Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country:

Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in comparative perspective

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«Rito greco, lingua dalmatica»: Ruthenians in Early Modern Rome*

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Abstract

In 1639, Pope Urban VIII entrusted the church of Santi Sergio e Bacco in Rome to the Byzantine-Rite Basilian monks from regions that now form part of Belarus, Lithuania, and Ukraine. The essay briefly outlines how this national church differed from others that predated it. Besides being the church for the Ruthenians, themselves subject to the Polish king, the place served as the seat for the representative of the Basilian Order, who also

acted as procurator of the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Church to the Holy See. Relying on the combination of their own Marian imagery and oversight by local architects, SS. Sergio e Bacco presents us with a rare scenario of how a small community forged its own identity while carefully navigating a complex world of church hierarchies, institutions, and cross-national politics in Early Modern Rome. The article draws on a careful investigation of the extant primary sources found in the Roman archives and forms part of a larger doctoral dissertation.

Nel 1639, Papa Urbano VIII affidò la chiesa dei Santi Sergio e Bacco a Roma ai monaci basiliani di rito bizantino provenienti da regioni che ora fanno parte della Bielorussia, della Lituania e dell'Ucraina. Il saggio descrive come questa chiesa nazionale differiva da altri che la precedettero. Oltre ad essere la chiesa per i ruteni, essi stessi soggetti al re polacco, il luogo serviva come sede per il procuratore dei basiliani e della Chiesa greco-cattolica rutena presso la Santa Sede. Basandosi sulla combinazione delle proprie immagini mariane e della supervisione degli architetti locali, SS. Sergio e Bacco ci presenta uno scenario raro di come una piccola comunità abbia forgiato la propria identità mentre navigava attentamente in un mondo complesso di gerarchie ecclesiastiche, istituzioni, politiche transnazionali nella Roma moderna. L'articolo attinge ad un'attenta investigazione delle fonti primarie trovate negli archivi romani e fa parte di una tesi di dottorato.

For the study of early modern art and architecture, national churches in Rome offer us solid evidence of stable expatriate Slavic communities that also include the relatively small community of Slavic Greek-Catholics. Currently, the scholarship of national churches moved well beyond its initial focus on communities that were represented by foreign or native states in the Italian peninsula, toward a study of the *nationes* that were smaller or less politically and artistically influential. Slavic presence in Rome has now been carefully reconsidered yet much remains understudied. The church of Santi Sergio e Bacco (fig. 1) and its *Ospizio* provide the earliest examples of a small but continuous Eastern Slavic presence in the city.

Built in the ninth century in the *rione* Monti (fig. 2), the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco had been overseen since 1639 by the order of Byzantine-Rite Basilian monks from the regions that are now part of Belarus and Ukraine. The church houses a miraculous copy of the fifteenth-century icon of Our Lady of Żyrowice, known by its Italian name, *Madonna del Pascolo* (fig. 3). Since its foundation, the church has been redecorated and renovated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, remaining typologically always Roman in appearance (figs. 4-5). I argue that the construction of a "Byzantine" devotional space by Greek-Catholic Ruthenians (that is Belarusians and Ukrainians) within the larger built fabric of Rome was integral to Pope Urban VIII's project in creating an architecturally unified yet liturgically diverse Rome. In effect, Orthodox Ruthenians not only became fully absorbed into Marian spirituality of Post-Tridentine Rome, but they carefully integrated themselves into pre-established relationships between various Slavs in the city, specifically Latin-Rite Schiavoni/Illyrians and Poles. Ruthenians quickly got involved in a push for the production of the Church Slavonic Missal, in

the missionary activity that promoted a union with Rome among the Slavs in the Balkans and Russia, internationally among the Christians in the Middle East, and internally, among the Slavs and Armenians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, a Ruthenian community in Rome has never been able to attain the scope and the extent of say Schiavoni/Illyrians or Poles, instead retaining its primarily ecclesiastical character. In hopes that the example of SS. Sergio e Bacco would allow us to expand our understanding of Post-Tridentine Catholicism and reconsider the character of liturgical diversity and non-Latin identities within the newly "global" Church, this article will address a few aspects pertaining to the question of a Ruthenian presence in Rome. Namely: the location of the church – corresponding to the question of why there and not elsewhere; the space's functionality – corresponding to the question of the state of Byzantine Church-Slavonic liturgy in Rome of early modern period; and visual culture of the Ruthenians in Rome, its mobile character and its relation to the missionary activity.

1. *Location(s)*

The church of SS. Sergio e Bacco (fig. 1) was not the first building offered by church officials to the Ruthenians. Initially, as reported by Bishop Ivan Khoma, the church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte, also in Monti, was assigned in 1627 for the use of Slavic Greek Catholics. However, at the time, the monastic owners of the church refused to give it up to the Basilian confreres. The issue remained unresolved, and on 28 May 1637, a letter from Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini offers to Ruthenians the church of Santi Quaranta Martiri in the rione Trastevere[1]. Yet only a week later (6 June 1637), a letter from the same cardinal informs that the Archconfraternity of Gonfalone, the owner of SS. Quaranta, has refused to give up the church, and, instead, another church – San Giorgio in Velabro – is being offered to the Ruthenian use[2]. Cardinal Barberini mentions that the church has the relics of Saint George, and he would personally order the necessary renovations and improvements (e.g. raising the floor level etc.)[3]. It is unclear why the S. Giorgio offer did not materialize for the Ruthenians, though Cardinal Barberini did indeed finance the remodeling of that structure[4], just as he would a few years later pay for the remodeling of SS. Sergio e Bacco. By 1639 the name of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco appears

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[1] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth BAV), Vat. lat. 8473, vol. 1, fol. 86rv.
[2] BAV, Vat. lat. 8473, vol. 1, fol. 92v.
[3] BAV, Vat. lat. 8473, vol. 1, fol. 92v.
[4] The renovations of the Baroque period of the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro were removed at first in the nineteenth-century "restorations," and later by Antonio Muñoz, in 1923-26. That latter work reversed the floor level changes done according to Cardinal Barberini's wishes.

in the renewed discussions over Ruthenians' own church in Rome. By 1641, the church is officially theirs, passing to Basilians from the hands of the Minims of St Francis of Paula that nevertheless retain a large presence in the area of Suburra.

