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studies

études

The Eagle from the Apse of the Church of Saint-George in Karinia (1281)

Puzzling Heraldry, Defaced Inscriptions, and Odd Iconographic Choices in Inner Mani after the Second Council of Lyon

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Résumé : L'église de Saint-Georges à Karinia (Magne intérieur, Laconie, Péloponnèse) a été peinte en 1281. La présente étude est consacrée à l'analyse d'une représentation très rare des Maccabées ; de celle, grandeur nature, du couple de ktètors ; de trois inscriptions fragmentaires ; et d'un aigle héraldique peint dans l'axe du sanctuaire. Cet aigle d'inspiration évidemment occidentale n'a pas de correspondant dans la région. Les influences occidentales sont très faibles dans le Magne, occupé par les Latins pendant une brève période (1250-1262). Le programme iconographique de l'église est byzantin, témoignant sans doute d'une influence macédonienne. Saint Georges ΔΙΑϹΟΡΙΤΗϹ est accompagné par l'enfant sauvé et saint Démétrius est identifié en rapport avec sa sépulture à Salonique : (Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ) ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟϹ Ο ΕΝΤΕΘ[ΕΙ]Ϲ ΕΙϹ [ΘΕϹϹ]Α /ΛΟΝΗΚΗΝ. Seule l'énorme représentation du groupe des Maccabées sur la paroi septentrionale pose problème. Le thème est rare, mais ce choix iconographique peut être mise en rapport avec une communauté juive (ou de juifs chrétiens) attestée par la présence de noms juifs dans une série d'inscriptions maniotes des xiᵉ-xiiiᵉ siècles. Malheureusement, une grande partie de l'*Inscription A* de Karinia, peinte sur l'architrave du templon, témoigne d'une destruction du type *damnatio memoriae*. Les noms de l'empereur Michel viii Paléologue (ΗΜΩᵛ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΟϹ) et du patriarche œcuménique Jean xi Vekkos (ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕ[...] ΟΙΚΟΥΜ[...]) ont été détruits, de même que celui du métropolitain du Magne (Ο ΚΑΤΕΠΙϹΚΟΠΗϹ ΜΑΙΝΗϹ). Les seuls noms partiellement conservés sont celui d'un certain Theonikon, sacellaire d'un archevêché inconnu ([.]Ε[.]ΝΙΚΟΝΟϹ ΤΟΥ. Κ(ΑΙ) ϹΑΚ[...] ΕΠΙϹΚΟΠΗϹ) et le nom du peintre Georges (ΓΕΩ/[...]) dans le module chronologique, suivi par l'année (6789 = 1281), le mois et le jour ([..]ΝΗ ΜΑΡΤΪῼ ΕΙϹ Τ(ΙϹ) Δ~ Η[...] / ΕΤ(ΟΥϹ) Я~ Ψ Π~ Θ~ :~), voire par le signe de l'indiction. L'*Inscription B*, peinte au-dessus de la représentation des ktètors, mentionne l'archiprêtre Démétrius et son père Michel (ΚΑΓῼˋ ΔΙΜΗˊΤ[ΡΗ]ΟϹ ΙΕΡ(ε)ασ Κ(ΑΙˋ) Α~ΠΑΠΑϹ. υιὸσ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥ[ΤΕ]ΡΕΒΟΝ/ΤΟϹ), le dernier étant probablement représenté dans le portrait votif. Quant à l'*Inscription C*, très effacée, elle constitue une prière de Michel et de son épouse. La comparaison de ces inscriptions fragmentaires avec d'autres inscriptions contemporaines, peintes dans les églises de la région, permet la reconstitution d'une grande partie des données perdues. C'est en partant de ces acquis que l'analyse de l'aigle héraldique du sanctuaire doit être faite. L'oiseau peut être interprété en clé iconographique (latine ou juive), commémorative (en rapport avec une sépulture), purement héraldique (témoignant de la présence d'une autorité latine) ou purement ornementale (comme une conséquence de l'évolution du registre inférieur de peintures). Formellement, l'aigle de Karinia n'appartient pas à la catégorie d'aigles byzantins utilisés pour désigner l'empereur. Il a été copié d'après un modèle occidental. Cela ouvre la voie à quatre interprétations possibles : 1-2) symbole impérial byzantin adapté (pour des raisons variables) à partir d'un prototype occidental (avec ou sans rapport avec une communauté locale juive) ; 3-4) témoin d'une présence latine après le Deuxième Concile de Lyon, 1274 (avec ou sans rapport avec cette même communauté). Le choix de représenter cet aigle ne pouvait pas être fait par le peintre Georges, qui peut être identifié avec Georges Konstantinianos, peintre local de l'église de Polemitas. L'aigle, les Maccabées et les inscriptions qui accompagnent les saints militaires témoignent d'un niveau culturel éclectique de l'élite locale. Ce choix culturel pourrait être attribué à Michel, ostiaire de l'archevêché du Magne. Son fils Démétrius aurait pu poursuivre un telle initiative après la mort de son père. Quelque temps après (post-1282) les noms des personnes liés à l'Union de Lyon ont été effacés.

mots-clés : Péloponnèse, héraldique, peintures murales, épigraphie, Union des Églises.

rezumat: Biserica Sfântul Gheorghe din Karinia (Mani Interior, Laconia, Peloponez) a fost pictată în 1281. Studiul de față analizează o rară reprezentare a Macabeilor, o redare în mărime naturală a unui cuplu de ctitori, trei inscripții fragmentare și un vultur heraldic pictat în centrul încăperii altarului. Acest vultur de inspirație evident occidentală nu are corespondent în regiune. Influențele occidentale sunt reduse în Mani, regiunea fiind ocupată de latini pentru o scurtă perioadă de timp (1250-1262). Programul iconografic al bisericii este bizantin și dovedește o serie de influențe ale picturii macedonene. Sfântul Gheorghe ΔΙΑϹΟΡΙΤΗϹ este însoțit de copilul pe care îl salvează, iar Sfântul Dumitru este identificat în raport cu mormântul lui de la Salonic: (Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ) ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟϹ Ο ΕΝΤΕΘ[ΕΙ]Ϲ ΕΙϹ [ΘΕϹϹ]Α /ΛΟΝΗΚΗΝ. Numai enorma reprezentare a grupului de Macabei pe peretele de nord poate isca semne de întrebare. Tema este rară în mediul bizantin. Autorul consideră că ar putea fi interpretată în raport cu prezența unei comunități de evrei (sau evrei creștini) în regiune. O serie de inscripții maniote din se-

colele xi-xiii pot fi dovezi ale acestei prezențe. Din nefericire, o mare parte a *Inscripției A* din Karinia, pictată pe arhitrava templonului, a suferit o distrugere de tip *damnatio memoriae*. Numele împăratului Mihail viii Paleologul (ΗΜω^v ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΟC) și cel al patriarhului ecumenic Ioan xi Vekkos (ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕ[...] ΟΙΚΟΥ-Μ[...]) au fost distruse, la fel ca și numele mitropolitului din Mani (Ο ΚΑΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΗC ΜΑΙΝΗC). Singurele nume parțial conservate sunt cele ale unui Theonikon, sakellarios al unei arhiepiscopii necunoscute ([.]Ε[.]ΝΙΚΟΝΟC ΤΟΥ. Κ(ΑΙ) CΑΚ[...] ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΗC) și numele pictorului Gheorghe (ΓΕω/[...]) în modulul cronologic al inscripției, urmat de an (6789 = 1281), lună, zi ([..]ΝΗ ΜΑΡΤΪω ΕΙC Τ(ΙC) Δ~ Η[...] / ΕΤ(ΟΥC) Я~ Ψ Π~ Θ~ :~) și de un semn de indiction. *Inscripția B*, pictată deasupra reprezentării ctitorilor, îl amintește pe protopopul Dumitru și pe tatăl său Mihail (ΚΑΓω` ΔΙΜΗΤ[ΡΗ]ΟΣ ΙΕΡ(ε)ασ Κ(ΑΙ`) Α-ΠΑΠΑC. υιòσ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥ[ΤΕ]ΡΕΒΟΝ/ΤΟC), ultimul fiind probabil reprezentat în portretul votiv. În ceea ce privește *Inscripția C*, foarte ștearsă, ea este numai o rugăciune a lui Mihail și a soției sale. Comparația acestor inscripții fragmentare cu alte inscripții contemporane pictate în biserici din regiune permite reconstituirea parțială a unor date pierdute. Analiza vulturului heraldic din absidă trebuie făcută plecând de la această bază. Pasărea poate fi interpretată în cheie iconografică (latină sau iudaică), epitafică (în raport cu o posibilă îngropare), pur heraldică (o prezență a unei autorități latine) sau pur ornamentală (drept consecință a unei evoluții în registrul inferior de pictură al bisericilor bizantine). Din punct de vedere formal, vulturul din Karinia nu aparține categoriei vulturilor bizantini utilizați pentru a desemna puterea imperială. El a fost copiat după un model occidental, ceea ce deschide calea a patru interpretări posibile: 1-2) simbol imperial bizantin adaptat (pentru motive diverse) după un prototip occidental (cu sau fără raport cu o comunitate evreiască); 3-4) martor al unei prezențe latine după cel de-al Doilea Conciliu de la Lyon, 1274 (cu sau fără raport cu aceeași comunitate). Alegerea de a reprezenta acest vultur în spațiul altarului nu putea aparține pictorului Gheorghe, care poate fi identificat cu Gheorghe Konstantinianos, pictor local al bisericii din Polemitas. Vulturul, Macabeii și inscripțiile care însoțesc sfinții militari sugerează un nivel cultural eclectic al elitei locale. Această alegere culturală ar fi putut fi făcută de către Mihail, ostiarios al mitropoliei din Mani. Inițiativa lui a fost probabil continuată de fiu să Dumitru după moartea tatălui Mihail. Într-un moment ulterior (după 1282), numele celor implicați în Unirea celor două Biserici a fost șters.

Cuvinte-cheie: Peloponez, heraldică, picturi murale, epigrafie, Unirea celor două Biserici.

The church of Saint-George is a medium-sized Byzantine chapel located at the heart of the small settlement of Karinia, on the Northwestern slope of the homonymous hill in Inner Mani (*Μέσα Μάνη*), Laconia, in the Peloponnesus (Fig. 2, 3).[1] The present-day village registered twenty permanent residents in the 2011 census; the terrain is barren and rocky, and the cultivation of olive trees constitutes the chief agricultural production. An older mention of Karinia as *Charignia* appears in the 1618 census of Philippe de Lange Châteaurenault.[2] The village is situated within visual range of the Byzantine fortification of Old Mani on the Tigani promontory and maybe also of the Frankish fortress of *Grand Magne*, which I identified with the ruins on the summit of Cape Grosso.[3] The church of Karinia also lies at less than one kilometer southwest of the settlement of Polemitas, well-known for its church of the Archangel-Michael (1278) and, most of all, for the lengthy inscription referring to a collective donation.[4] The church was built according to the usual single-compartment basilica style typical of the region, without a separate narthex. Its present state reveals two-compartments, following the addition of a southern chamber, partly decorated with murals (mostly military saints). This modification arguably took place c. 1320.[5] The church of Saint-George is by far the oldest Byzantine monument in the area of present-day Karinia.[6] It was recognised as such in 1973 during preliminary restoration works conducted by the Ephorate of Laconia.[7] Its decoration is attributed to a painter named George, and dates to 1281. These two pieces of information appear in the ktetorial inscription painted above the doorway to the sanctuary.[8]

The church of Karinia must be regarded as one of the most noteworthy Byzantine monuments in the entire Mani, not necessarily on account of its size or architecture, not even on account of the value of its iconographic program (although the latter was deemed to be of unique quality),[9] but mainly for four reasons related to specific features of its decoration. The first is the enigmatic representation of an eagle in the lower register of paintings in the sanctuary apse.[10] The other important reasons include: the extensive and rare depiction of the Maccabees, a theme rarely seen in Byzantine church iconography; the full scale depiction of the ktetorial couple on the western section of the northern wall; and three fragmentary inscriptions, one of which certainly mentioned the name of emperor Michael viii Palaeologus and the ecumenical patriarch John xi Vekkos. These names were later erased, and the inscription was defaced. An analysis of these four features constitutes the basis of the current study, with an emphasis on the depiction of the eagle, which sparked my initial interest. The eagle is connected with the evangelist John in Orthodox iconography, but it finds no place in a standard late-Byzantine iconographic program such as the one at Karinia. The Karinia eagle has nothing in common with the evangelist. Figured as a linear, flat, en face bird of prey, with spread wings, it was first described by Nikolaos Drandakis as having a probable Western origin: *ρωμανικός αετός με αραιά φτερά* ('Romanesque eagle with sparse plumage') (Fig. 1, 4).[11] Given this Western inspiration for the depiction of the eagle, one would expect the presence of a discernible

◁ Fig. 1. *The heraldic eagle depicted in the sanctuary apse of the church at Karinia.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▶ Fig. 2. *Exterior view from the northwest of the church of Saint-George in Karinia.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Latin influence in the decoration of Karinia. However, this is not necessarily the case.

Western artistic influences are scarce in the region. An extensive interaction between the two cultures did not happen in Inner Mani. This may be explained by the fact that Frankish occupation lasted only twelve years (1250-1262). Particularities such as those encountered in the monuments of Attica, Euboea, or Argolid, where the progressive mingling of cultures was sustained for decades or centuries, cannot to be envisioned in the case of Karinia. Major Uniate issues such as the symmetrical representation of Peter and Paul in the nave, their embrace, certain depictions of the Holy Trinity (of a New-Testament type), or disruptions in the *Dodekaorton* (Cycle of Great Feasts) are absent in Karinia.[12] Besides, there are no similarities between the conditions prevailing in Mani during the eighth and ninth decades of the 13th century and those in the aforementioned territories. Maniots stood by the side of the Byzantine emperor and were rather conservative.[13] The murals from the church of Saint-George follow the traditional layout of other contemporary monuments. The church of Karinia is more or less proportional in size and painted area to the neighboring 13th-century monuments of Archangel-Michael in Polemitas, Saints-Anargyri in Kippoula, Saint-Nicetas in Karavas, or the Dormition-of-Mary in Pepo. If we take as a point of comparison the closest church within distance (700 m) and chronology (1278), the church of Archangel-Michael in Polemitas, we would immediately notice that the representation of the Platytera in the conch, the stance of the hierarchs in the sanctuary, and the arrangement of the christological scenes in the nave are almost the same, as will be argued at the end of this study. Karinia has a comparable, limited program and follows the Comnenian tradition, with excessive faithfulness in certain respects.

▼ Fig. 3. *Exterior view from the southeast of the church of Saint-George in Karinia, with the Sangias mountain range in the background, in the direction of Polemitas.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

UNDER LATIN CONTROL

UNDER BYZANTINE CONTROL

KARINIA

for this section, see the next map

churches mentioned in the article

monastery churches (Greek and Latin)

important (unmentioned) churches

(arch)bishopric sees (Greek and Latin)

fortifications and fortified towns

other towns and settlements
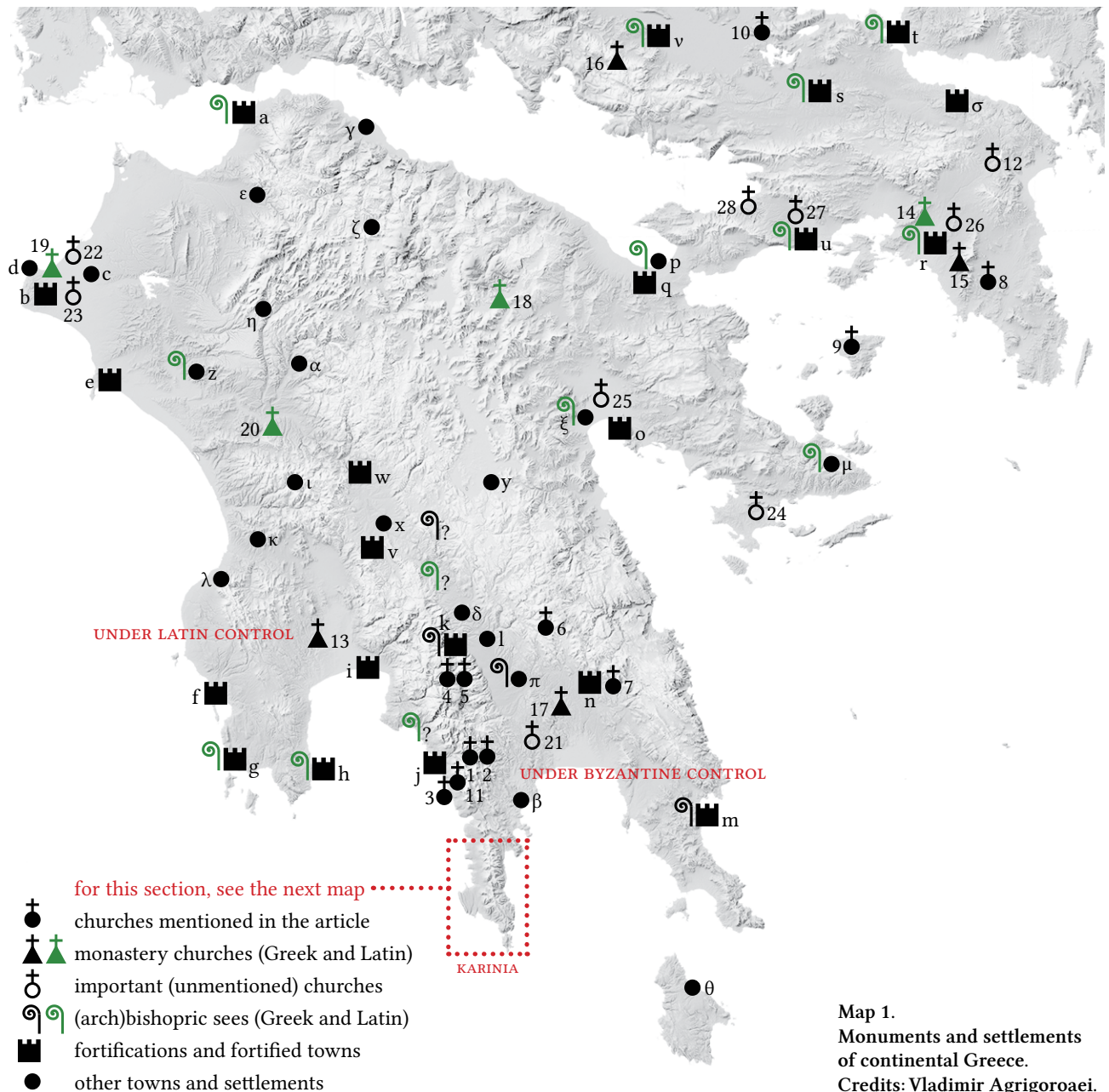
Map 1.
Monuments and settlements
of continental Greece.
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

a - Patras;
b - Clermont (Chlemoutsi);
c - Andravida;
d - Glarentsa (Killini);
e - Beauvoir (Pontikokastro);
f - Navarino;
g - Modon (Methoni);
h - Coron (Koroni);
i - Kalamata;
j - Beaufort (Lefktron);
k - Mystras;
l - Lacedaemon (Sparti);
m - Monemvasia;
n - Geraki;
o - Nauplie (Akronafplio);
p - Corinth;
q - Acrocorinth;
r - Athens;

s - Thebes;
t - Negroponte (Chalkida);
u - Megara;
v - Gardiki;
w - Karytaina;
x - Veligosti;
y - Nikli;
z - Olena (Oleni);
α - Akova;
β - Passava;
γ - Vostitsa;
δ - Tripi;
ε - Chalandritsa;
ζ - Kalavryta;
η - Mostenitsa;
ι - Andritsaina;
κ - Siderokastron;

λ - Arcadia (Kyparissia);
μ - Damala;
ν - Livadia;
ξ - Argos;
π - Amykles;
σ - Sykaminon.

1 - Dormition, Kastania;
2 - Saint-Peter, Kastania;
3 - Saint-Nicholas, Kampinari-
    Platsa;
4 - Metropolis, Mystras;
5 - Perivleptos, Mystras;
6 - Chrysafitissa, Chrysapha;
7 - Saint-George, Geraki;
8 - Saint-Peter, Kalyvia;
9 - Saints-Theodore, Egina;
10 - Saint-George, Akraifnio;

11 - Saviour, Langada;
12 - Penteli cave church;
13 - Samarina monastery;
14 - Daphni monastery;
15 - Kesariani monastery;
16 - Osios Loukas;
17 - Paleomonastiro, Vrontama;
18 - Zaraka monastery;
19 - Vlacherne monastery;
20 - Isova monastery;
21 - Saint-Demetrius, Krokees;
22 - Paleopanayia, Manolada;
23 - Panagia Katholiki, Gastouni;
24 - Holy-Trinity, Kranidi;
25 - Holy-Trinity, Merbaka;
26 - Omorphi Ekklisia, Galatsi;
27 - Saviour, Megara;
28 - Saviour, Alepochori.

1 - Saint-George, Karinia;
2 - Archangel-Michael, Polemitas;
3 - Saints-Theodore, Kaphiona;
4 - Saint-Solomone, Karinia;
5 - Saint-Solomone, Dryalos;
6 - Taxiarhis, Dryalos;
7 - Saint-Soulani, Erimos;
8 - Saint-George, Marasse;
9 - Saints-Anargyri, Kippoula;
10 - Ai-Stratigos, Ano Boularii;
11 - Saint-Nicetas, Karavas;
12 - Saint-John, Keria;
13 - Dormition, Kounos;
14 - Ai-Mamas, Karavas / Kounos;
15 - Saint-Kyriaki, Pentakia/ Kounos;
16 - Saint-Philip, Makryna;
17 - Saviour, Gardenitsa;
18 - Saint-Peter, Gardenitsa;
19 - Panayitsa, Dryali;
20 - Saint-Nicholas, Nymphi;
21 - Episkopi;
22 - Holy-Trinity, Lagia;
23 - Dormition, Pepo;
24 - Saint-Nicholas, Skaltsotianika;
25 - Phaneromeni;
26 - Saint-Nicholas, Polemitas;
27 - Hagia-Trissakia.

a - Cape Tigani;
b - *Grand Magne* (?);
c - Mina.
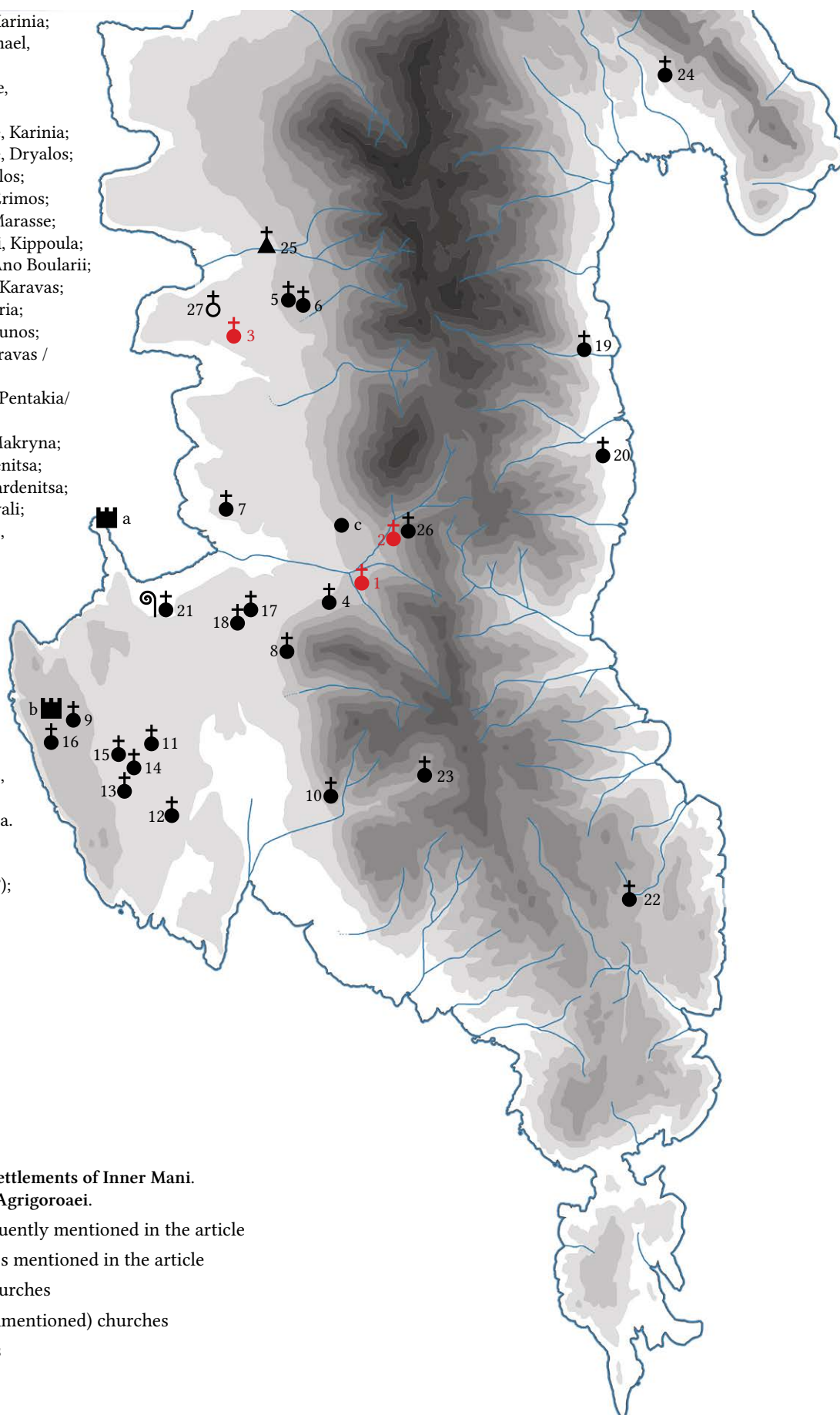
Map 2.
Monuments and settlements of Inner Mani.
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

🔴 churches frequently mentioned in the article

⚫ other churches mentioned in the article

▲ monastery churches

⛨ important (unmentioned) churches

🦯 bishopric sees

■ fortifications

● settlements

▲ Fig. 4. *General view of the nave and templon wall of the church at Karinia, with the heraldic eagle visible in the sanctuary apse. Also visible: the Panagia Pantanassa, the Mandylion, the Deisis group, parts of the Dodekaorton, two prophets on the ribs of the vault, and military saints.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▲ Fig. 5. *Detail of the eastern section of the southern wall of the nave, with a depiction of prophet Elisha.*

▲ Fig. 6. *View of the eastern section of the northern wall of the nave, with the depictions of military saints, the Nativity scene, and prophet Elijah.*

▼ Fig. 7. *Detail of the representation of prophet Elijah.*

Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

First and foremost, a brief description of the murals is in order. The themes represented in the church of Karinia are: the Panagia Pantanassa in the conch, the Annunciation combined with the Mandylion, frontal hierarchs in the apse, and an Ascension on the barrel-vault of the sanctuary, followed by six large-scale narrative scenes in the nave (starting with the southeastern part of the barrel vault) (Fig. 8): Presentation in the Temple, Palm Sunday; Crucifixion (western wall); Resurrection and Nativity (northern section of the vault); as well as the Baptism of Christ in the lower register (southern wall) (Fig. 12). Prophets David, Solomon, Elijah, and Elisha are represented on two ribs of the barrel-vault. An impressive Deisis is formed by the Vlachernitissa in the northern section of the sanctuary templon wall

with the Baptist and saint John the Theologian as counterparts in the lower register of the southern wall of the nave (Fig. 10). All turn to the Pantokrator, represented on the southern section of the templon.

As for the middle and lower register of paintings, the nine Maccabean martyrs of the Old Testament cover a considerable part of the northern wall by the entrance to the church. No hermit saints are depicted, save the two martyr saints Paraskevi and Callinica, who appear in a row of three busts of female saints depicted within the same frame, with saint Kyriaki in official garments positioned between them (Fig. 13). In the same middle register, on the southern wall, there is a depiction of saint Romanus Sklepodioktis (the 'healer of the horses') (Fig. 14).[14] In the lower register, there

is also a heavily damaged but rather large depiction of an archangel on the western wall (probably Michael) and a full-scale depiction of the ktetorial couple on the northern one, followed by various military saints represented in the same register in the rest of the church. Saints Nestor and Theodore are depicted in supplication in the western section of the southern wall (Fig. 11). Distinguished among the military saints are the equestrian George Diasoritis and Demetrius of Thessalonica on the northern wall, both riding toward the East. Demetrius is closer to the sanctuary, while George is much larger in scale. There is no other depiction of saint George, save this image on horseback.

◀ Fig. 8. *Wide view of the Dodekaorton cycle painted on the vault of the church of Saint-George in Karinia.*

▼ Fig. 9. *The Nativity scene on the same vault at Karinia.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

The murals in the church of Saint-George at Karinia are austere, without excessive embellishments. Although circumstantially of high quality, the program is not executed with the same meticulousness all over. This points to the involvement of two or more painters. Hastiness and lack of attention are also evident in the drawing of the compositional frames and in the individual portraits, which are not orderly, do not respect symmetry, etc. Yet this is not the subject of my study. What interests me most are those features that may be of a potential Latin origin. Besides the eagle – the final destination of the present article – and a possible conjecture of a Western origin for the large representation of the Maccabees, additional probable Latin footprints that cannot be dismissed are the disciples instead of the apostles in the Ascension (a feature recognized in Italian monuments),[15] and possibly the liberated young boy sitting on the croup of the horse of saint George. Since this last feature is debatable, it is perhaps best to start from it and

work our way slowly through an analysis of the Maccabees and of the inscriptions, in order to reach the final discussion about the eagle from the sanctuary apse.

The depictions of saints George and Demetrius. The ktetorial couple.

The two saints, George and Demetrius, are painted within the same frame on the northern wall of the nave in Karinia. They are not overlapping, and both saints are identified by tituli written in the proximity of their heads. George is ΑΓΙΟς ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟς Ο ΔΙΑΣΟΡΙΤΗϹ (ʿsaint George *Diasoritis*ʾ), while Demetrius is said to be (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ) ΔΙ / ΜΙΤΡΙ/ΟϹ Ο ΕΝΤΕ ΘϹ ΕΙϹ Α/ΛΟΝΗΚΗΝ:~. This would mean ʿDemetrius buried in Thessalonicaʾ, if it were read as Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟϹ Ο ΕΝΤΕΘ[ΕΙ]Ϲ ΕΙϹ [ΘΕϹϹ]Α /ΛΟΝΗΚΗΝ). The composition pre-

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� Fig. 10. *Saints John the Baptist and John the Theologian on the southern wall of the church of Saint-George in Karinia.*

◣ Fig. 11. *Saints Nestor and Theodore represented in supplication in the western section of the southern wall.*

▼ Fig. 12. *The Baptism of Christ in the lower register of murals from the southern wall in the church of Karinia.*

◢ Fig. 13. *Saints Paraskevi, Kyriaki, and Callinica in the murals of the church of Saint-George in Karinia.*

◤ Fig. 14. *Saint Romanus Sklepodioktis in the same murals.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei
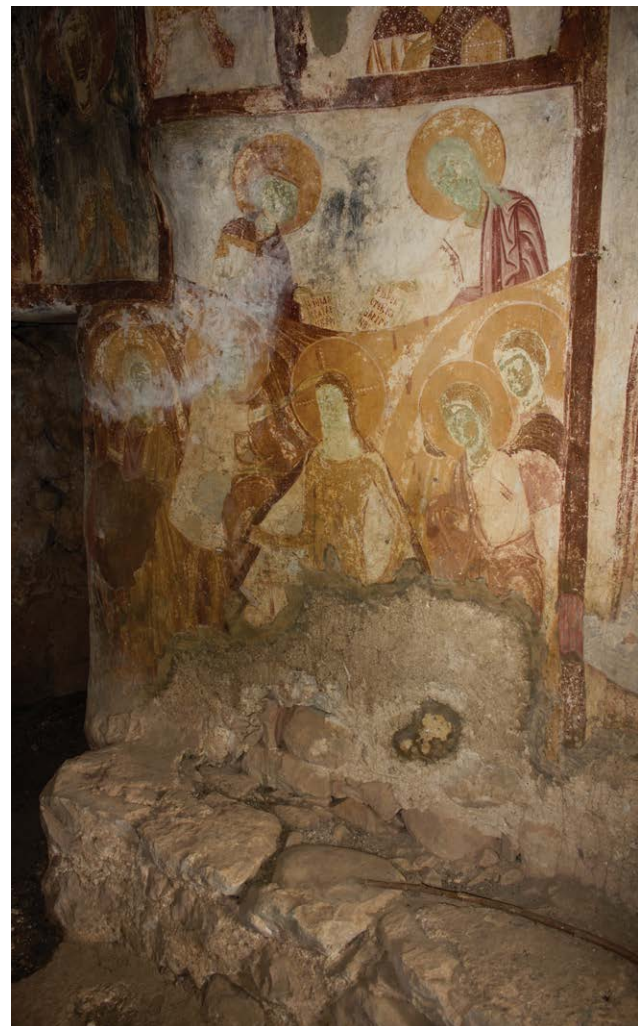
sents saint George frontally with the head turned three quarters to the left (Fig. 15). He is young and beardless, with short hair. In the mural, his head is severely damaged, so it is impossible to state whether he was diademed (with or without *stemmatogyrion*), as it happens in the case of other saint in the composition, Demetrius. George rides a prancing white horse. He wears a long white-sleeved tunic, while his armor consists of riveted rectangular lamellas.[16] A deep-red mantle, buckled at the chest by a gem encircled by pearls, billows back. A round shield hangs on his back. The saddle of the rich horse harness has a Latin-style raised cantle and a protruding gullet. The rider wears rectangularly patterned hose down to his short boots. The paint of the latter is exfoliated, together with the stirrups. His left hand holds the reins, while the right arm is raised, plunging the lance into the dragon. The figure of the dragon is not easily discernible: two parallel brown humpy lines belonging to the upper part of the serpentine body are the only features that remain of the monster. The horses of both saints appear to have their tails knotted at their lower ends. Last but not least, at the croup of the horse of saint George sits a bareheaded boy dressed in a whitish sleeved tunic (Fig. 15, 16). The youth holds a goblet in his left hand, partly hidden behind the cantle of the saddle, while his right hand holds a towel decorated with an edge stripe.

In Mani, there are only two extant examples of this iconography of saint George saving the boy. Besides Karinia, there is a similar depiction in the church of Marasse (a monument frequently referred to in this article).[17] This 'two-of-a-kind' occurrence requires further investigation. The boy refers to the stories of the liberated young prisoner found in the *Miracula sancti Georgii*.[18] In two versions, he was prisoner of the Bulgarians; in the third one, he was captured by the Arabs of Crete. His depiction on the back of the horse of saint George and the concurrent piercing of the dragon echoes a contemporary depiction from the end of the 13th century in the church of Saint-George in Antigous, present-day Ortaköy, in the vicinity of Altunhisar, Syria.[19] There are several known representations of saint George liberating the young prisoner and striking the dragon at the same time (*drakontochtonos*).[20] The combination of the two episodes is not justified by hagiographical texts, where the two stories are presented independently and refer to different events. The reason for combining them could find its origin in a compositional transition affecting several other scenes related to the life and miracles of the saint. Furthermore, the messages conveyed by both stories can be identified with the fight against the transcendental evil symbolised by the dragon, and the protection of Christians from infidels.

In several of these joint depictions, the saint is galloping over the sea.[21] Among the latter, several cases depict the saint in the company of saint Demetrius (as is the case here) and bearing the epithet ΔΙΑϹΟΡΙΤΗϹ.[22] This name has already been debated. Most scholars tend to identify it as coming from the Lydian site of *Dios Ieron* (later called Pyrgion),[23] while old research tried to link it with 'Ochrid', a hypothesis that I am not tempted to discard, since it provides an equally reasonable explanation.[24] The use of this epithet, often connected with the depiction of the saint carrying the youth over the sea waves, seems less incidental, as other popular epithets like *tropaiophoros*, *nikaiophoros* ('bringing victory'), and *megalomartyr* ('great martyr') do not occur in this specific group of images. It apparently implied the liberating power (characteristic) of the saint, thus justifying a great number of churches with this epithet.

◀ Fig. 15. *The depiction of saint George in the lower register of murals from the church of Saint-George in Karinia.*

▲ Fig. 16. *Detail of the head of the boy saved by the saint.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Since the water element in the liberating representations seems to be of high importance, I closely examined the Karinia depiction in situ, but the mural is heavily damaged in that particular area and the depiction of a blue-gray background cannot conclusively establish whether the sea was painted there. A small blue stroke differing clearly in color from the faded background is possibly a sign of an independent contour in the lower section (different in tint and appearance from the background), therefore it could be considered to depict water, especially since this does not occur in the adjacent representation of saint Demetrius, where the background is uniform and the presence of any other mark cannot be ascertained. If the sea was depicted at the bottom of the representation, this would be limited only to the part of saint George. Perhaps this is the reason for the separation of the two saints in the composition, although their figures are displayed within the same border. Unfortunately, these are conjectures and they cannot lead to definite conclusions.

On the other hand, this subject was exceptionally popular in the art of Syria and Palestine during the 13th century. It may have been the vehicle of certain Western influences.[25] Another feature familiar in Latin iconography may be the manner in which the horses of the military saints gallop in parade on the icons of Sinai, something that may be compared to the features presented by the horse of the second rider of the composition, saint Demetrius.[26] The only sure thing is that the combined features present in the depiction at Karinia (saint George saving the young

boy and piercing the dragon) appear to be the earliest case of a combination of this type in a long evolution of the iconography of saint George's life and miracles, with another example, almost contemporary, in the mural of the 'Three Riders' dated to the early 14th century in the cave-church of Eski-Kermena (Crimea).[27]

There is a growing body of scientific literature concerning this particular type of depiction of saint George as winner in the fight against the dragon (on horseback or not). The earliest examples of the legend of George defeating the dragon (and later of his rescue of the princess) are believed to originate in Cappadocia, with an early example in the cave church of Saint-Barbara in Soandos (Soğanli) dated to 976-1021,[28] but there are equally intriguing depictions in Georgia, which date back to the end of 11th century.[29] Likewise, the rescued young boy from the other story also appears in 11th-century Georgia. An equestrian representation of this type is located in the church of the Holy-Cross in Achtamar (915-921) and is believed to be the earliest known example of this iconographic series. However, the theme soon appeared in Crusader art, as early as the 12th century, and it moved to Cyprus and Crete.[30] Therefore, it is rather difficult to determine the precise origin of the depiction in Karinia. It is perhaps best to remain prudent and pay attention to the fact that the corresponding passages in the life and miracles of saint George were well-known since before the arrival of the Latins to the East. The name *Diasoritis* was also known. Therefore, the iconographic particularities of the subject incorporated in the Karinia depiction must have come in all likelihood from the Balkans or from the Caucasus. The theme was adopted, modified, enriched, and disseminated by Byzantine and Western-educated artists working in Latin-held lands (Cyprus, the Aegean, mainland Greece, the Peloponnesus, or Crete), but the subject was versatile. One should not be surprised that creativity – a major factor in the development of various iconographic types – must have been responsible for the transfer of the epithet Diasoritis, formerly associated with the standing and frontal pose of the saint, to the equestrian saint galloping (or not) over the sea. The Karinia case is one of the earliest known examples in which the liberated boy, the piercing of the dragon, and the name *Diasoritis* come together to create a unified representation. I believe this may be due to the extensive repertory from which the painter drew inspiration, to the sponsor's erudition (and exegetical expertise), or maybe to both of them at the same time.

As for the possible Latin influence, further evidence correlated to it may be noticed in the Western-style decoration of the saddles (although this is a matter of form, not of meaning); in the rolling-eyes effect used for the depiction of the hierarchs in the sanctuary and of the Apostles in the Ascension scene;[31] in the design of the head of Mary in the great Deisis of the templon, which seems to be inspired by the depiction of the face of Mary often seen on the icons of Sinai;[32] or in the headdresses from the depiction of the couple of ktetors.[33] The two ktetors stand facing the East, with hands in supplication (Fig. 17). The male, a venerable person with white hair and clean-cut beard, wears a long white tunic with narrow long sleeves and embroidered cuffs. His tunic has a frontal band running the whole length from top to bottom, down to his feet. Over the tunic, a lapelled white cloak with rectangular opening on top and large sleeves extends down to mid body. Loose parts of the sleeves hang freely at the front. The female figure also wears a long white tunic embroidered around the neck (Fig. 18). This garment is covered by a rarely seen long and frontally-open (not buttoned or clasped) deep-red dress with narrow sleeves embroidered at the arms and cuffs. The ver-

◀ Fig. 17. *The depiction of the ktetorial couple in the lower register of murals from the church of Saint-George in Karinia.*

▲ Fig. 18. *The depiction of the unnamed lady ktetor.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

tical edges of the garment are also decorated. The ktetorial couple wear white headdresses shaped as upended truncated cones. The shape is unusual in contemporary Byzantine frescos in Mani.

The man's hat is different from the white semispherical head cover of the Orthodox clerics often seen in the local murals from the end of the 13th century (Fig. 19). In terms of its shape, it comes close to the late-Byzantine cleric equivalent of the *kamelaukion* (or to the *skaranikon*) and less to the cylindrical white cap of Byzantine dignitaries.[34] A similar headdress is worn by a worshipping Wise Man in a 13th-century Sinai icon of the Nativity (1256-1260), characterised as a Westerner's cap,[35] without further arguments. Last but not least, the upended truncated cone head-cover of the female ktetor adorns her meticulously combed and round-shaped hair. The fringed end of a kerchief or wimple, fastened at the rear, hangs freely on the right side of her chest. A seemingly outlined face appear in another depiction in the Mani, in the depiction of an unidentified female
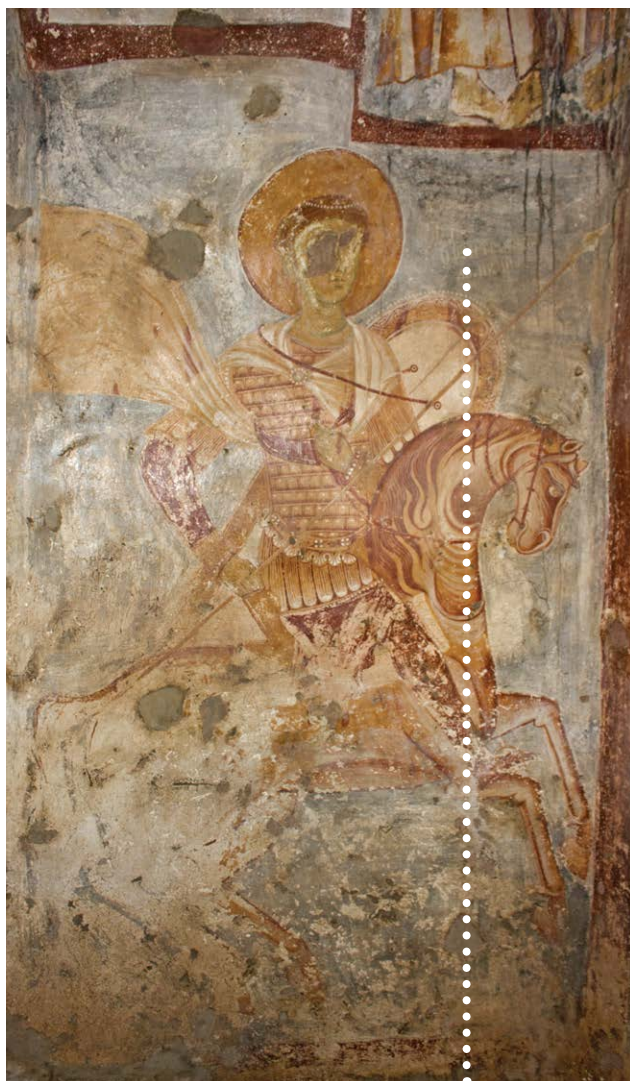
saint in the church of Saint-Nicholas in the old cemetery of Nymphi.[36]

Epigraphic evidence suggests that there is a high probability that the painter responsible for the depiction of the ktetors in Karinia was involved in the decoration of Nymphi – as I argue at the end of the article – and thus these two instances may have a common origin. The Karinia female headdress is comparable to hats worn by 11th century Byzantine women.[37] It is also closely shaped to 13th-century Latin feminine toques. Research did not identify many Western fashion trends in the 13th century; they became regular from the first quarter of the 14th century onward. However, this is again a matter of form, not of meaning. Taken together with the rather mediocre execution of the details, they cannot convey any serious Latin significance to the iconographic program of the church and need only be understood as either denoting particular requirements from the part of the learned sponsors or isolated artistic choices based on cultural and artistic interactions, occasionally applied to new artistic projects only in order to testify to the painter's erudition and trendiness, or to show off his artistic capabilities.

Beyond these meagre and debatable 'Latin' traces in the iconographic program of the church of Saint-George in Karinia, actual findings point to another possible influence coming from the art of Macedonia. In the epigraphy of the image of the saint Demetrius – a saint connected with the Palaeologans[38] – there is a clear mention of the saint's burial place in Thessalonica. This is the only inscription presenting this information in the entire Mani. I already sta-

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◀ Fig. 19. *The male ktetor on the northern wall of the church at Karinia.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

▼ Fig. 20. *The depiction of saint Demetrius in the lower register of murals at Karinia.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▼ Fig. 21. *Detail of the inscription accompaning the depiction of saint Demetrius.* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.
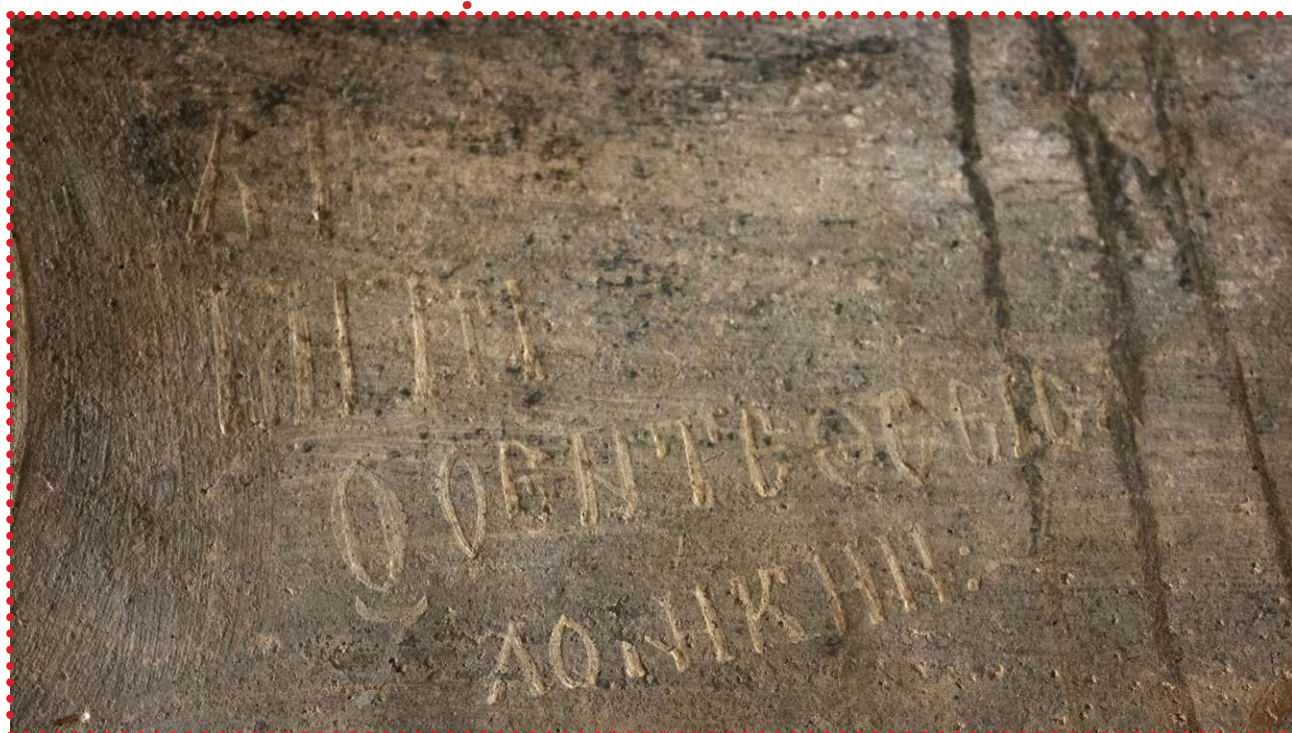
ted that the inscription reads (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ) ΔΙ / ΜΙΤΡΙ / ΟC Ο ΕΝΤΕ-ΘС ΕΙC Α / ΛΟΝΗΚΗΝ:~, being a contracted form of a much longer sequence (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ) ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟC Ο ΕΝΤΕΘ[ΕΙ]C ΕΙC [ΘΕC-C]Α/ΛΟΝΗΚΗΝ, that is, 'saint Demetrius buried in Thessalonica' (Fig. 20, 21). It is perhaps interesting to note that the same saint is depicted standing frontally with a lance in a row of military saints in the church of Mavriotissa in Kastoria, Macedonia, being similarly described by an inscription Ο ΕΝ ΘΕCCΑΛΟΝΙΚΙ; and on an encolpion belonging to Demetrius Palaeologus, despot of Thessalonica (*c.* 1322-1340). The inscription of this encolpion was composed by Manuel Philes and reads: "The despot's bosom is the city of Thessaloniki, because Demetrius reposes there in a golden tomb".[39] In my opinion, this suggests a connection between the Karinia murals and Macedonian precedents. Furthermore, saint Romanus *Sclepodioktis* was greatly venerated in the 13th-century southern Balkans and his

first Maniot depiction is also in Karinia, on the southern wall, appearing nowhere else in Inner Mani.[40] Another clue linking Karinia to Macedonia is the fact that the individual scenes within the chief representations are encircled by closed curves (see the Nativity or Baptism) and this is a specific feature of the 'Macedonian School' (even though it appears in southern Italian mosaics as well).[41] When searching for the origins of all these peculiar iconographic choices, it is advisable to look equally to the North, not only to the West. The representation of the Maccabees, which comes next, provides more other puzzling clues.

The extensive depiction of the Maccabees.

The theme of the Maccabees is of minimal significance among the Orthodox and rarely displayed in Eastern Christian mural art.[42] So is its relevant veneration. However, the representation in Karinia takes up a significant percentage of the iconographic program (Fig. 24). The group incorporates all nine figures, Solomone and old Eleazar with the two younger sons depicted as busts in the middle register, while the five elder sons are fully depicted in the lower one.[43] The mother and her sons are dressed in tunics and thick, stiff, decorated, and pin-fastened chlamydes. Solomone and

◀ Fig. 22. *The careful and crafty depiction of the horse of saint Demetrius.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▼ Fig. 23. *Detail of the depiction of saint Solomone.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

the two young ones extend their hands in an orant position, while the fully represented elder sons hold martyrdom crosses. All of them are depicted haloed and were originally accompanied by their abbreviated names. Based on remnants of letters barely visible today, the third among the full-length figures depicted in the lower register is named ΕΥ/CΕ(ΒΩΝΑC), while the fifth one appears to be labeled as ΜΑΡ(ΚΕΛΛΟC).[44] The names of the others are faded out, except for their mother Solomone, whose name is discernible in full: Η ΑΓΙΑ CΩΛΟΜΩΝΗ (Fig. 23). Given the extreme rarity of the depictions of the Maccabees in Byzantium – the known ones, discussed in previous studies, appear mainly in Greek manuscripts[45] or in Serbian murals with extended representations of the Old Testament[46] – the Karinia representation could be interpreted as a consequence of a particular (and peculiar) local situation.[47]

In the late 13th century, the Maccabee martyrology was venerated in churches and synagogues.[48] In this precise context, the theme of the Maccabees may be connected to the presence of a neighbouring Jewish and / or Christian Jewish community. When making this assertion, I have in mind the fact that there is an analogous depiction of the Maccabees in the Mani, in an equally peculiar context. This other scene was recently discovered in the church of the Saviour in Langada (14th century).[49] It may point to a Jewish presence in the area, since there used to be a Jewish community in the vicinity of Langada, as testified by names of Jewish origin, for instance the family name Levi, still documented in the area. Kyriakos Kassis also mentions that the central area of the village used to bear the name *Εβραίικα* ('Hebrew neighbourhood').[50] This would explain the representation of the Maccabees in the church of the Saviour in Langada. However, this other representation includes nine equally-sized figures without names. In contrast to Karinia, it was painted in a less visible position: the northern section of the southern chamber vault. It is perhaps essential that Karinia predates Langada. This could be linked with the original significance of the Karinia representation. Considering the larger size of the church of the Saviour in Langada compared to Saint-George in Karinia, the Maccabean group from Karinia occupies a considerably larger space.[51] This suggests that the depiction of the Maccabees was particularly significant in Karinia.

Besides the aforementioned Jewish 'connection', still conjectural at this initial phase of the analysis, the specific place occupied by the Maccabees in the church of Karinia leads to further implications. Half of that area is stretched along about one fifth of the nave's perimeter, that is, a considerable size of the lower register of murals – as already argued. This is where one must take into consideration the fact that the lower register of paintings is of great importance iconographically. This was the area where the master painter worked. It was equally the place where elaborate portraits of saints, archons, and distinguished donors were represented, in order to be admired by churchgoers, having more or less the same height as them. The military saints, standing frontal or on horseback, particularly later in the 13th century, were by far the preferential choice for these lower register depictions. This explains why the lower register in the church of Karinia is almost thoroughly engaged by depictions of military saints. Even the damaged section of the western wall (initially walled, the original entrance being in all probability the current opening to the southern chamber) (Fig. 25, 26) still preserves part of the right wing of a divine archangel in its southern corner and half of the body of a standing frontal unknown military saint in the northern one. The only non-military depictions in the lower register are the scene of the Bap-
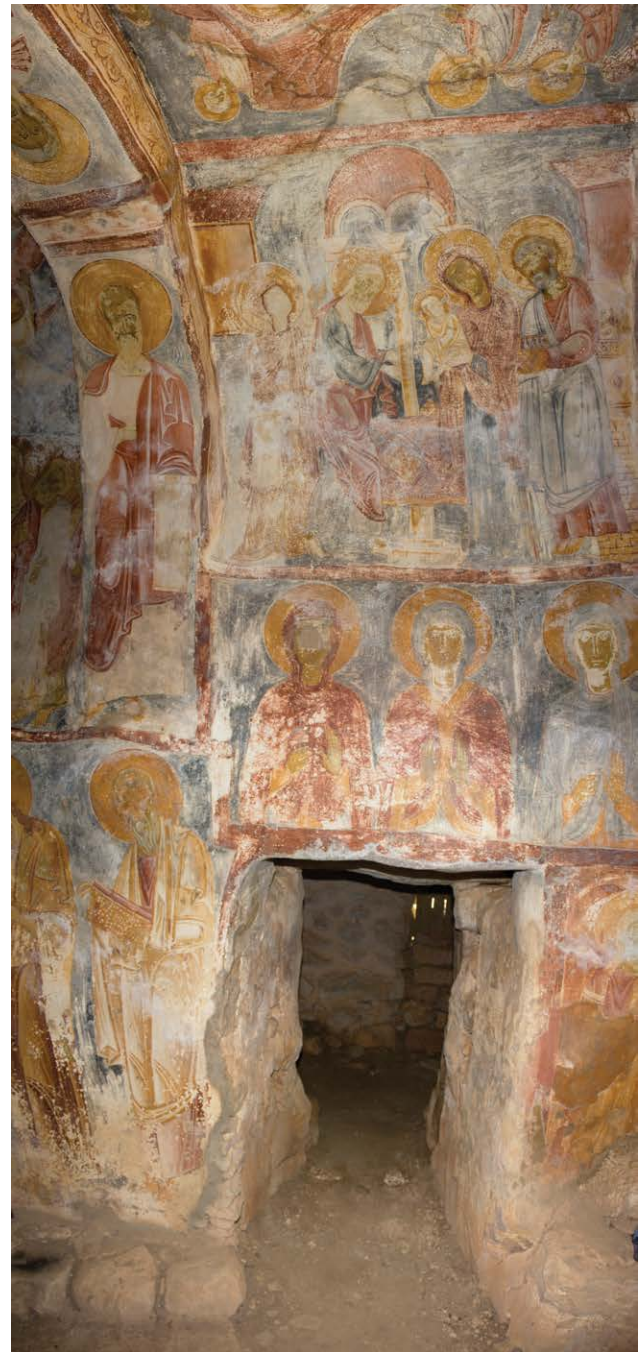
◀ Fig. 24. *The Maccabean group and the Anastasis scene in the western section of the northern wall of the church at Karinia.*

▲ Fig. 25. *Original entrance (?) to the church at Karinia, now an opening to the southern chamber.*

Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

tism of Christ (depicted close to ground level for probable appropriation reasons related to the baptism ritual), the donor couple, and the five elder Maccabee sons on the northern wall. The fact that those five Maccabees are painted full-length in this lower register stands in contrast with the bust representation of their mother Solomone and their teacher old Eleazar (although these two are primarily venerated). This may not be the result of mere coincidence. Given the importance of the lower register of murals, it must have been a conscious choice. I therefore argue that

Fig. 26. *Partial destruction of the murals adjacent to the western wall (in this case the Anastasis scene of the vault, northern wall) following the creation of a new entrance at a later date.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Fig. 27. *Inscription from the church of Saints-Anargyri in the settlement of Kippoula, mentioning a certain* …ΙΩΡΑ ΙΕΡΕΟς… *and an* …ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΙΩΡΑ ΜΕ…

Fig. 28. *Inscription from the church of Saint-Solomone, Dryalos, mentioning* …ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΙΓΕᵒΡΗΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΚΙΝΑ.

Fig. 29. *Inscription from the church of Taxiarchis in Dryalos mentioning a certain* …ΤΟΥΕΙΤΑΡΦΗΛ[?].

Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

the five Maccabees were displayed among the holy and heavenly militias because of their status as faithful soldiers in the eyes of the beholders, and this particular connotation could indeed be a Western feature, even though the depiction itself does not present any visible Western influences.

At this point it is worth looking into what the theme of the Maccabees meant in the Catholic West in comparison to the Byzantine East.[52] Latins regarded the Maccabean brothers as fighters for the faith and not just simple martyrs, as was the case with the Orthodox. Christian communities in general recognised them as martyrs before Christ. This recognition led to the inclusion of the Books of Maccabees in the Christian canon. Saint Augustine speaks of "extreme and wonderful sufferings of certain martyrs, who, before Christ had come in the flesh, contended for the law of God even unto death, and endured most grievous and horrible evils".[53] The Christian cult of the Maccabees had its probable origins in a 4th-century homily of saint Gregory Nazi-

anzen.[54] The Catholic world counted only the first two books of the Maccabees among the deuterocanonical books, while the Orthodox included all four. Yet, even when their martyrdom became a remote memory in medieval Europe, the brothers were venerated as the only saints and martyrs of the Old Testament. Their feast day on August 1 was connected to the notions of persecution and brotherhood in the liturgy (*e. g.* Psalms 33, 132). Their relics were venerated in Antioch, Constantinople, and Rome.[55] It is therefore rather difficult to ascertain to which particular cult the depiction of the Maccabees in Karinia could have referred to.

Their bellicose piety came to serve as a model for a growing Christian military elite, but this characterised most of all the Western context. When the concept of sacred warfare was developed in parallel with the crusading movement, the Books of Maccabees proved to be an ideal biblical precedent for the link between army and church. This is best noticed in the chronicles of the First Crusade, which reinforce the resemblance between crusaders and the Jewish warriors of old. There was a certain degree of anxiety due to the fear that Crusaders could be 'Judaising', but this reticence did not outlive the 12th century.[56] This is why I believe that the depiction of the Maccabees on the northern wall of the church at Karinia, to the left of the ktetors whom they flank on the left in much the same way as the military saints George and Demetrius flank them to the right, suggests that certain military undertones could have been present, and that a distant relationship could be envisaged with the manner in which the Old Testament theme was used in the imagery of the crusading West.[57] I am therefore persuaded that the extended depiction of the Maccabees in Karinia testifies to an alliance of two different concepts, the Byzantine importance of their martyrdom and the Latin rhetorical use of their struggle for the faith. This would have been a strange concept, introduced by a newly-arrived presence in the area, and the Jewish 'connection' actually makes some sense, on one condition: that these were Christianised Jews.

Jewish names are well documented in the area, some of them dating back to the Middle Ages and appearing in medieval monuments (Fig. 27, 28, 29). For instance, there is a *Iyeorei* (*kinnui* of Yoram?) mentioned on the *thorakion* of the church of Saint-Solomone in Dryalos. Ostensibly, the name *Eitaophel* or *Eitarphel* appears on an immured spolium from the bell-tower of the Taxiarchis church in the same settlement of Dryalos. Both cases date to the turn of the 12th century.[58] Yet these are old examples. Closer to the timeframe of Karinia, the name *Ioras* (Yoram) appears twice in the ktetorial inscription of the church of Saints-Anargyri in Kippoula (1265).[59] It is also worth mentioning here the attribute ΝΟΤζιριΟς, thoroughly discussed later in this study, which appears after the title ΙΕΡΕΑc ('priest') in the supplicatory inscription from the apse of the church of Archangel-Michael in Polemitas (1278). This attribute could be linked to the Hebrew word *nazir*.[60]

But the strongest argument in favour of this interpretation is the veneration of saint Solomone, mother of the Maccabees, as testified by a series of monuments located in the vicinity of Karinia or in nearby churches where a Christian Jewish presence can be inferred from the aforementioned inscriptions. In the entire Mani, churches dedicated to this saint appear only in this area: Saint-Solomone at the Karinia cemetery, Saint-Soulani (Solomone) in Erimos, and Saint-Solomone in Dryalos.[61] Especially in the case of the church of Saint-Soulani in Erimos, the great difference in terms of scale and construction between this
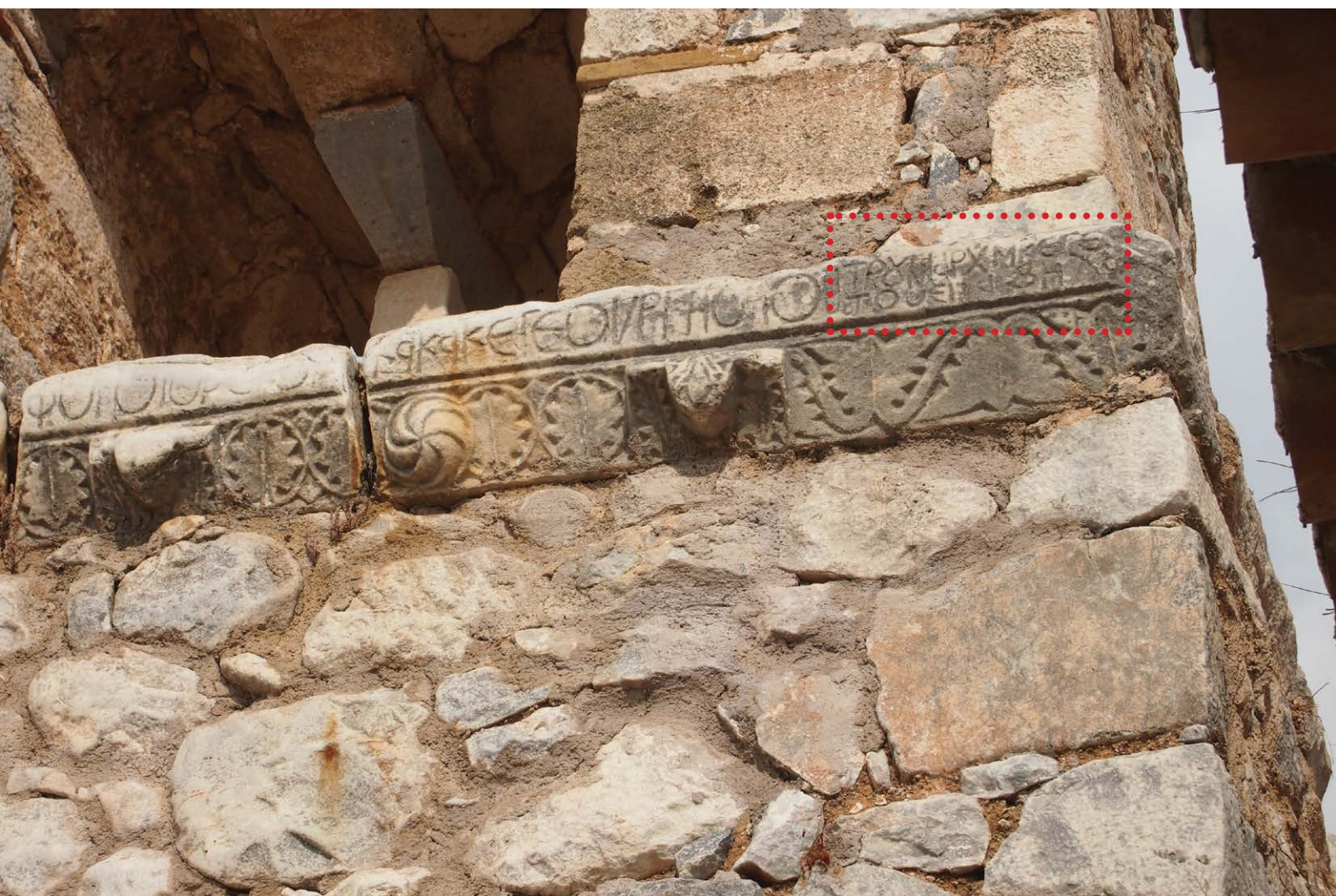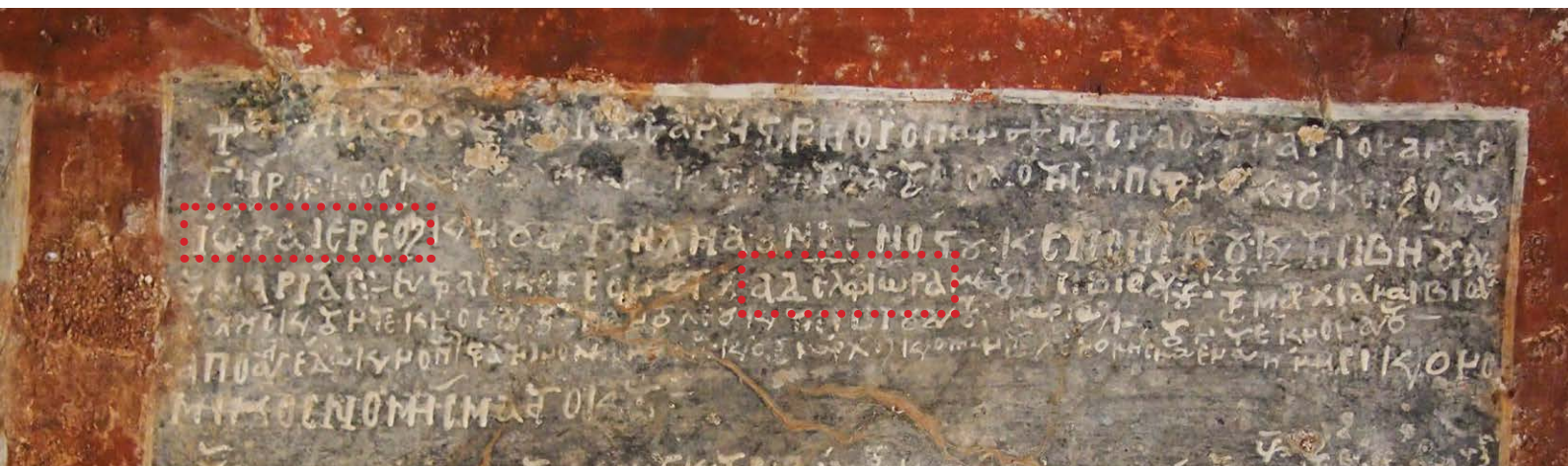
church and the contemporary nearby church of Saint-Bar-bara[62] may be explained as a consequence of the very dif-ference financial means involved in their edification. The donors of the church of Saint-Soulani (smaller in scale and simpler in layout) might have been a small community from the region, perhaps a community of Christian Jews.

When making these assumptions, I have in mind some particular situations dating back to the 13th-15th century or even earlier. Several Jewish communities existed in areas controlled by the Latins in the 13th century. There was a community in Patras, of an older date, but there was also a more recent Jewish community in Andravida, mentioned in *c.* 1257 in the context of a visit of a certain stranger who let the members of that Jewish community know about the Mongol advance (presented as the arrival of the Messiah).[63] There were Jewish communities in Thebes. Jewish tanners worked in the Venetian colonies of Koroni and Methoni. There were Jews in Corinth and Negroponte. There were Jews in Mystras (maybe the same community who was in Sparti during the 10th century). A well populated medieval Jewish settlement was located in the Laconian town of Tri-pi, near Sparti, and it was attested for centuries. Its rem-nants were still visible in 1950. It is therefore safe to state that there were probably Jewish communities in all major cities of the area.[64] And it is no surprise that these commu-nities appeared connected to urban settlements, for the do-cumentation is always better in urban areas. However, there

are also odd pieces of evidence suggesting that there was a "Jewish rural activity in additional localities". The presence of place-names related to a Jewish presence is well docu-mented in Mytilene, Corfu, Andros, Tinos, Lemnos, Thasos, and even Attica, so the situation of the small village of Kari-nia in the Inner Mani would not be singular.[65] Moreover, on June 22, 1483, there is even a mention of Jewish herds-men owning sheep and goats (*anemali menudi*) and living in the vicinity of the town of Methoni, as did Albanian herds-men and other local peasants (*Albanesi e Zudei et altri con-tadini*).[66] If these Jews were herdsmen and peasants, Kari-nia (or a place in its vicinity) could have been another such rural colony of Jews or converted Jews.

Last but not least, there is also a fragmentary unusual name transcribed in the deteriorated supplicatory inscrip-tion accompanying the ktetorial couple on the northern wall in Karinia. It ends with the letters –EP and, given the space available in the inscription, this sequence of letters is rather short. Since it does not correspond to any expected Greek name, it may hide a reading ACOΦEP, *HaSofer*, the 'scribe', 'copier of codices', or 'grammarian', one of the most frequent Jewish names. The argument in favor of this conjectural reading is justified by the presence of the aforementioned Jewish names in carved and painted in-scriptions in nearby monuments. This means that I need to delve deeper into the issue of the three fragmentary in-scriptions still preserved in the church at Karinia. Two of

▲ Fig. 30. *Inscription A on the architrave of the templon wall in the church at Karinia.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

them (A and B) were already discussed in a preliminary study published in 2015, but they need to be revised.[67] The third inscription (hereby referred to as C) was discovered in 2017, leading to significant changes in the reconstruction of the other two. Inscription A names the ktetors; B mentions the donations made to the church; and C conveys the usual supplication (deisis) of the couple of donors.

The first inscription (A).

The most important inscription is located on the western section of the masonry sanctuary screen or templon (Fig. 30).[68] Its prominent location on the vertical face of the lintel of the arched Holy Gate made it readily visible to all churchgoers. It was painted in a brown color onto a whitish ground. The text is framed by a deep-red wide band, trailed internally by a narrower one. Both bands follow the arched shape of the opening. The upper section, together with part of the inscription, is missing. It appears as if something – perhaps a cornice – was removed from the screen, destroying the upper, central part of the templon, but this is not necessarily certain.[69] Like all the other murals of the church, the inscription suffered from moisture and mold. The plaster is destroyed in certain segments; a dark grey plaster was recently applied to the surface to prevent further loss. The surviving text is in majuscule, the letters are adequately formed, and there are no empty spaces between the words. The height of the letters varies between 1.0 and

1.5 cm. Despite its damaged condition, the inscription's significance is testified by the very important information that it contains: the chronology and the titles $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ('basileus') and $\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}o\nu\tau o\varsigma$ ('presiding hierarch') in the Genitive; as well as a mention of the see of Mani (Μαΐνη) and the name of painter George. My 2015 preliminary analysis of the inscription has been challenged by a re-examination with ultraviolet light. It therefore needs to be revised.

Six lines were identified in 2015. However, it is now evident that the inscription originally contained seven lines. The entire first line – approximately ten centimeters in height – was destroyed when the upper part of the screen was damaged. Evidence of a missing first line is also offered by the decipherment of the first letters from the second line, which I originally conjectured to be ΑΝΑΚΑΙΝΙΣΤΗ ('restored'). In a more recent visit to the church, the use of ultraviolet light revealed contours and fragments of lost letters, which suggested a reading ΕΓΑΛ(Ο)ΜΑΡ – from [Μ]ΕΓΑΛ(Ο)-ΜΑΡ[ΤΥΡΟΣ ('great martyr') –, in accordance with the church's dedication. Half of the first Μ was part of the missing plaster and the omicron of the syllable ΛΟ was contracted. However, the word ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ cannot be the first word of the inscription, therefore the evident choice of a preceding line. Even though none of them is preserved in

its entirety, the five preserved lines from the upper part of the inscription use approximately 65-80 letter-spaces. They use the full length of the space; there are no blank spaces between the words. The sixth line could have a small empty space in the middle. And the last line is divided into symmetrical parts in order to accommodate the hollow space created by the arched opening to the sanctuary. In order to restore the initial contents of the inscription as closely as possible to its possible initial state, I will address each line separately.

THE FIRST LINE. As in many documented cases, the first line must have been a lot taller. I would also argue that it had fewer letters than the other lines. This is the line that would typically refer to the erection (*οἰκοδόμησις*) or decoration (*ἀνιστόρησις*) of the church. In all likelihood, the inscription originally contained the words *οἰκοδόμησις* or *ἀνοικοδόμησις* since there are no reasons to believe that the erection of the church did not coincide with its initial decoration. Using formulas commonly found in contemporary inscriptions of the region (and filling up to 62 letter-spaces), the missing first line contain more or less the following formulaic and introductory sequence:[70] † ΑΝΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ Κ/ ΑΝΙΣΤΟΡΗΘΗ Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ Κ/ ΠΑΝΣΕΠΤΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ, meaning "† Erected from the ground up and decorated this holy and most sacred church of saint…". In making this assumption, I am simply following the formulas from the inscriptions painted in similar churches of the region.

THE SECOND LINE. In the next line, which probably began with (Μ)ΕΓΑΛ(Ο)ΜΑΡ(ΤΥΡΟΣ), one should rightfully presume that the painter transcribed the word ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ. The text is severely damaged in the rest of the line, but it is safe to assume that the saint's name must have been closely followed by his attributes, such as the ever-present ΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΥ ('the trophy-bearer') or even the rarely seen ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΠΙΤΟΥ – if the depiction of the saint on the northern wall, where this attribute was noted, was clearly intended as an attribute for the church as well. Still, the remaining section of the second line is too long. It reaches a length of about fifty letter-spaces. There are several options for restoring the contents of the missing part of the line. First of all, additional descriptive words may have been used for the named saint. Secondly, the text might have referred to the specific location of the church and possibly even to the name of the village (Karinia). Or perhaps the church was initially devoted to two saints, George and Demetrius, whose names would be both included in the inscription, followed by their attributes, therefore explaining the contents of the fifty letter-spaces. All these options are potentially valid, but for reasons of convenience I shall accept the first and more common one (ΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΥ). Another useful observation is that the last two letters of the line were probably a Δ and an Ι. Combined with the first letter of the next (third) line, which is an A, they would form the preposition ΔΙΑ ('by', 'through'). Hence the partially restored second line becomes [Μ]ΕΓΑΛ(Ο)ΜΑΡ[ΤΥΡΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΥ] [- - -] [ΔΙ], meaning "great martyr George the trophy-bearer [- - -] by".

THE THIRD LINE. As already noted in the preceding paragraph, the discussion concerning this other line is directly related to the contents of the second one. The words ΒΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΠΟΥ are clearly discernible after the first letter of this line: A. The phrase ΔΙΑ ΒΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΠΟΥ ('by the [financial] burden and endeavor of'), fits the customary contents of the formulaic structure of such an inscription and is very similar to other expressions of the same type (*δι᾽ἐξόδου καὶ*

μόχθου; 'by the expenditure and effort of'),[71] thereby asserting the great burden and financial efforts undertaken by the ktetors. Such expressions are generally followed by names in the Genitive. Unfortunately, the rest of the line, where the names must have been written, is irreversibly damaged. Nevertheless, since the fourth line of the inscription starts with the letter O followed by the words ΚΑΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΗΣ ('bishopric of Mani'), other deductions may be made about the contents of this third line. As regards the omicron, the first impression is that it is an article that refers to the hierarch (bishop) of the see of Mani (*Μαΐνη*). The discrepancy is that this article does not appear in the Genitive case (–ΟΥ), in order to match the syntax of the preceding words ΔΙΑ ΒΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΠΟΥ (or the Genitive from ΚΑΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΗΣ). The issue at stake here is of a grammatical nature. In order to understand the particularities of this painter's syntax, I am tempted to compare the text from Karinia to the nearly contemporary inscription that was painted in the church of Saints-Theodore of Kaphiona.[72] This other text refers to the ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ ('most beloved by God') donor, bishop George of Veligosti (whose name is in the Genitive) and to the ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ ('most noble') co-donor *synkellos* Vlastodianos.[73] The contribution of Vlastodianos is additional (*συν*, 'with') and his name, accompanied by the adjective ΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ ('noble') in the superlative (ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ) are both expressed in the Dative. Knowing that these may not have been the exact attributes of the bishop of Mani in the Karinia inscription, I will nonetheless appropriately distribute the epithets *εὐγενέστατος* and *θεοφιλέστατος*, for the formulaic style of an inscription of this type demands that the bishop's name be followed by such attributes. And I will use them in the manner in which they were used grammatically in Kaphiona, assigning one to the unknown ktetor and the other one to the bishop of Mani. Again, this should fit perfectly the number of letter-spaces available in the third line of the inscription, since the sum of the letters of both names must not surpass 25 characters, in order to suitably accommodate the remaining available space in the third line. As for the painter's misuse of omicron instead of omega, quite common in Maniot inscriptions of the same period, it may be expected that the initial O of the fourth line were part of a Dative ΤΩ of the article, the tau being the last letter of the third line. The heavily restored third line would thus read:[74] Α ΒΑΡΟΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΟΠ(ΟΥ) [ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ (name of ktetor in the Genitive) ΣΥΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΩ (name in the Dative) ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ Τ], meaning "the expense and endeavor of the noblest (name of ktetor in the Genitive) and the highly favored (name in the Dative) bishop".

THE FOURTH LINE. The end of the next line was lost when the plaster detached, but there are a few letters that compose ΟΥ ΑΗΜ(ΟΥ), which will be discussed straightaway. As for the beginning of the line, the description ΚΑΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ of the Mani see is not mentioned anywhere else. It may have something to do with the appellation of the area of as *μέρη κατωτικά* ('lower lands').[75] Next, the name of the Mani bishopric (ΜΑΙΝΗΣ) is followed by a dot and the initial part of a word beginning with ΒΑ–. Given the contents of the next line, which begins with ΗΜω^ν ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ, referring to the Byzantine emperor, this is in all likelihood the present participle ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ('reigning'), in the Genitive. Afterwards, one would expect the name of the emperor and his attributes. In a length of roughly 50 letter-spaces, including the remaining letters of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, the available space is long enough to accommodate the imperial names and titles. Given the dating of the inscription (1281), one would expect here the usual designation *Δεσπό-*

της of emperor Michael VIII, found on lead seals,[76] followed probably by the usual appellation 'kyr',[77] as well as the three titles referring to his genealogy (*Δούκας-Κομνηνός-Παλαιολόγος*),[78] or maybe another variation in the imperial title. In such a case, the end of the line – OY ΑΗΜ(ΟΥ) – would refer to [T]OY ΑΗ[ΔΙ]Μ(ΟΥ) (*τοῦ ἀοιδίμου*, 'of the famous'), a recurrent contraction in which the middle syllable(s) is omitted. The fourth line could thus be hypothetically restored as: Ο ΚΑΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΗΣ ΒΑ[ΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΟΥΚΑ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ] [T](OY) ΑΗ[ΔΙ]Μ(ΟΥ),[79] meaning "of the see of Mani, during the reign of despot kyr Michael Doucas Comnenus Palaiologos the famous". I do not exclude the possibility that the order of these words could be different, that the name of the emperor could be shortened or that it could be followed by another title or attribute, but the analysis of the few remaining letters provides enough proof to argue that the rest of this fourth line, following the title of the bishop, was indeed dedicated to the Byzantine emperor.

THE FIFTH LINE. This other line is divided into two independent modules. The left one begins with the word ΗΜω̄ᵛ (*ἡμῶν*, 'ours'). It continues with the title ΒΑCΙΛΕΟC ('basileus') associated with the preceding adjective ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ('great'). Immediately after, the dot supposes the beginning of a different sequence. It is followed by ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕ[ΥΟΝΤΟC] ('hierarchically presiding'). Four of the six last letters of the word are difficult to discern and the last two are missing, being lost at the time when the plaster detached.[80] A blank space equivalent to less than ten letter-spaces is followed by the letters ΟΙΚΟΥΜ. These cannot refer to anything else that the full title ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟC ('ecumenical') which accompanies the title of the patriarch. The missing part can therefore be partially restored. In order to conform to the epithet *ἀρχιερατεύοντος*, it is safe to assume that the 'ecumenical' title would be written in the Genitive, as ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΥ. This designation confers to the title a particular significance. It surpasses the metropolitans Theodosius of Mystras and / or Gregory of Monemvasia, who were then heads of the neighboring bishoprics.[81] Furthermore, the mention of the Constantinopolitan patriarch in such inscriptions is rather rare. Therefore it is usually argued that the mention of the patriarchal title, which always comes next to that of the emperor, may appear to indicate that the donors had a direct relationship to the imperial court.[82] Such a connection was previously argued in the case of the donors' inscription in the *Omorphi Ekklisia* (Saints-Theodore) from the village Kipseli in the island of Egina and the church of Saint-George Pachymachiotis of Lindos, Rhodes.[83] In the case of the Karinia inscription, given the dating of the inscription (1281), the mention of the name of the patriarch would also indicate support for the emperor's Uniate choice after the Council of Lyon (1274), and that this initiative was supported by local leaders, by the bishop of Mani, and by the dignitaries of the Mani see. Because of this, I believe that the mention of the highest ranking titles in the Byzantine Empire, in addition to the exceptional choices of the iconographic program, probably made the church of Saint-George in Karinia the most representative monument in Michael's VIII's pro-Union policy in the region and – why not? – even a pivotal point for its further dissemination in the rest of the Mani. Judging from the chronology, to be analysed below, the patriarchal title most likely refers to John XI Vekkos (1275-1282).[84] It is actually expected that the name of the patriarch follows the name of the emperor and does not precede it in the text of the inscription.[85] After the name of the patriarch, the empty space following ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΥ

may be filled by the patriarchal title in an abbreviated form, for example ΠΡˣΙ (*πατριάρχου*), since the Χ is usually written contracted on top. The left module of the fifth line can therefore be presumed to contain more or less the following data: ΗΜω̄ᵛ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΟC. ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕ[ΥΟΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ] ΟΙΚΟΥΜ[ΕΝΙΚΟΥ Π(ΑΤ)ΡΙ(ΑΡ)Χ(ΟΥ)]., meaning "our great basileus, during the office of John the ecumenical Patriarch)". Each one of the aforementioned modules of the fifth line makes perfect sense in the context of the fragmentary preserved letters of the two lines (4 and 5).

THE SIXTH LINE. In the rest of the inscription, the text continues in the left side. The right section has a separate module containing the name of the painter and the date of the mural. A similar separate arrangement of the painter's name appears in the almost contemporary inscription from Polemitas, where the name of the painter is placed separately in the lower right section of the inscription.[86] And this arrangement was again used by painter Nomikos forty years later in the church of Saint-George in Marasse (1323),[87] which will be revisited at the end of the current article. In Karinia, the separation into a distinct module takes place after the middle of the fifth line, and it covers approximately twenty letter-spaces past the conjectured abbreviation ΠΡˣΙ.

Turning our attention back to the beginning of the sixth line and to the words of the main text, this is where one more ecclesiastic dignitary is mentioned. From the preserved letters of the text, it is highly likely that it spoke of a certain CΑΚ[ΕΛΛΑΡΙΟC] ('sacellarius', the official entrusted with administrative and financial duties) [ΤΗC ΙΕΡΑC] ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΗC ('of the holy bishopric'). After the word ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΗC, the distance to the next word in the same line (which belongs to the chronology module) is equivalent to six letter-spaces. Nothing is discernible there. It is in fact impossible to state whether the letters faded out or were never painted. However, the inscription is damaged in general, so – if something were once written there – it definitely would refer to the 'holy see' mentioned immediately beforehand. The name of the sacellarius, although extremely faded out, appears to be a compound word, the second element of which is –*νίκων* ('–nikon') in the Genitive case (ΝΙΚΟΝΟC).[88] The first part probably consisted of more or less three letters, the middle of which was clearly Ε, still visible under close scrutiny. Judging from the trace of a wavy horizontal stroke above the epsilon, I believe that the closest guess is *Θεονίκων* ('Theonikon'). Such a wavy horizontal strokes on top the prefix ΘΕΟ (even uncontracted) often appears above the letters of ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟC. The sixth line therefore could read: [Θ]Ε[Ο]ΝΙΚΟΝΟC ΤΟΥ . Κ(ΑΙ) CΑΚ[ΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΗC ΙΕΡΑC] ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΗC, meaning "of Theonikon the sacellarius of the holy bishopric…". The rest of the line continues with the module containing the name of the painter and the date (c.6).

THE SEVENTH LINE. There is a single word (or maybe several short ones) in the small seventh line and it clearly concludes the text of the sixth one. The letters are faded, but an attentive gaze may recognise the characters Τ (or Π), Υ, Ρ, a composite letter (possibly resembling a ligature) not readily identifiable, a Κ, and an Η. The ending letter Η is followed by a positura, colon and wavy stroke, which means that the inscription ends at this point. The composite fourth letter probably incorporates the letter omega (ω). I would therefore preliminarily transcribe the seventh line as ΤΥΡ?ΚΗ :~ or ΠΥΡ?ΚΗ :~. However, the obvious sense of this sequence of letters escapes me. The immediate context points to two possible options: (a) it is either the whole or a part of the

АРХІЕРА
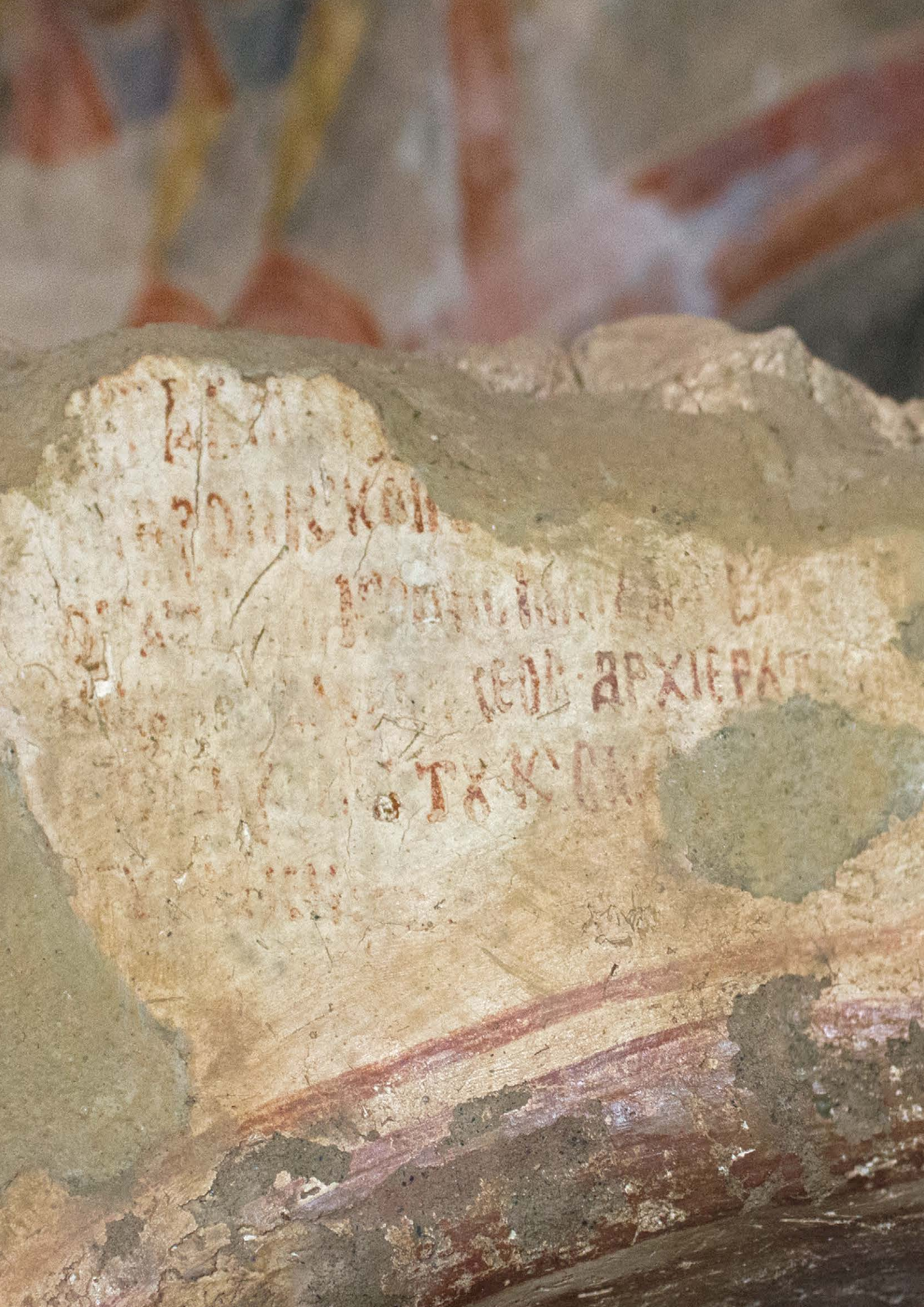
◀ Fig. 31. *Detail of Inscription A. The left side.*

▼ Fig. 32. *Detail of Inscription A. The chronology module.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

surname of the sacellarius mentioned in the sixth line, or (b) it is the name of another see (not the Mani one) linked with this sacellarius. The first option implies that the sacellarius was acting not as donor but as executive of the see of Mani (on behalf of the bishop) and had acquired the right to be named in the inscription due to his office.[89] The second option is equally valid and suggests a much more complicated donation scheme in which the sacellarius acted as a 'proxy'-ktetor on behalf of another bishopric, but there is no name among the neighbouring Byzantine bishoprics to match the spelling. In that case, it could be that this bishopric was presumably foreign, perhaps even Western in origin.

Although at a first glance such a hypothesis appears subversive, there is enough evidence to suggest otherwise: the placement of the sacellarius' name at the end of the inscription together with the words ΤΗC ΙΕΡΑC ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΗC, separate from the group of donors and the name of the Mani bishop, and after the mention of the emperor and the patriarch, clearly distinguishes his name in several ways and not only one. It is quite odd for a cleric of the Mani bishopric to be placed not right after the name of his bishop, in the fourth line, but alone and occupying the whole last sequence of the inscription. Besides, considering him as a dignitary of the Mani bishopric, the inscription would need to mention the bishopric twice, since it was already mentioned in the fourth line, and this is tautological. It is far more probable that the ΤΗC ΙΕΡΑC ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΗC from the penultimate line is a reference to another diocese, different from the Mani one. However, the sequence of letters does not match the name of any Byzantine one, so the second option would be to consider that the string of six letter-spaces may hide the name of a foreign ecclesiastic authority, maybe rendered in a Hellenised pronunciation and containing the characters Τ (or Π), Υ, Ρ, [the unspecified combination], Κ, and Η.

THE CHRONOLOGY MODULE. This new reading of the inscription alters my previous understanding of the chronology of the church. The conjectured initial word from the fifth line *† Ἰστορήθη* ('painted') needs to be interpreted according to analogous examples ending in –ΔΙ(ΟΥ). The latter letters are discernible before the very common phrase ΔΙΑ ΧΗΡΟC ('by the hand of'). Because of this, it is most likely that the text was abbreviated, since the available space is limited. There are ten letter-spaces between the starting cross of the first line of the chronology module (painted at the middle of the fifth line of the inscription) and the letter Δ of the words ΔΙΑ (ΧΗΡΟC). Given the formulaic nature of this type of inscription, this part can be safely reconstructed as any of the frequent phrases ΕΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΥ ('me myself') or ΚΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΥ ('and me myself'). In this particular situation, ΚΑΜΟΥ is preferable, for two reasons: first, it is a typical expression and a similar contraction occurs in Inscription B (ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ = ΚΑΓΩ, *vide infra*). Furthermore, the 14th-century painter Nomikos in the church of Saint-George in Marasse, who probably painted the southern chamber at Karinia, as will be argued later, also put the chronology module in the lower right section of the ktetorial inscription, since he probably imitated the formulaic style of the 1281 inscription in Karinia. Therefore, I would argue that the chronology module started with an abbreviated form of *† Ἰστορήθη*, as in the church of Marasse.

In the next line, before the name of the month, the syllable ΝΗ is visible. This is most likely the second part of the word *μηνί* ('in the month', in the Dative), written incorrectly (ΜΗΝΗ). The name of the month comes next: ΜΑΡΤΪω. The frequently seen double dots above the iota are clearly visible, while a rather well shaped broken-line capital omega is discernible at the end. Following this, one may recognize the combination *εἰ*ͬ*c* and the upper section of a Δ~ with a horizontal stroke above. Part of a letter, most probably the Η, comes next. There is no horizontal stroke above the Η. The Δ~ is likely the numeral four ('4'), while the Η is probably the first letter of the truncated word ΗΜΕΡΑ. A close inspection of the inscription suggests that at least the letter Μ could have initially accompanied this Η, but the colour has almost vanished from this area of the plaster, so it is hard to argue this convincingly. In this case, the Δ~ obviously corresponds to the fourth day of March, while the Η(Μ) probably refered to the corresponding day of the week. Since the fourth of March 1281 was a Tuesday,[90] the Η(Μ) would be followed either by the word ΤΡΙΤΗ or (due to lack of space) by the letter Γ′, since Γ′ is the numeral three
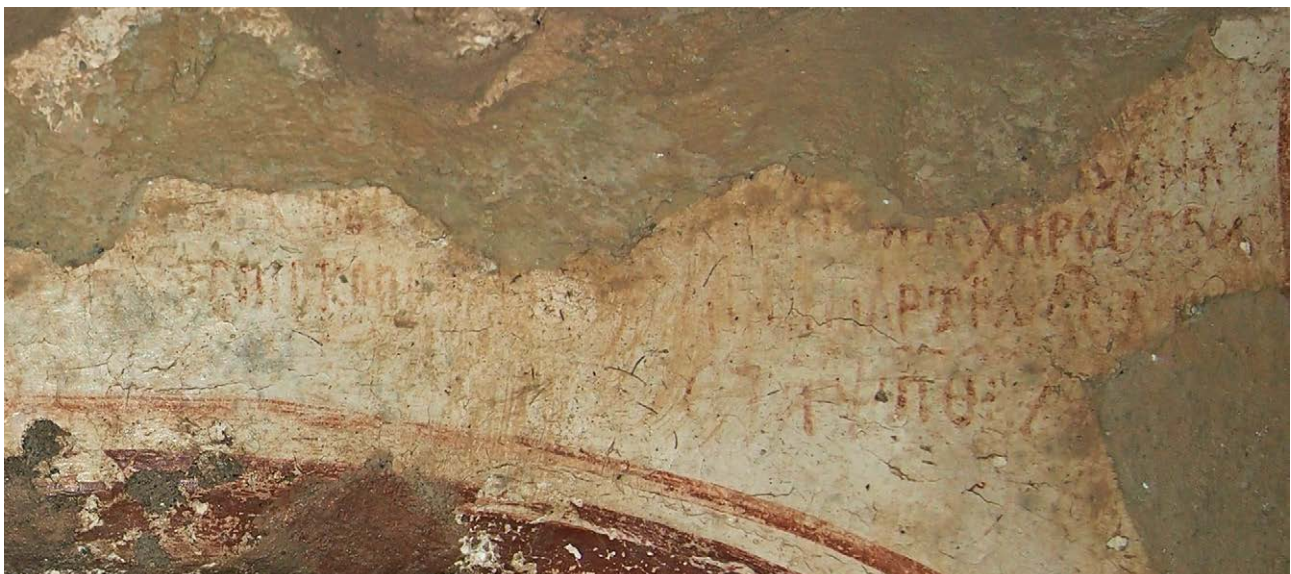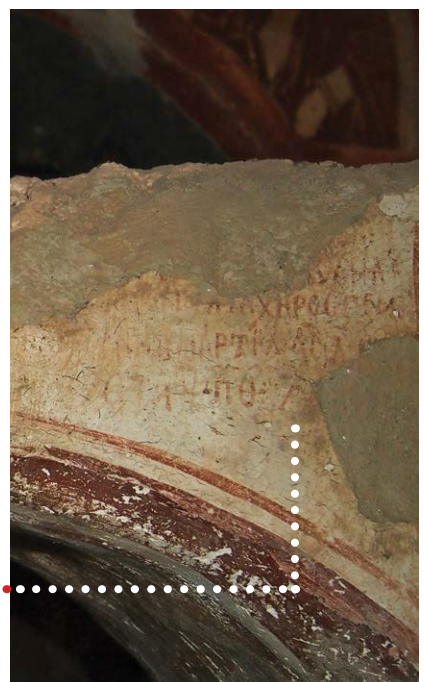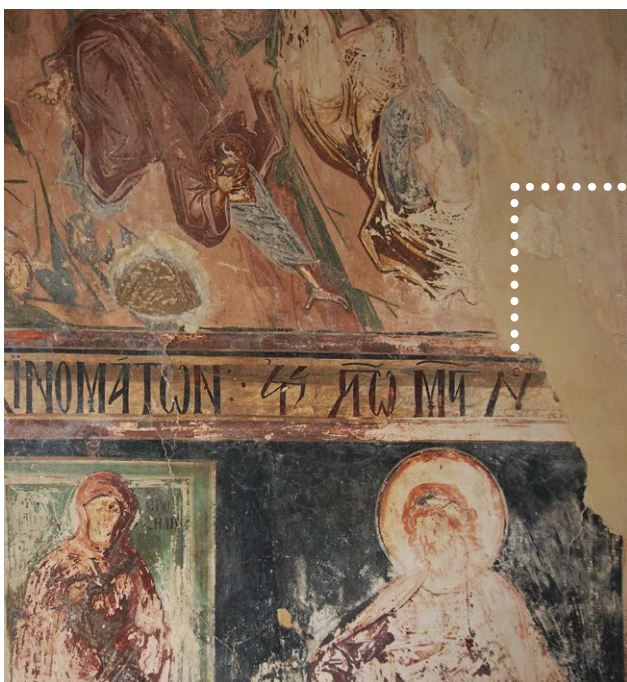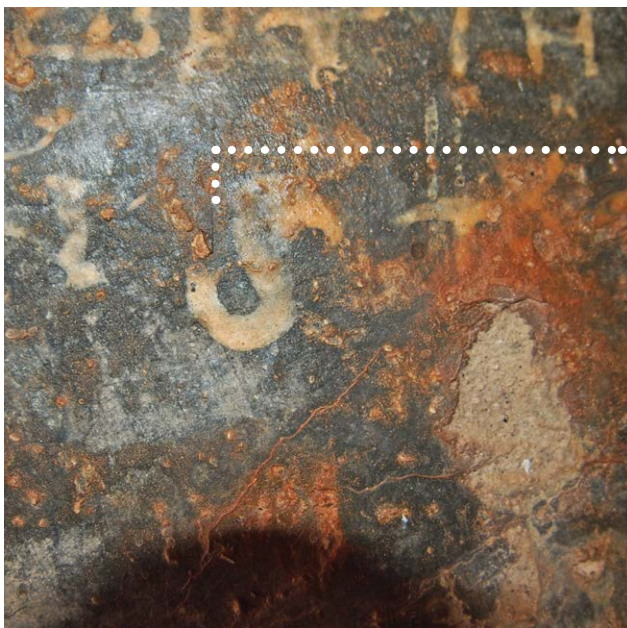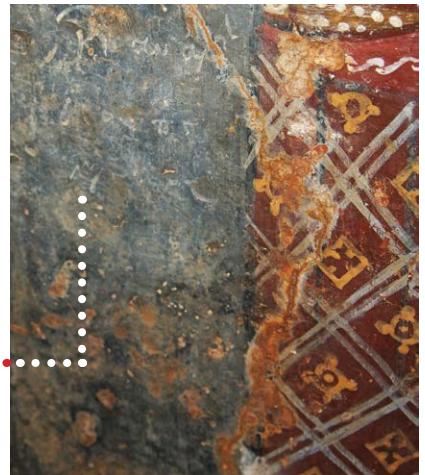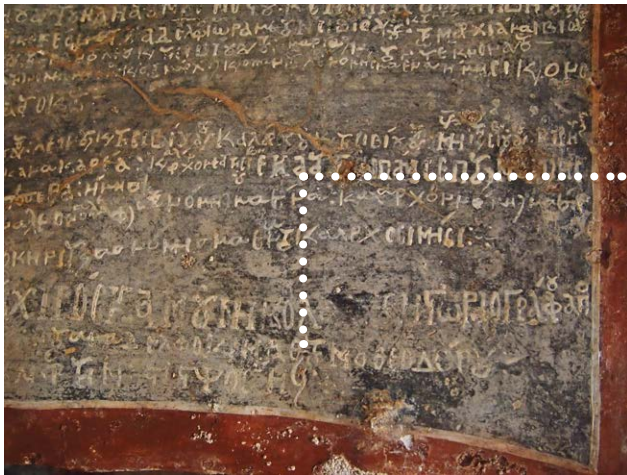
('3'), that is the third day of the week – a Tuesday. This reading is sustained by comparisons with local contemporary inscriptions. To give but an example, in the inscription of Polemitas, the numeral β´ ('2') stands for Monday (ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ).[91]

Finally, in the last line of Inscription A, there are the letters ΕΤ, clearly meaning ΕΤ(ΟΥΣ) ('of the year') and four characters providing the exact date: Я~ Ψ Π~ Θ~, meaning '6789', followed by the obscure symbol for the indiction, which comes next (herein transcribed as Ɨ). Given the month in which the inscription was written, the year 6789 from the Creation of the World corresponds to AD 1281.[92] The symbol for the indiction is common in the older chronologies and from the 14th century onwards is occasionally omitted. In the Karinia inscription, it is written after the end sign (positura, the colon with a wavy horizontal stroke between the dots). This is not a rare thing. In any case, it puts the indiction in a secondary position compared to that of the date.[93] The symbol of the indiction is normally joined to its letter-numeral. For instance, in Kippoula, it is H~ (8th). In Karinia, the portion of the plaster adjacent to Ɨ is missing, but the year Я~ Ψ Π~ Θ~ is the ninth indiction, therefore the lost letter-numeral after the symbol should have been Θ~ (Fig. 32, 33f).

Based on the above discussion, the module may be reconstructed as follows: † [ΙΣΤΟΡ(Η)Θ(Η) ΚΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ Ι]ΔΙΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΧΗΡΟΣ ΓΕω / [ΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΗ]ΝΗ ΜΑΡΤΪω ΕΙΣ Τ(ΙΣ) Δ~ Η[ΜΓ~] / ΕΤ(ΟΥΣ) Я~ Ψ Π~ Θ~ :~ Ɨ(ΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ) [Θ~]; normalized to: † *Ιστορήθη καμού του ιδίου δια χειρός Γεω / ργίου μηνί Μαρτίω εις τις τέσσαρες ημέρα Τρίτη / έτους 6789:~ ινδικτιώνος Θ´*; and meaning "† Illustrated by the hands of myself George in the month of March on the 4th day, Tuesday, of the year 6789, 9th indiction". This is by far the most interesting chronology section in medieval Maniot epigraphy. The day of the week, the date of the month, and the indiction combine with the year form a complete set of chronological parameters in accordance with the Byzantine system that starts on the 1st of September.[94]

OTHER REMARKS CONCERNING INSCRIPTION A. This text is so far the second older Maniot inscription in which the name of the emperor and an important ecclesiastic dignitary are included. The first inscription of this type was painted in the church of Saints-Theodore of Kaphiona (1264). But the 'ecumenical' title of the patriarch mentioned in the Karinia inscription is a *rara avis*, seen nowhere else in Mani.[95] Comparing these two churches, the quality and importance of the Kaphiona program may shed some light on the importance of the church of Karinia. One might also argue that Karinia could have played an influential role in the region and that its ktetors and donors were probably important figures in the socio-political and ecclesiastical life of the land. It is not hard to guess the names of the persons mentioned in the inscription, except for the bishop of Mani, whose name cannot be retrieved from a source. As for painter George, mentioned in Inscription A, I believe that he may be identified with the painter George Konstantinianos of Polemitas, but this is another idea that will be developed at the end of the current study. The restoration phases are presented in Fig. 34 a-b. The inscription (without the chronology module) is:

◀ Fig. 33 a-f. *Indiction symbols in the painted inscriptions of the Mani peninsula: (a) Kippoula (1265); (b) Boularii (1274/1275); (c) Marasse (1323); (d) Polemitas (1278), (e) Kampinari-Platsa (1337/1338); (f) Karinia (1281).*
Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

▼ Fig. 34 a-b. *Reconstruction of Inscription A: (a) visible letters; (b) secured words and phrases.*
Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

1 († information about the erection and painting of the church) [ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ]

2 [Μ]ΕΓΑΛ(Ο)ΜΑΡ[ΤΥΡΟϹ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ] (attributes of George and maybe saint Demetrius with his attributes too) [ΔΙ]

3 Α ΒΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΎΠ(ΟΥ) (attributes and name of ktetor in the Genitive) (attributes and name in the Dative) ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ Τ]

4 Ο ΚΑΤΕΠΙϹΚΟΠΗϹ ΜΑΙΝΗϹ . ΒΑ[ϹΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟϹ (title and names of the emperor) . Τ](ΟΥ) ΑΗ[ΔΙ]Μ(ΟΥ)

5 ΗΜΩ˅ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΟϹ . ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕ[ΥΟΝΤΟϹ] (name) ΟΙΚΟΥΜ[ΕΝΙΚΟΥ Π(ΑΤ)ΡΙ(ΑΡ)Χ(ΟΥ) . [[chronology module]]

6 [Θ]Ε[Ο]ΝΙΚΟΝΟϹ ΤΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ϹΑΚ[ΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΗϹ ΙΕΡΑϹ] ΕΠΙϹΚΟΠΗϹ [- - -] [[chronology module]]

7 ΤΥΡ?ΚΗ :~ / ΠΥΡ?ΚΗ :~ [[chronology module]]

1 [- - -] of saint

2 great martyr George [- - -] by

3 the expense and endeavor of (attributes and name of the ktetor) (attributes and second name) bishop

4 of the dioecese of Mani, during the reign of (title and names of the emperor) glorious

5 our great basileus, officiating (name) ecumenical patriarch, [[chronology module]]

6 of Theonikon the sacellarius of the holy diocese of [- - -] [[chronology module]]

7 (?) [[chronology module]]

I also include the conjectural reconstruction and its free translation, as follows:

1 [† ΑΝΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ Κ/ ΑΝΙϹΤΟΡΗΘΗ Ο ΘΕΙΟϹ Κ/ ΠΑΝϹΕΠΤΟϹ ΝΑΟϹ ΟΥΤΟϹ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ]

2 [Μ]ΕΓΑΛ(Ο)ΜΑΡ[ΤΥΡΟϹ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΥ] [- - -] [ΔΙ]

3 Α ΒΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΎΠ(ΟΥ) [ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΕϹΤΑΤΟΥ (name of ktetor in the Genitive) ϹΥΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕϹΤΑΤΩ (name in the Dative) ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ Τ]

4 Ο ΚΑΤΕΠΙϹΚΟΠΗϹ ΜΑΙΝΗϹ . ΒΑ[ϹΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟϹ ΤΟΥ ΔΕϹΠΟΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ [ΔΟΥΚΑ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ] . Τ](ΟΥ) ΑΗ[ΔΙ]Μ(ΟΥ)

5 ΗΜΩ˅ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΟϹ . ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕ[ΥΟΝΤΟϹ ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ]   ΟΙΚΟΥΜ[ΕΝΙΚΟΥ Π(ΑΤ)ΡΙ(ΑΡ)Χ(ΟΥ) . [[chronology module]]

6 [Θ]Ε[Ο]ΝΙΚΟΝΟϹ ΤΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ϹΑΚ[ΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΗϹ ΙΕΡΑϹ] ΕΠΙϹΚΟΠΗϹ [- - -] [[chronology module]]

7 ΤΥΡ?ΚΗ :~ / ΠΥΡ?ΚΗ :~ [[chronology module]

1 † Erected from the ground up and decorated this holy and most sacred church of saint

2 great martyr George the trophy-bearer [- - -] by

3 the expense and endeavor of the noblest (name of the ktetor) with the highly favored (name) bishop

4 of the bishopric see of Mani, during the reign of the despot kyr Michael Doucas Comnenus Paleologos

5 our glorious great basileus, officiating John the ecumenical Patriarch, [[chronology module]]

6 of Theonikon the sacellarius of the holy diocese of [- - -] [[chronology module]]

7 ? [[chronology module]]

The second inscription (B)

Inscription B was painted on the northern wall of the nave, under the eastern rib, and it was first published in 2015 (Fig. 35).[96] The text is written in majuscule by the same hand as Inscription A, with very few minuscule letters randomly placed. Accents are discernible, but no breathing diacritics. The letters of the first line are all clearly visible and form the phrase ΚΑΓΩ˙ ΔΙΜΗΎΤ[ΡΗ]ΟϹ ΙΕΡ(ε)αϹ Κ(ΑΙ˙) Α~ΠΑΠΑϹ. υιὸϹ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥ[ΤΕ]ΡΕΒΟΝ/ΤΟϹ, meaning "And I, Demetrius priest and protopapas, son of deuterevon Michael"). This provides us with the identity of the chief donor, Demetrius, in the Nominative case.[97] A usual cross marks the beginning, and the horizontal stroke above the alpha of Α~ΠΑΠΑϹ stands for the numeral Α~ (πρῶτος, 'first'). Two persons are mentioned in this line: archpriest Demetrius and *deuterevon* Michael, his father.[98] To the best of my knowledge, this is the only use of the title *deuterevon* in Maniot epigraphy, and thus provides a significant new element to be used in the revision of the other inscriptions. The ktetorial role of *deuterevon* Michael is therefore ostensibly denoted. This may be used in the analysis of the ambiguous parts from the following line. Given these pieces of information, I would note that the identification of the donor Demetrius starts in the Nominative and ends with

the name of his father *deuterevon* Michael in the Genitive. The script continues in the same Genitive case until the dot before the word ΕΠΙΔΙΔΩ in the next line. It is therefore safe to argue that this part of the text refers to *deuterevon* Michael. From the verb ΕΠΙΔΙΔΩ ('to offer in addition to') onward, the text concerns once again his son Demetrius, the chief contributor, and probably continued further on with the names of several additional donors, unfortunately irreversibly lost. But the verb ΕΠΙΔΙΔΩ is governed by the subject Demetrius. The initial word ΚΑΓΩ (και εγώ, 'me too') is not a typical expression like the ΚΑΜΟΥ that usually forms part of the painter's self-introduction in the chronology section of inscriptions. It looks like a rather deliberate choice made by the scribe to clarify and simultaneously underscore that archpriest Demetrius 'himself also' – that is, not alone, but in the company of others – 'offered' something to the church. Concerning the paleography of the line, the scribe chose to make a lot of contractions. In the word ΙΕΡ(ε)αϹ ('priest'), the second epsilon was contracted, much in the same manner as the first omicron was contracted in the [Μ]ΕΓΑΛ(Ο)ΜΑΡ[ΤΥΡΟϹ] reading from the second line of Inscription A. As for the word ΔΕΥ[ΤΕ]ΡΕΒΟΝΤΟϹ, the whole syllable ΤΕ was contracted too. I therefore read the part corresponding to *deuterevon* Michael which occupies half of the second line as: ΜΙΧΑΗΛ

ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥ[ΤΕ]ΡΕΒΟΝ / ΤΟΣ Κ(ΑΓ`) ΚΤΗ´ΤΟΡ.ϚΗ[.] Τ(ΗϹ) ΙΕρΑϹ ΕπιϹ-ΚΟΠΗ∼σ .

Some brief observations are in order. For the Byzantines, the word *κτήτωρ* (ktetor) refered to a person who undertook the expense for the erection (or decoration) of an edifice.[99] In Karinia, the word *κτήτωρ* follows the name and title of *deuterevon* Michael, both in the Genitive, but acts grammatically as a Nominative. Normally, it should have been transcribed in the Genitive as *κτήτορος*, similarly to ΔΕΥ[ΤΕ]ΡΕΒΟΝΤΟϹ, also in the Genitive. Perhaps the missing ending *-ος* is only apparent, being simply omitted. Like many other letters from the inscription, it could simply be overlooked or skipped for reasons of haplography, as will become evident from the following analysis.

The rest of the text from the second line covers more or less fifteen letter-spaces after the dot following *κτήτωρ*. It may be read as: ϚΗ[.] Τ(ΗϹ) ΙΕρΑϹΕπιϹΚΟΠΗ∼σ. First of all, I would note that the ending ΗϹ of the article Τ(ΗϹ), implied by a rare paleographic symbol, is perhaps not incidental, since the same symbol was used by the early 14th-century painter Nomikos in Phaneromeni and Gardenitsa.[100] The transcription of the last word (*Ἐπισκοπῆς*) in the feminine, meaning 'bishopric', may be inferred from the feminine article Τ(ΗϹ) as well as by faded traces of the end letters and the circumflex accent of the last syllable −Η∼σ. The Ι and Ε of the adjective ΙΕρΑΣ ('holy') are also visible. The space covered by the two words and the few

traces visible argues in favour of the addition of several small characters in minuscule, nowadays faded, in order to read ΙΕρΑϹΕπιϹΚΟΠΗ∼σ. The only problem is the decipherment of the first word: ϚΗ[.]. The plaster is partially detached in the place where the third letter was painted, taking with it half of it. What remains appears to be higher than the usual size of a letter. Taken together with the curvature of the remaining outline, it may be identified with the usual over-writing of the diphthong ΟΥ. In this case, the word could have been ϚΗΟΥ, an evidently contracted word (among many others in the Karinia inscriptions) and may have indicated the ecclesiastical office of the ktetor, *deuterevon* Michael. Given the limited options for this reconstruction (a word written between the name of the ktetor and that of a holy bishopric), I am tempted to read here *ὁστιάριος*, an office documented by pseudo-Codinus together with those of *πρωτοπαπάς* and *δευτερεύων*. This was the ecclesiastic responsible to keep the doors open during ordination and also to hold the bishop's crosier,[101] an equivalent of the Latin *ostiarius* ('usher') and the word could be transcribed [Ο]ϚΗ[ΑΡΙ]ΟΥ.[102] The dignity of *ostiarius* would also explain the age of ktetor Michael, an aged reverent man with white hair, depicted right below Inscription B. This would suggest that he belonged to the category of subdeacons.[103] In the clerical hierarchy, the son, priest and protopapas Demetrius, would stand higher than his father Michael, *deuterevon* and *ostiarius*.

Moving on with the reading of the inscription, after the dot of ΙΕρΑϹΕπιϹΚΟΠΗ∼σ, in the same second line, the following words are noticeable at a close inspection: ΕΠΙΔΙΔω

Fig. 35. *General view of Inscription B above the ktetorial couple.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.
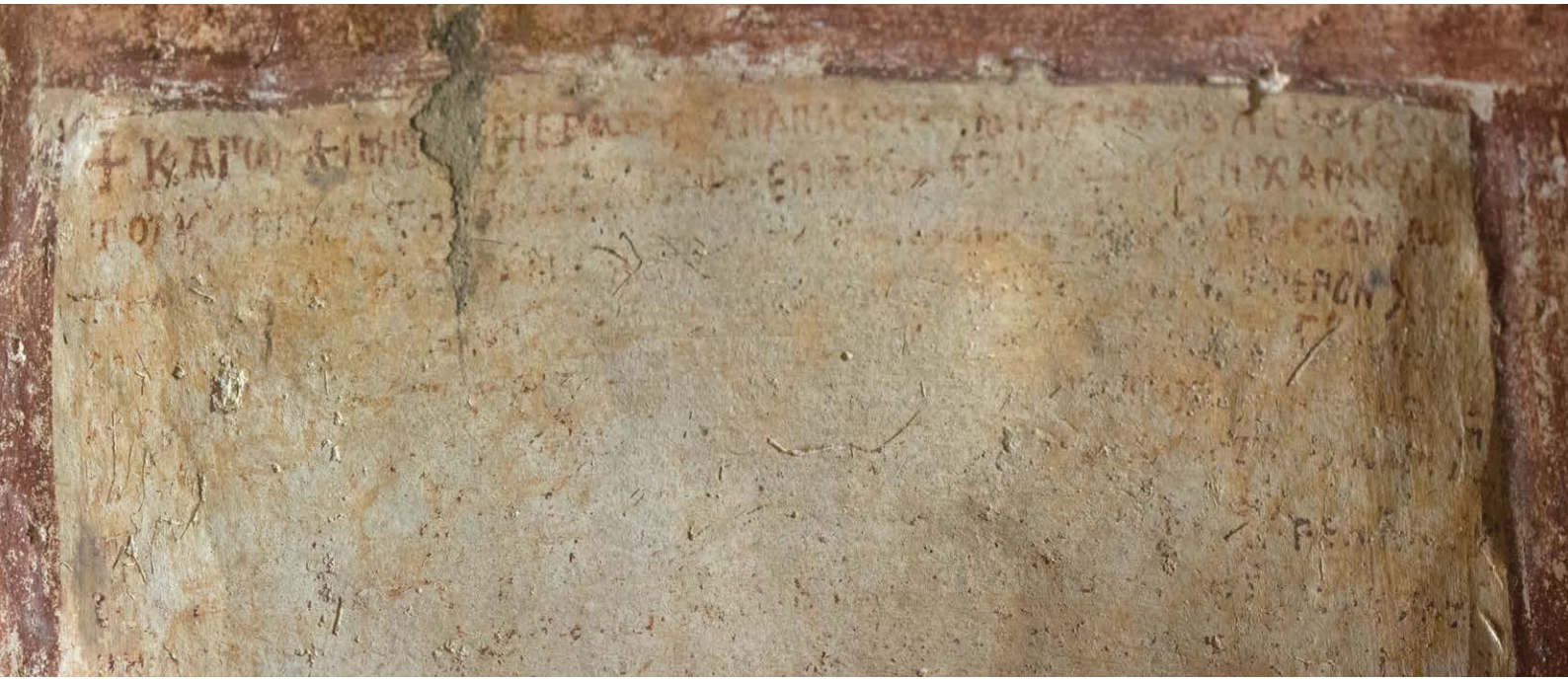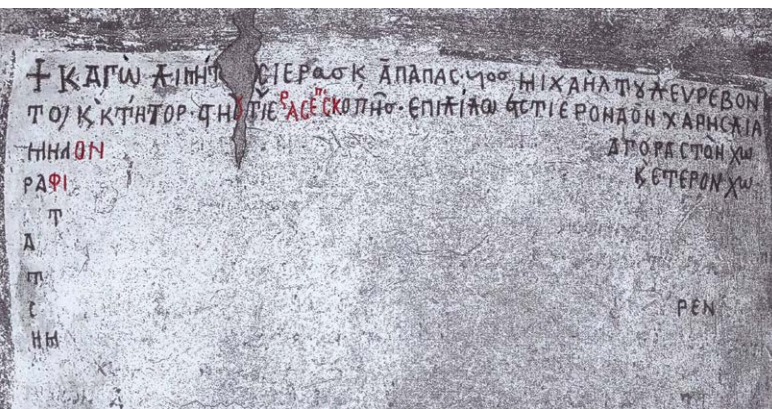
mains, I reconstruct the following text:

1 † ΚΑΓω` ΔΙΜΗΤ[ΡΗ]ΟΣ ΙΕΡ[ε]ασ Κ(ΑΙ`) Α~ΠΑΠΑΣ . υιὸσ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥ[ΤΕ]ΡΕΒΟΝ

2 ΤΟΣ Κ(ΑΙ`) ΚΤΗΤΟΡ[ΟΣ] . [Ο]ϚΗ[ΑΡΙ] (ΟΥ) Τ(ΗΣ) ΙΕρΑΣΕπιΣΚΟΠΗ~σ . ΕΠΙΔΙΔω ΕΙΣ Τον ΙΕΡΟΝΑΟΝ ΧΑΡΗΣ ΔΙΑ

3 ΜΗ[ΛΟΝ] [- - -] [ΑΓ]ΟΡΑΣΤΟ`Ν . Χω

4 [ΡΑΦιον] [- - -] Κ(ΑΙ`) ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΧωΡΑ

5 [ΦΙ] Τ [- - -]
- - - - - -

1 † I too Demetrius priest and archpriest, son of deu-terevon Michael

2 and ktetor, usher of the holy bishopric, I offer to the holy church for grace

3 a mill [- - -] acquired fi-

4 eld [- - -] and another fi-

5 eld [- - -]
- - - - - - -

EIΣ Τον ΙΕΡΟΝΑΟΝ ΧΑΡΗΣ ΔΙΑ, meaning "I offer to the holy church for grace"). They are followed by the beginning of the third line, where only the letters ΜΗ are discernible. Since this was in all likelihood the direct object of the transitive verb from the second line, it would be rather safe to reconstruct here the word ΜΗ(ΛΟΝ) (*μύλον*, 'mill').[104] The rest of the letters are vanished and nothing else may be read, except for the last words of the line, probably ΟΡΑC-ΤΟ`Ν Χω. Given the context of the inscription, these are most likely the fragmentary remains of a sequence speaking of an [ΑΓ]ΟΡΑΣΤΟ`Ν Χω[ΡΑΦΙον] ('purchased land', contrastingly to inherited land), therefore referring to the donation of a previously purchased field, the appellation and particularities of which are unfortunately lost.[105] This reconstruction is further supported by the letters ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΧωΡΑ at the end of the fourth line of the inscription, which speak in all likelihood of ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΧωΡΑ(ΦΙον) ('another field'). From this point on to the end of the inscriptions only scattered letters have remained and they cannot be used in the reconstruction of any other specific word.

Inscription B is definitely a dedicatory inscription recording supplementary contributions for the maintenance of the church, similar to the inscription from Polemitas. It is very unfortunate that the names of the remaining donors have not been preserved. From the little and fragmentary re-

The third inscription (C).

On the northern wall, right below Inscription B, the donor couple is depicted. Between their heads, a few damaged brown majuscules are scattered within the space of roughly 10 cm high x 15 cm wide. It is heavily worn out (Fig. 38). The reconstruction is quite difficult and save few secure words, the decipherment is questionable. The inscription consists of four lines, each of them measuring about 15 cm in length and occupying roughly fifteen letter-spaces. This

is the third inscription (C).

In its first line, only a few letters and traces of letters can be distinguished. Among them, five letters painted at the middle of this line are nevertheless clear. These are: † c.9- Ο [.] ΠΡ(ΟΥ) -c.2 / c.3-. Given the probable nature of the inscription (a plea for the salvation of the soul, in accordance with the gestures of the ktetorial couple), the formulaic style dictates that the starting words be the usual ΜΝΗCΤΗΤΙ Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε or ΔΕΗCΙC and thereafter the name of the supplicant. The four consecutive letters ΠΡ(ΟΥ) occupy three letter-spaces and may be the Genitive of ΠΑΡΟΜΟΙΟC, in a contracted form Π[Α]Ρ[ΟΜΟΙ](ΟΥ).[106] The term *παρόμοιος* or *παρομοιωθείς* means 'likeness of' and appears on various occasions in Mani, where it is always accompanied by the effigy of the person named in the inscription.[107] For instance, in the church of the Archangel-Michael of Polemitas, the word ΠΑΡΟΜΟΙΟC accompanies the depiction of the *prosmonarios* priest Nicholas Kakomerotos in the sanctuary. Here there are, in tandem, the two supplicatory inscriptions in Polemitas for a better comparison with the inscription at Karinia (see Fig. 37 a-b):[108]

| † ετ ,ς   ψ | † Ο ΠΑΡΟΜΙΟC |
| π ς   (ινδ) ς ~ | ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ |

† ΜΝΗ´ΣΤΗΤΙ Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε [ΤΗ] ΙΕΡΕΟC Και
Ν ΨΥΧΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥ ΠΡΟCΜΟΝΑ ΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ Κα
ΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΝΟΤΖιΡΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΕΡΟΤΟΥ
ΪΕΡΕ´ΟΣ Κα`ι συγχ(ω)
ρυσον αυτω~ν . εν τι
φοβερα και αόρατω. κρι
σει

Since the combination of ΜΝΗCΤΗΤΙ Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε / ΔΕΗCΙC and ΠΑΡΟΜΟΙΟC is unusual, another option for the begining of the first line could be the word *Ἱστόρισμα* ('image'). The word is used in the nearby church of Saint-George in Marasse (1323), in an inscription on a representation of saint Paul and refers to the portrait of the saint.[109] Skipping the rest of the first line, impossible to reconstruct at this stage, I will concentrate upon the next one, although none of its (more or less) fifteen characters are very clearly visible. The first two are most likely the letters Η and Λ. Since one would expect somewhere in the inscription the name of the supplicant, one possibility would be the name ΗΛΙΑC, but this is not supported by the context before or after it. Faded traces and few letters in the same line with

which I will deal shortly led to the conclusion that the ΗΛ forms the last syllable of ΜΙΧΑΗΛ. Taken together with the first line, this provides a clue to the identity of the depicted (ΠΑΡΟΜΟΙΟC) person. The first syllables ΜΙΧΑ could be written in the last letter-spaces of the first line, for instance, as one of the usual tachygraphies of this name: Μ^ΧΙ. At this point I am obviously forced to reveal that this decision was taken in order to accommodate the presence of the attribute ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΥΩΝ which follows this character. Close to the end of the second line, seven letter-spaces after the ΗΛ, a Δ is clearly seen. Despite the very faded aspect of the inscription, one may notice the upper part of the curvature of an epsilon next to the Δ, followed by an ypsilon, and last of all the serif of a tau. Inscriptions such as these do not contain exceptional or unaccustomed details. They belong to the same formulaic style and they often repeat pieces of information from other inscriptions, so it is quite probable that the word hiding behind the sequence beginning with ΔΕΥΤ is none other than ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΥΟΝΤΟC, already familiar to us from the contents of Inscription B.[110] Two more characters (probably an Ε and a Ρ) were been transcribed in the remaining space until the end of the se-

cond line, while the rest of the attribute continues in the third line. This is evidently the portrait of ktetor *deuterevon* Michael. Since the epithet ΠΑΡΟΜΟΙΟC usually refers to persons living or recently passed away,[111] it is within reasonable limits to speculate that by the time the church was finally painted, *deuterevon* Michael might have recently died and his son Demetrius undertook the initiative of ordering the supplicatory inscription written on his father's portrait.[112]

However, there is something else of interest in this second line. The first four of the roughly seven letters painted between ΗΛ and ΔΕΥΤ are irrevocably lost. Nevertheless, the last three can be reconstructed. The first, after tracing a curved shape matching the outlines of an epsilon (Ε) or a lunate uppercase sigma (C) indicates an Ε/C. The next letter had a round upper part, as in the cases of rho (Ρ) or beta (Β). And the last one presents a distinguishable left serif of an upper horizontal stroke and the beginning of the vertical stroke at the middle, therefore indicating a tau (Τ). From these pieces of evidence, I would argue that the second line therefore consisted of the following cha-
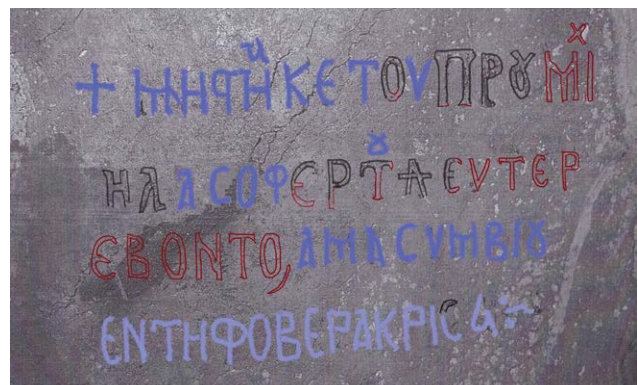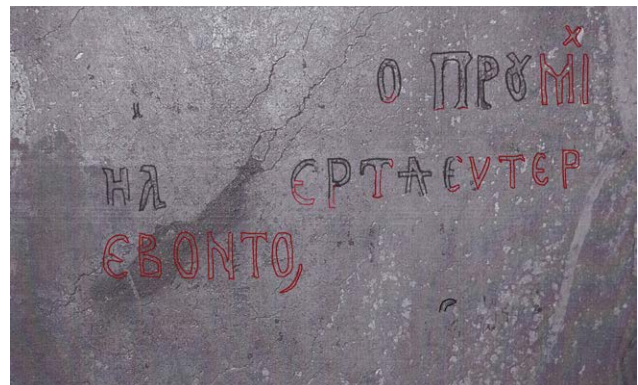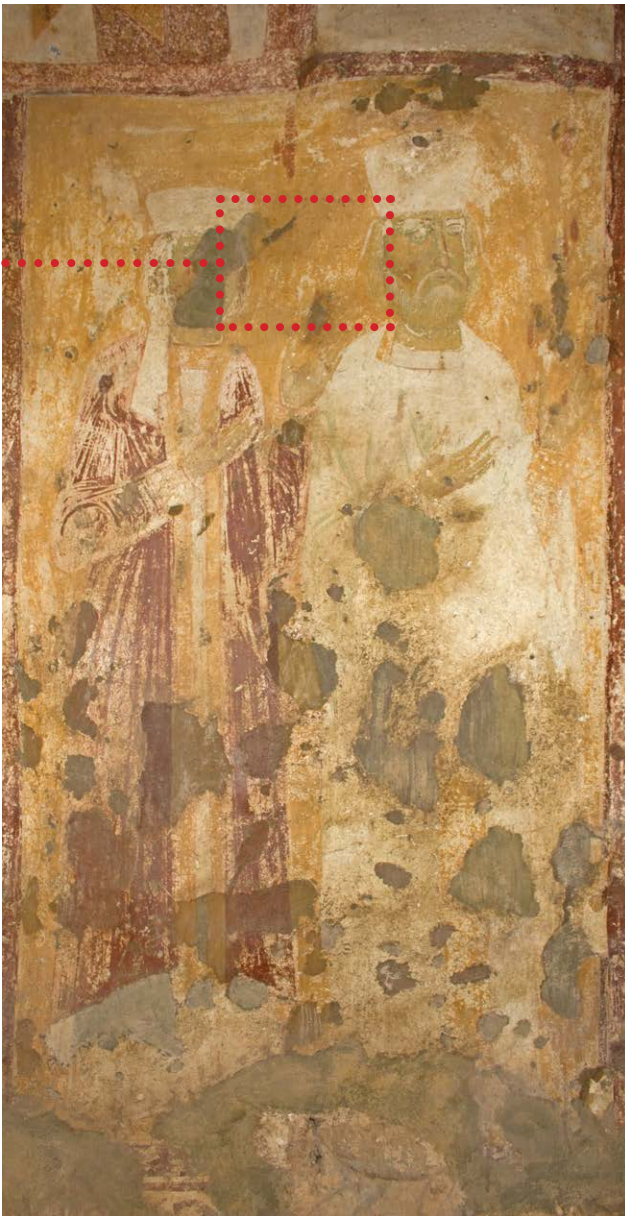
▼ Fig. 38. *The remnants of Inscription C painted between the heads of the two ktetors in the church at Karinia.* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

▲ Fig. 39. *General view of the ktetorial couple in the lower register of murals from the northern wall of the church at Karinia.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

◥ Fig. 40. *Reconstruction of Inscription C: (a) visible letters; (b) secured words and phrases; (c) 'divination' of the missing segment of the inscription.* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

racters: ΗΛ -c.4- Ε(or C)P(or B)ΤΔΕΥΤ[EP]

Since omissions of letters are frequent in the inscriptions of the church of Saint-George in Karinia (the epithet *deuterevon* in Inscription B is written *deurevon*, without any signaling of the truncation), it is quite likely that the T stands for the article ΤΟΥ. The diphthong ΟΥ would be either in superscript, faded out, or simply omitted. As for the rest of the letters, there is no reason to keep the C in discusion, since it appears before a B or and P, and sequences CP or CB are extremely unlikely to be used. The final

reading of the line in full would be either ΗΛ -c.4- EP Τ(ΟΥ) ΔΕΥΤ[EP] or the second possibility: ΗΛ -c.4- EB Τ(ΟΥ) ΔΕΥΤ[EP].

Unfortunately, the word formed by the six letters after ΗΛ (the four characters impossible to evaluate and the EP or EB at the end) are most important for the analysis of the inscription because they would form a word providing more information about the *deuterevon* Michael. The ending –EB has negligible chances, even though it should not be discarded either. The ending –EP is preferable. In the case of formulaic texts such as this, options are limited, so this could be a word of a non-Byzantine origin.[113]

An option is the Latin ΜΗCEP, already used in the ktetorial inscription of the church of Saint-George of Akraiphnion, Boeotia, a generation later, in 1311.[114] It would be an equivalent of the Byzantine 'kyr', although it would occupy only five of the six letter-spaces and would make no sense to be written after the name of the depicted ktetor. It would normally appear before it. If one considers the remote possibility that Michael was a Gasmoulos Orthodox priest (the child of a mixed Latin-Greek marriage), a surname of a Latin origin ending in –EP would be expec-

ted, but I cannot think of any viable one, so this also has little chance. A characterization ending in –ΕΡ would make more sense in the case of what I initially called a possible 'Jewish connection'. There are several names to be taken into account and the most frequent of them, *HaSofer*, would be the appropriate candidate for the six letter-spaces in question if it were transcribed as ΑϹΟΦΕΡ. *Sofer* means 'scribe', 'copier of codices', 'grammarian', and this was of one of the most usual Jewish occupational by-names.[115] If so, the word ΑϹΟΦΕΡ would be either an attri-bute or a surname of *deuteron* Michael. The full name of Michael would thus be articulated as 'Michael *haSofer deuterevon*', a sequence which appears to be structured ac-cording to the common order of medieval Hebrew names: the name proper, occupational byname, and surname, the latter being descriptive of status.[116] I know that this may be interpreted as a huge leap of faith, but there are other contextual features that need to be taken into account. For instance, the structure of the name of Michael's son is identical in Inscription B of Karinia: the name is 'De-metrius', the occupational byname is 'priest' (ιερέας), and the status surname is that of an arch-presbyter (πρωτό-παπας). The present state of the research does not allow me to unambiguously choose between a Gasmoulos option and a Christian Jewish one, although the evidence at hand points to the latter. There are a lot of odd things in the in-scriptions and in the iconography of Karinia, the elusive nature of which clearly testify to a diversion from local routine, even entailing foreign intervention. Maybe future research will be able to attain new, more clarifying ma-terial.

In the end, the reconstruction of the supplication pro-bably included the usual mention of the lady represented in the ktetorial group, so the final reading would be (with two options for the second line and the last line borrowed from an almost identical supplication inscription from the sanctuary apse of Polemitas):[117]

1   [† ΜΝΗϹΤΗ(ΤΙ) Κ(ΥΡΙ)Ε Τ]Ο[Υ] Π[Α]Ρ[ΟΜΟΙ](ΟΥ) [ΜΙ-ΧΑ]

2a   ΗΛ [- - -]ΕΒ Τ(ΟΥ) ΔΕΥΤ[ΕΡ]

2b   ΗΛ [- - -]ΕΡ Τ(ΟΥ) ΔΕΥΤ[ΕΡ]

3   [ΕΒΟΝΤΟϹ ΑΜΑ ϹΥΜΒΙΟΥ]

4   [ΕΝ ΤΗ ΦΟΒΕΡΑ ΚΡΙ]Ϲ[ΕΙ :-]

1   † Remember, Lord, the depicted Micha-

2   el (...)er the *deutere-*

3   *von* together with his wife

4   at the fearful Judgement

A re-evaluation of Inscription A.

Among the interesting data provided by Inscription C, the –ΕΡ ending name remains a matter of debate. However, when confronting Inscription A with the individual pieces of information taken from Inscription B, the comparison leads to further observations pertaining to the character of late-Byzantine Maniot dedicatory epigraphy. Although the practice of collaborative donations is also present in Karinia, a certain differentiation is made clear in the list of donors. The ktetors are distinguished from the simple contributors, who are mentioned separately.[118] This is not at all unusual, since the chief donors are those who also bear the financial burden of the enterprise. When local painters were involved, the remuneration of the latter was not always in hyperpyra. It could equally be in substance or in property (fields, trees etc.). Secondary donors or 'con-

tributors' offer 'additionally'. Their less significant contri-butions are regularly destined for the management and maintenance of the church. The offerings are usually ex-pressed through the verb ἐπέδοκεν ('offered additionally') or simply ἔδοκεν ('offered'). This distinction may be a con-sequence of: (a) the significance attributed to the monu-ment (in less important monuments, the ktetorial and ad-ditional donations were combined); (b) the value of the offer (that is, the size of the expenditure), which also stands in for a declaration of social and economic status in front of the community, and potentially legitimises the distinction; and (c) the nature of the donation (in the case of income from the utilisation of land, it represents secon-dary endowment aimed at covering regular running costs).

Typical Maniot examples where proof of the signifi-cance of a monument could play a decisive factor on the manner in which the inscription was structured are the churches of Saint-George in Marasse (1323), the catholicon of the Phaneromeni monastery close to Dryalos (1323), and Saint-Nicholas church at Nymphi (1326). All three of them were probably painted by the already mentioned Nomi-kos.[119] In Saint-George in Marasse, a rather mediocre recon-struction and decoration project, the ktetors and donors had their names mentioned in the main inscription (Fig. 41 a-b).[120] In the decoration contract of the Phaneromeni catholicon, which may be considered a rather large pro-ject for a church of the region, the persons who offered the funds for the work are mentioned in the ktetorial inscrip-tion of the sanctuary (as well as the amounts of hyperpyra written in red ink), while the contributions for the opera-tion and maintenance of the church (that is, the secondary offerings) were recently discovered by this author on the northern wall of the nave, below the starting point of the eastern rib. In Nymphi, only the inscription mentioning the contributions is preserved.[121] These inscriptions painted by Nomikos constitute a precious collection in late-Byzan-tine epigraphy of Inner Mani and were the subject of re-cent research.[122] It is quite possible that the career of Nomi-kos overlapped with that of painter George from Karinia, probably in his formative years. This is another proof that needs to be corroborated with my hypothesis that Nomikos be identified with the painter of the southern chamber ad-ded to the church in Karinia. It is therefore arguable that Nomikos was familiar with the work of painter George. He could have been his pupil or epigone, or maybe he was simply influenced by the paintings of the latter. Let us not forget that the depiction of saint George on horseback saving the youth does not appear only in Karinia. It was also painted by Nomikos in the church of Saint-George in Marasse. This would explain why George's influence also manifests in Nomikos' epigraphical choices.

Getting back to the wider aspects of the current discus-sion, one may equally argue that the older Maniot ktetor-ship tradition exploited several avenues via which ktetors and donors were distinguished from simple contributors. For instance, the names of the ktetors and donors occu-pied the first section, transcribed right after the standard opening of the text, while those of the contributors were mentioned separately in the middle and lower sections of the inscription.[123] A similar paradigm may be identified in the long inscription from the neighboring church of Archangel-Michael in Polemitas (1278), where almost the
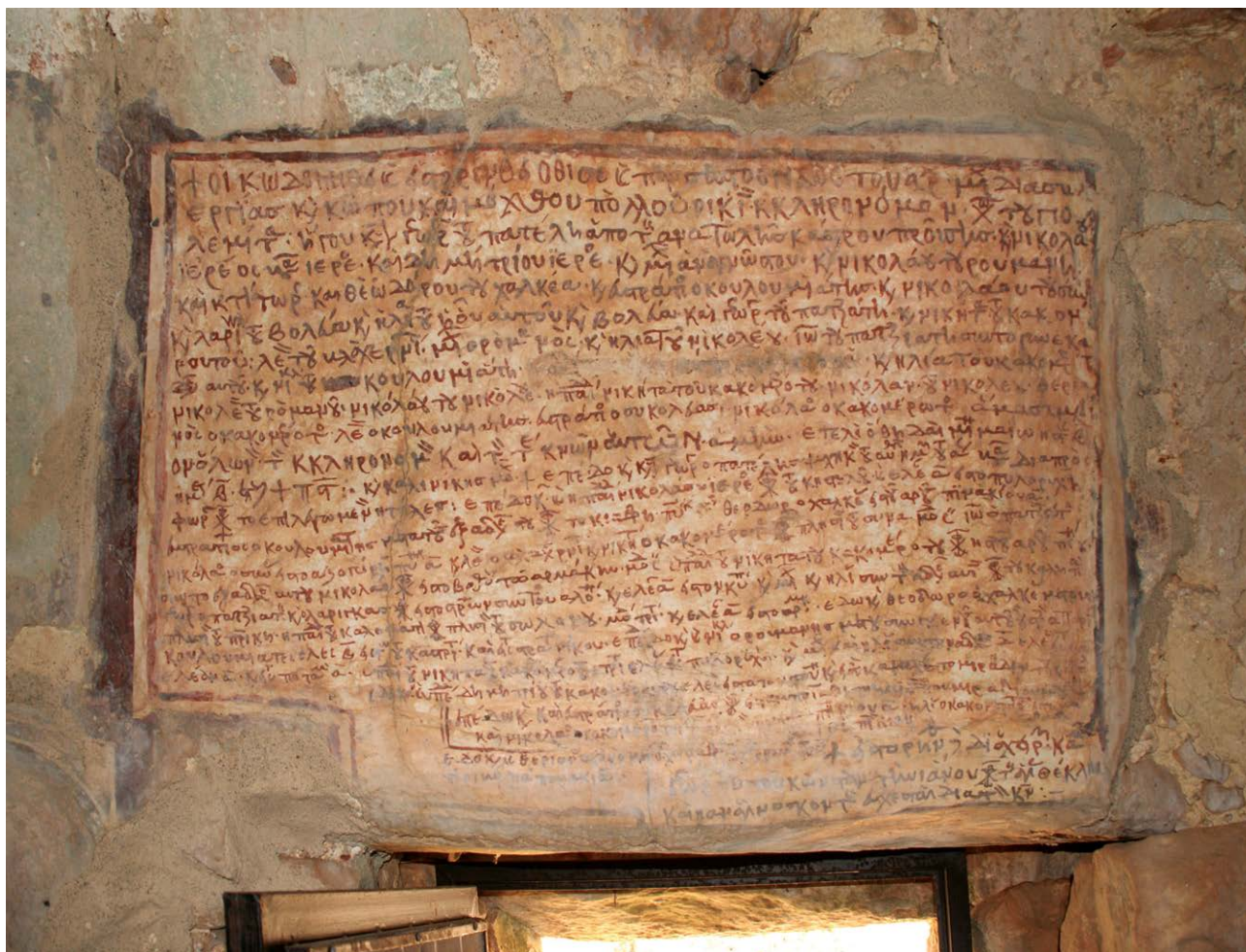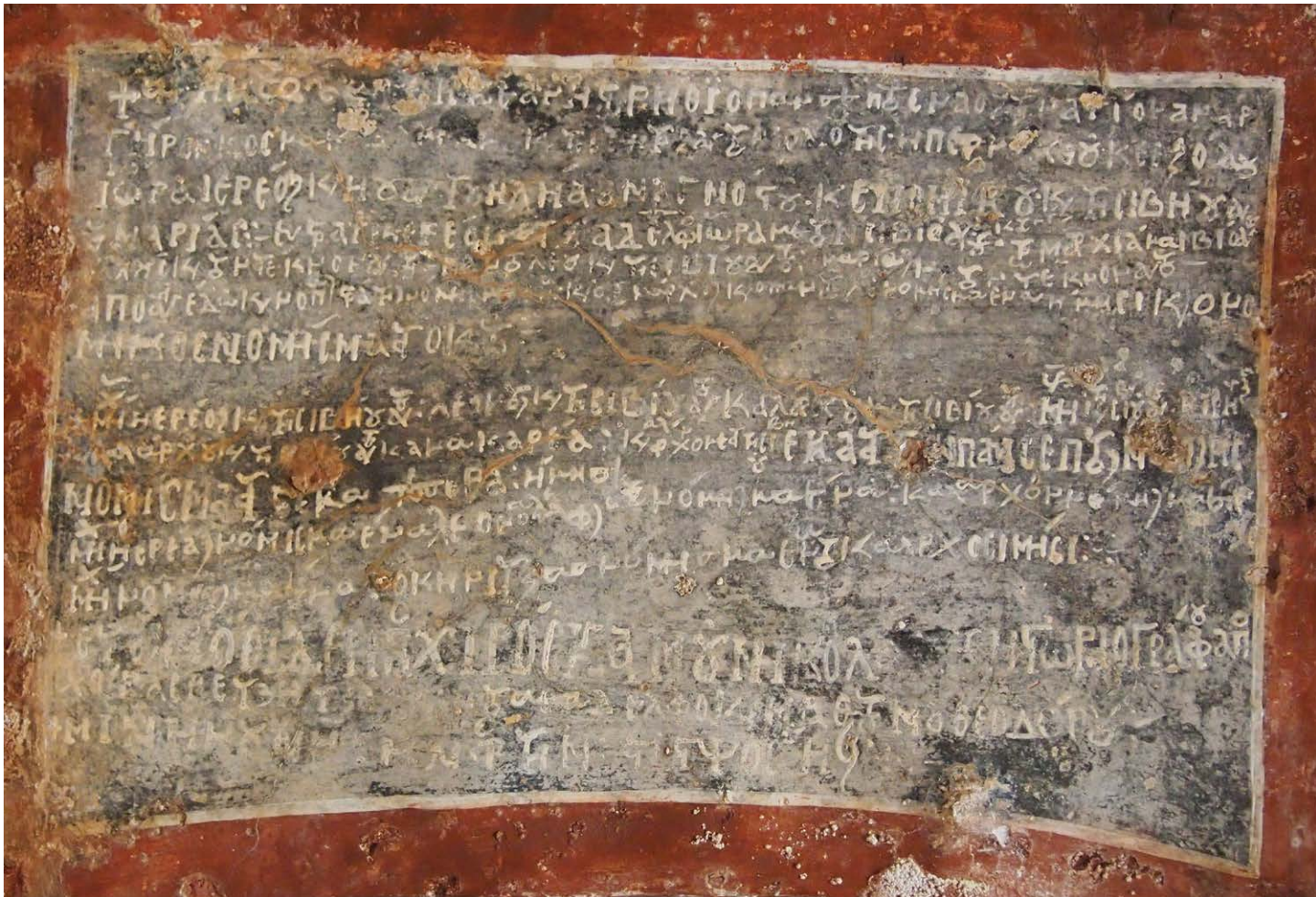
entire village took part in the donation, and where the various categories formed in the list of ktetors / donors / contributors are not easily noticeable at first glance (Fig. 42a-b). Nevertheless, the apparent joining of categories is artificial in this inscription from Polemitas. Additional offerings were clearly mentioned only after a separate cross, inserted to mark the lower part of the inscription.[124] Furthermore, when there was no more available space to continue the inscription, the rest of the donations were transcribed as an additional inscription, located right above the southern end of the sanctuary templon.[125] Because of this, the text transcribed in Saints-Anargyri, Kippoula (1265), well known for its detailed monetary sums (in hyperpyra) undertaken by several donors, also makes a distinction between the names mentioned therein (Fig. 43 a-b). Greater donations were written in larger letters and the numeral of the additional donations is also in larger characters, as are the names of the painters who decorated the church.[126]

Last but not least, the dedicatory inscription of Ai-Stratigos in Boularii (13th-14th centuries) is the only known case in Mani where fields seem to be offered only in order to cover the expenditure of the partial re-decoration of the church (Fig. 44 a-b). This is most likely the peculiar invention of a local painter who obviously agreed to be remunerated in substance (land).[127] Given this precise Maniot context, I would argue that Inscription A from Karinia hides even more interesting data. Since it refers only to the donation of very few individuals, exactly as it happened in Kaphiona (*c.* 1264) (Fig. 45 a-b), and since there seems to be a link with

◀ Fig. 42 a-b. *The church of Archangel-Michael at Polemitas: a) main inscription painted above the entrance to the church. b) exterior view of the churches of Archangel-Michael and Saint-Nicholas at Polemitas.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

◆ Fig. 43 a-b. *The church of Saints-Anargyri in Kippoula. Photo and rendition of the dedicatory inscription.*

Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.
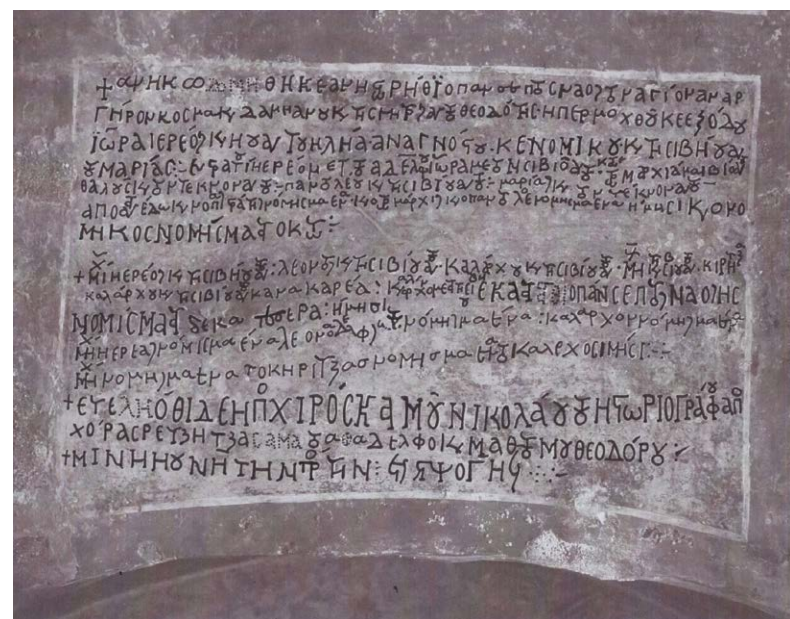
◀ Fig. 44 a-b. *The church of Ai-Stratigos in Boularii: a) main inscription painted above the entrance to the church. b) the chronology.* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

▲ Fig. 45 a-b. *The church of Saints-Theodore in Kaphiona. a) Epigram painted above the entrance to the church. b) part of the main inscription painted in the sanctuary apse.* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

the imperial milieu, this may allude to its symbolic importance in the area. In the inscriptions at Kaphiona, there is no mention of any additional contributions. Nobody may exclude the possibility that a separate (and nowadays lost) contributory addendum may have been painted in the nave, but the similar hints at a milieu linked to the imperial court suggest that the quality of the iconographic program and the choice of the exquisite epigrams painted at the entrance to the church point to a complex situation (Fig. 45 a).[128] Since

Inscription A at Karinia is one of the only two inscriptions in 13th-century Mani mentioning the Byzantine emperor, the other being painted in Kaphiona, the patronage of Karinia deserves comparable attention. I believe it is interesting to mention here – as a side note – that the other two cases of inscriptions mentioning the emperor are dated to the 14th century and were painted by the aforementioned Nomikos (another piece of evidence arguing in favour of his imitation of older models). Furthermore, the allusions of the imperial court may be understood as a direct indication of the importance and high social rank of the ktetors. Research contextualized such references in direct connection with the emperor. Within the wider late-Byzantine socio-political context, they were interpreted as a possible expression of political allegiance, binding the patrons to the highest authority of the empire.[129] It is no wonder that the aforementioned dedicatory inscription from the church of Kaphiona was interpreted as a typical para-

digm for those times. I would argue that the one in Karinia deserves the same appreciation and that its fragmentary nature may not have been completely incidental. It may hide something else.

Inscription A was painted on the plaster attached to the western side of the long slab that forms the lintel of the sanctuary templon. This location is neither subject to the adverse influence of humidity and moisture coming through the walls, nor to any weight that would cause a breaking of the bond. Nevertheless, the very first researches conducted in the church of Karinia in 1973 found that parts of the plaster were detached and damaged in exactly those sections of the inscription where the most important names were written. In fact, the missing names are those of the highly ranked figures – the emperor, the patriarch, and the bishop of Mani, as well as the name of the ktetor that was incidentally transcribed above them on the same piece of removed plaster. The only name preserved is that of the *sacellarius* Theonikon and this type of destruction bears all the characteristics necessary to attribute it to a purposeful action of *damnatio memoriae*. This is not speculation, for there are enough reasons in the context of which such a mutilation could have occurred (Fig. 46).

The few years after the death of the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus were characterised by frequent actions of *damnatio memoriae*. This emperor carried the blame for blinding John IV Lascarid in 1261 (official heir to the throne), being condemned by patriarch Arsenius. He was also responsible for the deposition of the same Arsenius in 1265, which led to the creation of a splitting faction within the Orthodox church – the Arsenites – but most of all he was blamed for agreeing to bow to the pope and for accepting the Latin Creed after the Council of Lyon (1274). In 1277, a synod in Neopatras anathematised him as a heretic, together with the patriarch and the pope. His actions also raised considerable objections against him among the Constantinopolitan elite and clergy.[130] The conditions prevailing in the capital after 1274 are representatively described in a *libellos* of an unknown writer.[131] In 1282, Michael died; he was buried without proper honor.[132] His name and face, as well as those of the hierarchs and dignitaries associated with his actions and policies, were considered heretical and consequently erased from inscriptions and mural representations. One such case is associated with the Metropolis at Mystras.[133] It is therefore highly plausible that the destruction of the ktetorial inscription at Karinia represents an analogous case where the names of the emperor and the churchmen associated with him were purposefully removed after his death.[134] As for the other strange features of the inscriptions or of the iconographic program, they could either relate to a Latin influence or to a 'Jewish connection'. Both of them are plausible in the context of the post-Lyon years 1274-1282. Given the fact that large numbers of ecclesiastical dignitaries were against the choices made by emperor Michael VIII and patriarch John XI Vekkos, the possible use of homines novi for the implementation of Uniatism, chosen from the different minorities of the empire, including Jewish-Christians, cannot be excluded. All these ambiguous and open possibilities need to be retained and used in the final discussion of the current study.

▼ Fig. 46. *Mutilation of Inscription A at Karinia, proof of a possible action of* damnatio memoriae.
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

The issue of the eagle.

The iconographical peculiarities at Karinia present an intriguing context for the representation of the eagle. Its Western features, its placement in an inconspicuous location in the sanctuary, combined with the extraordinary mention of the emperor and the chief Constantinopolitan hierarch in an inscription painted in a rather humble church at a remote corner of the empire, form a challenging enigma. Throughout this investigation the heraldic connotation of the eagle, already formulated by Nikolaos Drandakis, will be favoured, in order to provide a balance among the various interpretations available, which lead to a plurality of options. Because of this, the various features of this eagle will be thoroughly examined, since heraldry is a codified system pointing to a person and often associating that person with a particular family and social class. During its initial development stages in the 12th and 13th centuries, this cultural phenomenon was not an exact procedure. However, our example dates back to the end of the 13th century, when certain rules were already in place. Heraldic culture remained a Western practice and an analogous counterpart never developed in 13th-14th century Byzantium. This is why it is not in my intention to deal exhaustively with the delicate and ambiguous subject of heraldry in Byzantium.[135]

The Karinia 'Romanesque'-style eagle – as Nikolaos Drandakis described it – appears at the center of the lower register of paintings, in the axis of the sanctuary apse. It presents an image of a particular nature, meaningful from a communicative standpoint. It is a sort of painterly narrative, clearly and effectively exposed to the final addressee. Compared to what one might have learned from the epigraphical texts painted in the same church, it was also thought-provoking and forced the beholder to interpret it via his or her own subjective understanding, upbringing, or even social and economic status in the community. In this case, the Karinia ktetorial inscription and the eagle both convey more or less analogous messages. What is quite different between the two is the location of choice for the former on the lintel of the Holy Gate in the middle of the nave. This is the place where churchgoers had an immediate and clear view of the subject. From this point of view, the sanctuary, chosen for the eagle, is hardly advantageous, because it hid the figure. Hence the eagle is peculiar both because of its elusive meaning and because of the difficulty with which it would be seen. Even when the veil of the Holy Entrance to the sanctuary was set aside and the priest would not stand in the doorway, the stone altar (now missing) would conceal the eagle from the worshiper's view. An argument in favor of the selected location may be the supreme holiness of the place, particularly in cases where the conceiver of the iconographic program had in mind the salvation of someone's soul. Nevertheless, the apparent lack of conspicuousness is a vital parameter. When combined with the irrelevance of a heraldic subject in standard Orthodox iconography, it presents a puzzling issue.

The current research does not possess all the undisputable evidence necessary to solve the problem. However, the material at hands may provide a series of alternatives and conceptual viewpoints through which the subject could be interpreted. In order to accomplish this, I need to discuss the prototype that was copied or imitated, the meaning or purpose of the illustration, and eventually the person or the entity behind the initiative. Since the eagle represents a message, one needs to examine the context, the channel, the code and form used, as well as the sender and the receiver at the two ends of that particular dialogue. The main,

straightforward question is: why was such an eagle represented in the first place and why was it depicted in a sanctuary apse? When trying to approach the problem, four different alternatives appear as possible working hypotheses, depending on the nature of the message ascribed to the representation: iconographic, epitaphic, purely heraldic, or plainly ornamental. Additional alternatives may be envisioned as well, but they take into account two or three of these alternative readings.

ICONOGRAPHIC. Through this perspective, the eagle would be considered a part of the planned iconographic program. In the case of a purely late-13th century Orthodox use, uncontaminated by Western influences, the presence of such an eagle would be highly undesirable, since the center of the apse was the place where the depiction of the *Melismos* – the sacrifice of the Child as metaphor for dividing the Eucharistic bread – was favoured since the 12th century.[136] By that time, this representation was already present in Mani. The earliest Maniot example of a *Melismos* appears in the apse of Saints-Theodore in Kaphiona (1264), probably in connection with the Palaeologan reconquista of the Peloponnesus, which started after 1262 (Fig. 47). From this standpoint, the church of Saint-George in Karinia and several other contemporary churches of Mani (including the one dedicated to Archangel-Michael in nearby Polemitas) ignore this iconographic evolution. Instead, traditional Maniot iconography favoured the depiction of frontal and not-yet-officiating hierarchs, following the ol-

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▼ Fig. 47. *Church of Saints-Theodore at Kaphiona. The depiction of the Melismos in the sanctuary.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

der Comnenian layout. Only the imposing presence of saint John Chrysostom above the opening was related to the sacrifice.[137] The regular simple ornamental vegetal pattern depicted below the central small opening of the apse (for instance the nearby church of Polemitas) was replaced by the rectangle with the eagle in Karinia. If the nature of the eagle were iconographic, its meaning would need to be secured as an extraneous interference.

There are not many eagles in the iconography of Western sanctuary apses either, except for the use of the eagle in the Tetramorph, which is clearly not the case here. Yet Latin sanctuary apses had a far more flexible use of subjects than Byzantine ones. One could think of the winged seraphims represented in connection with Isaiah 6:3-6 or Ezekiel 1:15 in the apses of Romanesque Catalan churches, but they clearly have nothing to do with what the eagle at Karinia stands in for. There are, of course, instances in which other eagles appear in Western art, but their message is so specific that it cannot be what we are looking for. To give but one example, a capital from the 12th century Benedictine abbey church of Moutiers-Saint Jean (Burgundy, France), now at the Fogg Museum in Harvard, provides a sacrificial interpretation; it shows a double-headed eagle joined by Cain and Abel with the hand of God right above.[138] It is as if the double-headed eagle and the two Old-Testament brothers represent salvation and sacrifice, with the eagle as synecdoche for the altar, the device upon which the sacrifice takes place. In this sense, the location of the Karinia eagle at the center of the apse could support the speculation that the eagle stands in for a ritual element, but the Burgundian depiction is unique and the lack of comparable representations prevents me from interpreting it as a clear case of a Latin interpretation of the theme of sacrifice.

Taking into consideration a third iconographic alternative, that of a Jewish 'connection', wherein a Christian Jewish community could leave its mark in the church at Karinia, as supported by the extensive depiction of the Maccabees, the local presence of Jewish names, and the possible epigraphic evidence of Inscription C, the use of the eagle may point to another artistic heritage. The term *nesher* ('eagle') appears in various forms thirty times in the Hebrew Bible and there are many instances in which eagles were used in church and manuscript decoration in Ashkenazi contexts, but it is not clear how much Byzantine Jews had in common with Ashkenazi ones.[139] The scope of the current research prevents me from looking further. For the time being, I will simply argue that a Christian Jewish interpretation is possible, given the fact that the feast of the Maccabees (August 1) was clearly an important day for the church of Saint-George in Karinia, on account of the large and complete depiction of the Maccabees in the western part of the nave. Eleazar, Solomone and her seven sons outweigh by far any Old Testament references. And the importance of their cult in the Christian Church, especially in the Catholic West, may account for the use of an eagle with Western heraldic features. For a Christian Jewish community, it would be essential that their martyrdom was commemorated by both church and synagogue. As such, the presence of the eagle in the Karinia sanctuary, a symbolic and sacred image familiar to Jewish religious heritage, would allude to both the Christian present and Hebrew roots. The only problem is that the eagle-angels of Jewish representations do not wear any crowns.

EPITAPHIC. I do not exclude the possibility that the Karinia eagle imitated a heraldic depiction used in a funerary context.[140] The frame of the representation fits this pattern (about 100 cm in height and 60 cm in width); although the rectangular shape and large dimensions could equally duplicate a banner, the type of bordering argues in favour of a funerary use. In Karinia, all representations are framed by a brown-red wide band (probably the tinture of *caput mortuum*), with the exceptions of the borders of the eagle and those of the main inscription, where additional border lines appear inside the wider one. Maybe this indicates that the eagle image and the ktetorial inscription were assigned a particular and distinctive significance. In such a case, the fact that the eagle was hidden behind the altar does not bear any consequence, since the aim here would not have been the visibility of the image, but its presence close to the altar. In Karinia, the conceiver of the image could have not minded that the message was not conveyed to the community. He could have deliberately chosen to hide it there, as it would be addressed not to people but to the Lord.

The principal challenger of the funerary hypothesis is the fact that the church of Saint-George was definitely not built as a site of burial or as an epitaphic oriented monument for funerary and commemorative rites. Elements providing critical insights into the Byzantine mindset concerning death, for instance references to the funerary liturgy – the hierarchs of the sanctuary in particular, if connected with funerary liturgy – or imagery linked with the Second Coming, the representation of Paradise, etc. are missing. The heraldic symbol was not intended to be part of the program. Perhaps it stands there as a sign of identity, in place of an inscription, monogram, proper coat of arms, or other appropriate means. Setting the image of the eagle at the longitudinal axis of the sanctuary was convenient because the specific location was both a significant place and at the same time the only appropriate one (since it replaces ornamentation). Setting it anywhere else in the sanctuary would have disturbed its iconography. Until an archaeological research would disprove this hypothesis, I would not exclude the possibility of a burial close to or in this church, given the fact that one of the ktetors, Demetrius' father, Michael, the one depicted in the ktetorial scene, may have died by the time Inscriptions B and C were set up. Or the person could be another ktetor, yet unknown, such as the otherwise unknown Theonikon from Inscription A. Maybe we are contemplating the imitation of an engraved tomb slab, where a heraldic signature of the departed was left not in stone, but in paint. Such cases are documented in the West – a famous one is in Florence – and in the case of a Western patron, who had or was associated with a coat of arms, they should not be excluded.[141]

Byzantine burials under the pavement, particularly in the northern section of the narthexes, are abundant. Although they are rare in the context of the altar, a case pertaining to a possible analogous burial in the Chora Parekklesion in Constantinople has recently been discussed.[142] I do not mean to compare the tiny church of Karinia with such an emblematic Byzantine monument, but I would not exclude the possibility that painter George drew his inspiration from famous sources. One cannot exclude the possibility that there was a local Maniote tradition allowing burials in the sanctuary, but there is no verified case of this type. The common method of burial among the high-ranking Greeks and

Fig. 48 a-d. *The church of Saint-George in the castle of Geraki, Laconia. Detail (a) and general view (b) of the coat of arms carved on the keystone of the entrance to the nave. Detail (c) and general view (d) of the coat of arms carved on the proskynetarion adjacent to the northern wall of the nave.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.
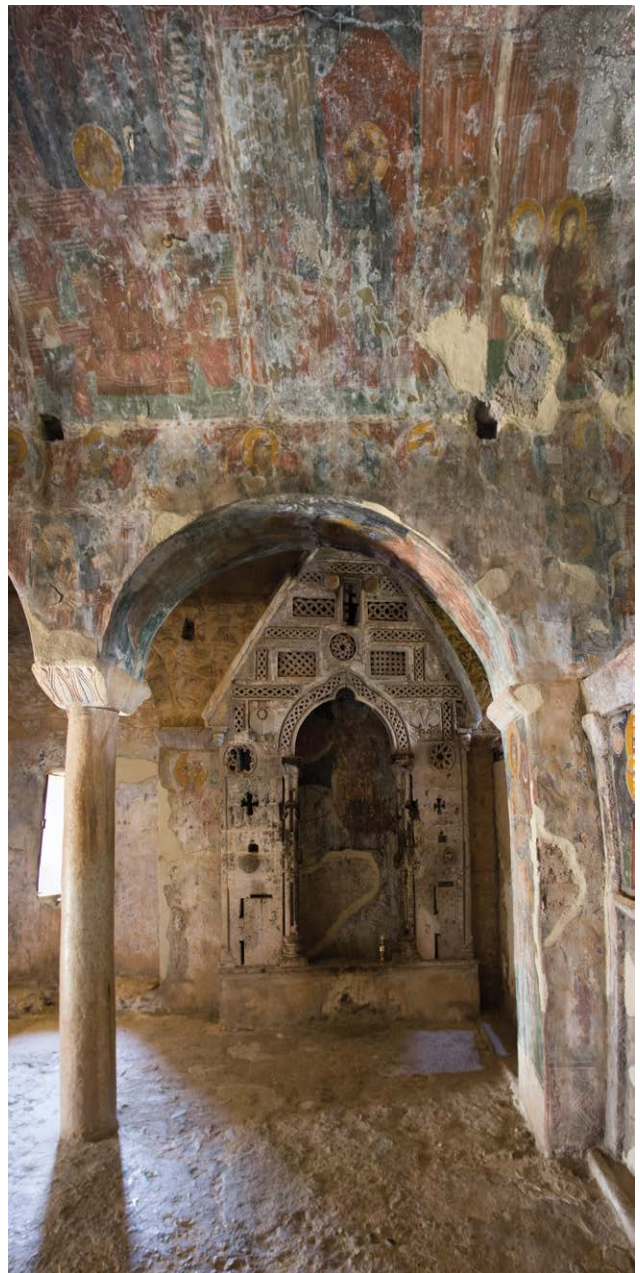
Latins of continental Greece is in *arcosolia*. As far as Latins are concerned, one of the most famous cases is that of the church of Saint-George in the castle of Geraki, where research argued that a certain benefactor, Íñigo of Alfaro, and other members of his family can allegedly be identified by a shield chequy represented in two locations in the church, one of them being displayed on the arcosolium proper (Fig. 48 a-d).[143] Karinia could present more or less the same pattern if a Westerner was involved in its patronage or one of its patrons favoured Latin cultural trends. However, heraldic depictions (in murals such as this) are often absent from *arcosolia*. Another burial where the presumed identity of the deceased is known from an inscription occurs in the church of Saint-George in Akraiphnion (Boeotia). The inscription painted above the *arcosolium* dates back to 1311 and mentions lord Anthony le Flamenc as patron of the renovation of the church.[144] In our case, such a situation would be highly unlikely, because there is no clear mention of a Latin lord in the inscriptions (and the historical context of the Palaeologan reconquista does not favour this hypothesis either). However, there is an odd analogous case in the Mani, yet undocumented, but bearing interesting data for a possible comparison.

The southern wall of the entrance to the church of the Dormition-of-Mary (late 13th-early 14th century) in the Kounos cemetery has a depiction of a bust of a young man above the left shoulder of saint Nicholas (Fig. 49 a-b). Most likely, this is not the effigy of a donor, since the person is depicted frontally and his arms are not extended in supplication, but they are crossed on his chest, in the proper position for a deceased. In this depiction at Kounos, no sign of a correlated burial can be established at the present moment, but this is a possibility.[145] In such a case, the term *paromoios* appearing in Inscription C and related to the depiction of Michael deuterevon, father of archpriest Demetrius, may denote the effigy of an individual who at the time when the inscription was written was either living or recently deceased. If Demetrius and his son belonged to a community of Christian Jews, this would make even more sense. The burial in the company of an eagle that represented an angel in the Jewish tradition (for the Christians the equivalent is usually Michael the Archangel) would be extremely meaningful.[146]

PURELY HERALDIC. There is also the possibility that the eagle's role was reduced to that of a mere illustration, separate from the iconographic program, as a rather secular subject related to the founders. Such a use may be further divided into two profane alternatives. In the first case, it would be used as an instrument of propaganda. The eagle's features point to a Latin origin and could serve (without decisively interfering into the regular program) as an image of the pre-eminence of a Catholic authority over the Orthodox, replicating at a lower level the supremacy of the pope, as it had been accepted and declared after the Second Council of Lyon (1274). It could be the coat of arms of a Latin eccle-

◀ Fig. 49 a-b. *General view and detail of the inscription painted on the southern wall of the entrance to the church of the Dormition from the cemetery of Kounos, Inner Mani.*
Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

◥ Fig. 50 *Panaghia Chrysaphitissa, Chrysapha, Laconia. Eagle on a second stratum of murals from the templon wall.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▶ Fig. 51. *Dormition-of-Mary church, Kastania, Outer Mani. Eagle on a capital from the southwestern column (southern section).* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

siastical (or secular) authority standing in for the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. Mani would not be different from the rest of the Byzantine Empire, so such intent is plausible at the time when the decoration of the church at Karinia took place. However, seven years had already passed since that Council, and the isolated location of an eagle in the church's apse, obscured by the altar table, does not provide great momentum for such an idea.

The second option construes the image as a supplementary but not organic part of the standard iconographic repertory, connected with some sort of endowment or donation by a patron. It could be considered as a secular image housed in a religious context, analogous to the worldly pictorial sequence of the eagle (13th century) and the Digenis scene (14th century) in the church of Panagia Chrysaphitissa in Chrysapha, Laconia. Irrespective of the origin of the initiator, the message conveyed by any donation concerns the donor's identity in the course of his supplication, his convictions, and most of all his personal involvement in the community. Sometimes registration of hereditary rights and social status may also be connected to the donation itself.[147] However, judging from known examples, a Byzantine patron would select something different than an eagle (or a different rendition of it, as will become evident later in the analysis). Quite likely, he would accompany his donation with an inscription, a monogram, or other identification marks in writing. As for the specific placement in the axis of the apse, instead of somewhere else in the lower register of the paintings of the nave, this may also be due to the fact that this specific location was the place where additional supplicatory inscriptions could be painted. The church of Saint-John-Prodromos in Kastania provides an example of such an inscription.[148] Another situation is the supplicatory inscription in the aforementioned nearby church of Archangel-Michael in Polemitas (*vide supra* Fig. 37 a), the text of which was already used in the reconstruction of Inscription C.

All these requisites would not be essential in the case of a Latin donor. Already from the end of the 13th century, Latin lords or even minor dignitaries and officials were already displaying their donations in several ways, frequently through use of their coats of arms instead of proof of identity in writing. The crescent moon with six stars and the fleur-de-lys with four rosettes carved on the proskynetarion from the church of Saint-George in Geraki have been recently interpreted as alleged proof of coats of arms, even though they were displayed in a manner not typically heraldic (Fig. 48 d).[149] However, they are not hidden and they were displayed ostentatiously, which is not the case in Karinia. The eagle from the church of Saint-George would be better understood if it were compared with the use of alleged heraldic symbols in the church of the Dormition-of-Mary in Kastania (Fig. 51). Recent research considers that these carved symbols on column capitals should be seen as insignia of Manuel Cantacuzene and his wife Isabel of Lusignan, employed by the inhabitants of Kastania in order to declare their allegiance to Manuel's sovereignty.[150] Karinia could be an analogous case in which sovereignty was indicated through artistic means. However, the issue of conspicuousness still remains. The symbolism in Kastania was visible to the churchgoers; the one in Karinia was not.

PLAINLY ORNAMENTAL. Last but not least, a comparison with the 'painted curtains' (*velaria picta*) frequent in the decoration of northern Italian churches points to a fourth and last connotation. The eagle could be related to the changes occurring in the dado zone decoration of Byzantine churches under the influence of Western models. The dado zone used to be restricted to painted imitations of luxurious marble revetments, all sorts of geometric motifs, and textile motifs. Yet from the second half of the 13th century onwards, it gradually featured animals, men, or mythical beings, even extended narrative scenes, a common thing in the decoration of Western churches.[151] There are depictions of animals and human heads in the Holy-Apostles church in Leontari (Arcadia), as well as in the Perivleptos catholicon of Manuel Cantacuzene and Isabella of Lusignan in Mystras, a monument often mentioned in connection with Western influences.[152] Yet these cases date back to the second half of the 14th century. An earlier example could be the fight between a rider and a centaur in the dado zone of the church of Saint-Theodora in Arta.[153] There are earlier examples of such narrative decorations even in Inner Mani. Two men ride their horses in the fragmentary decoration of the southern entrance to the Phaneromeni catholicon, less than eight kilometres away from Karynia (Fig. 54).[154] It is therefore possible that the eagle of Karinia could be linked to these initiatives leading to changes in the decoration.

Double-headed eagles actually appear on 14th-century *velaria* in the Balkans. One of them is depicted in the dado zone decoration of the sanctuary of the church of Shën Andoni at Kepi i Rodonit (Albania), in the company of a rider and an exotic bird, evidently drawing upon Italian models (Fig. 53).[155] Other ones are purely decorative, represented in series, and appearing on the *velaria picta* of the dado zone decoration in the narthex of the Bogorodica Ljeviška church in Prizren, Kosovo (early 14th century) (Fig. 52). Both cases may be linked with the Byzantine use of double-headed eagles, but they are of a later date, do not present the heraldic features of the Karinia eagle, and are represented on 'painted curtains', which is not the case in our Maniot church. However, these are formal aspects and nobody can exclude the possibility of a northern influence, given that such influences occur in the iconographic program of Karinia (see the initial discussion about saint Demetrius). Neither can I exclude a possible northern Italian influence. Non-religious depictions in the dado zone are not necessarily linked with the presence of *velaria*. Some of them are plainly profane scenes, such as the ones from Termeno sulla Strada del Vino or Pozzoveggiani, and they are contemporary to the depiction of Karinia (13th century). When they influenced the iconography of Orthodox churches, such as the one in Strei (Transylvania, second half of the 14th century), odd assortments occurred, including the bizarre overlapping of hierarchs upon *velaria picta*.[156] The appearance of the heraldic eagle in between the hierarch saints in the decoration of the sanctuary of Karinia could represent one of these hesitant assortments of Western and Eastern motifs. The only problem is that the use of the double-headed eagle in the church from Kepi i Rodonit is restricted to a figurative scene, where it is linked with a rider and exotic birds; and it does not even appear in the axis of the sanctuary, lacking the emphasis found at Karinia. As for the decoration from Prizren, the repetition of the double-headed eagle restricts it to an ornamental use, as in the second decoration phase from the monastic church at Žiča (Serbia).[157] Since none of these eagles present the heraldic features of the eagle of Karinia and since they date back to a later period, the comparison with these examples from the North should be used carefully, as the case of Karinia may be related, but it may not be identical to them. The painters who worked in Karinia acted parsimoniously as far as ornamentation is concerned. A common vegetal theme and some crosses are the only

patterns used.[158] The eagle in the sanctuary appears in a place where such vegetal decoration could be deployed, but it cannot be considered ornamental. If its origin were Byzantine, such a complex subject would not be used as a mere decoration, but rather in order to underline an important message, plausibly related in some way to a dignitary of the Byzantine imperial court, as will become evident in the discussion about the Byzantine uses of the eagle.

I therefore need to acknowledge a number of mixed options of interpretation: a Byzantine use suggesting a connection with the imperial court (the Latin features of the image being a mere accident); a Byzantine patron making use of a Latin code (on purpose, after 1274); a Westerner adapting his message to a Byzantine milieu (on purpose, after 1274); and even a Christian Jewish sponsor making use of his own cultural heritage in order to transmit a Byzantine message encoded in a Western manner. Since the heraldic depiction occurs in an Orthodox church, there are two ways to interpret the eagle, according to meaning or according to form. On the one hand, favouring the meaning suggests that formal aspects should be discarded, guarding only the symbolism of the eagle and finding a suitable Byzantine solution in disagreement with its Western form. On the other hand, accentuating the form restricts the interpretation of the eagle to a Western meaning, independent from the Byzantine code. There is not enough material to settle the matter, so both options will be considered equally valid in the rest of my analysis. I favour

◥ Fig. 52. *Bogorodica Ljeviška church (Prizren, Southern Kosovo). Narthex, western wall.* Credits: Anna Adashinskaya.

▶ Fig. 53. *Shën Andoni church at Kepi i Rodonit (Albania). Sanctuary, dado zone of the lower register.* Credits: Anna Adashinskaya.

▼ Fig. 54. *Phaneromeni monastery church (Inner Mani). Dado zone of the lower register of murals close to the entrance to the church.* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.
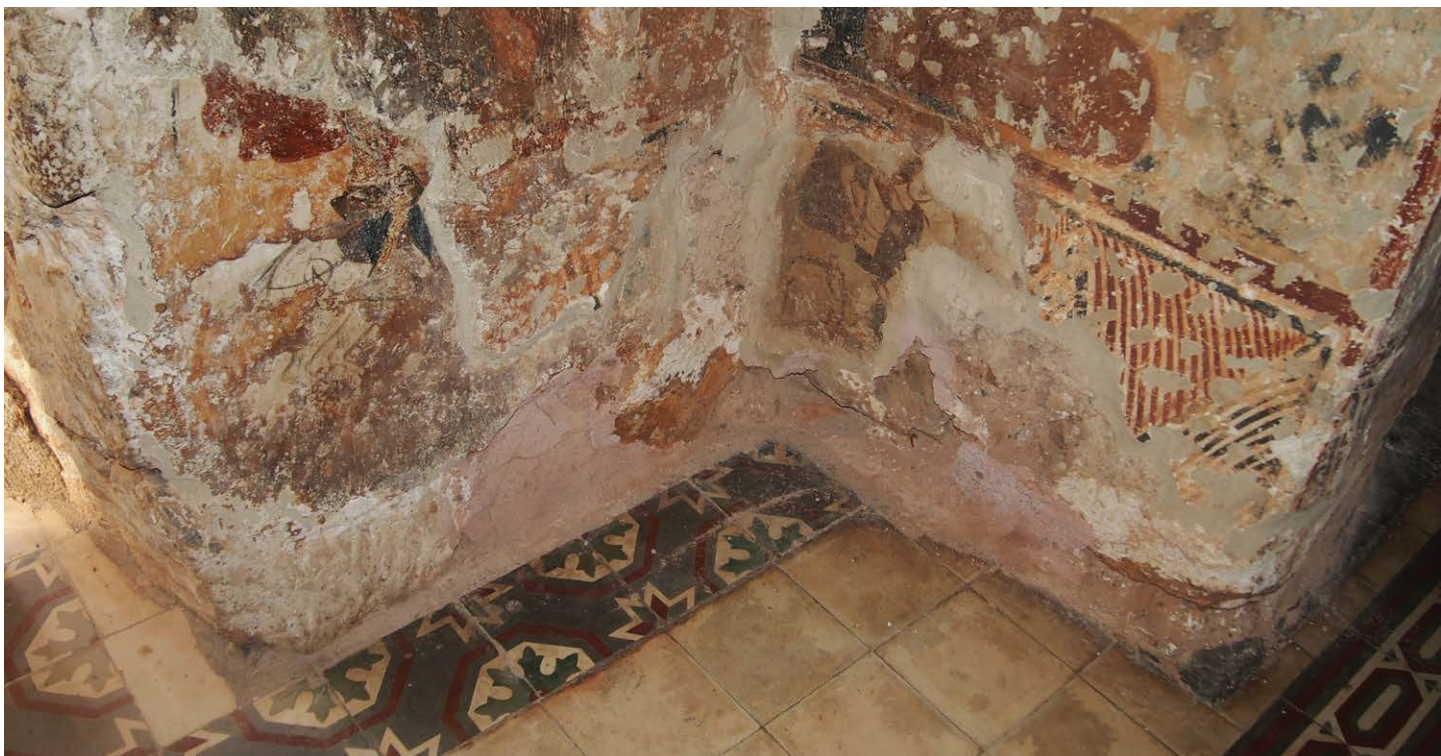
the formal aspects, considering that the heraldic features are essential to the interpretation of the eagle of Karinia, I cannot ignore its meaning either. Thus, the current presentation is a compromise reflecting an agreement between several possible interpretations.

The eagle of Karinia as a heraldic object.

Readers may ask themselves why I recurrently refer to this 'Western manner' of depicting the bird in the sanctuary apse at Karinia. Why the constant hesitation between East and West? And why the precise use of the word 'heraldic' in connection to that eagle? Even though to some they may seem evident at a first glance, these choices need to be explained. First of all, since Karinia is an Orthodox church, I must concentrate on the eagle symbolism in Byzantium (the meaning-oriented interpretation), and then on its Western counterpart, establishing in what manner the eagle is heraldic (an interpretation according to its form). When both options are satisfactorily explored, the eagle can finally be interpreted in connection with the three inscriptions, the ktetorial depiction, the Maccabees, and the military saints.

BYZANTINE EAGLES. The eagle (as an iconic subject) is well-known in both East and West. Since Roman times, it functioned as a symbol of secular rule. In the medieval art and literature of the Levant and Byzantium, it may have had an oriental (Sassanian and Coptic) derivation and symbolism.[159] The symbol was abandoned in the first centuries, when Byzantine *labara* carried various other images, including depictions of saint,; but the rise of a new millennium saw the association of the single-headed eagle with the Comneni, becoming an emblem of their dynasty. An anaglyph on a small capital belonging to an 11th-12th century templon, later immured in a western tower of the inner castle of Trebizond, is one of the earliest examples.[160] A second use in Comnenian times occurs in a 12th-century brick composition on the outer wall of the apse of the Kosmosoteira church in Feres, Thrace. Since the church is a probable foundation (1152) of a high Comnenian dignitary, sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus, the eagle may be the emblem of the dynasty (Fig. 55).[161] This is again valid in later uses (dated probably shortly after 1245) of two single-headed eagles carved frontally and in low relief, one on the keystone of the southern arched entrance to the Saint-Sophia of the Comneni in Trebizond (Fig. 56), the other one appearing above the window of the main apse of the same church. The keystone eagle carries unique characteristics, in the sense that it does not repeat any established prototype, but is rather a tailor-made creation for this specific place. The bones of its wings, described as curling over and resembling "the volute of an Ionic capital", are not found elsewhere in contemporary Byzantine

Fig. 55. *Monastery of Panagia Kosmosoteira, Feres, Thrace (Greece). Representation of an eagle dating back to 1152.*
Source: http://www.emtgreece.com/.

Fig. 56. *Church of Saint-Sophia, Trebizond. Keystone eagle of the southern portal* (c. *1238-1263).*
Source: http://www.domnasicons.com/.

Fig. 57. *The manuscript of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. graec. 442, f. 390r. General view of the depiction of emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, with eagles on the* suppedion. Courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

decoration.[162] As for the eagle from the apse, it is of the same design, but of a finer craftsmanship, meticulously composite, and graciously turned to its right. It does not display its wings curled upwards. The two straps crossed over its chest may indicate that it held a sword and shield across the back, probably in the same manner as the straps from the chest of the already mentioned Kosmosoteira eagle. However, the differences in layout and carving details between the eagles of Saint-Sophia cannot be interpreted as heraldic insignia following well established design rules.[163] From a formal point of view, the Karinia eagle cannot stand in the category of these early Byzantine eagles.

Yet the eagle was also a decorative motif, a symbol often found on the garments of high dignitaries of the Byzantine imperial court.[164] The general idea behind this particular use of the eagle relates to the wider context of decorating clothes with depictions of fierce creatures, figures symbolising the power granted to a servant by the emperor.[165] The emperor would not wear a costume adorned with (for example) eagles; to do so would have indicated that he was subject to a superior. But the eagle could appear on the garnments of members of the imperial family.[166] This also explains why eagles were a common feature in the sartorial repertoire of dignitaries at the imperial courts of the Comneni of Trebizond or Lascarids and Palaeologans of Nicaea. If one discards the evident Latin heraldic aspects of the Karinia eagle, its symbolism could be related to that of the Byzantine court.

Frequently cited paradigms of eagles in Late-Byzantine times are those depicted on the *suppedia* and footwear of Theodore I Lascarid (1254-1258), Michael VIII Palaeologus (1261-1282), and Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328) in the *Pachymeres codex* (14th century) (Fig. 57),[167] or on the *Monemvasia Chrysobull* of Andronicus II (dated to 1293, today in Athens, at the Byzantine Museum).[168] The eagles on the *suppedia* do not carry any particular role or symbolism directly connected with the title of the emperor and they do not refer specifically to an emperor. They outline only the general idea of how the character of the emperor was

μιχαηλ
ος βασί
τωρ, ρω

εὖ γῶ τὶ θωπ
λὰ, ἀ παῦτομά
εμαι, ὁ νίκαεω
α ὅιλος, κεκινη
νος. ὁ παλαιο
λ'ίτος:

▲ Fig. 58 a-b. *The church of Saint-John in Keria, Inner Mani. General view (a) and detail (b) of the eagle carved on a fragment immured in the western façade.*

▲ Fig. 59 a-b. *The church of Saint-John in Keria, Inner Mani. General view (a) and detail (b) of the eagle carved on the epistylion of the templon.*

▼ Fig. 60 a-b. *The church of Saint-Nicholas in Kampinari-Platsa, Outer Mani. General view (a) and detail (b) of the eagle carved on the epistylion of the templon.*

Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

◥ Fig. 61 a-b. *Eagle from an unknown church close to Kastania.* Source: Δρανδάκης 2002, p. 312, fig. 461-462.

conceived at the time when these 14th century codices were written. They are symbolic but commonly used decorative elements without any particular heraldic connotation. All share the imperial colors: gold upon a *porphyra* background (imperial purple). The layout calls to mind the old theme of winged Victories or angels often posed as flanking an image in late Roman and early Byzantine art. In all cases, they are pictured turned towards the central subject, in this case the emperor. They stand in for agents of imperial elevation or servants to the imperial apotheosis, according to a late ancient symbolism, but not as attributes of the depicted emperor.[169] The enigmatic halo surrounding the head of the eagle on the *suppedion* of Michael VIII Palaeologus in the cod. graec. 442, f. 390r of Munich (Fig. 57), is a common feature. One may identify it also in the eagle in the anaglyph from the Saint-Sophia church in Trebizond (Fig. 56). In both cases, the symbolism of the halo confers a sacral quality to the subject. The apparent dispersion of these haloed variants gives the impression that the nimbus was related to the sanctity of the function it symbolised.

Very similar to the eagles of Kosmosoteira and Saint-Sophia of Trebizond, single-headed eagles dating back to the Comnenian period were carved on marbles pieces from Inner Mani. An eagle extending its wings and carved in low relief (analogous in certain respects to the schematic one of Kosmosoteira, but facing the other side) appears on the cornice of the templon from the church of Saint-John in Keria, Mani (Fig. 59 a-b) (secondary use). Of the same period or a little bit later is a spolium immured in the western wall of the same church, incorporating the Comnenian eagle among rinceaux and acanthus leaves (Fig. 58 a-b). Last but not least, there is the eagle carved on an iconostasis in the church of Saint-Nicholas in Kampinari Platsa (Fig. 60 a-b). In all these cases, the bird displays inverted wings, not raised. From a formal standpoint, Karinia remains unique in the Byzantine cultural sphere, at least until the end of the 13th century.

There are, however, interesting examples from a later period. An anaglyph eagle dating back to the second half of the 14th century is represented next to another bird (dove?) and two fleurs-de-lys on a capital in the church of the Dormition-of-Mary in Kastania, Outer Mani (Fig. 61 a-b).[170] Recent research suggests that it may be connected to a donation of Manuel Cantacuzene, despot of Morea, and his wife Isabel of Lusignan.[171] This Kastania eagle differs from the one in the Kosmosoteira. Although poorly crafted, it preserves its features intact. The wings, although displayed, do not tend downwards. They swirl up and inwards in a spiral, while the tail is twisted in a knot, to which I will return later in the analysis. Some features were common in the representations of eagles on Western coats of arms since the previous century and may also be identified in the way in which the Karinia eagle was painted. And there used to be a colonnette capital, deposited in the same church of the Dormition in Kastania. It was of unknown provenance, probably from a neighbouring church (of a later date), but it depicted an eagle with heraldic features, some (not all) of them similar to those of the eagle of Karinia (Fig. 62).[172] This suggests that heraldic images were used in Byzantine churches at a later date, in the 14th century. Karinia could be the initial sparkle igniting a later fashion.

However, there is one more eagle in the Peloponnesus that dates back to the second half of the 14th century and displays outstretched wings in the old Byzantine style. It can be seen on the shield of a military saint (Nicetas?) in

the church of Saint-Peter, also in Kastania; the double-headed eagle carved on a capital from the crypt of Saint-Demetrius in Thessalonica (mid-14th c.) is a comparable specimen.[173] This suggests that heraldic trends did not displace old habits. Heraldic eagles did not become the norm.

If the use of heraldic symbols in the church of Dormition-of-Mary in Kastania shows that these could be marks of sovereignty indicated through artistic means, then the Karinia eagle would not be used as a decoration, but in order to underline an important message, although this does not explain why it does not present the traditional features of Byzantine eagles. Moreover, the fact that the bird is crowned suggests that it is linked not simply to a dignitary but rather to an important entity, at the highest level. It is tempting to identify this link with the emperor himself whose name was erased from Inscription A. In other words, the eagle could be conceived as a mark of allegiance to Michael VIII, not following the Byzantine standards but being copied from a Western heraldic pattern that was (for unknown reasons) preferable or more accessible. Heraldic discrepancies (soon to be presented) could then be attributed to the painter's ignorance of the heraldic code. Yet this interpretation is debatable and inherently conjectural. Summoning 'unknown reasons' to explain why a Byzantine painter painted a Western eagle instead of a Byzantine one in an Orthodox church is based on the assumption that form does not matter. There are some advantages to this assumption. The *damnatio memoriae* may not concern the eagle. Since it was restricted to Inscription A, this may suggest that the eagle was not a symbol directly connected to Michael VIII, but to the milieu of the imperial court. Hence its preservation after 1282, despite the destruction of the main inscription. In such a case, it could be an imperial symbol, prefigurating in one way or another the double-headed imperial eagles in the Bogorodica Ljeviška of Prizren and Shën Andoni at Kepi i Rodonit. However, this requires a serious leap of faith, since whatever symbol was destined to be linked with the emperor, it would have been displayed in the most prominent place in the church, which is definitely not the case here, where the eagle would be hidden by the altar table. And there are other issues to be taken into account as well.

My reasoning draws on both historical and iconographic evidence. In 1281, the date of Inscription A, Michael VIII was still negotiating with the ruler of Trebizond, John II Comnenus, about the newly restored empire. John II was asked to accept the supremacy of the emperor in Constantinople and renounce his imperial insignia. The negotiations started in 1280 and ended in 1282, when John agreed to become Michael's son-in-law, marrying Eudocia Palaeologina and receiving the title of despot. In September 1282, one year and six months after the eagle at Karinia was painted, John arrived in Constantinople, married Eudocia, and changed his imperial τσαγκία for a pair of common black shoes. Given the course of these events, it is highly unlikely that somebody linked to the emperor or the imperial court would make use of a symbol associated with a rival of the emperor. If the Karynia eagle were

▲ Fig. 63. *Eagles on the coats of arms from the 'Manesse Codex', produced in Zürich for the Manesse family (today in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 848, dated to* c. *1304-1340): a) f. 6r: Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor (1165-1197); b) f. 18r: John I duke of Brabant (1252/1253-1294); c) f. 15r: margrave Heinrich III of Meissen (1215-1288); d) f. 16v: Henry I duke of Anhalt (c. 1170-1252); e) f. 43v: count Werner of Homberg (✝ 1320); f) f. 323r: sir Reinmar of Zweter (floruit 1230s); g) f. 26r: count Frederick II of Leiningen (✝ 1237). Source: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/.*

WESTERN EAGLES. It is now high time that the discussion about the Karinia eagle continued with a brief exploration of its Western aspects. The historic trajectory of the eagle in the Western art is rather long. The reason behind the initial appropriation of this symbol is linked with the political elite of the Holy Roman Empire. Ottonians adopted Roman symbols, which soon became a pivotal element in their imperial restoration project.[176] This imperial function quickly hoisted the eagle to the rank of a diachronic symbol taken up by the different rulers, going from one dynasty to another.[177] Heraldry revived this eagle as early as 1195 / 1196, when a denier was cut by Henry VI, Frederick's son, and the imperial coat of arms is first documented in the last decade of the 12th century, when the bishop chronicler Otto of Freysing made its first description: a naturally colored black (*sable*) single-headed eagle set on a yellow (*or*) field.[178] The single-headed eagle of the Holy Empire (*or, an eagle sabre membered gueles*) was thereafter depicted in lots of miniatures, leading to a pullulation of this symbol in heraldic depictions of the 13th and 14th centuries, either as a mark of allegiance to the imperial dynasty or for many different reasons, including imitative purposes.[179] The Karinia depiction may be linked to this wide

◀ Fig. 64. *Eagles on coats of arms from the Zürich Armorial (Zürich, Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, AG 2760, c. 1340).* Source: https://www.e-codices.ch/.

▲ Fig. 65. *Detail of the eagle of Karinia: head and crown.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▼ Fig. 66. *Crown of king David in the murals at Karinia.* Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

◤ Fig. 67. *Crown of emperor Domitian in a scene from the 'Life of saint John' in the manuscript of British Library, London, Additional 35166, painted second half of the 13ᵗʰ century.* Source: https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts.

array of Western heraldic eagles. Its heraldic features are inescapable.

The head (Fig. 65). In all Byzantine examples so far, this feature is always straight (horizontal). In Karinia, the head is raised, as in all the early Western versions. In Byzantine and Western cases, the head may be turned both ways, either right or left.[180] In Karinia, it is to the left (proper right).

The crown. The head of the eagle bears a crown that does not copy or imitate any of the Byzantine imperial headdresses.[181] In Saint-George at Karinia, the usual Byzantine imperial head-cover bearing pendants (πρεπεντούλια) appears

▲ Fig. 68. *Detail of the eagle of Karinia: wing.*

◀ Fig. 69. *Detail of the eagle of Karinia: knotted tail and knobs.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▶ Fig. 70 a-b. *Depiction of a German imperial eagle in the murals from the second floor of the abbot's palace at San Zeno in Verona, next to a Wheel of Fortune and a scene with Alexander receiving the homage of the peoples of the earth, 13th century. External view of the same tower.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

on the heads of kings David and Solomon (Fig. 66).[182] Our eagle's crown is a prominently heraldic feature of 13th-century Western depictions; no similar case of a crowned Byzantine eagle of the 13th century is known. The Karinia bird repeats the standard royal crown seen in contemporary Western works of art and rarely in Byzantine contexts, usually connected to Western influences (Fig. 67).[183] Therefore the crown of the eagle of Karinia should be associated with a ruling authority, either existing at the time of the painting or in commemoration of it. In Karinia, the crown, the legs, talons, and claws are painted in dark brown-red. The darker colouring of these features parts is clearly in accordance with the specific descriptive pictorial vocabulary of heraldry.

The beak. The beak is hooked, aquiline. Whether raised or horizontal (straight), it visibly follows the orientation of the head. Formally, the known Byzantine eagles always have a straight horizontal beak, but in Karinia this beak is raised. In Byzantine depictions, the beak is closed, just like in earlier Western versions. The tongue is represented by a thin line. In heraldic terms, when an eagle has its beak of another colour, it is termed 'armed' of that colour; similarly, when the legs differ in colour, it is defined as 'membered'.[184] It is not necessary that both the legs and the beak

be simultaneously emphasized. The beak in Karinia is not emphasized, for instance.

The wings (Fig. 68). The manner in which the wings are displayed is crucial in determining the origin of the depiction. Save the already mentioned example from the Saint-Sophia of Trebizond, all Byzantine examples have inverted wings (downwards). The feature is typically Byzantine and could differentiate Eastern and Western eagles in the 12th-13th centuries. Maybe this is one of the reasons why the Greek painter of Karinia appears to be rather attentive and efficient in faithfully reproducing his subject; he would be cautious in the design, since he was not familiar with this subject. He copied a Western prototype, testifying to a certain degree of interaction with Latin art, probably after receiving specific instructions. If one compares the eagle at Karinia to the eagle in Kastania, (dated to the next century), it is evident that the latter also looks markedly different from the usual Byzantine type as regards the design of its wings. I would argue that the eagle of Kastania is a typical example of a 'contaminated' tradition, partially drawing from a Western source, yet not a clearly Western specimen.[185] There are many Western depictions of this type (see *e. g.* Fig. 70 a for one such example in the abbot's palace at San Zeno in Verona). Similarly, the rolled-up wings in the anaglyph of Saint-Sophia in Trebizond do not bear any particular symbolism. The Chrysapha eagle seems to be a naturalistic depiction resembling similar patterns on textiles, which, although secular, conforms to the rules applied in church iconography rather than to those of heraldry.[186] These comparisons constantly place the eagle of Karinia in the category of Western eagles.

The tail (Fig. 69). The tails of Byzantine eagles are depicted realistically, while those of Western eagles of earlier periods are represented in a linear manner. For reasons of symmetry, they have an odd number of feathers, the external ones being turned outwards and imitating flowery motifs. In 13th-century Western heraldic art, the ring, loop, or knot (hereafter called knot) wherefrom the tail of the Karinia eagle unfolds is one of the most common features. If a Byzantine saw such a knot, he would interpret it according to the symbolism of similar knots in Eastern art, where they were associated with Solomon's knot, a painterly or sculptural feature believed to have apotropaic values.[187] However, no depiction of an eagle in the Byzantine territories during the major part of the 13th century has its tail stemming from a knot. In this respect, the representation of Karinia is the first one of its kind.[188]

Knotted tails appear only later, in the depiction of the double-headed eagles on the suppedion of Andronicus II in the *Monemvasia Chrysobull*,[189] and in the representations of eagles on the suppedia in the Pachymeres Codex. There are also cases in which eagles could have more than knotted tails; their necks could be knotted as well, but this seems to be an Anatolian fashion with different origins.[190] Other examples may be identified on a marble piece with a double-headed eagle anaglyph from the western section of the Trebizond ramparts, now immured in the church of the Transfiguration in Kalamaria, Thessalonica; or in the double-headed eagle in the church of the Saviour in Veria (14th century).[191] The previously mentioned Kastania single-headed eagle also presents a knot feature, just as the double-headed eagles from the crypt of Saint-Demetrius in Thessalonica. However, it is difficult to say whether these knots convey the message of the loop or knot used in the Western heraldic depictions of eagles in the 12th-13th centuries. It is therefore safe to assume that the knot from the tail of the eagle of Karinia could have been part of the
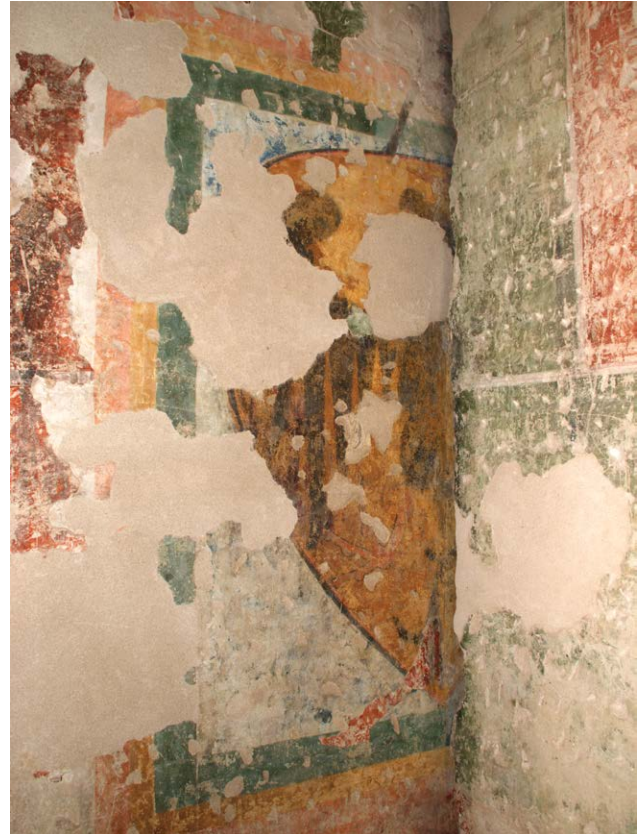
model (probably of Western origin) used by the painter, but it could have a specific significance in the Byzantine cultural milieu as well.

Legs, talons, and claws. In Western heraldic depictions of eagles during the 13th century, the legs are represented in a vertical downward direction, while contemporary Byzantine designs form an acute angle with the body axis. The legs in Karinia are downwards-directed and highlighted in dark brown-red. As for the claws, they end in knobs. I would interpret these features as an absence of offensive sense. Knobbed claws convey a powerful but defensive stance. This is equally implied by the lack of emphatic colouring for the beak. It is highly plausible that these features originated in the model.

Semé. This is a highly controversial feature. A defender of a meaning-oriented hypothesis would consider this decorative pattern as an example of *horror vacui*, often seen in 13th-century murals. However, I should point out that the lower part of the scene also presents a *vacuum* that would need to be filled with ornamentation.[192] This is why I include the flowers in the heraldic category. This is a heraldic feature termed *semé*, in this case *semé-de-(fleurs)*. Once again, it points directly toward a Western origin. The four flowers of Karinia appear only in the upper part of the illustration, which may imply that the eagle could have been copied from a source that presented it on a shield. The lower half of such a shield would most likely end with a pointy tip filled by the feathers of the bird tail, thus leaving no space for flowers. The transfer from an escutcheon to a rectangular shape in the apse at Karinia could explain the absence of flowers represented in the lower segment of the mural.

Given that the paramount factor in analyses of Western influences in Byzantine works of art is often interpreted in accordance with a political context, one may be tempted to interpret these heraldic features of the eagle according to the formal evolution of the most prominent design features of heraldic eagles by the end of the 13th century, looking for precise counterparts in the coats of arms of Western Europe, as some of them fitted the dating and the precise features of the eagle from Karinia.[193] However, this evolutionary theory should be avoided, as it was the result of a reconstructivist trend in the early history of heraldry studies, hardly acceptable from the standpoint of current research trends, which do not agree with the quest for a linear evolution of forms. Recent studies suggest that medieval heraldry should be seen as a fluid figurative code, the final rendering of which owes much to the artist's culture or to the availability of models.[194] In light of these observations, I would not exclude possible influences based on apprenticeship, affiliation, eruditeness, or knowledge of relevant Western paradigms and sources.

The source of the depiction carefully crafted by the painter from Karinia could owe its precise features not only to the transformation of small details, but also to stylistic trends, schools of painting, and many other variation factors that cannot be properly analysed (not even fully accounted for) in the current study. This does not mean that we should not try and identify an actual person behind the representation of Karinia. Coats of arms were related to individuals and such an identification may be possible in the future, but the nature of the connection between the Westerner whose arms were used by painter George as a source of inspiration, and the representation at Karinia itself, is subject to debate. As a personal note, I believe that such a person could be one of the sponsors of the church, perhaps Theonikon, provided that he was one of those

Greek clerics in contact with Latin hierarchy. But it could just as well be a Latin lord living in the Peloponnesus (or in Italy), who contributed to the decoration of the church. Or – why not?! – a Western lord whose arms could have been used to depict a Byzantine eagle if painter George found no other available eagle depictions to inform his composition.[195] The essential thing is that the form of this symbol is evidently Western. Whether or not it was connected to the Second Council of Lyon remains a matter of debate. But the coincidental appearance of Uniate hierarchy and heraldic depictions in the church at Karinia need to be refined and explained by future studies.

Preliminary conclusions and propositions for future research.

I therefore conclude that the eagle in the church of Saint-George at Karinia is definitely a heraldic symbol based on a Western prototype. It cannot have an incidental decorative intention. It is not a superficial replica of a Western model. The Karinia master was a Byzantine painter who took care to replicate the design. The source could be anything from an elaborate miniature of an escutcheon to a full-scale gonfalon. The Karinia eagle could not be based on a roughly designed figure on a seal or a worn out small-sized miniature. It represents a rare, comprehensive heraldic symbol in large scale, in its initial location and still largely unaffected by deterioration during the seven and a half centuries past from the time when it was painted on the wall.

Keeping in mind the four alternative interpretations (iconographic, epitaphic, heraldic, or ornamental), as well as their possible mixed alternatives, I would say that three or four scenarios arise from the bibliographical sweeping of the current analysis. In the most conservative and least probable case, the eagle was taken from a Western source of inspiration in order to fit the pattern of the Byzantine imperial eagle, being thereby used by the patrons of the church in order to manifest their links with the imperial court. This would also explain why the simple vegetal pattern depicted below the central small opening of the apse in other Maniot churches was replaced by the rectangle with the eagle in Karinia (first interpretation). Yet this would be also valid in the case of a Christian Jewish patron; in such a case the eagle would also inherit a Jewish symbolism (second interpretation). However, if one chooses to give more credence to the pictorial aspects of the depiction, thereby choosing to eliminate both the purely ornamental option and that of a Byzantine initiator behind it, the eagle appears as a unicum in Mani. Since the painter was attentive when representing these details, such an option prevails, and consequently points to the direction of a Latin interference. The eagle may thus relay or impose upon the local community a specific heraldic message, little did it matter that such a message was ultimately hardly assimilated and never found imitators at the other end of this cultural dialogue. It could be linked to Byzantine officials accepting Latin fashions after the Council of Lyon (third interpretation) or to a Latin lord from abroad (fourth interpretation). Let me be more specific. Based on current evidence, I would preliminarily propose the following scenario in order to correlate the conflicting signs of Latin and Jewish interaction in the context of a Byzantine Orthodox church.

After the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, it would be expected that the changes made to the ecclesiastical elite of the Peloponnesus and consequently to that of Mani would be directed towards the selection of (or replacement

of dissidents with) clerics and dignitaries willing to serve the new ecclesiastic order, much in the same way as it was tried in the rest of the Byzantine Empire. Nevertheless, not so many among the Orthodox clergymen of the area would have agreed to do so. Karinia may have been one of those places where the central administration could have established its control (given the mention of the emperor and that of the patriarch in Inscription A). There was also a Jewish community in the area, probably one of those well attested in Laconia since the 10th century, and they were living in marginal social conditions. Karinia is located in a not very fertile mountainous area, at the outskirts of the local settlement of Mina, with little agricultural production. The location fits the pattern of other places along the periphery of the Byzantine settlements where peasants of Jewish origin used to dwell. Those of them who were already Christian could have grasped the opportunity to elevate themselves both socially and economically (and for clergymen, clerically) by embracing the newly changed administration.[196] Archpriest Demetrius and his father Michael could therefore be some of those fortunate few. In such a case, they would be partial to a recently ordained bishop of the Mani see and become closely linked to his policies. Their ecclesiastic group would form a Uniate minority in a conservative region. The mention of the emperor and patriarch in the ktetorial inscription would enforce their implied connection to the imperial court. And this is equally valid in case neither Demetrius nor his father Michael were of Jewish roots. Their pro-Uniate stance would suffice to draw them closer to the imperial milieu from before 1282. In such a situation, either in 1280 or before that year, Michael *deuterevon*, who would by then be *ostiarius* of the Mani bishopric, serving already in this dignity for several years, and sensing the time of death approaching, could decide to erect a new church for the salvation of his soul. He would have the support of the bishop and most probably some additional patronage. He probably died during the time the church of Karinia was painted, since his son Demetrius appears to take upon himself the final endowment to the church. As they were the most important patrons of the church, it would be safe to assume that they were also the ones who had something to say about the representation of the eagle (and this is also valid for the extended representation of the Maccabees).

When making this assumption, I have in mind that the painter(s) at Karinia could hardly come up with such a heraldic proposition on their own, since he or they belonged to a local (and probably traditional) milieu. Regarding the identity of the painter involved in the project, from the iconographic and paleographic evidence found in situ, I believe that the decoration of the church was undertaken by a painter already known in the region, perhaps the one signing as George Konstantinianos in the church of Polemitas. This hypothesis is sustained not only because previous research argued in similar terms,[197] but also for a number of reasons. Others may contradict me, arguing that the murals at Karinia are of a slightly better quality, but this could be the result of a diversification of the painter's repertory and a substantial upgrading of his technique, given the interval between the dating of the two monuments. At the present stage of research, the evidence cannot be conclusive, but several comparable epigraphic findings and stylistic similarities in the murals at Polemitas and Karinia justify the hypothesis that painter George of Karinia could be George Konstantinianos of Polemitas. Paleography is a key element, as is the precise formulaic features of the inscriptions.[198] But there are also matters pertaining to the style of the paintings.[199]

▲ Fig. 71. *The depiction of the ktetors at Karinia.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Whatever future research will reveal, the factors to be considered are: (a) the style of the Polemitas painter presents similar features to that of the painter(s) at Karinia; (b) several innovations are evident in Karinia; and (c) the artistic outcome in Karinia surpasses that of the murals from Polemitas. If George Konstantinianos of Polemitas and painter George of Karinia are one and the same person, then we would be presented with an interesting case in which one may be able to notice the evolution of a painter during a period of two-to-three years, as well as a certain degree of versatility in the execution of his compositions.[200] I would also argue that his participation may be noticed at least in the impressive dedicatory deisis to Gabriel the Archangel and possibly in the depiction of an unknown female saint on the western rib of the nave from the

▲ Fig. 72 a-c. *Saint-Nicholas church at Exo Nymphi. The painter George Konstantinianos and his family: a) general view of the scene; b) the painter; and c) his wife and child.*

Credits: Panayotis St. Katsafados.

murals of Saint-Nicholas in Nymphi (1284).[201] In addition to his name, the deisis in Nymphi also provides us with a depiction of the artist, his spouse, and his small child (Fig. 72 a-c).[202] Last but not least, if he were the painter of the eagle in Karinia, his activity would provide some hints about the transitional period of the 13th century, a time when Byzantine painters started mentioning their names, occasionally leaving their portraits in the murals. We do not have his portrait in Polemitas (1278) or Karinia (1281), but we
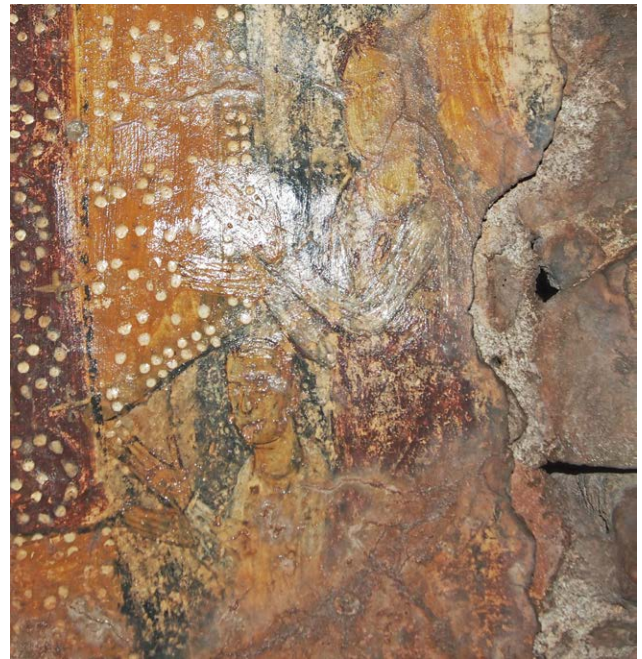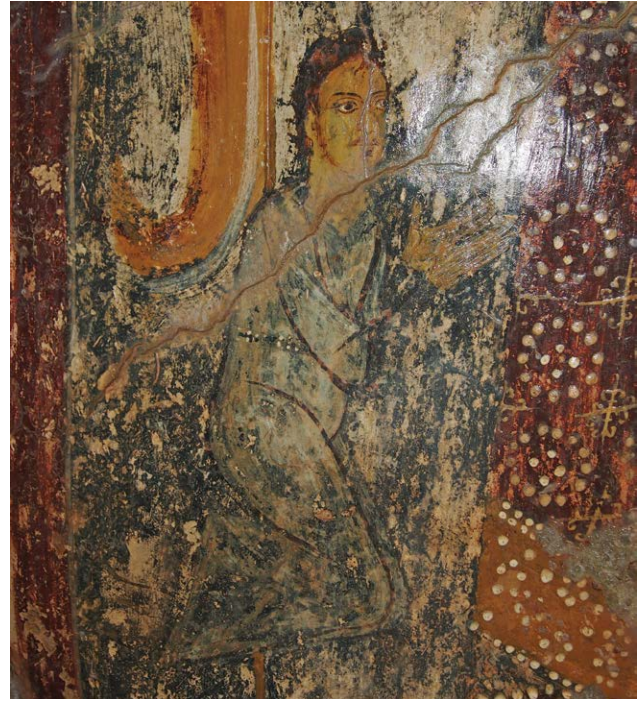
may have an idea about his appearance three years later in the remote church of the cemetery at Exo Nymphi (1285).

Yet, as implied previously, the artist might not have been alone in Karinia. Other features of the murals can be better explained only through the presence of another master-painter who cooperated with him. In such a case, the two masters would divide the work. The Pantanassa in the conch (Fig. 73), the Vlachernitissa and the Pantokrator on the templon, as well as the rest of the sanctuary would be assigned to George (see also Fig. 74), while the equestrian saints, part of the lower and most of the middle and upper zone would fall within the task of the other master. There are similar cases in Mani; such a situation, in fact, would not be unique.[203] And as usual, an assistant painter (or painters) would be involved in the depiction of the narrative

scenes from the vaults and secondary tasks.[204] The only problem with this interpretation is that a co-master painter would be equally mentioned in the ktetorial inscription. Nevertheless, my research in the reconstruction of the right-hand module of Inscription A shows that there was no place to write a second painter's name.[205]

Leaving the painters aside and returning to the issue of the ktetors for one last time, we have additional reasons to assume that Michael *deuterevon* died while the church was painted. The chief proof of this is the discrepancry between the inscriptions and his depiction in the ktetorial scene without his son, meaning that this son was not initially intended to be a chief ktetor, but he ended up being mentioned anyway. If he were buried somewhere in the vicinity of the church of Saint-George – a conjecture – this

is a sustainable estimation nonetheless. Since the heraldic eagle and Inscription A share the same type of border, they were probably painted around the same time (the inscription was most likely painted at the end of the entire work). In this case, one could well argue that the depiction of the eagle was a choice made by the son, archpriest Demetrius; the painters would have initially intended that rectangular space for an ornamental motif, similar to that used in many other churches, and the depictions of Demetrius' parents would be already finished by then. If the eagle had

Uniate connotations – a very tempting idea – this cannot be established accurately based on extant evidence. However, it could be predictable that the odd changes to an iconographic program such as the one at Karinia (made during the short interval 1274-1282) can be related to the implementation of Uniate ideas, especially since heraldic images were destined to be used in propagandistic contexts. If it was chosen by the ktetors, and if the ktetors were members of a Christian Jewish community, the veneration of the Maccabees on August 1st would most likely be one of the most important days for the church of Saint-George in Karinia, and the eagle would also recuperate its symbolic meaning in a Jewish community.

Apart from the eagle, there are very few features arguing in favour of a Latin influence and I already established at the beginning of the current research that they are rather inconsequential. If painter George were George Konstantinianos of Polemitas, he would be from the settlement of Agia Thekla near Lagia, in the eastern part of the Tainaron promontory.[206] A local painter like him would be less likely influenced by Western art. In fact, nobody will convincingly argue that he travelled to the Catholic lands, familiarising himself with Western artistic vocabulary, since he did not show any of that in his paintings from the other churches. Besides, the rather limited scope of local Maniot tradition does not explain: the choice of representing the Maccabees, at least not in such an extensive

◀ Fig. 74. *Sanctuary of the church at Karinia. Detail of a depiction of a hierarch saint.*

▼ Fig. 75. *Murals from the second chamber of the church of Karinia. View of the depiction of a military saint.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

manner; saint Romanus Sklepodioktis; the heraldic features of the eagle; saint Demetrius of Thessalonica with the odd inscription; or the young boy sitting on the croup of saint George's horse. These features are better explained as a consequence of the requirements made by a patron whose eclectic taste pointed to a broad-based (cosmopolitan) milieu. The eagle is perhaps the most striking one among these features. As such, it was the focal point of the current analysis, but the other ones deserve equal attention in future studies about the church of Saint-George in Karinia. I, therefore, believe that archpriest Demetrius and his father Michael were very literate individuals (the title *HaSofer* being also supportive of this interpretation). That they belonged to the local elite is evident from the fact that they were connected in one way or the other with an otherwise unknown sacellarius Theonikon, a dignitary from a different bishopric, who was also persuaded to join them in their donation to Karinia. Nobody can exclude the possibility of the eagle being the choice of Theonikon, but we know too little about him, and his involvement in the church at Karinia seems to be marginal. The significance of the iconographic program is perhaps best understood in connection with the mention of the names of emperor Michael VIII and patriarch John XI Vekkos in the ktetorial inscription, most likely written under the authorisation of the (also mentioned) bishop of Mani.

Although published for the first time in 1990, the image of the Karinia eagle did not attract much attention, probably because no simple, obvious, unequivocal explanation of its provenance can be provided. Future research will certainly further grapple with this dark scientific limbo for a long time, trying to confer a certain degree of specific meaning to shapes that already have way too many connotations because of their ubiquituous nature. If the entire context (iconographic, epigraphic, and historical) is analysed in a monographic study of vast proportions, extending the comparisons already made here to other areas and clarifying the sources of inspiration of the entire iconographic program of the church, maybe we will reach a better-suited working hypothesis. Until other new material comes to light, I preliminarily rest my case by considering the depiction of the eagle in the apse of the church at Karinia as a manifold cultural vehicle, standing in either for a cultural dialogue between East and West, for a transmission of symbolisms from one confession to another, or maybe all of these facets mingled with many others. Its use

◀ Fig. 76. *Exterior view from the south of the church of Saint-George at Karinia, with the Sangias mountain range in the background, in the direction of Polemitas and the later entrance to the second chamber.*

▲ Fig. 77. *Mural in a niche of the northern wall from the second chamber of the church of Karinia. View of a second depiction of saint George.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

in the decoration of a church, at a time when the emperor and the patriarch had accepted the primacy of the Church of Rome, is of great significance. This may testify to the fact that after 1282, the odd tryouts of Michael VIII were subject to a *damnatio memoriae*, as Inscription A bears witness. Karinia also offers marginal proof that the Uniate policies of Michael VIII died with him, just one year after the building and decoration of the church of Saint-George.

Notes:

1 A preliminary description of the monument was published by Ετζεόγλου 1974. The church is occasionally used by the inhabitants of the village.

2 Κόμης 1995, p. 444, table 1. Κάσσης 1990, claims that the name of the village could de derived from the Homeric *κάρηνον* ('head', 'summit'). Karinia is nevertheless located at the lower end of a mountain slope and not at a mountain summit.

3 Κατσαφάδος 1992, p. 159.

4 For the church of the Archangel-Michael and its inscription, see: Δρανδάκης 1982.

5 The southern chamber of the church at Karinia may have been painted by a certain Nomikos. This is the subject of a forthcoming study. Similar features and style characterise the early works of this painter, chiefly his work in the nearby church of Saint-George in Marasse (1322). Cf. Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 54-87.

6 Cf. Δρανδάκης 2009, vol. 5 (Indexes), p. 22.

7 Ετζεόγλου 1974.

8 For the preliminary reading of the inscriptions, the name of the painter, and the chronology, see Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 54-64.

9 Cf. Δρανδάκης 1986, p. 692.

10 A black and white photograph of the eagle was first published by Κάσσης 1990, p. 156, fig. 386.

11 Δρανδάκης 1998, p. 22.

12 The symmetrical disposition of Peter and Paul in the two groups of the Ascension cannot be interpreted as conclusive proof of a Latin influence.

13 Cf. Δρανδάκης 1986.

14 For saint Romanus, see Χαραλαμπάκης 2009; Πύρρου 2013, with previous bibliography. He is also represented in the Taxi-

archis church in Goritsa, in Saint-Nicholas in Epidauros Limera, and in various churches in Prilep.

15 Cf. Jerphanion 1930, p. 195-196; for the representation of the apostles in the West and in Byzantium, see also Nelson 1985, p. 557.

16 For the lamellar armor, see Tsurtsumia 2011, p. 68 seqq., and fig. 20.

17 The Marasse example is still unpublished; it will be commented in a forthcoming monography about painter Nomikos.

18 Aufhauser 1913, p. 13-18, 18-42, 100-103; cf. Aufhauser 1911.

19 Cf. Grotowski 2003, p. 51 (and note 82 of the same page, where he quotes a Russian study of V. N. Lazarev; as well as Jerphanion 1936, p. 241).

20 For extensive bibliography, see Dimitrokallis 2005, p. 368, note 14.

21 Dimitrokallis 2005, p. 368.

22 The three-apse church in Antigous has one such example. Other paradigms of the mounted figure of saint George *Diasoritis* (similar to the one in Karinia) are listed in the work of Dimitrokallis 2005: (a) the Taxiarchis church in Pedoulas, Cyprus (1474) (see Σωτηρίου 1935, fig. 1-103a); Παπαγεωργίου 1975, p. 63); b) the church of Saint-Nicholas in Fountoukli, Rhodes, 16th century, where the saint also bears the epithets *Diasoritis* and ΚΟΡΑΙ... (Ορλάνδος 1948, p. 190-191, fig. 147; see also Δημητροκάλλης 2005). For the equestrian saints, particularly in the Latin-occupied Peloponnesus, see Gerstel 2001.

23 Δημητροκάλλης 2005, p. 53.

24 Cf. Grégoire 1939.

25 Grotowski 2003, p. 43-44, and notes 64, 65.

26 Cf. Weitzmann 1986, p. 232.

27 Cf. Grotowski 2003, p. 53-54 for references to the Eski-Kermen church.

28 Jerphanion 1936, p. 322, fig. 187, 2, fig. 189, 2-3.

29 Walter 1995, p. 320-322.

30 Folda 1982, fig. 22; Cruikshank Dodd 1992, p. 126-127, and note 75; *apud* Grotowski 2003, p. 38. Cf. Cormack, Mihalarias 1982. The aforementioned texts edited by Aufhauser were already commented by Myslivec 1934, p. 374; and Festugière 1971, p. 267, p. 313-315. For rather recent comments on the subject (dealing with the depiction of an equestrian saint in Cyprus), see Velmans 2009, p. 235-236, fig. 2, 6-7. For an extensive bibliography on the subject, see the recent article of Bormpoudaki 2017 (analysis of a 14th century depiction of saints George and Demetrius on horseback in the church of Saint-George Sfakiotis in Crete).

31 The depiction of the Ascension in the church of Karinia follows Acts 1:9-14, not the dogmatic alternative of the scene with the names of the apostles. In Latin liturgy, the apostles are named according to Matthew 10:24, a passage followed by Western artists.

32 Weitzmann 1986, p. 214.

33 For the portraits of the ktetors, see Katsafados 2015a, p. 60, fig. 26.

34 For the latter, see Parani 2003, p. 68, pl. 61, 77.

35 Weitzmann 1966, p. 63, fig. 23.

36 Katsafados 2015a, p. 119-122, fig. 71.

37 Cf. Parani 2003, p. 78, and pl. 81, 84, and 86.

38 The saint is rarely depicted in Laconian churches before the reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus. On saint Demetrius as patron saint of the Palaeologans, see Russell 2010, p. 20-21, *passim*.

39 Walter 1971, p. 162-165; cf. Walter 1995, p. 313, note 113.

40 For saint Romanus, see again Χαραλαμπάκης 2009. Saint Romanus may have been related to the Latin presence in one way or another. For instance, his portrait appears in the church of Taxiarchis in Goritsa, Eastern Laconia (1278 – personal observation based on my reading of the dedicatory inscription). Taxiarchis is well known for its 'crusading' influences. Cf. Gerstel, Kappas 2018, p. 187.

41 Cf. Σωτηρίου 1969, p. 5 (quoting also Demus 1948, fig. 17, 55).

42 Berger 2011, p. 116.

43 The figures are repetitions from the same *anthivolon* ('cartoon').

44 On the transcription of the names of the Maccabee sons, see also the later compendium of Dionysius of Furna, in Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς 1900, p. 161.

45 Berger 2011, p. 111-114. On p. 111, he argues that "it appears that no frescos of the holy Maccabees are extant in the actual Byzantine realm".

46 The Maccabees are also depicted in Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica; and as separate portraits in Sopoćani, but the context is different. The depiction of the Avar siege of Constantinople would also include their depiction. As for their feast on August 1, it represented the beginning of the Dormition Fasting. Byzantines made the blessing of *kolyva* on that day, remembering martyrs in general and these martyrs in particular.

47 I cannot ignore a simpler reason for this depiction: maybe the *ktitorissa* was named Solomone, or somebody in the family was born on August 1. However, the representation of the Maccabees is too large and meaningful for such an explanation.

48 Cf. Joslyn-Siemiatkoski 2009, p. 122: "...traditions about the Maccabean martyrs flourished in both Jewish and Christian communities of the Rhineland in the medieval period [...] recent scholarship has established that medieval Ashkenazi Jews were aware of and had internalized Christian concepts and cultural practices". See also Lander 2003: "By incorporating these medieval (martyrological) laments into the liturgy, martyrdom moved theologically front and center. [...] One could obtain the theological tools with which to understand and come to terms with the personal experience of humiliation and/or persecution in the secular realm as well as in the synagogue"; See also Ziadé 2007; and Joslyn-Siemiatkoski 2009, p. 1: "Into the Western medieval period, both Jewish and Christian communities continued to honor them as holy figures, with no evidence that each community was aware of the parallel patterns of devotion".

49 The depiction was shown to me by Michalis Kappas, archaeologist of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Messinia, whom I hereby heartily thank, on the occasion of a visit of the church. No photos of the murals may be published, since the monument is under restoration.

50 Κάσσης 1990, p. 463. In another study, he also includes evidence about a manuscript dated to c. 1200 (nowadays lost) in the possession of the Dekoulon monastery until 1946, and apparently mentioning that the old Maniot family Poulantzas, once based in Tzimova (nowadays Areopoli) followed the Jewish creed (Κάσσης 1980, vol. 2, p. 179).

51 It occupies a disproportionately larger part of the church (almost one third of the northern wall from ground level up to the vault, a percentage of roughly 10% of the entire painted area). The well-known 7th century depiction of the Maccabees in the church of Santa-Maria-Antiqua in Rome covers proportionally less area and concentrates mainly on the figures of Solomone

and Eleazar; Grüneisen 1916, p. 503, fig. LC, xvi-xvii. In Karinia the group of the five elder sons is better depicted, in the lower register. The representation of the Maccabees in Karinia will also be dealt with in a future study about the iconographic program of the entire church, currently under preparation.

52 Cf. James 1958, p. 144-147 (Epistula 98 of saint Bernard of Clairvaux, 12th century; Latin text in PL, vol. 182, coll. 230-234).

53 Dods 1871, p. 263.

54 Vinson 1994.

55 The Roman ones were probably best known in the West (Schatkin 1974), but a Russian pilgrim mentioned the presence of other relics in Constantinople (cf. Ehrhard 1932, p. 61), and Nicholas da Martoni mentioned the relics of the Maccabees in Athens, in the Parthenon church, in 1395, brought there at an unknown date, probably after the Latin occupation (cf. Le Grand 1895, p. 652).

56 On the tomb slab of the Crusader king Baldwin I of Jerusalem (1100-1118) the inscription describes him as REX BALDEWINVS, IVDAS ALTER MACHABEVS. Lapina 2011, p. 157-159; Hoade, Bagatti 1962, p. 71.

57 The Maccabees in Western crusader contexts were the subject of Agrigoroaei 2016, who identified it in the scenes of the lower register of the northern wall in the Templar chapel of Cressac. He interpreted in analogous manner several other depictions in Western monuments of the Crusader era. Cf. Agrigoroaei 2016, p. 74, etc. Even when the Maccabees appear in Byzantine literary contexts related to the idea of Holy War, their example is "deprived of its biblical 'holy war' aspect in order to integrate it into the current Byzantine socio-ideological context"; they become "role models for those who gain honour in warfare", as a consequence of the fact that "they had fought their wars in accordance with the law of God". Stouraitis 2019, p. 96-97 (and p. 97 only for the quotations). And there is also the reading of their story in a less sacred key in the *Chronicle* of John Malalas, which complicates matters even more when it comes to the Byzantine cult of the Maccabees. See e. g. Bikerman 1951. All this would explain why the Maccabees were not depicted in military attire.

58 Δρανδάκης 2001, p. 452, fig. 17 (in my revised interpretation); Bouras 1979, p. 64, fig. 1 (in my reading).

59 Δρανδάκης 1981, p. 243.

60 I am tempted to add further evidence to this dossier, even though some of it may appear to be less consequential. I have in mind the *pileus coronatus (Judenhut)* of the young shepherd in the representation of the Nativity in Karinia. Similar hats appear in neighboring monuments. See, for instance, the murals from the churches Ai-Mamas, Karavas / Kounos (1232); Saints-Anargyri, Kippoula (1265); Saint-Kyriaki (or Dormition), Pentakia / Kounos (13th century); Saint-Peter, Gardenitsa (early 13th century); Phaneromeni (1323), etc.

61 For the Jewish and Christian-Jewish settlements in Lacedaemon and the Hebrew dispersion in Laconia after their persecution in the time of Nikon Metanoeite, see Αναγνωστάκης 2012. About the *Vita* of saint Nikon, see Λαμψίδης 1982; Sullivan 1987. For the will and testament of Osios Nikon, see Λαμψίδης 1982, p. 251-256, and comments at p. 452-465; English translation by Bandy 2000. For the presence of Jews in Laconia, see also Takoumi, Tassogiannopoulou 2018.

62 For the difference between Soulani and Barbara, see Mexia 2015, note 26 (p. 12). The author also includes Saint-Soulani in Erimos and Saint-Solomone in Dryalos in the corpus of the chur-

ches of the region where a masonry of large dressed ashlars was used.

63 Bowman 1981.

64 Bowman 1985, p. 79-88.

65 Jacoby 2012, p. 225-226.

66 Sathas 1883, p. 127: *Cumziosiache per i ordeni antiqui contenuti in libri de questa Cencelleria et per termination di magnifici rectori de Modon appena che la decima de le mandre de anemali menudi de questo territorio sia sta sempre pagata per i villani et destrettuali et non per cittadini et cum sit che al presente pochissimi anemali menudi se atrovino in man de villani de la Signoria ma el forzo et in grande numero in Albanesi et Zudei et altri contadini per esser ampliado el territorio de questa cita per la restitution de confini et jurisdition occupade da Turchi etc.*

67 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, 54-58.

68 For solid masonry screens in this region and elsewhere in Greece, see Gerstel 2006.

69 A decorative marble piece may have been used in a secondary position. The complete absence of any original external or internal marble decoration (not even spolia) is rather striking.

70 Throughout the article, the orthograph of the original will be kept when quoting passages of the inscriptions as read *in situ*. The renderings of securely restored or conjectured parts, such as the case of the first line, will be quoted in a normalized transcription.

71 Cf. Rhoby 2015; Kalopissi-Verti 2015.

72 From an epigraphic and paleographic point of view, essential terms of comparison may be found in the painted inscriptions of the church of Archangel-Michael in Polemitas, Saints-Theodore in Kaphiona, Saints-Anargyri in Kippoula, and Ai-Stratigos in Ano Boularii.

73 *…δι' ἐξόδου δὲ καὶ κόπου τοῦ θεωφιλεστάτου Γεωργίου ἀρχιερέος τοῦ Βεληγοστῖς σὺν τω ευγενεστάτω(;) συγκέλλω…*; Drandakis 1984, p. 163.

74 Certain errors (ΤΟ instead of ΤΩ) are common in most inscriptions of the time. Few such inscriptions were grammatically impeccable.

75 The term *κατωτικά μέρη* ('lower lands') is still in use today and refers to the southwest areas of the Tainaron promontory. Place names such as *Κατωπάγγι, Κατάγιωργης,* etc., testify to the use of the same synthetic *Κάτω-* ('low-'), since the proper village names are Paggia and Ai-Giorgis. The seat of the Mani see in the 13th century was the village of *Κατάγιωργης,* where the now famous central-domed episcopal church known as *Επισκοπή* (Episkopi) is located. See Παπαμαστοράκης 1987; Κορδώσης 1986, p. 127-28. This interpretation is supported by a letter of the bishop of Ochrid, Demetrius Chomatianos, which refers to events taking place in the area in 1222. For the letter, see Magdalino 1977.

76 Stavrakos 2017, p. 764-768.

77 'Kyr' is a noble title of broad application. In Mani, it was used for emperor Andronicus II on two occasions: in the church of Saint-George in Marasse (1323) and in Phaneromeni (1323).

78 Buschhausen, Buschhausen 1976, p. 152-153; Macrides 1980, p. 13. Titos Papamastorakis reconstructed the titles in a similar way when he restored an analogous epigraph in the church of Mavriotissa, Kastoria. See Παπαμαστοράκης 1991, p. 234.

79 For a list of inscriptions of this kind with variations in wording, see Adashinskaya 2020, p. 317-380.

80 The title *ἀρχιερατεύοντος* is also used in the inscription of

Saint-George in Marasse (1323) (see Ετζεόγλου, Κωνσταντινίδη 2009) and in the catholicon of the Phaneromeni monastery (1323) (Κωνσταντινίδη 1998, *Annex 2*).

81 Gregory of Monemvasia was probably the administrative superior of the Mani bishop. The see of Mani (*Μαΐνη*) appears under the jurisdiction of the newly established metropolitan see of Monemvasia in the years predating 1301, according to the chronology of two chrysobulls of Andronicus II which mention Mani (Καλλιγά 2003, p. 287-316). For the bishopric of Mani as a suffragan of the metropolitan see of Monemvasia, see also Zakythinos 1932, vol. 2 (reviewed and augmented edition by Ch. Maltezou, Variorum Reprints, 1975, p. 272 etc.). V. Laurent suggested that Gregory of Monemvasia remained in the metropolitan see until the death of Michael VIII, in 1282 (Laurent 1933, p. 147). For Gregory of Monemvasia as *ἐξάρχου ὅλης τῆς Πελοποννήσου* in the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (the codex of the Koutloumousiou monastery), see Foskolou 2006, with bibliography.

82 Μπίθα 2009, p. 162.

83 Μπίθα 2009, p. 163.

84 To the best of my knowledge, there are no dedicatory inscriptions mentioning the patriarch John XI Vekkos. For Vekkos being in favor of the Union, see his work *Περὶ ἑνώσεως* (PG, vol. 141, coll. 64D-65A, 144A-149A). For the socio-ecclesiastic struggle in the time of Vekkos, see Αραμπατζής 2005, p. 231-319.

85 For the chronology of the Metropolis of Mystras, see Χατζηδάκης 1979, p. 149.

86 Δρανδάκης 1982, p. 44-61, 47.

87 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 73-74.

88 The apparent stressing of the last syllable (OC) – faded traces of an acute accent are difficultly visible on top the omikron – cannot be justified. The name *Νίκων* (Nikon) is well documented in the PLP, no. 20590-20596.

89 The *sacellarius* dealt mainly with financial matters, but he also supervised the donations; Kazhdan 1991, *s. v.* 'sakellarius'. For this office, see also Bury 1911, p. 81-86; Oikonomidès 1972, p. 312.

90 Grumel 1958, p. 260.

91 Δρανδάκης 1982, p. 52.

92 The month of March in the year Я~ Ψ Π~ Θ~ (6789) is equivalent to 6789-5508=1281 after the birth of Christ; Grumel 1958, p. 222-225.

93 The same observation answers the questions arisen from the study of the stone inscription in the metropolitan church Saint-Demetrius of Mystras. For the decipherment of the Mystras inscription (and its story), see Μανούσακας 1959. In Mani, the indiction symbol is either a rarely seen "vernacular" type resembling an openly drawn minuscule *δ* (or 'double hook'); or the scholarly type, a cursively drawn capital *N* or a capital *Λ* (the angular tachygraphy for the ending −*ην*, occasionally −*ιν* as well; cf. Thompson 1903, p. 430-433, 171), where the slanted right leg of the lambda continues further upwards (as is the case in Karinia). The open *δ* symbol is seen in Saint-George in Marasse and in the Saints-Anargyri, Kippoula. In official writing, the word for the indiction is in the Genitive *ἰνδικτιῶνος* and follows the word *ἔτους*, also in the Genitive, in most cases. Above the symbol, the tachygraphy for the ending −*ος* is frequently seen (the −*ος* is eroded in Karinia but it is clearly seen in Boularii and Platsa. In the rest of Laconia, one may also see the symbol of the indiction in Panagia Chrysaphitissa (1290), in the church of Saint-John-Prodromos of Kato Kastania, Epidauros Limera (13th century), etc. Numerous paradigms may be noticed in the Meteora manuscripts

(Βέης 1967, p. 25 (#22)); also in various codices (*e. g.* Munchen, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gr. 430, f. IIv, dated to 1301; London, British Library, Burney 18, f. 222v, dated to 1366; etc.). For a choice of indiction symbols in Maniot painted inscriptions, see Fig. 33 a-f. Cf. Katsafados 2015b, p. 19, fig. 8.

94 Grumel 1958, p. 125. For systems of chronology used in the Laconian epigraphy of the Late Byzantine period, see Κατσαφάδος 2015b.

95 The epithet 'ecumenical' is used for the patriarch since the time of Justinian. The mention of highly ranked ecclesiastical figures in the Mani was reiterated in two cases several years later, in the third decade of the 14th century, together with the name of the emperor Andronicus. However, the mention did not concern the patriarch of Constantinople, but rather the metropolitan Nicholas of Monemvasia. See also Philippidis-Braat, Feissel 1985, p. 328; Κωνσταντινίδη 1998, p. 32.

96 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 57. In 2015, I mistakingly interpreted the obscure abbreviation *υιοσ* as *κυρ*.

97 The TOC continues in the second line.

98 About the ecclesiastical office of *deuterevon*, *vide infra* note 52. Several years earlier, a certain *deuterevon* Michael Varypates testified and co-signed documents along with many other clerics (1267); Miklosich, Mueller 1871, vol. 4: XCIII, p. 170.

99 Ξυγγόπουλος 1976, p. 10.

100 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, fig. 50. In the church of the Saviour in Gardenitsa, this symbol appears in the Last Judgement scene, in the inscription associated with the punishment of the 'oikonomos of the church' at the western section of the vault (personal observation).

101 Perhaps the office of *ostiarius* gradually disappeared from the Patriarchate already by the 13th century (Darrouzès 1970, p. 206, 212), though from time to time it could be seen on seals. It rarely appears in the palace office lists. This rare appearance may be due to the copying of earlier lists, such as the one accompanying the pseudo-Codinus where it is stipulated that: *Ἡ ἕκτη πεντάς• ὁ πρῶτος ὀστιάριος, κρατῶν τὰς θύρας εἰς τὰς χειροτονίας• ὁ δεύτερος ὀστιάριος, κρατῶν τὸ μονοβάμβουλον• ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς, ἔκδικος καὶ πρῶτος τοῦ βήματος, καὶ φέρων τὰ δευτερεῖα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως• ὁ δευτερεύων τῶν ἱερέων, εἰσοδεύων τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ φέρων τὰ δευτερεῖα τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ• ὁ δευτερεύων τῶν διακόνων πρῶτος τῶν κοινῶν διακόνων, καὶ εἰσοδεύων τοὺς διακόνους. Also: ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς ἵσταται ἐπάνω τῶν ὀφφικίων τοῦ εὐωνύμου χοροῦ, ὅταν λειτουργεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς• μεταδίδει αὐτός τὴν ἁγίαν μετάληψιν τῶ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς τῶ πρωτοπαπᾶ, ἔχων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησία τὰ πρωτεῖα πάντα. Ὁ δευτερεύων λειτουργεῖ καὶ αὐτός μετά τοῦ ἀρχιερέως• ὅταν λείπει ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς, ἔχει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησία τὰ πρωτεῖα πάντα. Οἱ ὀστιάριοι βαστάζουν τὴν ῥάβδον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως*; Bekker 1839, p. 149-150. In the treatise itself, pseudo-Codinus does not refer to the *ostiarioi* of the palace (cf. Macrides, Munitiz, Angelov 2013). The only mention of *ostiarioi* in late Palaeologan times is in the unedited manuscript of Symeon of Thessalonica (Ms. Athens 2047), in the description of the Vespers before Sunday (Lingas 1996, p. 250). For an analysis of this manuscript, see Φουντούλης 1966. Perhaps the Mani bishopric still used *ostiarioi* by the end of the 13th century.

102 The shortened way in which the word was probably written could be a consequence of its vernacular pronunciation (*στιάριος*?), probably also influenced by its use in sequences, such as the one with the other titles of the *κτήτορ*. Haplographies of this kind were common in vernacular Byzantine scripts. I am tempted to consider that the formal sequence of the fully writ-

ten words ...*κτήτορ(ος). οστιαρίου...* most likely ended abbreviated as *κτήτορ. στιαρίου*. As proof of this, I remind readers that there are other similar and much more densely truncated haplographies in the texts painted in the church of Karinia. I already discussed one of them in the analysis of the military saints: the inscription accompanying saint Demetrius on horseback reads *οεντεθεεισαλονηκην*, which stands for *οεντεθε[ίς]ει[ςθες]σαλονη-κην* (in other words, *ο εντεθείς εις Θεσσαλονίκην*, 'the one who was buried in Thessalonica').

103 Lingas 1996, p. 250, note 49.

104 Donations of land, trees, vineyards, houses, cisterns, threshing floors, etc., appear with great frequency. In this particular case, a mill should be probably added to the list. For all kinds of contributions in the Mani, see Κατσαφάδος 2015a, table II, 28-30, 67-68, 110. For donations to ecclesiastical establishments, see also Saradi 2013, p. 206.

105 The word *ἀγοραστόν* appears once again in the dedicatory inscription painted below the border of the representation of the Samaritan woman in the church of Panayitsa, Dryali, dating back to *c*. 1350 (personal observation).

106 Similar contractions already appear in Inscription A – AH-Δ[IM]OY) – and Inscription B – ([O]ϚΗ[API](OY)).

107 Δρανδάκης 1982, p. 59; Δρανδάκης 1988, p. 78; Δρανδάκης 1972, p. 287; see also Kalopissi-Verti 1992, p. 101; Gerstel, Talbot 2006, p. 486.

108 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 40. The first supplicatory inscription in Polemitas is also interesting for another reason, which could indirectly be connected with the Jewish hypothesis. It may refer to a prayer of a priest of Jewish origin, whose name may be related to the Nazirites. For the Nazirites, see *e. g.* Chepey 2005. For the Polemitas inscriptions, see Κατσαφάδος 2015a, fig. 9, fig.10. When I was dealing with the epigraphy in Polemitas, I noticed that of all three priests among the ktetors, the names of two (priests Basil and Demetrius) were not mentioned among the donors of any of the additional donations. The third one, priest Nicholas Kakomerotos, was listed among the donors and had his portrait painted on the western wall of the sanctuary; Κατσαφάδος 2015, 40, fig. 11. The phrase NOTZιPIOC ΪΕΡΕΎC comes from a second inscription, located in a conspicuous place in the sanctuary; therefore this must have been an important and respectable person. However, it is unusual that his additional name NOTZιPIOC does not appear in the main inscription, at least among the ktetors. Therefore, I assumed that NOTZιPIOC denoted a priestly status rather than a name. The term appears in the formulaic segment of the inscription where one would expect an attribute such as 'hermit', or 'anachorite'. It would therefore express the condition of the priest and the placement of the attribute before the office of ΪΕΡΕΎC equally supports this interpretation. I would thus argue that the word is of a Hebrew origin and that it must have been still in use in the region. If one of the other two priests (Basil and Demetrius) of the primary inscription were the person behind the NOTZιPIOC, judging from the hierarch saint Basil who is depicted close to the supplication text, I would identify this NOTZιPIOC with priest Basil.

109 Cf. Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 84, fig. 44.

110 An alternative option could be ΔEYTEPOY KTHTOPOC, suggested by one of the reviewers. This is less likely to occur, as the ktetors were not counted.

111 Cf. Velmans 1971, p. 93.

112 If the portrait were painted while Michael *Deuterevon* was still alive and acting as ktetor, he would have been depicted offering something like a kivotos (similar to sevastos Michael in the church at Chrysphitissa, 1291, for instance), not with his hands in prayer. The contents of the inscription would also have been quite different.

113 I do not exclude the possibility that the ending –EP could be the Vocative of a noun ending in liquid consonant like *πάτερ* ('father'), *σώτερ* (savior), but these two options do not account for the space they need to fill, and they are both grammatically and conceptually inappropriate in such a type of inscription. I therefore believe that the word was part of the sequence and should not be isolated from it.

114 TOY ΘΕѠϹΕΒΕϹΤΑΤΟΥ / ΚΑΒΑΛΑΡ[Ι] ΜΗϹΕΡ ΑΝΤΟΝΗ ΤΕ ΦΛΑΜΑ; Kostarelli 2019, p. 20.

115 The profession comes from the Jewish religion. According to the Talmud, no scholar should dwell in a town that does not have a scribe. In some places, the Jewish community appointed a *sofer* as a clerk to keep the records of the community meetings and write official documents and act as notary; Witmeyer 1948, p. 110.

116 For the structure of Jewish medieval names, see Beider 1996, p. XIV.

117 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 38.

118 Although the terminology used in this article is far from established, for the sake of clarity, 'ktetor' refers to the person who undertook the costs of the erection, restoration, or decoration of the church; while the 'donor' is of equal merit, but not involved in the ktetorship. The term 'contributor' is used occasionally for the person who offered assistance in a second phase in order to support the daily expenses for the service, as well as the operation and maintenance of the church. Extensive repairs of the building and/or the decoration cannot be supported by the 'additional' income; these are normally the object of exceptional donations.

119 Cf. Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 74-75.

120 For the epigraphical texts from Saint-George in Marasse, see Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 65-79; Κατσαφάδος 2015b.

121 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 93, fig. 53.

122 These inscriptions, as well as other pieces of evidence concerning his work in various churches in the area, were presented at the 38th Spring Symposium of the Christian Archeological Society: Κατσαφάδος 2018.

123 Judging from a lapidary inscription on a large slab (now progressively eroding next to the ruined church of Saint-Philip on the Makryna summit), the phenomenon seems to go back at least to the 12th century. In this church of Saint-Philip, the donation of a *χωράφι* (field) is discernible on the slab (my reading). The inscription remains unpublished.

124 Complete analysis of the inscription in Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p.28-30.

125 Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 37, fig. 9Γ. In 'secondary' inscriptions, free space was later used for the transcription of other additions.

126 Δρανδάκης 1980, fig. 24β. Comments on the size of the letters also in Gerstel 2015, p. 48.

127 Δρανδάκης 1964, p. 63-64.

128 For the Kaphiona paintings, see Drandakis 1984, p. 163-175; for the epigrams, see Katsafados 2017.

129 The topic of the donors and dedicatory inscriptions was dealt with in many studies. Specifically for 13th-14th centuries in the Peloponnesus (or Laconia), during a period of centrifugal trends in the Byzantine Empire, the chief references are Kalopissi-Verti 1992, p. 45-46, with previous bibliography; Kalopissi-Verti 2007,

p. 76-79; Panayotidi 1989; Foskolou 2006, especially p. 456-457, where she deals with the role played by the emperor in the inscription of Kaphiona. Further details in Παπαμαστοράκης 2001, p. 298-299. See also Velmans 1971.

130 For Arsenius, the events that took place in his time, and his followers, see the studies of Κοντογιαννοπούλου 1998; Κοντογιαννοπούλου 1999. For the actions of Michael VIII, mostly in relation to Arsenius, see Николић, Павловић 2017, p. 180-181; Macrides 1993; Macrides 1980.

131 Γιαννακόπουλος 1985. The same social climate is described by Λάμπρος 1912 when he refered to the 'invasion' of the Latin monks on Mount Athos after the Council of Lyon in 1274.

132 Magdalino 1978, p. 314-315, and footnotes.

133 Among the well-known cases in Laconia, one should mention the destruction of the depiction of an entire figure of a prelate on one of the walls of the Metropolis of Mystras, as well as that of an inscription inscribed on a column of the same church; Χατζηδάκης 1979, p. 144, 155; cf. Foskolou 2006, p. 460.

134 In such a case, it is striking that the name of Theonikon remained intact. A possible explanation is that the emperor, the patriarch, and the Mani bishop were clearly connected with Uniatism, while Theonikon played an inconsequential role in that affair. The two (ostensibly strange) words after his name and attribute (the one with the six exfoliated letters and the contents of the seventh line) could also be incomprehensible to the poorly literate vandal, therefore the *sacellarius* could not be linked to the Uniate movement.

135 The issue of Byzantine 'heraldry' was briefly explored by Τυπάλδος 1926; Οἰκονόμου 1986; Savvidis 1995. Solovjev 1935 also made a comprehensive account of all the material (available at his time) pertaining to the issue of the double and single-headed eagles in the East. See also Babuin 2001, who focuses on identity-oriented standards in the Byzantine world, especially his p. 36-38. Heraldic issues pertaining to Southeastern Europe and Byzantium were the subject of several articles by Cernovodeanu 1982a; Cernovodeanu 1982b; Cernovodeanu 1983. Several recent articles by P. Androudis deal with various uses of eagle depictions, especially the double-headed one, following the path plotted by Soloviev: Androudis 1999; Androudis 2001; Androudis 2002; Androudis 2012; Androudis 2013a; Androudis 2017, esp. p. 188. To this, one should add Bon 1965, who dealt with heraldry in the principality of Achaia.

136 Κωνσταντινίδη 2008.

137 Cf. PG, vol. 48, coll. 753: *ἵνα ἴδωμεν τόν Δεσπότην ἡμῶν ἐπί τῆς φάτνης, ἐσπαργανωμένον, τό φρικτόν ἐκεῖνο καί παράδοξον θέαμα… ἡ γάρ τράπεζα αὕτη τάξιν τῆς φάτνης πληροῖ.*

138 Ambrose 2013, p. 67, 72, 74, and 75.

139 As far as Ashkenazi Jews are concerned, certain studies argue that the depictions of the eagle would refer to its holy or sacred salvific power, a symbolic agent for the elevation of the soul to Heaven. Cf. Werlin 2006, with related bibliography and a compilation of eagle images in ancient Jewish plastic art. On the biblical symbolism of the eagle, see also Bialer 1968. For the eagle in 12th-century illustrated manuscripts, see Shatzmiller 2017, p. 73-110 (part IV, "German Jews and Figurative art"), especially p. 78. The frequent presence of the eagle in synagogues, on sarcophagi, and ultimately in manuscripts suggests that this was a particularly revered image among Jews. See *e. g.* Meyers, Kraabel, Strange 1976, p. 74; Avigad 1976, p. 79. From a desire to invoke angelic assistance in the service, synagogue patrons craved connection with or the ability to relate to these heavenly beings. Werlin 2006,

p. 155. The fact that Jewish communities chose to display the eagle image more frequently than that of the angel is certainly significant. Therefore, it is legitimate to assume that the angelic winged-figures of Christian art could be compared to this eagle-motif, associated with visions of ascents into heavenly palaces (such as the Hekhalot or Merkavah literature – 'Palaces' or 'Chariots'). The eagle figure was (exaggeratedly) identified with Divine Presence or even God (cf. Rodov 2004, p. 90, with bibliography on examples of eagles in ancient Jewish art). If a 'Jewish connection' were possible, the Karinia eagle would be regarded as discreetly alluding to this cultural heritage.

140 Cf. Ganz 1899, p. 126-135 (chapter *Heraldische Grabmonumente*, for paradigms of 13th century heraldic decorated tomb slabs). As for the Byzantine Mani, the area was under Latin rule until quite recently (cf. Κατσαφάδος 1992, p. 171-176). Only 26 years had passed since the surrender of the castle of Mani to the Byzantines, therefore some kind of influence could have still been present.

141 Cf. Long 1995, p. 77.

142 Gerstel 2011, p. 134-136, note 25. Few other cases are also commented. There is also a full-scale depiction of Manuel I Comnenus, once painted at the southern entrance of the church of Saint-Sophia in Trebizond. In that case, the portrait was the identifying element destined both as a sign of the buried and of the burial place. Cf. Eastmond 2004, p. 141.

143 Λούβη-Κίζη 2003b, p. 123.

144 Cf. Miller 1909. The inscription painted above the *arcosolium* of the church of Saint-George in Akraiphnion was the subject of numerous studies, the latest by Kostarelli 2019, p. 9-24 (with previous bibliography). A. Kostarelli based her analysis on recent archaeological finds. Paradigms such as these are among the very few in which Western lords donate to Orthodox churches. For contemporary donations in general, see Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 2007.

145 A small inscription below which starts with the words *ανϊστόριθ[η η] / οἰκόν* […] could be of assistance, but the rest of the four lines are difficultly visible. Few discernible letters thereafter suggest the following transcription: *ανϊστοριθ[η η] / οἰκόν [τ]ου […] / τον κιμηθ[έντα υιόν Νικο]/λαου [τ]ου κο[που πολ]/λου και/ φο/βου* ("it was painted, this image of (?) for the deceased son of Nicholas with great endeavor and fear"). Reservedly, the inscription could be taken as as a sign that there may have been a burial in or out of the church.

146 The possible Chora Parekklision burial would have also been located beneath the bust of Michael the Archangel; Gerstel 2011, p. 135-136.

147 For the interpretation of donations to churches and especially for the use of murals as means of communication between ktetors and society, see Panayotidi 1994; Panayotidi 2004. Cf. Foskolou 2006, p. 456. For the messages conveyed through inscriptions, see Rhoby 2012.

148 Δροσογιάννη 1982, p. 5.

149 Λούβη-Κίζη 2003b, p. 123. The same is valid for the rampant heraldic lion facing the Jerusalem cross engraved on a templon epistyle of the Mystras Museum, inv. no. 1207, 1208.

150 Kappas 2016, p. 165. I will return to this example later in the current analysis.

151 For the *velaria picta*, see *e. g.* Formenti 2012. For the Western habits in marginal decoration, see Camille 1992, p. 26.

152 Albani 1992; Kalopissi-Verti 2013, p. 234.

153 See Γιαννούλης 2010, p. 278.

154 Previous research identified these riders with two small-sized military equestrian saints belonging to the 1079 stratum of murals in that church (see Κωνσταντινίδη 1998, p. 19), but there are no halos, military saints were not depicted as riders in the 11ᵗʰ century, the figures are too small, in a peripheral position, and the mural fragments are better dated to the 13ᵗʰ century.

155 Previous studies (see *e. g.* Vitaliotis 2011) dated these depictions to the 15ᵗʰ century, on the basis that they represent the eagle of Skanderbeg. More recent research, however, noticed the presence of the same decoration in Serbian churches and linked it to the *velaria picta* fashion coming from Italy, proposing a 14ᵗʰ century dating (cf. di Giussepe 2017).

156 For the Italian cases of Termeno sulla Strada del Vino and Pozzoveggiani, as well as for their influence in the iconographic choices made in the sanctuary apse of the Transylvanian church of Strei, see Agrigoroaei 2018.

157 Cf. di Giussepe 2017.

158 The simple (not elaborate) motifs and the similarities in the ornamentation of the background in the murals of Polemitas and Karinia also argue in favour of the idea of the same painter or painters belonging to the same workshop. The chief pattern used in both of these churches is also present on the rib vault at Saints-Theodore in Kaphiona (dated to 1264).

159 This is the old interpretation of Der Nersessian 1965, p. 31. Today, it is rather a 'received idea'. Cf. also the suggestions by Solovjev 1935, p. 122-126; and a summary the diachronic symbolism of the eagle in Androudis 2013a, p. 209, with bibliography.

160 For the eagle in the East, especially the eagle of the Comneni, see Eastmond 2004, p. 147-150, 157-160, 161-162, with references to other works. Cf. Solovjev 1935, p. 120-121, and note 9. For the heraldic eagle in articles about Byzantium, the Islamic East, and the West, see also Ousterhout 2009, p. 159-160, 156. The eagle, especially the double-headed one, was the subject of many recent studies of Paschalis Androudis. However, there is no mention of the single-headed eagle as an emblem in contemporary literary sources from the Pontus. Cf. Androudis 2017, p. 188, note 43. I refer to Michael Panaretos, John Eugenikos, Bessarion in his *Encomium of Trebizond*, etc.

161 The Kosmosoteira eagle is discussed by Anastasios Orlandos: Ορλάνδος 1940, fig. 3; see also Ousterhout, Bakirtzis 2007, p. 62; Ousterhout 2009, p. 159-161.

162 For the eagles in the anaglyphs and on the cloak of the now lost representation of Manuel Grand Comnenus in Saint-Sophia, see Eastmond 2004, p. 147-150.

163 Single-headed eagles are represented among other creatures (lions, griffins, peacocks) in low-relief decorative anaglyphs of oriental origin in the churches of Saint-Sophia and Saint-Nicholas in Ochrid (13ᵗʰ century); Solovjev 1935, p. 131. In this specific case, the conjecture that both these eagles (along with the anaglyphs of the southern porch) incorporate Anatolian influences is quite plausible. See for this Eastmond 2004, p. 147.

164 See the eagle on the bull of a *βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπάθαριος καὶ στρατηγός* (9ᵗʰ or 10ᵗʰ century). Cf. Jones, Maguire 2002, p. 129, note 108, and p. 131, note 115, with relevant quotations in the source. It gives the following examples: "The author known as Genesios, writing during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959) describes a robe decorated with eagles in his account of the investiture of Leo V (813-20). During the ceremony but before he attains imperial status Leo removes a *kolobion*, a 'rose-colored garment with eagles' and gives it to his chief groom. This *kolobion* was evidently indicative of Leo's pre-imperial status as senior ge-

neral and dignitary. A Georgian example is found on the church of Osk Vank, now in Turkey, which contains multiple images of the two eldest brothers of the ruling Bagratid family. One portrait group depicts the two brothers presenting models of their church to Christ. David Bagrat is identified in an accompanying inscription by the Byzantine title *magistros*, and he wears a tunic covered by a long-sleeved mantle decorated with eagles in medallions. David inherited his title from his father, Adarnase, who received it perhaps together with the appropriate garments from the Byzantine emperor Romanos I. A Russian example was found in the central nave of Saint-Sophia in Kiev, which was originally decorated with frescoes dating to the mid-eleventh century. The fresco portrait of the Grand Prince Yaroslav and his family has been destroyed, but a copy made in the seventeenth century shows the Grand Prince wearing a mantle decorated with eagles". See Ousterhout 2009, p. 159-160, who quotes several other examples.

165 Cf. Jones, Maguire 2002, p. 130, 133. This an interesting and rather convincing explanation, quite close to the power codes and conduct in Byzantium, offering a convenient way-out to several ambiguous circumstances.

166 The emperor is always distinguished by richly jeweled regalia. In a famous Athonite chrysobull dating back to 1374, Alexius III of Trebizond wore purple and jewels, while his consort's garment was decorated with double-headed eagles; Cutler, Nesbit 1986, p. 282. In a manuscript, Manuel II is similarly dressed, as is his heir apparent, although his younger sons' garments are decorated with eagles; Evans 2004, fig. 2.5. The distinction was made also in Bulgaria. In the *Gospels of Ivan Alexander*, the tsar wears jeweled robes, while his son-in-law, despot Constantine, wears garments decorated with double-headed eagles; Evans 2004, p. 56-57, no. 27. A little bit later, in Wallachia, double-headed eagles adorn the clothes of the Romanian prince Mircea the Old (1386-1395, 1397-1418) after his conquest of Dobrudja, when he claimed the title of despot; see for this Theodorescu 1979.

167 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. graec. 442 (14ᵗʰ century), the *Historia* of Georgius Pachymeres, images 43, 390, 393. For the ornamentation of the *suppedia* and footwear of the Byzantine emperors with single- or double-headed eagles, see Jones, Maguire 2002, p. 133, note 125; p. 136, note 132. All three cases of the Pachymeres codex are single-headed; the Lascarid eagles was long ago revised, since it was originally drawn not as a double- but as a single-headed one; Solovjev 1935, p. 120, 133.

168 Βέης 1906, p. 111-112.

169 On the occasion of a commentary on the same *suppedia*, Ousterhout concluded that the eagle was a generalised symbol of the empire (or of rulership), an emblem not attributed to a specific person or family. He was also in favor of the association with the imperial apotheosis; Ousterhout 2009, p. 160. However, the Roman symbol was not exactly the same, since the apotheosis was mainly associated with funerary contexts and was typically combined with other features, for instance the image of a deceased person, which is not the case here.

170 Kappas 2016, p. 164, fig. 13. Fleurs-de-lys or in field azur constitute the emblem of the French king. However, Ousterhout considers that the Mystras flowers present greater similarities with the same theme on Byzantine coins rather than that of the French insignia; Ousterhout 2009, p. 164. In the Byzantine Empire, the fleur-de-lys appears in a *trachy* of Theodore I Lascaris (1254-1258); Grierson 1982, no. 1184, 1191. This coin has been associated with saint Tryphon of Nicaea; Foss, Tulchin 1993, p. 104-107. According to Spier 2013, p. 47, the fleur-de-lys had no precise use in Byzantium. For him, the symbol was associated with saint

Tryphon as patron saint of Nicaea, therefore explaining why it appeared on Palaeologan coins (as well as coins of John Comnenus-Doucas of Thessalonica or Theodore I Doucas-Lascarid), on walls of buildings in Mystras, on rings, etc. From his perspective, it was probably a decorative pattern and nothing more.

171 For Isabelle of Lusignan, see Zakythinos 1936. For the Kantakouzenos family, Nicol 1968. A recent summary in Λούβη-Κίζη 2019.

172 I could not identify the location of this fragment today, but it is presented in Δρανδάκης 2002, p. 312.

173 Kappas 2016, p. 175, fig. 20; Ousterhout 2009, p. 155, fig. 3.

174 No Byzantine badge or identifying symbol from a church, conveying a message of analogous importance, would be designed without complementary text. In many instances, the symbol is the text itself (a monogram or letter combination). Furthermore, the argument that a couple of single-headed eagles are depicted on the *suppedion* of emperor Michael VIII in the *Pachymeres Codex* is tenuous, as all the eagles of the three emperors depicted in that manuscript are single-headed.

175 Androudis 2017, p. 190-194, looked into the gradual transformation of the Trebizond single-headed eagle of the Comneni into the double-headed eagle of the Paleologans. This may be useful in our analysis of Karinia, which is more or less contemporary (1281). The double-headed eagle appeared as an imperial sign from the time of Andronicus II (1282-1328). In the 14th century, it was replaced by the cantoned cross with four betas, by then recognized as the official imperial *flamoulon*. However, several decades later, in the catholicon of the Saint-Gregory monastery of Nys, the distinction between the single-headed eagle of the Comneni and the double-headed one of the Palaeologans appears to be still in use. On the garments of the portraits of John II Comnenus and Eudocia Paleologina, the robe of Paleologina is ornamented with double-headed eagles, while her Comnenian husband has single-headed eagles. For the interpretation of the eagles in specific portraits, see Androudis 2017, p. 191, with references to Miller 1926, p. 31-32. I would mention also the coins from the years of Basil I (1332-1340) and Manuel III (1390-1412), both Grand Comneni of Trebizond, since they also present the single-headed eagle, while double-headed ones appear on the Paleologan coins of Andronicus II and Andronicus III, cut in Constantinople.

176 An anaglyph with the eagle on a Roman shield can be seen in Bascape, del Piazzo 1983, p. 4. See also *Lothair's Cross*, where both the profile of Lothair on the gem at the foot and especially the cameo of Augustus at the crossing of the two branches occupy key positions in the layout of the artifact. Similar ideas undoubtedly animated the chronicler and bishop Thietmar of Merseburg who claimed that the bronze eagle on the roof of the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle dated back to the reign of Charlemagne.

177 Conrad II, emperor of the Holy Empire (1024-1039) used the eagle on an imperial seal in 1029. This image remained in use until 1106 (cf. Puhle, Hasse 2006, vol. 1, p. 130), when eagles disappeared from imperial seals, all the while becoming an emblem for the imperial troops, who used it in the manner of ancient Roman eagles. But soon afterwards, Hohenstaufens also used the eagle symbolism. See the 1158 eagle on the cathedral of Milan; Frederick I Barbarossa's (1155-1190) coin bearing an eagle and the inscription SCVTVM IMPERATORIS on its reverse, etc. Cf. Bleisteiner 2001, p. 5. The imperial character of the symbol was mentioned in the enunciation of urban rights in the *Peace of Constance* (1183).

178 Bleisteiner 2001, p. 5.

179 For ideal examples of the imperial eagles, see the *Codex Manesse* (Heidelberg University Library, cod. pal. 848, f. 6r, f. 43v, etc., early 14th century). For the use of the eagle on coats of arms of allies and imperial princes, see Slater 2002, p. 201. Henry II duke of Austria (1112-1177) used the eagle in 1156 in order to mark his allegiance to Frederick I Barbarossa.

180 See for example the eagle of the patriarchate of Aquileia on the denars of patriarchs Volchero (1204-1218) and Gregorio de Montelongo (1251-1269). It is turned to the left, while the denar of Bertoldo (1218-1251) presents it turned to the right. Since the times of patriarch Raimondo della Torre (1277-1299), it was permanently turned to the left. Samples of Aquileia coins are presented in *The De Wit Collection* 2008, p. 198-199.

181 Parani 2003, p. 27-29.

182 For the headdresses of the Byzantine court cf. Macrides, Munitiz, Angelov 2013; also several schematic renderings (with quotation) in Bascape, del Piazzo 1983, p. 51.

183 The only other similar case worth mentioning is the 14th century crowned heraldic lion engraved (and today almost erased) on a plaque immured on the southern facade of the catholicon of the Perivleptos monastery in Mystras. However, this is not Byzantine, but refers to the arms of the royal house of Lusignan. Λούβη-Κίζη 2003a, p. 105. Louvi-Kizi attributed the destruction to a late action, in the wake of the Cantacuzene loss of power in Mystras, a quasi-*damnatio memoriae*. Similarly to the earlier mentioned Kastania eagle, the Perivleptos lion is a constituent of a message in Latin code and form, displayed in a Byzantine context, and addressed to Eastern beholders.

184 Fox Davies, *Chapter XIV*.

185 Quite similar to the Kastania case, the eagle represented on the reverse of a half grosso of John II Palaeologus, marquis of Montferrat (1338-1372), was equally influenced by Western heraldry; *The De Wit Collection* 2008, no. 3587.

186 The naturalistic elements of the Chrysapha eagle are comparable to the Mystras eagles found on the anaglyphs of the Museum of Mystras, no. 1165 and 1209 (15th century, probably from the church of Pantanassa).

187 Cf. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985.

188 The 11th century double-headed eagle from the Byzantine Beroe (Stara-Zagora), an example without a knot, is probably an interpretation (in Cappadocia or Armenia) of an oriental teratological theme. See for this Solovjev 1935, p. 131; Androudis 2013a, p. 210, fig. 1.

189 Βέης 1906, p. 111,112. The double-head eagle has been interpreted as a figurative device employed by Andronicus II to pretend his sovereignty over the Orient and as symbol of fortunate magic (Heisenberg 1920, p. 28-29). In my opinion, the painter who drew the chrysobull might have been aware of contemporary Western coats of arms having the eagle as charge.

190 Such knots appear in 13th century Seljuk eagles bearing magic, protective, totemic, or plainly powerful properties; Androudis 1999, fig. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11b, 12a, b.

191 Androudis 2013b, p. 73, fig. 2, fig. 8.

192 An important issue in heraldry is the treatment of colours ('tinctures'). The exact nature of the colours used in Karinia can be subject to debate, since the overlapping of metals ('argent' white for the 'field' and 'gold' yellow for the 'charge') contradicts one of the tenets of heraldry, i. e. that metals should not be overlapped. However, the colour code used by painter of Karinia could be an interpretation of a different colour code of the source.

There are also exceptions, such as the coat of arms of Jerusalem, which presents an overlapping.

193 "In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the eagle appears with the head raised and the beak closed. The sachsen (bones of the wings) are rolled up at the ends like a snail, and the pinions take a vertical downward direction. The tail, composed of a number of stiff feathers, frequently issues from a knob or ball". Fox-Davies 1909, p. 234. Paul Ganz also provided a schematic representation of the eagle outline evolution during the course of the 13th century; Ganz 1899, p. 47, fig. 29. "With the end of the fourteenth century the head straightens, the beak opens and the tongue becomes visible. The rolling up of the wing bones gradually disappears, and the claws form an acute angle with the direction of the body; and at this period the claws occasionally receive the 'hose' covering the upper part of the leg. The feathers of the tail spread out sickle-wise. The fifteenth century shows the eagle with sachsen forming a half circle, the pinions spread out and radiating therefrom, and the claws more at a right angle. The sixteenth century draws the eagle in a more ferocious aspect, and depicts it in as ornamental and ornate a manner as possible"; Fox-Davies 1909, p. 234; Ströhl 1899, tafel IX, fig. 13, 14, 15.

194 See *e. g.* Pastoureau 1979; Pastoureau 2009.

195 Pending new material from ongoing research, my personal interpretation of the formal aspects in a heraldic key, leading to a possible identification of a Western patron or a Byzantine one connected to the Western lands, will be presented in a separate study.

196 In Byzantine history, the reign of emperor Michael VIII was favourable to Jewish communities, since towards its end it had put an end to the persecutions of the Jews. Charanis 1947.

197 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti wrote about the intervention of a *συγγενικό χέρι* ('related hand') in the Karinia program (Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1994, p. 470), without implying the precise involvement of George Konstantinianos.

198 For the moment, a few preliminary observations could be of assistance. The inscriptions in the conches look like they were written by the same hand (even though their subject is different – in Polemitas the composition is ΒΡΕΦΟΚΡΑΤΟΥϹΑ, while in Karinia is named ΠΑΝΤΑΝΑϹΑ). The features of the tall letters used in both churches are formal and meticulous, showing the same traits. Furthemore, the copying of the characters and their ligatures seems to be based on the same template. Such paleographic matters are complex, extended, and beyond the scope of the current article. I intend to deal with them in a future study.

199 Mary and Emmanuel in the medallions of both conches are stylistically very similar. It also looks like the same painter was responsible for the enthroned ΠΑΝΤΑΝΑϹΑ on the northern section of the templon's side (facing the nave) in Polemitas and in the depictions of ΒΛΑΧΕΡΝΗΤΗϹΑ and ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΟΡ on the two sections of the same side of the templon of Karinia. However, the groups of apostles in the two depictions of the Ascension are rather different in composition and style in both Karinia and Po-

lemitas. The physiognomies of certain apostles are equally different. In Polemitas, saint Peter is placed to the left of the ascending Christ, in the southern group. And the depictions of the Anastasis are also different, particularly in the poses of Christ. Unless I were to accept an assisting (secondary) painter in Polemitas, to whom both these compositions would be assigned, which is not unlikely, the hypothesis of George Konstantinianos and a second master in Karinia is not to be discarded.

200 This versatility is a characteristic that might not be a particularity of a single artist's means of expression. It could equally characterise many other painters of the period, whose skills could gradually evolve over time, learning more from one project to the other. The versatility recorded would explain other odd cases (slight discrepancies) encountered in the monuments of the Mani attributed to George Konstantinianos, therefore confirming his involvement. The artist from Polemitas is considered to be the painter of the church of the Dormition-of-Mary in place named Koraki, located in the proximity of Mina. Cf. Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1994, p. 470.

201 Cf. Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 122, fig. 71.

202 Cf. Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 117-119, fig. 70.

203 Two more examples in Mani testify to a situation in which two master painters divided the works of the sanctuary. In Saint-George of Marasse, the Virgin in the conch was probably painted by painter Nomikos, while the hierarchs on the apse are in all likelihood the work of his colleague, Theodosius. In Saint-Nicholas at Skaltsotianika, the Virgin in the conch is also by the hands of Nomikos, while the groups of the Ascension were painted by a talented anonymous master.

204 A master painter would work in the sanctuary (including the Ascension), on the chief scenes of the Dormition and Crucifixion (cf. Σωτηρίου 1969, p. 23), and in most portraits of the lower register (including the names and holy texts on the scrolls) as well as in the dedicatory and ktetorial inscriptions. The assistant painter would be responsible for the rest, for ornamentations, and occasionally (if he were literate) for the names of the saints and texts of the holy scrolls high at the poorly lighted vaults. Given the current situation, I believe that in the case of two master painters, the division of the work was made according to their individual specializations and to the *anthivola* each had in his possession. Such a thing happened forty years later in the nearby church of Saint-George in Marasse (1322), where masters Nomikos and Theodosius worked side by side; see Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p.75.

205 I imagined the possibility of his name being also George, which would explain his absence from the chronological module as a redundancy, but there is no precedent for such a situation.

206 Based on his identification signature in the large Polemitas inscription: *καμ(οῦ) Γεωργίου τοῦ Κῶνσταντηνιάνου χωρ(ας) τ(ῆς) Ἁγίας Θέκλης*; Kalopissi-Verti 1992. For the identification of this place with Agia-Thekla near Lagia, see Κατσαφάδος 2015a, p. 31.

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Philosophia picta
On the Reception of the Neo-Platonism of Florence in Buda

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RÉSUMÉ : La présente étude analyse une enluminure du bréviaire de Domonkos Kálmáncsehi (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 446), daté vers 1481 et rédigé à la cour du roi Matthias Corvinus. Sur le f. 88v, une image décorative et surprenante a été insérée dans une série d'illustrations consacrées à la Vierge : deux couples nus font l'amour autour d'une fontaine. L'auteure considère qu'il ne peut pas s'agir de l'amour vulgaire et pécheur (*nuditas criminalis*), ni d'une fonction strictement ornementale. Puisque la cour de Buda était influencée par les modes de la Renaissance florentine, notamment par le néoplatonisme de Ficino, il est fort possible que l'image doive être décryptée selon l'interprétation de Panovsky sur la diffusion de la conception ficinienne de l'amour dans les milieux humanistes, surtout si l'on considère que l'un des amis de Ficino, Francesco Bandini, était arrivé à la cour de Buda en 1476. Dans ce cas, les deux couples enlacés ne représenteraient pas l'amour charnel en tant que péché, mais la force génératrice de l'amour sur terre. Selon l'interprétation ficinienne du *Symposium*, l'amour est l'expression même de l'émanation du pouvoir divin, qui crée le monde dans sa beauté.

MOTS-CLÉS : humanisme, enluminures de manuscrits, néoplatonisme, Renaissance florentine, bréviaire.

REZUMAT: Studiul de față analizează o miniatură din breviarul lui Domonkos Kálmáncsehi (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 446), datat în jurul anului 1481 și redactat la curtea regelui Matia Corvin. O imagine decorativă și surprinzătoare a fost inserată într-o serie de ilustrații dedicate Fecioarei la f. 88v: două cupluri nude fac dragoste în jurul unei fântâni. Autoarea consideră că nu poate fi vorba despre dragostea vulgară și păcătoasă (*nuditas criminalis*) și nici de o reprezentare pur ornamentală. Întrucât curtea din Buda era influențată de módele Renașterii florentine, în special de neoplatonismul lui Ficino, s-ar cuveni ca imaginea să fie descifrată în cheia de lectură aplicată de Panovsky difuzării concepției lui Ficino despre dragoste în mediile umaniste. Unul dintre prietenii lui Ficino, Francesco Bandini, ajunsese de altfel la curtea din Buda în 1476. În acest caz, cele două cupluri îmbrățișate nu ar reprezenta iubirea trupească, deci un păcat, ci forța care generează dragostea pe pământ. În interpretarea *Banchetului*, Ficino consideră că iubirea este expresia emanației puterii divine, care creează lumea în toată splendoarea ei.

CUVINTE CHEIE: umanism, miniaturi de manuscrise, neoplatonism, Renaștere florentină, breviar.

to Karsay Orsolya

The Kálmáncsehi breviary is one of the best known and most valuable Hungarian medieval manuscripts.[1] It was purchased by the National Széchényi Library in 1939,[2] and has since then been thoroughly studied again and again.[3] Its reputation is mainly due to its extraordinarily rich illuminations rendering the breviary one of the most important products of the late fifteenth-century book painting activity at or around the royal court of Buda.[4] The aim of the current study is to provide some new perspectives regarding a single disputed element of that rich illumination.

Research unanimously agrees that the codex was produced around 1481 in Buda for Domonkos Kálmáncsehi (died 1503) provost of Székesfehérvár. The prelate, who also played a role in the royal administration, is primarily known in Hungarian cultural history for his remarkable bibliophily.[5] Besides the Budapest breviary, three more books belonging to his library are documented: a missal with a breviary, now in the Morgan Library and Museum of New York;[6] a prayer book in the National Library in Paris;[7] and a missal in the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral.[8] The chief miniaturist of the Budapest breviary was Francesco da Castello,[9] a master from Milan, who autographed his work in no fewer than four instances to indicate that he considered the manuscript to be one of his major works.[10] The commissioning prelate himself is depicted twice[11] and is also named in the manuscript. On one occasion – at the Feast of Corpus Christi – his name appears together with that of the miniaturist. All this suggests that the manuscript was designed and produced with special care.[12]

Among the illuminations decorating the main feasts[13] and surrounding the text on all its four margins, the one accompanying the Christmas Vigil in particular seems to be crafted with great care (f. 88v) (Fig. 1). The miniature analysed in the current article is an intricate part of this composition. The scene, a fountain full of water with two embracing nude couples sitting on its rim, can be found in the struc-

turally important place of the full-page decorative sheets of Renaissance codices, more or less at the golden section point of the framing decoration's vertical side. The series of scenes in the decorative sheet depicts the cycle of the Life of the Virgin, as is appropriate for the feast of Christmas, with small medallions illustrating certain parts. The Annunciation is represented in the upper left corner, while in the top middle there is the Engagement of Joseph and Mary, in the upper right corner the Visitation, in the bottom right corner the Bathing of Jesus, and the scene in the bottom left corner shows the twelve-year-old Jesus teaching in the temple. The historiated initial depicts Mary kneeling and adoring the swaddled Christ Child, who is radiating light. The reader would automatically ask how such an image could be placed next to a series of pictures depicting a most sacred event.

If we want to set up an order among the different groups of the elements of the full-page illumination, it is obvious that the main theme – the unequivocally sacred theme clearly embedded in the relevant medieval tradition – is conveyed by the historiated initial and framed medallions. The miniature with the fountain belongs to the space with a more decorative function. This space, which, due to its seemingly ordinary and random nature, usually attracts less attention, also represents a certain tradition. The subject of this ornamental part differs by periods, places and themes. At the same time, when producing this part, the artist definitely had more freedom than in the case of the main iconographic program. As a result, the secondary ornamentation as a whole often produces a more complicated and more challenging structure than the main theme. It can certainly be maintained that in most cases, as well as in our case, there is some kind of a dialogue between the secondary ornamentation / border decoration and the main theme. Above the fountain, putti blow their downward-held trombones, in the middle of the border on the right there is a putto playing the pipe, while at the bottom of the sheet two hybrid creatures (a centaur and a sphinx-like figure) ready to fight one another fill the rest of the decorative space. The latter are placed at the two sides of the coat of arms.

In order to have a more or less clear picture of what the contemporary observer could have thought when looking at the page in question, one should also take into consideration the text of the well-known antiphon that begins the feast of Christmas Eve in the breviary. The picture and the text of the antiphon emerge in the observer's mind together, complementing and interpreting each other:

Ave, spes nostra,
Dei Genetrix intacta,
Ave, illud ave per angelum accipiens.
Ave, concipiens Patris splendorem, benedicta.
Ave, casta, sanctissima virgo sola innupta.
Te glorificat omnis creatura matrem Luminis.
Alleluja, alleluja, alleluja.

Hail, our hope, pure Mother of God!
Hail, who received that 'hail' from the angel.
Hail, conceiving the Father of light, O blessed one.
Hail, pure and most holy maiden and virgin.
Every creature glorifies you, mother of Light.
Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

<div align="right">(transl. Susan Hellauer)</div>

Just like the picture cycle depicted here, the text of the antiphon focuses on the Holy Mary, mother of God giving birth to him while remaining a virgin.

In art history research, Mikó Árpád drew the attention to the miniature and formulated some fundamental questions about it. He also identified the context providing the starting point of a possible interpretation, allowing at the same time room for further considerations.[14] He suggests on the one hand that the interpreter should follow the *interpretatio christiana* when approaching the miniature. The image in this case would represent the dichotomy / opposition of *amor sanctus* (holy love) and *amor carnalis* (carnal love), and perhaps through the amoretto blowing his pipe and the hybrid creatures also symbolises natural wilderness as opposed to the Immaculate Conception. On the other hand, and independently from the previous interpretation, the image could also belong to the sardonic *all'antica* pictorial commentaries. Mikó Árpád argued that this latter idea could be supported by Domonkos Kálmáncsehi's 'robust' personality, emerging from the scarce sources. Accepting that these representations allow by their nature for several approaches, in this case we think that the uniqueness of the final result, lacking any antithetic emphasis, calls for a different interpretation.

Contrasting the vulgar and the holy (and the jokes emerging from this contrast or based upon it) are of course not alien to the painted illustrations of medieval prayer books.[15] Indeed, this also clearly appears on the examined page, as the little *amoretto* blowing the pipe in the middle of the border on the right-hand side represents, in its modest way, such a tradition.[16] However, the composition of the border on the left (as we shall see later, the entire left-hand side part of the decorative border makes up a connected whole) would be difficult to put under the categories of vulgar or profane in a general sense of the word. In a way, it does not fit into the simple, robust, sometimes unsightly and, last but not least, easy to interpret embellishments meant to represent such contrast in the contemporary and earlier codices. The reason behind this is partly its emphatic position, and partly a certain solemnity in the way it is presented (the means to achieve this effect include stylisation and finely painted images). The result is a picture that – although depicting the most vulgar activity – is close to the sacred character otherwise dominating the page.[17]

Nevertheless, the truly vulgar subject of the illustration cannot be ignored. Indeed, medieval art 'allowed' this subject to appear only in a strictly regulated way and sense, and always with a highly negative connotation, referring it to matters of hell. At the same time, it is highly difficult (if not impossible) to find examples such as this, where an embracing nude couple presented in this negative sense is placed next to the most sacred events. This must have been far above the range of the variations allowed for example in the art of decorating books of hours to counterpoint the sacred and the profane. In addition, as one can see, in our case there are no attributes of negativity or sin. The Nativity is accompanied by an embrace rendered beautiful and solemn. In the light of medieval iconography, there must have been some significant change in attitude and a crucial element of thought must have appeared in the background to make this possible. It is probably wrong to look for the explanation in the stereotype of the "light-hearted spirit of the Renaissance", and it is also wrong if this scene is placed in the category of jokes. It is perhaps best to keep in mind only that the emerging new world, conventionally

called the Renaissance, whose main explicit aim was the *renovatio* of religion, education and sciences, did not cause an automatic and fundamental change in the mindset of the generations living in that era, who were still rooted in the Middle Ages.

When searching for an explanation, one should not ignore the place and time where the manuscript was created, as these elements might prove to be crucial in its interpretation. As already mentioned, the illumination was produced in *c.* 1481 in Hungary, at the royal court of Buda, a piece of information which provides the context where the clue to this phenomenon must be explored. The importance of the place and time are confirmed by the above-mentioned uniqueness of this composition, namely that no parallel has so far been found to it in the codex material of either the Middle Ages or the Renaissance.

Although Renaissance art accepted nudity to a certain extent, it was inconceivable to depict embracing nude couples in such a position, especially with such positive connotation. According to Erwin Panofsky's typology, medieval moral theology distinguished four symbolical meanings of nudity.[18] The first is *nuditas naturalis*, the natural state of man, also expressing humility. The second is *nuditas temporalis*, the lack of earthly goods, which may occur as a necessity, because of poverty, or voluntarily, as in the case of the apostles or in that of monks. The third, *nuditas virtualis*, may be equated with the symbol of innocence acquired through confession. And finally, the fourth, *nuditas criminalis*, is a sign of lust, vanity, and the absence of all virtues. *Nuditas naturalis* occurs in the last scenes of Genesis and The Last Judgment, in scenes of martyrs and in scientific images. Nuditas criminalis is the nudity of pagan gods, devils, sinful human beings, as well as that of the personified sins. Images of nude cupids and, in the Gothic period, most of the profane images, are examples of this. According to Panovsky, only the spirit of the Proto-Renaissance could interpret the nudity of Cupid as a

symbol of love's spiritual nature, or indeed to employ an entirely naked figure for the representation of a virtue. However, depicting a man was still less scandalous than depicting a woman.[19] Embracing nude couples could only appear, if at all, in the context of *nuditas criminalis*, as a symbol of sin. An illuminative example of this is the *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things* (*c.* 1500) of Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516).[20] Clothed embraces were also depicted, but they too were represented as sinful acts, like for example in the *Bibles moralisées* (Fig. 2).[21] Thus, the *interpretatio christiana* does not allow for interpreting the picture, as it is so strikingly different from the possible ways of depiction. If in this Christmas context the aim would simply be to represent *amor carnalis*, then the image could only occur with a negative association, containing some allusion to the sinful earthly life, in some kind of dual composition highlighting the contrast and clearly separating the couples from the sinless, holy sphere. This, however, was obviously not the case in the Kálmáncsehi breviary.

The elements composing the depiction currently under study come partly from medieval and partly from Renaissance motifs in manuscript illumination. The miniature in itself, taken out of its context, presents a popular element of Renaissance art: the 'fountain of love' (*fontana d'amore*) or 'fountain of youth' (*fontana di giovinezza*) as the complex symbol of rebirth (*rinascita*) in several different senses, with Cupid or cupids bending a bow.[22] The fountain is filled with the water of life. The fact that it was originally an established motif used in its own right is proven by Mikó Árpád's remarkable discovery of the miniature's probable prefiguration (Fig. 3-4).

One of these sources, or of the devices used by the illuminators, can be traced back to a drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo, extant as a niello print and probably also circulated in that form. The free, creative use of engravings, as well as prefigurations produced by graphic reproduction was a standard practice employed by miniaturists. This happened here too. It is obvious that the illuminator simplified the scene.[23] He abandoned the two little putti looking around happily. The cupids bending their bows also seem to be missing from the top of the fountain, but a closer look at the left-hand side of the decorative border reveals that the little gods of love shooting arrows have become cherub-like putti, sitting high and holding their trombones strangely downward, most probably because this was suggested by the original composition, where the cupids hold their arrows downward. The artist cleverly dissected the composition and adapted it to the available space and subject matter. However, there is a small clue that the artist considered the given range of motifs – that is, the complete left-hand side border decoration – to be a whole, even though they were rephrased and dissected. There are two red flowers next to the fountain's pedestal, one to the left and another one to the right, and then the red spot is repeated on top of the decorative bar, in the form of a flower pistil. The miniaturist, certainly characterised by a highly conscious use of colours, imposed unity on the whole left-hand side border with these three red spots arranged in the shape of a triangle. For some reason he thought this to be necessary. On the one hand, he may have had the concise unity of the prefiguration on his mind, on the other, he may have unconsciously indicated by this arrangement that while recomposing the scene, he still considered it as a whole. This minor circumstance gives a glimpse of the reinterpretation process and reveals that the two components, the putti at the top and the fountain at the bottom,

▼ Fig. 2. *Clothed embrace represented as a sinful act in the* Bible moralisée of Vienna*, manuscript of the Austrian National Library, cod. 2554, f. 2r. Print-screen of the facsimile available online.* Source: https://digital.onb.ac.at/
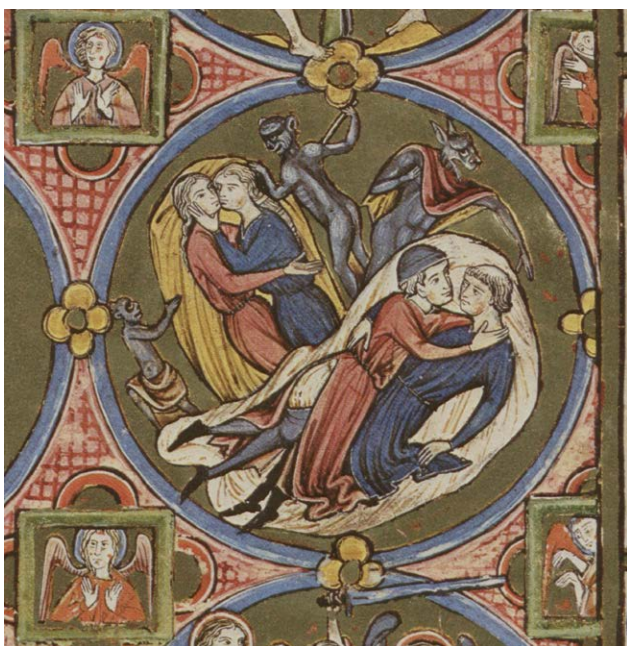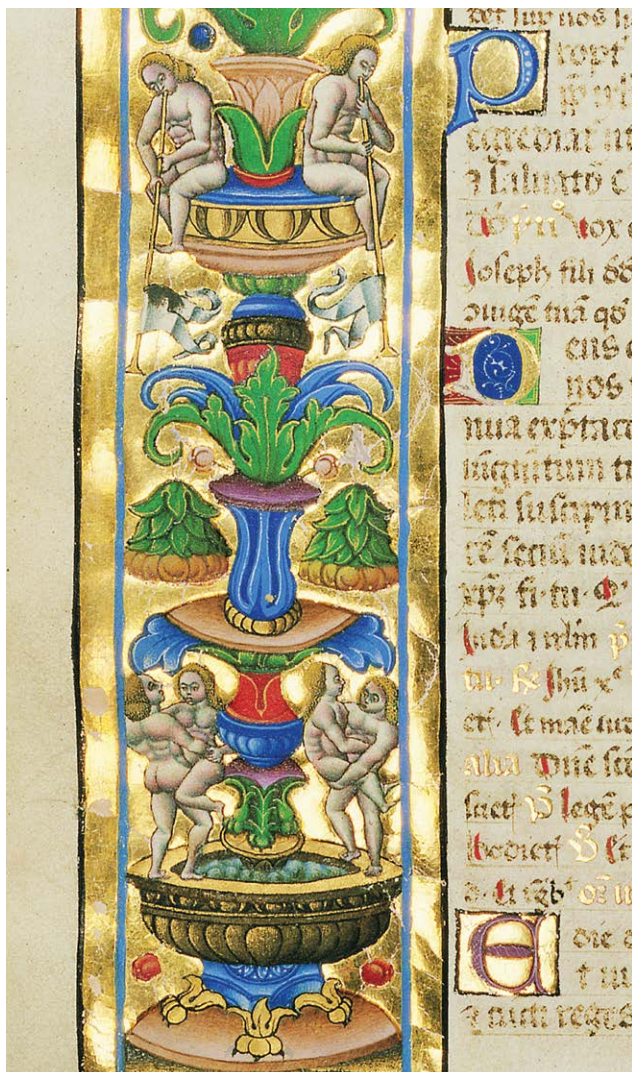
Fig. 3. *Detail of the fountain scene in the Breviary of Domonkos Kálmáncsehi. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 446., f. 88v.*
Courtesy of the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár.

Fig. 4. *'The Fountain of Love'. Niello proof attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo (c. 1470). Museo Malaspina, Pavia.*
Source: Busignani 1970, p. LXXXIII.

must be interpreted in the context of their interrelation. In other words, it is significant that the cupids became cherub-like putti, playing the trombone as is appropriate for the subject, while the two embracing figures remained the same. It is yet unclear why the artist did not transform the figures of the embracing couples in the same manner in which he reinterpreted the cupids shooting the arrows, but this is certainly a sign of deliberate interpretation. Why is the arrow-shooting cupid too strong and profane (we can of course understand this in itself) and why less so the love-making couple? The fountain of love was thus put in a new interpretational context that was appropriable to the sacred theme.

Surviving contracts made with miniaturists show that the commissioners often ordered rather exactly what the pictures should contain (for example how many figures), what kind of and how much paint and gold should be used, what quality the lapis lazuli should be,[24] etc.[25] Consequently, the choice of the motif and its incorporation in the Christmas illumination could not be accidental. At a first glimpse, one may imagine a scandalous outcome, but it was probably not at the level of the miniaturist that the decision was made. The author of the iconographic programme must have either come from the commissioner's close environment, or he was somebody not so close, but still aware of the fact that the owner would be able to

interpret the composition. As in many cases, it may be argued that the person developing the iconographic programme was a humanist acting as an intellectual mediator between the commissioner and the artist.[26]

The conscious choices in the composition of the Christmas scene can also be noticed on another significant page in the manuscript, the Easter composition (f. 180r), where one may virtually recognize the same choices as those from the page of Christmas Eve:[27] at the golden mean point of the outer vertical border decoration, among the medallions of the Passion, there is an unusual scene: the fountain of youth with a well interpretable set of symbols, expressed at the same time in a novel way. To summarise, the traditional sacred content in the miniature depicting the loving couple is complemented by something new at the levels of both form and – because of its unusual nature – content. This new idea must have been acceptable and interpretable in the environment where the manuscript was

produced and for which was intended. As proven by the image itself, it must have been linked to the main teachings of religion. Otherwise, the medieval mindset and tradition simply could not have allowed the image to appear there.

<div align="center">***</div>

Relations between Italy and Hungary have always been intensive and have been further strengthened since the reign of the Hungarian kings of Anjou. These circumstances contributed to the dissemination of the ideas of Renaissance and humanism at a very early date. The mid-15th century generation of prelates was already acquainted with the new ideas. Even king Matthias himself was educated by "the first Hungarian humanist", Johannes Vitéz of Zredna. As Hungarian cultural elite had already become sensitive and receptive to the beliefs of humanism and Renaissance, this greatly contributed to the development of a flourishing Renaissance court under Matthias in Buda. The former contacts of litterate prelates with Florence, the focal point of the Italian Renaissance, led to a direct and well-stablished link between the Italian city and the Hungarian royal court. It is particularly important to note that, thanks to its humanists, the royal court was informed first-hand of the intellectual developments in Florence – including the emergence of the cult of Plato – within a short time and before any other northern country. The debate on Platonism vs. Aristotelianism became the cornerstone of endeavours towards the intellectual revival in the Quattrocento. Since József Huszti, Hungarian research agrees that the country's great intellectuals having links to Italy were continuously informed of the state of that debate throughout the 15th century, as well as of the rebirth of Platonism in Italy.[28] Surviving volumes in the libraries of Johannes Vitéz of Zredna,[29] Janus Pannonius,[30] Péter Garázda,[31] and later Matthias Hunyadi[32] provide evidence that the relevant literature was present in a significant number of books in Hungary.

Intellectual life in Florence in the second part of the 15th century was greatly influenced by Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and the *Platonica Familia*, the circle of scholars around him, including Lorenzo de Medici, Pico della Mirandola, Christoforo Landino and Angelo Poliziano. Ficino can be credited with allowing Europe to get genuinely acquainted with Plato's texts, as he was the first to translate from Greek into Latin the entire corpus of Plato's works. It should be noted that at that time, and for a long time thereafter, the original teachings of Plato could not be really separated from other teachings superimposed upon them during millennia, so for a long time one can talk about a Platonic tradition which, following the example of none other than the influential Gemisthos Plethon, had a mainly Neoplatonic nature and represented the eclecticism of the Alexandrian School of Late antiquity. That is why, besides Plato, the teachings' main representatives to be followed included Hermes Trismegistos, Zoroaster, Orpheus, Pythagoras, as well as the Neoplatonists: Plotinus, Proclus, Porphyrius, Iamblichus, Dionysius Areopagita. Ficino also translated a number of these latter authors' works and embraced this tradition when he commenced his *opus magnum*, developing his own philosophy whose primary aim was to harmonise and reconcile Platonism and Christian teachings. Ficino gradually formulated his syncretistic views and in the first years of his activities he was inclined to embrace the pagan tradition in its original form.[33] He wrote his commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, a work that later gained incomprehensible popularity throughout Europe, in his first

period.[34] Ficino also sent this opus to Janus Pannonius, "the most amorous man", on August 5, 1469, with a dedication especially addressed to him: *Platonica ad Platonicum, amatoria ad amantissimum retulerimus.* He asked Janus Pannonius, who had guided the Muses to the Danube, to do the same with his Plato.[35]

In the framework story, the noble custom of celebrating Plato's birthday is renewed in Florence, under the organisation of Ficino's friend, Francesco Bandini, and the first symposium of Renaissance Platonism was held in Villa Careggi near Florence.[36] At the end of the banquet, Plato's *Symposium* was read aloud and the attendants took turns to comment on the speeches they had heard. In fact, Ficino's work contains the elaboration of a complex philosophical system, the description of the world in Ficino's Neoplatonic interpretation. Its essence is the 'theory of love', the most important part of Ficino's teaching. Erwin Panovsky wrote the following about this teaching: "Originally, however, and in undiluted form, it had been part of a philosophical system which must be reckoned among the boldest intellectual structures ever erected by the human mind."

Ficino's friend, Francesco Bandini, arrived in Hungary in 1476 and remained a key figure in the intellectual life in Buda until the death of King Matthias. It is his merit that Ficino's works arrived one after the other in the 1480s Buda (including *Theologia Platonica* – completed in 1474 and printed in 1482 – and the complete translation of Plato – printed at the end of 1484). Ficino had dedicated his *Vita Platonis* to Bandini, as early as 1477, and Bandini was at that time already staying in Buda. Furthermore, Ficino and Bandini constantly exchanged letters.[37] The great philosopher sent greetings through Bandini to his friends in Hungary: Péter Garázda, Péter Váradi, and Miklós Báthory.[38] Remarkably, some of the Italian humanists who became linked to the intellectual life in Buda at that time or later also came from this circle. Naldo Naldi, who later wrote the praise of the Corvinian Library, was a close friend of Ficino. Angelo Poliziano was a member of *Platonica Familia*. Taddeo Ugoletti also got acquainted with them and a certain kind of Platonic tendency can easily be detected in the development of the library in Buda. This was not only earlier pointed out by Huszti, but it is also confirmed by current research. All this suggests that in the royal court of Buda the key points of Ficino's teachings – his intention to reconcile Christianity and Platonism, as well as the theory of love, the most characteristic element of his system – could really be familiar to a particular circle of intellectuals. It is undeniable that all this generated a certain Platonic intellectual milieu. On the other hand, there is hardly any information on the nature of this interest and its impact, or whether the teaching "became part of the souls", *i. e.* whether there were a few people who seriously believed in this syncretistic philosophy / theology.

Only certain poems of Janus Pannonius can be cited as examples of knowledgeably elaborating on Renaissance Platonism. These include first of all the famous elegy, *Ad animam suam*, where the poet embraced the Platonic concepts of the soul's fate in a creative way.[39] Without intending to take a position on the question of its author's identity, which is beyond the scope of this article, one must mention Johannes Pannonius's letter to Ficino from the mid-1480s as one of the documents proving Ficino's presence in Buda.[40] Rózsa Feuerné Tóth already revealed the impact of Neoplatonism on the court culture in a completely different field. Her research suggests Matthias was ac-

tually influenced by his Neoplatonic humanists in the mid-1480s, when he, as a patron, developed an interest in architecture and thanks to them that the king became acquainted with the work of Leon Battista Alberti. In Italy, the Neoplatonics were the first to appreciate the teachings of Alberti, as they believed that architecture, just like music, could be related to mathematics and geometry, and thus belonged to the realm of *mens* or the sublime world of the intellect.[41] The king's special interest in Alberti is confirmed by the fact that there are two surviving copies of *De re aedificatoria* once belonging to Matthias's library.[42]

While researching the subject, Valery Rees revealed a detail that may prove the extent of the impact of Platonism in Buda, deepening during the last years of Matthias's reign.[43] Bonfini began his Hungarian history's prologue, addressed to king Vladislav II, with elaborating on the Apostle Paul's famous sentence and relating it to Vladislav's reign: "Because I already know from ample experience that – as the apostle said – all authority comes from God".[44] In order to prove the concept, Bonfini referred to Iamblichus and provided a peculiar cosmological description in whose background the hierarchic nature of the Neoplatonic universe shone with the hierarchy of the beings and those endowed with different rights to govern them. Earthly monarchs were part of this structure as well. The historian also mentioned divine unity and gave an impressive description of the process of *emanatio*. Valery Rees also showed that, although Bonfini refers to Iamblichus, in fact there are not even any similar ideas in the Greek author's work and the passage in question originates from Ficino's translation of Iamblichus in 1488 (*De mysteriis*). This is a not a verbatim translation; Ficino – according to his own account, because of the corrupt state of the manuscript available to him – had rather paraphrased Iamblichus. And Bonfini did the same to Ficino's text. The ideas formulated in the introductory lines hinted at the authors that Ficino was translating in the 1480s.[45] The passage in question suggests a knowledgeable and well-thought way of using Ficino's teachings. The fact that those ideas were employed at that important place and in such a context shows how accepted (and perhaps fashionable) they were in certain circles.

However, one might as well go one step further. The Didymus Corvina kept in New York[46] indicates the same phenomenon observed in the Bonfini prologue. It is quite close in time as well, as it was produced in 1488/89 in Florence at the workshop of Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni. Studying the manuscript's frontispiece, Dániel Pócs revealed its intricate iconographic structure, linking it to Matthias's political representation.[47] The composition built around the concepts of *amor*, *castitas*, and *iustitia*, while also connecting those concepts closely to the Holy Spirit, is permeated by the Neoplatonic way of thinking combined with Christianity. Indeed, this provides the foundation to the composition. In the frontispiece, the front part of the monument's pedestal is ornamented by a row of reliefs that can be fully interpreted only with the help of Neoplatonic philosophy. The picture of the soul's chariot was inspired partly by the tradition in the representation of Petrarch's highly popular *Trionfi* and partly by Plato's *Phaedrus*.

Platonism can equally be traced in other elements of the image. Since the Council of Florence (1439) was dominated by Pletho's and Bessarion's Platonism and convened in order to save Constantinople and Christianity, it also concerned the Hunyadis (see later Matthias's crusading mission to defeat the Turks). Furthermore, the question of the Holy Spirit's origin as the council's overriding idea and relevant readings (including Didymus), as well as their translators – making up the Didymus Corvina – may be connected with the depiction of key elements of the Hungarian monarch's representation on its frontispiece. Neoplatonism seems to have become a stable element in this system by the end of the 1480s, which may explain why it was important for Bonfini to begin his dedication written to the monarch with this train of thought. However, by that time, almost ten years had already passed since the creation of the Kálmáncsehi breviary and during those ten years Platonism (a matter of genuine interest only for the humanists, within a narrow circle expanded from its original limited environment, at first) became 'official' and presumably also more rigid. As opposed to this, the Kálmáncsehi breviary's illustration can be seen as a testimony to the first, vivid stage of Platonism in Buda, when it was still in the making.

Valery Rees's previously mentioned study sheds light on another small element that has special significance from the point of view of the issue under discussion here. In Bonfini's prologue, cited earlier, there is a rare expression, *calodaemon*, meaning a "good spirit" appointed to individuals. According to Rees, who has a thorough knowledge of the Ficino corpus, this should be linked to the analogous use of the word in the commentary on the *Symposium* (vi. 8.).[48] This suggests that Bonfini gained his knowledge from several of Ficino's works that had reached Buda in some way and probably included *De amore*. Therefore, it should be examined whether the Neoplatonism established in Buda, and particularly Ficino's theory of love, could have been the conceptual background that influenced the creation of the unique Christmas composition in the Kálmáncsehi breviary, allowing and sanctioning such an astonishing and / or sinful image (for the medieval mind) to accompany the most sacred sequence of pictures.[49] This could add a special kind of testimony to the pieces of evidence witnessing the presence of Platonism in Buda. It is special in the sense of being not a text but a visual representation invoking a whole philosophy.

The 'recycled' motif of the fountain of love is completely transfigured in this context. Although its original content is unquestionable, the symbolic way of thinking in the Late Middle Ages did not see in it what was actually depicted at the level of forms, at least not in the first place. Once again, the context must be emphasised here. *Aliud dicitur, aliud demonstratur*. The picture of the embracing couples served as a means to direct the observers' thoughts to that fundamental and much more sublime subject matter that the picture is actually about. It is perhaps time to take a closer look at Ficino's theory of love.[50]

One of the most important questions in Neoplatonic philosophy is the union with God. At the end of the day, it was this issue that Ficino was exploring in his commentary. According to him, God is the same as Beauty (this concept also includes absolute Good), and love[51] is none other than the desire to unite with this beauty at all levels of the creation, that is, with God. According to the teaching of *emanatio* (*defluxio*) the power / energy / splendour emanating from God permeates the world reaching as far as the matter, and endows all creatures with the beauty of God, arousing a desire in them for God, which manifests itself in love, and then returns to its starting point. There are also possible connotations of splendor in the antiphon's text on the page examined; light in the Neoplatonic
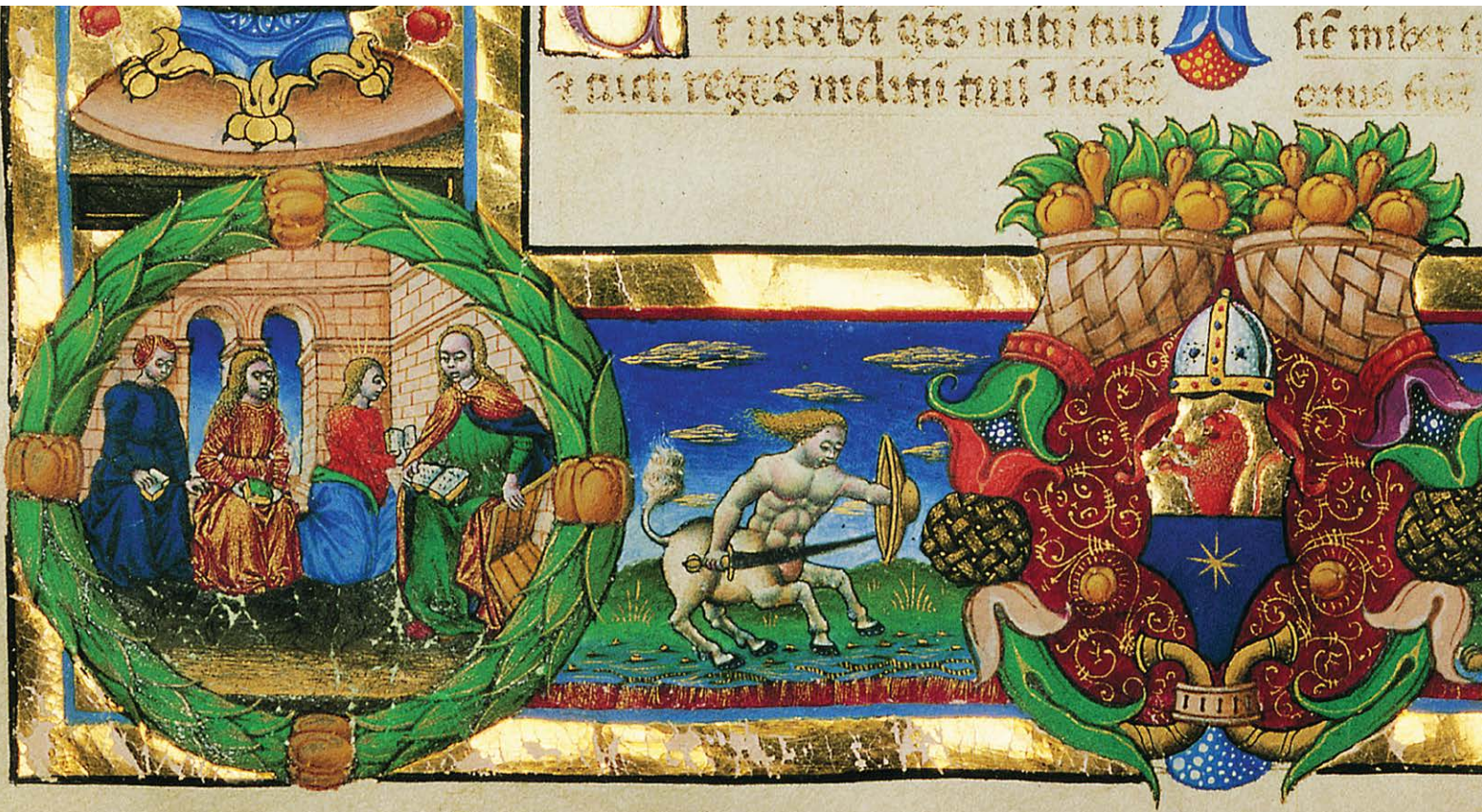
world is the actual power emanating from God as well as its allegory, and it is a key concept[52] And in Ficino's interpretation – based on Plato – there are two kinds of love, celestial Venus and vulgar Venus, generally mentioned as earthly Venus. This latter name is easy to misunderstand and was in fact misunderstood. In Ficino's system both Venuses inhabit the celestial spheres. (Pico della Mirandola later actually introduced a third one that was genuinely a symbol of earthly love).

Celestial Venus, who is pure intelligence, belongs to the highest hierarchy, the Cosmic Mind (*mens mundana, intellectus divinus sive angelicus*). We can find here the eternal and unchangeable ideas and intelligences that can also be called angels. They observe God and delight in him. Celestial Venus also symbolises the universal and pristine beauty of the divine. In fact, it is comparable to caritas who mediates between the human mind (*mens humana, intellectus divinus sive angelicus*) and God. Earthly (vulgar) Venus is part of the World Soul (*anima mundana*), which is the same as the celestial or translunary world. This is not the world of pure forms anymore. It is incorruptible, but not any more unchangeable and not self-moving. The World Soul converts the static ideas and intelligences comprised in the Cosmic Mind into dynamic causes. They move and fertilise the sublunary world, and stimulate nature to produce visible things. The beauty symbolised by earthly (vulgar) Venus is the image of pristine beauty permeating individual things, manifested in the physical / tangible world. This Venus is actually the power to procreate (*vis generandi*) given to the world, which brings life to the things in nature and thereby makes the intelligible beauty accessible to our perception and imagination.

Either Venus is accompanied by a congenial Eros or Amor who is rightly considered her son because each form of beauty begets a corresponding form of love. The celestial love or *amor divinus* possesses itself of the highest faculty in man, *i. e.* the Mind or intellect, and impels it to contemplate the intelligible splendour of divine beauty. The son of the other Venus, the *amor vulgaris*, takes hold of the intermediary faculties in man, i.e. imagination and sensual perception, and impels him to procreate a likeness of divine beauty in the physical world,[53]

that is, to generate and create.[54]

With Ficino both Venuses and both loves are honourable, for both pursue the creation of beauty…. However, there is a difference in value between a 'contemplative' form of love which rises from the visible and particular to the intelligible and universal and an active form of love which finds satisfaction within the visual sphere; and no value whatever can be attached to mere lust which sinks from the sphere of vision to that of touch and should not be given the name of love.[55]

Human beings are in a special position, as they consist of body and soul. This duality results in a continuous fight in their world.[56] They are, at the same time, the connecting link between God and the world. During rare moments, they can experience the ecstasy when the soul withdraws from the body and from all kinds of perception, becoming God's tool. This is what Plato called *theia mania* or *furor divinus*; it is the beautiful madness of the poets, the delirium of the clairvoyants, the ecstasy of the mystics and the rapture of lovers – this last being the mightiest of all. Therefore, according to Ficino, love is the force through

which God is motivated to spread himself into the world and which motivates the creatures to seek reunion with Him. Amor was only another name for the current flowing from God to the world and from the world to God and mysteriously joined by human beings in love.

As for the visual representation of the process, Tibor Klaniczay explained it best:

> However, this abstract, transcendental interpretation of love [...] does not prevent the theorists from using the concepts of earthly, human and sensual love in order to approach, grasp and understand the essence of love, or from imagining the ideal, transcendental and celestial love to some extent on the analogy to physical love.[57]

Plotinus himself used the following words to describe the mystic experience of meeting the divine:

> ...and it [the soul] sees it in itself suddenly appearing (for there is nothing between, nor are there still two but both are one; nor could you still make a distinction while it is present; lovers and their beloveds here below imitate this in their will to be united), ...[58]

It is only within the framework of this concept that the couples embracing on the edge of the fountain, at the celebration of God's birth, can convey their true meaning. The

▲ Fig. 5. *Detail of lower margin of f. 88v in the Breviary of Domonkos Kálmáncsehi. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 446.*
Courtesy of the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár.

▶ Fig. 6. *Detail of the fountain scene in the same Breviary.*
Courtesy of the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár.

two elements depicted here, the birth of Christ and the embrace of the couples, are two expressions of the same union. In the incarnation, the divine and human natures meet in one person, and the embrace (indicating sexual love) is none other than the divinisation of the human. We might as well trace the emanation of divine love and light and then its return to God in the page examined, as in the process of incarnation, with the coming of Christ, divine love pours out into the world and the Logos becomes a human being through love. This love generated in the world will urge creatures to long for their creator and desire to unite with him.[59]

In the end, what the image tells us is that procreation in man is a divine urge. This is how a human being can participate in the divine work of creation and partake in immortality. And this is also how Diotima and Socrates discuss this in Plato's *Symposium*:

'For, Socrates', she said, 'love is not, as you think, of the beautiful'.

'Well, then, what is it of?'
'Of procreation and giving birth in the beautiful.'
'All right', I replied.
'I can assure you it is," she said. 'Why, then, is it of procreation? Because procreation is something everlasting and immortal, as far as anything can be for what is mortal; [...]'[60]

Or in Ficino's interpretation:

In what consists the love of men, you ask, and what end does it serve? The desire of generation in the beautiful so that everlasting life may be preserved in mortal things; this is the love of men living on the earth and this is the goal of our love. [...] In this way are preserved whatever things are changeable in the soul or body, not because they are always altogether the same, for this is the peculiar property of the divine, but because what fades and goes away leaves something new and like itself. By this remedy certainly mortal things become like immortale.[61]

Notes:

1 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library], Cod. Lat. 446. For the description of the manuscript see Bartoniek 1940, p. 400-401, Nr. 446; Mikó 1994, p. 413-419, Kat. IX-5.; *Kódexek* 1985, p. 141-142, Kat. 139 (*s. v.* Zentai Loránd); Klaniczay, Török, Stangler 1982, p. 427-428, Kat. 413; Földesi 2008, p. 70-73, Kat. 11 (*s. v.* Körmendy Kinga); Zsupán 2020a, p. 194-197, Kat. D1 (*s. v.* Lauf Judit, Mikó Árpád).

2 The manuscript was discovered by Ipoly Fehér in 1867, in the Benedictine monastery in Lambach. Having been sold by the monastery in 1931, the codex circulated between different antiquaries of Europe. The National Széchényi Library was able to purchase it thanks to financial support of the foundation set up to develop the Todoreszku-Horváth Library; cf. Rómer 1867, p. 50-51, 124-128; Joó 1939, p. 183-185; Varga 2017, p. 329-350 (332, fig. 4); Zsupán 2020a, p. 194-197, Kat. D1 (*s. v.* Lauf Judit, Mikó Árpád).

3 Research has confirmed that its calendar is based on the Zagrebian liturgy, following closely the calendar of the printed Zagrebian missal (1511), while the part with the offices follows partly the Esztergom rite and partly also the Zagrebian rite; cf. Körmendy 2001, p. 113-114. According to Lauf Judit's recent discovery the breviary in question and that of Nagylaki István, canon of Székesfehérvár (*Alba Regia*) (Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 343.) were copied by the same scribe. The latter codex was made, however, almost a decade later than Kálmáncsehi's luxury manuscript, in 1489. In Lauf's opinion, autograph notes by Kálmáncsehi can be found in both his Budapest breviary and in his New York breviary and missal (The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, MS G 7). Cf. Zsupán 2020a, p. 235-238, Kat. D13 (*s. v.* Lauf Judit, Mikó Árpád).

4 It is not the intention of the present study to discuss the complexities of the workshop established by King Matthias in the 1480s in the royal court in Buda for the purposes of the royal library. For a detailed and complex analysis see the above-cited catalogue (Zsupán 2020a) of the exhibition *A Corvina könyvtár budai műhelye* (T*he Corvina Library and the Buda Workshop*), organised by the National Széchényi Library between 6. November 2018 and 9. February 2019. See also the Guide of the exhibition: Zsupán 2018a.

A virtual – 3D – version of the exhibition can be accessed here: https://exhibitioncorvina2018.oszk.hu/.

5 The most comprehensive summary so far on the library of Domonkos Kálmáncsehi is Hoffmann, Wehli 1992, p. 111-119, 259-260. On other aspects of his patronage see Mikó 2010, p. 79-90.

6 New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS G 7, the most recent, detailed description of the codex: Zsupán 2020a, p. 198-203, Kat. D2 (*s. v.* Lauf Judit, Mikó Árpád).

7 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 3119. The prayer book was copied for Domonkos Kálmáncsehi in 1492 by *frater Stephanus de Cachol* (f. 166r); the most recent, detailed description of the codex: Zsupán 2020a, p. 352-356, Kat. G6 (*s. v.* Lauf Judit, Mikó Árpád).

8 Zagreb, Riznica zagrebačke katedrale, RK 355. In the missal, besides Kálmáncsehi's coat of arms, we can also find that of Osvát Thúz; cf. Hoffmann, Wehli 1992, p. 120.

9 Francesco da Castello was the most important figure of the scriptorium in Buda. His style had a great impact on the whole production of the atelier. His activity in Hungary can be traced around 1480 and again in the late '80s. His Hungarian work is various: he also illuminated grants of arms and codices with non sacred sacral and with classical content, while his surviving Italian work encompasses liturgical manuscripts commissioned by the monastery San Sisto in Piacenza and Carlo Pallavicino, bishop of Lodi. Attributions, dating of his works as well as his identity with the so called *Cassianus master* are the most discussed issues of the Da Castello research. For a select bibliography, see: Wittgens 1937, p. 237-282; Daneu Lattanzi 1972, p. 225-260; Bauer-Eberhardt 1997; Marubbi 1998; Marubbi 2003; Romano 2004; Alexander 2011; Theisen s.a., kat. cod. 24 (*s. v.* Zsupán Edina); Marubbi 2020. In this article, Mario Marubbi discusses the obvious style differences between the Kálmáncsehi breviary and the rest of the Da Castello oeuvre, suggesting the possibility that the codex in question might have been the product of team work rather than that of the master alone. For a new dating of Da Castello's works made in Hungary, see Zsupán 2020a, p. 21-62.

10 (f. 2r): *FRA*; the most complete autograph appears at the feast of Corpus Christi (f. 215r): OPUS / FRANCISCI / DE / KASTELLO / ITHALLICO / DE / MEDIOLANO. The inscription here is carried in the left-hand side border by a long ribbon twining around a tall-growing flower. The third signature was put on the decorative page introducing the feast of King St Stephen (f. 428r). Recently Mario Marubbi discovered a fourth one on f. 44v, cf. Marubbi 2020.

11 (f. 215r) *Corpus Christi*, (f. 308r) Presentation of Christ in the Temple.

12 On the prelate's biblophily and library see note 5.

13 See the detailed description of the miniature decorations in Mikó 1994.

14 Mikó 2002, p. 365; Mikó 2010, p. 85.

15 The tradition of marginal *drolleries* could also be mentioned in this context. However, unlike the scene examined here, they are always just 'supporting characters', their figures being often mingled with the rest of border decoration. Couples making love can also be found among such *drolleries*. There is an interesting 15th-century 'hybrid' example in a Book of Hours, under the depiction of the Flight into Egypt (Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. lat. 33, f. 79v). Yet this theme (naked women sitting on a dressed male figure depicted in a bridge pose) can only be an allusion to a loving couple. The theme originates in the medieval tale of Aristotle and Phyllis, being interpreted as a warning against *amor carnalis*. Cf. *Lexikon*, vol. 1, *s. v.* 'Aristoteles', p. 182-183. I am grateful to Bolonyai Gábor for drawing my attention to this example.

16 The pipe in a sacred context always refers to something vulgar. It was especially often represented in French and Flemish books of hours and specifically in the Christmas cycle, linked to the Nativity. It is frequently the musical instrument of the shepherds visiting the infant Jesus. See *e. g.* Leonardi, Degl' Innocenti 2001, *passim.*

17 Together with the other elements of the ornamentation, the scene enhances that character and becomes a depiction of a mystic atmosphere. The atmosphere of what is happening in the medallions is depicted by elements outside them.

18 Panofsky 1980a, p. 219-220.

19 Panofsky 1980a, p. 220.

20 The left-hand side bottom medallion of the painting depicts the suffering of people in hell. In the left of the foreground we can see a canopy bed from where a man and a woman are dragged out by devils.

21 *E. g.* Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2554, f. 2r. For a reproduction see *e. g.* Walther, Wolf 2005, p. 159. The page contains eight medallions arranged in lines of two, with short explanatory texts on the two sides. The medallions depict the fall of Adam and Eve and its consequences. The image cited here as an example can be found in the left-hand side column of the second line. The right-hand side medallion in the same line represents the Coronation of Mary. According to the explanation in the text next to it, here the marriage of the Church and Christ, i.e. the most perfect form of love and marriage is represented. In contrast to this, on the left-hand side there are two embracing couples, wearing clothes. They are surrounded by three black devils, one of whom is pointing his fork towards the couple on the left. The message of the picture and the contrast is obvious: this is what happened to the earthly love of human beings after the fall of Adam and Eve. The composition is genuinely a representation of the contrast between *amor sanctus* and *amor carnalis*. See further Bibles moralisées with the same type of images *e. g.* in Camille 1992, *passim*: London, British Library, MS Harley 1527; Paris, BnF, Lat. 11 560; Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 1179; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 270b. The explanatory text of the latter image is also revealing (f. 7v): *Hoc significat homines illos, qui per concupiscentiam transgrediuntur mandatum domini et oboediunt diabolicae voluntati. Tales remunerat diabolus et innectit per os per collum per renes per tibias et pedes et sic ligatos proicit in tenebras infernales.* "This denotes those people who transgress God's commandments through their lust and obey the devil's will. Such people are 'remunerated' by the devil, ties them around their mouth, neck, loins, shins and feet, and throws them thus bound into the darkness of hell". For the subject, related to Michelangelo's Doni Tondo, see Franceschini 2010.

22 Mikó 2010, p. 85.

23 Regarding the transformation of the original composition, Árpád Mikó draws our attention to the following: "It is also important to note that the left shoulder and arm of the left-hand side man is cut off by the golden bar border, as this clearly indicates that here a completed composition was used. At the same time the differences and simplifications cannot be ignored: the woman in the left-hand side is not grabbing at the man's mouth with her left hand but holding on to their hand; and the woman on the right is grabbing the man's waist instead of his flowing garments (as there are no such things here)." Mikó 2010, p. 89, note 354.

24 This semiprecious gemstone imported from the Far East was the basis of ultramarine. As it was extremely expensive due to transport and other costs, it was specifically included in the contracts; cf. De la Mare 1966, p. 186. Among other things, the commissioners could also specify which quality ultramarine should be used for which figure; cf. Baxandall 1986, p. 19-20. The extant manuscripts of the Buda workshop suggest that the ultramarine used in the royal court was of the best possible quality. The bright blues of the miniatures, still unimpaired in their beauty, bear witness to this. On the role of ultramarine and gilding of "Buda quality" in the attribution process see: Zsupán 2018b.

25 For the subject in general see Burke 1999, p. 110-120; Chambers 1970. For the contracts made with the miniaturists see Alexander 1994.

26 The advisory role of the humanists (in this case Angelo Poliziano) was pointed out by Aby Warburg while analysing Botticelli's paintings of mythological themes (Warburg 1995). Warburg quotes the relevant lines of Leon Battista Alberti from *Libro della pittura*: "It is clear, therefore, what praise such inventions bestow on the artist. I advise all painters to become friendly with poets, rhetoricians and other such lettered men, because these will provide new inventions or at least enrich the composition of their works, assuring them of great praise and renown for their painting". (Warburg 1995, p. 28; the translation's source being Warburg 1999). Besides Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficino also contributed with his advice to the elaboration of the iconographical programme of the *Birth of Venus*, commissioned by the Medici family (Burke 1999, p. 119-120), and Ficino's role in creating *Spring* was equally crucial. (For the relationship between Botticelli and Ficino, see especially Gombrich 1945) Guarino Veronese advised Leonello d'Este on the iconographical programme of a painting depicting Muses (Burke 1999; the example's source: Baxandall 1965) See also Robertson 1982; Gombrich 1972, also on Annibal Caro, who created an iconographical programme for the Farnese Palace in Caprarola. In 1503, Paride da Cesarea gave Perugino detailed instructions for the allegorical composition for Isabella d' Este's studiolo. (Gombrich 1945, p. 8.). Concerning Buda, the research of Rózsa Feuerné Tóth can be referred to on this topic, as she revealed the important mediating/interpreting

role of the humanist/humanists in the court between the commissioner and the master-builders. (See Feuerné Tóth 1987, p. 36-39), furthermore Feuerné Tóth 1990).

27 The identical nature of the two pages is pointed out in Mikó 2010.

28 Huszti 1925. Johannes Vitéz of Zredna (see also note 29) and his circle have a specific role in this process. There are several implications that Vitéz was in some way connected to the most significant contemporary defender of Platonism, Cardinal Bessarion. The astronomer Regiomontanus arrived in Hungary from his environment in Rome to become the first chancellor of Academia Istropolitana founded in 1465. John Monfasani has pointed out that the Dominican theologian Giovanni Gatti – also a lecturer at the Academia in Pozsony (Bratislava) – stayed in Hungary in the years (1466-1469) when he was creating complementary chapters to the revised version of Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis*. This work of Bessarion was a reply to George of Trebizond's treatise (*Comparatio Philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis*), where the author exalted Aristoteles and defended him against Platon. In his reply, Bessarion stands by his beloved Platon without impairing the merits of Aristoteles. George of Trebizond's work survived from Vitéz's library (Roma, BAV, Vat. Palat. Lat. 3382; the manuscript later belonged to the Corvinian Library), the prelate himself emended the text, writing the following sentence on the last page of the codex: *Contra hunc scripsit dominus Bessarion cardinalis Nicenus vir eruditissimus pro Platone non tamen contra Aristotelem* (f. 107r) ("Against him [*i. e.* against George of Trebizond] wrote Bessarion, cardinal of Nicea, a man of immense culture, supporting Platon but not against Aristoteles." This of course means that Bessarion's work could also be found in Vitéz's library, and also that the archbishop was well aware of the issue, moreover, thanks to Gatti, could have been directly informed of the debate; cf. Monfasani 2008; Földesi 2008, p. 162, Kat. 29, s. v. Zsupán Edina, Földesi Ferenc.

29 Supporter of the family Hunyadi and the later king, Matthias Corvinus, Johannes Vitéz of Zredna (c. 1408-1472) was a crucial figure on both, the political and the cultural palette of 15th-century Hungary. He is called „the first Hungarian humanist". His famous Renaissance library proved to be an important reference factor and also a source for the royal library, founded by Matthias Corvinus. Through his complex cultural activity as bishop of Várad (Oradea, 1445-1465) and later archbishop of Esztergom (1465-1472), Vitéz contributed to the development of Hungarian culture to an extraordinary extent. For his person, education and library see: Csapodi-Gárdonyi 1984; Földesi 2008, with all the relevant earlier literature; Zsupán 2009; Kiss 2012; Szilágyi 2013; Zsupán 2020b; Zsupán 2020, *passim.*

30 A famous Neo-Latin poet, humanist, diplomat, chancellor, bishop of Pécs, Janus Pannonius (1434-1472) is one of the better-known figures of Humanist poetry in Europe. He was nephew of Johannes Vitéz of Zredna. For him in general see: Békés 2006; see also note 37, 38 and Zsupán 2020, *passim.*

31 The humanist, poet and prelate, Péter Garázda (*c.* 1448-1507) belonged to the circle of Johannes Vitéz of Zredna and Janus Pannonius. During his Italian years he also was an important intermediary between Hungary and Italy regarding the book purchases by Hungarian litterated man as Vitéz, Janus and György Handó, archbishop of Kalocsa. For him see Kovács 1987; C. Tóth 2016; Pócs 2019; Molnár 2019.

32 Regarding the Corvinian Library, we can only agree, even after so many years, with Huszti's summary: "And what is true for the humanists in general is also relevant for the library. [...] We have

evidence that the more intensive development of the library in the last decade coincides with the emergence of Platonism. And even the pace of progress is parallel: the fervent Platonist activity of the last years overlaps with the great crescendo in the library's development. It cannot be by chance either that the library was praised by Naldi the Platonist, and that it was overseen by Ugoletti and Bartolommeo della Fonte, both friends of Ficino. As for the stock of books, we can declare in general that a remarkable part of the extant books or those that certainly belonged to Matthias's library served for studying Platonism. [...] We are far from suggesting by all this that Matthias's library was a collection of resource material on Platonism. However, we could definitely not name any other movement in the history of ideas that is represented in Matthias's library to nearly the same extent as Platonism." (Huszti 1925, p. 89 [note 27]).

33 Johannes Pannonius's (the poet's namesake and not the poet himself) famous letter in a certain sense accuses Ficino of paganism and alludes to his "pagan" period in his youth. József Huszti drew attention to the letter surviving in Ficino's correspondence (Op. 871; Abel, Hegedüs 1903, p. 278-281) (Huszti 1925, p. 25, 64-68.) According to Huszti, its critical tone and sophisticated ideas prove that Ficino's teaching was present in Buda to such an extent and understood so profoundly that some people were even able to express criticism against it. (Huszti 1925, N.B. this is how the letter begins: *Legi Budae in epistola ad Bandinum, item in prooemio tuo super Platonem et in prooemio theologiae tuae...* Abel, Hegedüs 1903, p. 278 ("I have read in Buda in your letter to Bandini, as well as in your preface to Plato and in the preface to your..."). The author's identity, however, has raised some serious problems. There have been several attempts to identify the person. (See Banfi 1968 [Johannes Varadiensis, an Augustinian monk in Buda]; Klára Pajorin suggests identifying him with János Vitéz Jnr, bishop of Szerém: Pajorin 1999. The latest research, however, has not found these suggestions convincing. It was Valery Rees who first argued that the figure of Johannes Pannonius could be a literary fiction. Péter Kőszeghy agreed with her idea. Recently, Dávid Molnár argued for the real existence of the person, again. For all this see Rees 1999, p. 73; Rees 2011, p. 135; Kőszeghy 2011; Molnár 2017. Independently of Johannes Pannonius's identity, the correspondence definitely suggests that the reception of Florentine Neoplatonism in Hungary was of great significance, even by Ficino's standards.

34 Marcel 1956.

35 Abel 1880, p. 202-203; Kristeller 1937, vol. I, p. 87-88; Marcel 1956, p. 265-266. This copy sent to Janus Pannonius is kept now in ÖNB (Cod. 2472, the dedication to Janus f. 1r-v). The peculiarity of the manuscript is that it contains Ficino's autograph corrections. (cf. Kristeller 1964, p. 32.) He was also responsible for the Greek words in the text (cf. Gamillscheg 1994, p. 75-76, no 36). The coat of arms of Nagylucsei on the frontispiece proves that the manuscript was later owned by Orbán Nagylucsei. Galeotto Marzio's remark that Nagylucsei held several convivia while he was Bishop of Győr (cf. Galeottus Martius, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae*, XXXII, 8-11. It is referred to by Pajorin 1981, p. 513, n 21) has special significance from our point of view. For the question whether the manuscript mentioned here could actually be owned by Janus Pannonius, see Edith Hoffmann's valuable thoughts: Hoffmann, Wehli 1992, p. 128-130.

36 On symposia in Italy and Hungary, as well as Bonfini's Symposium, see Klára Pajorin's seminal study referred to in the previous note.

37 Surviving codices sent as gifts by Marsilio Ficino to Matthias

Corvinus are kept now in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. cf. Zsupán, Heitzmann 2014.

38 Given the intellectual contacts linking him to Marsilio Ficino, Miklós Báthory is one of the most important Hungarian 'Platonist'. For this subject, see recently Molnár 2015; Molnár 2019. For Péter Garázda see note 31. For Péter Váradi see recently Véber 2016.

39 For an analysis of the poem, see especially Kociszky 1980; and Jankovits 2002, p. 141-221 (chapter *Ad animam suam*, with a complete literature on the subject). For Janus Pannonius's Platonism see also the seminal works of Huszti 1931; and Huszti 1925; furthermore János 1990; János 1980; János 1979; Jankovits 1998; Bollók 2003. As it was earlier suggested in Huszti's analysis, Janus Pannonius's Platonism was mainly independent of Ficino's. For Janus Pannonius's philosophical literacy, see the extensive literature referred to in the previous note. Resources and some of his translations suggest that he read some of the most important texts of Platonism in the original. This is a complex and debated question and here we only refer to the issue concerning Plotinus and to Vespasiano Bisticci's famous account of how Janus Pannonius (on his way home from Rome through Florence as an ambassador in 1465) spent hours reading Plotinus at Bisticci, and how in his native country he translated Plotinus in his free time, according to his own account (cf. Jankovits 2002, p. 154. *sqq.*). Klára Pajorin thinks it is possible that the Plotinus manuscript kept now in Munich and considered to belong to the Corvina codices (München, BSB, Cod. Graec. 449, l. Pajorin 2008) was owned by Janus Pannonius.

40 See note 33.

41 Feuerné Tóth 1990, p. 147.

42 Olomuc, Státní archív. Domské a Kapitolní Knihovná, Cod. Lat. C. O. 330; Modena, Gallerie Estensi, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Cod. Lat. 419. Rózsa Feuerné Tóth also suggests that the mediating humanist in Buda could most probably be Francesco Bandini, a good friend of Cristoforo Landino, the man who actually "discovered" Alberti. Landino was the first author who in his commentary on Dante (written in 1481), based on Neoplatonic ideas, praised in this sense Alberti's work. See Feuerné Tóth 1990, p. 147.

43 Rees 2011, p. 143-148. The study also examines, from another aspect, the role of Matthias in Ficino the philosopher's work, providing a picture of intricate mutual interests, which shows that Buda genuinely meant an important base for relationships and a certain kind of mental refuge for the Florentine philosopher, and this probably also influenced the nature of his activities.

44 *Iam illud sat exploratum habeo, quod ex apostolico ore proditum est, omnem a deo esse potestatem.* Fógel, Iványi, Juhász 1936-1941, vol. 1, p. 1. The origin of the paraphrased sentence is Romans 13:1.

45 Rees 2010.

46 New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS 496. http://ica. themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/108936 (14.11.2020).

47 Pócs 2000; Pócs 2012.

48 Rees 2011, p. 147.

49 Florentine Platonism inspired the greatest artists. Besides Botticelli, who is mentioned several times, the best example is provided by Michelangelo, who, when planning the Medici Chapel, the ceiling frescoes of the Sixtine Chapel and the Tomb of Julius II, as well as in other, minor works, presented an entire philosophical system in a genuinely creative way. See especially Panofsky 1980b; de Tolnay 1981, p. 250-271. The author here concludes that

the authentic means of expressing some philosophical content in that specific era was provided by the visual rather than the literary arts.

50 The overview of the Neoplatonic universe and theory of love is based on Erwin Panofsky's study, cited above (Panofsky 1980a, p. 205-213), and Ficino's original work (see note 34). More on this topic can be found in the allegorical interpretation of the myth of the birth of Venus in Ficino's Commentary on Philebus (I. XI.): Allen 1975, p. 135-141.

51 In order to properly understand the word love in this context, we can rely on Tibor Klaniczay's profound observation: "If we want to understand the Neoplatonic theory of love, ... then we must use [the word love] in its original, wider, more extended sense that is equivalent to the full range of meaning of the words *amor* and *amore*. We should consider here... the meanings *amor-caritas* or *amore-affezione*. In these cases what matters is not the distinction of the attraction according to whether or not it is about the relationship between the two genders, but according to whether it is dynamic or more gentle and static. Feelings between a man and a woman may only be called *affezione*, while a strong attraction to anything could be *amore*. Therefore, when we talk about the philosophy of love in the context of the history of philosophy, it is not about the theoretical questions of the relationship between the two genders or about some kind of sexology. By philosophy of love we mean a teaching about a force and bond that drive towards each other two entities of different kinds, which, however, by their nature are inclined to unite"; Klaniczay 1976, p. 313-314.

52 See *e. g.* Plotinos, *Enneades*, VI, 7, 21: "They [Life and Intellectual-Principle] have their goodness, I mean, because Life is an Activity in The Good or rather, streaming from The Good, while Intellectual-Principle is the Activity as already defined." (MacKenna 1956, p. 578); VI. 7. 36: "...but he himself is the ray which only generates Intellect..." (MacKenna 1956, p. 590).

53 Panofsky 1980a, p. 212.

54 Cf. *Denique ut summatim dicam, duplex est Venus. Altera sane est intelligentia illa, quam in mente angelica posuimus. Altera, vis generandi anime mundi tributa. Utraque sui similem comitem habet amorem. Illa enim amore ingenito ad intelligendam dei pulchritudinem rapitur. Hec item amore suo ad eamdem pulchritudinem in corporibus procreandam. Illa divinitatis fulgorem in se primum complectitur; deinde hunc in Venerem secundam traducit. Hec fulgoris illius scintillas in materiam mundi transfundit. Scintillarum huiusmodi presentia singula mundi corpora, pro captu nature, spetiosa videntur. Horum spetiem corporum humanus animus per oculos percipit, qui rursus vires geminas possidet. Quippe intelligendi vim habet, habet et generandi potentiam. He gemine vires, duo in nobis sunt Veneres, quas et gemini comitantur amores. Cum primum humani corporis speties oculis nostris offertur, mens nostra que prima in nobis Venus est, eam tamquam divini decoris imaginem veneratur et diligit perque hanc ad illum sepenumero incitatur. Vis autem generandi, secunda Venus, formam generare huic similem concupiscit. Utrobique igitur amor est. Ibi contemplande hic generande pulchritudinis desiderium. Amor uterque honestus atque probandus. Uterque enim divinam imaginem sequitur;* Marcel 1956, p. 154-155 (*Oratio secunda* VII, 17v-18v). See the translation of Sears Reynolds 1944, p. 142-143: "To sum it all up, Venus is twofold: one is clearly that intelligence which we said was in the Angelic Mind; the other is the power of generation with which the World-Soul is endowed. Each has as consort a similar Love. The first, by innate love is stimulated to know the beauty of God; the second, by its love, to procreate the same beauty in bodies. The for-

mer Venus first embraces the Glory of God in herself, and then translates it to the second Venus. This latter Venus translates sparks of that divine glory into earthly matter. It is because of the presence of sparks of this kind that an individual body seems beautiful to us, in proportion to its merits. The human soul perceives the beauty of these bodies through the eyes. The soul also has two powers. It certainly has the power of comprehension, and it has the power of generation. These two powers in us are the two Venuses which are accompanied by their twin Loves. When the beauty of a human body first meets our eyes, the mind, which is the first Venus in us, worships and adore the human beauty as an image of the divine beauty, and through the firs, it is frequently aroused to the second. But the power of generation in us, which is the second Venus, desires to create another form like this. Therefore, there is a Love in each case: in the former, it is the desire of contemplating Beauty; and in the latter, the desire of propagating it; both loves are honorable and praiseworthy, for each is concerned with the divine image".

55 Panofsky 1980a, p. 212.

56 The role of the mixed creatures at the bottom of the manuscript page examined is exciting in this context (Fig. 5). Although one can talk about a well-established motif in medieval miniature painting in their case (cf. *e. g.* the *drolleries* mentioned in note 15), according to Platonic thought they may represent the struggle continuously carried on in this world by humans made of matter and intellect/soul, within themselves or against one another. In the manuscript the bottoms of the fully illuminated pages are clearly dedicated to the earthly sphere: everything there happens on earth, even if they are scenes from the life of Jesus.

57 Klaniczay 1976, p. 314. At the level of texts, a couple in love as the allegory of the soul longing for God had been for a long time a well-known and accepted image. This allegory was also adopted and employed in Christian tradition. Its most typical example is the Song of Songs. In the introduction to his commentary on the Song of Songs, Origen refers to the pagan sages who describe the state of the soul through the images of the "outer man's" earthly love. Here Origen refers directly to Plato's *Symposium* (Pesthy 1993, p. 31-60). There are, however, much fewer examples of visually depicting the *unio mystica*, the soul's or the Church's union with Christ, as the union of a couple. An interesting example of this can be found in the iconographic tradition of *Christus und*

die minnende Seele (Christ and the Loving Soul), the 14th century illustrated verse dialogue from around Bodensee. The original text probably consisted of 21 "stations" or themes, the last of which was the Union. A rare version of both the text and the picture cycle is preserved in a print produced in Erfurt around 1500 (Wolfgang Shcenk) and now kept in Wrocław (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, XV Q 329), where the union of the soul and Christ is illustrated by the two embracing in bed (D[iii][v]); see *Katalog* 1998, p. 106-129, the print described at p. 128-129, Kat. 25.4.a, Abb. 72 (*Veröff. der Kom. für Deutsche Lit. des Mittelalt. der Bay. Ak. der Wiss.*).

58 Plotinos, *Enneades*, vi, 7, 34.

59 The medaillons in the upper margin of the page examined here could represent the coming of the divinity / light into the world. In this sense, the upper part of the illumination could be interpreted as a divine or semi-divine sphere. The miniature of the middle initial depicts the divinity's / light's arrival on earth. The putto with a pipe in the middle of the right border already belongs to the terrestrial sphere. The lower border with scenes from the life of Christ and the hybrid creatures are fully dedicated to the terrestrial sphere. As already mentioned, the latter could represent human beings having both divine and earthly components, constantly fighting against each other (see note 56). In the left largin, the divine element / light turns towards heaven once again: the scene with the couples making love could therefore symbolise a desire of the terrestrial sphere for the divinity as well as a possible way to unite with it.

60 Plato, *Symposion*, 206e-207a: ἔστιν γάρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, οὐ τοῦ καλοῦ ὁ ἔρως, ὡς σὺ οἴει'. | 'ἀλλὰ τί μήν;' | 'τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τοῦ τόκου ἐν τῷ καλῷ'. | 'εἶεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ'. | 'πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. τί δὴ οὖν τῆς γεννήσεως ὅτι ἀειγενές ἐστι καὶ ἀθάνατον ὡς θνητῷ ἡ γέννησις'; Burnet 1903.

61 For the translation of *Oratio sexta* xi, see Sears Reynolds 1944, p. 203. For the original text, see Marcel 1956, p. 224: *Quid hominum amor sit postulatis? Ad quid conducat? Cupido generationis in pulchro, ad servandam vitam mortalibus in rebus perpetuam. Hic hominum in terra viventium amor est, hic nostri finis amoris.* [...] *Hoc utique pacto quecumque in animo vel corpore mutabilia sunt servantur, non quia semper omnino eadem sint, hoc enim divinorum est proprium, sed quoniam quod tabescit et abit novum et simile sibi relinquit. Hoc certe remedio mortalia immortalibus redduntur similia.*

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The Chronology of the Murals in the Râmeț Monastic Church (Alba County, Romania) Based on a
Reevaluation of the Dating of the Narthex Inscription

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Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia (ro)

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résumé : La découverte d'une inscription slavonne dans le narthex de l'église du monastère de Râmeț (comté d'Alba) en 1966, sa relecture avec des moyens techniques spéciaux en 1978 et sa publication officielle en 1985 ont porté à l'attention des historiens le nom du peintre (Mihul du Criș-Blanc), le nom de l'évêque fondateur (archevêque Gélase), le roi régnant lorsque la nef de l'église était peinte (Louis d'Anjou) et l'année 1377. Les Orthodoxes de Transylvanie auraient eu une hiérarchie ecclésiale organisée autour d'un archevêché et une école roumaine de peinture en pleine affirmation. Toutefois, ces informations résultent incohérentes par rapport au contexte politique ou ecclésiastique – les Roumains étant fréquemment invites a rejoindre le rite latin – et au contexte artistique. À ce jour, Mihul demeure une figure singulièreet ses créations n'ont pas encore trouvé de termes de comparaison. La nouvelle lecture de l'inscription proposée dans cette étude part de la constatation que la dernière partie du texte, où se trouvent le nom, la mention du roi et la datation, demeure illisible (même après l'examen aux rayons ultraviolets, comme en témoignent les clichés pris en 1978, conservés dans le dossier de restauration et partiellement publiés en 1985). D'autres images ont été publiées pour soutenir la lecture proposée, en mettant en évidence les détails qui ont conduit à la lecture du nom *Lodovic* et de l'année 6885 (= 1377). Cependant, le type d'écriture et les traits linguistiques du texte de l'inscription suggèrent que les aspects paléographiques sont spécifiques à l'école d'orthographe fondée à Tarnovo par le patriarche bulgare Euthyme (1375-1393), plus tard diffusés par ses disciples en Serbie, en Moldavie et en Russie. La réforme d'Euthyme ne pouvait pas atteindre la Transylvanie en 1377. La prédisposition du peintre à écrire les mots tels qu'il les connaissait dans sa propre langue témoigne du fait qu'il a appris le slavon quelque part en Transylvanie, très probablement auprès d'un moine serbe. L'inscription et, implicitement, les peintures de Mihul dateraient ainsi de la fin du xve siècle ou des premières décennies du siècle suivant. La comparaison avec l'inscription sculpté sur le socle de l'église de Feleac, datée de 1516, dont le texte contient des parties similaires à l'inscription de Râmeț, suggère que le roi mentionné par Mihul était en réalité Vladislas ii. Il est appelé ласльоу краль dans l'inscription de Feleac et le nombre de signes graphiques utilisés pour rendre ce nom s'inscrit parfaitement dans l'espace aujourd'hui illisible où le nom du roi a été transcrit dans l'inscription de Râmeț. En utilisant la même méthode de distribution des signes dans l'espace afférent de l'inscription de Râmeț, la période dans laquelle elle pourrait être peinte peut être réduite à l'intervalle 7011-7024 (= 1503-1516). Compte tenu du conflit entre Jean, évêque de Munkács, et Hilarion et Gélase, hégoumènes du monastère de Peri, il est fort possible que l'hégoumène Gélase ait été élevé au rang d'archevêque de Transylvanie. Un acte royal de 1494 semble d'ailleurs le suggérer. La résidence était censée se trouver à Feleac, mais il s'avère qu'elle aurait pu fonctionner en parallèle avec le diocèse de Feleac, sans nécessairement être unie à Rome. La possibilité d'installer Gélase à Râmeț offre un point d'appui pour l'antiquité de l'évêché de Geoagiu de Sus, évoqué dans l'acte de nomination de l'évêque Christophore en 1557, le monastère de Râmeț étant en fait la véritable (ou du moins la première) résidence de l'évêché ayant juridiction dans les parties méridionales de la Transylvanie. Un document de 1622 le désigne, en effet, comme « monastère de Geoagiu (situé) à la limite du domaine Geoagiu (de Sus) » (*Giogi klastrom s ez Giogi hatarban vagion*). Un archevêque arrivé du nord, d'un espace familier avec l'art des Ruthènes, peut également expliquer le type de *Deisis avec archanges et saints militaires* représenté sur le mur oriental du narthex de Râmeț. Le fait de peindre cette scène au début du xvie siècle pose à nouveau le problème de la datation de la première couche de peinture, conservée dans la niche de la Proscomidie et à la jonction de l'iconostase avec le mur nord de la nef, pour laquelle la présente étude propose l'année création du monde 6895 (= 1386-1387). L'inscription en roumain, sculptée dans la pierre et placée au xviiie siècle à l'extérieur, sur le côté nord, au-dessus de l'entrée propose d'ailleurs cette date. La mention du nom du roi Matthias (*Matiiaș crai*) dans la même inscription peut fournir la limite inférieure d'une troisième étape de décoration de l'église, sa limite supérieure étant le milieu du xvie siècle, étape où la nef, l'iconostase, et peut-être une peinture murale extérieure, furent repeintes. La dernière étape importante est liée au nom l'évêque Inocențiu Micu-Klein, à l'initiative duquel l'autel a été repeint en 1741.

MOTS-CLÉS : épigraphie slavonne, linguistique et paléographie, histoire ecclésiastique de la Transylvanie, peinture murale, influence ruthène.

REZUMAT: Descoperirea în 1966 a inscripției slavone din pronaosul bisericii Mănăstirii Râmeț (jud. Alba), recitirea ei cu mijloace tehnice speciale în 1978 și punerea oficială în circuitul științific în 1985 aduceau în atenția istoricilor numele autorului pictorii (Mihul de la Crișul Alb), numele arhiereului ctitor (arhiepiscopul Ghelasie), pe cel regelui în timpul căruia a fost pictat naosul bisericii (Ludovic de Anjou) și anul 1377. Ortodocșii din Transilvania ar fi avut o ierarhie bisericească organizată la nivel arhiepiscopal, iar o școală românească de pictură s-ar fi aflat în plină afirmare. Aceste informații nu au putut fi însă armonizate nici cu contextul politic sau ecleziastic, românii fiind insistent invitați să se afilieze ritului latin, și nici cu cel artistic. Mihul a rămas o figură singulară, pentru a cărui creație nu s-au găsit încă termeni de comparație. Noua lectură a inscripției propusă în acest studiu a pornit de la realitatea că partea finală a textului, acolo unde se află numele regelui și datarea, a rămas ilizibilă chiar și în urma examinării cu ajutorul radiației ultraviolete, dovadă fiind chiar imaginile rezultate în urma fotografierii din 1978 păstrate în dosarul de restaurare a picturii și publicate parțial în 1985. În circuitul public au fost puse însă și ilustrații menite să susțină lectura propusă, prin evidențierea acelor detalii care au condus la citirea numelui *Lodovic* și a anului 6885 (=1377). Tipul de scriere și materialul lingvistic oferit de textul inscripției sugerează însă că aspectele paleografice sunt specifice școlii de ortografie întemeiate la Trnovo de patriarhul bulgar Eftimie (1375-1393), răspândite ulterior de ucenicii săi în Serbia, Moldova și Rusia. Reforma lui Eftimie nu putea să ajungă în 1377 până în inima Transilvaniei. Se mai adăuga și predispoziția autorului de a scrie cuvintele așa cum le știa din limba proprie, semn că a învățat slavona undeva în Transilvania, cel mai probabil de la un călugăr sârb. Inscripția și, implicit, pictura ar data astfel de la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea sau din primele decenii ale secolului următor. Comparația cu inscripția de pe soclul bisericii din Feleac, datată în 1516, al cărei text conține porțiuni similare cu inscripția de la Râmeț, sugerează și ea că regele menționat de Mihul ar fi în realitate Vladislav al II-lea. El este numit ласлоу краль în inscripția de la Feleac, iar numărul de semne grafice folosite pentru redarea acestui apelativ se potrivește exact în spațiul astăzi ilizibil în care a fost redat numele regelui în inscripția de la Râmeț. Folosind aceeași metodă a distribuirii semnelor în spațiul aferent din inscripția de la Râmeț, perioada în care a putut fi ea redactată poate fi redusă la intervalul 7011-7024 (=1503-1516). Ținând cont de conflictul dintre Ioan, episcopul de la Munkács, și Ilarion și Ghelasie, stareții mănăstirii din Peri, este foarte posibil ca starețul Ghelasie să fi fost ridicat la rangul de arhiepiscop al Transilvaniei, acea ierarhie menționată într-un act regal din 1494. Reședința ei a fost presupusă a fi fost la Feleac, dar acum se dovedește că ar fi funcționat paralel cu Episcopia din Feleac, fără a fi fost neapărat unită cu Roma. Posibilitatea instalării lui Ghelasie la Râmeț oferă un punct de sprijin pentru vechimea Episcopatului de la Geoagiu de Sus, invocată în actul de numire a episcopului Hristofor din 1557, mănăstirea de la Râmeț fiind de fapt adevărata sau măcar prima reședință a Episcopatului cu jurisdicție în părțile sudice ale Transivaniei. Ea este denumită efectiv într-un document din 1622 drept „mănăstirea Geoagiului (situată) în hotarul domeniului Geoagiu (de Sus)" (*Giogi klastrom s ez Giogi hatarban vagion*). Un arhiepiscop venit din nord, dintr-un spațiu familiarizat cu arta rutenilor, poate de asemenea explica tipul de *Deisis cu arhangheli și sfinți militari* ales să fie reprezentat pe peretele estic al pronaosului de la Râmeț. Redatarea acestei picturi la începutul secolului al XVI-lea pune din nou problema datării primului strat de pictură, păstrat în nișa proscomidiarului și la îmbinarea iconostasului cu peretele nordic al navei, pentru care studiul de față propune anul de la facerea lumii 6895 (=1386-1387), așa cum încearcă să indice inscripția în limba română, cioplită în piatră, așezată în secolul al XVIII-lea în exterior, pe latura nordică, deasupra intrării. Amintirea numelui lui „Matiiaș crai" în aceeași inscripție poate oferi limita inferioară a unei a treia etape de înfrumusețare a bisericii, limita sa superioară fiind mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea, etapă în care a fost repictată nava, inclusiv iconostasul, ba poate și o pictură murală exterioară. Ultima etapă importantă este legată de numele episcopului Inochentie Micu, din a cărui inițiativă a fost repictat altarul, în 1741.

CUVINTE CHEIE: epigrafie slavonă, lingvistică și paleografie, istoria ecleziastică a Transilvaniei, picturi murale, influență ruteană.

The original purpose of the research at the root of this article was to clarify whether Râmeț Monastery was an episcopal residence. The only documentary information – the Old Church Slavonic inscription painted in the narthex, discovered and published more than half a century ago by Vasile Drăguț – seems to attest to this fact. Obviously, there have been similar attempts, but none of the efforts to harmonize its content with other contemporary sources started from the critical analysis of the inscription itself. Its content was always taken at face value, with only the historical details around it needing clarification and reconstruction. At first, this was also my point of view. My only serious perplexity was related to the name of the person who wrote it, more precisely to the wording that seemed to indicate its place of origin, a very precious detail, since it suggested the existence of a 'Romanian' school of painting

in the 14th century. With this perplexity, however, I entered the field of philology, which was completely foreign to me. During my preliminary discussions with philologists, it became clear that the reading of the final part of the inscription, the one concerning the dating, had been artificially projected into the 14th century. The study of this reading soon demolished the entire scaffolding built by previous generations of researchers, gradually leading from a dating at the turn of the 16th century to a more accurate one in 1503-1516. This conclusion was reached with the help of an international team of experts.

In the order in which they offered assistance, my collaborators include: Vladimir Agrigoroaei (Center for Advanced Studies in Medieval Civilisation, Poitiers), the first with whom I shared doubts about the accuracy of the reading of the inscription and the generous provider of ideas, bibliography, and illustrations; Mirosław Piotr Kruk (National Museum of Art, Krakow), whose work guided me in the search for the most credible analogies for the painting to which the inscription refers; Zamfira Mihail (Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest), who helped me deepen the meaning of certain terms and mediated contact with Aleksandr Dmitrievich Paskal (Russian State Library, Moscow), a master of the secrets of Old Church Slavonic writing, thanks to whom the inscription was brought back in the field of a critical debate, freed from any kind of sentimentality; Ivana Bezrukova (Institute for the Serbian Language of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade); Wanda Stępniak Minczewa (Institute of Slavonic Studies of the Jagiellonian University, Krakow); and Zhanna Levshina (Russian National Library, St. Petersburg), to whom I owe thanks for the clarification of the details regarding the paleography and spelling of the inscription. The article will advance through two different research fields in parallel (textual and artistic), gradually refining its inferences towards the final conclusion where the 1503-1516 dating will appear to be perfectly justified.

A providential inscription.

In 1966, Vasile Drăguț published one of the most interesting discoveries of his career:[1] an Old Church Slavonic inscription that, on the one hand, revealed the identity of the artist who painted the murals of the narthex of the church in Râmeț, Mihul of White-Criș (*Crișul Alb*), and on the other hand, it referred to an archbishop whose name, not being legible enough, was reconstructed as George (*Gheorghe*). The date, 1486, was completely illegible, but it was apparently borrowed from another inscription, in Romanian, carved in stone and placed on the outside of the church. The discovery proved to be of major importance both for the history of art and for the history of ecclesiastical institutions in medieval Transylvania.[2] That is why it was subjected to a special photography in 1978,[3] which enabled a new reading, thanks to Monica Breazu and Liana Tugearu. The new name of the archbishop was Gelasius (*Ghelasie*), and the date was 1376,[4] later corrected to 1377.[5] It seems that the difficult reading of the date was not the only one encountered during the years that elapsed until the publication of the final version of the text (and translation). This should be the explanation for the fact that two versions circulated, but neither then nor later did anyone pay attention to the small differences between them:

писа(х) многогрѣшни рабъ бж҃їй михѹл(ъ) и зѹграфъ бѣлокришьць повеленїем(ъ) архїепископо(м)ъ геласїшнъ въ дни лодовика кралѣ ѕ҃� пе м(с)цаїюлаⷡ

I wrote this, most sinful servant of God, Mihul, that is, the painter from White-Criș, with the approval of archbishop Gelasius in the days of king Lodovic in the year 6885 (1377) month of July 2.[6]

respectively:

писа(х) многогрѣшни рабъ б(о)жіи михȣл(ъ)и[7] зȣграфъ бѣлокришьцъ повеленїем(ъ) архїепуск8по(м) геласїѡнъ въ дни лѡд[ѡв]ика[8] кралѣ ѕ�wпе м(с)ца їюла в̄

I wrote this, most sinful servant of God, Mihul, that is, the painter from White-Criș, with the approval of archbishop Gelasius, in the days of Lodovic king 6885 (1377) July 2.[9]

The discovery of this information "of exceptional significance"[10] and the artistic quality of the first painting which could certainly be attributed to a Romanian[11] produced such great emotion that it was completely forgotten that the same painting was originally dated to the 15th century. The completion of the inscription then provided proof of the amazing synchronization of the ecclesiastical organisation in the three territories inhabited by Romanians, despite very different historical circumstances.[12] Wallachia and Moldavia were just going through the difficult process of asserting their political independence, while Transylvania had already been an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom for over two centuries. Unable to evade this reality, historians developed multiple hypotheses in an attempt to explain why the name of the Angevin king of Hungary, Louis I (1342-1382), allegedly intolerant, who restricted the attainment of a noble status to those who had embraced the Latin rite,[13] was recorded in the inscription from Râmeț next to that of an archbishop who cannot be dissociated from the Eastern Church. In turn, Gelasius was considered in union with Rome and consecrated under non-canonical auspices by a false patriarch of Jerusalem, Paul Tagaris,[14] subject to a Catholic hierarch, following the functional model in Crete and Cyprus.[15] It would be an expression of the hybridity of Orthodoxy under Latin / Catholic political leadership,[16] or the emanation of the effort made between 1365 and 1369 by emperor John V Palaeologus, who in vain asked for help against the Turks, in exchange for his Catholic profession of faith.[17] Such a large number of interpretations can be generated only by limited knowledge, in this case by the fact that the inscription from Râmeț does not confirm details extant in any other contemporary documentary sources. Practically, the information provided by painter Mihul did not shed more light on the study of art, nor on the political and religious realities of Transylvania, despite the undeniable importance of the church. Let us start then with its history, as much as it has been revealed so far.

Major problems in chronology.
Following the excavations made in 1988, in order to raise the church above groundwater, tombs were discovered
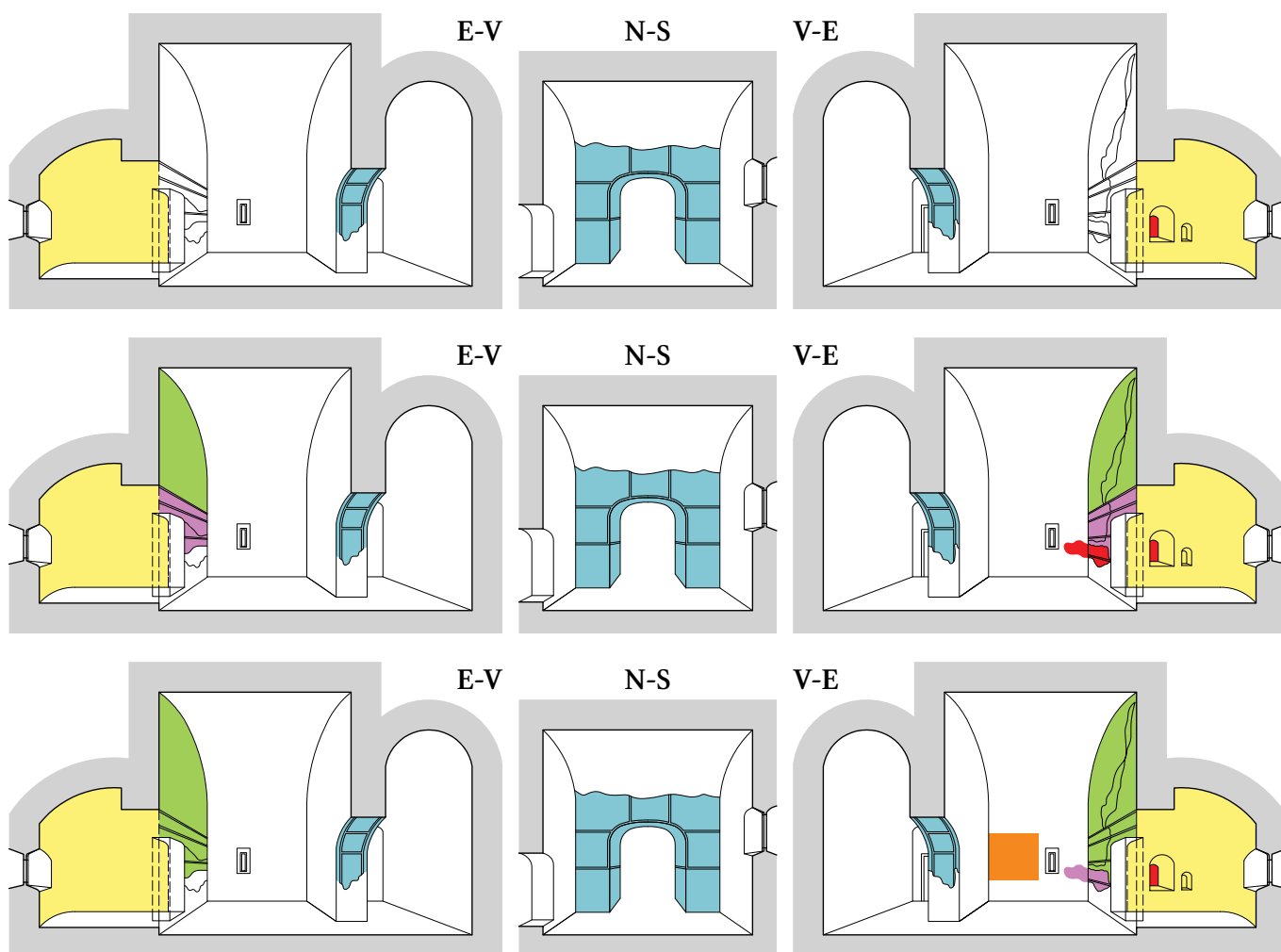
both inside the church and outside, around its perimeter. Osteological analyzes established dates between the 11th-16th centuries.[18] These have remained unpublished and were not the result of archaeological research anyway, so they cannot conclusively contribute to the dating of the building. However, the actual burial in that completely isolated place, ideal for a hermitage, can be considered a sufficient argument for the function of the site as a monastic settlement at least since the 11th century, for which a more durable construction was later erected. Unfortunately, the chance to find out when this happened has been lost forever due to the rupture of the historical link between the monument and its original location (Fig. 1).

The planimetry and architecture are also not conclusive. Its hemicycle apse, separated from the barrel-vaulted nave by a templon wall, accessible through two doorways, as well as its massive tower resting on the walls of the narthex, present us with an aggregation of Romanesque and Gothic features that could have been adapted to the specific subdivision of an Eastern Christian church at any given time between the 13th and 15th centuries.[19] The dating of the church thus remained dependent on the analysis of the fragments of painting preserved inside, the oldest of which was appreciated – stylistically, but also on the basis of the research undertaken during restoration – as being from the first part of the 14th century.[20] The image in question is the *Imago Pietatis / Man of Sorrows* (often referred to as *Vir dolorum* in Romanian studies) rendered in the tiny space of

the proskomedia niche (in place of the prothesis) (Fig. 2). This is probably the only fragment of masonry from which the old plaster was not removed in order to be replaced by the current layer of murals from 1741, under which no other traces of previous paintings have been found.

The dating of the paintings at Râmeț benefited from an ample and complex restoration process, hence the meticulousness of placing them in time and dividing them into more stages than they may have existed in reality. Because the aging of old murals was a long process, they became accessible one by one, modifying or nuancing the opinions expressed by art historians at various moments. In a concise formula and without taking into account the repaintings from the 19th-20th centuries, the differences of opinion regarding the chronology of the layers of painting are represented in Graphic 1.

According to the interpretation of Vasile Drăguț (1970), the mural strata were:

THE FIRST LAYER OF MURALS - the mural fragment from the proskomedia niche (*Man of Sorrows*) - *c.* 1400;[21]

THE SECOND LAYER OF MURALS - the narthex painting, by Mihul - 1486;[22]

THE THIRD LAYER OF MURALS - the sanctuary murals - 1741.[23]

According to Vasile Drăguț and Liana Tugearu (1985):

THE FIRST LAYER OF MURALS, DIFFERENT ARTISTS, EXECUTED CLOSELY TOGETHER - the mural fragment from the proskomedia niche, the martyrdom scenes of the templon, and the paintings on the north wall of the nave - first part of 14th century;[24]

THE SECOND LAYER OF MURALS - the narthex painting, by Mihul - 1377;[25]

THE THIRD LAYER OF MURALS - the register of the templon with the three hierarchs - possibly the first half of the 15th century, but likely later;[26]

THE FOURTH LAYER OF MURALS - the upper register of the templon (*Ascension*) - completed after the register of the hierarchs;[27]

THE FIFTH LAYER OF MURALS - the sanctuary painting - 1741.[27]

According to Cornel Boambeş (1990):

THE FIRST LAYER OF MURALS - the mural fragment of the proskomedia niche (*Man of Sorrows*) - first half of 14th century;[28]

THE SECOND LAYER OF MURALS - the martyrdom scenes of the templon and the paintings on the north wall of the nave - 14th century;[29]

THE THIRD LAYER OF MURALS - the narthex painting, by Mihul - 1377;[30]

THE FOURTH LAYER OF MURALS - the northern wall of the nave (*Birth of saint John the Baptist*) - 15th century;[26]

THE FIFTH LAYER OF MURALS - the templon (the register of the three hierarchs and the *Ascension*) - 15th-16th centuries?[32] or 16th-17th centuries?[33]

THE SIXTH LAYER OF MURALS - the sanctuary painting - 1741.[27]

FIRST LAYER   SECOND LAYER   THIRD LAYER

Vasile Drăguț (1970)

FIRST LAYER   SECOND LAYER   THIRD LAYER
FOURTH LAYER   FIFTH LAYER

Vasile Drăguț, Liana Tugearu (1985)

FIRST LAYER   SECOND LAYER   THIRD LAYER
FOURTH LAYER   FIFTH LAYER   SIXTH LAYER

Cornel Boambeş (1990)
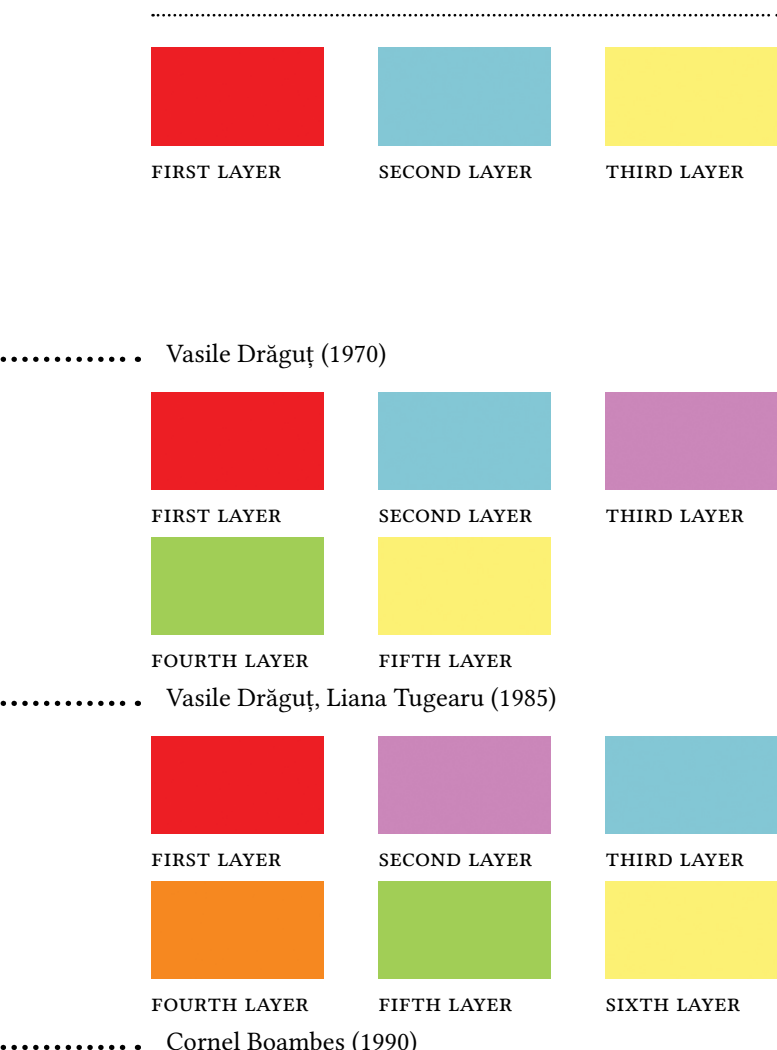
◄ Graphic 1. *Three different interpretations of the succession of mural strata in the monastic church in Râmeț. The hypotheses of Vasile Drăguț (1970, before the discovery of the templon fragments), Vasile Drăguț and Liana Tugearu (1985, before the discovery of the 'Birth of saint John the Baptist'), and Cornel Boambeş (1990, after the discovery of that scene).*

Credits: Anca Crişan, Vladimir Agrigoroaei, Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 2. *The sanctuary of Râmeț. Overlapping of mural strata in the proskomedia niche.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▲ Fig. 3. *The nave of Râmeț, iconostasis and northern wall. Martyrdom scene and unidentified fragment of mural from the northern wall.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▶ Fig. 4. *Overlapping of mural strata on the iconostasis of Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Given this overview, we can imagine that if the first painting program began, as expected, in the sanctuary apse, this could not have been limited to that space alone, but should have included the templon as well. Fragments of martyrdom scenes discovered in the middle register of the masonry screen separating the sanctuary and the nave continue on the north wall of the nave (Fig. 3, 4), a sign that this space was at least partially painted and probably at the same time as the sanctuary murals. The differences in style and technique could be explained by the participation of several craftsmen,[35] not only by the division into stages,[36] be they very close in time.

If we disregard the difficult dating of the Old Church Slavonic inscription (1377) and return to the original interpretation, the painting of the narthex in the last years of the reign of king Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490)[37] would be the second phase in the effort to decorate the place.[38] At that time, the composition of an iconographic program by the painter Mihul and his patron, archbishop Gelasius, would have taken into account the messages of the previously painted spaces. Because this painting survived only on the eastern wall of the narthex, the observation can only consider the surprising composition of the *Deisis* scene, with military archangels and saints,[39] and its less common location above the entrance to the nave (Fig. 5). This could be a possible sign that the image was missing from the templon – its common place of representation.[40] Thus, it is possible that the templon was painted from the beginning with the images we see today. For this alleged *Deisis* scene,

no conclusive date may be inferred. Based on the dating of other paintings in the church, one may propose only a vague dating oscillating between the 15th and 17th centuries.[41] If we include in the equation the scene of martyrdom from the first painted layer, which also cannot be said to be in the right place (strictly from the perspective of an Eastern Christian iconographic program) and given that the 16th and 17th centuries reveal a standardisation of the representations of the templon, the unusualness of the templon at Râmeț could be explained only by the reworking of pre-existing compositions, such as a representation of the *Ascension* in the upper part. In fact, this would be just another form of reunion of almost all the characters portrayed in the extended version of the apostles' frieze (with the *Deisis* scene at the center) and the busts of saints John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Nazianzen – who, due to their height, practically double the royal icons (Fig. 6-9). Based on stratigraphic and chemical analyses (and despite

stylistic differences), the simultaneous realisation of these two registers of the templon would be possible through the participation of several craftsmen in the project.[42]

There is another possible interpretation. If we appreciate, even with a question mark,[43] that the large scene of the *Birth of saint John the Baptist*, displayed on half of the entire surface of the northern wall of the nave, dates to the 15th century (Fig. 10), such a hypothesis would not be difficult to sustain, as the painting was applied directly on the masonry, by means of a layer of intonaco. This fact raises the problem of its chronological relation to the task entrusted to Mihul to paint only the space of the narthex. Thus, if the restorer's opinion is correct and the scene of the *Birth of saint John the Baptist* represents the first painting intervention in that portion of the nave, it would be unreasonable to postdate the narthex, leaving the nave unfinished for such a long time. Not to mention that the first stage of painting would be restricted to the proskomedia niche, the rest of the sanctuary not being painted either,[44] which would have not been the case. Moreover, the overlapping of mural layers seems to be evident only in the interventions of the 19th century, from which samples were left on the Southern

Fig. 5. *Mihul of White-Criș, 'Deisis with archangels and military saints' on the eastern wall of the narthex of the church in Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

wall of the nave. All the old stages are said to have coexisted.[45] We leave it to the reader to imagine what the church would have looked like from one stage to another if each craftsman had limited himself to the execution of only what has been preserved to this day. The ridiculousness of such a proposition saves me from further commenting on the issue, but also from the obligation to give credence to such a scenario. However, I cannot contradict the dating, so the only solution to harmonise the chronologies would be to imagine a complete repainting of the nave in the second half of the 15th century, an intervention from which only the fragment of the fresco depicting the *Birth of saint John the Baptist* would have survived. If such a scenario had been possible, the work would not necessarily have targeted the templon, which could have been repainted later. Likewise, it certainly could not have extended into the narthex, where an inscription from December 28, 1632 shows that Mihul's painting was still visible.[46]

The supreme argument of this scenario is the inscription in Romanian carved in stone and placed outside the church, above the entrance. Put there most probably in the context of the restoration of 1741, the text, assumed by a certain lo-

gothete *Dy*(?)[47] tells us that "first this church was painted in the days of king Matthias (*Matiiaș crai*), in the year 6895", *i. e.* September 1386-August 1387 (Fig. 11). A dating mistake?[48] A simple oversight of the carver or an uncritical interpretation of confusing information orally preserved by local memory, but in association with the details that could still be deciphered from Mihul's inscription or from another one, lost today?[49] Nobody can know for sure.

Some art and a lot more epigraphy.

What we can know has roots in modernity. In the history of Transylvanian Romanian art, the 18th century stands out as one of the most fruitful periods. It managed to leave its mark in one way or another on all existing ecclesiastical constructions, many of them being then completely renewed. Such transformations are easy to understand if they took place after 1760, when the destruction caused by the religious confrontations between the Orthodox and the Uniate forced re-ktetorship or restoration interventions. Yet if the decoration took place in the first half of the 18th century, then it can only be seen as an attention directed toward the most important monuments, particularly since individuals

Fig. 6. *View of the iconostasis of the church in Râmeț.*
Credits: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu.

Fig. 7-9. *Saints John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Nazianzen on the iconostasis of the church in Râmeț.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

from the leadership of the Uniate Church, the only Romanian ecclesiastical institution whose legality was accepted at that time, were involved in these projects. Such an attitude can be more easily observed at the level of the monastic constructions, which had remained without the support of the founders, than at the parish churches, whose care was gradually transferred from the ktetor families to the whole community of believers.

The closest example is the monastic church in Geoagiu de Sus ('Upper Geoagiu'), located in the immediate vicinity of the one at Râmeț. It received a new ktetor in the person of the archpriest of Alba Iulia, Demetrius, represented in 1724 in the dedicatory depictions of the narthex. It is interesting to notice that two figures similarly greet us in the monastic church at Râmeț, on the soffit of the arch of one of the two openings of the templon. The presence of the

kivotos and the lack of halos reveal that this would be a votive picture, despite the separate rendering face to face of the figures, a solution imposed by the particularity of the space. The inscriptions that once accompanied the representations have been erased, so we can no longer know who they are and what role the 18th-century painter reserved for them. The painter instead transcribed a long list (*pomelnic*) in the proskomedia niche. The list is divided into four open scrolls distributed in pairs on either side of the new representation of *Christ in the tomb* (Fig. 12-13). The first contains only names of the faithful, the one on the opposite side refers to painters, and the other two list a long line of hieromonks, priests, and their relatives, living and dead (as the insertion of the sign of the cross suggests at the beginning of one of the lines), all grouped together under the invocation:

Пом(єни) Г(оспод)и ктитори:/

Ermonah Gelasim, Ermonah Petronie, 2,[50] /

Ermonah Mihail, Iancul, Avram, Savul, Anisia, Iacov,/

Maria, Chirilă, Nicola, Crăciun,/
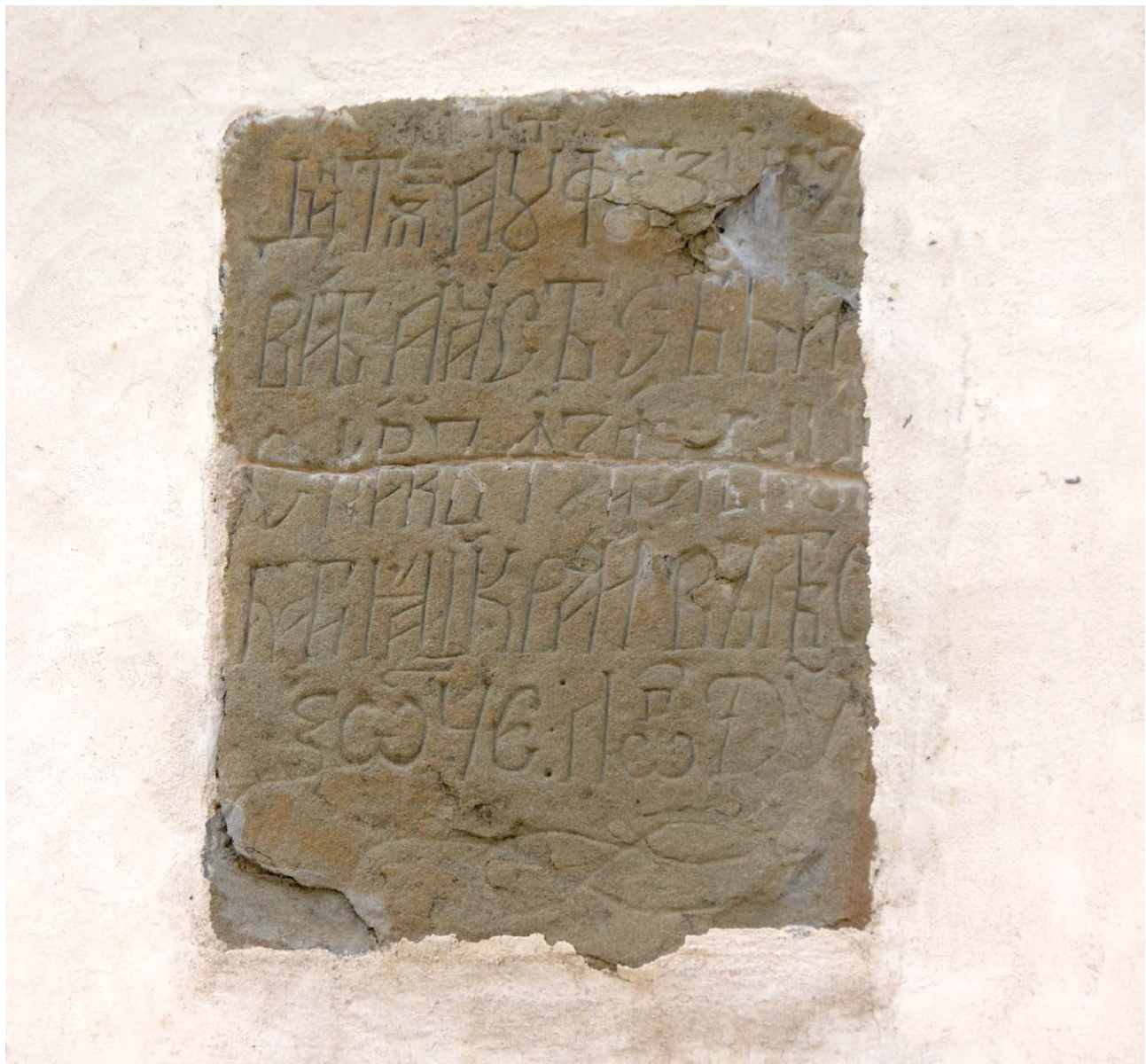
ПО҃ · Ӣ ІѠН҃ · ПРАГІА
ѢЧЕНК҃ ПЕТРꙊ · ФІЛ҃ПОН ·
ОЛА · Ꙛ · КОНЛ҃ · ІѠНА ꙖКОВ · КІ
САЛѠ́ЇЄ · МИХЛ҃НЛЬ · СА НЕДЕ · В
НІСТОР · ВЕ · В҃Д҃ ꙖⱑꙊⱑ

ПОМЕН҃ КР҃ТꙌР҃
ЕРМОНА̇ · ГЕЛАСΙ̇ · ЕРМОНА̇ · ПЕТРОНΙ̇Є Б·
ЕР·МИХА̇Ι̇ · І̇А́Х · ⰂРА҃Ʌ · САВꙊ̆ · ⰄН҃СΙ̇А · ꙖКОВ́
НА́ΐА · ꙮ КИРИЛЬ · НИКОЛА · КⰂⱰН
ПЕТРꙊ · ШЕФ҃Н · ДꙐ̆МꙐ̆ · ꙖꙐ̆РΙ̇Є̆
НА · МѲ · НⰄⰂНЬ · АНꙊꙈꙖ ·
Ж ЕРЕН · ꙖКꙊ · ꙖꙐ̆РΙ̇Є · ЕꙊЕН НИКОЛА
Є̆ · ІⰄⰂН · ШЕФꙈ · КⱤⱰНА · ЕРⰂ НИКО
ЛⰄЕ · ꙖꙐ̆РⰄ · ЕР · Р҃ГⰄ · ꙖꙐⱏⰂΤⰄ · Ꙛ
:: ꙖⰄНКⰄ

Pătru, Ștefan, Dămian, Mărie,/

Ana, Mos (?), Io(a)nă, Anuță,/

† Erei Iancul, Mărie, Erei Nicola, Erei Ion, Ștefan, Chireana, Erei Nico/

lae, Măria, Erei Vasilie, Meletie и/

Iancul

Remember, Lord, the ktetors: hieromonk *Gelasim*, hieromonk Petronius, 2, hieromonk Michael, *Iancul*, Abraham, Sava, *Anisia*, Jacob, Mary, Cyril, Nicholas, *Crăciun*, Peter, Stephen, Damian, Mary, Anna, *Mos* (?), Johanna, *Anuța*, † Priest *Iancul*, Mary, Priest Nicholas, Priest John, Stephen, *Chireana*, Priest Nicholas, Mary, Priest Basil, Meletius, and *Iancul*.

Пом(ени) Г(оспод)и: *Ermonah Sofronie, Erei Ion, Anuța* чад его,/

Mihăil, Anghelina, Io(a)nă, Stan/

Floare, ч(а)д Щцї (*Ere*)*i Dumitru, Anuța,/*

Erei Mihăil, Nasta(…), Io(a)na, 5, Sanda,/

Toma, Savu, 2, Măriuț(a), (I)on, Rusanda, Io(a)nă/

и весь родь его

Remember, Lord: hieromonk Sophronius, priest John, his wife *Anuța*, Michael, Angelina, Johanna, *Stan, Floare*, wife of father Demetrius, *Anuța*, priest Michael, *Nasta(…)*, Johanna, 5, *Sanda*, Thomas, Sava, 2, *Măriuța*, John, *Rusanda*, Johanna, and all their kin.

There is also a fifth scroll, the inscription of which has been transcribed and published in paraphrase by Ștefan Meteș.[51] This has been reproduced in later historical literature as if it were the original inscription.[52] Given that the loss of the plaster caused the disappearance of two thirds of the inscription, and the rest was distorted during the restoration by changing the remaining words. Its message can be reconstructed only with a photo, also published by Ștefan Meteș,[53] but difficult to read. Its content is as follows:

(În) an 1741, m(e)sța iul(i)e, în 12 zile/

(Z)ugrăvitu-s-au acest sf(ânt) olta(r) f(ii)nd vlădică (?) Făgărașului/

Ioan Inochienti K(lein) L(iber) B(aron) de Sadu, cu toa(tă) chieltuiala/

d(e la?) Ioan, Palaghiia ot Ponor, Io(…)ul ot Remeț/

și fiind egumen ermonah Sofronie/

și ocărămuitoriu acestui lucru, i Bologa Ioan./

Iară zugrav Gheorghe d(…)/

Ion protopop locului/

Ano 17(41)

In the year 1741, month of July, on day 12, this holy sanctuary was painted when the bishop of Făgăraș was John Innocent Klein, Free Baron of Sadu, entirely at the expense of John, *Palaghiia* of Ponor, *Io(…)ul* of Remeț, and hieromonk Sophronius being hegumen, and the ruler of this, and Bologa John. And painter George o(…) John archpriest of the place. Year 17(41).

Ștefan Meteș relied on other sources when he completed the name of the archpriesthood in whose jurisdiction the monastery (*Geomal*) was located, marking it in parentheses in his interpretive text. The name of the residence appears in today's image of the inscription in the form *Giomal* – the usual one at the time – although the photograph does not attest to it.[54] Once recovered in a form

Fig. 12. *Lists (*pomelnice*) mentioning the ktetors on the left intrados of the proskomedia niche from the sanctuary of the church in Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Fig. 13. *List of painters and continuation of the list of ktetors on the right intrados of the same proskomedia niche.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.
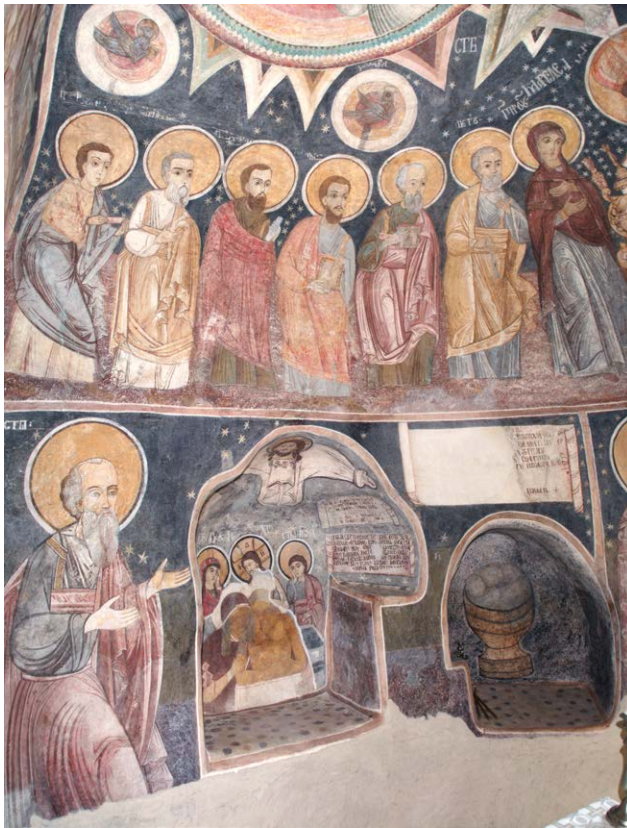
as close as possible to the original message, this information does not bring any actual clarification on the identity of the mysterious characters forming the unusual votive depiction, or on the decision to place them behind the diaconal door. Additional information can be corroborated from the inscriptions that accompany other paintings.

As George of Făgăraș also repainted the church from Streisângeorgiu,[55] where he showed special care for the preservation of the votive depiction from 1408, we can ask ourselves whether or not a similar situation unfolded in Râmeț. The previous compositional frames, such as the one in the proskomedia niche (*Man of Sorrows*) can be arguments in support of this interpretation, maybe also the rest of the sanctuary apse, the only room entrusted to him for renewal. A possible intention to take over an earlier iconographic program can also be detected by the original representation of the Holy Trinity, rendered by the vertical succession of God-Savaoth (occupying the center of the apse vault), the dove of the Holy Spirit (rendered along the axis), and Christ enthroned, the latter being transformed into an extended *Deisis* by the inclusion to the left and right of His Mother and John the Baptist accompanied by groups of six apostles (Fig. 14-17). The ingenious combination could have had the role of replacing the register of the apostles, lacking on the templon. However, it depends on who was the conceiver of the iconographic program. If parts of the same composition had existed before, then the team of George of Făgăraș only reconstructed the original message on new plaster, including the votive depiction. Yet if the iconographic design we see today is due to the painter from 1741, then the character rendered in a brown cloak and with a crosier (Fig. 18) can only be bishop Innocent Micu-Klein (*Inochentie Micu*).[56]

As for the figure in white robes that holds the kivotos (Fig. 19), its identification with archbishop Gelasius,

mentioned in the inscription of the narthex, on the grounds that his name appears also in the list of the ktetors in the proskomedia niche,[57] where it is rendered in the bizarre form Гєласим (with м in superscript), could also be valid. The name is the same as the one in the old inscription, no less bizarre and unique in its kind, гєласі[ѡн], with the superscript -ѡн, not -м, as it seems at first glance. However, it would be difficult to explain why the old ecclesiastical prelate was demoted to the rank of hieromonk (*ermonah*), and the presence of the sign of the cross next to the names listed on the last three lines even suggests that *Gelasim* was still alive. It would be easier to believe that he could have been hieromonk Sophronius, a contemporary hegumen with Innocent Micu-Klein, whose name is mentioned twice in the proskomedia niche, including as coordinator (*ocârmuitor*) of the painting project.

The only aspects of the images that would have clarified the specifics could have been the accompanying inscriptions next to the two figures, but they are completely erased. However, above this identity is their representation, whether it is of figures from the beginnings of the monastic settlement or from its renewal in the middle of the 18th century. In the first case, the special status of the monastery would be confirmed, maybe even as an archiepiscopal residence, and in the second it would show the importance the monastery still had in the middle of the 18th century in a hierarchy of monastic places under the administration of the Uniate Church. This importance is also illustrated by its nominal enumeration among the monasteries demolished at the order of general von Buccow, as a result of the rally of the monks from Râmeț to the movement of monk Sophronius from Cioara:

În anul 1761, în Ardeal, 48 de biserici au ars și au surpat vlădica Pavel Aaron, fiind unit cu latinii, pentru că nu [s-au?] plecat lui (...) Într-acest an (1762) au mai surpat încă 4 mă-

🔺 Fig. 14-17. *Painter George from Făgăraș, 1741, 'The Holy Trinity and the Great Deisis' followed by friezes with apostles and hierarch saints in the sanctuary apse of the church in Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

🔻 Fig. 18. *George from Făgăraș, 1741, depiction of a bishop ktetor in the church of Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▶ Fig. 19. *George from Făgăraș, 1741, depiction of a hegumen ktetor in the church of Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

năstiri: una a Prislopului, scaun de episcop, făcută de doamna Samfira, fata lui Moisi-Vodă Băsărab, alta Râmețu, făcută de Mihai Vodă Viteazul, una Plosca, alta Geoagiu...[58]

In the year 1761, in Transylvania, 48 churches were burned and destroyed by bishop Paul Aaron, while in union with the Latins, because they did not bow to him (...) In that year (1762) he destroyed 4 more monasteries: one of them in Prislop, a bishop's see, erected by lady Zamfira, the daughter of prince Moses Basarab, another one in Râmeț, erected by prince Michael the Brave, one in Plosca, another in Geoagiu...

About beginnings that are still not unraveled...

The importance of the monastery is beyond any doubt, but the roots of its significance remain to be determined. The 18th century had attributed it to an alleged ktetorship of

Michael the Brave, but this fact is not confirmed by other sources and ignores a possible contribution by Matthias Corvinus, which could have been documented in the text of the exterior inscription carved in stone and placed above the entrance to the church. First, I turn into a working hypothesis the previous statement that Râmeț monastery was an archiepiscopal residence, based on the mention of archbishop Gelasius in the Old Church Slavonic text in the narthex of the church.

The only certainty is that the monastic settlement at Râmeț was not a noble ktetorship, hence the deduction that the means of support of the community and those resources necessary for the construction and maintenance of buildings were provided at a much higher level than the patronage of a single family. The triple compartmentalisation of the church is unusual when compared to other contemporary masonry religious buildings, and attracts attention by the fact that it adapts a Romanesque layout to an Eastern Christian spatial program,[59] required for a monastic place of worship. The name of the place also indicates a hermitage, perhaps a little less obvious after the subsequent founding of the neighboring monastery, the one in Geoagiu de Sus. The latter could have been a metochion of Râmeț. Its oldest attestation, from 1557, reveals that it served as an episcopal residence for a long time.[60] The date of this episcopate was set in conjunction with the last months of the reign of the Wallachian prince Radu the Great (1494-1508), considering that this lord of Wallachia would have received from the king of Hungary, Vladislaus II (1471-1516), the castle in Stremț with its extensive estates, among which were Râmeț and Geoagiu de Sus.[61] In reality, however, the bequest targeted the domain of Geoagiu de Jos ('Lower Geoagiu') in Hunedoara County,[62] a different settlement. The founding of the diocese must have had completely different reasons. Probably those reasons were not entirely foreign to the policy of the Wallachian lords, just like the appointment of the bishop in 1557, easy to interpret as a consequence of the participation of prince Pătrașcu the Good in bringing back to Transylvania queen Isabella Jagiellon (1539-1540) and her son John Sigismund Zápolya (1540-1551, 1556-1570).[63] It is possible, however, that the monastery from Geoagiu de Sus was only a new residence of an older hierarchal structure, attested in the inscription of the narthex of the church in Râmeț.

There is no certainty that the dating of the murals of the church during the reign of Matthias Corvinus is correct, but the inscription carved on the outer wall contains this confusing piece of information. Some historians mistook it for the inscription painted in the narthex and suggested that Râmeț could be the archbishop's residence, its last resident being identified as archbishop Daniel, ktetor of the church in Feleac.[64] It was through his patronage that a *Tetraevangelion* was written in 1488, covered in 1498 by the Moldavian treasurer Isaac "for the metropolitanate of Feleac".[65] Given that this church was called "archbishopric of Transylvania" in a royal document of 1494, thus recognising for it a jurisdiction over the entire province, it was appreciated that its legitimacy could be conferred only by the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1439), being therefore a hierarchy in union with Rome.[66]

If Romanian historians agreed on this legitimacy of the metropolitanate of Feleac, things are not the same with the identity and affiliation of its first hierarchs. Two hypotheses arose from the need to put order to the little-known and contradictory information. The first of them has nothing to do with the monastery at Râmeț, but the second one does. In the first, a certain Macarius (*Macarie*) was

identified with a certain Mark (*Marcu*). We know about Macarius that he was a Uniate bishop of Halych, consecrated by the pope and documented in 1458-1469. He sought recognition of jurisdiction over Greek rite believers in the kingdom of Hungary, who had complied with the Uniatism of the Council of Florence, including those in Transylvania.[67] All that is known about Mark is that he settled in Feleac sometime in the second half of the 15th century, where he bought the house of the local priest Basil (*Vasile*), whose adopted son Danciu he had left as bishop in his place, on which occasion he received the name Daniel (*Daniil*).[68] Danciu-Daniel built the church in Feleac and endowed it with the above-mentioned *Tetraevangelion* in 1488, in which his name appears completed with the attribute "of Severin". Fortunately, Danciu-Daniel refers to himself as "metropolitan of Severin and Transylvania" in an undated document, though one that can be placed between 1488 and 1500.[69]

However, this title was exploited by the second hypothesis. Its supporters do not accept the idea that the metropolitanate of Severin (the second metropolitanate of Wallachia), would have ceased with the entry of its jurisdiction under the authority of the king of Hungary. This hypothesis was based on a now missing (and perhaps even dubious) inscription from the church at Ribița, according to which the construction of this building took place under the authority of pope Gregory and Anastasius, in 1404, the latter being identified with metropolitan Athanasius of Severin.[70] There is also a letter addressed to Sibiu in 1453 by two bishops with unspecified jurisdiction, considered to be the metropolitan of Ungrovlahia and his colleague from Severin, the latter being in union with Rome and looking for a new residence.[71] The second hypothesis is based on these shaky associations,[72] and places Macarius of Halych in Hunedoara,[73] where the funerary inventory of a tomb would suggest there the burial of a high ecclesiastical individual.[74] The buried man is supposed to be archbishop Daniel, the ktetor of Feleac, with Râmeț monastery established as his possible previous residence.[75] The Greek bishop Mark would follow after a possible vacancy of the seat between 1498 and 1516.[76] As proof, a new reading is brought forth of the name mentioned in the fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of the church in Feleac: the Cyrillic letter originally read Щ(*efan*) (Stephen),[77] being corrected to М(*arcu*) (Mark).[78] After Mark's death, Feleac would thus become a family business by transferring the episcopate between the relatives of the local priest Basil.[79]

Even though Gelasius of Râmeț does not appear in this complicated equation, the monastery is mentioned, and, ultimately, we will have to decide. Thus, if the first hypothesis could be based on the attestation in 1446 of a Basil, son of priest Barbos of Feleac,[80] from whom bishop Macarius / Mark bought the house in the 1460s, then the order of the residents would continue with Danciu-Daniel, Stephen, the one attested in the inscription from 1516 on the pedestal of the church from Feleac, and Peter, a possible nephew of Danciu active in 1538, probably the last resident at Feleac (from where he would be expelled in 1536, when the ambitious neighboring bishop, Anastasius of Vad, was recommended as head of both dioceses).[81] This equation, however, fails to clarify how the transition from the episcopate of Halych to the archdiocese / metropolitanate of Severin and Transylvania was made. Moreover, when the documents refer to bishop Danciu in 1534,[82] 1538,[83] 1550,[84] and 1595,[85] they mention a person who died before 1516. Furthermore, the descendants of priest Basil should have enjoyed a remarkable longevity, completely unusual for those times.

The second hypothesis is also undermined by the fact that we do not know how the title of Severin was updated, and by the misinterpretation of the initial name of the metropolitan of 1516 from Feleac, whose first initials ST(e-phen) remain, in my opinion, correct. The fact that the monastery of Râmeț is included in a list of hierarchies that continue with the Uniate ones in Feleac – as an episcopal see or only as a place of worship that has preserved the memory of a Uniate hierarchy – would have little chance of success unless archbishop Gelasius from the inscription in the narthex of Râmeț would have also been a Greek, like Mark and Macarius. Although their ethnicity is not certain either – at that time, Greek marked only the belonging to the Eastern rite – and, even if it were certain, it could not guarantee their option for the Florentine Union. Nevertheless, one could propose that it could have been the case. The clue in this case would be the form in which Mihul rendered the name of the archbishop, ГЕЛАСΪѠН, undoubtedly closer to the Greek form *Γελάσιος* than to the Old Church Slavonic *Геласи҃*. Yet we are in the realm of conjectures, in which any permutation is possible, only that it simultaneously leads to a logical error. The discussion must stop here, because it has turned into pure speculation. All attempts to harmonize the few documents that refer to the jurisdiction of some hierarchies over the Romanians in the Transylvanian principality have ended. We have to accept that things are unclear maybe for other reasons. The only exception is the episcopate of Vad, founded in the early 16th century as an annex of the metropolitante of Moldavia, whose authority encompassed the entire Northern half of the Transylvanian province a few decades later. In this case, what is the message of the inscription from Râmeț, whose text contains a clear reference to a religious authority approved by the king?

...and about an end without glory.

The case of the Râmeț archbishop may illustrate the Latin expression *una hirundo non facit ver*. Having nothing on which to reconstruct the ascending evolution of a hypothetical archbishopric of Râmeț, let us try a retrospective look, starting from the moment of Christopher's appointment as bishop of Geoagiu, in 1557. The neighborhood of Geoagiu in relation to Râmeț asks us to address this issue. However, his appointment took place in the context of the return of Transylvania under the authority of queen Isabella and the elected king John Sigismund Zápolya (1540-1551, 1556-1570). At the same time, the two instituted a new bishop in Vad,[86] with jurisdiction over the northern part of the principality of Transylvania. Therefore, it is worth asking why the monastery of Geoagiu de Sus was chosen as the seat of the episcopate with jurisdiction in the Southern part of the new state. Why not another location in the nearby area? The simplest explanation is that both hierarchies settled in the previous residences: the monastery of Vad, founded with the support of the rulers of Moldavia, and the "monastery of Geoagiu de Sus", *Claustrum Fel.-Diod*. However, this name does not indicate that the monastery was actually located in Geoagiu de Sus, but that it was the monastery within the domain of Geoagiu de Sus, a formula also used for the monastery at Râmeț in a hearing of witnesses from 1622.[87] The phrase used in the document of 1557 would therefore be a kind of official name of the monastery at Râmeț and of the headquarters of the 'old' episcopate – *ab antiquo* is mentioned in the same document –[88] the episcopate led by Christopher. This is also the place in which John of Peșteana could have resided before him.[89] John was the so-called 'bishop of the Romanians in this country of Transylvania'. He was sent for conse-

cration in Wallachia in 1551,[90] at a time when the other alleged episcopal residences seem to have ceased activity. There is thus a continuity, for which no other benchmarks can be offered, but which, in the general shortage of information regarding the existence and function of the ecclesiastical hierarchies of the Romanians in Transylvania, does not even need much else.

The idea that the real headquarters of the diocese of Geoagiu was at Râmeț monastery is not new. It was formulated more than a century ago by Nicolae Iorga and it is surprising that it remained unnoticed for so long, especially after the discovery of the inscription in the narthex of the church in Râmeț. Iorga quotes Benkő József with information about the ruins of the monastery from Geoagiu de Sus, seen by the learned scholar *ad radices alpium, ultra Marusium sitarum, in superna pagi parte*.[91] The description is very appropriate for its location, but Iorga disputes it, considering that it must refer to the monastery of Râmeț, then confusing the domain Geoagiu de Sus in Alba county with the domain Geoagiu de Jos in Hunedoara county. Last but not least, he uses a mocking expression, roughly approximated to "monastic bishopric" or "a bishopful of monks" (*vlădicie de mânăstire*).[92] Iorga then connects the founding of this episcopate to the Wallachian prince Radu de la Afumați (1522-1523, 1524, 1524-1525, 1525-1529).[93] The erection of the monastery from Geoagiu de Sus is also attributed to him, but hypothetically. What remains of Iorga's opinions is that the Southern part of Transylvania was under the influence of the metropolitanate of Wallachia, by virtue of the status of exarch of the *Plaiuri* (territories across the Carpathians) that the metropolitan of Ungrovlahia had under his jurisdiction, a state of affairs that could have been consolidated by the domination of some Transylvanian fiefs by the Wallachian lords from the first decades of the 16th century. Research treated the situation of the Southern diocese in a similar manner to that created by the lords of Moldavia in the Northern part of Transylvania by founding the diocese of Vad, although this was not the case at all. The difference is that the lords of Wallachia never ruled the territory where Râmeț and Geoagiu de Sus are located. Moreover, no documentary evidence has been preserved that explicitly attests to their involvement in supporting the two monasteries. That there was a certain gravity toward the two external poles, this is another issue. The pull in question was often revealed during the second half of the 16th century and into the middle of the next century. Finally, the metropolitanate of Wallachia prevailed as a result of the decision of the political authorities to reduce the Church of Transylvania to a single diocese, that of the episcopate in the Southern part, now with residence in Alba Iulia, whose jurisdiction was extended to the northern part of the principality.[94]

The lack of documents prevents us from finding out how exactly this double claim to the patronage of the Romanian clergy in Transylvania was reached. Instead, one can deduce how the transition was made from the old episcopal structure attested in 1557 to the new one, mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph. If Christopher's successors had (or would have had) their residence in Râmeț, then their pastorate would have been short-lived. Bishop Sava was expelled by the master of the domain, Melchior Balassa, in 1560 or 1561, and the episcopate was entrusted to priest George from Ocna Sibiului, the first Romanian bishop who is believed to have professed the Protestant faith.[95] Whether or not he moved to Râmeț in the short time he exercised his authority has remained an open question. When Sava returned to head the episcopate in 1562,[96] he may not have left his new residence in Lancrăm. There

he could have enjoyed the company of a group of refugee boyars from Wallachia, having felt more sheltered after the Diet of Transylvania established a Reformed episcopate for Romanians in 1566, headed by George Szentgyörgyi, who was charged with preaching "the true Christian faith".[97] The only certain thing is that the house in Lancrăm was ceded to the reformed Romanian bishop in 1570, as a

Fig. 20. *Mihul of White-Criș, 'Holy monk and martyr Andronicus', in the narthex of the church in Râmeț.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Fig. 21. *Mihul of White-Criș, 'Saint Nicholas the wonderworker', in the narthex of the church in Râmeț, detail.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

result of Sava's spontaneous departure to Wallachia,[98] either tired of harassment or eager to fill a vacant seat there. At the same time, the monastery in Râmeț had become the property of the Kovacsóczy family and monk Raczi Simadi, probably a Serb, taught the children of the Romanians from nearby villages. Talking about this episode in his life, one of those former students does not mention anything else about the other functions of the monastery. However, Râmeț

suffered more and more from the masters of the land in the following years. Some even committed crimes, so that the monastery could be kept by the monks.[99] At that time, it is certain that there could be no question of any diocese in Râmeț. This hypothesis will be kept as potentially valid until we return to the historical discussion, starting from clearer premises drawn from other viewpoints.

Again about the art and the need to revise the chronology.

At the end of this long historical and historiographical journey, overly entangled, we should return to painter Mihul and his art, as he would have been the only one able to meet the demands imposed by both the archbishop and his colleague (or colleagues) that preceded him at Râmeț, in the painting of the apse and nave. Although very small, the remaining murals of the painting layer preceding that of Mihul were dated to the first half of the 14th century, being associated technically, stylistically, and iconographically with Western Gothic art,[100] while the compositional schemes were related with Byzantine art.[101] If we trust the last reading of the inscription, Mihul, a Romanian from somewhere along the White Criș River (*Crişul Alb*), would be called a few decades later to continue the work of his predecessors, offering a much clearer confessional orientation to his artistic message. The selection of holy figures in the paintings, as well as the inclusion of military saints in the *Deisis* scene, without any correspondent in the Romanian cultural context, have so far been explained only by the preference for asceticism of the monks at Râmeț, the need to defend 'true orthodoxy' against Catholic propaganda,[102] and the function of prayer for the forgiveness of the sins of the Romanian warriors, defenders of the borders of Transylvania. The latter would have been forced, as vassals of the king of Hungary, to take part in battles against the Romanians outside of the Carpathians.[103] As for Mihul, he was appreciated as representative of a Romanian school of painting in full affirmation, which would reveal its full potential in the works undertaken at the end of the 14th century and in the first decades of the 15th century, especially in the painting of the churches in Crişcior, Leşnic,

▼ Fig. 22. *Mihul of White-Criş, 'Saint John Chrysostom', in the narthex of the church in Râmeț, detail.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▶ Fig. 23. *Mihul of White-Criş, 'Saints Anthony the Great and Basil the Great', in the narthex of the church in Râmeț.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Hălmagiu, Ribiţa, and Zlatna.[104] Mihul thus became a product of the intersections between the Byzantine and Western cultural spheres. In its decorative repertoire, elements transmitted through the international Gothic style were recognized (Fig. 23).[105] Moreover, the elongated contours of his painted physiognomies would be drawn with an obvious concern for variety (Fig. 20-23), being appreciated as a reflection of the heterogeneous artistic environment of Transylvania.[106]

The satisfactory knowledge of Old Church Slavonic in which he composed the inscription is commensurate with a superior artistic training, but it still does not allow him to exceed the scope of a provincial master. This is especially evident in certain anatomical inaccuracies: the hands are too small (Fig. 20), there is a thinness of the legs, and an unnatural way in which clothes surround the knees of the figures, which are not completely covered by drapes (Fig. 24). For a local painting school, dependent on sponsors with limited material resources, these inaccuracies would not have been a problem. On the contrary, the overall artistic quality suggests a relatively intense activity, which constantly provided opportunities and motivations for improving technical knowledge, for collaboration among workshops, and even for possible study trips. Without such contacts, Mihul would not have been able to master the norms of Byzantine art – even if only to a large extent – nor to develop such a personal way of expression. In other words, Mihul had to have traveled, either to seek instruction or as a disciple, with the master under whose guidance he learned the craft, or to find work when he remained on his own. On a larger scale, that of a local school of painting, one must again accept the arrival of some craftsmen from elsewhere, through whom the source of inspiration and the framing in the Byzantine manner was more or less directly ensured. From this point of view, Mihul is not sufficient in and of himself.

The search around Transylvania for similarities with the paintings at Râmeţ has so far resulted only in vague terms of comparison from an artistic point of view. The representations of saint Athanasius the Great in the narthex of Cozia monastery,[107] and of saints Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen in the narthex of Tismana monastery have been adduced,[108] but the firm conclusion has been that there are no relations between the princely art of Wallachia and the provincial one of Transylvania during the second half of the 14th century.[109] Even the broader searches, starting from the whole set of paintings from Transylvania up to the middle of the 15th century, found only tenuous correspondences in Serbia that had nothing to do with painting, but with the use of formulas in the text of the church inscription.[110] Minor relations with representations from the Catholic and Orthodox churches in modern Slovakia and Ukraine have also been highlighted.[111] Nothing, however, has been signaled stylistically as there are no references even to the color palette, and the canon of rendering the proportions of the figures – which Mihul particularises through a delicately elongated contour for the older saints (Fig. 21-23) and through adolescent hairstyles for younger saints (Fig. 25-26) – has not even been taken into account due to the accentuated provincial character of the paintings from all over Transylvania.

A first thought is to review what Mihul may have revealed about himself in the inscription he left in the narthex of the monastic church at Râmeţ, considering that his origin and knowledge of Old Church Slavonic could offer insight into his training as an artist. The slightly strange

▲ Fig. 24. *Mihul of White-Criș, 'Military saint and archangel', detail from the Deisis scene, in the narthex of the church in Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

▶ Fig. 25. *Mihul of White-Criș, 'Martyr saint Procopius', in the narthex of the church in Râmeț, detail.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

situation had already been noted in which the painter – despite displaying humility through the consecrated formula "the sinful servant of God" – puts himself in the forefront more so than the two authorities, ecclesiastical and political, that he invokes as causal and temporal landmarks of his creation.[112] If the temporal landmark ("in the days of king *Lodovic*") can be considered part of the *stilionarium* of these kinds of texts,[113] the mention "by order of", "at the request of" (повеленїемъ)[114] of archbishop Gelasius nevertheless puts us in front of an almost direct relationship between the two. This change of interpretive key, a look at the text from the inside, cannot, however, eliminate the fact that Mihul expressly and personally received the order to make the painting. At that time, I hoped that this command was due to a merit enciphered in the word бѣлокришьць. Although it could just as well be just a simple statement of facts, the apparent emphasis with which Mihul presents himself as зȢграфъ бѣлокришьць indicates a distinction, a reason for pride underlined by the presence of the copulative conjunction in the sequence that connects the two attributes:[115] that of a servant of God

and that of a painter – многогрѣшни рабъ божїи… и зȢграфъ бѣлокришьць. The use of this appellation would suggest the recognition of an authority, of an identity-generating sign capable of justifying the selection of Mihul by a bishop whose jurisdiction is also not specified – another reason to look with suspicion at the reduction of the surname бѣлокришьць to a basic geographical reference, "from White-Criș", the only translation proposed so far.

Unfortunately, the efforts to find another meaning for this word have yielded no results. As a sign of consolation, we should at least note that the phrase in question is not exactly appropriate, as it does not refer to a settlement – as would have been normal – but to a river or at most a district that functioned temporarily in Zarand county and was later merged into the domain of Șiria fortress.[116] A "land of White-Criș" (*Țara Crișului Alb*) as the equivalent name for the land of Hălmagiu (*Țara Hălmagiului*), circulated for some time in historiography, but is not a reality attested as such in medieval documents.[117] It is just a misinterpretation of an expression created by the historian Radu Popa out of the need to delineate another common name, that of land of Zarand (*Țara Zarandului*). Yet it was completely inappropriate, because it reflects realities of the 18th and 19th centuries.[118] It should be noted that during the 15th century, the district of Hălmagiu was also not equivalent to that of White-Criș, being attested simultaneously in documents, together with the other Romanian districts from Zarand county. Even if we assume that painter Mihul referred to

СТЫ ХЕННИ ЄСТОР·

◀ Fig. 26. *Mihul of White-Criș, 'Martyr saint Nestor',
in the narthex of the church in Râmeț, detail.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

that territory and not another, the lack of documentary evidence makes it impossible to separate from the entire White Criș River basin those communities that formed the homonymous district. Identifying the region where he was originally from or where he set up his residence is consequently even more difficult to establish. However, there is a certain habit of those in the land of the Criș Rivers (*Țara Crișurilor*) to refer to themselves in this way in modern times. With a similar formula, one of the most diligent copyists from the area signed his work in the 17th century:

Eu, Popa Pătru, diîn Crișulu Reapede, diîn sat din Chinăud, am scris această sfântă carte până aicea când am lăcuit în Criștealic. Ani(i) de la nașterea D(o)mnului (...) 1686, sfăr-șiu în priiriu în 22 de zile, joi...[119]

I, Popa Peter, from Fast-Criș, of the village Chinăud, I wrote this holy book up to this place when I lived in Criștealic. The years since the birth of the Lord (...) 1686, I completed it [the work] in April, day 22, Thursday...

Cu mila lui Dumnezeu, eu, Popa Pătru diîn Crișul Reapede, diîn sat diîn Chinăud, am scris această carte cănd au fost ani(i) de la zidirea lumii 7196, de la Nașterea lui H(risto)s 1688, crugul Soarelui au fost în 28, crugul Lunei în 14 letera psi, și am gătat până aicea cu scrierea în luna lui mart(ie) în 28 de zile, miercuri.[120]

By the pity of the Lord, I, Popa Peter from Fast-Criș, of the village of Chinăud, I wrote this book when the years from the Creation of the World were 7196, from the Birth of Christ, 1688, the cycle of the Sun in 28, the cycle of the Moon in 14 letter psi, and I finished writing up to this place in the month of March, day 28, Wednesday.

Of course, we are talking about a reality much later than the moment when the inscription from Râmeț was composed. In addition, there is a suspicion that this Peter from Tinăud was not a local, but was part of the suite of one of the princes or boyars from Wallachia and Moldavia who found refuge for a while in Bihor in the context of military confrontations in the mid-17th century.[121] Moreover, all his other signatures were limited to the formula "Popa Peter from Chinăud", with the two reproduced here being therefore the exceptions. This attestation is later, a probable consequence of the fact that the one who recommended himself in this way was not a local. It would therefore be risky to generalize and believe that Mihul would have been in a similar situation a few centuries earlier. For the sake of the hypothesis, if we accepted that Mihul would have acted in the same way as Popa Peter, let us then accept the possibility that Mihul would have said in Romanian that he is "from White-Criș" (*din Crișul Alb*). Yet this interpretation has little chance of success for other reasons.

The term бѣлокришьць has the value of an adjective. Its derivation with the suffix -ць, an "unusual suffix for the formation of adjectives from toponyms",[122] was interpreted as a small oddity, although it could just as well have been a difficulty of Mihul to relate to local toponymy if he had left those lands a while back or had come from other places. Long-distance travel was a constant in the lives of medieval artists. In reality, however, the use of the Old Church Slavonic suffix -ць seems to have the meaning of the Romanian ending –(e)anu in the logic of the painter from Râmeț.

Of course, among the Romanians, Mihul could not have called himself "White-Crișan", but the confusion caused by the fact that there were several Criș rivers could make the banal surname "Crișan" be translated with maximum fidelity relative to the river on which the place of origin or residence of the painter was located. Although it is also imperfect, this interpretation seems to me much more plausible.

Unable to evade the sphere of the anecdotal, and having no other biographical reference with which to assign a new meaning to the appellation бѣлокришьць, I followed an earlier suggestion of Vladimir Agrigoroaei to intensify the search by starting from the name of the archbishop in charge of the painting at Râmeț, in the hope that I may be able to bring Mihul in the way of archbishop Gelasius. The only attestations of hierarchs bearing this name were found in the Ruthenian milieu: a Gelasij, bishop of Vladimir-Volhynia sometime in the 11th century,[123] and a Gelazy, bishop of Przemyśl, mentioned in 1412-1416 documents.[124] Although none of them could be the one alluded to in the church inscription from Râmeț (if the chronology of the inscription was really correct), I deepened the searches in this direction, being tempted by the accidental discovery of an important Vlach community that arrived in Poland following the incorporation of the principality of Halych-Volhynia in 1349.[125] Some of them were originally from the North and East of the kingdom of Hungary, more precisely from Transylvania, Maramureș, and the Slovak counties.[126] The Romanian colonisations had intensified during the period when Poland was ruled by Louis I of Hungary, a fact interpreted as a deliberate political action, in order to preserve and strengthen the ties of the Ruthenian lands with the Angevin dynasty.[127] Most Romanians established rural settlements and specialised in pastoral economy. Some of them, however, were small nobles from the entourage of the Maramureș family of Drágffy, who received estates in the lands of Sanok, Przemyśl, Lvov, and Halych.[128] It would not have been excluded that Mihul originated from such an environment, given the so-called Western influences that previous research attributed to his work.

The appreciation enjoyed by the *maniera Graeca* among the Catholic Poles and the existence in Southern Poland of these communities of Romanians who shared the Orthodox confession with the Ruthenian population, could be a fairly fertile environment for painters of his kind. Was Mihul among those who worked there? If so, such an experience should be reflected in his painting, and also in his knowledge of Old Church Slavonic, as it is known that the vernacular Slavic languages had a profound impact on the Old Church Slavonic writing in their area. In other words, where Mihul learned Slavonic, he could have also learned the craft of painting. Unfortunately, it was impossible for me to complete a linguistic research. I lacked the necessary skills, so I enlisted the help of many colleagues already mentioned in the introduction of this study. Until the philologists clarified the type of writing in Mihul's Old Church Slavonic, my research was limited to a series of searches in the artistic environment, apparently relieved by the fact that very few samples of painting of a Byzantine tradition remained, and all preserved in Catholic churches.[129] Among them, the only one that offered analogies with Mihul's painting was the one in the collegiate basilica from Wiślica. It offered parallels both in terms of the color palette, very close to the one used in Râmeț, and especially through two physiognomic similarities. These are usually the most relevant details in the comparative study of paintings.

▲ Fig. 28. *Wiślica, 'Unidentified saint', detail, end of the 14ᵗʰ century-c. 1420.* Credits: Igor Zamoyski, courtesy of Mirosław Piotr Kruk.

◥ Fig. 29. *Wiślica, 'Unidentified saint', detail, end of the 14ᵗʰ century-c. 1420.* Credits: Igor Zamoyski, courtesy of Mirosław Piotr Kruk.

The figures from Wiślica have no names, and their identities do not seem to have been revealed even in the inscriptions on the scrolls they hold in their hands. Represented standing, these figures belong to a larger group of saints, paired at the intersection of the walls of the apse, in the upper portions (Fig. 27). The younger figure (Fig. 28) can be compared with saints Procopius and Nestor from Râmeț (Fig. 25-26). Despite the inevitable differences, they have in common the same type of hairstyle and the same way of rendering the strands of hair, through touches in alternating color tones. The older figure (Fig. 29), with a high and domed forehead, with the extremities completely removed from under the strands of hair, resembles saints Gregory the Great, Andronicus, Nicholas, and John Chrysostom from Râmeț (Fig. 20-23).

I must admit that these analogies are tenuous, but they cannot be neglected in the absence of other comparisons. They could indicate at least a common training among the painters involved. Nevertheless, the obstacles between Râmeț and Wiślica are not easy to overcome. The most important of these is the time interval that separates them.

More precisely, there are two to four decades separating the paintings at Râmeț and those in the church in Wiślica.[130] Given the completely different proportions of the two monuments, literally and figuratively, it cannot be admitted that the painter of a small church secluded in the mountains of Transylvania could have influenced the workshop that yielded the craftsmen working at Wiślica. Mihul's belonging to the same artistic environment in Southern Poland, from which he had detached himself and left for Transylvania a few decades earlier than the beginning of the Wiślica construction site, would again be inadmissible. Barely strained, this connection seemed to lead nowhere. Suddenly, the inscription itself became a great obstacle and returning to it a vital necessity (Fig. 30).

When your research becomes the research of others.

The question of what type of Old Church Slavonic writing belongs to Mihul did not prove to be productive either. Philologists have much finer criteria for appreciating a text. Because they could not offer me a clear answer and were not content simply to give any answer, the colleagues who guided me in this part of the research shared their doubts with me, unable to give categorical statements about the inscription of painter Mihul. The first of the questions, the one that shook the entire meticulous scaffolding built so far, was voiced by Aleksandr Dmitrievich Paskal. Based on the spelling of the signs ȣ, ⱄ in superscript, ⱅ, and the smooth breathing, he questioned the very possibility of the inscription dating to the 14ᵗʰ century. The features in question would most likely suggest a dating to the 16ᵗʰ century. Suddenly, the small differences in the reading bet-

Fig. 30. *Old Church Slavonic inscription painted in the narthex of the church in Râmeţ, photograph of 1980 from the monastery archive.* Re-photographed by Dumitriţa Filip.

Fig. 31. *uv photograph of the inscription from Râmeţ.* Source: Breazu 1985, p. 50.

Fig. 32. *Photograph of the inscription from Râmeţ, with a reconstruction of the illegible text.* Source: Tugearu, Breazu 1981, p. 33.

ween the variants proposed by Liana Tugearu and Monica Breazu became very important. Returning to their publications and checking the illustration with which they completed their arguments (Fig. 31-32) made clear the difficulties they faced. Things were described with nostalgia later by one of the authors of the photos:

After the torturous operation of unrolling and connecting the electrical cables to the remote headquarters of the monastery, we proceeded to examine the inscription on the second layer of plaster in the narthex, using a source of ultraviolet radiation. Monica Breazu, an excellent Slavicist now in Paris, took care of the actual reading. At one point, she became elated and simply shouted, 'Fantastic, incredible, what will Prof. Drăguţ say?' We all squirmed, not understanding a hint of the Old Church Slavonic inscriptions that shone like a diamond due to the fluorescence effect. *The year of the painting was '6885', meaning '1377'!* [emphasis in text]. I took pictures with a magnifying glass, with the camera in my hand or on a thin tripod that vibrated continuously. Will something come out? Overwhelmed with emotion, we returned after midnight to Alba Iulia and we developed the film in a 'rest room' in

the hotel. The inscription appeared in all its splendor! I didn't sleep all night, waiting in the morning to call Prof. Drăguţ in Bucharest. He was extremely excited, but he told us that he did not believe it until he saw it; what's more, a kind of Thomas the Unbeliever of the scientist version.[131]

In fact, the first version of the translation made by Monica Breazu and published by Liana Tugearu, the one in which the dating of 1376 was advanced, did not really mention anything about the name of the king:

I wrote this, most sinful servant of God, Mihul painter from White Criş during the office of archbishop Ghelasion. In the days … the king (year 6884) month July 2.[132]

Later, when the academic translation was published, there were still some doubts about the reading of the king's name. The large number of letters was too difficult to cram into the remaining space, so Liana Tugearu preferred to narrow them down (лѡд[вв]ика),[133] considering that two of them had probably been marked in superscript. She also opted for a different spelling than that of Monica Breazu (лодовика).[134] However, the use of ѡ instead of ѻ, in addition to the fact that it is not justified (everywhere in the readable text ѻ is used), also presupposed a greater need for space (Fig. 31-32). However, she had agreed on the dating in 6885 (= 1377). A detail of the group of the Slavonic numbers, with the accentuation of the contours, for more clarity, was published together with the photograph obtained through the special technique.[135] The same detail can also be observed in the material written by the author of the photograph (Fig. 33),[136] only that its reading is ex-

▲ Fig. 33. *Detail of the UV photograph of the inscription from Râmeț.* Source: Ionescu 2008, p. 258.

▲ Fig. 34. *UV detailed photograph of the inscription from Râmeț, now in the monastery archive.* Re-photographed by Dumitrița Filip.

▶ Fig. 35. *Present state of the Old Church Slavonic inscription in the narthex of the church in Râmeț.* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

position of the accents and the forms of the letters м, 8, ъ, ї, ѵ̈ were specific to the school founded in Tarnovo by the Bulgarian patriarch saint Euthymius (1375-1393), later spread by his disciples in Serbia, Moldavia, and Russia. Looking from the perspective of Serbian Cyrillic paleography, the inscription from Râmeț could be dated between the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. I follow here the suggestion of Zhanna Levshina, who noticed that it was too early for Euthymius' reform to reach Transylvania. In 1377, it was just initiated in Bulgaria. Wanda Stępniak Minczewa also noticed that Mihul had a predisposition to write words as he knew them in his own language: михѹл, зѹграф, епискѹп, although correctly in Old Church Slavonic they would have been михаил, зограф, епископ. Indirectly, this observation confirmed that бѣлокришьць must indeed be seen as a circumstantial adaptation of a Romanian name, consisting of a translatable part (White) and an untranslatable part (Criş). The only word left in question remained the derivative гелаcïѹн. Correctly, in the Slavonic, it should have been transcribed as гелаcïѹм. Yet as such, at least we removed from the discussion the possibility that the bearer of this name was Greek.

Of course, such a short text contains too little linguistic material to answer the question of where Mihul learned Old Church Slavonic. However, the form in which the word повеленїем is rendered can be seen as an indication. The transformation of повеленïѣм into повеленïем is one of the most characteristic phonetic features of Serbian Old Church Slavonic, being in use from as early as the end of the 13th century. As the phonetic adaptation of the Greek terms зограф, епископ and the name михаил is not characteristic of either the southern (Serbian and Bulgarian) or the eastern (Russian-Ukrainian) redactions, one may conclude that Mihul learned the Old Church Slavonic language somewhere in a Romanian monastery, most likely from a Serbian monk. We already saw this happen in Râmeț, where in the second half of the 16th century "a priest named Raczi Simadi who lived in it" was a teacher.[137] Unfortunately, this is the only way to reconstruct his linguistic profile. Yet, if we bring into the discussion the fact that bishop Christopher, the one named in 1557, was praised for his knowledge of Greek (*graecarum Litterarum scientiae*),[138] possibly a confusion with knowledge of Slavonic required of a Greek-rite cleric, as well as the fact that Euthymius, the bishop named in 1571, was consecrated by the Serbian patriarch from Peć, we could have two additional weak arguments that in Râmeț there were others who knew Old Church Slavonic and who shared their knowledge with young disciples. In the early years of the 16th century, their arrival could have been a consequence of the long diplomatic travels of despot George Branković, by then a monk under the new name of Maxim. He was consecrated bishop in 1503 or 1504 by the ecumenical patriarch Niphon, who was then in Wallachia. Or perhaps by the hierarchs of Moldavia in 1507-1508, as the latter consecrated him as archbishop of Belgrade. Maxim (George Branković) was an envoy of king Vladislas II of Hungary, being charged with diplomatic missions to assure the collaboration of the Romanian principalities in the fight against the Ottomans.[139]

A new reading of the inscription.

After noticing that the dating of the inscription in the narthex at Râmeț to 1377 was only the result of a personal choice, suggested perhaps by the dating error – 1387 – of the inscription carved in stone and inserted on the outer wall of the church, it remained to be seen whether the new information could be useful for a new reading. For easier tracking of the text, let us start by saying that the inscrip-

tremely difficult and any interpretation is based on a conjecture. As for the group of Cyrillic letters that made up the name of the ruler, they are in an even more deteriorated state (Fig. 34). Once I understood these things, the harmonisation of the 16th-century spelling with these illegible dating landmarks could no longer pose major problems. The only issue was that the reading of the inscription had been forced and sent the interpreters – certainly not in bad faith – to an inappropriate time period.

Aleksandr Paskal's comment was supplemented by suggestions from Ivana Bezrukova. She pointed out that the

...слмиогогеѣ
рабаѣжіни
ихъдлизуѥа
ѿ тѣлоюнш
кстовесни…м
ги· єпѣнсоπо
кѣ … къ
мⷯ… хъ

tion was divided into ten lines. For nine of them, ruling lines were incised with a consistent spacing, which gives the inscription an orderly appearance, serving also as a sign of the importance of the message it had to convey. The first six lines can be read effortlessly, and their text remains the same as in the first reading, that of Vasile Drăguț:

1) писах многогрѣ	I wrote this, most sin-
2) шнї рабь бж҃їи	ful servant of God
3) михꙋлъ иъ з8гра	Mihul and painte-
4) фъ бѣлокришь	r White-Crișa-
5) цъ повеленїемъ	nu, by the order
6) архїепⷵ҇ск8пом	of the archbishop

The next group of letters was read by Vasile Drăguț as георгїиом.[140] The letters ге, ї and the ь sign at the end, which the historian did not indicate in his transcript, are clearly legible in the photograph he published.[141] The letters лас can be easily read in the ultraviolet photography and, thanks to the cleaning performed during the restoration, they have also become legible to the naked eye (Fig. 35). The name of the hierarch thus remains the one proposed by the Breazu-Tugearu reading. However, in the absence of a clear legibility of the last three signs, we still can complete it in the correct form:

7) геласїомъ. въ	Gelasiom, in

From lines 8 and 9, only the following letters remain visible today:

8) дни ****** кра	the days .... ki-
9) ль (л)ѣ[т] ****.	ng, year ....

With the exception of line 2 and without counting the superscript characters, the preceding lines contain eleven and twelve characters each, which means that the illegible text on line 8 must have consisted of a maximum of seven letters (rather 6 + 1 in ligature) (Fig. 36). Liana Tugearu also accepted the same, probably on the grounds that two words were superscripted, because the variant of the name proposed (лwд[wв]ика) does not offer the possibility of a transcription with a ligature. Given the name of such an important character and given that the inscription could continue far down the wall, if it proved necessary, the two ways of abstracting the text (superscript and ligature) cannot be accepted and no heaping of the letters can be sustained. We should note that the author of the inscription in Romanian inserted on the outer wall of the church used the same number of letters (6 + 1 in ligature) when he identified матиаш as the king during whose time the church was first painted.

When we combine the color image of the inscription, as much as can be read of it (Fig. 35), and the black-and-white one achieved with ultraviolet photography (Fig. 31), it becomes quite obvious how many tricks the eyes can play in their inability to distinguish between extant traces of white paint and the scratches or losses of plaster that the black-and-white photograph also rendered as white marks, without capturing the depth of the layers. The most obvious mistake due to these confusions can be seen in line 10. Due to the lack of the mark incised below, it was easily detached from the rest of the lines and written in disarray. In the reading proposed by Vasile Drăguț and supported by Monica Breazu and Liana Tugearu (м(с)ца їюла в҃), this line acquires a chaotic aspect, due to the excessive oversizing of number 2. However, the vertical arm of this sup-

posed number is only the consequence of a scratch and the upper loop is the result of scraping. What remains can only be interpreted as a final ornament, as it was necessary to have with a text of such importance. The content of the last row is thus restricted to:

10) мⷰ҇ц(а) ю҃а	month of July + ornament

Even if we utilize all the technical means available today and take into account the names of all the kings of Hungary since the middle of the 14th century and the princes of Transylvania in the 16th century, the attempt to give content to such important parts that remain unknown in the text of the inscription at Râmeț lead nowhere. No letter can be reconstructed or at least proposed in order to have a landmark around which to form at least one hypothesis. Dragoș Năstăsoiu found himself in a similar situation. In publishing the church inscription at Râmeț in a corpus of inscriptions from Transylvanian medieval churches, he left blank the illegible spaces on lines 7, 8 and 9, corresponding to the end of the archbishop's name, the king's name, and the year.[142] Again, the painting was left to reveal its age.

The possibility that Mihul was only the author of the inscription and not of the painting is to be exluded, as the differences between the spelling of the inscription and that of the names of the represented figures (much more elegant and neat) could suggest. The framing of the text between the decorative margin and the edge of the robe of saint Gregory the Great, as well as the drawing of the ruling lines with a minimal discrepancy (a few millimeters outside the background color) denotes care for the freshly painted surface and respect for the work. Let us not forget that at the time of the discovery, when the name of the hierarch was still presumed to be George and the inscription had not been intensively studied, Vasile Drăguț placed it in the second half of the 15th century, more precisely in 1486. The decision seemed justified. It was based on the correction applied to the date in the Romanian inscription on the outside of the church and on a debatable analogy with the fragments of painting discovered in the sanctuary of the

Fig. 36. *Interpretation of the UV detailed photograph of the inscription from Râmeț published by Breazu 1985, p. 50, marking the letter-spaces where the name of the king and the dating used to be painted.*

church of Zlatna, of which 'at least part' were attributed to Mihul.[143] Because he did not know an archbishop George in the second half of the 15th century, Marius Porumb challenged the dating proposed by Vasile Drăguţ, but it is not clear whether he was referring only to Mihul's text, which he considered to be dated to the 16th century, or also to the painting of the narthex of the church in Râmeţ.[144] When the inscription was dated to 1376-1377, its mural stratum was automatically sent back to the second half of the 14th century, without any comment on the previously expressed opinions.[145] The restorers in turn took over this dating, not checking whether or not the technical aspects coincided with the manner in which a 14th-century painter had worked.[146] Thus, instead of contributing to the progress of research, reading at all costs the missing parts of the inscription from Râmeţ proved to be totally counterproductive, both for art historians and for those interested in political and ecclesiastical history. The confirmation of the existence of an Orthodox archdiocese was expected in vain. The only working hypotheses that could be offered were in relation to the Latin Church and its efforts to reunify Christianity.

A new chronology for the layers of painting.

At this point, we must ask ourselves: what effects could the new reading of the inscription have on the history of Râmeţ monastery? What needs to change if the dating of the information provided by Mihul does not lead to 1377, but to the end of the 15th century, maybe even to the beginning of the 16th century? The age of the church, uncertain, has been pushed back to the beginning of the 14th century on the grounds that the first layer of murals, the one to which the fragment in the proskomedia niche belongs, has been dated to the first half of that century. The closest analogies were found in the painting from Sântămăria-Orlea, dated to 1311, with the one at Râmeţ being considered later, without exceeding the middle of the 14th century.[147] This first layer, for which Vasile Drăguţ had previously proposed a date about half a century later,[148] as well as the martyrdom scenes in the nave, the images on the templon, and those of the northern wall, were to a large extent pushed back in time under the pressure of the dating of Mihul's murals to 1377 and the discovery of the two layers of whitewashing underneath it.[149] Now that this burden has been removed, a reassessment of the dating differences reported in the table at the beginning of this article is in order. As the text published by the restorative painter Corneliu Boambeș does not allow me to distinguish between hesitations and possible typographical errors, I will resume the discussion based on the restoration documentation of the painting, handed over for preservation to Râmeţ monastery on December 13, 1989.[150]

The *Birth of saint John the Baptist*, the only mural fragment that could have been used in an proper dating because it was discovered during the last restoration projects that took place between 1987 and 1989, was presented in the publication as dating to the 15th century, which is questionable.[151] In the documentation that accompanied the restoration, however, reference is never made only to the 15th century. The approximations are formulated as follows: "(from) the beginning of the 16th century (?)", "between the 15th-16th centuries (?)", "16th century (?)," or "between the 16th-17th centuries (?)". The reason for these hesitations is evident in the restoration file related to this painting fragment, where, instead of conclusions based on laboratory analyses, we find the following confession:

Noting, as a general fact, that the monastery received do-

nations from Romanian princes like Matthew (*sic*!) Corvinus, Radu the Great (1506), Michael the Brave – it would not be excluded that this painting is related to the period and activity to some of them. As an option, I would include this stage of fresco painting between the 15th and 16th centuries, before the fresco painting on the templon, which I link to the foundation of the monastery by Michael the Brave.

Stylistically, the image of the 'Birth of Saint John the Baptist' (?) reminds me somewhat of the painting from the time of Peter Rareş.[152]

The problem is that none of the cited sources are justified. The painting of the church during the time of Matthias Corvinus does not result in his financial involvement. Radu the Great's is a conjecture after the deed of donation of the domain of Geoagiu de Jos, based on a confusion with the one from Geoagiu de Sus. And the support received from Michael the Brave is based on modern fantastical interpretations. The trouble is that this entire succession of rulers overlaps over a century and a half of art history, during one of the most dynamic periods in which a renewal occurred even in artistic environments indebted to Byzantine traditions. More technical and adequate explanations, yet still not entirely conclusive, can be found in the restoration file related to the painting on the templon:

It seems that this stage of fresco painting, in its execution, would correspond (judging stylistically) to the period in which Michael the Brave helped Râmeţ monastery with donations. It was thought that his own painters, Peter the Armenian, Menas, and Nicholas of Crete painted it. However, this hypothesis is not supported by any concrete dating. No inscription has been found.

Personally, it seems to me more stylistically related to the period of the 16th century, beginning of the 17th. What led me to this option: the ornamental motif of the braided ribbon, the draping of the figures, the composition, the very restrained color range, the way the drawing is elaborated.[153]

We notice again the same confusion and helplessness, even if formulated in other terms. In addition, in the case of Michael the Brave, we cannot even speak of the beginning of the 17th century. His authority over Transylvania ceased in fact (and in law) after the battle of Mirăslău (September 28, 1600). If we take into account the decline of the monastery as a result of discretionary treatment directed by the owners of the domain Geoagiu de Sus, starting with the 1560s and until late in the 17th century, accompanied by trials and even attempts to expel the monks,[154] we have to exclude this period from the list of moments conducive to enhancing the monastery with new paintings. Moreover, I believe that we can extend this unfortunate stage to 1741. Even then, we must acknowledge the financial difficulties faced by the new ktetors as they managed to restore only the sanctuary apse, thus the smallest room of the church.

With arguments like the ones mentioned above, it is difficult to accept the succession of the layers of painting, their breadth, and especially their chronology. Even if several hands were involved, the two fresco fragments can be brought together and discussed even if only for their peculiar iconographic choices. Regarding the scene of the *Birth of saint John the Baptist*, the place where it was located, and the dimensions occupied by a single representation, although organized in two registers, are bizarre and impossible to associate with any other scenes. Moreover,

we do not know whether the church was dedicated to saint John the Baptist, with the intention of reconstructing a program carried out on the entire surface of the nave. And the painting is of too good of a quality to believe that its author was called to Râmeț only to cover that half of the wall. As for the templon, the representation of the *Ascension* instead of the *Crucifixion* and the three holy hierarchs as a duplicate of the royal icons – since that part of the masonry on which the martyrdom scene is located must have been whitewashed and intended for movable icons – escapes any logic. The only explanation would be that one of the two registers was intended to illustrate the dedicatory feast of the church (*hram*). As it is not known what dedication the church had in the Middle Ages, this assumption remains only hypothetical until further clarifications emerge on the issue.

Returning to the chronology and the amendments applied to the restorer's opinions, we established that the painting of the templon has as its upper limit the middle of the 16th century, while the larger section to which it belongs (and upon which the scene of the *Birth of saint John the Baptist* was painted) may be dated either earlier or at the same time. In order to establish the lower limit, I believe that the information provided by the inscription carved in stone and mounted above the entrance, on the north façade of the church, must be given credence. Its content and location are added to the list of oddities characterising the monument in Râmeț. I am not referring to the discrepancy between the name of king Matthias Corvinus and the year 6895 (= September 1386-August 1387), but to the fact that the text commemorates an event concerning the interior of the church, while the commemorative plate was placed on the outside. To whose eyes did that information matter so much as to demand its presentation in such a solemn way? Because it was written in Romanian, the search horizon cannot dip below the

middle of the 17th century, when such texts were not yet written in Romanian, but it also cannot go beyond 1741, when the monastery and the church faced difficulties and destruction once again. A suggestive detail could be considered the fact that the church also had exterior murals – a fact almost unknown today: two scenes also completed in 1741 were located right near the niche where the commemorative plate was placed.[155] Is it possible that the inscription referred to such a painting? The list of painters, today only partially legible, suggests an affirmative answer in this regard (Fig. 12). The text was declared unpublished in 1929, and left as such by Ştefan Meteş who was content only to comment that "the old monastery of Rîmeţ was renewed in its painting, even on the outside, by a painter mentioned in the proskomedia: George of Făgăraş (1741)".[156] An almost complete transcription of the text was provided only by Vasile Drăguţ,[157] but it is possible that his reading was interpretative in some places. Otherwise, there is no explanation why the legibility of the text remained so precarious after the restoration. Combining the text with the transcription, I obtained the following content:

Пом(ени) Г(оспод)и *Gheorghie Zugrav, Pătru Z(ugrav), Mathei, Stanca, Şandru, Maria, Anița, Ranite, Toma, Maria. (Aceste) nume (se pomenesc cu cinste ori) pre c(are) v(a în) vrednici* [sic!] *D(umne)z(eu), că au zugrăvit şi hramul de (pomenire de peste an).*[158]

Remember, Lord: George Painter, Peter Painter, Matthew, Stanca, Şandru, Mary, Anița, Ranite, Thomas, Mary. These names are to be remembered honorably by whomever God will favour, for they painted also the feast of the church.

◀ Fig. 37. *Repainting of the votive scene in the church of Streisângeorgiu in 1743.* Credits: Mihai Bilici.

▼ Fig. 38. *The new ktetorial inscriptions of Zlatna, painted in the 18th century.* Credits: Anca Crişan.

This confirms thus the words of Ştefan Meteş about the author of the exterior painting. But we ought to note also the importance given to the team of craftsmen entrusted to painting the two scenes on the outside of the edifice.

Historians have considered only the possibility that the inscription carved in stone refers to the interior painting, especially after reading the inscription of Mihul, which illuminates the name of archbishop Gelasius, reaching to his canonization in 1992. The supreme argument that the reference was in relation to the interior painting was offered by the name of hieromonk **Гелаcим** from the list in the proskomedia niche. This was an invented name whose ending -м in superscript may be a sign that even the one who wrote it was unclear. If it had been taken from the inscription of Mihul, which at that time must have been much more legible, it would at least provide proof that there it had been derived correctly according to the rules of Old Church Slavonic and rendered in the form **гелаcïом**, not **гелаcïωн**, as it was established in the reading by Monica Breazu and Liana Tugearu.

Supposedly bishop Innocent Micu-Klein commissioned the painter from 1741 to study the old inscriptions in order to give a historical dimension to his involvement in the restoration of the church. This would not be surprising, because the same happened in the case of other churches repainted during his pastorate, such as the one in Streisângeorgiu in 1743, where the same painter renewed the votive painting and the inscription from 1408-1409 (Fig. 37),[159] but also in Zlatna, where the new inscription included the mention of the building of the church in 1424 by master Stanislav Hraboru, also taken from a similar source, now lost (Fig. 38).[160] Either out of carelessness or because readability was already causing great problems, this information was assumed uncritically at Râmeț, as evidenced by the lack of interest in the term archbishop, which did not raise reading problems and which the proud bishop Innocent Micu-Klein would not have missed the opportunity to exploit. However, Gelasius / *Ghelasim* is listed only
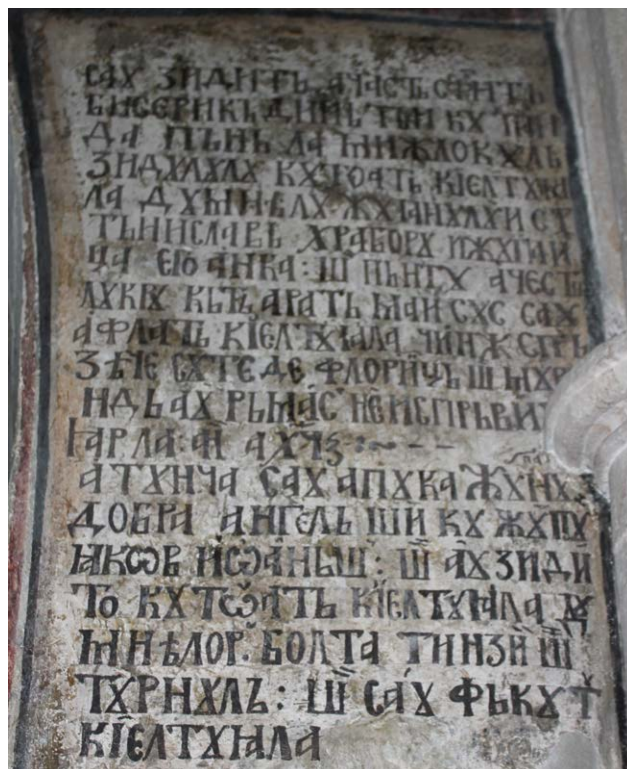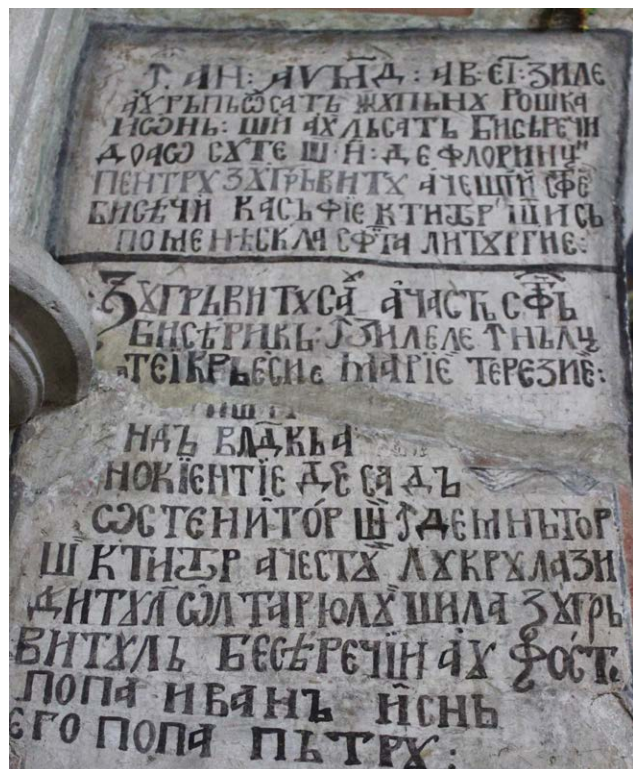
as hieromonk, that is, a monk with the function of a priest. The reading of this name became the subject of discussion for the first time in 1890, when the scholar priest Vasile Bologa published in *Telegraful român* the story of a local old woman:

'I heard people that saint Gelasius came from Hopaciu (a hayfield still owned by the monastery today) and entered the church on a horse and nobody saw him since then', concluding that he must be the one whose name is also mentioned in the list of hieromonks. This father must have led a very honest and unsullied life, for the locals named him 'saint' and placed his depiction among those of the saints during the last painting of the church.[161]

Beyond the image of an apocalyptic knight – the result of fantasy probably combined with a hyperbolisation of the horror scene narrated by Popa Stan from Gârbova de Jos in 1622 – what is surprising is the reference to the Hopaț hayfield, for which the monastery had received the reconfirmation of the right to property in 1614, at the request of monks Savu Popa and Toma Moisin.[162] The first was the one involved in the hearing of witnesses from 1622, the one who had been accused of having killed the servant of the master of the field. In that region, a fountain called the 'Monks' Fountain' had been built according to tradition by monk Gelasius (*zice tradițiunea, – de călugărul Gelasie*). The information was published in 1925 by archpriest-colonel Ioan Dăncilă,[163] who had collected it around 1910-1914,

the period when he was a priest in Râmeț.[164] However, he also read the name from the proskomedia niche inscription as Gerasimos (*Gherasim*), referring to Nicolae Iorga's reading of 1906.[165] The biography of saint Gelasius continued to develop, becoming a true patericon in the 1940s, not coincidentally after hegumen Evloghie Oța 'discovered' his holy relics: a skull brought to the surface by the floods of 1925. It was placed by the then priest in a coffin that he buried near the church. From there, it was 'miraculously' unearthed on the occasion of the 1943 clearings.[166]

The zeal of these priests who served in the church of Râmeț monastery and made great efforts for its restoration and that of the monastic complex may explain the resurgence of the memory of the locals, who soon began to relate various miracles. Saint Gelasius will prove to be an important reference in the history of the monastery in a few more decades, when the inscription of Mihul will be read. In addition, the piety of the villagers seems to have roots in a distant time in order to justify its inclusion in the iconographic program of what in 1890 was considered as "the last painting of the church", that is, one of the most appreciated *a secco* layers dated to the second half of the 19th century.[167] However, the date of 1809 is also offered for this intervention.[168] Its poor artistic quality led to its entire removal, except for some fragment left on the south wall of the nave.

With so many dating inconsistencies, one can also think that Vasile Bologa actually referred to the painting from 1741 and that he had in mind the figure holding in his hand

the kivotos of the church. Would it be possible that master George of Făgăraș used the memory of the local community, thus meeting the historicizing claims of bishop Innocent Micu-Klein? It may well be that even a hieromonk from the middle of the 18th century, who happened to bear the same name as the archbishop in Mihul's inscription simply by chance, may have advanced and be further confused. Given the distribution of names in the funerary list, with the insertion of the sign of the cross before the sixth row of names and the seemingly unjustified oversizing of the name on the last row, as if to draw attention to the fact that it was the most important, perhaps Gelasius / *Ghelasim* was only one of the ktetors of the time, who lived onward. He may have been a truly a special person, whose memory, blurred by the passage of time, survived until the end of the 19th century when he was reactivated by the need to draw attention to the church in order to find the support necessary for its restoration and continuation.

If the latter was the reality, then it should be accepted that the two inscriptions, that of Mihul and that of 1741, have nothing to do with one another. In this case, there must have been at least one other inscription, because it would have been natural for each layer of murals to have its own commemorative text. The fact that the name of king Matthias and the year 6895 do not interfere in the inscription carved above the entrance could be explained by the uncritical assembly of two distinct texts, both preserved in fragmentary form and each aiming at a different period of adornment of the church. As the painting of George of Făgăraș and his team was completed in the apse and the exterior of the church, it is very possible that the two pieces of information refer to one of the previous decorations of the church (year 6895 = 1386/1387), while the other refers to an exterior painting about which no other information remains (made during the reign of king Matthias Corvinus).

Therefore, this establishes a dating for the *Man of Sorrows* scene from the proskomedia niche and practically for everything that the first layer of painting of the church in Râmeț could mean. Recent interpretations have stated that the closest parallels of this painting are the frescoes in the Reformed church in Unirea (Felvinc) (Fig. 39-41), recently uncovered, and those in the now-also-Reformed church in Cricău (Boroskrákkó), appreciated to have at least one common author,[169] active in 1310-1330?[170] The chronology of these paintings is also not certain. In addition, craftsmen of the stature of those belonging to the Italo-Byzantine stylistic horizon or the Bavarian *Zackenstil*,[171] could have stopped in Transylvania for quite a long time in order to be accessible to Romanian sponsors. One argument that certainly proposes a later date at the end of the 14th century is the presence of swords in the scene of the martyrdom – plain sabers instead of Byzantine *parameria*. Given the relatively late representations of swords in Serbian art (first

◀▶ Fig. 39-41. *14th-century mural paintings from the church in Unirea (Felvinc)*. Credits: Anca Crișan.

in Lesnovo in 1341 and then much later in Manasija in the early 15th century, likely effects of the Ottoman campaigns in the Balkans), the two swords with curved blades at Râmeț would be a far too surprising innovation for a provincial painting that should have followed more established models.[172] As for the rest of the paintings at Râmeț, they could have been made in several stages or by an extended team, consisting of Mihul (who worked in the narthex), the anonymous author of the scene of the *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, and the anonymous authors of the paintings on the templon, in a time interval between the end of the 15th century and the middle of the 16th century.

A possible identity for Gelasius.

Let us return now to the other avenue of research. We have already seen that the function of the Râmeț monastery as an episcopal residence in the medieval period and its jurisdiction over the Orthodox in the southern half of Transylvania is a credible hypothesis. But how does the existence of this episcopate, hitherto known as that of Geoagiu, reconcile with the mention in the inscription of archbishop Gelasius, who remains a historical reality, regardless of the date of the inscription?

First, I can say that this Gelasius must be sought in a period of time that does not exceed the middle of the 16th century, since we nominally know almost all those who served ecclesiastical leadership functions with reference to the Romanians from Transylvania. Moreover, the interval cannot dip below the second decade of the 15th century, the latest

date for the painting of the collegiate basilica from Wiślica. For the time being, I keep this example as a landmark in the effort to search for the sources of Mihul's painting, even if the research will have to be extended by finding closer chronological analogies. Moreover, Gelasius cannot be identified with Gelazy from Przemyśl, the one attested between 1412 and 1416, in part because he was only a bishop. In addition, we must take into account the recommendation of philologists to look to the end of the 15ᵗʰ century and even the early 16ᵗʰ century, to a period for which Slavo-Romanian paleography offers two extremely important milestones: the Old Church Slavonic *Missal* of the church in Feleac, copied in 1481, which contains all the spelling elements on the basis of which Mihul's inscription received the new dating,[173] and the inscription carved in 1516 by priest Filip from Hațeg on the pedestal of the same church in Feleac, to which I also referred in the opening pages of the article (Fig. 42-44). Its content is somewhat similar to the inscription at Râmeț:

вълѣ́т ӡк҃д писал мнѡгѡграшни пѡп филип ѿ хаца г
въсіе лѣтѡ [...]аста ласльоу́ краль вь дни прѣ́ѡсцєнна
митрополи кѵр ц[...].[174]

Year 7024. The most sinful priest Philip of Hațeg wrote this. In that year, king Laszlo (died), in the days of the most holy metropolitan kyr St(...).

It was during this time that king Vladislaus II of Hungary (ласльоу́ краль in the inscription in Feleac) settled the dispute between Hilarion, hegumen of Peri Monastery, and John, bishop of Munkács. On the occasion of that dispute, the king established on May 14, 1494 the subordination of both to the *archiepiscopo vero de Transsylvania*, unfortunately in general, referring to the one then and in future times (*modernis et futuris*), without any nominal mention.[175] Older and newer historiography has long debated the identity of the archbishop revealed by documents relating to these misunderstandings. In recent decades, the opinion that the king had in mind the Uniate hierarch of Feleac has prevailed.[176] Should we have the confirmation of the hypothesis that, before residing in Feleac, the archdiocese in question had its headquarters in Râmeț?[177] The only basis for those who issued it was the inscription considered to date from 1377. In the time of Vladislaus II (1490-1516), the archbishop's residence in Feleac was functional. The inclusion of Gelasius on the list of bishops there would only unnecessarily complicate matters.

However, another loophole opens if we look at the continuation of the dispute settled in 1494. It was resumed in 1498 by the next hegumen of Peri, as bishop John continued to disrupt the monastery's stavropegial rights by collecting taxes from priests on the basis of a fraudulently obtained royal diploma.[178] The name of this hegumen was in all probability Gelasius, although the reference is also made to Hilarion in the text of the royal letter to the authorities of Máramaros county, from which we know about the continuation of the trial.[179] The above assumption is based

on the fact that the document must have contained somewhere a statement that it was another person, a detail that the editor Hodinka Antal did not reproduce, considering sufficient only the correction inserted in the text:

> 1498, November 29. Diploma wherein Vladislaus II requires that the authorities of the county of Máramaros defend hegumen Gelasius (Hilarion) of Peri against bishop John.[180]

That such proof existed and that it is not a matter of carelessness is proven by the perseverance with which Hodinka Antal calls *Gelasius / Gelasios / Gelaziosz* the hegumen of Peri in every instance in which he refers to the events of 1498. This choice is respected both in the edition of documents[181] and in the history of the Diocese of Munkács that he wrote on its basis.[182] Moreover, two decades before the publication of these works, which remain reference works to this day, Tit Budu used the same documentary sources, even if he did not explicitly mention them, and thus reconstructed the list of the hegumens of Peri: "Among the hegumens of the monastery of Saint-Michael in Maramureș are mentioned *Pachomiu*,[183] *Ilariu*, and *Gelasiu*" (my emphasis).[184]

We do not know how the trial ended, as the archive of the diocese of Munkács no longer preserves any record from the period between 1498 and 1551,[185] but the episcopate was endowed with the entire fortune of the monastery when it appeared again in documents.[186] Its decline continued until its total ruin, so bishop John must have been the winner of the dispute, as his 'honorary' jurisdiction on the basis of the 1494 diploma became effective in 1498.[187] However, this story allows us to imagine a happy ending for Gelasius. Assuming that he soon became one of the future archbishops of Transylvania – according to the 1494 diploma – then even John of Munkács would have to recognize his authority. Since he could no longer reside in Peri, where his former superior had already established himself,[188] of whose harassment we can easily guess that he had had enough, but also because the archdiocese must have had its headquarters in Transylvania, it is very likely to imagine that Gelasius moved. Among the usual pastoral obligations, he would have taken care of the painting of the church of his new residence.

Let us return for one last time to the inscription itself and consider the wider context. When the inscription was brought back to light from under the layers of repainting, research could attribute part of the murals to Mihul, identified with a Romanian from White-Criș. Archbishop Gelasius was added only later, when the inscription was read more carefully. By his order and, of course, at his expense, Mihul was able to display his talent. Yet the words which would have helped us to understand when this event took place were completely erased, together with the name of the king under whose reign the painting was done. Since they could recognize the value of Mihul's artistic creation and regret the lack of information concerning the beginnings of artistic and church life in Transylvania, the authors

E-V   N-S   V-E

FIRST LAYER   SECOND LAYER   THIRD LAYER   FOURTH LAYER

▲ Graphic 2. *New chronology of the mural strata in the monastic church of Râmeț.*
Credits: Anca Crișan, Vladimir Agrigoroaei, Ana Dumitran.
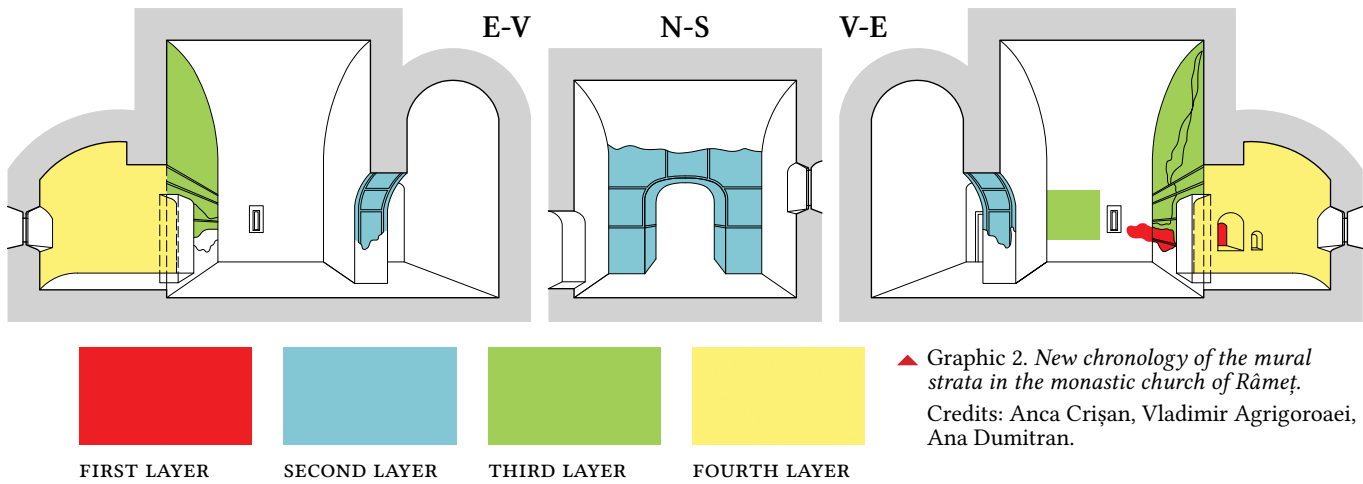
of the 1741 repainting tried to recover these pieces of information. Too unfamiliar with the succession of Hungarian kings, they mismatched the proposed name – that of king Matthias Corvinus – and the year 6895 (= 1386-1387). Historians tried in vain to reconcile the data, giving credibility to the king's name or following the dating, the latter being preferred in the end. When advanced tools were deployed to read the missing parts of the inscription, the attention was already focused on the dating and tried to fill in the banks of the inscription, identifying the king with Louis of Anjou. The new dating, 6885 (=1376-1377), is oddly optimistic, although it could not be contradicted by other sources of the time, neither could it be confirmed or corroborated with them. However, it does not withstand the laborious philological dissection.

We finaly have all the necessary pieces to elucidate, at least to a point, the unknowns of the inscription at Râmeț. The king's name, ᴧᴀᴄᴧьᴏγ, contains exactly as many letters as seem to be missing from line 8 of the inscription text. The orthography of the late 15th or early 16th century is also explained. And the possible identity of the archbishop, who comes from an area intimately familiar with the Ruthenian artistic environment, to which he could have guided Mihul for training, or from where he could have asked him to come (ᴨᴏʙᴇᴧᴇнïᴇмъ), would also make sense. Overlapping the years of Vladislaus ii with those from when Gelasius was able to begin his pastorate, the dating of the painting of the narthex of the church in Râmeț could be estimated between 1503 and 1516. These would be the years since the Creation of the World 7011 / ᴢᴀ҃ï-7024 / ᴢᴋ҃ᴀ. However, the space reserved for the date on line 9 of the inscription requires at least three digits (Fig. 36), in front of which the conventional sign ҂ announcing the transformation of the letters into numbers had to be placed.

One last detail must be explained. If the identification is correct, then the archdiocese headed by Gelasius would have had a parallel existence with that in Feleac. How it came into being and whether or not it had its headquarters in Râmeț, these are questions to which there are no answers yet. Certainly, this seat was not in Peri, where the bishop of Munkács was already in office, but there are other things that seem to link the two monasteries. In the consciousness of the monastic community at Râmeț, an old tradition claims that the monastery of Peri was founded by two monks who left Râmeț in 1215. Discreetly slipped into historical literature,[189] the origin of this speculation was recently discovered in a note by hegumen Evloghie

Oța, being piously rendered in the last monograph of the monastery:[190]

(…) the following note appears in register no. 1 of the holy monastery: 'Hieromonks Romulus and Genadius were ordained in Ohrid, Macedonia, and they left from Râmeț monastery in the year 1215, laying the foundation of Peri monastery, Maramureș, which was burnt by the Tartars in 1215. We know this from an act from Budapest in 1952; this was told unto me in the office of the Ministry of Cults in the month of March 1952 by a public servant from the Historical Monuments. Written by myself, hieromonk Evloghie Oța, starets of the holy monastery Râmeț, today, February 5, 1954'.

Given that in 1215 the Tartars were still striving to conquer China (only in 1223 did the first expedition to the West take place, which reached the Donetsk region of Ukraine, but without immediate consequences),[191] it is to be understood how much credit should be given to the rest of the glorious past of the monastery at Râmeț. However, it cannot fail to capture the past of this legend, which was born long before it had even the slightest scientific support. At that time, the whole church was covered with a painting of dubious quality, laid in 1930, as a result of equally dubious restoration work coordinated by architect Rudolf Wagner.[192] So no one was aware of the controversies that the old paintings would incite.

About the paintings of Mihul.

We had left Mihul just when we thought we had identified the world in which he did his apprenticeship, hoping that the signature of his only known work could have brought it closer to that of the murals of the collegiate basilica in Wiślica. However, the new dating sent us almost a century and a half later, removing from discussion any direct relationship between Mihul and the team that painted in Poland. Nor is the acquisition of the Slavonic language related to the area inhabited by the Eastern Slavs, as far as could be observed from the little linguistic material offered by the text of his inscription. Nevertheless, the possibility that archbishop Gelasius was first hegumen at Peri, the monastery that offered a deputy metropolitan to Halych in 1391[193] and whose patrons were extensively involved in the process of Romanian colonisation of the Ruthenian territories which entered in the kingdom of Poland in 1349, forces us to reevaluate the hypothesis that Mihul's biography

may have been related to that area.

Although the painting at Râmeț seems to date to the beginning of the 16th century, the list of monuments in Poland and Ukraine with which it can be compared remains the same that offered analogies with the painting at Wiślica. Therefore, this direction of investigation is exhausted. An additional problem is that the Ruthenian environment was just undergoing an important artistic change, attributed by historians to the influx of settlers populating the more than 300 Wallachian settlements (*ius valachicum*) in Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia.[194] In general, it is considered that the primary source of inspiration for the art practiced in the vast territory initially subordinated only to the metropolitanate of Kiev was Byzantine art. Yet, starting with the last decades of the 14th century, the Ruthenian space is dominated by influences from the Balkans (Serbian and Bulgarian), as well as from Russia and Moldavia.[195]

A somewhat in-depth knowledge of the content of these influences is almost impossible due to the small number of frescoes that still survive.[196] Nevertheless, at the level of icon painting it has been appreciated that those in the submontane areas of Sanok land are related to the Balkans, even suggesting that many of the icons were painted by settlers from the south of the Danube, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia.[197] A much more circumspect opinion points out that there is no evidence to establish a direct relationship between colonisation and the creation of icons. One could therefore speak only of a transfer to the North of iconographic models, mediated by newcomers to the Polish territories.[198] As such, the search for comparative terms in this web of interference is doomed to fail from the start.

The only similar example that could be evoked is that of the murals of the fortified church at Posada Rybotycka, a settlement near Przemyśl (Fig. 45-47). This was located in the second half of the 14th century on the property of a noble family from the entourage of the house of Drag and Sas, therefore a community governed by *ius valachicum*.[199] It was also a monastic church dating back to the 15th century, with additions in the last part of the same century. Today it is the oldest Orthodox masonry church in Poland. As in Râmeț, its architecture is an adaptation of Ro-

Fig. 45. *Posada Rybotycka, the murals from the Southern wall of the sanctuary.* Credits: Piotr Krawiec, courtesy of Agnieszka Gronek.

▲ Fig. 46. *Posada Rybotycka, the murals from the Eastern wall of the sanctuary.* Credits: Piotr Krawiec, courtesy of Agnieszka Gronek.

◀ Fig. 47. *Posada Rybotycka. Detail of the mural from the Northern wall of the nave.* Credits: Piotr Krawiec, courtesy of Agnieszka Gronek.

manesque-Gothic structural features to a Byzantine layout, which is why its analogies were sought in Northern Moldavia and Transylvania. The explanation for the building solutions used has been found in the noble ktetor's patronage of a team of craftsmen from Hungary who would have had experience on the construction sites in Northern Moldavia.[200] The comparison with Moldavian churches was also made at the level of the iconographic program,[201]

laid in two stages, according to the latest research, at the beginning and in the second half of the 16th century.[202] In the absence of other contemporary paintings, the identification of the painters required careful analysis of hundreds of icons, so that in the end the conclusion could be limited to the evasive indication of a local workshop in Przemyśl, for the first stage of painting, and a workshop active in the vicinity of Sambor, for the second stage.[203] Certainly, if we could say at least that much about Mihul, we would exceed all expectations. But the stubbornness to look for antecedents in a space where painters seemed to turn to Moldavia for their own sources of inspiration is beginning to look suspicious. It would have been logical for Mihul to have been to Moldavia as well. Yet, there is an important reason for keeping him in this sphere, namely, the way in which the artist understood to assemble his only extant scene: that of the *Deisis* with the archangels and the military saints located above the entrance to the nave.

The *Deisis* formula with archangels and other saints was created by the artists of Kievan Rus' and evolved until the end of the 14th century, when the variant centered on *Maiestas Christi* flanked by Mary, John the Baptist, archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the twelve apostles, all full-length. This was established as the appropriate representation for the templon.[204] This variant was also adopted in Moldavia during the reigns of Peter Rareș (1527-1538, 1541-1546), with the first templon-iconostasis from the Văleni-Piatra Neamț skete church (which also served as a model for the second iconostasis, commissioned by prince Jeremiah Movilă after the devastation of the church during the conflict with Michael the Brave), and the iconostasis of the church at Humor monastery, among the examples.[205] In Râmeț, in the middle of the standing figures, we are greeted by an oversized firgure of Christ, rendered bust-length, following a model favored by a craftsman who painted in the 14th century the cave church of Corbii de Piatră, in Wallachia.[206] In other words, this old Balkan model interfered with the one created by the Ruthenians in the version offered by Mihul. The resulting composition even demonstrates knowledge of older variants, which did not enjoy a similar success to the one described above. Of these variants, the oldest had only seven characters, to the left and right of Christ being present Mary, John the Baptist, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the apostles Peter and Paul. Examples include a 12th-century diadem discovered in Kiev,[207] the templon of the church of Saint-Cyril's monastery in Belozersk, painted in 1497,[208] the iconostasis of Vladimir Cathedral, attributed to Rublev's studio,[209] an iconostasis of the 15th century with unknown origin preserved in the National Museum in Przemyśl,[210] another from the 16th century preserved in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow,[211] and perhaps even the iconostasis of the church in Ochona, from the 16th century,[212] but also the individual panel, from the first half of the 16th century from the Terlo iconostasis, preserved in the National Museum of Art in Krakow.[213] Ktetors of the paintings were sometimes added to this group of figures, as evident in a Novgorodian icon from 1467;[214] various holy bishops, as in the case of iconostases painted in the 15th century for the churches of Drohobych (Saint-John-Chrysostom),[215] Astafievo (Saint-Nicholas),[216] and the Moscow Kremlin;[217] as well as other apostles, martyrs, and hermits. This was a diversification noticed since the middle of the 16th century. It can be seen at Kostarowce, where the panels depicting Mark the Evangelist and Mark the Ascetic remained;[218] and at Koschewniki, where the *Deisis* line of the iconostasis had seventeen figures, including saints Nicholas, John Chry-

sostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Nazianzen, metropolitans Peter and Alexius of Moscow, saints Barlaam of Chutyn, and Sergius of Radonezh.[219]

As for the inclusion of military saints, the earliest reference found in the consulted publications dates to the first half of the 14th century and appears in the church in Kyalovanga, a village in the Arkhangelsk region. It is also a succession of iconostasis panels on which were represented, full-length and to the left of Christ: the Mother of God, Michael the Archangel and saint Nicholas, and on the right: John the Baptist, Gabriel the Archangel, and saints Boris and Gleb.[220] Naturally, the two princes were preferred rather as local saints, not necessarily for their military status.[221] Less clear is the dating of the next example, the iconostasis of the church in Paszowa, for which the 15th century or the first decades of the 16th century have been proposed.[222] The second option was determined by confronting similar representations within the Orthodox diocese of Przemyśl, whose dating extends to 1515. These are the iconostases of the churches of Daliowa, Mszana, Turze, Strzyłki, and Chrewt.[223] All have in common the figures of saints George and Demetrius, who at Paszowa end the *Deisis* line with the apostles Peter and Paul, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, Mary and John the Baptist, who flank Jesus enthroned.[224] In Daliowa, saints Theodosius and Anthony are also rendered, and in Mszana appear Theodosius, Anthony, and the anachorites Onuphrius the Great and Mark of Thrace.[225] Although there are no other examples, they have certainly not been missing, and the absence of this type of representation of the *Deisis* theme in the rest of the Orthodox lands forces us to stay connected to the Ruthenian schools of painting.

I do not know who the two military saints represented in Râmeț are, but the most convenient interpretation would suggest saints George and Demetrius:[226] two well-known figures, almost indispensable in the iconographic program of any Orthodox church, regardless of time and place. In fact, their inclusion in the *Deisis* cycle enjoyed a certain popularity in the Ruthenian cultural context. In addition, if one of them is indeed saint Demetrius, we would again have a link with the Romanian settlers established in the kingdom of Poland who had a special devotion to this saint, his invocation penetrating even the oath formulas.[227] In the end, no matter who the two saints are, the idea of introducing them to the *Deisis* scene did not come to Mihul out of the blue. Either he saw it represented as such, and the chances of this happening in Transylvania, Wallachia, or Moldavia were zero, or he was asked to represent it like this by someone familiar with this image, in this case archbishop Gelasius who had to come from Peri, in whose stavropegial jurisdiction were also Ruthenians. If we look at the whole painting on the east wall of the narthex of the church in Râmeț, which has raised many questions also because of the presence of the Holy Fathers of the Church, usually represented in the apse, and if we now recover the composition of the *Deisis* in Ruthenian painting, considering also the narrow space in which it unfolds and the fact that it is not an iconostasis, I think that the interpretation of the whole as a *Deisis* rendered on three registers (considering the intrados of the passageway to the nave) is a plausible hypothesis.

These considerations cannot take the place of conclusions and do not at all claim to be an answer to the question of where Mihul mastered the art of painting. Moreover, his contribution to the decoration of the church at Râmeț remains a great enigma because none of the other frag-

◀▶ Fig. 48-50. *Fragments from a Deisis scene in Torki (Poland, early 16*th *century). In later Deiseis, apostles and archangels are interposed between Christ and the rest of the characters.* Courtesy of the archives of the National Museum 'Metropolitan Andrzej Szeptycki' in Lviv, thanks to Jarosław Giemza.

ments of the mural have been fully explained to date. It would be worth trying, in the future, to associate the painting of the narthex with the one on the upper half of the templon and with the scene of the *Birth of saint John the Baptist* on the Northern wall of the nave, with the intention of finding a common origin. So is the further exploration of that spark that ignited in the restorer's mind, leading him to think of the painting from the time of Peter Rareș. Some Ruthenian painters were certainly familiar with it. Craftsmen must have also come from there to Transylvania, as early as the first half of the 16th century, as we have evidence that it often happened from the middle of this century onward.[228]

Concluding remarks.

As can be deduced from the immediately preceding paragraphs, archbishop Gelasius is the missing link explaining the transfer of Ruthenian iconographic paradigms to a painter from the White Criș River region. The collaboration of the two, no matter what it consisted of, is a point of reference both for the history of Romanian art in Transylvania and for the ecclesiastical history of the Romanians. So far, the only known reference about the archdiocese, run at one point by Gelasius, was preserved in the inscription written by painter Mihul. For these reasons, in the absence of new documentary information, an alternative approach is not possible.

That the residence of this archbishopric was in Râmeț seems to be confirmed by the fact that there existed an ecclesiastical hierarchy in the 16th century, known today as the Geoagiu diocese, and its membership in the Eastern Church is also confirmed by documents attesting to the existence of this diocese. We know nothing about the moment of the founding (arch)bishopric of the diocese, nor about the reasons that led to the choice of residence in such an isolated place, located on a noble estate whose owners had no reason whatsoever to be favorable to Romanians and their Orthodox confession, except in the period 1450-1464, when it was in the possession of the Hunyadi family.[229] The cessation of its operation by moving the residence to Alba Iulia most likely took place during the episcopate of Genadius I (1579-1585), the first for whom we have certain details

that he owned a 'house' in the capital of Transylvania.[230]

Regarding the various moments in which the church at Râmeț was painted, I consider that the oldest fragment of painting – the *Man of Sorrows* from the proskomedia niche – could date from 1386-1387, insofar as the inclusion of this year in the carved inscription set on the outside of the church in 1741 could have been based on an inscription in the sanctuary apse that would have contained this date.

Among the other stages in which the church was (re)painted, Mihul's painting of the narthex has a relatively certain date based on the features of the inscription. It dates back to the last years of the reign of king Vladislaus II, in other words, to *c.* 1503-1516. For all other interventions, including a possible attempt to paint the exterior of the edifice in the time of Matthias Corvinus, the answers must await further research.

Notes:

1 Drăguț 1966, p. 43.

2 Andreescu 1966, p. 839-840.

3 Ionescu 2008, p. 256.

4 Tugearu 1979.

5 Tugearu, Breazu 1981, p. 33.

6 Breazu 1985, p. 49. The original Romanian translation is: *Am scris eu preapăcătosul rob al lui Dumnezeu, Mihul, adică zugravul de la Crișul Alb, cu încuviințarea arhiepiscopului Ghelasie în zilele regelui Lodovic în anul 6885 (1377) luna iulie 2.*

7 According to this reading, the name of the painter should be translated to Mihuli.

8 Note letter **w**, which differs from the symbol prefered by Monica Breazu, which is **ѻ**.

9 Tugearu 1985, p. 168. The original Romanian translation is: *Am scris eu mult păcătosul rob al lui Dumnezeu, Mihul adică zugravul de la Crișul Alb, cu încuviințarea arhiepiscopului Ghelasie, în zilele lui Lodovic rege 6885 (1377) iulie 2.*

10 Porumb 1981, p. 16.

11 Breazu 1985, p. 50.

12 Tugearu 1985, p. 164; Porumb 1998, p. 231.

13 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 33-34.

14 Barbu 2001, p. 63.

15 Daniel 2014, p. 95.

16 Năstăsoiu 2016, p. 220.

17 Lăzărescu 1965, p. 264-265; Papacostea 1986, p. 572.

18 Șinca 2013, p. 266.

19 Tugearu 1985, p. 150-151.

20 Tugearu 1985, p. 159; Boambeș 1990, p. 82.

21 Drăguț 1970, p. 43.

22 Drăguț 1970, p. 61-63.

23 Drăguț 1970, p. 61.

24 Tugearu 1985, p. 158-159, 165-168.

25 Tugearu 1985, p. 159, 168-171.

26 Tugearu 1985, p. 153, note 24, p. 171-172.

27 Tugearu 1985, p. 153, note 24.

28 Boambeș 1990, p. 82.

29 Boambeș 1990, p. 82.

30 Boambeș 1990, p. 82.

31 Boambeș 1990, p. 83, 88.

32 Boambeș 1990, p. 83, in the text.

33 Boambeș 1990, p. 81-82, as explanation for the images.

34 Boambeș 1990, p. 83.

35 Tugearu 1985, p. 156-158.

36 Boambeș 1990, p. 84.

37 Drăguț 1966, p. 43.

38 Tugearu 1985, p. 159. From the restorer's point of view, this should be the third stage (Boambeș 1990, p. 82, 84).

39 Cincheza-Buculei 1981, p. 7-10.

40 Sabados 1993, p. 26-40.

41 Tugearu 1985, p. 153, note 24, discussed only the dating of the register with the hierarchs, unable to decide between the first half of the 15th century and a later date, but without deciding whether "later" means the second half of the same century or much later. Boambeș 1990, p. 83 has arguments for the simultaneous realisation of the two registers, median and superior, and proposes the questionable dating to the 15th-16th centuries, but all the explanations of the figures contain, also doubtful, a dating in the 16th-17th centuries.

42 Boambeș 1990, p. 83, 88.

43 Boambeș 1990, p. 83. The questionable dating accompanies the figures on p. 85 and 87.

44 Boambeș 1990, p. 84.

45 Boambeș 1990, p. 84, 88.

46 Tugearu 1985, p. 169.

47 The reading of the two letters is uncertain, and it is not possible to determine whether they belong to the Cyrillic or Latin alphabets: *log*(*ofăt*) *Dy*(...?). The letters have also been read as *Dumitru* (Iorga 1906, p. 158), *Du* (Drăguț 1966, p. 39) și *DV* (Cincheza-Buculei 1981, p. 5, note 13).

48 For the years to correspond to the reign of Matthias Corvinus, correct should have been 6995.

49 For commentaries on the disjunction between the king's name and dating see: Ștefănescu 1932, p. 431; Vătășianu 1959, p. 761; Drăguț 1966, p. 39-47; Drăguț 1970, p. 61-63; Porumb 1978, p. 310-311; Cincheza-Buculei 1981, p. 7, nota 13; Tugearu 1985, p. 159, nota 39; Șerban 1986, p. 57-58.

50 The number indicates two people with the same name. Similar situations below.

51 Meteș 1936, p. 56.

52 Drăguț 1966, p. 40, note 9; Porumb 1997, p. 142.

53 Meteș 1936, p. 55.

54 Only a third of the text's length was preserved, particularly the end of the lines: [...] *12 zile*/ [...]*ică Făgărașului*/ [...] *toa chieltuial*/ [...]*u ot Geisu* (*sic*!)/ [...]*h Sofronie*/ [...]*ru, i Bologa Kiva* (*sic*!)/ [...] *Giomal.*

55 Porumb 1998, p. 389-390.

56 Porumb 1997, p. 143-144.

57 Porumb 1997, p. 144.

58 Mareș 1990, p. 121; Mareș, 2007, p. 190.

59 Șerban 1986, p. 57.

60 Hurmuzaki, II/5, p. 445.

61 Bunea 1902, p. 29-30, 33-35.

62 Veress 1914, p. 92-93.

63 Iorga 1989, p. 133.

64 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 124, note 152.

65 Porumb 2003, p. 12-13.

66 Rusu 1999, p. 101-106.

67 Diaconescu 1997, p. 48-51.

68 Rusu 1999, p. 100-105.

69 Bogdan 1902, p. 308.

70 Rusu 1991, p. 7-8.

71 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 126, nota 166.

72 Leaving aside the difference in name, it is equally impossible to overlap the identity of metropolitan Athanasius with Anastasius mentioned in Ribița; see Năstăsoiu 2016, p. 217; and Năstăsoiu, Adashinskaya 2017, p. 31-33. As for the authors of the letter from 1453, the editor of the document argued that they would have been a couple of Greek bishops who took refuge after the fall of Constantinople; see Iorga 1915, p. 65-68.

73 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 127.

74 Pinter, Țiplic 1999, p. 61-62.

75 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 124, note 152.

76 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 138.

77 By Mihail P. Dan; Popa 1958, p. 409-411.

78 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 83, note 20; and p. 138, note 223.

79 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 138.

80 Jakó 1990, p. 329, nr. 569. I hereby thank Marius Diaconescu for indicating the document.

81 Rusu 1999, p. 103.

82 Veress 1929, p. 11-12, no. 13: proof about the testimonies of several residents of Feleac that the priest John is the legitimate son and heir of Bishop Danciu.

83 Cipariu 1870, p. 776: certificate of sale to priest John of Feleac of the goods inherited by Anna, the blood relative of bishop Peter, then in office.

84 Cipariu 1870, p. 777-779: document of the trial between the heirs of Anna, the sister of Bishop Danciu, and priest John from Feleac, in connection with the goods left from bishop Danciu.

85 Cipariu 1870, p. 779-780: document of the trial between the sons of the priest John of Feleac: priest Jeremiah and his brothers, priests Matthew and Peter, in connection with the goods inherited from their father.

86 Pascu 1956, p. 251-252.

87 The original text: *tudom azt hogi ez az klastrom a hul Popa Zaul lakik Giogi klastrom s ez Giogi hatarban vagion* (Andea, Andea 1992, p. 200). The monk Popa Savul, accused in 1622 of plotting an assassination, is said in 1614 to have lived with another monk at Râmeț Monastery in Alba County (*discretorum virorum Zavae Popa ac Thomae Moissin calugerorum Valachorum factam intercessionem, in claustro sive monasterio Remethensi in comitatu Albensi Transylvaniae existentium et vitam eremiticam degentium*) (Andea, Andea 1992, p. 199).

88 Hurmuzaki, II/5, p. 445.

89 For the hypothesis that John of Peșteana was bishop at Geoagiu, see Dăncilă 1925, p. 75-76; and Rusu 1997, p. 76.

90 Hurmuzaki, XV/1, p. 495.

91 Benkő 1781, p. 359.

92 Iorga 1989, p. 117. The first edition of the book was published in 1915.

93 Iorga 1928, p. 141.

94 Dumitran, Gúdor, Dănilă 2000, p. 47-50.

95 Hurmuzaki, XI, p. 874; Binder 1974, p. 209-216.

96 Hurmuzaki, XV/1, p. 578.

97 MCRT, II, p. 321-322. Those who were still uncertain, bishops, priests or monks, were to be persuaded through the organization of synods and public disputes.

98 Veress 1929, p. 292.

99 Andea, Andea 1992, p. 197-199. *Vide infra*, note 154.

100 For the technical analysis, see Boambeş 1990, p. 82.

101 Tugearu 1985, p. 154-158.

102 Cincheza-Buculei 1981, p. 23-24.

103 Negrău 2011, p. 54.

104 Drăguț 1982, p. 121-125; Theodorescu, Porumb 2018, p. 269-272.

105 Tugearu 1985, p. 165.

106 Theodorescu, Porumb 2018, p. 269.

107 Tugearu 1985, p. 161.

108 Cincheza-Buculei 1981, p. 23, note 90.

109 Popa 1996, p. 5.

110 Popa 1996; Agrigoroaei 2012.

111 Agrigoroaei 2015, p. 169-172, 187-188 (the article deals with the paintings of Leșnic).

112 Agrigoroaei 2012, p. 115.

113 Cf. Agrigoroaei 2012, p. 118-119; Năstăsoiu 2016, p. 216.

114 Term used only in connection with a higher authority (cf. Franz Miklosich, *Lexicon linguae slovenicae veteris dialecti*, Vindobonae, 1850, p. 111: повелѣиик = *mandatum*, повелѣти = *jubere*, повелꙗꙗ = *edictum*; Българска академия на науките, *Старобългарски речник*, vol. II, Sofia, 2009, p. 235, *sub voce* 'poveljaniju'), the translation "with approval" proving less inspired, because it excludes the nominal order. For the translation "by the order of", see Năstăsoiu 2016, p. 238.

115 Read initially as the end of the artist's name: *Mihuli*, then correctly separated as a result of the observation of smooth breathing mark above (Breazu 1985, p. 49-50), but forcibly translated as "that is," because in the Slavonic the word *i* has only the conjunctive value *and*.

116 Evidence from 1404 has been preserved (Pascu 1972, p. 210) and 1444 (Codrea 2017, p. 7).

117 Adăscăliței 2010, p. 185; Codrea 2017, p. 5.

118 Popa 1988, p. 11.

119 Dudaş 2007, vol. II, p. 32, no. 27: Ceaslov-Octoih.

120 Dudaş 2007, vol. II, p. 36, no. 29: Molitvelnic.

121 Dudaş 2007, vol. I, p. 48-50.

122 Breazu 1985, p. 42 (original text): *sufix neuzual pentru formarea adjectivelor de la toponimice.*

123 Булгаков 1913, p. 1397.

124 For a list of the Orthodox (and later Uniate) bishops of Przemysl, see Mironowicz 2003. Trajdos 1984, p. 119; Kruk 2019, p. 671.

125 Jawor 2012, p. 22-23.

126 Jawor 2012, p. 28-29, 43, 49.

127 Jawor 2012, p. 78, 82-88.

128 Janeczek 2004, p. 16, 19; Janeczek 2006, p. 41; Krochmal 2007, p. 213-214, Jawor 2012, p. 82.

129 Kruk [2018] lists only seven examples.

130 The proposals for the dating of the painting in Wiślica range from the end of the 14th century to the second decade of the 15th century. For all the viewpoints expressed so far, see Kruk 2017a, p. 146, note 4, p. 153, 156, notes 24, 25, 26. The dating to 1420 is also supported by the investigations carried out in the context of the last restorations, for which see Stec 2014, http://muzeum.

weebly.com/blog (accessed on 02.05.2020).

131 Ionescu 2008, p. 257. Original text: *După chinuitoarea operație a derulării și cuplării cablurilor electrice la sediul îndepărtat al mănăstirii, am trecut la examinarea inscripției aflată pe al doilea strat de tencuială din pronaos, utilizând o sursă de radiații ultraviolete. De citirea propriu-zisă se ocupa Monica Breazu, o excelentă slavistă acum la Paris. La un moment dat s-a luat cu mâinile de cap și pur și simplu a urlat: ,Fantastic, incredibil, ce o să spună prof. Drăguț?'. Ne-am bulucit cu toții, neînțelegând o iotă din semnele slavone care străluceau ca un diamant datorită fenomenului de fluorescență. Anul pictării era 6885 adică 1377! Am executat fotografii printr-o lupă de mare grosisment, cu aparatul ținut în mână sau de pe un trepied subțire care vibra încontinuu. O să iasă oare ceva? Gâtuiți de emoție ne-am reîntors după miezul nopții la Alba Iulia și, într-un „rest room" în hotel, am developat filmul. Inscripția apărea în toată splendoarea ei! N-am dormit toată noaptea, așteptând dimineața să telefonăm prof. Drăguț la București. A fost extrem de entuziasmat, dar ne-a spus că nu crede până nu vede; ce mai, un fel de Toma Necredinciosul în variantă scientist.* The text was probably written many years before. A manuscript variant of this text is kept in the archive of Râmeț Monastery, where the last part of the quote originates, and which is not found in the published text.

132 Tugearu 1979. There was a second article, published by Liana Tugearu in *Tribuna României*, nr. 150 / 1 February 1979, under the title "Semnificația unei descoperiri". Original Romanian text: *Scris-am eu mult greșitul robul lui Dumnezeu Mihul Zugraf de la Crișul Alb în timpul păstoririi arhiepiscopului Ghelasion. În zilele ... Craiul (Văleat 6884) luna iulie 2.*

133 Tugearu 1985, p. 168.

134 Breazu 1985, p. 49.

135 Breazu 1985, p. 50.

136 Ionescu 2008, p. 258.

137 Andea, Andea 1992, p. 202.

138 Hurmuzaki, II/5, p. 445.

139 Pilat 2010, p. 229-238.

140 Drăguț 1966, p. 43.

141 Drăguț 1966, p. 46.

142 Năstăsoiu 2016, p. 237-238.

143 Drăguț 1966, p. 43-44.

144 Porumb 1978, p. 311, nota 12.

145 Porumb 1981, p. 16-18; Cincheza-Buculei 1981, p. 7-10; Drăguț 1982, p. 121.

146 Boambeș 1990, p. 82.

147 Tugearu 1985, p. 154, Boambeș 1990, p. 82.

148 Drăguț 1970, p. 43.

149 Boambeș 1990, p. 83-84.

150 Unfortunately, this dossier contains no relevant photographic documentation, only a few black-and-white illustrations documenting the cracks in the plaster, not the painting surfaces and their degree of preservation after the removal of the recent layers of paint. Such photographs, some of them published by Șinca 2013 in groupings of unnumbered illustrations, are mentioned as existing in the archives of the monastery and in those of the National Heritage Institute in Bucharest (INMI). Until the finalisation of this text, they were not accessible to me.

151 Boambeș 1990, p. 83, 88; and figs. 15-16 on p. 85.

152 Râmeț monastery, *dosar nr. 252, Pictură restaurare. Anii 1981-1989: Fișa de restaurare privind pictura murală în tehnica frescă din naos – perete nord (spre vest de fereastră), scena „Nașterea Sf. Ioan Botezătorul", sec. XVI? de la biserica veche a mînăstirii Rîmeț – jud. Alba*, p. 1-2. Original text: *Constatând, ca fapt general, că mănăstirea a primit danii din partea unor voievozi români ca Matei Corvin,*

Radu cel Mare (1506), Mihai Viteazul – n-ar fi exclus ca această pictură să fie legată de perioada și activitatea unora dintre ei. Ca opțiune aș include această etapă de pictură în frescă între secolele XV-XVI, înaintea etapei de pictură în frescă de pe iconostas, pe care o leg de ctitoria mănăstirii de către Mihai Viteazul. // Stilistic, imaginea 'Nașterii Sfântului Ioan Botezătorul' (?) mă duce oarecum cu gândul la pictura din epoca lui Petru Rareș.*

153 *Loc. cit.: Fișa de restaurare privind pictura murală în tehnica frescă din naos – iconostas, biserica veche a mînăstirii Rîmeț – etapă de pictură – sec. XVI-XVII? (Mihai Viteazul?)*, p. 1. Original text: *Se pare că această etapă de pictură în frescă ar corespunde ca execuție (judecând stilistic) perioadei în care Mihai Viteazul a ajutat Mănăstirea Râmeț cu danii. S-a emis părerea că însăși (sic!) zugravii lui, Petre Armeanul, Mina și Nicolae din Creta au pictat-o. Această ipoteză însă nu este susținută de nici o datare concretă. Nu s-a descoperit nici o inscripție. // Personal mi se pare mai degrabă legată stilistic de perioada secolelor XVI, început de XVII. M-a dus la această opțiune: motivul ornamental al panglicii împletite, drapajul personajelor, compoziția, gama cromatică foarte reținută, modul în care este elaborat desenul.*

154 *...știu că această mănăstire în care stă Popa Savu este mănăstirea Geoagiului și este în hotarul Geoagiului; eu, și când eram copil acolo am învățat la un popă pe nume Raczi Simadi, care sta atunci în ea, dar și atunci era stăpânită de domnii din Geoagiu. După aceea, că Kouasoczieștii au dat Geoagiul (nu știu); știu și că ei stăpâneau (mănăstirea) ce ținea de Geoagiu. Când domnul Kouasoczki l-a trimis pe Popa Savu din mănăstire și l-a pus pe Remeti Pal în mănăstire, el a stat un timp acolo; odată, întreb de la Popa Todor, care este și acum preot în Râmeți, că din ce pricină a trebuit să plece din mănăstire Popa Savu și acum domnul Kouasoczki l-a lăsat pe Remeti Pal în ea. Popa Todor a spus că, lasă să umble numai, o să vezi că nu va sta Remeti Pal în mănăstire, și nu peste multă vreme au mers peste Râmeți, fiind acolo zarvă mare, neașteptată, se spunea că vin tătarii, ne-am și speriat tare, dar nu a fost nici urmă de tătari, ci hoții au bătut mănăstirea și pe săracul Remeti Pal l-au dus și l-au omorât. După aceea, întreb pe Rakato Iuon din Râmeț ce s-a întâmplat cu săracul Remeti Pal și el a spus că pe acesta l-au omorât, și eu am fost părtaș la moartea lui, pentru că Popa Savu ne-a fost tocmit pe noi pentru 6 forinți ca să-l omorâm și noi l-am omorât.* Testimony given by Popa Stan of Gârbova de Jos in 1622. He was one of the witnesses interrogated in connection with the legal status of Râmeț monastery and the events from a decade before (Andea, Andea 1992, p. 202).

155 For the images made in 1978, see Șinca 2013, the second tab in the group of illustrations between p. 232-233, the fourth and seventh tabs in the group of illustrations between p. 336-337. Only one of the scenes is legible (*Adam and Eve Eating from the Forbidden Tree*). The second scene illustrates the dedication, the *Nativity of the Mother of God* (cf. Tugearu 1985, p. 149, note 1, where it is also said that the painting was from the eighteenth century).

156 Meteș 1929, p. 118.

157 Drăguț 1966, p. 40, note 9.

158 Râmeț Monastery document, file no. 252, *Pictură restaurare. Anii 1981-1989, „Fișa de restaurare privind pictura murală în tehnica frescă etapa de pictură post-brâncovenească – Altar de la biserica „Adormirea Maicii Domnului" și „Izvorul Tămăduirii" – Mînăstirea Rîmeț, jud. Alba"*, p. 2.

159 Porumb 1998, p. 389-390.

160 Porumb 1998, p. 458-460.

161 Bologa 1890, p. 451. Original text: *,Eu am auzit pomenindu-se că Sfântul Ghelasie au venit de la Hopaciu (un loc de fânațe, care mânăstirea și azi îl posedă) și au intrat în biserică cu cal cu tot și de atunci nu s-a mai văzut',* conchizând că trebuie să fie vorba de cel al cărui nume vine înainte și în pomelnicul amintit între Ermonachi. Acest Părinte se vede că a dus o viață foarte cinstită, neprihănită, căci poporul din loc l-a numit ,Sfânt' și la cea din

urmă zugrăvire a bisericei i-a pus chipul între sfinți.

162 Andea, Andea 1992, p. 199.

163 Dăncilă 1925, p. 86.

164 Dăncilă 1925, p. 93.

165 Dăncilă 1925, p. 87.

166 Șinca 2013, p. 102-103.

167 Boambeș 1990, p. 84.

168 Iorga 1906, p. 158 (in the original): *În tindă, zugrăveală din 1809, după o notiță pe ușă*; Dăncilă 1925, p. 92 (in the original): *Biserica din Rimeți, zisă mănăstire, e refăcută la 1809. Pe pereți și astăzi se vede zugrăveala ciudată, care ne prezintă pe ostașii sfinți și mucenici, luptând cu greutățile prin cari au devenit nemuritori, în costumul unguresc din veacul al XVIII-lea. A făcut-o de sigur un biet pictor care nu știa ce e arta bisericească.*

169 Burnichioiu 2018, p. 57-58.

170 Jékely, Kiss 2008, p. 97; Kovács 2014, p. 39.

171 Kovács 2014, p. 38-39.

172 For the sabre attaining "considerable popularity in warrior saint depictions from the fourteenth century onwards", see Grotowski 2010, p. 360.

173 The manuscript is preserved in the Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, and is freely available for consultation at http://documente.bcucluj.ro/web/bibdigit/patrimoniu/BCUCLUJ_FCS_MS4745.pdf, accessed on 28.05.2020.

174 Popa 1958, p. 409; Porumb 1978, p. 309. Initial Romanian translation: *Văleat 7024. A scris multpăcătosul popa Filip din Hațeg. În acest an (a murit) Laslău crai, în zilele preasfințitului mitropolit kyr Șt(…).*

175 Laurianu 1845, p. 178.

176 Rusu 1999, p. 101-106.

177 Pop, Marcu Istrate, Sălăgean, Simon 2017, p. 124, note 152.

178 Hodinka 1909, p. 203-218.

179 Hodinka 1911, p. 9-10.

180 Hodinka 1911, p. XXVII, doc. nr. 7. Original text: *1498. nov. 29. II. Ulászló oklevele a máram. megyei hatóságokhoz, védjék meg Gelaziosz (Hilarion) körtvélyesi apátot az említett János püspök ellen.*

181 Hodinka 1911, p. 9.

182 Hodinka 1909, p. 29, 203, 208 (with a discussion of the contribution of hegumen Hilarion to the clarification of the disputes with bishop John), 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215.

183 The hegumen of 1391, remembered in the patriarchal tomos that accorded Peri Monastery the stavropegial status.

184 Budu 1891, p. 16. Original text: *Ca egumeni a Manastirei de la S. Michail din Maramuresiu se amentesc Pachomiu, Ilariu și Gelasiu.*

185 Hodinka 1909, p. 221.

186 Meteș 1936, p. 173.

187 Hodinka 1909, p. 218.

188 Cf. Hodinka 1909, p. 213.

189 Șerban 1986, p. 57.

190 Șinca 2013, p. 66-67, nota 24. Original text: (…) *pe registrul nr. 1 al Sf. Mănăstiri se află următoarea notiță: «Ier. Romulus și Ghenadie au fost hirotoniți în Ohrida Macedonia și în anul 1215 au plecat din Mănăstirea Râmeț punând bazele Mănăstirii Peri Maramurăș care la 1215 a fost arsă de către tătari. Aceasta o știm dintr-un act de la Budapesta din 1952, aceasta mi s-a spus în biroul Ministerului Cultelor în luna martie 1952 de către un funcționar al Monumentelor Istorice. Scris-am eu ierom. Evloghie Oța starețul Sf. Mănăstiri Râmeț, azi 5 februarie 1954».*

191 Plokhy 2018, p. 79-80.

192 Opriș 1986, p. 60-61.

193 Hurmuzaki, XIV/1, p. 16.

194 Jawor 2012, p. 148-149; for a list of towns, see p. 271-273.

195 Sulikowska-Gąska 2009, p. 31; Herea 2017, p. 115-146.

196 See an attempt in Mickūnaitė 2013, who associates the painting commissioned by Grand Duke Vytautas after 1409 for the church in Trakaj, then the residence of the Dukes of Lithuania, with the Moravian style disseminated in Serbia during the Lazarević and Branković dynasties (ca. 1370-1459), for which see Preradović 2016. The murals of the Church of the Annunciation Monastery in Supraśl, dating back to 1510/1511-1557, among whose authors was Nectarius the Serbian, offers clearer situation. (Матановић 2017, p. 213-226).

197 Grządziela 1994, p. 207-266.

198 Kruk 2001, p. 237-246; Kruk 2007, p. 287-297.

199 Jawor 2012, p. 137.

200 Kruk 2017b, p. 399.

201 Herea, Giemza 2014, p. 156-181; Gronek 2015, p. 72, 141-142, 166, 176-179, 219, 361, 363.

202 Gronek 2015, p. 181-182, 428.

203 Gronek 2015, p. 175 (for the first stratum), p. 357-358 (for the second stratum of murals).

204 *Nowgorod* 2004, p. 74-75.

205 Sabados 1997, Sabados 2008; Sabados, Lambru, p. 1-3, 5-6, 9, 11-12.

206 An analogy noted already in 1985 by Liana Tugearu (Tugearu 1985, p. 170, nota 46).

207 *Sainte Russie* 2010, p. 130.

208 *Sainte Russie* 2010, p. 400-404.

209 Kondakov 2009, p. 115.

210 Janocha 2010, p. 17.

211 Kondakov 2009, p. 162-165.

212 *Nowgorod* 2004, p. 74-75.

213 Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 118-121 – for comments, vol. III, p. 68-77 – for illustrations. The town of Terlo was part of the territory under Wallachian law (Jawor 2012, p. 273, nr. 228).

214 *Sainte Russie* 2010, p. 292.

215 Kondakov 2009, p. 122-125.

216 Kondakov 2009, p. 160-161.

217 *Sainte Russie* 2010, p. 487.

218 *Icons* 2008, p. 37.

219 *Nowgorod* 2004, p. 64-65.

220 Kruk 2019, vol. I, p. 114-117.

221 For the cult of these two saints, see White 2016, p. 132-166.

222 Icons 2008, p. 31.

223 Biskupski 1984, p. 76-83; Ярема 2005, *passim*. It should be noted that the last two were towns that were part of the colonized territory under Wallachian law (Jawor 2012, p. 272, nr. 174, p. 273, nr. 268).

224 *Icons* 2008, p. 31; Biskupski 1984, p. 77, il. 1.

225 Biskupski 1984, p. 79.

226 Cincheza-Buculei 1981, p. 30-31.

227 Jawor 2012, p. 37.

228 For the earliest examples, see Porumb 1998, p. 13-14 (Agârbiciu), 39-40 (Bica), 109 (Dezmir), 255 (Nadăşu), 284 (Păniceni).

229 *Apud* Burnichioiu 2016, p. 261, 264.

230 Șerban 1981, p. 189-194.

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Foreign Wisdoms
Tradition in the Služebnik *of Metropolitan* Ștefan of Ungrovlachia *(† 1668)*

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ʀésᴜᴍé: Le manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest sous la cote Ms. rom. 1790 n'est pas comme les autres. La page du titre l'indique elle-même : on a affaire à un *Sluzhebnik* contenant les liturgies des saints Jean Chrysostome et Basile le Grand, y compris quelques « autres offices d'hiérarques ». Commandité par le métropolite Ștefan de Hongrovalachie († 1668), achevé avec sa bénédiction à une date qui reste encore difficile à préciser, cet *Ἀρχιερατικόν*, destiné à l'usage exclusif des hauts prélats, est décoré de nombreuses miniatures et contient des textes en trois langues : les textes liturgiques sont en slavon ; les ecphonèses, c'est-à-dire les parties finales des ecténies à lire à voix haute, sont en grec, mais en caractères cyrilliques et souvent en transcription phonétique ; alors que la plupart des indications de régie à l'attention de l'officiant et presque tout le « Règlement pour l'ordination du métropolite et de l'évêque » sont en roumain. En partant du témoignage d'un voyageur russe en Moldavie et en Valachie, de l'Ekténie pour les défunts du Ms. rom. 1790 et du « dossier » du Synode de Târgoviște (1659), l'auteur a essayé de reconstituer le climat religieux de l'époque et de formuler une explication quant à l'inhabituelle initiative liturgique multilingue du métropolite de Valachie.

ᴍᴏᴛs-ᴄʟés : liturgie post-byzantine, manuscrits liturgiques, manuscrits trilingues enluminés, réforme liturgique, digraphie diachronique.

ʀᴇᴢᴜᴍᴀᴛ: Manuscrisul păstrat în Biblioteca Academiei Române din Bucureşti sub cota ms. rom. 1790 este unul aparte. Aşa cum indică foaia de titlu, avem de-a face cu un *Slujebnic* cuprinzând liturghiile sfinţilor Ioan Gură de Aur şi Vasile cel Mare, dimpreună cu „alte slujiri arhiereşti". Alcătuit cu binecuvântarea, din porunca şi cu cheltuiala mitropolitului Ștefan al Ungrovlahiei († 1668), la o dată pe care încă nu o putem preciza cu exactitate, acest *Ἀρχιερατικόν* destinat exclusiv folosirii de către un înalt prelat este împodobit cu numeroase miniaturi şi conţine texte în trei limbi – textele liturgice sunt în slavonă, ecfonisele, adică părţile finale ale ecteniilor, de rostit cu glas tare, sunt în greacă cu grafie chirilică şi de cele mai multe ori în transcriere fonetică, iar majoritatea indicaţiilor de regie pentru liturghisitor şi aproape întreaga „Rânduială a punerii mitropolitului şi a episcopului" sunt în română. Pornind de la mărturia unui călător rus prin Moldova şi Valahia, de la „Ectenia pentru cei adormiţi" din ms. rom. 1790 şi de la „dosarul" sinodului din 1659 de la Târgovişte, autorul a încercat să reconstituie climatul religios al timpului şi să propună o explicaţie neobişnuitei iniţiative liturgice multilingve a întâi-stătătorului Ţării Româneşti.

ᴄᴜᴠɪɴᴛᴇ ᴄʜᴇɪᴇ: liturgie post-bizantină, manuscrise liturgice, manuscrise trilingve cu miniaturi, reformă liturgică, digrafie diacronică.

Among the manuscripts of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (ʙᴀʀ), the one labeled *ms. rom.* 1790 occupies a special place.[1] As the record sheet indicates, we are dealing with a Služebnik (Сл8жебникъ), that is, a Service-Book comprising the liturgies of saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, together with 'other hierarchical services'.[2] (Fig. 1) The book was produced with the blessing, patronage, and at the expense of metropolitan Ștefan of Wallachia († 1668), at a date that I cannot yet accurately pinpoint.[3] This *Pontificale / Ἀρχιερατικόν*, intended exclusively for use by a high-priest, is decorated with several miniatures and contains texts in three languages. The liturgical texts are in Church Slavonic, the *ekphonisis* (ἐκφωνήσεις), that is, the doxological formulas concluding a litany (αἴτη-σις), petition (συναπτή), or prayer (ἐκτενής) that are to be intoned aloud by the priest (во́згласъ) are not only in Church Slavonic but also in Greek written in Cyrillic characters and in phonetic transcription. Most of the directions for the

Fig. 1. *BAR ms. rom. 1790 – title page.*
Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

Fig. 2a. *Metropolitan Ștefan of Ungrovlachia as donor on an icon representing saints Gregory Dekapolites and Michael of Synnada (1669). Private collection – Râmnicu Vâlcea.*
Source: Efremov 2003, p. 57, fig. 74, cat. 36.

Fig. 2b. *Prince Mihnea III Radu and Ștefan of Ungrovlachia. Tempera on wood. Crucifix of the templon of the Bălănești-Râmești church (today Hurez – Vâlcea). Detail.*
Source: Efremov 2003, p. 53, fig. 62, cat. 29.

Fig. 3. *The Mother of God with Child in a rose. Liturgy of saint John Chrysostom, blessing of the Holy Gifts – BAR ms. rom. 1790, f. 32v.*
Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

Fig. 4. *Christ the True Vine – BAR ms. rom. 1790, f. 86r.*
Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

liturgist and almost the entire 'Order of consecration of the metropolitan and bishop' are in Romanian written in Cyrillic characters.[4] (Fig. 2)

Although not always consistently, researchers have examined this source in the past. Art historians have showed interest in the illustrations.[5] (Fig. 3-4) Historians have studied the 'Order of the coronation of the emperor or prince'.[6] Philologists have studied the texts in Romanian, including the Creed. From their point of view, the *Služebnik* of metropolitan Ștefan, together with the other service-books with rubrics in Romanian ordered by the same hierarch, represents a stage, a 'transitional phase' in the process of 'nationalization of the divine service'.[7]

Placing the phenomenon of imposing the Romanian language as a cult language in the context of the vast liturgical transformations of the seventeenth century, Violeta Barbu demonstrated that the bilingual or trilingual manuscripts copied at the time, or at the request of Ștefan, mark the beginning of a 'liturgical reform'.[8] In turn, Andronikos Falangas, in an excellent study dedicated to the transcription in Cyrilic characters of Greek fragments from the manuscript under study here, argued that this phenomenon is found at the confluence of three cultural currents: 'that of a Slavonicism at its twilight, detached from its Balkan roots, that of the Romanian native civilization trying to assert itself and, finally, that of Hellenism oppressed by the Ottoman domination that will find the strength to recover and that already announces its remarkable influence beyond the Danube, before flourishing under the Phanariot rulers of the Romanian lands'.[9]

As for me, since I share the opinion of the Greek researcher of Ștefan's *Služebnik* that the manuscript is a witness to

the 'cultural conflicts and rivalries' in Wallachia during the seventeenth century, I tackle the problem of the "cohabitation mechanism" between the three languages of the codex. Starting from the testimony of a Russian traveler, from the litany for the departed in *ms. rom.* 1790, and from the three letters that make up the dossier of a Church synod that took place in Târgoviște in 1659, I attempt to reconstruct the religious climate of the time and to offer an explanation for the multilingual liturgical initiative of Wallachia's metropolitan.

A Russian Traveler through Moldavia and Wallachia.

In late March 1650, the Russian hieromonk Arsenii Sukhanov stopped at a monastery in Vaslui dedicated to Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos.[10] The traveler was coming from Moscow and was on his way to Târgoviște. Since May 1649, he had been asked to accompany the patriarch Paisios Lambardis of Jerusalem on his return journey to the Holy Land, who reached the Tsar's court in search of alms and support for bold anti-Ottoman plans. Together with the monk-deacon Iona Malenkii of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery, Arsenii was to closely monitor the political movements of the prelate and to record in detail the liturgical practices of the Christian East.[11] Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (1645-1676) wanted precise information that would allow him to act appropriately and in line with the increasing number of vocal supporters of the involvement in the release of Christian brothers from the Turkish yoke, and the alignment with the traditions of the Greek Church in order for Moscow to fulfill its illustrious destiny as a New Rome.[12]

In Iași, however, where they had arrived in August 1649, Arsenii found worrying news. Namely, he discovered the presence of an alleged descendant of Tsar Vasilii Ivanovich Shuiskii (1606-1610) 'in a hermitage under the Hungarian hills'.[13] Although immediately sent to Moscow by Paisios with letters for the Tsar and the patriarch—letters announcing the imminent conclusion of the peace between the Poles and the Cossacks—Sukhanov had returned to Moldavia through Kiev in the spring of 1650. As the hierarch whose actions were under surveillance had already left for Wallachia, Arsenii followed in his footsteps. By March 30, he was staying at the metochion of Zographou Monastery in Vaslui.[14] But the conversation with the egumen and the other members of the monastic community was not a pleasant one. The envoy of the Tsar found out on this occasion that a Serbian *starets* from Athos had been brought before the synod because he was making the sign of the cross according to the Muscovite custom transmitted through a *Book* attributed to *Cyril* of Alexandria (1644).[15] Distraught, humiliated, and threatened with burning at the stake, the poor monk had been forced to swear solemnly that he would never repeat the mistake. Charged as heretical without a right to appeal, his writings had been hastily given to the flames, along with a 130-year-old Serbian manuscript. 'The Greeks are proud, and we the Serbians hate them', the hegumen continued in a fiery tone. They refused to provide book translations into Church Slavonic out of hatred and condescendance. They denied Cyril the Philosopher permission to create a Slavic alphabet, and they tried to kill him when, with the blessing of pope Adrian.[16] The Greeks could not stand them and they wanted to rule over them, the speaker had concluded, but 'they have lost their Empire due to pride'.

Similarly, Sukhanov did not have a good opinion of the Greeks. Arriving in Wallachia's capital on April 9 and received the next day in audience by Prince Matei Basarab,

he quickly engaged in heated disputes about faith with Paisios of Jerusalem and those close to him.[17]

The first of these disputes took place on April 24 (old style) 1650, in the refectory of the monastery of the Patriarchate in the city, in the presence of the metropolitan Meletios of Proilavon (Brăila), archimandrites Anthimios and Philimon, priest Macarios, of Josaph, the learned Malachias, and the entire monastic community.[18] They all discussed the correct way of making the sign of the cross. Summoning the *Book of Cyril*, the works of John of Damascus, and the name of Maksim 'the Greek,' Arsenii contended with the Greek tradition based on the sixteenth-century writings of Damaskinos 'the Studite'.[19] Summoned by the patriarch to reveal where the Russians had learned their sign of the cross, he pointed to the Apostle Andrew as a source, the evangelizer of the Russians, and, to a lesser extent, to the ancient Greeks. Sukhanov felt compelled to add that those who faithfully respected the apostolic and catholic norms, unlike contemporaries who were baptized by aspersion and not immersion, were forced to rely on the 'Germans' for matters pertaining to knowledge. In addition, he said, 'all the Christians in Poland make the sign of the cross like the Russians', a fact clearly shown in a printed book produced in the Polish realm and now held in the library of the second-logothete Udrişte Năsturel.[20]

As the reminder to the lack of books, schools, and respect for the old traditions was not easy to digest, the discussions were prolonged and fiercely continued into the afternoon. 'We did not receive the baptism from you, but, like you, from saint Andrew the Apostle', repeated Arsenii to the assembly, vehemently denying the Christianization of the Greeks by Christ, the apostles, and Jacob, the brother of the Savior.[21] And the learned scholar Pantaleo Ligaridi, called to express his opinion, although a native of Chios, agreed with Arsenii in regard to the sign of the cross, to the great dissatisfaction of Paisios of Jerusalem.[22]

On May 8 of the same year, Sukhanov asked Paisios to appoint a spokesperson to explain why the years in the Russian books did not coincide with the years since the Lord's birth in the Greek books. Who was to blame for losing the true tradition? The next day, intrigued, the patriarch proposed as interlocutors Ligaridi and the metropolitan of Arta and Nafpaktos, Gavriil Vlasios.[23] Yet Sukhanov refused to talk to them, claiming that one could not communicate at all with those who were too learned since they were not interested in finding the truth, but in winning the disputes at any cost. In addition, the education of the two was Jesuit, or 'it [was] known that the Latin science contains far too much cunning'.

Confronted with a rejection, Paisios decided to write to the other patriarchs, confident that they would give him justice. On the contrary, they would make it clear that the mistake belonged to him, responded Arsenii immediately. After the fall of Constantinople, the Latin books, printed in Greek, spread everywhere. After the collapse of the Greek empire, caused by the multitude of sins and heresies, the disorder spread to the ecumenical Patriarchate. They baptized by aspersion, not by triple immersion. They prayed together with the heretics, be they Armenians, Latins, or Franks. They had forgotten that the first Gospel, that of Mark, was not written for them, but for the Jews. They had become Christian after the Romans. They were not alone at the synods that they incessantly boasted about and these councils were not a source but a confirmation of the perfect faith that comes from Christ through the apostles. So, the Greeks could not be a source for all things, just like the Pope in Rome could not be the head of the entire Church. Even if

they had ever been, now they had dried up and, thirsty, 'some Greeks often satiate from pagan fountains'. The Turks lived among them, but they could not convert them, Sukhanov concluded.

As expected, the attitude of the Muscovite hieromonk aroused deep animosity among the Greek hierarchs in Târgovişte. On May 11, about two days after the discussion from the patriarch's chamber, Arsenii was informed by the 'Russian' teacher Grigorii about the threats posed to him by bishop Daniil of Ohrid, invited 'at the table of metropolitan Ştefan' of Wallachia. Living around the high Wallachian prelate, Grigorii had heard Daniil boasting about the fact that, once arrived on Turkish soil, Sukhanov would share the fate of hegumen Damaskin from Hilandar, given to the Ottomans, made to swear that he would reject his crooked customs, and forced to burn his Muscovite books.[24]

At the beginning of June, informed of the case by his priest Ioasaph, Paisios of Jerusalem requested details from egumen Amphilochios, witness to the events, and explanations from bishop Daniil. He concluded that the Athonite synod had not proceeded appropriately and metropolitan Vlasios agreed with him. There was no point in burning the books, risking the wrath of the merciful Tsar; it would have been enough to have erased the mistakes. Muscovite books had been carefully corrected by chosen people and did not contain mistakes, Arsenii protested.[25] On the contrary, the Greek books printed in Venice and in England should have been burnt, being full of heresies, he countered, giving as example a Venetian edition from the library of teacher Malachias in which it was claimed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son.* Many things were broken in his realm, Sukhanov told Vlasios, who had invoked the 'seniority' of the Greeks. They were ancient, except they did not always follow the traditions of the apostles and saints. They refused to amend. They did not baptize as they should have, did not make the sign of the cross as it should have been done, but instead took pride and deluded themselves that they were the source of the faith. Sukhanov's men were, in fact, the ones who kept the received teachings free of corruption, and the authority of their patriarch extended over a multitude of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops who, in turn, administered thousands of churches.

A letter 'on the sign of the cross', signed by the elders of the Holy Mountain, confirmed the Muscovite viewpoint and silenced the opponents. The use of three fingers instead of two was condemned for the moment. Therefore, on June 6, Ioasaph, the 'black priest' of the Patriarchate and 'other Greeks' tried to shift the discussion toward baptism. It was not good to re-baptize Christians as if they were heretics, they said, alluding to the controversial baptism of the Polish war prisoners. The answer came immediately: only those heretics who had not been anointed and who had not been immersed in the baptismal font were to to be baptized again. And if they would be exposed as baptized by aspersion, the same fate awaited them.[26]

Surprised by the harshness of the reply, Ioasaph threatened that the Patriarch of Jerusalem would seek the opinion of the other patriarchs. If the answer was positive, they would be listened to; if they were not righteous, they would simply be ignored, Arsenii warned in turn. The pious Tsar took the place of the emperor from Constantinople and became the head of Orthodoxy. The Patriarch of Moscow was put in place of the Pope, and four metropolitans were appointed in place of the four Eastern Patriarchs. Just as the Pope fell from grace when he was blinded by schism and heresy, so would the Greeks be deprived of their

rights if they persisted in error.[27]

'We were baptized by saint Andrew', who reached as far as Kiev and Novgorod, Arsenii repeated. They had also received baptism from Pope Clement, exiled in Crimea. There, the great prince Vladimir had been baptized and from there he had taken Clement's relics to Kiev. And they strictly respected their inheritance. The Greeks, however, were baptized according to the new Roman rule, being impossible to find in Greece or Wallachia a properly baptized man. They made the sign of the cross incorrectly, and did not calculate the years since the creation of the world, as it should have been done, but rather since the birth of Christ. Their books were published in Rome, Venice, and England, and they completed their studies in Italy. Their teachers were corrupt and spread Catholic teachings. "Everything that you once had, has been passed on to us in Moscow", Sukhanov unfolded his argument unabated. The Tsar had as model emperor Constantine the Great and protected the Church from any heresy, while the patriarch of Moscow, the primate of the New Rome, openly celebrated his faith and wore the white kalimavkion of Pope Sylvester. The Greeks, on the contrary, saw their monasteries disappear one after another, and scattered the holy relics in the four cardinal directions. Their churches had been transformed into mosques and many people had become pagans.

At this point, Arsenii found it appropriate to summarize to his interlocutors the *Tale of the White Cowl* (*им историю... бѣлом клобукѣ*). According to it, Constantine the Great and Pope Sylvester appeared in a dream to the patriarch of Constantinople, Filotheos, and ordered him to send the precious garment to Novgorod. 'Old Rome will fall out of faith', they prophesied. In New Rome, that is, in Constantinople, 'the Christian faith will perish because of Hagar's sons'. In the Third Rome, on Russian soil, the grace of the Holy Spirit would be revealed. Finally, for Orthodoxy, all Christians would unite in one kingdom, a Russian one. And the 'bright Russia' (*свѣтлая Росия*) would be ever superior to the first two Romes.[28]

Although the legend was obviously pro-Novgorodian and anti-Muscovite, Arsenii had chosen to reproduce it precisely in order to illustrate the saying that 'those who are last will be the first.' First, God had turned his face away from Israel and toward the Greeks. Then, as a punishment for pride, He had abandoned them to the pagan yoke. 'Whom do you enlighten with your teachings?' Their children had turned into janissaries, their churches had become mosques, and their women had been taken by the Turks. At their request, the patriarchs were changed and even killed, concluded Sukhanov.

On September 30, 1650, probably towards the great relief of the Greeks, Arsenii started his journey toward Moscow. Finding out that the fake Shuiskii had huddled next to the hatman Bohdan Khmel'nits'kii and recruited soldiers, he had asked patriarch Paisios for a letter soliciting the extradition of the imposter.[29] On December 8, filled with news following the discussion with the Cossack leader, Arsenii entered the capital. On December 9, he presented to the 'office of ambassadors' an initial report, which he would detail in writing shortly thereafter, along with the *Disputes with the Greeks about the Faith* (henceforth the *Disputes*).

If the first part of the *Disputes*—the one concerning the burning of the Muscovite books by the Greeks of Athos—was conceived as a supplement to the report, following the typical investigations concerning 'political' crimes; the second part, the one concerning the true 'source of the faith,' displays a visible polemic character. Synthesizing ideas already circulating at the time, Sukhanov tackles current

topics such as the editing of religious books, and, implicitly, the political and spiritual models to be followed. His point of view often diverges from that expressed in the *Book of Faith* (*Книга о вере*)—a source compiled by egumen Nathanail of the Mikhailovsk Monastery in Kiev, and reprinted in Moscow on May 8, 1648—which proves his affiliation with the party that opposes the Greek influence on the State and the Church.[30]

Arsenii twice modified the original text of the *Disputes*, probably written in Moldavia, transforming it from a secret report into a work for a much wider audience.[31] Thus, immediately after his arrival in Moscow, he showed himself to be a supporter of the filo-Ottoman policy promoted by the followers of patriarch Parthenios II 'the Young' of Constantinople, and, consequently, an opponent of the anti-Ottoman policy promoted by the followers of patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem.[32]

In his absence, however, the 'opposition' had gained significant ground. Even metropolitan Nikon of Novgorod—the future patriarch—once an ardent supporter of preserving the Muscovite tradition, now wanted alignment with the practices of the 'Greek' East. As a result, in January 1651, before being sent back to the capital of the Ottoman Empire to gather liturgical (and political) information, Sukhanov was expressly asked to write for the future the truth 'without beautifying it,' that is, without the controversial touches of the *Disputes*.[33]

Understanding the allusion, Arsenii took the road to Iași. Received by prince Vasile Lupu (1634-1653) on April 24, he was denied free passage. He had been accused by the 'elders of Jerusalem', then close to the Moldavian voivode, by archdeacon Feon, and by metropolitan Vlasios—in short, by the proxies of patriarch Paisios, still stuck in Târgoviște by the unpardonable enmity of the holder of the ecumenical see—that he supposedly carried a secret letter for Parthenios II. It was only on May 5 that he was able to leave with the help of a forged safe conduct.[34]

Sukhanov would return to Moscow in June 1653, at the end of a mission that carried him through Constantinople, Chios, Alexandria, Cairo, and Jerusalem. We do not know anything about another passage through the Romanian principalities. However, as in previous reports, the description of his eastern journey, submitted to the Tsar and patriarch Nikon on July 26, contains important information about contemporary Wallachia.

The *Disputes* offer relevant details about the learned Udriște Năsturel, about metropolitan Ștefan, about the links fostered with Kiev and the Holy Mountain, about the books they had in the library, or about the numerous teachers, priests, and hierarchs (Ruthenians and Greeks) who gravitated around them.[35] In addition, The Pilgrimage at Holy Places, completed in 1653, describes contemporary liturgical practices and contains details regarding the religious ceremonies attended by both Paisios of Jerusalem and the metropolitan of Wallachia:

> When the patriarch was celebrating with the metropolitan of Muntenia, he designated that the metropolitan say 'Take and eat','Drink of this' and 'Your own of Your own'. But on another feast he was celebrating again with the same [metropolitan], and the patriarch said 'Take and eat' and 'Drink of this', while designating that the metropolitan say 'Your own of Your own'...[36]

The 'Mohyla Phenomenon'.[37]

The close relations between the representatives of the cultural-religious elite of mid-seventeenth-century Wallachia
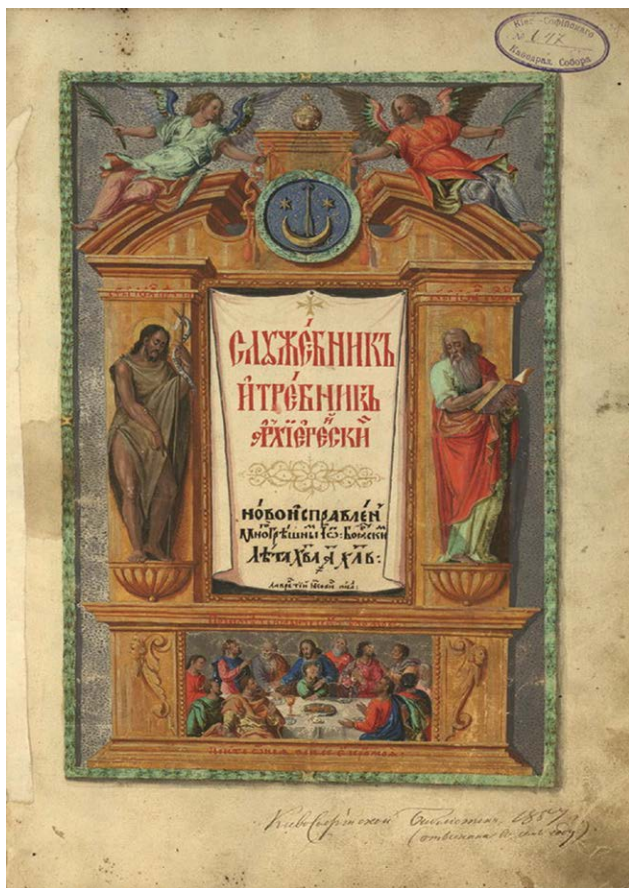
▲ Fig. 5a. *Služebnik (Kiev 1632) copied by Lavrentii Iatskovich and 'corrected' by Iov Boretskii – title page.*

▼ Fig. 5b. *Saint John Chrysostom (alleged portrait of metropolitan Peter Mohyla) – Služebnik (Kiev 1632), f. 33v (p. 58).*

Source: http://irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/dlib/item/0000029.

and the representatives of the Ruthenian Orthodoxy shepherded by Peter Mohyla until 1646 (Fig. 5), offer a first set of clues about the model followed by the *Služebnik* of metropolitan Ştefan regarding the liturgies.

As with most of the religious books printed during the reign of Matei Basarab (1632-1654)—from the 1635 'Prayer Book' (*Molitvenik*) from Câmpulung, to the 1652 'Consecration' (*Târnosanie*) from Târgovişte—the model is Ruthenian: the *Služebnik* published in 1629 at the Monastery of the Caves.[38] (Fig. 6-8) This Kievan edition—or a related manuscript—was not the first option: Ştefan discarded several types of service-books whose 'directorial' indications were not detailed enough to please him. But in the end, the metropolitan chose the 1629 *Služebnik*: it illustrated the *ordo* of the Great Church and of the Holy Mountain, it had been corrected according to Greek sources and had extensive rubrics.[39] The Kievan *Služebnik*, however, did not have any of the *ekphonisis* in Greek. Why did Ştefan's *Služebnik* include them? Because he often concelebrated the Divine Liturgy with Greek-speaking hierarchs such as Paisios of Jerusalem—Suhanov's *Pilgrimage at Holy Places* answers indirectly.[40]

Concelebrating was not unusual.[41] The travel journal of Paul (Būlus) of Aleppo often refers to liturgical services held in Târgovişte by his father, patriarch Makāriyūs of Antioch, along with Southeast European hierarchs and the metropolitan of Wallachia.[42] The metropolitan who ministers with Makāriyūs in 1653-1654 is Ignatie 'the Serbian' (*Sârbul*), a 'venerable old man' who knew Turkish, Persian, Greek, and Romanian, and who had replaced Ştefan when he had been deposed and sent to the monastery because he had participated in a plot to poison the ruler.[43] In 1657, however, when the patriarch of Antioch returned from a long trip to Târgovişte, Ştefan, who had returned to his position two years earlier, concelebrated with him on the first Sunday of Lent, on Good Thursday, and on November 8, at the wedding of Constantin Şerban.[44] On May 30, 1658, on Pentecost, the two took part in the coronation service of Mihnea III Radu (1658-1659).[45]

Ştefan did not lack the opportunity to intone the *ekphonisis* of the liturgy in Greek, and so a bilingual *Služebnik*—Church Slavonic and Greek—would have been quite useful to him.[46] But why then did he request a manuscript in which the Greek texts are often given in phonetic transcription in beautiful Cyrillic? Was it because Ştefan and other potential users did not know Greek, or at least was not very familiar with the Greek alphabet?[47]

It is quite possible that this was indeed the case. Even if we have a limited and fragmented knowledge of the level of learnedness of the metropolitan—he certainly did not preside over the theological discussions described by Sukhanov![48]—there is ample evidence that the Greek language was little accessible to learned Romanians in Wallachia.[49]

Hieromonk Melchizedek from the Peloponnese unequivocally says in the preface to the 1642 *Teachings for Every Day* (*Învăţături preste toate zilele*) that few Wallachians spoke Greek.[50] The correspondence of Pantaleo Ligaridi confirms it. Trained at the Greek College in Rome and then sent as a missionary to Constantinople, Ligaridi left the ca-

pital of the Ottoman Empire in October 1646 and settled in Târgoviște. The *postelnic* Constantin Cantacuzino had offered him a salary, food, and clothing for himself and one of his nephews in exchange for lessons with two of his sons.[51] *Fo schola greca, e latina, insegnando a i primi del paese*, wrote Pantaleo to the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* on October 3, 1649, trying to convince his interlocutors that he did not deserve to be denied regular payments.[52] *Per spatio di quattro anni m'affaticai insegnando a duodeci giovani Rhetorica, è Logica in lingua greca, e Latina, che realmente sono i primi di questo paese*, he detailed on August 12, 1650, hoping to force a favorable resolution of his ignored demands.[53]

In a fundamental study dedicated to 'the origins of higher education in Wallachia,' Victor Papacostea analyzed with accuracy the sources regarding the establishment and operation of this school, including the passage in the preface of the 1652 *Guide to the Law* (*Îndreptarea legii*), in which the translator, monk Daniil [Andrean], warmly thanks for the help of the perfect, famous, and very wise 'in all the divine scripture' teachers Ignatios Petritsis and Ligaridi.[54] A letter of the latter, dated October 14, 1647, offers additional details. Among requests for money and recommendations, Ligaridi, then a refugee from Târgoviște to Bucharest because of the plague, draws attention to the progress made by his students under the guidance of the prince, as well as the fact that he was their only teacher: *Li scholari seguitano bene, e per esser li loro padri homini della corte, van sempre in compagnia de Prencipe, e li loro figlioli non perdono tempo, anzi crescono, non essendo altro maestro*.[55] Was he lying about

being the only teacher? In November 1648, on a visit to Târgoviște, Petar Bogdan Bakšić, the archbishop of Sofia, also mentions Ligaridi as the one 'running the Greek and Latin school' and preaching in Greek on feast days.[56] It seems therefore that the school in question—intended exclusively for the children of the country's elite and traveling with those families—initially had only Ligaridi as a teacher, with Petritsis possibly joining him at a later date.

In 1650, however, the missionary became a close collaborator of patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem.[57] He served as an interpreter in the discussion with Fra Venanzo Berardi, commissioner-general of the Franciscans, and proudly accepted the appointment as arhipresbyter of the Holy Sepulcher.[58] On September 29, he wrote the letter that Paisios asked Sukhanov to deliver to hetman Khmel'nits'kii.[59] This proves the privileged position of Ligaridi, as another document issued by the patriarch in the same day is written by a 'scribe of the patriarch of Jerusalem'.[60] On November 4, Ligaridi had already announced to the *Propaganda fide* that

Fig. 6. *Služebnik (Kiev 1629) – title page; copy of the Maksimovich Scientific Library (Наукова бібліотека імені М. Максимовича) of the Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University.*

Fig. 7. *Archangel Michael – Služebnik (Kiev 1629), p. 226 (end of the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great).*
Source: http://www.rare.univ.kiev.ua/eng/showbook/showbook.php3.

Одатѣ стыи ПІАММѠНЪ аꙟꙗ та фꙋꙋтꙋтꙋ де драгꙋ,
ѡісꙋтꙋ пꙟ те пꙋтꙋ ъ е те стꙵа ꙟꙟꙗ те нѣ слꙋтꙗ꙼ есꙋ дѣ лои сꙋ .
ши пе ѡ пꙟадꙋ дꙋмꙟꙗ ес꙼ , ши кꙋ бѫꙟдꙋ ес те фѣ и сꙋ литꙋргіе : зп
стꙵъ , ꙋи сꙋ фраціи лꙋ нꙋ жꙵ ѡлтарꙋ . ши ꙟꙗ сколо зꙵ тꙵ сꙋꙟдꙋ ла рꙋгꙋ , ꙗ пꙵ а
втꙋзꙋ ес тꙋꙟдꙋ ꙟꙗ ꙟꙗ те пе Ꙟꙗггелꙋлꙵ дꙋмнꙋлꙋи

Каꙗ реле Ера рꙋꙟдꙋ ꙋитꙋ дꙋ тꙋ зи ѡлтарюлꙵ , ши пе дꙟꙗ пе блꙵ аꙵ дꙵ ꙗ
фꙋ п̈ . а пꙵ усꙵ ꙟдꙋ блꙵ а те мꙟꙗ , ши рꙋ дꙟꙗ псꙵ ꙟдꙋ блꙵ а дела пꙵ тꙵ мꙟꙗ тꙵ
ши пꙗ тꙗ а ша се дꙋ тꙋ тꙋ дꙋ ла дꙟꙗ не блꙵ а Ꙟꙗартꙵꙟꙗꙗ꙼ ,
Кꙋ те сꙋ фꙵ тꙵ сꙋ маꙵ сꙗ пꙋ пꙵ до дꙗ исꙵ фꙵ сꙋ ꙵ маꙵ бꙗ .
Палладіи , г̑ , лв̑

he was planning to accompany Paisios to the Holy Land, since the archbishopric of Bethlehem had been proposed to him. In July 1651, he was on his way to Jerusalem. On September 14, 1652, he was ordained as Orthodox metropolitan of Gaza. Shortly after, he delivered a series of twelve sermons on the twelve Great Christian Feasts.[61] The didactic activity carried out in Târgovişte represented a closed chapter.[62]

If this was the state of Greek and Latin teaching in Wallachia, the presence of Greek fragments written in Cyrillic in Ştefan's *Službenik*, mostly according to the rules of pronunciation specific to the Greek language, should not surprise us. The careful analysis of the transcriptions carried out by Andronikos Falangas allows however for a further explanation of this presence. On the one hand, the Greek historian noted both the inconsistencies and the grammatical errors, proposing that it is not impossible for the scribe to have been influenced by a prototype. On the other hand, he emphasized the constant hesitation of the copyists in the application of Greek spelling and punctuation rules, thus facilitating the correct pronunciation by a user either not at all or slightly familiar with the Greek language.[63]

This hesitation is representative of the *cercle de culture* gravitating around metropolitan Ştefan of Wallachia, a circle characterized not only by a placement at the intersection of two worlds—one marked by the personality and activity of Peter Mohyla and the other gravitating around the 'ecumenical' patriarchate—but also by local specificities in terms of needs and limitations.[64] Ştefan chose the 1629 *Službenik* and not the thoroughly revised one of 1639. In other words, the Greek texts from the trilingual service-books comissioned by Ştefan, such as BAR *ms. rom.* 1790 and BAR *ms. rom.* Cluj 1216, mirror both a necessity, the

celebration of the Divine Liturgy in a multilingual context, and the quest for an 'authentic' tradition.[65]

The Litany (ἐκτένἴα) for the Departed.

The case of the *ektenia* for the departed is conclusive in this regard. Reserved for the days when the liturgy for the dead was celebrated, it appears in Ştefan's *Službenik* in the liturgy of saint John Chrysostom in the immediate continuation of the litany of fervent supplication.[66] Other Church Slavonic codices, including all the Muscovite editions preceeding the liturgical reform of patriarch Nikon and the service-books published in 1629 and 1639 by Peter Mohyla, placed it in the same location.[67] But the Greek manuscripts and printed books of the time followed a different tradition. The 1629 *Službenik* printed in Kiev states clearly that the litany was not in the Greek version that served as a model for the translation.[68] (Fig. 9-11)

Collated with the Greek *Εὐχολόγιον* published in Venice in 1602, the Church Slavonic *Službenik* printed in 1604 in Striatin by the non-Uniate bishop Gedeon Balaban places the litany for the departed in the service for the blessing of the *kollyva*. On the contrary, the 1655 Muscovite *Službenik* places it in the liturgy, although it thus violated the Greek and Ruthenian typikon, which, according to the Tsar and patriarch Nikon, should have been normative. Following closely the text of the service for the dead in the aforementioned Greek Venetian edition and the Church Slavonic one of bishop Balaban, the Muscovite editors proposed a new version, radically different from the previous ones.[69]

Ştefan's *Službenik* faithfully reproduces the *ektenia* from the 1629 Kievan *Službenik*. The rubrics are translated into Romanian without variations, including the indication that all these 'were not found in the Greek version.' Except that the *ekphonisis*—the closing of the prayer that was to be said out loud—is rendered both in Church Slavonic, with gold letters on the left side of the page, and in Greek (in neo-Hellenic pronunciation), written in Cyrillic with black ink on the right side of the page (Fig. 12-13):

Ѻти сѝ ѝ а̓на́стасис, зоѝ кѐ а̓на́павсис των кимимє́нων д̄ѕлων сѕ̀,імр. Х͞є ѻ̓ ѳеос и́мωн. ке си тин до́ѯан а̓напє́мвѡмен, син
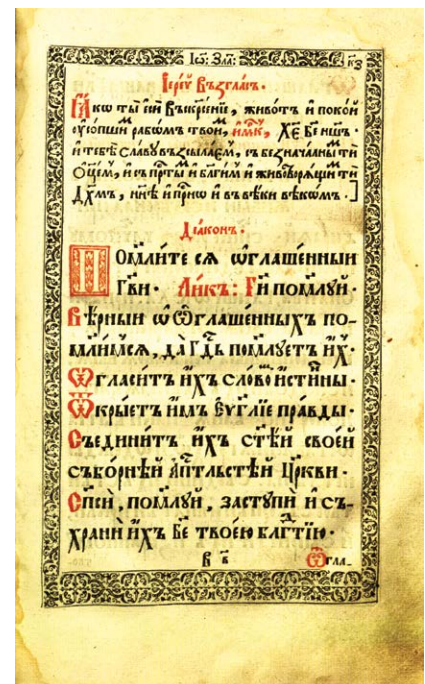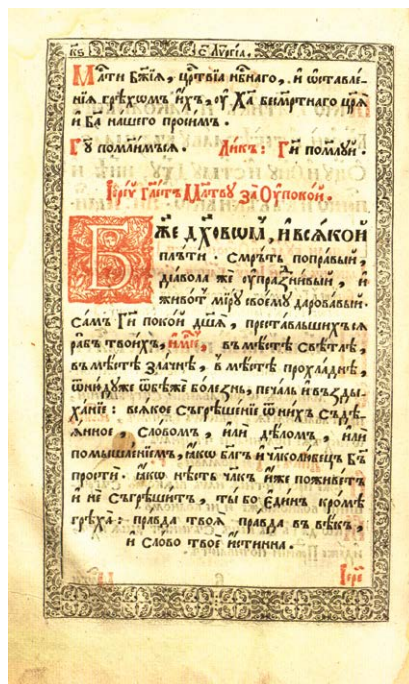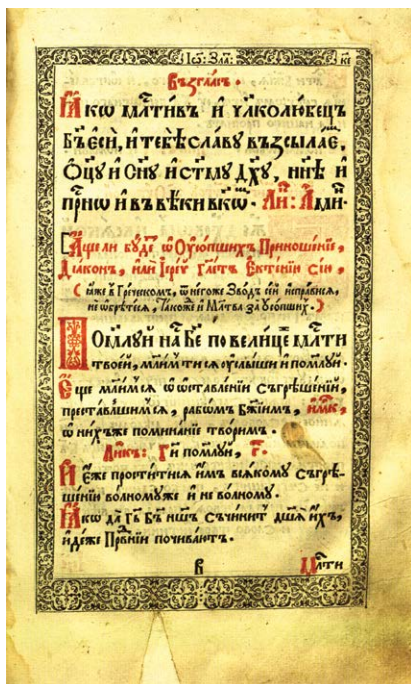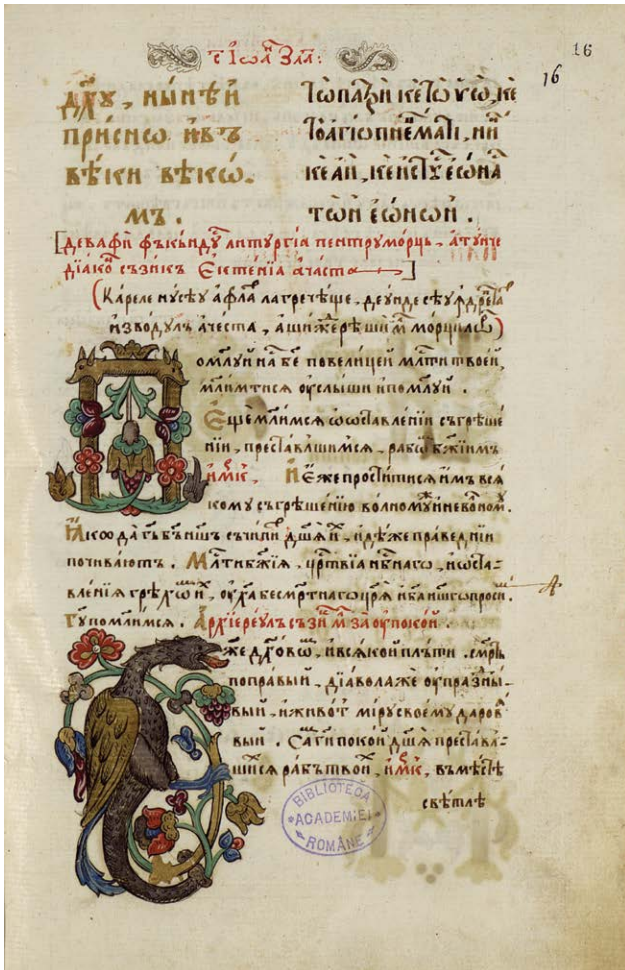
▲ Fig. 12-13. *Litany for the Departed* – BAR ms. rom. 1790, f. 16rv. Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

◤ Fig. 14. *Beginning of the Liturgy of Preparation (proskomidia) – BAR (Cluj) ms. rom. 1216, f. 1r.* Courtesy of BAR Cluj. See also *Arhieraticon trilingv* 2013.

▶ Fig. 15. *Beginning of the Liturgy of Preparation (proskomidia) – BAR ms. rom. 1790, f. 2r.* Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

τω ἀνάρχω σȣ πατρὶ, κὲ σιν παναγίȣ κὲ ἀγαθὼ κὲ ζωπιȣ σȣ πνέϝματι, νήνε κὲ ἀὶ κὲ ἰςπȣς ἐώνας ετώνε ετώνων... [70]

(For You are the resurrection, the life, and the repose of Your servants [Names] who have fallen asleep, O Christ our God, and to You we send up the glory, together with Your Father, Who is from everlasting, and Your all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now and forever unto the ages of ages...)

Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἣ ἀνάστασις ἡ ζωή καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ κεκοιμημένου δούλου σου, τοῦδε, Χριστέ ὁ θεός ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου πατρί, καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αιώνων... [71]

Că Tu ieşti înviiarea şi viiaţa şi odihna răposaţilor robilor tăi (Imerek), Hristoase Dumnedzăul nostru şi Ţie mărire trimitem, cu făr' de începutul Părintele Tău şi cu Prea svântul, bun şi bunului şi de viaţă făcătoriu al Tău Duh, acum şi pururea şi în veacii veacilor... [72]

Ѡ САВЪ БЖТВѢАНС Щ НАꙄ СЛꙊЖБꙊ

Д ꙋпъ ѡбичаюлъ чесефаче алъ марей бесѣричь: ши алъ стаꙁорей.

рѣндъ архїереꙋлъ съѡбъръшаскъ дꙋ
не ꙁеꙗска лнтꙋрꙷїе, рꙷтꙑй псекаде
съфїерꙷпъꙗсатꙷ кꙋтꙋꙁъ. ниче съ
ꙗнѣа елъ пѣчнпѣвачева, ниче съꙗн
алтꙋлъ чева спединсꙋлъ. ашнже
раши инема къдетаре съопъꙁиа
сикъ деꙋъндꙋриле виислѣане. съсп
ꙁнаскъ чева ши съприкꙗге дексꙋкꙗ,
пꙷнꙗ лачасꙋлъ ши времꙗ чевавръ сърчапъ слꙋжба.

Д нꙑꙗ сосꙗще времꙗ. съвꙑепрѣѡщїн кꙋ архнꙺдїаꙗко
нꙋлъ съꙗблꙗвенїе. ши дꙗка просꙗкомидесꙗ, даꙋ
вꙗсте архїереꙋлꙋй. шнаша мерꙷгъ състꙗꙗжꙗцїꙋ.
итꙷнче съмѣргъ архнꙺдїаꙗконꙋ съкъдїаꙗскъ пеархїере
реꙋ, ши съꙁнкъ. Бабн бласꙷстꙑй архїереꙋлъ ꙁн:

Блꙷвѣцъ

▲ Fig. 16. *Liturgy of saint John Chrysostom, Prayer of the Third Antiphon – BAR (Cluj) ms. rom. 1216, f. 10r.*
Courtesy of BAR Cluj. See also *Arhieraticon trilingv* 2013.

▼ Fig. 17. *Liturgy of saint Basil the Great, First Prayer of the Faithful – BAR (Cluj) ms. rom. 1216, f. 44v.*
Courtesy of BAR Cluj. See also *Arhieraticon trilingv* 2013.

▶ Fig. 18. *Liturgy of saint Basil the Great, First Prayer of the Faithful – BAR ms. rom. 1790, f. f. 56v.*
Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

The manuscript *Služebnik* commissioned by Ivan Boiarski and gifted to Mohyla in 1633, on the occasion of the latter's anointment as metropolitan, contains the *ektenia* that interests us here, but without specification that the Greek sources do not include it.[73] The short commentary is also not found in the Divine Liturgy (*Liturghier*) copied by Radu 'the Serbian' (*Sârbu*) in 1653-1654 in Wallachia after a manuscript or printed book of Kievan origin, 'more out of love' for Păuna Brâncoveanu.[74] In contrast, in the *Služebnik* known as *ms. rom.* 1216 in the Cluj branch of the Library of the Romanian Academy, the *ektenia* for the reposed is not mentioned in the liturgy at all. This manuscript, which represents if not the 'workshop' then one of the workshops of BAR *ms. rom.* 1790 or of its prototype, follows another source for the unit (or section) between folia 9r and 24r. Consequently, not necessarily the Slavonic text of the prayers, but especially the Romanian (and sometimes Church Slavonic) text of the rubrics shows significant differences, and the *ektenia* is missing.[75]

The liturgical practice, as recorded by Arsenii Sukhanov, confirms the variant proposed by Ștefan's *Služebnik* now in Bucharest, although with some small differences. Thus, according to the Russian hieromonk, a litany for the living is added at the end of the Gospel, saying out loud the names of all those who are to be commemorated. Then, a litany for the reposed is said 'in the same row' (*подъ тотъ-же рядъ*).

And they do this every day, even if it's a Sunday, or a feast, be it Christmas or Theophany; they invariably and always say the litany for the reposed. Then the patriarch says the usual Ekphonesis only, but there is no Ekphonesis for the reposed.[76]

It is difficult to determine from where exactly the copyists of the Wallachian metropolitan took the Greek fragment under consideration. The manuscript *Liturgies* copied in Wallachia by scribes of the school of bishop Luke of Cyprus and metropolitan Matthew of Myra, such as Anthimos of Ioannina or Porphyrios, do not have the litany for the reposed.[77] The scribes do not seem to have used, as Nikon's trusted people did, the monumental and elegant annotated edition of the Greek Εὐχολόγιον published in Paris in 1647 by the Dominican Jacques Goar. Although Paisios Ligaridis could have suggested it to them—he contributed to its publication and might have had it in his library—small differences point to another source.

Whatever source this is—a manuscript, a printed book[78] —it is certain that Ștefan's liturgical initiative was nothing fortuitous. From the outset, several variants were considered, both in terms of the text of the divine service and of the instructions for the liturgist. Finally, Mohyla's 1629 *Služebnik* served as a benchmark—it followed the Constantinopolitan and the Athonite tradition, having been corrected according to Greek sources.[79] Still, those tasked with compiling the service books appealed again to Greek sources for the ecphonisis. If we add the effort to find and translate the explicit rubrics, or the effort to find appropriate

Бж҃: Лҵргі́а,

всѧ вꙑкⷭ . да́жⷣъ гꙑ нꙍна́шп съгрѣше-
нїⷯ ꙇлюⷣсіⷯн невⷲⷣжеⷭтвⷯꙑ , прїа́тнⷯꙑ
бꙑти жертвⷯꙋ нꙿшеⷯꙑ , ꙇблагоприа́тнⷯꙑ
преⷮтобою . (реⷮсендⷢⷤ а́рхїере́длⷮ , дїаⷦ стꙗндⷣ ꙗⷭе᷃ а́нтⷮеⷭ :
ꙍ съвꙑшнⷮемⷮ мирⷮ : ꙍ мирⷮ всегꙍ мі́ра : ꙍ ст҃ⷯм храⷨⷮ сеⷨ)
де вафⷣⷶ преⷭтⷯꙋ лп̈тꙋргїе ен҃сⷯ , е᷃ ст҃дⷯисⷯ нꙋ́майꙿ а́нтⷯеⷭ : заⷭтꙋ́пи
еп҃п . поⷨл́ꙋй : преⷨꙋⷣ,ростⷮ . Стⷮглаше́нїе .

Кꙍ подо-
ба́еⷮ нвⷮ
сꙗ́мела
сла́ва,
честь и̇поⷦлоне́нїе
Ѻц҃ꙋ исн҃ꙋ истꙋ
дх҃ꙋ , ннⷮꙗ̇триꙿнꙍ
и̇вⷮвⷮки вⷮкꙍⷰ.

Тꙑ прⷮепⷤ
ен҃ пⷣа́са
ꙇꙍⷤза ,
тꙑ мꙗ ꙇⷭе
просѥⷫннеⷯй , тꙍпаⷰ,
ꙇⷭетоꙋⷰꙍ , ꙇⷭеꙍⷮагⷣꙍ
пн҃емаⷮ , нн̈ꙇⷭеа́н , ꙇⷭе
ꙇⷭеⷫꙗⷰ ꙋⷰеꙍпаⷮꙍеꙍⷩꙍ.

дїа́сонⷮ : Ѿпаⷯннⷯꙗ пⷯа́іⷭꙗ мирⷮꙍ гꙋⷮ поⷨꙗ́нмⷪⷭꙗ , ꙍ ст҃ⷯн ꙍꙗⷮтелⷯісⷪⷩ .
ꙍ блⷮгораⷭтворе́нїⷯ възⷣꙋⷯꙍвⷮ . ꙍ ꙇ̇ꙗⷤеꙿизⷯбавⷯитисѧ наⷨꙍⷤꙗⷯк.
за꙼ стꙋ́пи , спⷮасⷮ , поⷨⷨ́лꙋй ꙇ̇сꙋⷯхранꙿнⷮꙗⷨ : Преⷨꙋⷣростⷮ .
шⷩꙇⷭендⷮꙗ наⷩреⷫрⷭоⷮлⷮ дїа́сонⷮ , атꙋⷩꙗⷮеⷭ ен҃ер хрⷮꙗⷮ преⷭтꙋⷮ етⷮꙗнⷯіⷭꙗ
Паⷯсн нпⷯа́іⷭн мироⷨⷮ Господꙋ помоли́мⷮсꙗ.
Млⷮтва Стⷬрнꙑⷯⷮ Стꙍ́рнꙗ .

Бꙿ поⷭтꙗⷮⷤⷯꙑ

▲ Fig. 19. *The Sacrament of Holy Myrrh. Engraving by Iliia A. (monk Illia 'Anakznoz', 'the unworthy') – Trebnik (Kiev 1646), p. 62. Copy of the National Historical Library of Ukraine, Kiev (Національна історична бібліотека України).* Source: Bartollini 2020.

▼ Fig. 20. *The Sacrament of Holy Myrrh. Engraving – Mystirio (Târgoviște 1651), p. 80. Copy of the National Library of Romania (Biblioteca Națională a României), Bucharest.* Source: http://virtual.bibnat.ro/manuscriptorium/.

▶ Fig. 21. *Liturgy of saint Basil the Great, commemoration of the archbishop and of the bishops – BAR ms. rom. 1790, f. 74v.* Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

images nonidentical with those in Cluj BAR *ms. rom.* 1216, the dimensions of the enterprise appear on their true scale.[80] (Fig. 14-17)

The concern for finding the most suitable model to follow is also evident in the case of the book about 'the burial of priests' (*Pogribania preoților miréni și a diaconilor*), printed by hierodeacon Mihail, in November 1650, through the will and blessing of metropolitan Ștefan.[81]
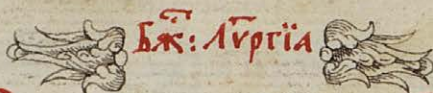
The same is true of the *Guide to the Law* (*Îndreptarea legii*), a nomocanon translated from Greek to Romanian in 1652. In the preface, signed by Ștefan but perhaps assembled by the translator—the 'most-sinful Daniil Andreian, the monk from the country of Pannonia'—writes clearly that several juridical collections have been consulted, that those printed (in the West) had been ignored for fear of heretical manipulations, that the patriarch of Constantinople was contacted, and that a suitable manuscript was finally obtained from the former second-logothete, Georgios Karidis of Trikala.[82] One of the sources studied on this occasion might have been, for example, BAR *ms. sl.* 461, a manuscript sent to metropolitan Ștefan by the hegumen Vasile of Bistrița Monastery, in November 1651.[83] Another source could have been the 'ancient Greek and Slavonic nomocanon' (*древняго грецкого и словенского Монокано́на*) mentioned by Makāriyūs of Antioch in a letter sent to the Tsar from Târgoviște, in April 1657.[84]

The Council of Târgoviște.

Two other editions expressly presented as a result of the 'zeal', 'expense,' and 'effort' of 'archmetropolitan' Ștefan—the 1651 *Mystirio or, Sacrament, or, Two Sacraments out of Seven, Baptism and Holy Myrrh* (*Mystirio sau, Sacrament, sau, Taine 2 de în céle 7, Botezul și Sfântul Myr*), respectively

the 1652 *Consecration of a Church* (*Târnosanie*)—probably followed Kievan models as well.[85] (Fig. 18-19) From the prefaces signed by Ștefan but recently attributed (rather unconvincingly) to Daniil Andreian, we find out what motivated the printing efforts. In *Mystirio*, 'the guardian of the faith in the Transalpine country' shows that man, created in the image of God and gifted with the ability to master the word, cannot be 'like livestock without speech,' but has to strive toward approaching God. In this process, the mark of Holy Baptism and the seal of the Holy Myrrh play leading roles. But as those called to administer the sacraments do not demonstrate the necessary skills, it was imperative not only to compile and print all the appropriate services, but also to translate the rubrics into Romanian, so that any priest would understand them.[86] The traitors and enemies would undoubdedly be judged by God, warned the author at the end, while also asking clergymen readers to pray for health and peace, so that the remaining sacraments may also be 'brought to light'. We do not know who were the 'venomous snakes' denounced by the text. For reasons not entirely elucidated, the project did not materialize. Yet the service for the consecration of a church printed the following year also had the rubrics in Romanian.[87]

Through his initiatives—including, of course, the trilingual liturgical manuscripts ordered—Ștefan was aiming to 'straighten' his flock. In doing so, he continued the program of 'cultural, religious, and ethical' recovery considered by Virgil Cândea as a defining feature of Matei Basarab's reign.[88] The Holy Church of the East, 'Our Mother,' served as a benchmark; certainly, the metropolitan did not share Skuhanov's point of view expressed in the *Disputes*. As in the case of the Muscovite patriarch Nikon, the appeal to Greek sources was encouraged and perhaps even suggested by Paisios of Jerusalem and his close associates. The *Guide to the Law* speaks unequivocally of his 'blessing,' as well as of the 'exhortation' of Paisios Ligaridis and Ignatios Petritsis.[89] However, the measures of 're-

Бж҃: Лꙋргїа

нашего им҃к, его   ἤμω ημκ, ὁ χάριϲε
дарꙋи ст҃ы твои   τε ἁγίεϲυ εκλησίεϲ,
цр҃ква, въ мирѣ,   ἐν ἰρήνη, σόον ἐντι
цѣла, чтна, здра   μο, ὑγιῆ, μακροη
ва, длгодествую   μερεϲοντα, κε ὀρδο
ща, иправоправ   τομꙋντα τολόγο
ща слово твое   τη σπ αληϑ ημαϲ :~
истинны :~

Дꙗпчꙗвꙟ помени пе архїереꙋ, ши дꙗ іса
во сфꙑршитꙋ, пе ꙋрматуршꙟ, зꙟ шидꙗнꙋ помени пра Патрїашилꙋ.
Гад, ева фꙟ де греа зꙟ нꙋма ачаста : ст҃ꙑ́ꙗ кꙿтꙋ҃ꙋ де вери :   Пре
ꙁщеннаго Митрополита : и соприносꙗще ст҃ꙑꙗ дары сіꙗ, бл҃го
говѣин҃ꙟ҃шемꙋ иереꙗ, им҃к, и ꙁсп҃сенꙟꙟ великаго Гꙁꙿдꙗ н҃шꙑ, им҃к,
и бл҃гочꙿтивꙑ Гꙁꙿдрех, кнꙁех, и пꙿнех н҃шꙑ, и о всꙗ и за всꙗ :~
архїереꙋлꙿ съ роꙗче ꙗ тапнꙗ .

ѻмꙗни гꙗ всꙗкое еп҃ко
ство православны, пра
во правꙗщи слово твоеꙗ
истинны . Помꙗни
гꙗ помꙿно жꙿество ше.
дрꙿотъ твои, и мое
нед остои

Fig. 22. *Archangel Michael* – BAR *ms. rom. 1384, f. 77r.* Courtesy of BAR Bucharest.

Fig. 23a. *Charter issued by prince Constantin Şerban in Bucharest, on 15 January 1655 (penned by Gherghe 'grămătic'). National Archives of Romania (Bucharest) –* DANIC *Mănăstirea Viereş,* XXI/1; *Oana Rizescu, Florina-Manuela Constantin, Andreea-Roxana Iancu (ed.),* DRH B – XL (1655), *Bucharest, 2013, p. 36-39 (no 36).* Courtesy of DANIC.

Fig. 23b. *Illuminated initial (*A*) representing a combat with a dragon. The preamble speaks of Constantine the Great who 'stripped himself' of the 'old man', enslaved by the transgression of all divine command, and then 'dressed' as a God-fearing 'new man', cleansed of original sin by baptism].*

covery through tradition' taken in the spiritual realm were certainly imposed by anawareness of the 'hunger and thirst of the soul' evident in contemporary Wallachia.[90]

The documents that illustrate this hunger and thirst are numerous and do not concern only the Orthodox communities. In October 1658, for example, the Franciscan Gabriele Thomasij, patriarchal vicar for Wallachia, brought to the attention of the Congregation *de Propaganda fide* the

unusual case of a resident of Câmpulung—a 'polygamist.'[91]

Si ritrova in Valachia in Campolongo un homo per nome Michaele di Paulo ò vero Paul, padre di Michaele, il quale si ritrova nel Collegio di Propaganda, che havendo havuto moglie con la qualle hà havuto questo figliolo Michaele et una figliola, doppo tanto tempo il deto Michaele, non sò per qual causa, hà lasciato questa donna et hà pigliato altra, con la qualle hà tanti figli è figliole. È quella sua donna prima, madre di Michele, hà pigliato altro marito, è lo lasciato, poi piglio secundo, che morse. Adesso hà terzo è con quel il primo sono quatro, tutti di diversi nationi è ssette. Il deto Michaele vol esser confessato et communicato per fas et nefas, dicendo, che altri preti, tanto Luterani, quanto nostri, sempre l'hanno confessato è communicato, et ancora, che il prete Luterano, che è stato suo Cognato, l'sposato con detta donna...

This man was old, Thomasij continued, but stubborn: 'I have repeatedly forbidden them to confess him and told them to let him do whatever he wants, but I have not been listened to', he concluded, asking nevertheless how it could be done so that the soul of the sinner may be saved.

A *status animarum* from 1649-1650 of the Saxon parish in the towntells us that Miai son of Paul was married to a certain Maria and that he had five children: Miai (age 18), Benedetto (12 years), Anna (8 years), Paolo (5 years), and Giacomo (2 years).[92] A 1652 report written by the apostolic missionary Franco Maria Spera da Narni also mentions Miai among the 259 Catholics ofthe settlement. We find out on this occasion that his first wife was called Catarina and had become 'schismatic' (that is, converted to Orthodoxy), as well as the fact that his second wife was 'Maria al Pieruschi,' with whom he had many children.[93] Father Thomasij's letter brings forth interesting information. We are told, for example, that the eldest son of the 'polygamist' studied in Rome, in the College of *de Propaganda fide*, and that his mother Catarina, sister to the former Evangelical pastor, had reached her fourth marriage. In addition, the missive has the merit of highlighting the limits of the return to Catholicism of the Saxon (Evangelical) community of Câmpulung, and of better documenting the efforts of some Catholic missionaries to eliminate abuses and correct errors.[94]

On the other hand, a letter sent by Prince Mihnea III Radu to patriarch Parthenios IV of Constantinople on January 21, 1659 reveals the problems of the Orthodox communities and attempts to solve them. Because the rule cannot be strengthened otherwise 'except through good governance and the right state of the churches,' Mihnea had exercised his prerogatives and examined the situation of ecclesiastical affairs. Noting many shortcomings, he brought them toward a resolution 'before the hierarchs of the country and others who were [with them], the hegumens and the first- and second-rank boyars.' He then sent the patriarch the decisions taken by the synod held in Târgovişte, in order to strengthen them.[95] The first decisions concerned Baptism: the one performed *in extremis* by laymen in times of need was valid; the infants canonically baptized by a layman should not be re-baptized unless their baptism was uncertain because the Anabaptists' lack of discernment was unacceptable. The baptism of the 'Lutheran-Calvinists' could be considered valid, as it was similar to the baptism carried out by the laity 'in times of trouble'. Other decisions related to marriage: the fourth union should be forbidden 'and whoever allows it, to be deposed'; 'whoever shall offer communion to the person who had been married three times before the appointed time'—five years—should be prohibited to celebrate the Liturgy, and
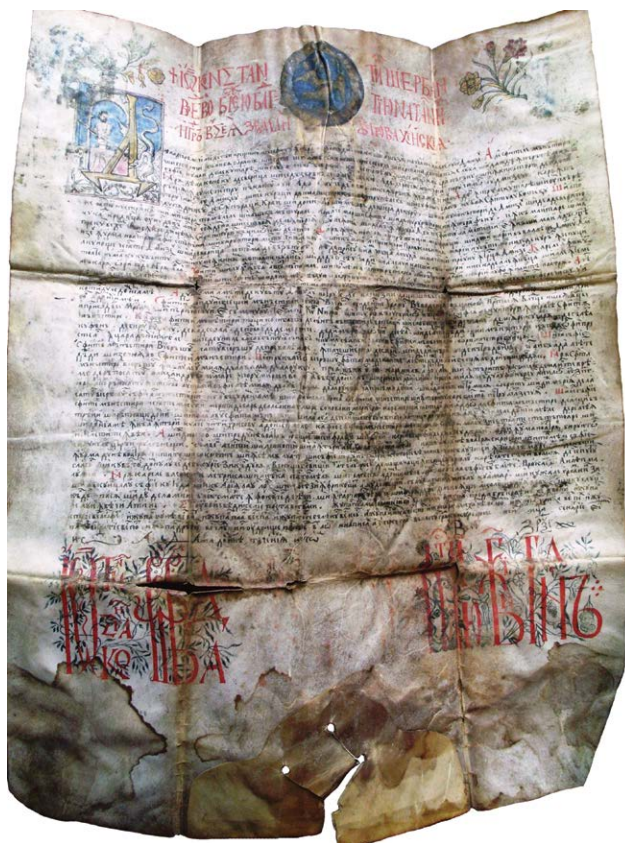
the one who 'dares to offer communion to a person married for the fourth time' should be permanently deposed; 'he who shall marry a man and his concubine' while the legal wife was still alive, should be severely punished if he had offered them communion; divorce was allowed, according to the law, but not remarriages.[96]

The majority of the stipulations, however, concerned the irregularities registered among priests and monks. The hegumen who had sons and daughters could keep his position, the council decided, in order not to squander the monastery's assets; those who sold positions within the Church should not be forgiven; the confessors had to have 'an exemplary behaviour and experience', and those who confessed their sins would not receive communion without written testimony from them; the tax for marriage and ordination would be fixed and not charged to the poor; those who wanted to become monks would be tried beforehand for a period of three months, and then they would not abandon their community until they died; the monks would not be banished without the knowledge of the local bishop; in order to avoid any suspicion, laymen and gypsies would not live in the monastery; education, the confessor's endorsement, and the testimony of seven priests were mandatory for the consecration of priests; the monastic possessions were to be checked every year by 'princely researchers', necessarily 'pious and fearful of God'; the ktetors would not have power over their foundations, but if they were poor they would receive alms 'above all;' the rich monasteries help the needy ones, and the wealthy bishops, the poor ones; the monks, especially the elderly and the powerless, would eat meat and drink wine at the feasts, of course within reason.

An uneducated nation could not profit from wealth, concluded Mihnea, stressing the importance of learning and ecclesiastical discipline for the wellbeing of the society.
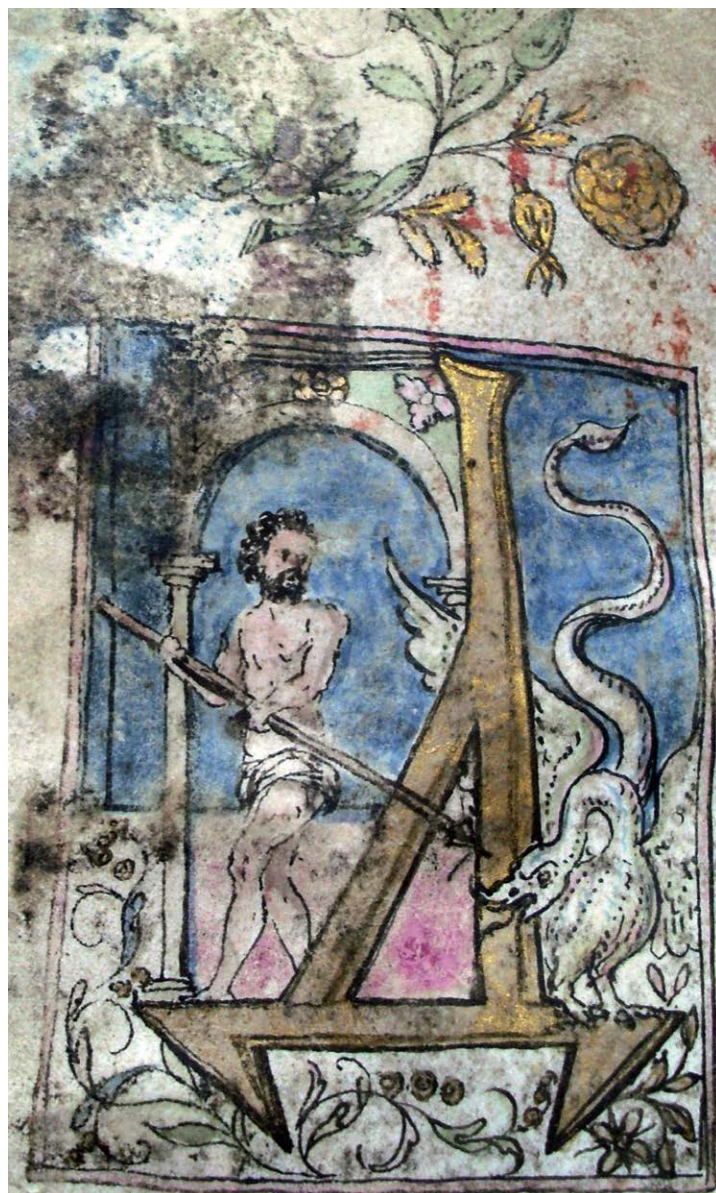
His words were interpreted as a speech of a reforming emperor in his Church, true, for 'his uneducated people' (...), but with the intention of thus influencing the universal Church.[97] The recipient, however, received the message extremely unfavorably. For example, Dositheos of Jerusalem noted in his *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem* that Mihnea, pushed by Paisios Ligaridis, asked Parthenios IV to allow the monks to eat meat, but the request was rejected as impudent.[98]

The reason behind the anger is explained in the response of the ecumenical patriarchate written by the great Greek theologian Meletios Syrigos and dated February 28, 1659. Ignoring the holy laws, the prince of Wallachia dared 'to change the order of things' and to go beyond his jurisdiction. First of all, 'worldly authority and power' would not command the Church; *on the contrary*, it would enforce the good decisions taken by the Church. Secondly, the decisions taken did not 'follow the old tradition'; consequently, even if the innovative 'Church of the Latins' was willing to accept compromises, 'the Eastern Church has never accepted them and will not strengthen them'.[99]

Mihnea was reminded of the tragic but well-deserved

ІС ХС

Азъ
есмь
пастыр
добрый

Пастыр
добрій
свои

Пречтому ти Образу покланяемся блгій,
просяще прощеніе прегрѣшеніемъ нашимъ Хе Бже.

fate of Uzziah, king of Judah, struck with leprosy because he dared to usurp the priestly prerogatives. Syrigos quotes the warning issued by Azariah and the priests who were with him: 'It is not for you, Uzziah, to burn incense to the Lord, but for the priests, the sons of Aaron, who are consecrated to burn incense. Get out of the sanctuary, for you have trespassed! You shall have no honor from the Lord God' (2 *Chronicles* 26:18).[100] The prince's initiatives were thus considered a transgression of the holy laws, a blasphemy and a sacrilege.[101]

I have pointed out on another occasion that the categorical refusal of the patriarchate of Constantinople to accept the validity of the baptism of 'Lutherans' and 'Calvinists' had to do with the definition of the 'true faith'.[102] If the baptism of Protestants was recognized, then this group fell into the category of schismatics; if not, these people were placed among heretics, their salvation being rejected.[103]

What is interesting here, however, is neither the canonicity of the ecclesiastical initiatives of a 'madman' such as Mihnea III Radu, nor the dispute about the hierarchy of norms, which was undoubtedly important, but the fact that the synod of Târgoviște addressed a series of real and pressing problems. Among them, the lax morals of clergy and monks, and 'the ignorance of the rich priests of the country' stand out. The Service-Books with ample rubrics in Romanian that 'the archbishop and metropolitan' Ștefan commissioned also fit in the renewal program initiated by the Metropolitan See of Târgoviște—'the mother of all the churches' of Wallachia[104]—a program that intended to educate 'the people of our country.'

Conclusions: 'And we have chosen...'.

In a study dedicated to 'the place of liturgy in the Greek literary tradition', Sophie Antoniadis stated that the Greek liturgical corpus mattered for Hellenism because of its content, language, and social impact. The liturgy decisively influenced Greek literature, whether we are talking about its historical, theological, hagiographic, or folkloric components.[105] From this perspective, given the status of the Romanian lands, the *Služebnik* labeled (incorrectly) as BAR *ms. rom.* 1790 represents a source of maximum interest for liturgists, art historians, philologists, and historians of literature, ideas, and culture.

As we have seen, for Andronikos Falangas, the Wallachian manuscript is the sign of the Greek regrouping in Wallachia and Moldavia and of the assertion of an Ottoman-oppressed Hellenism. For Violeta Barbu, it belongs to the current of nationalization of the divine service begun with deacon Coresi and finalized under metropolitan Antim.[106] The two interpretations are not incompatible. On the one hand, Ștefan's *Služebnik* has the rubrics and even the Creed in Romanian, being written in a period when this language was increasingly used in documents.[107] On the other hand, the *ekphonisis* are in Greek, proof of the prestige of this language. However, Ștefan and the scholars around him were not interested in promoting the language of the people for the sake of the vernacular qualities. Their goal was the renewal of the Church. A 'national practice' would have been difficult to define at that time; Slavonism had not yet spoken its last word—a fact underlined by Daniel Barbu[108]—and the Greek 'rebirth' of the eighteenth century was far from being a certainty. As a result, the trilingual Wallachian Service-Books of the mid-seventeenth century be-

come much more interesting if they are read against the backdrop of the efforts to define the Tradition by using available models.

For Peter Mohyla, the return to tradition included the correction of liturgical texts in accordance with ancient Church Slavonic manuscripts and Greek books printed in Venice. It did not exclude the sublimation of Roman Catholic influences.[109] In the preface to his 1629 *Služebnik*, a book dedicated to Christ and the Virgin and approved by a council led by metropolitan Job Boretsky, Mohyla stated that all Slavonic books, for one hundred years, had been copied by ink-smudging illiterate people who did not know the language and did not understand the meaning of the words. In the preface to the *Služebnik* of 1639, the metropolitan asserted that the text had been translated from the Greek, confronted to the text of the correct Greek editions and of the ancient service-books—Russian and Muscovite.[110] Although they claim to have used both Church Slavonic and Greek texts, the correctors of patriarch Nikon used recent Greek Venetian editions; their supporters were urging the unification of liturgical practices according to the Greek model. Faced with the 'foreign wisdom' of the Greek and Ruthenian culture and understanding the limits of his own culture, Ștefan of Ungrovlachia appealed to the Kievan and Greek models, not fortuitously but as the result of a careful selection.[111]

In the case of the trilingual manuscripts of the Wallachian archbishop, the choices made were not continued by his successors. In 1680, metropolitan Teodosie printed in Bucharest—the new capital and the new headquarters of the metropolitanate—a *Divine Service* (*Liturghier*) with liturgical texts in Slavonic and with rubrics in Romanian, but its source was no longer the *Služebnik* of Mohyla.[112] In the dedication to Prince Șerban Cantacuzino, probably arguing with the Moldavian metropolitan Dosoftei who had just printed the *Divine Liturgy* (*Dumnezăiasca liturghie*) in Romanian language in Iași, Teodosie explained why he did not want to translate the liturgical text 'in our language' and instead translated only the rubrics, 'also from Greek".[113] The editor and the typographer—hieromonks Inochentie and Chiriac—first showed what a liturgy was, then stressed that the rubrics and other services had been 'cleansed' in Romanian for the benefit of priests and deacons who would overcome their laziness, but 'only as it is in the Greek source', without resorting to the "sources" that did not "follow" it.[114] According to Ch. Auner, the printers from Bucharest used the Venetian Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, Church Slavonic liturgies, and the version of *Divine Liturgies* edited by Dimitrios Doukas in Henry Savile's edition (1612).[115]

The result was reedited with slight modifications in Buzău in 1702 and in Iași in 1715.[116] The *Order of the Liturgy for Deacons* (*Rânduiala diaconstvelor*), printed in Alba Iulia in 1687, was translated after the 1680 edition. The *Divine Liturgies* of Antim Ivireanul, published in Râmnic in 1706 and 1713, used this translation.[117] Consequently, manuscripts such as BAR *ms. rom.* 1790 and BAR Cluj *ms. rom.* 1216 fell into oblivion.

At the end of the eighteenth-century, in 1799, a bilingual Greek-Romanian *Divine Liturgy* (*Liturghier*) used them as a model, but only for illustrations.[118] (Fig. 20-21) Obviously, this later manuscript was the product of a different cultural circle. Ștefan's times were long gone. Yet his surviving trilingual Service-Books provide us with a better understanding of the profound theological and liturgical reforms of mid-seventeenth-century Eastern and South-eastern Europe.

◀ Fig. 24. *Christ the Great High Priest* – BAR *ms. rom. 1790, f. 1v.* Courtesy of BAR Bucharest. See also Dumitrescu 2017.

Notes:

1 This work was supported by *Vestigia Manuscript Research Centre / Zentrum für die Erforschung des Buch- und Schrifterbes* (Graz), project 'Kommentar und Edition der trilinguen Handschrift (Bukarest, Bibliothek der Akademie der Wissenschaften, ms. rom. 1790)', coordinated by Erich Renhart. For details, see *Manuscris trilingv* 2010; *Arhieraticon trilingv* 2013. I would like to thank Gabriela Dumitrescu (BAR Bucharest) and Bogdan Crăciun for their assistance with the images. I also thank the reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions.

2 For this type of liturgical book, see Korolevskij 1944; Mihail, Mihail 1974; Sodi, Triacca 1997.

3 According to N. Iorga, the work on the manuscript 'began' while the 1646 Church Slavonic *Divine Liturgy* was in print at Dealu (Iorga 1928², p. 341). Nicolae Cartojan dated it in 1653, without any explanation (Cartojan 1942, p. 97). G. Popescu-Vâlcea spoke of 'the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth-century' (Popescu-Vâlcea 1974, p. 8). Violeta Barbu argued that the *Služebnik* was 'prescribed' at the beginning of Ştefan's second term in office, that is, between 1655 and 1658, because it 'mirrors' the coronation of Mihnea III Radu (May 1658) and the consecration of the metropolitan church in Bucharest (June 1658) [Barbu 1991a, p. 29; Barbu 1998, p. 454]. Radu G. Păun rejected the hypothesis, because Mihnea's coronation followed a different 'order', but did not propose an alternative dating for the manuscript (Păun 1998a, p. 179). The analysis of the paper (of Venetian type) and watermarks (*tre lune*) is not conclusive [Barbu 1991a, p. 29; Barbu 1998, p. 454].

4 Ştrempel 1983, p. 61; Velculescu 2010a, p. 9-32; Velculescu, Mihail, Stănculescu, Olar (2011). The manuscript is available in facsimile edition: *Slujebnicul arhieresc* 2017.

5 Stassof 1887, p. 14, pl. XXXIX, fig. 3-12; Popescu-Vâlcea 1943a-b; Popescu-Vâlcea 1981, p. 48-54, 136-147; Buluţă, Craia 1984, p. 61-63; Popescu-Vâlcea 1998, p. 52-58; Negrău 2010; Nicolae 2010; Stănculescu 2010; Velculescu, Stănculescu 2012a-c.

6 Barbu, Lazăr 1998; Păun 1998a-b.

7 For the 'transitional phase', see Pavel 2011 [= Pavel 2012]. For the 'nationalization of the divine service'; Barbu 1991a; Barbu 1991b; Barbu 1998, p. 459 sq; see also Mareş 2010, p. 176-177.

8 Barbu 1998, p. 445, 452-456.

9 Falangas 1990, p. 234. The author also speaks of 'cultural conflicts and rivalries' (p. 213).

10 For the monastery, see Năsturel 1986, p. 200-2. For Sukhanov, see Belokurov 1891-1894; Yermolenko 2016.

11 For Iona, see Dolgov 1895; Sukina 2016.

12 For Paisios, see Meimaris 1984. For his visit to Moscow, see Kapterev 1891. For his political projects: Andreescu 1986/1989; Lascaridis1987; Plokhy 2001.

13 This is Timofei (Timoshka) Akundinov. Sent by Vasile Lupu to Constantinople, in 1646, he had promised Astrakhan to the Ottomans, in exchange for military help; the plan had failed. See Perrie 1995, p. 233.

14 For Sukhanov's travels across Moldavia and Wallachia, see Bezviconi 1947, p. 51-63; *Călători străini* V, p. 403-412.

15 For the *Кириллова книга*, see Zernova 1958, p. 59 (n° 169); Pozdeeva, Pushkov, Dadykin 2001, p. 422, notes 40-41. See also Niess 1977. The trial of Damaskin and its consequences have been thoroughly studied by Puzović 2015.

16 Floria 1991.

17 Belokurov 1894, p. 25-101. See also Pascal 1938, p. 204-208; Andreescu 1986/1989, p. 250-253; Bogdanov 1989, p. 175-205; Larin 2010, p. 47-51.

18 The Greek theologian Meletios Syrigos was not present; P.P. Panaitescu stands therefore corrected (Panaitescu 1926, p. 38 [= Panaitescu 1996, p. 35]).

19 Much has been written on Michael Trivolis / Maksim 'the Greek' († 1556). See Podskalsky 1988, p. 89-97; Ševčenko 1997, 2011; Zajc 2014, 2015, 2016.

20 According to Panaitescu, this is Meletii Smotrits'kii's 1619 *Slavonic Grammar*. See Panaitescu 1926, p. 40 [= Panaitescu 1996, p. 36]). See also Cartojan 1942, p. 98; Strungariu 1960, p. 293; Mazilu 1981, p. 82.

21 Andrew the Apostle emerges quite early as a baptizer of Rus'. The Great Menologium compiled under the supervision of metropolitan Makarii of Moscow († 1563) reworks and extends the legend in order to underline Muscovy's religious credentials: Miller 1979, p. 274-275, 326.

22 Ligaridis, Ioasaph of Corinth, and Arsenios of Amasia act as witnesses to a sale in Târgovişte, in 1649 (7158). See DRH B – XXXIV (1649), p. 171-172 (no 196). For Ioasaph / Josaphat, see Tchentsova 2002.

23 Native of Corfu, the 'wise and pious' Vlasios was διδάσκαλος τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας in 1638; in 1647, he became metropolitan. See Legrand 1895, p. 287-288; Knös 1962, p. 435; von Scheliha 2004, p. 347-349; Tchentsova 2010, *passim*.

24 Hieromonk Damaskin was known and respected in Wallachia. In 1649, princess Elena Basarab dedicated a *Pentecostarion* printed in Târgovişte to him. See Cândea 1968, p. 283 [= Cândea 1979, p. 71].

25 For the activity and correctors of the Moscow Printing House, see Heller 1988; Pozdeeva 1992.

26 Oparina 2010. See also Dragas 1999.

27 The theory of Moscow as Third Rome has generated extensive literature. See Rowland 1996; Ostrowski 1998, p. 219-243; Ostrowski 2006. For Moscow as center of the world, see Bogdanov 2006.

28 Labunka 1998; Ostrowski 1998, p. 230-237. The 1666-1667 Synod of Moscow condemned the *Tale* as 'apocryphal and fake' (*ibid.*, p. 242-243).

29 *Călători străini* V, p. 400-401, 406-407.

30 Bogdanov 1989, p. 192-195, 198.

31 Bogdanov 1989, p. 201.

32 Tchentsova 2010, p. 73-86, 206-215.

33 Larin 2010, p. 51-52.

34 *Călători străini* V, p. 409-411. For the links between Lupu, Paisios, and Parthenios II, see Iorga 1913, p. 226-231, 233-234 [= Iorga 1914, p. 113-117, 120, 123]; Pall 1945, p. 84-89; Stoide 1958, p. 564-569. See also Elian 1959/2003; Dură 1976, p. 124; Plokhy 2002, *passim*; Tchentsova 2002. Lupu, Matei Basarab, and Paisios might have been involved in the murder of Parthenios, in May 1651.

35 Panaitescu 1926, p. 38-40 [= Panaitescu 1996, p. 34-36]; Cândea 1968/1979; Mazilu 1974. See also Constantinescu 1971; Mihail, Chiţulescu 2011.

36 Larin 2010, p. 116.

37 Galadza 2012, p. 85.

38 For more about the Ruthenian models of the Wallachian editions, see Panaitescu 1926, p. 26-34 [= Panaitescu 1996, p. 25-32]; Simonescu, Bogdan 1938; Ştrempel 1955; Barbu 1998, p. 447-452; Gherman 2011, p. 5 *sq.* For Ştefan's *Služebnik*, see Mihail 2010.

39 Velculescu, Olar 2010; Mihail 2010a.

40 Falangas 1990, p. 232.

41 Olar 2014, p. 283-285.

42 Feodorov 2015, p. 243, 247, 251, 261, 264, 271, 273, 278.

43 Şerbănescu 1958, p. 776-778; Sacerdoţeanu 1960, 1964; Andreescu 2009/2016 [= Andreescu 2010].

44 Feodorov 2015, p. 334-335, 395.

45 Feodorov 2015, p. 413-415. For the coronation, see Păun 2006.

46 Hurmuzaki xiv/1, p. 202-203 (nᵒ cclxxiv); Branişte 1958, p. 52; Mihail 2010, p. 81.

47 Elian 1956, p. 379 [= Elian 2003, p. 247]. Andronikos Falangas believes that the metropolitan could have in mind future users who did not speak Greek (Fangas 1990, p. 232-233).

48 Tsourkas 1967², p. 142. Details on the metropolitan are provided by Şerbănescu 1959, p. 775-776, 778-779, and Creţeanu 1977.

49 N. Iorga wrote about the 'lack of evidence with respect to Ştefan's learning' (Iorga 1904, p. cxxi). Virgil Cândea thought, on the contrary, that he had received a 'good scholarly education' and knew Greek and Church Slavonic (Cândea 1968, p. 245, note 102 [= Cândea 1979, p. 63, note 102]). The truth is probably in between. N.A. Ursu has argued that the foreword to *Mystirio* (1651), although signed by Ştefan, who claims to have translated the rubrics and exorcisms from Greek to Romanian (*dă pre molitvenicul Grecesc şi Slovenesc amândoă înfăţişate* – brv i, p. 182), was in fact written by the real translator, Daniil Andrean 'the Pannonian' (Ursu 2003, p. 84-86); the hypothesis is not supported by evidence. Yet Ştefan's cultural projects seem to imply a good education. For the context, see Camariano-Cioran 1974.

50 van Eeden 1985, p. 509. For the editor, see Popescu 1984.

51 Pall 1945, p. 134 (nᵒ xxii), 136 (nᵒ xxiii), 136-137, note 5; Papacostea 1963, p. 20.

52 Călinescu 1930, p. 379 (nᵒ xxvi); Papacostea 1963, p. 24.

53 Călinescu 1930, p. 396 (nᵒ xliii).

54 Papacostea 1963, p. 7-39. Cf. Barbu 1998, p. 697-699.

55 Olar 2014, p. 286-287.

56 Călinescu 1930, p. 368 (nᵒ xxii); *Călători străini* v, p. 260.

57 Papacostea 1963, p. 35-36.

58 Călinescu 1930, p. 395 (nᵒ xlii), 396 (nᵒˢ xliii).

59 Fonkič 2000/2001. See also Tchentsova 2002.

60 drh b – xxxv (1650), p. 313-317 (no 294). For the anonymous scribe, see Tchentsova 2006, p. 45-51, 56; Tchentsova 2008, p. 210-211, 222-223.

61 Călinescu 1930, p. 395 (nᵒ xlix); Belokurov 1891, p. 275; Zerlentis 1901, p. 49-50. For the sermons, see Dyovuniotis 1922.

62 Camariano-Cioran 1971, p. 23; Camariano-Cioran 1974, p. 22.

63 Falangas 1990, p. 233-234.

64 For the concept, see Patlagean 1979, p. 274.

65 It is important to note that the Greek *Divine Liturgy* copied by sister Melania in Liov in 1620 (mnar *Ms.* 15) has sporadic Slavonic equivalences along its margins. See Tugearu 1996, p. 129-134, 148-151 (fig. xvi-xix).

66 bar *ms. rom.* 1790, f. 16r-v. Details on the litany are provided by Pruteanu 2008, p. 228-230.

67 Meyendorff 1991, p. 162. See also the manuscript *Pontifical Liturgy* copied around 1652 and offered to the Ruthenian Basilian monks in Rome by Teodor Skuminovič, bishop *in partibus* of Gratianopolis and suffragan of Vilna for Byelorussia. See Sipovič (ed.), 1978, p. 54-57 (f. 23v-25r).

68 Лет८ргáрион си́ éстъ Сл८Ꙅебникъ – Kiev 1629, p. 25 (second part), lines 7-8. For an eleventh-century example and for Dimitrios Doukas' *Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου…* (Rome 1526), see Swainson 1884, p. 119. For a twelfth-century example, see Taft 1979/1995, p. 292-295; see also Jacob 1966, p. 147-148. The litany is missing from the first Church Slavonic edition of

the *Divine Liturgy*, as well as from Coresi's Romanian one. See *Liturghierul lui Macarie 1508/2008*, p. 50; Mareş 1969, p. 137 (f. 21v).

69 Meyendorff 1991, p. 161-162. For a general presentation of the funeral services at the end of the seventeenth- and beginning of the eighteenth-century, based on Romanian printed books, see Vanca 2011.

70 bar *ms. rom.* 1790, f. 16v. How should one edit such a text? There is no perfect solution; however, taking into account the context, I have opted for a semi-diplomatic edition. Abbreviations were not expanded, but superscript letters were brought down to the line.

71 Goar 1647, p. 526; Goar 1730², p. 424. One may compare it with Athens ebe 754 (Trempelas 1935 – υ).

72 Vanca 2009, p. 109, 111.

73 Сл८Ꙅéбникъ и́ трéбникъ – Kiev 1632 (Kiev – Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine [*Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського*], Ф. 312, nᵒ 60, p. 76-78).

74 bar *ms. sl.* 651, f. 30. For the manuscript, see Panaitescu, Mihail 2018, p. 69-73. For the scribe, see Florea 1997; Tugearu 2006, p. 274-287.

75 bar (Cluj) *ms. rom.* 1216, f. 13v; *Arhieraticon trilingv* 2013. For the manuscript, see Velculescu, Olar 2013; Mihail 2013. According to Alexandru Mareş, the Romanian texts in both bar (Cluj) *ms. rom.* 1216 and bar *ms. rom.* 1790 were translated by the same person, with the exception of the Service for the metropolitan and bishop (only in bar *ms. rom.* 1790, f. 109r-114v). The services in bar *ms. rom.* 1790, f. 87r-96v correspond to those in the Venetian 1538-1540 edition of the *Prayer-Book* by Božidar Vuković (bar crv 4A). See Mareş 2018, p. 326-327.

76 Larin 2010, p. 105. Sukhanov calls any litany an 'ektenia' (Larin 2010, p. 87, note 36).

77 For example, *Mănăstirea Stavropoleos* 7036 *Ms* (*Stavropoleos* 2006, p. 146-148) and mnar *Ms* 19 (Tugearu 1996, p. 135-147, 152-160 [pl. xx-xxviii]).

78 For such a manuscript, copied in the eighteenth-century, see bar *ms. grec* 1427, f. 28r-30r.

79 The 1629 *Služebnik* lists among the books bought by prince Brancovan, see Bogdan 1956.

80 According to Violeta Barbu and Gheorghe Lazăr, Udrişte Năsturel was the 'translator and compiler' of both bar *ms. rom.* 1790 and bar Cluj 1216 (Barbu, Lazăr 1998, p. 53). However, Alexandru Mareş has shown that there is no reason to assign the Romanian translation to the logothete (Mareş 2018, p. 325-328). For illuminators, themes, and models, see Stănculescu 2010; Negrău 2010; Velculescu, Stănculescu 2012a-c.

81 brv i, p. 177.

82 brv i, p. 200; *Îndreptarea legii* 1652, p. 44-45. See also Grecu 1965; Barbu 1990.

83 Panaitescu 2003, p. 284-289.

84 Oparina 2010, p. 228.

85 brv i, p. 183, 204; Creţeanu 1977, p. 124. Vezi şi Ursu 2003, p. 84-86.

86 brv i, p. 181-182; Creţeanu 1977, p. 124.

87 brv i, p. 205.

88 Cândea 1968, p. 246 [= Cândea 1979, p. 40].

89 The presence of Paisios in Wallachia is well documented. See drh b – xxxiii (1648), no 94, 164-165, 169, 172-173, 177-178, 183, 188; drh b – xxxv (1650), no 101, 151, 163), 248, 283, 287-288, 294.

90 Cândea 1968, p. 240-246 [= Cândea 1979, p. 34-40].

91 Rome *Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide* – socg [*Illirico* 39/41 *Servia Vallachia*] 309, f. 172r-v. For Gabriele Mančić, also known as Thomasij, Tommasi, Tomascievich, Manchich, or Gabriele Bulga-

ro († 1696), see Călinescu 1925, p. 23-24; Tóth 1994, 2002-2008.

92 Ciocîltan 2007, p. 160.

93 Călinescu 1930, p. 428 (nº LXXXVIII); Ciocîltan 2007, p. 167-168.

94 For details, see Ciocîltan 2004, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2017.

95 Leiden BPG 65A, f. 1-14. Mentioned by Spyridon Lampros (Lampros 1915, p. 415-416], the letter was published by N. Iorga (Iorga 1916a, p. 471-475, 477-481).

96 Barbu 2011, p. 73, 122-123.

97 Iorga 1916b, p. 368. For comments, see Ciorănescu 1935, p. 109; Elian 1959, p. 922-923 [= Elian 2003, p. 165-166]; Barbu 1998, p. 271-276; Păun 1998b; Păun 2006.

98 Dositheos of Jerusalem 1891, p. 283. See also Du Rieu 1883, p. 63 (nº LV).

99 Leiden BPG 73G, f. 1-10; Olar 2008.

100 Begg 2000, p. 278-284.

101 Syrigos' source is not the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, as Violeta Barbu claims (Barbu 2011, p. 75). The theologian used John Chrysostome's fifth homily on the Seraphim (PG 56, coll. 129-135).

102 Olar 2018.

103 According to Ana Dumitran, Mihnea wished to sway the members of the Wallachian Protestant communities into converting to Ortodoxy (Dumitran 2004, p. 249). Gábor Kármán asserts that the prince had in mind a military alliance with the Reformed Transylvanian prince György Rákóczi II (Kármán 2016, p. 84-85). Mohyla had accepted the validity of the 'Luthero-Calvinist' baptism; his arguments were similar to Mihnea's. See Wenger 1954.

104 Teoteoi 2003/2008; Teoteoi 2013.

105 Antoniadis 1939.

106 In the same vein, Eugen Pavel states that BAR *ms. rom.* 1790 and BAR Cluj *ms. rom.* 1216 are representative of a 'transition phase'.

Together with bilingual Church Slavonic-Romanian manuscripts such as BAR *ms. rom.* 1365 and BAR *ms. sl.* 794, they would be the sign of 'a stagnation into a sort of "liturgical 'hybridism'"'(Pavel 2011, p. 132 [= Pavel 2012, p. 40].

107 Barbu 2000.

108 Barbu 1992.

109 Meyendorff 1985; Thomson 1993. See also Ševčenko 1984; Brüning 2000.

110 Mihail 2010b, p. 183; Mihail 2013, p. 30.

111 The paraphrase of Arnaldo Momigliano's book on the 'limits of Hellenization' was proposed by Andrei Pippidi (Pippidi 1981, p. 714).

112 BRV I, p. 230-237 (nº 71); Auner 1908, p. 744-746. See also Velculescu, Mihail, Stănculescu, Olar 2011, p. 51. Still, Mohyla's editions have been in use for a long time, both in print, and in manuscript copies. See Mihail 1984; Mihail, Mihail 1996.

113 BRV I, p. 234; Velculescu 2010b, p. 24.

114 BRV I, p. 236; Velculescu 2010b, p. 24.

115 Auner 1908, p. 745. For Doukas' 1526 edition, see Kourilas 1941-1948, p. 650-655.

116 Auner 1908, p. 747-748, 749; Velculescu 2010b, p. 24-25; Velculescu, Mihail, Stănculescu, Olar 2011, p. 52.

117 Vanca 2009; Velculescu 2010b. For Antim's liturgical reform, see Barbu 1998, p. 472-474; she believes that the metropolitan used as model the Greek-Latin Divine Liturgy published in Venice, in 1672 (more precisely, the copy kept in BAR with the shelfmark CR II 167237, which belonged to Brâncoveanu's library (*ibid.*, p. 474).

118 BAR *ms. rom.* 1384. For details, see Velculescu 2012. However, two pontifical Service-Books copied by hieromonk Ghervasie of Putna Monastery in Târgoviște, in 1676-1676, might have been influenced, at least with regard to their structure, by Ștefan's Service-Books. See Mihail 2011, p. 48-49, 54.

Bibliographical Abbreviations:

BAR *ms. grec* 1427; BAR *ms. rom.* 1384; BAR *ms. rom.* 1790; BAR *ms. sl.* 651 / BAR (Cluj) *ms. rom.* 1216 / Kiev Сл8жéбникъ й трéбникъ 1632 (Kiev – Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine [Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського], Ф. 312, no 60 / Leiden BPG 65A; Leiden BPG 73G / *Mănăstirea Stavropoleos* 7036 / MNAR Ms 15; MNAR Ms 19 / Rome *Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide – Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* [*Illirico* 39/41 *Servia Mallachia* (*sic* – corrected *Vallachia*)] 309

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addendum

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ЖꙊПⷩСА КАΪⷬА ЖꙊⷩПСА МАРΪКА:

Les peintures de l'église Saint-Sauveur de Berestovo :
Remarques sur le programme iconographique et épigraphique[1]

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SUMMARY: In the autumn of 1643, Greek painters completed the frescoes decorating the Berestovo church in Kyiv on behalf of metropolitan Peter Moghila. The iconographic program relied on a specific tradition whose origin can be traced to 14th-century Northern Balkans. The chief features of this iconography are the 'Imperial Deesis', combined in the Kyivan church with an iconography inspired by Psalm 44 [45]:9 ("Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen…"). It represents Christ "King of Kings", dressed as an emperor and flanked by a crowned Virgin and a depiction of King David, identified with Grand Prince Vladimir. The church decoration mirrors contemporary theological debates on the Eucharist, reproducing the similar 14th-century controversies on liturgy.

KEYWORDS: Imperial Deesis, Post-Byzantine iconography, Greek epigraphy, mural paintings, Kyivan church.

REZUMAT: În toamna anului 1643, la solicitarea mitropolitului Petru Movilă, o echipă de pictori greci termina de pictat frescele bisericii Berestovo din Kiev. Programul iconografic a fost alcătuit prin raportare la o tradiție specifică nordului Balcanilor ale cărei origini coboară în timp până în secolul al XIV-lea. Principala caracteristică a acestei iconografii este reprezentarea de tip *Deisis* cu Hristos în veșminte de arhiereu, purtând pe cap coroana imperială, care, în biserica kieviană, se combină cu o iconografie inspirată de Psalmul 44 (45):9 („La dreapta ta stătea Regina …"). Hristos este redat ca „Rege al regilor", înveșmântat ca un împărat și flancat de Fecioara încoronată și de regele David, sub chipul marelui prinț Vladimir. Ilustrarea controverselor liturgice din secolul al XIV-lea se oglindesc astfel în noile dezbateri teologice despre Euharistie din vremea când a fost realizată pictura de la Berestovo.

CUVINTE CHEIE: *Deisis*, iconografie post-bizantină, epigrafie greacă, pictură murală, biserică kieviană.

L'article est une continuation, refonte et correction de l'article publié dans *Museikon*, 1, 2017, p. 77-94: ('Pour un corpus des inscriptions grecques de l'église Saint-Sauveur de Berestovo').

L'intérêt pour l'église Saint-Sauveur de Berestovo à Kiev a connu récemment un regain en lien avec la restauration programmée de l'édifice.[2] Sans surprise, ce sont surtout les fresques peintes par les maîtres grecs lors des vastes travaux de rénovation orchestrés dans les années 1630-1640 par le métropolite de Kiev Pierre Moghila (1632-1647) qui retiennent le plus l'attention des chercheurs. Grâce aux efforts du métropolite, l'église, dont la fondation remontait à l'Ancien Rus', mais que l'invasion mongole avait ruinée, fut complétement reconstruite. L'importance de l'ensemble architectural et décoratif du XVIIe siècle réside dans le fait que, en raison de son ampleur, celui-ci offre un témoignage unique des conceptions artistiques post-byzantines sur le territoire de l'actuelle Ukraine.[3] L'état de conservation, malgré des restaurations tardives échelonnées au cours des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, permet d'étudier le programme iconographique initialement conçu et réalisé par les peintres. L'analyse du décor peint n'en est toutefois qu'à ses prémisses et exige de restituer l'œuvre au sein d'un ensemble de monuments proches, afin de saisir clairement les positions théologiques sous-jacentes aux choix iconographiques effectués.

Berestovo, Brebu et Clocociov

Une lettre datée de 1655 nous a été conservée dans laquelle deux peintres, « les deux frères par la chair, Jean et Georges », originaires de Macédoine, énumèrent les églises au décor desquelles ils ont travaillé.[4] Toutefois, l'analyse pa-léographique permet d'attribuer la rédaction de la lettre au célèbre théologien grec Mélèce Syrigos.[5] Celui-ci s'adresse au patriarche russe Nikon, afin de l'inciter à inviter les deux peintres à Moscou. L'auteur souligne que, pour se convaincre de la qualité du travail artistique de Jean et Georges, il suffit de solliciter l'avis de ceux qui ont vu « à Kiev l'église de Saint-Vladimir ou, en Valachie, le monastère de Calntusani [Căldăruşani], Brep [Brebu], Strihar [Strehaia], Kornitzellou [Cornăţel], et à Bucarest, le monastère de Blouboïta [Plumbuita] et celui de Platarest [Plătăreşti], et en Bogdanie [*i. e.* Moldavie], Vraniža [Vrancea, *i. e.* Soveja] et plusieurs autres ».[6]

Cette liste de monuments peints en Roumanie par les mêmes artistes que l'église de Berestovo, nommée « église de saint Vladimir » dans la lettre, a permis une approche comparative des caractéristiques formelles et des choix iconographiques illustrés par ces édifices.[7] On évoquera en premier lieu le narthex de Saint-Mercure de Plătăreşti, ainsi que les fragments subsistant dans la Sainte-Trinité à Strehaia, deux églises dont l'iconographie révèle quelques traits communs avec celle de l'édifice kiévien.[8]

Dans le présent article, on se propose de compléter cette

◄ *Représentation de Marica, l'une des filles de Diicu Buicescu, ktetor de l'église de Clocociov (1645), dans le cortège de sa famille.* Cliché : Elisabeta Negrău.

analyse par une étude des églises des Saints-Archanges à Brebu (Prahova) et Clocociov (Slatina).[9] Ce dernier monument n'est pas mentionné dans la lettre, mais son iconographie permet néanmoins de le rattacher aux œuvres du cercle de Jean et Georges. Ces églises, comme toutes celles qui sont mentionnées dans la lettre, bénéficièrent de la piété du prince de Valachie Matei Basarab (1632-1654), qu'il en ait commandité l'édification (Brebu) ou la rénovation (Clocociov).

Le monastère de Clocociov bénéficia de restaurations au XIXe siècle, ainsi que dans les années 1930 ;[10] mais les travaux effectués n'ont pas empêché l'identification des modèles iconographiques originels et de leurs liens avec ceux que les peintres avaient mis en œuvre à l'église de Berestovo. Les figures de saints (par exemple saint Grégoire Palamas, Fig. 1-2), ou les scènes bibliques (la Cène,[11] fig. 3-4), présentent ainsi d'indéniables ressemblances avec les fresques de l'église Saint-Sauveur.

Ayant été complètement repeinte au XIXe et au début du XXe siècle, l'église de Brebu a, en revanche, pratiquement perdu son décor initial. Seules deux fenêtres conservent des fresques du XVIIe siècle, qui présentent le style décoratif des mêmes peintres grecs. La disposition des quatre paires de saintes femmes qui occupent tout l'espace de ces fenêtres trouve un écho dans l'église de Berestovo. L'absence d'inscriptions et l'état de conservation des peintures de Brebu rendent toutefois délicate l'identification des saintes femmes.[12] Trois d'entre elles sont en costume impérial (couronne et *lôros*) et, si l'on peut exclure sainte Catherine, figurée ailleurs dans l'édifice, on peut envisager à titre hy-

Fig. 1. *Église Saint-Sauveur. Saint Grégoire Palamas.* Cliché : Victoria Davidyuk.

Fig. 2. *Clocociov. Saint Grégoire Palamas.* Cliché: Vera Tchentsova.

Fig. 3. *Église Saint-Sauveur. La Cène.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.

Fig. 4. *Clocociov. La Cène.* Cliché: Elisabeta Negrău.

Fig. 5. *Brebu. Saintes impératrices.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.

Fig. 6. *Brebu. Saintes impératrices.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.

pothétique qu'il s'agisse des saintes impératrices Théodora, Théophano ou Pulchéria (Fig. 5).[13] Ces deux dernières souveraines constituent le choix le plus vraisemblable, puisqu'elles apparaissent bien côte à côte sur une fresque de l'église Sainte-Parascève à Roman (datée des années 1542-1550). Cette dernière église offre également une représentation de l'impératrice Irène, et celle-ci pourrait donc être la souveraine représentée dans le même arc de la fenêtre à Brebu, face aux deux premières saintes impératrices (Fig. 6). Elle y est flanquée d'une sainte coiffée d'un *maphorion*, impossible à identifier en l'absence d'attributs spécifiques. Les quatre saintes femmes de la deuxième fenêtre sont encore plus difficiles à identifier, en raison du caractère très générique de leur mise.

Malgré l'impossibilité d'identifier formellement certaines figures, les fragments des fresques de Brebu permettent la comparaison avec les peintures de Berestovo. Les riches détails des costumes des saintes impératrices de
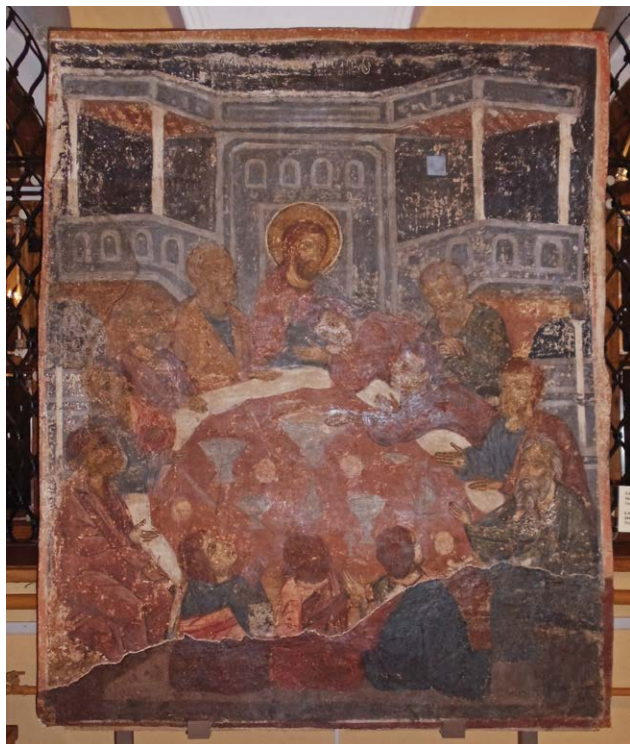
Brebu se retrouvent dans les éléments décoratifs des vête-
ments peints dans l'église kiévienne, ainsi qu'à Clocociov.
On y retrouve l'alternance de petits carrés, ronds et rhom-
bes, imitant des décorations précieuses, qui agrémentent
les bandes ornant vêtements, *lôroi* et reliures des livres. S'y
ajoutent les « perles » réalisées avec des taches blanches en
léger relief. La coupe des bandes ornementales sur les ha-
bits et les décorations florales des tissus révèlent des liens
directs entre les fresques de Berestovo, Clocociov, et les frag-
ments des décors originels des églises de Brebu et Strehaia
(fig. 9-12).[14]

Les comparaisons iconographiques et la mise en évidence

▸ Fig. 7a-b. *Église Saint-Sauveur. La Divine liturgie. Ensemble et détail.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.

◂ Fig. 8. *Église Saint-Sauveur. Saint Jacques le Perse.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.

▴ Fig. 9. *Église Saint-Sauveur. Motifs décoratifs.* Cliché : Victoria Davidyuk.

▾ Fig. 10. *Strehaia. Motifs décoratifs.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.

▴ Fig. 11. *Église Saint-Sauveur. Motifs décoratifs.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.

▸ Fig. 12. *Brebu. Motifs décoratifs.* Cliché : Vera Tchentsova.
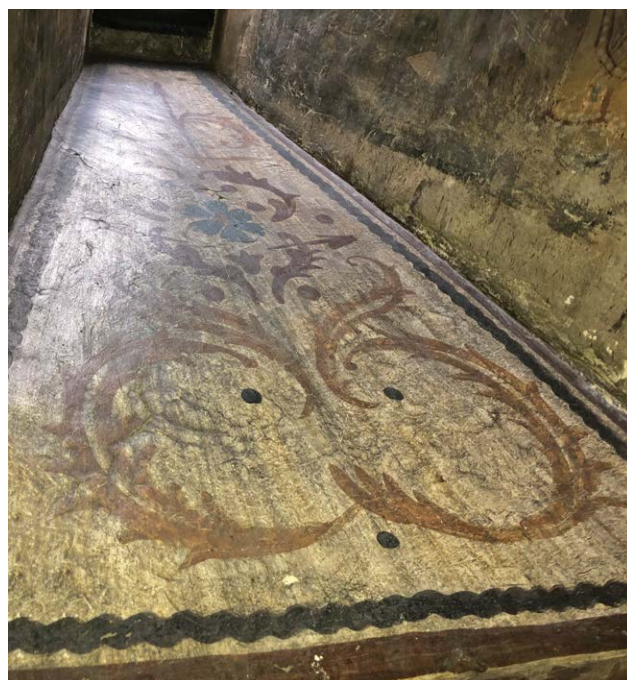
d'une parenté entre les monuments valaques et l'église kiévienne ont permis de confirmer que non seulement Strehaia et Plătărești, mais également Brebu et Clocociov, furent décorées par l'équipe d'artistes qui travailla dans l'église de Kiev. Le texte de la lettre rédigée pour Jean et Georges par Mélèce Syrigos trouve ainsi confirmation et il convient de resituer l'église de Berestovo au sein d'un ensemble assez considérable de monuments, où la même équipe de peintres décorateurs intervint. L'analyse s'enrichit donc de perspectives nouvelles. En effet, l'étude des programmes iconographiques de ces monuments a souvent été entravée par le caractère fragmentaire des fresques du XVIIᵉ siècle

détériorées ou restaurées peu scrupuleusement. La possibilité de raisonner sur l'œuvre globale d'un même atelier itinérant offre l'opportunité de porter un regard neuf sur les cheminements de l'art balkanique au XVIIᵉ siècle et de replacer tous ces monuments dans le contexte artistique de leur époque.

Les modèles iconographiques de la Liturgie Céleste.

Jusqu'à présent, les analyses du programme iconographique de l'église de Berestovo ont essentiellement visé à confirmer ses liens avec celui de monuments sois en terre roumaine ou dans les Balkans, et ont souligné les multiples traditions enchevêtrées dans son décor.[15] Des parallèles athonites ont également été identifiés au Prôtaton, ainsi qu'au monastère de Dionysiou.[16] Toutefois, la généalogie exacte des modèles iconographiques mis en œuvre, qui serait à même de démontrer la filiation directe de la peinture de l'église de Berestovo vis-à-vis des réalisations de l'art balkanique, reste à tracer.[17] Il semblerait que ces modèles

proviennent des Balkans septentrionaux,[18] en accord avec l'identification de Jean et Georges à des « Macédoniens » dans la lettre de Mélèce Syrigos.

Les emprunts des peintres de Berestovo aux modèles des Balkans du nord (notamment des régions de Kastoria, Serbie, Macédoine, Pays roumains) sont confirmés par l'iconographie de la fresque la plus célèbre de l'église kiévienne, la « Donation de Pierre Moghila ». Elle représente le métropolite agenouillé devant le Christ, à la fois Roi des rois (Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων) et Grand-Prêtre, assis sur un trône et flanqué de la Vierge et de saint Vladimir en prière, en une forme originale de Déisis. Or, on a déjà souligné que cette iconographie présente une importante particularité : le fait que la Vierge de type *Paraklèsis*[19] soit coiffée d'un *maphorion* clair, surmonté d'un bandeau identifiable à une

МР ΘΥ   ΙϹ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛ Κ ΚΣ ΤΩΝ   ΧϹ ΣΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛ ΟΝΤ ΚΥΡΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ   ΙѠΗ Ο ΠΡ

couronne,[20] amène à identifier la scène comme une variante de la 'Déisis impériale'. Ce type de Déisis, dont la diffusion est surtout attestée dans l'Empire byzantin à partir du XIVe siècle, malgré des origines plus anciennes, présente des spécificités précises dans l'église kiévienne. L'image de la Vierge couronnée renvoie au texte du Psaume 44 [45]:9 (« La Reine se tient à ta droite, parée d'or d'Ophir »), symbolisant l'Église et constituant le pendant du Christ Roi des rois.[21] Il n'est pas impossible que la couronne de la Vierge-Reine, réduite à un modeste cercle sur le *maphorion*, ait été initialement réalisée en relief sur l'auréole, à la façon de la 'Déisis impériale' de Clocociov (Fig. 13-16). Le modèle de la Déisis implique a priori que Vladimir ait été substitué au Prodrome, comme on le suppose toujours,[22] mais il semble plus probable que la fresque ait d'emblée présenté une figure royale, à identifier avec le roi David. Le modèle iconographique sous-jacent serait donc à rechercher dans une représentation du verset « La Reine se tient à ta droite » (Ps. 44:9),

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▼ Fig. 15. *Église Saint-Sauveur. 'Donation de Pierre Moghila'. Détail.* Cliché : Réserve culturelle et historique nationale 'La Laure des Grottes de Kiev'.

▲ Fig. 16. *Clocociov. Déisis. Détail.* Cliché: Elisabeta Negrău.

telle qu'on peut l'observer au monastère de Treskavats ou sur une icône du Musée archéologique de Véroia.[23] On assisterait donc à une fusion de deux types iconographiques originellement distincts : d'une part, celle inspirée du Ps 44:9 et, d'autre part, la Déisis classique avec saint Jean-Baptiste.

La 'Déisis impériale' compte, en effet, ici au nombre des thèmes liturgiques et hymnographiques associés à l'iconographie de l'Eucharistie et de la Liturgie Céleste.[24] Or, ce modèle classique s'associe également, dans l'église de Berestovo, à la représentation, au plafond de l'ésonarthex, d'entités célestes groupées autour de médaillons imitant des « coupoles » au centre desquels figurent le Pantocrator, la Vierge et saint Jean-Baptiste sous les traits de l'Ange du désert. La Vierge est accompagnée de l'inscription M(ήτη)Ρ Θ(εο)Υ, Η ΠΑΝΤΑΝΑΟΑ (*sic : Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, ἡ Παντάνασσα*), tandis que saint Jean-Baptiste est identifié par Ο ΑΓ(ιος) ΙΩ(άννης) Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (*ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος*).[25] Le Précurseur tient un livre avec les mots : ΣΕ ΑΗΝ(e)||ЦЪ Б(o)ЖИ(й) || ВЪЗЕ||МЛ(яй) || ГР(ѣхи...) (Се *агнецъ Божїй, вземляй грѣхи міра*, « Voici l'Agneau de Dieu, qui enlève le péché du monde », Jean 1:29). Les trois médaillons constituent une sorte de Déisis qui s'insère au sein d'une représentation de la Divine Liturgie, à laquelle renvoie directe-

ment la citation de l'Évangile selon Jean identifiant le Christ à l'Agneau. La peinture du plafond a subi plusieurs étapes de renouvellements qui rendent difficile l'étude de son style originel ; il en va de même pour les inscriptions – l'édition proposée ici devant se fonder sur leur état actuel. En revanche, il est plausible, voire même probable, que le renouvellement des fresques n'ait pas altéré le programme iconographique d'origine.

L'image centrale du Pantocrator est entourée d'une inscription en slavon citant les Psaumes 79 (80):15-16 et 27 (28):9 : † *Г(оспо)ди[, Боже силъ, (…) п]ризри съ н(е)б(е)се и виждь, и посѣти виноградъ сей, и съверъши его, егоже насади десница Твоѧ, и спаси люди Твоѧ, и бл(агосло)ви достоѧнie Твое!* (« † Seigneur, [Dieu Sabaoth,] observe des cieux et vois, visite cette vigne : protège-la, celle que ta droite a plantée, sauve ton peuple, bénis ton héritage ! »). Ces versets étaient prononcés lors de la Petite Entrée de la Divine Liturgie Hiérarchique et on les retrouve, en grec, dans le catholicon du monastère de Dionysiou, entourant l'image du Pantocrator placé au centre d'une représentation de la Liturgie Céleste, tout comme dans l'église Saint-Sauveur.[26] La question se pose donc de la langue d'origine de l'inscription de Berestovo : slavon ou grec ?

L'iconographie de la Liturgie Céleste doit se lire en relation avec la Grande Entrée et la Liturgie des Présanctifiés qui affirme « Maintenant les puissances des Cieux invisi-

blement célèbrent avec nous… ».[27] Dans l'église de Berestovo, le Christ-évêque qui célèbre la liturgie à l'autel est remplacé par l'image du Pantocrator au centre de la composition.[28] Bon nombre d'autres personnages habituels dans cette scène sont présents, identifiés par de nombreuses inscriptions grecques.[29] Les ordres, ou *tagmata*, des armées célestes chantent la gloire du Seigneur, illustration des Psaumes 18:10, 80:1, 99:1 ; du chant des Séraphins dans le Livre d'Isaïe 6.1-3 ; ainsi que des formules liturgiques elles-mêmes. Les ordres angéliques entourent les citations des psaumes. D'un côté, les deux triades des Séraphins, Chéru(bins et Trônes (ΣΕΡΑΦΙΜ, ΧΕΡΟΥΒΗΜ, ΘΡΟΝΟΙ) et des Dominations, Pouvoirs et Puissances (ΚΥΡΪΟΤΗΤΕΣ, ΑΡΧΑΙ, ᾿ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΙ). De l'autre, les incorporels (᾿ΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΙ – *ἀσώματοι*), les « quatre vivants » (ΤΕΤΡ᾿ΑΜΟΡΦ(οι) – *τετράμορφοι*), ainsi que les anges ignés ([ἄγγε]ΛΟΙ (ἐ)Ν ΦΛΟΓΪ)[30] et les « siècles » (ΑΙΩ᾿ΑΜῪΣ – *αἰώνες*). Viennent enfin les anges du troisième ordre, les archanges, parmi lesquels Michel et Gabriel, entourés de leurs armées, qui sont spécifiquement nommés dans deux inscriptions : Η ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΣΤ(ρ)ΑΤΗΓ(ου) ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (*Ἡ Σύναξις τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ*) et Η ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ (*Ἡ Σύναξις τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Γαβριήλ. Ἀρχάγγελοι*).

La Liturgie Céleste est complétée par l'image du Christ dite « L'Œil vigilant » (Ἀναπεσών), figurant le Seigneur adolescent, couché les yeux ouverts, entouré de la Vierge et des anges porteurs des instruments de la Passion. Le Seigneur et sa Mère sont identifiés par les tétragrammes habituels : Ι(ησοῦ)Σ Χ(ριστό)Σ - Μ(ήτη)Ρ Θ(εο)Υ ; tandis qu'une inscription proclame : ΠΛΥΝΕΙ ΕΝ ΟΙΝΩ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΟΛΗΝ || ΚΑῚ ΕΝ ΑΙΜΑΤΙ ΣΤΑΦΥΛΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙ||ΒΟΛΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ (*Πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ* / « Il lave son vêtement dans le vin, son habit dans le sang des raisins », Genèse 49:11). Un autre verset de la Genèse est cité sur le rouleau tenu par Jacob – Ο Π(ατ)-Ρ(ιάρχης) ΙΑΚΩΒΟ(ς) – l'un des trois patriarches d'Israël : ΣΚΥΜ{Ε}||ΝΟΣ ΛΕ||ΟΝΤΟΣ || ΙΟΥΔΑ Ε||Κ ΒΛΑΣΤ||ΟΥ, Υ(ἱ)Ε ΜΟΥ || ΑΝΕΣΗΣ (?) (*Σκύμνος λέοντος Ιουδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης...* / « Juda est un jeune lion ; de la proie, mon fils, tu es remonté... », Genèse 49:9). Cette citation fait également allusion à l'Apocalypse 5:5, « Ne pleure pas... Il a remporté la victoire, le Lion de la tribu de Juda, le Rejeton de David ; il ouvrira donc le livre aux sept sceaux ». Ainsi, les images font référence au sacrifice du Christ, descendant du roi David et des patriarches du peuple d'Israël de la tribu de Juda, fils de Jacob. Ce futur sacrifice, prédit selon la tradition à la Vierge alors que Jésus se reposait, symbolise la victoire sur la mort. « L'Œil vigilant » se retrouve également dans le groupe de monuments des Balkans septentrionaux figurant la 'Déisis impériale', cette iconographie apparaissant au xive siècle.[31]

Les anges sont accompagnés de cinq inscriptions parfois difficilement lisibles en raison des restaurations maladroites. Elles se réfèrent à des paroles de la liturgie :

1. ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΕΙ|{Α}ΝΗ Η ΔΟΞΑ || ΚΥΡΙΟΥ || ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΟ||ΠΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ (*Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ* / « Bénie soit la gloire de Seigneur au lieu de son séjour ! », Ezéchiel 3:12).

2. ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΚΥΡΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ, Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ-Κ||ΡΑΤΩΡ, Ο ΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ (*Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* / « Saint, saint, saint, Seigneur, Dieu Maître-de-tout, Il était, Il est et Il vient », Apocalypse 4:8).

3. ἍΓΙΟΣ, ἍΓΙΟΣ, ἍΓΙΟΣ, ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ, ΠΛΗΡΗΣ Ο ΟΥ(ρα)ΝΟΣ || Κ(αὶ) Η ΓΗ (τῆς)[32] Δ{Ε}(ο)ΞΑ(ς) ΣΟΥ ὩΣΑΝΝἈ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ὙΨΙΣΤΟΙΣ †. (*Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις* / « Saint, saint, saint, le Seigneur Sabaoth, ciel et la terre sont remplis de sa gloire. Hosanna, au plus haut des cieux ! », Isaïe 6:3).

4. ΑΣ ΑΝΩ Δω(να)ΜΗΣ ἐΞΙΕΑΜ/ενα/ (?) ΦΟΒΩ ἀΝΟ ΕΡ(ου)ΣΟΥΛ(ήμ) ΤΟΥΣ Κ[αὶ] (?) || ΣΟΥΚΟΝΙΖΑΝ ΤΟΛ-Μ(ῶν)ΤΕΣ, ΛΕΓΟΝ<εν> ΑΓΙος, ΑΓΙος, ΑΓΙος [εἶ Ο ΘΕΟΣ (*Τὰς ἄνω Δυνάμεις ἐξισταμένοι φόβῳ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ τους κ[αὶ] (?) || εἰκονίζειν τολμῶντες, λέγομεν ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Θεός* / « Les puissances célestes qui se prosternent avec crainte devant la Jérusalem d'en-haut || ayant l'audace de dépeindre, nous disons Saint, saint, saint est le Seigneur »).

5. ΙΠ/τ/ΑΛΙΕΝΑ ΚΡΑΥΤΑ(ζει) ΑΛΑΛ(α)ΓΜ/ῶ/ ΤΟ ΣΙΟΕ/ ον/ ΜΕΛΩΣ Τ(ῆς) || ΤΡΙΣΑΑΓΙΑΣ ΦΩΝΗΣ (*...ἱπτάμενα κραυγάζει ἀλαλαγμῷ τὸ ἔνθεον μέλος τῆς Τρισαγίας φωνῆς* / « [Et les êtres aux six ailes, les Séraphins,] ne cessent de t'exalter en chantant l'hymne trois fois saint », Hymne Trisagion, ton 6).

Corrections de l'inscription votive et de sa datation.

Un important travail d'Eugene K. Chernukhin[33] a permis de proposer plusieurs corrections à la lecture de l'inscription votive grecque du métropolite Pierre Moghila placée dans le narthex de l'église :

||[1] † Πέτρος Μογίλας, ἀρχιερεὺς, τοῦ Θεοῦ ναὸν τε || τῷ Κυρίῳ {ἑ}αυτὸν ἐξήγειρε(ν)[34] τῷ Δεσπότῃ, κ<αὶ> {τὸν}

||[2] <ἐ>τέλεσ(εν) ἔνδοξον δὲ τὸν κάλλιστον οἶκον ἐκ λί-θων, || ἱστόρησ(εν) Γραικῶν δακτύλοις, δόξαν

||[3] γράψας δ'ἤν, Ἄναρχε, τὴν ἐν τῷ πόλῳ || γῆς[35] ἔσχηκας σταυροῦ τῷ <π>άθει

||[4] κ(αὶ) τὴν ἐν Θεοῦ γὰρ πᾶς τις τῷ ναῷ δόξαν || {φ}<λ>έ-γει.[36] Σὺ γοῦν ἀψῖδας ὁ στε

||[5]ρεῶν οὐρανοῦ,[37] βάρος τε || τῆς γῆς Σῇ δρακὶ[38] δια-κρατεῖς,

||[6] καὶ τόνδ'ἐδραίωσον || οἶκον εἰς ἀεὶ ἀστυφέλι{ευ}<κτον>

||[7] εἰς δόξαν τοῦ σοῦ κράτους. || Ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως (||8/2) κόσμου 7152,

||[8] ἀπὸ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ͵αχμδʹ. †

||[9] Ἐν μηνὶ (Σεπτε)μβρίῳ (?), || ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιβʹ.

Traduction :

||[1] † Pierre Moghila, l'archiprêtre, a construit cette église de Dieu[39] pour le Seigneur et Maître,

||[2] et il accomplit cette glorieuse et merveilleuse maison en pierre, [et] il [le] décora par des doigts de Grecs, il manifesta par ceci la gloire

||[3] que Toi, qui existe sans début, [tu] as acquis dans le centre de la terre par ta passion sur la croix,

||[4] et dans l'église de Dieu tout dit « Gloire ». Toi, qui tiens

||[5] la coupole des cieux et le poids de la terre dans la paume,

||[6] consolide cette maison indestructible pour l'éternité

||[7] à la gloire de ton pouvoir. Dans l'année de la création du monde 7152,

||[8] soit du Christ 1644 †.

||[9] Mois de septembre (octobre ? novembre ?), indiction 12.

L'inscription slavonne a été probablement réalisée un peu plus tôt, puisqu'elle indique dans la date l'année ecclésiastique précédente :

Сїю ц(е)рко/в(ь)/ || созда великїй || и все Ро/с/сїи кня/з(ь)/ || и самоде/р/же/ц/ с(ва)тый || Владими/р/, во с(ва)то/м/ || кр(е)ще<н>їи Василї/й/, по лѣ||тѣ/х/ же многи/х/ и по ра||зоренїи ω/т/ бе/з/бо/ж/ны/х/ тата/р/ || произволенїе/м/ б(о)жїи/м/ || ωбновиса смире/н/ным || Петро/м/ Могилою, а/р/хїеп(иско)-по/м/, митрополито/м/ Кїе/в/ски/м/, Гали/ц/ки/м/ и всеа Ро/с/сїи, еѯа/р/хою с(ва)таго || Ко/с/та/н/-тинопо/л/ско/го/ ап(о)/с/(то)лска/го/ пр(есто)ла, а/р/-хима/н/дрито/м/ Пече/р/ски/м/ во славу на Ѳаворѣ Преобра/з/шаго/с(я)/ Х(рист)а Б(о)га || Слова. АХМГ [1643] года, || о/т/ сотворениа же миру ЗРНА [7151] †.[40]

Traduction :

Cette église fut construite par le grand prince et autocrate de toute la Russie saint Vladimir, Basile dans le saint baptême ; après beaucoup d'années et après sa destruction par d'impies Tatars, selon la volonté de Dieu, elle a été renouvelée par l'humble Pierre Moghila, archevêque, métropolite de Kiev, de Halyč et de toute la Russie, exarque de la sainte chaire apostolique de Constantinople, archimandrite du monastère des Grottes [dédié] à la gloire du Christ, Verbe Dieu, qui fut transfiguré sur le Thabor. L'an 1643, de la création du monde 7151.

La différence de date entre les deux inscriptions ne dépasse sans doute pas quelques semaines, car l'année ecclésiastique 7152 – soit 1644, indiction 12 – commença en septembre de l'année « civile » 1643. Ainsi, les mois d'automne de l'année 1644, indiction 12, correspondent en réalité à la fin de l'année 1643 selon le calendrier civil.[41] La lecture du nom du mois reste très hypothétique. Diverses donations votives de Pierre Moghila à des églises kiéviennes mentionnent toujours le 1er novembre, comme l'ont montré les recherches de E. Lopukhina.[42] De son côté, E. Chernukhin affirme la possibilité de lire dans l'inscription pariétale grecque n'importe lequel des trois mois d'automne (septembre, octobre ou novembre), tout en exprimant une préférence pour la seconde solution.[43]

Plus récemment, le chercheur kiévien Vitali Tkačuk a eu la gentillesse de nous faire connaître un document de 1769 relatif à l'application de l'oukase de l'impératrice Catherine II ordonnant de transcrire les inscriptions anciennes conservées dans les églises de Kiev. Ce rapport, adressé au Consistoire diocésain de Kiev en vue d'informer ultérieurement les autorités de Saint-Pétersbourg au sujet des textes

▼ Fig. 18. *Église Saint-Sauveur. 'L'Œil vigilant'.* Cliché : Victoria Davidyuk.

trouvés, ne propose pas de lecture de l'inscription grecque de l'église de Berestovo, mais donne un petit résumé de son contenu, justifiant cette lacune par la mauvaise conservation du texte et l'impossibilité de « la transcrire sur le papier ». Pour nous, le point important réside dans le fait que la date a été établie sans hésitation par les hellénistes du temps : « 1644, septembre ».[44] Cette lecture étant antérieure aux dernières rénovations des fresques, il est possible que le texte d'origine ait été plus lisible qu'après les nombreux remaniements et restaurations dont les peintures ont fait l'objet par la suite.

Cette nouvelle datation de l'inscription permet de remonter de quelques semaines l'achèvement des travaux dans l'église. Or, si les décorations étaient finies en septembre 1643 (ou même au début d'octobre 1643, si l'on suit E. Chernukhin), cela signifierait que Mélèce Syrigos – qui séjournait à Kiev durant l'été 1643[45] et était de retour à Constantinople au début du mois de novembre 1643[46] – put voir l'église dans toute sa splendeur, les décorations intérieures finies.

La question de la présence du célèbre théologien à Kiev serait secondaire si le texte de l'inscription votive ne présentait pas un tel degré de complexité, avec l'emploi de citations bibliques éventuellement transposées en dodécasyllabes irréguliers.[47] Selon E. Chernukhin, l'auteur du texte grec de l'inscription pourrait être Pierre Moghila lui-même, en raison de sa grande culture et de sa connaissance du grec. Néanmoins, la présence de Mélèce Syrigos à Kiev durant les travaux invite également à envisager, avec toute la prudence requise, l'hypothèse que le célèbre théologien, connu pour avoir composé de nombreux hymnes liturgiques,[48] ait pu contribuer à la rédaction de l'inscription votive et, au-delà, même au choix des inscriptions décorant l'intérieur de l'église Saint-Sauveur. On pourrait avancer, à l'appui de cette hypothèse, l'utilisation dans l'œuvre de Syrigos d'un lexique similaire, notamment du terme rare πόλος, 'centre' ou 'pôle',[49] sur lequel E. Chernukhin avait déjà attiré l'attention.[50]

Quelques considérations sur l'iconographie.

L'identification par E. Chernukhin d'une citation du Ps 29:9 (« Et dans son temple, tout dit : Gloire ») dans l'inscription votive a permis de corriger l'inscription qui porte φέρει en lieu et place de λέγει.[51] Par cette citation, l'inscription votive de l'exonarthex introduit le croyant aux inscriptions de l'ésonarthex qui ont également recours au même corpus de références scripturaires ; le lien établi entre les sections de l'espace sacré renforce ainsi leur complémentarité liturgique. Les psaumes liturgiques sont au cœur de tout le dispositif iconographique de l'ésonarthex, célébrant la gloire de Dieu par les citations associées aux acteurs de la Liturgie céleste. L'image de David/Vladimir dans la « Donation de Pierre Moghila » mène aux nombreuses figures saintes louant le Seigneur dans l'ésonarthex. Cette succession symbolise celle des 'églises de Dieu' depuis le Temple de Jérusalem.

L'iconographie de l'ésonarthex fait ainsi référence à la Grande Entrée de la liturgie, lorsque les chœurs entonnent l'hymne des chérubins tandis que le célébrant récite « Ô Roi de Gloire… vous servir est une grande chose redoutable, même pour les puissances célestes… vous êtes devenu notre Grand Pontife, et vous nous avez donné le ministère de ce sacrifice public et non sanglant, comme étant maître de toutes choses. Vous seul, …Seigneur notre Dieu, vous commandez au ciel et à la terre, vous êtes le Seigneur des séraphins et le Roi d'Israël ».[52]

Le programme iconographique se veut donc une tran-scription visuelle de ce qu'affirme la prière du célébrant prononcée *in petto* avant de procéder à l'Eucharistie. L'image du Christ Grand Prêtre et Roi des rois, que redouble l'image du Christ Anapeson, prépare son sacrifice. Les mots du célébrant (« Ô Christ notre Dieu, c'est à vous que nous rendons gloire, avec votre Père éternel et votre Esprit tout saint » et « Vous êtes devenu notre Grand Pontife »)[53] sont ainsi parfaitement illustrés par le décor peint de Berestovo, l'Eucharistie étant l'élément central du projet iconographique. Les citations font rappel à l'hymne des Séraphins, « chantant, criant, clamant l'hymne de la victoire », le Trisagion.[54] Entrant dans le naos, les croyants contemplaient l'image du Christ Emmanuel entouré de prophètes, évangélistes et apôtres, associé à l'inscription Ι(ησοῦ)Σ Χ(ριστός) Ὁ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ. Au-delà, dans l'abside, comme dans la plupart des monuments de ce groupe, l'épiclèse était symboliquement figurée par une colombe.[55] Ainsi, le cheminement des fidèles de l'exonarthex à l'autel reproduisait en quelque sorte le déroulement de la liturgie, dont le Mystère de l'Eucharistie, sacrifice du vrai corps et sang du Christ, constituait le point d'orgue.

Les influences balkaniques que trahit la représentation de la 'Déisis impériale' et des forces célestes à Berestovo, inspirée d'une tradition illustrée par les monuments de l'ancien archevêché d'Ohrid, révèlent que les peintres grecs exprimèrent à Kiev des positions théologiques formulées à l'époque paléologue surtout dans les régions « slaves ». Étant donné l'activité ultérieure des deux peintres grecs en Valachie et leurs liens avec Mélèce Syrigos dans les années 1650, lorsque Nikon de Moscou entreprit ses réformes liturgiques, ces décors reflètent sans doute une tentative de renforcer l'unité du monde orthodoxe, en doublant l'harmonisation dogmatique et rituelle de programmes iconographiques communs aptes à proclamer visuellement les choix doctrinaires retenus.

Cette chrétienté sortait d'une double crise. D'une part, le clergé de la métropole de Kiev était entré en communion avec l'Église catholique à Brest en 1596, entraînant une scission au sein de la communauté du diocèse. De l'autre, le problème était encore plus récent et plus grave : le patriarche Cyril Loukarès (1570/72-1638) tentait de réformer l'Orthodoxie en l'alignant sur certains dogmes protestants, tel que le nombre des sacrements et l'interprétation même de l'Eucharistie. Le rejet de la « transsubstantiation », cœur de la doctrine catholique, devait, selon Cyril Loukarès, céder la place à l'idée d'une réception du corps et du sang eucharistique par les chrétiens dans 'l'âme'.[56]

L'intervention de Pierre Moghila et de ses collaborateurs dans la codification du dogme orthodoxe à travers la rédaction d'une fondamentale *Confession de foi* permit de surmonter cette dernière crise. Ce texte fut accepté par le conseil ecclésiastique local à Iaşi en 1642 et approuvé par un concile réuni à Constantinople en mars 1643.[57] Mélèce Syrigos lui-même prépara la traduction grecque révisée de la *Confession*, rédigée initialement en latin, enlevant les 'erreurs catholiques' du texte apporté de Kiev. Parmi ces 'erreurs' se trouvait l'idée que la transformation du pain et du vin eucharistiques intervient avec les 'paroles de l'institution' et non après l'épiclèse, l'invocation de l'Esprit Saint par le célébrant.[58] En automne 1642, les questions concernant le moment précis durant lequel est réalisée la transsubstantiation se trouvaient au centre de la discussion entre les légats du patriarche de Constantinople Parthène Iᵉʳ et les *calogeri theologi… mandati dal metropolita o valadica di Kchiovia*, les 'moines théologiens' envoyés par le métropolite-vladika de Kiev. Cette discussion est attestée par les lettres du missionnaire franciscain Bartolomeo

Bassetti da Piano à la Congrégation *de Propaganda fide* à Rome.[59] Selon les attestations de divers témoins, les représentants de Moghila (Isaïe Trofimovič Kozlovskij, Ignace Oksenovič et Joseph Kononovič) acceptèrent les propositions des « Grecs » et la position orthodoxe prévalut, la transsubstantiation découlant de l'épiclèse. Ce point était donc tranché mais présent à l'esprit de tous, à Iași et à Constantinople, au printemps 1643. Dans la publication en polonais et en slavon de sa petite Catéchèse (*Събранїе короткои науки о артикулах вѣры*) en 1645, Pierre Moghila expliquait le mystère de l'Eucharistie par l'action conjointe des paroles du Christ et de l'intention du célébrant invoquant le Saint Esprit.[60] Malgré cela, le clergé de la métropole de Kiev revint successivement aux positions antérieures au concile de mars 1643, suivant les positions formulées en 1646 dans l'*Euchologion* de Moghila.

Mélèce Syrigos arriva à Kiev au lendemain du concile constantinopolitain,[61] alors que les travaux battaient leur plein à l'église de Berestovo. On ignore les raisons de ce déplacement et notamment si la discussion relative à l'Eucharistie y joua un rôle. Le savant théologien rédigea à Kiev des hymnes en l'honneur des pères du monastère des Grottes de Kiev, ainsi que pour la fête de la translation de la Robe du Seigneur à Moscou.[62] Cette collaboration et les activités de Syrigos auprès de Pierre Moghila révèlent l'ambition du métropolite d'intégrer pleinement le sanctoral kiévien au patrimoine commun de l'Église orthodoxe, lui conférant ainsi une dimension universelle.

Par ailleurs, elles illustrent également une tentative de promouvoir l'unification dogmatique de l'Orthodoxie grâce à la *Confession de foi*. Rien d'étonnant, donc, dans ce contexte, à ce que l'ensemble pictural de l'église de Berestovo exprime les concepts qui retenaient alors l'attention des plus savants théologiens de l'époque. L'iconographie de l'église kiévienne reproduit en effet les modèles créés lorsque Byzance fut confronté, au XIVe siècle, à ce même problème : celui du moment précis où intervient la transsubstantiation par l'intervention du Saint Esprit.[63] C'est en effet à cette époque que, parallèlement à la réflexion théologique, furent diffusés les modèles iconographiques de la 'Déisis impériale' et/ou de 'La Reine se tient à ta droite' associant le Pantocrator et la Théotokos-Église entourés d'une cour de plus en plus complexe de forces célestes hiérarchisées. Les fresques de l'église de Berestovo illustrent donc une théologie spécifique de l'Eucharistie. Toutefois, il est difficile de déterminer si les concepteurs du programme entendaient favoriser les positions de l'Église orthodoxe grecque ou celles défendues par Pierre Moghila, qui privilégiaient le rôle des 'paroles de l'institution'. Il serait donc nécessaire d'approfondir, dans des études futures, l'analyse de la « rhétorique visuelle de la théologie »,[64] afin que les particularités iconographiques de l'église Saint-Sauveur de Berestovo nous en révèlent davantage sur les polémiques qui secouaient l'Église Orientale à l'époque de la 'confessionnalisation' européenne.

Notes :

1 Je tiens à remercier Elisabeta Negrău (Bucarest) pour ses précieuses consultations et Vivien Prigent (Paris) pour le travail de relecture du texte de l'article. Ma plus vive reconnaissance va à Alexeï Sheremetev et Victoria Davidyuk pour leur aide.

2 Krasny 2000 ; Лаврський альманах 2014-2016.

3 Кондратюк 2008, p. 41-47 ; Козак 2009, p. 319-324 ; Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015 ; Tchentsova 2017.

4 Tchentsova 2007, p. 329-331 ; Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015, p. 207-208 ; Tchentsova 2017, p. 79-80.

5 Tchentsova 2007, p. 312-321, 333-342 ; Ченцова 2016, p. 591-594.

6 Tchentsova 2007, p. 330. Sur ces monastères, dont les fondations ou restaurations datent de l'époque du prince Matei Basarab, voir Nicolae 1982, p. 23-28 (Brebu), 39-46 (Plumbuita), 50-59 (Căldărușani), 88-92 (Plătărești), 98-100 (Soveja), 100-105 (Strehaia) ; Protopopescu 2005, p. 87 (Strehaia).

7 Bien évidemment, dans la mesure où les fresques du XVIIIe siècle sont conservées.

8 Tchentsova 2017, p. 80-90 ; Лопухина, Питателева 2018, p. 275-281.

9 Nicolae 1982, p. 202-204. Je remercie cordialement Elisabeta Negrău pour ses consultations sur ce monument. Voir Negrău, Bedros 2014, p. 129, 162-165 ; Negrău 2019, p. 77-78. Cf. Tchentsova 2017, p. 82, 91. On a souligné que l'iconographie des passions de martyrs à Clocociov trouve des parallèles iconographiques à Plătărești : Negrău, Bedros 2014, p. 164.

10 Negrău, Bedros 2014, p. 163.

11 Un modèle de composition proche pour la Cène semble identifiable dans l'église de l'Ascension de Leskoets : Суботић 1980, ill. 63 ; ainsi que Πελεκανίδης 1953, pl. 218 ; *Корпус на стенописите* 2012, p. 96, 241. Concernant les exemples athonites du même modèle pour la Cène, voir Ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου 2003, no 233 ; Питателева 2016/1, p. 78-79.

12 Sur la difficulté qu'il y a à identifier les saintes femmes dans l'art byzantin, voir Durand, Jolivet-Lévy 2014, p. 224-235 ; Brodbeck 2016, p. 13-14.

13 L'iconographie est pourtant assez proche de celle qui est visible à Sainte-Sophie d'Ohrid, où, selon S. Brodbeck, sont représentées deux saintes impériales, Catherine et Irène : Brodbeck 2016, p. 19-20. Elle s'en remet également, pour l'identification, à l'association traditionnelle des deux saintes dans le décor d'autres monuments.

14 Pour un parallèle avec des ornements floraux sur un tissu, voir Παϊσίδου 2002, pl. 11. Sur les ornements dans l'église de Berestovo, voir Питателева 2016/3 ; Лопухина, Питателева 2018, p. 281.

15 Кондратюк 2008, p. 42-47 ; Кондратюк 2016, p. 71 ; Кондратюк 2017/2, p. 53.

16 Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015, p. 193-195 ; Питателева 2016/1, p. 75-77.

17 Pour l'ample historiographie relative à l'église de Berestovo, voir Кондратюк 2008 ; Кондратюк 2016, p. 62-71 ; Кондратюк 2017/3. p. 195-196 ; Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015.

18 Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015, p. 187-205 ; Питателева 2016/1, p. 75.

19 Selon N. Petrov, la figure de la Vierge était identifiée par l'inscription М(ήτη)Р Θ(εο)Υ Παράκλησις. Actuellement, il ne reste que des traces blanches de lettres. Voir Петров 1908, p. 286.

20 Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015, p. 182-183, 199.

21 Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη 1998 ; Лидов 2009, p. 228-233, 242-246 ; Negrău 2011, p. 64-70. Voir de nombreux exemples datant du XIVe siècle, dont l'essentiel se trouve en Macédoine. Citons, à titre d'exemple, l'église de la Dormition à Treskavats, l'église de Zrze, le monastère de Markov, l'église de Mouzaki et autres : Pillat 1973, p. 279 ; Πελεκανίδης 1953, pl. 186 ; Осташенко 1977, p. 175-187 ; Суботић 1980, p. 56, ill. 100 ; Грозданов 1990, p. 132-149 ; Παπαμαστοράκης 1994, p. 67-78 ; Δρακοπούλου 1997, p. 118, ill. 103 ; Грозданов 1998-1999, p. 151-160 ; Cvetković 2012, p. 191 ; Немыкина 2016, p. 48-59 ; Vapheiades 2017, p. 81-82 ; Vapheiades 2020, p. 59-63, 67-75. L'iconographie est surtout bien connue dans l'ancien ressort de l'archevêché d'Ohrid : Грозданов 1998-1999, p. 155-159 ; Negrău 2011, p. 67-68 ; Vapheiades 2020, p. 68-69. Sur les représentations de la Vierge couronnée sur les fresques des églises mol-

daves Saint-Nicolas de Rădăuţi, Saint-Elie à Suceava, Saint-Georges du monastère de Voroneţ (fin XVe siècle), ainsi que sur celles de l'église de la Décollation-de-Saint-Jean-Baptiste du monastère de Secu (1602), voir Dragnev 2020, p. 67-69.

22 Sur la substitution de l'image du grand prince et 'autocrate' Vladimir à celle de saint Jean-Baptiste dans la Déisis, voir : Кондратюк 2013 ; Кондратюк 2015 ; Лопухина, Питателева, Ченцова 2015, p. 182-183, 198-199, 218 ; Питателева 2016/2, p. 182-188. Pour un autre cas de substitution (saint Jean-Baptiste cédant la place à saint Nicolas de Myre dans l'église d'Argeş, en Valachie), voir Negrău 2011, p. 70-71.

23 Немыкина 2016, p. 56-58 ; Vapheiades 2020, p. 68-69, 72-73. On remarquera que l'inscription mentionnant le nom de saint Vladimir est en slavon, tandis que les autres inscriptions de la 'Donation de Pierre Moghila' sont en grec. Ne pourrait-on donc pas supposer une identification de la figure de David avec Vladimir, postérieure à la réalisation de la fresque ? Ce point exigerait, sans doute, d'ultérieurs approfondissements.

24 Negrău 2011, p. 67-68.

25 Ici et plus loin, les sigles signifient : (a) solution des abréviations ; [a] lettres disparus ajoutés ; {a} lettres à éliminer ; /a/ lettres ajoutées dans l'interligne ; <a> lettres oubliées, mais nécessaires au sens.

26 Ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου 2003, pl. 10-12. Dans le monastère de Dionysiou, le Pantocrator est entouré de personnages angéliques, ainsi que de la Vierge Orante et du Prodrome en Ange du désert : Ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου 2003, pl. 13-22. Il faut considérer les fresques de ce monastère comme l'un des modèles préférés des peintres Jean et Georges, étant donné qu'ils en ont aussi repris l'iconographie de la Décollation de Jean-Baptiste (Ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἁγίου Διονυσίου 2003, pl. 306) pour orner Plătăreşti.

27 Ştefănescu 1936, p. 67-77 ; Sinigalia 2015, p. 29-31 ; Vapheiades 2020, p. 71-75.

28 Кондратюк 2012, p. 359 ; Кондратюк 2017/1, p. 147. Cf. les explications sur l'image du Christ intégrée à la scène de la Liturgie Céleste dans les églises roumaines : Sinigalia 2015, p. 32-36.

29 Cf. les exemples dans les églises de Zrze, du monastère Markov et dans plusieurs autres endroits : Ştefănescu 1929, p. 73-76 ; Ştefănescu 1932, p. 304-319 ; Ştefănescu 1936, p. 73-77 ; Суботиħ 1980, p. 100-101 ; Грозданов 1990, p. 132-133, 140 ; Καραμπερίδη 2009, ill. 42-43, 118, 209 ; Корпус на стенописите 2012, p. 94, 100, 109, 123, 130, 239.

30 Ex. 3 :2 : ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐν φλογί πυρός... / « l'ange de Yahvé... dans une flamme de feu... ».

31 Тодиħ 2011, p. 217-218.

32 Une partie de l'inscription est impossible à lire car elle a été mutilée au XIXᵉ siècle par un restaurateur qui ne comprenait pas les mots grecs.

33 Чернухін 2018, p. 294-312.

34 Cette proposition de lecture d'E. Chernukhin trouve des parallèles dans les inscriptions de Kastoria publiées par E. Drakopoulou : Δρακοπούλου 1997, p. 13-15, 26, 36, 39.

35 Il s'agit d'une allusion au passage du Livre d'Isaïe sur la grandeur du Seigneur (Isaïe 40 :12). On peut supposer qu'il s'agisse du Golgotha ou de Jérusalem, car l'église de la Résurrection à Jérusalem était également considérée comme 'ombilic du monde' et, donc, 'pôle' de la terre : Mureşan 2008.

36 Ps. 29 :9 : καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ πᾶς τις λέγει δόξαν / « Et dans son temple, tout dit : Gloire ».

37 Cf. Osée 13 :4.

38 Cf. aussi le service des Complies : ἐκ σοῦ ὁ Κύριος, ὁ δρακὶ συνέχων τὰ πέρατα...

39 Il semble préférable ici de faire dépendre τοῦ Θεοῦ de ναὸν et non d'ἀρχιερεὺς, puisque les expressions ὁ ναός τοῦ Θεοῦ et ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ sont d'usage courant dans les textes bibliques. Voir notamment les passages sur la reconstruction du Temple à Jérusa-lem : Esdras 2, 3, 4, 7.

40 L'obtention de meilleures photos a permis de lire plus correctement cette inscription. Voir aussi Петров 1908, p. 267-268.

41 Tchentsova 2017, p. 85-86.

42 Лопухина 2015, p. 277-280 ; Лопухина 2014 [2016], p. 178-181. E. Kabanets (Кабанець 2017/1, p. 192) croit que la date du 1ᵉʳ novembre ne présentait pas d'intérêt particulier pour Pierre Moghila, étant donné que les communautés orthodoxes de Rzeczpospolita suivaient un calendrier différent de celui de l'élite catholique, obligeant à recalculer la date en enlevant 10 jours. Pourtant, on ne peut pas exclure que Pierre Moghila ait utilisé le calendrier en usage en Pologne-Lituanie pour les jours, tandis que les calculs de l'indiction et de l'année suivaient la pratique de l'Église orthodoxe.

43 Чернухін 2018, p. 310-312.

44 Archives nationales centrales historiques d'Ukraine à Kiev (Центральний державний історичний архів України), Kiev, f. 127, inv. 1020, no 3947, fol. 3v, 7r. Je remercie chaleureusement Dr. V. Tkačuk pour m'avoir communiqué cette information.

45 Pargoire 1909, p. 26-27 ; Δετοράκης 1983, p. 269 ; Podskalsky 2005, p. 275.

46 Cf. la lettre de *Pantaleo* (Païsios) Ligaridès, futur métropolite de Gaza, datée du 6 novembre 1643 : *Sirigo è giunto stamane in Constant(inopo)li, vederò la sua mente...* (Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei popoli. Archivio storico 'De Propaganda Fide', Lettere, vol. 170 (a. 1644), fol. 288v). Ce témoignage va à l'encontre des réflexions d'E. Kabanets concernant l'impossibilité pour Mélèce Syrigos d'avoir assisté à la fin des travaux de restauration de l'église de Berestovo (Кабанець 2017/1, p. 192-193).

47 Чернухін 2018, p. 302-309.

48 Ζήσης 1979 ; Δετοράκης 1983, p. 265-269 ; Γόνης 1984 ; Χαλδαιάκης 1995-1996 ; Στρατής 2004, p. 233-258 ; Δετοράκης 2014.

49 ...ὡς καὶ ἐγείρῃ συνθανόντας ἐν πολῳ...ἐξιᾶται ποικίλα πάθη... (Δετοράκης 2014, p. 42) ; Θεέ μου προάναρχε... (Στρατής 2004, p. 246),...καὶ τὸν δρακὶ συνέχοντα τὴν κτίσιν... (Στρατής 2004, p. 247); καινοὺς λίθους ἀρραγεῖς ἐλάξευσε... (Στρατής 2004, p. 252).

50 Чернухін 2018, p. 305-306.

51 Чернухін 2018, p. 307, 312.

52 Ştefănescu 1936, p. 67 ; Vapheiades 2020, p. 74 . Sur le lien de l'iconographie de l'église de Berestovo avec la liturgie de l'époque de Pierre Moghila et la 'tradition athonite', voir Кондратюк 2012 ; Кондратюк 2017/1. Il semblerait pourtant que le programme iconographique n'ait rien de particulièrement 'kiévien' ou 'athonite' et corresponde parfaitement à des modèles bien attestés dans le nord des Balkans.

53 Ştefănescu 1936, p. 68, 72.

54 Ştefănescu 1936, p. 83-85.

55 Ştefănescu 1932, p. 310.

56 Olar 2016, p. 277-282 ; Olar 2019, p. 202.

57 Pargoire 1909, p. 24-26, 285 ; Корзо 2003, p. 241-242 ; Olar 2014, p. 215-222.

58 Pargoire 1908, p. 275-276 ; Olar 2014, p. 216-219.

59 Olar 2014, p. 216-217.

60 Бернацкий 2009, p. 239-242, 248-250.

61 Pargoire 1908, p. 275-276, 280 ; Pargoire 1909, p. 26-27 ; Podskalsky 2005, p. 275 ; Δετοράκης 2014, p. 39 ; Olar, 2014, p. 218. L'hypothèse d'E. Kabanets, adoptée par A. Kondratuk, postulant que Mélèce Syrigos n'a jamais visité Kiev révèle tout simplement leur ignorance de la bibliographie non seulement récente, mais également ancienne, tel que les travaux de J. Pargoire : Кабанець 2017/1, p. 193-194 ; Кабанець 2017/2 ; Кондратюк 2016, p. 67-68.

62 Pargoire 1908, p. 280 ; Pargoire 1909, p. 340-341.

63 Zheltov 2011, p. 275-279.

64 Selon l'expression d'Olenka Pevny : Pevny 2016, p. 3.

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russian icons

icônes russes

Russian icon from the collection donated by father Paul Mihail, today in the Museikon collection, restored by Dr. Dumitrița Filip for the RICONTRANS Project. Credits: Museikon.

Texts and Icons in Worship, Communication, Propaganda
On the Contribution of a Philologist to Research on Icon Transfer

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RÉSUMÉ : La présente étude se concentre sur le rôle joué par les textes liés aux icônes dans le culte, la communication culturelle et la propagande des icônes lors de leur transfert. Ces textes se regroupent en trois catégories : les textes qui précèdent les icônes, les textes sur les icônes et les textes d'après les icônes. L'analyse de chacune de ces catégories aide à mieux déchiffrer la fonction et le rôle des textes dans la création et la perception, ainsi que dans les processus de transfert des icônes. Dans le cadre d'un transfert culturel, celui-ci se produit souvent dans un contexte où les signes verbaux se différencient des signes visuels. L'auteure donne quelques exemples de textes qui sont essentiels pour une interprétation exacte de certaines icônes russes transférées en Grèce du XVIᵉ au XIXᵉ siècle et détermine leur place dans la communication linguistique, spirituelle et culturelle. D'un point de vue méthodologique, elle s'intéresse aux conditions dans lesquelles les textes accompagnant les icônes russes devraient être étudiés, notamment dans le cadre de la recherche qui étudie le transfert de ces icônes russes en Grèce.

MOTS-CLÉS : transfert des icônes, icônes russes, inscriptions sur icônes, signes visuels et verbaux, contact culturel.

REZUMAT: Acest articol se concentrează asupra rolului pe care îl joacă textele referitoare la icoane în venerarea celor din urmă, în comunicarea culturală și propaganda realizată prin transferul lor. Textele referitoare la icoane sunt împărțite în trei categorii: texte de dinainte de icoane, de pe icoane și de dincolo de icoane. Prin analiza funcției fiecărei categorii în crearea și percepția icoanelor, se poate dezvălui rolul acestor texte în procesul de transfer al icoanelor. Acest lucru se produce în contextul caracteristicilor distinctive ale semnelor verbale în transferul cultural în comparație cu cele vizuale. Articolul oferă exemple de texte semnificative pentru interpretarea corectă a diferitelor icoane rusești transferate în Grecia în secolele XVI-XIX. Totodată, le este stabilit locul în comunicarea lingvistică, spirituală și culturală. Sunt de asemenea discutați termenii în care ar trebui studiate textele care însoțesc icoanele rusești în cadrul unei cercetări care vizează transferul lor în Grecia.

CUVINTE CHEIE: transfer de icoane, icoane rusești, inscripții pe icoane, semne vizuale și verbale, contact cultural.

1. Texts *before* icons.

The present paper focuses on the role of texts in the transfer of icons, and, consequently, on the contribution a philologist can make within the framework of research that studies how an icon is perceived when moved to a different cultural space, along with its role in worship, communication, and propaganda. Specifically, the current research concerns the ways Russian Holy Icons were transferred to Greece and the Balkans. The icons studied by art historians who generally investigate these processes are visual semiotic objects; meaning that they are on the opposite side of the general semiotic field when compared to the texts, which are verbal semiotic objects.[1] However, visual and verbal semiotic objects (in other words, icons and texts), do not exist independently. Icons are surrounded by texts, which are just as important for the two main stages of the icon's life – its creation and perception. By analyzing the texts according to their role in the function of the icons, one can divide them into the following three categories:

I should stress that an icon is experienced as 'icon', not as mere picture, because it is not a product of the painter's imagination; it depicts veracity, truth, and sacred reality.[2] This crucial fact regarding the nature of the icon can only be proven by texts. In other words, an icon can be an icon as long as it truly depicts the sacred text it is based on. By this definition, the icon is not just an illustration of the text; it exists independently from the latter and becomes the object of an intersemiotic translation – or transmutation, using Roman Jakobson's terminology – which is "the interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems".[3] However, knowledge of the text translated into a visual image is important for the correct perception and interpretation of the message of the icon. These texts include: the Holy Scripture; the recognized Apocryphal books; hagiographical texts;[4] selected hymnographic texts, since cer-

tain icons are inspired by hymns or prayers. Such is the case of the *Akathistos* icon[5] or the *Axion Estin* icon[6] of the Holy Virgin. Moreover, many symbolic images on the icons can be "decoded" only through hymnographic texts. It is clear that, without prior knowledge of these texts, one cannot use an icon for worship, as it is impossible to interpret its sacred message. According to the theory of communication, this is a necessary text presupposition,[7] in order to transfer meanings by specific visual signs.

2. Texts *on* icons.

The second category, *Texts on icons,* consists of usually small and extremely important message fragments selected from those among the texts before icons. This category comprises words, phrases, or whole texts written on icons: short inscriptions regarding the persons depicted on the icon; ktetorial inscriptions; quotations or citations from the Bible (or prayers); and even large symbolic texts placed on different parts of the icon that form their own structure, parallel to the visual image structure, as in the case of the so-called *Talking icons.*[8] In all the above-mentioned cases, the interpretation of these texts is most necessary in order to perceive the whole message of the icon. According to B. Uspensky, the inscriptions are considered essential components of the icon, equal to the image in terms of their importance for the transmission of the sacred message. It is important for worshippers to have an inscription alongside a visual image, since the icon cannot function as a sacred object without its identifying inscription.[9] In other words, the text is placed on the icon in order to be read and understood. Otherwise, the viewer would fail to decode its actual meaning.

3. Texts *after* icons.

This category includes all the texts composed after the icon's creation in reference to the topic of this particular icon or icon type. These texts may be divided into two subcategories based respectively on the sacred and material hypostasis of the icon. As far as the sacred nature of the icon is concerned, the numerous texts in regard to its worship tend to begin with the Story of the Icon, and can also appear in various forms. There is the official version included in the Synaxarion collection, as well as many different unofficial folk versions, which are usually more expressive and poetic.[10] But there is also the icon's hymnography, which increases depending on the icon's authority and sanctity: troparion; kontakion; canon; an entire service; and, lastly, akathistos. All these texts explain why believers should worship a particular icon and the manner in which they should do it. In other words, these texts are necessary for the icon to be worshiped properly.

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The material nature of the icon is reflected on other texts, starting with various documents which accompanied every step of its life: historical texts and evidence; various descriptions provided by worshippers or representatives of other cultures and religions who view the icon as an art object; literary descriptions; research texts of different types. There is also one specific sub-subcategory which includes the texts that directly mention the icon's transfer process.

Let us now examine how the aforementioned text categories act in the transfer process of the icons. I should stress that an icon is a much wider concept when compared to a mere image; an icon is an image surrounded by texts which make it a sacred object, an object of worship. Without said texts, however, the icon becomes a simple image. If one

wanted to study the transfer of icons and not images, one should also examine in which way or to which extent the transfer of the image is accompanied by the transfer of the corresponding texts. It should be stressed at this point that text transfer is a much more difficult task compared to an image transfer. While in the second case, one can simply move the image to another territory, the transmission of texts from language to language requires their translation. This translation is always an interpretation, which does not render the translated text equal to the original one. Keeping all this in mind, we will now see what happens with each particular text category during the transfer process, illustrating these ideas with specific examples of Russian icons transferred to Greece.

Starting with the *Texts before icons* category, it must be pointed out that part of these specific texts (the Bible and the main body of the hagiographical and hymnographic corpus) pre-existed in Greek culture and were then translated and transferred to the Slavonic and Russian languages. We are thus faced with a case of round transfer: first, the text is translated and transferred from Greek to Slavonic; then, it is interpreted in the context of the Slavonic and later the Russian culture; next, based on this text an icon is created; and, lastly, the icon is transferred back to Greece. However, taking into account that the same text could be interpreted in different ways in the context of different cultures, two questions remain open: if and to which extent the icon could be associated by the Greek worshipper with the text which was the starting point of the whole process at the end of this "round trip". Allow me to illustrate this point with two examples. The first example focuses on the Russian iconographic composition of the Protective Veil of the Holy Mother of God.[11] It is based on the combination of two texts, namely an episode from the Life of Blessed Andrew the Fool for Christ (9th century), who saw the Holy Mother of God holding her veil over those praying under her Protection while he was praying in the Blachernae church; and an episode from a much earlier life of another saint, Roman the Melodist, containing a vision of his which showed the Theotokos holding a scroll with a hymn devoted to Her. Both these texts are Greek in origin, and Greek worshippers were surely familiar with both. However, textual theory argues that the combination of the two texts does not represent just their sum. It creates a third text, seeing as the interaction between them produces new meanings and messages.[12] Therefore, it is not clear whether Greek worshippers adequately understood the composition of this icon and the texts forming its context when it was transferred to Greece,[13] making this a subject which deserves to be researched.

The other example focuses on an even more symbolic image of the Holy Virgin: the Russian iconographic type of the Burning Bush (see Fig. 1).[14] The icon depicts four major Old Testament prophecies regarding the Holy Virgin, namely the Burning Bush from the Vision of Moses: *καὶ ὁρᾷ ὅτι ὁ βάτος καίεται πυρί, ὁ δὲ βάτος οὐ κατεκαίετο* (Exod. 3: 2); Aaron's flowering rod: *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐβλάστησεν ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν* (Numb. 17: 23); the Ladder from Jacob's vision: *καὶ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς* (Gen. 28:12); and the closed gate from Ezekiel's prophecy: *ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται,*

▸ *Holy Virgin of the Burning Bush. 16th century, Russian. Athens, Benaki Museum, 46108.*
Source: Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 141

οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ διέλθῃ δι' αὐτῆς (Ezek. 44:2). The other allegoric images on the icon include the mountain from Daniel's prophecy: ἐθεώρεις ἕως οὗ ἐτμήθη λίθος ἐξ ὄρους ἄνευ χειρῶν (Dan. 2:34); the Holy Village on the mountain surrounded by city walls from the Psalter: τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ὁρμήματα εὐφραίνουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἡγίασε τὸ σκήνωμα αὐτοῦ ὁ Ὕψιστος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ σαλευθήσεται (Ps. 45: 5-6), and so on. It should be noted that the texts preceding this icon do not only include the above-mentioned Old Testament quotations, but also the hymnographic and rhetoric texts of the Holy Fathers (saints John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Andrew of Crete, and others), who interpreted these scenes as Holy Virgin prototypes.[15] All these texts were part of the Greek Orthodox culture long before being transferred to the Slavs, therefore what the Slavs created was only a replica of these texts. Still, once again, it is not clear how all these texts upon which the icon was based were perceived in their native land and whether they were properly interpreted after their "round trip" to and from the Slavic culture.

This problem becomes even more complex if we take into account cases of an original Russian text inspiring the creation of an icon, where there is only a "one-way trip", as was the case of the image with the Vision of saint Sergius of Radonezh (see Fig. 2).[16] The icon was definitely part of a propaganda campaign, seeing as it was offered as a gift to the foreign pilgrims and official guests of the Holy Trinity Lavra. This specific icon however, which depicts a scene from the saint's life that happened shortly before his death[17], would remain a simple picture and not function as an object of worship or propaganda if its transfer to Greece were not accompanied by the transfer of the corresponding text. This text would explain to the representatives of the other Orthodox culture who the person depicted there was, what role he played in the spiritual life of Russia, and why he should be worshipped. The transfer could not occur in the absence of a translation. To the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence that the Life of saint Sergius of Radonezh was translated in Greek at the beginning of the 17th century, the moment when this icon was probably transferred to the Dousikou monastery. The only textual evidence are the pilgrim reports, but this is definitely not enough matter to result in worship.

Moving on to the *Texts on icons* category, three types of transfer may be distinguished, namely: inscriptions originally written in Greek; inscriptions originally written in Church Slavonic and later re-written in Greek; inscriptions in Church Slavonic even though the icon stayed in Greece.

The first subcategory mainly includes the Greek symbolic identification acronyms (contraction signs), such as ιc χc or мр ΘΥ, commonly used in Russian iconographic tradition.[18] Normally, these inscriptions could easily be interpreted by the Greek audience, even though sometimes the calligraphic style adopted by Russian painters (the vyaz – a 'bound' style of Cyrillic ornate lettering) made the Greek symbols incomprehensible to the Greeks. Another example of this type of inscription is the ktetor's inscription in the case of a Russian icon donated by Greeks. A beautiful example of this type of inscription was found on all the icons donated to Greek monasteries by saint Arsenius, bishop of Elassona (*Ταπεινὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐλασῶνος ἀρσένιος στέλλω τὴν παρούσαν εἰκόνα εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν μονὴν...*), which helped identify the donor.[19] It should be noted that these inscriptions in Greek, alongside the votive inscriptions in Slavonic, form the multilingual text space of the icon.[20]

The second subcategory is represented by a number of icons. A typical example is an icon of saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki, where the initial Slavonic inscription of the saint's name was brushed off and another inscription in Greek was written over it (see Fig. 3).[21] Apart from its practical importance of helping people distinguish which saint is pictured on the icon, the act has a deep semiotic meaning. By means of this translation, one transfers the icon not only to Greece but also to the semiotic space of the Greek language and culture, demonstrating an intention to adapt this object to the target culture and to create complex interactions between the original and the target language and culture; all within this one icon which could be analyzed and re-analyzed from different perspectives.

Lastly, in the majority of cases, the initial Slavonic inscriptions remain as they were on the icon, even as they are transferred to the Greek territory. When considering the small cheap icons intended for home worship, this can be easily explained by the lack of means or ability. However, this was certainly not the case for the large icons in famous centers of Christianity, such as the magnificent Christ Pantocrator icon in the iconostasis of the Patmos monastery, where the Church Slavonic inscriptions were left intact, as was the text inside the book Christ is holding (see Fig. 4).[22] It is important to stress that the Slavonic inscriptions transferred to other languages and cultural spaces stop being language signs and can no longer function as texts, because their meaning cannot be interpreted by the foreign audience. This is another inte-

◄ *Vision of Saint Sergius of Radonezh. End of 16th-beginning of 17th century, Russian. Meteora monastery of Saint-Vissarion (Dousikou), 47.* Source: Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 90.

▼ *Saint Demetrius. Early 19th century, Russian. Zoodochos Pigi monastery, Patmos.* Source: Boycheva 2016, p. 136.

resting semiotic issue. As long as the content of these texts cannot be "decoded", their function is no longer to communicate with the audience, but with the image foretype.[23] From the perspective of a Greek audience, the texts become a type of ornament on the icon, their only purpose being to denote the foreign – specifically Russian – origin of the icon. It is very probable that in most cases the Slavonic inscriptions on Russian icons were kept intact because this specific message was of great importance for the Greek audience and deserved to remain untranslated at the expense of the original text message.

At this point, it is important to also focus on the messages of the *Texts on icons* which were lost after the transfer. In the case of the Christ Pantocrator icon, the message may not have been so important since everyone recognized the figure depicted on the icon. The meaning of the composition was also clear to everyone, and the Greek worshipper was very familiar with the text written in the book. What would happen, however, when the icon composition was unfamiliar or when the text on an icon played a critical role in understanding its message as was the case of the so-called *Talking Icons*?[24] One such case is an icon of the 'Living Cross', on which Slavonic texts and images are combined in an allegoric composition, quite unusual for a Greek audience. The problem is that this composition cannot be decoded without the proper interpretation of the text fragments.[25] And the text itself is also unusual, because only a small part of it is taken from the Bible, namely the quotation from apostle Paul's first letter to the Corinthians: НЕ СОУДИХЪ БО ВИДЕТИ ЧТО ВВАСЪ ТОЧИЮ ИСА ХРИСТА И СЕГО РАСПЯТА (οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινα τοῦ εἰδέναι τι ἐν ὑμῖν εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον) (1 Cor. 2:2).[26] The rest is an original Russian text taken not from the Holy Tradition, but from the verses of a prominent, albeit somewhat controversial, Russian scholar and 'enlightener' of the 17th century, Sylvester Medvedev.[27] Medvedev composed not only the lyrics, but also the entire complex of the poetic text and imagery, with obvious Western European sources of inspiration, but with an original spiritual and ideological message which could be decoded only by carefully reading and correlating image and text.[28]

The destination of the icon as predicted by its creator and its actual fate often radically differ. This is exactly the case of a Russian icon from the collection of the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens (cat. 106-13), which arrived in Greece in the 18th century.[29] Its poetic text was incomprehensible to the common folk. The 'talking' image was thus rendered 'mute' and, since the Greek tradition lacked a corresponding iconographic type, achieving the necessary correlations was also rendered impossible. Under such circumstances, did the icon succeed in accomplishing its catechetical mission? What message did it convey to the people? In other words, what did the Greeks feel when they worshiped this image? Did it remain an object of worship for them or did it end up being a strange illustration of an incomprehensible text? For the time being, nobody can provide a confident answer, but this question needs to be addressed. Unless we take these factors into account, we cannot properly understand how icons of Russian origin were perceived and interpreted in Greece and the Balkans.

Moving to the third and last category of texts related to icons, namely the *Texts after icons*, two of the subcategories of texts mentioned above need to be reexamined: those reflecting the sacred and those reflecting the material nature of the icon. The first subcategory is more important for worshippers, while the second one is interesting for researchers. Starting with the first subcategory, one should keep in mind that the icons as objects of worship should be 'equipped' with all necessary texts explaining why they should be worshipped (the Story of the Icon, the texts describing the miracles the icon has performed, and so on) and how one should worship them (all hymnographic texts, from short troparia to entire services). This is a necessary 'text mantle' without which the icon cannot function as an object of worship. If an icon is transferred to another (foreign) culture with the purpose of making it function as an object of worship and propaganda, it is not enough to transfer the image. The texts *after* the icon should be transferred as well. Without translating these 'mantle texts', the icon remains a simple image. It is therefore very important to discover whether the transfer of these Russian icons to Greece was supported by the translation of hagiographical and hymnographic texts.

Examples of this are the numerous Russian icons of Our Lady of Vladimir[30] – one of the most popular Russian iconographic types in Greece – transferred to the Balkans starting from the 16th century.[31] Obviously, the figure depicted on this icon – the Holy Virgin – is known to every Christian. The iconographic type – the *Eleousa* – is also known to the Greek audience. In fact, the icon itself is of Greek origin and had been transferred to Kiev from Constantinople in the first half of 12th century.[32] Therefore, the interpretation of this icon in Greece does not seem to pose

▼ *Christ Pantocrator. 1702, Russian. Saint-John the Theologian monastery, Patmos.*
Source: Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 44.

any problems. However, if the knowledge of the Greek believers regarding the icon were limited to this common Orthodox knowledge,[33] they would not be worshipping Our Lady of Vladimir, but the *Panagia Eleousa*, and this would no longer be an icon transfer, but an image transfer. In order to have an actual icon transfer, the Greek believers approaching this icon had at least to know what this specific icon was famous for, to have some idea about its role in the spiritual life of Russia, to be familiar with some miracles for which it was responsible; and in the best case scenario, to know some prayers with which they could address the Holy Virgin of this specific icon. This was the only way in which the icon could function within the Greek religious culture, not only as another image of the Holy Virgin that happens to be of Russian origin, but as a part of Russian spirituality transferred to Greece, and therefore as an object of cultural communication and propaganda. This means that one needs to look for the transfer of the corresponding texts along with the image transfer – a problem that, to the best of our knowledge, still remains *terra incognita* in philology.

When discussing the last subcategory of texts, it is essential to refer to historic records, chief among which are the texts specifically related to icon transfer and Greek-Russian religious communication in general. A great number of various text sources still need to be studied, but I will focus my attention on one typical example: an extremely interesting document which certainly deserves to be studied and published within the framework of the current project. It is the so-called "List of Russia" (*Κατάλογος Ρωσίας*) of the Patmos Monastery, dating back to 1718-1722 and kept in the monastery archive (AK 1018). This book of commemorations was composed during the monks' journey to Russia at the beginning of the 18th century, with the mission to collect alms for the monastery, an act known as *ζητεία*. Russian donors had the right to place their names in the list, in hierarchical order, so that they could be commemorated at the Patmos monastery. It provides us with a characteristic cross-section of Russian society during this specific time period and provides researchers with valuable data on the Greek-Russian spiritual contacts.[34]

Summing up the ideas presented in this brief introductory paper, I would like to re-define the concept of the icon, with the image only occupying its center. This image is surrounded by all categories of texts described here – texts *before* icons, texts *on* icons, and texts *after* icons – in order to form an icon as a whole. Such an icon could neither be created nor understood in the absence of these texts. Its transfer into another culture can only be done alongside them. Perhaps this is the reason why philologists deserve a place in art history research, especially when dealing with icon transfer.

Notes:

1 For the differences and interactions between verbal and visual semiotics, see Аванесов 2014, p. 10-22.

2 On the specific semiotic nature of the icon, see Успенский 1995, p. 225-229.

3 Jakobson 1959, p. 233.

4 Illustrative iconographic cycles linked by the same narration (the corresponding hagiography text) transcribed on the marginal scenes of the saints icons' are discussed in Успенский 1995, p. 223-224.

5 See Patzold 1989; Limberis 1994.

6 See Зеленина 2007, p. 103-105.

7 See Strawson 1952, p. 173-179.

8 See Boycheva *et al.* 2014.

9 Успенский 1995, p. 229-230.

10 Note that this story can also serve as a source (text *before* icon) for other visual images, such as marginal scenes on icons or book illustrations. See Панина 2012, p. 35-112.

11 For the Russian iconography of the Protective Veil of the Holy Mother of God, see Кондаков 1915, p. 92-101.

12 See Николаева, 1990.

13 See, for example, the icon from Moscow (1589) donated to the Meteora monastery of Saint-Vissarion (Dousikou) by saint Arsenius bishop of Elassona, in Комашко, Саенкова 2008, p. 191-204; Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 84-85 (*sub voce* Κ. Μαντζανά, Ε. Τσιμπίδα).

14 See Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, 141-142 (text written by Γ. Μπόιτσεβα).

15 For these symbolic images of the Virgin Mary and their interpretation in patristic tradition, see Борисова 2001, p. 45-82; Чернышева 2017, p. 87-90, 91-92, 95-98, 114-116, 145-147.

16 See, for example, the Russian icon (end of 16th-beginning of 17th century) donated to the Meteora monastery of Saint-Vissarion (Dousikou) by saint Arsenios bishop of Elassona, in Комашко, Саенкова 2008, p. 191-204; Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 90-91

(*sub voce* Κ. Μαντζανά, Ε. Τσιμπίδα).

17 For this specific iconography and its relation to the saint's life, see Гусева 1999, p. 120-138; Преображенский 2013, p. 76-85; Каримова 2014, p. 239-264.

18 See, for example, the acronyms on the Russian icons of the Holy Virgin, in Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 124-137. For the symbolic role of Greek inscriptions on Russian icons, used for the purpose of sacred identification of the image with its foretype, see Успенский 1995, p. 231.

19 See Δημητρακόπουλος 2007, p. 127-150; Komashko, Saenkova 2016, p. 73; Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 73-94.

20 See, for example, the icon 'Lamentation of the Mother of God' (end of 19th century) from the Museum Collection of Nea Moni on Chios island (X255). Among various Slavonic inscriptions, one may find the inscription of the Greek ktetor: [ΔΕΗΣΙΣ Τ]ΟΥ [ΔΟΥΛΟΥ] Τ[ΟΥ] ΘΕΟΥ [ΓΑ]ΒΡΙΗΛ [ΙΕΡΟ] ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ 18[3]2 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ. See Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 138-140 (*sub voce* Σ. Φαϊτάκη).

21 For this icon, see Boycheva 2016, p. 131, 136.

22 See Boycheva 2016, p. 125-128; Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 34-37, 44. Note that this icon also has the ktetor's inscription in Greek: ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΤ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΙΣΑΥΟΥ ΗΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΜΑΖΑΡΗ (in the left-hand bottom corner); Boycheva 2016, p. 128.

23 Note the similar semiotic role of Greek inscriptions on Russian icons, discussed in Успенский 1995, p. 231.

24 See Boycheva *et al.* 2014.

25 For this iconographic type and its composition, see Лавров 1997, p. 519-525; Постернак 1999, p. 284-297; Кузнецова 2008; Borisova 2016, p. 215-228.

26 Borisova 2016, p. 220.

27 For Silvestre Medvedev and his contribution to the Russian literature and spiritual life of the 17th century, see Козловский 1895, p. 1-49; Панченко 1973, p. 116-129.

28 See Лавров 1997, p. 520-524; Borisova 2016, p. 220-227.

29 See Boycheva et al. 2014; Borisova 2016, p. 228.

30 For this iconographic type as well as the texts accompanying it, see Щенникова 2005, p. 8-38; Этингоф 2000, p. 127-156.

31 See typical examples in Μπόιτσεβα, Δρανδάκη 2017, p. 43, 81, 131-133.

32 See Этингоф 2000, p. 127.

33 It is believed that the Greek origin of this iconographic type,

as well as that of Our Lady of Murom and Our Lady of Konevitsa, was one of the main reasons why they were selected to be donated to Greek monasteries by saint Arsenius bishop of Elassona. He probably tried to stir a local interest in their Greek spiritual heritage and to awaken the historic memory of the nation. See Komashko, Saenkova 2016, p. 75, 83-84.

34 See Boycheva 2016, p. 125. I would like to thank Juliana Boycheva for drawing my attention to this valuable codex.

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Written Sources on 17th-century Russian Icons
in the Orthodox East: An Introduction

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RÉSUMÉ : Au XVIIe siècle, les icônes russes avaient déjà gagné les régions post-byzantines sous domination ottomane de l'Orient chrétien : les contrées grecques et balkaniques, l'Afrique du Nord et l'Asie Mineure, Crète, Chypre, la Palestine, la Syrie et le Liban. Les archives (peu étudiées) témoignent d'une exportation élevée de peintures religieuses russes dans l'espace méditerranéen. Une grande partie de cette documentation se trouve aux Archives Nationales des Actes Anciens de Russie (RGADA). Ces documents ayant appartenu autrefois à l'administration diplomatique, *Posol'skij Prikaz,* sont conservés dans le Fonds 52 et concernent les relations entre la Russie et les centres ecclésiastiques orthodoxes situés dans l'Empire ottoman. Au XVIIe siècle, les œuvres russes qui circulaient en Orient étaient en grande partie le fruit des activités évergétiques des grands princes et des tsars, mais le commerce jouait aussi un rôle important dans leur transmission. À en juger par le grand nombre d'oeuvres qu'ils possédaient, leur qualité artistique et leur coût de production élevé, les patriarches devaient être les commanditaires les plus importants. Cependant, les émissaires du tsar se rendaient en Orient pour diverses missions et apportaient également des icônes. Les Grecs qui vivaient en Russie ou qui y séjournaient longtemps envoyaient, eux aussi, des icônes russes dans leur patrie. Enfin, les icônes russes étaient exportées par les marchands grecs. À Moscou, les étrangers pouvaient commander les icônes directement auprès des peintres ou les acheter sur le marché. Les archives conservent encore des nombreux testaments de Grecs décédés à Moscou, riches en informations quant aux icônes russes qu'ils ont eues en leur possession. Un bon nombre de maîtres russes ont travaillé à l'étranger, en particulier dans les Principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie. Certains étaient peintres d'églises, mais d'autres peignaient des icônes sur commande. Ces icônes passaient de main en main, au sein des familles ; étaient léguées par testament ; faisaient l'objet de dons envers les églises et les monastères ; etc. Les voies d'exportation des icônes russes vers l'étranger étaient donc des plus diverses. Les documents d'archive ne cessent pas de surprendre avec une variété de nouvelles informations à leur sujet.

MOTS-CLÉS : Église orthodoxe, archives russes, icônes russes, commerce d'icônes, sources écrites.

REZUMAT: În secolul al XVII-lea, multe icoane ruseşti ajunseseră deja în regiunile post-bizantine aflate sub stăpânire otomană din Orientul creştin: ţările greceşti şi balcanice, Africa de Nord şi Asia Mică, Creta, Cipru, Palestina, Siria şi Liban. Arhivele (puţin studiate) ne arată că exportul de picturi religioase ruseşti luase amploare în zona mediteraneană. O mare parte din această documentaţie se află în Arhivele Naţionale de Documente Vechi din Rusia (RGADA). Aceste documente care au aparţinut cândva administraţiei diplomatice, *Posol'skij Prikaz*, sunt păstrate în Fondul 52 şi privesc relaţiile Rusiei cu centrele ecleziastice ortodoxe situate în Imperiul Otoman. În secolul al XVII-lea, operele ruseşti care circulau în est erau în mare parte rodul activităţii evergetice a marilor prinţi şi ţari, dar comerţul a jucat şi el un rol important în transmiterea lor. Patriarhii au fost comanditarii cei mai importanţi, judecând după numărul mare de lucrări pe care le deţineau, după costul suportat şi după calitatea artistică a acestor lucrări. Cu toate acestea, emisarii ţarului călătoreau în est cu diferite misiuni şi au distribuit la rândul lor icoane. Grecii care locuiau în Rusia sau care rămăseseră acolo mult timp au trimis icoane ruseşti în patria lor. În cele din urmă, icoanele ruseşti au fost importate de negustori greci. La Moscova, străinii puteau comanda icoanele direct de la pictori sau le puteau cumpăra de pe piaţă. Arhivele păstrează încă numeroase testamente ale grecilor care au murit la Moscova, în care se află o mulţime de informaţii despre icoanele pe care le aveau în posesia lor. Un număr mare de maeştri ruşi au lucrat în străinătate, în special în Ţara Românească şi în Moldova. Unii au fost pictori de biserici, dar alţii au pictat icoane la comandă. Icoanele treceau din mână în mână, în familie; erau lăsate moştenire; erau donate către biserici şi mănăstiri; etc. Căile pe care s-au răspândit icoanele ruseşti în străinătate au fost dintre cele mai diverse. Documentele de arhivă ne surprind încă cu o varietate de informaţii noi despre ele.

CUVINTE CHEIE: Biserica Răsăriteană, arhive ruşesti, icoane ruseşti, comerţ cu icoane, surse scrise.

News about Russian works of art in the Orthodox churches on the territory of the former Byzantine Empire reached us in many ways. Some of them are mentioned in the works of Greek authors or in those of Russian travellers and scholars (Vasily Grigorovich Barsky, A. N. Muraviov, reverend Porphyrius Uspensky, A. A. Dmitrievsky, etc.). A systematic study of these monuments began in the 19ᵗʰ century, but the use of written evidence in the analysis has so far been the exception rather than the rule. Perhaps only in the last decades did such studies become regular.[1] The implementation of projects such as *The Russian Icons of Mount Sinai*[2] and *The Routes of Russian icons in Greece and the Balkans* gave impetus to new research. They are complex art critic and historical works, in which written evidence plays an essential role.

In-depth information about the Russian icons and works of applied art exported abroad is preserved in the documents of Russian archives. A lot of information may also be found in archives of Oriental Orthodox monasteries. In the history of the existence of Russian icons in the East, several chronological periods should be distinguished, each of which differs in the circumstances of the creation and the artistic features of the monuments, as well as in the specifics of how they were transferred from Russia. To present, these archives were rarely used, so there is little information about these works of art, about their stories, or about the monuments hosting them. The cases in which icons and works of applied art can be correlated with preserved written sources are very rare, but their study surprises every now and then. Here is one such example.

In one of our research missions to Jerusalem, Natalia Komashko identified one of the icons in the Cathedral of Saint-James (the image of the patron saint) as a work of a Kremlin Armory Chamber master from the 17ᵗʰ century (Fig. 1). My goal, one the other hand, was to find historical documents related to this work of art. It turned out that this was one of the twelve icons ordered in Moscow by Patriarch Theophanes III of Jerusalem in 1643. Fortunately, the file containing documents related to the visit to Moscow of his envoy, archimandrite Anthim, was preserved and contains a detailed amount of information. It provides us with precise details on the works included in the order: the list of the icons and materials spent on their production, the names of the icon painters and silversmiths, information about the organization of the entire artistic process, as well as the various costs.[3] Another example is that of the icon of the Saviour of Edessa (Mandylion) at the Sinai monastery. Its author, court painter Nikolai Solomonov, was identified with high probability[4] from an entry of the memorial book of Sinai. It referred to the Sinai archimandrite Cyril and his stay in Moscow in 1687-1689.[5] This means that the written evidence of the 17ᵗʰ century, present in archival documents or in testimonies of contemporaries, including pilgrims, needs to be corroborated with other sources, as well as with epigraphic data.

For the 16ᵗʰ and the 17ᵗʰ centuries, the provenance of the most significant works found in the East is closely linked to charity activities of great princes and tsars. Russian rulers regularly sent subsidies to eastern Patriarchs and made contributions to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or to the monasteries of Athos and Sinai. The first tsars of the Romanov dynasty were particularly generous benefactors. They attached great importance to the ties with the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church. Under tsar Michael I

(1613-1645), all the delegates of Greek and Slavic monasteries who came to him for material assistance (as well as those accompanying them, including interpreters) received icons at the ceremonial receptions in the Kremlin.[6] As for the reign of his son, Alexis I (1645-1676), it was truly a climax in the Greek-Russian relations of the 17ᵗʰ century. Moscow was a haven for Greek, Slavic, and Christian Arab clergymen at that time, as well as for countless who were responsible for the transfer of Russian icons to the East.

Archival sources provide information, above all, on the royal gifts, *i. e.* on the icons painted following a special order. However, this happened quite infrequently, for – as a rule – such works were intended for patriarchs and important hierarchs. More often, icons were granted from the royal repository of icons or purchased at the expense of the state on the market (the *Icon row*) or from individual icon painters. For instance, during the visit of Macarius III of Zaim, patriarch of Antioch, to Russia (1654-1656), the patriarch received thirty icons in revetments (*rizas*) from the treasury.[7] During his second visit to Moscow, when he came to pronounce the deposition of the Russian patriarch Nikon at the Great Synod (1666/67), the patriarch asked tsar Alexis I for more icons needed for four churches of Antioch. But since the court painters were rather busy at the time, this large order was entrusted to the masters of Yaroslavl, Nizhny-Novgorod, and Kostroma. The princely order urged them to do the work straightaway, but with particular diligence and skill.[8] Given these precedents, one shouldn't be surprised that the patriarch of Constantinople, Dionysius IV, asked the co-ruling tsars Ivan V (1666-1696) and Peter I (1682-1725) to send icons and church objects in 1686. And almost a decade later, in 1694, the same patriarch wrote once again to Moscow about the icons he needed, since much of the decoration of the Patriarchate cathedral had burned in a fire.[9] These patriarchal orders are the most noteworthy ones in terms of number of works, value, and artistic skill. They also provide us with the most detailed written information. Apart from them, archival documents contain ample, if not always detailed data on the icons sent to many Orthodox monasteries in the Ottoman Empire.

But there were also less conspicuous ways in which icons travelled from Russia to other Orthodox lands. Russian icons were carried by the tsars' envoys when they performed various errands abroad. Arseniy Sukhanov, who travelled to Athos in 1649 and in 1651-1653, wrote with accurate details which icons he had personally offered and to whom.[10] The Greeks who lived in Russia permanently or had stayed there for a longer time purchased icons which they sent back home. It is common knowledge by now that Arsenius of Elasson, archbishop of Suzdal and Tarusa, who constantly maintained contacts with his homeland, sent icons to Greek monasteries.[11] And there are many other similar examples.[12] In Moscow itself, Orthodox foreigners could negotiate with local painters about the icons they needed, or to buy ready-made icons in the markets. They also turned to the ruler for compensation of their costs, and these requests were granted. The former patriarch of Constantinople Athanasius III Patelarios visited Russia in 1653 and 1654, where he purchased local icons from Muscovite painters for the monastery of Saint-Nicholas in Galați (Wallachia), where he lived. Their list is preserved.[13] And after the death of the former patriarch, the elders of the same monastery who came to Moscow in 1658 looking for material assistance took two more boxes of icons with them.[14]

An interesting case of an independent acquisition of

◄ Fig. 1. *Sidor Pospeev and Ivan Borisov. The icon of Holy Apostle James. Fragment.* Credits: Natalia Komashko.

Fig. 2. *The mitre of the archbishop of Sinai. Kremlin workshops, 1640. The monastery of Saint-Catherine at Mount Sinai.* Source: Manafis, Kantos, Kantos 1990, p. 300.

icons by the Greeks in Moscow are the Russian icons of the monastery of Saint-John the Theologian on the island of Patmos. In 1705, the archimandrite of the monastery, Nicephorus, informed tsar Peter I that the grant he had given him had been spent to pay the debts of the monastery and to paint two large local icons: the image of the Pantocrator and that of saint John the Theologian with the Apocalypse. He therefore asked for more money, in order to pay for the way back and deliver the said icons to Patmos.[15] However, A. A. Dmitrievsky studied the icons of Patmos and doubted this testimony, assuming that the icon of John the Theologian had been brought in 1698 from Wallachia, not from Moscow.[16] The case is rather intriguing and a final conclusion will be possible only at the end of a future extensive study of the written documentation. For the time being, we must acknowledge only that the story of Nicephorus could be true, since the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon, Constantine, also asked tsar Peter I for a grant in 1706. He needed to pay for several local and twelve festal icons ordered by him for the iconostasis of his metropolitan cathedral church.[17]

Private orders are not usually recorded in the official documents. In the rare instances they are known, it is usually the case of foreigners who asked Russian authorities to compensate their costs,[18] or when there was a misunderstanding between the master painter and the customer, for instance, about the payment for the work. The controversy would then be settled in the ambassadorial office (*Posolsky Prikaz*), to which we owe most of the sources preserving such information. The rest of these private orders

is a matter of speculation. One may argue that they could be related to the visits of many Orthodox foreigners from the Ottoman Empire (monks, priests, or merchants) to Muscovy in the 16ᵗʰ and the 17ᵗʰ centuries. These visitors must have seen the famous Russian monasteries of Troitse-Sergiev, Savvino-Storozhevsky, or Voskresensky in New Jerusalem, and they received icons as a blessing from the monastery, hence the wide spread of the theme 'Appearance of the Theotokos to saint Sergius of Radonezh' in the entire Orthodox East. In rare cases, Greek hierarchs reached more remote dioceses. The production of icons for blessing was well established in many Russian monasteries,[19] although such icons could also be purchased at the Moscow fairs.

An introductory presentation would be nevertheless incomplete without any mention of the work of Russian painters abroad, particularly in the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia), where they were usually employed for the mural decoration of churches. But there were also icon painters working in such places. For instance, Sidor Pospeev was asked to paint icons to be sent abroad. In 1628, he painted together with Bazhen Naprudny three icon-stands for Moldavian churches at the request of the local prince Miron Barnovschi-Movilă (1626-1629, 1633). Later on, he also worked abroad. In 1641, Pospeev, Yakov Gavrilov, and other Russian and Romanian painters worked in the monastery of the Three-Hierarchs in Iași.[20] It is therefore quite plausible to imagine that a painter like him could paint icons there as well, if he received a special order. There were many other ways to obtain Russian icons indirectly, from other places than Russia: through wills, through contributions to churches and monasteries, as heirlooms, etc. Among the documents of the same ambassadorial office are certain testaments of the Greeks who died in Moscow and they contain precious information about the icons in their possession. There were also situations in which icons intended for the monasteries of Athos for instance did not reach the Holy Mountain for various reasons and remained in Moldavia, Wallachia, or Ukraine. For example, the metropolitan bishop of Gaza, Paisios Ligaridis, did not return to the East and died in Kiev in 1678. The Russian icons in his possession remained in the monastery of the Kiev Brotherhood, where Ligaridis lived.[21]

Another way of identifying information about the circulation of Russian artefacts is through epigraphic means: the inscriptions on the objects the contributors and icon owners once possessed. Similar cases in the Sinai monuments showed that such data needs to be corroborated with written sources, especially if the records were transcribed outside of Russia. I will only mention the case of the Greek inscription on a mitre from the monastery of Saint-Catherine, bearing the date 7150 (1641/1642), which needs to be corrected in light of the information provided by documents from the ambassadorial office. This mitre is one the most remarkable donations made to the archbishopric by Russian sovereigns. Archival documents testify to the fact that the hierarch's headdress was made and handed over to archimandrite Joachim of Sinai in September 1640. Its original design differed from the present one (Fig. 2). The original mitre ended with an ermine trimming surrounding a crown with the troparion of the Annunciation of Our Lady inscribed on it. The gilded silver medallion (*drobnitsas*, 'insets with miniature images') were surrounded by pearls and the top of the mitre had a round plate with the image of Our Lady of the Sign, with cherubs. The current state shows that the fur was removed, precious stones were set on the lower hoop, with a Greek inscription between them: ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΙΣΤΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΟΣΧΟΒΙΑΣ ΖΡΝ – with the date 7150 (1641/42).[22] This demonstrates that Russian artefacts still have stories to tell about the manner in which they were used in the Orthodox East. However, despite the heterogeneous nature of the current study, all the ways in which Russian icons circulated abroad in the 17ᵗʰ century cannot be exhausted in such a short presentation. Doubtless, new observations need to be added before drawing any conclusions.

Later on, in the 18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ centuries, the changing pattern of relations between Russia and the Orthodox nations of the Ottoman Empire led to new ways in which artefacts circulated from Russia to Greece, to the Balkans and to the Danubian Principalities. From the reign of Peter I onwards, Greek sailors, shipmasters, doctors, translators, and many others would visit Russia and bring icons on their way back home. During the 18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ centuries, artefacts of Russian origin reached the churches of Patmos, Paros, Tinos, Chios, Kerkira, and other Greek islands, sometimes as a result of the First (1768-1774) and Second Archipelago Expeditions (1805-1807). By that time, the Greeks could interact with Russians at home. Other rich material on the subject may be found in the collections of the Sinai monastery of Saint-Catherine and its metochion, but also in the Balkans. During the 19ᵗʰ century, many priestly vestments, church objects, icons, and books were sent to churches in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Epirus, Thessaly, etc. These donations became a permanent item of government spending in the Russian Empire. Archive documents from the 1880s describe how these items were sent from Russia in entire boxes filled to the brim.

Notes:

1 Tschesnokova 2002, p. 407-410; Комашко, Саенкова 2008a, p. 191-204; Комашко, Саенкова, 2008b, p. 237-250; Игошев 2010, p. 4-28; Чеснокова 2011, p. 100-104, 107-108; Игошев 2013, p. 38-67; Игошев 2014a, p. 315-326; Игошев 2014b, p. 88-93; Boycheva 2015, p. 219-234; Чеснокова 2017, p. 64-70; Τσεσνοκόβα 2017, p. 15-21; Чеснокова 2019.

2 *Русские иконы на Синае* 2015; Boycheva 2016.

3 Chesnokova 2016, p. 89-104.

4 Комашко, Чеснокова 2015, p. 57-65; *Русские иконы на Синае* 2015, p. 294-297.

5 Altbauer, Ševčenko, Struminsky 1989, p. 188.

6 See for example: РГАДА. F. 52/1. 1625. № 5. F. 147-150; 1628. F. 74; 1629. № 9. F. 31, 32, 32a, 35, and other files.

7 Чеснокова 2011, p. 107-108.

8 Брюсова 1982, p. 47-48.

9 Чеснокова 2011, p. 102.

10 Белокуров 1894, p. 4,15.

11 Δημητρακόπουλος 1984, p. 127-150; Vocotopoulos 1992, p. 167-170; Комашко, Саенкова 2008a, p. 191-206.

12 See for example: Каптерев 2008, p. 168-169. A special study should be devoted to this topic.

13 РГАДА. F 52/1. 1651. № 8. F. 262.

14 Чеснокова 2011, p. 101.

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16 Дмитриевский 1894, p. 168-194.

17 РГАДА. F. 52/1. 1706. № 10.

18 РГАДА. F. 52/1. 1683 № 8; 1692 № 10 and other files.

19 Чеснокова 2011, p. 99-100.

20 Сидор Поспеев // *Словарь русских иконописцев XI – XVII веков*

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Russian Sacred Objects in the Orthodox East
Archive Evidence from the 18th to the Early 20th Century

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ʀᴇ́sᴜᴍᴇ́ : La tradition du soutien russe aux églises orthodoxes de l'Orient et des Balkans a commencé au xvɪᵉ siècle et s'est poursuivie jusqu'en 1917. Au niveau gouvernemental, l'aide matérielle a été réduite et réglementée au xvɪɪɪᵉ siècle, mais elle a gagné en générosité après 1830, en rapport avec l'évolution de la Question d'Orient et la rivalité des grandes puissances engagées au Moyen-Orient. L'article étudie le caractère et la distribution géographique du soutien de l'Église et du gouvernement russes, tout en observant que ces traits ont évolué dans le temps et qu'ils ont été influencés par les tendances politiques de certaines périodes. Il étudie aussi les nombreuses donations privées issues des pèlerinages en Terre Sainte et faites aux monastères d'Orient, aussi bien que celles résultant des relations personnelles avec le haut clergé. La tendance générale à augmenter les sommes et les dons jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale a été le résultat de la montée de la tension au Moyen-Orient et dans la Méditerranée orientale.

ᴍᴏᴛs-ᴄʟᴇ́s : Église orthodoxe, Question d'Orient, politique externe russe, donations, objets sacrés.

ʀᴇᴢᴜᴍᴀᴛ: Tradiția sprijinului rusesc pentru bisericile ortodoxe din Orient și Balcani a început în secolul al xvɪ-lea și a continuat până în 1917. Ajutorul material la nivel guvernamental, redus și reglementat în secolul al xvɪɪɪ-lea, a devenit din nou mai generos după 1830, în directă legătură cu evoluția 'Chestiunii Orientale' și a rivalității marilor puteri pentru influență în Orientul Mijlociu. Articolul susține ipoteza conform căreia caracterul și felul în care a fost distribuit geografic sprijinul din partea Bisericii și guvernului rus nu au fost întotdeauna aceleași, deoarece au depins de interesele politice. Numeroasele donații private se datorează pelerinajului în Țara Sfântă și la mănăstirile din Orient, precum și relațiilor personale cu clerul înalt. Tendința generală de creștere a sumelor și donațiilor până în preajma Primului Războiul Mondial a fost rezultatul creșterii tensiunii în Orientul Mijlociu și în jurul Mediteranei de Est.

ᴄᴜvɪɴᴛᴇ ᴄʜᴇɪᴇ: Biserica Răsăriteană, Chestiunea Orientală, politica externă rusă, donații, obiecte sacre.

VISUAL CULTURE, PIETY
AND PROPAGANDA:
TRANSFER AND RECEPTION OF
RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS ART IN THE BALKANS
AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
(16TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

Moscovian Russia regularly sent donations to the churches and monasteries of the Orthodox East until the end of the 17th century, as it regarded itself as heir of Byzantium and the head of Eastern Christianity.[1] The character of Russian donations to church institutions of the Ottoman Empire abruptly changed in the 18th century. The policy of 'Westernization' started by Peter ɪ the Great (1682-1725) was continued by the empresses who succeeded him, and Russia acted as a European power more than a part of the Orthodox Oikoumene. Russian governors, many of them of German and therefore non-Orthodox origin, were investing in the development of economic and cultural links with Western European countries, not in rising the authority of the Orthodox Empire by attracting relics and financing remote patriarchates and monasteries of the Orient.

Tendencies of the imperial period in Russian history.

During the reign of Peter ɪ, there was no specific law regulating these donations. They were sent more or less according to the traditional notions of the 17th century. The situation changed for good reason in the early 1730s, under empress Anna Ioannovna, being determined by the case of the patriarchs of Antioch Athanasius and Sylvester: since 1723, these patriarchs had been asking the Russian Synod for a new act confirming the annual donations to their see. The new document had to replace a previous one, given to patriarch Macarius in the 17th century, which was lost by then.[2] The Archives of the Patriarchate in Moscow were thoroughly investigated, but no copy of the document was

Fig. 1. *Archimandrite Porphyrius Uspensky in the 1880s.*
Credits: Wikimedia Commons.

found. The frequent requests finally led to the introduction of the 'Palestinian States' in 1735, regulating the annual sum of donations to each of the patriarchal sees of the Ottoman Empire, as well as to a long list of monasteries.[3] The sums were rather modest: each of the four patriarchates received an annual sum of 100 rubles, while most monasteries from the list were given only 35 rubles per year. Representatives from these church institutions had to come to Moscow and collect the money every five years. However, their stay in Russia was financed by the Russian government, as before. Other requests for additional material aid during the 18th century were usually turned down and the voluntary gathering of donations on the Russian territory was strictly forbidden if it did not have the permission of the Holy Synod. This situation continued until the very end of the 18th century, when money started being transferred via the Russian ambassadors in Constantinople. It is no surprise that during the long periods of war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, contacts were interrupted and no money was sent. This is why financial sums equivalent to ten or more years were transferred in the 1830s. Normally, all requests for aids from the Palestinian States were satisfied. But there were some exceptions. For instance, the Syrian monastery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (called *Belemend*) did not receive any donations for a period of seventy years ending in 1837. The financial aid was sent only since 1835, the year when the emperor Nicolas I issued an act on the

regulation of donations. The same was the case of the Adrian monastery in Epirus, which had not received its donations for a period of seventy-five years by 1835.

The successful Russo-Ottoman wars of the late 18th and early 19th century changed the character of the relations between Russia and the Orthodox East. According the treaty of Kiuchuk-Kainardji (1774) Russia had the official right to protect the Orthodox living in the Ottoman Empire. After the treaties of Adrianople (1829) and especially of Unkiar-Iskelesi (1833), Russia received even more privileges in the sphere of political influence over Turkey. Since the 1830s, Russia joined the competition of the great powers in the Balkans and the Middle East. Preserving and supporting Orthodoxy against Catholic and Protestant propaganda became a key element in the Russian policy deployed in this struggle. Pious donations therefore became a political instrument, the so-called 'soft power' for influence in the region. Direct diplomatic support (although sometimes provided) was difficult to obtain both in issuing the legal acts and in their practical implementation. These difficulties came first from the Ottoman authorities, next from the Catholic and Protestant competitors, and third from the Greek high clergy, whose members resisted any foreign attempts to interfere in their canonical territory. The traditional way of donations still seemed most suitable, despite its negative sides and dubious efficiency.

During the 19th century the material aid to the churches of the Christian East was provided by the Russian government in two ways. The main one was the direct transfer of money (to the institutions enlisted in the 'Palestinian States', and also on special occasions), or by giving permissions to the abbots of the monasteries to gather donations in Russia (according to a certain order, with limitations). The other way was to send church items: icons, vestments, vessels, décor, covers, bells, books, etc. The private donations, both in money and in church objects, also remained very popular. In fact, a great part of the sums sent through the ministry of foreign affairs or the Synod also came from private donations. This was the case of the donations made by the emperor or the empress, as well as by certain rich merchants who made donations to the Synod intended "for the Orthodox churches in Muslim territories". The interest from such donations was used to support various church projects, according the situation.

Between 1830s and 1853. Establishing of institutions and creating contacts.

The restoration of the Catholic Patriarchate (1847) and the foundation of a Protestant Bishopric (1842) in Jerusalem, as well as the renovation or foundation of a number of schools by the Jesuits, Capuchins, Lazarists, and other Catholic congregations, resulted in further conversions of Orthodox Christians to Uniatism or Protestantism. When the rumours about the misuse of Russian donations in Jerusalem reached Moscow and Petersburg, the creation of an ecclesiastical mission to support Orthodoxy as the basis of Russian influence in the Middle East and to control the donations became an urgent necessity.[4] The first step undertaken by the Russian ministry of foreign affairs was to delegate the learned archimandrite Porphyrius Uspensky to Syria and Palestine in 1843. A few years later, he became the chief of the first Russian mission to Jerusalem (1847).[5] Among other tasks, Porphyrius had to gather detailed information about the state of the Orthodox church in the East, both from material and spiritual points of view. In his Journals (*Kniga Bytiia Moego*), already edited in 8 volumes by the end of the 19th century, Porphyrius gave a de-

tailed description of the local churches, carefully noting all icons, vessels, and other objects of Russian origin that he had seen in those churches.[6] His notes are important evidence on the presence of Russian art objects in Syria and Palestine well before the systematic importing of Russian church items to the Holy Land. All these objects were brought or sent by private persons – pilgrims to the Holy Land.

To give but some examples, Porphyrius saw a Russian icon of saint Metrophanes donated by pilgrim Beketova (without a frame) in the monastery of Saint-George in Efrafa (Beit-Djala).[7] In the same village, he identified a Russian icon of Christ with an open Gospel, but could not find out the name of the donor.[8] The monastery of Saint-John in Jerusalem was mainly in ruins during the 1840s, but Porphyrius saw a silver chandelier and a large icon of saint John with a silver décor in one of the altars of the church. Both were donations from Russia.[9] The throne of the Holy Sepulchre chapel, where Porphyrius performed the liturgy on Pentecost 1844, was covered with a silver image of Christ and the four Evangelists, donated by the Ukrainian hetman John Mazepa and bearing the inscription: *Sumptu illustrissimis Ducis Johannis Mazepae Rossiae.*[10] All the icons in the iconostasis, the chandelier and the embroidered shroud of Christ in Saint-Sabbas monastery in Palestine were also brought from Russia.[11] Last but not least, in 1847, the Russian ecclesiastical mission to Jerusalem was founded. Soon, a Russian nun called Iulita, former abbess of Saint-Catherine monastery, brought a Russian icon of saint Nil Stolbenskii to Porphyrius. On the side of this icon, the archimandrite could read its story: "This image from Saint-Nil monastery was brought to Grand Duchess Elisaveta Alekseevna in 1801. Given by her to the colonel's wife Marfa Bulygina in 1807. Donated to the Holy Sepulchre in 1840".[12]

Having in mind such glorious examples when he described his first project of the Russian mission to Jerusalem on January 7, 1844, Porphyrius stressed that the future mission should supply all village churches of Syria and Palestine with icons, and that a school of icon painting at the mission had to be organized, among other things.[13] This wide-scale program was never realized. But Porphyrius made numerous donations to village churches in Palestine and Trans-Jordan during his stay in Jerusalem in 1848-1853. Thus, the churches in Lydda and Nabuluz, Spalta and Khrena received church vestments (October 10 and 30, 1852; November 24, 1852).[14]

Both Porphyrius and Konstantin Basili, the Russian consul to Beirut, addressed reports to the Russian government. These reports concerned the support directed at the poorest part of the Arab Orthodox population of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, organizing of schools for them, and supplying their churches. The sums received from Russia for the Orthodox school in Beirut were controlled by the consulate. However, the donations sent by the Russian Synod came directly in the hands of the patriarchs as legal heads of Orthodox communities, and the further distribution was up to them, without any control. This lead to enormous abuses: by the end of the 1850s, a sum of almost 50.000 rubles gathered during eleven years for the Patriarchate of Alexandria was stolen and distributed among the family of the patriarch, and this was not a unique case.[15] The practice of sending the money to the patriarchs did not change until the 1880s, because the Russian government avoided pressing any charges, for fear of being accused of illegal actions against canon law.

In 1838, the patriarch of Alexandria Hierotheus and the patriarch of Antioch Methodius sent to the Russian Synod a petition wherein they expressed the danger coming from the side of Maximus Mazlum, the Greek-Catholic patriarch "of the three sees" and asked for diplomatic and material aid against Catholic proselytism. The reply of the Russian government was more than favourable: first, ambassador Butenev managed to obtain a *firman* from the sultan, which prohibited the Greek-Catholic clergy from wearing the same vestments as the Orthodox. Secondly, apart from the usual generous sums of money, the Russian Synod decided to send to both patriarchs a large number of church items (icons, vestments, cloth for them, vessels, etc.), which were kept in the treasuries of the Novgorod, Chernigov, and Petersburg dioceses. The archives of the Holy Synod contain detailed descriptions of all these items.[16] This act was soon followed by a new request for material aid from the Patriarch of Alexandria Hierotheus, who asked the Holy Synod for an iconostasis with icons and vestments for the church in Alexandria. His list of about one hundred icons contained their precise measurements and descriptions.[17] This time he was denied, though this request was supported by Porphyrius Uspensky and contributed to the sending of a bishop to Moscow to gather donations to be used in Alexandria.

The success of collecting money on behalf of the Patriarchate of Antioch was to a great degree a result of the

▼ Fig. 2. *Request for material aid from patriarch Methodius of Antioch. December 5, 1843 (Sankt Petersburg Archives of the Academy of Sciences, Archives of Porphyrius Uspensky, f. 118, op. 1., d. 42).* Courtesy of the St. Petersburg Archives of the Academy of Sciences.
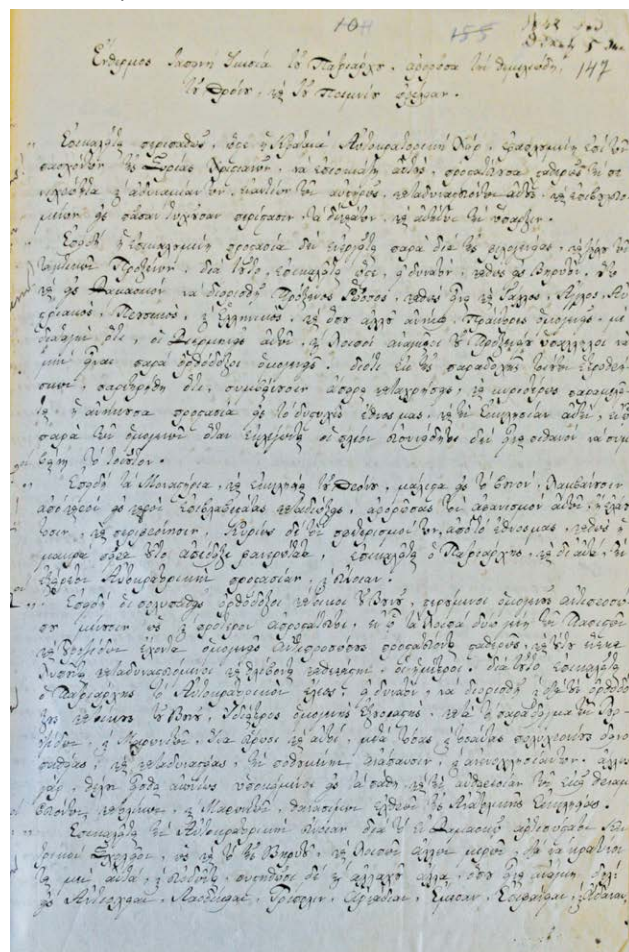
presentations of consul Basili, who was on close terms with patriarch Methodius. Following his reports, the Russian Synod allowed Neophytus, bishop of Heliopolis and representative of the patriarch, to come to Moscow in 1842 and settle there for many years, gathering donations.[18] In 1846, consul Basili reported that about 11.000 rubles were gathered thanks to this mission and a new beautiful building for the Saint-Nicolas church of Damascus had been erected. The church was decorated with marble mosaics and a wooden iconostasis; the icons were brought from Russia and donated by countess Orlova.[19] In 1848, an Antioch dependency was founded in Moscow, providing stable income to the patriarchate. When bishop Neophytus died in 1857, a long list of church objects intended to be sent to Syria was made during a revision of his heritage. This became the subject of discussions between Russian church authorities and the representatives of the patriarchal see of Antioch, also pretending to keep an eye on them.[20]

In the first half of the 19ᵗʰ century, the Eastern patriarchates received many donations from the Moscow 'compounds' or 'dependences' of the Russian government (*подворье*). First in line was the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1818), followed by that of Antioch (1848), of Alexandria (1858), and finally the Patriarchate of Constantinople (1882). The foundation of these 'compounds' aimed to provide a more systematic and regular support for the churches of the Ottoman Empire. Since the 1860s, it partially replaced the loss of income from the 'inclined estates' of Moldavia and Wallachia, which had been confiscated under the reign of prince Alexander John Cuza (1859-1862).

Many donations of church items passed through these 'compounds'. The most interesting cases concern the temporary preservation of Oriental church items in Russia, when they were saved from persecutions in Asia Minor and the Pontus area. Two examples, among others. In 1844, priest Constantin Boyarov of Mariupol kept some silver vessels belonging to a church of the Assumption in Asia Minor, which were entrusted to his care by the local bishop, in order to save them from plundering, probably in the 1820s. Another situation is that of 1839, when the monks of Soumela monastery asked the Synod for permission to take back from the Saint-George monastery of Balaklava the relics of saint Christopher, which were kept there since they had been saved by a Greek monk of Soukhum Kale during the Greek uprising.[21]

In 1850, after recognition by Constantinople, the official relations between the Russian Church and the Church of Greece were finally established. The same year, aids were sent from Russia for the restoration of the church of Saint-Nicholas Rangavas in Athens.[22] A couple of years later, an iconostasis for Saint-Irene church, also in Athens, was delivered from Russia. When Antonin Kapustin the priest of the Russian church in Athens, presented the situation after the earthquakes in Thessaly and Corinth, a sum of money was sent to the metropolitan of Livadia. Speaking about Athens of the 1850s, two other churches should be mentioned: the Holy-Trinity Russian church (renovated in 1852-1855),[23] and the small Agia-Zoni church in Patissia.[24] Both of them were Byzantine monuments and were completely restored from ruins according the aesthetic notions of that time, being decorated with icons and other items from Russia.

◀ Fig. 3. *Confirmation letter of the four patriarchs of the Orthodox East for the establishment of the Russian Holy Synod. September 4, 1723 (RGIA, f. 796, op. 205. d. 6, f. 8).* Courtesy of the St. Petersburg Archives of the Academy of Sciences.

Before the 1850s, the Russian government had no certain program for the support of the Orthodox church of the Orient and the Balkans. The aids were sent more or less occasionally, following various requests. No difference was made between the Greek and non-Greek churches. Moreover, the Greek patriarchs and local bishops were regarded as the only legal heads of the church institutions, and all the money was sent directly to them, without any real control over its distribution. The first Russian institution in the East – the Mission in Jerusalem – before 1853 had no real power or influence in church matters in the Holy Land.

After the Crimean War.
Church donations as an instrument of policy.

The Crimean War was the most important turning point in the relations between Russia and the Orthodox East during the 19ᵗʰ century. The defeat of Russia in that confrontation directed the attention of the Russian government to the Middle East. Several institutions under the patronage of grand duke Constantine Nikolayevich were created in the second half of the 1850s (the *Trade and Shipping Society*, the *Palestine Committee*). Others were revived and stimulated to pursue their activities, such as the Russian ecclesiastical mission in Jerusalem. At the same time, new consulates were established and the Russian consuls in the Ottoman Empire received clear instructions to be actively involved in the life of local Christian communities and to keep closer contacts with local bishops. Leaving aside pure Russian institutions such as that of the Holy Trinity church in Jerusalem and the Russian involvement in the construction of convents in Jerusalem or on Mount Athos, which need special attention, let us trace some general tendencies after the Crimean war.

It is well known that the policy of Alexander II (1855-1881) was based on Pan-Slavism, *i. e.* the much-desired support for the Slavic Orthodox nations of the Balkans, with the final target to create a wide Southern-Slavic state in the Balkans liberated from Turkey. This was not something necessarily new. Special attention had already been paid to the Slavic churches in the first half of the 19ᵗʰ century: in 1806, the metropolitan of Montenegro mentioned that he had received church items from Russia; in 1842, aids were sent to the monastery of Saint-Nicholas near Skopje; in 1843, other aids were sent to the Bulgarian schools founded by Vasil Aprilov. What made the 1856-1877 policies different was that the support of fellow Slavs had become a matter of primary attention on a governmental level.

In 1860, Alexander II made a generous personal donation of 50.000 rubles to the Slavic churches in Turkey.[25] At the same time, his wife, empress Maria Alexandrovna, sent a large sum of money to the head of the Russian mission in Jerusalem, with the sole purpose of providing support for the Orthodox churches in Syria and Palestine. She made further special donations to different other churches of the Ottoman Empire. Money and church objects were gathered through the Slavonic committees all over Russia and shipped to Turkey. In the journals of archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, the priest of the Russian embassy church in Constantinople (1860-1865), one may find frequent reports about boxes with church items destined to different churches of the Balkans, mainly Slavonic, but Greek as well. All the items were first stored in a special room of the Russian embassy in Pera and thereafter distributed to the final destinations. Among these objects were old icons, vestments, vessels, Slavonic books, and bells. The donations were so numerous that Antonin even intended to keep part of them in the embassy and create a museum of church anti-

4 Апрѣля 1848
получено
въ Ерусалимѣ

† ὁ Παλαιᾶς ... εὔχομαι διάπυρος:

◀ Fig. 4. *Copy of a letter of patriarch Methodius of Antioch to Porphyrius Uspensky. March 24, 1848. (Sankt Peterburg Archives of the Academy of Sciences, Archives of Porphyrius Uspensky, f. 118, op. 1., d. 42).*
Courtesy of the Russian State Historical Archive.

quities.[26] The same happened in the Russian consulate of Serbia. It received books, icons, etc., and had to distribute them to the churches of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.[27] Rachinskii, Russian consul in Varna, made special efforts for the building of a church in that town, entirely supplied from Russia.[28] Some donations had a special political meaning in the context of the Greek-Bulgarian ecclesiastical struggle. For instance, bishop Parfenii of Poliana had to settle the question of the union in Kukush in 1860, when he received a set of Russian vestments as a personal gift from the empress, including a *sakkos*, *mytra*, and *panagia*.[29] Many Russian consuls in the Ottoman Empire invested a lot of personal energy in supporting the local bishops or in restoring churches and monasteries. This conferred them a certain prestige among local Christians and helped their career. I already mentioned the deeds of Rachinskii, consul in Varna, who was busy with building a local church in the early 1860s. But there was also Ozerov, Russian ambassador in Athens, who financed the restoration of Agia-Zoni church in 1857. In later decades, documentation is abundant. Russian authorities were involved in the construction of well-known buildings in Bulgaria, such as the Russian church on Shipka mountain[30] or the bell-tower of Virgin church in Plovdiv. And it would be a mistake to say that only Slavonic churches received donations in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ century. There is abundant archival evidence about their involvement in Greek churches as well.[31]

Since the late 1850s, an area of special attention for the Russian government was Eastern Turkey, close to the Russian border, in the Caucasus. Political projects could not ignore the possibility that this territory could soon become part of the Russian Empire. The primary target of Russian policy in the region was to support the Greek Orthodox population of Eastern Pontus and to encourage the return to Christianity of those who had been converted to Islam in the 17ᵗʰ century (the so-called *Kromlides*).[32] It is not surprising that Moshnin, Russian consul in Trebizond, took great care to supply the churches of the town with the needed items. In 1858, he asked for a sum of money from the Holy Synod. It was used in a church under construction in Trebizond (300 rubles were sent),[33] and a year later a complete set of ecclesiastical vessels and vestments was sent to the local metropolitan Konstantios by empress Maria Alexandrovna. The solemn occasion placated the metropolitan into allowing the celebration of Slavonic liturgy every Sunday in one of the churches of Trebizond.[34] The same Russian consul provided the bells for the Metropolitan church in Trebizond, as well as for the Orthodox church in Batum, at that time still an Ottoman town.[35] Moshnin clearly explained in his reports that the support given to the Greek Orthodox churches through Russian donations was a preparation for the time when that region would join Russia, especially taking into account that many Greeks were already working for years in the Russian Caucasus and had obtained Russian citizenship.[36]

This change in attitude after the Crimean War also led to the establishment of closer ties with the patriarchates of the East. These efforts, first expressed in personal gifts to the patriarchs and bishops, but also in donations to the churches of those dioceses, were entrusted to high rank of-ficials, such as count Nicolay Adlerberg, minister of Court; Avraam Norov, minister of Education; grand duke Constantine Nikolayevich; and others. They made a series of personal donations to the churches and the hierarchs. Adlerberg himself oversaw the construction of an Orthodox church in Karak (Trans-Jordan, since 1845). Norov sent gifts to patriarch Cyril of Jerusalem – two icons that the Patriarch did not appreciate because they were Western-European in style and not traditionally Byzantine. Norov had already started his benefaction campaign to the Eastern churches in the 1840s, when he proposed for the Synod to supply the churches of Dalmatia with books and other items from Russia. Later, he donated a lot of money to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and other institutions. The tradition of rich donations from Russian individuals to the Greek church did not stop in later decades. One of them was Tertii Filippov, chairman of the Russian State Control, who was famous for his philhellenic views and for his pro-Greek stance in conflict of the Bulgarian schism (1872). He corresponded with many of high Greek prelates and gave them gifts.[37] Furthermore, emperors, empresses, and grand dukes made many donations on different occasions. The high Orthodox clergy of the Ottoman Empire regularly received personal gifts and awards from the Russian government, especially when they were inclined to support Russia's ambitions in that country.

After the Crimean War, special efforts were also made to supply the poor Orthodox churches of Syria with church objects. This was regarded as a part of the program for supporting the Orthodox population against the raising Catholic and Protestant propaganda, as well as support for the Arabs in their struggle for national and ecclesiastical independence. This happened because Syria became one of the main settings for the rivalry between France, Britain, and Russia in the 1850s. A large part of the population has been already converted to Uniatism or Catholicism in the 17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ centuries, therefore French diplomacy regarded the country as Catholic. The activities of French Catholic propaganda, involved in the further Latinisation of the Uniates, met a certain resistance from their side. In 1858, the attempts to introduce the Gregorian calendar caused a large group of Greek-Catholics (*Melkites*) to embrace Orthodoxy. Russian diplomacy was strongly supportive of this tendency, and years later, when it was clear that the converted members of the 'Oriental' party of Syrian Melkites had lost many of their churches, Russia sent aids for the erection of new buildings, supplying them with everything necessary for liturgy.[38] In those late times, the election of an Arab patriarch on the throne of Antioch in 1899 brought once more the Orthodox Church of Syria to the attention of the Russian state. After the visit of patriarch Gregory IV to Russia in 1913 (during the 300ᵗʰ anniversary of the Romanov house), the Patriarchate of Antioch received a special sum of 30.000 rubles and many other donations and promises for future support. It would not be an exaggeration to say that on the eve of the First World War, the Orthodox church of Syria was under Russian control and clearly on the side of the Russian government.[39]

Yet sometimes, gathering money and church items for a church in the Greek or Slavic lands could also be undertaken on private level, without any political ambitions. Normally, this would happen after an individual pilgrimage to the holy places. For example, a certain Ekaterina Abramova from Moscow asked the Holy Synod in 1850 for a permission to gather aids for the church of Saint-Lazarus and for the Kikkos Virgin monastery in Cyprus.[40] More requests for this kind of permissions were received by the

Synod in connection with money collections on behalf of the Holy Sepulchre. The mass pilgrimage to the holy places of Palestine, to Mount Athos, and to Sinai after the 1850s was followed by a new stream of donations, which led to even more church objects being transferred from Russia to the East.

The gifts made by the Holy Synod to the patriarchs were usually conditioned by policy favourable to Russia. After the second enthronement of Joachim III as patriarch of Constantinople in 1901, a bishop carrying a silver reliquary for the relics of saint Euthymia (preserved in the church of Saint-George in the Phanar) arrived from Petersburg in 1903, since Joachim III enjoyed the strongest support of Russian diplomacy. This masterpiece of neo-Byzantine and Art nouveau style is still visible in the church today.

Its delivery to Constantinople by a bishop of the Russian church was followed by a long discussion about the canonical circumstances of the event: whether the bishop had the right to celebrate the holy liturgy in Constantinople or not, and what political effect would this visit have.[41]

But there was also a downside to these actions. The rapid increase in Russian donations and money collections on behalf of the churches of the East led to regular abuses. Many people were worried and attempted to limit them as

Fig. 5. *View of the church of Saint-Nicholas Rangavas in Athens, incorrectly described as Saint-George Rangavas in the Russian archives. Exterior view of the church. The financial aid was sent in 1850 or 1851.*
Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

early as the 1860s. Often, the petitions were refused. In the end, the clergymen coming to Russia in the early 1890s to gather donations were forbidden to carry any sacred objects (icons or relics) with them. This, of course, reduced the success of their missions. However, regardless of these limitations and restrictions, the number of sacred objects brought to the Orthodox East and the financial sums donated increased steadily until the beginning of First World War.[42]

Conclusion.

The donation of money and church items to the Orthodox East was regarded by the Russian government as a lever of political influence in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 19th century, and up to the beginning of the First World War. The competition of the great powers in the Middle East and Balkans made the Russian government send increasing sums of money to support Orthodoxy against Catholic and Protestant propaganda. The changes in the political orientation – from general support (before the 1850s) to Pan-Slavism and aids mainly directed to Slavic and Arabic institutions (1850s-1877), and back to the imperial pan-Orthodox ideology (after 1878) – was reflected in the character and geographical distribution of these donations. The promotion of pilgrimage also contributed to the donations.

Notes:

1 On the tradition of donations in the 17th century, see Каптерев 1914; Ченцова 2010; Чеснокова 2011.

2 Letter of patriarch Athanasius dated September 26, 1723 (RGIA, f. 796, op. 5, d. 211, f. 11-11v). A letter of Patriarch Sylvester dated September 29, 1725 (protocol of the session of the Russian Holy Synod, February 11, 1926, RGIA, f. 796, op. 7, d. 133, f. 2-4). See also Чеснокова 2019, p. 195-196. Another letter by Sylvester was addressed to the empress Anna Ioannovna in June 1731: protocol of the session of the Russian Holy Synod, November 12, 1731 (RGIA, f. 797, op. 12, d. 434, f. 1-3v); patriarch Sylvester to the Holy Synod, August 1, 1733 (RGIA, f, 796, op. 15, d. 27, f. 3-4).

3 RGIA, f. 796, op. 3, d. 289.

4 For a general overview of Russian activities in the area of Syria and Palestine, see Staurou 1965; Hopwood 1969; Meaux 2010.

5 Безобразов 1910; Лисовой 2000; Лисовой 2017. For Porphyrius' activities in the Holy Land, see Дмитриевский 1906; Дмитриевский 2009; Иннокентий 1985, p. 315-325; Stavrou 1963.

6 Успенский 1894-1901.

7 Успенский 1894-1901, vol. I, p. 399.

8 January 22, 1844. Успенский 1894-1901, vol. I, p. 404-405.

9 April 19, 1844. Успенский 1894-1901, vol. I, p. 658.

10 May 14, 1844. Успенский 1894-1901, vol. II, p. 85.

11 June 7, 1844. Успенский 1894-1901, vol. II, p. 142.

12 August 31, 1848. Успенский 1894-1901, vol. II, p. 341.

13 Успенский 1894-1901, vol. I, p. 359-360.

14 Успенский 1894-1901, vol. III, p. 317, 324, 332.

15 Петрунина, Герд, Вах 2020, p. 57-71.

16 RGIA, f. 797, op. 8, d. 24207, see especially f. 55 (the list of church objects). See also K. Basili to K. S. Serbinovich, November 10/22, 1841 (RGIA, f. 1661, op. 1, d. 473).

17 Петрунина, Герд, Вах 2020, p. 167-174.

18 RGIA, f. 797, op. 12, d. 30535.

19 Basili to Ustinov, September 14, 1846. RGIA, f. 223-226v.

20 RGIA, f. 796, op. 132, d. 2123. For the property left at the death of bishop Neophytus, who had stayed in Moscow, gathering donations for the Patriarchate of Antioch, see f. 134-136, with a list of the church objects prepared to be shipped to Syria.

21 An extract from the session of the Holy Synod, October 16/20, 1839, No. 133 (RGIA, f. 797, op. 9, d. 25633, f. 3-5).

22 Герд, Вах 2013, p. 154; Χλέπα 2011, p. 48-49.

23 Герд, Вах 2015, p. 19-22; Жалнина-Василкиоти, Шкаровский 2017.

24 Герд, Вах 2017, p. 16-17.

25 RGIA, f. 797, op. 30, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 300.

26 Герд 2020.

27 A great number of archive documents testify to the transfer of church items to the South Slavonic lands. See, for example, the shipping of books to Nicanor, the metropolitan bishop of Montenegro (RGIA, f. 797, op. 29, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 366, 1859); for an icon painter sent from the Laura of Saint-Sergius to Montenegro (*ibidem*, d. 345); for the church items sent to the village Perasto (*ibidem*, d. 346). Also in 1861, a request for church items for the village of Osechany in Bosnia (*ibidem*, op. 31, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 279). In 1863, a request from the consul of Vidin to supply the community with church items and books (*ibidem*, op. 33, 2 otd., d. 110).

28 RGIA, f. 797, op. 30. 2 otd., 2 st., d. 367 (1860).

29 RGIA, f. 797, op. 30, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 325.

30 See Герд 2012, p. 140-144.

31 For instance, Seraphim the metropolitan of Arta addressed a request to the Synod in 1866. It concerned the shipment of vestments to the churches of his province (RGIA, f. 797, op. 36, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 243).

32 On the Crypto-Christians of the Pontus, see Παρχαρίδης 1911; Φωτιάδης 1993; Φωτιάδης 1997.

33 An extract from the session of the Holy Synod, November 18/ December 1, 1857 (RGIA, f. 797, op. 27, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 401, f. 4-4v). A report of consul A. Moshnin on the conversion of 16.000 Kromlides to Orthodoxy. June 14, 1859 (RGIA, f. 797, op. 27, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 341, f. 4-15v).

34 A. Moshnin to S. Urusov, Pera, May 1/13, 1862 (RGIA, f. 797, op. 32, 2 otd., d. 119, f. 5-6v).

35 A. Moshnin to S. Urusov, April 17, 1863 (RGIA, f. 797, op. 31, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 311, f. 21-21v).

36 *Ibidem*, f. 2-5, 9-10.

37 See Герд 2006, p. 162-170.

38 See RGIA, f. 797. Op. 27, 2 otd., 2 st., d. 427 (on the request of the Syrian Greek-Uniates concerning their joining the Orthodox Church); *ibidem*, f. 832, op. 1, d. 106 (on the wish of the Syrian and Egypt Greek-Uniates to join the Orthodox Church and about building a church and a hospital for them, 1860-1861); *ibidem*, f. 796, op. 145, d. 850 (supporting the Greek-Uniates who joined Orthodoxy and the building churches for them in Beirut, Damascus, and other places), etc. On the Melkites and their attempt to join the Orthodox Church in the 19th century, see Hajjar 1962; Петрунина, Герд, Вах 2020, p. 113-122.

Russian Orthodox Art in the Bulgarian Lands
from the 16th until the Late 19th Century: The Current State of Investigation and Avenues for Further Research

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RÉSUMÉ: Dès le milieu du XXᵉ siècle, les chercheurs bulgares s'intéressent à l'étude des œuvres d'art religieux russe qui sont arrivées dans l'aire culturelle bulgare ; mais ces études n'ont jamais été menées de manière intensive. Les futures approches devront collecter, cataloguer et étudier les collections plus importantes d'icônes, d'estampes et d'objets russes de culte, en rassemblant toutes les informations nécessaires qui concernent les modalités d'acquisition de ces objets, leurs donateurs et leurs histoires individuelles. Une attention particulière devra être accordée aux peintres russes qui ont vécu en Bulgarie, ainsi qu'aux Bulgares qui ont étudié les arts en Russie, sachant que ces derniers ont peint des icônes après le retour en Bulgarie. L'influence de l'art orthodoxe russe sur les sujets abordés et les styles utilisés dans l'art bulgare pourra compléter ce panorama. La présente étude se propose de faire le bilan des recherches en cours.

MOTS-CLÉS: icônes russes, icônes miraculeuses, gravures, *lubok*, échanges artistiques.

REZUMAT: Cercetătorii bulgari au fost preocupați de studiul operelor rusești de artă sacră din teritoriile bulgare încă de la mijlocul secolului XX, deși nu foarte intens. Viitoarele abordări ar trebui să colecteze, să catalogheze și să studieze colecții mai mari de icoane rusești, tipărituri și obiecte de cult, adunând informații despre modalitățile de obținere a obiectelor, despre donatorii lor și poveștile individuale. O atenție deosebită se cuvine și pictorilor ruși care au locuit în Bulgaria, precum și bulgarilor care au studiat artele în Rusia, pentru a picta apoi icoane în locurile lor de obârșie. Influența artei ortodoxe ruse asupra subiectelor și stilurilor artei bulgare este, de asemenea, un domeniu de cercetare care promite foarte mult.

CUVINTE CHEIE: icoane rusești, icoane făcătoare de minuni, gravuri, *lubok*, relații artistice.

The first Bulgarian researcher to deal with the subject of Bulgarian-Russian art relations was Andrey Protich in 1920.[1] In 1955, Nikola Mavrodinov laid the foundation for a more extensive study of these relations, from the Middle Ages until the 20th century.[2] Without exaggeration, his work was nothing less than trailblazing. Although the author was unaware of many facts and artefacts, he raised questions that remain relevant even today. He was intrigued by the pathways through which the dissemination of Russian icons, graphic works, and church plates was made across the Bulgarian lands. Other topics which interested him were their influence on local masters; the matter of two Russians who lived in 19th century Bulgarian lands and produced a series of prints and wooden carvings; as well as the story of those Bulgarians who went to Russia and studied art. Most unfortunately, he did not continue this research. The communist totalitarian regime forced him to focus his subsequent studies on secular art made by Bulgarian artists who studied in Russian art schools.[3] Nevertheless, by the end of the 20th century and at the turn of the 21st, several studies dealt with Russian or Ukrainian prototypes of the prints and paintings created by Bulgarian icon painters.[4] Elena Genova provided a general outlook on the role of various Russian and Ukrainian templates which

▲ Fig. 1. *The Most Holy Mother of God of Tikhvin. Church of the Assumption, Bregovo.* Credits: Ivan Vanev.

▶ Fig. 2. *The Virgin and Child, icon of the Samokov City History Museum.* Courtesy of the same museum.

greatly influenced the imagery used in the Bulgarian Orthodox art of the National Revival period.[5] More recently, collections of Russian icons and artwork, including an illuminated Russian manuscript, were made available to the public.[6] The Russian icons in Bulgaria are also explored according to their subjects.[7]

This makes the project *Visual Culture, Piety and Propaganda: Transfer and Reception of Russian Religious Art in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean* particularly valuable, since it will provide an extensive and focused research on the monuments of Russian religious art in Bulgaria and its impact on Bulgarian art. In turn, this will provide food for thought, leading to better explorations of its role, often over- or underestimated in the past. Therefore, it is no surprise that the major task of the current research is to record and catalogue the Russian Orthodox works of art present in Bulgarian monasteries, churches, museums, and libraries. Russian icons, gospel book covers, chalices, patens, robes, and vestments are found throughout the country, but they are not necessarily recorded in publications or archival sources (Fig. 3, 4, 6). Their identification is more often than not a matter of chance. Assembling their (more or less) complete inventory is hardly possible.[8] Perhaps the best way to deal with the problem is to follow the structure laid by the pioneering research of N. Mavrodinov. I will take a look at the larger collections first.

First of all, there are two villages of Russian Old-Believers: Kazashko, now a district of the city of Varna, and Tataritsa, in the region of Silistra (now a district of the town of Aidemir).[9] Both villages have churches with iconostases made up of icons which have been brought by the Russian migrants from their homeland.[10] These two large collections have never been explored. Secondly, the Rila monastery has a rich collection of Russian icons, church plates, and printed books. Unfortunately, even though Rila is Bulgaria's biggest and most important monastery, a full catalogue of its treasures has never been compiled to this day, so the wealth of icons and church plates remains unknown. A full catalogue of its library has never been published either, nor is the rich archive fully catalogued, classified, and made accessible. Nikola Mavrodinov provided information about certain Russian works of art of the cloister,[11] but most of them never caught the 'radar' of scientific research. General information is provided only about the rich collection of Russian incunabula of the monastery, but there is no data concerning the engravings therein contained.[12] Finally, some Russian icons belonging to the Rila monastery have been published,[13] but no special analyses were ever made. Another place of interest is the nunnery in Kalofer, known to house Russian icons of the 18th and the 19th centuries, with silver *rizas* (revetements).[14] Y. Pop Georgiev argued that the great icons of the Church of the Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God in the town of Elena (built in 1866) were made in Moscow.[15] Nevertheless, both collections are still unexplored.

Forty-seven wood and five metal Russian icons are recorded in the storage vaults of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, in Sofia (Fig. 5).[16] There is a rich collection of Orthodox works of art in the National Church Museum of History and Archaeology of the Holy Synod, Sofia. And there is also the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral Crypt Icon Museum, as well as the National History Museum (NAM), but these icons were never fully investigated and the studies made available, and there are no Russian icons among the published artefacts, which is due to lack of interest rather than on account of the actual content of these collections.[17] An interesting catalogue of 49 metal crosses and icon pendants found in the graves of the Russian soldiers killed in the Battle of Pleven (1877) during the Russo-Turkish War is among the very few works which benefitted from publications.[18] Last but not least, a number of generally late Russian icons are also sold by auction houses and are found in private collections, but these are difficult to account for.

As for the prints, the project needs to gather and catalogue Russian and Ukrainian prints from the large but unexplored collections of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum (now housed in the storage vaults of the National History Museum), as well as from the Samokov Regional History Museum and, incidentally, from other collections (Fig. 7).[19] Professional icon painters took a real interest in Russian icons, as is evidenced by a sort of *hermeneia* belonging to Simeon Koiuv, a painter from Triavna, and to his sons (currently at the National Church Institute of History and Archaeology of the Holy Synod, Sofia).[20] Their original drawings and sketches are bound in a notebook together with various Menologion engravings printed in Moscow in 1832 and 1833. Evidence of the tastes and visual culture of local Bulgarian Orthodox Christians is provided by the late Russian and Ukrainian lithographs found in many churches and monasteries, as well as in museum collections, for example in the Directorate of Museums, Koprivshtitsa. They hardly ever attracted any research interest. To sum it up, the indispensable conclusions cannot be drawn before creating a database covering the Orthodox Russian artworks in Bulgaria. The current study is introductory at best.

Next, another inescapable problem will be the provenance of the works of art and their classification according to certain art centres, as well as their precise dating, which needs to be made by experts and can be attained only through collaboration with Russian colleagues. For instance, the earliest known Russian icon in nowadays Bulgaria – chronologically speaking – is the Vladimir icon of the Mother of God at Rila monastery, supposedly brought by a monk who went to Russia in the 1580s.[21] But there is also the Vladimir icon of the Mother of God from Boyana (NAM, Sofia), which was initially dated to the 18th century, due to an inscription incised into the background.[22] However, the expert opinion of Prof. E. Smirnova argues that the icon was also painted in the 16th century.

Since the project will study artefacts made until the end of the 19th century, it needs to take into account historical contexts too. In the last quarter of the same century, after the Liberation from the Ottomans in 1878, Bulgarian art experienced a new, completely different period, which continued after the Union of the Principality of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia (the latter being tributary of the Ottoman Empire until 1885), and the ultimate independence achieved in 1908. By that time, the features of Bulgarian Orthodox art were already changing. Mindsets and aesthetic views also broke with the medieval stereotypes, so it would be very helpful to trace which of the new features originated in Russia or in the Russian Athonite monastic community. For instance, the monastery dedicated to Saint-Alexander-Nevsky near Yambol was restored immediately after 1878 and its iconostasis was made by Russian painters. At that time, the memorial cathedral in Shipka was also built to commemorate the Russian solders killed in the Russian-Turkish War, being designed and decorated

by a Russian architect and Russian painters.[23] The Church of Saint-Demetrius in the village of Gorna Studena, where in the war of 1877 the staff of the Russian army was accommodated and where the Russian emperor lived for several months, was completed and decorated with Russian assistance.[24] As for the cathedral in Varna, it was designed by an Odessan architect by the name of Maas (1883) and its icons were commissioned in Sankt Petersburg by the Russian consul, Tcherkovsky.[25]

Delving deeper into the subject, one must be aware of the fact that a large part of the Russian icons of Bulgaria are replicas of the wonderworking icons of Our Lady of Vladimir in Tikhvin, Kazan, famous across Russia, of the Theodore (*Feodorovskaya*) icon of the Most Holy Mother of God, of the Consolation, of the Burning Bush, etc. (Fig. 1, 2).[26] Was this only a matter of commercial supply? Were such icons specifically in demand? The answer should take into account the manner in which these icons were appropriately venerated in their new homes (households and churches), but also what were the feast days, the specific functions, and the stories behind the Russian originals. There are ways to obtain such information. The Bulgarians who visited Russia for business and especially those who read Russian liturgical books could certainly identify the replicas of those wonderworking icons. Pencho Radev, born in Karlovo, published Bulgarian translations of several perpetual calendars: for 1860 (in Bucharest), for 1865 (in Kiev), and for 1871 (also in Kiev). Those calendars contained texts mentioning the healing powers of several saints and their feast days, along with information about Russian wonderworking icons: "Let those struck by blindness pray to the Most Holy Mother of God of Kazan in order to see again; her feast day falls on July 8th... Let women having a difficult delivery pray for easier labour to the Theodore icon of the Most Holy Mother of God, on August 16th... To take care of young children's health, pray to the Most Holy Mother of God of Tikhvin, on June 26th... To protect yourself from fire or thunderbolts, you shall pray

▼ Fig. 3. *The Resurrection of Christ with other scenes. The metropolitan see, Vidin.* Credits: Ivan Vanev.

▲ Fig. 4. *Saint Charalambos surrounded by scenes from his life. The metropolitan see, Vidin.* Credits: Ivan Vanev.

to the Most Holy Mother of God of the Burning Bush, on September 4ᵗʰ" (*За да прогледне онзи, комуто са ослепели очите, нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Казанска. Службата ѝ е юлиа на 8… Жена, която мъчно ражда, нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Теодоровска. 16 августъ… За да ся опазува здравето на малки деца нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Тихвинска. 26 юни… За да ся уварди некой от пожаръ и от громъ нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Неопалимая купина. 4 септември*).[27] And such situations are not restricted to calendars. A mid-19ᵗʰ century codex of prayers and *vitae* of the Saints-Cyril-and-Methodius National Library (нвкм 1012)[28] contains a prayer to the Vladimir icon of Our Lady. Maybe this is the reason why a number of Russian replicas of the Chilandar icon of the Most Holy Mother of God of the Three Hands and of other wonderworking icons of non-Russian provenance are found in Bulgaria (Fig. 8).

Several Russian icons are venerated for testifying to their wonderworking power in various Bulgarian churches.[27] The earliest of them is that of Saint-George at the monastery of Glozhene (Glozhenski monastery), previously named *Kievan.* A local legend has it that the icon came there flying all by itself from Kiev and this miraculous event laid the foundation for the monastery. The original icon, probably an 18ᵗʰ century Ukrainian work, was covered in a silver repoussé revetment wrought in 1827 and a local icon painter added a broad frame featuring hagiographical scenes a year earlier. Taken at its face value, the legend presumably reflects actual relations of the monks of Glozhene with Ukraine. And this is not all. A second wonderworking icon was presented by the Russian troops who liberated the town of Lovech. It was bestowed with a halo of thaumaturgy by the Russian soldiers, who believed that the icon helped them during the battles with the Turks. A third one was brought from Russia, where it was copied after the Chilandarian icon of the Most Holy Mother of God of the Three Hands, venerated on Mount Athos. The provenance, the painter, and the artistic quality were usually im-

Fig. 5. *Saint Nicholas with other saints. National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia.* Credits: Alexander Kuyumdjiev.

Fig. 6. *Revetment of an altar table gospel, Church of the Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God, Berkovitsa.* Credits: Ivan Vanev.

Fig. 7. *The Virgin of the Three Hands with saints Simon and Sabbas of Serbia. 1813. Manuscript, NBKM 740.* Courtesy of the National Library, Sofia.

ѾБРАЗЪ ПРⷮЫѦ БⷰЦЫ НЕОПАЛИМЫѦ КꙊПИНЫ

а	в	г	д	е
творай а҃гглы своѧ дꙋхи сирѣчь пламенны мразꙋ исн҃гꙋ слꙋжебны сꙋⷮть а҃ггли воздержаниѧ ветрꙋ їбꙋрѣ идондю сирѣчь наслꙋжбꙋ верныⷨ человѣкоⷨ	дхⷯ чиⷧ· а҃ггли мглы сирѣⷱ очищение подавла силою бжⷭтвенною дхⷯ силⷯ а҃ггли страха бж҃їѧ громъ сїречь промелаа страшно пришествїе хрⷭтво	дхⷯ премⷣрости· а҃ггли огню палащꙋ сирѣⷱ намъ хотѧщⷶа быти показа: а҃ггли ѿсѣчение проⷧвлаа противꙋ вѣры глаголющиⷯ хꙋлнаа даⷭ чашꙋ горести	дхⷯ страха бж҃їа а҃ггли мразꙋ иледꙋ иснѣгꙋ бл҃го разꙋмнаⷨ намъ показа а҃ггли молнїй палени хотѧщⷶ быти ѿбꙋдꙋщаго сꙋдїй ако приⷣетъ вскорѣ	а҃ггли шблакоⷨ идꙋгⷩом еже есть завѣтъ дапреславно чюдо намъ показа дхⷯ разꙋма гласоⷨ а҃ггⷧ блистанїа сирѣⷱ ако болею оꙋбꙋжⷣаетъ спащⷶ шⷩвѣка

material to the early veneration of an icon as a wonder-working one. However, the stereotype that a wonderworking power of an icon was transmitted to its exact copies is confirmed.

In the late 19ᵗʰ century, cheap and accessible handcrafted Russian icons spread widely across Bulgaria. Hundreds of copies are extant. In most cases, they were purchased for a home iconostasis, but often were also donated to churches. There is no straight answer to the question whether this was due to the low prices which attracted buyers or to the fact that Russian icons were surrounded by a 'halo' of holiness and legitimacy. Indicative of the status of Russian icons is the fact that they were often placed at the centre of Bulgarian iconostases, above the royal doors or in the middle of portable icon stands. Nevertheless, this situation was not always the same. There was a certain decline in the reputation of Russian handcrafted icons after the Liberation. For instance, architect Georgi Kozarov visited Triavna at the turn of the 20ᵗʰ century and met the last living representatives of the Triavnian icon painters. Dwelling on the decline in Triavnian icon painting, he wrote: "Loyal to the tradition, they [*i. e.* the last Triavnian painters] were unable or unwilling to know more than their predecessors. Since they were competing with cheap Russian icons, there was no market for their work and they despaired of their craft… Recently, they obtained models of Russian icons, but facing the protest of some of our bishops, they gave up even on this humble desire of theirs" (*Верни на традицията, те не могат или пък не искат да знаят повече от своите предходници. При конкуренцията на евтините руски икони техните произведения остават без пазар и затова те са отчаяни от занаята си… Напоследък набавили си предложки от руски икони, но пред протеста на някои наши владици, те се отказали от това си скромно желание*).[30]

Particular attention should be paid to two Russian painters who lived for a while in the 19ᵗʰ century Bulgarian lands. The first one was a monk, Leontius, who signed 'Leontius Rus'. The records of the monastery of Trojan have it that he came to the monastery in 1818 and hegumen Parthenius took him under his protection, since he was a master of copperplate engraving.[31] Leontius made three signed engravings for the monastery of Trojan: a depiction of the monastery with the wonderworking icon, saint Nicholas seated on a throne (1819), and an icon of the *Panagia Glykophilousa* ('Sweet-Kissing Mother of God').[32] Different opinions were expressed about the life of monk Leontius and the place of his training,[33] but no particular study has been conducted in this regard. An analysis of the style in the engravings he signed could clarify a number of issues, such as the place of his training or the patterns and templates he used. Such a study may also identify some of his anonymous artworks.

Speaking of artists, a colourful figure, Georgi Vladikin, called *Kazaka* ('Cossack') also aroused deeper interest.[34] At the end of the Russian-Turkish War of 1829, Vladikin stayed in Svishtov and taught drawing for years in this town on the Danube. Research often argues that he carved two iconostases there: in the Church of Prophet Elijah and in that of the Transfiguration,[35] but new assumptions about the authorship of the carvings were recently made.[36] The records show that Vladikin was also busy painting icons and a small stone statuary. N. Mavrodinov was right that Georgi Kazaka's oeuvre is still to be explored. His ideas hold true to this day.

Another line of research is the effect of Russian Orthodox art on the Bulgarian one, both in terms of repertoires and

◀ Fig. 8. *Theotokos of the Burning Bush. Engraving. Samokov City History Museum.* Courtesy of the same Museum.

▲ Fig. 9. *Theotokos of the Our Lady of the Vladimir type. Triavna School. National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia.* Credits: Alexander Kuyumdjiev.

iconography, as well as in the issue of style (Fig. 9). Some compositions believed to be of Russian provenance, such as *In Thee Rejoiceth*,[37] *The Protection of the Theotokos*,[38] *Ordeals of the Soul*,[39] *Sophia, the Wisdom of God*,[40] *The Trinity*,[41] and variants of Russian wonderworking icons such as the Vladimir Most Holy Mother of God were already mentioned.[42] The influence of the typically Russian subject of the Virgin of Consolation was used in an icon by painter Father Pavel from Shipka.[43] His contacts with Russian iconography are still unclear, but they are discernible in the style of some of his artworks, such as his icon of the Most Holy Mother of God of the Three Hands in the catholicon of the Sokolski Monastery. Maybe this

is the place to say that prints from Russian / Ukrainian books provided the source of inspiration for some of the Apocalypses painted in Bulgarian churches,[44] as well as for a number of subjects studied by E. Genova. A lavishly illustrated late 17th century Synodicon made for a Russian Old-Believer belonged to a monk from Rila and was used at his monastery as a template for the cycle of the Ordeals at the Church of the Protection of the Theotokos (and possibly for other representations).[45]

An interesting avenue of research could be the role played by Russian folk prints (*lubok* – a popular print featuring simple graphics and narratives) in the work of the engravers of the Samokov Art School. A print of the *Fortune-Telling Book*, supposedly made by the Samokovian Vladimir Karastoianov,[46] is an exact replica of a 'folk print' published in Moscow in 1879, at the lithographic workshop of I. Golyshev.[47] In the same category, the popularity of Russian saints (Dimitry of Rostov, Boris and Gleb, etc.) led to their depiction in Bulgarian Orthodox art, at least partially using Russian models.[48] However, the context where these images emerged and their meaning was far more important than iconography itself. They deserve a more thorough analysis, especially pertaining to the idea of Pan-Slavism.[49]

This leads us to the last category of this state of the art: Bulgarian artists studying in Russia. Theodosius, a monk from the Rila monastery, began his studies in 1859 at the school of icon painting from the Saint-Sergius Laura of the Holy Trinity. In 1868, Theodosius came back to his monastery. As. Vassiliev provides fragmentary notions about his life and works,[50] but neither of Theodosius' artworks was ever published. A portfolio of his drawings and records in the archives of the Rila monastery could serve as a basis for a monograph on this unknown icon painter. Still, the strongest influence of late Russian icon painting is discernible in the icons painted by the Samokovian painter Stanislav Dospevsky, who came back from Russia, where he studied at the Moscow School of Art and Architecture and at the Imperial Academy of Arts in Sankt Petersburg. N. Mavrodinov argued that all of Dospevsky's icons were influenced by the Russian religious paintings of his time.[51] His case may serve as a punch line of the current study, since he also signed: *a work by Russian painter Mr. Stanislav Dospevsky*.[52] No specific analyses were made about where this Samokovian painter learned his craft or what were the sources of inspiration for his icons. The fact that he was much in demand after his return from Russia, winning several competitions for the decoration of churches, testifies to the Orthodox Bulgarian preference for the Russian religious painting of the time. This goes to show that all pieces of information concerning these works of art – donors, owners, intended use, and the stories behind their creation – will prove to be instrumental in this research. This is why any future research must concentrate on the study archival material.[53]

In conclusion, one might say that there are several reasons why Russian Orthodox works of art spread across the Bulgarian lands. First, there were the commercial acquisitions, mainly in the 19th century. But there was also personal devotion, as testified by the donations of Bulgarians living in Russia, in hope of their salvation. And there was also the issue of charity, meaning the donations of persons or organizations from Russia, partially or fully associated with the policy of the Russian Empire. From all the above, it is evident that the subject is vast and (hopefully) ever-increasing. The current study cannot provide any answers; only questions. This is why it restricts itself to a description of the state of the art.

Notes:

1 Протич 1920.

2 Мавродинов 1955.

3 The series of studies begins with Василиев 1951. It is followed by Лвова 1958a; Лвова 1958b; Львова 1960; Василиев 1965 etc. Ia Blianova's doctoral dissertation dealt with Bulgarian artists who studied in 19th century Russia (1968, Leningrad).

4 Лозанова 1998; Попова 2001.

5 Генова 2002.

6 Аспарухова, Дичева 2005; Гергова, Гатев, Ванев 2012; Гергова 2013; Гергова 2016.

7 Гергова 2010; Gergova 2016.

8 An emblematic piece of information is that the monks from the Monastery of Ustrem brought icons, robes, curtains, and vestments from Russia, which were then donated to the nearby villages. See Попов 1911, p. 18. I published some of the small collections in Гергова 2015, p. 42; Гергова 2016, Р. 135, 144.

9 Анастасова 1998.

10 Nekrasov's Old-Believer Cossacks emigrated from the Kuban to the Ottoman Empire in 1740. Анастасова 1998, p. 29.

11 Мавродинов 1955, p. 58, 62-69.

12 Христова 2000, p. 42-43.

13 Мавродинов 1955, fig. 41, 42; Каменова 1986, p. 68; Коева 1989, p. 48, 69; Коева 1995, p. 22.

14 Protich 1923, p. 19; Друмева 2003, p. 49, 61, 111, 117: Гергова 2010, p. 36.

15 Поп Георгиев 1904, p. 88.

16 Гергова, Гатев, Ванев 2012.

17 Fifteen Russian icons, none of which were published, are on display at the National Church Museum of History and Archaeology of the Holy Synod.

18 Аспарухова, Дичева 2005.

19 Two occurrences of Russian lubok were identified: a print depicting a miracle worked by the Theotokos, from the collections of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, in Sofia (Гергова 2012, p. 92-97); and a print with saint George, embedded in a reliquary containing the relics of saint George the New Martyr of Sofia (Бойкина 2019, p. 327, fig. 4). In Томов 1975, ill. 305-308, on may find four Russian *lubki* from the collections of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, in Sofia, but they were mistakenly identified by as Athonite prints.

20 Гошев 1930, p. 202; Рошковска 1976; Гергова 2010, p. 38.

21 Чураков 1960. The author believes that the icon may be dated to the 16th century.

22 Гергова, Гатев, Ванев 2012, cat. II. 53; Gergova 2016, fig. 8.

23 Храм-паметникът 1986; Добрев 2002; Чекова 2010. Interesting information about the role of count Ignatiev in conceiving the decoration of the memorial cathedral in Shipka may be found in Чеснокова 2016.

24 Уста-Генчов 1938.

25 Мавродинов 1955, p. 109, 110.

26 Гергова 2010.

27 Гергова 2010, p. 35.

28 Стоянов, Кодов 1964, p. 170-171.

29 Gergova 2016, p. 154-157.

30 Козаров 1901, p. 70.

31 Харитон 1958, p. 129.

32 Томов 1975, pp. 33-35, ills. 21, 116, 117.

33 This latter publication gives a summary of the assumptions published earlier: Стойкова 2006, p. 162-168.

34 Дамянова 2014.

35 Мавродинов 1955, p. 74-75; Друмев 1962, p. 125-127.

36 Захариев 2019.

37 Геров 1995.

38 Генова 2001.

39 Генова 2011; Иванова 2013.

40 Гергова 2010, p. 37.

41 Куюмджиева 2010.

42 Гергова 2010, p. 36.

43 Попова, 2001.

44 Лозанова 1998; Генова 2002, p. 56, 57; Куюмджиев 2014.

45 Гергова 2013, p. 41-50.

46 Томов 1975, p. 76, ill. 55.

47 *The Lubok* 1984, p. 174.

48 Мавродинов 1955, p. 76-80; Банк 1976; Алексиев 1981; Дончева-Петкова 1985; Чекова 2007; Чекова 2008; Чекова 2020; Чекова 2013.

49 Гергова 2004.

50 Василиев 1965, p. 554.

51 Мавродинов 1955, p. 94.

52 Василиев 1965, p. 405.

53 A treasure-trove of information is available in the published archives of Naiden Gerov, the Russian Vice-Consul in Plovdiv. Used here: archives ı 1911; archives ıı 1914; archive ı 1931; archive ıı 1931.

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Icons as Marketable Objects
Diffusion and Popularity of Russians Icons in Greece
(19th-Early 20th Century)

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RÉSUMÉ : L'étude examine les raisons pour lesquelles les icônes russes, ou imitant un style russe, sont devenues des objets à la mode, commercialisés en Grèce du milieu du XIXe au début du XXe siècle. Elle met ainsi en lumière un phénomène social : la diffusion et la popularité des icônes russes dans ce pays, mais aussi au Mont Athos – une région considérée comme étant le 'gardien' de la tradition orthodoxe et de l'authenticité qui faisait encore partie de l'Empire Ottoman pendant l'époque en question. Les conséquences de cette circulation sont également analysées. Ce phénomène culturel a mené à une banalisation du commerce des icônes et à une confusion croissante entre le domaine de la spiritualité et celui des transactions économiques. La production d'icônes émerge donc comme une arène d'intérêts concurrents ; ce qui révèle l'asymétrie de l'influence que la Grèce (un état récemment fondé et économiquement instable) et l'Empire russe exerçaient dans le monde orthodoxe.

MOTS-CLÉS : Mont Athos, fabricants d'icônes, art byzantin, influence russe, icônes sur papier.

REZUMAT: Articolul studiază felul în care icoanele ruseşti sau în stil rusesc au devenit obiecte la modă, comercializabile în Grecia, într-un interval de timp cuprins între mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea şi începutul secolului XX. Cercetarea vizează un fenomen social, anume difuzarea şi popularitatea icoanelor ruseşti în această ţară, dar şi la Sfântul Munte – regiune considerată drept „păstrătoare" a tradiţiei şi autenticităţii ortodoxe, dar care se mai afla încă la acea dată în Imperiul Otoman. Sunt analizate şi consecinţele acestei circulaţii, felul în care s-a ajuns la banalizarea comerţului de icoane şi la o confuzie din ce în ce mai mare între domeniul spiritualităţii şi cel al tranzacţiilor economice. Producţia de icoane se întrevede ca o arenă a intereselor concurente, care relevă felul extrem de dezechilibrat în care Grecia (un stat nou fondat şi instabil din punct de vedere economic) şi Imperiul ţarist au exercitat influenţele lor culturale în lumea ortodoxă.

CUVINTE CHEIE: Muntele Athos, autori de icoane, artă bizantină, influenţă rusească, icoane pe hârtie.

Gabriel Hanganu recently argued that "the lives of religious objects are interlaced with the biographies of their makers and users, and at the same time with those of the spiritual beings they represent".[1] However, worshippers do not always differentiate among iconographic patterns. They are equally unaware, more often than not, of the doctrinal interpretations associated to them. From such a point of view, icons are not necessarily 'readable' objects. What matters to the devotees is the miracle-working power of the image, not its theological meaning or its esthetic value: for them, devotion is often dissociated from any interest in iconographic styles and scriptural allegories.[2]

Therefore, this paper focuses on the process of icon production. I consider icons not only as religious objects of devotion, but also as 'cultural' items and marketable objects, whose production is consequently determined by market forces. My aim is to examine how Russian or Russian-style icons progressively became a recognizable, distinct, and attractive object for Greeks, especially from the middle of the 19th century onwards. It will become evident that Russian icons function in this context as objects of demand and commercial interest. However, I will not try to define the reasons of this commercialization process as far as Greece is concerned. It would be a gigantic enterprise, given the poor documentation available on the topic.[3] The work presented here is still in an exploratory stage. This is why the scope of the current paper is limited to the presentation of a social phenomenon (the spread and popularity of Russian icons in Greece from the middle of the 19th to the early 20th century) and its consequences (the trivialization of icon trade and the attempts of commercial abuse which are facilitated by categorical ambiguity).

A short story written in 1901 by Alexandros Moraïtidis[4] and bearing the title "The poor and his fate" (*Ο πτωχός και*

η μοίρα του),[5] will become the center of the current analysis. It may glean some useful elements about the Russian icon trade in Greece during the period examined here. However, given their diversity, Russian icons do not represent a single market genre. This is why the second half of the study will examine a more prestigious part of this market: the Russian icons made at the Holy Mountain, a region which was still a part of the Ottoman Empire.

Russian icons and the danger of fraud.

The story of Moraïtidis is about a poor man, Mistòklis, who has four children and whose wife is pregnant, almost ready to give birth to a fifth child. Mistòklis has a new job and in order to gain money without a lot of work, he desperately needs to go to the religious festival in Tinos: this is why he hopes that the childbirth will take place a week after the feast of the Virgin Mary in Tinos.[6] Unfortunately, his wife gives birth before his departure and the poor man loses once again the chance to improve the economic situation of the family.

What is interesting here is the new job of Mistòklis and his "golden hopes, like those of every new businessman" (*το νέον του επάγγελμα, όπερ ανέλαβε με χρυσάς ελπίδας, ωσάν κάθε νέος επαγγελματίας*). Mistòklis sticks Russian paper icons on little wooden panels. He then leaves the panels to dry under the sun. He does this very carefully, in order to make it look like a wooden painted icon, and at the end of the operation, he adorns them with a tin framework. After a few days of work, our hero manages to assemble a rich collection of icons ready to be sold. Mistòklis starts also preparing a second collection, with portraits of the Russian imperial family. Yet, before undertaking the (ultimately postponed) trip to Tinos, he makes a test in the surroundings of Attica, where his elegantly framed icons are eagerly bought by peasants (*αι κομψώς πλαισιωμέναι εικονίτσες του ηγοράζοντο προθύμως υπό των χωρικών*). The most inquisitive clients ask him to reveal his craft, and Mistòklis deceives them by saying that these were his own handmade icons and that he had learned the art of painting Russian icons in Kiev. When others start being even more curious, requesting details about his manner of working, Mistòklis explains that he had changed the inelegant and coarse Russian outlines (*τα άκομψα και χονδροειδή ρωσικά σχέδια*) in order to make them more ecclesiastical. In other words, closer to Byzantine iconography.

▼ Fig. 1. *Alexandros Moraïtidis (1850-1929) before and after he took his vows in the island of Skiathos, becoming monk Andronikos fourty days prior to his death.*
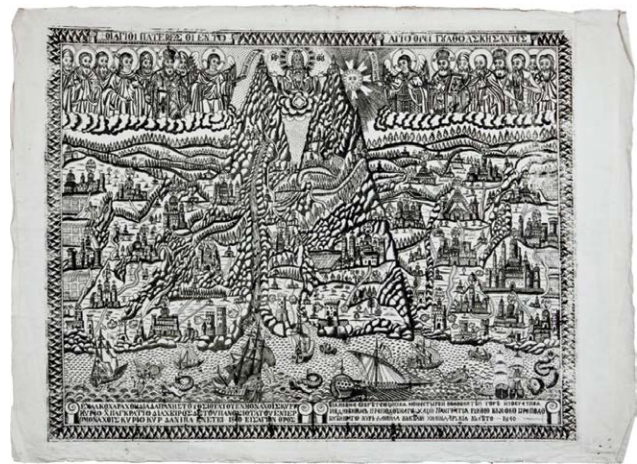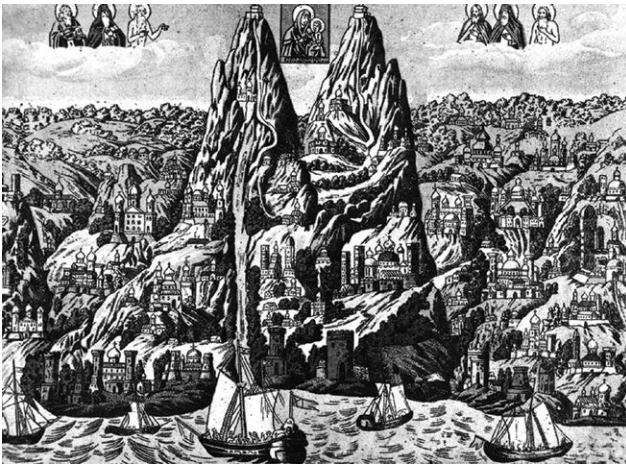Source: Wikimedia Commons.
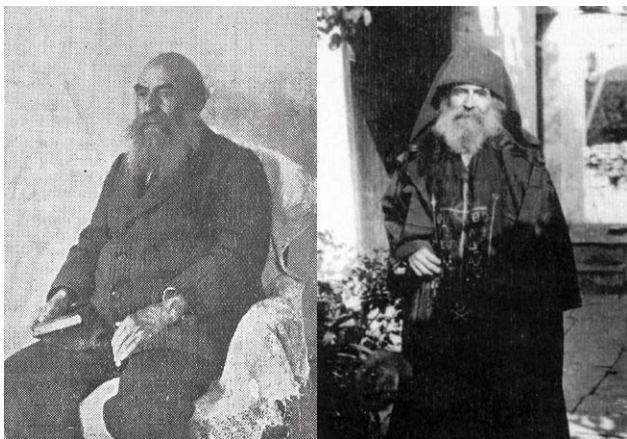
Moraïtidis gives us even the economical details of the venture. The protagonist purchases each icon for the price of ten cents (*μιά δεκάρα*), but he sells them, according to his estimations, for two or three drachmas. Mistòklis paid fifteen drachmas to a priest coming from Mount Athos, in exchange for a thousand Russian paper icons. The wooden panels are given to him for free by his wife's cousin, who is a carpenter. The only thing that he had to buy was the fish glue and some pieces of tin and glass (since his icons are placed under a glass panel).

This short story shows that the Greek public of that time was fully aware of the massive circulation of Russian icons in Greece. The author does not even need to describe such objects or describe their features. It is as if everybody was familiar with them. To give but one other example, we know for sure that Russian icons were regularly sold on Tinos. The writer Anastasios Goudas (1816-1882) was greatly annoyed when he realised that pilgrims could buy only icons 'made in Russia' and bearing Russian inscriptions if they attended the religious feast there. Some religious items from Mount Athos were also among the commodities proposed to customers, but almost nothing was made in the Kingdom of Greece.[7] It is thus clear that Russian icons had won a significant market share in Greece from the middle of the 19th century onwards. People like Goudas, who were passionate about what may be called the "Buy Greek" campaign, did not hesitate to condemn such a trend.

Returning to Moraïtidis, what mattered most to him was the extent of abuses generated by this commerce. The story sheds light on one of these abuses, even if the protagonist cannot be actually considered to play the role of a bad character: Mistòklis is ready to cheat and lie to his future clients (who are as poor and as desperate as he is), but he does this out of necessity and for his family's survival. This case may be compared to those examined by Julia Spies: for the purpose of a more rapid production template, inferior material is used; in this context, icons lose their cult-value, since their manufacturers have no masterly painting ability and their production is no longer related to religious piety and to spiritual content.[8]

The process of icon production described here could be summed up in this way: a priest from Mount Athos brings many Russian paper icons to Athens, where the protagonist of the story purchases them, sticking them to a series of supposedly wooden handmade icons that he presents as being fashioned by a Greek who studied in Kiev, in other words, by a person who is able to combine Russian iconography and Byzantine standards. In the end, he plans to sell them not only to the people from the surroundings of Attica, but also to pilgrims of Tinos. The moral of the story is not only "no pain, no gain", but also that the circulation of Russian icons in Greece became a source of confusion. As buyers could not distinguish between a Russian-style and a Byzantine-style icon, or between a paper icon and an icon on wood, they could easily be tricked into buying something else. Russian paper icons are thus related to abusive commercial interactions, since a banal commodity could be presented as a unique handmade artifact.

The icons that Mistòklis intended to sell were not estimated at their true value. They were worthless, even if their buyers thought that they may be valuable. From such a point of view, Moraïtidis writes an ironic text: devotees are ready to buy anything that an unscrupulous seller may have to offer them, since they are unable to correctly judge or value the merchandise. At the same time, the story criticizes the Greeks' consumer passion for foreign goods and their lack of discernment. Is this a story about devotional or

▼ Fig. 2. *Chromolithography with the 'general view of Mount Athos', printed in Odessa in the third quarter of 19th century. Copy of unknown origin.* Source: Προβατάκης 1993, p. 63.

▲ Fig. 3. *Russian print showing the 'general view of Mount Athos', work of the engraver Daniel from Athos, c. 1840, with text in Greek (left) and Russian (right). Copy of the State Museum of the History of Religion, Sankt Petersburg.* Source: http://afon.rusarchives.ru

▼ Fig. 4. *Monumental Venetian print showing the 'general view of Mount Athos' (and detail), work of the engraver Alessandro dalla Via, c. 1707, with Latin and Greek texts. Copy of the Graphic Arts Collection of Princeton University.* Source: http://graphicarts.princeton.edu

economical practices? Probably about both. However, a very interesting feature of the story is that someone like Mistòklis was able to make esthetic comments and argue that Russian icons are unsophisticated in comparison with Byzantine art.[9] This is certainly the point of view of Moraïtidis. Moraïtidis visited many times Tinos, as well as Mount Athos. He described how Russian influence expanded in the Holy Mountain before the 1917 Revolution and he wrote about Russian icons on several occasions. Those writings are nevertheless contradictory, as we will see in the following pages.

Russian icons and Mount Athos.

On the one hand, Moraïtidis had to acknowledge that icons had become familiar to all, thanks to the large diffusion of Russian engravings in different Orthodox countries. In the case of an old icon depicting the benediction of Mount Athos by the Virgin Mary, Moraïtidis considered that not only the icon was beautiful, but that Russians also managed to print it in a beautiful way.[10] He also acknowledged that Russians had made icons representing Mount Athos in a charming way (πολύ θελκτικώς) – as a pyramid in the middle of the sea.[11] He asserted that those engravings managed to bring the Holy Mountain (inaccessible to women) to all the faithful throughout the Orthodox world. Therefore, Russian engravings also played a certain positive role, since they opened doors which were not accessible to everybody, and enhanced both influence and beauty.

On the other hand, Moraïtidis was very critical about Russian paper icons sold on the Holy Mountain. He stressed the fact that they represent all the monasteries "in an inelegant and coarse way", as if they were built in a Russian architectural style, with their onion domes.[12] He strongly criticized this kind of Russian propaganda and its imperialistic vision. Moraïtidis did not provide more information about them, but what he describes could be similar to a lithograph published by Theocharis Provatakis.[13] That image was produced in Odessa in the third quarter of the 19th century: Mount Athos was depicted as twin-peaked; this view of the Athonite peninsula allowed for a better perspective, simultaneously visualizing its different sides (East and West / front and back), even if this would never be possible under normal circumstances. Perhaps this is the artificial view to which he referred to, since the image represents all the Athonite monasteries with Russian onion domes.[14]

In a book published in 1927, Moraïtidis described another trip he had made to Mount Athos.[15] He referred to the famous icon-maker Ioàsaf (1832-1880), of a Cappadocian origin. This Ioàsaf was considered to have founded a

School, whose progress was linked to 'the pious Russian Empire', since gigantic icons of the Virgin Mary decorated crossroads, train stations, and all public buildings in this Empire. Therefore, the Russian monks of Mount Athos made an agreement with Ioàsaf, who accepted not only to make this kind of icons, but also to paint them as if he were a Russian himself (*ανέλαβε την υποχρέωσιν να ζωγραφίζη τας τοιαύτας εικόνας ωσάν από Ρώσου ζωγράφου, ίνα ευκόλως εξοδεύωνται*). In this way, the icons were more easily "spent" – a word probably chosen by Moraïtidis on account of the fact that it would be improper to refer to Athonite icons as being bought and sold.

These elements show the extent of the reputation already acquired by Russian icons: people demanded Russian icons and even the Greek icon-makers of the Holy Mountain had to pretend to be Russian in order to satisfy the increasing demand. Greek Athonite monks thus limited themselves to the execution of commissions made by Russian monks. In a way, this is yet another type of abusive commercial interaction: a Russian-style icon could be made by a Greek monk.

The Athonite monk Patapios Kafsokalyvitis published several articles about Ioàsaf and his relations with Russian

Fig. 5. *Paper icon with Russian texts found in the church Presentation-of-Mary (*Εισόδια της Θεοτόκου*) in the central settlement of the island of Egina in August 2019. The Greek text added below explains that this was a gift from the patriarch Jusinian of Romania, Dorotheus archbishop of Poland, and Basil archbishop of Czechoslovakia, and also of the clergy and of the Orthodox people of these countries who pray for their freedom and eternal life. The mention of the three hierarchs suggests that the icon was offered to the church in c. 1970-1977. This case shows that even cheap and commercial icons can be invested with spiritual meaning under certain circumstances.* Credits: Katerina Seraïdari

monks and clients. In one of them, he even considered that Russians presented his work as Russian because the art of Ioàsaf was clearly superior.[16] This argument implies that, if Russian clients knew who the real icon-maker was, they would hand down their orders directly to the Greek icon-makers. In order to remain privileged intermediaries, Russian monks preferred to conceal the real identity of the Greek icon-makers. Consequently, only Russian monks were cheating in this case, whereas Ioàsaf never tried to personally profit from the situation.

Moraïtidis explained that since the production of icons depended on the law of supply and demand, the popularity of Russian religious items was responsible for the disappearance of the local Greek craft on the Holy Mountain. Tastes were changing and Greek-style icons were in disgrace. And since the number of potential buyers who liked this style of painting diminished drastically, the Greek monks were forced to abandon their craft, concentrating instead on the cultivation of the land, most of all on the vineyards which allowed them to earn some money by making wine: *όλα τα είδη της ρωσικής αγιογραφίας και μικρογλυπτικής, άτινα εξετόπισαν ούτω την αγιορείτικην τέχνην, ης τα έργα είνε σπανιώτατα πλέον, διότι οι τεχνίται ασκηταί, οίτινες ειργάζοντο αυτά, μη ευρίσκοντες αγοραστάς ετράπησαν εις την καλλιέργειαν της γης και ιδίως της αμπέλου.*[17] In such a situation, the circulation of Russian icons had a direct impact not only on the economic stability of Mount Athos, but also on the esthetic choices of Greek (or Orthodox) people. In this context, the domination of Russian-style icons cannot be dissociated from the decrease in demand for Greek-style ones.
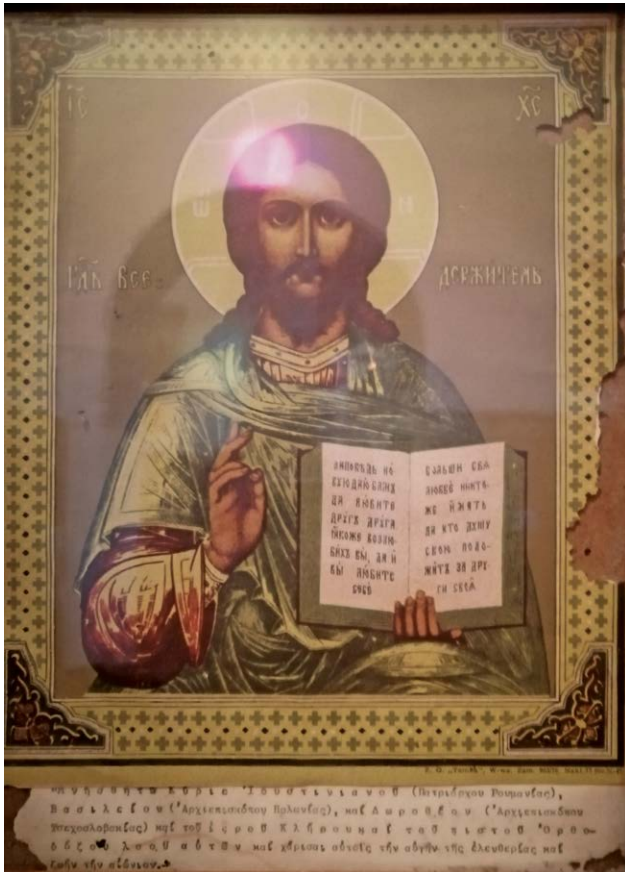
Last but not least, there is also an anonymous text signed with the initials S. H. K., which traces the evolution of Greek-Russian relationships in the Holy Mountain. It focuses on icon production and argues that, when they first came to there, Russian monks had no Russian icon-maker, so they gave a lot of money to Greek icon-makers who executed their commands. As a consequence, the latter started to heavily (and progressively) depend on Russians patrons.[18] But this led to other changes. After having taught the art of icon-painting to the Russians, Greek icon-makers received only 1/4 or 1/5 of their initial salary. However, even more revolting was the fact that Greek icon-makers were forced to relinquish the rules of Byzantine art. They also had the obligation to write the name of saints in Russian. As for their signature, they had to sign in Russian as well, as if there were no Greek icon makers on Mount Athos and all these icons were produced by Russians.

Icon production emerges here as an arena of competing interests between Greeks and Russians. In other words, it reveals the lopsidedness of the very different degrees of influence exercised by Greece (a newly founded and economically unstable State) and the Russian Empire in the Orthodox world.

On the elusiveness of 'Russian' icons.

During the period examined here, Russian-style icons were not only massively produced and widely available, but also fashionable. Socio-anthropologists would therefore be extremely interested in understanding why a devotional object became fashionable for a certain period in time. However, in the story of Moraïtidis, Mistòklis decided to transform the Russian paper icons into Greek wooden icons, since he pretended to be the icon-maker. In his case, Russian icons did not seem to be so fashionable, since they were "inelegant and coarse", and there was also the question of a return to a more ecclesiastical, Byzantine style.

From this perspective, Mistòklis was not a poor devil who tricked and cheated in order to make a living, but a visionary who foresaw how things would later unfold. He was right to believe that the Russian-style icon of his time would soon fall into disgrace and out of fashion.

Moraïtidis did not seem to consider that this new form of commerce was capable of bringing financial relief to the struggling Athonite monasteries. However, he was not the only one to stress such negative consequences. This was commonplace at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1909, archaeologist and art historian Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov published his *Macedonia: An Archaeological Voyage*. In this practical report of his trip to Mount Athos, Kondakov argued that the Greek Orient actually suffered from a flood of Russian ecclesiastic merchandise of poor quality and bad taste, which was responsible for the disappearance of genuine Greek art.[19] Moraïtidis and Kondakov arrived at the same conclusion and their value-judgment was rather similar: both Greek icons (on account of the commercial invasion of Russian ones) and the Russian icons (because of their massive production) represented a rapidly vanishing tradition. For both of them, this was a period of decline, defined by an ill-advised Westernization in church art and by the commodification of icons.

If paper icons are considered to be "the icons of the poor", because of their low cost and affordability, they become "the icons of categorical ambiguity" in the story of Moraïtidis. Because of this absence of categorical clarity, it becomes clear that the question of an icon's origin, especially when it becomes a marketable object, can become a rather tricky issue. In his different mentions of Russian icons, Moraïtidis showed to what extent boundaries were blurred and even abolished: a Russian icon could be a coun-

terfeited product, since Greek icon-makers painted Russian-style icons and paper icons finally became wooden. This was a grey area which introduced ambiguity and disorder. Even Athonite Greek icon-makers who worked for Russian customers were forced to take under consideration the esthetic preferences of the latter. The fact that the production process leading to a diffusion of new standards and models took place in a prestigious religious center like the Holy Mountain is even more troubling. In this context, Mount Athos functioned as a legitimizing structure of categorical ambiguity. This was highly problematic, since the Holy Mountain was generally characterized as the 'gatekeeper' of tradition and authenticity.

From a general standpoint, what seems embarrassing is the very fact that a spiritual symbol (such as an icon) and spiritual figures (such as the monks of the Holy Mountain), were at the center of an intense commercial activity. It is true that icon trade had always been a problematic issue, but the 19th century seems to be a period during which icon trade was not only generalized, but also trivialized. Even the monks of the Holy Mountain were involved in this business venture. To conclude, the popularity of Russian-style icons in Greece created an increasing confusion between spirituality and economic transactions. Because of their massive diffusion, icons and monks were no more set apart from the profane circulation of everyday goods. This is precisely the problem: the market declassifies culture and religion even more so.

Notes:

1 Hanganu 2010, p. 50.

2 Seraïdari 2005.

3 This is one of the aims of the interdisciplinary project RICON-TRANS (ERC Consolidator Grant 2018, *Visual culture, piety and propaganda: Transfer and reception of Russian religious art in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean)*, in which Yuliana Boycheva kindly invited me to participate. She already published (in Greek) several important studies on this matter (still largely unexplored). See for example Boycheva 2015.

4 Moraïtidis (1850-1929) is a Greek journalist and writer, known for his deep Orthodox faith.

5 Μωραϊτίδης 1993, p. 219-227.

6 Tinos is a Cycladic island, where a miracle-working icon of the Virgin was found in 1823. For the development of this pilgrimage and the manner in which it attracts pilgrims from all over Greece, see Seraïdari 2012.

7 Γούδας 1875.

8 Spies 2009.

9 Mistòklis was originally from an Aegean island. He came to Athens in order to make a living. He was not illiterate, he could read and write and he assisted the priest during mass. However, all his jobs were manual or commercial: he helped create a more comfortable space for the devotees coming to the Lycabettus Hill church; he was selling cigarettes and traditional 'pretzels' (*κουλούρια*) in the streets of the Greek capital. These were only some of the biographical elements provided by Moraïtidis in his description of Mistòklis.

10 Μωραϊτίδης 1924, p. 13.

11 Μωραϊτίδης 1924, p. 20.

12 Μωραϊτίδης 1924, p. 141.

13 Προβατάκης 1993, p. 63.

14 The prints with a 'general view of Mount Athos' first appeared in Venice by the end of the 17th-beginning of the 18th century (Προβατάκης 1993, p. 58-59). The Russian prints criticized by Moraïtidis were probably based on a common theme: in order to create their own stylistic and ideological interpretation, all it took was to change the aspect of monasteries and make them look Russian.

15 Μωραϊτίδης 1927, p. 61.

16 Πατάπιος Καυσοκαλυβίτης 2012.

17 Μωραϊτίδης 1924, p. 142.

18 Σ. Χ. Κ. 1900, p. 64.

19 Μπονόβας 2012, p. 286.

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Γούδας 1875 – Αναστάσιος Γούδας, *Βίοι παράλληλοι των επί της αναγεννήσεως της Ελλάδος διαπρεψάντων ανδρών* [Parallel lives of distinguished men in the rebirth of Greece], vol. Z, Athens, Τύποις Νικήτα Γ. Πάσσαρη, 1875).

Μπονόβας 2012 – Νικόλαος Μ. Μπονόβας, "Η αγιορείτικη ζωγραφική στις απαρχές του 20ου αιώνα" [The painting at the Holy Mountain at the beginning of the twentieth century], in *Το Αγιο Ορος στα χρόνια της απελευθέρωσης* (2/15 Νοεμβρίου 1912) [Mount Athos in the years of liberation from Ottoman domination (2/15 November 1912)], Thessalonica, Αγιορείτικη Εστία, 2012), p. 283-311.

Μωραϊτίδης 1924 – Αλέξανδρος Μωραϊτίδης, *Με του βορηά τα κύματα. Ταξίδια, περιγραφαί, εντυπώσεις. Αγιον Ορος* [Driven by the waves of the north wind. Voyages, descriptions, impressions. Mount Athos], Athens, Βιβλιοπωλείον Ιωάννη Ν. Σιδέρη, 1924.

Μωραϊτίδης 1927 – Αλέξανδρος Μωραϊτίδης, *Με του βορηά τα κύματα. Ταξίδια, περιγραφαί, εντυπώσεις* [Driven by the waves of the north wind. Voyages, descriptions, impressions], Athens, Βιβλιοπωλείον Ιωάννη Ν. Σιδέρη, 1927.

Μωραϊτίδης 1993 – Αλέξανδρος Μωραϊτίδης, "Ο πτωχός και η μοίρα του" [The poor and his fate], in Αλέξανδρος Μωραϊτίδης, *Τα διηγήματα* [Short stories], vol. 3, Athens, Στιγμή, 1993, p. 219-227.

Πατάπιος Καυσοκαλυβίτης 2012 – Μοναχός Πατάπιος Καυσοκαλυβίτης, *Τα εικονογραφικά εργαστήρια της σκήτης Καυσοκαλυβίων (19ος-20ος αι.)* [The iconographers' workshop of the Skete of Kafsokalyvia (19th-20th centuries)], Mount Athos, 2018 (online version:https://www.mountathos.org/el-GR/Athonikos-Leimon/Fws-En-Skotei/Agioreitiki-Texni.aspx; retrieved 30.09.2020).

Προβατάκης 1993 – Θεοχάρης Μιχ. Προβατάκη, *Χαρακτικά Ελλήνων λαϊκών δημιουργών. 17ος-19ος αιώνας* [Prints by Greek popular artists. 17th-19th centuries. The collection of Toplou monastery], Athens, Αρσενίδης, 1993.

Σ. Χ. Κ. 1900 – Σ. Χ. Κ., *Το Αγιον Ορος υπό εθνικήν έποψιν* [The Holy Mountain from a national point of view], Athens, 1900.

Boycheva 2015 – Yuliana Boycheva, "'Εικόνες μοσχόβικαις..., ευμορφώτατα πράγματα'. Η μεταφορά ρωσικών εικόνων στον ελληνικό χώρο από το 16ο ως τις αρχές του 20ου αι." [The transfer of Russian icons in Greek lands, 16th-early 20th centuries], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 36, 2015, p. 219-234.

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Seraïdari 2005 – Katerina Seraïdari, *Le culte des icônes en Grèce*, Toulouse, Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005.

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The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms (2)

Collective Research

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This paper represents a continuation of the previous publication "The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms. Collective Research" (*Museikon*, 3, 2019, p. 67-140), henceforth abbreviated as *Musical Instruments... 2019*. The study will be continued in the next issue of *Museikon* (5, 2021), covering more languages and furthering the discussions.

Representatives of the various teams involved in this comparative research gathered at the CÉSCM in Poitiers for a workshop organised by the FESMAR Partnership (*Deconfundamus linguam eorum: Methodological Overview for the 'Tower of Bibles' Project*, January 24, 2020), where they discussed the details for future plans and collaborations, deciding, among others things, to continue the experimental collective research concerning the musical instruments terminology in the vernacular translations of the psalms. The main advantage is that it provides an in-depth exploratory survey of the pan-European corpus of texts. The current research also demonstrates that certain translation choices may be related to developments in art history, as the vernacular translations may be a part of a much larger cultural tradition, thus the need to continue the common paper until the subject provides enough theoretical material for a wider methodological debate.

Many discussions already started in the first collective paper (and several linguistic sections) could not be continued, due to the challenging access to libraries during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. The current paper simply bridges the extensive presentations from the first paper and the future ones from a third paper, to be published in 2021.

Glossary

DIAPHASIA (general linguistics) refers to variation in a language across degrees of formality; it is different from diastratic variation (across social groups) and diamesic (across media of communication).

DIFFRACTION (used in Italian philology: *diffrazione*) refers to a phenomenon whereby for morphological, semantic, or paleographic reasons, a reading from the archetype is interpreted, corrected, or deformed in various ways by the copyists who later transcribed it, giving rise to a dispersion of variants, of which at least part are wrong.

SCRIPTA (used in French philology) characterises an intermediate linguistic level, between a local language or a dialect and a supraregional language, resulting in a dialectal compromises. It is a written variety of language often reduced to a single manuscript (or manuscript copy of a certain text).

◄ Fig. 1. *Shepherd playing the flute in the Annunciation to the Shepherds segment from a Nativity scene. Holy-Trinity church, Kranidi, Greece (1244).* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Musical Terminology in the Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter (OITP) (JB)

For anyone wishing to study the vernacular terminology for the musical instruments mentioned in the Psalter, early medieval Ireland presents a somewhat paradoxical situation. On the one hand, this country boasts one of the earliest vernacular literatures of Europe, some of its earliest manifestations being datable to *c.* AD 600 (Stevenson 1989; Ó Cróinín 2001; Edel 2003); moreover, it is well known that the Psalter was central to monastic education, scholarship, liturgy, and spirituality in the early Irish Church (see the various contributions reunited in McNamara 2000). On the other hand, no vernacular translation of the Psalter appears to have been produced by the early medieval Irish *literati*, and the extant vernacular glosses to the psalms and to Psalter commentaries coexist with an immense corpus of Hiberno-Latin *scholia* (many of which are still unpublished).

Thus, for example, the 'Milan Glosses'—one of the largest surviving *corpora* of Old Irish glosses—are sometimes referred to as being 'glosses to the psalms', while in fact they are to be found in a ninth-century partial copy of the Latin translation of the commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *i. e.* the codex Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (Stokes and Strachan 1901-1903, vol. I, p. xiv-xxi; Ramsay 1912a, p. 441-448; Bischoff 1976, p. 78; Bronner 2013, p. 27-28; Blom 2017, p. 91-112; Ó Corráin 2017, p. 1035-1036, §808). As for the important Irish Psalter now bearing the shelfmark Cambridge, St John's College, MS C 9 (also known as 'Southampton Psalter'), although this manuscript does contain a few glosses in Late Old Irish, the large majority are in Latin (Ó Néill 2012; Ó Corráin 2017, p. 815-817, §640). As a final example, we should also mention that Old Irish, Old English, and Latin glosses on the psalms can be found in the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal.lat.68 (McNamara 1986; Ó Corráin 2017, p. 101-103, §54).

A systematic analysis of the entire extant body of Old Irish glosses may in due course yield a number of vernacular terms corresponding to the names of musical instruments mentioned in the psalms. However, as far as early medieval Ireland is concerned, glosses are not the only available source for such a terminology: thus, a few relevant words can be found in a text known as *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter* (hereafter OITP; for a complete list of bibliographic references concerning this text, see Ó Corráin 2017, p. 104-105, §58; the text is transcribed, edited and translated in Meyer K. 1894, p. 1-37). This exegetical tract survives in two manuscript witnesses: (1) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, f. 45r-47v,[1] and (2) London, British Library, Harley 5280, f. 21r–24v. Although both manuscripts are relatively late (they date, respectively, from the fifteenth and sixteenth century), the linguistic character of several forms in the text leaves no doubt that we are here dealing with an Old Irish composition.[2]

In its extant form, OITP is unfortunately an incomplete fragment: after providing a general *accessus* to the Psalter as a whole (its title, structure, authorship, history, metre, allegorical significance, etc.), the text breaks off abruptly after providing a commentary to Ps 1:1. In all likelihood, OITP is a vernacular translation, in whole or in part, of a lost Hiberno-Latin commentary whose author relied heavily on the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and other exegetical authorities; moreover, this lost text may have been the source for some of the glosses contained in the above-mentioned 'Southampton Psalter' (Ramsay 1912a, p. 429; Ramsay 1912b, p. 462-474; Ó Néill 1979, p. 149,

162-163; Ó Néill 2002).

Modern scholars have highlighted the significant affinities between OITP and the Hiberno-Latin exegetical tradition: in particular, in 1979 Pádraig Ó Néill demonstrated that close textual links exist between this incomplete tract and the extensive Biblical commentary *Pauca Problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis*, also known as 'Bibelwerk' and 'Irish Reference Bible'—a text dating from *c.* AD 800 and famously (and somewhat controversially) attributed by Bernhard Bischoff to Irish exegetes (Bischoff 1976, p. 84-94, 97; Ó Néill 1979; Ó Corráin 2017, p. 129-131, §101).[3]

As far as the terminology of musical instruments is concerned, the section of OITP of most immediate relevance is placed towards the beginning of the tract, in a discussion of the title 'Psalter'. Here is the passage in question (cited from the reconstructed text in Meyer K. 1894, p. 20; the English translation is adapted from Meyer K. 1894, p. 21; see also Fig. 2):

Ceist. Cia hainm ind libuir se, a ebre, a gréic, a latin? Ní anse. 'Nabla' isind ebru, 'Psalterium' isin gréic, 'Laudatorium' vel 'Organum' isind latin.

Ceist. Can rohaimniged dó a n-ainm si? Ní anse. Din chruitt trésa rochachain Duíd inna salmu .i. 'nabla' a hainm sidi isind ebru, 'psalterium' in Graeco, 'laudatorium' vel 'organum' isind latin, arindí as 'organum' is ainm cenélach do chach chiúl ar a airechus. 'Nabla' immurgu ní hainm cenélach do chach chruitt, acht is 'cithara' ainm cenélach cacha cruitte. 'Cithara' .i. pectoralis, in bruinnide, .i. farsindí sennair for bruinnib.

'Nabla' didiu crott deichde .i. cotairissedar ó deich tétaib, sennair ó deich méraib, immacomraccat inna deich timmna fuiri. Anúas bíd a bolg di ṡuidiu, ocus is anúas sennair. Nodforndither a ceól inde. Tarmiberar di ṡuidiu, condid ainm dond libur so, cotairissedar ó deich tétaib ind rechto fetarlicce, doinfider de supernis mysteriis Spiritus Sancti .i. denaib rúnaib úaslib in Spiruta Nóib.

Question. What is this book's name, its Hebrew, its Greek, its Latin? It is not difficult: *Nabla* in Hebrew, *Psalterium* in Greek, *Laudatorium* or *Organum* in Latin.

Question. Whence was that name given to it? It is not difficult: from the string instrument to which David sang the psalms, *i. e. nabla* is its name in Hebrew, *psalterium* in Greek, *laudatorium* or *organum* in Latin, for *organum* is a general name for any musical instrument on account of its excellence. *Nablum*, however, is not a general name for any string instrument, but *cithara* is a general name for any string instrument. *Cithara*, *i. e. pectoralis* [lit. 'of the chest'], because it is played upon the breast.

Nabla, however, is a tenfold string instrument, *i. e.* it consists of ten strings, it is played with ten fingers, [as] the Ten Commandments unite on it. Its "belly" is downward, and it is played from above. Its music is expressed in that [?]. Hence it is transferred, so that it is the name of this book, which consists of the ten strings of the Old Testament, which is inspired *de supernis mysteriis Spiritus Sancti, i. e.* by the sublime mysteries of the Holy Spirit.

It should be immediately clear from this passage that anyone hoping to retrieve from OITP any reliable organological information related to early medieval Irish musical practices will be sorely disappointed. This explanation of the title 'Psalter' was put together by assembling a variety of Patristic and early medieval sources, probably without any point of contact with contemporary realities. Like many other elements of this passage, the name of the Psalter in the *tres linguae sacrae* occurs elsewhere in Hiberno-Latin exegetical literature: in particular, the curious Pseudo-
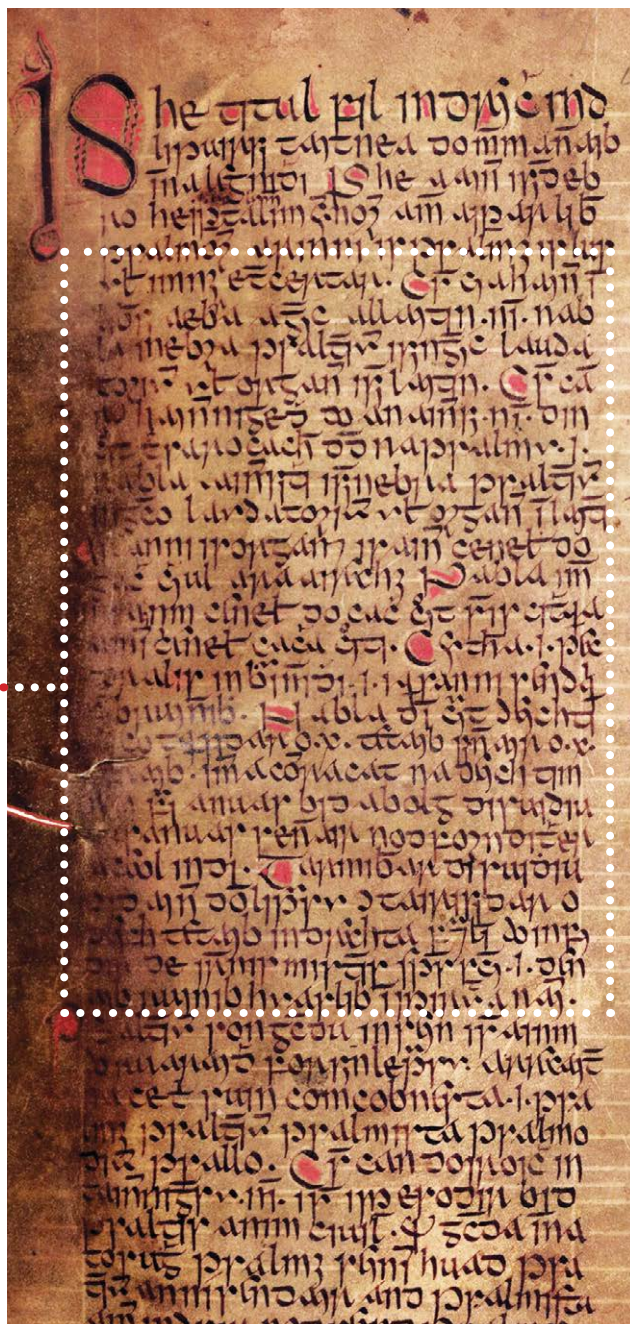
▲ Fig. 2. *Text of the quotation from* OITP *in the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, fol. 45r (late 15th century). Print-screen of the facsimile available on the 'Digital Bodleian' website.*

Source: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/

Jerome tract on the musical instruments of the Hebrews, known as *Epistola ad Dardanum de diuersis generibus musicorum*, tells us that *Psalterium quod hebraice 'nablum', grece autem 'psalterium', latine vero 'laudatorium' dicitur* (ed. Meyer C. 2018, VI, 46, rec. α).[4]

One detail, however, allows us to detect an even closer textual parallel: rather than indicating the sole word *laudatorium* as the Latin equivalent of *nablum* (a Latinization of Hebrew *nebel*) and *psalterium*, OITP points out that *organum* should be added to this lexical series. This addition, which probably depends on a passage from Isidore of Se-

ville's *Etymologiae* (VII, ii, 15, *Psalmorum liber graece 'Psalterium', hebraice 'Nabla', latine 'Organum' dicitur*), finds a precise match in the introduction to the Psalter included in the above-mentioned *Pauca Problesmata* (= 'Bibelwerk' / 'Irish Reference Bible'): *Quomodo uocatur psalterium in tribus linguis? 'Nablum' in ebreo, 'Psalterium' in Greco, 'Organum' uel 'Laudatorium' in latino* (ed. McNamara 2000, p. 134; cf. Paris, BnF, lat. 11561, fol. 53v = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14276, fol. 95v).[5]

Likewise, close correspondences with passages from these and other Hiberno-Latin works can be found in relation to the 'excellence' or 'great importance' (*airechas*) of the *organum*, (*i. e.* the 'organ'—whichever specific instrument may be designated here)—a word which, precisely on account of this instrument's prominence, can also be used as a generic name for 'musical instrument' according to the OITP.[6] In the *Eclogae tractatorum in Psalterium* (Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 261, p. 148; for a complete bibliography concerning this text, see Ó Corráin 2017, p. 103-104, §55), we read that *organum omnium maius est in sonitu et fortitudine clamoris*, and a very similar idea is expressed in the *Epistola ad Dardanum*, where the *organum* is indeed the first instrument to be discussed (ed. Meyer C. 2018, I, 4, rec. α; my translation): *primo omnium ad organum, eo quod maius esse his in sonitu et fortitudine nimia computatur clamoris, veniam*, 'Of all instruments, I shall come first to the *organum*, for it is considered to be the greatest for its sound and the great power of its loud voice.' Finally, the *organum* is said to be a 'great instrument' in *Pauca Problesmata* (ed. McGinty 2000, §228): *Organum magnum carmen dicitur* (where *carmen* appears to function here as a generic term for 'musical instrument'—a usage perhaps to be associated with the reference to *canticum* as a popular term for *psalterium* in Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, xxii, 7: *psalterium, quod uulgo canticum dicitur*).

Several other themes presented in this passage—such as the distinction between *nabla* and *cithara*, or the allegorical significance of the ten strings of the *psalterium* / *nabla*—have clear parallel in the Hiberno-Latin exegetical literature (or in texts that we may at least describe as 'Irish-influenced').[7] As for the curious use of the adjective *pectoralis* ('of the chest') to characterise the *cithara*, 'because it is played upon the breast' (*farsindí sennair for bruinnib*), this is in all likelihood directly based on Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, xxii, 2-3, where we read the following account of this instrument (ed. Lindsay 1911; trans. Barney et al. 2006, p. 97-98): *Forma citharae initio similis fuisse traditur pectori humano, quo uti uox a pectore, ita ex ipsa cantus ederetur, appellatamque eadem de causa. Nam pectus Dorica lingua κιθάρα uocari* ('The shape of the *cithara* is said to have been similar to the human chest at first, so that song might be brought forth from the *cithara* as the voice is brought forth from the chest, and they say it was named for this same reason. For in the language of the Dorian Greeks the chest is called κιθάρα'). In a nutshell, it is difficult not to agree with Ó Néill when he concludes that the OITP 'is basically a translation into Irish of material both exegetical and grammatical […] which was originally composed in Latin', thereby representing 'a further step in the tendency towards the vernacularisation of ecclesiastical literature which became pronounced in the late eighth century' (Ó Néill 1979, p. 163).

Realising this also helps us understand and properly contextualise the few vernacular words pertaining to music that occur in the OITP. Indeed, if we now turn our attention to vernacular terms referring to organological objects, the passage cited above only offers two generic and amply

documented Old Irish words, namely *tét* and *crott*, as well as the more interesting term *bolg*.[8]

Tét (nom. pl. *téta*) is the normal Old Irish term for 'rope' and 'string' (also 'string of a musical instrument'), and it is here undoubtedly a straightforward translation of *chorda*—the term that must have stood in the original Latin tract(s) on which OITP was based.

Crott (later *cruit*) is the term most widely used in Old and Middle Irish sources to refer to string instruments in general (hence my vague translation 'string instrument' in the passage from OITP). In the Old Irish glosses *crott* is typically used to translate Latin *cithara*, as we can see, for example, in the Würzburg glosses to the Pauline Epistles (cf. *e. g.* Stokes and Strachan 1901-1903, vol. I, p. 577, glosses 12c42 and 12c44). Although this word is often anachronistically translated as 'harp', it is most likely that it referred instead to various kinds of lyre prior to *c.* AD 1000 (cf. Buckley 1990, p. 15–23; Bisagni 2019, p. 301). The impression that *crott* could sometimes be used as a generic term for a 'string instrument' is indeed confirmed by OITP, where it is argued that its Graeco-Latin equivalent *cithara* is *ainm cenélach cacha cruitte*, that is 'a general name for any *crott*.' The distribution of this term is wide not only semantically but also geographically: its Proto-Celtic etymon *krutto-, which probably referred originally to any object having a round shape (Matasović 2009, p. 228), is also the origin of the name of a well-known Welsh instrument, the *crwth* (a bowed lyre). That string instruments of this kind were perceived as a distinctive feature of music among the insular Celts already in the sixth century is shown by a poem by Venantius Fortunatus written in praise of Lupus, duke of Champagne, in which the author mentions a specific *crotta Britanna*, i. e., presumably, a 'British lyre' (ed. Leo 1881: vii, 8; translation slightly adapted from Charles-Edwards 2012, p. 233; my boldface):

Sed pro me reliqui laudes tibi reddere certent,

Et qua quisque ualet te prece, uoce, sonnet;

Romanusque lyra, *plaudat tibi barbarus* harpa,

Graecus Achilliaca, **crotta** **Britanna** *canat.*

But let the rest on my behalf compete to render you praises, | and let each celebrate you, with petition, with song, as best he may; | let the Roman applaud you with the lyra, the barbarian with the harpa, | the Greek with the lyre of Achilles (*Achilliaca*), the Briton with the *crotta*.

Our passage from OITP also makes it clear that its author(s) considered the *crott* (and its Hebrew, Greek and Roman equivalents) as a class of instruments provided with a sounding box. When describing the *nabla*, the text clearly states that *anúas bíd a bolg di ṡuidiu*, that is 'its bolg is downward' (anúas literally means 'from above': thus, we must imagine the sounding box being placed at the top, so that the sound of the instrument comes 'downwards'—indeed the text adds that *is anúas sennair*, literally 'it is from above that it is played').

The Old Irish word *bolg* is a generic term for 'bag' or 'satchel', which however developed in time a diverse range of metaphorical senses: thus, it could also mean 'belly, stomach, womb', as well as 'smith's bellows'. As far as musical instruments are concerned, the *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* records (*s. v. 1 bolg*) one possible attestation of this term in the sense of 'bagpipes', whereas, apparently, OITP is the only text using *bolg* in relation to a specific part of string instruments: in particular, in view of this word's semantic range, it is virtually certain that it must refer here to the sounding box.

A simple explanation for this isolated peculiar use can once again be found by recalling the heavy dependency of OITP on Latin exegetical models. The following interesting description of the *psalterium* can be found in the fourth chapter of the preface to Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum* (ed. Adriaen 1958, vol. I, p. 11; my translation and boldface):

Psalterium est, ut Hieronymus ait,[9] in modum Δ deltae litterae formati ligni sonora concauitas, obesum uentrem in superioribus habens.*

The *psalterium* is, as Jerome says, a resounding hollow cavity of wood made in the shape of the letter delta, and it has a fat belly in its upper part.

Now, this definition was reproduced *verbatim* in the introduction to the Psalter in *Pauca Problemata* (ed. McNamara 2000, p. 140; cf. Paris, BnF, Lat. 11561, fol. 55v = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14276, fol. 98v; for a discussion of this exegetical motif, see Van Schaik 1992, p. 81-125). There is therefore no doubt that the occurrence of *bolg* in OITP, far from reflecting a normal use of this Old Irish term for the sounding box of string instruments, represented instead a literal translation of Cassiodorus's *obesum uentrem*; after all, as we have seen above, *bolg* could indeed be used in Irish to mean 'belly.'

Another passage of OITP dealing with music and musical instruments occurs much further in the text, in a section concerning a fourfold division of 'general titles' for the psalms. As we shall presently see, while there is no much more to be gained here in terms of vernacular musical terminology, this passage is nonetheless most interesting as to the wide textual ramifications that can be recovered through *Quellenforschung* (ed. Meyer K. 1894, p. 30; trans. adapted from Meyer K. 1894, p. 31):

Atát […] *cethri tituli chenélaig résna salmu cenmothá inna saingnústa .i. 'psalmus', 'canticum', 'psalmus cantici', 'canticum psalmi'.*[10]

Ceist. Cia cruth ruhilaigthe, ocus caite deochor eturru? Ní anse. Is ed dorigne Duíd fria dédenchu. Doróigu cethri míli togaithi di maccaib hIsraél fria cétal ocus gnáthugud inna salm dogrés cen nach tairmesc n-etir. Trían díb fria claiss, trían fria cruit, *trían etir claiss ocus* cruit. *Is dóu is dír aní is 'psalmus' dondí arricht ocus gnáthaigthir hi* cruit. *Is dóu is dír aní is 'canticum' dondí gnáthaigthir fria claiss ocus canair hi* cruit. *Is dóu is dír aní is 'psalmus cantici' araní doberar a* cruit *hi claiss. Is dóu is dír aní is 'canticum psalmi' dondí doberar a claiss hi* cruit.

'There are […] four general titles before the psalms, besides the special ones, *i. e. psalmus, canticum, psalmus cantici, canticum psalmi.*

Question. How were they multiplied, and what is the difference between them? It is not difficult: this is what David did during his last days. He selected four thousand chosen men of the sons of Israel to sing and practice the psalms always, without any cessation. One third of them for the choir, one third for the *crott*, one third both for the choir and the *crott*. The word psalmus applies to what was invented for the *crott* and is practised on it. *Canticum* applies to what is practiced by the choir and is sung with the *crott*. *Psalmus cantici* applies to what is taken from the *crott* to the choir. *Canticum psalmi* applies to what is taken from the choir to the *crott*.

Once again, it would be a mistake to try and recognise in this passage any reflection of contemporary Irish musical practices: in this case too, what we have here is instead a vernacularisation (in both language and style) of motifs taken from (Hiberno-)Latin exegesis. At this point, it is

not be a surprise that one of the closest parallels should be found in the introduction to the Psalter in *Pauca Problesmata* (ed. McNamara 2000, p. 132; cf. Paris, BnF, lat. 11561, fol. 53r = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14276, fol. 94v; my translation):

> *Cur dicitur 'psalmus cantici' et 'canticum psalmi'?*
>
> *'Psalmus cantici' est quando subpsalmiste*[11] *prius cantabant ore et postea cantabat David* psalterio. *Senator Cassiodorus 'Canticum' vero 'psalmi' quando David cantabat prius* psalterio *et postea subpsalmiste ore.*

> 'What is the reason for the terms *psalmus cantici* and *canticum psalmi*?
>
> *Psalmus cantici* [refers to the occasions] when the *subpsalmistae* first sang, and then David sang [by accompanying himself] with the lyre. Senator Cassiodorus [says] that *canticum psalmi* [refers to the occasions] when David sang first [accompanying himself] with the lyre, and the *subpsalmistae* sang afterwards [only] with their mouth.'

Although it is true that the passage in OITP offers a more developed narrative, the fundamental links with *Pauca Problesmata* are quite unmistakable: the similar use and explanation of the terms *psalmus cantici* and *canticum psalmi* are especially remarkable.

But there is more. OITP specifies that David chose *four* thousand 'men of the sons of Israel'; the emphasis on 'four' in such a context inevitably brings to mind David's four co-psalmists, Asaph, Ethan, Eman and Idithun—a frequent presence in Medieval Davidic iconography, where they are depicted sometimes in the act of playing instruments, and sometimes in the act of writing down the words of the psalms. The prominent role of the four co-psalmists (which, it should be noted, received very little support from the Bible itself)[12] was highlighted especially in the pseudo-Bedan preface to the Psalter known as *Origo Psalmorum* or *Origo Prophetiae David regis Psalmorum numero CL*, a brief text of uncertain origin which enjoyed a wide circulation in Western Europe from the eighth century onwards, and which might have been composed in the early part of that same century (Van Schaik 1992, p. 48-49).[13] The beginning of the *Origo Psalmorum*, as first attested in the famous eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript known as 'Vespasian Psalter' (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A I, fols 4v–5r),[14] leaves no doubt as to the existence of a connection with OITP (the text is here transcribed directly from the Vespasian Psalter, with only minimal editing; the translation is mine):

> *Dauid filius Iesse, cum esset in regno suo, IIII elegit qui psalmos facerent, | id est Asaph, Eman, Ethan et Idithun; [...] adduxit in Hierusalem electos simul ex omni genere filiorum Israhel, LXX milia uirorum.*[15] *De tribu autem Leui inuenti sunt CCLXXVIII uiri,*[16] *ex quibus IIII elegit qui preessent principes cantionibus, id est Asaph, Eman, Ethan et Idithun.*

> 'David, son of Jesse, while he was in his kingdom chose four [men] who would make [*i. e.* 'compose' or 'sing'?] the psalms, *i. e.* Asaph, Eman, Ethan and Idithun; [...] he [ordered to] lead to Jerusalem chosen men from every kin of the sons of Israel—seventy thousand men [in total]. However, it is from the tribe of Levi that two hundred and seventy-eight men were picked; out of these, [David] chose four who should have pre-eminence as leaders of singing, *i. e.* Asaph, Eman, Ethan and Idithun.'

Although the numerical details involved are not the same, several elements of this story nevertheless match anecdote told in OITP: in particular, David chose (Old Irish *doróigu* = Latin *elegit*) numerous men out of the sons of Israel (*togaithi di maccaib hIsraél = electos ... ex omni genere filiorum Israhel*) so that they may sing the psalms (*fria cétal ... inna salm = qui psalmos facerent*).

If we consider the relationship between these three passages from, respectively, OITP, *Pauca problesmata*, and *Origo Psalmorum* we can see that they appear to have been constructed from a predetermined set of motifs and linguistic collocations taken from Patristic and early medieval exegetical literature. Like building blocks in a children's game, each of these textual micro-units could be added, removed, modified and re-arranged at will, generating each time a different macro-output.

Indeed, strangely enough a further re-elaboration of this same story, particularly close to the Irish version in OITP, resurfaces in a much later source. Herrad of Landsberg's twelfth-century *Hortus deliciarum* contains the following anecdote concerning King David and his four co-psalmists (both the text and the translation are cited from Van Schaik 1992, p. 86, following Green et al. 1979, p. 97, §202):

> *... postquam Psalterium [...] composuit, quatuor milia juvenum eligit, quibus omni musico instrumento cantare Psalterium precipit, et nunc solum melos (id est melodiam), nunc ipsa verba cantare instituit, quibus etiam centum quinquaginta psalmos instituit, et his quatuor precentores prefecit, scilicet Eman, Ethan, Asaph, Ydithun.*

> After he [= David] had composed (built) [...] the *psalterium* [...], he selected four thousand young boys. He taught them to sing the *psalterium* with every musical instrument. On occasions he instructed them only in the *melos*, that is the melody, at other times he taught them to sing the words. He also taught them the hundred and fifty psalms and appointed four lead singers over them [= the young men], namely Heman, Ethan, Asaph and Jeduthan.

I do not know what specific transmission process may lie behind this striking correspondence between OITP and the *Hortus deliciarum*, but there can be no doubt as to the existence of some kind of link: the two texts plainly represent variants of the same story, and in this case even the number of young men chosen by David to sing the psalms—four thousand—is a perfect match.

More evidence throwing light on this surprising textual connection could perhaps be found by exploring the abundant exegetical materials that still lie unpublished in (early) medieval manuscripts. However, we certainly need no further evidence to understand that the musical instruments and practices presented in OITP, as well as the vernacular words chosen to name and describe them, have nothing to do with the 'reality' of Irish music and musical instruments around AD 800. The study of Biblical instruments—either *ad litteram* or as allegorical entities—did not require any direct contact or engagement with *actual* musical practices, but could be largely confined to the dimension of books and scholastic erudition. Rather than depending on concrete organological realities, the *crott* ('lyre'), *téta* ('strings') and *bolg* ('round belly' > 'sounding box') of OITP were instead complex exegetical constructs addressing questions that were at the centre of scholarly discourse concerning the interpretation of the psalms among the early medieval Irish *literati*. The *crott* of the *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter* never made a single sound, save only the rustle of parchment.

Notes:

1 Digital images of this manuscript are available online at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/44df3e02-4314-441c-8a67-43b6a555e97a.

2 The following periodization of the history of the Irish language is usually employed by Celticists: Old Irish = *c.* AD 600-900 (with *c.* AD 600-700 = Early Old Irish; *c.* AD 700-800 = Classical Old Irish; *c.* AD 800–900 = Late Old Irish); Middle Irish = *c.* AD 900–1200. The editor of OITP, Kuno Meyer, dated this text to *c.* AD 750 on the basis of the linguistic data (cf. Meyer K. 1894, p. x–xiii), but Pádraig Ó Néill has subsequently proposed a more convincing dating to 'paulo post A.D. 800' (Ó Néill 1979, p. 163).

3 For a recent review of the ongoing controversies surrounding early medieval Irish Biblical exegesis, see Stansbury 2016.

4 For an older edition of this text, cf. Hammerstein 1959 (for this passage in particular, cf. p. 129). For the Hiberno-Latin affiliations of the *Epistola ad Dardanum* and other relevant textual parallels, see Bisagni 2015a, p. 374–82; Bisagni 2015b. Note that this denomination of the Psalter in the Three Sacred Languages was later adopted by Rabanus Maurus in his *De mundo*, XVIII, 4.

5 Digital images of both the Paris and the Munich manuscripts are available online, respectively at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/

▼ Fig. 3. *Irish musician playing a* cithara *in a marginal illustration from a copy of the 'Topography of Ireland' by Gerald of Wales. Ms. London, British Library, Royal 13 B VIII, f. 26r (turn of the 13th-century). Print-screen of the facsimile available at the 'Digitised Manuscripts' of British Library.*

Source: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/

btv1b90668240 and https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00046658/images/.

6 For a more detailed discussion of Hiberno-Latin sources dealing with the *organum*, see Bisagni 2015b, p. 342-343.

7 For the distinction between *nablum* / *nabla* and *cithara* (and *psalterium*), cf. *e. g. Epistola ad Dardanum* (Meyer C. 2018, VI, 46-47, rec. α): *Psalterium quod hebraice nablum* […] *non quasi in modum cytharae sed in modum clipei quadrati formatur cum cordis X*; cf. also *Glossa in Psalmos*, CL.3 (McNamara 1986, p. 310): *saltirium in modum quadrati clepei de sussum habens ratem X chordis; cithara autem XVII chordis*. A strict distinction between *psalterium* and *cithara* occurred already in Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*, preface, IV. 6-7 (Adriaen 1958, p. 11-12): *Hinc citharae positio uidetur esse contraria, dum quod ista in imo continent, illud conuersa uice gestat in capite* (also Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, xxii, 7). For the allegorical significance of the ten strings, corresponding to the Ten Commandments, cf. *e. g. Epistola ad Dardanum* (Meyer C. 2018, VI, 49, rec. α): *Psalterium itaque cum X cordis, ecclesia cum X verbis legis contritis contra omnem heresim quadrata per quattuor evangelia intelligitur* (possibly based on Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, xxii, 7: *Psalterium autem Hebraei decachordon usi sunt propter numerum Decalogi legis*). For a discussion of the complex relationship between the terms *nablum*, *psalterium*, *cithara*, etc. in Patristic and medieval exegesis, as well as for the symbolism of the ten strings, see Van Schaik 1992, p. 65-70 and 80-81.

8 For the vocabulary of Old and Middle Irish, see the *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*, better known as EDIL (www.dil.ie).

9 The attribution of this piece of information to Jerome on the part of Cassiodorus appears to be unfounded.

10 This subdivision is undoubtedly based on Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, preface, V–VIII (Adriaen 1958, vol. I, p. 12-13), discussing the terms *psalmus*, *canticum*, *psalmocanticum* and *canticumpsalmum*.

11 This rare and rather obscure term presumably meant something like 'accompanying psalm-singers' or 'co-psalmists', possibly referring to the four 'assistants' of David, namely Asaph, Ethan, Eman, and Idithun, about whom more shall be said below (for a discussion of *subpsalmista*, see McNamara 2009, p. 50-53).

12 The story of the four co-psalmists may have been inspired by Patristic authorities, such as Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*, preface, II. 17–34 (Adriaen 1958, vol. I, p. 10).

13 The *Origo Psalmorum* is edited in De Bruyne 1920, p. 43-44. It should be noted that a copy of this text, with glosses in Old Irish, occurs in the above-mentioned Irish manuscript Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (cf. McNamara 2009, p. 50-51). It is therefore most likely that the *Origo Psalmorum* was known to the author of OITP, or at least to the author(s) of the Hiberno-Latin exegetical tract(s) on which OITP was based.

14 Digital images of the Vespasian Psalter are available online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vespasian_A_I.

15 The text in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (fol. 2r) is here somewhat different: *hanc* […] *adduxit in Hierusalem, electis uirís ex omni genere filiorum Israhel, LXXta <milia> uiris* ('[David] brought this [scil. the Ark of the Covenant] to Jerusalem, having chosen men from every kin of the sons of Israel—seventy <thousand> men').

16 The text of the *Origo Psalmorum* in the Vivian Bible (Paris, BnF, Lat. 1, fol. 216r) reads *ducenti* [*ducentos* post correctionem] *octoginta octo uiros*, 'two hundred and eighty eight men', whereas the Irish manuscript in the Ambrosiana agrees with the Vespasian Psalter.

Discussion 1 - *crott.*

IS: The Irish translation choice *cruit* occurs in a passage where the instrument appears to be linked with vocal harmonies. In the case of the OITP, this concerns the Latin word *canticum.* In Middle English translations, a similar situation concerns the vernacular translation choices for the Latin word *chorus*, as Middle English texts often use *croude* or *crouht* for *chorus*. This is the same instrument as the Irish *crott*. In the first article, I interpreted this situation as possibly referring to a homonymous use of the Middle English word *croude*, denoting both the musical instrument and a gathering of people (*Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 104). In light of the new testimony from OITP, I wonder whether this could be a wider insular translation choice determined by shared cultural practices. Are there any other references concerning the use of *crott* in connection with vocal harmonies?

JB: To the best of my knowledge, Old Irish *crott* (Middle Irish *cruit*) is used exclusively to refer to string instruments, either as a generic designation for the whole category or as a label for a specific instrument (probably referring initially to the lyre, and subsequently to the harp proper).

The passages that I have cited from OITP are likewise unambiguous: there can be no doubt that the word *crott* indicates a musical instrument there too. In particular, the association with *canticum* in the second passage must be understood as a reference to the re-imagined use of a string instrument to accompany the singing of the psalms on the part of the ancient Hebrews. The text makes a clear distinction between (1) the normal Old Irish word for 'group of people' (and, more specifically, 'choir'), namely *clas* (a loanword from Latin *classis*, cf. EDIL *s. v.* 2 clas), and (2) *crott* (here inflected in the dat. sg. *cruit*), referring to a string instrument (as is further clarified by the textual parallels with the *Pauca Problesmata* and Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*).

Since Middle English *croude*, *crouht*, etc. appear to be loanwords from Welsh *crwth*, I would suggest two avenues of investigation for the possible origin of the special relationship between *croude* and *chorus*: (1) this development may have been triggered by a specific use of the Welsh word, a use which later passed on to English (however, I am not aware of any evidence for this), or, alternatively and in my view more likely, (2) it could be a development entirely internal to the English language itself.

In relation to the latter possibility, I wonder whether the link between *croude* and *chorus* could have been caused by the fact that the Latin *chorus*, in addition to being the normal word for 'choir', was also used to refer to musical instruments. In particular, in the *Epistola ad Dardanum* the term *chorus* refers to a sort of bagpipes (cf. ed. Meyer C. 2018, VIII, 52, rec. α: *Chorus quoque simplex pellis est cum duabus cicutis aereis et per primam inspiratur, per secundam vocem emittit*); a further (and perhaps more promising) parallel can also be found in the 14th- and 15th-century French use of the terms *chorus* and (later) *choron* to refer to a type of string drum (cf. Gifford 2001, p. 18-19). The passage from Isidore's *Etymologiae* that I cite in my contribution to Discussion 2 (*Etymologiae* III, XXI, 7) may also be highly relevant in this context.

Discussion 2 - Old Irish and Old Czech coincidences stemming from a Greek source?

ASV: The OITP phrase "its 'belly' is downward, and it is played from above" corresponds to the Old Czech phrase "the music is therefore played from below" in the preface of the Printed Psalters with the incipit *Ne tak zjevně a otevřeně* (see the Czech section). Furthermore, it is interesting that the early evidence for the use of a word of Hebrew origin in naming a musical instrument in Old Irish (*Nabla*) has counterparts in Czech material as well (*Nablath*).

Czech printed Bibles of the 16th century use Latinised Hebrew names in the context of the name of the biblical book itself. The *Venice Bible*, printed in Venice in 1506, includes a series of so-called summaries before biblical books, *i. e.* brief content descriptions of the biblical books, which in some cases include Latin, Greek and Hebrew names in addition to the Czech one:

> *Kniehy žalmové jsú složené od svatého Davida z prorokuov najslovutnějšieho: kteréž řetsky slovú Psalterium, latině Organum, židovsky Nablath, česky pak Žaltář.*

> Psalm books are composed by saint David, the most eloquent of the prophets: which are called *Psalterium* in Greek, *Organum* in Latin, *Nablath* in Hebrew, and then *Psalter* in Czech.

The origin of these summaries has not been identified. Souček 1967, p. 136, argued that they could be linked with the influence of the environment in which the Bible was printed. The current situation suggests that the two coincidences linking Irish and Czech texts point to the wider dissemination of a Latin source from whence the ideas were adapted.

M. Altbauer believed that the unusual form of the Hebrew name *Nablath* does not exist in Hebrew and does not appear in any of the older or modern translations of the Psalms into other languages (cf. Altbauer 1987, p. 171). Hebrew words were often transformed by the transition to another linguistic environment when they were transliterated. A common explanation would be the translator's unfamiliarity with the script or a foreign language used by the source (Greek Septuagint or Latin Vulgate). The second option also offers a solution: the Czech version of the Hebrew name *Nablath* could be the result of a translation from a Vulgate reading, in which the synonyms *Psalterium* and *Nablum* would be used to name the biblical book (the title of the book *Nablum* also appears in some manuscripts of the so-called Paris Bible, cf. Light 2010, p. 266). Synonymy would lead to semantic transformation, as the Czech translator would take the second member of the synonymous pair and transform it into the alleged Hebrew form *Nablath*, probably analogous to the name *Torath* (properly *Torah*) 'Torah, Pentateuch' as it appears in the preface *Jakož die svatý Jeroným* (cf. Svobodová, Matiasovitsová 2018, p. 316) The actual Hebrew name of the Psalter appears for the first time in the *Kralice Bible* (1579-1593). Its translation is based on the original languages:

> *Kniha Žalmův, kteráž hebrejsky slove Sepher Tehillim, totiž Kniha chval.*

> Book of Psalms, which in Hebrew is called Sepher Tehillim, namely the Book of Praise.

I have added some information regarding this at the end of the Czech section. They concern the transformation of the word *Psalter* into an actual title in the Czech manscript

bibles of the 14th and 15th centuries.

va: The furthest point of origin for this common source is certainly the preface to a 11th-century Greek catena on the psalms written by Nicetas metropolitan bishop of Heraclea. The text of the preface was attributed to saint Cyril of Alexandria in the pg (vol. 69, coll. 704A-C; cf. 703A-C for the modern Latin translation, included at the end of the following quotation). According to this preface, the names of the Psalter originate in the work of saint Athanasius, while the description of the psalter as an instrument comes from saint Basil:

Ἀθανασίου.

Τρίτον προέκειτο ζητῆσαι, τί τὸ ψαλτήριον καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ ψαλτήριον ὄργανον μουσικὸν δεκάχορδον, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν μερῶν τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀποτελοῦν τὸν ἦχον, ἐναρμονίως τοὺς φθόγγους πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς μελῳδίαν ἀποδιδόν· παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους ναῦλα λεγόμενον, παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι δὲ κιθάρα ὀνομαζόμενον. Κατεσκεύαστο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀρθὸν ξύλον καὶ ἀπαρέγκλιτον· χορδαὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ δέκα ἐτείνοντο· ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν χορδῶν εἰς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον τοῦ ψαλτηρίου διῃρημένως ἐναπεσφίγγετο· αἱ δὲ ἀρχαι τῶν χορδῶν καθίεντο ἄνωθεν· δέκα γὰρ κόλλαβι, εἴτουν πασσαλίσκοι, περὶ τὸν πῆχυν τοῦ ψαλτηρίου στρεφόμενοι, ἔτεινόν τε τὴν χορδὴν καὶ ἐχάλων πρός τε τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῆς ἁρμονίας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ψαλτῳδοῦ βούλημα.

Βασιλείου.

Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅ φησιν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, ὅτι τὸ ψαλτήριον ἄνωθεν ἔχει τῶν φθόγγων τὰς ἀφορμάς. Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων ἅπαξ ὁ μουσικὸς ἐναρμοσάμενος τὰς χορδὰς, ἀπραγμόνως χρῆται τὰ κρούματι· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ χεὶρ τὸ πλῆκτρον μεταχειρίζεται, ἡ δὲ λαιὰ ἄνωθεν ἐπαφομένη τῶν χορδῶν κατὰ διαστάσεις, καὶ πυκνὰ τοὺς δακτύλους μετατιθεῖσα, βαρὺν ἢ ὀξὺν τὸν φθόγγον ἐργάζεται. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ὀργάνων μουσικῶν, τὴν βίβλον τῶν Ψαλμῶν πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον ψαλτήριον ἥρμοσεν ὁ προφήτης, ἐμοῖ δοκεῖν, τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐνηχοῦσαν αὐτῷ χάριν παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνδεικνύμενος· διότι τοῦτο μόνον τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων, τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν φθόγγων ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἔχει, ὡς εἴρηται. Τῇ κιθάρᾳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ λύρᾳ κάτωθεν ὁ χαλκὸς ὑπηχεῖ πρὸς τὸ πλῆκτρον· τὸ ψαλτήριον δὲ τοῦτο, τῶν ἁρμονικῶν ῥυθμῶν ἄνωθεν ἔχει τὰς ἀφορμὰς, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖν μελετῶμεν, καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡδονῇ τοῦ μέλους ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πάθη καταφερώμεθα. Κἀκεῖνο δὲ οἶμαι τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον βαθέως ἡμῖν καὶ σοφῶς διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὀργάνου κατασκευῆς ἐνδεδεῖχθαι, ὅτι οἱ ἐμμελεῖς καὶ εὐάρμοστοι τὰς ψυχὰς, ῥαδίαν ἔχουσι τὴν εἰς τὰ ἄνω πορείαν. Τὸ δὲ ψαλτήριον δεκάχορδον ὄν, αἰνιγματωδῶς παρεδήλου τὸ σῶμα, ἅτε πέντε αἰσθήσεις ἔχον, καὶ πέντε ψυχῆς ἐνεργείας , δι᾽ ἑκάστης αἰσθήσεως γινομένης ἐνεργείας ἑκάστης. Ὅταν γὰρ ἕκαστον αἰσθητήριον ἑκάστη δυνάμει τῆς ψυχῆς προσαρμόσωμεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν μέλος ἑαυτοὺς διοργανώσωμεν, δεκάχορδον γινόμεθα ψαλτήριον τῷ Θεῷ, ἡμῖν μὲν μουσουργούμενον, καλῷ δὲ τεχνίτῃ τὸ Πνεύματι ἀνακρουόμενον. Ἀλλά τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ ψαλτήριον.

And the modern Latin translation published by Migne, to provide a better insight into the Greek text:

Athanasii.

Tertio quaerendum est, quid sit psalterium, et reliqua. Est itaque psalterium instrumentum musicum decachordum, de summis compagis suae partibus resonantiam emittens, conformesque articulatae vocis melodiae sonos reddens: diciturque ab Hebreis quidem nabla, a Graecis cithara. Conficiebatur enim ex ligno recto minimeque inclinato, in quo chorde decem tendebantur, singulaeque separatim in sum-

mitate ipsius psalterii constringebantur: nam decem claviculae seu paxilli in psalterii brachio vertuntur, atque ita chordas tendunt remittuntve, prout harmoniae rhythmus psallentisque libitum postulaverint.

Basilii.

Idem hoc magnus quoque Basilius dicit, nempe psalterium in superiore sui parte habere sonorum causam. Non enim, ut in aliis fit instrumentis, musicus, semel aplatis chordis, secure eas percutit; sed, post praeparatam harmoniam, dextera quidem manus plectrum tenet, laeva autem superne chordas per intervalla tangens, ac saepe digitos transferens, gravem aut acutum sonum efficit. Iam cum multa sint musicorum instrumentorum genera, librum quidem Psalmorum ideo, ut mihi videtur, ad psalterium cecinit Propheta, ut adsonantem sibi superne a sancto Spiritu gratiam demonstraret; quia hoc, unum inter musica instrumenta sonorum causam in superiore sui parte habet, uti dictum est. Nam citharae et lyrae inferius aes resonat plectro percussum: porro psalterium ideo superius harmonicorum rhythmorum originem habet, ut nos quoque superiora quaerere studeamus, neque harmoniae voluptate ad carnales affectus deprimamur. Illud praeterea arcane nobis sapienterque a prophetico sermone per huius instrumenti compagem demonstrari arbitror, nempe animas bene compositas ac temperatas faciliorem habere ad supera ascensum. Denique psalterium, cum sit decachordum, aenigmatice corpus denotat, in quo quinque sensus totidem animae operationibus respondent. Nam cum singulos sensus singulis animae potentiis consonos fecerimus, nosque ad sacram melodiam aptaverimus, tunc ipsimet psalterium coram Deo evadimus, nobis quidem recte temperatum, ab egregio autem artifice, Spiritu inquam, pulsandum. Atque haec de psalterio dicta sint.

Perhaps there are other passages in which the long prologue of the Greek catena coincides with the oitp and the Czech *Venice Bible*. This needs to be verified. In the case of the Czech prologue, the explanation is rather simple. The assumption of M. Altbauer appears to be valid. Venice was a cultural hub in the early 16th century, printing all sorts of books, including books written in Old Greek (and Demotic Greek as well, for the Venetian Greek colonies in the Aegean). The Czech prologue can be indeed the result of a contamination with a Greek tradition. It could be the product of an oral transmission, thus explaining the odd spelling of the Hebrew word and the misunderstanding from the description of the psalter as instrument. The Irish situation is a little bit different.

If the Irish text presents linguistic traits of a rather early nature, its dating could be subject to debate, as it is hard to believe that this Greek text could have been used earlier than the 11th century, when the catena of Nicetas was transcribed according to pg. I do not exclude the possibility of such an early cultural transfer, but the matter needs to be analysed by a specialist in Patristic literature or Byzantine catenae to the psalms. The interesting thing is that the Greek text speaks of the *λύρα* and *κιθάρα*, the lyre being absent from this segment of the Irish text, which presents a sort of synthesis of the Greek source. Additional references to the Latin language (*laudatorium* and *organum*) also suggest that the source of the Irish text could be a translation or an adaptation of the Greek catena, perhaps not an integral one, only excerpts.

There is a Latin prologue which contains one of these ideas. It was copied at the beginning of the *Eadwine Psalter* (the trilingual manuscript already presented in the Old French section of the *Musical Psalms…* 2019, p. 80-83). The manuscript dates back to *c.* 1155-1160 and its prologue

(f. 5r, second column) actually states that *est autem Psalterium musicum instrumentum de superiore parte sonum reddens*, an idea that could be borrowed from another Latin text. Gibson 1992, p. 111, considered that "the prefatory passages in Eadwine (fol. 5v) are a late and modified version of the series current in ninth-century St Gall and eleventh-century Tegernsee". Yet this interpretation was based on the observation that the gloss accompanying the Old Testament Canticles of the *Eadwine Psalter* coincides with a gloss from the manuscripts of those Alpine monasteries. If this observation were valid, I would not exclude the possibility that the Latin source of the OITP would be a Latin or bilingual manuscript from Saint Gall, given the presence of numerous Anglo-Saxon and Irish monks who came to copy manuscripts in the Alpine abbey. Saint Gall was one of the places where Greek texts were copied alongside Latin translations in Carolingian times (cf. Kaczynski 1988). However, if the observation were not valid, then the source of the OITP would be a Latin text which circulated in the British Isles as a consequence of the links between Byzantine and Anglo-Saxon cultures.

JB: Hiberno-Latin (and more generally Irish) Biblical exegesis reached its peak between the 7th and the 9th century, and there is practically no doubt as to the dating of the OITP to a narrow chronological window between the late eighth and the early ninth century.

After decades of scholarly debate on the study of Greek in early Irish monasteries, it is now commonly accepted that knowledge of Greek was not sufficiently developed in early medieval Ireland (or, for that matter, England) to allow ecclesiastical scholars to read lengthy and complex texts in Greek without the aid of a Latin translation. So, the main channel of textual transmission from the Greek-speaking world to Ireland is normally believed to be Latin translations produced in Visigothic Iberia and at the school of Theodore of Canterbury. A production and transmission of such translations in and through the South of Italy and, subsequently, major European monasteries such as Bobbio or Saint Gall is also a possibility, although the evidence remains somewhat dubious in this respect.

For these reasons, in my investigation of the OITP I limited myself to identifying *Latin* texts dating from before *c.* AD 800 that could have served as *direct* sources for its contents. In Early Medieval Ireland, the world of ecclesiastical learning rested on four Patristic pillars: Augustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville. It seems to me that the works of these four authors (and especially the latter two), combined with anonymous prefaces to the Psalter like the *Origo Psalmorum* (widely documented from the 8th century onwards), actually provided the bulk of the discussions on Biblical instruments presented in the OITP.

Of course, the contents of Latin Patristic works produced roughly between the time of Augustine and the time of Isidore certainly owed much to earlier Greek-language sources (and note also that the Greek roots of the *Origo Psalmorum* are briefly discussed in Van Schaik 1992, p. 49); afterwards, some of those early Greek contents clearly found their way also to Byzantine literature through quite independent channels, eventually producing the *appearance* of a textual connection between very distant materials (such as Old Irish, Byzantine Greek and Czech texts). However, since those early Greek sources were certainly *not* part of the typical 'bookshelf' (or rather *armarium*) of 7th-, 8th-, and 9th-century Irish monasteries, I must confess that they lie beyond my sphere of competence.

In truth, one does not have to look much beyond Isidore's description of the *psalterium* and the *cythara* to find the *immediate* source for much of the Western European exegesis on these two instruments (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, XXI, 7; Gasparotto, Guillaumin 2009, p. 77-79; trans. Barney *et al.* 2006, p. 98):

Psalterium, quod uulgo canticum dicitur, a psallendo nominatum, quod ad eius uocem chorus consonando respondeat. Est autem similitudo citharae barbaricae in modum Δ litterae; sed psalterii et citharae haec differentia est, quod psalterium lignum illud concauum, unde sonus redditur, superius habet et deorsum feriuntur chordae, et desuper sonant; cithara uero concauitatem ligni inferius habet. Psalterium autem Hebraei decachordon usi sunt propter numerum Decalogi legis.

The psaltery, which is commonly called *canticum* (lit. "song"), takes its name from 'singing to the psaltery', because the chorus responds in harmony with the voice of the psaltery. It has a characteristic shared with the foreign cithara, being in the shape of the letter delta; but there is this difference between the psaltery and the cithara, that the psaltery has the hollowed wooden box from which the sound resonates on its top side, so that the strings are struck from underneath and resonate from above, but the cithara has its wooden sound-box on the bottom. The Hebrews used the ten-string psaltery on account of the number of laws of the Decalogue.'

If one combines this with the sources I mentioned in my brief study (especially Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*), then the 'musical' contents of the OITP are essentially accounted for, at least in terms of the *immediate* sources that were available to the early medieval Irish *literati*. The ultimate *indirect* sources are of course a different story—indeed, a story to be told in Greek.

▼ Fig. 4. *David enthroned and playing a harp accompanied by a choir of angels playing instruments in the Last Judgement panel of the Muiredach's High Cross (Monasterboice, Ireland, 9th-10th century).* Credits: Jacopo Bisagni.
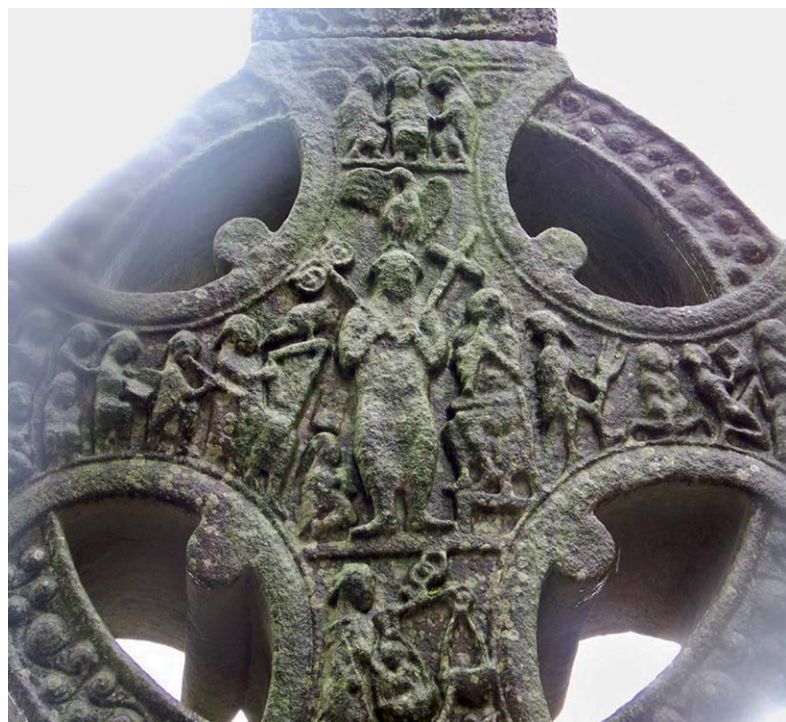
The First French Metrical Psalter (1FMP) (VA)

The list of Old French translations of the Psalms (or of the Psalter), should include a metrical adaptation in hexasyllables rhymed *aab ccb*. This still unedited Anglo-Norman poem (only fragments were published in Bonnard 1884, p. 130-132; and Goedicke 1910, p. 33-38) was copied in two 13th-century manuscripts of the British Library: Additional 50000 (*Oscott Psalter*, richly illustrated) and Harley 4070 (a pocket-size book). The Harley manuscript has a prologue in seven stanzas, absent from the copy of the Additional, but copied at the beginning of the *Arundel Psalter* (ms. Arundel 230 of the British Library) at a later date as a preface to the 12th century prose translation of that manuscript (for the text of this prologue, see Meyer 1866, p. 43-45).

In previous studies, I already argued that codicological, palaeographical, and philological aspects suggest that the Harley manuscript is closer to the autograph of the poem. The chief argument is that the Harley manuscript was conceived in order to preserve the Old French text, while the Additional used the latter as a mere ornament. The Additional is a usual psalter, richly illustrated, but following the conventional structure of most psalters. It has a calendar (f. 1r-6v), a cycle of miniatures (f. 7r-17v), a copy of the Gallicanum with the French poem on its right margin (f. 18r-215r), the Canticles (f. 216r-229r), *Te Deum* (f. 226r-227r), the Athanasian Creed (f. 227r-229r), other Canticles (f. 216r – Is 12 and Is 38), a litany (f. 229r-233r), the office of the dead (f. 233r-241v); and several additions, such as the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary (f. 242r-257r) and two prayers to the Virgin: *O stella maris* (f. 251v-252r) and *Sancta et perpetua virgo* (f. 256v-257r). The contents of the Harley manuscript, on the other hand, are very different. It contains only the metrical adaptation of the psalms (f. 2r-124r).

I will anticipate here some segments of a larger demonstration which will appear in a future publication. In the Additional manuscript, the French translation is purely ornamental. A comparison may be drawn between the manner in which the Old French text accompanies the Gallicanum and the (recopied) text of the Latin psalms accompanies the Psalter of the Virgin at the end of the same manuscript. These additions are written in alternate red and blue stanzas, in smaller letters. The peripheral status of the French text may explain why it was occasionally sacrificed when the margin of the Latin text did not provide enough space for the transcription of vernacular verses. To name but one example, two verses of the Old French poem are absent from the translation of Ps 25:2 and Ps 25:10 in the Additional manuscript, even though they were essential to the comprehension of the vernacular text (f. 47r, in a crowded margin; f. 47v, omitted by mistake), but they were cautiously preserved in the copy of Harley 4070 (f. 19r). The scribes of the Harley manuscript took great care when they copied the French text, which was the chief text of their manuscript.

In spite of its occasional ornamentation with line drawings, Harley 4070 is not an elaborate manuscript. The French text is written on two columns, five stanzas each, and the incipits of each verse of the Latin version of the Gallicanum are copied in the margin, in smaller letters and often abridged. Furthermore, from a traductological point of view, the French text of the Harley 4070 version is closer to the Latin Gallicanum than the vernacular version of the Additional 50000 manuscript. Here is the case of Psalm 150:

| Harley 4070 ms.	Additional 50000 ms.
Kar loez le seignur	Kar loez le seignuʀ.
[E]n [s]es seinz nuit e iur	E ses seinz nuit e iuʀ
Loez le en ses druz	Loez le en ses druz.

◀ Fig. 5. *Musician playing a vielle, accompanied by an acrobat in a 12th-century mural on a column from the church of Poncé-sur-le-Loir (Loir Valley, France).* Credits: Anca Crişan.

▲ Fig. 6. *Detailed view of the complete section providing a metrical translation of Psalm 150 in the manuscript of London, British Library, Additional 50000, f. 215r.*

Collages of several print-screens of the facsimile available at the 'Digitised Manuscripts' of British Library.
Source: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/
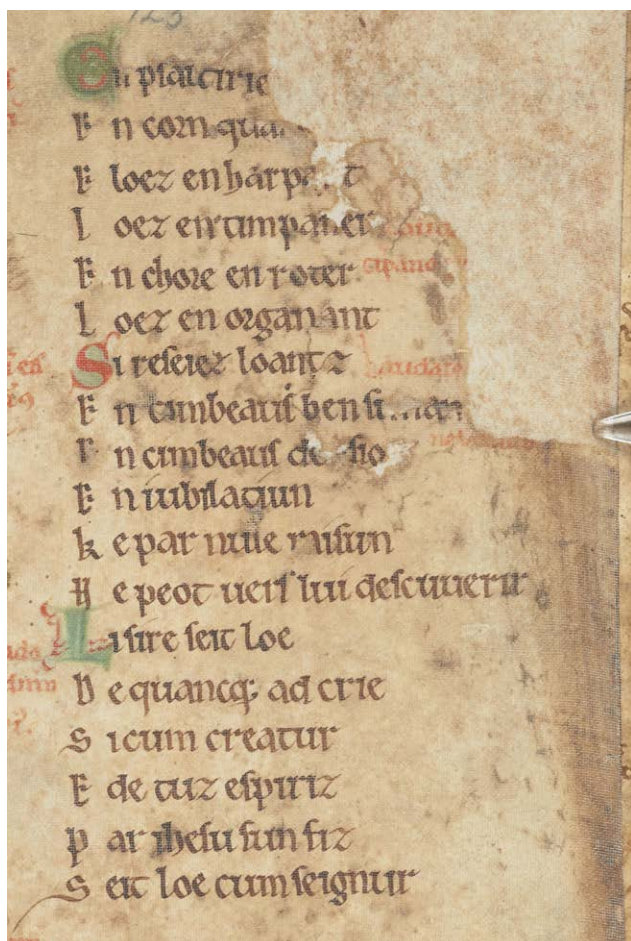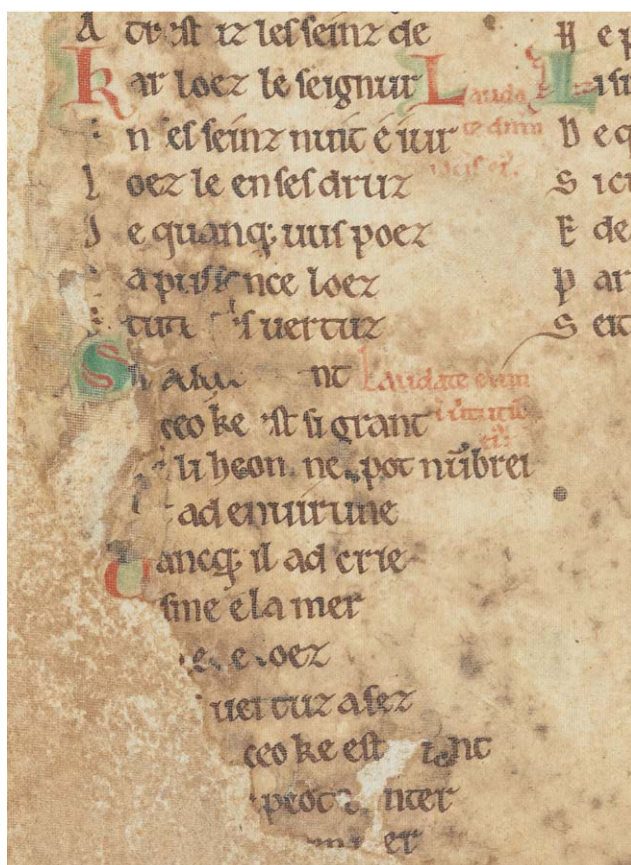
[D]e quan*que* uus poez	De kanke uus poez.
[S]a puss[e]nce loez	Sa puissance leez.
[E] tut[e] [se]s uertuz	E tutes ses uertuz.
S[i] as[......]nt	Sil resaiez loant.
[..] ceo ke [e]st si grant	En ce ke e*st* si grant.
[Ke] li heo[m] ne pot nu*m*bre[r]	Ke hom ne pot numbreʀ
[..][t] ad enuirune	Tut a enuirune.
[Qu]ancq*ue* il ad crie	Kanke il a crie.
[Abi]sme e la mer.	Abime e la mer.
[...i]e[.]e [l]oez.	En busine sonant.
[...]ue[r]tuz asez	En sauterie en harpant
[...]ceo ke est [..]nt.	Ne cessez de loeʀ.
[...]peot[.] [.]nter	Digne est le creatuʀ
[..............]er	Ki nus salua au iuʀ.
[................]	Ke uolt resusciter.
E[n] p[s]a[l]tirie[...]	En orguenes e en chanz
En corn qua[...]	E en tun estrumenz.
E loez en harp[an]t	En loant li chantez.
Loez en timpa[n]er	Les siens commandemenz
En chore en roter	Ne saiez trepassanz.
Loez en organant	Dunc serez ses priuez
Si reseies loantz.	En seinz bien sonanz.
En cimbeaus ben s[un]a[nz].	Saiez tut iurz loenz.
En cimbeaus d[e] [e]sio[ir]	En ologes de esioir.
En iubilatiun.	En iubilaciun.
Ke par nule r[a]isun	Loez sun treshaut nun.
Ne peot uers lui descuuerir	De cuer o grant desir.
Le sire seit loe	Le sire seit loe.
De quancq*ue* ad crie	De kanke a crie.
Sicum creatur	Si cum creatuʀ.
E de tuz espiriz	E de tuz esperiz.
Par ihesu sun fiz.	Par iesu crist sun fiz.
Seit loe cum seignur	Seit loe cum seignuʀ.

The dependability of the Harley manuscript version on the text of the Gallicanum is evident in Ps 150:4-5, a passage in which the second part of the sentence has nothing in common with the Latin text of the Additional version. Yet it is also probable that the autograph of this metrical adaptation did not follow the *Oxford Psalter*. The presence in the fourth stanza of several translation choices particular to the *Oxford Psalter* may point to this text as a source of inspiration, even though those choices could be equally determined by translation clusters. The use of *cimbeaus ben s_[n]a[n...]* and *cimbeaus d[e] [.]sio[...]* also corresponds to the *cymbles bien sonanz* and *cymbles de ledece* of the *Oxford Psalter*. This points once again to the Harley 4070 as a preferable text for traductological comparisons. The readings of the Additional 50000 manuscript (*seinz bien sonanz* and *ologes de esioir*) represent evident errors. However, the most important argument in favour of the Harley 4070 version is the presence of corrections in its text. For one reason or another, the copyists missed several stanzas of the antigraph, but they added them in the lower margin at a later time (see for this the errors of the first copyist on f. 27v, where Ps 34:26 was missed; or f. 28r, for Ps 35:12; for the errors of the second copyist, see f. 78r, for Ps 90:13). They were also less careful with the Latin text, meaning that their interest focused on the Old French poem.

It is nevertheless impossible to imagine the structure of the original poem. It could be either a translation of the psalms or a larger text, incorporating a metrical adaptation of the Canticles and of the additional matter of the psalter. A manuscript of the *Second French Metrical Psalter* (2ꜰᴍᴘ), today in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 13092 contains a similar adaptation of the *Quicumque vult* added at the end, after a metrical adaptation of the *Apostles' Creed*. It could be taken from 1ꜰᴍᴘ (Agrigoroaei 2017, p. 151-157).

Fig. 7 a-b. *Two details of the fragmentary f. 123r containing the translation of Psalm 150 in the manuscript London, British Library, Harley 4070.*
Collage of several print-screens of the facsimile available at the 'Digitised Manuscripts' of British Library.
Source: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/

Fig. 8. *Two of the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse, represented in reference to Revelation 5:8 ('…and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints'). Portal of the church of Aulnay-de-Saintonge (France, 12th century).* Credits: Ileana Sasu.

	Latin (Harley 4070 ms.)	1FMP (Harley 4070 ms.)	1FMP (Additional 50000 ms.)	Latin (Additional 50000 ms.)
Ps 32:2	Confitemini domino in cythara;	en harpe lui chantez Les dis cordes sunez Del purement chanter	En harpe a li chantez. Les dis cordes sonez. Del purement chanter.	Confitemini domino in cythara in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi.
Ps 42:4	Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus.	Syre deu tut puisant Jeo sui regeisant enz en harpe en a tei; Malme ke auez Pur queiuus contristez. E pur quei trublez mei.	Sire deu tut puissant Je sui regeissant. Enz en la harpe a tei. Malme ke auez. Pur ke uus contristez. E pur ke trublez mei.	Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus quare tristis es anima mea & quare conturbas me.
Ps 46:6	Ascendit deus in iubilo;	Quant il les out beneit Si mumdat od grant hait Jhesuchrist esioisant; Si laissat apres sei Les meistres de sa lei Sa busine sunant.	Kant il les ot benoit. Si munta o grant hait. Jesus esioissant. Si lessa apres li. les mestres de sa lei. Sa busune sunant.	Ascendit deus in iubilo; & dominus in uoce tube
Ps 48:5	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam;	En pruuerbe parlat, Quant a eus sermunat. Ki furent mi priue. Mei eurent cuntre dit e forment endespit Quant ieo fui encharne;	En pruuerbe parla. Kant a eus sermona. Ki furent mi priue. Mei eurent contredit. E forment en despit. Kant ge fui encharne.	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam; aperiam in psalterio proposicionem meam.
Ps 56:9	Exurge gloria mea;	Leuez glorie de mei Leuez glorius rei E leuerai par matin; Si amerai ma gent De cel ueil serpent V unt este fr[?]rin	Leuez gloere de mei. Leuez glorius rei. E leuerai par matin. Si amerai par matin ma gent. De cel uiel serpent. V unt este frarin.	Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium & cythara exurgam diloculo.
Ps 67:26	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus;	Princes uindrenz auant Juintes mains chantant Entre eus tel [es]trument; La pure [?]rite Ke ihesus le [?] de Enseigne a sa gent.	Princes uindrent auant. Jujntes mains chantant. Entre eus tel estrument. La pure cherite. Ke ihesus le fiz de. Enseigna a sa gent.	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum.
Ps 70:22	Nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus;	E ieo regeirai As esliz que sai Ki te chanterunt beel En harpe chanterunt Tuz ceus di cest mund A tei seint israel	E ge regehirai. Aus eliz ke sai. Ki te chanterunt bel. En harpe chanterunt. Tuz ces de cest mund. A tei seint israel.	Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in cithara sanctus israel
Ps 80:3	Sumite salmum & date tympanum;	En psalmes le loez En tinpan li mustrez Ke uus le amez de fei En harpe en psalter Cument uus lauez cher De ben garder sa lei	E psalme le loez. En timpane li mutrez. Ke uus le amez de fei. En harpe en sauter. Comment le auez cher. De bien garder sa lei.	Sumite psalmum et date tympanum; psalterium cum cythara.
Ps 80:4	Buccinate in neomenia tuba;	Si deuez businer E le quer esbraser Tut en lamur de lui Ki de cel fort tirant E de enfern bruiant Par sa mort nus guari	Si deuez businer. E le cuer ebraser. Tut en lamur de lui. Ki de cel fort tyrant. E de enfer bruiant. Par sa mort nus gueri.	Buccinate in neomenia tuba; in insigni die sollempnitatis nostre
Ps 91:4	In decacordo ~~Ad annuntiandum mane misericordiam tuam;~~	Par dis cordes chantum Ben creire en ihesum E en la trinite La est la bone fei Sun prome amer cum sei En pure charite	Par dis cordes chantum. Bien crere in iesum. E en la trinite. La est la bone fei. Sun prome amer cum sei. En pure charite.	In decacordo psalterio cum cantico in cythara.
Ps 97:5-6	Psallite domino in cithara in cythara;	En harpe lui chantez En ton ben le sunez En uoiz de psalmeer En corns de tuz semblanz En busines sunanz Sil deuez tuz preiser	En harpe li chantez. En ton bien le sonez. En uoez de saumeer. En corns de tuz semblant. En busines sonant. Sil deuez tuz preser.	Psallite domino in cythara in cythara & uoce psalmi; in tubis ductilibus & uoce tube cornee
Ps 107:3	Exurge psalterium & cythara;	Leuez li mien segrei E la glorie de mei E leuerai par matin Harpant par passiun Saltrer remissiun Ke ia ne prendra fin	Leuez le mien segrei. E la gloere demei. E leuerai par matin. Harpant par passiun. Sauter remissiun. Ke ia ne prendra fin.	Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium & cythara exurgam diluculo.

I*n* salicib*us* i*n* medio ei*us*;	Sur les sauz esteium penda*nz* Noz organes suspiranz E ki nus ourent pris	Au sauz sunt pendanz. Nos orguenes supiranz. Ces ki nus orent pris	In psallicibus in medio ei*us* suspendimus organa n*ost*ra.	Ps 136:2
D*eus* ca*n*ticu*m* nouu*m* ca*n*tabo t*ibi*;	Sire cel nuuel chant Tei serrai ieo chantant Es cordes del salter Dis cordes i at enz Tes dis cumandemenz Pur nus ben enseigner	Sire cel nuuel chant. Tesere ge chantant. Escordes del salter. Dis cordes i a enz. Tes dis commandem*enz*. Purnus ben ensegner.	Deus canticum nouu*m* cantabo t*ibi*; in psalterio decacordo psallam t*ibi*.	Ps 143:9
P*r*ecinite d*omi*no i*n* *con*fessio*ne*;	En mut glorius sun Ceo est confessiun En harpe lui chantez Ki en la cruiz pendant Eut/Fut cel dur lai harpant Pur noz iniquitez	En mut glorius su*n*. Ce est *con*fessiun. En harpe li chantez. Ki en la cruiz pendant Eu ses braz estendant Pur noz iniquitez.	P*r*ecinite domino i*n* *con*fessio*ne* psallite deo n*ost*ro in cythara.	Ps 146:7
Laudate nom*en* ei*us* i*n* choro;	Encore le loez En tim[p]ane chantez En psalterie ensement Cum a [?]z criatur E glorius seignur E deu ompnipotent.	Vncore le loez. En tympane li chantez En psauterie ensement. Cum a duz creatur. E glorius seignur. E deu omnipotent.	Laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano & psalterio psallant ei.	Ps 149:3
[..............]	En p[s]a[l]tirie[...] En corn qua[...] E loez en harp[an]t	En busine sonant. En sauterie en harpant. Ne cessez de loeʀ. Digne est le creatuʀ. Ki nus salua au iuʀ. Ke uolt resusciteʀ.	Laudate eum in sono tube; laudate eum in psalterio & cythara	Ps 150:3
[L]aud[ate] [..] ti*m*pano [...]	Loez en timpa[n]er En chore en roter Loez en organ[a]nt	En orguenes e en chanz. E en tun estrumenz. En loant li chantez. Les siens commandemenz Ne saiez trepassanz. Dunc serez ses priuez	Laudate eum in tympano & choro; laudate eum in cordis & organo.	Ps 150:4
Laudate [.......] [be]nesonant[ibus]	Si reseiez loantz En cimbeaus ben s[un]an[z]. En cimbeaus de [e]sio[ir] En iubilatiun Ke par nule r[a]isun Ne peot uers lui descuuerir	En seinz biensonanz. Saiez tut iurz loenz. En ologes de esioir. En iubilaciun. Loez sun treshaut nun. De cuer o grant desir.	Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantib*us* laudate eum in cymbalis iubilacionis	Ps 150:5

The metrical adaptation preserves most lexical choices made by previous prose translations. *Cythara* is interpreted as *harpe*; *psalterium* as *psalter* or *sauter* (but also *psalterie* / *psauterie*, probably for metrical reasons); *organa* are *organs* / *orguenes*; *tympanum* becomes *tinpan* / *timpane*; and *cymbala* become *cimbeaus*, with the exception of the version from the Additional 50000 manuscript, where one of the two occurrences of the word disappears and the remaining one is interpreted as *ologe*. It could be a rewriting of the copyist, whose colophon follows immediately after, written in the same meter and rhyme.

Busine / *busune* and *businer* appear often as translations for *tuba*, *buccina* or *buccinare*. The disappearance of the cluster concerning the Latin *tuba* in Ps 80:4 and its replacement with a phrase mentioning the kindling of hearts (*le quer esbraser / le cuer ebraser*) could be a consequence of a quest for a better rhyme or perhaps a scribal error in the case of *quer* / *cuer*. Both interpretations are valid, the first one being preferable. On the one hand, the verses for Ps 97:5-6 suggest that the versifier translated the Latin *tuba* with the Old French word *corn*. However, such a translation would beg for the use of a different verb (*soner*). The use of *e(s)braser* points in the other direction: that of a 'filler' verse.

A more skilled translator would have duplicated the contents of the Ps 97:5, using it in the second part of the stanza, with an explanation about the type of moon referred to by the word *neomenia*, but the author of 1FMP preferred to use a metrical 'filler' in this part of the text. The reasons for this choice are again unobvious, especially when compared to the preceding biblical verse, which was translated rather well. In his translation of Ps 80:3, the anonymous versifier managed to keep all three names of instruments exactly as they appear in previous prose translations, using a well-crafted arrangement of 'filler' verses (3, 5-6). A similar preference for extensive metrical 'plugs' is evident in the adaptation of Ps 91:4, where both names of musical instruments (*psalterium* and *cythara*) were discarded, keeping only *dis cordes* as a translation for *decacordum* and drawing inspiration from the Creed for the rest of the stanza (verses 2-6). Reducing the translation to the first verse could be indicative of a certain laziness, due to the tiresome or repetitive nature of the versifier's activity (by that time, he was approaching the third section of the Book of Psalms) or to the development of a particular type of aesthetics. These two options need to be checked in a wider analysis of the entire text.
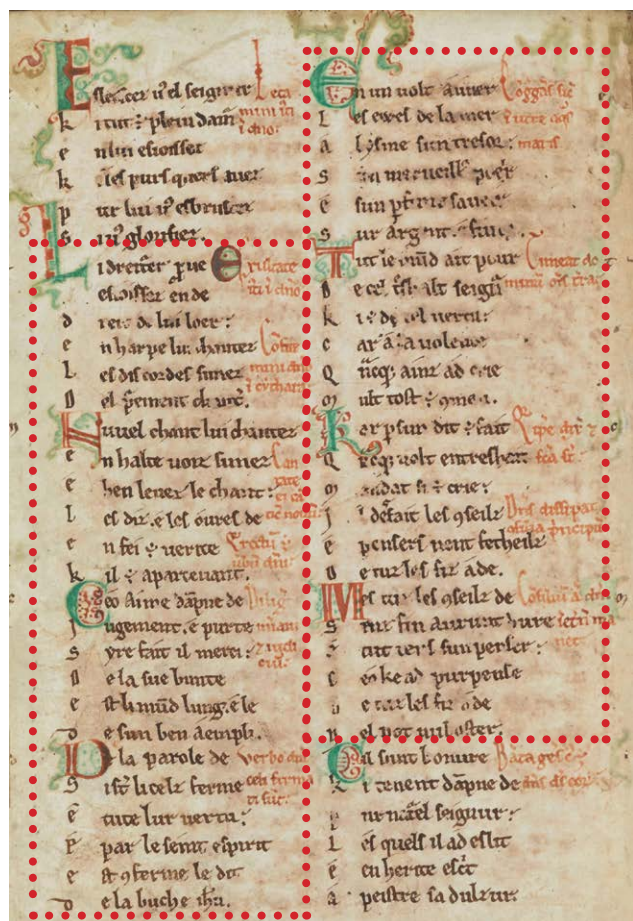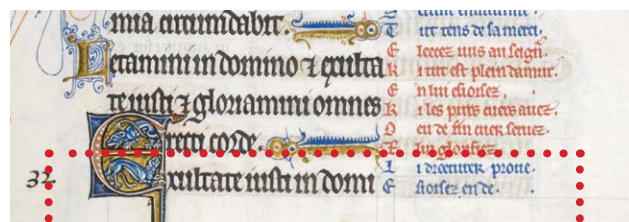
One of the most interesting situations occurs in the adaptation of Ps 67:26. The versifier used the word *estrument* instead of *tinpan* / *timpane*. By the look of it, he followed a similar logic to the one used by the translator of the *Eadwine Psalter* in the translation of another problematic verse (Ps 136:2). In the previous study (cf. *The Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 90), it was argued that the translator of the *Eadwine Psalter* would follow the Old English translation *swegas* for the Latin word *organa*, since he could not imagine how a medieval organ could be hung upon a tree. Similarly, the peculiar translation choice of the 1FMP could be related to a confusion originating in another vernacular text, not in the Latin textn which clearly presented the word *tympanistriae*. It looks like the versifier did not check this biblical verse in the Latin text. He missed the meaning of *coniuncti psallentibus*. The *princes* from his metrical adaptation are not connected to the group of *psallentes*. Instead, the participle *coniuncti* is interpreted in connection with their hands, which are said to be joined (*juintes mains*) and the young girls disappear as well. The latters' actions are attributed to the same *princes*, who now hold in between their hands *tel estrument*. It is perhaps useful to notice here that the *Oxford Psalter* group and the

Eadwine Psalter present the reading *tympanistres* for this verse. If the versifier of 1FMP used a previous prose translation as basis of his metrical adaptation, then the bizarre nature of the Old French word could affect his understanding of the biblical passage. The *Oxford Psalter* reading is ambiguous, being clearly chosen because of the translation practices characterising the monastic sociolect, *i. e.* the duplication of Latin syntax and vocabulary (*devancirent li prince conjoint as cantanz el milliu des juvenceles tympanistres*). A person from outside of the cloister would have some issues withe the understanding of the Latinisms used by previous monastic translators, making little sense of what little knowledge was available to him. Metrical adaptations such as this one were typical of both the ecclesiastical milieu (cathedral schools), such as in the case of Samson of Nantuil's *Proverbs*, and the courtly context, represented by Evrat's metrical rendition of the *Pentateuch*.

The method of adaptating biblical prose into verse using 'filler' verses and various redundant segments of text (or anodyne remarks concerning the Christian faith) would be better understood in a thorough in-depth analysis of a lengthier passage. I chose for this the adaptation of the first ten biblical verses of Ps 32.

▼ Fig. 9. *The metrical translation of Ps 32:1-10 in the manuscript of London, British Library, Harley 4070, f. 24v.*

▲ Fig. 10 a-b. *The metrical translation of Ps 32:1-8 in the manuscript of London, British Library, Additional, f. 55r and 55v.*

Collages of several print-screens of the facsimile available at the 'Digitised Manuscripts' of British Library.
Source: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/

Ps 32:1-10 (ms. Harley)

Exultate i*usti* i*n*
d*omi*no;

Co*n*fitemini
d*omi*no i*n* cythara;

Cantate ei ca*nticum*
nouu*m*;

Q*uia* rectu*m est* u*erbum*
d*omi*ni;

Dilig*it* mi*sericordi*am
et iudiciu*m*;

Verbo d*omi*ni celi
firmati su*nt*;

Co*n*grega*n*s sic*ut i*n
utre aq*uas* maris.

Timeat dominu*m*
o*mnis* te*r*ra;

Q*uia* ip*s*e dix*it et*
f͞acta s*unt*;

D*omi*nu*s* dissipat
*con*silia p*ri*ncipu*m*;

Li dreit*ur*er pr*o*ue
esioissez en de
dreit de lui loer;
en harpe lui chantez
Les dis cordes sunez
Del p*ur*ement ch[a]nt*er*.

Nuuel chant lui chantez
en halte uoiz sunez
e ben leuez le chant;
Les diz. e les oures de
En fei *est* uerite
Kil *est* apartenant

Ceo aime da*m*pne de
Jugement. e purte
Syre fait il merci;
De la sue bunte
est li mu*n*d lung; e le
ᴅᴇ sun ben aempli.

De la parole de
Si s*un*t licelz ferme
E tute lur uertu;
E par le seint espirit
E*st con*ferme le dit
De la buche ih*es*u.

En un uolt auner
Les ewes de la mer
A[b]ysme sun tresor;
S[u]n m[e]rueill*us* poe*ir*
E sun p*ar*fun[t] saue[e]r
Sur arg[e]nt e sur [or].

Tut le mu*n*d ait pour
De ce t*r*esh[a]lt seign*ur*
Ki *est* de [te]l uertu;
Car a [s]a uolen[t]e
Q*ua*ncq*ue* ainz ad crie
Mut tost *est com*me[u].

Kar p*ar* sun dit *est* fait
Q*ua*ncq*ue* uelt entreshait
M[an]dat si *est* crie;
Jl de*s*fait les *con*seilz
E pensers nent fetheilz
De tuz les fiz ade.

Ps 32:1-10 (ms. Additional)

Li droeturer proue.
Esioisez en de.
Droet est de li loeʀ.

En harpe a li chatez.
Les dis cordes sonez.
Del purement chanteʀ.

Nuuel chant li chantez
En haute uoiz sunez
E ben leuez le chant.

Les diz e les oures de.
En fei est uerite.
Kil e*st* apartenmæent.

Ce aime dame de.
Jugement e purte
Sire fet il merci.
De la sue bonte.
Est li mund lunc e le
De sun bien a empli.

De la parole de.
Si sunt li cel ferme.
E tute lur uertu.
E par seint esprit.
Est conferme le dit
De la buche iesu.

En un vol auneʀ
Les ewes de la meʀ
Abime sun tresor
Sun meruelus poeʀ
E sun parfunt sauceʀ
Sur argent e sur or

Tut le mund ait pour
De ce treshaut seignuʀ.
Ki est de tel uertu.
Kar a sa uolente.
Kanke ainz a crie.
Mut tot e*st* commeu.

Kar par sun dit e*st* fet
Kanke ueut entrehet
Manda si est crie.
Il desfet les conseuz
E pensers nent feteuz
De tuz les fiz ade.

Exultate iusti in domino rectos decet collaudacio.	Ps 32:1
Confitemini domino in cythara in psalterio de-cem cordarum psallite illi.	Ps 32:2
Cantate ei canticum nouum; benepsallite ei in uociferat*ione*.	Ps 32:3
Quia rectum *est* uerbum d*omi*ni *et* omnia opera eius in fide.	Ps 32:4
Diligit mi*sericordi*am et iudiciu*m* mi*sericordi*a domini plena e*st* terra.	Ps 32:5
Uerbo domini celi firmati su*nt* et spiritu oris eius omnis uirt*us* eorum.	Ps 32:6
Congregans sicut in utre aquas maris ponens in thesauris abyssos.	Ps 32:7
Timeat dominum omnis terra; ab eo autem commo-ueantur omnes inh*ab*itantes orbem.	Ps 32:8
Quia ipse dixit et facta sunt; ipse mandauit et creata sunt.	Ps 32:9
Dominus dissipat consilia gentium reprobat autem cogitaciones populorum et reprobat consilia principium.	Ps 32:10

....

The main difference between Samson or Evrat's adaptations and the 1ꜰᴍᴘ is the nature of the meter. The 1ꜰᴍᴘ uses a hexasyllabic meter characteristic of early didactic poems written in the Anglo-Norman dialect (see Agrigoroaei 2017, p. 146). This fits perfectly the profile of the 1ꜰᴍᴘ, which is also a didactic poem, as it presents both an adaptation of the biblical text and an interpretation of it. The 'fillers' are possibly used in a didactic manner.

The *dreiturers* are a translation choice already present in the *Oxford Psalter* group (*Eslëecez juste el Segnur; les dreiturers cuvient loënge*). The verb, on the other hand, suggests that the versifier did not copy this previous translation. The *Oxford Psalter* option could be easily borrowed, since it had the same number of syllables and accentuation. In the next verses, the use of *chanter* and *soner* are unrelated to the Latin text and do not correspond to the choices made by previous translations, being chosen for metrical reasons. As for the 'fillers', they occur only in verses 3 and 6, at the end of two translation sequences, thus suggesting that the versifier worked one biblical verse after the other and linked them together in the end. The same method is used in the next stanza, where verse 3 is a redundant imitation of the first one, or in the seventh stanza, where the first three

verses cram the ideas of the Latin text in very few words, while the last three verses achieve a random and imperfect selection of Latin words, adding a supplementary verse of an anodyne nature, speaking about the sons of Adam. The imperfect contents of the last three verses could also suggest that the Latin source of 1ꜰᴍᴘ could be a variant of *Hebraicum*, since this particular Latin text does not have the *et reprobat consilia principium* sequence.

In the rest of the text, the versifier consistently makes use of 'metrical plugs', either parsimoniously (the third stanza has small 'fillers' in all its verses), unreasonably (fourth stanza, where he does not understand *spiritus oris eius* and creates an unexpected Trinity, attributing *eius* to the Father, *oris* to the Son, and *spiritus* to the Holy Spirit), or in an overstretched manner (fifth stanza, where he rambles nonsensically about riches of various kinds because he did not understand that the Latin *in thesauris* referred to the repository where the *aquae* were put).

In conclusion, his command of the Latin language was so poor that he often created ludicrous readings. In such a case, the occasional similitudes with the rest of the vernacular translation may be due to the consultation of an older translation. For now, this is only a working hypothesis.

The Second French Metrical Psalter (2ғᴍᴘ) (ᴠᴀ)

The *Second French Metrical Psalter* (2ғᴍᴘ) was apparently composed in the continental French-speaking area sometime in the 13th century. The only edition of this octosyllable text is of a 19th century date (Michel 1860, p. 263-363; not reliable). The alleged base manuscript is a pocket-size book preserved today in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 13092, dating back to the second half of the 13th century. Its scripta is of an Eastern dialectal origin. Fragments of the same metrical version appear in the 697 manuscript from the Burgerbibliothek of Bern (Picard features, 13th century). Other variant texts are found in the manuscript of Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Géneviève, 24 (olim A.f. fol. 4), f. 34-77, without Latin pericopes, only with *tituli* (14th century); and in a manuscript of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2665 (*c.* 1300). The latter was used for comparisons in an equally unreliable review of the 19th century edition (Mussafia 1862). Other fragments appear in the two Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France manuscripts: f. fr. 20090 (ca. 1375) and f. fr. 896 (15th century). The 19th century edition of the BnF fr. 13092 manuscript does not include the Latin quotations and is interventionist.

In this manuscript, the translation of a biblical verse occupies the space of two, four, or six octosyllables, depending on the original verse's size, but the vernacular octosyllables were transcribed as prose, in order to save up space. There is also a connection between the copy of 2ғᴍᴘ in this manuscript and 1ғᴍᴘ. It was already stated that the scribe of manuscript fr. 13092 added a hexasyllabic translation of the *Athanasian Symbol* in six-verse stanzas taken from 1ғᴍᴘ at the end of his adaptation of the *Apostles' Creed.*

As far as the translation is concerned, *harpe, sautier, busine,* and *orgue* are stable choices, meaning that there was no other way of rendering these words in the vernacular language, but there are some issues with the translation of percussion instruments. Some, but not all of them, may be linked with the status of the copy, where modifications could be made. There is for instance a mention of *timpaneles* (*campaneles* in the edition), but there are also *tympans. Cloches* are also used for *tympanum* in the translation of Ps 149:3; as well as *timbre* in Ps 150:4, which appears again in Ps 150:5. This suggests that the Latin *tympanum* and *cymbalum* were attributed a similar value, perhaps being included in a similar category of instruments, as different types. In the translation of Ps 150:4, the reading looks a lot like *tiniebres*, because of the accentuation in the manuscript. One can argue that these issues were related to the copyists and not to the original metrical adaptation. The versifier seems to have a good command of the Latin language, or he used a source with proper explanations, since he knew

well what to make of the Latin word *tympanistrae*, that he translated by a perfect periphrasis (*qui tenoient les timpaneles*). Further proof comes from a close inspection of other translation choices. The use of the verb *regehir* could point to a strong link with the previous prose translations of the psalms. Yet the most reasonable hypothesis is that it could be a translation cluster, as the use of the next verb (*saumonier*) is derived from a Latin text (*psallere*), and not from a previous Old French translation, including those stemming from the Hebraicum, who always used the verb *c(h)anter*. The adaptation is based on redundancies, with less 'filling plugs'. The rendering of Ps 56:9 is evident; the versifier repeated certain words in order to fill his couplets. It could be an effect of the different meter (octosyllabic) used in the translation and of the rhyme in couplets. Speaking of rhyme, he is not a good versifier. He builds his rhymes using identical grammatical categories (*alés* / *montés*; *enclinerai* / *dirai*; *donnez* / *joez*; etc.), often pursuing them from one couplet to the next, and even repeating the word (*ensemble*), but this method had its advantages. His simple approach favoured a rather faithful rendering of the Latin source.

This interpretation is sustained by the analysis of his translation of Ps 32: 1-10 (see the images of the previous page). *Saumoier* appears whenever it is necessary to fill the missing syllables. Occasionally, the author doubles a word in order to fill the verse and find a good rhyme (*droite et pure*). The translation choices from the *Oxford Psalter* group appear throughout the entire text, but the versifier does a better job than the old translators, finding proper equivalents in the target language and avoiding neologisms. For instance, he does not use *vociferatiun*, he uses *de haute vois*; or *pité* instead of *misericorde*. Last but not least, when he arrives at Ps 32:7, where 1FMP had made grave errors, 2FMP is much more careful. It is true that its versifier attributes the value of riches to the Latin *thesauri* (cf. *com se estoient pierres d'or*), but he uses the expression *metre en tresor*, all while translating correctly the Latin text (cf. *boissel*). He is tempted to make the same errors, but he sticks to the Latin text like glue. Of course, this does not mean that he is not capable of making similar simplifications. There are instances in which he reduces the ideas of the Latin text in order to fit a biblical verse in a single octosyllabic couplet (Ps 32:6).

All in all, his method of adapting the Latin source to the fixed structure of a vernacular poem works better than in the 1FMP, with which there are no evident connections. The 2FMP follows closely a Latin Gallicanum. Its translation choices favour the spoken language and when they coincide with previous prose translations, they are probably the consequence of translation clusters.

◀ Fig. 11 a-c. *Three details of the metrical translation of Psalm 32 in the manuscript of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 13092, f. 24rb, 24va-b. Collages of several print screens of the digital facsimile available on the 'Gallica' site.* Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr/

SOURCES:

For the references to the Michel 1860 version, see the p. 281, 290, 292, 294, 299, 305, 308, 316, 323, 326-327, 335, 351, 354, 356, 357. For the Paris, BnF, f. fr. 13092 manuscript version, see the f. 24r, 34r, 37r, 38r, 44v, 51v, 55r, 64r, 71v, 74v, 83r, 100v, 104v, 106r, 107r, 107v.

2FMP (BnF fr. 13092 ms.)	2FMP (Michel 1860 ed.)	
Confitemini. En harpe a deu regehissiez et en sautere saumoniez. Ou il ait x. cordes ensemble Bon cuer et bon sens bien ensemble.	En harpe à Deu regehissiez, Et en sautere saumoniez Où il ait x. cordes ensemble, Bon cuer et bon sens bien ensemble.	Ps 32:2
Et in. Alautel deu men enterrai. Et a ton nom regehirai. Tous les pechiez que ie ai fait Si aurai ioie si te plaist	Al autel Deu m'en enterrai, Et à ton nom regehirai Tous les pechiez que je ai fait; Si aurai joie, si te plaist.	Ps 42:4
Ascendit. Deux est en voix de ioie ales. En voix de busine montes.	Deux est en voix de joie alés, En voix de busine montés.	Ps 46:6
Inclinabo. En parabole menclinerai. En sautier mon penser dirai.	En parabole m'enclinerai, En sautier mon penser dirai.	Ps 48:5
Exurge. Lieue ma gloire o le sautier. & la harpe por saumoier. Car ie matin me leuerai. Et a mon deu saumoierai.	Lieve, ma gloire, o le sautier Et la harpe por saumoier; Car je matin me leverai, Et à mon Deu saumoierai.	Ps 56:9
Preuenerunt. Li prince vinrent tuit deuant. & avec aus li saumoiant. En mi le leu des iouuencelles. Qui tenoient les timpaneles.	Li prince vinrent tuit devant, Et avec aus li saumoiant, En mi le leu des jouvencieles Qui tenoient canpaneles.	Ps 67:26
Nam et. Et ie a toi regehirai. En saumes ta verte dirai. En harpe ton bel estrument. Dirai ton saintefiement.	Et je à toi regehirai, En saumes ta verté dirai; En harpe, ton bel estrument, Dirai ton saintefiement.	Ps 70:22
Sumite. Prenez saumes tympans donnez En harpe et en sautier ioez.	Prenez saumes, tympans donnez, En harpe et en sautier joez.	Ps 80:3
Hucinate. En neuue busine cornez Es iours de vos festivitez	En neuve busine cornez Es jours de vos festivitez;	Ps 80:4
Indecacordo. En saucier ou .x. cordes ait. Et enharpes tes los saera;	En sautier où .x. cordes a, Et en harpes ton los sera;	Ps 91:4
Iubilate. Toute la terre a deu chantes. En soume et en ioie loes Psallite. Anbusines de cor cornes. Et en harpes soumes sones.	Toute la terre, à Deu chantés, En saume et en joie loés. En busines de cor cornés, Et en harpes saumes sonés;	Ps 97:5-6
Exurge. Lieue ma gloire o le sautier Et la harpe pour saumoier Car au mattin me leuerait Et au non deu saumoierai.	Lieve, ma gloire, o le sautier Et la harpe pour saumoier; Car au matin me leverai Et au non Deu saumoierai.	Ps 107:3
Insali. Tmmi les sausoies mesmes Nos orgues illuc espandismes	Enmi les sausoies méismes Nos orgues, illuc espandismes.	Ps 136:2
Deus Deu. nouel chant te chanterais. En saucier te saumoierai	Deu, novel chant te chanterai, En sautier te saumoierai.	Ps 143:9
Percinite. En confession deuloies En saume en harpe li chantes	En confession Deu loiés, Et saume en harpe li chantés.	Ps 146:7
Laudent. Onquerole loet son non En cloches et en psalterion	En querole loent son non, En cloches et en psalterion;	Ps 149:3
Laudate. Loes lo enson de buisiner Loes lent harpe et en sauciers.	Loés-le en son de buisiner, Loés-l'en harpe et en sautier.	Ps 150:3
Laudate. Loes len timbre en concorde. Loes len orgue et en corde.	Loés-l'en timbre en concorde, Loés-l'en orgue et en corde.	Ps 150:4
Laudate. Loes len timebres bien sonanaus Loes len timbres resonans	Loés-l'en timbres bien sonans, Loés-l'en timbres resonans.	Ps 150:5

The Psalter from Metz, *c.* 1365 (va)

The Psalter from Metz or the Lorrain Psalter is a late comer to the tradition of French translations and adaptations of the Psalms. Its contents are odd. It comprises a translation of the book of Psalms, followed by the Old Testament Canticles, the usual additional matter, a litany of saints, and even collects, which is highly unusual for a French translation of the psalter. Yet it has no calendar at its beginning. Primary research on this text stopped shortly after two editions were published at the end of the 19th century (Apfelstedt 1881; Bonnardot 1884) and has not resumed since. Previous research identified four manuscripts of the text: the one in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazaine, 382 (798), written in the

dialect of Lorraine and dating back to the second half of the 14th century (but acephalous, since the translation of Ps 1 was ripped off from the manuscript); another one in the codex of Épinal, Municipal Library, 217 (59; 189), also in the dialect of Lorraine, possibly from Metz, written in mid-15th century; in London, at the British Library, Harley 4327, possibly from Metz, dating back to 1365 or a little bit after that date; and the manuscript of Paris, BnF, f. fr. 9572, dating back to the second half of the 14th century. My research was based on the two late-19th century editions.

From the start, it is evident that certain translation choices reflect the *realia* from the later evolutionary stages of the French language. The *cytholle* or *cythoile* replaces the 12th and 13th century *harp*, either because it sounded closer to Latin (as it happened in the Kerr rhymed Apocalypse, cf. p. 84 of the first paper) or because it was a common instrument of the time (cf. *ibidem*, p. 94). Either way, the translator ignored the translation choices from previous centuries. I am tempted to attribute this choice to his respect of the Latin language, in accordance with his translation choices *psalterion* and *cymballes*. Yet the comparison with the Kerr rhymed Apocalypse is equally valid for the translation of the Latin word *tuba* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 88), that he translates by *trompe* or *busine*. However, he is not undecided, at least not in the manner of the anonymous translator of the Kerr rhymed Apocalypse. His choice is willing and consistent.

There are peculiar *binômes synonymiques* in his translation. The most important one is this pairing of *busine* and *trompe*, which appears three times (Ps 46:6, 80:4, 150:3). Then there is the odd assortment *en trompes et en busines, en en voix de trompes et de cornes* (Ps 97:6). It is evident that the translator of the Psalter from Metz was well aware of the existence of previous translations (and he even alluded to them in his preface, where he spoke of the corruption and shortage of French words, *vide infra*). Perhaps this is why he is using the *binôme synonymique*. He simply needed to explain certain terms that did not reflect well the meaning of the Latin source (the *Gallicanum* in his case). Our translator knew for instance that the Latin *organum* could not mean 'organ', as it could he hung up on a tree. Therefore he spoke of *nos orgues et nos instrumens de musique et de joie* (Ps 136 :2). The *binôme synonymique* was a convenient solution for segments of text that posed a certain problem.

Last but not least, there is the choice of *tabours*, which he does not feel the need to pair with a Latinism. He even used a periphrasis for *tympanistrae*: *joans de tabours*. This last translation choice is rather rare in the French language. It appears only in the 2fmp, with which the Psalter from Metz cannot be related. Instead, it is more reasonable to assume that the periphrastic translation choice for *tympanistrae* was always available in the language, as it was in the case of Czech or Hungarian translations, presented in the previous paper, but that it was not used, since the previous French translators simply preferred to enforce a closer relation with the Latin source.

His method of translation is evident everywhere in the text. To give but three examples, in Ps 42:4, *qui laetificat iuventutem meam* is translated by *qui letificie et fait joieuse ma jovené*. In Ps 48:5, *inclinabo in parabolam* becomes *j'enclinerai a parabole et a proverbe*. In Ps 67:26, *in medio iuvencularum* is translated as *en mei des jovencelles et des jones femmes*; etc. It is a guarantee that he cannot be wrong. In this way, he can both stay close to the Latin source and provide a reasonable translation. He does not do it because of an indecision, but because he has no other choice. In his preface, the anonymous translator speaks extensively about the impossibility of achieving a proper translation.

Metz Ps. (ed. Bonnardot)

Ps 32:2 Confesseiz a Nostre Signour en cythoiles, et en psalterion de .x. cordes chanteiz a li.

Ps 42:4 Et je irai et entrerai a l'autel Dieu, a Dieu qui letificie et fait joieuse ma joventé. Je te confesserai et loerai en cytholle, tu, Dieux qui es mou Dieu.

Ps 46:6 Dieux ait monteit en hault joieusement, et Nostre Sire en voix de busine et de trompe.

Ps 48:5 J'enclinerai a parabole et a proverbe mon oreille et je declairera et ovrerai en psalterion toute mon entention et ma proposition.

Ps 56:9 Lieve toi, ma gloire; lieve toi, psalterion et cytholle; je me leverai au bien matin.

Ps 67:26 Li princes se sont avancieiz et se sont joint a ceulz qui chantoient, en mei des jovencelles et des jones femmes joans de tabours.

Ps 70:22 Et je, Sire, te loerai et confesserai en vaisselz et instrumens de psalterion, et chanterai a ti en cytholles, qui es li sains d'Israel.

Ps 80:3 [leaves missing]

Ps 80:4 et trompeiz au premieir jour de la nouvelle lune de busine et de trompe, et on grant jour et sollempneiz de vostre sollempniteit.

Ps 91:4 On psalterion de .x. cordes et en chanson en la cytholle.

Ps 97:5 Chanteiz et loeiz Dieu en cytholles et en voix de joieuse chanson,

Ps 97:6 en trompes et en busines, en en voix de trompes et de cornes. Faites feste et joie devant Nostre Signour.

Ps 107:3 Or sus, ma gloire, lieve toi! lieve toi, psalterion et cytholle! et je au matin me leverai

Ps 136:2 Entre ses saulz, tout en mei lieu de li, nous avons pendut nos orgues et nos instrumens de musique et de joie.

Ps 143:9 O Dieux, je chanterai a ti chant tout nouvel, et en psalterion de .x. cordes je chanterai a ti.

Ps 146:7 Chanteiz a Nostre Signour en joieuse confession; chanteis a nostre Dieu a la cytholle.

Ps 149:3 Looisse lou nom d'ycelui en instrument joieulz de musique, en thabour et en psalterion chantient a li.

Ps 150:3 Loeiz lou en son de trompes et de busynes; loeiz lou en psalterions et en cytholles.

Ps 150:4 Loeiz lou en thabour et en chorus; loeiz lou en cordes et en orgues.

Ps 150:5 Loeiz lou en cymballes bien sonant; loeiz lou en cymballes de joie et de jubilation.

SOURCES:

For the references to the Bonnardot 1884 edition, see p. 92; 128; 138; 142; 162; 187; 200; 234; 262; 276; 313; 380; 395; 402; 406. Cf. l'édition antérieure de Apfelstedt 1881, p. 33; 46; 50; 51; 58; 67; 71; 84; 95; 99; 114; 137; 143; 145; 147.

This suggests that both translation choices were possible in the language. Translation clusters must have occurred only at different (and stable) diaphasic levels in the language: in the case of an almost submissive respect of the Latin source (*tympanistres*, for instance) or when the target language was preferred instead (*joans de tabours*). In turn, this also means that the 12th century translators could have done the same, but they did not do it, since the logic of their translations was entirely different. The translator of the Psalter from Metz presented us with both. He even explained us why he did it.

As already mentioned, he wrote a lengthy preface to his translation of the psalter. In a manner quite similar to Chaucer, who feared the scribal practices of his day, the Metz translator asked those copyists to include his preface, so that the readers may have an idea what he did, how he did it, and most of all what his traductological reasons were. When he mentioned the corruption of the language, he gave several examples in which French had to follow the structure and lexical choices of Latin. The first one was *iniquiteit* for *iniquitas*. This word appears as such in the translations of the 12th century. We are therefore faced with a retrospective look upon the entire group of early psalter translations. It is perhaps best to read a part of this preface in the edition of Bonnardot 1884, p. 1-7 (cf. Apfelstedt 1881, p. 1-4).

Ps 32:1-10 (ed. Bonnardot)

Esjoissez vous, li justes, en Nostre Seignour : il affiert et appertient aux droiturier et juste Dieu loeir.	Ps 32:1
Confesseiz a Nostre Signour en cythoiles, et en psalterion de .x. cordes chanteiz a li.	Ps 32:2
Chanteiz a li chant novel, chanteiz bien diligenment a li a haute voix.	Ps 32:3
Quar li parleir et li perolle de Nostre Signour est droite et juste, et toutes ses euvres faites en bonne foy.	Ps 32:4
Il aime justice et jugement, et de la misericorde Nostre Signour li cielz sont fermeiz et affichieiz, et de l'esperit de sa bouche vient toute li force et li vertuz d'yceulz.	Ps 32:5-6
Qui met ansemble com en un berroil les yauves de la meir, et en ses tresors met les abysmes.	Ps 32:7
Doubtoisse Nostre Signour toute li terre; devant lui trembloissent tuit cilz qui habitent on monde.	Ps 32:8
Quar il ait dit, et a sa peroles toutes choses sunt faites; il ait mandeit, et toutes choses sont creeies.	Ps 32:9
Nostre Sires destruit et dissipe les consolz des gens; il reprueve les pencees des pueples, et reprueve les consolz des princes.	Ps 32:10

(Bonnardot 1884, p. 92-93; cf. Apfelstedt 1881, p. 33-34).

TRADUCTOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE METZ PSALTER (transl. VA):

Cilz qui ait cest Psaultier de latin translateit en romans prie et requieirt a touz ceulz qui lou vorront transcrire et copier, que il metient ou faicent mettre tout devant lou Psaultier ceste prefaice et prologue qui s'ensuit, pour entendre plus cleirement tout lou romans trait dou latin, au moins ceu qu'ens en puet entendre, et pour savoir auci queil peril est de translateir la Saincte Escripture en romans et queil profit puet venir a celui qui devotement se welt acostumeir a dire lou Psaultieir, soit en romans pour les gens laye, soit en latin pour ceulz qui l'entendent.

The one who translated this Psalter from Latin into Romance prays and asks all those who wish to transcribe and copy it that they put or arrange to put the following preface and prologue before the Psalter, so that all may clearly know how it came from Latin into Romance, at least those who can understand it, but also how dangerous it is to translate the Holy Scripture into Romance and what profit may come to those who would devotedly practice the reading of the Psalter, either in Romance, for laymen, or in Latin, for those who understand it.

Veez ci lou Psaultier dou latin trait et translateit en romans en laingue lorenne, selonc la veriteit commune et selonc lou commun laingaige, au plus prés dou latin qu'en puet bonnement : aucune fois de mot a mot, aucune foiz sentence pour sentence, aucune fois un mot et une parolle pour une aultre a ce meismes sens pour donneir l'entendement des parolles que on dit.

Here is the Psalter drawn from Latin into Romance in the language of Lorraine in accordance with the common truth and common language, as close to the Latin as is convenient: sometimes word for word, other times sentence for sentence, and sometimes a word and a term for another, with the same meaning, in order to provide the interpretation of said words.

Quar pour tant que laingue romance et especiaulment de Lorenne est imperfaite, et plus asseiz que nulle aultre entre les langaiges perfaiz, il n'est nulz, tant soit boin clerc ne bien parlans romans, qui lou latin puisse translateir en romans quant a plusour mos dou latin ; mais couvient que, per corruption et per diseite des mos françois, que en disse lou romans selonc lou latin, si com : iniquitas *'iniquiteit',* redemptio *'redemption',* misericordia, *'misericorde' ; et ainsi de mains et plusours aultres telz mos, que il couvient ainsi dire en romans comme on dit en latin.*

As the Romance language, the one from Lorraine in particular, is imperfect, even more so than any other language aspiring to perfection, nobody can translate Latin into Romance when Latin has more words, not even a good clerk who speaks Romance. Instead, the corruption and shortage of French words require that Romance follow Latin, such as: *iniquitas* by 'iniquity' (*iniquiteit*), *redemptio* by 'redemption', *misericordia* by 'misericordy' (*misericorde*). The same applies to many other words which must sound in Romance the same way as in Latin.

Aucune fois li latins ait plusours mos que en romans nous ne poions exprimeir ne dire proprement, tant est imperfaite nostre laingue, si com on dit on latin : erue, eripe, libera me, *pour les quelz. III. mos en latin nous disons un soul mot en romans : 'delivre moi' ; et ainsi de maint et plusours aultres telz mos, des quelz je me coise quant a present pour cause de briesteit.*

In other situations, our language is so imperfect that many more words are used in Latin than in Romance. In Latin, it is said: *erue, eripe, libera me*, but we say a single word in Romance for all the three Latin ones: 'deliver me' (*delivre moi*). And such is the case for many other words, which I need to pass under silence presently, for reasons related to brevity.

Aucune fois li latin warde ses rigles de gramaire et ses congruiteiz et ordenances en figures, en qualiteiz, en comparison, en persones, en nombres, en temps, en declinesons, en causes, en muef, et en perfection : que on romans ne en françoiz on ne puet proprement wardeit, pour les varieteiz et di-

Sometimes Latin keeps its grammatical rules, its just measures, and its order of (grammatical) figures, comparisons, persons, numbers, times, declensions, causes, modes, and aspects. In Romance and in French, none of them may be properly kept, on account of the variety and diversity of

versiteiz des lainguaiges et lou deffault d'entendement de maint et plusour, qui plus souvent forment lour mos et lour parleir a lour volenteit et a lour guise que a veriteit et au commun entendement. Et pour ceu que nulz ne tient en son parleir ne rigle certenne, mesure ne raison, est laingue romance si corrumpue qu'a poinne li uns entent l'aultre, et a poinne puet on trouveir a jour d'ieu persone qui saiche escrire, anteir ne prononcieir en une meismes semblant menieire ; mais escript, ante et prononce li uns en une guise et li aultre en une aultre.

Auci est il a savoir que li latins ait plusour mos que nullement on romans on ne puet dire maiques per circonlocution et exposition ; et qui les vorroit dire selonc lou latin en romant, il ne dit ne latin boin ne romans, mais aucune foiz moitieit latin moitieit romans. Et per une vainne curiouseteit, et per aventure, per ignorance, wellent dire lou romans selonc lou latin de mot a mot, si com dient aucuns : negocia ardua *'negoces ardues', et :* Effunde frameam et conclude adversus eos *'Effunt ta frame et conclut encontre eulz' ; si n'ait ne sentence ne construction ne perfait entendement. Et quant Nostre Sires dit en l'evangeile saint Jehans :* Nisi palmes manserit in vite, *qui diroit lou romans selonc lou latin de mot a mot il diroit ainsi : 'Se li palme ne demoret en la vis', et si n'ait point de vrai ne de parfait entendement selonc lou senz de la lettre ; quar si mot si 'palme' signifie plusour chose, quar : ou la palme de la main, ou l'arbre dou paumier, ou lou getons et rains de la vigne ou de chescun aultre arbres. Et tout ainsi puet on dire de ce mot 'vis' qui signifie plusour choses : ou vigne, ou visaige, ou une vis tournant. Et toute ansi puet on dire de se mot 'fornication', que aucune fois signifiet : lou pechieit de luxure, ou en fait ou en consentement ; aucune fois : ydolatrie, selons ceu qu'il est escript :* Fornicans fornicabitur terra a Domino *; et David :* Fornicati sunt in adinventionibus suis *; et en un aultre lieu dit l'Escripture :* Quomodo tu dicis : Non sum fornicata cum ydolis, et post Baalim non ambulavi. *Et com il soit fornication esperitueile et corporelle, il apert dont asseiz cleirement que aucune foiz dire lou romans mot a mot selonc lou latin est chose corrumpue et imperfaite, et que telle translation aucune foiz faulce la sentence et destruit l'entendement des perolles, et mue et chainge l'entention de la letre et dou texte.*

languages, as well as due to the lack of understanding of many people who often form their words and speech by their own will and in their own way, not according to the true and common understanding. Because nobody keeps any certain rule, measure, or reason of speech, Romance language is so corrupted that one barely understands another and there is hardly any person today who knows how to write, practice, and utter in the same manner. Some write, practice, and utter in one way, while others do it in another manner.

It must also be known that Latin has many words which can be rendered in Romance only by circumlocution and exposition. Those who wish to use them in Romance do not write good Latin or Romance, for they write in half Latin and half Romance. When they wish to write in Romance following the Latin word for word, they do so by vain passion or by chance, such as those who render *negocia ardua* by *negoces ardues*; and *effunde frameam et conclude adversus eos* by *effunt ta frame et conclut encontre eulz*. But there is no sentence, no construction, and no correct understanding. And when Our Lord says in the Gospel of saint John: *Nisi palmes manserit in vite*, the one rendering from Latin into Romance word-for-word would say: *Se li palme ne demoret en la vis*; but this sense of the letter has no right or correct understanding, for the word *palme* means several things: the palm of the hand, the palm tree, the tips or branches of the vine or those of other trees. The same may be said about the word *vis*, for it has several meanings: vine, face, or screw. Or about the word *fornication*, which sometimes stands in for the sin of lust, either plainly or figuratively, other times: idolatry, according to the written word: *Fornicans fornicabitur terra a Domino;* and in David: *Fornicati sunt in adinventionibus suis*; ad in another text called 'Scripture': *Quomodo tu dicis: Non sum fornicata cum ydolis, et post Baalim non ambulavi.* Since there are two types of fornication, spiritual and physical, it is rather clear that the word-for-word rendering of Latin into Romance is often a corrupted and imperfect affair, and that such a translation sometimes perverts the sentence and destroys the understanding of the words, transforming and changing the intention of the letter or text.
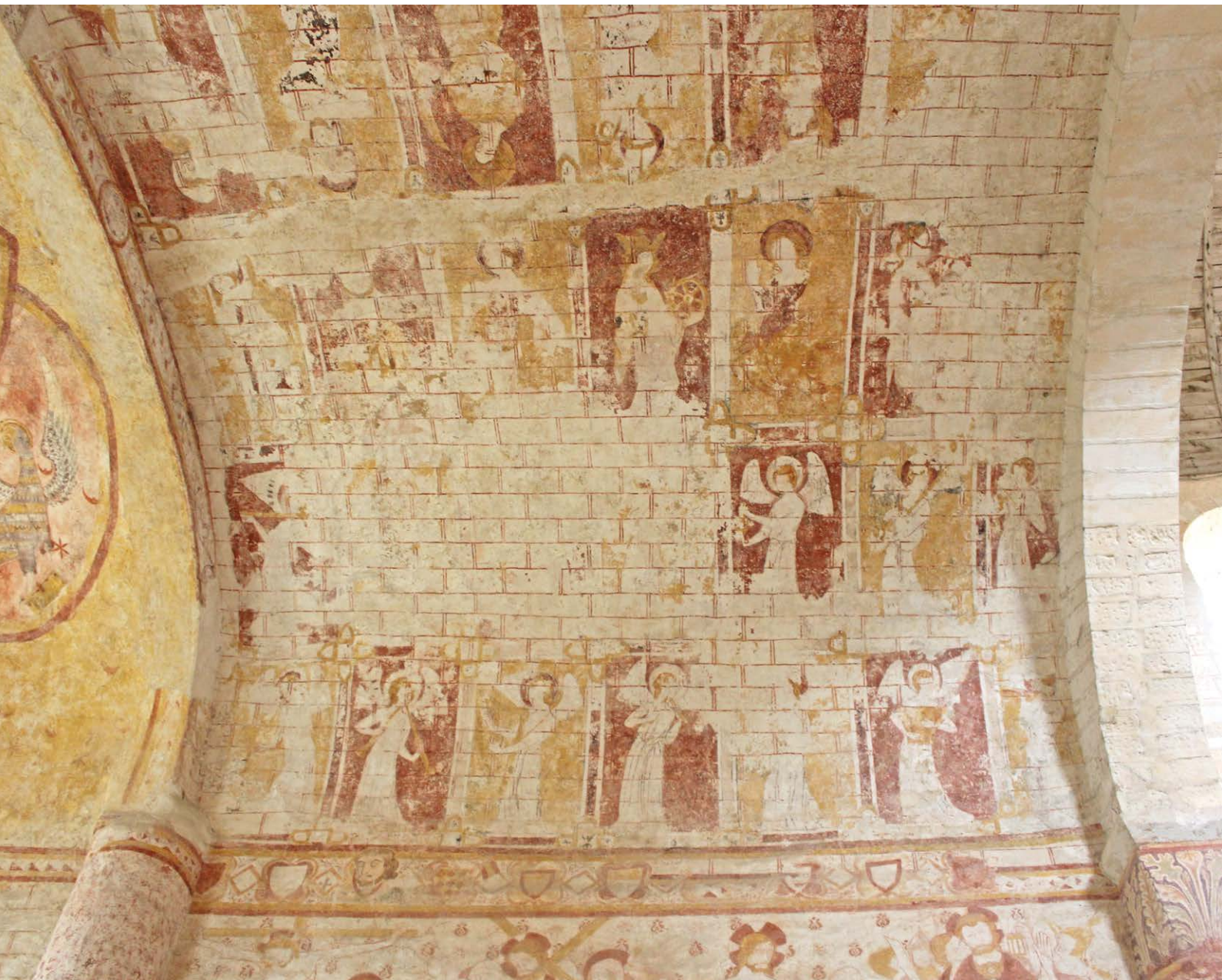
◆▶ Fig. 12-13. *Angels playing musical instruments in the company of saints in the 14ᵗʰ-century mural paintings of the barrel-vault from the transept of the Saint-Genest church in Lavardin (Loir Valley, France).* Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Et pour ceu dont est ce trop perillouse chose de translateir la Saincte Escripture dou latin en romans, quar li Escripture Saincte est plainne de plusours sens et de plusour entendemens que, qui la welt mettre de latin en romans, se il n'i ait lonc temps estudieit et se il n'ait l'usaige et l'entendement de li, il ne la puet veritablement translateir senz erreir.

Dont il avient plusour fois que, en metant un mot pour un aultre, ou une lettre pour une aultre, ou une persone pour une aultre, ou un adjectif pour uns substantif, li sens et l'entendement de l'Escripture est fauceiz et corrumpus, et pervertie est l'entention dou Sainct Esperit, per queil inspiration et enseignement li sains Prophetes, Apostres et Euvangelistres ont eut parleit en Sainctes Escriptures ; et contient teile translation errour et heresie : et en ceu git li peril de ceulz qui s'entremettent de translateir escriptures de latin en romans, especiaulment la Saincte Escripture et les dis des Sains.

This is why it is so dangerous to translate the Holy Scripture from Latin to Romance, because the Holy Scripture is full of multiple meanings and understandings which cannot be really translated without error by those who wish to render from Latin into Romance, but did not study for a long time and do not know their uses and meanings.

It often happens that the sense and meaning of Scripture is twisted and corrupted when a word or a person is used instead of another one, when an adjective is used instead of a noun. This perverts the intention of the Holy Ghost, who made the holy Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists speak in the Holy Scriptures. Such a translation contains error and heresy. This is where the peril lies for those who busied themselves with the translation of writings from Latin into Romance, particularly the Holy Scripture and the sayings of the Saints.

The Middle English Surtees Psalter (ɪs, ᴠᴀ)

The *Surtees Psalter* is an early Middle English metrical adaptation of the psalms now preserved in six manuscripts. It was previously edited by Stevenson 1843 and Horstman 1896 from three London manuscripts, both editors probably being unaware of the other three provincially kept manuscripts (ms 278 from Corpus Christi College in Cambridge; ms Bodley 425 and 921 from the Bodleian Library, Oxford). Horstman did notice the overwhelming presence of French words but attributed the text to Richard Rolle on account of the Yorkshire features of the language (and because of the "earlier life" of Richard Rolle, which would "belong to the 13th century"; p. 130). These ideas are not accepted anymore. The text is dated to *c.* 1300, being attributed to an anonymous writer. Heargreaves 1956 argued that it could be based on a Middle English psalter gloss, in turn based on an earlier Old English gloss, but this hypothesis is not convincing (see Faulkner 2017, p. 102). Sutherland 2015, p. 93-103, recently built upon the ideas of Heargreaves 1956, arguing that the anonymous writer closely followed the word order of a Latin text, diverging from it only when he needed to create metrical 'fillers'. This would allegedly favour a comparison with the style used in the Old English *Metrical Psalms*, but our common research proves that such methods are used in many languages and literatures, including French metrical adaptations. A French source of inspiration is reasonably plausible, if not preferable.

It is perhaps useful to note that manuscript Bodley 425 in Oxford, dated to mid-14th century, starts with the *Surtees Psalter*, but the rest of the texts copied in it are French. The situation in manuscript Harley 1770 of the British Library is even more interesting, as its first part (f. 3r-157v) is a Latin Psalter with a parallel French translation drawn from the French *Oxford Psalter* tradition, while the second part contains the *Surtees Psalter* with marginal Latin incipits (f. 158r-241r). These marginal Latin incipits also appear in Bodley 425 and they resemble the structure of the Latin incipits used in the transcription of the French metrical adaptation herein named 2ꜰᴍᴘ. They reappear in the manuscript of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 278 (early 14th century), which begins with the *Surtees Psalter* and follows with a late copy of the French *Oxford Psalter*, where Latin incipits were also added for the sake of symmetry. The same happens in the *Surtees Psalter* copy from manuscript Cotton Vespasian D. vii in the British Library, while Latin titles of a similar nature are transcribed in the Psalter from the Egerton 614 manuscript of the British Library (mid-14th century). As for the copy in manuscript Bodley 921 in Oxford, dated to the end of the 14th century, it has French notes in its manuscript. From a formal point of view, the French texts could represent a precedent for the Middle English poem, given that five out of six manuscripts of the *Surtees Psalter* follow a pattern established in the copies of the French 2ꜰᴍᴘ.

There is concrete evidence to support this, although it is not systematic. It should be noted that the translation choices of the *Surtees Psalter* slavishly follow the terms used in previous French translations (*harp*, *sautre*, *tympan*, *chimbes* – or *cimbals* on an erasure; cf. Horstman 1896, p. 273 –, even *organe*). The only different solutions for the instruments are *beme*, *slegh*, and *crouth*, the latter appearing in a curious context. We have replicated semidiplomatical excerpts from the Cambridge manuscript readings, since it presents many more equivalences with the 2ꜰᴍᴘ than the edited texts. From a traductological point of view, the Cambridge copy is ideal for a future thorough analysis (and perhaps an edition). The presence of words like *sollempnete* / *solempnite* also argues in favour of a French source, even though they do not appear in the copy

from manuscript BnF fr. 13092 (they could be from another version). Yet the same verse provides a proper translation for the Latin *neomenia* as *newmone*, thus indicating that the versifier followed a Latin text. Such situations repeat all over the text. Perhaps the strongest proof of a link with

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2ꜰᴍᴘ (BnF fr. 13092 ms.)	>>> incipits
Confitemini. En harpe a deu regehissiez et en sautere saumoniez. Ou il ait x. cordes ensemble Bon cuer et bon sens bien ensemble.	Confitemini domino.
Et in. Alautel deu men enterrai. Et a ton nom regehirai. Tous les pechiez que ie ai fait Si aurai ioie si te plaist	Et introibo. [+ 2 more verses, as in the OF text]
Ascendit. Deux est en voix de ioie ales. En voix de busine montes.	Ascendit deus.
Inclinabo. En parabole menclinerai. En sautier mon penser dirai.	Inclinabo
Exurge. Lieue ma gloire o le sautier. & la harpe por saumoier. Car ie matin me leuerai. Et a mon deu saumoierai.	Exurge gloria.
Preuenerunt. Li prince vinrent tuit deuant. & avec aus li saumoiant. En mi le leu des iouuencelles. Qui tenoient les timpaneles.	Preuenerunt.
Nam et. Et ie a toi regehirai. En saumes ta verte dirai. En harpe ton bel estrument. Dirai ton saintefiement.	Nam et ego.
Sumite. Prenez saumes tympans donnez En harpe et en sautier ioez.	Sumite psal'.
Hucinate. En neuue busine cornez Es iours de vos festivitez	Buccinate.
Indecacordo. En saucier ou .x. cordes ait. Et enharpes tes los saera;	Jn decacorde.
Iubilate. Toute la terre a deu chantes. En soume et en ioie loes Psallite. Anbusines de cor cornes. Et en harpes soumes sones.	Viderunt omnes.
	Jubilate deo.
Iubilate. Toute la terre a deu chantes. En soume et en ioie loes Psallite. Anbusines de cor cornes. Et en harpes soumes sones.	Sallite domino.
Exurge. Lieue ma gloire o le sautier Et la harpe pour saumoier Car au mattin me leuerait Et au non deu saumoierai.	Exurge.
Insali. Tmmi les sausoies mesmes Nos orgues illuc espandismes	Jn salicibus.
Deus Deu. nouel chant te chanterais. En saucier te saumoierai	Deus canticum.
Percinite. En confession deuloies En saume en harpe li chantes	Precinite d'.
Laudent. Onquerole loet son non En cloches et en psalterion	Laudent.
Laudate. Loes lo enson de buisiner Loes lent harpe et en sauciers.	Laudate eum.
Laudate. Loes len timbre en concorde. Loes len orgue et en corde.	Laudate eum in.
Laudate. Loes len timebres bien sonanaus Loes len timbres resonans	Laudate eum in.

the 2ꜰᴍᴘ is the use of the verbe *lo(o)ues* where 2ꜰᴍᴘ has *loés*. The fact that the Cambridge manuscript has *looue* in the adaptation of Ps 149:3, agreeing with 2ꜰᴍᴘ against the *heryhe* from the edited versions, may be also indicative of the use of a French source. However, this does not mean that the Middle English poem was adapted from the French source. It was probably adapted from a Latin text, using the

Surtees Ps. (Cambridge ms.)	Surtees Ps. (Stevenson 1843 ed.)	Surtees Ps. (Horstman 1896 ed.)	
Schriues to louerd in harp and sautre. Of ten stringhes to him sing yhe.	Schrives to Laverd, in harpe and sautre Of ten stringes to him sing yhe.	Schriues to lauerd, in harpe and sautre Of ten stringes to him singe yhe.	Ps 32:2
In harpe to þe sal i schriue. God mi god þat is of liue. Whi mi saule dreri art þou. And whi todreues þou me nou?	In harpe to þe sal I schrive, God, mi God, þat es on live. Wharfore, mi saule, dreri ertou, And whi to-dreves þou me now?	In harpe to þe sal .I. schriue, God mi god þat es on liue. Wharfore, mi saule, dreri ertou? And whi todreues þou me nou?	Ps 42:4
Vpstegh god in mirþe ful euen, Louerd of beme in to þe steuen.	Up-stegh God in mirthe and blisse, Laverd in steven of beme þat isse.	Vpstegh god in mirthe and blisse, Lauerd in steuen of beme þat isse.	Ps 46:6
I sal held min ere in forbesening; I sal hopen in sauter mi forsetting.	I sal helde mine ere in forbiseninge; I sal open in sauter mi for-settinge.	I sal helde mine ere in forbiseninge; I sal open in sauter mi forsettinge.	Ps 48:5
Ris mi blisse ris sautre for þi. And harp in griking rise sal i.	Ris, mi blisse; ris sautre for-þi, And harp; in grikinge ris sal I.	Ris, mi blisse; ris sautre for-þi, And harp; in grikinge ris sal .I..	Ps 56:9
Bifore come princes to singand; Holli al withouten wans, In mid þe maidens of þe land. Of iunge wenchis of tympans.	Bi-for come princes samened to singand þar; In midde, wenches of timpans war.	Bifor come princes samened to singand þar, In midde whenches of timpans war.	Ps 67:26
For in lomes of salm sal i to þe schriue; þi sohtnes god ai on liue. And singe to þe sal i wel; Jn harp halgh of israel.	For and in lomes sal I to þe schrive Of salme þi sothnes, God, on live, And singe sal I to þe to wel In harpe, Halgh of Irael.	For and in lomes sal .i. to þe schriue Of salme þi sothnes, god on liue, And singe sal .i. to þe wel In harpe, halgh of Irael.	Ps 70:22
Nimes salm and giues tympan; Sautre winsum with harp on-an.	Nimes psalmes, and gives timpan, Sautre winsome, with harp onan.	Nimes psalmes, and giues timpan, Sautre winsome with harp on-an.	Ps 80:3
Blawes in beme of newmone be; In miri dai of oure sollempnete;	Blawes in beme of new-mone be, In miri dai of your solempnite;	Blawes in beme of newmone be, In miri dai of your solempnite;	Ps 80:4
In a tenstrenged sautre; With song in harpe and mikel gle.	In a ten-stringed sautre, With sang in harp and mikel gle:	In a tenstringed sautre, With sange in harp and mikel gle.	Ps 91:4
Alle endes of erþe þai sech; þe hele of oure god so slegh. Mirþes to god alle erþe in grith; Singes and glades and salmes þerwith.	Alle meres of land þai segh Þe hele of oure god swa slegh. Mirthes to Laverd alle land with gle; Singes, and glades, and salme yhe.	Ale meres ofe land þai segh Þe hele of oure god swa slegh. Mirthes to lauerd, alle land, with gle; Singes and glades, and salme yhe.	Ps 97:5
Singes to louerd in harp euen. Jn harp and of salme in steuen. Jn bemes ledenlike þat be, And steuen of beme horned to se.	Singes to Laverd in harp even; In harp, and of salme with steven. In bemes ledand-like to se, With steven of beme horned þat be.	Singes to lauerd in harp euen, In harp and ofe salme with steuen In bemes ledandlike to se, With steuen ofe beme horned þat be.	Ps 97:6
Ris, mi blisse, ris for sautre for þi, And harp in grikingis ris sal i.	Ris, sautre and harp for þi, In þe griking rise sal I.	Ris, sautre and harp for-þi; In þe grikinge rise sal .i..	Ps 107:3
In wilþes in mid of it; Oure organes henge sal we yhit.	In selihes in mid of it, Our organes hong we yhit.	In selihes, in mide ofe ite Our organes henge we yhite	Ps 136:2
Louerd neu song sal i sing to þe; To þe sal i sing in stringed sautre.	God, new sange sal I sing to þe; To þe sal I sing in ten-strenged sautre.	God, new sang sal .i. singe to þe, To þe sal .i. singe in ten-strenged sautre.	Ps 143:9
Singes to louerd in schrift þat be; In harp til our God salme yhe.	Singes to Laverd in schrift þat be, In harpe to Laverd salme yhe.	Singes to lauerd in schrift þat be, In harpe to lauerd salme yhe:	Ps 146:7
Looue þai his name in crouht ai; In tympan and sautre to him sal þai.	Heryhe þai in crouth his name ai; In timpan and sautre to him sing þai.	Heryhe þai in crouth his name ai, In timpan and sautre to him singe þai.	Ps 149:3
In din of beyne him looue ye. Looues him in harp and in sautre.	In din of beme him love yhe; Loves him in harpe and in sautre.	In din ofe beme him loue yhe; Loues him in harpe and in sautre.	Ps 150:3
Looues him in crouht and tympan. looues him in strenges and organ.	Loves him in crouth and timpane, Loves him in stringes and organe.	Loues him in crouth and timpane; Loues him in stringes and organe.	Ps 150:4
Looues yhe him wel þurch ye land; In chimbes ful wel ringand. Looues him in chimbes of mirþhe and blisse.	Loves him ever in lande, In chimbes ful wele ringande. Loves him in chimbes of mirthe and blisse;	Loues him euer in lande In chimbes ful wele ringande; Loues him in chimbes ofe mirthe and blisse.	Ps 150:5

French text as an alternative source of inspiration on certain occasions of a precise nature. The translation of Ps 67: 26 shows for instance that a version of the 2FMP was the source of the *Surtees Psalter* for the adaptation of this biblical verse. The four lines from the Cambridge manuscript represent an excellent counterpart of the four lines of the 2FMP. It should be noted that the edited versions of the *Surtees Psalter* present a nonsensical arrangement of ideas for this passage, since the text was abridged to two lines. And there is more.

Similar situations can be identified in the translation of Ps 32. However, this other example shows a certain degree of variation between the 2FMP and *Surtees Psalter*. Perhaps the French text was used not as a source but as a guide in the creation of an octosyllabic poem in Middle English. The use of this meter is frequent in that period, maybe in connection with French cultural influences (let us not forget that the 2FMP is also written in octosyllabic couplets).

The translation of the Latin word *tympanistrae* is completely different from the *taburnande* of MEGPP, from the *taburnystirs* of Richard Rolle, or the *tympanystris* in the Early Wycliffite version. The same can be said about the French versions, which all have *timpanistres* (or nothing, like the 1FMP). This translation from the *Surtees Psalter* can be compared only with the Late Wycliffite version (*syngynge in tympans*), with which it cannot be related, or with the 2FMP (*qui tenoient les timpaneles*), which is most probably a source used in its creation. Perhaps this is why the

predominant meter of the *Surtees Psalter* is the octosyllable (with many hypermeters, due to a probable lack of experience of the writer or to changes in the manuscript tradition). The 2FMP, which could be its source, was also written in verses of eight syllables.

Although the manuscripts and editions considered here do not significantly diverge from one another or from the Latin text, it is worth pointing out two interesting occurrences in translation choices for Ps 136:2 and Ps 150:4. In manuscript Cambridge Corpus Christi 278, the translation choice for *salices* in Ps 136:2 is of more interest here than the straightforward translation of the names of musical instruments, as all four versions of the *Surtees Psalter* text analysed (the three London codices plus the Cambridge one) translate *organa* into *organes*. While the manuscripts considered by Stevenson and Horstmann read *selihes*, a translation choice cognate to the Latin term (albeit of Old English etymology) and attested starting from the second half of the 14th century, the Cambridge manuscript reads *wilþhes*. This is interesting as not only *wilþhes* is a form unattested in the *Middle English Dictionary* - but perfectly plausible considering linguistic variation and change - it is also a form two centuries older, indicating perhaps a penchant for a more idiomatic translation. This is not without echo to the much later translation choices in the Early and Late Versions (EV, LV) of the Wycliffite Bible or indeed the Rolle Psalter (RP) - the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* (MEGPP) is not concerned as this verse is missing; they

| 2FMP (BnF fr. 13092 ms.)	Surtees Ps. (Cambridge ms.)	Surtees Ps. (Horstman 1896 ed.)
Ps 32:1 Exultate iusti in domino, rectos decet collaudatio. Li iuste homme aies en deu ioie. Il vous couuient los que deux oie.	Exultate iusti in domino, rectos decet collaudatio. Glades rihtwise in louerd king. Right feres to hauen luuing.	Glades, rightwise, in lauerd kinge; Þe right feres to haue louinge.
Ps 32:2 Confitemini. En harpe a deu regehissiez et en sautere saumoniez. Ou il ait x. cordes ensemble Bon cuer et bon sens bien ensemble.	Confitemini domino. Schriues to louerd in harp and sautre. Of ten stringhes to him sing yhe.	Schriues to lauerd, in harpe and sautre Of ten stringes to him singe yhe.
Ps 32:3 Cantate et. Un nouuel chant a lui chantez. De haute uois y saumoies	Cantate ei can. Singes to him newe song and euen. Wel singes to him in berand steuen.	Singes to him newe sange and euen; Wele singes to him in berand steuen.
Ps 32:4 Quia rec. Car sa parole est droite et pure. et ces oeuures sont en droiture	Quia rectum est. For riht word of louerd is ai. And hise werkis in treuþe ar þai.	For right es worde ofe lauerd ai, And alle his werkes in trewethe ere þai.
Ps 32:5 Diligit. Pite arme et droite uerite. Terre est plaine de sa bonte.	Quoniam diligit. For he loues dome merci is hisse. Of louerdes merci þe land ful isse.	For he loues merci, dome, þa twa; Ofe lauerdes merci þerthe ful es swa.
Ps 32:6 Verbo. La vertus des cieulz est fermee et par sa parole est sauuee.	Verbo domini celi. Wih word of louerd heuens fest are so, And blast of his muht al miht of yo.	With worde of lauerd heuens fest ere ma, And blast ofe his mouth al might of þa.
Ps 32:7 Congregans sicut in utre aquas maruis ponens in thesauris abyssos. Il fait les aigues de la mer. Com en. I boissel assembler Les abymes met en trezor. Com se estoient pierres dor	Congregans. Samenand als in bit watres of se. In hordues settand depnes to be.	Samenand als in lome waters ofe se; In hordes settand depnes to be.
Ps 32:8 Timeat. Toute la terre doit douter nostre signour et deu amer. Cil qui ou mont ont conuerse. Soient de lui tout esmeu.	Timeat dominum. Drede mote louerd alle land. For of him stired al weld erdand.	Alle erthe lauerd be dredand, And of him stired al þe werld erdand.
Ps 32:9 Quoniam. Il parla et tout fu forme. Il commanda tout fu cree.	Quoniam ipse dixit. For he saide and made þai ware. He sent and þai schapen are.	For he said, and þai maked are; He sent, and þai schapen ware.
Ps 32:10 Dominus autem. Deux desfait les consaulz des gens. Et reproche lor percemens. Les consaulz des princes despit. Et reproche et contredit.	Dominus dissipat. Louerd scateres rede of mo, He schones þouhtes of folc al-so. And þe redes schones he. Of þe princes þat mai be.	Lauerd scaters rede of genge ma, He schones thoghts of folke als-swa And þe redes schones he Of al þe princes þat mai be.

read *whities* (EV), *salewis* (LV), and *wylighs* (RP), marking a common preference for stark Old English and Germanic words. (See "The Early and Late versions of the Wycliffite Bible's Book of Psalms", in *Musical Instruments...* 2019, p. 103 - Middle English Section).

The second interesting feature in the *Surtees Psalter* and echoed in the EV, LV, RP and this time in MEGPP as well, is the translation of *chorus* from Ps 150:4. The EV and LV translated it as *quer*, of French extraction, where the RP and MEGPP use the same choice - *croude* - and so do the four manuscripts of the *Surtees Psalter* - *crouht* for manuscript Cambridge Corpus Christi 278, *crouth* for both the Stevenson and Horstmann editions, meaning either a Celtic stringed instrument, heavily attested in the *Middle English Dictionary* (but therefore incorrect) and indicated as an erroneous translation of the Latin *chorus* in no less than thirteen instances, to which can be added these four. Perhaps this is a contamination with the *chordae* appearing in the second verse of this psalm.

If we take into account the source of MEGPP, the *Surtees Psalter* becomes a second early Middle English psaltic text drawing on French models. Given the presence of possible French models in the texts of Richard Rolle, this seriously puts into question the working hypothesis that Middle English biblical texts would stem from Old English ones.

Discussion

SM: In trying to determine the direct influence of French on compositional choices made by English writers, one important consideration needs to be faced: the question of when a lexical item of undisputed French origin becomes fully or partially anglicized. If it can be shown that a particular word was in use long before its appearance in the text under scrutiny, claims for direct borrowing may not hold as much force as one might expect. The incomplete nature of both MED (*Middle English Dictionary*) and OED (*Old English Dictionary*) is, in part, responsible for this uncertainty.
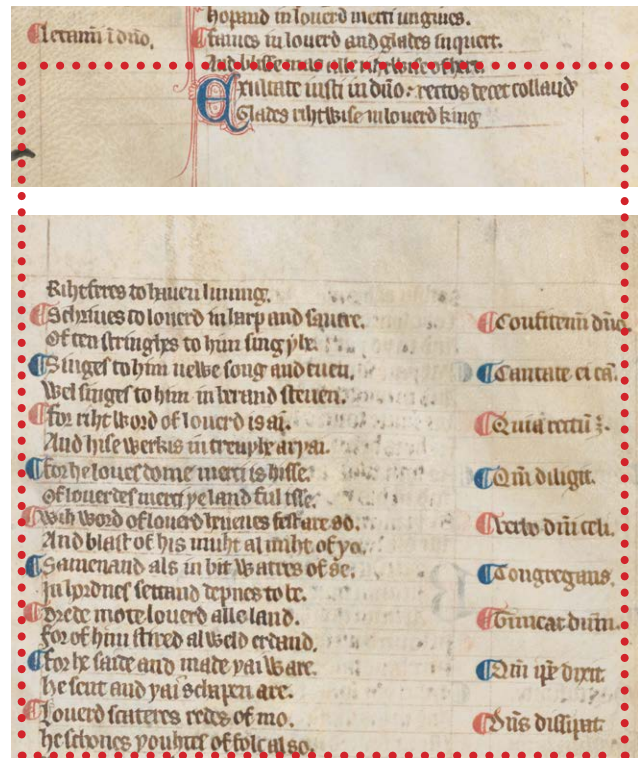
▲ Fig. 14 a-b. *The metrical translation of Ps 32:1-10 in the Surtees Psalter copy from the manuscript of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 278, f. 17v-18r. Collages of several print-screens of the facsimile available at the 'Parker Library on the Web'.* Source: https://parker.stanford.edu/

▼ Fig. 15. *15ᵗʰ-century depiction of Job comforted by musicians.* Source: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Department of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs. Ms. 1945-65-13: Book of Hours, Use of Rome. Free of any known copyright restrictions..

The Musical Instruments in the Old Czech Biblical Prefaces to the Book of Psalms (ASV)

Four prefaces to the Psalter survive in Old Czech biblical texts of the 14th and 15th centuries. Their number fluctuates in individual sources. Manuscript Bibles of the second and third redaction of the Old Czech Bible translation include fairly literal translations of three Latin prologues with the incipits *Psalterium Romae dudum* (Stegmüller 1981, no. 430), *David, filius Iesse* (Stegmüller 1981, no. 414), and *Liber Psalmorum, quamquam uno* (Stegmüller 1981, no. 5193). Printed texts including a new (fourth) translation of the Psalter have only one preface, namely an original Czech text written by the author of that text. No prologues appears in the oldest Old Czech Psalters dating back to the 14th century, which were discussed in the previous analysis of musical instruments. The lack of prologues also characterises the manuscripts of the first redaction of the Old Czech Bible translation (mid-14th century).

PROLOGUES IN THE MANUSCRIPT BIBLES. Only one among the three originally Latin prologues mentions musical instruments. This is the prologue having the incipit *David, filius Iesse*; it is a rewriting of a passage from Pseudo-Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus. Among other things, the text describes in detail how the psalms were performed in the time of King David, and mentions the four main co-psalmists, Asaph, Eman, Ethan, and Idithun, who recite the psalm texts accompanied by Abiuth, a violinist:

> *David, filius Jesse, cum esset in regno suo, quattuor elegit, qui psalmos facerent, id est Asaph, Eman, Ethan et Idithun. LXXXVIII ergo dicebant psalmos et CC subpsalma et cytharam percutiebat Abiud.*

> *David, syn Jesse, když bieše v svém království, čtyři jest zvolil, aby žalmy zpievali, točižto Asaph, Eman, Ethan a Iditum, osmdesáte a osm řiekáchu žalmóv a dvě stě odpočinutí neb přěstání a na húsle hudieše Abiuth.*

However, another passage mentions that those singers were equally in charge of the musical accompaniment:

> *Ex quibus quattuor principes praeesse cantionibus instituit Asaph, Eman, Ethan et Idithun … Et unus quidem eorum feriebat cymbalum, alius citharam, alius tuba cornea exultans; in medio autem eorum stabat David tenens ipse psalterium.*

> *Z nichžto ustanovil čtyři kniežata, aby byli nad zpěváky: Asaph, Eman, Ethan a Iditum … A jeden z nich tepieše v zvonečky, druhý křídlo, jiný buben, jiný trúbú rohovú trúbieše, ale prostřed jich David stáše, sám drže žaltář.*

There are eleven Bibles of the second and third redaction that include this early 15th-century Czech translation of the prologue. The text differs from the Vulgate in one place, specifically in the list of musical instruments used by individual musicians. Only three instruments for four players are listed. In the more recent copies of the text, this discrepancy was often corrected by adding a fourth musical instrument. Depending on the provenance of these texts, different variants of the fourth instrument are used. Several manuscripts add *cinyra*, a sort of Asian stringed musical instrument (the form fluctuated, cf. the record *tynira* in a Latin Bible of Bohemian origin, Prague, National Museum Library, XIII C 17, f. 247r). However, in one Bohemian manuscript from the first half of the 13th century (Prague, Na-

tional Library of the Czech Republic, XIV C 1, f. 1r), a variant of *tympanum* 'kettledrum, drum' was added on the margin of the text by a more recent hand. The corresponding term is used in the Czech translation.[1]

Interestingly, the names of the instruments mentioned in the prologue are hardly changed in the eleven sources. This only confirms that these prefaces lived their own lives, regardless of the redaction of the Old Czech Bible to which they belonged. The translation choices for musical instruments partly correspond to those from the 14th-century and early 15th-century Psalter (*buben* for *tympanum*, *trúba rohová* for *tuba cornea*; cf. *Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 106-113). Some represent a unique expression (*zvonečky* for *cymbalum*, this equivalent appearing only in the oldest translation, preserved in the mid-14th century *Wittenberg Psalter*). Latin *cithara*, which appears twice in the text, is first translated as *húsle*, similarly to the translation choice from other biblical redactions. In the second occurrence, another equivalent is used. It refers to a stringed musical instrument, namely *křídlo* 'the wing'. This is a metaphorical transfer of meaning based on the similarity between the shape of a bird's wing and a musical instrument from the family of the harp and lyre. This peculiar use of the word in Old Czech is documented only in biblical texts. It can be argued that the translator wanted to avoid using the same equivalent twice. However, one cannot ruled out that the translator found it strange to have two *cithara* players in the ensemble, therefore he used the synonym (or he could mean two different instruments). There is also the question of who Abiud was, for he is mentioned twice in the Vulgate, first as *Abiud* (1 Chronicles 8: 3,7) and secondly as *Abihud* (Matthew 1:13), but not once in the context of the psalmists (cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, *s. v. Abiud, Abihud*).

A different tendency can be noticed in the *Glagolitic Bible* (1416), representative of the second redaction of the Old Czech Bible translation, which underwent proofreading after completion. Its corrector probably checked the Latin source and tried to standardize the translation equivalents: he crossed out the original entry *na húsle hudieše Abiuth*, adding *na křídlo tepieše Abjiud* instead. This correction was reported in the *Boskovice Bible* (*c.* 1421-1425), the earliest testimony of the third translation of the Psalter. In this other text, however, the original wording was also maintained, since it has a double translation *na křídlo tepieše, na húsle hudieše Abiuth*. The same wording was further used in two other biblical manuscripts based on the *Boskovice Bible*. These other texts from the third translation maintain the original wording *húsle*, that is, the equivalent by which *cithara* is commonly translated in the third translation in the psalms (besides the diminutive *húsličky*).

PREFACES IN THE PRINTED PSALTERS. The fourth preface to the Psalter is a text written by the author of the fourth Old Czech translation of the Book of Psalms. It appears for the first time in the *First Printed Psalter* (*První tištěný žaltář*, Prague, Martin z Tišnova, 1487),[2] then one year later in the *Prague Bible* (*Bible pražská*, Prague, unknown printer, 1488), and later in other prints: *Kutná Hora Bible* (*Bible kutnohorská*, Kutná Hora, Martin z Tišnova 1489) and *Venice Bible* (*Bible benátská*, Venice, Peter Liechtenstein, 1506). The second print of the separate Psalter, the so-called *Bakalář's*

Psalter (*Žaltář Bakalářův*, Pilsen, Mikuláš Bakalář, 1499) omitted this preface intentionally, although it belongs to the fourth redaction as far as its text is concerned. On the other hand, the preface exceptionally survived in one manuscript dating back to the turn of the 16th century: the *Old Testament in Large Script* (*Starý zákon obrovských písmen*, Prague, National Library, xviii a 36), probably copied from the *Kutná Hora Bible*. Another surviving manuscript copy of the fourth Psalter translation, *Švehla's Psalter* (*Žaltář Švehlův*, Olomouc, Research Library in Olomouc, m ii 47, 1496, f. 1r-63r) dates back to 1496 and is acephalous; it is therefore unknown if the preface was included. The preface to the Psalter was later included in the revisited version in the Bibles based on the Latin Vulgate translation, printed by some of the most famous printers of the Humanist period: Pavel Severýn z Kapí Hory (1529, 1537), Jiří Melantrich z Aventýna (1549, 1556, 1560, 1570) and Daniel Adam z Veleslavína (1613). There are no Vulgate prologues in the *Bible of Kralice* (*Bible kralická*, 6 vol., 1579-1593; 1 vol., 1613), as its translation was based on the original language of each biblical book.

The preface with the incipit *Ne tak zjevně a otevřeně* deals with the difficulty of the translation of this metaphorical poetic text. It outlines the problems of translation by word in comparison with translation by sense, which aims to preserve the aesthetic value and factual accuracy. The prologue also attempts to defend the new Czech translation of the Psalter, which tries to specify some unclear places based on the Latin version, *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (cf. Svobodová 2019, p. 57). At the end, the author describes in detail the form of the psalter and teaches readers about the principle of playing on it:

> *Proč pak tyto knihy slovú Žaltář, věděti máš, že žaltář jest nástroj aneb náprava hudby, maje zpósobu a formu podobnú obecné loutně, jsa tohoto rozdielu od nie, že loutna dřevo to prázné, v kterémž se zvuk obráží, a způsob má dole, struny pak nad ckú, jenžto prázné dřevo kryje, nahoře má. Ale žaltář dřevo prázné má nahoře a struny dole pod ckú, kteráž kryje to jisté dřevo tak, že se zdůlu hude a hudba ta, jako pravie, přeutěšená jest. Té jest David požíval při službě boží skládaje písně, kteréž byly způsobné, aby na ten žaltář hudeny byly, ješto potom k hlasu té hudby zpievali kněží a jáhnové chvály ty od Davida složené. A tak protože písně těchto kněh hudeny byly na žaltář, všecky knihy tyto, kteréž zavierají písně ty, od toho nástroje aneb nápravy hudby žaltář slovú. A ta náprava byla o desíti strunách.*

You also have to know why this book is called Psalter: it is because the psalter is a musical instrument similar to a lute, but different, as the lute is a hollow timber in which the sound is being reflected, with strings above the plate that covers the wooden body. However, the psalter is a hollow timber with strings under the board which covers the wooden body; the music is therefore played from below, and it is, as people say, enjoyable. And David composed the songs to be played with the psalter during God's service, which pieces of music were later accompanied by priests and deacons singing hymns composed by David. And because all the songs were played on psalter, the book including the songs is also called Psalter, according to the ten-stringed instrument.

It is the first detailed description of a musical instrument not yet captured elsewhere in Old Czech material. To explain the form of the psalter, he compares it to a lute (*loutna*, Old Czech form *lútna* 'string musical instrument') but he explains the differences in shape and use. As regards the names used for the musical instrument itself, two terms appear in general: *nástroj* (deverbative of *nastrojiti* 'připravit, nachystat' – it appears for the first time in the fourth redaction of the Old Czech Bible; previous redactions have *stroj*) and *náprava* (deverbative of *napraviti* 'připravit, přichystat, opatřit'); twice as synonyms in a phrase *nástroj aneb náprava hudby* ("the Czech event noun *hudba*, derived from the verb *hústi*, meant just playing the string instrument", see *Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 108), and only once the equivalent *náprava* (*hudby*). The meaning 'tool, device, instrument' of the lexeme *náprava* appears only only in a few texts from the second half of the 15th century and it might be connected to the Utraquist or university environment, which was identified by the usage of some words and religious terms different from the previous pre-Hussite period (for more significant translation choices of the fourth translation of the Psalter, see *Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 112-113). Otherwise, the wording of the individual instruments does not change in the above-mentioned printed editions. The second edition of the *Melantrich Bible* is the only text that replaces *žaltář* with *psalterium* in all six occurrences, but a Czech name is attached in two places as well (*slovou psalterium a česky žaltář*).

Notes:

1 According to Bogaert, O'Loughlin 2015, the fourth instrument is missing in manuscripts with the sigla VWAG gnXS; the variant appears in manuscripts with the siglum PLzR.

2 Kateřina Voleková (see *Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 112) states that only two copies of this printed edition have been preserved in Prague, Strahov Library, dp vi 16, and Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 41 g 80. Recent research for the grant project *The First Printed Old Czech Psalter (a philological analysis and critical edition)* supported by the Czech Science Foundation (project no. 20-06229S) has shown that the same text was copied as an extended version in the manuscript Vienna, Austrian National Library, Ink 15 g 6, as an incomplete copy in the manuscript Berlin, Berlin State Library, 8° Inc 1950.8 (eleven folios are missing), and in a fragmentary form in the manuscript Prague, National Museum Library, sine (twelve folios).

references. On Latin biblical prologues, see Bogaert, O'Loughlin 2015, p. 43-44; On the Czech Biblical Prologues, see Voleková, Svobodová 2019, p. 98-100. On the edition of the Latin prologue *David, filius Iesse*, see pl, vol. 30, 1846, p. 295-296. On the meaning of the Latin word *cynira*, see dml, *s. v. cynira*. For the full Czech and English text of the preface to the *First Printed Psalter*, see the database mecz. On the etymology of the Old Czech words *nástroj* and *náprava*, see StčS, *s. v. nástroj, náprava*.

Discussion:

va: Could the situation from the *Melantrich Bible* be similar to the French *binôme synonymique*, which may be interpreted either as a rhetorical / stylistic phenomenon or according to its semantic implications? The *binôme synonymique* (a Latinism paired with a vernacular word) characterises a wide period in the history of French literature, from the 14th century until the 17th century (for the Renaissance uses, see *e. g.* Guerrier 2018). It was the most common way to create abstract vocabulary in Middle French (cf. Buridant 1980). Some examples may be seen in the Psalter of Metz (presented in this second instalment of our common paper), where the translator also explains his translation choices in the preface. I wonder whether this

choice from the *Melantrich Bible* reflects a habit originating in 16th France or the phenomenon had already appeared in Czech translations well before that date.

κν: Similarly to French literature, the *binôme synony-mique* is used by Czech authors to introduce new terms in the earliest vernacular translations of the 14th and 15th century, in religious, theological, or historical texts (*e. g. chtěl* [*Ježíš při vjezdu do Jeruzaléma*], *aby takú procesí měl neb poctěnie* 'he wanted [Jesus at the entrance to Jerusalem] to have such a procession or honor'; *preláti nebo úředníci duchovní sú náměstci apoštolští* 'prelates or spiritual officials are apostolic deputies'; *to* [*Jáfet*] *jest najbližší port nebo přistavadlo s moře k Jerusalemu* 'it [Jaffa] is the nearest port or landing from the sea to Jerusalem'). Later it appears often in scientific and medical texts as well (*e. g. spomáháť* [*při zimnici*] *klásti portulaku nebo kuřecí nuožku na žaludek* 'it helps [during the cold] to put a purslane or chicken leg on the stomach').

As for the occurrence of the phenomenon in the *Melantrich Bible*, at first glance it seems to be only a stylistic issue. The publisher tried to rewrite the preface in a high-prestige style using Latinisms. However, a correct interpretation would need to examine this Czech Bible translation in detail. The six editions of the *Melantrich Bible* were the official text of Czech biblical translation in the second half of the 16th century, being used by all confessions in the Czech lands. Each new edition represented a slightly modified version, retaining mainly the Vulgate tradition, while also responding in varying degrees to the stimuli of 16th-century biblical humanism (see Dittmann, Just 2016). When compared to the older version, the second edition contains small phonological and morphological changes as well as several lexical substitutions and additions, sometimes mirroring closely the German Bible translation of Luther. The Czech *Náměšť New Testament* of 1533 departed from the Vulgate tradition and accepted the incentives of biblical humanism (Dittmann, Just 2016, p. 181, 184). All this points to various influences on the Czech biblical text in the second edition of the *Melantrich Bible*.

The preference for a loanword *psalterium* over a well-established musical term *žaltář* mirrors the replacement of the older Czech word *čtení* 'reading' with the Latin term *evangelium*. Both changes could have occurred under the influence of the New Testament of 1533, whose translators rejected previous Czech tradition in their choice of religious terminology and preferred loanwords like *farizeus* for Latin *pharisaeus* and Greek *φαρισαῖος*, *sadduceus* for Latin *saducaeus* and Greek *σαδδουκαῖος*, or *evanjelium* for Latin *evangelium* and Greek *εὐαγγέλιον* (cf. Dittmann, Just 2016, p. 133). The *binôme synonymique* occurring in the preface to the Book of Psalms in the second edition of the *Melantrich Bible* can therefore be interpreted in light of this effort for a new impetus in religious terminology. Nevertheless, the process should also be compared to earlier cases in which a Latinism was promoted instead of the term commonly used in previous translations.

Addendum - The word Psalter as a title in Czech manuscript bibles of the 14th and 15th centuries.

ASV: Most Czech bibles of the 14th and 15th centuries often use the name Žaltář as part of a descriptive name (např. *Žaltář Davida krále, otče Šalomúnova* 'Psalter of king David, father of Solomon', *Dresden Bible*, 1360s, f. 293ra). In some sources, the phrasal name *Knihy žalmové* 'Psalm books' is used, often by amplification (*Knihy žalmové chval božích* 'Psalm books of praise of divine', *Hodějov Bible, c.* 1440–1460, fol. 190vb). Certain third-redaction bibles use

a literal translation of the Vulgate wording that reflects the interpretation of the original Hebrew name of the Book of Psalms – *Tehilim* 'praises, hymns' (cf. Douglas 1996, p. 1169):

Incipit Liber hymnorum vel soliloquiorum prophete David de Iesu Christo (cf. *Biblia Sacra* 1953, p. 51)

Knihy chval božských nebo Knihy samomluvenie proroka o Kristovi (*Padeřov Bible*, 1432-1435, f. 195ra).

In Old Czech texts, foreign names of the Book of Psalms are found only in biblical metatexts – valuable material are biblical prologues, particularly three of them that describe the Hebrew biblical canon. The first text dealing with the list of Old Testament books is the prologue of saint Jerome to the Books of Kings with the incipit *Viginti et duas* (Stegmüller 1981, no. 323):

Tertius ordo Agiographa possidet et primus liber incipit ab Iob, secundus a David, quem quinque incisionibus et uno psalmorum volumine conprehendunt, tertius est Salomon, tres libros habens: Proverbia, quae illi parabolas id est Masloth apelant, et... (Bogaert, O'Loughlin 2015, p. 25)

Třetí řád drží Agiografa (točíšto Svatá písma) a prvnie knihy počínají se ot Joba, druhé ot Davida, kteréhožto pěti rozdiely a jedním žalmovým svazkem osahují. Třetí jest Šalomún, maje troje kniehy: točíšto Přislovie, jenž my Paraboly (točíšto Pohádky neb Podobenstvie) dieme, oni Massloth nazývají. Čtvrté...

The second text beginning with *Jakož die svatý Jeroným* 'As St. Jerome says' has no Latin origin. However, some of its common features suggest that it is a paraphrase of the Old Czech translation of the prologue *Viginti et duas*:

Potom pokládají [*Židé*] *devatery kniehy, jenž slovú židovsky Kysnehacodes, řecky Agiografa, latině Sacra scriptura, česky Svatá písma. A těch prvé jmenují, slovú Jobovy, neb jest je Job, král idumejský, složil o svých příhodách. Druhé knihy Svatých písem slovú Davidovy, točíš Žaltář, ne by on vešken Žaltář složil, ale že on najviece žalmóv učinil. Třetie kniehy Svatých písem slovú židovsky Myssle, řecky Parabole, latině Proverbia, česky Přislovie nebo Pohádky, v nichžto jako otec syna svého učí. Čtvrté...*

Then they [the Jews] include nine books, which are called *Kysnea* in Hebrew, *Sacra scriptura* in Latin, 'Holy Scriptures' in Czech. And the first of them are called Job´s, because Job, king of Edom, wrote them about his adventures. The second books of the Holy Scriptures are called David's, namely Psalter, not because he composed all the psalms, but most of them. The third books of the Holy Scriptures are called *Myssle* in Hebrew, *Parabole* in Greek, *Proverbia* in Latin, 'Proverbs' or 'Parabolas' in Czech, in which he teaches as a father to his son. The fourth...

The third text with the incipit *Zdá mi se dobré* 'It seems good to me' is a rather free and concise adaptation of the *Jakož die svatý* Jeroným preface:

Třetí řád drží v sobě devatery knihy, Job prvnie, druhé David, třetím Židé řiekají Mosaloch, Řekové Parabole, Latinníci Proverbia, Čechové Pověsti Šalomúnovy, čtvrtým...

The third order contains nine books, the first Job, the second David, the third are called *Mosaloch* by Jews, *Parabole* by Greeks, *Proverbia* by Latins, 'Proverbs of Solomon' by Czechs, the fourth...

While the translator of the first text is often content to use the original title and a Czech translation, the authors

of the remaining two texts use the Latin equivalent supplemented by the Greek equivalent. Nevertheless, Jerome does not mention any foreign name in the case of the *Psalter*; he only refers to its author and content. The third text states only a general name David, the second preface adding at least an explanatory note *točíš Žaltář* 'namely Psalter'.

Addendum - Czech-Polish links.

ĸJ: The influence of the Czech language on the Polish language in the Middle Ages was undeniable. This was due to cultural and geographical proximity, deepened political relations, and above all the adoption of Christianity through a Czech mediation. One of the manifestations of this influence was the reliance – direct or indirect – of Polish translations of Latin texts on Czech translations. Such practices are evident, among others, in the *Bible of Queen Sophia* or the *Mammotrecti*, *i.e.* dictionaries for the Bible. While reading the text about the Old Czech translations of the psalters, I wondered if the analysis of the words describing the musical instruments gives any clues confirming the Czech influence on the Old Polish translations of the psalters, specifically on the oldest of them – the *Saint Florian Psalter*.

The *Saint Florian Psalter* was written at the end of the 14th century (psalms 1-101) and at the beginning of the 15th century (psalms 102-106 and 107-150) by three different scribes. The work is trilingual, Latin-Polish-German. The basis of the Latin text is essentially the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, and the German text is based on some translation most probably from Silesia. An older Polish translation is supposed to be the basis for the *Saint Florian Psalter*, perhaps the unattested *Kinga's Psalter*, written probably in the last quarter of the 13th century, perhaps another incomplete translation or even mere glosses to a Latin text. There is also a supposition that the scribes of the *Saint Florian Psalter* used Old Czech copies of the psalter for comparison, as evidenced by – *inter alia* – certain Bohemisms, more numerous in the second part of the work (for more information about the *Saint Florian Psalter*, see Cybulski 2002, p. 1-48). What is the relation of the Old Polish text to the Old Czech ones in the passages discussed in the current study?

All the words used in the Saint Florian Psalter for musical instruments are exact equivalents of the Old Czech words. These are respectively: *gęśle* (Old Czech *húsle*; Latin *cithara*), *żałtarz* (Old Czech *žaltář*; Latin *psaltērium*), *trąba* (Old Czech *trúba*; Latin *tuba*), *bęben* (Old Czech *buben*; Latin *tympanum*), *zwonki* (Old Czech *zvonci*; Latin *cymbalum*), organy (Old Czech *orhany*; Latin *organa*).

The etymological structure of this set of words is identical to that of Old Czech. The inherited words are: *bęben*, *gęśle*, *zwonki* (Boryś 2002, p. 83-94), and the borrowings are: *organy*, *trąba*, *żałtarz*. I would like to focus on the latter group. The word trumpet comes from either the Romance languages (cf. *e. g.* Medieval Latin *trumba* 'trumpet') or the Germanic languages (cf. *e. g.* Old High German *trumba* 'trumpet'), while the Germanic languages seem to be the more likely source (cf. Tiethoff-Pronk 2013, p. 124, *s. v.* *trǫba). I agree with the opinion of Catherine Mary MacRobert that the word for 'trumpet' is an earlier loanword, dating to the time of Common Slavic. The presence of this word in most Slavic languages also excludes treating it as a possible borrowing from the Czech language in Polish.

The opposite is the case with the words *organy* and *żał-*
tarz, which made their way into the Polish language via Old Czech. The form *organy* (pl. tantum) corresponds to the Latin *organum* (or pl. *organa*; which comes from the Greek *ὄργανον*) and, although it could have been taken directly from Church Latin (Brückner 1927, p. 381, *s. v. organy*), it seems more probable that it was borrowed during the period of the introduction of Christianity into Poland by Czech mediation due to the general tendency to adopt Christian terminology at such stages. Moreover, the borrowing of the word had to take place before the change *g > h* in Old Czech (Basaj, Siatkowski 2006, p. 205, *s. v. organy*). Organy would thus constitute a multi-stage loan, with the last stage being the direct loan from Old Czech to Old Polish: Greek *ὄργανον* > Latin *organum* / *organa* > Old Bavarian *organa* > Old Czech *organy* (> *orhany*) > Old Polish *organy*.

The word *żałtarz* shows a parallel path of development. It looks as follows: Greek *ψαλτήριον* > Latin *psaltērium* > Old High German *saltāri* > Old Czech *žaltář* > Old Polish *żałtarz*. The Czech mediation is indisputable – the form *ż-* (*ž-*) at the beginning of the word is only present in Slovak, while the other languages, as Kateřina Voleková noticed, have *ps-* at the beginning. Interestingly, only the form with *ps-* at the beginning, *i. e. psałterz*, is used in Modern Polish. The form *żałtarz* fell into disuse in the 16th century. It was then that the word *psałterz*, borrowed directly from Latin, appeared in the lexicon and over time replaced the older word borrowed from Old Czech (Basaj, Siatkowski 2006, p. 495, *s.v. żałtarz*).

However, the occurrence of exact lexical equivalents in Old Czech and Old Polish translations does not have to indicate the same basis – a comparative analysis should take into account, first of all, the full context of the psalm, as well as the translation technique itself. In that case, the *Saint Florian Psalter* would be closest to the *Chapter Psalter*. This is evidenced by similarities at different levels of language, appearing only in these texts, *e. g.* in Ps 136:2 exact equivalents of Old Czech *orhany* and Old Polish *organy* (in the other Old Czech translations a different form – *varhany* or another word – *húsle* are used) or in Ps 67:26 related Old Czech derivatives *mladičky* and Old Polish *młodziczki* (in the other Old Czech translations different word formation – *mladice* is used). The most distant Old Czech copy from the Old Polish one would be the *Clementinum Psalter*, mainly due to significant lexical deviations.

Despite the fact that the results of a comparative analysis of the Old Czech psalters with the *Saint Florian Psalter* is promising, the claim that the Czech translations are the only source of the Old Polish translation would be an over-interpretation. The words describing musical instruments are attested in multiple Old Polish texts, not only in the *Saint Florian Psalter* (cf. ssTP, *s. v. bęben*, *gęśle*, *zwonki*, *organy*, *trąba*, *żałtarz*) and can be classified as basic vocabulary in this domain. They – including also the Bohemisms highlighted earlier – should rather be treated as translation clusters. It does not change the fact that one (or several?) of the Old Czech translations might have been used as an auxiliary by the translators of the psalms into Old Polish, discussed above. It is now assumed that both translation techniques, *i. e.* translating either from Latin or Czech, were combined in the production of the *Saint Florian Psalter*. A systematic study of parallel passages in the Polish and Czech translations and accounts could provide a detailed picture of this process.

Musical Terminology in the 17th-century Romanian translations of the Psalter (AMG, MU)

The *Psalter from Alba Iulia* (PS 1651) was translated under the patronage of metropolitan Simion Ştefan, according to the humanistic philological principles of the time. It was published in 1651, three years after the *New Testament* (1648). On the title page, the (unidentified) translators state that PS 1651 was 'translated with great consideration from a 'Jewish' source into the Romanian language' (*izvodită cu mare socotinţă den izvod jidovesc pre limbă rumânească*), but this statement is not yet sufficiently verified by textual-comparative studies. The text includes parentheses and marginalia that mark 'the additions and interpretative distortions of the Greek and Latin versions of the primary Jewish text" (Moldovanu 1984, p. 424: *adaosurile şi deformările interpretative ale versiunilor greacă şi latină faţă de textul evreiesc primar*).

In the afterword to another 17th-century translation of the Psalter (hereafter *Dosoftei Psalter*), metropolitan Dosoftei of Moldavia (1624-1693) stated that he translated it 'from the source of saint Jerome, which is written in Greek, Latin, Hebrew' (*de pre izvodul lui S-tii Ieronim, carile-i eliniaşte şi lătiniaşte şi evreiaşte*). This translation was published in 1680 and presents a bilingual text, Slavonic and Romanian. Munteanu 2008, p. 150, argued that 'the reason for printing the Slavonic text next to the Romanian version is not exclusively and predominantly dogmatic, but also, perhaps first of all, a philological one, since Dosoftei states unequivocally in the *Predoslovie* that 'the rare knowledge and learning of the Slavonic language has left the country''

▼ Fig. 16. *Psalm 150 in the bilingual Psalter of Dosoftei. Collages of several print-screens of the facsimile.*
Source: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/

Dosoftei Psalter (slav.)

Ps 32:2 Исповѣ́дайтеса гдⷭ҇ви въ гꙋ́слехъ, въ ѱалти́ри деса́тѡ стрꙋ́нѣй по́йте емꙋ̀

Ps 42:4 Исповѣ́мъ сѧ тебѣ̀ въ гꙋ́слехъ бже, бе мо́й.

Ps 46:6 Възы́иде бгъ въ въскликнове́нїи, гдⷭ҇ь въ гла́сѣ трꙋ́бнѣ

Ps 48:5 Приклонꙗ̀ въ при́чахъ оу҆́хо мое́, ѿвꙿрꙁꙗ̀ въ ѱалти́ри гана́нїе мое

Ps 56:9 Въста́ни сла́ва моꙗ̀, въста́ни ѱалти́ри и гꙋ́сли, въста́нꙗ ра́но.

Ps 67:26 Преⷣвари́ша кнꙗ́зи бли́зъ пожⷣцихъ, посрѣ́дѣ дѣвъ тимпа́ницъ.

Ps 70:22 И́бо а҆́зъ исповѣ́мсꙗ тебѣ̀ въ лю́дехъ гдⷭ҇и, въ съсꙋ́дехъ ѱало́мскихъ и҆стиннꙗ твоꙗ̀ бже, пожꙋ̀ тебѣ̀ въ гꙋ́слехъ стⷪ҇ы́й Ӥлевъ.

Ps 80:3 При́имѣте ѱало́мъ и дади́те тꙋ́мпанъ, ѱалти́рь кра́се" съ гꙋ́сльми.

Ps 80:4 Въстрꙋби́те на но́въ мⷭ҇ць трꙋбо́ж, въ нарочи́тый днь пра́здника ва́шегѡ.

Ps 91:4 въ деса́тѡ стрꙋ́ннѣмъ ѱалти́ри, съ пѣснїж въ гꙋ́слехъ

Ps 97:5-6 По́йте гдⷭ҇еви въ гꙋ́слехъ, въ гꙋ́слехъ и гла́сѣ ѱало́мстѣ, въ трꙋ́бахъ кова́ныхъ, и гла́сомъ трꙋ́бы рожаны.

Ps 107:3 въста́ни сла́ва моꙗ̀, въста́ни ѱалти́рю и гꙋ́сли, въста́нꙗ ра́но.

Ps 136:2 На вꙋ́рбїи посрѣ́дѣ еꙗ̀, ѡбѣ́сихѡмъ ѡⷬга́ны на́ша.

Ps 143:9 Бже, пѣ́снь но́вꙋ въспожꙋ̀ тебѣ̀, въ ѱалти́рѣ деса́тѡ стрꙋ́ннѣмъ, пожꙋ̀ тебѣ̀.

Ps 146:7 Начⷩ҇ѣ́те гвⷭ҇и въ исповѣда́нїи, по́йте бⷢ҇ви на́шемꙋ въ гꙋ́слехъ.

Ps 149:3 Да въсхва́лꙗтъ и҆мꙗ̀ егѡ̀ въ ли́цѣ, въ тꙋ́мпанѣ и ѱалти́ри да пожꙋ́тъ емꙋ̀

Ps 150:3 Хвали́те егѡ̀ въ гла́сѣ трꙋ́бнѣ, хвали́те егѡ̀ въ ѱалти́ри и гꙋ́слехъ.

Ps 150:4 Хвали́те егѡ̀ въ тꙋ́мпанѣ и ли́цѣ, хвали́те егѡ̀ въ стрꙋ́нахъ и ѡⷬга́нѣхъ.

Ps 150:5 Хвали́те егѡ̀ въ кꙋмва́лѣхъ доброгла́сныхъ, хвали́те егѡ̀ въ кꙋмва́лѣхъ въсклица́нїꙗ

Ps 151:2 Рꙋ́цѣ мо́й сътвори́ша ѡⷬга", и пⷬ҇сты мо́й съста́виша ѱалти́рь.

(*rațiunea tipăririi textului slavon alături de versiunea românească este nu una exclusiv și predominant dogmatică, ci și, poate în primul rând, una filologică, de vreme ce, în Predoslovie, Dosoftei constată fără echivoc faptul că 'puțină sârbie ce o învăța de-nțălegea încă s-au părăsit în țară'*). Moldovanu 1984, p. 420, wonders if the metropolitan really used the Vulgate, since this version was considered uncanonical in the Orthodox milieu. Following a comparative textual analysis, he concludes that the source to which Dosoftei refers 'seems to be a comparative Sistine version of Jerome's Vulgate' (Moldovanu 1984, p. 420: *pare a fi o versiune sixtină comparată a Vulgatei lui Ieronim*) and that the Hebrew text was consulted indirectly through media

tion of the Psalter of Alba Iulia (ps 1651), which 'appealed directly to the original' (Moldovanu 1984, p. 421: *a apelat direct la original*).

Far from being faithful reproductions of a single source, the first complete translations of the Bible into Romanian which date to the 17th century bear witness to a certain effort on behalf of translators to make use of several source-versions in order to obtain a text, on the one hand much clearer, on the other hand, as canonically accurate as possible. Each biblical version (Old or New Testament alike) was based on earlier texts and multiple sources. There are two manuscripts that preserve the text of the Old Testament: MS BAR 45 and MS BAR 4389, both dating from the second

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Dosoftei Psalter (rom.)	MS BAR 45	Alba Iulia Psalter
Mărturisiți-vă Domnului în ceateră, în psăltire de dzeace strune psălmuiți-i lui.	Mărturisiți vă Domnului cu copuzu, cu canon cu 10 strune cîntați lui	Ispovediți-vă Domnului în lăută, în nablă, în psaltire cu 10 strune cântați lui.
(5) Mărturisi-mă-voiu ție în ceateră, Dumnădzăule, Dumnădzăul mieu.	(5) Mărturisi mă voi ție întru alăută, Dumnedzău, Dumnedzăul mieu.	și te voiu lăuda pre tine întru lăută, o, Dumnezăul, Dumnezăul mieu.
(5) Suitu-s-au Dumnădzău cu naltă strigare, Domnul în glas de trîmbită.	(5) Suie-să Dumnedzău cu clic, Domnul cu glas de trîmbiță.	Sui Dumnezău în strigare de bucurie, Domnul întru glas de trâmbite.
(4) Pleca-voi în pildă ureachea mea, deșchide-voi la psaltire ciumilitura mea.	(4) Pleca-voi la pildă urêchea mea, dășchide-voi în psaltire gîcitoriul mieu	Plecaiu spre pildă ureachea mea; deșchide-voiu în psaltire gâcitorile meale.
(11) Stîrneaște-te, slava mea! Stîrneaște-te, psăltire și lăută! Stîrni-m-oi demineață.	(11) Dășteaptă-te, mărirea mea; dășteaptă-te, canonul și alăuta; dăștepta-mă-voi la mînecat.	Deșteaptă-te slava mea, deșteaptă-te psaltirea și lăuta mea; scolu-mă de dimeneață.
(27) Tîmpinară boiari însoțiți cu cîntători, în mijlocul de fetișoare tîmpănăreațe.	Apucară boiarii țiindu-să de cei ce cînta întru mijlocul fetișoarelor [*note*: tinerealelor] tîmpănărițe.	Înainte mergea cântătorii; după aceaea, lăutaș; în mijloc, featele cu tâmpene.
(25) Că dară și eu mărturisi-mă-voiu ție în năroade, Doamne, în vase de psalom adevărătatea ta, Dumnădzăule. Psălmui-voiu ție în ceateră, svântul lui Izrail.	(24) Pentru că și eu mă voi mărturisi ție întru năroade, Doamne, cu cinii de cîntare adevărul tău, Dumnedzău, cînta voi ție cu alăută, Cel Sfînt a lu Israil.	Pentru aceaea eu încă laud pre tine cu chindii (*note*: în psaltiri) pentru direptatea ta, Doamne. Cânt ție între laute, Sfântul lui Israil.
(2) Luat psalom și dat tâmpănă, psăltire frumoasă cu ceateră.	(2) Luați psalmu și dați tîmpînă, canon înfrîmsățat cu alăută.	Luaț cântec și daț în tâmpănă cântec dezmierdat cu alăută!
(3) Bucinat în lună noaă cu trîmbita, în bună-nsămnată dzua sărbătorii voastre.	(3) Trîmbițați în lună noao cu trîmbiț, întru bine rînduită dzi a sărbătorii voastre!	Bucenaț în lună noao cu bucen, în zi rânduită a sărbătoriei noastre!
(3) În de dzeace coarde psaltire, cu cîntec în ceatere	(3) în psaltire cu 10 strune, cu cîntare în alăută	în zeace strune a psaltiriei, cu cântare în lăută
(7) Psălmuiț Domnului în ceateră, în ceatere și glas de psalom, în bucine ferecate și cu glas de bucin de corn.	(7-8) Pevețuiți Domnului cu alăută, cu alăută și cu glas de psalmu [*note*: de cîntare], cu trîmbițe ciocănite și cu glas de trîmbiță de corn. Clicuiți înaintea Împăratului, Domnului.	(5-6) Cântaț Domnului în lăută, în lăută și în glas de cântec. (6) În trâmbite și în glas de bucine cântaț înaintea Împăratului, Domnului.
(2) Scoală-te, slava mea! Scoală-te, psăltire și ceateră. Scula-mă-voiu diminiață.	(2) dășteaptă-te, psaltire și alăută, dăștepta-mă-voi la mînecat.	Deșteaptă-te, psaltire și lăută: de dimineață preveghiu.
Pre sălci la mijlocul ei spîndzurăm organele noastre.	La sălci, în mijlocul ei, am spîndzurat ciniile [*note*: organele] noastre.	Spre sălci spânzurăm alăutele noastre, în mijlocul lui.
Dumnădzău, cîntec nou cînta-voiu ție, în psăltire de dzeace strune voiu psălmui ție.	(10) Dumnedzău, cîntare noao cînta-voi ție; cu psaltire cu 10 strune cînta voi ție.	Doamne, cântec nou cânt ție; în psaltire cu 10 strune cânta-voiu ție.
Începeț Domnului în ispovedanie, psălmuiț Dumnădzăului nostru în ceateră.	Începeți Domnului cu mărturisire, cîntați Dumnedzăului nostru cu alăută.	Cîntați Domnului cu laudă; cântaț Dumnezăului nostru întru alăută.
Laude numele lui în horă, în tîmpănă și psăltire psălmuiască lui.	Laude numele lui cu danț, cu tîmpănă și cu psaltire cînte lui.	Să laude numele lui, în cimpoi și în tâmpene și în lăută să cânte lui.
Lăudați-l pre însul în glas de trîmbită, lăudaț pre îns în psăltire și ceateră.	Lăudați pre îns cu glas de trîmbiță, lăudați pre el cu psaltire și alăută.	Lăudaț pre el în glas de bucine; lăudaț pre el în psaltire și în lăută.
Lăudaț pre însul în tîmpănă și horă, lăudaț pre însul în strune și organe	Lăudați pre el cu tîmpănă și danț, lăudați pre el cu strune și organe.	Lăudaț pre el în tâmpănă și în cimpoi; lăudaț pre el în strune și în organe.
Lăudaț pre însul în chimvale cu bun glas, lăudaț pre însul în chimvale de naltă strigare.	Lăudați pre el cu țîmbale bine răsunătoare, lăudați pre el cu țîmbale de clic.	Lăudaț pre el în țîmbule răsunătoare; lăudați pre el în țîmbule veselitoare.
Mînule meale feacără organ și deagetele meale încheară psăltire.		

half of the 17th century.

MS BAR 45 from the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj branch, contains a revised version of the Greek translation of Nicolae Spătarul Milescu (*Septuagint* 1597). Its preface also mentions a Slavonic source (the 1581 *Ostrog Bible*), some unidentified Latin sources, and a Latin translation from Hebrew. The reviser of the translation was identified by Ursu 2003, p. 441, as metropolitan Dosoftei of Moldavia (see above, *Dosoftei Psalter*). In his revision, he used another Greek source for control (*Septuagint* 1653). When he records parallel segments of text, the translator borrows the marginal biblical references from the Slavonic biblical version. The other Romanian text of the Old Testament, copied in MS BAR 4389 now in the central branch of the Library of the Romanian Academy, was translated

in the southern lands and chiefly follows a Slavonic version (the same 1581 *Ostrog Bible*) and a Latin version printed in Antwerp (yet unidentified). When he makes comparisons with the Greek text, he uses the translation (unrevised, according to Ursu 2003, p. 41) made by the same Milescu (see his *Cuvînt înainte cătră cetitor*, p. 2). Ursu 2003 argued that this other anonymous translator could be bishop Daniil Panoneanul. The links between the two texts are rather obvious: Nicolae Milescu would have made the first translation, now lost; this translation was used (under unknown circumstances) by the translator of MS BAR 4389, who mentions this in the preface of his translation. The full text of the two manuscripts was published in an interpretive transcription accompanied by a facsimile in the MLD series (1988-2015).

Ps 67:26 *Tîmpene – tîmpănărețe – cenghirease* (AMG)

It was already noted that the Old Church Slavonic sequence двь тvмпаницѣ in Ps 67:26 was too ambiguous and presented a problem to the Romanian translators of the 16th century. Their translation choices for тvмпаница ('joueuse de tambourine, cymbalière', Deschler 2003, *s. v.*; cf. *ἡ τυμπανίστρια* 'drum-player [woman]', Liddell-Scott, *s. v.*; *tympanistria* 'a female drummer or player on the tambourine', Lewis-Short, *s. v.*) were either a common noun with a preposition (PH *fetele de tîmpăne*), or an adjective (CP2 *feate tîmpănișe*). The use of a mere common noun (PS, P, CP, CP1 *feate tîmpănă*) may be explained as a consequence of an erroneous interpretation of the context. In the 17th century, the phrase containing the noun *tîmpănă* (DLR, s.v., meaning 'dairea, tobă, darabană' in contemporary Romanian) appears in PS 1651 (*featele cu tîmpene*). The *Dosoftei Psalter* uses here an adjective (*fetișoare tîmpănăreațe*). MS BAR 45 does the same (*fetișoarelor* [note: *tinerealelor*] *tîmpănărițe*), being a translation from Greek in a revised form. The reviser, perhaps the author of the *Dosoftei Psalter*, considered that *νεανίδων* (*νεανίδων τυμπανιστριῶν*) is an adjective ('youthful', Liddell-Scott, *s. v.*), not a common noun ('young woman, girl, maiden', *idem, s. v.*), and makes marginal amendments to the text. Adjectives derived with -(*ăr*)*eț* are frequent in the works of Dosoftei. Besides the words

already present in the language, Dosoftei created new ones. Most of them stem from a verb and express agency: *cugetăreț* 'who thinks' (Ungureanu 2012, III 87v; *lucrăreț* 'who works' III 109v; *suflăreț* 'who breathes' III 122v, an equivalent for the Church Slavonic дъхновенніи, from доухнѫти – *spirare* (Miklosich). Other creations denote properties or features: *necărtulăreților ucenici* 'unschooled disciples' III 126r, as a rendering of Church Slavonic безкнíжнимь ꙋченíкꙋмь; *netrupăreț* 'unbodied' III 127v (for the lexical creativity in Dosoftei's *Parimiile…*, see also Munteanu 2008, p. 181-187). The presence of the same creation in the translation in MS BAR 45 is an argument for Dosoftei's involvement in the revision of the Old Testament translation of Nicolae Milescu (Ursu 2003, p. 135). Another derived adjective appears in a southern translation made from Old Church Slavonic and Latin sources: *cenghireasă* (MS BAR 4389 *featelor cenghirease*), derived from the noun *cinghíe* 'harp; dancer' (DLR, s.v.). The word *cenghi*(*r*)*easă* ('öffentliche Harfenspielerin', Tiktin, *s. v.*) described 'women who play the 'tambour' at parties' (*muierile care cîntă pre la veselii cu tambura*, in *Îndreptarea legii*, apud *idem, s. v.*). In this precise context, *tambura* is an 'instrument with metal chords, similar to the mandolin' (DLR, Tiktin, *s. v.*).

Organ – alăută – cinie – dichis (AMG)

In the previous paper, it was already argued that the 'rhotic' psalters of the 16th century borrowed the Church Slavonic word ѡръганъ (*organ* Ps 136:2, 150:4, 151:2), which referred to an instrument with chords ('harpe, chalumeau; orgue, organe', Deschler 2003, *s. v.*). In the 17th century, the word *organ* is used only in *Dosoftei Psalter*, which is bilingual and was translated in Moldavia. PS 1651 was translated in Transylvania from Hebrew, Latin, and Greek sources, and it uses the word *alăută* (Ps 136:2), referring to a musical instrument with chords. In the extensive 17th-century versions of the Bible, the terminology diversifies according to a dialectal pattern. Revised Moldavian translations from Greek, such as MS BAR 45, use the term *cinie* (cf. *ὄργανον* in the source), of a Slavic origin. DLR and Tiktin

(*s. v.*) note the meaning 'instrument, tool; pot', without any explicit mention of specialised meaning in the field of music. The marginal gloss of *cinie* as *organ* ('musical instrument, especially harp', Tiktin, *s. v.*) is equally interesting, as this could be due to the consultation of a Church Slavonic source or perhaps to the frequent use of this term in the reviser's idiolect. Maybe this could be the work of Dosoftei, the reviser of the text of MS BAR 45 in the opinion of Ursu 2003, p. 135. For Ps. 136:2, MS BAR 4389 uses *dichis*, a synonym of *cinie* (pl. *dichisele*; post-verbal noun of the verb *dichisi*). According to DLR, *s. v.*, this other word appears in the southern Romanian lands, in the lexicons of Mardarie (1649) and Staicu (contemporary to Mardarie).

Psaltire – nablă (MU)

At the end of the 16th century, the adoption of the humanistic principles of philological criticism led to a diversification in the terminology of musical instruments. PS 1651 is particularly innovative in this aspect. It doubles *psaltire* with *nablă*, a word which equally refers to an instrument

from the category of those with strings, like *lăută* and *psaltire*. According to Florescu 2011, p. 275, the LXX *νάβλα* (Hebrew *nebel*) was most likely a kind of portable harp, held by the singer in an upright position. It had more strings than the *kinuvra* (five to twenty), plucked with the fingers. Flavius

Josephus described the instruments from the time of David according to their evolution in his time: "the *kinyra* had ten strings stretched on it, which were struck with a plectrum ; the *nabla*, which had twelve notes, was plucked with the fingers" (*Antiquities of the Jews*, VII, xii, 3; Thackeray, Marcus 1950, p. 523). Tiktin, *s. v.*, defines it as *Psalterium*, *harfenartiges Musikinstrument* and points to the Neo-Greek etymon *νάβλα* ('a musical instrument of ten or of twelve strings', Liddell-Scott, *s. v.*; cf. the Old Church Slavonic etymon наблѡмъ, mentioned in the DLR, *s. v.*). There is also a Latin plural *nablia, -ium* 'a stringed instrument of Phoenician origin, a kind of harp' (OLD), but it is unlikely that it was borrowed from a Latin version in PS 1651. DLR, *s. v.*, signals this occurrence in PS 1651 as the oldest attested use of the word. The use of a Latinised version of the Hebrew word (cf. *Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 68) suggests that the translators' intention to follow the Hebrew text, professed at the end of the psalter, was real. The double use of *psaltire* and *nablă* was perhaps the result of an influence of both the Hebrew text and its Latin translation.

Bucin – trâmbiță (MU)

The replacement of *bucin*, a casual translation choice in the 16th century psalters, with *trîmbiță*, frequent in the translations of the next century, is not so generalised. *Bucin* still appears in PS 1651, which has a Latin source, even though it was not clearly identified. See *e. g.* Ps 80:4 in PS 1651: *Bucenaț în lună noao cu bucen*; cf. Hebraicum: *Clangite in neomenia buccina*. Or Ps 97:5 in PS 1651: *În trâmbite și în glas de bucine*; cf. Hebraicum: *In tubis et clangore buccine*. The two texts do not overlap, however, in all cases (*e. g.* Ps. 46:6). It is assumed that the *Dosoftei Psalter* also had a Latin source; perhaps it even followed PS 1651 (Moldovanu 1984, p. 420-425). The hypothesis of a Latin source is reinforced by the translation choices *bucin* or *trîmbiță*. For instance, the translation of Ps 80:4 in the *Dosoftei Psalter* has *Bucinaț în lună noaă cu trîmbita*. The name of the musical instrument and the verb corresponds to the Gallicanum: *Buccinate in neomenia tuba*. The same happens in Ps 46:6: *în glas de trâmbiță*; cf. Gallicanum: *in voce tubae*. And in Ps 150:3. The overlapping of this Romanian text and the Gallicanum does not occur in all cases (see Ps 97: 5), but this can be related to the use of several sources in the *Dosoftei Psalter* and PS 1651. The translation method of the 17th-century scholars was different from that used in the previous century. Previous translations followed a single source. 17th-century translators used multiple sources originating in several confessional milieus. This is supported by the various readings mentioned in the critical apparatus (marginal notes, as in PS 1651, or final lists, in the *Dosoftei Psalter*).

▼ Fig. 17. *Musical instruments in the Derision of Christ. Scene from the inner face of the northern wall of the nave from the church of Saint-Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonica (early 14th century)*. Credits: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

The translation choice '(ring-)dance' and 17ᵗʰ-century iconography (vʙ)

The translation choices *în horă, în tîmpănă și psăltire* ('in a ring-dance, with drum and psaltery', in the Psalter of Dosoftei) and *cu danț, cu tîmpănă și cu psaltire* ('in a dance, with drum and psaltery', ᴍꜱ ʙᴀʀ 45) could be influenced by the iconographical changes occurring in the decoration of Romanian Orthodox churches of the 17ᵗʰ century.

The Byzantine iconography of the Laud Psalms was elaborated in the 14ᵗʰ century. It was displayed, for instance, in the narthex of Lesnovo monastery (fig. 18). Its dissemination gained momentum in the post-Byzantine period, especially in connection to the activity of wall-painting workshops from Crete (see Schiemenz 1996). At a later date, in the second half of the 16ᵗʰ century and at the beginning of the 17ᵗʰ century, it gained enormous popularity in Central Greece and at Mont Athos: at the Meteores, in the nartheka of Varlaam (1566) and Russanou (1561),

in connection with the *Last Judgement*; at Dochiariou (1568); in the catholicon of Saint-Nicholas Philanthropinon on the island of Ioannina (after 1540); in monuments painted in Epirus by the so-called school of Linotopi, such as Vitsa (1619) and Monodendri (1619); at Saint-Nicholas in Vatheia, Euboea (1555–1565), at Saint-George in Armos, near Phylla, Chalkis (1590-1600), and at the church of The Nativity in Arbanassi (post 1650) (see Garidis 1989, p. 178, 184, 173-180).

▼ Fig. 18. *Ring-dance accompanied by psaltery and drum in a depiction of Psalm 149:3. Narthex, monastery of Lesnovo (North Macedonia, 1349).* Credits: Vlad Bedros.

▶ Fig. 19. *Psalms 148-150. Upper exonarthex, Golia monastery (Iași, Romania, 1660(?)).* Credits: Vlad Bedros.

These 16th-17th century iconographical choices were henceforth transmitted to Romanian lands in the 17th century, as attested by the testimony of Paul of Aleppo at Mărgineni (in Wallachia) and the monastery of Three Hierarchs in Iași (Moldavia) (*Călători străini* VI, p. 148). Both mural decorations are now lost, but the newly rediscovered wall paintings of the upper exonarthex (*gynaeceum*) at Golia monastery in Iași display a contemporary redaction which might hint at the received models, mediated by a travelling Greek workshop (Fig. 19). In the seventh decade of the 17th century, such itinerant Greek masters were active in Wallachia (presumably at Rebegești and surely at Băjești and Topolnița), establishing an iconographic tradition

▼ Fig. 20. *Depiction of Psalms 148-150. Exonarthex, church of the Three Hierarchs in Filipeştii de Pădure, 1692.* Credits: Vlad Bedros.

▶ Fig. 21. *Depiction of Psalms 148-150. Exonarthex, monastery of Hurezi, 1694.* Credits: Bogdan Teodor.

which took local roots during the reign of Constantin Brancovan, when Laud Psalms become a traditional decoration for the vaults of exonartheka (Popa 2008). Typical for this pictorial redaction is the selection of passages from all three Laud Psalms (Fig. 20), only seldom including verses from Psalm 150, that involve the use of musical instruments to accompany the ring-dance of the youth (Fig. 21).

Continuation of discussion 1 - *cântare*.

CB: No doubt the Hurmuzaki Psalter is an idiosyncratic textual witness when compared to other Romanian Psalter texts from the 16th century. A question, therefore, arises: could it be that the Slavonic source text for PH was distinct from the source text of the other Romanian Psalter texts?

Once instance alone, the rendering of the Greek *ψαλτή-ριον* in Church Slavonic and in Romanian, opens the floor to an intriguing textual analysis and philological reflection. From early on the Greek word would be rendered as псалтыри, that is, with a borrowing, and similarly in Romanian, with *psaltire*. However, in association to Theodoret's commentary to the psalter text, a different translation started circulating as early as the 11th century in the Slavonic texts – пѣсньница / пѣсньвица (MacRobert 2010). Similarly, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* presents a different rendering, *cîntari* rather than *psaltire*. There is ground to argue that *cîntare* in PH was used to translate пѣсньница / пѣсньвица.

In particular, if we take into account two East Slavonic manuscripts, MS F.п.I.2 in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, and MS 7/177 in the State Historical Museum in Moscow, we discover the following:

	Greek	PH	F.п.I.2	7/177
Ps 32:2	*ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ*	*în cîntarile*		пѣсньница
Ps 48:5	*ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ*	*în cîntare*		
Ps 80:3	*ψαλτήριον*	*cîntecu*		пѣснь
Ps 143:9	*ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ*	*în cîntari*	въ пѣсньници	
Ps 150:3	*ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ*	*în cîntari*	въ пѣсньници	

The two Slavonic manuscripts have been produced in the 14th and 15th centuries, a period which sees a revival in adopting readings and glosses belonging to Theodoret's commentary to the psalter text (MacRobert 2010, p. 429).

Although it cannot be thought that either MS F.п.I.2 or the commented MS 7/177 was at the basis of PH, a manuscript belonging to a similar textual tradition might have been either the source or the revision text used during the composition of the *Hurmuzaki Psalter*. At this point it would be interesting to compare PH with other plain or commented Slavonic psalter texts which have been influenced by Theodoret's commentary, and verify whether there are other instances of idiosyncratic readings in PH which can be explained through the influence of a Slavonic source, connected to Theodoret's exegesis of the psalter text.

IC: Mareş 1982, p. 260, reconstructed a stemma of 16th-century Romanian psalters, arguing that they stem from two intermediary versions of the same original translation, conventionally named A and B. In his opinion, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* and the *Voroneţ Psalter* would derive from version A, while the readings of version B would be preserved by the *Scheian Psalter* and the psalters of Coresi. In a paper presented in 2019, to be published in *Limba română*, I argued that version A is based on a Church Slavonic text presenting a series of features which may be found only in two Serbian psalters of the 14th century, the psalters of Pljevlja and Belgrade. Mareş 1982 had discovered that the link between version A and the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* was indirect. There could be a mediating text, as the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* testifies to a certain revision according to a commented psalter, but the features discussed by Al. Mareş were not discussed in other studies. Your observation is especially meaningful, as it links the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* with the Slavic psalters influenced by the Theodoret commentary. Those features appear to be a consequence of a revision

which characterises only the *Hurmuzaki Psalter*. They are not found in the *Voroneţ Psalter* (*e. g. psăltire* in Ps. 143:9 and Ps 150:3), even though the *Voroneţ Psalter* stems from the same version A. It doesn't appear in the Belgrade Psalter either, the latter being its possible source (Belgrade, University Library 'Svetozar Markovic', MS 36, late 13th or early 14th century).

AMG: MacRobert 2010, p. 429 (see also *Musical Instruments…* 2019, p. 71, *s. v.* Catherine Mary MacRobert; or MacRobert 1998) argues that some of the terms initially borrowed from Greek in the early Slavonic versions were actually translated in the 14th- and 15th-century Eastern-European manuscripts of the later redaction that adopts readings from the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Theodoret commentary. For instance, *ὄργανον* becomes пишталь 'instrument' (Ps 150:4); *τύμπανον* becomes бжбьнъ 'drum' (Ps 67:26); *τυμπανίστριαι* become бжбьньница 'drummers' (Ps 67:26); etc. As already stated by Iosif Camară, two key manuscripts are the F.п.I.2 and 7/177. They provide translation choices and do not borrow foreign terminology (cf. MacRobert 2010, 429). The case of *ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ* (Ps 150:3 et al.) – въ пѣсньници (ms. F.п.I.2, cf. ms 7/177) – *în cîntări* (*Hurmuzaki Psalter*, which provides a different reading, while the other Romanian translations of the 16th and 17th centuries read here *psaltire*), discussed here by Constanţa Burlacu, can refer to the manuscripts connected in one way or another with the Theodoret commentary, particularly if those manuscripts were the sources of the translation or revision of the *Hurmuzaki Psalter*. However, the case of *ὀργάνῳ* (Ps 150:4) is a little bit different. The equivalence пиштали (F.п.I.2; and a gloss concerning пишталь, rendered as органъ, *i. e.* 'the *organum* is a (wind) instrument') – *orgoane* (*Hurmuzaki Psalter*), *orgon*, can be explained only as a loan word stemming from органъ. It is unlikely that the Romanian translator or reviser followed the reading from the gloss entry. We should turn our attention to other Slavonic sources than the ones already mentioned here. A particularly ambiguous reading of the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* is *orgoane* in Ps 107:3. In context, it would correspond to *psaltire* (Slavonic псалтырь) from all the other 16th and 17th century translations. My question is: can *orgoane* be a mere scribal error resulting from contamination with the same term in the next biblical verse?

VA: On a side note, a philologist specialised in Western Romance languages would identify a different problem here, of a methodological nature. The Lachmannian stemmatics upon which the preceding comments are based have proved time and again to be not only inefficient, but detrimental to the study of vernacular texts, on account of the unstable nature of the vernacular tradition. I am not suggesting that Romanian philology embrace the Bédierist stance of the French school (even though Bédierism may be efficient in later exploration stages of the complex tradition of 'rhotic' psalters), nor the controversial methods of New Philology or Material Philology. However, the versatile nature of the tradition may be best explored with the neo-Lachmannian methods of Italian philology, paying attention to the concept of diffraction, which corrects and replaces the Lachmannian notion of error with that of commodisation. There are two very different types of diffraction: *in praesentia* (when at least one of the manuscripts presents the alleged *lectio difficilior* of the antigraph) and *in absentia* (when none of the manuscript copies present it). The current discussion is so far based on an *in praesentia* model, which could be wrong, since it is tributary to Lachmannian methods. We need to take into account both options and to establish if the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* is a commodisation of the earlier translation (or not).

Continuation of discussion 2 - Slavonic and Latin sources.

VA: The choice *alăută* in the translation of Ps 136:2 in the *Alba Iulia Psalter* probably comes from a Hebrew version or from the Latin Hebraicum, which has a different reading here as *citharae* instead of *organa*. It is particularly interesting that Dosoftei does not change the old translations choices here, as he is known for having used 16ᵗʰ translations in his metrical version of the Psalter. His translation choice from the prose version could indeed testify to the use of previous texts and this gets us back to the discussion concerning the actual meaning of the word *organ* in the 16ᵗʰ century. Interpreting the word *organ* from the prose version of Dosoftei according to unrelated and ambiguous references having little in common with his text requires a huge leap of faith. I believe that he may have adapted previous versions and this is evident in his translation of Ps 67:26. His odd choice of *fetişoare tîmpănăreaţe* where the *Alba Iulia Psalter* uses a common formula – *featele cu tâmpene* – may point out that both translations opted for a clarification of an ambiguous phrase from the translations of the 16ᵗʰ century. I refer to this situation in the more complex discussion about *tympanistrae* in the Theoretical Section at the end of this paper. On a scale of one to three, the 'rhotic' psalters of the 16ᵗʰ century could testify to a subservient method of translating; Dosoftei could be the perfect example of a faithful rendition; the *Alba Iulia Psalter* could represent the interpretative solution for the one and the same translation cluster. That the three options were already available in the language of the 16ᵗʰ century, this is evident from the translation choice *fetele de tîmpăne* in PH, which could represent, in my opinion, an emendation of a word that the Hurmuzaki Psalter copyist did not understand. In such a case, the word *tîmpănă* used by a large majority of the 16ᵗʰ-century translations could be a subservient duplication following closely a yet unknown source (*feate tîmpănă*) in which the second term – *tîmpănă* – could be either an adjective or an agent noun. It could represent a different type of translation altogether. And it could actually stem from a Latin source.

MU: The word *organ* in the *Dosoftei Psalter* (Ps. 136:2) is not necessarily reminiscent of previous translations, but rather a phenomenon of contextual attraction. The parallel Slavonic text has ѡрганы. Even though Dosoftei states that he uses a Latin source, the lexical coincidences with the adjacent Slavonic version suggest that the latter was indeed used in the revision of the text (or another, perhaps earlier, Slavonic version), as can be seen in other contexts (Ps 150: 4, Ps 151). Since the *Dosoftei Metrical Psalter* (ed. Ursu 1974, a free verse adaptation of the psalter, different from the usual translations) reads in Ps 136:2 *Şi bucine ferecate | Lăsăm prin sălcii animate* ('And clasped trumpets | we leave hanging in the willows'), this suggests that *organ* did not refer to a specific type of instrument, but to an instrument in general. As a matter of fact, the Slavonic word did not refer to any particular instrument either. This is also evident from the equivalences of this term in the first Slavonic-Romanian dictionaries of the 17ᵗʰ century: ѡргань: *organ*, *dichis*, in [Mardarie Cozianul], *Lexicon slavo-român* ('Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon'), dated to 1649, in MS BAR rom. 450; cf. Creţu 1900, p. 192. The most comprehensive dictionary of the group of bilingual lexicons stemming from a common source is [Staicu Grămăticul], *Lexicon slavo-român* ('Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon'), second half of the 17ᵗʰ century, in MS BAR rom. 312 (f. 168r). It does not have an entry for ѡргань, but it has ѻрȣдїє, the equivalent

▲ Fig. 22. *Angels blowing trumpets in the murals of the Reformed church at Ighişu Nou (Germ. Sächsisch-Eibesdorf, Sibiu county, Transylvania, early 15ᵗʰ century).*
Credits: Ciprian Firea.

of ѡргань in the Slavonic-Ruthenian Lexicon of Pamvo Berynda (see Berynda 1927). Berynda was the source of the Romanian dictionaries and the entry provides the explanation 'working tool, *organon* [in Greek characters], *instrumentum* [in Latin characters], *dichis, unealtă*'. Therefore, the word did not designate a particular musical instrument, which explains its equivalence with *dichis* în MS BAR 4389, whose translator, bishop Daniil Panoneanul, could have been involved in the creation of Slavonic-Romanian Lexicons (cf. Ursu 2003). The Greek term *ὄργανον* did not suggest any musical instrument to Nicolae Milescu either. The latter rendered it as *cinie* in MS BAR 45, where the marginal gloss *organele* could be attributed to Dosoftei.

As for the term *tâmpănă* in the context of *în mijloc de feate tîmpănă* (*Scheian Psalter*, Ps 67:26, cf. *Hurmuzaki Psalter*'s *în mijloc fetele de tîmpăne*), this may be a scribal error or perhaps a misinterpretation from *cu tâmpănă*, which could be the original translation and could correspond to the Slavonic тѷмпа́ницъ. Given the lack of grammatical agreement, its interpretation as an adjective is unlikely in this particular context.

AMG: *Tâmpănă* can be a scribal error, as a result of reversing the syntax in the copied text, which could be either the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* or a version close to the Romanian prototype.

Theoretical Discussion - *tympanistrae.*

VA: At the end of the presentation of the Psalter from Metz, I mentioned the possibility that translations clusters follow different diaphasic levels of the language (or maybe sociolects, even though the latter are more difficult to ascertain). The point is that the translation of the Latin word *tympanistrae* may form three different translation clusters across languages. In Czech and most of the Hungarian versions, there is a preference for the creation of a nominal form (or an agent), with the exception of the *Apor Codex*, which creates a word very much alike those from most Old French and Middle English versions. Rare French or Middle English versions, probably related to one another (2FMP, *Surtees Psalter*, later Wycliffite Bible), present a translation through periphrasis, while the large majority of Old French and Middle English texts create a bizarre adjective, hapax legomenon. Perhaps this is also the case with most Romanian versions, where such an adjective occurs (even though it could stem from a Slavonic correspondent). In a way, this may be linked to the different types of translation choices: 1) *subservient*; 2) *faithful*; and 3) *interpretative.* I believe that the origin of these different translation clusters is in the source-language, not in the target-language, perhaps in the automatisms created by the medieval methods of teaching and learning high-prestige languages. The French language already had a word that could be used in such contexts: *timpanur*, 'player of tambourine' (see *e. g.* the sequence of agent nouns in the verse *roturs, gigurs e tympanurs* in the early 13ᵗʰ-century poem *Gui de Warewic*; Ewert 1933, vol. 2, p. 25, v. 7544). If translation clusters such as these occured across languages, this idea would need to be verified in non-Indo-European contexts.

ASU: The Sahidic, which was the most widespread and widely used Coptic version of the Psalter during the first Christian millennium, renders the genitive *νεανίδων τυμπανιστριῶν* by ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲭⲛⲭⲛ̄ 'young female musicians / drummers':

Greek (Rahlfs): *προέφθασαν ἄρχοντες ἐχόμενοι ψαλλόντων ἐν μέσῳ νεανίδων τυμπανιστριῶν*

Sahidic (dialect of Southern Egypt), text in Wallis Budge 1898, p. 70: ⲁⲩⲣ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲩϩⲏⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲯⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲭⲛ̄ⲭⲛ̄

προέφθασαν	ⲁⲩⲣ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ̄
ἄρχοντες	ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
ἐχόμενοι	ⲉⲩϩⲏⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ
ψαλλόντων	ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲯⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ
ἐν μέσῳ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ
νεανίδων	ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ
τυμπανιστριῶν	ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲭⲛ̄ⲭⲛ̄

The Greek tense is faithfully reproduced by the Coptic Genitive particle preceding the noun, ⲛ̄-. However, the translation of *τυμπανίστρια* is conditioned by the limitations of the Coptic idiom, which does not have a proper indigenous equivalent for the Greek *τύμπανον*. Thus, the Genitive noun *τυμπανιστριῶν* is translated as ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲭⲛ̄ⲭⲛ̄, which is formed of the Genitive particle ⲛ̄-, the prefix forming agent nouns (ⲣⲉϥ-), and the verb ⲭⲛ̄ⲭⲛ̄, which has the general meaning 'to make music, play an instrument' (cf. Crum 1939, p. 824b, *s. v.* ϭⲛϭⲛ). While the massive import of Greek loanwords makes Coptic a versatile language, the verb *τυμπανίζω* is not attested in Coptic. Consequently, it appears that the Egyptian translator was constrained to employ a indigenous term, ⲭⲛ̄ⲭⲛ̄, which has a larger spectrum of meanings than the Greek *τυμπανίζω*.

◀ Fig. 23. *Angels blowing trumpets to raise the dead from their graves in the murals of the Reformed church at Ighişu Nou (Germ. Sächsisch-Eibesdorf, Sibiu county, Transylvania, early 15ᵗʰ century).* Credits: Ciprian Firea.

▼ Fig. 24. *A similar scene in the murals of the Reformed church at Mugeni (Hung. Bögöz, Harghita county, Transylvania, 14ᵗʰ century).* Credits: Ciprian Firea.
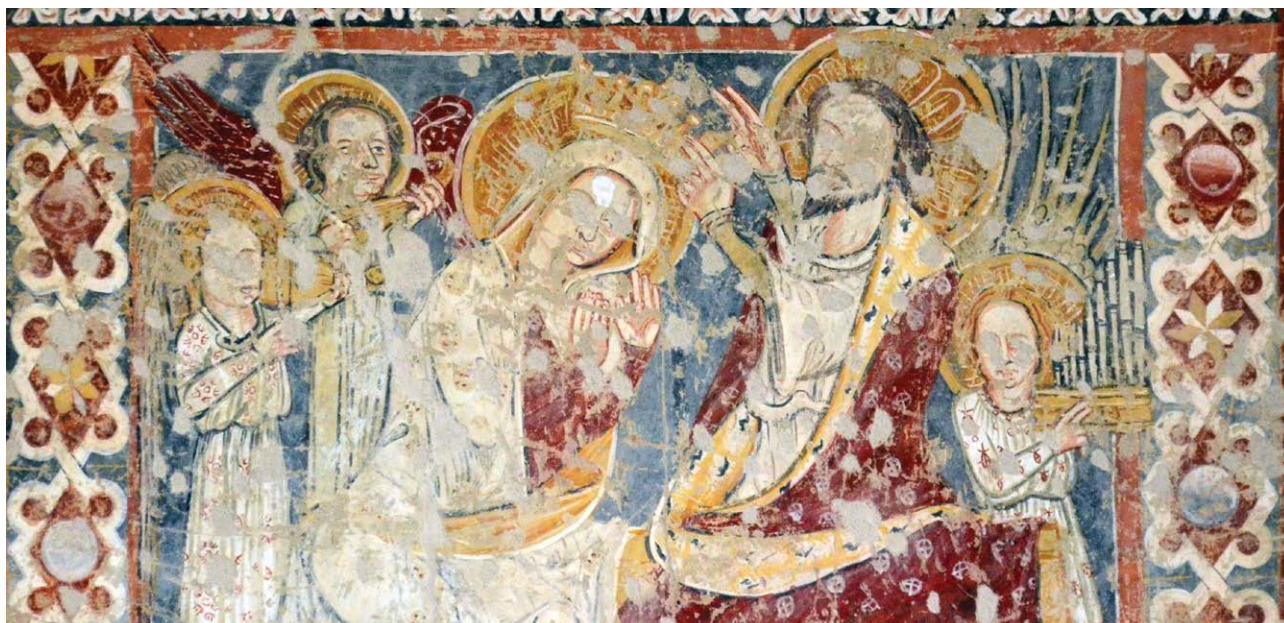
▲ Fig. 25. *Angels playing musical instruments in a Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the murals of the Reformed church at Porumbenii Mari (Hung. Nagygalambfalva, Harghita county, Transylvania, 14ᵗʰ century).* Credits: Ciprian Firea.

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Menocchio (2018)

Dialogo con Alberto Fasulo, regista

INTERVISTATO DA

Francesca Tasca, Corneliu Dragomirescu e Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Alberto Fasulo (nato a San Vito al Tagliamento, 30 marzo 1976) è un regista, produttore, direttore della fotografia e sceneggiatore italiano di film di fiction e documentari. Il suo primo documentario, *Rumore bianco* (2008) presenta in maniera poetica la vita lungo le rive del fiume Tagliamento. Il lungometraggio *Tir* (2013, vincitore del *Marc'Aurelio d'Oro* per il miglior film alla *Festa del Cinema di Roma*) narra la storia di un camionista croato costretto a lasciare il suo impiego di professore e lavorare per una ditta italiana. Il documentario *Genitori* (2015) ci immerge nel dramma di un gruppo di genitori e parenti di persone disabili del suo paese natale che formano una vera famiglia. Più recentemente, la co-produzione italo-rumena *Menocchio* (2018, selezione ufficiale per il *Concorso Internazionale del 71° Festival di Locarno*), ambientata nel tardo Cinquecento, offre un nuovo sguardo sulla storia di Domenico Scandella detto Menocchio, mugnaio friulano che affrontò il tribunale della Santa Inquisizione per aver diffuso le sue teorie sulla natura di Dio e sulla Chiesa Romana. Il modo in cui Alberto Fasulo ha trovato il proprio approccio in un labirinto di interpretazioni storiche spesso conflittuali che si occupano della storia di Menocchio costituisce l'oggetto della presente intervista.

Sinossi del film:

Italia. Fine 1500. La Chiesa Cattolica Romana, sentendosi minacciata nella sua egemonia dalla Riforma Protestante, sferra la prima sistematica guerra ideologica di uno Stato per il controllo totale delle coscienze. Il nuovo confessionale, disegnato proprio in questi anni, si trasforma da luogo di consolazione delle anime a tribunale della mente. Ascoltare, spiare e denunciare il prossimo diventano pratiche obbligatorie, pena: la scomunica, il carcere o il rogo. Menocchio, vecchio, cocciuto mugnaio autodidatta di un piccolo villaggio sperduto fra i monti del Friuli, decide di ribellarsi. Ricercato per eresia, non dà ascolto alle suppliche di amici e famigliari e invece di fuggire o patteggiare, affronta il processo. Non è solo stanco di soprusi, abusi, tasse, ingiustizie. In quanto uomo, Menocchio è genuinamente convinto di essere uguale ai vescovi, agli inquisitori e persino al Papa, tanto che nel suo intimo spera, sente e crede di poterli riconvertire a un ideale di povertà e amore.

VLADIMIR AGRIGOROAEI (VA): Come l'*Iliade* di Omero, il suo film si basa su una particolare sequenza di eventi. Invece dell'ira di Achille, lei usa il processo di Menocchio e una parte delle sue conseguenze, come finale della storia. Questa scelta era consapevole e ha avuto un'influenza significativa sull'evocazione dei sentimenti personali del protagonista? Ha influenzato la sua stessa ricreazione del personaggio di Menocchio?

ALBERTO FASULO (AF) : Naturalmente l'*Iliade* e l'*Odissea* sono i sommi riferimenti della costruzione drammaturgica, ai quali cerco sempre di contrappormi con la speranza di trovare una mia via personale per raccontare l'esperienza di un personaggio. Il mio intento non è mai stato quello di proporre una biografia filmata di Menocchio, ma piuttosto esporre la contemporaneità della sua vicenda, il motivo per il quale mi parlava e l'effetto che mi suscitava e mi suscita ancora oggi. Più leggevamo gli archivi del suo processo (con il mio co-sceneggiatore e con gli storici che ci hanno accompagnato nella ricerca), più entravamo in un mondo lontano, nella lingua e nelle procedure. Ma al contempo mi avvicinavo sempre di più al movimento sentimentale di quest'uomo che doveva fare delle scelte importanti, scelte che io mi ritrovo a sentirmi addosso quasi cinquecento anni dopo. La decisione di finire il racconto durante l'abiura, l'atto in cui l'eretico rinnega la sua parola, è stata una decisione ponderata, ma conseguente al mio innamoramento per ciò che sentivo più potente in questo personaggio. La difficile scelta tra seguire il richiamo della propria intelligenza o il consenso del proprio ambiente. La creazione del mio personaggio di Menocchio è fatta di strati che si sono evoluti in molto tempo. Sicuramente nella sceneggiatura è emersa la nostra idea di Menocchio, ma poi, quando ho incontrato Marcello Martini (l'interprete di Menocchio), il personaggio si è incarnato e ho dovuto riscoprirlo e, infine, ridefinirlo in sede di montaggio. A mio avviso, la tragicità di questo personaggio, di questa storia, e forse anche la poca notorietà di questa singolare vicenda, è dovuta anche alla sua negata esternazione violenta. Menocchio ha vissuto, ha pensato, ha parlato e poi si è spento lentamente negli anni dentro un sistema che lo ha isolato e screditato e, forse anche rimosso.

CORNELIU DRAGOMIRESCU (CD): Al di là dell'aspetto storico, il suo film fa pensare alla tradizione del film politico italiano, al film d'inchiesta o, ancora, a film che denunciano un regime oppressivo. Lo ha concepito così? Come si rapporta a questa tradizione / eredità del cinema italiano?

AF: È il cinema che amo di più. È quello che non mi lascia mai ed è quello che mi ha fatto capire la mia posizione morale sulla realtà. È la mia formazione culturale per eccellenza. E aggiungo che, anche se ha cambiato nome, cognome e modalità d'intervento, il pericolo di un nuovo regime oppressivo è quanto mai concreto. Per questo credo che la tradi-

◀ *Poster ufficiale.*

zione del film politico o di denuncia sia sempre attuale e importante.

FRANCESCA TASCA (FT): Lei rappresenta Menocchio come un individuo divergente, ma infine schiacciato dalla forza della collettività istituzionalizzata. Emblema di eroismo titanico, tanto ammirevole quanto destinato all'inesorabile fallimento?

AF: Non vorrei che fosse così, ma è quello che ho constatato leggendo i verbali e le dinamiche sociali di quel tempo. Ogni individuo è tale perché inserito o isolato da una collettività e con essa sarà sempre in relazione. Il potere del consenso del branco è ovviamente più forte di ognuno di noi. Ogni individuo è costretto a fare i conti con questo potere che ci corrompe poiché tutti abbiamo bisogno di sentirci protetti e accolti dal branco, e per questo possiamo arrivare anche a compromettere la coerenza con noi stessi. Crediamo che sia nel branco la nostra felicità e non nella foresta da soli; almeno è questa la nostra cultura imperante, e con questa abbiamo creato una società che è fondata più sulla forza che sulla lealtà.

FT: In una celebre intervista rilasciata da Leonardo Sciascia nel 1979, nota con il titolo – modellato sull'erasmiano *Elogio della follia* – di *Elogio dell'eresia*, lo scrittore siciliano affermò: "l'eresia è di per sé una gran cosa, e colui che difende la propria eresia è sempre un uomo che tiene alta la dignità dell'uomo. Bisogna essere eretici, rischiare di essere eretici, se no è finita. Voi avete visto che non è stata soltanto la Chiesa Cattolica ad avere paura delle eresie. È stato anche il Partito Comunista dell'Urss ad avere paura delle eresie e c'è sempre nel potere che si costituisce in fanatismo questa paura dell'eresia. Allora ogni uomo, ognuno di noi, per esse-re libero, per essere fedele alla propria dignità, deve essere sempre un eretico". Concorda?

AF: Non del tutto. Per essere fedele alla propria dignità non è necessario essere contro al sistema, ma lo si può essere se il sistema è contro alla libertà dell'individuo; e aggiungo che il potere che non tollera l'eresia non è necessariamente rintracciabile solo nelle istituzioni, ma anche nelle singole persone. Il potere è pericoloso nel momento in cui non riconosce altro che sé, e vuole rimanere sempre uguale a sé stesso. L'eresia è invece il diverso, il nuovo, lo sviluppo che non è necessariamente positivo, ma sempre fondamentale per il ciclo vitale. L'eresia è presente anche in natura. L'eresia è necessaria per ognuno di noi, non tanto per sentirci liberi nella contrapposizione, ma per sentirci noi stessi a prescindere dagli altri. Siamo simili, uguali nella diversità, nell'individualità, non nel pensiero comune o nell'etica corrente. Se ognuno pensasse con la propria testa, andremmo molto più d'accordo, ci sentiremmo molto più liberi, e saremmo molto più aperti all'accordo. È quando non ci occupiamo di noi usando il cervello che perdiamo contatto con noi stessi e ci ritroviamo in un'ortodossia che garantisce per noi. Finché demanderemo ad altri le nostre opinioni, ci sentiremo sempre non liberi; e questo credo che succederà finché avremo più paura di morire che sprecare la nostra vita.

FT: Nel film lei ha scelto di accentuare in modo fortemente contrappositivo gli apparati detentori di una cultura scritta (persecutori) e Menocchio, il quale insiste nel non legare le proprie idee e riflessioni ad alcun tramite di cultura ufficiale, ma attribuendole alla propria "testa", alla propria "vita", alla propria "osservazione". Tuttavia ciò si discosta notevolmente da quanto accertato dagli storici: è

provato l'accesso di Menocchio a formulazioni e tramiti di espressione della cultura scritta/alta (ad esempio, per quanto riguarda teorie cosmogoniche e metafisiche). Perché invece lei ha scelto di accentuare polemicamente questa frattura verso le strutture detentrici del sapere ufficiale? Nel finale Menocchio viene ritratto nell'atto di leggere l'abiura, scritta dai suoi persecutori. L'unico momento in cui è visto scrivere è nella cella di detenzione, dove Menocchio traccia segni per terra. In questa scena c'è un voluto riferimento evangelico / cristico (Giovanni 8, 6-8) al rapporto di Menocchio con l'atto dello scrivere?

AF: La risposta incrocia sia questioni storiche sia questioni personali. È una domanda molto importante per me, perché credo sia un aspetto fondante del motivo per cui ho voluto tanto realizzare questo film. Dal lato storico, quello che abbiamo colto io ed Enrico Vecchi, co-sceneggiatore del film, è che, se Menocchio avesse confessato la lettura di libri proibiti, avrebbe anche dovuto denunciare dove li aveva presi e con chi li aveva letti o discussi, e questo avrebbe messo in moto indagini ulteriori su altre persone, probabilmente anche compaesani e amici. Quindi Menocchio non parlò, non denunciò nessuno, anzi è più giusto dire che ha protetto, coperto molte persone coinvolte nell'attività di lettura o discussione di idee diverse da quelle della Chiesa. Inoltre, credo che già nel far questo primo atto eroico abbia tentato di far riconoscere il suo spirito critico negato, un aspetto della lotta contro il Potere, che si sente l'unico legittimato a detenere la verità assoluta. Per gli inquisitori era impossibile che un contadino-mugnaio potesse avere idee proprie. Certamente Menocchio aveva letto dei libri, nei verbali originali è presente anche l'elenco dei libri ritrovati a casa sua, e certamente questi libri sono stati un confronto con il

L'abiura.
Fotogramma tratto dal film.

suo sentire e percepire la vita, la storia, il diritto, la fede e Dio. Ma il mio personale punto di vista è sul diritto della paternità delle proprie idee. Se la lettura e la conoscenza di libri della cultura "ufficiale" (inteso come la cultura valida riconosciuta dal sistema imperante) fosse sufficiente a creare un pensiero unico, allora tutti gli alunni che escono dalle scuole dell'obbligo, avendo tutti gli stessi libri di riferimento, dovrebbero avere le stesse idee. Gli eventi dimostrano che non è così, forse proprio perché ognuno legge a modo suo, inteso che ognuno fa propria la parola scritta o orale che sia, in base alla propria esperienza, intelligenza e sensibilità. Solo la violenza e la paura generano il pensiero unico, mai le idee scritte o divulgate oralmente. Demandare le proprie idee alle letture o ai discorsi altrui, per me significa negare la partecipazione attiva del pensiero, che implica non assumersi la responsabilità delle idee che determinano le nostre azioni e parole, e questo è molto pericoloso. Sarebbe allora possibile giustificare il nazista che chiudeva le porte dei forni crematori perché non ha inventato lui i forni crematori e il loro uso per lo sterminio, solo perché è stato un mero esecutore e non l'ideatore? Per me, siamo sempre responsabili delle idee che enunciamo, che rappresentiamo con il nostro comportamento, e Menocchio è il racconto di questa visione. Era così impossibile che un uomo sperduto tra le montagne potesse aver avuto delle idee diverse? Non è plausibile che un uomo semplice, non istruito nei palazzi del sapere, possa avere idee proprie? Per Giordano Bruno, filosofo accademico, è indiscutibile che le idee da lui enunciate fossero sue, e non di un contesto socio-culturale che si stava trasformando e che nel suo pensiero si manifesta concretamente? Allora, dal momento che le idee di Menocchio non sono poi così lontane da quelle di Giordano Bruno, dovremmo pensare che Menocchio conosceva le teorie di Bruno e le rienunciava condite del suo contesto? Di chi sono queste idee? Da dove vengono? Credo che le idee non emergano mai da una mente di per sé, ma piuttosto emergano da un contesto, un clima, dove quella mente piuttosto che un'altra si responsabilizza nell'enunciare il nuovo, il diverso, l'eresia o la nuova normalità. L'idea che Menocchio scrive sulla terra è nata grazie ad un sopralluogo che feci al mulino, poco prima di iniziare le riprese. Il custode del mulino, un vecchietto simpatico, era l'ultimo mugnaio della valle. Gli feci una domanda, non ricordo quale e non è importante, e lui, per spiegarsi, si chinò e fece un disegno per terra con il dito. Lì, in quel momento, vidi un gesto antico e colsi che effettivamente la terra è stata il primo foglio su cui scrivere. Allora Menocchio, nella noia della prigionia scrive, e scrive come conseguenza del non poter esprimere vocalmente a nessuno il proprio pensiero. Non avendo nient'altro che la terra, scrive così. Noi, spettatori del film, non leggiamo però ciò che Menocchio scrive, perché il pensiero è intimo, e lo possiamo vedere solo nell'azione della persona. Gesù è sempre stato un difficile e scomodo riferimento per Menocchio, per il mio Menocchio, fino al punto in cui ho capito che ciò che li avvicina è il loro forte senso di integrità. E vedere in Gesù un primo eretico della storia è facile, ma questa è un'altra storia e forse anche un altro film.

VA: Nella storia della letteratura spesso si parla di "libri scritti da altri libri", intendendo con ciò che vi sono sempre debiti nei confronti di coloro che percorsero prima di noi un cammino simile. Mi auguro di non apparirle eccessivamente curioso, ma sarei desideroso di sapere come si sia relazionato rispetto ad anteriori progetti e realizzazioni sul

▲ *Sopralluoghi: Sala dei vescovi, Castello del Buonconsiglio (Trento).* Foto: Alberto Fasulo.

◣ *Backstage, allestimento della scenografia in Sala vescovi.* Foto: Giulio Squarci.

▶ *Il processo a Menocchio.* Fotogramma tratto dal film.

medesimo soggetto. Penso soprattutto al *silent book* di Alberto Magri, pubblicato nel 2015 a Montereale Valcellina dal Circolo Culturale Menocchio. Ma ci sono state anche altre iniziative interessanti: negli USA Lillian Garrett-Groag ha scritto un testo teatrale su Menocchio che è stato messo in scena presso il Berkeley Repertory Theatre nel 2002. Conosceva questi precedenti? Ce ne sono altri, che lei sappia? E, soprattutto: come hanno influenzato il suo film?

AF: Il *silent book* di Alberto Magri l'ho visto ovviamente. E' uscito mentre stavamo terminando la sceneggiatura. Mentre lo spettacolo di Lillian Garrett-Groag non lo conosco. Il mio approccio alla costruzione del film è stato spontaneo, ho sentito il desiderio di compiere una ricerca sulle questioni morali che il personaggio di Menocchio porta in dote e questa mia personale e intuitiva ricerca ha portato al film che avete visto. Il Menocchio che si vede nel film e quello del libro di Magri sono molto vicini visivamente, questo perché entrambi, credo, abbiamo letto bene i verbali che sono molto precisi sulla descrizione di Menocchio la prima volta che entra in carcere. Inoltre, se vuole sapere delle influenze che ho avuto, le posso dire che, più che riferimenti artistici, seguo sensazioni ed incontri che avvengono nel periodo di preparazione del film. Un esempio su tutti: quando sono entrato per la prima volta al castello del Buonconsiglio, ho sentito la mia solita euforia di quando percepisco la concreta materializzazione di ciò che sto preparando. Entrato nella 'Sala Vescovi', dove sono affrescati tutti i passati vescovi di Trento, ho percepito il loro sguardo e sono stato così total-

mente impressionato da decidere di far rivivere questa sensazione al personaggio del film. Questo è il mio procedimento. C'è stato un libro che mi ha accompagnato per un lungo periodo ed è *Tribunali della coscienza* di Adriano Prosperi. Mi ha fatto capire molto bene il senso della guerra in atto e forse, proprio leggendo questo importante testo, ho compreso l'atemporalità della guerra di / al Menocchio.

VA: Potrebbe dirci qualcosa di più su come questo libro ha influenzato la sua visione del tardo Cinquecento? Il volu-

▲ *Copertine delle prime edizioni dei libri citati:*
Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del' 500*, Torino, Einaudi, 1976, 188 p.
Andrea Del Col, *Domenico Scandella detto Menocchio (Il Soggetto e la Scienza)*, Pordenone, Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1990, cxxxiii-263 p.
Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, Torino, Einaudi, 1996, 708 p.

▼ *Menocchio nella sua cella.* Fotogramma tratto dal film.
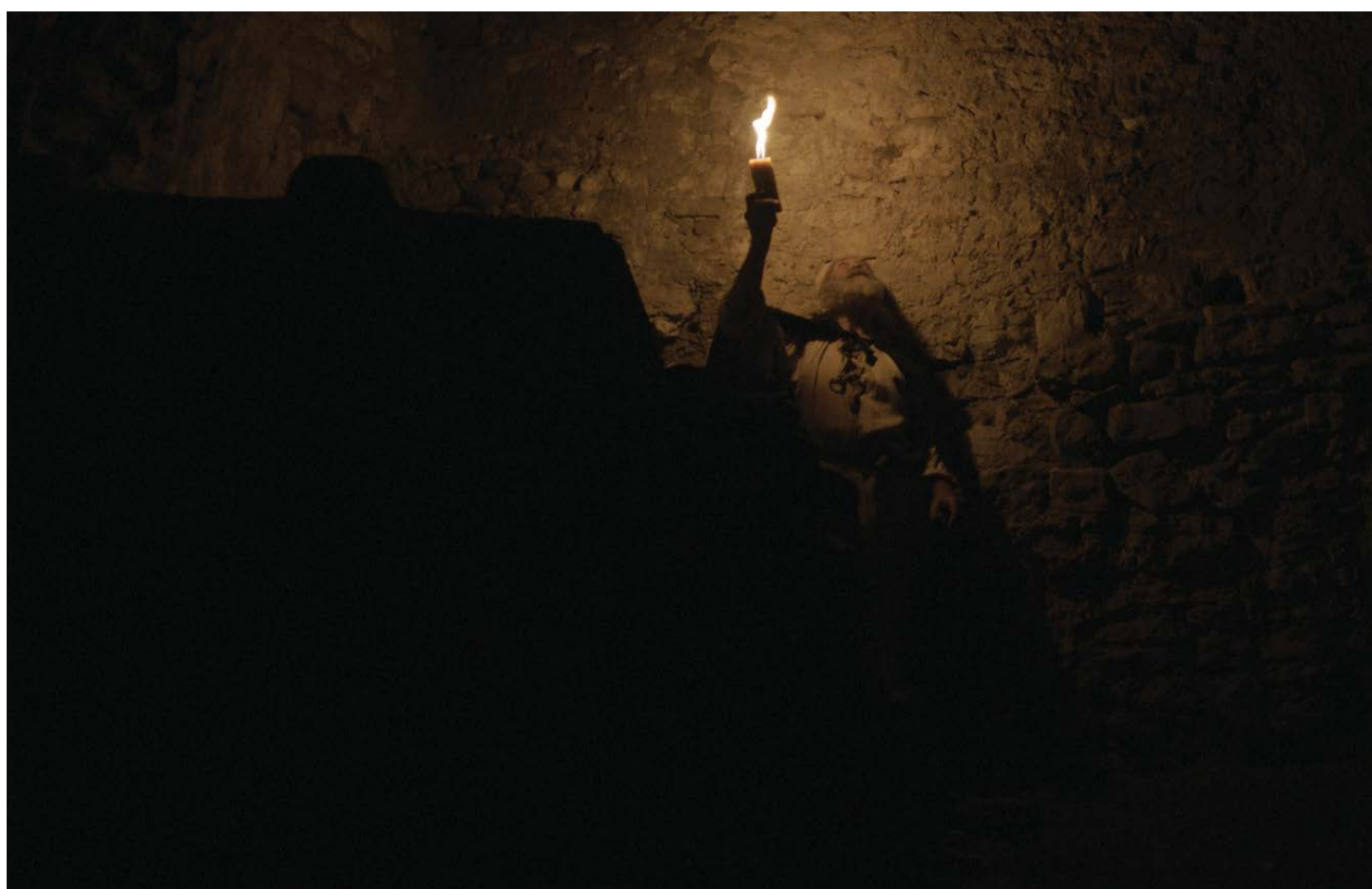
me di Prosperi affronta ampie questioni teoriche che lasciano poco spazio alle storie dei singoli individui. Menocchio, per esempio, vi è citato una sola volta nelle oltre settecento pagine del libro. In che modo lei ha usato un contesto sociopolitico tanto ampio per comprendere la vicenda di un singolo uomo? Ha fatto confronti con il mondo contemporaneo in cui oggi viviamo?

AF: Lo ha fatto in molti modi. Innanzitutto lo ha fatto facendoci vedere dall'alto il processo sociale in atto con il braccio dell'inquisizione, spiegandoci l'importanza della confessione e il suo fine ultimo. Io sono stato battezzato, cresimato, sposato, ho frequentato lo scautismo, insomma sono stato indotto dalla mia cultura cristiana a seguire il percorso per far parte della comunità. Leggendo *Tribunali della coscienza* di Adriano Prosperi, è stata una rivelazione comprendere di essere stato ammaestrato nel mio sviluppo di crescita. Nel libro di Prosperi emerge fortemente, o almeno è emerso a noi sceneggiatori, che oggi siamo il risultato di un lungo processo del Potere, e la nostra mentalità ha talmente interiorizzato questo atteggiamento di controllo che lo sentiamo più come protezione invece che aggressione, poiché ci priva del valore primario della libera espressione individuale. Tuttavia è insito in me il verme dell'eresia visto che, non a caso, fui cacciato dallo scautismo e, prima di iniziare il percorso di scrittura del film, decisi di sbattezzarmi ovvero farmi cancellare dai registri della mia diocesi.

VA: È ormai il momento che qualcuno ponga l'inevitabile domanda che pressoché ogni lettore vorrebbe porle. Che ne pensa del celebre studio di Carlo Ginzburg? Viviamo in un mondo in cui la maggior parte degli storici non sembrano in grado di distinguere il vero Menocchio dal Menocchio ricostruito nelle pagine de *Il formaggio e i vermi...*

AF: E allora è arrivato il momento dell'inevitabile risposta. Le dico che mi fa piacere che lei lo chiami studio. Perché è uno studio, un celebre e meraviglioso saggio, che sostiene con i fatti una tesi che nel 1976, quando io nacqui, fu dirompente e innovativa. È un libro prezioso che va conservato e fatto leggere il più possibile perché l'esperienza di Menocchio non venga sprecata. Poi, che non si riesca a percepire che il Menocchio raccontato ne Il formaggio e i vermi sia una visione di Carlo Ginzburg come storico, mi dispiace, soprattutto per le opportunità che un personaggio così ricco offre a tutti. Diversi spettatori hanno cercato il Menocchio di Ginzburg nel mio film e, ovviamente, alcuni si sono sentiti traditi, altri invece arricchiti. Tuttavia, pensare che Menocchio sia solo quello di Ginzburg, è come pensare che la via della fede corretta sia solo quella proposta dalla Chiesa Romana, e in questo cadiamo proprio nella grandezza di questo personaggio e nella sua difficile e profonda comprensione. Mi sarebbe piaciuto un confronto con Ginzburg, ovviamente, ma forse questa è una mia vanità di volermi confrontare con uno storico così importante. Tuttavia, credo che comunque il confronto ci sia stato: basta leggere le due opere e si vedono affinità e differenze. Mi auguro che molti decidano di affrontare il racconto di questo personaggio, perché anch'io ho dovuto scegliere di tralasciare degli aspetti molto interessanti che nei verbali originali sono presenti.

FT: Come ben raccontato nel dossier dedicato a "Cinema e Inquisizione" realizzato dal *Giornale di storia* (21/2016), lei si è avvalso della preziosa consulenza di Andrea Del Col, uno tra i massimi studiosi dell'Inquisizione d'Età moderna. Sebbene la lavorazione del film sia stata, quindi, accompagnata da uno storico, è tuttavia evidente che il suo non vuole essere un film per storici. I quali, però, inevitabilmente (come è stato anche per me), si pongono come spettatori non solo emozionali ma anche documentati. Come ha percepito in questi anni lo sguardo (e le reazioni) degli storici fruitori del suo film?

AF: Purtroppo ho parlato soprattutto con gli storici a cui è piaciuto e che hanno voluto venirmelo a dire, dopo le proiezioni o le conferenze. Sarebbe stato arricchente discutere anche con la controparte. Andrea Del Col è stato un collaboratore prezioso, sia per il suo entusiasmo che per la sua conoscenza dettagliata del periodo storico e degli archivi in questione. Il professor Del Col è, tra l'altro, autore di *Domenico Scandella detto Menocchio. I processi dell'Inquisizione (1583-1599)* dove sono raccolti gli atti del processo. È stato un lungo dialogo e una collaborazione proficua, anche perché emergeva fortemente la diversità del suo sguardo rispetto al mio. Andrea era interessato e curioso di scoprire il mio punto di vista e perciò è stato molto generoso nel condividere la sua conoscenza fin nei minimi dettagli. Io ed Enrico Vecchi, dopo la prima fase di analisi dei fatti storici, abbiamo iniziato a crearci un nostro punto di vista, che ovviamente era quello di due persone del XXI secolo che immaginavano quell'epoca: per esempio, quando decidemmo di ricreare il carnevale per mostrare lo sfogo della comunità su Menocchio e sulle sue decisioni; oppure la costruzione della chiesa nel villaggio che era un'altra scena frutto del nostro sguardo sulla storia e sul contesto, ed evidenziava il nostro volerci allontanare dai verbali. Naturalmente riconoscevamo la verità dei verbali, ma solo fino ad un certo punto, visto che si tratta di trascrizioni di notai che, per quanto potessero essere fedeli alle parole di Menocchio, scrivevano non per documentare il pensiero peccaminoso dell'imputato, ma per creare una prova concreta per sentenziarlo e dimostrare a tutti il pericolo di commettere pensieri "eretici".

VA: In concomitanza con la presentazione del suo film in diversi festival, lei è stato intervistato dal quotidiano francese *L'Humanité*. Come si è sentito quando ha compreso che il suo film poteva essere interpretato secondo una prospettiva politica? Si è sentito onorato incontrando vedute politiche a lei affini? L'ha infastidita, al contrario, essere eventualmente criticato a causa di punti di vista politici diversi? Ha sperimentato sensazioni miste? Oppure non si è sentito per nulla infastidito?

AF: Credo che l'esposizione a critiche positive o negative faccia parte della mia scelta di esprimermi pubblicamente attraverso il linguaggio filmico. Sono rimasto felicemente sorpreso dalla profonda serietà della critica francese. Michèle Levieux ha voluto a tutti i costi incontrarmi diverse volte per approfondire il film e la mia visione. Alcune volte le interviste, le critiche, le recensioni, mi fanno riflettere in modo diverso sul mio lavoro. Quando sono di fronte ad una persona che ama il suo lavoro, ho quasi sempre uno scambio interessante anche se non le è piaciuto il film. Altre volte invece la superficialità mi fa male, anche arrabbiare, e non riesco a proteggermi al meglio. Io faccio i miei film perché sono film che vorrei vedere, e se qualcun altro si prendesse la responsabilità di farli al posto mio sarebbe certamente più facile e comodo pagare un biglietto e in due ore risolvere la mia curiosità. Ma avendo deciso di crearli io stesso, devo mettere in conto di essere soggetto al giudizio e ai punti di vista altrui, che però devo dire che sono quasi sempre un arricchimento. Tornando alla sua domanda, ho sempre dato per scontato che *Menocchio* potesse essere interpretato in prospettiva politica. Come ho detto precedentemente, la tradizione del film politico è nella mia formazione culturale. Però, come per ogni altro punto di vista (etico, estetico, sociale, ...) sul film, non mi interessa che sia affine al mio, ma che sia libero, profondo e sviscerato. E in tal caso, affine o meno, sarò contento di averlo "causato".

VA: Nell'intervista per *L'Humanité* lei spiegava il film attraverso le sue proprie personali lotte e la sua propria personale esperienza. Anche le lotte e le esperienze dell'attore protagonista producono un significativo impatto sull'interpretazione stessa?

AF: Per me è il significato più interessante del termine "Autore". Il film è solo un mezzo per continuare il disegno della propria vita, e per propria intendo anche di chi collabora con me. Ecco perché quando sono di fronte a qualcuno cerco di capire se ha senso che collabori al mio progetto. Perché è un lavoro di squadra, in cui ognuno, a suo modo,

mette un pezzo di sé stesso e della sua vita. L'interprete principale, Marcello Martini, ha messo tutto sé stesso e le sue esperienze pregresse nell'interpretazione di Menocchio. Anzi, dovrei dire che le sue lotte ed esperienze personali sono state uno dei motivi principali che mi hanno fatto dire: è lui. Ovviamente non sono cose che condivido, fanno parte di un mio dialogo interiore che perderebbe senso se fosse esposto, ma è un'ottima guida per sentire se sto procedendo nella direzione giusta. Immagino sempre che la realizzazione di un film sia come andare in cima ad una montagna per vedere la vista da quel particolare punto. Purtroppo, o per fortuna, non ci sono sentieri o vie tracciate e così, camminando nel sottobosco, bisogna tendere alla cima creando la propria via. Il mio passato è sempre lo strumento per comprendere ciò che incontro nel nuovo sottobosco. Credere che chi cammina con me abbia strumenti analoghi o diversamente necessari per il suo ruolo, mi fa sentire più sicuro che riusciremo a vedere quel panorama finale in vetta.

CD: Essendo Menocchio un personaggio così importante nella regione, qual è stata la reazione del pubblico locale scoprendo il film? In che cosa tale reazione si è differenziata da quella di altri pubblici, di altre regioni d'Italia o, ancora, di altri paesi?

AF: Il film ha avuto molto successo nei cinema, soprattutto in regione; alcuni si sono perfino lamentati di aver trovato diverse volte il *sold out* e si sono stancati nel provare a vederlo. Non saprei trovare differenze tra i pubblici. Forse la differenza più evidente l'ho trovata tra il pubblico italiano e quello francese, ma non tanto per una questione di conoscenza della storia raccontata, quanto per una diversa cultura cinematografica. Gli incontri dove ho partecipato mi hanno regalato grandi emozioni: non è un film facile, e tuttavia è arrivato comunque a molti. Forse la differenza di reazione è stata tra chi aveva letto *Il formaggio e i vermi* e chi no. Molti cercavano il punto di vista di Ginzburg e non lo hanno trovato, altri mi hanno detto di aver dato finalmente un volto concreto a questo personaggio, altri ancora

hanno visto un Gesù, insomma il film ha smosso molte simi-litudini, alcune volte anche interessanti.

VA: Ho assistito al dibattito svoltosi a Tours in sua presenza, dopo la proiezione del film nell'ambito di un piccolo festival sul cinema italiano. In quell'occasione ho preferito non porle nessuna domanda, a causa dell'atmosfera ideologica molto pesante che gravava su quell'evento. Ricordo che lei cercò di spostare il dibattito dalla politica alla natura umana. Simili accese discussioni sono state un usuale ostacolo che ha incontrato quando parte del pubblico non si è mostrato d'accordo con la sua interpretazione? È accaduto anche in Italia qualcosa di simile a quanto avvenuto a Tours?

AF: Oddio, non ricordo nello specifico il *Q&A* di Tours. Anche perchè vivo quei momenti con molta ansia, mi sento sempre inquisito da una moltitudine di persone, che spesso non vedo per colpa dei fari puntati negli occhi, e dove devo rispondere a domande di cui a volte non capisco neanche bene il motivo per cui mi vengono poste. Ricordo due cose di quel festival: la prima è stata il tempo trascorso con la giornalista de *L'Humanitè* che è venuta appositamente a Tours per parlare con me. Aveva visto il film in un'altra occasione e poi aveva deciso di intervistarmi. Ha voluto vedere tutti i miei film precedenti e ha chiesto di avere un tempo sufficiente per cogliere il film dentro di me. L'ho trovato incredibilmente professionale. L'altra è stato il premio della

giuria giovani; ricordo che era un gruppo di giovani donne, che erano molto curiose degli aspetti del film. E sentire che i giovani avessero un interesse così determinato mi ha dato molta speranza nel futuro.

CD: Quali sono stati i criteri per selezionare gli attori non professionisti (aspetto fisico, risposta a domande, prove fil-mate)? Per esempio, la scelta di alcune fisionomie (in particolare per gli inquisitori, gli ecclesiastici, gli uomini di potere) farebbe pensare alla convinzione medievale secondo cui le tare o le carenze intellettive si riflettano nell'aspetto fisico di una persona. Essendo Menocchio un personaggio molto conosciuto nella regione, il rapporto di ciascuno con questo mito locale ha rivestito una grande importanza?

AF: La scelta degli attori si è basata su una selezione di oltre tremila candidati. Tuttavia la primissima indicazione viene sempre dalla mia reazione istintiva nel primo incontro, dove scatto due fotografie: una in primo piano e una in figura intera. Già nel guardarli attraverso la camera fotografica percepisco la forza espressiva di ognuno e lì si gioca l'80% della mia scelta. Poi con le fotografie mi immagino il personaggio che c'è dentro ogni persona. Così li chiamo e faccio un primo incontro dove è importante per me capire che vita hanno trascorso, che lavoro hanno fatto ecc... e comprendere lo scarto tra l'idea che mi ero fatto di loro e la loro realtà. Mi faccio guidare da un'idea personale sulla

loro condizione e su quali personaggi vedo in loro. Molti non conoscevano Menocchio, altri invece avevano letto *Il formaggio e i vermi* e quindi mi portavano il loro punto di vista che, per quanto interessante, non era necessario ai miei fini, anzi, quasi controproducente. Così chiedevo di non rileggere più niente su Menocchio o sul periodo, perché su quello li avrei formati io a sufficienza e a tempo debito. Marcello Martini, nato e cresciuto a Claut, a 27 km da Montereale Valcellina, aveva sentito vagamente di questo mugnaio, ma non sapeva niente nei dettagli. E' stata una grande fortuna, altrimenti avrebbe avuto un pregiudizio sul personaggio che interpretava, togliendogli spontaneità e sincerità.

VA: Nel corso della realizzazione del film esisteva un'intenzionalità precisa nell'utilizzare il bilinguismo (friulano opposto all'italiano) o la diglossia (dialetti opposti alla lingua letteraria)? Lo spettatore potrebbe avere l'impressione che un tale piano preciso avrebbe potuto sia esserci fin dalle fasi iniziali della sceneggiatura sia emergere e farsi più chiaro durante il processo di filming stesso. Per uno spettatore, l'impostazione originariamente pianificata riguardo gli usi linguistici potrebbe essere stata leggermente cambiata, dal momento che gli attori non professionisti potrebbero non essere riusciti a rispettarla sempre. Il risultato finale, secondo me, rifletterebbe una scelta molto interessante nell'impiego di lingue e dialetti, usati organicamente per rispecchiare la struttura di una società che in effetti potrebbe essere stata bilingue e diglossica su più livelli, non solo negli strati sociali inferiori. Esisteva un'intenzionalità precisa in questo uso organico della lingua al fine di trasmettere un significato sociale nell'interazione tra i vari personaggi? Nelle conclusioni di Ginzburg, ad esempio, l'oralità non è separata dalla cultura scritta. Essa scorre attraverso vari strati sociali, così come le lingue e i dialetti.

AF: Ho un particolare amore per i dialetti e le lingue non ufficiali, e amo soprattutto l'efficacia fonosimbolica di certe lingue e la loro capacità di essere fluide, malleabili e con un enorme potere suggestivo. Nella fase iniziale di ricerca e scrittura ho formato un gruppo scientifico che potesse rispondere alle varie curiosità e domande che emergevano durante il lavoro di scrittura: il professore Andrea Del Col, storico medievalista, il professor Gian Paolo Gri, antropologo, Aldo Colonello e Rosanna Paron, fondatori del circolo Menocchio di Montereale Valcellina. Da subito notammo che i verbali erano in latino nella parte di registrazione dei presenti e in italiano nelle poche puntualizzazioni degli inquisitori, mentre le risposte di Menocchio erano in italiano e in friulano. Il mio intento è sempre quello di cercare di avvicinarmi il più possibile alla situazione di realtà, per questo gli attori sono stati scelti in posti e contesti differenti anche in base alla loro lingua madre. La composizione sociale del film è stata pianificata in scrittura e costruita lentamente con una ricerca sui luoghi originari della storia del Menocchio.

Con la lingua ho voluto sottolineare il divario tra gli esponenti del clero e quelli del popolo, ma attenzione, la mia non voleva essere una ricostruzione storico-linguistica. Le persone che ho scelto per interpretare i compaesani di Menocchio provengono da diverse zone del Friuli: Montereale, Claut, la Carnia. I dialetti che usano sono diversi tra di loro (un ascoltatore attento lo può notare subito), ma in tutti i

◀ *Castings.* Foto: Alberto Fasulo.

◆ *In senso orario: Gino Segatti (Pre Vorai) attende l'inizio delle*
◆ *riprese.* Foto: Andi Stefo. // *Marcello Martini (Menocchio)*
e Carlo Baldracchi (Parvis). Foto: Giulio Squarci. // *Edio*
Gingillino fuma la pipa in una pausa delle riprese. Foto: Andi
Stefo. // *Alberto Fasulo riprende Baldracchi e Maurizio Fanin*
(Inquisitore). Foto: Giulio Squarci. // *Segatti agli Stavoli di*
Orias (Prato Carnico, Italia). Foto: Alberto Fasulo.

casi il loro modo di parlare è fortemente permeato della immediatezza che solo chi utilizza abitualmente il dialetto può avere. Nelle nostre montagne le parlate autoctone sono ancora molto presenti nelle famiglie e nei contesti sociali. E ogni paese differisce, di poco o di tanto, dal suo vicino. Il dialetto è una lingua vitale, materica, che con i suoni e le parole sa trasmettere immagini. Per il clero ho scelto di utilizzare l'Italiano e il Latino, parlati con cadenza pomposa e quasi asettica per contrapporre la rigidità, non solo tematica ma anche linguistica, del clero alla fluidità del linguaggio del popolo.

CD: Quali sono state le sue fonti d'ispirazione cinematografica o i riferimenti visuali per la rievocazione dell'epoca storica? L'utilizzo di attori dilettanti, così come alcuni costumi, farebbero pensare a Pasolini. L'illuminazione a luce di candela per alcune sequenze, in chiaroscuro, farebbe pensare a Caravaggio. Aveva in mente questi nomi o i riferimenti erano altri? Come ha lavorato con gli scenografi e i costumisti? Dando loro modelli / riferimenti rigidi o lasciando loro una certa libertà?

AF: I riferimenti cinematografici sono stati diversi, e magari sono stati di ispirazione per un singolo aspetto (reparto) di un film. Pasolini, per esempio, è stato un riferimento per l'uso dei corpi degli attori che fa soprattutto ne *Il Decameron*. In questo film si sente l'odore acre delle ascelle sudate dei personaggi. Questo uso della corporalità è stato un obiettivo chiaro fin dall'inizio per il mio film. Desideravo fortemente incontrare Menocchio, non evocarlo o rappresentarlo, ma sentirlo, ascoltarlo, guardarlo. Ricordo l'odore della muffa della prigione, che scoprimmo nel primo sopralluogo al Castello del Buonconsiglio di Trento, oppure l'odore pungente di certi magazzini di costumi in Romania. Ho avuto la fortuna di lavorare con uno scenografo e una costumista che apprezzavano la mia direzione artistica, erano felici di andare a stanare l'universalità delle cose, azzerando il tempo. È fondamentale per me che chi collabora con me si senta libero di portare la sua sensibilità nel film. Ovviamente erano d'accordo sulla natura intrinseca del lavoro e questo ci ha permesso di perseguire una ricerca entusiasmante e nei minimi dettagli. Per la luce invece è stato un lavoro più solitario essendo io anche direttore della fotografia e operatore dei miei film. Per due anni, durante la lettura dei verbali del processo a Menocchio e della scrittura della sceneggiatura, ho visitato molte collezioni di quadri dell'epoca in giro per il mondo, così da creare un atlante visivo per ogni reparto del film. Era l'unico posto dove potevo trovare un primo punto di partenza su ogni aspetto visivo. Come per un quadro io non conosco il modello, la persona che è stata ritratta se non grazie alla targhetta che mi indica chi è raffigurato. Così ho scelto di mettere il mio spettatore nella stessa modalità del fruitore di un quadro, facendogli incontrare il personaggio senza riconoscere alcun attore. Così ho scelto e convinto persone dalla strada che non avevano mai recitato, li ho messi in un set più naturale possibile perché si immedesimassero nell'universo dove dovevano reagire. Non gli ho mai fatto leggere la sceneggiatura o fatto imparare a memoria dei dialoghi, ma piuttosto ho cercato di capire le loro personalità indicandogli quali erano i loro obiettivi personali per ogni scena. Per la luce, più che a Caravaggio, ho sentito una vicinanza con Rembrant. E' stato anche uno di quegli elementi che ho utilizzato per creare l'atmosfera necessaria per gli attori e per la storia. La luce è l'elemento costitutivo dell'immagine, ed essendo una storia di contrapposizione tra due schieramenti, il forte contrasto tra luce e ombra era una buona scelta per raccon-

tare con più potenza la narrazione drammatica degli eventi.

CD: Qual è stato il suo metodo di regia per questo progetto? Ripetere molto? Fornire molto contesto storico? Chiedere agli attori non professionisti di reagire spontaneamente come se vivessero a quel tempo? C'è stata improvvisazione per alcune alcune scene?

AF: Ho scelto di girare 8 ore al giorno continuate e di essere con pochi collaboratori sul set. In tutto eravamo in tre più altri tre appena fuori dal set. Gli attori mi venivano portati secondo un orario programmato e scelto in base a come credevo potessero succedere le situazioni. Per le prime quattro ore preparavo l'atmosfera del set e parlavo singolarmente ad ogni persona spiegandogli cosa stava per succedere e poi mi davano la camera, rigorosamente a spalla, il *focus puller* guardava la ripresa da un monitor mobile vicino al set mentre il microfonista stava sempre accanto a me. Le riprese di una singola scena duravano anche mezz'ora, in qualche caso anche delle ore. C'era una continua immersione dove io componevo il racconto e le immagini muovendomi nello spazio. Poi fermavo, aggiustavo eventuali problemi tecnici che si erano palesati nel primo lungo *take*, facendo una pausa anche di un' ora. Pausa per i tecnici, mentre gli attori stavano sempre sul set, ma con altre indicazioni che gli permettevano di rimanere nell'atmosfera. Poi riprendevo la scena magari da un punto precedente, ma non la facevo più iniziare io con le mie indicazioni, ma lasciavo che fosse

◀ *Marcello Martini si prepara per la scena dell'abiura.*
Foto: Andrea del Col.

▼ *Nilla Patrizio, interprete della moglie di Menocchio, nel bosco (scena tagliata, presente negli extra del dvd).* Foto: Andi Stefo.

l'azione di uno dei personaggi a farla ripartire. In ogni caso ogni scena aveva una sua orchestrazione diversa. Gli attori non avevano dialoghi, ma sapevano bene cosa i loro personaggi volevano ottenere. La scena del grande processo nella sala vescovi è stata girata per due giorni, gli interrogatori nella sala buia privata tre giorni, mentre per gli interrogatori ai paesani ogni paesano aveva una sola possibilità. L'interrogazione della moglie è una ripresa che è durata quaranta minuti consecutivi. Non direi che ripetevamo, forse si può dire che scavavamo in profondità nello stato d'animo di ogni situazione.

CD: La camera a spalla fa spesso inquadrature strette, che privilegiano visi e sguardi a discapito degli ambienti, talvolta sfocati, indeterminati o incompleti. Ciò suggerirebbe che non si ha che un accesso parziale e frammentario alla verità umana come, pure, al passato. Che ruolo, e quali limiti, vede nella rievocazione / ricostruzione del passato nel cinema?

AF: Il film è il racconto della decisione di Menocchio di abiurare. Ho immaginato che da condannato e torturato, richiuso in quella prigione buia ripensando agli eventi e alle situazioni che l'avevano portato lì, non potesse sentire e immaginare un grande orizzonte davanti a sé. A chiunque, sotto pressione, si accorcia l'orizzonte temporale e fisico. L'ho provato su me stesso e l'ho immaginato per Menocchio. Per cui ho scelto di trasportare questa sensazione in un linguaggio schiacciato, sfocato, ansiogeno, claustrofobico, sempre in movimento, sempre in cerca di una posizione da prendere e da perdere. Non mi interessa la ricostruzione della storia, ma piuttosto la possibilità di assurgere ad essa come esempio morale, umano, emotivo. Menocchio è un film dal punto di vista dell'uomo che deve decidere

se morire per le proprie idee o abbassarsi a rinnegarle solo per non farsi uccidere. Come ho amato *Francesco, giullare di Dio* di Roberto Rossellini, così ho respinto *Socrate*, dello stesso Rossellini, film concepito nell'idea educativa della Tv. Credo che l'educazione possa avvenire solo attraverso l'esperienza e non la dimostrazione. In questo spero che lo spettatore del mio film si possa ritrovare.

FT: Nell'intero film vi è una sola scena e un solo personaggio che compie l'atto di mangiare: si tratta, per l'appunto, di Menocchio, che mangia avidamente da un piatto di legno la razione del prigioniero nella cella di detenzione. Nessun altro personaggio è ritratto nell'atto di mangiare, né da solo, né in compagnia. Questa scelta ha un significato simbolico legato al nutrirsi dell'individuo singolo e solitario? Perché questa vistosa assenza del cibo nel film? E, dall'altro lato, perché questo *unicum* nella scena di Menocchio in cella?

AF: Forse il cibo non è stato colto così da me, nella sua dinamica simbolica. In cella mi è sembrato giusto raccontare i suoi bisogni elementari, quello del cibo e quello della parola e dell'esistenza. Mi riferisco a quando Menocchio urla di essere lì per essere interrogato e non per essere dimenticato. Menocchio decide, contro tutti, di convincere il potere che sta sbagliando e per questo si abbassa agli stadi più primordiali dell'essere umano.

CD: Quale ruolo assegna alla musica nel suo cinema e in particolare in *Menocchio*? La musica compare in poche occasioni: come è stata operata questa scelta? Lo stile musicale non è certamente storicizzante: come ha lavorato con il compositore? In base a quali criteri o indicazioni?

AF: In assoluto direi che la musica nei miei film ha un ruolo marginale, questo perché non amo essere spinto in un'emo-

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◀ *Immagini di backstage.*
Foto: Daniele Braida / Andi Stefo / Giulio Squarci / Giulio Squarci / Andi Stefo / Andi Stefo.

▶ *Backstage, la costruzione della chiesa.* Foto: Alberto Fasulo.
La scena del carnevale vista da lontano. Foto: Nadia Trevisan.

▼ *Menocchio mangia nella sua cella.*
Fotogramma tratto dal film.
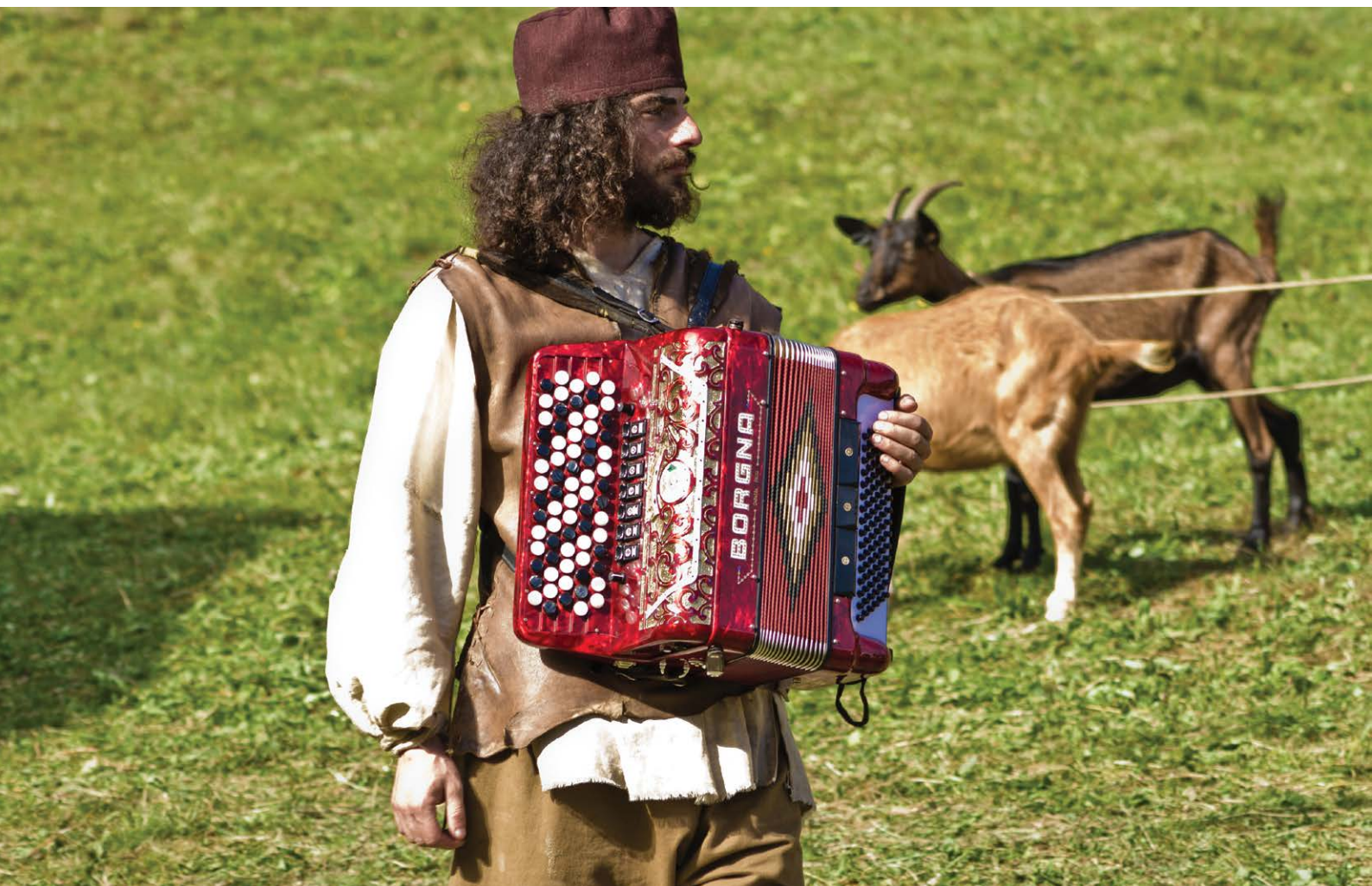
zione e oltretutto non amo spingere gli altri in un' emozione prestabilita. Ognuno, con la propria esperienza e sensibilità è legittimato a vivere ciò che lo schermo gli riflette. Per me, da spettatore, il cinema è uno specchio dove vedo la mia umanità riflettersi in un contesto o in una storia diversa dalla mia realtà. La musica può limitare questa esperienza per lo spettatore, perché ha un grosso ed immediato effetto sulla sfera emotiva.

Per tutto questo in *Menocchio* inizialmente non era prevista la musica. Ma poi una sera, durante i primi incontri con la neo costituita famiglia Menocchio, accadde un imprevisto e decisi di provare a vedere dove questo imprevisto ci avrebbe portato. Appena scelti gli interpreti di Menocchio (Marcello Martini), la moglie (Nilla Patrizio) e il figlio Zanutto (Emanuele Bertossi), e mentre stavo completando la compagine degli altri due figli, Nilla mi parlò del suo amore per la danza popolare e mi raccontò che una volta aveva ballato tutta la notte in una situazione familiare con un certo Paolo Forte, che con la sua fisarmonica era un portento. Mi interessava vedere Nilla ballare, per conoscerla in una situazione di perdita di controllo. Così andai a conoscere il fisarmonicista friulano Paolo Forte e, dopo qualche ora, gli proposi di venire ad una cena che ero solito organizzare con Nilla, Marcello, Emanuele, la famiglia Menocchio per l'appunto, solo per conoscerci meglio. Gli spiegai da subito che non ero interessato tanto alla sua musica ma più alla sua presenza. Questo perché ero certo che non avrei usato la musica nel film, ma ero più interessato a portare nel gruppo

una persona che Nilla stimava tanto, e volevo aiutarla a lasciarsi andare. Durante la cena Nilla disse che sarebbe stato bello che Paolo suonasse un po' e io gli risposi che avevo invitato Paolo e non il musicista Paolo, e che non credevo che Paolo potesse mai avere con sé la sua fisarmonica. Invece Paolo mi contraddisse dicendomi che era in macchina, perché non lascia mai la sua fisarmonica a casa da sola.

Allora suonò, e Nilla e Marcello ballarono allegri divertendosi e divertendoci. Poi Paolo fece un suo lungo brano nostalgico e vidi il repentino cambio di emozioni di Marcello e di Nilla, e capii che la musica era un potente strumento per veicolare le emozioni degli attori in scena. Era ovvio, ma non ci avevo mai pensato prima, così incominciai a sperimentare con Paolo questo potere, e nelle cene seguenti sperimentammo l'idea di suonare la fisarmonica senza suonarla, ma facendola parlare, raccontare. Offrii a Paolo il ruolo del figlio minore, con la richiesta di portare la fisarmonica in scena e di usarla a mia richiesta secondo brani che avevamo deciso di nominare secondo stati d'animo. Ovviamente tutto questo era un segreto tra me e lui, e sul set girammo anche mentre Paolo suonava. Quando arrivai in montaggio, Johannes Nakajima, il montatore, fu entusiasta della musica, mentre io non avevo proprio pensato di utilizzarla, ritenendola funzionale solo alle riprese. Ma lui insistette e così vidi delle sue proposte, e rimasi stregato perchè in alcuni momenti mi dava una sensazione di maggior realtà, forse perché recuperava proprio la mia sensazione in scena. E così abbiamo richiamato Paolo che, in un cinema

deserto, e di fronte alle immagini del film, ha improvvisato dei pezzi riprendendo il lavoro fatto sul set.

CD: Pensa di lavorare su altri soggetti storici? Se sì, quali?

AF: Non ho idee prestabilite, i film nascono da un rapporto tra me e chi si assume la voglia di produrli con me. Le idee nascono, e se non vanno più via allora le devo realizzare per liberarmene. Ora sto studiando e scrivendo su un film di fantascienza che con *Menocchio* e *Tir* compone la mia trilogia sull'Uomo. Dopodiché ho due spunti che mi tormentano, ma sono film difficili da produrre, purtroppo. Mi piacerebbe girare dieci canti della divina commedia in forma di documentario. Credo che riuscire a trovare nel nostro mondo l'inferno sia piuttosto facile, come anche il purgatorio. Facile non vuol dire ovviamente che sia semplice realizzarlo, ma ho diverse idee. Mentre il paradiso è la vera sfida perché non ho proprio idea di dove riuscire a trovarlo, chissà se esiste nella nostra società. *Menocchio Docet.*

Un altro spunto interessante è seguire Martin Lutero che, nascosto nel castello di Federico II traduce la Bibbia. L'amico antropologo Gian Paolo Gri mi ha raccontato che Lutero, per tradurre la bibbia in tedesco, scendeva di nascosto in paese tra le persone per comprendere il significato profondo dei termini che voleva usare nella traduzione. Sarebbe un viaggio davvero affascinante.

FT: Una domanda molto personale, anzi intima, se me lo permette. La vicenda umana di Domenico Scandella detto Menocchio è sopravvissuta nei secoli attraverso i verbali dell'Inquisizione e poi grazie al lavoro di indagine degli storici. Ma anche il suo film, in un certo senso, come altre riletture artistiche citate nel corso dell'intervista, hanno contribuito e contribuiscono a tenerne in vita la forte individualità. Lei esclude che l'esistenza individuale possa proseguire oltre l'inevitabile destino di morte anche indipendentemente da simili tramiti umani?

◀ *Il fisarmonicista Paolo Forte sul set con il costume di scena.* Foto: Andi Stefo.

▼ *Nilla Patrizio e Marcello Martini ballano accompagnati dalla musica di Paolo Forte.* Foto: Alberto Fasulo.

AF: Si certo. Credo che possiamo comprendere solo un'infinitesima parte della nostra esistenza, anche solo perché la percepiamo attraverso i nostri 5 limitati sensi e la nostra cultura umanocentrica. È scientificamente provato che esistono altre connessioni ed altre realtà a noi celate. L'individualità di ognuno di noi può essere solo una parte di qualcosa di più complesso ed interessante, e non credo che l'eredità di un individuo possa arrivare ai posteri solo attraverso la documentazione, piuttosto, credo che esista una traccia molto più profonda a noi incomprensibile e che emerge in diversi modi. Tuttavia ritengo che sia più importante tenere in vita l'esperienza e i valori che certe persone hanno incarnato, piuttosto che i nomi e i cognomi dei protagonisti delle stesse vicende. Per questo sono convinto che il mio Menocchio sia solo un lontanissimo discendente di quel Domenico Scandella detto Menocchio del 500', sicuramente è più Marcello Martini che ripensando alla vicenda di quel Menocchio ha ribadito certi valori per me indiscutibili o ancor meglio: sacrosanti. Non escludo a priori che l'esperienza creativa dell'uomo non possa avere conseguenze e quindi modificare l'avvenire del pianeta, tuttavia credo che l'istinto naturale del pianeta sia più forte nel suo rigenerarsi e riperpetrarsi. L'esperienza umana è importante *in primis* per l'uomo stesso, ma non tanto per gli altri esseri viventi del pianeta, se non nella misura in cui l'uomo mette a rischio le condizioni sufficienti per l'esistenza sul pianeta. E' proprio il tema su cui ho deciso di chiudere la mia trilogia sull'essere umano. Se *Tir* parla del sacrificio dell'uomo del presente e *Menocchio* della lotta dell'uomo del passato, il mio prossimo film racconterà la responsabilità dell'uomo del futuro.

FT: Sono passati due anni dall'uscita del film *Menocchio.* Per terminare questa nostra intervista le chiedo dunque: quale il suo sguardo e quale il suo bilancio di oggi su questa sua opera?

AF: Questa è proprio una domanda complessa. Primo perché il mio sguardo sul mio lavoro è sempre in mutazione. Sono molto critico con il mio lavoro, mi dicono i miei più vicini collaboratori. E non nego che sarei curioso di sapere cosa ne penserei di un mio film se non sapessi di averlo fatto

io. Ma è impossibile, almeno, per ora. Io poi ho sempre molta nostalgia delle esperienze che ho fatto sul set e non solo; ci sono quattro anni della mia vita dentro *Menocchio*, durante i quali la coscienza di me è cambiata. Per me fare un film è un processo di realizzazione del mio stato di consapevolezza e, per questo, il mio sguardo sul film è sempre molto emotivo. Il bilancio? Quale bilancio vuole sapere: quello economico, quello di visibilità di pubblico, di ritorno di pubblico, di premi ricevuti, di critica cinematografica e non? Ci può essere un bilancio per tutto. Tuttavia so di aver dato il 100% di quello che avevo. Ora, con l'esperienza che ho fatto realizzandolo, è facile per me trovare tante cose che avrei potuto fare diversamente, tante migliorie "col senno

▲ *L'abiura.* Foto: Daniele Braida.

▼ *Menocchio.* Fotogramma tratto dal film.

◢ *L'edizione francese della versione DVD del film.*

di poi". Ma quando intraprendo un film è sempre un progetto completamente diverso e con ben poche analogie con quelli precedenti, quindi è sempre la prima volta per me.

Alla fine, l'unico bilancio che posso fare, è che se dopo un film desidero ancora realizzarne un altro, vuol dire che il bilancio è per forza positivo. Anche se, come ogni volta, credo che non possa che essere l'ultimo. Vedremo.

Menocchio
Un film di Alberto Fasulo

Selezione Ufficiale Concorso Internazionale del 71° Festival di Locarno; Menzione speciale della Giuria dei Giovani - 71° Locarno Film Festival; Grand Prix du Jury - 35° Annecy Cinéma Italien

Anno di produzione: **2018**
Una co-produzione ITALIA-ROMANIA
Durata: 103' | DCP | COLORE | 2.35 | DOLBY
Genere: Dramma storico
Lingua: Italiano, Friulano, Latino
Prodotto da Nefertiti Film con Rai Cinema
in co produzione con Hai-Hui Entertainment (RO)
Con la consulenza del Circolo Culturale Menocchio di Montereale Valcellina

Finanziato per lo sviluppo da:
Fondo Audiovisivo del Friuli Venezia Giulia
MiBACT Direzione Generale Cinema - Sviluppo Sceneggiature Originali
Re-Act Regional Audiovisual Cooperation and Training
Menzione speciale Eurimages Co-production Development Award
Sviluppato da Nadia Trevisan a EAVE Producers Workshop

Finanziato per la produzione da:
MiBACT - Direzione Cinema
Film Commission del Friuli Venezia Giulia
CNC Centro per la Cinematografia -Romania
Fondo per l'Audiovisivo del Friuli Venezia Giulia
Trentino Film Commission
Vincitore del primo premio offerto dalla Lombardia Film Commission a Atelier-Milano Film Network 2017
Selezionato a This is it di When East Meets West

Regia: Alberto Fasulo
Prodotto da: Nadia Trevisan
Co-prodotto da: Bogdan Crăciun
Soggetto: Alberto Fasulo
Sceneggiatura: Enrico Vecchi, Alberto Fasulo
Consulenze storiche, scientifiche e letterarie: Andrea del Col, Gian Paolo Gri, Aldo Colonnello, Rosanna Paroni Bertoja, Circolo Culturale Menocchio
Montaggio: Johannes Hiroshi Nakajima
Scenografia: Anton Špacapan Vončina
Costumi: Viorica Petrovici
Fotografia: Alberto Fasulo
Musiche originali: Paolo Forte
Suono: Mirrel Cristea, Sebastian Zsemlye
Montaggio del suono: Riccardo Spagnol, Stefano Grosso, Daniela Bassani
Make-up: Bianca Boeroiu
Aiuto regia: Chiara Santo
Organizzatore: Andrea Badin
Direttore di produzione: Claudia Soranzo

MARCELLO MARTINI - Menocchio
MAURIZIO FANIN - Inquisitore
CARLO BALDRACCHI - Carceriere Parvis
NILLA PATRIZIO - Moglie
EMANUELE BERTOSSI - Zanutto
AGNESE FIOR - Figlia
MIRKO ARTUSO - Pre Melchiorri
GIUSEPPE SCARFÌ: - Vicario generale
DAVID WILKINSON - Cancelliere inquisitore
ROBERTO DELLAI - Vescovo Maro
GINO SEGATTI - Pre Vorai

INFO FILM:
homevideo@nefertitifilm.it
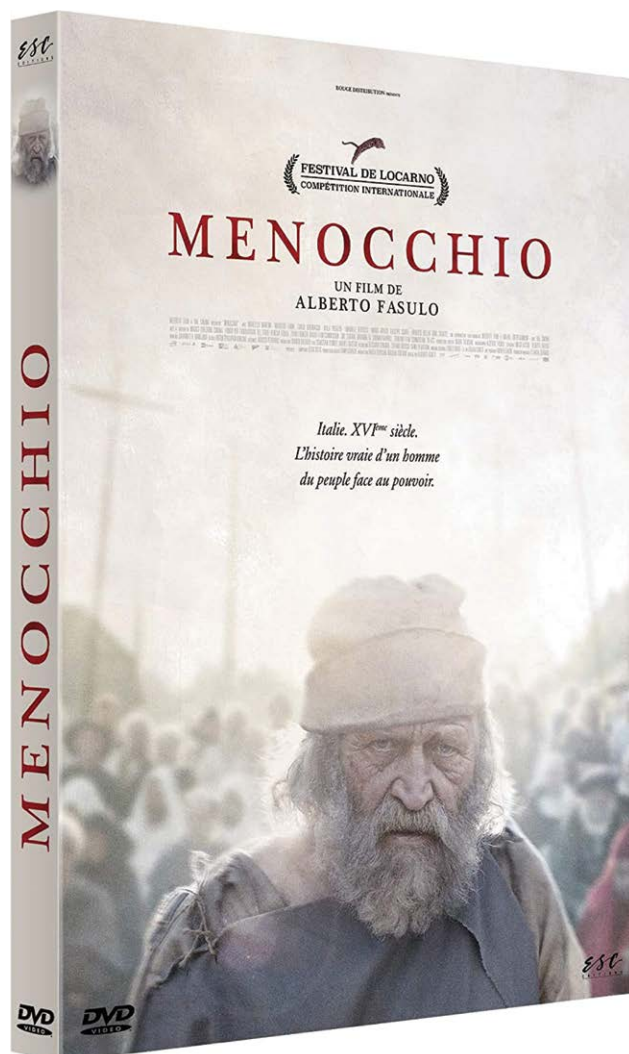
Menocchio
un silent book *di Alberto Magri*

Montereale Valcellina, Circolo culturale Menocchio, 2015

Alberto Magri è un giovane artista, illustratore e restauratore. Nato nel 1987, sposo, padre e figlio d'arte, vive e lavora a Pordenone nel campo del Restauro. Ha operato al restauro della Casa – Studiolo del Pordenone, al ciclo d'affreschi di scuola giottesca dell'Abbazia di Santa Maria in Sylvis di Sesto al Reghena (Pn) e al ciclo affrescato da Pomponio Amalteo nella chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta a Lestans (Pn). Coltiva fin dall'infanzia la passione per la pittura, la scultura, i video documentari ma soprattutto per il disegno, alternando tecniche tradizionali e digitali.

Dopo aver frequentato il liceo artistico, si è dilettato a realizzare alcuni video documentari e ha prodotto alcune pubblicazioni illustrate: *Pictor Modernus – Gli ultimi giorni del Pordenone*, 2010; *Menocchio*, 2015; *Quella giungla del mio giardino*, 2018; e *La Casa del Pordenone* nel 2019, sul pittore Giovanni Antonio de' Sacchis. Si distingue per una grande padronanza nel linguaggio grafico e pittorico, che crea con immediatezza, semplicità e genuinità.

Le sue opere si trovano in varie chiese e in molte collezioni private. Utilizza i suoi lavori per valorizzare e divulgare in modo creativo gli aspetti storico-artistici e naturalistici del Friuli Occidentale.
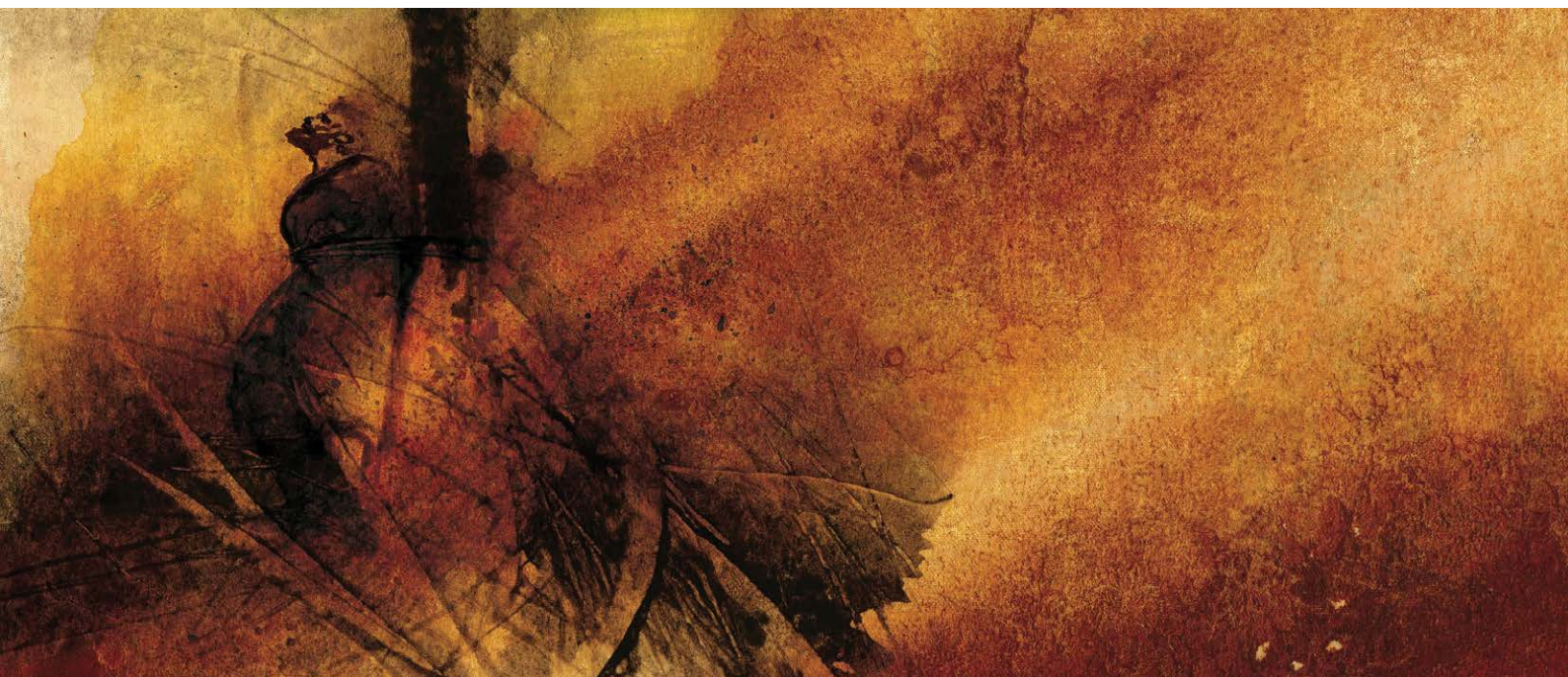
Qual è il mio punto di vista su Domenico Scandella?

Sicuramente è stato un personaggio straordinario, se pensiamo al contesto storico in cui ha vissuto, intelligente, curioso, coraggioso, ma attenzione, da non "idolatrare" o da sbandierare per un credo politico, perché secondo me lui sarebbe stato contrario a tutto questo. Il bello di Menocchio è la sua indipendenza intellettuale e semplicità. Il mio omaggio infatti è stato cercare di mostrarlo nella sua umanità, nelle sue scelte coraggiose ma anche nelle sue fragilità e paure. Un uomo tormentato, che durante gli interrogatori e la prigionia si rifugia con i propri pensieri con i ricordi della sua vita e del suo 'io' bambino, ingenuo e curioso, che corre spensierato nel greto del Cellina.

È stimolante dare vita a mondi perduti, tramandanti perlopiù dalla pittura e raramente dalle fotografie. Qui la ricerca e la documentazione è stata alla base delle ricostruzioni, ma l'aspetto storico non ha limitato la mia visione scenografica. Non essendoci rappresentazioni o testimonianze che ci mostrano com'era fatto Menocchio, la mia ricerca iconografica è stata molto laboriosa e il volto che ho creato è quello di un uomo legato a quel preciso ambiente e contesto storico: un volto corroso dall'età, dal suo ambiente aspro, dalla fatica dei vari mestieri intrapresi (probabilmente era indebolito o malato per via delle inalazioni di polveri del mulino, spore fungicide ecc. classiche dei mugnai) occhi gonfi ecc. Ho effettuato ricerche sui costume dell'epoca, come per es. il saio tipico dei Francescani, quindi degli Inquisitori, che per esempio all'epoca era grigio-verdastro e non marrone, o che il saio degli eretici condannati era un grezzo abitello crocesignato di giallo fronte e retro (come nel mio dipinto).

Come in tutti i miei progetti legati ad un personaggio o fatto storico, sarebbe stato facile cadere in cliché – siamo bombardati da ricostruzioni cinematografiche stereotipate –, perché diverse ragioni profonde di quel che gli accadde non le sappiamo, né le capiamo. O meglio, non le possiamo capire… finché le osserviamo 'dall'esterno'. Rimane, infatti, difficile rappresentare il "mondo" di qualsiasi personaggio di epoche passate, fintantoché lo osserviamo con la consapevolezza, le competenze e conoscenze di uomini del nostro tempo. Forse occorre avere origini in quel mondo, per poterlo raccontare più fedelmente e dall'interno. O, almeno, così ho tentato di fare io.

Mi sono ispirato alle maestranze dei vari mestieri che fece il Scandella; alcune delle quali, come il mugnaio, dove in alcuni casi le le attrezzature e gli strumenti sono rimasti invariati; o come gli scenari di vita nei campi o scene di vita domestica tipici dei paesi della Pedemontana del Friuli Occidentale composti da gestualità che, secondo me, sono rimasti immutati nel tempo. Lungi dall'essere illustrazioni didattiche di un argomento storico, sono frutto della mia scelta di tenere un approccio e un linguaggio personale, molto diretto e rapido. In tutti i miei libri illustrati – per primo *Menocchio*, poi *Quella giungla del mio giardino* e il recente *La Casa del Pordenone* – le immagini si raccontano da sole, libere. Ho cercato di cogliere quegli elementi utili, attraverso le atmosfere e le suggestioni, per inquadrare ed evocare il racconto dal punto di vista storico e culturale, con l'obbiettivo di immergere l'osservatore nel mondo su cui sto lavorando. Ho voluto, inoltre, che ciascuna rappresentazione avesse la forza necessaria a stimolare anche l'immaginazione dell'osservatore.

🔺 *Copertina del libro, 'Menocchio al rogo', & 'Io e Menocchio'.*
🔻 Credits: Alberto Magri, 2015.

Un vecchio amico - presentazione del libro:

Correva l'anno del Signore 1583 per gli abitanti di Monte-reale, piccolo paese di montagna del Friuli occidentale, fu un anno per nulla diverso da molti altri. Ma per il mugnaio Domenico Scandella detto Menocchio quella data segnò la fine della tranquilla vita fin lì trascorsa...

Così la voce narrante introduceva il cortometraggio su Menocchio *Il Pensiero e il rogo*, realizzato nel 2005 con mezzi di fortuna, da me, vecchi amici e compagni di liceo, allora diciottenni. Grazie a questa traccia e all'esperienza del mio film ho sentito a distanza di anni il desiderio di realizzare qualcosa di nuovo e creativo su di lui, e così è nata l'idea che mi ha spinto a realizzare questo libro illustrato senza testo, pensato come uno stimolo e suggerimento a guardare e interpretare in modo autonomo quanto sta dietro alle illustrazioni: una per una, nel loro insieme e nelle loro possibili e, di volta in volta, variabili sequenze. Ho scelto un approccio che non è quello di uno storico, *Menocchio* è il desiderio appassionato di illustrare alcuni episodi della sua vita e delle sue peripezie. L'unico testo utile al lettore è scritto dal prof. Andrea Del Col, uno dei massimi studiosi dell'Inquisizione romana.

La realizzazione delle immagini mi ha impegnato in un'approfondita ricerca storica, stilistica e tecnica, dove molte idee sono state sacrificate, tra cui anche il video d'animazione *Menocchio, Tutto era un caos*, e la montagna di disegni scartati nel mio studio ne è la prova. La materia doveva parlare e trasfigurarsi: gli elementi primordiali *aere, terra, aqua et foco* cari a Menocchio nella sua cosmogonia dovevano fare da palcoscenico, riaffiorare e mescolarsi con i ricordi di un uomo del Cinquecento.

Ogni illustrazione è composta da sfondi eseguiti con stesure di gesso su pannelli intelati, mentre le figure sono realizzate ad acquerello, china, gessetto e carboncino su carta. Quest'ultime le ho realizzate tutte di getto per conferire al tratto quel senso di immediatezza tipico dello schizzo, senza ulteriori ritocchi. I vari livelli di disegni sono stati fotografati e poi riuniti in un'unica illustrazione con l'ausilio del computer. La scelta dei soggetti, in accordo con lo stile e la tecnica adottata, ha l'intento di evocare in modo frammentario le memorie di Menocchio che rivivono come in un sogno raffigurato.

Sono passati dieci anni dal mio film giovanile, nato dalla passione e da una buona dose di follia di un gruppo di ragazzini, e riguardarlo a distanza di tempo mi emoziona ancora molto. Finisce e inizia una nuova stagione tra me e Menocchio, il quale sosteneva che *morto il corpo, morta l'anima*; e a tal proposito, con questo libro in suo omaggio, vorrei sussurrargli la mia idea.

◄ *'Vita e Processi di Menocchio', illustrazioni tratte dal libro* Menocchio*, 2015. Dettagli delle pagine 8-9, 22-23, 44-45 e 46-47.* Credits: Alberto Magri.

◥ *'Menocchio bambino', tratto dal libro Menocchio, tecnica mista su carta, 2015.* Credits: Alberto Magri.

► *'Menocchio bambino e il Caos', tecnica mista su carta, 2014.* Credits: Alberto Magri.

Altre informazioni sul libro:
http://albertomagri.it/portfolio/libro-menocchio/
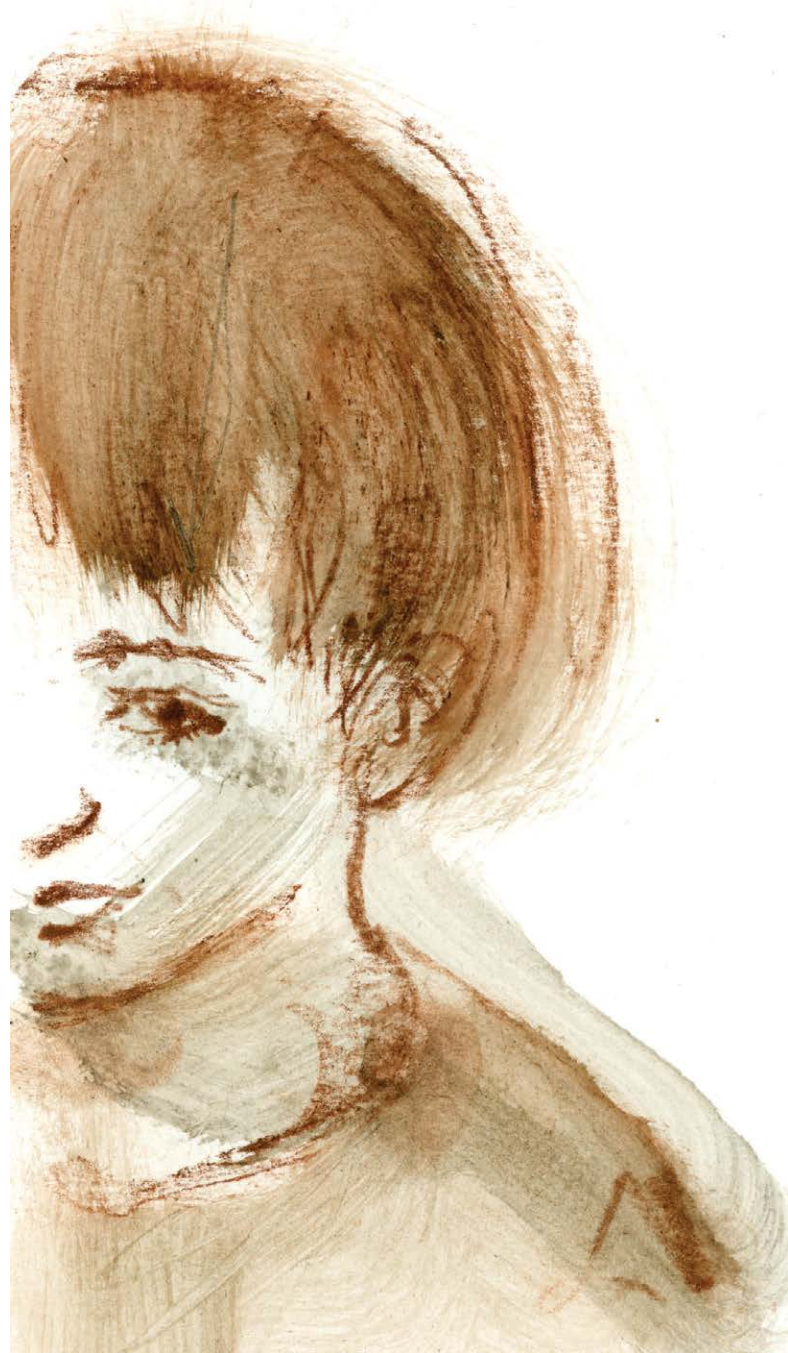
L'art médiéval est-il contemporain? Acte IV
Une exposition

Cécile Voyer

Université de Poitiers / céscm, Poitiers (fr)

« L'art médiéval est-il contemporain? Acte VI » est une exposition qui s'est déroulée du 12 octobre 2019 au 19 janvier 2020 à la Médiathèque François-Mitterand de Poitiers dans le cadre de la biennale d'art contemporain *Traversées / Kimsooja* (Kimsooja étant l'artiste invitée de la première session de *Traversées*). Cette exposition, associée à un cycle de six conférences, a été réalisée en partenariat avec la ville de Poitiers, la BnF, l'INHA et le céscm-umr 7302.

« L'art médiéval est-il contemporain? Acte IV » proposait d'établir un dialogue entre l'art médiéval et l'art contemporain. Évitant un médiévalisme de citation, l'exposition montrait, à partir de lectures croisées de l'art du Moyen Âge et de l'art contemporain, les points de convergence qui unissent des œuvres souvent séparées de plus de 1000 ans. Elle présentait une sélection de manuscrits médiévaux enluminés, qui comptent parmi les trésors inestimables de la Médiathèque de Poitiers. Les codices exposés étaient accompagnés d'une réflexion autour de l'image médiévale, de ses qualités formelles, esthétiques et conceptuelles grâce à des exemples choisis. Les thématiques déclinées — la puissance du signe, la rhétorique de la couleur, la matérialité, la performance — visaient à mettre en lumière la pensée conceptuelle à l'œuvre au cours du premier Moyen Âge. Ce discours était également ancré dans une mise en regard d'œuvres médiévales et d'œuvres contemporaines exposées dans le cadre de *Traversées / Kimsooja*. Il s'agissait de montrer comment l'art médiéval a pu le cas échéant nourrir l'art contemporain, comment ses qualités peuvent être réactualisées aujourd'hui, et comment il est possible de penser les deux champs artistiques en en croisant les problématiques et les principes.

Cette exposition était le quatrième volet d'une réflexion au long cours sur le dialogue entre art médiéval et art contemporain qui a débuté par en 2016 par trois ateliers *Workshop Art médiéval / Art contemporain* autour des concepts de « performance », « performativité », « intentionalité », « Présence-Absence » à l'INHA (Paris), qui s'est poursuivi en 2018 par l'exposition *Make it New. Conversations avec l'art médiéval, carte blanche à Jan Dibbets* à la BnF, puis en 2019 par la journée d'études « L'art médiéval est-il contemporain? Pour un décloisonnement des regards » (BnF, Centre André Chastel, INHA, Université polytechnique Hauts-de-France / Calhiste EA 4343). Voici la présentation de quelques panneaux de l'exposition.
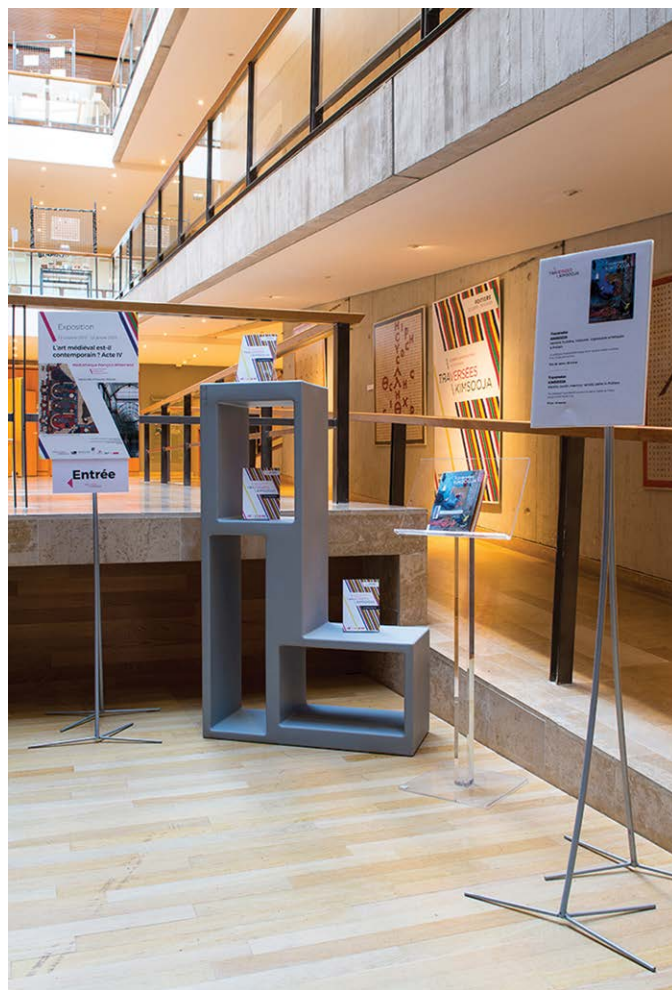
◀ *Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, cod. AE 679, Évangiles de Saint-André de Cologne, peints à Cologne dans le premier tiers du XIe siècle, f° 126 v, parchemin* Source: Herbert Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, Peterborough, Broadview Press, 2004, pl. 4.

▲ *Vue de l'exposition.* © Médiathèque de Poitiers / Cliché Olivier Neuillé.

'DIALOGUES' :

Par son installation dans le Palais de Cristal du parc du Retiro (Madrid) et dans la tour Maubergeon (Poitiers), Kimsooja offre sa définition du lieu architectural : un espace qui se démultiplie, s'ouvre, se dilate et dont les supports et les surfaces murales finissent par disparaître sous l'effet de la lumière. Transparence, lumière et visions multiples sont convoquées par le peintre du XIe siècle pour figurer la Jérusalem Céleste, la cité de Dieu. L'enlumineur du manuscrit du Beatus de Saint-Sever propose un jeu visuel centrifuge et centripète d'un ordre géométrique dynamisé par les rimes chromatiques et les écarts, en particulier les aplats blancs qui opèrent une sorte de scintillement de surface. Les couleurs qui parent la cité sont autant de déclinaisons de la lumière qui en émane. La transparence est signifiée par les différents angles de vue (dessus, dessous,
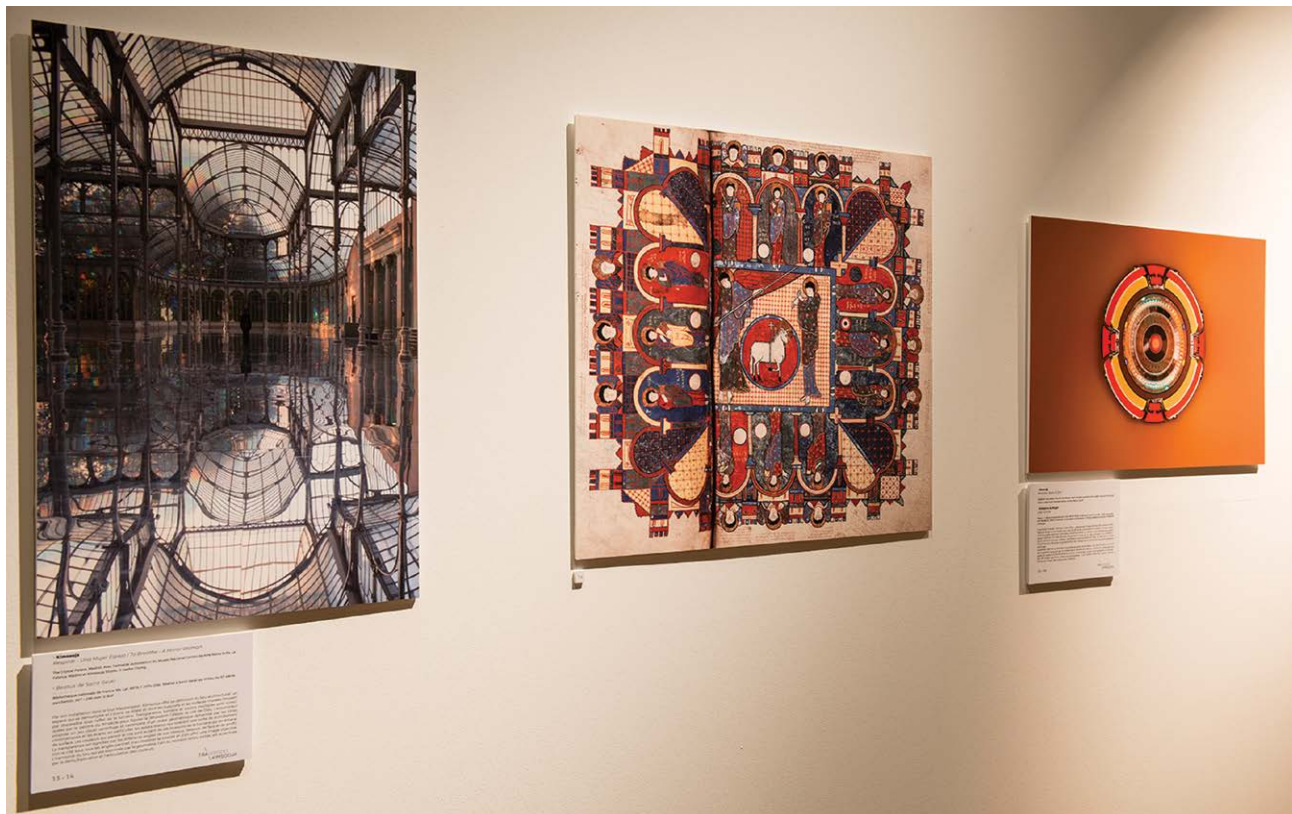
de face et de profil). Voir la cité sous tous les angles permet d'en montrer la totalité et d'en offrir une image objective. L'harmonie du lieu qui est exprimée par la géométrie, l'art du nombre rendu visible, est accentuée par la démultiplication et l'articulation des couleurs.

L'œuvre de Kimsooja « *Zone of Zero* » partage avec l'image intérieure du cosmos d'Hildegarde de Bingen, une moniale visionnaire du XIIᵉ siècle, l'universalité du modèle cosmique céleste comme modèle d'un tout harmonieux, musical et centré (voir la page suivante). Le cosmos vu par Hildegarde a explicitement la forme d'un œuf, symbole de génération et de vie. Le « feu lumineux » ou « extérieur » qui en anime le pourtour extérieur manifeste la toute puissance du divin. Si cette forme ovoïde s'inscrit dans le champ de la représentation, il en transgresse les limites dans la partie supérieure de l'image.

La bordure délimite un fond bleu moucheté de petits points blancs, qui cède la place à un fond vert largement recouvert par la représentation proprement dite du cosmos. En juxtaposant les aplats de couleur et la forme ovoïde du cosmos, créé par Dieu et dont il est l'expression, le concepteur de l'image signifie les limites de l'iconographie : si la Création divine fait irruption dans le champ de l'image, elle ne peut y être contenue.

Les tapis noirs que déroule Kimsooja sont brodés en lettres blanches des noms des esclaves d'une plantation de coton de Drayton Hill, en Caroline du Sud aux États-Unis (« Planted names »). Par sa plasticité, le tapis évoque à la fois le travail mais aussi le corps maltraité de ceux dont il porte le nom. Emblématique du mode de vie des nomades, il est histoire, « chemin de mémoire », stèle, espace sacré, espace parcouru. Le rouleau des morts au Moyen Âge, qui débute par un faire-part de décès, mentionnant un ou plusieurs défunts, est confié à un messager (le porte-rouleau). Celui-ci doit le transporter d'établissement religieux en établissement religieux, à charge pour chacun d'eux d'y apposer un accusé de réception, assurant de ses prières le/

▲ *Vue de l'exposition. Kimsooja, Mandala : Zone of Zero. Installation à la Galerie Tschudi, Zuoz. Courtesy :Tschudi Gallery et Kimsooja Studio. // Hildegarde de Bingen, Liber scivias (manuscrit enluminé vers 1180 détruit durant la seconde guerre mondiale ; copie sur parchemin réalisée en 1925 et conservée au monastère de Wisbaden), vision I, 3. // Kimsooja, Respirar - Una Mujer Espejo / To Breathe - A Mirror Woman. The Crystal Palace, Madrid. Courtesy : Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, La Fabrica, Madrid et Kimsooja Studio.*
© Médiathèque de Poitiers / Clichés Olivier Neuillé.

◤ *Vue de l'exposition. Kimsooja, Respirar - Una Mujer Espejo / To Breathe - A Mirror Woman. The Crystal Palace, Madrid. Courtesy : Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, La Fabrica, Madrid et Kimsooja Studio. // Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8878, Beatus de Saint-Sever, réalisé à Saint-Sever au milieu du XIᵉ siècle, f° 207v-208r, parchemin, 367mm x 286 mm. // Kimsooja, Planted names. Installation à la Drayton Hall Plantation House, Charleston, SC. Courtesy : Spoleto festival et Kimsooja Studio // Paris, Archives nationales, AE/II/138, Rouleau funéraire de Vital de Savigny, 1122-1123, parchemin, 950 x 24 cm.*
© Médiathèque de Poitiers / Clichés Olivier Neuillé.

▶ *Paris, Archives nationales, AE/II/138, Rouleau funéraire de Vital de Savigny, 1122-1123, parchemin, 950 x 24 cm.*
© Archives Nationales.

les défunt(s). Le rouleau de Vital, abbé de Savigny (mort en septembre 1122), a circulé au Nord de la Loire et en Angleterre. Outre la fonction mémorielle du rouleau, sa plasticité permet son allongement au fur et à mesure du voyage de son porteur. La longue liste d'accusés de réception qu'il contient permet de retracer l'itinéraire emprunté et de visualiser le dessin des réseaux sur une aire géographique relativement étendue. Elle permet aussi d'observer la construction de la notion de groupe, non pas par le groupe défini en soi mais par l'addition d'individus ayant une histoire partagée.
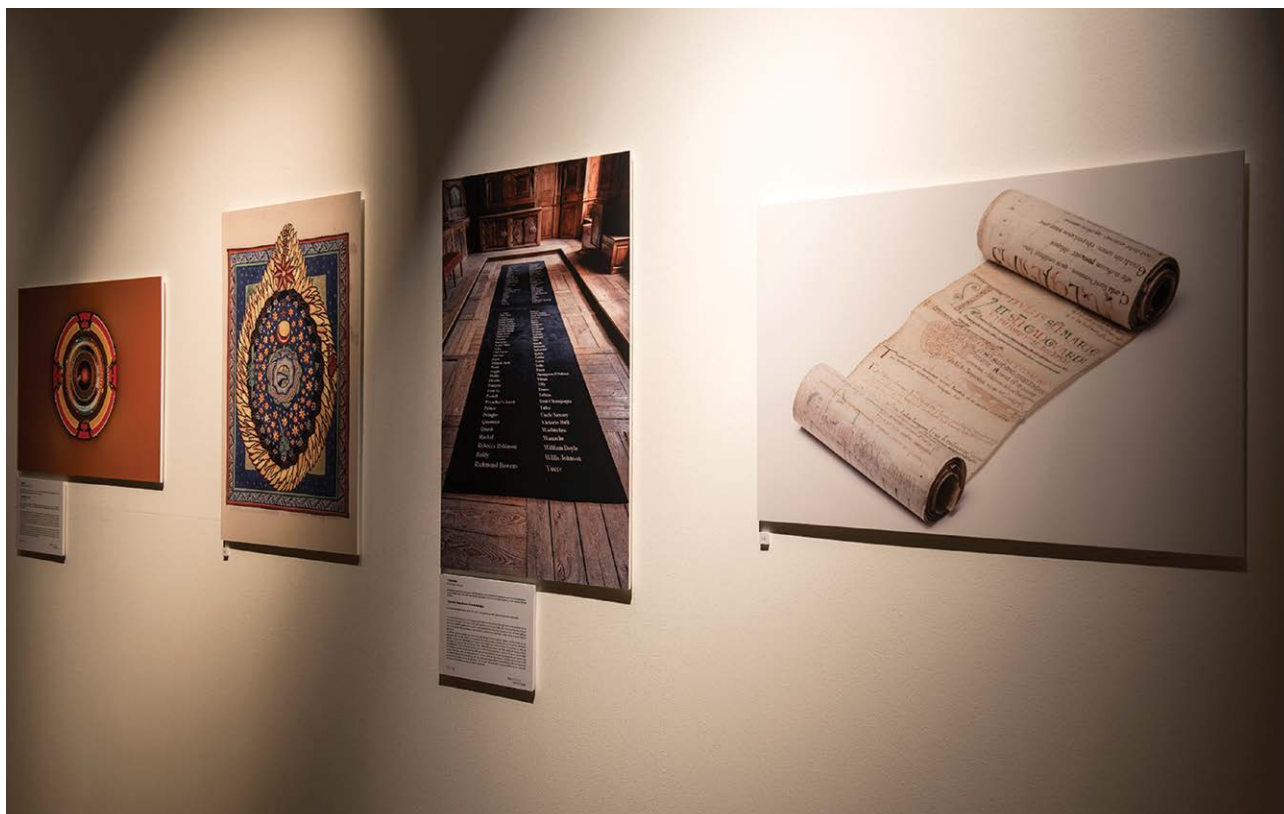
Achilleas Soulas a ramassé sur la plage de l'île de Lesbos les gilets de sauvetage de ceux qui, au péril de leur vie, ont tenté de traverser la Méditerranée. Les gilets deviennent les éléments d'une structure qui évoque l'abri, la protection, la réunion, afin de questionner les sociétés occidentales sur leur humanité. Sur le chapiteau de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, le manteau de saint Martin, tenu par deux anges, est source de vie en ce qu'il est empli de rinceaux de vigne. La cape devient aussi un halo enveloppant, presque une « mandorle textile », habité par une présence, celle de Martin. Il s'agit d'un lieu appartenant au monde mais qui, en même temps, permet de se retrancher et d'échapper aux dangers de ce monde. C'est la fonction même d'une relique (ce qui reste d'une histoire singulière, pour les chrétiens, d'une histoire sacrée). La relique possède une force que l'on imagine demeurée vivante et active dans les restes corporels des saints ou des choses avec lesquelles ils sont entrés en contact (la *virtus*). Cette *virtus* qualifie substantiellement un endroit dans sa singularité et en fait un lieu où s'opère la protection.

À travers le fil, la couleur, la réparation, le raccommodage des tissus abîmés, Lee Mingwei interroge le lien social et la diversité tout en soulignant les fissures de nos sociétés. En revanche, le fil utilisé pour ravauder souligne la suture qui, telle une cicatrice, se rappelle à la mémoire. Le peintre du *Beatus d'Osma*, Martinus, évoque l'univers par des flèches de lumière qui constituent la trame d'une organisation spatiale harmonieuse du multiple.

La peau du parchemin, considérée comme vivante, de cette Bible peinte à Engelberg au XIIᵉ siècle a fait l'objet d'une réparation au fil. Les jeux de couleurs transforment la couture en ornementation, dans laquelle l'alternance des couleurs inscrit la diversité dans la continuité d'une unité.

▲ *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, porche, chapiteau sculpté vers 1020, saint Martin entre deux anges qui présentent son manteau.*
© Photothèque du CÉSCM, Cliché Bastien-Léonet.

▼ *Achilleas Souras, SOS - Save Our Souls. Gilets de sauvetage. Courtesy de la municipalité de l'île de Lesbos et de son Maire Spyros Galinos. SOS – Save Our Souls a été commissionnée par Patrizia Moroso avec le soutien de l'UNHCR Europe du Sud pour la Milan Design Week 2017 // Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, porche, chapiteau sculpté vers 1020, saint Martin entre deux anges qui présentent son manteau // Lee Mingwei, The Mending Project. Collection de Rudy Tseng. Photo courtesy : Taipei Fine Arts Museum // Burgo de Osma, Bibliothèque capitulaire, cod. 1, peint vers 1086 à Sahagún, f°102r, parchemin, 360 mm x 225 mm // Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 3, Bible, peinte à Engelberg (Suisse), entre 1143 et 1178, parchemin, f° 135, parchemin, 440 mm x 317 mm.*
© Médiathèque de Poitiers / Clichés Olivier Neuillé.
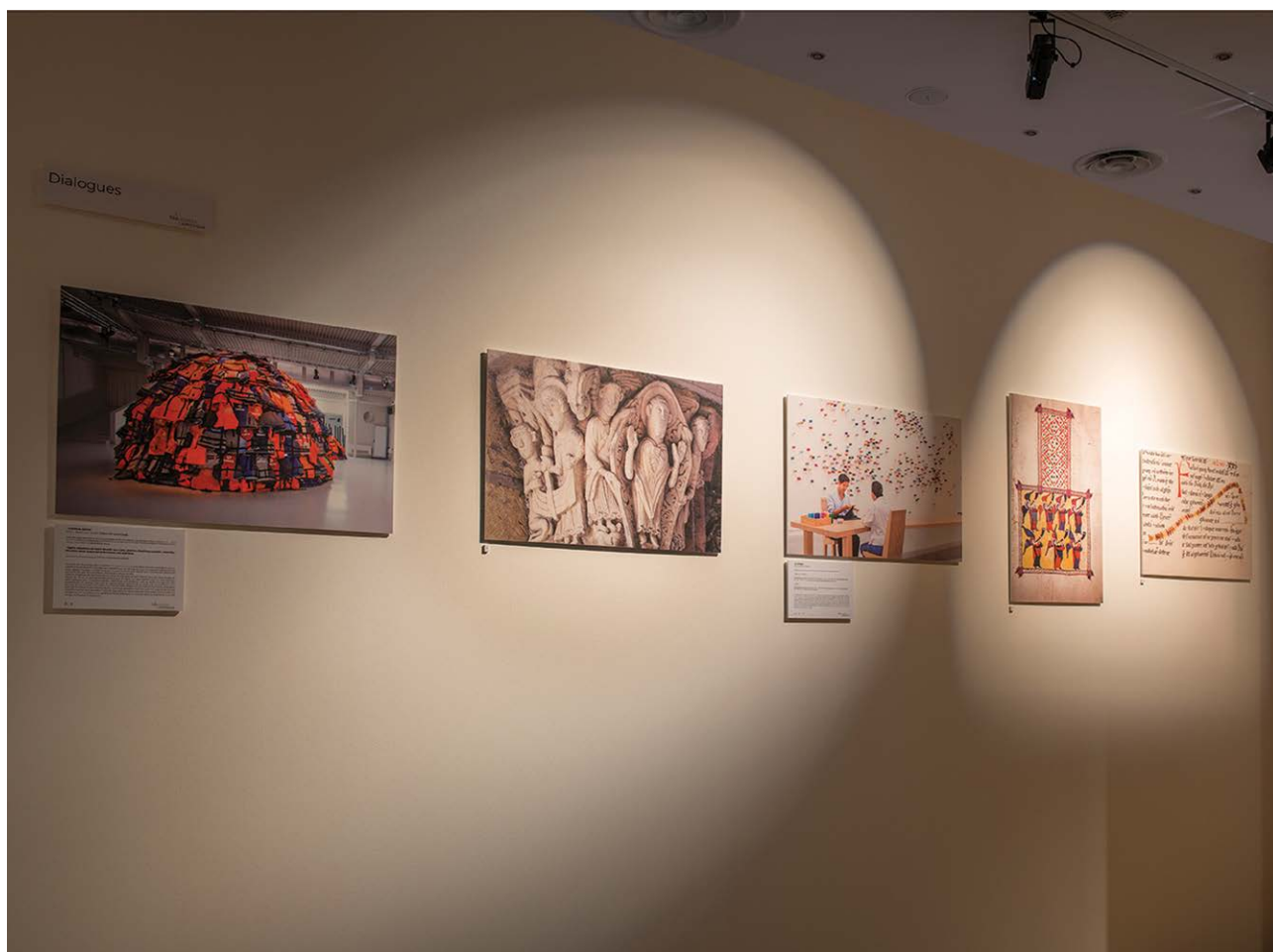
'Performance' :

Sur le folio 143v du sacramentaire de Gellone, la lettre T du premier mot de la prière *Te igitur* (nous te prions) prononcée en vue de la consécration des espèces, figure le Crucifié. En offrant à la vue ce corps aux plaies sanglantes, le peintre rappelle la nature humaine du Christ tout en soulignant avec force son sacrifice. Toutefois, il s'est aussi employé à signifier sa nature divine : les yeux ouverts anticipant la victoire sur la mort, l'éternité de son règne par la croix de couleur bleu nuit rehaussée de gemmes étoilées, l'adoration par les chérubins aux ailes ocellées, le titulus INRI (acronyme en latin de Jésus le Nazaréen, roi des Juifs) de la pancarte qui est remplacé par l'abréviation du nom du Christ (IHS XPS).

Par son emplacement dans le livre liturgique, l'image peinte, matérielle, participe pleinement au bon fonctionnement du rituel. Elle doit permettre à l'officiant qui la contemple de parvenir à une image spirituelle, une vision – celle du Christ sur la croix – au moment de la transformation des espèces. Par un détail, le génial peintre du sacramentaire associe l'image encore plus étroitement à la performance rituelle. Le corps du Christ saigne abondamment, notamment la plaie de son flanc. Des gerbes de sang marquent la peau nue du parchemin. Les premiers mots de la prière partagent avec le liquide salvifique la même couleur vermillon, ce qui n'a rien d'anecdotique. Au moment de la prière, le sang qui s'échappe de plaie sort de l'espace pictural et coule dans le calice du célébrant dans une parfaite assimilation du corps et du sang peints au vin et au pain (hostie) sur l'autel.

La dernière enluminure du bénédictionnaire d'Aethelwold figure sans doute un évêque, peut-être Aethelwold lui-même, prononçant une bénédiction à partir du livre doré qu'un assistant, un clerc, l'aide à tenir. L'officiant est placé sous un baldaquin et devant un autel. La scène doit avoir lieu dans un bâtiment d'église avec tours, clocher, deux girouettes en forme de coq. Cette image présente des singularités : elle a été réalisée en deux techniques différentes, peinture et esquisse au trait, alors que toutes les autres enluminures dans le manuscrit sont entièrement peintes. Cette représentation est la seule du manuscrit à être dénuée de bordure. Ici, l'architecture de l'église délimite le champ de l'image. Au-dessus sont écrites les trois dernières lignes du texte de la prière qui précédait, ce qui est aussi un dispositif unique dans l'économie du livre.

L'image n'a pas été laissée inachevée. Selon Pline l'Ancien (Ier siècle), la peinture qui appartient à la catégorie des « choses vivantes » est en permanente évolution. L'enlumineur du bénédictionnaire, comme d'autres peintres médiévaux, applique cette conception issue de l'Antiquité à sa représentation : il figure un acte liturgique dont l'effet est sans fin. Il traduit par ce procédé visuel cette dimension fondamentale de la liturgie.

▼ *Paris, BnF, ms. latin 12048, Sacramentaire de Gellone, peint à Meaux ou Cambrai vers la fin du VIIIe siècle, f° 143v, parchemin, 300 x 180 mm // Londres, British Library, ms add. 49590, Bénédictionnaire d'Aethelwold, peint à Winchester dans les années 970, f° 118v, parchemin, 290 x 225 mm // Vicq, prieuré Saint-Martin, chevet, mur nord, registre supérieur, fresque, premières décennies du XIIe siècle, La purification de la bouche d'Isaïe.*

© Médiathèque de Poitiers / Clichés Olivier Neuillé.

q: GRATIAS AGERE DÑE SCE PAT OMPS XTNE DS
XPM DÑM NRM. P QUEM MAIESTATEM TUAM
LAUDAÑT ANGEL.I ADORANT DOMINA TIONIS
TREMUNT POTESTATES CÆLI CELORUM Q·UIRTUTR
AC BEATA SERAPHYN SOCIA EXULTATIONE CON
CELEBRANT CUMQUIB; ETNRÃS UOCES
UT AD MITTI IUBEAS DEPCAMUR SUPPLICI CON
FESSIONE DICENTES; SCS· SCS· SCS· DÑS DS
CABAWTH· PLENY CUNT KEAY ET TER
RA KAW PYA TVA WC ANNA YNEZ KEA
SYS· BENEDYKTVC QVY VENYTJN NWM
AÑY· WC ANNA YNEZ KEA CY·

EIGIT
ELE
MENTISSÍME PATER·:·
PIHM XPM ELVT·:·
DÑM NRM, SUPPLICES·
ROGAMUS ET PETEMUS:
UTI ACEPTA HABEAS ✠
HEC DONA ✠ HECMUNER
✠ HEC SCA SACRIFICIA
IN LI BA TA·:·

La purification des lèvres d'Isaïe est une scène rare dans l'art monumental. Une grande figure angélique, vêtue d'une longue tunique blanche, la partie supérieure du corps dissimulée par des demi-cercles concentriques – convention du ciel ouvert – se tient devant le prophète qui incline la tête dans les peintures murales du prieuré Saint-Martin de Vicq. Elle se prépare à brûler les lèvres d'Isaïe avec un charbon ardent dont le contact purificateur hâtera la mission prophétique (Isaïe, 6, 5-8).

À la surface du mur, une petite cavité a été creusée à l'intérieur de laquelle avait été placée une pièce de verre ou de métal. La surface brillante du disque reflétait la lumière qui venait de la fenêtre haute, située du côté sud, du mur oriental du chevet. Le charbon ardent, symbole de la purification, devenait donc un objet quasi-matérialisé. L'image était à la fois narrative et « iconique ». L'épisode de la purification était réitéré et réactualisé à chaque fois que la lumière se réfléchissait dans la pièce de verre ou de métal. Le spectateur – l'officiant dans ce cas – devenait le témoin et un acteur du re-jeu de l'épisode vétérotestamentaire lorsque la lumière produisait ses effets sur la pièce incrustée dans la cavité.

À Autry-Issards, sur le tympan, le sculpteur a représenté, selon la convention de la 'maison ouverte' – l'intérieur et l'extérieur sont figurés –, une église par la succession d'arcades et des luminaires qui y sont suspendus. Deux anges, identifiés comme Raphaël et Michel, y présentent une mandorle sertie de perles, dont le fond, très peu bombé, ne peut accueillir de sculpture.

Sur le bandeau inférieur est gravée une inscription mettant en relation l'œuvre créatrice de Dieu, l'œuvre régénératrice du dieu incarné en l'homme et l'œuvre créatrice du sculpteur : « Dieu, j'ai tout fait. Fait homme j'ai tout refait. Noël m'a fait » (+ CUNCTA DEUS FECI HOMO FACTUS CU[N]CTA REFECI + NATALIS ME FECI[IT]). L'image elle-même évoque son créateur, un certain Noël. Il s'agit d'un 'acte d'image'. Le recours au pronom personnel permet aux artefacts qui s'expriment de décrire une sorte d'interaction où ils tiennent eux-mêmes le premier rôle avec leurs commanditaires ou leurs concepteurs. Ici c'est l'œuvre qui parle (*me fecit*) ou, par son intermédiaire, le Christ dont l'image initialement peinte est attendue dans la mandorle.

Au-dessus de celle-ci, sous un arc en bâtière, le Christ prend la parole pour récompenser les bons et punir les mauvais : Je rends les tourments aux méchants, je donne les récompenses aux bons (+ PENAS REDDO MALIS : PREMIA DONO BONIS).

La figure du Christ trônant était sans doute peinte dans la mandorle. Le concepteur de cette image jouait alors sur la bidimensionnalité de l'image du Christ et les sculptures en relief des anges et de l'église. Il opposait la « vision » - une image spirituelle -, signifiée par l'image peinte, au monde sensible figuré par la sculpture.

◀ *Paris, BnF, ms. latin 12048, Sacramentaire de Gellone, peint à Meaux ou Cambrai vers la fin du VIIIᵉ siècle, f° 143v, parchemin, 300 x 180 mm.* © BnF.

▼ *Autry-Issards (Allier), église de La Trinité, portail occidental, tympan, milieu du XIIᵉ siècle.*
© Photothèque du CÉSCM, Cliché Angheben.

‘ART CONCEPTUEL / LA PUISSANCE DU SIGNE’ :

Ces six reproductions proviennent toutes d'un traité, *La louange à la Sainte-Croix*, rédigé et peint, en 810, par l'abbé du monastère de Fulda en Germanie. Voué à l'exaltation de la Sainte Croix, l'ouvrage se présente comme une suite de vingt-huit poèmes figurés, les *carmina figurata*, dotés d'une puissance sémantique et formelle singulière ainsi que de propriétés mathématiques.

Disposés en carré ou en rectangle, ces écrits possèdent toujours le même nombre de lettres. Le signe de la croix ou bien les motifs disposés afin d'en former la figure contiennent eux-mêmes des vers appelés les *versus intexti*. Ces vers peuvent être lus indépendamment du poème principal, tout en s'articulant étroitement avec lui. En vis-à-vis, sur la page de droite du codex, une explication, en prose, théologique et spirituelle (la *declaratio figurae*) fournit au lecteur la clé de compréhension du « poème-image ». Elle indique par exemple le sens de lecture des vers, des mots et comporte leur transcription.

Raban Maur n'est pas l'inventeur de cet exercice littéraire et spirituel d'une grande complexité qui est hérité de l'Antiquité. Toutefois, il livre une œuvre profondément originale par son érudition et l'imbrication étroite de l'écrit et de l'image. L'écriture y est iconique afin de donner à voir et à comprendre les mystères de la Sainte Croix tout en manifestant leur puissance symbolique et émotionnelle. Par ces moyens verbaux et visuels, Raban Maur cherche à suscite la méditation. Une poésie pour les yeux qui rend visible l'invisible.

Pour ce faire, le type d'images qui prévaut est celui des diagrammes en croix, des images qui ne sont pas ancrées dans l'univers sensible mais sont l'expression de réalités immatérielles. Au cours du premier Moyen Âge, le signe (*signum*) est lié aux sens. Il prend place dans le monde sensible et peut être observé comme tel : de l'encre sur le parchemin, le mouvement d'une main ou le cri d'un homme. Ces exemples sont considérés comme des choses (*res*). Si le signe est une chose, sa teneur/ sa signification est plus profonde : l'encre sur le papier est un mot qui fait naître l'idée qui lui correspond dans l'esprit du lecteur, le mouvement de la main est un adieu, le cri un appel… Le signe fait venir à l'esprit quelque chose d'autre. La croix est un signe, un signe sacré, qui doit élever l'esprit du lecteur des réalités matérielles vers les réalités immatérielles.

Une autre innovation majeure de *La louange à la Sainte-Croix*, par rapport aux autres *carmina figurata*, réside dans le fait que Raban Maur ne s'est pas contenté de représenter la croix dans sa configuration géométrique traditionnelle. Il varie les compositions et les ornements dont la disposition cruciforme évoque, pour le lecteur, l'image de la croix. Les motifs permettent de proposer différents niveaux de lecture, allant du littéral (le plus simple) au symbolique (le plus élaboré). Afin de proposer ce niveau sophistiqué d'interprétation, Raban Maur utilise la couleur et les nom-

bres en expliquant ses choix. Depuis l'Antiquité, musique, architecture, peinture obéissent en effet aux nombres pour satisfaire une exigence d'harmonie et de perfection. Et l'harmonie est proportion. Ainsi, la mesure et la proportion sont des vecteurs fondamentaux pour comprendre et signifier la perfection de la Création. L'expression de la perfection pour exalter la croix se traduit par exemple dans la matérialité du livre et des compositions qui l'ornent. La distribution des lettres sur la page du poème a fait l'objet de minutieux calculs.

Raban Maur exploite les qualités plastiques et spirituelles de la couleur afin d'enrichir son discours théologique. Sur le plan visuel, le changement de couleur d'encre, lorsque le texte s'inscrit dans une image, qu'elle soit abstraite ou figurative, contribue à observer les différents niveaux de lecture. Ce changement va de pair avec celui de la calligraphie dans les manuscrits réalisés sous le contrôle de Raban Maur, la capitale rustique étant utilisée pour le poème principal et l'onciale pour les *versus intexti*. Le choix des couleurs est aussi signifiant. Le jaune et le rouge qui sont des substituts moins onéreux à l'or et au pourpre, évoquent à la fois la lumière et la chair, autrement dit la double nature du Christ, et la dimension impériale et triomphale de la Croix.

▲ *Trois vues de l'exposition. Section 'La puissance du signe'.*
▼ © Médiathèque de Poitiers.

'LA PUISSANCE DU SIGNE / PÉNÉTRER DANS LE MYSTÈRE' :

Dans la culture chrétienne, les mots de la Bible traduisent l'impuissance de la condition humaine depuis la Chute, le message divin étant par nature incommensurable et transcendant le texte biblique lui-même. Ce message a en effet perdu sa profondeur en s'incarnant dans le langage sensible et limité des hommes. Les exégètes (les commentateurs du texte biblique) comme les peintres s'emploient à le reformuler pour lui rendre sa complexité. Les peintres évoquent aussi les limites du langage pictural ou de l'image en général à pouvoir exprimer le concept divin proprement infigurable.

Les enluminures à pleine page, appelées pages-tapis, des manuscrits produits durant le haut Moyen Âge en Irlande et Northumbrie (nord de l'actuelle Angleterre) sont ornementales au sens médiéval du terme. Le terme désigne aussi bien les motifs ornementaux que le mobilier et les objets liturgiques d'une église ou encore les attributs royaux… L'ornement sert en effet à révéler, à exalter, à définir ce qu'il investit (un lieu, le statut social d'une personne ou une représentation), afin d'en exprimer l'essence (la sacralité, la royauté…). Le motif cruciforme fonctionne comme un ornement qui permet de mettre en œuvre la pensée méditative. Plus l'œuvre visuelle est observée dans ses moindres détails, plus elle nourrit l'interprétation et se charge de significations. L'observateur doit se laisser guider par les multiples parcours proposés par les formes infinies de ces représentations qui seraient la porte d'entrée, le point de passage le transformant en lecteur du texte sacré. Les enluminures insulaires étaient conçues pour nourrir la méditation et l'élévation de l'esprit à la suite d'une contemplation intense et répétée.

Une rigoureuse construction géométrique préside à la composition de ces œuvres. L'ambition intellectuelle de ces scribes était d'exprimer la complexité du texte sacré tout en exaltant la perfection de la création divine. L'application de proportions mathématiques aux formes visibles reflète la perfection de la création divine, la structure du monde. En outre, les auteurs chrétiens s'appuient sur un célèbre vers de la Sagesse 11:21 : « Tu as tout disposé avec mesure, nombre et poids ».

D'autres solutions ont été inventées par les peintres pour inviter le lecteur à se préparer à entrer dans le texte sacré : figurer un rideau pourpre pour en marquer le début. Ce 'tissu' soustrait à la vue ce qui se trouve derrière lui, à l'instar du rideau pourpre du Temple de Jérusalem qui en dissimulait la partie la plus sacrée, le sanctuaire. Toutefois ici, métaphoriquement, le lecteur en tournant la page pouvait 'lever le voile' et accéder à la révélation. Le voile pourpre dans un contexte chrétien est aussi une métaphore de l'incarnation.

Vue de l'exposition. Le manuscrit de Londres, British Library, Cotton Ms. Nero D. IV., Évangiles de Lindisfarne, peints avant 689 en Angleterre (monastère de Lindisfarne), f°26v et 138v, parchemin, 365 × 275 mm. Le manuscrit de Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 57, Livre de Durrow, Évangiles, peints à la fin du VIIe siècle ou au début du VIIIe siècle, f° 125v, vélin, 250 × 150 mm. © Médiathèque de Poitiers / Clichés Olivier Neuillé.

Vue de l'exposition. Le manuscrit de Londres, British Library, Egerton 608, Évangiles, peints dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle à Echternach, f°133, parchemin, 235 x 170 mm. Le manuscrit de Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, cod. AE 679, Évangiles de Saint-André de Cologne, peints à Cologne dans le premier tiers du XIe siècle, f°126 v, parchemin. Le manuscrit de Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 94, Évangiles de la cathédrale de Bamberg, peint à Cologne dans la seconde moitié XIe siècle, f°1, parchemin, 245 x 190 mm. Le manuscrit de Londres, British Library, Harley 3667, Annales de l'abbaye de Peterborough, manuscrit peint après 1122 à Peterborough, f°7v, parchemin, 315 x 205mm. © Médiathèque de Poitiers / Clichés Olivier Neuillé.

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 94, Évangiles de la cathédrale de Bamberg, peint à Cologne dans la seconde moitié XIe siècle, f°1, parchemin, 245 x 190 mm.

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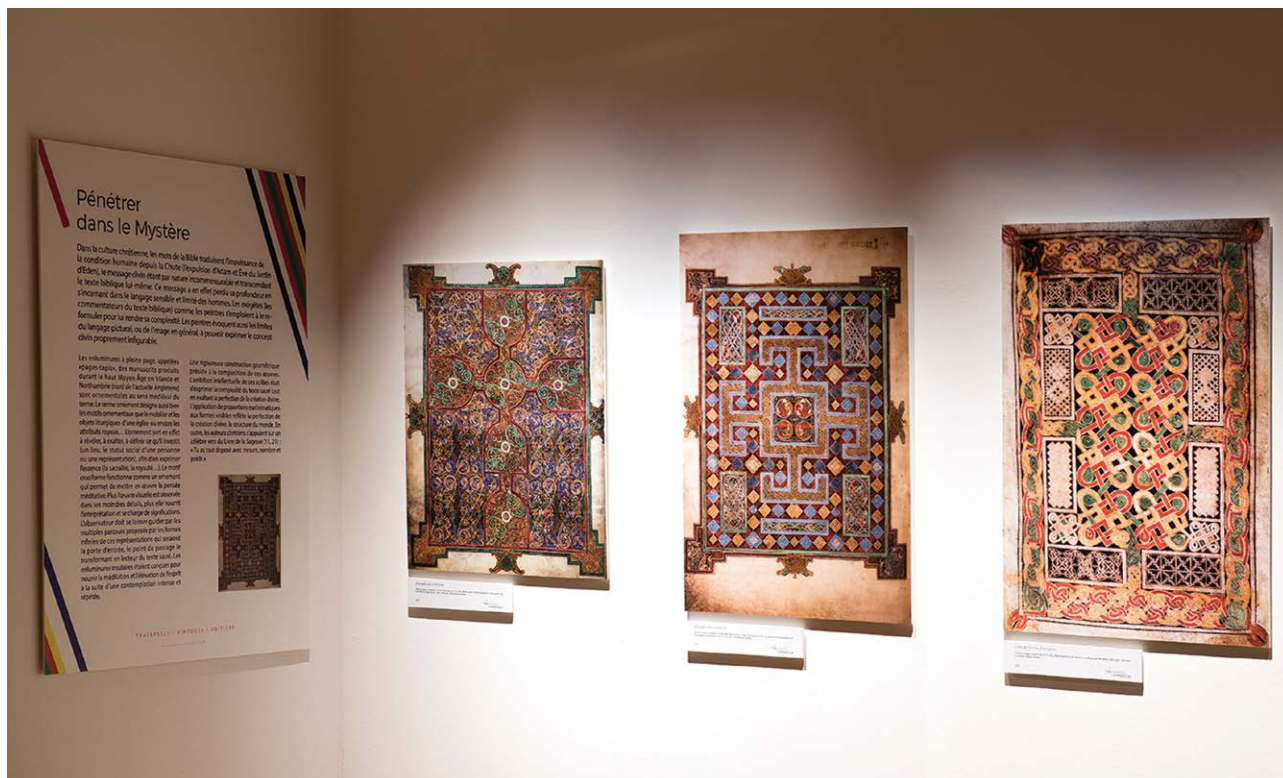
'LA PUISSANCE DU SIGNE / REPRÉSENTER L'INVISIBLE' :

La couleur est une déclinaison de la lumière, la matière la plus noble car la plus proche de l'immatérialité. La lumière (*lumen*) est un signe de Dieu (*lux*). Le *lumen* est perceptible pour l'homme contrairement à la *lux* (lumière primordiale) qu'il ne peut plus percevoir depuis la Chute. Autrement dit, la couleur, déclinaison de la lumière, est le signe de Dieu. Le peintre des Évangiles de Saint-André de Cologne a utilisé un lavis bleu et bleu vert qui laisse transparaître la peau du parchemin, considérée comme vivante car issue du monde organique. En appliquant la couleur bleue, évocation de l'air, sur la chair encore visible du parchemin, il livre une magnifique définition de l'incarnation, rencontre de la chair et de l'Esprit.

Le concepteur de l'image des Évangiles de Bamberg a proposé une autre solution pour signifier l'incarnation. Le champ de la représentation, bien délimité par une bordure ornementale classicisante, est recouvert d'un aplat pourpre d'une grande densité. Dans l'économie de ce précieux manuscrit, ce rectangle coloré possède une signification profonde liée peut-être à la manifestation d'un processus en cours.

Dans un champ rectangulaire, le peintre des Annales de l'abbaye de Peterborough a disposé douze médaillons contenant les noms des douze apôtres. Entre chacun d'eux figurent les noms de douze prophètes de l'Ancien Testament. Un poème court sur les rubans des bordures pour insister sur la numérologie, douze étant le nombre des mois et des heures. Sur la bordure qui délimite le plus petit rectangle a été inscrit le nom des quatre évangélistes, complété par un poème qui évoque l'importance du chiffre quatre dans l'ordre du monde. Des traits obliques relient les angles du champ intérieur à la figure centrale : une mandorle dont la bordure porte le verset de l'épître aux Hébreux sur le trône éternel de Dieu et celui du Psaume 9:5 sur le trône de justice. La composition et les inscriptions suffisent sans ambiguïté à évoquer le Christ, Dieu incarné. La mandorle vide où pourtant l'on attend son image suggère l'invisibilité du *logos* (Dieu) qui a présidé à la Création ordonnée dont le diagramme est une visualisation.
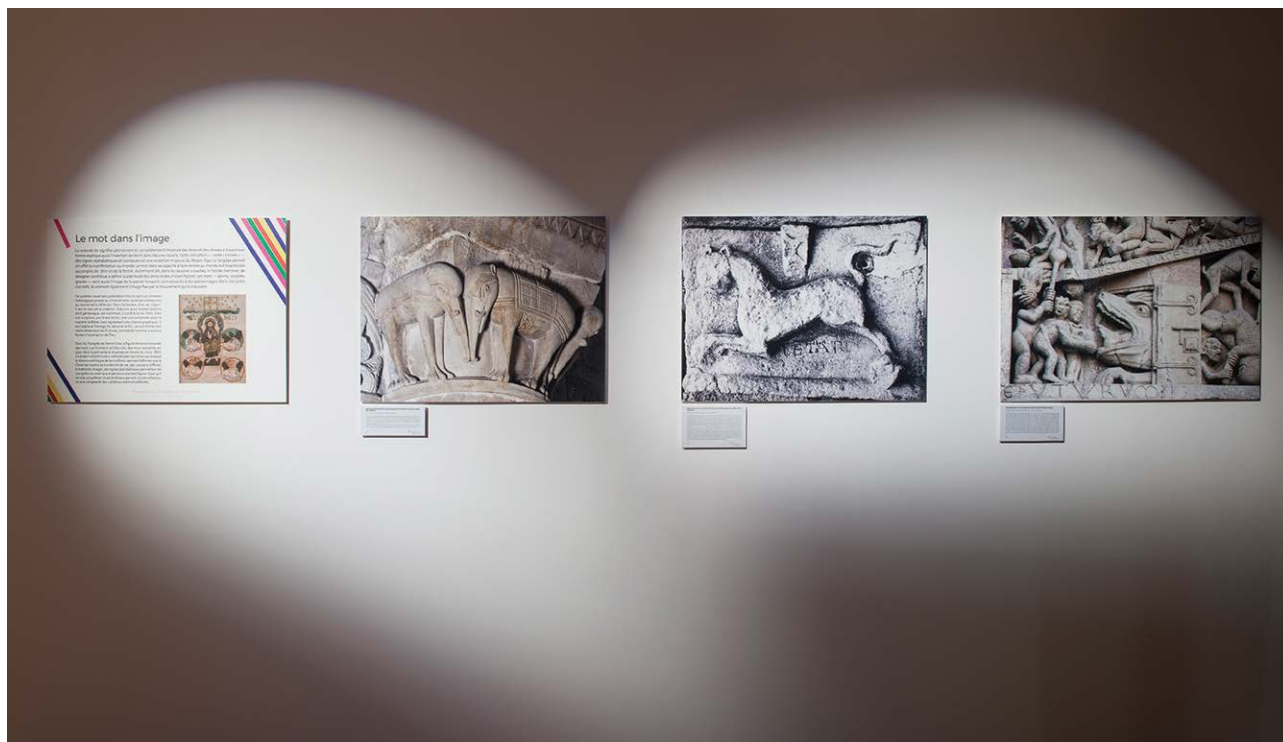
'Le mot dans l'image' :

La volonté de signifier pleinement et complètement l'essence des êtres et des choses à travers leur forme explique aussi l'insertion de l'écrit dans l'œuvre visuelle. Cette intrication – « cette croisée » – des signes alphabétiques et iconiques est une invention majeure du Moyen Âge. Le langage permet en effet la manifestation au monde. Le mot dans sa capacité à faire exister au monde est l'expression accomplie de l'être et de la forme. Autrement dit, dans les œuvres visuelles, le fait de nommer, de désigner contribue à définir la plénitude des êtres et des choses figurés. Les mots – peints, sculptés, gravés – sont aussi l'image de la parole lorsqu'ils sont associés à des personnages. Dans les cycles narratifs, ils animent également l'image fixe par le mouvement qu'ils induisent.

Ce système visuel sans précédent s'inscrit dans un contexte théologique propre au christianisme. Le Verbe créateur est au centre de la réflexion. Dans la Genèse, Dieu est *logos* : il est la voix de la création. Dieu est aussi *nomen* dans le récit génésiaque : en nommant, il confère la vie. Dieu est *scriptura*, une trace écrite, une voix enfermée dans la matière (la Bible), mais également une citation graphique : Il est l'alpha et l'oméga (le début et la fin). La voix divine s'est matérialisée dans les Écritures, considérées comme une autre forme d'incarnation de Dieu.

Dans les Évangiles de Sainte-Croix, la figure divine est entourée des mots *Lux* (lumière) et *Vita* (vie), des mots redoublés en grec dans la pancarte et disposés en forme de croix : ΦΩC 'lumière' et ΖΩΗ 'vie'. Cette double inscription qui évoque le *titulus* multilingue de la crucifixion permet d'affirmer que le Christ est source de lumière et de vie, des concepts difficiles à mettre en en images. Les signes alphabétiques permettent de compléter la vision que le peintre a souhaité figurer. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce système visuel ambitieux permet une densification et une complexité des contenus rarement atteintes.

Sur la corbeille de ce chapiteau de l'église d'Aulnay, trois éléphants harnachés ont été sculptés. Une inscription surmonte le pachyderme de la face centrale : HI SVNT ELEPHANTES (ce sont des éléphants). L'inscription n'a pas pour fonction d'identifier l'animal pour l'observateur du XIIe siècle qui aurait dû non seulement maîtriser la lecture mais aussi le latin. Associer la représentation de l'animal à son nom permet au concepteur de l'image de définir pleinement ce qu'est l'éléphant et de le rendre présent par l'usage du démonstratif.

Derrière la représentation, il y a l'histoire de cet animal, grand ennemi du dragon, donc de Satan. Selon les encyclopédies et les bestiaires, l'éléphant protège des serpents, de la vermine car il est réputé chaste. Il peut de surcroît se domestiquer, ce que le sculpteur d'Aulnay n'a pas omis.

Au portail ouest de l'église d'Usson-du-Poitou, un chapiteau figure un lion, accompagné d'une courte inscription du XIe siècle ou du début du XIIe siècle, le verbe latin *laetare* (réjouis-toi) sous la forme LETARE. Sous une apparente simplicité, cette image d'une grande économie de moyens est pourtant d'une grande richesse sémantique en raison de la conjonction des signes alphabétiques et iconiques.

Très représenté au Moyen Âge, le lion est, entre autres, considéré comme une figure du Christ et le symbole de sa résurrection. L'inscription ne désigne pas l'animal et ne signifie pas non plus le sens ou la fonction de la représentation. Elle se réfère aux premiers mots d'une antienne (un chant) entonnée dans l'attente de la passion et de la résur-

rection du Christ, le quatrième dimanche de carême : *Laetare, Jerusalem* (« Réjouis-toi, Jérusalem »). Ce chant est fixé de manière pérenne dans la pierre et associé à la figure non moins permanente du fauve, évocation du retour à la vie. L'œuvre sculptée est située au seuil de l'église – zone liminaire – qui marque bien sûr le passage d'un lieu à un autre (espace sacré, espace vécu ; ordre, désordre), mais aussi symboliquement celui d'un état à un autre. Monumentalisée par l'inscription à la porte de l'église, l'antienne évoque le moment d'attente avant le passage d'un temps à un autre (mort/résurrection ; péché/salut). À la fois pérenne et éphémère, temps éternellement suspendu et instant, mémoire de la performance passée et chant fixé dans la pierre, l'inscription est amplifiée par la représentation du lion. Le mot vient ici en dilater le sens. En une inscription, une figure et par l'emplacement de son œuvre, le peintre exprime la tension dramatique liée à la performance liturgique.

Un poème court sur les bandeaux qui délimitent les trois registres du tympan du Jugement dernier du Jugement dernier de l'abbatiale Sainte-Foy de Conques. Les deux derniers vers sonnent comme une mise en garde : O PECCATORES TRANSMVTETIS NISI MORES / IVDICIVM DVRVM VOBIS SCITOTE FVTVRVM ('Ô pécheurs, si vous ne transformez pas vos mœurs / Sachez qu'un jugement sévère vous attend'). La représentation du tympan est une vision de ce qui va se produire à la fin des temps. L'événement mis en images à Conques est potentiel, comme le suggère l'exhortation finale du poème. L'ambition intellectuelle et géniale de vouloir tout mettre en signe a conduit les concepteurs d'images à trouver des solutions plastiques pour figurer ce qui possiblement peut advenir (ici pour le pécheur). Le dernier mot du poème est en effet *futurum* (futur). Ce terme fait l'objet d'un traitement verbal et plastique qui lui donne un relief particulier au sein du dispositif graphique. Le module des lettres est particulièrement étiré, dilaté afin que ce mot soit le seul à figurer et à s'étendre dans la partie droite du bandeau, sous l'antichambre de l'enfer. L'accent mis sur le mot *futurum* forme donc un contrepoint visuel et verbal au geste menaçant du diable qui brandit son gourdin. Après le mot *futurum*, sous l'enfer, le bandeau est vierge de toute inscription comme si le futur n'était pas encore définitivement écrit pour le pécheur et que la page encore blanche restait à rédiger.

'matérialité et rhétorique des couleurs' :

L'art du premier Moyen Âge se caractérise par une franche matérialité. En raison du refus de l'illusionnisme, la présence des matériaux affirme l'artificialité essentielle de l'image. C'est pourquoi le verre, les métaux, les émaux, les tesselles de mosaïque apparaissent fortement. C'est également pour cette raison que les couleurs sont franches, vives et éloignées de la palette naturaliste de l'Antiquité.

Les concepteurs d'images recherchent bien sûr les effets produits par les matériaux - la transparence, la brillance, le chatoiement, le scintillement…- mais ils choisissent aussi ceux-ci en fonction des qualités et des vertus dont ils sont dotés. L'ivoire de l'éléphant, le bronze ou le cyprès sont par exemple utilisés pour signifier la chair pure et incorruptible du Christ.

Une enluminure à pleine page qui marque l'ouverture des Évangiles de Sainte-Croix figure le Christ en majesté entouré des quatre Vivants, symboles également des évangélistes (l'aigle de Jean, l'homme ailé de Matthieu, le taureau de Luc et le lion de Marc). À cet emplacement du manuscrit, l'image affirme l'ascendance divine des quatre livres des Évangiles. Or, les concepteurs d'images se heurtent à une difficulté d'une grande complexité : comment mettre pleinement en signes le divin et la nature humaine du Christ, Dieu incarné ?

Dans cette œuvre, le peintre carolingien a choisi de jouer sur l'ambivalence des formes : il figure à la fois le Christ en majesté et une crucifixion voilée. Plusieurs indices confirment cette interprétation : le signe de la croix est suggéré par une forme horizontale ondulante, distincte des nuées, petites virgules vertes et orange. L'inscription dans le panneau qui la surmonte rappelle le titulus INRI de la crucifixion (remplacé ici par les mots 'vie' et 'lumière' en grec). Les paroles du bon larron au moment de la crucifixion ont été écrites sous les pieds du Christ mais légèrement modifiées. Le scribe y a ajouté le mot 'Dieu' : « Souviens-toi de moi, Seigneur Dieu, quand tu viendras dans ton royaume » (Luc 23:43).

Pour manifester la double nature du Christ, Dieu et homme, le peintre utilise les deux pigments les plus précieux de sa palette, l'or pour le manteau, l'argent pour la tunique ; l'or pour le divin, l'argent pour la chair. En observant l'œuvre de plus près, le choix des couleurs est plus fascinant qu'il n'y paraît.

L'argent en s'oxydant devient noir mais ici la couleur de la tunique est plus profonde et assez indéfinissable. Des particules d'or y sont visibles. Les aplats or sont également brouillés et plus ternes qu'ils ne le devraient. Le peintre a mélangé dans des proportions différentes l'argent avec l'or pour réaliser la tunique et le manteau du Christ. Il a voulu figurer l'*electrum* mentionné par Ézéchiel dans sa description traduite en latin de l'apparition de Dieu (« … sur cette sorte de trône, tout en haut, se tenait une forme qui avait une apparence humaine. Je vis que cette forme scintillait comme de l'*electrum* et qu'elle paraissait entourée de feu », Ézéchiel 1:26). Compris comme un alliage d'or et d'argent (trois parts d'or pour une part d'argent), l'*electrum* est interprété par Grégoire le Grand comme une manifestation de la double nature du Christ : l'argent – la chair – est rehaussé par l'éclat de l'or, tandis que l'or, la divinité, la lumière, est atténué par l'argent et devient donc perceptible pour les hommes.

Souhaitant définir Dieu tout en exprimant sa complexité et sa totalité, le peintre carolingien a convoqué les formes, la matière et les mots. La vision brillante et scintillante qu'il en proposait permettait au possesseur du manuscrit, assimilé au bon larron, de voir de manière anticipée Dieu et de l'interpeller en murmurant ces mots 'souviens-toi de moi…'.

▲ *Vue de l'exposition. Section 'matérialité et rhétorique des couleurs'.* © Médiathèque de Poitiers, cliché Olivier Neuillé.

▶ *Les Évangiles de Sainte-Croix. Poitiers, Médiathèque, ms. 17 (65), peint probablement à Corbie à la fin du VIIIe siècle ou au début du IXe siècle, parchemin, 314 x 225 mm, f° 31.* © Médiathèque de Poitiers.

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Une enluminure à pleine page annonce le début du récit évangélique de Jean dans le manuscrit de la Pierpont Morgan Library. Le concepteur de l'image a peint une sorte de tourbillon – un vortex – qui entraîne l'œil du spectateur vers un point de convergence légèrement décalé par rapport au centre de la composition. Si le mouvement induit par les lignes ondulantes témoigne de la spontanéité du geste, l'œuvre a été réalisée avec une très grande technicité. Le motif central, le tourbillon, appartient à la première couche picturale, réalisée avec une couleur d'un pourpre assez clair, sur laquelle le peintre a appliqué une couche de bleu clair. Puis, de fines lignes d'un bleu plus soutenu ont été ajoutées : elles permettent de renforcer l'animation de cette matière soumise à une force singulière. L'image est si saisissante qu'il faut pouvoir s'en détacher pour remarquer les deux colonnes de texte en lettres d'or ('Au nom du Christ le commencement du saint évangile selon Jean'). Le texte s'avère difficile à lire non pas à cause de la graphie mais parce que l'œil est attiré par le tourbillon visuel.

Pour comprendre pleinement cette image impénétrable, il faut observer la peinture qui orne le verso du folio. Il s'agit de l'incipit du récit de Jean : « *In principio erat Verbum* » (Au commencement – au principe – était le Verbe), une phrase qui devient l'objet d'une représentation. Toutefois, les lettres et les syllabes qui la composent ne sont pas disposées en respectant le sens naturel de lecture. Le regard doit donc se déplacer d'une manière particulière. Cette proposition sophistiquée dialogue bien sûr avec l'image précédente : en tournant la page, le lecteur passe de la représentation d'une substance informe, indéterminée en mouvement, timbrée de grandes capitales romaines lisibles à une composition ordonnée, géométrique mais complexe qui nécessite une pause dans la lecture. Le peintre ne pou-

vait pas mieux mettre en signe le dessein divin résumé dans les premiers versets du livre johannique : le monde a été créé à partir de la matière primordiale. Dieu lui a donné une forme. Le peintre met en image le processus créatif et réitère lui-même le geste du Créateur en donnant forme à la matière (ici la peinture). La complexité introduit par le scribe dans l'acte de lecture comme l'ornementation des lettres traduisent la profondeur et le mystère du dessein divin. L'observateur est ainsi préparé à entrer dans la lecture du texte sacré.

L'initiale I ornée qui marque le début du texte de la Genèse (*In principio creavit…*) s'impose sur le folio. La lettre est encadrée symétriquement par des rinceaux, noués en son centre, qui s'épanouissent en palmettes. Par une subtile subdivision, quatre aplats – rouge, jaune, bleu et rouge – séparent les entrelacs du reste de la page tandis que quatre aplats – vert, bleu, jaune et vert – ponctuent autant qu'ils soulignent l'espace compris entre la lettre et ses exubérances végétales.

Dernière enluminure du sacramentaire de Marmoutier, cette représentation contraste par le choix de ses couleurs avec les autres images peintes dans ce manuscrit carolingien. Les médaillons se caractérisent par un fond bleu nuit sur lequel se détachent de graciles silhouettes peintes en or, accompagnées d'inscriptions dorées. Sur le médaillon central, l'abbé est figuré en train de bénir ses ouailles (moines et laïcs) tandis que les quatre petits médaillons contiennent les personnifications des quatre vertus cardinales (Prudence, Force, Tempérance, Justice).

Pour signifier le changement d'état des personnages engendré par le rituel, le peintre s'est référé aux intailles antiques sur cristal de roche. Selon une tradition exégétique, le cristal évoque en effet à la fois la transparence – voir de

l'extérieur ce qui se passe à l'intérieur - et la transformation – de l'eau en glace puis en pierre précieuse. Il est le signe du baptême – bain purificateur de lumière –, de la pureté angélique et de la chair incorruptible du Christ, après la résurrection. Les matières transparentes sont également identifiées à la lumière qui en jaillit.

Derrière le matériau ou sa représentation, il y a toujours son histoire. La propriété et la valeur du cristal sont « transférées » à l'image peinte pour évoquer la transformation spirituelle de ceux qui assistent à la performance liturgique, qui les rend aptes à recevoir la lumière divine.

Une déchirure a été réparée par une fine broderie dont les motifs présentent une alternance de couleurs. Ces couleurs rythment la couture ornementale et répondent à celles de la lettre ornée. La broderie introduit une épaisseur supplémentaire à la page et questionne la nature de la surface d'écriture et sa matérialité. La dimension profondément tactile de la page du parchemin est assumée.

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◤ *Vue de l'exposition.*
© Médiathèque de Poitiers / Cliché Olivier Neuillé.

▼ *Autun, BM, ms. 19bis, Sacramentaire de Marmoutier, f° 173v. Manuscrit peint à Tours, vers 845-850, pour l'abbé Rainaud de Marmoutier, parchemin, 338 x 245 mm.* © IRHT.

▼ *Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 3, Bible, f° 6v. Manuscrit peint à Engelberg (Suisse), entre 1143 et 1178, sous l'abbatiat de Frowin, parchemin, 440 x 317 mm.* © Stiftsbibliothek, Engelberg.

MUZEUL NATIONAL AL UNIRII ALBA IULIA

musekon

11 MARTIE - 30 APRILIE 2020

MARIUS OPREA

POPORUL PIERDUT
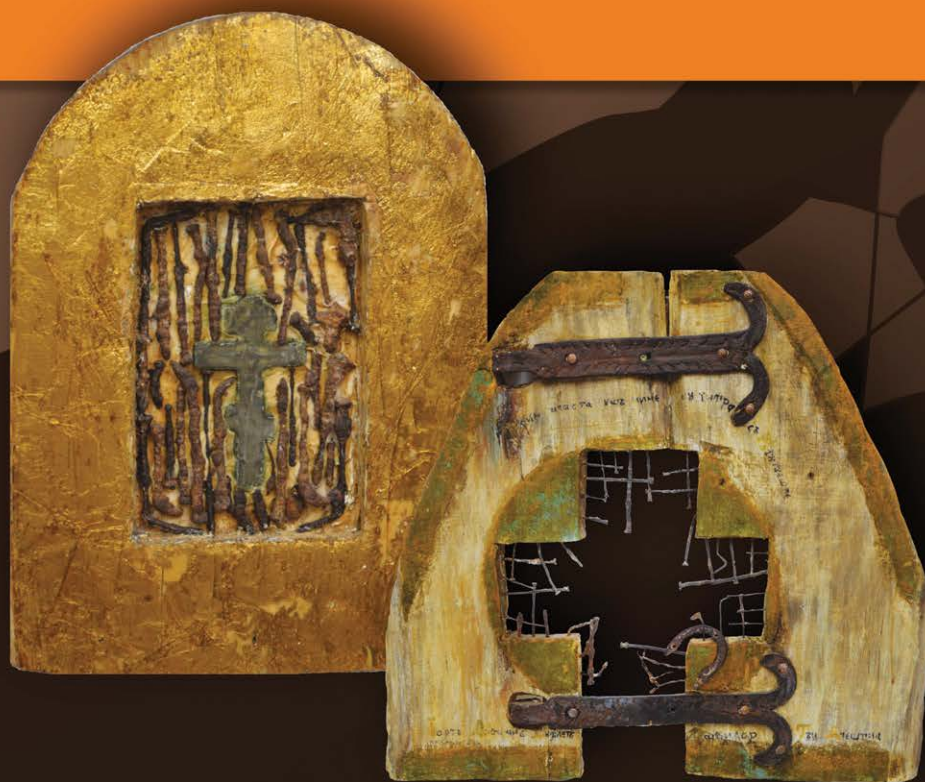
Vernisaj si conferinta, miercuri, 11 martie 2020, ora 16:00

Museikon, str. Unirii, nr. 3

Many Ways to Die, One Resurrection
Marius Oprea – Poporul pierdut. *An Exhibition*

Cristina Bogdan
University of Bucharest, Bucharest (RO)

March 11, 2020. The day of a peculiar *vernissage*-without-an-audience of an exhibition aiming to retrieve the bright shadows of those who were lost, to convert their absence into a renewed presence. *Museikon* – Alba Iulia's Museum of Old Icons and Books, hosted a twofold profession of faith: that of historian Marius Oprea, reinvented as artist (although he does not see himself as one), in order to create the 'icons' of the victims of the Romanian communist regime (especially in its early years); and that of the victims who can finally find their peace, regaining their voices and identities through tell-tale artefacts testifying to their martyrdom.

Marius Oprea shines a light on these deaths which span three decades and share common traits regardless of the manner of their perpetration. They are all violent, undeserved, and unjust ends, whose victims were denied a trial or a proper Christian burial. The graves dug hastily in woods, ravines, and other remote places, in order to conceal the massacres, have become the object of Marius Oprea's research: his own *archaeological* pursuit investigates the communist crimes committed in Romania not only by 'unearthing' archives and gathering oral recollections, but by actively searching the depths of the earth.

Sentenced to death, and implicitly condemned to oblivion once their tortured bodies were thus discarded, the martyrs were brought back and integrated into the *lost people*, as the tireless seeker has aptly put it. They are brought back into our sight and into the light of history, they are offered a *monument*, a form of *remembrance*. The lost people manifests its presence in order to help us understand how much has been forcibly taken from us, how much we have given up in the times of terror, how much we have missed out on, due to oblivion, ignorance, fear or indifference.

The silent voices of those killed, their forgotten faces, all reduced to a handful of bones, reveal to us how much we have to retrieve. Which *lost people*? The hidden one – buried in haste and in secret, at night? Or is it us – who have yet to retrieve the erased memory of our predecessors, and have allowed us to be swept into an ocean of unawareness and oblivion?

In a volume dedicated to the *history of the gaze in the West*, the French mediologist Régis Debray provided a compelling commentary on the emergence of image out of death, from death, and the interplay between the *decomposition of death and the re-composition through image*.[1] This time, however, the stake was much higher: restitution meant not only restoring the image of those who had been robbed of it, but also performing their Christian funerals

◀ *Poster of the exhibition.* Credits for all photos: Museikon.

▼ *Exhibit: Jesus at Aiud / Iisus de la Aiud.*

and thus, through this ritual, returning them to the families who had lost them six decades before. The dead were remembered not only in the memorial services, but also in the imaginary of their descendants, in the accounts passed down from one generation to the next.

The documentary directed by Nicolae Mărgineanu, based on the investigations conducted by Marius Oprea alongside three other archaeologists (Gheorghe Petrov, Paul Scrobotă and Horațiu Groza) and entitled *Four ways of dying*, records all moments of this reparatory pursuit as well

as the touching reactions of those who were often deprived of ever meeting and getting to know their parents or grand-parents.

Beside this film, the countless pages he wrote and the conferences he delivered on this issue testify to Marius Oprea's increasing interest in the idea of an exhibition of religious art which would include the *signs* and traces offered by the ground where he had searched for the dead. Etymologically, any sign is an invitation to muse on what is gone.

There is nothing new about the decision to create a collection with the objects retrieved from the gravesites[2] (many an exhibit room in the world's museums are thus constituted); however, the absolute novelty lies in the humble, plain, seemingly insignificant objects (rusty nails, pieces of coffin planks, bullets, buttons, clasps, and other fragments of items of personal use) telling a tale and inconspicuously becoming part of a work of art.

Who would have thought of keeping the traces covered in dust and blood of violent deaths that occurred more than half a century ago – brought to light by excavations of the sites where they were known or assumed to exist? Only a person of profoundly Christian understanding of the power encapsulated in these fragments of reality, which accompanied the victims' bodies and still retain their imprint.

Buried in the ground, these were everyday items lacking any aesthetic value; once returned to us, they reveal and carry something of the identity of their former possessors. Marius Oprea has grasped this symbolic transfer and collected these remains with the veneration and care of a Christian handling relics. He carried them with him, kept them present in his life, and then he began to create various arrangements in collages, setting rusty nails against gold leaf backgrounds, fashioning the coffins' wood into the

▲ *Two views of the exhibition.*

◣ *Exhibit: The Angel and the Tree of Life /* Îngerul și Copacul vieții.

◢ *Exhibit: The Triptych of Rîmeți /* Tripticul de la Rîmeți, 2016.

crosses that were never erected on the graves of these martyrs, painting, writing lists of names and fragments of their stories.

In an essay dedicated to the *object as universe*, ethnologist Șerban Anghelescu writes about the suffering of matter, of natural materials, when human practices turn them into components of cultural reality. It is their sacrifice that elevates and sacralises the artefact: "A shirt is sacralised through the suffering of linen and hemp fabric; bread, through the suffering of wheat grains; polenta, through the pains endured by the maize. The most trivial and insignificant things on earth have been subject to crushing, boiling, rotting, drowning, spiking, and by this suffering they have been transfigured and glorified".[3] If a natural element, subject to some sort of "tribulation", can gain an aura of sacredness, then all the more so, those unjustly humiliated, tortured, and killed can sanctify through their suffering the objects that accompanied them in their final moments and into the dark depths of the earth.

These artefacts, displayed in the exhibition offered by Museikon in Alba Iulia after the fashion of curiosities cabinets of the Renaissance, bear titles which circumscribe several semantic areas. Following the titles, we move across a succession of concentric circles centred around Christian themes. The journey takes us from captions that have some of the mystery of the sacrament of Confession (*Atonement*, *Penance*, *Confession*), towards those evoking architectural elements specific to religion or detention (*Al-*

▼ *Exhibit: Apostle /* Apostol, 2017.

▲ *Exhibit: The Way and the Truth and the Life /*
Calea, Adevărul și Viața, 2012.

▲ *Exhibit: Pomelnik, Periprava, Summer /*
Pomelnic, Periprava, vara 2019.

◄ *Exhibit: My Son's World /*
Lumea fiului meu, decembrie 2019.

◣ *View of the exhibition.*

▶ *Exhibit: Gate /* Poartă, 2016.

tar Door, Holy Doors, Gateway, Angels' Doors, Heaven's Gates Before the Sinner, Standing Cross, Partisan's Cross, Prison Cell Door). We draw strength from life-giving words of the Gospels (*The Way, The Truth and the Life; Our Daily Bread*), to be able to face the hardest images we carry in our souls – those about death, the dead bodies, the passage into the After-world (*The Dead Man's Feet, Death of a Detainee, Crucifixion, Tomb, Remembrance, Saturday of Souls*). An angel's wing hovers above them all, as if to tell us that in the darkest hours and deepest loneliness, man is accompanied by beings belonging to a different ontological order, able to bring comfort where this is beyond human ability (*Prison Camp Angel, The Guardian Angel, The Angel of Periprava, Angel of the House, The Angel and the Tree of Life, Seven Angels, Evangelists*, and so on). The invisible presence of the divine creatures, so many times evoked in the memoirs or poetry of prison camps, is here manifest in the artefacts which, in their overwhelming simplicity, demonstrate once more that power is revealed in the seemingly frail, weak, imperfect things.

Space is never neutral, but is identified by means of place names that recreate the places of torture, of man's inhumanity towards man, and turn them into sites of memory. *Jesus at Aiud, The Crest of Aiud Prison, the Angel of Periprava* – these are titles that exude tears and blood.

The exhibits which Marius Oprea places before our eyes,
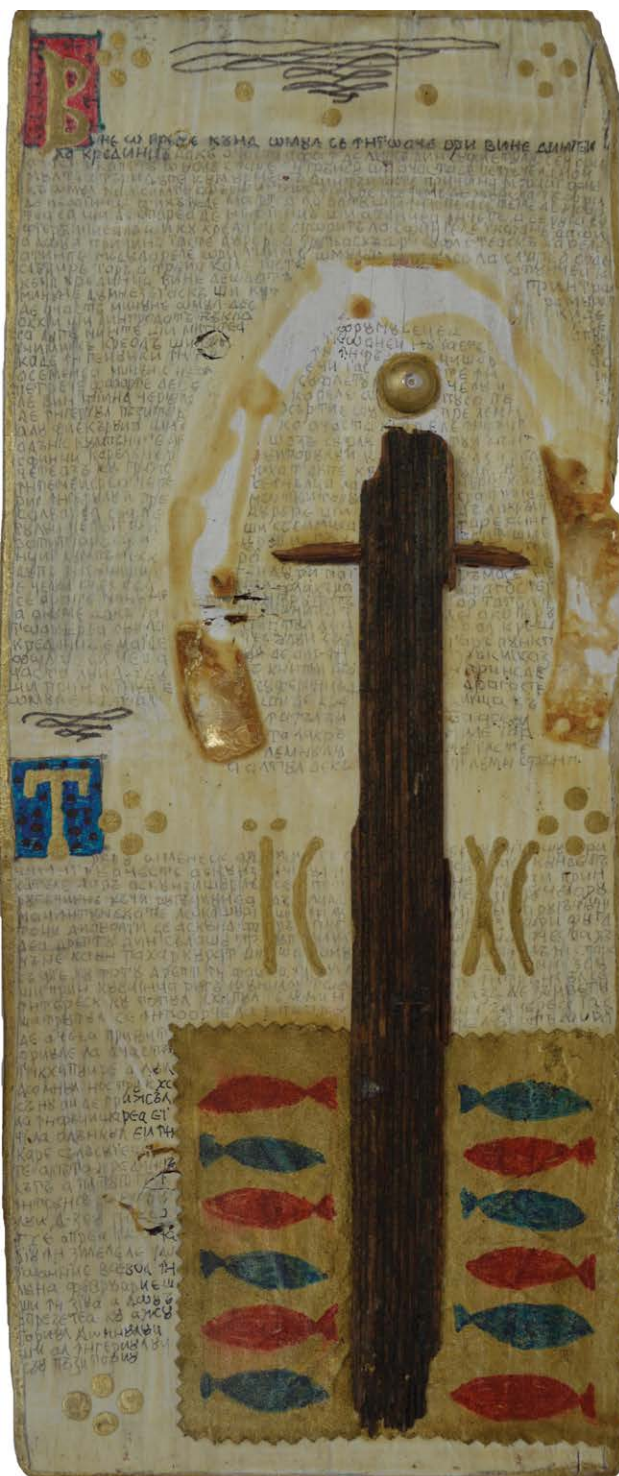
as if to invite us to attend a memorial service for the repose of the departed, can be adequately categorized as *semiophores*, the meaningful objects studied by Krzysztof Pomian.[4] They meet all the criteria he proposes: they bridge the gap between the *visible* and the *invisible* (the invisibility of the world they used to be part of – the graves – and the visibility they acquire on display); they are excluded from their natural environment (they no longer perform the function for which they were originally designed) and they are exhibited in order to tell the tale of tragic destinies; they lose their practical utility and their symbolic dimension is emphasized instead.

◀ *Exhibit: Confession /* Spovedanie, 2013.

▼ *Exhibit: Repentance /* Pocăință, 2013.

▲ *Exhibit: Martyrs /* Mucenici, 2014.

◣ *Exhibit: Ascension /* Înălțarea, ianuarie 2020.

▶ *Exhibit: The Dead Man's Feet /* Picioarele mortului, 2016.

During my virtual tour of the exhibition that gathers these items at Museikon, as in a bright vault, I remembered one of the *corporal works of mercy*, which in this context may be slightly rephrased and converted into an
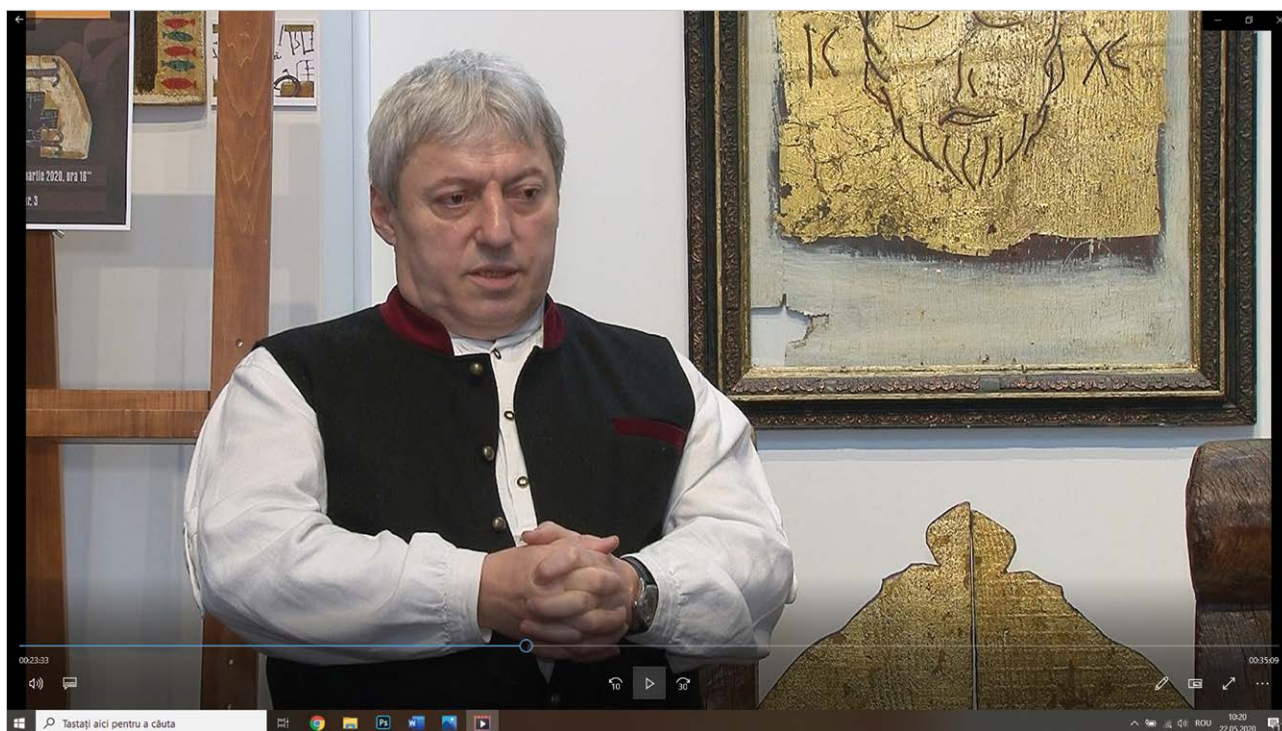
act of spiritual charity – *You were dead, and I found you...* It is no small feat to give rest to the deceased, by offering them Christian funerals (even belated ones, decades overdue); it is no small feat to give their families the comfort of knowing where and how their loved ones are laid to rest; and, above all, it is no small feat to immortalize these tortured and persecuted men, by blending their presence into the very fabric of religious items which have absorbed their lives and which now proclaim their pain and sacrifice with every fibre of the wood or nails which witnessed their excruciating deaths.

They were naked – the 51 men disinterred at Periprava's Lipovan cemetery, were indeed buried naked – and now they are clothed in angel wings. This exhibition recalls the art of the catacombs and the stoic simplicity of early Christianity which encompasses many ways of dying but only one Resurrection, which all await together, patiently waiting for Heaven.

Marius Oprea aims not only to retrieve but also to *preserve*, in the sense given by Alexandru Dragomir to such an endeavour: „Preserving something does not simply mean to want it to be permanent, or at least still valid; it primarily means to keep it regardless of its current functionality, to keep the memory of the past thing. In this case, *past* does not mean something that is gone and no longer exists, something irretrievably lost, but something that takes part in shaping the present and which provides the very grounds for the present, denoting where we come from."[5]

In this light, we understand that the sustained and extremely difficult work undertaken by Marius Oprea over decades is not simply oriented towards the past; it delves into the times gone by, in order to give the right to a correct existence, rooted in truth, for the times to come. In his search for the *Lost people* he is the first one to be transformed by what he discovers and by what he comes to learn. Marius Oprea takes knowledge to the ultimate end, as described by Father Andrei Scrima: „Knowing means going beyond the level of a psychological or intellectual information, it

▼ *Exhibit: Gironde Floating Prison /* Gironde, închisoarea plutitoare, 2013.

◄ *Exhibit: Shepherd's Drawer /* Sertarul păstorului, 2014.

◣ *Exhibit: Cemetery of the Poor /* Cimitirul săracilor.

▲ *Online opening of the exhibition four hours after the declaration of a Special State of Emergency in Romania to prevent the spread of Co-Vid 19. March 9, 2020.*

◢ *Exhibit: Saturday of Souls /* Sâmbăta morților.
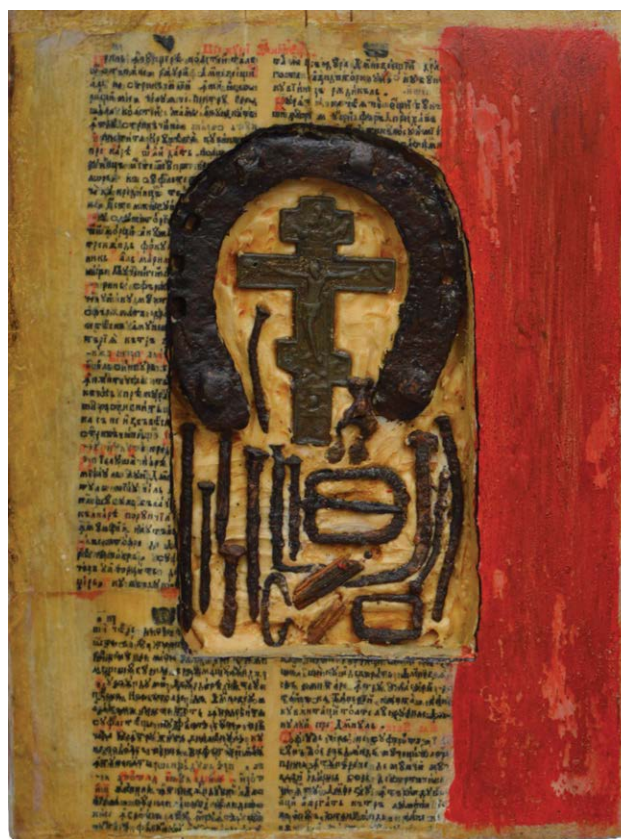
means to be born together (...) Knowing is making room, within yourself, for the known person".[6]

Before displaying his artefacts at *Museikon*, the historian let them dwell for years in his own consciousness, allowed them to be enveloped in the aura of everlasting light in his sorrowful heart which broadened to become a mausoleum-church or a *martyrion* over the bodies of those people killed unjustly, denied a trial, with incomprehensible cruelty. *They were dead, and he found them.* It is to the extent that we too discover them, find them in the objects created by Marius Oprea, that we all the more restore their right to life.

▸ *Exhibit: Evangelists /* Evangheliştii, 2012.
▴ *Exhibit: Prison Camp Angel /* Înger de lagăr, 2017.
◂ *Exhibit: Widow /* Văduvă, decembrie 2019.

Notes:

1 Debray 1992, p. 24.

2 Debray 1992, p. 24: C'est un constat banal que l'art naît funéraire, et renaît sitôt mort, sous l'aiguillon de la mort. Les honneurs de la tombe relancent de place en place l'imagination plastique, les sépultures des grands furent nos premiers musées, et les défunts eux-mêmes nos premiers collectionneurs. [...] La crypte, aussitôt refermée, était interdite le plus souvent d'accès et néanmoins remplie des matières les plus riches. Nos réservoirs d'images, à nous modernes, s'exposent à la vue. Étrange cycle des habitats de mémoire.

3 Anghelescu 2013, p. 68.

4 Pomian 1990.

5 Dragomir 2005, p. 181.

6 Scrima 2008, p. 25-26.

Bibliographical Abbreviations:

Anghelescu 2013 – Şerban Anghelescu, „Obiectul-univers" [The Object as Universe], in *Farmecul discret al etnologiei. Eseuri* [The Discreet Charm of the Ethnology. Essays], Bucharest, Tracus Arte, 2013.

Debray 1992 – Régis Debray, *Vie et mort de l'image: Une histoire du regard en Occident*, Paris, Gallimard, 1992.

Dragomir 2005 – Alexandru Dragomir, *Cinci plecări din prezent.*

Exerciţii fenomenologice [Five Departures from the Present. Exercises in Phenomenology], Bucharest, Humanitas, 2005.

Pomian 1990 – Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities. Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990.

Scrima 2008 – André Scrima, *Experienţa spirituală şi limbajele* ei [Spiritual Experience and Its Idioms], Romanian translation by Anca Manolescu, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2008.

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Notes and Property Marks on Old Printed Books
from the Collection of the Metropolitan Library in Bucharest

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résumé : La recherche menée sur les collections de la Bibliothèque Metropolitaine de Bucarest a mis en exergue un certain nombre de volumes qui présentent un intérêt scientifique particulier en vertu des notices transcrites dans leurs pages. Il s'agit de livres ayant appartenu à des notables du xvııᵉ-xvıııᵉ siècles (prince Constantin Brancovan, métropolites Sava Brancovici et Benjamin Costachi, ou l'imprimeur Georges Radovici), autant d'écrits roumains anciens imprimés à Târgoviște et Bucarest, que de textes étrangers ramenés de Venise ou de Lviv.

mots-clés : xvııᵉ-xıxᵉ siècles, Sava Brancovici, Constantin Brancovan, Georges Radovici, Benjamin Costachi.

rezumat: Cercetarea efectuată în colecțiile Bibliotecii Metropolitane din București a scos la iveală o serie de volume deosebite prin valoarea documentară a însemnărilor descoperite pe filele lor. Avem în vedere atât cărți românești vechi, editate la Târgoviște și București, dar și străine, aduse de la Veneția și Lvov, tipărite în secolele xvıı-xvııı și care au trecut prin mâinile unor personalități ale vremii: domnitorul Constantin Brâncoveanu, mitropoliții Sava Brancovici și Veniamin Costachi și tipograful Gheorghe Radovici.

cuvınte cheıe: secolele xvıı-xvııı, Sava Brancovici, Constantin Brâncoveanu, Gheorghe Radovici, Veniamin Costachi.

During the 16ᵗʰ-17ᵗʰ centuries in the Romanian and Eastern European lands, the printing press was a prerogative of the church and of the individuals in whose hands power was held (bishops, metropolitans, or voivodes). Rare were the cases in which a book was printed without the mention of the name of a hierarch or of the leader of that particular land on its title page. In this respect, the Romanian lands offer no exception. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the overwhelming majority of printed products were books necessary for performing religious service. Furthermore, these books were often donated to the churches by the publishers (and rarely by the typographers) themselves. In the following, I intend to present several cases of copies of old books – of Romanian and foreign origin – which were either owned at one time by noteworthy figures in Romanian culture, were donated by them to some churches, or were just signed, thus accompanying the community's donation to the local place of worship. The collection taken into account is a rich one. It is in the possession of the Metropolitan Library of Bucharest and it counts more than 500 copies of Old Romanian and foreign books, printed between the second half of the 15ᵗʰ century[1] and the beginning of the 19ᵗʰ century.[2] In the current presentation, chronology was the most important criterion, that is, the date when each particular book was published.

1. The oldest handwritten note may belong to the metropolitan bishop of Transylvania, Sava Brancovici. The text is written in the form of an annotation on pages 2r-19r of a copy of an *Octoechos* published in Lviv in 1639,[3] in the

printing house of the Orthodox Brethren.[4] The printer of the edition was Mihail Sliozska. The book, in 2° format, is in a relatively good state of preservation and has [1] f. + 6 f. + 350 f. + [1] f. [4] f. are missing from the beginning of the volume. The binding is made of wooden boards covered in leather. Cover 1 is decorated with a flowery border, completed by flowery arrangements in the inner corners, and by a central medallion with the scene of the Crucifixion. Cover 2 is decorated with a series of borders made of lines completed with flowery ornaments. Traces of clasps are visible and the back cover is recent. As for the note, it refers to the consolidation of a donation deed through which the book reached the church of Dragomireşti (Maramureş County):

Au cumpăratu această carte (Osmoglasnik) Bogdan Vasilie Titisan [?] și Turcuş Ştefan dănă Dragomireşti […][5] ca să fie pomană deareaptă sufle[te]lea lor și o au dat în be[sea] rica den Dragomireşti […] și cari va să fie […] acum înainte ce pe sama be[sea]recei să fie, să slujiască dăntr-ănsa aice în be[sea]reca de Dragomireşti, unde este hramul […] nici să […] nime nici să îndrăznească cineva a o vinde ce să fie pomană lor și părinților lor în veci, ear de s-ar afla cineva în […] ca acela și netemătoriu de Dumnezeu să o văndă sau să o pună în zălog sau mară și noi sau rămaşi[…] sau […] să fie blăstămat și afurisit de 3 sute și 18 de părinți și să aibă parte cu Iuda și cu Arie, iar cari va […] lui Dumnezeu și […] să le fie spre ertarea păcatelor. Datu-am aice în Maramorăş în sat Dragomireşti cum stă scris mai sus. Scris-am în zilele luminatului și temătoriului de Dumnezeu, Craiul Ardealului Apafi Mihaiu, Mitropolitul Ardea-

lului Sava Brancovici, luna av[gust] [?] 25 zile 1672 [?] mp.
They bought this book (Osmoglasnik): Bogdan Vasilie Titisan [?] and Turcuș Ştefan from Dragomireşti […] to be an alm for their soul, and gave it to the church of Dragomireşti […], and it will be […] of service from now on to the church in Dragomireşti, where the patron saint is […] not even to […] no one should ever dare to sell it as alms for themselves or their parents, even if somebody were to […], if one fearless of God should sell it or put it in pledge and we or remaining […] or […] to be cursed and anathematised by 3 hundred 18 parents and to have a share with Judah and Arius, and whoever will […] to God and […] be for the forgiveness of their sins. Given here in Maramureş in Dragomireşti village as it is written above. I wrote in the days of the enlightened and God-fearing King of Transylvania Michael Apafi, Metropolitan of Transylvania Sava Brancovici, month August [?] 25 days 1672 [?] mp.

On the flyleaf attached to the first cover, another person transcribed a text testifying to the presence of the book in the same church at a later time: *Octoihu Mare din Santa Baserica G. C. dein Dragomiresci* ("The Great Octoechos of the Holy Church G. C. from Dragomiresci").

In addition to the two donors Bogdan Vasilie Titisan and Ştefan Turcuş, the prince of Transylvania, Michael I Apafi (1661-1690), is also mentioned, followed by the metropolitan bishop Sava Brancovici. The latter is in fact the figure that is of most interest here. He was ordained on September 14, 1656 by metropolitan Ştefan of Ungrovlahia during the reign of prince George I Rákóczi, later deposed by prince Ákos Barcsay on February 15, 1660, and reinstated by prince Michael I Apafi in 1662.[6] Sava Brancovici was one of the most controversial figures leading the Metropolitan Church of Transylvania. He became known for a scandal which broke out when his plot against Prince Apafi was discovered, consequently leading to his removal from the leadership of the metropolitan see and to the confiscation of his personal properties, as well as those of his brother George. This is the precise moment when the printing house was mentioned documentarily, along with the books found in his possession.[7]

The date of the book's donation to the church in Dragomireşti could coincide with a visit of the metropolitan in that area. Sava Brancovici made many such visits in the lands under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Transylvania. Furthermore, it is well known that the hierarch was present at the consecration of the Moisei monastery in 1671.[8]

2. The Bucharest library also possesses five impressive colligates comprising the *Menaia* for the months of January, February, March, April, May, June, September, October, November, and December.[9] These Greek books were published in Venice in 1675-1685 and are well present in several important European old book collections.[10] The volumes corresponding to July (Venice, 1678) and August (Venice, 1683) are missing, but the other ten preserved *Menaia* are complete copies, in a good state of preservation. The books, in 2° format, were printed by Nicholas Glychi. One of them follows the tradition of the Greek prints dating back to the 17th century. Venice had a tradition of printing in Greek letters since the incunabular period, as well as books written in the Cyrillic alphabet ever since the beginning of the 16th century, one of the most notable printers of such books being Božidar Vuković.[11] The five ligatures of the volumes[12] kept at the Metropolitan Library of Bucharest are also special. Each colligate has a binding made of cardboard covered in leather. Cover 1 is decorated with an outer flowery border and an inner border with gilded flowery ornaments. A medallion with a biblical scene representing Jesus Christ is placed in the central field. The date of the binding was placed under this medallion: 7201 [1693].[13] Cover 2 is decorated with two flowery borders, inside which strips with floral ornaments were also placed. Some elements of the clasps are preserved.[14]

From the point of view of handwritten notes and property signs, the five colligates have an ex-libris in the form of a seal applied in carbon black.[15] This is the small seal of Constantine Brancovan, prince of Wallachia (1688-1714). The seal presents the image of a bird holding a cross in its beak, left-oriented, and completed with the initials K. B. (above) and V. V. (below), surrounded by laurels. A handwritten note preserved on the endleaf 1 of the colligate assembling the Menaion for January and the Menaion for February clarifies the situation even better, as the volumes were in the possession of the Hurezi monastery: *Această carte Sfântă şi Dumnezeiască este a Sfintei şi Dumnezeeştii mănăstiri Hurezi* ("This Holy and Divine Book belongs to the Holy and Divine Hurezi monastery"). Another note transcribed on the endleaf 2 and dating back to 1827 brings further information, mentioning that the donation of these Venetian Greek Menaia was made by Constantine Brancovan. This is not the only time when the Wallachian ruler donated such books. He offered numerous volumes to the Hurezi monastery and his entire princely library was also kept at Hurezi. The donation act is not surprising, since he was also the founder of Hurezi monastery. The year 1693, mentioned on the covers of the colligates, is also important, for these were recent books at that time. Constantine Brancovan was well known for his generosity, many books were either published or sponsored by him,[16] and they were donated to churches, as mentioned by the title pages of some of these volumes.

3. Another interesting case is that of the *Hieratikon* printed in Târgovişte in 1713.[17] The volume was published under the patronage of the same Constantin Brancovan, at
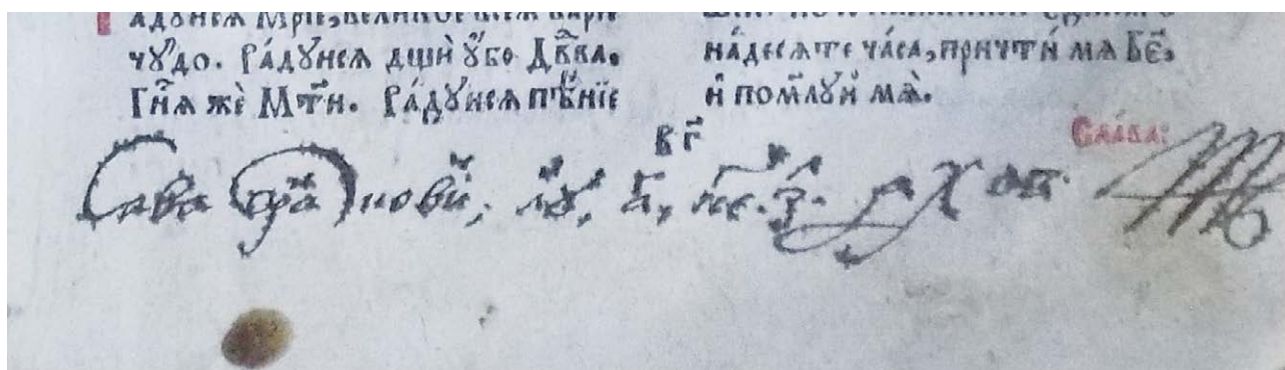
the expense of the future metropolitan bishop Antim the Iberian (1708-1715), as it results from the information of the title page.[18] The consulted copy[19] is incomplete. The volume contains [1] f. + p. 1-113, 116-208 + [4] f. Mss., albeit with numbering errors; [1] f., p. 1-11, p. 114-115, 209-210 are missing. The binding of the volume is made of wooden boards covered in leather. Cover 1 is decorated with two flowery frames, inside which other flowery arrangements and a medallion with the scene of the Crucifixion are placed. Cover 2 is decorated with a flowery border, inside which parallel lines and strips with flowery ornaments are arranged alternately. One of the volume clasps is preserved. Numerous handwritten notes appear in the pages of the book:

p. 4: *Această sfântă carte ce numeşte liturghie* ("This holy book called the liturgy");

p. 46: *Această sfântă liturghie este* […] [deleted text] ("This holy liturgy is […]");

p. 56: *Să ştie că* […] *robul lui Dumnezeu* […] ("So that (?) may know […] the servant of God […]");

p. 104: *Pomealnicul lui Gheorghie Tipograful: Ermonah Patriche, Gheorghie, Despina* [?], *Erodiacon Radul, Monahia Sevastiana* […]. *Această liturghie o am dat de pomeană pârcălabului* […] *ot* […] *Gheorghie* […] [text deleted at the binding of the book] ("List of the deceased for George the Printer: Hieromonk Patricius, George, Despina [?], Hierodeacon Radul, Nun Sevastiana […]. I gave this liturgy as alms to the governor […] of […] George […]").

p. 106: […] *de la* […] *Io Mihai Racoviţă Voevod la leat 7220* [?] ("[…] from […] Io Michael Racoviţă prince in year 7220 [?]").

p. 151-128 [!]: *Această sfântă carte ce să numeaşte leturghie s-au dat de mine robul lui Dumnezeu* […] *Pop Nicolae mănăstirii ot Câmpulung 1807 iulie 24 prin osârdia părintelui Ioanichie Ermonah* ("This holy book, which is called liturgy, was given by me servant of God […] Pop Nicolae to the monastery of Câmpulung 1807, July 24, through the efforts of father Ioanicius Hieromonk").

p. 172-173: […] *acestu sfânt Leturghier este a preotului Pop Geo* ("[…] this holy Liturgical Book belongs to priest Pop Geo").

And on the last handwritten sheet:

Ş-am scris eu Gheorghe Diacon sin Popa Geo Mano care am fost slujitori diacon şi dascăl ani 22 la S. Mănăstire şi care preot va ceti să zică Dumnezeu să-l pomenească ("I wrote myself George Deacon son of Popa Geo Mano, being deacon and teacher at the age of 22 in the Holy Monastery; whichever priest reads this, may he say 'remember him, God'").

The note on p. 104 is quite important. This is in fact a list of the deceased from the family of George the Printer, identified as Gheorghe Radovici, none other than the printer of the book itself. Radovici was an apprentice of Antim the Iberian.[20] He belonged to the inner circle of Antim ever since the end of the 17th century, when Antim was at the Snagov monastery, where he printed his first work: *Învăţături creştineşti* ("Christian Teachings"), 1700.[21] From 1700 to 1708, nothing is known concerning the printing activity of Gheorghe Radovici. The only other known information is that he printed a *Ceaslov* ("Book of Hours") in Bucharest in 1709.[22] Radovici continued his activity in the printing house of Târgovişte later on, being patroned by his mentor Antim the Iberian until 1715.[23] Taking into consideration the fact that the text continues with a formula testifying to the donation of the copy ("I gave this liturgy as alms to the governor […] of […] Gheorghie […]"), I wonder whether the printer Gheorghe Radovici did not

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▶ Fig. 1. *Detail of a note from the 'Octoechus', Lviv, 1639.*

▶ Fig. 2. *The seal of Constantine Brancovan applied to the copies of the Menaion.*

▼ Fig. 3. *Detail from the late 17th century binding.*

Credits: the author, courtesy of the Metropolitan Library.
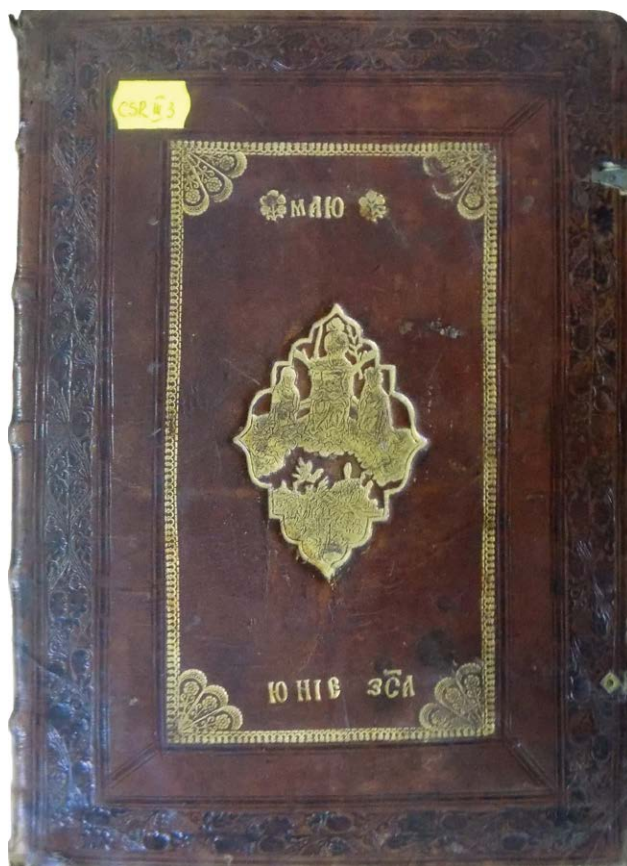
Credits: the author, courtesy of the Metropolitan Library.

have a number of copies at his disposal, so that he may distribute them at will, as contemporary authors do nowadays.

4. Chronology wise, the next example is that of the Gospel book printed in Bucharest in 1723.[24] It was printed at the press patroned by the ruler of Wallachia himself[25] with the financial support of metropolitan bishop Daniil. This information is provided by the title page of the book.[26] The exquisite illustrations are the work of its printer, Stoica Iacovici, and of the engraver, Ursu Zugrav, the latter being particularly active at the end of the 17th century. Zugrav's engraving plates were reused in this edition.[27] The copy[28] is complete, having [4] f. + 180 f. The studied volume has a binding made of wooden boards covered in leather. The covers are decorated with flowery frames and medallions with biblical scenes, which are quite difficult to identify because of the very precarious state of preservation. Elements of the clasps are preserved. A note on f. 1r-7r states that the book was donated to Almaş monastery (Neamţ county) five years after the date of its printing:

Această sfântă Evanghelie îi cumpărata de dumneaia jupăniasa Catrina Scăroaia [?] a răposatului Iordache [?] Cătană Zeno biv vel spătar şi au datu-o la schetăşorul Domniilor sale la Almaş unde îi hramul bisericei Sfântul Ierarh şi făcătoriu de menuni Nicolae. Vleat 7259 [1751] avgust 19 dnă şi am scris ca să să ştia.

This holy Gospel book was bought by lady Catherine Scăroaia [?] wife of the deceased Iordache [?] Cătană Zeno ex-sword-bearer, and she gave it to her ladyship's skete of Almaş, where the patron saint of the church is Saint Nicholas the Hierarch and Miracle-Worker. Year 7259 [1751] August 19, and I wrote this to be known.

In 1839, almost a century after its first donation, the book reached Văratic monastery, but it was already in an advanced state of degradation, since the volume had to be bound

once again. The donation deed was confirmed by the metropolitan bishop of Moldavia, Veniamin Costachi, a prominent figure of 19th century Romanian culture, patron and founder of printing houses.[29] This other note was transcribed on f. 54v-55r:

Această sfântă Evanghelie ce să scrie că este dată S. Schit Almaşul de jupăneasa Catrina [...] acum este dată S. Schit de Înalt Preaosf[inţitul] Mitropolit Viniamin Costachi S. M. Varaticul la anul 1839 fiind stareţ [...] din ceputul [...] dunarea soborului S. M. Varaticul şi fiind stricată dezlegată am dat-o de au lea[ga]tu-o frumos [...] S. M. Varaticul.

It is written that this holy Gospel book was given to the Holy Skete of Almaş by lady Catherine [...] now is given to the Holy Skete by the Most Reverend Metropolitan Bishop Veniamin Costachi of the Holy Monastery Văratec in the year 1839 being starets [...] since the beginning [...] of the council of the Holy Monastery Văratec, and the book being broken and unbound, I sent it to be nicely bound [...] Holy Monastery Văratec.

5. The last print analysed in the current study is a copy of the *Carte folositoare de suflet* ("Useful book of the soul"), [Bucharest], 1800.[30] The volume is in a relatively good state of preservation. It is incomplete though. [8] f. + p. 1-49, 51-56, 58-149, 151-157 are preserved, while [4] f. and p. 50, 57, 150 are missing. The book has a binding made of cardboard covered with paper. Its spine and cover-corners are made of leather.

A handwritten note transcribed on the back of p. 157 mentions the same Veniamin Costachi, metropolitan bishop of Moldavia: *Veniamin [?] cu mila lui Dumnezeu smerit [?] episcop Romanului şi a toată [...] 1812 iulie [?] 25 [...]* ("Ve-

niamin [?] by the mercy of God humble [?] bishop of Roman and of all […] July 1812 [?] 25 […]"). The note was written at a time when Veniamin Costachi had been briefly removed from his position as metropolitan bishop of Moldavia (1808-1812). However, from the second half of 1812 onwards, political conditions were again favorable to him and this led to him being recalled to the seat of the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia on October 6, 1812.[31]

These copies have never benefitted from any academic study. Some of them are relatively recent acquisitions of the Metropolitan Library of Bucharest and the handwritten notes and signs of property have never been published. Their description will fill many gaps in the life and activity of outstanding cultural figures of the 17th-19th century Romanian lands. Last but not least, the current study may help promote the collection of old prints of the Metropolitan Library of Bucharest, which has attracted little attention so far.

Notes:

1 The collection of the Bucharest Metropolitan Library has three incunabula. See Bogdan 2017.

2 The *terminus ad quem* stands for the final years during which Old Romanian books were printed, the landmark being 1830.

3 Inv. 641534.

4 Каратаевъ 1861, nr. 438, p. 61.

5 Illegible text.

6 Lupaș 1939, *passim*; Lupaș 1940, p. 292-296.

7 Lupaș 1939, p. 74-82; Lupaș 1940, p. 366-390; Mârza 1983, p. 64; Mârza 1998, p. 56-63.

8 Anghel 1993, p. 81.

9 Inv. 633353-633357, coll. 1 and 2 for each volume separately.

10 Vacalebre mss, *passim*.

11 Božidar Vuković's Venetian printing house functioned intermittently until 1539. See Pantić 1990.

12 The colligates are kept as follows: the Menaion for January (1682) colligated with the Menaion for February (1678) under the inventory number 633353; the Menaion for March (1675) colligated with the Menaion for April (1685) under the inventory number 633334; the Menaion for May (1687) colligated with the Menaion for June (1678) under the inventory number 633335; the Menaion for September (1680) colligated with the Menaion for October (1683) under the inventory number 633356; and the Menaion for November (1678) colligated with the Menaion for December (1685) under the inventory number 633357.

13 The names of the months are written above and below the medallion, according to the months of the year for which the colligated books were intended.

14. For similar bindings, specific to the Brancovan era, see also Kövari 2015.

15 The insignia are applied on p. 3 (the Menaion for January); p. 2 and 156 (the Menaion for February); p. 3 (the Menaion for March); p. 3 and 132 (the Menaion for April); p. 3 (the Menaion for May); p. 128 (the Menaion for June); f. [2]r and f. [84]r (the Menaion for

September); p. 3 and 204 (the Menaion for October); p. 256 (the Menaion for November); and p. 290 (the Menaion for December).

16 66 titles were identified. See also Mârza, Bogdan 2013, p. 55-59.

17 BRV I, nr. 164, p. 487.

18 *Dumnezeieştile şi sfîntele Liturghii a celor dintru sfinţi Părinţilor noştri: a lui Ioan Zlatoust, a lui Vasilie cel Mare şi a Prejdes[v]ăştenii, acum întâi tipărite. Întru al 25 de ani, a înălţatei Domnii a prea luminatului oblăduitoriu a toată Ţara Rumânească, Ioann Constandin B: Basarab Voevod. Cu toată chieltuiala Prea sfinţitului Mitropolit al U[n]grovlahiei, Chir Antim Ivireanul. În sf[â]nta Mitropolie a Târgoviştii. La anul dela H[risto]s, 1713 (De Gheorghie Radovici)* ("The Divine and Holy Liturgies of our Fathers the Saints: John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and of the Mass of the Presanctified, now printed for the first time. In the 25th year of the high Lordship of the enlightened ruler of the entire Wallachia, John Constantinne B(rancovan): Basarab Prince. At the entire expense of the Metropolitan Bishop of Ungrovlachia, Kyr Antim the Iberian. In the Holy Metropolitan See of Târgovişte. In the year of Christ, 1713 (By George Radovici)").

19 Inv. 709117.

20 Mârza, Bogdan 2013, p. 236-237.

21 Bădără 1998, p. 131.

22 Secărescu 1980, p. 111.

23 Bădără 1998, p. 131-132.

24 BRV II, nr. 182, p. 21-22.

25 Lupu 2009, p. 143.

26 *Sf[â]nta şi D[u]mnezeiasca Evanghelie cu voia prea luminatului şi înălţatului domn, şi oblăduitoriu a toată Ţara Rumânească Io Nicolae Alexandru Voevod Mavrocordat, Cu blagosloveniia şi cu toată chieltuiala pu[r]tătoriului pravoslaviei preasfinţitului Chir Daniil, Mitropolitul a toată Ţara Rumânească şi exarhu plaiurilor. Acum într-aceastaş chip tipărită şi diorthosită, în scaunul domniei în Bucureşti. La anul de la spăseniia lumii 1723. De cucearnicul întru preoţi Popa Stoica Iacovici.* ("The Holy and Godly Gospel by the will of the most enlightened and high lord, ruler of the entire Wallachia Io Nicholas Alexander Prince Mavrocordatus, at the expense of the defender of orthodoxy, most holy Kyr Daniel, Metropolitan of the entire Wallachia and exarch of the outer lands. In this way printed and revised, at the seat of the reign in Bucharest. In the year 1723 since the redeeming of the world. By the pious among priests Popa Stoica Iacovici").

27 Mârza, Bogdan 2013, p. 288-289; Tatay, Tatai-Baltă 2015, p. 30-32.

28 Inv. 4411.

29 Păcurariu 1996, p. 123-125.

30 Inv. 87; BRV II, nr. 624, p. 416-417.

31 Păcurariu 1997, p. 9-10.

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echoes

échos

CONSTANTIN CIOC

•

TEOLOGRAFII

Semne. Semnături. Semănături

•

Expoziție organizată de
MUZEUL NAȚIONAL AL UNIRII
ALBA-IULIA

•

VOCI:

Constantin Cioc
Cristina Bogdan
Dumitrița Filip
Ana Dumitran

•

GRAFICA-
materiale publicitare:
Gabriela Comoli
PROCESARE-
sunet și imagine:
Rareș Diodiu.

•

Constantin Cioc: Teolografii
an exhibition – July-December 2020

Museikon, the Transylvanian museum of icons, hosted an exhibition with the precise purpose of exploring the spiritual dimension of the modern art. The exhibition of the highly talented Romanian artist Constantin Cioc was entitled *Teolografii. Semnături. Semne. Semănături* ('Theolographies. Signatures. Signs. Sown Fields'), a suggestive title referring to theological writings, semiotics, and the metaphorical sowing of seeds. The sixteen works of art exhibited in Alba Iulia played with a form of non-discursive theology. The artist encoded a symbolic grain for every festal icon in three letters acting as signs: C, T, and N. These letters became the essence from which the entire iconographic composition was developed. The exhibition was both a pleasure and a challenge for the eyes, an ascetic exercise, and an invitation to look at the spiritual significance of modern art. Let us decode this theological message, asking ourselves whether modern art poses a 'threat' to traditional iconography or it could convey the evangelical message at the level of secular society.

Constantin Cioc's approach is not very different, for instance, from what one may see in the 18th- and early 19th-century from the region of Maramureș. The iconography of the wooden churches from the aforementioned region assured the continuity of the tradition. The iconographic program became a visual manifesto, a non-discursive theology through which the teachings of the Church were handed down, especially in a time when local clergymen were confronted with the issue of ecclesiastic authority. On the one hand, there is a correspondence between the social and ecclesiastical order of society and the precise choices reflected in the iconographic program. On the other hand, the message of the iconographic program was also adapted to the spiritual needs of the community and offered a response to the challenges of that time. Primarily, iconography allows the artist to express a profound theological statement in a visual form. It does not require an extensive network of intertwined *logoi*. It bypasses discourse and compresses theology, displaying it purely to the naked eye.

Considering the challenges secular society, contemporary Christians can also experience a multitude of contrasting sentiments. There is fear of severing their Christian roots, but there is also a certain shame for their poor theological knowledge and superficial spiritual life. How should Christian artists build up their visual discourse then? How could they adapt the theological message to the spiritual combat of the present day? Is it possible to hand down the teachings of the Church through modern art? Is this a sort of Adam's Fall in comparison to an already-established iconographic canon, perhaps a Fall from the grace of God? Or is it a solution that can properly function as a primary method of educating the community of worshipers? Is modern art a challenge for theologians or can it be a solution combining Kerygma and art in order to preserve the religious and cultural self? The Museikon exhibition of Constantin Cioc strived to be an ascetic exercise in a world that assails the soul and eyes with *phantasmata* (with the particular meaning of 'temptations'). It is an invitation to find the spiritual in the modern art. Many questions remain unanswered. How should we approach this type of art? How should we see and understand it? One should admire the courage of the artist who rendered theological ideas using colours and signs, not words. We should also admire his inspiration and resourcefulness in using modern art as a discreet missionary medium.

Constantin Cioc exhibited sixteen works of art: *The Nativity of Christ*, *The Presentation of our Lord in the Temple*, *The Baptism of the Lord Jesus Christ*, *The Metamorphosis*, *Martha and Mary*, *The Raising of Lazarus*, *The Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*, *Judah's Kiss*, *The Last Supper*, *Carrying the Cross*, *The Crucifixion*, *The Anastasis* (Harrowing of Hell), *The Resurrection*, *Doubting Thomas* (Thomas' Sunday), *The Dormition of Theotokos*, and *The Triumphant Sign*. The artist compress in a symbol the entire theology of the great feasts of the Church. It was not an epic, historical discourse, although the works of art were exhibited according to the chronology of Salvation. It was a spiritual and dogmatic one, as they expressed the mysteries beyond the feasts of the Church. These sixteen works of art can be properly understood only if one is familiar with hymnography, thus being familiar with the spirituality of the Church. For those who are unaware of it, the works of art can be an invitation to explore the depths of spiritual life.

Let us conjecture that this kind of art is neither in opposition with the icon, nor a threat or a Fall from the grace of traditional iconography. It cannot replace the art of the icon, but it can transfer the evangelical message. It can be a 'seed' thrown in the garden of the unfaithful that may grow and develop. Turning back to the previous example of 18th-century Maramureș, one should note that the historical, political, social, and confessional context constrained religious life. The tradition of the Church was handed down due to the "remarkable flexibility" (see Jobby Patterson, *Wooden Churches of the Carpathians. A Comparative Study*, New York, Columbia University, 2001, p. 75) of the local Church in adopting the architectural layout characteristic of Roman Catholic churches, both in its exterior appearance and elevation (a derivative of Romanesque or Gothic), while preserving the Orthodox features inside. The iconography of the wooden churches of Maramureș also acted as a nonverbal discourse that urged to the preservation of the local religious and cultural self. The iconographic program acted as a coded discourse, a non-verbal communication through which the *Paradosis* ('tradition') of the Church was handed down to the parishioners. Today, religious life also experiences a series of secular constraints. Considering this context, the art of Constantin Cioc becomes a portico at the entrance of the extra-temporal world or an introduction to the mystery of spiritual life. It opens the desire to Know.

Dumitrița Daniela Filip

◀ *Advertisement of the exhibition.*
▼ *Entrance to the exhibition.* © Museikon.

NAȘTEREA DOMNULUI
IISUS HRISTOS

Dumnezeu – Tatăl, cel neîncăput de zile, creatorul tuturor văzutelor și nevăzutelor, se pogoară în istoria umanității – pe care o frânge-n două, și cu împreună lucrarea a Harului Duhului Sfânt se sălășluiește în pântecele Preacuratei Fecioare Maria, ca prin naștere în lume a Fiului Său, cel deoființă cu Tatăl, să restaureze firea omului și să o ridice prin sacrificiu la îndumnezeire.

ÎNTÎMPINAREA DOMNULUI

Dreptul Simeon, cinstita poartă a Legii celei vechi și are al profeției dumnezeiești, recunoaște în pruncul Iisus pe Mântuitorul lumii și lumina neamurilor, și s-apleacă a închinare zicând: „Acum slobozește în pace pe robul tău Stăpâne, după cuvântul Tău, că văzură ochii mei mântuirea Ta, pe care ai gătit-o înaintea feței tuturor popoarelor; lumină spre descoperirea neamurilor și slava poporului Tău, Israil". (Luca 2/29–32)

▼ *The Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ / Oul dogmatic:*

God the Father, creator of all things seen and unseen, descends into the history of mankind, which he breaks in two... and elevates human nature to deification... through the birth of His Son into the world.

© Museikon.

◀ *The Presentation of Our Lord at the Temple / Piatra teologală:*

The just and devout Simeon... recognizes the Savior of the world and the Light of the Gentiles in the infant Jesus, and bows down to him saying: 'Lord, now you are letting Your servant depart in peace, according to Your word... (Luke 2:29-32).

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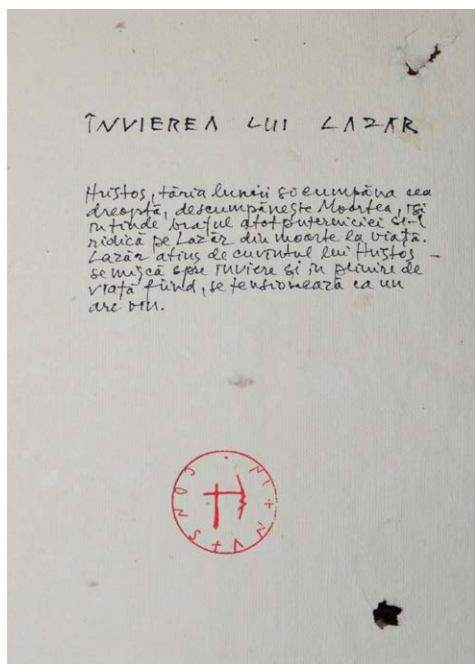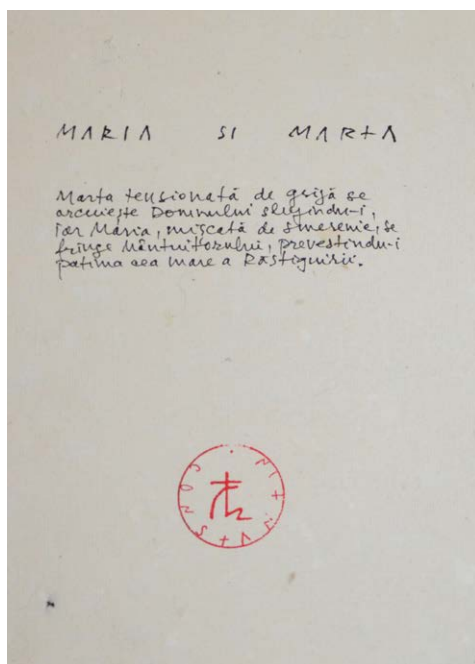
◣ *Mary and Martha / Tonul slujirii*:

Martha, anxious with care, bows and serves the Lord, while Mary, moved by humility, breaks, foretelling the great passion of the Crucifixion to the Saviour.

© Museikon.

◢ *The Raising of Lazarus / Prapor*:

Christ... extends his omnipotent arm and raises Lazarus from death to life. Lazarus is touched by the word of Christ, therefore moves towards the resurrection and... springs up like a living bow.

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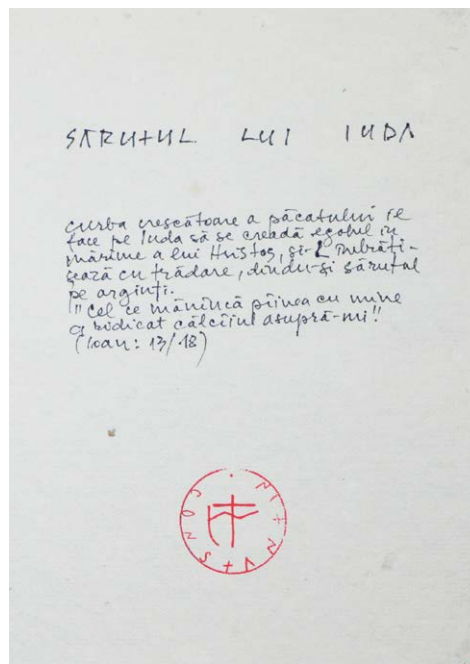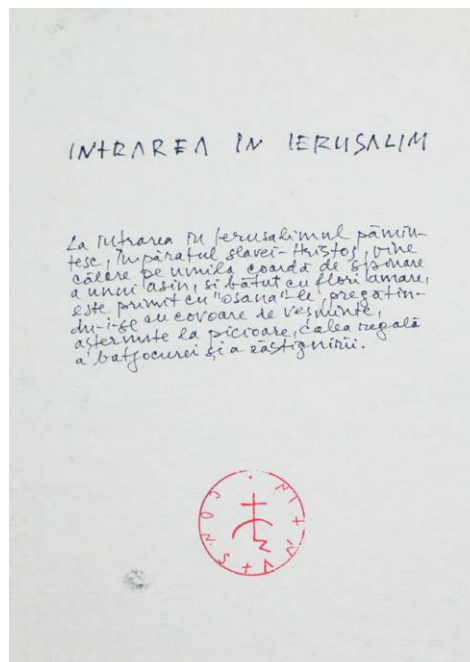
▼ *The Entry into Jerusalem / Calea regală*:

At the entrance to the earthly Jerusalem, Christ rides on the humble back of a donkey. Crushed by the bitter flowers, he is received with his cries of hosanna and follows the royal path of mockery and crucifixion on carpets made of garments which are laid at his feet.

© Museikon.

◀ *Juda's Kiss / Ochiul trădării*:

An ascending curve of sin makes Judas believe himself to be the equal in size of Christ and embraces Him with treachery, selling his kiss for silver coins.

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CINA CEA DE TAINA

La cină, Hristos – Arhiereu s-a făcut
pe sine slujitor apostolilor (că prin
ei nouă tuturor) împărtăşindu-le cu
Trupul şi Sângele Său prefigurat cu
pâine şi vin. Dintre ei unul s-apleacă
a ascultare. Altul se-ntinde a trădare.

PURTAREA CRUCII

Hristos-Cuvântul, împovărat cu firea
umană, a luat calea domnească a
umilinţei şi ne-a revelat nouă
dumnezeiescul Adevăr al iubirii
prin răstignire, ca să avem prin El
viaţă veşnică.

◥ *The Last Supper / Reclama jertfei*:

At supper, Christ the High Priest made himself a servant to the apostles (and through them, to us all), sharing His Body and Blood prefigured through bread and wine. One of them leans in obedience. Another one reaches for his betrayal.

© Museikon.

▶ *Christ Carrying the Cross / Prototipul mântuirii*:

Christ the Word, burdened with human nature, followed the royal path of humility and revealed to us the divine Truth of love by crucifixion, so that we may have eternal life through Him.

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Mapping Eastern Europe is a platform intended to promote study, teaching, and research about Eastern Europe between the 13th and 17th centuries through **historical overviews**, **case-studies** of monuments and objects, **ongoing projects**, as well as **reviews** of books and exhibitions.

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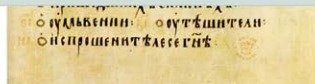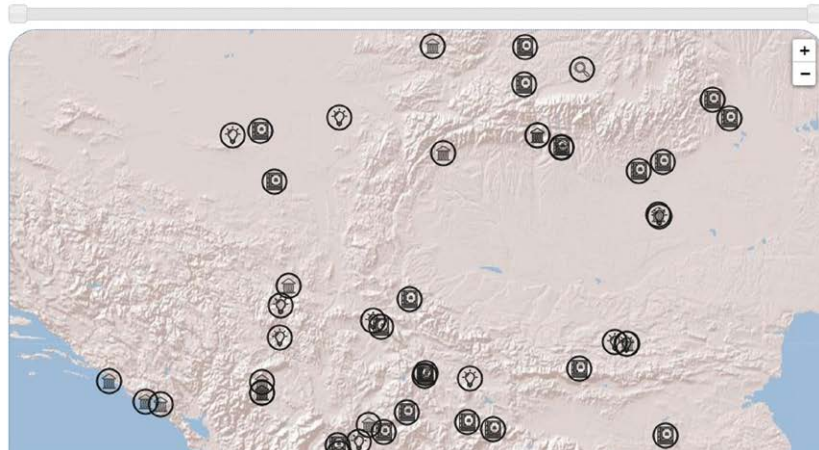
The Gospels Manuscript of Tsar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria

The Codex Oxoniensis Barocc. gr. 87

The Church of the Transfiguration of Our Savior on Ilyina Street, Veliky Novgorod
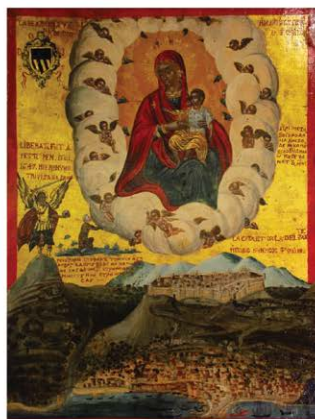
The Icon of Our Lady Skopiotissa, Savina Monastery

The Gospel Lectionary Cover by Dimos

The Ascension Church, Žiča Monastery

Mapping Eastern Europe
Interactive digital platform: mappingeasterneurope.princeton.edu

Mapping Eastern Europe – co-founded and edited by Maria Alessia Rossi (Princeton University) and Alice Isabella Sullivan (University of Michigan) – offers simple and intuitive engagement with the art and history of the culturally rich, yet often enigmatic and neglected, territories of the Balkan Peninsula, the Carpathian Mountains, and further north into early modern Russia. In efforts to connect people over the study and appreciation of the history, art, and culture of medieval and early modern Eastern Europe, as well as remedy the limited access to libraries, conference networking opportunities, and published research, this new interactive digital platform has been developed since July 2020. Following the launch on November 18, 2020, students, teachers, scholars, and the wider public are able to access historical overviews, art historical case studies, short notices about ongoing research projects, as well as reviews of recent books and exhibitions.

Mapping Eastern Europe gathers a multitude of scholars, both early career and senior, to supply online content in several formats. The historical overviews concisely depict regions and their interactions with neighbours during the period in question, including supplementary political, economic, military, social, and religious details. The art historical case studies focus on the visual and material culture of the regions set against the backdrop of the historical context, as well as introduce methodological and theoretical questions. The short notices about ongoing research projects alert scholars about projects underway. Finally, the re-

views of recent books and exhibitions enable readers to learn about current scholarship. Via the homepage of *Mapping Eastern Europe*, users who are searching for specific details are able to access individual pages for each of the main categories of information listed above and filter results according to their interests. Exploratory visitors, instead, can navigate a map of Eastern Europe in the lower half of the opening page, delving into and discovering the variety of sources and materials within. *Mapping Eastern Europe* has been made possible thanks to a generous grant through the "Rapid Response Magic Project of the Princeton University Humanities Council."

The project stems from Rossi and Sullivan's joint initiative *North of Byzantium* (www.northofbyzantium.org), through which they invite people to probe the history, art, and culture of the northern frontiers of the Byzantine Empire in Eastern Europe between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Mapping Eastern Europe* aims to make the material evidence known and accessible, and thereby help expand the temporal and geographic parameters of the study of medieval, early modern, Byzantine, and post-Byzantine art, architecture, and visual culture. If you are interested in contributing to this project, please contact the organizers at northofbyzantium@gmail.com.

◀▶ *Print screens of the Mapping Eastern Europe site.*
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DECONFUNDAMUS LINGUAM EORUM

January 24, 2020
Poitiers
CÉSCM, *salle Berger*
9h30-12h / 13h30-18h

Methodological Overview for the 'Tower of Bibles' Project
Workshop Organised by the FESMAR Partnership

Spoken Languages: English, French, Italian, Romanian, and Czech

Speakers:
KATEŘINA VOLEKOVÁ (Prague)
ANA MARIA GÎNSAC (Iassy)
ÉLISE BOILLET (Tours)
ANDREA SVOBODOVÁ (Prague)

VLADIMIR AGRIGOROAEI (Poitiers)
ÁGNES KORONDI (Budapest)
MĂDĂLINA UNGUREANU (Iassy)
CINZIA PIGNATELLI (Poitiers)
ILEANA SASU (Poitiers)

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CÉSCM CENTRE D'ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES DE CIVILISATION MÉDIÉVALE

Deconfundamus linguam eorum
Methodological Overview for the 'Tower of Bibles' Project
International Workshop
January 24, 2020, CÉSCM (Poitiers)

9h30: Welcome address by MARTIN AURELL, director of the CÉSCM, followed by an introductory presentation of the FESMAR co-organisers.

9h45: KATEŘINA VOLEKOVÁ: *A wide variety of Latin sources for the vernacular translations of the Psalter and Gospels.*

10h15: ANA MARIA GÎNSAC: *An addendum at the periphery of the corpus: the Church Slavonic and Greek versions.*

10h45: Coffee break.

11h: ÉLISE BOILLET: *The critical problem of extended time frames. Multiple ways of putting together a corpus of the vernacular biblical translations.*

11h30: ANDREA SVOBODOVÁ: *Social and cultural implications of the early vernacular translations of the Bible. The question of heterodoxy, orthodoxy, and Protestantism.*

12h: Lunch.

13h30: VLADIMIR AGRIGOROAEI: *A comparative look at the problem of translation clusters and oral translations.*

14h: ÁGNES KORONDI: *The high risk of focusing on intra-vernacular translations.*

14h30: Coffee break.

14h45: MĂDĂLINA UNGUREANU: *Common denominators and alternative uses of a comparative study of the early vernacular Psalters and Gospels.*

15h15: CINZIA PIGNATELLI: *Advantages and disadvantages of critical editions for the comparative study of early vernacular translations.*

15h45: Coffee break.

16h: ILEANA SASU: *Available software, analysis tools, and capabilities for adaptive designs.*

16h30: VLADIMIR AGRIGOROAEI & ILEANA SASU: *A network of future studies concerning the early vernacular translations of the Bible.*

Maria Alessia Rossi, Alice Isabella Sullivan (dir.), *Byzantium in Eastern European Visual Culture in the Late Middle Ages*, Leiden / Boston, Brill, 2020, xviii + 302 p.

This edited volume includes the papers in the two sessions held at the 44th Byzantine Studies Conference (4-7 October 2018; San Antonio, Texas) and additional essays. The volume puts forth a more nuanced understanding of Byzantium in Eastern Europe by engaging with issues of cultural contact and patronage, as well as the transformation and appropriation of Byzantine artistic, theological, and political models, alongside local traditions. The regions of the Balkan Peninsula, the Carpathian Mountains, and early modern Russia have been treated in scholarship within limited frameworks or excluded altogether from art historical conversations. The ten chapters in this volume encourage different readings of the artistic landscapes of Eastern Europe during the late Middle Ages, highlighting the cultural and artistic productions of individual centers. These ought to be considered individually and as part of larger networks, thus revealing their shared heritage and indebtedness to artistic and cultural models adopted from elsewhere, and especially from Byzantium. The regions of Eastern Europe, as the volume reveals, are not just places of "influence" from elsewhere. Instead, these territories offer dynamic networks of contact and interchange that may allow scholars to paint richer pictures of the development of local artistic and cultural forms, shared traditions, and the indebtedness of local developments to Byzantine models. The book presents examples of how we may begin to unravel the prismatic dimensions of art, architecture, and visual culture in Eastern Europe, continue to expand the temporal and geographic parameters of the study of medieval and Byzantine art, as well as chart the multitude of connections that extended across the medieval world.

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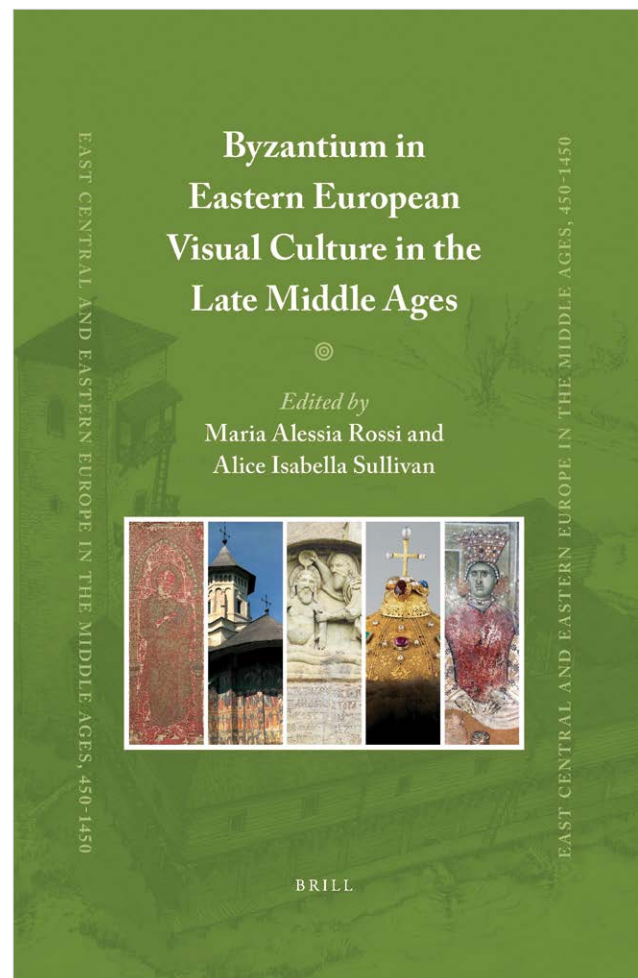
Waldemar Deluga, *Ukrainian Painting Between the Byzantine and Latin Traditions*, Ostrava / Warsaw, Ostravská univerzita / Polski Instytut Studiów nad Sztuką Świata, 2019, 214 p.
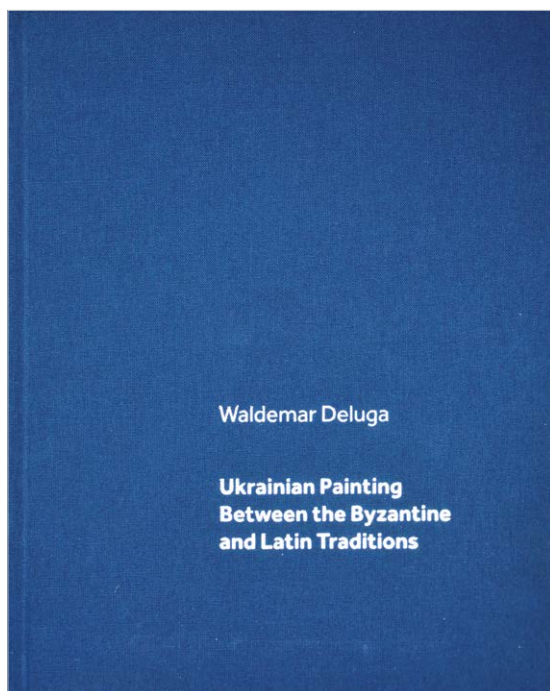
…Ukrainian iconostases from temples in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth reflect the changes occurring in Orthodox art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One should also keep in mind transformations taking place in the churches in eighteenth century. Surviving iconostases originate mostly from the seventeenth century and from provincial centres. The earlier altar screens have to be reconstructed. In the early eighteenth century, the rules for forming iconostases changed dramatically under the impact of the synod in Zamość (1720), the growing Latinizing trends in the architecture and the new approach to liturgy. It should be noted that the modern age saw at least two consciously introduced reforms that affected the liturgical space inside the temple, the first of these occurring at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Influenced by the proliferation of concepts of church unity and the efforts to transform Orthodox theology, new and elaborate iconostases were formed and the old icons were transferred to provincial centres. The second period of reform was in the eighteenth century, after the synod's resolutions had been published in several languages. These repeatedly issued documents contained introductions regulating the principles of the liturgy in Greek-Catholic churches. They recommended the introduction of new and hitherto unknown liturgical furnishings, such as the tabernacle, the monstrance and the canopy for the Eucharistic procession. As a consequence of these changes, there was a need for the altar to be revealed, along with the tabernacle to be placed upon it. This led to a transformation of role of the iconostasis, which was reduced over time to merely a symbolic presence… (p. 69-70)

Ana Dumitran, Daniel Dumitran, Ciprian Firea, Mihaela-Sanda Salontai, Părintele Iustin Marchiş (dir.), *Mănăstiri şi biserici din Transilvania. Secolele XIII-XVIII*, vol. I, *Alba, Hunedoara, Sălaj, Cluj*, Bucharest, Design Books, 2020, 496 p.

…Volumul nostru este în primul rând un ghid artistic care propune un pelerinaj cultural şi spiritual printre etniile, confesiunile şi patrimoniul artistic al Transilvaniei, cu toate stilurile şi formele sale de expresie: arhitectură, pictură, manuscrise şi tipărituri, obiecte liturgice. (…) Am străbătut în timpul lucrului la acest proiect câteva mii de kilometri şi am poposit la 157 de monumente pentru a le fotografia, dar călătoria noastră pe teren nu a fost doar o documentare, ci a fost într-o mare măsură o experienţă a cunoaşterii şi a întâlnirii celuilalt. Şi aceasta a făcut ca experienţa pelerinajului la monumentele Transilvaniei să rămână legată nu atât de publicarea unei cărţi, cât de întâlnirea unor oameni… (p. 6-7)

OUR TRANSLATION:

…The current volume is, first of all, an artistic guide structured as a cultural and spiritual pilgrimage amongst the ethnic groups, confessions, and artistic heritage of Transylvania, with all its styles and forms of expression: architecture, painting, manuscripts and printed books, liturgical objects. (…) While working on this project, the authors travelled more than a few thousand kilometres and took photos of 157 monuments, yet these field missions were not restricted to basic documentation; they also provided wide-ranging experiences and getting to know one another. This has transformed the idea of pilgrimage to the Transylvanian monuments into something else: not as much as the publishing of a book, but also meeting people… (page 6-7).
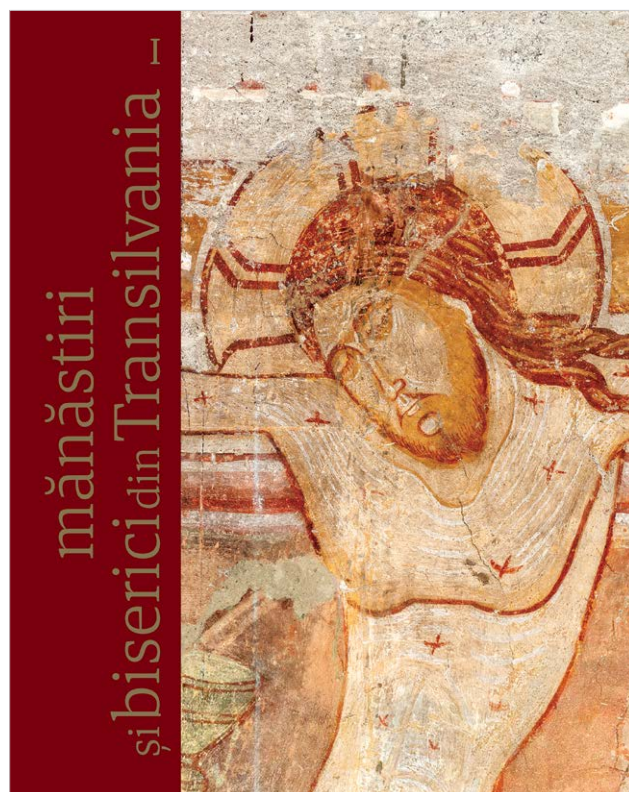
Iosif Camară, *Rugăciunea Tatăl nostru în limba română. Studiu istorico-filologic*, Iași, Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2020, 250 p.

OFICIAL DESCRIPTION: *Lucrarea oferă o incursiune în istoria rugăciunii Tatăl nostru în limba română, începând cu cea mai veche versiune existentă, păstrată în Evangheliarul slavo-român din 1551-1553, și încheind cu cele actuale. Sunt analizate detaliat, pornind de la sursele greceşti, slavoneşti şi latinești, opțiunile textuale ale traducătorilor, prefacerile pe care le-a suferit textul rugăciunii de-a lungul timpului şi procesul prin care Tatăl nostru românesc s-a standardizat în epoca unificării limbii române literare, prin activitatea lui Antim Ivireanul. Lucrarea se încheie cu un corpus de texte care cuprinde peste 200 de versiuni ale rugăciunii din toate epocile scrisului românesc, păstrate în manuscrise şi tipărituri, incluzându-le pe cele care au circulat în Occident ca specimene de limbă începând cu secolul al XVI-lea.*

OUR TRANSLATION: The book represents a foray into the history of the Lord's Prayer in Romanian, starting with the oldest existing version, preserved in the Slavonic-Romanian Evangeliary of 1551-1553, and ending with the current ones. All versions are analysed in detail, in comparison with Greek, Slavonic, and Latin sources, as are the textual options of the translators, the transformations that the text of prayer has undergone over time, and the process that standardised the Romanian Lord's Prayer in the era of the unification of the Romanian literary language through the activity of Antim the Iberian. The book concludes with a corpus of texts that includes over 200 versions of the prayer from all eras of Romanian writing, preserved in manuscripts and prints, including those that circulated in the West as linguistic specimens since the 16th century.

CONTACT: http://www.editura.uaic.ro/
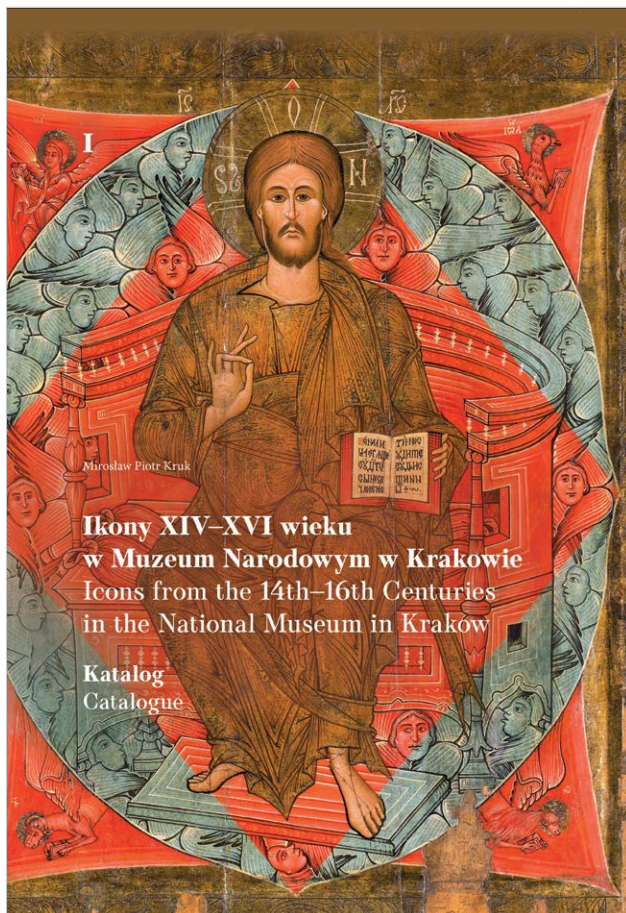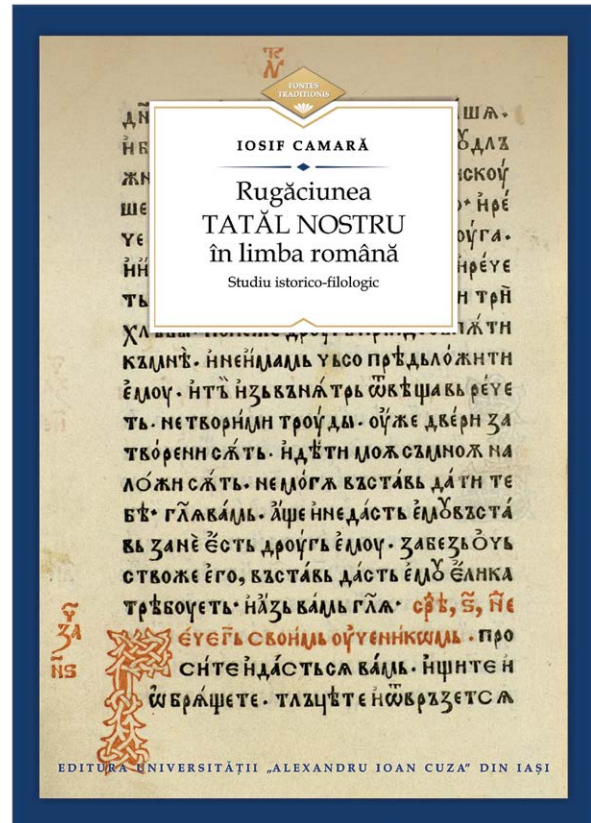
Mirosław Piotr Kruk (ed.), *Ikony XIV-XVI wieku w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie / Icons from the 14th-16th Centuries in the National Museum in Krakow*, I, *Katalog / Catalogue*, II, *Badania technologiczne / Technological Tests*, III, *Ilustracje / Illustrations*, Krakow, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2019, 1713 p..

...From September 2015, the MNK was carrying out the research project 'Catalogue of Icons from the 14th–16th Centuries in the Collection of the National Museum in Krakow. Study and Publication', financed by the National Programme for the Development of Humanities of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, which has resulted in the present scholarly catalogue.

[...] In the end, the catalogue features 50 works.

[...] In general, they are more faithful to the old, Byzantine painting tradition – regardless of whether they were produced in Greece, Ruthenia within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or in Northern Ruthenia (Novgorod Ruthenia, Pskov Ruthenia) and Central Ruthenia (Muscovite Ruthenia). One of the project tasks was interdisciplinary research carried out by art historians, conservators, philologists, physicists, chemists, geologists and representatives of other disciplines of science. Such thorough research, confirmed by relevant reports – which also include final conclusions – would not have been carried out without the grant. (p. 48)

The publication is divided into three volumes. The first one contains basic data concerning the selected group of icons and remarks concerning iconography and style. The order in which the icons are presented is a result of a compromise between the idea of following the structure of an iconostasis, and, at the same time, of grouping the icons thema-

tically as well as chronologically. It has proven to be challenging, since the icons have various subjects, at times related to biblical narration, at times to dogmas or hymnographic or hagiographic tradition; and in certain cases, they were made by the same workshop, which is another important interrelation. The second volume consists of reports of technological examinations, and the third one – analytical photographs in various wave ranges: ultraviolet light (ultraviolet fluorescence, UV), infrared light (infrared reflectography, IR), X-ray light (radiography) and visible light (visible light photography, VIS). The range of UV waves made it possible to analyse the scope of later treatments, including overpaintings which are marked with a darker colour in images. Infrared was used to reveal potential drawing (its details, above all possible changes in composition), and the X-ray filter – any deeper interventions, the least visible for the unaided eye, such as hidden painting layers, or metal elements or other additions stuck in the icons. Photographs are accompanied by relevant reports, which reveal that actually none of the analysed icons has hidden layers or changes differing considerably from the planned composition.

(vol. I, p. 48-49, 57)

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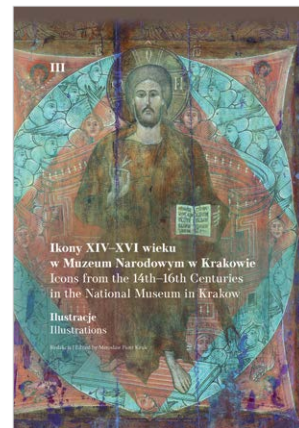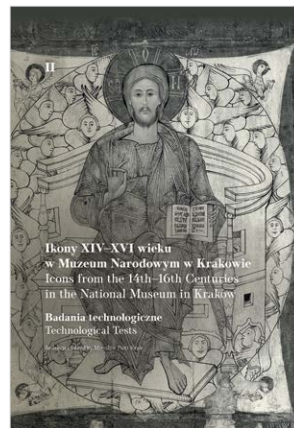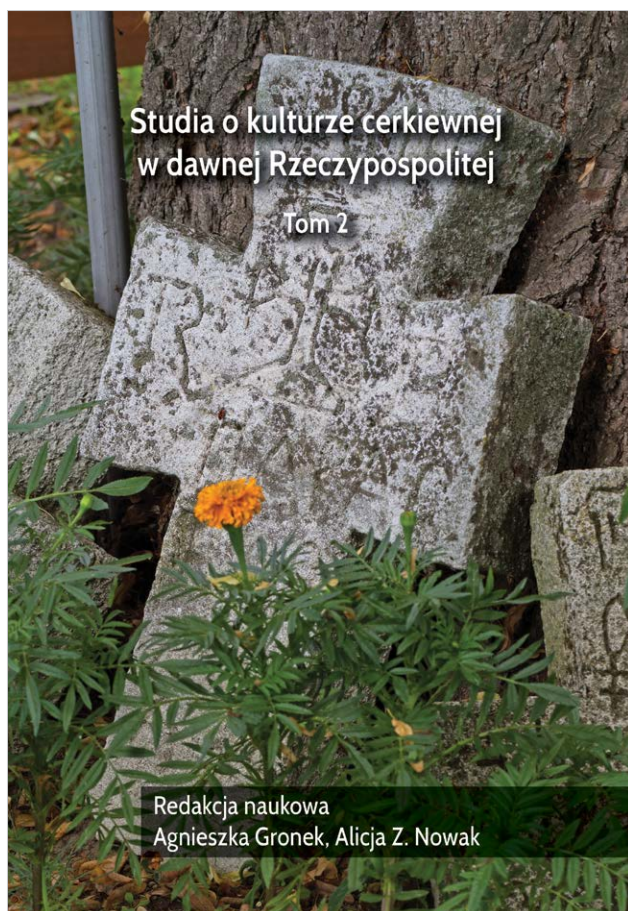
Agnieszka Gronek, Alicja Z. Nowak (dir.), *Studia o kulturze cerkiewnej w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Tom 2, Krakow, Księgarnia Akademicka, 2019, 331 p.

…Oddajmy do rąk Państwa kolejny tom Studiów o kulturze cerkiewnej dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, który po Roli monasterów w kształtowaniu kultury ukraińskiej w wiekach XI-XX *(Kraków 2014) i pierwszym tomie Studiów o kulturze …są trzecią już publikacją przygotowaną z inicjatywy pracowników Katedry Ukrainoznawstwa na Wydziale Studiów Międzynarodowych i Politycznych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, ukazującą aktualne badania nad dziedzictwem kulturowym chrześcijańskich Kościołów wschodnich w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Podobnie jak w poprzednich tomach stwarzamy okazję do zapoznania się z pracami naukowców z ośrodków polskich i zagranicznych, tj. z Warszawy, Krakowa, Białegostoku i Lublina, oraz Kijowa, Lwowa i Mińska. Dotyczą one cerkiewnej spuścizny duchowej, literackiej i artystycznej, ukazują zabytki nieznane, publikowane po raz pierwszy, oraz pogłębione studia nad dziełami choć znanymi, to wciąż inspirującymi i wymagającymi dalszych badań…* (p. 9-10)

OUR TRANSLATION:

…We present to you the second volume of *Studies about Orthodox church culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.* This is the third publication published on the initiative of the staff of the Department of Ukrainian Studies at the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University, after the book *The role of monasteries in shaping Ukrainian culture in the 11th-20th centuries* (Krakow, 2014) and the first volume of *Studies about Orthodox church culture…* (Krakow, 2016). It presents the current research on the cultural heritage of the Eastern Christian churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In much the same way as previous volumes, it provides an opportunity to get acquainted to the studies of researchers from Polish and foreign centers, *i. e.* from Warsaw, Krakow, Bialystok, and Lublin, as well as Kiev, Lviv, and Minsk. The papers deal with the Orthodox spiritual, literary, and artistic legacy, revealing unknown monuments, published for the first time, and in-depth studies of works which, although already known, still inspire and demand further research… (p. 9-10).
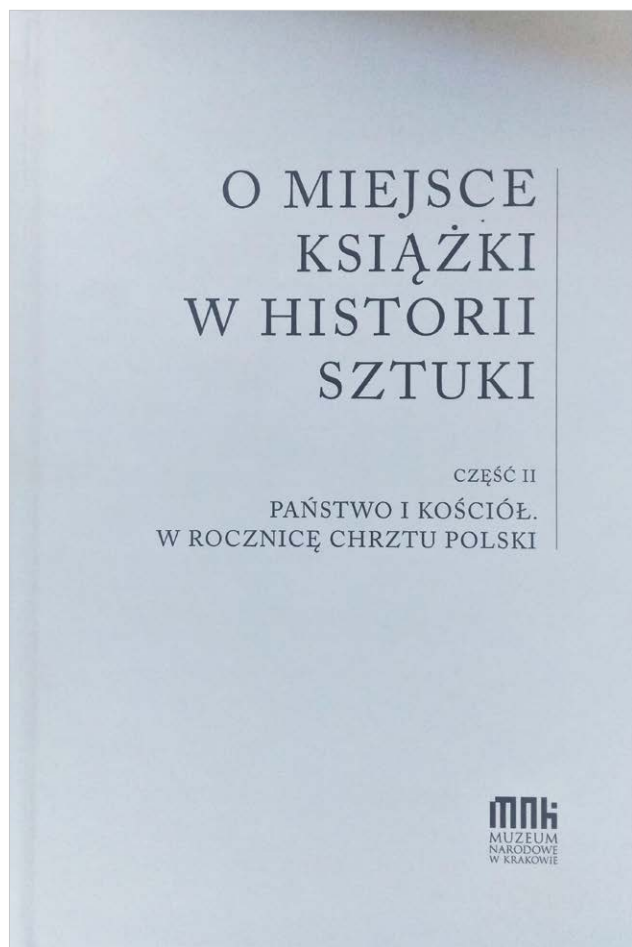
Agnieszka Gronek (dir.), *O miejsce książki w historii sztuki, cz. 2, Państwo i Kościół. W rocznicę chrztu Polski*, Krakow, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2019, 228 p.

…„O miejsce książki w historii sztuki" – to eliptyczne zdanie skrywa ideę, która połączyła historyków, historyków sztuki, filologów, kulturoznawców, archiwistów, bibliotekarzy, słowem wszystkich miłośników książki, doceniających nie tylko jej oczywiste walory poznawcze, ale również estetyczne. Zgromadzone w niniejszym tomie prace prowadzą nas zatem po średniowiecznych skryptoriach związanych z dworem bizantyńskim, ottońskim, andegaweńskim, po znamienitych pracowniach introligatorskich Krakowa, Poznania i Wilna, pozwalają wejść do skrzętnie skrywanych bibliotek klasztornych oraz poznać imponujące zbiory wybitnych dostojników kościelnych. Dzięki nim możemy zajrzeć do środka jezuickich katechizmów, ksiąg liturgicznych duchownych prawosławnych, żywotów świętych Kościoła wschodniego i zachodniego, a także prywatnych rękopiśmiennych modlitewników, świadczących o dużej religijności ich twórców i potrzebie łączenia odczuć estetycznych z modlitewnym skupieniem. Wabiące bogactwem barw miniatury lub wirtuozerią czarnej kreski drzeworyty odsłaniają przed czytelnikiem ukryte treści teologiczne i polityczne. Książka – przedmiot, chciałoby się rzec, codziennego użytku – nie przestaje fascynować… (p. 7-8)

OUR TRANSLATION:

…'Calling for the book's place in art history' – this sentence expresses an idea which brought together historians, art historians, philologists, historians of culture, archivists, librarians,… In short – all lovers of books, who appreciate them not only for their obvious cognitive qualities, but for aesthetic reasons as well. The articles gathered in this volume guide us through the medieval scriptoria of the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Angevine courts; through the prominent bookbinding workshops of Krakow, Poznan, and Vilnius; and allow us to enter the secretive monastery libraries, getting to know the impressive collections belonging to noteworthy church dignitaries. Thanks to them, we may glance at Jesuit catechisms, liturgical books of the Orthodox clergy, lives of saints from the Eastern and Western Churches, as well as private prayer-books, testifying to the devotion of their creators, and to their need to combine aesthetic feelings with prayers. Miniatures, colors and woodcuts – the virtuosity of the black line, reveal hidden theological and political content to the reader. The book – one may call it even an object of daily use – does not stop fascinating us. (p. 7-8, our translation).

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New Book Series at Trivent Medieval*:*
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EASTERN EUROPEAN VISUAL CULTURE AND BYZANTIUM (13th-17th c.) is a new book series that emerged out of a partnership between *North of Byzantium* – an initiative organized by Maria Alessia Rossi and Alice Isabella Sullivan – and *Trivent Publishing*. The series explores the art, architecture, and visual culture of regions of the Balkan Peninsula, the Carpathian Mountains, as well as early-modern Russia and Ruthenia between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. Through historically grounded examinations of the visual and cultural productions of these Eastern European territories, this series highlights the prismatic relationships between local traditions, the Byzantine heritage, and cultural forms adopted from other models. The local artistic productions ought to be considered individually and as part of larger networks, thus revealing the shared heritage of these regions and their indebtedness to artistic models adopted from elsewhere, and especially from Byzantium. In stressing the local specificity and the interconnectedness of these East-ern European geographical areas, this series aims to challenge established perceptions of what constitutes ideological and historical facets of the past, as well as scholarly notions of what can be identified as Byzantine, post-Byzantine, and early modern history, art, and culture. The series co-editors, Maria Alessia Rossi and Alice Isabella Sullivan, are interested in contributions that address how cross-cultural exchange operated across Eastern European regions that developed at the intersection of different traditions, among them Latin, Greek, Slavic, and Islamic; issues of visual eclecticism in the art, architecture, and visual culture; as well as the role of patronage, workshop practices, and the movements of people and objects in the transfer and adaptation of artistic ideas, techniques, and styles.

Please find the complete announcement at:

https://trivent-publishing.eu/img/cms/Trivent-Book-Series-NoB.pdf

Anita Paolicchi, *Dall'Oriente alla Toscana: preziose devozioni*, Livorno, Sillabe, 2020, 80 p.

Il testo presenta alcune preziose reliquie provenienti dalle sponde orientali del Mediterraneo giunte in Occidente, e in particolare in Toscana, nel corso del tardo medioevo e nella prima età moderna, e si sofferma in particolare sui loro preziosi ornamenti (nel caso di reliquie di grandi dimensioni) e sulle loro custodie (nel caso di frammenti di dimensioni ridotte). La loro storia viene ricostruita dall'autrice facendo riferimento ai documenti d'archivio che, così come molte delle iscrizioni che accompagnano le reliquie, appaiono particolarmente preziosi poiché rivelano i nomi dei personaggi coinvolti nelle traslazioni, permettendo di mettere in luce il contesto storico e politico legato al loro arrivo e le ragioni della loro donazione.

Tre sono le reliquie elette a protagoniste: il braccio destro di San Giovanni Battista (Duomo di Siena), le cui vicende si legano anche alle travagliate sorti dei Balcani, il braccio destro di Sant'Ermolao (Pieve di Calci, Pisa), che nonostante la semplicità della fasciatura metallica pone alcuni complessi interrogativi, e la reliquia della Vera Croce contenuta in un encolpio che condivide l'origine con la preziosa Croce di Pliska (Museo Archeologico dell'Accademia Bulgara delle Scienze di Sofia) e la celebre Cassetta Fieschi-Morgan (Metropolitan Museum di New York). Quarto elemento introdotto nel discorso è la reliquia della Veste di Cristo, per la quale viene commissionato nel Quattrocento il cosiddetto Reliquiario Vagnucci (Museo Diocesano di Cortona): questa reliquia, inclusa in un encolpio di manifattura fiorentina ma dall'aspetto orientale introduce la parte finale del testo, una riflessione sul modo in cui i preziosi ornamenti che accompagnavano le reliquie, tipici per la tradizione orientale nella forma e nel decoro, siano stati percepiti al loro arrivo in Occidente. Nelle pagine conclusive l'autrice sviluppa un'analisi critica del modo in cui la storiografia artistica occidentale si è avvicinata allo studio di questi manufatti e sulle motivazioni che hanno spinto a ritenere che il loro influsso sulla cultura visiva degli artisti locali sia stato spesso scarso, se non addirittura nullo.

Il testo è accompagnato da una premessa scritta da don Enrico Grassini, Direttore dell'Ufficio Beni Culturali dell'Arcidiocesi di Siena – Colle di Val d'Elsa – Montalcino, e da una breve prefazione della professoressa Antonella Capitanio, docente di Storia delle arti applicate e dell'oreficeria dell'Università di Pisa.

CONTACT: https://www.sillabe.it/it/saggistica/976-dall-oriente-alla-toscana-preziose-devozioni.html

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Maggio 1218: il Colloquio di Bergamo. Un dibattito alle origini della storia valdese, dir. Francesca Tascan, Torino, Claudiana, 2020, 217 p.

Nel maggio 1218 sei delegati dei *fratres Ytalici* e sei delegati dei *fratres Ultramontani* – due gruppi che si riferivano entrambi, ma in modi diversi, all'iniziativa religiosa di Valdo di Lione –, si incontrarono nei pressi di Bergamo nel tentativo (fallito) di conciliare le differenti tendenze e ispirazioni. Il prezioso resoconto dell'incontro, redatto dagli *Ytalici* e noto come *Rescriptum*, è fortuitamente sopravvissuto all'interno di documentazione inquisitoriale di area tedesca. I contributi qui pubblicati intendono fornire sia un approfondimento sugli specifici contenuti del colloquio del 1218 così come custoditi nel *Rescriptum*, sia un inquadramento del contesto storico, religioso, politico, sociale di cui l'incontro di Bergamo fu, a suo modo, una delle vive e originali espressioni. Del *Rescriptum* il volume offre inoltre per la prima volta la traduzione integrale in lingua italiana (con testo a fronte in latino).

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COLLANA DELLA SOCIETÀ DI STUDI VALDESI n. 44

MAGGIO 1218:
IL COLLOQUIO DI BERGAMO.
UN DIBATTITO AGLI INIZI
DELLA STORIA VALDESE

a cura di Francesca Tasca

CLAUDIANA

Staročeské biblické předmluvy, ed. Kateřina Voleková, Andrea Svobodová, coll. Tomáš Gaudek, Ota Halama, Milada Homolková, Klára Matiasovitsová, Markéta Pytlíková, Dolní Břežany, Scriptorium, 2019, 624 p.

The book *Staročeské biblické předmluvy* [Old Czech Biblical Prologues] provides the very first, critical edition of an Old Czech translation of all the prefaces appearing in medieval vernacular Bibles. Although they did not form the biblical canon, these texts have accompanied the biblical text in manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate since the Early Middle Ages, as they introduce the individual biblical books or larger parts of the Bible, such as the Pentateuch, the Books of Kings, the Epistles, etc. A considerable number of prologues in the medieval Bible were written by Jerome, the author of the Latin translation of the Bible known as the Vulgate from the beginning of the 5th century. The presence of prologues in Latin Bibles varied, just like their number and content until the appearance of the Paris Bible, which usually contains 64 introductions. One of the copies of the Paris Bible became the model for the earliest translation of the Bible into Old Czech.

The earliest Czech translation of the entire Bible was made in the 1350s. Other Czech biblical translations followed; before 1500, there can be found four versions, the so-called redactions of the translation of the entire Bible, preserved in more than a hundred manuscripts (and in almost a hundred fragments). The first-redaction manuscripts contain a small number of prologues. At the beginning of the 15th century, an extensive collection of Old Czech biblical prologues was translated from the Latin original by an unknown translator. This separate collection contains prologues to almost all books of the Bible or its larger parts, offering even two or three prefaces for every biblical book. The prologue collection comprises more than a hundred items: in addition to the 64 prefaces to the Paris Bible, the collection contains nearly 40 other introductory texts from the earlier Latin Bibles. The Czech prologue collection has been preserved in two copies from the first quarter of the 15th century.

From these two collections, the prologues were then selectively adopted and copied before individual biblical books in 45 manuscripts and one printed Bible of the second and third biblical redactions – the number of the prologues in extant manuscripts varies, but none of them contains the same number of prologues as the prologue collections do. Within particular redactions, the actual text of the Bible in the 15th century underwent a number of modifications, including the new wording of the prologues. The printed Bibles that already contain a new translation, the so-called fourth redaction, probably created at the Utraquist-oriented Prague university in the 1480s, have only five prologues. In a different quantity (and sometimes even wording), these prologues can also be found in several other incunabula. They occur in printed Bibles and New Testaments of the 16th century as well, except for the translations reflecting the original wording (Hebrew and Greek).

The presented book is the result of a three-year project, whose main objective was the critical edition of the preserved Old Czech biblical prologues. The first part contains the introductory study, whose first chapter deals with Latin prologues in the medieval Bible and its translations into vernacular languages. The second chapter discusses in more detail the Old Czech translation, focusing on the prologue collection, namely its sources, lexicon and textual tradition in the Bibles of the second and third redactions, but also on sporadic independent translation attempts, on the prologues surviving outside the prologue collection, on the prologues of the fourth 'Utraquist' translation, and on the prologue tradition in the printed Bibles after 1500. The third chapter is formed by commentaries on the edited Old Czech prefaces arranged chronologically: each commentary includes the identification of the Latin original (if available) and the number
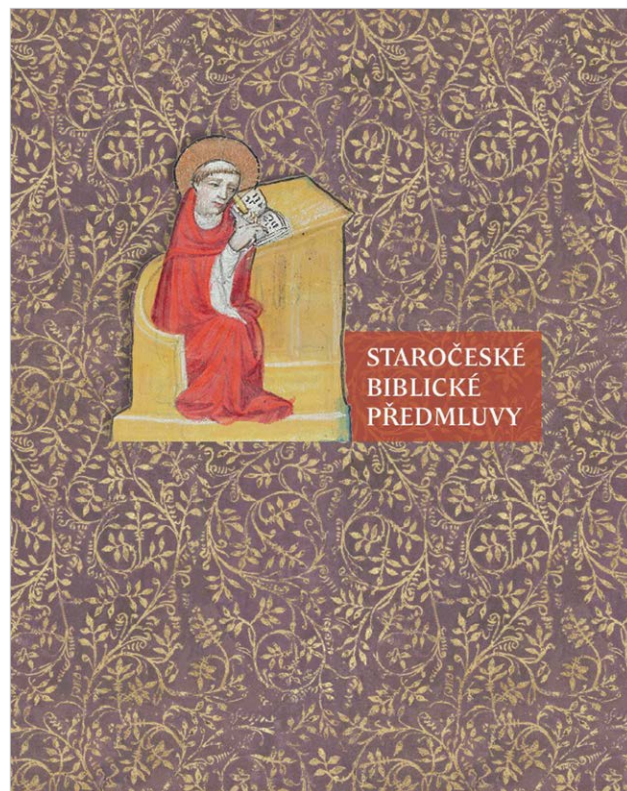
and assignment of the sources mapping the textual transmission of the particular prologue. The theoretical part is concluded by the study on the decoration of the prologues in Old Czech biblical manuscripts with the focus on the oldest first-redaction Bibles.

The second part of the book comprises the critical and annotated edition of all 124 prologues found in Old Czech Bibles. Their text is printed here in its transcription into Modern Czech spelling in full wording. The edition attempts to take into account the transformation of the text in the preserved sources; therefore, the editorial apparatus presents lexical variants. A necessary accompaniment to an edition is a differential glossary explaining unclear words or unusual meanings and a glossary explaining selected realms.

The book is accompanied by several attachments, including the list of prologues in the Paris Bible and *Glossa ordinaria*, the list of all Old Czech biblical sources and the list of their prologues, the list of Old Czech prologues with their incipits, and stemmas of Old Czech prologues, which capture the relation between extant sources. In addition, the text is supplemented by images from selected biblical manuscripts. For the first time ever, the intricately conceived critical edition of the Old Czech Prologues provides access to these specific biblical paratexts, which are of great importance for the development of the Czech literature and Czech language in general (especially at the level of scholarly vocabulary) and which are a fundamental testimony of the cultural, professional and translational standards of their time. The publication is thus primarily intended for philologists, but provides incentives for further research into the wide range of medieval studies as well.
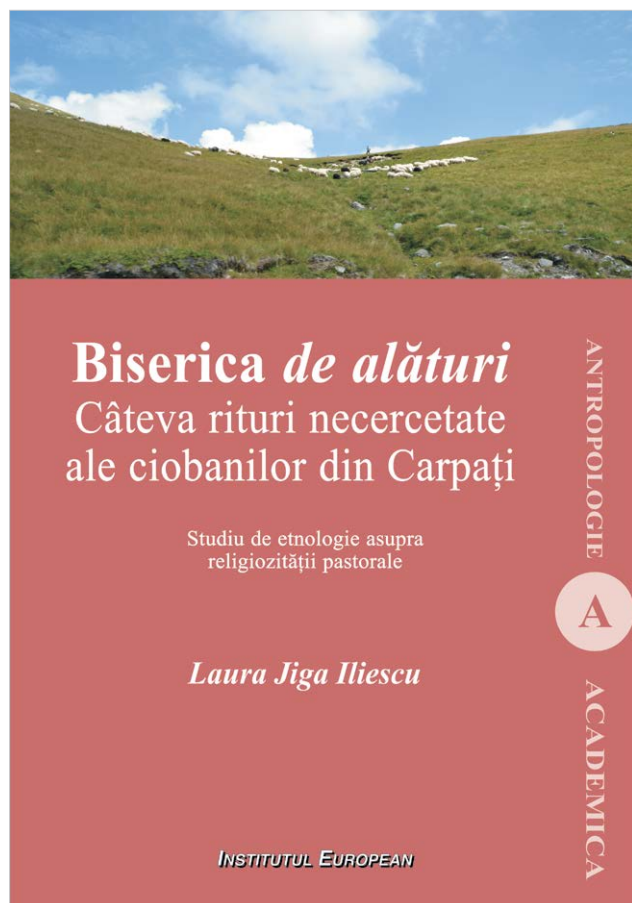
Laura Jiga Iliescu, *Biserica de alături. Câteva rituri necercetate ale ciobanilor din Carpați. Studiu de etnologie asupra religiozității pastorale*, Iași, Institutul European, 2020, 230 p.

EXCERPTS FROM THE ENGLISH ABSTRACT OF THE BOOK:

At the heart of this research is the aim of exploring, on multiple levels of analysis, the relationship between a community's inhabited and imagined space and the forms of religious manifestations predisposed or induced by it. Human interactions with a certain geographical environment are mediated and governed by a set of daily and ritual restriction and permissiveness, which are part of a larger cultural and religious repertoire of practices, gestures, journeys, mental constructs, beliefs, all of them being expressions of individual and collective visions on the nature, on the space and time, on danger, mobility and stillness, on the human body, society, the seen and unseen, on the sacred. The type of space we refered to was the mountain one, more specifically the Carpathian Alpine pastures. While modern and postmodern times do harness the ecological, recreational, spiritual and entertainment potential of the mountain, which became more easily accessible, be it winter or summer time, in the past only a few people knew the high level mountain and its forests, pastures and crests: shepherds, hunters, cranberry pickers, outcasts (brigands, robbers, thugs, partisans), hermits, and for a certain period, and holding a different status, border guards. In relation to the domestic community living at the foot of the mountain, these people were seen as marginalized, just like the mountain itself. All the others, even if they were mountainbred, wouldn't climb the mountain or, in case they did it, it was rather seldom. Our research was articulated (and configured) on three interrelated coordinates of reality: space, religious expressions attached to it, and a particular occupation defined by living in wild nature and seasonal dislocation from the community core, risks, solitude, itinerancy and male dominance: shepherding. Without generalizing the implicit determinism of this triad (lifestyle is influenced by the space, the space is shaped by the lifestyle and the pursuit of the pastoral profession, all of which are, in their turn, part of a religious approach that lends itself to historical dynamics, etc.), our analysis was intended to be applied as much as possible to a particular area, located on both sides of the Southern Carpathians, namely Mărginimea Sibiului (South Transylvania region) and Northern Oltenia region; the Parâng large massif, with Cindrel, Sebeș, Șureanu, Lotrului, Căpățânii group of mountains. The period we took into account in the chapters dedicated to pastoral rites has, as a temporal lower mark, the second half of the eighteenth century, a period which coincides with a wave of immigration of shepherds from north (Transylvania) to south (Wallachia) sides of the Meridional Carpathians, with a large scale development and reconfiguration of shepherding, with the military enforcement of the Transylvania frontiers settled on the crests of the mountains (the border guard regiments were established in 1762 and were dissolved in 1851) (p. 190-191).

Our analysis of the selected rites did not exhaust the conceptual, ideological and expression potential of the religiosity of the communities or of the individuals who practice or are aware of them. Although artificially extracted from a much richer repertoire of devotional gestures and beliefs involving the supernatural world or the relationship with the divine, they could still stand for a specific practice through which some believers internalize Christianity, its doctrine and rituals, both inside and outside the liturgically defined space. When discussing the chosen examples, we tried to avoid the term folk religion. [...]If folk religion shall mean all those religious practices that manifest themselves outside of or independently from the official structures of religious institutions, then one of the risks is to echo once again the dichotomy between rural and urban, archaic and modern worlds, oral and written sources, uneducated and educated people. [...] When it comes to the Orthodox milieu, for long time prevailingly rural, we took into account the fact that the priests were frequently originating from the community they served, being educated as kids in a context that also was shaping their knowledge and religious vision in line with those of the congregants (p. 208-209).

...our research brought us closer to a specific manifestation, almost extinct, of the Christian religiosity, shaped by solitude, seasonal inhabitance of the mountain by liminality, transhumance, and pastoral activity: a religiosity that empowers the vegetal world as a liturgical intercessor between God and the human being, and that can be seen as part of the cosmic Christianity, as it was defined by Mircea Eliade. [...] Nature, individualism and exoticism, with a strong component of mystery, represents a triad of the post(post)modern religious nostalgia, that re-shape humans' relation with divinity and sacredness in the frames of globalization and past's re-evaluation processes. In our contemporary times, when the ecologic, green salvation became a priority, the message delivered by this local theology of nature, which probably never was very visible, but whose concrete and ephemeral vestiges are discreetly preserved in the local memory through legends, stones, outside churches and vegetal sanctuaries, though the small crosses designed with a knife in some trees' bark, might help us to better understand the people we speak about and to understand ourselves, as well. It is up to us how we will integrate the natural world into our new horizons of knowledge, and it is up to us how many of the marked trees will remain untouched by deforestation. (p. 215-216).
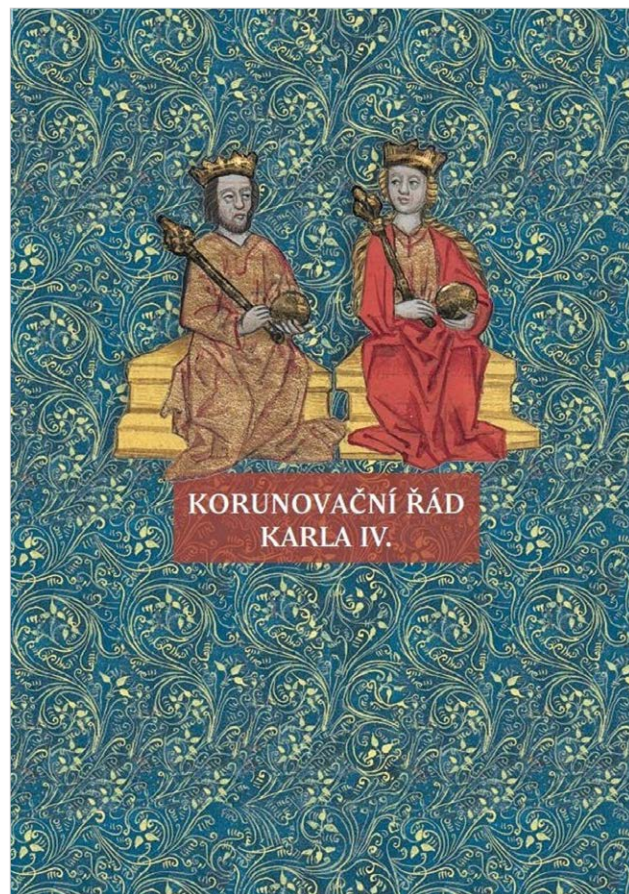
Korunovační řád Karla IV., ed. Martina Jamborová, coll. Michal Dragoun, Tomáš Gaudek, Kateřina Voleková, Václav Žůrek, Prague, Scriptorium, 2019, 148 p.

Korunovační řád karla iv. [Charles iv's Coronation Rules] offers for the first time a critical edition of the Czech version of the Coronation Rules of Charles iv from all eight known manuscript sources. Besides the critical edition, the book contains five studies. Václav Žůrek discusses the historical background of the origin of this work. Michal Dragoun's codicological analysis assesses the environment and time in which the manuscripts of the Czech translation of the Coronation Rules were created. Tomáš Gaudek's art history study describes a representative decoration of Czech manuscripts. Martina Jamborová deals with the language of the Czech translation of the coronation order. Kateřina Voleková analyses the relationship of the Czech translation to the Latin original.

The reign of the king and emperor Charles iv entailed the reform of the coronation ceremony. The compiler of the rules based the text on a general regulation from the 10th century, which was a common part of the Roman Pontifical, and prescribed other acts and utterances for it. Some of them can be considered as the original Czech regulations, in particular the procession to Vyšehrad on the eve of the coronation, commemorating the Přemyslid dynasty, and the use of Czech during the ceremony (acclamations, preaching, singing). Another specific regulation is the active participation of the abbess of Saint-George's Benedictine Convent at Prague Castle in the coronation of the queen. A characteristic moment of the Czech coronation is the emphasis on the cult of saint Wenceslas during the ceremony – a sword, a crown and a chapel are consecrated to him, and two abbots bring consecrated oil from the chapel, which is probably an imitation of the procession in Reims, France. Also following the French model, the nobility is invited to take an active part in the ceremony (holding the crown, carrying a naked sword).

The Czech version of the Coronation Rules is preserved in eight manuscripts. The oldest of them, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 619, is dated to 1396. Most of the codex Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. series nova 2618, was written by the scribe Jan of Roudnice in 1472. The manuscript Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 581, was made around 1500. In these manuscripts, the coronation rules are placed next to other works by Charles iv. These also form part of two other volumes containing the coronation rules – Litoměřice, State Regional Archives Litoměřice, the Episcopal Collections – Waldstein Collection, shelf mark B I F 54, Inv. No. 5078; and Prague, National Museum Library, V B 24, but they are complemented by other, historiographical texts, especially the Chronicle of Přibík Pulkava of Radenín and the text of Old Czech Annals. The manuscript B I F 54 was created in its current form after 1470 and it served as a model for the manuscript V B 24, written in the third decade of the 16th century. In the last three manuscripts, the coronation rules are located in the vicinity of a set of various legal texts. The collection was probably created for the needs of land officials. It has been preserved to a similar extent in the manuscripts Prague, National Museum Library, II C 2 from the second decade of the 16th century and in two copies from around the middle of the 16th century: Prague, National Museum Library, IA 1, and Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 13758.

The decoration of the codices containing the Czech version of the Coronation Rules of Charles iv iconographically follows the prototypes from older manuscripts of another type (pontificals, the Bibles). All of the three known illuminated Czech manuscripts containing the coronation rules are deposited in Vienna. The oldest codex was decorated by the workshop of the Master of the Pauline Epistles, a productive and popular Prague workshop at the turn of the 15th century, which satisfied a wide clientele. A prominent painter of the Jagiellonian period was Valentin Noh, whose workshop produced the second illuminated codex. In the third manuscript is the last illumination the most remarkable: it shows the royal couple with a large crowd of the highest nobility. This manuscript is attributed to the circle of the workshop of Janíček Zmilelý from Písek, auxiliaries who had already worked on the Jena Codex.

The Czech translation originated in the period between the creation of the Latin version and 1396. The oldest extant copy of the Czech translation differs from the later Czech copies in some linguistic features, including the change of *st* to *sc* (*milosc*); the consonant group *šč*, in later copies dissimilated into *šť* (*plášč*); *čs* before simplification into *c* (*počstvivě*); the presence of the suffix *tva* (*modlitva*), etc. The later copies have preserved phenomena that were no longer actively used at that time (*e. g.* dual forms, aorists), but naturally reflect the phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic development of Czech as well. The translation of the Coronation Rules enriched Old Czech with words that appear only in it (*uskrovnitel*, *nepotuchlý*, etc.). It also brought a number of expressions that are documented there for the first time, such as liturgical vocabulary denoting parts of worship services.

The Latin source of the Coronation Rules of Charles iv (*Ordo ad coronandum regem Bohemorum*) has been preserved in five manuscripts and two extracts. A comparison of the three oldest Latin manuscripts with the Czech translation reveals the closeness of the Czech translation to the Viennese manuscript (Austrian National Library, Cod. 556) and the Prague manuscript (National Library of the Czech Republic, XIX B 5), although neither of them was the translator's source. Numerous examples show that the Old Czech translation is a careful, meticulous translation of the Latin original. In the translation of the Book of Psalms, the translator of the coronation rules used the Czech Psalter. In the case of Old and New Testa-

ment pericopes and the Litany of the Saints, the translator proceeded independently of earlier translations, demonstrating his orientation in the religious terminology of Czech Biblical translations.

Since these rules were the only original Czech coronation regulations, they were imitated, to the extent possible, until the early modern period. Paradoxically, however, mainly due to political circumstances, they were never implemented in their entirety.

GRAPH-EAST
Latin as an Alien Script in the Medieval 'Latin East'
ERC Starting grant 948390

Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, CNRS-CÉSCM

In the 7th c. AD, the period of the beginning of the Arab conquests and the wave of Hellenisation, the Latin script which was already a minority script in the Greek-speaking East disappeared from the monumental graphic landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean. Progressively, however, until the period of the Ottoman expansion, merchants, pilgrims, crusaders and soldiers established themselves in the broad area from Greece and Turkey to Egypt via the coast of Palestine-Syria and Cyprus. Founding new town quarters, hospices, churches and castles, they placed inscriptions and graffiti on monuments and artefacts in their own languages using the Latin alphabet, in other words, signs now exogenous. Thus they attempted through stone, painting, mosaic and metal to appropriate graphically, as well as spatially and symbolically, parts of the East, including the holy places of Christianity.

The study of these inscriptions faces three problems: the lack of a comprehensive corpus, the concept of Latin East conflating writing, language, culture and religious rite, and limited to the crusades, and a perspective that views Latin epigraphy as something static and unchanging, not taking into account the plurigraphic environment of the East. GRAPH-EAST aims to change this paradigm by exploring Latin epigraphic writing in the Eastern Mediterranean (7th-16th c.) in contact, interaction, and competition with Greek, Arabic, Armenian, Syriac, Hebrew etc. inscriptions. The project proposes an innovative study of 2,500 inscriptions and graffiti that opens a new field of research. It aims at understanding the representation and practice of the Latin script, alien in the Byzantine and Islamic empires, providing a connected history of epigraphy in this area, and analysing this migrant Latin writing through the prism of cultural transfers between West and East, with an international and pluridisciplinary team.

▼ *Artist signature in Latin and Syriac in the 12th-century mosaics of the Nativity Church of Bethlehem.*
Credits: Estelle Ingrand-Varenne.

Summary / Table des matières

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