

Martyr et Pontifex: The Formation of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych's Iconography

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Summary. This paper traces the origins of the iconography of Josaphat Kuntsevych to the early adoption of the Baroque aesthetic on the part of the Ruthenian Uniate Church, following the Union of Brest of 1595. Beatified in 1643, Kuntsevych's iconography developed, on the one hand, along the iconographies of Catholic ecclesiastical martyrs who suffered a similar manner of death (struck by blades/axes/knives) – such as St. Peter of Verona – but also alongside the iconography of a copy of the revered Ruthenian icon – *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy* – found in Rome at the national church of the Ruthenian 'nation', SS. *Sergio e Bacco*. The Roman copy of the Marian icon was known as the *Madonna del Pascolo*, and its own early iconography parallels the developments seen in the early printed images of then-Blessed Josaphat. At some point, after Josaphat's canonization of 1867, the established Early Modern iconography of the Ruthenian martyr started to change yet again, moving away from the Baroque drama of his gruesome death to that of an Eastern-rite bishop without any traces of violent death and only with a palm branch to suggest his martyrdom. Thus, a new, modern (and present) chapter in the iconographic development was opened.

Keywords: saints; iconography; St. Josaphat; martyrs; Early Modern Rome; Ruthenians; prints; Byzantine rite; Baroque.

The goal of this paper is to trace one possible trajectory of the formation of the iconography of Josaphat Kuntsevych and to (re)emphasize the important role of Rome in that process. The trajectory itself could be divided into two intertwining paths, which are at times divergent and at others, parallel, with one reaching modernity and the present, whereas, the other, not so much. Rather than following a precise chronological approach, the first half of the paper will be dedicated to the Josaphat iconography's ties to that of the *Madonna del Pascolo* (Figure 1) – the Roman copy of the miraculous jasper icon of *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy* (now in Belarus). The Madonna was uncovered as a fresco at the Ruthenian national church in Rome in 1718, the old church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (it. *Santi Sergio e Bacco*), the church which was henceforth also known as the *Madonna del Pascolo*



Figure 1. *Madonna del Pascolo*, fresco, second half of 17th century. Photo by Anatole Upart, 2018.

In: Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (*Santi Sergio e Bacco*), Rome.

(the Italian name for the Zhyrovichy icon). In the second part of the paper, we will survey the iconographic evidence and the historic context in which the Early Modern iconography of Blessed Josaphat was formed and which, in turn, gave birth to the modern iconography of Saint Josaphat Kuntsevych.

Published in 1732 in Rome, Ignacy Kulczynski's seminal work on the Ruthenian Madonna in Rome, *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori*, contains three outstanding and heretofore unstudied engravings by the hand of the Roman painter and engraver Carlo Grandi (active in Rome ca. 1723–1765).¹ All three engravings, by virtue of their content, were specifically created for this particular book: there are two images of *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy* – one framed by itself and flanked by two saints, and the other showing the moment of *inventio* by young shepherds of the miraculous image in the tree; the third engraving is of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych. A closer examination of all three images reveals that they provide indispensable clues as to the mechanisms used for integrating the Ruthenian Byzantine-Rite visual culture into that of Rome, and global Catholicism at large.

The first engraving, *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Saint Basil and Blessed Josaphat Kuntsevych*,² is only 16 cm tall, and, like the other two, is bound with the rest of the pages of the book. The image of Virgin Mary and Child is engraved within a baroque cartouche and surrounded at the top by a flowing banderole and garlands, and at the bottom by floral motifs. The cartouche features a Cyrillic inscription in Church Slavonic continuing around its oval border – this is an inscription already familiar to us from a nearly identical inscription around the *Madonna del Pascolo* (the words of the second line from *Axion Estin*, a Greek *theotokion*). The inscription begins at the top and is read from left to right, starting from the mark of the cross. The words are nearly identical to the *Madonna del Pascolo*'s inscription, with a few words being dropped (as indicated below in square brackets) or added (in italics) in comparison to the Pascolo 'original': “+ Честнейшую херувим и

