

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

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CHURCH  
SUI IURIS OF  
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## III.2.1 The Eparchy of Mukacheve (Munkács) and the Arts in the 18th Century

*Szilveszter Terdik*

The 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the details of this process, see the studies by Tamás Véghseő in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> For a work of permanent relevance on Slovakian wooden churches, see: Кавачовичова-Пушкарьова, Бланка – Пушкар, Імріх. 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 – Džoganik, 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.<sup>5</sup> During the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 Berezniy (*Kisberezna*), Krasny Brod (*Laborcrév/Krasznibród*) and Bukovce (*Bukóc*), as well as subsequently Bixad (*Bikszád*) and Imstichovo (*Misztice*).<sup>8</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> century. Early instances of this are the parish church of Carei (*Nagykároly*) and the former parish church of Mukacheve.<sup>9</sup> The construction of the former commenced in 1737 and was complete only two years later according to the date on the extant original

<sup>5</sup> Terdik, Szilveszter. Biserici greco-catolice de origine medievală din Sătmăruș istoric, in: Szőcs, 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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 (*szállásos* [homesteads]) 'to the Rascian Church of Nagykálló' (*a kállai Rác Ecclésiának*), actually to support the construction 'of the half-built church' (translated from the Hungarian original). DAZO, fond 151, opis 1, no. 502.

<sup>7</sup> Terdik, 2011a, 15–17.

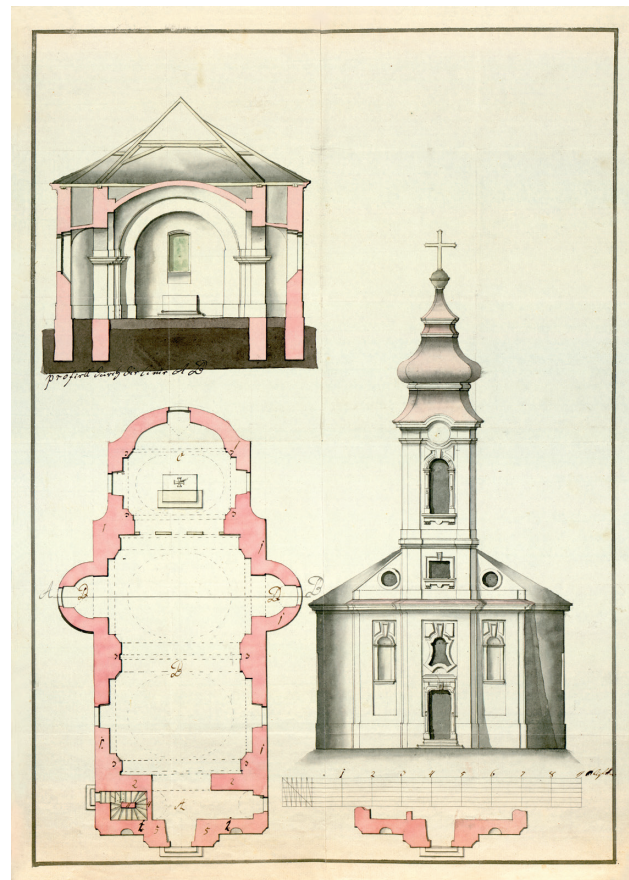
<sup>8</sup> Terdik, 2014a, 37–40. Terdik, Szilveszter. Monasteriové chrámy baziliánov v Uhorsku v 18. storočí, in: Coranič, Jaroslav (red.). *História Rádu baziliánov sv. Jozafáta*, Prešov, 2017, 133–148.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

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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 18<sup>th</sup>-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.<sup>10</sup>

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 17<sup>th</sup> century, was among the oldest; its parish priest by the name of Radivoj Marinics is mentioned as early as 1638.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> The foundation stone of the new church was laid by Archdean and local parish priest András Bacsinszky,<sup>13</sup> later Bishop of Mukacheve (1772–1809), and the complete house of worship was consecrated in November 1772.<sup>14</sup> The original baroque form of the church



(2)

exterior may be roughly reconstructed on the basis of an 1859 engraving (see in the present volume: p. 336).<sup>15</sup>

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

<sup>10</sup> On the church of Carei, see: Terdik, 2014g; Terdik, Szilveszter – Vadas, Krisztián. *A nagykárolyi görögkatolikus egyházközség története*, Nagykaroly, 2016.

