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PROTECTION OF THE THEOTOKOS (“Pokrov”) AS SUBJECT IN SERBIAN BAROQUE PAINTING

Abstract: *In the 18th century, along with the development of theological, culturological and artistic relations of Serbian communities with Ukraine and Russia, an expansion of the purely Russian subject of the Protection of the Theotokos (“Pokrov”, Russ. Покров, Old Church-Slavonic: Покрѣвъ) was also taking place in Serbian painting. The Protection of the Theotokos in Serbian baroque painting is most widely present as the Moscow type, with variations - classical, synthetic, “bokovoj perevod” („боковоу перевоѡ”). In addition to the general symbolism of protection and patronage or evoking the Last Judgement, the Protection of the Theotokos could have had very engaged connotations in Serbian painting. The idea of the Theotokos’ patronage, through symbolism or allegory, was put to the service of social programs of propagandistic nature at the time.*

Keywords: *Protection of the Theotokos, Eighteenth century Orthodox religious painting, Serbian painting, Russian influence, baroque, Mother of God with wings, Mater Misericordiae.*

Protection of the Theotokos – Historical and Iconographic Syntheses

The introduction of the Protection of the Theotokos subject in Serbian painting took place, according to known and available sources, in the 16th century, during the renovation of the Gračanica Monastery narthex in 1570.¹ The central part of the dome features the Moscow type Protection of the Theotokos painting. Therefore, this subject, typically Russian, infiltrated Serbian painting as early as the 16th century, through contacts between Serbian monks and Russian prelates.² This resulted in introducing the Intercession service in the second half of the 17th century.³ In such contacts and connections, many Russian icons reached Serbian lands, including those presenting the Protection, featuring compositions that could be transferred to large wall surfaces.⁴ However, the expansion of this subject started only from the 18th century.

In the 18th century Serbian baroque painting, the Protection of the Theotokos became a more frequent artistic subject, just as the general relations with Russian-Ukrainian baroque

1 Petković 1965, 72.

2 Connections with Russia, from the 16th to the 18th century, were intensive and deep. They were pervaded with the concept of Russia as the patron of Orthodox people under foreign dominion. Those relations resulted in religious and cultural innovations, transmitted through Russian theological literature and artistic patterns, applied in Serbian communities, especially in the 18th century. More about it: Medaković 2006, 83–106; Dolgova, Ivanova 2009; Dimitrijević 1922; Bogoâvlenskij 1947, 241–261...

3 Petković 1961, 96–97.

4 Grabar 1940, 77–78.

culture were becoming more intensified.⁵ We see a growing number of churches dedicated to the Feast of Intercession of the Holy Virgin, while the schools in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci were called Protection of the Theotokos schools, because they started working on October 1, the very day of the Feast of the Intercession.⁶ Moscow type Protection is most frequently featured in Serbian painting.⁷ It is seen in several variations, often including contemporary baroque allegories, therefore putting the idea of the Theotokos' patronage in the service of ecclesiastical and state propaganda programs.⁸ Furthermore, it should be noted that the Depiction of the Protection, through the role of the Theotokos' patronage, mediation and mercy, also implies remembrance of the Last Judgement.⁹ In its essence, the Protection also includes the idea of universality,¹⁰ the idea of city-protection cults,¹¹ as well as the idea of the Theotokos as the Church, already established in the Ecclesiastical tradition of the Dormition of Mother of God and accepted in the service for the Deposition of the Robe feast.¹²

The composition of classical Moscow type Protection of the Theotokos was most often divided into two levels. The center of the lower level of the presentation features Romanos the Melodist with a scroll and censer,¹³ surrounded by Andrew the Fool-for-Christ, his student Epiphanius (later bishop),¹⁴ Emperor Leo I (Leo VI), Patriarch of Constantinople and other

5 Jovanović 1963, 403.

6 Ruvarac 1926, 3.

⁷ The Moscow-Suzdal type of the Protection implies that the Theotokos is most often turned frontally, holding the maphorion-omophore in her hands, while in the so-called Novgorod type, angels hold the maphorion above the Theotokos. According to N. Kondakov, the Moscow type more directly follows the vision of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ, while the Novgorod type leans upon the Byzantine legend about the *Common Miracle*, which took place every Friday at 6 p.m. in the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae in Constantinople. The curtain in front of the presentation of the Theotokos in the altar was miraculously elevated, and on Saturdays, after the evening service, it went down without human participation and stayed down until the following Friday (Kondakov 1915, 98–99). Recent studies indicate the possibility that the arcade system motif with angels above the Theotokos is not exclusively related to the Novgorod tradition, and that it also appears in Ukrainian medieval art (Aleksandrovič 2011, 63).

8 Timotijević 1996, 355.

9 Rydén 1976, 68.

10 Alpatov 1978, 29.

11 Ūsov 2009, 63; Naumov 2006, 187–198.

12 It is considered that the cult of the Protection was developed from a more ancient legend about the Virgin's Robe, discovered in the tomb after the Dormition of Mother of God. The Byzantine feast and service held observing the Deposition of the Robe was established on July 2 (Plûhanova 1995, 27–30). See more about the cult of the Virgin's Robe in Russia in: Sterligova 2000, 76–77.

13 There are opinions that his character was introduced in the presentations of the Protection already in the XIV century, when painting of the *Akathist to the Virgin* cycle, whose author was possibly him, became widespread. Romanos the Melodist is also celebrated on October 1, just like the Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin (Aleksandrovič 2010, 78).

14 More about Andrew the Fool-for-Christ and his vision: Rydén 1976, 66–67. The author gives a detailed review of the *Hagiography of St. Andrew the Fool-for-Christ*, written by Byzantine author Nicephorus in the X century (according to a legend). Furthermore, he discusses details related to the vision of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ. St. Andrew had a vision while he was praying in the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae in Constantinople. His disciple Epiphanius was next to him. In his vision he recognized Mother of God, who entered the church escorted by saints. After passing through the imperial doors, she kneeled and prayed and shed tears for mankind for a long time. Then she took off her maphorion, spread it over all the faithful people in the church, and disappeared. The author of the text believes that Andrew the Fool-for-Christ lived in the 5th century, at the time of Leo I, while Nicephorus considers him his contemporary from the 10th century. It is also evident that Epiphanius, disciple of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ, regularly appears as a humble young man in older icon painting (Antonova, Mneva 1963, 114–115, T-504, 180–181, T-581),

dignitaries. The Mother of God is in the upper level, in baroque period frequently shown seated in the clouds, turned frontally, holding a maphorion-omophore in her hands.¹⁵

Although the subject of the Protection of the Theotokos most probably originated from the Russian environments,¹⁶ it was soon, with slightly modified iconography, taken over in the West, in accordance with their interpretation of the Mater Misericordiae subject.¹⁷ It was particularly promoted by monastic orders.¹⁸

The Moscow type Protection of the Theotokos appears in three variations in Serbian communities in the 18th century. The first form implies the already described classical iconography, where the Theotokos is holding the maphorion or omophorion¹⁹ in her hands, facing frontally. The second form implies that the Theotokos, or angels next to her, spread her robe over participants in the scene shown in the lower background. This type synthesizes the combination of western Mater Misericordiae and eastern Moscow version, formulated as such in Ukraine during the 17th century and transferred through baroque preaching literature to Serbian territories in the 18th century.²⁰ The third form represents the so-called “bokovoj perevod” (Russ. „боковой перевод“) version of the Protection.²¹ Such iconographic paradigm of the Protection, presenting the Theotokos in semi-profile while addressing Christ with prayers for the salvation of mankind, appeared in later Russian icon painting, probably in the late 16th and the early 17th century.²² This type represents a combination of two elements, Theotokos’ prayer and patronage personified by the maphorion, or the robe, or the omophore, also indicated by the service for the Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin.²³ Its appearance is related to

while in baroque art Epiphanius is often presented as a bishop.