- 1 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 Basiliiani Ruteni, e rettore de' SS. Sergio, e Bacco ai Monti, dedicata all'ill.mo, ed ecc.mo signore, il signor F.D. Mario Chigi*, Roma: nella stamperia dell'Ansillioni al Corallo, 1732 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, R.G.Vite.VI.3 (int.1) Stamp.De.Luca.VI.2273). Ignacy Kulczynski (1707–1747) served as the rector at SS. *Sergio e Bacco* and was the procurator for the Ruthenian Church to the Holy See. Carlo Grandi's authorship of the plates is supported by the fact that they are all marked 'Car. Grandi del: et sc'.
- 2 See illustration: Ignacy Kulczynski, *Il diaspro prodigioso* and A. Upart, 2018, p. 160.

славнейшую воистину [без сравнения] серафим, бе[з] и/стления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя в[еличаем].” (“Thou the more honourable than the cherubim, and truly [beyond comparison] more glorious than the seraphim, who w[ithout] corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we [magnify] Thee”).³

This inscription has become an integral attribute of the original Zhyrovichy Madonna’s iconography and is present both in the *Madonna del Pascolo* fresco and in Grandi’s engraving. The latter’s use of a Cyrillic inscription acts as a concrete iconographic reference to the *Madonna del Pascolo*, reminding the Roman audience of the image (fresco) housed in SS. *Sergio e Bacco* and now enclosed in a precious revetment, and, simultaneously, acting as a reference to the prototype image in Zhyrovichy, which it strives to represent for those who cannot possibly see the original housed in a monastery in Ruthenian lands far away from Rome. Other inscriptions on the image of Mary and Child are the traditional Greek monograms: *ΙΣΧΣ* (a shortened form of *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (Jesus Christ)) next to the Child, and *[M]P: [ΘΕ]ΟΥ* (a shortened form of *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ* (Mother of God)) next to Mary.

Moreover, Grandi’s image betrays no signs of being a derivative of a pre-existing prototype. Its artistic quality is even higher than that of the fresco found in Rome (*Madonna del Pascolo*). While the iconography does follow the established rules for Our Lady of Zhyrovichy, Grandi’s interpretation exhibits signs of free hand drawing, hidden in the precise marks of a burin, and even a certain freshness, which was unusual for a devotional print of that scope. What is also impressive is Grandi’s ability to render nearly all the Cyrillic letters precisely and largely without mistakes, either to the 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 inscription. At the bottom, the cartouche with the image of Virgin Mary is flanked by two smaller cartouches. The small cartouche on the left contains a loosely drawn image of St. Basil the Great (the patron saint of the Basilians), while the cartouche on the right displays the then-Blessed Josaphat Kuntsevych (the first martyr and saint of the Ruthenian Basilians). Despite the small

3 The fuller text would read: “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 honourable than the cherubim, and beyond comparison more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, thou the true Theotokos, we magnify Thee”).



Figure 2. Ignazio Stern, *Saint Basil*, oil on canvas, ca. 1741. Photo by Anatole Upart, 2018.
In: Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (*Santi Sergio e Bacco*), Rome.

