THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RUTHENIANS IN EARLY MODERN ROME:
ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF A UNIATE COMMUNITY,
1596 – 1750

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ABBREVIATIONS

APF – Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide, Rome
APF, SC – Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide, Scritture riferite nei Congressi (Documents referred to in the weekly meetings).
APF, CP – Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide, Congregazioni Particolari (Special Commissions).
APV – Archivio del Patriarcato di Venezia, Venice
ARSI – Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
ASR – Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome
ASV – Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome
ASVe – Archivio Storico di Venezia, Venice
BAV – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Rome
BC – Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome
BH – Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome
BNR – Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Rome
PLC – Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The archival holdings that were consulted for this dissertation can be arranged according to their relevance to the specific subjects & locations:

SS. Sergio e Bacco, national churches, and the medieval & early modern churches in the Monti:

- Archivio di Stato di Roma
- Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide, Rome

Relations between Ruthenians and Rome:

- Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide, Rome
- Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
- Archivio Segreto Vaticano

Printed books and ephemera on Slavs in Rome:

- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome
- Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma
- Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome

Venice and Slavs:

- Archivio del Patriarcato di Venezia
- Archivio di Stato di Venezia

- Archivio della Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Gorgio e Trifone

Naples and Slavs:

- Archivio diocesano di Napoli
- Archivio di Stato di Napoli

Slavs in Loreto:

- Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome

RUTHENIANS IN EARLY MODERN ROME:

ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF A UNIATE COMMUNITY,

1596 – 1750

Anatole Upart, Ph.D.

The University of Chicago 2020

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Anatole Upart, born and raised in Minsk, Belarus (then part of the USSR), had for more than a decade attended the Art School no. 26 (later known as Minsk Art Lyceum and Minsk Art Gymnasium). He and his family immigrated to the United States in 1993. He earned a B.F.A. from the School of the Art Institute of Chicago in 1999, focusing on Printmaking and Art History. He received his M.A. in Art History from the University of Illinois at Chicago in 2011, after which he began his doctoral studies at the University of Chicago in 2013. In the summer of 2014, he was a Kress Fellow for Language Study at the Italian Summer Program of the Middlebury College Language Schools. In the 2016-2017 academic year he studied in Italy as a fellow of a Fulbright Graduate Student Award, affiliated with the Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut in Rome and as a resident at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Centro Vittore Branca, Venice. In 2018, he continued his dissertation research at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany thanks to the generosity of the American Friends of the HAB, the American Catholic Historical Association, and The Hannah Gray Travel Fellowship of the University of Chicago. That same year he returned to Italy, this time to Naples, as a research resident for the inaugural year at *La Capraia* – the Center for the Art and Architectural History of Port Cities, created by the collaboration between The Edith O'Donnell Institute of Art History of the University of Texas at

Dallas and Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte, Naples, Italy. This last portion of his research was supported by the funds from the Dissertation Research Travel Grant and the Biamonte Fellowship Fund of the University of Chicago. During that time, he was awarded The Carl S. Meyer Prize from the Sixteenth Century Studies Society for the best paper presented at the 2017 conference. Upon his return to the United States, he received the Mellon Humanities Dissertation Completion Fellowship from the University of Chicago and was invited to join the Franke Institute for the Humanities of the University of Chicago as an Affiliated Doctoral Fellow. He earned a Ph.D. in Art History in the Department of Art History of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, in 2021.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the visual culture of early modern East Slavic presence in Italy, to the extent it was possible to reconstruct it from the dispersed and diverse textual and visual evidence, and locates it within the urban contexts of Rome, Venice, and Naples. At the center of this inquiry is a national church of the Ruthenian (and later Ukrainian) Catholics in Rome since the seventeenth century, Saints Sergio e Bacco, with its miraculous icon of the Madonna del Pascolo.

The founding of a Ruthenian national church in Rome, specifically dedicated to the celebration of the Byzantine Rite in Church Slavonic, created a cultural and religious foothold for Eastern European Slavs from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the center of the rapidly expanding Global Catholicism. The establishment of the Ruthenian national church in Rome in the old church of Santi Sergio e Bacco in 1639 and papal beatification of the first martyr of the Union – Josaphat Kuncewicz (c. 1580-1623) in 1643, formed an unprecedented opportunity for Ruthenian religious culture to be (re)integrated into Western European at the very height of cultural dominance of the Roman Baroque paradigm.

Combining archival documentation, architectural and urban sites, and a diverse selection of prints, maps, books, and paintings, the dissertation examines the groundwork of this cultural integration, the specific developments in ecclesiastical culture in the wake of the Ruthenian incorporation among the already well established *nationes* of the Eternal City, and the formation of a recognizably new Ruthenian culture marked by what we now consider as the Baroque aesthetic.

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Outside of my immediate committee, several faculty members of the University of Chicago have continuously supported my work in ways that I would never be able to repay: Professors Charles Cohen, Matthew Jesse Jackson, Bob Kendrick, Aden Kumler, Christine Mehring, Richard T. Neer, Katherine Taylor, and Yuri Tsivian. The latter had taught the best course I had ever taken – a course that influenced my comprehensive exam with Prof. Tsivian and my own continuous preoccupation with cinema.

The acknowledgement of my U of C teachers cannot be complete without also acknowledging my mentors from UIC. Professors Ellen Baird, Robert Bruegmann, Heather E. Grossman, Jonathan Mekinda, and Robert Munman nurtured my love of architectural and art history in ways that truly prepared me for the subsequent doctoral work. The day Prof. Munman suggested that I read Trexler's *Public life in Renaissance Florence* and Muir's *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* may well have changed my life.

The course of my art historical journey would not be the same if it were not for meeting Peter Kort Zegers and Douglas Druick in my undergraduate years at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. The experience of working with Peter at the Prints & Drawings Department of AIC made me want to pursue art history as a way of life. The academic friendships I forged at P&D – Jill Bugajski, Jay Clarke, Suzanne Karr Schmidt, and Mark Pascal, to name just a few – have sustained me throughout the years.

My academic career has placed me at the intersection of several extended, and often overlapping, national and transnational networks of academics, ecclesiastics, and artists. Many of them became my dear friends, and I am grateful to them for the advice, support, and steadfast friendship in all these years. During of my Fulbright fellowship in Rome, I was affiliated with the Bibliotheca Hertziana where Suzanne Kubersky-Piredda and Tanja Michalsky kindly offered me advice and regular support in my research. I cannot thank them enough. Within the walls of the Hertziana I also found an amazing group of scholars that made each entrance through Zuccari's monster gate a return "home" – thank you, Jasenka Gudelj, Marco Ruffini, and Arnold Witte.

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I owe so much to my parents, Evelina and Boris Upart, who, one being an editor at Belarusfilm and the other being an urban planner in Minsk, raised me with the love of cities and cinema, enrolled me in an art school at the age of six, and fostered my learning and creativity ever since. I am grateful for my extended family, my grandparents – Liza and Lev Upart & Roza and Józef Żukowski – and for my brother Dmitriy, who, with his wife Caitlin, had kindly opened their home in Rome to me.

The ultimate “thank you” goes to those who felt my absence and enjoyed my presence the most – to my dearly beloved wife, partner, and best friend, April Dauscha-Upart, and to my children: Varfolomei, Veronika, Perpetua, and Ursula. The last two were born in the course of my doctoral studies and the writing of this dissertation. To these five I dedicate the following pages.

To April, Varfolomei, Veronika, Perpetua, and Ursula.

PROLOGUE

The city is redundant: it repeats itself so that something will stick in the mind …
Memory is redundant: it repeats signs so that the city can begin to exist.

Italo Calvino, *The Invisible Cities.*[1]

In the research and writing of this dissertation, I have been accompanied by a growing sense of discrepancy with which I struggled and of which I tried to make sense. The discrepancy that occurred was the surprising (to me) realization of a very diverse liturgical life in early modern Italy and the ubiquity of the final results of such diversity seen in the architecture and visual and material culture of that period. My other concern was a lack of what would be considered a visually "exciting" material – the national church of the Ruthenians (Fig. 0.1) was the very opposite of the national church of the French, San Luigi dei Francesi (Fig. 0.2) – there were no multiple Caravaggios adorning the walls, nor walls constructed by the likes of Giacomo della Porta and Domenico Fontana. However, what I did immediately notice in my research was that SS. Sergio e Bacco had been on the periphery of almost everyone's projects in early modern Rome: della Porta was constructing his Santa Maria dei Monti (1580, Fig. 0.3) across from what would become the Ruthenian church, and was reconfiguring the eponymous piazza (1589, Fig. 0.4) only half a century earlier, but also two decades after the medieval SS. Sergio e Bacco was completely rebuilt (1563). The same could be said of the others involved with the Ruthenian project(s), be they architects and sculptors – Barigioni, Bracci, Ferrari, or painters – Gramiccia, Ceccarini, Stern: the

[1] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities [Le Città Invisibili]*, Translated by William Weaver (New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 19. In the original: "La città è ridondante: si ripete perché qualcosa arrive a fissarsi nella mente… La memoria è ridondante: ripete i segni perché la città comnici a esistere." Italo Calvino*, Le città invisibili* (Torino: Einaudi, 1972), 9-10.

Ruthenian church was peripheral to their more ambitious and better-funded projects. Yet this quality of being "peripheral" to the overall developments in early modern Rome in general and "peripheral" to the careers of creative professionals involved, also betrays a clear similarity to remaining "peripheral" geographically by its location in the Suburra on the immediate scale of the city of Rome and on the larger continental scale (Ruthenia vis-à-vis Italy). As such, the Ruthenian church becomes an example of an observable phenomenon: an analogous relationship played out within the urban world that we see played out in global geopolitics.

To make sense of it all, I turned to Niall Atkinson's ideas on the "use and consumption" and his suggestion that "one cannot turn to images only."[2] The rarity of preserved earlier (medieval and early modern) architecture at the site of SS. Sergio e Bacco has almost required such an approach. The focus on the Ruthenian use and consumption of Roman Baroque artistic production could also explain, I believe, the rapid embrace of the Baroque visual vocabulary on the part of the Byzantine-Rite Ruthenians and their Orthodox compatriots. After all, with local Roman artists and architects dominating the conception and execution of all Ruthenian projects in the Eternal City, the Ruthenian Uniate community in early modern Rome provided the main consumers and beneficiaries of that uniquely cosmopolitan artistic milieu. That "use and consumption" (of architecture) as opposed to visual anesthetic analysis only may have been the guiding principles and the axis around which a new visuality was constructed. The novelty of this development cannot be overestimated as the final byproduct of these new networks, new relationships, new liturgical partnerships established in Rome had been a creation of some form of cultural unity and shared visual vocabulary between the Latin West and the Orthodox (Greek) East heretofore unseen since

[2] Niall Stephen Atkinson, "Architecture, Anxiety, and the Fluid Topographies of Renaissance Florence" (PhD Diss., Cornell University, 2009): 639, 640 respectively.

possibly the early medieval period. Carlo Maderno's Santa Susanna alle Terme di Diocleziano for the Cistercian sisters in Rome (1585-1603, Fig. 0.5) is mirrored by Lviv's own Церква Стрітення Господнього (Church of the Presentation) of the Carmelite nuns (Fig. 0.6), designed by Roman architect Giovanni Battista Gisleni (1600-1672) in that Ruthenian city. Gisleni's grave in Santa Maria del Popolo was a constant reminder to me of the extent of mobility that permeated the world of Early Modernity (Fig. 0.7).

Gisleni is, in more ways than one, a perfect example of the full extent of such mobility behind the spread and influence of the Italian artistic diaspora in Eastern Europe: between Rome and Naples, his travels encompassed the entire expanse of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where he designed buildings in Warsaw, Cracow, Płock, Vilnius, Lviv, and Belarusian countryside outside of Brest.[3] Yet his native Rome was also his final resting place. While the mobility of these architects and their production had remained behind the scope of this dissertation, it opened up a larger-than-expected and rather unmanageable wealth of information on the role of such peregrinations from Apennines to Eastern Europe and back. Although the more notable exponents of the Italian artistic diaspora have been covered by architectural and art historians, scholarship has largely left the roles of lesser-known master builders, who operated within the networks of religious orders and outside of the specifically royal and noble patronage, understudied. I briefly noted the role of Theatine architects in Rome and in Lviv, but this direction remains to be explored in full.

One other possible direction that I chose not to pursue in the dissertation was exploring in detail some issues related to the audience(s) that have been already examined extensively by Polish

[3] Gianpasquale Greco, "Neque hic vivus, neque illic mortuus. La tomba di Giovan Battista Gisleni e il suo doppio a stampa," *Storia dell'arte*, CXL, n.s. 40 (2015): 83-96.

scholars, particularly Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz and her work on festivities and noble Polish pilgrimage in early modern Rome[4] My own work shows that, while Ruthenian clergy and pilgrims may have been absent from Osiecka-Samsonowicz's narrative, they were nevertheless contemporaries of these events and had been present, along with their Polish compatriots and other citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, if not at the forefront of the events, then definitely on their sidelines. In my view, Osiecka-Samsonowicz's narrative, however fascinating and outstanding, shows its ethno-centric limitations as it privileges the binary Polish-Italian relationship to the detriment of seeing a complexly interwoven ethno-confessional reality in the Commonwealth itself, the reality that had definitely spilled into the relationship *with* and *in* Rome. I hope that my own work on SS. Sergio e Bacco dei Ruteni allows the reader to glimpse at least some of the interconnectedness of ethnic, corporate, confessional, ecclesiastical, secular, linguistic, and theological concerns that the very presence of Byzantine-Rite Ruthenians in Rome engendered.

Returning to the question of a shared visual vocabulary, I often tried to reassess what we possibly have still extant in Rome (and in other places in Italy) of the visual evidence directly (and indirectly) related to the Slavic projects in the Italian peninsula. Evidence that at times led me to understand a larger context of the artistic and architectural production in early modern Rome – the

[4] Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, "Festa fatta in Roma... Rzymskie uroczystości na cześć polskich Wazów za panowania Władysława IV (1632-1648)," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 68: 2006, nr 3/4, s. 7-35; "Festa fatta in Roma. Rims'ki uroèistosti na ćest' pol'skich Vaziv za panuvannja Vladislava IV (1632-1648), *Studìï Mistectovoznavèi* (Kyiv 2008) è. 3 (23), s. 44-55; "'Venimus, vidimus...' Kto zwyciężył? Rzymskie uroczystości na cześć wiktorii wiedeńskiej w 1683 r." in *Polska i Europa w dobie nowożytnej. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Juliuszowi Chrościckiemu* (Warszawa 2009): 47-54; and most recently, Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Cerimonie e feste polacche nella roma barocca 1587-1696* (Roma: Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, 2014).

context within which the projects for Slavic consumption occupied their own well-delineated niche. While I have often run into walls, literal and metaphorical, seeking out that visual evidence, I was reminded time and again that "one cannot turn to images only." And so, I often turned to the abundant textual references that populated volumes of archival documents. Written in Italian, Latin (or mixture thereof), in Polish, Ruthenian, Greek, (and, later, in Russian and French) the documents spoke of the festivities organized by Roman neighborhood sodalities outside the Ruthenian church, they spoke of plans to expand a Theatine seminary in Lviv or noted to the Roman authorities the locations and quantities of Byzantine-Rite churches in Vilnius. It is these documents that thoroughly convinced me of the interconnectedness of the Slavic and Italian existence that the Eternal City had afforded their dwellers: the possibilities (and necessities) of bi-rituality, of liturgical, linguistic, and cultural coexistence, of shared spaces and shared neighborhoods.

When I first began this project in 2012 in the form of an abstract for a paper which I submitted to the Sixteenth Century Conference, the names "Ukraine" or "Suburra" were not necessarily on the lips of the American public, nor was "Belarus." The Annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation (February 2014) had not yet happened, prompting a protracted Russo-Ukrainian War that continues to no avail. The Trump-Biden-Ukraine Scandal was not there, nor was the unsuccessful impeachment of President Trump it triggered. Nor was there Stefano Sollima's neo-noire film *Suburra* (2015), that popularized and perpetuated the perceived unsavory reputation of that Roman neighborhood, the home of the Ruthenian SS. Sergio e Bacco. In fact, nor was the novel, on which the film was based, published – *Suburra* by Carlo Bonini and Giancarlo De Cataldo (2013) – and the prequel to the film has not yet been released by Netflix: *Suburra: Blood on Rome* (2017, 2019, 2020). Nor did I expect that my native Belarus would end up in the news at

the time when I was revising this dissertation – the August 2020 street protest against the seemingly rigged re-election of the country's president since 1994, Aleksandr Lukashenko.[5] None of these events had happened at the start of this project, events that made me realize, in the course of writing these pages, that the perceived obscurity and remoteness of the early modern realities have only been temporarily maintained by some of the twentieth century's artificial structures of center and periphery. By the end of the twenty-first century's second decade, these structures came crashing down, sending Ukraine to the forefront of American political preoccupations or entertaining American viewers with corruption that often underlined both Roman (ecclesiastical) elites and its underworld. Frankly, I did not expect my daily news to feel so much like the Roman *avvisi* from 1600s.

[5] The protests, consistently mired in brutality of the government response, continue as I write these lines.

INTRODUCTION

Lingua Moscovitica valde parum differt a Ruthenica, ut, v.i, lingua Bergamasca a Romana; in sacris vero communem omnino habent cum Ruthenis.[6]

0.1 SCOPE & GOALS OF THE PROJECT

The goal of the project is to examine the visual culture of the early modern Slavic presence in Italy, to the extent it is possible to reconstruct it from the dispersed and diverse textual and visual evidence, and locate it within the urban sites in Rome, Venice, and Naples. As such, it is not exclusively an art-historical project nor is it simply an architectural history of the site in question – the church of Santi Sergio e Bacco, which has been the national church of the Ruthenians (and later Ukrainians) in Rome since 1639 (Fig. 0.8). Instead, it is an analysis and an interpretation of closely linked religious cultures united by an ethnically (and to some extent ritually) determined category.

[6] "Muscovite language differs very little from Ruthenian, as much as, for instance, language of Bergamo differs from that of Rome; in the sacred [language] they have truly all in common with the Ruthenian" (my translation). From the correspondence of Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis (1641-1706), A Greek-born Ruthenian Basilian monk who served as the Ruthenian Roman procurator at SS. Sergio e Bacco in 1674-1689, and then as the Uniate Bishop of Munkács, Hungary (1689-1706). See, APF, SC vol. 25, f. 9r–12v [Rome. 1680.], *Relationes de statu spirituali russiae, moscovae, valachiae et moldaviae, et modus ostenditur quo iuvari possint illae nationes* [Report to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith on Russia, Muscovy, Wallachia, and Moldova, as well as a recommendation on how their people could be assisted through the establishment of papal seminaries and schools, especially for the Ruthenians.] Published in Athanasius Welykyj, *Litterae Basilianorum in Terris Ucrainae et Bielarusjae, vol. I (1601-1703)* (Romae, 1979), nr. 65., pp. 123–131. Also, for complete De Camillis's correspondence, see Camillis, Johannes Joseph de, Baán István, and Schimert Péter. *Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis görög misszionárius és munkácsi püspök (1689-1706) levelei = Letters of Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis Greek missionary and bishop of Munkács (1689-1706)* (Nyíregyháza: Szt. Atanáz Görög Katolikus Hittud. Főisk, 2017).

The establishment of a Ruthenian national church in Rome, specifically dedicated to the celebration of the Byzantine Rite in Church Slavonic, created a cultural and religious foothold for Eastern European Slavs from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC) in the center of the rapidly expanding Global Catholicism. The Protestant gains in the PLC territories (especially among nobility) which happened during the previous generation, had been consistently reversed in the next. The Union of Brest of 1596 had marked the first successful ecclesiastical unification since the time of the Council of Florence (1439) when a large part of Ruthenian Orthodox Church "left the omophorion" of the Patriarch of Constantinople and united itself with Rome. This momentous historical event formed a previously unprecedented opportunity for the Ruthenian religious culture to be (re)integrated into Western European at the very height of cultural dominance of the Roman Baroque paradigm. The achievements of the Union were further solidified with the 1639 establishment of the Ruthenian national church in Rome in the old church of Santi Sergio e Bacco and the 1643 Papal beatification of the first martyr of the Union – Josaphat Kuncewicz (c. 1580-1623),

This dissertation examines the groundwork of this cultural integration, the specific developments in ecclesiastical culture in the wake of the Ruthenian incorporation among the already well established *nationes* of the Eternal City, and the formation of a recognizably new Ruthenian culture marked by what we now consider as the Baroque aesthetic.

0.2 STRUCTURE OF THE PROJECT

This dissertation is divided into four chapters, preceded by a prologue and an introduction, and followed by an epilogue, appendices, and illustrations. The first two chapters are both dedicated to the architectural history of the site of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco but divided

into two distinct parts by a shift in usage – from being a space exclusively used by local Roman-Rite communities (Chapter 1) to becoming a Greek-Rite space given to the "Ruthenian nation" (Chapter 2).

"Chapter 1, The Place: Architectural History of SS. Sergio e Bacco Prior to Ruthenians" is a careful and detailed study of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco and deals with the history of the structure prior to its transfer to the Ruthenian Uniates in 1639, the development of the site from an Early Christian structure built on top of a Late Roman house in the neighborhood of Suburra in the Roman district of Monti. It also traces the site's association with the Byzantine Rite, the memory of which continued to influence the neighborhood in later centuries.

"Chapter 2, The Place: Architecture of SS. Sergio e Bacco and the Ruthenian Community" examines the site from the moment of its transfer to the Ruthenian community, and its adjacent Ospizio dei Ruteni. That chapter also addresses the role of the Byzantine Rite celebrated in Rome in the Church Slavonic and Greek languages and the larger phenomenon of a shared space, as SS. Sergio e Bacco evidently adapted to celebrate both liturgies. The chapter also outlines the overwhelmingly Roman contribution to the reconstruction of the church and its interior decoration, through both architects and artists– many of which had strong connections to the Barberini papacy, and projects sponsored by the Polish community in Rome. In this chapter I also briefly address the architectural evolution of the space up to the present.

Books and printed images dominate "Chapter 3, The Image: Iconography of Devotion." There, I argue for the utmost importance of the study of newly created or newly adopted imagery produced in the wake of the Union of Brest. The Union initiated a different kind of encounter between the Early Modern Orthodoxy and early modern Rome, with Rome often serving as a laboratory for developing new iconographic modes but also for adopting and reusing those created

in the peripheries. I focus on the printed images and texts of specifically Ruthenian devotional nature, produced in Rome. I also examine some printed images and texts produced in Eastern Europe (in places like Kyiv, Vilno, and Basilian houses), some of which found their way to Rome and were kept the Archives of Propaganda Fide. In particular, I concentrate on the images of Our Lady of Żyrowice, the Madonna del Pascolo, and their copies, as well as images of new Uniate saints, such as St. Josaphat Kuncewicz. My focus also turns to the images of Slavs that circulated in Western Europe in general and in Rome in particular: images that were representations of Slavs or their self-representations printed in East-Central or Eastern Europe but intended for Western consumption. The chapter also becomes the proper place to discuss the Roman Late Baroque imagery found among the paintings in SS. Sergio e Bacco. The examples discussed in the chapter also open up a larger context within which they were produced and the larger goal of the Barberini mission to the East, in general, and the Barberini family's strong interest in the Orthodox learning.

In the fourth and last, "Places: Neighborhood & Models of Community Organization," I argue that the the Ruthenian national church in Rome presents us with a rare if not altogether unique example of a national church functioning also as a parish church for the local Italians and not reserved exclusively for foreigners (Ruthenians). I further place that exceptional development into the larger context of the phenomenon of national churches in early modern Rome, with a closer focus on the neighborhood of Suburra and the larger district of Monti in Rome. I examine the prevailing models of constructing foreign communities in early modern Italy: national churches, hospices, confraternities and *scuole*, and all of these models' relevance to the experience of Slavs in major Italian centers: Slavs in Venice with their Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone; South Slavs (Croats/Dalmatians) in Rome with their church and the confraternity of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni; Poles in Rome at S. Stanislao dei Polacchi; Greeks in Rome at the

Collegio Greco and the church of S. Atanasio dei Greci. The chapter also includes a brief consideration of Ruthenian experiences not only within the context of other Slavic groups' experiences in the Apennines, but also within the context of a larger Non-Latin Uniate communities in Rome: Armenians, Melkites, and Maronites. All of these Uniate communities, like the Ruthenians in Eastern Europe, played roles in forming the *Antemurale Christianitatis* (the Bulwark of Christendom) – a shared experience that determined engagements of the Italian society, in general and the Holy See particular, with these diverse groups of Eastern Christians.[7]

The appendices, besides a note on terminologies, contain a number of relevant archival documents such as those of the early history of SS. Sergio e Bacco prior to Ruthenians and the inventory from that church, dating from 1800s. Additionally, one of the appendices includes a side exploration of Slavs and Non-Latin Christians in Naples.

Since the prologue introduces the history of the project itself, this Introduction addresses the stakes of studying Ruthenians in/and Italy, the relationship between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, and the role of Renaissance and Baroque architecture in the project, and, more specifically, the phenomenon of national churches in early modern Rome of which the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco was one among many. This introduction also addresses the historiography of the topic and

[7] The useful of the idea of examining Ruthenians in the context of Antemurale Christianitatis is relatively new. See Housley, Norman. "Christendom's Bulwark: Croatian Identity and The Response to The Ottoman Advance, Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 24 (2014): 149-64. Knoll, Paul W. "Poland as "Antemurale Christianitatis" in the Late Middle Ages." *The Catholic Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (1974): 381-401. Suljagić, Emir. "The Role of Croatia in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Antemurale Christianitatis as a Policy of Choice." *Insight Turkey* 21, no. 2 (2019): 23-36. Weiand, Kerstin. "The Origins of Antemurale Christianitatis Myths: Remarks on the Promotion of a Political Concept." In *Rampart Nations: Bulwark Myths of East European Multiconfessional Societies in the Age of Nationalism*, edited by Berezhnaya Liliya and Hein-Kircher Heidi (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2019): 31-58. Weintraub, Wiktor. "Renaissance Poland and "Antemurale Christianitatis," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979): 920-30.

the issues of periodization in the history of art and in the history of religion of that part of Europe. As suggested by Russian-Soviet art historian Dmitriy Likhachev, "Baroque," as a style, "functioned" in Eastern Europe as an indicator of "Renaissance forms." In that scenario, Ruthenian clerics, who had continuously circulated between Rome and the PLC-controlled Belarusian and Ukrainian lands, were carriers of "Renaissance" visual vocabulary and of "Renaissance" forms well into the Late Baroque period. The example of SS. Sergio e Bacco of the Ruthenians allows us to locate, in time and space, instances of cultural encounter, with all the ensuing adoptions, appropriations, and reformulations of new forms that took on a life of their own in the global terrain of borderlands, forms that were simultaneously "baroque" and "Renaissance," recognizably "Roman" and "Ruthenian."

0.3 TERMINOLOGY

Throughout this dissertation I use the English term "Ruthenian" (a translation of Latin *ruthenus/i* and Italian *ruteno/i*) – an adjective denoting someone coming from "Ruthenia."[8] In the Roman context, specifically that of the Roman national churches, the *Ruteni* were not simply an ethnic category or a religious one, but rather a corporate identity that combined the two categories. Thus, the term "Ruthenian" (*ruthenus*) in this dissertation carries the corporate meaning that has been retained within the Roman Catholicism for a long time. In fact, the Catholic Church continued to use it for more than half a century past the adoption of the term "Ukrainian" by secular intellectual and political institutions. Only in 1955, in Pope Pius XII's letter on the Millennium of

[8] See Appendix A, Note on Terminologies.

St Olga, does the word first appear in a papal letter.[9] As this dissertation relies heavily on the Church documents, the term has provided me with an early modern category that was well documented and chronologically bound.

The Union of Brest has brought a large segment of Ruthenian Orthodoxy under the aegis of the Holy See. The change of leadership of the institution was reflected in the change from being "Ruthenian Orthodox" to "Ruthenian Uniate" (as "Ruthenian Greek Catholics" were known in early modern period). The change in nomenclature should not necessarily imply a change in the liturgical practice: the same Byzantine-oriented liturgy in Church Slavonic language was used by the Ruthenian Orthodoxy (under Constantinople and later Moscow) as was by the Ruthenian Uniates. The later Latinization of the liturgical practices that we observe within the Ruthenian Uniate Church should not confuse us into thinking that the two branches of Ruthenian Eastern Christianity – under Constantinople and under Rome – used different rites.[10] Rome was well aware of this liturgical unity across Eastern Europe. In this dissertation, the words "Byzantine rite," "Eastern rite," "Greek rite" are used as synonyms of the liturgy practiced by the Ruthenians irrespective of their ecclesiastical loyalties.

As an art historical investigation, some remarks on the specifically art-historical terms are also in order. The chronology of this project covers periods whose art and architecture are traditionally categorized as Renaissance, Mannerist, Baroque (Early and Late[11]), and Neoclassical. At some

[9] PIUS XII, apostolic letter *Novimus Vos*: in AAS, vol. 48 (1956), p. 260–548. More on that question can be found in soon-to-be-published, Athanasius McVay, *History of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Great Britain* (in preparation).
[10] Note that the same liturgical rites are used in Russian Orthodoxy (likewise, in Church Slavonic) and by Greek Orthodoxy (in Greek). Furthermore, the Melkites (a Middle Eastern church in union with Rome) also uses the same Byzantine rite, also in Greek.
[11] I purposefully avoid using the term "Rococo" as, in my opinion, the term "Late Baroque" captures more precisely the protracted and organic baroque developments in Italy, and in Rome in particular.

point I also bring up issues pertaining to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Revivalism, and, tangentially, to Modernism in architecture. Without making an argument about style, my usage of these terms is often "utilitarian" in the sense that it is "descriptive" – allowing me to place the object or building or motif in question into a universally recognizable "niche," without necessarily attempting to unpack or possibly subvert the very definition of the "Baroque" or "Neoclassical." More information on these questions is provided below in the *Historiography* section of this Introduction.

0.4 METHODOLOGY

From the very beginning of the project, it became apparent that, while examining the architecture, art, and visual culture in question, previous scholarship had often relied on structures of inquiry previously developed within ethnocentric (art) histories of the nineteenth century. While a purely ethnocentric approach may be somewhat successful when one studies the Spanish or the French in Rome, it becomes hardly tenable when one studies the Slavs in Rome, especially Eastern Slavs, and certainly Ruthenians from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – a political structure that itself was no longer in existence by the end of Settecento. Akin to that state-centric and ethno-centric conundrum is the fact that by the nineteenth century we have a linguistic and cultural discourse on what constitutes "Belarusian" and what – "Ukrainian," while the only European and Global transnational institution – the Catholic Church – continues to use term "Ruthenian" well into the twentieth century. The limitations of these newly nascent nationalistic art histories, therefore, had to be mediated by an alternative approach. My aim, thus, was to instead rely on overarching structures that were supranational in its essence, such as provided by the cross-national institutions of the global Catholic Church and the corporate identities she maintained for

its members (Greek-rite Ruthenians). One might call my project an example of a church history written with visual evidence.

Existence of a specific supranational structure of a *sui iuris* Church in union with Rome – the Ruthenian Uniate Church, with a clear ecclesiastical structure in Eastern Europe that also overlapped with its representative's center in Rome – SS. Sergio e Bacco – had in fact provided me with a precise example of a network that could (and was) used for the transmission of ideas and iconography, for circulation of hand-painted, hand-drawn, and printed materials and handwritten correspondence. The Ruthenian Uniate network had also overlapped with a larger global network of the Roman Catholic Church, tapping into a number of direct and indirect connections with other geographic and cultural locales, and giving us an opportunity to potentially consider the Ruthenian cultural experience in Italy within a larger context of the experiences of several other minorities (*minoranze*) in the Italian peninsula.[12] The Ruthenian Uniate network had thus given me a feasible methodological framework to write something akin to "global history."

This project relied heavily on a combination of archival Italian sources, held in three cities (Rome, Venice, Naples), and on-site research in the same three urban centers, focusing on the extant architecture and surviving artworks. The three centers offered additional structure to my research as each center exhibited a distinct approach to constructing and maintaining foreign communities within their own pre-existing structures of power. Rome enjoyed a heavily developed network of national churches and national confraternities, while Venice had similarly dedicated places of worship, often within the confines of the national *scuole.* Ruthenians in Rome were able to exist both within such institutional structures, but also in their "peripheries" and beyond.

[12] Vincenzo Giura, *Storia di minoranze: ebrei, greci, albanesi nel Regno di Napoli* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1984).

Ruthenian travelers in Rome had access to the *ospizio* at SS. Sergio e Bacco, but also, as citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to the institutions of the Polish national church and its *ospizio* and confraternity at S. Stanislao dei Polacchi. Moreover, they had access to numerous other Roman institutions of hospitality such as the Archconfraternity of the Pilgrims at SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini.[13]

0.5 HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the 1970s, Soviet Russian art historian Dmitriy Likhachev suggested that the "Baroque" as style "functioned" in Russia as an indicator of "Renaissance form.[14] An interesting idea that connected the importance of the problem of the Baroque formal vocabulary in Eastern Europe for local art historians since those forms were often transplanted into pre-existing local "medieval" art-making practices, by-passing "Renaissance" style's introduction. The reception of styles "jumped" over the Renaissance and landed squarely in the "baroque." His idea can be further applied to the very trajectory of the development of vernacular art in Eastern Europe in general, in territories within the ambit of the Global Baroque, now within the borders of the states of Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, etc. The role of such an attenuated Renaissance (that protractedly morphed into "Baroque" in Eastern Europe) may be crucial to our understanding of the cultural conditions on the ground – in Rome – at the time of the Ruthenian encounter with that city.

[13] As the example of the liberated Ruthenian slaves in the 1640s shows.
[14] Likhachev, Nikolaĭ Petrovich. *Istoricheskoe Znachenie Italo-grecheskoĭ Ikonopisi, Izobrazheniia Bogomateri V Proizvedeniiakh Italo-grecheskikh Ikonopistsev I Ikh Vliianie Na Kompozitsii Niekotorykh Proslavlennykh Russkikh Ikon*. S. Peterburg: Tipografiia M.A. Aleksandrova, 1911.

We see the preoccupation with the Baroque – arguably the first supranational style – within discussions of the Vienna School of Art History in fin-de-siècle Austro-Hungarian Empire – the state that was, due to its holdings of Cracow and Western Ukrainian territories, directly committed to making sense of both the Baroque heritage and its role in shaping the vernacular art, architecture, and visual culture in its lands.

The question of the role of the Baroque in Eastern and East-Central Europe has been tied to the role of Rome in particular and Italy in general both in the early modern period – the focus of this dissertation and the role of Rome in the centuries thereafter, specifically in the very construction of the discipline of art history in Eastern and East-Central Europe.[15] Among the contemporary scholars, I found Matthew Rampley's work highly productive for my own research, especially his concept of a "clerical view" of one's national identity[16]; or his ideas on the role of the "peripheries" not only in the development of the Baroque, but also on the roles these peripheries played in the development of the study of the Baroque in the nineteenth century.[17] In the chapter "Vernacular Cultures and National Identities: The Politics of Folk Art" of his *Vienna School of Art* History, Rampley also explored the ramifications of the role of Polish (and Austrian) historians, such as Stanisław Witkiewicz and Alois Riegl in generating art-historical theories in

[15] The question of Rome's centrality in cultural production and influence on Baroque culture in PLC has been on the mind of Polish historians a lot: for instance, see Jerzy Kowalczyk, "Rola Rzymu w późnobarokowej architekturze polskiej," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, t. XX (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1994): 216-308.

[16] "Clerical view" as exemplified in the Croatian-focused scholarship of Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815-1905). See, Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847-1918* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 73. Interestingly, Strossmayer was educated in the University of Vienna.

[17] *Ibid.,* 73.

relation to Ruthenian vernacular art, heavily steeped in Baroque visual culture.[18] This point necessitates a brief mention on the importance of Rome (and Vienna) for conceptualizing the art at the center of my own dissertation.

The Roman connection to the earlier, pre-Viennese writings on art in the PLC can be traced to the dilettante "art historian" – Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755-1821) – a politician and a noble member of Winckelmann's intellectual circle in Rome. Potocki had written the first Polish art-historical publication soon after the release of Winckelmann's (title), and titled unequivocally *Polish Winckelmann or On the Art of the Ancients* (Fig. 0.9).[19] The *Polish Winckelmann,* from the start, re-emphasized the fact that Polish elites (in Potocki's example) shared with other Western European intellectuals a cultural orientation and a policy of maintaining and fostering Classicism as a primary aesthetic standard, with the (Italian) Renaissance art, seen in the examples of Raphael, as the best achievement of European Art against which all later developments have to be measured. Thus, from the very inception, an art-historical dissertation in the territories of the former PLC was colored by a recognizably Roman turn, with the role of Rome as a generator of culture particularly relevant to these territories being at the forefront of the discussion. These Neoclassical Roman preoccupations, however, thus far concerned only the art of the upper cultural elites, not the study of the vernacular, popular art in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was heavily indebted to Roman popular Baroque. This oversight would change in the nineteenth century, in the wake of the loss of the political and territorial unity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, subsumed into Russian, Austrian, and Prussian states.

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[18] *Ibid.,* 116-140. The nineteenth-century Polish art history had close ties to the Vienna School: Marian Sokołowski (1839-1911) from Cracow was, along with Alois Riegl, a student of both Rudolf Eitelberger (1817-1885) and of Moritz Thausing (1838-1884).

[19] Stanisław Kostka Potocki, *O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winkelman polski* (W Warszawie: W Drukarni Xięży Piarów, 1815).

While not a product of Viennese education *per se,* another major figure in Polish art history, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz (1828-1900) had spent most of his career in Cracow, then under Austro-Hungarian rule, as an esteemed painter of large historical compositions and wrote and taught art history, specifically focusing on the Medieval and Renaissance art and architecture centered in that ancient Polish capital.[20]

Polish scholarly interest in Italian art had differed in its approaches from the art-historical schools of its neighbors (e.g., Czech school): according to Rampley, unlike their Czech colleagues (who placed all art produced in Czech lands, be it by German or Italian artists or local Czech ones, as "Czech art") Polish scholars had avoided the wholesale attribution of the architectural and artistic contributions of the Italian artists working in Poland to "Polish art" exclusively. Instead, they carefully emphasized the cross-cultural and transnational connections of Polish art in the cities with the Italian Renaissance art and that of the later periods.[21] Poland was to be seen as a kind of welcoming multicultural land, albeit the one destined to be ruled by Poles, and no one else.

Such historiographic policy had laid the foundation for twentieth-century Polish Renaissance studies exemplified in the scholarship of Jan Białostocki (1921-1988). Białostocki's version of the Renaissance in Eastern and Central Europe,[22] had carefully avoided any semblance of promoting

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[20] See particularly his work on Italian-Polish connection in Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, *Bartolomeo Berecci, architekt Kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej (+1537) oraz kilka wiadomości w przydatku do świeżej publikacji pt. "Album ozdób z kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej i z dwóch nagrobków kanonika Stanisława Borka (+1556) i Wielkiego Marszałka Piotra Kmity (+1505) w Katedrze Krakowskiej"*. Kraków: Zarząd Muzeum Techn., Przemysł, 1879. As an art professor he was a teacher of the great Polish academicist painter Jan Matejko.

[21] Rampley, Matthew. *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012. See also, Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847-1918*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.

[22] Białostocki, Jan. *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976.

ethnocentric interpretations, and it could be seen as an instance of an academic response to Soviet oppression of the whole part of Europe.[23] In contrast to earlier Polish, and especially Hungarian and Czech scholarship, Białostocki's used the concept of dynastic histories as an overarching model within which he explored Renaissance – as a transnational courtly cultural phenomenon.[24] In that, Białostocki fully inherited Burkhardt's idea on the importance of tasks (*Aufgaben*) as a driving force in artistic development. Recently, Jan Bakoš criticized that approach by suggesting that such interest in propagating dynastic narratives appears similar to the very dominance of transnational and global conglomerates in contemporary economy and politics.[25] However, Bakoš's valid criticism aside, Białostocki's model provided a lasting alternative to an ethnocentrism in scholarship – a phenomenon that is still alive and well in the current climate of post-Soviet nation building. Białostocki's theories had a strong overlap with the network theories, thus remaining in their relevance to this particular project on the Slavs in Rome.

As we return to the late nineteenth-century formulation of art history, the question of the local "Baroque" and its placement moves to the forefront of the discussions and arguments on the identity in Western Ukrainian regions (of the Ruthenians). In 1885, in Lviv (Lemberg), the capital of Austrian-held Galicia, the local nobleman, politician, and art historian, Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, had organized a large Polish-Ruthenian Art exhibition.[26] This seminal exhibition

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[23] Something that Jan Bakoš seems to be not considering as much. See, Bakoš, Ján. *Discourses and Strategies: The Role of the Vienna School in Shaping Central European Approaches to Art History & Related Discourses*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013.

[24] With Jagellonian dynasty ruling over vast Central and Eastern European territories: Czech lands, PLC, Hungary, etc.

[25] *Ibid.* This approach is still very much alive and well, as it continues to supply framework to those interested in writing translational and transcultural narratives.

[26] Włodzimierz Ksawery Tadeusz Dzieduszycki (1825-1899). See, Rampley, *The Vienna School,* 87. Also see, Wierzbicki, Ludwik, and Marian Sokołowski. *Wystawa archeologiczna polsko-ruska urzadzona we Lwowie w roku 1885: Vystava archeologična pol'sko-ruska ustroena vo L'vově v roku 1885; Polnisch-ruthenische archeologische [sic] Ausstellung in Lemberg 1885;*

tried to position the seventeenth-century local vernacular developments, which had adopted baroque formal vocabulary, as the last wave of the Renaissance, chronologically *retardataire*. Dzieduszycki had hypothesized that the local Ruthenian art was a rare counterpart to early Italian Renaissance, especially the Venetian examples and the Vivarini school. We can see that in that approach to rethinking and re-conceptualizing the role and the place of local arts, following the examples of methodologies of the Vienna School, Dzieduszycki (and many Eastern European and Soviet scholars thereafter) had instrumentalized the phenomenon of the Italian Renaissance as a kind of a "measuring tool" vis-à-vis vernacular developments.

In the wake of the 1885 Polish-Ruthenian exhibition, a number of publications followed, all maintaining the focus on the vernacular, Baroque-influenced art of the Ruthenian lands, particularly on the Byzantine-Rite iconostases of the Uniate churches. In 1886 Marian Sokołowski published his *O malarstwie na Rusi z powodu wystawy archeologicznej lwowskiej r. 1885*, that featured an illustration of the iconostasis of Rohatyn (Fig. 0.10).[27] Soon thereafter, an article on the Bohorodczany Iconostasis was published (Fig. 0.11), written by Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki's cousin, Count Wojciech Dzieduszycki (1848-1909), likewise an art historian, a professor, a politician, and a local landowner.[28] The same author pioneering the study of Ruthenian art history would also publish in Lviv his own history of art in Italy (Fig. 0.12).[29] While Rampley only on

Exposition archéologique des objets polonais et ruthénien(s) à Lemberg 1885. (Lwów: E. Trzemeski), 1885.

[27] Sokołowski, Marian. *O malarstwie na Rusi z powodu wystawy archeologicznej lwowskiej r. 1885*. Lwów: [s.n.], 1886.

[28] Wojciech Dzieduszycki, "Ikonostas Bohorodczański" in *Przegląd Archeologiczny,* organ Towarzystwa Archeologicznego Krajowego we Lwowie, z. 4 (Lwów: Drukarnia Instytutu Staropigianskiego pod zarzadem J. Tarnowskiego, 1890): 91-130. See also the work of Estreicher, Karol. "Polish Renaissance Architecture" *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 86, No. 502, Polish Number (January 1945): 2, 4-9.

[29] Wojciech Dzieduszycki, *Historya malarstwa we Włoszech* (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1892).

occasion brings up the importance for the confessional divides as seen by contemporary scholars such as Łuszczkiewicz,[30] my dissertation deploys that feature of nascent Polish-Ukrainian art history of the late nineteenth century. In part, I would argue, is that this realization, so eloquent in the choices of these illustrations of Ruthenian vernacular culture (Uniate iconostases), reflected an actual historical reality of the construction and the development of Ruthenian ethno-confessional identity in the early modern period.

As the epigraph for this Introduction states: the "Muscovite language differs very little from Ruthenian, as much as, for instance, the language of Bergamo differs from that of Rome; in the sacred [language] they have truly all in common with the Ruthenian." The Baroque period provides us with the opportunity to observe new, post-Renaissance, Eastern European developments as finally effectuating some form of unity, akin to that Muscovite-Ruthenian linguistic affinity, all thanks to, I would argue along with Likhachev, the functioning of "Renaissance forms" within the broadly-taken Baroque cultural unity in Eastern and East-Central Europe – a kind of Baroque *lingua franca*. Ruthenian experiences in Rome and with forms of pedagogy developed in Rome (artistic and theological) and the production of new art and architecture had been integral in achieving this cultural unity that spilled over the confessional divides between *ruteni uniti* and *ruteni schismatici.*[31]

Besides the suggestion of a protracted, longue durée Renaissance in the European peripheries, another historiographic aspect that this dissertation touches upon is the relevance of an similarly extended Post-Byzantine period of art. While it is generally considered a useful term for the artistic

[30] Rampley, *The Vienna School,* 91.
[31] The two, being Uniates and Orthodox can be inclusively examined under the two umbrella terms of Early Modern Catholicism and Early Modern Orthodoxy – overlapping and somewhat fluid, especially when superimposed on the aesthetics of the Baroque period.

developments in the Orthodox lands after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. However, the sheer inclusiveness of the term can produce its own limitation as it lumps together very diverse and often divergent trajectories in art history in vast geographic territories under the influence of Orthodox Byzantium.[32] In light of this, I use the term "Early Modern Orthodoxy" when describing art, architecture, and visual culture of the same territories. In that I was undoubtedly influenced by the work of John W. O'Malley and his seminal work *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*.[33] On the one hand, far from being an ideal substitute to the "Post-Byzantine," this approach nevertheless allows us to consider a certain cultural affinity (if not outright unity) that had existed in the Orthodox and Oriental Christian communities in the Eastern Mediterranean with those elsewhere in the Balkans, Ukrainian Steppes, and PLC in the early modern period. It also gives us an opportunity to include within that scope a number of communities that have never been "Byzantine," such as Armenians, but which had also existed in a form of a network of widely dispersed diaspora in Middle East, Italy, and Western Ukraine and Poland. The term – Early Modern Orthodoxy – also draws in the experiences of the Uniate Christians both in Middle East and in the PLC, acknowledging the cultural unity that existed between a community of the Ruthenians that accepted Rome as their ultimate authoroty (*ruteni uniti*) and those that remained Orthodox under Constantinople (*ruteni schismatici*, according to Rome). Most importantly, the term suggests that there exist more parallels than not between the historical developments of the Early Modern Catholicism and the Orthodox and Eastern Christian

[32] Gravgaard, A., Chatzidakis, N., & Etinhof, O. (2003). Post-Byzantine art. *Grove Art Online.* Retrieved 8 Jun. 2020, from https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000068950.

[33] John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2000).

societies in that period. Moreover, the rise of nation states, often informed by Western European ideas of Enlightenment, can be more productively examined within the localized scope of national art histories rather than an amorphous moniker "Post-Byzantine."

The Ruthenian presence in Italy had drawn particular interest of the Ruthenian Order of St. Basil the Great (Ordo Sanctii Basilii Magni, OSBM) as it was precisely this monastic institution that established a close relationship with Rome. They had staffed the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco and their members were regularly elected heads of the Ruthenian Uniate Church. The Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide – the congregation that oversaw the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Rome and governed all the global missions – contain the multitude of reports, meeting minutes, correspondences between the Ruthenian Church and the Holy See and its congregation. The wealth of the written archival documents had influenced the direction of the Basilian historians who had singular commitment to preservation, transcription, and interpretations of these texts, so fundamental to the study of the Ruthenian (and then Ukrainians) Byzantine-Rite Catholicism. The predominance of textual evidence, thus, meant that the interpretation of the phenomenon of the Ruthenian national church in Rome and Ruthenian-Italian joint heritage had attracted historians, particularly church historians, rather than historians of art or of architecture or of visual culture.

The year 1924 saw the publication of the first volume of the *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni* (AOSBM, Analecta OSBM – Transactions of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, Ukr.: Записки Чина св. Василія Великого).[34] The series would become an irregular publication of the Basilian monastic order. The first series, under the editorial leadership of Rev. Yosafat Skruten, was printed

[34] See "Записки Чина св. Василія Великого" at Encyclopedia of Modern Ukraine: http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CA%5CN%5CAnalectaOrdinisSBasiliiMagniZapyskyChSVVIT.htm (Last accessed 9 June 2020).

in Zhovkva (Fig. 0.13)[35] and in Lviv, both in Ukraine (1924-1939), eventually moving to Rome due to the Soviet occupation at the start of the Second World War (second series, 1939-1949). With the second series, *Analecta*'s scope and reach was expanded, in large part due to the outstanding editorial vision of Rev. Atanasii Velyky (also known as Wełykyj or Velykyj, 1918-1982), who eventually became the head of the Order as its Protoarchimandrite (1962-1976). By 1979, *Analecta* had released 103 volumes, divided into three sections: works—monographs (40 vols); transactions of the Order of Saint Basil the Great—articles, reviews, bibliographies, and other materials (10 vols); and documents—a systematic publication of archival materials from the Church archives in Rome (53 vols) pertaining to the Ruthenian/Ukrainian history.[36]

In his academic and editorial task, Velyky was assisted by a team of uniquely qualified and dedicated scholars that Roman Basilian seminary was able to train at the time when Ukrainian territories were ravaged by the Second World War and the ensuing deconstruction and persecution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in the Soviet territories. The work of *Analecta* has to be considered in the context of gathering surviving pieces and making them accessible to the general public in the face of the destruction and erasure of actual institutional, architectural, cultural memories in Eastern Europe.

In my dissertation research, I relied heavily on *Analecta OSBM*, and on the work of such Basilian scholars as Bishop Ivan Khoma (or Choma, Іван Хома, 1923-2006), Rev. Dmytro Blažejovskyj (Дмитро Блажейовський, 1910-2011), Atanasyj Pekar (Атанасій Пекар, 1922-2011), and Rev. Porfyrij Pidručnyj to name just a few. The work of the Ukrainian-Canadian

[35] Zhovkva (Жовква; Žovkva) is a town in Lviv district, that at the time of *Analecta* publication was part of the Republic of Poland's Lwów Voivodeship (1918-1939), until the Soviet occupation in 1939. The town possessed a large Basilian Monastery.
[36] Записки Чина св. Василія Великого" at Encyclopedia of Modern Ukraine.

modern historian, a former Basilian, but now a UGCC diocese priest in Rome, Rev. Athanasius McVay had also been of great influence on the path of my research, specifically on my understanding of the historiographic context of the early modern Ruthenian studies conducted in Rome by Basilian scholars. While the sheer volume of the scholarship in question is monumental, it was undoubtedly the work of (church) historians first and foremost. The visual evidence, if any, was often left briefly discussed if not altogether relegated to a footnote mention. The scholarship of Khoma is a sole exception as his was exhaustively thorough in documenting history of SS. Sergio e Bacco. Yet, still, as a church historian, he avoided any discussion of the church and its artworks in art-historical terms or in the context of the overall contemporaneous Roman developments.[37]

Most importantly, the Basilian scholarship had provided me with a necessary historiographic perspective for generating an interpretive framework that does not originate from state-sponsored institutions of higher learning – as was/is normative in Eastern Europe throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century. The Basilians had also influenced me to recognize a methodological utility in pursuing the study within the supranational structure of church history and embracing an applicability of network theory.[38]

0.6 THE PHENOMENON OF NATIONAL CHURCHES IN EARLY MODERN ROME

[37] Ivan Khoma, *Narys istoriï khramu Z͡Hyrovyt͡s'koï Bohomateri i svv. muchenykiv Serhi͡ia i Vakkha v Rymi: extractum e Bohoslovia t. XXXV [1971]* (Rym: Vyd. Bohosloviï, 1972).
[38] To be fair, McLean's work was an influence that further confirmed my thought and also provided a more updated solution from within the discipline of art history: McLean, Paul Douglas. *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2007.

As a historically traceable phenomenon, national churches in Rome had developed out of a host of medieval charitable institutions, of hospitality that catered to the growing population of pilgrims. By the Cinquecento, we see official decrees instituting such, often fraternal organizations, attached to specific Roman churches. The attachments to such churches were based not on ethnic or national categories in the modern sense, but rather on corporate identities.[39] A noticeable characteristic of these developments was twofold – a rise, initially, of the churches and fraternities for non-Roman communities from elsewhere of the Apennine peninsula: Venetians, Florentines, Bergamaschi, etc.; and the connection of particular popes to the patronage of their compatriots.Venetian popes favored Venetians and a pope from a-Slavic family favored the Slavic communities originating from the eastern coast of Adriatic.[40] The earliest Slavic national church in Rome – San Girolamo degli Illirici or Schiavoni – had originated in this way: from a fraternal congregation, instituted by Pope Nicolas V in 1453. A few years later, the church of San Marco Evangelista al Campidoglio was assigned to the Venetians in 1468 by Pope Paul II Barbo, himself a Venetian. The spread of this phenomenon continued all throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and well into the twentieth.[41]

One of the oldest studies dedicated to the subject of the national church in Rome has been a 1928 volume of Oreste Ferdinando Tencajoli, *Le Chiese nazionali italiane in Roma*.[42] The book devoted a ten-page chapter to the church of S. Girolamo degli Illirici, placing the church for the

[39] For instance, for years ethnically Polish students at the University of Padua or at the seminaries in Rome (e.g., Collegium Germanicum) were part of the German "nation."
[40] See the patronage of possibly Schiavoni Pope Sixtus V Peretti of the Schiavoni's San Girolamo in Rome.
[41] Sabatini, Carlo. *Le Chiese nazionali a Roma*. [Roma]: Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri, Servizi informazioni e proprietà letteraria, 1979.
[42] Oreste Ferdinando Tencajoli and Giuseppe Cascioli. *Le Chiese nazionali italiane in Roma* (Roma: Desclée, 1928).

South Slavs (as subjects to an Italian state, The Venetian Republic) within the scope of the other Italian national churches (Fig. 0.14).[43]

The first mention of the Ruthenian church within the context of other national churches is found in a short 1957 article on Roman national churches by Delia Corradi for *Capitolivm.*[44] She uses the post-1719 popular name for the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco: "Anche la lontana Ucraina ha dedicato in Roma, in Piazza Madonna dei Monti, una Chiesa a S. Maria del Pascola, dalla Vergine di Zyrovickaja ("zyr" vuole appunto dire "pascolo") e dove ancor oggi si svolgono le celebrazioni liturgiche nel rito ruteno."[45] The reference coincides with the efforts to rebuild the structures of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the diaspora, in Italy, and the eventual return to leadership by Cardinal Josyf Slipyi whose 1963 release from an eighteen-year imprisonment in a Soviet gulag was followed by his arrival in Rome.[46]

The start of the new century also marks a renewed interest in the national churches, and a more comprehensive assessment of the phenomenon from an art-historical and architectural perspectives. In the years 2011-2015, the Minerva Research Group's project *Roma communis patria* of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institute, in Rome, headed by Dr. Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, had produced the most comprehensive up-to-date re-evaluation of the early modern national churches in Rome.[47]

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[43] Ibid., 36-46.
[44] Delia Corradi, "Le chiese nazionali di Roma" *Capitolivm* 32, 8 (1957): 27-28. She had also published under the name Delia Corradi Cipriani.
[45] Ibid., 27.
[46] Josyf Slipyi (Йосиф Сліпий, 1893 – 1984), The head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as the Metropolitan of Galicia, Major Archbishop of Lviv (1944-1984).
[47] Kubersky-Piredda, Susanne, Alexander Koller, and Tobias Daniels. *Identità e rappresentazione: le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450-1650* (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2016).

The following year (2017) saw the publication of the proceedings of an earlier conference that overlapped with the Hertziana project in its focus on national churches, albeit from a historical perspective: *Chiese e nationes a Roma: dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani: secoli XV-XVIII.*[48] The volume is particularly important to my project because it includes a recent study by French historian Laurent Tatarenko, "I Ruteni a Roma: I monaci basiliani della chiesa dei Santi Sergio e Bacco (secoli XVII-XVIII)" that reintroduced the subject of the Ruthenian national church into contemporary discourse.[49] Tatarenko's scholarship further confirmed the importance of Roman archival sources to the study of Slavic early modern history and coincided with my own study of the? primary sources (Vatican, Propaganda Fide, etc.) in the same years (2016-2017).

However, the nearly seven decades since the early article of Corradi (1957) and the work of Tatarenko (2017) also saw occasional publications by other non-Basilian-affiliated scholars. For instance, in 1985 *l'Urbe* published a short article by Mario Escobar,[50] while in 1992 Margherita Trinci Cecchelli published her own work on the medieval church of SS. Sergio e Bacco.[51] The scholarship of Trinci Cecchelli not only provided me with a much-needed understanding of the medieval, pre-Ruthenian history of the old SS. Sergio e Bacco, but had problematized the issues

[48] Molnár, Antal, Giovanni Pizzorusso, and Matteo Sanfilippo. *Chiese e nationes a Roma: dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani: secoli XV-XVIII*. Roma: Viella, 2017.
[49] Laurent Tatarenko, "I Ruteni a Roma: i monaci basiliani della chiesa dei Santi Sergio e Bacco (secoli XVII-XVIII)" in Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso, and Matteo Sanfilippo. *Chiese e nationes a Roma: dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani: secoli XV-XVIII* (Roma: Viella, 2017): 135-151.
[50] Escobar, Mario. 1985. "La chiesa dei Ss. Sergio e Bacco in piazza della Madonna dei Monti". *L' Urbe.* (N.S. 48.1985): 81-83.
[51] Trinci Cecchelli, Margherita M. "Il monastero dei SS. Sergio e Bacco in Callinico: questione toponomastica e suo inserimento nel tessuto urbanistico della Subura cristiana," in Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, and Victor Saxer. *Memoriam Sanctorum Venerantes: Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1992): 119-131.

of urban memory as my own project tackled issues of what was known to the contemporaries in the early modern period in the same neighborhood.

During that period, historians and art and architecture were not the only ones that approached the subject of Ruthenians in Italy and tried to assess their role(s). In 1983, Emanuela Sgambati, an Italian Slavist philologist and literary historian, published a seminal essay on the involvement of Ruthenian Uniates in Glagolitic Croatian publications. Sgambati revisited the archival materials already examined by Basilian church historians and interpreted these texts outside the context of ethno-centric confessionally-specific Ukrainian church history. Rather, Sgambati placed these materials within the context of Slavo-Italian literary exchanges – an aspect that was not at the center of the Basilian scholarship. Likewise, in my own work in this dissertation, I have sought to build on the examples of scholars like Sgambati, re-assessing and re-interpreting, making new often already-known texts, materials, artworks, and sites.

CHAPTER 1. THE PLACE: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF SS. SERGIO E BACCO PRIOR TO RUTHENIANS

> *The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past.*
>
> Italo Calvino, *The Invisible Cities.*

The purpose of this chapter is, on the one hand, to situate the main focus of this research – the national church of the Ruthenians (Fig. 0.1) – in its urban environment, the neighborhood Suburra of the *rione* Monti (Fig. 1.1) and, on the other hand, to carefully examine the architecture of the spaces Ruthenians came to occupy in Rome: the church itself and the hospice (*ospizio*). In short, it is an architectural history of the site. As such, it necessarily stretches its focus beyond the chronological confines of this dissertation (Cinquecento – Settecento), onto the early Medieval period. The Chapter 2, equally focusing on the architectural history of the site, picks up from the moment the Ruthenians search for a site in Rome and eventually receive SS. Sergio e Bacco from Urban VIII.

Methodologically, this chapter and the one that follows, rely on Roman archival sources, described in the Appendix A, and the examination of the site itself that I conducted in 2015, and then in more detail in 2016-2017. In the case of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco and its *ospizio*, their architectural legacy has been continuously augmented and substituted from early modern period until today, to the point where no discernible fabric remains from the earlier medieval periods of construction – periods that seem now to have added little to the contemporary function of the space as perceived by its current congregation, which belongs to the Ukrainian Greek

Catholic Church.[52] In light of this gradual erasure and for the purpose of ascertaining the historical appearance and functions of its spaces while it was occupied by the Ruthenians, I have opted to interrogate the available textual sources alongside the few remaining visual sources–- maps, engravings, and floor plans–- still preserved in Italian archives.[53] Although dating to the 19th century, these extant floor plans do capture some of the structural and interior evolution that the building had undergone in the early and mid Settecento. In turn, the textual sources from the medieval period, if carefully interrogated, reveal changes to the institutional status of the church that are no less drastic than later rebuilding programs.

A comparison of physical and institutional histories of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco alongside each other reveals a millennium-long cycle of change. In the Early Middle Ages, a monastery dedicated to two saints grew a top of an earlier structure of a Roman house dated to the Republican and Late Antique periods. As the monastery's fortunes increased, it came to oversee the nearby church of S. Euphemia. In the thirteenth century, the monastery came under the control of the Colonna family. However, the monastery was eventually taken from the Benedictines, turned into a parish church with secular clergy, and finally suppressed and reduced to a mere chaplaincy in the Renaissance period. Yet the very existence of chaplaincy also marked evidence of local lay sponsorship in form of two family chapels set up in the church. The early modern period saw the return of monastic control over the complex in a form of a short-term takeover by the Minims, who were then quickly succeeded by the Ruthenian Basilians from the PLC in 1639. These changes were mirrored by a metamorphosis of the site itself. The old, tightly built up fabric

[52] Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the successor of the Ruthenian Uniate Church that received the church in 1640.
[53] See the complete list of the archives and libraries consulted in the Bibliography section of the dissertation.

of the Late Roman and medieval Suburra neighborhood, interspersed with orchards and gardens (Fig. 1.2), made way in Cinquecento and Seicento (Fig. 1.3) for the further development of residential zones while old streets in the neighborhood were recut and enlarged (e.g., via Urbana under Urban VIII Barberini) and local squares were expanded (e.g., Piazza della Madonna dei Monti, under Sixtus V Peretti, Fig. 1.4) through demolitions that even included churches, (e.g., SS. Pietro e Marcellino di Suburra). These early modern changes to the built fabric of the Suburra, around SS. Sergio e Bacco, would continue well into the modern period of urbanization carried out in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Fig. 1.5).

Due to its status and function as the national church for the Ruthenians, the case of SS. Sergio e Bacco had mades sense to be considered within a framework of other national churches in Rome. In the past several years the research on national churches has advanced enormously. In 2011-2015, *Roma communis patria*, a research group of scholars at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, comprehensively studied Roman national churches from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, coordinated by Dr. Susanne Kubersky-Piredda.[54] Although the project did not at the time examined the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, my own cooperation with the group during and after the project has allowed me to apply similar methodology to this lesser-known national church. However, the limitations of this approach became more apparent over the course of this dissertation research, and my own assumptions about SS. Sergio e Bacco has since evolved in regard to the suitability of its case among exclusively other national churches in Rome. On second look, the logical comparison with other national churches resulted in viewing SS. Sergio e Bacco exclusively as an outlier case, while also disengaging the church from its neighborhood and their

[54] *Roma communis patria* has been funded by the Max Planck Society under the Minerva program.

parish churches as well as from larger developments in Rome in general. Upon closer examination, the architectural and institutional history of the Ruthenian national church has more in common with local Monti parishes than a national church like San Luigi dei Francesi. Despite, or maybe precisely because of the control of the Ruthenian clergy, which was so deeply integrated into Roman ecclesiastical institutions such as Propaganda Fide, the architectural development of SS. Sergio e Bacco since 1639 has been a very Italian, and specifically Roman, affair. By the same token, because of the wide transnational network of the Roman Catholic Church and Eastern Christianity in general and the Basilians in particular, the Ruthenian national church in Rome was continuously connected to the developments both in the Eternal City and in the Eastern European peripheries, the Balkans, Middle East, and beyond. Unlike other national churches in Rome, SS. Sergio e Bacco was not limited to the confines of a nation state, nor its specific *nazione.* In fact, Italian participation in the parish life of the church, with an association of local Roman faithful, seems to have played an important role in SS. Sergio e Bacco's survival into the modern period.

Ultimately, the work of local Italian scholars of Early Christian and medieval periods contributed to a reorientation of the framework in which to examine the case of the Ruthenian church. For instance, Margherita Trinci Cecchelli's articles from 1980s and 90s on the Suburra neighborhood churches were of particular interest to this dissertation.[55] In them Cecchelli invoked a concept of "urban memory," its persistence within the fabric of the city, and its importance in the construction of Early Christian identity of the neighborhood in which SS. Sergio e Bacco was situated. Despite the large-scale transformations, demolitions, and the ever-changing institutional

[55] Margherita M. Trinci Cecchelli, "Il monastero dei SS. Sergio e Bacco in Callinico: questione toponomastica e suo inserimento nel tessuto urbanistico della Subura cristiana" in *Memoriam Sanctorum Venerantes. Miscellanea in onore do Monsignor Victor Saxer. Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, XLVIII (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1992): 119-131.

history experienced by the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, its case fits logically into the conceptual framework suggested by Cecchelli. There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, the antiquity of SS. Sergio e Bacco's history tied the church to the local Early Christian heritage of Suburra. That past, with the use of the Greek-language liturgy and Byzantine associations, was later "reclaimed" and "recaptured" in the early modern period with an (re)introduction by Basilians of the Byzantine Rite in Church Slavonic language into that arguably originally "Byzantine" space of the church. On the other hand, SS. Sergio e Bacco, as the Ruthenian national church for four centuries, experienced a time of strife and decline with the onset of modernity in the nineteenth century and again in the mid-twentieth century. The church's financial situation was always precarious and through negligence SS. Sergio e Bacco ended up losing some of its accumulated possessions. The church was eventually closed until, in 1960s, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church consciously made successful attempts at reclaiming the space and reviving the parish. Yet upon closer observation, all these perturbations only repeat similar cycles of decline and revival that churches similar in size and importance experienced in other parts of Suburra, Monti, and Rome in general. For instance, similarly ancient in pedigree churches in the Monti such as Sta. Agatha dei Goti (Fig. 1.6), SS. Andrea e Bartolomeo al Laterano (Fig. 1.7), S. Bernardino da Siena (Fig. 1.8), S. Lorenzo in Fonte (Fig. 1.9), S. Salvatore ai Monti (Fig. 1.10), to name just a few, had experienced decline by the end of Middle Ages and were "perfected" during the papacy of Urban VIII (1623-1644, Fig. 1.11), adorned with new, Baroque facades, and structurally improved on the inside.

1.1 HISTORY OF SS. SERGIO E BACCO PRIOR TO RUTHENIANS

The earliest archeological examination of the site at the north-east corner of the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti and via dei Serpenti was conducted by Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani (1845-1929), though, while a few objects were found during excavations, there is no surviving detailed report other than the information about the found objects and the indications of the excavation on the larger Lanciani map of the city (Fig. 1.12).[56] Lanciani's focus has been that of an archeologist specifically interested in the topography of the Ancient Rome, which in turn limited his interest in the site so heavily build up in the later centuries. That later, Early Christian history of the site has been meticulously researched by the most prominent figures of Roman archeology and architectural history of the ecclesiastical Rome: Mariano Armellini (1852-1896)[57] and Christian Hülsen (1858-1935).[58] The encyclopedic work done by Armellini in his late-nineteenth-century *Le Chiese di Roma* (1891) was roughly contemporary with Lanciani's publication (1897). Three and a half decades later, Armellini's work was further expanded upon with even more factually accurate scholarship of Hülsen in 1927, similarly titled. Both Armellini's and Hülsen's methodology has been based on meticulous collecting of archival mentions of the churches, figuring out their possible location in cases of long-demolished structures (Figs. 1.13-1.15), and carefully describing their institutional and architectural history. In that regard, any consequent studies of the churches in Rome had relied on their work as they especially paid close attention to the lesser-known and small churches, of which SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra was certain one. At

[56] Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome: a companion book for students and travelers* (Boston and New York 1897), 280.
[57] Mariano Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*. 2a edizione. Roma: Tip. Vaticana, 1891.
[58] Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medioevo: cataloghi ed appunti.* Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1927.

the same time, large-scale projects like *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*[59] of Richard Krautheimer (1897-1994) had not included SS. Sergio e Bacco due to their scope on one hand and a perceived lack of architectural or ecclesiastical importance of the said church, on the other hand. In the consequent years, in the late 1980s and early '90s, the site of SS. Sergio e Bacco was a focus of smaller articles by a later generation of Roman scholars such as Margherita Trinci Cecchelli[60] and Mario Escobar (1911-2008).[61] While Escobar's work has very much reintroduced to the Italian reader the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, its history, and its art and architecture, it ultimately contributed little to the scholarly investigation of the phenomenon of this small national church and that of the use of non-Latin liturgies in Rome of the early modern period. On the other hand, Cecchelli's article had reworked the already known architectural and institutional history of the site, but placed it in a larger context of numerous Early Christian sites in the area of Suburra. Additionally, Cecchelli introduced an interpretive framework of the "urban memory," already mentioned earlier in the chapter, in moving the study of SS. Sergio e Bacco in a more comprehensive and theoretical direction. When it comes to a continuation of archeology's interest in the site, only a few years ago did we see a revisiting the site of earlier Lanciani's excavations. In 2014, Margaret M. Andrews[62] conducted a superb examination of the site that revealed a

[59] Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: The early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV–IX Centuries)*. Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1937–1977.
[60] Margherita M. Trinci Cecchelli, "Il monastero dei SS. Sergio e Bacco in Callinico: questione toponomastica e suo inserimento nel tessuto urbanistico della Subura cristiana" in *Memoriam Sanctorum Venerantes. Miscellanea in onore do Monsignor Victor Saxer. Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, XLVIII (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1992): 119-131.
[61] Mario Escobar, 1985. "La chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco in piazza della Madonna dei Monti," *L' Urbe* (N.S. 48.1985): 81-83.
[62] Margaret M. Andrews, 2014. "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity". *American Journal of Archaeology*. 118, no. 1: 61-90.

completely overlooked pre-Christian, Late Roman past of the site under the structure of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco and the adjacent building on its left (Figs. 1.16, 1.17). Andrews shows that while the extant remains of the building could be dated to Late Antiquity, the site itself had already been built up in the earlier, Republican period. Furthermore, by comparing the floor plan of the preserved structure and the floor plans of similarly sized houses from Forma Urbis Romae, Andrews successfully demonstrates that the house at the site was at least an upper middle-class dwelling. Andrews also points out that, based on the positions of the rooms in the building, one can argue that the north-east corner of the house likely contained shops at the street level – the site's continuous commercial reality is confirmed by the visual evidence from subsequent periods of Seicento (Falda, Figs. 1.18, 1.19), Settecento (Vasi, Fig. 1.20) and Ottocento (Pinelli, Fig. 1.22), all the way to the present (Fig. 1.23). This kind of urban memory or rather persistence, a memory of function specific to the site is extremely important to Rome in general and to the area of Suburra and Monti in particular. Arguably, Andrews's findings on the site's continuous commercial use logically overlap with a more theoretical argument of Cecchelli on the persistence of function (religious and commercial) in Suburra. An awareness of the continuity in the neighborhood, I would argue, directly contributed to Barberini's decisions to assign the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco to the newly arrived Uniate Ruthenians whose very identity was tied to the Byzantine heritage of the Universal Church.

1.2 NOTES ON THE CULT OF STS. SERGIUS & BACCHUS AND ITS ICONOGRAPHY

The paired military saints Sergius (the Roman) and Bacchus are said to have been soldiers in the army of the emperor Galerius (ruled 305-311 AD), the hidden Christianity of the two was

discovered and both were put to death in the Syrian town Resafa,[63] one through torture and the other by beheading. A hagiographic account of their life and martyrdom is recorded in the *Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi graece nunc primum edita*, later republished by the Bollandists.[64] The two were widely revered across the lands of the Roman Empire, and churches and/or monasteries dedicated to the two saints were rather widespread across the Empire, found in most important urban centers. One of the earliest churches of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was in Constantinople, while in Rome there were four different churches at the same time. One was also in Venice, and a monastery in Naples, to name just a few.[65] Constantinople's Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (Ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἁγίων Σεργίου καὶ Βάκχου ἐν τοῖς Ὁρμίσδου) was built in 527-536 (Fig. 1.20), around the time of the Hagia Sophia (532-537) and likely by the same architects, Isidorus of Miletus and Anthenius of Tralles, and, in fact, has been known as a "Little Hagia Sophia."

This pairing is also reflected in the iconography of SS. Sergius and Bacchus that is of Early Christian pedigree and belongs to the oldest surviving examples of icon-painting.[66] Typology of their representation can be separated into two categories: two military saints as a pair (either facing the viewer, Fig. 1.25, or likewise paired, horse-mounted soldiers, Fig. 1.26) or the two saints in

[63] Resafa was renamed Sergiopolis in 425.
[64] Joseph van den Gheyn. *Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi graece nunc primum edita*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1895.
[65] There is also a pilgrimage site and the cathedral in Resafa, Syria – the site of the martyrdom of the two saints. There is a prominent Benedictine abbey in Angers, France (l'abbaye Saint-Serge d'Angers) that was in existence since the seventh century (first mentioned in 705) - abbatia sancti Sergii et Bacchi Andegavensis.
[66] One of the oldest preserved encaustic icons is that of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, formerly held at the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, later acquired by Fr. Porphyrius Uspensky (1804-1885) from the monastery during his expedition to Sinai, and relocated to Russian Empire, now in the collection of Bogdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum in Kyiv, Ukraine. The dating of the icon was done by Nikodim Kondakov's students, Dmitrii Ainalov and Nikolai Petrov. See Jefferson J. A. Gatrall, Douglas M. Greenfield (eds.). *Alter Icons: The Russian Icons and Modernity* (The Pennsylavia State University Press, 2010), 154.

the moment of their martyrdom (Fig. 1.27). In these compositional choices, the iconography of Saints Sergius and Bacchus shares most features with the iconography of other paired martyrs (e.g., Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas, or Sts. Juventinus and Maximinus) and other military saints (invariably also martyrs, e.g., Sts. Theodore of Amasea and Theodore Stratelates). With the former, Sergius and Bacchus share an iconographic motif of beheading of one saint being witnessed by the other, and with the latter category of saints, they share an emphasis on "twin" identity of the two saints, with doubling or mirroring of one saint's appearance by the other and thus creating an image of the saint and their saintly doppelgänger.

Of the four oldest preserved icons, found by Porphyrius Uspensky (1804-1889) at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai in 1844, one was the now-famous depiction of the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus (Fig. 1.25). The encaustic icon is in the collection of Bogdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum in Kyiv, and portrays the two saints facing the viewer frontally, their postures and appearance nearly identical: their curly hair is the same, both wear military outfits peering out of the white tunics, both hold small crosses in their right hands. Their large halos are connected through a presence of a smaller round halo containing the frontal depiction of Jesus's face, also dramatically small in comparison to the size of the bodies of the saints. If indeed the dating of the icon of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus from Sinai is correct, it places the image as nearly contemporary with the construction of the church in Constantinople or post-dating it by about a century.

Chronologically following the Sinai icon, an image in a Greek-language *Menologium Basilii II* manuscript from Constantinople now preserved at the Biblioteca Vaticana,[67] shows the actual scene of the martyrdom of the two military saints and dates from 985AD (Fig. 1.27). The illumination of the *Menologium* captures the very moment of St. Sergius the Roman's beheading

[67] Vat.gr.1613, p.1-p 430 *Menologium Basilii II*, page 95.

among the solitude of a mountainous landscape (Fig. 1.27). Sergius's dramatically bent figure is threatened by the executioner's raised sword, aimed at the saint's exposed neck. The scene is witnessed by the still-alive St. Bacchus, located in the right side of the picture, his hands behind his back, surely tied. The upper register of the illumination is taken up by the gold-leaf sky, punctured by the summits of the three mountains and the raised sword. That same iconography of the saints' martyrdom, now as bas-reliefs, is further developed and expanded on a sarcophagus (Fig. 1.28) at the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona dated to the twelfth century (1179). The top shows them in the opposite corners, horse-mounted, holding the palms of martyrdom, facing each other. Below, on one of the long sides of the sarcophagus two scenes share the field: possibly a conversation between the emperor and the two saints, and their martyrdom. The latter shows the brutal beheading of Sergius and Bacchus, one of them already on the ground about to receive a mortal blow from the man above him with a raised sword; the other saint is dragged by another executioner by his hair, his body is bent in kneeling but is on the verge of losing balance, his beheading is about to happen next. The scene is witnessed, in this case, by an angel, hovering close by the second saint on the right.

Ultimately, the importance of the hagiography and iconography of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus to this dissertation lies in several areas. First, the hagiographic narrative of the two Roman soldiers martyred in Syria in early fourth century, tied Roman saints to both Constantinople with its high incidence of military saints veneration (and the rest of the Orthodox world), and to Syria – a place of particular attachment of the whole Christendom in general and the papacy in particular.[68] This set of connections (Roman, Byzantine, Syrian) in the context of the newly-developing Global

[68] Prior to his move to Rome, St. Peter is traditionally thought to have occupied the See of Antioch in Syria (now Antakya, Turkey), and thus establishing a particular continuity both liturgical and institutional between the Patriarchy of Antioch, and Papacy in Rome.

Catholicism was instrumentalized by early modern papacy. As explored later in this chapter, Syriacs had developed a long-lasting relationship with the Uniate Ruthenians in Rome. The Union of Brest (1596) of the Ruthenian Orthodoxy with Rome began a process of further ecclesiastical successes of the Holy See within other Orthodox territories, especially in Syria. In Seicento, Rome signed a union with Syrian Orthodox in 1662, forming Syriac Catholic Church, and in Settecento – another union with a part of the same Syrian Orthodox Church in 1729, forming another body loyal to the Pope in Rome – Melkite Greek Catholic Church (this time using Byzantine Rite in Greek language). These Middle Eastern successes of Rome had some earlier precedents already in Middle Ages, when, during Crusades, a Maronite Patriarch of Antioch had (re)established contacts and ecclesiastical communion with the Church of Rome in 1182. Thus, even prior to early modern string of Syriac unions with Rome, there was a medieval foundation to the later Catholic ecclesiastical growth in the region.[69] In fact, some of the eventual facilitators of Syriac Christianity's reconnection with Rome were themselves trained in the Maronite College in Rome, established in 1584 by pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572-1585). Coming to the possession of SS. Sergio e Bacco in 1639, Ruthenians also found themselves very much in the midst of these transnational and inter-ecclesiastical projects of the early modern Catholicism, while the saints themselves – their relics housed in the Suburra church – gave physical and spiritual substance to the Ruthenian connections to Rome, Byzantium, and Antioch.

Secondly, on a more theoretical level, the iconography of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus established a kind of strategic mirroring of prototypes and copies, doubling of the holy sites, and opportunities

[69] It is important to note that all the newly formed ecclesiastical bodies in Syria in union with the Holy See: the Maronite Church (West Syriac Rite in Syriac, aka Syro-Antiochene Rite), the Syriac Catholic Church (West Syriac Rite), the Melkite Greek Catholic Church (Byzantine Rite in Greek), claim the title of the Patriarch of Antioch. Thus, Rome recognizes a Patriarch of Antioch from each of the above-mentioned churches.

to have dual identities with ties to places or practices that were distant geographically and chronologically. Ruthenian Uniates, it seems, thrived in that dualistic environments of overlapping and conflicting identities and loyalties, akin to the two nearly identical yet different persons occupying the same pictorial space of the Sinai icon, but each in his corner. As we could see later (1718) with the finding of a fresco (Fig. 1.29) at the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco that happened to be a copy of the fifteenth-century icon of Żyrowice (Fig. 1.30), the Ruthenian national church's whole modus operandi was a conscious instrumentalization of the multiplication of prototypes to re-establish, re-confirm, and re-assert their own liminal identities.

1.3 THE EARLY MEDIEVAL CHURCHES OF SS. SERGII ET BACCHI IN ROME

Besides the work carried out by Armellini,[70] Hülsen,[71] Cecchelli, and Escobar, the most

[70] Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, 1891, pp. 206-207: "Ss. Sergio e Bacco. La chiesa dei ss. Sergio e Bacco, che il popolino apparteneva Serio e Baco, esisteva in un monastero di monaci fin dal IX secolo; nell' XI era sottoposta a quella di s. Paolo sulla via Ostiense. Fino dal secolo IX viene ricordata la Ecclesia ss. Sergii in Suburra, alla quale era annesso un monastero detto Canelicum. Nel 1413 ai monaic era sostituito un arciprete con alcuni chierici. Vi troviamo nei tempi di mezzo due cappelle: Umbria dedicata a s. Angelo e l' altra a s. Niccolò, fondata l' una dalla famiglia monticiana dei dello Ciuoto, l' altra da quel dei Pauleilli Presso la chiesa eravi l' ospedale degli albanesi. Ecco come il Bruzio parla di questa chiesa medesima: "Fu rifatta dopo che venne distrutta quella del Campidoglio, e dal card. Antonio Barberini, cappuccino e fratello di Urbano VIII, di nuovo risarcita essendo fatiscente. Quel papa l' affidò ai Ruteni basiliani che hanno liturgia greca ma in lingua dalmatica. È assai antica e fu parrocchiale. Nel 1741 venne riedificata a spese di alcuni fedeli divoti della imagine della Madonna che si venera sull' altar maggiore della chiesa. Quella sacra imagine copiata da quella di Zirowich in Lituani, si scoperse verso il 1718 sotto l' intonaco del muto contiguo alla sagrestia: di là fu tolta d' ordine di Clemente XI e nell' anno seguente collocata dove hoggi si vede: in tale occasione la chiesa fu incominciata a chiamare la Madonna del Pascolo. L' anno 1622 da Gregorio XV fu affidata ai padri Minimi di s. Francesco di Paola che l' abbandonarono allorchè passarono alla loro chiesa presso s. Pietro in Vincoli. Nel catalogo di Torino è detta de Suburra ove si dice che habet unum sacerdotem."

[71] Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, pp. 463-464: "S53. SS. SERGII ET BACCHI DE SUBURA ovvero IN CALLINICO, Cenc. 248 (S. Sergi de Subura): den. VI — Paris. 280 (S. Sergii de

important sources for reconstructing the site, in the absence of the medieval maps and representations of SS. Sergio e Bacco, are documentary references to churches dedicated to Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in the city of Rome. On the basis of some of these primary sources, Hülsen constructed a map of possible locations of medieval churches of Rome in his *Chiese di Roma nel medievo* (Figs. 1.13-1.15). Through this map he attempted to remedy the confusion concerning the

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Subura) — Taur. 170 (S. Sergii de Subura): habet I sacerdotem — Sign. 238 (SS. Sergi et Bacchi in Subura). Fra i piccoli santuari arrichiti da Leone III (795-816), il biografo (LP. XCVIII c. 24) ricorda anche l'Oratium sanctorum Sergi et Bacchi quod ponitur in Calinico. Più tardi, Benedetto III (855-858; LP. CVI c. 26) fece doni al monasterium sanctorum Christi martyrum Sergii et Bacci qui appellatur Callinici. Nel sec. XI apparteneva a monaci dell' ordine di S. Benedetto. Una bolla di Gregorio VI del 1045 (falsamente attribuita a Gregorio IV ed all' anno 835) attribuisce al convento di S. Pietro di Perugia il monasterium S. Sergii quod nuncupatur Canelicum situm Romae regione quarta in Subura cum ecclesia S. Euphemiae iuxta se posita (Margarini Bullar. Casinense I p. 6; Bullarium Romanum ed. Coquelinies I p. 176; Kehr IP. V p. 68 n. 13). Poco più tardi passò ai benedettini di S. Paolo fuori; la bolla di Gregorio VII (sopra p. 135) conferma ad essi monasterium S. Sergii cum omnibus suis pertinentiis situm in Subura. Nel Regesto d' Innocenzo IV viene spesso ricordato un magister Thomas archipresbyter (ovvero presbyter o rector) ecclesiae SS. Sergii et Bachi de Subura (Berger I p. 21 n. 96 del 2. settembre 1243, p. 233 n. 1538 del 20. settembre 1245, p. 575 n. 3795 del 1. aprile 1248; II p. 159 n. 4919 del 17. novembre 1250; III p. 341 n. 7121 del 13. dicembre 1253, p. 490 n. 7912 del 7. agosto 1254); il medesimo Tommaso occorre in una bolla di Urbano IV del 9. dicembre 1261 (Guiraud I p. 4 n. 17). Nicola IV, con bolla del 5. marzo 1290 (Langlois I p. 412 n. 2363), accordò alla chiesa alcune indulgenze. I Libri Anniversariorum la registratano per lo più col semplice nome SS. Sergio e Bacco (sopra p. 53 n. 7, p. 60 n. 9, p. 63 n. 20, p. 68 n. 35), quello di S. Maria in Porticu la chiama S. Syrii et Baccho ad Torre Secura. Nel Diario di Antonio di Pietro presso Muratori SS. XXIII p. 1033 sg. è ricordato Iacobus archipresbyter sanctorum Sergi et Bacchi de Turre Suburrae. Anche i cataloghi dei sec. XV e XVI in parte hanno il nome semplice (p. 70 n. 42, p. 97 n. 35); la Tassa di Pio IV (p. 93 n. 198) la chiama SS. S. et B. nel rion di monti, l' Anonimo Spagnuolo (p. 108 n. 52) S. S. y B. Subura. Il Bufalini (foglio NO) segna il luogo, ma ascrive il nome sbagliato S. Pantaleonis. Da Urbano VIII fu affidato ai monaci basiliani ruteni, che tuttora la posseggono. Da una devote immagine scoperta nel 1718 sotto l' ioncrostatura del muro contiguo alla sagrestia e collocata nel 1730 sull' altare maggiore si chaiama pure La Madonna del Pascolo. Del Sodo Vallicell. f. 100, Vatic. p. 323; Panciroli 1 759 superiore 205; Lonigo Barb. f. 53 v., Vallicell. f. 79; Martinelli 303. 400; Bruti vol. 18 (to. XVII) f. 420 v.-423 (ital.), vol. 12 (to. XI) f. 297-299 (lat.), vol. 6 (to. V) f. 106-109 (= l. VII c. 19); Ignazio Kulczynski, *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana* (Roma 1832); Adinolfi II p. 98 sg.; Nibby 712; Forcella IX p. 333-342; Armellini 1 611 2 206; Angeli 556."

locations of Early Christian and medieval churches dedicated to these two saints in the city of Rome. In the Greek & Slavic East and the Latin West, churches dedicated to Saint Sergius were often also dedicated to St. Bacchus, his companion in martyrdom. In Rome, there were four churches dedicated to St. Sergius, and at least three[72] of them had also an additional dedication to St. Bacchus (Figs. 1.13-1.15). This dual dedication is something that appears, disappears, and reappears again and again in the archival sources mentioning the church in the Suburra. This can be seen in references to the church found in papal documents (e.g., *Liber Pontificalis*) and church catalogs (e.g., *Catalogo di Cencio Camerario*) over the period from late eighth to sixteenth century. The table below lists major milestones in the history of the structure of the church itself and that of the buildings and institutions in the area of Suburra now known as the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti where SS. Sergio e Bacco is situated:

- A Byzantine-rite monastery may have already existed in the Monti (in Suburra) already in a second half of the seventh century (and may have been the place of exile for St. Callinicus).[73]

- Mention of SS. Sergio e Bacco as a monastery in Suburra in the late eighth century or early ninth century during the papacy of Leo III (795-816). It may have been one and the same place with that of Callinicus, as it is specified "in Callinico."

- One of the neighborhood churches, S. Basilio near the Foro Traiano, was known as a Byzantine-rite church and monastery.

- 1045, Monastery given to the Benedictines of Perugia, later, to those of S. Paolo fuori le mura.

- In 1192 and 1302 the church in Suburra is mentioned in some catalogs, but only as S. Sergio.[74]

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[72] It is unclear where one of the four was actually dedicated to a Saint Sergius who is never depicted with a companion saint – Pope St. Sergius I (c. 650 – 8 September 701).
[73] As per suggestion in Trinci Cecchelli, "Il monastero dei SS. Sergio e Bacco in Callinico," 119-131.

[74] *Il Catalogo di Cencio Camerario* (1192): "248. sco. Sergio de Sebura VI den." Also, *il Catalogo Parigino* (circa 1230): "280. s. Sergi de Subura." (P. Fabre *Mélanges de l' École*

- In 1223-1226 there is a monastery of Santa Chiara nearby on the site of the future Madonna ai Monti (Nuns of St. Claire move out in 1226 to the nearby S. Lorenzo in Panisperna).

- 1243-1261, mention of the church's archpriest, "magister Thomas archipresbyter" – no longer a monastery (?).

- 1291/1297, mentioned as controlled by Landolfo Colonna.

- 1330, mention of a "rector Martinus."

- In 1413 it is taken from Benedictines and turned into a parish (parrocchia) with secular priests.[75]

- 1425 the church is mentioned in a catalog as SS. Sergio e Bacco again.[76]

- 1460s-1500s – existence of two chapels at the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, sponsored by the Monti families: the Paulelli and dello Ciuoto.

- 1559-65, the church continues to be mentioned as SS. Sergio e Bacco.

- 1563, the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco completely demolished and rebuilt "ad fundamentis."[77]

- 1579 – finding of the images of the Virgin and the Child with Saints in the ruined monastery of Santa Chiara. The image is given at first to the Arciconfraternità dei Catecumeni, but then returns to the area with the construction of a new church (see below).

- 1580 – building of the new church of Madonna ai Monti, designed by Giacomo della Porta by orders of Gregory XIII Buoncompagni (1572-1585).

- 1600, Panciroli mentions the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, thinking it was a diaconia that first exited in Foro.[78]

- By the end of Paul III Borghese's reign in 1621 – the old SS. Sergio e Bacco in Foro[79] is

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française de Rome VII, 1887). Also, *Il Catalogo di Torino* (circa 1320), (Cod. Taurin. lat. A, 381): "170. Ecclesia sancti Sergii de Subura habet I sacerdotem."

[75] The original source of it is unclear. Trenci reports it and so do others.

[76] *Il catalogo del Signorili* (circa 1425): "238. ss. Sergii et Bacchi in Subura."

[77] This demolition, the architect's name has not been found so far in the documents I have seen in the archives.

[78] Ottavio Panciroli, Francesco Posterla, and Giovanni Francesco Cecconi. *Roma, sacra e moderna* (Roma: Mainardi, 1725).

[79] Armellini mentions this church in his *Le chiese di Roma*, 1891, p. 117: "Ss. Sergio e Bacco de Forma. Nella biografia di Pasquale I (817824) il libro pontificale descrive le opere fatte da

demolished, and Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini renovates the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Monti in honor of the saints (inscription on the façade). The renovation in Monti could have been done right after the suppression of the Foro church in 1597, but if it was funded by Antonio Barberini, it could only happen during the papacy of Urban VIII Barberini (1623-44).[80]

- 1622-1623 – the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco is given to Minims of St. Francesco di Paola.

- 1625 – mention of a *xenodochio* (a hospice) of the Albanians near the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

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questo papa all' oratorio e monastero dei ss. Sergio e Bacco nel Laterano. Dalle suddette parole impariamo che il papa, trovando il monasterium sancti Sergi et Bacchi, post formam acquaeductus patriarchii lateranensis positum, rebus omnibus desolatum, ita ut ancillarum ei congregatio, quae ibidem inerat, paupertatis inopia nullas omnipotenti Deo sanctisque illius laudes decantare valerent; lo restaurò e lo dotò famulis, messibus, vineis, domibus-."
Additionally, Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, p. 462: "S51. SS. SERGII (ET BACCHI) DE FORMA ovvero IUXTA ARCUM BASILI. Narra il biografo di Pasquale I (817-824: LP. C c. 22) che quel pontefice trovò il onu SS. Sergii et Bacchi post formam aquaeductus patriarchii Lateranensis rebus omnibus desolatum, dimodochè egli, invece del convento di monache allora ivi esistente, vi collocò un monastero di frati, arricchendolo di molti beni. Probabilmente questo convento di onache occorre già nella biografia di Leone III (795-816; LP. XCVIII c. 79 v. sopra p. 9 n. 99) col semplice nome di monasterium S. Sergii. Innocenzo II, con bolla del 21. maggio 1138 lo concedette insieme con la chiesa dei SS. Quattro Coronati al monastero di Sassovivo in Umbria (Jaffé-Lowenfeld 7898; Kehr IP. IV p. 47 n. 2). L' attribuzione fu confermata da Alessandro IV con bolla del 28. agosto 1256 (Bourel de la Roncière I p. 446 n. 1445) e da Bonifacio VIII con bolla del 29. settembre 1301 (Digeard III p. 142 n. 4132). Tutti questi documenti chiamano il santuario semplicemente S. Sergii et Bacchi, e perciò furono anche recentemente riferiti per errore alla basilica sotto il Campidoglio; ma è decisivo un documento del 1253 nell' archivio di Sassovivo (M. Faloci-Pulignani Arch. stor. eccl. dell' Umbria II, 1915, p. 561 sg.), nel quale la chiesa occorre stono di SS. Sergii et Bacchi iuxta arcum Basili(i). L' indicazione del luogo (cf. sopra p. 208 n. 11) concorda con ciò che possiamo dedurre dall' ordine topografico del catalogo torinese. Dopo il sec. XIV non viene più menzionata."

