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**“Shelter of the World, More Spacious than a Cloud”  
Two Types of Iconography of Virgin Mother of Mercy in Western Ukrainian Icons on  
Canvas and Church Banners of the 1670–1730s**

UDC: 75.05(477)“16/17”

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In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century the theme of the Intercession of the Theotokos gained considerable popularity in Ukrainian lands and featured various iconography. At that time a new image emerged, borrowed from Latin West, of the Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy spreading her cloak over faithful Christians. Under the influence of the liturgical texts dedicated to the Virgin and the cult of the Protection of the Theotokos, two main images of the Mother of Mercy appeared in Western Ukrainian iconography. The first and the most prevalent is the image of *Mater Omnium* representing Virgin Mary as a patroness of all people – rulers, the imprisoned, sinners and disabled. In the *Mater Omnium* image, people are standing on both sides of Mary Mother of God. The second variant represents people in need as reflected in the words from the *sticheron* “O Joy of all the afflicted”.

**Keywords:** image of Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy, iconography, icons on canvas, church banners, Western Ukrainian icon painting of the 1670-1730s

This study attempts to present the emergence, development and variants of the Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy theme in Western Ukrainian art in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and its dependence on and relationship to the liturgical texts and the religious and political situation of that time. Through the example of this image, a combination of typical Latin iconography and Eastern liturgical texts can be traced. It should be pointed out that Western Ukrainian lands were located across Western and Eastern Christian cultures, the ecclesiastical rite was traditionally Orthodox and adapted from the Byzantine. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century on the influence of Latin art was becoming increasingly noticeable in the culture and art of the region. Sometimes the Latin influence combined with local traditions and church services to form synthesized variants of iconography with its local features. The image of the Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy is one such variant.

The idea of Mary's intercession is eloquently visualized in the image of the Mother of Mercy with her cloak spread over those who need her care and protection. One can find various titles on the Ukrainian icons which are mainly epithets - “All Suffering Virgin”, “Our Lady of Perpetual Help”, “Intercession of the Theotokos” - that convey the idea of the image. The first epithet is taken from the famous verse, part of the *Octoechos*, *Menaia* and Prayer Service to the Mother of God. The designation of the Mother of Mercy that we use does not occur on the icons we investigated; it is rather a scholarly delineation of iconography that distinguishes it from the traditional Intercession of the Virgin with St Romanus the Melodist. Attention will be paid to Western Ukrainian icons on canvas and church banners of the 1670-1730s, where the image of the Virgin Mother of Mercy contains local features. As previously noted, the basic scheme of iconography was adapted from Western patterns. However, specific versions of this image were developed locally, and they were closely connected with liturgical texts and social features. Such direct analogues are not found in Latin iconography. The image of Our Lady Mother of Mercy has received less scholarly attention than the medieval iconography of the Protection of the Virgin in Ukrainian art.<sup>1</sup> The period of interest is the time when this iconography appeared in Ukrainian churches and started its particular

development. From the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century this image began to lose its popularity. In the Boyko and Lemko regions and Galicia,<sup>2</sup> which are now part of the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions in Ukraine and of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship, a special iconographic image of Our Lady Mother of Mercy appeared that was unknown in other Ukrainian lands of that time. Among of the extant works, the image is better represented by icons on canvas and church banners which were also painted on canvas.<sup>3</sup> The image of Our Lady Mother of Mercy can be seen on contemporary icons on wood as well, but it is often presented in a shortened iconographic version.

According to researchers, the image of Our Lady of special care of the faithful appeared in the lands of Kyivan Rus at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup> and in the first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in Western European art.<sup>5</sup> Images of the Virgin Mary *Mediatrice* had different sources of iconography. The first is based on the vision of the Byzantine holy man St Andrew the Blessed Fool-for-Christ, who lived in Constantinople († 936),<sup>6</sup> and the second, mostly on the vision of the Bernadine monk Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180-c. 1240) described in his treatise *Dialogus miraculorum* (c. 1230).<sup>7</sup> In the art of Kyivan Rus and later, as indicated by the signatures, the name of the scene was *The Protection of the Virgin Mary* and in Western European art it was often called *The Virgin Mother of Mercy (Mater Misericordiae)*.<sup>8</sup> In Western Europe, various versions of the iconography of *Mater Misericordiae* were developed. Under the cloak of the Virgin of Mercy only monks of one order could be portrayed. The Virgin could cover an entire city and its citizens with her cloak, often with the intention of protecting them from an epidemic, and members of a family or sailors and sometimes various symbolic motifs, such as allegories of deadly sins, were added to the scene. The Virgin could also be presented as the Intercessor for the people to her Son, who was ready to shoot arrows of anger at sinners, or as the *Virgin Mediatrice* in the Last Judgment. Besides the Virgin with her cloak, different patron saints and angels could be depicted.<sup>9</sup> One of the oldest examples of the Virgin Mary deploying her cloak dates from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – the baptistery fresco in Padua,<sup>10</sup> a miniature in *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (1330)<sup>11</sup> or two seals of the Bernadine monks (1330–1350's).<sup>12</sup> Written sources testify that the image appeared much earlier. It was shown on a banner from c. 1267 that belongs to the brotherhood of the Virgin Care founded by St Bonaventure.<sup>13</sup> It is believed that in Western Europe, development of the cult of the Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy was often associated with epidemics of plague and church processions that needed protection and invoking of her intercession.<sup>14</sup> In Ukrainian culture in general, the image of the Protection of Our Lady, in particular Mother of Mercy, is of more military and social importance as this was a period of frequent military confrontations between neighbors and the Turkish raiders. The social context of this image conveys the inclusion of people of different social classes depicted in the clothes of the time and with actual needs.

