

TERDIK, Szilveszter: *Görögkatolikus püspöki központok Magyarországon a 18. században. Művészet és reprezentáció* [Greek Catholic Episcopal Centres in Hungary in the Eighteenth Century: Art and Self-representation], Nyíregyháza, 2014. (Collectanea Athanasiana VI. Ars Sacra Byzantino-Carpathiensis 1) 316 pages; 290 colour, and black and white illustrations

Szilveszter Terdik's book was published by the St Athanasius Greek Catholic College of Nyíregyháza in 2014 as the first volume in the series *Collectanea Athanasiana VI, Ars Sacra Byzantino-Carpathiensis* (Series Editors: Péter Szabó and Tamás Véghseő).¹

The book is the revised version of Szilveszter Terdik's PhD dissertation ('Art and Self-representation in Hungary's Greek Catholic episcopal centres')² defended in 2012; it is no exaggeration to see it as the culmination of the first phase of the professional career of the art historian-archaeologist-theologian. This industrious period full of field-work, as well as archival and library research resulted in numerous notable publications. In addition to his primary area of interest, the artistic legacy of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, Szilveszter Terdik has written important studies on Christian iconography, church architecture, Baroque art and even twentieth-century and contemporary sacred art. His professional interest is defined by an unquenchable curiosity about and unconditional respect for the spiritual, mental and artistic heritage of Eastern and Western Christianity. More specifically, he demonstrates particular sensitivity to contact points between different traditions in any age or geographical region. Nevertheless, the focus of his attention is (necessarily) on East-Central Europe. As a corollary, as a researcher, he does not shrink from visiting locations that were added to the territory of Hungary's neighbours by the previous century's fateful imposition of new frontiers and would therefore be rather neglected by former research (partly under pressure). Szilveszter Terdik's investigations do in fact transcend borders. This orientation is best illustrated by his intentional or inadvertent attempts (as a Hungarian!), in the midst of clarifying certain art historical issues, at building bridges between Ukrainian, Romanian and Serbian professional communities earlier unaware (or ignorant?) of each other. Out of his previous works, special mention is to be made of '... by the tastes of the time and the manner of the rite' (Addenda to the art of the Greek Catholics in Hungary)³ published in 2011,³ which – as

the subtitle specifies – provided new data on the art of the Greek Catholics of Hungary. The work complements the oeuvres of such notable scholars as the pioneer of Hungarian Greek Catholic historiography, Antal Hodinka, as well as the still active István Baán, Tamás Véghseő, and, in art history, Bernadett Puskás.

What makes the latter's activity particularly noteworthy is her pioneering art historical synthesis of 2008, 'The art of the Greek Catholic Church in historic Hungary (Tradition and revival),'⁴ knowing which one rightly wonders whether Szilveszter Terdik can contribute novelties to the subject only a couple of years after Puskás' work. To put it in another way: is there enough room for two researchers in this narrow field of research, which still attracts both the laity and professionals with its peripheral exoticism rather than the promise of high artistic achievements. A comparison of the two works reveals



that Bernadett Puskás' comprehensive ground-breaking work is concentrated on the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*) in the context of Hungarian Greek Catholic art, highlighting its embedding in the Carpathian Region, including Galician antecedents and connections. Conversely, Terdik's current work deals with the establishment and development of three Uniate episcopal centres in the eighteenth century: those of Mukacheve, Făgăraș (*Fogaras*) and Oradea (*Nagyvárad*), and examines their eighteenth-century Baroque art in the context of ecclesiastical self-representation. Thus, contrary to appearances, there is little overlap between the two works. The shared themes are primarily confined to the Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs, and the Cathedral and Episcopal Residence of Uzhorod (*Ungvár*). Their 'revisiting' is justified by recent archaeological exploration and by the wealth of documents and plans discovered by Terdik of late. Puskás's endeavour provided a firm foundation for the next generations of scholars, including Szilveszter Terdik, through synthesising the knowledge accumulated to date, offering a survey of the Hungarian painting workshops and masters, as well as by elucidating theoretical questions and basic problems. In her work, Bernadett Puskás pointed to crucial details that would furnish Terdik with highly inspirational and stable starting points: the emergence of art patronage and post-Tridentine Baroque religiosity in the awakening Uniate Church of Hungary situated on the boundary of East and West. That is how the duality of 'tradition' and 'revival' inevitably defining this field of inquiry became the cornerstone of Terdik's work, which was augmented by two new aspects and themes in the categories of 'self-representation' and 'identity,' subsequently developing into the 'leitmotifs' of his enterprise. The eighteenth century was marked by the identity search of the Byzantine-rite churches united with Rome, and this is clearly reflected in the chief churches of the eparchies established in the throes of great struggles, as well as by their leaders' practices in terms of ordering works of art.

Owing to his different scholarly attitude, prior training and possibilities, Szilveszter Terdik has surpassed Bernadett Puskás's investigations in several ways. In the now more easily accessible archives outside Hungary's present-day borders [mainly those in Berehove (*Beregszász*), Oradea

and Alba Iulia (*Cyulafehérvár*)] but also in the Vienna State Archives, he has discovered valuable plans and documents that have considerably enriched our knowledge as well as contributed towards the illustrative material and source publications of his reviewed book. In addition to the many hitherto unknown archival documents, he has found and published several contemporary photos of Greek Catholic artistic heritage in Hungary (such as Elemér Kőszeghy's 1941 inventory of movable property: Documentation Department of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest). Thanks to his close professional relationship with prominent practitioners of heritage protection and conservation inside and outside the borders of Hungary, and also as a result of major restoration projects involving listed monuments in recent years, he is in a position to acquaint the reader with intriguing tricks of the trade such as the restoration of the interior decoration and furnishings of the Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs, which has opened up new research perspectives.

In the accurately written introduction, Szilveszter Terdik first outlines the historical context in which the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church was founded in its initial form. Drawing on state-of-the-art historical research, he discusses the identity search of the Byzantine-rite communities of the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania united with Rome in terms of faith, as well as the difficulties of this process extending over the whole of the eighteenth century (with repercussions well into the twentieth century). The struggle for truly autonomous ecclesiastical governance, a sensitive issue in the relationship between the Latin and Byzantine Rites, left a mark on the entire period targeted by the study.

In his book Terdik focuses on the eighteenth-century art of three Uniate eparchies, those of Mukacheve, Făgăraș and Oradea. While the Eparchy of Făgăraș, founded for the Uniate faithful of Transylvania, was created as early as 1721, the canonical establishment of the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Oradea was only achieved by Maria Theresa in the 1770s. As Terdik notes in the introduction, he does not include the eparchy of Križevci (*Kőrös*) in the Southern Territories of the Kingdom of Hungary in his discussion because of its peripheral position, lesser significance and the fragmentariness of its Baroque artistic heritage. He arranged his investigations

around a theme of increasing popularity in the humanities these days: the use of art in self-representation. This orientation accounts for the focus on the episcopal centres of the three aforementioned eparchies, as well as the architectural and artistic aspects of their development.

The author identifies the main characteristic of the use of art in self-representation of the Greek Catholic Church of Hungary as a dual set of expectations: On the one hand, the faithful demanded consistent observance of the eastern traditions, and, on the other, the Holy See and the Habsburg Court required the complete implementation of the Catholic reform principles enacted by the Council of Trent. Greek Catholic church leaders thus strove to 'harmonize' East and West – an effort obviously not devoid of conflicts – in their practice of ordering works of art as well. The introductory text supplies an emphatic account of the other key concept logically related to the use of art in self-representation: identity. In his book, Terdik tries to capture the evolution of the self-image of the religious community he knows from inside through the architectural and artistic formation of the episcopal centres, first and foremost of the cathedrals concerned, at this incipient stage of the development of ecclesiastical organisation.

