

*Roksolana Kosiv*

**MIGRANT CHURCH: ICONS AND WALL PAINTINGS  
OF THE WOODEN CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS  
IN HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ**

**BACKGROUND: THE CHURCH AND ITS FAITHFUL AT THE  
CROSSROADS OF CULTURES**

The wooden church in Jiráskovy sady Park, Hradec Králové, Czech Republic,<sup>1</sup> is the perfect example of the three-domed wooden churches common in the Lemko region,<sup>2</sup> with the highest dome above the narthex. Built in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is one of the oldest preserved wooden churches of the common cultural area shared by Slovakia, Poland, and Ukraine.<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 1)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.12697/BJAH.2022.23.04>

1 Our study was made possible with the permission of the Mayor of Hradec Králové Mr Alexandr Hrabalek and with the assistance of Mr Lukas Martinek from the International Relations Department, Office of the Mayor, Hradec Kralove Municipality. Reconstruction of the walls of the church using paintings and photos of icons after restoration were kindly provided by Mr Jan Falta, Head of Heritage Conservation Department. We are sincerely grateful for their support of this study. We are also grateful to Dr Brian Cherwick for editing the English text.

2 The Lemko region is an ethnographic territory primarily in north-eastern Slovakia and south-eastern Poland, with a small portion in western Ukraine.

3 This is not the only study of wall painting at the church in Hradec Králové, and its icons. Attention to the wall painting and icons of this church can also be found in Vladyslav Greshlyk's monograph. This author only briefly mentions these works, introducing them into the context of Ukrainian church art in north-eastern Slovakia and the history of the Ukrainian (*Rus'ka*) church's Mukachevo diocese. Two fragments of the wall paintings, the icon of St Nicholas and the Deesis icon, have been published: Vladyslav Grešlík, *Ikony 17. storočia na východnom Slovensku* (Prešov: Akcent Print, 2002), 39, 72 and figs. IX, X, XXVI, XXVIII.



FIG. 1. WOODEN CHURCH IN HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ. PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

Dendrochronological studies conducted during conservation of the structure in 2017 revealed that the oldest wooden beams were cut between 1598 and 1607.<sup>4</sup> This allows for fairly accurate dating of the original construction to between 1600 and 1610. The building has been twice relocated. It was originally built for the village of Habura, which is in north-eastern Slovakia, near the border with Poland. At the time the church was built, this was the border between the Habsburg Empire and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. In Habura, the church

4 Information about dendrochronological research on the church beams is given by Petr Vinklář: Petr Vinklář, *Kostelík v Jiráskových sadech má nový kabát, sledujte videa z rekonstrukce*, <https://www.hradeckralove.org/video-restauratori-osetruji-interiery-kostela-sv-mikulase-v-jiraskovych-sadech/d-48381> [accessed 20/03/2021].

was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, who was highly respected by the local faithful and to whom churches in the region were most often dedicated. In the 1740s, the church at Habura was sold to the nearby village of Malá Poľana (currently in Stropkov District, Prešov Region, Slovakia). In 1759 it was rededicated to St Nicholas,<sup>5</sup> a saint equally popular in the area and the holy patron of the village's old church. Such relocations of wooden churches were relatively common, and sometimes they were partially rebuilt. The building was damaged during the First World War and no longer functioned as a church, so in 1935 it was sold to the park in Hradec Králové.

The confessional affiliation of the parishioners of this church was not stable either. When the church was built in Habura, its faithful, all Ruthenians according to the censuses of 1657 and 1715,<sup>6</sup> belonged to Mukachevo diocese.<sup>7</sup> The local bishop, in the documents of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, was named *Rus'kyi* bishop of the Greek rite.<sup>8</sup> Constant pressure from the Protestant rulers of these lands, who tried to limit the rights of the bishop, contributed to the fact that the higher clergy of the diocese began to seek support from the Pope.<sup>9</sup> The bishops of the neighbouring Peremyshl<sup>10</sup> diocese, in particular, Atanasyi Krupetskyi (1610–1652), who already proclaimed union with the Roman church, were involved in the propaganda of the union in Mukachevo diocese. Krupetskyi's activity was supported by Count

5 Other studies of the wood from which the church was built showed that some beams from the sanctuary were cut down between 1747 and 1748. This indicates that the church in Malá Poľana was partially rebuilt. A study of wall paintings indicates that the church was then enlarged in size. The western part of the church was built after 1801. See: Vinklář, *Kostelík v Jiráskových sadech má nový kabát, sledujte videa z rekonstrukce*.

6 Original documents recording the first written mention of the village of Habura in 1543, and lists of its inhabitants are published on: <https://sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habura> [accessed 12/05/2021].

7 Now Mukachevo, Ukraine. The question of to whom its bishops then subordinated is not fully understood. There is an assumption that it was to the Kyivan Metropolitan: Aleksander Baran, *Metropolia Kioviensis et Eparchia Mukačoviensis* (Romae, 1960), 31–40. According to another version, it was directly to the Patriarch of Constantinople: Atanasyi V. Pekar, 'Narysy istoriyi Tserkvy Zakarpattya. T. 1: Yerarkhichne oformlennya' ('Essays on the History of the Church of Transcarpathia. Vol. 1: Hierarchical structure'), *Analecta OSBM*, XXII (Rome, 1967), 27.

8 Volodymyr Moroz, 'Uniyini zmahannya v Mukachivskiy yeparkhiyi pid vplyvom Kyivskoyi mytropoliyi chasiv Ipatiya Potiya ta Yosyfa Velyamyna Ruts'koho' ('Union competitions in the Mukachevo diocese under the influence of the Kyiv metropolitanate of the times of Ipatius Potiy and Yosyf Velyamyn Ruts'kyi'), *Naukovyy visnyk Uzhhorodskoho universytetu. Seriya 'istoriya'*, 1 (2019), 78–87, esp. 80.

9 Pekar, 'Narysy istoriyi Tserkvy Zakarpattya. T. 1: Yerarkhichne oformlennya', 18–21.

10 Now Przemyśl, Subcarpathian Voivodeship of Poland.

Yuri III Druget, at whose invitation in 1613 the bishop came to the town of Humenné then later settled in the monastery in Krásny Brod. During the year of his stay, he tried to officially proclaim the union but failed due to the resistance of locals.<sup>11</sup> After several more unsuccessful attempts, in 1646 in the city of Uzhhorod the Bishop of Mukachevo, Vasyl Tarasovych, finally signed the document confirming the transition of the diocese to the union. In fact, Bishop Tarasovych ruled the central part of Mukachevo diocese, while its western part, where the villages of Habura and Malá Poľana were located, was supervised by Bishop Krupetskyi of Peremyshl.<sup>12</sup> Not all the clergy and the faithful accepted the union idea favourably. The local population feared that they would be forced to break with the faith of their ancestors. Finally, union was adopted in the north-western part of Mukachevo diocese in 1689.<sup>13</sup> Union was also not easy in the neighbouring Peremyshl diocese. From 1610 to 1691 there were two bishops: one union, the other non-union.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the church in Habura was built during the turbulent events of the search for ecclesiastical supremacy, which would provide stability for local hierarchs. Due to a lack of sources, we cannot trace how these events affected the faithful of Habura and their clergy. But, one way or another, the changes associated with ecclesiastical jurisdiction are noticeable in the churches of both the Mukachevo and Peremyshl dioceses in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Regarding the artistic development of the churches of Mukachevo diocese, researchers note that this process intensified in the 1730s and 1740s.<sup>15</sup> Eastern Slovakian churches preserved the original iconostasis made between the 1720s and 1760s. However, in the churches of this region, no wall painting is older than the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to documents from 1750–1752 describing the visit of Mukachevo bishop Manuil Olshavskyi (1743–1767), we learn

11 Pekar, 'Narysy istoriyi Tserkvy Zakarpattya. T. 1: Yerarkhichne oformlennya', 24.

12 Ibid., 28 (footnote 19).

13 Grešlík, *Ikony 17. storočia na východnom Slovensku*, 6.

14 Peremyshl diocese finally adopted Union only in 1691 under Bishop Innokentii Vynnytskyi, who was actively supported by the Polish king.

15 Mykhaylo Pryymych, *Tserkovne profesijne malyarstvo Zakarpattya druhoyi polovyny XVIII – pershoyi polovyny XX st.: narodna tradytsiya, vizantiyska kanonichnist ta vplyvy zakhidnoevropeyskoho mystetstva (Church professional painting of Transcarpathia in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: folk tradition, Byzantine canonicity and the influence of Western European art)* (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 2017), 141.

that there were paintings in the sanctuary of the wooden church of St Luke in Andrejová (built 1738) and in the sanctuary of the Saints Kosma and Damian church in the neighbouring village of Cigla<sup>16</sup> (date of painting is unknown). The Archangel Michael church in Miková (built circa 1745),<sup>17</sup> St Basil church in Makovce,<sup>18</sup> the Archangel Michael church in Malá Breznička,<sup>19</sup> the Archangel Michael church in Vyškovce,<sup>20</sup> and the Mother of God church in Gribov (built around 1700)<sup>21</sup> all had entirely painted interiors. The descriptions of the visit do not specify the dates of the paintings, but they should all pre-date the time of the bishop's visit. All the above-mentioned villages with painted churches are located in close proximity, and not far from the village of Habura. Thus, in this region, there was a tradition of interior church painting. As mentioned, unfortunately, none of these paintings have survived<sup>22</sup>, except for the fragments in the church from Habura. In our research, we want to draw attention to the icons and the fragments of wall painting in the church from Habura. These works should be considered in both the context of church relocation and in the context of changing priorities in the iconography and style of painting, which were due to the influences of Roman Catholic art. No less important is the identification of the authors of these paintings and the circumstance of their creation.

16 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez. Olsavszky Mihály Mánuel munkácsi püspök 1750–1752 évi egyházlátogatásainak iratai.* Collectanea Athanasiana, II. Textus / Fontes / közreadják T. Végheő, Sz. Terdik, Nyíregyháza, 7 (2015), 137, 131–132; Vasyliy Hadzhega, 'Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus'kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy [Appendices to the history of Ruthenians and Rus'kykh churches in the former Zemplin district]', *Naukovyy zbornyk Tovarystva 'Prosvita' v Uzhhorodi za 1935 rök*, Rôchnyk XI (Uzhhorod, 1935), 17–182, esp. 54, 57–58.

17 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 153; Hadzhega, 'Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus'kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy', 112.

18 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 156; Hadzhega, 'Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus'kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy', 115–116.

19 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 159; Hadzhega, 'Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus'kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy', 117. Now Breznička village.

20 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 160; Hadzhega, 'Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus'kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy', 118–119.

21 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 164; Hadzhega, 'Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus'kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy', 122.

22 The church in Andrejová burned down in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A new church was built in Makovce in 1836. In Malá Breznička the church was built at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in Vyškovce in 1901, in Gribov the church is from 1923, in Cigla it is from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Archangel Michael church in Miková dates back to 1742, although there are no wall paintings from that time.



FIG. 2. GENERAL VIEW OF THE PAINTINGS ON THE NORTHERN NAVE WALL OF THE CHURCH IN HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CIRCA 1670S. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2013.