The seemingly haphazard placement of the churches (fig. 6) offered to Ruthenians during negotiations may hold the key to answering a larger question: why this particular church in Monti, and why not another elsewhere? When it comes to specific locations of all the churches offered – S. Lorenzo in Monti, SS. Quaranta in Trastevere, S. Giorgio in Velabrum in Ripa, and finally SS. Sergio e Bacco again in Monti – all share placements in areas where there were considerable groups of immigrants, specifically those attached to Byzantine liturgical tradition. There were some Albanians in Trastevere and Monti, while the area of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and S. Giorgio was known as the Greek quarter of Rome. The fact that there were already established Slavic communities in Ripetta (S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni/Illirici/Croati) and rione Sant'Angelo (S. Stanislao dei Polacchi) of the Latin rite seemingly played no importance to Cardinal Barberini's decisions. I suggest instead to seek the answer not only in the neighborhoods but in a larger devotional similarity that all the churches in the offers shared, namely, the dedications to specific saints and the antiquity of the place and its cult. In each example, the saints to whom the church was dedicated had a long devotional history within both Eastern Orthodoxy and Catholicism that stretched into Early Christian period of the Church, and had long been a "fixture" in Orthodox liturgical calendar: Saints Laurence, George, Sergius and Bacchus, and the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Holy Forty). Cardinal Barberini's choices were driven, in my view, precisely of his deep understanding of how his Orthodox partners operated, and which building would or would not constitute a successful and functional option. Barberini's mentions of the relics, in the case of S. Giorgio, is important, again, precisely because the offer of the church went along with the content (relics) upon which the dedication was based. Although much has been written about the mobility of relics, and their importance in constructing the space, we cannot discount the fact of the immobility of *cultus* as anchored in a particular location, long established and grounded in the first centuries of Christianity in the city. Barberini was conscious of that, I suspect. Each choice offered exactly that – an ancient Early Christian site[5] with relics of Early Christian martyrs – something that no Eastern Orthodox could possibly refuse.

2. *Space*

Throughout their history in the modern period the church and the hospice of SS. Sergio e Bacco experienced several instances when objects in either of

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[5] In case of SS. Quaranta, the church was medieval, instead of Early Christian, founded in 1122.

them were cataloged. The two earliest inventories were taken on the occasions of visitations, while the others seem to have been done possibly due to some institutional changes that prompted careful listing of all the belongings. Below is the list of all known instances:

  – 1656, August 19. A visitation conducted by Fr. Virgilio Spada[6].
  – 1661, May 18. A visitation[7], conducted by Ivan Paštrić that also produced an additional document – an inventory of the material possessions left at the death (1640) of Rafajil Korsak[8].
  – 1735, May 2. Inventory[9] by Fr. Ignazio Kulczynski, also includes 1743 inventory of the items left at the death of the Bishop of Aleppo, the Armenian Suchias Khaxavat.
  – 1820 Inventory of the church by the Fr. Jordan Mickiewicz[10].
  – 1827, January 27. Inventory of the items in the hospice[11].
  – 1848 Inventory of the items in the hospice[12].
  – 1869 Inventory of the rector's library[13].

The information contained in the inventories is of paramount importance to the history of the material culture of the parish, the day-to-day functioning of the church and its hospice, and the intellectual background of the resident clergy (to name just a few areas of interest). Moreover, the inventories prove that the extent of the liturgical life at SS. Sergio e Bacco was to a large measure also Roman, Latin, and Italian, rather than exclusively Ruthenian Greek Catholic. Based on the quantity of the Latin liturgical items in the church and its sacristy – objects that were also increasing in quantity over the centuries – one can conclude that the Latinization of the Ruthenian national church was a process that happened rather early on (likely in the mid-1600s, i.e. within a decade of taking over SS. Sergio e Bacco), and a phenomenon that was only growing in complexity over the years.

What immediately stands out about this church of the Byzantine Rite is that its interior space (fig. 7) appears so unlike the traditionally prescribed Orthodox space. The report, that the icon of Madonna del Pascolo already in the 1700s was placed above the high altar for the veneration of the faithful, suggests that if an iconostasis was indeed in place, it did not obscure the icon up above in the apse – hardly a Byzantine approach in icon placement. In fact, one glaring absence in the inventories is any mention of that elusive iconostasis. The inventories of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries (last one being conducted in

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[6] Archivio Storico della Sacra Congregazione della Propaganda Fide (henceforth APF), Fondo di Vienna, vol. 17, fol. 164-167v.

[7] APF, Fondo di Vienna, vol. 18, fol. 12-20.

[8] APF, Fondo di Vienna, vol. 18, fol. 21v.

[9] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo), Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, vol. 1, fol. 38r-62v. Also transcribed in Šeptyckyj 1966, pp. 51-54.

[10] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 4d.

[11] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 3.

[12] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 3.

[13] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni, vol. 3.