At first, Greek Catholic episcopal representation was restricted to the Basilian monasteries, the immediate surroundings of the monk-bishops, and, subsequently, to the city cathedrals and their interior furnishings, built in the respective bishops' place of residence. In the evaluation of their artistic products – as the author stresses – the social embedding of the Hungarian Uniate clergy must be kept in mind as it was significantly different from that of the Latin clergy. Only in a few cases did the art of the Greek Catholic episcopal residences, which eventually gained independence in the late eighteenth century, prove worthy of thorough analysis.

The first half of the book devoted to the Eparchy of Mukacheve begins with an outline of the history of St Nicholas' Monastery of Chernecha Hora (*Csernek-hegy*); the former Orthodox episcopal centre housed the first bishops of the Uniate faithful from the Union of Uzhhorod (1646) to 1751. In this first period, beset by Ottoman devastation and denominational strives, poorly documented for posterity but increasingly more conclusively researched these days, the life of the

Uniate senior clergy was determined by problems more mundane than the question of commissioning works of art: their battle for survival. Amidst the chaotic conditions of the seventeenth century, the bishops living in the Monastery of Mukacheve were at the mercy of the advowees and exposed to their changes of denomination and the constant conflicts with the monastery superiors about the distribution of revenues. The right to appoint bishops was equally claimed by the king, Rome and the lords of Mukacheve. The consolidation of Mukacheve, as a Uniate episcopal seat, began under Bishop János József De Camillis (1689–1706), though his successors, including György Gennadius Bizánczy (1716–1733), could not live in the monastery (in the smaller episcopal residence built by De Camillis in 1693) owing to the dispute with the monks. Upon the order of the Queen, Mihály Mánuel Olsavszky (1743–1767) eventually had to move out. It was at that time that the construction of a new residence commenced in the city of Mukacheve but it was never completed.

The author summarised all the available data on the early, seventeenth-century buildings of the Monastery of Mukacheve, all the more so as all newly discovered sources of the church described as a 'rotunda' in earlier literature⁵ and dated to 1661 – such as the survey drawing by master builder András Oratschek of the Castle of Uzhhorod, decorated with figural additions, published in this work for the first time, or József Balajthy's local historical writings on Mukacheve⁶ written little after the demolition of the old monastery church and published in 1828–36 – are highly informative. As regards the furnishings, Terdik found sources in Hodinka's legacy (1783), stored in the Manuscript Division of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, as well as in the Archives of Berehove, on the basis of which he manages to produce a life-like reconstruction of the church interior despite the laconism of the respective sources. Typical of the book is the excursus Terdik was prompted to make by a recently identified piece of data he found in one of the sources above (further elucidated by additional sources of different origins). He digresses on the eighteenth-century use of the monstrance and participation in the Corpus Christi processions, that is, the accommodation of the Byzantine-rite community to the requirements of the Latin Rite.

The chapter on the Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs provides an up-to-date overview of all the knowledge available on this prime baroque shrine of worship of the Hungarian Kingdom, permanently popular with the Latin-rite population as well. Although this place of pilgrimage and its artistic aspects are among the most thoroughly studied chapters in the history of Greek Catholicism in Hungary as proven by many art historical publications from the past few decades,⁷ the all-round restoration of the church in 2010 resulted in so many new insights that a summary of these in the reviewed book is well justified and timely. In evaluating the importance of the Church of Máriapócs – practically functioning as the ‘Cathedral’ in place of the one in Mukacheve during Mánuel Olsavszky’s episcopacy – Terdik makes a point by stressing that the peaceful coexistence of the Greek and Latin Rites owed a lot to the use of different calendars, which ensured the parallel celebration of feasts for both rites, without time clashes, until the calendar unification of 1916. The origins of this place of pilgrimage and the history of the miraculous icon(s) were discussed from various angles in earlier historical and art historical literature, including the author’s own works. This time, however, he also relies on a piece of writing by Pastor Uriel (Iván Szilvay) (‘Our treasures, or the description of the first wonder-working holy icons of Mária-pócs, Mikola, the second icons of Mária-pócs, Pálfalva and Klokocsó’), published in Uzhhorod in 1907,⁸ so far overlooked by research. In what follows, it is justified why it was not redundant to summarise again the history of the construction of the Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs, built in two phases, between 1731 and 1749, as well as in 1757.

The plans of master builder Nikodémus Liczky of Košice (*Kassa*), made in 1730 (Archiepiscopal Archives of Eger), were published by Szilveszter Terdik in his study on the art patronage activities of Demeter Rácz in 2007.⁹ The phrase *ad normam Ruthenicam*, which can be read in the document of 1730 and appears in several other contemporary sources in various wordings, may refer – in the author’s view – to the special floor-plan with *kliroses* (additional spaces or lateral apses accommodating the cantors’ stalls at the east end of the nave) on the one hand, and in general, to the small turrets defining the contour of the Church of Máriapócs as well,

on the other hand. (*Fig. 1*) As for the former, there are several parallel theories to explain its origins. Terdik handles the issue with utmost care and thoughtfulness. He takes into account the possible impact of Moldavian monastery architecture transmitting Byzantine models but also emphasises – as a more likely prototype – the influence of centralising baroque floor plans stemming from the master builder’s person. In his 2011 monograph, Terdik already elaborated upon the tradition of small turrets with lanterns so popular in the Carpathian Region.¹⁰ These were added to the church as a result of plan modifications during the episcopacy of Mánuel Olsavszky, therefore mirroring the change of taste in the 1740s. Though Szilveszter Terdik has returned to the history of the construction of the Church of Máriapócs in several of his publications (his study of 2008 – ‘So far unknown sources about the building and interior decoration of the pilgrims’ church of Máriapócs’¹¹ – deserves special attention in this respect), so far unpublished minor findings are also incorporated in the present volume.

The next subchapter of the book scrutinises the architectural features of the pilgrimage church on the basis of surviving eighteenth-century graphic sources in the context of other – now regrettably entirely non-existent – Basilian monasteries of the region from the same period. Some old photographs of the Monastery Church of Maliy Berezniy (*Kisberezna*) (1742) may also give the reader some idea of the original façade proportions of the Church of Máriapócs prior to the nineteenth-century construction of the towers. Another contemporaneous monastery church was built in the Upper-Zemplén place of pilgrimage, Krásny Brod (*Krasznibród*) (1752). Compared to them, the more massive and taller *kliroses* of the Church of Máriapócs are conspicuous and enhance the impression of a centralised baroque layout. A feature shared by all three churches (more accurately, in case of the Church of Máriapócs, it may be established from a 1750 floor-plan) is the partitioning of the sacristy from the central apse at its very end. This, in Szilveszter Terdik’s opinion, is a peculiarity of Hungarian Basilian architecture, although, from a liturgical point of view, it is not a particularly felicitous arrangement.

The painter of the Baroque decoration of the Church of Máriapócs, originally from Košice,



Fig. 1. The Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs seen from the southeast (photo: Gellért Áment)

wholly adhering to western models, was identified by Terdik earlier as ‘Veres alias Izbéghy István’ (István Veres alias Izbéghy) on the basis of archival sources. The frescoes repainted during the renovation of the church in 1896 and later in 1943 retained their Baroque structure together with elements characteristic of Pozzoesque illusionistic architecture, which – as the author convincingly proves – is in close formal and stylistic relation with the ceiling fresco of the Dominican Church of Košice. Thereby, and by the accurate attribution of the painted decoration of the Church of Máriapócs, Terdik provides additional arguments in support of Veres (or his workshop) as the painter of the Dominican Church. This assumption surfaced previously, too, but, subsequently, it would be dismissed in art historical research for a while. The frescoes in Máriapócs confirm that Veres painted not only oil paintings but frescoes as well. For the reconstruction of the painted decoration as it was in the Baroque Age,

Terdik also made recourse to the recollections and contemporary photos of the Basilians. (Fig. 2)