In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Ukrainian theologians were particularly interested in the Marian theme. At that time, a separate literary genre became prominent. These were stories about the Virgin Mary and her miracles where the Virgin was glorified as Patroness and Queen of Heaven. The Virgin Mary was praised by such Ukrainian bishops as Lonykiy Halyatovskyi in his work *New heaven (Небо нове, 1665)*, Dmytriy Tuptalo in his treatise *Fleece bedewed (Руно орошенне, 1680)*, Anthony Radyvylovskyi in *Garden of the Virgin Mary (Огородок Марії Богородиці, 1676)*, and Lazarus Baranovych in *The Trumpets of Preaching Words (Труби на дні нарочитіє, 1674)*. In the period of the Cossack Hetmanate and the Zaporizhian Sich, where Ukrainian Cossacks were situated, the Intercession became a national holiday. Portraits of the Cossacks were painted among the figures in the scenes of the lower registers. This is characteristic of compositions with St Andrew the Blessed Fool-for-Christ and images of the Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy as well. In the literature such images are called the “Cossack Intercession.”<sup>15</sup>

*Akathists* published in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in various printing houses were of great importance in the development of the iconography of the Virgin, particularly scenes of her intercession. The first Ukrainian edition of *Akathists* was published in Kyiv in 1625. The texts were illustrated with miniatures, where the Virgin of Protection is shown in various versions. We assume that texts of *Moleben* (Prayer Service) to The Mother of God and separate Marian *sticherons* also had a significant impact on the iconography of the Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy in the Ukrainian lands. The text of *Moleben* with the Greek title *Paraklesis* is included in the *Akathists*, printed in Univ in 1660.<sup>16</sup> *Moleben* to The Mother of God with the same definition was written in *Akathists* printed in Kyiv in 1677.<sup>17</sup>

Before outlining art works with the image of Our Lady Mother of Mercy in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it should be noted that the idea of *Mater Omnium* was expressed in the Ukrainian art of princely times (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.) with an image of the Orans. According to the Byzantine tradition, the image was often portrayed in a conch of sanctuary apses in churches. The Virgin is presented frontally with raised hands in prayer. In this image, the idea of a cloak of protection is absent, thus with such a posture of Mary, the cloak falls on both sides with the folds and a greater symbolic importance was attached to a gesture of hands raised in prayer.

In the territory of Western Ukraine the oldest extant image of the Virgin Mother of Mercy<sup>18</sup> is shown in a 15<sup>th</sup> century painting of the church nave in Horyany, near Uzhgorod. It was made by Czech or Italian masters by order of the Drugets family. Here a large group of kneeling men and women is presented on both sides of Mary.<sup>19</sup> The left tier is with kings and clergy, and the right foreground is with an angel who helps two needy people, among which is a woman with raised hands in despair. The image of Our Lady Mother of Mercy who covers kneeling monks with her cloak dates from the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and this icon was in the Roman Catholic church of Dominican Order in Lviv.<sup>20</sup> By and large, in Latin iconography images of the Virgin with a cloak sheltering monks or nuns of the same order are common; yet there are no such examples in Ukrainian church art.