1869), none mention any iconostasis. In his book on SS. Sergio e Bacco, Bishop Khoma mentions and provides a picture of the "first" earlier iconostasis, as well as including the picture of the "new" (current) one[14]. Instead, the "first" iconostasis is the work of the Roman painter Cesare Caroselli (1847-1927) and was commissioned in 1897 soon after the remodeling of the church and a construction of the new façade by Ettore Bonoli. I would argue that this church for centuries functioned without any iconostasis. Although currently (and in line with the Byzantine liturgical prescription), a large marble altar (170 cm sq.), occupies the middle of the sanctuary (fig. 8), allowing for ambulatory movement around it, I suggest that the church originally possessed an attached high altar in the apse – very much according to the Latin liturgical practice of the post-Tridentine Catholicism. The apse, now emptied of everything except the presbyter's chair, is noticeably transformed: an area just below the blue-painted upper register of the apse, precisely where the high altar would have been, is painted in faux marble, and the faux marble columns have a markedly different wear just below the 135cm mark – roughly the height of the suggested attached high altar.

This exterior and, arguably, the interior ubiquity of the architecture suggests something about early modern Rome that I think has not been explored in depth. The idea that Rome at the time was rapidly refashioning itself as a center of global Catholicism is not new. Moreover, the period's developments show that Roman ecclesiastical elites attempted to remake Rome as a center of a global Christianity, not just global Catholicism. Yet, the ensuing liturgical diversity did not end up in the kind of nineteenth-century eclecticism of the architectural forms, but, rather, and paradoxically, in the stylistic uniformity of the diverse liturgical spaces. That phenomenon did not reserve itself to the confines of the city of Rome, but it spread itself across non-Latin communities in a union or only in direct contact with Rome. Marian devotion, centered on miraculous images with undeniably ancient pedigree, played a major role in this phenomenon.

3. *Images*

In 1718, during a remodeling of the building of SS. Sergio e Bacco, an image of the Virgin Mary (fig. 3) was found hidden behind the plaster of the church's sacristy[15]. Upon its discovery, it was immediately recognized as a copy of the miraculous Madonna of Zyrowice, and the locals started to call the image *Madonna del Pascolo* referencing the original site of the discovery of the original image. Several sources note that the discovered was a fresco and note an inscription

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[14] Khoma 1972, Illustrations. The current iconostasis reuses the royal and diaconial gates from an earlier iconostasis by Cesare Caroselli of 1897.
[15] Khoma 1972, p. 38.

added to it commemorating the discovery: «si scoperse a caso sotto l'incrostatura del muro, e l'anno seguente […] fu tagliata dal muro, e transferita in chiesa» (it was discovered by chance beneath the plaster of the wall, the following year […] it was cut out of the wall and transferred to the church)[16]. In 1719, it was restored by the Roman painter Lorenzo Gramiccia[17], and transferred inside the church proper. On 13 September 1730, it was installed on the main altar of the church and the same year a copy of that image was sent back to the monastery in Zyrowice as a gift. The Zyrowice copy of the Roman fresco is now found in the Slonim's St Andrew Church. The icon's finding prompted a production of the whole series of images in Rome, ranging from detailed prints by Carlo Grandi (figs. 9-10) that accompanied Ignazio Kulczynski's book dedicated to all three images: in Zyrowice, in Rome, and the latter's copy in Zyrowice. In fact, I would consider the very existence of the Roman Madonna del Pascolo as a byproduct of an already well-organized campaign of Marian imagery on the part of the Basilian printing houses[18]. Rome, in that sense, is a source of generating a typology of images for the consumption in Eastern Europe, but also to some extent a consumer of imagery produced in Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine[19].

The question remains as to why this image, discovered at SS. Sergio e Bacco, was assumed to be a copy of the one in Zyrowice? The answer lies in the close connection between the Roman church and the Basilian order. There was already a nearly eighty-year-long connection of the building of SS. Sergio e Bacco to the Basilian Order, and thus, indirectly, to the cult of Madonna of Zyrowice of the Eleousa type. However, there are also stylistic/visual similarities which link the two images. The fresco had an oval border, reminiscent of the oval shape of the original jasper image, a compositional device common to almost all the

[16] The original inscription reads: «a. 1719
Qui era situata l'imagine
Della Beatissima Vergine del Pascolo
Copia di quella che si venera in Zyrowic
celebre per i miracoli nel mese d'agosto MDCCXVIII
si scoperse a caso sotto l'incrostatura del muro
e l'anno seguente nel medesimo mese comincio
il concorso del popolo, e crebbe a tal segno, che
D'Ordine di Nostro Signore PP. Clemente XI
fu tagliata dal muro, e transferita in chiesa
il di VII. Settembre MDCCXIX.
Ho riportato questa memoria che si vede nella parete di una cameretta contigua alla sagrestia, perche si chiarisce la causa del nuovo nome dato alla chiesa». *Ibidem.*

[17] Lorenzo Gramiccia (1702 or 1704, Cava near Palestrina – 1795, Venice), a Settecento painter, active in Rome and Venice, was a student of the Emilian painter Bonaventura Lamberti (Bolzicco 2002).

[18] See Jan Drews's *Methodus peregrinationis menstruae Marianae ad imagines Deiparae Virginis per ditiones regni Poloniae et M. Ducatus Lituaniae*, for images of the Żyrowice Madonna that may have travelled to Rome and influenced directly or indirectly Madonna del Pascolo's iconography.

[19] See Piskun 2003.

painted copies of the *Madonna of Zyrowice* (fig. 13). The oval border also has an inscription, the second line from *Axion Estin* – a Greek theotokion – in Church Slavonic in Cyrillic alphabet: «Честне́йшую херуви́м и сла́внейшую без сравнения серафи́м, без истления Бога Слова рождшую, сущую Богородицу, Тя величаем»[20].