[80] See Cardinals RSE database, incl. the bibliography: http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1624.htm Antonio Marcello Barberini OFM Cap became the cardinal of S. Onofrio on November 13, 1624. Opted for the title of S. Pietro in Vincoli, September 7, 1637. Continued to be known as the cardinal of S. Onofrio. Opted for the title of S. Maria in Trastevere, May 26, 1642.
Previously, Card. di S. Onofrio were: Maffeo Barberini (5 maggio 1610 - 6 agosto 1623 eletto papa), Francesco Barberini, diaconia pro hac vice (20 novembre 1623 - 13 novembre 1624 nominato cardinale diacono di Sant'Agata dei Goti alla Suburra), Antonio Marcello Barberini, O.F.M.Cap. (13 novembre 1624 - 7 settembre 1637 nominato cardinale presbitero di San Pietro in Vincoli).

Summarizing the above-listed chronology, we can see that while early on in its recorded history SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra associated with monastic communities, in High Middle Ages the church went back and forth between being a parish, a chaplaincy, and a monastery again. In these cycles of functions, SS. Sergio e Bacco's history reflected a general phenomenon of the churches in the area of Suburra where monasteries rose over time, declined, turned into parishes, occasional chaplaincies, and were later resurrected and redeveloped into new, often monastic institutions, by new owners (e.g., Minims or Basilians).

The first documentary record of the church dedicated to Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Suburra, comes from the period of Leo III's papacy (795-816), when he donated silver to the "Oratium sanctorum Sergi et Bacchi quod ponitur in Calinico."[81] Later, during the papacy of Paschal I (817-24), the Benedictine monks that resided in the monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco were assigned choir duties at San Giovanni Laterano, located in the same district of Monti.[82] The same place – referred to as "monasterium sanctorum Christi martyrum Sergii et Bacci qui appellatur Callinici" – received additional silver gifts from Pope Benedict III (855-858) that included two chalices, a paten, and incense boat.[83] In 1045, in a bull by Pope Gregory VI, the monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco was attached to that of S. Pietro in Perugia – a Benedictine monastery founded by abbot St. Pietro Vincioli (d. 1022). The oversight of the monastery also included the church of St. Euphemia,[84] located not far from it: "monasterium S. Sergii quod nuncupatur Canelicum situm

[81] *Liber Pontificalis*, XCVIII, 24 & 78, also Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, p. 463.
[82] *Liber Pontificalis*, C, 22.
[83] *Ibid*, CVI, 26.
[84] The church of St. Euphemia, one of the most ancient in Suburra, was demolished in sixteenth century during the construction of Via Urbana. Hülsen fully records her plight: Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, p. 249: "E2. S. EUPHEMIAE. Cenc. 167 (S. E. Sebure): den. VI — Paris. 371 — Taur. 159 (monasterium S. E.): habet IV moniales — Sign. 229, rel. 15. Chiesa antichissima restaurata già da papa Sergio I (687-701), come narra il suo biografo (LP. LXXVI c. 13): hic basilicam Sanctae Euphemiae, quae per multa tempora fuerat disiecta, cooperuit ac renovavit. L'

Romae regione quarta in Subura cum ecclesia S. Euphemiae iuxta se posita."[85] Soon thereafter, SS. Sergio e Bacco had passed under the jurisdiction of a more local Benedictine monastery now occupying San Paolo fuori le mura.[86]

Going chronologically further back than documentary evidence allows, Cecchelli[87] suggested that several facts indicated that the monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco may have significantly

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Anonimo di Einsiedeln (sopra p. 5 n. 18) la ricorda sotto il nome di S. E. in vico Patricio. Leone III l' arredò di doni (LP. XCVIII c. 79, cf. sopra p. 9 n. 101); in quell' occasione viene chiamata S. Euphemiae et Archangeli, qui ponitur iuxta titulum Pudentis. Una bolla di Gregorio VI per il monastero di S. Pietro presso Perugia, del 1045 (falsamente attribuita a Gregorio IV ed all' anno 835), ricorda il monasterium S. Sergii situm Romae regione quarta in Suburra cum ecclesia S. Euphemiae iuxta se posita (Margarini Bullar. Casin. I p. 5 n. 5; Bullar. Roman. ed. Coquelines tom. I p. 176 n. 5; Kehr IP. IV p. 68 n. 13). È ricorda ancora nei Libri Anniversariorum (sopra p. 53 n. 19, p. 60 n. 7: S. Fomia; p. 63 n. 17, p. 68 n. 33) e nel catalogo del 1492 (sopra p. 69 n. 14). Nel sec. XVI il monastero viene ricordato ancora nel catalogo di S. Pio V (sopra p. 96 n. 28) ed in quello dell' Anonimo Spagnuolo (p. 107 n. 37) nonchè presso il Del Sodo; ma circa il 1580 fu dismesso. Gli edifizj furono demoliti, allorquando Sisto V. rettifficò la strada principale dei Monti (chiamata poi Via Urbana). Nondimeno rimasero vestigia sino dopo il 1650. Il sito è segnato sulla pianta del Bufalini foglio NO e sulla grande prospettiva del Dupérac. Del Sodo Vallicell. f. 102, Vatic. p. 85 (l' articolo è cancellato e sul margine notato: "butata a terra"); Panciroli 1 307 2 196; Lonigo Barb. f. 20, Vallicell. f. 30; Martinelli 357; Adinolfi II, 244; Armellini 1 142 2 196; Lanciani bull. comun. 1891, 307 sg., Storia degli scavi IV, 130 sg."

[85] The precise location of the church of St. Euphemia requires a separate investigation. As seen from the footnote 33, Hülsen indicated that the S. Euphemia was located near SS. Sergio e Bacco and was demolished in sixteenth century. Duperac has an inscription "T. S. Eufemiae" on via Urbana past the words "T. S. Lorentij in Fonte" on the way toward Santa Pudenzia (see map Fig. 1.3). However, there existed another church of Santa Eufemia that was demolished, this time only in 1812 during the excavations near Forum of Trajan – on the opposite side in relation to SS. Sergio e Bacco. The memory of that church remains to this day in the name of the eponymous street behind the Column of Trajan. Considering that with any demolition in the early modern period, there was a desire to eventually rebuild a church with an identical dedication, I suggest that the church of St. Euphemia in the Trajan Forum was an early modern double to substitute the sixteenth-century demolished St. Euphemia on Via Urbana. Thus, it was the Euphemia on Via Urbana that SS. Sergio e Bacco oversaw.

[86] Hülsen, *Chiese,* 463.

[87] Margherita M. Trinci Cecchelli, "Il monastero dei SS. Sergio e Bacco in Callinico: questione toponomastica e suo inserimento nel tessuto urbanistico della Subura cristiana" in *Memoriam Sanctorum Venerantes. Miscellanea in onore do Monsignor Victor Saxer. Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, XLVIII (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1992): 119-131.

predated the first references from the time of Leo III's papacy (795-816) in the *Liber Pontificalis*: Early Christian urban memory of Orthodox presence at the site is preserved in local place names and church dedications. These include: the existence of the Greek liturgy in the area dating back to the Early Christian period, evidence that points to the existence of a monastery in Rome to which St. Callinicus (Καλλίνικος), patriarch of Constantinople (r. 693-705) was exiled and in which he died, and continuous references to SS. Sergio e Bacco as that "in Callinico" as well as "in Suburra." All these factored into the suggestion by Trinci Cecchelli that the ecclesiastical use of the site dates back at least from the eighth century (if not earlier) and has a simultaneous tradition of the celebration of the Byzantine Rite, along with its association with the monastic function of the site.[88] If indeed the monastery in Suburra acted as the resting place of a Constantinopolitan patriarch, it adds another layer to Rome-Byzantium associations, just as the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople (Fig. 1.24) had papal associations, having been a place of refuge for Pope Vigilius (r. 537-555) during his Byzantine exile. Thus, these two churches in two imperial capitals, the Old and the New Rome, each dedicated to the same two saints, were associated with transnational Christian events linking the two branches of Christianity.

A third layer of association can be added in connection to the early history of other churches dedicated to the two saints in Italy, such as Venice. Although the Venetian cathedral had been dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle (San Pietro in Castello, Fig. 1.31) from ninth century, its original dedication was to Sergius and Bacchus, whose relics are still preserved in that church (Fig. 1.32). Venetian church of SS. Sergio e Bacco was founded in the seventh or eighth century, and only when it burned down and was rebuilt in 841, its dedication was changed to that of St. Peter.[89]

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[88] *Ibid.*

[89] *Le Origini della Chiesa di Venezia* is not precise in stating the dates of the construction of early Venetian churches, specifically on the island of Olivolo, now known as the island of

Moreover, Old St. Peter in Rome (Fig. 1.33) had an oratory next to it or attached to it that was dedicated to the two saints and it had a *cardinalatial diaconia* designation.[90] In the meantime medieval Naples had a prominent Basilian monastery dedicated to Sts. Sergius and Bacchus that also oversaw the church of St. Peter the Apostle in that city.[91] Located on the island of Megaride, the Neapolitan monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco was situated inside the Late Roman *Castrum Lucullanum* that later grew to a larger fortress now known as Castel dell'Ovo (Fig. 1.34). The Basilian occupied the site from the fifth century until the seventh, when the monastery's rule changed to that of the Benedictines. That change – from the Basilian control and therefore the use of the Byzantine (Greek) Rite to the Benedictine control and Roman (Latin) Rite mirrors an identical pattern we see played out not only in Naples, but also in Rome and Venice. Thus, in all the major Italian centers of later Slavic (and Greek) activity – Rome, Venice, Naples – Saints Sergius and Bacchus had been prominently featured, had their churches' foundations initiated by the Byzantines, and had a history of smooth integration into the Latin Christianity.

Castello. SS. Sergio e Bacco in Castello was the seat of the Bishop of Olivolo (774-1074) and then Bishop of Castello until 1451, by which time it was already known as S. Pietro for several centuries. On the merger of the Patriarchate of Grado and Archbishopric of Castello (i.e., Venice), the church of S. Pietro in Castello served as the Cathedral of Venice from 1451 to 1807, when the *cathedra* was transferred to San Marco in Venice.

[90] Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, p. 463: "S52. S. SERGII PALATII CARULI. Cenc. 63: den. XII. Gregorio III (731-741; LP. XCII c. 13) diaconiam SS. Sergii et Bacchi ad beatum Petrum apostolum, in qua pridem parvum oratorium erat, a fundamentis ampliori fabrica dilatavit. Il Duchesen sospetta (al LP. I p. 424 n. 25. II p. 43 n. 79) che la diaconia sia stata trasformata nel secolo nono in quel palazzo che serviva da residenza al missus imperatoris, detto palatium S. Petri. In esso potrebbe bene essere rimasto un oratorio dei due Santi, ricordato dal Camerario appunto nella regione Vaticana. Lonigo Barb. f. 53, Vallicell. f. 78 v. (dal LP. e da Cencio); Cancellieri de secretariis III p. 1602-1666; Armellini 1 610 2 745; Kehr IP. I p. 49."

[91] Di Meo, Alessandro. *Apparato cronologico agli annali del regno di Napoli della mezzana età ...: opera che serve a rischiarare le principali vicende d'Italia e d'Europa nel Medio Evo, e a stabilire le epoche precise fin qui errate o controverse, coi più certi presidii e monumenti della storia della critica e diplomatica* (Spoleto: Tip. V. Bossi, 1851), 51.

The prominence of the cult of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in these three cities – Rome, Venice, and Naples – can be explained by the fact that all three had been under centuries-long Byzantine control, often direct – like Venice and Naples – and thus all three had developed a set of devotions to the saints revered especially in Constantinople. Although more should be done on the topic of correspondences between Roman and Byzantine cults of specific saints, it should be noted that it is precisely in Rome that the cult of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus had survived the Middle Ages and into the early modern, modern, and contemporary periods. By comparison, the Cathedral of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Venice and the eponymous monastery in Naples did not last past medieval period. Furthermore, it is precisely in Rome of Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) we see the revival and "reuse" of a place dedicated to the two saints in the act of the transfer of their church to the use of the East Slavs that claimed simultaneously direct connection to Byzantium (the origin of their Orthodox liturgical traditions) and Rome (the source of their newly found Catholicity since 1596).

1.4 SS. SERGIO E BACCO DE SUBURRA

Medieval catalogues of Roman churches, such as the *Catalog of Cencio Camerario*, *Catalogo Parigino*, and that of Turin, spanning the period 1192 to the early fourteenth century, all record a church of San Sergio located in Suburra, without mentioning it also being dedicated to St. Bacchus. Since in every record throughout Middle Ages, only one church in the Suburra dedicated to St. Sergius is mentioned, and never the two at the same time (whether dedicated to both saints or only one),[92] it is safe to assume that the catalogues mean one and the same church, consistently located

[92] By the same token, two churches dedicated to the Savior (San Salvatore) are regularly mentioned being located in the Monti, being differentiated by the additional information (Tre

in Suburra neighborhood.

Based on Hülsen's work on the sacred topography of medieval Rome, we can see that SS. Sergio e Bacco at the time was surrounded by other churches and monasteries in the area that, although less densely built up during that period, was nevertheless dotted with ecclesiastical institutions (see the map of the area, Fig. 1.35). To the west of SS. Sergio e Bacco were two no longer extant churches of S. Bartholomaei de Subura and S. Andreae de Subura (de Viculo) whose location was in a block west of Via dei Serpenti. To the north – S. Mariae in Campo (de Puteo Probae), while to the southwest – still standing but no longer in use – S. Salvatoris de Subura (Fig. 1.10). To the east of SS. Sergio e Bacco, there were two churches, S. Salvatoris Trium Imaginum and likely S. Iohannis in Carapullo – the former was demolished during construction of Via Cavour, the latter, much earlier, with its precise location being unclear. Finally, to the north-east – S. Laurentii in Fontana (S. Lorenzo in Fonte, Fig. 1.9) – one of the few earliest churches in Suburra still standing. Diagonally across the piazza from SS. Sergio e Bacco, there existed a monastery dedicated to Santa Chiara on the site of the future Madonna ai Monti (Fig. 1.36) from 1223-1226, when the nuns moved into the nearby S. Lorenzo in Panisperna (Fig. 1.37). Apparently they left the site in ruinous condition because it was gradually overtaken by private dwellings that eventually served as a stage for a Marian miracle that will be addressed later in the dissertation.[93] This mere listing of the neighborhood churches allows us to realize that quite a few of them had been demolished over the centuries, either in the early modern period (like S. Bartholomaei de

Immagini or de Suburra), thus setting the precedent of two similarly named churches in the same neighborhood not being mistaken one for the other.

[93] In April 1579, the fresco of Virgin Mary, the Child, and the saints, spoke to a woman who resided in one of the makeshift dwelling constructed within the ruins of the old Clarissan monastery. The miracle prompted clearing of the site and the construction of a new church to house the miraculous icon (the said fresco, transferred onto a support), designed by Giacomo della Porta in 1580, and now known as Madonna ai Monti.

Subura), or in the modern times (like S. Salvatoris Trium Imaginum), or had fallen in disrepair and had been deconsecrated (like S. Salvatoris de Subura).

Directly across from SS. Sergio e Bacco, Hülsen located the church of SS. Petri et Marcellini de Subura (Santi Pietro e Marcellino) (see map Fig. 1.35),[94] on the spot now occupied by the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti and the Fontana dei Catecumeni (Fig. 1.38), built by Della Porta and Battista Rusconi in middle of the expanded piazza in 1588 (Figs. 1.18-19).[95] With SS. Pietro e Marcellino di Suburra in the center of the piazza, the triangular *isola* across from SS. Sergio e

[94] Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, p. 18: "P18. SS. PETRI ET MARCELLINI DE SUBURA. Cenc. 86 (Sebura): den. VI — Taur. 172: habet I sacerdotem — Signor. 239 (in Sebura). Chiesuola scomparsa dopo il sec. XV, la quale, secondo l' ordine topografico dei cataloghi, si deve cercare presso quelle di S. Salvatore de Subura e dei SS. Sergio e Bacco de Subura. Per a situazione è importante un documento del 26. gennaio 1338 nell' archivio del Salvatore, pubblicato dall' Adinolfi, Laterano e Via Maggiore p. 131 sg., che contiene una resignatio ecclesiae et parocchiae SS. Petri et Marcellini fatta a presbitero Ioanne de Tuderto eiusdem rectore in favorem presbiteri Martini rectoris ecclesiae SS. Sergii et Bacchi. Secondo questo documento, la chiesa in quell' anno era assai ridotta: il rettore considerans quod ecclesia SS. Petri et Marcellini de Subura in spiritualibus et divinis officiis fraudabatur cum domibus suis que minabantur ruinam. . . . nec posse resarciri sine gravissimis sumptibus et expensis la concesse al suo collega per cambiarla in ospizio: per ipsum Martinum preparandam et exercendam ad usum pauperum et infirmorum et peregrinorum, ut ibidem hospitalitas perpetua observatur. La posizione poi viene descritta in questi termini: que ecclesia posita est in contrata Subure, cuius fines ecclesie et domorum sunt hii: a duobus lateribus tenet dnus. Matheus Novelli et filii et heredes dni. Iacobi Novelli et dnus. Pandulfus Novelli, ab alio latere est proprietas ecclesiae in qua est vinea. . . ., ante est platea ecclesie. L' ospedale esistette sino alla seconda metà del sec. XV: l' Adinolfi cita (Laterano p. 117) dall' archivio del Salvatore (arm. IV mazzo VIII n. 23) una ratifica di donazione fatta nel 1383 "guardianis custodibus et officialibus antepositis societatis Raccomandatorum imaginis Salvatoris ad Sancta Sanctorum alla chiesa pauperum hospitalis S. Angeli et hospitalis S. Iacobi et hospitalis SS. Petri et Marcellini; e (Roma 86) dal catasto del Salvatore a. 1419 p. 65 una domina Agnes hospitalaria SS. Petri et Marcellinis. Il Liber Anniversariorum S. Salvatore (sopra p. 53 n. 8) ricorda la ecclesia Sanctorum Petri et Marcellini de Secura aliter l' ospedaletto. Il catalogo del 1492 e quelli del sec. XVI non la ricordano più, ma resta incerto tanto l' anno della distruzione quanto il sito esatto. L' Adinolfi e l' Armellini confondono in modo straordinario le notizie relative a questa chiesuola con quelle dei SS. Pietro e Marcellino presso il Laterano. Lonigo Barb. f. 47 v., val 69; Martinelli 386; Adinolfi II p. 81-86; Armellini 1 326 2 221."

[95] The work on the expansion of the Piazza dei Monti continued until 1595 by Girolamo de Rossi.

Bacco would have been larger. The entrance of SS. Pietro e Marcellino would have been located on Via dei Serpenti with its apse facing the piazza, making the orientation of the church (southwest to northeast) perpendicular to that of SS. Sergio e Bacco, whose I would have faced SS. Pietro e Marcellino's northern wall. There seems to have been some back and forth mobility between the clergy of the two churches, which can be inferred from a 1338 document that mentioned "una resignatio ecclesiae et parocchiae SS. Petri et Marcellini fatta a presbitero Ioanne de Tuderto eiusdem rectore in favorem presbiteri Martini rectoris ecclesiae SS. Sergii et Bacchi."[96] SS. Pietro e Marcellino's eventual history as a hospice might suggest a possible location of the *xenodochio* of the Albanians (ca. 1625), but, as Hülsen pointed out, the church was already missing from the catalogue of 1492, and, by the sixteenth century, it was no longer in existence, likely because of a complete redevelopment of the area in 1580s, when Giacomo della Porta designed the new church of Madonna ai Monti in 1580 (Fig. 1.39), and the new piazza he created with a centrally-placed fountain in 1589.

The proximity of SS. Sergio e Bacco and SS. Pietro e Marcellino was mirrored by the proximity of the two eponymous churches in the Lateran: SS. Pietri et Marcellini[97] and S. Sergii (et Bacchi) de Forma (Fig. 1.15).[98] The neighborhoods of the Suburra and the Lateran both belonged to the *rione* Monti (Fig. 1.40), and thus there appeared two churches identically dedicated to Saints Peter and Marcellinus in the Monti, and two dedicated to Saints Sergius in Bacchus next to them. The pairing led Armellini and Adinolfi to confuse the two churches in the Lateran with those of the Suburra, as noted by Hülsen.[99] To further complicate the task of locating particular medieval

[96] Hülsen, *Chiese*, 18.
[97] SS. Petri et Macellini is still standing at corner of Via Merulana and Viale Mazoni, now known as Chiesa dei Santi Marcellino e Pietro al Laterano.
[98] Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, p. 462.
[99] Ibid., p. 18.

Roman churches, the Forum also was part of the Monti, and almost inevitably some of the history of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Foro was misattributed to either of the eponymous churches in the Suburra or in the Lateran.

The *Schedario Garampi*, in its volume, *Chiese di Roma*, lists twenty-six references to SS. Sergio e Bacco (di Suburra) found in church documents, from 1291 to 1559.[100] There are several new aspects of SS. Sergio e Bacco's history that come to our attention from the *Schedario Garampi*'s entries. The first is that from ca. 1291-1297 the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco was associated with Landolfo Colonna (Landulfus de Columna) – likely one of the brothers disinherited by Cardinal Giacomo Colonna, which provoked a conflict between the cardinal and Pope Boniface IX, who sided with the brothers. The church and its profits seem to have been under Landolfo's control at least from circa 1291 as the above-mentioned documents grant him that parish.[101] Since the Colonna family's first Roman presence on the slopes of Quirinal hill is already recorded in the 1200s, the connection between the family and the medieval monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco later in the century is the earliest recorded patronage relationship with a major Roman family in the history of that church. This also suggests that by the end of the thirteenth century, the Colonna family was positioning itself as a major player in the patronage structure of the *rione* Monti in general and of the neighborhood of Suburra in particular.[102]

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[100] ASV, *Schedario Garampi, Chiese di Roma,* vol. 2, Indice 556, ff. 151rv. See Appendix A for the list of the references and their translations.

[101] Or reconfirming previous control of the parish by Landolfo and/or another Colonna.

[102] During Middle Ages, several members of the Colonna family controlled some of the basilicas in the area of Monti: Card. Giovanni Colonna (ca. 1170 – 28 January 1245), Cardinal Priest of Santa Prassede, since 18 February 1212 until his death; Cardinals Giacomo Colonna (1288–1297 and again 1306–1318), Pietro Colonna (1318–1326), and Giovanni Colonna (1336–1348) as Archpriests of the Papal Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. While their main stronghold was Palazzo Colonna at the foot of the Quirinal Hill, across from the basilica of Santi Apostoli, Colonna had continuously welded influence in the nearby Viminal Hill, at the foot of which was the neighborhood Suburra and the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

Secondly, while Elias is mentioned as an abbot of "S. Sergii Urbis" in 1327, in 1330 we have a mention of a "rector Martinus," possibly indicating that although "S. Sergii Urbis" was a monastery in early 1300s, it was transformed into a church with a secular clergy around the year 1330. More than half a century later, in 1402, a canon in the church is mentioned, confirming that it continued to be staffed with secular clergy since at least 1330. This contradicts Hulsen's claims that Benedictine monks held it until 1413. The situation continues until the 1470s with mentions of "parrochialis," "canonicus,"canonicabus," "rector," and "provost" found in documents of the years 1421, 1423, 1444, 1450, 1464, 1476, and 1478. However, during the papacy of Sixtus IV (1471-1484), and likely after 1478, a document[103] mentions the "suppression of SS. Sergii et Bacchi" and the erection of "a domus rectorum" – suggesting that up to that time SS. Sergio e Bacco had been considered a parish (*parrocchia*) staffed with canons regular, rather than secular canons, but now was staffed with mere rectors. Several years later, in 1486, this is confirmed by the note that SS. Sergio e Bacco is "cappellania" – a chaplaincy[104] – and no longer a parish in the true sense.[105] A decade later, in 1496, the church is again mentioned as chaplaincy in the context of the resignation of a certain Lucretius de Levis who was a parish priest (*parrochialis*) of "SS. Matini, Sergii et Bacchi, et duae cappellaniae." This new information can be interpreted in several different ways. Either Lucretius was a priest who oversaw the church of SS. Martino, Sergio e Bacco[106] as well as two other chaplaincies or the mention of the "duae cappellaniae Urbis" instead refers to two separate churches, that of SS. Sergii et Bacchi and the other of S. Martini. Alternatively, a parish priest Lucretius celebrated masses at S. Martini, SS. Sergii et Bacchi, and

[103] Sixtus IV, *Bullarum [Reg., Vat.],* liber 82, page 279.
[104] It is unclear whether ecclesiastical or lay chaplaincy.
[105] See Arturo Carlo Jemolo, "Cappellania" in *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1930), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cappellania_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.
[106] a new dedication for the suppressed parish of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

two other places – five in total. Another possibility is that all of them were, at the time, different chaplaincies. Not all of these interpretations can be true at the same time. These possible interpretations are further complicated by the fact that, in 1503 and 1533, SS. Sergio e Bacco was mentioned as a parish, yet in 1507 a document, recording the passing of Julianus de Bonsignoris (Giuliano di Buonsignori), the "parrochialis SS. Sergii et Bacchi… Urbis," states that the church was "regimine monialicum," that is, under a monastic control. Furthermore, in the year 1559 a presence of a canon in that church was recorded yet again.

Thirdly, while the *Schedario Garampi*'s entries name the site as S. Sergii Urbis, the rest of *Schedario'*s twenty-four references use the name *SS. Sergii et Bacchi,* with specifying the location as either *de Subura* or *de Urbe* and *Urbis*.[107] These entries span the period of 1291-1559, proving to be a continuous and consistent record of dual dedication of the said church from late thirteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century, in contrast with the three major Roman catalogs (covering the period of 1192-1302) that list the church in the Suburra as dedicated only to one saint – St. Sergius. Additionally, *Schedario Garampi*'s entries contradict the information, reiterated by Hülsen, that only in 1425 the church was again mentioned as SS. Sergio e Bacco, with the dual dedication.[108] Furthermore, the *Schedario Garampi*'s entries on SS. Sergii et Bacchi cannot be confused with the eponymous churches located in the Forum or the Lateran because of the *Schedario'*s clear indications *de Suburra* or *de Urbe*.

Hülsen's research, augmented by the records from *Schedario Garampi*, suggests either that, by 1243 (existence of archpriest Thomas),[109] or around the year 1330 at the latest (reference to the rector Martinus), and not 1413, the SS. Sergio e Bacco lost its status as a monastery under

[107] The only other exception being the 1496 mention of SS. Martini, Sergii et Bacchi.
[108] *Il catalogo del Signorili* (circa 1425): "238. ss. Sergii et Bacchi in Subura."
[109] Hülsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 1927, pp. 463-464.

Benedictine control and was re-designated as a parish church staffed with secular or religious canons. The subsequent history of the parish church continued into the Renaissance, but under Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere (r. 1471-1484) the church became a chaplaincy, sometime around 1478-1484. It was not until first half of the sixteenth century when parish priests and canons are mentioned as serving there. It is from that period that we also get the first recorded evidence of lay sponsorship of the structure. In the 1500s two chapels are mentioned inside the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco that were sponsored by two Monti families: the Paulelli (Palelli) and dello Ciuotto (Ciuoto or Ciuocto). Even earlier, in the *Liber Anniversariorum* of the Fraternità dei Raccomandati del SS. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, now held in the Archivio di Stato di Roma (*Fondo S. Sanctorum*, catasto n. 2), a double note from 1460-1461,[110] records the family's *donationis pro anima*:

> Antonio dello Ciuotto, before the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, (for the soul) of his sister, Donna Catherina, paid in two barrels of young wine (vinum mustum) worth 50 florins and done in 6 separate payments.[111]
>
> Paluzzo dello Ciuotto, his son Antonio dello Ciuotto, Paluzzo's wife and Antonio's mother, Lady Giovanna, of the *rione* Monti, to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, and to the Chapel of the Holy Angels in the said church, and to (the soul of) Donna Catherina, in life the sister of Antonio; Donna Caterina made a donation of the vineyard of Vivarolo that is outside the Gates of St. Lawrence, thereabout 16 measures, and of certain other goods, as witnessed by myself, Don Paolo di Lorenzo, and he [Paluzzo?] gave 50 florins worth of young wine.[112]

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[110] Pietro Egidi, *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, Vol. 44 (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1908), pp. 422-423, transcribing the records of the *Liber Anniversariorum* of the Fraternità dei Raccomandati del SS. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum.

[111] Ibid., 422: "Antonio dello Ciuocto, apud eccl[esia]. Ss. Sergii et Bachi; solv[it]. d[omina]. Catherina illius soror fl[oreni]. .L. in vino, musti fuer[it]. solutae .VI. et barilia II."

[112] Ibid., 422-423: "Palutio dello Ciuocto, Antonio dello Ciuocto e[ius]. F[ilius]., d[omina]. Ioanna ux[or]. Palutii et matre A[ntonii]., de reg[ione]. Montium, in eccl[esia]. Ss. Sergii et Bachi, in cappella S. Angeli in dea eccl[esia]., et pro d[omina]. Catherina sorore Ant[onii]. in vita ; d[omina]. Catherina fecit donat[io]. de vinea de Vivarolo extra portam S. Laurentii de .XVI. petiis vel circa, et de aliis certis bonis, ut patet ma[nu]. mei Laurentii d[omini]. Pauli, et dedit in vino musto fl[oreni]. .L."

The *Liber Anniversariorum* of the Fraternità is a record of the two families' involvement in the church, the fraternity,[113] and the precise dedication of one of the chapels in the church (S. Angeli), likely funded by the Ciuotto family. However, it is unclear whether the two chapels existed on both sides of the single nave, which is the current configuration of the two side altars (Fig. 1.44), or whether those two chapels had originally more of a structural presence, extending as separate additions to the single-nave space or even occupied side isles that no longer survive. A possibility that the family chapels of Paulelli and Ciuoto had more of a presence in the structure of the old SS. Sergio e Bacco can be found in Ivan Khoma's suggestion that the earlier church of SS. Sergio e Bacco contained two aisles, which may mean that the chapels were located in the side aisle(s). In any event, the 1563 demolition of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco and its thorough rebuilding *ad fundamentis* have made it nearly impossible to determine the precise floorplan of the medieval church.

Although there might be a number of likely culprits for the poor structural condition of SS. Sergio e Bacco in early sixteenth century – a lack of funding to sustain the infrastructure of the monastery and the structure of the church itself – Roman sources do often mention damages incurred by the building over the years from various earthquakes. Documents state that the dire state of SS. Sergio e Bacco in the mid Cinquecento made it necessary to demolish the structure in 1563. It is possible that a number of earlier natural disasters had accumulated enough damages to require a complete rebuilding. For instance, a devastating earthquake on 9 September 1349

[113] The same archive holds a record of the sale of vineyard outside Porta Pinciana made by Catarina, wife of Simone Paulelli, to Pietruccio Mancini to buy back the said husband from Ladislao, King of Naples, who kept him prisoner (ASR, *Fondo Ospedale del SS. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum*, S. Giovanni, Serie: Roma - Ospedale del SS. Salvatore (cass. 502 - 512), Cassetta/cartella 506/46, 30 marzo 1412).

partially demolished Colosseum – only a relatively short distance away from SS. Sergio e Bacco. The earthquake of 26 November 1461 in l'Aquila had also severely affected Rome. Whichever precise earthquakes (or a combination of them) contributed to the structural decay of the old SS. Sergio e Bacco, there must have existed a continuous religious demand in the area to justifying the rebuilding of that particular church.

Ottavio Panciroli (1554-1624), in describing the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in his seventeenth century *Tesori nascost' dell' alma città di Roma*,[114] concentrates mostly on the relics found in the church. Panciroli, throughout his works on Rome, consistently believes that the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra (also known as *in Callinico*, or in Monti) is indeed the same diaconia that originally existed in the Roman Forum. For instance, in *Tesori*, he states:

> Among the many already collegiate churches and the diaconiae of the Cardinals that are on the piazza [S. Francesca] Romana [in Forum], such as those of S. Adrian, S. Laurence, & SS. Cosma & Damian, there is a similar one that was dedicated to the Saints Sergius and Bacchus, who missed having their own altar erected in [the church of] S. Andrian. Now [though], this church has been united with that of S. Maria Maggiore and is in the care of souls.[115]

The suppression of the SS. Sergio e Bacco in Foro happened concurrent with Panciroli's writing the *Tesori,* in 1597, and the church was finally demolished sometime in the reign of Paul V

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[114] Ottavio Panciroli and Francisco Amici. *Tesori nascosti dell' alma città di Roma con nuouo ordine ristampati, & in molti luoghi arricchiti da Ottauio Panciroli; canonico nella Cated. di Reggio sua Patria. Quest' opera oltre alcuni trattati, dell' anno santo, e modo di visitar le quattro chiese, de' sacri cemeterij, de' Ticoli delle chiese, delle stationi, delle sette chiese, conti ne tutte le chiese di Roma distinte per Rioni, con le reliquie, & indulgenze perpetue che in esse vi sono. Si sono aggionti tre indici, uno delle chiese, l'altro delle reliquie, il terzo dell' indulgenze* (In Roma: per gli heredi d'Alessandro Zannetti, 1625), 205-208.

[115] *Ibid*., 205: "Trà le molte chiese già collegiate, e diaconie de' Cardinali che sono sù la piazza Romana, come S. Adriano, S. Lorenzo, & i SS. Cosmo e Damiano, vn'altra simile vi fù dedicata a i SS. Sergio, e Bacco, la quale mancando gli fù drizzato vn'altare ad honor loro in S. Adriano. Hora v'è di più questa chiesa vnita a quella di S. Maria Maggiore, & hà cura d'anime."

Borghese (r. 1605-1621), and thus no later than 1621. Panceroli would have been aware of these changes to the diaconia in Foro as he continued to reprint his *Tesori* in new and updated editions exactly in those years. It is unclear, then, why Panciroli believed the one in the Suburra to be a continuation of the one in the Forum. One fleeting reference in the book mentioned that later restoration of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra by Cardinal Antonio Barberini *seniore* (Fig. 1.45) was his wish to renovate the last remaining church dedicated to the two saints in the city, and a kind of offering for the destruction of the Forum one. If that sentiment predated Barberini papacy, it would then make sense that, in the mind of Panciroli, who was intimately connected to papal politics,[116] the church in Suburra had a connection to the one in the Forum. Panciroli probably did not know the whole nature of that connection.

Despite thinking of the title that belonged to the diaconia in the Forum, Panciroli continued to include his SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra, placing its description in his book precisely between descriptions of the neighboring Monti churches, immediately in the vicinity of our SS. Sergio e Bacco: S. Salvatore di Suburra,[117] S. Maria in Monti,[118] SS. Sergio e Bacco,[119] S. Salvatore alle Tre Imagini.[120] It is thus clear that Panciroli is referring to the Suburra church when he is describing the various relics found in the "SS. Sergio e Bacco." Pages 206-208 in *Tesori* are dedicated to sharing hagiographic narratives of the saints whose relics are found in the SS. Sergio e Bacco (in Suburra): those are of course the two eponymous saints – Sergius and Bacchus – as well as,

[116] Panciroli's third edition of *Tesori* (1625) is dedicated to Costanza Magalotti (1575–1644), wife of Duke Carlo Barberini, the brother of Maffeo (Pope Urban VIII), and thus the mother of the two Barberini cardinals – Francesco and Antonio *iuniore* – and the sister-in-law to Cardinal Antionio *seniore.*
[117] Panciroli, *Tesori,* 204.
[118] *Ibid.,*204, 205.
[119] *Ibid.,*205-208.
[120] *Ibid.,*208.

amazingly, the relics of the early third-century martyrs, Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, and St. Felix of Nola, also known as *in Pincis* (d. 4th c.). In the index of the Saints at the end of the book, Panciroli also lists that quite a few other relics were held at SS. Sergio e Bacco: those of St. Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary (13th c), those of St. Erasmus of Formia (d. 4rd c.), St. Gall (d. 7th c.), St. Ignatius of Antioch (d. 2nd c.), St. Leonard of Noblac (d. 7th c.), St. Longinus (1st c.), and Pope St. Soter (2nd c.). This means that, by late sixteenth century, when Panciroli was writing his *Tesori*, the church in Suburra possessed quite an extensive collection of Early Christian saints' relics – saints that were also present in the Greek and Russian Orthodox calendars. In many ways, the list of relics compiled by Panciroli gives considerable weight to my argument about the importance of Early Christian saints who were venerated both in the West and the East and makes the eventual establishment of the Ruthenian national church in SS. Sergio e Bacco, and not elsewhere, a carefully made choice.

Questions remain about whether the *xenodochio*, said to have existed near the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in 1625, is an additional Albanian institution near the *ospizio e ospedale degli Albanesi* that existed from the 1400s in Borgo Vecchio, not far from St. Peter's. Could it be that the Borgo Vecchio institution moved at some point in the *rione* Monti by 1625? The already-mentioned *Liber Anniversariorum* of the Fraternità dei Raccomandati del SS. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, notes *donationis pro anima* by a mother and her son in the periods of 1481-1483 and 1490-1491 respectively, whose last names indicate Albanian origin:

> Alessandro Albanese (or The Albanian), to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, for (the soul of) his wife paid 50 florins in cash and in wine.[121]
>
> Donna Maria, the Mother of the deceased Alessandro Albanesi, in the church of SS. Sergio

[121] Egidi, *Necrologi*, 488: "Alexandro Albanese, in eccl[esia]. Ss. Sergii et Bacchi; soluti fuer[unt]. per e[ius]. ux[or]. in pecun[ia]. et vino fl[oreni]. .L."

e Bacco, had apportioned the wine in two equal parts as debited in the book.[122]

If these members of the Albanese family were indeed Albanians, the records of them living in the area in 1480s-1490s predates by one and a half century the later record of an Albanian *xenodochio* from 1625. Continued adherence of the Albanian diaspora in Italy to the Byzantine Rite, celebrated in Greek, is a further evidence of possible Albanian ties to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

Further proof to the Albanian connection to this church can still be found in the late Cinquecento, as this proximity may have played a role in considering SS. Sergio e Bacco as the choice for a foothold of the Basilians of Grottaferrata, a branch of Italo-Albanian church that continued usage of the Greek Rite, centered in their monastery just outside of Rome. In 1597, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio noted in his *Audientiae Sanctorii*:

> With the Holy Father (Clement VIII Aldobrandini), Thursday, 26 June 1597, in Monte Cavallo, after the gathering of the Congregation.
>
> On the petition of the General of the Order of San Basil, submitted for His Holiness to the officials (*riformatori*) and then to me, who asks for the church and parish of San Sergio and Bacchus, or that of S. Urbano, etc.
>
> He (the Pope) said: - What do they want to do with this church or house, etc.
>
> He (the General) replied so that to have rooms for the procuration of the Order [and] superiors, and [the] friars of Grottaferrata, and not to stay at the hotel.
>
> - You think about it and come [back with the answer].
>
> And as I have already mentioned to His Holiness on other occasions, the first [i.e., church of SS. Sergio e Bacco] was given by S. Maria Maggiore to whom it belonged. Of the second [i.e., church of S. Urbano], it was uncertain whether it was damaged [from the

[122] Ibid., 513: "D[omina]. Maria matre q[uon]d[am]. Alexandri Albanensi, in eccl[esia]. Ss. Sergii et Bacchi; habuimus vinum in duabus partitis, prout in libro debitor." All of the other mentions recorded in *Liber Anniversariorum* of the Fraternità dei Raccomandati del SS. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum: years 1419-1429: "Sapo tabernario, de contr. S. Adriani, in eccl. Ss. Sergii et Bacchi retro Capitolium" (p. 330); "d. Iacobo archipbro eccl. Ss. Sergii et Bacchi de Subura, in ipsa eccl.; rel. circa .LX. fl." (p. 335); "d. Catherina ux. qd. Ioannis Piccolini, de reg. Ripae, in eccl. Ss. Sergii et Bacchi de Subura; exequutores solvv. .L. fl. (p. 339); "Petro Iacobo patre d. Sancii ep. Tiburtini et e. ux. matre dicti epi, in eccl. Ss. Sergii et Bacchi de Suburra; d. Sanctus solv. .C. fl." (p. 341); Years 1460-1461: "Petrutio Bello Impiazza, apud eccl. Ss. Sergii et Bachi; solv. d. Paula e. ux. fl. .L." (p. 422); Years 1461-1462: "Iacoba *** ux. qd. Antonii Moteguardi [Dioteguardi], apud || eccl. S. Sergii et Bacchi; fl. .L., quos solv. deus A." (p. 427); Years 1496-1497: "d. Pellegrina f. qd. Sabae Laurentii Petrutii, in eccl. Ss. Sergii et Bachi; soluti fuer. fl. .L." (p. 527).

> time] of the closure of the Annunziata monastery, and it really is not damaged [after all]. But His Holiness said he wanted to see the church [of St. Urbano] as it is, a part of the [route] of the Seven [Pilgrim] Churches of Rome.
>
> Of another petition by the same Father General, likewise, handed over to *riformatori* and then to me, which contains seven points:
>
> First, that it is necessary for the said Father General to have a house at a church in Rome, etc., as mentioned above, etc.[123]

Cardinal Santorio thus notes that the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco was, at the end of sixteenth century, already considered as a possible seat of the Procurator of the Basilian Order, not the Ruthenian one, but the Italo-Albanian one. Existence of a *xenodochio* of Albanians right there would have created a very tightly packed urban enclave of that *natio* in the middle of Suburra. Questions remain whether it truly happened. John Krajcar, in his notes on this passage, does mention "near this church was situated a hospice for the Albanians," saying nothing further on the sources or the fate of the *xenodochio.*[124]

Likewise of interest to us is that Clement VIII did not want for the old medieval church of Sant' Urbano to be transferred to the Basilians, as it would have removed it from the Latin Rite

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[123] *Audientiae Sanctorii,* fol. 315, transcribed in Giulio Antonio Santori and John Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Consistorial Acts* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1966), 143: "Con Nostro Signore, giovedì 26 di giugno 1597, a Monte Cavallo, dopo la Congregatione. Del memoriale del Generale dell'Ordine di San Basilio, rimesso da Sua Santità à riformatori et poi a me, che dimanda la chiesa et parochia di San Sergio e Bacco, overo quella di S. Urbano, etc. – Disse: Che vogliono far di questa chiesa o casa, etc. – Si rispose, per havere stanze per la procura dell'Ordine [e] superiori, et [li] frati di Grottaferrata, e non stare all' ostiaria. – Che vi pensarà e venerrà. Et già come altre volte ho riferito a Sua Santità, la prima era stata data da S. Maria Maggiore a chi apparteneva. Della seconda si è dubitato se nuoceva alla clausura del monasterio dell'Annuntiata, e veramente non nuoce. Ma Sua Santità disse volerla vedere lei come va alle Sette Chiese. Di un altro memoriale del medesimo Padre Generale rimesso parimenti a signori reformatori et poi à me, nel quale si contengono sette capi: 1o Che è necessario che l' detto Padre Generale habbia una casa at una chiesiola in Roma, etc., come si è detto di sopra, etc" (Translation is mine).

[124] Giulio Antonio Santori and John Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Consistorial Acts* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1966), 143, note 39.

usage – something that would be detrimental to its current use as a stop for pilgrims on the path of the Seven Churches. His words can be interpreted in that contexts, wishing it to remain as is.[125] Krajcar points out that the pope the church ended transferring S. Urbano into the oversight of the nuns of the church of St. Eufemia. Thus, it actually remained within the use of the Latin Rite.[126]

The presence of an Albanian *xenodochio* gives credence to the suggestion that the Eastern Rite continued to be celebrated in the vicinity of SS. Sergio e Bacco and possibly within that

[125] See more on S. Urbano, its female monastic community, and its connection to Sta Eufemia. Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medioevo: cataloghi ed appunti* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1927), 27: "Catalogo di Torino (ca. 1320), '6. Monasterium sancti Urbani habet XVIII moniales'" [Cod. Taurin. lat. A, 381]. Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medioevo: cataloghi ed appunti* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1927), 500-501: "V10. S. URBANI. Chiesa con annesso monastero, consecrata, come attesta l' iscrizione tuttora esistente (Forcella IX p. 505 n. 999), il 15. agosto 1264 da Urbano IV con i mezzi forniti dalla nobil donna Iacoba figlia di Petrus Blancus in domo patris sui. La chiesa primitiva, sulla fine del secolo XV era tanto fatiscente, che per il giubileo del 1600 ne fu costruita una nuova; però quella più antica rimaneva, come dice il Martinelli, post absidem novi templi profanata et in foenile redacta. La seconda chiesa esiste ancora nella Via Alessandrina." Also, in Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma: con l'aggiunta di quanto è stato fatto di nuovo fino all' anno presente* (Roma: Pagliarini, 1763), 233-234: "Di S. Urbano, e altre Chiese. Dopo la chiesa di s. Pantaleo, dove è un quadro con s. Biagio, creduto del Padovano, è s. Maria degli Angioli; si trova il monastero di s. Urbano, fondato con la chiesa dalla signora Giacoma Bianchi del 1264 al tempo d' Urbano IV. Ultimamente il cardinal Baronio con Fulvia Sforza impetrò da Clemente VIII questo luogo, e vi fece un monastero sotto la regola di s. Chiara delle capuccine, dove anche sono ricevute le zittelle di s. Eufemia. Marco Arconio fece il disegno della facciata di s. Eufemia. La facciata della chiesa fu fatta con l' architettura di Mario Arconio pittore, e architetto: e il quadro della Nunziata nell' altare a mano destra si crede del Muziani. Nell' altar maggiore è un quadro con Maria Vergine, Gesù, e Angioli, e da basso s. Urbano, e s. Chiara, opera d' un allievo del cav. d' Arpino: e i ss. Carlo, Francesco, e Niccolò vescovo, che sono dipinti sopra l' altro altare, sono di mano del cav. Ottavio Padovano; dove poco lontano è il sepolcro del cardinal Francesco Maria della nobilissima famiglia de' marchesi del Monte.
In faccia alle monache di s. Eufemia è il casino di Flaminio Ponzio fatto per sua abitazione: e passato la chiesa di s. Urbano per andar verso il tempio della Pace è un altro casino con una piccola, ma bella porta, che ha sopra una ringhiera sostenuta da due colonnette di granito, disegno, e abitazione del detto Arconio, che anche dipinse la Madonna, ch' è sopra la porta della vicina chiesa di santa Maria in Campo Carleo."

[126] Krajcar, Santoro, 143, note 40: "At the insistence of Cardinal Baronio and Antonio Sforza the neighbouring church of St. Urban was given by Clement VIII to the convent of St. Euphemia."

church itself. The issue is especially important since the presence of Albanians in the area (and thus, those attached to the Byzantine Rite) makes it contemporaneous with the search for a church available and suitable to the Byzantine-Rite Ruthenians in Rome – something that will be addressed next in the chapter.

CHAPTER 2. THE PLACE: ARCHITECTURE OF SS. SERGIO E BACCO & THE RUTHENIAN COMMUNITY

> *… dopo la mia morte, e nel termine di due mesi prossimi dal giorno di essa, si finisca di tutto punto la fabbrica già cominciata della Chiesa de' SS. Sergio, e Bacco nel Rione de' Monti, nella piazza della Madonna de' Monti, con la Casa unita ad essa Chiesa per abitazione de' Monaci Ruteni, conforme al disegno fatto dal Padre Valerio Teatino, da me a questo effetto deputato, quale68ntendntendo, e voglio che debba assistere fino alla perfezione di detta Chiesa, e Casa contigua, come sopra.*
>
> Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini, *Testamento,* 24 August 1646.[127]

2.1 SS. SERGIO E BACCO & THE RUTHENIAN COMMUNITY

A. Location: Earlier attempts to establish a Ruthenian church in Rome.

In 1639 the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Monti (Fig. 1.18) was assigned by Pope Urban VIII to the Uniate Ruthenians. However, the Monti church was not the first building offered by church officials to the Ruthenians. Initially, as reported by Bishop Ivan Khoma, the church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte (Fig. 1.9),[128] also in the Monti, was given in 1627 to the Slavic Uniates. However, at the time, the owners[129] of the church refused to give it up to the Basilian Order. The issue

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[127] Antonio Marcello Barberini, *Testamento, e codicilli della pia M. dell'eminentiss. e reuerendiss. Sig. F. Antonio Barberino prete cardinale della S.R. chiesa del titolo di S. Maria in Trasteuere, detto di Sant'Onofrio* (In Roma: nella Stamperia della Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, 1646). Also republished in Catholic Church, Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, *Bullarium Pontificium Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Romae: Typis Collegii Urbani, 1839-1841), 339-350 (Quote found on p. 349).

[128] S. Lorenzo in Fonte's address is via Urbana 40.

[129] The owners of the church might have already been a confraternity, Congregazione Urbana dei Nobili Aulici, that replaced Augustinians: the Lateran Canons that oversaw the basilica of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and, earlier, the Lateran Canons of Sant'Agnese fuori le mura. Prior to Augustinians, S. Lorenzo in Fonte was a place of a Benedictine nunnery that was there until 1517. As with almost all the churches involved in the negotiations with the Ruthenians, and many in the neighborhood of Monti, S. Lorenzo was renovated, refashioned with a new façade

remained unresolved and, on 28 May 1637, a letter from Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini offers to Ruthenians the church of Santi Quaranta Martiri (Fig. 2.1)[130] in Trastevere.[131] Yet only a week later (6 June 1637), a letter from the same cardinal informs Ruthenians that the Arciconfraternità di Gonfalone, the owner of SS. Quaranta, has also refused to give up the church, and, instead, another church – San Giorgio in Velabro (Fig. 2.2)– is being offered to the Ruthenian use.[132] Cardinal Barberini mentions that the church has the relics of Saint George, and he would personally order the necessary renovations and improvements (e.g., raising the floor level etc.).[133] It is unclear why the S. Giorgio offer had not materialized for the Ruthenians, though Cardinal Barberini did indeed finance the remodeling of that structure,[134] just as he would a few years later pay for the remodeling of SS. Sergio e Bacco. By 1639 the name of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco appears in the renewed discussions over Ruthenians' own church in Rome. By 1641, the church is officially theirs, passing to the Basilians from the hands of the Minims of St. Francis of Paula – the order that nevertheless retained a large presence in the area of Suburra, overseeing several parishes beyond their main one, S. Francesco di Paola (Fig. 2.3).

When it comes to the churches mentioned above, either those offered to Ruthenians, like S. Lorenzo in Fonte or SS. Sergio e Bacco, or the ones involved in the control disputes with the Basilians, all of them are located with a short walk from each other. SS. Sergio e Bacco was down the street from S. Lorenzo, and S. Francesco di Paola would have been on the other side of an *isola*

during the papacy of Urban VIII Barberini, and likely with the financial involvements of his brother and his nephew, Antonio *seniore* and Antonio *iuniore*.

[130] Now this church is known as the SS. Quaranta Martiri e Pasquale Baylon.

[131] BAV, Vat. lat. 8473, vol. 1, fol. 86rv.

[132] BAV, Vat. lat. 8473, vol. 1, fol. 92v.

[133] Ibid.

[134] The church of S. Giorgio in Velabro's renovations of the Baroque period were later removed during the nineteenth-century "restorations" and later by Antonio Muñoz in 1923-26. That latter work reversed the floor level changes done according to Cardinal Barberini's wishes.

that separated piazza della Madonna dei Monti from via Suburra. In the nineteenth-century redevelopment of the area, the creation of Via Cavour cut through that *isola*, extending via Serpenti. Presently, S. Francesco di Paola is down the street from SS. Sergio e Bacco and the Madonna ai Monti.

The seemingly haphazard (Fig. 2.4) placement of the churches offered to Ruthenians during negotiations may hold the key to answering a larger question: why this particular church in Monti, and why not another elsewhere? The specific locations of all the churches offered – S. Lorenzo in Monti (Fig. 1.9), SS. Quaranta in Trastevere (Fig. 2.1), S. Giorgio in Velabrum in Ripa (Fig. 2.2), and finally SS. Sergio e Bacco again in Monti – all share location in areas where considerable groups of immigrants had been residing, particularly those attached to the Byzantine liturgical tradition. There were some Albanians in Trastevere and Monti, while the area of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and S. Giorgio in Velabro was known as the Greek quarter of Rome. The fact that there were already established Slavic communities of the Latin Rite in Ripetta (S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, Fig. 2.5) and *rione* Sant'Angelo (S. Stanislao dei Polacchi, Fig. 2.6) seemingly played no importance to Cardinal Barberini's decisions. Instead, I suggest that the answer lies not only in the neighborhoods of the said churches but in a larger devotional similarity that all the churches chosen shared, namely, dedications to specific saints, and the antiquity of the original foundation of the said churches and the antiquity of the particular saints' cults. In each example, the saint to whom the church was dedicated had a long devotional history within both Eastern Orthodoxy and Catholicism that stretched back to the Early Christian period of the Church and had long been a "fixture" in the Orthodox liturgical calendar: Saints Laurence, George, Sergius and Bacchus (Fig. 1.25), and the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Holy Forty, Fig. 2.7). Cardinal Barberini's choices were driven, in my view, by his deep understanding of how his Orthodox partners operated and which

building would or would not constitute a successful and functional option. Barberini's mention of the relics, in the case of S. Giorgio in Velabro, is important, again, precisely because the offer of that church went along with the content (relics) upon which the dedication was based. Although much has been written about the mobility of relics, and their importance in constructing the meaning of space, we cannot discount the fact of the immobility of *cultus* as anchored in a particular location, long established and grounded in the first centuries of Christianity in the city. Cardinal Antonio Barberini *seniore* was conscious of that, I suspect. Each choice offered exactly that – an ancient Early Christian site[135] with relics of Early Christian martyrs – something to which no Eastern Orthodox could find reason to object.

Moreover, that same SS. Sergio e Bacco had already figured in the discussions between the Holy See and Basilians, though not Ruthenian Basilians, but the Basilians of Grottaferrata several decades earlier than the Ruthenian request for a Roman church.[136] While it is unclear whether the Grottaferrata Basilians had finally made a home, if only temporary, at SS. Sergio e Bacco, we should note that this church had been considered for the use of the Byzantine-rite religious communities twice within half a century – hardly a coincidence. In fact, this dual consideration, in 1597 and in 1630s, betrays a consistency between the historical actors involved in those two separate decisions – Cardinals Giulio Antonio Santorio and Antonio Marcello Barberini – and a continuity within the institution of Propaganda Fide, which both of them headed in different times.

[135] In case of SS. Quaranta, the church's foundation was medieval, rather than Early Christian, having been established in 1122.

[136] See the end of Chapter 1 for the details on that discussion. See, *Audientiae Sanctorii,* fol. 315, transcribed in Giulio Antonio Santori and John Krajcar. *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Consistorial Acts* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1966), 143.

B. SS. Sergio e Bacco under Ruthenians

Prior to the transfer of the church and its adjacent building to the Ruthenians, the Holy See conducted a visitation, which resulted in the report: *Decreto della Sacra visita alle case e alla Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco applicato al Collegio dei [R]uteni* [The Decree on the Holy (See's) visitation of the houses and the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, given to the College of the Ruthenians], dated 12 May 1639.[137] The *Decreto* is significant in several aspects, fist is that it clearly indicates that the "parochial building" was "adjacent" to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, and not standing in the distance from it, supporting my suggestion that the corner house (Fig. 2.8) with frescoed ceilings (Figs. 2.9, 2.10) was indeed the original *ospizio*. Secondly, the document also shows that from the very start of the negotiations for the Ruthenian national church, the agreed-upon church (SS. Sergio e Bacco) and the building next to it were intended to be the sites of a "church for the Ruthenian Nation" and a "college of the Ruthenians" – Ecclesia Nationis Ruthenorum & Collegio de' Ruteni. Thirdly, the document reveals that the monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco was a foundation of a certain Giovanni Pizzullo the Calabrian (Joannes Pizzullo Calabro), "fundatore di conventis in suo ultimo testamento." Pizzullo is mentioned as a priest and member of the Minims of the *Natione Calabra* in Fioravante's *Roma ex ethnica sacra* of 1668.[138] Since the Minims of St. Francis, founded in Calabria, acquired the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in 1622/23, the period during which Don Pizzullo could have mentioned the church in his will was in the years 1623–1639. Considering Pizullo's own membership in the Order of Minims and the fact that SS. Sergio e Bacco was at the time under the Minim control, we can safely assume that the "convento,"

[137] ASR, *busta* 1895, folder 9 (12 May 1639).
[138] Martinelli, Fioravante. *Roma ex ethnica sacra sanctorum Petri, et Pauli apostolica praedicatione profuso sanguine* (Romae: Ex typographia Fabij de Falco, 1668), 449.

mentioned on 12 May 1639, was that of the Minim friars, not the earlier Benedictines that had been known to reside at SS. Sergio e Bacco in years past. This detail is important as it allows us to see that a rather brief occupancy of SS. Sergio e Bacco by the Minims was intended to be permanent and involved if not outright changes to the built fabric of the *isola*, at least a recorded gathering of funds for functioning of the monastery and the church.

C. Appearance.

The present appearance of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco is largely a result of a nineteenth-century renovation and the consequent restoration in the 1970s (Fig. 1.1). Of the earlier parts of the façade and interior have survived, all show an extensive history of renovations that the church underwent in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. It appears that any remnants of the previous medieval structure, not destroyed by the demolition of 1563, had been thoroughly subsumed or obliterated by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century rebuilding.

Facing the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti, the tripartite façade of the church is fully incorporated into the built mass of the block. This characteristic seems to have already been the case in the 1675 when Giovanni Battista Falda made an etching for *Le fontane di Roma* (Fig. 1.19) that showed the church as attached to another building on its left, on the corner of the Via dei Serpenti. The church's low-pitched roof, sloped toward the street, continued uninterrupted as the roof of that left-side building. To the right, we could see a walled garden with an entrance and a four-story building. Falda carefully recorded SS. Sergio e Bacco at the time possessing an unarticulated façade with a simple molded frame that followed the side and top edges of the wall, but not its bottom. The only openings in that plain façade are a Seicento doorcase of the entrance with a pediment (nearly identical to the present one), and a rectangular tall, framed window (today seen with an arched top). The height of the church in the seventeenth century seems to have been

approximately the height of its present first two stories.

Published in mid-eighteenth century, Giuseppe Vasi's *Le vedute di Roma*, captures the changes to the façade of the church (Fig. 1.20) less than a century later after Falda's etching. Now, the height of the church has been extended beyond the height of the building on the left by an addition of a smaller story, almost an attic. The new story's height coincided exactly (at least in the print) with the very top of the earlier, pitched, roof. The triangular pediment got also moved to the top of the new story. The space between the church and a building on the right, earlier occupied by the walled garden, now appears to be filled in by a newly constructed three-story building, matching the height of the building to the left of the church.

SS. Sergio e Bacco is a longitudinal single-nave church (Fig. 1.44), its floor plan similar to many of the other neighborhood churches in Rome and elsewhere in the seventeenth century. The nave is almost twice as long as it is wide, and it terminates in the sanctuary with a semicircular apse. In the sanctuary, the main freestanding altar (Fig. 2.13) is located between the iconostasis (Fig. 2.14) and a Neo-classical colonnaded high altar (Fig. 2.15)[139] with the icon of Madonna del Pascolo above it (Fig. 2.16). The oval window in the apse provides the only additional source of natural light in the church, the other being the large, tall window in the façade, seen behind the choir loft. A comparison of the height of the façade window and the height of the barrel vault shows that the latter does not extend beyond the second story. It appears that the nineteenth century addition of the third story, lit up with the tripartite Venetian-style window, is fully separate from the interior of the church whose spatial boundaries remained unchanged at least since the eighteenth century (if not since the seventeenth century as the vault reaches slightly beyond the arched top of the tall window – itself seen under the roof of the single-story church of 1670).

[139] High altar was designed by Filippo Barigioni (1690 –1753).

Falda's and Vasi's representations (Figs. 1.18, 1.19, 1.20) of the early modern church of SS. Sergio e Bacco show it to be not particularly different from other Roman churches of the Settecento. With many of them having undergone similar renovation work during the same period during the papacy of Urban VIII Barberini (6 August 1623 – 29 July 1644), they appear almost generic with their two-story rectangular façades, single entrance, a window or two in the upper part, and a triangular pediment spanning the width of the church, squeezed between other buildings of the block. Examples include Sta. Agatha dei Goti (Fig. 1.6), SS. Andrea e Bartolomeo al Laterano (Fig. 1.7), S. Bernardino da Siena (Fig. 1.8), S. Lorenzo in Fonte (Fig. 1.9), S. Salvatore ai Monti (Fig. 1.10). This list of Roman churches just in the Monti neighborhood can easily be supplemented with numerous additional examples of the same type in other areas of the city.[140] The last thing anyone would suspect is that this small neighborhood church is home to a different liturgical tradition and a seat of a representative of another Church in union with Rome.

2.2 OSPIZIO DEI RUTENI

The establishment of the national church of the Ruthenians (1639) coincided with the establishment of the hospice (*ospizio*), that was initially intended to function as a college – *Collegio dei ruteni* – something that never truly materialized for a variety of reasons that are addressed below. The very establishment of the church and the adjoining college cannot be viewed only as a singular affair, but rather as a part of a larger neighborhood redevelopment. For instance, only steps away from the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, across the eponymous piazza, Della Porta had

[140] In Trevi: S. Andrea dei Scozzesi, S. Basilio, S. Croce e S. Bonaventura dei Lucchesi, Madonna del Carmine, Sta. Maria dell'Umiltà, etc. See Giovanni Paolo Tesei, *Le Chiese di Roma* (Roma: Anthropos, 1986).

designed the famous church of Santa Maria ai Monti (also known as Madonna ai Monti, Fig. 1.36) in 1580. In 1634, around the time of the renovations of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Cardinal Antonio *juniore* built a new home for the College of the Neophytes and Catechumens (Fig. 2.17) – founded for the converts from Judaism and Islam – adjacent to the Santa Maria ai Monti.[141] We know that earlier the area around the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti was also home to a Portuguese hospice and, further afield, to a few national churches as well.[142] The piazza's fountain, designed by Giacomo della Porta, became known as Fontana dei Catecumeni (Fig. 1.38) after the name of the Collegio dei Catecumeni that Barberini relocated next door. While in the past this area of the Monti experienced the appearance of a number of foreign pilgrim hospices and early national churches, by the time it became a home to the Ruthenian church and its hospice the area had been developing a distinct aura of unity with the See of St. Peter. The Barberini-led redevelopment of the piazza and institutions around it fostered precisely that kind of symbolism with the presence of converts from Judaism, Islam, Protestantism, and Orthodoxy – all seeking unity with the Roman Church.[143]

The establishment of a college for the Basilian monks and a hospice for the Ruthenians of the Byzantine Rite, a permanent "embassy" of the Uniate Church in the middle of papal Rome contributed to that symbolism of catholicity. It was another "brick" in the built fabric of the renovated Rome of the Barberini, as well as another *sui iuris* church reestablishing its unity with Rome in the midst of Reformation – the Eastern European triumphs of Counter-Reformational policies of Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini and now of Pope Urban VIII Barberini.

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[141] Nicholas Terpstra, et al. *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy.* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 147.
[142] Katharine Brophy Dubois. *Strangers and Sojourners: Pilgrims, Penance and Urban Geography in Late-Medieval Rome.* PhD diss. (University of Michigan, 2001), 276.
[143] A more comprehensive account of the redevelopment of the neighborhood above and beyond that of SS. Sergio e Bacco is given in Chapter 2. The Place: Neighborhood & Models of Community Organization in Early Modern Italy.

Questions remain on the exact location of the original Seicento *ospizio.* The documents from Settecento and Ottocento continue to refer to the building to the right of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco as an *ospizio.* However, this building, now occupied by a reincarnation of the original *ospizio* – Casa Santa Sofia (Fig. 2.18), was only constructed in late Seicento, in a lot previously occupied by a walled-off garden with a separate entrance from the street, as seen in the etching of Falda (Fig. 1.16). That means that the original *ospizio* was likely located to the left of the church – in a building on the corner of the piazza and the via dei Serpenti (Fig. 2.8). Presently, the building's contains residential housing and retail ground floor properties. The building also shares the same ancient foundations that were studied by Margaret Andrews.[144] However, there is now no connection underground between the buildings in the basement level where the spaces have been walled off at an unknown date.

While the walls of the shop are whitewashed, the vaulted ceilings of both rooms (Figs. 2.9, 12.11), accessible to the public, retain frescoed decoration that has, unfortunately, been severely damaged and scraped off throughout, revealing several layers of prior repainting (Fig. 2.10). Despite the extensive damage to the frescoes, it is still possible to determine that the surfaces in each of the two rooms contained ornamental multiple floral borders (Fig. 2.11) and, integrated among ornamentation, numerous figures whose ecclesiastical character is betrayed by occasionally decipherable haloes and hieratic postures (Fig. 2.12). To my knowledge, these frescoes have not been studied or properly catalogued in any literature dedicated to the Uniates in Rome, the adjacent church, or the art and architecture in the area of the piazza Madonna dei Monti. The existence of heavily frescoed interior further supports my suggestion that it is precisely the corner house at the piazza and the Via dei Serpenti that was the original *ospizio* of SS. Sergio e Bacco. A more

[144] Andrews, 2014.

thorough analysis of the layers of paint could possibly shed light on whether the frescoes predate or antedate the existence of the Ruthenians at the adjacent church. In light of an existence of a well-developed fabric of churches, parishes, hospices, confraternities, and other institutions, that Ruthenian Uniates found after having moved into this area of Monti, it would not be surprising if the fresco decoration of the corner building belonged to a previous institution, either one connected to the Albanians or to the Minims of St. Francis. However, the very fact of the later discovery of the frescoed image of the Madonna and Child in the sacristy of the church in 1718 (Fig. 1.29), it would be unthinkable if the new owners of the church did not attempt a whole campaign (if rather humble) in redecorating the church and the *ospizio*. In that scenario, the frescoes of both the *ospizio* and the church all date from the same post-1640 developments.[145]

2.3 SS. SERGIO E BACCO, MISSIONS, AND THE MAKING OF THE GLOBAL CATHOLICISM

A large number of Eastern Europeans, involved in the establishment of the national church of the Ruthenians, had been alumni of one of the pontifical colleges in Rome, such as the Collegio Greco, and educated by Jesuits.[146] Furthermore, as such, during the course of their studies, they were classmates with other Slavs, Armenians, Greeks, Maronites, and Albanians who would eventually collaborate with them later in their ecclesiastical careers. Instrumental in publications of Glagolitic liturgical books, Ivan Paštrić (also known as Giovanni Pastrizio, 1636-1708), the

[145] Only in case of the church's sacristy do these developments need to antedate 1718 – the year of the discovery of the Madonna del Pascolo.
[146] Blažejovskyj, *Byzantine Kyivan rite students in pontifical colleges, and in seminaries, universities, and institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576-1983)*, Analecta OSBM, Series II, sectio I, Opera v. 43 (Rome: PP. Basiliani, 1984), 34–35.

prominent Croatian linguist, scientist, poet, and lecturer at the Propaganda Fide was in fact a classmate of several Ruthenians – the very people to whom he was later sent to conduct a visitation in 1661 at SS. Sergio e Bacco. All three early leaders of the Greek Orthodox union with Rome, who succeeded each other as Metropolitans of Kyiv and Halycz – bishops Ipatii Potii (Fig. 2.19),[147] Rutsky (Fig. 2.20) and Korsak (Fig. 2.21) – grew up as first-generation Calvinists but converted to Orthodoxy as adults. Later, upon encountering Jesuit theology, they sought ways of uniting with the Holy See. All three had intimate connections to Rome. For example, the books of the Pontifical Greek College of St. Athanasius (Collegio Greco) in Rome[148] show that the earliest Byzantine-Rite students from Eastern Europe were the older son of Kosma Mamonicz (Leon), a student in 1578;[149] Petro Potii, a son of Metropolitan Ipatii Potii, and a student in 1595 – the same year his father traveled to Rome to obtain the guarantees from the Pope of the Byzantine Rite privileges ahead of the Union of Brest in 1596. From 1599 until 1603, Josyf Rutsky was a student at that College, and the man who would succeed him in the leadership of the Uniate Church, Metropolitan Korsak, was a student at the Pontifical Greek College in 1621 – 1624.[150] A decade later, starting in 1633, Rafajil Korsak stayed in Rome for two years in his capacity as the procurator of the Uniate Church at the Holy See. While in the capital, Korsak also served as a postulator for the cause of beatification of the newly martyred Josaphat Kuncewicz (Fig. 2.22), the former *hegumen* (abbot)

[147] Ipatii Potii (1541 – 16130).
[148] Pontifical Greek College in Rome, founded on 3 November 1576.
[149] Blažejovskyj 1984, pp. 35,82. Leon Mamonicz would eventually (in 1607) inherit his father's and uncle's printing house in Vilnius that under his management would become one of the largest and the most effective "mouthpieces" of the Greek Catholic Church.
[150] Blažejovskyj 1984, p. 82. Upon his return from Rome, Korsak became the archimandrite of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius in 1625, and the next year, the Proto-Archimandrite of the whole Basilian Order and the Bishop of Halycz, as the coadjutor to Metropolitan Rutsky of Kyiv.

of the important Uniate Monastery in Żyrowice.[151] In 1635 Korsak left Rome and assumed the See of Kyiv upon Rutsky's death in 1637. Yet two years later, he again returned to Rome in 1639 and seems to have stayed at in SS. Sergio e Bacco until his death the following year, the church crypt (Figs. 2.23, 2.24) becoming the place of his burial, which, in fact, remains such until today.[152]

While the extent of the involvement of the Croats of Propaganda Fide in missions to the East has been well known, we can now see that their Ruthenian companions were very much part of that effort. It brings to mind the famous words of Pope Urban VIII to the Ruthenian Uniate bishop Methodij Terleckyj: "O mei Rutheni, per vos ego Orientem convertendum spero."[153] Thus, the Barberini pope saw Ruthenians as integral to the very project of global Christianity centered in Rome, and specifically instrumental in the "conversion" of the East – East in this context being every location east off Rome: Slavonia, Valachia, Russia, Middle East, or China.

An inventory of 1743, mentioned above, contains an additional document – an inventory of the items that belonged to an Armenian lecturer at the Propaganda Fide's College, Suchias Khaxavat, titular bishop of Aleppo that died at the Ospizio.[154] Armenian connection with Ruthenians was just as strong as that of the Schiavoni, and merits a thorough investigation. Already in 1630, while Ruthenians were negotiating for their own church in Rome, Armenians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, represented by Bishop Mikołaj Torosowicz of Lviv signed a union with Rome, establishing the *Archieparchia Leopolitana Armenorum*, and inviting Theatine

[151] Kuncewicz was killed by an Orthodox mob while serving as the Uniate Archbishop of Polotsk.
[152] Korsak is buried in SS. Sergio e Bacco in the crypt, in the marble tomb that was renewed in the 1960s.
[153] 29 March 1629, Audience with Pope Urban VIII. See, *Museum: list bohoslovců česko-moravských*. Vol. 30 (Brno: Benediktínská knihtiskárna, 1864), 55.
[154] Khaxavat, Suchias, born in Costantinopole, son of Minas. Titular bishop of Aleppo. Lector at the Collegio di Propaganda Fide in the Armenian language (1735-1743).

order to Ukraine to oversee the education of both Armenian and Ruthenian Uniate seminarians in *Pontificio Collegio Armeno et Rutheno in Leopolis*.

Aside from Armenians, Maronites played a substantial role in the period. Documents in the archives of the Propaganda Fide suggest their bigger presence at SS. Sergio e Bacco, alongside the Ruthenians. At one point, in April 1828, a Maronite priest stayed at the Ospizio, and celebrated masses according to what I would assume to be the Western Syriac Rite – the normative rite for the Maronite Church. His masses were recorded in Syriac handwriting along with the other daily masses celebrated by the resident clergy.[155] Although this nineteenth-century reference is rather beyond the chronological confines of this dissertation, the recurring presence of the Maronites at the Ruthenian church in Rome should not be assumed to be only a modern phenomenon, but rather a continuation of the relationship that was established in the previous centuries.

In fact, the Maronites were neighbors of Ruthenians in Monti neighborhood for quite some time. In 1707 Pope Clement XI[156] established the location of a monastery of the Lebanese Maronites of St. Anthony the Abbot by the church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro (Fig. 2.25), not far from S. Giovanni in Laterano.[157] A few decades later, a description of the area south of the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti places "il monastero degli Antoniani Maroniti della congregazione del

[155] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo), Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, vol. 3.
[156] Initially, Maronites took over the church of S. Giovanni della Ficoccia, near Fontana di Trevi, in 1581 (February 27), and over the years the street became known as Via dei Maroniti. Pope Gregory XIII with his breve Exigit incunbentis on 31 January 1582 officially made the house into Ospizio of the Maronite Nation, and in two years later, established the Collegio Maronita (bull Humana sic ferunt, 27 June 1584).
[157] Bernardino Bernardini, *Descrizione del nuovo ripartimento de' rioni di Roma fatto per ordine di N.S. papa Benedetto XIV, con la notizia di quanto in essi si contiene* (In Roma: Per Generoso Salomone, Presso S. Eustachio, 1744), 31.

Monte Libano"[158] to close to the monastery and the church of S. Francesco di Paola of the Minims, and the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli.[159] In this second location, Maronites would have been a short walk from SS. Sergio e Bacco, and the close contacts evident from the archival sources make even more sense. For instance, another Maronite hierarch who passed away in Rome, the bishop Gabriel Farhat, belonged to the original Maronite monastic community, *Ordine aleppino libanese antoniano maronita*,[160] the one that stayed nearby, behind the church of S. Francesco di Paola.

2.4 BYZANTINE RITE & SS. SERGIO E BACCO: THE PHENOMENON OF SHARED SPACE

Based on the archival evidence, we see the two concurrent developments within the liturgical environment of the church: the bi-rituality, presented in weekly celebrations of the liturgy in a Latin Rite (Roman), as well as the Byzantine liturgy (theoretically in Church Slavonic) at weekends. The Byzantine Rite shows early signs of Latinization despite the fact that numerous papal warnings against mixing the rites or corrupting either of the two with other's characteristics had been made. It appears that on the ground, in practice, Latinization had been advanced by the very clergy and the environment in which the said clergy found itself.

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[158] Dominique Magnan, Venanzio Monaldini, Gaetano Quojani, and Gregorio Settari, *La città di Roma ovvero Breve descrizione di questa superba città, divisa in quattro tomi ed ornata di 385 stampe in rame,* Tomo I (S.l: s.n, 1779), 28.

[159] Based on the location, it seems that the current institution, Collegio Maronita Mariamita Beata Maria Vergine (Collegio di Religiosi Ordine Maronita Mariamita [O.M.M.]), Piazza di San Pietro in Vincoli 8, retained the building of the original congregation of the "Ordine aleppino libanese antoniano maronita."

[160] Established in 1695 in Aleppo, Syria, the "Ordine aleppino libanese antoniano maronita" (O.L.M.) also known as Baladites experienced a split in 1770 with the founding of "Ordo maronita Beatae Mariae Virginis" (O.M.M.) also known as Aleppians. Additionally, in 1700, there arose a separate community, "Ordo antonianorum maronitarum" (O.A.M.) or Antonins.

Throughout their history in the modern period the church and the hospice of SS. Sergio e Bacco experienced several instances when the material in either of them was catalogued. The two earliest inventories were taken on the occasions of visitations, while the others seem to have been done possibly due to some institutional changes that prompted careful listing of all the belongings. Below is the list of all known instances:

- 1656, August 19. A visitation conducted by Fr. Virgilio Spada.[161]
- 1661, May 18. A visitation[162] conducted by Ivan Paštrić that also produced an additional document – an inventory of the material possessions left at the death (1640) of Rafajil Korsak.[163]
- 1735, May 2. Inventory[164] by Fr. Ignazio Kulczynski, also includes 1743 inventory of the items left at the death of the Bishop of Aleppo, the Armenian Suchias Khaxavat.
- 1820. Inventory of the church by the Fr. Jordan Mickiewicz.[165]
- 1827, January 27. Inventory of the items in the hospice.[166]
- 1848. Inventory of the items in the hospice.[167]
- 1869. Inventory of the rector's library.[168]

The information contained in the inventories is of paramount importance to the history of material culture of the parish, the day-to-day functioning of the church and its hospice, and the intellectual background of the resident clergy (to name just a few areas of interest). Moreover, the inventories prove that the extent of the liturgical life at SS. Sergio e Bacco was, rather than

[161] APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 17, fol. 164-167v.
[162] APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 18, fol. 12-20.
[163] APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 18, fol. 21v.
[164] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo), Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, vol. 1, fol. 38r-62v. Also transcribed in Šeptyckyj, *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, vol. VI, pp. 51-54.
[165] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 4d.
[166] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 3.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

exclusively Ruthenian Uniates, to a large measure also Roman, Latin, and Italian. Based on the quantity of the Latin liturgical items in the church and its sacristy – objects that were also increasing in quantity over the centuries – one can conclude that the Latinization of the Ruthenian national church was a process that happened rather early on, and a phenomenon that was also growing in complexity over the years.

One glaring absence in the inventories is any mention of an iconostasis. In his book on SS. Sergio e Bacco, Bishop Khoma mentions and provides a picture of the "first" earlier iconostasis (Fig. 2.26), as well as including the picture of the "new" (current) one.[169] The "first" iconostasis is the work of the roman painter Cesare Caroselli (1847-1927) and was commissioned in 1897 soon after the remodeling of the church and a construction of the new façade by Ettore Bonoli (Fig. 2.27). The inventories of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries (last one being conducted in 1869), none mention any iconostasis. There are no reasons to distrust Khoma's indication that the Caroselli's iconostasis was indeed the "first" [pervishnyi]. If so, the iconostasis of the SS. Sergio e Bacco was very much a modern innovation in the attempt to "re-Byzantinize" the Uniate space in late 1800s. It seems that even though the Caroselli iconostasis had vanished, the traces of it can be found as several roundels from the old one had been reused and reinserted into the new, currently used iconostasis (Fig. 2.14). These remnants of the Caroselli iconostasis are inset in the metal open work structure of the current iconostasis and constitute realistically painted representations of the prophets and saints (Fig. 2.28, 2.29), decorating royal and diaconial gates of the iconostasis (Figs. 2.30, 2.31).

Although currently (and in line with the Byzantine liturgical prescription), a large marble altar (170 cm sq.), occupies the middle of the sanctuary (Fig. 2.13), allowing for ambulatory movement

[169] Khoma. *Narys Istoriï Khramu.* Illustrations.

around it, I suggest that the church originally possessed an attached high altar in the apse – very much according to the Latin liturgical practice of the post-Tridentine Catholicism (Fig. 2.33). The apse, now emptied of everything except the presbyter's chair, is noticeably transformed: an area just below the blue-pained upper register of the apse, just where the high altar would have been, is painted by faux marble, and the marble columns have a markedly different wear just below the 135cm mark (Fig. 2.34) – roughly the height of the suggested attached altar. I will return to the question of the high altar later, when examining renovations done by Barigioni in late 1690s.

2.5 ARCHITECTURE, ITS ARCHITECTS, & ITS PATRONS: A VERY ROMAN CHURCH

Historical archives in Rome, especially Archivio di Stato, give a detailed picture of the extent to which local neighborhoods' architects (*architetti sottomaestri delle strade* and *architetti del rione*) were responsible to most work that seems to have been on the façade and the interior of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in the periods of Seicento and Settecento. Recent scholarship, especially the work of Bruno Contardi and Giovanna Curcio (*In Urbe Architectus,* 1991), was able to carefully list all the *architetti sottomaestri delle strade* and the chronology of their activity in the *rioni* as well their private commissions (individuals, families, and the religious institutions and organizations) in the period of 1680-1750.[170] Questions still remain as to the precise involvement of the same type of architects in the first half of Seicento and earlier century. In case of SS. Sergio e Bacco, we know several periods that would have occasioned such architects' involvement:

- 1563: SS. Sergio e Bacco is demolished and rebuilt "ad fundamentis."

[170] Museo nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, Bruno Contardi, and Giovanna Curcio, *In Urbe Architectus: Modelli, Disegni, Misure: La Professione Dell'architetto Roma, 1680-1750* (Roma: Argos, 1991).

- 1620s-1646: when the church was remodeled, and a façade renovated under Cardinal of S. Onofrio (Antonio Marcello Barberini) based on the design of Padre Valerio Poggi (Theatine).

- 1697: Petition to build a house next to the church (on the lot taken over by the walled courtyard/garden, Fig. 1.19).

- 1729: finishing of the rebuilding of the walls; a new high altar by Filippo Barigioni (Fig. 2.15).

- 1741: a new façade by Francesco Ferrari (Fig. 1.20).

- 1788 – a new *bussola* (possibly the first time it had one, Fig. 2.35).

- 1880-1896: a new (three-order) façade by Bonoli (Fig. 2.27).

To these seven occasions, we must add a note that Barigioni was mentioned to have been hired in 1719[171] – the year postdating the 1718 finding of the frescoed image of the Madonna of Żyrowice (Fig. 1.29) on the wall of the sacristy (Fig. 2.36). The finding itself was prompted by the works being done on the walls. It may mean that the work that the Basilians petitioned Propaganda Fide to approve was carried out or continued in the year 1718.

A. Barberini & Padre Valerio Poggi

The beginnings of the church's reconstruction are concurrent with its transfer to the Ruthenian hands (1630s – 1646) and are also marked by the intense involvement of the Barberini family in this project. The project was funded directly by Pope Urban VIII Barberini's younger brother, the Capuchin Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini the Elder, (1569 – 1646), the Librarian of the Holy Roman Church in 1633 – 1646 (Fig. 1.45).[172] The inscription on the façade (Fig. 2.37) – FECIT ANTONIUS BARBERINI CARDINALIS SANCTI ONOPHRII IN HONOREM SS. SERGII ET

[171] Ibid., 469.
[172] Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini held the position of the Secretary of the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith (commonly known as that of the Grand Inquisitor), in 1629 – 1633.

BACCHI – acknowledges the latter Barberini's efforts, and refering to him as a Cardinal of Sant'Onofrio. The cardinal deeply involved in the affairs of the Ruthenians in particular and the renovation of churches and monasteries in Rome in general during the Barberini pontificate. Since 1610, beginning with Cardinal Maffeo,[173] the Barberini family held the cardinalate title of the Roman church dedicated to one of the most esteemed saints of Eastern monasticism – St. Onophrius (Fig. 2.38). Prior to Antonio Marcello, his nephew, Francesco Barberini, was the Cardinal of Sant'Onofrio in 1623 – 24. Although Antonio Marcello held the cardinalate title of Sant'Onofrio only in the years 1624 – 1637, he continued to be referred to as "cardinale di sant'Onofrio" for the rest of his life, dying in 1646.

In his will, quoted at the start of this chapter, Antonio Marcello Barberini, the Cardinal of Sant'Onofrio, clearly specified that he left money for the completion (two months from his death) of the renovations of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco according to the designs of "Padre Valerio Teatino." Barberini refers here to the architect and the member of the Theatine Order – Valerio Poggi – who, along with another fellow Theatine – Pietro Paolo Gandolfi – had been employed on the projects internal to the Barberini family and Barberini-controlled Catholic institutions in Rome – such as Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide. Both brothers were involved in the construction of the Palazzo Barberini (Fig. 2.39) and the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide (Fig. 2.40), and both are mentioned one after another in the list of the Theatine *laici professi* resident at the Order's house of S. Silvestro di Monte Cavallo in Rome already in 1627.[174] While, in this *relatione*, Gandolfi is mentioned with an adjective *genovese*, Poggi's origin is described as *da' Pintremoli*.[175]

[173] Elected in 1623 to papacy as Urban VIII.
[174] Marcella Campanelli and Giuseppe Galasso, *I teatini* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1987), 104.
[175] Ibid., 104.

It is likely that *Pintremoli* refers to Pontremoli,[176] a small town in Tuscany, close to the border with Liguria and directly east of Genoa – the hometown, evidently, of his colleague Gandolfi. As was the case with the Jesuits, the Theatines preferred to employ their own Order's architects, and so Poggi and Gandolfi worked on a number of important commissions for the Theatine Order in and outside Rome. For instance, "fr.llo Valerio" would be later mentioned along with Carlo Rainaldi, working on the largest Theatine project in Rome[177] – Carlo Maderno's Sant'Andrea della Valle (Fig. 2.41) – for which Rainaldi was completing the façade in 1655-1663, and which had one of the early Barberini chapels (Fig. 2.42), sponsored in 1616 by then Cardinal Maffeo Barberini prior to his elevation to papacy as Urban VIII.

In this context, the figure of Valerio Poggi, a lesser-known architect, comes with numerous layers of connections to overlapping networks of artistic, architectural, and educational patronage exercised by the Barberini family. The Theatine Order was intimately involved in the eastward missionary efforts of the Post-Tridentine papacy,[178] with specific expertise in Armenia and Georgia. The Armenian connection brought them also in close contacts with the Armenians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where, in Lviv (Leopolis), the Theatines oversaw formation of the new Armenian clergy in union with Rome at the *Collegio Armeno* that also included numbers of Ruthenian Uniate seminarians. Because of the involvement in the missions, Theatines were often members of the Propaganda Fide, and it comes as no surprise that the two Theatine architects

[176] Pontremoli is a commune of the Province of Massa-Carrara, location: 44°22′34″N 9°52′47.64″E. In early modern period it was successively controlled by the Duchy of Milan, Republic of Genoa, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.
[177] Simona Benedetti, Maria Letizia Accorsi, and Carlo Benveduti. Architetture di Carlo Rainaldi nel quarto centenario della nascità (Roma: Gangemi, 2012), 293.
[178] See Bartolomeo Ferro. *Istoria delle missioni de' chierici regolari, teatini: con la descrizione de' regni, provincie, città, luoghi, fede, riti, e costumi delle genti, ove andarono, e passarono li missionarii: con li viaggi pericolosi, fatiche fattevi, e frutto raccoltovi per la cattolica religione* (In Roma: Per Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1704).

were involved in the project for the Congregation's new home, sponsored by the Barberini papacy. The leadership of the actual project by the celebrated figures such as Francesco Borromini and Gian Lorenzo Bernini obscures the fact that the architects, patronized by the Barberini family and its extension, the papacy, were aided by the architects with a pedigree of particular institutional patronage. Unlike the later architects that worked on SS. Sergio e Bacco during the course of late 1600s and early 1700s who tended to be connected first and foremost to the neighborhoods, the city, and then to papacy, the involvement of the Theatine Valerio Poggi signals that the project for the 1640s rebuilding of SS. Sergio e Bacco had been spearheaded primarily by the Propaganda Fide and the Barberini family.

While mentioning Poggi, Cardinal d'Onofrio's will specifically states that the intended renovations of SS. Sergio e Bacco should "conform to the plan made by Father Valerio the Theatine, and to this effect, I intend and want to assign him the task of seeing the project of perfecting this church through the end."[179] This particular expression "*da me a questo effetto deputato*" [to this effect, I… assign him] of the dying Cardinal Barberini suggests a particular trust in the Theatine architect. Despite a relative lack of sources concerning him, documents in the Barberini Archives mention Padre Valerio Poggi's name with some regularity, and further confirm the fact that he had worked for that family from early on in his career.[180] He was intimately

[179] Antonio Marcello Barberini, *Testamento, e codicilli della pia M. dell'eminentiss. e reuerendiss. Sig. F. Antonio Barberino prete cardinale della S.R. chiesa del titolo di S. Maria in Trasteuere, detto di Sant'Onofrio* (In Roma: nella Stamperia della Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, 1646) – in Terzo Codicillo. Also, in Catholic Church, Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, *Bullarium Pontificium Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Romae: Typis Collegii Urbani, 1839-1841), 349: "conforme al disegno fatto dal Padre Valerio Teatino, da me a questo effetto deputato, quale però intendo, e voglio che debba assistere fino alla perfezione di detta Chiesa."

[180] See Marilyn Aronberg Lavin and Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1975).

involved in the construction of the Palazzo Barberini also known as the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane (Fig. 2.39). Documents from the archives of Prince Taddeo Barberini (V. Contromand. 31. n.n.), on 23 January 1631, say that P. Valerio Poggi was paid by M. Sacchetti and signed by Prince Taddeo for:

> Payment of 1200 sc. to Nicolo Scala e Lorenzo de ferrari Muratori Conpagni – for work – in questa fabrica della SS.ri Barberini alle quatro fontane – to Agostino Radij, Francesco Boromini, Carlo Fancelli e Batista Castelli Scarpelini conpagni – 500sc.
> * E di piu a francesco Boromini aiutante del Architeto della fabrica delli SS.ri Barberini alle quatro fontane sc. venti cinque m.ta quali seli pagano ꝑ haver fatto molti disengi e Modelli p servizio di questa fabrica – 25. [181]

The same year, on 6 September, the documents mention "…servo nel Sigre Valerio Poggio di Chierici Reg.ri" alongside Bernini.[182] A little earlier, in the book of Bartolomeo Passerini, *Mastro di Casa* of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, in September of 1630, Valerio Poggi is referred to as "Soprent.te alla fabb.ca" (III. MC. 26-31, 129r.)[183] and "sop.to" on 20 December 1630 in the *Alfabeto di entrarte et uscite della guardarobba,* also of the said cardinal (III. AEU. 32-35. 58r.).[184] Thus, during building of the Palazzo Barberini, Padre Valerio Poggi exercised duties of the *architetto soprastante* or *soprintendente alla fabbrica* or the Superintendent of the construction. Lavin also mentioned that one of Poggi's jobs seems to have been an agent of the Barberini, procuring and receiving works of art for his patrons, which he would pass on to Marcello Sacchetti,

[181] Ibid., 5-6.
[182] Ibid., 7.
[183] Ibid., 48. In private conversation, Prof. Aronberg Lavin clarified that in her 1975 published text, the transcription contains typos and instead of "Soprest.te" should be read "Soprent.te." However, Waddy mentions Poggi as being "soprastante" Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 269. In both cases, the jobs' responsibilities overlapped, and included oversight of the construction site.
[184] Ibid., 55.

the Barberini banker, for payments.[185] A few years later, in 1637, in the *Libro Mastro* of another family member, Cardinal Antonio *juniore* Barberini (IV. LMC. 36-44. 150), Valerio Poggi and Bartolomeo Breccioli are mentioned as "architetti" in the context, again, of the Palazzo Barberini construction.[186]

In addition to Palazzo Barberini's construction, Padre Valerio seems to have been involved in at least two more sites: San Lorenzo fuori le mura (Fig. 2.43)[187] and the Capuchin convent in Albano.[188] In April 1630, Cardinal Francesco *seniore* paid "Simone Castelli Scarpellino, intagliato e ripullito 2 epitaffi nell deposito In S. Lorenzo fuori delle Mura come p conto tassato dal P. Valerio – 12", placing the Theatine directly in the midst of the cardinal's commission for the tombs of Gerolamo Aleandri and Bernardo Guglielmi, done by François Duquesnoy according to the design of Pietro da Cortona, and placed on both sides of the entrance to the basilica (Fig. 2.44).[189] While on 22 August 1633, the document from Cardinal Francesco's archives, mentions a chapel "detta Monte Tabor nel luogo de Cappuccini di Albano," and bears signatures of architects Valerio Poggi and Domenico Castelli.[190] This connection to a Capuchin project outside of Rome might also indicate personal interests of Cardinal Francesco's uncle, Cardinal Antonio Marcello, who was a member of that order. All of these continuous references to Poggi, as a superintendent, a designer, an art agent, and an architect, paint a picture of a man with a set of skills both creative and

[185] Private conversation with Prof. Aronberg Lavin, 15 February 2018.
[186] Lavin, Barberini Documents, 48.
[187] Ibid., 10.
[188] Ibid., 45.
[189] Ibid., 10: III. MC. 26-31. 115v. See also, Karl Noehles. 1964. "Francesco Duquesnoy: Un busto ignoto e la cronologia delle sue opere". *Arte antica e moderna*. 86-96; and also, Luca Creti. 2006. "Monumenti gemelli di Girolamo Aleandro e Bernardo Guglielmi in San Lorenzo fuori le mura". *Pietro Da Cortona* / a cura di Sandro Benedetti e Augusto Roca De Amicis. Saggi di Sandro Benedetti. 45-55.
[190] III. Gius. 2001-2250. 2082, see Lavin, *Barberini Documents*, 45.

managerial, and the one who enjoyed a great trust of a variety of members of the Barberini family, both ecclesiastics, like himself (Cardinals Antonio Marcello *seniore*, Francesco *seniore*, Antonio *juniore*) as well as the lay ones (Prince Taddeo).