size of this part of the engraving, St. Basil is shown according to his traditional iconography and is very similar to the slightly later (1741) representation of the saint by Ignazio (1679–1748) from the same church (Figure 2): he is wearing episcopal vestments and a Greek-style bishop's mitre, while a dove descends by his ear on his right and a burning column is located on his left; Basil's right hand is raised in the gesture of blessing while his left hand holds 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 axe in his head, which is akin to the iconography of St. Saint Peter of Verona O.P. (1206–1252), who is usually shown with a hatchet stuck in his head. Josaphat is vested with the 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 cartouches of the saints, a Latin inscription identifies the central image as being, indeed, that of Our Lady of Zhyrovichy: "*B[eatissi]ma / Virgo / Ziroviciensis / Antemurale / Magni / Ducatus / Lithuaniae*" ("Most Blessed Virgin of Zhyrovichy, Bulwark of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"). The inscription specifically points to the apotropaic character of the jasper prototype, indicating that Madonna of Zhyrovichy was the "Bulwark of the Great Duchy of Lithuania", bringing about parallels between it and the popular 17th-century epithet of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth '*Antemurale Christianitatis*' ('Bulwark of Christendom'). Flanked by the two saints of the Byzantine Rite, one from pre-Schism times and the other, new, from soon after the Union of Brest (1596), the image of Madonna of Zhyrovichy appears to do exactly what is expected of it by both the Basilians and the Barberinis (notably, Pope Urban VIII, born Maffeo Vincenzo Barberini (papacy years: 1623–1644) and other early modern popes) – it was a perfect bridge connecting the undivided Christendom's past with its future, likewise undivided, under the pope. The resultant image, its iconography, and its execution are all products of Rome, but a Rome which is extremely attentive and attuned to the limitations, peculiarities, and possibilities of Eastern European visual culture, a culture which was now firmly within Rome'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 Zhyrovichy. However, the very fact that the Roman copy assumes all the miraculous and iconographic attributes of its prototype, the *Madonna del Pascolo*, despite its different name, it is, for all intents and purposes, the *Madonna of Zhyrovichy*. The Ruthenian name for the church of SS. *Sergio e Bacco* after the discovery of the Marian image in 1718 was the 'Church

of Our Lady of Zhyrovichy', while the official name and the dedication in Italian were 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 Zhyrovichy image, but specifically its Roman version.

Grandi's second engraving from the book depicts the *Discovery of the Icon of Our Lady of Zhyrovichy*. It is in a wider format than that of the preceding *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Saint Basil and Blessed Josaphat*, spanning the whole page of the book. An identical oval image of the Virgin and Child is shown floating among the tree branches, 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 honourable than the cherubim, and beyond comparison more glorious than the seraphim, who without corruption gavest birth to God the Word, Thou the true Theotokos, we magnify Thee" in the Cyrillic alphabet. In the foreground, occupying the bottom right of the composition and with their backs turned to the viewer, there are two young shepherds – the discoverers of the icon – joined further away in the middle ground on the left by a group of six bystanders, shown as being in awe of the miracle; behind this group, there 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 the area of Zhyrovichy. Small castle-like buildings can be seen on the right side before the high hills, while the left side is completely taken up by a fortified town with turrets and a few churches with spires and crosses on top – overall, this is a vision of a Northern European town and not one from Eastern Europe in the early decades of the 18th century. Below the scene of the discovery is a banderole with a Latin inscription: '*Thaumaturga Zyrowjciensis / Spes unica Basilianoru[m]*' ('The Miracle-Worker of Zhyrovichy / The only hope of the Basilians'). The lower right corner is further inscribed with "*Carol. Grandi inu. / et scul. / Rom*".

Formally, the landscape and all the forms in the image display perfect clarity, and it has a high level of *readability*, both iconographically and textually. Furthermore, it appears to be one of the earliest prints produced in Rome which portrays the discovery of the jasper icon of Zhyrovichy; I know of no other image made by an Italian artist for an Italian publication on this subject. Interestingly, the

Discovery of the Icon of Our Lady of Zhyrovichy engraving depicts, precisely, the full composition of the scene which I believe was the basis for the original fresco on the wall of the sacristy in SS. *Sergio e Bacco*, which was later covered up and then rediscovered during remodelling in 1718. It is obvious that a Roman engraver would have needed to use some form of iconographic guidance from the Basilians as to the precise way in which to depict the discovery of the Zhyrovichy icon. It is reasonable to assume that prints were present in Rome which depicted the same subject and which had been produced in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, such as Tarasowicz's copper engraving from 1682, *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Sts Peter and Paul*⁴ or Gorczyn's *Images of Our Lady of Zhyrovichy*. Such prints would provide an exact model which Grandi could use to depict his own version of the subject matter for Kulczynski's book.