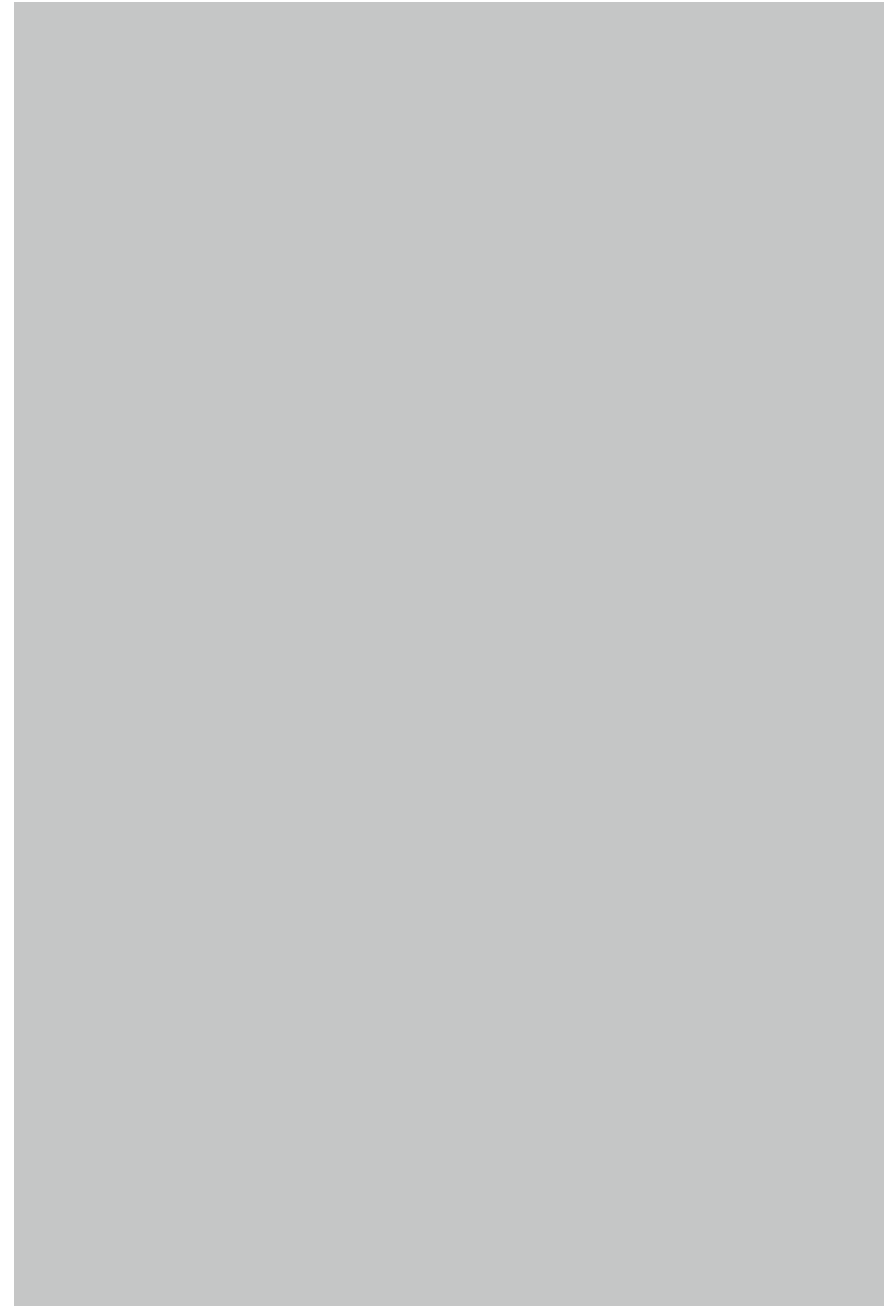


FIG. 3. GENERAL VIEW OF THE PAINTINGS ON THE SOUTHERN NAVE WALL OF THE CHURCH IN HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CIRCA 1670S. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2013.

### 'READING' THE PLOT: WALL PAINTINGS IN THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ICONOGRAPHY

Discerning the authors' handwriting and the environment of origin of most icons and wall paintings became possible thanks to recent studies of the church art centre active between 1650 and 1760 in the town of Rybotychi near Peremyshl (today the village of Rybotycze in the Fredropol district of Subcarpathian Voivodeship).<sup>23</sup> In this study, the wall paintings and icons in the church in Hradec Králové were mentioned only occasionally. The works of artists from the Rybotychi centre were so popular among the faithful that they quickly spread their activities outside Peremyshl diocese. From the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and especially in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these artists actively worked for the faithful of the western part of Mukachevo diocese, which is now mainly in Slovakia and north-eastern Hungary.

The wall paintings in the church in Hradec Králové, as already noted, are very fragmentary. However, they are the oldest of all the paintings in the church today. The paintings can be found on the walls of the nave (Figs. 2–3), behind the iconostasis, and up to the vault.

In the sanctuary, the painting is preserved on the vault in the tower. Several beams with traces of painting are situated in the walls of the narthex and sanctuary. During the relocation of the church to Malá Poľana, the building was reduced in size with no attention to the wall paintings.<sup>24</sup> Beams with paintings were mounted arbitrarily, ignoring the composition of the original scenes. Thus, the painting now looks chaotic, with individual beams placed such that the composition is turned upside down. Two beams with compositions from the Passion cycle, located on the southern and northern walls of the nave, are best preserved. Some scenes on the edges of the lower part of the southern and northern walls of the nave are cut so that more than half of the scene is lost. It is unlikely that this reconstruction was carried out in 1935 when the church was moved to Hradec Králové because there was no need for it at the time.

23 Roksolana Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy osередok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv (Rybotychi center of church art of the 1670s–1760s)* (Lviv: Natsionalnyy muzey u Lvovi imeni Andriya Sheptytskoho, 2019).

24 The information that the church was rebuilt in Malá Poľana, and not in Hradec Králové, was confirmed by the latest research. As mentioned, some reconstruction of the church in Malá Poľana was carried out in approximately 1810. This is evidenced by the time of cutting the beams of the church narthex. Mr. J. Falta kindly provided us with this information.

The painting is made directly on wooden beams, which was the practice at that time. The joints of the beams were regularly sealed with canvas, which is also seen in this case. The state of the painting does not allow for a complete reconstruction of the iconography, but we can conclude that the walls of the nave had been completely painted. The painting is made in a graphic manner, in restrained colours dominated by black outlines. Various shades of ochre, red-brown, grey, and green are used. The restrained colour palette and graphic manner are typical of the painting of wooden churches of that time. We see similar painting techniques in the Holy Spirit church in Potelych (1620–1640s),<sup>25</sup> in the 1650s paintings of St George church<sup>26</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>-century paintings in the Exaltation of the Holy Cross church in Drohobych (all in Ukraine), in the mid-17<sup>th</sup>-century paintings of St Paraskeva church in Radruż<sup>27</sup> and paintings of the early 1680s in Ascension church in Ulucz<sup>28</sup> (both in Poland).

As for the composition of the painting, originally it was arranged in the so-called 'carpet' style, one after another in a row and one by one on top of each other. The scenes are separated by a painted stripe, each composition signed in a clear and fairly calligraphic font, with letters written in Cyrillic. In the icon painting of the Peremyshl and Mukachevo dioceses of that time, all inscriptions were made in Cyrillic, and numbers were written according to the Byzantine tradition, also usually employing letters. Examining the fragments of the preserved inscriptions, we see that they are captions to the scenes. Unfortunately, the date of creation or text with information about the authors of the paintings were not found.

Among the scenes, we can clearly distinguish the cycle of the Passion of Christ (Fig. 4), the feast days of the church year, in particular of the Virgin Mary (Fig. 5), and the composition of the Last Judgment.

25 Lyudmyla Milyayeva, *Stinopys Potelycha (The wall-painting of Potelych)* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1969).

26 Lyudmyla Milyayeva, Oksana Sadova, Oleh Rishnyak, *Tserkva Sv. Yura v Drohobychi: arkhitektura, malyarstvo, restavratsiya (Church of St. George in Drohobych: architecture, painting, restoration)* (Kyiv: Mayster knyha, 2019).

27 *Polichromia w cerkwi p.w. św. Paraskewy w Radrużu*, <https://www.muzeumkresow.eu/zespol-cerkiewny-w-radruzu/wnetrze/polichromia-w-cerkwi-p.w.-sw.-paraskewy-w-radruzu> [accessed 29/04/2021].

28 Jaroslaw Giemza, 'Architektura i wyposażenie cerkwi p. w. Wniebowstąpienia Pańskiego w Uluczu', *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, 35 (2001), 5–21.



FIG. 4. THE PASSION OF CHRIST, CIRCA 1670S, WALL-PAINTING, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, NORTHERN NAWE WALL. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.



FIG. 5. NATIVITY OF VIRGIN MARY, CIRCA 1670S, WALL-PAINTING, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, NAWE WALLS (RECONSTRUCTION; CURRENTLY THREE BEAMS WITH THE PAINTING ARE ON DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CHURCHES' WALL). PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.



FIG. 6. ORNAMENTS, CIRCA 1670S, WALL-PAINTING, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, EASTERN NAWE WALL. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2013.

At the bottom of the nave walls, there are large ornamental motifs of stylised cut pomegranate (Fig. 6), imitating precious fabrics of the time. Such compositions were quite common in 17<sup>th</sup>-century

churches. We see a similar strip with ornaments in the painting on the southern wall of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross church in Drohobych (Ukraine). Floral ornamental motifs in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century church painting replaced the motifs of stylised lightly decorated white curtains, which were typical in the frescoes of the 12<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>29</sup> Currently, the beams with fragments of ornamental frieze are mounted chaotically in different parts of the nave walls, including the upper part of the walls in the dome.

As we know from 17<sup>th</sup> century paintings in the churches in Drohobych, the scenes could be found on the walls of the nave and reach the vaults of the domes, which could also be painted. Given the nature of the fragments of the paintings in the church from Habura, we can assume that here the nave was also completely painted to the top. However, the longer beams with the Passion and Resurrection of Christ scenes indicate that they were not high on the nave walls and could be seen closely by the faithful.

The beams with the best-preserved painting allow us to state that the Gospel scenes follow the chronology found in Scripture. In the middle of the northern wall of the nave on two beams the paintings are quite well preserved. On the beam that is now the eighth from the bottom, there are scenes of the Passion of Christ which can be 'read' from left to right. All compositions are preserved at the upper part, so it is clear that the image continued on the bottom beam. This is the Resurrection of Lazarus with a fragmentary preserved inscription 'воскре [...]', Christ's entry into Jerusalem (the inscription is barely preserved), and the Last Supper with a fragmentary inscription that can be reconstructed: 'тайная вечеря' (Fig. 4). The next scene is Christ washing the feet of the apostles, which the inscription confirms 'умывание [ногъ]' (Fig. 4). The last scene on this beam is Christ Praying in the garden of Gethsemane (Prayer for the chalice) (Fig. 4). Here you can see Christ turning in prayer to an angel represented in the top right. To the left of the composition are three men in conversation dressed in the characteristic Jewish attire of that time. This is not

<sup>29</sup> In particular, we see such painted 'curtains' in the 15<sup>th</sup> century frescoes of the lower part of the sanctuary walls in the monastic St Onufrius church in Posada Rybotycka (Poland). See: Jarosław Gieźa, 'Malowidła ściennie w cerkwi P. W. Świętego Onufrego w Posadzie Rybotyckiej w świetle badań i digitalizacji przeprowadzonych w listopadzie 2011 roku', *Zberezhenyya i doslidzhennyya istoriko-kulturnoyi spadshchyny v muzeynnykh zibrannyakh: istorychni, mystetstvoznavchi ta muzeolohichni aspekty diyalnosti, Mizhnar. nauk. konf., m. Lviv, 25–27 veresnya 2013 roku* (Lviv: Natsionalnyy muzey u Lvovi imeni Andreya Sheptytskoho, 2013), 509–518.