<sup>11</sup> 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 Transisza Deanery. Hodinka, 1911, 70–73.

<sup>12</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>13</sup> Luts kay, Michael [Lucskay, Mihály]. *Historia Carpatho-Ruthenorum: Sacra, et Civilis, antiqua et recens usque ad praesens tempus, Ex probatissimis authoribus Diplomatis Regiis, et Documentis Archivi Episcopalis Dioecesis Munkacsiensis elaborata, Науковий збірник музею української культури в Свиднику*, 18, Prešov, 1992, 129.

<sup>14</sup> For further details of the construction work, see also: Terdik, 2011a, 20.

<sup>15</sup> 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).<sup>16</sup>

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 –<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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;<sup>19</sup> 8. There were no kneelers but *stasidia*, chairs and benches; 8. 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; 9. 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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup> Evidence also suggests that old churches were sold and purchased: For instance, the old wooden church transported from Korytnyany (*Kereknyé*), Ung County, and rebuilt was consecrated in Petneháza, Szabolcs County, on 31 August 1802.<sup>22</sup>

#### 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> On standard designs, with previous literature, see: Terdik, 2013a, 89–90.

<sup>18</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> These would not survive practically anywhere, except in the Érpatak Little Church.

<sup>20</sup> On this subject, see: Terdik, 2011a, 19, Picture 9

<sup>21</sup> Puskás, 2008, 156.

<sup>22</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> century (Picture 3).<sup>23</sup> A similar procedure was applied in the Greek Catholic (currently Orthodox) church of Andrid (*Érendréd*) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> The fragmentary Royal Doors of the old church of Nyírpazony were also renewed a few years ago (Picture 4).<sup>25</sup> Significant iconostasis fragments from earlier wooden churches are also known from Hodász and Kántorjánosi.<sup>26</sup> Naturally, instances where the old iconostasis continues to stand in its original location in a new church also exist.<sup>27</sup> According to early-19<sup>th</sup>-century sources, in some cases, unneeded old

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> Marta, Liviu (coord.). *Andrid: Ghid Cultural și istoric – Érendréd: Történelmi és kulturális kalauz – Andrid: A Cultural and Historical Guide*, Satu Mare, 2011, 24–25.

<sup>25</sup> GKEMGY, Inv. No. 2015, 208 (A 96). Terdik, Szilveszter. Egy régi királyi ajtó Nyírpazonyból, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 27(2016), 4. szám, 13.

<sup>26</sup> On these, with previous literature, see: Puskás, 2012, 20–26.

<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> His first signed work was the cover page of the Marian Congregation Album of the Jesuits from 1756, depicting the *Annunciation*.<sup>32</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> After this major commission, he also delivered some

<sup>28</sup> 'Pro cuius 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 18<sup>th</sup>-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.

<sup>29</sup> 'Anno praeterito Curatores mei Vetustas quatuor Imagines, ex Eccl[esi]a Hogykaiensi desolata, a pie defuncto Joanne Gáts Parocho Patakiensi gratuito colatas, & per supradictos Curatores Ecclesiae Kenézliensis 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 Gajda'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.*

<sup>30</sup> 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 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Nikolaus Nilles, Nyíregyháza, 2010, 247–267. Id. Artists from the Balkans in the Service of Greek Catholic Bishops (18<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>31</sup> Puskás, 2015, 138.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> From the 1770s, data on the activities of a Basilian painter, Tádé Spalinszky, are available as well.<sup>39</sup> 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

<sup>35</sup> Terdik, 2014a, 97.

<sup>36</sup> Terdik, 2014a, 65–66, 75, 250–251.

<sup>37</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup>-century transformation of the iconostasis of Tokaj, see: Terdik, 2011a, 79–80.