15 About the Protection as a relic see: Nikiforova 2006, 123–126; Lidov 2006, 217–224.

16 There are considerations that the Feast of the Intercession originates from the 10th century, from Byzantium at the time of Patriarch Efthimios (907–912). However, after his dethroning and return of Nicholas the Mystic to the patriarchal throne, all results of Efthimios’ activities were proclaimed non-canonic and canceled, including the newly established Feast of the Intercession. There is a possibility that Russians who arrived with Prince Oleg from Kiev in the years of establishing the feast took the idea to Kiev Russia. It was rooted there as an authentically Russian holiday, considering that there are not any traces about it in Byzantium. See more about this in: Lourié 2011–2012, 235–238. Establishing the Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin in Russia, although there is no irrefutable evidence about it, is mostly related to Andrey Bogolyubsky (Andrew the Pious) (12th century), grand prince of Vladimir-Suzdal [It is considered that Bogolyubsky erected the first church dedicated to the Protection of the Theotokos on the Nerl River, after his victory over the Volga Bulgarians (1165)]. There are also recent considerations that the feast was somewhat earlier introduced in Kiev Russia by prince Vladimir Monomakh, after his victory over the Kumans in 1103. (Ůsov 2009, 62; Aleksandrovič 2010, 54; Plůhanova 1995, 32). See more discussions about connections between Andrew the Fool-for-Christ and Andrey Bogolyubsky in: Lathoud 1932, 304.

17 Western variant of the Protection, Mater Misericordiae, implies iconography in which the Theotokos, most often in standing position, spreads the maphorion (mantle) she is wearing with both hands, while a cast of various faithful people is standing within it.

18 Knipping 1974, 261. Some studies indicate that the origin of the western type of the Protection, The Virgin of Mercy, can be recognized already in antique presentations on coins, where Roman personifications of Pietas and Concordia are seen in a similar order of Protection (Solway 1985, 361–363).

19 The omophorion is part of the liturgical vestments of the bishops of the Eastern Church corresponding to the pallium of the Western Church.

20 Timotijević 1996, 355.

21 This formulation (“bokovoj perevod”) was not widely applied in Russian scientific circles. Descriptive explanations of this variant of Protection of Mother of God are mostly used. However, the formulation of Josef Myslivec (Czech art historian and translator) is accurate and clearly and simply presents this variant of Shroud-Protection. Therefore, we use it in this text.

22 Myslivec 1935–1936, 194.

23 Plůhanova 1995, 29. Some authors relate the so-called “bokovoj perevod” with the ancient Russian icon

the development of the idea of the Moscow Empire at the time, and return to earlier role models of the Protection, from the time of establishing the first Russian principality under Andrey Bogolyubsky.²⁴

Classical Moscow Type Protection of the Theotokos

Moscow type Protection of the Theotokos, in which the Theotokos, facing frontally, holds the maphorion-omophore in her hands, is the most widespread type of presentation of the Protection in Serbian communities.²⁵ Such pattern was often used as a graphic presentation in religious Russian-Ukrainian baroque literature, widespread in Serbian communities in the 18th century. The mentioned iconography of baroque templates of the *Protection of the Theotokos* (Fig. 1) was mostly derived from it.²⁶



Fig 1. *Protection of the Mother of God* (Engraved illustration, *Molitvoslov*, Kiiiv, 1753)

of Theotokos of Bogolyubovo (Myslivec 1935–1936, 194). According to the legend, the famous miracle-working icon of Theotokos of Bogolyubovo was created after a vision Andrey Bogolyubsky had in his dream. After it, Andrey ordered an icon of the Theotokos to be painted exactly as it had appeared in his vision, in semi-profile with a scroll in her hands, praying to Christ for mankind. Some authors state, however, that the icon of Theotokos of Bogolyubovo was derived from Kiev (Kievan) artistic tradition and that Christ's figure in it was added in the 13th century (Aleksandrovič 2010, 72). It is also evident that the Virgin Intercessor, shown in profile praying to Christ, originates from Byzantine art, as a form of Virgin Hagiosoritissa (Ἁγιοσωρητισσα) (Der Nersessian 1960, 80–8). A. Grabar has a similar view, that only presentations inspired by the vision of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ originate from Russian soil, while the profile image of the Theotokos, as well as the earlier versions of the Protection from the Suzdal Doors (13th century) are Byzantine role models (Grabar 1976, 154, 160–161). There is a possibility that such type of icons of the Theotokos were transferred to Kiev Russia, thereby becoming a role model for the presentation of the Theotokos of Bogolyubovo (Myslivec 1935–1936, 200; Ševčenko 1991, 55).

24 See more about it in: Ūsov 2009, 39; Plūhanova 1995, 54–57.

25 In some presentations, the Theotokos is holding the omphorion and in some the maphorion. They have the same symbolism in the presentation, confirmed by the frequent appearance of drawn crosses on the maphorion, same as on the omphorion (Aleksandrovič 2010, 67, 277).

26 *Molitvoslov* 1753, 393; Baranovič 1674; *Poluustav* 1683...

The earliest preserved depiction of such type in the baroque epoch in Serbian communities, as well as the earliest known presentation of the Protection in the 18th century, is an icon from the Bay of Cattaro (Kotor) painting workshop, created by its forefather Dimitrije Daskal. It is the icon of the *Dormition of the Mother of God* from Morača Monastery (1713), where scenes from the life of the Theotokos' are shown around the central Scene including a segment on the icon dedicated to the *Protection of the Theotokos* (Покровъ--- Б҃҃҃е).²⁷ Several years later, Dimitrije painted the presentation of the *Protection of the Theotokos* again, but as an independent composition on the icon, with a very similar iconography (1720).²⁸ Dimitrije's presentations of the Protection in the upper segment of the icon are both captivating and unique, where different saints, apostles, prophets, angels on clouds in pairs, appear next to the Theotokos holding the maphorion, recreating the iconography unique for the presentation of the Dormition of the Mother of God (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. *Protection of the Mother of God* (Icon, The Art Gallery of Bosnia and Hercegovina at Sarajevo, 1720. Foto: A. Rafajlović)

Most icons depicting the Protection started appearing in mid-18th century, after the arrival of Russian teachers²⁹ and Russian artists to Sremski Karlovci, where the see of Serbian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Monarchy was located, and the departure of Serbs to the Religious Academy and Painting School in Kiev.³⁰ One of the first Serbian students of the Academy in Kiev was Dionisije Novaković, later Bishop of Buda, who graduated with honors

²⁷ Rakić 2006, 219.