Most of the author’s findings about the interior of the Church of Máriapócs, mainly in relation to the icon screen, have already been published. This time, however, they constitute a self-contained entity together with the exemplary analysis of the formal system of the iconostasis, as well as with subchapters on the subsequent transformations of the high altar, the side-altars (under influence from the Latin Rite; the altar of the Conventual Franciscans in Nyírbátor) and the transfer of the miraculous icon. Evaluating the outcome of the 2010 restoration, the author retraces the development of the current state of the icon screen, differentiating phases on the basis of subtle stylistic observations. (Fig. 3) Strange as it may seem, the iconostasis of Máriapócs carved by master Konstantinos Thaliodoros is rooted deeper in the past of the Balkans than any icon screen of the Orthodox minorities of Hungary,



Fig. 2. István Izbéghy Veres: Evangelist; fresco in the Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs during cleaning, 1943 (photo: Tivadar Szirtes OSBM, Máriapócs, The Basilian Collection)

dating from the same period. (The stylistically closest iconostases in the territory of historic Hungary were also made upon the request of the Uniate communities, namely for the Cathedrals of Blaj (*Balázsfalva*) and Oradea.¹² Despite including quite a large number of Greeks, the Balkan ethnic groups migrating to Hungary from the late seventeenth century apparently abandoned the traditions of their homeland rather early with regard to the wood carving patterns of iconostases. That was obviously precipitated by the new, officially declared Ukrainian orientation of the Serbian Church (to which they belonged) as of the 1740s, as a result of which the traditional eastern Slavic iconostases were to be emulated in the furnishings of the major Serbian churches at the time of the carving of the icon screen of Máriapócs. This explains the piquancy of the situation that in the mid-eighteenth cen-



Fig. 3. Iconostasis, the Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs (photo: Gellért Áment)

tury the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church with strong Ruthenian roots displays closer contacts with Balkan-Greek than with Russo-Ukrainian wood carving.

With reference to a rich stock of as yet unpublished plans from the Vienna State Archives, the chapter entitled *Az egyházmegye új székhelye: Ungvár* [‘The new centre of the Eparchy: Uzhhorod’] presents the rise of the new centre of the Eparchy of Mukacheve, eventually established by Maria Theresa canonically in 1771. The idea of turning the Castle of Uzhhorod, deprived of its military function, and the castle church, which was in need of renovation, into the centre of the Eparchy becoming independent in a Catholic sense as well, materialised after the failure of the construction work in Mukacheve. The first plans for the rebuilding of the church were made by master builder Joseph Simmet. As they were not found satisfactory in Vienna, on the initiative of the Court Treasury – in agreement with court architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt – new grandiose plans were produced by Johann Grenner in 1774.¹³ Terdik presents the complete set of 10 beautiful sheets as well as documents related to

Grenner's design including Hillebrandt's opinion in the Appendix. Grenner's ambitious plan encompassing the entire outer bailey, the most exciting part of which was to have been the cathedral building composed upon the old Italian bastion on a Greek cross plan with an oval central dome, could not be realised for lack of resources. This in turn gave rise to the idea of converting the Jesuit house in the Castle's vicinity into an episcopal residence and the church of the disbanded order into the Uniate cathedral. From then on, the Castle of Uzhhorod would only house the sixty-strong seminary. The Jesuits' property was transferred to András Bacsinszky, Bishop of Mukacheve (1772–1809), in 1775. The execution of the new Uzhhorod project was later supervised by Lorenz Lander, who had worked for Grenner as an assistant.

In conjunction with the presentation of the new Greek Catholic cathedral created by means of converting the Jesuit church, Terdik provides extensive descriptions of both the furnishings of the antecedent, as well as their adaptation to the Byzantine Rite.¹⁴ The author could reconstruct the building and original interior arrangement of the still extant second Jesuit church presumably built in 1732–1734 on the basis of the *Historia Domus*, the journal of the convent and other valuable archival sources. Concerning the changes required by the Greek Rite, he could glean data from documents finally transferred to Berehove. One such intriguing document is the protocol about the delivery submitted to the Council of the Governor-General as it reveals which items of the furnishings were kept by Bishop Bacsinszky and which ones he ceded to the Latin-rite parishes of the area, in compliance with the Queen's order. The Jesuits' high altar was moved to the Roman Catholic church of Michalovce (*Nagy Mihály*), probably upon the initiative of Count Mihály Sztáray, who lived in the area. Out of the side altars, the Greek Catholics appear to have been most attached to the altar dedicated to King Saint Stephen, which they kept with the intention of continuing to conduct Latin-rite masses. Through a strange twist of fate, at his current place of employment, the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, the author was able to locate new information about two chasubles among the liturgical textiles of Uzhhorod preserved from the Jesuit period.

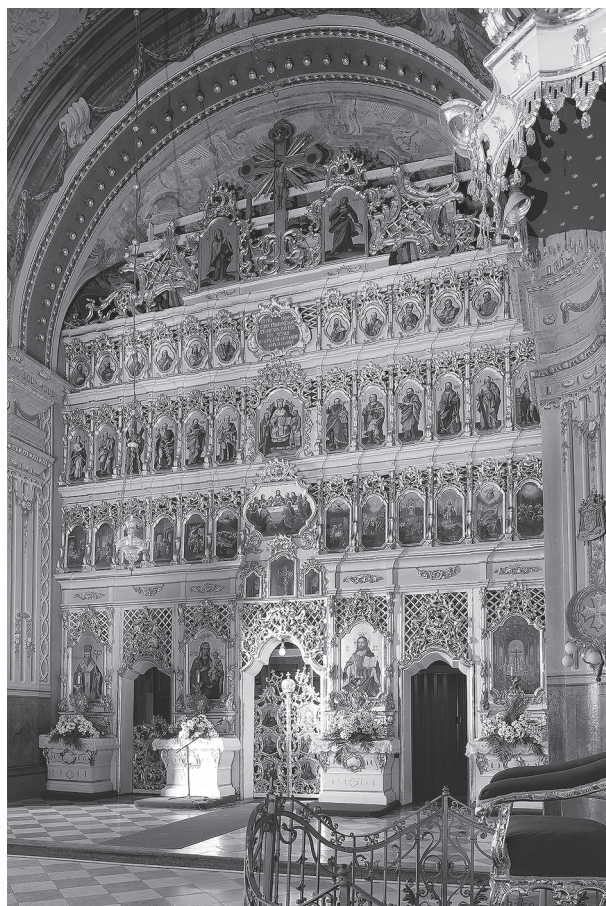


Fig. 4. Iconostasis, Cathedral of Uzhhorod
(photo: Attila Mudrák)

The chapter on the transformation of the sanctuary begun in 1775 is an excellent proof of the author's versatile use of the sources, his attention to minutiae and his refined sense of style. By picking from a multitude of earlier mostly unknown sources, he unfurls the history of the furnishings of the Cathedral with an enviable degree of tangibility. In addition to the ample information contained in the documents and drawings from Berehove (on the activity of Franz Feck, a carver from Košice, and his brother, Johann), equally important are his subtle definition of stylistic analogies as well as his additional findings on the still unsettled 'Spalinszky Question.' (Fig. 4) Szilveszter Terdik has managed to identify the so-far known earliest work of Mihály Spalinszky, who completed the majority of the paintwork of the furnishings in the Cathedral: a signed Annunciation illustration in the album of the Uzhhorod Sodality of Our Lady, commissioned by the Jesuits in 1756. (Fig. 5) By collating Elemér Kőszeghy's inventory of movable



Fig. 5. Mihály Spalinszky: Annunciation; formerly in the book of the Sodality of Our Lady; Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, Documentation Department, Elemér Kőszeghy's inventory of movable property (photo: Elemér Kőszeghy, 1941)

property (1941) in the Documentation Department of the Museum of Applied Arts and the local sources (accounts book of the Cathedral from the 1780s), he has culled further interesting facts, e.g. about the reliquaries placed unusually above the Royal Doors of the iconostasis (the relic in the Holy Cross reliquary was 'inherited' from the Jesuits; the other two listed in the Kőszeghy inventory were presented to the Greek Catholics by the Queen). From the documents of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, the author also succeeded in identifying the painters who decorated the sanctuary. Out of them, Sebastian Hirschlinger of Humenné (*Homonna*), whom Terdik presumes to have contributed to the painted decoration of the state-room of the Episcopal Palace of Uzhhorod, has not been recorded by art history before. As required by Byzantine practice, *kliruses* (cantors' stalls) were accommodated in the

front lateral chapels of the Cathedral, whereas the altars in the other four chapels suggest the adoption of the Latin praxis (the only examples in this regard from the 1780s may be found in the main churches of the Greek Catholic bishops).

