cross, enclosing leafless, intertwined tendrils. Four smaller gemstones are placed at the junction of the arms of the cross and a larger circular golden topaz at the intersection in engraved sockets. There is the bishop's coat of arms on the bright, smooth surface of the backside with the slogan "My strength in weakness", enclosed in the circular area among the arms of the cross.

The cylindrical stem has the same length as the cross and is divided by a node in the middle. The node helps the holder to support the weight of the formally dominant cross and makes it easier to use during blessings, in addition to its aesthetic role.



The hand cross was donated by a private individual for the ordination of Bishop Fülöp Kocsis (2008). The donor's monogram, S. P. and the master's mark are on the back of the cross. Metropolitan Archbishop Fülöp Kocsis uses the hand cross in almost every ceremony. It is known as the Metropolitan Blessing Cross. (I. Sz. – I. O.)

IV.4.1 Gospel Book Cover

Catalogue IV.57



by László Mátyássy, 2006
cast and chiselled silver and leather
the complete hardcover: 28 × 22 cm, spine: 5,5 cm; size of
middle icons: 23 × 18 cm
Private property.

Jesus Christ sits on a high-backed throne in the almond-shaped middle field of the relief adorning the cover, blessing with his right hand and with his left hand holding an open book, resting on his knee with the following quote from the Scriptures: "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (cf. John 14:6). There are the usual Greek letters in Christ's nimbus with a cross and above his shoulders. There are four medallions with the symbols of the evangelists attached to the lower and upper tip of the mandorla and to the centre of its side. Greek crosses with braided decorations were placed in the four corners of the binding board. The relief on the backside is similar in shape: in the mandorla, we see Christ's Descent into Hell, as he grabs the ancestors from the captivity of death with the divine ancestor King David and the forerunner St. John the Baptist in the background. Four rhombuses are attached to the central mandorla with the depiction of six-winged seraphim and cherubs in medallions. Patterned book-supporting buttons were

designed on the corners and a mandorla decorated with a braided Greek cross on the spine. The volume is also made stronger by two buckles

The reliefs for the cover of the Gospel Book were first made of silver for the monastery of St. Maurice in Bakonybél in 2006 and it was subsequently ordered by several other communities from silver-plated bronze. The Gospel Book placed on the altar of the Greek Catholic Church of St. Peter and Paul in Dunakeszi, consecrated on 2 July 2016, is also decorated by a version of these reliefs. (Sz. T.)

Bibliography

Terdik, 2012, 7, Cat. 24 (bronze version).

IV.4.1 Artophorion Catalogue IV.58



by Kinga Korényi, 2015
embossed, engraved, sawn, chiselled and silver-plated
copper and polished glass stone;
height: 18.5 cm, length: 13.3 cm, width 8.2 cm
Chapel of St. Gregory the Theologian, Budapest

The top of the a log-shaped chest, standing on four spherical supports, is shaped like a truncated pyramid. The artist placed a cross evoking the well-known *crux gemmata* of early Byzantine art on the horizontal centre plate. A polished red glass is embedded in the centre of the cross and stylized cypresses grow out of the lower arm of the cross, referring to the Tree of Life in the Paradise. A Greek cross motif formed from palmettes and two peacocks heading in opposite directions were engraved under the arcades on the side of the artophorion, which were symbols of resurrection from early Christianity and they also appear on the short sides. The narrow vertical edge of the artophorion cover is decorated with a row of engraved palmettes. There is a removable silver-plated prism-shaped object inside the box.

There are several forms of tabernacle in the Byzantine tradition. This one follows the most common form of reliquaries (*κιβωτός*, *kibotos* – chest, ark). (Sz. T.)

Panagia Catalogue IV.59



by László Mátyássy, 2015
silver, rose quartz; cast, chiselled
83 × 55 mm (without pendant), the pendant: 25 mm

Instead of a pectoral cross, Byzantine bishops usually wear a necklace chain with a medallion made with different techniques, depicting the Mother of God, which was named after the adjective of the depicted person (*panagia* – the holiest). This panagia here is a relief made on the basis of the icon of Máriapócs, modelled by the sculptor and composed in an oval shape to suit its function. A drop-shaped rose quartz at the end of the medallion is reminiscent of the tears shed by the Mother of God in Pócs.

This panagia was made in 2015 for the tricentenary of the second lacrimation in Pócs. Since Pope Francis founded the Metropolitanate of Hajdúdorog in the spring of that year, the first Archbishop Metropolitan, Fülöp Kocsis, received it as a gift, which is also reminded by the inscription engraved on the backside next to the monogram of the two donors (T. S., T. Sz.). Several new copies have been made for Greek Catholic bishops in recent years, which differ only in the form and type of stones hanging on them. (Sz. T.)

IV.4.1 Chalice, diskos, asteriskos
Catalogue IV.60



by Egon Mózessy, 2019
drawn and embossed silver
cup height: 21.5 cm, base diameter: 15.6 cm,
mouth diameter: 13.5 cm
disc height: 11.2 cm, base diameter: 15.5 cm,
plate diameter: 19.6 cm
star height: 8.2 cm, width: 16.2 cm
Chapel of St. Gregory the Theologian, Budapest

The shapes, proportions and dimensions of the sacred vessels, made of silver, were inspired by the liturgical objects, survived from the 1st millennium. Only the base of the chalice and discus is covered with an embossed decoration, consisting of grape motifs referring to the color of the Eucharist and a Christogram evoking its author, Jesus. (Sz. T.)

