

ARTISTS FROM THE BALKANS IN THE SERVICE OF GREEK CATHOLIC BISHOPS (18TH CENTURY)

Introduction

The members of the Greek Catholic community of the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania in the 18th century belonged to one of four eparchies – that of Munkács/Mukaceve, Nagyvárad /Oradea, Fogaras /Făgăraș and, in the Croat-Slavonic territories, Körös/Križevci. The mostly Slavic-speaking Greek Catholic population of the north eastern counties had belonged to the jurisdiction of the bishops of Munkács since the 15th century. In 1646 and the following decades the priests of the Munkács eparchy gradually accepted the church union, which established as late as the first decades of the 18th century. In terms of canon law the bishop of Munkács was considered the rite vicar of the Latin bishop of Eger, which curtailed the autonomy of his eparchy.¹

Part of the Romanian community of Bihar/Bihor unified with the Catholic church already in the late 17th century, but for political reasons they got their own dean appointed only in the 1730s in Nagyvárad, who was, however appointed to the position of rite vicar of the Latin bishop in 1748, thus this case doesn't qualify as a fully fledged autonomous diocese.²

The Romanian community of Transylvania entered into union with the Catholic church likewise in the late 17th century and due to their special historic circumstances the diocese of Fogaras was founded by the Hapsburg emperor in

¹ Hodinka A., *A munkácsi görög katolikus püspökség története*, Budapest 1909, 252-294, 410-423, Lacko, M., *Unio Užhorodiensis Ruthenorum Carpatiorum cum Ecclesia Catholica*. Roma (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 143), Roma 1955, Véghseő T., „...mint igaz egyházi ember...” *A történelmi Munkácsi Egyházmegye görög katolikus egyházának létrejötte és 17. századi fejlődése* (Collectanea Athanasiana. Studia, vol. I/4.), Nyíregyháza 2011.

² Bunyitay V., *Bunyitay Vincze: Bihar vármegye oláhjai és a vallási unió*, Budapest 1892, Gorun G., *De Camillis püspök és a Bihar vármegyei görög katolikus egyház létrejötte*, in: „Rómából Hungáriába”. *Nemzetközi konferencia Joannes Josephus De Camillis (1641-1706) munkácsi püspök halálának 300. évfordulóján*, Véghseő T. ed., (Collectanea Athanasiana. Studia, vol. I/1.) Nyíregyháza 2008, 251-256, Janka Gy., *Görög katolikusok a váradi rítushelynökségben Kovács Melét püspöksége idején*, *Posztbizánci közlemények* II. Debrecen 1995, 10-19.



Fig. 1. Iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic shrine of Máriapócs

Сл. 1. Иконостас гркокатоличке манастирске цркве – места ходочашћа Мариапоч

1721 to serve their needs.³ It was as late as the reign of Maria Theresia (1740-1780) that the eparchy of Munkács was granted canonically autonomous status in 1771,⁴ while the eparchy of Nagyvárad only in 1777.⁵

Parallel with the eparchies gaining autonomy, the Greek Catholic bishops started to develop their sees, with two sets of considerations in mind: on the one hand, they founded a Basilian monastery (in the lack thereof), while on the oth-

³ Nilles, N. ed., *Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in Terris Coronae S. Stephani* I-II, Oeniponte 1885, 127-392, 431-436, I. Tóth Z., *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus első százada* (Múltunk könyvek), Csíkszereda 1998², 21-47, Páclisanu, Z., *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite* (Historia IV), Târgu-Lăpuș 2006³, 81-154.

⁴ Hodinka, *op. cit.* (nt. 1.), 565-625. Baran, A. coll., *Monumenta Ucrainae Historiae Tom XIII vol. De processibus canonicis Ecclesiae Catholicae Ucrainorum Transcarpathia*, Roma 1973.