The texts on the consecration of the Cathedral published in this work also confirm that Bishop Bacsinszky and his Uniate congregation felt indebted to the Monarch, who promoted the episcopal constructions, without whose generosity, the Mukacheve-Uzhhorod episcopal centre could not have been created and developed even in the modest form permitted by the circumstances. The finest visual evidence of this is the set of recently uncovered wall paintings of the state-room in the Episcopal Palace of Uzhhorod attributed by the author to Hischlinger, aimed at glorifying Maria Theresa and her family, and showing close connections with the painted decoration of the Csáky Mansion in Humenné. (Fig. 6)

The second major unit of the book is devoted to the Eparchy of Făgăraș. Similarly to the Eparchy of Mukacheve, in the history of this Bishopric a change of seat was effected, which was in many ways associated with the alterations of representational needs apart from the historical constraints in the last third of the eighteenth century. Introducing the section, the author specifies the fundamentally different ecclesiastic and social structure of the Transylvanian Greek Catholics and their different political situation in comparison with the Eparchy of Mukacheve. Aside from their previously achieved canonical independence (1721), this was perhaps chiefly manifest in their powerful confrontation with Orthodoxy. The first Uniate episcopal seat was established in Făgăraș. For his cathedral, Bishop János Pataky (1715–1727) occupied the Church of St Nicholas, built by Constantin Brâncoveanu, Prince of Wallachia (1688–1714). The episcopal residence, the plans of which Terdik also found in the Vienna State Archives, was not completed. After Pataky's death (1727) and the rekindled conflict with the Orthodox community, the new Uniate bishop, Inochentie Micu Klein, took the cause of the creation of the episcopal centre into his own hands. His correspondence with Vienna in 1731–1732 reveals that Bishop Klein wanted to have a monastery built in Făgăraș – in line with Byzantine traditions – but his plan was foiled. Eventually, a chance arose for the Bishop



Fig. 6. State-room of the Episcopal Palace in Uzhhorod after restoration (photo: Gábor Kovács)

of Făgăraș to create a real seat when the estate of Blaj was acquired in 1736. In the same year Bishop Klein (1729–1751) moved into the sixteenth–seventeenth-century Red Castle and had its former Calvinist oratory converted into an episcopal chapel. In a separate chapter Terdik synthesises all the available data on the iconostasis of the chapel demolished in 1913, which have been interpreted rather diversely by Romanian art historians as well. Tradition has it that when Bishop Petru Pavel Aron (1752–1764) died, the icon of the Theotokos in the Sovereign tier of the iconostasis of the chapel shed tears (1764). To investigate the miracle, the icon was transported to Vienna. On the basis of the official protocols, Terdik is also inclined to attribute the painting of the Virgin Mary to Grigore Ranite, who made a copy of the picture in 1764. The reconstruction of the oeuvre of Grigore (Gregory) Ranite born into a Wallachian family of painters, working on assignments commissioned by Romanian and Serbian Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities in several places, is made difficult by the fact that in both Romanian and Serbian research there is a perceptible tendency to con-

fuse him with his brother of a very similar name, the painter Gheorghe (George) Ranite, who also worked on the iconostasis of St Michael's Church in Szentendre, as revealed by the church *Protocollum*. At any rate, the surviving fragments of the icon screen of the chapel in Blaj suggest that the Uniate Bishop of Făgăraș fully embraced the Byzantine artistic traditions of his ancestors and the region dominated in his eparchy by the Wallachian, so-called Brâncoveanu style, a continuation of the noblest trends of the Athonite late Byzantine painting of the Balkans.

The construction of the new stately episcopal centre began in Blaj a few hundred metres away from the old castle in 1738 after the 'Master Builder of the Imperial Court', Jakob Baptist Martinelli (1701–1757), had designed the new cathedral and three residential wings in a U-shape around it (for the bishop, the monks and the seminarians).¹⁵ The brunt of the costs was undertaken by the Vienna Court, but Bishop Klein also pledged to have his clergy contribute to the budget of the large-scale constructions for a period of five years. A separate chapter discusses the process of the construction prolonged

for forty years, beleaguered by constant conflicts between the court, the bishop and the clergy, as well as by three changes of bishops. The author presents and analyses Johann Baptist Martinelli's impressive plans (Vienna State Archives), pointing out the architectural features of the Cathedral characteristic of the circle of Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach (citing the parish church of Grossweikersdorf as an analogy). The Church of Blaj may have been completed by 1749, but the interrupted palace construction was only finished after some necessary restoration work later (1775–1779). The Cathedral as it stands today shows signs of the 1838 reconstruction, but the interior is still reflective of the original concept of the customer. (Fig. 7)

Under the agreement of 1738, all the costs of the interior decoration and furnishing were to be defrayed by the Bishop. The painting of the Cathedral dedicated to the Holy Trinity, confined only to the dome, was completed in rigid adherence to the late Byzantine canon by Iacov Zugraf, a painter from Rășinari (*Resinár*), contracted by Vicar Petru Pavel Aron in 1748. The painter's signature was uncovered in a recent restoration. Szilveszter Terdik analyses the iconography of the fresco of the cupola succinctly, with accurate definition of the theological contents. The pictorial programme represents a clear continuation of Eastern Christian traditions, but in the selection of the depicted hierarchs and doctors of the Church, and more emphatically in the inscriptions ('Popes' Saint Athanasius the Great and Saint John the Merciful), it stresses affiliations with the Western Church. (Fig. 8)

The carver of the iconostasis in Blaj, particularly richly adorned with both ornamental and figural elements largely preserving its original polychrome painting (Fig. 9) is unknown at the moment, but its closest stylistic analogies are the icon screen of Máriapócs and the former iconostasis of Oradea (today found in Vadu Crișului [*Körösrév*]). This prompts Terdik to surmise that the carver of the iconostasis made immediately after that of Máriapócs, in 1750–1751, was also master Konstantinos Thaliodoros from Constantinople or his workshop. The icons on the iconostasis of Blaj were painted by different masters between 1762 and 1765. Despite his thorough familiarity with the relevant Romanian and Serbian literature, the author proposes a convinc-



Fig. 7. Main façade of the Cathedral of Blaj in the early twentieth century (Budapest, Forster Gyula National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, Photo-archive 33540N)

ing hypothesis, attributing – on the grounds of stylistic criticism – the entire icon screen, except for the crest, to the Orthodox painter Stefan Tenecki of Arad, whose signature is displayed on the icon of Christ in the Sovereign tier. Tenecki left behind a rich collection of paintings in the Orthodox churches of today's Hungary as well, and a multitude of his students would dominate the Serbo-Romanian Orthodox art of the Serbian Eparchies of Arad and Timișoara (*Temesvár*) even in the next century. Nonetheless, Tenecki's activity is not adequately researched; a monographic account of his oeuvre and his wide-ranging influence would be absolutely timely. For some time, indeed, he must have been the 'court' painter of the Serbian Bishop of Arad (Isaija Antonović, born in Buda in 1696, later to become a monk in Ráckeve and Bishop of Arad from 1731 to 1749) and as such he received important commissions in the Serbian Orthodox Eparchy of Buda. He painted the first Baroque iconostasis of the Serbian church of Pest, too. As has been demonstrated by more recent Roma-

nian research, alongside Tenecki of Ukrainian-Russian training (data on his Russian schooling are available, though he cannot be found among the students of the Kiev Lavra), the Wallachian Grigore Ranite mentioned above also worked on the icons in the crest of the iconostasis of the Uniate church of Blaj in 1764. The collaboration of the two masters of different education, on the most important iconostasis of the Uniate Eparchy of Făgăraș resulted in a peculiar combination of different trends of post-Byzantine painting. A separate chapter deals with the symbolic representations of the icon screen, revealing a unique blend of Byzantine traditions and western influences. Truly unparalleled (among comparable early specimens) are the ten Marian symbols in the small medallions of the Royal Doors, which

also testify to Tenecki's Ukrainian-western training. The author adduces the possible textual and visual sources of the Marian symbols, with special regard to the 'emblem' of the mirror unknown in the Byzantine tradition but adopted by Orthodoxy as of the late seventeenth century.¹⁶ (Fig. 10) The theological explanation of the unusual Theotokos depictions on iconostases proves again the analyst's enviable competence and empathy. True to his reception-centric thinking, Szilveszter Terdik touches upon a sore spot: How could the Transylvanian Greek Catholic Bishop employ Tenecki, possibly the most prominent Orthodox painter of the region, for his most important commission while denominational clashes between the Orthodox and Uniates were rather common those days? The answer must be complex, partly