With the icon cover removed, one can see in the upper half the remnants of the painted trees in the background of the surviving restored Madonna del Pascolo (fig. 3), while the bottom half did not survive and was painted an uniform red. The top portion of the original background suggests that the fresco initially showed the oval image held by angels as appearing among the tree branches to the children – a reference to the original discovery of the jasper image. It is thus clear that the iconography of Madonna del Pascolo in Rome was rooted in the Madonna of Zyrowice in both its form and narrative content. The same composition, showing the act of finding of the image in the tree by the children, is used without any changes in the Grandi engraving from Kulczynski's book (fig. 10).

Seventy-eight years passed between the time that Basilians came to the possession of SS. Sergio e Bacco, and the finding of the fresco (1718). Considering Basilian modus operandi, and its connection to the Marian cult, it would only be natural to expect that sometime soon after 1640's establishment in Rome, the Ruthenian monks would have a Marian image at their new church, preferably of an ancient pedigree. We find the support to that in the contemporary documents: two visitations conducted in seventeenth-century left reports on the condition and the contents of SS. Sergio e Bacco, which was under the jurisdiction of Basilian monks. The first visitation was conducted on 19 August 1656 by Fr. Virgilio Spada[21]. The report mentioned the existence of three altars dedicated to St Nicolas (the largest), the Virgin Mary, and to the Blessed Josaphat (Kuncewicz) respectively[22]. It also mentioned an image of the Virgin Mary, painted on canvas, and hanging not far from the doors, although it is not clear which ones[23]. This is as much as was said about an image of Mary present in the church at the time.

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

[21]   Virgilio Spada (1596-1662) was an Oratorian, a papal almoner and the close advisor to Pope Innocent X Pamphili, who retained his influence in the next pontificate, that of Alexander VII Chigi. Spada oversaw virtually all of the papal construction projects. He edited Francesco Borromini's (his friend) book *Opus architectonicum*. For further discussion of Spada's importance in the urban redevelopment of Rome, see Connors 1989, pp. 76-90, and Habel 2013.

[22]   Khoma 1972, p. 27.

[23]   *Ibidem*.

However, during the second visitation, on 18 May 1661, more details are given. It mentions the same three altars, but the main altar is mentioned as that of the «Most Blessed Sacrament». The most interesting detail of the report is that it describes an image of the Virgin Mary placed on the second altar. It says that it is «imagine antica e miracolosa», painted «alla Rutena» (in the Russian style) and was brought to Rome by Bishop Rafajil Korsak (c. 1599-1640). Moreover, the report goes on to say that this very image of Our Lady previously belonged to Patriarch Ignatius of Moscow (1540-1620)[24]. Is it possible that the «imagine antica e miracolosa» belonging first to Patriarch Ignatius[25] and then to Rafajil Korsak, was also a copy of the Madonna of Zyrowice or of another already venerated icon from Ruthenian lands? The image was painted «alla Rutena» – not so much in the "Russian" style as in "Ruthenian," a style very much peripheral and vernacular, that we now recognize in many of the surviving examples of religious art from the area of Belarus and Ukraine. This first recorded[26] miraculous image of the Madonna in SS. Sergio e Bacco was thus brought to Rome by Bishop Korsak in 1633. This image is no longer mentioned in the early 1700s when the emphasis shifts to the newly uncovered fresco[27]. What happened to the Ignatius-Korsak icon? Arguably, the very discovery of the fresco of Madonna del Pascolo in that church suggests that the earlier image belonging to Patriarch Ignatius and Bishop Korsak was, for yet unknown reason, no longer present in SS. Sergio e Bacco – the space was in

[24] «Havendo poi il metropolita de' monaci Ruteni, Korsak per nome, portata in Roma un'imagine antica e miracolosa della Madonna dipinta all Rutena co'l Bambino in mano, sopra meteria non ho potuto saper di certo, con i circoli de' capi della Madonna e del Bambino larghetti d'argento adornati con pietre preziose apparenti con la cornice quadra di rame annerita hormai, adorna anco esse di pietre simili. L'altare ha preso nome anco della Madonna. Dicesi che questa istessa imagine l'havesse un pezzo primo da Moscovia a Vilna, Ignatio patriarca di Mosca. Et è posta in qui in alto del quadro dell'altare, talmente che pare che da i due Santi Sergio e Bacco sia sostentata. Intorno ad essa vi sono vari lavori e ornamenti, come angeletti che sostengono una corona, et altre vaghezze di indotatura». Šeptyckyj 1966, vol. III, p. 114.

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

[26] Recorded during the visitation of 1661.

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

dire need of another «image from a different age», another «imagine antica e miracolosa». The 1718 discovery did just that: it allowed SS. Sergio e Bacco to function as a mirror sanctuary to that in Zyrowice.

Based on the archival evidence, we see two concurrent developments within the liturgical environment of the church: bi-rituality, presented in weekly celebrations of the liturgy in a Latin Rite (Roman), as well as the Byzantine liturgy (theoretically in Church Slavonic) at weekends. The latter shows early signs of Latinization despite the fact of numerous papal warnings against mixing of the rites or corrupting either of the two with other's characteristics. It appears that on the ground, in practice, Latinization has been advanced by the very clergy and the environment in which the said clergy found itself. However, that would not be the whole picture of the rather complex liturgical situation at SS. Sergio e Bacco.