One of the oldest extant Ukrainian icons of the Virgin Mother of Mercy is from the church of Stara Sil in the Saryi Sambir district in Lviv region, now in the collection of the Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv,<sup>21</sup> dating from 1670-1680 (fig. 1). The icon is painted with oil on canvas. In the centre of the composition there is a large figure of the Virgin holding up the cloak under which two groups of people of different social status and needs asking for help are depicted: secular on the right and monks on the left. In the foreground an archbishop in a dark mantle with an omophorion<sup>22</sup> over it and with a mitre on his head and a *paterissa* in his hand is depicted on the left. There is a caption that reads "Exultation of Patriarchs." We can also see a plump man who wears *kontush* and a barely visible crown, a soldier with a helmet and a young man, probably an attendant nobleman or his son, the only one who is turned toward the king, not toward Virgin Mary. The king has a thin moustache and bowl cut dark hair and looks like a governor Jan Sobieski (1674-1696) who had close contacts with the French court at the time. A young man is dressed in a pink, knee-length suit with lace on the sleeves, according to French fashion of that time. Two ribbons are directed to the Virgin with the words "Victory over our enemies" and "O Mother of God lead me in the plain path". When the icon was produced in the lands of Peremyshl and Lviv dioceses, the Polish nobility and clergy were conducting active propaganda of the Union with the Roman Church. Most of the local Ukrainian population was against the Union as it was associated with "polonization". However, Peremyshl Bishop Innokentiy Vynnytskyi (1679-1700),<sup>23</sup> who had friendly relations with King Jan Sobieski, signed the Union in 1691 (Lviv diocese became a part of the Union in 1700). It should also be mentioned that by 1686 the bishops of Peremyshl and Lviv dioceses were directly subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople. From 1686 as a result of agreements between Constantinople and the Moscow Patriarch, they had to submit to the Moscow Patriarch, and that actually led to one of the main political factors of the Union's acceptance of the Roman Church. In some icons originating from churches of the above mentioned dioceses, these important events for the future of the local Church and its faithful were depicted particularly in the context of the Protection of the Mother of God. In the icon from Stara Sil and later similar examples, artists focused on the image of the "patriarch," who was the head of the Church, in Eastern Christian vestments and did not emphasize the king, who is depicted on the same scale as other people in the foreground. Behind the bishop and king there are women, girls with garlands, a boy and a man. There is an inscription from the man towards the Virgin "Save me, the prodigal son". The women are painted in white wimples, which were characteristic for Ukrainian women of that time. On the ribbons held by women, girls and boys one can read: "Save poor me", "Purity to virgins, do not forget us", "Wisdom for the innocent". At the bottom in front of the bishop and king there is a poorly dressed cripple with a stick and a neck pouch, an orphan, an old man, and a shut-in. The inscriptions read "Support of the aged", "Sustainer of the hungry, feed me", "Mother of God, don't forget me", "Joy for orphans, do not forget me".



1 Stephan Medytskyi (?), *Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy*, icon, oil on canvas, 1670-1680, from church in Stara Sil, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum, Lviv, Ukraine (NML i-2709)

In the group of people on the right under the coat of the Virgin, men of all ages are depicted, including monks and a hermit. In front of the group, Archimandrite (the Reverend father of a large monastery) is painted in the mantle with a rod and a rosary in his hands. There is a ribbon directed from him with the words "Strengthen with Orthodoxy Thy Church" which also reflects a historical situation of that time and indicates that the icon was painted before the official adoption of the Union by the Peremyshl Bishop (before 1691). On the right from Archimandrite one can see a priest in the *phaelonion* with *epitrachelion* and a young deacon dressed in a *sticharion* with *orarion*. The inscriptions here are interesting because they contain words that later don't appear in icons on this subject: "Enrichment for hierarchs"; "Do not forget us living in the wilderness"; "Save Thy servants, Mary"; "Joy for monks"; "Salvation of sinners"; "Glory for apostles"; "Strength for martyrs"; and "We cry out to Thee". Closer to the center, there is a figure of a grieving man with hands raised above his head with the inscription "Joy of all the afflicted" and a sitting cripple in poor clothes with the inscription "Strength for all halt." The inclusion of a separate group of monks may indicate a link between the icon or its design and monastic environment. In Stara Sil village there was no monastery at the time but there were large monasteries in Lavriv and Spas and other places not far from Stara Sil.<sup>24</sup> The image of a naked hermit may be connected to the cult of St Onuphrios, who was a patron of the monastery in Lavriv where the relics of the saint were kept. Later icons of this pattern differ slightly in composition from the Stara Sil image. Ribbons with inscriptions of specific prayers in the icon from Stara Sil just partly resemble quotes from *Moleben* and *Akathist* to the Virgin. The quotes are taken from the Marian verses "A Joy of all the afflicted, and Patroness of all oppressed, Sustainer of the hungry, and Consolation of wayfarers, Haven of the storm-tossed, Visitor of the sick, Protectress and the Intercessor of the weak, Support of the aged, O Mother of God, Thou who art most pure, hasten, we pray Thee, to save thy servants" which are ascribed to St John of Damascus (c. 675-c. 753).<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, in the eighth song from Canon to the Blessed Virgin of Octoechos are the following words: "You are the salvation of those who died, joy for the down-hearted, mentor for the lost, visitor and healer of the sick and salvation to all Christians; save us, O Lady, that cry out and celebrate thy (name of the holiday), and save us from attack of strangers." In the icon from Stara Sil from both sides of the top of the figure of the Virgin there are quotes from the Marian *sticheron* that explain the scene: "O Good One, Thou prayest for all who with faith come to Thee", "O Joy of all the afflicted, and Patroness of all oppressed". The last quote in this case is the name of the icon and the epithet Mother of God. Lower on the ribbons with smaller letters the next quote is written "I am your Intercessor, Mediator of your salvation", "I will pray to My Son and your God for you". M. Gembarowicz classified this type of image of the Mother of Mercy as an *Akathist* Intercession.<sup>26</sup> This is due to the fact that some expressions written on the ribbons are an interpretation of the words from the *Akathist* to the Virgin. Moreover, in the text of the *Akathist*, The Virgin is called "Shelter of the world, more spacious than a cloud" (Ikos 6). There are similar words in a prayer asking for the intercession of Our Lady. The Intercession of the Lord over those in need is also pronounced in the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great.<sup>27</sup>