IV.4.1 Fountain of St. John of Damascus *Catalogue IV.61*



St. John of Damascus, one of the most important poets of hymns of Byzantine Christianity, is shown in half-figure, wearing a monk's robe and a headscarf according to the usual iconography. The quote on the scroll in his hand comes from his best-known poem, the Easter Song from the Resurrection Canon: "Come, let us drink a new drink, not wonderfully burst from hard rock, but a source of immortality dripping from the tomb of Christ, in which we are strengthened!" The choice of quote was also influenced by the "function" of the icon: it adorns the fountain of the urn cemetery next to the church, which seeks to provide comfort and strengthen the reader's faith in resurrection in addition to the practical possibility of taking water. A stone from Damascus, brought by Archbishop Fülöp Kocsis from one of his trips to Syria, was also placed on the left side of the well, somewhat reminiscent of the persecutions our Christian brethren suffer there. (Sz. T.)

by Viktória Monostory, 2019
gold Murano mosaic, fused and painted, kiln-fired
Spectrum and Bullseye glass and Vratsa limestone
frames; mosaic, mixed technology
mosaic: 102 × 71 cm, stone frame: 140 × 112 cm
Holy Trinity Greek Catholic Church,
Nyíregyháza-Örökösöld

IV.4.1 Kit for the anointing of the sick

Catalogue IV.62



*by Kristóf Gelley and Zoltán Mátyás, 2020
nickel plated copper, silver and glass; cast and engraved
7.55 × 11.82 × 3.85 cm*

The carrier box of the kit is shaped like a church. The engraved door closes sideways. It is equipped with a tabernacle drawer at the bottom with a handle of the same design as the gable of the box, and an oval oil storage box at the top for the anointing of the sick. There is a space for a small chalice and a wine bottle in the middle part. A silver-headed communion spoon is attached to the inside of the door.

The kit was ordered by the Hungarian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate for the occasion of the 2020 International Eucharistic Congress. It was designed and made by goldsmiths Kristóf Gelley and Zoltán Mátyás. At the request of the customer, it was modelled after a 19th-century Russian kit from an unknown location, preserved in the Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art Collection (No 2015.235 [B 79], cf. Rákossy – Kontsek, 2019, 217). The depiction engraved on the door was designed by icon-painter and restorer Tamás Seres: the triple cross, which grows out of a two-step platform with a stylized cypress on both sides and the tools of suffering—the spear and the sponge—evokes the Mount of Golgotha; the abbreviation of the name of Christ is engraved between the arms of the cross, the acronym and the date of the International Eucharistic Congress on the pedestal. (I. Sz.)

Phelon, epitachelion, belt, cuffs

Catalogue IV.63



*Designed by Hedvig Harmati DLA, 2020
cotton, viscose, woven trimmings, embroidered back cross
and small crosses*

The Hungarian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate had the liturgical attire of the participating Greek Catholic priests made from specially designed textiles for the 2020 International Eucharistic Congress.

The textile was designed by Noémi Ferenczy Award-winning textile designer Hedvig Harmati DLA, Head of the Department of Textile Design at the Design Institute of the Moholy-Nagy University of Arts. The customer wanted the pattern to be linked to the motto of the congress “All my spring are in you.”

The most important character of the pattern is that it is made up of layers. The basic motif is the rhythmically repeating layer of water waves flowing to make a surface. This refers to a spring. The formal element of the second layer is the Greek Cross. The ribbons, drawing up a cross shape, form nodes running under and over each other at the four arms of the cross. The closed repetitive geometry of the cross is a static surface standing for permanence, in opposition to the motif of waving water. The effect of the pattern is enhanced by the use of colours. The silver base accentuates the undulation with a glitter dominated by the golden shade of the crosses. The elegance of the textile is highlighted by the combined use of the cotton warp and the viscose weft



in the material. The customer wanted natural raw materials to be used. The type of the textile is industrial jacquard fabric. The selected sample is one of a collection of twelve pieces. The textile was made in the factory of Csárda-Tex Plus Kft. in Hungary and the clothes were sewn by Kézmű Kft.

A characteristic piece of liturgical vestments is the chasuble, *casula* in Latin. Two types of tailoring are known; the Greek version sits on the shoulder, while the Russian chasuble covers the nape with a standing reinforced collar. The Byzantine Greek type is used in churches which were historically more closely

associated with the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as in Western Ukraine and in the Eparchy of Mukacheve. The bell-shape of the phelon changed in the 16th century, so that its length was kept at the back and shortened at the front. The chasuble was made of brocade of different colours according to the holidays and the edges were decorated with trimmings. The cuffs, the belt and the epitrachelion were made of the same material as the chasuble. Each piece of the vestments has its own symbolic meaning.

The archaic form of the decoration of the chasuble was preserved in the Eparchy of Mukacheve and in Hungary today. The characteristic element is the trimming frame running down the shoulder. Its origins date back to the medieval (14th-15th centuries) tradition of figural embroidery. The shoulder decorated with embroidered figural compositions was typical of the entire Eastern European region. *Deesis* was most often shown in this field, but depictions of other church holidays could also appear here. The scene could be placed in a circle of independent radiant glory in the middle picture field. The figural decoration was omitted and was replaced by an ornate back cross after the decline of the technique of embroidery. It could also be made with an embroidered or painted round picture field. It most often included the Pantocrator, taken from the earlier depiction of the *Deesis* or the Mother of God, or even the saints, for example King St. Stephen of Hungary. The figurative depictions were later replaced by ornamental crosses on the back. The trimmer frame marking the shoulder part was omitted earlier in Galicia, than in the Eparchy of Munkács. The Greek Catholic Church in Hungary preserves the latter practice to this day. (H. H. – B. P. – I. Sz.)

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CHAPTER V

PICTURES FROM THE PRESENT

V.1 István Seszták:
The Birth of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate –
A Miracle of the Theotokos?



V.1 The Birth of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate – A Miracle of the Theotokos?

István Seszták

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For the Greek Catholics of the Carpathian Basin, Máriapócs undeniably has a truly special significance. Words are inadequate to express the sensation felt by the believer when he or she stops before the miraculous icon of the Theotokos in Máriapócs and prays. In commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the 1715 'first' weeping, in 2015, this miraculous icon went on a nationwide tour so as to meet thousands of the faithful and thereby to listen to the joys, hardships, thanks and requests alike of who knows how many lives. On its journey, it reached nearly every corner of the country. On 19 March that year, those present could witness a positively peculiar announcement in Szeged: Pope Francis founded a Church *sui iuris* of Metropolitan status for Hungary's Greek Catholics. As a result of continuous perseverance for over a century, the valiant fight that had led to the creation of an autonomous Hungarian-speaking eparchy in 1912 produced yet another extraordinary development.