The renovations, mentioned in the 1646 *Testamento* of Antonio Marcello Barberini, had certainly been proceeding for some time. Their design was by Valerio Poggi and the rebuilding campaign involved the structures both of the church and of the adjacent house, which were all for the benefit of the Ruthenian Basilian monks.[191] The Propaganda Fide's institutional oversight of the *Ospizio dei Ruteni* and the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco meant complete control over who would remodel the buildings and how. Valerio Poggi, in this context, appears as an architect trusted equally by the Barberini family and by the Propaganda Fide. The process of rebuilding of the church also fits the pattern of offers of new churches with pledges to renovate them for the new owners as previously seen with the offer of the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro that was renovated under the patronage of Antonio Marcello Barberini even though it did not end up in the hands of Basilians. Tellingly, this pattern puts into perspective the overall situation of the ecclesiastical buildings in Rome in the seventeenth century and sheds some light on the circumstances that led to so many of the neighborhood churches, even the smallest ones, acquiring new façades and interiors during the papacy of Urban VIII.

Eight months after the death of Cardinal Antonio Barberini *seniore* (1 September 1646), a meeting of Propaganda Fide, held in Rome on 3 June 1647, discussed issues pertaining to *de restaurationibus in ecclesia SS. Sergii et Bacchi:*

> The meeting of the Collegium of Propaganda Fide, at which were present five cardinals, namely: Capponi, Corneille, Mattaeius, Caraffa, and Sforza, and R. P. D. Lanuvio. The Sacred Congregation, having considered the account of and reasons for the costs of

[191] Barberini, *Testamento*, Terzo Codicillo.

> construction of SS. Sergio e Bacco to Fr. Valerio Poggio and to Philip the Uniate Ruthenian, assigns as an accountant, R. P. D. Lavinio. [192]

The following year, another meeting (23 March 1648) rejected the Ruthenian petition on the continuations of the works to renovate the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco:

> Report to the same card. Sabello, Congregation rejects a request of the Uniate Ruthenians SS Sergius and Bacchus pressed completes the aforesaid Ss. According to the will of the blessed memory Cardinal of S. Onofrio, because, as Father Valerius, to take care of that church fabric from said D. Card. the commission to declare that it is perfect, and if there are to be connected with the apparel of the church and not the perfection.[193]

This document gives are an approximate time of the year when the works may have been completed on the church's façade and the interior. By the 1648, that phase of the renovation must have stopped.

B. Presidenza delle Strade & renovations of Sei and Settecento

While we can now safely claim that the architect of the Barberini renovations of SS. Sergio e Bacco was Valerio Poggi, it is unclear who exactly was responsible for the work that would have been done half a century later, during the period 1697 – 1718. It was obviously not Poggi, since he would certainly no longer be alive. One possible candidate would be Giacomo Moraldi, who,

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[192] APF, *Acta S. C. de Prop. Fide,* vol. 17, fol. 419v, nr. 39; see also in Athanasius G. Welykyj, *Acta S. C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae Spectantia*, vol. I, 1622-1667 (Romae, 1953), 229: "Fuit Congregatio in Collegio de Propaganda Fide, cui interfuerunt quinque Cardinales, videlicet: Capponius, Cornelius, Matthaeius, Caraffa, et Sfortia et R. P. D. Lanuvius. Sacra Cangregatio ad examinanda computa, et rationes impensarum factarum in fabricis SS. Sergii, et Bacchi a Patre Valerio Poggio, et Philippo, Rutheno unito, deputavit cum computista R. P. D. Lanuvium."

[193] APF, *Acta S. C. de Prop. Fide,* vol. 18, fol. 50v, nr. 10; see in Welykyj, *Acta,* 236: "Referente eodem Emin.mo D. Card. Sabello, Sacra Congregatio reiecit petitionem Ruthenorum unitorum Sanctorum Sergii, et Bacchi instantium perfici ecclesiam praedictorum SS. Martyrum iuxta codicillum b.m. D. Cardinalis Sanctii Honuphrii, quia, ut Pater Valerius, cui cura fabricae dictae ecclesiae a dicto D. Card. fuit commissa, testatus est, illam esse perfectam, et si quae sunt facienda pertinent ad ornatum ecclesiae, et non ad illius perfectionem."

in the years 1680 – 1711, was the *architetto sottomaestro* of Monti. In 1711 he was succeeded by Minelli who continued until 1714 when Ludovico Gregorini (1661-1723) took over. However, for some time in 1717 Monti was overseen by Carlo Francesco Bizzaccheri (1656 – 1721), who, the same year, was replaced by Filippo Barigioni (1690-1751). The latter continued as Monti's architect until 1732, with two short consecutive periods when Alessandro Specchi (1668 – 1729) was responsible for the area in 1721-22, and L. Gregorini along with Bizzacheri's former pupil, Tommaso De Marchis (1693-1759) in the period of 1723-1725.[194] For the next two years Filippo Raguzzini (ca. 1680-1771) was Monti's *architetto sottomaestro*, and in 1735 Barigioni yet again returned for his last year in the *rione*. In the following years, a number of architects had been responsible for Monti: De Marchis, Raguzzini, Ferruzzi, Fiori, Fuga, and Brioni. A chronology of the years 1680-1750:[195]

- 1680-1711: Moraldi
- 1711-1714: Minelli
- 1715-1716: Gregorini
- 1717: Bizzaccheri
- 1717-1720: Barigioni
- 1721-22: Specchi
- 1723-1725: Gregorini, De Marchis
- 1726-1732: Barigioni
- 1733-1734: Raguzzini
- 1735: Barigioni
- 1736-1739: De Marchis
- 1740-1742: Ragizzini
- 1743: Ferruzzi, Fiori
- 1744-1746: Fuga
- 1747: Brioni
- 1748: Fiori
- 1749-1750: De Marchis

[194] Curcio. *In Urbe Architectus*, 288.
[195] *Ibid.,* 285-288.

The list makes clear who had architectural responsibilities in Monti during the rebuilding of SS. Sergio e Bacco. When Basilians asked for the building of the additional structure on the adjacent lot, it would have been in the immediate responsibilities of Giacomo Moraldi to get involved in the construction. Although there is a possibility that an outside architect would have also been commissioned, the whole history of SS. Sergio e Bacco makes that less likely. Instead, *rione*'s architects seems to be directly responsible for changes to the structure and appearance of the church in question. The year of Barigioni's work for the Basilians at the church (1719)[196] falls right in the middle of the architect's first period overseeing the area (1717-1720) after the departures of Moraldi's and Minelli. The year 1729, when the reconstruction of the church's walls was completed and a new high altar, featuring Madonna del Pascolo, was designed by Barigioni (Fig. 2.15). This also falls within the second period that Barigioni oversaw *rione* Monti (1726-1732). Thus, work done on the church in the first decades of the eighteenth century was treated as being within the responsibilities of the *rione*'s architect whoever he might have been at the moment.

If we consider all the other projects of the architects and artists involved in SS. Sergio e Bacco's renovations throughout Settecento – those of Barigioni, Ceccarelli, Ferrari, Gramiccia, Stern – we would be able to see that the Ruthenian church falls into the lower end of all their known production, both in scope and the artistic quality. This assessment is not meant to devalue the work or the church itself, but rather give us a better understanding of the site and renovation project(s) associated with it within a larger context of architectural and artistic activity in the late Baroque Rome.

[196] *Ibid.,* 469.

For example, Barigioni's project from the same period included working on a new façade (1729) for the small S. Gregorio a Ponte Quattro Capi, also known as Della Divina Pietà (Fig. 2.45) on the edge of the Roman Ghetto, as well as the remodeling of the exterior of the grand S. Marco (Fig. 2.47) adjacent to Palazzo Venezia (1744). The altar project for the Ruthenian church appears as smaller and considerably more uncomplicated a project in comparison to just those two.

C. Albani, Imperiali, & Filippo Barigioni.

The altar for the SS. Sergio e Bacco first and foremost takes into account the fact that the image of Madonna del Pascolo (Fig. 1.29), having been removed from the sacristy wall in 1719, had been moved inside the church (7 September 1719) with the intention to place it above the high altar – which happened only on September 13, 1730. Barigioni was hired sometime soon after the discovery of the image and its removal – likely closer to the year 1719. The project on the high altar has not been finished until circa 1728, and definitely by 1730 in time for the solemn installation of the newly restored image, now an icon, over the high altar (Fig. 2.15). Thus, Barigioni conceived the high altar's design specifically with the image of Madonna del Pascolo in mind, and the final result, which we only partially see now, was arranged around the centrality of the framed miraculous image above the high altar and surrounded by the succession of columns (Fig. 2.33). Furthermore, we can assume that at the time of the Madonna del Pascolo's discovery, the existing high altar was of a design that was deemed insufficient or inadequate for a possible installation of an icon above it.

Barigioni's high altar for SS. Sergio e Bacco is an example of classicizing, subdued, scenographic Baroque of the 1720s. The image of the Madonna del Pascolo (Fig. 2.16), now rectangular rather than oval like its prototype (Fig. 1.30), is framed in a heavy gilded frame, set in

within another, slightly curving, exterior frame attached to the curving wall of the apse, and containing above the icon frame a segmental pediment with a Christogram of three Greek letters iota, chi, sigma – ΙΧΣ – with chi surmounted with a small cross. The segmental pediment is mirrored at the bottom of the outer frame with curvature that surrounds a corbel that now houses a recessed electric light but would have held a candle in the past. The dual frames, forming an aedicula, are surrounded by relief plaster decoration consisting of white clouds, a sunburst motif of approximately twelve batches of sunrays, and eleven gilded angels, two of which have bodies of putti, while the rest are winged heads of cherubs, with two hiding under the corbel. The curved plaster wall immediately surrounding the gilded aedicula, sunburst, and white clouds is currently painted cerulean blue. While it is unknown what the color of that wall was originally, the whole area constitutes the most dramatic part of the extant high altar, with the heavily framed miraculous icon appearing in the clouds in the burst of the sun, akin to the Blessed Sacrament exposed in a monstrance at the altar for veneration, with Mary exposing her previously concealed and now-born Son. Moreover, the Christogram reminds the viewer of the Christological focus of the arrangement, as does the directionality of the clouds, rising from the now empty lower register, where a stepped high altar would have likely been located, further suggesting a usual placement of a thurible with burned frankincense as a sacramental point of origin of the clouds (of smoke). Yet, the pervasive Marian theme further strengthened by the presence of the angels, visualizing for the viewer the words of the second line from Axion Estin – a Greek *theotokion* – in Church Slavonic in Cyrillic alphabet:

> Честнейшую херувим и славнейшую без сравнения серафим, без истления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя величаем.

> Thou the more honorable than the cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify thee.[197]

These are the very lines that are found on the oval band surrounding the Madonna del Pascolo and every other copy of the Madonna of Żyrowice. Thus, while the original Church Slavonic inscription on the oval band is obscured firstly by rectangular frame and secondly by the later silver revetment, the now hidden and illegible text is re-enacted for the Slavic- and Italian-speaking viewers in the very Italian Baroque scenography of dramatic plaster clouds and gilded putti.

The curved wall of the apse with the icon is flanked by two slightly engaged fluted marble columns of *verde antico*, placed on grey marble square bases with concave corners. The two columns, topped with bronze Corinthian capitals, support a rather heavy and wide entablature with very minimal decoration. On both sides of the altar, the remaining visible area of the wall allows just enough space for two pairs of pilasters spanning the height of the wall and ending with bronze-painted Corinthian capitals at the top. Above them, is the flattened continuation of the entablature already seen in three-dimensionality in the high altar. This continuity of elements between Barigioni's altar and the wall creates a semblance of the altar being the projection of the northeast wall of the church,[198] possibly suggesting that Barigioni's involvement in the renovation of the church included not only its new high altar, but the whole interior architecture of the church (Fig. 2.48), with paintings added later by Ceccarelli and Stern.

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[197] "Достойно есть яко воистину блажити Тя, Богородицу, Присноблаженную и Пренепорочную и Матерь Бога нашего. Честнейшую херувим и славнейшую без сравнения серафим, без истления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя величаем … " [It is truly right to bless thee, O Theotokos, thou the ever blessed, and most pure, and the Mother of our God. Thou the more honorable than the cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify thee].

[198] That is the wall with the apse.

This idea is further supported by the placement of a broken segmental pediment on the entablature of the high altar: the size of the pediment opening takes into consideration the large oval window in the northeast wall behind the altar, while another small window below it, trapezoid in shape, is partially hidden behind the structure of the entablature of the altar, providing additional burst of light sneaking from behind and above the framed icon, creating a theatrical effect of the decorative sunbursts being part of the natural phenomena. The top oval window is decorated with a stained glass of the Holy Spirit as a white dove, while the elliptical forms of the window (and the original Żyrowice image) are accentuated by the ornate garland that spans the top edges of the broken segmental pediment, with two large angels, each perched on top of the opposite pediment slopes. The oval window is topped with its own gilded cherub, finishing the triangular composition of angels in the top register of the wall and the high altar.

The area of the apse right below the blue-painted area is painted by faux marble, while the *verde antico* columns have a markedly different wear just below the 135 cm mark (Fig. 2.49) – roughly the height of the suggested attached altar that is now missing. Although in the subchapter above I already addressed once problematics of Byzantine Rite liturgy in this space, the conspicuous absence of an attached altar in the formal description of the Barigioni designs needs further elaboration. It is impossible to reconstruct with certainty what form the attached altar may have had. Yet, considering the ubiquity of the Roman Settecento forms we have already encountered in the interior of the church, I would suggest that the altar was a very typical Roman Rite altar with three steps at the bottom leading up to it and two additional steps above the main altar surface (Fig. 2.33). It was likely also surmounted with a tabernacle – all very much in practice with the Post-Tridentine Catholicism.

The overall composition of the high altar – a miraculous icon of ancient pedigree, framed, and in glory, supported by the angels, and flanked by columns that hold up an entablature with a broken segmental pediment – is very much a Berninian formula in late Seicento and early Settecento, best exemplified by the 1674 high altar (Fig. 2.50) at the church of Santa Maria in Traspontina by Carlo Fontana, himself a frequent collaborator with Barigioni. In fact, Barigioni's other projects, contemporaneous with the renovations of SS. Sergio e Bacco, may hold the key to answering what this church's interior looked after his intervention. Several projects by Barigioni utilize bits and pieces of this formula.[199] For instance, the project for the chapel dedicated to St. Francis da Paola at the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, was concurrent with the renovations in SS. Sergio e Bacco (1726-1736). Two Berninian figures of gilded angels hold up an earlier painting of the hermit venerated by the Minim Order, lifting it high above the altar; the cobalt-colored circle with golden letters spelling CHA/RI/TAS appears above the framed painting in the dramatic sunburst, cherubs swarming in the sun beams around the word. The whole composition is set against the background of the aedicula, itself flanked by two pairs of marble columns supporting a dramatically projecting convex entablature with a broken segmental pediment, opening to stucco clouds with angels. Ultimately, the St. Francis da Paola altar is a more elaborate and expensive project than that of the Madonna del Pascolo, but it shares many of the elements in the Ruthenian church. However, Barigioni's work for the church of San Gregorio della Divina Pietà (Figs. 2.45, 2.46), located on the edge of the Jewish Ghetto in Rome, is a project much more comparable in scope and expenditures to the Ruthenian church, and thus it serves as a nearly perfect comparison.

[199] Barigioni's early project of the Cappella Albani in the church of San Sebastiano fuori le mura, commissioned by Pope Clement XI Albani in 1706, combines marble columns with metal capitals, flanking the large relief in the middle, rather than an icon, but are also surrounded by the white angels on both sides.

The church contains a high altar, designed by Barigioni just in time for a consecration of yet another image of the Madonna and the Child by Pope Benedict XIII in 1729, a year before Madonna del Pascolo was remounted above the high altar of SS. Sergio e Bacco. San Gregorio's façade (Fig. 2.45) was also renovated by Barigioni, and, in its Settecento appearance, captured in a watercolor by Achille Pinelli (Fig. 2.51), the church shares a lot of similarities with the exterior of SS. Sergio e Bacco of the 1700s, also known from the works of Vasi (Fig. 1.20) and Pinelli (Fig. 1.21). In comparison with the altar for Madonna del Pascolo, Barigioni's design for San Gregorio relies more heavily on his trademark use of polychrome marbles throughout the sanctuary, without much faux painting as in SS. Sergio e Bacco, while the overall tone is warm and reddish, rather than cold and green as in latter. The apse is a wall decorated with projection of successive bundles of engaged round columns and pilasters, flanking a Marian image,[200] similar to SS. Sergio e Bacco's arrangement. The composition culminates in the centrally placed framed icon in the glory of clouds and sunbursts, nearly identical to the ones around Madonna del Pascolo, if not for the white plaster finish of the angels in the clouds, instead of the gilded ones at the Ruthenian church. The wall immediately in the background of the image in glory is not painted bright light blue, but a deeper maroon color, in line with the reddish tones of the overall interior. The stucco work in San Gregorio is by later-famous Roman sculptor Pietro Bracci (1700-1772)[201], who was known to have collaborated with Barigioni on a number of smaller and bigger projects, some of them directly involving the Polish crown – the famous and breathtaking funereal

[200] San Gregorio's Madonna and the Child were painted by Gilles Hallet (1620-1694), prior to the altar installation of 1729.

[201] See "Bracci Pietro" in "Notizie degli architetti attivi a Roma tra il 1680 e il 1750" in Museo nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, Bruno Contardi, and Giovanna Curcio. *In Urbe architectus: modelli, disegni, misure: la professione dell'architetto, Roma, 1680-1750* (Roma: Argos, 1991): 326-327.

monument of Maria Clementina Sobieska (wife of James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender), at the St. Peter's Basilica, erected in 1739 (Fig. 2.52).[202] Based on this fact of numerous collaborations between Barigioni and Bracci, the concurrent timing of the execution of the two renovations, and on nearly overwhelming similarity of the treatments between the Marian icons in both San Gregorio and SS. Sergio e Bacco, I would assign the stucco work (clouds, sunburst, angels) in the latter church also to the hand of Pietro Bracci. In fact, several drawings by Bracci from the collection of the Canadian Center for Architecture in Montreal (CCA) portray angels in nearly identical positions to those sculpted for SS. Sergio e Bacco.[203] While Elizabeth Kieven, who published a definitive book on Bracci drawings in CCA, does not mention the Ruthenian church as one of the projects that involved Bracci,[204] the visual evidence clearly speaks in favor of such attribution. For instance, Bracci's studies for the high altar of the Naples cathedral, Santa Maria Assunta (Fig. 2.53), began in 1739 and completed in 1743 – drawings of angels and putti in various poses, appear to be similar to the earlier figures in the Madonna del Pascolo altarpiece from 1720s. With the absence of Bracci's drawings from 1719-20, we can turn to these later works of an already established artist still reworking the stereotypical poses of the angels and putti – this time for a major project in Naples – two decades later after the small project of SS. Sergio e Bacco in

[202] Maria Clementina Sobieska (1702-1735), was a granddaughter of King Jan III Sobieski of Poland. Already in 1733, Barigioni designed the funereal decorations and catafalque for the deseased King of Poland, August II, making Barigioni a well-known figure not only in papal circles but also those of the Polish monarchy. Forni, Marica. 2007. "Un progetto di Filippo Barigioni per l'altare di Sant'Agostino in San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro a Pavia". *Arte Lombarda.* 149, no. 149 (1): 33-42.
[203] See Elisabeth Kieven, John Pinto, and Pietro Bracci. *Pietro Bracci and Eighteenth-Century Rome: Drawings for Architecture and Sculpture in the Canadian Centre for Architecture and Other Collections.* University Park (Pa.): Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
[204] *Ibid.*

Rome.[205] The drawings of putti – the one holding the crown (Fig. 2.54), two winged putto heads along with the Head of the Virgin (Fig. 2.55), two studies with sets of four winged putto heads (Fig. 2.56), single studies of the same (Fig. 2.57), and especially the study of an angle, kneeling in the cloud, seen in profile (Fig. 2.58) – all capture angels and putti in precisely the same poses as seen in the starburst altarpiece framing the icon of the Madonna del Pascolo in SS. Santi Sergio e Bacco.[206]

In San Gregorio della Divina Pietà, immediately below the image in glory, is the high altar (Fig. 2.46) consisting of a typical polychrome marble altar with three smaller steps at the top accommodating candles and relics, and the rectangular tabernacle of *verde antico* with a small dome, surmounted with a larger gilded crucifix with sunbursts. It is my suggestion that nearly identical attached high altar of polychrome marble was at the apse of SS. Sergio e Bacco, directly below the image of Madonna del Pascolo, and covering entirely the now gaping emptiness of the faux-marble painted apse wall below the image in glory (Fig. 2.33). If that were the case, the appearance of the high altar would have differed little from the appearance of the two extant side altars in the church (Figs. 2.54, 2.55), themselves likely also of Barigioni's design. The resultant uniformity would have further unified stylistically and functionally the interior of the Ruthenian church, leaving additional space for the later completion once two paintings of Ignazio Stern (Figs. 2.54, 2.55) went over the side altars and ceiling vault was decorated with the *Assumption* by Ceccarelli (Fig. 2.62).

[205] *Ibid*., 217-218, Cat. nos. 116-23. Drawings for the Naples Cathedral's Assunta Altarpiece are held in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Montreal, Canada.
[206] The relevant drawing of Pietro Bracci are the follows: *Head of the Virgin* (Cat. no. 117r), *Two Studies with Sets of Four Winged Putto Heads* (Cat. nos. 120, 121), single studies of the same (Cat. nos. 122, 123), *An Angel in Profile* (Cat. no. 119). See Kieven, *Pietro Bracci*, 2001.

The renovations of the church in the years 1697 – 1719, initiating the involvement of Barigioni, Bracci, and others, have been prompted by the desire of the Basilians to expand and build up an adjoining lot occupied by a walled garden. The existence of this garden, to the right (southeast) of the church (Fig. 1.19), suggests that whole side of SS. Sergio e Bacco has not been built up until the erection of a new building in garden's lot in early eighteenth century. Up to that point, the southeast wall could have possibly had openings to add to the only two light sources located on the opposite walls of the façade and the apse. The location of the openings in the apse is also uncertain, and in fact the current ones might be later additions in Settecento to remedy the closing up of the right side's ones if they ever existed. Currently it remains impossible to confirm the existence of any openings on that side as it is completely hidden by the adjoining building of Casa S. Sofia (Fig. 2.18).

The question of the openings in the wall of the church on the yet-not-built-up southeast side of the church becomes a relevant one when one considers the circumstances of the finding of the fresco of the Madonna del Pascolo and the actual location of it. We are told that the fresco was discovered during the renovations in the sacristy of the church, and its location, now marked with a marble plaque with the inscription (Fig. 1.65), was above the door. The actual reasons for the renovation work seem to coincide with constructing the new building in the garden lot. The building constructed filled in the lot completely, bridging the two existing structures of the church and the other building across the lot, to the right of it (Fig. 1.20). There is no mention of the sacristy in the seventeenth century, and the southeast wall of the church in its thickness suggests that, prior to the buildup of the garden lot, it acted as an exterior wall of the church. Additionally, the level (even with the floor of the church) and the size of the opening from the sacristy in the sanctuary, suggests that the "sacristy" doorway was original to the seventeenth-century church (if not there

earlier).[207] That means that during the seventeenth-century work on the sacristy, the fresco of the Virgin Mary would have been originally painted on the exterior wall, not an interior wall. The location of the image above the "sacristy" doorway would thus mean it was originally a Marian image above the side entrance to the church, leading the person straight into the sanctuary – not an unusual placement of Marian images, fully corresponding with the apotropaic function of such imagery in liminal zones such as above thresholds. The hypothesis that the Madonna del Pascolo was originally placed on the exterior of the church is based solely on the premise that the whole garden lot, prior to being filled in with the new building, including a new sacristy, did not contain some smaller structures adjacent to the southeast exterior wall of the church. If indeed, however, a smaller structure (later replaced by the new building and the absorbed unto a new sacristy) did exist and the exit from the sanctuary led into it, instead of outside, the liminality of the fresco of Madonna del Pascolo would still be preserved along with its apotropaic function.

The existence of such auxiliary structure, adjacent to the southeast wall of the church near the doorway of the sacristy can indeed be deduced from one of the representations of the site done by Falda in circa 1675 (Fig. 1.18). While his view, created circa 1669, of the church of Madonna ai Monti and the buildings on the eponymous piazza – *Chiesa consagrata alla Madonna de' Monti* (no. 30 in the etching) – does show the garden lot by the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, the wall of the garden is continuous, devoid of openings, and the lush greenery of the garden hides any traces of possible building within the lot. However, it is not the case with another of Falda's

[207] The other doorway located also on the southeastern wall, but closer to the façade of the church, is, I would suggest, a later addition, cut into the wall of the church only after the construction of the building in the garden lot, flush with the right side of the church. The discrepancy of the grade of that doorway and the floor of the adjacent building is immediately noticeable and required a construction of few steps leading up to the doorway from the lower grade of the floor of the church.

representations of the same site, done for the series *Le Fontane di Roma* and titled *Fontana su la piazza della Madonna dei Monti*[208] (no. 31)[209] – the etching contains additional information about the built environment surrounding the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco (Fig. 1.19): the garden wall has a doorway, and the trees inside the garden do not conceal, at the end of the lot, an existence of a smaller, yet still a possibly two-storied, structure that spans the distance between the church on the left and the building on the right. One window is seen, closest to the church, and presumably at the second story, with a tall chimney rising above the roof. Above the roof, either right on top or simply behind it, a smaller gabled structure with one window rises to the height of a third story.

The 1676 map of Rome (Figs. 2.63, 2.64), created also by Falda in the year after the series on the Roman fountains, shows a bird's-eye-view of the city in general and of the Monti in particular. The cartographic view shows the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti as seen from northwest (Fig. 2.64). Half of the piazza is covered by the silhouette of the church of Madonna ai Monti (no. 162 on the map), while the view of the SS. Sergio e Bacco (no. 238) is limited by the house at the corner of the Via dei Serpenti, covering the whole northwest side of the church. Besides the now absent steps in front of the main entrance to SS. Sergio e Bacco, and the church's roof and the protruding top of the façade, it is possible to distinguish three windows on the northwest wall of the church – the windows on that wall, if indeed they ever existed, could not be there as the same corner house to the northwest of the church rose to the third-story level equal to the height of the church both in the 1669 and the 1675 depictions of the buildings in Falda's etchings. This discrepancy – between the earlier work of the same artist depicting a set of buildings and the same

[208] Giovanni Battista Falda, *Le Fontane di Roma nelle piazze, e luoghi publici della citta, con il loro prospetti, cura da G.G. de Rossi* (Roma, 1675?), vol. 1, 33 plates.
[209] Bartsch, no. 4800078.

set shown in the map a year later, in 1676 – suggests that whatever architectural information we gain from Falda's etchings and the map has to be taken with caution.

Falda's map of 1676 also depicts the lots directly behind the church, suggesting that there was a much larger garden space that can be understood from the frontal views in his etchings of 1669 and 1675. There is almost a suggestion that the church itself has somewhat of an apse. The auxiliary structure I mentioned earlier cannot be seen, hidden behind the mass of the church. However, in the map, the space of the block behind the church is dedicated to another garden, similarly to the space between the church and the building to the southeast of it.

If indeed the auxiliary structure had adjoined the southeast wall of the church, the doorway in question would have led out of the sanctuary and into that auxiliary structure. In this case, the image of the Madonna, if it was still unconcealed by plaster in 1675 (the year of Falda's later etching, Fig. 1.19) would have been located interiorly after all. That being said, the actual year of creation of the Madonna del Pascolo fresco is still unclear: its subject matter obviously post-dates the fresco to 1640/41 when Basilians took possession of the SS. Sergio e Bacco, and its discovery in 1718 dates its creation at least prior to that year. Since the renovation works began in 1697, it is likely that the image was created in the midst of construction work. Thus, a span of 1641-1697 is reasonable to consider as the most probable period of the creation of the Marian fresco.

Whether the image was originally painted on the wall that faced the elements or was contained within an auxiliary structure, the successive layers of accretion of built elements along the southeast wall were enough to obfuscate the existence of the frescoed image to the point of its eventual concealment under the plaster. Its final discovery in 1718 suggests that either the collective memory of the image's existence completely faded away from Ruthenians (and Italians)

occupying/using the church and the Ospizio, or the discovery was orchestrated (in part or fully) with this lack fo memory in mind.

D. Francesco Ferrari & Rome under Pope Benedict XIV

In 1741, only a decade after Barigioni's renovations, the commission for a new façade of SS. Sergio e Bacco had not gone to the *rione*'s architect but instead to Francesco Ferrari who seems to have not previously been involved with the Presidenza delle Strade. Yet, the choice of Ferrari may have been influenced by his earlier work with the Polish circles of the city. In 1721 he was commissioned to resume the progress on the work that was planned on the national church of the Polish nation, Santo Stanislao on Via delle Botteghe Oscure (Fig. 2.6), initially according to the design of actually a Polish architect, Benedykt Renard in 1712.[210] The new façade of S. Stanislao, now redesigned by Ferrari, has been completed by 1735. During the same period, in 1726-1738 Ferrari also worked for the Monks of the Monte Vergine on a new façade for Sant'Agata dei Goti (Fig. 1.6) – another smaller medieval church in the *rione* Monti, just a block north of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

In fact, architectural history of the building of Sant'Agata chronologically closely mirrors that of SS. Sergio e Bacco: an early medieval foundation, it underwent a complete rebuilding in the Cinquecento, with additional changes in the Seicento and Settecento that radically altered the church's original appearance, and final modifications to the interior in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Similarly, on the outside, Sant'Agata appears a two-story rectangular structure topped with a pediment, with a single entrance, build-up on both sides just like SS. Sergio e Bacco. The

[210] Ibid., 472.

remodeling of the façade for Sant'Agata completely negated an idea of the façade reflecting a tripartite division of the three-aisled interior. Instead, Ferrari's façade, similarly to his later work for SS. Sergio e Bacco, suggests a single-nave church behind its entrance. Sant'Agata's exterior is adorned with paired pilasters of the colossal order (in fact the two pilasters on each side of the entrance are actually bundled, each with one more pilaster), an oval relief above the doorway depicting Saint Agatha, and a pointed pediment interrupts a broken segmental pediment – all the elements contribute to the façade's projection that only increases from bottom to the top, with slightly concave curvature of the entablature, further exaggerated by the broken pediment that crowns it – an element with the strongest projection. Yet the similarities between the project for S. Agata and SS. Sergio e Bacco end with the facades. Ferrari's façade for S. Agata, rather than relating to the church space behind it, instead hides a staircase and a courtyard, that eventually lead to the actual three-aisled medieval church that is in fact wider than the façade one first encounters on the via Mazzarino.

By comparison with Santo Stanislao and even with Sant'Agata, Ferrari's project for SS. Sergio e Bacco was much humbler and definitely less visually impressive (Fig. 1.20). There is no attempt to create a unified succession of façades of the church and buildings of the Ospizio, like at S. Stanislao on via delle Botteghe Oscure. The buildings that flank SS. Sergio e Bacco, in their Seicento and Settecento appearance are stylistically and visually unrelated to the church they sandwich. Ospizio dei Ruteni is not a part of the ensemble with its church, like the Ospizio dei Polacchi with S. Stanislao. In the same manner, Ruthenian church possesses none of the theatricality of successive entrances and spaces that precede its original medieval structure – the medieval structure itself is gone, replaced by the Cinquecento rebuilding.

Prior to changes in eighteenth century, SS. Sergio e Bacco's appearance was that of a small, two-story church attached to the building of the Ospizio to the left of it, of the same height, and under the same roof. A small belfry on the Ospizio side of the complex was the only structure that interrupted the continuity of the roof over the two buildings. The façade was a simple rectangle whose projection was augmented only with few elements: a flat border that ran on three sides, except the bottom, the door frame topped with a pointed pediment, and a window frame, above the entrance. There appears to have been also a cartouche on the cornice under the roof. In Falda's etching of 1678 the treatment of the façade's wall and the border suggests that the two were of the different finish – while the wall could have been unplastered brick, the flat border could have been painted plaster over masonry, or some sort of stone (maybe travertine like the entrance and window frame). The wall of the adjacent garden (to the right of the church) is left "white" in the etching, just like the boarder, and was likely stuccoed masonry ubiquitous in Rome.

Ferrari's intervention added an additional story to the already existing Seicento façade: the new story was approximately a third of the existing façade's height, and was crowned with a pointed pediment, itself topped with a crucifix. According to the etching of Vasi from 1750s, the new, technically third, story contained a large oval cartouche of the Basilian Order, flanked by two vertical rectangular windows (Fig. 1.20). It appears that a century later, by 1870s, those windows were closed at the bottom halves by the metalwork rails as could be seen in the rather detailed watercolor by Achille Pinelli (Fig. 1.21). Although Pinelli's record of the third story gives it a larger height and prominence, I hesitate to assign it to yet another architectural intervention post-dating the one by Ferrari in Settecento – it might only be due to artistic exaggeration or lack of precision in recording the actual proportions of the church. In fact, there is no record that the church underwent another façade remodeling between Ferrari's time and that of Bonoli in 1880-1896.

2.6 LATER REBUILDING AND RENOVATIONS

The current appearance of the façade of SS. Sergio e Bacco (Fig. 0.1) is nearly entirely the result of the late nineteenth-century renovations that were further augmented in late 1960s. The area of the Piazza Madonna dei Monti experienced, like the rest of Rome, large-scale redevelopment in late 1800s after the reunification of Italy. It seems that the Ruthenian church, unlike some other older smaller churches in the neighborhood of Suburra, actually benefitted from these urban projects. The piazza has been opened up with the construction of Via Cavour on the other side of the Southern block, while the Via dei Serpenti has been extended further down, past the piazza and church of the Madonna ai Monti, to cross the newly created Via Cavour and continue further toward Colosseum as Via degli Annibaldi. Thus, the opened-up piazza was suddenly a block away from major thoroughfares, and likewise major tourist destinations.

Responding to the needs of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the lands controlled by the Habsburg Empire and the financial support of the latter, Pope Leo XIII reorganized the Pontifical Greek College where Ruthenian, and later Ukrainian, seminarians were educated. In 1897, a new college, the Pontifical Ruthenian College (Pontificio Collegio Ruteno) was established exclusively for the East Slavs, to be located in the building adjacent to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco (Fig. 2.18). With the establishment of the new College in the building of the convent, the new institution was run by the Jesuits from 1897 to 1904, when the Basilian monks returned again, both to reside there, celebrate liturgy at the church, and to co-direct the Collegio Ruteno (also known as Collegio Ucraino) along with the Jesuits. The Basilian Order, in fact, kept its monastery in the building until 1960 when, with an acquisition of a new property on Aventine,

the monastery and the General Curia of the Basilian Order moved there in 1960.[211] Since that year the church was run by the secular clergy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Basilians' move, finalized an earlier, nineteenth-century argument that Urban VIII's establishment of the national church for the Ruthenians meant that Basilians as a monastic order, was there only to administer the church, not to own it. This argument was first put forward by the Greek Catholic hierarchs when Rome fell under the French Napoleonic occupation, and all *monastic* property had to be given up to the French. Ruthenian/Ukrainian ecclesiastical authorities invoked the precise letter of the original donation by Pope Urban VIII that clearly stated the church being given to the "natione rutena," not the Ruthenian Order of St. Basil the Great (Basilians) (Fig. 2.65). The same argument was revisited in the 1960s, when Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the successor to the Ruthenian Uniate Church, sought a re-establishment of its national church, in the building of SS. Sergio e Bacco, and had to negotiate with its own monastic order for the availability of the property.

In advance of the papal decision to establish a college for the *Ruteni*, necessary additional renovations had to be undertaken for both buildings, and the church acquired a new, taller façade. Roman engineer Ettore Bonoli was the architect of the new 1896 façade (Fig. 2.27) and the expanded *ospizio*, now convent, while Ugo Mazzei created new sculptures for the façade, and, a year later, Cesare Caroselli (1847-1927) painted the new iconostasis (Fig. 2.26). In my opinion, this particular iconostasis was the very one later mentioned in the work of Khoma as the "first" iconostasis, and later changed to the wrought iron one in place today – an issue I addressed earlier

[211] The move of the Basilians from SS. Sergio e Bacco was also, it seems, tied to the desire to escape this area of Monti that continued to be known as a home to somewhat unsavory characters, such as petty criminals and prostitutes. The latter, still seen in the area to this day (2018), presented Basilians with a continuous problem that could only be solved by leaving the area altogether.

in this chapter. With the new façade being designed by Bonoli in the style of the Neo-Renaissance, Caroselli's iconostasis brought the rise of revivalist aesthetic into the church's interior that theretofore had only been exclusively and uniformly in the styles of Settecento.[212] Caroselli's original artwork, as mentioned earlier, partially survives in representations of several prophets' and saints' heads (Figs. 2.30-2.32), set in the wrought-iron structure of the new iconostasis (Fig. 2.14). The realism of Caroselli-painted faces ties it to the artist's academic training and to the revivalism of the Bonoli-designed façade for SS. Sergio e Bacco. Interestingly, the new 1896 façade and the corresponding iconostasis a year later, work in unison, adding for the first time a completely new layer of aesthetic (Academic Revivalism) exteriorly and interiorly.

The Ottocento interventions had opened a door to the non-Settecento style choices that only increased over time, further obfuscating the stylistic uniformity of the space as it existed since early 1700s, and further complicating how the space is perceived by the viewer. In other words, what could have been initially perceived as a small but artistically exquisite parish church, with a humble but elegant façade (Ferrari) and an interior of single, unified vision (Barigioni), decorated by lesser-known works of quality Settecento artists (Stern and Ceccarelli) – all created for exclusive purpose of serving the Uniate Slavic community as well as local Italian devotion – had been layered with later eighteenth- and twentieth-century additions. In turn, these later additions had contributed to the eventual "Ukrainization" of the space – a tendency to emphasize the cultural links of specifically Ukrainian, modern version of Greek Catholicism, rather than the version of "Ruthenian" Uniate Church that was a complicated product of Belarusian, Lithuanian, Polish, and

[212] Throughout the chapter, I purposefully avoided as much as possible the tags of Late Baroque, Neoclassicism, and Rococo when it comes to the styles used in decoration or construction of SS. Sergio e Bacco, instead relying on a more Italian historiographic approach employing designations of Seicento, Settecento, Ottocento, etc.

Ukrainian traditions and more closely corresponded to the aesthetics of Eastern European culture of the Baroque, dominant in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This "Ukrainization" of the Ruthenian Uniate Church has much in common precisely with the late Ottocento and turn-of-the-century renovations in the Revivalist mode: an attempt to "reclaim" or achieve a particular ethno-cultural purity – a conscious move away from the Roman global baroque developments of Sei and Settecento. In that context, the old SS. Sergio e Bacco (Fig. 2.66), despite "de-Latinizations" of the twentieth century, remains an obstinate antithesis of the contemporary Ukrainian Greek Catholicism, better exemplified in a newly constructed (1967-1968) Ukrainian national church: Byzantine Revival Cathedral of Santa Sofia a Via Boccea (Figs. 2.67, 2.68), west off Rome. The latter is a monumental Greek-cross domed structure, decorated with mosaics, Cosmatesque floors, and a large and proper iconostasis – a visually strong and stylistically unequivocal statement of the cultural and liturgical program of the Ukrainians in union with Rome, a program that radically excludes the very same cultural, stylistic, and liturgical accretions that had been accumulated by Ruthenians in and from Rome since late Cinquecento.

CHAPTER 3. THE IMAGE: ICONOGRAPHY OF DEVOTION

> *From one part to the other, the city seems to continue, in perspective, multiplying its repertory of images: but instead it has no thickness, it consists only of a face and an obverse, like a sheet of paper, with a figure on either side, which can neither be separated nor look at each other.*
>
> Italo Calvino, *The Invisible Cities*.[213]

3.1 IMAGES MULTIPLY: ŻYROWICE, MADONNA DEL PASCOLO AND THEIR COPIES

This chapter takes a closer look at diverse and often divergent images, imagery, and iconography that permeated Early Modern Rome. At the same time, such imagery, to different degrees depending on a case, provided a direct connection to the East Slavic world in the peripheries of Europe or to the Slavic expatriate communities in the center – in Rome. The chapter is organized around these Slavic connections and examines images that often "can neither be separated nor look at each other," as Calvino writes, for reasons that they (the images) may have never encountered each other, never exhibited a direct line of descent (from a prototype to a copy), but still were united by that Slavic "community of images" "like a sheet of paper, with a figure on each side." Nevertheless, many of the images in this chapter show a clear iconographic affinity to each other, and form, like established networks of readerships, networks of iconographic descent and cross-pollination of imagery – imagery that was both original to the Early Modern Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe (exemplified by those in union with Rome or not); imagery that was authentically Western, Italian, and Roman; and imagery that was a by-product of the cultural and theological encounter between the Early Modern Catholicism and Early Modern Orthodoxy.

[213] Italo Calvino and William Weaver, transl., *Invisible Cities* (New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1974), p. 105.

The sections that follow are organized around a close interrogation of Marian images found in the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Rome that exhibit a connection to the Marian imagery in circulation within Rome and outside of it. The chapter then continues to examine other images that exist(ed) at the said church before switching focus on the larger phenomenon of the mechanism of image exchange between the center (Rome) and the periphery (Eastern European Borderlands) in order to assess the very idea of Slavic (self)representation in Western prints in particular and in artistic imagery in general. Throughout the chapter, concrete examples of images connected to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco as well as to Ruthenian community are set against examples of related images that situate them in a larger context of similar images that often were subject to similar treatment and modifications over time.

In the early twentieth century, Wacław z Sulgostowa compiled a list of eleven hundred and thirteen miraculous images of Virgin Mary existing in the territory of the former Polish Commonwealth (now encompassing territories of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Western Ukraine), most of them of the late medieval and early modern origin.[214] Out of that large number, forty-four images came directly from Italy.[215] Miraculous Marian images uniformly dotted confessionally-contested territories of the PLC that saw a large segment of upper-class families embrace the Reformed faith in a single generation, while abandoning Protestantism and returning to Catholicism soon afterwards – a familiar pattern during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in that region. The image exchanges should be understood precisely in the context of these confessional transformations, since miraculous images functioned not only as religious propaganda but also as visual testaments to reestablished alliances and new loyalties. For instance,

[214] Wacław z Sulgostowa. *O cudownych obrazach w Polsce przenajswietszej Matki Bozej: wiadomosci historyczne, bibliograficzne i ikonograficzne.* (Krakow: 1902), 815.
[215] Ibid., 815.

three decades after the Council of Trent and only two years after the Union of Brest, in 1598, Pope Clement VIII gave an image of the Virgin Mary with Christ to a Lithuanian magnate, Jan Pac, during the latter's visit to Rome, in order to mark his conversion away from Calvinism.[216] This image would become known as the miraculous icon of Our Lady of Budslau in Belarus (Fig. 3.1). By the 1600s the icon was housed in a church of the "Bernardines" (as the Franciscans were called in Polish and Lithuanian lands) and its cult was propagated through the diffusion of engravings in a manner similar to that of the Our Lady of Żyrowice (Fig. 3.2) – located two hundred miles southwest. The Budslau image donation marked the renewed embrace of Roman Catholicism on the part of the Minsk Palatinate, which was administered by the same Catholic neophyte Jan Pac.

While the Clementine icon in Budslau had originated in Rome and was transferred to Eastern Europe, the image of *Madonna del Pascolo/ Madonna di Żyrowice* (Fig. 3.3) marks the translation of the Ruthenian (that is Belarusian/Ukrainian) cultural and religious "footprint" to Post-Tridentine Rome, as well as the integration of Orthodox imagery into a larger baroque visual culture. In contrast to the Budslau Madonna, it followed a less familiar trajectory of image transfer from periphery to center.[217] In fact, the Madonna del Pascolo appears to be the only traceable miraculous copy of an Eastern European prototype in Rome during the Early Modern period. The "discovery" of the Madonna del Pascolo is an instance of a reversal of the expected center-to-periphery movement of miraculous images within global Catholicism and constitutes visual evidence for the liturgical and ecclesial alliances attempted in the wake of the Council of Trent. As we shall see, images of this particular Belarusian Madonna would become an integral part of religious experiences for both Eastern European expatriates attached to the Byzantine Rite who

[216] Jan Dominikowicz Pac (1563-1610), Palatine of Minsk [wojwoda miński] (1600-1610).
[217] The Budslau Madonna was one of the twenty-four miraculous images of Virgin Mary in the Commonwealth that came to that part of Europe directly from Rome. Ibid., 836-837.

were residing in Rome and Romans themselves.

In his book published in 1732, the Procurator General of the Basilian Order, Ignazio Kulczynski (Fig. 3.4) gives a historical account of a miraculous image of Our Lady, found in 1480 in the town of Żyrowice in today's Belarus, carved on the small oval piece of jasper, as well as the account of the latter's painted copy, discovered hidden behind the plaster of the wall in the convent of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Rome in 1718 (Fig. 3.3).[218] Kulczynski, who had been rector of that church, included yet a third account of a copy of that second, Roman image. The third image (Fig. 3.5) returned to the original location of its jasper prototype as a gift to the same monastery in Żyrowice.[219] In this way, Kulczynski's title sums up the story of three images and their circulation, but it also hints at the core theological issue of the multiple images of Virgin Mary involved in this story: "il diaspro … di tre colori" can be translated as the jasper … in three forms, appearances" in addition to meaning "colors." The rest of the title supports this interpretation as it carefully lists all the names and locations of the three "immagini." To understand the paradigmatic effects that the post-Tridentine Catholicism had on the Ruthenians, we need to trace the histories of all the three images and their subsequent iterations.

A. Madonna del Pascolo at the church of Santi Sergio e Bacco

In 1718, during a remodeling campaign, an image of the Virgin Mary (Fig. 3.3) was found

[218] Ignazio Kulczynski. *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana* (Rome, 1732).

[219] Yury Piskun believes that what was thought to be a seventeen-century copy of the Madonna of Żyrowice, located in the church of St. Andrew in Slonim, Belarus, is, in fact, the very copy of the Roman image sent to Żyrowice in 1730 as recounted by Fr. Ignazio Kulczynski in his "Il Diaspro prodigioso..." See Yury Piskun, "Pryklady pashyrennia ikanagrafii Bozhaj Maci Zhyrovickaj u Bielarusi, Ukrainie, Polshchy j Italii," *Spadchyna*, No. 4-5 (2003): 21.

hidden behind the plaster of the sacristy of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco (Fig. 3.6). Upon the discovery of the image, it was immediately recognized as a copy of the miraculous Madonna of Żyrowice (Fig. 3.2),[220] and the locals started to call the image *Madonna del Pascolo* (Our Lady of the Pasture) in reference to the site where the original image was discovered. Several sources note that the discovered image was a fresco and note an inscription that was added to it to commemorate the discovery: "si scoperse a caso sotto l'incrostatura del muro, e l'anno seguente … fu tagliata dal muro, e transferita in chiesa" (it was discovered by chance beneath the plaster of the wall, the following year … it was cut out of the wall and transferred to the church).[221] In 1719 it was restored by Lorenzo Gramiccia who may have at the same time painted a copy, on canvas, that would become the third image, which was eventually sent to Żyrowice (Fig. 3.5).[222] On 13 September, 1730, the fresco-now-icon was installed on the main altar of the church. Rumors of the miraculous nature of the newly discovered image spread quickly, and Madonna del Pascolo was effectively acclaimed by the people gathered outside SS. Sergio e Bacco. This suggests a similar response

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[220] Ivan Khoma. *Narys Istoriï Khramu ZHyrovyts'koï Bohomateri I Svv. Muchenykiv Serhiia I Vakkha V Rymi: Extractum E Bohoslovia T. XXXV (1971)*. (Rym: Vyd. Bohosloviï, 1972): 38.

[221] The original inscription reads: a. 1719

"Qui era situata l'imagine
Della Beatissima Vergine del Pascolo
Copia di quella che si venera in Zyrowic
celebre per I miracoli nel mese d'agosto MDCCXVIII
si scoperse a caso sotto l'incrostatura del muro
e l'anno seguente nel medesimo mese comincio
il concorso del popolo, e crebbe a tal segno, che
D'Ordine di Nostro Signore PP. Clemente XI
fu tagliata dal muro, e transferita in chiesa
il di VII. Settembre MDCCXIX.

Ho riportato questa memoria che si vede nella parete di una cameretta contigua alla sagrestia, perche si chiarisce
la causa del nuovo nome dato alla chiesa." Ibid., 38.

[222] Lorenzo Gramiccia (1702 or 1704, Cava near Palestrina – 1795, Venice), a Settecento painter active in Rome and Venice, was a student of the Emilian painter Bonaventura Lamberti. *Dizionario Bibliografico degli Italiani.* Vol. 58 (2002).

both from Catholic and Ruthenian communities in Rome. However, rather than placing the icon in front of an iconostasis, according to Byzantine custom, the icon was installed above the main altar, which adhered to Catholic tradition increased its visibility within the church.[223]

The question remains as to why this image of the Virgin Mary with Child Jesus, belonging to the iconographic type called Eleousa,[224] was assumed to be a copy of the one in Żyrowice? On one hand, by the time of the discovery of Madonna del Pascolo, the Ruthenian Basilians had been resident in SS. Sergio e Bacco for eighty years and were known for their great devotion to the Madonna of Żyrowice. Moreover, there are clear visual similarities which link the two images and their shared iconography. The fresco had an oval border, reminiscent of the oval shape of the original jasper image, a compositional device common to almost all the painted copies of the Madonna of Żyrowice. The oval border also has an inscription, the second line from *Axion Estin* – a Greek *theotokion* – in Church Slavonic and written in Cyrillic:

> Честне́йшую херуви́м и сла́внейшую без сравнения серафи́м, без истления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя величаем.[225]
>
> Thou the more honorable than the cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify thee.

With the icon revetment removed, one can see in the upper half the remnants of the painted trees in the background of the restored Madonna del Pascolo, while the bottom half did not survive and

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[223] See more on the subject of bi-rituality at SS. Sergio e Bacco in Chapter 1.

[224] *Eleousa* (in Greek, Ἐλεούσα – tenderness) is a type of icon that depicts the Virgin Mary tenderly holding close the infant Jesus, pressed against her cheek.

[225] "Достойно есть яко воистину блажи́ти Тя, Богородицу, Присноблаженную и Пренепорочную и Матерь Бога нашего. Честне́йшую херуви́м и сла́внейшую без сравнения серафи́м, без истления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя величаем … " [It is truly right to bless thee, O Theotokos, thou the ever blessed, and most pure, and the Mother of our God. Thou the more honorable than the cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify thee].

was painted a uniform red (Fig. 3.3). The top portion of the original background suggests that the fresco initially depicted the scene, held by angels, among the tree branches where the children originally saw the miraculous image – a motif that would become one of the recognizable iconographic versions in the depiction of Our Lady of Żyrowice and its variant, the Madonna del Pascolo in Rome. The "community of images" that I discuss throughout the chapter strongly support the notion that the iconography of the Madonna del Pascolo in Rome was rooted in the Madonna of Żyrowice in both its form and narrative content, which in turn necessitates a closer examination of the original prototype in Żyrowice.

B. The Madonna of Żyrowice

The prototype image was a small carved jasper cameo depicting the Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus (Fig. 3.2) of the Eleousa (Ελεούσα) type, also known as Virgin of the Tenderness – showing the infant Jesus in the tender embrace of His Mother, and whose cheeks touch each other. Discovered, according to tradition, toward the end of the fifteenth century in a tree by children working in the fields, it was brought to the owner of the nearby Żyrowice estate, who was commonly identified as Aleksander Soltan (Fig. 3.7).[226] This unusual icon was placed in the local church and was supposedly destroyed along with the church in a fire in 1520. Soon afterwards, local children witnessed a vision of the Virgin Mary seated on a rock at the site of the ruined church and, upon Mary's disappearance, discovered a jasper cameo with an image resting on the rock. This time the image, now considered miraculous, was placed in the newly constructed stone church

[226] The date of 1470 is accepted by church tradition (Nardi. 1728) as that of the icon's discovery. However, a few other dates have been supported by evidence and calculations: 1473, 1480, 1549, and even 1576 – see Prot. Georgy Sokolov, S. Yevtushik, Yury Piskun. "Zhirovitskaia Ikona Bozhei Materi" *Pravoslavnaia Entsyklopedia*, v. 19, (Moscow: 2009).

in Żyrowice, where it remains to this day. As we can see, the prototype experienced a pattern of disappearance and *inventio*, so familiar to that of saints' relics and other miraculous images. Due to the presence of the miraculous image, the church in Żyrowice, and the adjacent Orthodox monastery that grew up around it, received generous donations, becoming one of region's most esteemed Marian shrines (Fig. 3.8). In 1617, this early baroque sanctuary became part of one of the first monasteries of the Order of Saint Basil the Great (Basilians), founded in the wake of the Union of Brest of 1596. The Basilian control of the monastery has experienced the same changes in fortune as Ruthenian Greek Catholicism itself. As with most of this Church's properties, the monastery was repossessed by the Russian Orthodox Church and now belongs to the Belarusian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate. The miraculous icon of Żyrowice continues to be housed in the same monastery, despite the changes of its ownership.

C. An earlier Marian image at SS. Sergio e Bacco

While we know that there existed at the site the cult of the warrior saints Sergius and Bacchus, and that the two altars inside the church were dedicated to the Holy Angels and St. Nicolas, was there an already established Marian cult connected to a particular image in SS. Sergio e Bacco? The answer to this question may shed light on the significance of the discovery of Madonna del Pascolo to the functioning of the Byzantine-rite church in Rome. Seventy-eight years passed between the time that Basilians came to possession of SS. Sergio e Bacco, and the finding of the fresco. Considering Basilian modus operandi, and its connection to the Marian cult, it would only be natural to expect that sometime soon after 1640's establishment in Rome, the Ruthenian monks would have a Marian image in their new church, preferably of an ancient pedigree. We find the support to that in the contemporary documents: two visitations conducted in seventeenth

century left reports on the condition and the contents of SS. Sergio e Bacco, which was under the jurisdiction of Basilian monks. The first visitation was conducted on 19 August 1656 by Fr. Virgilio Spada.[227] The report mentioned existence of three altars dedicated to St. Nicolas (the largest), the Virgin Mary, and to the Blessed Josaphat (Kuncewicz) respectively.[228] It also mentioned an image of the Virgin Mary, painted on canvas, and hanging not far from the doors, although it is not clear which ones.[229] This is as much as was said about an image of Mary present in the church at the time.

However, during the second visitation, on 18 May 1661, more details are given. It mentions the same three altars, but the main altar is mentioned as that of the "Most Blessed Sacrament." The most interesting detail of the report is that it describes an image of the Virgin Mary placed on a second altar. It says that it is "imagine antica e miracolosa," painted "alla Rutena" (in the Russian/Ruthenian style) and was brought to Rome by Bishop Rafajil Korsak (c. 1599 – 1640, Fig. 3.9). Moreover, the report goes on to say that this very image of Our Lady previously belonged to Patriarch Ignatius of Moscow (1540 – 1620, Fig. 3.10).[230] Is it possible that the "imagine antica e

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[227] Virgilio Spada (1596 – 1662) was an Oratorian, a papal almoner and the close advisor to Pope Innocent X Pamphili, who retained his influence in the next pontificate, that of Alexander VII Chigi. Spada oversaw virtually all of the papal construction projects. He edited Francesco Borromini's (his friend) book *Opus architectonicum*. For further discussion of Spada's importance in the urban redevelopment of Rome, see Joseph Connors. "Virgilio Spada's defence of Borromini." *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 131, No. 1031 (Feb, 1989): 76-90. Dorothy Metzger Habel. *"When all of Rome was under construction": The Building Process in Baroque Rome*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

[228] Khoma. *Narys Istoriï Khramu.* 27.

[229] Ibid., 27

[230] "Havendo poi il metropolita de' monaci Ruteni, Korsak per nome, portata in Roma un'imagine antica e miracolosa della Madonna dipinta all Rutena co'l Bambino in mano, sopra meteria non ho potuto saper di certo, con i circoli de' capi della Madonna e del Bambino larghetti d'argento adornati con pietre preziose apparenti con la cornice quadra di rame annerita hormai, adorna anco esse di pietre simili. L'altare ha preso nome anco della Madonna. Dicesi che questa istessa imagine l'havesse un pezzo primo da Moscovia a Vilna, Ignatio patriarca di Mosca. Et è posta in qui in alto del quadro dell'altare, talmente che pare che da i due Santi Sergio e Bacco sia

miracolosa" belonging first to Patriarch Ignatius[231] and then to Rafajil Korsak, was also a copy of the Madonna of Żyrowice or of another already venerated icon from Ruthenian lands? The image was painted "alla Rutena" – which could mean at the time in the "Russian" style as well as in "Ruthenian," a style very much peripheral and vernacular, that we now recognize in many of the surviving examples of religious art from the area of Belarus and Ukraine. This first recorded miraculous image of the Madonna in SS. Sergio e Bacco was brought to Rome by Bishop Korsak in 1633.[232] This image is no longer mentioned in the early 1700s as the emphasis shifts to the newly uncovered fresco.[233] What happened to the Ignatius-Korsak icon? Arguably, the very discovery of a fresco of the Madonna (del Pascolo) in that church suggests that the earlier image belonging to Patriarch Ignatius and Bishop Korsak was, for yet unknown reason, no longer present in SS. Sergio e Bacco – the space was in dire need of another "image from a different age," another "imagine antica e miracolosa." The 1718 discovery did just that: it allowed SS. Sergio e Bacco to

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sostentata. Intorno ad essa vi sono vari lavori e ornamenti, come angeletti che sostengono una corona, et altre vaghezze di indotatura." Andrej Šeptyckyj, *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, vol. III, (Romae, 1971), 114.

[231] Having been a Patriarch of Moscow for less than a year, Ignatius was deposed, for political reasons in May of 1606. Liberated from his imprisonment by an invading Polish army, and despite being reinstated, he chose to retire to Vilnius, to the Monastery of Holy Trinity in 1611. In 1595, as archbishop, Ignatius had an opportunity to visit the monastery as a member of the mission sent by Jeremias II Tranos, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Russia. Vilnius was a usual stop on the route to Moscow undertaken by the Greek Orthodox clerics, and it is possible that Ignatius had already once stayed at the monastery. However, by 1611 – the year of Ignatius's leaving Moscow – the monastery of the Holy Trinity was a Greek Catholic institution for several years and a religious and political center of the initiators of the Union of Brest of 1596. Although for most of his life an opponent of the Union of the Churches, Ignatius had now accepted the primacy of the Pope under the influences of Holy Trinity's hegumen and archimandrite, Josyf Veliamyn Rutsky (1574 – 1637)[231] and of Josaphat Kuncewicz (1580 – 1623). Kuncewicz was one of the major leaders of the Union, a Basilian monk at the Holy Trinity and since 1613 – the first hegumen of the Monastery of the Dormition in Żyrowice that held the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary.

[232] Recorded during the visitation of 1661.

[233] It appears that contemporary sources as well as the twentieth century Basilian scholars such as Bishops Šeptyckyj and Khoma are silent on the whereabouts of the Ignatius-Korsak icon.

function as a mirror sanctuary to that in Żyrowice.

D. The Third Image – A Copy of Madonna del Pascolo.

The third image, sent from Rome to Polish-Lithuania in 1730, is no longer found in Żyrowice. Yury Piskun suggests that what is considered to be one of the eighteenth-century copies of Madonna of Żyrowice (Fig. 3.5), now placed above the high altar of the Church of St. Andrew in Slonim, Belarus (Fig. 3.11), is the same image sent by the Roman Basilians to their brothers in Żyrowice. This also appears to be the official view of the local Catholic Church in Belarus.

A comparison of different versions of the Madonna del Pascolo with that found in Slonim shows marked similarities in the specific colors of Mary's clothing (red, blue and purple with highlights) and the position of folds and hands.[234] There are two details to the image in Slonim that argue in support of Piskun's theory. The first detail is that the Church Slavonic inscription around the image in Slonim was executed by a person unfamiliar with Cyrillic script, having copied the letter *yer* as "Z" – something that was more likely to occur in Rome than in a Slavic-speaking context. The second detail is that the face of Mary in the Slonim image was painted with noticeably classical features (the nose, the arching brows, the eyes). Moreover, if one compares the style of Lorenzo Gramiccia's female and angelic faces (Figs. 3.12), the restorer of Madonna del Pascolo, the Roman painter's direct involvement and manipulation of the Slonim Madonna becomes highly plausible if not completely demonstrable.

Obviously, the image in Rome could not be a direct copy of the Żyrowice jasper as the prototype never left Żyrowice, nor were its Roman copies – the Madonna del Pascolo and the Slonim

[234] We have to keep in mind the restoration of the image done by Gramiccia, and the unavoidable changes and refinements that the Neoclassical Roman painter added to the fresco extracted from the wall.

Madonna – painted directly from the jasper image. Therefore, there had to be an intermediate image or series of images that facilitated the translation of the original jasper into the color fresco in Rome. Although it would be intriguing to think of the Korsak icon as a possible "translation" prototype, in the absence of this image, we cannot know what it looked like except that it was painted in the Ruthenian/Russian style, was miraculous, and of old Eastern European origin. Rather, we need to consider another category of "mobile" images that could be easily transported from Eastern Europe to Italy and act as a secondary, transitory prototype for the fresco – prints (Figs. 3.13 – 3.18). This suggests that the Madonna del Pascolo could have been based on a sixteen- or seventeen-century engraving of Madonna of Żyrowice similar to one published in a Lithuanian book titled *Methodus peregrinationis menstruae Marianae ad imagines Deiparae Virginis per ditiones regni Poloniae et M. Ducatus Lituaniae*, by the Jesuit Jan Drews (Fig. 3.17),[235] and brought to Rome by one of the traveling Basilian monks, stationed at SS. Sergio e Bacco. Prints, similar to the one from *Methodus peregrinationis,* circulated widely and may have served as iconographic "blueprints" for painted Marian icons, giving rise to instances of iconographic "cross-pollination." We should not also discount influences on Belarusian imagery by prints created and circulated in Rome, which made their way to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

E. Examples of *Madonna vallicelliana* and Madonna of Grattaferrata

A process of transformation of an image from its prototype to eventual multiplication of its likenesses and codification of its iconographic typology can be seen not only with the Madonna del Pascolo and its Eastern-European prototype from Żyrowice. A similar process can be observed

[235] Jan Drews. *Methodus peregrinationis menstruae Marianae ad imagines Deiparae Virginis per ditiones regni Poloniae et M. Ducatus Lituaniae…* (Vilnae: Typis Academicis, 1684).

during the same time period in another neighborhood in Rome. Madonna del Pascolo's metamorphosis was very much part of a general pattern with other similar Marian images. Thus, it is useful to consider a similar image in similar circumstances within its local context as this had provided an important influence on its imagery, placement, and role vis-à-vis the spaces constructed for and around it. One such local Roman image had underwent a transformation similar to the Madonna del Pascolo – originally painted fresco, once recognized as miraculous, it was detached, framed, and positioned above the high altar. *Madonna vallicelliana* (Fig. 3.19) was and is housed in the church of the Oratorians, Santa Maria in Vallicella, better known as Chiesa Nuova (Fig. 3.20). Originally the image of the Virgin and Child was frescoed on the exterior of a building – an ubiquitous sight on an Italian street even now[236] - until it started to bleed after being hit by a rock thrown by a man in an act of impiety in 1537, was detached and moved inside the church.[237][238] Three decades later, in 1575, the newly-recognized congregation of Oratorians dedicated to San Filippo Neri was given the old parish church of S. Maria in Vallicella, and thus control over the miraculous image. In 1606, after the completion of renovations to the church, the Oratorians commissioned an altarpiece from Peter Paul Rubens, which he duly delivered in 1607. The painting depicted an image of the Madonna of Vallicella being adored by the angels and the saints below (Gregory the Great, Papia, Maurus, Flavia Domitilla, Nereus e Achilleus) (Fig. 3.21). As

[236] Edward Muir. "The Virgin on the Street Corner: The Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities," in *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by Steven Ozment, 25-42, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, vol. 11. (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989).
[237] Laura MacCaskey. "Tainted image, sacred image: the wandering Madonna of S. Maria in Vallicella." State University of New York at Binghamton. Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies. Conference, State University of New York at Binghamton. Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies. Conference (28th: 1994), and Albert H. Tricomi. *Contextualizing the Renaissance: Returns to History. Selected Proceedings From the 28th Annual CEMERS Conference*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998): 141, 143.
[238] Belting. *Likeness and Presence,* 486-487.

Hans Belting points out, the first version (1607) presented by Rubens to the Oratorians is an example of an altarpiece (*quadro*) fully incorporating the miraculous image (*icona*) into a representation of a vision.[239] The materiality of the actual prototype – that of a relic – is removed as the new altarpiece now becomes the only accessible version of the icon: the altarpiece is a copy (with a surrounding pictorial "frame") of the prototype. The first version was rejected, and the following year Rubens submitted a new and approved version of the altarpiece (Fig. 3.22): angels and cherubs were shown adoring a framed oval image of the *Madonna vallicelliana* (its copy), yet, furthermore, this oval image was nothing more than a painted door that would occasionally be open by a mechanism, to reveal the old prototype – the actual remounted fresco of the Madonna.[240] Thus Rubens repositioned the old original miraculous icon within and behind a larger image– in effect functioning like a large reliquary for the icon.[241] An earlier "Renaissance" visuality was reconsidered and substituted with a "Baroque" one, with an older (original) image functioning as a relic in need to be incased into an elaborate framing apparatus of a high altar.

The example of the *Madonna vallicelliana* gives us a scenario for an incorporation of an older miraculous image into a new setting as already practiced in Rome in the post-Tridentine period. The very moment of the paradigmatic shift can be located in the latter half of the sixteenth century. When the Ruthenian Byzantine-rite was established at SS. Sergio e Bacco in the first half of 1600s, and by the early 1700s – the "discovery" of the frescoed copy on that church's wall – the practice of incorporating of an older miraculous image into a new setting evidently continued and was perfected. Indeed, when a copy of the Żyrowice Madonna was found in 1718, it underwent the same metamorphosis as that of *Madonna vallicelliana*: it was detached from the wall (and its

[239] *Ibid*., 486.
[240] *Ibid*., 488.
[241] *Ibid*., 488.

surrounding composition), it was "restored" and framed in such manner as to emphasize the antiquity of its origins. The oval *Madonna del Pascolo*, just as the oval *Madonna vallicelliana*, became a framed relic (no longer part of the fixed structure of the wall), elevated above the high altar, controlled in its visibility, similarly to the *Madonna vallicelliana*, hidden most of the time by Rubens's painted door.

The same approach is further be seen in another example, this time of the Byzantine Rite. In 1665 Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679, Fig. 3.23), a commendatory abbot of Grottaferrata's Byzantine-Rite monastery (Fig. 3.24), commissioned Gian Lorenzo Bernini to design a new iconostasis for the Basilian monks there. The design, executed by Barberini's "nostro scultore," Antonio Giorgetti (1635-1669), and saw the old Byzantine icon of the Virgin Mary and the Child framed into an elaborate structure of the marble iconostasis and positioned above the Royal Gates, surrounded by the adoring angels (Fig. 3.25). The Bernini altar in Grottaferrata is a perfect example that the embrace of Baroque visual culture was happening all across Byzantine-Rite communities in Italy, be they Ruthenian Uniates like in SS. Sergio e Bacco, or Greek-Albanian/Italo-Albanian Catholics like the Basilian monks in Grottaferrata.

3.2 PAINTINGS IN SS. SERGIO E BACCO: LATE ROMAN BAROQUE

Along with Settecento ceiling frescoes and a modern iconostasis, SS. Sergio e Bacco contains five paintings: a detached fresco turned icon – *Madonna del Pascolo* (Fig. 3.3) – and two pairs of canvases: two large paintings of *Saints Sergius and Bacchus* (above the left side altar, Fig. 3.26), and *St. Basil the Great* (above the right side altar, Fig. 3.27), and two oval paintings hung opposite each other at the sanctuary – a *Nativity*, better described as the *Holy Family* (Figs. 3.28-3.29), and *St. Anne and St. Joachim with young Mary* (Figs. 3.30-3.31). The two large altar

paintings are those of Ignazio Stern. Combined with the fact that the ceiling fresco of the *Assumption* (Fig. 3.32) is by another Roman painter, Sebastiano Ceccarini (1703-1783), and the rest of the paintings from Ignazio Stern (1679-1748) and his circle, the interior as preserved exemplifies a lower-budget Settecento church in Rome that could be described stylistically as belonging to the Late Baroque (Fig. 3.33). With few exceptions, most of the surfaces of the interior are plastered walls, painted faux marble, instead of a more expensive decorative solution utilizing real polychrome marble (Figs. 3.34-3.36).

A. Paintings by Ignazio Stern at SS. Sergio e Bacco.

While the two large altarpieces by Stern have been attributed to the artist, might have also been the work of his son Ludovico, especially considering that the two paintings were created toward the end of Ignazio's life in 1741 (he died in 1748). Whether they are indeed by Ludovico's hand or by his father's, the two paintings exhibit certain qualities that make them theologically at home in a Byzantine-Rite church. Both paintings, placed above side altars, are surrounded by wall frames and are thus fully integrated into the decorative program of the church interior. On left, *Saints Sergius and Bacchus* (Fig. 3.26) are shown already glorified, resting in the heavenly clouds, surrounded by putti and seraphim (one below, two between the saints, and two up above in the clouds) – mirroring the sculptural seraphic entourage of the Madonna del Pascolo's framing in the high altar. One of the saints is shown dressed in green robes, stylized as those of a Roman soldier, with a blue cope, holding with his right hand martyr's palm leaf and a white banner. His face, painted in profile, is turned upward and to his left, toward his saintly companion whose left hand he grabs with his own left hand. His head, already surrounded by a halo, is being further adorned by a putto with a martyr's crown. The other saint, whether Sergius or Bacchus (I suspect the

former), is painted diagonally across and above the other, likewise sporting a Roman soldier outfit, but in golden yellow with a bright red cope with pink highlights. Stern, painting the saint's undershirt white, completes the chromatic composition, making St. Sergius (?) the brightest focus of the altarpiece and in contrast to the color scheme of St. Bacchus (?). The two saints' figures, though diagonally shifted, occupy the middle with the successive gradation of complimentary colors (left to right): blue, green, white, yellow, pink, golden, red. Above that center is an ochre-brown sky with angels, while in the lower register, under the dark brown of clouds, appears a greenish blue sky and a vista of a city – the unmistakably recognizable ruins of Colosseum make Rome the location of the saints' ascent to Heaven.[242] A Latin inscription in gilded letterings on the blue-painted plaster banner above the painting (and part of the frame), reads "SS. SERGII ET BACCHI MM / CIVIVM ROMANORUM" [Saints Sergius and Bacchus, Martyrs, Roman Citizens]. The inscription itself is placed right below a gilded XiPo monogram that appears in blue-painted circle in rays of gold breaking through the plaster white clouds.

The correspondence between the inscribed framing and the content of the panting cannot be misinterpreted. By showing the saints floating above a Roman cityscape and stating their Roman citizenship in the banner above, the artist and the people behind the decorative program, reiterate precisely the "Romanness" of the two saints so revered in Eastern Christendom and celebrated in the Byzantine Rite of liturgy. While stylistically, Stern's painting of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus lacks any "Orientalizing" or "Byzantinizing" qualities, the whole representation reemphasizes the unity with Rome and the origin from Rome of the two martyrs – the East is fully subsumed into Rome – and reiterates the idea of the Universal Church equated, again unmistakably, with global Catholicism.

[242] Lower register shows some damage to the paint layer.

The same patterns can be observed across the nave, at the right side altar adorned with the painting of St. Basil the Great by the same painter (Fig. 3.27). Likewise, a Latin inscription in gilded letterings adornes a blue-painted plaster banner over the painting and reads "TALIS EST SANCTVS / BASILIVS MAGNVS" [So Distinguished is Saint Basil the Great]. The inscription is the motto of the Basilian order, coming from the *Vita Basilii* as is the image of the burning column – placed on the shield above the inscription and, like XiPo with Sts. Sergious and Bacchus across the nave, surrounded by the golden rays and the white clouds – the arms of the Basilian order.[243] The same arms and words can be seen both on the façade of SS. Sergio e Bacco (a modern addition) and on the corner of a house (an early modern or a nineteenth-century restoration) once occupied by a female branch of the Basilians in Rome on via S. Basilio in the vicinity of the modern Via Veneto (Fig. 3.37).

The painting itself features glorified St. Basil, ascending Heavens on a cloud, flanked below by two winged angels, one holding a large book and lilies – hinting at the theological writings of this Cappadocian Father and his personal chastity – and the other his light-blue and gold episcopal miter of an Eastern Orthodox style (a bulbous crown). Basil is vested in large pink and gold Eastern-style chasuble called phelonion, lined with a blue-green fabric.[244] Under it we

[243] The burning column and the words appear in *Vita Basilii,* purportedly written by Basil's friend St. Amphilochius of Iconium. They are seen and heard by St. Ephrem the Syrian: "Ephraem cum esset in eremo in ecstasi factus, vidit columnam ignis, cujus caput pertingebat ad caelum, et vocem desuper dicentem audivit: Ephraem, Ephraem: quemadmodum vidisti columnam istam ignis, talis et Magnus est Basilius" [One day when in his hermitage, Ephrem fell in ecstasy and he saw a column of fire, whose top reached to heaven, and I heard a voice from above saying: Ephrem, Ephrem, just like you see this pillar of fire, so great is Basil]. Cited from Petrus Canisius, *Summa doctrinae Christianae: ex postrema recognition* (Landishuti: Josephi Thomann, 1823), XXXII. The same words are also included in the Roman Breviary and would have been a familiar sight for both Roman-Rite and Byzantine-Rite clergy and monastics.

[244] On wonders if the artist is intending it to be more specifically the episcopal phelonion of an older style called *polystavrion* (Eastern Orthodox style chasuble decorated with multiple crosses), but for reasons unknown, omits crosses from this *polystavrion*.

can see his white *sticharion*, painted with a small lace border and thus resembling more its Roman Rite equivalent of alb. Basil's large Eastern Orthodox pallium – omophorion – is gold in color, wide, and emblazoned with three large Greek-style red crosses. Besides a Western touch of lace at the bottom of the sticharion/alb, Basil's left arm, revealed from under the phelonion, is covered with a purple sleeve of a cassock (?). A finely painted lace border of an undergarment sleeve appears from under that cassock's sleeve. Basil's right arm is concealed under the phelonion, with only the hand appearing from under the folds, holding tight onto the Eastern Orthodox style silver crosier topped with serpents, mimicking the traditional "staff of Moses." The stereotypical bearded face of the bishop saint is slightly raised, while a white dove is suspended in the air nearly touching the saint's cheek. Yet, the proximity of the symbolic bird is not breaking Basil's concentration as his eyes are fixed on the Heavens above, as if already experiencing a beatific vision.

The painting of the Eastern Church Father, the style(s) of his liturgical vestments exhibit strongly recognizable "Byzantine" or "Eastern" appearance, yet also show signs of Latin additions (such as lace, alb-like *sticharion*, etc.). Although such mixing can indeed betray a certain lack of knowledge of Eastern liturgical fashions on the part of Ignazio Stern, I would argue that the painting of St. Basil more or less faithfully captures the state of evolution of the Eastern-style liturgical vestments in Italy in use by the communities attached to the Byzantine/Greek Rite. We can witness a similar pattern in numerous other representations of St. Nicholas in Rome and Naples in 1600s and 1700s. For instance, a lesser-known painting, *San Nicola di Bari con un fanciullo coppiere* (Fig. 3.38), attributed to either Francesco Guarini (1611-1651 or 1654) or an unknown Neapolitan artist, is located in the church of Santa Marta, next to the larger monastery complex of Santa Chiara in Naples. This superb painting portrays St. Nicolas of Bari vested in a *sakkos* (Fig. 3.39) – an Eastern style outer vestment reserved for Byzantine-Rite bishops and akin to Western

style dalmatic. Nicholas's *sakkos* though is painted with barely any sleeves - peculiar difference from a regular Greek-style *sakkos* that make this particular representation appear nearly identical to the Roman-cut chasuble of a Roman Catholic priest, with one distinction: the lower part of the front of the *sakkos* is not rounded like in a Roman-cut chasuble, but remains straight, like one would expect of a dalmatic/*sakkos*; the omophorion of the bishop, while noticeably an Eastern Orthodox item, is integrated into the *sakkos* as to appear almost part of it; the ornamental pattern on the *sakkos* is a cross motif nearly ubiquitous for most representations of bishops in Eastern Christianity and thus referencing an older style Eastern episcopal phelonion (*polystavrion)*. Similar to the iconography used by Ignazio Stern, Nicholas's white *sticharion* is unequivocally a Western-style alb, with a lace border both at the bottom edge and on the ends of the sleeves. Thus, the representation of St. Nicolas at Santa Marta, similarly to St. Basil at SS. Sergio e Bacco in Rome, combines Orthodox iconography of an Eastern saint with some Western modifications. The overall appearance, though, continues to exhibit strongly recognizable "Byzantine" characteristics despite occasional Latinizations of forms. Existence of Greek-Rite Christians in Naples – both in union with the Pope and not – suggests that these modification to the Eastern Orthodox vestment were not so much an artistic invention of Francesco Guarini or an anonymous artist, but rather a possible reflection of actual type of vestment that circulated during seventeenth century in Southern Italy among the Greek-Rite clergy. While the Neapolitan example dates from the first half of the seventeenth century, and the Roman example – an exact one hundred years later, we can see an overall hybridization of the "Greek" vestments on the Italian peninsula, albeit with regional variations, that continued well into the Late Baroque period and beyond (Figs. 3.40a-b).[245]

[245] Old photographs of the Italo-Greek liturgical activities in late nineteenth and until the first half of the twentieth century serve as an additional confirmation that "latinized" vestments used by the Greek-Rite communities in Italy and beyond were in use until more modern efforts in the

B. Painting by Sebastiano Ceccarini at SS. Sergio e Bacco.

The central part of the barrel vault of the church is decorated with a fresco of the *Assumption* (Fig. 3.32) is by another Roman painter, Sebastiano Ceccarini (1703-1783). Ceccarini's fresco very much follows expected compositional and pictorial standard of the period: occupying the middle register of the composition, dressed in her traditional red and blue outfit, the Virgin Mary is shown taken up to Heaven in the company of three winged angels. The bottom register features two putti holding a large supply of roses, while the top register is reserved for the Heaven, its clouds, dotted with seraphs, open up to allow the rays of light shine down on Mary. The latter's own head raised up to the Divine Light and surrounded by her own bright yellow rays in lieu of a halo. Rectangular format of most of the fresco ends with top and bottom of the painted field rounded and inserted into an ornamental golden framing of the vault. The relatively bright colors of the *Assumption* are offset by the neutrality of the subdued greys, pinks, and mostly pale green colors of the Neoclassical decorative program of the rest of the ceiling.

middle of twentieth century "de-latinized" some of the liturgical forms, including the fashions in the efforts to "purify" liturgical life of the Byzantine Catholics, moving this practices closer to the perceived "purity" of their Orthodox counterparts not in union with Rome. Beyond photographic record, a wonderful example is preserved in the Capuchin Catacombs in Palermo, Sicily: a mummified corpse of Monsignor Franco D'Agostino (1823-1877), with a tag "Greek Orthodox Bishop." D'Agostino, a Titular Bishop of Hermopolis Maior, served as the Ordinary for the Italo-Albanese community in Italy, and thus was a Greek-rite bishop. D'Agistino's vestments require a separate and in-depth examination, but to mention it briefly, his vested remains provide us with a rare period example indicative of the Latinizations of Eastern liturgical tradition in the Italian contex. D'Agostino is wearing a wide brocaded *epitrachelion* over a long-sleeved *sakkos*, over a white *sticharion*/alb with a lace border, over an episcopal amaranth-red cassock – the last visible item of clothes (other than socks and shoes). This ordering of vestments on the nineteenth-century Italian Greek-Rite bishop roughly corresponds to the orderings of the vestments with saw in the examined paintings in this dissertation.

There is nothing non-Roman Catholic about Ceccarini's *Assumption* and that is very telling.[246] One of the contested points of theology between the Orthodox and Catholics is of course the issue of Mary's death. The Orthodox traditionally perceived her death in terms of a "dormition" – a "falling asleep" – with her soul assumed into Heaven. In the West, an idea of a complete – body and soul – assumption took root, provoking intense debates in Middle Ages, and only subsiding in the modern times with the twentieth-century definition of Assumption as a dogma for Catholics.[247] When Ruthenian Orthodox signed the union with Rome at the Union of Brest in 1596, they were obliged to subscribe to all the dogmas of Catholicism. When the fresco was painted in the eighteenth century, the dogma of the Assumption was not defined or proclaimed but was in many ways expected to be believed in from most Roman Catholics and was not expected as to be a traditional part of the Orthodox set of beliefs. Thus, placing an Assumption fresco in the center of the vault of SS. Sergio e Bacco showed that by 1741 this Byzantine-Rite church was expected to be very much on board with all the standard Marian devotions popular among the faithful all in Rome. Moreover, considering that only in 1718 the church became the site of a miraculous Marian image's discovery, adding two decades later an extra Marian image of a widespread Roman Catholic devotion made quite a lot of sense. Creating at the same time a pair of new images of specifically Eastern saints definitely balanced the inclusion of exclusively Roman Catholic *Assumption* into the decorative program of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

[246] The regular Roman typology of Ceccarini's fresco at SS. Sergio e Bacco has been mentioned by Erich Schleier in his review of *Die Deckenmalerei in italienischen Kirchen* by Thomas Poensgen. See Erich Schleier, "The Development of Italian Baroque Church Decorations," *The Burlington Magazine* 112, no. 813 (1970): 833.

[247] Pope Pius XII defined and declared the Assumption of Mary as a dogma on 1 November 1950, in his Apostolic Constitution *Munificentissimus Deus*.

The two paintings by Stern (Figs. 3.26, 3.27) and the fresco by Ceccarini (Fig. 3.32) provide us with examples of how thoroughly Latinized was visual culture of the Byzantine-Rite Catholics in Italy in general and the Uniate Ruthenians in particular by the middle of Settecento. It was seemingly indistinguishable from that used by Roman Catholics, yet it also contained important clues in its form and content that spoke directly to the liturgical and theological needs of the Ruthenians in union with Rome.

C. Other Paintings in SS. Sergio e Bacco.

The remaining two original artworks in the church are two oval paintings that hang opposite each other in the sanctuary: *Nativity* (Fig. 3.29), better described as the *Holy Family*, and *St. Anne and St. Joachim with young Mary* (Fig. 3.30). The two paintings are obscured by the darkened varnish and their own rather muted color scheme. Based on their appearance they can be said to belong to the late Settecento and are of Roman/Italian pedigree. It is equally hard to ascertain to what extent these two paintings originally hung in that church and in these specific spots in the sanctuary. Their format (oval), and their placement seem to be purely devotional – away from immediate altar placement as parts of any specific liturgical action. Additionally, they have no identifiable traces particular to the Byzantine liturgy or Byzantine iconography.

Other images that presently populate the walls of SS. Sergio e Bacco are not considered here as they appear undoubtedly modern and have been obviously introduced to the space within the last half a century (Figs. 3.41).

3.3 PRINTED IMAGES AND TEXTS: BETWEEN ROME AND THE BORDERLANDS

A. Printed images of Our Lady of Żyrowice

Although there is a relatively large number of prints that deal with subject of Ruthenia, Italy, and the Basilians, we will here specifically focus on the Early Modern print production of Marian images related directly to Our Lady of Żirowice and its Roman copy – the Madonna del Pascolo. Some of the most fascinating images of the jasper icon were created by Leontij Tarasowicz (also known as Leon Tarasewicz, ca. 1650-1703) and his brother Aleksander (ca. 1640-1727). The Tarasowicz images have a shared iconographic emphasis on the ornamental and fruit-bearing borders of Our Lady of Żyrowice that are already seen in one of its images in a Vilnius-printed book by Jesuit Jan Drews (1646-1710) from 1684. Also of interest is the rare surviving uncut sheet of the engraved multiples of the Żyrowice icon by Jan Aleksander Gorczyn (1618-1695). All of the five images I am focusing on in this subchapter have been created for the Basilian-run printing houses in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, mostly in Vilnius, and, in my opinion, could have provided multiple possible sources for the iconography of Madonna del Pascolo later adopted and developed in Rome.

Leontij's *Our Lady of Żyrowice with Sts. Peter and Paul* of 1682 (Fig. 3.13) shows the oval icon with the Madonna with the Child, being held up by the distinctly Roman and Papal saints: Apostles Peter and Paul on both sides of the image. The image, as is traditional to Żyrowice's iconography is surrounded by the inscribed band with the words of praise from the *Axion Estin* in Church Slavonic. Additionally, the image of Żyrowice is further surrounded by a triple inscription in Polish: "Panna przed porodzeniem / Panna przy porodzeniu / Panna po porodzenniu" [Virgin before childbirth / Virgin during childbirth / Virgin after childbirth]. Below the oval, another inscription in Polish states that the image of the miraculous icon from Żyrowice is shown here true

to its size: “Wizerunk y miara pravdzi/wa Obrazu cudownej Nass:/ Panny Mariey. Żyrowickiego. / Oycow Basyli/anow” [Image and true size of the miraculous Icon of the Most Blessed Mary of Żyrowice’s Basilian Fathers]. Below the saints is a lengthier inscription about the saints Peter and Paul and their importance. Between the figures of the two saints and right above the inscription are lightly engraved two scenes of the two saints’ respective martyrdoms: Peter’s upside-down crucifixion and Paul’s beheading. In the upper register of the oval Żyrowice image, it is being additionally held by two putti, left one holding the lilies, and the right one – martyr’s palms. The very top of the oval image touches the Heavens that open up to reveal the whole Trinity, with God the Father and God the Son resting in the clouds and illuminated by strong rays of light emanating from the Holy Spirit in the center.

The rather complex representation of the jasper oval icon with saints has thus established a format for the Marian miraculous image to be supported by the saints. It is conceptually very close to the later engraving *Our Lady of Żyrowice with Saint Basil and Blessed Josaphat* by Carlo Grandi of 1732 (Fig. 3.42) that we will discuss in detail later. However, in Grandi’s engraving the saints are not holding the image of the Madonna as in Tarasowicz, but rather are themselves shown as images in oval frames, propping up a larger oval frame with Our Lady of Żyrowice. This tripling of oval images is not found in Tarasowicz’s *Our Lady of Żyrowice with Sts. Peter and Paul* of 1682 (Fig. 3.13) but instead can be traced to an earlier image by the same artist from 1676 (Fig. 3.14), *Our Lady of Żyrowice*. Like the previous Tarasowicz engraving, the smaller print already contains nearly all the components of the later one: putti holding the oval centrally placed image, the scene with all the persons of the Trinity, bands with inscriptions. What is unique to the 1676 image is that it the number of putti increased to four, two of them are holding additional smaller oval images, and the central iconic oval image is shown as if a fruit growing out of an oversized

lily. The three small oval images – two in the hands of the putti, and one in the base of the flower, on its stem – contain smaller representations of Marian-related events. On the left is the Immaculate Conception, with Mary shown trampling a dragon, elevated on the crescent, and surrounded by the stars – an undoubtedly non-Eastern Orthodox dogma but rather an exclusively Roman Catholic one. Opposite it, is the oval with Annunciation, with all the expected iconographic details: Mary, kneeling, over a book in the altar, greeted by Archangel Gabriel, handing her a lily, with the dove of Holy Spirit above them. The third oval auxiliary image is the Nativity, with Christ Child in the manger flanked by His Mother and St. Joseph, a cow and a donkey likewise are present. The four separate bands announce one broken-up inscription: "WIZERVNK YPRAWDZIWA MIARA / NACVDOWNIEYSZEGO W: XIĘSTWIE I. IT: / OBRAZV PANNY MARIEY ZYROWICKIEGO / ROKU PANSKIEGO 1676" [Image and true size of the most miraculous in the Grand Duchy and (elsewhere) Icon of the Virgin Mary of Żyrowice].

Moving from a more complex later iconographic solutions to the image of Żyrowice to the simpler ones, we can see a series of basic oval images surrounded either by wreaths of vegetation or flowers and fruits. The images by Gorczyn (Fig. 3.16) of the uncut small engravings of Our Lady of Żyrowice, or the illustration of Jan Drews's *Methodus peregrinationis menstruae Marianae ad imagines Deiparae Virginis per ditiones regni Poloniae et M. Ducatus Lituaniae*, of 1684, likely itself by Leontij Tarasowicz, as well as the small red-ink print by Aleksander Tarasowicz of 1725 (Fig. 3.15) – all share one basic iconographic motif distilled to a recognizable minimum: Madonna and the Child inside an oval, with an inscription running around the image, and a frame of vegetation. In case of Gorczyn's print (Fig. 3.16), his images of the Madonna of Żyrowice include most of not all other iterations of that motif, including also versions of the *inventio* of the jasper image of Żyrowice – two different mirror-printed scenes with the image

appearing among the branches of the tree (left side of the print). The other images in Gorczyn's engraving consist of four versions of a simple oval image surrounded by leaves, with one of them being a wreath of roses with leaves (and center and top right area of the printed plate), the same oval among leaves but also supported by two putti. The final Gorczyn's Marian image – in the right bottom corner – had the artist confine the original Żyrowice oval into a heart shape, with the usual for him Polish inscriptions now done in Latin instead, uniquely among the eight different versions on that jointly engraved plate (Fig. 3.16).

The fifth among the early modern images examined here, is the red-ink printed engraving of *Our Lady of Żyrowice* by Aleksander Tarasowicz of 1725 (Fig. 3.15). Similar to the images of his brother Leontij, the image of the Virgin and the Child has a simple oval band framed, inscribed in Church Slavonic. Below the image is a version of a Polish inscription we had already seen in many of the five prints – a note that the image is shown in the original size of the jasper icon. The oval is surrounded by different flowers, four in total, one per each corner of the plate: a lily at the top left corner, a carnation at the top right, a tulip at the bottom left and an iris (?) at the bottom right. The only other difference with Leontij's images is that the oval of the icon is perfect while those of Leontij are all invariably bottom-heavy ovals, almost egg-shaped in appearance. That latter quality of representation leads me to think that the bottom-heavy oval in Drews's book (Fig. 3.17) is indeed by Leontij's hand. Similar to Aleksander's image (Fig. 3.15), *Our Lady of Żyrowice* from Drews's *Methodus peregrinationis* is a simple oval among vegetation, but instead of flowers or leaves, it appears to the viewer framed with two pairs of crossed pear branches above and below the oval.

These iconographic characteristics of the Żyrowice image – being represented as surrounded by vegetation, shown in a tree, or engraved "true to size of the original jasper icon" –

had been retained all the way into Modernity. An example from the early nineteenth century, held in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow, Poland, clearly continues the tradition already established in the prints of Leontij and Aleksander Tarasowicz, and Gorczyn: a copper engraving by Teodor Strzelbicki, *Maci Božaja Žyrovickaja*, dated ca. 1800 (Fig. 3.18), shows a small oval image with a Cyrillic inscription all around and a Latin inscription below the oval sourrounded by the rays of light, stating that the image printed is "true to size": "Effigies genuina et mesura sua in figura ovali / adœquata Imaginis Thaumaturgæ Zyrovicensis / in Litvania Ecclesia vero Basilianorum."[248]

All six printed images examined here were produced in the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Borderlands in the second half of Seicento and early Ottocento. All six clearly show that Our Lady of Żyrowice had a somewhat fixed and rather developed iconography that allowed for highly simplified images to coexist with more complex compositions (e.g., *inventio*). The early five images also share a characteristic that unites them: they all had in them, each to varying degrees, seeds for further iconographic elaboration that the image from Żyrowice would undergo in the new, Roman setting after the discovery of the Madonna del Pascolo on the wall of the sacristy of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Rome in 1718.

B. Printed images of Madonna del Pascolo

Published in 1732 in Rome, Ignacy Kulczynski's seminal work on the Ruthenian Madonna in Rome, *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo*

[248] Teodor Strzelbicki, *Maci Božaja Žyrovickaja*, engraving, printed in Pochayiv; paper: height: 10,6 cm, width: 6,9 cm; ca. 1800-1820, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. MNK III-ryc.-10553.

in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana (Fig. 3.4), contains three outstanding and heretofore unstudied engravings by the hand of a Roman painter and engraver, Carlo Grandi (active in Rome ca. 1723-1765).[249] All three engravings, by the virtue of their content, were specifically created for the particular book: two images of Our Lady of Żyrowice. one framed by itself and flanked by two saints, and another showing the moment of inventio of the miraculous image by the young shepherds in the tree; the third engraving is of St. Josaphat Kuncewicz. A closer examination of all three reveals that they provide indispensable clues to the mechanisms of integrating Ruthenian Byzantine-Rite visual culture into that of Rome and global Catholicism at large.