One can also assume that the iconography of Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy was developing within the context of *Moleben* to the Mother of God and generally within intensification of the cult of Mary Mother of God within the context of the Counter Reformation. Thus, it is possible to consider it a separate visualization of this type of church service. This sample of the iconography of Mary Mother of Mercy with the ribbons of a prayer was spread locally generally among icon painters of the Galicia, Bojko and Lemko regions. Based on the extant works one can see that it is unknown in the territory of Central and Eastern Ukraine.

Chronologically, this example is followed by three works dating to 1680s-1690s; however, their origin is not known.<sup>28</sup> Two are icons (figs. 2-3) and the third is the central part of a church banner (fig. 4) with the image of St Nikolas on the other side. These three works are painted in a pattern that is a little bit different from that of the Stara Sil icon with different positioning of the figures and just a few monks depicted. Instead the bishop in liturgical vestments (a patriarch, according to the inscription) is moved into the group of the faithful to the right. In all three examples a ship on water with an inscription "Stillness of navigators" appears in the upper part, a man

depicted looking out of the latticed window of a prison with the inscription "Freedom from a dungeon", as well as two travelers holding sticks with scrolls reading "Easy way for travelers". These works depict Mary Mother of God in the upper side of the composition, and in the background huge clouds are shown, which is typical of the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup>-century iconography. This can also be interpreted symbolically as Mary a mediator between heaven and earth, and in heaven she intercedes for those who ask for her protection on earth. This idea is stressed by a large figure of Mary, who seems to reach to heaven. On the church banner one can read the following: "Help in misfortune", "Glory of hermits [...] and priests", "[...] of sinners before God", "Salvation of all Christians". Therefore, one can see that the artist was following an ecumenical principle mentioning even sinners and generally all Christians. There is no inscription saying "Consolidate your Church in Orthodoxy", which indicates that these works were created after the signing of the Union (after 1691). In two works Mary Mother of God wears a crown, which reveals the spread of her cult as the Queen of Heaven within local iconography. The same iconography, without the ribbons but with the angels crowning the Virgin, is presented on the church banner of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (the origin is unknown), kept in Lviv National Art Gallery (fig. 5).<sup>29</sup>

The second type of iconography of Mary Mother of Mercy is represented by a big icon on canvas from a monastic church of Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Slovita (Zolochiv district, Lviv region)<sup>30</sup> (fig. 6). At the top of the icon, around the nimbus of Mary there is a quotation taken from a *sticheron* of the *Moleben* to the Theotokos "Joy of all the afflicted" which is the title of the depiction. The icon emphasizes people in need. Virgin Mary, standing on a blue sphere, inspired by a Western European depiction of Mary the Immaculate Conception, is unfolding her large red *maphorion*, holding both sides and is helped by angels.<sup>31</sup> Under the mantle people are depicted - the injured, the old, the poor, the ill, seamen and travelers. From each person a ribbon is directed towards Mary with different epithets: "Protectress and intercessor of the weak", "Support of the aged", "Consolation of wayfarers", "Sustainer of the hungry", "Patroness of all oppressed", "Visitor of the sick". A scene with a sinking ship and seamen who are entreating Mary for help, and sea monster that resembles the hellish jaws from the icons of the Judgment Day are depicted below the Virgin. This episode may have been inspired by Western European examples, in particular by a wonder-making icon of Mary Mother of Mercy from Seville, which is widely known as "Virgin Mary of seamen" (painted in around 1535).<sup>32</sup> It is significant to note that theologians interpret Mary as having the power to command the elements, a power that in Eastern iconography is reflected in the symbolic image of Mary the Unburnt Bush. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century that symbolic image was famous through engravings of Kyiv printing houses. Here, one can see the angels of different elements, in particular of wind, storm, and thunder. The icon from Slovita is important for clarifying the development of the different image types of Mary Mother of Mercy in Ukrainian art.