Was this a miracle of the Theotokos? – one could rightly ask. Although a period of five years is certainly too short to find an accurate answer, scrutinising the events of the past half a decade may reinforce the impression about the infinite love and mercy of God the Creator, the blessing of His Son in the Church and the unbounded power and inventiveness of the Holy Spirit.

Thus, the 300th anniversary of the creation of the pilgrimage site of Máriapócs also became the crucible in which the Metropolitan Church *sui iuris* of Hungary was forged (Picture 1).

Five years – The uninterrupted wind of the Holy Spirit

The decision of Pope Francis made on 19 March 2015 was legally specified in five Apostolic Constitutions or Bulls: 1. With the Apostolic Constitution *In hac suprema...*, the Holy Father created new ecclesiastical frameworks previously unknown in Hungary by founding the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Church *sui iuris* of Hungary or, for short, the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate. 2. The Apostolic Constitution *De spirituali itinere...* granted the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, founded in 1912, the status of archeparchy. Its official name came to be the Metropolitan Church of Hajdúdorog (Archeparchy of Hajdúdorog). 3. With the Apostolic Constitution *Qui successimus...*, the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, established in 1924, was raised to the rank of eparchy, as a confirmation of the dedication of the faithful of the 'old' Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*). 4. The Apostolic Constitution *Ad aptius consulendum...* founded the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza, which, albeit new in name, possessed

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ancient traditions that had evolved in the Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*). 5. On the same day, Pope Francis appointed Fülöp Kocsis, Bishop of Hajdúdorog, as Archbishop-Metropolitan. The organisation of the newly founded Eparchy of Nyíregyháza was commenced by Dr Atanáz Orosz, Diocesan Bishop of Miskolc, as Apostolic Exarch. In October 2015, he was followed by Ábel Szocska, a basilian monk, in the same position, who, since his appointment on 7 April 2018, has governed the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza as Diocesan Bishop. The three church leaders, along with Szilárd Keresztes, Emeritus Bishop of Hajdúdorog, constitute the Council of Hierarchs, the supreme organ of leadership of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate (Picture 2).

The three Eparchies of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate began to operate with 264 priests (39 of them retired), 9 deacons and 62 seminarians in committed service, at all times seeking the glory of God and dedicated to serve the community as builders of the Kingdom of God. These days, in the spring of 2020, 272 priests, including 31 retired priests, 14 deacons and 45 seminarians, serve in the Eparchies of the Metropolitanate.

On 30 January 2016, Pope Francis designated new boundaries for the Eparchies of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate within the territory of Hungary, thus causing the Eparchy of Miskolc to extend over all of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Heves Counties in the north and the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza to encompass the whole of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County in the east of the country. As for the Archeparchy of Hajdúdorog, its territory comprises the remaining 16 counties and the capital, Budapest.

Many were surprised by the fact that, in accordance with the Holy Father's decision, the city of Debrecen became the seat of the Metropolitanate and hence of the Archbishop-Metropolitan. At the same time, it must be recalled that the first Bishop of Hajdúdorog,

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István Miklósy, had also envisaged the centre of the new Eparchy in the *Cívís City* (a common nickname of Debrecen referring to its historical status as a royal free city and the influential role of its former middle class) over a hundred years earlier. Therefore, in 2015, in addition to the Calvinist and Roman Catholic Episcopates, Debrecen was made a triple episcopal see. By the dispensation of Providence, that year, three open-minded and ecumenism-oriented church leaders of roughly the same age were even put at the head of the Churches centred in Debrecen. Their regular monthly meetings and the friendship generated by these discussions are talked about far and wide and are seen as exemplary for the Hungarian Churches.

Nevertheless, even as the largest congregation in the country, the Greek Catholic community of Debrecen was 'programmed to function only as a sizeable parish', and its buildings proved to be insufficient to accommodate an episcopal – let alone metropolitan – office. However, in His creative power and care, God has been all along mindful to provide the necessary conditions – right from the outset, with the assistance of the Hungarian Government, which could deliver on its unfulfilled promise from a century before – enabling the Metropolitan of Hajdúdorog to work and live in Debrecen in decency and in an elegant and modern office. The day, 29 April 2017, when the impressive building housing the offices of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate and the Archeparchy of Hajdúdorog was consecrated in the presence of high-ranking church- and state-leaders is vividly remembered even today (Picture 3). Currently, the painting of the office chapel is under way (Picture 4).

Simultaneously or, more accurately, as a gift of the past five years, the Cathedral of the Eparchy of Miskolc has undergone aesthetic improvement, and the office headed by an autonomous Diocesan Bishop has been fully developed and consolidated. Young and vigorous, the episcopal office of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza –

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new in name yet boasting a long tradition – has become stronger by the day, necessarily along with its internal structure. As a visible sign of this growth, the building of the Episcopal Residence has been given a new image in these years.

As for the greatest task or challenge of the past five years, it might be identified as the definition and constant affirmation of the Metropolitanate as the unity, strength and vitality of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community. Questions such as ‘What does Metropolitan Church, i.e. a Church elevated to the rank of Metropolitanate, mean?’, ‘How is this relevant?’ and ‘Does it have any relevance at all?’ have been frequently asked. On occasion, even the question ‘What is good about this?’ arose. Left to one’s own devices, one is bound to experience uncertainty and, at times, even frustration. However, when the answer is expected from God, the Mystery constantly sanctifying the Church, one may feel considerably greater self-confidence: The Holy Spirit blows where He wishes (cf. John 3:8). As a guarantee of renewal, it is always imperative to recognise the wind of the Holy Spirit, especially if one intends to avoid feeling ‘earthbound’. In answering these questions, it is first and foremost God and His Holy Spirit on Whom one ought to rely.

