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The Transfer of Ukrainian Engraving Models to Presses of the Romanian Lands in the 18th Century

1 Introduction

Guided by cultural aspirations, the Romanian people was receptive to multiple and diverse artistic tendencies, promoted in the different parts of Europe that they were in contact with – due to their geographical position at the crossroads of important communication routes between the East and the West – which they creatively assimilated, achieving a specific style of art with high spiritual value. Printing and engraving appeared in the Romanian area at the beginning of the 16th century, more precisely at Târgoviște, in 1508, outrunning, in this respect, countries like Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.¹

If in the 16th century the Romanian art of printing and woodcutting was under Italian influence, towards the mid-17th century German influence, via Ukrainian books and craftsmen, became manifest in Wallachia and Moldavia.

The voivodes Matei Basarab (1632–1654) in Wallachia and Vasile Lupu (1634–1653) in Moldavia set up printing presses with the support of Petru Movilă, the metropolitan of Kyiv, son of a Moldavian ruler. Therefore, the prelate sent them typographic materials, master typographers, and skilled engravers from Ukraine.²

1 See especially M. Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918*, Bucharest, 1968, p. 26–37; C. Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte din Țara Românească în secolele XVI–XVII”, in R. Theodorescu, M. Porumb (eds.), *Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, vol. I, Bucharest, 2018, p. 393–395.

2 N. Iorga, “Tipografia la români”, *Almanahul grafice române*, 8, 1931, p. 36–40; Gh. Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamțul*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 12; V. Molin, “Ilustrația în vechea carte bisericească”, *BOR*, 78, 1960, 7–8, p. 706–708; Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești*, p. 79–83; C. Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj (1750–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2023 (2nd ed.), p. 45–49; S. Földvári, “Petro Mohyla’s Cultural Transmission between the Ukrainian and Romanian Cultures. His Life

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Thus, starting in 1635, ecclesiastical books, in both Romanian and Church Slavonic,³ started to be published at Câmpulung, Govora, Dealu Monastery, and Târgoviște, while the first press in Moldavia was set up in Iași at the Three Hierarchs (Treii Ierarhi) Monastery in 1641.

Among the Ukrainian craftsmen who illustrated Romanian books in the 17th century,⁴ we mention Ilia, with *Cazania lui Varlaam* (*Varlaam's Book of Homilies*), Iași, 1643, Teodor Tișevici, *Îndreptarea legii* (*Law Codices*), Târgoviște, 1652, and Ivan (Ioanichie) Bakov, *Cheia înțelesului* (*The Key to Meaning*), Bucharest, 1678, and the Triodion, Buzău, 1700. These engravers, as well as some Romanian ones, resorted to illustrated books of Kyiv and Lviv. Both Ukrainian and Romanian books often include title page frames decorated with religious imagery bordered by architectural elements.

Generally speaking, the illustration, with its decorative and explanatory function, reached a high artistic standard while Constantin Brâncoveanu was prince of Wallachia (1688-1714). The woodcuts influenced by Ukrainian art represent varied suggestive scenes with numerous expressive figures, and architectural and landscape elements arranged on multiple levels.⁵

We must emphasize that Romanian engravers did not only resort to Ukrainian sources but also to others, which were assimilated more or less creatively. By all means, during the 18th century as well as in the following one, Ukrainian woodcuts influenced different typographic centres from Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania,⁶ a fact which we intend to demonstrate in the present essay. Without

and Activity", in E. Lomia (ed.), *4th International Black Sea Modern Scientific Research Congress*, June 6–7, 2023, Ankara, 2023, p. 1374–1391.

3 The Slavonic books printed in the Romanian lands starting with 1508 are considered early printed Romanian books. All the examples presented in this article pertain to books printed in the Romanian language with Cyrillic type.

4 About this subject, see C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, "Ukrainian Influence on the Romanian Xylographs in the Seventeenth Century", in L. Novikova et al. (eds.), *From the Dnipro to the Danube: War, Diplomacy and Political, Cultural and Social Relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ukrainian Lands in the Early Modern Era*, Berlin/New York (forthcoming). For the first three decades of the 19th century, see A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, "Ukrainian Influence on the Engravings in Romanian Books Printed in Buda (the Beginning of the 19th Century)", in S. Kahamlyk, D. Palii (eds.), *Ukrainian Writing and Language in Manuscripts and Printing. In Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the Museum of the Book and Printing of Ukraine*, Kyiv, 2022, p. 39–56.

5 Iorga, "Tipografia la români," p. 41–42; Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamțul*, p. 12–13; Molin, "Ilustrația în vechea carte bisericească", p. 709–712; Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești*, p. 80–81, 83–84; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 50–54.

6 See especially G. Ștrempele, "Sprijinul acordat de Rusia tiparului românesc în secolul al XVII-lea", *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, I, 1955, p. 15–42; C. Tatai-Baltă, "Receptarea xilografurii ucrainene

claiming to exhaust the subject, we will refer to the following engravers: Ioanichie Bakov (Buzău); Popa Mihai Râmnicleanu Tipograf (Râmnic); Grigorie T. and Sandul T. (Rădăuți, Iași); Mihail Strilbițchi (Iași, Dubăsari); Vlaicu (Blaj); and Petru Papavici Râmnicleanu (Blaj).

2 Ivan Bakov

Ivan Bakov (Ioanichie, as a monk), an artist of European level, produced, signed and dated engravings between 1678 and 1705, which appear in books printed in Bucharest, Buzău, Snagov, Râmnic,⁷ and Tbilisi in Georgia.⁸ It is worth mentioning that most researchers have asserted that Bakov is of Ukrainian origin.⁹ Nestor Vornicescu, the Metropolitan of Oltenia, believed that Bakov was a Moldavian from Bacău who learned the technique of engraving from Ukrainian craftsmen,¹⁰ a statement that we do not agree with. The art historian Alexandru Busuioceanu appreciates Ioanichie Bakov in the following way:

A great archaic purity of lines and a sense of decoration, full of emotion, are eloquent in these plates as well as in the others by Ioanichie Bakov, who was never surpassed by any of his contemporaries in similar narrative compositions. It is the purity of a primitive artist who imagines the sacred stories with an almost idyllic feeling, by drawing them with clear, simplified and almost graceful lines.¹¹

At the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, Ioanichie Bakov worked hard in the bishopric press at Buzău, managed by the bishop Mitrofan. The 1700 Triodion (Triod) and the 1701 Pentecostarion (Penticostar) were published in the aforementioned press. Some woodcuts signed by Ioanichie Bakov are dated to 1700: *The Raising of Lazarus* and *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (in the Triodion), *Christ's*

la Blaj", *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 4, 1994, p. 97–113; C. Tatai-Baltă, "Cunoașterea xilogravurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești (sec. XVII–XIX)", *Transilvania*, 4–5, 2017, p. 7–15.

7 A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, *Xilogravura din cartea românească veche tipărită la București (1582–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, p. 17–22.