People with special needs under *maphorion* of Our Lady are also depicted on the 1712-church banner from St George's church in Drohobych (Lviv region; fig. 7).<sup>33</sup> The composition here differs from the one from Slovita. Below the large image of Mary, the scenes of intersection are depicted and arranged into separate groups organized in two tiers that resemble marginal scenes on medieval icons. Eight topics are shown with the following inscriptions "Joy of the afflicted", "Patroness of the oppressed", "Sustainer of the hungry", "Consolation of wayfarers", "Haven of the storm-tossed", "Visitor of the sick", "Protectress of the weak", and "Support of the aged". In each scene an angel is depicted helping those in need. A similar composition of the image of Mary of all Sufferers with eight scenes and the bottom can be seen on wall paintings of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century in St George's church in Drohobych painted on the eastern wall of narthex from where the banner comes,<sup>34</sup> thus most probably the composition of the church banner became a basis for the wall painting.

Two more church banners most probably from the Boyko region carry the image of Mary Mother of Mercy (both works have no fixed place of origin). The banners were painted around the 1720s or 1730s. One stands out for its iconography (fig. 8): Our Lady Orans is depicted and beneath her a scene of the holy communion of St Onuphrios at one side, John the Baptist at the other, and between them a monastery.<sup>35</sup> Representations of monastery, St Onuphrios and John the Baptist are unique. In the territory of the former Peremysyl eparchy, which was



2 *Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy*, icon, tempera and oil on canvas, end of 17<sup>th</sup> c., origin unknown, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (NML i-1244)



3 *Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy*, icon, tempera and oil on canvas, end of 17<sup>th</sup> c., origin unknown, Historical Museum in Sanok, Poland (IMS/S/2897)



4 *Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy*, banner, tempera and oil on canvas, end of 17<sup>th</sup> c., origin unknown, Historical Museum in Sanok (IMS/S/2411)



5 *Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy*, banner, tempera and oil on canvas, end 17<sup>th</sup>–beginning 18<sup>th</sup> c., origin unknown, Lviv National Art Gallery (Olesko Castle), Ukraine (Ж-4703)



6 *Mother of God of All Suffering*, icon, tempera and oil on canvas, end of 17<sup>th</sup> c, from church in Slovita, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (NML i-2113)



7 Ivan Medytskyi (?), *Lady of All Suffering*, church banner, oil on canvas, 1712, Museum Drohobychyna, Drohobych, Ukraine (№ 4437 I-110)



8 Ivan Seredyskyi (?), *Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy with St Onouphrios and St John the Baptist*, church banner, tempera on canvas, 1720-1730, origin unknown, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum, Lviv (NML i-1236)





9 Ivan Seredyskyi (?), *Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy*, church banner, tempera on canvas, 1720-1730, origin unknown, Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum (NML i-3507)

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the place of origin of the painter and most probably of the banner itself, it is only the monastery of St Onuphrios in Lavriv near Staryi Sambir, with the churches dedicated to two saints. The same style is noticed on the banner with Mary Mother of Mercy who is opening her *maphorion* over the faithful of various professions and with different needs (fig 9).<sup>36</sup> A big portion of the lower part of the banner is lost. There are no ribbons with prayers. Among the depicted is a royal couple in rich clothing: the man in red coat with a white wig and a crown resembling a mitre and a woman with a high hairstyle in a wimple and dress, reflecting the fashion trends of those times.

The representation of Mother of Mercy is one of the beloved topics of the Early Modern European art especially because it highlights and exalts emotions in the viewers. The narratives on icons and banners often illustrates the verses from the mentioned *sticherons*, represented in the images of the unfortunate ones with emphasized emotional experience reflected through tears and gestures of despair that evoke empathy from the viewers. It should be noted that one cannot find models identical to those described in icons and church banners of Mary Mother of Mercy in engravings which were often the prototypes for Ukrainian icon painters. Generally the scenes of Mary Mother of Mercy and the Passion of Christ are the most emotional images in Ukrainian icon art of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Baroque spirit of this type of iconography is consistent with the literary treatises of theologians of that time. We did not find any direct correspondence to the "Joy of all the afflicted" iconography represented in the works described in Western European and Ukrainian medieval icon painting. It was influenced by the Western European iconography of Mary Mother of Mercy and a special cult of Our Lady in Ukrainian lands, in particular her intercession. This iconography represents the social context of that period, when the weak and ill could rely only on God's help.