A Hungarian(-speaking) Greek Catholic may chiefly experience divine grace and philanthropy in Máriapócs. Often amid renovations and other works, Máriapócs, the Hungarians’ national shrine, has attempted to connect the Divine and the human over the past five years, primarily through the intercession of the Theotokos. This has given rise to the construction of new pilgrims’ houses and the development of new services offered to the faithful arriving there. The immediate environment of the pilgrimage church is now decorated by an exquisite pavement, though the intention to make pilgrims feel at home surpasses all other considerations. This mysterious place is the spiritual centre of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate and the home of all Greek Catholics (Picture 5).

The unity of the Church requires spiritually and mentally well-trained priests. New generations of priests for all three Eparchies of the Metropolitanate have been educated primarily at the Nyíregyháza Seminary since 1950, as well as at a closely related theological college, as part of a university-level training programme. In the past few years, both locations have undergone major investments, as a result of which seminarians and young individuals interested in theology – future catechists – may study divinity and prepare for vocation, a gift of the Spirit,



in state-of-the-art conditions. As an aggregated institution of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, the Greek Catholic Theological College has had the right to issue a licence in theology for a number of years. At the same time, the courses it offers include not only lay catechist training but also cantor training, especially relevant to the Greek Catholic Church. Teaching is harmoniously complemented by the scholarly activities (academic teams, conferences and research programmes) that define life in the college building. At the moment, the renovation and interior painting of Seminary Chapel are in progress as it is obvious that academic knowledge is in itself an impoverished term without a prayerful background, supported by a frame literally reflecting the divine world (Picture 6). Only these mysteriously concrete or concretely mysterious 'instruments' are capable of giving access to knowledge of the incomprehensible God or of rather raising one to His world.

It is in the organisational framework of the institutions of the Theological College that the Greek Catholic Media Centre and an indispensable series of Greek Catholic newspapers and periodicals



(*Görögkatolikus Szemle* and *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*) have evolved. Thanks to these, the values of the Byzantine/Greek Catholic tradition may be transmitted to all four corners of the world, even publicising the Church as it were. Moreover, it is perhaps in this missionary role which also contributes to the consolidation of Greek Catholic identity that one may see in one's mind's eye the museum the foundations of which are laid in these very days, intended to show the way to future generations like a compass by building on the firm base symbolised by Jesus Christ (cf. Matt. 21:42) (Picture 7).

Certainly, the peculiar wind of the Holy Spirit is also evident in the fact that the Hungarian male branch of Eastern monasticism has yielded bishops, rendering the Religious House of Dámóc temporarily vacant in consequence of the members' new assignments. At the same time, the appearance of female monasticism and the creation of a religious house appropriate for the community in Sajópálfala may be interpreted as the fruit of the Spirit (Picture 8).

At the foundation of St Luke's Greek Catholic Charity Service in December 2010, the Most Reverend

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Metropolitan Fülöp spoke about the ‘incarnation of evangelical love’. Since January 2019, as a metropolitan service, this institution has endeavoured to turn this by no means easy Christian precept into actions. Similarly to the Eparchies, they maintain numerous care homes for the elderly and child-welfare institutions. Their work is supplemented by the so-called home help services run by the parishes. This way, even in one’s everyday life, one may feel that though ‘you always have the poor with you’ (Matt. 26:11), the power of God is limitless. It may well be precisely in this context that the pastoral work of the Roma people has developed and continues to intensify. Important elements of this effort include the Roma boarding schools of Miskolc and Debrecen, as well as the Greek Catholic school in Nyíregyháza-Huszártelep, along with countless pastoral activities striving to take the Gospel of Christ to perhaps the most disadvantaged layers of society.

In the past five years, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church has increased its active involvement in maintaining institutions, on the one hand, by operating educational institutions under the supervision of the Eparchy (with over 10 thousand children and young individuals) and, on the other hand, by shouldering an ever broadening scope of social and child-welfare responsibilities. Through these activities, one may realise what miracles education and teaching as a road to God with its own mysterious power can bring.

The past centuries of Hungary’s Greek Catholics have been characterised by a high degree of variety: keeping the faith and traditions of their ancestors – often in the smallest villages of the country – while demonstrating this diversity in the diaspora, where the Greek Catholic tradition is lesser known in comparison with other Christian denominations. Greek Catholic churches and community halls in the old and new communities of all three Eparchies have been renewed

and constructed in view of this twofold responsibility; even a list would be too difficult to compile.

The gift of the Holy Spirit may also be detected in the experience that one’s strength, felt inadequate at times, is occasionally multiplied by divine grace, even presenting one with the joy of accomplishing almost impossible goals. It is this hope that always fills the present with dynamism and enables one to make plans and build the Kingdom of God already here on earth in a sense. The development of a Greek Catholic cultural centre in the capital city is envisioned along these lines.

The finest moments of the five years of the Metropolitanate were probably the concrete encounters in which the thousands attending key events could discover the look of Christ, of ‘God, Who was made man for us men’, in one another’s eyes and person, thus finding meaning and direction for their lives. Máriapócs pilgrimages, retreats and training sessions for priests, along with various intellectual challenges such as religious education competitions and liturgical singing contests, as well as knowledge olympiads, all represented stations in a series of encounters with the philanthropic God. It is sincerely hoped that such encounters will abound in the future as well. Furthermore, the past five years have also seen the creation of a network of programmes and events encompassing and encouraging the Greek Catholic community, which has enabled every age group to identify the milestones of their respective existence and identity and find answers to their queries. The meetings of teachers and educators, pilgrimage runs, Greek Fire Camps, family camps, youth pilgrimages, secondary school graduation pilgrimages and the Greek Catholic Ball all testify to a continuous and varied blowing of the Holy Spirit.

As a backdrop to all these developments, the office of the Metropolitanate and its committees have been established to promote the togetherness and unity of Hungary’s Greek Catholics, as well as – to some extent – of Greek Catholics stranded outside the country for historical reasons but praying in Hungarian.