²⁸ Rakić 1998, 134.

²⁹ The first Russian teacher was Maxim Suvorov, who came to Serbian environments in the Habsburg Monarchy in 1726, when Metropolitan of Karlovci Mojsej Petrović introduced elementary schools (Rugarac 1926, 4). A group of Ukrainian teachers led by Manuil Kozachinsky soon established Slavic-Latin schools, which further deepened Serbian-Ukrainian baroque relations (Grdinić 1983, 44).

³⁰ According to some studies, there were several dozens of Serbs educated at the Religious Academy in Kiev between the third and seventh decade of the 18th century, not including the Kiev Painting School, which had a separate administration (Davidov 1968, 216, 221–223).

from this school in 1737.³¹ His involvement and influence on the Bishop of Bačka Visarion Pavlović, prone to implementing church reforms, enabled the arrival of Ukrainian painters Jov Vasilievich and Vassily Romanovich to Sremski Karlovci around 1740.³²

One of the first baroque depictions of the *Protection of the Theotokos* is related to Jov Vasilievich (Покровъ Престыа Бдци), the one from Krušedol Monastery narthex (1750). Krušedol Monastery, as mausoleum of Serbian royals, noblemen and church leaders, some of whom were sanctified, starting from the Branković family from Srem (15th century), had a thematic program with political and propagandist overtones restored in the baroque.³³ Thus the composition of the Protection of the Theotokos on the eastern wall of the narthex (southern side) needs to be observed in correlation with other subjects dedicated to the Theotokos in the narthex, such as the thirteenth Kondakion of the Theotokos' Akhatistos on the eastern wall (northern side) and Immaculata Conceptio on the narthex dome, as well as a selection of full figures of Serbian saints in the first zone.³⁴ It was in service of celebrating the authority and patronage of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci and its metropolitans, which had their legitimate place in the Habsburg Monarchy.³⁵ Considering the fact that Arsenije III Čarnojević was probably presented as Bishop Epiphanius within the presentation of the Protection of the Theotokos, with St. Sava beneath the scene and next to St. Maksim Branković (under the thirteenth kontakion of the Theotokos' Akathist), the idea of allegoric glorification of Serbian saints become clear - from the Branković family of Srem, founders of the monastery, to the metropolitans of Karlovci, who step forward to the Theotokos, as legitimate heirs of Serbian dynasts and archbishops in the 18th century, also presented in the first zone of the narthex, praying for her protection.³⁶

The custom to depict specific people from social and political life within the Protection of the Theotokos composition is not unfamiliar in Ukrainian-Russian painting either, where participants from the vision of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ are replaced with actual monarchs and prelates.³⁷

Another presentation of the *Protection of the Theotokos*, a veneration icon, attributed to Jov Vasilievich, is kept in Bođani Monastery treasury (mid-18th century).³⁸ The concept of the presentation is almost identical to the Protection from Krušedol, and only missing in Bođani is the triumphant arch, ancient symbol of state, protection, portal of glory.³⁹ Participants on the icon from Bođani are placed in a church interior, but largely undefined. Furthermore, the color scheme is somewhat different, darker, with prevailing red and green shades.

Approximately at the same time, the despotic icon with the subject of *Protection of the Theotokos* (Покровъ Престыа Бдцы) (1757–1759) from Mala Remeta Monastery (Fig. 3)⁴⁰ was

31 Radojčić 1913, 670.

32 Timotijević 1996, 32, 72–75.

33 Timotijević 2008, 263–289.

34 See more details about the presentation of Protection of the Theotokos in Krušedol Monastery and the idea accompanying it: Timotijević 1987, 122–124.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*, 124.

37 *Ibid.*, 123; Zweig 2004, 77, pic. 49; Kosiv 2018, 212; Beletsky, Vladich 1976, 19, 171 (T-22).

38 Stošić 2011, 117.

39 Timotijević 1987, 124. The author believes that it represents the Portal of Glory in the Krušedol narthex, through which Serbian people, under patronage of the Protection of the Theotokos and led by their patriarch, moved to the Christian Habsburg Monarchy.

40 Mala Remeta Monastery is dedicated to the Protection of the Theotokos; thus, the furthest northern altar icon is an icon presenting the glory of the church. See more about the artistic work of Janko Halkozović in: Todić 2013, 231–237; See about the Mala Remeta Monastery and Halkozović' work in it in: Medaković 2010, 414–433, 422.

created. Its author is painter Janko Halkozović, probably a disciple of Jov Vasilievich, originating from the southern Balkans, who later became a renowned early-baroque artist with a painting workshop in Novi Sad.⁴¹ The concept of the presentation, as well as the order of figures entirely leans upon Vasilievich's Protection of the Theotokos icon from Bodani. Halkozović only introduced a clearer structure of space with noticeable architecture and windowpanes in the background. He lightened up the palette significantly, and elevated Romanos Melodist on the ambo compared to other participants of the composition.



Fig. 3. *Protection of the Mother of God* (Despotic icon, Mala Remeta Monastery, 1757–1759)

About two decades later, Halkozović or his workshop painted the *Protection of the Theotokos* composition in the dome of the Church of Holy Physicians in Futog (Покров Пресв. Бѣ) (around 1780) (Fig. 4).⁴² The captivating composition follows the regular order of participants for the Moscow type Protection in its basic layout. However, two specific details are featured as well: arrow and helmet on the left and right side of the Theotokos. Explanation for such unusual details can be found in quite popular works of Ukrainian baroque theologians Lazar Baranovich and Dimitry Rostovsky. The works of Ukrainian scholastic theology had unchallenged authority during the 18th century in the religious life of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, despite the ban introduced against it by the Moscow Council and censoring service of the Religious Collegium in 1690.⁴³ In his sermon about the Protection of the Theotokos, Dimitry Rostovsky mentioned the shield and arrow several times in the context of the Theotokos' patronage. He speaks about the Theotokos Intercessor standing in the air in between heavens and earth, "as the tower of David between Zion and Jerusalem, filled with strong, invincible shields, rejecting all burning arrows".⁴⁴ Those shields are almighty prayers of the Theotokos for us, "worthily answered during the honorable time of her Protection". Her prayers can also be heroic

41 Todić 2013, 231; See about Halkozović' activities in: Lesek 2001, 115–122.

42 Todić 2013, 236; Bugarin 1980, 21–22.

43 Timotijević 1996, 289.

44 Rostovski 1930, 5–6. Lazar Baranovič states similar comparisons in his First and Second letter on the Protection of the Holiest Theotokos. See: Baranovič 1674, 41, 43–44.

arrows, sent together with her cast of saints, who pray together with her.⁴⁵ Therefore, everything indicates that the principal designer of the Protection from Futog was familiar with baroque religious literature, and that he precisely followed the literary template.⁴⁶



Fig. 4. *Protection of the Mother of God* (Wall painting in the dome, The Church of Holy Physicians in Futog, around 1780)