The first engraving, *Our Lady of Żyrowice and Saints* (Fig. 3.42), is only 16 cm, and, like the other three, bound with the rest of the pages of the book. The image of the Virgin Mary and the Child is engraved within a baroque cartouche. Surrounded at the top by a flowing banderole and garlands, and at the bottom by floral motifs, cartouche features a Cyrillic inscription in Church Slavonic all around its oval border – the inscription already familiar to us from nearly identical inscription around Madonna del Pascolo (the words of the second line from *Axion Estin* – a Greek *theotokion*). The inscription begins at the top, read in the left-to-right direction, starting from the mark of the cross. The words are nearly identical to the Madonna del Pascolo's inscription with a

[249] Ignacy Kulczynski, *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero Narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della beata Vergine Maria.La prima di Zyrovvice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, la terza copia della seconda parimente in Zyrovvice detta da quei popoli Romanascritta da Ignazio Kulczynski, procuratore generale de' Monaci Basiliani Ruteni, e rettore de'SS. Sergio, e Bacco ai Monti, dedicata all'ill.mo, ed ecc.mo signore, il signor F.D. Mario Chigi* (In Roma: nella stamperia dell'Ansillioni al Corallo, 1732). BAV, R.G.Vite.VI.3 (int.1) Stamp.De.Luca.VI.2273. Kulczynski (1707-1747) was a rector of SS. Sergio e Bacco and a Procurator of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church to the Holy See. The authorship of Carlo Grandi is supported by the plates all marked *Car. Grandi del: et sc.*

few words being dropped (and shown in square brackets) or added (in italics) in comparison to the Pascolo "original":

> + Честнейшую херувим и славнейшую *воистину* [без сравнения] серафим, бе[з] и/стления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя в[еличаем]
>
> Thou the more honorable than the cherubim, and *truly* [beyond compare] more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify thee.[250]

The inscription has become an indispensable attribute of the original Żyrowice Madonna's iconography and is present both in the fresco of Madonna del Pascolo and Grandi's engraving. The latter's use of Cyrillic inscription acts as a concrete iconographic reference to the Madonna del Pascolo, reminding the Roman audience both of the image (fresco) housed at SS. Sergio e Bacco and now closed with a precious revetment, and, simultaneously, as a reference to the prototype image in Żyrowice it strives to represent for those that cannot possibly see the original, housed in a monastery far away from Rome in Ruthenian lands. Other inscriptions on the image of Mary and the Child are the traditional Greek monograms: ΙΣ:ΧΣ (shortened for Ἰησοῦς Χριστός [Jesus Christ]) next to the Child, and [M]P: [ΘE]OY (shortened for Μήτηρ Θεοῦ [Mother of God]) next to Mary.

Moreover, Grandi's image betrays no signs of being derivative of a pre-existing prototype. Its artistic quality is even higher than that of the found fresco in Rome (Madonna del Pascolo).

[250] "Достойно есть яко воистину блажити Тя, Богородицу, Присноблаженную и Пренепорочную и Матерь Бога нашего. Честнейшую херувим и славнейшую без сравнения серафим, без истления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя величаем …" [It is truly right to bless thee, O Theotokos, thou the ever blessed, and most pure, and the Mother of our God. Thou the more honorable than the cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify thee].

While the iconography does follow established rules for Our Lady of Żyrowice, Grandi's interpretation exhibits signs of free hand drawing, hidden in the precise marks of the burin, and even a certain freshness unusual for a devotional print of that scope. Impressive is also Grandi's ability to render nearly all Cyrillic letters precisely and largely without mistakes either to them form of the font or to the spelling of individual words.

The iconographic complexity of the first engraving from Kulczynski's book does not stop at the Cyrillic-inscribed cartouche. At the bottom, cartouche, and thus the image of the Virgin Mary, is flanked by two smaller cartouches. On the left, one showing loosely drawn St. Basil the Great (the patron of the Basilians), and on the right – then-Blessed Josaphat Kuncewicz (the first martyr and saint of the Ruthenian Basilians). Despite a small size of that part of the engraving, St. Basil is shown according to his traditional iconography and very similar to the slightly later (1741) representation of that saint (Fig. 3.27) by Ignazio Stern from the same church: wearing episcopal vestments, Greek-style bishop's miter, a dove descends by his ear on his right, and a burning column is on his left; Basil's right hand is raised in the gesture of blessing while his left hand is holding an open book. The inscription below the cartouche reads: *S. Basilius Mag*(nus). Mirroring St. Basil, Josaphat is shown following his newly-established iconography, with an ax in his head, akin to the iconography of St. Saint Peter of Verona O.P. (1206 – 1252) usually shown with a hatchet stuck in his head (Fig. 3.43). Josaphat is vested with a striped mantle (*mandyas*) of an Eastern-Rite bishop and an episcopal *omophorion*. Below the image is a Latin inscription: *B*(eatus). *Iosaphat m*(artyrus). Additionally, between the two small saints' cartouches, a Latin i nscription identifies the central image as indeed that of Our Lady of Żyrowice: "B[eatissi]ma / Virgo / Ziroviciensis / Antemurale / Magni / Ducatus / Lithuaniae" [Most Blessed Virgin of Żyrowice Bulwark of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania]. The inscription specifically points to the

apotropaic character of the jasper prototype, indicating that the image is a "Bulwark of the Great Duchy of Lithuania," bringing parallels to the popular epithet of the PLC in the seventeenth century as the *Antemurale Christianitatis* [Bulwark of Christendom]. Surrounded by the two saints of the Byzantine Rite, one from the pre-Schism time and the new one soon after the Union of Brest (1596), the image of the Madonna of Żyrowice appears to do exactly what is expected of it both from the Basilians and Barberini (and other early modern popes) – a perfect bridge connecting the past of the undivided Christendom and its future, likewise undivided, under the pope. The resultant image, its iconography, and its execution are all products of Rome, but Rome that is extremely attentive and attuned to the limitations, peculiarities, and possibilities of the Eastern European visual culture – the culture that was now firmly in Rom's sphere of influence.

Based on the inscription, it is clear that Grandi's first engraving from Kulczynski's book is that of Our Lady of Żyrowice. However, the very fact that a copy assumes all miraculous and iconographic attributes of its prototype, Madonna del Pascolo (Fig. 3.3), despite its different name, is for all intent and purposes is Madonna of Żyrowice (Fig. 3.2). The Ruthenian name for the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco after 1718's discovery of the Marian image was the "Church of Our Lady of Żyrowice" while the official name and the dedication in Italian likewise changed to "Chiesa della Madonna del Pascolo" – an Italian translation of the Ruthenian adjective applied to the jasper Madonna. Considering these details of nomenclature and the nature of miraculous images, I would suggest that the engraving done by Grandi is that of the Żyrowice image in its Roman hypostasis.

Grandi's second engraving from the book depicts the *Invention of the Icon of Our Lady of Żyrowice* (Fig. 3.44). It is a longer format that the preceding *Our Lady of Żyrowice and Saints*, spanning the whole page of the book. Identical oval image of the Virgin and the Child is shown

floating among the tree brunches, the rays of light break through the leaves of the tree, its thick trunk descends down from the image to earth, invoking the image of the burning column of St. Basil. The oval frame of the image is inscribed with the familiar Church Slavonic words "Thou the more honorable than the cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify thee" in Cyrillic alphabet. In the foreground, occupying bottom right of the composition and turning their back to the viewer, are two young shepherds – the finders of the icon, joined further in the middle ground on the left by a group of six bystanders, shown at awe of the miracle. Behind the group are four cows – the only animals in the picture, other than a half-hidden sheep behind the shepherd boys. In the background, the topography of the countryside is rather too mountainous to be in area of Żyrowice: the small castle-like buildings can be seen on the right side before the high hills, while the left side is completely taken over by a fortified town with turrets and a few churches with spires and crosses on top – overall a vision of a Northern European town and not one from Eastern Europe in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Below the scene of the discovery is a banderole with a Latin inscription: *Thaumaturga Zyrowjciensis / Spes unica Basilianoru*[m]" [The Miracle-Worker of Żyrowice / The only hope of the Basilians]. The lower right corner is further inscribed with "*Carol. Grandi inu. / et scul. / Rom*."

Formally, the image shows a perfect clarity of all forms, landscape, and has a high level of "readability" both iconographically and textually. Furthermore, it appears to be one of the earliest prints produced in Rome that portrays the invention of the jasper icon of Żyrowice – I know of no other image made by an Italian artist for an Italian publication on that subject. Interestingly, the engraving *Invention of the Icon of Our Lady of Żyrowice* depicts precisely the full composition of the scene that I believe was the basis for the original fresco on the wall of the sacristy of SS. Sergio

e Bacco, later covered up, and rediscovered during the remodeling in 1718 (Fig. 3.3). It is obvious that a Roman engraver would have to use some form of iconographic guidance from the Basilians as to the precise ways of depicting the discovery of the Żyrowice icon. It is reasonable to presume a presence in Rome of prints that depicted the same subject and produced in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, such as already-mentioned Leon Tarasowicz's copper engraving from 1682, *Our Lady of Żyrowice with Sts. Peter and Paul* (Fig. 3.13) or Gorczyn's *Images of Our Lady of Żyrowice* (Fig. 3.16). Such prints would provide an exact model for Grandi to depict his own version of the subject matter for the Kulczynski's book.

Other than the several printed examples discussed in this chapter – those by L. and A. Tarasowicz, Gorczyn, and now by Grandi – there are extant painted examples in Eastern Europe with precisely the same iconography as that of the Madonna del Pascolo as it appeared when still part of the frescoed wall (prior to its removal in 1718). For instance, a painting originally from the Church of the Virgin Most Holy of the Monastery in Żyrowice (now in the National Art Museum of Belarus in Minsk), *Our Lady of Żyrowice Surrounded by St. Basil the Great and Bl. Josaphat Kuncewicz* (3.37b), dates to 1730s and combines the motifs of the *inventio* (an oval icon in a tree, surrounded by the shepherd boys) and of the *sacra conversazione*. The former motif we just saw used dramatically by Grandi in his Roman print for Kulczynski's book (1732, Fig. 3.44), around the same time as the dating for the Minsk painting; the latter motif we see already employed decades earlier in the engraving *Our Lady of Żyrowice with Sts. Peter and Paul* (1682) by Leontij Tarasowicz (Fig. 3.13). With the Minsk painting dated to 1730s – the period when the Żyrowice Monastery was under complete control of the Ruthenian Uniate Church (1613-1839) – the aesthetic concurrence of all the discussed artworks (be they in Poland-Lithuania or Rome) with *Our Lady of Żyrowice Surrounded by St. Basil the Great and Bl. Josaphat Kuncewicz* (3.45) makes

more sense. They all belong to the same "community of images" that permeated the cultural space occupied (or rather shared) by the Early Modern Orthodoxy (exemplified here by the Ruthenian Uniate Church) and the Early Modern Catholicism (exemplified here by the Roman Baroque aesthetic).

The third engraving is the Blessed Josaphat, likewise by Carlo Grandi (Fig. 3.46). The print depicts the first post-Union of Brest martyr of the Ruthenian Uniate Church, Josaphat Kuntsevych, O.S.B.M., (c. 1580-1623), the Archbishop of Polotsk (now in Belarus) in 1618-1623. In 1604, Josaphat became a monk of the Holy Trinity Basilian monastery in Vilnius – the same monastery that became home to the exiled Patriarch Ignatius of Moscow (1540-1620) in 1611. In 1613, Josaphat became the *hegumen* (abbot) of the Monastery of the Dormition in Żyrowice – the location of the jasper icon of the Virgin Mary – only to return to Vilnius to be an archimandrite of the Monastery of Holy Trinity (Fig. 3.47). In 1618 he was transferred onto the See of Polotsk, yet only five years later fell victim to the Orthodox-Uniate conflict at the hands of an Orthodox mob. Although Kuncewicz's death marked a huge loss of a charismatic leader t the cause of a union with Rome, the Ruthenian Uniate Church promptly requested Rome to acknowledge Kuncewicz's great sacrifice. Metropolitan Rafajil Korsak arrived in Rome in 1639 as a postulator for the cause of Kuncewicz's beatification. As mentioned earlier, Patriarch Ignatius had left behind an icon of Our Lady that came into possession of Korsak who brought it with him to Rome. Korsak died there the next year, leaving Ignatius's icon at SS. Sergio e Bacco. Its subsequent history is a mystery, as I had noted earlier in the chapter. Ultimately, Pope Urban VIII Barberini had beatified Josaphat on 16 May 1643.

The saint is shown in the print not as he was but already as a devotional image itself – a framed oval portrait of Josaphat carried through the clouds toward Heavens by a group of five angels. One

of the angels is holding lilies, symbolizing Josaphat's chastity while the other one lifts a crown above the portrait – a crown that, though symbolic of Josaphat's martyrdom, is more akin to the episcopal miter of the Eastern Rite. The oval portrait itself depicts then-Blessed Josaphat identically to what we already saw in the smaller cartouche in the print of *Our Lady of Żyrowice and Saints* (Fig. 3.42): the bearded saint is vested in a *mandyas* and *omophorion* of a bishop, with an ax wedged into his head. The type of an ax shown in the print is similar to halberd and known as bardiche (Polish *berdysz,* Fig. 3.48) – a popular Eastern European version widely used by armies in that region. Below, I will further elaborate on the significance of the bardiche to the depictions of Ruthenians in the early modern prints. Josaphat's deadly wound is streaming with blood, dividing his long hair into two. The hands of Josaphat are united in prayerful gesture, and his eyes slightly raised toward heaven. Below the image is a small inscription attesting to Grandi's authorship: "Car Grandi fecit Romç," while under the whole composition is a banderole inscribed in Latin: *B. Iosaphat Martijr Archiepisc. Polocen. / Ordinis S. Basilij Magni* [Blessed Josaphat the Martyr Archbishop of Polotsk of the Order of St. Basil the Great (i.e., Basilians)].

All three images by Grandi are in constant conversation with each other: *Our Lady of Żyrowice and Saints* (Fig. 3.42) and its *Invention* (Fig. 3.44) are referring to the prototypes in Eastern Europe as well as the copy in Rome; the first engraving is further invoking the two Basilian saints – Basil and Josaphat – as well as directly indexing the more elaborate image of Josaphat placed toward the end of the book. The subject of the Early Christianity is further suggested by the themes of the Church Fathers (St. Basil) and martyrdom (St. Josaphat), the subject of Church's unity is likewise directly connected to the two. Moreover, all three images constitute in what could be considered a rare (if not altogether unique) series of prints made in Rome and constituting representations of the Ruthenian religious experience as that filled with miracles and martyrdoms and thus worthy of

Christian admiration and emulation. The prints of such outstanding quality and content are bound to expand our understanding of Rome's role in constructing Ruthenian confessional identity, add to the already studied or known corpus of Slavic representations in the West, and also help us reassess the oeuvre of a lesser-known Roman artist such as Carlo Grandi. In the latter's case, the three engravings from Kulczynski's *Il diaspro prodigioso* could be considered Grandi's most intriguing work.

Another wonderful and rather rare example of the iconography of the Madonna del Pascolo was also Roman-made: an engraving of the icon (Fig. 3.49) by Pietro Leone Bombelli (1737-1809) from his *Raccolta delle Immagini della Beatissima Vergine*.[251] It is one of the numerous Marian images compiled by Bombelli across all of Rome in one book. The image is inscribed "La Madonna del Pascolo / in Muro Alta Pal. 6, Lar. 4" – thus describing the icon's name, its initial location in the wall, and the size. Additionally, the inscriptions "Bombelli, inc." and "Roma 1793" indicate the etcher, the year, and the place of the print.

Bombelli's *Madonna del Pascolo* records the icon in SS. Sergio e Bacco already in its revetment (Fig. 3.50) and thus appearing rectangular in format, with its original oval border surrounding Madonna obscured by the said revetment. The line engraving is simply executed, without extensive details, capturing only the basic form and basic iconography of the Madonna del Pascolo in a few lines, with a very judicial use of crosshatching. The only detail of the revetment are twenty-three stars gently drawn around the image of the Virgin Mary and the Child. Strangely, the engraving of this icon covered by a revetment looks nothing like the image we know covered now by its Settecento revetment, that indeed also shows a number of stars, but is also

[251] Pietro Leone Bombelli, *Raccolata delle immagini della Bma Vergine ornate della corona d'oro dal Rmo. Capitolo di S. Pietro, con una breve ed esatta notizia di ciascuna immagine,* Vol. 4 (Roma: Nella stamperia Salomoni, 1792), image 149.

decorated with the traditional Greek monograms: ΙΣ:ΧΣ (shortened for Ἰησοῦς Χριστός [Jesus Christ]) and [M]P: [ΘE]OY (shortened for Μήτηρ Θεοῦ [Mother of God]). In the revetment, still covering Madonna del Pascolo, the body mass of the Virgin Mary and the Child are plated in gold, while the rest of the background is in silver. Also, the golden part is further ornamented with floral motifs, with the figures of the Madonna and the Child crowned with gilded crowns – the crowns were added to the image during the official crowning in 1730. None of those details are present in the engraving of Bombelli. The striking brevity of information as recorded by Bombelli in his version of Madonna del Pascolo could indicate that the image's production had no involvement of the local Basilians who would have been able to augment and consult on the image's more precise iconography – something that obviously happened in the production of the images of Madonna del Pascolo by Carlo Grandi for Kulczynski's book in 1732 – some six decades prior to Bombelli's image. In this comparison, the Grandi prints constitute the high point of iconographic complexity and specificity when it comes to the development of Ruthenian Greek Catholicism and its iconography in Rome.

The brevity of information noted above in Bombelli's print is remedied by a very detailed copper engraving by an anonymous artist from the collection of the National Museum in Cracow (MNK), Poland (Fig. 3.51).[252] The print is dated to ca. 1800, but I would suggest that the print

[252] Unknown, Wizerunek obrazu Matki Boskiej Żyrowickiej; height: 30,2 cm, width: 18,8 cm, copper engraving, ca. 1800; Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (MNK III-ryc.-40224). The way the image is catalogued in the collection suggests that the Museum scholars did not consider the image to be that of the Madonna del Pascolo, but thought it was showing the prototype in Żyrowice – an obvious oversight. Indeed, the MNK label reads: "Miejscowość Żyrowice położona jest nad rzeką Szczarą, około 20 km od Mińska, dziś na terenie Białorusi. Znajduje się tam jedno z ważniejszych sanktuariów Nowogródczyzny - nazywane Częstochową unitów - słynący łaskami wizerunek Matki Boskiej. Jest on czczony zarówno przez prawosławnych, rzymskich katolików i unitów. Według tradycji, w drugiej połowie XV wieku para pastuszków znalazła pod drzewem gruszy rozświetloną, niewielką, płaskorzeźbioną ikonę Matki Boskiej. W miejscu jej odkrycia właściciel Żyrowic, podskarbi litewski Aleksander Sołtan, kazał w 1470

definitely post-dates the crowning of the Pascolo image (1730) and most likely post-dates the publication of Kulczynski's book with Grandi's engravings (1732). The MNK image records the icon of the Madonna del Pascolo as already crowned – an event that happened in 1730, but still without a revetment that was commissioned in 1819. The icon is shown framed in the rectangular frame, with the Cyrillic inscription clearly visible on the oval. The upper banner, above the icon and the crown supported by two putti, reads in Italian: "VERA E MIRACOLOSISS.MA EFFIGIE DELLA MADONNA SS.MA DETTA DEL PASCOLO" (True and Most Miraculous Image of the Our Lady Most Holy called "del Pascolo" [of the Pasture]). Below the icon we see a small ribbon with an inscription likewise in Italian: "Spiegazione delle parole scritte in Lingua Autena (sic) intorno alla S. Imagine" (Explanation of the words written in the Ruthenian Language inside the Sacred Image), followed below by a cartouche with the said Italian translation of the Church Slavonic words of the *theotokion* of Mary. The fact that the inscription in Italian has a misspelled word "Ruthenian" (*Ruteno*), instead showing it as "Auteno," suggest that the image originated within Italian artistic circles where the word "ruteno" was rarely in use. These details further underscore the point that this chapter has focused on – the importance of Rome and the Italian

roku zbudować drewnianą cerkiew, która spłonęła w 1520 r. Wizerunek Matki Boskiej ocalał z pożaru i został umieszczony w nowym kościele, w poblizu którego zbudowano klasztor objety w w 1613 roku przez bazylianów. Ikona Matki Boskiej Żyrowickiej jest czczona również w Kościele katolickim jako cudowny wizerunek. Pielgrzymowali do niej królowie polscy: Jan Kazimierz, Jan III Sobieski, który jako wotum ofiarował jej szablę z bitwy pod Wiedniem, a także August II Mocny i Stanisław August Poniatowski. Obraz został koronowany w dniu 19 września 1739 r. przez biskupa unickiego Atanazego Szeptyckiego. Podczas trwających tydzień uroczystości odnotowano kilka cudownych uzdrowień." Author: Urszula Kozakowska Zaucha. Another image in the collection (Object number: MNK III-ryc.-40225) is dated by MNK as "between 1810-1890" with basically identical measurements (height: 32,8 cm, width: 20,5 cm; paper: height: 39,2 cm, width: 25,7 cm.). Visual examination confirms that the impression dated 1810-1890 used the same plate as the one dated ca. 1800. The initials "P.L.D." at the bottom of the print cannot be safely ascribed to anyone in particular at the moment.

artistic circles in the development of iconography of the Ruthenian Greek Catholicism and aesthetics of the Early Modern Ruthenian culture.

C. Printed or painted images of SS. Sergio e Bacco

We know of several contemporary images of SS. Sergio e Bacco that recorded its appearance in the early modern period, and by doing that, captured the architectural metamorphosis that the church had undergone in that period. This subchapter will focus on these examples. Some of the same artworks were already mentioned in the Chapter 2, but for the sole purpose of determining architectural appearance of the structures of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco and its *ospizio*. In addition to that, a brief look at the same artworks as works of art rather than contemporary records is in order.

a. Falda's images of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

The famous Roman architect, engraver, and map-maker Giovanni Battista Falda (1643-1678) treated the subject of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco at least twice in separate prints. His *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche, et edificii, in prospettiva di roma moderna, sotto il felice pontificato di n.s. papa Alessandro VII date in luce da Gio. Iacomo Rossi alla Pace 1665* captures the church as it presumably appeared in 1660s (Fig. 3.52). While the centerpiece of the view is, as the inscription says "CHIESA CONSAGRATA ALLA MADONNA DE MONTI COSÌ DETTA DAL RIONE DI QUESTO NOME ARCHITETTURA DI GIACOMO DELLA PORTA," the small numbered inscription below (no. 1), indicates the "Chiesa de Santi Sergio e Bacco." The etching shows the latter church more than half a century before the discovery of the fresco of the Madonna del Pascolo and the subsequent renovations (Fig. 3.53). It also captures the structure before the Basilians expanded in 1690s into the lot nearby to the right – shown by Falda to be walled, and with a yard with abundant vegetation visible from behind the wall. The church itself is shown still

with a small integrated belltower, standing in the back, between the buildings of the church and its *ospizio* on its left. From what we know about the chronology of renovations, this view of SS. Sergio e Bacco captures more or less the appearance of the church as it had after the remodeling and rebuilding done by the architect Fr. Valerio Poggi il Teatino seventeen years prior, according to the testament of the late Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini in 1648.

The second occasion when Falda returned to this piazza was his 1691's publication *Le fontane di Roma nelle piazze, e luoghi publici della citta: con li loro prospetti, come sono al presente,* that in the image no. 31 (Fig. 3.54) captured the view of the Piazza di Madonna dei Monti, its prominent fountain of Della Porta design, and the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco seen behind the fountain (Fig. 3.55). The only substantial difference from the 1665 image is that Falda shows the two lots on the left of the church – the walled one with the yard, and the build-up one with a building – in much more detail: now the wall of the yard has a gated opening, the buildings in the mack of the yard are present, half hidden by the vegetation, and the building to the left has more windows and structurally more elaborate (Fig. 3.56). To which extent all of these differences indicate actual changes to the built fabric of these two lots is hard to ascertain, but, in comparison, the lack of details in the earlier, 1665 print vis-à-vis the 1690 print seems intentional and could indeed be potentially used as visual evidence for an increased development of the two lots between the decades of 1660s – 1690s. Further development of the whole site was later captured in great detail by Giuseppe Vasi in his Roman itinerary book that I examine below.

b. Vasi's image of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

Giuseppe Vasi (1710 – 1782) came to prominence in 1730s, first as a printmaker working for the *Calcografia Camerale* in Rome, and then as an independent artist catering to the ever-

increasing needs of Roman *vedute* on the part of the Grand Tour visitors, eventually rising to the heights of social status as an architect, a cartographer, a member of the academies, and a member of papal nobility. Between 1747 and 1761, Vasi published a ten-volume illustrated itinerary book of Rome *Le Magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna.* The church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, under the new dedication to newly found Marian image, appears in *Libro II; Le Piazze principali con obelischi, colonne ed altri ornamenti* (1752), Day 3, as the Chiesa di Madonna del Pascolo (plate no. 39) as part of the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti (Fig. 3.57). The accompanying text retells an already familiar story of the church:

Chiesa di s. Maria del Pascolo

> Era prima dedicata questa piccola chiesa ai ss: Sergio e Bacco, ed era parrocchiale, ma ora per l'immagine della ss. Vergine ha mutato nome, e vi risiedono alcuni Preti di nazione Rutena. Il fonte, che si vede sulla piazzetta, vi fu eretto da Sisto V. per comodo di quella contrada; e la strada di fianco si dice de' serpenti, per l'immagini di quelli, che fingono di reggere un balcone.
> Quindi ripigliando il cammino per la strada della nuova suburra, si trova una piccolissima chiesa dedicata al ss. Salvatore, che fu detta anticamente alle tre immagini; ora ne ha cura la compagnia di s. Francesco di Paola, e si conserva in essa il corpo di s. Severa.

As we can see, the image shows the church now sandwiched between fully buildup lots both on its left and right. Its façade is taller, having been expanded by Francesco Ferrari in 1741, adding an additional story to its two-story front. The belltower in the back is now missing as is the garden on the left, fully subsumed by the new building in its stead. The etching captures in great detail the urban life of that corner of the piazza: a fruit or vegetable vendor has situated his produces at the corner of Via dei Serpenti, right at the south-west corner of the building of the Ruthenian *ospizio*. The same building also sports another shop, its entrance and the window opening are clearly visible, covered by an awning. Among numerous human characters populating this view of this Suburran piazza, three females are seen hidden in the shadow of the church's entrance.

The images of the church done by Falda and Vasi, respectively in Seicento and Settecento, portray the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco inseparable from new urban redevelopment schemes (as in Falda's prints) and from the lively urban life in the Roman piazza (as in Vasi). In case of the latter, Vasi reminds the reader/viewer of the fact that a miraculous image is housed in the said church and the fact that there "reside the priests of the Ruthenian nation."

D. Prints and drawings associated with the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

The Propaganda Fide Historical Archives, located in Rome, contain a wealth of information regarding Holy See's relationship and communications with Eastern Europe in the early modern period, including Uniates and Orthodox in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Much has been done in the past three decades by a handful of scholars in bringing to our attention a whole stratum of printed matter from presses in Lviv and Kyiv in the Ukraine, and Vilnius in Lithuania.[253] In this subchapter I, continuing in that direction, focus on the work of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian engraver, Master Prokopii, whose four woodblock prints are kept in the Propaganda Fide (Fig. 3.58),[254] and propose possible answers as to why Prokopii's prints are found in Rome in the second half of the seventeenth century, why specifically these prints, and why at the Propaganda Fide. The rationale of their presence in Rome is intimately tied to the content of the artworks as well as the larger historical context of papal Rome's relationship to her periphery. Rome paid close attention to the developments in Eastern Europe, especially the state of its missionary efforts and the reality of a convergence of anti-Catholic forces in Eastern Europe – the

[253] W. Deluga, "Prints from the Pochayiv Monastery," *Print Quarterly.* 21.3, 2004, pp. 266–281; and also his, "Paper Icons by Nikodem Zubrzycki," *Print Quarterly*, 23.2, 2006, pp. 182–185; O. Yurchyshyn, "Master's Ilia's Lytseva Bible," *Print Quarterly*, 15.4, 1998, pp. 389–395.
[254] APF, CP, vol. 14, fols. 105v—106r.

Russian/Ruthenian Orthodox and the Protestants. Prints from Ukraine were sent to Rome by Ruthenian Uniates as part of regular updates from the peripheries to the center.

The four woodcuts are printed on a now-folded single sheet of paper, that, due to its lower quality, underwent strong discoloration with time. The paper does not appear brittle but there is a damage to the lower and upper parts of the print – the areas that stick out slightly out of the volume of other documents with which it is bound. The four scenes are arranged in two pairs, two in the upper register and two in the lower. Each image carries below a rectangular frame that stretches across the image's length, with Church-Slavonic inscriptions. Each print is also numbered in Church-Slavonic, the two upper images – 7 and 8 respectively (left to right), and two lower ones – 15 and 16. The numbers correspond exactly with the prints as catalogued by Dmitrii Rovinsky:[255] no. 7, "И егда отверзе печать седмую…" 1646 (Fig. 3.59); no. 8, "И первый ангелъ вструби..." 1655 (Fig. 3.60); no. 15, "И дадемися трость подобная жезлу..." 1656[256] (Fig. 3.61); no. 16, "И узрятъ отъ людей..." 1656 (Fig. 3.62). All four prints were originally created in mid-seventeenth century, specifically in 1646-1656 at the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra by the hand of Master Prokopii for the book of the Apocalypse. However, in this Roman version, the prints were sent as intentionally printed on one folio-sized sheet of paper. Furthermore, there is no proof that they were printed on that support in 1650s or later. The fact, that they are found among documents from late 1660s and 1670s, indicates a strong possibility that all four were intentionally printed long after the first edition of the Apocalypse.

[255] Д. Ровинский, *Подробный словарь русских граверов XVI-XIX вв*. [D. Rovinsky, *Detailed dictionary of Russian printmakers of 16th-19th centuries*], Том II, СПб.: Тип. Имп. Акад. наук, 1895, pp. 807–808.
[256] Ibid., pp. 809–810: Rovinsky includes the print no. 15 among the other six images from Apocalypse reproduced in his *Dictionary*.

On the back of the sheet (105r), a handwritten note in Italian on the back of the sheet reads: "*Stampa dell'Apocalisse / dove la tiara Pontificia è posta / in testa alla Bestia che doppo la / predicatione apostolica deve / devorare Enoch et Elia* (Print of the Apocalypse where the Pontifical tiara is placed on the head of the Beast who, after the apostolic preaching, must devour Enoch and Elijah)" followed by the number 4, and a signature in Greek cursive that I failed to successfully transcribe, and a letter "M" (fig. Fig. 3.63).[257] It is specifically to this detail of print no. 15 (Fig. 3.46d) that the person who made an Italian inscription on the back is drawing attention of the hierarchy at the Propaganda Fide. The first half of the sentence – "Print of the Apocalypse where the Pontifical tiara is placed at the head of the Beast" – obviously points out that the Beast in the Ukrainian print is symbolic of the Papacy, while the second half (in my own interpretation, reversing the word order) – "where the apostolic preaching is shown in (persons) of Enoch and Elias" – draws attention to the "apostolic preaching" – itself also an important issue for Protestants, who contrasted it with an example of the Church of Rome (here, the Beast). Essentially, the note-maker alerts the intended receiver on the points to be aware of in the forwarded print.

In late nineteenth century, Rovinsky connected the prints to the earlier German prototypes, such as those found in biblical illustrations present in Protestant publications. Luther's Bible (Fig. 3.64), especially in its later form, did include prints of nearly all the same scenes found in Prokopii, and especially the figure of the beast wearing papal tiara. Furthermore, Rovinsky suggested that a contemporary publication – Piscator's Bible, *Theatrum Biblicum* – may have been a direct source for Prokopii instead of a century-old book. However, Stasov pointed out that the Piscator Bible came out too close to the date of Prokopii's own work, and that the similar scenes had already been

[257] Special thanks to Michail Vlasopoulos in helping in deciphering the writing and for suggesting possible transcriptions. As to the "M" it is likely that of the Apostolic Nuncio to Poland (1667-1670), Galeazzo Marescotti (1627-1726), Titular Archbishop of Corinth.

in development among Ukrainian printers.[258] Instead, Stasov proposed that sources for both Piscator and Prokopii were to be found among German and Polish Bibles that would have been in circulation in PLC and in the Ukrainian territories in particular. Stasov had especially concentrated on the image of the beast, comparing it to the beast from the Krakow Bible of 1561, which, due to its Catholic audience had a tiara changed to a simple double-crown instead of triregnum. Krakow's image of the beast is not so much a descendant of the Wittenberg Bible, but its direct copy, with the changes done to tiara being obviously last-minute removal of the already carved tiara with a chisel. What Stasov misidentified was that in all images, Prokopii's and the German and Polish prints, the beast is not wearing a stole or *orarion*, as he said, but instead lappets or *infulae* – the usual two fabric pendants attached at the rear of Latin bishop's miter and papal tiara.

These details give us a clear idea that the iconographic pedigree of Prokopii's Apocalypse was firmly grounded in anti-Catholic and anti-papal Protestant propaganda that stretched all the way to the already ubiquitous and popular images of the previous, sixteenth century. This fact brings us to the political climate in Rome in general and at the Propaganda Fide, in particular as it related to the events in Eastern Europe that directly involved Ruthenians.

Archives of the Propaganda Fide, along with the Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, also contain regular and numerous correspondences, reports, and drafts of documents sent by Ruthenians to Rome for review, approval, or simple update. Among them are rare drawings, sketches, and even maps that gave Rome a clearer picture of the situation. For

[258] В. Стасов, *Разборъ сочиненія Д. Равинскаго [Ровинскаго]: Обозрѣніе Русскаго гравированія на металлѣ и на деревѣ до 1725 года*. (Перепечатано изъ Отчета о второмъ присужденіи наградъ графа Уварова, 1858.), 1859. See O. Yurchyshyn, Op. cit., pp. 389–395, for the discussion on the influence of Piscator's Bible on Master Ilia's Lytseva Bible, related to Master Prokopii's Apocalypse.

example, this map of Vilno (or Vilnius) outlines the main Uniate possessions in the city, presenting to Rome a Uniate Church in one of the main cities of the Commonwealth as a formidable and successful force (Fig. 3.65). It belongs to a type, recently thoroughly studied by David Frick, of a "lustracija" – an illustration – a kind of institutional and social map that pays only scant attention to the actual topography of the city. Its presence in Rome is one of the examples of how Jesuit-trained Uniate clergy utilized a well-established system of regular communications between the center and periphery. These various examples, connecting Rome to East European Borderlands and further beyond into other "peripheral" areas, bring to mind the famous words of Pope Urban VIII to the Ruthenian Uniate bishop Methodij Terleckyj: "O mei Rutheni, per vos ego Orientem convertendum spero!"[259] Undoubtedly, Barberini pope saw Ruthenians as integral to the very project of global Christianity centered in Rome, and specifically instrumental in the "conversion" of the "East." An arrival of Master Prokopii's images to Rome should be considered precisely within this context – as a visual proof of the conditions on the ground in the European periphery and a reality check for the Barberini project.

3.4 REPRESENTATIONS OF RUTHENIANS AND OTHER SLAVS IN EARLY MODERN PRINTS

Earlier in this chapter we already saw examples of representation of Ruthenians in the art produced in Rome by an Italian artist employed by the Basilians: Carlo Grandi. His engravings of *Our Lady of Żyrowice* (Fig. 3.42) and *Bl. Josaphat* (Fig. 3.46) provide us with glimpses of Ruthenians as glorified new saints of the newly united Church (Josaphat) or as witnesses of

[259] 29 March 1629, Audience with Pope Urban VIII. See, *Museum: list bohoslovců česko-moravských*. Brno: Benediktínská knihtiskárna, Vol. 30, 1864, p. 55.

miracles (a group of peasants with shepherds). The latter engraving features a detail – an instrument of St. Josaphat's passion, a bardiche (Fig. 3.48), that has a continuous presence in earlier prints that depicted Slavs from the regions of Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine. Thus, a more in-depth examination of that ubiquitous attribute is required. In several paragraphs below I will analyze selected prints from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century that set the precedent for the association between bardiche and people of the PLC in the early modern Western prints and that are of singular importance to question of visual representation of Slavs in the West. Additionally, all the examples have some connection to Rome and Italy, either in the subject matter they addressed or the locations of their original publications. While it would require a separate large-scale research to comprehensively study the full extent of the representations of Slavs (and Ruthenians in particular) in Western art, several selected examples are brought together in this subchapter, examples that were contemporaneous with an increased presence of Ruthenians in Rome in the period leading up to the Union of Brest (1596) and in the wake of it, culminating in the creation of the Ruthenian national church in Rome in 1639-1641.

A. Orichovius & Orbini: representations of Slavs in Germany and Italy, 1563-1601.

Stanisław Orzechowski (1513 – 1566), a Polish-Ruthenian polemicist, preacher, theologian, and a canon in Cracow in the Kingdom of Poland, came to prominence first as a proponent of radical reforms in the Catholic Church and a strong defender of the Orthodox priestly practices, such as clerical matrimony. In regard to the latter, he set himself as an example, marrying a woman already after his own priestly ordination and for that incurring a censure. Yet, after the death of his wife, he reneged, disavowed his reform ideas and became promoting Catholicism and raising his voice against the reformers. Having written and extensively published outside of

Eastern Europe, Orzechowski also contributed to the spread of his ideas on Slavs in general and Ruthenians in particular to the wider European audiences, and popularized the very idea of dual identity as "gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus," using his first and last names augmented by additional specifications of "Ruthenus" with "Roxolanus" and "Sarmatus."

Stanisław Orzechowski's *Stanislai Orichovii Roxolani Chimaera: sive de Stancari funesta Regno Poloniae Secta*, dedicated to the Council of Trent and printed in octodecimo in Cologne in 1563 (Fig. 3.66),[260] contains an insert – a woodcut, titled "TYPVS CHRISTIANI MILITIS" (Fig. 3.67) showing a bearded man, armed with an ax and a crucifix, fighting off four predatory animals that are symbolic of various heresies that the Italian reformer Francesco Stancaro (1501 – 1577), was spreading in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth[261] at the time. The version of the woodcut examined and reproduced here is the one from the holding of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. The print is folded twice and is placed inside the book, attached in the middle. The size of the paper is 223mm x 325mm, while the size of the plate is 195mm x 305mm. The woodcut's only detailed description is from a Quaritch sale (August 1884) in London: "17245, Orechovii (Stanislai, *Roxolani*) Chimaera… *with the very rare folding woodcut, depicting Orechow as the Typus Christiani Militis cutting down ravenous wolves of heresy, vellum, 10s*…"[262] The rarity of this unattributed woodcut is further confirmed by its absence both from the Bartsch, Strauss, and Hollstein catalogues. The woodcut's specificity (made for Orzechowski's *Chimaera*)

[260] S. Orzechowski, *Stanislai Orichovii Roxolani Chimaera: sive de Stancari funesta Regno Poloniae Secta*, Coloniae: Cholinum, Typis Godefridi Ceruicorni, 1563. Coll. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany. HAB catalog mentions the book as printed in quarto. Actual size: 95mm x 155mm.

[261] Technically, Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has been in personal union since 1386 but became one state – Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – at the Union of Lublin of 1569, a few years after the publication of *Chimaera* (1563).

[262] The author is deeply thankful to Dr. Suzanne Karr Schmidt for pointing out the existence of that reference.

and its outstanding artistic quality, in my view, suggest the work of a master, someone similar to Virgil Solis (1514-1562), Jost Amman (1539-1591), Matthias Gerung (1500-1569), Tobias Stimmer (1539-1584), and Master HGW. Solis treated animal forms similarly in his woodcuts for *Aesopi Phrygis Fabvla,* while his etching of the *Various Animals Including a Fox on a Tree* comes especially close to depictions of the same animals in this unidentified woodcut. [263] Amman's *Samson Rendering the Lion* (1564) has similarities to *Bellerophon and Chimaera* in the way of his cutting the lion's forms. However, the *Bellerophon'*s landscape has a certain openness about it that is often missing from Amman's prints. Similar to *Bellerophon and Chimaera*'s balance of positive and negative, cut, space is likewise a regular feature of both Gerung's and Stimmer's woodcuts, although Gerung rarely used overlapping crosshatching seen in *Bellerophon and Chimaera.* In fact, Stimmer's handling of the landscape, leafage, and the ground approximate closely those in *Bellerophon and Chimaera,* although Stimmer's cut has less stiffness about it. None of the usual suspects that worked in Cologne during the period, such as Hanberg, Hans, Von Kempen, Sadeler, Schreiber, and Weigel, come close in their work to what we see in the Orzechowski woodcut. It would not be surprising if *Bellerophon,* after all, was indeed by Stimmer, Solis or Master HWG.A landscape woodcut attributed to Solis and Master HWG, *Christ on the Road to Emmaus*,[264] shows the same crosshatching that "spills" into the leafage – a noticeable in the *Bellerophon*.

[263] V. Solis, *Verschiedene Tiere, darunter ein Fuchs auf einem Baum*, etching, 1555-1562, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany (VSolis WB 3.140, Hollstein German, LXIV, 162, 490; O'Dell-Franke 1977, g 101).
[264] V. Solis and Master HWG, *Christus auf dem Weg nach Emmaus*, woodcut, 1545, VSolis WB 3.2 H, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany (Hollstein German, LXIII, 62, 71; Geisberg / Strauss, IV, 1268, 1317; Geisberg / Strauss, III, 871, 936-2).

The only other substantial visual component of the *Chimaera* is the printer's device of Maternus Cholinus (1528-1588),[265] who seems to have set the book, while it was printed by Gottfried Cervicornus the Younger (a. 1560-1577)[266] in Cologne (Fig. 3.68). The device is seen placed both on the frontispiece and the end page – a right hand, extended down from a heavenly cloud, holding a wreath formed by a snake biting its tail in a perfect circle and abundant grape vines wrapt around its body; the middle of circle contains a Latin inscription in capital lettering: „BENEDICES / CORONAE ANNI / BENIGNITATIS / TVAE PSAL 6" – Vulgata's Psalm 64.12: "Thou shalt bless the crown of the year of thy goodness."

A Latin poem, split between the two sides of the *Bellerophon and Chimaera*, identifies the animals with the originators of specific heresies: a fox represents Arius (i.e., Arians), a wolf – Macedonius (Semi-Arians or *Pneumatomachi*), a bear – Eutyches (Monophysites), and a boar – Nestor (Nestorians). Stancaro himself, undoubtedly, is represented by a chimera, leading the pack. Chimaera's lion head is devouring a book, its serpent head at the end of the tail is throwing flames, and its rear goat feet trample the crown, broken in half already. As Orzechowski writes in the poem at the upper right corner of the woodcut: "CHIMAERA sum Librivora / Regnirupa flammivoma…" Calling himself in the poem Bellerophon, Orzechowski states that "Me POLONIA genuit / ECCLESIA recreauit / RUSSIA dulcis aluit," placing himself in direct opposition to the spatial and geographical relationship of Stancaro's Chimaera: "AFRICA me generauit: / GRAECIA propagauit: / MANTVA in Polonos misit / Exulem: atque sui hostem." The

[265] Ibid., p. 243, and R. Juchhoff, "Cholinus, Maternus" in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie 3* (1957), S. 213 [Online-Version]; URL: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119640619.html#ndbcontent

[266] J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet,* Bd. 12, Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1982, p. 244.

last reference is specifically to the native city of Francesco Stancaro – Mantua – and his fleeing of Catholic Italy for Protestant-tolerant Poland.

The full poem, split between two "windows," juxtaposes Orzechowski and Stancaro on both sides of the woodcut, facing each other:

At ego BELLEROPHONTES
Sum, qui te hac securi peto,
Hac Tuba territo: hac cruce
Crucio, extinguo, deleo.
Vt nil dens, pes, caudaq'; obstet,
Quin te uictor sub Tartara
Mittam, hac uictrici dextera,
Cum stipatoribus tuis.
Me POLONIA genuit:
ECCLESIASTES recreauit:
RVSSIA dulcis aluit.
Pro Patria, pro Legibus,
Proq'; Religionibus,
Auitis, atq; patrijs,
Paratum uitam fundere.

CHIMAERA sum Librivora
Regnirupa flammivoma.
Quos atingo dente, pede,
Cauda, funditus extinguo.
AFRICA me generauit:
GRAECIA propagauit:
MANTVA in Polonos misit
Exulem: atque sui hostem.
Mecum est exitium uitae,
Mors legum, pestis regnorum.
Vulpes Arrius, lupusq;
Macedonius, ac ursus
Eutyches, aperq'; Nestor.
Hominum dißipo coetus:
In solitudine uiuo.
Contemno Secures, Crucet,
Fasces, sonitusq'; Tubae.

Bellerophon, holding a cross in his right hand, raises the left hand holding with a large battle ax, threatening the Chimaera and the other animals. This is the personification of a true Christian and of Orzechowski himself. The identification with Orzechowski is further confirmed by an image (Fig. 3.69) in his *Idea apocalyptica seu apocalypsis*,[267] posthumously published at Warsaw's Piarist Press in 1696[268] by Msgr. Jan Dymitr Solikowski (1539-1603). The book contains, in the frontispieces, the arms of the Orzechowski family – those of Clan Oksza (also

[267] J. D. Solikowski and P. A. Radziński, *Idea Apocalyptica Seu Apocalypsis Stanislai Orechovii: In qua Facies perturbatæ & afflictæ Reipublicæ, eiusque restaurandæ ratio Repræsentatvr.* Varsaviæ: Typis S.R.M. In Collegio Schol. Piar, 1696.
[268] First published in 1630.

known as Ascia, Bradacica, Bradaczyca, Halabarda, Hoksza, Oksa, Oxa, Kołda).[269] The type of an ax shown in the arms is similar to halberd and known as bardiche (Polish *berdysz*) – a popular Eastern European version widely used by the Polish army. An identical bardiche we see raised by the Christian Bellerophon against the heretical pack of wild animals. Thus, Orzechowski not only made a direct reference to himself in the text – invoking Poland, the Church, and Ruthenia/Russia – but was also making a not-so-subtle visual reference to himself/his family which an erudite Pole could decipher. In that sense, the bardiche of the militant Christian Bellerophon serves a function not unlike that of a saint's attribute.

We can see a similar battle ax as part of another Ruthenian in Western representation – *Eques Ruthenus* (Fig. 3.70)– an etching from Abraham de Bruyn's *Diversarum gentium armatura equestris*, also published in Cologne, just fourteen years after *Chimaera*.[270] The mounted horseman in de Bruyn is also undoubtedly a member of the szlachta, just like Orzechowski himself. So are the Polish horsemen in the etching *Habitus equestris Polonicus* (Fig. 3.71)[271] by Johann Bussemacher (c.1580 – 1613), also active in Cologne. The riders are shown both holding their battle axes, with an inscription below underscoring a certain exoticism of the presentation of the szlachta to the western audience: „Mit dem Fausthamer in der handt / Gantz lustig traben uber landt" [A war hammer in the hand, most joyfully they trot the land].[272] However, in all these examples, just like in the original woodcut for *Chimaera*, the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian nobility is represented as militant (in spiritual and political senses), if also quite exotic.

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[269] T. Gajl, *Herbarz polski od średniowiecza do XX wieku: ponad 4500 herbów szlacheckich 37 tysięcy nazwisk 55 tysięcy rodów*, Gdańsk: L&L, 2007.
[270] A de Bruyn, *Diversarum gentium armatura equestris: Ubi fere Europae, Asiae atque Africae equitandi ratio propria expressa est. Abrahamus Bruynus excude*, [Köln], [1577], Image 26.
[271] HAB, Graph. A1: 380.11. 1576-1600.
[272] Translation is author's, as in all the other cases here.

Across the Alps, the character of Slavic representation continues, and an etching (one of the two) in Fr. Mavro Orbini's famous *Il regno degli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni* from 1601, is a good example of that now almost ubiquitous type.[273] The plate, very lightly etched, shows a „Slavo dell'Illirico" – an Illyrian Slav (Fig. 3.72), as opposed to the other etching that portrays „Slavo del Mar Germanico" – a Slav of the North Sea (Fig. 3.73). The former type, likely more familiar by name Schiavoni to the Italians, was the group to which the author, Mavro Orbini (1563–1614), belonged himself, having been born in Ragusa (now Dubrovnik) on the east coast of Adriatic. Though not horse-mounted like the szlachta, with disheveled hair and a beard, Orbini's Illyrian Slav, just like our Eastern European counterpart, is armed with a battle ax. In Orbini, this merger of ancient pedigree (Illyrian) and early modern identity (Schiavoni) can be seen as identical to what was earlier already done by Orzechowski (*Roxolanus*).

In fact, in Orzechowski, the multilayered self-identity of a Catholic Ruthenian member of the szlachta, himself with ecclesiastical orders from Rome (a place of his studies at some point), is indicative also of a worldview where every association had to be traced to and backed up by authoritative (classical) sources. Within the classically-educated world of Polish and Ruthenian szlachta, their "Sarmatian" identity can be seen as a cultural equivalent to their writing practices (Neo-Latin poetry and prose), dotted with classical quotations. In other words, early modern Slavic self-identification with people from Greco-Roman history – Sarmatians, Roxolani, Scythians, Illyrians, Thracian, Macedonians, et al. – is as much as a literary trope tied directly to the Latinity

[273] M. Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni Historia nella guale si vede l'origine quasi di tutti i Popoli, che furono della Lingua Slava, con morte e varie guerre, che fecero in Europa, Asia e Africa; il progresso dell' Imperio loro, l'antico culto, ed il tempo della loro conversione al Christianesimo ; e in particolare veggonsi i successi de' Rè, che anticamente dominarono in Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosna, Servia, Russia e Bulgaria*, Pesaro: Apresso Girolamo Concordia, 1601.

so widespread among these classes of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It is not a phenomenon that has its origin in Eastern Europe, but instead, I would argue, is a phenomenon that is born of an encounter of Rome (and its educational practices) with Eastern Europe. It is further developed by its first practitioners – often members of the szlachta, who enjoyed geographical mobility of going to physical Rome, beyond the confines of their Jesuit colleges in Cracow, Vilnius, or Lviv.

Ultimately, Orzhechowski presents himself both an (arche)type of the Christian man, defending his Poland-Ruthenia against "imported" theological impurities, alien to the local man, a bearded man, his head crowned with laurel leaves, brandishing a bardiche – truly by 1563 a recognizable stereotype in German and Italian prints of an exotic yet quite familiar Slav. Yet by the year 1732 – when Kulczynski published his book in Rome illustrated with Carlo Grandi's engravings, the bardiche – still a Slavic/Polish-Ruthenian attribute – now is firmly stuck into the skull of a Ruthenian martyr, himself a victim of the *Ruteni Schismatici*. Yet the span of two centuries of a continuous and concordant representation of Slavs does not change a certain undercurrent of portraying Slavs from that region as fierce defendants of the Church and as her loyal sons, both in 1563 and in 1732 – a peculiar consistency of a stereotype.

B. Stefano della Bella and the image of the Pole/Ruthenian, 1630s.

A careful examination of hundreds of prints of Stefano della Bella at the Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe of the Museo di Capodimonte reveals the full extent of della Bella's use of the so-called "Polish" type in his etching well beyond the famous and well-studied *Entry of the Polish Embassy of Jerzy Ossolinski to Rome* (Fig. 3.74) of 1633 (which happened exactly in the middle of negotiations of the Ruthenians of the PLC with Rome over their own church in the city). Besides Della Bella's numerous etchings of the Polish military types (e.g., *Cavalryman,* Fig. 3.75),

some of his views of ports also offer us glimpses of ubiquitous presence of Slavs, in their caftans, furry hats, and facial hair (Figs. 3.76-3.78).

The Slavs pop up not only in port cities but also during philosophical and scientific discussions, such as in Stefano della Bella's frontispiece to Galileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* of 1632 (Fig. 3.79), also from Capodimonte's collection. Standing near Ptolemy and Aristotle, Nicolaus Copernicus, is looking fashionably Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian, dressed in a version of fur-lined *kontusz* or kaftan, wearing a biretta (Copernicus was ordained), and his substantial (and invented) beard – least the viewer forgets that Copernicus was as Eastern European as they came to Italy in Seicento.

C. Examples of textual and paratextual representation.

Rome paid close attention to succession of conflicts in the region: Polish–Muscovite War of 1605 – 1618, the Smolensk War of 1632 – 1634, the Cossack Uprising of 1648 – 1657, and the overlapping with it, Russo-Polish War of 1654 – 1667. Roman *avvisi* regularly printed the news from the Eastern borders of Christendom, keeping Roman public updated on the progress against the schismatics and heretics. The Italian word "ruteni" – Ruthenians or Russians – became a rather familiar word in Rome, just as the differentiation between the *ruteni uniti* and *ruteni schismatici*. Moreover, Italians started to encounter Ruthenians in larger quantities in that period. One *170icco* from 1643, Antonio Gerardi's *Relatione della presa della galera capitana di Costantinopoli* (Fig. 3.80) published in Rome by Grignani, narrates a story of the Ruthenian slaves in Ottoman captivity who had taken command on a galley carrying a hundred slaves, mostly Slavs like themselves, killed their captives, and navigated the ship via Sicily, (with a stop at Trapani to venerate its miraculous Madonna) all the way to Rome, where they had an audience with Pope Urban VIII

Barberini, stayed in the city before all venturing in their own ways. Tellingly, the title page of the *Relatione* bears the arms of the PLC (Fig. 3.81), as did many other *avvisi* that dealt with the news from that larger region. They number in dozens.

All the diverse examples gathered in this chapter are indicative of several points that I had maintained throughout the dissertation. Rome has been keenly aware of and deeply interested and invested in the developments in the Borderlands. Various Roman dicasteries, especially Propaganda Fide, prior to the Barberini papacy, but especially during it, had kept, metaphorically speaking, their hands on the pulse of East Slavs. Slavs in union with Rome, such as Ruthenian Uniates, acted not only as political and ecclesiastical agents of Rome, but also as carriers of baroque visuality to and from Rome. In that specific project they were as much consumers as producers of the new Uniate iconography. While this is hardly discernible in the spheres of painting architecture – the two being nearly completely dominated by the Roman artists and architects on the ground, albeit with good and long-term Polish-Ruthenian connections – in the sphere of printmaking we can clearly distinguish input of the Byzantine-Rite patrons. The prints of Carlo Grandi from 1730s are some of the best and curiously least-known examples of this immensely fruitful collaboration between Rome and its peripheries.

CHAPTER 4. THE PLACE: NEIGHBORHOOD & MODELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

> *Martedì sera giunsero in Roma una vintina di Moscoviti che sono stati più mesi in Venetia, e sbarcarono in Ancona per una gran tempesta di mare, mentre volevano andare alla divotione di S. Nicolò da Barri e poi a Napoli, e restano molto sodisfatti, et edificati di questo santo Pontefice, havendo comprato diversi ritratti di Sua Santità per portarli al loro paese, e lunedì verranno a vedere la Santità Sua in concistoro.*[274]
>
> Rome, 9 November 1697.

In the centuries since its founding in 1640, the Ruthenian national church in Rome has presented us with a unique example and a rare functioning model of a national church that also took on the characteristics and roles of a local parish church or an oratory simultaneously serving both the local Italian community and the Ruthenians. This context provides an opportunity to place this exceptional development within a larger context of the phenomenon of national churches in early modern Rome, with a closer focus on the neighborhood of Suburra and the larger district of Monti. This chapter, therefore, examines common models of constructing foreign communities in early modern Italy – national churches, hospices, confraternities and *scuole* – relevant to the experience of Slavs in major Italian centers. These include the Slavs in Venice at the Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone (Fig. 4.1); South Slavs (Croats/Dalmatians) in Rome and the

[274] Biblioteca Corsini. Vol. 1691, fol. 92 terg, transcribed and published in E. Shmurlo, *Recueil de documents relatifs au règne de l'empereur Pierre le Grand* (Youriev [Dorpat]: Impr. de K. Mattiesen, 1903), 314. The event entry mentions a visit from a delegation from Muscovy, led by Count Boris Petrovich Sheremetev (1652-1719), which was conducting an embassy trip to Austria, Italy, with the goal of reaching Malta and the Maltese Order in years 1697-1699: "On Tuesday evening, twenty Muscovites arrived in Rome, those that spent several months in Venice, having landed in Ancona due to a great storm at sea; while [here], they wanted to go venerate the relics of S. Nicholas of Bari and then to proceed to Naples; they remain very satisfied and edified by the saintly Pontiff, having bought several portraits of His Holiness to bring them to their country, and on Monday they will come to see His Holiness in a consistory" [my own translation].

confraternity of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni (Fig. 4.2); Poles in Rome at S. Stanislao dei Polacchi (Fig. 4.3); Greeks in Rome at the Collegio Greco and the church of S. Atanasio dei Greci (Fig. 4.4); other Non-Latin Uniate communities in Rome such as Armenians, Melkites, Maronites; as well as Slavs and Non-Latin Christians in Naples. The examination of these diverse communities shows how much their organizing structures – with those in Rome being under a direct oversight of Propaganda Fide – had contributed to fostering their ties to each other within the city and across the peninsula.

While the structure of this chapter is straightforward, its organization should not be mistaken for a similar clarity in the structure of these early modern communities or the efficiency with which such institutions functioned on the ground in these cities. As this chapter's epigraph shows, stories of Slavic peregrinations on the Apennine peninsula can be remarkably picturesque and were as different from each other as possible: from the escape of two-hundred enslaved men on an Ottoman *galera* (Fig. 4.5)[275] to the copiously staffed Muscovite embassy from the early reign of Peter the Great. The latter, in the epigraph example above, raises questions about whether these early modern encounters, situated in early modern Italian cities, allowed for engagement not only of Slavs *in passaggio* with local Italians, but also for close encounters of a different kind – of Slavs already living in Italian cities with these newcomers Slavs. In other words, did those twenty Muscovites of Sheremetev meet with any other Ruthenians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, when visiting Rome, Venice, Bari, Naples? The question, while mostly pertinent to the discipline of history, nevertheless carries great relevance to art and architectural history, and particularly urban history. The passage from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Corsini already

[275] Escape story is discussed in Chapter 3; see Figures 3.59a-b.

proves that the Sheremetev ambassadorial mission has some major repercussions to the circulation of images from early Settecento Rome to Russia.[276]

In the case of the escaped Slavic slaves, an episode recounted by Antonio Gerardi in 1643 (Fig. 4.5), we know that upon their arrival in Rome they were taken in by the Arciconfraternità dei Pellegrini (Fig. 4.6) which was located at the church of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini (Fig. 4.7).[277] Thus, we see an attempt to use pre-existing Roman charitable institutions, rather than relevant national churches, to accommodate large groups of unexpected foreign refugees arriving in the city in addition to the usual crowds of pilgrims. It was obvious that the nascent Ospizio dei Ruteni at SS. Sergio e Bacco (Fig. 4.8), would not have accommodated more than a handful of those two hundred *schiavi Christiniani Ruteni* in 1643 nor at any time thereafter. In 1564, the arrival of a large Armenian embassy likewise necessitated a similar accommodation but rather than using institutions at hand (like the Ospizio dei Pellegrini), a church with an adjacent building was set up as a temporary place for the Armenians, and led to the rededication of the church to Santa Maria Egizziaca (Fig. 4.9) as the national church for the Armenians and the building next to it as their *ospizio*.[278] Both of these examples – Ruthenian slaves and Armenian diplomats – indicate that on the ground, Roman officials and Roman institutions were flexible enough to temporarily

[276] During the embassy, Boris Sheremetev had been tasked with purchasing art for Peter the Great – numerous artworks acquired formed the bulk of the future imperial art collections. The pope's portrait, given to Sheremetev in Rome, was one of many Western artworks that came back with him to Russia.
[277] The work is further discussed at length in Chapter 3. See, A. Gerardi, *Relatione della presa della Galera Capitana di Costantinopoli sotto il commando del grande Antibassà Marioli: Con la liberatione di 207 Schiaui Christiani Ruteni del Regno di Polonia, e 70. altri Christiani di diuerse Nationi…* (Rome: Grignani, 1643). Collection Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.
[278] This development is discussed further later in this chapter.

accommodate large groups of visitors in a variety of ways: freeing up structures for temporary use, establishing new (national) institutions, or re-using the pre-existing infrastructure of the city.[279]

Likewise, this chapter takes a similar approach when outlining some of the major points within the network of contacts of Ruthenians in Rome and outside of it (in Venice and Naples), networks that connected Ruthenians to other Slavs as well as non-Slavic populations in the otherwise predominant and seemingly normative liturgically Latin urban space. This last characterization – normativity[280] – becomes increasingly suspect and comes under additional scrutiny in this chapter. The proliferation of non-Latin liturgical spaces across major Italian centers – Rome, Venice, Naples – questions the idea of Latin normativity on the Apennine peninsula. In the sections that follow, on the contrary, even prior to the "Global turn" of Rome toward the reestablishment of strong theological, liturgical, and administrative ties with Christian communities east of the Mediterranean, the Catholic Latin West had already witnessed a large degree of non-Latin and non-Western liturgical practice primarily in the Mezzogiorno, with its numerous Greek-rite monasteries, but also the famed Grottaferrata located just outside of Rome.

In this context, the very process of building the "Global" Catholicism of the Baroque period was twofold: it included not only increased diplomatic contacts with outposts of Christendom in Eastern Europe, Balkans, Eastern Mediterranean, Middle East, India, or Africa and ambitious

[279] A large number of available properties may be explained by demographic losses that the city suffered in 14th-15th centuries, and, more immediate to the period described, after the Sack of Rome of 1527. For more on demographics of Rome and Italy, see Elio Lo Cascio and Paolo Malanima, "Cycles and Stability. Italian Population before the Demographic Transition (225 B.C. – A.D. 1900)," *Rivista di Storia Economica*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (2005): 197–232.

[280] I use the term normativity in this context as means of outlining a set of expectations and norms that developed in liturgical practice on the Italian peninsula by the dominant religious institution – the Roman Catholic Church and its "normative" use of the Roman Rite – one of the several liturgical Western rites used in the peninsula: the others being Ambrosian Rite (Milan) and already disappearing by early modern period Aquileian or Patriarchal Rite (Venice).

international missionary campaigns there and in Far East and Americas; the process also included efforts in rebuilding of the non-Latin foundations that pre-dated these new cross-national efforts. The construction of national churches, in that sense, was both an affirmation of the new diplomatic mission and a confirmation that new institutions were often meant to be a continuation of the previous relationships that existed between Rome and the non-Latin communities. As such, national churches in Rome performed several functions, that included providing organizational support for diverse communities, situating them in precise locations throughout the city, and tying them to the histories of specific places, factual or/and perceived.

One of the main characteristics that also unites Ruthenian *natio* to those of the communities mentioned in this chapter – Albanians, Armenians, Croats, Greeks, Melkites, and Maronites – is that SS. Sergio e Bacco belonged to a specific set of national churches that served communities associated with belonging to the ever-growing list of those of the *Antemurale Christianitatis* – the Bulwark of Christendom.

The same communities (with the exception of Croats/Schiavoni)[281] were also grouped together by the policies and governance agencies within the Holy See itself. The "Protector ac curator nationum Orientalium" oversaw affairs pertaining to all "Oriental" Churches. Situated at the center of the cross-national networks in Rome the Protector was the single bureaucrat who would harmonize policies toward communities and Churches that were often radically different from each other. This centralization underscores the greater unity in vision, methods, and scope, for better or worse, affecting both smaller institutions such as the Ruthenians as well as the greater global strategies of Early Modern Catholicism.

[281] While the Schiavoni had not been included in the oversight of Propaganda Fide, they provided numerous officials for this congregation.

One such protector, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio (Santoro or Santori, 1532-1602, Fig. 4.10) had played a crucial role in establishing and maintaining all of the communities discussed in this chapter. In 1966, John Krajcar had perfectly summarized the pivotal role of Cardinal Santori, also known as Cardinal Santa Severina:

> He was Grand Inquisitor, Major Penitentiary, member of the Commission for Bishops and Religious. Much of his time was devoted to the Christian East. On June 10, 1573, at his insistence 'Congregatio pro reformation Graecorum in Italia existentium et Monachorum Ordinis S. Basilii' was formed and his was the word which swayed the other members. He became the protector of almost all Oriental churches and overseas missions in the Near East and India. All the matters of the Levant, all matters concerning Venetian possesions and the Balkans were under his control, or at least were included in his sphere of interest. He gave great attention to Oriental colleges in Rome. Under his special care was the Greek college, so much so that without reference to the *Audientiae Sanctorii* the history of the latter cannot be written.[282]

From 1599, Santorio was also the first prefect of the newly erected *Congregatio super negotiis Sanctae Fidei et Religionis Catholicae*, which eventually became the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Prior to that he was named one of the five protectors of the new Collegio Greco and its first rector, while, the following year (1577) he also became the rector of the new Collegio dei Neofiti (which relocated to a site across from SS. Sergio e Bacco later under Pope Urban VIII).[283] Santorio's immediate knowledge and expertise in all things "oriental" and Byzantine also reflected his scrupulous administration of his own first diocese, Santa Severina in Calabria, which boasted

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[282] Giulio Antonio Santori and John Krajcar. *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Consistorial Acts* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1966), 6. Krajcar had compiled his own transcription of *Audientiae Sanctorii* as well as previous work done by scholars such as Fr. Cyril Korolevskij (who published his portions of Santorio in *Studion,* 1928-1931 [Supplement]).

[283] In 1637, funded by Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini, Urban VIII's brother, the Collegio dei Neofiti moved to its location by the church of the Madonna ai Monti. The same Cardinal left provisions in his will for the Monaci Ruteni's church of SS. Sergio e Bacco to be renovated according to the designs of Padre Valerio Teatino. See Chapter 2 for further discussion on the matter.

a sizable Byzantine-Rite monastic, priestly, and lay communities.[284] Santorio's deep understanding (or profound misunderstanding, depending on one's perspective) of the needs and concerns of his own diocese had undoubtedly influenced his greater overall policy both toward the Greek-Rite communities in the Italian peninsula (like Basilians), and the Oriental Churches in the Mediterranean and beyond. Santorio's *Audientiae* is indispensable in the study of Roman non-Latin communities as it deals with many of the Oriental Churches, from Armenians and Ethiopians to Ruthenians and Maronites. The example of just this one Roman prelate shows that, structurally, the study of diverse minorities in Italy in general and in Rome in particular is twofold because it involves examining overlapping networks of specific individuals superimposed upon larger, eventually cross-national, networks of spaces, places, localities, and destinations populated with ever larger groups of people.

4.1 MODELS OF CONSTRUCTING FOREIGN COMMUNITIES IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

> *For the most part, next to each of our churches, even attached to them, were one or more* scuole *of devotion, which invaded the free area that surrounded the ancient church – a curious appendage, as if the vastness of the temple would not be sufficient for the prayers and pious works of the good faithful.*[285]

[284] Cardinal Santorio occupies a unique position within Catholic Church's apostolic succession, as he is the second oldest recorded link within the chain of consecrated bishops in all of the modern Catholic Church, with majority of contemporary popes and bishops tracing their succession to him and to his consecrator, The Grand Inquisitor Cardinal Scipione Rebiba (1504-1577), titular Patriarch of Constantinople. Santorio was consecrated by Cardinal Rebiba on 12 March 1566, with the assistance of two Calabrian bishops, Annibale Caracciolo of Isola and Giacomo de Giacomelli of Belcastro.

[285] "Per lo più accanto alle nostre chiese, anzi ad esse addossate stanno una ò più Scuole di devozione, le quali invasero l'area liberam che la chiesa vetusta circondava; curiosa appendice, come se la vastità del tempio non fosse dessa sufficiente alle preghiera ed alle pie practice dei buoni fideli." Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, God. Ital. VII 2398 (=10527), cited in Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, Conn: Yale

Francesco Scipione Fapanni, *Memorie d'arte, religione e di beneficenza*, p. xvii.

There were several models deployed in the construction of foreign communities in early modern Italian cities. Two of the most recognizable ones that have drawn a considerable amount of attention and scholarship recently were the Jewish ghetto and national confraternities often tied to national churches. In both cases, the compact settlements within a specific part of town were either enforced, as in the case of a ghetto, or simply encouraged. The latter pattern of settlement was also directly related to a set of trades common among a particular *natio*.[286]

The national confraternity/church model had been thoroughly embraced by the Slavic communities in Rome, Venice, and Loreto, among others. South Slavs had major confraternities in these three cities; in all three cases there was a hospice (*ospizio*) attached to the confraternity:

- Congregazione di S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, attached to the Chiesa di S. Girolamo in Rome (Fig. 4.2).
- Scuola dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, in Venice (Fig. 4.1).
- Confraternità degli Schiavoni in Loreto.[287]

It appears that while the Polish nation did have their own national church – Santo Stanislao dei Polacchi (Fig. 4.3) they did not, like the Schiavoni, have their own confraternity and made do with their *ospizio*. The Ruthenians tried to adopt that model by creating a national church and

University Press, 1994), p. 20 (her English translation, used above) and p. 244, note 48 (Italian original, shown here at length).

[286] For instance, many of the Bergamaschi were involved in armor production, and settled along via Giulia in Rome, where many of the workshops for armor were located.

[287] See Francesca Coltinari, "Loreto as an Illyrian Shrine: The Artistic Heritage of the Illyrian Confraternities and College in Loreto and Recanati," in *Confraternitas*, 27, no. 1-2 (Spring/Fall 2016): 46-61.

setting up the Ospizio dei Ruteni adjacent to it. From time to time, the conversation among the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide and the Ruthenian Church officials had returned to the subject of establishing not just an *ospizio*, but a college [collegium], the *Collegio dei Ruteni*, and, to be precise, some documents in the mid-1600s and the early 1700s continuously refer to the Ospizio as a *collegio*. However, that plan was only truly realized to the extent that the Ruthenian seminarians of the pontifical colleges were obliged to reside together as a community at the *Ospizio/Collegio dei Ruteni*. Considering that their numbers rarely exceeded a dozen the "community" of the Ruthenians residing at SS. Sergio e Bacco had never reached the levels necessary to adopt other models of communal organizations.

The model adopted by the Schiavoni in Rome and in Venice required first and foremost a greater participation (and presence) of the laity that also had to continuously stay in the city within certain numbers. By comparison, the totality of the Ruthenians in Rome was composed of either ecclesiastics or those studying to be one, who had no reasons to organize themselves into a parallel lay structure. Moreover, the fact that they worshipped under the Byzantine Rite placed additional restrictions on the lay membership in what would have been an already small confraternity. Lay sponsorship of SS. Sergio e Bacco in the eighteenth and nineteenth century consisted mostly of the occasional donations of goods, funds, and items from Polish-Ruthenian nobles in transit in in Rome. Aside from these noble travelers, SS. Sergio e Bacco's regular residents consisted solely of seminarians and priests assigned to live there. It wasn't until the nineteenth century that we hear about permission to allow women (of good repute) to stay temporarily in the *ospizio,* with protracted explanations about how their presence within the same structure as the priests would or would not be a source of scandal to the faithful.

4.2 SLAVS IN VENICE: SCUOLA DALMATA & OTHER NATIONAL SCUOLE

While Venice's connection to both the Byzantine rite and Slavs went back centuries, Slavic communal and devotional spaces in the city offer us a glimpse at the community's diversity in the Serenissima.[288] Unlike Rome (with Byzantine-Rite Basilians at SS. Sergio e Bacco), there was no concrete space that united the Byzantine Rite with the Slavic community. Instead, the space dedicated to the Byzantine Rite Slavs co-exist separately: one served the Roman-Rite South Slavic community of the Scuola Dalmata di Santi Giorgio e Trifone (Fig. 4.1) – a confraternity of Croats and Dalmatians; the other space being San Giorgio dei Greci (Fig. 4.11) – the church and *scuola* of the Greeks in Venice (Fig. 4.12). The two institutions – the Scuola Dalmata and the Greek S. Giorgio – serve as perfect examples of how devotional spaces were constructed for either Slavic or Byzantine-Rite communities in one of the most important early modern Italian cities. These institutions, their establishment and functions, also serve as indicators that, in the case of early modern Venice, ethnic origin and ethno-cultural unity served as primary basis for the formations of communal associations in that city. Such arrangement would leave Byzantine-Rite Slavs, such as Ruthenians or Serbs (*Serviani*), in a transitional state – being somewhat connected to one group linguistically and culturally (Schiavoni) yet connected to the other liturgically (Greeks).

[288] For instance, Padua and its university was one of the main places of a sizable Slavic presence in the Venetian *terra ferma,* as it was a destination for many of the students from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, some of them becoming earliest Slavic humanists of the Renaissance period, such as Belarusian printmaker, printer, and publisher, František Skaryna (1470-1551).

A. Scuola di Santa Maria degli Albanesi

The establishment of an Albanian confraternity in Venice predates those of the Schiavoni and the Greek *scuole* chronologically and thus will be briefly examined first. The Scuola di Santa Maria degli Albanesi was founded in 1442 (Fig. 4.13), less than a decade prior to the founding of the Scuola Dalmata (1451). All three ethnic groups – Albanians, South Slavs, and Greeks – had been on the receiving end of the Ottoman Empire's expansions, which provided a steady stream of refugees to the Venetian territories, who, with their prior maritime experience, filled the ranks of the city's commercial and military fleets. In 1447, the Albanian *scuola* moved from the church of San Severo[289] in the *sestiere* of Castello to San Maurizio in the *sestiere* of San Marco.[290]

A prominent Venetian painter, Vittore Carpaccio (c. 1465 – 1525/1526) was commissioned to create a cycle of paintings depicting six scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* (Fig. 4.14) for the Albanian *scuola*, which he executed between 1504-1508 – two years after he agreed to execute a commission for the pictorial cycle for another *scuola nazionale* (Fig. 4.15) – that of the Schiavoni (1502-1507).[291] The two cycles, though of differing artistic quality (the Albanian cycle suggests a larger involvement of Carpaccio's studio), are indicative of Carpaccio's attention to the theme of the Orient as markers of non-Western identities for both of his clients.[292]

Questions remain, though, to what extent the Albanian population in Venice practiced, if at all, Eastern liturgical rites, as they likely did in Rome and in the Mezzogiorno (as members of

[289] The church of San Severo was already a site mentioned for the previous short-lived Scuola di San Gallo, formed possibly by the Albanian immigrants in Venice all the way in the years 1368-1369.
[290] Located at Calle del Piovan, 2762, *sestiere* di San Marco, adjacent to the former church of San Maurizio (fully rebuilt in the Neoclassical style in the nineteenth century), west of the exit from the Campo San Maurizio via the street now known as Callo dello Spezier.
[291] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1994), 71-72.
[292] *Ibid.*, 69.

Italo-Albanian Church in union with Rome, using the Greek rite). If not, had the Albanians in late medieval and early modern Venice belonged to the Latin-Rite minority in Albania? The last question can be answered partially by my suggestion that the membership in the Scuola di Santa Maria degli Albanesi was, eventually, exclusive to the Latin-Rite Albanians. Since 1567, the membership of the Scuola was opened up to the "italiani d'ogni natione" and the major positions of the Scuola had begun alternating between an Albanian and an Italian.[293] This suggests that within a century of its founding, the Albanian *scuola* had experienced a thorough Italianization, and, therefore, likely a thorough Latinization, whether or not it had any non-Western liturgical character in the first place. In that, the trajectory of Santa Maria degli Albanesi's history is somewhat similar to the rather thorough and rapid process of Latinization we witness at the SS. Sergio e Bacco dei Ruteni in Rome.

B. Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone

The Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone, also known as Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Fig. 4.1), was founded on 24 March 1451 by some two hundred Dalmatian expats in Venice's *sestiere* of Castello.[294] A two-story building with two large halls – both of mixed liturgical/spiritual and communal uses – (Fig. 4.16, 4.17) was soon constructed according to the designs of Giovanni de Zan, and very much inspired by Jacopo Sansovino's style.[295] The structure is still home to the cycle of nine wall canvases painted in 1502-1507 by Vittore Carpaccio that

[293] Gastone Vio, *Le scuole piccole nella Venezia dei dogi: note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Costabissara (Vicenza): A. Colla, 2004), 304.
[294] *Ibid*., 69.
[295] The site was occupied by the hospital of S. Catherine, which the Dalmatians purchased and rebuilt.

depict scenes from the lives of the patron saints of the *scuola*: Jerome, George, and Tryphon.[296] All other artworks, sculptural work, and architecture – paintings by Pietro di Salò, Jacopo Palma il Giovane, decorations by Bastian de Muran, etc. – are all work of the local Venetian artists, mostly of Cinquecento. I would argue that this modus operandi – employing local, Italian artists for Slavic communities' commissions – is akin to what we see later in Rome in mid Seicento: a sacred space constructed *for* the foreigners *by* the local artists/architects. This voluntary absence on the part of Slavs furthermore exemplifies a conscious strategy and methodology (via artistic means) of integration into the local communities, local cultural networks, as well as local power structures.

As Fortini Brown notes, in addition to the five major *Scuole Grande*, more than two hundred devotional, charitable, trade or ethnic (national) organizations, known as *scuole piccole* existed in Venice by the year 1500.[297] Francesco Scipione Fapanni's quote, used as the epigraph for this subchapter, accurately describes the architectural arrangement of a national church and a hospice or *scuola* attached to it, though that specific formula was not exactly applicable to the Scuola Dalmata, with its sacred and communal spaces having been overlapped within one structure (Fig. 4.18). Fapanni's description, instead, is thoroughly applicable to the Greek community in

[296] The well-known *St. Augustine in His Study* depicts a vision experienced by Augustine of St. Jerome, thus making it a part of St. Jerome's *vita*. The painting *Vocation of St. Matthew* is connected to the Scuola possessing the relics of St. Matthew the Evangelist since 1502.
[297] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1994), 19. Altogether, there existed nine Scuole Grande: Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità (founded in 1260, elevated to the *Grande* status in 1344), Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista (founded in 1261), Scuola vecchia della Misericordia (founded in 1308), Scuola Grande di San Marco (founded 1261), Scuola Grande di San Rocco (founded in 1478, elevated in 1489), Scuola Grande di San Teodoro (founded in 1258, elevated in 1552), Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Giustizia e di San Girolamo, nota come Scuola Grande di San Fantin o dei Picai (founded possibly in 14th c, elevated in 1687), Scuola Grande della Beata Vergine del Santissimo Rosario (founded in 1575, elevated in 1765), Scuola Grande dei Carmini (founded in 1594, elevated in 1767).

Venice, with the large church of San Giorgio, a massive campanile, and the adjacent Scuola dei Greci (Fig. 4.11, 4.12).

C. San Giorgio dei Greci & Scuola di San Nicolo dei Greci

While the Greek community is not the prime focus of this dissertation or the chapter in general, some points need to be made about the Greeks of the Serenissima. The *Scuola e Nazione greca* was established on 28 November 1494, roughly four decades after the establishment of the Scuola Dalmata. That, however, was only one of the events in the long life of Greek community that has been recorded in this area at least since the thirteenth century, an area that was, after all, a part of the Exarchate of Ravenna (AD584-751), administered by Byzantium. By the time of the establishment of the Scuola Greca, there had already been a well-populated Greek Quarter in the city since 1456 in the Castello. In 1539, the community received the permission to build their own church, the future San Giorgio, and a building for the newly instituted Scuola di San Nicolo dei Greci. The church was designed by the local Venetian architect Sante Lombardo (1504-1560), the son of Tullio Lombardo and a nephew to Antonio and Pietro. Since 1561, the construction continued under the direction of another local architect, Giannantonio Ciona. San Giorgio was finally consecrated in 1561. In 1587-1603, a campanile was built by Bernardo Ongarin according to plans of Simeone Sorella (1587-92), with a belfry finished by 1617, likely designed by Francesco Contin – all Venetian architects. Yet another local, Baldassare Longhena (1596/1597 – 1682), was involved in the interior projects for the church (e.g., monument to Gabriele Seviros[298] of 1619). Later, in 1664, a larger educational institution – Collegio Flanginiano / Flanginian School

[298] Archbishop Gabriele Seviros of Philadelphia, the titular see that oversaw Venice within the administrative divisions of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

– was added to the ensemble of the Greek communal structures in the Campo dei Greci, likewise designed by Longhena.[299]

This overwhelming reliance on the local architects not only firmly connects Venetian Greek community with Albanian and Schiavoni confraternities in that city, but also with Ruthenian, Greek, Polish and other examples of the national churches in Rome. However, what makes S. Giorgio dei Greci strikingly different from both Albanian and Dalmatian *scuole* is the fact that rather than employing local painters for interior decorations (such as Carpaccio), the Greek community relied exclusively on the talents from the Greek territories in the possession of the Venetian *Stato da Màr*, such as Crete. For instance, some frescoes were painted Emmanuel Tzanes, also known as Buniales (1610 – 1690), while the pictorial program of the monumental iconostasis (Fig. 4.19) had been the work of a number of artists, including Tommaso Bathas, Benedetto Emporios, Michael Damaskinos (1530/31 – 1592/93), and Ioannis Kyprios – all representative of a style of (icon) painting that is now known as the Cretan School. That distinction makes S. Giorgio's interior vastly different from all the sacred spaces thus far discussed in this dissertation: it is pronouncedly non-local and unequivocally "Greek," not seeking any integration into contemporaneous locally dominant styles preferred on the Apennine peninsula in general and in Venice in particular during Cinquecento and Seicento. Obviously, S. Giorgio exhibits strong parallels with the Byzantine interior of S. Marco (Fig. 4.20), but it has none of the recognizable qualities of Cinquecento-Seicento style of the exteriors and interiors of the *scuole* of the Albanians or the Schiavoni, nor the Late Roman Baroque ubiquity of the interiors of the Ruthenian SS. Sergio e Bacco and the Polish S. Stanislao in Rome. Thus, while all the Venetian ethnic *scuole*, be they

[299] Collegio Flanginiano functioned until 1905. Now, the building is the home to the Hellenic Institute of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies (since 1959).

Scuola Dalmata or building on the Campo dei Greci, appeared exteriorly Venetian, only the Greek S. Giorgio looked markedly non-Latin, forcefully referencing overseas prototypes, yet only on the inside.

D. Ruthenians in Venice: Between *Schiavoni*, *Serviani, Albanesi* & *Greci*

In the early 1980s, Emanuela Sgambati had successfully examined the deep involvement of the Ruthenian ecclesiastical circles of the early Uniate Church during the Seicento in the production of Glagolitic books, intended for the Roman-rite Slavs in the Adriatic and of Cyrillic liturgical books, intended for the Orthodox and Uniates in the Balkans and the Adriatic.[300]

The documents pertaining to the Greek matters at the Archivio del Patriarcato di Venezia, mention involvement of the Ruthenians from the PLC in matters pertaining to the relations between the Venetian ecclesiastical authorities and the Slavic population in the Venetian-controlled territories.[301] For instance, a report from 1700s records (Fig. 4.21):

> […] Having secured my zeal of the things set forth with depositions of the oldest and most accredited subjects of this Province, I further came upon major evidence in a form of the authentic copy of the testimony taken in the Castel Nuovo Chancellery on January 30th by a certain Priest, Giuseppe Stramezchi of Poland, a Ruthenian of the Greek rite, in union with the Holy Roman Church. As Your Holy Excellency will see from the copy that he presented though written in the imperfect Latin language in use by the Poles, he [Stramezchi] shows, in part with the commitment of the oath, much of the perfidy of the Serbian Clergy in their rebaptizing the Latins, in their blaspheming the Sacrament, in hating the Churches and their Sacrosanct functions, also showing that while [Monsignor] Savatije

[300] Emanuela Sgambati, *Udio Rusina u izdavanju hrvatskih glagoljskih knjiga u 17. stoljeću* (Old Church Slavonic Institute, 1983) and the Italian version, Emanuela Sgambati, "Il ruolo dei Ruteni nelle edizioni seicentesche dei libri liturgici glagolitico-croati" in Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti, eds. *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi slavi del sud* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1983).
[301] See Nikodim, Bishop of Dalmatia and Istria, *Documenta spectantia historiam orthodoxae doceseos Dalmatiae et Istriae* / *Spisi O Istoriji Pravoslavne Crkve U Dalmatinsko-Istrijskom Vladičanstvu: Od XV Do XIX Vijeka* (Zadar: Tipografija S. Artale, 1899).

was the Head of the same Clergy, he had also named as a Priest certain Steffano of Dolpa (?) who comes to be the postulant, despite being partial to the errors of his rite.[302]

Stramecki's testimony thus suggests a liturgical (and therefore theological) corruption of Msgr. Savatije,[303] the Orthodox Bishop in Castelnuovo in Albania Veneta, who was willing to close his eyes on candidates to the priesthood within the Orthodox Church who were still attached to the "errors," such as continuously complained about re-baptism of the Venetian citizens of the Roman Rite who married their Orthodox spouses in the Orthodox churches. Stramecki's testimony further suggest a decay in the morals of the Greek-rite clergy among the *Serviani* (Serbians or Slavs of the Greek Rite), prone to abandonment of their priestly duties and resultant blaspheming of the Holy Sacraments.[304]

This example of complaints from Dalmatian-Albanian coastal periphery sent back to Venice suggests an atmosphere of suspicion and bitterness between the Roman-rite Catholicism and the Greek-rite Serbian Orthodoxy. It also suggests that the Ruthenian Greek-rite clergy's involvement in the missionary activity to the Orthodox Serbs and in other ecclesiastical affairs of

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[302] APV, *Scritture antiche e recenti della Chiesa dei Greci*, dossier no. 17, "Raccolta di documenti diversi in materia di greci" (marked "Processo P"), fol. 3r.: "Assicurato il mio zelo dalle cose premesse con deposizioni de' più vecchi ed accreditati soggetti di questa Provincia mi è caduto pur in prova maggiore sotto l'occhio la copia autentica di costituto presa nella Cancelleria di Castel Nuovo il di 30 Gennaio da un tal Sacerdote Giuseppe Stramezchi di Polonia Ruteno di rito Greco, unito alla Santa Chiesa Romana. Egli, come scorgeranno St. EE. VV. dalla copia che le rappresento in lingua latina ma scorretta, e ad uso de' Polacchi, manifesta coll'impegno del giuramento in parte la perfidia del Clero Serviano tanto nel ribattezzare i latini, quanto nel bestemmiare il Sacramento, nell'odiare le Chiese, e le sue Sacrosante funzioni, e mostrando che un tal Savatia fosse il Capo del Clero medesimo, nomina anche il Prete Steffano di Dolpa (?) che viene ad essere il Supplicante però come parziale agli errori del suo rito" (24 July 1721).

[303] Savatije Ljubibratić (Саватије Љубибратић, c. 1660-1716), Metropolitan of Zahumlje (1693-1716), and all of Dalmatia (1705-1716). The passage's "Steffano" is likely Savatije's brother Stevan Ljubibratić (1661-1737) who succeeded him as the head of the Orthodox Church in Dalmatia.

[304] Nikodim, *Documenta spectantia,*

the region continued well into 1700s. Having "inserted" themselves into Venetian-Slavic relations, Ruthenians remained integral to the project of the ecclesiastical union not only in the Polish Borderlands, but even in the Balkans and the Adriatic coast.[305] In that, the role they played in the South Slavic region was similar to the role Schiavoni/Croats played within the larger missionary activities of Propaganda Fide.[306] This leads us to examine closer the relationship of the Schiavoni and Ruthenians in Rome.

4.3 SOUTH SLAVS IN ROME: S. GIROLAMO DEGLI SCHIAVONI

The urban experience of the Southern Slavs in Rome could be considered as one of the pioneering examples of establishing viable and thriving foreign communities in an Italian city. It should also be considered a natural extension of the Schiavoni's own community in Venice – the city that was one of the centers of Adriatic Slavic cultural life as well as the administrative center of the Venetian Mediterranean empire to which Schiavoni belonged since the Middle Ages. That aspect of belonging cannot be discounted as it made Schiavoni singularly unique among the Slavs

[305] It is important to point out that, obviously, by early 1700s, Polish-Lithuanian Borderlands ceased to be an active territory of contention for the Union, as they came under undisputed control of the pro-Russian Cossack state and/or the rapidly expanding Russian Empire under the tsar and then emperor Peter I the Great (ruled jointly 1682-96, then singly 1696-1725). Thus, by early 1700s, Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church had faced a growing opposition and persecution from Russian authorities. The presence of Ruthenian Uniate priests in the Venetian-controlled Adriatic was an opportunity to continue missionary work under the powerful aegis of the Venetian Republic, sympathetic to the Uniate project.

[306] See discussion below, including the role of Fr. Ivan Paštrić. Also, see the life and work of a Ruthenian bishop, Methodius Terleckyj or Metodije Terlecki (died 1649), the main supervisor for publication of the Slavic language liturgical books of Propaganda Fide, who was also sent by Pope to Orthodox Serbs in Croatia and Slavonia in the efforts to bring about an ecclesiastical union with them, akin to the Union of Brest between Ruthenians themselves and Rome. This work was conducted in the period of 1628-1644. Sophia Senyk. *Methodius Terlec'kyj — bishop of Xolm*. *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, Sectio II. Vol. XII (Romae, 1985), 342-373.

in the Eternal City. They were not nationals of a faraway peripheral land, nor those of a non-Italian state (e.g., France or England), but instead were subjects of one of the most important Italian states – Venice. Yet, they maintained a separate organization as members of a separate *natio*, identical to how they were separated within the structure of Venetian governance as well.

The community's activities were centered around their national church that was created, along with a confraternity and a hospital, in 1457 by Pope Nicholas V Parentucelli as the *Congregazione di San Girolamo degli Schiavoni* (Fig. 4.22). A small church by the Tiber port of Ripetta, Santa Maria de Posterula, became Schiavoni's national church, renamed after Dalmatia-born St. Jerome.[307] Under Pope Sixtus V Peretti (Fig. 4.23) – who had direct familial ties to the Schiavoni – the church of S. Girolamo was completely rebuilt in 1588-1589, according to designs of Martino Longhi the Elder, who was likewise involved in the designs of the façade for the Greek national church – Sant'Atanasio dei Greci (Fig. 4.4).[308]

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[307] More on this church's history can be found in Titi, Armellini, and Hülsen. F. Titi, *Descrizione delle Pitture, Sculture e Architetture esposte in Roma* (Roma 1763), 396–397: "s. Girolamo degli Schiavoni. Alla nazione Dalmatina, o Illirica donò Niccolò V questa chiesa; e Sisto V del 1588 la rifabbricò in miglior forma col disegno di Martino Lunghi il vecchio, e di Giovanni Fontana. Il quadro del primo altare a mano destra, dedicato a Maria Vergine, fu dipinto da Giuseppe del Bastaro. L' ornato della seconda cappella è disegno di Pietro Bracci. La tavola dell' altare nella terza cappella, dove sono effigiati i santi Metodio, e Cirillo, è di Benigno Vang. Nel muro dell' altar maggiore è rappresentata la vita di s. Girolamo, opera d' Antonio Viviano, e d' Andrea d' Ancona: nella volta è s. Girolamo, creduto di Paris Nogari: il s. Matteo, in uno de' triangoli del catino, è di mano del cav. Guidotti; gli altri, di diversi, vi lavorò anche Avanzino Nucci. Nell' altare della prima cappella contigua dall' altro lato il medesimo Giuseppe del Bastaro dipinse un s. Girolamo; e in quella, che segue, rappresentò nostro Signore morto, ed altre figure: le pitture nella volta sono d' Andrea d' Ancona. Il quadro dell' ultima cappella è di Michelangelo Cerruti. In faccia a questa chiesa, d' ordine della s. m. di Papa Clemente XI nell' anno 1704 fu fatto costruire per comodo universale su la ripa del fiume un agevole ricovero alle barche, che ivi giungono, facendovi formare diversi gradini, ed altro ad uso di cordonata, acciocchè si rendesse più facile il salire, e il discendere. Fu fatto il tutto con disegno d' Alessandro Specchi, allievo del cav. Carlo Fontana."

[308] See more on the Greek church in Rome later in this chapter. Also see, Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Roma, 1891), 339; Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle Pitture,*

Sources on S. Girolamo degli Schaivoni had been well documented earlier by the historians of Roman churches: in Filippo Titi in Settecento, Armellini in Ottocento,[309] and Hülsen in Novecento.[310] In recent years, the church of the Schiavoni had become the focus of Jasenka

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Sculture e Architetture esposte in Roma (Roma: Marco Pagliarini, 1763), 381; Eleuterio F. Fortino, *S. Atanasio: la liturgia greca a Roma* (Roma: Chiesa di S. Atanasio, 1970), 14.