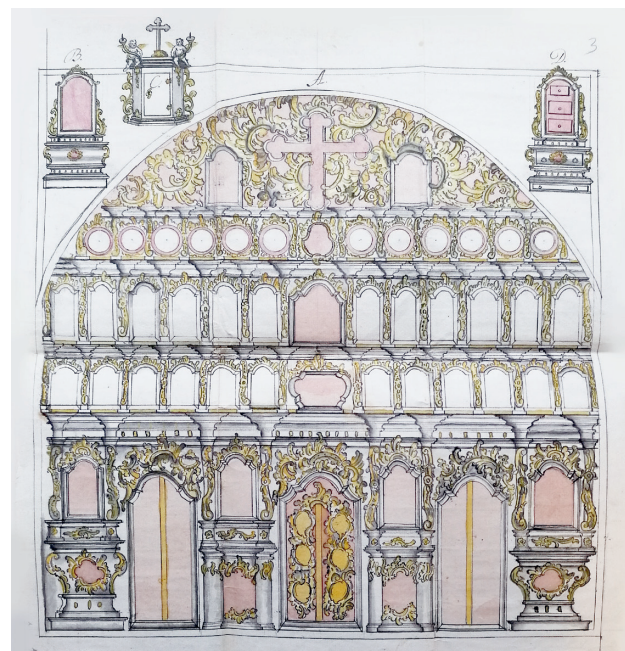
<sup>38</sup> See the study on the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty in the present volume.

<sup>39</sup> With previous literature: Puskás, 2015, 129–138.

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Spalinszky, a painter mentioned in recently explored documents, was from the same family.<sup>40</sup>

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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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



referred to in the texts of surviving contracts,<sup>43</sup> 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,<sup>44</sup> and the Velyki Kom'yaty ensemble might have been made in his workshop as well, sometime after 1792. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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

<sup>40</sup> According to a statement of accounts from 22 September 1778, András Spalinszky gilded the steeple cross of the church of Michalovce (*Nagy Mihály*) 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.

<sup>41</sup> For more detail on the subject, see: Terdik, 2014a, 91–115, 261, 264.

<sup>42</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> For example, from Hajdúdorog from 1799: Terdik, 2011a, 89–90.

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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).<sup>47</sup>

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 Bacszinsky 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*'

<sup>45</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> 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.

<sup>47</sup> On the iconostasis of Fábíánháza, see: Terdik, 2014d.

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(translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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).<sup>51</sup> The still unidentified master of the iconostasis of the church of Nyírac nád 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.<sup>52</sup>

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 Ľubovňa (*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.<sup>53</sup> Several designs associated with the document survive: two iconostasis drafts – one signed by masters from the Szepesség<sup>54</sup> and another,

<sup>48</sup> 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.

<sup>49</sup> In Maramureş, examples include Alexander Ponehalski, Radu Munteanu, as well as other anonymous painters. Cf. Bratu, 2015, 94–217.

<sup>50</sup> Terdik, 2014a, 171–173, 199–206.

<sup>51</sup> 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.

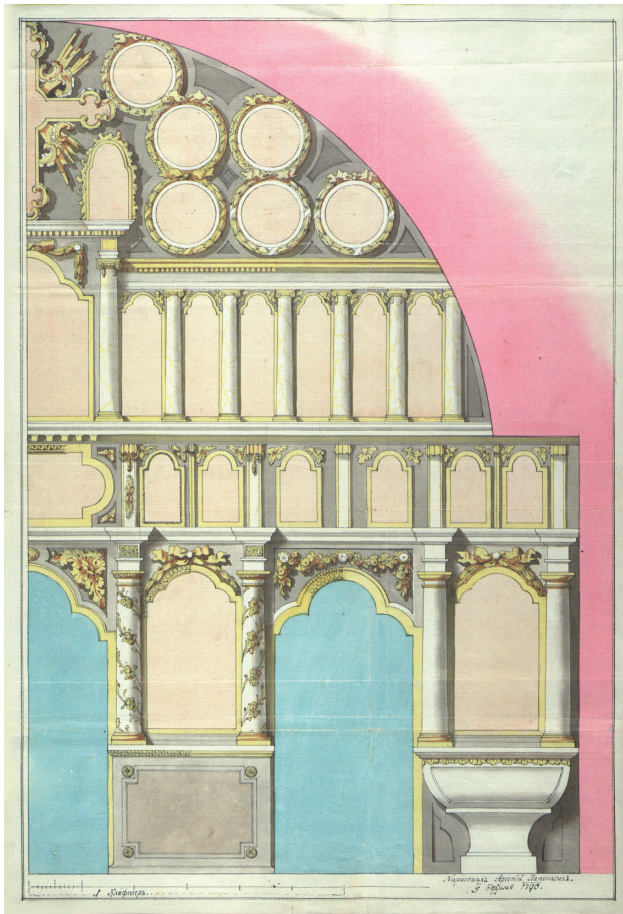
<sup>52</sup> The carpenter's name was uncovered during the latest conservation project; the reverse of one of the pilaster strips displayed the artist's autographic pencil inscription. Mihály Zetz (Setz) registered in the Carpenters' Guild of Debrecen in 1790 and was admitted the next year. On his activities, see: Zlinskyné Sternegg, Mária. A ládás asztaltól a gömbasztalig, *A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*, 60, Debrecen, 2008, 196–198. Situated on the edge of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, Nyírac nád belonged to the Eparchy of Oradea.