The presentation of the Protection of the Theotokos in Futog is framed with two small medallions inside the arches on the semi-shaped dome. They depict *The Dream of Jacob* and *Ascension of St. Elijah*. Both presentations are from the Theotokos' prefiguration from the Old Testament and her role of Intercessor between the heavenly and earthly world. The ladder from Jakob's dream is one of its most frequent symbols, which Dimitry Rostovsky explains in detail in his *Word on the Protection of the Theotokos*.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it is known that St. Elijah, chosen by God, performed incredible miracles with his mantle and that, prior to his ascension to heavens, he left the mantle to his disciple Elisha, as shown on the presentation in Futog, with which Elisha continued performing miracles.⁴⁸ Therefore, the mantle of St. Elijah, as symbol of God's miracles, protection and support, can prefigure the Protection of the Theotokos. Also, his physical ascent to heavens underlines another connection with the Theotokos, whose body was also not found in the tomb in Gethsemane after the Dormition.⁴⁹ It is clear that such designed conceptual structure, leaning upon Russo-Ukrainian religious literature, emphasizes, before all, the role of the Theotokos' patronage, including her role of Intercessor.

The historical context in Futog at the time could have given a rise to such intensively and uncommonly underlined message of patronage. Namely, Futog as significant commercial

⁴⁵ Rostovski 1930, 8.

⁴⁶ See about Russo-Ukrainian religious literature, its conceptual contemplations and transfer of those ideas into Serbian visual arts: Vuksan 2000–2001, 61–62.

⁴⁷ That is how he states: Since, tireless in prayer, Theotokos orders angels to help people together with her, to ascend to God prayers of those who pray and bring help and gifts to people from God when they come back (Rostovski 1930, 9).

⁴⁸ 2 Car. 2, 8, 13–14.

⁴⁹ Velimirović 2001, 525–526.

center and crossroad suitable for various activities, was also interesting to the Habsburg Monarchy authorities. Although many Orthodox Christians left Futog and moved to other areas under the pressure of state taxes and imposed policies, many of them decided to stay in the place convenient for business activities. Thus, Habsburg authorities, in order to increase ethnic and religious parity, colonized Futog by German and Hungarian inhabitants.⁵⁰ The politics of suppressing the Serbian population was particularly aggressive during the time of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, starting from 1763/1764.⁵¹ With such politics, the Catholic influence in Futog was intensively increased, especially after the arrival of Count Hadik and the construction of the Catholic church in Futog, dedicated to Christ's Heart (1774–1777).⁵² The Serbian population responded to such actions of the authorities by erecting a new Orthodox baroque church in Futog in 1776, dedicated to the Holy Physicians.⁵³ In accordance with such historical circumstances, the emphasized underlining of the Theotokos' patronage on the dome of the newly built church becomes clearer, supposed to indicate that the Serbian church and its Orthodox believers are under the protection from the highest instances.

A few more examples from the Serbian baroque period were painted according to the same layout of Moscow type Protection. Thus, Dimitrije Bačević painted the icon of *Theotokos with Christ* framed with scenes from the Virgin's life for Šišatovac Monastery (1767/1768).⁵⁴ Such hagiographic icons were cultivated in the artistic circle around the Moscow Armoury Palace (Оружейная палата) in the 17th century, reconfirming the significant Russian influence in Serbian communities in the same period.⁵⁵ Within the scenes from Theotokos' life, Bačević painted a presentation of the *Protection of the Theotokos*, in a typical, already presented Moscow type iconography, including common participants.

This group could also include the work of famous painter from Novi Sad Vasilije Ostojić, a student of Ukrainian painter Jov Vasilievich, who created the iconostasis for the Serbian Church of St. Nicholas in Vukovar between 1772–1776. Among the icons of Great Feasts, the iconostasis also includes the presentation of the *Protection of the Theotokos*, painted in classical Moscow type iconography.⁵⁶

Zaharije Orfelin's engraving *Kuveždin Monastery* was also created in this period (1772).⁵⁷ The engraving was designed as a landscape composition, while the upper level includes five segments with different images of saints and composition of the *Protection of the Theotokos* (Покровъ Пресѣтыѧ Бѣы). The presentation was done after the manner of iconography typical for the Moscow style.

The composition of the *Protection of the Theotokos* (Покровъ Пресѣтыѧ--Бѣы), painted by artist Grigorije Davidović Opšić on the dome of the Church of Holy Archangel

50 Bugarin 1980, 11–12.

51 *Ibid.*, 12; Šovljakov 2003, 123. Besides all the mentioned circumstances, it should also be kept in mind that there was a great plague epidemic those years (1763/1764), as well as a fever epidemic 1788/1789 (*Ibid.*, 263–264, 268–269). This additionally disturbed people who sought protection from diseases from higher instances, from the Theotokos Protector and Holy Physicians, whom the new orthodox church in Futog was dedicated to.

52 *Ibid.*, 125; Đere 2014, 229–242, 238.

53 Bugarin 1980, 12; Šovljakov 2003, 244–246.

54 Timotijević 1996b, 82–91, 145, 272, T-XXIX. The icon is now kept in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

55 *Ibid.*, 82.

56 Šelmić 1993, 16, 26, 36, 40, pic. 14. The iconostasis from this church was severely damaged in the war in 1991. The remaining icons from it are now kept in the Serbian Orthodox Church Treasury in Sremski Karlovci (Todić 2013, 91–101, 98).

57 Davidov 1978, 195–196, pic. 117.

Gabriel in Laćarak (1785/1786)⁵⁸, can also be added to that series.

A miniature painting example of the classical Moscow type *Protection of the Theotokos* was sketched by Gavril Stefanović Venclović (1730–1740), in a naive manner and compact setting, where, except for the central figure of the Theotokos, other participants cannot be clearly distinguished. Prevailing on the presentations are red and green tones, framed with rough black contours.⁵⁹

The monumental presentation of the *Protection of the Theotokos* (Покровъ Пресѣты Бдди) is within the wall painting of the Dormition Church in Serbian Kovin (Ráckeve), painted by Teodor Simeonov Gruntović (1765).⁶⁰ Teodor Gruntović was originally from Moscopole and his painting clearly carries the features of traditional post-Byzantine style.⁶¹ The presentation of the Protection of the Theotokos is located on the northern wall of the narthex, bordering with the presentation of the Last Judgement on the western wall of the narthex. The presentation includes a particularly unusual iconography. It is divided into two segments, as usually. The upper part shows the image of the Theotokos holding a white maphorion spread over her outstretched hands, surrounded by clouds. The lower part does not present common protagonists of the Protection presentation. There is an unspecified group of saints, divided into three segments. It is only clear that the left group consists of a group of priests. The middle group is led by three young men, while the one on the right presents undefined saints of different age, wearing ancient himations.