[309] Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Roma, 1891), 328–329: "S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni Sorge presso la via di Ripetta, dirimpetto al nuovo ponte sul Tevere che mena ai Prati di Castello. La contrada ove si innalza la chiesa dicevasi nel secolo XVI la Schiavonia. Nel secolo XIV giunsero la prima volta fra noi molti profughi dalle contrade dell' Illiria e Schiavonia, infestate dai Turchi, pei quali nel 1450 circa fu eretto un ospizio presso un' antica chiesuola detta di s. Marina vicino al Tevere, tenuta da un eremita, il p329 quale, essendo dalmata di origine, aveva di già introdotto in essa il culto di s. Girolamo, il santo connazionale. Niccolò V lo donò perciò agli Illirici, Dalmati e Slavi nel 1453 come ospedale: nel 1475 Fantino di Valle da Traù lasciò un legato acciochè fosse in più ampia forma fabbricato l' ospedale che avea l' apparenza di un' angusta casupola. Ivi si ricevevano i pellegrini nazionali che si fornivano di cibo e vi si ospitavano. In una bolla di Niccolò V in data 21 aprile 1453 si trova la storia dell' origine di questa chiesa. Da questo documento ricavasi, che Girolamo de' Potonia ed altri poveri eremiti dimoranti in Roma e di nazionalità slava, chiesero al papa la facoltà di costruire ed edificare un ospedale sotto l' invocazione di s. Girolamo in Ecclesia diruta et discooperta s. Marine de Campo Martio, la qual chiesa era posto sotto la giurisdizione del titolare di s. Lorenzo in Lucina. Il papa annuì alla domanda e concesse ai supplicanti la predetta chiesa, le cui rendite non eccedevano due fiorini d' oro di camera. Oltre l' ospizio degli uomini vi era anche vicino al medesimo una casa d' asilo per le donne povere di quella nazione. Nel libro dei decreti della congregazione di Santo Hieronimo di Sciavoni di Roma in data 17 maggio 1570 si legge: fu anche decretato che per esser la casa assignata ad uso delle povere donne della natione nostra posta in via detta Schiavonia, dove al presente è deputato il serraglio per habitatione delle pubblice meretrici, che non essendo conveniente che le dette donne honeste Schiavone habitino in luocho dishonesto. Quel luogo che dai medesimi fu ampliato, essendo fatiscente, fu di nuovo riedificato nel 1588 da Sisto V. Nel 1541 gli statuti della compagnia dell' ospedale di s. Girolamo furono riformati dal celebre cardinal Pietro Bembo. S. Pio V innalzò a titolo cardinalizio questa chiesa, e primo titolare ne fu monsignor illustrissimo cardinale Santacroce romano. L' annua entrata di 368 scudi, della mensa capitolare della chiesa suddetta, doveva dividersi fra 11 persone, cioè: un arciprete, sei canonici, e quattro beneficiati. La detta collegiata fu eretta da Sisto V, sotto il patronato dei signori Peretti, la quale stabilì però l' obbligo di residenza pei detti prebendati. La chiesa è ad una sola nave. Una delle sue cappelle è dedicata ai ss. slavi Metodio e Cirillo. L' altare maggiore ha sotto la mensa un' urna di verde antico. Da pochi anni è stata splendidamente restaurata."

[310] Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Firenze, 1927), 380–381: "M106. S. MARINAE DE POSTERULA, Chiesa ricordata già nel sec. XI in documenti dei vescovadi di Porto e Silva Candida, ai quali apparteneva. La bolla di Giovanni XIX del 1026 (Ughelli Italia Sacra I p. 96; Kehr IP. II p. 26 n. 3), un' altra di Benedetto IX del 1033 (Ughelli p. 104; Kehr II p. 26 n. 5), una terza di Gregorio IX del 2. agosto 1236 (Ughelli p. 132) la dicono prope montem

Gudelj's research.[311] In her work Gudelj has successfully shown the full extent of the Roman and specifically papal involvement in the creation and development of art and architecture for the South Slavic community in Rome, but also in the establishment of the very infrastructural economic basis of the community's existence: creation of a number of rental properties that assured financial stability of the community alongside the usual venue of donations and member fees.[312] That stability had been further solidified with the location next to the old port of the Ripetta, expanded and improved in the early Settecento by orders of Pope Clement XI Albani (Fig. 4.24) – another pontiff deeply conscious of his family ties to the Adriatic and the Illyrian coast.

While the Roman and papal involvement in the establishment and the expansion of the Schiavoni community at S. Girolamo offers us nearly identical parallels to the scenario we had seen with the Ruthenian national church. Nonetheless, Schiavoni national church project exceeds Ruthenian national church project in most aspects: it is, after all, a larger project for a larger community. In that, it is closer in scope, variety, and completeness to the Polish national church of S. Stanislao dei Polacchi (Fig. 4.3), which is discussed next in this chapter. The important

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Augustum ovvero non longe a monte qui Augustus dicitur (il nome, almeno nei testi stampati, viene corrotto in S. Mariae, ovvero nella terza S. Martinae). Un presbiter Petrus S. Marine de Posterula comparisce in un documento del 16. giugno 1213 nell' archivio di S. Silvestro in Capite (Federici Arch. soc. romana XXII, 1899, n. 69). In un documento del 12. dicembre 1242 nell' Archivio di S. Silvestro in Capite (Arch. soc. romana XXIII, 1900, p. 77 n. 98) viene descritta una casa posita in regione S. Laurentii in Lucina a III latere est via publica et tenet ecclesia S. Marinae. Verso la metà del sec. XV la chiesa era diruta e discoperta: papa Nicolò V con bolla del 21. aprile 1453 la donò alla compagnia degli Schiavoni, che in luogo di essa edificò la chiesa di S. Girolamo tuttora esistente a Ripetta."

[311] On the recent research pertaining to the Schaivoni Congregazione's archives and the visual culture associated with that institution, see Jasenka Gudelj and Tanja Trška. 2017. "The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of the Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome: Protonational Identity and Visual Arts". *The Role of Religious Confraternities in Medieval and Early Modern Art.* Jasenka Gudelj, "San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma: gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino" in Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, eds., *Identità E Rappresentazione* (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2015): 297-325.

[312] Gudelj, "San Girolamo," 298.

architects involved in the project, the number and prominence of the painters, and the appearance of final results are all indicators of the importance the Schiavoni community enjoyed in Rome and particularly within its ecclesiastical power structures.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a number of the Schiavoni (Croats) had been members of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and had been either classmates or teachers to the Ruthenian seminarians and clergy at the Pontifical colleges of Rome. As such, they had often the duty of oversight vis-à-vis Ruthenian church in the city. The second visitation of SS. Sergio e Bacco was conducted on 18 May 1661 by Fr. Ivan Paštrić (also known as Giovanni Pastrizio or Iohannes Pastritius, 1636-1708) a prominent Croatian linguist, scientist, poet, publisher of the Glagolitic books, and lecturer at the Propaganda Fide, who, toward the end of his life, acted as the president of the *Congregazione di San Girolamo degli Schiavoni*.[313] Although based and employed in Rome, Paštrić had also been intimately involved in all *Schiavonian* affairs across the wider region, such as the creation of the Illyrian Academy in Split in the Venice-controlled Dalmatia and the Illyrian College in Loreto.[314] Upon his death, his library has been donated to the Illyrian seminary in Split, while his body was buried in the College in Loreto.[315]

The Roman/Italian emphasis of the Schiavoni intellectuals had been likewise indicative of

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[313] APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 18, fol. 12-20. The visitation report also contains the inventory of all the possessions left by Metropolitan Rafajil Korsak at his death in Rome (APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 18, fol. 21v.). The first visitation was conducted by Fr. Virgilio Spada in 1656 (APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 17, fol. 164-167v.).

[314] Illyrian Academy was founded by a Roman Schiavoni nobleman, Giovanni Pietro Marchi (Ivan Petar Marki, 1663-1733) in Split, Dalmatia. See John Van Antwerp Fine Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (University of Michigan Press, 2006), 440.

[315] For the importance of Loreto to the Early Modern Catholicim in general and to the Slavic-Roman relations in particular, see Karin Vélez, Karin, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019).

the preferences of the Polish/Ruthenian ecclesiastical and aristocratic elites, deeply steeped in Latinity, required by the colleges in Rome as well as Eastern Europe.[316] Thus, in the early modern period, Latin culture was a dominant and unifying force among the Slavic intellectuals, be they South, West, or East Slavs – another aspect that united Schiavoni with Ruthenians, relative newcomers to the Roman intellectual and ecclesiastical milieu.

4.4 POLES IN ROME: S. STANISLAO DEI POLACCHI

Throughout the early modern period, Ruthenians in Rome had been in continuous contact and partnership with their neighbors, the Polish community in the city After all, both the Poles and Ruthenians were subject to the same authority of the monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who, as the Grand Duke of Lithuania, ruled Ruthenian territories. The Union of Lublin, signed on 1 July 1569, transformed the two countries (the Crown of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, [Fig. 4.25]), heretofore in the personal union since 1386, into a unified state with an elective monarchy. At the Union, several Ruthenian territories, up to then under the jurisdiction of the Grand Duke of Lithuania – Podlachia, Volhynia, eastern Podolia, Bratslav region, and the Kyiv palatinate – had been transferred into the jurisdiction of the Crown of Poland (Fig. 4.26). Thus, by time of gaining foothold in Rome in 1639, the Ruthenian adherents of the Uniate Church were largely hailing from the lands under the direct authority of the Polish king. Despite being under the jurisdiction of the same ruler, Ruthenians were conceived of as a separate *natio*, both for their liturgical heritage (Byzantine Rite also known as "Greek," being either Orthodox under the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople via Orthodox Metropolitan of

[316] On the question of languages used among the Slavonian and Dalmatian intellectuals, see, Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter,* 180.

Kyiv, or "Uniate" under the authority of the Pope via the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych, and all Rus') and for their status within their country of origin – the official name of Poland was, after all, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Pol. *rzeczpospolita*, Lat. *res publica*) combined the two *nations* of Poland and Lithuania, with the latter being officially the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruthenia, and Samogitia, thus uniting three separate *nations*. In case of Ruthenians in Italy, these designations continued throughout early modern period and can be noticed in archival documents, denoting the origins of the persons (priests, seminarians, visitors, et al.): *lituanus*, *ruthenus*, *polonus*, etc. In that, the citizens of the Commonwealth had stuck to their familiar principle, often expressed as being "gente lituanus, sed natione polonus" [of the Lithuanian people, yet of the Polish nation], be they in their own country or abroad, in Italy and elsewhere.

These ethno-confessional and political distinctions had necessitated that the Ruthenian community in Rome would be grouped separately from that of the Polish Roman Catholics who had built a home for themselves around their own national church of Santo Stanislao dei Polacchi (Fig. 4.3) on the via delle Botteghe Oscure in the *rione* Sant'Angelo – quite a long distance from the later home of the Ruthenians in SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra. That fact is a clear indicator that while Polish and Ruthenian communities were connected, the two were viewed separate enough as to not even warrant a possibility of housing them permanently in each other's vicinity. On 15 October 1578, pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (Fig. 4.27)[317] had granted the medieval church of San Salvatore *in pensilis de Sorraca* (Fig. 4.28), near Crypta Balbi on the via delle Botteghe Oscure, to the Polish *natio* at the request of the Polish cardinal, Venerable Stanisław

[317] Pope Gregory XIII, ruled in 1572-1585, but, prior to the clerical career, Ugo Boncompagni taught law in his alma mater University of Bologna. His students were Alessandro Farnese, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Reginald Pole, Stanislaus Hosius, Paolo Burali d'Arezzo, St. Carlo Borromeo, and Cristoforo Madruzzo – all became cardinals of the Catholic Church.

Hozjusz, better known as Hosius (1504 – 1579), a powerful leader of the Catholic Counter-Reformation (Fig. 4.29).[318] At this point, the church was fully rebuilt and re-dedicated to the Patron Saint of Poland (and a namesake of Hosius), St. Stanisław Szczepanowski of Krakow (1030 – 1079). One of the most important remnants of that sixteenth-century rebuilding and decoration scheme is the high altar with the painting of two Polish and one Bohemian saints by the Roman painter Antiveduto Grammatica (1571 – 1626),[319] *Christ the Savior with St. Stanislaus of Krakow, St. Adalbert of Prague and St Hyacinth Odrowaz* (Fig. 4.30) – one of his earliest extant pieces (ca.1594 – 1600).[320] Grammatica's painting is one of the earliest examples of contemporary Roman art commissioned for the Slavic communities in the city.

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[318] Adriano Amendola, "La formazione dell'identità nazionale polacca nella Roma della Controriforma" in *Identità e rappresentazione*, Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, eds. (Roma: Campisano, 2015): 256. Twelve days prior to that, the Pope transferred Hosius from the cardinalatial title of San Clemente, to the that of the Cardinal-Priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere.

[319] Riedl quotes Longhi's words on the artist's style: "… il Gramatica accomoda nel dipinto della chiesa dei Polacchi, serbando la sincerità caravaggesca al quadro da mandare nella campagna romana." see Riedl, *Antiveduto,* 73.

[320] The painting is oil on canvas, 350x200cm. Baglione claimed that this painting was the Grammatica's first public commission: "La prima cosa, che Antiueduto colorisse in publico, fù vn quadro di altare, nella Chiesa di s. Ladislao, della Natione Polacca, alle botteghe oscure, oue è a federe in aria vn Christo con Angioli, e s. Ladislao, & vn Vescovo; e da basso in ginocchione s. Giacinto in atto d'odorare per il Popolo; e 'l quadro piacque molto a' Pittori." See Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a'tempi di Papa Vrbano Ottauo nel 1642* (In Roma: Nella stamperia d'Andrea Fei, 1642), 293. Baglione misidentifies the church as that of St. Ladislaus, instead of Stanislaus, and, likewise, misidentifies the same saint in the painting. Centuries later, Helmut Philipp Riedl identified the unnamed "Vescovo" as St. Adalbert of Prague (Pol. *Wojciech*), based on the visitation notes from 1627 (ASV, Visita apostolica, Nr. 4, fol. 1126r): "Habet unicam Navim (sic), in eius Capite est positum Altare maius, quod est sub Invocatione S.ti Salvatoris, habetque Iconam cum Imaginibus SS.or(um) Stanislauii, Alberti, et Hiacinthi Poloniae Patronor(um) ornatur columnis ligneis deauratis. Mensa est marmoreal …" (72). On the question of Grammatica involvement with the Polish commissions and his work collected in Poland, see Helmut Philipp Riedl, *Antiveduto della Grammatica (1570/71-1626): Leben und Werk*, *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien*; 74 (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1998), 72-75, Kat. Num. 1; M. Kalecinski, "'Mary Magdalen at the tomb of Christ' an unknown work of Gramatica at the Visitation convent in Cracow," *Bulletin du Musée national de Varsovie* (1996): 154-164, and K. Murawska-Muthesius and K. Secomska, "Mary

The interior and exterior of the church had been further remodeled in Settecento (Fig. 4.31-4.32), with the façade being the 1735 work of Francesco Ferrari, already known to us for the remodeling of the façade of the Ruthenian SS. Sergio e Bacco a few years later, in 1741. As was mentioned elsewhere, Ferrari's involvement with the Ruthenian church in Monti could be considered as a sign of trust that he gained both of the papal court and the Polish crown in his earlier commission at S. Stanislao.

Like the Ruthenian church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, the Polish S. Stanislao had an adjacent *ospizio*. Its importance for the Polish community in Rome is underscored in two of its earliest representations. A pen-and-ink drawing by Tomasz Treter (1547-1610)[321] in the collection of Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw (Fig. 4.33)[322] and the print by the same author (Fig. 4.34), both emphasize the importance of a pilgrim, a Pole, charitably welcomed into the Eternal City by the Polish cardinal (Hosius) himself. The act of care and kindness toward the visitor is set against the backdrop of the *ospizio* and the church themselves.[323] While the drawing shows nearly de Chirico-

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Magdalen. The Counter-Reformation and the Caravaggisti: are there any more paintings by Antiveduto Grammatica in Poland," *Bulletin du Musée national de Varsovie* (1996): 97-136.

[321] Tomasz Treter was a Polish-born Lateran canon in Rome, a writer, a draftsman and an engraver, a translator from Polish to Latin, a secretary to the Bishops of Warmia, including Stanislaus Hosius and later a royal secretary, the first assigned priest to the newly established Polish national church and the *ospizio* in Rome. See Jan Chłosta, *Słownik Warmii* (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Littera, 2002), 375 and "Piśmiennictwo Staropolskie" in *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej – Nowy Korbut*, vol. 3 (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1965): 345-347.

[322] Tomasz Treter, *Hospitalis Polonici in Urbe Institutio*, a preparatory drawing for *Theatrum virtutum ac meritorum Domini Stanislai Hosii Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae presbiteri cardinalis, maioris penitentiarii et episcopi Varmiensis, Romae, 1588*, ill. 87, f. 95v, (collection of 105 drawings in pen and ink, ca. 1595-1600), Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw (repository no. 285773, formerly of the Biblioteca "Ordynacji Zamoyskiej").

[323] For some of the extant records of the *ospizio*, see Archivio della Chiesa di S. Stanislao (ASS), 138, *[Liber Actorum Ecclesiae Hospitalis Sancti Stanisali Nationis Polonorum de Urbe. In quo Iura, Privilegia, Redditus, Inventaria, Contractus, Locationes, Electiones Provisorum, et officialium, aliiq[ue] actus Ecclesiam, et Hospitale concernen[tes] describuntur. Anno Domini M.D.C.XXI Mense Januario. Decreti di Cong[regazio]ne dal 1621 al 1680, tom: 3];* 139

like generic rectilinear structures where the dark street on the left foreshortens in a dramatic perspective, the final engraving shows the same scene of the cardinal with a group of pilgrims against the façade of S. Stanislao. The theme of a second home away from home, created by the efforts by their own compatriot (Hosius), in the city that oftentimes could be overwhelming and disorienting to the pilgrim is further stressed by the title: "HOSPITALIS POLONICI IN URBE INSTITUTIO" on the drawing (Fig. 4.35), and "HOSPITALE POLONORUM ROMAE INSTITUIT" on the engraving (Fig. 4.36). The latter carries another specification, useful to the visitor – words over the church (to which Hosius points) say: "DEO ET STANISLAO SACRUM," clearly underscoring the Polish connection with the name of the Polish saint. The invocation "DEO" here may not be just a simple statement that the temple is, naturally, dedicated to the worship of God, but also a hint that the previous dedication of the said church was to "SALVATOR," the Savior, and that is God the Son Himself. This interpretation is also supported by Treter's ink drawing, where Hosius is pointing to the church's opened side entrance, above which a half-length figure of Christ appears in Glory, holding the globe with His left hand, and blessing the crowd with His right – a usual iconography of Christ the *Salvator Mundi*.

The façade in Treter's print captures the appearance of S. Stanislao prior to the Settecento interventions first carried out by by the Polish-born papal architect and engineer Bernard Renard and then by Francesco Ferrari. The façade of the church is shown divided into two registers, with the lower one consisting of a large door and its frame topped by a simple triangular pediment, further flanked by two pairs of pilasters with Tuscan capitals. Above them is the entablature, traversed by an inscription on the frieze: "TEMPLUM S. SALVATORIS ET S. STANISLAI

[Decreti dal 1680 al 1710: Acta Eccl[esi]ae et Hospitalis S[ancti] Stanislai Nationis Polonorum de Urbe ab A[nn]o 1681].

HOSPITY NAT POLONOR MDLXXX." Resting on the entablature is the top register, shorter in height, but similar in arrangement to the lower register: a large window frame, topped by a segmental pediment with volutes, and flanked by two pairs of pilasters with seemingly Corinthian capitals. The window is noticeably made of crown glass rondels. The second, upper entablature is simpler and supports a large triangular pediment, finishing the façade of the church. This lengthy inscription only further supports that the final redesign of the Ruthenian church's façade of SS. Sergio e Bacco by Ferrari in 1740s followed very much the blueprint (two registers, a single large door, triangular pediments, pilasters, a single large window in the second story) that we can see in the c. 1580 print of the Polish national church of S. Stanislao. Ferrari's intervention in the latter seems not to have radically changed that already existing arrangement; the bottom register appears nearly identical to the engraved representation from 1580s (Fig. 4.31).[324]

The national Polish church in Rome has been the focus of a number of studies in the past as well as those more recent, such as the one by Adriano Amendola as part of the Bibliotheca Hertziana's project on the national churches in early modern Rome.[325] Naturally, the church had provoked a continuous interest among Polish scholars, with a new academic investigation being done by Prof. Józef Skrabski of the Pontifical University of St. John Paul II in Krakow. Another Polish academic, Prof. Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz had written numerous articles with S.

[324] The slight difference in the actual building is that the pair of pilasters, closest to the doors, each reveal a single half pilaster behind them. The same additional pair of half pilasters can be seen at the top register as well. Ferrari (?) had also changed the framing of the large top window, opening the frame in faux perspective to make it look like an aedicula and switching a segmental pediment to a widely broken segmental pediment ending in volutes. Again, to what extent Treter's print is an accurate depiction of the pre-Settecento state of things is hard to ascertain, but as one of the first clergymen assigned to the building, he would have known intimately the appearances of the structures.

[325] Adriano Amendola, "La formazione dell'identità nazionale polacca nella Roma della Controriforma" in *Identità e rappresentazione*, Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, eds. (Roma: Campisano, 2015): 249-270.

Stanislao being in the center of her inquiries that covered the period of Renaissance and Baroque.[326] While Osiecka-Samsonowicz had somehow avoided a single mention of the other Polish subjects in Rome (Ruthenians) and their national church (SS. Sergio e Bacco), she drew in an impressive wealth of material pertaining to the social and ritual life of the Polish national church, its involvement in the festivities on occasions of royal and princely visits, and its role in the *theatrum mundi* of the Eternal City, especially during funerial activities at the church. Additionally, she incorporates numerous *avvisi* published in Rome in the Seicento, likewise supporting the idea that Rome was much more aware of the events on the "Eastern Front" than we tend to give credit to.

Avvisi, such as the ones already mentioned in this dissertation and published by the Roman house of Lodovico Grignani, allow Osiecka-Samsonowicz to connect Polish community (be they illustrious visitors or humble pilgrims) closer to the social life in the urban space of the city.[327](this should be connected to the paragraph above. A rather high degree of integration of the Polish community into the Roman affairs and Roman visual culture can also be seen in a print by Jan

[326] Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, "Festa fatta in Roma... Rzymskie uroczystości na cześć polskich Wazów za panowania Władysława IV (1632-1648)," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 68: 2006, nr 3/4, s. 7-35; "Festa fatta in Roma. Rims'ki uroèistosti na ćest' pol'skich Vaziv za panuvannja Vladislava IV (1632-1648), *Studìï Mistectovoznavèi* (Kyiv 2008) è. 3 (23), s. 44-55; "'Venimus, vidimus...' Kto zwyciężył? Rzymskie uroczystości na cześć wiktorii wiedeńskiej w 1683 r." in *Polska i Europa w dobie nowożytnej. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Juliuszowi Chrościckiemu* (Warszawa 2009): 47-54; and most recently, Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Cerimonie e feste polacche nella roma barocca 1587-1696* (Roma: Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, 2014).

[327] See *avvisi* such as 1644's A. Gerardi, *Relatione del Solenne Funerale, e Catafalco fatto in Roma nella Chiesa di S. Stanislao della Natione Pollacca alla Maestà della defonta Regina di Polonia Cecilia Renata Austriaca. Dall'Illustriss. Sig. Conte Giovanni in-Tarnow De Zamoscie Zamoiski Governatore in Calus, &c.* (In Roma, Per Lodovico Grignani. M.DC.XLIV); or 1634's V Parisi, *Vera Relatione delle Due Gran Vittorie Riportate in diversi tempi, e luoghi Dal Serenissimo, Potentissimo, e Gloriosissimo Vladislao IIII Re di Polonia.* [...] *Contro Moscoviti, Turchi, e Tartari, Uniti assieme a' danni della Corona.* [...] (In Roma. Appresso Lodovico Grignani. MDCXXXIV).

Aleksander Gorczyn (ca. 1618 – 1694), *Sepulchrum Beati Stanislai Kostka Soc. Iesu a Natione Polona Romae in Templo S. Andreae Rectum Anno MDCV* [...] from 1666 (Fig. 4.37),[328] depicting the altar that grew around the tomb of then-Blessed Stanislaus Kostka,[329] the Jesuit Polish novice who died in Rome in 1568, aged seventeen, and buried in the Jesuit church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (Fig. 4.38). His death had occurred mere twelve years prior to S. Salvatore being given to the Polish *natio*. The engraving shows a heavily decorated aedicula with a portrait of the Blessed Polish youth in the center (kneeling before the altar and receiving communion from the angels), surrounded by garlands, lamps, candelabra, *portapalme*, figurines of angels and putti. The rectangular space in front of the aedicula is separated from the rest of the church by a balustraded rail on all three sides. On both sides of the aedicula, there are two sets of five coats of arms, initialed by the artist: all ten belong to the Polish nobles and prelates – the *benefactores* of the *sepulchrum*. That last detail of the print records a very involved role the Polish nobility and upper clergy played in the maintenance and the development of the *cultus* of the Blessed Stanislaus Kostka in Rome. The arms in the print are on the left: Junosza, Łodzia, [indeterminate one], Dąbrowa, and Leliwa, while on the right: Poraj, Odwaga, a quartered shield (containing Dąbrowa, Odrowąż, Prawdzic, and an eagle), Szreniawa bez krzyża (known as Drużyna), and Nałęcz.[330] The top two on each side

[328] The engraving (34,5x24 cm) is cataloged (no. 5084) in Hanna Widacka and Alicja Żenara, *Katalog portretów osobistości polskich i obcych w Polsce działających*. Vol. 4 (Warszawa: Bibl. Narodowa, 1994), 350. The full inscription on the print is: "SEPVLCRVM BEATI STANISLAI KOSTKA SOC. IESV A NATIONE POLONA ROMAE IN TEMPLO S.ANDREAE RECTVM ANNO MDCV POST EXPOSITAM IN EO PVBLICE EIVSDEM BEATI IMAGINEM ĆV VOTIVS TABELLIS AC LAMPADE PAVLI V PONT. MAX AVTHORITATE."

[329] St. Stanislaus Kostka (1550-1568), beatified in 1605; canonized in 1726.

[330] While all the arms have a set of initials surrounding them, it is hard to match them against the names of the possible contemporaries that carried these arms. Polish heraldry is unlike the Western European heraldry in that generally particular arms belong to a clan rather than one family, and numerous families belonging to clan share in the usage of a single coat of arms. For instance, *Szreniawa bez krzyża* was both the arms of the princely Lubomiski family and Fr. Tomasz Treter.

belong to clergy: Junosza and Łodzia, Poraj and Odwaga. Matching the initials "A" and "O," Andrzej Opaliński (1575-1623), of Łodzia coat of arms, was Catholic bishop of Poznań (1607-1623).[331] Leliwa's famous bearers were the Polish-Ruthenian magnate family Tyszkiewicz, while Dąbrowa was, in fact, the arms of St. Stanislaus Kostka's family. A presence of the Dąbrowa arms by his tomb is an indicator that this Polish-Lithuanian noble family was directly involved in the sponsorship of the devotion. The quartered arms include Odrowąż – the arms of the family of St. Hyacinth, a Polish Dominican with a widespread devotion across Western Europe. All in all, the display provided an occasion for the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian noble benefactors to show their undivided support for the shrine of the new Polish saint.

While the choice of Polish Gorczyn as the artist for the print is not Roman, the final result is indubitably Roman in its appearance and the stylistic and religious information it contains. It is also rather unique in its composition: treating the area directly adjacent to the altar-tomb as an extension of the ornate framing of the devotional image, creating a sense of a large, multi-step icon by conscious reduction of the perspective of the space and editing out any suggestions of the extended space beyond that of the immediate tomb. At the end, the engraving of the sepulcher is testament to the exuberant devotion to the Polish youth in a Roman church, but also an example ready for emulation in all its details back in the Commonwealth.

[331] Andrzej Szołdrski (c. 1583–1650), the Bishop of Poznań (1636-1650) likewise belonged to Łodzia arms.

4.5 GREEKS IN ROME: S. ATANASIO DEI GRECI

Uniate and Orthodox Ruthenians were both often described in early modern Italian sources as *ruteni del rito greco* (Ruthenians of the Greek rite). Thus, from the onset of their encounter with Rome and the Roman Church, their nomenclature and their very identity had been intimately tied to being "Greek" and exemplifying "Greek" to the Roman Catholics. It is no surprise then that the very project of examining what is Slavic and Ruthenian in early modern Italy in general and Rome in particular involves continuous encounter with what has been identified in Italian contemporary sources as *greco*, whether it was *greco* in the cultural or liturgical sense. However, such parsing through the cobweb of identities remains problematic as the cultural and the liturgical often overlap in such cases.

Additional specifications were always required for the otherwise too inclusive a nomenclature as *ruteni del rito greco*. As I mentioned in the "Introduction," an adjective *uniti* or *schismatici* denoted those *ruteni del rito greco* who were "united" with Rome and the Pope or those who were "schismatic" from such ecclesial unity. Furthermore, in the early modern period, even this, rather detailed, designation for Ruthenians required yet another clarification, that they were of "lingua dalmatica, rito greco" – explaining that the Greek rite in Ruthenian usage was done in a Slavic language (Church Slavonic).

The liturgical unity with the Greeks naturally influenced the placement of Ruthenian seminarians into the newly-instituted Greek College in Rome[332] – *Collegio Greco di Sant'Atanasio* (Fig. 4.3) – founded by Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (Fig. 4.27) with his bull *Apostolicae*

[332] Dmytro Blažejovskyj, *Byzantine Kyivan rite students in pontifical colleges, and in seminaries, universities, and institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576-1983)*, Analecta OSBM, Series II, sectio I, Opera v. 43 (Rome: PP. Basiliani, 1984), 34–36; list of students: 82-91.

Sedis specula of 13 January 1576 on via del Babuino.[333] The College was appropriately dedicated to one of the Four Greek Doctors of the Church, Saint Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–298 – 373), who, alongside Saints John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, less than a decade earlier, in 1568, was added by Gregory XIII's predecessor, Pius V Ghislieri, to the list of the Doctors of the Church.[334] The church, likewise dedicated to the great Bishop of Alexandria, was designed by Giacomo della Porta (1532–1602), the architect of the church of Madonna ai Monti, and the Piazza Madonna dei Monti to which SS. Sergio e Bacco faces, with S. Atanasio's façade done by Martino Longhi the Elder (1534–1591), who was also involved in the design of another Slavic national church in Rome – San Girolamo degli Schiavoni.[335] The "protector nationum Orientalium," Cardinal Giulio Santori (Fig. 4.10) had blessed the first stone of the church of Sant'Atanasio dei Greci on 23 November 1580.[336] Three years later, on 2 March 1583, the official cleric of the church, Bishop Germanos Cousconari of Limassol in Cyprus, had celebrated the first Greek-rite liturgy at the new Sant'Atanasio.[337]

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[333] Eleuterio F. Fortino, *S. Atanasio: la liturgia greca a Roma* (Roma: Chiesa di S. Atanasio, 1970), 11.

[334] The previous Doctors of the Church consisted of the Four *Latin* Doctors of the Church (since 1298) – Saints Augustine, Pope Gregory I, Jerome, and Ambrose – joined in 1567 by another Latin, St. Thomas Aquinas. Twenty years later, in 1588, St. Bonaventure was added to the list, that eventually grew to thirty-six Doctors (as of 19 January 2020), male and female.

[335] Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Roma, 1891), 339; Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle Pitture, Sculture e Architetture esposte in Roma* (Roma: Marco Pagliarini, 1763), 381; Fortino, *S. Atanasio*, 14.

[336] Fortino, *S. Atanasio*, 14.

[337] *Ibid.,* 14. More on Bishop Germanos, see "Cousconari, Germano" in Vittorio Peri, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 30 (1984), online (last accessed 01/15/2020: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/germano-cousconari_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/). Also see, Camilla S. Fiore, "Gregorio XIII e i Greci di Sant'Atanasio a Roma tra fine Cinque e inizio Seicento," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, Band 42, 2015/2016 (München: Hirmer, 2018), 389–438.

The series of papal acts in the second half of Cinquecento should be seen as a programmatic and systematic construction of Global Catholicism that is not only geographically expanded, but is, in a parallel fashion, also liturgically diversified, including all original rites that existed in the undivided Church, prior to the Great Schism of 1054. The acts of Popes Pius V, Gregory XIII, and their successors, especially Popes Clement VIII Aldobrandini (ruled 1592-1605) and Urban VIII Barberini (ruled 1623-1644), once lined up, even in their abbreviated form, give credence to the carefulness yet persistence in the Papal policy toward the "Greek" East, continuing on the gains from the not-fully-realized union signed during the Council of Florence between Greeks and Latins that officially ended the East-West Schism in 1439:

- 1568 – The Four Greek Doctors added to the lists of the Latin Doctors of the Church.
- 1571 – The church of Santa Maria Egiziaca, given to Armenians as their national church, along with an adjacent hospice.[338]
- 1576 – The Greek College in Rome, for training Greek-Rite clergy, including students from Eastern Europe, Balkans, Greece, and Middle East.
- 1588-1589 – Construction of the new church for the Balkan Slavs, San Girolamo degli Illirici (or degli Schiavoni).
- 1595 – The Union of Brest, uniting Orthodox Greek-Rite Church in the PLC with the Holy See, in effect creating Ruthenian Uniate Church.
- 1639 – SS. Sergio e Bacco is the national church of the Ruthenian *natio*, with Greek-Rite in Church Slavonic celebrated.

[338] The church of Sta Maria Egiziaca (at first known as *Sancta Maria de Gradellis*) had reused the structure of the Temple of Fortuna Virilis (now known as the Temple of Portunus) on the Forum Boarium. The Armenian national church in that location continued until 1921, ahead of the restoration of the Ancient Roman temple and the removal of later architectural additions in mid 1920s.

In this example, the chronology is not comprehensive, and only deals with the immediate concerns of this chapter. However, it already is evident that while at the time of the Council of Florence's union (1439) a legal action (signing a union) was not followed up with concurrent concrete changes on the ground (institution of colleges, assigning of churches), under the early modern popes, a new and more efficient approach was adopted wherein changes were instituted across the board: theological (further incorporation of Greek Church Fathers into the forefront of the Church's doctrine), pedagogical (institution of a college), liturgical (dedicated spaces in the city for the celebration of the Greek liturgy), and infrastructural (creation of the hospices).

4.6 NON-LATIN UNIATE COMMUNITIES IN ROME: ARMENIANS, MARONITES, MELKITES

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Ruthenians in Rome have often been alumni of the Collegio Greco, and thus educated by Jesuits.[339] Thus, they were classmates with other Slavs, as well as students from the Eastern Mediterranean, Middle East, Caucasus, and Africa, such as Armenians, Greeks, Maronites, and Albanians. These "easterners" had lived in the Eternal City alongside their Ruthenian classmates and would eventually collaborate with them later in their ecclesiastical careers, often as members of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Their shared origin – in the *antemurale Christinanitatis* – made them a natural resource for the Congregation's prime activity – missions.

A. Armenians in Rome

[339] Blažejovskyj, *Byzantine Kyivan rite students,* 34–35. Also see a detailed account of the Jesuits first tenure running the Collegio Greco in Rome, John Krajcar, "The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time (1591-1604)" in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* XXXI (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1965), 85-118.

Ruthenians' relations with Armenians ran as deep as that with the Schiavoni, and merit a thorough investigation beyond the confines of this dissertation. Uniate Ruthenians may have enjoyed connections to Armenians both in the former's homeland in Eastern Europe and in Rome herself.

In Rome, under the Pope Pius V Ghislieri, a local medieval church on Forum Boarium, known as Santa Maria Egiziaca,[340] that had reused the structure of the Temple of Fortuna Virilis (Temple of Portunus), had been given in 1567 to the Armenians as their national church (Fig. 4.9).[341] The Armenian national church in that location continued until 1921, until the structure was thoroughly restored to its perceived "Ancient Roman" appearance under the direction of Antonio Muñoz in 1920s (Fig. 4.39).[342] The contemporary representations of the structure of the Sta Maria Egiziaca, such as Aloisio Giovannoli (ca. 1615 [Fig. 4.9])[343] and Giovanni Battista Piranesi (ca. 1750 [Fig. 4.40]) capture the heavy medieval and early modern accretions to the old Roman temple, with adjacent structure of the *Ospizio della Nazione Armena* (Hospice of the Armenian Nation) visible

[340] St. Mary the Egyptian, sometimes spelt at *Egizziaca* or *Egittiaca.*

[341] There is a confusion as to whether to consider Sta Maria Egiziaca to be, prior to its first mention in fifteenth century, the medieval church known as *Sancta Maria Secundicerii* or the church known as *Sancta Maria de Gradellis*. See, Christian Hülsen, "M48, S. Mariae de Gradellis," *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1927), 336; and Hülsen, "M84, S. Maria Secundiceri," *Le Chiese di Roma,* 364-365; Mariano Armellini, "S. Maria in Primo o Secondocerio (sic)," *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Roma: Tipografia Vaticana, 1891), 598 and his "S. Maria de Gradellis" ibidem, 599. On the institution of the Armenian hospice, see Giulio Antonio Santori and John Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Consistorial Acts* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1966), 31.

[342] See, Antonio Muñoz, *Il restauro del tempio della Fortuna Virile, Rome* (Roma: Società editrice d'arte illustrata, 1925).

[343] Last print of the second volume of Aloisio Giovannoli, *Vedute degli antichi vestigj di Roma di Alò Giovannoli: divise in due parti: la prima contiene mausolei, archi, colonne, e fabriche pubbliche: la seconda rappresenta terme, anfiteatri, teatri, e tempj: comprese in rami 106 : parte prima[-seconda]* (In Roma, 1616), Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arsenal, EST-1303.

to the left of the main entrance of the church, extending all the way to the "House of Pilate" and integrating into it. Some of these accretions change between early Seicento and mid Settecento: seen in Giovannoli (Fig. 4.9), a three-story *ospizio*, a double-bell baroque belfry rising on the left side of the slanted roof of the church, the church façade adorned with three arms, middle one being of Pope Paul V Borghese (ruled in 1605-1621), four columns original of Roman Temple's portico visible in the façade but made engaged; in Piranesi (Fig. 4.32), these elements become a four-story *ospizio* with large cartouche with the arms of Pope Clement XI Albani (ruled in 1700-1721), a belfry is rebuilt in a somber style on the left side of the room, the façade's four portico columns are now fully immured, two large niches with monumental sculptures missing, making the frontal wall smooth, simple, and Neoclassical.

From John Varriano's research into the work of Martino Longhi the Younger (1602-1660), we now know that the grandson of the architect who was involved in the Greek and Croatian national churches,[344] was likewise involved in some project for the Armenians: according to an inscription from 1655 and a guidebook from 1658, Martino Longhi the Younger worked on Sta Maria Egiziaca in late 1640s or early in 1650s.[345] This rebuilding campaign can account for the changes in appearance of the structure as recorded between the prints of Giovannoli and Piranesi.

[344] Most famously, Martino Longhi the younger was involved in the design and the construction (ca. 1629-38) of the façade of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi – the national church of the Portuguese in Rome.

[345] John L. Varriano, "The Architecture of Martino Longhi the Younger (1602-1660)." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30, no. 2 (1971): 101-18. Varriano's mentioned sources are both on page 114: V. Forcella, *Inscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma,* X (Rome, 1877), 429, No. 682; F. Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito e nella scuola di tutti gli antiquarij* (Rome, 1658), 103. Varriano (pages 114-115) also mentions that the views of the interior of the church, prior to its complete disassembly in 1921-1925, were published in already-mentioned Antonio Muñoz, *Il restauro del tempio della Fortuna Virile, Rome* (Roma: Società editrice d'arte illustrata, 1925); and in Leonardo Paterna Baldizzi, *La chiesa di S. Maria Egiziaca in Roma* (Rome, 1928).

From these records, visual and textual, we can assume that, like SS. Sergio e Bacco dei Ruteni for the Church Slavonic version of the Greek Rite, Sta Maria Egiziaca was a rare space where the Armenian Rite in Armenian language was celebrated in early modern Rome on a regular basis, while there also existed a continuous interaction between the Armenian seminarians at the Collegio Greco and the Collegio di Propaganda Fide, and visitors at the *Ospizio della Nazione Armena*.

Giovannoli's print (Fig. 4.9) carries an inscription mentioning that "the Roman Pontiff assigned the place to the King's Ambassador Abgar and to his nation."[346] In this case, the Italian author invokes the name of the ambassador Abgar of Tokat (Abgar Tokhatetsi, ca. 1520 – ca. 1572.), a pioneer of Armenian printing, sent to Rome as the head of the delegation from Michael I Sebastatsi, the Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church (in 1564-1570). In 1564, Abgar was well received in Rome by Pope Pius IV Medici and supported in his efforts to spearhead printing of books in Armenian. For that purpose, he proceeded to Venice where he published two titles, one of which being the Armenian Psalter. The book carries a titlepage featuring a woodcut representing Abgar submitting to Pope Pius IV while surrounded by cardinals, with his own son on his left (Fig. 4.41).[347] Likewise, on his left is the Venetian ambassador, Cardinal Marcantonio Amulio (Da Mula, 1506-1572) who also served as the Prefect of Vatican Library and facilitator of

[346] "Il Romano Pontefice aßegna l'habitatione all Ambasciatore del Re Abagaro, et alla sua natione."

[347] See, Cristelle Baskins. "Popes, Patriarchs, and Print: Representing Chaldeans in Renaissance Rome." *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 3 (2014): 405-425. Baskins published the version of the woodcut from BAV (Barb.A.VI.45) on page 415 with a thorough translation of the Armenian text below the image (note 37) explains: "In the year of the Armenian calendar 1014 [1565], I Abgar of Tokat requested these new fonts in Rome from Peter the Pope [Pius IV] and got permission under the supervision of these cardinals [Carlo Borromeo, Giovanni Morone and Marcantonio Amulio] and this bishop [Antonio Fiorebello, Bishop of Laval, papal secretary] and my son, the clever Sultanshah [Marco Antonio Armeno]. And having reached the beautiful city called Venice under the dogato of Girolamo we printed this new book and this small comment on the Psalms." Baskins's research had convincingly tied Amulio to the very development of the fresco cycle in Vatican's Sala Regia.

all things non-Latin (having been heavily involved in relations with Armenians, Greeks, Chaldeans, etc.).[348]

Giovannoli's print of Sta Maria Egizziaca was made several decades after the embassy of Abgar Tokhatetsi, but its inscription implies that the church was already given to the Armenians at the time of the embassy (1564) and not three years later. The support shown to Abgar in Rome, both from the pope and cardinals such as Amulio, would suggest that Sta Maria Egizziaca may have indeed been arranged for Armenians' stay prior to the official decrees of the Egizziaca becoming the national church *in Urbe*. Cardinal Santorio continued to mention the needs of that community in his *Audientiae Sanctorii*, such as repairs to the church or to the maintenance of the hospice, or matters pertaining to the newly instituted Armenian college, etc.[349]

The Ruthenians' direct connection to the Armenians was, of course, the presence of a large Armenian (mostly merchant) diaspora within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, centered in

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[348] *Ibid*., 415-416.

[349] *Audientiae Sanctorii,* fol. 376, transcribed in Giulio Antonio Santori and John Krajcar, *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Consistorial Acts* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1966), 31: "Con Nostro Signore a dì 10 di dicembre 1579. Della necessità della chiesa degli Armeni, che sta scoperta, che ha bisogno di 200 scudi. – Che volontieri, et ha preso il memoriale." Also, same page, note 52: "Et la mia instantia diede ordine che si coprissse e ristorasse la chiesa di S. Maria Egithiaca al ponte Senatorio, assignata alla natione armena, per celebrare secondo il loro rito." See also, *ibidem*, page 35, on the execution of the will of an Armenian who died in Ancona, and the things for the Armenian hospitals in Rome and Ancona. See also, *ibidem*, page 37: "(fol. 42v) Di ordinare al Maestro di Camera che satisfaccia alla spesa della reparation della chiesa di S. Maria Egittiaca, e della (fol. 43) spesa fatta in comprare le case per l'ospedale, etc. – Che lo farà, domandando quanto importava." See *ibidem*, page 82, on a meeting with Pope Sixtus V, in 1585: (fol. 337v) Del Collegio Armeno nuovamente instituito, et del stato nel quale si truova, et necessità della provisione. – Che si contenta che sia pagata." See, *ibidem,* page 107, on the infrastructural needs of Armenian hospice: "(fol. 69v) Con la Santità di Nostro Signore, giovedì mattina, à 20 di agosto 1592, dopo la Congregatione. Di una oncia o mezza oncia d'aqua per l'hospedale di S. Maria Egittiaca degli Armeni à Ponte di S. Maria, di quell ache si conduce a Trastevere. – Si è contentato di mezza oncia et che vada dal commissario della Camera" ("oncia" is a unit of water supply).

the Ruthenian city of Lviv (Lwow, Leopolis). Represented by Mikołaj Torosowicz (1605-1681), since 1627, Bishop of Leopolis (Lviv) for the Armenian Apostolic Church, that community had signed a union with Rome, establishing the *Archieparchia Leopolitana Armenorum* (Armenian Archeparchy of Lviv) under the aegis of the Holy See, precisely at the time when Ruthenians themselves were advocating for their own church in Rome. The Armenians of Lviv had further invited the Theatine order to Ukraine to oversee the education of both Armenian and Ruthenian Uniate seminarians in *Pontificio Collegio Armeno et Rutheno in Leopolis* (Fig. 4.42-4.43)– an achievement that was facilitated by the papal nuncio in Poland, Francesco Pignatelli.[350]

These two connections to the Armenians in Rome and Leopolis, should be considered in relation to each other. On one hand, the Roman church for the Armenians by more than half a century had predated (1567) the ecclesiastical union of Leopolis, the latter being undertaken by a particular community of Armenians in a specific geographic area (Western Ukraine or Galicia [Halych], known in Latin as *Ruthenia Rubra*, Red Ruś) in 1630. On the other hand, the Armenian national church in Rome also predated by seventy years the establishment of the Ruthenian national church there. In this succession of events and methodologies for ecclesiastical union, Sta Maria Egiziaca degli Armeni and its *ospizio* or *ospedale* present us with a model (and a concrete space) that had seemingly been successfully explored on the ground in Rome more than a century prior to Ruthenians' own experiments in establishing an ecclesial and liturgical foothold in Rome.

An inventory of 1743, mentioned in Chapter 2, contains an additional document – an inventory of the items that belonged to an Armenian lecturer at the Propaganda Fide's College, Suchias

[350] Pignatelli's involvement in the Uniate fortunes discussed later in the chapter, under the subchapter on Naples, as he became an Archbishop of Naples upon his return from Polish mission.

Khaxavat,[351] titular bishop of Aleppo that died at the Ospizio dei Ruteni.[352] Interestingly, he chose not to stay at the Ospizio della Nazione Armena. Khaxavat's association with SS. Sergio e Bacco is a proof that Armenian-Ruthenian relations and cooperation had remained close throughout those centuries in Rome and had continued with full speed even in the mid eighteenth century.

B. Maronites in Rome

Maronites were distant neighbors of the Ruthenians in several places of the Monti neighborhood in the later decades of the early modern period. In 1707, Pope Clement XI Albani[353] had established the location of a monastery of the Lebanese Maronites of St. Anthony the Abbot by the church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, not far from S. Giovanni in Laterano.[354] A few decades later, a description of the area south of the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti places "il monastero degli Antoniani Maroniti della congregazione del Monte Libano"[355] close to the monastery and the church of S. Francesco di Paola of the Minims, and the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli (Fig. 4.44).[356]

[351] Suchias Khaxavat, born in Constantinople, son of Minas. Titular bishop of Aleppo. Lector at the Collegio di Propaganda Fide in the Armenian language (1735-1743).
[352] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo), Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, vol. 1, fol. 38r-62v. Also transcribed in Šeptyckyj, *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, vol. VI, pp. 51-54.
[353] Initially, Maronites took over the church of S. Giovanni della Ficoccia, near Fontana di Trevi, in 1581 (February 27), and over the years the street became known as Via dei Maroniti. Pope Gregory XIII with his breve Exigit incunbentis on 31 January 1582 officially made the house into Ospizio of the Maronite Nation, and in two years later, established the Collegio Maronita (bull Humana sic ferunt, 27 June 1584).
[354] Bernardino Bernardini, *Descrizione del nuovo ripartimento de' rioni di Roma fatto per ordine di N.S. papa Benedetto XIV, con la notizia di quanto in essi si contiene* (In Roma: Per Generoso Salomone, Presso S. Eustachio, 1744), 31.
[355] Dominique Magnan, Venanzio Monaldini, Gaetano Quojani, and Gregorio Settari, *La città di Roma ovvero Breve descrizione di questa superba città, divisa in quattro tomi ed ornata di 385 stampe in rame,* Tomo I (S.l: s.n, 1779), 28.
[356] Based on the location, it seems that the current institution, Collegio Maronita Mariamita Beata Maria Vergine (Collegio di Religiosi Ordine Maronita Mariamita [O.M.M.]), Piazza di San Pietro in Vincoli 8, retained the building of the original congregation of the "Ordine aleppino libanese antoniano maronita."

In this second location, Maronites would have been a short walk from SS. Sergio e Bacco, and their close contacts, evident from the archival sources, make even more sense when urban terrain is taken into consideration. For instance, another Maronite hierarch who died in Rome, the bishop Gabriel Farhat, belonged to the original Maronite monastic community, *Ordine aleppino libanese antoniano maronita*,[357] the one that stayed nearby, behind the church of S. Francesco di Paola.

This association with Maronites continued into the modern period. In April 1828, a Maronite priest stayed at the Ospizio dei Ruteni and celebrated masses, likely according to the Western Syriac Rite – the normative liturgical rite for the Maronite Church. His masses were recorded in Syriac handwriting alongside the other daily masses celebrated by the resident clergy.[358] Although this nineteenth-century reference is rather beyond the chronological confines of this dissertation, the recurring presence of the Maronites at the Ruthenian church in Rome should not be assumed to be only a modern phenomenon, but rather a continuation of the relationship that was established in the previous few centuries, and, more precisely, a then-normative practice of bi-rituality in such a space (i.e., SS. Sergio e Bacco).

C. Melkites in Rome

A designation "Melkite" – deriving from an Arab word denoting "Royal," hence "Imperial Byzantine" – was a common name for an adherent of the Greek Byzantine Rite among the residents of the Middle East (Syria, Lebanon, Holy Land, etc.). The geographic spread of the Greek Rite in those areas directly overlapped with the administrative boundaries of the traditional old

[357] Established in 1695 in Aleppo, Syria, the "Ordine aleppino libanese antoniano maronita" (O.L.M.) also known as Baladites experienced a split in 1770 with the founding of "Ordo maronita Beatae Mariae Virginis" (O.M.M.) also known as Aleppians. Additionally, in 1700, there arose a separate community, "Ordo antonianorum maronitarum" (O.A.M.) or Antonins.
[358] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo), Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, vol. 3.

Patriarchates in the region: Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Of these three, Antioch and Alexandria possessed their own liturgical traditions and liturgical languages (Syriac and Coptic respectively), different from that of the See of Constantinople with its Byzantine Rite and Greek language. Thus, in the early modern period, "Melkite" was often an Arab- or Syriac-speaking person who belonged to the Greek liturgical tradition. Over the centuries, the Byzantine authorities had established their own Greek-Rite hierarchies in Middle East, parallel to the traditional Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, that had moved into schisms with Constantinople (and Rome) over doctrinal issues: with Antioch becoming Nestorian and Alexandria – Monophysite. Thus, by Middle Ages there operated at least two Patriarchs of Antioch (Orthodox and Nestorian), of Alexandria, and so forth. For instance, the Melkite Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch maintained the Greek-language Byzantine liturgy alongside its opponents in the Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch that celebrated the Antiochian-Rite liturgy using Syriac language. Both Churches had concurrently made claims to the First See of St. Peter – Antioch.

In 1721, the election of the new Melkite Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, Cyril VI Tanas (1680-1760), a known pro-Rome candidate (he was a student at the College of Propaganda Fide in 1702-1710), had prompted his overthrow on the orders of the Patriarch of Constantinople, with a pro-Istanbul candidate promptly installed in his stead. Cyril VI and his supporters did not accept that turn of events, split the Church, and approached Rome for support. Only by 1729, did the Pope Benedict XIII Orsini (ruled in 1724-1730) acknowledge as legitimate the election of Cyril VI, thus acquiescing to the de facto established new church in communion with Rome: Melkite Greek Catholic Church of Antioch. To the already acquired the title of the Patriarch of Antioch, Cyril VI received additional titular sees of the other two Melkite patriarchies

in Middle East, becoming Melkite Greek Catholic Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem.

The events of 1720s had thus led to Rome having two *sui iuris* Churches in union with the Pope, and with both having simultaneous claims to the See of Antioch: the earlier mentioned Maronite Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East, and now a Melkites triple Patriarchate. The only differences between the two were the liturgical and linguistic: Antiochian Rite with Syriac language of the former and the Byzantine Rite with Greek language of the latter. In Rome, both Maronite and Melkite students were educated at the Collegio Greco at first and then at the Collegio di Propaganda Fide. Both went to attend liturgy at Sant'Atanasio dei Greci (Fig. 4.4) as would their Ruthenian classmates.

While the Melkite connection to the Ruthenians in Rome is implicit in their sharing the seminaries, the full extent of sharing (if it ever happened) or using the space of SS. Sergio e Bacco remains unclear. However, to engravings, found in Propaganda Fide's folders dedicated to the Ruthenian church, suggest that connection between Ruthenians and Melkites existed beyond their shared places of education.[359] Both engravings are executed in a style popular among the religious imagery in the West during the Late Baroque period.

The first engraving is printed on cloth and depicts, in its central frame, Jesus Christ taken down from the Cross, in the arms of His Mother, and surrounded by other figures (Fig. 4.45). The corners of the engraving feature roundels with four Evangelists, while two other roundels, above and below the main frame show God the Father (above) and seemingly Most Sacred Name of Jesus. The

[359] Both engravings are to be found in APF, SC, *Ospizio dei Ruteni*, Vol. 1 (1639-1800). I am thankful to Rev. Fr. Michael Shami of the Maronite Catholic Eparchy of Our Lady of Lebanon of Los Angeles, part of the Syriac Maronite Church of Antioch, for his help in identifying the images.

space between roundels, in the perimeter of the main frame, is surrounded by small vignettes with images of instruments of Christ's Passion – fourteen in total. The central frame is adorned by a wrap-around inscription in Arabic, and two passages in Greek at the top left and right: the top left inscription is part of the troparion (hymn); the right side contains a quote from Isaiah, "Like a lamb led to the slaughter..." (Isaiah 53:7). Engraved Arabic inscriptions also form a framing at the bottom of the print, but some of them, in the lower left corner appear to be handwritten, and some crossed off.[360]

The iconology of Christ in the arms of his grieving Mother is, at first sight, that of Pietà. However, the print's composition and its fabric support suggest that it was intended to function not just as mere devotional image of pietà or entombment, but rather as a liturgical item akin to corporal in the Latin Rites – an *Antimins* (Greek Ἀντιμήνσιον) – a rectangular piece of cloth (with a relic of a martyr sawn into it) used in the Greek Rite for celebration of Eucharist. Existence of printed images like this one – easily transportable and cheaply produced liturgical items for missions – needs closer attention in the context of Middle Eastern and Balkan missionary activities of the Propaganda Fide.[361]

The second engraving (Fig. 4.46) depicts three men, with the central figure being, possibly, a Philosopher, franked by two men, one (on the left) dressed in European military attire with armor, with a Settecento style wig/long hairdo; and the other (on the right) is dressed in an Ottoman fashion, with a long sleeveless caftan, a hat with a crescent and a feather. The three men are standing under the sky with an ascendant Sun – marked with L (for Lux/light) – and a descending crescent Moon. Between them, up above is the All-Seeing Eye of God, with a short Arabic

[360] Additional inscriptions are small initials at the bottom right: C. A.
[361] More insights would be gained with a transcription and translation of the Arabic inscriptions on the two prints.

inscription and rays that shine upon all three men. While most inscriptions appear in Arabic, with some Greek letters written in reverse, there are lines in Arabic positioned next to the European man which are marked in Latin: PSALMVS 26V.I.[362]

The presence of these two prints, intended for Melkite audience, among the items of SS. Sergio e Bacco, further supports my suggestion that the Ruthenian national church was, at certain times of its early modern and modern history, utilized beyond its already established bi-rituality, and, in addition to the Greek Rite in Church Slavonic and Roman Rite in Latin, may have witnessed celebrations of Armenian, Maronite, and Melkite liturgies.

4.7 CODA

The focus of this chapter has been the non-Western communities that made their home on the Apennine peninsula – Albanians, Armenians, Greeks, Maronites, Melkites, West Slavs such as Poles, and South Slavs such as Croats and Dalmatians – all intersecting with the Ruthenian communities in Italy to various degrees and allowing us to consider the *Ruteni* in the context of the early modern *minoranze.* The list of the ethnic and ethno-confessional groups does not include every minority found in an early modern Italian town, however, all of the selected groups were overseen by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, since they belonged to the *Antemurale Christianitatis* and, thus, shared in the experience of being at the frontiers of the expanding Global Catholicism of the Baroque period. The experiences of these interconnected groups in Rome had further added to the unique liturgical diversity that existed in the early modern period in that city

[362] The "2" in the numbering is unclear, but if it is indeed 2, the Arabic inscription might be the Psalm 26:6, "He hath exalted me upon a rock: and now he hath lifted up my head above my enemies. I have gone round, and have offered up in his tabernacle a sacrifice of jubilation: I will sing, and recite a psalm to the Lord" (Transl. Douay-Rheims Bible).

– the city that stressed her primacy in all matters religious, but also continued to function as cultural laboratory for that now global Catholicism.

EPILOGUE

In this dissertation I attempted to write an architectural and urban history of the East Slavic expatriate communities and their churches in early modern Italy, with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Byzantine-rite Ruthenian community in Rome as the primary subject. On these pages I have argued for a substantial re-examination of our understanding of the art and architecture of Early Modern Catholicism and Early Modern Orthodoxy, a rethinking of the center-to-periphery model, and reconsideration of an extent and nature of liturgical diversity of Early Modern Rome. While my project's architectural and spatial focus was the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, the paper trail left – texts and devotional images – were also at the core of my dissertation. The latter were integral to the mechanics of constructing the Ruthenian communities in Italy. The community's sacred space in Rome allowed us to examine the liturgical and cultural ecology of that city in the early modern period and its lesser-known minority, East Slavs. A larger significance in studying Ruthenians in Rome – one of the smallest foreign communities in that city – is that by studying this community's history we are able to trace, in the wake of Reformation, the development of Early Modern Catholicism into a modern institution with a truly global reach, that was consequently multilingual, liturgically diverse, and continuously in communication with its peripheries.

Although recent studies of "Global" Catholicism concentrated on the "discovered" territories of the New World, the expansion of Catholicism through its union with the Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe has not been adequately included in the consideration of that new phenomenon of the global Church.[363] Additionally, there has been a reluctance on the part of historians from

[363] A great example of why any serious study of Early Modern Catholicism (i.e., Global Catholicism) benefits from inclusion of a consideration of Early Modern Orthodoxy is a recent article of Ovidiu Olar, "Orthodoxy and Politics: The Patriarch Nikon of Moscow, the Prince

traditionally Orthodox countries (Russia, Ukraine, etc.) to adopt a more nuanced periodization of Orthodox Church history of the post-Byzantine period. By the end of the sixteenth century and up until the early seventeenth century, global Catholicism's liturgical diversity exhibited a complex cross-pollination of practices. For instance, by the early 1700s, in some places, the Uniate Church adopted a recognizably western (Roman Catholic) practice of exhibiting miraculous icons above the high altar, rather than placing them on a pedestal in front of an iconostasis or inserted into the structure of an iconostasis itself. The latter necessarily would have to be modified in height and style to allow for such particular images to be visible. SS. Sergio e Bacco is an early example of that change, although in my assessment, it went even further – completely foregoing an iconostasis in the Byzantine-Rite church. The study of this church allows us to reassess assumed relationships between the two (Early Modern Catholicism and Early Modern Orthodoxy), and in turn, re-evaluate the actual importance of the Orthodox in constructing the new global Catholicism. This example also allows us to see not only that an older form of image veneration continued in the post-Tridentine period, but that it also received particular support, (in the form of new altarpieces and numerous remodeling programs), thereby revealing that post-Tridentine Catholicism developed a set of features that were attractive to Eastern European Orthodoxy. When it comes to the developments between Early Modern Catholicism and Orthodoxy, a study of Ruthenians in Rome furthers our understanding of the proliferation of the so-called "baroque" visual culture in Eastern Europe. Arguably, the very success of the Baroque in the "peripheries" depended on a complex combination of the vernacular visual culture as fully integrated into the aesthetic and architectural vocabulary that originated in Rome, with strong affinities to the art and architecture

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Mihnea III Radu of Walachia and the Great Church of Constantinople" in Ines G. Županov and Pierre Antoine Fabre, eds. *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 233-263.

of the smaller parishes that dotted Roman neighborhoods, such as that of Suburra and the greater Monti. The resultant peripheral versions of that recognizable style dominated the built environments from East-Central and Eastern Europe.

In the course of writing this dissertation I had found myself more and more moving away from the comfort of looking at images and inspecting spaces into an unknown of reading handwritten documents. However, the content of archival papers has never obscured the beauty of marks made on paper, drawn, scribbled, making glossa or crossing off passages. Throughout the research, I cherished the thought that my work remained firmly in the realm of the visual: after all, even most historically relevant correspondences between Roman dicasteries and Eastern Europe had an undeniable visual impact on readers, whether or not any drawings or prints were included in them. The experience made me ponder the true extent of the meaning of interdisciplinary work within the ambit of history of art and architecture, visual culture, and history.

The groundwork laid down in this research provides for a number of future directions in the field of art and architectural history when it comes to the non-Latin liturgical heritage in the Apennines, the circulation of images in Early Modern European peripheries, and the circulation of people between the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe. For instance, more work is to be done on the Armenians, Maronites, and the Byzantine-Rite Slavs, Greeks, Melkites, and Italo-Albanians in Italian cities in general and in port cities in particular – places like Genova or Palermo remain largely understudied in that regard.[364] Such future project, just as this dissertation, would stress the methodological relevance of working at the intersection of transnational social history, literary

[364] "Slavic Peregrinations in Early Modernity" - my own future collaboration with Russian literary scholar of the Iberian world, Anton Serebrennikov, would re-examine Mediterranean (and beyond) travels of "commoners" from Eastern Europe that were recorded in both western (Italian, Spanish) and Russian sources.

studies, art, architecture, and institutional histories, especially relevant at the time when pestilence and political expediency have prompted creation of further restrictions on travel and exchange of ideas.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A, NOTES ON TERMINOLOGIES

Archival sources used in this dissertation utilize a variety of terms that often coincide with those in use today, but which just as often had at some point carried different meanings. Seemingly identical terms, in Ukrainian, Russian, English, Italian, and Latin, such as *русин* [*rusin*/Rusyn], *русский* [*russkii*/Russian] or *русинский* [*rusinskii*/Ruthene, Ruthenian], *ruteno* or *ruthenus*, both as an adjective and a noun, had rather different meanings in early modern period than they have now. Therefore, a more expanded note on the terminology is in order.

What was the meaning of the terms *Ruthenian* and *Ruthenia* in the early modern period? Simply put, *Ruthenia* is a Latin form of the Slavic word *Rus'* [*Русь*] which was later re-conceptualized and expanded into a modern, and familiar, term *Russia*. The distinction is extremely important as Rus' is not in any way synonymous with modern term *Rossiia* [Россия, Russia] – itself a late-eighteenth-century neologism invented or adopted by Peter the Great for the newly-proclaimed Russian Empire that he had master-minded. Rus' in its entirety had been subdivided into "color-coded" regions such as White Rus', Black Rus', and Red Rus', along with the Kievan Rus', Novgorodian Rus', etc.

White Rus' [*Belaia Rus'*, *Белая Русь*] had eventually given its name to the modern state of the Republic of Belarus' [*Беларусь*] which in 1991 was formed out of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic that reflected the Russian-language term for the region, Byelorussia [*Белоруссия*] – a modification of the term White Rus' into White Russia to approximate Russification of the toponyms in late nineteenth-century Russian Empire. When it comes to the early modern period, and especially the communications between these regions and Rome, White Rus' has been consistently referred to in Latin as *Alba Ruthenia*, and its inhabitants as (*alba*)

ruthenus/rutheni. [365] In that sense, the latter were seen as integral part of the larger Ruthenian nation.

Terms used in this dissertation:

- Belarusian (Eng.): member of the East Slav population, predominant in areas that now comprise modern state of Belarus, but also in neighboring territories. In early modern period described as *ruthenus* (Lat.), *ruteno* (It.) and a dweller of areas alternatively described in Latin as *Lithuania, Ruthenia,* and *Alba Ruthenia*.

- Dalmato, -i, *dalmatico* (It.), *dalmaticus* (Lat.): Southern Slavs of the Adriatic coast (see above).

- *Greco* (It.), *grechus* (Lat.): Greek, someone from Greece; Greek language, or Greek in the sense of the Byzantine liturgical tradition (e.g., Ruthenian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church = Church in Ruthenia that uses Greek liturgy in Church Slavonic language).

- Greek-Catholic (Eng.): a member of a *sui iuris* Church in union with Rome and using Byzantine liturgical tradition, a Uniate; originally Orthodox.

- Illirico (It.), illiricus (Lat.): Southern Slavs of the Adriatic coast (see below).

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[365] The chromatic designations were reflected in Latin nomenclature used in Rome: *Alba Ruthenia*, *Ruthenia Negra*, etc. Fundamentally, all inhabitants of various Rus' shared linguistic unity, being speakers of Ruthenian language. Regional and local dialects of Ruthenian had directly contributed to the formation and development of the distinct East Slavic languages: Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian. In the period covered by this dissertation, Ruthenian language underwent that very separation, albeit slow and not uniform everywhere, into those three languages. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the written and printed Ruthenian even in the eighteenth century maintained its intelligibility and legibility across all of Ruthenian lands (roughly modern Belarus, European Russia, and Ukraine) controlled by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (during that period as part of the larger Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy (later known as Tsardom of Russia). A large number of Muscovite churchmen were alumni of the Mohyla Collegium (Latin: Collegium Kijovense Mohileanum or Collegium Kijovo-Mohilaeni, 1631-1701), and that Kievan example and experience had contributed to the establishment of their own *Славяно-греко-латинская академия* (Greek: Σλαβοελληνολατινική Ακαδημία, Latin: Academia Slavo-Graeco-Latina) in 1687. Mohyla Collegium itself had absorbed a previously established Brotherhood School in Kyiv (1615 – 1631). It was named after the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych, and All Rus', Piotr Mohyla ((Romanian: Petru Movilă, Ukrainian: Петро Симеонович Могила, Russian: Петр Симеонович Могила, Polish: Piotr Mohyła; 1596 – 1647); Metropolitan of Kyiv from 1633-1647, under the *omophorion* of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

- *Lithuania* (Lat.), *Lituania* (It.): territories now in modern Belarus, not to be mistaken with modern Lithuania, the territory that now occupies most of the historic Samogitia of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

- *Lituano* (It*.), lithuanus* (Lat.) = dweller of the historic *Lithuania*; not to be mistaken with dweller/citizen of modern state of Lithuania (see above).

- *Moscoviti* (It.) Muscovites; citizens of Grand Duchy of Muscovy that formed the nucleus of early modern and modern Russia, centered first in Moscow and then (in Settecento and Ottocento) in St. Petersburg; continuously used as a synonym of Russians during that period.

- *Ruteno, ruteni* (It.), *ruthenus, rutheni* (Lat.) = Ruthenian (Eng.): East Slavs, speakers of *rusin, russki* language, roughly the Slavic population of what is now Ukraine and Belarus; not to be mistaken with contemporary term Ruthenian, limited to the cultural and linguistic subgroup of Slavs originally residing in Western Ukraine and Slovakia (and thus in the historic Kingdom of Hungary). Additionally, not to be mistaken with Russians, who in that period are often referred to as *Moscoviti* (Muscovites, see above).

- *Ruthenia* (Lat.), *Rutenia* (It.), *Russia* (Lat.): territories that correspond to the areas now located mostly in Western Ukraine (modern) and partially in the south-west of modern Belarus.

- *Schiavoni, schiavone* (It.), *sclavicus* (Lat.): Southern Slavs of the Adriatic coast; overlapping with designation *Illirico,* Croat, Dalmatian.

- *Serviani*, *serviano* (It.) = Serbians; additionally, often used as a reference to South Slavs in general but describe specifically those among them who subscribed to the Greek Rite, either in Church Slavonic or Greek rendition. Thus, at times, the term overlaps in ethnic meaning with that of Dalmatians, Croats, and *Schiavoni*.

- *Ucraina* (It.) = Ukraine (Eng.): borderland territories in the south and south-east of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

- *Uniti* (It.), as in *ruteni uniti* (It.): Ruthenian Orthodox population that signed the Union of Brest in 1596, coming under administrative authority of the Holy See in Rome, becoming known as "Uniates." Term "ruteni uniti" was used in the early modern period as an antonym of *ruteni schismatici* – Ruthenians that refused the Union with Catholic Church (Union of Brest, 1596) and remained under the nominal control of the Patriarch of Constantinople and, often, under factual control of the Patriarch in Moscow.

APPENDIX B, ROMAN ARCHIVES

As Laurent Tatarenko pointed out in his seminal article from 2011, Roman archives constitute a resource on the history of Eastern Europe the depth and extent of which has not yet been fully explored.[366] While the Italian holdings in general allow us to construct a uniquely revealing perspective on the political and ecclesiastical affairs in Eastern Europe – especially considering the fact that Rome was the final destination for the multitude of the reports from that region – the archives also contain the wealth of information about the Eastern Europeans in Rome herself. It is precisely with that expectation in mind that I started to conduct a careful investigation of the archival holdings, first in Rome, and then in Venice and Naples. While most of the documents once belonged to the Catholic Church, her dicasteries and some religious orders (e.g., Jesuits[367]), after Italian Unification, many of the historic documents made their way into the state archives in those three cities (though some, of course, had been housed there from the beginning, such as those in Venice or Vatican).

The archival holdings can be divided into its relevance to the specific subjects & locations, as can be seen from the list following abbreviations for this dissertation. The list, far from being exhaustive, covers only three of the major centers in Italy (Rome, Venice, Naples), and misses what is potentially available in places such as Milan, Padua, Genoa, or Palermo. The ecclesiastical archives, whether still in the possession of the Church or subsumed into state holdings, particularly

[366] Л. Татаренко, "История Смуты в фондах римских церковных архивов: состояние источников и новые пути исследований" [History of the Time of Troubles in the Holdings of the Church Archives in Rome: The State of Sources and New Paths of Inquiry], *Средние Века: Исследования по истории Средневековья и Раннего Нового времени* [Middle Ages: Studies in the History of Middle Ages and Early Modern Period], 72/3-4 (2011), p. 135-163.
[367] While the bulk of Jesuit archives is in Rome in the Order's possession) - Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome), some of the Jesuit documents have entered state archives such as Archivio di Stato di Roma.

those of distinct orders, present an abundant source of information integral to our understanding of architectural and art history of the period. While this fact has been already well understood by scholars of the medieval and early modern periods, my research (that inevitably uncovered a lot of modern and even contemporary [i.e., post-1945] historical materials) suggests that the ecclesiastical and congregational holdings may hold answers to many of questions on the modern and contemporary architectural history in Italy and beyond.

As mentioned in the bibliography section of this dissertation, majority of the primary sources for this chapter in particular and for the whole project in general came from several Roman archival holdings: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio di Stato di Roma, and Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide. While a greater number of other archives and libraries had been consulted, the collections of these three main ones are the focus of this Appendix.

Archivio Segreto Vaticano

The *Schedario Garampi*, in its volume, *Chiese di Roma* (Vol. II, indice 556) lists 26 references to SS. Sergio e Bacco (di Suburra) found in church documents, from 1291 to 1559.[368] Below is the list of these instances, with years, content, and specific archival references:

1) 1291 AD, No. 7676 "Ecclesia SS. Serg. et Bac. de Urbe committibis Landulfo Jõis Landulfi de Columna" N. 4. III. 316 (Reg. Vat., Nicholaus IV, anno III, epistola 316).

2) 1297 AD, No. 7677 "Ecclesia Sergi et Bacchi de Urbe nunc Card[na]li proprio carens committi … Landulfo Columne" 03. B. IV. 20 (Reg. Vat., Bonifacius VIII, anno 4, epistola 20).

3) 1327 AD, No. 7678 "Joi b? m. abbi S. Sergii Urbis Succ. Elias" J. 22. XI. p. 2. ep. 1656 (Reg. Vat., Ioannes XXII, anno 11, pars 2, epistola 1656.

4) 1330 AD, No. 7674 "1330. 14 Agn. ad 11. maij. Martinus rector SS. Sergij et Bacchi de

[368] ASV, *Schedario Garampi, Chiese di Roma,* vol. 2, Indice 556, ff. 151rv.

Suburra / brvis / Instrum[enta]" (during the papacy of John XXII).

5) 1381 AD, No. 7679 "Ecclesia SS. Sergi. et Bachi Urbis" U. 6. III. to. 1. p. 2. 221. 8 (Reg. Vat., Urbanus VI, anno 3, vol. 1. page 2, page 222.8).

6) 1389-1404 AD [papacy of Boniface IX], No. 7680 "13 ges erã occupabores ecc(lesia) SS. Sergii et Bacchi de Urbe prebextu Erãr(s) ap." B. g. to. s. p. 254. t. (Reg. Vat., Bonifacius IX, vol. 5, page 254).

7) 1402 AD, No. 7681 "Pro Andrea Palutii Str = busriata, Can[onica]tus SS. Sergii et Bachi ~" A. B. B. 9. XII. 10. p. 263 (Reg. Lat., Bonifacius IX, anno 12, vol. 10, page 263).

8) 1402 AD, No. 7682 "Pro Jnē Mci Petii, Can[onica]tis SS. Sergii et Bacchi ~" A. B. B. 9. XII. 6. p. 228. [5 or 8?] (Reg. Lat., Bonifacius IX, anno 12, vol. 6, page 228).

9) 1421 AD, No. 7684 "Urbis pro Bartholo. Frãnci de Urbevet~. nova provo. Parrolis SS. Sergii et Bacchii de Subura" AB. Mart. V. IV. 2. p. 300 (Reg. Lat., Martinus V, anno 4, vol. 2, page 300).

10) 1421 AD, No. 7685 "Urbis Pro Joē Anto. rectore Parrõlis SS. Sergii et Bacchi, Parrolis p[er] obit." A. B. Mart. V. IV. 7. p. 240 (Reg. Lat., Martinus V, anno 4, vol. 7, page 240).

11) 1423 AD, No. 7683 "Urbis Pro Honuphrio de Surgis Can[onica]tus SS. Sergii, et Bachj ac Simplex in Porroli S. Andreae de Aquarenis p[er] Reliq(?) ~" A. B. Marti V. VI. 2. p. 34. (Reg. Lat. Martinus V, anno 6, vol. 2, page 34).369

12) 1444 AD, No. 7687 "Urbis Pro Joē Basilii de Droysio Can[onica]bus SS. Sergii et Bacci p[er] ob." AB. Eug. IV. XII. 1. p. 269 (Reg. Lat., Eugenius IV, anno 12, vol. 1, page 269).

13) 1450 AD, No. 7688 "Urbis Pro Luca Marci, Can[onica]bus SS. Sergii et Bacchi p[er] ob." AB. N. V. III. 10 p. 49 (Reg. Lat., Nicolaus V, anno 3, vol. 10, page 49).

14) 1464 AD, No. 7689 "Urbis Pro Joē Angelo de Buccabellis, Can[onica]bus SS. Sergii et Bacchi p[er] ob." AB. Pius II. VI. 7. p. 161 (Reg. Lat., Pius II, anno 6, vol. 7, page 161).

15) 1476 AD, No. 7691 "Urbis Jo. Ant. de Busseto: Can[onica]bus SS. Sergii et Bacchi p[er] reliqm." AB. Six. IV. A. v. lib. 1. p. 255 (Reg. Lat., Sixtus IV, anno 5, vol. 1, page 255).

16) 1478 AD, No. 7690 "Urbis Bap[tis]tae de Canonilis, Can[onica]bus SS. Sergii et Bachii p[er] reliqu." AB. Six. IV. An. 7. lib. 2. p. 163 (Reg. Lat., Sixtus IV, anno 7, vol. 2, page 163).

17) 1471-1484 [papacy of Sixtus IV], No. 7692 "Canonicabus Eccl[es]ia SS. Sergii et Bacchi de Urbe" Six. IV. Bull. lib. 51. p. 131 (Sixtus IV, Bullarum [Reg., Vat.], liber 51, page

369 Ibid., fol. 151v. from here on.

131).

18) 1471-1484 [papacy of Sixtus IV], No. 7693 “Suppressio Canonicabus Eccl[es]iae SS. Sergii et Bacchi, et erectio domum rectorum” Six. IV. Bull. lib. 802. p. 279 (Sixtus IV, Bullarum [Reg., Vat.], liber 82, page 279).

19) 1486(?) AD, No. 7694 “Urbis Pro Bartholo. de Anusticis(?) Capp[ella]nia in Eccl[es]ia SS. Sergi et Baccchi de Urbe per reliq.m.” AB. Inn. VIII. 22 (II), 16. p. 275 (Reg. Lat., Innocentius VIII, anno 2, vol. 16, page 275).

20) 1492 AD, No. 7695 “Urbis Pro Jeronymo Sebastiani Paleoncini(?) Simp. in Eccl[es]ia SS. Sergii et Bacchi p[er] ob.” AB. Inno. VIII. IX. 14. p. 65 (Reg. Lat., Innocentius VIII, anno 9, vol. 14, page 65).

21) 1496 AD, No. 7696 “Pro Lucretio de Levis Parrochialis SS. Martini, Sergii et Bacchi, et duae Cappellaniae ~Urbis p[er] resignatione.” AB. Al. VI. 4. t. III. p. 69 (Reg. Lat., Alexander VI, anno 4, vol. 3, page 69).

22) 1503 AD, No. 7699 “Pro Jacobo Nino Simplex in Eccl[es]ia SS. Sergii et Bacchi Urbis p[er] cessione.” AB. Jul. II. 1. J?. 19. p. 339 (Reg. Lat., Julius II, anno 1, vol. 19, page 339).

23) 1507 AD, No. 7697 “Pro Juliano de Bonsignoris Parrochialis SS. Sergii et Bacchi in regimine monialicum” AB. Jul. II. 4. t. 26. p. 154 (Reg. Lat., Julius II, anno 4, vol. 26, page 154).

24) 1533 AD, No. 7698 “Pro Joā Garsini Parrochialis SS. Sergii et Bacchi Urbis p[er] resignatione.” AB. Cl. VII. 10. J. Nov. 26 ? p. 204 (Reg. Lat., Clemens VII, anno 10, vol. 26?, page 204).

25) 1539 AD, No. 7700 “Pro Ascanio de Desonsoribus Portio Simplicis in eccl[es]ia SS. Sergii et Bacchi Urbis p[er] resign.” AB. Paul. 3. 5. libr. 3. p. 173 (Reg. Lat., Paulus III, anno 5, vol. 3, page 173).

26) 1559 AD, No. 7701 “Pro Germanico Corradi Can[onic]us SS. Ser. gii et Bacchi urbis p[er] cessione.” AB. Paul. IV. 4. J. 5. p. 269 (Reg. Lat., Paulus IV, anno 4, vol. 5(?), page 269.

While some of documents related to the Ruthenian period in the life of SS. Sergio e Bacco can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Roma, the bulk of the documents is held by the Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide and is concentrated mostly in the following volumes: APF, Lettere volgari; APF, SC, Ospizio dei Ruteni, Madonna del Pascolo, Vols. 1-4d.; APF, SC, Moscovia,

Polonia, Ruteni; APF, CP, Ruteni; APF. SC, Fondo di Vienna; and APF, Collegi varii. Additionally, some documents come from BAV, ARSI, ASR (*buste* 12-15), and ASV.

Archivio di Stato di Roma

Most of the archived historical records that mention the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco happen to belong to the Early Modern Period. A large number of them is in the Archivio di Stato di Roma, specifically in the collections: ASR, Camerale III, Roma, Chiese e monasteri, *busta* 1895, and ASR, Catasti urbane di Roma, Presidenza generale del censo, Rione Monti. The last two folders (14-15) of the Archivio di Stato belong to the modern period.

The sixteen folders of ASR, Camerale III, Roma, Chiese e monasteri, *busta* 1895, constitute the largest holdings of the Archivio di Stato, known to be dedicated to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco. The documents cover the period from 24 October 1536 to 23 October 1812. Since the last two folders deal with the period of 1810-1812 and will be examined later in the chapter, this section will stay within the Early Modern Period and end with the folder no. 11, which belongs to the early Seicento (ca. 1620s). Folder no. 9, which deals with the visitation of the church before it was to be transferred to the Ruthenians, will be addressed in the subchapter that follows. Below is the list of the folders within *busta* 1895, their chronology and a short archival description as per the online catalogue:

- 1) 24 October 1536: Atto di concessione di una vigna fuori porta Salaria, fatta dal rettore dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, per il canone annuo di quattro barili di vino.
- 2) 30 June 1565 — 7 July 1592 (largest document): Atti relativi alla controversia sorta tra la Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco e Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini e la madre Giulia, per il pagamento di un canone annuo per una vigna contigua a detta Chiesa.

- 3) 19 December 1569: Istrumento per il canone sopra una casa a via dei Pontefici, appartenente alla Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco (Copia con allegato un atto del 9 giugno 1732; nota estrinseca: Presente un allegato).

- 4) 12 August 1585: Il rettore della Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco si obbliga a far celebrare una messa ogni mese in un altare che sarà edificato in onore della Madonna di Monferrato da Giulio Capilupio nella detta Chiesa (documento in copia).

- 4bis) 3 January 1590: Istrumento stipulato dal rettore della Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco con Giovanni e Giorgio Pedotti, relativo all' enfiteusi di una casetta vicino alla Chiesa di S. Salvatore delle Tre Immagini (documento in copia).

- 5) 22 March 1601: Atto relativo alla vendita di una vigna fuori Porta Pia di proprietà dei canonici di S. Maria Maggiore e della Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco.

- 6) 8 May 1614: Istrumento di sublocazione perpetua di un terreno sito nel rione Monti, "ad meliorandum et fabricandum domos", di proprietà della Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, precedentemente in enfiteusi di Annibale "de Nobilibus de Casterlis."

- 7) 23 February 1623: Concessione della Chiesa di S. Salvatore alla Suburra e delle sue pertinenze alla Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, tenuta dai frati minori di S. Francesco da Paola.

- 8) 30 August 1632: Attestato da parte di Filippo Guidotti ed altri sul legato lasciato dal sacerdote Lorenzo Guidotti alla Parrocchia dei SS. Sergio e Bacco.

- 9) 12 May 1639: Decreto della Sacra visita alle case e alla Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco applicato al Collegio dei [.]uteni [sic. Ruteni].[370]

- 10) 1st half of 17th c. (?1620): Causa "romana domuncularum" tra i frati di S. Francesco da Paola ai Monti e il parroco dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, da una parte, e Vittoria e Giustina Duranti, dall' altra. XVII.

- 11) 1st half of 17th c. (?1620): Atto relativo alla causa tra il parroco dei SS. Sergio e Bacco e Giulio, frate della Congregazione della consolazione, locatario di una casetta annessa alla Chiesa di S. Salvatore delle Tre immagini, che è in possesso della Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco.

- 12) 21 January 1670 es. d. [2nd half of 17th c.]: Dichiarazioni di due canonici del SS. Sergio e Bacco sulle rendite derivanti dai loro canonicati.

- 13) 15 February 171[7]: Atto pubblico relativo al canone di scudi 5, che pagava alla Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco Francesco Corgnano per una casa nel rione Monti.

[370] The word "Ruteni" has not been correctly transcribed by ASR.

- 14) 26 June 1810: Stato nominativo dei religiosi del Convento della Madonna del Pascolo dei SS. Sergio e Bacco.

- 15) 23 October 1812: Rapporto sulle entrate ed uscite della Chiesa ed Ospizio dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, detto della Madonna del pascolo, presentato dalla Commisisone delle Chiese dal rettore amministratore, Giordano Micocienziz [sic. Mickiewicz].[371]

Additional to the *busta* 1895, relevant information within the Archivio di Stato's holdings is contained within *busta* 1900 that is dedicated to the church of S. Francesco di Paola ai Monti:[372]

- 1661: Stato attivo e passivo del Convento e della Parrocchia di S. Francesco di Paola ai Monti, "olim detta de SS. Sergio e Bacco".

Furthermore, the collection that deals with public festivals, contains two important eighteenth-century mentions of the church under its post-1719 name: Chiesa della Madonna del Pascolo:

- Feste religiose [sec. XVIII] con un doc. del 1538 agosto, *busta* 2139:
  Richieste dirette a mons. Governatore di Roma per ottenere la licenza di sparare razzi e fuochi artificiali e/o fare un'orchestra in luoghi pubblici in occasione di feste religiose. [1775/09 - 1785/09]
  "I benefattori della chiesa della Madonna del Pascolo ai Monti chiedono a mons. Cornaro, governatore di Roma, la licenza di far sparare un girello nella crociata della piazza della Madonna dei Monti in onore di detta Madonna. [1776]"[373]

- Feste religiose [sec. XVIII] con un doc. del 1538 agosto, *busta* 2139: ibidem:
  "Ignazio Dovinola, fratello dell' adunanza della Madonna del Pascolo, chiedea mons. Cavalchini, pro-governatore di Roma, la licenza di fare un girello vicino alla detta chiesa. [1785]"[374]

[371] The last name of the rector of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Fr. Jordan Mickiewicz has been erroneously transcribed in ASR catalogue.
[372] ASR, Camerale III, Roma, Chiese e monasteri, Chiesa di S. Francesco di Paola ai Monti. 1661 - 1849/04/19, *busta* 1900.
[373] ASR, Camerale III, Roma, Teatri, Feste religiose [sec. XVIII] con un doc. del 1538 agosto, busta 2139:
Richieste dirette a mons. Governatore di Roma per ottenere la licenza di sparare razzi e fuochi artificiali e/o fare un'orchestra in luoghi pubblici in occasione di feste religiose. [1775/09 - 1785/09].
[374] Ibid., 1785.

When it comes to the sixteen folders in *busta* 1895, folder no. 9 belongs chronologically after the two folders that follow it – nos. 10 and 11 – and before the no. 12. Otherwise, the information contained in each folder is addressed below.

Folder no. 6, dated 8 May 1614, is described in the ASR catalogue as such: Istrumento di sublocazione perpetua di un terreno sito nel rione Monti, "ad meliorandum et fabricandum domos", di proprietà della Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, precedentemente in enfiteusi di Annibale "de Nobilibus de Casterlis" [Public notarized act of a perpetual sublease of a lot located in the Monti district, "for the improvement of and the construction of homes," owned by the Church of SS. Sergio and Bacco, previously emphyteusis (long leasehold) of Annibale de Nobilibus de Casterlis]. The information in the document suggests that the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco was a landowner within the neighborhood of Monti, leasing its lot(s) with an eye for improvement of such lot(s) and construction of, likely rental, homes to generate additional profit.

Folder 9, dated 12 May 1639, contains the Decreto della Sacra visita alle case e alla Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco applicato al Collegio dei [R]uteni [The Decree on the Holy (See's) visitation of the houses and the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, given to the College of the Ruthenians]. The document is significant in several aspects, fist is that it clearly suggests that the "parochial building" was "adjacent" to the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, and not standing in the distance from it, supporting my suggestion that the corner house with frescoed ceilings was indeed the original *ospizio*. Secondly, the document also shows the from the very start of the negotiations for the Ruthenian national church, the agreed-upon church and the building next to it were intended to be the sites of the "church for the Ruthenian Nation" and a "college of the Ruthenians" – Ecclesia Nationis Ruthenorum & Collegio de' Ruteni. Thirdly, the document reveals that the monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco was a foundation of a certain Giovanni Pizzullo the Calabrian

(Joannes Pizzullo Calabro), "fundatore di conventis in suo ultimo testamento." Pizzullo is mentioned as a priest and member of the Minims of the *Natione Calabra* in Fioravante's *Roma ex ethnica sacra* of 1668.375 Since the Minims of St. Francis, founded in Calabria, acquired the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in 1622/23, the period during which Don Pizzullo could have mentioned the church in his will is 1623–1639. In light of the membership in the Order of Minims by Pizzulo himself, and the fact that SS. Sergio e Bacco was at the time under Minims control, we can safely assume that the "convento" mentioned on 12 May 1639 is that of the Minim friars, not the earlier Benedictines that had been known to reside at SS. Sergio e Bacco in years past.

Folder 12, dated 21 January 1670 es. d. [2nd half of 17th c.]: Dichiarazioni di due canonici del SS. Sergio e Bacco sulle rendite derivanti dai loro canonicati [Declarations of two canons of the SS. Sergio and Bacco on the income deriving from their canonicates].

Folder 13, dated 15 February, 171[7]: Atto pubblico relativo al canone di scudi 5, che pagava alla Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco Francesco Corgnano per una casa nel rione Monti [Public act concerning the rent of 5 scudi, paid to the Church of the SS. Sergio and Bacco & Francesco Corgnano for a house in the Monti district].

As mentioned earlier, there are two documents from the ASR, Camerale III, Roma, Teatri, Feste religiose [sec. XVIII] con un doc. del 1538 agosto, *busta* 2139: Richieste dirette a mons. Governatore di Roma per ottenere la licenza di sparare razzi e fuochi artificiali e/o fare un'orchestra in luoghi pubblici in occasione di feste religiose. [1775/09 - 1785/09] [Requests directed to Msgr. Governor of Rome to obtain the license to shoot rockets and fireworks and / or to have an orchestra in public places on the occasion of religious festivals]: "I benefattori della chiesa della Madonna

375 Martinelli, Fioravante. *Roma ex ethnica sacra sanctorum Petri, et Pauli apostolica praedicatione profuso sanguine* (Romae: Ex typographia Fabij de Falco, 1668), 449.

del Pascolo ai Monti chiedono a mons. Cornaro, governatore di Roma, la licenza di far sparare un girello nella crociata della piazza della Madonna dei Monti in onore di detta Madonna. [1776]" [The benefactors of the Madonna del Pascolo church in Monti ask Mgr. Cornaro, governor of Rome, the license to shoot fireworks at the street crossing of the square of the Madonna dei Monti in honor of the said Madonna]. Additionally, only nine years later, from the same *busta*, another small document records a similar request: "Ignazio Dovinola, fratello dell' adunanza della Madonna del Pascolo, chiedea mons. Cavalchini, pro-governatore di Roma, la licenza di fare un girello vicino alla detta chiesa. [1785]" [Ignazio Dovinola, member of the Sodality of the Madonna del Pascolo, asked Mgr. Cavalchini, pro-governor of Rome, the license to do fireworks near the said church]. Just like the mention of the "benefattori" in the 1776 document, the membership of the petitioner, Ignazio Dovinola, in the Adunanza della Madonna del Pascolo is an assurance to the Roman authorities on the true intentions of the petitioners. The sodality of the Madonna involved many of the SS. Sergio e Bacco parishioners as well as local neighbors with the particular devotion to the Madonna del Pascolo – a copy of Our Lady of Żyrowice. The fireworks were not to be construed as a disrespect to the church in front of which it would be staged, and the mention of the membership in the Adunanza was a proof to that.

Two documents in the Archivio di Stato have been preserved from the time of the Napoleonic occupation of Rome (1798–1814) and are useful mostly in confirming minimally staffed conditions at the Ruthenian church during early Ottocento. Folder 14 dated 26 June 1810: Stato nominativo dei religiosi del Convento della Madonna del Pascolo dei SS. Sergio e Bacco [Registration status of the religious of the Convent of the Madonna del Pascolo dei SS. Sergio and Bacco]. The only person mentioned is the church's rector, Fr. Jordan Mickiewicz, listed as being sixty years of age at the time, having been born in "Premislia en Polonie," being a "Basiliain

Ruthene" with the rank of "Pretre" and the function of "Recteur." The years of his residence at the place are marked as thirty-six. The box of "Observations et mitations" has a remark "Reste comme Recteur" and a number "5852."

Folder 15 dated 23 October 1812: Rapporto sulle entrate ed uscite della Chiesa ed Ospizio dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, detto della Madonna del pascolo, presentato dalla Commisisone delle Chiese dal rettore amministratore, Giordano Micocienziz [Report on the income and expenses of the Church and Hospice of the SS. Sergio and Bacco, known as the Madonna del Pascolo, presented by the Commission of the Churches by the rector, Jordan (sic.) Mickiewicz].

The *Catasto urbano Pio-Gregoriano,* as well as other sources from the Archivio del Comune Moderno Postunitario,[376] provide some idea on the ownership and the sizes of the buildings around the Piazza Madonna dei Monti. In late Settecento and into Ottocento, all three houses on both sides of the church, the corner one on Via dei Serpenti, and the two on Via de' Zingari (1-2), have been owner by the Church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, at the time mostly known as "Chiesa della Madonna del Pascolo" or simply "Chiesa del Pascolo." The *proprietario* of all three houses is listed as *Rettore della Madonna del Pascolo.* While all the houses of the *isola* 52 (block 52) facing the piazza were by that time indeed owned by the church, the next-door neighbors of the church properties on that block were the following: the Via dei Serpenti house (now no. 160), next to the corner house, was split between Teresa Durani del fu Raimondo (a bottega and the 1mo piano) and Conte Vincenzo Salimeni del fu Giovanni Battista (2o and 3o piani)[377]; while on the other, eastern corner of the block, the corner house of the Via degli Zingari & Via del Boschetto was owned by

[376] In this information I am relying on the Sistema Informativo Geografico Descriptio Romae, set up by the Universita di Roma Tre. http://www.dipsuwebgis.uniroma3.it The information system combined several archival sources and the Map of Rome by Nolli.
[377] The original (by 1700s-1800s) four-story building now has a fifth and sixth stories added to it at a later date, still visibly different from the rest of the 1700s structure.

Luigi Pelliccioni (three-story house). The large house, facing the Via dei Serpenti, but wrapping around the apse of SS. Sergio e Bacco, was owned by the sisters Tinozzi (now no. 155-158, five-story building). Diagonally from the church, at the east corner of the Piazza, a small *isola* 53 was formed by two houses, a three-story one facing the Piazza, and one-story house behind it, both owned by a certain Giovanni di fu Luigi Litta.[378]

Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide

The largest bulk of the materials, thus far known to scholars, related to the Ruthenian national church in Rome belongs to the dicastery of the Church that was directly responsible for the day-to-day operation of that national church – the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, now known as the Congregation of the Evangelization of the People. Since the Congregation was responsible for the missions and any Catholic activity in the peripheries of (Catholic) Christendom (therefore deemed mission territories), all the areas newly united to the Holy See were in its jurisdiction. The Ruthenian (Greek-rite) Church, having signed the Union of Brest with the Catholic Church in 1596, had maintained contacts with Rome precisely via the Congregation. At the time of the establishment of the Ruthenian national church in Rome (late 1630s), the

[378] It is quite possible that Luigi and his son(?) Giovanni Litta were part of the prominent Milanese family Litta that served often in Rome. The family provided several cardinals to the Church, and, most famously, was involved both in the history of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian Greek Catholicism (and thus in SS. Sergio e Bacco across from their house) and in the history of Russia. Cardinal Lorenzo Litta(-Visconti-Arese) (1756-1820) was the Nuncio to Poland (1794), Prefect of the Propaganda Fide (1814-1818), Bishop of Sabina, Camerlengo of the Church, and the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, while his brother, Giulio Renato Litta-Visconti-Arese (1763-1839), was the highest-ranked official of the Russian Empire as the *ober-kamerger* (Oberkammerherr or great chamberlain) in years 1826-1839. As such, two brothers were some of the most powerful men in the Catholic Church and the Russian Empire respectively, and, both, were directly involved in the affairs of the Uniate Church. The fact that a house near a Uniate church in Rome was owned by someone from Litta family in the 18th and 19th century requires a closer examination.

Congregation was headed by Pope Urban VIII's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, but the Pope's brother, Cardinal Antonio Barberini *seniore* acted in his stead for years. It is no wonder that the fortunes of the Ruthenian church in Rome both officially – via the offices of the Pope, and that of the Propaganda Fide – and privately, involved nearly all the major members of the Barberini family, and their satellites.

Materials, related to SS. Sergio e Bacco, held in the Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide (APF) can be divided roughly into two categories: those related to the general relations between the Holy See/Propaganda Fide and the Ruthenian Church, and those dealing directly with quotidian operations of the national church on the ground, in Monti. The latter also includes folders likely inherited from the very archives of the church, as the folders contain some examples of the material and visual culture of the parish and the *ospizio.* Below is the list of the APF folders/volumes that are essential to the history of the Ruthenian Uniate Church in general and to the history of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in particular:

- APF, *Lettere volgari*.
- APF, *Scritture riferite nei Congressi*379 (*SC*), Moscovia, Polonia, Ruteni, vol. 1 (1624-1674), vol. 2 (1675-1699), vol. 3 (1700-1719).
- APF, *Congregazioni Particolari*380 (*CP*), Ruteni, vol. 14 (1640), vol. 17 (1671-1672), vol. 20 (1664-1666), vol. 24 (1679), vol. 25 (1680-1681), vol. 29 (1680-1697), vol. 64 (1720-1722), vol. 65 (1723), vol. 68 (1724-1727).
- APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, Vol. 17 Settentrione: Rutenia. Polonia. Kiovia. Ungaria. 1658-1666.
- APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, Vol. 18 Settentrione: Ruteni. 1658-1668.381
- APF, *Collegi varii*.
- APF, *SC*, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo) nella Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco (1639-1892), vol. 1 (1639-1800), vol. 2 (1801-1825), vol. 3 (1825-1892), vol. 4a (1719-1804), vol. 4b (1757-1826), vol. 4c (1768-1825), vol. 4d (1803/1820), vol. 4e (1826).

[379] Documents referred to in the weekly meetings.
[380] Special Commissions
[381] The two *Fondo di Vienna* volumes here originally belonged to the *Scritture Originali riferite nei Congregazioni Generali* (*SOCG*) [Original documents referred to in the general meetings].

Many of the above-mentioned materials had already been transcribed and published by the scholars (e.g., Athanasius Velykyi) within the Ruthenian Order of St. Basil the Great (Basilians), as part of their monumental *Analecta OSBM* series, Šeptyckyj's *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, However, as historians, Basilian scholars often overlooked or left understudied visual materials found among documents in these volumes. For instance, a large portion of such materials preserved in the volumes of the *SC*, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo) nella Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, remains un-transcribed. Moreover, as the focus of the Basilian investigations had always been that of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian history, some of the documents pertaining to the Italian devotional life and Roman Catholic liturgical functioning of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco had also been left unexamined or unincorporated into a narrative of the Ruthenian national church's history, one that would give a larger presence to those local, Italian, and specifically Monti/Suburra elements.

The documents from the volumes of APF, *SC*, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo) nella Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco (1639-1892) require closer examinations:

Vol. 1 (covering the period of 1639-1800), initially labeled as "Ospizio 7" on its spine, contains letters, some drawings, and objects, preserved, evidently, from the church's original archives. Importantly, one of the documents (ff 38-62v) marked as "Ospizio del Pascolo Armeni 1743" and is an inventory of the belongings of an Armenian ecclesiastic, Msgr. Suchias Khaxavat, titular bishop of Aleppo.382 The inventory was compiled by SS. Sergio e Bacco's rector, Fr. Ignazio Kulczynski in 1735.383 The document gives substance to the complex liturgical reality of the day-

[382] Khaxavat, Suchias, born in Costantinopole, son of Minas. Titular bishop of Aleppo. Lector at the Collegio di Propaganda Fide in the Armenian language (1735-1743). Th edocument is inscribed as "Inventario delli beni ed altro di M. Jasavat Arcivescovo di Aleppo morto nel detto ospizio dei SS. Sergio e Bacco."

[383] A discrepancy in dates: Khaxavat died in 1743. The date on the document is 1735 – the year Bishop Khaxavat started working at Collegio di Propaganda Fide.

to-day functioning of the Ruthenian national church toward the middle of Ottocento, as it appears to have embraced the theory of shared liturgical space, where two or more liturgical rites could coexist on a weekly basis. Further weight to that is given by a list (fol. 330) of Masses, Feasts, Celebrations, Expositions, etc., dated 28 August 1793. The very presence of very "Latin" terminology suggests an overwhelming Latinization of the Byzantine liturgy as celebrated by the Ruthenian Uniate clergy at SS. Sergio e Bacco.

Vol. 2 (1801-1825)
Vol. 3 (1825-1892)
Vol. 4a (1719-1804)
Vol. 4b (1757-1826)
Vol. 4c (1768-1825)
Vol. 4d (1803/1820)
Vol. 4e (1826)

Note on Visitations and Inventories

Throughout their history in the modern period the church and the hospice of SS. Sergio e Bacco experienced several instances when the material in either of them was catalogued. The two earliest inventories were taken on the occasions of visitations, while the others seem to have been done possibly due to some institutional changes that prompted careful listing of all the belongings. Below is the list of all known instances, all records kept at the Archivio di Propaganda Fide:

- 1656, August 19. A visitation conducted by Fr. Virgilio Spada.[384]

- 1661, May 18. A visitation[385] conducted by Ivan Paštrić that also produced an additional document – an inventory of the material possessions left at the death (1640) of Rafajil Korsak.[386]

- 1735, May 2. Inventory[387] by Fr. Ignazio Kulczynski, also includes 1743 inventory of the

[384] APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 17, fol. 164-167v.
[385] APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 18, fol. 12-20.
[386] APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 18, fol. 21v.
[387] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo), Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, vol. 1, fol. 38r-62v. Also transcribed in Šeptyckyj, *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, vol. VI, pp. 51-54.

items left at the death of the Bishop of Aleppo, the Armenian Suchias Khaxavat.

- 1820. Inventory of the church by the Fr. Jordan Mickiewicz.[388]
- 1827, January 27. Inventory of the items in the hospice.[389]
- 1848. Inventory of the items in the hospice.[390]
- 1869. Inventory of the rector's library.[391]

The documents held at Propaganda Fide show a variety of material culture conserved alongside manuscripts, printed matter, and ephemera: prints, drawings, hand-drawn floor plans, and liturgical objets such as scapulars. Furthermore, the above-mentioned inventories contain a wealth of descriptive information about the material culture within the church and its *ospizio.* Similarly, it is possible that some of the Archivio di Stato folders originally contains equally important visual sources. However, unlike Propaganda Fide, ASR made a concerted effort in removing drawings from the folders into a separate category of holdings. The progress of these ongoing efforts complicates tracing down any of the visual sources if any at all existed at ASR. In the meantime, that makes holding of the Archives of Propaganda Fide the most fruitful in pursuing lesser studied visual culture of the Ruthenians in Rome.

[388] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 4d.
[389] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 3.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid.

APPENDIX C, 1820 INVENTORY OF SS. SERGIO E BACCO

One of the extant inventories conducted at the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco is held at the Historic Archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome (APF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi [SC], Ospizio dei Ruteni, Vol. 4d) and is dated to 1820. Below is the transcription of the said unpaginated document, incomplete in some categories, yet remaining a testament rich in interpretive possibilities. One of the primary reasons behind this transcription was to ascertain the full extent of material culture still preserved at the Ruthenian national church at the very onset of the Ottocento – the period that saw a nearly complete absorption of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belarusian) Uniate territories in Eastern Europe into a rapidly expanding Russian Empire, fundamentally inimical to the idea of a large Byzantine-rite church in union with Rome within Russia-controlled territories. The diplomatic and political strife that the Uniate Church experienced in the wake of the three partitions of the PLC (1772, 1793, 1795), had been felt in Rome, at SS. Sergio e Bacco, at the procurator's seat of the Uniate Church. While ultimately the switch from being under the civic authority of the King of Poland to that of the Russian Emperor (or the Empress) finalized in 1795, Ruthenian Church enjoyed the status quo in Rome only briefly, as Papal States fell only a year later (1796) under the control of Napoleon's army. Rome was liberated by the Neapolitan forces in the fall of 1799, yet the papal control had again been interrupted in the period of 1808-1815.

Under Napoleonic regime SS. Sergio e Bacco was, like most of the monastic institutions, threatened with closure and repossession. The latter universal measures of the suppression of monasteries were avoided by successfully invoking the letter of the institution of the Ruthenian national church by Pope Urban VIII, claiming that SS. Sergio e Bacco and its *ospizio* belonged actually to the *Natione Rutena* and not to the Basilian Order that only "oversaw" the otherwise

national institution. Thus, the possessions of the church and the *ospizio*, recorded in the period leading up to 1820,[392] allow us to understand the state of the the material culture accumulated at the Ruthenian church in Rome by the end of Early Modern period and the early decades of the Modern period. The 1820 inventory is particularly important in its mentions of artworks and reliquaries as well as the particularities of church furnishings, such as confessionals, pews or kneelers, etc. I suggest that the listed items, first and foremost, show that by the end of the Settecento period, SS. Sergio e Bacco, commonly known as the church of the Madonna del Pascolo, had been fully absorbed into its Italian cultural surroundings in the Monti, and had been thoroughly Latinized. In that, the church was very much an example of the phenomenon of the liturgical Latinization of the Ruthenian Greek Catholicism already discussed throughout the dissertation, and, quite possibly, an early catalyst of this development.

Kneelers, confessionals, lace vestments – all traditional Latin Church accoutrements, normatively absent from the Byzantine Rite, are found in this inventory aplenty. However, one category, alongside "the Latin Vestments" (*Paramenti Sacri Latini*), is the category for the Byzantine-Rite vestments (*Paramenti Ruteni*), indicating that SS. Sergio e Bacco had continued celebrations of both liturgical rites – Roman and Byzantine – well into the early Ottocento. In fact, the number of chasubles (*pianete*) in the sacristy indicates that the struggling small bi-ritual Ruthenian church in Rome was far from being decimated of its rich material culture: sixteen chasubles of various liturgical colors and fabrics, and two tripartite full sets (*ternario*) with matching vestments necessary for the celebration of a Solemn High Mass in the Roman Rite (with

[392] One line in the inventory lists the year 1823, despite the final signature of Mickiewicz of 1820.

a priest, a deacon, and a subdeacon). Not counting lace items, such collection of just Roman-rite vestments is rather impressive.

Likewise, impressive is a collection of the Eastern liturgical vestments (*Paramenti Ruteni*) that consisted of fourteen *pianete*, suggesting that the inventory's writer used the Italian term for the Latin-Rite vestment, *pianeta* (chasuble), as a way to refer to its Byzantine-Rite equivalent – a *phelonion* (φαιλόνια). It is unclear whether the *phelonia* listed were in the "Russian style" (stiffened back of the neck, single opening) or "Greek style" (tailored to hug the shoulders, round opening for the hear is further helped by a single vertical slit in the middle), however the very choice of the words "paramenti ruteni" would suggest the former.

The next category of note, "Pieviali," lists four different copes (*pluviale* or *cappa*) that would be used either by a priest or a bishop in the Roman Rite ceremonies outside of celebration of the Mass. Numerous "curling" surplices – indicating that they are examples of a very Roman *cotta griccia* – are another item associated with post-Tridentine Catholicism. Presence of these additional (and rather expansive) vestments in the collection of SS. Sergio e Bacco suggest meticulous preparedness to celebrate any liturgical function in the Roman Rite as well as the Byzantine one.

The presence of the high altar in the Roman, Tridentine style, closer to the wall of the apse, if not outright attached to it, is suggested by the note on the new altar steps created for the High Altar in 1818 (*Gradinata per l'Altar Maggiore fatta nell' Anno 1818*). The writer specifies that the steps are done to correspond to the design of the altar frontal (pagliotto): *Una gradinata di Legno inargentata, e dorata secondo il Disegno del Pagliotto.* The number of steps was most likely three so as to follow the normative appearance of a Roman-Rite high altar, slightly elevated above the floor level with three equal steps. The improvements of 1818 had possibly followed the already

existing interior renovations by Barigioni in early Settecento. The list continues to mention a *baldacchino* over the high altar. The presence of some kind of baldachin suggests some form of separateness from the apse wall, but I would be cautious to suggest that it was a full-fledged free-standing altar in the Greek-Rite style. Furthermore, the use of the term "ciborio" (ciborium) suggests existence of the tabernacle for the host (rather than another meaning of ciborium synonymous to baldachin) on top of the high altar – again, a non-Byzantine practice, but a very post-Tridentine one: "Un Ciborio che sta all'Altar Maggiore intagliato." The inventory lists additional items that would have further enhanced the decorative effect of the main altar. None of that arrangement has survived in the area of sanctuary, other than Barigioni's arch with columns and pediment, framing the Madonna del Pascolo icon.

A further note on the reliquaries and artworks is in order. The list mentioned sixteen reliquaries, including those with relics of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, St. Basil the Great, and St. Philip Neri – a very Roman saint, betraying a coexistence with SS. Sergio e Bacco strong devotions both to the very Eastern saints (Sergius, Bacchus, Basil) with ones to the very Roman saints who operated in that city in early modern period.

The artworks found within the church and the sacristy are quite numerous (more than a dozen) – some have survived, like miraculous icon above the altar, the two large paintings of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and of St. Basil by Ignazio Stern, or the two oval paintings now on both sides of the sanctuary, mentioned as "Quadro Ovato di S. Anna alta P[al]mi 6" and "Quadro Simile della nascita di Gesù Bambino." Yet other artworks seem to be no longer in the possession of SS. Sergio e Bacco – the painting of St. Josaphat (Kuncewicz), or the whole set of the Stations of the Cross

(Via Crucis), whose fourteen paintings would have adorned the walls of the nave.[393] The same overly Latin object – an organ, installed in 1816 – had been the victim of the modern de-Latinization efforts on the part of UGCC. Missing is the statue of St. Joseph, and also some paintings formerly from the sacristy such Latin Church saints as that of Dominican St. Vincent Ferrer (mentioned as Vincenzo Fereri) with St. Anthony and the Madonna between them.

In short, the 1820 inventory is a rich document that allows us to gauge the diversity of the early modern holdings of the church and see some then-recent additions in the modern period (vestments donated by Princess Czartoryska, new altar steps of 1818 or a new organ of 1816). The question remains to what degree the material culture recorded by 1820 reflects any financial crises that the institution of the Ruthenian national church in Rome may have experienced correlated to the political and ecclesiastical crises of the late Settecento and early Ottocento in the Eternal City and beyond.

INVENTARIO
Della robba appartenente alla Chiesa
E Sagrestia dell'Ospizio di S. Sergio, e
Bacco, detto volgarmente la Madonna
Del Pascolo. ~:~: a di 1. Aprile. 1803. fatto.

<u>Apparati di Chiesa</u>

Colonne di Velluto color Cremese trinate di Oro falso ---------- no. 2

Pilastri del mede(si)mo Velluto trinati di Oro falso ---------- no. 2

Mezzi pilastri del sud(ett)o Velluto ---------- no. 2

Colonne di Damasco trinate di Oro falso ---------- no. 2

[393] I suspect that the removal of the Stations of the Cross from within SS. Sergio e Bacco was a 1960s development with the rise of de-Latinization attempts by the UGCC. However, the removal may have happened even earlier when first such efforts had begun in early twentieth century.

Pilastri di Damasco con trina di Oro falso ---------- no. 11

Freggi di Damasco trinati ---------- no. 11

Portiere di Damasco ---------- no. 2

Due pezzi di Damasco per lendiere sopra la Chiesa ---------- no. 2

Portiere di Panno rosso con la fodera di tela rossa ---------- no. 2

Due Pezzi di Panne Verde con sue francia Pialle per la Balaccotra ------ no. 2

Una Tendina di Amoerre Ricamato tutta di Oro e Argento con l'Arma
della Sig(nora) Principessa Czetwertynska ---------- 1

Una Tendina di seta bianca ricamata in Oro e sete – usata ---------- 1

Una simile di seta bianca con il Nome di Maria n(*crossed off*) --------- 1

Due Cucini damasco Color Cremese ---------- 2

<u>Conopei per il Ciborio</u>

Conopeo giallo di Lama d'oro con la trina di Argento --------- no. 1

(Cross) Conopeo giallo di fajone con la trina di Seta verde -------- no. 1

Conopeo pavonazzo con trina di Seta gialla -------- no. 1

Copertina di Nobilità bianca ricamata di Oro e Seta con la fadera rossa --- no. 1

<u>Tapetti di Festa</u>

Un Tapello Verde grande di Cottone per la Altar Maggior ----- no. 1

Uno di Cappicciola di quattro teli per il sud(ett)o Altare rigato a fiamme --- no. 1

Due della mede(si)ma robba per li due altari bassi rigati a fiamme ---- no. 2

Uno di Clacrino colorato in diversi colori ------- no. 1

Uno Rosso di panno Usato ------- no. 1

Due piccoli de diversi colori per l'Altari bassi --- n. 1

Camici Tovaglie, ed Altri Biancherie

Camici da ariciarsi 3.

Una di Tela di olanda con la fodera rossa 1.

Una di Tela francia con il merletto di battista fatta dalla Sig. Principessa ---- 1.

Una l'altra simile col merletto fatta dalla sudetta Sigra ---- 1.
Dorotea Czartoriska[394]

Camici usati lisci ---------- 3.

Camici di Tela Canepina grossa ----- 3.

Sacchi de Fratelli – Novi ------- no. 6

Sacchi Usati di Tela ------- no. 6

Due Camisci col Merletto fatte nell'anno 1823 li Dabletto per
Servizio della Celebra nelli Giorni di magiori Festa ---------- 2.

Cotte d'Ariciarsi[395]

Cotte di Lenzile di Ariciarsi Usate ---------- no. 10

Cotte di Lenzile per li Chierici ----- (~~3~~) 2

Cotte per li Confessori ------ (~~3~~) 2

Tovaglie e Sotte tovaglie

[394] Likely refers to Dorota Barbara Jabłonowska, wife of Prince Jozef Klemens Czartoryski; she died on 9 November 1844 (aged 84) in Rome, Italy. Alternatively, it could be mentions of Princess Elżbieta "Izabela" Dorota Czartoryska (née Flemming; 1746 – 1835), a Polish writer, art collector, and prominent figure in the Polish Enlightenment. She was the wife of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734 – 1823), himself the Crown General of Podolia and the son of the Governor of Ruthenia, all prior to the Partitions of Poland. Jabłonowska's attribution is more probable as she, unlike the latter, lived in Rome at the time. "Dorotea Czartoryska" continues to appear in the inventory as the donor of several items at SS. Sergio e Bacco.

[395] The writer seems to refer to *cotta griccia* – a surplice with zigzag pleats and lace, particularly popular in Rome – by invoking "curling" effects of the pleats in the word "ariciarsi" (sic): *arricciarsi*, It. to twist and turn, to curl.

Tovaglie di Musolino ------ 3

Tovaglie di Tela in buon Stato ------ 12

Tovaglie per la balaustra pezzi -------- 04 *(? 0 is unclear*)

Sotto tovaglie di Tela usata ------- 20

Siegue

Corporali ---------- 16 (*corrected from 06*)

Amitti di barbantina --------- no. 3

Amitti di Tella fina ---------- 9 ~~17~~ (*corrected from 03*)

Sciugamani Ordinari --------- 05

Cingoli usati ---------- ~~10~~ 5.

Purificatori di Tela fina ---------- 32

Ordinarj ---------- 32

Fazzolettini ---------- ~~24~~ 13.

Sciugamano di tela battista con merletto ----- 1

Tovaglie Tre Nove colle Sotto tovaglie di Tela buona colli Merletti
regalati da S. E. Principessa Dorotea Czartoryskaalla chesa della Ma(don)na – 3

Tovaglia di tela buona con galone d'oro -..- 1.

Paramenti
Sacri Latini

Un Ternario di Broccato torchir(?) con fiori di Argento Pezzi[396] 3

[396] A *ternario* is a tripartite set of vestments: a chasuble with a stole and a maniple, a dalmatic with a stole and a maniple, a tunicle with a maniple, a cope and a humeral veil – all necessary for the celebration of a Solemn High Mass in the Roman Rite, that includes a priest (vested in a chasuble), a deacon (vested in a dalmatic), and a subdeacon (vested in a tunicle). The number 3 that follows the entry "Un Ternario di Broccato" likely refers to the number of main vestments in the set, rather than the number of sets.

Pianeta di Broccato di Oro con il fondo bianco con la trina di
Argento con la fodera gialla Fatta dall'Adunaza de Fratelli 1

Pianeta Bianca di nobilità ricamata con fiori e Oro con la fodera
di taffetano gialla ---------- 1

Pianeta di Amoerre bianco ricamata in diversi colori di seta con
la fodera di Barbantina torchir (?) celeste ---------- 1

Pianeta di Damasco Ponsò con la trina di Oro falso -------- 1

Pianeta do Amoerre rosso con il demezzo di broccato di Argento rosso con la trina
di Argento buon con la fodera di nobilità bianca ---------- 1

Pianeta di Broccato di Argento e Oro con la trina di Oro bono con la fodera
bianca di nobilità ---------- 1

Pianeta bianca di Damasco con la trina falsa con la fodera bianca ---- 1

Pianeta di fajone giallo con la fodera di barbantina gialla con la trina
bianca ---------- 1

Pianeta nera di Lana con la trina di Seta gialla con la fodera gialla ---- 1

Pianeta pavonazza di Amoerre con la trina di Seta gialla ---- 1

Pianeta pavonazza di Damasco con la trina di Oro falso ---- 1

Un Ternario Nero di Damasco con il Piviale del Medesimo con la Trina
di Seta gialla con la fodera nera Pezzi ---------- 4

Pianeta nera di Damasco con la trina gialla di Seta con la fodera gialla 1

Pianeta a fiamme Vierde con la trina di Oro falso --------- 1

Pianeta di Stoffo colorato con il fondo bianco con la trina di Oro bono
con la fodera bianca fatta dall'Adunanda (sic) de Fratelli ------ 1

Ternario di Lama d'Argento tutto ricamato d'oro bono
con fodera di taffettano bianco Fatto nell'Anno 1820 == Pezzi 3[397]
E costato Scudi (@) 344 Bojocchi 19

[397] Ibid.

Una Pianeta Nobile di Lama d'oro con trina d'oro buono
Donò la Sig~ Principessa Dorotea Czartoriska ---------- 1

Un Pianeta Nera di Damasco fatta dalla
Sig~ Principessa Dorotea Czartoriska

Paramenti Ruteni

Pianeta di Broccato con fiori di Oro con il fondo bianco con la
Trina di Argento 1

Pianeta di Broccato con fiori di Oro con li fondo bianco con la
fodera con la trina di Oro buono ---------- 1

Pianeta di Broccato di Argento con fiori di Oro con la trina di Oro
con la fodera color di Rosa ---------- 1

Pianeta di Broccato con fiori di Oro con il fondo bianco con la
trina di Oro bono fatta dall'Adunanza de Fratelli ------ 1

Pianeta Rossa di Broccato con la trina di Argento con fodera rubina 1

Pianeta pavonazza di Lama di Oro con trina di Argento con fodera pavonazza --- 1

Pianeta pavonazza di Amoerra con trina di Argento con fodera pavonazza ---- 1

Pianeta nera di Damasco con trina di Oro falso con fodera nera ----- 1

Pianeta di Broccato color Verdino con trina di Argento 1

Pianeta di stoffo con il fondo bianco con trina di Oro falso con fodera torchina (?) 1

Pianeta di Fajone gialla con fodera gialla di barbantina con trina bianca ------- 1

Pianeta di Broccatello e fiori diversi colori con Trina di Argento bono e fodera
bianca ---------- 1

Pianeta di stoffo a fioretti con la trina di Seta gialla con fodera Torchina 1

Pianeta di Broccato con fiori di Oro e trina di Oro con la fodera 1

Pieviali[398]

Un Piviale di Amoerre bianco con fodera bianca con trina di Argento – 1

Un peviale di Fajone Gialla con fodera torelni (?) celeste con trina di Seta 1

Pieviale Nobile di Lama d'Argento tutto ricamato di Oro con la
fodera bianca di taffettano bianco ------ 1

Un Piviale Nero di Damasco colla Segna (?) di Sorelle Benefatrici ---- 1.

Gradinata per l'Altar Maggiore
fatta nell' Anno 1818

Una gradinata di Legno inargentata, e dorata secondo il Disegno del
Pagliotto – e sono Pezzi ---------- no. 5

Una Paliotto di Lama d'Argento Ricamato di Oro con la sua Cornice
dorata con la fodera gialla di barbantina E Due Pagliottine di Legno – no. 3

Un Baldachino con due Colonne con la corona supra è due putti
che la sostengono con la Raggiera e Zoccolo tutto intagliato e
indorato a Zicchino Fatto nell'Anno 1820 – E costato la
Somma di Scudi (@) 70 -

Un Tempio con quattro Colonne dipinte color lapilazero a uso di bal-
dacchino con le sue cornice e capitelli indorati e cornepopj ---------- 1

Un Baldacchino intagliato con foglie indorate le foglie e il fondo
di Rame con la Corone e Due Angeli e cornecopi di Latta ------ 1

Un Zoccolo di Legno indorato ------ 1

Un Ciborio che sta all'Altar Maggiore intagliato e dorato ------- 1

Un detto piu piccolo che sta in Sacrestia ------- 1

Un Urna per il Sepolcro son la sua Chiavetta ----- 1

Tre legivi di legno inargentati ------ 3

[398] The church held four copes (*pluviale* or *cappa*) – liturgical vestments for a priest or a bishop used in celebrations outside of the Mass proper.

Un Cornecopio per metter davanti l'Imagine di Maria SSmã di legno indorato 1

Due Angeli inargentati con sui Cornecopi indorati con le sue Copertine ------- 1

Candeliere di Legno

Sei Colonette di Legno inargentate alte Pmi 4 -------- no. 6

Quattro dette Pmi 3 -1- e Mezzo ------ no. 4

Dodici dette Pmi 3 ------ no. 12

Otto dette Pmi 2 e Mezzo ------- no. 8

Quattro piccoli per controlumi ------ no. 4

Vasi di Legno
[incomplete transcription]

Organo di Chiesa Fatto nell'Anno 1816 – un stato e pagato
con suo Armario dipinto colori Celesta, con suoi Sportelli ~~Pagato~~ (@) (~~80~~) 90 –

Fiori Nobili

Candelieri di Rame inargentati

E sono li Seguenti

Siegne

Quattro Lampade per La Festa di Ottone (?) inargentate
ed una Grande per l'Altar Maggiore Costano (@) 120

Due Cornecopi di Rame inargentati con sue lamãdi -------- no. 2

Una Lampada Grande di Ottone (?) per l'Altar Maggiore -------- no. 1

Due Lampade Mezzane per l'Altari Laterali ------ no. 2

Due piccole per il Crocifisso e S. Giuseppe ------ no. 2

Due Cornecopi di ferro con le sue lampadi di Ottone per le Colonne del
Altar Maggiore indorati alle Sue Fadore (?) di Tela ---------- 2

Due Cornecopi di Latta che stanno agli ovati di S. Anna, ed altro

avanti nascita del Bambino rivamente (?) indorati ---------- 2.

Presepio uno colla Vetrata, e Sue Bambino, un Altre colla Custura --- 2.

Un Secchetto di Ottone con suo aspersorio -------- 1

Un Incensiere di Ottone inargentato con sua navicella --------- 1

Una Chiavetta di Argento per il Ciborio ---------- 1

Quattro Calice Due indorati e Due inargentati con le Coppe di
Argento ---------- no. 4

Un Stucco di dentro con veluto rosso, ed alla Superfacie (?)
colla pecera di pelle mssa: all' Un ….rino d'Argento, con lan
cia di Argento, e colla Stella d'Argento; Servono tutti supradetti Regni (?)
site alla Celebra della Messa ad uso di Chiesa Greca dice (number) ---- ,, R(?)

Reliquarij

Quattro Reliquiarj di Legno intagliati e indorati Fatti nell' Anno 1819
E Costano Scudi 40 Alti Pmi – 4 ---------- no. 4

Quattro Reliquiarj di Rame inargentati alti Pmi 2 e Mezzo --------- no. 4

Quattro Reliquiarj di Rame inargentati alti Pmi 2 ---------- no. 4

Reliquiario di S. Basilio di Metallo indorato con la sua Statua e diversi
Putti di metallo e immezzo guarnito di Pietre con la sua Custodia ---- no. 1

Reliquiario della Madonna di Metallo indorato fatto con la Colonette
e due Putti di basso rilievo guarnito di diversi fioretti di Argento con
la sua Custodia Alto Pmi 2 e Mezzo ---------- no. 1

Reliquiario del Legno della Croce di Metallo indorato e Ciselato no. 1

Reliquiario di SSti Sergio e Bacco di Rame inargentate Alto
Pmi 4 con la sua fodera ---------- no. 1

Reliquiario piccolo d'Ottone (?) indorato di S. Filip. Neri ----- no. 1

La Veste della Madonna che sta fissa in dosso di Metallo indora
ta con le Corone di Argento indorate guarnite di Pietre false
E Costata Scudi (@) 200 (?) Fatta nell' Anno 1819 ---------- 1

Due Vezzi di Perle buoni di fila due l'uno per la Madonna
e Bambino con uno Croce di Oro bono e Una di Pietre false
con diverse altre Goje Buone che si trovano in dosso della suo Siegue (?)

Un filo di Coralli grandi donati alla Madonna SSma
Costano Scudi 20

Voti di Argento ed altre Cose che si trovano in Chiesa ----
Busti di Carta pista inargentati con sue diademe e Zoccoli
dipinti color lapislazero e dorati ----- no. 4

(space left)

Placche per metter intorno la Chiesa di Cristallo con la Cornice di Legno
indorata falso ---------- no. 10

Lampioni perla Via Crucis Grandi con le sue asti -------- no. 2

Lampioni mezzani con le sue asti ---------- no. 2

Due Croci di Legno dipinte --------- no. 2

Una Sedia per la Messa Cantata con due Sgabetti coperta di { Stuffo 1.

Tre Sedie di buon Stato coperte di Corame
per la Festa piu Solenne --------- 3

Vasi di porcellana per fiori ---------- no. 4

Vasi Grandi di Porcellane per Sepolcro ------- 3

Un Vaso ad uso di fiontana di porcellana feninima ------ 1

<u>Mobili di legna di Sacrestia</u>

Tre Confessionali dipinti che si trovano in Chiesa -------- 3

Un Ginocchiatore di Noce grande -------- no. 1

Due Credensoni di Noce grandi --------- no. 2

Due di Legno parimenti grandi ---------- no. 2

Un Cassabanco per li Sechi delli Fratelli ------ no. 1

Quattro Ginocchiatori piccoli di Legno ---------- no. 4

Uno Orologio pensile di Metallo con la vetrata e Custodia -------- no. 1

Due Banconi di Legno con sui tiratori per pararsi li Sacerdoti no. 2

Due Credensini piccoli ---------- no. 2

Due Tavolini di Legno piccoli --------- no. 2

Un Tumulo per l'Eseque di Legno dipinto color di pietra con sua morte parimenti di Legno con ficure Pezzi ---------- no. 9

Scale per servizio di Chiesa Pezzi ---------- no. 4

Due Scalette per servizio di Altare e uno Sgabello Pezzi – no. 3

Pulpito ---------- no. 1

Un Credensone Grande per riperre li parati fatto dalli Fratelli 1

Un Croce grande per iluminazione di Festa ------ no. 1

Un Nome di Maria di Legno per illuminazione di Festa ------- no. 1

Due Paliottini di Legno dipinti ------- no. 2

Due Gradini di Legno dipinti ------- no. 2

Cassette per metter di fiori -------- no. 3

Sedie di Corame di appoggio --------- no. 4

Una Grande di Velluto Usata --------- no. 1

Sedie di paglia per servizio di Chiesa -------- no. 60

Due Croce di Matre perla --------- no. 2

Un Ciborio Usato che si ritrova in Sacrestia con sua Chiavetta no. 1

Focone ferro Usato con sue Molle --------- no. 1

Quadri nella Chiesa

Quadro della Madonna SSma del Pascolo all'Altar Maggiore
depinto sul Muro ---------- 1[399]

Quadro di S. Basilio dipinto sopra la Tela alta Pmi 12 (?) --- 1[400]

Quadro simile de' SS. Sergio e Bacco ------- 1[401]

Quadro Ovato di S. Anna alta Pmi 6 (?) -------- 1

Quadro Simile della nascita di Gesù Bambino ------- 1

Quadro Ovato di Pmi 3 di S. Gregorio stinato Scudi 60 -------- 1

Quadro simile del Beato Giosafat -------- 1

Quadri della Via Crucis Nuovi Fatti Nell'Anno 1817 Costono Scudi 60
con le Cornici di legna color di buccoro con la croce dorata e stelle ---- no. 14

Una Statua di S. Giuseppe di Carta picta ------ 1

Un Cristo con sua vetrata pure di Carta picta ------ 1

Quadri della Sagrestia

Quadro della Madonna SSma del Pascolo dipinto sulla Tela ------- 1

Quadro della Nascita di Gesù Bambino con la Cornice dorata
alta Pmi 7 ---------- 1

Quadro simile della Passione di Gesù ---------- 1

Quadro della Madonna asunta in Cicla alta Pmi 10 ---------- 1

Quattro Evangelisti intagliati e dorati di legno ------- 4

Quadro di S. Antonio e S. Vincenzo Fereri colla Madonna in Mezzo ----- 1

[399] The Icon of Our Lady of Żyrowice, known in Rome as Madonna del Pascolo. Still above the main altar in SS. Sergio e Bacco.
[400] Ignazio Stern, *St. Basil the Great.* Still at SS. Sergio e Bacco, side altar.
[401] Ignazio Stern, *Saints Sergius and Bacchus.* Still at SS. Sergio e Bacco, side altar.

Quadro col Bambino ------- 1

Insigna del Santissimo dipinto sulla tavola in ovato ------- 1

Quadro della Resurrezione piccolo ------- 1

Insigna dell'Indulgenza dipinta in tavola ----- 1

Insigna dell'Esposizione dipinta sulla Tela ------ 2 (*corrected 1*)

Due Cartelle per la preparazione della Messa ------- 2

Quadro di S. Luigi piccolo ------ 1

Quadro di S. Basilio con la Cornice indorata ----- 1

Altre due quadri piccoli de beati con la Cornice Nera e doro ----- 2

In fidem Datum Rome Die 20 Junij Anno 1820
Jordan Mickiewicz Ordinis S. Basilii
Magni Congr~nis Ruthenorum Procurator
Generalis, Hospitii SS. MM. Sergii et
Bacchi; atque Ecclesiae vulgo Roma
denominatiae della Madonna SSmã
del Pascolo Rector mp…

APPENDIX D, SLAVS & NON-LATIN CHRISTIANS IN NAPLES

In the year 1661, on December 5th, Ruthenian Basilians stationed at the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Rome since 1639 mentioned a trip to Naples when petitioning Propaganda Fide for more funds:

> having spent all of the money given to them for a number of reasons: for the return of some of them to the homeland, for a trip to Naples of one of them and for the feast of a holy martyr of their nation, and beg to be able to borrow the other half-year of funds in advance, finding themselves in great need.[402]

The petition's response on the part of the Propaganda Fide was affirmative, yet the Basilians were reminded that the funds were not intended for their travel at all, but rather for the sustenance and and other "honest and simple" expenses.[403]

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[402] APF, *Acta S. Congr*. vol. 30 fol. 217rv: "Li monaci Basiliani Rutheni de SS. Sergio e Bacco espongono esser loro mancato il modo di potersi mantenere sino all'anno nuovo, per haver speso qualche parte del danaro dato loro a tal effetto, per il ritorno d'alcuni di essi alla patria per l'andata a Napoli d'uno di loro e per la festa d'un santo martire della loro natione, e supplicano di poter bavere l'altra mezza annata anticipata, trovandosi in gran necessità." Also published in Andrej Šeptyc'kyj and Josyf Slipyj, *Monumenta Ucrainae historica*, Tom XII, *Supplementum* (Romae: Centro di studi superiori Ucraini a Roma, 1975), 45. Similar to this one, a Latin version of the petition exists, also in the Propaganda Fide archives: "Ultima vice ex legato pro manentibus ad S. Sergium a nobis accepta pecunia iam circiter duos menses ex quo iisdem non suffecit, partim quia illam Patribus in patriam redeuntibus et etiam Patri loanni pro itinere ipsius usque Neapolim impertivimus, partim qnia pro festo beati Martiris nostri expendimus. Quare humillime supplico Ill.mae Dominationi Vestrae, ut pro novo anno medietatem legati, hoc est 50 scuta nobis ad montes pietatis quamprimum intra istos dies novembris recipere suis patentibus efficiat, magna enim necessitate premimur. lterato in hoc negotio solitam Ill.mae D.tionis Vestrae patroni nostri studiosissi-me exposcimus benevolentiam. Quam Deus etc." (APF, *Fondo di Vienna*, vol. 18, fol. 27v, orig.); published in Andrej Šeptyc'kyj and Josyf Slipyj, *Monumenta Ucrainae historica*, Tom XII, *Supplementum* (Romae: Centro di studi superiori Ucraini a Roma, 1975), 44.

[403] APF, *Acta S. Congr*. vol. 30 fol. 217v.: "Rescriptum. Cum sit proximus terminus persolvendi semestre, poterunt concedi, sed moneantur nequaquam S. Congregationis mentis esse, ut in eorum viatico, aliisque rebus praeter alimenta insumantur, nec S. Congregationem velle alia onera nisi simplicis legati, prout tanto tempore factum est, scribere (!)." Also see Andrej Šeptyc'kyj and Josyf Slipyj. *Monumenta Ucrainae historica*, Tom XII, *Supplementum* (Romae: Centro di studi superiori Ucraini a Roma, 1975), p. 45.

The document is rather a rare instance of Naples being directly mentioned among the papers pertaining to the Ruthenian Basilians in Rome. What were they doing in Naples in the year 1661? Who could they visit and why? A few decades prior to that visit, in the year 1615, the local Italian Basilian Order received the church of S. Agrippino in Naples (Figs. 5.1, 5.2) from the wife of the Spanish Viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples, The Great Count de Lemos.[404] Is it possible that relative newcomers to Italy of 1600s, the Ruthenian Basilians established some contacts with Italian (or Italo-Albanian) Basilians in Naples, with the church of Sant'Agrippino a Forcella being one of their stops?[405] Certainly, S. Agrippino a Forcella was in Basilian hands, both the church and

[404] For the church, see ASN, "S. Agrippino - Basiliani di Napoli, 1784 – 1809," *Corporazioni religiose soppresse*, 929 – 1866. The wife was that of Pedro Fernández de Castro y Andrade (1576–1622), 7th Count of Lemos, a Galician (Spanish) nobleman, a member of the House of Castro, and the Viceroy of Naples from 1608 – 1616 (or 1610-1616).

[405] See "Sant'Agrippino," *Napoli sacra: guida alle chiese della città,* 1o Itinerario (Roma: De Rosa, 2013), 49. Also see *Napolifrafia*, "Chiesa di Sant'Agrippino a Forcella," http://www.napoligrafia.it/monumenti/chiese/monumentali/agrippino/agrippino01.htm (last accessed 12/01/2018): "La Chiesa di Sant'Agrippino a Forcella è ubicata in Via Forcella. La sua prima costruzione risale alla fine del V secolo. In seguito, il luogo di culto fu ricostruito nel XIII secolo, grazie all'opera di quattordici nobili famiglie appartenenti al Seggio di Forcella (i Seggi erano dei consigli composti da alcuni rappresentati delle famiglie nobili della città che, sin dal 1200, svolgevano funzioni amministrative, giuridiche e giudiziarie), che ne permisero la riconsacrazione tra il 1265 e il 1268 da parte di Papa Clemente IV. Nel 1615, l'edificio fu affidato ai monaci Basiliani che, nel 1758, affidarono un'opera di restauro all'architetto Nicola Tagliacozzi Canale che rimaneggiò la struttura in stile barocco, realizzando le decorazioni in stucco della navata, ed elevò il livello del pavimento. Prima della sua parziale distruzione, la facciata presentava stipiti intagliati rappresentanti Sant'Agrippino, San Gennaro, Sant'Agnello, Sant'Aspreno, San Severo, Sant'Esuebio (tutti patroni di Napoli) e sull'architrave era incisa la Y, simbolo del Seggio di Forcella. Oggi rimane solo il portale, risalente al XV secolo, attribuito a Antonio da Chelino, ultimo allievo di Donatello, già attivo in città con la scultura dell'Arco di Trionfo di re Alfonso I d'Aragona del Maschio Angioino. Nel 1870, a causa di problemi strutturali che ne minacciavano la stabilità, la volta fu rifatta. Questa custodiva, intagliata nel legno la figura si San Gennaro. L'interno presenta ancora affreschi ed elementi di architettura gotica, soprattutto nella zona absidale che evidenzia le sue origini anche all'esterno. L'edificio di culto custodisce alcune opere tra cui un Ecce Homo del XIX secolo, una Madonna Maria Addolorata sorretta da un angelo, alcuni frammenti di un pavimento in maiolica settecentesca ed un Crocifisso in legno del XIII secolo, traslato dalla Chiesa di Santa Maria a Piazza. Del XVIII secolo è invece un olio su tela raffigurante una scena di vita di San Basilio. Delle opere che invece adornavano originariamente la chiesa, mancherebbero una tavola del IV secolo

the adjacent monastery, until early 1800s, when suppression of monasteries was enacted under the French rule.[406] Thus, between 1615 and early 1800s, the church was one of the main places of Basilian presence in Naples, and could have easily been the place that hosted a single Ruthenian Basilian that traveled to the city in 1661. The question remains as to the exact goals of that trip.

The short encounter between Ruthenian Basilians from Rome and their colleagues in Naples opens up the larger question of the true extent of the role that Naples played in the transnational cultural exchanges between the *Mezzogiorno* and the Slavic "East." Indeed, Naples provided an extraordinary site of transcultural encounters. My Neapolitan research gave me an opportunity to focus on several possible lines of inquiry into this question, through an examination of extant archival, visual, and architectural sources. Held at the Archivio di Stato di Napoli, documents of a Neapolitan charitable organization, Santa Casa delle Redenzione dei Cattivi, list names of slaves liberated from Ottoman captivity, with regular appearance of Slavic, Greek, and Armenian names, often with specifications such as *della Nazione Armena*, *Albanese*, and *della Nazione Greca Cattolica* or *della Nazione Greca Levantina* (Fig. 5.3). Neapolitan Greeks, connected to the Ruthenian Uniates by the liturgy, definitely played a significant role in the history of the Slavic presence in the city and the Kingdom of Naples. In fact, another possible place of interest for the Ruthenian Basilians would have been the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo dei Greci in Naples (Figs. 5.4, 5.5), set up in the fifteenth century for Greek Orthodox refugees.

In the early modern period, Italian peninsula was a kind of laboratory for the development of post-Byzantine visual culture that was Baroque in nature and thus closely aligned with Roman and

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raffigurante la Vergine col Bambino e Angeli, un orologio del XV secolo, un affresco con la Madonna delle Grazie (traslato nel 1576 dalla Chiesa di Santa Maria a Piazza) e la pala d'altare di Marco Pino."

[406] "Sant'Agrippino," *Napoli sacra: guida alle chiese della città,* 1o Itinerario (Roma: De Rosa, 2013) p. 49.

Neapolitan stylistic trends. Works of Neapolitan Greek painters such Belisario Corenzio (Fig. 5.6) and Eustachio Caruso are a testament to the extent to which that visual culture, generated in Italy within a context of Latin-Greek liturgical encounters, was also adopted by Byzantine-Rite Slavs in Eastern Europe, whether in union with Rome or not. Considering that, a trip of the Ruthenian Basilians from Rome to Naples would have been an opportunity to see the visually impressive results of that Latin-Greek liturgical coexistence in the city, where numerous churches and monasteries already claimed Greek-Rite past. Most importantly, at the Capodimonte collection, one is able to look closely at the faces of Slavs (Polish or Ruthenians) captured by Stefano della Bella in his etchings.[407] Figures of ubiquitous presence in Italian port cities (Fig. 5.7), and recognizable to the locals by their exotic furry hats and facial hair choices, they are the nameless subjects of political or artistic acts of the likes of the Pignatellis or Corenzios.

A. Non-Latin churches and monasteries in Naples

One of immediately noticeable qualities of the liturgical and devotional life in Italian cities such as Rome, Venice, or Naples, is that in most cases churches in those cities were dedicated to saints that shared prominence with those of the Eastern Churches. Despite the Great Schism, Roman, Venetian, and Neapolitan churches could have potentially functioned as places of devotion and liturgical life for the Orthodox who resided permanently in Italy, or who were there only temporarily.

Invariably, many of the monasteries in Naples – a city of a Greek foundation – have an early history of and a connection to the Greek Rite – either perceived or real, many of the monasteries are said to have been initially founded by "Basilians" and over the centuries have come under the

[407] See Chapter 3 for the discussion of Slavs in Della Bella's work.

Benedictine Rule. Some of these first-Basilian-then-Benedictine monasteries had been later taken over by Dominicans or other mendicant friars. The below is an incomplete list of the foundations that claim Basilian, and therefore Greek Orthodox origin:

- Church of Sant'Agrippino (Basilians).
- Church and monastery of Santa Patrizia (Basilians, later becoming Benedictine)
- Church and monastery of San Domenico Maggiore as San Michele Arcangelo a Morfisa (Basilian, later becoming Benedictine and then Dominican)
- Church and monastery of San Gregorio Armeno (Basilian/Armenian, then Benedictine)
- Church and monastery of San Salvatore (Basilian, then Benedictine)
- Church and monastery of SS. Pietro e Sebastiano (Basilian, then Benedictine)[408]
- Church of San Demetrio (Basilian, Benedictine, and eventually Somascan Fathers)
- Church and monastery of Santo Spirito di Palazzo (Basilian)

Church of Santi Pietro e Paolo dei Greci

While the list above mentions churches with claimed connection to the early history of Greek Rite in the Parthenopean region, one church, uniquely among the Greek-Rite churches in Naples was of an early modern foundation. Its appearance could be considered a post-Byzantine phenomenon in the Italian peninsula, akin to the early modern institution of the Greek national church Venice by the Greek/Byzantine exiles. Located in the center of Naples in the neighborhood of San Giuseppe, the church of Santi Pietro e Paolo dei Greci (Figs. 5.4-5.5) – had been initially built through the efforts of its founder and donor (Greek: κτήτωρ, *ktetor*), Thomas Asen Palaiologos (15th c. – ca. 1523) and at first dedicated to the Twelve Apostles.[409] A refugee in Italy from the Turkish invasion, Thomas was a son of Demetrios Palaiologos and Theodora, daughter of Paul Asen, making him a scion of both the Byzantine imperial dynasty Palaiologoi and the

[408] Nearly all of these originally-Basilian foundations show the overall truth to the phenomenon in the Italian South where many of the Greek-Rite monastic foundations were absorbed, rather than supplanted, by the greater Benedictine Congregation.
[409] Gian Vincenzo Meola, *Delle istorie della chiesa greca in Napoli esistente* (Napoli, Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola, 1790), 47.

Bulgarian royal dynasty of Asens.[410] Having petitioned the Emperor Charles V (Charles I as King of Spain and Naples), Thomas received his permission and a grant from the viceroy of Naples, Ramon Folc de Cardona, on Emperor's orders in 1518.

With failed attempts to secure Venetian territorial possessions along the Greek coast during the Ottoman–Venetian War (1499–1503), and particularly after the Siege of Coron (1532-34), Naples and other Italian port cities saw the arrival of numerous families from Coron, then known collectively as *Coronei*. The latter came into a dominant position within the Church of the Twelve Apostles, re-dedicating it to Saints Peter and Paul and founding a confraternity in 1536.[411] The church continued to renew its ties to the Balkans and Peloponnesus well into the modern period. For instance, the Greek church and its confraternity were home and the main place of worship for members of the *Regimento Real Macedone*, an elite force within the Neapolitan army in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that was formed not just of the Greek and Albanian *stradioti*, but had also contained a large number of Balkan Slavs. The church had a complicated relationship with the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the city, yet many documents indicate that Greeks in Naples, expected to give allegiance to the Pope, would have welcomed Uniate Slavs as their coreligionists. In fact, only in the past few decades did SS. Pietro e Paolo came under the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, away from that of the Pope and local Neapolitan ordinaries.

Overall, the church, presently squeezed between modern built fabric of the city, shows strong signs of Settecento renovations. Interior, dominated by the large marble intarsia iconostasis

[410] See more on the Asen-Palaiologoi connections in Божилов, Иван, *Фамилията на Асеневци (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография* [*The Family of the Asens (1186–1460). Genealogy and Prosopography*] (in Bulgarian) (София: Издателство на Българската академия на науките, 1994).
[411] See *Statuto con cui deve regolarsi la chiesa e confraternita de' santi Pietro e Paolo de' nazionali greci in Napoli*, 1764.

(Fig. 5.8), is filled with icons of various periods, the oldest, it seems, also belonging to Settecento. Most of them painted by local Neapolitan Greek painter Eustachio Caruso, originally from the Ionian island of Kefallonia. The iconostasis, while retaining the traditional format (royal doors at the center, flanked by two diaconal doors on their sides), is topped with a painted crucifix and two painted icons of Mary and John on both sides. The two icons of bishops are further flanking the crucifixion scene, extending the structure of the iconostasis all the way to the ceiling. Thus, the iconostasis at SS. Pietro e Paolo is, fundamentally, a three-panel stone templon, separating the central nave from the sanctuary. There are two side aisles at SS. Pietro e Paolo (Figs. 5.9, 5.10), the left one separated from the sanctuary by the wall, while the right one extending all the way into the sanctuary, if not for a wooden two-panel iconostasis with a single door.

With a certain continuity from the early modern period, the church remains a spiritual home to Orthodox people well beyond confines of the only Greek community in the city. It appears that a large number of Romanians and Russians attend Sunday liturgy at SS. Pietro e Paolo. This arrangement maintains the historic arrangement of how the church in Naples operated in the pre-modern times: drawing a considerable number of its faithful across the number of all Orthodox believers who found themselves in Naples permanently, seasonally, or temporarily.[412]

Chiesa di San Salvatore and Monastery SS. Sergio e Bacco in Castel dell'Ovo (Basilians)

Established by the Basilians in the sixth century coming from the Roman province of Pannonia, Santi Sergio e Bacco had been one of the earliest monasteries in Naples, situated on the

[412] For more info on the church and the Greek community in Naples, see Korinthios, Jannis. *I Greci di Napoli e dell'Italia Meridionale dal XV al XX secolo* (Italy: AM & D Publisher, 2012).

fortified island (Fig. 5.11) – the home of the ancient defense structure of Castellum Lucullum.[413] The Basilians brought with them from Pannonia the remains of St. Severin, whose body remained in the monastery until Basilians left the island in the thirteenth century, relocating the body to the church in Naples, dedicated to Saints Severin and Sossius (Chiesa dei SS. Severino e Sosse, Fig. 5.12).[414]

The church of San Salvatore (Fig. 5.13) is one of the only recognizably ecclesiastical structure that remains from the Basilian monastery. It is usually closed, and had been undergoing a slow restoration, with several smaller fragments of the decorative program still preserved. Another remnant of the old ensemble is located behind the structure of San Salvatore, within the medieval remains of San Pietro a Castello (Fig. 5.14), and is now a portico overlooking the bay. The portico retains some architectural fragments of the former Basilian monastery.[415] Other remnants at the lower levels contain some extant structural parts of the old Basilian hermitage (Fig. 5.15). One niche (Fig. 5.16) contains frescoes of saints on the inside of its jambs: left side is damaged while the right side has a discernible figure of a male saint holding a tablet.

Another Basilian fifth-century monastery of SS. Teodoro e Sebastiano – the site of the former church of San Sebastiano west of the Piazza Dante – had been eventually absorbed by the monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco, if not even earlier. In either case, both successive Basilian

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[413] More on that monastery, see Vinni Lucherini, "Strategie di visibilità dell'architettura sacra nella Napoli angioina: la percezione da mare e la testimonianza di Petrarca" in Fribourg Colloquium, Michele Bacci, and Martin Rohde. *The holy portolano: the sacred geography of navigation in the Middle Ages: Fribourg Colloquium 2013* (2014), 203.

[414] Di Meo, Alessandro. *Apparato cronologico agli annali del regno di Napoli della mezzana età ...: opera che serve a rischiarare le principali vicende d'Italia e d'Europa nel Medio Evo, e a stabilire le epoche precise fin qui errate o controverse, coi più certi presidii e monumenti della storia della critica e diplomatica* (Spoleto: Tip. V. Bossi, 1851), 51.

[415] San Pietro a Castello was a fifteenth century Dominican nun's convent church that utilized previous Basilian structures. The fresco fragments may or may not harken back to the Basilian period of occupancy.

monasteries show dedication to the ancient Eastern warrior saints, whether they are Sts. George, Theodore, Sebastian, Sergius, or Bacchus, particularly venerated in the territories attached to the Byzantine liturgical tradition, Slavs included.[416] However, as mentioned earlier, neither of these two monasteries retained into the early modern period their use of the Greek rite, and thus the Megaride island was not the likely focus of the Ruthenian Basilians' visit in the seventeenth century.

A lesser-known painting, *San Nicola di Bari con un fanciullo coppiere* (Fig. 5.17),[417] attributed to Francesco Guarini but also to an unknown Neapolitan artist, located in the church of Santa Marta (Fig. 5.18), next to the larger monastery complex of Santa Chiara. The painting is of particular interest as it portrays St. Nicolas of Bari vested in a seemingly Roman-cut chasuble, but with peculiar difference from the usual one: the lower part of the front of the chasuble is not rounded, but is straight, like one would expect of a dalmatic; the omophorion of the bishop, while noticeably an Eastern Orthodox item, is integrated into the chasuble as to appear almost part of it; the ornamental pattern on the chasuble is a cross motif nearly ubiquitous for all representations of bishops in Eastern Christianity. Thus, representation of St. Nicolas at Santa Marta combines Orthodox iconography of the saint with some Western modifications. Existence of Greek-Rite Christians in Naples – both in union with the Pope and not – suggests that these modification to the Eastern Orthodox vestment were not so much an artistic invention of Francesco Guarini or an anonymous artist, but rather a possible reflection of actual type of vestment that circulated during seventeenth century in Southern Italy among the Greek-Rite clergy.

[416] See the discussion on attachment to the cult of warrior saints in Chapter 1, including its significance to the church dedication in Venice, Rome, and Naples.
[417] The painting already has been part of the discussions on Eastern style vestments in Chapter 3. See Fig. 3.31.

B. Non-Italian Identities Among Neapolitan Nobility

Similar to Venice, medieval Neapolitan state had its origins first as a Byzantine province. Duchy of Naples (Ducatus Neapolitanus), first established in 661, was ruled by a succession of rulers titled *dux*, *patrikios* ("patrician"), and *hypatos* ("consul"). Under Sergius I, the duchy became hereditary in 840, and continued (with a period of papal suzerainty), as a nominal part of the Byzantine Empire until 1137.

One aspect that cannot be overlooked is the constructed identity of the major aristocratic families in the Kingdom of Naples. For instance, Caracciolo family (Fig. 5.19), first mentioned in the tenth century, have claimed a Byzantine origin. Indeed, Theodorus Caraziolus is recorded to have made a donation for the Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus in Naples on 20 March 976.[418] We know that the monastery was that of the Byzantine rite, and the name of the first-recorded Caracciolo betrays a likely "Greek" origin. Whether Theodorus was ethnically Greek is less relevant than the fact that he sponsored a Neapolitan religious institution of the Byzantine rite, tying him to the Greek liturgical life in the city and making him one of the leading members of its Orthodox/Byzantine-rite community.

The other immensely influential Neapolitan family, Carafa (Fig. 5.20), had likewise claimed origins from outside of Italy, as well as a descent from of the Caracciolo members. In addition to Caracciolo pedigree, Carafa had simultaneously claimed descent from none other than Korczak family of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, itself of Hungarian origin. The claim

[418] Further transactions involving the monastery of SS. Sergio e Bacco in Naples in years 1136-1137 are listed in the transcribed *pergamenti* in Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico: formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato de Napoli,* vol. 1 (Napoli: Rinaldi e Sellitto, 1878), 252-269.

was partially based on the similarity of the arms of Korczak family (Fig. 5.21) – three horizontal silver bars on the red field, representing apparently the three major rivers of Hungary – Danube, Tisza [Drava], and Sava – to that of the arms of the royal Hungarian Árpád dynasty (Fig. 5.22): silver horizontal stripes on the red field. Carafa's own arms – three silver horizontal stripes on the red field – bear strong resemblance to those of Korczak and even more so to the Árpád's Hungarian arms. Describing all this in the year 1691, Biagio Aldimari brings up the important status of the family in *Russia,* the Ruthenian identity of some of the Korczak arms' bearers in the Kingdom of Poland, and even applies the Italian name onto the Korczaks – "stessa Famiglia Carafa della Polonia."[419] Aldimari also brings up the connection to the rulers of the Principality of Slavonia.[420] Furthermore, since 1581, one of the branches of Carafa merged with the Albanian noble family of Kastrioti-Skanderbeg (Fig. 5.23) – the descendants of the famous anti-Turkish Albanian national hero Skanderbeg – who fled the Ottoman invasion to Italy, settled in the Kingdom of Naples, and were given extensive feudal territories and accepted in the princely status of the Kingdom. Also, it is important to note that the Árpáds, the first Hungarian Royal dynasty, claimed the titles of the Princes/Kings of both Slavonia and Ruthenia (Halych) – making another overlapping to the Carafa's claim.[421]

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[419] Biagio Aldimari, *Historia genealogica della famiglia Carafa* (Napoli, 1691), 142.
[420] *Ibid.,* 142. Slavonia – a historical region of Croatia, bordering Serbian lands as well as Hungary. Not to be mistaken with the current modern states of Sl*o*venia and Slov*akia.* It seems that Aldimari's claim of the Slavonian connection was also substantiated by the earlier mention of the Korczak arms and that of the Princes of Slavonia in a sixteenth-century Polish work: Bartłomiej Paprocki and D. Siedlczański, *Ogród królewski,* Praga, 1599. Aldimari, when referring in his book to both Carafa and Korczak families, uses the Latin word "Cyphus" – meaning bowl, goblet, cup, communion – thus a direct translation of both Italian and Polish family names.
[421] More on the Carafa (and Caracciolo) family arms see Borgia, Luigi. "Sull'arma Della Casa Carafa." *Archivio Storico Italiano* 148, no. 3 (545) (1990): 581-611.

Ultimately, all these complicated claims and carefully constructed identities and origin myths on the part of Carafa, placed this premier Neapolitan family at the intersection of "peripheral" geographies (Balkan and Eastern European) and assumed identities of the "other" (Slavs, Albanians, and Magyars). This phenomenon requires further investigation into what prompted one of the most important Neapolitan and Italian princely houses to actively promote their non-Italian and non-Latin origins in the post-Tridentine period.

Another question, from a completely different geographic angle, is whether we could see traceable instances of the use of these Italian and Neapolitan connections on the part of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian nobility. For instance, the Italian pedigree has been continuously claimed by the Polish-Lithuanian noble family Pac, mythically connecting them to the Florentine Pazzi. When it comes to Naples and Carafa-Korczak claims, there is a rare engraving (Fig. 5.24) depicting the arms of one of the main political figures of the seventeenth-century Ukraine, Mikhailo Wujachewicz-Wysoczynski (Мелетій [Михайло Васильович] Вуяхевич-Височинський, 1625-1697), a member of one of the families that claimed the arms of Korczak.[422] Having reached the height of the political career within Hetmanate of the Cossacks as their acting hetman, general officer, and the general judge, Mikhailo retired and took vows as a monk with the new name Meletij, likewise rising to the heights of the Ruthenian Orthodox hierarchy as the Archimadrite of Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery (1690-1697), the center of anti-Union, anti-Catholic, and pro-Orthodoxy Ruthenian secular and religious politics. Notably, in 1689, it was a major Polish-Ruthenian artist, often employed in Catholic and Uniate projects, Aleksander Tarasowicz (ca

[422] Engraving is in the collection of Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw. Size: 20,3x14,4 cm; call no. G.2226.
The number of Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian noble families that possessed Korczak coat of arms is close to 395. Wujachewicz family was one of them.

1640-1727), who was commissioned to execute an engraving of St. Meletius of Antioch in honor of his namesake, Archimadrite Meletij Wujachewicz-Wysoczynski. Below the oval with the portrait of St. Meletius, Tarasowicz placed the Korczak arms (Fig. 5.25). The inscription, combining some Latin, old-orthography Polish, and Church Slavonic transcribed into the Latin alphabet, mentions a "fortress (?) from the three heraldic rivers" [kasztal (sic) z trzech herbownych rzek] – seemingly an attempt to draw a metaphor out of the heraldic components of Archimandrite Meletij's arms. Due to Tarasowicz's involvement in the production of images of Our Lady of Żyrowice, one cannot discount his awareness of the Italian references contained in the heraldic information he engraved within a very Baroque portrayal of St. Meletius.[423]

While heraldic, dynastic, and family histories provide opportunities to delve deeper into iconographic and emblematic analysis, the purpose of my bringing up this evidence in the context of Slavic presence in early modern Italian cities is to further stress the extent and depth of networks that united *minoranze* to the existing and established power structures in the Mezzogiorno and elsewhere. Books by Paprocki, Aldimari, and Borgia are indicative of just that: the descriptive texts, illustrated by armorials, continuously establish connections to the real or imagined past and construct genealogies of power for Carafa, Caracciolo, Pignatelli, or Polish nobility. However,

[423] In the lower right corner is a Polish old-orthography inscription with some Latin: "przez naywyższego sługę Antoniego Tarasewicza, teyże Stēy Lawry zakonnika, anno 1693. Febr: 12" [through the highest servant, Antoni Tarasowicz, a monk in the same holy monastery, year 1693, February 12]. According to recent research of Elena Zaets, there is evidence to equate the figure of a Hieromonk Antoni Tarasowicz (Tarasevich) of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra with the famous Polish-Ruthenian engraver and printer Leontij Tarasowicz, active in 1688-1710). See ЗАЕЦ Е.В., "Книги Антония (Тарасевича) в фондах Национальной библиотеки Украины имени В.И. Вернадского" *Берковские Чтения; Книжная культура в контексте международных контактов, Полоцк, 24-25 мая 2017 г.*[Berkovskye chteniya : Book culture in the context of international contacts: Materials of the International conference] (Москва: Федеральное государственное бюджетное учреждение науки Научный и издательский центр "Наука" Российской академии наук, 2017), 129-134.

these genealogies of power, backed up by seemingly indisputable visual evidence, also come with potentialities of patronage and protection: the Caracciolo's and the Carafa's Greek heritage makes them ideal patrons for the non-Italian communities in need in their sphere of influence – Neapolitan and Sicilian Kingdoms – both Greek and Albanian. Likewise, as we see below, Cardinal Pignatelli's advocacy for the Greek-rite subjects in the Ruthenian lands at the time of his tenure as nuncio in Poland retains its efficacy in his new tenure as the archbishop of Naples both for Slavs and Greeks of that city.

C. Polish-Neapolitan Diplomatic Networks in the Early Modern Period

In the first decades of Settecento, Cardinal Francesco Pignatelli (1652-1734 [Fig. 5.26]) acted as one of the important links between the PLC and Italy, and more specifically between the two centers of Byzantine-Rite presence in Italy – Rome and Naples. After two decades as the Metropolitan Archbishop of Taranto (1683-1703) in Puglia,[424] he was sent as the Apostolic Nuncio to Poland (1700-1703),[425] and named the Archbishop of Naples (1703-1734).[426] It is consistent with and indicative of the relationship between the Holy See and Ruthenian Greek Catholicism, that the diplomatic and theological discussions would be handled by the person personally connected to papacy and a member of a religious order involved in education of Eastern Rite

[424] Puglia and the Archdiocese of taranto already being important centers of older Basilian monastic presence since Byzantine period of that region's history.
[425] See Shmurlo, E. *Recueil de documents relatifs au règne de l'empereur Pierre le Grand* (Youriev [Dorpat]: Impr. de K. Mattiesen, 1903) for Pignatelli's correspondence with Rome as the nunci in Poland.
[426] Other ecclesiastical duties and titles included: Pignatelli was also a cardinal-priest with the title of Santi Marcellino e Pietro al Laterano (11 February 1704 – 26 April 1719), Bishop of Sabina (26 April 1719 – 12 June 1724), Bishop of Frascati (12 June 1724 – 19 November 1725) and Bishop of Porto e Santa Rufina (from 19 November 1725 until his death), Subdeacon of the College of Cardinals (1725-1734).

Catholics: Cardinal Pignatelli was a nephew of Pope Innocent XII Pignatelli (r. 1691-1700),[427] was promoted to cardinalate by his successor – Pope Clement XI Albani (r. 1700-1721)[428] – and was a member of the Theatine Order. from his teenage years.[429] [430] The Theatine Pignatelli was also a scion of an ancient noble house of Pignatelli that dominated political scape in the Italian South: in Naples, Sicily, Puglia, and Calabria as well as Spain. Naming one of the Pignatelli to the See of Naples had solidified that family's control over the regions that were characterized precisely by a great proliferation of the Basilian monasteries and Byzantine-Rite parishes. The timing, in my opinion, of Pignatelli transfer to Neapolitan Archbishopric is also not coincidental. He spent his previous three years mediating a conflict between the Polish Roman Catholics and Ruthenian Uniates (Basilians included) in the PLC, and facilitating the establishment of a seminary for the Ruthenian and Armenian Uniates in Lviv, Ukraine – *Collegio Armeno Ruteno in Leopolis* – run by Theatines (Figs. 4.42-4.43).[431] Despite Pignatelli's return to Italy in 1703 took him out of the immediate involvement with Ruthenian Uniates, he did continue to be involved with Italo-Albanian Greek Catholics in his new Archbishopric, this time "Italo-Greek" or "Italo-Albanian,"

[427] Pope Innocent XII Pignatelli himself occupied the See of Naples in 1686-1691 – immediately prior his election to Papacy. Thus, after an intermission of two other Archbishops, Francesco Pignatelli succeeded to his uncle's position in Naples.
[428] Pope Clement XI Albani, of course, was known as a big supporter of Slavs in the Adriatic region, in the Balkans, and beyond, himself being a member of the Albani family that traced its origin (real or constructed) to Albania. To this effect, Pope Clement XI claimed a connection both to ancient Byzantine Orthodoxy of the Albanian lands and to the attachment of the Italo-Albanian community in the South of Italy to the Byzantine Rite liturgy.
[429] He joined Theatines at the age of thirteen.
[430] The Theatine Order had a strong presence both in Rome and Naples, but also in the Ruthenian lands, in part thanks to the efforts of Nuncio Pignatelli.
[431] See Giuseppe Sparano, *Memorie istoriche per illustrare gli atti della s. napoletana chiesa e gli atti della Congregazione delle appostoliche missioni eretta nel duomo della medesima, Parte 2* (Napoli: Giuseppe Raimondi, 1768), p. 262.

and was known to have paid a visit to the above-mentioned Greek church of SS. Pietro e Paolo in Naples (Figs. 5.4-5.5).[432]

The changes to apse in the Cathedral of Naples had begun precisely under the rule of Cardinal Pignatelli: the Sienese-Roman architect Paolo Posi (1708 – 1776), who in 1714 had begun restorations in that part of the cathedral (extending presbytery, lowering vault, etc.), provided designs for Pietro Bracci's high altar of the Assunta, eventually completed in 1739, already after Pignatelli's death (1734).[433] As mentioned previously (in Chapter 2), this Neapolitan commission of Bracci has him further tied to the Polish connections he seemed to have established in Rome earlier. The same year he completed the Assunta in Naples, he also completed the funerial monument to Maria Clementina Sobieska (1702 – Rome, 1735), the wife of the Young Pretender, and a grand-daughter of the Polish King, Jan III Sobieski. The funereal monument was done according to the design of Filippo Barigioni, who was already employed at the renovations of the interior of the Ruthenian SS. Sergio e Bacco and the creation of the high altar (1719) to feature the newly discovered Madonna del Pascolo (1718). Furthermore, Bracci also had direct ties to the Neapolitan power-players, having been earlier involved in the creation of the tomb (1738) of Cardinal Innico Caracciolo *iuniore* (1642 – 1730) at the Cathedral of Aversa in Campania, not far from Naples. All these overlapping Polish-Roman-Neapolitan networks indicate that the weight of these connections in the selection process of an artist or an architect such as Pietro Bracci cannot be discounted, but instead investigated further.

[432] Interestingly, as Cardinal Bishop of Frascati, Pignatelli would have also been a commendatory abbot of the Byzantine-Rite Abbey of Grottaferrata – the center of Italo-Greek liturgical life outside of Rome.
[433] See Chapter text and figures for the discussion of Pietro Bracci's contribution and connections to Polish-Ruthenian projects in Rome and to Pignatelli's projects in Naples.

D. Coda: Neapolitan Diversion

As this short Neapolitan appendix shows, the 1661 trip to Naples undertaken by the Ruthenian Basilians from Rome led them into an urban environment which was permeated with interest of Greek ritual life, had possessed an extensive historical memory of it, and had been saturated with visual culture that, if not directly "Byzantine," had nevertheless referenced the Greek Orthodox heritage in a multitude of ways. From pedigree of illustrious families, their heraldic language, to the foundational stories of relics, churches and monasteries built around these saintly remains – all tying Naples to the non-Latin Rite past and non-Latin territories beyond the peninsula. Likewise, the Eastern Europe and the Balkans played their role in these constructed identities, placing Slavs into that carefully formed network of associations and allegiances.

Naples, and more specifically the whole Kingdom of Naples and later of the Two Sicilies, provided Ruthenian Basilians with an example of still functioning Byzantine-Rite territories whose liturgical life and administration were firmly intertwined with the dominant Latin-Rite clerical structure of governance of the Roman Catholicism in the peninsula. The Basilian Congregation of the Italo-Albanese Church in the Mezzogiorno had co-existed with the Latin-Rite hierarchy and, as mentioned above, had often relied on it for its governance.[434] This example was valuable to the Ruthenian Uniates as they had attempted to maintain a clear administrative distinction from the diocesan structures of the Latin-Rite Catholicism (in PLC and in Italy), while still be reliant on the Pope to make or to confirm their autonomous administrative decisions.

[434] For instance, Cardinal Pignatelli being a commendatory abbot of the Byzantine-Rite Abbey of Grottaferrata as the Latin-Rite Bishop of Frascati or overseeing Byzantine-Rite parishes and monasteries in his diocese in Puglia when he was the Bishop of Taranto.

The Neapolitan experience may have also provided Ruthenian Basilians with artistic integration that the Greek and Italo-Albanian Basilians experienced – an example of a Baroque art created for the "rito greco," not far in the Eastern Mediterranean like in Crete, but here on Italian soil. Something that looked to the Ruthenians as "Roman" and therefore "Universal."

Figure 0.1. View of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photograph by the author, 2017.

Figure 0.2. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. Photograph by the author, 2016.

Figure 0.3. View of a corner of Santa Maria ai Monti (left), Fontana dei Neofiti (center) on the Piazza Madonna dei Monti, and the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in the background. Photograph by the author, 2015.

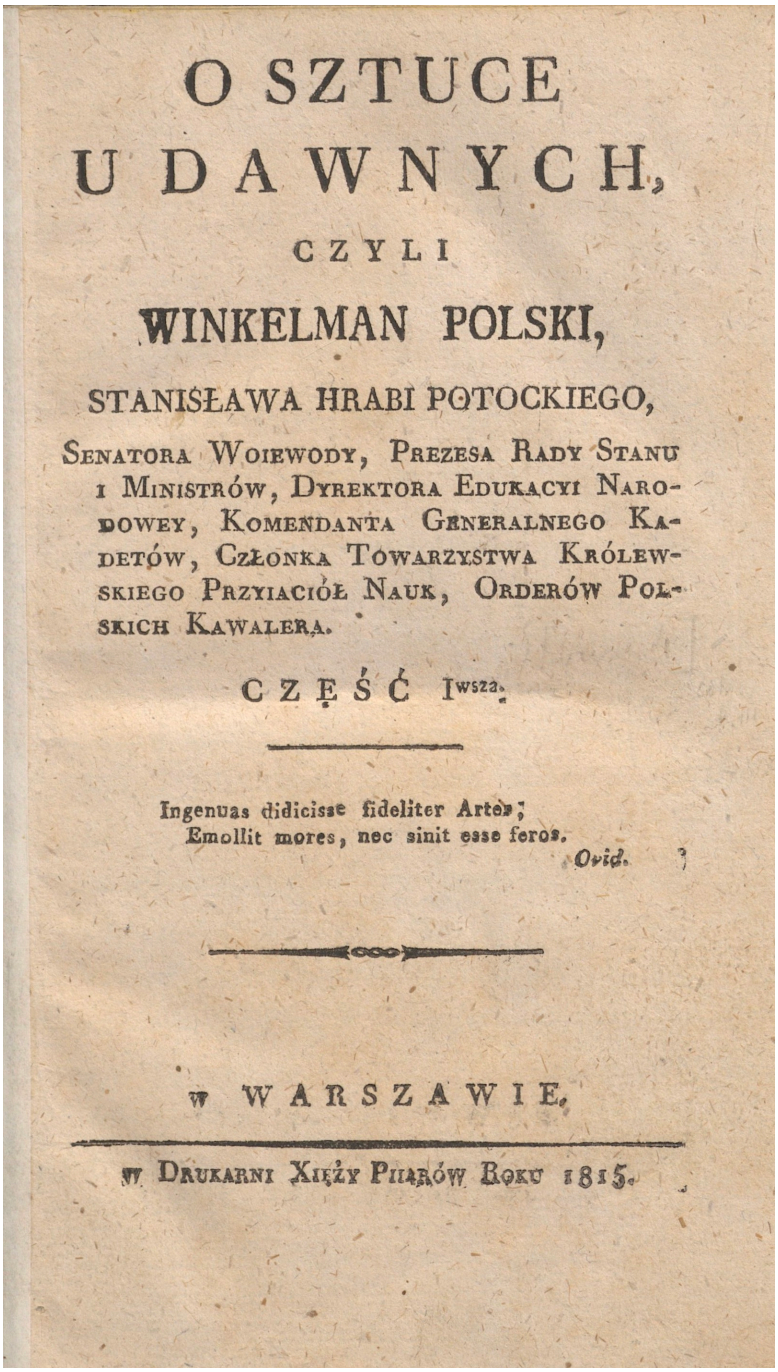
Figure 0.4. View of the Piazza Madonna dei Monti and the Fontana dei Neofiti, with the church of Madonna ai Monti in the background. Taken from a window of Casa Santa Sofia adjacent to SS. Sergio e Bacco. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 0.5. Santa Susanna, Rome, Photograph by the author, 2016.

Figure 0.6. Church of the Presentation (Церква Стрітення Господнього), Lviv. Photograph by Buchach, 2014.

Figure 0.7. The grave of Giovanni Battista Gisleni, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Photograph by the author, 2016.

Figure 0.8. Anatole Upart, A comparative drawing of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco based on the engravings and photographs of the church, 1669-1834; pen and ink drawing on paper, 2017.



O SZTUCE
U DAWNYCH,
CZYLI
WINKELMAN POLSKI,
STANISŁAWA HRABI POTOCKIEGO,
Senatora Woiewody, Prezesa Rady Stanu i Ministrów, Dyrektora Edukacyi Narodowey, Komendanta Generalnego Kadetów, Członka Towarzystwa Królewskiego Przyiaciół Nauk, Orderów Polskich Kawalera.
CZĘŚĆ Iwsza.

Ingenuas didicisse fideliter Artes;
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.
Ovid.

W WARSZAWIE,
W Drukarni Xięży Piarów Roku 1815.

Figure 0.9. The frontispiece of Stanisław Kostka Potocki's *O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winkelman polski* (W Warszawie: W Drukarni Xięży Piarów, 1815); Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland.

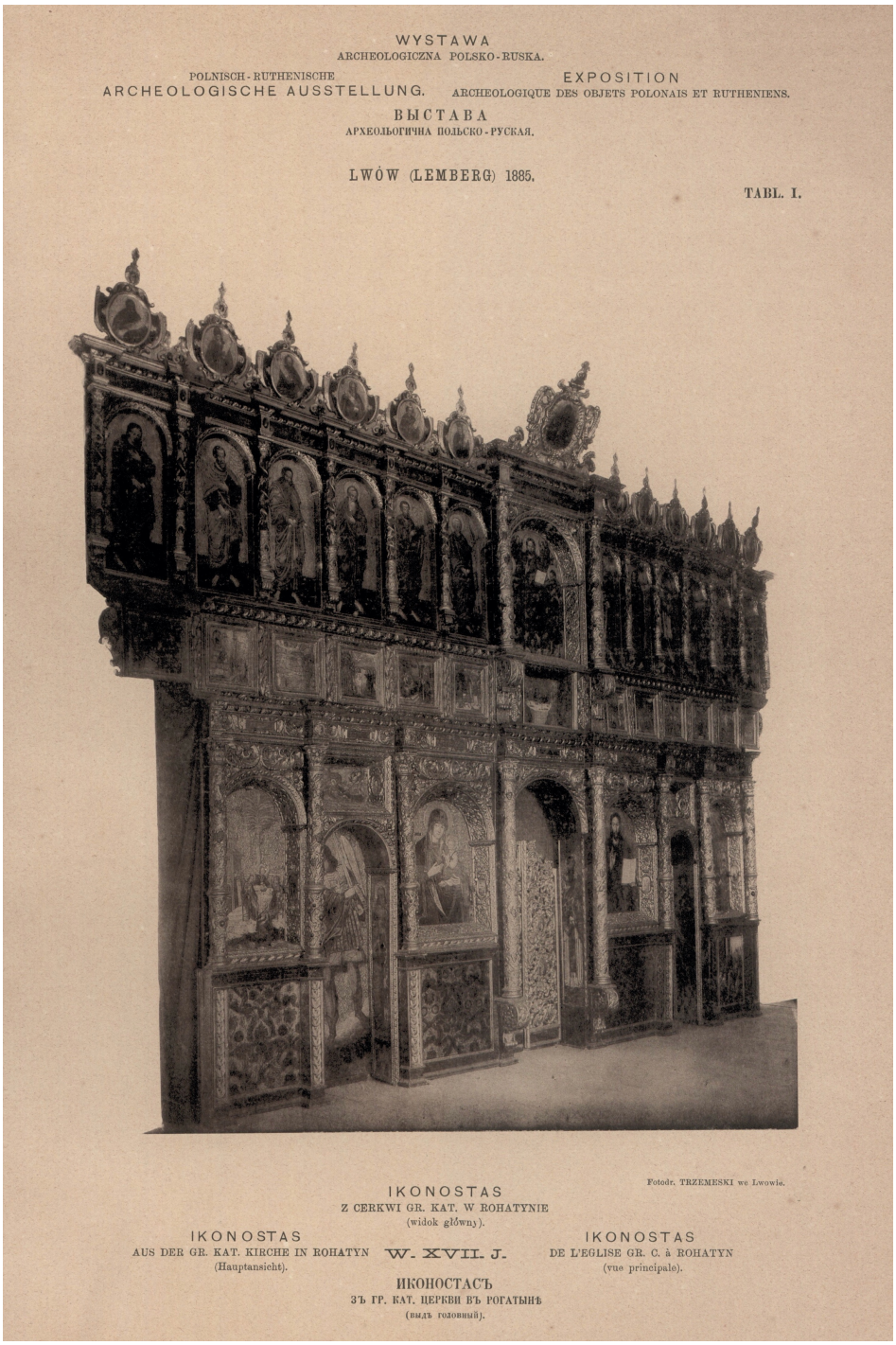


Figure 0.10. Illustration of the Rohatyn Iconostasis from Maryan Sokołowski's *O malarstwie na Rusi z powodu wystawy archeologicznej lwowskiej r. 1885* (Lwów: [s.n.], 1886); Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland.

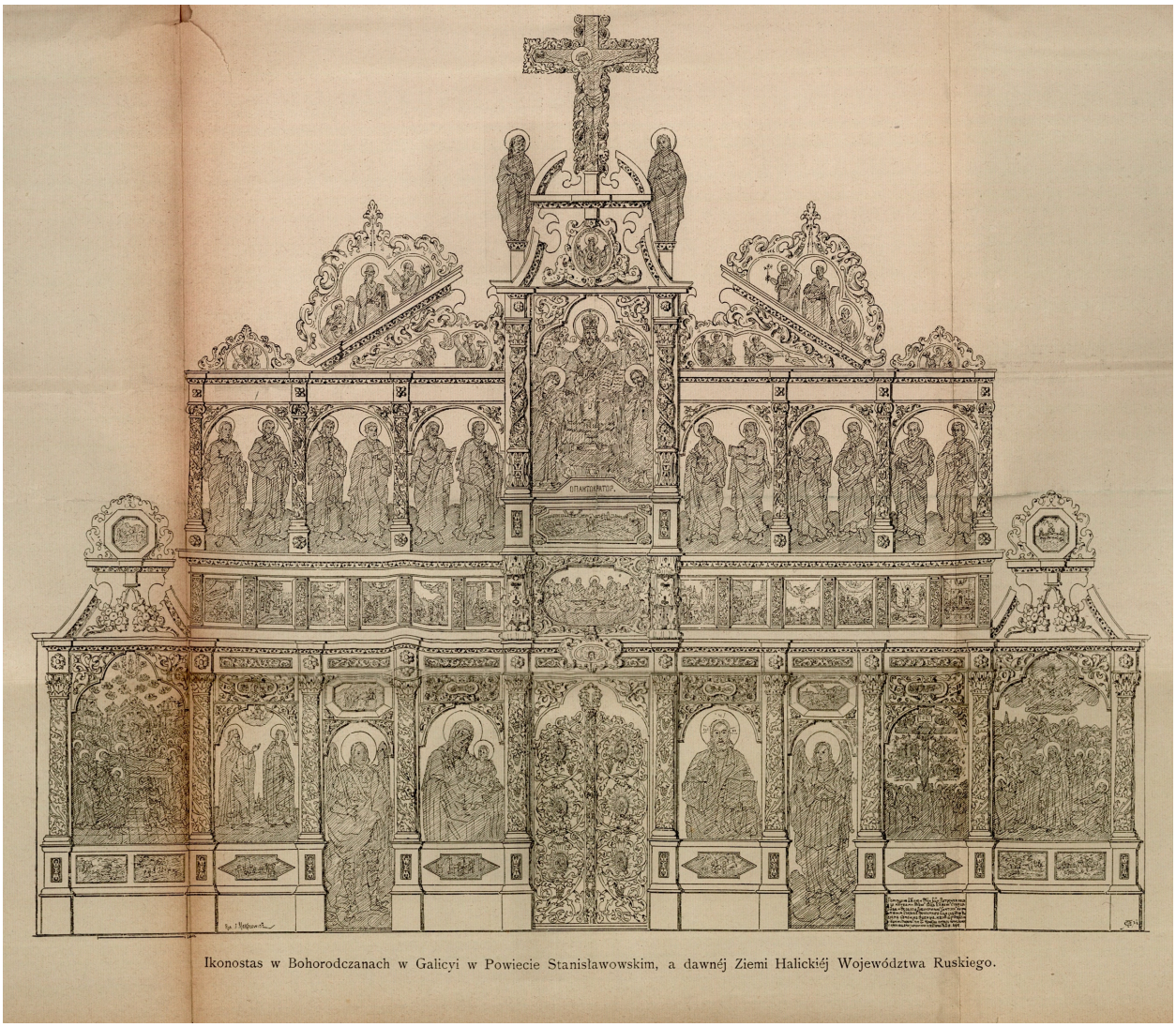


Figure 0.11. Illustration of the Bohorodczany Iconostasis from W. Dzieduszycki's "Ikonostas Bohorodczański," *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, z. 4 (Lwów: Druk. Instytutu Staropigianskiego, 1890): 91-130; Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland.

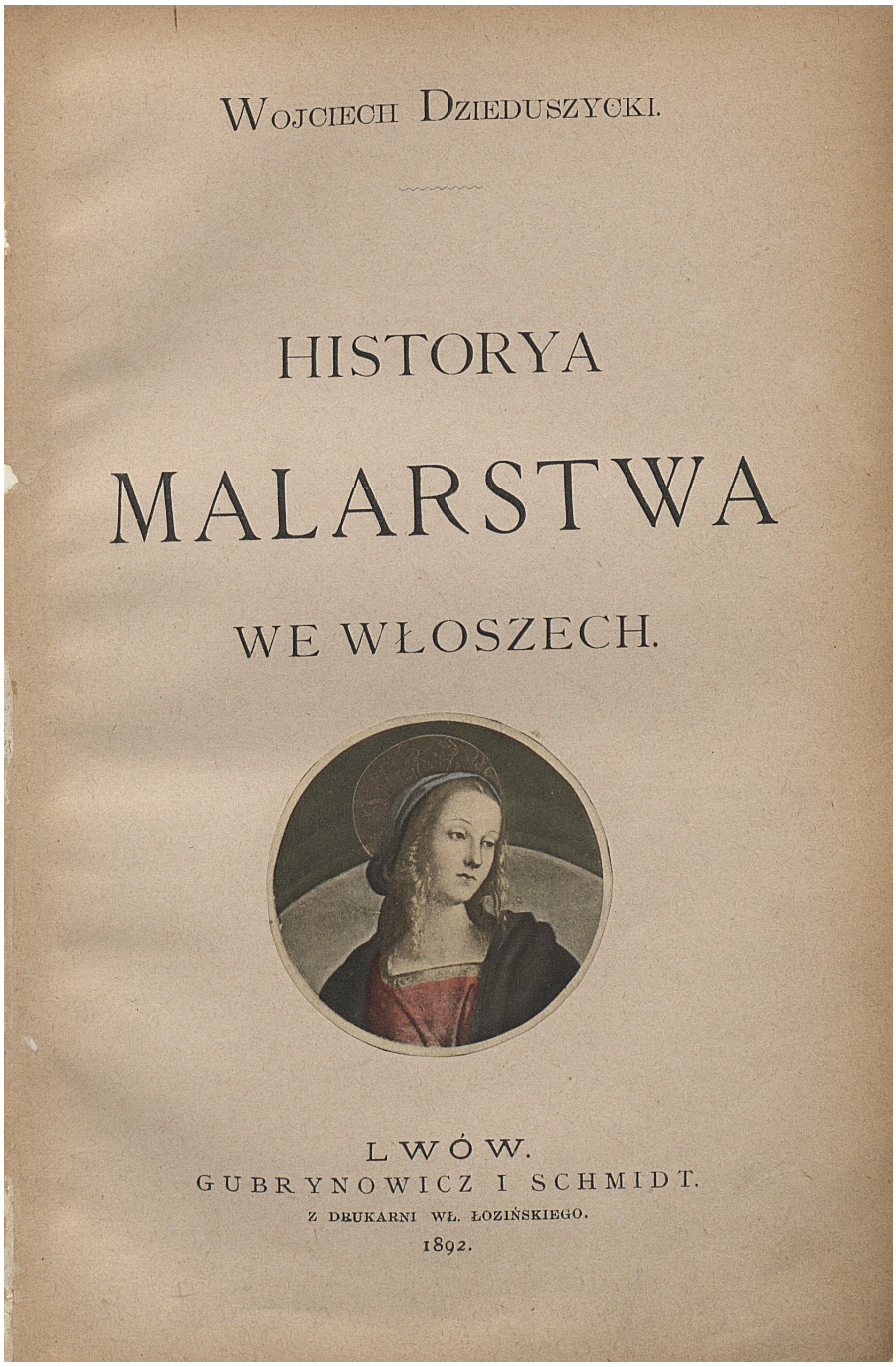
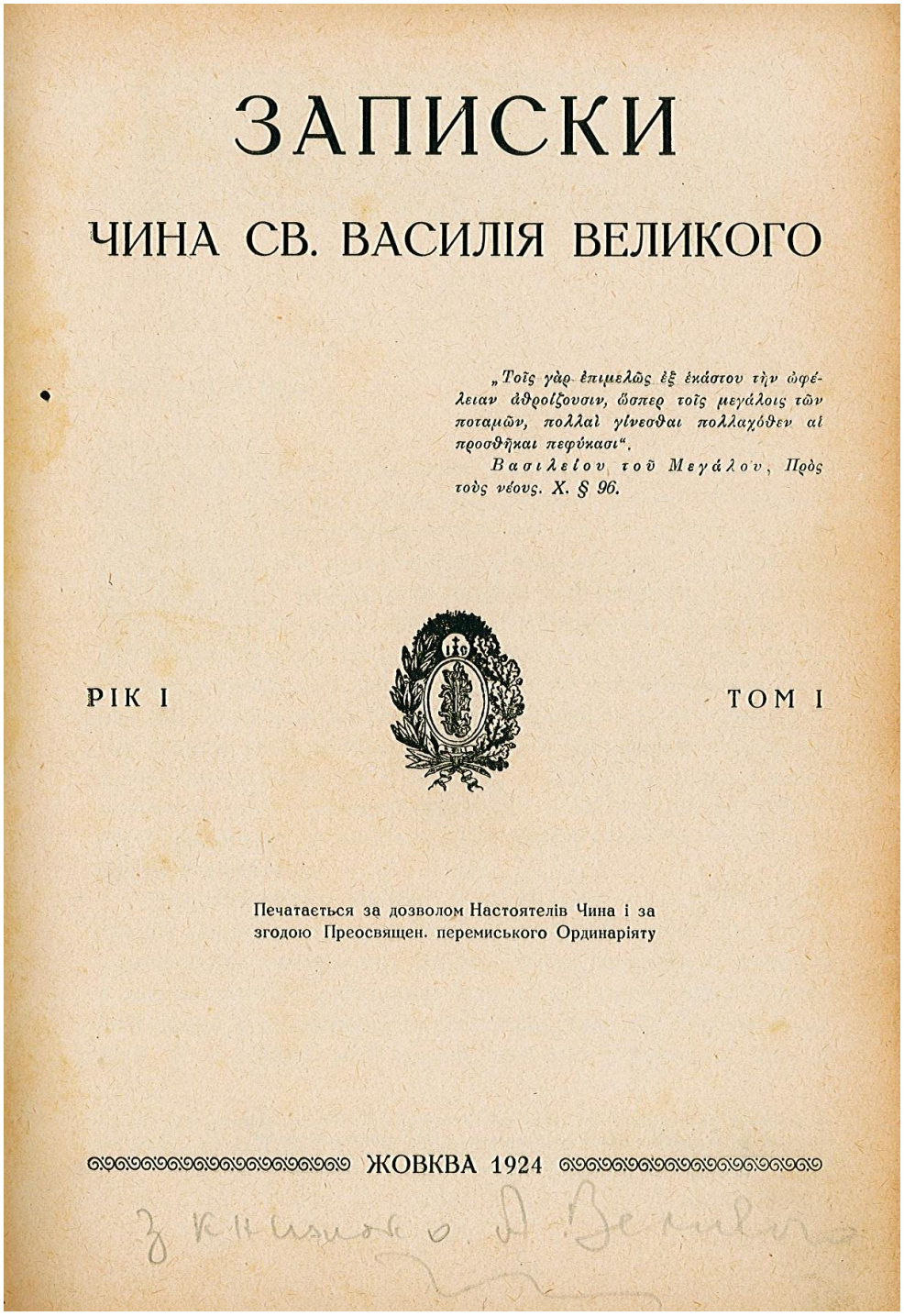


Figure 0.12. Frontispiece of Wojciech Dzieduszycki's *Historya malarstwa we Włoszech* (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1892); Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland.



ЗАПИСКИ

ЧИНА СВ. ВАСИЛІЯ ВЕЛИКОГО

„Τοῖς γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς ἐξ ἑκάστου τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀθροίζουσιν, ὥσπερ τοῖς μεγάλοις τῶν ποταμῶν, πολλαὶ γίνεσθαι πολλαχόθεν αἱ προσθῆκαι πεφύκασι".

Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου, Πρὸς τοὺς νέους. X. § 96.

РІК І

ТОМ І

Печатається за дозволом Настоятелів Чина і за згодою Преосвящен. перемиського Ординаріяту

ЖОВКВА 1924

Figure 0.14. Image of S. Girolamo degli Illirici from Oreste Ferdinando Tencajoli's *Le Chiese nazionali italiane in Roma* (Roma: Desclée, 1928), showing the church next to buildings that were demolished a few years later in 1930s.

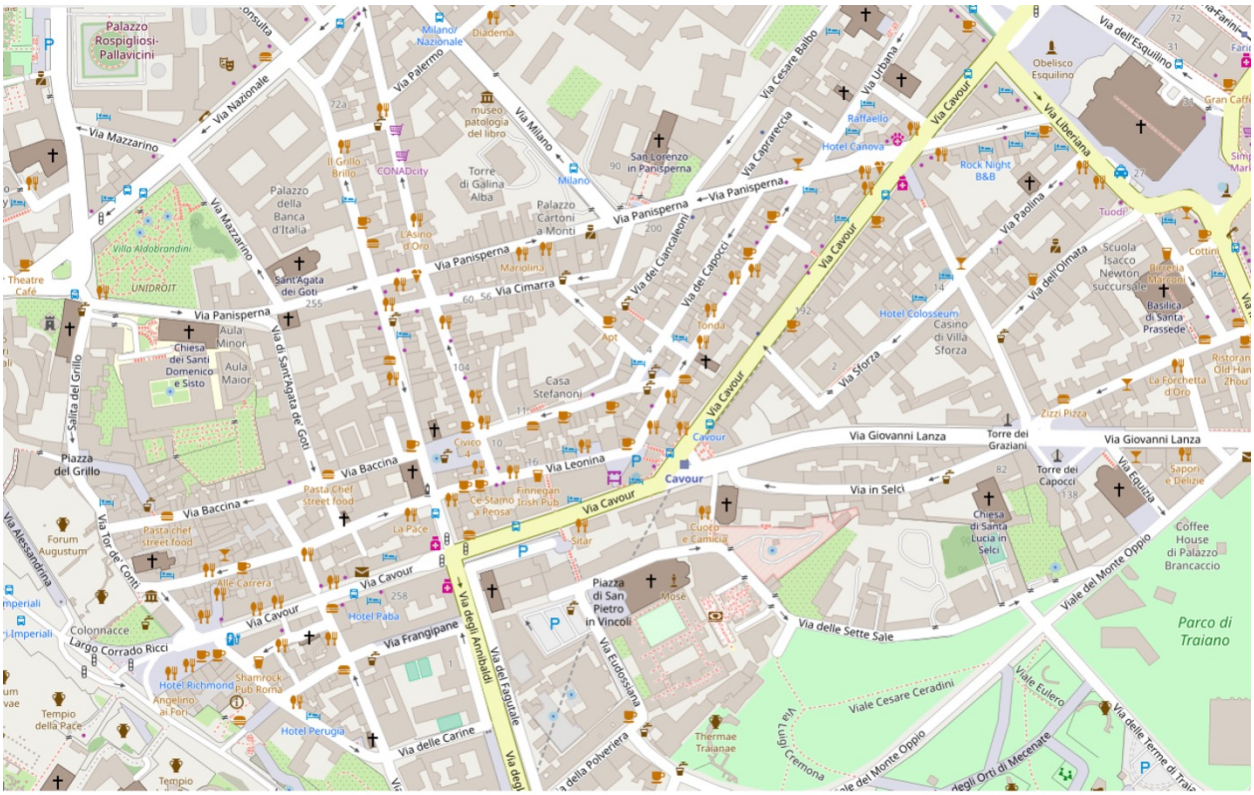


Figure 1. 1. Map of the area of Suburra in the rione Monti. © OpenStreetMap contributors.

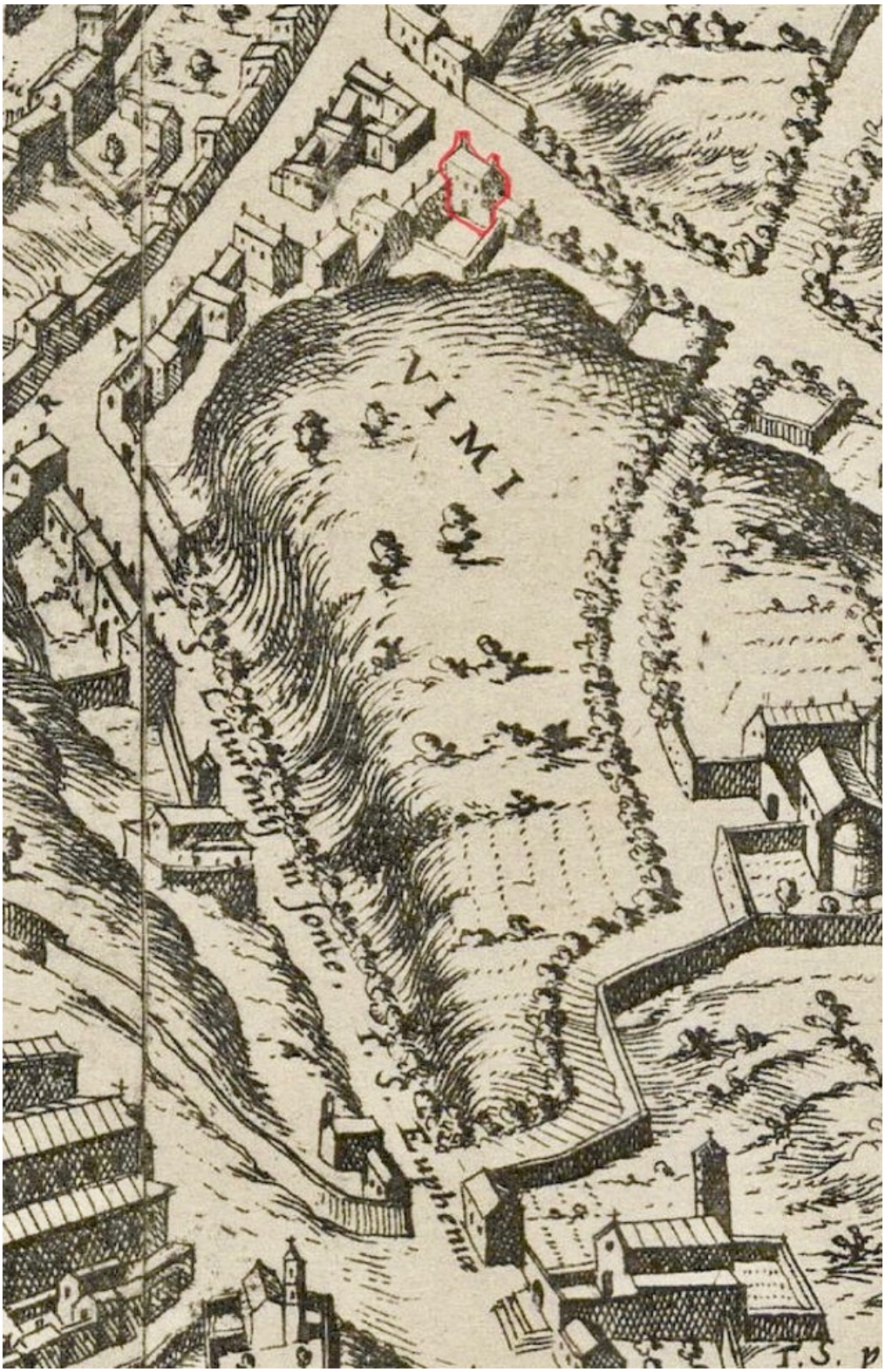


Figure 1. 2. Map of Rome, Etienne Du Perac and Antoine Lafrery, 1577. Detail with SS. Sergio e Bacco (highlighted in red).

Figure 1. 3. Map of Rome, Giovanni Maggi, 1625. Detail. SS. Sergio e Bacco is marked by Maggi across the whole isola (name highlighted in yellow).

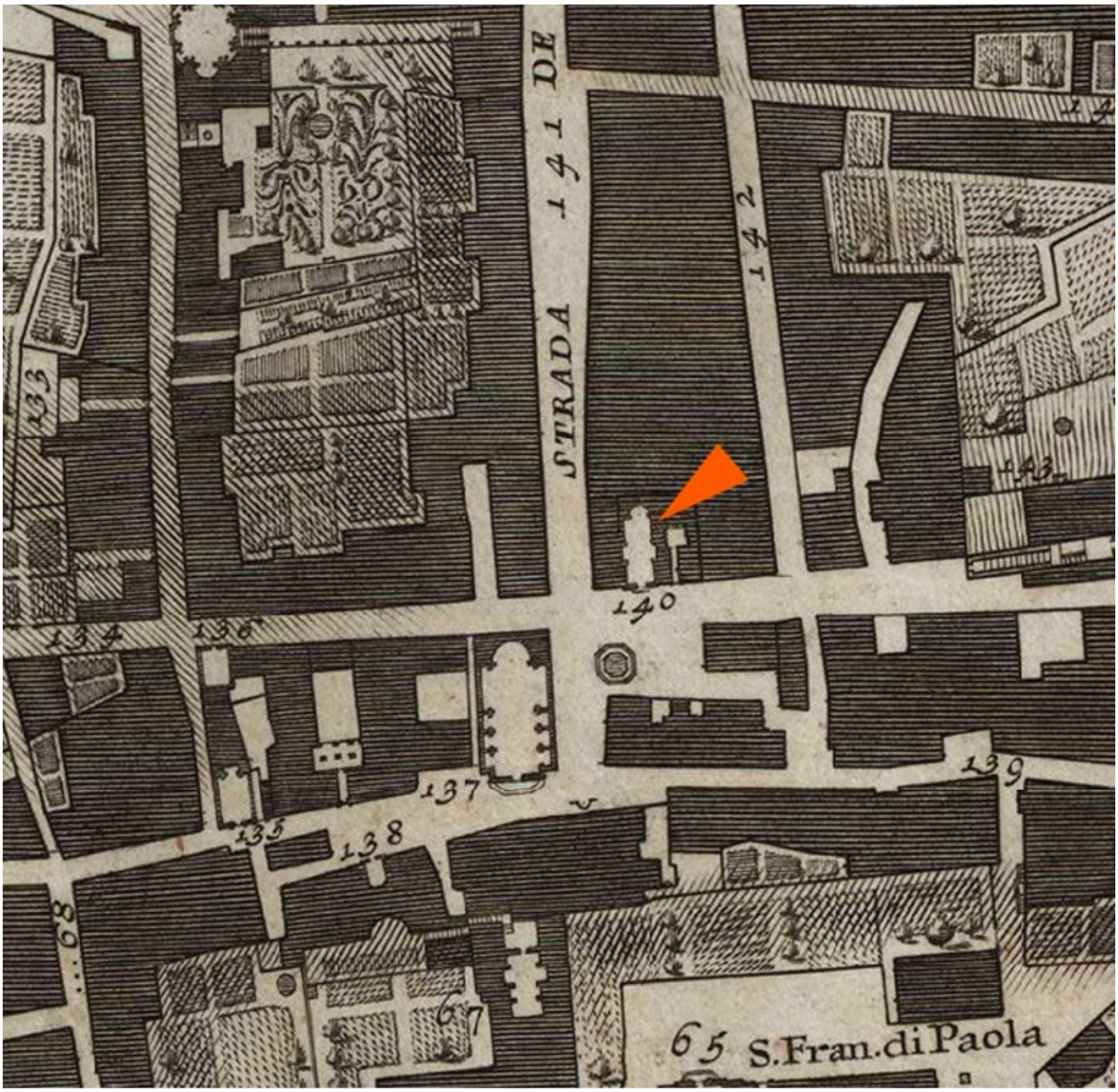


Figure 1. 4. Map of Rome, Giambattista Nolli, 1748. Detail with SS. Sergio e Bacco (no. 140), Santa Maria ai Monti and the Palazzo dei Neofiti (no. 137).

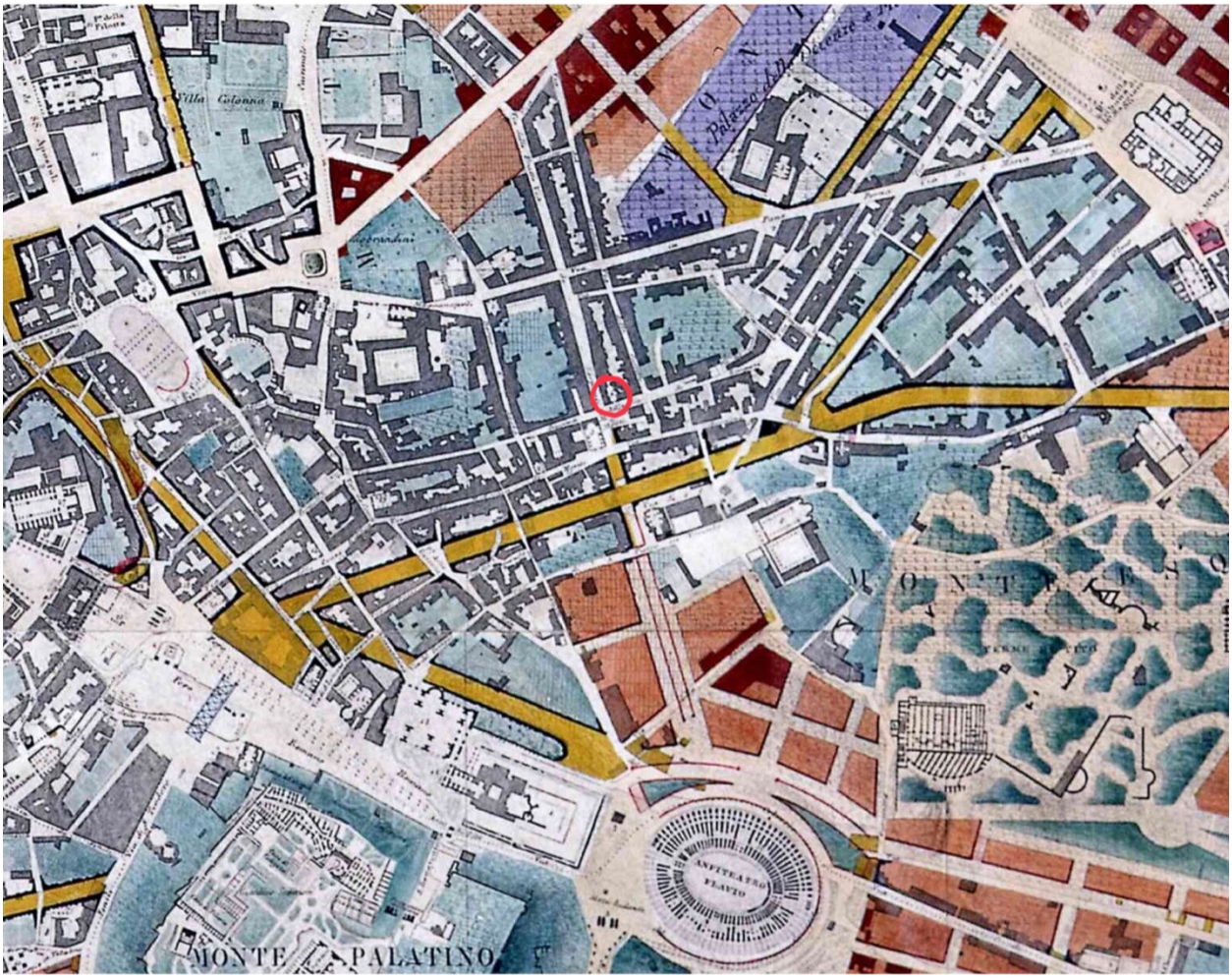


Figure 1. 5. Map of Rome (Piano regolatore) of 1882. Detail showing the demolitions (in yellow), new facades (in black), following up on the earlier demolitions of 1873. SS. Sergio e Bacco is marked by a red circle.

Figure 1. 6. Church of Sant'Agata dei Goti, Rome. Photo by author, 2018.

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Figure 1. 11. Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, 1625, Giacomo Lauro (engraver), Martin Szyskowski, Archbishop of Cracow (dedicatee). GLauro AB 3.1, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.

Figure 1. 12. Map of Rome, Lanciani, 1893-1901. Detail showing the area of Suburra.

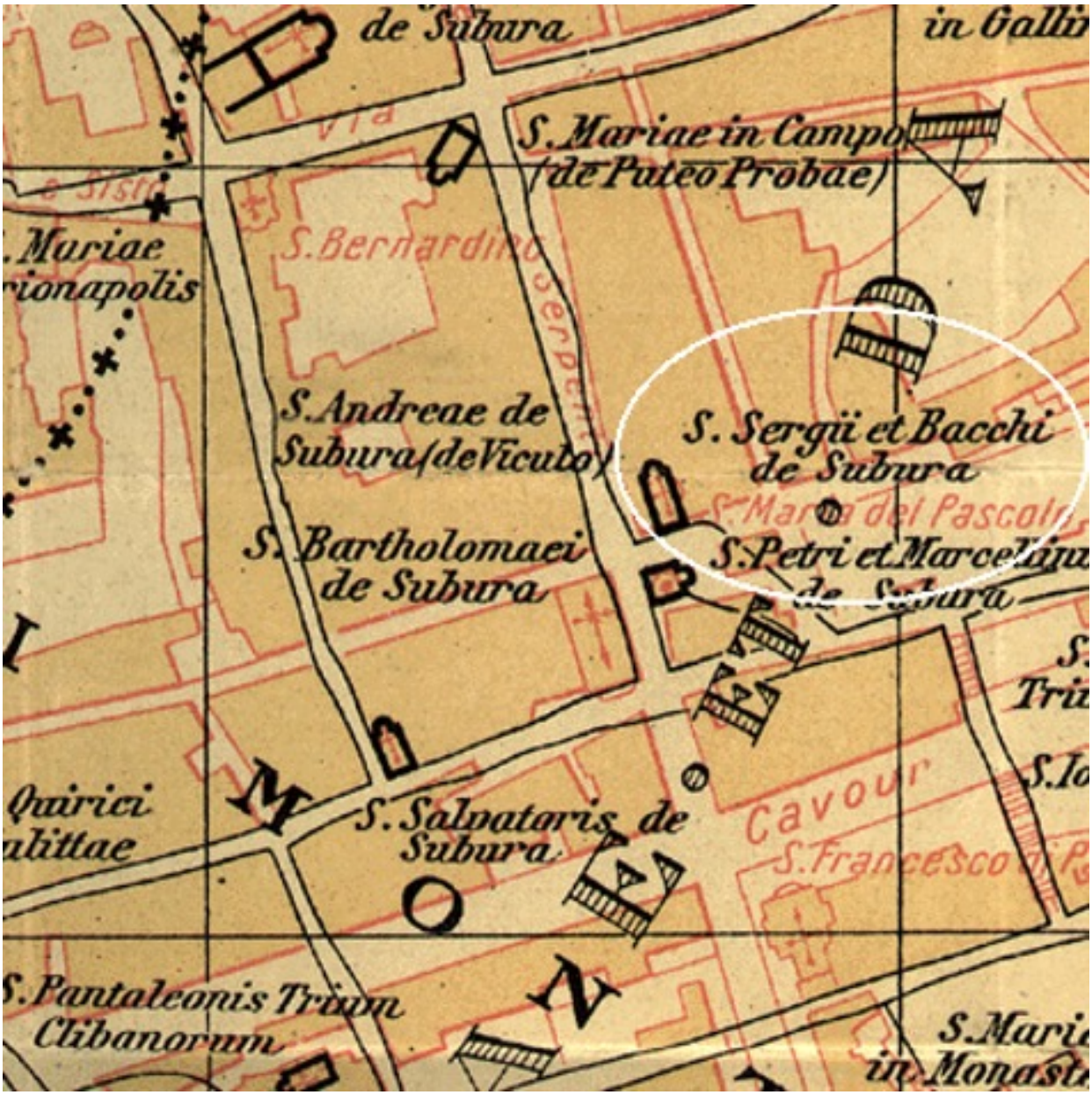

Figure 1. 13. Map of Rome, Christian Hülsen, Detail showing SS. Sergio e Bacco in Suburra.

Figure 1. 14. Map of Rome, Christian Hülsen, Detail showing SS. Sergio e Bacco in Foro.

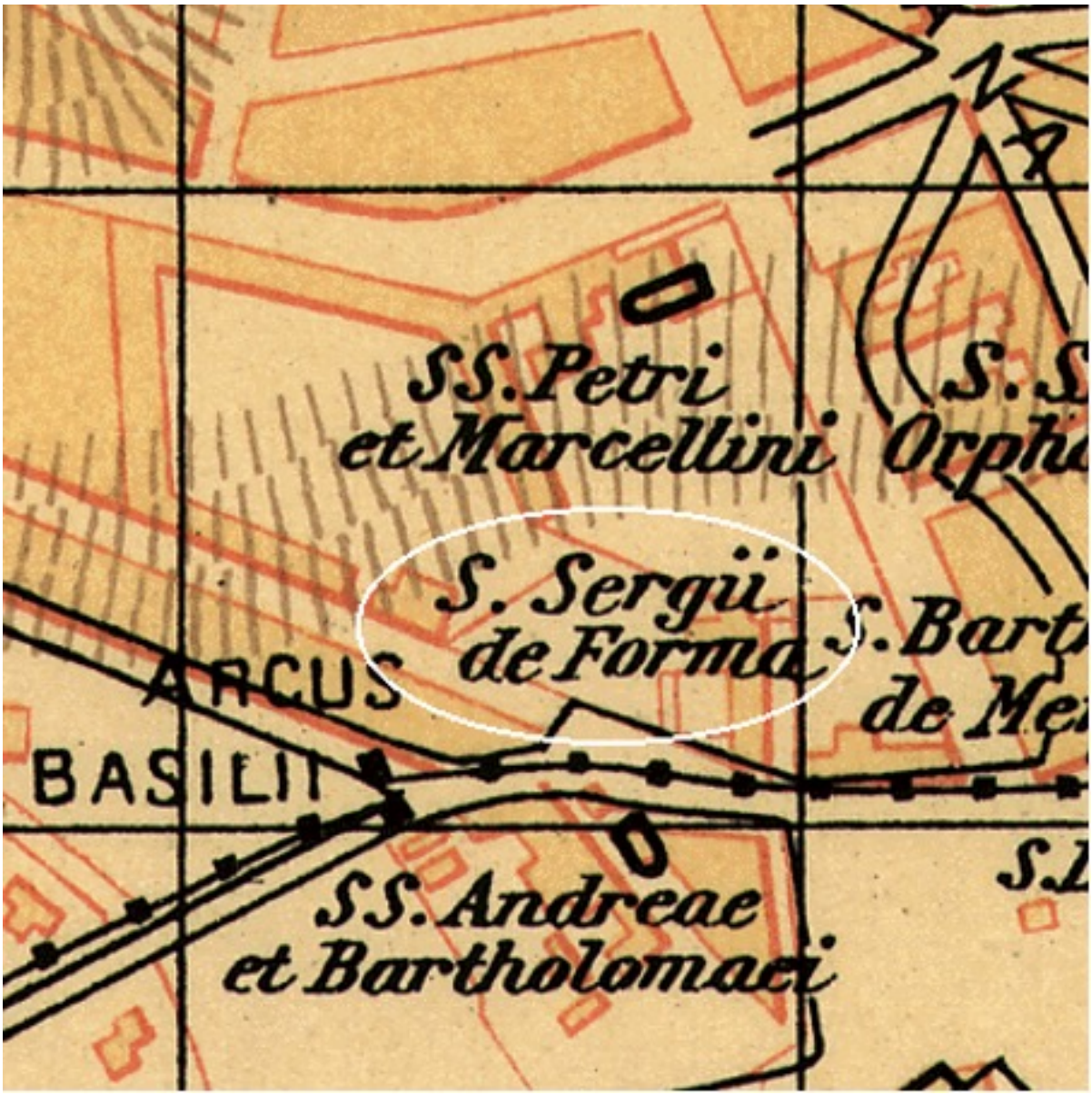

Figure 1. 15. Map of Rome, Christian Hülsen, Detail showing SS. Sergio e Bacco in Laterano.

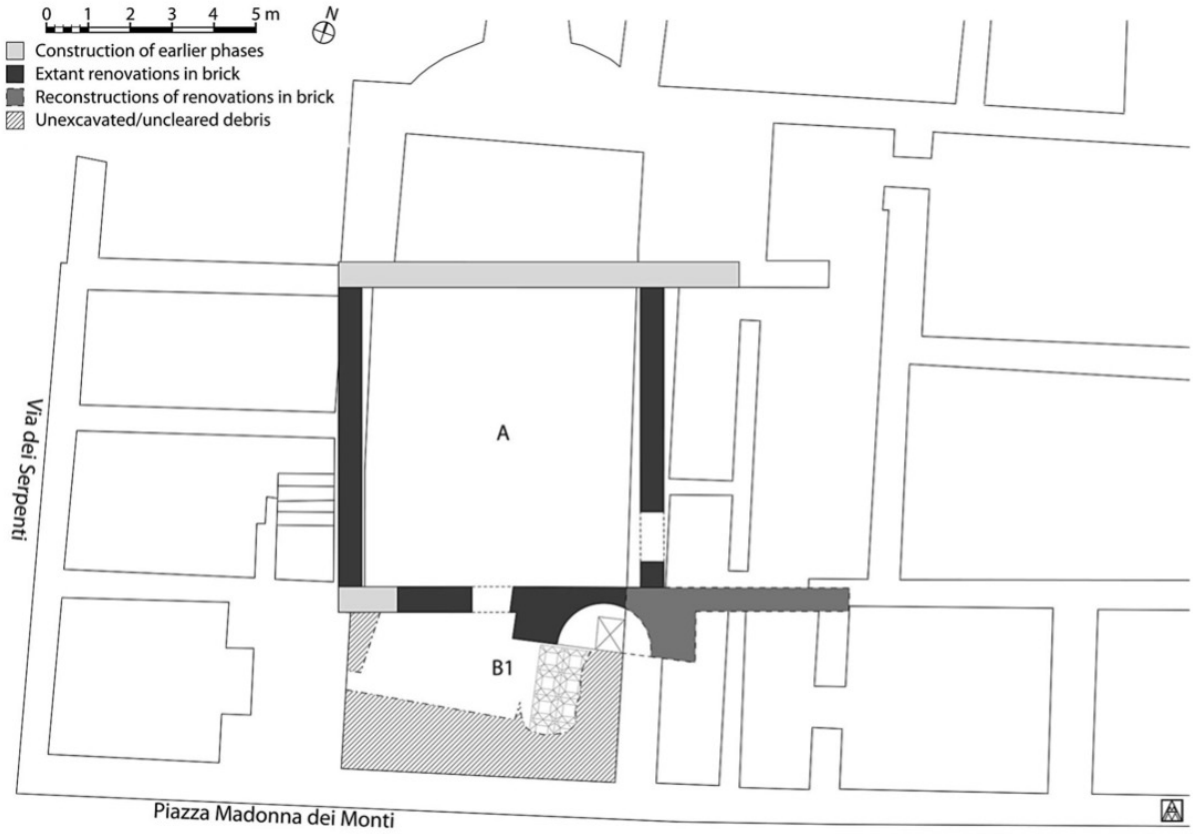

Figure 1. 16. Image from "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity," by Margaret M. Andrews (AJA 118 [2014] 61–90). Plan of the house below Santi Sergio e Bacco on Piazza Madonna dei Monti in Rome, showing first phase of imperial renovations carried out in brick. © Margaret M. Andrews, 2014.

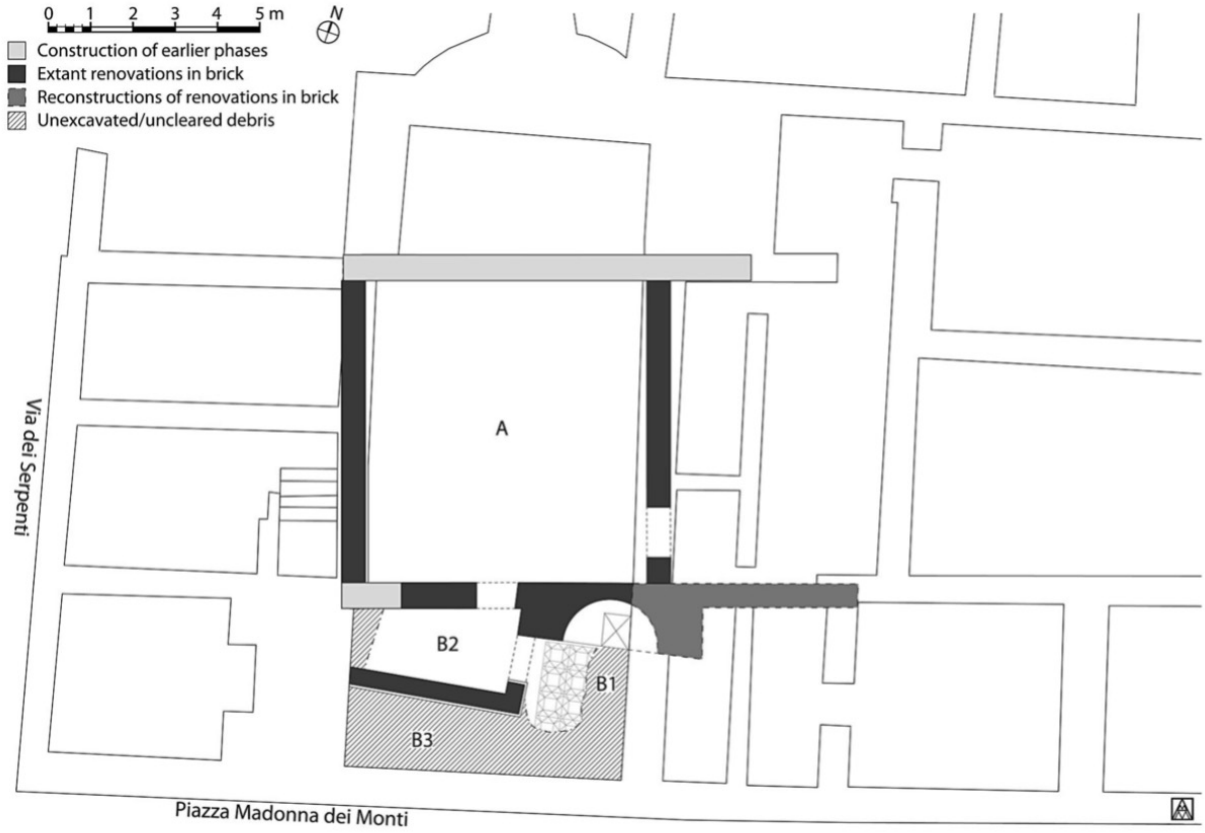

Figure 1. 17. Image from "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity," by Margaret M. Andrews (AJA 118 [2014] 61–90). Plan of the house below Santi Sergio e Bacco, showing second phase of imperial renovations in which Rooms B2 and B3 were created within the former space of Room B1 by the addition of an east–west wall and doorway. © Margaret M. Andrews, 2014.

Figure 1. 18. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Chiesa consacrata alla Madonna de Monti,* from *Vedute delle Fabriche, Piazze et Strade fatte fare nuovamte. in Roma dalla . . . Alessandro VII*, published by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi, Rome, 1665. SS. Sergio e Bacco is behind the Fontana dei Neofiti.

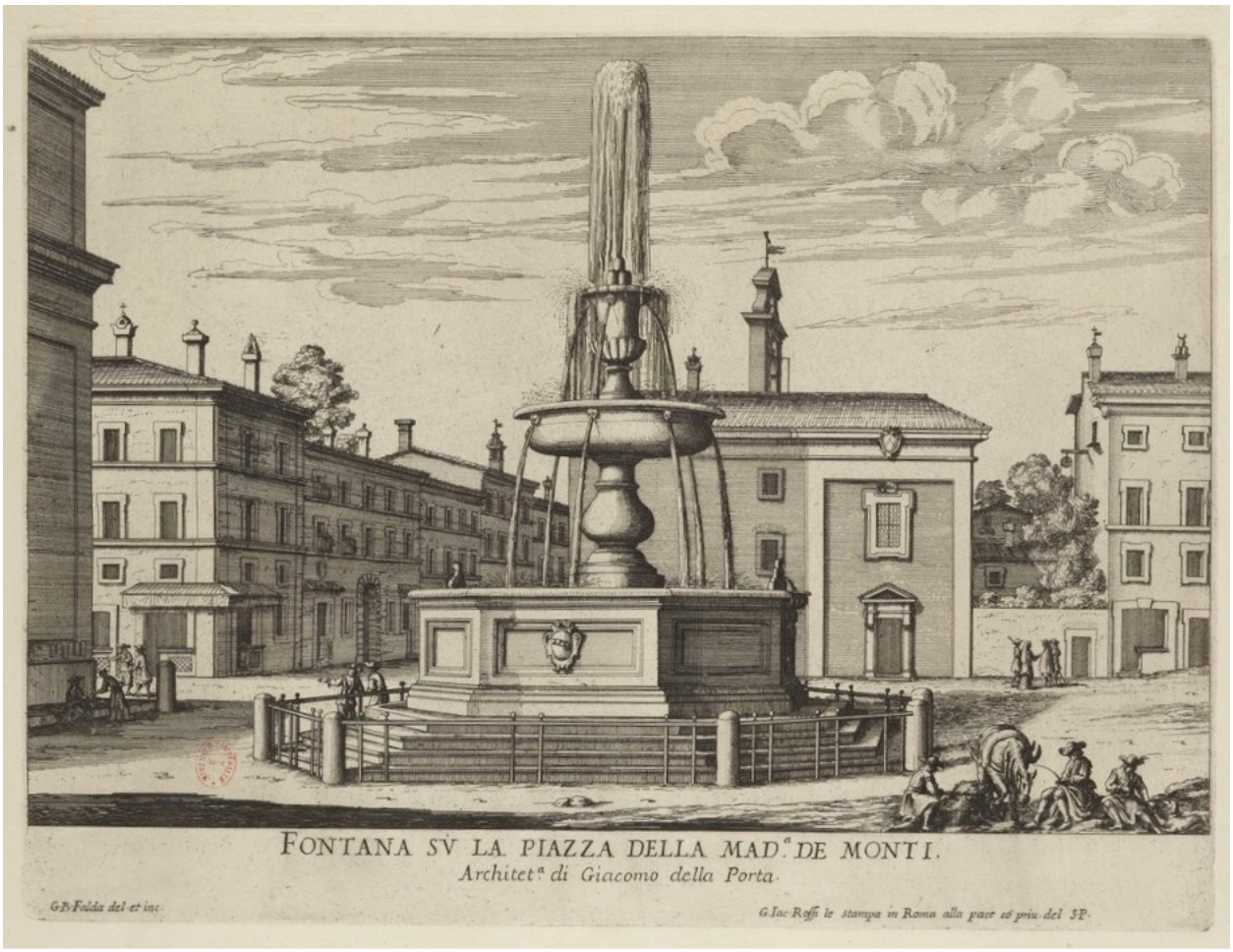

Figure 1. 19. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Fontana su la piazza della Madonna de Monti from Le fontane di Roma nelle piazze e lvoghi pvblici della città, con li loro prospetti, come sono al presente*, Roma: Pace con priu. del S. Pont., [1675-1691?]. SS. Sergio e Bacco behind the fountain. Copyright: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 1. 20. Giuseppe Vasi, *Piazza dei Monti*, showing the building of SS. Sergio e Bacco, opposite the fountain. Engraving from Vedute di Roma, c. 1750.

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Figure 1. 32. Reliquary of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, S. Pietro in Castello, Venice. Photo by the author, 2017.

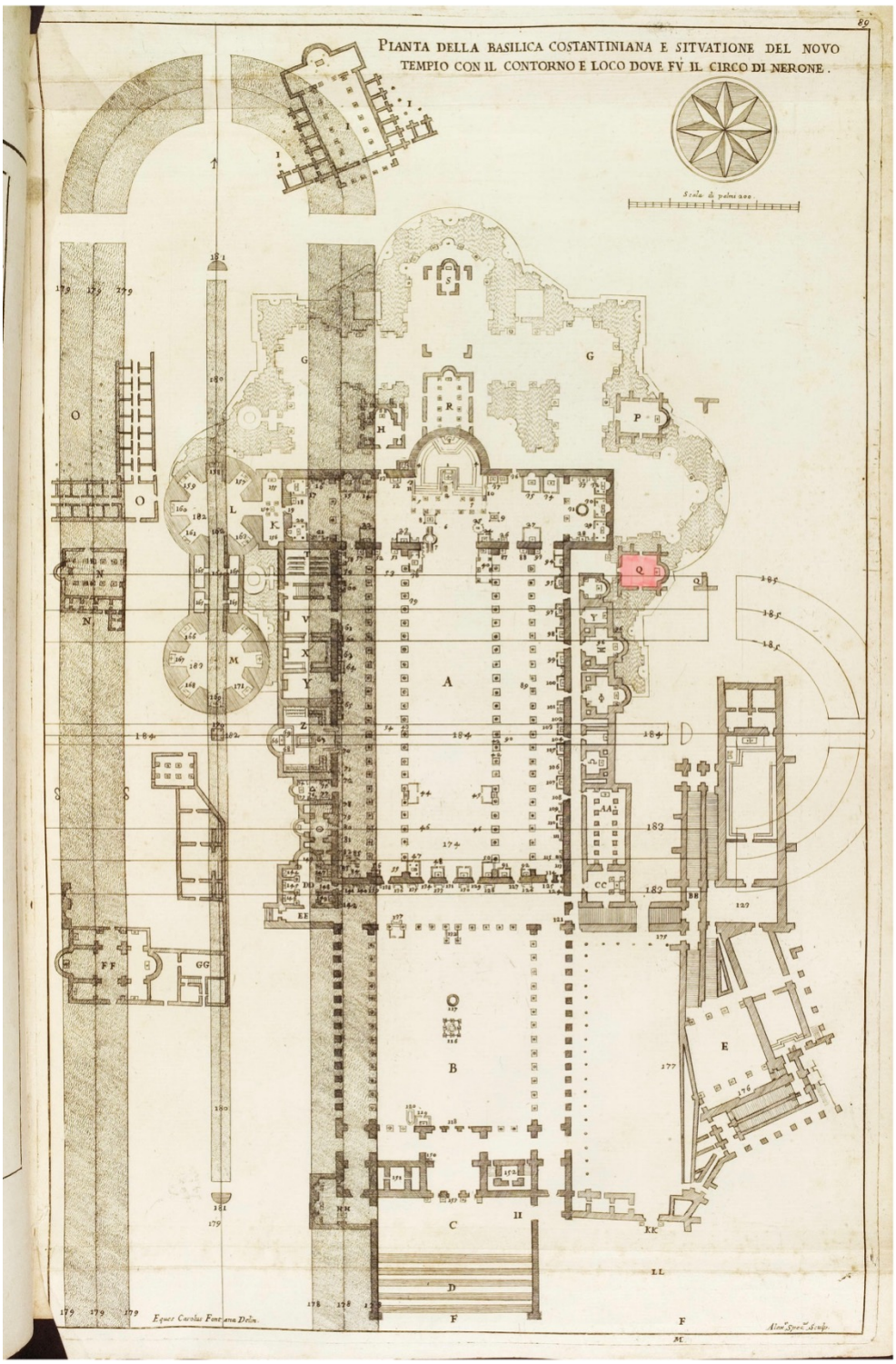

Figure 1. 33. Church of SS. Sergio e Bacco (highlighted in red), a *titulus* of the medieval cardinal-deacon, on a floor plan of the Old St. Peter from Carlo Fontana's *Templum vaticanum et ipsius origo cum aedificiis maxime conspicuis antiquitas et recens ibidem constitutio* — [S.l.], 1694. Copyright, Heidelberg University Library, 2018.

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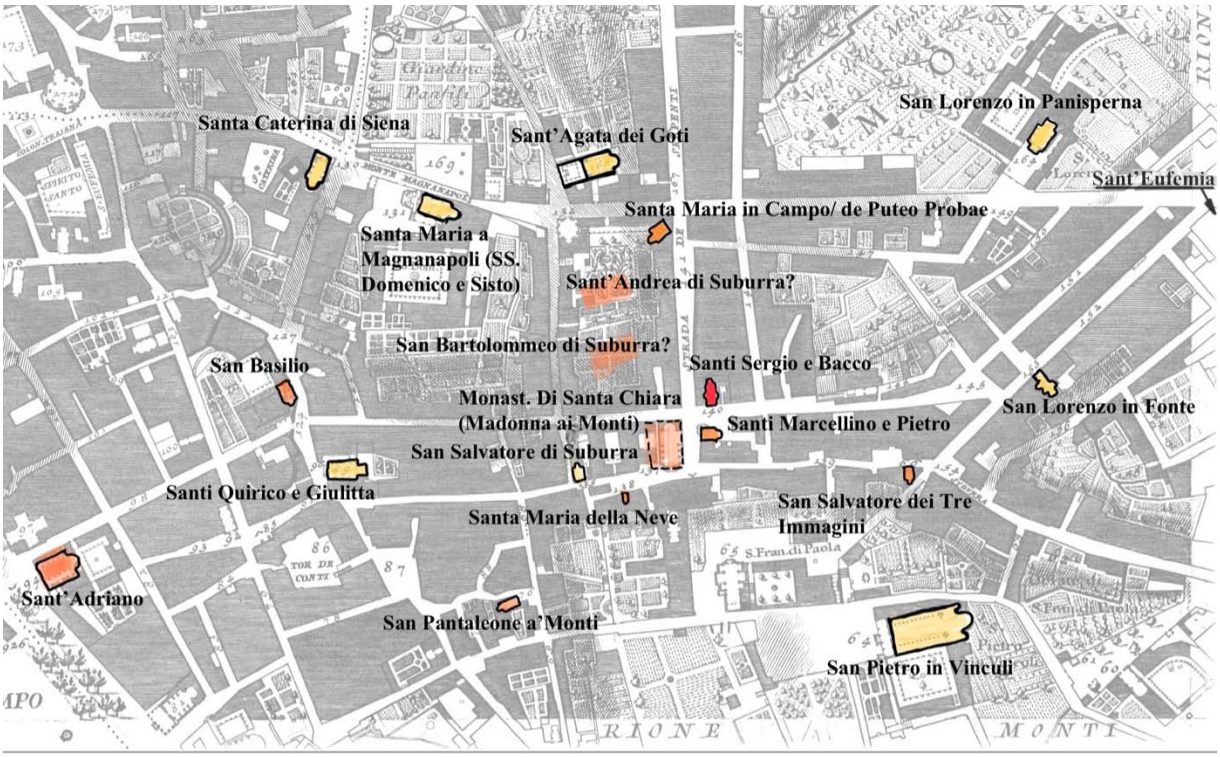

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Figure 1. 36. Church of Madonna ai Monti, Rome. Photo by the author, 2017.

Figure 1. 37. Church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, Rome. Photo by the author, 2017.

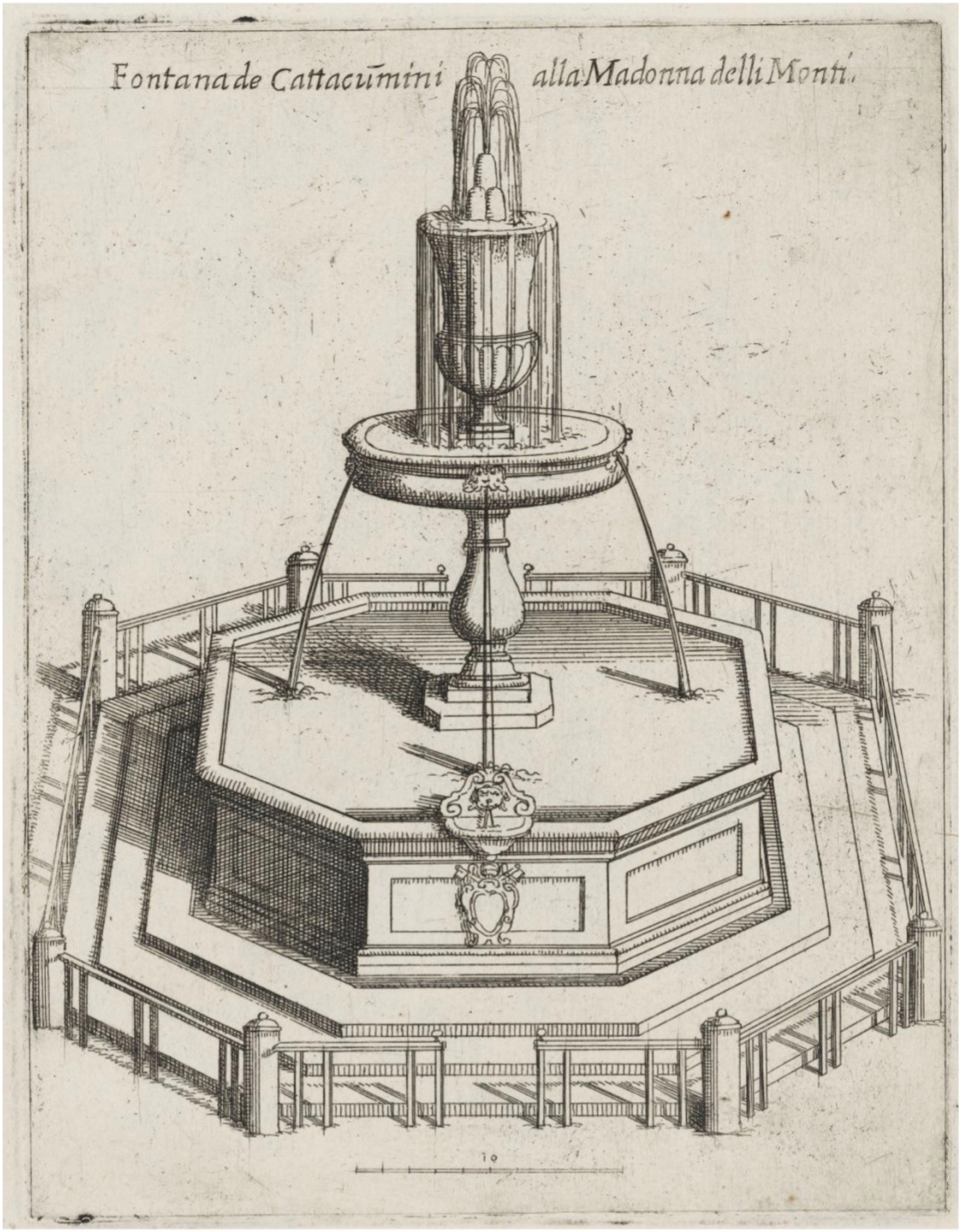

Figure 1. 38. *Fontana de Cattacumini alla Madonna delli Monti,* 1637. Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1620-1680) (publisher); Carloantonio del Pozzo (draftsman); Domenico Parasacchi (engraver). DParasacchi AB 3.10. Coll. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany.

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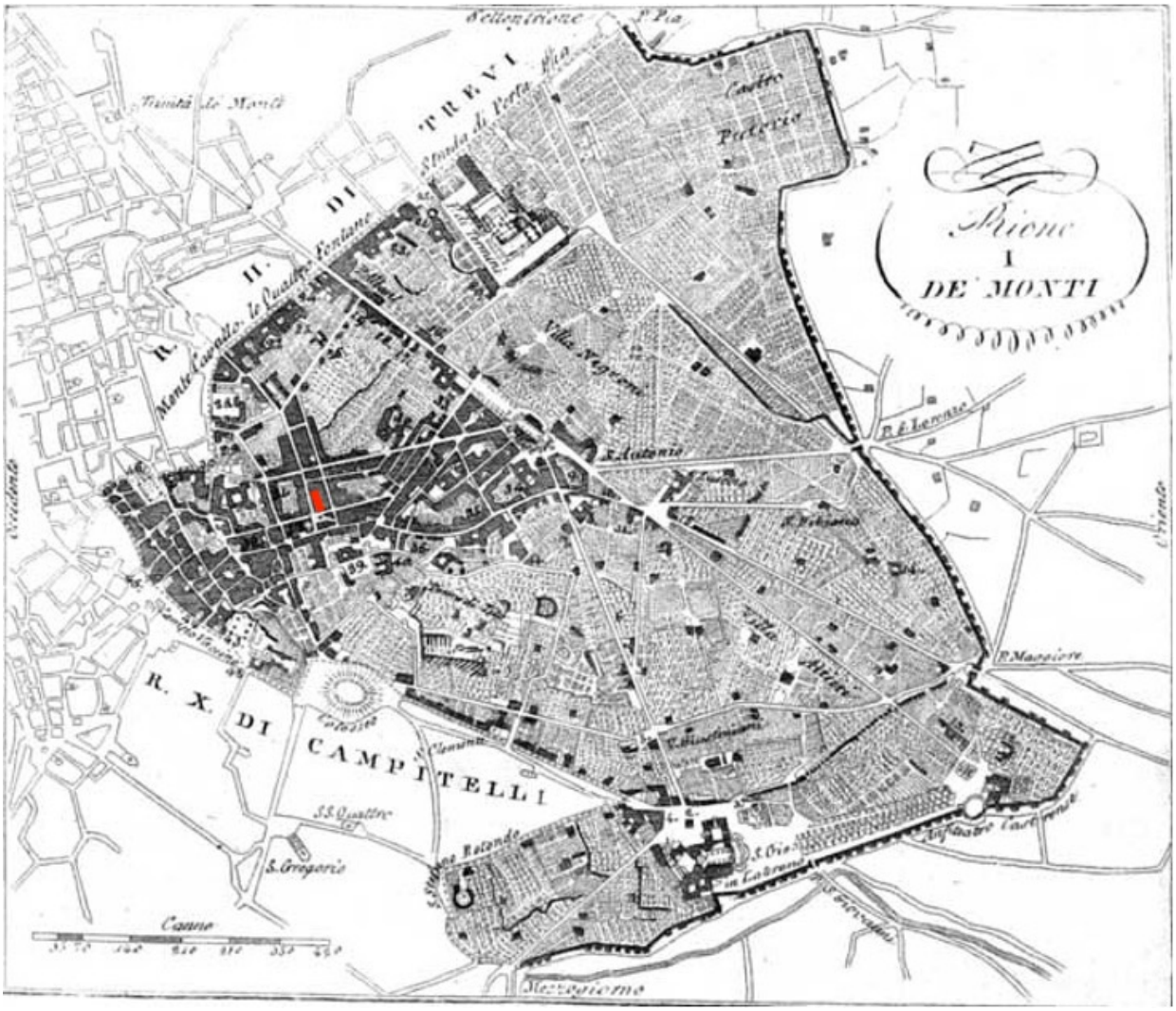

Figure 1. 40. *Rione* Monti, XVIII c., red arrow indicates the location of SS. Sergio e Bacco.

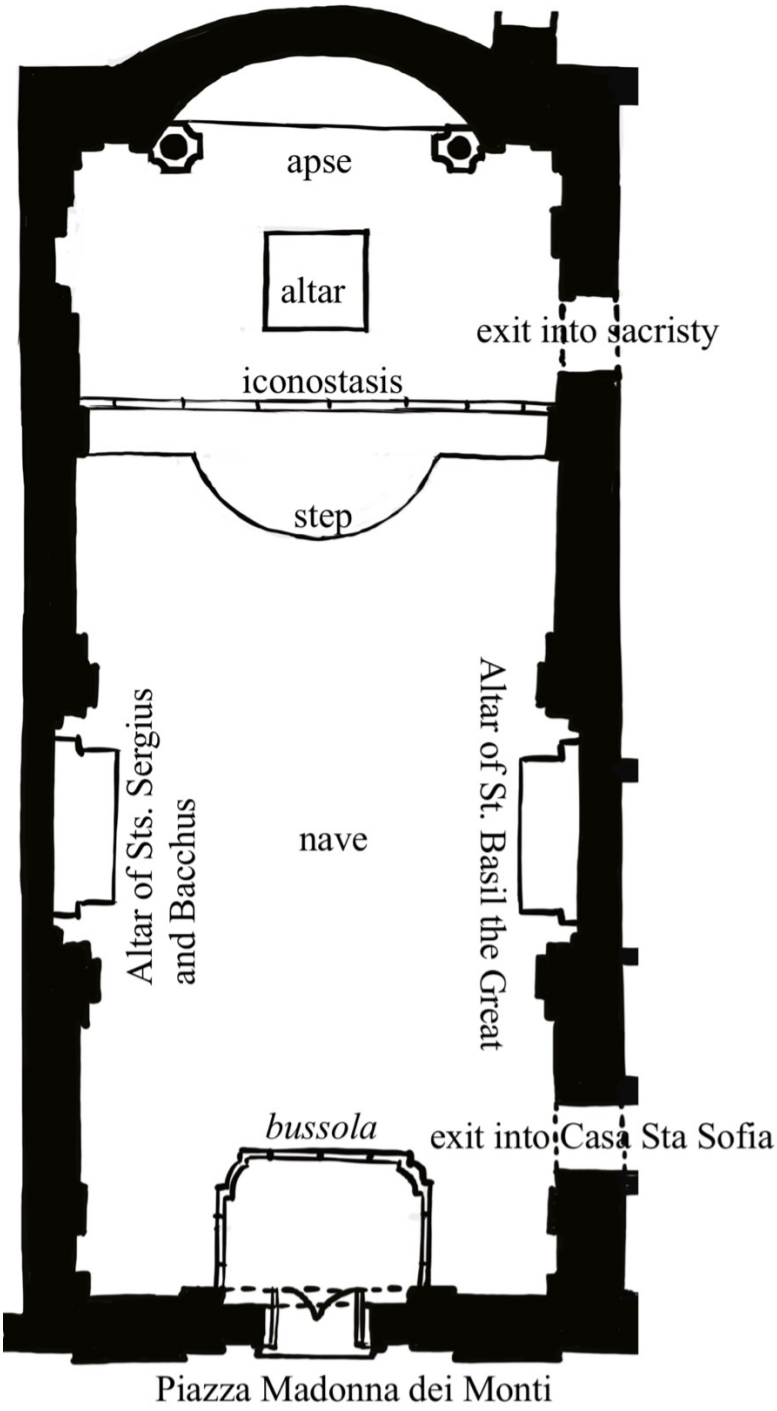

Figure 1. 41. SS. Sergio e Bacco, Floor plan by the author, 2018.

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Figure 2. 10. Interior of the corner house. Details of the damaged frescos. Photo by author, 2017.

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Figure 2. 22. Carlo Grandi, St. Josaphat Kuncewicz, engraving from Ignazio Kulczynski*, Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana*. Rome, 1732. Copyright, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Figure 2. 23. Crypt of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco. Photo by author, 2017.

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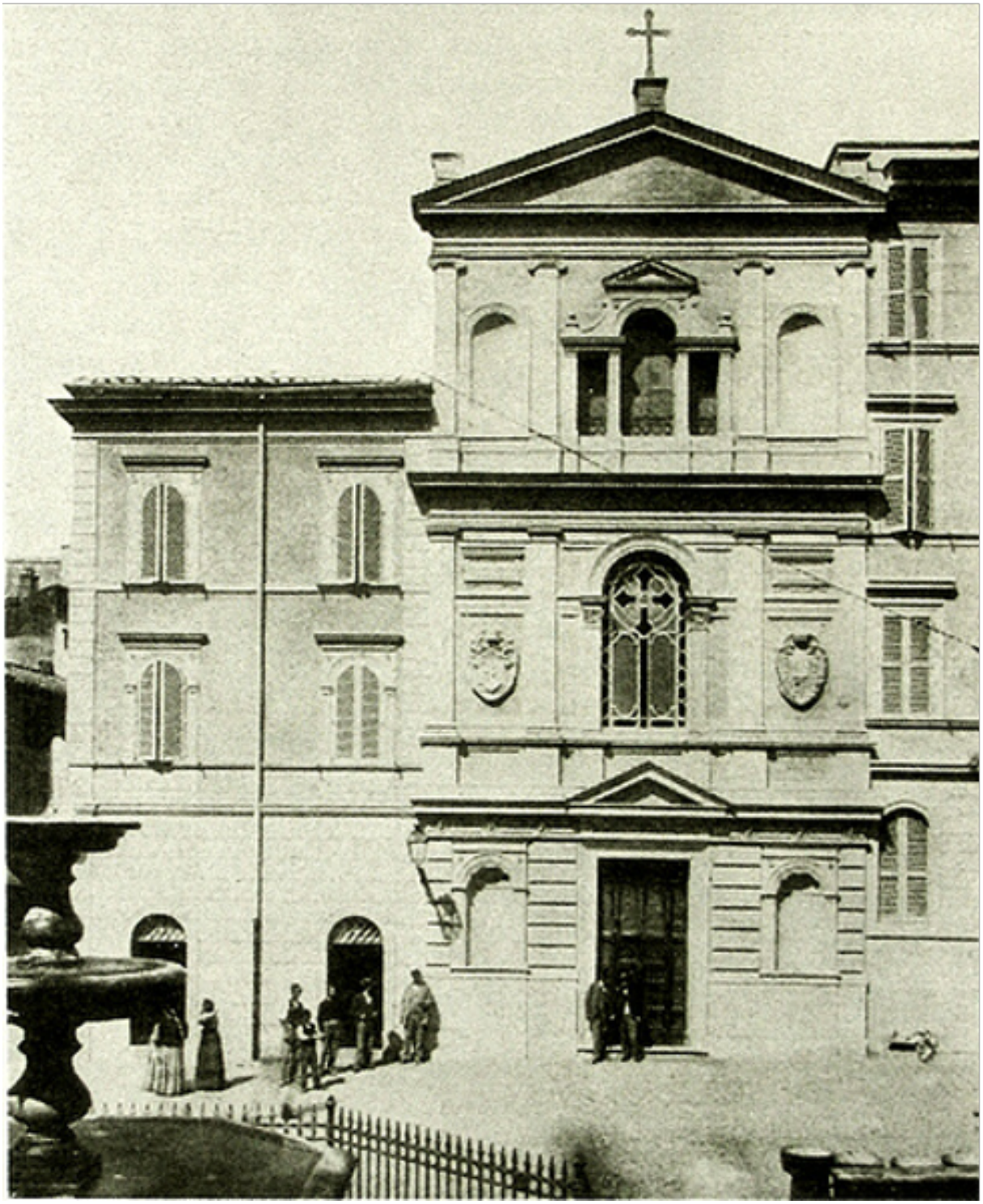

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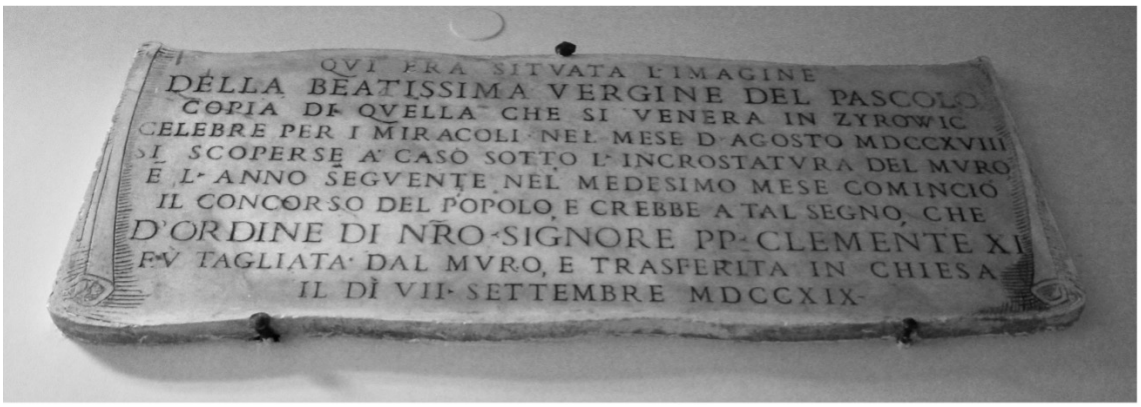

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Figure 2. 55. Pietro Bracci, drawing of an angel. 1700s. Coll. Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal, Canada.

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Figure 2. 57. Pietro Bracci, drawings of angels. 1700s. Coll. Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal, Canada.

Figure 2. 58. Pietro Bracci, drawings of angels. 1700s. Coll. Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal, Canada.

Figure 2. 59. Pietro Bracci, drawings of angels. 1700s. Coll. Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal, Canada.

Figure 2. 60. Ignazio Stella (Ignaz Stern) (1680-1748), Saints Sergius and Bacchus, 1741, left altar, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by author, 2017.

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Figure 2. 62. Sebastiano Ceccarini (Italian, 1703-1783), Assumption, 1741, ceiling fresco in SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by author, 2017.

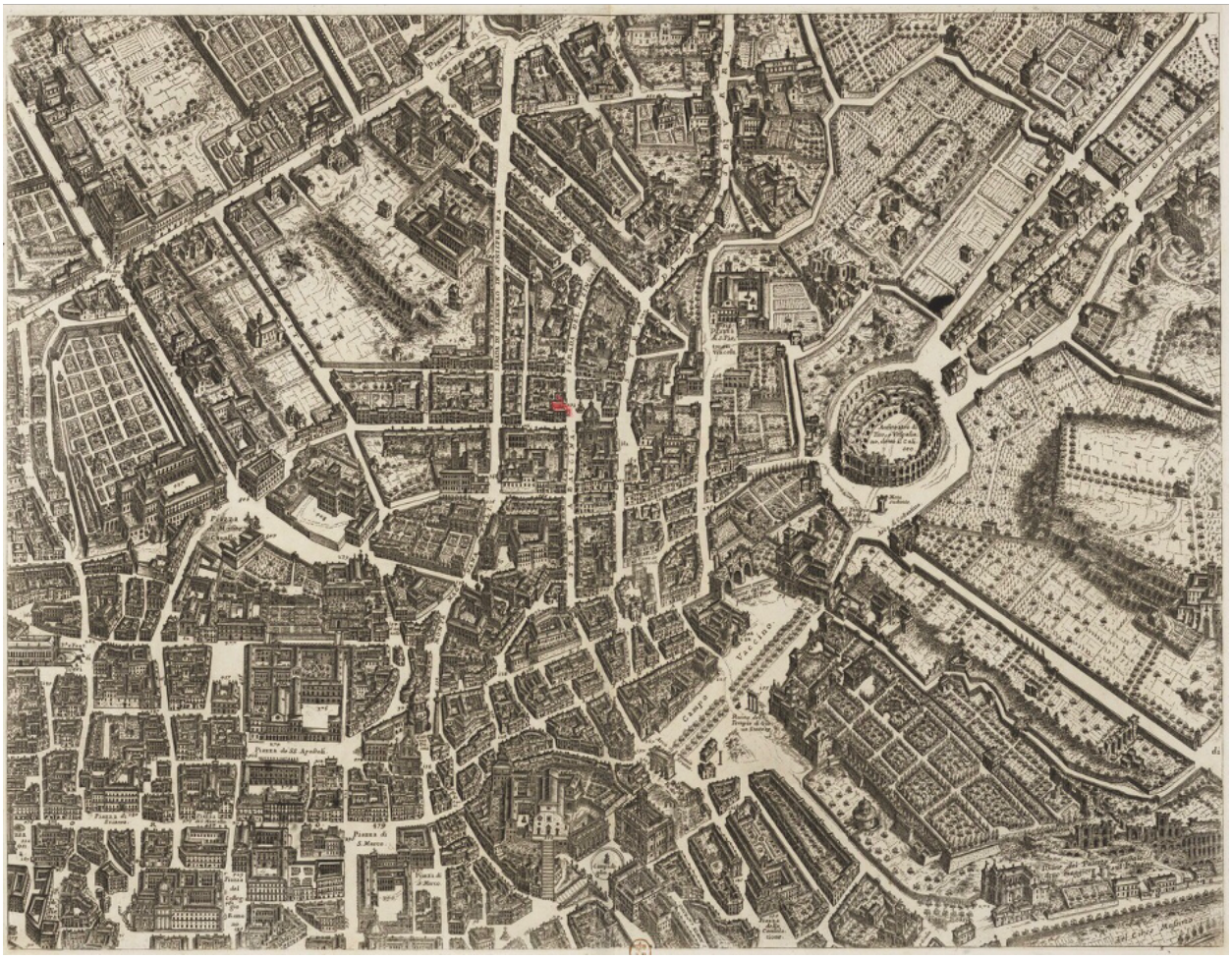

Figure 2. 63. Map of Rome, 1676, Giovanni Battista Falda, detail showing the area of Monti (SS. Sergio e Bacco highlighted red). Copyright, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

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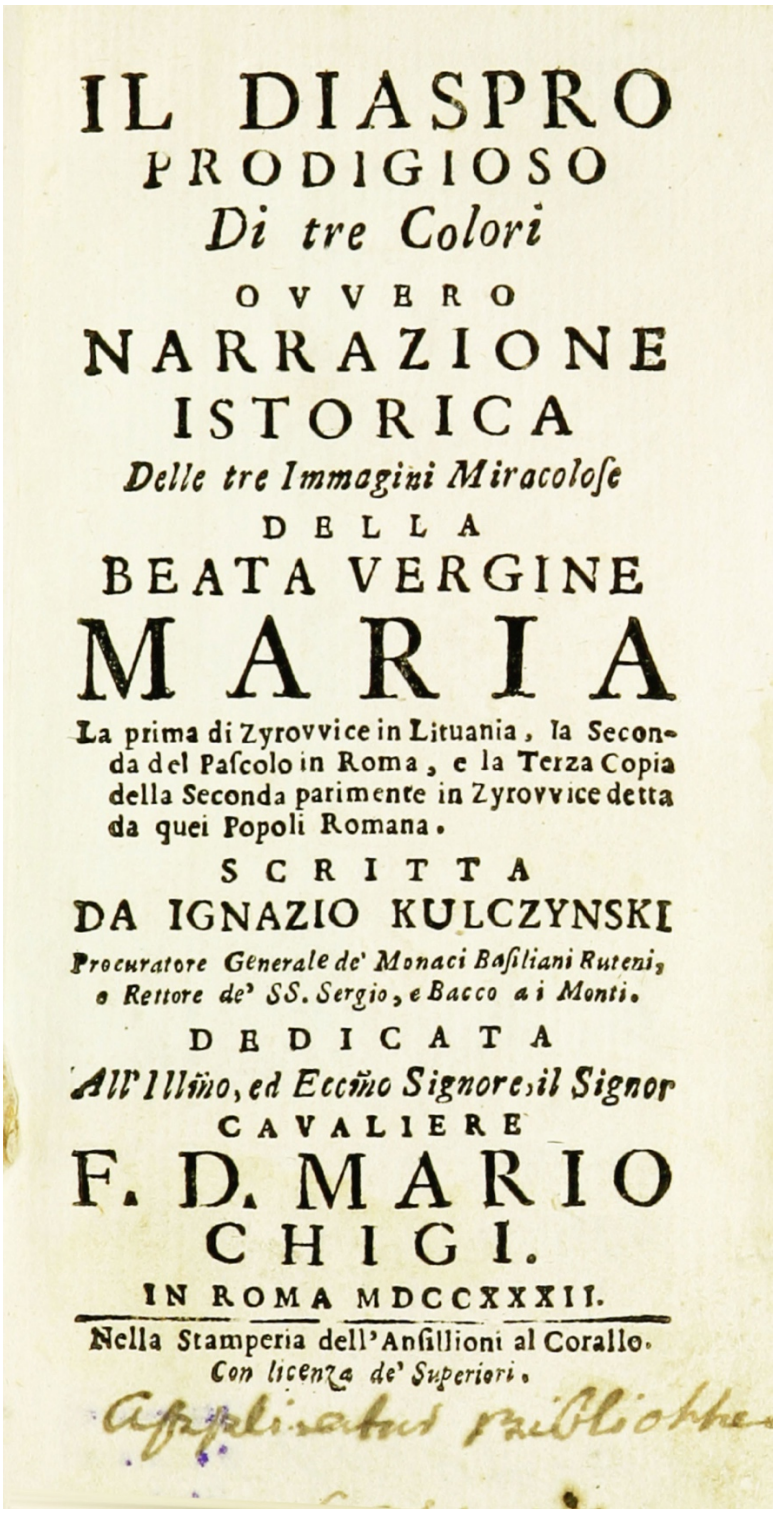
Figure 3. 3. Madonna del Pascolo (without revetment), fresco on support, ca. 17th c., SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome.



IL DIASPRO
PRODIGIOSO
Di tre Colori
OVVERO
NARRAZIONE
ISTORICA
Delle tre Immagini Miracoloſe
DELLA
BEATA VERGINE
MARIA

La prima di Zyrovvice in Lituania, la Seconda del Paſcolo in Roma, e la Terza Copia della Seconda parimente in Zyrovvice detta da quei Popoli Romana.

SCRITTA
DA IGNAZIO KULCZYNSKI
Procuratore Generale de' Monaci Baſiliani Ruteni, e Rettore de' SS. Sergio, e Bacco a i Monti.

DEDICATA
All'Illmo, ed Eccmo Signore, il Signor
CAVALIERE
F. D. MARIO
CHIGI.

IN ROMA MDCCXXXII.

Nella Stamperia dell'Anſillioni al Corallo.
Con licenza de' Superiori.

Figure 3. 4. *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana* is the title page of the book, published in 1732 in Rome by Fr. Ignazio Kulczynski, OSBM.

Figure 3. 5. Our Lady of Tenderness of Żyrowice, ca. 1730, oil on canvas, located in the church of Sr. Andrew the Apostle, Slonim, Belarus.

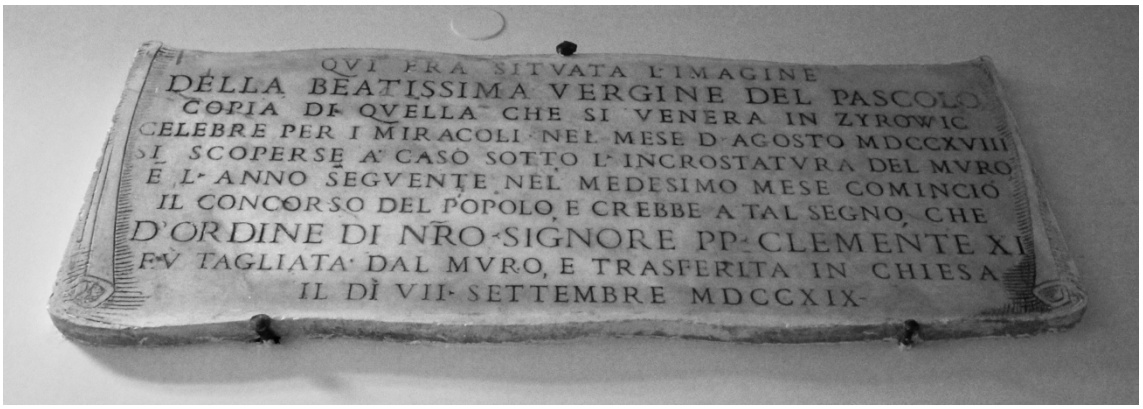


Figure 3. 6. Plaque indicating the place of finding the original fresco of the Madonna del Pascolo, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by the author, 2017.

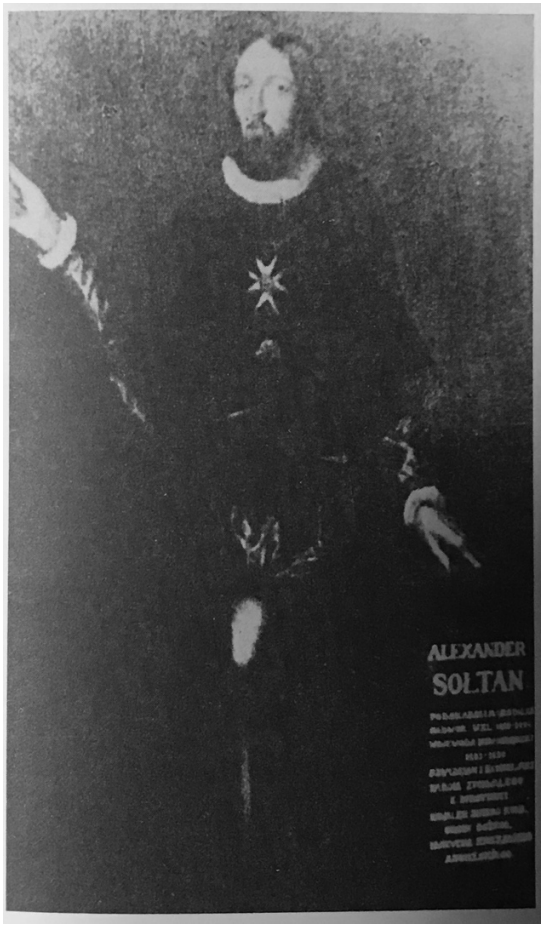


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Figure 3. 8. Monastery in Żyrowice, Belarus (present view).

Figure 3. 9. Portrait of Rafajil Korsak, Metropolitan of Kiyv and Halych.

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Figure 3. 11. Interior of the Church of St. Andrew in Slonim, Belarus, with the oval-frame copy of Madonna del Pascolo visible above the high altar.

Figure 3. 12. Lorenzo Gramiccia, Assumption, detail. Italy, Lazio, Valmontone, Chiesa dell'Assunta.

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Figure 3. 14. Leontij Tarasowicz, Our Lady of Żyrowice, 1665, copper engraving, 17x12,5 cm, no. G.65107/I, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland. Inscription in Polish states that the image of the miraculous icon from Żyrowice is shown here true to its size.

Figure 3. 15. Aleksander Tarasowicz (ca. 1640-1727), *Our Lady of Żyrowice,* 1725, copper engraving, 8,2x6,1 cm, no. G.8280, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland. Inscription in Polish states that the image of the miraculous icon from Żyrowice is shown here true to its size.

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Figure 3. 17. The page showing Madonna of Żyrowice, from *Methodus peregrinationis menstruae Marianae ad imagines Deiparae Virginis per ditiones regni Poloniae et M. Ducatus Lituaniae* by the Jesuit Jan Drews (1646-1710), 1684, predating the Madonna del Pascolo's discovery in 1718.

Figure 3. 18. Teodor Strzelbicki, Maci Božaja Žyrovickaja, engraving, printed in Pochayiv; paper: height: 10,6 cm, width: 6,9 cm; ca. 1800-1820, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. MNK III-ryc.-10553.

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Figure 3. 21. Peter Paul Rubens, First Version of Madonna vallicelliana, detail. 1607. Musée de Grenoble.

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Figure 3. 23. Ottavio Leoni, *Cardinal Francesco Barberini*, engraving with stipple on laid paper, no. 15364, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

Figure 3. 24. Monastery of Grottaferrata, Lazio, Italy.

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Figure 3. 26. Ignazio Stern, *Saints Sergius and Bacchus*, oil on canvas, ca. 1741, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by the author, 2017.

Figure 3. 27. Ignazio Stern, *Saint Basil*, oil on canvas, ca. 1741, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by the author, 2017.

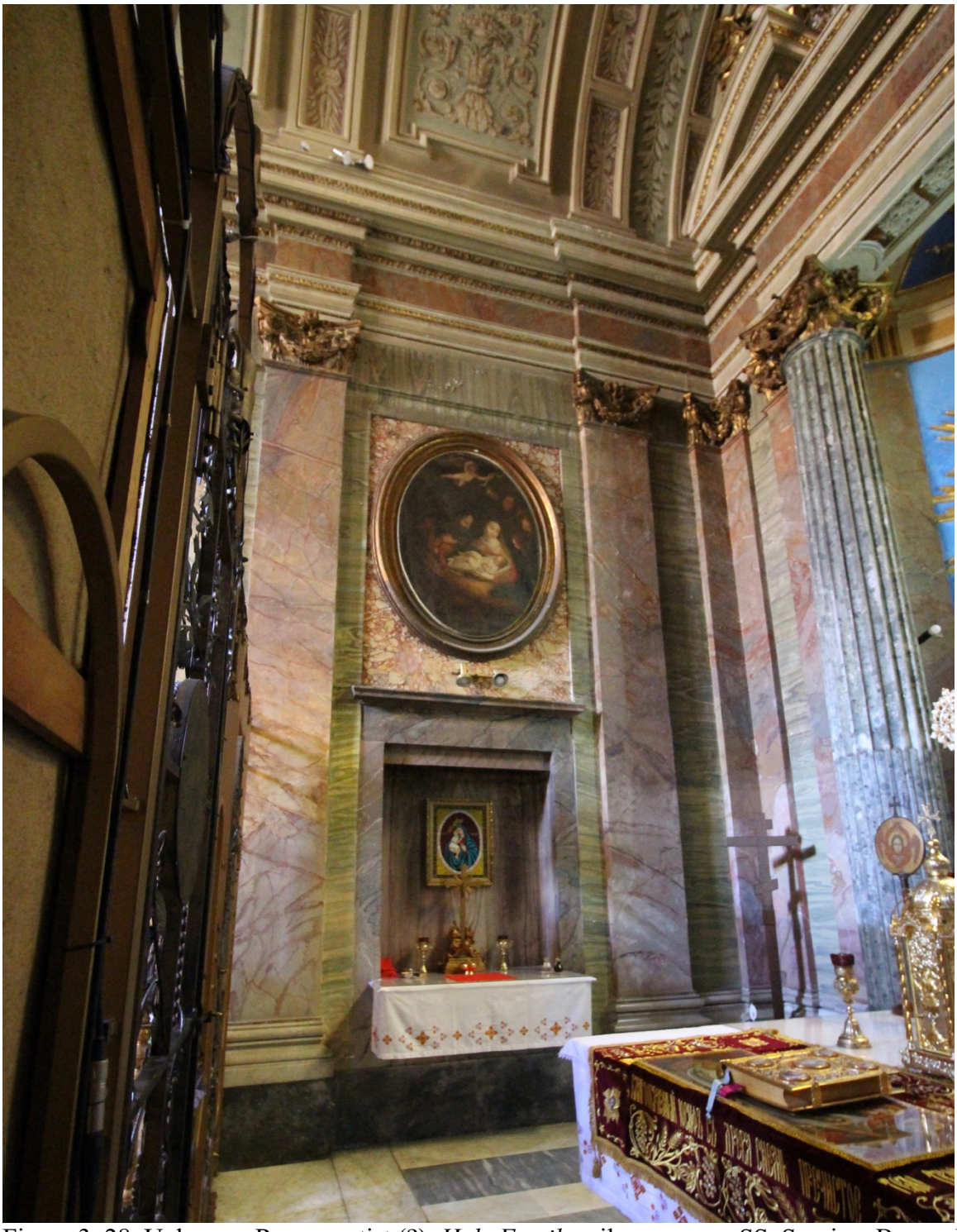

Figure 3. 28. Unknown Roman artist (?), *Holy Family*, oil on canvas, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome, photo by the author, 2017.

Figure 3. 29. Unknown Roman artist (?), *Holy Family*, oil on canvas, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome.

Figure 3. 30. Unknown Roman artist (?), *St. Anne and St. Joachim with young Mary*, oil on canvas, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome, photo by the author, 2017.

Figure 3. 31. Unknown Roman artist (?), *St. Anne and St. Joachim with young Mary*, oil on canvas, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome.

Figure 3. 32. Sebastiano Ceccarini, Assumption, fresco, ca. 1741, SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by the author, 2017.

Figure 3. 33. Interior of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by the author, 2018.

Figure 3. 34. Interior details of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome, photos by the author, 2017.

Figure 3. 35. Interior details of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome, photos by the author, 2017.

Figure 3. 36. Interior details of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome, photos by the author, 2017.

Figure 3. 37. Basilian arms on the corner of the building of a monastery of the female branch of the Basilians, via S. Basilio, Rome. Photo by the author, 2018.

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Figure 3. 39. *Vatican Sakkos*, 14th c. Byzantine. Vatican Museum, Rome.

Figure 3. 40a-b. Mummified corpse of Monsignor Franco D'Agostino (1823-1877), Titular Bishop of Hermopolis Maior, the Ordinary for the Italo-Albanese community in Italy. D'Agostino is wearing a wide brocaded epitrachelion over a long-sleeved sakkos, over a white sticharion/alb with a lace border, over an episcopal amaranth-red cassock – the last visible item of clothes (other than socks and shoes). This ordering of vestments on the nineteenth-century Italian Greek-Rite bishop roughly corresponds to the orderings of the vestments we see in the examined paintings in this dissertation. Catacombe dei Cappuccini, Palermo, Italy. Photos by the author, 2018.

Figure 3. 41. View of the interior of SS. Sergio e Bacco with newer modern icons and paintings. Photo by the author, 2018.

Figure 3. 42. Carlo Grandi, *Our Lady of Żyrowice with Saint Basil and Blessed Josaphat*, engraving. From Kulczynski, I. (1732), *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana*. Rome. Stamp.De.Luca.VI.2273 © 2018 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Figure 3. 43. Marcantonio Raimondi, St. Peter the Martyr (also known as St. Peyter of Verona), engraving on paper, 1500 -1534. No. MRaimondi WB 3.31, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany.

Figure 3. 44. Carlo Grandi, *Finding of Our Lady of Żyrowice*, engraving. From Kulczynski, I. (1732), *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana*. Rome. Stamp.De.Luca.VI.2273 © 2018 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Figure 3. 45. Unknown, *Our Lady of Żyrowice Surrounded by St. Basil the Great and Bl. Josaphat Kuncewicz* (catalogued as "Зьяўленьне Маці Божай Жыровіцкай (Maci Božaja Žyrovickaja) з царквы Прачыстай Багародзіцы Жыровіцкага манастыра") ca. 1730s, National Art Museum of Belarus (Нацыянальны мастацкі музэй Беларусі), Minsk, Belarus (originally from the Church of the Virgin Most Holy of the Monastery in Żyrowice).

Figure 3. 46. Carlo Grandi, *Blessed Josaphat Kuncewicz*, engraving. From Kulczynski, I. (1732), *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narrazione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della Beata Vergine Maria, la prima di Zyrowice in Lituania, la seconda del Pascolo in Roma, e la terza copia della seconda parimenti in Zyrowice, detta da quei popoli Romana*. Rome. Stamp.De.Luca.VI.2273 © 2018 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Figure 3. 47. View of the Monastery of Holy Trinity in Vilnius, Lithuania.

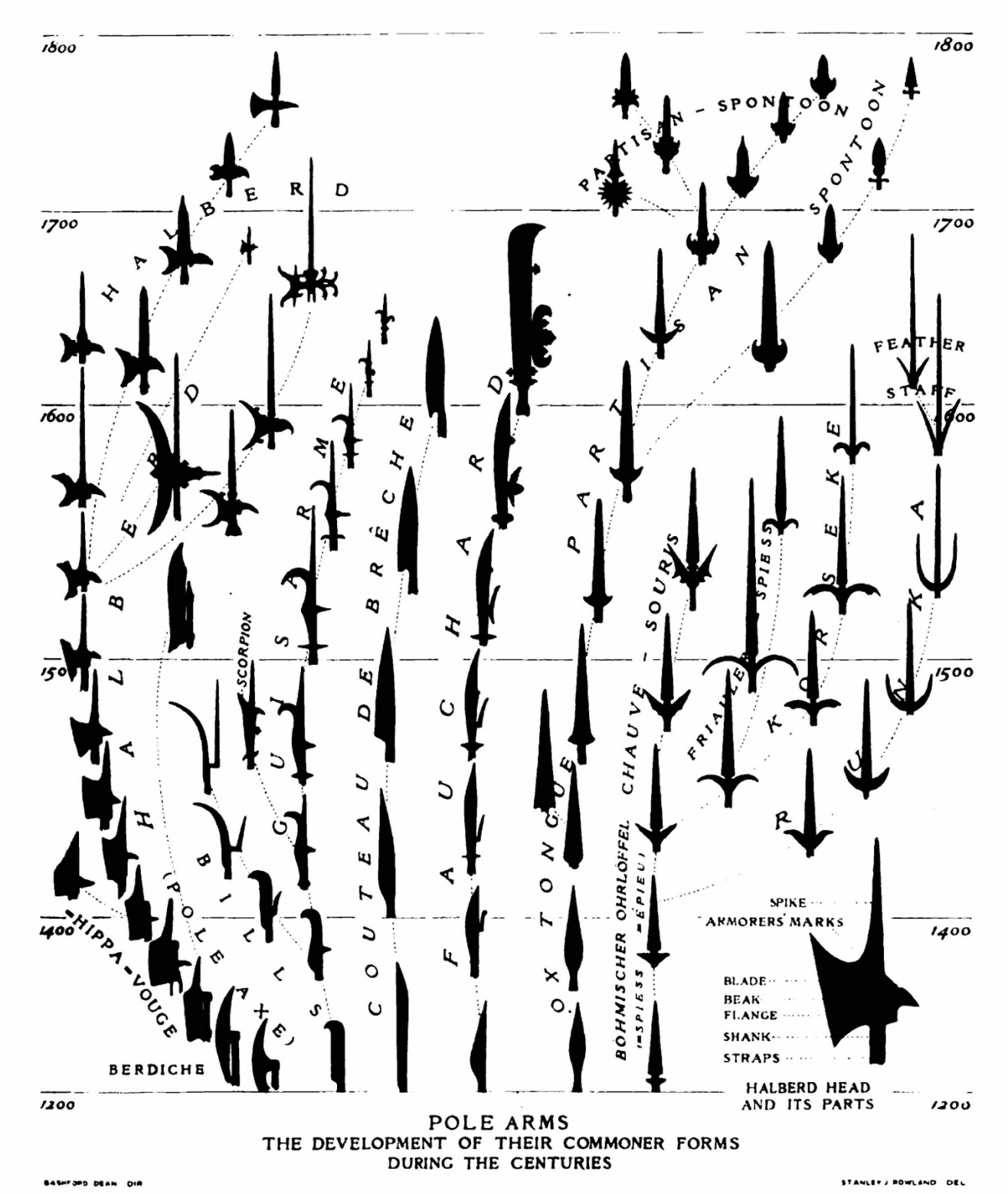

Figure 3. 48. Various bardiche and pole-axe types from Bashford Dean and Metropolitan Museum of Art, Notes on Arms and Armor (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1916), 137.

Figure 3. 49. Pietro Leone Bombelli, *La Madonna del Pascolo*, from *Raccolta delle Immagini della Beatissima Vergine ...*, Rome 1792, Collection of Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome.

Figure 3. 50. Madonna del Pascolo, in revetment of 18th c. SS. Sergio e Bacco, Rome. Photo by Fr. Ruslan Sidelnyk.

Figure 3. 51. Unknown, *Wizerunek obrazu Matki Boskiej Żyrowickiej*; height: 30,2 cm, width: 18,8 cm, copper engraving, ca. 1800; Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (MNK III-ryc.-40224).

Figure 3. 52. Giovanni Battista Falda (1643-1678), *Santa Maria ai Monti*, a print from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche, et edificii, in prospettiva di roma moderna, sotto il felice pontificato di n.s. papa Alessandro VII date in luce da Gio. Iacomo Rossi alla Pace 1665*, 1665.

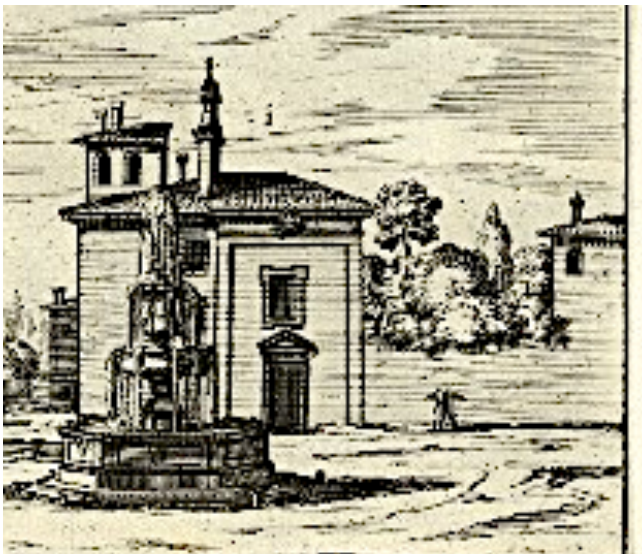

Figure 3. 53. Giovanni Battista Falda, Detail with SS. Sergio e Bacco from *Santa Maria ai Monti*, a print from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche, et edificii, in prospettiva di roma moderna, sotto il felice pontificato di n.s. papa Alessandro VII date in luce da Gio. Iacomo Rossi alla Pace 1665*, 1665.

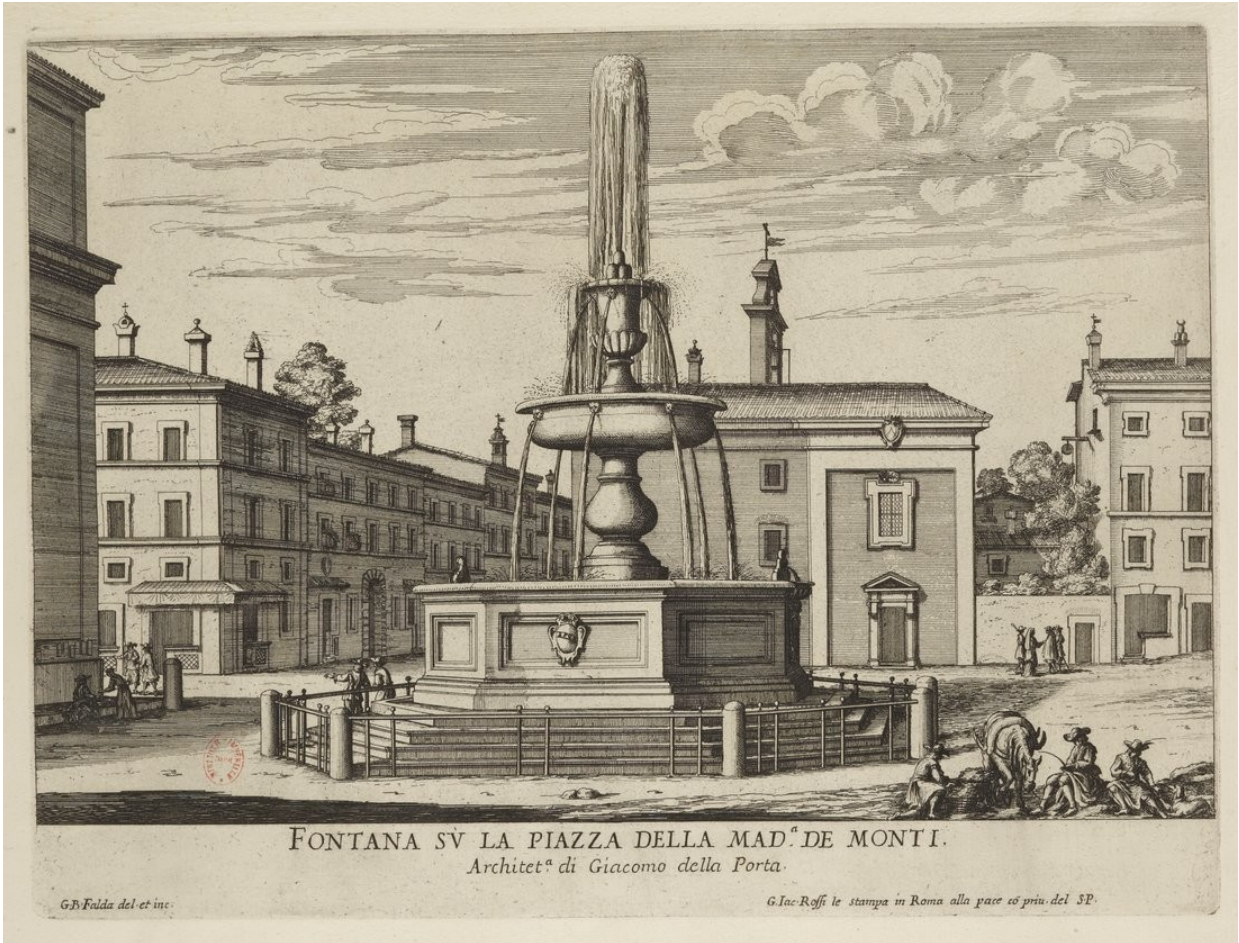

Figure 3. 54. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Piazza Madonna dei Monti*, a print from *Le fontane di Roma nelle piazze, e luoghi publici della citta : con li loro prospetti, come sono al presente*, image no. 31, 1691.