At this point, it would seem reasonable to ask whether the original objectives have been attained after all. A clear affirmative reply cannot naturally be given. The building of the Kingdom of God is the gift of the Holy Spirit – a goal that must be pursued unceasingly at all times. This is the only way! Our main effort involves laying foundations, which – as is known – may only resemble the ‘rock’ that is worth building upon (cf. Matt. 7:24–27).

In the past five years’ search for ways and identities, in a sense giving – perhaps too great – a ‘boost’ to our spiritual life, God the Creator and



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Providence has delivered a unique message to the whole world: Watch out! Stop! Look after yourself more, for only I am your God!

Thus, on the eve of the fifth birthday of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate – perhaps only a few days before the first major ‘examination of conscience’ – in the emergency caused by the coronavirus pandemic, we search for the incomprehensible mystery of God even more profoundly and feel gratitude for the past five years deep in our hearts. Let us ask the Lord of life and history to help the Metropolitanate and the lives of all living in it (Picture 9).

List of pictures

1. The miraculous icon has returned from its nationwide tour. Máriapócs, spring 2015
2. The enthronement of Metropolitan Fülöp Kocsis in Hajdúdorog on 23 March 2015
3. The ceremonial opening of the centre of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate in Debrecen, 29 April 2017
4. The ceiling paintings of the chapel. Petőfi tér 8, Debrecen
5. The blessing of the Bell of Peace in Máriapócs, 16 August 2015
6. Christ Pantocrator in the dome of the chapel of the Seminary in Nyíregyháza
7. Miniature model of the envisioned Greek Catholic Museum by Mihály Balázs and Dávid Török
8. The Female Monastery of the Myrrh-Bearers, Sajópálfala
9. Metropolitan Fülöp Kocsis presents a replica of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs to Pope Francis in 2015

'The Light of Thy Countenance' – Pictures at an Exhibition?

Irén Szabó

In preparation for the 52nd International Eucharistic Congress, the Bishops and special committees of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate decided to introduce the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church – alongside numerous other events, as well as church-, public and cultural activities – through a comprehensive ecclesiastical art and historical exhibition. Within a diverse Catholic Church, the Greek Catholic Church is a Church *sui iuris* with its own peculiarities, the history of which, along with the experience and lessons of its individual developmental path in the broader context of the Catholic Church, may be looked upon as important building blocks of the Church of the future.

Defining the concept of the Exhibition raised a number of professional, theological and identity-related questions. The aim was to present the approximately 400-year long historical journey travelled by communities of the Eastern Church after the proclamation of union with Rome. At the interface of the Eastern and the Western Church, Eastern-rite Catholic communities from Galicia to Syria are characterised by a number of different ethnic, linguistic and liturgical features. The historical roots of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate go back to the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*). In the mid-17th century, in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, union represented a framework that could ensure the continued existence of an autonomous ecclesiastical entity and the freedom of liturgical practice by promoting social progress and integration as well. The Hungarian Greek Catholic Church has been equally shaped by the previous centuries' changes in power relations in secular and ecclesiastical settings, coexistence with other ethnicities and denominations, as well as by natural or, at times, imposed cultural influence.

The works of church art, liturgical objects and archival and bibliographical documents in the Catalogue tangibly demonstrate the process of change and its uniqueness. Far away from Eastern and Western ecclesiastical and cultural centres, the Greek Catholic Churches of today's East-Central Europe – including Hungarian Greek Catholics – developed a peculiar, so-called 'Carpathian' church art and culture between the 17th and the 19th century.¹ A local variant of an artistic tradition defined by the liturgical context of the Byzantine Rite evolved over the centuries. The specimens exhibited here could be seen as the



reflections of a series of social, ethnic and linguistic changes and a variety of cultural influences affecting Hungarian Greek Catholic communities.

The title of the Exhibition and the Catalogue '*The Light of Thy Countenance*' – is intended as a reference to the source that has preserved and sustained the Greek Catholic Church at the crossroads of East and West to this day. The studies and the nearly 250 item-descriptions in this volume combine to reveal Eastern identity and an alternative historical direction between East and West, which is distinct from either. The functions and full meanings of these works cannot be understood when they are viewed merely as marks of historical time or as museum artefacts. Even in their fragmentariness, these objects are living witnesses of faith: They express the continually renewing effort of preceding and current generations to

¹ Puskás, 2008, 13–16.

come into and stay in contact with the world of God. 'Let the Light of Thy countenance be signed upon us, that in it we may see the Unapproachable Light.'² Specimens of the sacred art arising from the liturgical life of the Greek Catholic Church have been collected in this volume as sparks of light.

Preparations for the Exhibition began in 2018. Members of the Board of Curators headed by ethnographer Irén Szabó PhD were: art historian Szilveszter Terdik PhD, church historian Tamás Végheő PhD and icon painter Tamás Seres, leading conservator of the Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art, responsible for conservation work. Bernadett Puskás Janka PhD supported the curators' work as a consultant.

As the main concept of the Exhibition was crystallised, and a corresponding scenario was compiled, so was the scope of items to be conserved prior to being put on display specified. The most productive assignment of the preparatory phase was the conservation process from October 2018 to May 2020, thanks to which, besides countless individual pieces, several major ensembles and unparalleled works of church art were given a new lease of life and were literally saved from ruin. Such specimens owned by Greek Catholic parishes included the altar of Abaújszolnok and the altarpiece of Nyírdörzs. As part of the agreement concluded by the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate and the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, in 2018, the 91-piece ensemble from the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját*), held in the stock of the Museum, was reanimated by painting- and woodwork-conservators, through high-quality professional work of almost a year and a half. Thanks are due to the lending institutions that accepted to clean and conserve the objects requested for loan, as well as to prepare them for exhibition.