The depiction (icon) of the *Protection of the Mother of God*, attributed to Stefan Tenecki, from the collection of the Matica Srpska Gallery, joins this series of the classical Moscow type. In addition to the usual participants in the composition and Epiphanius presented as a bishop, the only specificity can be seen in the presence of an unidentified female saint in the foreground, next to the emperor. She is seen wearing a white headscarf, falling over her shoulders and her hands folded in prayer.⁶²

We will further mention an icon with the presentation of the *Protection of the Theotokos* from Krupa Monastery (18th century).⁶³ The presentation is followed by Moscow type Protection, but, besides the Theotokos on the clouds in the upper zone, two angels also appear, while a group of the most important saints led by John the Baptist is seen on the right side. Such iconography was not common in Serbian baroque painting but is frequently seen in Ukrainian provincial painting of the same period.⁶⁴ A group of saints following the Theotokos in her prayer for mankind is more characteristic for particular Moscow type iconography of the so-called “bokovoj perevod”, which will be discussed further in the text.

Synthetic Moscow type Protection of the Theotokos

The shift towards the Western representation of Protection of the Theotokos in Serbian painting was made by artist Jovan Popović the Elder, marking the second, synthetic form of the

58 Todić 2013, 153–159; Lesek 2000, 202–212.

59 Stošić 2006, 207, 210, 216, pic. 72.

60 Matić 2009, 44.

61 Davidov 1990, 183–188; Petković 1959, 57.

62 Šelmić 2001, 251 (GMS/U 2561).

63 Orlović 2012, 51–52, pic. 15.

64 Ukrainian icons presenting the Protection of the Theotokos from early 18th century from the National Museum in Kiev and Museum of Architecture and History in Chernigov have a very similar iconography. See: Zweig 2004, 78–80, pics. 49, 50. The iconography implying the appearance of the group of saints with the Theotokos, which are now standing on clouds and not on the church gallery, originates from Western art, which has expansively penetrated Ukraine during the 17th century and changed not only iconography, but also the style of presentations (Siraâ 2019, 105).

Moscow type representation of this iconographic motif.

Jovan Popović the Elder, student at the Painting School of Kiev,⁶⁵ painted a two-sided icon of the *Protection of the Theotokos*, presently held in the collection of National Museum in Belgrade (1760).⁶⁶ The iconography follows the common form of the Moscow type Protection, this time together with the Theotokos, Heavenly Empress, holding an omophore over her hands and scepter in the left hand, as well as two angels spreading her maphorion to the sides. Above them are two more angels carrying an inscription: Покровъ Престыѧ Бѣди. On the back side of the icon is the Diocese of Timisoara coat of arms.

Popović's icon presenting the *Protection of the Theotokos* from the Serbian Church of St. Nicholas in Szeged, created a year later (1761), features a similar iconography.⁶⁷ It is part of the festive group of icons on the iconostasis, grouped around the central icon of the Transfiguration on the northern side of this church, and around the central icon of the Resurrection on the southern side. The Protection of the Theotokos belongs to the southern group.

The engraving of Zaharije Orfelin entitled *Chilandar Monastery* (1779) is following in the same footsteps of synthetic combination, with the presentation of the *Protection of the Theotokos* (Покровъ Престыѧ Богородицы) located within one of the segmented fields. The Theotokos in the presentation is standing on clouds with an omophore over her arms and holding a scepter in her right hand. The angels are spreading her maphorion from the left and the right side, while the lower part presents common protagonists with Epiphanius as bishop.⁶⁸

The wall painting of the *Protection of the Theotokos* from the Almaš Church in Novi Sad (on the northern wall of the church nave) features a similar iconography. It was created by Arsa Teodorović (from the period marked by his indecisiveness between baroque and neoclassicism), just at the beginning of the 19th century (1803–1811).⁶⁹

The Theotokos here is found dressed in white, but the omophore is no longer over her hands. Angels are carrying her maphorion spread above protagonists in the lower part. Besides the Theotokos, saints are on the right and the left side following her in her prayer. The Theotokos is shown as a Heavenly Empress on the clouds. The lower segments do not include the common central figure of Romanos the Melodist, and the participants are placed on the left and the right from the central axes, in live movement and gesticulation, closely watching the vision in the upper part.

The icon of the *Protection of the Theotokos* (around 1775) of disputed attribution, should be added to this series of transitional forms of the Protection towards Western iconography. It was painted in the Church of Archangel Michael in Szentendre and now kept in the Serbian Orthodox Museum of Szentendre. Certain authors attribute it to Teodor Kračun,⁷⁰ but the attribution was not confirmed (Fig. 5).⁷¹ The presentation has an interesting iconography in which the Theotokos, instead of holding an omophore and maphorion over her hands, is spreading the maphorion herself, which is levitating with clouds above protagonists in the lower part. She is encircled by angel heads with wings, and a ray of light is falling from above, widely encompassing her. In the lower part is an elongated and monumental figure of Romanos the

65 Todić 2013, 276–278.

66 Petrović 2020, 320; Kusovac 1987, 184–185. The author of this icon is stated as unknown in the catalogue of N. Kusovac.

67 Davidov 1990, 351.

68 Davidov 1978, 182, 198, 306–307, pic. 135.

69 Šelmić 1978, 14–15.

70 Davidov 1973, 239–240 (kat. br. 164), T- CXII.

71 Timotijević 2019, 39.

Melodist, dressed in a dark-pink robe with floral applications. On his left are Andrew the Fool-for-Christ, Epiphanius and other priests and monks. On the right side is the emperor sitting in a baroque armchair, and behind him is an escort of imperial dignitaries. The entire presentation is framed with a massive architecture.



Fig. 5. *Protection of the Mother of God*
(Icon, The Serbian Orthodox Museum of Szentendre, around 1775)

This presentation is therefore conceptually closest to Western type iconography of the Protection of the Theotokos (*Mater Misericordiae*) in which the Theotokos spreads the maphorion herself, encompassing faithful people with it. It is believed that such type of the Protection appeared in Italy in the 14th century.⁷² It was relatively common in Ukrainian baroque art, especially its western lands, which were in closer contact with western templates.⁷³ Influences of Western art affected Ukraine in the late 16th century, while the baroque culture was entirely accepted in the 17th century, reshaped to a certain extent with Ukrainian ethnic elements.⁷⁴

⁷² Siraâ 2019, 112.

⁷³ Such is the famous icon of the *Protection of the Theotokos* from the early 18th century kept in the National Museum in Kiev, with the portrait of Zaporozhian Cossacks' hetman in Bohdan Khmelnytsky Ukraine (Zweig 2004, 77, pic. 49), or the 17th century icon of the *Protection of the Theotokos* from the Lviv Province with the same iconography, but with a myriad of written prayers in the form of ribbons covering the presentation. See: Otkovič, Pilip'uk 1999, 90. Particularly interesting is the so-called Rabotichka Art School, which was also related to western parts of Ukraine. Artists from this school pay particular attention to characters from lower classes, as well as people with special needs (invalids, prisoners, orphans...) often seen in the foreground of the depictions. Such a combination of mixing the highest and the lowest classes should probably indicate the idea that everyone is equal before God (Kosiv 2018, 210–212).

⁷⁴ Otkovič, Pilip'uk 1999, 14. Intertwining of different elements and cultures, as well as combinations with western templates, brought out some of the most interesting and most unusual examples of presentations of the Protection of the Theotokos in Ukrainian art. Presenting actual historical characters, especially Cossack military leaders and hetmans, was popular because the Feast of the Intercession was a particularly celebrated festivity of the Cossack army (Kosiv 2018, 208). From mid-18th century, this practice of presenting Cossack military leaders started slowly disappearing from the compositions of the Protection, in accordance with the

The Western type of the Protection of the Theotokos (*Mater Misericordiae*, *Mater Omnium*) did not find fertile soil in Serbian milieu. A solitary example in the wall painting of the Dormition of the Theotokos Church in Lipovo near Arad is well known.⁷⁵ The painting of this church was a joint endeavor of painters Ioan, Nedeljko and Šerban Popović, who worked after the manner of the Brankovean epoque painting.⁷⁶ Within the Last Judgement composition above the northern portal, painters presented the *Protection of the Theotokos* in the Western manner of *Mater Misericordiae* (1739–40).⁷⁷ It is possible that the great plague epidemic, which swept across these lands in 1738, played a role in her presentation. Trust in the unlimited protective role of the Theotokos was especially incited in the West in times of great crises.⁷⁸ Furthermore, it should be taken into consideration that her presentation within the Last Judgement, as well as in Serbian Kovin, carried the ancient connotation of the Theotokos' patronage at the Last Judgement.⁷⁹

A sporadic appearance of the Theotokos with wings was noticed in Serbian baroque painting in the context of the idea of the Theotokos' patronage, which in certain cases may be combined with the Western type of the Protection. The motif of the Theotokos with wings primarily appears in Jesuit texts.⁸⁰ This metaphor was accepted in Poland through the Jesuits by Ukrainian theologians such as L. Baranovich and D. Rostovsky.⁸¹ They introduced it to their services and sermons, relating it to the symbolism of the church compared to a mother hen protecting her chicks.⁸² It is believed that the subject of the Theotokos with Wings arrived in Serbian painting through Russo-Ukrainian tradition.⁸³

The idea is supported by the example from Serbian wall-painting in Bodjani Monastery, painted by Hristofor Džefarović (1737). It is certain that Bishop of Bačka Visarion Pavlović was familiar with Ukrainian theological literature which, as explained above, often refers to the Theotokos as a winged protector, so he asked Džefarović to paint the motif in the

political situation and abolition of Zaporozhian Cossacks (Siraâ 2019, 113–114, 116).

75 Šelmić 2004, 43, 45.

76 Brankoveanu epoque refers to the period of the second half of the 17th century, when Wallachia (Bucharest) grew into a powerful artistic and cultural center. The peak of this development was marked by the reign of the Wallachian prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714), after whom the era gets its name. Constantin's central endowment, the Hurez Monastery, became a teaching place for gifted wall-painters gathered from various regions. A specific painter's school was formed there, whose main aspiration was the restoration of Byzantine culture and art, with extraordinary thematic eloquence, pronounced optimism and decorativeness typical of a court style (Šelmić 2004, 33–47; Drăgut 1971; Drăgut and others 1977, 112–130; ...).

77 Šelmić 2004, 45.

78 *Ibid.*

79 That is why the prayer on the day of the Feast of the Intercession states: "And on the day of the Last Judgement, hide us in the secrecy of your Protection" (Rostovski 1930, 12).

80 The sophiological symbol of the Virgin's wings was already used in the iconography of the Dormition of the Virgin in the time of Paleologus. Later, in some texts, the angel of Wisdom is identified with the Mother of God, or Sophia, the Wisdom of God, is interpreted as the purest Mother of God. In this sense, various sophiological interpretations of the wings of the Mother of God are being developed. See more about the sophiological symbology of the Theotokos' wings in: Tatić-Đurić 1991, 126, 132–135.

81 In the writings of mentioned theologians, such type of Theotokos is related to the apocalyptic vision of "Woman dressed in the Sun with the wings of a big eagle" (Suvorova 2019, 92–93).

82 Tatić-Đurić 1991, 133, 135. Thus L. Baranovich mentions in several places the stated metaphors of the Theotokos with Wings, a dove, a mother hen who embraces her chicks... (Baranovič 1674b 44, 45, 46); D. Rostovski 1702, 69).

83 Stošić 2011, 80.

Bodjani church in several places.⁸⁴ The Theotokos was depicted with wings on a crescent-shaped moon in composition of the *Assembly of Holy Angels and Archangels*.⁸⁵

We encounter the same motif of Theotokos with Wings in the *Deisis* Triptych in Morović, created by an unknown author (first half of the 18th century)⁸⁶, and also in the icon *Deisis*, where Theotokos with Wings stands on the crescent moon, thus with included symbolism of Immaculata Conceptio (18th century), just like in Bodjani.⁸⁷ In both instances, the Theotokos has got a crown on her head, like the Heavenly Empress.

The merge of the western version of the Protection of the Theotokos (*Mater Misericordiae*) is often combined with the metaphor of Winged Theotokos, therefore, with a developed sophiological symbolism, enhancing the symbolism of patronage, protection, motherly warmth, already offered by the Protection. This type was often entitled “Pokryj nas krvom krylu Tvoeju” („Покрый нас кровом крылу Твоею“). Such presentations sporadically affected Serbian environments, but have never been widely adopted in Serbian baroque art. Although they took roots in Ukrainian baroque culture,⁸⁸ especially in its western part, the reflection of the presented iconography was also familiar in Levantine baroque. Such an example, a Greek work, can be found in the Patriarchy of Peć.⁸⁹ The icon of the *Protection of the Theotokos* (1724) was painted for the iconostasis of the Church of Holy Apostles and represents a high-quality work of Thessalonica masters, very popular in the third and fourth decades of the 17th century during the obvious inflow of Levantine baroque, from the Patriarchy of Peć to the Metropolitanate of Karlovci.⁹⁰ The composition style, just like the style of other icons painted for the same iconostasis, indicates clear Italianisms and impact of the painting of Ionian islands, along with the style of painter Panagiotis Doxaras (Fig. 6).⁹¹



Fig. 6. *Protection of the Mother of God*
(Icon, The Church of Holy Apostles in the Patriarchy of Peć, 1724)

84 *Ibid.*, 77, 80.

85 *Ibid.*, 80.

86 Maricki Ostojić 2007, 40–41.

87 The icon was severely damaged and is now the Gallery of Matica Srpska (Tatić-Đurić 1991, 128, pic. 9).

88 *Ibid.*, pic. 1, pic. 6.

89 Čanak-Medić, Todić 2014, 77.

90 Stošić 2006, 141–142, 152–153; Pantić 1986, 104–105.

91 Čanak-Medić, Todić 2014, 81.

The presented example is nearly identical to the engraving from the mentioned *Runo Orošennoe* (Руно Ърошенное) written by D. Rostovsky, and its edition printed in Chernigov in 1696. It reinterprets the type of western presentation of the Protection with the Apocalyptic Woman, primarily interpreted as Mother of God, according to the Western manner. In the Orthodox Christian tradition, she carries the ecclesiastical connotation.⁹²

In both presentations, the Theotokos appears as an empress with a crown on her head and spread maphorion, which encompasses secular dignitaries on one side and prelates on the other. In front of each group, their tokens, imperial scepter and episcopal scepter, are placed on the ground, before the Theotokos' feet. Similar examples can be seen in the Samokov Monastery in Bulgaria (19th century), where painter Dicho created an icon of this type of the Protection, while the presentation "Pokryj nas krovom krylu Tvoeû" is painted in the church narthex, where Holy King Milutin and St. John of Rila appear as protagonists.⁹³

"Bokovoj perevod" Moscow type of the Protection of the Theotokos

The third type of the Moscow Protection, the so-called "bokovoj perevod", is not recurrent in Serbian baroque painting. The most prominent examples are seen in areas which were outside of mainstream Serbian baroque painting, in Serbian communities distant from the religious center of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. These rare examples from the 18th century include the icon *Protection of the Theotokos* (Сѣѣ Покрѣвъ Пресѣѣ Бѣрѣѣ), painted by an unknown author, from Sendurđ (St. George) Monastery in Banat (1748).⁹⁴ The icon is divided into two segments. The upper presents the Protection with the Theotokos together with an escort of saints addressing Christ in the segment of heavens and common protagonists with the central figure of St. Romanos under them. The lower segment includes individual saints celebrated during the month of October (St. Thomas, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, Holy Apostle Jacob, St. Luke, St. Artemius, St. Demetrius, St. Jacob the brother of Lord, St. Arsenius the Serbian). Therefore, it is a Menaion icon, part of a larger collection of such icons painted for the needs of Sendurđ Monastery in mid-18th century (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. *Protection of the Mother of God* (Menaion icon, Sendurđ (St. George) Monastery, 1748).

⁹² Suvorova 2019, 78, 95.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 82–84.

⁹⁴ D. Davidov 1981, 123–124, 139, T–9. The icon is part of the collection of veneration icons painted by an unknown artist from southern Balkan lands, mostly in the tradition of post-Byzantine art, but with particular dedication and harmonious coloring freshness, rarely seen in 18th century painting in those circles (Jovanović 1997, 110; Jovanović 2000, 89–91).

Another similar example is the *Protection of the Theotokos* painted by Nedeljko Popović from Banat for the Chakovo Church (1776).⁹⁵ The event from the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae was moved to the entrance of the church, which is not in accordance with the vision of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ. Furthermore, the upper part of the icon lacks the figure of Christ whom the Theotokos addresses together with the escort of saints. The lower part includes less participants, reduced to the patriarch, Andrew the Fool-for-Christ, Epiphanius and St. Romanos. A striking disproportion of figures is noticeable, common for the so-called zograph's style.⁹⁶

An example of such type of Protection belongs to the festive series on the iconostasis of the Savina Monastery Big Church, painted by Simeon Lazović. The *Protection of the Theotokos* from Savina (По́кров Ї́ Бѣ́гы) (1795–1797) follows a similar iconography of the Theotokos addressing Christ with a prayer in the segment of heavens, an entourage of saints behind her led by John the Baptist and participants in the lower level with common iconography. St. Romanos the Melodist is not in the center of the composition as in most presentations; he is bowing to the patriarch who blesses him from the left side. St. Romanos is holding a Gospel together with the patriarch in his right hand, and censer in his left.⁹⁷ The appearance of this presentation in Savina Monastery is not accidental. A legend describes an event from 1762, when Venetian authorities intended to bomb the monastery with cannons from the “Santa Barbara” ship. People gathered around the monastery, took out the miracle-working icon of the Virgin of Savina and, with a collective prayer and Theotokos’ patronage, succeeded in saving the monastery, because a sudden lightning destroyed the Venetian ship.⁹⁸ Several decades later, the icon of the Protection of the Theotokos found its place on the iconostasis of the new Savina church.

We notice that an entourage of saints inevitably appears behind the Theotokos in the “bokovoj perevod” presentations of the Protection. Such iconography is unusual, as we have seen, in other types of the Protection in Serbian milieu, except the icon of the Protection from Krupa Monastery and Almaš Church in Novi Sad. Sources for such iconography should be sought in the religious literature from those times, which refers to celebrating Mother of God.⁹⁹ As already emphasized, the “bokovoj perevod” type of the Protection came to life only from late 16th and during the 17th century, thus in the epoch of the expansion of Russo-Ukrainian baroque theology, which was mostly the basis of religious life of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, as previously discussed.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, elements of the iconography and this form of presentation of the Protection should be perceived in the spirit of then cultural and religious models. In their works, baroque theologians L. Baranovich and D. Rostovsky very explicitly show the entourage of saints following the Theotokos in her prayer before Christ. Her prayer for mankind is the most powerful shroud-protection given us in the battle against all evils.¹⁰¹ However, Mother of God

95 Jovanović 1997, 526, 529.

96 The Zographs were Serbian traditional religious painters.

97 See more about this composition, both about the meaning and significance of the appearance of such type of Protection in the late 16th and during the 17th century in Russia in: Matić 2017, 181–188.

98 Petranović 1856, 114; Matić 2017, 186. See more about the Miracle-Worker of Savina and the multiple role she had for the Serbian population in the Bay of Cattaro in: Matić 2017b, 33–54.

99 Although, according to the description of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ, Mother of God was in the Church of Blachernae with an entourage of saints led by John the Predecessor (Kondakov 1915, 96), such iconography is rarer in some older depictions and the classical Moscow type. It was emphasized only with the appearance of the “bokovoj perevod” type, which points out the praying role of the Theotokos, and then her entourage of saints.

100 Timotijević 1996, 279.

101 Rostovski 1930, 6.

is not alone in that prayer, as D. Rostovsky states, she is standing with a myriad of angels and saints standing humbly around her and adding their prayers to hers. Such a powerful joint prayer can now win any enemy.¹⁰² Leading the procession, immediately behind the Theotokos, almost without exception, is John the Predecessor, then John the Theologian and other saints. Their precedence over others is conditioned with “great freedom before the Lord” these two celibates have, due to which they can pray for greater mercy for mankind.¹⁰³

It is noticeable that Epiphanius is much more often presented in such type of iconography as a humble young man, student of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ, while in most classical Moscow type baroque presentations Epiphanius is a bishop.¹⁰⁴ Such a pattern is more consistently seen in Russian baroque icon painting.¹⁰⁵ Russian compositions are complex, with numerous participants, but clearly segmented with underlining several levels of the gallery space of a church and a city in the background, in respect to the lower level. Presentations are redolent of clearness, but also of overcrowding, decorativeness and certain conservatism inherited from earlier epochs, furnished with baroque details.¹⁰⁶

Ukrainian style and iconography of this form of Protection are somewhat different, especially examples derived from eastern parts of Ukraine in the 18th century. A dominant unique form of pathos and dynamism is noticed there, as well as a particular kind of flamboyant ornamentalism, without strict segmentation of the presentation and separating levels in the composition.¹⁰⁷ Thus, eastern parts of Ukraine, although not excluded from the baroque, reshaped baroque art to a certain extent with their unique national and folklore elements. Especially popular in that period were presentations which, with their symbolism, offer hope and faith in the support and protection of Mother of God.¹⁰⁸

Serbian baroque painting did not perceive the Ukrainian style in this type of Protection (“bokovoj perevod”), but consistently followed a single schematization and a more rigorous version of the composition setting, closer to Russian models.

102 *Ibid.*, 8–9.

103 *Ibid.*, 9–10.

104 The almost inevitable presentation of Epiphanius as bishop was supposed to underline the significance of the Church in unfavorable social circumstances the Serbian population of those times found themselves in.

105 The Russian icon of the Protection of the Theotokos from Great Ustyug from 1750 is of such type (*Icona Russa* 1994, T-70); created in the same iconographic manner, but with significantly higher quality and more methodical is the icon of the Protection of the Theotokos from the Church of St. Elijah in Jaroslav, from the very end of the 17th century (1697) (Brúsova 1984, pic. 66); Protection of the Theotokos from the first quarter of the 18th century, Ryazan County and Protection of the Theotokos painted by Ivan Eropov from 1732. [(Komashko 2006, 171, pic. 142, kat. 327; 259, pic. 226, kat. 334); Protection of the Theotokos from mid-18th century (Andrei Rublev’s Museum) (Tarasenko 1995, 53–54)].

106 Russian icons from the 18th century, especially from the first half of the century, follow the tradition of the Oruzheynaya Palata 17th century painting, since numerous painters, after political changes and moving the capital city to St. Petersburg, set off to provincial centers searching for new jobs. This tradition, with the evident inflow of Western elements, is more or less combined with elements of local painting. In the second half of the 18th century, the exchange of painters is mostly done within the provincial centers. See more about Russian 18th century icon painting, especially in provinces, in: Komashko 2006, 11–25.

107 Svencic’ka 1990, 48, 68, T-124

108 Otkovič 1999, 14. See more about Ukrainian baroque and presentation of the Protection in: Beletsky, Vladich 1976, 8.

Epilogue

From the review of the subject of the Protection of the Theotokos made hereby, it can be clearly concluded that Moscow classical-type of Protection was dominant in the Serbian baroque painting. Templates for this presentation were transferred in several ways. After a short inflow of southern “Levantine baroque” in the first decades of the 18th century, Serbian painting had established, as we saw, solid fruitful connections with Ukrainian culture, especially between the third and eight decade of the 18th century.¹⁰⁹ Such connections and pronounced impact on art certainly include: arrivals of Ukrainian artists to Serbian territories, relocations of Serbian artists in order to study at the Kiev Religious Academy and Painting School, Russo-Ukrainian graphic templates from theological literature, as well as the transit of numerous anonymous Russian Moscow-style painters¹¹⁰ and a significant inflow of Russian Palekh icons to the Balkan lands in the 18th century.¹¹¹

Besides stated connections with Russo-Ukrainian cultural models, with which Protection of the Theotokos came as a purely Russian subject, the Protection in Serbian baroque painting had complex and diverse conceptual connotations. They start with the general protective cult created around the Theotokos and her Protection, explicitly emphasized in extraordinary circumstances of great epidemics and death, and terminate with direct socially-religiously engaged messages.

We saw an ultimately religiously-politically directed setting of this subject in Krušedol Monastery, with an aspiration to present the continuity of the political and religious autonomy of Serbian Orthodox Church, as well as to indicate the autonomous and ethnoarchic status of the heads of the Serbian Orthodox Church, ever since the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć (1557). A similar engagement of the subject was implemented in the Church of Holy Physicians in Futog, where the function of the Theotokos’ patronage in the motifs of helmet and arrow was, among other things, defense from the invading ethnic and religious pressure of the Habsburg authorities on the Serbian Orthodox population in Futog. The idea carrying the appearance of the presentation of the Protection in Savina Monastery is on the same line. There it becomes a direct expression of the Theotokos’ patronage of the Savina Dormition Church, which, as we have seen according to the legend, Venetian authorities tried to destroy with cannons from a ship in 1762, when it was saved due to Mother of God’s intervention.

In many other examples, where the presentation of the Protection and social and religious engagement is not so explicit or does not directly indicate a particular event or occasion, a wider idea of a need for hope and trust in the Theotokos’ patronage is evident. In complex and repressive social circumstances the Serbian population was in during the 18th century, without their own state, divided and patronized by three empires and under the pressure of confessional heterogeneities, protection from the highest instances was more than necessary for survival and preserving identity and Church. It is also indicated by the mandatory appearance of Epiphanius as bishop (and not only

109 Davidov 1969, 124. Already at the end of the 18th century, ties with Ukrainian-Russian models were declining. Serbian art is turning more directly to Western European art, and Serbian painters are going to Vienna for education instead of Kiev. The consequence of such an orientation is reflected in the increasingly rare presentation of the theme of the Protection of the Mother of God, which at the beginning of the 19th century almost disappeared from the mainstream of Serbian art.

110 See more about Russian painters in the 18th century who worked in Serbian environments (Muscovites), in: Todić 2010, 37–67; 169–185.

111 Numerous icons of the Palekh School, handmade with naive iconographic and style features, which were widespread around the Balkans thanks to strong commercial connections, could have been available templates for many presentations, including the Protection (Bogoāvlenskij 1947, 243–244). See more about Palekh icons in: Stošić 2006, 140–141; Samsonova 2007, 156.

a humble student of Andrew the Fool-for-Christ) in the presentations of the Protection, supposed to indicate the significance of the Church in the life of the Serbian population in a foreign environment. It was more specifically described by examples where the Diocese of Timisoara from the two-sided icon of J. Popović from the National Museum, Kuveždin Monastery and Chilandar Monastery from Z. Orfelin's graphics or Mala Remeta Monastery, dedicated to the Feast of Intercession, are embraced by the Protection of the Theotokos.

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ТЕМА БОГОРОДИЧИН ПОКРОВ У СРПСКОМ БАРОКНОМ СЛИКАРСТВУ

У XVIII веку, заједно са све интензивнијим теолошко-културолошким и уметничким везама српских крајева са Украјином и Русијом, долази и до експанзивнијег ширења, чисто руске, теме Богородичиног покроба у српском сликарству. У српском барокном сликарству Богородичин покров најшире је присутан у московском типу, са варијацијама у оквиру њега (класични, синтетички, „боковой перевод“). Поред опште симболике заштите и покровитељства, те подсећања на Страшни суд, Богородичин покров могао је имати и веома ангажоване конотације у српском сликарству. У њима се идеја Богородичине заштите, кроз симболику или алегорију, стављала у службу пропагандних програма тадашњих друштвених ентитета. У сложеним и репресивним друштвеним околностима у којима се налазио српски живаљ у XVIII веку, без сопствене државе, раздељен под патронатом три царства и под притисцима конфесионалних хетерогености, заштита са највиших инстанци била је преко потребна за опстанак и очување идентитета и Цркве. На то указује и готово незаобилазна појава Епифанија као епископа (а не као скромног ученика Андреја Јуродивог) у представама Богородичиног покроба, који треба да укаже управо на значај Цркве у животу тадашњег српског живља у туђинском окружењу.