Other than the several printed examples discussed in this paper thus far – those by Grandi, Tarasowicz, and finally by Gorczyn – there are extant painted examples in Eastern Europe which have 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 Zhyrovichy (the painting is now exhibited in Minsk, in the National Art Museum of Belarus), known as *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy Surrounded by St Basil the Great and Bl. Josaphat Kuntsevych*, dates back to the 1730s and combines the motifs of the *inventio* (an oval icon in a tree, surrounded by shepherd boys) and the *sacra conversazione*. We saw the former motif being used dramatically by Grandi in his Roman print for Kulczynski's book (1732) around the same time the Minsk painting was dated to; the latter motif, as we have seen, had already been employed decades earlier in the engraving *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Sts Peter and Paul* (1682) by Leontij or Aleksander Tarasowicz.⁵

Tarasowicz's *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Sts Peter and Paul* shows the oval icon with the Madonna with Child being held up by distinctly Roman and papal saints – the Apostles Peter and Paul – on both sides of the image. The image, as is traditional for Zhyrovichy iconography, is surrounded by an inscribed banderole

4 See illustration: Wasilij Pucko, "Średniowieczne kamienne ikonki z zachodnich obszarów Rusi", in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1993, t. 55, s. 17.

5 See, W. Pucko, 1993, specifically, page 17. The inscription on the print "*Pauli Bocewicz Or: S. B. M. A: 1682 [Ordo Sancti Basilii Magni Anno]*" makes it clear that Pavlo Bocewicz was behind the creation of the composition, but the engraving was executed by either Leontii or Alexander Tarasowicz. Pucko attributes it to Leontii. For the Bocewicz attribution, see *Grafika*, 1993, s. 22 (image 1).

with the words of praise from the *Axion Estin* in Church Slavonic. Additionally, the image of Zhyrovichy is further surrounded with a triple inscription in Polish: “*Panna przed porodem / Panna przy porodzeniu / Panna po porodzeniu*” (“Virgin before childbirth / Virgin during childbirth / Virgin after childbirth”). Below the oval, another inscription in Polish states that the image of the miraculous icon of Zhyrovichy is shown true to size: “*Wizerunk y miara prawdzi/wa Obrazu cudownej Nass:/ Panny Mariey. Żyrowickiego. / Oycow Basyli/anow*” (“Image and true size of the miraculous Icon of the Most Blessed Mary of Zhyrovichy’s Basilian Fathers”). Below the saints, there is a lengthier inscription about the Saints Peter and Paul and their importance. Between the figures of the two saints and directly above the inscription, there are two scenes, lightly engraved, of the two saints’ respective martyrdoms: Peter’s upside-down crucifixion and Paul’s beheading. In the upper register of the Zhyrovichy oval image, there are two putti who are also holding the oval – the left one holding lilies and the right one holding a martyr’s palms. The very top of the oval image touches the Heavens, which, in turn, open to reveal the whole Trinity, with God the Father and God the Son resting in the clouds, who are illuminated by strong rays of light emanating from the Holy Spirit in the centre.

The rather complex representation of the oval jasper icon with saints had thus established a format of the Marian miraculous image being supported by saints. It is conceptually very close to the later engraving of *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Saint Basil and Blessed Josaphat* of 1732 by Carlo Grandi. However, in Grandi’s engraving, the saints are not holding the image of the Madonna – as in Tarasowicz’s piece – but rather they are shown as images within oval frames which, in turn, prop up a larger oval frame with *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy*. This tripling of oval images is not found in Tarasowicz’s 1682 *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Sts. Peter and Paul* but, instead, this can be traced to an earlier image by the Leontij Tarasowicz from 1665 *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy*. Like the previous engraving by Tarasowicz, the smaller print already contains nearly all the components of the later one: the putti holding the centrally placed oval image, the scene containing the Trinity, and banderoles with inscriptions. What is unique to the 1665 image is that it features a greater number of putti – four in total – two of whom are holding additional smaller oval images, while the central oval image with the icon is shown as if it was a fruit growing out of an oversized lily. The three smaller oval images – two in the hands of the putti and one at the base of the flower on its stem – contain smaller representations of Marian-related events. The small oval image on the left contains the Immaculate Conception, with Mary, elevated on a crescent, shown