All of the Eastern European actors, involved in the establishment of the national church of the Ruthenians, had been alumni of one of the pontifical colleges in Rome, either Collegio Greco or Collegio Romano, and educated by Jesuits. Furthermore, as such, during the course of their studies, they were classmates with other Slavs, Armenians, Greeks, and Albanians who would eventually collaborate with them later in their ecclesiastical careers. Ivan Paštrić was a classmate of several Ruthenians – the very people to whom he was later sent to conduct a visitation in 1661 at SS. Sergio e Bacco[28]. All three early leaders of the Greek Orthodox union with Rome, who succeeded each other as Metropolitans of Kyiv and Halycz – bishops Ipatii Potii[29], Rutsky and Korsak – grew up as Calvinists but converted to Orthodoxy as adults. Later, upon encountering Jesuit theology, they sought ways of uniting with the Holy See. All three had intimate connections to Rome. For example, the books of the Pontifical Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome[30] show that the earliest Byzantine-Rite students from Eastern Europe were the older son of Kosma Mamonicz (Leon), a student in 1578[31], Petro Potii, a son of Metropolitan Ipatii Potii, and a student in 1595 – the same year his father traveled to Rome to obtain the guarantees from the Pope of the Byzantine rite privileges ahead of the union. From 1599 until 1603, Josyf Rutsky was a student at that College, and the man who would succeed him in the leadership of the Greek Catholic Church, Metropolitan Korsak, was a student at the Pontifical Greek College in 1621-1624[32]. A decade later, starting in 1633, Rafajil Korsak stayed in Rome

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[28] On Paštrić, member of the chapter and the confraternity of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni/ Illirici and an Arcadian, see Golub 1977.

[29] Ipatii Potii (1541-16130).

[30] Pontifical Greek College in Rome, founded on 3 November 1576.

[31] Blažejovskyj 1984, pp. 35, 82. Leon Mamonicz would eventually (in 1607) inherit his father's and uncle's printing house in Vilnius that under his management would become one of the largest and the most effective "mouthpieces" of the Greek Catholic Church.

[32] Blažejovskyj 1984, p. 82. Upon his return from Rome, Korsak became the archimandrite

for two years in his capacity as the procurator of the Greek Catholic Church at the Holy See. While in the capital, Korsak also served as a postulator for the cause of beatification of the newly-martyred Josaphat Kuncewicz, the former hegumen in Zyrowice[33]. In 1635 Korsak left Rome and assumed the See of Kyiv upon Rutsky's death in 1637. Yet in two years he again returned to Rome, in 1639 and stayed at in SS. Sergio e Bacco until his death the following year[34].

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

An inventory of 1743, mentioned above, contains an additional inventory of the items that belonged to an Armenian lecturer of the Propaganda Fide's College, Suchias Khaxavat, titular bishop of Aleppo that died at the Ospizio[35]. Armenian connection with Ruthenians was just as strong as that of the Schiavoni/Illyrians and merits a thorough investigation. Already in 1630, while Ruthenians were negotiating for their own church in Rome, Armenians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, represented by Bishop Mikołaj Torosowicz of Lviv signed a union with Rome, establishing the *Archieparchia Leopolitana Armenorum*, and inviting Theatine order to Ukraine to oversee the education of both Armenian and Ruthenian Uniate seminarians in *Pontificio Collegio Armeno et Rutheno in Leopolis*.

Aside from Armenians, Maronites play a substantial role in the period. Documents in the archives of the Propaganda Fide suggest their bigger presence at SS. Sergio e Bacco, alongside the Ruthenians. At one point, in April 1828, a Maronite priest stayed at the Ospizio and celebrated masses according to what I would assume to be the Western Syriac Rite – the normative rite for the Maronite Church. His masses were recorded in Syriac handwriting along with the other daily masses celebrated by the resident clergy[36]. Although this nineteenth-century reference is rather beyond the chronological confines of

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of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius in 1625, and the next year, the Proto-Archimandrite of the whole Basilian Order and the Bishop of Halycz, as the coadjutor to Metropolitan Rutsky of Kyiv.

[33] Kuncewicz was killed by an Orthodox mob while serving as the Greek-Catholic Archbishop of Polotsk.

[34] Korsak is buried in SS. Sergio e Bacco as well.

[35] Khaxavat, Suchias, born in Costantinopole, son of Minas. Titular bishop of Aleppo. Lector at the Collegio di Propaganda Fide, in the Armenian language (1735-1743). See recently published work of Tatarenko 2017.

[36] APF, Ospizio dei Ruteni (Pascolo), Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco, vol. 3.

this article, the recurring presence of the Maronites at the Ruthenian church in Rome should not be assumed to be only a modern phenomenon, but rather a continuation of the relationship that was established in the previous centuries.

In fact, the Maronites were neighbors of Ruthenians in Monti neighborhood for quite some time. In 1707 Pope Clement XI[37] established the location of a monastery of the Lebanese Maronites of St Anthony the Abbot by the church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, not far from S. Giovanni in Laterano[38]. A few decades later, a description of the area south of the Piazza della Madonna dei Monti places «il monastero degli Antoniani Maroniti della congregazione del Monte Libano»[39] to close to the monastery and the church of S. Francesco di Paola of the Minims, and the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli[40]. In this second location, Maronites would have been a short walk from SS. Sergio e Bacco, and the close contacts evident from the archival sources make even more sense.

While the circulation of images, so similar and connected to the circulation of men, between the periphery and Rome was of great importance as it was one of the primary areas in which Ruthenians found themselves with more agency, the reconstruction of the actual church in Rome presents a very different picture of the Ruthenian role in it. In comparison, the architectural redevelopment of the actual SS. Sergio e Bacco in Sei and Settecento had been thoroughly directed by the Propaganda Fide and overwhelmingly the work of the Roman architects, either those of the neighborhood: Moraldi and Barigioni, or those previously involved in the commissions for the Polish nation in Rome, like Barigioni and Ferrari, or those connected to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, like Fr. Valerio Poggi, the Theatine prieSt This brings us to the last consideration: that of the involvement of local Roman architects in the construction of the Ruthenian national church.