FIG. 7. MASTER YAKIV OF RYBOTYCHI. PASSION OF CHRIST ICON, FROM THE ST DEMETRIUS CHURCH IN WOLA WYŻNA (POLAND), HISTORICAL MUSEUM IN SANOK, MHS/S-5455. PHOTO: ROKSOLANA KOSIV.

typical for the local iconography of this scene. Images of high priests conspiring to imprison Christ, also often depicted giving money to Judas, appear on Ukrainian Passion of Christ icons of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>



FIG. 8. THE FLAGELLATION OR MOCKERY OF CHRIST, THE CORONATION WITH THE CROWN OF THORNS, PILATE BRINGING CHRIST BEFORE THE JUDGMENT OF THE JEWS (THE MAN OF SORROW), THE ROAD TO GOLGOTHA, CIRCA 1670S, WALL-PAINTING, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, NORTHERN NAVE WALL. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.

centuries, but as a separate scene<sup>30</sup>. In particular, this scene appears as part of a large Passion icon comprised of 33 scenes, from the St Demetrius church in Wola Wyżna (Fig. 7), a neighbouring village to Habura. This icon was painted in 1675 by Yakiv of Rybotychi, which is noted on the icon<sup>31</sup>. The icon is important for our research, because it is closest in style to church paintings.

The beam located below this on the north wall features a more poorly preserved painting and was originally not located in this place in the church. It contains completely different images which are not possible to identify. Similarly, the beam below this was also originally in another place, as evidenced by its compositions. The painting is relatively well preserved, and here we also see the upper portion of the scenes, however the inscriptions were not preserved. The following scenes appear, from left to right: The Judgment of Christ; the Flagellation or Mockery of Christ (Fig. 8); and the Coronation with the crown of thorns (Fig. 8). The next image, Pilate bringing Christ before the judgment of the Jews (The Man of Sorrow), is relatively well preserved (Fig. 8). The scene of the Road to Golgotha (Fig. 8), where Christ falls under the weight of the great cross, appears next, followed by the Crucifixion (small fragments of painting preserved here).

30 For example, the 16<sup>th</sup> century icon from the church in Žohatyn, near Peremyshl has this scene placed after the Last Supper before the Kiss of Judas (the icon is stored at the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv, hereinafter NML; HMJI i-1711).

31 Stored in the Historical Museum in Sanok, hereinafter IMS; MHS/S-5455. See: Roksolana Kosiv, 'Icons from Wola Wyżna and Świętkowa Mała churches of the Master Yakiv from Rybotycze 1670–1680s', *Series Byzantina. Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, XVII (Warsaw–Ostrawa, 2019), 41–58.





FIG. 9. CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HADES, RESURRECTION OF CHRIST FROM THE TOMB, THE BELIEF OF THOMAS, THE ANGEL ANNOUNCES TO THE MYRRH-BEARING WOMEN THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST, CIRCA 1670S, WALL PAINTING, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, SOUTHERN NAVE WALL. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.

The second beam, which depicts the lower part of the Passion scenes (Resurrection of Lazarus; Christ's Entry into Jerusalem; the Last Supper; and the Washing of the Feet), is now mounted on the same north wall, but much higher. To the right of the Resurrection of Lazarus were at least two more compositions, which are now completely lost. Therefore, we understand that the church as it appeared in Habura was larger than the current variant in Hradec Králové.

Painting has also been preserved on the beams that form the southern wall of the nave. The beams here are also mounted chaotically in comparison to their original location, with some appearing upside down. On this wall scenes from the cycle of the Resurrection of the Lord can be identified (Fig. 9). Scenes from the Gospel cycle were apparently also painted on a beam now located under the windows, but the iconography could not be identified. Scenes of the Lord's resurrection are painted on the beam currently below this. After one missing scene on the immediate left, the upper part of the scene of Christ's descent into Hades is visible. This is followed by the Resurrection of Christ from the tomb, the Belief of Thomas, and the Angel announcing the resurrection of Christ to the myrrh-bearing women (Fig. 9). The next two scenes are more difficult to identify. The first may be the Appearance of Christ to the apostles, while in the second only the figure of Christ is visible. Again, the lower parts of the scenes of Christ's descent into Hades and the Resurrection from the tomb are now on a beam mounted in this wall at the top of the nave (in the dome). The graphic style of painting and drawing of figures resembles the painting of the previously mentioned Passion of Christ icon of 1675 from Wola Wyżna

(Fig. 7), which also has an extended cycle of Christ's resurrection consisting of six compositions. We see a similar iconography of the Belief of Thomas there.

Two more Passion scenes are painted on the beam, which is now mounted upside down on the eastern wall under the vault above the iconostasis. This beam is trimmed, but we can still see the upper portion of two scenes: Christ at the court of the high priest Annas, as evidenced by the inscription '[...]ніє д[о] анны', and the Renunciation of Apostle Peter, as evidenced by the figure of a rooster and the partially preserved inscription 'петръ зап[р]ся х' ('Peter renunciation from Christ'). According to the chronological order of the Gospel events, the beam with these images should be located after the scenes of the Kiss of Judas or the Imprisonment of Christ, which are not identified here, but are mandatory for extended passion cycles. Thus, it would seem that these two scenes were originally on the beam that depicts the Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, or on the beam that now begins with the scene of the Judgment on Christ. This would be the logical compositional sequence. The complete Passion cycle lacks the scenes of the Deposition from the Cross and the Entombment, both which are obligatory. We can assume that originally the Passion cycle in this church included at least 22 compositions (including the scenes of Christ's Resurrection)<sup>32</sup>.

Thus, if we follow the identified scenes, they represent a fairly extended Passion cycle. It is worth noting that the Passion of Christ was a popular theme in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ukrainian art<sup>33</sup>. It was depicted in large icons painted on board, such as the above-mentioned icon from the Wola Wyżna, in large icons on canvas, in wall-paintings, mainly in the naves of churches, such as those in Habura, Drohobych, Potelych, and Ulucz.

32 For example, the Passion of Christ composition of 1678 on the northern nave wall of the St George church in Drohobych has 27 scenes, and in the Holy Spirit church in Potelych the 1620s–1640s Passion of the Christ composition on the northern wall of the nave has 25 scenes. A fragmentarily preserved large composition with the Passion scenes is also on the northern nave wall in Ascension church in Ulucz (Poland). On the restoration of painting in Ulucz church see: Agnieszka Wielocha, *Konserwacja polichromii cerkwi w Uliuczu*, <http://karpaccy.pl/konserwacja-polichromii-cerkwi-w-uluczu/> [accessed 5.05.2021].

33 Agnieszka Gronek, *Ikony Męki Pańskiej. O przemianach w malarstwie cerkiewnym Ukraińsko-Polskiego pogranicza* (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2007); Roksolana Kosiv, 'Ikony na polotni "Strasti Khrystovi" 17 st. zi zbirky Natsionalnoho muzeyu u Lvovi imeni Andriya Sheptytskoho' ['The Passion of Christ' icons on the canvas of the 17<sup>th</sup> century from the collection of the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv'], *Studiyi mystetstvoznavchi: Obrazotvorche ta dekoratyvno-vzhytkove mystetstvo. Arkhitektura*, 2 (54) (Kyiv, 2016), 27–46.



Other scenes cannot be reconstructed because the remaining painting is too fragmented. According to the inscriptions on some beams we see that the Nativity of the Virgin had been depicted. The inscription 'рождество прѣтои бци' (Nativity of Holy Theotokos) can be found on the beam that is now on the north nave wall in the dome. The scene to the left of this could have represented the Beheading of St John the Baptist, as evidenced by the fragmentary inscription 'усэкъновеніе' (Beheading). On the first beam from the vault on the western wall of the tower, there is an inscription referring to the scene of the Virgin's entry into the temple: 'уведеніе прѣтои бци'. On the beam on the north wall of the tower, there is a fragment of an inscription relating to death: 'гды члкъ умирае смръть косу граблэ мѣду [...]' (when a person dies Death scythe rakes broom [...]). Such an inscription usually refers to Death in the form of a skeleton with instruments of execution, and usually appeared in compositions depicting the Last Judgment. In 17<sup>th</sup> century churches such icons could be paired with the icons of the Passion of Christ and were placed opposite each other on the northern and southern walls of the nave. If the church had wall paintings, then these scenes could also be on the northern and southern walls of the nave, as in the church of St George in Drohobych. The fact that the church in Habura once had a Last Judgment scene is evidenced by fragments of naked human bodies painted on the upper beam of the north nave wall and on two beams on the south nave wall above the windows, which may be an episode of the Torment of sinners in Hell or Sinful souls in the infernal river of fire. Both motifs are typical of local Last Judgment iconography from the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

Traces of paintings are also evident on the beams of the eastern wall of the church nave, which are now behind the iconostasis. Due to its fragmentary nature, it is not possible to identify what is depicted. On two trimmed beams at the lower right, there is a fairly clear painting. At the bottom is a fragment of a scene with two seated figures in white clothing (angels?) and one female figure (the heads of these figures were painted on another beam which was not preserved). On the beam above it, there are large floral ornamental motifs, predominantly painted white, golden ochre, red ochre, and

34 Lilia Berezhnaya, John-Paul Himka, *The World to Come: Ukrainian Images of the Last Judgment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).



FIG. 10. SUN DISK, CIRCA 1670S, WALL-PAINTING, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, SANCTUARY VAULT. PHOTO: FALTA JAN, STATUÁRNÍ MĚSTO HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, 2022.

black. Here the colours are quite well preserved. It is important to pay attention to a large sun disk with human features, drawn on board, which is now located at the top of the vault of the dome above the sanctuary (Fig. 10).

This type of personified sun occurs in local art on the church banners of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and can be attributed to the previously mentioned artists from Rybotychi. Seven such banners have been preserved<sup>35</sup> with the sun painted in the lower middle

35 Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 127–128, 131–133, 144.

section. Solar symbolism in church art has a complex interpretation as a sign of Heaven. It is known that in the iconography of the Crucifixion of Christ and the Last Judgment the sun is often painted dark or white, and the moon red with human features. In both cases, this conveys the meaning that the sun and moon have stopped giving light. In particular, a similar drawing of the sun appears in the Last Judgment from a 1687 icon located in the Archangel Michael church in the village of Swiátkowa Mała, which is also not far from Habura. The author identified on the icon is Yakiv, and the manner of painting shows that he is the previously-mentioned Yakiv from Rybotychi, the author of the Passion icon in Wola Wyzna.<sup>36</sup> In the painting in the church from Habura, the sun disk is quite dark, brown-red with large yellow rays, so it represents another layer of symbolism connected not with the Apocalypse but with the image of the Saviour and Heaven in general. It should be noted that in addition to church art, the image of solar signs, and in particular the personified sun, also appears on the Ukrainian Cossack military flags of the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>37</sup> Here it is also a sign of Heaven and may have ancient origins since the radiant personified sun appeared on the coat of arms of Podillia (now a part of Ukraine) and, in 1410, on the military flags of the newly created Podillia Voivodeship.<sup>38</sup> In the mid-1600s, Cossack regiments maneuvered through the territories of the then Lviv and Peremyshl dioceses. The large personified sun and moon also appear in early 17<sup>th</sup> century paintings on the vault of the sanctuary of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross church in Drohobych (here above the image of the Virgin of the incarnation with angels). Thus, this symbolism was quite common at the time and reflected in church art, with the sun being both a sign of Heaven and a symbol of Christ who is 'the light of the world' (John 8:12).