trampling a dragon and surrounded with stars. The Immaculate Conception is undoubtedly not an Eastern Orthodox teaching; rather, it is an exclusively Roman Catholic one.⁶ Opposite it is an oval containing the Annunciation with all the expected iconographic details: Mary, kneeling over a book on an altar, is greeted by the Archangel Gabriel who is handing her a lily, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above them. The third, auxiliary oval image depicts the Nativity, with the Christ Child in the manger flanked by His Mother and St. Joseph; a cow and a donkey are likewise present. Four separate bands announce one discontinuous 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 Zhyrovichy”).

With the Minsk painting dated to the 1730s – the period when Zhyrovichy 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 in Rome) with *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy Surrounded by St Basil the Great and Bl. Josaphat Kuntsevych* makes more sense. They all belong to the same ‘community of images’ which formed the cultural space occupied (or rather shared) by 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 from Kulczynski’s book is that of *Blessed Josaphat*, likewise by Carlo Grandi (see the figure in the paper by Rūta Janionienė in this volume). The print depicts the first post-Union martyr of the Ruthenian Uniate Church, Josaphat Kuntsevych OSBM⁷ (c. 1580–1623), the Archbishop of Polatsk (now in Belarus) during the period of 1618–1623. In 1604, Josaphat became a monk of the Holy Trinity Basilian Monastery in Vilnius.⁸ In 1613, Josaphat became the *hegumen* (abbot) of the Monastery of the Dormition in Zhyrovichy – the location of the jasper icon of the Virgin Mary – only to return to Vilnius to become an archimandrite of the Monastery of Holy Trinity. In 1618, he was transferred to the See of Polatsk,

6 This was defined as a dogma only in 1854 by Pope Pius IX in the papal bull *Ineffabilis Deus*.

7 *Ordo Sancti Basilii Magni* (Order of Saint Basil the Great), abbreviated as OSBM.

8 The same monastery which became home to the exiled Patriarch Ignatius of Moscow (1540–1620) in 1611. During a later visitation of the now Ruthenian SS. *Sergio e Baccho*, there was a mention of a Marian icon which had been left behind by Metropolitan Korsak which had previously belonged to the exiled Patriarch Ignatius of Moscow. The present location of the icon is unknown.

only to become a victim of the Orthodox-Uniate conflict at the hands of an Orthodox mob five years later. Although Kuntsevych's death marked the huge loss of a charismatic leader to the cause of a union with Rome, the Ruthenian Uniate Church promptly requested that Rome acknowledge Kuntsevych's great sacrifice. Metropolitan Rafail Korsak arrived in Rome in 1639 as a postulator for the cause of Kuntsevych's beatification, but he died the following year while still in Rome (his place of burial became the crypt of SS. *Sergio e Bacco*). Ultimately, on 16 May 1643, Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Vincenzo Barberini) beatified Josaphat.

In the print, the saint is shown not as he was in life but rather, already, as a devotional image – a framed oval portrait of Josaphat carried through the clouds toward Heaven by a group of five angels. One of the angels is holding lilies, symbolizing Josaphat's chastity, while another lifts a crown above his portrait – a crown which, though symbolic of Josaphat's martyrdom, is more akin to an episcopal mitre of the Eastern Rite. The oval portrait itself depicts the then Blessed Josaphat in an identical way to that we have already seen in the smaller cartouche in Grandi's *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Saint Basil and Blessed Josaphat*: the bearded saint is vested in a *mandyas* and *omophorion* of a bishop, and has an axe wedged in his head. The type of axe shown in the print is similar to a halberd and is known as a *bardiche* (Polish, *berdysz*) – a popular Eastern European version widely used by armies in that region. Josaphat's deadly wound is streaming with blood, dividing his long hair into two. Josaphat's hands are joined in a prayerful gesture and his eyes are slightly raised toward heaven. Below the image, there is a small inscription attesting to Grandi's authorship: "*Car Grandi fecit Romę*", while, under the whole composition, there is a banderole inscribed in Latin: "*B. Josaphat Martijr Archiepisc. Polocen. / Ordinis S. Basilij Magni*" ("Blessed Josaphat the Martyr Archbishop of Polatsk of the Order of St. Basil the Great [i.e., the Basilians]").