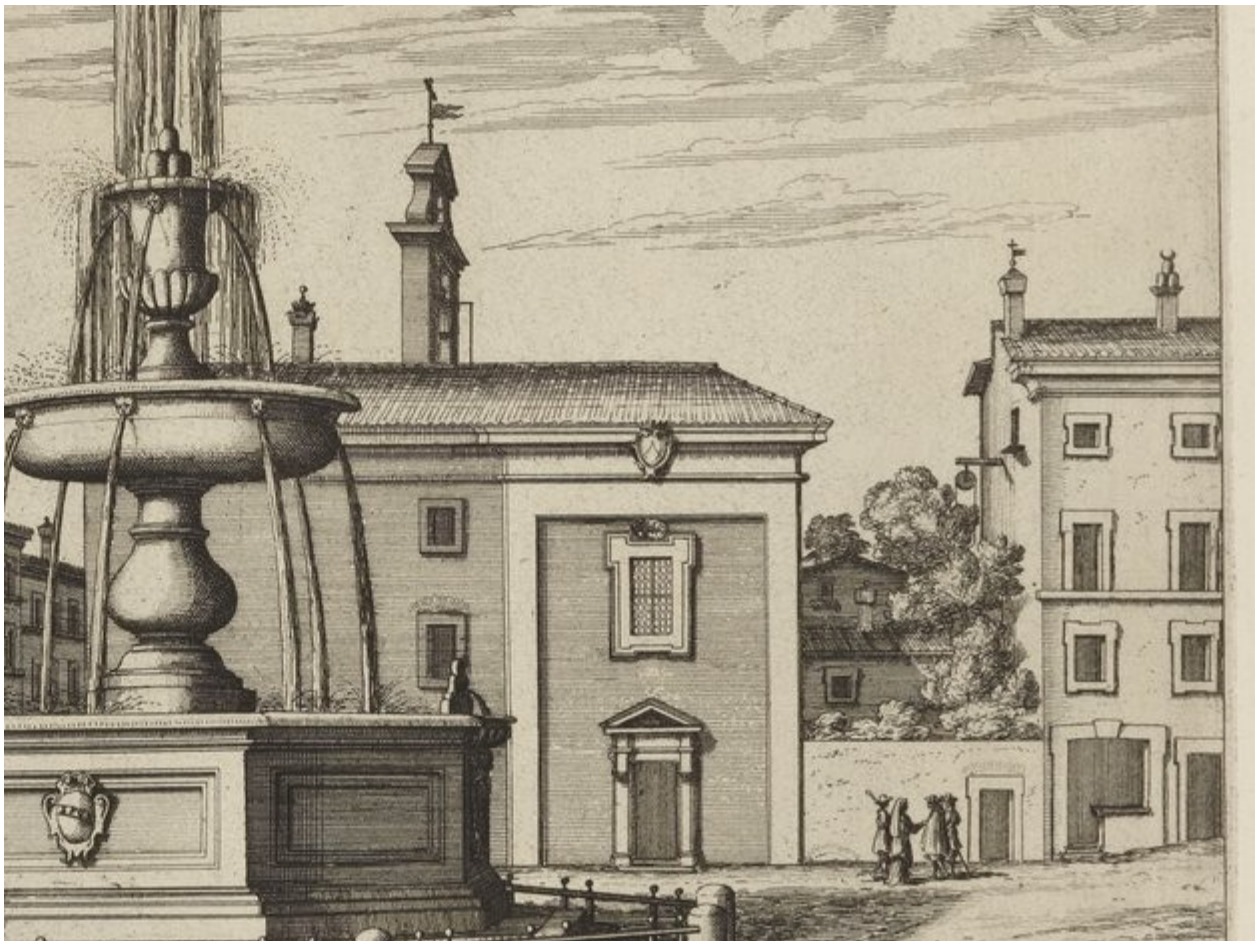

Figure 3. 55. Giovanni Battista Falda, Detail with SS. Sergio e Bacco from *Piazza Madonna dei Monti*, a print from *Le fontane di Roma nelle piazze, e luoghi publici della citta : con li loro prospetti, come sono al presente*, image no. 31, 1691.

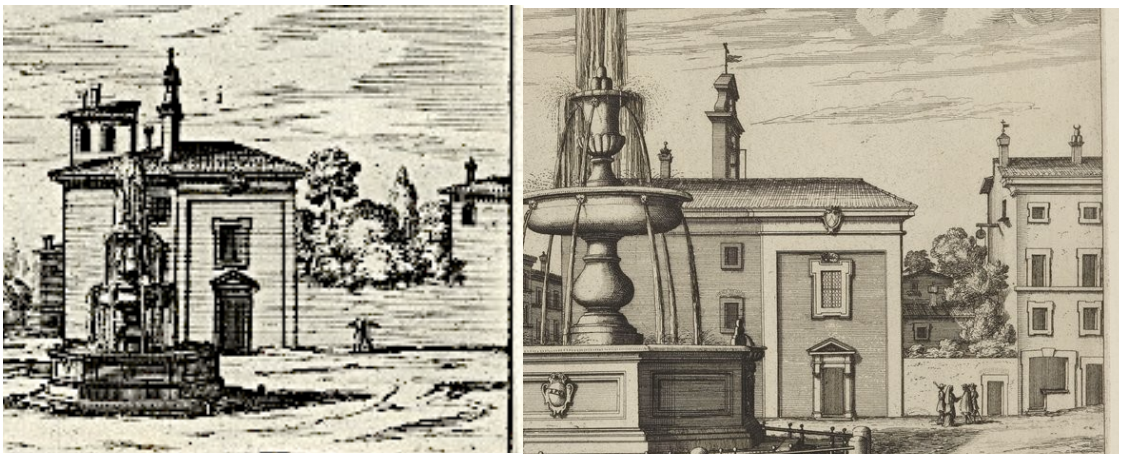

Figure 3. 56. Giovanni Battista Falda, Comparison of details from the prints with SS. Sergio e Bacco from 1665 and 1691.

Figure 3. 57. Giuseppe Vasi, *Piazza Madonna dei Monti, la Chiesa di Madonna del Pascolo*, showing the building of SS. Sergio e Bacco, opposite the fountain. Engraving from *Le Magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, Libro II; Le Piazze principali con obelischi, colonne ed altri ornamenti* (1752), Day 3, plate no. 39.

Figure 3. 58. Master Prokopii, Four prints from the Apocalypse, 1646-1656, woodcuts, APF, CP, vol. 14, fols 105v-106r. Copyright © 2018 Archivio Storico della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome.

Figure 3. 59. Master Prokopii, no. 7, “И егда отверзе печать седмую...” 1646, woodcut.
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Figure 3. 60. Master Prokopii, no. 8, “И первый ангелъ вструби...” 1655, woodcut. Copyright © 2018 Archivio Storico della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome.

Figure 3. 61. Master Prokopii, no. 15, “И дадемися трость подобная жезлу...” 1656, woodcut. Copyright © 2018 Archivio Storico della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome.

Figure 3. 62. Master Prokopii, no. 16, “И узрятъ отъ людей...” 1656, woodcut. Copyright © 2018 Archivio Storico della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome.

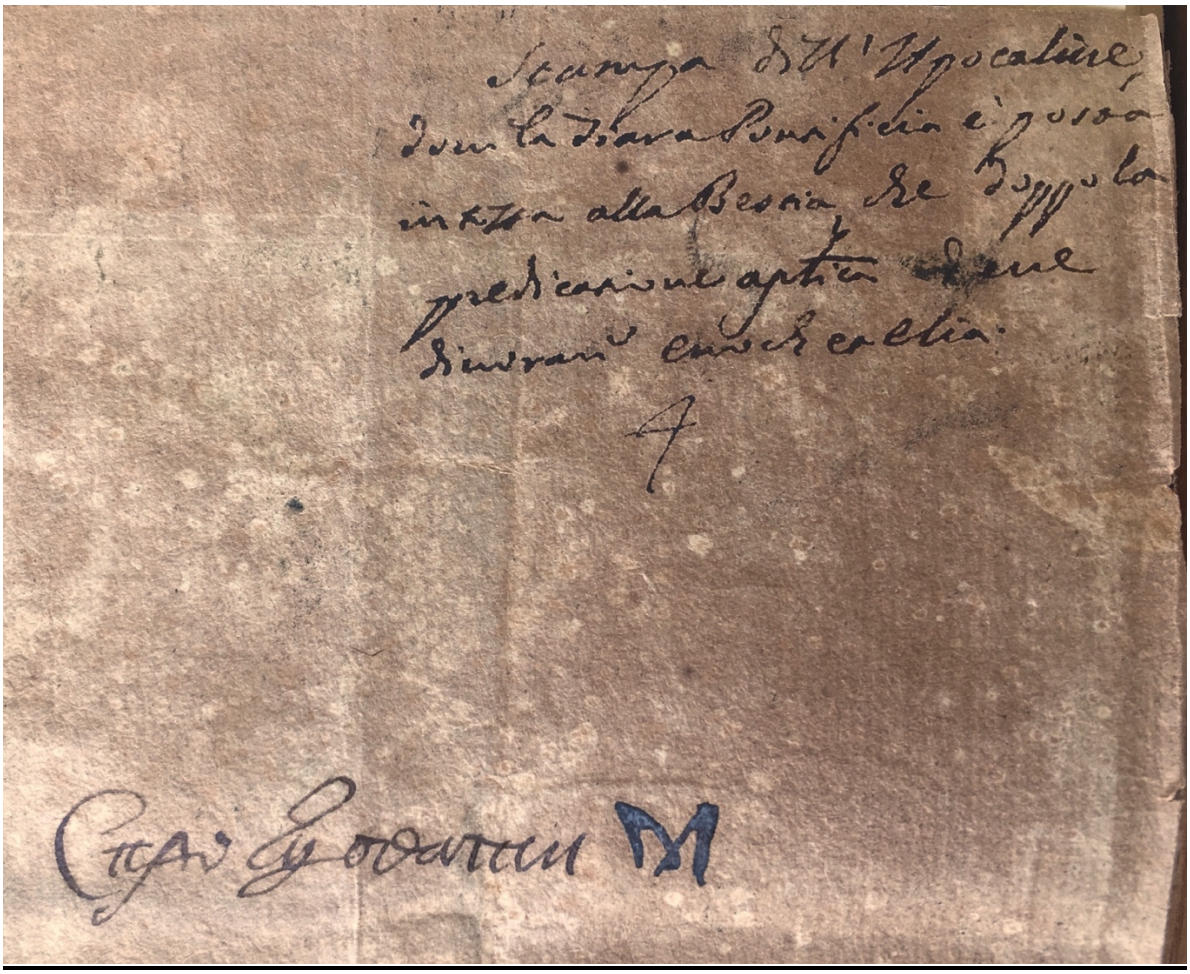


Figure 3. 63. The reverse of the prints, inscribed “Stampa dell’Apocalisse / dove la tiara Pontificia è posta / in testa alla Bestia che doppo la / predicatione apostolica dove / devorani Enoch et Elia.” Copyright © 2018 Archivio Storico della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome.

Figure 3. 64. Luther's Bible, *The Two Witnesses in the Temple of God*, colored woodcut, fol. CXCIr., 1534, MS C1, l:58c, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar, Germany.

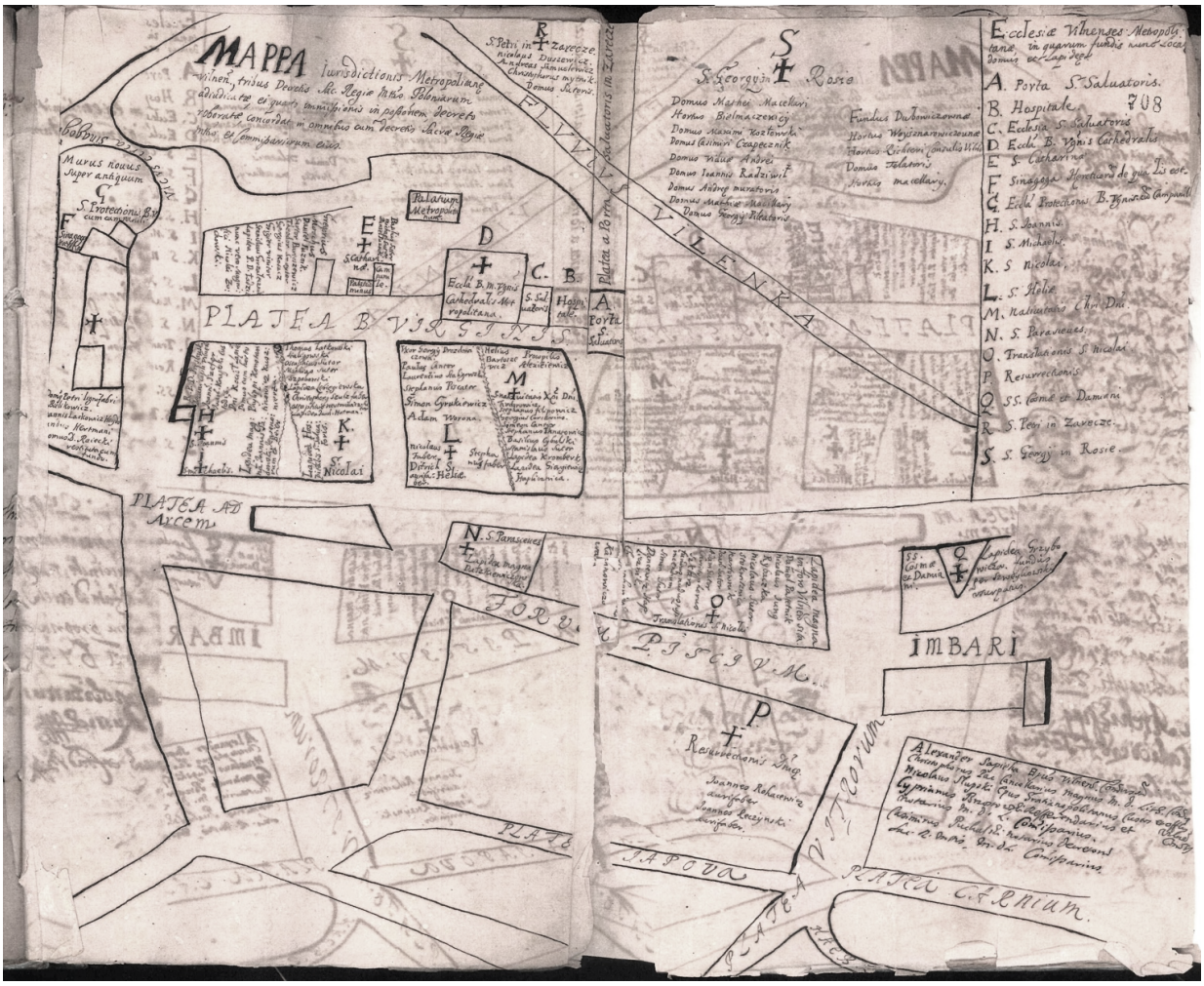
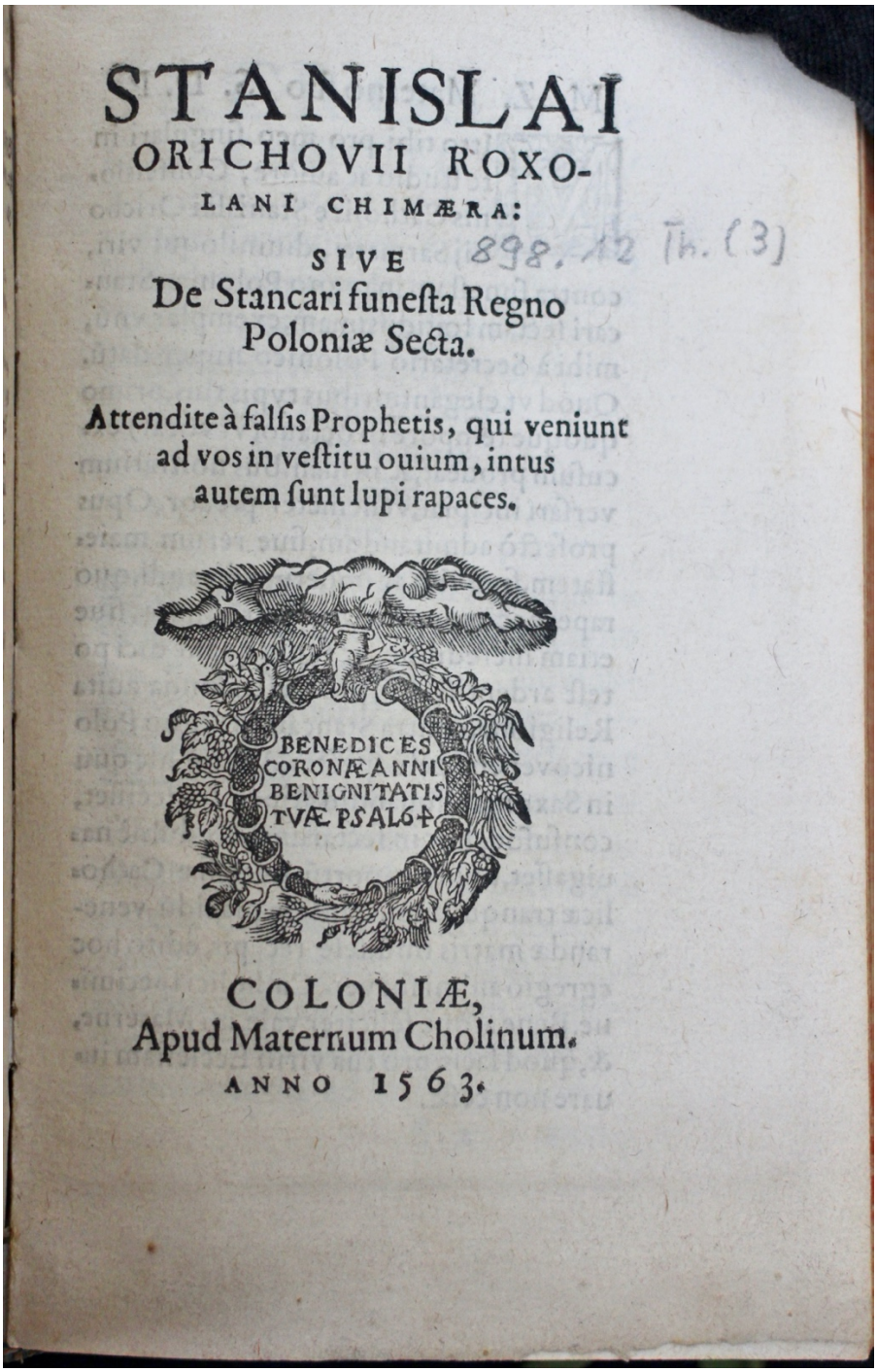


Figure 3. 65. APF, SC, *Moscovia, Polonia, e Ruteni*, vol. 1, f. 708, a "lustracija" showing the map of Vilno, Lithuania, with clearly marked churches and institutions controlled by the Uniate Greek-Catholic Church. © 2018 Archivio Storico della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome.


STANISLAI
ORICHOVII ROXO-
LANI CHIMÆRA:
SIVE
De Stancari funeſta Regno
Poloniæ Secta.

Attendite à falſis Prophetis, qui veniunt
ad vos in veſtitu ouium, intus
autem ſunt lupi rapaces.

BENEDICES
CORONÆ ANNI
BENIGNITATIS
TVÆ PSAL 64

COLONIÆ,
Apud Maternum Cholinum.
ANNO 1563.

Figure 3. 66. Title page, S. Orzechowski, *Stanislai Orichovii Roxolani Chimaera: sive de Stancari funesta Regno Poloniae Secta*, Coloniae: Cholinum, Typis Godefridi Ceruicorni, 1563. Coll. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany.

Figure 3. 67. *Bellerophon and Chimaera*, woodcut from S. Orzechowski, *Stanislai Orichovii Roxolani Chimaera: sive de Stancari funesta Regno Poloniae Secta*, Coloniae: Cholinum, Typis Godefridi Ceruicorni, 1563. Coll. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany.

Figure 3. 68. Detail from *Bellerophon and Chimaera,* woodcut from S. Orzechowski, *Stanislai Orichovii Roxolani Chimaera: sive de Stancari funesta Regno Poloniae Secta, Coloniae: Cholinum, Typis Godefridi Ceruicorni*, 1563. Coll. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany.

Figure 3. 69. Oksza arms from the frontispiece in J. D. Solikowski and P. A. Radziński, *Idea Apocalyptica Seu Apocalypsis Stanislai Orechovii: In qua Facies perturbatæ & afflictæ Reipublicæ, eiusque restaurandæ ratio Repræsentatvr.* Varsaviæ: Typis S.R.M. In Collegio Schol. Piar, 1696. Coll. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany.

Figure 3. 70. Abraham de Bruyn, *Eques Ruthenus,* etching from *Diversarum gentium armatura equestris: Ubi fere Europae, Asiae atque Africae equitandi ratio propria expressa est. Abrahamus Bruynus excude*, [Köln], [1577], Image 26. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany.

Figure 3. 71. Johann Bussemacher, *Habitus equestris Polonicus*, etching, 1576-1600, Graph. A1: 380.11., Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany.

Figure 3. 72. *Slavo dell'Illirico* in Mavro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni Historia nella guale si vede l'origine quasi di tutti i Popoli, che furono della Lingua Slava, con morte e varie guerre, che fecero in Europa, Asia e Africa; il progresso dell' Imperio loro, l'antico culto, ed il tempo della loro conversione al Christianesimo ; e in particolare veggonsi i successi de' Rè, che anticamente dominarono in Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosna, Servia, Russia e Bulgaria.* Pesaro: Apresso Girolamo Concordia, 1601.

Figure 3. 73. *Slavo del Mar Germanico* in Mavro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni Historia nella guale si vede l'origine quasi di tutti i Popoli, che furono della Lingua Slava, con morte e varie guerre, che fecero in Europa, Asia e Africa; il progresso dell' Imperio loro, l'antico culto, ed il tempo della loro conversione al Christianesimo ; e in particolare veggonsi i successi de' Rè, che anticamente dominarono in Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosna, Servia, Russia e Bulgaria.* Pesaro: Apresso Girolamo Concordia, 1601.

Figure 3. 74. Stefano della Bella, Details of the *Entry of the Polish Embassy of Jerzy Ossolinski to Rome*, etching, 1633, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

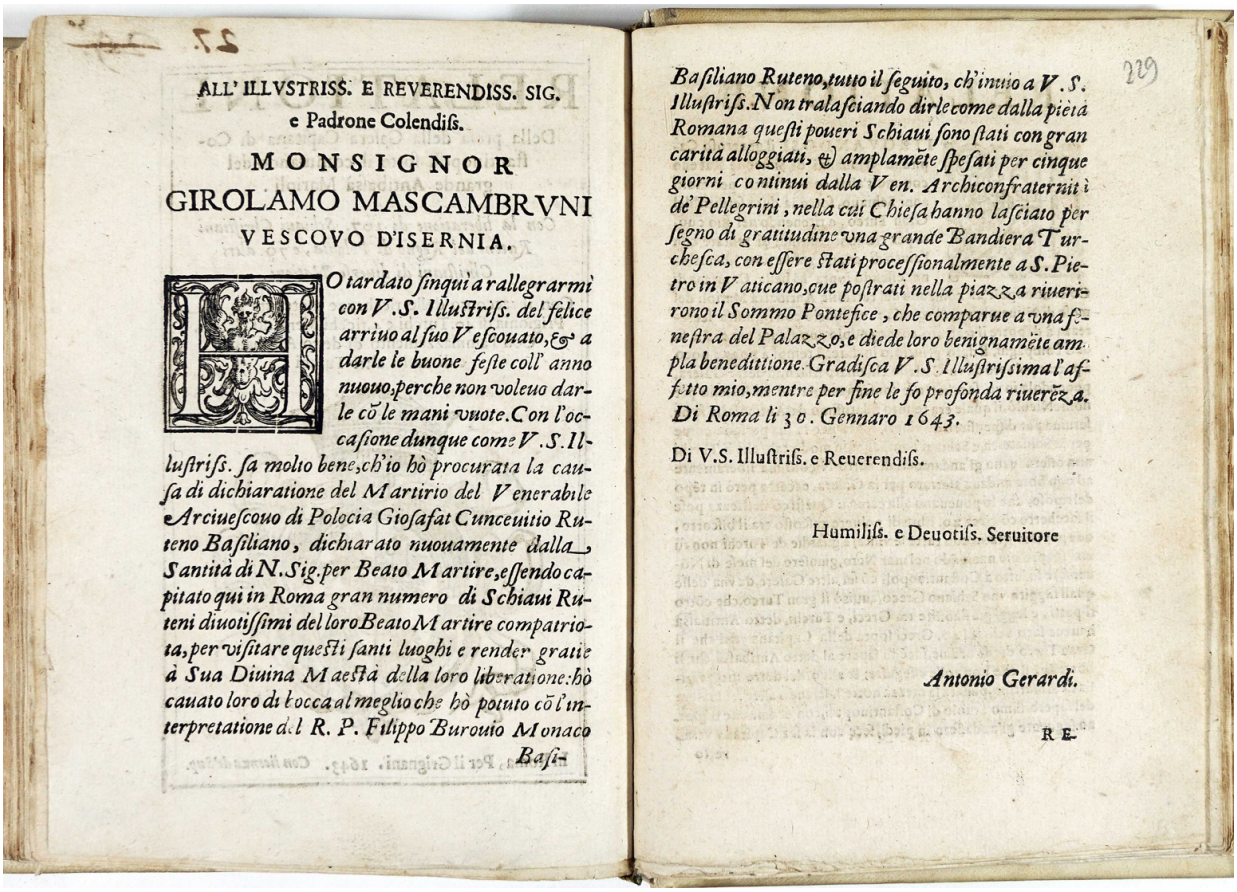
Figure 3. 75. Stefano della Bella, *Cavalryman*, etching, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

Figure 3. 76. Stefano della Bella, *Port Scene*, etching, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

Figure 3. 77. Stefano della Bella, *Port Scene*, etching, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

Figure 3. 78. Stefano della Bella, Detail of *Port Scene*, etching, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

Figure 3. 79. Stefano della Bella, *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*, frontispiece etching, 1631, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.



ALL' ILLVSTRISS. E REVERENDISS. SIG.
e Padrone Colendiſs.
MONSIGNOR
GIROLAMO MASCAMBRVNI
VESCOVO D'ISERNIA.

HO tardato ſinqui a rallegrarmi con V.S. Illuſtriſs. del felice arriuo al ſuo Veſcouato, & a darle le buone feſte coll' anno nuouo, perche non voleuo darle cõ le mani vuote. Con l'occaſione dunque come V.S. Illuſtriſs. ſa molto bene, ch'io hò procurata la cauſa di dichiaratione del Martirio del Venerabile Arciueſcouo di Polocia Gioſafat Cunceuitio Ruteno Baſiliano, dichiarato nouuamente dalla Santità di N.Sig. per Beato Martire, eſſendo capitato qui in Roma gran numero di Schiaui Ruteni diuotiſſimi del loro Beato Martire compatriota, per viſitare queſti ſanti luoghi e render gratie à Sua Diuina Maeſtà della loro liberatione: hò cauato loro di bocca al meglio che hò potuto cõ l'interpretatione del R. P. Filippo Burouio Monaco Baſi-

Baſiliano Ruteno, tutto il ſeguito, ch'inuio a V.S. Illuſtriſs. Non tralaſciando dirle come dalla pietà Romana queſti poueri Schiaui ſono ſtati con gran carità alloggiati, & amplamẽte ſpeſati per cinque giorni continui dalla Ven. Archiconfraternità de' Pellegrini, nella cui Chieſa hanno laſciato per ſegno di gratitudine vna grande Bandiera Turcheſca, con eſſere ſtati proceſſionalmente a S. Pietro in Vaticano, oue poſtrati nella piazza riuerirono il Sommo Pontefice, che comparue a vna feneſtra del Palazzo, e diede loro benignamẽte ampla benedittione. Gradiſca V.S. Illuſtriſsima l'affetto mio, mentre per fine le fo profonda riuerẽza. Di Roma li 30. Gennaro 1643.

Di V.S. Illuſtriſs. e Reuerendiſs.

Humiliſs. e Deuotiſs. Seruitore

Antonio Gerardi.

RE-

Figure 3. 80. Gerardi, Antonio. *Relatione della presa della Galera Capitana di Constantinopoli sotto il commando del grande Antibassà Marioli: Con la liberatione di 207 Schiaui Christiani Ruteni del Regno di Polonia, e 70. altri Christiani di diuerse Nationi ; Con il racconto delle ricchezze contenute in essa*. Roma: Grignani, 1643. Copyright © 2018, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

RELATIONE

Della presa della Galera Capitana di Costantinopoli sotto il commando del grande Antibassà Marioli.

Con la liberatione di 207. Schiaui Christiani Ruteni del Regno di Polonia, e 70. altri Christiani di diuerse Nationi.

Con il racconto delle ricchezze contenute in essa. Prigionia di 40. Turchi, e 4. ricchi Mercanti Hebrei. Con l'ammazzamento di detto Antibassà, e di molti altri Turchi.

In Roma, Per il Grignani. 1643. *Con licenza de' Sup.*

Figure 3. 81. Gerardi, Antonio. Arms of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Commonwealth from the frontispiece of *Relatione della presa della Galera Capitana di Constantinopoli sotto il commando del grande Antibassà Marioli: Con la liberatione di 207 Schiaui Christiani Ruteni del Regno di Polonia, e 70. altri Christiani di diuerse Nationi; Con il racconto delle ricchezze contenute in essa*. Roma: Grignani, 1643. Copyright © 2018, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

Figure 4. 1. Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, façade, Venice. Photo of the author, 2017.

Figure 4. 2. San Girolamo degli Schiavoni, façade, Rome. Photo of the author, 2017.

Figure 4. 3. Santo Stanislao dei Polacchi, façade, Rome. Photo of the author, 2017.

Figure 4. 4. Sant'Atanasio dei Greci, façade, Rome. Photo of the author, 2017.

RELATIONE

Della presa della Galera Capitana di Costantinopoli sotto il commando del grande Antibasà Marioli.

Con la liberatione di 207. Schiaui Christiani Ruteni del Regno di Polonia, e 70. altri Christiani di diuerse Nationi.

Con il racconto delle ricchezze contenute in essa. Prigionia di 40. Turchi, e 4. ricchi Mercanti Hebrei. Con l'ammazzamento di detto Antibasà, e di molti altri Turchi.

In Roma, Per il Grignani. 1643. *Con licenza de' Sup.*

Figure 4. 5. Gerardi, Antonio. Arms of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Commonwealth from the frontispiece of *Relatione della presa della Galera Capitana di Constantinopoli sotto il commando del grande Antibassà Marioli: Con la liberatione di 207 Schiaui Christiani Ruteni del Regno di Polonia, e 70. altri Christiani di diuerse Nationi; Con il racconto delle ricchezze contenute in essa*. Roma: Grignani, 1643. Copyright © 2018, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

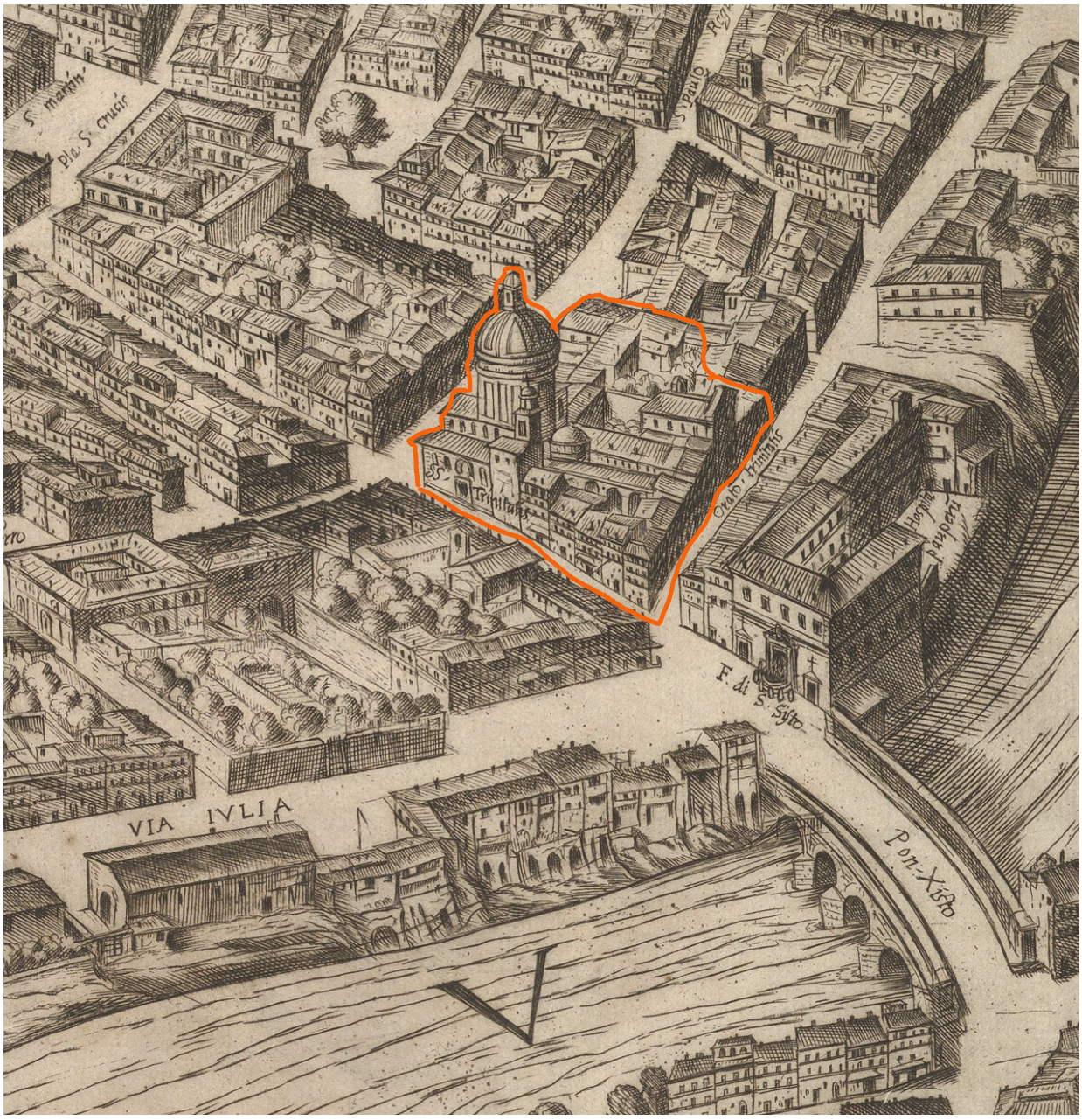


Figure 4. 6. Antonio Tempesta, Plan of the City of Rome, 1645; Etching with some engraving, undescribed state (printed from 12 plates) Overall: 41 5/16 x 94 1/2 in. (105 x 240 cm); Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983.1027 (1-12). Map showing the complex of the church of SSma. Trinità dei Pellegrini, the buildings of the Arciconfraternità dei Pellegrini, and the oratorio.

Figure 4. 7. SSma. Trinità dei Pellegrini, façade, Rome. Photo of the author, 2017.

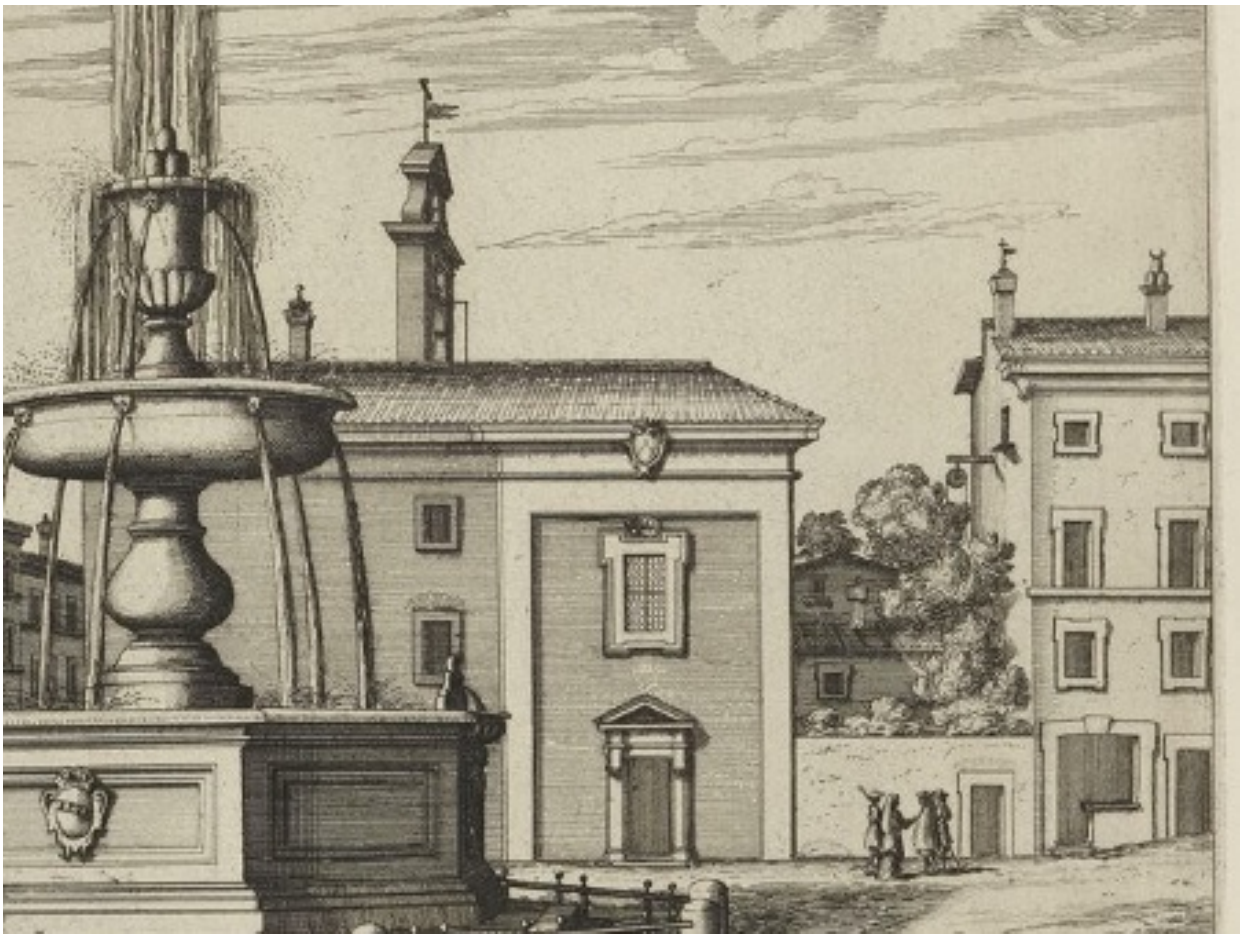


Figure 4. 8. Giovanni Battista Falda, Detail with SS. Sergio e Bacco from *Piazza Madonna dei Monti,* a print from *Le fontane di Roma nelle piazze, e luoghi publici della citta: con li loro prospetti, come sono al presente*, image no. 31, 1691.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 4. 9. *The View of Santa Maria Egizziaca* from Aloisio Giovannoli, *Vedute degli antichi vestigj di Roma di Alò Giovannoli: divise in due parti: la prima contiene mausolei, archi, colonne, e fabriche pubbliche: la seconda rappresenta terme, anfiteatri, teatri, e tempj: comprese in rami 106 : parte prima[-seconda]* (In Roma, 1616), Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arsenal, EST-1303.

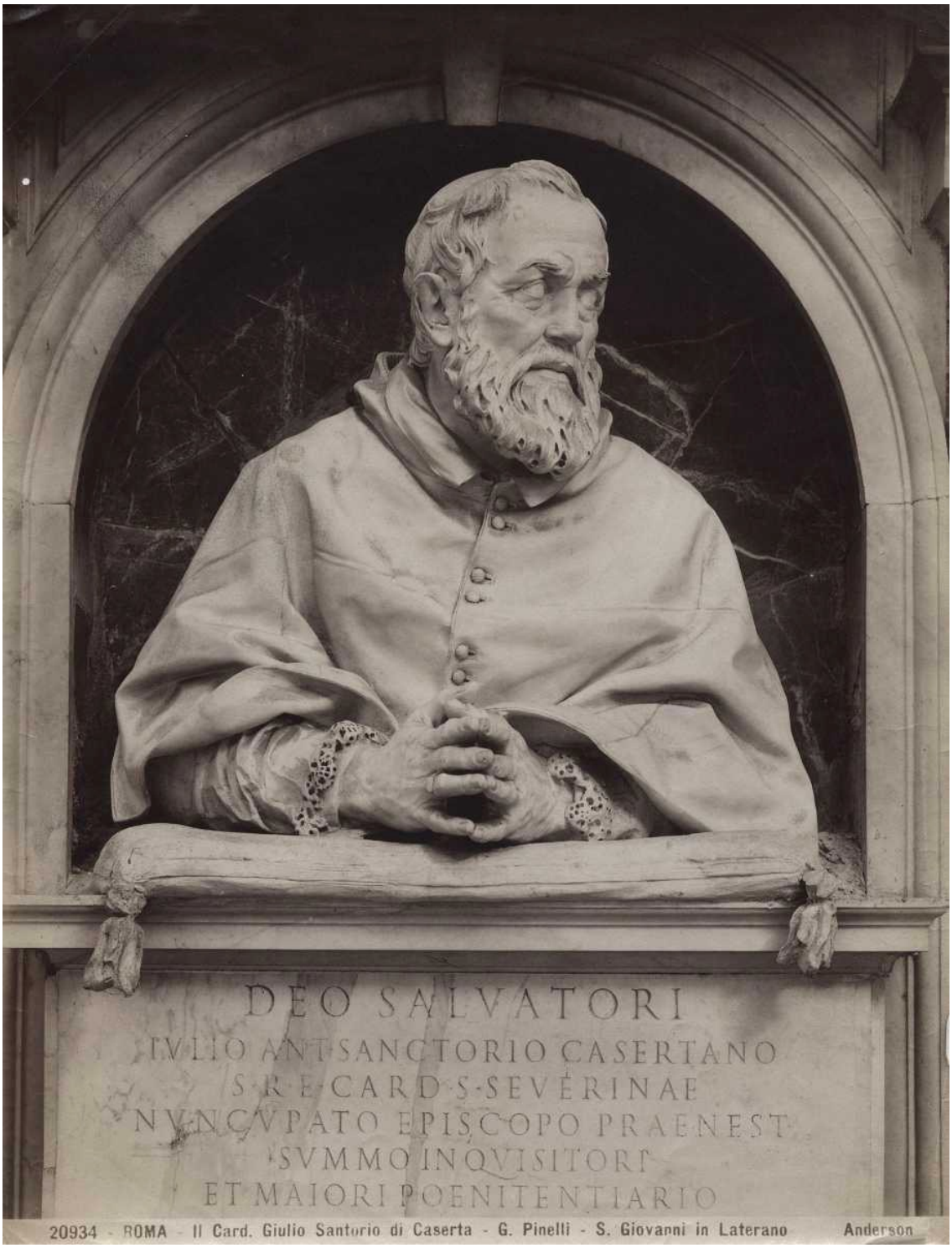


Figure 4. 10. Finelli, Giuliano, Tomb bust of cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori, 1633-34; Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (Fototeca Zeri).

Figure 4. 11. San Giorgio dei Greci, Venice (Photo of the author, 2017).

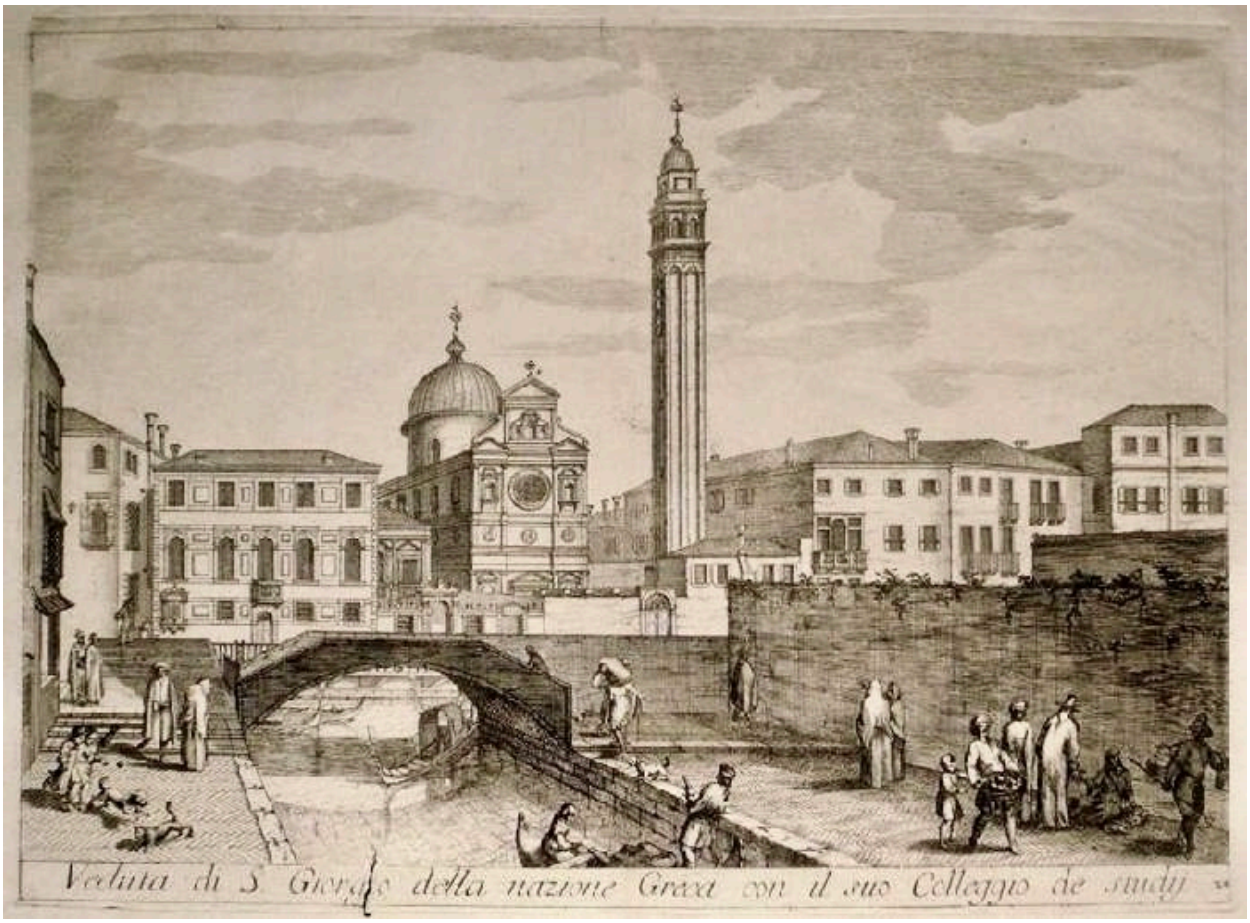


Figure 4. 12. Domenico Lovisa, The view of the ensemble of the church of San Giorgio dei Greci and the Scuola di S. Nicolo dei Greci,Venice, engraving.

Figure 4. 13. Scuola di Santa Maria dei Albanesi, its façade between Palazzo Bellavite and the church of San Maurizio.

Figure 4. 14. Vittore Carpaccio, *Death of the Virgin Mary*, part of the cycle of the *Life of the Virgin*, done for the Scuola dei Albanesi, 1504-1508; Galleria Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, Venice), showing some of the confraternity members kneeling on the left of Mary's deathbed.

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Figure 4. 16. Interior (ground floor) of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice. Photo of the author, 2017.

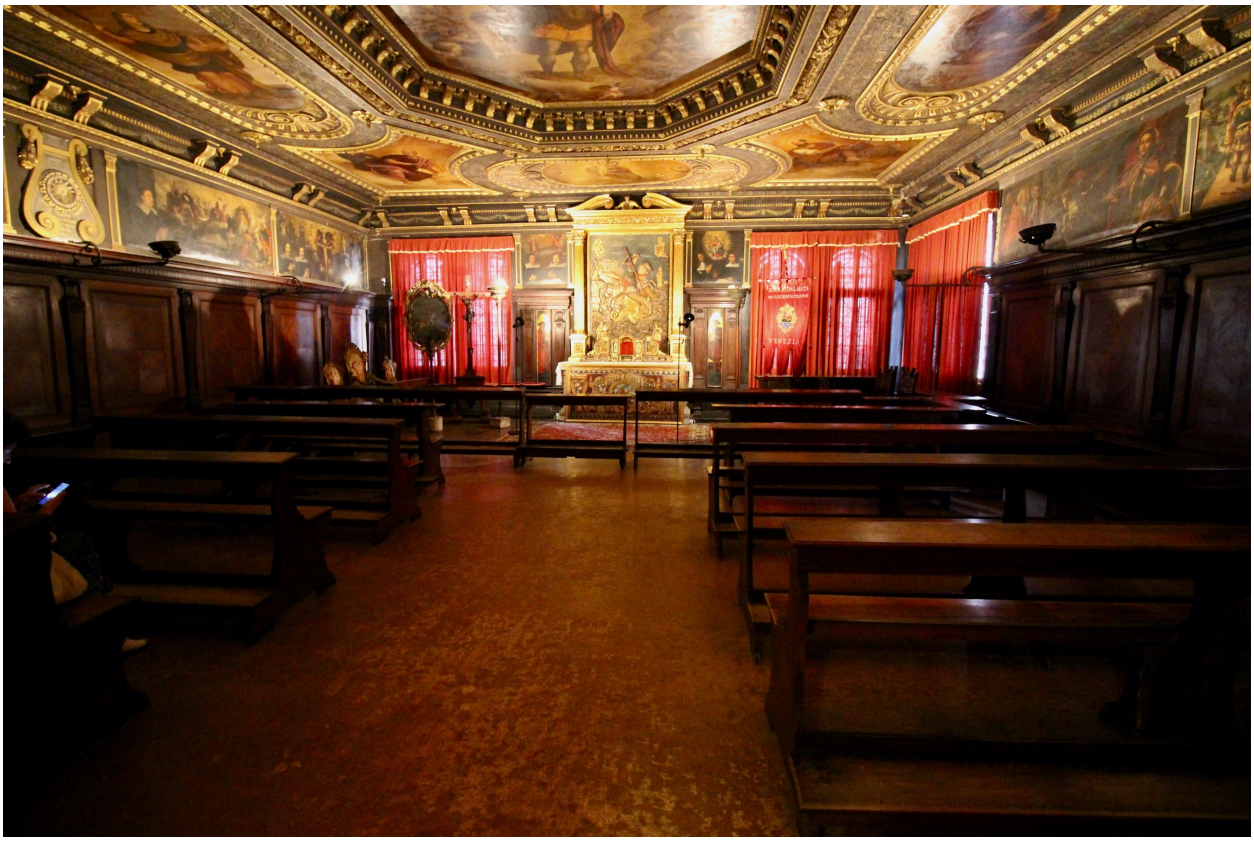

Figure 4. 17. Interior (upper floor) of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice. Photo of the author, 2017.

Figure 4. 18. Overall view of the Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone, Venice. Photo of the author, 2017.

Figure 4. 19. Iconostasis of the church of San Giorgio dei Greci, Venice.

Figure 4. 20. Canaletto, *Interior of San Marco in Venice*, 1740-43; Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal.

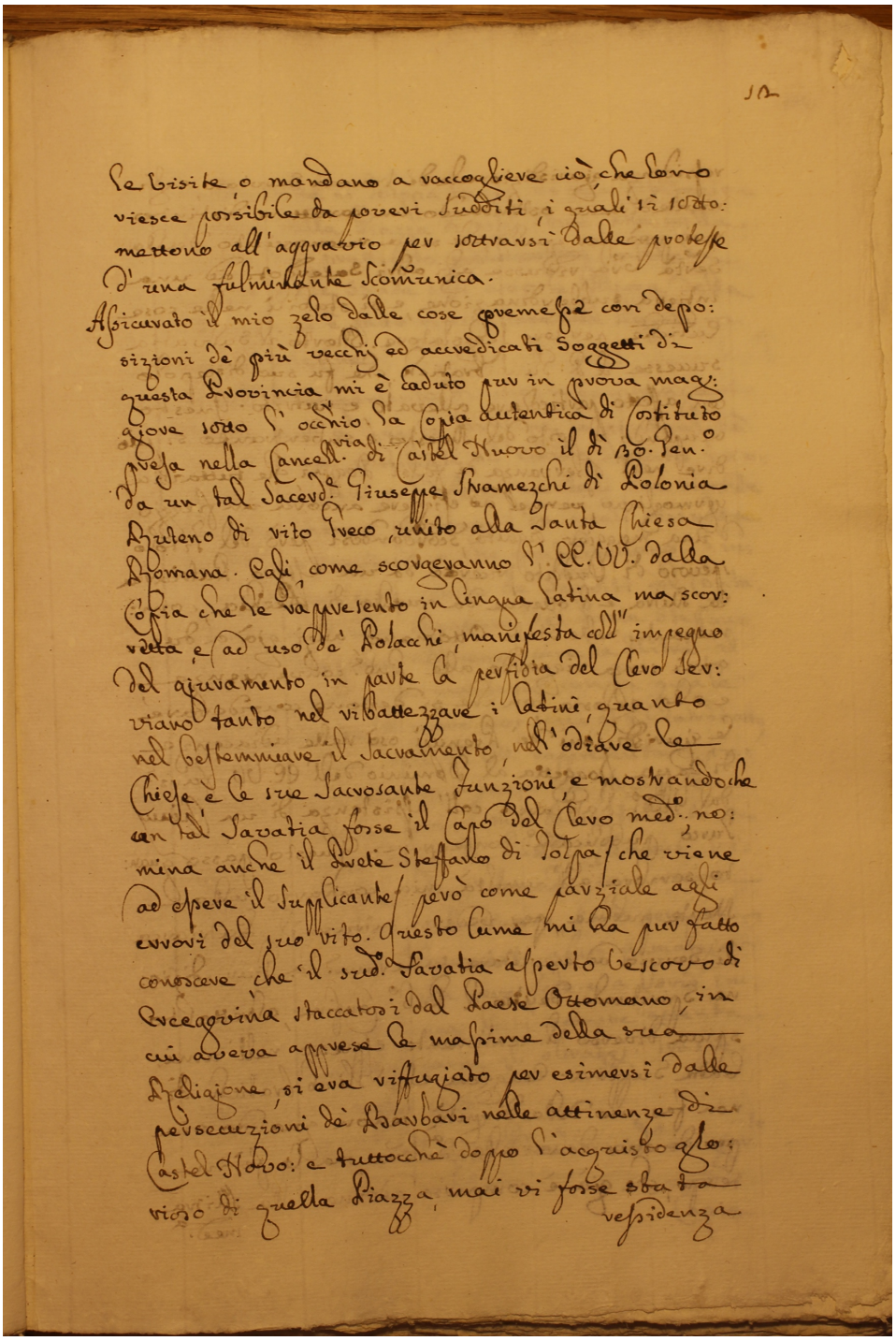

Figure 4. 21. APV, *Scritture antiche e recenti della Chiesa dei Greci,* dossier no. 17, "Raccolta di documenti diversi in materia di greci" (marked "Processo P"), fol. 3r.: "Assicurato il mio zelo…" (24 July 1721).

Figure 4. 22. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Chiesa di S. Girolamo della Natione dei schiavoni nella regione di campo Marzo à Ripetta*, 1667-1669.

Figure 4. 23. Pope Sixtus V Peretti, engraving.

Figure 4. 24. Pope Clement XI Albani, engraving.

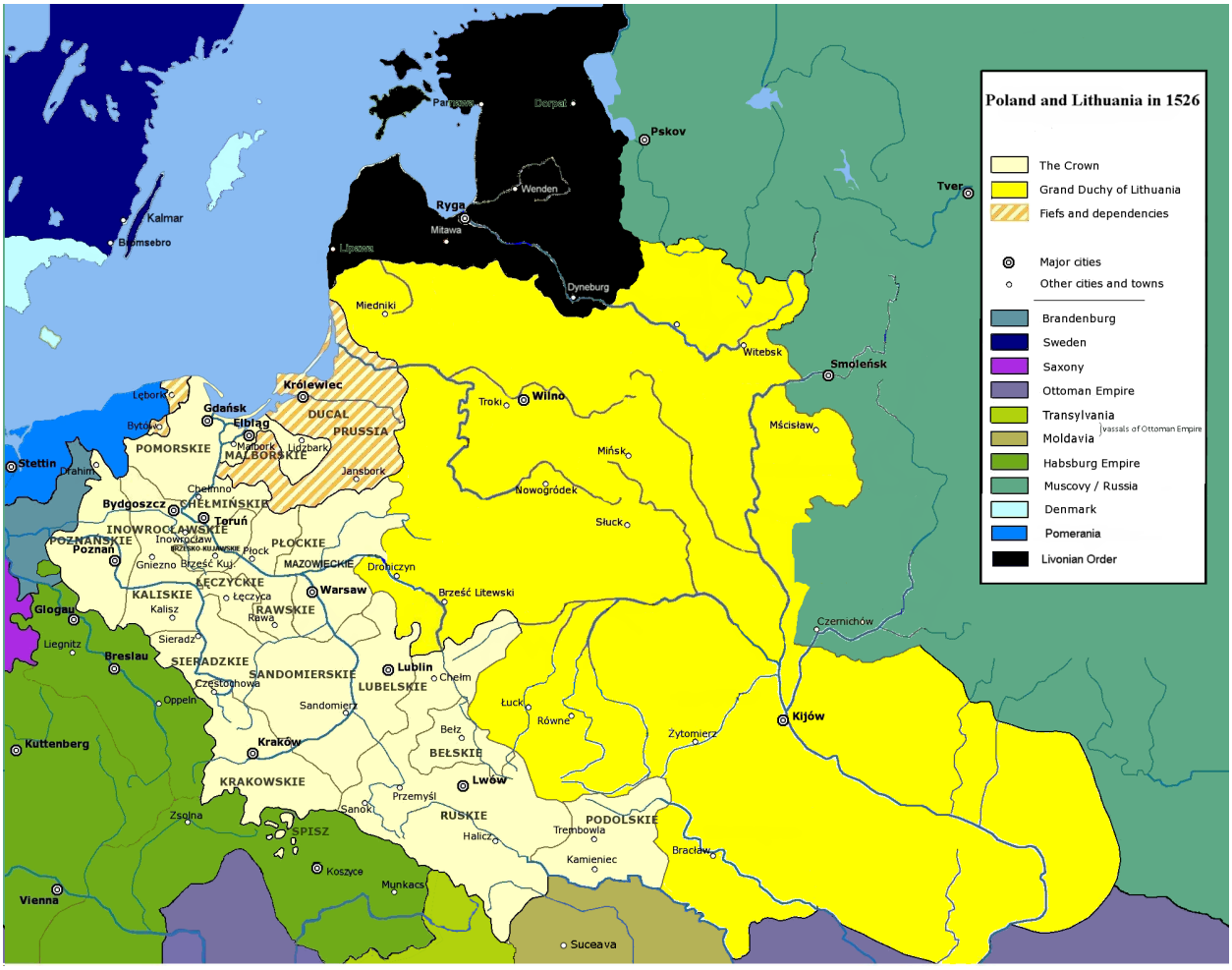

Figure 4. 25. Poland and Lithuania in 1526, before the Union of Lublin (1569).

Figure 4. 26. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569, after the signing of the Union of Lublin.

Figure 4. 27. Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni, engraving.

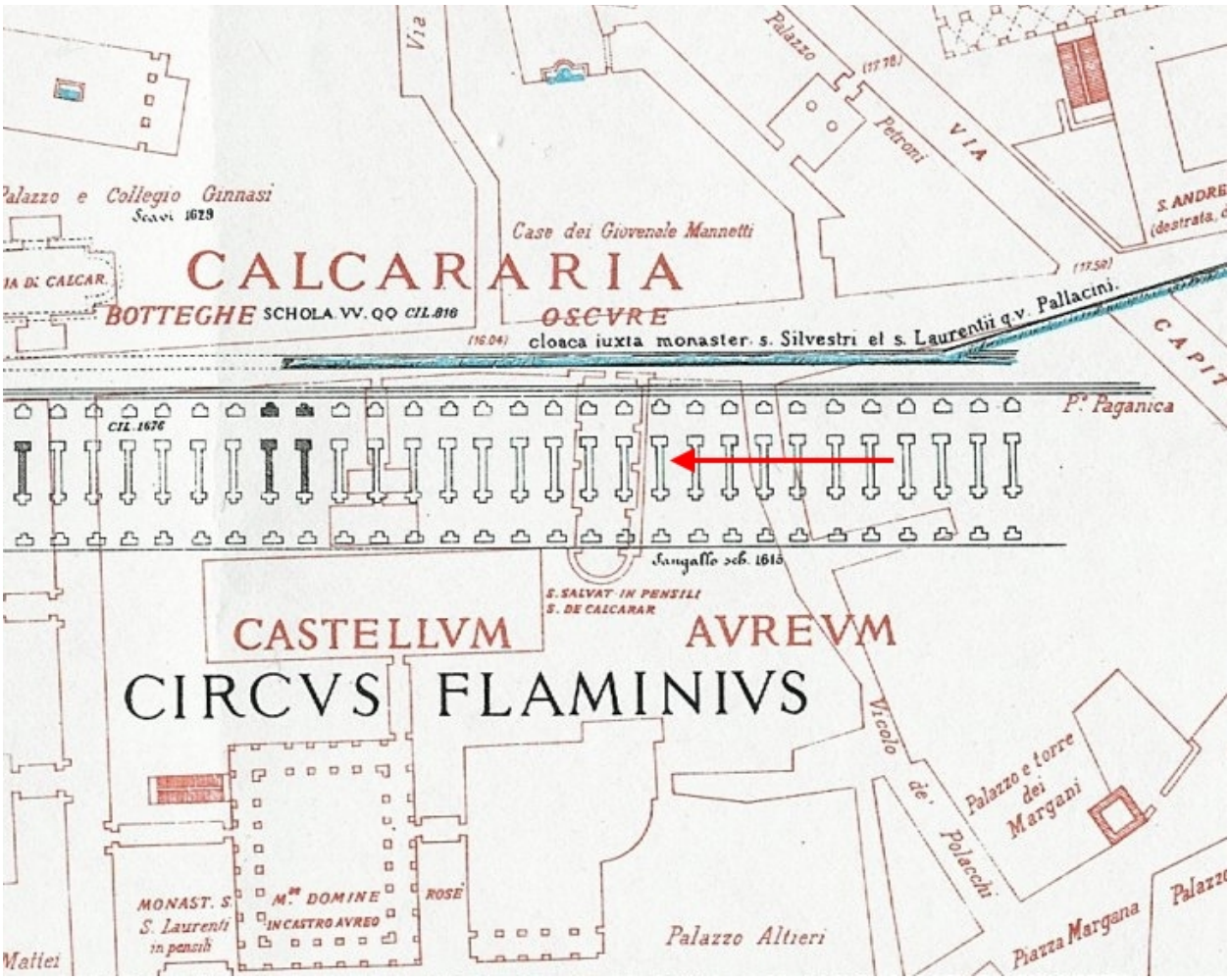

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Figure 4. 29. Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, engraving by Philips Galle, 1571 (the British Museum, London).

Figure 4. 30. Antiveduto Grammatica (1571 – 1626), *Christ the Savior with St. Stanislaus of Krakow, St. Adalbert of Prague and St Hyacinth Odrowaz*. Santo Stanislao dei Polacchi, Rome.

Figure 4. 31. Santo Stanislao dei Polacchi, façade, Rome.

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Figure 4. 33. Tomasz Treter, *Hospitalis Polonici in Urbe Institutio*, a preparatory drawing for *Theatrum virtutum ac meritorum Domini Stanislai Hosii Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae presbiteri cardinalis, maioris penitentiarii et episcopi Varmiensis*, Romae, 1588, ill. 87,

Figure 4. 34. Tomasz Treter, *Hospitale Polonorum Romae instituit,* 1587, engraving; Biblioteka Seminarium Metropolitalnego Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, Warsaw.

Figure 4. 35. Tomasz Treter, *Hospitalis Polonici in Urbe Institutio*, a detail of a preparatory drawing for *Theatrum virtutum ac meritorum Domini Stanislai Hosii Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae presbiteri cardinalis, maioris penitentiarii et episcopi Varmiensis, Romae, 1588*, ill. 87, f. 95v, (collection of 105 drawings in pen and ink, ca. 1595-1600), Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw (repository no. 285773, formerly of the Biblioteca "Ordynacji Zamoyskiej").

Figure 4. 36. Tomasz Treter, Detail of *Hospitale Polonorum Romae instituit,* 1587, engraving; Biblioteka Seminarium Metropolitalnego Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, Warsaw.

Figure 4. 37. Jan Aleksander Gorczyn, *Sepulchrum Beati Stanislai Kostka Soc. Iesu a Natione Polona Romae in Templo S. Andreae Rectum Anno MDCV* [...], 1666, engraving, 34,5x24 cm. Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw.

Figure 4. 38. Giuseppe Vasi, *Chiesa di S. Andrea al Quirinale*, veduta esterna; Copyright © Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.

Figure 4. 39. Temple Fortuna Virilis, Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 4. 40. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Veduta del Tempio della Fortuna virile; adessso la chiesa di S. Maria Egiziaca* from *Vedute di Roma disegnate ed incise da Giambattista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano,* In Roma: Presso l'Autore a Strada Felice nel Palazzo Tomati vicino alla Trinità de' monti. A paoli due è mezzo., [1747-1766?]; 380 mm x 575 mm; Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Figure 4. 41. Abgar Toxatci, Saghmosaran (Psalter), Venice, 1565, woodcut, frontispiece, 11 x 16 cm, Barb.A.VI.45 (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

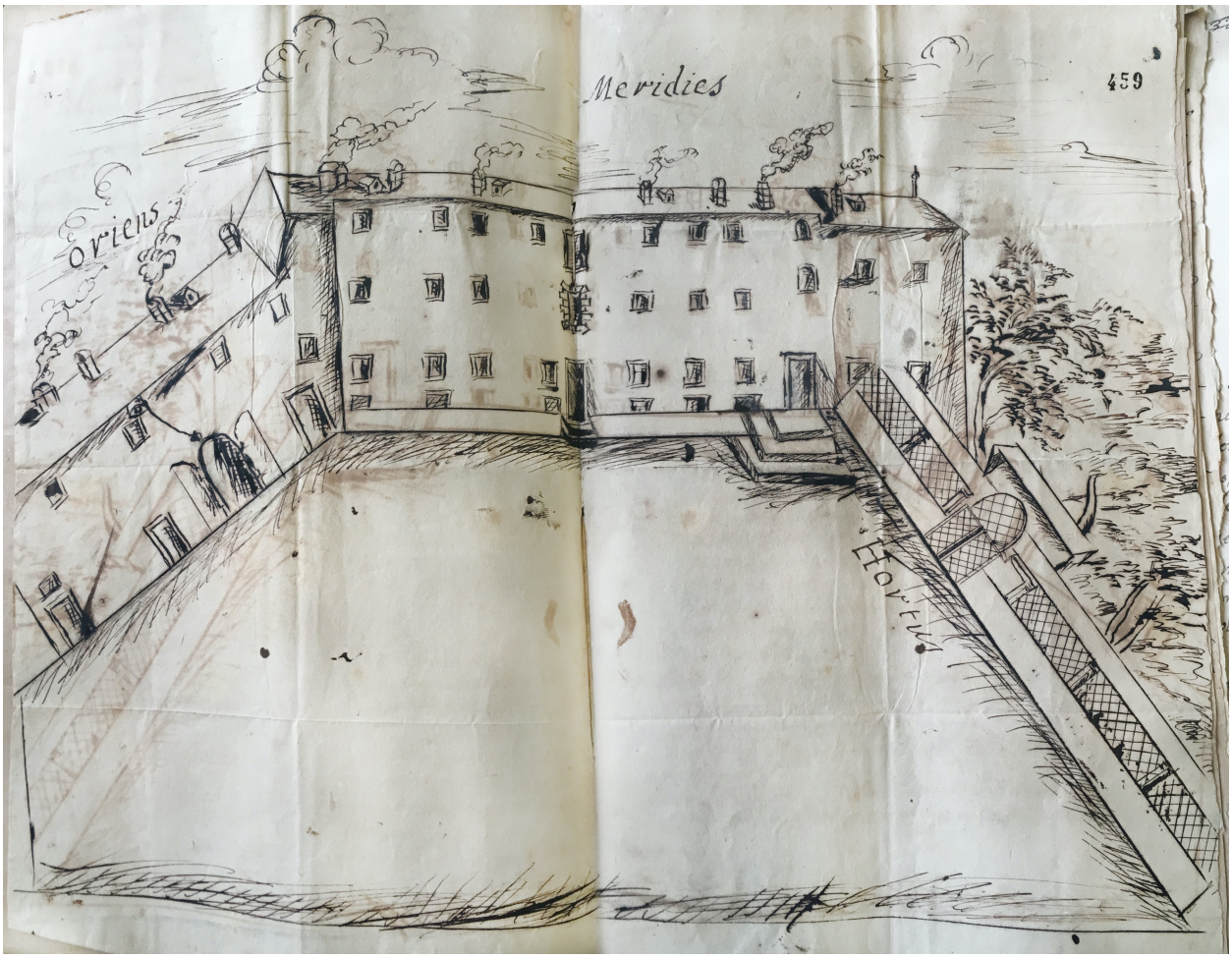


Figure 4. 42. The Theatine Fr. Stefano Trombetti (?), *Collegio Teatino, Leopolis*, ink drawing, 1721; APF, CP, vol. 64, f. 458v-458r.

Figure 4. 43. Buildings of the former Theatine College in Lviv, 6 Kryvonos Street.

Figure 4. 44. Giuseppe Vasi, *Chiesa di S. Pietro in Vinculis*, engraving, plate 45, from *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, volume 3, 1747-61. Numbers on the engraving designate: 1) Part of the monastery of S. Francesco di Paola; 2) Street leading to S. Martino ai Monti (Via delle Sette Sale); 3) S. Pietro in Vincoli; 4) Palazzo del Cardinal Titolare. On the right of the image, hidden behind the gates is the Monastery of S. Antonio Abate, a Maronite foundation.

Figure 4. 45. *Antimins,* an engraving printed on the cloth, with Greek and Arabic inscriptions, 1827, APF, SC, Ospizio dei Ruteni, Vol. 1 (1639-1800).

Figure 4. 46. *Allegory with a Western Ruler and a Middle Eastern Ruler*, an engraving printed on the paper, with Greek and Arabic inscriptions; APF, SC, Ospizio dei Ruteni, Vol. 1 (1639-1800).

Figure 5. 1. Sant'Agrippino a Forcella, exterior, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 2. Sant'Agrippino a Forcella, interior, Naples.

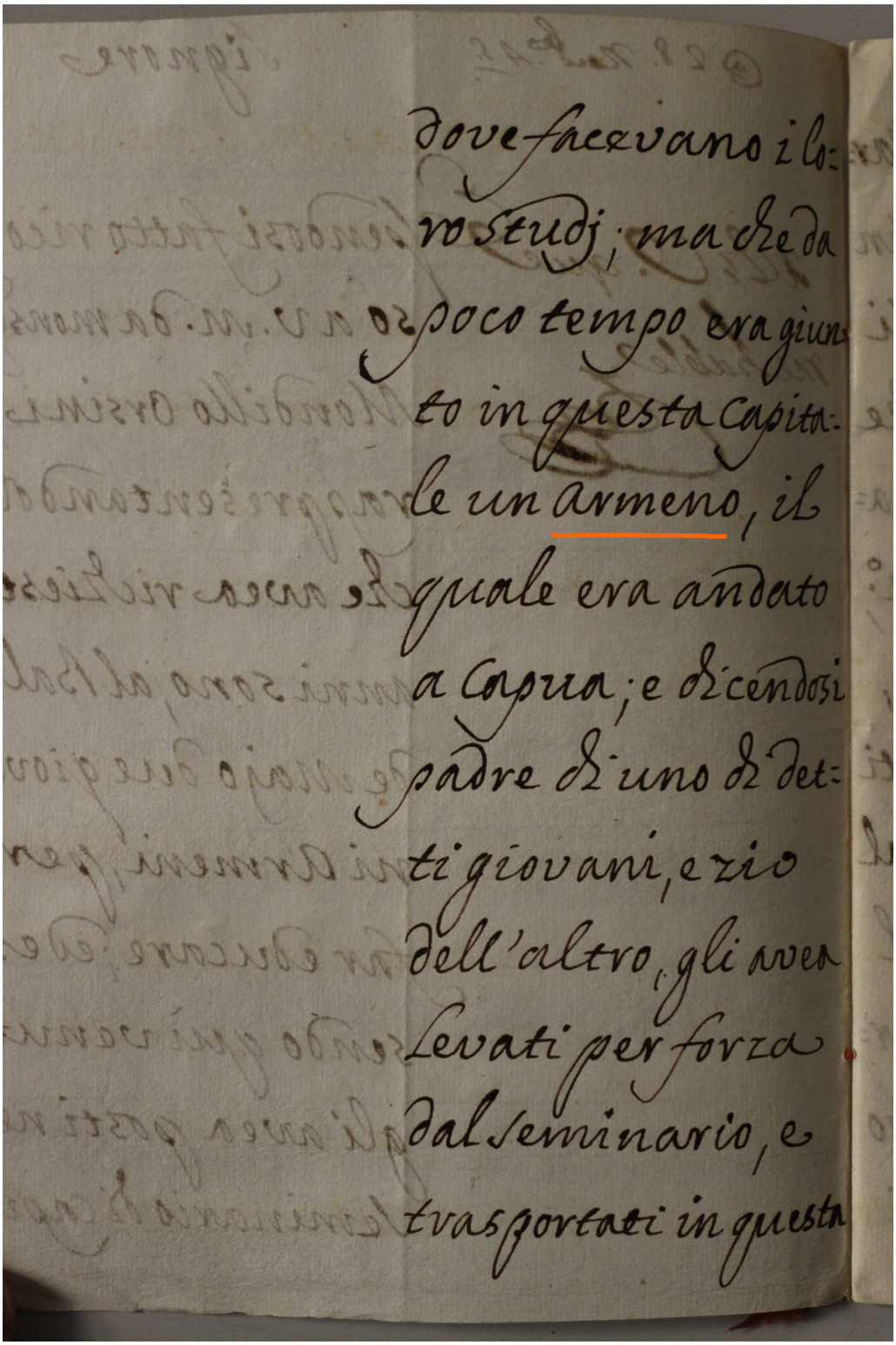

dove facevano i lo-
ro studj; ma da
poco tempo era giun-
to in questa capita-
le un armeno, il
quale era andato
a Capua; e dicendosi
padre di uno di det-
ti giovani, e zio
dell'altro, gli aver
Levati per forza
dal seminario, e
trasportati in questa

Figure 5. 3. Archival documents from the Archivio di Stato di Napoli. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 4. Santi Pietro e Paolo dei Greci, exterior, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 5. Santi Pietro e Paolo dei Greci, interior, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 6. Belisario Corenzio, ceiling frescos of the Cappella di Sant'Ugo, Certosa di San Martino, Naples, 1632.

Figure 5. 7. Stefano della Bella, *Port Scene*, etching, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

Figure 5. 8. Iconostasis of SS. Pietro e Paolo dei Greci, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 9. Left aisle of SS. Pietro e Paolo dei Greci, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 10. Right aisle of SS. Pietro e Paolo dei Greci, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 11. Castel dell'Ovo, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 12. Church of SS. Severino e Sossio, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 13. Church of San Salvatore on the Castel dell'Ovo, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 14. Remains of the church of San Pietro a Castello, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

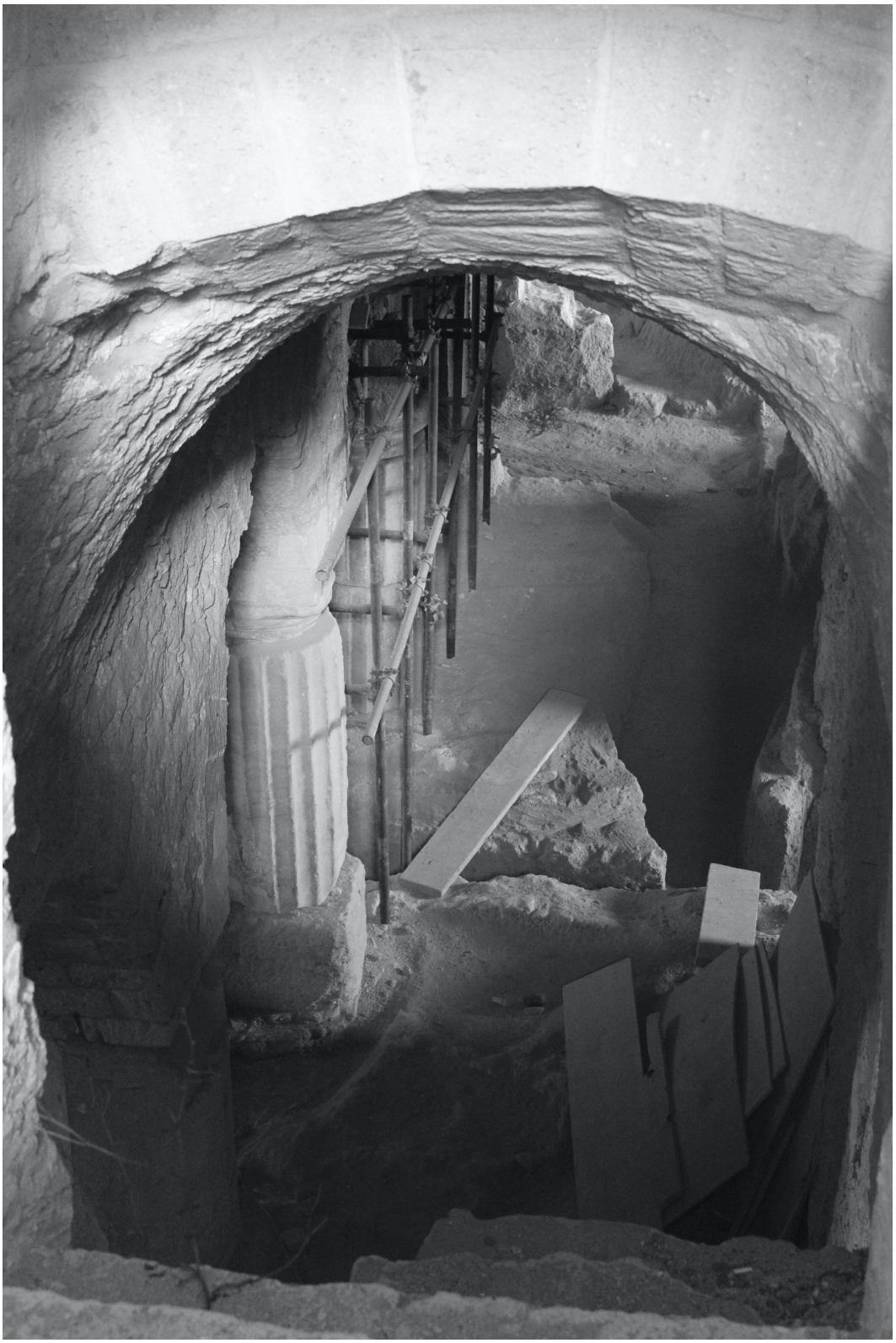


Figure 5. 15. Remains of the Basilian monastery, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 16. Remains of a fresco in a niche within the space of the church of San Pietro a Castello, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 17. Francesco Guarini (1611-1651 or 1654) or an unknown Neapolitan artist, Detail of *San Nicola di Bari con un fanciullo coppiere*. The church of Santa Marta, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 18. The church of Santa Marta, Naples. Photo of the author, 2018.

Figure 5. 19. Caracciolo family arms from Francesco de' Pietri's *Cronologia della famiglia Caracciolo*, 1605.

IN queſta vi ſono attorno l'Inſegne del Camauro, per il Pontefice Paolo IV. de' Cardinali, Patriarchi, Arciveſcovi, Veſcovi, & Abbati, Corone de' Principi, Duchi, Marcheſi, e Conti, Baſtoni di comando, Habiti del Teſone di Malta, S. Mauritio, di S. Iacopo, e Calatrava; vi è la ſpecificatione della Spina, e della Stadera.

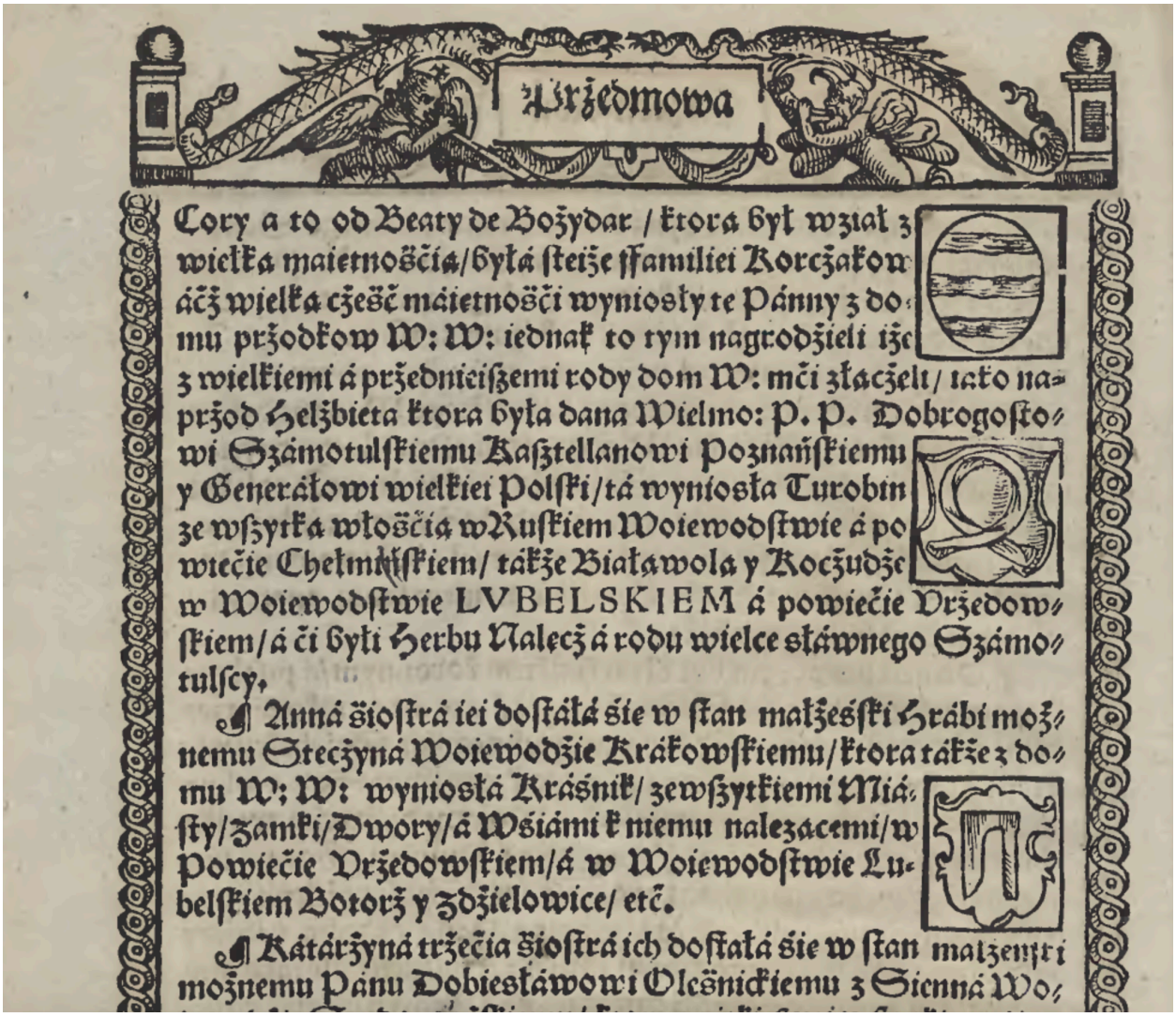
Pietra-Sãta nelle Teſſere nel f. 106.

L'Arme della Famiglia Sigiſmonda di Piſa, dalla quale è originaria la Carafa, è l'iſteſſa, che quella della Carafa, con qualche diverſità però, che il Campo è d'argento con trè faſcie roſſe, al contrario della Carafa, mà tal variatione ſi vede in moltiſſime Famiglie, che hanno una ſteſſa origine.

L'Arme della ſteſſa Famiglia Carafa della Polonia, così è deſcritta dal *Padre Fra Simone Okolski nell'Orbe Polono*, come ſi vede quì poſta.

KORCZAK PRIMO. DE-

Figure 5. 20. Carafa family arms from Aldimari, Biagio. *Historia genealogica della famiglia Carafa, divisa in tre libri.* In Napoli: Nella stamperia di Giacomo Raillard, 1691.



Przedmowa

Cory a to od Beaty de Bożydar / ktora był wziął z wielką maietnośćią/ byłá steiże ffamiliei Korczakow áćż wielką cześć máietnośći wyniosły te Pánny z domu przodkow W: W: iednak to tym nagrodźieli iże z wielkiemi á przednieiszemi rody dom W: mći złączeli/ iako naprzod Helżbieta ktora była dana Wielmo: P. P. Dobrogostowi Számotulskiemu Kasztellanowi Poznańskiemu y Generáłowi wielkiei Polski/ tá wyniosła Turobin ze wszytką włośćią w Ruskiem Woiewodstwie á powiećie Chełmińskiem/ tákże Białawola y Koczudże w Woiewodstwie LVBELSKIEM á powiećie Vrzedowskiem/ á ći byli Herbu Nalecz á rodu wielce sławnego Számotulscy.

Anná śiostrá iei dostáłá śie w stan małżeński Hrábi możnemu Steczyná Woiewodźie Krákowskiemu/ ktora tákże z domu W: W: wyniosłá Kráśnik/ ze wszytkiemi Miásty/ zamki/ Dwory/ á Wśiámi k niemu nalezącemi/ w Powiećie Vrzedowskiem/ á w Woiewodstwie Lubelskiem Botorż y Zdźielowice/ etć.

Kátárżyná trzećia śiostrá ich dostáłá śie w stan małżeński możnemu Pánu Dobiesłáwowi Oleśnickiemu z Sienná Wo-

Figure 5. 21. Korczak family arms from Bartłomiej Paprocki and D. Siedlczański, *Ogród królewski* (Praga, 1599), 14.

Figure 5. 22. Arpad dynasty arms from Aldimari, Biagio. *Historia genealogica della famiglia Carafa, divisa in tre libri.* In Napoli: Nella stamperia di Giacomo Raillard, 1691.

Figure 5. 23. Carafa-Kastrioti-Skanderbeg family arms from the tomb (1581) of Alfonso Carafa in the church of S. Andrea in Nocera Inferiore, Italy. This branch of the Carafa was founded after the marriage of duke Alfonso Carafa with Giovanna Castriota Scanderbeg.

Figure 5. 24. Aleksander Tarasowicz, *St. Meletius of Antioch*, an engraving in honor of his namesake, Archimadrite Meletij Wujachewicz-Wysoczynski. Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw. Size: 20,3x14,4 cm; call no. G.2226.

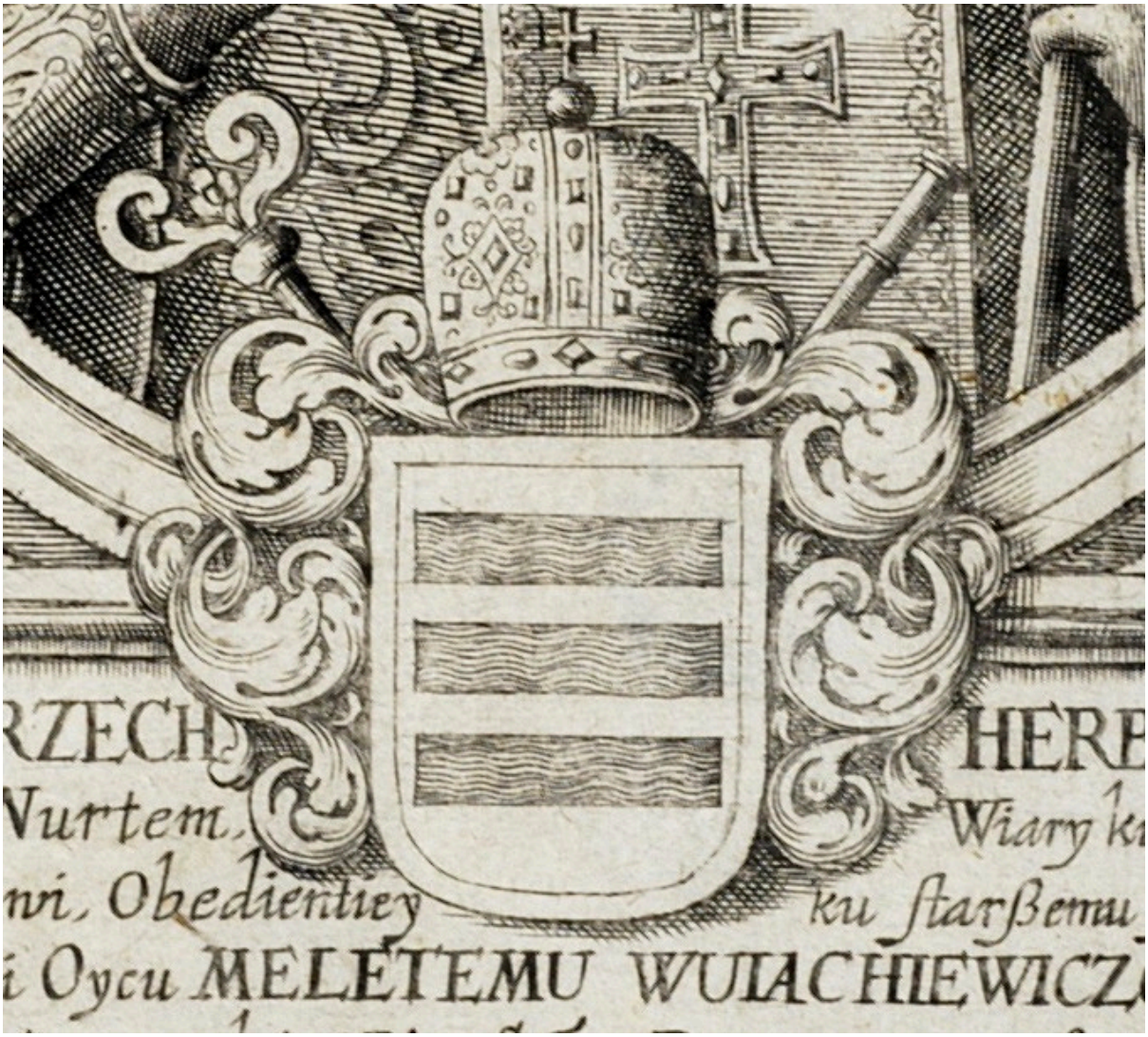


Figure 5. 25. Aleksander Tarasowicz, Detail of *St. Meletius of Antioch*, showing the Korczak/Wujachewicz-Wysoczynski arms. Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw. Size: 20,3x14,4 cm; call no. G.2226.

Figure 5. 26. *Cardinal Pignatelli*, an engraving, published by Domenico de'Rossi in his *Effigies Cardinalium nunc viventium*, Rome, 1719; British Museum, Bb,9.375.

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APF, CP, Ruteni.
APF. SC, Fondo di Vienna.
APF, Collegi varii.
ARSI, Collegio Illirico di Loreto, Memorie.
ARSI, Rom. 160. Vols. I-II.
ASR, Camerale III, Roma, Chiese e monasteri.
ASR, Catasti urbane di Roma, Presidenza generale del censo, Rione Monti.
ASV, Fondo Basiliani.
ASV, Schedario Garampi, Chiese di Roma.
ASV, Fondo Borghese.
ASV, Polonia.
ASV, Reg. vat.
BAV, Vat. lat.
BAV, Borg. lat.

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