The originally envisaged location of the Exhibition 'The Light of Thy Countenance' was the Hall of Art/Kunsthalle in Budapest. The layout design of the Exhibition, planned to occupy three halls covering a surface area of over 300 square metres (3230 square feet), was made by Stalker Studio, a project company of Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design. The coordinator for the production of graphic and visual elements was Balázs Vargha. Interior design and reusable installation plans are to be credited to architect Dániel Lakos.

The outcome of this joint creative effort lasting as long as a year could not be realised as an exhibition in



the originally envisioned form. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic altering the normal operation of the world in 2020, the 52nd International Eucharistic Congress had to be postponed. Among its programmes, the exhibition plans were also modified.

The present Catalogue is the fruit of the professional preparatory work done so far – in an extraordinary way, a catalogue without an exhibition. In the past, many an exhibition has been organised without a matching catalogue at the end of the day; the present volume is an example of the reverse. Its editor, authors and the curators of the Exhibition trust that, as one of the associated events of the International Eucharistic Congress postponed to 2021 – even if in a different form and with modified content – they will have the opportunity to present the special cultural heritage of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church.

² The priest's prayer in the 1st Hour, *Horologion*, Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Brookline, MA, 2019, 6

Glimpses Into the Layout Design of the Exhibition Envisioned for 2020



Map

Units of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Governance in Hungary in 1912



- † Eparchy
- ⚡ Metropolitanate

Map

Units of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Governance in East-Central Europe in 2019



- Romania, Romanian Greek Catholic Church
- Slovakia, Slovak Greek Catholic Church
- Hungary, Greek Catholic Metropolitanate
- Croatia, Eparchy of Križevci
- Serbia, Apostolic Exarchate



- Ukraine, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church
- Ukraine, Eparchy of Mukacheve

- ⚡ Apostolic Exarchate
- ⚡ Eparchy
- ⚡⚡ Metropolitanate, Archeparchy
- ⚡⚡⚡ Major Archiepiscopal Church

Source of the maps: Farrugia, Edward – Rigotti, Gianpaolo – Van Parys, Michel (eds.): *The Catholic East: Congregation for the Eastern Churches*, Roma, 2019, 359 (Ukraine), 431 (Romania), 489 (Slovakia), 501 (Hungary), 543 (Croatia), 557 (Eparchy of Mukacheve), 573 (Serbia); <https://www.orientecattolico.com>.

Glossary

Compiled by: *András Dobos*

Antirodon – Greek: *ἀντίδωρον*. Meaning: “instead of gifts”. The unused bread of the eucharistic offering, distributed at the end of the Holy Liturgy. There are several opinions about its origin. It is the vestige of early Christian *agape* feasts according to a widespread explanation with no historical foundations.

In fact, we have no evidence from the period before the 8th century, that the pieces of *prosphora* (sing. *prosphoron*), the bread that remained after being cut up for the communion, was distributed in the Holy Liturgy. The assumption seems to be more likely that it came into general practice from monastic customs. The monks fasted practically every day until this bread was consumed. It became popular also in non-monastic *parochial churches* over time, because somewhat replaced the communion which is tied to strict fasting – and therefore rarely undertaken – by the believers. In principle, it is distributed among the believers at the end of every Holy Liturgy according to today's regulations.

Asterisk – Greek: *ἀστερίσκος*. A liturgical accessory. Two small metal arches, joined in a cross shape, placed on the *diskos* in the Holy Liturgy. Its purpose is to preserve the order of the pieces of bread placed on the *diskos* according to the instructions, as the *diskos* is wrapped with a small cover, which could confuse the order. It has an important symbolic meaning: it symbolizes the Star of Bethlehem, marking the birth of Christ.

Diskos – A plate-shaped liturgical object made of metal, where the bread offering is placed in the Holy Liturgy. It has a stand in Slavic churches, while the Greek version without a stand is the most common.

Epimanikion (plur. *epimanikia*) – *ἐπιμανίκια* in Greek. A cylindrical piece of fabric attached to the wrist of the priestly vestment in the Byzantine rite. Its liturgical use was first mentioned in the 11th century. Initially it belonged only to the bishop's clothing, later it was also worn by the priests, and from the 14th century by the deacons, too.

Euchologion – Greek: *Εὐχολόγιον*, corresponding to *sacramentarium* in the Latin rite. Originally, it meant the liturgical book that included all the texts of worship concerning the ministry of the priest and the deacon, including the Holy Liturgy, the canonical hours and the other sacraments and

blessings. Its meaning has been narrowed over time. The book summarizing the texts of the Holy Liturgy is now called the *Liturgicon*.

The *Euchologion* is the collection of sacraments and blessings. The Slavic churches use the term *Trebnik* or *Potrebnik* in the latter sense, which is the equivalent of *rituale* in the Latin rite.

External vicariate – *vicariatus foraneus* in Latin, which covers various legal organizations in canon law. An ecclesiastical administrative unit, which is intended to act as an intermediary between of the leadership of the eparchy, that is the bishop and the clergy active in pastoral work and the parish priests.

It is a broader group of parishes, than the deanery in Hungarian Greek Catholicism. It is subordinated to the *episcopal vicar*, the *external vicar* who is endowed with special rights.

It is usually set up in regions further away from episcopal centres. The core of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was formed by the external vicariate of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, established in 1873 with its seat in Hajdúdorog. Other external vicariates were also established in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, such as in Košice and Máramaros. Bishop of Hajdúdorog István Miklósy set up an external vicariate of Szeklerland in 1915 with the centre of Târgu Mureş (*Marosvásárhely*).

Filioque – It became a technical term in theology and it was inserted in the article on the Holy Spirit in the Creed, formulated in the Council of Nicea and Constantinople in the Western Church, saying “Who proceeds from the Father”. It was incorporated into the Creed in order to emphasize the role of the Son in Western Europe, as a means of fighting the Arian heresy that denied the deity of Jesus Christ.