All three images by Grandi are in constant conversation with each other: *Our Lady of Zhyrovichy with Saint Basil and Blessed Josaphat* and its *Inventio*⁹ refer to the prototypes from Eastern Europe as well as the copy in Rome; the first engraving further invokes 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 Early Christianity is further suggested by the themes of the Church Fathers (St. Basil) and martyrdom (St. Josaphat); the subject of the Church's unity is likewise directly connected to the two. Moreover, all three images

9 See illustration: Ignacy Kulczynski, *Il diaspro prodigioso* and A. Upart, 2018, p. 160.

constitute what could only be considered a rare (if not altogether unique) series of prints made in Rome which constitute representations of the Ruthenian religious experience as being filled with miracles and martyrdoms, and thus worthy of Christians' admiration and emulation. Prints of such outstanding quality and content are bound to expand our understanding of Rome's role in constructing the Ruthenian confessional identity, they add to previously studied or known corpora of Ruthenian representations in the West, and also help us reassess the oeuvre of lesser-known Roman artists 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. Moreover, Grandi's prints constitute the high point in iconographic complexity and specificity when it comes to the development of Ruthenian Greek Catholicism and its iconography in Rome.

Returning to a more precise chronology of St. Josaphat's iconography, one of the earliest images of the saintly bishop is found in Kreuzer-Rzewuski's book of 1625, which was printed before his beatification. Josaphat is portrayed as an Eastern-Rite bishop, vested in a *mandyas* and *omophorion*, and with a mitre. Yet, in a representation of Josaphat done twenty years later, in Antonio Gerardi's book of 1643, most of those visual characteristics are retained with the exception of the mitre, while, instead, an axe – the instrument of his martyrdom (akin to the instruments of Christ's Passion) – is wedged in his skull. In Gerardi's image, Josaphat is already represented by a personal iconography which is clearly recognizable: he is vested according to his status, but also has his own particular attributes (the instruments of his own Passion). This is precisely the iconographic type which would develop both in the Apennines and in Eastern Europe: images such as those by Gorczyn or Aleksander Tarasowicz's famous 1660 image (see the figure in the paper by Rūta Janionienė in this volume), or the 1665 image from the famous work by Yakiv Susha. This baroque visuality – and by that I mean a very certain cultural affect whose *modus operandi*, when it comes to iconography, emphasizes hagiographic portrayal (it. *rappresentazione*) which includes effectuated martyrdom – this exact baroque iconography of Josaphat's had spread, via prints, to areas in global Catholicism well beyond Rome, both to Eastern Europe and the Americas. An example of this is the large painting of the Ruthenian Saint Josaphat in the collection of the Oratorians in Mexico City, in the *Pinacoteca de La Profesa, Congregación del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de México, La Profesa* (see the figure in the paper by Rūta Janionienė in this volume). However, by the 18th century, we see a return of that simpler representation of Josaphat which could be

taken for, not that one of a saint, but rather of a generic Eastern-Rite bishop from the ubiquitous Late Baroque-world costume treaties, an example of which can be found in *l'Histoire des Ordres Religieux et Militaires* by Helyot, published in Paris in 1792. That is not to say that the 18th century had abandoned Baroque visuality, not at all; numerous prints, such as those by Labinger and by Rakowiecki, and also by others, follow very much the same iconography we have already explored in the prints by Grandi. It is also evident in the paintings still found in Western Ukraine, such as the tondo from the Tatura Collection held in the Lviv National Museum.