8 I. Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection*, Berlin/Boston, 2023, p. 322.

9 N. Iorga, "L'ornementation du vieux livre roumain. Communication faite au Congrès des bibliographes et bibliophiles à Paris", *Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe Sud-Orientale*, 10, 1923, p. 56; Ștrempel, "Sprijinul acordat de Rusia tiparului românesc", p. 33–34; Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești*, p. 72.

10 N. Vornicescu, *Biruit-au gândul. Studii de teologie istorică românească*, Craiova, 1990, p. 224–233.

11 Al. Busuioceanu, *Scrieri despre artă*, Bucharest, 1980, p. 61.

Descent into Hell and *The Holy Women at the Sepulchre* (in the Pentecostarion). In the former book, Bakov signed scenes from Joseph's life, while *The Wise and Foolish Virgins* and *The Crucifixion* are attributed to him as well. The latter book also includes the following images signed by Bakov: *The Healing of the Paralytic*, *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, *The Ascension*, *The Vision of Peter of Alexandria* and *The Descent of the Holy Spirit*, while *The Healing of the Man Born Blind* and *The Sunday of All Saints* can also be assigned to him. In order to accomplish these engravings, use was made of Ukrainian books: Pentecostarion, Kyiv, 1631, and Teaching Gospel, Kyiv, 1637 (a book edited by Petru Movilă).¹²

In what follows, we shall discuss two illustrations, *The Healing of the Paralytic* and *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman* (Fig. 1), created by Bakov for the 1701 Pentecostarion of Buzău.¹³ Their likeness to the images in the Ukrainian books (Fig. 2) is convincing,¹⁴ although there are differences as well.

In the former illustration, Jesus, followed by his disciples, comes close to the disabled man's bed, asking him: "Do you want to get well?" The man replies: "Lord, I have no one to help me into the pool when the water is stirred up!" Then, Jesus says to him: "Get up! Pick up your bed and walk!" (*John* 5:6-8). Many other persons and sick people lie down near the disabled man's bed. In the upper part of the image, to the right, one can notice the man who has been healed, carrying the bed on his back, heading towards Jerusalem. To the left is depicted the angel who stirred the water, having in front of him the disabled man who succeeded in getting the first into the pool near the Sheep Gate (Bethesda). Therefore, if one compares the woodcut of Buzău to that of Kyiv, one will find that the former is superior to the latter regarding their artistic merit. Namely, it has more blank space judiciously distributed, while the clusters of vegetation are better composed. The architectural representation in the background is different, as is the number of persons.

In the latter image, Jesus addresses the Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well, asking for water: "Will you give me a drink?" (*John* 4:7). At the top, to the right and to the left, there are his disciples, who have come back from town. On the whole, the Ukrainian engraving is more obscure, while the Samaritan woman, with a more animated attitude, is not as delicate.

Most of Bakov's woodcuts for the books of Buzău mentioned above are repeated in books printed at Snagov and Bucharest. It was Mihai Râmniceanu, in the 1743

¹² Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Xilografura din cartea românească veche tipărită la București*, p. 22.

¹³ Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Xilografura din cartea românească veche tipărită la București*, fig. 333, 334.

¹⁴ Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI-XVIII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Государственной библиотеке СССР имени В. И. Ленина, Vol. I. 1574 г.-1 половина XVII в., ed. T. K. Kameneva et al., Moscow, 1976, p. 25, 27, figs. 549, 551.

Pentecostarion printed at Râmnic, and Petru Papavici, in the 1768 Pentecostarion printed at Blaj, as well as the author who signed with the initials “G. F.” similar illustrations in the 1805 Pentecostarion printed at Sibiu, who benefitted from Ivan Bacov’s exceptional graphic achievements.¹⁵

3 Popa Mihai Râmniceanu Tipograf

Between 1733 and 1750, the skilled engraver and typographer Popa Mihai Râmniceanu Typograf of Râmnic, the son of Atanasie Papavici, produced woodcuts that reveal a high decorative and artistic sense, which reflects the Byzantine-Balkan and Byzantine-Russian styles.¹⁶ The Ukrainian impact on his works was indirect, through the 1701 Pentecostarion of Buzău, but also direct, which we shall demonstrate on the basis of two examples.

The Raising of the Cross (Fig. 3), dated to 1736, published in the 1737 Anthologion at Râmnic,¹⁷ is a small-size woodcut. Patriarch Zacharias, helped by a deacon, raises the Savior’s cross, brought from Persia to Jerusalem by the Emperor Heraclius, on a double oval pedestal, in order to be venerated. The event occurred in the Church of the Anastasis. The cross is placed under vaults supported by pilasters. Related to the architectural elements, the figures are more logically dimensioned, partly avoiding the traditional incongruities. On the other hand, the figures’ size corresponds to the hierarchic criterion. Thus, the patriarch is taller than the deacon, and the former is haloed. Moreover, the clothes worn by the members of the clergy and the imperial couple are specific to the Byzantine fashion.

Mihai Râmniceanu’s woodcut is very much like the one signed “СЕЛИВЕСТРЪ ЕРОДІА ПОКУ 1666 И” (“Selyvestr Erodia in the year 1666”) in Lazar Branković’s *Mech dukhovny (The Spiritual Sword)*, Kyiv, 1666 (Fig. 4).¹⁸ In its turn, Mihai Râmniceanu’s illustration was copied at Blaj by Petru Papavici, who dated it to 1770 in the 1781 Menologion.¹⁹

15 C. Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte în Țara Românească în secolele XVI-XVII”, p. 399.

16 Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte din Țara Românească în secolul XVIII”, p. 55–56; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 55.

17 Tatai-Baltă, “Cunoașterea xilografurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești”, p. 9, fig. 7.

18 Tatai-Baltă, “Cunoașterea xilografurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești”, p. 9, fig. 8; *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI-XVIII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Государственной библиотеке СССР имени В. И. Ленина*. Vol. II, t. 1. *Киевские издания 2-й половины XVII в.*, ed. A. A. Guseva et al., Moscow, 1981, p. 14–15, 37, 62, fig. 1281.

19 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 141, fig. 64.

In the same *Anthologion* of Râmnic (1737), Mihai Râmniceanu signed the woodcut *Saint John Chrysostom*²⁰ inspired by the similar work in the 1697 Psalter of Kyiv.²¹ The woodcut of Râmnic was used as a model for a woodcut in the 1781 Menologion printed in Blaj,²² attributed to Petru Papavici. The three images portray Saint John Chrysostom full front, wearing the vestments of an archbishop, profiled against a landscape with churches.

4 Grigorie T. and Sandul T.

The 1745 Horologion (Ceaslov) of Rădăuți occupies a special place in the context of Romanian graphic art in the 18th century, as far as its illustrations are concerned. The five images in the book (*Saint Nicholas*, *The Annunciation*, *Jesus in Glory*, *The Guardian Angel*, and *The Eucharist*) were signed by Grigorie T. and Sandul T., sometimes with the additional initials “G. S.”. They are, in fact, Grigorie Stan Brașoveanul and Sandu (son of Ieremia Marco) from Iași, who worked there as typographers.²³

The woodcut *The Guardian Angel* [Raphael] signed “G. S.”²⁴ is especially interesting (Fig. 5). The antithesis between the angel’s calm attitude of great purity, guided by divine power, and the absurd aggressiveness of the monster with fiery eyes, sharp fangs, and a huge mouth that sends out flames and an arrow, is truly remarkable, recalling similar representations in Western art. The angel tenderly protects a child, pointing to Heaven with his right hand.