- 1 The most complete iconography of the Virgin Mother of Mercy in Ukrainian art is outlined in the monograph of Polish researcher Mieczyslaw Hembarowycz, but the author was not acknowledged in most of works which are mentioned in the study. Author considers this iconography to be "an original achievement of Ukrainian art". Cfr. M. GEMBAROWICZ, *Mater Misericordiae – Pokrow – Pokrowa w Sztuce i Legendzie Srodkowo-Wschodniej Europy*, Wrocław, PAN, 1986, s. 71. See also: P. КОСІВ, "Образ Богородиці Матері Милосердя в українському іконописі другої половини XVII–XIX ст. (на прикладі творів зі збірки Національного музею у Львові імені Андрея Шептицького)" in: *Християнська сакральна традиція: історія і сьогодення. Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції, 6-7 грудня 2013 року, Український католицький університет у Львові, Львів, 2013, сс. 68-77.*
- 2 In the period considered in the article, these lands were a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.
- 3 As shown in extant works, banners painted with tempera on canvas dominated in Western Ukrainian churches of that time.
- 4 The Holiday of the Intercession of the Theotokos in the ancient texts was first mentioned in translation of *Menologion* of Basil that dates back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. J. MYSLIVEC, "Dve Ikony 'Pokrova'" in: *Byzantinoslavica*, Praha, 1935-1936, IV, s. 195. The feast of the Intercession of the Theotokos, celebrated on October 14, is in the church's annual cycle of holidays (but is not one of the 12 greatest feasts). The history of the Intercession of the Theotokos is described in the Ukrainian Pentekostarion. In church calendars it is marked out in red along with major holidays. Cfr. І. ЛИМАН, *Церква в духовному світі запорізького козацтва, Запоріжжя, Тандем-У, 1997, с. 12.*
- 5 K.-S.KUGLER, *Bridging Heaven and Spain: the Virgin of Mercy from the Late Medieval Period to the Age of Exploration*, thesis presented to the Department of the History of Art and Architecture and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts, June, 2013, pp. 9-11. [https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/13246/Kugler\\_oregon\\_0171N\\_10671.pdf](https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/13246/Kugler_oregon_0171N_10671.pdf) (accessed 15 June 2016).
- 6 The analysis of language peculiarities and style of the text *The Life of St. Andrew, the Fool-for-Christ* where a vision of the Virgin in Blachernae church in Constantinople was described, indicates that it was written at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. M. GEMBAROWICZ, *op. cit.*, 1984, s. 81-82. Considerable wide-spreading of the text of *Lives* in Rus and pietism to the very person of St Andrew, the Fool-for-Christ could be explained by special honor to the countryman as Rus translations of the work call Andrew *skyth* or Slav. Cfr. *Житие Андрея Юродивого*, Е. ЖЕЛТОВА (comm. and transl.), Санктпетербург, Алетейя, 2001, с. 6.
- 7 His treatise describes one of the monks who saw the Virgin spread her coat over the brothers of his order, taking them under her protection. In 1473 and 1481 the treatise was published in Western Medieval Europe and was very popular along with the hagiographic collection *Golden Legend*. See: M. STRUTYŃSKA-W. SZRAMOWSKI-I. MILLER, "Konserwacja i restauracja inkunabułu *Dialogus miraculorum... Caesariusa de Heisterbacha*", [http://www.ebib.pl/2009/105/a.php?strutyńska\\_szramowski\\_miller](http://www.ebib.pl/2009/105/a.php?strutyńska_szramowski_miller) (accessed 10 April, 2016). Other monastic congregations had similar visions where Mary covered its members with her cloak. Cfr. R. KNAPIŃSKI, "Przeobrażenia motywu ikonograficznego Mater Misericordiae" in: *Studia Warmińskie*, 2002, № XXXIX, pp. 140-143.
- 8 On different versions of the name of this iconography in Roman Catholic art cfr. R. KNAPIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 131, 139.
- 9 In Latin iconography a significant number of works on the image of the Virgin Mother of Mercy have been published. See: P. PERDRIZET, *La Vierge de Miséricorde. Etude d'un thème iconographique*, Paris, 1908; W. DEONNA, "La Vierge de Miséricorde" in: *Revue de l'histoire des religions (Annales du musée Guimet)*, 1916, pp. 189-227; M. GEMBAROWICZ, *op. cit.*, 1984; R. KNAPIŃSKI, *Titulus ecclesiae. Ikonografia wezwań współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce*, Warszawa, Instytut wydawniczy PAX, 1999, pp. 270-293; IDEM, "Przeobrażenia motywu...", *op. cit.*, 2013.
- 10 Reproduced in R. KNAPIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, 2002, II. 1.
- 11 R. KNAPIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, 1999, II. 375.
- 12 K.-S. KUGLER, *op. cit.*, 2013, figs. 2-3.
- 13 M. BURY, "Documentary Evidence for the Materials and Handling of Banners, Principally in Umbria, in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries", in: *The Fabric of Images. European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, C. VILLERS (ed.), London, Archetype Publications, 2000, p. 23. In West European Medieval art the image of the Virgin Mother of Mercy is also known from murals and engravings.
- 14 It is known that banners were made especially for religious processions during epidemics which gathered all citizens. Typically, these banners had the image of the Virgin Mother of Mercy. Two banners of this type of 1460s from Perugia