It is still one of the obstacles to unity between the Catholic and Orthodox churches in the eyes of some Orthodox theologians, although the differences over its interpretation were already alleviated. The use of the *Filioque* formula is disapproved in the Christian East, because it is the result of an arbitrary interpolation, specifically in a text approved by the Councils. It is also disapproved from a theological aspect and is seen as the cause of further theological irregularities in the Western Church.

Iconostasis (plur. *iconostases*) – A large stand of pictures, located on the borderline between the

sanctuary and the nave, usually at the triumphal arch in the churches of the Byzantine and some other Eastern Rites. It evolved from a low rail delimiting the sanctuary, where images were hung after some time in both western and eastern churches. The order of the structure and iconography of the iconostasis developed due to the changes that took place between the 11th and 15th centuries.

There are mostly iconostases of the Slavic-type with several rows of icons reaching to the ceiling at the Greek Catholic churches in Hungary. There are four pictures separated by three doors in the bottom line of the wooden stand.

The double-winged entrance in the middle is called the Royal Door. It can only be passed even by the priests at the specified time of the ceremonies.

The two side doors are called the Deacons' Doors.

Looking from the front, there is the image of the Saviour to the left of the Royal Door, the picture of the Mother of God to the right and the icons of the Patron Saint of the church and St. Nicholas the Wonderworker on the two sides. The second line of the stand shows the greatest feasts, the third line shows Christ as a high priest and the Twelve Apostles and the fourth line shows the prophets.

The top of the iconostasis is adorned with a cross, usually with the figures of the mourners, Mary and John on the two sides.

It is called *iconostasis* in Slavic, *ara major* in Latin – which evokes the high altar used in the Latin rite – in Hungarian written sources during the 18th century and *bema* or *bemata* at the end of the century. The words “high altar” or icon-screen also occur. (A. D. – Sz. T.)

Litany – The word comes from the Latin translation of the Greek *ektenes* (ἐκτενής).

It means “steadfast” and goes together with the word “prayer,” which was originally used to refer to a specific series of prayers in the Holy Liturgy following a reading from the Gospel. The adjective “steadfast” here suggests that the answer (“Lord, have mercy!”) was repeated three times by the people.

The Old Slavonic books did not only use the term litany for the formula just mentioned, but for all similar formulas that form a permanent part of all major worship services. It usually consists of calls for prayer concerning various intentions and of the responses to them. The calls are given by the deacon or by a priest in his absence, while the actual prayer, that is the supplication itself, is

sung by the people (or the choir instead), usually with the formulas “Lord, have mercy!” or “Grant this, O Lord”.

It is used in Hungarian liturgical books in a similar way to the Old Slavonic books. The Greek texts only mention the prayers following the passage from the Gospel under this name, the other ones are denoted by the term *synapte* (συναπτή).

Liturgy – *λειτουργία* in Greek. The Greek word originally means “public service”, meaning “work for a common cause”.

It is synonymous with worship in Christianity in a broader sense. In a narrower sense and in the churches of the Byzantine rite, it primarily means the Eucharistic celebration, which corresponds to the Mass in the Roman rite. It usually stands with the attributive “sacred” or “divine”.

It has two forms in the Byzantine rite: the older but less frequently celebrated Liturgy of St. Basil the Great and the shorter Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. The *Liturgy of St. James*, known from the Church of Jerusalem, was only used by a few local churches and spread only recently in some Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches.

Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts – The celebration of the Eucharistic Liturgy are forbidden on certain fasting days of the year by the Byzantine Church. At the same time, the believers are allowed to take communion within the so-called *Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts*, that is to receive the body of Christ in the bread already offered and sanctified in the earlier Holy Liturgy. Hence the name of the ceremony: the liturgy of “presanctified”, that is the previously sanctified offerings. It is called a liturgy only in a figurative sense. In terms of its structure, it is an even-song of the canonical hours.

Liturgikon: A liturgical book for the priest and the deacon, containing primarily the text of the two versions of the Holy Liturgy and the *Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts*, as well as certain parts of the canonical hours concerning the serving priests. It may also include other commonly used blessings and liturgical formulas.

The Slavic equivalent is the *Sluzhebnik*.

It corresponds to the mass-book in the Latin rite.

Lity or Artoklasia service – Presumably it comes from the Greek *lité* (λιτή = “supplication, plea”) through Slavic mediation. It is a part of the vigil on the eve of the great celebrations of the Byzantine

Divine Office, which is actually wedged between the *Vespers* and the *Matins*. It consists of singing *stichera* (sing. *stiheron*), a longer *litany* and a head-bow prayer and includes the blessing of loaves, wine and oil placed on a *lity set* prepared for this purpose, which were distributed among the vigil-keepers in the past.

Omophorion – *ώμοφόριον* in Greek.

The bishop's primary and oldest distinctive piece of vestment in the Byzantine rite. A long, broad ribbon adorned with crosses, that surrounds the neck and hangs at the front and the back of the body. It was made exclusively of wool for a long time, as its symbolism refers to a good shepherd who finds a lost lamb and takes it around his neck. Today it is usually made of the material of the other liturgical vestments of the bishop. It is similar to the *pallium* in the Roman rite, although that is only worn by the archbishop-metropolitans, while the *omophorion* is worn by all the consecrated bishops.

Orarion – the deacon's long, distinctive, ribbon-like piece of vestment in the Byzantine rite, worn either on the left shoulder, hanging both at the front and the back of the body or drawn under the right armpit and thrown back over the left shoulder.

Pericope – A passage of the Scriptures designated for liturgical reading

Prologue – cf. *synaxarion*.

Prosfora – The bread used in the Holy Liturgy from which the particles, placed and offered on the altar and then consumed during the Communion, are cut out. The ingredients are exclusively flour, water, leaven, yeast and salt. Its special purpose is also indicated by stamping a seal before baking it. In the present practice, this is the monogram IC-XC-NI-KA in a field divided by an equal-armed cross into four parts. The Greek letters mean "Jesus Christ Conquers". The bread used for this purpose was not different from the bread normally eaten on other occasions in the earliest times and it was the offered by the worshippers for the altar. It was always made with leavened dough in the Byzantine rite.