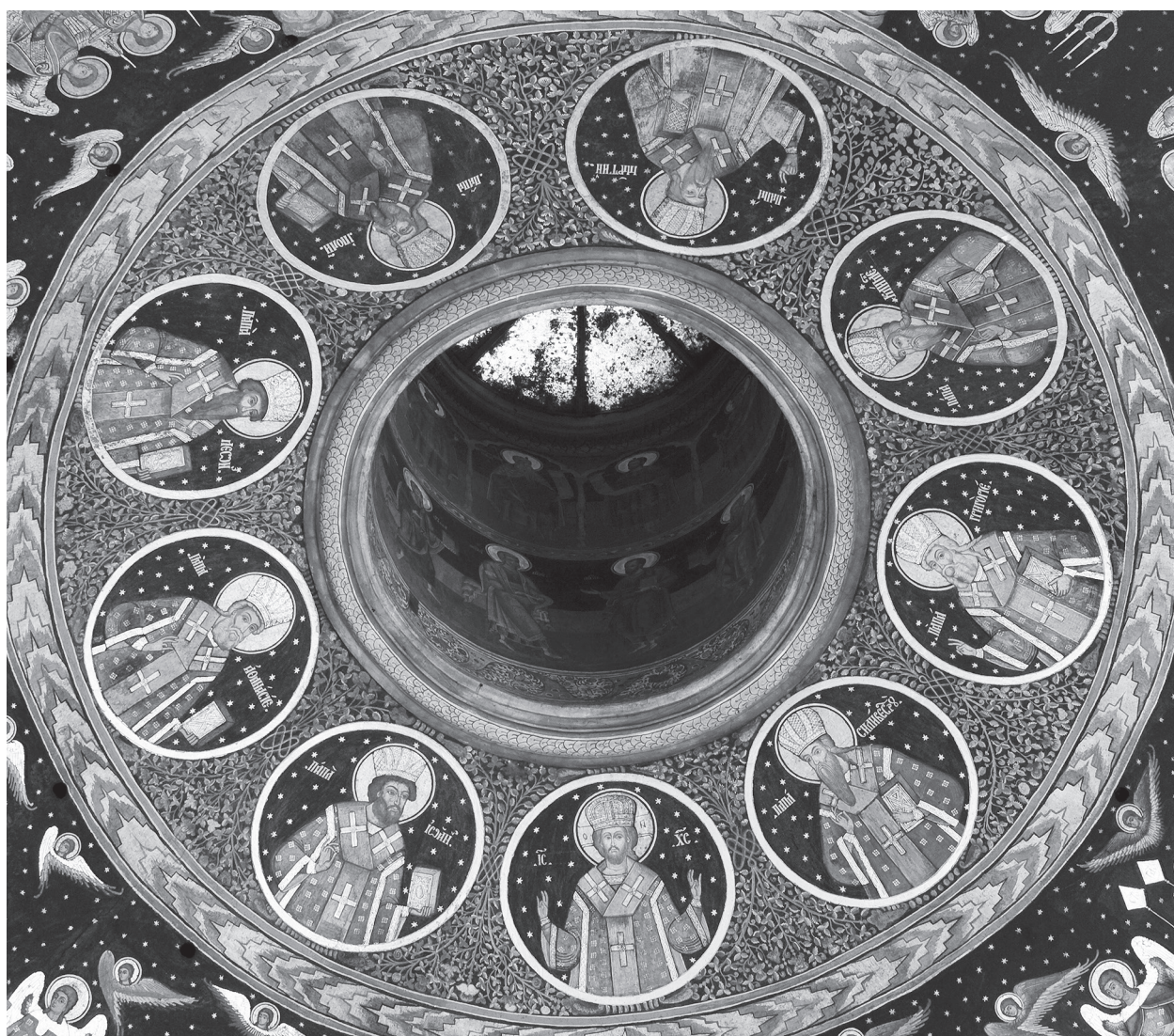


Fig. 8. Iacov din Rășinari: Christ the High Priest with popes; dome fresco, detail, Cathedral of Blaj (photo: Ana Dumitran)



Fig. 9. Iconostasis, Cathedral of Blaj
(photo: Szilveszter Terdik)

due to the shortage of Uniate painters and partly due to the mistrust of Latin painters. The latter factor might suggest that the senior clergy of the Eparchy of Făgăraș were not so keen on protecting the Uniate dogmas ('content') as on the consistent application of Byzantine artistic forms ('form').

The third section of the book takes a look at the evolution of the seat of the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Oradea canonically established in 1777. From 1748 it was headed by Meletius Kovács (of Aromanian origin) and from 1776 by Mózes Drágossy, as a bishop endowed with full authority. As of 1781, in accordance with the Monarch's decree, the subsistence of the Nagyvárád eparchy was to be ensured from the Beiuș (Belényes) Estate ceded by the Latin Bishopric. The Greek Catholic Church of Oradea, dedicated to Saint Nicolas, later to be elevated to the rank of cathedral, was probably built between 1739 and 1744 still upon the initiative of the Latin bishop for his Byzantine-rite vicar. Soon, in 1757, the question of transforming the church as well as the adjoining parish building and school was considered. Meletius Kovács



Fig. 10. Royal Doors of the iconostasis
of the Cathedral of Blaj (photo: Éva Galambos)

contracted master builder Domenico Italus to make survey drawings, which also featured the base-plan of the prospective stone tower of the church. (Terdik reproduces the sheet preserved in the Austrian State Archives.) The protraction of the tower construction is clearly indicated by a plan by Joseph Hoffmann from 1784 and a contract with Jacob Éder, a master mason from Oradea, signed in the same year. The second source from Oradea presented in the book, which dates from the time of Bishop Ignác Darabanth (1788–1805), reveals that the tower was erected only in the last two years of the century. Thus, the Uniate faithful of Oradea were outstripped by their main rival, the Orthodox community of the city, who had built their imposing church – a model for church architecture in the region for a long time – between 1784 and 1790. This circumstance could also give new impetus for the Greek Catholic bishop's decision to construct a new cathedral attached to the tower built amid serious difficulties. In 1804 the assignment

was given to Éder, the builder of the Orthodox church.¹⁷

A separate chapter is devoted to the furnishings of the first Uniate church of Oradea raised to cathedral rank. They luckily survived the vicissitudes described above as the items were transferred after minor modifications to the parish church of Vadu Crişului in Bihar County. A richly illustrated painstaking analysis supports the assumption that the carving of the iconostasis can be traced to the same workshop as that of Máriapócs and Blaj, and thus dating it to the early 1750s appears convincing, too. (*Fig. 11*) Its painted decoration abounding in Greek and Romanian donation inscriptions for the year 1763 has been overlooked by the Romanian researchers for some reason so far. Accurately analysing their stylistic properties, Szilveszter Terdik traces the icons to the Moscopole workshop of Teodor Simeonov Gruntović (also called

Teodor Sina Krudi). The workshop's heritage material of later periods, found in today's Hungary offers a more limited amount of detail and refinement (the painting of the Serbian churches of Ráckeve and Székesfehérvár, as well as independent icons from a number of other parishes with a mostly Aromanian majority, perhaps with the exception of the icons associated with Gyöngyös). Some secondary icons of the iconostasis (in the small fields below the icons of the Sovereign tier or the painted ornaments of the crest) were probably added by another painter, perhaps in 1768 as the inscription on the iconostasis suggests. Out of the furnishings of the Cathedral, apart from the iconostasis, the pulpit and bishop's throne presumably carved in the same workshop at the same time also survive in the church of Vadu Crişului, but their painted decoration is more likely to have been completed by the master working in the second phase.¹⁸ The

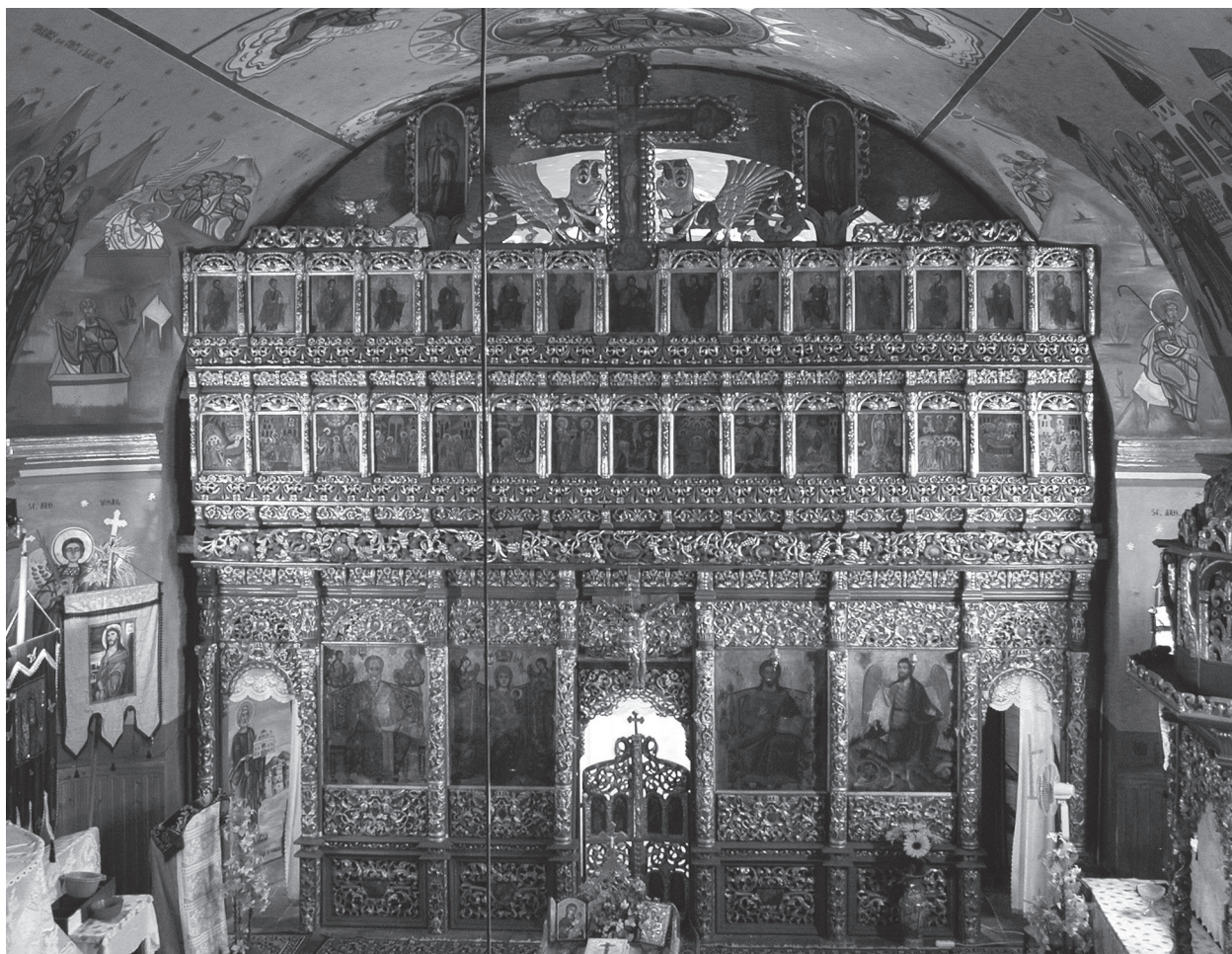


Fig. 11. Iconostasis of the first Greek Catholic church of Oradea in the Orthodox church of Vadu Crişului (photo: Szilveszter Terdik)

two wrought iron stands featuring the images of Christ and Mary in the oval medallions opening in a door-like fashion, with the half-length portraits of Joseph II and Maria Theresa dressed in mourning concealed behind them, in a size identical to the outer pictures, are the unique accessories of the Greek Catholic Cathedral of Oradea even today. (Fig. 12) Possibly made in 1777, the year of the canonical establishment of the eparchy, the objects must be expressions of the Greek Catholics' loyalty to the Monarch, similarly to the wall paintings of the Episcopal Palace in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, referred to above.

The section on the Eparchy of Oradea concludes with the description of the new cathedral completed in 1812 (Fig. 13) and the Episcopal Palace. The carvings of the new iconostasis of the church were made by János Weisz, an arts teacher from the national school of Oradea, who is rightly considered as the maker of the Greek Catholic icon screen in Beiuș and even of the one in the Orthodox Church of the Dormition ('Moon Church') in Oradea, too. As if to rise above denominational differences, the icons of the latter two were painted by Arsenije Teodorović, the leading Serbian master of the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who made the iconostasis of the main church of the Serbian Eparchy of Buda as well. The bishop's residence in Oradea was converted from a dwelling house purchased by the Eparchy. Since it was completely demolished in the twentieth century, it may only be speculated that it had been constructed according to the plans of Josef Hoffmann, an architect also working on assignments commissioned by the Roman Catholic Church in the neighbourhood.

The summary following the detailed introduction of the three eparchies provides a profound theoretical-ideological background on a par with the multitude of new information presented in the book. With accents on the crucial issues of the selected theme, Terdik produces a synthesis with a high degree of perspicacity and a good sense of proportion, and draws the necessary conclusions about the frameworks of self-representation through art and the attitude to tradition and post-Tridentine innovation. It is an important concluding remark that the organizational-structural transformation of the episcopal seats previously functioning under monastic circumstances took place through the adoption of the Latin ecclesias-



Fig. 12. Iron stand with the portrait of Joseph II in the Greek Catholic Cathedral of Oradea (photo: Szilveszter Terdik)



Fig. 13. Saint Nicholas' Greek Catholic Cathedral seen from the southeast, Oradea (photo: Szilveszter Terdik)

tic structures when the Greek Catholic eparchies were established canonically. This also required the allocation of the necessary resources for the functioning of the eparchy from the Monarch and the Chamber, which in turn implied new possibilities for the training and remuneration of the clergy. This development also had its imprint

on artistic taste. As the author rightly highlights, structural transformation influenced the attitude of the communities and their leaders to tradition. The bishops of Transylvania and Oradea had to define their identity in contradistinction to Orthodoxy in the first place, while in the Eparchy of Mukacheve there was practically no threat of disruption to the union from the 1720s onwards. Adherence to traditional forms was rather strong in the artistic commissions of the Uniate eparchies under investigation in spite of the fact that in the eighteenth century there were hardly any Greek Catholic masters to fulfil them. Orthodox wood carvers and decorators had to be contracted to produce the furnishings, and Roman Catholic masters played a great role in designing the buildings and decorating the walls – e.g. of the Church of Máriapócs. It is also revealed in the summary that the demand to retain the traditional artistic idiom was realized differently in each church analysed for the purposes of the study, displaying a startling diversity. This is further proof that the meticulous examination of the heritage material concerned was conclusive, indicating the potential for extensive future research. The volume ends with some particularly interesting points about the manifestations of the Tridentine forms: After the Synod of Zamość (1720), they could only be discerned in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, with hardly any influence of them in the Romanian eparchies. Latinisation, which further intensified in the nineteenth century, resulted in the erection of side altars, lockable tabernacles or coffin-shaped altar tables in front of altar pieces or icon screens (or along the walls as in Máriapócs and Uzhhorod). The custom of putting altar-like tables in front of the icons of the Sovereign tier spread in parish churches, which, as the author remarks, were never used by Byzantine priests for celebrating the Mass. Especially valuable is the author's conclusion concerning the transformation of the pictorial idiom of the icons: The appearance of the baroque artistic idiom did not mean a fundamental change in the attitude of the Byzantine Christian communities (and also of the Orthodox Christians of Hungary) to icons but merely 'the obscuration of theological reflection,' as he aptly puts it. Importantly, in his argumentation the concept of '*nyugatoság*' (the imitation of western patterns), so frequently used in the Hungarian literature on the Orthodox heritage of

Hungary as a stylistic category or a distinctive yet extremely vague attribute, is filled with real content and acquires its art-, church- and liturgy-historical meaning. This, in turn, points far beyond the 'Byzantine' *vs* 'western-like' opposition, which appears to have predominated the analysis of eighteenth-century specimens of Hungary's Eastern Christian art, and must therefore be revised as it glosses over the infinite variety represented by the heritage material peculiar to East-Central Europe, informed by diverse sources.

The final chapter of the book defines the episcopal cathedrals as the scene of the search for denominational identity. The commissions given by the Greek Catholic bishops are interpreted as attempts at the self-definition of the church, and references are made to the few sources from which the self-interpretation or self-reflection of Hungary's Byzantine Catholics of the respective period may be reconstructed. The memoranda submitted to the Hungarian Treasury in 1799–1800, published by the author earlier,¹⁹ in which the Uniate bishops of Mukacheve, Oradea and Križevci (the latter of only secondary importance in the book) summarised what equipment and furniture a Greek Catholic church needed, have already revealed that the eparchies of the Slavic and the Romanian traditions considerably differed in terms of their adherence to tradition. Thus, the 'self-image' of the Greek Catholic Church varied from bishopric to bishopric and had strong local colours. In the closing comments concluding the main text of the book, Szilveszter Terdik provides a well-phrased and fitting synthesis of his endeavour by focusing on the theme of the self-identification of the church, perceiving the iconography of the Byzantine-style cupola fresco of the Cathedral of Blaj as a kind of visual creed: The procession of eastern and western popes to Christ the High Priest symbolises the return to pure pre-schism eastern traditions (reflecting the Uniate conviction also apparent in the contemporary theological treatises of the monks of Blaj).

Appended to the main text of the book is a selection of mostly unpublished archival documents. Some documents on the Pilgrimage Church of Máriapócs have been published by the author previously,²⁰ but the accounts of the construction in 1728–1731 and the transcription of the contract with painter Mihály Spalinszky from 1783 appear in print for the first time

here. The next part of the Appendix contains the Austrian archival sources on the development of the episcopal centre and cathedral in Uzhhorod including the plans of Johann Grenner (1774) and Franz Anton Hillebrandt's opinion of them (1775), as well as the documents about the transfer of the Jesuit property to the Bishop of Mukacheve. Among Bishop Bacsinszky's contracts with different masters for the new furnishings of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, mention must be made of the hitherto unpublished agreement with painter Mihály Spalinszky about the pictures of the iconostasis (in a contemporary copy) and the contract signed with Andreas Trtina of Prešov (*Eperjes*) undertaking to decorate the sanctuary. It was in the Austrian State Archives that Szilveszter Terdik discovered the bishop's letter to the Queen about the constructions in Uzhhorod, along with invaluable documents on the creation of the episcopal centre in Blaj. Documents on the constructions in Oradea were found in the local County Archives and the State Archives Department of the National Archives of Hungary (Budapest). Apart from the survey drawings (Abraham von Szewansky) and plans (Josef Hoffmann, 1779) of the episcopal seat, the contracts of the construction of the tower and the carving of the furnishings also command attention.

Generally speaking, as one of the main virtues of the book, as well as of the author, it is important to highlight that he is capable of handling his literary sources objectively and 'functionally,' restricting himself to the presentation of information that is absolutely indispensable for his subject, with sufficient professional maturity. Thus, he can avoid the typical fault of (academic and educational) works on the Eastern Christian artistic heritage, the trap of over-explanation (starting with the basics), which is evidently driven by the intention to introduce this little known tradition in more detail but is also often fed by the inferiority complex of the periphery, a sense of 'being misunderstood.' It is fair to note about Szilveszter Terdik's contribution in general that he is the first Hungarian researcher of the Byzantine heritage to treat his subject – which is indeed outside the 'canon' in several regards – on a par with the 'great' ('majority'-related) questions of Hungarian art history, and that is why he does not burden his discourse with redundant digressions or self-justifying explications. Therefore, his profes-

sional self-esteem and the unconditional commitment to the subject are perfectly well grounded, evidenced by the many documents and plan drawings he has found, as well as by the quality of scholarship, securing his work a place among the best Hungarian books published recently on the history of Hungarian architecture and art in the Baroque Period.

Another asset of the book is the wealth of data indicative of Szilveszter Terdik's source-centred art historical thinking. The multitude of data, however, does not result in a dry, hard-to-digest academic publication, for his (written and visual) sources are diverse in terms of time, place, origin and type alike, and their visual presentation in the book is also multifarious. In addition to specimens of fine art and architecture, the author's attention is also directed at liturgical objects and church equipment subsumed under the category of applied arts today. Szilveszter Terdik is typically open to objects, texts and traditions that may offer any information for posterity involved in researching the past. This attitude does not allow him to haughtily only consider 'high-quality' examples worthy of examination, but he shows respect and humility towards the less eclectic, often naïve but deeply sincere and hence highly 'informative' artistic manifestations of religious sentiment.

Only after having read the whole book did the reviewer realise that, despite his traditional ('positivist') art historical methodology and – at first sight slightly outdated – source- and object-centric research approach, Szilveszter Terdik writes highly up-to-date reception-centred art history. With a profound knowledge of the liturgical functions of the objects and representations as well as their historical changes, he always reckons with the practical and subjective (human, emotional) aspects of art. It particularly delights him to identify in his written or visual sources data about tastes, expectations of the client or the recipients or, possibly, about details suggesting clashes between these systems. The reader is informed of all this in exciting episodes, e.g. in his account of the changes in tastes or the disputes around the demands of the clergy and the faithful. He demonstrates utmost sensitivity to problems inherent in relations and thus in conflicts, be they artistic interactions in the narrow sense, or in a broader context, historical, political, power-related, spiritual, rite-related or interdenominational interac-

tions. This is obvious from the way he perceives and interprets his written and visual sources, and this is the hidden clue to the great appeal of his book as an enjoyable piece of reading. From his often laconic sources, he can extract ample information about his research topic with logical but at the same time practical and creative argumentation and he moulds it into emotionally charged stories ready to be shared with his readers.

Finally, I consider it important to add that it is Szilveszter Terdik's incontestable merit that, in researching post-Byzantine art in Hungary, he is increasingly cognisant of the issue of Orthodox–Greek Catholic interdenominational artistic relations. It is realistic to presume connections with the late eighteenth-century Serbian Orthodox heritage in the Habsburg Empire since both churches were affected by the 'Enlightenment', the Josephinist change in appearance and taste, as can be positively demonstrated in some cases. Szilveszter Terdik's previous research has revealed that, in the Greek Catholic Church, there were instances of employing Orthodox masters to carve furniture and icon screens even earlier, in the mid-eighteenth century (Master Konstantinos). It is also one of his findings that in addition to Péter Pádits, a woodcarver from Eger, his master, the carver of the finest Orthodox iconostases in Hungary, Miklós Jankovics, also worked at the request of the Uniate Church, on no lesser icon wall than that of Hajdúdorog. It is an intriguing piece of information that in the order for the Hajdúdorog iconostasis, the Greek Catholic client identified the carving of the Archiepiscopal Cathedral of Sremski Karlovci (*Karlóca*) as the model. In this volume, further examples of painters employed by both the 'Uniate' and 'Non-Uniate' are encountered, such as members of the Ranite Family, Stefan Tenecki, the workshop of Teodor Simeonov Gruntović or – in the age of Academism – Arsenije Teodorović.

This large amount of new data on the art of the episcopal centres would not be as valuable as they are, were it not for the author's reliable and extensive background knowledge of the historical evolution of the organisation and internal functioning of the church, as well as of the needs, social position, time- and place-specific desires and expectations of its representatives ordering the works of art concerned. This background knowledge unfolds in the volume as the interpre-

tive context of art historical questions and, at the same time, it ensures credibility and coherence for the work. In conjunction with certain heritage items, useful excursus can be found on the role and history of the respective object types in Eastern Christian tradition. The proficient exploration of their relations with the Byzantine roots and their comparison with the Latin Rite make these detours truly informative. The exciting question of Latinisation (removal of statues and organs, use of the monstrance, side altars, Latin-type pews, the equipment of the high altar) inevitably permeates Terdik's narrative, but without a profound knowledge of the post-Byzantine Balkan or Galician ecclesiastic and artistic tradition no comparable major synthesis of the sacred heritage items found in the Greek Catholic bishoprics of Hungary, informed by particularly thorough familiarity with the subject, could have been attained.

The summaries at the end in English, Ukrainian and Romanian will hopefully contribute to the dissemination of the research results presented to a broader international professional audience. In the present case, this is not to be taken as an empty phrase because – as noted earlier – both Ukrainian and Romanian, and even Serbian art historical research may greatly benefit from Terdik's research and use his findings for promoting research on their own respective heritage.

A word of praise is due for the highly aesthetic layout of the book ensured by the contribution of photo editor Gellért Áment, graphic designer and typographer Csilla Felde, graphic artist Lóránt Pamuk and, of course, the visual competence of the author himself. The sometimes full-page illustrations preceding the chapters convey subtle allusions to the contents and again do credit to the theological erudition and sensitivity of the author.

Not only on account of its appealing outward appearance enhanced by a wealth of engaging reproductions but also thanks to its lucid and highly readable style, combined with a marked focus on the main points, as well as a presentation method characterised by transparency and unquestionable authenticity, members of the professional community hungry for information, as well as lay readers interested in the age or Byzantine Christianity may equally derive considerable pleasure from perusing Szilveszter Terdik's book.

Xénia Golub

NOTES

¹ Nothing can better prove the success of the book in professional circles than the fact that it was awarded the prize *Opus Mirabile* by the Art Historical Committee of the Philosophical and Historical Section of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2015.

² TERDIK, Szilveszter: *Görögkatolikus püspöki központok művészeti reprezentációja Magyarországon*, Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Doctoral School of Art History, Budapest, 2011. Defended in June 2012.

³ TERDIK, Szilveszter: „...a mostani világnak ízlése, és a rítusnak módja szerint”. *Adatok a magyarországi görög katolikusok művészetéhez*, Nyíregyháza: St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, 2011. (Collectanea Athanasiana I/5.)

⁴ PUSKÁS, Bernadett: *A görög katolikus egyház művészete a történelmi Magyarországon, Hagyomány és megújulás*, Budapest: Magyar Képek, 2008.

⁵ BALAJTHY, József: *Munkács azaz Munkács városának és várának topographiai, geographiai, historiai és statistikai leírása*, Debrecen, 1836. 225, 230; Сирохман, Михайло/ SYROKHMAN, Mykhailo: *Церкви України Закарпаття/Churches of Ukraine Zakarpathia, Львів/L'viv*, 2000. Pictures 159 and 179; PUSKÁS 2008, *op.cit.*, 71–72.

⁶ BALAJTHY, József: A Csernek-hegyi Klostrom, *Felső Magyar-Országi Minerva* IV. 1828. 76–92; BALAJTHY, József: A Munkátsi Klostrom bővebb esmertetésének folytatása. *Felső Magyar-Országi Minerva* V. 1829. 869–903; BALAJTHY 1836, *op.cit.*

⁷ *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei* II, ed. ENTZ, Géza. Budapest, 1987. 65–67; DUDÁS, Bertalan: *A baziliták szerepe a hajdúdorogi egyházmegye életében*, in *A Hajdúdorogi Bizánci Katolikus Egyházmegye Jubileumi Évkönyve 1912–1987*, ed. TIMKÓ, Imre. Nyíregyháza, 1987. 103–115; PUSKÁS, Bernadett: A máriapócsi kegytemplom és bazilita kolostor. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 44. 1995. 169–191.

⁸ Uriel Aldoár (SZILVAY, Iván): *Kincseink, vagyis az első mária-pócsi, mikolai, második mária-pócsi, pálfalvai és kлокocói csodaterő szent képek leírása*. Ungvár (Uzhhorod), 1907.

⁹ TERDIK, Szilveszter: Rác Demeter, egy XVIII. századi görög katolikus mecénás. *A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve* 49. 2007. 333–380.

¹⁰ TERDIK 2011, *op.cit.*, 17–30.

¹¹ TERDIK, Szilveszter: A máriapócsi kegytemplom építésére és belső díszítésére vonatkozó, eddig ismeretlen források, *A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve* 50. 2008. 525–570.

¹² On this briefly in English: TERDIK, Szilveszter: Artists from the Balkans in the Service of Greek Catholic Bishops (18th Century), in *Niš and Byzantium, Twelfth Symposium Niš, 3-6 June 2013, The Collection of Scientific Works XII*, ed. RAKOCIJA, Miša. Niš, 2014. 477–488.

¹³ A summary of the chapter in English: TERDIK, Szilveszter: The Plans of Johann Grenner for the Greek Catholic Episcopal Centre in Ungvár (Uzhhorod), *Periodica Polytechnica Architecture* 45/1. 2014. <http://www.pp.bme.hu/ar/article/view/7459>

¹⁴ English version of the chapter: TERDIK, Szilveszter: Co-existing Traditions: the Conversion of the Jesuit Church of Uzhgorod into a Greek Catholic Cathedral, in *Sacred Space in Central and Eastern Europe from Middle Ages to the Late Modernity: Birth, Function, and Changes*, eds. DUMITRAN, Daniel & BURNICHIOIU, Ileana. *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica* 18/1, Alba Iulia: Editura Mega, 2014. 95–112.

¹⁵ TERDIK, Szilveszter: La cathédrale gréco-catholique de la sainte Trinité à Balázsfalva (Blaj): Influences orientales et occidentales, *Hungarian Studies* 28. 2014. 55–76.

¹⁶ TERDIK, Szilveszter: Marian Symbols on the Iconostasis of the Cathedral of Blaj, *Apulum* LII. 2015. Series Historia & Patrimonium, 83–103.

¹⁷ TERDIK, Szilveszter: Dati alla storia della cattedrale greco-cattolica di Oradea (Nagyvárad), in *La Scuola Transilvana*, eds. CÂMPEANU, Remus – RUS, Vasile – VARGA, Attila – JULA, Florin. Nyíregyháza–Oradea, [n.d.] 111–120.

¹⁸ TERDIK, Szilveszter: Icons of the Iconostasis of the Former Greek Catholic Church of Nagyvárad/Oradea (Veliki Varadin), in *Niš and Byzantium, Thirteenth Symposium Niš, 3-5. June 2014, The Collection of Scientific Works XIII*, ed. RAKOCIJA, Miša. Niš, 2015. 453–464.

¹⁹ TERDIK, Szilveszter: Újabb eredmények a Munkácsi Egyházmegye művészetének feltérképezésében. *Athanasiana* 30. 2009. 119–150.

²⁰ TERDIK 2008, *op.cit.*, 541–567.