- are saved. Both have similar iconography image of the Virgin Mother of Mercy with angels and saints in the lower register and Death that is ravaging the city. See in: M. BURY, *op. cit.*, 2000, pp. 23, 24, 26. Banner of 1464 is in S. Francesco al Prato, and another one, made after 1464 (on the pattern of the previous) is in Parrocchiale, Civitella Benazzone, Perugia (Italy). Both are ascribed to Bonfil's student.
- 15 *Cozzak starshyna* was the founder of many churches dedicated to the Protection of the Theotokos. Thus, Hetman I. Mazepa with his own money built the church of the Protection of the Theotokos in Dihtiari and Baturyn, koshovyi P. Kalnyshevskiy gave money to build the church of the Protection of the Theotokos in Romny. The Protection of the Theotokos was the main holiday in Sich. About the popularity and celebration of the holiday of the Protection of the Theotokos in Cozzak army see: С. ПЛОХІЙ, "Покрова Богородиці в Україні" in: *Пам'ятки України*, Київ, 1991, № 6, pp. 35-40; В. СІЧИНСЬКИЙ, "Не могла старшина підрахувати побожних пожертв ясновельможного" in: *Пам'ятки України*, Київ, 1991, № 6, pp. 20-24; М. САРМА-СОКОЛОВСЬКИЙ, "На храмовому святі (У Покровській церкві Петра Калнишевського в Полтаві)" in: *Народна творчість та етнографія*, Київ, 1997, № 5-6, pp. 58-59; І. ЛИМАН, *Церква в духовному світі запорізького козацтва*, Запоріжжя, 1997, pp. 11-12, 19-20, 56-60.
- 16 *Акафісти*, Унів, 1660. – Арк. 193-193 (зв.); 212-212 (зв.).
- 17 *Акафісти*, Київ, 1677. – Арк. с҃θ – соє (зв.).
- 18 The painting is greatly renewed, nevertheless, the original iconography is preserved.
- 19 The iconography, in particular the posture of Mary is close to the image of Mary Mother of Mercy by Lippo Memmi, 1530s, Chapel of the Corporal, Duomo, Orvieto.
- 20 Reproduced in: M. GEMBAROWICZ, *op. cit.*, 1984, fig. 14.
- 21 NML i-2709. Size 103x85,5 cm. It was taken to NML from Drohobych Museum of local history in 1954 to which it was brought from the closed museum Boikivshchyna in Sambir (Lviv region). To Boikivshchyna museum it was brought in 1930s from one of the churches in Stara Sil (in Stara Sil there were three churches: of St Elias, St Paraskeva, and of the Resurrection of Our Lord). See in: В. СЛОБОДЯН, *Церкви України. Перемиська єпархія*, Львів, 1998, pp. 629-631. The church of St Paraskeva and the church of the Resurrection are built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The church of St Elias belongs to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the card index of NML there is no indication from which church exactly the icon comes from; however, most probably it originates from one of the two oldest churches.
- 22 The *omophoros* belongs to the liturgical garment of a bishop or an archbishop; it was never worn on the mantle which is a clerical but not liturgical garment of an archbishop. During the liturgy, a bishop wears the *omophoros* on *sakkos*. Thus, in this icon we can see a certain discrepancy in the vestment of the archbishop.
- 23 The full title: the archbishop of Peremyshl, Sambir and Sanok.
- 24 В. СЛОБОДЯН, *op. cit.*, pp. 598, 600, 603, 604, 635.
- 25 St John is considered to be the compiler of the *Octoechos* (*The Book of Tones or Modes*; another title is *Paraklit* from Greek – praying), where *sticherons* and canons can be found which are sung during the Prayer (*Moleben*) to Mary Mother of God. The text of the Prayer belongs to the *Book of Hours* as a part after the vespers service. It is also included in Missal (*Trebnyk*) in the part of prayer singing. Separately the *sticheron* "The Joy of all the afflicted" (*Πάντων θλιβομένων ἡ χαρά*) is used in the context of different services; for example, in the *Octoechos* it can be found as a part of a small Sunday vespers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> tone and as a part of Friday orthros of the 2<sup>nd</sup> tone, as a part of small vespers for the Sunday of the Myrrhbearers within the Lenten Triodion, and several times it is used in Menaion and in Prayer within the Book of hours. The author is grateful to fr-dr Vasyl Rudeiko for providing information about the usage of this *sticheron*.
- 26 M. GEMBAROWICZ, *op. cit.*, 1984, s. 171.
- 27 A priest says this prayer silently while the faithful sing the *troparion* to Our Lady "Each creation rejoices in you – angels and humans [...]". In this prayer the priest mentions the faithful in all their needs similarly as in iconography of the described variant of Mary Mother of Mercy: "[...] remember, O God, our authority, government and the army. [...] teach the youth, support the aged, gladden the sad ones [...]; save those with evil spirits, follow those at sea, help the travelers, protect the widows and orphans, rescue those in prisons, cure the ill, remember those under the court, tortured, in exile, those working hard, in need, poverty and misfortune. Remember all those who need your great mercy, those who love and hate us, and those who asked us unworthy to pray for them, and remember all your people, O God, and send your rich grace giving everyone the things they are asking for their salvation. And remember those whom we have not mentioned because of our ignorance or because of not remembering them, or because of a great number

- of their names, – remember them you, O Lord, who knows the age and name of everyone from their mother's womb. Because you, O Lord, is the help of those in helpless situations, the hope of those in despair, the savior in storms, the shelter of those at sea, the doctor of the ill [...]”.
- 28 One icon is in NML (NML i-1244; 78x60 cm); it appeared here in 1940s and was brought from a museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv closed by the Soviet authorities. The second icon and the middle part of the church banner are kept in the collection of the Historical museum in Sanok in Poland (IMS/S/2897; IMS/S/2411, 112x82 cm) with St Nicholas depicted on the back.
- 29 On the back there is the Synaxis of Archangel Michael. Ж-4703; 138x104 cm.
- 30 NML i-2113, 145,5x121,5 cm.
- 31 For an example see: M. GEMBAROWICZ, *op. cit.*, 1984, figs. 1, 14, 15, 22.
- 32 The icon belongs to the altar triptych by Aleylo Fernandes, a Spanish artist. The triptych is painted for Casa de Kontraktion in Seville. For its reproduction and study of iconography see: K-S. KUGLER, *op. cit.*, 2013, pp. 52-68, figs. 15-17.
- 33 On the back there is a scene of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Museum Drohobychchyna in Drohobych, Lviv region, Ukraine. № 4437 I-110.
- 34 Reproduced in: P. KOCIB, *Українські хоругви*, Київ, 2009, p. 113.
- 35 On the back side of the church banner there is a full-length figure of St Nicholas. NML i-1236, 170x116,5 cm.
- 36 On the back side of this banner St John the Baptist is painted. NML i-3507; 88,5x78 cm. The reproduction in: P. KOCIB, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

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#### Roksolana Kosiv

##### „Zaklon svijeta, šira od oblaka”

##### Dva ikonografska tipa Djevice Marije, Majke Milosti na zapadno-ukrajinskim ikonama na platnu i crkvenim zastavama između 1670. i 1730.

U drugoj polovici 17. i u 18. stoljeću tema bogorodičinog posredništva je u ukrajinskim zemljama stekla veliku popularnost i razvila razne prikaze. U to vrijeme zaštite i čuda Djevice, ali i slavljenje Marije kao posrednice i Nebeske Kraljice postaju aktualni među ukrajinskim teolozima te se razvija i zaseban književni žanr, u kojem su priče o Djevici Mariji i njenim čudima često opisani alegorijski. U drugoj se polovici 17. stoljeća razvija i nova ikonografija Bogorodice zaštitnice koja širi svoj plašt kako bi zakrnila vjerne kršćane, što je posuđenica iz zapadne umjetnosti. Pod utjecajem liturgijskih tekstova o Djevici i kultu Bogorodice zaštitnice, prikaz Majke Milosti nalazimo u dvije inačice u zapadno-ukrajinskom slikanju ikona. Prva i najraširenija je zastupljena u prikazu *Mater Omnium*: Marija je zaštitnica svih ljudi, pa se prikazuju različiti slojevi, od vladara do zatvorenika, grešnika i nemoćnih. Druga varijanta predstavlja ljude kojima je potrebna pomoć, a što je popraćeno stihovima iz stihira (mnogostišja; pravoslavnih crkvenih pjesama) koji su prikazani na slikama i koji se odnose na Bogorodicu: „O radosti svih unesrećenih”, „Sve-pateća Djevice”, „Radosti svih koji tuguju”, „Naša Gospo vječite pomoći”, i koji prenose ideju i poruku slike. Među sačuvanim djelima ovi su prikazi najrazvijeniji na ikonama na platnu i crkvenim zastavama, iako ih nalazimo i na ikonama na dasci, ali u skraćenim ikonografskim verzijama. Ikone na platnu s posebnom pozornošću prikazuju i ukazuju na poteškoće i potrebe ljudi, tako da predstavljaju odraz društva toga vremena. Vjernici, bez obzira na njihov status, gledajući ove ikone, prepoznavali su vlastite živote u njihovim prikazima.

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Primljeno/Received: 30.10.2016.  
Pregledni rad