Résumé. L'étude vise à clarifier la chronologie des peintures de l'église de l'ancien monastère à Râmnicu Sărat, fondé par le Prince Constantine Brancovan et le Michel Cantacuzène. spathaire fresques de Râmnicu Sărat ont été précédemment datées autour de 1697, sur la base de l'inscription dédicatoire sculptée au-dessus du portail, indiquant le période 1691-1697. Notre étude démontre que les peintures ont été faites à l'été de 1696. Parmi les arguments utilisés sont l'absence du tableau votive du portrait de Smaranda, la plus jeune fille du Brancovan, née à la fin de 1696 ou au printemps de 1697, la chronologie des autres monuments des mêmes fondateurs et artistes, et que Constantine Brancovan avait en 1696 du temps libre de gérer son fondation. Plus probablement, l'inscription sculptée audessus du portail a été mise un an après la fin des peintures murales par Michel Cantacuzène seul, qui a profité de l'incapacité de Constantine Brancovan, occupé avec opérations militaires toute l'année 1697, à gérer la construction.

Keywords: Dormition of Mother of God Monastery in Râmnicu Sărat, Brancovan art, Constantine Brancovan, Michael Cantacuzino, Brancovan portraits, Brancovan founder.

The church of the former monastery in Râmnicu Sărat was recently rebrought into attention by a full restoration of its mural paintings that occured between 2002 and 2011. In the past decades, the fresco ensemble had been attributed entirely to the Wallachian artist Pârvu Mutu¹, but a recent reevaluation of the restored paintings put convincingly into light evidences which indicate a probable participation of the Greek painter Konstantinos, the leading author of the frescos in Hurezi Monastery, in the team who worked the mural paintings².

Here, I will not insist on a further analysis of the iconographic programme of

THE COMPLETION DATE OF THE MURAL PAINTINGS IN THE FORMER DORMITION OF THE MOTHER OF GOD MONASTERY IN RÂMNICU SĂRAT

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the murals³, nor on attributing the fresco portions - unfortunately, reintegrated with massive careless retouches at the last restoration – to either the two painters, issues already largely discussed on other occasions⁴. Although the style of the paintings was affected on many areas by the retouches, considering the iconography and the structure of the compositions, the altar, the calotte of the narthex, the Akathist Hymn, the votive portraits, as well as the porch can be identified as the work of painter Pârvu Mutu and his team, while to Konstantinos can be attributed the frescos in the nave and most of the Synaxary in the narthex⁵.

The purpose of the present study is to clarify, as much as possible, the date when the frescos were completed. Previously, the murals had been dated widely between 1691 and 1697, sometimes even later, in 1697-1699, and recently it has been proposed a more restricted interval, 1696-1697, the time span when the two painters were free of other commands⁶. However, in our opinion, sufficient data has been preserved to circumscribe more precisely the time range during which the fresco ensemble could be completed.

The former convent in Râmnicu Sărat is foundation of Prince Constantine Brancovan and of grand spatharios Michael Cantacuzino, his uncle, built, according to its dedicatory inscription, between 1691 and 1697 (before August 31st)⁷. The construction of the monastery began after Cantacuzino had completed Michael between 1681 and 1684 a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, interceding after his return with his nephew, the Prince, to obtain material support for the Sinaite of St. Catherine. Monastery construction, intended to be dedicated as a metochion to Sinai, was erected on the left bank of the Râmnic River, on the site of an older monastery, "St. George of the Greeks", built at the end of the 16th century. The previous cloister had a wooden church sheltered under masonry fortifications⁸ and seemingly it previously benefited from the donations of the spatharios, since a document of 1688 was mentioning it as "the monastery of Michael Cantacuzino in the bourgh of Râmnic"9. The dedicatory inscription of the new church affirms that the previous monastery had also been a settlement dedicated to Sinai¹⁰, whom the new, one, larger and richer, replaced.

Although the inscription gives the year 1691 as the date of the beginning of the works, the radical rebuilding of the monastery would have been initiated as early as the previous year, as two documents dated June 30th and July 4th 1700 note that the construction had started in the second year of reign of Constantine Brancovan as Prince of Wallachia (1689-1690) – at the same time with the Hurezi Monastery, his intended necropolis - and were committed in the eighth year (1695-1696), together with Mamul Monastery in Vâlcea¹¹. The finishing date is confirmed by the chronicler Radu Greceanu, who mentions the Râmnic monastery at the end of the summer of 1696 as having "cells built of stone and a fortress wall around them"; moreover, "[the founders] have made it strong, to be an escape for many and, giving it donations and adorning it with all the things necessary, to the holy

and divine Sinai Monastery dedicated it to eternal remembrance"¹².

However, Constantine Brancovan soon became more preoccupied with his greater foundation at Hurezi, began in 1690 and mostly completed by 1694¹³, interval during which the works at Râmnicu Sărat slowed down to Moreover, Michael Cantacuzino started another foundation dedicated to Mount Sinai. the Monastery of Holv Transfiguration at Sinaia (1690-1695), whose works were conducted concurrently with the constructions at Râmnicu Sărat, which explains the long interval, of about 5 years, for their achievement. At the same time, Michael Cantacuzino was also supervising the restoration works of the Princely Court in Târgoviște (1692)¹⁴. The foundation charter of Sinaia Monastery, dated on October 15th 1694, mentions that the construction was over at that time, with cells built around¹⁵. But it was not until August 15th 1695 that the church of Sinaia was consecrated, this one-year dalliance indicating that in the summer of 1695 were probably completed its mural paintings. Pârvu came to Sinaia after he had finished the paintings of the Cantacuzinos' court chapel in Măgureni in 1694, and his works at the church in Râmnicu Sărat seem to have begun immediately after de had completed its murals at Sinaia¹⁶ in 1695. At least two of the artists worked at both of the monasteries: the painter Pârvu Mutu and Lupu Sărătan (from Râmnicu Sărat) the sculptor¹⁷.

In the votive group portrait in the narthex at Râmnicu Sărat, Smaranda, the daughter of Constantine youngest Brancovan, is missing (Fig. 1), which seems to mean that she was not born yet at the date when the paintings were completed. According to Stefan Greceanu, editor of Brancovan's modern chronicle, Smaranda was born "about 1696", year that he deducts from her dowry paper, dated on 8 June 171218. She was already born at the moment of the death of Maria, the second daughter of the Prince, an event which occured in late May or early June 1697¹⁹.



Fig. 1 – The church of the former monastery in Râmnicu Sărat, the votive group portrait: Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, Lady Maria and the children (at far left: Papa Brâncoveanu and Stanca, the parents of the Prince, and Barbu, his middle brother).



 $\label{eq:Fig.2-The church of the Mamul Monastery, the votive group portrait: Constantin Brâncoveanu, \\ Lady Maria and the children.$

Only six daughters also appear in the votive group portrait at Mamul (Fig. 2), which was completed by Pârvu Mutu towards September 8, 1699²⁰. There, however, the portraits do not bear any inscriptions and we are not aknowledged of which of the girls is absent. All of them are wearing crowns, so the deceased daughter Maria, who was usually depicted crowned as wife of Constantine Ducas Prince of Moldavia, cannot be easily identified. Lady Maria Brancovan, their mother, keeps her hand with authority on the head of a third daughter, detail which indicates that the latter was not yet married. But Ilinca, her third daughter, was already married since February 1698²¹. Therefore, the one who is depicted as still under the authority of her mother must be the fourth daughter, Safta (who married later, in May 1700²²), followed by the smallest three girls, Ancuta, Bălașa and Smaranda, and the dead Maria is the one who is missing. Later, several funeral portraits of Maria will be depicted at $(1701?^{23}),$ Potlogi Doicești (1706),Mogoșoaia (1707), Surpatele (1707).

At Hurezi, Matthew and Smaranda were added in the votive group portrait in the early 18th century, as they were unborn yet in 1694, the date when the church was painted²⁴. At Râmnicu Sărat, only Matthew appears to be added later, as suggests the distinct manner of his portrait, more carefully drawn (Fig. 3), with naturalistic details superior in quality to the other portraits, which are clumsier and apparently worked by some disciples rather than by Pârvu Mutu himself. The birth date of Matthew is uncertain; the editor of Brancovan's chronicle gives the year 1702²⁵, but Aubry de la Motraye, who was in Constantinople in 1714, writes that the boy was sixteen years old when he was put to death by the Ottoman Sultan together with his father and his other three brothers²⁶, meaning thus that he could be born around 1698. However, in the votive composition at Mamul, completed in September 1699, an obvious modification of the zone which includes Brancovan's right hand and the heads of his two younger

sons seems to indicate that Matthew was added at a later date, the boy being awkwardly placed at the edge of the composition for lack of space (Fig. 2). There are further more preserved portraits of Matthew: one on the epitrachelion dated to 1696, made for the use of the Hurezi Monastery²⁷, another in fresco at the parecclesion of Hurezi (1696-1697)²⁸ and one at the Holy Apostles Hermitage at Hurezi $(1700)^{29}$. The most problematic seems to be that on the epitrachelion, as the presumed author of the embroidery, Despoineta of Argyris³⁰, hardly could add the portrait afterwards without being forced to partly unravel the previous composition, which apparently has not undergone any subsequent renderings³¹. Moreover, such a modification would have been difficult since the workshop of the embroideress resided in Constantinople. Nevertheless, this should not be seen as impossible another embroideress might have modified the piece – as the absence of Matthew from the group portrait on the icon of Saints Constantine and Helena in the parecelesion of Hurezi (roughly dated together with the frescos 1696-1697)³² suggests indeed that he was not born yet in 1696. On the other hand, the votive portraits in fresco in the parecclesion have undergone a massive work of retouching in 1793-1796 and cannot be properly dated prior to an in-depth stratum analysis. Contrariwise, no changes are discernible in composition and style at Holy Apostles, and the painting layer apparently has not suffered any later modifications³³. Future restorations will help clarify if the portraits of Matthew on the epitrachelion, at the Hurezi pareclession and at Holy Apostles are contemporary with their ensembles or have been subsequently added. The eventual confirmation of the first situation will compel us to accept that Matthew's birth took place at the beginning of 1696 at the latest, since Smaranda was born in late 1696 or early 1697³⁴. It will also imply that his portraits at Râmnicu Sărat and Mamul were not added later and that the obvious modifications of the paintings were due to other causes.



Fig. 3 – Râmnicu Sărat, the votive portraits (detail, during restoration): Matei (at far right), Constantin, Ștefan, Radu (in the center), Bălașa (at left).

The son of Michael Cantacuzino, Michael, is present near his father at Râmnicu Sărat with a portrait that is stilistically similar with the rest of his votive group, and therefore can considered as part of the initial painting layer. He is also found at Sinaia, but there the murals were heavily repainted in 1795. During 1714, we find him as a young adult who held the rank of komis (master of the horse), signing an order for the abolition of cow tax on March 4th, as member of the newly appointed Stephen Cantacuzino's Divan³⁵. He must have been then at least 18 years old, which means that he was born no later than the spring of 1696. (Figs. 2, 3)

Concluding, the chronology of the monument can be reconstructed as follows: Lupu Sărățan works the sculptures of the church probably after returning from Sinaia, between 1694-1695; Pârvu Mutu

comes from Sinaia to Râmnicu Sărat in the autumn of 1695 at the earliest, possibly in order to assign the iconographic program, and in the spring of 1696 he begins to paint the frescos, starting with the altar, while Konstantinos works in the Considering the absence of Smaranda's portrait at Râmnicu Sărat, the entire painting ensemble must have been completed in the summer of 1696³⁶. The feast icon of the Dormition of the Mother of God which belonged to the iconostasis, today found in the National Museum of Art in Bucharest, is inscribed with the year 1695-1696 (Fig. 4). Stylistically, the icon can be attributed to Pârvu Mutu. Considering its date, it seems that the painter worked with a team which, like in the case of Konstantinos at Hurezi, eased him to complete, at the same time with the frescos, also the icons of the iconostasis³⁷.



Fig. 4 – Dormition of the Mother of God, 1695-1696, despotic icon attributed to Pârvu Mutu that belonged to the former monastery in Râmnicu Sărat, today in the collection of the National Museum of Art in Bucharest.

The inscription carved at the entrance to the church is dated, however, both with the Western year 1697 and the Byzantine one, 7205 (1696-1697). Smaranda was already born in the spring of 1697, so most probably the year does not indicate the completion of the paintings. The portal displays a very unusual design, with two superimposed cassettes instead of one, the first harbouring the dedicatory inscription with the coat of arms of the Cantacuzens and the name of spatharios Michael Cantacuzino, and the second, surmounting it, the coat of arms of Wallachia and the initials of Prince Constantine Brancovan (Fig. 5). We have reasons to suppose that the inscription was added one year after the paintings were completed. It is well known that the summer of 1696 was one of calm for the Prince, giving him the occasion to take charge of a number of building projects³⁸. But the fall began with major financial difficulties stemming from the increased fees for the Austrian-Ottoman war and the whole summer of the following year, 1697, Brancovan was occupied with military manoeuvres to protect the country's western barriers, being garrisoned until September at Cerneți³⁹. The two panels are the only marble pieces in the church and were worked separately from the rest of the portal by a skilled master, careful to details, who

according to style seems to be other than Lupu Sărătan, the sculptor of the door frame. The graceful inscription tablet, in the form of a rotulus surmounted by the Two-Headed Eagle holding a ribbon with the name of Michael Cantacuzino, must have been carried out in the summer of 1697 exclusively with the expense of the spatharios, who took thus the occasion to take advantage of Brancovan's absence and fully assume the foundation by sealing its dedicatory inscription with his blazonry, although the text designates the Prince as the leading founder and the spatharios as a donor 40. The particular, awkward solution of doubling the entablement of the portal for the two blazons was thus chosen in order to reconcile the ambitions of the two founders. the Prince and his hubristic Cantacuzen uncle.



Fig. 5 – Râmnicu Sărat: the portal and the dedicatory inscription.

The Râmnicu Sărat Monastery was the only case where Prince Constantine Brancovan joined as founder together with a member of the Cantacuzino family. It was designed to be one of the largest and luxurious foundations of its time⁴¹, but unfortunately, its original aspect conserved

only partially to this day. Nevertheless, Râmnicu Sărat distinguishes itself as one of the most valuable monuments of the Brancovan's epoch and the only place where the three leading artists of the period in Wallachia, Pârvu Mutu, Konstantinos and Lupu Sărățan⁴², worked together.

Notes

¹ Teodora Voinescu, *Zugravul Pîrvul Mutul şi şcoala sa*, in *SCIA*, II (1955), nr. 3-4, p. 138; *eadem*, *Pîrvu Mutu Zugravu*, Bucureşti, 1968, p. 13, 16.

² Corina Popa, Autorul picturii murale din biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din Râmnicu Sărat, in SCIA-AP, new series, 2 (46), 2012, p. 75-82.

³ The frescos were massively influenced by the iconographic programme of Hurezi (1694); *ibidem*, *pass*.

- ⁴ Ibid., pass.; Elisabeta Negrău, Fosta mănăstire Adormirea Maicii Domnului din Râmnicu Sărat, in Pr. Alexandru Barna (ed.), Ctitorii brâncoveneşti. Elemente de artă eclezială medievală (secolele al XVIII-lea și al XVIII-lea), București, 2014, p. 102-106.
- ⁵ C. Popa, *Autorul* (see n. 2), *pass.*; E. Negrău, *Râmnicu Sărat* (see n. 4), *pass*.

⁶ C. Popa, *ibidem*, p. 82.

⁷ Nicolae Iorga, Studii şi documente privitoare la istoria românilor, vol. XVI, Stabilimentul Grafic I. V. Socecu, Bucureşti, 1909, p. 356.

⁸ Emil Lupu, Date arheologice privind mănăstirea Adormirea Maicii Domnului din Râmnicu Sărat, județul Buzău (secolele XVI-XIX), in Mousaios, vol. IV, nr. 1, Buzău, 1994, p. 269 sqq.; idem, Ctitorii dispărute la curbura Carpaților în secolele XV-XVI (II), in BCMI, XVII (2007), nr. 1-2, p. 97-98.

⁹ Arhivele Statului București, *Mănăstirea Râmnicu Sărat*, IX/22, doc. 1688 Feb. 2; *apud* Nicolae Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităților și monumentelor feudale din România. I. Țara Românească*, vol. II, Craiova, 1970, p. 558, n. 40.

¹⁰N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, XVI, p. 356 (see n. 7).

n. 7).

¹¹ Arhivele Naționale București, *Mănăstirea Râmnicu Sărat*, 1/18, ms. 724, ff. 547-553; *apud* N. Stoicescu, *Bibliografia...Țara Românească* (see n. 9), II, p. 558, n. 40

¹² Radu Greceanu, *Viața lui Costandin Vodă Brâncoveanu* (ed. by Ștefan Greceanu), București, 1906, p. 76-77.

Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, Hrisovul lui Constantin Brâncoveanu pentru Mănăstirea Hurezi (1695), in MO, XII (1960), nr. 9-12, p. 707; see also Corina Popa, Istoricul Mănăstirii Hurezi, in Corina Popa, Ioana Iancovescu, Mănăstirea Hurezi, Bucureşti, 2009, p. 25-28; I. Iancovescu, Mănăstirea Hurezi. Prezentare generală, in Corina Popa, Ioana Iancovescu, Elisabeta Negrău, Vlad Bedros, Repertoriul picturilor murale brâncoveneşti. Judeţul Vâlcea [The Iconography

of Brancovan Mural Paintings in Vâlcea District], București, 2008, vol. I, p. 41-43.

¹⁴ N. Stoicescu, Bibliografia... Ţara Românească, vol. II, p. 47.

¹⁵BAR Rom. Ms. 1055, f. 1r.

¹⁶ T. Voinescu, Zugravul Pîrvul Mutul şi şcoala sa (see n. 1), p. 138.

17 Pavel Chihaia, Un sculptor român din epoca brâncovenească: Lupu Sărăţan, in Revista muzeelor, V (1968), nr. 1, p. 22. The rich sculptures in the Râmnic Sărat church: the prothesis' and the diaconicon's entrances (in the form of trilobate portals, surmounted by a broken pediment); the portal and the frames of the windows; the narthex and porch columns, but also the figurative sculptures at the Princely house of the monastery (a human figure supporting the vaults), belong stylistically to the refined group of the foundations of Michael Cantacuzino, alongside Sinaia (1690-1695), Fundenii Doamnei (1699) and Colţea (before 1700).

¹⁸ Ş. Greceanu, *Note şi anexe*, in R. Greceanu, *Viața*, 284-285 and 315 (see n. 12). Her wedding is mentioned in the chronicle *ibidem*, p. 224-225.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78-79.

²⁰ C. Popa, E. Negrău, *Biserica sf. Nicolae a Mănăstirii Mamul. Lista temelor iconografice*, in *Repertoriul...Vâlcea* (see n. 13), I, p. 180.

^{1 21} Ş. Greceanu, the table, in R. Greceanu, *Viaţa*, p. 315.

²² Ibidem.

²³ The paintings of Potlogi, with an iconographic programme seemingly influenced by the Holy Apostles Hermitage in Hurezi completed by 1 August 1700, were plausibly worked leastwise the next year; C. Popa, *Pictura murală brâncovenească din paraclisul Curții domnești de la Potlogi*, in *Apulum*, 50 (2013), p. 113-130. The hypothesis seems probable because Safta was painted separately from the young girls' group, an indication that she was already married at that time (her wedding took place in May 1700).

²⁴ All the faces have been heavily retouched in oil at a later date, probably by a Transylvanian painter during the Austrian occupation of the province between 1718 and 1738.

²⁵ Ş. Greceanu, the table, in R. Greceanu, *Viaţa*, p. 315.

²⁶ Maria Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu (eds.), *Călători străini* despre *Țările Române*, vol. VIII, Bucureşti, 1983, p. 528.

²⁷ Maria Ana Musicescu, Ana Dobjanschi, Broderia veche românească, București, 1985, p. 45-46, cat. 60. Although all the portraits have their names inscribed, the two smallest boys, Radu and Matthew, depicted with their mother, were wrongly identified by the authors with two girls!

²⁸ Repertoriul... Vâlcea (see n. 13), II, p. 60, fig. 20.

²⁹ Ibidem, II, p. 110, fig. 22.

 30 She used to sign herself as Δεσποινετα του Αργυρη (epitaphion dated 1689, Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens; Elena Papastavrou, Daphni Filiou, On the Beginnings of the Constantinopolitan School of Embroidery, in Zograf, vol. 39 (2015), p. 172, note 64 and fig. 13a), or της Αργυραιας (embroidered icon of St. Nicholas dated 1705, Benaki Museum; Eugenia Vei-Chatzidaki, Εκκλησιαστικά κεντήματα. Μουσείον Μπενάκη, Athens, 1953, p. 12). The embroideress Despoineta was active for about 50 years; her earliest known work dates from 1673, and the latest, from 1723; E. Papastavrou, D. Filiou, On the Beginnings, p. 161 fig. 1; E. Vei-Chatzidaki, Εκκλησιαστικά κεντήματα, pl. 19. On her prolific activity, see also: Lùba Gurdus, The Newly Discovered Epitaphios Designed by Christopher Zefarović, in The Bulletin of The Needle and Bobbin Club, New York, vol. 52, nr. 1-2, 1969, p. 11, 13 and plate X; Katerina Korre-Zographou, The Individual Through the Handmade. Embroidered and Woven Signatures of the Post-Byzantine and Modern Greek Period (in Greek), in Αρχαιολογία, no. 28 (Sep.), 1988, p. 41.

³¹ Emanuela Cernea, Arta decorativă a epocii brâncovenești, in Ctitorii brâncovenești (see n. 4), p.

182 (fig.), 184.

³² C. Popa, I. Iancovescu, *Mănăstirea Hurezi* (see

n. 13), p. 111, fig. 61.

33 Cf. I. Iancovescu, Schitul Sf. Apostoli-Hurezi. Pictura, in Repertoriul...Vâlcea, I, p. 195, n. 22.

34 Chronicler Radu Greceanu parenthetically

mentiones that at the death of Maria, the second daughter, the Prince had ten more living children,

namely both Matthew and Smaranda were already born; R. Greceanu, Viata, p. 78-79. The editor considered the note a mistake in the text. However, this information needs to be further corroborated with the existing material proofs.

³⁵ N. Iorga, Fragmente de cronici și știri despre cronicari (coll. Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor, vol. III), Editura Ministerului de Instrucție, București, 1901, p. 94-96.

³⁶ This date seems also in accordance with the chronicler's note that in late fall the monastery was already finished and its decoration completed; R. Greceanu, Viața, p. 77.

Konstantinos had finished the murals together with the iconostasis by the end of September 1694; I. Iancovescu, Mănăstirea Hurezi. Prezentare generală, in Repertoriul...Vâlcea, I, p. 42; Pictura, ibidem, p. 47. ³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 76-77. ⁷⁸-79.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78-79.

⁴⁰ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, XVI, p. 356.

⁴¹ For its rich possessions and many metochia, see Teodor G. Bulat, O ctitorie brâncovenească închinată Muntelui Sinai (Râmnicu Sărat, 1700), in GB, XXII (1963), nr. 11-12, p. 1031-1049.

⁴² Their activity is documented almost uninterrupted until 1700 and continues successfully up to the end of the reign of Constantine Brâncoveanu, since date their last recorded works. Pârvu Mutu, after he moved to Bucharest by 1700, opened a painting workshop and in 1707 worked the frescos of the "St. George the New" church in the capital. In 1712, the sculptor Lupu Sărățan was working the decorations of the Princely house of Negru Vodă Monastery located in Câmpulung; P. Chihaia, Un sculptor român (see n. 17), p. 18-20. Konstantinos painted in 1713 his last known work (today lost), the frescoes and the iconostasis of Dealu Monastery in Târgoviște (Radu Gioglovan, Mihai Oproiu et al., Inscripții și însemnări din județul Dâmbovița, 5 vol., Muzeul județean Dâmbovița, 1975-1995, vol. I, Târgoviște, 1975, nr. 614).