This theme is hardly encountered in early Romanian books, as it comes from the Catholic milieu. The copper engraving drawn and executed before 1619 by the Flemish engraver Hieronymus Wierich²⁵ constitutes eloquent proof that Grigorie and Sandu’s engraving was based on Western models.

It is worth emphasizing that the woodcut of Rădăuți is similar, in some aspects, to the one produced in Lviv by N(ikodym) Z(ubrytskyi) for the 1699 Akathistos (Fig. 6).²⁶ The angel, the child, and the monster are disposed in the image in the

20 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 286.

21 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 145, fig. 287; *Украинские книги*, II.1, p. 31, fig. 1646.

22 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 145, fig. 72.

23 Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte din Moldova în secolul XVIII”, p. 77.

24 Tatai-Baltă, “Cunoașterea xilografurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești”, p. 9, fig. 10.

25 C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, “Hypostases of Representation of the Guardian Angel in the Graphics of Early Romanian Books (18th-19th Centuries)”, *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 25–26, 2015–2016, p. 151–160.

26 Tatai-Baltă, “Cunoașterea xilografurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești”, p. 9, fig. 10; *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI-XVIII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в*

same way. There are also obvious differences. In the Ukrainian engraving, the main characters are profiled against a landscape in which, in the lower part, one can perceive a haloed angel who seems to protect a person wearing a hat. In the woodcut of Rădăuți, a small-sized angel, with the child in his arms, is placed at the top right in a white spotlight (alluding to the fact that the light comes from God), whereas the rest of the surface is covered by a compact network of parallel horizontal lines, a result of the so-called *horror vacui*.

We feel bound to highlight the fact that the master craftsmen Grigorie T. and Sandul T. produced an important title page frame, recurrent in other books published in the capital of Moldavia, for the 1755 *Anthologion* printed in Iași (Fig. 7).²⁷

This title page frame, accurately drawn, represents a large size border shaped like a baroque altar niche. The two pilasters are decorated with eight medallions that show saints highly esteemed in the Orthodox milieu. The crowning, depicted as a circle segment, is split in the middle, where there is a large baroque cartouche flanked by scrolls. Jesus Christ in bishop's vestments, blessing with both hands, accompanied by angels, is placed in the cartouche. At the base of the niche is represented the scene of *The Presentation of the Lord*, while in the four corners of the frame are depicted the symbols of the Evangelists: the angel and the winged lion, at the top, the winged calf and the eagle at the bottom. In the upper part of the image are rendered the figures of two saints in medallions and eight angels in various places. If the ornaments are of Baroque origin, the iconographic representation pertains to the Orthodox area, while the way of treating the composition is traditional.

Grigorie T. and Sandul T. followed the model of an image in the 1632 *Anthologion* of Lviv signed by “ГЕОРГІЙ ІСРОДІАКОН ВЪ ЛВОВѢ РО БОЖ 1632” (“Georgiy Hierodeacon in Lviv in the year of God 1632”) (Fig. 8), repeated in the 1639 and the 1644 *Octoechos* printed at the same press.²⁸ Among the differences, we have remarked that *The Dormition of the Mother of God* at the base of the frame was replaced by the scene of *The Presentation of the Lord* in the woodcut of Iași (the churches are dedicated to these feasts).²⁹ The cruciform nimbus on Jesus's head

Государственной библиотеке СССР имени В. И. Ленина. Vol. II, t. 2. Львовские, новгород-северские, черниговские, унечские издания 2-й половины XVII в., ed. A. A. Guseva, I. M. Polonskaya, Moscow, 1990, p. 34, 61, 65, fig. 2173.

²⁷ Here, Grigorie T. signed „Gligorie“. See Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte din Moldova în secolul XVIII”, p. 77–78; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 56.

²⁸ Tatai-Baltă, “Cunoașterea xilografurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești”, p. 9; Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte din Moldova în secolul XVIII”, p. 78; *Украинские книги кирилловской печати*, I, p. 26, 28, 31, 34, 66, fig. 806.

²⁹ I.-A. Guriță, *Gavriil Callimachi, Mitropolit al Moldovei (1760–1786)*, Iași, 2017, p. 177.

was replaced by a bishop's miter, while the triangular pediment above his head was eliminated. On the whole, the engraving of Iași places more emphasis on the decorative elements.

Furthermore, Petru Papavici also took over this title page frame as a model for the 1768 Pentecostarion of Blaj, following the Moldavian version and not the one of Lviv.³⁰ The differences between Iași and Blaj refer to certain saints that decorate the pillars, as well as to the rendering, at the bottom of the page, of *The Annunciation* scene, this being the feast to which was dedicated the monastery where the press functioned.

5 Mihail Strilbițchi

Mihail Strilbițchi (ca. 1730-1805/7), probably born in Myrhorod, in the county of Poltava (today in Ukraine), a graduate of the Theological Academy of Kyiv, distinguished himself as a typographer, editor, engraver, book binder, translator, and author, as well as a secret agent in the Russian tsar's service.³¹ Mihail Strilbițchi is certain to have been the most important typographer and engraver in Moldavia in the second half of the 18th century. By publishing numerous ecclesiastical and secular books in Iași, Dubăsari, and Movilău,³² he made a remarkable contribution to the modernization of Romanian culture.

As an engraver,³³ he gave up the models of Byzantine tradition, with some exceptions, persistently resorting to works of Western type, particularly German ones, found in the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian regions, which came from the Late Gothic, Renaissance, or Baroque epochs. Consequently, he focused on turning the religious scenes more human by emphasizing the volumes and the sense of depth. Consequent to the investigations we have undertaken so far, we have identified some models that derive from the Ukrainian area, which could have influenced Mihail Strilbițchi.³⁴ We shall comment henceforth on a part of them. Further on, we should mention that at the beginning of his career, Mihail Strilbițchi executed a

30 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 122, fig. 30.

31 E. Pavel, *Strilbițchi, Mihail*, in E. Simion (coord. ed.), *Enciclopedia literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 2018, p. 853–855.

32 Today, Dubăsari is a city in the Republic of Moldavia, while Movilău is a city in Ukraine.

33 For details, see A. E. Tatay, C. Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2023.

34 C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver (second half of the 18th century)", in A. Chiriac et al. (eds.), *Re-Configuring Romanian Culture on its Way towards Modernity. Romanian Translation Practice in the Age of Enlightenment (1770–1830)*, Konstanz, 2022, p. 295–325.

metal engraving, the portrait of Nikolaos Mavroidis of Kefalonia, for the latter's book *Τὸ ἀποστολικόν δίκτυον* (*The Apostolic Net*), composed in Greek and printed at Iași in 1756.

In 1761, together with the Monk Teofan, he represented the four Evangelists, each on a full page, reproduced in the Gospel (Evangelhie) of Iași, 1762. The solemn figures, of a monumental aspect, are profiled against an ample background conveyed in perspective. We noticed that *Luke the Evangelist* (Fig. 9) looks like the portrayal of this figure by Grigorie T[ipograf] and Sandul T[ipograf] for the Acts of the Apostles of Iași, 1756, based, we suppose, on the Ukrainian engraving signed by I[eromonah] Macarii in the Acts of Kyiv, 1738 (Fig. 10).³⁵ Even if, in the case of Strilbițchi, the Evangelist sits in a different background, the character's posture is similar to the one of Kyiv. The Ukrainian artist represents the Evangelist in a Baroque manner, thus rendering the character's feelings, while he is caught in motion, as well as the ample and heavy folds of his clothes. It is worth pointing out that the other three *Evangelists* derive from the same source, the Acts of Kyiv.

The Virgin with the Child on the Crescent Moon (the variant with eight angels), signed by Mihail Strilbițchi, appeared for the first time in the 1777 Horologion of Iași and was repeated in other books. Since the Horologion of Iași of 1786 (Fig. 11), we have encountered another representation of the same theme (also signed by Strilbițchi) in which six of the angels, formerly represented by head and wings, do not appear anymore, and only two of the angels remain, kneeling in an attitude of prayer. The Virgin appears to be happy and looking lovingly at her child. She is the bright Queen of Heaven, holding a sceptre in her hand and standing on the crescent moon. She wears a crown, surrounded by rays of light. The source of inspiration for the image of 1786 is the homonymous one existent in the *Kanonyk* (a collection of religious dogmas), Kyiv, 1763 (Fig. 12).³⁶

This iconographic theme of Western origin, widespread from the Late Gothic to the Baroque age,³⁷ is seldom found in illustrations of early Romanian books. Starting with the Horologion, Iași, 1797, the theme was taken over by the engraver Simeon [Isoteschi], Strilbițchi's son-in-law.³⁸ This time, the composition is pyra-

35 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 301, fig. 3, 4; V. Bochovska, L. Naukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків XVI–XVIII століть*, Kyiv, 2012, p. 243, with a fig.

36 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 302, fig. 6–7; Arhim. P. Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod, secolele XVI–XVIII*, Bucharest, 2020, p. 172.

37 H. Sachs, E. Badstübner, H. Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten*, Leipzig, 1980, p. 261.

38 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 302.

midal, of Renaissance type. The theme is known in the Western European Art as the *Madonna on the Crescent Moon* (*Mondsichelmadonna*), or the *Apocalyptical Madonna*, in connection with the text of the *Apocalypse* (Ch. 12). The Madonna is a female figure, the Savior's Mother, threatened by a monster and saved by the Archangel Michael.³⁹

The Entombment, a well-drawn and skillfully engraved image in the Horologion, Iași, 1792, also confirms the influence of German graphics during the Renaissance.⁴⁰ All the figures surrounding the dead Christ, laid on a stone slab, express deep love and discreet grief, with obvious variety and sincerity in their attitude. In order to demonstrate its Renaissance source, we mention Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of 1509 in *Die Kleine Holzschnittpassion* (*Small Cycle of Passions*)⁴¹ and Lucas Cranach the Elder's woodcut of 1509 in the *Passion Christi* (*Cycle of Christ's Passion*), to which we shall return.⁴² However, Mihail Strilbițchi must have been familiar with the woodcut signed "M. F." in the *Kanonyk* of Kyiv, 1763,⁴³ because the two woodcuts are alike.

The *Bucvar* (*Alphabet Book*) of Dubăsari, 1792, contains Strilbițchi's woodcut *The Trinity*,⁴⁴ which follows a Western model but is, as a matter of fact, frequently encountered in the Romanian and Eastern art: God the Father sitting on the clouds near His Son, while the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above.⁴⁵ Mihail Strilbițchi's engraving is similar to the representation found in the Horologion of Sibiu, 1790.⁴⁶ The similarity is even more convincing if one compares this woodcut to that in the book written by Athanasios, the Patriarch of Alexandria, *Оглавление книг священнаго писанія* (*The Headings of the Books of the Holy Scriptures*), Kyiv, 1755.⁴⁷ Accordingly, God the Father, with a triangular nimbus around His head, holds the globe in His left hand, while to His right His Son, with a round halo, upholds a big cross in His left hand and blesses with His right. The two holy figures are shown

³⁹ Sachs, Badstübner, Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie*, p. 261.

⁴⁰ Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 309, fig. 20.

⁴¹ *Das Albrecht Dürer Hausbuch. Auswahl aus dem graphischen Werk*, ed. W. Hütt, G. Forberg, Munich, 1975, fig. at p. 488; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 210.

⁴² Al. Avram, *Gravura europeană din secolele XVI-XVII*, Oradea, 1974, p. 6, fig. at p. 15; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 211.

⁴³ Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, p. 172.

⁴⁴ Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi*, p. 75–76, fig. 63.

⁴⁵ Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 309, fig. 23.

⁴⁶ A. E. Tatai, *Xilogravura de la Sibiu (sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea – începutul secolului al XIX-lea)*, Alba Iulia, 2007, p. 15–16, fig. 4.

⁴⁷ Bochovska, Naukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків*, p. 268, with a fig.; Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi*, p. 76, fig. 173.

on stylized clouds, while the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above. One can notice the same kind of clouds in the works of Iași and Kyiv, but in the 1790 Horologion of Sibiu there are fluffy clouds. At the bottom of the woodcut there is a partly unfolded phylactery supported by two angels, which alludes to the fact that in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are One – the Triune God (1 John 5:7). It is worth mentioning that at the base of the famous painting *The Sixtine Madonna* signed by Raphael around 1513, and held by the Gallery of the Old Masters at Dresden, there are two angels as well, in a similar scene.⁴⁸

The Resurrection, another engraving signed by Mihail Strilbițchi, this time for the 1794 Horologion printed in Dubăsari, is also of a Western type. Jesus Christ, inscribed in a mandorla and surrounded by clouds, is portrayed emerging victorious from the tomb, holding in His left hand the banner of Resurrection, on which the sign of the cross is visible. His garment is flying in the wind, making the composition more dynamic. The two guards at the tomb, holding shields and swords, seem to be asleep. The black spots at the base of the mandorla suggest the dark of night, when the Resurrection occurred.⁴⁹ This way of conveying the event is characteristic of Western iconography and was also spread in the Balkan area.⁵⁰ It is well known that in Byzantine representations Jesus descends to Hell, crashes its gates, and saves the doomed people.

As a matter of fact, the Gospels neither described the Resurrection of Christ from the tomb with a standard in his hand nor mentioned that the Roman soldiers were the first witnesses of the event. On the other hand, the representation of the sealed sepulchre follows the works of the Fathers of the Eastern Church. Saint John Damascene stated that “Christ came out of the tomb while it was sealed”.⁵¹ The woodcut created by Mihail Strilbițchi resembles the one in the 1763 *Kanonyk* of Kyiv.⁵²

The Horologion of Dubăsari, 1794, is also decorated (among sixteen other illustrations) with the *Annunciation* theme. The scene occurs in a simple framework suggested by a drapery to the left of the image, a hardly discernible pillar to the right, and the pavement represented in perspective. Placed to the right, on the clouds, which also suggest his celestial character, the Archangel Gabriel announces the Virgin that she is to give birth to the Savior, blessing with his right hand, while

48 G. Sgarzini, *Raphael*, Rome, 2006, fig. at p. 70–71.

49 C. Tatai-Baltă, “Les illustrations de Mihail Strilbițchi du *Ceaslov* de Dubăsari de 1794”, *Études bibliologiques/Library Research Studies*, 3, 2021, p. 92, fig. 1.

50 L. Ouspensky, V. Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, New York, 1999, p. 185–192.

51 C. Cavarnos, *Guide to Byzantine Iconography*, Boston, MA, 1993, p. 111.

52 Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, p. 172.

in the other one he holds a lily, the symbol of purity, as shown in Western art.⁵³ Placed to the left of the picture, the Virgin appears kneeling, with her arms crossed over her chest, in sign of acceptance or submission. On the desk, in front of her, there is an open book that indicates the wisdom and piety of the Virgin, who was permanently praying and meditating, in the Western view.⁵⁴ The Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above, casting rays of light upon the Virgin Mary.

The composition, which is prevalently disposed in a diagonal line, along with the dramatic atmosphere, the manner in which the clouds are depicted, the Virgin's attitude of fear and the Archangel's solemnity remind of the ambience of the Late German Renaissance.⁵⁵ This theme was approached in Blaj several times: in the 1763 Akathistos, by Endrédi, and in the 1769 Catavasier (Brief Octoechos)⁵⁶ and the 1774 Akathistos, by Petru Papavici.⁵⁷ In fact, one can remark that all of them were based on Ukrainian woodcuts: for example, their homonyms in the *Kanonyk*, Kyiv, 1763, signed "M. F.", or in the *Molytvoslov* (Prayer Book), Kyiv, 1778,⁵⁸ undoubtedly published in former works in the 16th-18th centuries. Consequently, we believe that the two woodcuts created by Petru Papavici served as models for the craftsmen of Sibiu in the Horologion, 1790, and the Akathistos, 1792,⁵⁹ as well as for those of Buda in the Akathistos, 1807, and *Polustav* (Breviary), 1807 (a copper engraving).⁶⁰ The monk Ghervasie approached the theme in the same way in the 1823 Akathistos of Bucharest.⁶¹

In conclusion, as four out of the six illustrations signed by Mihail Strilbițchi that we have discussed are similar to their homonyms in the 1763 *Kanonyk*, it is obvious that the engraver in Iași manifested a certain interest in the woodcuts contained by the books printed at Kyiv.

53 Tatai-Baltă, Tatay, "Considerations concerning Mihail Strilbițchi's activity as an engraver", p. 311–312, fig. 28.

54 Ouspensky, Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, p. 172–174.

55 See, e.g., the engraving of Lucas Cranach the Elder for the book of Adam von Fulda *Ein sehr andächtig christenlich Büchlein*, Wittenberg, 1512; cf. H. Claus, "Buchgraphik", in *Gotteswort und Menschenbild. Werke von Cranach und seinen Zeitgenossen*, Vol. 1. *Malerei, Plastik, Graphik, Buchgraphik, Dokumente*, Gotha, 2000, p. 178, fig. 3.2.

56 The Catavasier (Brief Octoechos), also known as the *Anastasimatarion*, is a service book of the Eastern Orthodox Church that contains the hymns of the Resurrection and other hymns for Vespers and Sunday services. The hymns are arranged according to the eight modes of the Octoechos.

57 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, fig. 14, 40, 51.

58 Chițulescu, *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, p. 172, 203.

59 Tatai, *Xilografura de la Sibiu*, p. 13–14, 25–26, fig. 2, 14.

60 A. E. Tatay, *Din istoria și arta cărții românești vechi: gravura de la Buda (1780–1830)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, p. 84–85, fig. 32; p. 88–89, fig. 41.

61 Tatay, Tatai-Baltă, *Xilografura din cartea românească veche tipărită la București*, p. 66, fig. 460.

In the second half of the 18th century, Blaj became the most important Romanian centre of woodblock engraving in Transylvania. This assertion is based on both the qualitative and the quantitative criteria in assessing the woodcuts produced here.⁶² It is worth mentioning that Blaj was the centre of the Greek-Catholic Bishopric, which played an important role in the region from a cultural and political perspective.

In 1737, the Greek Catholic Church set up its residence in Blaj, which brought about the social development of the town. Under the circumstances, the engravers active here granted a new dimension to the city of Blaj: the artistic one. The engravers used models that had been printed in books beyond the Carpathians: Râmnic, Bucharest, Buzău, Târgoviște, Snagov, Iași, Rădăuți, etc. They successfully continued the best traditions of Romanian wood engraving, which reached its peak during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu. As far as the iconographic and stylistic aspects are concerned, the engravers Vlaicu, Ioanițiu Endrédi, Sandu Tipograf, and some anonymous artists were influenced by Western art, particularly by the German Late Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque, much more than other Romanian artists who were active at that time or earlier. One should remember that the town of Blaj had close relationships with the Western countries, which enabled the engravers to stay in contact with European art. The numerous Western books, as well as famous libraries, offered permanent and direct information on graphic art achievements throughout the centuries.

The wood engravers of Blaj were influenced either directly by Ukrainian original works (illustrated books, woodcut collections), or indirectly by Romanian books that contained woodcuts of Ukrainian inspiration.⁶³

Popa Iancu from Sâncel, who is known to have become a Basilian monk at Blaj, under the name of Isaia (before 1762), went to Kyiv, where he learned Slavonic and, according to Romanian sources, translated into Romanian the book *Visions of Saint Gregory*.⁶⁴ When he came back to Blaj, he certainly brought along Ukrainian books, some of them illustrated, which may have been used subsequently as sources of inspiration by the wood engravers, particularly by Petru Papavici. It is important to

62 See their list in Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 198–205.

63 See, for details, Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*.

64 T. Cipariu, *Acte și fragmente*, Blaj, 1855, p. 107; I. Rațiu, “Din trecutul Ordului Bazilitan”, *Anuarul institutelor de învățământ grecocatolice din Balázsfalva (Blaj): Gimnaziu superior; Institutul Pedagogic, Școala Civilă și Elementară de Fete, Școala de Aplicație, Școala Învățăcelor de Meserii și Negustorii pe anul scholastic 1911–’12*, Blaj, 1912, p. XIII; Șt. Manciualea, *Biblioteca Centrală din Blaj*, Blaj, 1939, p. 18.

mention that in 1777 the library of Blaj owned, among others, 18 Ukrainian books, in 30 copies.⁶⁵

We intend to discuss henceforth a series of woodcuts that decorate the printed books of Blaj, which were based on Ukrainian engravings.

6 Vlaicu

The first wood engraver in Blaj, Vlaicu, had an inborn artistic disposition, approaching religious scenes passionately and sometimes with naïve delicacy. He preferred to rely on Western models, often mediated by Ukrainian woodcuts found in the dissemination area of German or Italian art. Vlaicu contributed to making the Romanian woodcut more realistic. On the other hand, he was under the influence of German Renaissance woodcuts, imbued for a long time with elements of Late Gothic art, painting included. It should be added that Albrecht Dürer played an overwhelming part in its spread and celebrity.⁶⁶

The 1751 Horologion of Blaj was decorated by Vlaicu with several illustrations, of which we will discuss only two.

The figures in the scene *Christ Nailed on the Cross* have varied and mobile postures. In the lower part of the image, several soldiers are shown nailing Christ's hands and feet on the cross, which is placed on the ground. The diagonal position of the cross stresses the dynamic aspect of the composition. The vegetation itself, as well as the basket of nails, seem to take part in the run of events. Whirling clouds menacingly float above, while the hill to the left seems to fall in. The buildings with pointed towers in the background, suggesting Jerusalem, also contribute to creating a gloomy atmosphere in which only Jesus keeps calm, expressing dignity and resignation.⁶⁷

The first representations of *Christ Nailed on the Cross* are present in Byzantine illuminated Psalters of the 11th century, in two variants. The first shows Jesus nailed on the cross, laid down, while in the second the Savior is nailed on the erected cross. In the 13th century, Italian art approached the latter variant. Germany and the Low Countries often adopted the former, sometimes adding new elements.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ C. Dima-Drăgan, "Un ensemble bibliologique roumain de Transylvanie daté de l'année 1777 (D'après un manuscrit latin inédit)", *Studia bibliologica*, 4, 1980, 1, p. 43.

⁶⁶ Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 86.

⁶⁷ Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 79–80, fig. 5.

⁶⁸ Sachs, Badstübner, Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten*, p. 222.

With reference to German art, we will cite three examples: a woodcut found in a book entitled *Schatzbehalter* (*Treasure Chest*) published by Anton Koberger at Nürnberg in 1491,⁶⁹ with illustrations attributed to Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, and two others signed by Albrecht Dürer. The former, *Grüne Passion* (*Green Passion*), 1504, is a drawing in ink and brush on paper, the prime color green, preserved in the Albertina collection in Vienna. The latter belongs to *Die Kleine Passion* (*Small Cycle of Passions*), 1509.⁷⁰ It is worth mentioning that Dürer contributed to the dissemination of the respective theme over a vast geographical area, as his work served as a model for several artists.

The similarity of Vlaicu's woodcut with the one in the 1758 *Molytvoslov* of Pochaiv⁷¹ is evident. It is certain that the Ukrainian woodcut was previously printed in other books. The diagonal position of the cross on which Jesus was nailed, the number of characters and their attitude, as well as the vegetal and architectural elements are alike.

The Entombment depicts the full drama of the scene. Joseph of Arimathea, helped by Nicodemus and another figure, lay Christ's body in a tomb. The Virgin Mary, her hands in an attitude of prayer, and Saint John are also present. All the persons around Jesus express deep grief and true love. The naturalness and diverse postures are convincing. Thus, the pathetic exteriorization of feelings specific to Gothic art is absent. It is only the tumultuous, depressing nature which seems to collapse and the darkness that recall the Gothic manner of interpretation. But somewhere to the right, above the towery buildings suggesting Jerusalem, one can catch a glimpse of light, a vague allusion to the moment of Resurrection.⁷²

The illustration attests again to the influence of the German Renaissance drawing. To demonstrate that, we will evoke Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of 1509 in the *Kleine Passion* (*Small Cycle of Passions*)⁷³ and Lucas Cranach the Elder's engraving, also in 1509, part of the *Passio Christi* (*Cycle of Jesus Christ's Passions*).⁷⁴ Much closer to the Blaj illustrations is the woodcut in the 1776 *Molytvoslov* of Pochaiv, which was also printed in previous books.⁷⁵

69 H. Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 15. Jahrhundert*, vol. [I]. *Text Band*, Leipzig, 1975, fig. at p. 365.

70 *Das Albrecht Dürer Hausbuch*, fig. at p. 126 (*Grüne Passion*, 1504), 483 (*Die Kleine Passion*, 1509).

71 Bochovska, Naukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків*, p. 402, with a fig.

72 Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 83–84, fig. 9.

73 *Das Albrecht Dürer Hausbuch*, fig. at p. 488.

74 Avram, *Gravura europeană*, p. 6, fig. at p. 15.

75 Bochovska, Naukha, *Зібрання українських стародруків*, p. 429, with a fig.; Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 84, fig. 212.

7 Petru Papavici Râmnicăanu

The most prolific typographer and engraver of Blaj in the second half of the 18th century was, undoubtedly, Petru Papavici Râmnicăanu, whose works are dated to 1764, 1768, 1770, 1773, 1779, and 1780. A skillful and sensitive draughtsman, he was overall a traditionalist, frequently appealing to engravings printed in Romanian books, particularly at Râmnic. Nevertheless, he sometimes drew upon Renaissance or Baroque models, probably of German provenance.⁷⁶

The fact that Petru Papavici Râmnicăanu was familiar with the Ukrainian books decorated with woodcuts that circulated in the Romanian lands is also demonstrated by the representation of the *Crucifixion* and *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* or *Palm Sunday* in the 1773 *Strastnic*⁷⁷ of Blaj (Fig. 13).

The Crucifixion stands out by its solemn character. Jesus crucified dominates the scene, while the Virgin (hierarchically portrayed in proportion to the other biblical characters – Mary Magdalene, Salome, Joseph, Nicodemus, and the Roman officer Longinus) and Saint John flank him. The characters' garments are either ancient or Byzantine. One may notice that the persons and the decorative elements of the composition are disposed symmetrically to the verticality of the cross. The darkened sun and moon, on either side at the top, hint to the two natures of Jesus, the sun representing his divinity and the moon, his humanity. The two convicted criminals are placed on either side of the Crucified Jesus. To the right, in the lower part of the woodcut, is presented the scene in which the Roman soldiers, who make up an animated group, cast lots for Christ's garment that was "without seam, woven in one piece" (*John* 19: 23).⁷⁸ At the bottom left is shown a grave in which the Savior is to be buried. At the foot of Christ's cross are depicted a skull and two bones (belonging to Adam), which symbolize death defeated on the Cross. The small-size walls of Jerusalem are placed in the background.⁷⁹

The analogy of this illustration signed by Petru Papavici with the one achieved by Ilia for the *Acts of the Apostles* of Lviv, 1639, repeated in other books, including

⁷⁶ See for details Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 115–151.

⁷⁷ A service book that is used in the Orthodox Church during the Holy Week. For the 1773 edition of Blaj, see BRV II, p. 203; I. Chindriș et al., *Cartea românească veche în Imperiul Habsburgic (1691–1830). Recuperarea unei identități culturale. Old Romanian Book in the Habsburg Empire. Recovery of a cultural identity*, Cluj-Napoca, 2016, p. 228–229.

⁷⁸ G. Duchet-Suchaux, M. Pastoureaux, *Flammarion Iconographic Guides. The Bible and the Saints*, Paris/New York, 1994, p. 105–108.

⁷⁹ Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 131–132, fig. 47.

the 1665 Gospel of Lviv,⁸⁰ is convincing. A certain influence of the German Late Gothic can be noticed in both images. There are only slight differences between the engraving of Blaj and that of Lviv.

In contrast with the preceding work, in the woodcut *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Palm Sunday)*, dated to 1773, the landscape represented by hills and buildings (the walls of Jerusalem) takes up more space. The plans of the composition are more sensibly and plainly executed. The group of disciples and Jews which accompany or wait for Jesus at the gate of Jerusalem is animated by his presence. In front of the gates, four children welcome the Savior with palm branches. One of them spreads his vestment before Christ, who rides a mule, his legs on the same side, in the eastern manner. One can remark the disposition of characters with their heads at the same level, according to the Byzantine style. In the upper part of the image is rendered a man up in a Palm tree, with an axe in his hand, cutting branches, which are collected by a boy who is standing under the tree.⁸¹

Even if Petru Papavici knew of some other representations of this scene, it is obvious that he used Ilia's work in the 1639 *Acts* of Lviv as a prototype (Fig. 14).⁸² The differences between the two engravers consist of the fact that the former used more characters who follow Jesus or meet him at the gates of Jerusalem, while the buildings to the right and the left top corners are drawn more elaborately. The buildings rendered to the left are not similar at all. Moreover, in the woodcut of Blaj there is an explanatory inscription at the top.

For the woodcuts that represent Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great, and Saint Gregory the Theologian in the 1775 *Liturgikon (Liturghier)* of Blaj, each on a full page,⁸³ Petru Papavici must have followed Ukrainian models, possibly those in the *Liturgikon* of Kyiv printed in 1620, then 1629 and 1639, or in the one of Stratyn in 1604.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, their framework is different.

⁸⁰ O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, *The Monk Ilia (fl. 1637–1663). Catalogue. Ukrainian and Romanian Baroque Engraving*, Kyiv, 2021, p. 30, fig. 44.

⁸¹ Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 132–133, fig. 48.

⁸² *Українські книги кирилловської печати*, I, p. 28, fig. 699; Yurchyshyn-Smith, *The Monk Ilia*, p. 31, fig. 47.

⁸³ Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 138–139, fig. 59, 60, 61.

⁸⁴ Tatai-Baltă, *Gravorii în lemn de la Blaj*, p. 139–140, fig. 276, 277; *Українські книги*, I, p. 14, 55, fig. 357, 358, 359; p. 57, fig. 406, 407, 408.

8 Conclusions

The intense circulation of Ukrainian illustrated works in the Romanian lands⁸⁵ was favorable to the art of drawing in the early Romanian books. In the 17th century, Ukrainian models were particularly disseminated abroad via Ukrainian engravers who carried out their activity in Iași (Ilia), Târgoviște (Teodor Tișevici), Bucharest and Buzău (Ioanichie Bakov),⁸⁶ whereas in the 18th century important engravers trained in the Romanian lands took over Ukrainian prototypes: Mihai Râmniceanu at Râmnic; Grigorie Tipograf together with Sandul Tipograf at Rădăuți and Iași; Mihail Strilbițchi at Iași and Dubăsari; Vlaicu and Petru Papavici Râmniceanu at Blaj, etc.

Starting in the 17th century, inspired by Ukrainian woodcuts, which in turn were influenced by Western ones, Romanian printed books were endowed with engraved title pages and illustrations, which steadily improved in style and technique. Ukrainian engravings of high aesthetic quality contributed to cultivating an exquisite taste. These illustrations, in conjunction with other elements, led to the dissemination of certain Western themes and stylistic features, especially German ones of the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Even if the engravers Ioanichie Bakov (Pentecostarion, Buzău, 1701) and Petru Papavici Râmniceanu (*Strastnic*, Blaj, 1773) resorted to Ukrainian models, the manner of execution of their works was sometimes superior to the latter, as far as their artistic achievement goes. Moreover, Ukrainian engravings drew the attention of church⁸⁷ and icon⁸⁸ painters, as well as of artists from other fields.

85 Tatai-Baltă, “Cunoașterea xilografurii ucrainene în diferite centre tipografice românești”, p. 7–15.

86 Tatai-Baltă, “Grafica de carte în secolele XVI-XVII”, p. 396 (Țara Românească), 503 (Moldova).

87 C. Popa et al., *Repertoriul picturilor murale brâncovenesti*. I. Județul Vâlcea, vol. II. *Ilustrații*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 101, fig. 6, p. 242, fig. 65, 66; D. D. Filip, *Programul iconografic din bisericile de lemn maramureșene. Document istoric și discurs teologic*, Cluj-Napoca, 2023, p. 132–136, fig. 36 (a, b, c), 42, 50.

88 C. Tatai-Baltă, A. E. Tatay, “Reprezentarea Duminicii tuturor sfinților în icoana pe lemn, xilografura de carte și icoana pe sticlă românească (sec. XVI–XIX)”, *Transilvania*, 5–6, 2014, p. 126–133; D. S. Părvulescu, *Pictura bisericilor ortodoxe din Banat între secolul al XVII-lea și deceniul trei al secolului al XIX-lea*, Timișoara, 2003, p. 162.



Fig. 1: Ioanichie B[akov], *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, Pentecostarion, Buzău, 1701 (B.A.R.).



Fig. 2: Jesus and the Samaritan Woman, Pentecostarion, Kyiv, 1631 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).



Fig. 3: Mihai Râmnic[eanul], *The Raising of the Cross*, *Anthologion*, Râmnic, 1737 (B.A.R.).



Fig. 4: Selyvestr' Erodia, *The Raising of the Cross*, in Lazar Branković, *The Spiritual Sword*, Kyiv, 1666 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).



Fig. 5: G[rigorie Tipograf] and S[andul Tipograf], *Guardian Angel*, *Horoologion*, Rădăuți, 1745 (B.A.R.).



Fig. 6: N[icodým] Z[ubrytskyi], *Guardian Angel*, Akathistos, Lviv, 1699 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

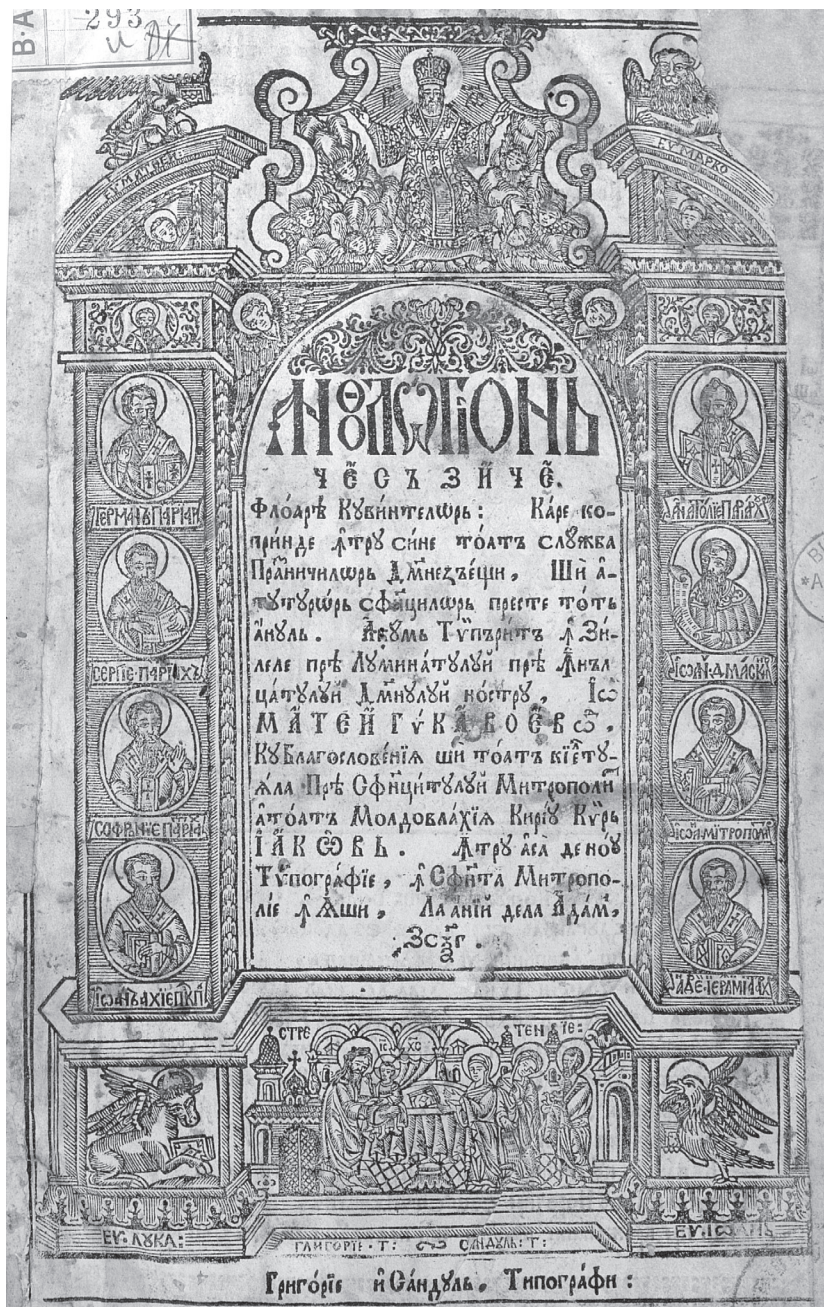


Fig. 7: Gligorie T[ipograf] and Sandul T[ipograf], title page in the *Anthologion*, Iași, 1755 (B.A.R.).



Fig. 8: Georgiy Hierodeacon, title page in the *Anthologion*, Lviv, 1632 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).



Fig. 9: Ierei Mihail [Strilbițchi] and monk Teofan, *Luke the Evangelist*, Gospel, Iași, 1762 (B.A.R.).



Fig. 10: I[eromonah] Macarii, *Luke the Evangelist, Epistles*, Kyiv, 1738 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).



Fig. 11: Ierei Mihail [Strilbițchi], *The Virgin with the Child on the Crescent Moon*, Horologion, Iași, 1786 (B.A.R.).



Fig. 12: *The Virgin with the Child on the Crescent Moon*, Kanonyk, Kyiv, 1763 (Library of the Holy Synod, Bucharest).



Fig. 13: Petru P[apavici] Tip[o]graf, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, in the *Strastnic*, Blaj, 1773 (B.A.R.).

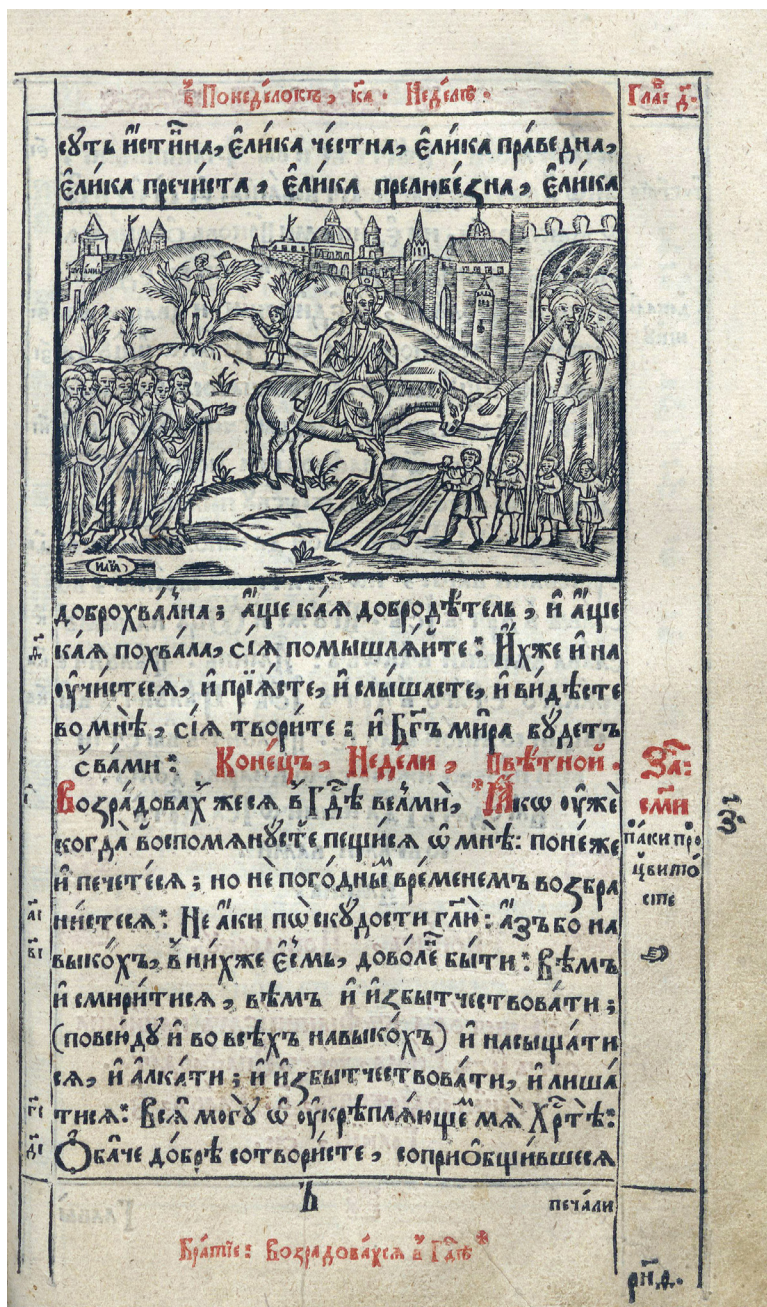


Fig. 14: Ilia, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, Acts of the Apostles, Lviv, 1639 (Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine).

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