As for the manner of the wall painting of the church from Habura, it is similar to the icons of master Yakiv from Rybotychi, who worked in the 1670s and 1680s for the churches of the villages neighbouring Habura: Wola Wyzna, Swiátkowa Mała, Swiátkowa Welka and Kotań

36 Kosiv, 'Icons from Wola Wyzna and Swiátkowa Mała churches of the Master Yakiv from Rybotyche 1670–1680s'.

37 Roksolana Kosiv, *Ukrayynski khoruhvy (Ukrainian banners)* (Kyiv: Oranta, 2009), 62, 64.

38 Such flags were described by the historian Jan Długosz during the 1410 Battle of Grunwald. See: Jan Długosz, *Bitwa Grunwaldzka: (z historii Polski)*, opr. Jan Dąbrowski (Kraków, 1921), 96.

(all in Poland). In addition, icons of four apostles<sup>39</sup> from the Deesis tier of the iconostasis were preserved from the unknown church in the vicinity of Svidnik (Slovakia). The style of painting suggests that these icons may also be the work of Yakiv. Master Yakiv, as we assume, the author of the icons, is mentioned in the 1678 document as a 'councillor',<sup>40</sup> a member of the magistrate in Rybotychi, which testifies to his high social status. In addition to Yakiv, archival documents from 1660–1670 name five more icon painters from Rybotychi,<sup>41</sup> although their works are not identified.

Examining the painting on the walls of the church from Habura, we believe that at least two masters worked on it. It is noticeable in the slightly different style of the Passion scenes. In our opinion, one artist painted the scenes of the Resurrection of Lazarus and the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, another the following scenes in this tier. The author of the scene of the Resurrection of Lazarus also painted the scenes of the Flagellation, the Coronation with a Crown of Thorns, The Man of Sorrow, and The Road to Golgotha.

It is also important to pay attention to an 1878 document describing the church visit in Habura, which states that the church had an antiminsion consecrated in 1678 by the Peremyshl bishop Anthony Vynnytskyi<sup>42</sup> (1600–1679). This is important information for our study because it was an antiminsion given to the church, which is now in

39 One icon is reproduced in Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, fig. 464.

40 This is a document of a court case from 1678 that states that painters from Rybotychi, Yakiv and Ivanko Dombrovskiyi, went to the town of Sambir (now in Ukraine) and visited the local carver Shymon Lelia. Then they fought among themselves. See: Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, fund 436, description 16, file 131, fol. 19–20; Wołodymyr Aleksandrowycz, 'Rybotycki ośrodek malarski w drugiej połowie XVII wieku', *Polska – Ukraina: 1000 lat sąsiedztwa Przemyśl, T. 2: Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym* (Przemyśl, 1994), 341–345, esp. p. 347. We assume that this is the same Yakiv who signed the two mentioned icons of the Passion of Christ in 1675 and the Last Judgment in 1687.

41 Aleksandrowycz, 'Rybotycki ośrodek malarski w drugiej połowie XVII wieku', 346–347; Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, 39–57.

42 There was also an antiminsion from 1718 consecrated by the Mukachevo bishop Yurii Bizancii (1716–1733). This visit states that the church was built in 1740 under parish priest Luka Barnovych, and a five-tiered iconostasis was dedicated in 1877. See: Habura. Kan. Vizit. Inv. č. 478, rok 1878, Archive of Greek Catholic Archdiocese in Prešov, sign. 17, pp. 1–4. Mukachevo bishop Manuil Olshavskiyi, when inspecting the Archangel Michael church in Habura in 1750, wrote that it was wooden, had stood since 'time immemorial' (meaning that in general, the church in Habura has been there for a long time), and was decorated 'with all images'. There were 400 people for confession and 60 households. (Compared with other villages of Zemplin County, Habura had many inhabitants). Only the antiminsion of Yurii Bizancii is mentioned. See: *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 152; Hadzhega, 'Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus'kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiyi', 111–112.

Hradec Králové. Anthony Vynnytskyi was the last Orthodox bishop of the Peremyshl diocese and the last who officially had the title of Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych, and All Rus' and was subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>43</sup> The presence of his antimission testifies that the priest in Habura and the faithful did not support union with the Roman Church at that time. In addition, we believe that the time of the consecration of the antimission may indicate the approximate period of wall-painting in the church, 1678, which coincides with the time when the previously mentioned master Yakiv painted the Passion icon for the church in Wola Wyzna, i.e., 1675. The condition of the wall painting and the manner of painting of the icon do not allow us to connect it directly with this artist, but rather with the Rybotychi centre in general. Thus, the church in Hradec Králové has one of the oldest wall paintings of the (Eastern Rite) Mukachevo diocese churches.<sup>44</sup>

A fragment of a composition representing God the Father (?) and an angel in medallions<sup>45</sup> probably belongs to the same time as the wall painting of the church from Habura. Today it is difficult to reconstruct where such a large icon<sup>46</sup> was originally located in the church. Its composition is not typical of icons, but more typical of wall paintings. In particular, on the beams of the walls of the church from Habura narthex, we see traces of similar medallions but located horizontally. The painting is lost here.

### ICONS AND THEIR AUTHORSHIP

The next period of the creation of icons for the church in Hradec Králové is related to its history in the village of Malá Pořana, to where the church was moved in the 1740s. The painting style of icons shows that they were painted in different periods by five different artists.<sup>47</sup> Of these, the icons on the walls and in the sanctuary are older than the icons in the iconostasis.

43 In 1685 his successor, Metropolitan Gedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertynskyi, recognised the supremacy of the Patriarch of Moscow.

44 A painting of the eastern nave wall of the Assumption of the Virgin church in the village Novoselytsia in Transcarpathia (Ukraine) is perhaps only a little older as it was made in 1662.

45 The composition was repainted.

46 Measured 97 x 188 cm.

47 We do not take into account the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria painted around 1935 (as a copy of the 1700s–1720s icon that is in the church), on which an old (second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) carved wooden robe was placed.

On the walls of the church nave, there are icons of the Virgin Hodegetria,<sup>48</sup> St Nicholas,<sup>49</sup> the central part of the Deesis icon from the iconostasis with the image of Christ on the throne, the Virgin, and St John the Baptist.<sup>50</sup> The icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (Fig. 11) and the Deesis icon (Fig. 12) were painted by the same author.

This artist also painted the Pieta icon, which is a part of the ciborium in the sanctuary of the church (Fig. 14), and a small icon of the prophet David in a medallion (Fig. 13), which originally belonged to the prophetic tier of the iconostasis. Later this icon was mounted to the ciborium icon with the Annunciation (Fig. 19).<sup>51</sup> The name of the prophet is not specified, but his iconography – a gray-bearded old man in a crown – shows that it is King David. His posture indicates that the icon came from the left side of the iconostasis.

Supposedly from the Sovereign tier of an iconostasis was the Virgin Hodegetria icon (Fig. 11). Such icons were typical of iconostases of that time. The frame shape and size indicate that the St Nicholas icon (Fig. 16) belonged to the same iconostasis. This icon has a slightly different manner of painting than the four previously mentioned icons. We assume that these were icons from the iconostasis of an older church in Malá Pořana. They were probably transferred to the new church that was brought from Habura, and then placed in its iconostasis until a new iconostasis was erected. Unfortunately, in the description of the visitation of Bishop Olshavskyi in 1750–1752, there is no description of the church in Malá Pořana. This church is only mentioned as subordinated to the Archangel Michael church in Miková.<sup>52</sup> Here we can only assume that the bishop did not describe the church as it was not ready for worship and had not yet been consecrated. It should also be noted that in this visitation, the church in Miková is mentioned as having originated “from time immemorial, now five years ago it was erected, beautiful, completely painted in the middle and decorated with all new images.”<sup>53</sup>

48 Measured 74 x 110 cm.

49 Measured 74 x 120 cm.

50 Measured 74 x 110 cm.

51 There is no information on when this happened.

52 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 153. As noted, Miková is neighboring village to Malá Pořana.

53 *Ibid.*, 153; Hadzhega, ‘Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus’kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy’, 112.



FIG. 11. VIRGIN HODEGETRIA, 1700S–1720S, ICON, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, NAVE WALL. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.

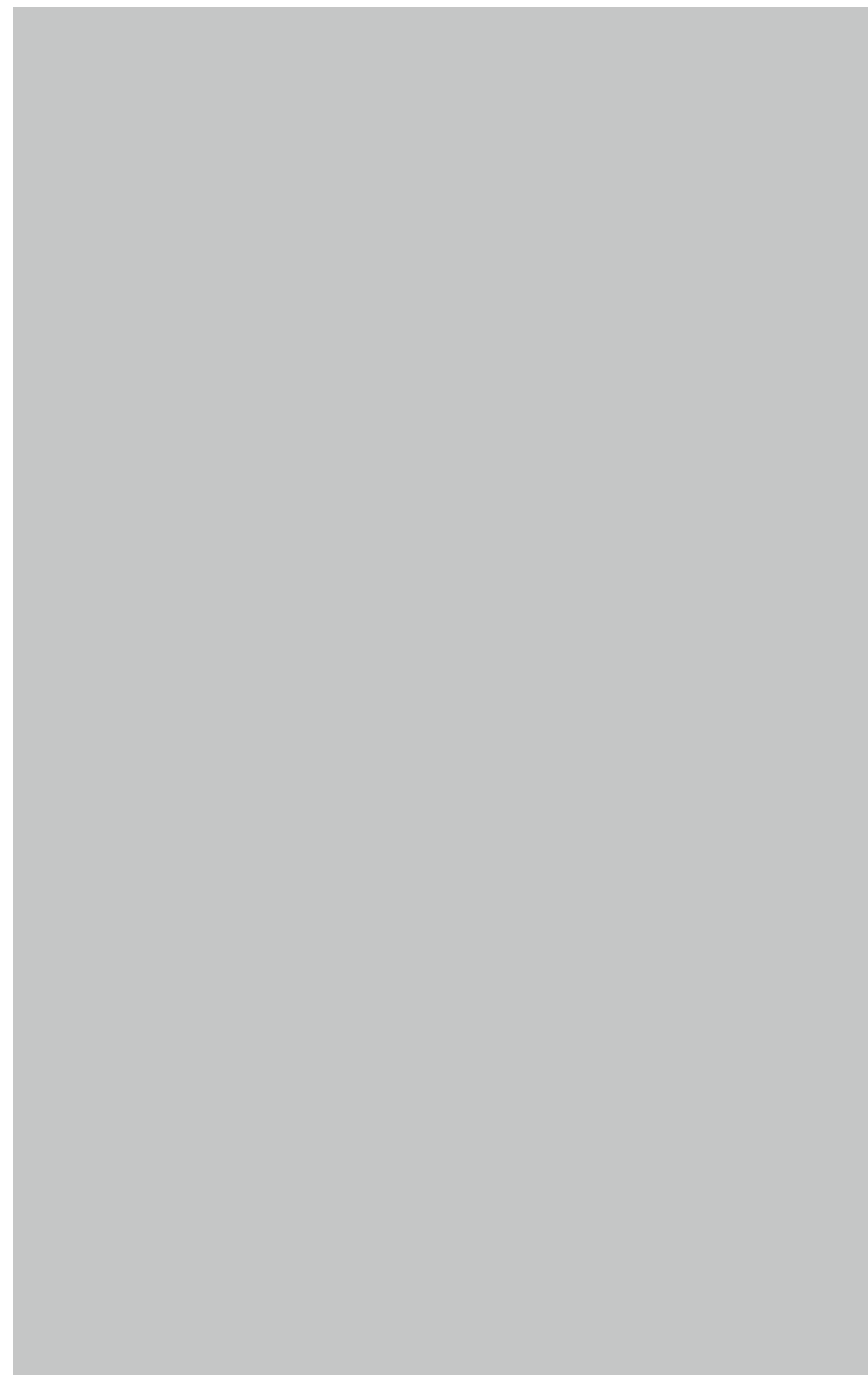


FIG. 12. DEESIS, CIRCA 1700S–1720S, ICON, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, NAVE WALL (PREVIOUSLY FROM THE DEESIS TIER OF THE ICONOSTASIS). PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.