Proskomedias – Greek term: *Προσκομιδή*, meaning "offering", "oblation".

It was originally used for the *Anaphora*, the Eucharistic prayer. Later, it was the prayer immediately preceding the Anaphora. Today, it usually means the *offertorium* of the Byzantine and Armenian rites, that is, the first, non-public part of the Divine Liturgy, when the ministers – priest(s) and deacon(s) – prepare the bread and the wine, the offerings for the communion. Its place today is a preparatory table on the north side of the sanctuary. A separate room, the *skeuophylakion* (σκευοφυλάκιον), served this purpose in old Byzantine churches, which was also the sacristy.

The term *prothesis* *prothesis* (*πρόθεσις* = "offering") is also used in addition to *proskomedias*,

Prothesis – cf. *proskomedias*.

Psalter – Book of Psalms. A book of one hundred and fifty psalms in the Byzantine churches, divided into twenty of more or less equally long parts, *kathismata* (sing. *kathisma*). It is generally used at the canonical hours. The whole book must be read in one week.

Sakkos – *σάκκος*, meaning a "sack". Initially, it was an ornate garment of the Byzantine rulers; a long, loose, ankle-length piece of clothes with short and loose sleeves and a round neckline. The two sides are usually not sewn together, only fastened with ribbons or buttons. It is made of brocade or other richly decorated or embroidered fabric. The patriarchs of Constantinople were honoured with this wear by the emperors from the 10th or 11th century. It also spread to other Orthodox churches, where only the first principal hierarch had the right to wear it for a long time and became part of the regular liturgical attire of every bishop only from the 18th century.

Synaxarion – *συναξάριον* in Greek, *collection* in English.

It refers to that part of the *Typikon*, the book including the order of the ceremonies, which contains instructions for each day of the year. In a figurative sense, more commonly used today, a text describing the life of the saint of a given day or the content of the feasts, which is written in several liturgical books, such as *Triodon*, that is the songbook for Lent or in the *Menea*. It may also refer to the book, where these passages were collected. This book is commonly known as the *prolog* by Slavic churches.

Sluzhebnik – cf. *Liturgikon*.

Sticharion – A common piece of garment of the ministers in the Byzantine rite, worn by every cleric from the reader to the bishop during their service in worship. A long-sleeved, ankle-length piece of garment. The smaller orders and the *deacons* wear it as an overgarment, so it is usually made of a more ornate material, damask or brocade, while priests and bishops put other garments on top of it, so theirs are made of simpler white linen or coloured silk.

Stichira – *στιχηρόν* in Greek, *verses* in English. A strophic form of Byzantine poetry, a series of anthems based on the same verse rules, sung basically with biblical verses in the Byzantine rite, primarily at specific points of the canonical hours.

Tetraevangelion – A Gospel Book for liturgical purposes containing the text of the four Gospels one after the other and the liturgical instructions for reading each passage are usually given in footnotes or side notes.

Tipikon – The Greek word *τυπικόν* means “norm, rule” (from the Greek word *τύπος*– “model”). A book that includes all the instructions for performing the ceremonies in the Byzantine rite. This name initially referred to a collection, regulating the life of the monastic community. As the book covers the celebration of worship services in the most detail, this word was also used for the book, which contained only liturgical instructions after some time.

Trebnik – The Slavic name of a book that contains the order of sacraments and other blessings. Cf. *euchologion*.

Triodion – The songs for Lent of the Byzantine churches. It is named after the number of odes of the Canon, sung at the morning services, which is reduced to three out of the usual eight during Lent.

Troparion – It comes from the Greek word *troparion*– *τροπάριον*. Its etymology is not certain, but it probably means “chorus”. A Byzantine work of poetry, inserted between psalm verses, sung as a chorus or without Bible verses, as an independent stanza at a specific point during the ceremonies.

“Utrenye” – The Hungarian name of Slavonic origin of the morning worship – *orthros* (ὄρθρος) in Greek. It is a part of the daily worship, the canonical hours in the Churches of the Byzantine rite, celebrated at sunrise. It corresponds to *laudes* in the Latin rite.

“Vecsernye” – The Hungarian name of Slavonic origin of the Evensong – *έσπερινός* in Greek. It is part of the daily worship, the canonical hours in the Churches of the Byzantine rite, celebrated at sunset.

Zeon – Literally, “heat”. Hot water admixed to the transubstantiated wine in the chalice before communion in the Holy Liturgy. It symbolizes the blood and water pouring from the spear-pierced side of the crucified Christ, and that the communicants receive the body and blood of Christ revived by the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist instead of only a dead body. Its origin is presumably functional. In Byzantium, it was customary to drink wine mixed with warm water.

Abbreviations

AGKA	Archív gréckokatolíckeho arcibiskupstva [Archives of the Greek Catholic Archbishopric], Prešov
BFL	Budapest Főváros Levéltára [Budapest City Archives], Budapest
DAZO	Derzhahsky Arkhiv Zakarpatskoi Oblasty [State Archives of the Transcarpathia Region], Berehove
GKEMGY	Görögkatolikus Egyházművészeti Gyűjtemény [Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art], Nyíregyháza
GKPL	Görögkatolikus Püspöki Levéltár [Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives], Debrecen
HOM	Herman Ottó Múzeum [Herman Ottó Museum], Miskolc
IMM	Iparművészeti Múzeum [Museum of Applied Arts], Budapest
MNL OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [The Central Collection of the National Archives of Hungary], Budapest
MNM TK	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történelmi Képcsarnok [Historical Picture Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum], Budapest
NM	Néprajzi Múzeum [Museum of Ethnography], Budapest
NYEL	Nyíregyházi Egyházmegye Levéltára [Archives of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza], Nyíregyháza
OSZK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library], Budapest
PMKL	Piarista Rend Magyar Tartománya Központi Levéltára [Central Archives of the Hungarian Province of the Piarist Order], Budapest
SZAGKHF	Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola [St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College], Nyíregyháza

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