<sup>53</sup> 'Idcirco simplicius, et clarius Planum delineari curavi, quod etiam isthic sub NB demisse advolvo, in quo praepimis 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.

<sup>54</sup> 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).<sup>55</sup> 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).<sup>56</sup> 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).<sup>57</sup> 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.

<sup>55</sup> 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 Szepesség. 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

<sup>57</sup> 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.



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Although the Kamienka assignment was not given to him, he would subsequently receive a number of commissions from Greek Catholic clients as well.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

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.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> century, to be followed by Pádits's independent assignments (Abod, Abaújszántó).<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>

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 Szűts 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 ezlésére*), understood as a light base and the depiction of saints 'in historically realistic terms' (*a maga eredeti valóságában*), with natural colours.<sup>64</sup> 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. Szűts 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).<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> The painters of the Hajdúdorog icons drew on

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> 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 ikonosztázionja, in: Tüskés, Anna (Ed.). *Ars perennis*, Fiala Művészettörténetek II. Konferenciája, 2009, Budapest, 2010, 303–308.

<sup>60</sup> Terdik, 2011a, 50–53. For the contract made with the carver, see: *ibid.*, 89–90.

<sup>61</sup> On the activities of the Markovičs, see: Кулић, Бранка. *Новосадске дрворезбарске радионице у 18. веку*, Нови Сад, 2007. On their student, Manojlovičs, contracted for the iconostasis of Baja in 1788, see: Golub, Xénia. *Ortodox fafaragók magyarországi működéséről a legújabb kutatások tükrében*: Avram Manojlovičs képfaragó munkái, *Műemlékvédelem*, 55(2011), 366–373.

<sup>62</sup> Terdik, 2011a, 53–54.

<sup>63</sup> On this subject, see: Simić, 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.

<sup>64</sup> For the text of the contract, see: Terdik, 2011a, 90–91.

<sup>65</sup> On their assignments in Hajdúdorog and elsewhere, see: Terdik, 2011a, 54–65.

<sup>66</sup> 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.

### III.2.1

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the same engraving tradition as their contemporaries of greater significance did,<sup>67</sup> 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

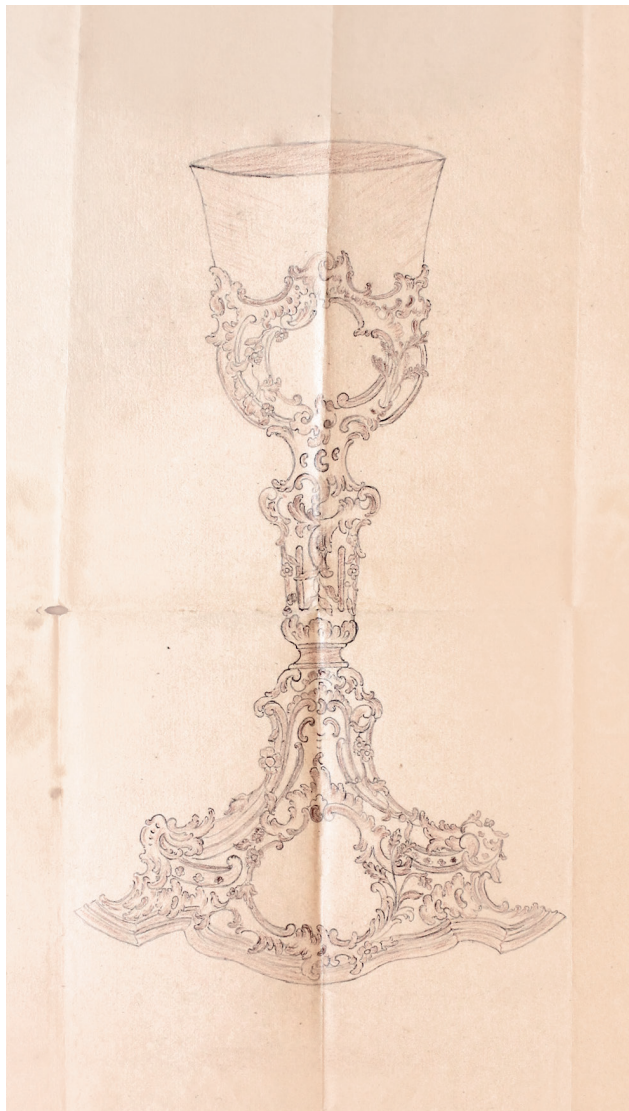
priests only to commission painters who could verify their eligibility for the assignment with a stamped certificate.<sup>68</sup> András Bacsinszky, during whose tenure the production of new church furnishings gathered a considerable momentum, is known to have issued a decree of this type, too. It seems 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.