⁵ Janka Gy., A bécsi udvar lépései a nagyváradai és a körösi görög katolikus egyházmegyék felállításában (1775-1777). *Athanasiana* 2 (1996), 107-116.

er hand, in accordance with the requirements of the Council of Trient, they set the goal of building a seminary and a school.⁶

In terms of institutional development it was the eparchy of Fogaras that took the first big leap forward, when its see was moved from Fogaras to Balázsfalva/Blaj in 1736. The income generated by the demesne there provided a firm financial basis for the bishop's household and the institutions of the bishopry. A year later an architect from Vienna, Johann Martinelli laid down the designs for the buildings of the new centre and construction work started soon afterwards. It was the cathedral that was finished first. The Baroque building showing Classicist influences also bears the traces of adapting to the Byzantine liturgy – mainly in terms of the spatial organisation of the building.⁷

In the first half of the 18th century for various reasons the bishops of Munkács could not inhabit their rather modest monastery near the town, on Mount Csernek, so they set up residence first in Nagykálló and then in Munkács itself. In 1731 they started the construction of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs, which, in due course, became the most significant pilgrimage destination of the eastern region of the country, for Latin and Greek Catholics alike. The new church was first consecrated in 1749, when the construction of the adjoining Basilian monastery was also started. The plans were made by an architect from Kassa/Košice, Nikodémus Liczky, who wanted to meet the



Fig. 2. Iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic cathedral of Blaj

Сл. 2. Иконостас гркокатоличке катедрале у Блажу

⁶ This intention is especially well documented in the case of the Romanian eparchies. On the situation in Fogaras see: Terdik Sz., Görög katolikus püspöki központ kiépítése Balázsfalván a 18. században, in: *Stílusok, művek, mesterek. Erdély művészete 1690 – 1848 között. Tanulmányok B. Nagy Margit emlékére*, Orbán J. szerk., Marosvásárhely – Kolozsvár 2011, 88-89.

⁷ Terdik, *op. cit.* (nt. 6), 89-95, 2. and 5. kép, Sz. Terdik, La cathédrale gréco-catholique de la sainte Trinité à Balázsfalva, *Folia Athanasiana* 13 (2011), 107-109.

expectations of the bishop and keep to the Byzantine tradition as well, which is reflected in the central structural organisation of the building. The bishop overseeing the construction works, Mihály Mánuel Olsavszky (1742-1767) had a strong preference for staying in Máriapócs, thus the new church – the only such building of representative proportions – was functioning almost like a cathedral. Even some of the bishops of Nagyvárad and Fogaras had their ordinations in it.⁸ In the eparchy of Munkács, however, the problem of lack of suitable institutions was finally resolved in the 1770s, when the bishop's see was definitively moved to Ungvár/Uzhgorod.⁹

The Bishop of Nagyvárad had but a modest church without tower in the marketplace of the town with a Gothic-style floor plan, built in 1739-44, with the support of the Latin bishop.¹⁰ The function of episcopal see was filled by a residential house not far from the church. A proper cathedral and the other institutions were only built by the beginning of the 18th century.¹¹

One woodcarver from the Balkans – three iconostases

In the 18th century the three bishops could hardly count on the financial support of their extensive but poor congregations when planning to develop their episcopal sees. Without the support of the state, they couldn't start neither complet the construction works. The architects and builders hired for the projects were local professionals, who had learnt their trade in the west and had little first-hand knowledge of the Byzantine traditions (or little chance, indeed, of knowing them at all). It is little wonder, then, that the general shape of these buildings is hardly different from their Latin counterparts built in the same period. As for the interiors and furnishings, however, there were very specifically Byzantine liturgical needs to be met, which called for artisans and artists with an insider's knowledge of this tradition.

It is indispensable in a Byzantine church to have an iconostasis screening the sanctuary from the nave. The structural characteristics and artistic style of the iconostases of the three important churches in question (Máriapócs, Nagyvárad and Balázsfalva) show close connections with each other (Fig. 1-3). Scholars have highlighted the Balkanic stylistic influence to be seen in the ico-

⁸ The history of the construction of the church: Terdik Sz., Rác Demeter, egy XVIII. századi görög katolikus mecénás, *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* XLIX (2007), 365, 6-7. kép, Terdik Sz., A máriapócsi kegytemplom építésére és belső díszítésére vonatkozó, eddig ismeretlen források, *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve* L (2008), 525-529.

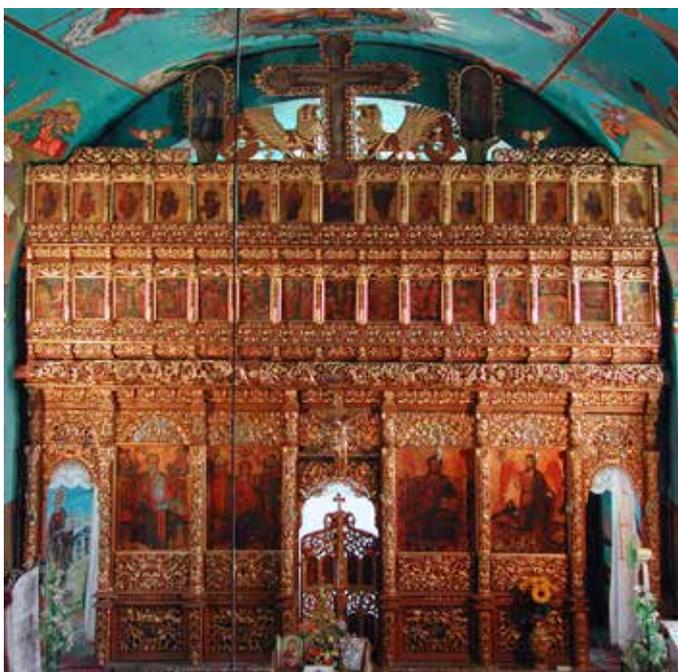
⁹ Hodinka, *op. cit.* (nt. 1), 671-681.

¹⁰ Radu I., *Istoria diezezei române-unite a Orășii-Mari. Scrisă cu prilejul aniversării de 150 ani dela înfițarea aceleia 1777-1927*, Oradea 1930, 19, Bunyitay V., *A váradi püspökség a száműzetés és az újjáalapítás korában (1566-1780)*, Sajtó alá rendezte és kiegészítette, Málnási Ödön, Debrecen 1935, 263. The date of the completion of the church can be gathered from the late-18th century censuses: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest (= MNL OL) C 99. 105. cs. Görög katolikus összeírások 1774-1784. Nagyvárad egyházmegye, f 4r.

¹¹ Biro J., *Nagyvárad barokk és neoklasszikus művészeti emlékei*, Budapest 1932, 82-83.

Fig. 3. Iconostasis of the former Greek-catholic Cathedral of Oradea, actually in Vadu Crişului

Сл. 3. Иконостас бивше гркокатоличке катедрале у Великом Варадину, данас у Ваду Кришулуи



nostasis of Máriapócs before.¹² Typical of this kind of iconostasis are the strong emphasis on the horizontal divisions, the apparent two-dimensionality of the structure despite the richness of the carving, the relative downgrading of the architectonic features and a cross on the gable, relatively large in comparison with the overall size of the iconostasis itself.

From the three iconostases in question so far only the one in Máriapócs can be traced back to a specific artist based on archival research. The bishop of Munkács, Mihály Mánuel Olsavszky and a woodcarver of Greek origin, a Master Konstantinos, signed a contract on 17 December 1748, which,



Fig. 4. Dragons on the top of the iconostasis of Vadu Crişului

Сл. 4. Змајеви на врху иконостаса у Ваду Кришулуи

¹² Puskás B., *A görög katolikus egyház művészete a történelmi Magyarországon, Hagyomány és megújulás*, Budapest 2008, 172.



Fig. 5. Syren on the Iconostasis of Vadu Crișului
Сл. 5. Сирена на иконостасу у Ваду Крисулуи

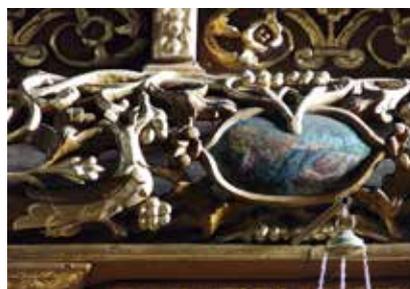


Fig. 6. Jesse on the Iconostasis of Vadu Crișului

Сл. 6. Јесеј на иконостасу у Ваду Крисулуи



Fig. 7. Jesse's place on the frieze of the Iconostasis of Blaj
Сл. 7. Јесејево место на фризу иконостаса у Блажу

fortunately, survived.¹³ The contract states that it shall be the responsibility of the above named craftsman to procure the timber and hire and pay the joiners and carpenters needed for making the iconostasis, referred to in the Latin text as 'the structure closing the sanctuary'. It was also agreed upon that as for the form of the said structure, he was to follow the guidelines drafted in cooperation with the bishop and should the need arise for any alternation, he was to consult the bishop himself. The master was obliged to purchase the best available timber to prevent any further fissures. He asked for a total of 650 Rheinforints (floreos rhenenses) and various fringe benefits to be delivered to him as needed. In the text

he is referred to as 'sculptor', while in his signature he designates himself using the Modern Greek word of Italian origin as 'thaliodoros', meaning 'a sculptor of images'.¹⁴ His Greek background is also suggested by the fact that he is described as the 'graecus' craftsmen in the balance books, while he is also men-

¹³ Derzhahsky Arkhiv Zakarpatskoi Oblasty, Berehovo (=DAZO) Fond 151. opis 1. no 1086. f 3. The text of the contract was published by me: Terdik, *op. cit.* (nt. 8), 547-548. Terdik, Sz., „Sculptor constantinopolitanus? Un intagliatore greco a Máriapócs nel Settecento, in: *Symbolae. Ways of Greek Catholic heritage research. Papers of the conference held on the 100th anniversary of the death of Nikolaus Nilles* (Collectanea Athanasiana Studia I/3.), Végheő T. ed., Nyiregyháza 2010, 260.

¹⁴ On the etymology of the word, see: Nagy M., Nikolasz Ioannu Talidorosz (Jankovicz Miklós) kb. 1750–1817 fafaragó mester egri műhelye, *Zounuk (A Szolnok megyei Levéltár Évkönyve)* 5 (1990), 19.

tioned in the founding document of the Basilian monastery dated 28 May 1749, as 'Constantinus sculptor graecus constantinopolitanus'.¹⁵

The contract makes it possible to keep track of the payments received by the craftsman. He got the last large amount on 8 August 1749, by which date he had probably completed his work. Carving and installing the richly decorated structure mea-



Fig. 8. Detail of the frieze of the Iconostasis of Máriaapócs

Сл. 8. Детаљ фриза иконостаса у Мариапочу

suring 13 m in height and 6 m in width took nearly 8 months. Unfortunately the books do not reveal how many hands he had hired, but presumably he didn't work on a project of such proportions completely on his own.

As for the supposed Greek origin of the sculptor, it is only suggested by his signature and the above quoted description in the balance books, stating that he had come from Constantinople. We can safely presume that if he had been selected and commissioned a project of this magnitude he must have been a relatively old and certainly experienced sculptor. It is unknown how and where Bishop Olsavszky had met him but it seems probable that the 'Greek' merchants from the Ottoman Empire recommended the services of their fellow countryman, because they had permanent contact with their homeland. For Greek merchants to be allowed to stay and do business in the country it had been compulsory since the reign of Leopold 1 to become 'unitus', that is, to recognise the jurisdiction of the bishop of Munkács. Part of the Greek community living in the north east of Hungary kept in touch with the bishop and at times they declared themselves 'uniates'¹⁶ and thus were in the position to recommend one of their fellow countrymen to undertake such a large-scale project. In the early 1750s several censuses were taken of the Greek population in Hungary, but, to our present knowledge, none of these makes mention of a Master Konstantin.¹⁷

The exact date of the creation of the iconostasis of Balázsfalva, more monumental in its size (15 m in height and 11.5 in width) (Fig. 2), is not yet established, but a letter dated of December 1749 recently published by Ana Dumitran and issued by the Treasury of Transylvania addressed to the Greek Catholic general vicar, Petru Pavel Aaron states that the Queen had decided to provide 800 forints to support the project and thus Aaron is asked to submit the plans and

¹⁵ DAZO Fond 151. opis 1. no 1991. f 1r.

¹⁶ Hodinka A., *A tokaji görög kereskedőtársulat kiváltságának az ügye 1725–1772*, (Értekezések a Történeti Tudományok köréből 23.), Budapest 1912, Papp K., *Balkáni kereskedők a XVIII. századi Bihar megyében*, *A Hajdú-Bihar megyei Levéltár évkönyve* 14 (1987), 11–20.

¹⁷ Az összeírások: MNL OL C 42, fasc. 2. no. 8. 15. cs.



Fig. 9. Animals on the Iconostasis of Vadu Crișului
Сл. 9. Животиње на иконостасу у Ваду Крисулуи

the contract to the court.¹⁸ Barely two years later, in a report issued also by the Treasury of 13 September 1751 the sculpting works on the 'Hoch Altar' (which term, in the given context, can refer to an iconostasis) are referred to as 'completed', with only the painting and gilding still to be done – which means that the (bare woodwork) wood-carved parts must have been erected in the church by that time.¹⁹ The date of this document suggests that this monumental undertaking was completed in the time span of 1-1.5 years, which is not impos-

sible considering that the iconostasis of Máriapócs was made in 8 months.

Since the contract for the sculpting of the iconostasis of Balázsfalva has not yet emerged, we have no written source of the name of the woodcarver. Romanian scholarly tradition considers it to be the work of a craftsman from Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureș by the name of Aldea, but this attribution seems to be based on oral tradition rather than sound historic evidence.²⁰ The iconostasis in question shows strong similarities with its counterparts in Máriapócs (Fig. 1.) and – as we shall see below – in Nagyvárad (Fig. 3.). Although the Balázsfalva iconostasis is larger than the one in Máriapócs and has a greater number of individual images, yet its overall structure, its set of motifs and some of its details show complete correspondence, so my hypothesis is that it was the same sculptor who made both, or even all the three of them.

The question then arises how the sculptor got from Máriapócs to Balázsfalva. In this period, however, the diocese of Munkács and that of Fogaras were in close and lively contact. Bishop Olsavszky visited Transylvania several times in the late 1740s to report to the Queen on the exact situation of the union in the region (1746-47).²¹ Also, vicar Aaron, who studied the interior decorations of the cathedral of Balázsfalva in 1748, being a Basilian monk himself,

¹⁸ Dumitran, A., Iconostasul catedralei din Blaj, între Ștefan Tenetchi și Grigore Ranite, *Ars Transylvaniae* XXI (2011), 72-73, Dumitran, A., I pittori della Cattedrale greco-cattolica di Blaj, *Arte Cristiana* C (2012), 105.

¹⁹ Terdik 2011, *op. cit.* (nt. 6), 108, Terdik 2011, *op. cit.* (nt. 7), 113.

²⁰ Porumb, M., *Dicționar de pictură veche românească din Transilvania, sec. XI-II-XVIII*, București 1998, 41. Tatai-Baltă, C. - Fărcaș, I., *Iconostasului Catedralei Greco-Catolice „Sfânta Treime” din Blaj (Sec. XVIII)*, Alba Iulia 2011, 13-14.

²¹ I. Tóth, *op. cit.* (nt. 3), 147.

was also in touch with the monastery of Munkács and the Bishop, while he was anointed Bishop in 1754 in Máriapócs. Most probably the two dignitaries recommended to one another the services of the craftsman who had already proven his talents on a similar project in Máriapócs.

The third member of the group is the iconostasis in the one-time cathedral of Nagyvárád, which was, some time at



Fig. 10. Animals on the Iconostasis of Blaj

Сл. 10. Животиње на иконостасу у Блажу

the beginning of the 19th century, transferred to the church of Kőrösrev/Vadu Crişului, together with a pulpit and an episcopal throne (Fig. 3.).²² The wooden framework of this iconostasis has not been dated either, but its inscription, in Romanian written in Cyrillic script, gives the date of its gilding and painting as 1763, during the time of Bishop Meletius Kovács.²³ Probably the cross on the gable was also painted at this time, as well as the two figures that go with it, and some of the images painted directly on the wooden framework (Fig. 4.) – while according to the inscriptions of the images of the main row the icons themselves were made in 1763. It is possible that here too the woodcarved part was put in place already in the early 1750s, well before the painting works were begun at all. In its details, the iconostasis of Nagyvárád shows closer proximity to the one in Balázsfalva than to the one in Máriapócs. As for their relative chronology, archival research suggests that both the Balázsfalva and the Máriapócs iconostases preceded the one in Nagyvárád.

The three iconostases, despite their differences in terms of structure and the specific carved motifs can be considered the works of the same artist/workshop. Structural differences, i.e. that the number of images in the main row is four in the Máriapócs and the Nagyvárád one as opposed to six in the Balázsfalva one and the fact that the gates are positioned directly next to the wall in the Nagyvárád one – these were determined by the architectural context of each setting. It is also the result of the large size of the Balázsfalva church that the second and third row of pictures contain one frame more each than in the other two churches. However, it shows a different liturgical approach that in Máriapócs there were consoles added to front of the images of the main row, which could then serve as minor altars. An individual feature of the Máriapócs iconostasis is the way the third row is bordered with straight-edged icons rather

²² Porumb, M., Un valoros ansamblu de pictură și sculptura din secolul al XVIII-lea la Vadu Crişului, *Acta Musei Napocensis* XXI (1984), 561-564.

²³ The Latin transcription of the inscription in Cyrillic was published by Porumb: Porumb, *op. cit.* (nt. 22), 562.



Fig. 11. Dragons on the top of the iconostasis of Máriapócs

Сл. 11. Змајеви на врху иконостаса у Мариапочу

than arching ones, unlike the other two. The richly decorated gable is the largest in Balázsfalva, which is the reason why its structure is also different from the one in Máriapócs – but this is likewise explained by the larger size of the building itself. The original gable of the Nagyvárad iconostasis, significantly maimed when it was transferred to its present place, must have been similar to the one in Máriapócs.

As for the carvings, one difference is that the columns with composite capitals separating the icons of the mian row, decorated with garpes and grapevines have a lot more figurative components (gryffins and snakes) in the Balázsfalva and Nagyvárad iconostasis than in the Máriapócs one. The same richness can be seen in the frieses and the lunettes above the doors and the images. A unique feature of the Nagyvárad iconostasis is the set of half naked female figures decorating the arcs above the deacon's doors, whose lower body is transformed into acanthi (Fig. 5). It is a motive revived in the renaissance tradition, especially the grotesque, having its precursors in antiquity. The repeated pattern of the triple rosettes stemming from a common root, the columns separating the individual frames in the smaller set of images and the garlands under the images are the same in all the three cases.

Another important structural similarity, which has been typical of iconostases from the Balkans since the 17th century is that when creating the so-called sovereign tier, a carved lunette is placed above the image (which is called *ke-meria* in Modern Greek), while under the icons there is a rectangular panel, also



Fig. 12. Dragons on the top of the iconostasis of Blaj

Сл. 12. Змајеви на врху иконостаса у Блажу

decorated with carvings (called *ketabedes*). Unfortunately these were all lost in Máriapócs when the main row of icon was replaced in 1896 by significantly larger images, necessitating the removal of these carvings.²⁴

Above the main row there is a concave frieze with carved tracery, traditionally (from the 17th century onwards) featuring Christ's ancestors, with the reclining Jesse in the centre.²⁵ From the three examples only the one in Nagyvárad shows this kind of feature (Fig. 6-7). While in Máriapócs there are only grape and grapevine motifs running around the frames in the frieze (Fig. 8.), in the other two we find animals as well: there are several examples of the deer carrying the cross on its antler and fighting a dragon (Fig. 9-10.). This motif can probably be attributed to the influence of Physiologus, still popular in the Balkans at the time.²⁶

The iconostases made in the Balkan region from the second half of the 16th century onwards start featuring large crucifixions that have dragons or other water creatures wriggling around the base of the Cross. The appearance of relatively large crosses in the composition is considered by Serbian researchers an influence of the Italian *croce dipinta* that reached the region through Dalmatia, but they also think it possible that it goes back to a Byzantine tradition in its own right. The vegetal ornamentation decorating the edges of the crosses also

²⁴ Terdik, *op. cit.* (nt. 8), 536.

²⁵ Dumitrescu, F., *Sculptura în lemn brâncovenească (Studiu și repertoriu), Pagini de veche artă românească III*. București 1974, fig. 47, Fig. 54.

²⁶ Динко, Д., Иконе XVIII века из николајевске цркве Старом Сланкамену, *Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности* 6. Нови Сад 1970, 335-342.

shows similarity to western examples, but there we find no dragons. The first surviving example of a pair of carved dragons biting the base of the enormous cross comes from the iconostasis of the Morača monastery made between 1596 and 1617.²⁷ A modification of this can be found in examples where the dragons are not biting the cross but are intertwined with one another, their heads pointing in opposite directions and they are holding the two auxiliary pictures of the crucifixion. A prototype of this variant can be considered the iconostasis of the main church of the Chilandar monastery of Mt Athos from 1635, which became a model for numerous other iconostases.²⁸ The three examples from Hungary in question are variants on this theme as well (Fig. 4, 11-12.). The dragons can be interpreted as decorative components as well as symbolic motifs. To understand their symbolic meaning we need to rely on the Holy Scriptures and the Byzantine theological-liturgical tradition concerning dragons, which state that during the crucifixion Christ descends into the Hades as a bait, where the dragons symbolising Satan mistake him for an ordinary mortal, take the bait, are caught and their power is thus annulled.²⁹

In lack of pertaining historic sources it is not known how long Master Konstantinos stayed in Hungary. According to his contract for the Máriapócs iconostasis it seems he must have recruited his helpers locally, so it may well be an exaggeration to use the word 'workshop' for the group. It must be the subject of further study to find out where in the Balkans Konstantinos had worked before 1748.

Силвестер Тердик
УМЕТНИЦИ СА БАЛКАНА У СЛУЖБИ ГРКОКАТОЛИЧКИХ БИСКУПА
(XVIII ВЕК)

Почев од 70-их година XVIII века, гркокатолички бискупи у Мађарској ангажовали су локалне уметнике да спроведу готово све велике пројекте – пре свега онима који су били ангажовани од стране Већа Хабзбуршког суда. Три иконостаса који се приписују радионици пореклом са Балкана настала су у посебном контексту да би задовољили посебне захтеве, јер су ове три цркве биле три највеће византијске цркве у Мађарској у то време. Међутим, њихов утицај је занемарљив у каснијој византијској уметности у Мађарској, коју је постепено комплетно преузела западна традиција.

²⁷ Ćorović-Ljubinković, M., *Srednjekovni duborez u istočnim oblastima Jugoslavije* (Les bois sculptés du Moyen Age dans les régions orientales de la Yougoslavia), Beograd 1965, 152, Tab. XLVI–XLVII.

²⁸ Ćorović-Ljubinković, op. cit. (nt. 27), 158–159, Tab. LXV. Examples from Northern Greece cited by: Sabbopoulou-Katsike, X., Χρονολογημένα μεταβυζαντινά τέμπλα από τη Δυτική Μακεδονία (16ος–18ος αι.). *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 44 (2007), 575–586.

²⁹ The iconographical analysis of dragons: Terdik, op. cit. (nt. 8), 538–540.