4. *Place*

Historical archives in Rome, especially Archivio di Stato, give a detailed picture of the extent to which local neighborhoods' architects (*architetti*

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[37] Initially, Maronites took over the church of S. Giovanni della Ficoccia, near Fontana di Trevi, in 1581 (February 27), and over the years the street became known as Via dei Maroniti. Pope Gregory XIII with his breve *Exigit incunbentis* on 31 January 1582 officially made the house into Ospizio of the Maronite Nation, and in two years later, established the Collegio Maronita (bull *Humana sic ferunt*, 27 June 1584).

[38] Bernardini 1744, p. 31.

[39] Magnan, *et al.* 1779, p. 28.

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

sottomaestri delle strade and *architetti del rione*) were responsible to most work that seems to have been on the façade and the interior of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco in the periods of Seicento and Settecento. Recent scholarship, especially the work of Bruno Contardi and Giovanna Curcio, was able to carefully list all the *architetti sottomaestri delle strade* and the chronology of their activity in the *rioni* as well their private commissions (individuals, families, and the religious institutions and organizations) in the period of 1680-1750[41]. Questions still remain as to the precise involvement of the same type of architects in the first half of Seicento and earlier century. In case of SS. Sergio e Bacco, we know several periods that would have occasioned such architects' involvement:

– 1563: SS. Sergio e Bacco is demolished and rebuilt «ad fundamentis»
– 1620s-1646: when the church was remodeled and a façade renovated under Cardinal of S. Onofrio (Antonio Marcello Barberini) based on the design of Padre Valerio Poggi (Theatine).
– 1697: Petition to build a house next to the church (on the lot taken over by the walled courtyard/garden).
– 1729: finishing of the rebuilding of the walls; new high altar by Filippo Barigioni.
– 1741: new façade by Francesco Ferrari.
– 1788: a new *bussola* (first one?).
– 1880-1896: a new (three order) façade by Bonoli.

To these seven occasions, we must add a note that Barigioni was mentioned to have been hired in 1719[42] – the year postdating the 1718 finding of the frescoed image of the Madonna of Żyrowice on the wall of the sacristy. The finding itself was prompted by the works being done on the walls. It may mean that the work that the Basilians petitioned Propaganda Fide to approve was being done (or continued to be done) in the year 1718.

It is not clear who was responsible for the work that would have been done during the period 1697-1718. It was clearly not Barigioni. One possible candidate would be Giacomo Moraldi who in the years 1680-1711 was the *architetto sottomaestro* of Monti. In 1711, he was succeeded by Minelli who continued until 1714, when L. Gregorini took over. However, for some time in 1717 Monti was overseen by Bizzaccheri, who, the same year, was replaced by Barigioni. The latter continued as Monti's architect until 1732, with two short consecutive periods when A. Specchi was responsible for the area (1721-22) and L. Gregorini along with De Marchis (1723-1725)[43]. For the next two years Raguzzini was Monti's architetto sottomaestro, and in 1735 Barigioni yet again returned for his last year in Monti. In the next years, a number of architects were responsible for the rione: De Marchis, Raguzzini, Ferruzzi, Fiori, Fuga, and Brioni.

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[41] See Contardi and Curcio 1991.
[42] Ivi, p. 469.
[43] Ivi, p. 288.

When Basilians asked for the building of the additional structure on the adjacent lot, it would have been in the immediate responsibilities of Giacomo Moraldi to get involved in the construction. Although there is a possibility that an outside architect would have also been commissioned, the whole history of SS. Sergio e Bacco makes that less likely. Instead, rione's architects seem to be directly responsible for changes to the structure and appearance of the church in question. The year of Barigioni's work for the Basilians at the church (1719)[44] falls right in the middle of the architect's first period overseeing the area (1717-1720) after the departures of Moraldi and Minelli. The year 1729, when the reconstruction of the church's walls was finished and, designed by Barigioni, a new high altar, featuring Madonna del Pascolo, also falls within the second period that the *rione* Monti was again overseen by Barigioni (1726-1732). Thus, the works done on the church in the first decades of the eighteenth century were treated as being within the responsibilities of the *rione*'s architect whoever he might have been at the moment.

However, a decade later, in 1741, the commission for a new façade of SS. Sergio e Bacco has not gone to the *rione*'s architect but instead to Francesco Ferrari who seems not to have previously been involved with the Presidenza delle Strade. The choice of Ferrari may have been influenced by his earlier work with the Polish circles of the city. In 1721, he was commissioned to resume the progress on the work that was planned on the national church of the Polish nation, San Stanislao on Via delle Botteghe Oscure, initially according to the design of actually a Polish architect, albeit trained in Rome, Benedykt Renard in 1712[45]. The new façade of S. Stanislao, now redesigned by Ferrari, has been completed by 1735. During the same period, in 1726-1738 Ferrari also worked for the Monks of the Monte Vergine on a new façade for Sant'Agata dei Goti – another smaller medieval church in the *rione* Monti, just a block north of SS. Sergio e Bacco. In fact, architectural history of the building of Sant'Agata chronologically closely mirrors that of SS. Sergio e Bacco: an early medieval foundation, it underwent a complete rebuilding in the Cinquecento, with additional changes in the Seicento and Settecento that radically altered the church's original appearance, and final modifications to the interior in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

By comparison with San Stanislao and even with Sant'Agata, Ferrari's project for SS. Sergio e Bacco was much humbler and definitely less visually impressive. There is no attempt to create a unified succession of façades of the church and buildings of the Ospizio, like at S. Stanislao on via delle Botteghe Oscure. The buildings that flanked SS. Sergio e Bacco, in their Seicento and Settecento appearance are stylistically and visually unrelated to the church they sandwich. Ospizio dei Ruteni is not a part of the ensemble with its church, like

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[44] Ivi, p. 469.
[45] Ivi, p. 472.

the Ospizio dei Polacchi with the church of S. Stanislao. In the same manner, Ruthenian church possesses none of the theatricality of successive entrances and spaces that precede its original medieval structure – the medieval structure itself is gone, replaced by the Cinquecento rebuilding *ad fundamentis*.