<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> Udvari, 1994, 190. Id. *Szöveggyűjtemény a ruszin írásbeliség tanulmányozásához*, II, Blazsovszky Gábor, Olsavszky Mihály Manuel, Bradács János püspökök és korig – *Собрание источников для изучения русинской письменности*, II, Епископы Гавриил Благовский, Мануил Ольшавский, Иоанн Брадач и их время, Nyíregyháza, 2005, 72–80. Puskás, 2008, 199–200.



(13)



Diocesan Exarch Mihály Bradács recommended Mankovits to the clergy in 1813,<sup>69</sup> and he would in fact proceed to become the first official painter of the Eparchy of Mukacheve.<sup>70</sup>

Thanks to the processes taking place in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> Even in

<sup>69</sup> 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.

<sup>70</sup> Beszkid, 1914, 422.

<sup>71</sup> 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.

## III.2.1

Máriapócs, virtually the only reminders of the richness of the baroque equipment are the silver mountings of the Gospel Book.<sup>72</sup> The ample equipment of the Cathedral of Uzhorod, partly inherited from the Jesuits, is reported by a contemporary inventory.<sup>73</sup> An ornate new container for the Cathedral's relic of the True Cross, with the sumptuous 17<sup>th</sup>-century reliquaries given by Maria Theresa on its two sides, was made in the time of Bacsinzky. The former has been preserved to the present day, while the latter two have been lost.<sup>74</sup> Silverware indicating episcopal rank, which also came from Vienna, has survived as well.<sup>75</sup> 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).<sup>76</sup> In all probability, they date from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; comparable drawings are scarcely evidenced in the Hungarian material.<sup>77</sup>

It is apparent from the protocols of 18<sup>th</sup>-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.<sup>78</sup> The church did not have much more silverware in 1812,

either.<sup>79</sup> 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.

### List of pictures

1. The Greek Catholic church of Carei
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3. Royal Doors, first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Greek Catholic church of Sts Peter and Paul, Nyírlugos
4. Royal Doors, Nyírpazony, first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century
5. The iconostasis of St Nicholas' church, Sátoraljaújhely
6. Design of the iconostasis for the church of Tokaj by J. G. Ertt. DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 377, fol. 3.
7. The Royal Doors of the iconostasis of Fábánháza
8. A segment of the iconostasis of the church of the Protection of the Theotokos, Nyíraczád, 1793–1794
9. Design of the iconostasis by Arsenij Pantasić, 1790. MNL MOL, T 62. 969/4.
10. The iconostasis of the church of Hajdúdorog
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12. Moses Before the Burning Bush, a segment of the iconostasis of Hajdúdorog
13. Chalice design. DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 1669, fol. 2.
14. Drawing of Communion spoon (?), DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 1669, fol. 1.

<sup>72</sup> Terdik, 2014e, 18.

<sup>73</sup> Terdik, 2014a, 266–267.

<sup>74</sup> Terdik, 2014a, 100–104.

<sup>75</sup> Puskás, 2014, 177–178, 247–249.

<sup>76</sup> 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.

<sup>77</sup> 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.

<sup>78</sup> '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.

<sup>79</sup> 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.