As we can see also in a late Baroque example from the collection of the General Curia of the Order of St. Basil the Great (Basilians, OSBM) in Rome, exhibited in 2023 at the Gregorian University, Josaphat's representation begins to move away from the Baroque iconographic idiom, only retaining his Eastern-Rite bishop's mantle, the *omophorion*, and the staff of Moses. The painting in question is an oval piece created by the hand of Cristoforo Gasperi (1716–1804, sometimes spelled Cristofano Gasperi).¹⁰ Gasperi was born near Perugia and was mostly active in that area of Umbria, and therefore the appearance of his work in Rome, especially at the Ruthenian Basilian church, is rather unexpected. However, a larger painting of an Eastern-Rite Bishop (possibly St. Basil) from a church in Città della Pieve in the Diocese of Perugia may actually be by Gasperi and not by an unknown artist as the similarities between his *Blessed Josaphat* (in Rome, formerly of SS. *Sergio e Bacco*) and the Eastern-Rite Bishop are too numerous to discount. Thus, Gasperi's *Blessed Josaphat* may be added as another Eastern-Rite themed artwork in the oeuvre of this rather understudied Umbrian artist.

Gasperi's *Blessed Josaphat* was previously known mostly through a reproduction engraving by Pietro Campana (1727–1765), a contemporary of Gasperi (Figure 3). While Campana's print is a faithful reproduction of Gasperi's painting, it is, at the same time, a representation of the whole physical artwork (frame included, with an added descriptive cartouche) and not just its content (i.e., the image of Blessed Josaphat). From this perspective, we see some continuity of the Baroque idiom (that of images within images, frames within frames) which we earlier examined in the artworks of Grandi and Tarasowicz.

Over in Eastern Europe, the Josaphat iconography of the kind which avoids gory martyrological details and only represents him as a saintly Eastern-Rite bishop can be observed in Karol Dankwart's frescoes in Jasna Góra in Poland, or in the

10 L. Mocci, 1999.



Figure 3. Cristofano Gasperi, *Bl. Josaphat Kuntsevych*, 18th century. Photo by Anatole Upart, 2023.

In: General Curia of the Order of St. Basil the Great in Rome.

altar painting of Hrodna Cathedral in Belarus. By the 19th century, it is precisely this iconographic type which is retained, be it in the West, exemplified by an engraving by Antonio Banzo (1777–1859), or in a lithograph by Duruy from 1874, which reproduced the painted portrait of Josaphat from the Monastery of Brothers Hospitaller of Saint John of God (Bonifratrzy) in Zebrzydowice, Lesser Poland.

While the academic and historicist art of the 19th century did embrace the opportunity to explore the martyrdom of Josaphat, for example, Józef Simmler's 1861 painting, it never reembraced the drama and straightforwardness of the Baroque idiom, i.e., that of the saint's head being struck with an axe. Instead, the portrayal of the martyrdom itself was censored by removing its gory details.

In the 20th century, as well as in our current 21st, the normative and common iconography of St. Josaphat remains that of the iconography at first briefly found during the years prior to the process of beatification, such as the woodcut from Kreuza-Rzewuski's book of 1625, an iconography that coexisted with the Baroque idiom seen in the engravings of Grandi, an idiom which almost completely disap-

peared but then reasserted itself with the rise of Modernity, a modernity which had pretty much completely abandoned the Baroque visuality which was originally very much part of the visual culture of Ruthenian Christianity in its union with Rome.

All the diverse examples which have been gathered together in this paper are indicative of several points which I have maintained throughout my work of the past decade. Rome has always been keenly aware of, and deeply interested and invested in developments in the Borderlands. Prior to the Barberini papacy, but especially during it, various Roman dicasteries, especially *Propaganda Fide*, had kept, metaphorically speaking, their hands on the pulse of Eastern Europe. Ruthenians who were in union with Rome 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 and architecture – with the two being nearly completely dominated by Roman artists and architects on the ground, albeit with good and long-term Polish-Ruthenian connections – yet, in the sphere of printmaking, we can clearly distinguish the input of Byzantine-Rite patrons. The prints of Carlo Grandi from the 1730s are some of the best and, curiously, least-known examples of this immensely fruitful collaboration between Rome and its peripheries.

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