Prior to changes in the eighteenth century, SS. Sergio e Bacco's appearance was that of a small, two-story church attached to the building of the Ospizio to the left of it, of the same height, and under the same roof. A small belfry on the Ospizio side of the complex was the only structure that interrupted the continuity of the roof over the two buildings. The façade was a simple rectangle whose projection was augmented only with few elements: a flat border that ran on three sides, except the bottom, the door frame topped with a pointed pediment, and a window frame, above the entrance. There appears to have been also a cartouche on the cornice under the roof. In Falda's etching of 1678 (fig. 4), the treatment of the façade's wall and its border suggests that the two were of a different finish – while the wall could have been exposed brick, the flat border could have been a painted plaster over masonry, or some sort of stone (maybe travertine like the entrance and window frame). The wall of the adjacent garden (to the right of the church) is left "white" in the etching, just like the border, and was likely stuccoed masonry, ubiquitous in Rome.

The existence of a garden to the right (southeast) of the church suggests that the whole right side of SS. Sergio e Bacco has not been build up until the erection of a new building in garden's lot in an early eighteenth century (fig. 5). Up to that point, the southeast wall could have possibly had openings to add to the only two light sources located on the opposite walls of the façade and the apse. The location of the openings in the apse is also uncertain, and in fact, the current ones might be later additions in Settecento to remedy the closing up of the right side's ones if they ever existed. Currently, it remains impossible to confirm the existence of any openings on that side as it is completely hidden by the adjoining building of Casa S. Sofia.

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

If we consider all the other projects of the architects and artists involved in SS. Sergio e Bacco's renovations throughout Settecento – those of Poggi, Barigioni, Ceccarelli, Ferrari, Gramiccia, Stern – we would be able to see that the Ruthenian church falls into the lower end of all their known production, both in scope and the artistic quality. This assessment is not meant to devalue the work or the church itself, but rather give us a better understanding of the site and renovation project(s) associated with it within the larger context of architectural and artistic activity in the late Baroque Rome. For example, Barigioni's project from the same period included working on a new façade (1729) for the small S. Gregorio a Ponte Quattro Capi (also known as Della Divina Pietà) on the edge of the Roman Ghetto, as well as the remodeling of the exterior of the large S. Marco in Piazza Venezia (1744) – the altar project for the Ruthenian church appears as a small and uncomplicated side project in comparison to just those two. Ultimately, as mentioned earlier, the Ruthenian community's agency in the reconstructions and remodellings of SS. Sergio e Bacco and its *ospizio* seem to have been rather reduced, and relying exclusively on the Propaganda Fide connections and those with specific cardinals, drawing creative actors from the ranks already employed by these institutions, and/or already assigned to oversee that specific area of the Monti neighborhood.

In conclusion, I would like to argue for a substantial rethinking of the visual culture, art, and architecture of the Early Modern Catholicism vis-à-vis the Early Modern Orthodoxy. The example of SS. Sergio e Bacco allows us to reassess assumed relationships between the two, and in turn, re-evaluate the actual importance of the Orthodox and Eastern-Rite Catholics in constructing the new global Catholicism. In this case, directed toward Rome, Ruthenian self-representation was based on two constants that differentiated them from every other Slav in the city: unlike Schiavoni and the Polish, they belonged to the "rito greco", yet, unlike the Greeks, they used "lingua dalmatica". Unlike the other, more numerous Slavs in the city, Ruthenians' very identity was tied to the ecclesiastical union with Rome. It is not surprising then that *ruteni uniti* were so involved in the missionary work, publishing, and education that literally changed the confessional landscape in Eastern Europe, but even more so, its visual culture. Through the study of Slavic presence in Rome, we might be able to better grasp the success of the so-called "baroque" visual culture in Eastern Europe. Arguably, that very success depended on a complex combination of the vernacular visual culture as fully integrated into the aesthetic and architectural vocabulary that ultimately originated from Rome.

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Appendix

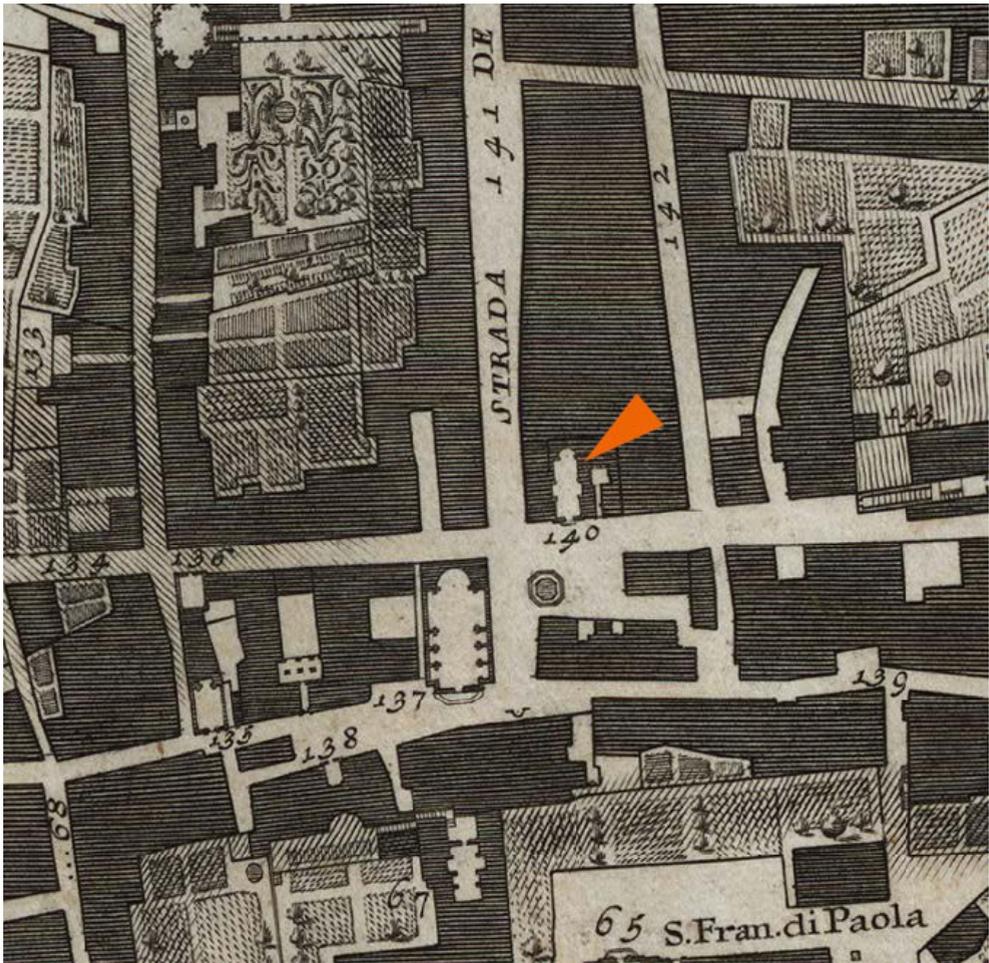Fig. 1. SS. Sergio e Bacco in Rome, Photo: author, 2016

Fig. 2. Detail of the 1748 map of Rome by Giambattista Nolli, showing the location of SS. Sergio e Bacco (140), Santa Maria ai Monti and the Palazzo dei Neofiti (137)

Fig. 3. The icon of *Madonna del Pascolo* without the revetment

Fig. 4. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Chiesa consagrata alla Madonna de Monti*, etching, 1669, showing the church SS. Sergio e Bacco behind the fountain by Giacomo della Porta

Fig. 5. Giuseppe Vasi, *Piazza dei Monti*, showing the building of SS. Sergio e Bacco, opposite the fountain. Engraving from *Vedute di Roma*, c. 1750

Fig. 6. Map of churches, offered by Cardinal Barberini to the Ruthenians in Rome, Photo: Google Maps

Fig. 7. Interior of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Photo: author, 2017

Fig. 8. Altar area of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, Photo: author, 2017

Fig. 9. Carlo Grandi, *Our Lady of Żyrowice*, engraving, from Kulczynski 1732, Copyright, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
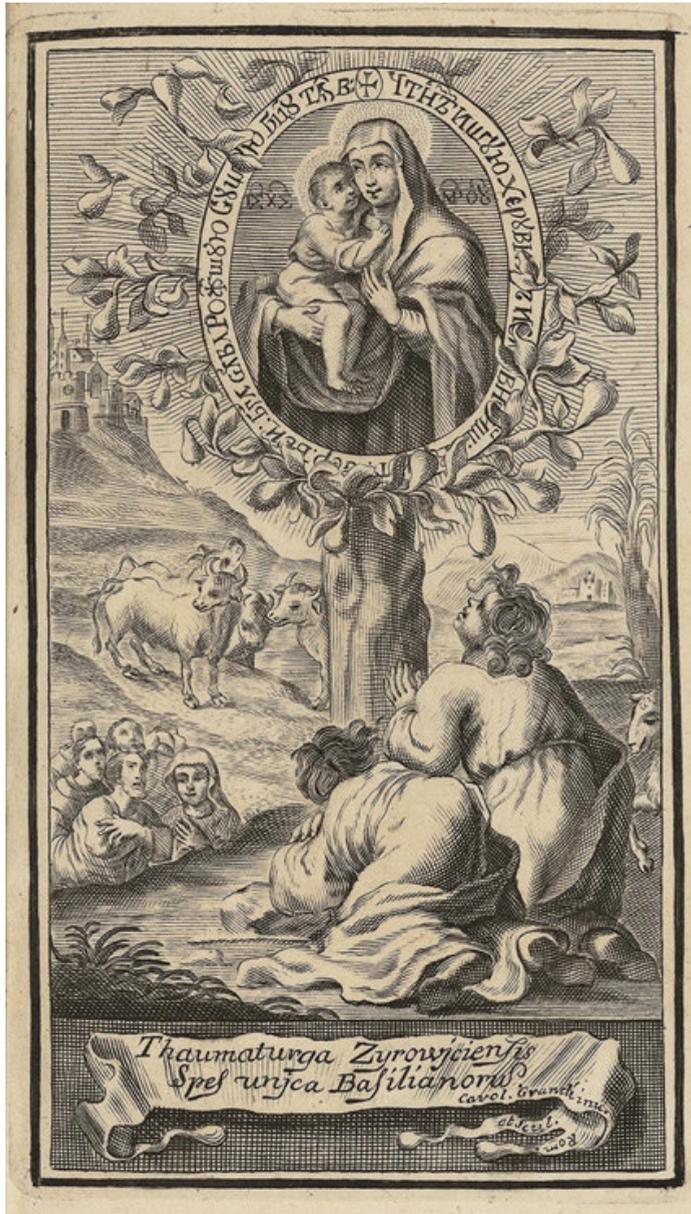
Fig. 10. Carlo Grandi, *Finding of Our Lady of Żyrowice*, engraving from Kulczynski 1732, Copyright, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana