PETER MOVILĂ'S PORTRAITS PRESERVED IN MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS OF KIEV

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Plusieurs portraits et inscriptions héraldiques de Pierre Movilă, métropolite de Kiev né en Moldavie, fils et frère de voïvodes, sont conservés à Kiev, dans des musées et des collections publiques. L'article présente un inventaire provisoire de ces représentations, accompagnées par des renseignements circonstanciés concernant la provenance et l'histoire de ces toiles, fresques ou copies. Le résultat en est une image plus riche de la vision des contemporains sur la personnalité exceptionnelle du grand hiérarque et théologien, qui concerne autant l'histoire de l'Ukraine que celle des Pays Roumains au XVII[e] siècle.

Mots-clé: Pierre Movilă, portrait, héraldique, Kiev.

In September 2015, while participating in a colloquium held in Kiev[1], I had the opportunity to look for material traces of Peter Movilă's exceptional religious and cultural works before and after he was elected a Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church of Kiev, Galicia and All Rus'.[2]

Peter Movilă's great achievements and stature as a head of the Orthodox Church in the lands of the Rus' (present-day Ukraine), and beyond, are not the topic of this contribution.[3] However, a brief recollection of his most salient works seems appropriate, before discussing his portraits that reached modern times.

[1] *Europe in Arabic Sources. "The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch"*, 22–23 September 2015, organized by the "A. Krymsky" Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kiev), Centre d'histoire et de civilization de Byzance – UMR 8167 "Orient et Méditerranée" (Paris), the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest), and the Faculty of History of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kiev. The *Proceedings* (Yulia Petrova, Ioana Feodorov, eds) have just been published in Kiev.

[2] This title was granted by Patriarch Isidore II of Constantinople, who had re-instated the Metropolitan See of Kiev in 1458.

[3] Among the many sources available, the publications of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University (HURI, in Cambridge, MA) are among the most useful. See also: *Arhiv jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, Moscow, I, t. VII, 1887 (Petru Movilă's *Memoirs* – fragments); E. Ternovski, *Pjotr Mogila, Biografičeskij očerk*, „Kievs'ka starina", 1, 1882, t. II; S. Golubev, *Kievskij mitropolit Pjotr Mogila i ego spodvižniki*, I, Kiev, 1883; Ghenandie Enăceanu, *Din istoria bisericească a românilor. Petru Movilă*, „Biserica Ortodoxă Română", 7, 1883, and 8, 1884; P.P. Panaitescu, *L'influence de Pierre Mogila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les Principautés roumaines*, „Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France", Paris, 5, 1926, I; Gheorghe Mihăilă, *Contribuții la istoria culturii și literaturii române vechi*, București, 1972; Igor Ševčenko, *The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla* („Harvard Ukrainian Studies", Special issue: *The Kiev Mohyla Academy*, VIII, 1984;

Born in Suceava (Moldavia) on 21 December 1596, into a Moldavian family of boyars and princes, the son of Simion Movilă[4] and his spouse Marghita (Margaret), Peter took refuge in Ukraine with his mother after his father's death in September 1607. From 1608 to 1620 they resided in the castle of Stanisław Żółkiewski, the military commander of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1547–1620).[5] His education started there, with teachers from among the Brotherhood of L'viv (Lemberg) – the Bratstvo monks – and continued at the Academy founded in Zamość by Polish Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (known to the European scholarly circles as *Hippaeum Zamoscianum* or the Zamoyski Academy). His knowledge thus covered several languages and literatures: Polish, Slavonic, Belorussian, Latin, and Greek.

His spiritual tutoring began while he was living in his noble estate at Rubejovka.[6] After several sojourns at the Lavra Pechers'ka in Kiev, the chief religious and cultural centre of Ukraine – a *stavropigia* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople – where he was hosted repeatedly between 1622 and 1627, he decided to join the monastic orders there (keeping the name "Peter"). After a few months he was elected superior of the monastery, in appreciation of his extensive knowledge and firm commitment to Orthodoxy. Those were troubled times: the Polish Crown, ruled by Sigismund III, had annexed the Ukrainian lands and the local hierarchs were struggling to preserve the national and the religious heritage of their country, under pressure from the Catholic Church.

Inhabited since 1051, when Jaroslav the Wise ruled the country, the area of the Lavra Pechers'ka first hosted a monk coming from Mount Athos, Anthony. Born in Liubič (Černihiv oblast', Ukraine), he had spent some time on the Holy Mountain, where he had joined the orders. He then received the charge to return to his country and establish a hermitage. After settling in a cave in the area of Berestovo, he was joined by several hermits who established together a community, later known as "the Far Caves". In 1061, having appointed the Blessed Varlaam as head of the monastic community, Monk Anthony moved to a different area, "the Near Caves". Varlaam built the first church above ground, dedicating it to the Dormition of the Mother of God (*Uspenija*). Lead afterwards by Monk

Mitropolitul Petru Movilă la 340 de ani de la moartea sa, 1647–1987, Sibiu, 1988; P.P. Panaitescu, *Petru Movilă. Studii*, Ștefan S. Gorovei and Maria Magdalena Székely, editors, București, 1996; Nestor Vornicescu, *Sfântul Ierarh Petru Movilă, Mitropolitul Kievului, al Galiției și a Toată Ucraina. Monografie haghiografică*, Craiova, 1999.

[4] Prince of Wallachia (Oct. 1600 – July 1601, Aug. 1601 – Aug. 1602) and Moldavia (July 1606 – Sept. 1607).

[5] He was also Castellan of L'viv, Voivod of Kiev and Great Chancellor of the Polish Crown, later appointed Great Hetman.

[6] For the hagiography of this Saint, see Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Une prétendue œuvre de Grégoire Tsamblak: „le martyre de Saint Jean le Nouveau"*, in *Actes du I^er Congrès des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes, Sofia, 1966*, VII, Sofia, 1971, p. 345–351; Matei Cazacu, *Saint Jean le Nouveau, son martyre, ses reliques et leur translation à Suceava*, in idem, *Au carrefour des Empires et des mers*, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Istros, București – Brăila, 2015.

Theodosius (d. 1074), Lavra Pechers'ka received from him its first *Guide of conduct*, based on the one observed in the Studion Monastery on Mount Athos. A major theological school after 1100, the monastery had provided fifty bishops to the Orthodox Church of Ukraine by the onset of the 13th century.

The most glorious age of the Lavra Pechers'ka was the 17th century, when the confrontation with Catholic missionaries in their unionist drive against the Orthodox East compelled the Ukrainian hierarchs to a stronger response, based on more intense writing and printing activities. In 1680–1690 Dmitry, future Metropolitan of Rostov, wrote his outstanding *Saints' Lives* while residing in the Lavra Pechers'ka.

In 1633 Peter Movilă was elected Metropolitan of Kiev, retaining the position of superior of the Lavra Pechers'ka. He immediately initiated a far-reaching plan of spiritual revival and national liberation. According to the letters surrounding his coat of arms – П М, А М, К Г, Є К, А П – his title in later years was "Peter Movilă, Archbishop [and] Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia, Exarches of Constantinople, Archimandrite of [Lavra] Pechers'ka." He opposed the laws issued by the Polish Crown against the Orthodox Church in conquered territories and he fought for the legality of using Ukrainian in the administration, and teaching it in schools. By convincing King Władysław IV to restore the rights and status of the Metropolis of Kiev, Peter Movilă changed the course of the people's history. He managed afterwards to recover for the Orthodox Church the Saint Sophia Cathedral and the domain of Berestovo. He also founded, on land purchased by him, the Monastery of Goloseevskij, and built here a church dedicated to Saint John the New of Suceava, endowing it with some of the Saint's relics. Later this became a hermitage of Lavra Pechers'ka.[7]

Peter Movilă also took steps towards increasing the level of education of the clerics and the ordinary people. Soon after he became superior of the Lavra Pechers'ka he founded there a school for junior monks where they were taught, in Latin, not only theology and the Holy Scriptures, but also philosophy, rhetoric, and classical literatures. After his election as Metropolitan he formed the *Mohyla College* by joining the Lavra School with that of the Theophany (*Bogojavlensky*) Brotherhood of Kiev (at the Bratsky monastery). In decline for a while, the College closed and then reopened in 1819, as the *Duhovnaja seminaria*, and later *Duhovnaja Akademija*, the Theological Academy, also known as the Kiev – Mohyla Academy.[8] Languages taught increased in diversity: alongside Latin,

[7] A completely new church, built in 2004 and dedicated to the Icon of the Mother of God the Spring of Life (*Bogoroditsa*), is now the core of the Svjato-Pokrovskaja Goloseevskaja Pustyn', itself reconstructed from the ground after it was completely destroyed in the Soviet period. See Igumenija Tat'jana [Alatarceva], *Goloseevskij Bogorodičnyj monastyr'*, Kiev, 2008.

[8] See A. Jablonovski, *Akademija Kijewska Mohilanska*, „Materialy i opracowania dotyczace historii wyzszych zakladów naukowych v Polsce", V, Cracovia, 1900. The teaching institution has two successors today: the Kiev – Mohyla Academy and the Kiev Theological Academy, which recently celebrated 400 years of religious education.

students learned Slavonic, Greek, and Polish. The curricula exceeded the area of religious teaching: it included history, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, and music. In the following decade Movilă founded several schools all over Ukraine, a second Academy in Vinnytsia with courses in Slavonic, Greek, and Latin, and a college in Kremenits. This particular contribution of Peter Movilă's is still commended today, as essential to the progress of the Ukrainian society and knowledge.[9] His contribution to the founding of a school in Iași was also instrumental for the advancement of Moldavian education.[10]

His outstanding theological works[11] and the wealth of religious texts that were composed, translated and printed owing to his spiritual guidance do not concern us here. Nevertheless, his endeavour to safeguard the Orthodox creed and canons cannot go unmentioned. He is most famous for his *Orthodox Catechism* of 1640, written originally in Latin as *Expositio fidei Ecclesiae Russiae Minoris*. Discussed and agreed upon by a Pan-Orthodox council held in 1642 in Iași, at the Trei Ierarhi Monastery, this text was approved by the Ecumenical Synod held in Constantinople in 1643 (and by subsequent Patriarchs). First signed by Patriarch Parthenios I of Constantinople, it was endorsed afterwards by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Translated into many languages, it had a very wide reach, granting Metropolitan Peter Movilă distinction and eminence all over the Orthodox world.[12]

After he died on 31 December 1646, Peter Movilă was buried in the Church of the Dormition of Lavra Pechers'ka, as a sign of great reverence, in recognition of his oustanding works to the benefit of the Orthododox Church, the clergy and the common believers. In 1941, during the German occupation of Kiev, the church was blown up by unknown perpetrators. The destruction was massive and the Metropolitan's grave was completely devastated, to such an extent that his remains were not recovered, although the coffin had been placed in a metal casket.[13]

[9] Mention should be made that the Kiev Academy was also supported with the revenues of the Movilă estate in Rubjovka.

[10] In 2015, when Ukrainians celebrated 400 years of theological teaching in Kiev, the International Conference organized by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kiev Theological Academy and Seminar – was dedicated to the "Kyiv Theological Academy in the World Family of Theological Educational Institutions" (Kiev, 20–21 October). Participants included Archimandrite Pavel Aurel, Dean of the "Andrei Șaguna" Orthodox Faculty of Theology in Sibiu, and Hieromonk Benedict Vesa, Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj.

[11] *Krest Hrista Spasitelja i každogo č*[*e*]*l*[*ove*]*ka*, Kiev, 1632; *Litos abo kamien z procy* […] *przez Evzebia Pimina*, Kiev, 1644; *Sobranie korotkoj nauki o artikulah very pravoslavno-kafoličeskoj hristianskoj*, Kiev, 1645; *Trebnik* (*Euchologion*), Kiev, 1646, etc.

[12] Translated from Latin as *Sobranie korotkoj nauki o artikulah very pravoslavno-kafoličeskoj hristianskoj*, it was first printed in Kiev, 1645, and in a Modern Greek version in 1677, at Amsterdam. It was translated from Latin into Romanian by Radu and Ștefan Greceanu: *Pravoslavnica mărturisire*, first printed in Buzău, 1691.

[13] See the report on the discovery of the metal casket plates in Dr. Oleg Bilodid and Arch. Viktor Harlamov, *Descoperirea de sub fundația Catedralei Uspenja din Kiev*, translated from Ukrainian by Dinu Ursu and Zamfira Mihail, in „Mitropolia Ardealului", Sibiu, XXXII, nr. 6, Nov.–Dec. 1987, p. 59–71, reprinted in *Mitropolitul Petru Movilă la 340 de ani de la moartea sa, 1647–1987*, Sibiu, 1988, p. 13–25, 66 (plate with the Movilă family coat of arms, photo by P. Kornienko).

In 1988, when Ukraine celebrated a millennium of Christianity in Rus' lands, the communist authorities approved that the territory of the Far Caves and several buildings (including the church of the Nativity of the Virgin, that of Saint Anna's Conception, the Lavra belfry etc.) be returned to the Orthodox Church (around 5.5 ha of land). The church started to be rebuilt in 1996, after a neglect of over half a century. The same year, when five hundred years since his death were commemorated, Peter Movilă was sanctified by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (celebration on 31 December/13 January) and a memorial plaque was placed outside the *Uspenija* Cathedral, in the area where his grave was supposed to have been laid.[14]

Today the Dormition Cathedral of Lavra Pechers'ka is a completely new building, part of the *Nacional'nyj Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj Istoryko-Kul'turnyj Zapovidnyk*, the "Kiev-Pechers'k National Historical-Cultural Domain". The reconstruction was aimed at giving it the appearance of the old building destroyed in 1941. On the narthex ceiling Peter Movilă's coat of arms was placed, carved in stone and painted in its original colours[15], and a life-size fresco of Sts Peter Movilă and Dmitry of Rostov, side by side, was painted on an inner wall.

Another place in the Lavra Pechers'ka where Peter Movilă's traces needed to be searched for is, obviously, the printing-shop. The Metropolitan cherished printing more than any other practical tasks that he had set for himself. He dedicated two decades of his life to printing, continuously improving the presses and implements of this workshop that started printing in 1616 (a *Ceasoslov – Horologion*), he supervised the texts prepared for printing and the training of apprentices. Among the first to print in Ukrainian, seen as a step towards national independence and sovereignty, he encouraged the printing of books both religious and lay: Biblical texts, Psalms, sermons, and scientific works. Moreover, he helped printing abroad, as far as Govora, Dealu and Câmpulung in Wallachia, and sent in 1646 a press to Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia, who placed it at the Three Hierarchs Monastery in Iași.

Peter Movilă's compositions – the *Triodion* (1631), the *Anthologion* (1636), the *Orthodox Catechism* (1640), the *Trebnyk* (*Euchologion*, 1646) etc. – had a tremendous reach in all the Orthodox countries. Unsurprisingly, when visiting the present-day Museum of Books and Printing at the Lavra Pechers'ka I found all the editions of these and other of his books, exhibited alongside wooden printing-tools that may as well have been used in his printing-shop. Dated in the 17th century, they included engraved matrices of Peter Movilă's coat of arms and several Saints' icons.

[14] Afterwards the plaque changed place, and today it is propped vertically against the Southern wall of the church.

[15] The original of the coat of arms placed today in the Church of the Dormition at Lavra Pechers'ka still exists, having been discovered by the archeologist M. Karger inside the altar of Saint Sophia Cathedral during excavation works at the end of the 1940's. Only a copy is accessible to the eager eye, exhibited in this Cathedral – today, the "Museum of Saint Sophia". This gypsum copy of the ceramic original, sized 80 x 55 cm, displays the faded original colours of St Peter's coat of arms. The copy in the Church of Lavra Pechers'ka is the same size and shape and is probably fixed at the same place where the original had been placed – a little to the right of the main chandelier.

On the wall of this museum an oil portrait of Metropolitan Peter Movilă is hanging, a copy made in the 19th century by an unknown painter (see ill. 1). The original was preserved in the Museum of Lavra Pechers'ka, having hung previously on the wall of the Cathedral of the Dormition (see below). A larger-than-life bust of St Peter Movilă, holding the *Trebnik*, is placed at a crossroads in the Lavra domain, on the road from the *Uspenija* Cathedral to the Far Caves, in front of the Kiev Theological Academy, whose patron he is considered, alongside St Nestor the Chronicler.

The oldest painted portrait of Metropolitan Peter Movilă still extant in Kiev is part of the fresco in the church of Berestovo Monastery, dedicated to Jesus Christ our Saviour. A former village in the country-side, Berestovo is now the historical centre of Kiev, North of Lavra Pechers'ka. The church was rebuilt in 1642–1643 by Peter Movilă, in a Greek cross-shape, on top of the remains of a much older building, first documented in the 11th century, but ruined by the Tatars of Batu Khan in 1240, when they destroyed the entire city. The interior frescoes, partially preserved, were painted by the Macedonian brothers Iannis and Giorgis in 1643–1644.[16] On the arch above the iconostasis there is a life-time portrayal of Peter Movilă who kneels and presents, as a founder (*ctitor*), the renewed church to Jesus Christ dressed in bishop's garments, seated on a throne, with Mother Mary to His right and the great prince Vladimir (Volodymyr, 958–1015)[17] to His left (see ill. 2). At the feet of Jesus Christ lies the Movilă family coat of arms. A long inscription in Greek mentions the church renovation by Peter Movilă and the year 1644, while a shorter Greek inscription and a Slavonic one indicate 1643. This votive fresco is mentioned in Ukrainian sources as "Prayer" and "Peter Movilă's gift". His portrait is considered as genuine as possible, and the most realistic one available today: his broad chin, covered in a black beard speckled with grey, his tall forehead, his aristocratic aquiline nose, brown eyes full of life, and pursed lips, all reveal the Metropolitan's strength of mind and will (see ill. 3). Interestingly, in later portraits the hierarch appears less robust.

The church was renovated in 1751–1752 and again in 1813–1814. Unfortunately, the frescoes were restored in the manner of oil paintings, dramatically altering the original aspect. Nowadays the church is under repair again and therefore closed to the public. In the meantime it was attached administratively to the Kiev-Pechers'k

[16] See Vera G. Tchentsova, *Les documents grecs du XVII*e *siècle: pièces authentiques et pièces fausses. 3. Mélétios Syrigos, véritable auteur de la lettre adressée au patriarche de Moscou Nikon par les* zôgraphoi *Jean et Georges*, "Orientalia Christiana Periodica", 73, II, nr. 2/2007, p. 318–321. A letter written by the Greek theologian Meletios Syrigos in the name of Iannis and Giorgis, dated 25 July 1655 and addressed to Nikon, the Patriarch of Moscow (State Historical Museum, *Synod. Gram. 2289*), records several churches painted by them. As discussed by Vera Tchentsova, they also worked on church frescoes in Wallachia (churches of Plumbuita, Plătărești, Căldărușani, Brebu, Strehaia, and Cornățel) and Moldavia (probably in Soveja).

[17] He was the first prince of the Kievan Rus' who embraced Christianity, having his entire people baptized soon after. A Saint in all the Orthodox calendars, he is celebrated on July 15.

Historical-Cultural Domain. The *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, available online, provides information and images from the Monastery at Berestovo and the church frescoes.[18] Petru Movilă's votive portrait was reproduced by Igor Ševčenko[19], Paul Mihail[20], Arkadij Žukovs'kyj[21], Sergei Udovyk[22], and most recently in a paper jointly signed by E.V. Lopuhyna, E.V. Pytateleva and Vera G. Tchentsova.[23]

The Ukrainian National Museum of Art in Kiev (*Nacionalnyj Hudožnij Muzej Ukrajiny*) owns two portraits of Peter Movilă. One is an oil portrait, *Peter Movilă, Metropolitan of Kiev*, sized 220 x 105 cm, by an unknown painter, and dated in the second half of the 18th century (Inv. nr. Ж-458, see ill. 4). The piece previously hung inside the *Uspenija* Cathedral in Lavra Pechers'ka. Not exhibited in the Museum at this time, it is preserved in the vaults, as I was informed. In Ukraine the portrait was printed in two exhibition catalogues[24], whilst in Romania a reproduction was recently published by Prof. Anca Brătuleanu[25].

The other portrait is a copy by an unknown painter, possibly from the first half of the 18th century, sized 221 x 136 cm (Inv. nr. Ж-413, see ill. 5). It bears an inscription: "Peter Movilă, son of a voivode (*voevoditchi*) from the Country of Moldavia, Archimandrite of Pechers'ka, Metropolitan of Kiev, died the year....". This portrait is said to have been restored. Again, it is not exhibited in the Museum and its existence is unverified, although a photo is available online.[26]

Another oil portrait was kept in the Museum of the Saint Sophia National Domain: *Peter Movilă, Metropolitan of Kiev*, sized 261 x 157 cm, by an unknown painter, dated in the mid 19th century (Inv. nr. КПЛ-П-93, see ill. 6). The lower part is covered by the inscription: "Peter Movilă, son of a voivode (*voevoditchi*) from the Country of Moldavia, Archimandrite of Pechers'ka, Metropolitan of Kiev, died the year 1646." Until the October Revolution this painting hung in the Assembly Hall of the Kiev Theological Academy, as revealed by an old photograph of the paintings on the walls. Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who visited the "Cossacks' lands" while accompanying his father Patriarch Makarios III Ibn al-Za'īm on a long trip from Damascus to Moscow by way of Moldavia and Wallachia (1652–

[18] *Encyklopedija Ukrajiny*, new series, 1993, t. 5, online at www.encyclopedia of ukraine.com.display.asp? AddButton=pages\T\R\ TransfigurationChurchinBerestove.htm.

[19] *The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla*, „Harvard Ukrainian Studies", special issue: *The Kiev Mohyla Academy*, VIII, 1984, nr. 1–2, p. 1, 20, 42–44; fig. 2–4 – the Greek inscription.

[20] In *Mitropolitul Petru Movilă la 340 de ani de la moartea sa*, p. 67 (wrong orientation, looking from right to left).

[21] *Petr Mogyla j pytannja jednosti cerkov*, Kyiv, 1997.

[22] *Kyiv*, Kiev, 2006, p. 65.

[23] *Postvizantijskie freski cerkvi Spasa na Berestove v kontekste pis'mennyh istočnikov i hudožestvenno-ikonografičeskogo analiza*, in *Kapterevskie čtenija. Sbornik statej*, vol. 13, Moscow, 2015, p. 180, 182–183, 216–217.

[24] *Z ukrajins'koji starovyny. Al'bom*, Kiev, 1991, p. 294, nr. 301; *Ukrajins'kyj portret XVI–XVIII stolit'. Katalog-albom*, Kiev, 2005, p. 169–170, nr 150.

[25] *Portrete domnești în colecții străine*, București, 2010, p. 51 (erroneously located in the Kiev Museum of History).

[26] At http://www.pslava.info/Kyiv_VolodymyrskaVul_StSophia24_2007-07-12-106,173011.html.

1658)[27], reports that they saw rows of hierarchs' portraits in the halls of the Metropolitan's residence in Kiev (at the time, at Saint Sophia Cathedral). Some of these may have reached the collections of the Metropolitan palace of Kiev built with Romanian funds in 1864–1882, whose ceremonial halls (or "salons") hosted tens of portraits of Princes and Metropolitans.[28]

The portrait was then moved to the treasury of the Kiev – Pechers'k Historical and Cultural Domain, on the lands of the Upper Lavra, which belonged to the State. In 2006–2012 it was restored in the dedicated workshop of Lavra Pechers'ka, where he was dated approximately to the 1840's based on the painting method and materials used, as reported in an article by O. S. Ryžova (with interesting photos of the repair works).[29] This may be the original of the second portrait at the National Museum of Art, as suggested by HS Metropolitan Nestor Vornicescu.[30] A reproduction was published in 1969 by A. Žukovs'kyj.[31] Before restoration works resumed at Berestovo Monastery this painting was transferred to the State Museum located on its premises[32], in order to be included in an exhibition of frescoes placed on the walls of a conference room, where it still hangs today.[33]

It seems that except for the fresco in Berestovo Monastery no painted representations of Metropolitan Peter from the 17th century reached us. As for the group of Peter Movilă's life-size, ceremonial portraits from the 18th–19th centuries that are preserved in Kiev, most of them could be replicas of an earlier original, observing the same *mise-en-place* and artefacts used in the composition (coat of arms, crucifix, prayer beads and Bible on a table, background setting). Movilă's features are basically the same, though the portrayals could be divided into age-groups and his garments are slightly different, avoiding monotony.

The general style of the paintings is typical for Kiev art: almost mono-chrome, or slightly coloured in dark shades, they have a certain majestic but static, almost dry, quality. The subject's height follows the way hierarchs are represented

[27] See Ioana Feodorov, *Chapter 12: Paul of Aleppo*, in *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700–1700. An Anthology of Sources*, ed. Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, Illinois, 2014, p. 252–275; eadem, *Paul din Alep, Jurnal de călătorie în Moldova şi Valahia*, preliminary study, edition of the Arabic ms., translation from Arabic into Romanian, notes and indices by Ioana Feodorov, Editura Academiei Române – Muzeul Brăilei/Editura Istros, Bucureşti – Brăila, 2014.

[28] In the "Blue Salon", alongside portraits of Dositei Herescu, Daniil Vlahovici, Isaia Baloşescu and Eugenie Hacman, painted by Eugen Maximovici and Traian Bârgăuan, two portraits of Metropolitan Dosoftei of Suceava are said to have been exhibited. See Virgil Cândea, *Mărturii româneşti peste hotare*, Editura Academiei – Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I" – Editura Istros, Bucureşti – Brăila, 2016, vol. VI.1, Ch. *Ucraina*, item 49.

[29] *Izsledovanie, restavracija i atribucija portreta Mitropolita Petra Mogily*, in *Cerkva-nauka-suspil'stvo: pytannja vzajemodii. Materialy XI mižnarodnoji naukovoji conferenciji*, Kiev, 2013, p. 74–77.

[30] ÎPS Nestor Vornicescu, *Sfântul Ierarh Petru Movilă Mitropolitul Kievului, al Galiţiei şi a toată Ucraina. Monografie haghiografică*, Craiova, 1999, p. 138.

[31] *Petro Mogyla i pytannja jednosti cerkov*, Paris, 1969, p. 120.

[32] The museum belongs to the National Kyiv-Pechers'k Historical and Cultural Domain, see http://www.kplavra.kiev.ua/.

[33] According to Vera Tchentsova, who recently visited the Berestovo monastery, these exhibits include several sections of frescoes from its church, taken off the walls during restoration in an attempt to discover the original layer of painting from the 12th century.

in Ukrainian portrait art – as tall as they appear in church frescoes.[34] In a more elaborate version of the portrait, the buildings of Lavra Pechers'ka are visible in the background. None of the painters is known – not even for the portrait that was professionally restored in the Lavra Pechers'ka workshop.

Manuscripts and books also provide useful information on Peter Movilă's appearance. As first mentioned in Romanian historiography by Fr Paul Mihail, the National Ukrainian Library „V.I. Vernadskyi" in Kiev[35] preserves a Slavonic manuscript of the *Archieratikon*, copied in Kiev in 1632[36], where Saint John Chrysostom is featured with Peter Movilă's traits while a young *starets* of Lavra Pechers'ka (see ill. 7).[37] Some of the books printed during Metropolitan Peter's pastoral charge, or dedicated to him, comprise portraits of his (sometimes alongside his coat of arms), such as the *Eucharistirion. Albo, vdjachnost'*, 1632, on page 3 (see ill. 8)[38], or the *Slujebnik i trebnik arhierejskij*, Kiev, 1639, with a colour portrait of Peter Movilă dressed in ceremonial attire[39].

In medieval and pre-modern times, coats of arms provided a different kind of portrayal of the noblemen. A closer look, by an expert in the science of heraldry, at the way Peter Movilă's coat of arms is pictured in each portrait recorded here could lead the research towards a chronology, especially if printed representations are also taken into consideration. The Movilă family heraldic symbols, as well as the personal coat of arms of Metropolitan Peter, were printed in many books: Avva Dorotej, *Teachings*, Kiev, 1628; *Služebnic*, Kiev, 1629; *Nomokanon*, Kiev, 1629; Ioanikie Volkovič, *Rozmyšljane o mucě Hrista Spasitelě našego*, L'viv, 1631; *Apostle*, L'viv, 1639; *Služebnik i trebnik arhierejskij*, Kiev, 1639; Theodosius Wasilewicz Baiewski, *Sancti Petri metropolitae Kijoviensis thaumaturgi Rossiae* […] *Petrus Mohila patroni sui iconismus*, Kiev, 1645; *Trebnik*, Kiev, 1646 etc.[40]

[34] See the unsigned comments at http://petrometall-at.ru/?p=113.

[35] Founded in 1918 as the Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukrajins'koji Deržavy (National Library of the Ukrainian State), it later became the Central'na Biblioteka Ukrajins'koij Akademiji Nauk (Central Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences). Today it also holds the collections of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

[36] Edited by Job (Iov) Boretsky, Peter Movilă's predecessor as a Metropolitan of Kiev (1620–1631), this book was intended for usage in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia.

[37] Fr Paul Mihail, *Postfață*, in *Mitropolitul Petru Movilă la 340 de ani de la moartea sa, 1647–1987*, p. 60–61, 68 (the engraving). IPS Nestor Vornicescu reprinted it in *op. cit.*, p. 116. The engraving was previously described and reproduced in P. Popov, *Nevidomyj pryžyttjevyj portret Petra Mogyly*, „Narodna tvorčist' ta etnografija", 1969, nr. 6, p. 42–43, and *Vizantijskij vremennik*, t. 43, 1982, ill. nr. 5.

[38] A volume is present in the collections of (Inv. nr Кир. 27). See Zapasko-Isajevyč, I, p. 53–54, nr. 228; Natalia Pylypiuk, *Eucharisterion. Albo, Vdjačnost'. The First Panegiric of the Kiev Mohyla School: Its Content and Historical Context* („Harvard Ukrainian Studies", 8, 1984, nr. 1–2, p. 47–70, 252).

[39] Zapasko-Isajevyč, I, p. 59–60, nr. 273; Pavel Bălan, *Icoana sufletului nostru*, Chișinău, 1992, p. 57–66; Mircea Pahomi, *Fundații românești în Galiția – Ucraina*, "Analele Bucovinei", București, II, 1995, 1, p. 109.

[40] J.N. Mănescu's considerations regarding the heraldry of the Movilă family members (Simion, Constantin, Ieremia, and Peter Movilă) present on buildings, documents, and swords, included in his article *Stemele Movileștilor* (in *Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, I. *„Casa noastră movilească"*, Sfânta Mănăstire Sucevița, 2006, p. 20–30), are extremely significant in this respect. His research is worth continuing with the comparison of all heraldic features in Petru Movilă's portraits mentioned herewith.

The portraits (originals or copies) that I have recorded in this brief presentation deserve a thorough survey by a specialist in art history. They are important for Romanian history not only because of Peter Movilă's Moldavian roots and extensive activities in support of the Orthodox Church in Romanian lands, but also because copies held in Romanian repositories may be traced to one of the Kiev portraits. To give but one example, the art collection at the Monastery of Sucevița (N. Moldavia) holds two oil paintings on canvas, one definitely representing Metropolitan Peter Movilă, the other presumably Metropolitan Gheorghe Movilă of Moldavia (1579–1586), Peter's uncle. The restoration works to which they were submitted in the specialized workshop of this convent were described in 2006 by Maria Lungu.[41] The first portrait, sized 223 × 113 cm, observes the life-size dimensions and features of the Metropolitan in his portraits preserved in Kiev, with the presence of some of the artefacts generally added there – a crucifix and five books – that evoke two of his personal traits: his deep devotion to God and his dedication to printing. St Anthony and St Theodosius, patron Saints of Lavra Pechers'ka, are represented on the Metropolitan's *epigonation*, alongside Mother Mary and Jesus the Child. Placed under the Metropolitan's coat of arms, a lengthy Cyrillic inscription, which became easier to grasp after the restoration works, reads: "This portrait of the Holy Metropolitan of Kiev PETR Moghilă Voievod Moldavski, son of his Beatitude the Prince of Moldo-Wallachia Simion Moghilă Voievod ... founders of the Monastery of Sucevița was copied on the old original dated around 1630 by care of the Archimandrite Kir Filaret Bendevschi, higoumen of the Monastery of Sucevița in the year 1824." The second piece, 188 × 115 cm large, is thought to represent Gheorghe Movilă, in life-size dimensions.[42] The painter of the second portrait is Carl Renner of Cernăuți and the completion date is seemingly 1837, the same year that the first portrait was reframed (as written in a note placed on the frame).

St Peter Movilă's memory is still vibrant in Kiev. His contribution to the continuity and progress of the Orthodox Church in territories inhabited by the forefathers of present-day Ukrainians is not forgotten. The portrayal of his majestic stature is present on frescoes of all Orthodox churches, his icons are available all over the place, and the tree that he presumably planted himself – a very old linden tree nowadays – is still being covered in ribbons every summer by devout and wishful pupils and students who prepare for their final exams.[43]

[41] Maria Lungu, *Restaurarea a două tablouri în ulei de la Mănăstirea Sucevița*, in *Movileștii, istorie și spiritualitate românească*, III. *Artă și restaurare*, Sfânta Mănăstire Sucevița, 2013 (2nd ed.), p. 221–228, with illustrations (the two portraits).

[42] This identification was vividly debated during the colloquium where Maria Lungu first presented her paper in Sucevița, in 2006, as she mentions in n. 10 (p. 222). For details and comments on both portraits see E. Manasterski, *Mănăstirea Sucevița* (collection record), in „Candela", 1907, p. 821, nr. 24; Dimitrie Dan, *Mănăstirea Sucevița. Cu anexe de documente ale Suceviței și Schitului celui Mare*, București, 1923; Prof. dr. Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, București, 1944, p. 32–45.

[43] I was greatly helped in the research of Ukrainian sources by Yulia Petrova, a researcher with the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences in Kiev. Vera Tchentsova kindly read a preliminary version of this paper and suggested improvements, based on her personal findings in Kiev. I am very grateful to them both.

Fig. 1. Portraits at the Museum of the Book and Printing, Lavra Pechers'ka.
Peter Movilă's is on the top row, to the left.

Fig. 2. Votive fresco in the narthex of the church at Berestovo Monastery, on the arch above the iconostasis.

Fig. 3. Detail of the Berestovo fresco, showing Peter Movilă.

Fig. 4. *Peter Movilă*, oil portrait at the Kiev National Museum of Art, 220 × 105 cm.

Fig. 5. *Peter Movilă*, oil portrait at the Kiev National Museum of Art, 221 × 136 cm.

Fig. 6. *Peter Movilă*, oil portrait, previously at the Kiev Theological Academy, 261 × 157 cm.

Fig. 7. *Peter Movilă in the Archieratikon*, manuscript, 1632.

Fig. 8. *Peter Movilă in the Eucharistirion. Albo, vdjachnost'*, printed in Kiev, 1632