FIG. 13. PROPHET DAVID, CIRCA 1700S–1720S, ICON, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS (PREVIOUSLY FROM THE PROPHETIC TIER OF THE ICONOSTASIS). PHOTO: FALTA JAN, STATUÁRNÍ MĚSTO HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, 2022.



FIG. 14. PIETA, CIRCA 1700S–1720S, CIBORIUM, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, SANCTUARY. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.



FIG. 15. VIRGIN ELEUSA, CIRCA 1700S–1720S, ICON FROM ŻOHATYN CHURCH (POLAND). MUSEUM OF FOLK ARCHITECTURE IN SANOK, № 2753. PHOTO: ROKSOLANA KOSIV.

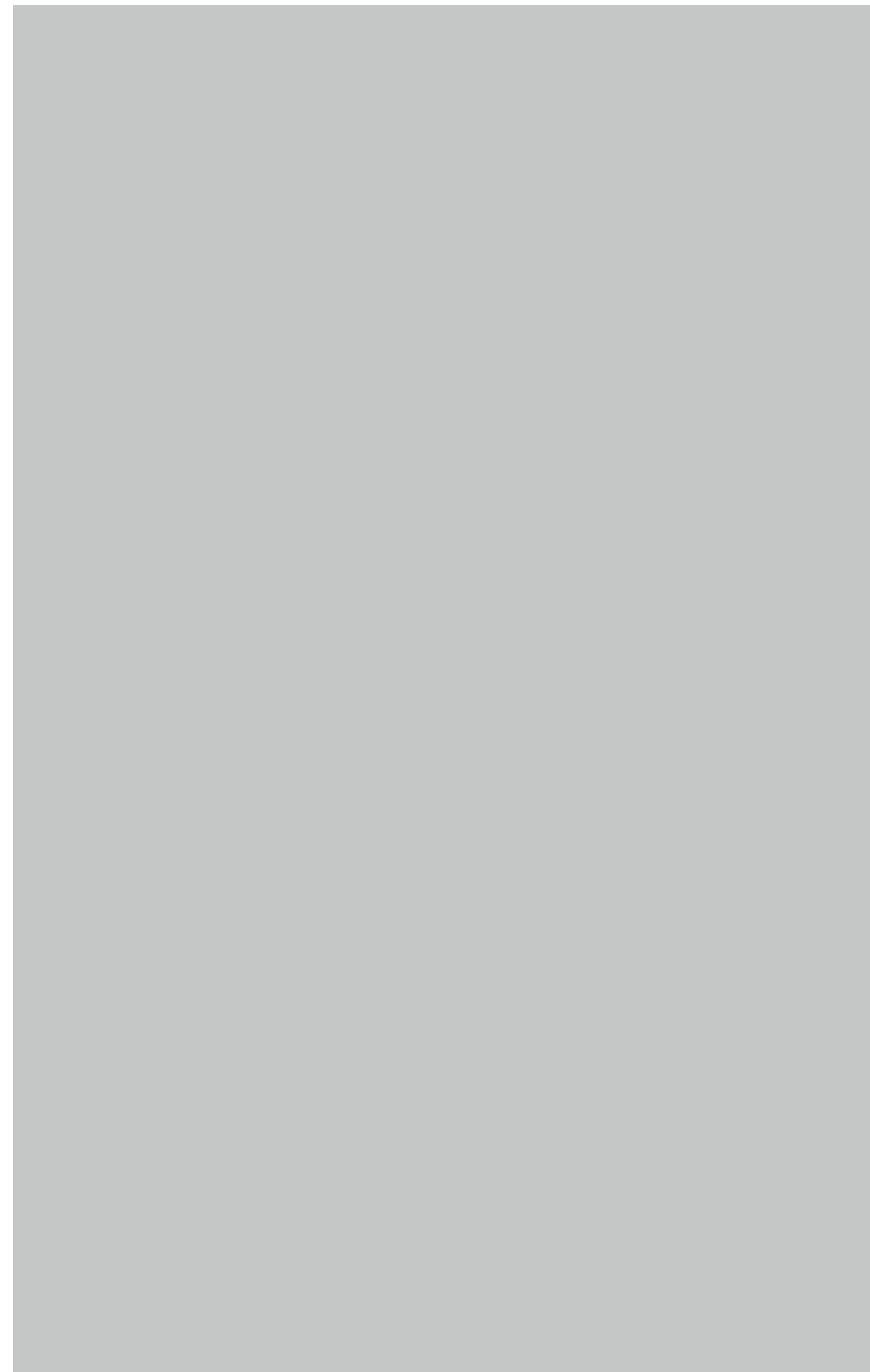


FIG. 16. ST NICHOLAS, CIRCA 1720S–1740S, ICON, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS. PHOTO: PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.

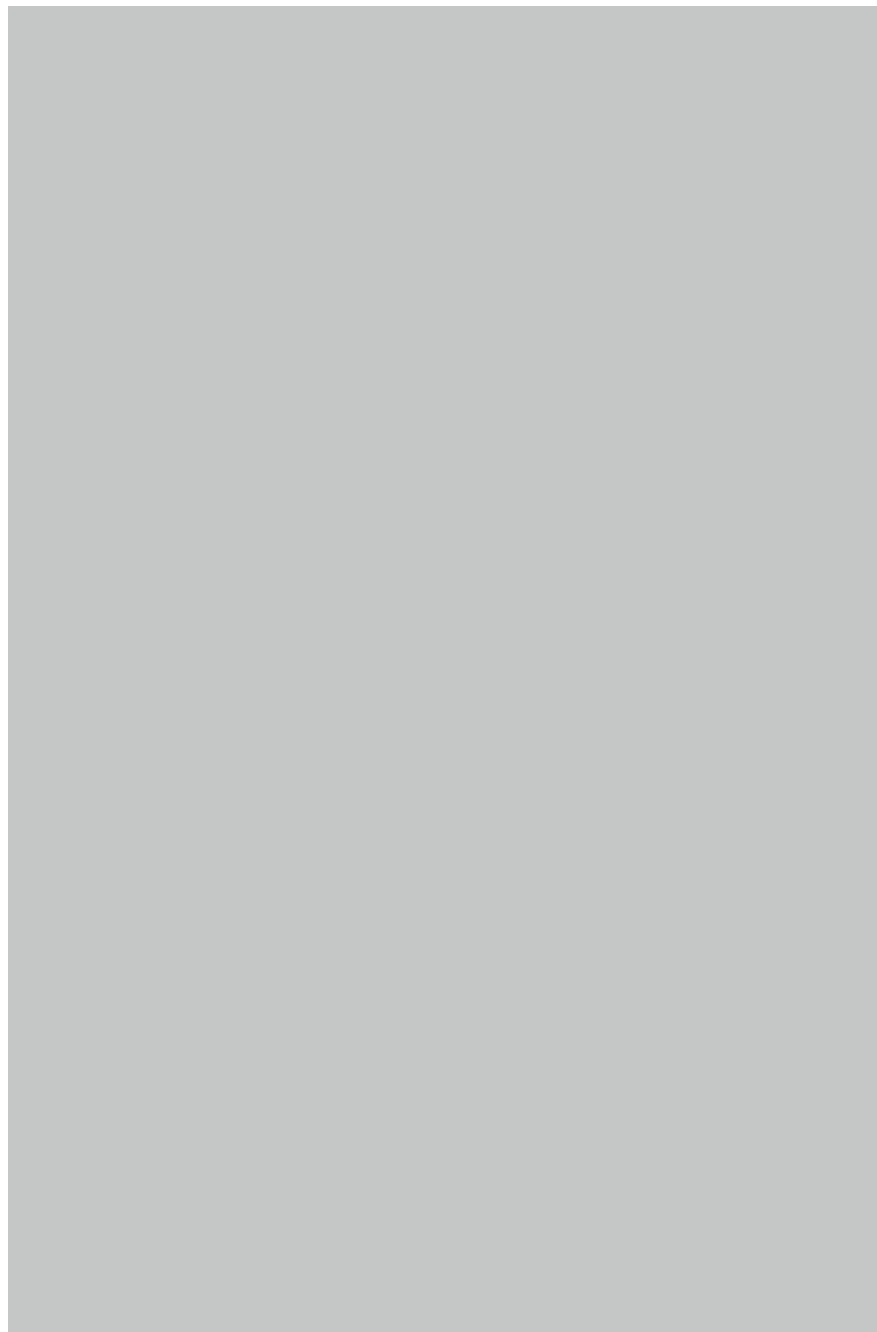


FIG. 17. ST NICHOLAS, CIRCA 1720S–1740S, ICON FROM MALÁ POĽANA CHURCH, ŠARIŠ MUSEUM IN BARDEJOV (SLOVAKIA), H-5617. PHOTO: ROKSOLANA KOSIV.

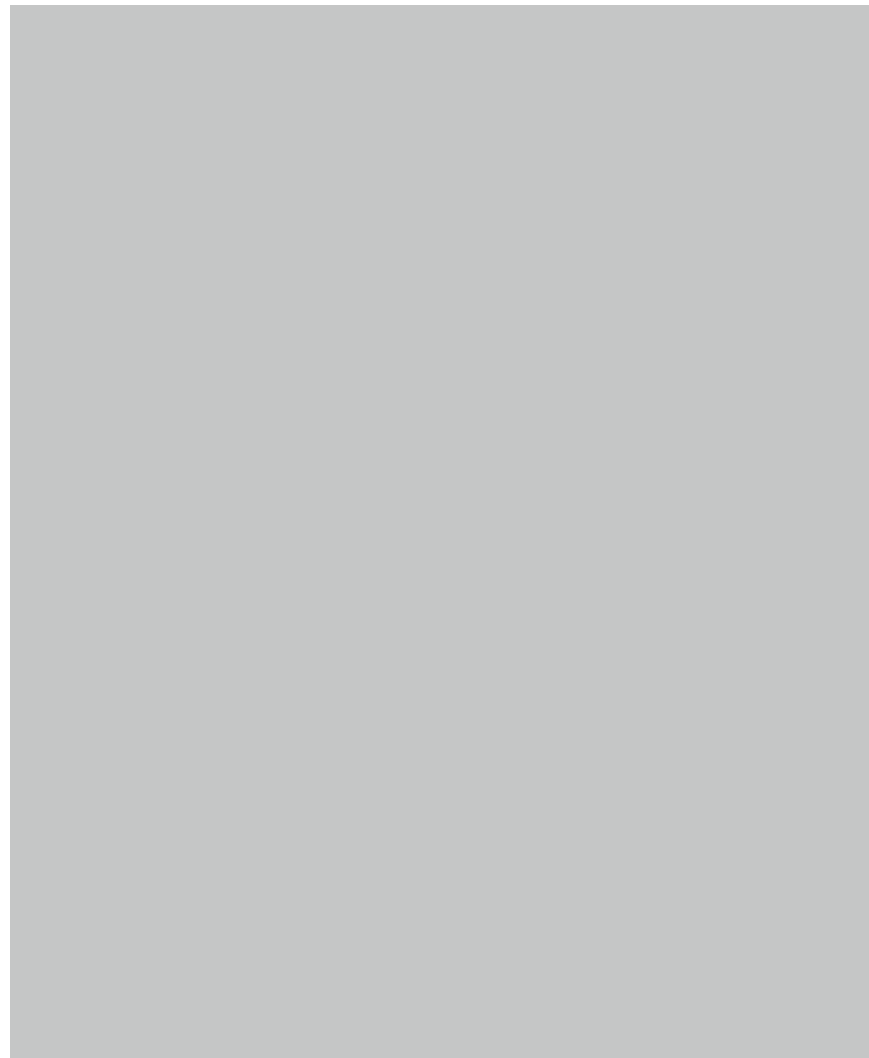


FIG. 18. ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, 1740S, ICON FROM LADOMIROVÁ CHURCH (SLOVAKIA), ŠARIŠ MUSEUM IN BARDEJOV, H-1001. PHOTO: ROKSOLANA KOSIV.



Icons identical in the manner of painting to the icons of the Virgin Hodegetria, Pieta, the prophet David, and Deesis are found in various churches and museums in Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine. These are the icons of the Virgin Eleusa from Žohatyn church (Fig. 15),<sup>54</sup> the same icon in the Sovereign tier of the iconostasis in Topoľa church,<sup>55</sup> Virgin Eleusa from Sheptychi,<sup>56</sup> the icon of St Demetrius from the church near Bardejov and Svidnik (exact origin unknown),<sup>57</sup> the Christ Pantocrator in the Sovereign tier of the iconostasis of Lukov-Venécia church,<sup>58</sup> and the Archangel Michael in the church in Brežany.<sup>59</sup> These icons come from different ensembles, one set of icons of this artist from one church has not been found. Close to the icon-painting of this, unfortunately, anonymous artist are a number of icons that are attributed to 'the author of the Deesis icons from the church in Tyniowice'.<sup>60</sup> In addition to the above-mentioned Deesis from the church in Tyniowice (Poland), this author painted the upper tiers of the iconostasis in the Archangel Michael church in Semenivka, near Lviv (Ukraine).<sup>61</sup> We turn our attention to the works of this artist because the date of construction of the churches in Semenivka and Tyniowice can roughly determine the time of icon creation. The church in Tyniowice was built in 1700,<sup>62</sup> and the church in Semenivka in 1718. The deacon's door of its iconostasis was painted in 1725 by another artist. Accordingly, it should be assumed that the author of the Deesis icons from Tyniowice worked between 1700 and 1725. This period coincides with the stylistic of painting of all mentioned icons. Thus, the icons of the Virgin Hodegetria, Pieta, Deesis, and the icon of the Prophet David in the church in Hradec Králové should

54 Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok (Poland), № 2753. Reproduced: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, fig. 222.

55 Ibid., fig. 557.

56 Ibid., fig. 226.

57 Ibid., fig. 559.

58 Ibid., fig. 558.

59 Museum Castle in Łańcut. Ibid., fig. 372.

60 Ibid., fig. 554.

61 These are Deesis tier icons, icons of the prophetic tier, the Last Supper icon from the festive tier. Reproduced: Ibid., figs. 555–556.

62 *Доповідні записки, запити, донесення та ін. документи про стан і збереження пам'ятників архітектури і мистецтва на території Східної Галичини*, State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, fund 616, description 1, file 81, fol. 17.

be dated 1700–1720. The decorative frame of the Pieta icon, with flat-carved ornaments and three-dimensional carved angels' heads, were typical of the Rybotychi artists in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was also typical of these artists to paint small icons of the prophets for the iconostasis, arranging them in a medallion surrounded by bilateral openwork carvings, as we see on the icon in Hradec Králové mentioned above. Icons of the prophets in such frames were typical for Rybotychi artists in the 1690s and 1700s,<sup>63</sup> and later they more often painted two or even three prophets in one semicircular or trifoliate cartouche. This is similar to the iconostasis in the church in Hradec Králové.

The author who painted the icon of St Nicholas (Fig. 16) worked around 1720–1740. There are also many icons that display the same manner of painting in museums and private collections in Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary, in particular in the church in Malá Poľana there is another icon of St Nicholas<sup>64</sup> (Fig. 17) (a patron saint of the church), almost identical in iconography and manner of painting with the icon in the Hradec Králové church. We assume that they were both painted by the same author.

For the image of St Nicholas, artists from Rybotychi, to which we include the author of both of these particular icons, often used a 1682 engraving by Kyiv artist Ioan Shchyrskyi with the image of St John Chrysostom (printed in Vilnius). In addition to these two works with the image of St Nicholas, a fairly large group of icons has the same manner of painting, in particular, icons in the iconostasis of the Archangel Michael church in Ladomirová (Slovakia). On the basis of the most complete preserved complex of icons in this church, we propose identifying this anonymous artist as 'the author of the icons of the Apostles in the Ladomirová church'. In addition to the icons of the Apostles,<sup>65</sup> the artist also painted festive icons, prophets, icons of Christ and the Archangel Michael in the Sovereign tier, as well

63 In particular, such icons of the prophets appear in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century iconostasis in the Šemetkovec church, and similar ones come from the iconostasis of the church in Vladyca (both in Slovakia). See: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 33, 84.

64 Šariš Museum in Bardejov, H-5617. Measured 106 x 67 cm. Published: *Ikony Šarišskeho múzea v Bardejove*, ed. by Vladyslav Grešlik (Bratislava: Ars Monument, 1994), 53 and fig. 50.

65 The right part of the icons of the apostles and prophets was reconstructed, because the iconostasis was damaged during the Second World War and these icons were lost.

as the icon of St Basil on the wall of the nave near the iconostasis.<sup>66</sup> This author also painted the icon of Archangel Michael, which comes from the same church and is now stored in the Šariš Museum in Bardejov<sup>67</sup> (Fig. 18). The church in Ladomirová was built in 1742, so this iconostasis was created after that date, which confirms our assumption that the time of the painter's work was the 1740s. Many of this artist's icons from different churches are stored in the collections of Polish museums. In particular, these are icons from churches in Weremień, Leszczyny, Rudawka, and Ropienka.<sup>68</sup> We also attribute to his authorship the icon of the Synaxis of the Archangel Michael in the Tročany church and the icon of St George Dragon-Fighter from the church in Nová Sedlica<sup>69</sup> (Slovakia).

The style of painting shows that another artist painted the icon of the Annunciation of the Mother of God, which is also a part of the ciborium (Fig. 19).

Icons by this author have been found in the churches and collections of Polish museums and in wooden churches in eastern Slovakia. This artist is also anonymous, identified by his work as 'the author of the Deesis from the church in Rakowa'.<sup>70</sup> His style is recognised by figures with squat proportions, wide shoulders, and large heads. The Deesis icons from Rakowa belong to the collections of two museums: the Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok (Apostles<sup>71</sup>) (Fig. 20) and the National Museum of Przemysł Land in Przemysł (central icon with the image of Christ on the throne).<sup>72</sup> Considering the time of construction of the churches where this artist painted the iconostasis and the manner of painting, we can determine that he worked approximately in the 1740s–1750s.<sup>73</sup>

66 Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 29, 379, 395.

67 H-1001. Published: *Ikony Šariškeho* (note 64), 53 and fig. 46.

68 Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, 465–469.

69 Slovak National Art Gallery (Bratislava). SVK SNG.O 6186H.

70 Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, 486–492.

71 Published: *Ikona Karpacka. Album wystawy w Parku Etnograficznym w Sanoku* (Sanok: Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego, 1998), figs. 134–135.

72 MPH-1868.

73 Roksolana Kosiv, “‘Prosta robota rybotyts'ka’: tvory maystra apostolskoho yarusu z tserkvy v Rakoviy na Lemkivshchyni 1730–1750-kh rr.” (‘Simple Rybotychi work’: works of the master of the Apostolic tier from the church in Rakova, Lemko region, 1730–1750s.’), *Visnyk Kharkivskoyi derzhavnoyi akademiyi dyzaynu i mystetstv: zb. nauk. pr.*, ed. by Volodymyr Danylenko (Kharkiv, 2018), 65–72.

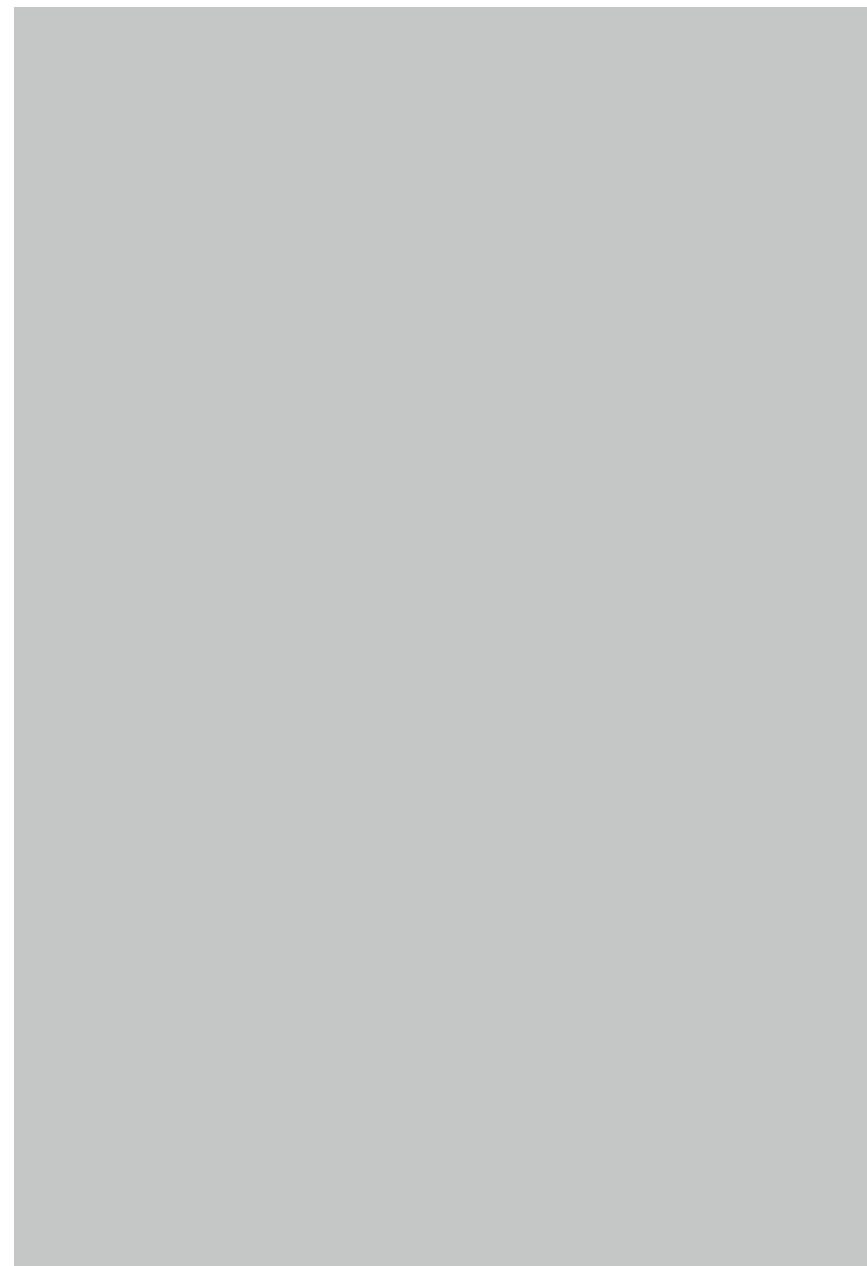


FIG. 19. ANNUNCIATION, CIRCA 1740S–1750S, CIBORIUM, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS, SANCTUARY. PHOTO: FALTA JAN, STATUÁRNÍ MĚSTO HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, 2022.



FIG. 20. APOSTLES, CIRCA 1740–1750S, ICONS FROM THE DEESIS TIER, RAKOWA (POLAND), CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, MUSEUM OF FOLK ARCHITECTURE IN SANOK (POLAND), № 354, 355. PHOTO: ROKSOLANA KOSIV.

We do not know why another ciborium was created, since the previously mentioned one with the Pieta icon was probably already in the church at that time. We can assume that there could have been a side altar in the nave with a separate ciborium. It is also worth paying attention to the similar composition of both ciboria, which consist of a large icon in a frame and a small locker with a door, where the consecrated gifts were kept. A symbolic image of Golgotha is painted on the door of the locker of ciborium with the Pieta: a cross with instruments of passion, Adam's skull, and the abbreviation 'інці ic xc ніка κ τ ρβ мл'. An abbreviated version of the Golgotha composition is on the ciborium with the Annunciation. This method of making a ciborium was typical of the work of the Rybotychi masters in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A number of such works have been preserved, in particular a few in churches in Slovakia.<sup>74</sup>

The style of painting shows that the author of the Annunciation icon also painted the Deesis icon in the iconostasis of the wooden church of St Paraskeva in Górzanka (Poland). The documents of the 1756 visit of this church say that 'the images of Christ and the Mother of God are new, but are peeling because of a bad foundation',<sup>75</sup> and

<sup>74</sup> In particular, in churches in Šemetkovce, Krajné Čierne, Topoľa, Tročany. Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-ky rokiv*, figs. 96, 110, 111, 113.

<sup>75</sup> *Опис церков, інвентаря церковного і будинків парафіяльних Балигородського деканату 1756 р.*, State Archive in Przemyśl, Akta Biskupstwa Grecko-Katolickiego (ABGK), № 58, p. 2; Jarosław Giemza, *Najdawniejszy, znany ikonostas cerkwi p.w. Św. Paraskewy w Górzance ufundowany po 1718 roku. Rekonstrukcja na podstawie zachowanych elementów*. 2007 r. (współpraca ks. P. Bartnik). Private documents of J. Giemza.



FIG. 21. ICONOSTASIS, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS. PHOTO: FALTA JAN, STATUÁRNÍ MĚSTO HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, 2022.



FIG. 22. DEESIS AND PROPHETIC TIERS OF THE ICONOSTASIS, CIRCA 1750S–1760S, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS. PHOTO: FALTA JAN, STATUÁRNÍ MĚSTO HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, 2022; PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.



FIG. 23. DEESIS AND PROPHETIC TIERS OF THE ICONOSTASIS, CIRCA 1750S–1760S, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICOLAS. PHOTO: FALTA JAN, STATUÁRNÍ MĚSTO HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, 2022; PROJEKČNÍ ATELIER PRO DOKUMENTACI, PRŮZKUM A OBNOVU HISTORICKÝCH STAVEB, S.R.O., 2019.

these icons were probably lost long ago. Since the icons in the visit of 1756 are mentioned as new, it should be assumed that they were painted in the early 1750s, which also confirms the time period when this artist worked.

The works of the author of the Deesis from the Rakowa church were also found in three functioning churches in Slovakia. These are icons in the iconostasis of the church in Ruská Bystrá<sup>76</sup> (except for the Sovereign tier icon of the Mother of God) and the Pieta icon, which is in the sanctuary of this church. In the church of St John the Baptist in Kalná Roztoka,<sup>77</sup> this artist produced the entire iconostasis.<sup>78</sup> Three

76 Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 660–662.

77 In the 18<sup>th</sup> century this was Kalna village. See: *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 227.

78 Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 657–659.

Sovereign tier icons of this iconostasis (except St John the Baptist) were later repainted. Another church that has similar icons in the iconostasis is the church of St George in Jalová.<sup>79</sup> The current church was built in 1792, so the iconostasis was moved from the older one, which, according to local information was built in 1745.<sup>80</sup> The time of construction of the older church indicates that the time of execution of the iconostasis was after 1745, which coincides with the period when this painter worked.

The most recent in terms of creation is the iconostasis in the church in Hradec Králové (Fig. 21).

The icons of this iconostasis are the work of two artists and were created at different times. Three upper tiers of the iconostasis – the prophetic,<sup>81</sup> Deesis<sup>82</sup> (Figs. 22, 23) and festive<sup>83</sup> with the Last supper icon in the centre as well as the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St John the Theologian on the top of the iconostasis – were painted by one artist approximately in the 1750–1760s. This author, like the previous painter, is also distinguished by a naive manner of painting with shortened figure proportions. The colour scheme of his work is often based on the combination of bright blue and red.

Icons by this painter are also distinguished by their calligraphy. The text on the book of the Saviour is written in capital letters in black and red. The works of this artist are found in various churches and museum collections in Slovakia. For example, he painted three upper

79 Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 32, 663.

80 In the 1750–1752 visitation documents the church in Jalová is not mentioned.

81 This tier includes images of 12 prophets. They are depicted with scrolls in their hands on which their names are written in Cyrillic. From left to right we see: Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah, Amon (should be Amos), Zechariah, Aaron, Moses, Elijah, David, Manasseh, Solomon and Melchizedek. The iconography of the prophetic tier is typical of iconostases of that time, in particular, the authorship of artists from Rybotychi, except for the image of Melchizedek High Priest. His iconography was not typical for the prophetic tier of the iconostasis. In some Ukrainian 17<sup>th</sup> century iconostases he is placed on the Deacons' door sometimes paired with Aaron (on the other Deacons' door).

82 The iconography of the Deesis tier here is also typical of local iconostases. From left to right we see: the Apostles Thomas, Bartholomew, Mark, Andrew, Matthew, Peter, Paul, John, Lucas, Jacob, Simon, Philip.

83 Here almost all festive icons (except for the Baptism of Christ and the Presentation of Jesus at the temple, which are in opposite places) are put in the order of the great feasts of the Church year: the Nativity of Virgin Mary, The Entry of the Virgin Mary into the Temple, the Nativity of Christ, the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Annunciation, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Resurrection, the Ascension of Jesus, Pentecost, the Transfiguration, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.



FIG. 24. DEESIS TIER OF THE ICONOSTASIS, CIRCA 1750S–1760S, ORIGIN UNKNOWN (VICINITY OF MICHALOVCE), COLLECTION OF THE ZEMPLIN MUSEUM IN MICHALOVCE (SLOVAKIA). PHOTO: ROKSOLANA KOSIV.

tiers (festive, Deesis, and prophetic) in the iconostasis of Archangel Michael church in Topoľa.<sup>84</sup> When Bishop Olshavskiy described the church in Topoľa in 1750–1752, he wrote that it was decorated with ‘all images’. That is, at that time, these icons were already in the church.<sup>85</sup>

The Deesis icons, the icons of prophetic and festive tiers, originating from an unknown church in the vicinity of Michalovce (kept in the collection of the Zemplin Museum in Michalovce<sup>86</sup>) exhibit the same style of painting (Fig. 24). The same author also painted the central Deesis icon,<sup>87</sup> the icons of the prophets, the Crucifixion, and the festive icons in the iconostasis of the Runina church, which is in the collection of the Vigorlat Museum in Humenné. In the 1750 description of the Runina church, Bishop Olshavskiy wrote that there were Sovereign tier icons, but the Apostles were on canvas.<sup>88</sup> Thus, we can assume that the upper tiers of the iconostasis were created after 1750. Other icons were also painted by this artist: the

84 Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 675–677, 679.

85 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 219.

86 Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, figs. 672–673.

87 Published: *Ibid.*, fig. 674.

88 *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 221.

Last Supper icon from the church of the Havaj,<sup>89</sup> the Christ in the Sovereign tier of the iconostasis in the church in Šemetkovce, icons of the Deesis, festive, and prophetic tiers of the iconostasis from the Pravrovce church.<sup>90</sup> The visit documents of Pravrovce church say that it has Deesis ‘on canvas’.<sup>91</sup> The canvas from Pravrovce depicting the Deesis and the prophetic tier of the iconostasis is preserved. The style of painting shows that it was created between 1720 and the 1730s.<sup>92</sup> Since in the same visit says that the church in Pravrovce was built in 1726, the canvas was painted for the newly built church. Accordingly, the upper tiers of the iconostasis were painted on board after the visit of the bishop who was critical of the icons of the apostles ‘on canvas’ in the iconostasis. This also confirms that this artist worked between the 1740s and 1760s. It should be noted that the villages of Havaj, Pravrovce, and Malá Poľana, mentioned above, where the icons of this anonymous painter were found in the churches, are close to each other. A little further are the villages of Topoľa and Runina. This also shows how the artists obtained work. The faithful saw their paintings in the church of a nearby village and invited them to paint their own churches.

Considering the manner of painting of the icons from the 1700s–1760s in the church of Hradec Králové, we believe that despite the fact that they are attributed to different authors who worked at different times, they were made in the same painting centre. This is indicated by iconography, style, and common features of the decorative frames of icons. Visual observations show that the author who painted the four oldest icons was the most skilful of these artists. As was discovered through detailed study of the works of Rybotytskyy artists, in particular icons with author’s inscriptions, artists who worked in the 1680s–1720s had a fairly good professional level. The works of artists who worked later often display a lower

89 Collection of the Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svidnik. Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, fig. 678.

90 The Sovereign tier icons of this iconostasis were, apparently also the work of this artist, although they were later repainted. They are now in the church from the village of Nová Polianka, which has been transferred to the open-air museum of Ukrainian culture in Svidnik. The old village of Pravrovce (first mentioned in 1408) is now part of the village of Repejov.

91 Hadzhega, ‘Dodatky do istoriyi rusyniv i rus’kykh tserkvey v buvshiy zhupi Zemplynskiy’, 114; *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez...*, 94.

92 It is stored in the Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svidnik. Published: Kosiv, *Rybotytskyy oseredok tserkovnoho mystetstva 1670–1760-kh rokiv*, fig. 91.

professional level, which is visible in the deformation of figures, errors in inscriptions, and careless calligraphy. However, the artists continued to prefer pure and light colours, often using red-orange. The author of the three upper tiers of the iconostasis, in our opinion, represents the apogee of the activity of this centre. At a time when the higher clergy of both Peremyshl and Mukachevo dioceses were focused on Western European art with tonal modelling, an illusion of space, realistic landscapes, the works of such 'simple' artists seemed ugly. On the other hand, these works were probably much cheaper than the works of professional artists, so they were available to parishioners of rural churches who, as a rule, were the funders of all church arrangements. In addition, the bright colours of the icons and their decorative carved frames created a solemn mood in the interior, which was quite dark in wooden churches. In 1766, the higher clergy of the Peremyshl diocese issued an order forbidding the work of Rybotychi painters in the church: 'Images of Rybotychi and other obscene work to set a bad example for people, therefore it is necessary for priests to command their parishioners not to buy such images at fairs because such images will not be accepted in churches.'<sup>93</sup> In fact, after the 1760s, the activities of the artists at this centre cannot be traced. In the 1750s and 1760s, their works were found mainly in remote churches in the north-western part of Mukachevo diocese, i.e., churches that were not covered by this resolution. Mukachevo bishop Manuil Olshavskyi also tried his best to bring his diocese, in particular churches and their arrangements, to order, so he himself visited every parish.<sup>94</sup>

Sovereign tier icons of Christ, the Mother of God, St Nicholas, and the Archangel Michael (Fig. 25) in the iconostasis in Hradec Králové church were painted by another artist even later, in the 1770s and 1780s. The top of these icons is decorated with carved motifs in the Rococo style. Rococo motifs borrowed from Catholic works were widespread in the church art of the region in the 1770s and 1780s.

93 In: Pavlo Zholtovsyy, *Ukrayinskyy zhyvopys XVII–XVIII st. (Ukrainian painting of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1978), 278. We could not find the original document of this resolution.

94 Manuil Olshavskyi fought for independence from the Catholic bishop of Eger, who informed the papal throne that there was a surplus in the union churches of the Greek Rus' rite. Roman Catholic Bishops of Eger made every effort to have the local population profess loyalty to their leadership and the Latin rite. See: Pryymych, *Tserkovne profesiyne malyarstvo Zakarpattya...*, 34–35, 59–60.

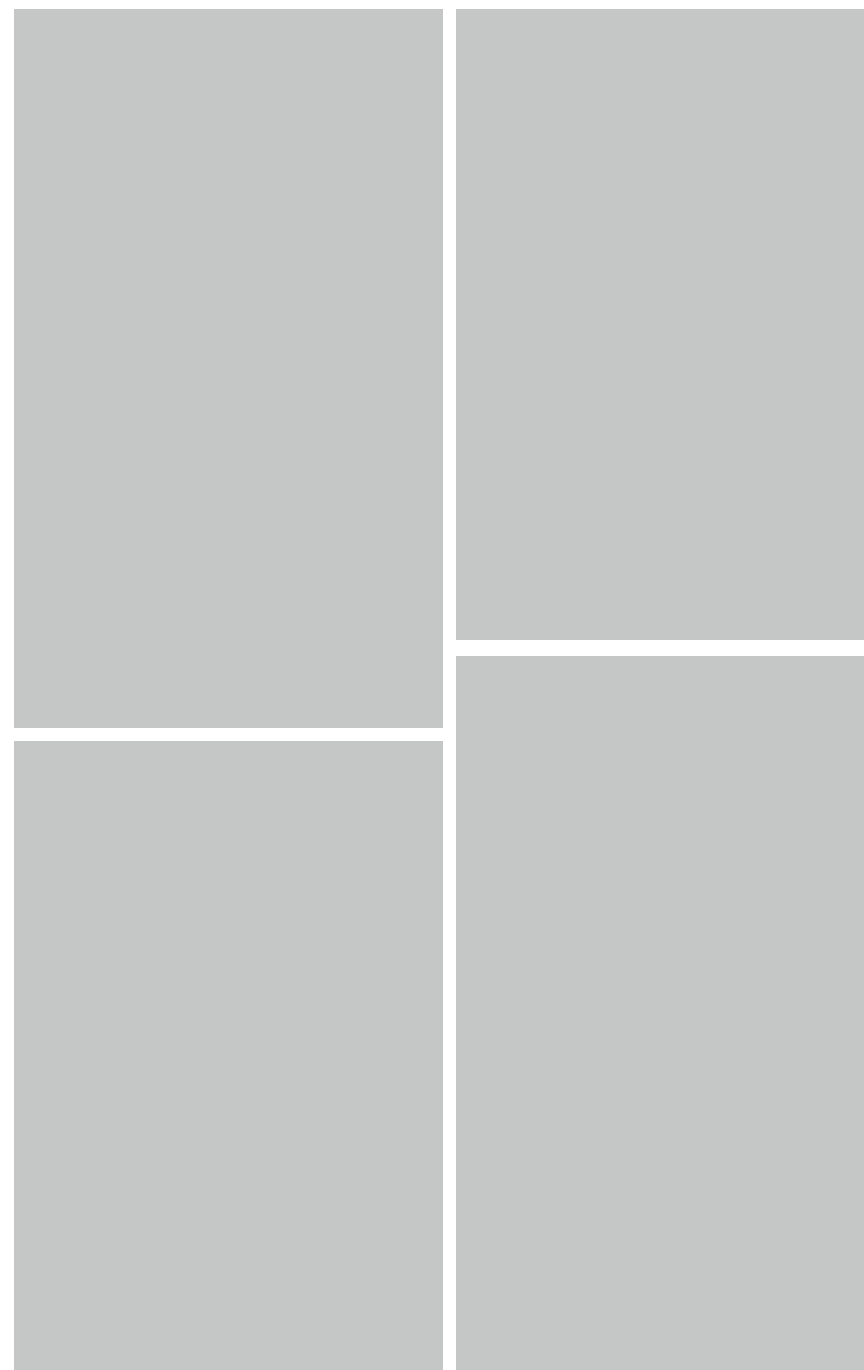


FIG. 25. ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE MOTHER OF GOD, CHRIST, ST NICHOLAS, CIRCA 1770S–1780S, SOVEREIGN TIER ICONS OF THE ICONOSTASIS, HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS. PHOTO: A. Q. ATTENTUS QUALITATIS, S.R.O., 2019.



They were primarily adopted by professional artists, as well as by icon painters at Basilian monasteries, which were more likely to carry out church reforms related to the adaptation of elements of the Latin rite and the arrangement of the church. The popularity of Rococo aesthetics is generally associated with the reign of Empress Maria Theresa.<sup>95</sup> The then bishop of Mukachevo diocese, Andrii Bachynskiy (1772–1809), focused on the new professional art.<sup>96</sup> The style of painting and iconography of the Sovereign tier icons of Christ and the Mother of God, especially the icon of Christ,<sup>97</sup> are similar to the same icons in the iconostasis of St John church in Kalná Roztoka. According to the inscription below the image of Christ, these icons were 'repainted' in 1771 in a monastery in Malyi Bereznyi (now Ukraine).

Therefore, we can connect the Sovereign tier icons in the iconostasis of the Hradec Králové church with the artists of the Malyi Bereznyi monastery. We also note that in the Sovereign tier there is an icon of the Archangel Michael, probably in honour of the ancient dedication of the Habura church.

#### CONCLUSION: THE CHURCH AS AN IMAGE OF LOCAL ART CULTURE

The wall painting and icons in the wooden church in Hradec Králové reflect almost a century of history of the development of church art on the border of the then Mukachevo and Peremyshl dioceses of the Ukrainian (*Rus'ka*) Church. The wall painting and icons in the church are closely connected with the history of the building itself and its faithful in Habura and Malá Poľana and illustrate the development of the art of church arrangement in this region. The stylistics of the icons testified to their connection with the artists of the large active centre of church art in Rybotychi and reflects the different stages of its activity in general and the specific artists, of which there were four. The icons of the Sovereign tier of the iconostasis were made in a different manner and their authorship can be related to the monastic artists, who were more focused on the works of Western

95 Prymych, *Tserkovne profesiynne malyarstvo Zakarpattya...*, 143.

96 Ibid., 197–198.

97 The Mother of God icon had been changed significantly during the restoration.

European artists and represented the professional direction of church art of the Mukachevo Greek Catholic diocese in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**ROKSOLANA KOSIV: MIGRANT CHURCH: ICONS AND WALL PAINTINGS OF THE WOODEN CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS IN HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ**  
**KEYWORDS:** CHURCH ART; WALL PAINTING; ICON; ICONOSTASIS; HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ; HABURA; RYBOTYCZE

#### SUMMARY

The church of St Nicholas, which is now located on the territory of Jiráskovy sady Park in Hradec Králové, Czech Republic, was originally built in the village of Habura (Slovakia). During the 2017 restoration, the iconostasis was dismantled, which made it possible to study the wall painting, preserved in fragments. The article examines the icons on the church walls, in the sanctuary and in the iconostasis, and the wall painting in the context of the activity of their authors. Most of the icons are attributed to the centre of church art in the town of Rybotychi (today the village of Rybotycze in Fredropol district of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship of Poland). In addition to the manner of painting and of the frame carving of the icons, the history of the church's relocation shows that it was originally built in the epicentre of the activity of these masters on the border of the Peremyshl (today the town of Przemyśl, Subcarpathian Voivodeship of Poland) and Mukachevo (today a town in Ukraine) dioceses of the Ukrainian (than called *Rus'ka*) church. The chronology of the icon painting is related to the transfers and rededications of the church. The connection of the wall painting with the painting style of the master Yakiv Rybotychi, who, as we assume, was the leading master of this centre in the 1670s and 1680s, is substantiated. Associated with his authorship are icons originating from the churches of Habura's neighbouring villages. This confirms our hypothesis that the wall painting was created in the 1670s. Church icons belong to masters whose other works have been identified in museum collections and in churches in Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine.



**CV**

**Roksolana Kosiv** is a head of Sacral Art Department at Lviv National Academy of Arts (Ukraine) and Senior Researcher at the Department of Old Art of the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv. Her main research interest is Ukrainian church art of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. She focuses her attention on icon painting in areas which are now adjacent territories to Ukraine, i.e., Poland and Slovakia, and is studying how local masters worked and reflected intercultural and interreligious influences. Her doctoral (habilitation) dissertation (2019) was dedicated to the church art centre in Rybotychi between the 1670s and 1760s and her PhD dissertation (2002) studied Ukrainian banners of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Dr Kosiv is also responsible for the collection of old fabrics and icons on canvas at the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv.