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studies



études



Si non vis recipere meam fidem et baptismum, exeas regnum meum vel solvas tantum; et quod plus est, te decapitabo:

The Circular Letter of the Bosnian Vicar Bartholomew of La Verna and Repression of the Krstjani in 1459–1460

Paweł Cholewicki
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RÉSUMÉ: L'article analyse l'influence possible d'une lettre circulaire rédigée vers 1378 par le vicaire franciscain Barthélemy de La Verna sur la campagne de baptêmes forcés organisée en Bosnie en 1459 sous le règne du roi Stjepan Tomaš. À la suite de la chute de Smederevo et soumis à de fortes pressions diplomatiques, Tomaš enjoignit aux Krstjani – membres d'une Église bosnienne tenue pour hérétique – d'accepter le baptême ou de quitter le royaume, provoquant, selon Pie II, plusieurs milliers de conversions. L'étude propose d'éclairer cet épisode à la lumière de la doctrine coercitive élaborée par Barthélemy. Figure centrale du vicariat franciscain de Bosnie, Barthélemy formula un ensemble structuré d'arguments destinés à convaincre les autorités séculières de soutenir un vaste programme de baptêmes et à en affirmer la légitimité théologique et juridique. Enraciné dans l'Écriture, la tradition patristique et divers précédents historiques, ce cadre doctrinal visait à orienter les campagnes de conversion entreprises par la couronne hongroise au XIV^e siècle. L'article montre que cette lettre circulait encore au XV^e siècle dans les milieux franciscains du vicariat bosnien, ce qui rend plausible son impact sur la politique religieuse de Tomaš. Les parallèles sont nombreux : recours à un baptême imposé sans période d'instruction préalable, affirmation du devoir des seigneurs de garantir l'orthodoxie religieuse, rôle central attribué aux Franciscains dans la mise en œuvre du programme. Autant d'éléments que l'on retrouve dans les mesures prises par Tomaš en 1459. L'auteur suggère ainsi que le roi, soucieux de rétablir sa position auprès de la papauté, a pu mobiliser la doctrine coercitive de Barthélemy pour justifier une opération de conversion à grande échelle. L'article se conclut par une nouvelle transcription du texte latin, établie à partir de la confrontation d'une ancienne édition avec un témoin manuscrit, ainsi que par une traduction anglaise intégrale, fournissant des instruments renouvelés pour l'étude des relations entre catholiques et orthodoxes au Moyen Âge.

MOTS-CLÉS: Franciscains; Bosnie médiévale; royaume hongrois; conversion forcée; Barthélemy de La Verna.

REZUMAT: Articolul analizează influența posibilă a unei scrisori circulare redactate în jurul anului 1378 de vicarul franciscan Bartolomeu din La Verna asupra campaniei de botezuri forțate organizate în Bosnia în 1459, sub domnia regelui Stjepan Tomaš. În urma căderii orașului Smederevo și a unor presiuni diplomatice intense, Tomaš le-a ordonat *Krstjani*-lor (membri ai unei Biserici bosniace considerate eretice) să accepte botezul sau să părăsească regatul, ceea ce a dus, potrivit lui Pius al II-lea, la câteva mii de convertiri. Studiul propune ca acest episod să fie reinterpretat în lumina doctrinei coercitive elaborate de Bartolomeu. Figură centrală a vicariatului franciscan din Bosnia, Bartolomeu a formulat un set coerent de argumente menite să convingă autoritățile seculare să sprijine un program amplu de botezuri și să îi întemeieze legitimitatea teologică și juridică. Bazată pe Scriptură, pe tradiția patristică și pe diverse precedente istorice, această construcție doctrinară urmărea să orienteze campaniile de convertire inițiate de coroana maghiară în secolul al XIV-lea. Articolul arată că această scrisoare circula încă în secolul al XV-lea în mediile franciscane ale vicariatului bosniac, ceea ce face verosimilă influența ei asupra politicii religioase a lui Tomaš. Paralelele sunt numeroase: recurgerea la botezul impus fără o perioadă prealabilă de instruire, afirmarea obligației nobililor de a garanta conformitatea religioasă, rolul central atribuit franciscanilor în implementarea programului – toate aceste elemente se regăsesc în măsurile adoptate de Tomaš în 1459. Autorul sugerează astfel că regele, dornic să-și recâștige statutul în fața papalității, ar fi putut utiliza doctrina coercitivă a lui Bartolomeu pentru a legitima o operațiune de convertire de mare amploare. Articolul se încheie cu o transcriere nouă a textului latin, realizată prin confruntarea unei ediții vechi cu un martor manuscris, precum și cu o traducere integrală în limba engleză, oferind instrumente noi pentru studiul relațiilor dintre catolici și ortodocși în Evul Mediu.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: franciscani; Bosnia medievală; regatul maghiar; convertire forțată; Bartolomeu din La Verna.

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◀ *The fifteenth-century funerary monument of Vukosav Lupcic from the Dolovi-Poljice necropolis on Mount Visočica, one of two known medieval funerary monuments inscribed with medieval Bosnian Cyrillic texts.* Source: Wikipedia / Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license.



In 1459, shortly after the surrender of Smederevo to the Turks on 20 June that year, the penultimate king of Bosnia, Stjepan Tomaš, presented all the 'Manichaeans' in his realm with a choice: to accept baptism or face expulsion. Pius II reported in his *Commentaries* that approximately 12,000 individuals were baptised, while forty remained resolute and fled to Duke Stjepan Kosača, referred to as their 'comrade in perfidy'. Three heretics were taken to Rome, where they renounced their faith in a public ceremony. A few years later, a high-ranking member of that group, Gost Radin, petitioned the Venetian authorities to allow him and 'fifty or sixty' individuals from his 'sect' to enter their territory. These accounts represent some of the final historical references to the religious community or order known as the Bosnian Church. The *Krstjani*, meaning 'Christians', who formed this community, did not submit to either Rome or Constantinople, and were accused by the two 'great Churches' of adhering to a heretical belief in two principles, commonly referred to today as Dualism. King Tomaš's decision to abandon the tolerant stance of his predecessors in favour of repression has drawn considerable scholarly attention. Historians have examined the causes and consequences of the campaign, the king's motivations, papal oversight, the timeline of the persecution, its scope and character, as well as the numbers reported by Pius II.¹ Unsurprisingly, the sources examined have been primarily contemporary with the events, with little or no attention given to earlier writings. However, nearly a century prior, the long-serving Franciscan vicar of Bosnia, Bartholomew of La Verna, issued a letter in which he justified the use of coercion in campaigns of baptism of large groups of non-Catholic population. He described a hypothetical scenario in which a king offers his subject the choice to be baptised, pay a certain sum, go into exile, or be executed, evoking the fate that had befallen the *Krstjani*.

This paper starts by examining the roots of the heresy in Bosnia, outlining the development of the Bosnian Church, the competing historiographical interpretations of its doctrinal character, and its unique place in the religious and political landscape of medieval Bosnia. From this, the study turns to the foundation of the Franciscan Bosnian vicariate and to the tenure and writings of Bartholomew of La Verna. A central section of the paper is dedicated to an analysis of Bartholomew's circular letter and its interpretation of the 1378 papal bull *Devotionis sinceritas*, which encouraged coercion in matters of faith. Finally, the letter's rhetorical strategies and practical instructions are examined also for their potential afterlife in shaping the ideological and operational framework of the 1459 campaign. I will consider the relationship between Bartholomew's thought and the measures adopted by the Bosnian royal court almost a century later, suggesting that the letter may have served as a conceptual and justificatory model for the Franciscans involved in organising the mass baptism campaign. The paper aims to uncover how the letter may have informed one of the most significant episodes of the Bosnian Middle Ages (Fig. 1).

▼ Fig. 1. Drawing of Ms Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, A VI 15, fol. 91v (detail).
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*Quis dicit violata gubernatis vestris ut non alii
cum pombus talis goro. Si no vis adipe meam fidem & baptis
me exeat magna men ut solus in*

Tam ecclesia quam diocesis Bosnensis, quae ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinet: The Bosnian Diocese's Lapse to Heresy

To understand the potential impact of Bartholomew's letter on events in 1459, it is first necessary to present the context of heresy in Bosnia and the place it occupies in its religious and political landscape. From 1199 until the mid-thirteenth century, the Roman curia received numerous reports suggesting that heretical groups had settled in Bosnia, spreading their beliefs among the local population and securing the patronage of the ban.² In a letter dated 21 November 1202, Pope Innocent III associated these groups with the Cathars.³ The creed of the Cathars was based on a belief in two opposing forces—good and evil—represented by God and Satan, both regarded as creators. The 'good' God was believed to have created all spiritual beings, while Satan, identified with Jehovah of the Old Testament, was said to have created the material world 'in six days'. This dualist conception of creation had far-reaching theological implications for the broader doctrinal system, which has been the subject of extensive historiographical analysis.⁴

A range of measures was undertaken by the papacy to eradicate heresy in Bosnia. These included the deployment of papal legates, the securing of abjurations, and the establishment of agreements with the Bosnian bans.⁵ The Dominican friars also played a role in this effort, first being mentioned in connection with Bosnia in a source dated 10 October 1233.⁶ The papacy also directed its attention toward the Bosnian bishopric, which it suspected of being complicit in the spread of heresy. On 5 June 1232, Pope Gregory IX issued a letter to the archbishop of Kalocsa and the bishop of Zagreb, outlining a series of serious allegations against an unnamed bishop of Bosnia. This included neglect of pastoral responsibilities and, potentially, active support for the heretics.⁷ The papal legate in Hungary, James of Pecoraria, reportedly found the bishop guilty of at least some of the charges.⁸

By the end of 1233, the bishop of Bosnia was replaced with the Dominican friar John of Wildeshausen, who would later become Master of the Order of Preachers.⁹ This replacement appears to have triggered considerable social unrest, prompting a crusade from Hungary to secure the success of the new bishop's efforts against heresy.¹⁰ The crusade was led by Duke Coloman in 1237–1238, and he occupied the majority of the Bosnian banate's territories.¹¹ The Dominicans cooperated with Coloman, restoring a number of churches, undertaking efforts to convert the heretics, and handing over many of those who remained unrepentant to be burned.¹² However, the crusade's progress was abruptly nullified by the Mongol invasion of Hungary; Duke Coloman was fatally wounded at the Battle of Muhi on 11 April 1241. This phase of intensified papal intervention came to an end on 27 March 1248, when Pope Innocent IV forbade further military action in Bosnia until the faith of the ban could be re-evaluated.¹³ The outcome of this investigation remains unknown, but no substantial attempt to resolve the problem of Bosnian heresy through military means was undertaken until the following century.

The archdiocese of Dubrovnik was blamed for tolerating the Bosnian bishopric's descent into heresy.¹⁴ The archbishop of Kalocsa was appointed metropolitan of Bosnia, following a papal bull dated 28 August 1247. The bull declared that: 'the Bosnian Church, along with its diocese, no longer belonged to the Roman Church, hav-

ing fully embraced the faithlessness of heretical depravity, because its sins condemned it'.¹⁵ Subsequently, the Bosnian bishop established his permanent seat at Đakovo in the kingdom of Hungary (present-day Croatia) by May 1252. Đakovo remained the 'canonical' seat of the Bosnian bishopric until modern times. In effect, the Cyrillo-Methodian form of Christianity in Bosnia—supervised until the early 1230s by the Catholic *Ecclesia Bosnensis* under the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Dubrovnik—was severed from the Roman Church following the bishopric's relocation to Đakovo.¹⁶ In its place, a new religious structure gradually emerged, first referred to in a charter dated 1326/1329 as the Bosnian Church (*Crkva bosanska*).¹⁷ Although condemned by both of the 'great Churches', the Bosnian Church was tolerated by Bosnian rulers until 1459, when its members were presented with the choice of baptism or expulsion.

As an indigenous phenomenon, the Bosnian Church has become something of a beacon of both scholarly and popular fascination in South Slavic countries, especially in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Its historiography is extensive, yet it remains deeply divided over the question of its doctrinal character. The study of the Bosnian Church is complicated by the inherent challenges of researching medieval dualist movements, compounded by the entrenchment of national historiographical traditions. Scholars such as Jaroslav Šidak, Pejo Čošković, and Dženan Dautović have made notable efforts to bring some structure to this highly complex field.¹⁸ Academic interpretations can broadly be categorised into three frameworks: the '[Eastern] Orthodox framework' (*Pravoslavni okvir*), the 'dualist framework' (*Dualistički okvir*), and the 'orthodox framework' (*Pravovjerni okvir*). The [Eastern] Orthodox framework maintains that the Bosnian Church was essentially Eastern Orthodox in nature, comparable to the churches of Serbia and Bulgaria.¹⁹ The dualist framework, by contrast, holds that the Bosnian Church formed part of the wider 'neo-Manichean movement' of the high Middle Ages, comprising communities displaced by persecution elsewhere.²⁰ Some post-war historians within this framework argued instead that the Catholic *Ecclesia Bosnensis*, having lapsed into dualism, evolved into the heretical Bosnian Church, with its leader—the *Djed*—continuing the lineage of 'canonical' bishops that had existed prior to the appointment of John of Wildeshausen.²¹ Finally, the orthodox framework also traces the origins of the Bosnian Church to the *Ecclesia Bosnensis* after its separation from Rome, but contends that it remained doctrinally orthodox and was never 'contaminated' by dualist beliefs.²²

After the prominent Serbian historian Sima Ćirković adopted the dualist framework, the '[Eastern] Orthodox framework' declined in popularity, leaving the dualist and orthodox frameworks as the dominant positions in contemporary scholarship.²³ Catholic and Orthodox sources—including anti-heretical polemics, lists of errors, abjuration texts, condemnations issued by Serbian synods, and various letters—provide abundant evidence accusing the Bosnian Church of holding beliefs commonly associated with the Cathars and Bogomils. These sources frequently refer to its adherents as 'the heretics of Bosnia', 'the Patarenes', 'the Manicheans', or 'the Babuni' (*Бабуну*).²⁴ However, such sources are often considered unreliable, and scholars tend to focus instead on the comparatively limited material produced by the Bosnian Church itself. Proponents of the dualist framework frequently cite the glosses found in Bosnian biblical manuscripts as indica-

tive of dualist interpretations of particular passages, and they also highlight the prayer formulations in the Radosav manuscript as corresponding to the *consolamentum* of the Cathars.²⁵ Conversely, advocates of the orthodox framework dispute and deconstruct any identifications of dualism within these sources, which they argue display no evidence of dualist belief. They often cite the testament of Gost Radin, dated 5 January 1466, which contains numerous contradictions to the accusations made in polemical literature against the Bosnian heretics.²⁶

The Bosnian Church was organised as a religious community or order with a clearly defined hierarchy. This structure has become a subject of scholarly debate, particularly regarding whether it more closely resembled an Orthodox monastic community or the organisation of the Cathar churches.²⁷ The head of the Church was known as the *Djed*, after whom were the *Strojníci*, who were themselves divided into higher ranked *Gosti* and lower ranked *Starci*.²⁸ The remainder of the order's members were referred to in vernacular sources as *Krstjani*, meaning 'Christians', while some Latin sources described them as *religiosi*. The term *Krstjani* has caused some interpretative ambiguity, as it may also have referred to 'lay' believers; however, it appears that members of this religious community claimed exclusive use of the term 'Christians' for themselves.²⁹ Although some elements of their hierarchical structure bear resemblance to those of contemporary orthodox or heterodox communities, the religious organisation of the *Krstjani* appears to have been, on the whole, genuinely original.³⁰ Regardless of the precise nature of the Bosnian Church's creed, the *Krstjani* were deeply embedded in the social fabric of medieval Bosnia. They held positions of trust, frequently appearing as guarantors in vernacular charters, and even the Republic of Ragusa tolerated their religious dissent due to their recognised value as mediators.³¹

Ut omnes ecclesiae, quae nunc inibi jacent dirutae et destructae, auxiliante Deo in pristinum statum resurgent: Mission and Scope of the Franciscan Bosnian Vicariate

While the development of the Bosnian Church reveals an unusual religious landscape confronting the medieval papacy, the Franciscan Order emerged as the Church's principal agent for addressing the persistence of heresy. For approximately a century, Bosnia was without any formal Catholic ecclesiastical structure, and the regular Church hierarchy and diocesan system were not restored until 1881, following the Austro-Hungarian occupation of the country. Nevertheless, the Order of Friars Minor appears to have shown an early interest in expanding its activities into Bosnia. Some individual friars may have been active in parts of its territory during the early 1290s and mid-1320s, but nothing certain is known about their activities.³² The fourteenth century witnessed significant territorial expansion by the Kingdom of Hungary, which channelled its ambitions towards its weaker Orthodox neighbours in the southeast.³³ The Hungarian monarchy recognised that the conversion of local elites and populations to Catholicism would greatly facilitate its political and cultural influence in these parts. In 1339, the minister general of the Franciscan Order, Geraldus Odonis, travelled to Hungary, where King Charles Robert invited him to visit Bosnia. He was reportedly warmly received by Ban Stjepan II, and following consultations, the minister

general resolved to establish the Franciscan Bosnian vicariate. This foundation was confirmed by the general chapter at Assisi in 1340. The vicariate represented a structure in which the minister general exercised more direct authority than in a standard Franciscan province. Unlike provincial ministers, vicars were appointed directly by the minister general rather than elected by a local chapter. Initially, the Bosnian vicariate was administered by foreign friars, although by the fifteenth century, native Franciscans had become increasingly prominent.³⁴

Although termed the Bosnian vicariate, its jurisdiction quickly extended beyond the borders of the medieval Bosnian state. As early as 1347, it was authorised to establish convents in Ston and Đakovo.³⁵ King Louis I actively involved the Bosnian vicariate in the advancement of his political ambitions.³⁶ The Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals recounts that, following the conquest of the 'Tsardom of Vidin' in 1365 and setting up of the Hungarian banate under Benedict Himfi in its place, eight friars from the vicariate were assigned to assist with the Catholicisation and administration of baptisms of the population. Furthermore, on 20 July 1366, the king ordered that the Orthodox Slavic priests with their families from counties of Caraş and Kovin were to be brought to the same Benedict for examination, and they were converted and baptised likely by the Franciscans.³⁷ It appears as though the decision targeted mainly the Serbian clergy who took refuge in Banat.³⁸ It has also been argued that, in the same year, Louis I issued a discriminatory charter against his Orthodox subjects, restricting landholding in the Caransebeş district to Catholic nobles alone.³⁹ In the summer of 1368, friars John of Reno and Andrew of Perugia reported to Avignon that the Franciscans had converted 'many thousands' of individuals across Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia.⁴⁰ In 1369, five friars were martyred during the Bulgarian recapture of Vidin.⁴¹

Franciscan tradition further credits Louis with the foundation of several Bosnian convents in Banat, situated between the Tisza and Danube rivers on the southern frontier of the kingdom. *De conformitate vitae B. Francisci* by Bartholomew of Pisa, along with the Hungarian Observant Chronicle, list numerous convents belonging to the vicariate in Hungary that had been established by the end of the fourteenth century in Đakovo, Varoš (Alsán), Drobeta-Turnu Severin (Szőrény), Orşova (Orsova), Caransebeş (Karánsebes), Cseri (likely present-day Sacoşu Turcesc, Romania), Bocşa Română (Kövesd), Vidin (Видин), Kovin (Keve), Banatska Palanka (Haram), Armeniş (Ermény, in the Caraş river valley, somewhere in the Banatska Subotica area) and Ineu (Jenő).⁴² This network illustrates the significant presence of the Bosnian vicariate in southern parts of Hungary where the parish infrastructure was poorly developed and where the Orthodox Church retained considerable influence.

Serving in the vicariate presented a range of challenges for its friars. Not long after its establishment, vicars began reporting a shortage of manpower to meet the demands of their mission. Additional difficulties included restrictions on the elderly and infirm returning to their home provinces, the severe austerity of the convents, and the hardships associated with collecting sufficient alms for their sustenance. Opportunities for education and theological instruction were extremely limited, and the friars often faced hostility from local heretics, the Orthodox population, and the Turks. Furthermore, there was consider-

able uncertainty surrounding their rights to administer the sacraments and provide pastoral care in places lacking an established ecclesiastical structure.⁴³

Per sollicitas et continuas fratrum dicti ordinis in eadem vicaria existentium predicationes et inductiones quingenta milia personarum infidelium [...] ad orthodoxe fidei sinceritatem unanimiter [...] conversa fore noscantur.
The Vicariate of Bartholomew of La Verna

It fell to the vicars of Bosnia to address these challenges in order to ensure that the vicariate fulfilled its spiritual mission and continued to expand the boundaries of the faith. One of the aims behind the vicariate's extension into Dalmatia and Hungary was to guarantee the economic stability of the houses in Bosnia and to secure a steady influx of friars to assist in its administration.⁴⁴ The vicars also petitioned the papacy for various privileges that would facilitate the administration of the sacraments and resolve uncertainties regarding their application. The vicariate of Bartholomew of La Verna stands out as especially pivotal.⁴⁵ He was first recorded as vicar of Bosnia in 1367 and appeared in further documents from the years 1368, 1372, 1373, 1376, 1380, 1392, 1394, 1395, 1400, 1402, and 1404.⁴⁶ He is also presumed to have held office at some point between December 1406 and November 1408, as his petition from that period is mentioned in a later source.⁴⁷ This amounts to an exceptionally long, albeit not continuous, tenure. It is known that the general chapter at Aquila in 1376 sent Bartholomew to the Holy Land.⁴⁸ Mandić has dated Bartholomew's vicariate to the periods 1366–1375 and 1378–1408, while admitting uncertainty for the years 1381–1390 when evidence is lacking. This timeframe is generally accepted by South Slavic literature.⁴⁹ Although the precise dating remains subject to debate, it is evident that Bartholomew held the office for an unusually long time and was an active and influential figure throughout.⁵⁰

Bartholomew appears to have played a key role in Franciscan proselytising efforts, which unfolded alongside the anti-Orthodox policies of King Louis I in Bulgaria and Banat—through which the vicar likely became more closely acquainted with the monarch.⁵¹ At the king's request, the pope authorised the vicar of Bosnia, by a bull issued on 16 June 1372, to be granted two sites within the domain of Nikola Altomanović in Serbia, one in the region of Glaž on the border between Bosnia and Hungary, and as many as nine more across Bosnia, Serbia, and Wallachia.⁵² Bartholomew's ambitions extended further. He petitioned for permission to establish convents 'around Caransebeş and Greater Wallachia', as well as in Varoš and Krbava, with the aim of extending pastoral care specifically to 'the schismatic Vlachs, some of whom live in pastures and tents, tending the flocks and herds with which they abound, yet no one takes care about preaching or converting them'.⁵³ In response, the pope issued a bull on 1 June 1373, allowing the establishment of up to six convents in such areas.⁵⁴ Later, in 1400, following the devastation caused by the Turkish incursions, Bartholomew was authorised to receive one convent on Ragusan territory, one in Hungary, one on the island of Korčula, and 'one other in a place that you would consider appropriate for refuge and protection'.⁵⁵ He was also the vicar responsible for extending the reach of the vicariate across the Adriatic to southern Italy, where he was granted convents in Galatina (1391) and Cortone (1400), thereby facilitating the

movement of friars from Latin Christian lands into the Balkans.⁵⁶ In a letter dated 7 March 1402, the pope commended Bartholomew after the vicar reported that 'five hundred thousand persons of the infidel population [...] have been unanimously converted to the sincerity of the orthodox faith'.⁵⁷ Although this figure has been debated and challenged by scholars—who argue that the Franciscans were prone to exaggerating their success—it should be noted, as will be explored later in this paper, that this number includes not only those won over through preaching and example but also individuals baptised under compulsion.

Bartholomew was required to ensure that his subordinates had the appropriate rights to administer the sacraments in areas where ecclesiastical structures were either non-existent or underdeveloped—an issue that had already been reported as problematic in 1347.⁵⁸ On 28 January 1369, the pope extended to the friars of the Bosnian vicariate the privileges of the bull *Cum hora undecima*, originally issued in 1235 and subsequently reissued on several occasions. This bull granted full remission of sins to any friar departing for the lands of the 'infidels' to preach Christ. It also authorised them to administer all the sacraments without requiring permission or consultation from bishops, to absolve penitents even if bound by excommunication, and to preach and interact freely with non-Catholics—all with the aim of facilitating the spread of the faith in non-Catholic territories.⁵⁹ A further bull, dated 13 December 1369, allowed the friars of the Bosnian vicariate to collect alms in Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia, as sufficient alms could not be secured within Bosnia alone.⁶⁰ A bull *Devotionis sinceritas* issued on 22 December 1378, commissioned the friars to 'persuade and exhort the secular lords of those parts to compel their subjects and vassals, under threat of bodily punishment or monetary fine, to obey the commands of the Church and of the friars in matters concerning the salvation of souls and the advancement of the Catholic faith'.⁶¹ This explicitly encouraged the friars to enlist and instrumentalise the authority of secular rulers in order to ensure the Catholic policies through coercive means. Bartholomew's circular letter—referred to in the title of this article—is devoted entirely to interpreting this passage of the bull, a subject which will be examined in detail later. The bull also contained other grants, including permission to any confessor to grant full absolution of sins to those on their deathbed.

Pastoral care and administration of sacraments across the religiously and socially diverse landscape of the Bosnian vicariate inevitably gave rise to ambiguities concerning certain Church regulations. In 1372, through his envoy to the Avignon curia, Berengar of Aragon, Bartholomew submitted twenty-three questions—each representing a real or hypothetical case that the Franciscans had found perplexing or for which they sought papal endorsement to support their existing practices. In response, Pope Gregory XI issued a bull on 22 June 1372 establishing a theological commission under the supervision of Gaufridus Lemarhec, bishop of Quimper, to examine the submitted queries.⁶² The set of responses was completed in 1373 and is preserved in a miscellaneous manuscript held in the archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (*Miscellanea theologica* I. a 57). The document is known as *Dubia ecclesiastica Fratris Bartholomaei Vicarii Generalis in Bosnia submissa Gregorio XI. Pontifici Romano et responsa ecclesiae Romanae ad eundem de anno 1373*.⁶³ This source provides valuable insight into the religious and social conditions of the lands in which

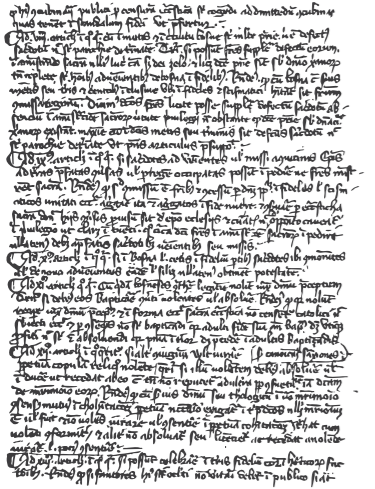
the friars of the vicariate operated and has, accordingly, attracted considerable scholarly interest.⁶⁴

The submitted questions primarily concern the administration of the sacraments, including six related to marriage and three to baptism.⁶⁵ The elevated social status of members of the Bosnian Church presented particular challenges, prompting Bartholomew to inquire whether the sacraments could be administered in the presence of patrons of heretics, whether laypeople were allowed to engage in theological discussion with heretics, and how to respond when a convert to Catholicism continued to 'adore' the heretics and observe their rites 'with the mouth rather than the heart'. Other questions addressed issues arising in areas under Orthodox influence. For example, Bartholomew asked whether the consecration of chrism and the Eucharist by Orthodox priests was valid, and whether a priest who converted from the schism should be re-ordained. One question considered the status of those described as 'simple among the Greeks, unaware of the Greek schism yet professing belief in Christ'. Could such people be saved 'so long as they are baptised, or firmly believe themselves to be baptised', and should they be left undisturbed, or rather drawn away from their priests and former customs?⁶⁶ These questions clearly reflect the complexity of the pastoral situations encountered by the Franciscans—cases that presented a challenge to the existing ecclesiastical legislation and that would not have arisen in the more uniform religious landscape of Latin Christendom. Several of these issues would also reappear in Bartholomew's other writings (Fig. 2).

As the head of the Bosnian vicariate, Bartholomew was evidently concerned that the number of friars under his authority was insufficient to meet the ambitious challenges ahead. Berengar of Aragon had also secured a papal bull dated 22 June 1372, which urged all Franciscan superiors to send to Bosnia any friars—whether ordained or lay—who were willing to undertake a mission against heresy, and the vicar was allowed to accept up to sixty individuals.⁶⁷ The bull *Devotionis sinceritas* from 22 December 1378, authorised Bartholomew to receive up to thirty additional friars and clarified that any friar who had previously returned from the vicariate was allowed to travel there a second time. It also stipulated that secular priests who came to the vicariate to assist the friars in their work were to enjoy the remission of sins granted by *Cum hora undecima* and to retain their rights to income from their home ecclesiastical benefices.⁶⁸

Such efforts to address the shortage of manpower did not suggest that Bartholomew was willing to compromise on the quality of religious conduct. As the bull from 22 June 1372 specified, he required individuals who were 'suitable in judgment, way of life, and moral character'. Earlier, on 13 December 1368, he had been granted a bull authorising him to return any friar deemed unfit for service in the vicariate to their home province. He was even allowed to send away friars of the Bosnian nation if he judged them to be of no use.⁶⁹ The vicar clearly recognised the potential of those with exemplary religious discipline to attract 'unbelievers' to the faith, while remaining acutely aware of the danger posed by those of disreputable conduct, whose behaviour risked causing scandal.

On 1 August 1377, in the Holy Land, Bartholomew, together with seven other friars, issued statutes for the Franciscans then residing there, comprising eighteen articles.⁷⁰ These statutes prohibited friars from accepting gold, sil-



▲ Fig. 1. Drawing of Ms Zagreb, AHASU, I a 57, fol. 77r.

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▼ Fig. 2. Drawing of Ms Zagreb, AHASU, I a 57, fol. 78v.

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ver, or other precious objects for private use; they set out very specific conditions under which money could be accepted, acknowledging that it was impossible to maintain these places without financial support. They also forbade women from entering male convents, prohibited friars from visiting women’s convents unaccompanied, and regulated the observance of fasts and the reception of pilgrims. In tone and content, these statutes reflected the spirit of the ‘reformed’ Franciscan constitutions.⁷¹ Bartholomew’s approach has led many scholars to regard him as a representative of the Observant reform movement within the Franciscan Order.⁷² However, such an identification is problematic, given that he lived prior to the formal division of the Order into the Observant and Conventual branches. That said, it was during his vicariate that the followers of Paoluccio of Foligno first established contact with Bosnia.⁷³ Overall, Bartholomew may be characterised as a reform-minded superior: one who established links with hermit-reformers, maintained strict discipline among his subordinates, fought heresy and schism, and drew inspiration from the more reformed strands of Franciscan legislation.

Oves errantes, quae non solum vocibus sed flagellis ad ovile veri pastoris reduci habent: Writings of Bartholomew of La Verna

Bartholomew is known to us not only through his leadership but also through his writings, which offer invaluable insight into his theological outlook and pastoral strategy. Some scholars have attributed to him the authorship of *Isti sunt errores hereticorum Bosnensium*, a list of the errors of the Bosnian heretics found immediately after *Dubia ecclesiastica* in the same manuscript.⁷⁴ This attribution is problematic, although Bartholomew’s authorship cannot be definitively ruled out.⁷⁵ The same treaty, with minor variations, is also preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.⁷⁶ The text itself is a rather concise list of thirty-two errors of dualism ascribed to the Bosnian heretics. As György Galamb has demonstrated, *Isti sunt errores* were influenced by the treatise *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* from the early thirteenth century, attributed to a certain *Georgius laicus* and widely circulat-

ed in Dominican circles.⁷⁷ Given the structural parallels, *Isti sunt errores* may be considered an extract of the *Disputatio*, though it should be noted that certain themes are absent—such as the Patarens’ condemnation of prayers for the dead or their claim that miracles of the saints are the work of the devil—while others represent additions to the *Disputatio*’s text, such as the assertion that the Virgin Mary is an angel rather than human, that the heretics consider themselves the true Church (with one regarded as the vicar of Christ and a successor of St Peter), or their rejection of the Catholic sacraments.⁷⁸ It is possible that the older text was supplemented and adapted by Bartholomew (or another Bosnian friar) on the basis of his own observations. A work that is clearly misattributed to Bartholomew is the *Tractatus quomodo debemus nos ponere ad recipiendum corpus Christi*, which seems to be nothing more than St Bonaventure’s *De praeparatione ad missam*.⁷⁹

Three writings preserved in a manuscript held at the University Library of Basel (UB Basel, A VI 15) appear to be attributable to Bartholomew: *Septem suppositiones et rationes processione Spiritus Sancti ex Patre Filioque*, *Errores schismaticorum orientalium*, and *Epistula fratribus Vicarie Bosne*. All three seem to form a distinct nucleus within the manuscript, and they are interrelated in content. While the first two texts are anonymous, the third is clearly authored by Bartholomew.⁸⁰ The first treatise presents seven theological arguments in support of the procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son. The second outlines ten doctrinal and liturgical errors—labelled ‘heresies’—attributed to the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Vlachs within the kingdom of Hungary.⁸¹ While some of the points reflect standard doctrinal divergences between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, others appear more original, suggesting that they could be based on direct observations made by the Franciscans of the vicariate in the field.

The Orthodox were accused of having forgotten the rite of baptism ‘some because of stubbornness, others because of contacts they have with the Paulicians of Wallachia or Patarens of Bosnia, and others because they are not among the pastors appointed by their superiors — Roman or Hungarian bishops’.⁸² Their priests apparently did not use a standardised baptismal formula containing the essential invocation of the Trinity; instead, each said what he considered appropriate when pouring the water, such as ‘blessed are they [whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered]’ (Ps 31:1), or ‘you will sprinkle me [with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; you will wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow] (Ps 50:7), or ‘[therefore] as many of you have been baptised [in Christ], are clothed with Christ’ (Gal 3,27), or ‘alleluia’ three times, or ‘the servant of God is baptized in the name of Saint Peter or Demetrius’, depending on the name they wished to give.⁸³ It was claimed that barely two in twenty priests agreed on the same formula, and considerable confusion surrounded the rite.⁸⁴ They also insisted that only priests were authorised to baptise, and refused to baptise infants before the eighth day—even if the child was in danger of death. Remarks on chrism appear to relate specifically to the practices of Orthodox priests in Vidin. Their chrism was said to be some twenty years old and composed of twenty herbs. It could only be blessed by the patriarch, but when supplies were low, they reportedly extended it by mixing in lard, marrow, or hemp oil.

Bartholomew was also appalled by the manner in which

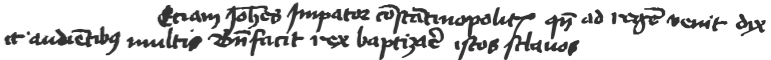
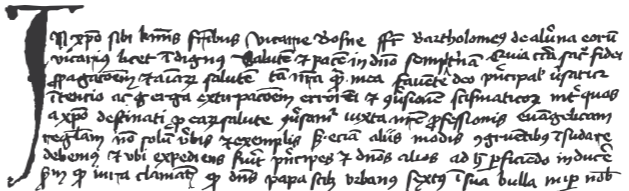
the Orthodox consecrated the body of Christ. The eucharistic bread was referred to as *Brasansa* (*Brašance*) by the Serbs and Bosnians, and as *Komka* by the Bulgarians and Vlachs.⁸⁵ They consecrated it, using phrase: ‘he was led like a sheep to the slaughter, [and like a lamb before its shear-er is silent, so he did not open his mouth]’ (Isaiah 53:7), while over wine, they said ‘and one of the soldiers pierced his side with a lance, and immediately there came out blood and water’ (John 19:34), which differed from the words of consecration used by the Latin mass. Furthermore, it was reported that the faithful were instructed to prostrate themselves in worship before the consecration, but not after it. The Vlachs were said to press grapes into the wine, while others diluted the wine excessively with water, or used pure wine without any water at all. Some even mixed the wine with beer, mead, or herbs. All of these practices stood in contrast to Latin liturgical norms, which strictly forbade mixing the eucharistic wine with anything other than a small amount of water.

The *Epistula fratribus Vicarie Bosne* is undated, but it addresses the interpretation of the previously mentioned bull of 22 December 1378 (*Devotionis sinceritas*), and must therefore have been written by Bartholomew shortly after its issuance. The letter focuses exclusively on the article concerning the summoning of friars to persuade and urge secular lords to compel their subjects and vassals to obey the Church in matters of faith. Bartholomew makes it clear that the bull was issued in support of King Louis’s campaigns to baptise the Orthodox population, as well as to endorse his discriminatory policies intended to pressure his vassals into converting to Catholicism.⁸⁶ It appears that some individuals were either negligent in carrying out these measures or openly critical of them. Bartholomew, therefore, composed this letter to clarify the intentions of the bull, justify its provisions, and assist in convincing those reluctant to implement them. The letter is structured around four *inductiva*: namely, reason, nature, scripture, and example—the first of which is the most extensive (Fig. 4).

The letter laments that, due to ‘rusticity and ignorance’, the Orthodox clergy of the Slavs and Vlachs had lost both the knowledge and proper practice of the sacramental rites—particularly that of baptism—and were thus leading their nations towards damnation. Bartholomew even recalled a remark allegedly made by the Byzantine Emperor John v, who was present at Louis’s court in 1366: ‘The king did the right thing to baptise these Slavs, because they follow neither the Greek nor the Roman rite’.⁸⁷ The contempt voiced by the emperor was likely reflective of contemporary tensions with the Serbian tsardom and its autocephalous Patriarchate of Peć, which the Byzantines did not recognise until 1375.⁸⁸ Bartholomew does not appear to object to the Greek rite itself, but rather to what he perceived as its negligent and improper practice. He acknowl-

▼ Fig. 4. Drawing of Ms Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, A vi 15, fol. 91r (detail).

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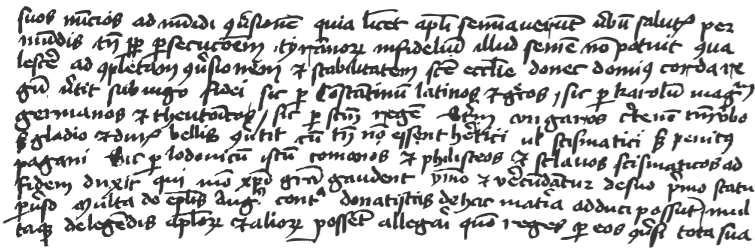
▲ Fig. 5. Drawing of Ms Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, A vi 15, fol. 93r (detail).

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edged that some monks from Mount Athos had attempted to instruct the local clergy in the correct rites, but they were too few in number to change his overall assessment. The Slavs and Vlachs therefore needed to be baptised even if they claimed to have already received the sacrament, since the validity of their baptism could not be verified.⁸⁹ He believed that they were otherwise easy to convert and did not require additional probation to faith prior to baptism, as their simple belief in the Trinity was deemed sufficient.⁹⁰ They were compared to ‘the wandering sheep, who must be brought back to the fold of the true shepherd not only by voices but also by whips’ (Fig. 5).⁹¹

Bartholomew was indeed not hesitant to advocate the use of coercive measures, provided they fell within what he termed ‘conditional violence’, as opposed to ‘absolute’ violence. This distinction meant that, before any act of force was inflicted, a condition had to be presented to the individual concerned—for example: accept baptism, pay a certain sum, go into exile, or face execution. Throughout his letter, Bartholomew repeatedly asserts that such measures were both necessary and spiritually beneficial. Even if a person were coerced into baptism and thus received the sacrament merely in appearance—since an unwilling recipient would not receive the grace of the sacrament—Bartholomew maintained that either they or their descendants might eventually accept the faith. This, he argued, would always be a positive outcome and was, in his view, consistent with the way great nations had been converted in the past. Should secular lords prove reluctant to implement such measures, preferring instead to rely on ‘word and example’, they were to be reminded that they served as ministers of God, responsible for punishing the wicked and rewarding the good. They were therefore obliged to uphold the laws concerning the eradication of heresy and schism. Bartholomew added: ‘but as for the claim that the apostles and other saints did not convert the world in this manner by inflicting violence, but baptized those proven in the faith, I reply that our times are different from that. Distinguish the times, and you will be in agreement with the Scriptures!’⁹² The vicar situated such measures within the broader framework of salvation history:

For although the apostles sowed the word of salvation throughout the world, yet because of the persecution of pagan tyrants, that seed could not grow to full conversion and the stability of the Holy Church until the Lord turned the hearts of kings under the yoke of faith. Thus, [the Lord converted] the Latins and Greeks through Constantine; through Charlemagne, the Germans and Teutons, and through Saint King Stephen, he converted the Hungarians, certainly not only by word but also by the sword and hard battles—although they were not heretics or schismatics but complete pagans. In the same way, through Louis, the Lord has led the Cumans, Philistines [sic], and schismatic Slavs to the same [faith], who now rejoice in the grace of Christ. Indeed, they are even ashamed of their former perverse state (Fig. 6).⁹³



▲ Fig. 6. Drawing of MS Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, A vi 15, fol. 94r (detail).

© Paweł Cholewicki, Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Omnia tempus habent, et temporibus suis concta moventur sub sole: Bartholomew's Circular Letter and King Tomaš's Mass Baptism Campaign

The parallels between Bartholomew's justifications and the methods employed by King Tomaš suggest more than mere coincidence; this section considers how the letter might have influenced the royal court as well as the Franciscans, and how it remained accessible to those tasked with implementing the king's policy. The writings preserved in the Basel manuscript are clearly centred on the affairs of the Orthodox Slavs and Vlachs, as well as the policies of the Hungarian king. Their ideological underpinnings can be seen as reflected, for example, in a charter targeting certain Slavs and Vlachs issued in Timișoara (16 January 1400), or in the anti-Orthodox activities of the prominent Observant Franciscans James of the Marches (1436) and John of Capistrano (1455/56) in Transylvania.⁹⁴ In a letter dated 6 January 1456, John of Capistrano urged the lords of Transylvania to act against the Orthodox and Hussites within their domains, citing the example of John Hunyadi, who had already burned their churches (described as 'synagogues of Satan') and compelled the 'schismatic' priests either to accept baptism in the Roman rite or face expulsion.⁹⁵ An undated papal letter (likely from early 1456) to the legate Juan Carvajal reports a complaint made by the 'Greeks' that 'Brother John of Capistrano rebaptises, burns churches, devastates images – which, as they say, are consigned to the flames, something even the Turks do not do'.⁹⁶

Although Bartholomew's letter refers to Bosnia only sporadically, it should not be overlooked as an area of potential application. It offers a comprehensive and effective guide on how to conduct a campaign of mass baptism under coercion and how to enlist the support and cooperation of the nobility—precisely what the friars in Bosnia required in 1459. Moreover, James of the Marches and John of Capistrano maintained contacts with the Bosnian vicariate during the mid-1400s, and the fact that the latter called for rebaptisms under compulsion on his own initiative, without the authorisation of the pope or his representatives, warrants further investigation into the ideas circulating within the Franciscan Observant milieu.

On 21 December 1435, at an assembly in Székesfehérvár, James of the Marches, vicar of Bosnia, was reported to have lamented over the situation in Bosnia in the following way:

He exposed many things about the king of Bosnia, who arrived to us at Székesfehérvár that day, saying, that this king was a fake Christian, that he was not baptised in truth, and indeed he was prohibiting to baptise his subjects by the Friars Minor who are in his kingdom; as

in that kingdom there are adherents of the sect of the Manichaeans; and that had the emperor commanded the king so that the people of the kingdom of Bosnia should be baptised, then within six months that entire population would be baptised.⁹⁷

What the king of Bosnia, Tvrtko II, was prohibiting must have been, in essence, the very measures described by Bartholomew—measures that could potentially destabilise the kingdom—rather than the voluntary baptisms of those who had willingly sought conversion, which had been taking place in Bosnia since the establishment of the vicariate. The six-month mass baptism campaign that James envisioned appears as similar to what happened eventually in 1459, as much as it is reflective of the attitude presented by Bartholomew in his letter. It is possible that James, as vicar of Bosnia from mid-1435, was inspired by the recollections of Louis I's campaigns, if not directly by Bartholomew's circular letter itself, which he may have encountered in one of the convents. What James lacked, however, was the support of the Bosnian king for such an undertaking. He sought to remedy this by appealing to the influence of Sigismund of Luxembourg. Under imperial pressure, Tvrtko II issued a charter on 25 January 1436, allowing the Observant Franciscans to preach and baptise within his realm and pledging not to obstruct their efforts.⁹⁸ However, James abandoned his ambitions in Bosnia and redirected his focus towards the persecution of the Hussites in south-eastern Hungary, where he acted as an inquisitor.⁹⁹ The *Krstjani* were unaffected this time, but circumstances in Bosnia began to change too.

The appointment of the bishop of Hvar, Tommaso Tommasini, as papal legate to Bosnia on 12 September 1439—shortly after the union with the Orthodox Church at the Council of Florence—alongside the accession of Stjepan Tomaš to the throne in late 1443, marked the beginning of a very close relationship between the Holy See and the Bosnian kingdom.¹⁰⁰ Tomaš, in addition to facing increasing pressure from the Ottomans, was confronted with a number of internal challenges. As the illegitimate son of King Ostoja, and already married to a commoner, he struggled to secure recognition. The Grand Voivode of Bosnia, Stjepan Kosača, refused to acknowledge his rule, plunging the kingdom into civil war. From an early stage, the Roman curia offered Tomaš support in legitimising his rule and securing the backing of Latin Christian powers, in return for his conversion and a promise to expel heretics from the realm, as evidenced by two papal bulls issued on 29 May 1445.¹⁰¹ This rapprochement was followed by the foundation of Franciscan convents in Bosnia, and several Bosnian noble families establishing contact with the curia on their own, seeking papal patronage.¹⁰²

Despite the rapid growth of Catholic influence in Bosnia, the *Krstjani* do not appear to have been persecuted until 1459.¹⁰³ This sparked tensions with the Franciscans. A papal letter dated 11 November 1445, addressed to Tommasini, reports that they had excommunicated King Tomaš for not only tolerating the 'Manichaeans', but also for showing honour to their 'elected'. The papal legate was instructed to investigate the matter, and if he found the king's claims regarding the political strength of the 'Manichaeans' to be true—and if the honour shown to their leaders constituted 'merely human respect, not worship, from which no insult to God would follow' (a justification echoed in the *Dubia Ecclesiastica*)—he was

to compel the friars to resume administering the sacraments to Tomaš.¹⁰⁴ The outcome of Tommasini's inquiry is unknown, but by 18 June 1447 the king had been allowed to retain two Franciscans as his chaplains.¹⁰⁵ Throughout his reign, Tomaš continued to support the friars of the Bosnian vicariate, suggesting that the dispute had been resolved through Tommasini's mediation and that the Franciscans maintained a significant role in both the religious and political life of the royal court.

Not all nobles supported the kingdom's new Catholic policy. A papal letter to Tommasini, dated 1 February 1448, records that the legate had personally informed the curia that, in addition to the religiousi (*Krstjani*), certain noblemen and barons—including Stjepan Kosača and Ivaniš Pavlović—continued to persist in heresy.¹⁰⁶ Kosača's position was particularly significant, as his domain encompassed the southern half of the kingdom, and for much of the time he remained openly hostile to King Tomaš. Kosača tolerated the *Krstjani*, among whom *Gost* Radin rose to considerable prominence in his service as an advisor and diplomat.¹⁰⁷ He also supported the Orthodox Church through new foundations, and in 1448 he adopted the title 'Duke of St Sava' in honour of the Serbian saint, whose relics were kept in Mileševa, then under his control. This did not prevent him, however, from presenting himself as a Catholic to the Roman curia—though in time, it grew disillusioned with him.¹⁰⁸

Ottoman pressure on Bosnia continued steadily throughout King Tomaš's reign, while prospects for assistance from the Latin Christian powers remained bleak. The king negotiated a treaty with the widow of the Serbian despot, arranging the marriage of his son, Stjepan Tomašević, to the despot's daughter. Tomašević was granted the title of despot and arrived in Smederevo in March 1459. The Ottomans, displeased by the Bosnian dynasty's eastward expansion, marched on Smederevo, which surrendered on 20 June 1459. At the Council of Mantua, held at the same time, Hungarian envoys blamed the Bosnian king for having surrendered the stronghold to the Turks and thereby betraying the Christian cause. This represented a significant setback for Tomaš, a neophyte whose faith had remained uncontested until that point at the curia, and whose hopes largely rested on the support from it.¹⁰⁹ In such dire circumstances, Tomaš decided to take action against the heretics in order to appease the pope. *Commentaries* by Pius II report that in the following way:

The King of Bosnia to atone for having surrendered Smederevo to the Turks and to give proof to his religious faith (or, as many thought, to cloak his avarice), forced the Manichaeans, who were very numerous in his kingdom, to be baptised or to emigrate leaving their property behind them. About 12,000 were baptised, forty, or a few more, persisted in their heresy, and fled to their comrade in perfidy, Stjepan, duke of Bosnia, three of the leaders of this heresy, men prominent at court, were sent in chains to the pope by the bishop of Nin.¹¹⁰

On 14 May 1461, in a public ceremony held at St Peter's, the three individuals—Juraj Kučinić, Stojan Tvrtković, and Radmil Vučinić—formally renounced heresy by accepting fifty articles of the Catholic faith, set in opposition to fifty 'Manichean errors' as compiled by Cardinal Juan Torquemada.¹¹¹ Subsequently, on 2 August 1461, they were taken under papal protection and granted permission to build churches on their estates in Bosnia.¹¹² Two of the men remained within the Catholic Church, while the third eventually fled to Duke Stjepan.¹¹³ A Venetian charter dated 10

March 1466 allowed *Gost* Radin to enter Venetian territory 'with fifty or sixty persons of his rule and sect'.¹¹⁴ Earlier that year, Radin had also left his testament in Dubrovnik, which remains a significant source for the study of the Bosnian Church.¹¹⁵ Beyond this, evidence concerning the *Krstjani* is both scarce and ambiguous.

The decision to begin the repression of the *Krstjani* must have been a difficult one for King Tomaš. Whatever his personal views, they had been part of Bosnian religious life for longer than the Franciscans, had taken deep root in society, and maintained close ties with the noble families. Whenever urged to act against heresy, Bosnian rulers consistently offered excuses, citing the potentially catastrophic political consequences of such actions.¹¹⁶ They tended to placate papal envoys with promises rather than concrete measures. As late as May 1456, the papal envoy Nicholas Barbucci reported that Tomaš had declined to engage in any anti-Ottoman activity, citing fears over the influence and numbers of the 'Manichaeans'.¹¹⁷ It seems that launching a large-scale campaign of baptisms targeting previously unwilling segments of the population placed considerable strain on royal authority. The effort required Tomaš to mobilise and maintain control over the state apparatus throughout the process, effectively subjecting his power to a significant stress test. The conflated account in the *Commentaries* may give the impression that Tomaš's campaign proceeded smoothly; however, a papal bull dated 28 December 1460, recently published by Špoljarić, indicates that there were still individuals 'rising against the Catholic faith' at the time.¹¹⁸

After accusations of collaboration with the Turks were levelled against King Tomaš, it is likely that the royal court sought the counsel of the Franciscans on how best to appease the pope—who, notably, appears not to have been consulted beforehand.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, there was no papal legate in Bosnia at that time.¹²⁰ As the only group capable of organising and executing a campaign of mass baptism, the Franciscans would have been required to present a practical and coherent plan for its implementation, ensuring it would not be undermined by moral, legal, or practical ambiguities. Although issued nearly a century earlier and originally addressing the policies of Louis I, Bartholomew's circular letter appears to have remained relevant to the Bosnian context. It may therefore have served as a valuable reference for the Franciscans in facilitating the campaign. Firstly, the letter could have been used to legitimise—or at least frame—the campaign within the parameters of 'conditional' rather than 'absolute' violence. Bartholomew wrote:

But against this reasoning, some object that coerced services are not pleasing to God [...]. To this I answer that violence is twofold, some is absolute while other conditional. Absolute violence is, for example, in a case when a Jew or a Saracen is captured by a Christian, and bonded, not agreeing but struggling, is violently baptised. Such an individual does not receive the sacrament nor the sacrament's essence. Therefore, it is not baptism, nor is such a service pleasing to God, not for those receiving it nor for those administering it. All arguments and authoritative statements of the masters asserting that no one should be baptised through violence can be interpreted in this way. On the other hand, conditional violence is when a condition is presented to someone, such as, 'if you do not wish to accept my faith and baptism, then leave my kingdom or pay a certain amount; or I will have you beheaded'. Under such compulsion, a person may change his mind, making a

virtue of necessity, choosing baptism freely, desiring to escape harm, and saying, 'I want this; I receive it with all my heart'. Such a person, even if baptised insincerely, does indeed receive the sacrament, though not the sacrament's essence, which is Christ's grace. However, by living among Christians, he will soon come to consent to the faith and take delight in the reception of the sacraments. In this way, not only schismatics—about whom there is no doubt—but even Saracens and pagans may be compelled. In this way, the Hungarians and Germans were converted, as it is said. Even if their service is not pleasing to God in the beginning, it pleases Him later; but at the very least, the service of those who enforce it is always pleasing.¹²¹

The letter could also have been used by the friars as a practical resource to persuade the Bosnian nobility to comply with and support the campaign. Although many nobles were already Catholic, this did not necessarily mean they would favour such a campaign. Bartholomew had written his letter precisely to counteract negligence and resistance to similar measures among the Hungarian nobility, and there is no reason to believe that the Bosnians would have been any more receptive. The letter went to great lengths to demonstrate the spiritual and social benefits of the campaign. It emphasised that salvation was not possible outside the Church, and mass baptism did not constitute a sacrilegious abuse of the sacrament, that not all those baptised would need to be coerced, and that even the unwilling—or at least their children—might eventually come to accept the faith. Bartholomew further clarified that those to be baptised required no prior probation, and the fact that some Slavs and Vlachs claimed to have already been baptised was not, in his view, a valid objection.

Bartholomew argued that the measures discussed were not motivated by an 'ends justify the means' rationale. Rather, it entailed nothing contrary to the laws of God and the Church, and he mentioned the papal bull *Devotionis sinceritas* in support. He explained that even if such measures had not been undertaken previously, this was mainly because no king before Louis had been presented with the opportunity to carry out such a 'holy work', citing the scripture: 'to everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the sun' (Eccl. 3:1). Finally, matters of faith were not to be left solely to prelates and members of the clergy exercising spiritual authority. Secular lords, too, were called upon to play their part in eradicating schism and heresy as servants of God, and those who remained negligent were to be removed from office. The fact that the letter was written after Louis's major conversion campaigns suggests that Bartholomew not only anticipated such objections to arise but drew on his own experience to clarify ambiguities and counter arguments of nobles or ecclesiastics. Most, if not all, of these points would likely have been seen by the Friars Minor as a valuable set of pre-formulated polemical arguments—reinforced with scriptural references and appeals to ecclesiastical authors—directly applicable to the Bosnian situation, where king's orders needed to be enforced (Fig. 7).¹²²

Although nearly a century separates the issuing of Bartholomew's letter and Tomaš's repressions, the text appears

to have been preserved within the Bosnian vicariate in the fifteenth century. The papal bull *Devotionis sinceritas* was among the documents examined by Čremošnik in Ljubljana, where a corpus of the Bosnian vicariate's sources has been preserved, likely taken away further into the Christian lands due to the Ottoman threat.¹²³ The Basel manuscript, which preserves three of Bartholomew's writings along with other polemics against the Orthodox Church, originates from the local Dominican convent. It was compiled by Ivan Stojković (also known as John of Ragusa), a Dominican friar from Dubrovnik and a prominent theologian at the Council of Basel.¹²⁴ In May 1435, he was appointed the council's envoy to Constantinople to negotiate a union with the Eastern Church.¹²⁵ He spent two years in the imperial capital before returning to Basel, where he died in 1443, leaving behind a significant collection of manuscripts. Church union was undoubtedly a matter of great importance to Stojković, and he would therefore have taken an active interest in Latin writings on the subject, including polemical works such as those by Bartholomew of La Verna. It is likely he acquired them from his native Dubrovnik, with which he remained in contact throughout his career. At the time, the Bosnian vicariate maintained four convents within Ragusan territory, with an archive located in Ston.¹²⁶ If Stojković obtained Bartholomew's writings from there in the 1430s, this would suggest that the texts were circulating among the vicariate's convents and would have been accessible to the Bosnian Franciscans by 1459.

Conclusions

The circular letter issued by Bartholomew of La Verna, offering his commentary on the bull *Devotionis sinceritas*, provides valuable insight into the ideological underpinnings and socio-political atmosphere surrounding the mass baptism campaign undertaken by King Tomaš in Bosnia in 1459. This paper has argued that the campaign likely unfolded within a conceptual framework shaped, at least in part, by Bartholomew's letter. Originally composed nearly a century earlier in connection with the conversion campaigns of Louis I, the letter articulated a rationale for coercive religious policy, distinguishing between different forms of violence and advocating for state-supported efforts to bring wayward populations into the Catholic fold. Bartholomew's arguments—rooted in scripture, canon law, and patristic and scholastic authorities—may have significantly informed the planning and justification of the 1459 baptisms. They offered a ready-made set of polemical responses to both moral and practical objections, serving to reassure the friars involved and to persuade reluctant members of the nobility. Such justification was crucial, given the extent to which the campaign stretched the resources and authority of the Bosnian political apparatus. The legacy of Bartholomew's pastoral and polemical vision thus played a subtle yet influential role in the final chapter of the medieval Bosnian Church's history.

▼ Fig. 7. Drawing of ms Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, A VI 15, fol. 94v (detail).

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ADDENDUM

The text is based on the edition of the letter published by Lasić, maintaining his abbreviation interpretations and most of his editorial interpolations indicated in square brackets. However, his classicising emendations

have been removed to reflect the original spelling of the manuscript. Some of his substitutions were reverted to the original words. Lasić, 'Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna scripta', pp. 68–81; UB Basel, A VI 15, 91r–94v.

LATIN TEXT

EPISTULA FRATRIBUS VICARIE BOSNE

In Christo sibi karissimis fratribus Vicarie Bosne frater Bartholomaeus de Alverna, eorum vicarius licet indignus, salutem et pacem in Domino sempiternam.

Quia Ecclesia [procurat] sacrae fidei propagationem et animarum salutem, [circa quam] tam vestra quam mea favente Deo principalis versatur intentio, ac erga extirpationem errorum et conversionem schismaticorum, inter quas a Christo destinati pro earum salute conversamur iuxta nostrae professionis evangelicam regulam; non solum verbis et exemplis sed etiam aliis modis congruentibus insudare debemus, et ubi expediens fuerit, principes et dominos alios ad hoc perficiendum inducere, secundum quod iura clamant; quod dominus Papa, scilicet Urbanus VI, in sua bulla nuper nobis missa declaravit.

Idcirco propter quosdam simplices et negli[g]entes ac detractores et depravatores huius sancti operis nuper incep[t]i per illustrissimum dominum regem Hungarorum ad vestram incitationem scilicet de conversione et baptismo istorum Sclavorum et Vlachorum existentium in suo regno, decrevi ad maiorem declarationem nostrae intentionis et rescissionem dubiorum circa hanc materiam quasdam rationes seu motiva breviter iungere, quae nos inducere habent ad huiusmodi negotii executionem etiam per principes procurandam. Quattuor autem sunt principaliter inductiva, scilicet ratio, natura, Scriptura et exemplum.

I – Primum inductivum: ratio

Circa primum nota VII principales rationes cum VII annexis dubiis declaratis. Prima ratio sumitur ex parte divini obsequii, ad quod omnis creatura obligatur. Cum enim nullum obsequium nullumque sacrificium possit esse Deo gratius quam animarum salutem procurare, quae tanti sunt pretii, ut totus visibilis mundus pro una anima commutari non possit; tantae aestimationis, quod Deum [induxerit], ut Filium suum unigenitum daret ad mortem pro earum redemptione. Ergo nihil carius dare possumus Christo redemptori quam animas, quas tam care redemit.

Sed contra hanc rationem obiciunt quidam, quod Deo non placent coacta servicia, quia nullum dicitur opus meritorium, nec voluntarium. Ad hoc respondeo, quod duplex est violentia: quaedam absoluta, quaedam condicionalis. [Violentia absoluta est], verbi gratia, in proposito: Aliquis Iudaeus vel Saracenus a christianis capitur, ligatur et non consentiens, sed renitens et contradicens baptizatus violenter. Talis nec recipit sacramentum nec rem sacramenti. Ideo nec est baptismus, nec tale obsequium Deo placet, non solum suscipientium, sed neque facientium. Et de hac violentia exponi possunt omnes rationes et auctoritates magistrorum dicentium, quod nullus violenter debet baptizari. Alio modo dicitur

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

LETTER TO THE FRIARS OF THE VICARIATE OF BOSNIA (translation)

To the brothers of the Vicariate of Bosnia, most beloved in Christ, Brother Bartholomew of La Verna, their, though unworthy, vicar, sends greetings and eternal peace in the Lord.

Since the Church endeavours to promote the holy faith and the salvation of souls, about which both your concern and mine, with God's favour, are chiefly occupied, and because for the eradication of errors and the conversion of schismatics—among whom we, appointed by Christ for their salvation, labour according to the evangelical rule of our profession—not only by words and examples but also by other suitable means we must diligently strive, and, wherever it is expedient, induce princes and other lords to bring this to completion, as the laws prescribe, which our lord pope, namely Urban VI, has recently declared to us in his bull.

Therefore, on account of certain simple and negligent persons, as well as detractors and corrupters of this holy work recently undertaken by the most illustrious lord king of the Hungarians—namely, to your encouragement, concerning the conversion and baptism of those Slavs and Vlachs residing in his kingdom—I have resolved, for a fuller declaration of our intention and the removal of doubts about this matter, to briefly set down certain reasons or motives, which ought to move us to procure the execution of such a work even through the agency of princes. There are principally four inducements: namely, reason, nature, scripture, and example.

I – The First Inducement: Reason

Concerning the first, note seven principal reasons along with seven related questions that are explained. The first reason is taken from the perspective of divine service, to which every creature is bound. For no service or sacrifice can be more pleasing to God than to procure the salvation of souls, which are of such great worth that the entire visible world could not be exchanged for a single soul; and of such high estimation that it moved God to give his only begotten Son to death for their redemption. Therefore, we can offer nothing dearer to Christ the Redeemer than souls, whom he redeemed at such a great cost.

But against this reasoning, some object that coerced services are not pleasing to God, since no work is called meritorious unless it is voluntary. To this I answer that violence is twofold, some is absolute while other conditional. Absolute violence is, for example, in a case when a Jew or a Saracen is captured by a Christian, and bonded, not agreeing but struggling, is violently baptised. Such an individual does not receive the sacrament nor the sacrament's essence. Therefore, it is not baptism, nor is such a service pleasing to God, not for those receiving it nor for those administering it. All arguments and authoritative statements of the masters asserting that no one should be baptised through violence can be interpreted in this way. On the other hand, conditional violence

violentia condicionalis, verbi gratia, et cum alicui proponitur talis condicio: Si non vis recipere meam fidem et baptismum, ex eas regnum meum vel solvas tantum; et quod plus est, te decapitabo. Talis etiam, sic coactus, mutat voluntatem; de necessitate facit virtutem; eligit sponte baptizari, cupiens liberari a malo; dicit: Volo, toto corde recipio. Talis, etsi fecte baptizatur; licet non recipiat rem sacramenti, scilicet Christi gratiam, sed tamen sacramentum recipit, et cum christianis vivens in brevi consentiet fidei et delectabitur in sacramentorum [receptione]. Isto modo non solum schismatici, de quibus non dubium est, sed etiam Sarraceni et gentiles compelli possunt. Isto modo Hungari et Alamani conversi sunt, ut dicitur. Etsi non placet Deo eorum servitium pro modo, placet postea; sed saltem obsequium facientium semper placet.

Secunda ratio sumitur ex parte debiti amoris Christi. Constat enim ex divino precepto, quod homo quilibet tenetur diligere proximum sicut se ipsum. Cum igitur unusquisque debet se diligere recto ordine dilectionis, - et ibi est ordo rectissimus, ut se ipsum diligat ad illud bonum, ad quod creatus [est] - illo ordine et suum proximum diligere tenetur. Unde inquit Christus: 'Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis etc. sicut dilexi vos' [Joan. 15.12]. Augustinus ad hoc: 'Amate, ad quod amavi vos'.¹²⁷ Ergo quilibet conari debet modis et viis, quibus potest, ut proximus salvetur. 'Quia maiorem caritatem nemo habet' etc.

Contra hoc dici potest, quod ille non est amor rectus nec ordinatus, nec est eis procurare salutem, sed maiorem damnationem, ex quo coacti suscipunt, non gratiam iustum facientem, sed sacramentum ecclesiasticum.

Ad hoc respondeo, quod non omnes coacti [sunt]. Immo pro maiori parte cum sua simplicitate gaudenter suscipiunt dicentes: Ex quo Deo et dominis nostris placet, ut simus sub una fide, et nobis placere debet. Immo multotiens, ut probavimus, gaudendo ad baptismum venerunt, etiam pressuram facientes. Et si aliqui modo coguntur, postea gaudent et gratias agunt de tali coactione. Etsi omnes gratiam non recipiunt, aliqui tamen recipiunt. Nec enim omnes christiani sacramentum digne recipiunt. Utinam, de quo dolens dico, tertia pars nostrorum christianorum semper suscipere in sacramentis gratiam. Quibus tamen sacramenta salutem necessitatis tempore [praestantia] negare non possumus, quia ministri sumus sacramentorum, rerum signa dare possumus, gratiam dare non possumus. Unde dico, quod istis non maiorem damnationem, cum sint extra gremium salutis, procuramus, sed salutem, involventes eos ecclesiasticis sacramentis, quibus carent et sine quibus salvari nequeunt. Etsi non omnes salvantur, tamen una pars salvabitur, quae ex toto perierat; et saltem filii et nepotes erunt boni christiani.

Tertia ratio, ex parte mali evitandi. Quia nullus absque gravi peccato et periculo animae suae equanimiter ferre potest tantarum animarum perditionem; vel potest occurrere et non vult, sed tacet et dissimulat et quasi eis consentire videtur; ex quo iuxta Apostolum Rom. primo simul cum eis facit se dignum eterna morte. Insuper, dicti schismatici non solum ipsi pereunt, sed etiam nostros christianos, cum quibus conversantur et matrimonia contrahunt, ducunt ad perditionem. Quare innumeris, ut nobis constat, negantes catholicam fidem, facti sunt schismatici et ab eis rebaptizati. Unde non solum ad fidem veram cogendi sunt, sed nolentes et protervi, tamquam membra putrida et oves morbidae et infectae de medio tollendae. Unde Christus: 'Si oculus tuus scandalizaverit te' etc. [Matth. 18, 9], quod mystice, ut ait Hieronymus de

is when a condition is presented to someone, such as: 'If you do not wish to accept my faith and baptism, then leave my kingdom or pay a certain amount; or I will have you beheaded'. Under such compulsion, a person may change his mind, making a virtue of necessity, choosing baptism freely, desiring to escape harm, and saying, 'I want this; I receive it with all my heart'. Such a person, even if baptised insincerely, does indeed receive the sacrament, though not the sacrament's essence, which is Christ's grace. However, by living among Christians, he will soon come to consent to the faith and take delight in the reception of the sacraments. In this way, not only schismatics—about whom there is no doubt—but even Saracens and pagans may be compelled. In this way, the Hungarians and Germans were converted, as it is said. Even if their service is not pleasing to God in the beginning, it pleases Him later; but at the very least, the service of those who enforce it is always pleasing.

The second reason is taken from the perspective of the obligation of love owed to Christ. For it is established by divine precept that every person is bound to love his neighbour as himself. Since, therefore, each person ought to love himself in the right order of charity—and that order is most correct, that he loves himself for that good for which he was created—in that same order he is bound to love his neighbour. Hence Christ says: 'This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you' (John 15:12). Augustine on this: 'Love, to the end that I have loved you'.¹²⁷ Therefore, everyone ought to strive in whatever ways he can that his neighbour may be saved. 'For no one has greater love [than the one who lays down his life for his friends]' (John 15:13).

Against this it can be said that such love is neither upright nor rightly ordered, nor is it to procure salvation for them, but rather greater damnation, since, being coerced, they receive not the grace that makes righteous, but only the ecclesiastical sacrament.

I reply, in short, that not all are compelled. Indeed, for the most part, they accept it gladly in their simplicity, saying: 'Since it pleases God and our lords that we should be under one faith, it ought to please us as well'. In fact, as we have often found, they have come to baptism with joy, even pressing forward eagerly. And if some are indeed compelled at first, afterward they rejoice and give thanks for such compulsion. Although not all receive grace, yet some do receive it. In fact, not all Christians receive the sacrament worthily. Would that, though I say this with sorrow, even a third part of our Christians would always receive grace in the sacraments. Nevertheless, we cannot deny the sacraments to them at a time of necessity for salvation, because we are ministers of the sacraments: we can give the outward signs, but we cannot give grace. Therefore, I say that, by this, we do not bring greater damnation upon them, since they are outside the fold of salvation, but rather salvation, by involving them in the sacraments of the Church, which they lack and without which they cannot be saved. Even though not all will be saved, still a part will be saved who would otherwise have been utterly lost—and at the very least, their children and grandchildren will be good Christians.

The third reason is on the part of avoiding evil. Because no one, without committing grave sin and endangering his own soul, can calmly endure the loss of so many souls; or can help and refuses, but remains silent and dissimulates, he seems as though to consent with them — and thus, according to the Apostle in Romans 1, he makes himself, together with them, worthy of eternal death. Moreover, those schismatics not only perish themselves, but also lead our own Christians, since they associate with them and contract marriages with them, into perdition. For which reason countless people, as we know for certain, denying the Catholic faith, have become schismatics and have been rebaptized by them. Therefore, they must not only be compelled to the true faith, but the unwilling and the obstinate must be removed—like putrid limbs and diseased, infected sheep—from the midst. Thus, Christ says: 'If your eye scandalizes you, pluck it out [and throw it away]' (Matthew 18:9), which, as Jerome says, must be understood in a mystical sense

perfidis abscindendis, qui scandalum sunt corpori Ecclesie, intelligi debet. Ergo omnibus modis cogi debent pro earum salute, vel expellendi sunt tales protervi, ut puta eorum falsi sacerdotes et pseudo religiosi, ne alios inficiant.

Sed obicitur contra hanc rationem, quod primo instrui deberent de fide et moribus Ecclesie, et postea baptizari, demum provideri eis de sacerdotibus et curatis idoneis; alias non evitatur periculum, sed maius scandalum oritur. Sic nec istam fidem servant et primam negaverunt.

Ad quod dicendum, quod quantum ad fundamentum fidei et illa, quae necessaria sunt ad salutem, aequae bene sunt instructi ab antiquo sicut nostri christiani simplices. Sufficit enim eis fides implicita cum confessione beatae Trinitatis. Non enim sunt sicut Iudaei vel pagani, sed christiani a nobis divisi, et oves errantes, quae non solum vocibus sed flagellis ad ovile veri pastoris reduci habent; nec expectandum est, ut isti simplices instruantur in divinis scripturis, quia isto modo numquam aliquis Ebreorum converteretur, nec mores Ecclesie addiscere potuit, nisi ii scholas compellantur intrare, nec audire possunt merita salutis.

Quod obicitur de sacerdotibus et prima eorum fide, dico, quod si illi eorum sacerdotes essent rite ordinati, et in illa eorum secta esset aliqua spes salutis, recte obiceretur. Sed, cum sint falsi et deceptores, et iam propter suam rusticitatem perdiderunt omnem ritum ecclesiasticum et formas sacramentorum, maxime inter istos Sclavos et Vlachos, ut dicitur infra, et populus ille in hac secta salvari non possit, maxime qui credunt suam sectam meliorem nostram. Nec Ecclesia baptizati [sunt]. They have not been baptized in the Church; and even if they had been, or are pretended to have been, they would still believe themselves to be baptized. Ex quo extra Ecclesie unitatem morantur, salvari non possunt, potissime adulti cum calugeries Ecclesiam blasphemantes. Nulla ergo ratione dimittendi sunt in sua misera secta. Et si tam cito sufficientes curatos habere non possunt, paulatim procurabunt habere, quando primi expellentur. Nec enim Hungaria habuit qui in principio suae conversionis xx millia clericorum et religiosorum, qui favente [Deo] in ea modo sunt; licet, quantum ad hoc, multum debet inculpari negligentia et avaritia dominorum et prelatorum regni, ad quos pertinet providere, et nihil curant.

Quarta ratio accipitur ex parte spiritualis fructus et temporalis commodi. Quis enim aestimare potest tantum fructum spiritualem? Nam si iuxta Christi verbum: 'Gaudium est in caelo super uno peccatore' etc. [Luc. 15.7], quanto magis debet mille milibus iam conversis et eorum posteris usque ad finem mundi? Gaudium et matris Ecclesie filiis aggregatis. Gaudium et istius primae videre omnes in unitate fidei insimul commorantes. Est insuper commodum temporale, scilicet maior fortitudo regni in istis confinibus, et maior fidelitas istius gentis erga regem et suos dominos; quia numquam poterunt suis dominis fideles esse, qui per alienam fidem Deo infideles existunt. Multa etiam mala, scilicet latrocinia et homicidia occulta, cessabunt, quae modo sine conscientia una cum externis de sua lingua et secta contra Christianos faciunt. Erga laborandum est pro predictis bonis utilitatibus et remedio malorum.

Contra hanc rationem dicunt quidam: Non sunt facienda mala, ut eveniant bona.¹²⁸ Nam pro totius mundi conversione debet quis peccare vel aliquid facere contra Deum et sanctae Ecclesie determinationem.

Ad hoc dicendum, quod in isto opere nullam malum

about cutting off the faithless who are a scandal to the body of the Church. Therefore, by every means, they must be compelled for the sake of their salvation—or, in the case of such obstinate people, expelled, for example their false priests and pseudo-monks, so that they do not infect others.

But it is objected to this reasoning that, first, they ought to be instructed about the faith and the morals of the Church, and afterward be baptized, and finally be provided with suitable priests and pastors; otherwise, the danger is not avoided, but greater scandal arises. In this way, neither do they keep this faith, and they have denied the former one.

To this it must be replied that, as regards the foundation of the faith and those things necessary for salvation, they have been instructed just as well since ancient times as our own simple Christians. For it is sufficient for them to have implicit faith along with confession of the Blessed Trinity. For they are not like Jews or pagans, but Christians separated from us, the wandering sheep, who must be brought back to the fold of the true shepherd not only by voices but also by whips. Nor should we wait for these simple people to be instructed in the divine Scriptures, because in this way no Hebrew would ever be converted, nor could they learn the morals of the Church unless they were compelled to attend schools, nor can they hear the doctrines of salvation.

As for the objection concerning their priests and their original faith, I say that if their priests had been duly ordained, and if there were any hope of salvation in their sect, the objection would be valid. But since they are false and deceivers, and by their own rusticity have already lost all ecclesiastical rite and the forms of the sacraments—especially among these Slavs and Vlachs, as will be said below—and since that people cannot be saved within this sect, above all those who believe their sect is better than ours; et adhuc essent, vel finguntur, baptizatos se [esse] crederent. Since they remain outside the unity of the Church, they cannot be saved, especially the adults who blaspheme the Church together with the caloyers. Therefore, by no reasoning should they be left in their wretched sect. And if they cannot so quickly have sufficient pastors, they will gradually arrange to have them when the first ones are expelled. For Hungary at the beginning of its conversion did not have anyone who could maintain twenty thousand clerics and religious, who by God's favour are there now. Although, in this regard, the negligence and avarice of the lords and prelates of the kingdom—whose duty it is to provide for these things but who care nothing—must be greatly reformed.

The fourth reason is taken from the aspect of spiritual benefit and temporal advantage. For who could estimate such a great spiritual benefit? For if, according to the word of Christ, 'There is joy in heaven over one sinner' (Luke 15:7), how much more over a thousand thousands now converted, and over their descendants until the end of the world? There is joy also for the Holy Mother Church, to see her children added to her. Joy likewise to see all these formerly separated people dwelling together in the unity of the faith. Moreover, there is a temporal advantage, namely, greater strength for the kingdom in these border areas, and greater loyalty of this nation toward the king and their lords; for they can never be faithful to their earthly lords when, through an alien faith, they are unfaithful to God. Many evils will also cease—such as thefts and hidden murders—which they now commit without scruple together with outsiders of their own language and sect against Christians. Therefore, efforts must be made for these aforesaid good advantages and the remedying of these evils.

Against this reasoning some say: 'Evil things must not be done so that good things may come forth'.¹²⁸ For even for the conversion of the whole world, no one ought to sin or do anything against God and the determination of the Holy Church.

To this it must be replied that in this work no evil nor anything of the nature of evil can be proved. Nothing is done against God's commandments, nor against love of neighbour, nor to one's own dis-

nec aliquid de genere mali ostendi potest. Nil agitur contra Dei precepta, nec contra proximi dilectionem aut sui deformationem. Immo, econtra, totum fit pro Dei honore et proximi salute, ut dictum [est]. Et quod non sit contra decretum Ecclesie, patet per bullam domini Papae, et infra clarius dicitur.

Quinta ratio accipitur ex professione catholice fidei. Ut enim patet ex illo articulo Symboli: 'Credo unam sanctam Ecclesiam', constat, quod nullus extra Ecclesie unitatem salvari potest. Sic sacra concilia saepe damnaverunt omnem haereticum et schismaticum aliter dogmatizantem, quam sacrosancta Ecclesia diffinivit. Unde dudum Ecclesia Grecos et Bulgros et Rascianos tamquam haereticos damnavit. Hanc sententiam confirmat Augustinus in libro De fide ad Petrum, dicens: 'Frimissimete et nullatenus dubites omnem, extra Ecclesiam baptizatum, participem fieri non posse aeternae vitae, si ante finem vitae suae huius, catholice non fuerit redditus atque incorporatus Ecclesie'.¹²⁹ Et quia 'si [habeam], inquit Apostolus, omnem fidem et noverim omnia mysteria, caritatem non habeam, nihil sum'. [1 Cor. 13, 2]. Nam et in diebus diluvii neminem extra archam legimus potuisse salvari. 'Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites quemlibet haereticum sive schismaticum in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizatum, si Ecclesie catholice non fuerit aggregatus, quantascumque eleemosynas fecerit; etsi pro Christi nomine etiam sanguinem fuderit, nullatenus posse salvari. Omni enim homini, qui Catholice Ecclesie non tenet unitatem, neque baptismus, neque eleemosyna quamlibet copiosa, neque mors pro Christi nomine suscepta, proficere poterit ad salutem, quamdiu in eo haeretica vel schismatica pravitas perseverat, quae ducit ad mortem'.¹³⁰ Ergo omni arte et modo reducendi sunt ad sanctae Ecclesie unitatem, ne pereant.

Item contra hanc rationem fit instantia talis. Cum enim [ante] nos per tanta tempora fuerunt principes et prelati ac religiosi eque boni, immo meliores, et non minoris scientiae, cur illa non fecerunt nec temptaverunt; nisi quia nec reputaverunt necessaria nec utilia?

Ad hoc respondeo, quod multa facta sunt, fiunt et fient, quae ante non fuerunt tam mala quam bona; et multa omittuntur, quae ante erant. Unde dicitur: Nihil novum debet fieri, quod per alios non est factum. Verbum stoliditatis est. Nam aliquando non venerat Christus, non erant Apostoli, nec fuerunt martyres et alii sancti. Non erant tot ordines religiosorum; predicebantur, et postea impleti sunt; et multa erunt, quae non sunt modo. Aliquando non fuerunt Hungari conversi, et modo sunt. Quis iste mirare potest? 'Omnia tempus habent, et temporibus suis cuncta moventur sub sole' [Ecl. 3.1].

Quantum autem ad conversionem istorum, dico, quod ante tempora istius Lodovici regis nullus regum habuerat opportunitatem et potestatem faciendi pro eo, quod in Rascia et Bulgaria fuerunt reges et tyranni potentes, qui non solum predictas terras tenebant in manu forti, immo et ista confinia regni devastabant in tantum, quod quidam rex Rasciae, Stephanus Uroscius, ut audivi ab antiquis, suis hominibus occupavit Machvam, Ussuram et Sirmiam, et omnes ad suum schisma pervertit et iterato baptizavit, ut essent ante catholice [fidei], ut ostendunt vestigia ecclesiarum. Hoc nunc revocamus ad fidem, ex quo illi Christi gratia humiliati sunt. Potius mirandum [est] et dolendum ergo tanta negligere istorum dominorum et prelatorum Hungariae, quod quasi curare videntur de conversione istorum, istos pauperes devorant, expoliant, de eorum salute nil curant. Puto, quod ipsi et partes eorum in die iudicii reddent rationem de omnibus istis.

grace. On the contrary, everything is done for the honour of God and the salvation of one's neighbour, as has been said. And that it is not contrary to the decree of the Church is evident from the bull of our lord the pope, and this will be explained more clearly below.

The fifth reason is taken from the profession of the Catholic faith. For as is evident from that article of the creed: 'I believe in one holy Church', it is clear that no one can be saved outside the unity of the Church. In this way, the sacred councils have often condemned every heretic and schismatic who teaches otherwise than the Holy Church has defined. Thus, long ago, the Church condemned the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians as heretics. This sentence is confirmed by Augustine in the book On the Faith to Peter, saying: 'Hold most firmly, and do not in any way doubt, that everyone baptized outside the Church cannot become a partaker of eternal life, unless before the end of this life he shall have been restored to and incorporated into the Catholic Church'.¹²⁹ And because, as the Apostle says, 'If I have all faith, and know all mysteries, but have no charity, I am nothing'. (1 Cor. 13:2). For also, in the days of the Flood, we read that no one outside the Ark could be saved. 'Hold most firmly, and do not in any way doubt, that any heretic or schismatic baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, whatever alms he may have given, and even if for the name of Christ he has shed his blood, can in no way be saved. For to any person who does not hold the unity of the Catholic Church, neither baptism, nor any amount of almsgiving, nor death suffered for the name of Christ can bring salvation, as long as in him there persists the depravity of heresy or schism, which leads to death'.¹³⁰ Therefore, by every means and effort they must be brought back to the unity of the Holy Church, lest they perish.

Likewise, against this reasoning the following objection is raised: Since before our time, for so many generations, there were princes and prelates and religious who were just as good—indeed, even better—and no less learned, why did they neither do these things nor attempt them, unless because they did not consider them necessary or useful?

To this I reply that many things have been done, are done, and will be done, which before did not exist, and are not so much evil as good; and many things are now omitted which formerly were practiced. Thus, it is said: 'Nothing new ought to be done which was not done by others before'. But that is a foolish saying. For once Christ had not yet come, nor were there Apostles, nor had there been martyrs and other saints. There were not so many religious orders; they were foretold and afterward came to fulfillment; and there will be many things which do not exist yet. Once the Hungarians were not converted, and now they are. Who could be surprised at this? 'To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the sun'. (Ecclesiastes 3:1)

As for the conversion of these people, I say that before the time of this King Louis, none of the kings had the opportunity and power to act in this matter. For in Serbia and Bulgaria there were powerful kings and tyrants who not only held those lands with a strong hand but also devastated these bordering regions of the kingdom to such a degree that, as I have heard from the old, a certain king of Serbia, Stephen Uroš, seized Mačva, Usora, and Sirmia with his men, led everyone over to his schism, and rebaptized them, though before they had been of the Catholic faith, as the traces of churches show. This we are now restoring to the faith, since by the grace of Christ they have been humbled. Rather, it is more to be wondered at and lamented that there has been such negligence on the part of the lords and prelates of Hungary, who seem to care so little about the conversion of these people. They devour and despoil these poor souls and care nothing for their salvation. I think that they and their supporters will have to render an account of all these things on the Day of Judgment.

The sixth reason is drawn from the ease of converting these peo-

Sexta ratio ex parte facillimae conversionis huius populi. Quia nec est nec umquam fuit natio, quae sic de facili converteretur sicut isti Sclavi et Vlachi. Non cum gladio, non carcere, non verberibus, sed simplici verbo vel precepto conversi essent etiam omnes. Item perfecti christiani [essent], et nullus remansisset in regno schismatico, si non impediret negligencia dominorum et prelatorum, ac avaritia seu potius simonia aliquorum, de quibus taceo. Ergo, ex quo sic faciliter [converti] possunt, quis dicit: Non est laborandum?

Sed contra hanc [rationem] adhuc fortius quidam obiciunt, dicentes: dato, quod converti debeant et compelli ad obedientiam matris Ecclesie, ut dicitis; sed quae ratio [est], ut baptizentur iam baptizati christiani, presertim cum per doctores non impugnetur forma Grecorum, in qua isti sunt baptizati, vel firmiter credunt se baptizatos, quod sufficit ad salutem. Sufficere deberet, [ut] per manuum impositionem reconciliarentur, sicut fit de Grecis.

Ad hoc dicendum, quod, si formam istam Grecorum servarent, scilicet: 'Baptizatur servus Christi in nomine' etc., numquam aliquem baptizarem. Sed pro certo repperimus per multas examinationes et vias, quod isti sacerdotes Sclavorum propter ignoranciam et rusticitatem multam nullam debitam formam et certam servant, et illa quam sciunt non applicant ad materiam. Immo altero anno, quando rex ccccta milia baptizavit inter quadringentos sacerdotes schismaticos non fuerunt inventi, [qui] formam servarent.

Etiam Iohannes, imperator Constantinopolitanus, quando ad regem venit, dixit, audientibus multis: 'Bene facit rex baptizare istos Sclavos, quia nec Grecam nec Romanam formam secuntur'. Insuper pridie in Ceni¹³¹ coram fratribus nostris dixerunt calugeri, venientes de confinibus Graeciae, contra isto[s] sacerdotes: 'Isti non sunt sacerdotes, sed canes; nec vere baptizant. Propterea nos eos baptizamus sub conditione, quia non dicitur iteratum, quod ignoratur esse factum'. Dato etiam, quod quidam eorum bene baptizarent, maxime quia noviter calugeri expulsi Atmetis de Graecia per istas partes aliquos docuerunt. Tamen quia pauci sunt, eos distinguere ab aliis non possumus. Et cum etiam hoc esset, magna intricatio in tali examine [esset], nec reputarent se suscipere veram fidem, nec sub conditione baptizarentur. Et omnia fiunt pro bono; nec ex hoc iteratum baptismum, nec abutimur sacramentis, quia non fides sacramentis, sed sacramenta fidei deserviunt. Non dico de sacramento Eucharistiae, quod cum maxima diligentia tractari debet, et non dari non dispositis, quia non est sacramentum necessitatis, sed divinae caritatis.

De eo, quod dicitur: 'credunt se baptizatos', non sufficit ad salutem, ex quo, ut dictum est, nobis et eis constat de contrario. Exemplum: Si puer parvus panem venenatum, licet pulchrum, in manu teneat ad mordendum, compellendus est per illos, qui sciunt, illum proicere et bonum suscipere, sicut in proposito notatur.

Septima ratio sumitur ex parte donate potestatis seu dominii. Ad hoc enim tradidit Deus principatus et regna, ut populum subiectum reducant ad cultum unius veri Dei et salvatoris Iesu Christi. Quia, si pro solo pane et mundi gloria dominantur, non erunt maioris meriti, quam ceteri pagani domini. Ergo ipsi tales debent ad fidem catholicam compellere, et ad hoc tenentur de necessitate salutis.

ple. For there is not, nor ever has been, any nation that could be converted so readily as these Slavs and Vlachs. Not by the sword, nor by prison, nor by beatings, but by a simple word or command, all of them would have been converted. Likewise, they would have become perfect Christians, and not a single schismatic would have remained in the kingdom, if it were not for the negligence of the lords and prelates, and the greed—or rather simony—of some, about whom I will remain silent. Therefore, since they can be converted so easily, who can say that no effort should be made?

But against this reasoning some object even more strongly, saying: Granted that they ought to be converted and compelled to obedience to Mother Church, as you claim—but what reason is there that Christians who have already been baptized should be baptized again, especially since the form used by the Greeks, in which these people were baptized, is not rejected by the doctors, or they firmly believe themselves to have been baptized, which is sufficient for salvation? It ought to be enough that they be reconciled by the laying on of hands, as is done with the Greeks.

To this it must be replied that, if they were in fact preserving that Greek form—namely, 'The servant of Christ is baptized in the name [of the Father, Amen; and of the Son, Amen; and of the Holy Spirit, Amen]'—we would never baptize anyone again. But we have certainly discovered, through many examinations and inquiries, that these priests of the Slavs, because of their great ignorance and rusticity, observe no proper and definite form, and the formula they do know they do not apply to the matter. Indeed, in the other year, when the king baptized four hundred thousand people, among four hundred schismatic priests there were none found who correctly used the form.

Likewise, John, emperor of Constantinople, when he came to the king, said in the hearing of many: 'The king did the right thing to baptise these Slavs, because they follow neither the Greek nor the Roman rite'. Moreover, just the day before, in Ceni,¹³¹ in the presence of our brethren, the caloyers who had come from the confines of Greece said about these priests: 'These are not priests, but dogs; nor do they truly baptize. Therefore, we baptize them conditionally, because if it is not known if it has been done, it cannot be considered to be repeated'. Even granting that some of them did baptize properly—especially since recently caloyers expelled from Mount Athos in Greece have instructed some in these parts—still, because they are few, we are not able to distinguish them from the others. And even if this were the case, there would be great confusion in such an examination, nor would they consider themselves to be receiving the true faith, nor would they be baptized under condition. And everything is done for the sake of the good; nor by this do we repeat baptism or abuse the sacraments, because it is not faith that serves the sacraments, but the sacraments that serve the faith. I am not speaking here of the sacrament of the Eucharist, which must be handled with the greatest care and not given to those unprepared, because it is not a sacrament of necessity, but of divine charity.

As for what is said that 'they believe themselves to be baptized', it does not suffice for salvation, since, as has been said, it is clear both to us and to them that the opposite is the case. An example: if a small boy were holding poisoned bread—though it might look fine—in his hand, ready to bite into it, he must be compelled by those who know to throw it away and to receive good bread instead, as is noted in the present case.

The seventh reason is taken from the matter of the power or dominion that has been granted. For God has entrusted principalities and kingdoms precisely so that they may lead the people subject to them back to the worship of the one true God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. For if they exercise dominion only for the sake of bread and the glory of the world, they will have no greater merit than other pagan rulers. Therefore, such rulers must compel their subjects to the Catholic faith, and they are bound to do so out of necessity for their own salvation.

But against this it is objected that secular lords ought not to

Sed contra hoc obicitur, quod domini temporales non debent se impedire de spiritualibus negotiis, sed potius prelati et religiosi verbo et exemplo debent inducere et, si necesse est, spirituali gladio non temporalis rebelles percutere; quia non invenimus apostolos et alios sanctos per tales dominos alios convertisse.

Ad hoc respondeo, quod cum sint Dei ministri ad punitationem malorum et laudem bonorum, ut clare ostendit Apostolus ad Rom. 13: 'Omnis anima' etc. Videre apostoli verba! Et Petrus in epistola: 'subiecti estote' etc. Cum sint et ministri iustitiae, et nulla secundum philosophos sit maior iustitia quam religio, qui cultus est deitatis; quo evacuato, nulla erit vera iustitia. Dico, quod principes et domini temporales tenentur vindicare malefactores, maxime contumaces et destructores christiane religionis, quia maiores peccatores esse non possunt.

Unde, licet precedere debeat doctrina et verbum, et ubi non audierint, gladius spiritualis scilicet ecclesiastica censura; tamen, si contempserint, necessarius erit gladius temporalis. Alias, cito ferre pessimi haeretici et perversi devastarent vineam Domini Sabaoth. Ideo dixit Petrus: 'Domine, ecce gladii duo hic' [Luc. 22. 38], quod de potestate spirituali et temporalis exponitur, ut, qui contempserit primum, timeat secundum. Et quis, rogo, non timet legum severitatem, dominorum vindictam? Vix de centum est unus, qui solo amore discedat a malo et faciat bonum. Omnis status, omnis conditio timore et disciplina conservatur. Neque isti schismatici, de quibus loquimur, serviunt regi et dominis nisi timore. Deus novit, quantis vexationibus exigunt ab eis tributa, sed Dei honorem requirunt.

Debemus ergo, ubi necesse [est], eos monere, ut suos vasallos compellant ad fidem catholicam. Immo clamant leges, clamant iura reges et dominos ad extirpationem haeticorum et schismaticorum; et negligentes deponi debent a suis dignitatibus. Sic papa Zacharias ut habetur in Decretis, deposuit Lodovicum, regem Francorum, patrem Pipini. Sic Innocentius Ottonem, imperatorem, hac de causa. Unde et dominus Parisiensis [Guillelmus Arvernus] in libro De fide et legibus probat omnem sectam contrariantem christiane religioni debere exterminari igne et gladio.¹³² Licet isti non indigeant tanta severitate, quia pro uno bove, quem time[n]t perdere, pro maiori parte recipiunt fidem. Ecce quam vilis coactio.

Quod autem dicitur, quod Apostoli et alii sancti isto modo non converterunt mundum inferendo violentiam, sed probatos in fide baptizabant, respondeo quod aliud tempus istud et aliud illud. Distingue tempora, et concordabis scripturas! Preterea de paganis et lupis aliud; [aliud] de istis schismaticis et ovibus errantes sciendum est. Tunc enim, vigente ubique idolatria, et in valentibus leonibus et lupis, scilicet tyrannis Romanis et idolorum cultoribus, non solum violentiam aliis inferre, sed vix per criptas latitando vivere poterant. Tunc stupentes super miraculis et tanto fervore sanctorum morientium ac vita mirabili attrahebantur investigare de eorum fide et doctrina. Sic Tristanter et alii innumerabiles. Sic Adrianus stupens interrogavit: 'Adiuro vos' etc. Modo quis meis exemplis aut miraculis trahitur. Utinam non magis retraherentur a fide nostris exemplis malis! Nec diebus illis ad ovile Christi erat aliquis recipiendus, nisi prius multis experiētiis de lupo factus agnus paratus esset non solum Christi legibus subici, sed etiam pro eius nomine mori. Sed nunc quis sine gravi peccato has

involve themselves in spiritual matters; rather, prelates and religious should lead people by word and example, and, if necessary, strike the rebellious with the spiritual sword, not the secular one. For we do not find that the apostles and other saints converted people through such lords.

To this I reply that, since they are ministers of God for the punishment of evildoers and the praise of those who do good, as the Apostle clearly shows in Romans 13: 'Let every soul [be subject to higher powers. For there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God]' (Romans 13:1). Behold the Apostle's words! Likewise, Peter says in his epistle: 'Be subject [therefore to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king as excelling]' (1 Peter 2:13). Because they are also ministers of justice, and according to the philosophers there is no greater justice than religion—which is the worship of divinity—and if that is destroyed, there will be no true justice at all, I say that princes and secular lords are bound to punish evildoers, especially those who are obstinate and destroyers of the Christian religion, because there can be no greater sinners than these.

Although doctrine and the word ought to come first, and if these are not heeded, the spiritual sword, namely ecclesiastical censure, and if these are despised, the temporal sword becomes necessary. Otherwise, the most wicked and perverse heretics would quickly lay waste to the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts. That is why Peter said, 'Lord, behold, here are two swords' (Luke 22:38), which is interpreted as referring to spiritual and temporal authority: so that whoever scorns the first may fear the second. And who, I ask, does not fear the severity of laws and the vengeance of lords? Scarcely one in a hundred is there who turns away from evil and does good purely out of love. Every rank and every condition is maintained by fear and discipline. Nor do these schismatics of whom we speak serve the king and their lords except out of fear. God knows by what vexations they exact tribute from them, but they do not require the honour of God.

Therefore, where it is necessary, we ought to admonish them to compel their vassals to the Catholic faith. Indeed, the laws cry out, the rights cry out, that kings and lords are bound to the extirpation of heretics and schismatics; and those who are negligent ought to be deposed from their dignities. Thus, Pope Zacharias, as is recorded in the Decretals, deposed Louis, king of the Franks, the father of Pepin. In the same way, Innocent deposed Otto the Emperor for this reason. Hence also the Master of Paris [William of Auvergne], in the book On the Faith and the Laws demonstrates that every sect contrary to the Christian religion ought to be exterminated by fire and sword.¹³² Although these men do not require such severity, since for the sake of a single ox, which they fear to lose, the greater part of them embrace the faith. Behold, how cheap is compulsion.

But as for the claim that the apostles and other saints did not convert the world in this manner by inflicting violence, but baptized those proven in the faith, I reply that our times are different from that. Distinguish the times, and you will be in agreement with the Scriptures! Moreover, one must understand one thing about pagans and wolves, and another about these schismatics and wandering sheep. For then, when idolatry was flourishing everywhere, and the Roman tyrants and the worshippers of idols were powerful, like lions and wolves, not only could they not inflict violence on others, but they could scarcely live, hiding in catacombs. Then people, struck with wonder at the miracles, at the great fervour of the saints dying, and at their marvellous way of life, were drawn to inquire into their faith and teaching, like Tristanter and countless others. Thus Hadrian, astonished, asked: 'I adjure you', and so forth. But now, who is drawn by my examples or miracles? Would that they were not rather driven away from the faith by our bad examples! Nor in those days was anyone to be received into the fold of Christ unless, through many tests, he had been made from a wolf into a lamb, ready not only to submit to the laws of Christ but even to die for his name. But now,

oves errantes perire patitur, cum potest eas ad gregem reducere, et non curat.

Tempus fuit, primo quo Ecclesia velud parvula educanda fuit lacte dulcedinis, et hoc per Christum ipso dicente: 'non possunt filii sponsi lugere' etc. [Math. 9, 15]. Tempus fuit, quo flagellis erat erudienda ut puella, ne lasciveret, et hoc in martyribus. Deinde, iam nubilis facta, cum honore ducta est ad nuptias, et hoc per Constantinum et alios Christi paranympnos. Demum, materfamilias effecta, protervos filios flagellis corrigere habet, non per se ipsam, sed per ministros sibi a Deo datos.

De aliis tribus viis successine pertranseo causa brevitatibus.

II – Secundum inductivum: natura

Secundum motivum vel via inductiva huius operis est [natura] et documen[tum] naturale, insertum cuilibet homini. Si enim tanta sollicitudine ac divinis praeceptis moniti curamus subvenire nostris proximis, et ex compassione naturali movemur compatientes eorum corporalibus indigentis, et ministramus per opera pietatis eorum corporibus utique morituris, ne pereant; quanta compassione quantaque pietate moveri debemus erga animas in aeternum vi[c]turas et subvenire, ne pereant! Unde predictus dominus Parisiensis in predicto libro de hac materia dicit: 'Quis dubitat quin morti corporali hominum tam parvulorum quam adultorum succurrendum sit, etiam eis invitatis, et quin extrahendi sint de aqua et de igne ea violentia, quam requirunt ista pericula, ne in ea se precipient aut aliter cadant, sunt arcendi. Si enim morti corporali brutorum animalium tanto opere succurritur, si tanta sollicitudine extrahuntur de puteis et foveis, quanto magis ista facienda sunt, ut occurratur morti hominum corporali, ac multo fortius sunt agenda, ut occurratur morti hominum corporali, ac multo fortius sunt agenda, ut occurratur eorumdem morti spirituali. Inviti ergo et quantumlibet renitentis extrahendi sunt de periculis spiritualibus propter mortem spiritualem. Haec autem mors non est nisi vitium et peccatum, quae a Deo separant, qui est vita animarum'.¹³³ Multa alia dicit, quae causa brevitatibus omitto.

III – Tertium inductivum: Scriptura

Tertium motivum est Scriptura tam novi quam veteris Testamenti. De quibus pauca noto. Probat primo nostram intencionem ille Nabugodonosor, qui ante perversus et infidelis dixit: 'Quicumque non adoraverit statuam' etc. [Dan. 3]. Deinde conversus ad Deum precepit: 'Paveant omnes habitantes in terra Deum Sydrach' etc. 'Et quicumque blasphemaverit Deum Sydrach' etc. Sic propheta David, postquam predixit tempus, in quo 'astiterunt reges terrae', scilicet Herodes et Pylatus, 'et principes', scilicet Annas et Cayphas, 'convenerunt adversus Dominum', etc. [Ps. 2.2]; persequerantur primo Christum propter ydola; persequentur modo ydola propter Christum, ut omnis potestas Christo subiciatur. Nota et in evangelio parabolam de nuptiis, ubi dixit rex: 'Compelle intrare' [Luc. 14, 23]. Vide textum. Alia plura omitto.

IV – Quartum inductivum: exemplum

who can, without grave sin, allow these wandering sheep to perish when he is able to bring them back to the flock but does not care?

There was a time, first, when the Church, like a little girl, had to be nourished with the milk of sweetness—and this was through Christ himself, who said: 'Can the children of the bridegroom mourn [as long as the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then they shall fast]' (Matthew 9:15). There was a time when she had to be trained with whips like a young girl, lest she grow wanton, and this was in the time of the martyrs. Then, when she had already come of age, she was led with honour to marriage, and this was through Constantine and the other attendants of Christ. Finally, having become the mistress of the household, she has the duty to correct her insolent sons with whips, not by herself, but through the ministers given to her by God.

As for the other ways and paths, I pass over them briefly for the sake of conciseness.

II – The Second Inducement: Nature

The second inducement, or the inductive path of this work, is nature itself and the natural law implanted in every human being. For if, warned by such great concern and by divine precepts, we take care to help our neighbours and, moved by natural compassion, sympathize with their bodily needs, and through works of mercy serve their bodies—which are, after all, destined to die—lest they perish, with how much greater compassion and with how much greater piety ought we to be moved toward souls that will live forever, and to help them lest they be lost! Hence the aforesaid Master of Paris, in the aforementioned book on this subject, says: 'Who would doubt that help must be given to rescue human beings—both small children and adults—from bodily death, even against their will, and that they should be pulled out of water and fire with such force as these dangers require, lest they throw themselves in or otherwise fall and must be restrained? For if such effort is made to save even the bodily life of brute animals, if with such concern they are drawn out of wells and pits, how much more ought we do these things to prevent bodily death in human beings—and far more earnestly must these things be done to prevent their spiritual death. Therefore, even against their will, and however much they resist, they must be drawn out of spiritual dangers because of spiritual death. This death, moreover, is nothing other than vice and sin, which separates from God, who is the life of souls'.¹³³ He says many other things, which I omit for the sake of brevity.

III – The Third Inducement: Scripture

The third inducement is Scripture, both of the New and of the Old Testament. Of these, I note a few examples. First, that same Nebuchadnezzar proves our intention—he who at first was perverse and faithless, saying: 'Whoever does not worship the statue [shall immediately be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace]' (Daniel 3:6). Then, having been converted to God, he commanded: 'Let all the inhabitants of the earth fear the God of Shadrach' and: 'Whoever blasphemes the God of Shadrach [Meshach, and Abednego shall be torn limb from limb and their houses laid in ruins] (Daniel 3:28–29). Likewise, the prophet David, after he foretold the time when 'the kings of the earth stood up', namely Herod and Pilate, and 'the princes', namely Annas and Caiaphas, 'gathered together against the Lord [and against his Anointed]' (Psalm 2:2). At first, they persecuted Christ on account of idols; but now they will persecute idols on account of Christ, so that all power is subjected to Christ. Note also in the Gospel the parable of the wedding feast, where the king says: 'Compel them to come in' (Luke 14:23). See the text. Many other passages I omit.

IV – The Fourth Inducement: Example

Quartum motivum est exemplum, et hoc in sanctis imperatoribus et regibus, quos Deus misit tamquam suos nuntios ad mundi conversionem. Quia, licet Apostoli seminaverunt verbum salutis per mundum, tamen propter persecutionem tyrannorum infidelium illud semen non potuit convallescere ad completam conversionem et stabilitatem sanctae Ecclesie, donec Dominus corda regnum vertit sub iugo fidei. Sic per Constantinum Latinos et Grecos, sic per Karolum Magnum Germanos et Theutonicos, sic per sanctum regem Stephanum Hungaros certe non tantum verbo, sed gladio et duris bellis convertit, cum tamen non essent haeretici vel schismatici sed penitus pagani. Sic per Ludovicum istum Comanos et Philisteos [sic] et Slavos schismaticos ad fidem duxit, qui modo Christo gratiam gaudent. Immo et veredantur de suo primo statu perverso.

Multa de epistolis Augustini contra Donatistas de hac materia adduci possunt, multaque de legendis Apostolorum et aliorum possent allegari, quomodo reges per eos conversi tota sua regna baptizant ad petitionem unius apostoli, qui non poterant in paucis diebus omnes de regno suo docere, ut supra obiectum fuit. Sed inter haec flendum est, quomodo imperatoris Romani et pagani centies servierunt ferventius dyabolo et ydolis suis, quam modo christiani principes Deo vivo et vero, et suae fidei gloriosae.

Probat hoc Diocletianus, qui tantummodo intra unum mensem XVII milia civium Romanorum interemit, nolentium ydola adorare. Et Maximianus sororum suam Arthemiam occidit. Aliis omissis, qui per annos CCCLX non cessaverunt fundere sanguinem christianorum. Et nostri domini huius temporis vix verbo volunt Christo servire, immo potius impediunt.

Hec predicta correctioni et emenda[tioni] maiorum simpliciter et clare [submitto]. Idcirco notavi, fratres mei, ad vestram et meam informationem, ut possitis contradicentibus resistere et rationem reddere, omni petenti, sitisque ferventiores ad conversionem istorum, de quibus diximus, pro nostra et eorum salute ad mea[m]que et vestram gloriam in die Christi.

Stephanus Papa: 'Dubius in fide infidelis est; nec ei[s] omnino credendum, qui fidem veritatis ignorant'.¹³⁴ Leo Papa: 'Qui alios, cum potest, ab errore non revocat, se ipsum errare demonstrat'.¹³⁵ Augustinus, De fide catholica: 'Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites omnem haeticum vel schismaticum cum dia[bo]lo et eius angelis eterni ignis incendio participandum, nisi ante finem vitae catholice fuerit incorporatus et reintegratus Ecclesie'.¹³⁶ Et post pauca: 'Omni homini, qui catholice [Ecclesie] non tenet unitatem, neque baptismus neque elemosina quantumlibet copiosa, neque mors pro Christi nomine suscepta proficere poterit ad salutem'.

Lucius Papa III: Ad obedienciam.¹³⁷ Et infra: 'Universos, qui de sacramento corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi, vel de baptizmate, seu peccatorum confessione, matrimonio, vel reliquis ecclesiasticis sacramentis aliter sentire vel docere non metuunt, quam sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia predicat vel observat, et generaliter quoscumque Romana Ecclesia vel singuli Episcopi per dioeceses suas cum consilio clericorum, vel clerici ipsi sede vacante cum consilio si oportuerit, vicinorum Episcoporum haeticos iudicaverint, vinculo perpetuo anathematis enodamus'.¹³⁸ Et infra: 'Presenti ordinatione sanctimus, ut, quicumque fuerint manifeste in haeresi deprehensi, si clericus est vel cuiuscumque religionis obumbratione fuscatus, totius ecclesiastici ordinis prerogativa nudetur, et sit omni officio et beneficio spoliatus ecclesiastico; saeculari[s] reliquatur arbitrio

The fourth inducement is an example, namely, in the holy emperors and kings whom God sent as his messengers for the conversion of the world. For although the apostles sowed the word of salvation throughout the world, yet because of the persecution of pagan tyrants, that seed could not grow to full conversion and the stability of the Holy Church until the Lord turned the hearts of kings under the yoke of faith. Thus, [the Lord converted] the Latins and Greeks through Constantine; through Charlemagne, the Germans and Teutons, and through Saint King Stephen, he converted the Hungarians, certainly not only by word but also by the sword and hard battles—although they were not heretics or schismatics but complete pagans. In the same way, through Louis, the Lord has led the Cumans, Philistines [sic], and schismatic Slavs to faith, who now rejoice in the grace of Christ. Indeed, they are even ashamed of their former perverse state.

Many things from the letters of Augustine against the Donatists could be brought forward on this matter, and many things could be cited from the legends of the Apostles and others, showing how kings were converted by them and baptized their entire kingdoms at the request of a single apostle, who could not, in just a few days, teach all the people of their realm—as was objected above. But among all these things, it must be lamented how the emperors of Rome, though pagan, served the devil and their idols a hundred times more zealously than Christian rulers now serve the living and true God and their own glorious faith.

This is proved by Diocletian, who in the space of only one month put to death seventeen thousand Roman citizens who refused to worship idols. And Maximian killed his own sister Artemia. Passing over others, who for three hundred and sixty years did not cease to shed the blood of Christians. And our rulers of our time scarcely even wish to serve Christ with a single word—indeed, rather they hinder [his cause]. All these things I simply and plainly submit to the correction and emendation of their betters.

Therefore, I have noted these things, my brothers, for your instruction and mine, so that you may be able to resist those who contradict and to give an account to everyone who asks, and so that you may be more fervent in the conversion of those of whom we have spoken—for our salvation and theirs, and for my glory and yours on the day of Christ.

Pope Stephen: 'He who is doubtful in faith is unfaithful; nor should any trust at all be placed in those who are ignorant of the faith of the truth'.¹³⁴ Pope Leo: 'The one who is able but does not recall others from error, shows that he himself is in error'.¹³⁵ Augustine, On the Catholic Faith: 'Hold most firmly and in no way doubt that every heretic or schismatic will share in the fire of eternal burning with the devil and his angels, unless before the end of life he shall have been incorporated into the Catholic Church and restored to it'.¹³⁶ And a little later: 'For any person who does not hold to the unity of the Catholic Church, neither baptism, nor almsgiving, however abundant, nor even death endured for the name of Christ will be able to profit for salvation'.

Pope Lucius III, *Ad abolendam diversarum haeresium pravitate[m]*,¹³⁷ and further on: 'All those who are not afraid to think or teach otherwise concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or concerning baptism, or confession of sins, marriage, or the other ecclesiastical sacraments, than the most holy Roman Church proclaims and observes, and in general all whom the Roman Church, or individual bishops in their dioceses with the counsel of their clergy, or the clergy themselves during a vacancy of the see, with the counsel, if necessary, of neighbouring bishops, shall have judged to be heretics, we bind with the perpetual bond of anathema'.¹³⁸ And further on: 'By this present ordinance we decree that whoever shall be manifestly discovered in heresy—if he is a cleric, or ordained by any pretended religious profession—shall be stripped of all the prerogatives of ecclesiastical rank, and be deprived of every ecclesiastical office and benefice; and he shall be left to the judgment of sec-

potestatis, animadersione puniendus, nisi continuo post deprehensionem erroris' etc. Ecclesie unitatur cum congrua satisfactione. 'Laicus autem, prout dictum est, abnegata haeresi et satisfactione exhibita, confestim ad fidem confugerit orthodoxam, saecularis iuducis arbitrio reliquatur, debitam recepturus pro qualitate facinoris ultionem'. Et infra: 'Statuimus insuper, ut comites, barones, rectores et consules civitatum et aliorum locorum, iuxta commonitationem Episcoporum, prestito corporali[ter] iuramento, promittant, quod fideliter et efficaciter, cum ab eis fuerint requisiti, Ecclesiam contra haeticos et eorum complices adiuvabunt, bona fide iuxta officium et posse suum. Si vero id observare noluerint, honore, quem obtine[n]t, spolientur et ad illos nullatenus assumantur; eis nihilominus excommunicatione ligandis et terris eorum interdicto Ecclesie supponendis'.

ular power, to be punished accordingly, unless immediately upon the detection of his error he is united to the Church with appropriate satisfaction. But if a layperson, as has been said, having renounced heresy and made satisfaction, shall at once take refuge in the orthodox faith, he shall be left to the discretion of the secular judge, to receive the due punishment appropriate to the nature of the crime'. And further on: 'We furthermore decree that counts, barons, governors, and consuls of cities and other places, in accordance with the admonition of the bishops, shall, by taking a corporal oath, promise that faithfully and effectively, whenever they are required by them, they will aid the Church against heretics and their accomplices, in good faith, according to their office and their ability. But if they are unwilling to observe this, they shall be stripped of the dignity which they hold and shall in no way be appointed to such offices; and they shall likewise be bound with excommunication, and their lands shall be placed under interdict by the Church'.

Notes

- Babić 1972, pp. 287–295; Тирковић 1964, p. 320; Čošković 1990, pp. 43–50; Vukšić 2005, p. 282; Špoljarić 2019, pp. 153–167.
- Šanjek 2003, p. 11.
- Šanjek 2003, p. 74.
- Wakefield, Evans 1991, pp. 9–37.
- Dautović 2021, pp. 97–125.
- Šanjek 2003, pp. 16–17.
- Smičiklas 1904–1934, vol. 3, p. 362.
- Theiner 1859–1860, vol. 1, p. 113.
- Dautović 2021, p. 106.
- Тирковић 1995, p. 220; Šanjek 2003, p. 16.
- This military campaign is generally considered the only crusade effectively undertaken against Bosnia. Dautović 2021, p. 112.
- Šanjek 2003, p. 134.
- Theiner 1859–1860, vol. 1, pp. 205–206; Mandić 1968, p. 39.
- Fermendžin 1892, p. 13.
- Tam ecclesia quam diocesis Bosnensis, quae ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinet, totaliter lapsa sit peccatis exigentibus in perfidiam heretice pravitatis.* Theiner 1859–1860, vol. 1, p. 204.
- Čirković 1987, p. 205.
- Lovrenović 2005, p. 196.
- Dautović 2015, pp. 127–159; Čošković 2005, pp. 58–59.
- Dautović 2015, p. 129; Glušac 1924, pp. 1–55.
- Rački 1869, pp. 84–179; Rački 1870, pp. 160–263; Šanjek 1976, pp. 138–50.
- Тирковић 1995, p. 221; Čošković 2005, p. 10.
- Džaja, Lovrenović 2007, pp. 3–14.
- Тирковић 1995, p. 221.
- Šidak 1977, p. 150.
- Šanjek 2003, p. 333–348.
- Truhelka 1911, 355–375; Fine 2007, pp. 289–293.
- In his testament, Radin refers to individuals *нашега закона*, what can be translated as 'of our order'. Truhelka 1911, p. 372.
- Čošković 2005, pp. 218, 368.
- Čošković 2005, pp. 219–220. Innocent III wrote that Ban Kulin was 'giving them the name Christians as if they alone embodied it' (*vocans eos antonomasice christianos*), while at the abjuration of Bilino Polje, they declared that they would be no longer calling themselves Christians 'to avoid causing harm to other Christians through the exclusive use of the name' (*ne singularitate nominis aliis Christianis iniuria inferatur*). Šanjek 2003, p. 72, 82.
- Тирковић 1995, p. 222.

- Čošković 2005, p. 156.
- Mandić 1968, pp. 40–42.
- Engel 2001, 163–167.
- Тирковић 1990, pp. 35–36; Džambo 2022, pp. 124–125. The first known native vicar from Bosnia was Peter of Bosnia, recorded in 1477. Schmitt 1983, p. 258.
- Fermendžin 1892, p. 28.
- Achim 1996, pp. 398–400.
- Daniel 2014, p. 132.
- Engel 2001, p. 172.
- Daniel 2014, p. 25.
- MH, vol. 2, p. 87.
- Muscat 2010, pp. 756–763.
- Toldy 1862, p. 234; Romhányi 2016, p. 238; Györfy 1963, vol. 3, p. 482; Achim 1996, p. 394.
- Fermendžin 1892, pp. 28–29.
- Cholewicki 2023b, pp. 39–40.
- In most sources, Bartholomew is called 'of Alverna', which has led to some ambiguities as to his origin. He was however called 'Bartholomeus de Tuscia' by a charter of the commune of Korčula, suggesting the locality of 'La Verna' in Tuscany, where the Friars Minor had a famous hermitage. Fermendžin 1892, p. 53.
- Lasić 1962, p. 59; Fermendžin 1892, p. 36; Božitković 1935, pp. 10–13; Mandić 1968, 74–78.
- Fermendžin 1892, p. 122.
- Wadding 1931–1948, vol. 8 (1376), pp. 392–394.
- Mandić 1968, p. 66, 78; Šanjek 2003, p. 254.
- Mandić 1968, 79; Pandžić 1991, p. 248.
- Mandić 1968, p. 66.
- MH vol 2, p. 116.
- Wlachs scismaticos, quorum nonnulli in pascuis et tentoriis habitant, animalia, quibus habundant, pascendo, curam predicationis seu conversionis non adhibent.* MH II, p. 140.
- MH II, p. 140.
- Et unum aliud in illa parte, de qua vobis videbitur pro [...] refugio et tutela.* Wadding 1931–1948, vol. 9 (1400), p. 567.
- Coco 1921, pp. 258–259; Wadding 1931–1948, vol. 9 (1400), pp. 461–462; Cholewicki 2023b, p. 39.
- Quingenta milia personarum infidelium [...] ad orthodoxe fidei sinceritatem unanimiter [...] conversa fore noscantur.* Following the source from: Mandić 1979, p. 213.
- Fermendžin 1892, pp. 28–29.

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A Waldensian Translation of D.8 c.5–6 and c.8–9 from the Decretum Gratiani—Gregori: Tota costuma es de dever pausar enapres la verita

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[English](#)

RÉSUMÉ : L’article propose une étude assortie d’une édition critique d’un texte vaudois, *Gregori: Tota costuma es de dever pausar enapres la verita*. Il s’agit d’un bref fragment rédigé en occitan et transmis par le manuscrit Du267 (Trinity College Dublin). Daté de la fin du x^v ou du début du xvi^e siècle, ce volume fait partie des importants manuscrits copiés par les Vaudois, dissidents religieux. *Tota costuma* est une traduction abrégée de la distinction 8 du *Decretum Gratiani* (canons 5–6 et canons 8–9), centrée sur la primauté de la vérité divine sur la coutume humaine. Le texte suit globalement la structure du texte latin mais comporte des omissions, réarrangements et ajouts, notamment une citation de l’Évangile de Matthieu et une référence à Ambroise, absentes du *Decretum*. Ces particularités suggèrent une adaptation consciente, peut-être influencée par la théologie vaudoise. L’étude compare ce fragment avec des œuvres d’auteurs hussites (Jan Hus, Nicolas de Dresde) qui utilisent fréquemment D.8, ouvrant la possibilité d’une transmission indirecte. Les dictionnaires théologique-juridiques wycliffites (le *Rosarium* et le *Floretum*) pourraient aussi avoir servi de relais. L’article conclut que, malgré son caractère bref, *Tota costuma* apporte un éclairage important sur les textes, notamment théologiques et juridiques, disponibles aux Vaudois vers 1520 et invite à poursuivre les recherches sur la diffusion du *Decretum Gratiani* dans les milieux dissidents pré-réformés.

MOTS-CLÉS : Vaudois; Hussites; traductions; textes occitans; *Decretum Gratiani*.

[English](#)

REZUMAT: Articolul propune un studiu însoțit de o ediție critică a unui text valdez, *Gregori: Tota costuma es de dever pausar enapres la verita*. Este vorba despre un scurt fragment redactat în limba occitană și transmis de manuscrisul Du267 (Trinity College, Dublin). Datat la sfârșitul secolului al xv-lea sau începutul secolului al xvi-lea, volumul face parte dintr-un corpus important de manuscrise copiate de valdezi, un grup de disidenți religioși. *Tota costuma* reprezintă o traducere abreviată a distincției a opta din *Decretum Gratiani* (canoanele 5–6 și 8–9), axată pe primatul adevărului divin asupra cutumelor omenești. Textul urmează, în linii mari, structura originalului latin, dar prezintă omisiuni, rearanjări și adăugiri, printre care se numără un citat din Evanghelia după Matei și o referință la Ambrozie, amândouă absente din *Decretum*. Aceste particularități par să ateste o adaptare deliberată, posibil influențată de teologia valdeză. Articolul compară fragmentul cu opere ale unor autori husiți (Jan Hus, Nicolae din Dresda) care utilizează frecvent D.8, formulând ipoteza unei transmisiuni indirecte. De asemenea, dicționarele teologico-juridice wycliffite (*Rosarium* și *Floretum*) ar fi putut servi drept intermediar. Articolul conchide că, în pofida conciziei sale, *Tota costuma* oferă o perspectivă valoroasă asupra textelor, în special teologice și juridice, aflate la dispoziția valdezilor în jurul anului 1520 și propune continuarea cercetărilor privind difuzarea lui *Decretum Gratiani* în mediile dizidente pre-reformate.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: Valdezi; husiți; traduceri; texte occitane; *Decretum Gratiani*.

[English](#)

Introduction¹

The Waldensians, members of a movement of religious dissent originating from France in the twelfth century, left behind an important number of manuscripts, usually dated from the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. These contain what is known as the Waldensian literature and are primarily made up of biblical translations, treatises, sermons, poems and other religious texts.² An important part of these texts are not original Waldensian creations but translations of texts from various sources, for instance, catholic authors from different time periods (Voragine, Benevento, Frère Laurent, etc.) or figures from different Czech Reformation movements such as Jan Hus or Luke of Prague.³ The Waldensian manuscripts and texts are mostly inedited and to a certain extent under-studied. There is not yet a full and exhaus-

tive catalogue of these volumes and no consensus over the number and distribution of these texts. This can be attributed in part to the ‘messy’ nature of the Waldensian manuscripts: rubrics are inconsistent, not all texts are titled, and while two or more texts can have the same title, their contents differ greatly, etc. Besides longer and complete works, these manuscripts also contain many fragments and shorter pieces. Although these texts seem short, fragmentary, and often difficult to identify, editing them and studying them is important as it could shed additional light on Waldensian literature as well as the sources they used and had access to. Moreover, as of yet we have little concrete evidence regarding the context in which these volumes were copied and there is no clear consensus amongst researchers.⁴ Therefore, editions of further texts transmitted by the Waldensian manuscripts could provide more clues.

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This study aims to shed some light on one such fragment, an untitled text starting as follows: *Gregori: Tota costuma es de dever pausar enapres la verita (Tota costuma)*.⁵ It is found on fol. 408r–408v of manuscript 267 from the Old Library of Trinity College Dublin (hereafter Du267).⁶

This fragment is particularly interesting because it is an abridged translation of one of the *distinctiones* from the *Decretum Gratiani*: D.8 c.5–6 and c.8–9. In this respect, it gives us a precious insight into the ‘library’ the Waldensians used to constitute their religious literature. The Waldensian text translates only a fragment of Gratian’s work, and deals solely with the concepts of truth (that is, God’s Truth) and custom (human laws) as well as the primacy of truth. *Tota costuma* appears to be transmitted only by Du267. It is untitled and not attributed to any author, which is the case for most of the texts transmitted in the Waldensian manuscripts. It starts one line below the preceding text, a sermon on Luke 16 on the topic of usury, designated both *Sermon de usura* and *Sermon Luc*. This sermon is concluded by the ‘et cetera’ abbreviation used to indicate ends of texts (or chapters in longer works) in Waldensian manuscripts.⁷

First, this article will look at the manuscript witness, then it will offer a brief analysis of *Tota costuma*, focusing on its relationship with the *Decretum Gratiani*. Finally, we will discuss the possibility that the Waldensians had access to their source through other texts, exploring some similarities with Hussite texts. This discussion will then be followed by an edition and translation in English of *Tota costuma*.

Manuscript Witness

Du267 is a paper manuscript of relatively modest dimensions, 14x9.8cm. Part of the James Ussher manuscript collection of the Old Library of Trinity College Dublin, it was rediscovered by T K Abbott in 1892.⁸ It shares many similarities with other Waldensian manuscripts, such as its language (including dialectal traits), the abbreviation system,⁹ and its style, understood to include aspects such as script, illuminations or lack thereof, etc.¹⁰ Du267 has been dated to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. On fol. 7v, the date 1520 was added, which could indicate an approximate date of composition.¹¹ This dating hypothesis is further strengthened by the presence of ‘later’ texts such as *Qual Cosa sia antichrist* which is an adaptation of *Bárka*, a text by Luke of Prague written by 1493 and later reworked in 1512.¹² The exact place of composition of Du267 is still unknown. As with the other Waldensian manuscripts, however, it is believed that it originates from the North of Italy.¹³

The volume contains 421 numbered folios which are organised in 27 quires of varying lengths (gatherings of 3, 7 and 8 bifolios).¹⁴ The manuscript is foliated by several hands in the top right corner. The beginning of the manuscript, containing the calendar and Easter table are numbered using roman numerals, whilst the rest of Du267 is numbered with Arabic numerals.¹⁵

The manuscript is of simple manufacture, as is often the case with the Waldensian manuscripts, and is decorated with plain red initials and few illuminations, usually small drawings in the margins or around the catch-phrases, for example fol. 167r and 198r, or 64v.¹⁶ Du267 is the work of several scribes who still need to be clearly identified. It is likely that the scribe responsible for writing the fragment

studied here has also written the following text (a *Pater Noster*) as well as the preceding sermons (fol. 408v–409v and fol. 394r–408r), because of the way certain letters are shaped. For instance, across these three texts, the letters *g* tend to be formed by a closed upper loop and an open lower loop; the descender of the long *s* goes slightly below the writing lines; the letters *o* are rounded, etc. Additionally, the colour of the ink is the same as well as the thickness of the brush strokes. It could also be that this scribe was in charge of copying other texts in the manuscript. This remains to be determined.¹⁷

Tota costuma, as well as the rest of Du267, is written in the Occitan dialect characteristic of the Waldensian manuscripts.¹⁸ The Waldensian scripta presents characteristics of the North-Eastern Occitan-speaking area.¹⁹ It is to be noted that this typical dialect is uniform across the so-called ‘Waldensian’ manuscripts from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century known today and that, often, those linguistic traits are the only thing marking a text or translation of a text as ‘Waldensian’.²⁰

In terms of contents, the manuscript contains a calendar and an Easter table, a lectionary with sermons for the entire liturgical year, various tracts and treatises as well as some other sermons not included in the lectionary.²¹ Some of the texts are translations, such as *Qual cosa sia l’antichrist*, that is, the adaptation of *Bárka*.²² *Tota costuma* is placed at the very end of the manuscript—it is the text before last. The last text of Du267 is a prayer based on the *Pater Noster*. Together, these two texts might have served as ‘fillers’ or short pieces to complete the last quire, thus using up all the space available.

Thematically, this fragment on the importance of truth over custom fits in well with other texts transmitted by Du267. For instance, *Qual cosa sia l’antichrist* (fol. 365v–377v) touches, among other topics, the corruption of the Catholic Church, albeit without naming it. In doing so, the text highlights the importance of truth, understood here as *verita essencial* and *verita menisterial* (Du267 fol. 373v–374v). The text rejects the Church of the Antichrist which promotes falsehoods and corrupts Christ’s truth by adding all sorts of practices and customs, for instance, on fol. 375v, the text says that *la seconda enequita de Antichrist es d’esperanza de [...] verita e de vita eterna non reposta en Christ ni en Dio par Christ, mas en li ome vio e mort, e en auctoritas, e en minister ecclesiastic, en benedictions, en sanctificacions, en oracions* (“the second inequity of Antichrist is of hope of [...] truth and of eternal life not found in Christ nor in God through Christ, but in the men dead and alive, and in authorities and in ecclesiastical ministries, in blessings, in sanctifications, in prayers”).²³ The text is not a legal piece of writing and the terminology is not as precise and does not use the term *costuma*, but it shows parallels. This Waldensian adaptation of D.8 c.5–6 and c.8–9 of the *Decretum Gratiani*, while not ‘heretical’ or controversial itself, abounds in the same direction as some of the reasoning underpinning *Qual cosa sia l’antichrist*.

Furthermore, it might be interesting to compare *Tota costuma* and the text which precedes it in Du267. While there is a clear rupture between *De usura* and our text, the concept of custom or habit appears in the former as well. Indeed, the text admonishes the faithful to not

follow the priests using an uneducated or unfounded (*non-fundable*) custom: *li ome fidel deorian maiorment squivar ayals sacerdots que dintre-menar li a lor liqual per la lor costuma non-fundabla laqual ilh obran encirque l’enferm plagant plus l’enferm qu’ilh non lo sanan* (“the faithful people should avoid such priests rather than bring them to those who through their unfounded custom which they practice around the sick, hurt him more than heal him”). In passages such as these, the sermon also denounces wrong customs going against the teachings of Christ. Thus, texts such as *De Usura* or *Qual cosa sia antichrist* might in part explain the appeal of D.8 from the *Decretum Gratiani* to the scribes compiling Du267.

Tota costuma and the *Decretum Gratiani*

As mentioned above, *Tota costuma* is a translation or adaptation of parts of distinction 8 of the *Decretum Gratiani*. As Kateřina Voleková pointed out when reviewing an early draft of this study, the text translates parts of distinction 8, more precisely canons 5 and 6 as well as parts of canons 8 and 9. The *Decretum Gratiani* was a very popular text which was widely used. It was written in the early twelfth century by Gratian, likely a teacher of canonical law at Bologna university who later became bishop, perhaps of Chiusi.²⁴

The text—originally titled *Concordia discordantium canonum. Ac primum de iure nature et constitutionis*—was a main source of canon law and was used by the Catholic Church up until 1917.²⁵ Together with other texts it constituted the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* and influenced the shaping of both religious and lay legal systems in the West.

Gratian discusses various themes including marriage law, excommunication, penitence, etc. Its manuscript tradition is rich, with hundreds of witnesses. It has also circulated as a printed text from the fifteenth century onwards. Anders Winroth has shown that the *Decretum Gratiani* has two versions: a shorter first recension transmitted by five manuscripts and a longer second recension transmitted by a much larger number of manuscripts.²⁶

While much scholarship has been dedicated to the *Decretum*, there are few modern critical editions, only two containing D.8. The earliest and most complete edition is Friedberg’s and is based on the second version of the *Decretum Gratiani*.²⁷ More recently Anders Winroth has been working on an edition of the first recension of the *Decretum*, available as a work in progress in open access online.²⁸ For the purpose of this study, we have decided to use Friedberg’s edition to quote Gratian’s text.²⁹ While older than Winroth’s ongoing edition, it has the advantage of being complete and it remains the ‘standard’ edition of the text. Additionally, D.8 c.9 is present in an abbreviated version in Winroth’s edition³⁰ and the Waldensian text corresponds better to the text of the second recension provided by Friedberg.

Considering the lack of critical editions and the rich manuscript and print tradition of the text as well as a lack of information in Du267 on the context of translation, it is not known which manuscript or text served as a basis for the Waldensian adaptation. In Du267, as said before, the text remains untitled and there is no mention of the name of the translator, nor of Gratian. Perhaps future research, both on the *Decretum* itself, as well as on the

Waldensian text could help clarify this point.

As previously mentioned, *Tota costuma* is only a partial translation of D.8. The incompleteness of the translation could be due to a number of factors: for instance a second-hand access to the *Decretum Gratiani*, where the text is already incomplete or access to a faulty copy of the canonical text; it is equally possible that the copyists were interested only in parts of D.8 and that they voluntarily omitted passages; alternatively, one could also imagine that little space was left in Du267 and that therefore the entire text did not fit in the allotted space and the choice was made to focus on a small subset of the text.

As the end of *Tota costuma* in Du267 is signalled by a ‘paragraph’ mark (fol. 408v), we can confidently assume that the scribe responsible for its writing saw it as a ‘complete’ piece as is. These, however, are only hypotheses as we lack material proofs in Du267 to fully support any of them. In the paragraphs below we will discuss the relationship between the Gratian text, as is edited to date, and the Occitan translation in an attempt to shed further light on the adaptation process when passing from one language to the other.

Overall, the Waldensian translation follows relatively closely the Latin text, both in terms of structure and at the level of words. The structure is maintained in the first part of the translation and amended in the second. Indeed, the Occitan text starts with a translation of D.8 c.5 and c.6, this is then followed by short excerpts of D.8 c.9 and D.8 c.8. At the syntactic level, many parts are translated quite literally. For instance, the last sentence of D.8 c.6 is translated faithfully:

Decretum Gratiani (D.8 c.6):

*Igitur cum Christus ueritas sit, magis ueritatem, quam consuetudinem sequi debemus, quia consuetudinem ratio et ueritas semper excludit.*³¹

Waldensian translation (ll. 10–12):

Emperczo cum Christ sia verita, nos deven majorment segre la verita que la costuma, car la raczon e la verita semper degieta la costuma.

Nearly the entirety of the Occitan sentence follows the Latin model, with some changes due to syntactic rules such as word order.

Elsewhere, the Occitan translation is not as faithful to the Latin text. For instance, the first quotation of Cyprian is not translated very literally, although its meaning remains the same, as can be seen in:³²

Decretum Gratiani (D.8 c.5):

*Et certe (ut B. Cipriani utamur sententia) quelibet consuetudo, quantumuis uetusta, quantumuis uulgata, ueritati est omnino postponenda, et usus, qui ueritati est contrarius, abolendus est.*³³

Waldensian translation (ll. 3–6):

Ciprian di una chascuna costuma husaa per cant qu’ilh sia ley velha totalment, es de dever remetere o pausar dereyre la verita, e l’usancza, la cal es contraria a la verita, es de ostar e de desprezziar.

Rather than stating that ‘any custom, however old, however popular’, the translation uses the phrase ‘any

custom used so long so that it is the old law totally'. The meaning is certainly the same, as usage over time implies a sense of popularity, but the wording is different. Could this difference be due to a misunderstanding of the term *uulgata* in this context? Additionally, *abolendus est* (to be abolished) is translated twice, likely for emphasis, *es de ostar e de desprecziar* (should be abandoned/abolished and despised).

As we can see from this example, there can be some changes in the Waldensian text. The passage quoted above contains an additional difference which might be more important. Indeed, the Latin text refers to Cyprian as Saint Cyprian (*B. Cipriani*) whereas the Waldensian text only contains his name—Ciprian—and omits the particle. The Waldensians rejected the cult of the saints,³⁴ particularly in later texts, and so it would be coherent that the particle be dropped.³⁵ In this case, the departure from the source text could potentially be theologically motivated.

In other parts, the Waldensian text departs more significantly from the Latin text, notably by omitting certain passages as can be seen from quotations below.

Decretum Gratiani (D.8 c.6):

*Qui contempta ueritate presumit consuetudinem sequi, aut circa fratres inuidus est et malignus, quibus ueritas reuelatur, aut circa Deum ingratus est, inspiratione cuius ecclesia eius instruitur.*³⁶

Waldensian translation (ll. 8–9):

Aquel local desprecza la verita presumis segre la costuma, o el es ingrato enapres lo Segnor [...].

In the example above, one can see that the structure *aut...*, *aut...* (either..., or...) is rendered incompletely in the Waldensian adaptation. Indeed, only the second element of the structure is kept: *o el es ingrato enapres lo Segnor*. As the conjunction *o* is used, it is likely that this omission is a mistake as the text is grammatically incomplete in Occitan. Additionally, the end of the Latin sentence is omitted, leaving it unfinished. This example is probably an unintentional deviation from the source due to either an error from the scribe writing this section of Du267 or due to a faulty source text.

The Waldensian adaptation contains other omissions, which alter the text more significantly. For instance, in D.8 c.6, Gratian gives the example of Peter, who, although circumcised (due to custom), yields to Paul, preaching the truth: *reuelatione ergo facta ueritatis cedat consuetudo ueritati, quia et Petrus, qui circumcidebat, cessit Paul ueritatem predicanti.*³⁷ The Occitan omits this passage entirely whilst translating the end of D.8 c.6. There is no material or linguistic element in our manuscript witness which would allow us to explain or guess the reason behind this omission. Was it intentional or not? Was this passage not understood or was it deemed irrelevant? It certainly alters the text, withholding a concrete example of how custom must yield to truth.

Tota costuma also expanded the Latin text by inserting quotations from other sources, notably from the Bible. The Waldensian version contains a quotation from the New Testament at the end of the text not present in Gratian's *Decretum*. Indeed the text quotes Matthew 15:13 (albeit it attributes the extract to Matthew 5)—*Mathio 5: Tota plant-*

acion la cal lo mio Payre celestial non plante sere aranca (ll. 18–19). Within the text, this quotation serves as a conclusion, summing up the main thesis of the text: that which God has not done will be undone, in other words the customs and laws of men are secondary to the truth given by God. It also presents a biblical parallel, both in terms of content and structure, to a borrowing from Ambrose, itself an addition to the *Decretum Gratiani*, as can be seen from the extract below—*Ambros: Totas cosas que Christ non ensegne son novas, car Christ es via de li fidel* (ll. 17–18). This biblical quotation constitutes an effort to complete, expand and adapt the canonical text.

This might be linked to the primacy of the biblical text in Waldensian thought.³⁸ The previously mentioned quotation from Ambrose also appears to be an addition as it is not present in the *Decretum Gratiani*. It is taken from *De Virginitate* 6, 28: [...] *Nos enim nova omnia quae Christus non docuit, iure damnamus; quia fidelibus via Christus est [...].* This highlights the fact that the Waldensians had a certain familiarity with patristic texts beyond what is present in the *Decretum Gratiani*.³⁹

A Second-Hand Access to the *Decretum*?

Since we have little information on the circulation of Gratian's text among the Waldensians and the genesis of *Tota costuma*, we cannot know for sure whether the scribe of Du267 amended the *Decretum Gratiani* on his own initiative or whether these emendations were present in the source he had in front of his eyes when copying this text.

This question is particularly interesting when analysing the additions made to the text such as the quotations. We know that the Waldensians had knowledge of the works of several important figures of Czech Reformation movements, including Jan Hus and Nicholas of Dresden.⁴⁰ Indeed, many of the texts in the Waldensian manuscripts known today contain translations of Hussite texts. For this reason, when working on unedited material from the Waldensian manuscripts, it can often be useful to compare them with writings by Hussite authors, as they could be potential sources.

Kateřina Voleková kindly brought to our attention several texts by Jan Hus in connection with this Waldensian translation of the *Decretum*. Of interest are the *De Sex Erroribus* and *Knížky o svatokupectví* (On Simony). In those two works, Hus uses parts of D.8 in discussions on customs in relation to simony, which he rejects.⁴¹ Additionally, Hus also uses D.8 in a sermon belonging to the *Leccionarium Bipartitum*.⁴² As we will see, his usage of D.8 presents some similarities with the Waldensian text, which we are presently editing. Below, we will briefly present the relevant passages from all three texts and compare them to the Occitan translation of the *Decretum Gratiani*.

De Sex Erroribus dates back to around 1412. The particularity of this text is that it was written on the walls of the Bethlehem Chapel where Hus was preaching.⁴³ Hus' text presents six 'errors' or 'heresies' of the Church, where each error has a dedicated chapter: *creare, credere, remittere, obedientia, excommunicatio, and symonia*.⁴⁴ In the Latin text, as Šmahel points out, each chapter contains only quotations from authorities and their purpose, that is to denounce the Church's heresies or sins, is stated only at the end of the text.⁴⁵ This text is also known through

a Czech translation, this version being more lengthy and containing also a commentary and explanations from Hus.⁴⁶ The passage that interests us comes from the chapter on simony. In it, Hus criticises the practice of simony, basing his argument on a range of sources, biblical, patristic or canon law.⁴⁷ In doing so, he also uses the *Decretum Gratiani* D.8 which he mentions explicitly:⁴⁸

Item Augustinus, et ponitur distincione viii, dicit: Frustra quidam, qui ratione vincuntur, nobis obiciunt consuetudinem, quasi consuetudo maior sit ueritate, aut non sit in spiritualibus sequendum, quod melius a Spiritu sancto reuelatum est.

Idem ibidem: Magis ueritatem quam consuetudinem sequi debemus, quia consuetudinem ratio et ueritas semper excludunt.

Ciprianus, gloriosus martir, in eadem distincione dicit: Consuetudo sine ueritate uetustas erroris est; propter quod relicto errore sequamur ueritatem.

Iterum: Neque hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed Dei ueritatem.

*Ambrosius libro ii De uideis: Nova omnia, que Cristus non docuit, iure dampnamus, quia fidelibus uia est Cristus.*⁴⁹

First, we can see that Hus explicitly quotes D.8 (*distincione viii and in eadem distincione*). This text is not a translation of a passage of the *Decretum*, but is rather a series of quotations, which do not follow the order of Gratian's text. Common to the Waldensian text are the second quotation from Augustine, as well as both from Cyprian. Additionally, and more importantly, Hus also refers to Ambrose in his text, quoting the same passage as the Occitan translation. The reference to Ambrose, as we have already mentioned, is not present in Gratian's text in D.8⁵⁰ and constitutes, thus, an innovation.

On Simony was written by Jan Hus between November 1412 and October 1413.⁵¹ The text, drawing largely on writings by John Wycliffe, is structured in ten chapters discussing a range of topics, starting with heresy and blasphemy and moving on to simony as practiced by different actors (bishops, parish priests or even lay people) and in different places such as at the papal court or in universities.⁵² In this work, Hus also refers to the *Decretum Gratiani* and uses parts of D.8. In the passage that interests us here custom and truth come into play in the sense that simony is denounced as a wrong custom. In doing so, it draws from Hus' previous text *De Sex Erroribus* and cites the *Decretum Gratiani* D.8 in nearly the same way.⁵³ The main differences seem to be the omission of the clear reference to Gratian's text as well as the addition of an analysis of some of the quotations.⁵⁴ *On Simony* borrows the same passages from D.8 as *De Sex Erroribus*, in the same order and it also includes the quotation from Ambrose. In the critical apparatus, the recourse to *De Sex Erroribus* is signalled by the editor.⁵⁵

There is a third text by Jan Hus which merits inclusion in this discussion, *Leccionarium bipartitum. Pars hiemalis* (also known as the *Postilla de tempore*). It is a collection of sermons probably dating to around 1406–1407.⁵⁶ In this work, Hus also references and quotes D.8 from the *Decretum Gratiani*. Unlike the two passages quoted above, he also includes a quotation from c.9, as can be seen from the following excerpt:

Et istud exemplar Cyprianus papa inspexit, qui dicit -

et ponitur in Decreto distincione 8: "Si solus Christus audiendus est, non debemus attendere, quid aliquis ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid, qui ante omnes est, Cristus prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed Dei ueritatem, cum per Ysa. loquatur Deus et dicat: "Sine causa colunte me, mandata et doctrinam hominum docentes." Et utinam nostri clerici istam regulam perpenderent, qui ueritate postposita consuetudini avaricie annuntunt! Contra quos inuehitur beatus Augustinus De baptismo puerorum - et ponitur distincione 7: "Unde dicit Dominus in ewangelio: 'Ergo sum ueritas,' non dicit: Ego sum consuetudo. Itaque ueritate manifestata cedat consuetudo. Reuelacione igitur facta ueritatis cedat consuetudo ueritati, quia et Petrus, qui circumcidebat, cessit Paulo ueritatem predicandi. Igitur cum Cristus ueritas sit, magis ueritatem, quam consuetudinem sequi debemus, quia consuetudinem ratio et ueritas semper excludit." Item: "Frustra quidam, qui ratione vincuntur, nobis obiciunt consuetudinem, quasi consuetudo maior sit ueritate, aut non sit in spiritualibus sequendum, quod melius a Spiritu sancto reuelatum est. Hoc plane uerum est, quia ratio et ueritas consuetudini preponenda est. Sed sit consuetudini ueritas suffragatur, nichil oportet firmiter retinere. Item Cyprianus - et ponitur eadem distincione: "Consuetudo sine ueritate uetustas erroris est, propter quod relicto errore sequamur ueritatem, scientes quia apud Esdras ueritas uincit, ut scriptum est: 'Veritas ualet et inualescit in eternum et uiuit et obtinet in secula seculorum.'"⁵⁷

As for Hus' other texts, the Gratian text is re-arranged in an entirely different fashion than the Waldensian translation. Additionally, unlike the Occitan text, it includes a full quotation of D.8 c.6, including the reference to Peter and Paul, and it also contains the entirety of c.9. Despite these differences, it is worth mentioning as a possible source or connection for the Waldensian text precisely because of its usage of c.9. Finally, we should bear in mind that D.8 seems to have been frequently referenced by Hus, appearing in several other texts, although these present less similarities with this Waldensian translation.⁵⁸

As the three texts by Jan Hus discussed above show, the *Decretum Gratiani* seems to have been a very popular text among authors related to the different Czech Reformation movements. Distinction 8 has also been used by Nicholas of Dresden, notably in his *Apologia*. Nicholas of Dresden, a contemporary of Hus, was a key figure in Czech Theology. His *Apologia* dates back to 1415 and is a response to rejection of the lay Chalice by the Council of Constance.⁵⁹ In this work, Nicholas also touches on the primacy of God's Truth over human laws, notably in relation to the Eucharist. In doing so, he cites the *Decretum Gratiani*, D.8 and in particular c.5 and c.6. In a very similar manner as the Waldensian text, as can be seen from the quotation below:

xviii. Gregorius: 'Si consuetudinem fortassis opponas, advertendum est, quod Dominus dicit: Ego sum ueritas et uita. Non dixit: Ego sum consuetudo, sed ueritas. Et certe, ut beati Cipriani sententia utamur, quelibet, consuetudo, quantumvis uetusta, quantumvis uulgata, ueritatis omnino est postponenda, et usus, qui ueritati est contrarius, est abolendus.' Dicit Augustinus: 'Qui contempta ueritate presumit consuetudinem sequi, aut circa fratres inuidus est et malignus, quibus ueritas reuelatur, aut circa Deum ingratus est, inspiracione cuius ecclesia eius instruitur. Itaque ueritate manifestata cedat consuetudo ueritati.

*Quia et Petrus, qui circumcidebat, cessit Paulo veritatem predicanti. Igitur cum Christus veritas sit, magis veritatem quam consuetudinem sequi debemus, quia consuetudinem ratio et veritas semper excludit. Plane quis dubitet veritatem manifestate consuetudinem cedere? Nemo consuetudinem rationi et veritati preponat. Hec VIII distincione, Qui contempta, Si consuetudinem, Veritate.*⁶⁰

Unlike Hus' works, the way the *Decretum Gratiani* has been quoted by Nicholas is closer to Gratian's text. Indeed, like the Waldensian text, it quotes the *Decretum* in the correct order (D.8 c.5 followed by D.8 c.6), and generally more precisely. For instance, c.6 is quoted in its entirety, including the passage on Peter and Paul. As can be seen from the extract above, there are also differences between the Waldensian text and the *Apologia*. For instance, Augustine's text is not referred to by title by Nicholas, which is the case in the *Decretum Gratiani* and in the Waldensian adaptation thereof. Moreover, the *Apologia* does not seem to quote parts of D.8 c.8–9. Finally, we should also note that Nicholas' text does not include a reference to Ambrose in relation to the Gratian text.

There is another type of text that might be of interest in a discussion of *Tota costuma*: the legal-theological dictionaries developed by John Wycliff and his followers, known under the titles *Rosarium* and *Floretum*. This body of texts, largely unedited, consists of entries on theological and legal concepts such as *lex* or *avaricia*, organised in the form of an alphabetical dictionary.

The text itself is built around quotations from many sources, amongst which biblical books, patristic texts and also, of interest to us here, canon law. These texts have a complex manuscript tradition as they were widely copied, circulated in both Latin and English and several versions exist. The *Rosarium* and the *Floretum* were also copied in Hussite Bohemia, where they were very popular.⁶¹ Considering their circulation in Bohemia and the influence of Wycliff's works on Hus, it is likely that such texts could have served as a writing aid or source for quotations to Hussite authors. As to whether the Waldensians themselves had direct access to such dictionaries, that remains to be explored.

The *Rosarium* and the *Floretum* are worth mentioning in relation to *Tota costuma* as they contain entries for several concepts relating to custom and truth: *consuetudo*, *lex*, etc.⁶² The chapter *Consuetudo* is particularly interesting as it refers to D.8 from the *Decretum Gratiani*, for instance excerpts from c.5 and c.6 (the quotations attributed to Gregory and Augustin). What is most interesting about *Consuetudo* is that it also refers to Ambrose's *De Virginitate* 6, 28, before quoting D.8 c.5 and c.6.⁶³ As we have seen, this reference is not present in Gratian's text, whereas it appears in the Waldensian translation as well as in Hus' works. So could it be that Hus and the Waldensian translator used directly—or indirectly—the *Rosarium*? Although a detailed comparison between these dictionaries and *Tota costuma* lies beyond the scope of this article (particularly given the limited accessibility of the *Rosarium* and *Floretum* due to the absence of critical editions) this line of inquiry deserves further investigation and could help address this question.

As the passages discussed above show, it is possible that the Waldensians had access to the *Decretum Gratiani* through Hussite sources. Nicholas of Dresden's *Apologia*

for instance might have been a work through which they knew D.8 c.5 and c.6, although they certainly had another source since Nicholas' fragment is not a close match. He was an expert in canon law, which he frequently used in his writings, and it is likely that c.7–9 were used in some of his other texts.⁶⁴ Considering that the Waldensians were familiar with other of his texts, such as *Puncta*,⁶⁵ it remains possible that the Waldensians had access to the *Decretum Gratiani*, at least in parts, through the *Apologia* or other texts by Nicholas of Dresden.

Hus' texts *De Sex Erroribus* and *On Simony* cannot be the main source of *Tota costuma* since the Waldensian text closely follows Gratian's text particularly at the beginning and includes passages from it not present in Hus' works. *De Sex Erroribus* and *On Simony*, however, pair quotations from D.8 with the same excerpt from Ambrose than the Waldensian text. Could it be that the Waldensians amended the *Decretum Gratiani* with the help of one or both of these two texts? We know that they had access and translated or adapted other writings by the Master such as his text on marriage,⁶⁶ excerpts from *De mandatis Dei et oracione dominica*,⁶⁷ or parts of *De Ecclesia*.⁶⁸ Therefore, this hypothesis should not be entirely discounted.

Alternatively, did Hus and the Waldensian translation use a common source in establishing their respective texts? For instance, did they have access to a compilation of some sorts in which the ambrosian quote was already present such as the *Rosarium*? We lack material proof for any such hypothesis, but this could be an interesting avenue for future research.

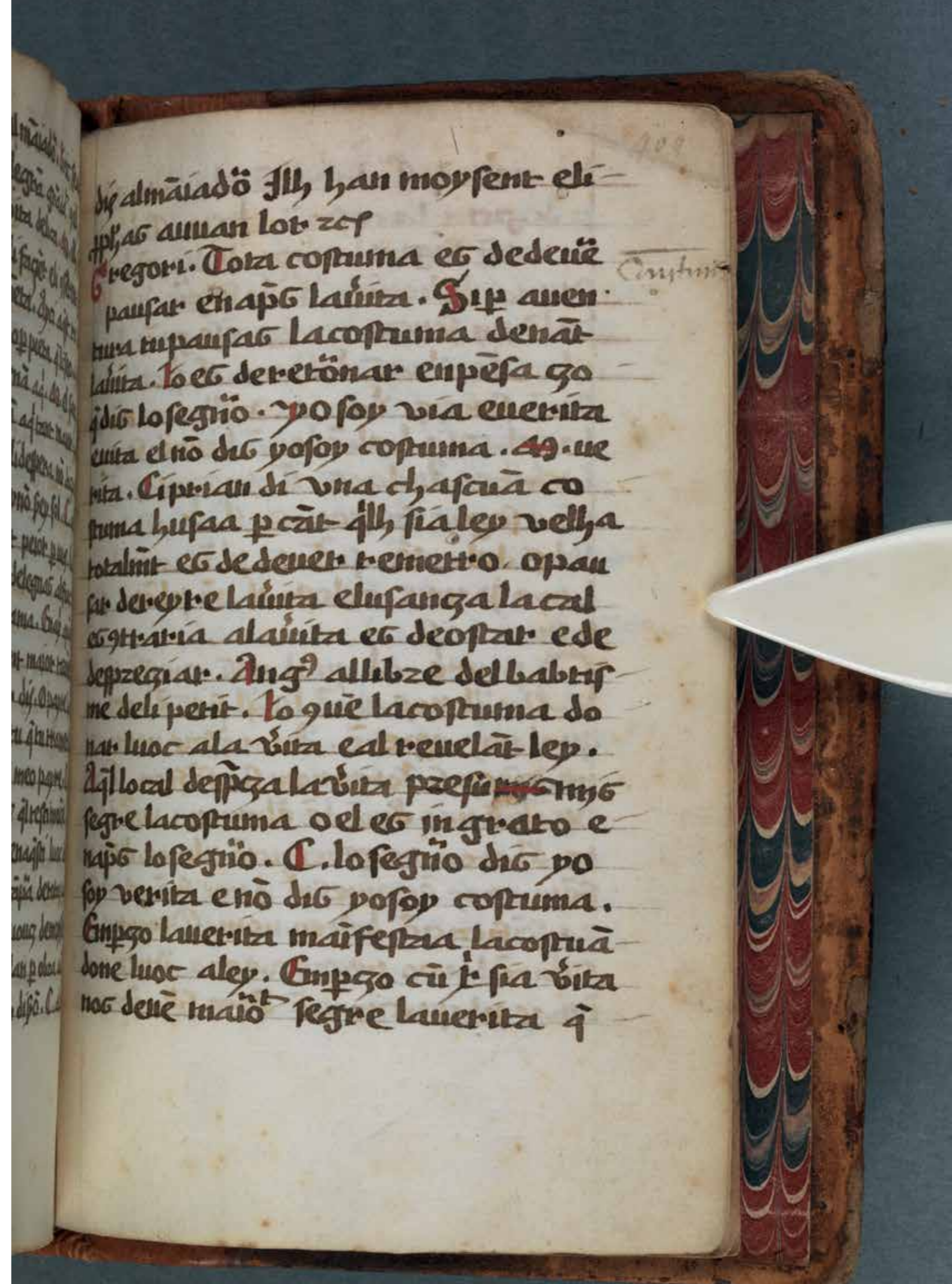
Conclusions

As this study has shown, despite the fragmentary nature of this text as well as its shortness, it is nonetheless interesting. It provides an insight into the kinds of texts to which the Waldensians had access around the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have seen that this fragment is included at the end of Du267 and that it was likely used as a filler.

Considering the date of composition of Du267, we know that the *Decretum Gratiani*, or at least some parts of it, as well as this translation were circulating in the Waldensian milieu around 1520. A precise date and context of composition, as is the case with much of the Waldensian literature, is yet to be determined.

Additionally, in the case of *Gregori: Tota costuma es de dever pausar enapre la verita* further research is needed to determine how the Waldensians had access to the *Decretum Gratiani*: was it direct or indirect? If indirect, through which sources? Considering the similarities between *Tota Costuma* and Hus' *De sex erroribus*, *On Simony*, and *Leccionarium bipartitum. Pars hiemalis* as well as Nicholas of Dresden's *Apologia*, it could be useful to look further into both Hussite texts, the *Rosarium* and *Floretum* as well as writings by John Wycliffe whose works were popular in Bohemia. Further research could help us shed some light on this issue, perhaps a study on the usage of D.8 from the *Decretum Gratiani* within a heretical or pre-reformed context.

► Fig. 1. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 267, f. 408r, licensed under CC-BY 4.0, The Board of Trinity College Dublin.



Principles of Edition

The present edition is based on Du267. We used the following principles of edition in order to provide a text as faithful as possible to the manuscript witness whilst facilitating the reader's understanding of it.

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PUNCTUATION. We kept the spelling of the manuscript with a few exceptions. Indeed, in order to facilitate the reading, we have differentiated *u* and *v* as well as *i* and *j*. We have also used modern conventions in dividing words and punctuating the text.

ABBREVIATIONS. All abbreviations were silently expanded in the text. Abbreviations are frequently used in Waldensian manuscripts whilst generally being uncontroversial and easy to understand.⁶⁹ A few symbols could benefit from further clarification:

The symbol **9** has been expanded *cum* or *cun*. It is to be noted that in the Waldensian manuscripts the forms *cun-*/*cum-* coexist with *con-*/*com-*, and as of yet, considering how many texts remain unedited, we cannot know for sure which form is dominant.⁷⁰

The abbreviation **Ang9** was expanded to *Augustin*. As Giraudo pointed out, when spelt out, the form is *Augustinus* or *Augustin*, never *Angustin*.⁷¹

The abbreviation **Ya** was expanded to *Ysaya*. There are two competing forms *Ysaya* and *Ysaia*, in the Waldensian manuscripts preserved in Dublin, the form *Ysaya* is often found, motivating thus our choice.

The abbreviation **Mt** was expanded to *Mathio*, following Giraudo's argument because in the Waldensian texts edited so far, it is the prevalent form.⁷²

EMENDATIONS. Considering that this fragment is transmitted by a single witness, we have seldom intervened. We have only amended the text where there were obvious scribal errors or where the meaning of the text is corrupt. All corrections and interventions have been signalled as such in footnotes to the text. Additions have been signalled by the usage of square brackets. Corrupted passages or grammatically incomplete sentences have been signalled by [...].

TRANSLATION. In order to facilitate the modern reader's understanding of the text, we included an English translation. We aimed at providing a translation as faithful as possible to the text in order to help the readers understand how the Occitan original works.

◀ Fig. 2. Dublin, Trinity College Library, ms 267, f. 408v, licensed under CC-BY 4.0, The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

OCCITAN TEXT

[fol. 408r] Gregori: "Tota costuma es de dever pausar enapres la verita. Si per aventura⁷³ tu pausas la costuma denant la verita, lo es de retornar en pensa czo que dis lo Segnor: 'Yo soy via e verita e vita.'⁷⁴ El non dis 'yo soy costuma', mas 'verita.' Ciprian⁷⁵ di: "Una chascuna costuma, husaa per cant qu'ill sia ley velha totalment, es de dever remetre⁷⁶ o pausar dereyre la verita, e l'usanza, la cal es cuntraria a la verita, es de ostar e de desprecziar."⁷⁷

Augustinus al libre del bapisme de li petit: "Lo cunven la costuma donar luoc a la verita e al revelant ley. Aquel local desprecza la verita presumis⁷⁸ segre la costuma, o el es ingrato⁷⁹ enapres lo Segnor [...].⁸⁰ Car lo Segnor dis 'yo soy verita' e non dis 'yo soy costuma.'⁸¹ Emperczo, la verita manifestaa, la costuma done luoc a ley. Emperczo cum Christ sia verita, nos deven majorment segre la verita que [fol. 408v] la costuma, car la raczon e la verita semper degieta la costuma."⁸²

Item, Ciprian: "la coven segre la verita de Dio, non la costuma de li ome. Ysaya: 'lo Segnor dis: Ilh colon mi senza cayson, ensegnant li comandament e las doctrinas de li ome.'⁸³

Ciprian: "La costuma senza verita es velha error. Per la cal cosa habandonan l'arror, segan la verita."⁸⁴ Ambros: "Totas cosas que Christ non ensegne son novas, car Christ es via de li fidel."⁸⁵ Mathio 5:⁸⁶ "Tota plantacion la cal lo mio Payre celestial non plante sere aranca, etc."⁸⁷

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Gregory: "Any custom must be placed after the truth. If you happen to place custom before truth, it is necessary to bring back to mind what the Lord said: 'I am the path and the life and the truth.' He did not say 'I am custom', but the truth. Cyprian says: 'Any custom used so long so that it is the old law completely, has to be put or placed after the truth, and the habit, which is against the truth, has to be abandoned and despised'."

Augustin, in the book on the baptism of the young: "It is necessary to give up custom for truth and for what has revealed it. He who, having despised the truth, presumes to follow custom, either he is ungrateful to the Lord [...]. For the Lord said 'I am the truth' and not 'I am the custom'. Therefore, [once] truth [is] revealed, custom yields to it. Therefore, since Christ is the truth, we must rather follow the truth than the custom, because reason and truth always exclude custom."

Similarly, Cyprian: "One must follow the truth of God, not the custom of men. Isaiah: 'The Lord said: These people worship me without reason, teaching the commandments and the doctrines of men'."

Cyprian: "Custom without truth is an old error. For which reason, let us abandon the error, let us follow the truth." Ambrose: "All the things that Christ did not teach are tales, because Christ is the path of the faithful." Matthew [1]5: "Every plant which my father has not planted, will be pulled up."

la costua. C. larago ela vita sem
p degieta la costua. Item. Ciprian
la coue segre la vita dedio no la co
stuma deliome. Y. lo segno dis Ilh
colo my senza cayson esegnat lico
elas doctnas deliome. Ciprian la co
stua senza vita es velha erro p
la cal cosa habadonā l'arror segan
la vita. Ambros. Totas cosas q' h
no esegre son novas. C. h es via
deli fidel. Math. 5. Tota plantacion la cal
lo mio payre celestial no plante sere
branca zcf

O pare al qual nos cressē nos
lo q' nos amē lo q' siet elicel al
qual nos esperē. Au aq'paz nostras
req'regab. loteo nom sia s'ifica. Coes
opare nos smādē elumena nos elau
ta slatoa regeneraciō plume d'fe es
fēma nos egomesey q' nos sia alaufor
ea s'ificaciō delteo nom. Opayre nos
cubirē loteo regne vegna d'rey ma
ieray plapicipaciō d'reo fill, q' tu pla



A Lost Mural Painting:

Đorđe Branković's Description of the Portraits of Lady Despina and Metropolitan Maksim at Bistrița Monastery

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RÉSUMÉ : La *Chronique serbe* de Đorđe Branković (1645-1711), une source moins connue des chercheurs roumains, contient une description du tableau votif du monastère de Bistrița en Vâlcea, fondé par les boyards Craiovescu et peinte en 1519 par une équipe dirigée par le peintre Dobromir. Branković a très probablement visité le monastère dans les années 1680 et a laissé une description oculaire du tableau votif du narthex de la grande église, qui a depuis disparu lors des restaurations de 1846-1848. Le tableau aurait représenté le métropolitain Maksim Branković et la princesse Despina Militza de Valachie, tenant dans ses bras l'un de ses enfants, dont le chroniqueur ne mentionne pas le nom. À côté se serait trouvée une représentation de la Théotokos tenant son Fils dans ses bras, le chroniqueur soulignant la similitude de posture entre l'image de Despina et celle de la Vierge. L'article analyse l'iconographie de la scène, qui évoque étroitement de l'icône de la *Pietà* commandée par Despina après la mort de Théodose: elle y tient le corps de son fils défunt et l'adore devant la Vierge Marie, laquelle soutient son propre Fils descendu de la croix. Les deux scènes semblent illustrer une idée complexe de théologie politique, suggérant le rôle clé joué par la maternité de Despina pour assurer un héritier du trône et un prince défenseur de l'orthodoxie, l'assimilant à celle de la Théotokos, qui donne naissance au Christ Empereur. L'article souligne également la fonction rhétorique de l'insertion de cette description dans l'œuvre de Branković, illustrant l'importance de l'image de Despina dans le discours historique et généalogique du chroniqueur serbe. Son mariage avec Neagoe Basarab était perçu par l'auteur serbe comme une restauration des anciennes relations dynastiques serbo-valaques établies au milieu du xiv^e siècle.

MOTS-CLÉS : Monastère de Bistrița-Vâlcea ; Despina Militza, princesse de Valachie ; métropolitain Maksim Branković ; la *Chronique serbe* de Đorđe Branković (1645-1711) ; dévotion mariale.

REZUMAT: *Cronica sârbească* a lui Đorđe Branković (1645-1711), o sursă mai puțin cunoscută cercetătorilor români, conține o descriere a tabloului votiv de la Mănăstirea Bistrița din Vâlcea, ctitorită de boierii Craiovești și pictată în 1519 de o echipă condusă de zugravul Dobromir. Branković a vizitat cel mai probabil mănăstirea în anii '80 ai secolului al XVII-lea și a lăsat o descriere oculară a tabloului votiv din pronaosul bisericii mari, între timp pierdut la refacerile din anii 1846-1848. Tabloul l-ar fi reprezentat pe mitropolitul Maksim Branković și pe doamna Despina Milița a Țării Românești, ținându-și în brațe unul dintre copii, al cărui nume cronicarul nu îl menționează. Lângă aceasta s-ar fi aflat o reprezentare a Maicii Domnului ținându-l pe Fiul ei în brațe, iar cronicarul subliniază în mod special similaritatea de postură dintre imaginea Despinei și cea a Fecioarei. Articolul analizează iconografia scenei, care amintește îndeaproape de icoana *Pietà* comandată de Despina după moartea lui Teodosie, în care aceasta ține în brațe trupul fiului decedat, închinându-l Maicii Domnului, care îl susține pe propriul ei Fiu coborât de pe cruce. Cele două scene par să ilustreze o idee complexă de teologie politică, sugerând rolul-cheie jucat de maternitatea Despinei în asigurarea unui moștenitor la tron și viitor domn apărător al Ortodoxiei, asimilând-o cu cea a Maicii Domnului, care a dat naștere Împăratului Hristos. Totodată, articolul subliniază funcția retorică a inserării acestei descrieri în cadrul lucrării lui Branković, evidențiind semnificația imaginii Despinei în cadrul discursului istoric și genealogic al cronicarului. Căsătoria acesteia cu Neagoe Basarab era privită de autorul sârb ca o refacere a vechilor relații dinastice sârbo-muntene înfiripate la mijlocul secolului al XIV-lea.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: Mănăstirea Bistrița-Vâlcea; Despina Milița, doamna Țării Românești; mitropolitul Maksim Branković; *Cronica sârbească* a lui Đorđe Branković (1645-1711); cultul Fecioarei Maria.

◀ Fig. 1. Knez Lazar Hrebeljanović, fresco fragment from the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God at Curtea de Argeș Monastery, Archbishopric of Argeș and Muscel, inv. 98.

Source: Cernea, Pătrășcanu 2019, p. 75, cat. 2.

The aim of this article is to discuss a lesser-known historical description of two mural paintings from the Wallachian monasteries of Bistrița and Curtea de Argeș, included by the Serbian author Đorđe Branković (1645-1711) in his magnum opus, the *Serbian Chronicle (Hronike slavenos-rpske, c.1693-1705)*. Throughout his chronicle, Branković provides brief descriptions of several Orthodox churches across Southeastern Europe.¹ Among the Wallachian monuments, he primarily draws attention to the monasteries of Bistrița and Curtea de Argeș but also mentions Dealu Monastery in Târgoviște.² The author describes the now-lost portraits of Metropolitan Maksim Branković and Lady Despina Milica, wife of Voivode Neagoe Basarab, which were located, according to his account, on the northern wall of the main church in Bistrița. In the same volume, Branković also offers an visual description of the portrait of Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović at Curtea de Argeș. These paintings are mentioned within the broader context of Neagoe Basarab's reign (1512-1521), which Branković attempts to reconstruct based on a combination of Wallachian and Serbian sources.

Branković's main work, commonly referred to as the Serbian Chronicle, is a universal history in five books, totaling approximately 1300 leaves.³ The chronicle is a testimony to Branković's desire to contribute a comprehensive and universal history to Serbian historiography, encompassing the most significant events from the Old Testament era to the author's own time. Branković built a historical discourse in support of his political project of creating a Serbian-led Balkan state, an idea he had proposed to Emperor Leopold I in 1688, in the context of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict.⁴ As a self-proclaimed descendant of the medieval Branković dynasty, his chronicle shaped the idea of a golden age in the history of the Serbs, prior to the Ottoman conquest, serving as the historical basis for the first political program of the Serbs in the Habsburg monarchy.⁵ Apart from the history of the Serbs, the chronicle contains extensive accounts of the history of the neighboring areas, including Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, Byzantium, Russia, Poland and the German lands. These details served to contextualize Serbian history and to underline the political and genealogical ties of the Serbian rulers with other prestigious dynasties.

Branković's descriptions of the mural paintings at Bistrița and Curtea de Argeș came to scholarly attention in 1911, when they were mentioned by the Serbian historian Jovan Radonić in his well-known monograph dedicated to Branković's life.⁶ After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain information from his contacts in Bucharest about Maksim and Despina's portraits at Bistrița, Radonić assumed that the monastery described in the chronicle must have been the eponymous Bistrița in Neamț, not the one in Oltenia.⁷ Radonić was known for his connections with several scholars in the Romanian Academy, but it remains unclear whom he consulted regarding the painting at Bistrița.⁸ Nonetheless, even though Branković's descriptions were also noted by Branka Pavić-Basta⁹ and Jelka Ređep,¹⁰ they remained virtually unnoticed by Romanian scholarship.¹¹

The chronicler travelled to Wallachia several times throughout the 1660s and 1670s, when he served Prince Mihály Apafi of Transylvania as a Turkish interpreter

and diplomatic envoy to the Porte.¹² However, his longest stay in Wallachia took place during the 1680s, when he was forced to leave Transylvania following the arrest of his brother, Metropolitan Sava Branković. The chronicle describes Branković's journey to Wallachia in the fifth book, where he explains that Sava advised him to seek help from the Cantacuzino family.¹³ Branković describes his itinerary, saying that he left his home in Vințu de Jos (Alvinc) with his nephew Jovan, several servants, and a knowledgeable guide who was familiar with the paths to Wallachia. They travelled through Hațeg, crossed the mountains into Wallachia through the Vulcan Pass and arrived in Craiova, at the residence of Radu Năsturel, the ban of Oltenia. A few days later, Branković continued his journey towards Bucharest, reaching the court of Șerban Cantacuzino, where he spent most of the 1680s. It was probably during this period that he visited the Wallachian churches he would later describe in his chronicle.

The painting from Bistrița is a portrait of Despina, wife of Neagoe Basarab, which depicted her in the proximity of the Virgin Mary and Maksim Branković. Branković recounts the image in a fictitious description of Neagoe Basarab's wedding. The Serbian author claims that the painting was commissioned to honor Maksim's role as Despina's adoptive father, since she had been orphaned at a young age.¹⁴ The chronicler states that Despina was the daughter of Lazar I Branković, an idea long rejected by modern historians,¹⁵ who typically consider that she was the daughter of Jovan Branković.¹⁶ The passage emphasizes the postural similarity between Despina and the Virgin Mary, suggesting that the original portrait depicted Despina holding one of her children in her arms, after the likeness of the Mother of God holding Christ to her chest. However, the name of the child is not mentioned in the text, and the direct object of the participle which refers to Despina (Држешицею) is missing. The omission could stem from the fact that the text of the chronicle, preserved in its original manuscript in the Library of the Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade (no. 90), is incomplete. Since Branković was still working on the text, the manuscript contains many handwritten corrections and additions made by the author, while some phrases were left unpolished. Branković situates the portrait on the western wall of the narthex of the church, to the north, but also admits to being unsure when the church was built as a whole.

Despina was orphaned in her early childhood and, from her infancy until her marriage, she had been raised by her cousin, Metropolitan Maksim. For this reason, the figure of Metropolitan Maksim Branković was represented through a painted icon in the holy monastery of the church of Bistrița, together with his cousin Despina, holding <...> to her chest,¹⁷ after the likeness of Our Immaculate Lady, the God-bearer Mary, as she holds her most beloved son, Our Savior and Redeemer, Jesus Christ. And in this form, his icon was placed in the above-mentioned church of the Bistrița Monastery, close to the doors that stand in the middle of the church, and whoever wishes to see it can spot it on the stone wall, on the left side when entering the church, or on the right side when exiting the

church. However, it is not sufficiently known to us whether that Bistrița Monastery was founded back then, or later, or even before that time, so we leave it to those who know better to write about this. The above-mentioned Despina, as written before, was named Milica at her baptism, later Despina. She was the daughter of Metropolitan Maksim's late uncle, Lazar I Branković, the grand knez and autocratic Sloveno-Serbian despot of the Sloveno-Illyrian principality.¹⁸

The second Wallachian painting referred to in the chronicle is the portrait of Lazar Hrebeljanović and his family from Curtea de Argeș, which – unlike the frescoes at Bistrița – has survived (albeit fragmentarily) to this day.¹⁹ (Fig. 1) As in the case of Bistrița, Branković attempts to provide a brief historical background to explain how Lazar's portrait was painted in Argeș. He claims that the church itself was built by Neagoe Basarab on advice of Maksim and Despina, after the model of the Serbian monasteries at Studenica, Dečani, and Mileševa, using masons and marble stone brought from Serbia. Finally, he also brings into discussion the Dealu Monastery in Târgoviște, stating that it was similarly built at Maksim's suggestion. Here, Branković uses the term "Slavo-Wallachian" or "Sloveno-Wallachian" (СЛОВЕНОВАЛАХИНСКИ) to refer to the Romanian language. This term was rooted in his views about the origins of the Romanian people and their long-term cohabitation with Slavic populations.²⁰

And with blessings from the Monastery of Bistrița, voivode Neagoe Basarab returned toward his capital town and place, named Argeș, which was a fitting place for a holy monastery to be built alongside it. Voivode Neagoe Basarab was urged by his father-in-law, Metropolitan Maksim, and by his own wife, Despina, saying that he should erect a beautiful monastery there, after the example of the old Serbian kings and despots. And thus, assisting with beautiful zeal and following the word of the above-mentioned metropolitan, his father-in-law, voivode Neagoe sent his kind envoys with a benevolent order to the region of Serbia, toward the parts near the sea, from where they were to find and bring not only marble stone, but also capable people who were renowned for their artistry. As the envoys completed their mission, they saw the most beautiful Serbian monasteries, with the most beautiful artistry possible, especially at Studenica, Dečani, Mileševa, and in other places. Amazed by this wondrous sight, he built a similar foundation, and this holy monastery was named Argeș, after the name of that town and the river which runs through it.

In that same monastic church, for its embellishment with holy icons, Metropolitan Maksim Branković wished, with the welcoming consensus of his son-in-law, the aforementioned voivode Neagoe Basarab, that an icon image be placed of his holy and revered old ancestor, Lazar Hrebeljanović, the late tsar and grand knez of the sovereign Serbian principality and of the entire Eastern Illyricum. [...] Likewise, he wished for a saintly monastery to be

built in the market town named Târgoviște, where there was a steep hill; thus, that holy monastery was named "Holmogorni Monastir" in our Slavonic language, which is to say "Mănăstire din Deal" in the Slavo-Wallachian language.²¹

Both passages emphasise Neagoe's church patronage, which the author fictitiously attributes to the influence of Despina and Maksim, the latter acting in his capacity as the Metropolitan of Wallachia. It is especially notable that Branković attempts to create narrative contexts to explain the origin of each artwork he mentions. An entire story is created around the portrait of Maksim and Despina, claiming that it was executed to commemorate Neagoe's wedding, which Maksim had allegedly officiated at the Bistrița Monastery.²² Since Branković was especially interested in the Serbian-Wallachian dynastic relations, he focuses on the paintings that supported his historical narrative, and he only mentions those images that depicted the Serbian figures related to the Basarabs.²³ In the author's view, these representations served as further testimony to his own kinship ties to the Brâncoveanu and Cantacuzino boyars in Wallachia, who claimed their descent from Neagoe Basarab. Overall, Branković's emphasis on these aspects reflects the relevance of Wallachian history as a supportive argument for both his political project and the broader context of the Serbian political program within the Habsburg monarchy.

The church of Bistrița Monastery, situated on the river Bistrița, at the foot of the Căpățâni Mountains, was erected by the Craiovescu brothers sometime around 1491-1492,²⁴ definitely before March 16, 1494.²⁵ It no longer preserves its original form. According to the *Life of St. Niphon II, Patriarch of Constantinople*, written by Gabriel the Protos of Mount Athos around 1517-1520, the monastery was "scattered from the very foundations", to the point that even its trees were uprooted at the order of Voivode Mihnea the Wicked (*Mihnea cel Rău*, r. 1508-1509), who came into a power conflict with the Craiovescu boyars.²⁶ The conflict started after September 10, 1508, since at that time Mihnea had issued a charter confirming the properties of the Bistrița Monastery.²⁷ The comment seems to refer to a temporary abandonment of the monastery following the damage to its precinct – the walls surrounding the cells and gardens,²⁸ and the cemetery chapel outside the walls, dedicated to the Holy Apostles.²⁹ Upon ascending to the throne, Neagoe Basarab promptly affirmed the land property modifications made by Barbu Craiovescu to the monks of Bistrița,³⁰ and the main church received a set of two despotic icons dated 7020 (1511-1522),³¹ which indicate that the church either remained intact or was already restored. On August 4, 1514, Neagoe went to Bistrița in person to donate a ring and a precious brocade cloth for the relics of St. Gregory of Decapolis,³² which again testifies that at least part of the monastic compound was functional. Some additions were undertaken after the voivode finished his main foundation, the monastery church of Curtea de Argeș, as suggested by the existence of an inscription bearing the year 7025 (1516-1517) and the initials of Barbu Craiovescu, inscribed on a nineteenth-century stone candle holder.³³

Initially, it does not seem that the church was frescoed. The mural paintings were completed by the Craiovescu



▲ Fig. 2. Bistrița Monastery, drawing by Dionisie the Ecclesiarch in the registry book of the monastery, 1795.
Source: Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale – București, Colecția de manuscrise, nr. 193, f. 1r.
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▶ Fig. 3. Bistrița Monastery and Abbot Nectarie presenting the monastery's registry book to Saint Gregory of Decapolis. Drawing by Manea the painter, 1795.
Source: Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale – București, Colecția de manuscrise, nr. 192, f. 6v.
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brothers on October 1, 1519.³⁴ An infirmary and funerary chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas or, according to other sources, to the Transfiguration (which replaced the destroyed one dedicated to the Holy Apostles), was added by Barbu Craiovescu to the monastic complex and painted around 1520.³⁵ The main church, along with other buildings in the precinct, was demolished between 1846-1848 by Viennese architects Johann Schlatter, Karl Benisch, and Julius Freywald, and replaced with a Neo-Romanesque (*Rundbogenstil*) monastic complex completed in 1855.³⁶ From the original monastic ensemble, only the fully frescoed cemetery chapel still exists.

From the perspective of art history, there are three aspects of Branković's description of Bistrița which warrant closer attention. The first significant detail is the indication that the fresco was painted on the stone wall of the church (НА СТЕНУ КАМЕННАГО ЗИДА). In a study published over 20 years ago, Tereza Sinigalia hypothesized that the original monastery church was made of ashlar stone blocks.³⁷ Branković's description provides additional confirmation for this hypothesis, which Sinigalia had originally proposed based on three colored drawings of the church made by Dionisie the Ecclesiarch and his assistants in the registry books (*condici*) of the Bistrița Monastery, compiled between 1795 and 1804 (Figs 2-4).³⁸ They depict the church at Bistrița as a triconch structure built from ashlar blocks, with two domes – one above the nave and the other above the narthex – ending in an arcaded porch supported by columns on the west side. Comparing this representation with other depictions of Wallachian churches in Dionisie's illustrated codices, such as Radu Vodă, Cotroceni, Lady's Church (Biserica Doamnei) in Bucharest, Obedeau in Craiova, Govora, and Sadova, and considering their similarities to the actual appearance of those churches, it is increasingly evident that his illustrations exhibit a significant level of attention to details.³⁹

Other drawings analyzed by Sinigalia are those executed in 1731 by Austrian engineer Johann Weiss. One drawing, depicting the plan of the monastery, provides the most precise visual information about the church. It shows the plan of the church as a triconch with a wide narthex, mirroring the width of the lateral apses of the nave. The notable length of the narthex results from Weiss not delineating the narthex from the open porch in the working drawing, treating them as a single unit instead. Considering this, it can be concluded that the church's plan resembled that of the Monastery Church of Curtea de Argeș – a domed triconch with a domed wide narthex – and can be regarded as a precursor to it.⁴⁰ The dome above the narthex must have relied on a peristyle of free-standing columns, analogous to the narthex central dome at Curtea de Argeș. Four Gothic-type octagonal columns of dressed stone that support the arches of the nineteenth-century bell-tower leading to the cemetery chapel could in fact be repurposed columns from the narthex of the old church, according

◀ Fig. 4. Bistrița Monastery and Abbot Costandie presenting the monastery's registry book to Saint Gregory of Decapolis. Drawing by Dionisie the Ecclesiarch, 1796.

Source: Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale – București, Colecția de manuscrise, nr. 194, f. 2r.

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▲ Fig. 5. The Gothic stone columns, purported to originate from the old church of the Bistrița Monastery. In the background, the current church, constructed between 1846 and 1855.

Source: Wikimedia Commons.

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to Horia Moldovan's highly plausible hypothesis (Fig. 5).⁴¹ They are reminiscent in proportions, sections and plinth profiles to the ones in the narthex of Curtea de Argeș Monastery church, which also combine elements of Gothic with Ottoman structures.

Tereza Sinigalia convincingly integrated the Bistrița Monastery into the series of Wallachian stone churches of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, alongside the monasteries at Dealu-Târgoviște (1499-1501) and Curtea de Argeș (1512-1518). These were built in the ashlar technique, which consisted of precisely cut, uniform blocks of stone laid in horizontal courses with minimal, tight mortar joints, creating a smooth surface. The ashlar technique had been used in Wallachia since the fourteenth century, as demonstrated by the Princely Church at Câmpulung, built of stone blocks before the mid-fourteenth century to serve as court chapel of the first rulers of the Wallachian state.⁴² Similarly, the former Metropolitan Cathedral of Curtea de Argeș was built of sculpted stone during the second half of the fourteenth century or in the early decades of the fifteenth century.⁴³ The origins of the craftsmen who introduced this construction technique in Wallachia are unclear. However, it

is generally believed that they came from Transylvanian Gothic workshops introduced in the area by Catholic communities. The late fifteenth century however, represents a new phase in Wallachian stone architecture, with the introduction of Ottoman stone cutting and building techniques such as segmental portals and octagonal domes set on “Turkish triangles” – at Radu the Great’s Dealu Monastery and the reconstruction phase of Tismana Monastery, and at Neagoe Basarab’s Curtea de Argeș Monastery.⁴⁴ Bistrița showed planimetric similarities with Curtea de Argeș Monastery church, as well as an octagonal dome over the naos, very similar to the Argeș monument.

In 1861, Alexandru Obodescu saw fragments of an older stone portal that had been left over from the reconstruction of Bistrița, as did Grigore Tocilescu in 1887. Swiss painter Henric Trenk made a drawing of the portal frame as a polylobate arch with doorposts covered in interlaces reminiscent of the sculptures of Curtea de Argeș Monastery. The Bistrița portal bore the signature of its sculptor, in the Romanian language: *Manea meșter* (“Manea the master”).⁴⁵ From it, only the dedicatory inscription above the arch, dated 1683, still survives, with its polylobed form showing the same decorations as Trenk’s drawing.⁴⁶ The portal dates from the restorations undertaken by Constantin Brâncoveanu, when an open porch was also added to the church and painted with frescoes.⁴⁷ Although dated to the year 1683, the portal frame displays uniform and repetitive vegetal interlace patterns that were typical of the fifteenth to early sixteenth century, as displayed by wooden sculptures and printed books.⁴⁸ These elements likely evoked aspects of the church’s initial stone ornaments, thereby suggesting a visual harmony and symbolic continuity with its original decorative programs.⁴⁹ Thus, at the time when Branković visited Wallachia, restoration work was being undertaken at Bistrița Monastery. Constantin Brâncoveanu, grand spatharios at the time (and later voivode of Wallachia from 1688 to 1714), claimed descent from Neagoe Basarab’s lineage through the Craiovescu boyars, which motivated him to undertake the restoration of their foundation.⁵⁰

The Bistrița church, which does not appear to have been large in size, had undergone various additions over time, none of which were seamlessly integrated with the rest of the church body, thereby becoming fragile. This was the assessment of its abbot at the time when the structures were demolished.⁵¹ The differing construction techniques of the church’s added parts are evident in Dionisie’s codices drawings, which depict the church built from dressed blocks, while its porch is shown as plastered.

The second point of interest in the chronicle passage is the presence of Maksim Branković, depicted in the immediate vicinity of Despina, on the western wall of the narthex, north of the entrance door. Branković’s account becomes somewhat ambiguous at this point due to the choice of words and the way he structured his description. Specifically, the term *вмѣстити*, “to place” used to describe how the depiction was created, along with the term for the type of representation itself (*вѣрѣз* and *икона*, which could mean “face,” “image” or “icon”) add to the confusion. At first, it appears rather unclear

whether Branković describes a fresco or a panel painting: “the figure of Metropolitan Maksim Branković was represented through a *painted icon*; “his icon was placed (*вмѣстити* *вѣрѣз*) in the above-mentioned church of the Bistrița Monastery”. Branković uses the term *вѣрѣз* for the portrait and *икона* for the scene or image as a whole, yet he also uses the term *икона* when describing, in a manner very similar to the Bistrița paintings, the fresco portrait of Lazar Hrebeljanović at Curtea de Argeș: “Maksim Branković wished [...] that an icon image (*вѣрѣз* *икони*) be placed of his holy and revered old ancestor, Lazar Hrebeljanović”. In the case of Lazar, the reference is to a canonized ruler, so the use of the term icon was justified in this sense. In both cases, however, the chronicler seems to use the term *икона* in the same way, not to denote a movable panel or object, but a fresco similar to those found in churches.

The *Life of Saint Maksim* written at Krušedol around 1523 states that Maksim Branković was elected Metropolitan of Wallachia after he mediated the peace between Radu the Great of Wallachia (*Radu cel Mare*, r. 1495-1508) and Bogdan the Blind of Moldavia (*Bogdan cel Orb*, r. 1504-1517), at the end of October or the beginning of November 1507, thus preventing the escalation of an armed conflict between the two states.⁵² Another contemporary hagiography places the moment of his election as archbishop and metropolitan of Wallachia as preceding the mediation between the two rulers.⁵³ Drawing upon the Moldavian chronicle of Bishop Macarie of Roman (written c.1527-1551) and two marginal notes made on an *Apostle* copied in 1513 in Slankamen (Srem region) which mention Maksim as Metropolitan of Belgrade, Liviu Pilat argued instead that Maksim was never elected Metropolitan of Wallachia but was consecrated in Moldavia at the end of 1507 or the beginning of 1508 as Metropolitan of Belgrade and Srem.⁵⁴ However, it is worth mentioning that a certain Metropolitan Maksim is mentioned as a witness in a document issued by Voivode Mihnea the Wicked on September 10, 1508 in favor of the Bistrița Monastery, where he signs as metropolitan, without his diocese being indicated.⁵⁵ There are additional instances where the metropolitans of Wallachia are attested only by title, without specifying the diocese, particularly when they are cited as witnesses in the execution of certain internal documents.⁵⁶ The fact that Maksim signed as the first witness on a Wallachian document issued in Bucharest indicates that he was present there at the time, ten months after the Moldavian event. Maksim likely left Wallachia during the reign of Mihnea the Wicked, sometime between September 10 and November 10, 1508 – the date of the first printed book issued in the capital town of Târgoviște, the *Book of Liturgies*, which does not name any metropolitan in the colophon. None of the books printed between November 10, 1510 and June 25, 1512 – the *Liturgies*, the *Evangelary*, and the *Octoechos* – discloses his name or the name of another Wallachian metropolitan, suggesting that the see was vacant at that point.⁵⁷ This absence concurs with the hagiographical narratives, according to which Maksim left Wallachia under Mihnea’s rule and settled in Srem, on Fruška Gora, where he built the monastery of Krušedol in 1509-1512.⁵⁸ In 1513, the marginal notes made on the Slankamen *Apostle* attest him as Metropolitan of Belgrade.

Although it remains a matter of historical debate whether Maksim ever served as the formal leader of the Wallachian Church, we believe that the quality in which he was depicted in the votive painting at Bistrița was primarily his personal relation to Lady Despina, as one of her close relatives, rather than his position of (defunct) Metropolitan of Wallachia and/or Belgrade. Most likely, the portrait of Maksim was finished at the same time as the rest of the wall paintings in Bistrița, which were completed on October 1, 1519, as recorded by the inscription that mentions the Craiovescu brothers (as donors) and painters Dobromir, Dumitru, and Chirtop.⁵⁹ Neither Neagoe nor Despina are recorded as donors of the paintings, but they may have been involved in the restoration of the monastery. The inscription no longer survives today, being lost together with the whole edifice during the reconstruction of 1846-1848. It was published by N. Iorga in the early twentieth century, based on documentation from 1846 regarding the restoration of the monument.⁶⁰ At the time when the paintings in Bistrița were finished, Maksim was already deceased but had not yet been canonized. The event would only occur around 1523, seven years after his death in 1516.⁶¹ For this reason, we argue that the portrait of Maksim at Bistrița was more likely a funerary image commissioned by the Craiovescu boyars, likely in collaboration with Neagoe and Despina, to honor the memory of the deceased Branković despot and metropolitan, the relative of Lady Despina, and to associate their image with him, as in-laws of the Branković family. Interestingly, Đorđe Branković does not mention Neagoe being portrayed alongside Despina. This arrangement would not have been unusual for sixteenth-century Wallachian church paintings, where women were typically depicted to the north, accompanied by their children, while their husbands would appear on the south side. At Cozia Monastery’s infirmary church (1543), Roxanda, Despina’s daughter, is displayed to the north of the naos door, while her husband, Voivode Radu Paisie, is depicted to the south. Similarly, Lady Chiajna, Jelena Branković’s daughter and Despina’s step-niece, is portrayed in the Snagov Monastery church (1563) to the north of the naos door together with her sons, with her husband Voivode Mircea the Shepherd (*Mircea Ciobanul*) to the south.⁶² However, we note a further point of similarity between Bistrița and Curtea de Argeș: votive portraits were placed in the narthex and not in the naos.

The quality of the paintings in the monastery church of Bistrița must have been significant. The murals of the Transfiguration infirmary church⁶³ and the icons that still exist – the icon of Saint Luke from the church’s original templon, dating to the end of the fifteenth century,⁶⁴ and two sets of despotic icons, one probably from the late fifteenth century and the other donated in 1511-1512⁶⁵ – testify to the high artistic level of the painters who decorated the monastery of the Craiovescu family. The delay in completing its murals could have been justified by financial constraints or the execution of the mural paintings at Dealu Monastery.⁶⁶ One might also mention Despina’s commissioning of the icons for the iconostasis in Maksim Branković’s Krušedol Monastery, as well as the execution of several icons and paintings for Curtea de Argeș Monastery.⁶⁷ All of these were executed by skilled Wallachian artists, who were expected to work

on princely commissions first, then turn to those of the boyars. In 1526, painter Dobromir, the head of the Bistrița team, would eventually complete the fresco paintings at Curtea de Argeș, a mural ensemble that largely disappeared during the 1882 restorations and of which only 37 detached fragments survive today. They display a high-quality post-Palaiologan style, influenced by contemporaneous Cretan artists.⁶⁸

Chronologically, Maksim’s portrait at Bistrița can be considered the first among a series of icons and frescoes sponsored by Despina which include artistic representations of Serbian saints or her Serbian ancestors. One of the best-known examples is the icon she commissioned in 1522 for her private use, in which she asked to be represented at the feet of Saints Simeon Nemanja and Sava Nemanjić, together with her two daughters, Stana and Roxanda (Fig. 6). The icon was painted after the death of Neagoe and their eldest son Theodosie. It initially belonged to Despina while she resided in exile in Sibiu (Transylvania) before being moved to Ostrov Hermitage in Wallachia, where she may have taken monastic vows in her later years, under the name of Platonida.⁶⁹ A second example are the portraits of Prince Lazar and Princess Milica at Curtea de Argeș, which were placed next to the group portrait of Neagoe, Despina, and their children. As shown by the mural sketches made by restorer André Lecomte de Noüy in 1882, Saints Simeon and Sava were also depicted opposite the Serbian couple, on the northern wall of the church.⁷⁰ Work on these mural paintings began under Neagoe Basarab and was continued in 1526 by his son-in-law, Radu of Afumați, with Despina’s support.⁷¹ Lady Despina was involved in the commissioning of Maksim’s portrait at Bistrița in the same way that she contributed Serbian figures to the Argeș’s artistic program. The third aspect that deserves attention is the portrayal of Despina’s motherhood in the Bistrița portrait in comparison to her other known portraits. Although Branković does not mention the name of the child, Despina was likely holding one of her living sons: either Theodosie, who was about 14 years old in 1519 and already recognized as co-ruler by his father since 1517,⁷² or Petru, whom Neagoe had entrusted with a scepter and diadem.⁷³ Another possibility is that the representation was a funerary depiction of her youngest son Ioan, who had died one year before, in 1518.⁷⁴ If we admit the identification of the child with Ioan, then the whole composition, also featuring the defunct Maksim, would have had a funerary and commemorative function, performed by Despina. One cannot help but notice the similarity between Despina’s portrayal at Bistrița, cradling one of her sons “after the likeness of Our Immaculate Lady, the God-bearer Mary”, and the *Pietà – Descent from the Cross* icon that she commissioned following Theodosie’s death in early 1522, after he had recently been proclaimed, as a minor, the ruler of Wallachia under the regency of his mother and his uncle Preda Craiovescu. The icon of Sts. Simeon and Sava and the *Pietà* were likely made at the same time and by the same workshop. In the icon, Despina holds the deceased son in her arms, presenting him to the Virgin Mary, who similarly cradles Her Son, descended from the Cross (Fig. 7). The prayer inscribed above Despina’s portrayal is formulated in first person and invokes the Mother of God as supreme Intercessor.⁷⁵



In both fresco and icon, Despina exhibits an evident tendency to draw emotional parallels between her motherhood, the suffering of her family and herself, the motherhood of the Virgin Mary and the suffering of Christ. An interesting connection may be drawn between Despina's imagery and Neagoe's funerary discourse commemorating the death of his mother Neaga, a source which similarly underlines the importance of Neaga's maternal role in order to reinforce Neagoe's own legitimacy to the throne.⁷⁶ The discourse draws a parallel between his mother's suffering, Neagoe's providential birth as future ruler, and the maternal role of the Virgin Mary, who gave birth to Christ.⁷⁷ Moreover, Neagoe formulates a prayer to the icon of Christ the Stabbed, a Byzantine mosaic icon he had brought from Constantinople. In the oration, Theodosie is urged by his father to place the royal symbols of his deceased brother, Petru, on Christ's and the Mother of God's icons, thereby reinforcing the idea that sovereignty is a divine gift conferred by God, while also establishing a link between the family's shared sorrows and the human suffering of Christ.⁷⁸

The two depictions of Despina – one in fresco and another in an icon – were most likely executed by the same artist, Dobromir, working under the patronage of the lady and aided by his knowledge of Veneto-Cretan painting, a style well-known to Argeș painters.⁷⁹ The images appear to illustrate the same emotional intensity and performative dimension⁸⁰ that Neagoe adopted when he referred to his mother and children in the funerary discourse dedicated to Neaga. The performative dimension of speech and images, in this case, can be seen along the lines of John Langshaw Austin's theory of speech acts, which argues that language is used to perform actions, not just to describe things. In this case, Neagoe's "performatives" are the utterances that do something, leading to the symbolic gestures encoding devotion and power made by Theodosie in the name of his father. Austin also develops the concepts of locutionary (the literal act of saying something), illocutionary (the action performed in saying something), and perlocutionary (the effect on the listener) acts.⁸¹ The performatives of Neagoe and Despina were certainly made to instill a concept of a divinely ordained and protected dynastic rule in their relatives and the larger public. Despina's "performative" images, like Neagoe's "performative" oration, particularly illustrate a female political role: motherhood as a key role in securing a male successor to rule the state of Wallachia and defend Orthodoxy.⁸² Despina was almost certainly an illegitimate child,⁸³ like Neagoe, and her desire to associate herself with figures such as Simeon Nemanja, Sava Nemanjić, Lazar Hrebeljanović, and Maksim Branković is amplified by the need to anchor herself and Neagoe in dynastic symbols in order to build political legitimacy. Such artistic creations illustrate that, while women's legal power was restricted, their influence was expressed mainly through performative means such as artistic patronage, participation in regency, and social and religious influence. Royal consort and mother, regent

widow and monastic, Lady Despina leveraged all performative factors to navigate societal structures of female power in Wallachia.

Despina dedicated herself to supporting Neagoe's devotion to the Mother of God.⁸⁴ She embroidered a podea (apron for icons) for the *Mother of God Portaitissa* at Iveron Monastery, and another for the icon of the Virgin at the Great Lavra, alongside her mother Donka.⁸⁵ She also had three curtain veils embroidered for Curtea de Argeș Monastery, depicting the *Descent from the Cross*, bearing her portrait and that of her daughters, probably paired with the *Lamentation of Christ* (today lost, which contained the image of Neagoe and his sons), and the *Dormition of the Mother of God* (similarly lost, mentioned by Paul of Aleppo in 1657).⁸⁶ These scenes showed Despina, her husband, and her children contemplating and spiritually participating in the sacred events. Lacking a legitimate dynastic connection, Neagoe and Despina sought to compensate by creating a "spiritual" legitimization, through the affiliation with the figure of the Virgin as the Mother of the Pantokrator. While Despina expressed this affiliation through images, Neagoe did so in the oration written for his deceased mother and children, by defining his birth and reign as providential and by associating the suffering of the Mother of God and the wounds of Christ with the difficulties faced by his mother and himself.⁸⁷

In conclusion, the existence of a votive portrait of Despina and Maksim Branković in the main church of Bistrița, although recorded by a single source, corresponds with the record of Despina's artistic patronage and her preference to associate herself with Serbian dynastic figures. The fresco was likely a commemorative piece ordered by the Craiovescu boyars and their daughter-in-law, Lady Despina, as a way of honoring the memory of her late relative, while also establishing her descent from the family of the Serbian despots and thus give additional legitimacy to Neagoe's reign and the political status of the Craiovescu boyars. As one of last heirs of the Branković dynasty, Maksim's figure as despot and metropolitan, held special significance for this genealogical discourse. Furthermore, the representation strengthens interpretations concerning the performative nature of female power in the Late Middle Ages, as well as Despina's focus on her motherhood as a tool for political legitimacy, comparing her own motherhood with the nurturing role of the Mother of God in relation to Christ. Viewed from a late-seventeenth-century perspective, Branković's descriptions reflect the relevance of Wallachian history for the political project of the Serbs in the Habsburg monarchy. As the elected despot of the Serbian people, Branković was preoccupied to emphasize his genealogical ties to the Wallachian voivodes, and the mural paintings in Bistrița and Curtea de Argeș served as material evidence supporting his claims. Not least, Branković's attention to the Serbian medieval dynasties intersected with the growing concern in Wallachia over the reinforcement of Neagoean lineage within the ruling Brâncoveanu and Cantacuzino families, including princes Șerban Cantacuzino and Constantin Brâncoveanu.

◀ Fig. 6. Saints Simeon Nemanja and Sava Nemanjić, 1522, with portraits of Despina and her daughters. Egg tempera on wooden panel, 40 x 30,3 cm, National Museum of Art in Bucharest, inv. 11344/ i1.

© National Museum of Art, Bucharest.

▶ Fig. 7. *Descent from the Cross / Pietà*, 1524, with portraits of Despina and her deceased son Theodosie. Egg tempera on wooden panel, 67,5 x 44,5 cm, collection of National Museum of Art in Bucharest, inv. 11345/ i2.

© National Museum of Art, Bucharest.



Notes

1 For Branković's descriptions of other artistic monuments, see especially Павић-Баста 1971.

2 *Хронике славеносрпске*, vol. II, p. 362–365.

3 The work remains partially edited: four of the five books were published in a critical edition (*Хронике славеносрпске*, vol. I–II), while fragments of the fifth book are edited in other publications (Ређен 2004, p. 183–217; Dragomir 1923, p. 13–51; Новаковић 1872, p. 142–162).

4 Karaula 2018, p. 98; Ређен 2012, p. 139–140; Томић 1905, p. 37–39.

5 Костић 2014, p. 482.

6 Радонић 1911, p. 690–693.

7 Радонић 1911, p. 691, note 1: „Крај свега распитивања нисам успео добити из Букурешта никаква обавештења о тој слици у Бистричком манастиру. Што се тиче манастира, биће пре онај на реци Бистрици, југ. зап. од Јаша, заснован за владе Александра I Доброга поч. XV века [...] а не онај у Олтенији.”

8 For example, he corresponded with Ilie Bărbulescu, who helped him translate two Romanian documents about Branković (Bărbulescu 1908a, p. 39; Bărbulescu 1908b, p. 107), and he later published a study about the reign of Șerban Cantacuzino with the Romanian Academy (Radonić 1914).

9 Павић-Баста 1971, p. 595–597.

10 Ређен 1991, p. 229–230.

11 Radu Flora mentions the fragment based on Radonić's work (see Flora 1964, p. 124).

12 Branković's diplomatic career in the service of Apafti is extensively discussed in Радонић 1911, p. 71–255.

13 Dragomir 1923, p. 46–48, 66–67.

14 See also the account of Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), who used Branković's chronicle as a source on Neagoe's wedding (Rusu 1871, with Romanian translation).

15 Радонић 1911, p. 691–692; Filitti 1931, p. 241; Romanescu 1940, p. 9.

16 Filitti 1931, p. 250.

17 ва лоне своем држештею (*Хронике славеносрпске*, vol. II, 362). The English translations of Branković's text were provided by the authors of this article and are based on the critical edition published by Anna Kretschmer. Branka Pavić-Basta proposed the reading ва лоне своје држеште ју (Павић-Баста 1971, p. 595), which would suggest that Maksim was the one holding Despina to his chest. However, the text is written as one single word in the original manuscript of the chronicle (Biblioteka Srpske Patrijaršije – Beograd, ms. 90, IV, p. 956), and we believe that the second variant of reading would not be consistent with the rest of the passage, as it would be strange for Branković to draw a parallel between the Mother of God and Metropolitan Maksim.

18 *Хронике славеносрпске*, vol. II, p. 362:

деспена во ѿ родители свои еште ва юности младенецтва еи, увозорождена встала веше, и ва питателно кърмене еи даже и до брачнаго савьрстия еи, вратучедом своим Мажимом митрополитом садьржаваема вуст, и того ради ва светои вшители Бистрицаскои църкви, митрополита Мажима Бранковития вбраз, иконним извбращенем начертанем вивает, единокупно и са анефшю своєю деспеною, ва лоне своем држештею по подобию, пречистие владичице наше Богородице Марие, јако же држит превазлюбленнаго сина еи, Спасителя же и ѿкупителя нашего Исуса Христа. И таквим извбращенем икона егова вместиима вивает, ва вишерекому църков Бистрицаского манастира вшител, при двери посред църкви виваемие, ваходеште ва църков ѿ левие страни на стену каменнаго зида, исходештен же из църков ѿ десние страни узрети вахотен кто видети вазможет, вбаче же

манастир таи Бистрицаски, аште внованием тогда сатворен вист, или потом или еште преже того времена сатворен виваше, нами доволно ведомо не вивши вставалем лучше вдуштим саписати его, вишерекома же деспена ва кърштению еи именованна Милица, потом деспена јако же више написана се, вист даштер вившаго стрица Мажиму митрополиту, именуемому Първому Лазару Бранковию, вившаго великаго кнеза и самодържавнаго деспота словеносрпскаго, начелства Словеноилирицаской вбласти.

19 See the portrait in Cernea, Pătrășcanu 2019, p. 74–75.

20 Радонић 1911, p. 668; Knoll 2024, p. 91, note 406.

21 *Хронике славеносрпске*, vol. II, p. 363–365:

и единокупним савештаванием ѿ манастира Бистрицаского, вставаша Мажое Басараба вивоуда, ка престолному своему тържишному граду и месту, именуемому Арцишу, благоугодно место вивши, едином светои вшителу сазданои вити, ѿ таста своего Мажима митрополита, и ѿ сугружнице свое деспене, понужден вивает Мажое Басараба вивоуда, рекше јако да по подобию старовременни кралев и деспотов сьрские, прекрасни едни манастир тамо сатворити иеет, и тако Мажое вивоуда благоугодним усърдием сапосовествовав, и по рекшему митрополиту тасту еговому, благопроизволителним повелением ѿсладе благоугодне свое посланнике, ва вблает сьрскаго начелства ка приморским странам, ѿгнуду же јако мраморские камени, тако и художеством известноискусени виваемие людие воспитавше и приввершим да принести иеют, и савьршено посланники тако испънившим и сьрские прекраснише манастири видевшим паче же ва Студеницу, ва Дечан ва Милешеве, и ва прочаа, елико прекраснишим художеством вазможно вист, вваседивному видению удивленным уподеленною вшител устроивши сазданнем сатворив, и јако ѿ имена тогожде тържишнаго места, тако и ѿ при его текуштон реки светлаа та вшителе именованнем наречена вист манастир Арциш.

Ва тоиже манастирскои църкви паки произволи Мажим митрополит, единосгалстелним повелением господарствуюштаго, зета еговаго вишерекомаго Мажое Басараба вивоуди, јако да ва украсение църкви светими иконами вместиити будет и вбраз икони светопочившаго благоудастивеншаго древнаго превца им, вившаго цара и великаго кнеза самодържавному начелству словеносрпскому и вазему васточному Илирику, именуемаго Лазара Гревелановития; [...] Такожде и ва више тържишнаго града рекомаго Търговиште виваемои хълмиштнои гори, светои вшителу сазданои вити произволив, и звателним именем таа вшител светлаа наречена вист Хълмогорни манастир словенским нашим езиком рекше, словеновадхиским же езиком мньстире Диндѣла глаголет се.

22 The idea that Maksim officiated the wedding of Neagoe and Despina is based on one version of the *Life of Saint Maksim* (see Șerbănescu 1959, p. 747).

23 Радонић 1911, p. 691.

24 DRN V, vol. I, no. 246, p. 400–401.

25 DRN V, vol. I, no. 247, p. 401–405.

26 Simeadrea 1937, p. 15.

27 Discussed below, see note 55.

28 Simeadrea, 1937, p. 15. An inscription from 1683, compiled during the restorations started by Constantin Brâncoveanu at Bistrița Monastery, evokes the damages made by Mihnea descriptively: “by cannons and other tools <he> broke down the walls” (Bălan 2005, p. 223, cat. II 190). A drawing from 1731 by Austrian engineer Johann Weiss (Moldovan 2013, p. 156–157 and fig. 3.76) and a description of the monastery from 1826 by archimandrite Chiriac Râmniceanul (Erbiceanu 1890, p. 365; see below, note 49) mention three precincts, one around the church and cells, one around the gardens and an adjacent one towards west, surrounding the infirmary church. Paul of Aleppo likewise describes Bistrița Monastery as being very large and famous for

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The Mother of God with Wings: In Quest of a Model

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RÉSUMÉ : Cet article examine les origines et la diffusion de l’image ailée de la Vierge Marie dans l’art religieux d’Europe orientale aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, en la replaçant dans un cadre iconographique et culturel plus large. Dans un premier temps, il sera proposé une analyse de la célèbre fresque du monastère de Govora (1710–1711), qui a été réalisée par des artistes de l’école de Brâncoveanu et qui réinterprète le motif traditionnel de la *Protection de la Mère de Dieu* par l’ajout d’ailes et d’un ample manteau, éléments jusqu’alors inconnus dans l’iconographie mariale orthodoxe.

Il s’agira ensuite de retracer le développement historique de l’iconographie de l’*Intercession*, depuis la Constantinople byzantine jusqu’à la Rus’ de Kyiv, en mettant l’accent sur les variantes novgorodiennes et de Souzdal-Moscou, et d’examiner les motifs apocalyptiques et l’imagerie de *Sophie, la Sagesse de Dieu*, qui introduisirent des figures ailées dans l’art orthodoxe et offrirent un pont conceptuel vers les représentations mariales. Les gravures occidentales de Dürer, du Maître MS et de Virgil Solis sont identifiées comme des sources importantes, non-tamment dans la formation de nouveaux types iconographiques. Le modèle catholique de la *Madonna della Misericordia* apparaît comme ayant joué un rôle déterminant dans l’adoption du large manteau protecteur, transmis dans les contextes orthodoxes par l’art ukrainien du XVII^e siècle, en particulier la *Kozatska Pokrova*.

Une attention particulière sera portée à l’icône russe de la *Mère de Dieu d’Azov*, qui illustre l’intégration du symbolisme impérial dans l’imagerie mariale. Les gravures de Tchernihiv de 1696, qui apparaissent dans le livre de Dimitrii de Rostov, *La toison couverte de rosée*, sont analysées comme éléments clés dans la diffusion du motif de la Vierge ailée. Ces gravures ont influencé les fresques roumaines, mais sont restées absentes de la peinture d’icônes ukrainienne, une divergence qui met en exergue les différences de priorités culturelles au sein de l’orthodoxie.

Enfin, l’article conclura que la Vierge ailée représente une synthèse complexe de la spiritualité orthodoxe, du symbolisme apocalyptique, des modèles artistiques occidentaux et de l’idéologie impériale. Sa trajectoire, c’est-à-dire des visions byzantines à l’art impérial russe et à la peinture monumentale roumaine, illustre l’interaction dynamique entre tradition et innovation dans l’art religieux de l’époque moderne. En replaçant les fresques roumaines dans ce contexte transrégional, l’étude contribuera à une meilleure compréhension des transferts culturels, des adaptations iconographiques et de l’évolution des contours de la représentation mariale en Europe orientale.

MOTS-CLÉS : Vierge Marie ailée, iconographie de l’Intercession, fresque du monastère de Govora, Sophie, la Sagesse de Dieu, motifs apocalyptiques, Madonna della Misericordia, Kozatska Pokrova, Mère de Dieu d’Azov, symbolisme impérial, Dimitrii de Rostov, La toison couverte de rosée.

REZUMAT: Acest articol își propune să investigheze originile și modalitățile de difuzare a imaginii înaripate a Fecioarei Maria în arta religioasă din Europa de Est în secolele al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea, prin încadrarea ei într-un context iconografic și cultural mai amplu. Într-o primă secțiune, va fi propusă o analiză detaliată a celebrelor fresce de la mănăstirea Govora (1710–1711), realizată de artiști aparținând școlii brâncovenești, care oferă o reinterpretare a motivului tradițional al *Acoperământului Maicii Domnului* prin introducerea aripilor și a unei ample mantii, elemente până atunci neatestatate în iconografia mariană ortodoxă.

Urmează reconstituirea evoluției istorice a iconografiei *Acoperământului Maicii Domnului*, de la Constantinopol bizantin până la Rusia kieveană, cu variantele novgorodiene și suzdaliano-moscovite, și examinarea motivelor apocaliptice și ale imaginii *Sfintei Sofia, Înțelepciunea lui Dumnezeu*, prin care au fost introduse figuri înaripate în arta ortodoxă și care au oferit un cadru conceptual de trecere către reprezentările mariane. Gravurile occidentale ale lui Dürer, ale Maestrului MS și ale lui Virgil Solis sunt identificate drept surse esențiale, în special pentru configurarea unor noi tipuri iconografice. Modelul catolic al *Madonnei della Misericordia* a jucat de asemenea un rol determinant în adoptarea amplului veșmânt protector, preluat în contexte ortodoxe prin arta ucraineană a secolului al XVII-lea, îndeosebi prin intermediul tipului iconografic *Kozatska Pokrova*.

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Analiza acordă o atenție deosebită icoanei rusești a *Maicii Domnului de la Azov*, care ilustrează în mod exemplar integrarea simbolismului imperial în iconografia mariană. Sunt examinate gravurile de la Cernihiv din 1696, publicate în volumul lui Dimitrie al Rostovului, *Lâna înrouată*, considerate prototipuri esențiale pentru difuzarea motivului Fecioarei înaripate. Aceste gravuri au exercitat o influență semnificativă asupra programelor de pictură murală din spațiul românesc, dar au rămas neasimilate în pictura de icoane ucraineană, o divergență care subliniază diferențele de priorități culturale în interiorul lumii ortodoxe.

Articolul conchide că imaginea Fecioarei înaripate constituie o sinteză deosebit de complexă de spiritualitate ortodoxă, simbolism apocaliptic, modele artistice occidentale și ideologie imperială. Parcursul său – de la viziunile bizantine la arta imperială rusă și la pictura murală din spațiul românesc – evidențiază interacțiunea dinamică dintre tradiție și inovație în arta religioasă a epocii moderne timpurii. Prin integrarea frescelor românești în acest cadru transregional, studiul contribuie la o înțelegere mai nuanțată a mecanismelor de transfer cultural, a proceselor de adaptare iconografică și a reconfigurării granițelor reprezentării mariane în Europa de Est.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: Maica Domnului înaripată; iconografia Acoperământului; fresca Mănăstirii Govora; Sofia, Înțelepciunea lui Dumnezeu; motive apocaliptice; Madonna della Misericordia; Kozatska Pokrova (Acoperământul cazac); Maica Domnului de la Azov; simbolism imperial; Dimitrie al Rostovului, *Lâna înrouată*.



This article examines the origins of the iconography of the Protection of the Mother of God with wings. It focuses on both the iconographic and iconological aspects of this theme.

Every year, thousands of pilgrims travel to Vâlcea County, to visit the Govora Monastery, which is dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God. Above the entrance of the church, an image of the Virgin Mary welcomes those who enter and make the sign of the cross. This image depicts the crowned Mother of God with outstretched wings, extending her holy protection over the kneeling faithful. The composition is located on the eastern wall of the porch, above the church's entrance (Fig. 1). According to Orthodox tradition, this part of the church is typically reserved for representations of the Last Judgment.

The fresco was created between 1710 and 1711 by artists affiliated with the Brankovan school in Horezu, during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714).¹ The *Mother of God with Wings* fresco at Govora Monastery is widely regarded as one of the most iconic in Romania. However, it is important to note that this composition is not unique.

Romanian scholarly publications have identified a number of similar compositions created in later periods. The depiction of the winged Virgin Mary was disseminated across various places of worship which were built in the regions now forming the counties of Vâlcea, Olt, and Gorj. For instance, a comparable composition appears in the church built by Captain Djura and his wife, Alexandra, in 1824 at Capu Dealului–Drăgășani (Vâlcea County). The fresco painted there was modeled after the image in the porch at Govora.² A similar representation can be found in the church at Brădiceni (Gorj County), painted sometime after 1830. The original frescoes are no longer extant in the churches of Optași Măgura (initially painted in 1783, but repainted in 1998) and Floru (originally painted in 1819, and repainted in the 21st century).³ These are only a few examples among many.

Although this topic has received considerable attention in existing literature,⁴ we believe that the origins of the composition itself—and the reasons for its emergence in the fresco programs of Wallachian churches—remain insufficiently explored. To further illuminate this, it is necessary to examine the iconography of the Feast of the Intercession of the Mother of God itself. The composition at Govora Monastery represents a distinct variation of this theme.⁵

Comparable depictions emerged in the iconographic traditions of Eastern Christian countries during the early modern period. However, it is important to note that the institution of the Feast of the Intercession predates these examples. Over the centuries, fest icons of the Intercession have exhibited a wide range of compositional styles.⁶

Our aim is to trace the origins of the Intercession composition in a broader perspective, and, within this frame-

work, to examine the image of the winged Mother of God. We seek to assess its semantic proximity to traditional icons of the feast. Particular attention will be given to the origins of those elements that were previously uncommon in depictions of the Intercession of the Mother of God—namely the wings and the wide cloak extended over the kneeling figures.

The origins of the Feast of the Intercession and its historical context remain subjects of ongoing scholarly debate. The establishment of the Feast is associated with the story of the miraculous appearance of the Mother of God to Andrew the Fool-for-Christ in the Blachernae Church during the enemy invasion of Constantinople, and also with the so-called “ordinary miracle at Blachernae on Friday.”⁷

The account of the miraculous appearance of the Mother of God in the Blachernae Church was included in the *Lives of the Saints* (*Четвь-Минеи*) compiled by Dymytrii of Rostov at the end of the 17th century, and later incorporated into the *Great Menaion Reader* (*Великие Четвь-Минеи*) by Metropolitan Macarius.⁸

The first publisher of the *Life of Andrew the Fool*, K. Yannig, believed that the miraculous phenomenon took place during the reign of the Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912), when the Byzantine Empire was engaged in a conflict with the Saracens, and the city of Constantinople faced imminent threat.⁹ Other accounts refer to earlier or later conflicts—such as the war with the tribes of Kyivan Rus in 860¹⁰ or with the Bulgarians in 924¹¹—thus pointing to the reigns of different emperors.¹²

The course of events unfolded as follows: while the city was under siege, the Mother of God appeared in the Church of Blachernae in Constantinople and began praying before the altar. Andrew the Fool and his disciple Epiphanius were the only witnesses to Her presence. The Virgin extended Her omophorion over the assembled faithful, and the city was subsequently delivered from the enemy's siege.¹³

The question of the origin of the cult of the Intercession remains a matter of scholarly controversy. To me, the most compelling interpretation is offered by the Ukrainian researcher Dmytro Gordienko, who dates the emergence of the cult of the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary back to the early 11th century. He argues that it developed within the intellectual milieu of Kyiv.¹⁴ Similarly, the iconography of the Protection of the Theotokos (Pokrov) was shaped in Kyiv and then disseminated to other regions, including the western and northern principalities of Rus'. The Mongol invasion further intensified the cult of the Protection of the Theotokos, which came to be perceived as a spiritual defence. It continued to flourish in the Galicia–Volhynia state, particularly in the cities of Kholm and Peremyshl.¹⁵

However, the lack of monuments from this period complicates matters. An icon in the National Art Museum of Ukraine, dated to the 12th–13th centuries (Fig. 2),¹⁶ is the only example of an Intercession composition from the pre-Mongol period in Ukrainian Art.¹⁷ The attribution of this monument has been fiercely debated for more than a century, but the dating that was accepted by the National Museum places the icon precisely at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁸ If this attribution is accurate,

◀ Fig. 1. *Protection of the Theotokos (winged)*. Brankovan school. Early 18th century. Katholikon of the monastery of Govora.

Photo: Alina Kondratiuk.



◀ Fig. 2. *Protection of the Mother of God*. 12th–13th c. From the church of St. Paraskeva in the village of Malniv (now Yavoriv district, Lviv region). Galicia. National Art Museum of Ukraine.

Source: Український іконопис XII–XIX ст. з колекції нхму: Альбом, Хмельницький–Київ, 2005.

(Museum of Art of Novgorod) (Fig. 3).²⁰ It bears a certain resemblance to the Intercession icon from the National Art Museum of Ukraine mentioned earlier.

The second type—the “Suzdal” (or “Moscow”) variant—is characterized by the Mother of God herself holding the veil, while Romanos the Melodist, the composer of hymns in Her honor, is depicted below, standing on the ambo at the centre of the composition. The earliest preserved example of this type is the temple icon from the Pokrovsky Monastery in Suzdal, dating back to the last quarter of the 15th century (Fig. 4).²¹ Today, it is housed in the Vladimir–Suzdal Historical, Artistic, and Architectural Museum-Preserve.

Over time, the two principal types of Intercession iconography gradually merged, resulting in increasingly complex compositions.²² A notable example of this unified form is the late 15th-century Novgorodian icon *Protection of the Theotokos* from the collection of the Palazzo Leoni Montanari in Vicenza (Fig. 5).

However, up until the end of the 16th century, none of these icons featured the image of the Mother of God with wings. Nor did they include depictions of Her wide protective cloak. In all icons from the period under consideration, the omophorion of the Mother of God was rendered as a relatively narrow strip of fabric.

It is worth noting that, during the same period, the image of the winged Mother of God appears in other iconographic types—most notably in icons of *Sophia, the Wisdom of God*, following the Novgorod model. This type of composition has been known since the 15th century.²³

Two distinct variants of the *Sophia the Wisdom* iconography are known: the Kyiv type and the Novgorod type. The Kyiv variant differs significantly and will not be addressed in this context. Moreover, there is an extensive historiography devoted to the Kyiv type of *Sophia the Wisdom of God*.²⁴

Among the earliest surviving Novgorod-type icons of *Sophia the Wisdom*, in which the Mother of God is depicted with wings, are a late 16th-century icon from Vologda (now housed in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) (Fig. 6)²⁵ and an icon from the third quarter of the 17th century, from the Church of St. Nicholas Mokryj in Yaroslavl in the collection of the Yaroslavl Art Museum.²⁶

The Novgorod version of this iconography presents a unique Deesis composition. The central figure of this complex symbolic arrangement is believed to be the Lord Jesus Christ,²⁷ portrayed as a winged Angel of Fire seated on a golden throne. He is dressed in a robe adorned with a jewelled sash and wears a royal crown upon His head. This iconographic tradition draws upon the representation of Christ as the Angel of the Great Council—the pre-incarnate Son of God—an image infused with apocalyptic motifs and rooted in the *Apocalypse of St. John the Theologian* (*Revelation* 1:13; 1:16; 19:12).



▲ Fig. 3. *Protection of the Theotokos*. 1399. From the Church of the Intercession in the Zverin Monastery in Novgorod (temple icon). Novgorod State Historical, Architectural, and Artistic Museum-Preserve, Novgorod (Russia).

Source: Иконы Великого Новгорода XI — начала XVI веков, Москва, 2008.

The Mother of God and St. John the Baptist are depicted on either side of *Sophia the Wisdom*. The *Hetoimasia*—the prepared throne—is visible in the upper part of the icon, along with an additional figure of Jesus Christ. The wings on the back of the Mother of God suggest a connection to the apocalyptic “Woman Shroud with the Sun,” described in the *Book of Revelation* (12:1). The wings on John the Baptist, meanwhile, symbolize his angelic dignity—as affirmed by Christ Himself (*Matthew* 11:9–10)—and also serve as a sign of his virginity.²⁸

This theme was widely disseminated within Russian Orthodoxy, and examples from the repertoire of monumental painting can also be cited. A notable instance is the lunette paintings on the northeast façade of the Dormition Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin (Fig. 7). These works have undergone multiple restorations and date from the 16th to the 19th centuries.²⁹

It should be noted, however, that not all icons of *Sophia, the Wisdom of God* in the Novgorod iconographic variant, depict the Mother of God and John the Baptist with wings. Among the surviving icons from the early modern period, the figures standing to the sides of the throne of Sophia the Divine Wisdom are significantly more often depicted without wings. However, the winged



▲ Fig. 4. *Protection of the Theotokos*. Rostov-Suzdal School. Last quarter of the 15th century. From the Pokrovsky Monastery in Suzdal. Vladimir-Suzdal Historical, Artistic and Architectural Museum-Preserve (Russia).

Source: Иконы Владимира и Суздаля, Москва, 2006.

figure of Sophia the Wisdom itself is also very important in the context of this paper. The image gained extreme popularity.

The *Story of the Image of Sophia, the Wisdom of God* appears in collections of patterns for icon-painters known as *podlinniki*.³⁰ This text is found both as a standalone piece and within various mixed collections from the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly in the *Expounded Apocalypses*,³¹ in which Sophia the Divine Wisdom is often referred to as an image of the purity of the Mother of God,³² and not as an image of Christ.

These texts reflect the longstanding theological debate regarding the image of Sophia and the dedication of churches to the Wisdom of God. This discourse, which spanned over several centuries, found expression in numerous writings by Russian religious philosophers of the 19th and 20th centuries. Among those who engaged with this theme were Vladimir Soloviev,³³ Pavel Florensky,³⁴ Anton Nikolsky,³⁵ Feodosij Spassky,³⁶ and others. Their interpretations aimed to examine aspects of Russian theology of the late medieval period. Nikodim Kondakov argued that the iconography of the Wisdom of God had already been established in Byzantium and Old Rus’ in two distinct forms: as the Savior and as the Mother of God.³⁷

the icon represents the earliest known depiction of the “Protection of the Mother of God” motif. Nevertheless, no monuments from the subsequent centuries and of Kyivan origin or from the Galicia–Volhynia region have survived. Most of the extant examples of the Ukrainian “Protection” icon belong to the 15th century or later.

The monuments located in the territory of North-Eastern Rus are significantly better preserved and have been thoroughly studied. In the second half of the 14th century, several distinct types of representations of the Feast of the Protection of the Mother of God emerged, notably the Novgorodian type (which itself includes several variants) and another associated with Central Rus, particularly Suzdal and Moscow.¹⁹

The first type—the Novgorodian—depicts the omophorion of the Mother of God being held by angels. A representative example of this iconography is the icon from the Zverin Monastery in Novgorod, dated to 1399

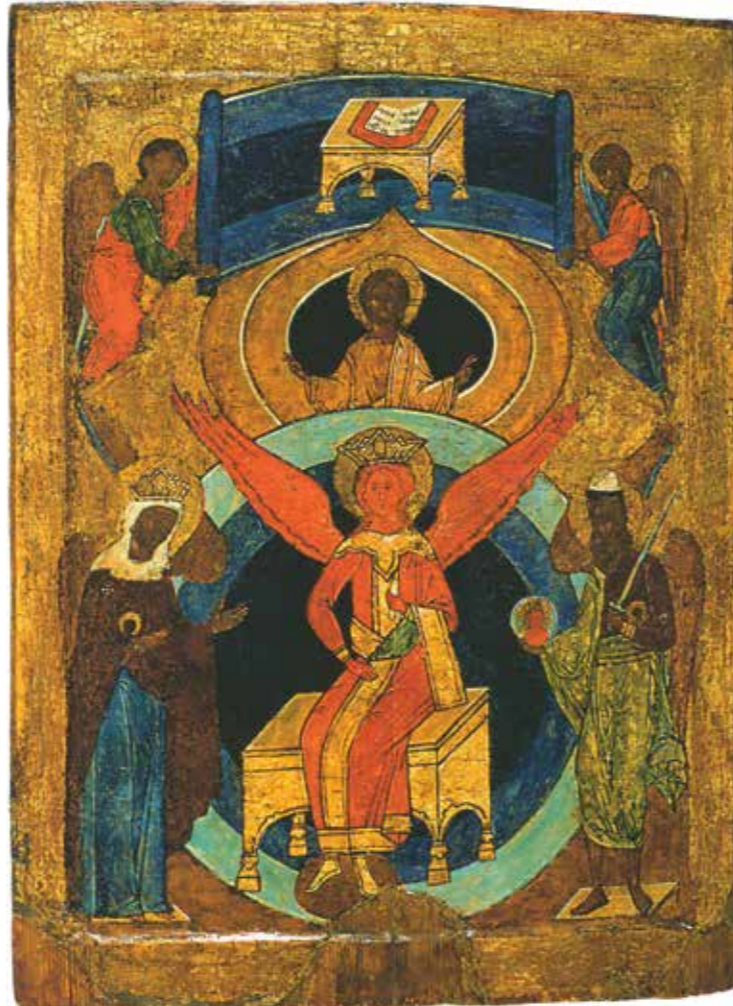


▲ Fig. 5. *Protection of the Theotokos*. Novgorod. Late 15th century. Palazzo Leoni Montanari (Vicenza, Italy). Collection of Intesa Sanpaolo Bank. Source: *Gallerie d'Italia* (collection of the Russian icons in the Palazzo Leoni Montanari).

It is important to note that most of these theoretical reflections emerged considerably later than the artistic phenomenon itself. Nevertheless, medieval Russian religious art indicates that, in many instances, Sophia the Divine Wisdom was associated with the image of the Mother of God. This association is further supported by the emergence of new iconographic types featuring a winged crowned figure, which appeared after the Deesis composition with the enthroned Sophia. Among these, the composition *Pure Soul* is particularly noteworthy (Fig. 8).³⁸ In this composition, the crowned winged figure is depicted in an upright stance. The visual elements clearly evoke themes from the prophetic *Book of Revelation*.³⁹

Subsequently, the composition *Mother of God – Pure Soul* emerged; composition in which the crowned, winged figure was explicitly associated with the Virgin. It is noteworthy, however, that in these iconographies the *Pure Soul* and the Mother of God may also be depicted without wings.

All of these new iconographic types that emerged on Russian soil clearly exhibit Western influence. Notably, several compositions can be traced to the repertoire of



▲ Fig. 6. *Sophia, the Divine Wisdom*. Late 16th century. Vologda. State Tretyakov Gallery (Moscow, Russia).

Source: *Images Saintes. Maître Denis, Roublev et les autres. Galerie Nationale Tretyakov, Moscou* [Catalogue de l'exposition 3 décembre 2009 – 13 juin 2010] [= *Святые образы. Дионисий, Рублев и другие. Каталог выставки в Мартиньи*], Martigny, 2009.

▼ Fig. 7. *Sophia, the Divine Wisdom*. 16th–19th centuries. Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. Fresco of the north-east lunette (Moscow).

Source: . В. Толстая, *Успенский собор: Путеводитель*, Москва, 2009.

Western European engravings on apocalyptic themes, which depict a winged, crowned woman identified as the Virgin Mary.

Western influence became especially noticeable in the art of Orthodox countries starting from the 16th century, largely due to the spreading of engraving. Engravings were imported there in large quantities, including both albums and individual prints.⁴⁰ Orthodox iconographers frequently used these materials as models for icons. The engravings can be attributed to both Catholic and Protestant publications.

Among the vast body of graphic material, several publications on apocalyptic themes stand out—works that Orthodox icon painters were undoubtedly familiar with. We are referencing sheets on the topics of the



Book of Revelation, where the image of the Woman with Wings appears. One example is an engraved sheet from Albrecht Dürer's *Apocalypse* series, dated 1498 (Fig. 9).⁴¹ Another example is an illustration by Master MS from Luther's Wittenberg Bible, published in 1541 (Fig. 10).⁴² A similar composition appears in Virgil Solis's illustration for the 1562 edition of the Luther Bible (Fig. 11).⁴³ In mid-17th-century Ukraine, Solis's composition was used by Master Procopius in his illustrations of the *Apocalypse* (Fig. 12).⁴⁴

The image of the Winged Woman also found its way into the monumental art of Orthodox countries. In Orthodox homiletics of the 2nd half of the 17th century was common to identify the Virgin Mary, taken to heaven, with the Woman Shroud in the Sun.⁴⁵ One notable example of the compositions of this kind is the 1678 mural painting in the Church of St. George in Drohobych (Lviv region, Ukraine). This fragment of the mural is based on an engraving by Virgil Solis (or his workshop) from Luther's Bible.⁴⁶

Another iconographic element in the composition of the Winged Intercession of the Mother of God warrants separate consideration. It concerns the wide mantle of the Mother of God, which covers the faithful and substitutes for the omphorion traditionally held in Her hands or extended above Her head. This motif is associated with the subsequent evolution of the Intercession icon's composition in the Early Modern art of the Eastern Church.

Alongside the traditional iconography of the Feast of the Intercession, a new type of composition emerged, echoing the Catholic image of the *Madonna della Misericordia*.⁴⁷ It is important to note that two distinct visual interpretations now coexist. Both iconographic versions

were regarded as festive representations of the Feast of the Intercession during the Early Modern period.

Though differing in composition, the two iconographic types became interchangeable, each conveying the central theme of the feast—the intercession of the Mother of God for all people. Both versions were displayed for veneration as festal icons. The reasons behind this phenomenon remain to be fully explored. Nevertheless, it clearly unfolded within the broader context of the growing influence of Western European art and culture on Orthodox iconography. Among the countries of the Orthodox tradition, Ukraine appears to have been the first where the new *Madonna della Misericordia* type took root. Its origins can be traced to works from the second half of the 17th century, many of which have survived.

The Feast of the Intercession and the newly developed iconographic type gained particular popularity in Ukraine during the time of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. This variant became known as *Козацька Покрова* (*Kozatska Pokrova*)—*The Protection of the Cossacks*. In compositions of this kind, one can discern, beneath the expansive cloak of the Virgin Mary, depictions of Cossack elders and members of the clergy. While these figures may be cautiously described as portraits, their connection to the historical period is unmistakable. They possess vivid, lifelike features and form a distinctive gallery of national archetypes.⁴⁸ Typical examples of the Ukrainian icon of the *Intercession of the Holy Virgin*, according to the new iconographic tradition, include the following: *Protection of the Theotokos featuring an unknown Cossack foreman* (mid-18th century, National Art Museum of Ukraine, Kyiv) (Fig. 13)⁴⁹, and *Protection of the Theotokos depicting Bohdan Khmelnytskyi alongside Archbishop Lazar Baranovych*



◀ Fig. 8. Icon Pure Soul. 19th century. State Museum of the History of Religion, Saint Petersburg (Russia).

Source: Церковно-народный календарь. Произведения русской иконописи и живописи XVII — начала XX вв. из собрания Государственного музея истории религии [Набор из 25 открыток], Санкт-Петербург, Гос. музей истории религии.



◀ Fig. 9. Albrecht Dürer, *The Winged Woman of the Apocalypse and the seven-headed dragon*. Illustration from *Apocalipsis cu[m] figuris*, Nuremberg, 1498. Typ Inc 2121A, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Houghton_Typ_Inc_2121A_-_D%C3%BCrer,_Apocalypse,_35.jpg.

▶ Fig. 10. Master MS. *The Winged Woman of the Apocalypse and the seven-headed dragon*. Illustration of Luther's Wittenberg Bible, 1541.

Photo: Olena Derevska

(first half of the 18th century, National Art Museum of Ukraine, Kyiv) (Fig. 14).⁵⁰ Both of the aforementioned icons from the collection of the National Art Museum of Ukraine portray actual historical figures. Many other examples of this type have also survived.

In the new type of composition, the Mother of God is no longer depicted hovering above the congregation within the temple space, holding the omophorion (or girdle) in Her hands. Instead, She stands beside the prostrate faithful, shielding them with the flaps of Her wide mantle. This iconographic model became widespread throughout the Russian Empire during the 17th and 18th centuries.

In Western Europe, the *Madonna della Misericordia* model has a longstanding tradition.⁵¹ It appears across various artistic media—painting (Figs 15), sculpture, and graphic art—and is widely represented in Catholic countries. It may be assumed that Ukrainian artists became acquainted with this new iconographic model through Western European engravings. However, it is equally plausible that they came across this model in other artistic forms—not only within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but also in various other European regions. During this period, the migration of artists was common, facilitating the exchange of visual traditions.

A representative graphic example that may have served as a source of inspiration for iconographers is the image of the *Madonna della Misericordia* featured on the title page of the 1623 book *Catechismi Novitior et Eorundem Magistri*, authored by Servatius de Lairuela (Fig. 16).⁵² The immediate inspiration for this iconographic model came from a vision described in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach.⁵³ This work, composed around 1230, was widely disseminated throughout medieval Europe.⁵⁴

Examples of this iconography across various artistic media are remarkably abundant. This composition embodies a concept shared by both Western and Eastern Christian traditions: the Virgin Mary as the principal intercessor and supplicant for all humanity, the spiritual mother of all believers, and the mother of the Church of Christ.

Among the representative examples of Western iconographic influence in Ukrainian monumental painting is

the decoration of the Ascension Cathedral of the Florovkyi Monastery in Kyiv, completed at the end of the 18th century (Fig. 20).

However, when examining the development of the iconography of the Winged Virgin Mary of the Protection, it is essential to consider an additional visual tradition beyond those previously discussed: the Russian icon of the *Mother of God of Azov*, which may offer crucial insight into the receptivity of Russian Imperial art to Western iconographic motifs (Figs 21–22).⁵⁵ Without acknowledging this connection, the pronounced sensitivity of Russian artistic culture to such influences remains difficult to explain.

The Azov icons of the Mother of God emerged in the art of the Russian Empire concurrently with the adoption of the new “Western” type of Intercession composition. Their appearance and subsequent dissemination are closely tied to the rise of Russian imperial absolutism, reflecting the evolving political and theological narratives of the time.

The icon serves as a pictorial apotheosis of the Russian Empire’s victories over the Turks. Its second name, *Знамение Множества Мира* (*Znamenie Mnozhestva Mira*)—*The Sign of Complete Peace*,⁵⁶ derives from this context. At that time, Russian forces captured the Turkish fortresses of Azov and Kizikermen. This event marked the culmination of the long series of Crimean campaigns led by Prince Vasilij Golitsyn,⁵⁷ who was supported by the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks.

It is worth noting that this Prince was not only the commander-in-chief of the Russian troops but also the then-reigning Tsarevna Sof’ya’s favourite. Although she formally ruled alongside her brothers, Tsareviches Peter and John, she had, in fact, usurped power at the time. The emergence of the iconography of the *Mother of God of Azov* is closely connected to both her reign and her personal fate.

The iconography of the icon is as follows: the image of the Mother of God in the Incarnation type is set against the background of a double-headed eagle, which holds a sceptre and an orb in its claws—symbols of state power. At the top of the composition, God Sabaoth and the Holy Spirit, depicted as a dove, are surrounded by angelic hosts. Kneeling apostles Peter and Paul are also present. On either side of the Mother of God, the Kyiv-Pechersk Reverend Fathers—Anthony, Theodosius, Alipiy, Moses Ugrin, Prokhor, and Mark—are shown in prayer. Below, a mounted warrior representing St George the Victorious strikes a dragon with a spear. In the lower part of the composition, the fortress of Azov is accompanied by biblical quotations referring to Babylon, while the fortress of Kizikermen is paired with a quote about Capernaum.⁵⁸

There is an assumption that the iconography was based on a graphic composition. According to some researchers, the icon’s outline was commissioned by Feodor Shaklovityj, executed by the masters Danila and Yakov Perekrestov. The engraving was printed at Vasilij Golitsyn’s Moscow estate by the renowned printer Leontii Tarasevych.⁵⁹ Neither the drawing nor the engraving have survived to this day. Researchers mention that until 1917 the drawing was kept in the Moscow Historical Museum.⁶⁰





Fig. 11. Virgil Solis. *The Winged Woman of the Apocalypse and the seven-headed dragon*. Illustration of Luther's Bible, 1562.

Source: Solis V. *Bibliche Figuren des Alten Testaments / Bibliche Figuren des Neuen Testaments*.

<https://archive.org/details/VirgilSolisBible1562/page/n7/mode/2up>

Fig. 12. Master Procopius. *The Winged Woman of the Apocalypse and the seven-headed dragon*. Mid-17th century (Ukraine). Sheet from the Apocalypse series.

Photo: Olena Derevska.

Fig. 13. *Protection of the Theotokos with the image of an unknown Cossack foreman*. From the village of Savarka, Tarashchansky district (now Kyiv region). Middle of the 18th century. National Art Museum of Ukraine (Kyiv).

Source: Український іконопис XII–XIX ст. з колекції нхму: Альбом, Хмельницький-Київ, 2005.

Fig. 14. *Protection of the Theotokos with the image of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Archbishop Lazar Baranovych*. 1720–1730s. From the Pokrovska (Intercession) Church in the village of Deshky (now Boguslavsky district, Kyiv region). National Art Museum of Ukraine (Kyiv).

Source: Український іконопис XII–XIX ст. з колекції нхму: Альбом, Хмельницький-Київ, 2005.

The absence of engraved prints is explained by the fact that Sof'ya's brother, Peter—later known as Tsar Peter the Great—attempted to destroy all traces of her reign after removing her from power.⁶¹ We know of the existence of a graphic version of the Azov icon solely from the interrogation records of close servants of Tsarevna Sof'ya Sylvester Medvedev, clerk Simeon Nadein and Colonel Ivan Perekrestov: following the suppression of Sof'ya's failed coup, Peter ordered the interrogation of her entire entourage.⁶²

There also exists a semi-apocryphal interpretation of the engraving, allegedly created for Tsarevna Sof'ya by Hieromonk Ignatij of the Moscow Novospasskij Monastery, later Metropolitan of Tobolsk. Although the document itself is unreliable and unavailable to us,⁶³ we will nevertheless cite it in our translation from Russian, which has been slightly abridged. Regardless, this text allows us to grasp the atmosphere of the era and the figurative and symbolic context in which the Azov icon was created:

This image represents Sophia, the Wisdom of God, who, together with the Apostle Peter and John the Baptist, serves as guardian of the Russian State. You, too, with your two brothers, Peter and John, sit upon the throne of the Russian State and are filled



▲ Fig. 15. ig. 16. Gottardo Scotti, *Triptych of the Madonna of Mercy*, 1454-1485. Fondazione artistica Poldi Pezzoli "Onlus" (Milan, Italy).

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gottardo_Scotti_-_Triptych_of_the_Madonna_of_Mercy_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg?uselang=it.

▼ Fig. 17. Illia, *Frontispiece of the Paterykon of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra* (Kyiv, 1661).
Photo: Alina Kondratiuk.

► Fig. 19. Leontii Tarasevych. *Frontispiece of the Paterikon of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra* (Kyiv, 1702).

Source: <https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/picturedisplay.asp?linkpath=pic%5CT%5CA%5CTarasevych%20Leontii%20Paterikon%201702%20frontispiece.jpg&page=pages%5CT%5CA%5CTarasevychLeontii.htm&id=15955&pid=8095&tyt=Tarasevych,%20>

▼ Fig. 16. Edmé Moreau, the title page of *Catechismi novitiorum et eorum magistri... Authore Servatio de Lairuela [Mussiponti (i.e.: Pont a Mousson): Franciscum du Bois, 1623]*.

Source: <https://www.academicolecciones.com/estampas/inventario.php?id=GR-0391>.

► Fig. 18. *Ceremonial portrait of Tsarevna Sophia*. 1680s. *State Russian Museum* (Saint Petersburg, Russia).

Source: Тарасов О. Ю. *Икона и благочестие: Очерки икононого дела в императорской России*. Москва, 1995.





▲ Fig. 20. Protection of the Theotokos. Monumental painting of the Ascension Church of the Florovkyi Monastery, 1780. Repainted in 1865 and around 1905 (Kyiv). Photo: Alina Kondratiuk.

▼ Fig. 21. Icon of the Mother of God of Azov. Ukraine (?). Mid-18th century. State Museum of the History of Religion (Saint Petersburg, Russia). Source: <http://pravicon.com/icon-3>.

▲ Fig. 22. Icon of the Mother of God of Azov. Russia. End of the 18th—beginning of the 19th century. State Historical Museum (Moscow). Source: Wikimedia Commons.



► Fig. 23. Illinska Chernihiv icon of the Mother of God. Illustration of the book *The Dew-Covered Fleece* by Dymytrii of Rostov (1696).

Source: А. А. Гусева, И. М. Полонская, Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI—XVIII веков: Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Гос. б. к. СССР им. В. И. Ленина, vol. II, part. 2: Львовские, новгород-северские, черниговские, уневские издания 2-й половины XVII в., Москва, 1990.

► Fig. 24. Portrait of St. Dymytrii of Rostov. 19th century copy of the 18th century original. National Preserve “Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra” (Kyiv). Photo: Alina Kondratiuk.



with benevolent care for it. The two wings of the eagle symbolize two aunts—Anna Mihajlovna and Tat'yana Mihajlovna—whose prayers, like wings, support you, blessed Tsarevna Sof'ya, in ruling the State of Russia. The blessing of Sabaoth signifies that the Son of God is filled with wisdom. The wisdom of the Old and New Testaments forms the foundation of the divine Church; it is the martyr's blood, the apostolic preaching, and the prophetic divine teaching. Christ is the rock of faith, and this rock is not neglected... Christ is the Head of the Church.⁶⁴

It appears that the iconography of the Mother of God of Azov is closely linked to the ceremonial portrait of Tsarevna Sof'ya, in which a half-length depiction of the ruler is set against the backdrop of a double-headed eagle (Fig. 18).⁶⁵ There is a clear semantic, if not strictly formal, affinity between the composition of the icon and that of the portrait. In any case, this iconography fully embodies the Russian imperial idea and aligns closely with other forms of imperial symbolism.⁶⁶

During this period, state symbols are sacralised and actively integrated into culture and art. For example, double-headed eagles appeared simultaneously on the Kremlin towers. Images of the double-headed eagle appear on the title pages of publications from Chernihiv and Kyiv. These include publications such as the *Paterikon*

of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (Kyiv, 1661) (Fig. 17),⁶⁷ *Меч Духовный* (*Mech Dukhovnyi*)—*Sword of the Spirit* (Chernihiv, 1666), *Мир с Богом человеку* (*Myr s Bohom cheloveku*)—*Mankind's Peace with God* (Kyiv, 1669), *The Menologion* (Kyiv, 1680), a later edition of the *Paterikon* (Kyiv, 1702) (Fig. 19), and the *New Testament* (Kyiv, 1703). The structure of the title pages of all these publications reveals a compositional affinity with the Azov Icon. The image of the imperial double-headed eagle appears throughout. The incorporation of heraldic elements into sacred imagery was made to keep the spirit of Russian absolutism.⁶⁸ In the public consciousness, the double-headed eagle appeared to unite traditional Orthodox values with the belief in Moscow's missionary role as the “Third Rome”.⁶⁹

After the elimination of Tsarevna Sof'ya's conspiracy, Peter the Great dismissed his sister's favourites, including Prince Golitsyn,⁷⁰ but was compelled to continue the Azov campaigns. As a result, the veneration of the Azov icon remained relevant.⁷¹ While in the earliest versions of the icon, St. George striking a dragon bore the portrait features of Vasilij Golitsyn,⁷² in later versions, it has impersonal features.

In 1696, when Moscow celebrated Peter's victorious return from the Azov campaign, theatrical performances were staged in honour of the victory, inscriptions were stamped on cannons, and commemorative medals were



▲ Fig. 25. Protection of the Theotokos. Illustration of the book *The Dew-Covered Fleece* by Dymytrii of Rostov (1696). Source: A. A. Гусева, И. М. Полонская, *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII веков: Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Гос. б. кс СССР им. В. И. Ленина*, vol. II, part. 2: Львовские, новгород-северские, черниговские, уневские издания 2-й половины XVII в., Москва, 1990.

cast. The event was interpreted as a triumph of Orthodox Christians over the infidels.⁷³

In the same year, 1696, the hegumen of the Boldin Trinity-Illinskyi Monastery in Chernihiv, Lavrentii Krshchonovych, together with his brethren, presented Tsar Peter I with the Illinska Chernihiv icon of the Mother of God to commemorate the victorious Azov campaign.⁷⁴ In the lower section of the icon board, beneath the image of the Chernihiv Illinska Mother of God, we see the Azov Icon, accompanied by a topographical map showing the deployment of Russian and Turkish forces. A schematic plan of the fortress city of Azov and, at the centre, an allegorical figure of Time is also included. On the right side of the icon board, a procession to the Trinity Cathedral of Chernihiv Boldin Monastery is depicted, led by Patriarch Adrian of Moscow. This complex image was also conceived to convey the idea of the sacralization of imperial power—a notion reinforced by the placement of the Azov Icon at its lower edge.⁷⁵ Though modest in scale,



▲ Fig. 26. Protection of the Theotokos. Illustration of the book *The Dew-Covered Fleece* by Dymytrii of Rostov (1696). Source: A. A. Гусева, И. М. Полонская, *Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVIII веков: Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Гос. б. кс СССР им. В. И. Ленина*, vol. II, part. 2: Львовские, новгород-северские, черниговские, уневские издания 2-й половины XVII в., Москва, 1990.

the image was intended to function symbolically and to evoke the appropriate associations.⁷⁶

It was in this context, and in the same year—1696—that a composition was created and would later serve as the prototype for the icon of the *Intercession of the Virgin Mary with Wings*, to which this paper is dedicated. The composition first appeared in an engraved illustration for St Dymytrii of Rostov's book *The Dew-Covered Fleece* (*Руно Орошенное—Runo Oroshennoe*), published in Chernihiv in 1696.⁷⁷ The book had at least six editions⁷⁸—possibly seven,⁷⁹ according to some authors—and was also well known in the Romanian principalities, where translations of Dymytrii of Rostov's works circulated during the same period.⁸⁰

The book is dedicated to the miracles of the Illinska Icon of the Mother of God (Fig. 23)—the same icon that was presented to Peter the First by Hegumen Lavrentii following the triumph over the Turks. Some copies of this edition include a preface dedication to Tsar Peter



▲ Fig. 27. Master Simeon. Protection of the Theotokos (winged). (“Cover us with the protection of the wings of Your grace”). Second half of the 18th century. State Historical Museum, Moscow. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

by Lavrentii Krshchonovych, accompanied by the coat of arms of the Russian Empire. Other copies feature an anonymous dedication to Hetman Ivan Mazepa, along with the Mazepa coat of arms.⁸¹

The theme of the miracles of the Mother of God, as manifested through Her icons, was widely popular in Ukrainian literature of the period. In addition to Dymytrii of Rostov, other prominent authors—particularly Ioanykii Haliatovskiy⁸² and Ilarion Denysovych⁸³—also explored this theme. It is generally believed that such collections of miracles attributed to the Mother of God and manifested through Her icons were shaped by Western influences on the culture and art in Orthodox countries. In particular, it is assumed that the erudite Dymytrii of Rostov (Fig. 24) was familiar with the treatise *Atlas Marianus* by the Jesuit Wilhelm Humpenberg⁸⁴—a work that records approximately 1,000 miraculous icons of the Mother of God. The book was published multiple times in the second half of the 17th century (1657, 1659, 1672, etc.).

While the 1696 edition of *The Fleece* does not differ significantly from other versions in terms of structure and content, its design is notably unique. In addition to initials, headpieces, and tailpieces, the edition includes four engravings produced from four matrices—three on copper (present in both versions) and one on wood (featured in



▲ Fig. 28. Protection of the Theotokos (winged). Russia. 18th century. Armory Chamber, Moscow. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

the second version, dedicated to Hetman Mazepa). Two of the engravings are large-format inserts occupying half a sheet, whereas the edition itself is printed on quarter sheets.⁸⁵ One illustration depicts the composition of the Intercession, incorporating elements of Western iconography such as the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (with a moon underneath Her feet) and the *Madonna of Mercy* (Fig. 25).⁸⁶ The second engraving portrays a crowned, winged Mother of God with figures kneeling beside Her (Fig. 26).⁸⁷ Researchers believe that both engravings were created specifically for this edition. Not all copies of the 1696 edition include these illustrations, and they are absent from later editions of the book.

It is believed that these engraved icons of the Virgin Mary were created by an artist affiliated with the school of the renowned Ukrainian engraver Oleksandr Tarasevych (Monk Anthony). The author may have been Tarasevych himself or his disciple, Ivan Shchyrskyi.⁸⁸ Both maintained a productive collaboration with the Chernihiv printing press and produced multiple images of the Virgin Mary, usually without signing their engravings. It is known, however, that Ivan Shchyrskyi rarely signed his works.⁸⁹ The meticulous depiction of foreground landscape elements is also a distinctive hallmark of Tarasevych's artistic style. An alternative attribution was suggested by



Waldemar Deluga, who credited the engravings to the artist Zacharia Samoilovich (Samuylovich).⁹⁰ Thus, the attribution of these engravings is still to be determined and will hopefully be clarified through further research.

It is thought that these engravings were circulating independently from the book as separate printed sheets. This may account for the widespread dissemination of the image of the Mother of God with Wings in Russian iconography (Figs 27-29). Due to the accompanying texts, the composition is often referred to as *Покрый нас кровом крылу Своею (Pokryj nas krovom krylu Svoeju)*—Cover us with the protection of the wings of Your grace.

It may seem surprising, but no icon of this type is known to have a confirmed Ukrainian origin. Nevertheless, the original engraving—from the 1696 edition of *The Dew-Covered Fleece*—was printed in Chernihiv. The reason for this absence remains difficult to determine. It is possible that the imperial idea, so vividly expressed in the winged image, did not resonate with Ukrainian icon painters.

The Romanian masters who painted the frescoes at Govora Monastery likely had access to a Ukrainian engraving. In any case, the visual evidence in the

Romanian frescoes (Fig. 30) clearly indicates that the prototype for the composition was the engraving found in the 1696 Chernihiv edition of *The Dew-Covered Fleece*. This observation is not our discovery, as it has already been noted by some researchers.⁹¹ However, our primary interest lay in understanding *why* this phenomenon occurred. An equally compelling interest of ours was the opportunity to trace how the artistic traditions of Orthodox countries assimilated previously unfamiliar iconographic elements.

The iconographic tradition surrounding the winged image of the Mother of God reflects a complex interplay between Orthodox spirituality and Western artistic influences. While the engraving from the 1696 Chernihiv edition of *The Dew-Covered Fleece* served as a visual prototype for later representations—particularly in Romanian frescoes—the absence of Ukrainian icons on this theme raises important questions about cultural reception and theological emphasis. Further research into the transmission and adaptation of such imagery may shed light on the broader dynamics of religious art in Eastern Europe.



► Fig. 29. *Protection of the Theotokos (winged)*. Russia. 19th century.

Source: Wikimedia Commons.

▲ Fig. 30. *Protection of the Theotokos (winged)*. Brankovan school. Early 18th century. Katholikon of the monastery of Govora.

Photo: Alina Kondratiuk.

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Strâmba Monastery and the Oldest Wide-Intrados Iconostasis in Transylvania

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RÉSUMÉ : Notre étude met pleinement en valeur le contenu d’une inscription située dans la partie inférieure du cadre des portes impériales de l’église du monastère de Strâmba (comté de Sălaj). Identifiée pour la première fois en 1969, l’inscription n’a été que superficiellement comprise, et seul le nom de l’higoumène Domentian et l’année 1742 ont été intégrés dans le circuit scientifique. Pour cette raison, le message de l’inscription a non seulement été tronqué, mais aussi mal interprété par les chercheurs, qui ont daté de 1742 à la fois la peinture de l’encadrement et celle des portes impériales.

Le texte de l’inscription fournit des informations sur l’histoire du monastère et de l’iconostase de l’église au cours de la dernière moitié de siècle de son existence en tant qu’église orthodoxe, avant son entrée sous la juridiction du diocèse gréco-catholique de Transylvanie, dont le siège était situé à Blaj. L’higoumène Domentian, qui l’a gouvernée entre 1700 et 1742, avec des prolongations difficiles à estimer avant et après les années indiquées dans l’inscription, n’était que le fondateur, et non l’auteur, de la peinture sur l’encadrement des portes impériales, seul élément qui a survécu parmi les ornements peints de l’église remplacée en 1772 par l’actuelle.

La peinture a été achevée en 1700 et restaurée, sous la supervision du même Domentian, par le « vieux » Melchisédech, un nom qui suggère également un contact étroit avec le monastère de Zaporizhzhya.

Les peintures des deux moines cosaques et l’œuvre elle-même, par sa forme et sa fonction, s’inscrivent dans le phénomène artistique lancé sous la coordination du métropolite Petru Movilă de Kiev pour revitaliser et moderniser l’Église orthodoxe du Royaume de Pologne-Lituanie. À ce jour, l’initiative du monastère de Strâmba est la plus ancienne tentative connue visant à réaliser une iconostase tridimensionnelle en Transylvanie, apportant de la profondeur à la ligne de démarcation des ouvertures vers l’autel, transformées ainsi en véritables portes. C’est également la seule preuve de la participation des moines zaporizhzhziens à l’acte artistique en tant que créateurs, ceux-ci étant jusqu’à présent connus uniquement comme des sympathisants du phénomène culturel diffusé par le monastère des Grottes de Kiev.

Compte tenu des dimensions plus que modestes de l’œuvre conservée, nous ne pouvons estimer l’ampleur réelle des transformations subies par l’iconostase de Strâmba. De même, outre un attachement présumé à la mémoire des moines cosaques, nous n’avons pas pu identifier la raison pour laquelle le cadre a été conservé et inclus dans la nouvelle iconostase, ni même la raison pour laquelle la peinture a été sauvée de l’oubli, grâce à la demande rapide de retirer la couche de peinture qui l’avait accidentellement recouverte, probablement en 1792, lorsque les portes impériales actuelles lui ont été adjointes. Il ne s’agit donc pas d’une œuvre de Domentian, mais de l’auteur de la peinture murale, qui a été attribuée à Ioan Pop de Românași.

Nous ne pouvons donc même pas supposer si l’initiative d’embellissement de l’église, en accord avec la nouvelle mode ukrainienne, a trouvé ou non un écho dans les églises des environs. Reste toutefois tout à fait singulière la

présence de moines cosaques dans un monastère perdu au cœur des forêts de Transylvanie, quand bien même celui-ci se trouvait dans une région où parvenaient périodiquement de petits groupes dispersés de Ruthènes, notamment venus de Galicie. La seule explication que nous pouvons formuler à la décision prise par certains de ceux qui avaient dû se réfugier, à la suite des drames qu'a connus le monastère de Samar au cours des décennies charnières entre les XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, de s'établir à Strâmba, tient à l'hypothèse d'un possible contact avec les prisonniers transylvains de l'armée du prince János Kemény, faite prisonnière par les Tatars de Crimée en 1657. Les villages entourant le monastère de Strâmba figuraient, dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle, parmi les possessions de la famille Kemény.

MOTS-CLÉS : Cosaques zaporizhziens ; Monastère de Samar ; Ioana Cristache-Panait ; comté de Sălaj ; église en bois.

REZUMAT: Studiul nostru valorifică integral conținutul unei inscripții amplasate în partea inferioară a ancadramentului ușilor împărătești din biserica Mănăstirii Strâmba (județul Sălaj). Semnalată pentru prima dată în 1969, inscripția a fost doar superficial înțeleasă, iar din mesajul ei au intrat în circuitul științific doar numele egumenului Domentian și anul 1742. Din acest motiv, mesajul inscripției a fost nu doar trunchiat, ci și greșit înțeles de cercetători, care au datat în 1742 deopotrivă pictura ancadramentului și pe cea a ușilor împărătești.

Textul inscripției oferă informații despre istoria mănăstirii și a iconostasului bisericii în ultima jumătate de secol din existența sa ortodoxă, anterioară intrării sub jurisdicția Diocezei greco-catolice a Transilvaniei cu sediul la Blaj. Acceptarea atât de târzie a unirii cu Roma își găsește acum explicația în faptul că, începând de la sfârșitul secolului XVII, comunitatea de călugări a fost condusă și cel puțin parțial formată din cazaci zaporozeni, veniți de la Mănăstirea Samar. Egumenul Domentian, care a condus-o între 1700 și 1742, cu prelungiri greu de estimat atât înainte cât și după acești ani consemnați în inscripție, a fost doar ctitorul, nu și autorul picturii de pe ancadramentul ușilor împărătești, singurul element care a supraviețuit din podoabele pictate ale bisericii înlocuite în 1772 cu cea actuală.

Pictura a fost realizată în anul 1700 și restaurată, prin grija aceluiași Domentian, de „bătrânul” Melchisedec, un apelativ care sugerează de asemenea un strâns contact cu Mănăstirea zaporozeană. Pictura celor doi monahi cazaci și lucrarea în sine, prin formă și menirea pentru care a fost făcută, se încadrează în fenomenul artistic început sub coordonarea mitropolitului Petru Movilă al Kievului de revitalizare și modernizare a Bisericii Ortodoxe din Regatul polono-lituanian. Deocamdată, această inițiativă de la Mănăstirea Strâmba este cea mai veche încercare cunoscută de a realiza în Transilvania un iconostas cu aspect tridimensional, prin adăugarea adâncimii în delimitarea deschiderilor spre altar, transformate astfel în adevărate portaluri. Ea este și singura atestare a implicării monahilor zaporozeni în actul artistic în calitate de creatori, ei fiind cunoscuți până acum doar ca susținători ai fenomenului cultural răspândit de Lavra Pecherska din Kyiv.

În limita dimensiunilor mai mult decât modeste ale lucrării păstrate, nu putem estima care a fost adevărata anvergură a transformărilor suferite de iconostasul de la Strâmba. De asemenea, în afară de un presupus atașament față de memoria monahilor cazaci, nu am putut identifica nici motivul pentru care ancadramentul a fost păstrat și inclus în noul iconostas și chiar salvată pictura de la uitare, prin solicitarea promptă a îndepărtării stratului de vopsea cu care a fost acoperită accidental, probabil în 1792, când i-au fost asociate actualele uși împărătești. Ele nu sunt, deci, opera lui Domentian, ci a autorului picturii murale, care i-a fost atribuită lui Ioan Pop de la Românași.

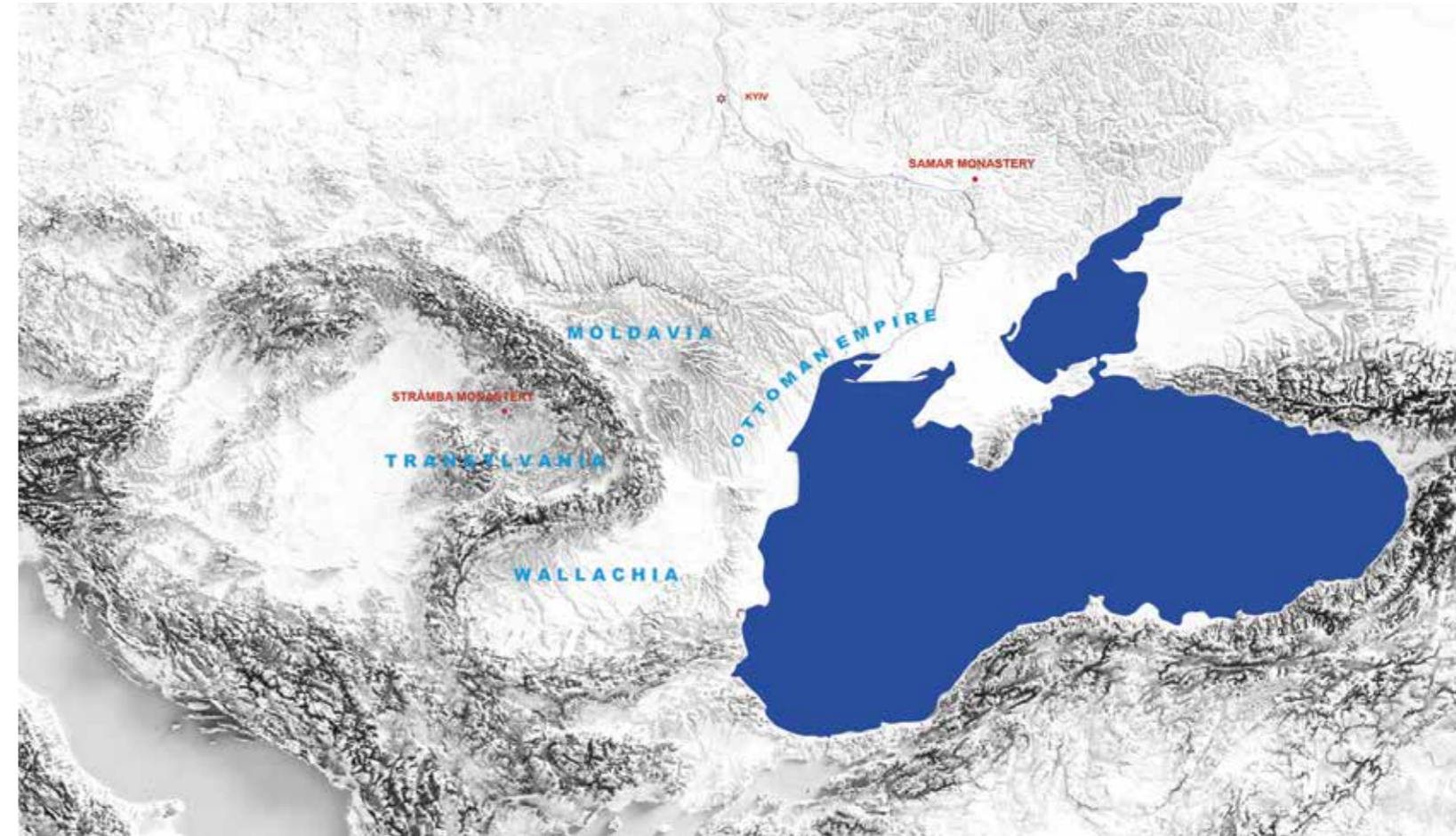
Nu putem, deci, nici măcar presupune dacă inițiativa de înfrumusețare a bisericii în ton cu noua modă ucraineană a avut sau nu ecou în bisericile din vecinătate. Rămâne, însă, ca un fapt cu totul neobișnuit prezența monahilor cazaci într-o mănăstire pierdută în pădurile Transilvaniei, fie ea și situată într-un teritoriu în care grupuri răzlețe de ruteni soseau periodic, în special din Galiția. Singura explicație pe care am găsit-o pentru decizia de a se stabili la Strâmba a unora dintre cei care au fost nevoiți să se refugieze, ca urmare a tragediilor prin care a trecut Mănăstirea Samar în deceniile de la cumpăna secolelor XVII și XVIII, a fost un posibil contact cu prizonierii transilvăneni din armata principelui János Kemény luată în captivitate de tătarii din Crimeea în 1657. Satele din jurul Mănăstirii Strâmba s-au numărat în a doua jumătate a secolului XVII printre posesiunile familiei Kemény.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: cazaci zaporozeni, Mănăstirea Samar, Ioana Cristache-Panait, județul Sălaj, biserică de lemn.

Our research delves into the cultural context of an inscription on the lower part of the royal door frame at Strâmba Monastery, Sălaj County, Romania. Initially published in 1969, the inscription was only partially interpreted at that time. Consequently, only Hegumen Domentian's name and the year 1742 were scientifically addressed. This resulted in a misinterpretation of the inscription, leading to the erroneous dating of both the painting of the frame and the artwork of the royal doors to the year 1742.

The inscription offers valuable insights into the history of the monastery and the iconostasis of the church during its final fifty years as an Orthodox establishment,

before it transitioned to the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Transylvania, founded between 1697-1701 and headquartered in Blaj. The belated acceptance of union with Rome – only in 1755 – is now understandable, given that from the late 17th century, the monastic community was led and partially composed of former Cossacks who had become monks at the Saint Nicholas Desert Samar Monastery in Zaporizhzhya.¹ Hegumen Domentian governed the Strâmba Monastery from 1700 to 1742, albeit with some uncertainty regarding the exact duration of his tenure before and after these dates. He was the founder of the royal doors' frame of the iconostasis, as well as of other “additional decorations” in the church, which he commis-



▲ Fig. 1. The location of the Strâmba and Samar Monasteries. Author: Alexandru Baboș.

sioned in 1700. Later, in 1742, under his supervision and through his efforts and funds, the royal doors' frame was painted—or perhaps repainted—by Elder Melchizedek, whose title also suggests a possible affiliation with Samar Monastery. This royal doors' frame is the only surviving element of the old church's painted decoration, which was replaced in 1772.

The painting of the royal doors' frame of the iconostasis, along with the artistic work itself, aligns with the later echoes of the broader artistic movement initiated in the first half of the 17th century under the guidance of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (Rom. Petru Movilă, 1633-1646) of Kyiv. This movement sought to rejuvenate and modernize the Orthodox Church within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The initiative at Strâmba Monastery is the earliest known endeavour in Transylvania to create an iconostasis with a three-dimensional effect, achieved by adding depth to the altar entrances and transforming them into genuine portals. This effort is also unique in that it marks the only recorded instance of Ukrainian² monks actively participating as creators in the artistic process, as they were previously recognized solely as patrons of the cultural movement disseminated by the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra.

Given the rather modest dimensions of the surviving work, it is challenging to accurately assess the full extent

of modifications the Strâmba iconostasis underwent. Furthermore, aside from a presumed reverence for the memory of the monks who came from the Samar Monastery, the reasons behind the preservation and integration of the frame into the new iconostasis remain elusive. Remarkably, the painting was safeguarded from being forgotten by removing a layer of paint it was mistakenly covered with, likely around 1792, when the current royal doors were incorporated. Consequently, these doors are rather to be attributed to Ioan Pop from Românași, the mural artist.

Thus, it is difficult to ascertain whether the initiative to embellish the church in line with the new Ukrainian style had any influence on neighbouring churches. Nonetheless, the presence of former Cossacks in a remote Transylvanian monastery is indeed an extraordinary occurrence,³ even within a region where Ruthenian groups, particularly from Galicia, occasionally settled. The most plausible explanation for why some individuals sought refuge in Strâmba, following the hardships faced by the Samar Monastery at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, involves contact with Transylvanian captives from Prince János Kemény's army, who were taken prisoner by the Crimean Tatars in 1657. Notably, the villages surrounding Strâmba Monastery were part of the Kemény family's holdings during the second half of the 17th century (Fig. 1).



▲ Fig. 2. The iconostasis of the Assumption Church of the 1620s in Lviv, now in the church in the village Velyki Hrybovychi near Lviv.
Photo: Alexandru Baboș.



▶ Fig. 3. The iconostasis of the Piatnytska Church of the 1640s in Lviv.
Photo: Alexandru Baboș.

A brief contextualization of the topic

The 17th century marked a pivotal moment in the development of the iconostasis, with Ruthenian-Ukrainian theologians and artisans playing a crucial and innovative role. During this period, the high multi-tiered iconostasis became a defining feature. Beyond the traditional four tiers—comprising the Sovereign, Festal, Prayer (*Deesis*), and Prophets rows—additional tiers could include scenes from the *Passion of Christ* or depictions of gospel events from the *Triodion Sundays*.⁴ This evolution reflects a significant expansion in both the artistic complexity and theological depth of iconography within the church.

Significant transformations in the structure of the iconostasis emerged in Lviv, particularly following the devastating fire of 1527 that consumed the medieval city. This led to extensive reconstruction incorporating distinct Renaissance features, largely influenced by Italian architects who arrived in the region.⁵ A prominent example of this architectural evolution is the Assumption Church complex, which includes the church itself—designed by the Italian architect Pavlo Rymlianyan (Paolo Romanus)—, the bell tower financed by the Greek merchant Konstantyn Korniaht, and the Chapel of the Three Holy Hierarchs. The Italian Renaissance style is evident in the decor, entrance portals, and window designs of these buildings, as well as in the city's residential architecture. Intriguingly, these Renaissance elements were also in-

tegrated into the design and decoration of local iconostases, marking a significant cultural exchange.

A remarkable illustration of these architectural influences is the iconostasis of the Assumption Church in Lviv, built in the 1620s with funding from the church brotherhood and donations from Moldavian and Wallachian leaders (Fig. 2).⁶ This monumental iconostasis is distinctive given its structure, featuring vertical and horizontal elements adorned with exquisite Renaissance-style carvings.⁷ The design includes cornices, intricately carved columns, and an upper tier where icons of the prophets are set within decorative medallions. The icons are framed in deep, often arch-shaped frames with decorative low-relief carvings. Notably, the lower tier introduces depth (Fig. 3), with the royal and deacon's doors designed as arch-like portals with wide intrados, echoing the entrance portals of secular and sacred architecture, and embellished with additional images. These innovative features quickly proliferated throughout Ukrainian lands. By the mid-17th century, Italian Renaissance motifs in iconostasis carvings gave way to Northern Netherlandish Mannerist decor, and eventually to Baroque styles.⁸

During the latter half of the 17th century and the early 18th century, the Kyiv school at the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra emerged as a preeminent centre for icon painting. However, icon painters were also actively engaged in other regions, including Chernihiv, Poltava, Romny, Myrhorod,



and various towns associated with the Ukrainian Cossack regiments and military settlements. The esteemed reputation of Cossack masters in church art extended beyond Ukrainian territories, reaching into neighbouring Muscovy and Moldavia-Wallachia. The style known as “Cossack Baroque”⁹ seamlessly integrated techniques from Western European Baroque with local folk ornamentation traditions. The dissemination of Baroque art was further supported by Ukrainian theologians such as Ioanykiy Halyatovskyi, Lazar Baranovych, Antoni Radyvlovskyi, and Dmytro Tuptalo, who authored treatises rich in Baroque features, using intricate comparisons and symbolism.

During the 19th century and the Soviet era, efforts by Russian authorities to erase the memory of Ukrainian art led to the destruction of nearly all iconostases from the Cossack Baroque period.¹⁰ Despite this extensive loss, some exquisite 18th-century iconostases have survived. Notable examples can be found in the villages of Velyki Sorochyntsi in the Poltava region,¹¹ Kozelets in the Chernihiv region, and in the Trinity Over-the-Gate Church of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra.¹²

Theologically endorsed within the circle of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla of Kyiv,¹³ the Ukrainian Baroque iconostasis—with its lavishly carved decorations, impressive vertical expansion, and three-dimensional form—emerged as a central feature in the proliferation of Ukrainian art. This artistic movement, utilizing various channels of distribution, permeated the everyday lives of Orthodox communities throughout South-eastern Europe. The Moldavian roots of the esteemed hierarch Petro Mohyla, coupled with the robust connections between Moldavia and Transylvania, as well as the frequent interactions between Transylvanian Romanians and the Ruthenian milieu, likely facilitated the early introduction of this novel approach to separating the sanctuary from the nave into Transylvania by the second half of the 17th century. The earliest known instance of this design dates back to 1700, yet its geographical positioning and the circumstances of its emergence remain a mystery, unlikely to be unravelled soon due to the scarcity of preserved information.

According to an inscription located on both sides of the royal doors at the base of the supporting frame, in 1700, Hegumen Domentyan of Dumbrăvița Monastery—a Cossack from Samar Monastery—financed the painting of these doorposts and other decorative elements. In 1742, under the patronage of the same Hegumen Domentyan, the elder Melchizedek repainted these “doorposts,” which were essentially the planks that created the portal-like depth of the entrance (Figs 4-5).

◀ Fig. 4. The left side of the royal doors frame, painted in 1700 and partially repainted in 1742, and the left panel of the royal doors, painted in 1792 by Ion Pop from Românași. Photo: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 5. The right side of the royal doors frame, painted in 1700 and partially repainted in 1742, and the right panel of the royal doors, painted in 1792 by Ion Pop from Românași. Photo: Ana Dumitran.



The intriguing aspect of this inscription lies in the fact that no other sources indicate that Strâmba Monastery, also known as Fizeș Monastery, was ever referred to as Dumbrăvița. Moreover, there is no documented evidence of Ukrainian monks migrating to Transylvania. The notion of a direct link between a secluded monastery nestled in the forests of western Transylvania and the distant Samar Monastery of the Zaporizhzhyan Cossacks seems implausible, especially during an era marked by adversities against Orthodoxy from both local Calvinist and imperial Habsburg Catholic authorities.

Despite the uncertainties, events unfolded that warrant a deeper examination of the histories of both monasteries. This exploration is necessary for gaining a clearer understanding of the context in which the oldest Transylvanian iconostasis, featuring wide-intrados entrance portals, was established.

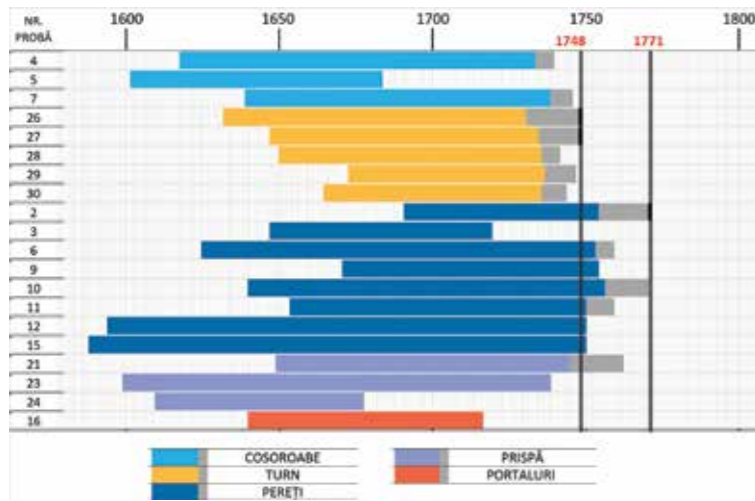
Strâmba – a monastery with uncertain origins, like most Romanian monastic foundations in Transylvania

The origins of Strâmba Monastery have been the subject of much debate among historians, with proposed dates ranging from the 15th to the 18th centuries. In 1761, a letter from Nicephorus, the monastery’s hegumen, addressed to the Greek Catholic Bishop Petru Pavel Aron, suggested the monastery was established around 1460. Nicephorus, seeking support to reclaim property occupied by neighbouring Orthodox villagers, referenced an inscription purportedly dating the monastery back approximately 300 years (*trecentis prope annis stat et stabat*).¹⁴ However, this inscription is believed to have disappeared during the repainting of the church in 1792, leaving only 18th-century information as verifiable.¹⁵

Confusion also arises from accounts of Moldavian Bishop Pachomius’s visit in 1716-1717, mistakenly attributed to Strâmba Monastery in Sălaj County instead of its namesake in Bistrița-Năsăud County.¹⁶ The claim that the church was built in 1727 by a disabled widow—linked to the monastery’s name (Rom. *strâmb/ă* = hunched, crooked)—was not documented until 1900,¹⁷ leading some historians to favor 1725 as a more plausible date.¹⁸ The first definitive date is 1755, when the monk Nicholas, possibly the monastery’s hegumen, declared allegiance to the union with Rome in Blaj.¹⁹ Additionally, the year 1679, inscribed on the church’s small bell, suggests the monastery existed by that time, if not earlier.²⁰

In 2023, the Association “Arhaic,” with financial backing from the Romanian Order of Architects, undertook a dendrochronological study of 21 wooden churches in Sălaj County, including the church of Strâmba Monastery. The goal was to accurately determine the construction dates and any subsequent restoration phases of these historical structures. At Strâmba, 30 samples were collected from various parts of the church, including the walls, wall plates, bell tower, porch, and outer portal. Out of these, 24 samples from oak species were successfully dated; however, reference chronologies for beech or ash elements found in the church walls are still lacking.

The analysis yielded significant results, offering broader time intervals or a terminus post quem dating. Notably, four samples provided precise dates: 1771 for the



southern wall of the nave (sample no. 2), 1748 for the tower (samples no. 26 and 27), and 1977 for the porch (sample no. 22) (Fig. 6).

The dendrochronological analysis reveals that the trees used in building the walls of the wooden church at Strâmba Monastery were felled between October 1771 and April 1772. This indicates that the existing church walls are not the originals from 1761, and the inscription mentioned by Hegumen Nicephorus was likely lost during the significant repairs he initiated. This finding directly supports the statement from the February 1795 inventory of the monastery: “The church was rebuilt by the deceased Nicephorus in oak wood and covered with shingle”²¹ (Figs 7-8).

The earlier church underwent significant modifications in 1748-1749 when a bell tower was built over the narthex. The materials for this construction, including the elements and wall plates, came from trees felled in May-June 1748. By 1772, these components were still relatively “new,” and due to resource constraints—which required the use of beech and ash—they were salvaged and repurposed. Furthermore, a repair phase of the porch was identified, most likely occurring in 1978.

The year 1727 does not feature in the documented “history” of the church structure, but this does not rule out the possibility of assistance being secured in 1748 for the installation of the tower and the reinforcement of the roof. As for the origins of the names, Strâmba Monastery is named after the nearby Strâmba Valley stream, while Fizeș Monastery takes its name from the surrounding villages: Fizeș—now known as Stupini—and Fizeș Szent Péter—now Sânpetru Almașului. The Hungarian name Fizeș suggests a place with willows, and although there is no toponym *Dumbrăvița* (meaning “small oak forest”) nearby, each village does have a *Dumbrava* (oak forest). Additionally, southwest of Sânpetru Almașului, another oak forest exists, belonging to the neighbouring village of Baica.

The necessity for a nearly complete restoration of the church in 1772 strongly indicates its considerable age, suggesting it predates 1679—the year inscribed on the bell, which likely signifies another renovation or enhancement. This period may also correspond to the



Fig. 6. Results of the dendrochronological analysis of the wooden church of Strâmba Monastery: light blue – eaves purlins; yellow – tower; dark blue – walls; light purple – porch; red – portals.
Author: Bogdan Ilieș.

Fig. 7. The wooden church of Strâmba Monastery, view from the northwest.
Photo: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 8. The wooden church of Strâmba Monastery, view from the southwest.
Photo: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 9. Luke of Iclod, *Mother of God and Christ Child*, c.1679, Strâmba Monastery.
Photo: Siluan Timbuș.

execution of the imposing icon of the *Virgin Mary and Christ Child*, which stands out compared to today’s royal icons and is likely attributed to the Ruthenian painter (*gente Ruthenus*) Luke from Iclod (Fig. 9).²² Luke is known for the famous icons that reportedly wept: one commissioned in 1673 by the Stanci family from Ilișua, and another in 1681 by the nobleman Ioan Cupșa from Nicula.

The icon from Strâmba Monastery was renowned as a miracle-working icon. In 1767, a plenary indulgence linked to the icon was granted for ten years, if identified by its patron, St. George. This indulgence was requested by Gerontius Cotorea, the episcopal vicar of Blaj. Sent to Strâmba Monastery in 1765 for disciplinary reasons, Cotorea was likely at Nicula Monastery by 1766 under similar circumstances.²³ He petitioned Rome on behalf of a “Parish Church of Saint George Martyr of the Greek Catholic Basilian Monastery also known as Saint George, located in the Nicula territory under the Diocese of Fogaras in Transylvania, where an image of the Most Blessed Virgin is frequently venerated with great attendance of people” (*Chiesa Parrociale di San Giorgio Martire del Monasterio Basiliano Greco Cattolico parimente detto di San Giorgio, situato nel territorio Nicolense sotto la Diocesi di Fogaras in Transilvania, vi si venera con frequenza e gran concorso di popolo un’Imagie della Beatissima Vergine*).²⁴



However, identifying the specific icon referenced is challenging due to the fame of the Nicula icon at the time. The similarity of the Hungarian name for Nicula Monastery, *Füzesmikola*, might have led to a misidentification of the location. Originally, St. Nicholas – not St. George – was the patron saint of Nicula, while Strâmba Monastery adopted St. George as its patron after 1900.²⁵ This decision, documented in the archives of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of Blaj,²⁶ leaves questions about its implementation, as no records from the 18th century mention pilgrimages to Strâmba Monastery for the feasts of the Assumption, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, and St. George, as suggested by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Similarly, there is no information on organized pilgrimages to Nicula on these dates. Nonetheless, both monasteries began organizing pilgrimages over time, with the first known pilgrimage to Strâmba Monastery occurring in the latter half of the 19th century.²⁷

The icon painted by Luke from Iclod appears to have gone unnoticed during the meticulous research conducted in the 1970s by Ioan Godea and Ioana Cristache-Panait, which examined the entire artistic heritage of the monastery. Moreover, this icon is not mentioned in the 1795 inventory of the monastery’s assets. This inventory

explicitly lists all four royal icons on the iconostasis, along with two additional icons of *St. Nicholas* and *St. Paraskeva* (which have not survived). However, the inventory does reference an “icon of the Mother of God, beautiful, with branches, on the altar,”²⁸ which does not correspond to Luke’s work. Instead, this description matches another icon of the *Mother of God and Christ Child*, positioned on the altar table, with a frame richly adorned with acanthus leaves (Fig. 10). The stylistic features of this icon suggest a connection to the paintings in the nave and narthex, likely created by the same artist who painted the church in 1792.

The revival of monastic life at Strâmba in 1993 brought renewed attention to the icon, with its first mention in the scientific community suggesting—based on tradition—that it was a gift in 1673 from a nobleman from Gârbou.²⁹ This dating likely refers to the year inscribed on a similar icon from Ilișua, recognized in earlier publications.³⁰ The nobleman from Gârbou is believed to be Count Csáky László, a significant landowner and influential figure in Transylvanian politics during the late 17th century, who was involved in a conspiracy against Prince Michael Apafi I. After seeking refuge in Constantinople, Csáky László was sentenced to death *in absentia*, and his estate was confiscated.³¹ However, neither Fizeș nor



▲ Fig. 10. *Ion Pop* from Românași, *Mother of God and Christ Child*, c.1792, Strâmba Monastery.

Photo: Ana Dumitran.

Füzes Szent Péter were part of his holdings, making it unlikely that he would have contributed to the spiritual welfare of another noble's Wallachian subjects. It seems even less plausible that he would have donated such a gift to a monastery that owned nearly 109 acres (over 627,000 m²),³² making it the wealthiest monastery in Transylvania until the mid-20th century, when church properties were secularized by the communist regime.

Saint Nicholas Desert Samar Monastery – the main sanctuary of the Zaporizhzhyan Cossacks, and its ties to the Romanian lands

Samar Monastery derives its name from the Samar River, a tributary of the Dniro. This historic site, located near Sich, at a place called Novomoskovsk in 1784 and recently renamed Samar, in the Dnipropetrovsk region, was the site of a significant establishment by the Zaporizhzhyan Cossacks in 1576.³³ Here, they built a wooden church, a hospital, and a school. The monastery itself was officially founded in 1602, with monks brought in from the Mezhyhirya Savior-Transfiguration Monastery in Kyiv. This foundation was also under the patronage of the Zaporizhzhyan Cossack army and served as a retirement haven for aging Cossacks who would often take monastic vows.³⁴

Dedicated to St. Nicholas, the Samar Monastery also functioned as a refuge for Cossack soldiers, earning its place as the largest and oldest monastery in the Zaporizhzhya Sich. Its picturesque setting in a centuries-old

oak forest in what was once an uninhabited area has also led to its recognition as the St. Nicholas Desert Samar Monastery.

The first hegumen of the Samar Monastery, Paisiy, hailed from the Mezhyhirya Monastery and was originally from Wallachia.³⁵ Unfortunately, the monastery's historical documents have suffered significant damage over the years. The earliest records were destroyed during a 1750 epidemic (they burned in the cell of Hegumen Prokl, who died from the plague).³⁶ Between 1830 and 1840, the archives were plundered by private collectors,³⁷ and the remaining documents were destroyed in 1929 when the Soviet regime closed the monastery and executed the monks.³⁸

The current understanding of the monastery's history relies on 19th-century writings by Archbishop Havriil Rozanov of Yekaterynoslav (now Dnipro) in 1838, Bishop Feodosii Makarevskiy in 1873, and historian Dmytro Yavornytskyi in 1892. According to Yavornytskyi, the monastery was besieged in 1688 by Golitsyn's Russian army, which captured and tortured the monks for resisting the construction of a Russian fort nearby.³⁹ A plague in 1690 further reduced the monastery's population, and the decline continued after 1709 when the Zaporizhzhyan Cossacks, allies of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in his independence struggle against Russia, were forced to relocate under Ottoman protection. Many of the monastery's assets were confiscated, while the remainder was burned.

In 1711, the Treaty of the Prut transferred control of the Samar Monastery to the Turks, who subsequently looted its property and destroyed its buildings.⁴⁰ A revival began in 1720 when the region came under the Moldavian Colonel Danylo Apostol of the Myrhorod

Regiment. Hegumen Ioanykiy, also from the Mezhyhirya Monastery, led the repopulation efforts.⁴¹ By 1751, the monastery housed Irakliy Kantakuz, possibly related to the Cantacuzins.⁴²

The devastations between 1688 and 1711 forced the monks of Samar Monastery to seek refuge far from their home. Some found solace in Greek settlements on Mount Athos, while others, like Domentiyian and Melchizedek, retreated to the Dragomirna Monastery⁴³ or secluded hermitages in the forests of Transylvania. The story of the "elder" Melchizedek is particularly noteworthy. An inscription at Strâmba Monastery serves as the sole testament to the involvement of Samar Monastery monks in icon-painting. If Melchizedek accompanied Domentiyian to Transylvania before 1700, he would have been of considerable age by 1742. However, the title "elder" carried a profound significance for a Cossack monk, often referring to respected figures, particularly former officers who had embraced monastic life.

Documents from 1750-1770 highlight this tradition of referring to retired Cossacks as "elders," underscoring a vital aspect of Ukrainian history and spirituality in the Zaporizhzhya region.⁴⁴ The inscription at Strâmba Monastery thus becomes crucial in supporting Ukraine's ongoing efforts to preserve and rediscover its cultural and spiritual heritage, often overshadowed by the tumultuous events of previous centuries.

"Elder" Melchizedek is likely to have been a distinguished Cossack, evidenced by his adept use of the Slavonian-Ukrainian language. This linguistic proficiency is not only reflected in the inscription he crafted at the base of the side planks supporting the royal doors of Strâmba Monastery but also in the numerous texts that accompany the depictions of saints on the frame. These texts include prayers recited during Mass, as well as quotations and paraphrases from the Gospel, showcasing his deep engagement with religious and cultural texts.

The two Cossack monks, possibly along with some of their companions who were not monks, settled in Transylvania at a monastery situated on the edge of a small oak grove known as Dumbrăvița, which lent its name to the settlement. This monastery was not a new foundation by the monks; it already existed. "Elder" Melchizedek, known for diligently preserving the memory of Hegumen Domentiyian's achievements, would have undoubtedly mentioned if the monastery was newly established. Instead, the fact that Domentiyian led the community for over 42 years suggests that an already established congregation, impressed with his qualities, entrusted him with their spiritual leadership. Such a transfer of authority to an outsider was not uncommon in the Transylvanian Romanian context of that era, especially considering that monastic communities often consisted of very few members.

A parallel example is that of Dumitru Rus, who served as a priest in the village of Ilișua before 1717 and later in Figa by 1730. In the vernacular of the time, *Rus* denoted Ruthenian or Ukrainian, and documents referred to him as a "native Ruthenian," particularly during the investigation into the painting of the Virgin Mary icon from Ilișua, executed in 1673 by another Ruthenian, the painter Luke.⁴⁵ Luke is believed to have also served as a priest in the village of Iclod, where he resided. All these

villages, including Nicula, Boiereni, and Strâmba, where Luke painted icons, were under the jurisdiction of *Solnoc Interioris* County. This administrative unit also included the village of Lujerdiu, where, in the late 17th century, the painter Vasily Stashoskiy lived with his family, leaving behind an enduring icon of the *Virgin and Christ Child* in the local church.⁴⁶ At the end of the 17th century, the painter Hryhoriy from Kolomyia (Ivano-Frankivsk region) painted an icon of the Virgin Mary for the church in Boiereni. This artist is known from his signature on the icon of *Christ Pantocrator with the Apostles*, dated 1690, from Deda Monastery.⁴⁷

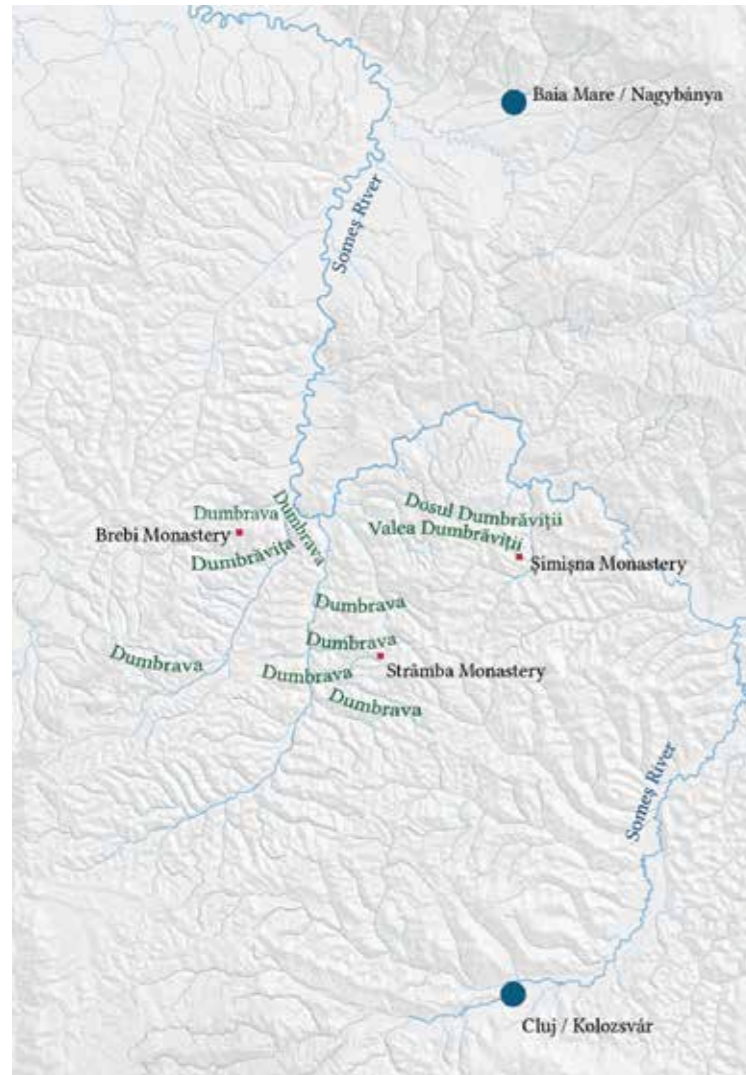
It is reasonable to assume that the aforementioned individuals, who took on the roles of painters and clerics in a specific and confined area, were acquainted and kept in touch. They likely arrived in the region around the same time, despite originating from diverse directions and territories. However, the 1673 dating of the Ilișua icon to 1673 requires careful consideration, as it this is a full seven decades prior to 1742. During this later period, Domentiyian, a former Cossack and monk from Samar Monastery, was actively serving as hegumen, indicating he was already an adult upon his arrival in Transylvania.

Thus, it seems more probable that the arrival of the Ruthenians and Cossacks occurred in stages, a sequence more easily understood through the historical events in Poland and the territory of the Zaporizhzhyan Cossacks during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Their strategy to remain connected by settling in neighbouring communities, perhaps owned by the same nobility, should be considered. Moreover, the decision to emigrate to Transylvania could have been influenced by the imprisonment of the future Transylvanian Prince János Kemény's army in Crimea between 1657 and 1659. Not all of Kemény's companions were fortunate enough to be ransomed immediately,⁴⁸ and some may have been freed from Tatar captivity by Cossack raids in Crimea. Consequently, during times of adversity, small groups of Cossacks might have chosen to accompany Transylvanians in their quest for a new homeland.

Unravelling the Mysteries of Dumbrăvița Monastery

In the absence of definitive sources to verify these hypotheses or build a credible narrative, these scenarios serve as a means to acknowledge the current gaps in our understanding about the arrival of Monk Domentiyian in present-day Sălaj County and his leadership of Dumbrăvița Monastery for fifty years as hegumen. Consequently, we turn to another set of scenarios aimed at locating this monastery, which may have been one of the initial sites for the spread of the three-dimensional iconostasis style in Transylvania. The name *Dumbrăvița* was commonly used and clearly linked to the presence of oak groves. While not an absolute rule, this toponym often appeared in areas near oak forests—referred to as *Dumbrava*—necessitating a form of quantitative distinction in naming.

In the area of interest, maintaining proximity to Strâmba is critical, assuming that the fragment of the iconostasis did not travel far. Within this context, we identify only two such instances (Fig. 11).



▲ Fig. 11. Places named Mănăstire, Dumbrava and Dumbrăvița in Sălaj County.
Author: Bogdan Ilieș.

The initial investigation focused on the toponym *Dealul Bisericii* (Church Hill), situated near *Dumbrăvița Valley*, which transitions into Ciureni Valley as it enters the current boundaries of the village Ciureni. Historically, the residents of the old village of Ciureni, primarily potters, relocated to Tihău once their clay resources were depleted. The exact timing of this community's displacement remains uncertain, but it likely occurred after 1773, following the completion of Transylvania's first topographic survey (the so-called Josephine map⁴⁹), which positioned the village between Cristolțu Mare, Preluci, Iapa (now Fântânele-Rus), Valea Hranei (formerly Tormapataka), and Zalha. The original village site was resettled in the early 20th century, leaving behind only a few stone steps from their wooden church that once stood on the hill.

Less than 10 kilometres northeast lies another hill, *Dumbrava*, at the edge of the village of Rus. Initially a 14th-century Ruthenian community, Rus gradually assimilated into the majority Romanian population of the same faith, as evidenced by 1658 tax records that mention a

Romanian priest's census payment.⁵⁰ Approximately the same distance southeast, near the village of Șimișna, runs *Valea Mănăstirii* (Monastery Valley), referred to as *Valea Piticilor* (Valley of the Dwarfs) on the Josephine map, likely due to a naming error. József Kádár confirms the existence of both hydronyms, noting that the monastery disappeared early in the 18th century. By 1772, it had been abandoned for some time, explaining its absence from the Josephine map. Local traditions link its demise to the murder of the last monk by robbers from nearby Pustuța or Antăș, intent on looting the church.⁵¹

This narrative finds partial corroboration in the current wooden church of Antăș, reportedly built from the timber of the Șimișna Monastery church brought to Antăș in 1795, along with materials from a church in Bobâlna.⁵² Kádár also documented the presence of ruins in the forest, which he identified as the stone foundation left after the church was relocated.⁵³

Despite its initial allure, the attempt to establish a connection between the church on Dumbrăvița Valley near Ciureni and the inscription on the pillars of the royal doors at Strâmba Monastery proves to be unfeasible. This is largely due to the omission of the Șimișna Monastery from the Josephine map and the disappearance of the supporting village that could have ensured its survival and continuity. Therefore, in the absence of substantial evidence or documentation, it is at best speculative to establish a credible link between these sites.

The second endeavour to unravel the mystery of Dumbrăvița Monastery's location directs us to Brebi, situated between Jibou and Moigrad. Here, in the northeast, amidst the hills, including one named *Dumbrava*, the Josephine map indicates a monastery, albeit unnamed. To the southwest, near Creaca, lies another hill known as *Dumbrăvița*. Despite the absence of this monastery in older Romanian historical accounts, recent historians have mistakenly identified it with Brebeni Monastery.⁵⁴ During the second half of the 19th century, Brebeni was located in Solnoc-Dăbâca County, while Brebi resided in Sălaj County, though both were part of *Solnoc Interioris* County until the administrative reform of 1876.

In his monograph on the County of Sălaj, Petri Mór aligns with traditional Hungarian historiography. He states that the ruins of the monastery near Brebi were part of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Margaret, established by Duke Almos at Poarta Meseșului. This Catholic monastery, along with the surrounding villages, likely disappeared during the devastating Tatar invasion of 1241.⁵⁵

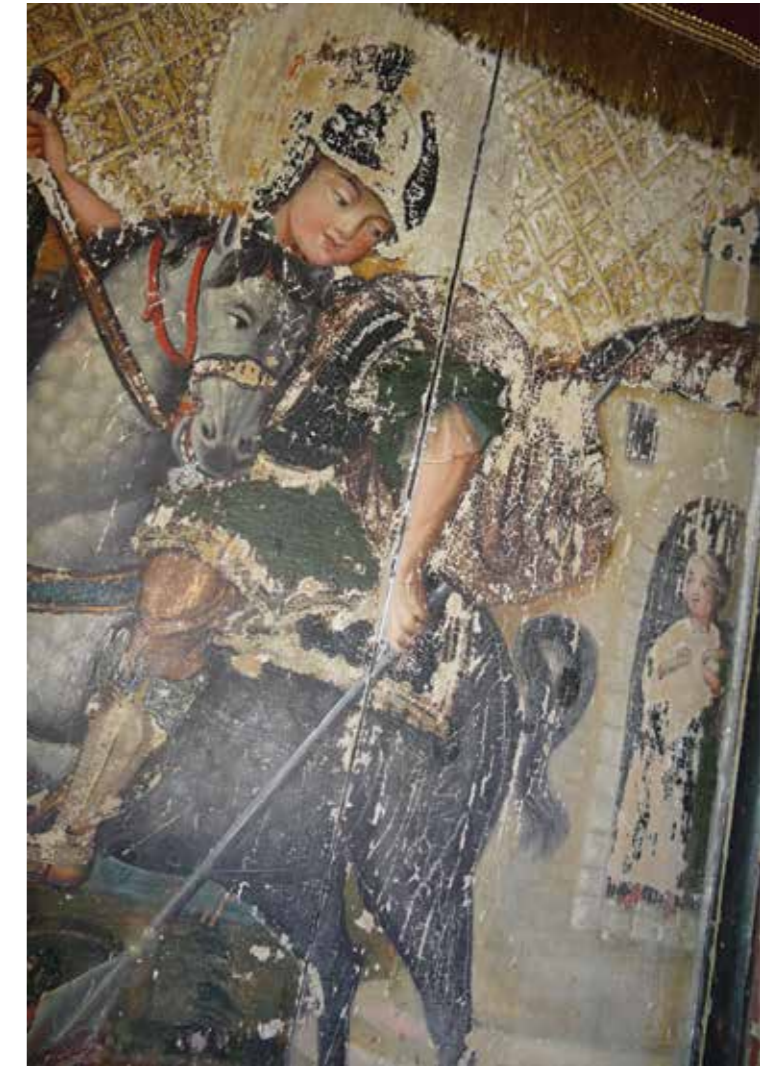
The Josephine map features the conventional symbol for a religious building: a miniature church with a tower on its west façade. Surrounding this are four additional structures, which were likely functional rather than merely decorative. This illustration suggests that the cartographers were not simply identifying a site with ancient ruins, but were referencing something tangible and possibly still operational, albeit temporarily abandoned. During the late 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, parts of the village, including the area known as *Monastery*, were under the ownership of the Drăgffy family.⁵⁶ This family was instrumental in founding the patriarchal stauropegion Peri Monastery in Maramureș County, currently Hrushovo in Ukraine.



▲ Fig. 12. The iconostasis of the parish church in Brebi, 1759.
Photo: Bogdan Ilieș.

The emergence of a monastery in the village, distinct from the debated location of St. Margaret's in Brebi,

presents a point of contention, though it remains speculative. Local tradition holds that the iconostasis of the parish church, built in 1759, was transported "from the monastery that once stood in the village".⁵⁷ The date 1780, inscribed on one of the royal icons, suggests the



◀ Fig. 13. *Inside of the church of Strâmba Monastery, view of the iconostasis.*
Photo: Ana Dumitran.

▲ Fig. 14. *Unknown painter, Jesus Christ Enthroned, royal icon, 1785, Strâmba Monastery.*
Photo: Ana Dumitran.

▼ Fig. 15. *Unknown painter, Saint George on horseback, slaying the dragon, patron saint icon, 1785.*
Photo: Ana Dumitran.

monastery was active during the period of the Josephine map and well after, making its absence from 18th-century canonical visitation records and documents puzzling.

This intricately carved iconostasis (Fig. 12) bears striking similarities to fragments from the 1779 iconostasis in Hodász, a Ruthenian parish now in Hungary,⁵⁸ under the jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Munkács (today Mukachevo, Ukraine). However, the grand scale of its entrances does not align with the height of the surviving pillars from the Strâmba iconostasis, and its late Baroque style conflicts with the 1700 date.

With no success in identifying a nearby location or any documented evidence of a monastery named Dumbrăvița in Transylvania, we are left to consider whether the inscription by Elder Melchizedek might directly refer to its current location. The iconostasis it embellishes resembles a solid wall, though it is not integral to the building's structural support (Fig. 13). Built from wooden slabs set within frames and attached to the wall beams, it is believed that the 1772 church reconstruction efforts included erecting this structure. This was likely modelled after a previous iconostasis, which, considering the age of the earlier church, would have been a complete wall.

The current iconostasis is intricately divided into five registers, each separated by distinct outlined elements, and appears to have undergone painting in three distinct phases. The only register with a definitive date, 1785, features the royal icons (Figs 14-15), which can be also linked to the icons situated at the base of the iconostasis (*predella*). The artist, whose other works remain unidentified, demonstrates exceptional skill with the brush and a profound artistic sensibility. His style and iconographic choices are characteristic of the Ukrainian Baroque tradition.



▲ Fig. 16. Ion Pop from Românași, iconostasis of Strâmba Monastery, the row of the Apostles, 1792. Photo: Ana Dumitran.

The scene of the Crucifixion and the Apostles' frieze were directly painted onto the plank structure, aligning with the nave and narthex, whose painting is dated to 1792 by the inscription found above the nave entrance inside (Fig. 16). The presumed artist, Ioan Pop from Românași,⁵⁹ is associated with the provincial Baroque style, influenced by the prolonged presence of painters from or trained in the workshops of Galicia. The festal icons, exhibiting a distinct colour palette, appear to be the work of the same artist and likely created at a later time. The intricately carved royal doors, attributed to a particularly skilled craftsman, are believed to have been made in 1792 rather than 1785. Previously, they were thought to date from 1742 based on Elder Melchizedek's inscription that frames them.

Access to the sanctuary is facilitated through three entrances, with the central one flanked by boards featuring the restored painting of Melchizedek. These elements are the sole contributors to the depth of the

structure; without them, it would conform to the earlier architectural style that existed prior to the innovations suggested by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla. Although the inscription by Elder Melchizedek references multiple ornaments crafted under Hegumen Domentiyân's guidance, only the frame of the royal doors has endured. Its precise fit within the decorated opening suggests that the entrance dimensions were specifically tailored to these boards, rather than the boards being adjusted to fit a pre-existing structure.

This detail indicates that the boards were either present at Strâmba earlier or arrived simultaneously with the other components forming the iconostasis, possibly brought by the carpenter responsible for building the structure. Regardless, their decorative nature warranted approval from the clergy, who had to bow deeply to pass through the opening, only 1.50 meters in height. If this dimension was chosen in 1772, it implies the previous structure was similar, suggesting the boards may have been inherited from the earlier iconostasis. Their preservation likely stems from the significance of the inscriptions they bear, highlighting their continued importance to the monastery's community.

The construction of the bell tower in 1747-1748 did not trigger any changes to the interior, which likely underwent renovations in 1742, when Melchizedek was tasked with renewing the decorative paintings originally created after the supervision and costs of Hegumen Domentiyân. This suggests that Melchizedek's mention could pertain to either the Strâmba or Fizeș Monastery, which was initially known as Dumbrăvița. Given that the toponym *Dumbrava* currently appears three times within an area of approximately 22 square kilometres, it is quite plausible that one of these locations was historically referred to as *Dumbrăvița* for at least a period of time. The monastery was located on a plain bordered by ancient forests, which likely maintained a similar appearance since its earliest possible founding in the 15th century.

The exact proximity of this source to the Strâmba Valley is uncertain today, as the original hydronym has been lost over time. Recorded by József Kádár as *Dimba*,⁶⁰ it could have alternatively been *Dumba*, *Domba*, or even *Dimbra* / *Dimbro*, *Dumbra* / *Dumbro*, *Dombra* / *Dombro*.⁶¹ This name, when combined with the Hungarian term *víz*, meaning "water," forms the genitive variants *Dimb(r)a víza*, *Dumb(r)a víza*, or *Domb(r)a víza*.⁶² To someone not local but familiar with a Slavic language, these names might phonetically resemble *Dombrovitsa*, as recorded in the 1742 inscription.

Given the lack of concrete information regarding the foundation of the monastery, coupled with its extensive land holdings, we are prompted to consider a speculative scenario. Around 1681, during an inheritance process, the descendants of the former Prince János Kemény – who had been imprisoned in Crimea and had established personal connections with Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi – were noted among the proprietors of Fúzes.⁶³ This intriguing detail leads us to propose the following hypothesis:

During his two-year captivity in Crimea, János Kemény became a prominent figure among the Cossacks.⁶⁴ In our opinion, this reputation may have led some Cossacks, during difficult times, to seek refuge in Transylvania under the protection of his influential family, despite Kemény's tragic death in January 1662 during the Transylvanian succession struggle. It is likely that the monastery was either established or revitalized under such esteemed patronage, benefiting from generous support that included a bell from 1679 and an icon painted by Luke of Iclod. As the Kemény family eventually ceased to hold local lands, their association with the monastery faded from memory, and tradition attributed donations to the Csáky family, which rose to prominence in the 18th century after reclaiming much of their estate.

Situated away from the village, which had its own church, the small monastic community, joined by newcomers Domentiyân and Melchizedek before 1700, possibly named their settlement after a nearby spring: *Dimb(r)a water* (*Dimb(r)a víza*), adapting it to their memories, perhaps in homage to the oak forest around Samar Monastery. When the Cossack monks were succeeded by their local disciples, and particularly after the monastery aligned with the Greek-Catholic Bishopric of Blaj in 1755, embracing union with Rome, it was renamed following the Transylvanian convention of using the adjacent village's name, thus becoming Fizeș Monastery.⁶⁵

With the mid-18th-century development of the hamlet of Strâmba⁶⁶ – now Păduriș, in the Strâmba Valley – it became known as Strâmba Fizeșului Monastery.

In reference to the painted decorations commissioned by Hegumen Domentiyân, the distinction between the frame of the royal doors and the doors themselves, as mentioned by Melchizedek, suggests that the doors belonged to an earlier generation of founders, while the frame adorned a previous iconostasis. The preservation of this frame in the new iconostasis structure indicates that such decorative styles had gained recognition and appeal in the region, despite the complete adoption of the new Ukrainian style only occurring in the latter half of the 18th century.

Domentiyân's initiative, though nearly seven decades after Metropolitan Petro Mohyla's efforts and constrained by the modest material resources of potential Transylvanian patrons, holds significant importance in the artistic landscape of the province's western region. Painters trained in provincial workshops in the southern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth often circulated in the area, typically introducing iconographic models and decorative elements that had become outdated in their homeland. With limited funds for large-scale projects and lacking skilled craftsmen, Domentiyân could only allude to the grandeur an iconostasis could achieve when painting extended into its depth. Nonetheless, he had the authority and theological acumen to initiate a change that, in other parts of Transylvania, would not begin until half a century later.

Exploring the Artistic Legacy of Hegumen Domentiyân and Elder Melchizedek

The first scholarly mention of the paintings in the church of Strâmba Monastery can be traced back to 1969, thanks to the work of Ioana Cristache-Panait.⁶⁷ She remains the sole researcher to have conducted direct observations and attempted to decipher the inscriptions on either side of the royal doors. These inscriptions are positioned very low, making them difficult to see and read, especially due to the dirt covering the paint layer. The challenge is further compounded by the limited space where the texts are accessible, a location traditionally off-limits to women. Additionally, the lack of suitable field research technology and electric lighting in the church at that time contributed to the difficulties in reading and interpreting the information, as well as in conducting a stylistic analysis of the various painting phases.

Ioana Cristache-Panait initially referred to a single inscription by combining two text segments, discussing their location only broadly in relation to the painting "on the intrados of the altar entrances" and on the royal doors. She attributed these works entirely to "the hands and efforts of hieromonk Domentiyân, future abbot of the monastery," dating them to 1742.⁶⁸ Marius Porumb adopted the statement almost verbatim but made a key modification regarding the language of the text. While Ioana Cristache-Panait had posited that the text was written in Serbian, Marius Porumb identified it as Slavonic and specified the location of the inscription on the royal doors,⁶⁹ a sign that he did not personally examine the text.



◀ Fig. 17. *Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, left side: a) Saint Basil the Great; b) Saint Gregory the Dialogist.*

Photo: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 18. *Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, right side: a) Apostle James the Less; b) Saint John Chrysostom.*

Photo: Ana Dumitran.

The linguistic nuances, which could suggest Ruthenian origins with terms like *фрама*, *кошта*, *наклад*, *козакъ*, complicate the text's comprehension⁷⁰ and hint at Domentiyian's roots in the distant, and largely unfamiliar to Romanian scholars, Samar Monastery. Consequently, the reading of the inscription remained incomplete, mentioning only the year 1742, while overlooking the initial part of the text mentioning 1700 and the name of the signer, "elder" Melkhisedek. As a result, only Domentiyian was recognized in academic literature as the painting's author.

The artistic composition is succinctly outlined, focusing on the identification of the depicted figures, who are suggested to be positioned on the intrados of the sanctuary entrances. This implies that all three openings to the apse, rather than solely the one for the royal doors, are involved. The evaluation of the artwork's quality, though expressed in an appreciative tone, is limited to noting that the faces of the four hierarchs are "pleasantly coloured and of pure expressiveness."⁷¹

The limited details available to us regarding the construction phases of the current church reveal a distinct attachment among the monks of Strâmba Monastery to the elements of this door frame and, by extension, the inscription it bears. A thorough examination suggests that their preservation was motivated by reasons far deeper than merely salvaging elements from the previous church. While the true explanation remains elusive, the observations themselves are noteworthy, warranting our attention before any conclusions are drawn.

The focus of this analysis is on the planks meticulously assembled to add depth to an entrance featuring a semi-circular top, with slight recesses at the ends that rest on the vertical components. The metal inserts positioned in the middle of the flat surface indicate the practical function these vertical planks served as doorposts, beyond their decorative purpose, for the royal doors that preceded the current ones. The newer, much heavier doors required more robust hinges, which were securely fastened to the sides of these same boards.

The painted decoration of this structure features full-figure depictions of renowned Liturgical authors, arranged in two overlapping registers. Clad in liturgical episcopal vestments, these figures are distinctly characterized not only by their facial features but also by their gestures and the objects they hold. On the viewer's left, in the upper register, Saint Basil the Great is portrayed holding a bishop's staff in his left hand and an open book in his right (Fig. 17 a). Below him, Saint Gregory the Dialogist⁷² (the Pope of Rome) – Στρίγορι[...] [Д]воесло[В]ъ – is depicted with an episcopal staff in his right hand and an unrolled scroll in his left (Fig. 17 b). It is interesting that this staff is depicted in the form of a Latin crozier with a curved top. The bishop holds the staff with a white cloth,





▲ Fig. 19. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, left side: the first part of the inscription.
Photo: Ana Dumitran.



▼ Fig. 20. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, right side: the second part of the inscription.
Photo: Ana Dumitran.

On the opposite side, in the upper register, is Apostle James the Less, signed on the doorpost as the *СТІИ ІАКОВ БРАТ ГДН* – “Saint James the brother of Lord” who was the first bishop of Jerusalem. Therefore, he is depicted in episcopal vestments (sakkos, epigonation, and omophorion), holding an unrolled scroll in his left hand and a chalice in his right (Fig. 18 a). Below, Saint John Chrysostom is depicted holding a closed book with his left hand and blessing with his right (Fig. 18 b). The inscription continues beneath these figures (Fig. 20), and the composition ends with a decorative element that mirrors the one previously described on the doorpost. Both Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom wear a mitre, two other hierarchs are depicted bareheaded. It is also worth noting that Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory the Dialogist are depicted in a felonion, while Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Apostle James the Less wear a sakkos. Saint John Chrysostom, as the Patriarch of Constantinople, is therefore always shown wearing a sakkos. Apostle James the Less, the first bishop of Jerusalem, also is known as the first patriarch of Jerusalem,⁷³ author of the first liturgy, and relative of Jesus Christ, is also depicted on the doorpost in a sakkos. At the time when the doorposts were painted, all bishops of the Ukrainian Church had already begun to wear the sakkos. Earlier, in the 17th century, only the metropolitan or certain bishops had the privilege to wear a sakkos, while other bishops wore the felonion as their upper vestment. Thus, in Ukrainian iconography, almost until the end of the 17th century, bishop saints were depicted wearing a felonion.

In the arched section above, Christ is depicted in glory, adored by angels and cherubs emerging from clouds, seated on a rainbow, blessing with his right hand, and holding a large globe on his knees (Figs 21-23).

While the facial features and hand contours exhibit a certain awkwardness or perhaps a cursory treatment of detail, the accuracy of proportions and the intricate decoration of the garments, featuring complex floral designs and strings of tiny gesso pearls, are noteworthy (Figs 24-25). Delving deeper into the painting layer, these variations in detail treatment become clear. Laboratory analysis revealed three distinct stages, discernible through examination with a binocular stereo microscope and a polarized light optical microscope. Beneath the current visible layer lies an earlier painting layer, sealed with a thin varnish coat (Figs 26 a-c). Subsequent alterations involved repainting portions of the faces and vestments of the four hierarchs and completely changing the background colour from orange to bluish-grey (Fig. 28 a-c). Additionally, new texts were added, which, at least the ones forming the extended inscription, do not overlap with older writings.

The arcade composition underwent significant modification, indicated by the reverse layering of brushstrokes—from inside the character contours outward, as opposed to layering the background over the hierarchs’ vestments, as seen on the vertical panels. Moreover, the cloud shapes and the dynamic portrayal of Christ’s body align more closely with early 18th-century painting than with the rigid gestures typical of late 17th-century icons. This Baroque naturalism-infused style is attribu-

which is also an attribute of a hierarch. The composition extends downwards with the first segment of the inscription (Fig. 19) and concludes with a geometric decorative element.



◀ Fig. 21. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, the central part of the arch: Christ in glory. Photo: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 22. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, the left side of the arch: angel and cherubs. Photo: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 23. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, the right side of the arch: angel and cherubs. Photo: Ana Dumitran.



ted to Melchizedek and dated to 1742. Subsequently, some letters were rewritten (Fig. 29 a-b), likely due to a third intervention involving a full coverage with primer or paint, which was promptly removed. Vestiges of this layer remain in the painting's original cracks and recesses (Fig. 27), as well as along the board edges that had not been previously primed or painted. This intervention, reflective of the rudimentary technique and color palette of the 1792 painter, coincides with the installation of new royal doors. The monks' swift removal of this aesthetic modification underscores their commitment to preserving the artistic and informative legacy from the previous church, highlighting its continued significance.

The stratigraphic analysis of the painting requires revisiting the inscription's content to determine how laboratory findings align with the statements made by "elder" Melchizedek. From the segment of text situated on the viewer's left, beneath the depiction of St. Gregory the Dialogist, we gain the following insights:

сїа фрама с^в: двере^н цер/ковнїх со инїми оукра/шенми сооруже^на и по/ставле^на: с^ш ієрманах^м доме^нтїаномъ козако^м манастира самарска^г / на то^н часъ будучи ігуме^н манастира сего до^нбро/вици. в лѣта 7281 : – These church doorposts with other decorations were crafted and installed by Hieromonk Domentiyān, a Cossack from the Samar Monastery, who at that time was the hegumen of the Dumbrăvița Monastery, in the year 7208 (=1700).

The second segment of text, positioned on the opposite side beneath the depiction of St. John Chrysostom, reveals the following information:

Кошто^м и накладо^м / того* ігумена доме/нтиана : писалъ / старецъ мелхи/седе(к) в год^л ачмв мїда а(п)^раї – At the expense and funds of the same Hegumen Domentiyān, painted⁷⁴ by the Elder Melchizedek in the year 1742 on April 11.

Additionally, let us consider the inscriptions adorning the doors of the iconostasis. Extensive texts like these, complementing the artwork, are rare on such structures. This also testifies to hegumen hieromonk Domentiyān's erudition as a theologian. Among other preserved ensembles containing a large number of prayers within the

structure of the iconostasis is the well-known iconostasis painted by hieromonk Yov Kondzelevych in 1698–1705 for the Maniava Skete.⁷⁵

Thus, as mentioned, the right doorpost of the church of Strâmba Monastery depicts Saints Basil the Great and Saint Gregory the Dialogist. The inscription above the figure of Saint Basil reads: восїѧ во сердцахъ нашихъ с/[вѣтло] разумїа твоего / гди – “Shine in our hearts the light of Your divine understanding, O Lord” – a prayer recited by the priest before reading the Gospel during the Liturgy. On Saint Basil's scroll, it is written: азъ есм / пасты/ръ пас/тирь з/нають мене й / азъ зна / ихъ – “I am the Shepherd; the shepherds know Me, and I know them” – a quote from the parable of the Good Shepherd (Jn 10:10-14). Beneath the figure of Saint Basil is the inscription: еще приноси тебѣ / сїю слово[...] службу – “We also offer to You this spiritual service” – the beginning of the prayer pronounced by the priest during the Anaphora at the Liturgy for the departed fathers, brethren, and forefathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, ascetics, and for every righteous spirit who has departed in faith. On the scroll of Saint Gregory the Dialogist is written: братїе имѣите / миръ, пачеже лю/бовь нелицемѣ/рну – “Brethren, have peace, and above all, unfeigned love”, which is a paraphrased quotation from the Epistle of the Apostle Peter (1 Peter 1:22).

The left doorpost features depictions of Saint James, the Brother of the Lord, and Saint John Chrysostom. The inscription above the figure of Saint James, reads: вонми от стаго жилища твоего и от слави цртваї твоего – “Pay attention from Your holy dwelling and from the glory of Your kingdom” – a fragment of the prayer recited by the priest during the Liturgy before Communion. On Saint James' scroll is written: братїе / непрелцаи/те, себе / похоти / мира се/го / іаков [іпр] – “Brethren, do not deceive yourselves with the lusts of this world, Jacob [pr]”. Above the image of Saint John Chrysostom is an inscription of the Proskomedia prayer from the Liturgy, which begins with the words: боже бже нїшъ [нб]/нїи хлѣбъ пишу / всего мира – “O God, our God, heavenly Bread of life of the whole world”. This is the Offering Prayer.

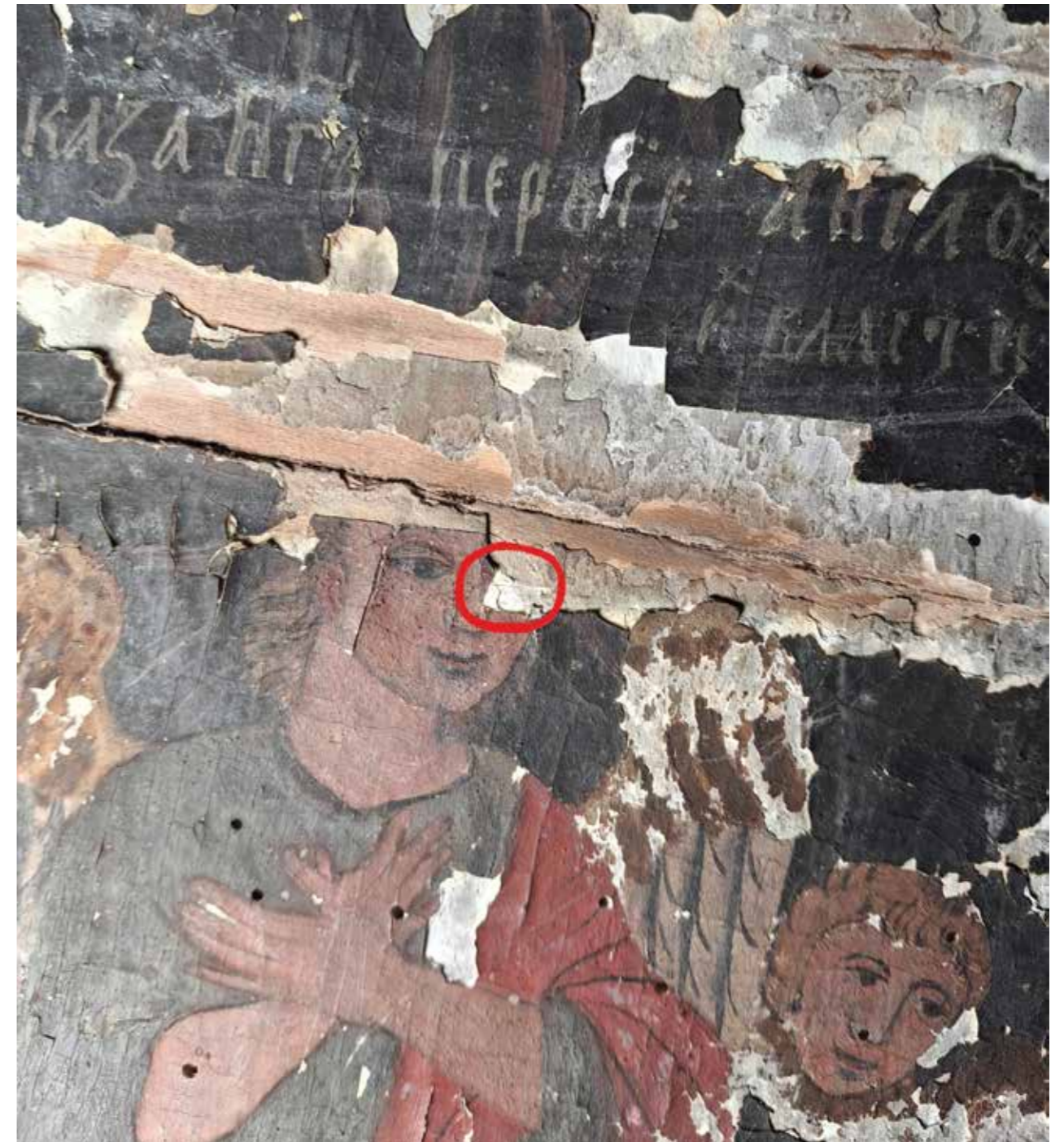
The partially preserved inscription above the curved portion depicts Christ, enthroned and surrounded by angels and cherubs. It reads: каза бгъ первїе англѣм ихъ властїхъ, which could be paraphrased as words from



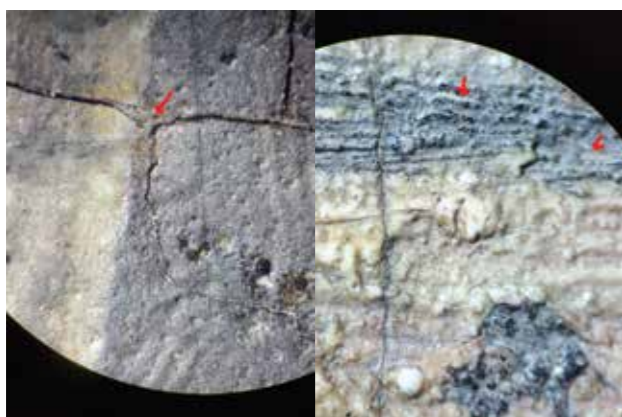
▲ Fig. 24. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, right side: Saint John Chrysostom, detail. Under raking light, one can observe that the thick, paste-like background brushstrokes cover certain details of the figure's representation.
Photo: Andrei Buda.



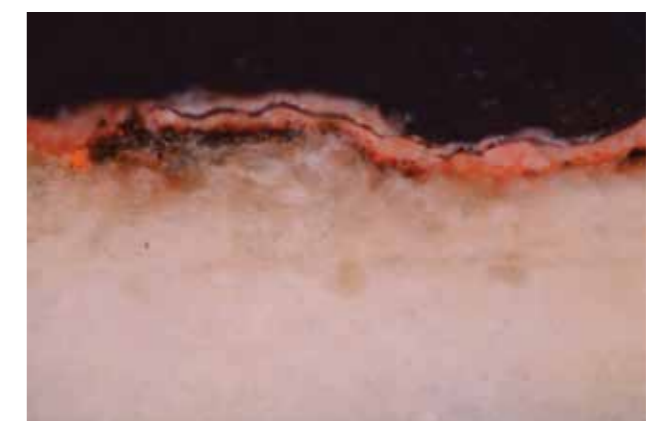
▲ Fig. 25. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, right side: Saint John Chrysostom, detail. Under raking light, it becomes apparent that the background color of the garments partially covers, in certain areas, the fine dots and lines of the decorative elements.
Photo: Andrei Buda.



▶ Fig. 26. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, stratigraphic analysis of the paint layer: a) sample collection area; b) transversal section of the sample magnified 200 times; c) varnish layer visible in the transversal section of the sample.
Photo: Andrei Buda.



◀ Fig. 27. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, letters on a blue background and subsequent layer of paint, visible in cracks.
Photo: Andrei Buda.





▲ Fig. 29 a-b. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, restoration of the letters after damage caused by an attempt to paint the plates around 1792.
Photo: Andrei Buda.



▲ Fig. 28 a-c. Strâmba Monastery, the frame of the royal doors, stratigraphic analysis of the paint layer: overlapping layers of color.
Photo: Andrei Buda.
Graphic reconstruction: Alexandru Baboș.

the Epistle to the Hebrews 1:6: “Let all the angels of God worship Him”. On the other side of the medallion, the text in yellow reads: и во веде бгъ [...] / во вселенную – “And God will bring into the universe”, which is a partially preserved quote from the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews: “And when God brings the Firstborn into the world, he says, ‘Let all God’s angels worship him.’” (Hebrews 1:6). The upper portion of the medallion bears an inscription that reads: и слово плоть, which are the words from the first chapter of the Gospel of John: “And the Word became flesh”. Thus, the iconography of this section of the doorposts, through its use of scriptural quotations, explains the symbolism of the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.

It is worth noting that in Ukrainian iconography of the 17th–18th centuries, two or four hierarchs are depicted on the doorframes of the royal doors. Those depicted on the upper part of the doorposts were usually half figures, as on the Maniava Skete iconostasis (1698–1705) and the Zhovkva iconostasis (1697–1699) (Figs 30 a-c). Occasionally, above the top sections of the doorframes of the royal doors, a half-length depiction of the *Virgin of the Incarnation* could be found. This image symbolises the idea of the Messiah’s arrival on Earth. For instance, such an image appears on the doorposts of the iconostasis of the Kožany church (Slovakia) from the 1680s, crafted by a Ukrainian master from Rybotycze. Here two hierarchs

are portrayed⁷⁶ (Fig. 31 a-c). Unfortunately, no surviving iconostasis from a Cossack Sich church exists, making it impossible to determine the iconography that would have adorned this part.

The inscription, when read literally, indicates that in 1700, Hegumen Domentiyān financed the frame for the royal doors, along with other embellishments of the church. Four decades later, as the church and monastery remained under his care and possibly required further renovations, Domentiyān secured the funds necessary to rejuvenate his earlier work. This responsibility was entrusted to Elder Melchizedek, who not only restored the original painting and added new elements, but also documented the history of the frame for future generations.

The mention of the distant monastery where Domentiyān may have taken his monastic vows elevates this inscription beyond a simple commemorative text, transforming it into a key to a profound spiritual revelation. Why, and for whom, was this information so significant? Was its inclusion a decision made by Domentiyān himself? Or did his companion, perhaps foreseeing the venerable hegumen’s imminent departure from this world, intend to signal the conclusion of the “Cossack era” in the monastery’s history, while subtly suggesting its future within a new Greek-Catholic context?

Regardless of whether we understand the true motive behind the inclusion of this detail in the inscription, any



▶ Fig. 30 a-b. Ivan Rutkovych, the frame of the royal doors of the Zhovkva iconostasis, 1697–1699. (“Andrey Sheptytskyi” National Museum in Lviv.
© “Andrey Sheptytskyi” National Museum in Lviv.



▶ Fig. 31 a-c. Anonymous painter from Rybotycze (?), the frame of the royal doors in the iconostasis in the church of the village Kozhany (Slovakia), ca.1680s.
Photo: Roksolana Kosiv.



commentary remains speculative in the absence of contemporary information that could unravel this mystery. What is clear is the enduring attachment the monks demonstrated to the words inscribed in 1742. Despite correcting the mistake that had caused the 1792 artist to align the frame's vertical elements with the apse's colour, they took care to reveal the inscription once again.

Although we can no longer explore the full extent of this connection, we can imagine it as a tribute to those who had previously dedicated themselves to adorning the church. This reverence also signifies an acknowledgment of artistic excellence that surpassed the capabilities of the newer local painters chosen in 1792, as none of the monks possessed the necessary skills at the time. The recollection of these two monks has gradually faded, along with any other artistic works they may have made for nearby churches. If any such work still remain, they they have yet to be discovered. Due to the incomplete reading of the inscription, researchers have only been able to preserve the name of Hegumen Domentijan. No other artistic artefacts or connections to the esteemed Ukrainian painting tradition have been identified, despite the inscription in the monastery's church indicating that he had led it for nearly fifty years. The matter of Melchizedek's connection to a second generation of painters from Strâmba, or if their presence in the Sălaj forests contributed to the strong influence of Ukrainian painting in the area, are only recently gaining attention among academics.

Conclusions

Our research, fuelled by a comprehensive initiative to protect and restore wooden churches in Sălaj County, provided an opportunity to explore the earliest documented attempt to create an iconostasis with wide intrados entrance portals in Transylvania. The findings from these investigations are more extensive than what is presented here. A thorough examination of these findings will reinforce and enhance the narrative where Ukrainian

painting held unrivalled dominance and influence until the late 18th century. However, direct connections to the Ukrainian region were rarely evident. The full deciphering of the inscription on the royal doors' frame at Strâmba Monastery is a significant discovery in this context. Although many questions remain unanswered, both about the unknown aspects of Transylvania and the under-researched realities of Ukraine, the presence of Cossack monks in Sălaj suggests previously unknown cultural exchanges. While this information is currently isolated and difficult to contextualize, advancing research with technological tools and interdisciplinary approaches—albeit limited to available documentary and artistic sources—will undoubtedly fill other gaps in the history of Romanian art and churches in Transylvania.

At first glance, one might perceive the creation of a three-dimensional-looking iconostasis as more of an experimental endeavour than a fully realized success. The extent of Domentijan's influence on altering the previous iconostasis is unclear. Nevertheless, the amount of care and attention he dedicated to achieving satisfactory results seems to be inversely proportional to the scale of the project: the smaller it appears, the more meticulous his attention to painted detail and preservation. Ascertaining whether Domentijan and his monastery served as a model for the founders of Sălaj's churches is a complex task, not owing to the multitude of ways by which this iconostasis style made its way to Transylvania, but rather due to the successive waves of destruction that ancient Transylvanian churches have endured over the last three centuries. Iconostases with wide-intrados entrance portals have survived in only a few instances, all dating from the second half of the 18th century.⁷⁷ Their creators also hailed from the Ruthenian-Ukrainian territories. By that time, the separation structure between the nave and sanctuary was already well known in Moldavia, and it had begun to spread southward into the Carpathians and the Balkans. The long-lasting cultural transfer routes remained highly valuable, even after a considerable number of local craftsmen emerged.

Notes

1 For the Cossacks' military involvement as protectors of the Orthodox faith, a role they embraced during the religious union at Brest in 1595-1596, see Plokhy 2001, p. 103-111. See also Berezhnaya 2022, p. 179-184.

2 In this article, we use both the ethnonyms *Ruthenian* and *Ukrainian* to reflect historical and regional contexts. The ethnonym *Ukrainian* began to be used widely in the late 18th and early 19th centuries when the modern national movement started to develop. Prior to this time, the term *Ruthenian* was also widely used, especially in the western part of Ukraine, mostly in the context of affiliation with the tradition of Kyivan Rus' (henceforth *Ruthenian*) and with the church of the Eastern Rite to distinguish the local population from the Polish people of the Latin Rite. Over time, especially in the nineteenth century, the term *Ukrainian* gradually replaced *Ruthenian*.

3 Recent scholarly investigations conducted by Oleksiy Kuzmuk have highlighted that Zaporizhzhya was a crossroads for multiple routes traveled by monks. These monks journeyed either to collect alms or to move to and from various neighboring

regions. It is worth noting that these routes did not include Transylvania. According to the documentary evidence available to the author, these paths did not go beyond the Carpathians. See Кузьмук 2006, p. 102.

4 Olianina 2023, p. 253-265.

5 Овсійчук 1985.

6 Бокало, Дибя 2013; Gebarowicz 2016.

7 During the 18th century, this iconostasis was relocated to the church in the village of Velyki Hrybovychi, near Lviv, where it remains to this day.

8 Examples of Ukrainian iconostases of the first half of the 17th century often exhibit Early Modern elements, visible in their emphasis on *symmetry*, *proportion*, and *classical architectural motifs* such as columns, pilasters, and pediments. Iconostases have clearly defined horizontal tiers, emphasized by projecting cornices decorated with Ionic motifs and flat relief carving in the form of acanthus leaves. Columns often feature vine motifs with clusters of grapes, which are characteristic of Ukrainian

iconostases of the 17th–18th centuries. At the same time, in the decoration of Ukrainian iconostases from the first half of the 17th century, influences of Northern Dutch Mannerism are noticeable, manifested in the use of rollwork, cabochons, and strapwork ornamentation. By the late 17th century, Baroque influences become increasingly pronounced, best exemplified in the grand iconostases of Hetmanate Ukraine (in the church of Vylyki Sorochnychi, Poltava region). Baroque iconostases are distinguished by complex, ornate openwork carving, with fairly realistic depictions of leaves, flowers, and fruits, as well as decorative motifs; they feature lush twisted columns and, at the top, broken cornices. Baroque iconostases often have a complex silhouette, with upper tiers sometimes rising diagonally toward the center. As in Renaissance iconostases, the central vertical axis remains emphasized. For example, see: Таранушенко 2008; Зілінко 2010; Цугорка 2019.

9 *Cossack Baroque* refers to a distinctive architectural and artistic style that developed in the 17th–18th centuries in the territories of the *Cossack Hetmanate* and other Ukrainian lands under the cultural influence of the *Zaporozhzhian Cossacks*. It represents a local adaptation of European Baroque traditions, blended with *Orthodox church architecture*, *Byzantine heritage*, and *folk artistic elements*. The term *Ukrainian Baroque* is broader and more inclusive. It encompasses all manifestations of the Baroque style in Ukrainian territories — not only in the Cossack Hetmanate, but also in *Western Ukraine* (*Galicia*, *Volhynia*). It therefore includes *different regional variants*, some closer to Central European Baroque traditions. See: Овсійчук 1991; Макаров 1994.

10 It was a policy of imposing constructive models adopted by the Holy Governing Synod. The Holy Governing Synod, a state-controlled body of the Russian Orthodox Church created in 1721, directed church affairs in the 19th century and enforced imperial ideological and cultural policies across the Empire, including Ukraine. For example, see: Voron 2025; also see: Danylenko, Naienko 2019.

11 Дорофієнко, Міляєва, Рутковська 2010.

12 Уманцев 1970; *Троїцька надбрамна церква* 2008.

13 Olianina 2023, p. 253-265.

14 Bunea 1902, p. 460.

15 Rusu *et al.* 2000, p. 202, sub voce Păduriș.

16 Ciuruș 1940, p. 2. In 1800, Strâmba Monastery was relocated to the village of Bistrița Bârgăului, having originally been situated in the vicinity of Tiha Bârgăului.

17 Kádár 1900, p. 490; *Şematismul* 1900, p. 283-284, no date.

18 The majority of historians referencing Kádár's work have opted for the year 1725. For a comprehensive overview of this preference, see: Oțelea 2012, p. 30-31.

19 Păclîșanu 1919, p. 168.

20 *Şematismul* 1900, p. 283.

21 Godea, Cristache-Panait 1978, p. 355.

22 *Historia Thaumaturgae Virginis Claudiopolitanae, Claudiopoli*, Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1736, p. 122-123, text republished as appendix to Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011, p. 226.

23 Oțelea 2012, p. 57.

24 Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011, p. 382.

25 *Şematismul* 1900, p. 283.

26 Currently, the records are divided between the Alba and Cluj County Services of the National Archives of Romania. This division occurred following the dissolution of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church by the communist regime.

27 Bunea 1902, p. 342-344; Pop 2002, p. 212-213.

28 Godea, Cristache-Panait 1978, p. 358.

29 Petrean-Păușan, Chende-Roman, Ghiurco 2008, p. 126. Pre-

sentation taken by Oțelea 2012, p. 35.

30 Forumb 1998, p. 180.

31 Dörner 2016, p. 154.

32 *Şematismul* 1900, p. 284.

33 Гавриил 1838, p. 46; Феодосий 1873, p. 7; Яворницький 1990, p. 293-295; Кузьмук 2006, p. 65-72; Харлан 2012, p. 163-167.

34 Феодосий 1873, p. 6; Яворницький 1990, p. 301; Drozdowski 2013, p. 272.

35 Феодосий 1873, p. 7; Яворницький 1990, p. 301.

36 Гавриил 1838, p. 6-8; Феодосий 1873, p. 7.

37 Феодосий 1880, p. 2-3.

38 <https://eparhia.dp.ua/novosti/vozhrozhdaemuyu-kokololnyu-samar-skogo-pustynno-nikolaevskogo-muzhskogo-monastyru-avenchali-kupolom-i-krestom/>.

39 Яворницький 1990, p. 302.

40 Яворницький 1990, p. 303.

41 Яворницький 1990, p. 303-305.

42 Гавриил 1838, p. 10.

43 Скальковский 1846, p. 138; Яворницький 1990, p. 258.

44 Гавриил 1838, p. 49-50; Яворницький 1990, p. 269.

45 Dumitran, Hegedűs, Rus 2011, p. 388, 398.

46 Dumitran 2023, p. 145-147.

47 Dumitran 2023, fig. 68.

48 Dörner 2016, p. 145.

49 Under the directive of the future Emperor Joseph II, the Habsburg army undertook the first comprehensive military topographic survey of the Empire. In Transylvania, the surveyors' team worked between 1763-1773. The resulting cartographic works have since been designated as the Josephine maps.

50 Kádár 1900, p. 327.

51 Kádár 1903, p. 85-87.

52 Pădurean 1990, p. 10.

53 Kádár 1903, p. 87.

54 Păclîșanu 1919, p. 154.

55 Petri 1901, vol. I, p. 581-591.

56 Petri 1901, vol. III, p. 175.

57 Godea, Cristache-Panait 1978, p. 267.

58 Puskás 2014, p. 309-320, fig. 9-10.

59 Godea, Cristache-Panait 1978, p. 357.

60 Kádár 1900, p. 498.

61 In a similar situation is the village of *Dombró* (from *Hung. domb* = hill), today in Alba County, with the Romanian form *Dumbrău*, which in 1925 was renamed ... *Dumbrava*.

62 The diverse range of variants arises from the challenge of determining the precise linguistic origin of the hydronym. Given that it holds no meaning in Romanian, it is plausible that its roots are Hungarian, though Kádár might have sourced it from Romanian references. In this context, the principle of vowel harmony, a key feature of the Hungarian language especially in compound words, must be considered.

63 Kádár 1900, p. 487.

64 Papp 2011, p. 107-226.

65 *Monasterium nostrum Fűzes* (Bunea 1902, p. 460).

66 In 1761 there were 2 families totalling 17 souls, and in 1767 there were 3 families totalling 21 souls. Dumitran, Dumitran, Laslo 2009, p. 63.

67 Cristache-Panait 1969, p. 142.



Biographical and Artistic Restitutions: Radul from Rășinari

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RÉSUMÉ : La présente étude relance le débat autour d’une question encore non résolue : l’existence, dans le contexte du mouvement artistique dont le centre s’est développé à Rășinari au XVIII^e siècle, d’un peintre et d’un prêtre portant le nom de Radul.

Jusqu’à présent, leur présence n’était évoquée qu’à travers des témoignages très fragmentaires, notamment la signature de l’artiste conservée sur une icône et la mention du « popa Radul » dans la biographie du peintre Stan de Rășinari.

De nouvelles informations inédites sur la vie du prêtre de Rășinari, issues de documents et de témoignages contemporains, ainsi que la mise en lumière de certains aspects de l’activité du peintre — reflétés dans les icônes découvertes au fil de la recherche, qu’elles portent sa signature ou puissent lui être raisonnablement attribuées — viennent finalement étayer l’hypothèse selon laquelle Radul le peintre et le prêtre Radul de Rășinari ne seraient qu’une seule et même personne.

MOTS-CLÉS : Radul de Rășinari ; centre artistique de Rășinari ; église « Sainte-Trinité » de Sibiel; art post-brancovan; XVIII^e siècle.

REZUMAT: Prezentul studiu readuce în discuție o chestiune încă neelucidată legată de atestarea, în contextul mișcării artistice care și-a avut centrul în secolul al XVIII-lea la Rășinari, a unui zugrav și a unui preot cu numele Radul. Simpla afirmare a existenței lor se întemeiază pe mărturiile extrem de vagi, reduse doar la iscălitura artistului rămasă pe o icoană și la menționarea „popii Radul” în biografia zugravului Stan din Rășinari. O serie de informații inedite despre viața preotului rășinărean, desprinse din documente și mărturiile de epocă, precum și relevarea anumitor aspecte din activitatea zugravului, reflectate în icoanele identificate pe parcursul investigației, lucrări care-i poartă semnătura sau care i se pot rezonabil atribui, sprijină în cele din urmă ipoteza identității între Radul zugravul și preotul Radul din Rășinari.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: Radul din Rășinari; centrul artistic de la Rășinari; biserica „Sfânta Treime” din Sibiel; artă post-brâncovenească; secolul al XVIII-lea.

The name Radul of Rășinari has recently been included among the repertoire of Romanian painters known to have flourished in 18th-century Transylvania. Due to a lack of detailed information, Radul’s identity remains somewhat obscure, which has unfortunately affected his recognition as a leading artist of his time, despite his undeniable talent. The 1993 publication by Virgil Căndea of an icon bearing the signature “Radul ot Rășinari,” discovered in a private collection in Lebanon, ignited significant scholarly interest. This was particularly intriguing since no other works had been previously attributed to Radul. Based on Căndea’s assessment of the icon, a more accurate dating to the mid-18th century was suggested, aligning with Radul’s apparent connections to post-Brancovan artistic movements. Additionally, it was specula-

ted that Radul might have been amongst the itinerant artists who journeyed to Transylvania from south of the Carpathians.

The documented existence of both a painter and a priest named Radul in Rășinari has sparked intriguing scholarly discussions. Notably, a “Radul” is identified as the father of future painters Iacov and Stan. This overlap in identity has led to the compelling hypothesis that these seemingly separate figures could have been, in fact, one and the same person. This theory invites us to reconsider the multifaceted roles individuals held in historical contexts.

These hypotheses have reignited scholarly interest in the artistic phenomenon that thrived in 18th-century Rășinari, a topic that remains only partially explored. The renewed focus prompts further investigation into this vibrant period, offering fresh opportunities to uncover the rich tapestry of artistic expression rooted in this historical setting.

◀ Fig. 1. *Radul from Rășinari, Mother of God with the Child-Kyriotissa*, c.1760; Abou Adal Collection, Louvre Museum. © Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Julien Vidal.

Biographical restorations

Radu, with its variants Rad and Radul, is an ancient Romanian name of South Slavic origin. This name is predominantly found in regions such as Oltenia and Muntenia, in Wallachia,¹ from where it eventually spread to southern Transylvania. Its popularity in Răşinari can be attributed, in part, to local traditions² that recount significant contributions made to the “Saint Paraskevi” church by the legendary founder of Wallachia, Voivode Radu Negru. Official records dating back to the 15th century, which features individuals such as Radu Nistor, Radu Băncilă, and Radu Pinciu, highlight the name’s longstanding presence.³ By the year 1700, census data from Răşinari indicates that seven residents bore the name Radu.⁴ Moving into the mid-18th century, another demographic record from 1754 to 1755⁵ reveals that Radu ranked among the ten most common baptismal names, with 17 out of 340 taxpayers carrying this name out of a total of 39 different first names.⁶ While the register does not specify the occupations of these individuals—except for one identified as a priest—it does mention that most of them were of modest or even impoverished means.

In attempting to identify Radul the painter among his contemporaries in Răşinari, one must consider the unique attributes that set him apart. Given his evident intellectual and artistic training—demonstrated by the sophisticated expression of his icons—the most plausible candidate would be Radul the priest. This assumption is based on the reasonable inference that a person engaged in religious and artistic endeavors would have the necessary skills and education to produce such refined work.

The earliest recorded mention of “clerk Radul, son of Stan Mutz”⁷ dates back to 1723, highlighting his descent from the esteemed and venerable Măţ family of the region.⁸ At the beginning of his career, Radul was ordained to the lower clergy, serving as a church reader,⁹ a position he held until at least 1733.¹⁰ This role not only reflects his familial heritage but also marks the beginning of his ecclesiastical journey.

The documents from a 1740 lawsuit that Radul initiated against his father-in-law unveil additional aspects of his life.¹¹ Radul was married around 1711 to Ana Bădilă from Poplaca, the daughter of Maria (born Barac) and Ioan Bădilă. Ioan, born in 1675, was a peasant without obligations to a landowner (Lat.: *libertinum*; Rom.: *jeler*), a community juror, and served as the judge of Poplaca, a village neighboring Răşinari, for a year in 1738.¹² Radul likely received his ordination as a priest from Bishop Ioan Inochentie Klein in 1734, as by September of that year, he was recorded as Popa Radul Măţ of Răşinari (Germ.: *Radul Mutz Popa aus Rosinar*).¹³ A subsequent mention in 1739 confirmed his affiliation with the Romanian Uniate clergy (Lat.: *Honorable Popa Raduly Ecclesiae Graeci Ritibus Vallachorum unitae in Possessione Resinar, in Sede Saxonicali Szeben existente habita pastoris*).¹⁴

Despite his ordination, like all the fifteen altar servers he joined, Radul did not receive a canonical portion and remained subject to property taxes.¹⁵ Following his ordination, Radul faced considerable personal hardships, being widowed and burdened with debts while providing for his children, two of whom were still minors. In the court proceedings, Radul asserted that his father-in-



▲ Fig. 2. Curtea de Argeş, inscription with the names of the painters Stan and Iacov from Răşinari. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

law had reneged on a commitment made at his daughter’s engagement, subsequently formalized in a contract with Radul,¹⁶ to provide a house in Poplaca and several agricultural plots as dowry (*sub titulo dotis*). To support his claim, he presented his late wife Anna’s will (Lat.: *defuncta consors mea Anna*¹⁷), in which she expressed her wish for the farm and lands designated as her dowry¹⁸ to eventually be passed on to her husband and, subsequently, their children.

The 1739 and 1740 trial proceedings included testimonies from Maniu Barb, the County Magistrate, several local residents, and the four non-Uniate priests of Poplaca. From Răşinari, the Uniate archpriest Tatomiş provided a statement in support of Radul, which was further endorsed by Bishop Inochentie.¹⁹

Andrei Gilea references a 1742 document from the Magistrate of Sibiu, detailing a legal dispute between Priest Radul and his father-in-law concerning the upbringing of Radul’s two minor children, who had been left motherless. In court, they reached a reconciliation, agreeing that the children would be cared for by their maternal grandparents. To ensure his adherence to this agreement, Priest Radul provided three guarantors: Priest Constandin and the villagers Petru Albu and Băra Sturzu from Răşinari.²⁰ However, it appears that the children were nearing adulthood during this period. One daughter, whose name remains unknown, married Bucur Hămbăşan from Răşinari sometime in the mid-1740s. Subsequently, on June 20, 1746, Bucur initiated a lawsuit against his father-in-law over an unsettled debt of 100 guilders.²¹

The identities of Priest Radul’s children are made clear through historical references to the renowned painters from Răşinari, Iacov and Stan. It has been noted in this regard that Stan “often left behind [on icons or in mural decorations], instead of a signature, the same text in which he indicates his filiation and kinship with Iacov.”²²

One prominent example is the intriguing inscription on the exterior of the church founded by Neagoie Basarab in Curtea de Argeş (Fig. 2). First published by Grigorie Tocilescu in 1887, the inscription remains partially undeciphered. It reads: † Stan zug[rav] i brat ego Iacov zug[rav], sin popii Radul ot Răşinar. Meşta sep[tembrie] 1, leat 7270 (= 1761). Pământ şi cenuşe (“† Stan the painter and his brother Iacov the painter, sons of Priest Radul from Răşinari. Month of September 1st, year 7270 (= 1761). Earth and ashes”). The text continues with follow-up line, previously interpreted by I. D. Ştefănescu as *Eu Filipul* (I Filip)²³ and later corrected by Victor Brătulescu to *Filip ucenic* (Filip apprentice).²⁴ Ioana Cristache-Panait speculated that this Filip might be another brother of Stan and Iacov, based on the inscription on the epitaph of the wooden church in Acmaru.²⁵ However, this hypothesis of a third painter in Priest Radul’s family is not supported by current evidence. Recent analyses indicate that the inscription at Acmaru reads *Stan zugraf i brat ego Iacov, sin popii Radul*,²⁶ and the mysterious letters at Curtea de Argeş form a word that remains undeciphered, but certainly do not read the name Filip or suggest an apprentice’s status.²⁷

Indeed, following this observation, one could suggest that Stan concluded his inscription with the expression “whoever likes,” cleverly inscribed in *mirror writing* (ЄЧАЛП ИДК = КДИ ПЛАЧЄ).²⁸ This phrase implies that he was addressing those who might wish to learn about his and Iacov’s presence in Curtea de Argeş. The challenge in deciphering this closing phrase arises from its clever disguise; while the direction of reading was inverted—from right to left—the Cyrillic characters themselves remained unchanged. This technique adds an intriguing layer to the inscription, inviting only the most curious to uncover its hidden message.

Until 1761, Stan did not use this method of identification; however, from 1769 onwards, his signatures frequently included references to his lineage, specifically mentioning Priest Radul. Over time, he began to incorporate the name of his mother, Ana, and often referenced his brother Iacov.²⁹

Regarding the youngest sibling, presumed to have been under the guardianship of his maternal grandparents from 1742 until reaching adulthood, documents reveal that his name was Marin. By 1747, Marin was married, but remained childless, and resided in Ciufud (Alba County) within the household of his elder brother, Iacov.³⁰

Unfortunately, specific details about Priest Radul’s life remain elusive until the late 1740s—a period characterized by significant adversity for his community. Since 1735, the residents of Răşinari had been involved in a lawsuit against the city and the Chair of Sibiu, contesting the excessive taxation imposed upon them, the looming threat of enslavement, and the encroachment on their ancestral rights to the mountains and lands they had been historically using. This decade saw the village rise to defend its property rights in 1740, and again in 1750, when they unanimously and fervently rejected Sibiu’s interference in selecting their municipal mayor.

The priests, including Radul, were at the forefront of these uprisings and often bore the brunt of retaliatory actions. Alongside these political and social battles, a

religious conflict was unfolding. The discord with the Greek Catholic Church hierarchy escalated after the people of Răşinari demonstrated strong allegiance to their ancestral faith. This tension, which intensified between the summer of 1745 and the end of 1748,³¹ persisted intermittently into the 1760s.

The specific stance Priest Radul took during these turbulent times in Răşinari’s history remains unknown. However, whatever personal circumstances influenced his decisions, they resulted in a temporary exile from both the village and his family. By then, his children had reached adulthood and were self-sufficient, and any interruption in his priestly duties could be easily managed within the community.

During the mid-18th century, tax collectors noted the surprising number of church ministers in Răşinari. Many individuals were recorded as Romanian priests holding ecclesiastical office, though it was challenging to ascertain who genuinely served in this capacity.³² A clergy census ordered by Bishop Petru Pavel Aron in 1750 listed six active priests (*fungens*) in Răşinari.³³ According to the memoirs of Priest Vasile Papp from Stează, duties within the parish were rotated due to the absence of a canonical portion (Rom.: *eclejie*). With nine priests available, each served one week and then had an eight-week period during which they could travel extensively, not only within the country but also beyond.³⁴

The circumstances surrounding Priest Radul’s departure from Răşinari remain shrouded in mystery, leaving us to ponder whether it was a premeditated decision or the result of an unexpected event. What is clear, however, is that subsequent documents consistently mention his absence. In November and December 1753, the civil administration of Sibiu, led by Senator Michael Wagner, conducted a conscription in Romanian villages around the city to address outstanding tax payments from 1750, 1751, and 1752. During this process, Priest Radul of Răşinari was listed as having resided in Bucharest for several years.³⁵ This detail was reiterated two years later by officials from Sibiu compiling a list of Răşinari residents liable for tax contributions, where the entry for Priest Radul included the note: *profugus in Valachia* (refugee in Wallachia).³⁶

Historical documents suggest that between 1750 and 1755—and possibly even longer—Priest Radul resided outside the borders of the Principality, specifically in the capital of Wallachia. In this context, the Latin term *profugus* could suggest that Radul was perceived as a fugitive, whether due to personal reasons, a voluntary exile, or potential tax evasion obligations. It remains unclear how he sustained himself or under what conditions he managed to stay in a foreign land, particularly since his status as a “fugitive” would have precluded him from seeking assistance from the state of his citizenship.

Typically, protection was extended to any “subject” of the Habsburg Emperor, including Romanian merchants or Transylvanian shepherds practicing transhumance in the Danubian Principalities. As a priest, Radul would have needed permission from the local hierarchy to remain in the city for an extended period of time. Consequently, a plausible explanation is that, like his fellow villager Deacon Constandin of Răşinari, who in 1741 had taken

similar measures, Radul might have declared his departure from the Greek Catholic Church and sought Metropolitan Neophyte's blessing³⁷ to join the service of the "Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East."

The likelihood that Priest Radul remained in Bucharest for the entirety of the sixth decade of the century suggests that he may have been entrusted with a mission or endowment, which circumstances had previously prevented him from pursuing with full dedication. The foundational premise of this biographical exploration posits that during these wandering years, Radul was engaged in the practice of icon painting. This would account for why, in the subsequent decade—seemingly his last—he was recognized solely through the artistic works he left behind.

Hypothetically, Stan's presence in Bucharest, as evidenced by the inscription on the *Deësis with Saints* icon he painted between 1759 and 1760, which was eventually housed in the church of the Radul-Vodă Monastery,³⁸ might have provided an opportunity for a long-awaited reunion with his father. Alternatively, it is possible that Priest Radul himself facilitated the commission, marking either the beginning of Stan's artistic career or, at the very least, the creation of the earliest work undoubtedly attributed to him.

If Radul indeed returned home in the early 1760s, this decision was likely influenced by significant developments that had unfolded in his absence. The village church, reconstructed on a grand scale between 1752 and 1755 under the guidance of Bishop Petru Pavel Aron, with substantial financial support from the local community, received exterior paintings in 1758. The church's consecration was to be further enhanced with an interior mural decoration. With Bishop Dionisie Novacovici's ascension in 1761 and the establishment of the episcopal seat in Rășinari, the church gained the status of a cathedral for the non-Uniate Romanians of Transylvania. Therefore, it is possible that one of the motivations for Priest Radul's return was to contribute to the completion of the church's iconographic ensemble, a project revitalized under renewed ecclesiastical leadership.

Artistic restorations

The artistic legacy of Radul the painter from Rășinari has, until recently, not received the recognition it deserves within the broader context of 18th-century Romanian painting. This oversight primarily stems from the lack of documentation beyond his sole acknowledged creation—a piece celebrated for its "genuine artistic merit"³⁹ yet surrounded by uncertainty regarding its origin and dating. The hypothesis suggesting that Radul's familial ties to the notable Transylvanian artists Iacov and Stan,⁴⁰ which could position him as a foundational influence on their remarkable achievements, remains debated and has not yet received universal acceptance. However, recent additions to Priest Radul's documentary biography weight in favor of this possibility, though not enough to establish it as definitive.

The identification of several icons potentially attributable to Radul of Rășinari enhances the likelihood of resolving the enduring question: whether the roles of father, priest, and painter were embodied in a single



▲ Fig. 3. Radul from Rășinari, *Mother of God with the Child-Kyriotissa*, c.1760; Abou Adal Collection, detail with the signature of the painter.

(©) Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Julien Vidal.

individual or should be regarded as separate entities. Nonetheless, establishing a chronological order for these works remains challenging, since only one has a confirmed date.

Works signed by Radul of Rășinari

This exploration begins with the singular work currently attributed to Radul and the serendipitous event that has brought back to light his name after it was lost for two centuries. The icon had remained absent from art historical records until it became part of the collection of Lebanese collector Georges Abou Adal from Mār Mūsā. Now part of the Louvre Museum's holdings, within the Department of Byzantine and Oriental Christian Art due to open in 2027, the Abou Adal collection features 272 pieces. Initially compiled between 1952 and 1970, the collection mostly contains Melkite icons. Post-1990, the collection was expanded by the collector's son through acquisitions at art auctions worldwide. Freddy Abou Adal also played a key role in promoting the collection internationally, organizing exhibitions in Paris (May–July 1993) and Geneva (December 1996–May 1997), under the scientific guidance of Virgil Căndea.⁴¹

In the catalogues made for these exhibitions, the previously unknown icon by Radul of Rășinari was prominently featured, with both overall and detailed photographic reproductions, accompanied by commentary and explanatory notes by Romanian academician Virgil Căndea.⁴² In 1998, Căndea brought this work to the attention of the Romanian public, further enhancing its recognition.⁴³

In his comprehensive analysis, the scholar meticulously documented the distinctive features that position the icon as "a representative work of Romanian icon art from the turn of the 18th century."⁴⁴ Painted in tempera on a wooden panel measuring 66.3×50.7 cm, the image (Fig. 1) depicts the Mother of God enthroned in majesty, cradling the Christ Child, with the archangels Gabriel and Michael attending in solemn adoration.

Following a thorough description,⁴⁵ Virgil Căndea highlighted an inconsistency between the inscription "Eleusa" (ΜΡ ΘΥ Ελεούσα = "of Mercy"), placed by the artist beside the image of the Mother of God, and the iconographic type it actually represents—Virgin in Majesty (*Vierge en Majesté*, with its Greek equivalent *Θεοτόκος Κυριώτισσα*, meaning the Mother of God enthroned as the Most Holy Lady—*Παναγία Kyriotissa*).⁴⁶ This observation shows the complexity and nuance of iconographic classification.

The Romanian Cyrillic inscription at the bottom of the panel provides important information: on the left, it indicates the year (1700) and identifies the artist as зр[р]а(в) Радла ѿ Ръшинаръ ("painter Radul of Rășinari") (Fig. 3); on the right, it offers a dedication: Ачастъ [ѿжнтъ] икона въ адъ пачити ИСѦНЬ ВОННА ПЕНТРѦ АЕСТЕ ВЪ СѦФЛЕТЕ А[И]СМЕ АНА ШИ СТАНА ЧЕ САЗЪ ПИТЪМПАЛЪ ДЕ АД МѦРИТЪ, КА СЪ СЪ ПОМЕН[И]АСКЪ ПИ ВЪЧЪ ("This holy icon was paid by Ion Voina for these two souls, namely Ana and Stana, who happened to die, so that they might be remembered forever").⁴⁷

Virgil Căndea concluded that the icon's style and supposed dating put it within the Brancovan era of painting, which was prominent in both Wallachia and southern Transylvania.⁴⁸ However, other art historians have expressed different views regarding its chronology. Ana Dumitran suggests that the icon cannot be so early dated, proposing that the letter-figures indicating the tens and units of the year 17[...] might have been erased.⁴⁹ In the same fashion, Marius Porumb and Ana Dobjanschi argue for a mid-18th-century production date for the icon, citing iconographic and technical parallels with works by Grigorie Ranite, created between 1760 and 1763 for the Church of Saint Paraskevi in Rășinari.⁵⁰

In terms of iconographic type, it is possible that Radul Zugravul drew inspiration from a specific compositional model, which became popular amongst painters from Banat and the southern Transylvanian region around the mid-18th century. A distinctive feature is the depiction of the Infant Jesus on His Mother's lap, with His arms sym-

▼ Fig. 4 a, b. Priest Ivan from Rășinari, *Mother of God with the Child-Kyriotissa*, 1758; Saint Paraskevi Church from Rășinari.

Photos: Ana Dumitran, Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.



metrically raised and both hands extended in a gesture of blessing.⁵¹

An illustrative example of this style is an imperial icon painted in 1741 by Nedelcu Popovici for the church in Banloc (Timiș County),⁵² now part of the collection at the Museum of the Orthodox Cathedral in Timișoara (Inventory No. 4592). Another example from 1758 is seen in the exterior mural decoration by the painter Popa Ivan⁵³ in the Church of Saint Paraskevi in Rășinari (Figs 4a, b). The narthex of the same church once housed an icon of this type (Fig. 5), painted by Grigorie Ranite in 1762,⁵⁴ though it is currently missing.



▲ Fig. 5. Grigorie Ranite, *Mother of God with the Child-Kyriotissa*, 1762, missing icon; Saint Paraskevi Church in Rășinari.

Photo: by courtesy of Elena Popescu.





◀ Fig. 6a. Radul from Rășinari, Holy Trinity, 1765; Holy Trinity Church in Sibiel.
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▼ Fig. 6 b-d. Radul from Rășinari, Holy Trinity, 1765; Holy Trinity Church in Sibiel, details.
Photos: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.



◀ Fig. 6d. The door that closes the portal from the narthex to the nave at the church in Livezile (Alba County), where the painter Gheorghe son of Iacov settled.
Photo: Ana Dumitran.



In examining the overall composition and specific details—such as the drapery of the vestments and the intricately embroidered white fabric shirt of the Savior—there are notable similarities between Radul's icon and the one crafted by Popa Ivan. Given Popa Ivan's esteemed position amongst Rășinari's artists, it is possible that he directly influenced Radul's artistic approach. This connection suggests 1758 as the *terminus post quem* for its creation — a new hypothesis regarding the dating of Radul's icon, currently housed at the Louvre. It is also possible that Radul painted the icon during the early years of the 1760s, potentially in 1760,⁵⁵ following his return to Transylvania, for a church that remains still unidentified.

The patronymic of the icon's donor and the baptismal names of his two relatives, names commonly found in Mărginimea Sibiului, suggest this region as the icon's origin. The most compelling hypothesis is that the icon was intended for the Saint Paraskevi Church in Rășinari, whose carved iconostasis was known to have been fitted with icons during those years.

The second icon, depicting the *Philoxenia of Abraham* (Greek: *Η φιλοξενία του Αβραάμ*), can be confidently attributed to the painter Radul. This icon is located in the "Holy Trinity" Church in Sibiel, positioned on the eastern wall of the nave, at the base of the triumphal arch, and to the right of the iconostasis (Fig. 6a). Its exceptional artistic quality has gathered significant attention, even amidst a collection rich with works by some of the leading figures of 18th-century Transylvanian painting.

In his 1972 album *Sibiu*, which was made under excellent graphic conditions by Dacia Publishing House in Cluj, the renowned Romanian artist-photographer Ion Miclea was the first to publish this icon, highlighting a detailed image of one of the angels dining at the Oak of Mamvri.⁵⁶ The black-and-white reproduction filled an entire plate and bore the German caption: "Detail einer auf Holz gemalten Ikone (17th century)."



Printed in Sibiu in 1979,⁵⁷ another photographic album titled Sibiel, also compiled by Ion Miclea, once again pictured the icon. This time, it was presented on two plates in a montage that offered both the overall image and close-up details, still in black-and-white. With it, a note described it as an “Impressive 15th-century work of art: The Supper (*sic!*) of Mamvri, painting on wood. Museum (*sic!*) of Sibiel.”

In 2024, in the third volume of the monumental monograph, containing almost 1500 pages of scientific text and illustrations, entitled *Monasteries and Churches in Transylvania. The 13th-18th Centuries*, an entire page was reserved for the colour reproduction made by Daniel Mihail Constantinescu, based on the icon from Sibiel.⁵⁸

On the panel's surface, a defined area was created using a closed contour of broken lines, along which profiled baguettes were applied. This framework, inspired by wooden moldings that adorned door pediments (Fig. 6d) or church furniture from the era, served as the boundary for the painted composition. The figures are strategically placed in relation to this outlined area, either within or outside its boundaries.

In the central space, the depiction of the Holy Trinity (СѠА ТРОИЦА) dominates the panel. Surrounding this scene are Patriarch Abraham (С. АВРААМ), his wife Sarah (С. САРА), and Isaac (ИСАК), depicted before the altar on Mount Moriah (Genesis 22:7); a constellation of stars symbolizing God's promise to multiply Abraham's descendants (Genesis 22:17); a cherub; and the Holy Archangels Michael (Ар. Ми) and Gabriel (Ар. Г). These elements are outside of the main outlined area. Within the Holy Trinity's depiction, faint inscriptions written in the same calligraphic style as the Kyriotissa engraving

by the artist—marked as З. РАДУЛ У РИ (Rom.: “Zugrav Radul din Rășinari”)—can be read, along with the year of the icon's creation: АѲѲЕ = 1765 (Fig. 6c).

When considering the iconographic approach to this subject, which carries deep theological significance, the painter from Rășinari may have drawn inspiration from the 1737 patronal icon by Grigorie Ranite, created for the chapel of the episcopal palace in Blaj—now preserved in the History Museum of Blaj.⁵⁹ However, it is particularly evident that Radul had the chance to study the depiction of the Holy Trinity executed by Popa Ivan, who might have been his mentor. This depiction is located on the façade of the church in Rășinari, within a niche aligned with the altar apse axis (Fig. 7).

Despite these influences, there are notable differences in specific details between the works of the two painters. For instance, in Radul's composition, the head of the angel in the center is portrayed with strict frontality, whereas in Popa Ivan's icon, it is depicted with a slight inclination. These variations reflect individual artistic interpretations and highlight the influences Radul received from Russian models prevalent in the artistic landscape at the time in Moldavia and Wallachia.

This icon, depicting the patron saint of the church in Sibiel—which, according to some sources, was constructed in 1765⁶⁰—may have originally been part of a set of images created by Radul the painter for the church's initial wall iconostasis. A decade later, when Stan of Rășinari was commissioned to adorn both the interior and exterior façades of the same church with murals (1774–1775), and later painted four large icons and the imperial doors of the iconostasis⁶¹ between 1775 and 1779, he chose to replicate Radul's patronal icon (Fig. 8) rather than



◀ Fig. 7. Priest Ivan from Rășinari, Holy Trinity; façade of the church in Rășinari, 1758.

Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

◀ Fig. 8. Stan from Rășinari, Holy Trinity, 1779; Holy Trinity church, Sibiel.

Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▼ Fig. 9. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), Mother of God with the Child “of the sign”, possibly 1765; north façade of the Holy Trinity church, Sibiel.

Photos: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

replace it. Today, both icons still reside side by side on the right wall of the iconostasis. On the back of the panel, the artist from Orăștie inscribed a memorial dedication, honoring the donors and his family members, beginning with “the priest Radul and Ana,” who had passed away.⁶²

Attributions: Radul and Stan, Creators of the Frescoes in Sibiel's Holy Trinity Church

Among the mural paintings that embellish the church in Sibiel is a striking image (Fig. 9) located on the northern façade of the nave, near the altar apse, which stands out in style from those created by Stan. This scene, covering a sizable area above the plinth, portrays a Byzantine iconographic type known as the Most Holy Mother “of the Sign” (Greek: Παναγία Ορομένη). The Mother of God, depicted in a bust and surrounded by the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, is shown in a praying pose (*in submissio*⁶³), with the Child in a clypeus at her breast, also praying and blessing with both hands raised.

Beneath the image, in a cartouche, a partially legible text remains, inscribed in four or five lines, with discernible words: КЪ ВРѢРѢ ТАТЬАДИ ШИ КЪ АЖТОРЮ [ФИДАДИ ШИ КЪ СЪВЪРШИРѢ] ДЪХЪАДИ [СЪЖИТ] ... (“With the will of the Father and with the help of the Son and with the fulfilment of the Holy Spirit...”), indicating the traditional invocation of the Holy Trinity, commonly found at the start of dedicatory inscriptions.

The earliest reference to the image and its inscription was made by historian Oliver Octavian Velescu





in a 1963 article, where he observed that “the fresco of the Orthodox church in Sibiel is painted in an entirely unusual manner on the north side, which has led to its partial destruction, rendering the dating elements indecipherable.”⁶⁴ However, in 1965, newly appointed parish priest Zosim Oancea, in a report on the ongoing restoration of the Sibiel murals, noted that the image of the Virgin Mary on the north façade dates back to 1765, coinciding with the church’s construction.⁶⁵ He was the first to confirm this dating, drawing on the existing inscription on the wooden frame of the narthex entrance door and a note left by a priest in 1795 on the final page of the marriage protocol, which documented the consecration of the church by the non-Uniate bishop Dionisie Novacovici in 1767.⁶⁶ Marius Porumb adopted this information without alteration, confirming that, according to the inscription, the icon dates to 1765.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the further degradation of the wall section where the inscription was located makes it impossible to verify this hypothesis today. Nevertheless, evidence of Radul the painter’s presence in Sibiel during the initial years following the church’s construction—presumably to create the complete set of imperial icons on the iconostasis—supports the hypothesis that he may have also painted this mural icon.

The iconographic type of the *Panagia “of the Sign”* traces its origins to early Christianity, specifically within the sepulchral context of Roman hypogea, where the allegorical motif of orants frequently came with epitaphs on tombs. The oldest known representation, which dates back to the 4th century, is located in the catacomb of the Holy Martyr Agnia (Sant’ Agnese), near which Constantina—also known as Costanza, daughter of Emperor Constantine the Great—founded a circular church-necropolis.

In Romanian ecclesiastical art, this image appears in the narthex of Pătrăuți Church (c.1490), above the portal leading into the nave, a threshold unusually guarded by the holy hierarchs John Chrysostom and Basil the Great.⁶⁸ At the Stănești Monastery in Vâlcea, the 16th-century icon of the Mother of God “of the Sign,” known there as *Vüplüştenie* (Incarnation),⁶⁹ is depicted in a niche within the southern portico of the exonarthex, which opens through arches to the monastic cemetery.⁷⁰

It is possible that the icon’s symbolic association with intercessory prayers for the deceased⁷¹ explains its atypical placement on the northern façade of the church in Sibiel. From this vantage point, the icon overlooked the cemetery that began forming around the church shortly after its construction, initially marked by the burial of priests, whose graves, in line with Transylvanian ecclesiastical tradition, were located in the shadow of the northern wall.

During his time in Rășinari, Radul was well-acquainted with established iconographic traditions and their associated funerary symbolism. In 1758, painters Popa Ivan and Nistor Dascălul cel Bătrân (“the old master”) reinterpreted these conventions on the southern and eastern façades of the Saint Paraskevi Church, centrally located within the cemetery (old Rom. *progadia*). They created a sequence of images that illustrate the masterpieces of post-Brancovan Transylvanian painting: *Saint Archangel Michael the Victorious and Psychopomp*, *Saints Hierarchs Basil the Great and John Chrysostom*, *The Ascension of the Lord*, and *The Descent into Hell*.

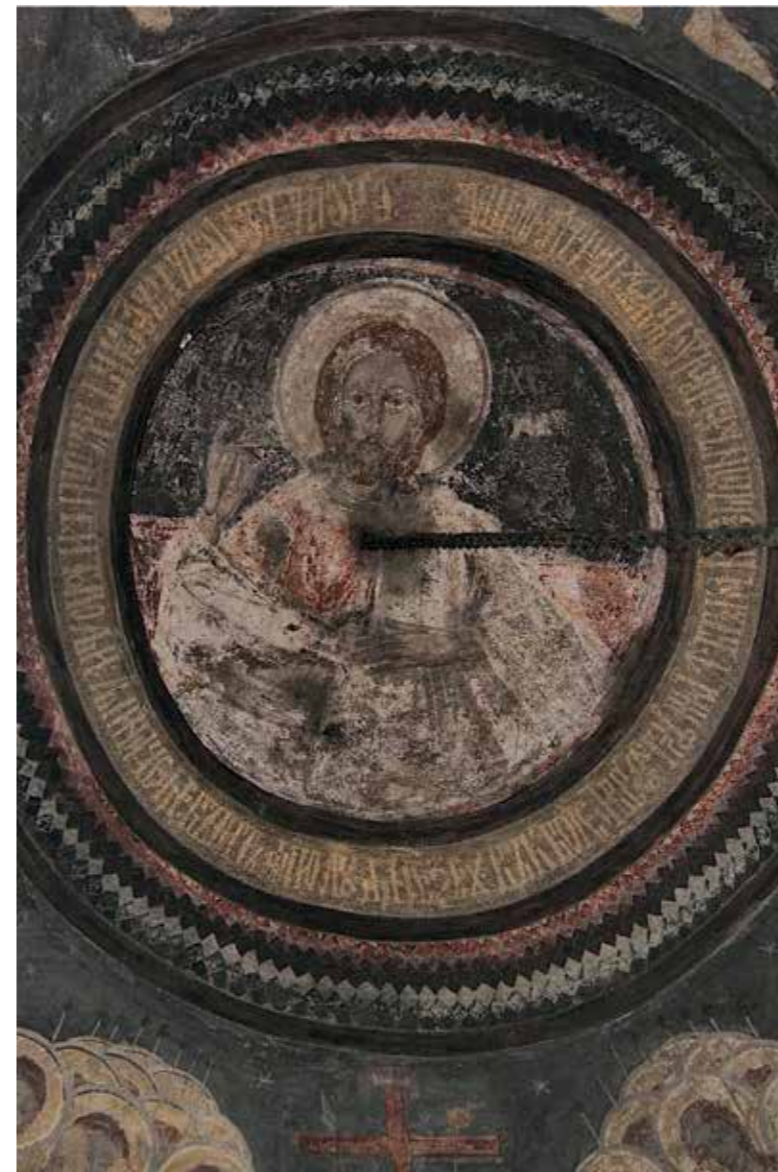
In Săliște, on the southern façade of the nave and the eastern façade of the altar apse at the church in Gruï—formerly the Monastery “of Căndești” founded in 1742⁷²—recent restoration efforts have uncovered three

◀ Fig. 10 a, b. Nistor from Rășinari (attribution), Saint Nicholas, c.1742; detail from the fresco on the south façade of the “from Gruï” church, Săliștea Sibiului.
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▼ Fig. 11. Nistor from Rășinari (attribution), fresco on the south façade of the church “from Gruï”, Săliștea Sibiului, c.1742.
Photos: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▼ Fig. 12. Nistor from Rășinari (attribution), Saint Archangel Michael, c.1742; fresco on the east façade of the church “in Gruï”, Săliștea Sibiului.
Photos: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.





◆ Fig. 13 a-f. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), details of the mural decoration of the nave vault, c.1765; Holy Trinity church, Sibiel. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.



fragments of the earliest exterior iconographic decoration. These were likely created immediately after the construction of the worship site by Nistor Dascălul from Răşinari, having been hidden under limewash and layers of later repainting. There is compelling evidence suggesting that Nistor Dascălul was the artist behind these paintings, given the stylistic similarities to scenes from the mural decoration in Răşinari and the icon of the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, donated to the church in Grui by the Maramureş hieromonk Ghervasie—then abbot of the Sibiel monastery.⁷³ Ana Dumitran recently attributed this icon to Nistor Dascălul.⁷⁴

The first two scenes on the south wall suffered significant damage over time due to the enlargement of a window opening located directly beneath them, leading to their eventual covering with lime. The first scene, less severely damaged, is an icon of *Saint Nicholas* (Figs 10a, b). From the adjacent scene (Fig. 11), only the upper part of the Holy Virgin, depicted in prayer and surrounded by Archangels, remains visible, along with a fragment of Jesus' halo, suggesting His position next to His Mother's chest with arms likely raised laterally.⁷⁵

The third image by Nistor takes up a niche in the high register of the hemicycle, aligned with the apse axis. This icon of the *Holy Archangel Michael* (Fig. 12) was restored following a crude intervention involving oil-based repainting.

The proposition that this isolated fresco fragment can be credited to Radul of Răşinari—and that he was not solely an icon painter but also engaged in monumental painting—suggests that his contributions to the embellishment of the church in Sibiel might have been more extensive than previously thought. This hypothesis implies that Radul may have been not only the earliest artist commissioned for this ambitious project but also the principal master responsible for its execution. A closer analysis of the mural ensemble further confirms the plausibility of this assumption.

I. D. Ştefănescu, who examined the church frescoes shortly after their removal in 1965, attributed them to “country craftsmen,” without specifying individual artists by name.⁷⁶ It was Priest Zosim Oancea who clarified the authorship, revealing that the sole creator of the 1774–1775 paintings was “the painter Stan, as evidenced by his signature, which appears three times inside the church and once on an exterior icon under the eaves on the south wall.”⁷⁷ This argument, attributing the entire mural decoration to a single artist who “aware of his mission, signed and dated his work in several places,”⁷⁸ has been supported by other researchers of the monument.

However, the frequent appearance of Stan's name—five times in total—may also suggest a deliberate attempt to highlight and distinguish his contribution to the ensemble, beyond simple stylistic attribution. This raises the possibility that he may not have been the sole author. His signatures create a path consistent with the conventions of church painting, marking the scenes he executed during his two-year tenure in Sibiel.

This artistic journey begins in the nave with the paintings on the eastern arch of the altar, dated to 1774,⁷⁹ and continues across the swing vault in front of the iconostasis (Figs 15a, b), then onto the corresponding western



◆ Fig. 13 g-h. Radul from Răşinari (attribution), details of the mural decoration of the nave vault, c. 765; Holy Trinity church, Sibiel.
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

vault, the interior of the arch, and the vertical north wall of the nave (Figs 15c, d). The sequence picks up again in 1775, following the same compositional logic, on the vault and walls of the narthex, culminating with the icons painted in the exterior niches. This suggests that Stan took on the responsibility of advancing the decorative program from where another artist left off.

A noticeable distinction—which was previously overlooked—exists between the paintings bearing Stan's stylistic touch and those on the pendant vault of the nave (Figs 13a–g), the arch and southern wall of the same space (Fig. 13h), as well as the vault and walls of the altar apse (Figs 14a–d). Conversely, the figures in these sequences exhibit the hieratic expressiveness typical of the angelic faces found in Radul of Răşinari's icons.

Regarding the timing of this decoration, further clarification is warranted. Although documentation suggests that the Holy Trinity Church in Sibiel was constructed in 1765, a separate reference from 1805, recorded during the conscription of clergy and non-Uniate believers in



Transylvania, implies that the building had existed for some time prior and was simply repaired in 1762. The traces of intervention on the eastern wall of the nave, initially thought to follow the demolition of the wall iconostasis, could be reinterpreted based on ongoing archaeological surveys. These findings might indicate that an earlier apse was demolished and replaced with a new one, built according to a different architectural plan, possibly aligning with the repairs noted in 1762⁸⁰ and supporting the hypothesis that the initial phase of mural decoration dates to around 1765.

Attributions: The Icons of Răşinari by Radul the Painter

Multiple lines of evidence suggest that Radul the Painter played a significant role in the artistic embellishment of the church in his hometown of Răşinari. Existing documentation identifies several artists responsible for the iconography on both the intricately carved iconostasis and the icons originally placed on the eastern masonry

wall—known as the “front”—which once enclosed the narthex. Over time, these artistic interventions involved additions, modifications, and replacements, collectively shaping the current decorative ensemble. To understand its evolution, one might analyze the ensemble in reverse chronological order, examining each element from the most recent to the earliest.

According to a report compiled in 1795 by Archpriest Sava Popovici of Răşinari, the interior decoration of Saint Paraskevi Church was completed between 1787 and 1795, funded by the whole local community. The report notes that by 1795, the *raspetia* (icon-crucifix) and the two decorative elements known as “flowers” (*molenii*, *lypira* icons) atop the iconostasis had been painted.⁸¹ While the document does not explicitly name the artist, evidence suggests that the painter was Joseph Neuhauser of Sibiu.⁸² The same report details that in 1787, two artists—Gheorghe from Cacova Aiudului and Priest Niţ from Ghijasa de Sus—were compensated with 700 and 50 florins respectively for the work commissioned by the



village starting in 1784.⁸³ Their contributions included painting the icons on the iconostasis and the altar doors.⁸⁴

Gheorghe, the son of Iacov the painter from Rășinari, is clearly identified as the creator of the icons in the upper registers of the iconostasis, which were meant to replace older works previously occupying those positions.⁸⁵ It is likely that he executed these paintings either independently or in collaboration with Priest Ioan Grigorievici from Ghijasa de Sus, whose presence in Rășinari is confirmed by his signature from that year, identifying him as a mural painter.

It is believed that the two artists collaborated on painting the deacon doors mentioned in the archival document. It is also possible that they worked together on the sovereign icons, which did not survive. The only remaining visual evidence—a photographic reproduction of the icon depicting the *Mother of God with the Child* (Fig. 16b)—suggests that their composition might have been inspired by the imperial icon created by Stefan Tenetski in 1765 for the iconostasis of the episcopal cathedral in Blaj.

Additionally, in the left corner at the bottom of the lost icon from Rășinari, the photograph reveals an inscription. Archpriest Emilian Cioran noted that it contained the phrase: “by Gheorghe painter son of Iacov, 1785. Ioan Chiș painter.”⁸⁶

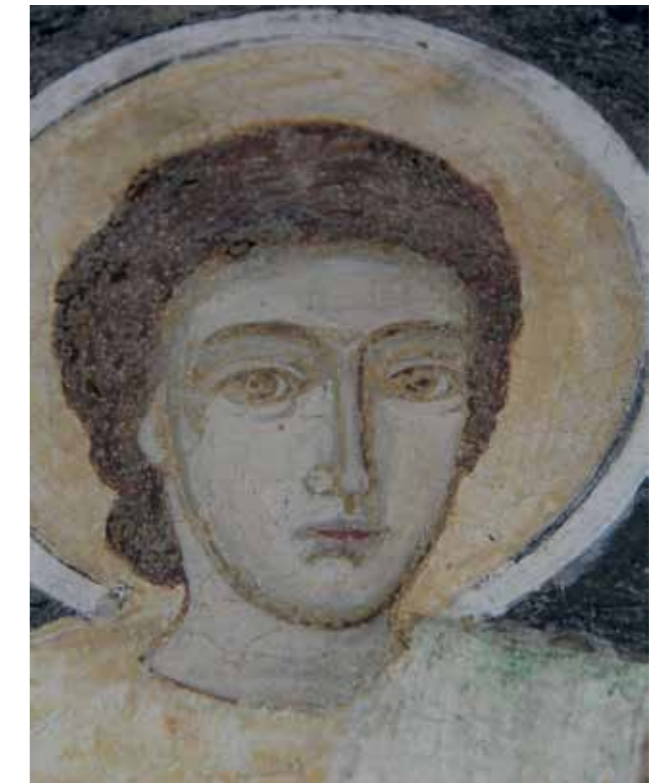
Until recently, the church housed a set of six large icons attributed to Grigorie Ranite, recognizable either through his signature or stylistic analysis. These works, dated between 1760 and 1763, have unfortunately seen three of them vanish—a fate other lost pieces faced.

Their existence is now recorded solely through a limited number of photographs (Fig. 16a) and archives records compiled for their classification as cultural heritage assets. These sources provide a relatively accurate reconstruction of their original placement within the church.

Notably, two icons from 1761—depicting *Saint Nicholas* and *Saint Paraskevi*—were originally positioned on the iconostasis, likely since its initial installation. The remaining four icons—*Saint Nicholas* (1763) (Fig. 16c), the *Mother of God with the Child* (1762), the *Deësis* (1762), and the *Venerable Paraskevi* (1760)—were later mounted on icon stands (*Proskinitario*) in the narthex after the wall frontispiece, on which they had been originally placed, was demolished in 1866.

In addition to the abovementioned icons, four festal icons⁸⁷ from 1761 and attributed to Grigorie Ranite, along with two others believed to be the work of his son, Ioan Grigorievici, have been preserved in various locations. Originally, all six icons were part of the iconostasis in the church at Rășinari, where they remained until 1785. At that time, they were replaced by a new set of icons painted by Gheorghe, the son of Iacov. This transition marks an important moment in the artistic evolution of the church’s iconography, reflecting the dynamic interchange of artistic influences and family legacies.

Several painted elements from the original iconostasis, dating back to 1784–1785, were not replaced during following renovations. Despite their historical and artistic significance, these pieces have gathered limited scholarly attention in studies of the iconographic ensemble. This oversight is largely due to the difficulties in stylistic classification, as these fragments do not clearly fit within any



◀ Fig. 14 a-d. *Radul from Rășinari* (attribution), details of the mural decoration of the altar apse, c.1765; Holy Trinity church, Sibiel.
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

established or presumed artistic groups whose authorship has been definitively or tentatively identified.

Among these elements are the royal doors of the iconostasis (Fig. 17), depicting the *Annunciation*; two additional scenes, *Adam and Eve* (Fig. 18) and the *Sacrifice of Abraham* (Fig. 19), painted on the lower panels beneath the sovereign icons; and an icon of the *Old Testament Holy Trinity* (Fig. 20a), which originally belonged to the series of festal icons later replaced by the works of Gheorghe son of Iacov. The latter icon was preserved in the parish museum of Rășinari and, following its recent restoration, was returned to the church. The depiction of the *Annunciation*, meticulously painted directly onto the royal doors—crafted before 1760 by Ioan Tâmplarul from Câmpulung—and the overall design of the wooden iconostasis have been attributed to Ioan Grigorievici.⁸⁸

While Ioan Grigorievici’s collaboration with his father on the mural decoration of the church in Rășinari did not significantly diverge from the work of Grigorie Ranite,⁸⁹ his involvement in creating festal icons for the iconostasis in the early 1760s reveals a marked difference in execution. His style in these works appears noticeably less refined and more awkward by comparison. Recent research into his artistic development, especially in portable icon painting, has gained momentum due to the discovery of numerous works that bear his signature and are dated.⁹⁰

This growing body of evidence has clarified Ioan Grigorievici’s distinctive painting style, whose characteristics have become more pronounced over time. Con-





◆ Fig. 15 a-d. Stan from Rășinari, details of the mural decoration of the nave, 1774; Holy Trinity church, Sibiel. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.



▲ Fig. 16 a. Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari, view from inside the nave; archive photo.
Photo: by courtesy of Astra Museum, Sibiu.



▲ Fig. 16 b. Gheorghe from Cacova Aiudului and Ioan Chiș, Mother of God with the Child, 1785; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari.
Photo: by courtesy of Fr. Nicolae Jianu, Sibiu.



▲ Fig. 16 c. Grigorie Ranite, Saint Nicholas, 1763; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari.
Photo: Ioan Ovidiu Abdrudan.

sequently, the attribution of certain icons to him can be definitively ruled out. Instead, particular stylistic features suggest a connection to Radul of Rășinari, particularly in the depiction of angelic faces. These features include a similarly sincere and unrefined line, a lack of analytical subtlety, elongated proportions, and a tendency to flatten volumetric forms, resulting in shapes reminiscent of pressed flowers from an herbarium.

The inclusion of the *Old Testament Holy Trinity* icon among the festal icons created during the initial phase of decorating the iconostasis at Rășinari⁹¹ is supported by several compelling factors. The icon's dimensions (47 × 38.6 cm) closely align with those of other surviving pieces, and its frame profile is consistent with them. Most notably, its stylistic coherence with the icons attributed to Grigorie Ranite suggests a collaborative effort involving three painters, creating a cohesive ensemble. Similar to the icons in Sibiel, the title of this piece is inscribed in red letters on a gold background, prominently placed at the top center of the panel: *СѦѦ Троице* ("Holy Trinity").

Unfortunately, a dedication inscription (Figs 20b, c) has lost its most significant fragments due to the degradation of the green pigment used as its background. Despite widespread discoloration, some fragments remain legible: *Помениръ Г. Д. Шерван П[—], здрра[—]*,

▼ Fig. 17. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), Annunciation, painting of the royal doors, c.1760; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari.
Photos: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.



аѦ[—] ("Commemoration of the servant of God Șerban P[...]. Zugrav [...], 17[...]").

The composition of this icon reveals a peculiar detail for Romanian iconography (for this theme), which however appears in Russian icons, suggesting they may have served as an inspiration for the painter. Specifically, it features a miniature depiction in the lower right corner of the panel, showing the servant sent by patriarch Abraham to select a young, fattened calf for sacrifice (Genesis 18:7).

In the context of these comparative analyses, juxtaposing this icon with the *Holy Trinity* representation from Sibiel, crafted by Radul the painter, highlights distinct stylistic similarities. These include the construction of physiognomies imparted with an unmistakable expression of candor, and the lavish use of gold. Over this gold, Radul skilfully layers subtle chromatic harmonies—between a dominant orange-red, a distinctive shade in Radul's icons achieved through cadmium vermilion, and tones of ultramarine and emerald green—creating an unusual festive brilliance through juxtaposition.

The distinctive aura surrounding this icon undoubtedly set it apart within the ensemble of festal representations on the iconostasis, eloquently reflecting the esteem Popa Radul held among the Rășinari artist community. This prominence confirms that his inclusion in Grigorie Ranite's team was neither incidental nor due to any clandestine arrangements. It is possible that, as part of the artistic endeavors at Saint Paraskevi Church in the early





▲ Fig. 18. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), *The Original Sin*, predella icon, c.1760; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▲ Fig. 19. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, predella icon, c.1760; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

1760s, Radul created a comprehensive set of double-sided festal icons (Figs 21a–h), painted on copper plates. Of these, four have survived, portraying themes such as the *Venerable Simeon Stylite*, the *Birth of the Mother of God*, the *Entry of the Virgin into the Church*, the *Council of the Holy Angels*, *Saint Nicholas*, *Saint Venerable Sava*, *Saint Martyr Theodore Tiron*, and the *Holy 40 Martyrs*.

Attributions: the icons from Cornățel

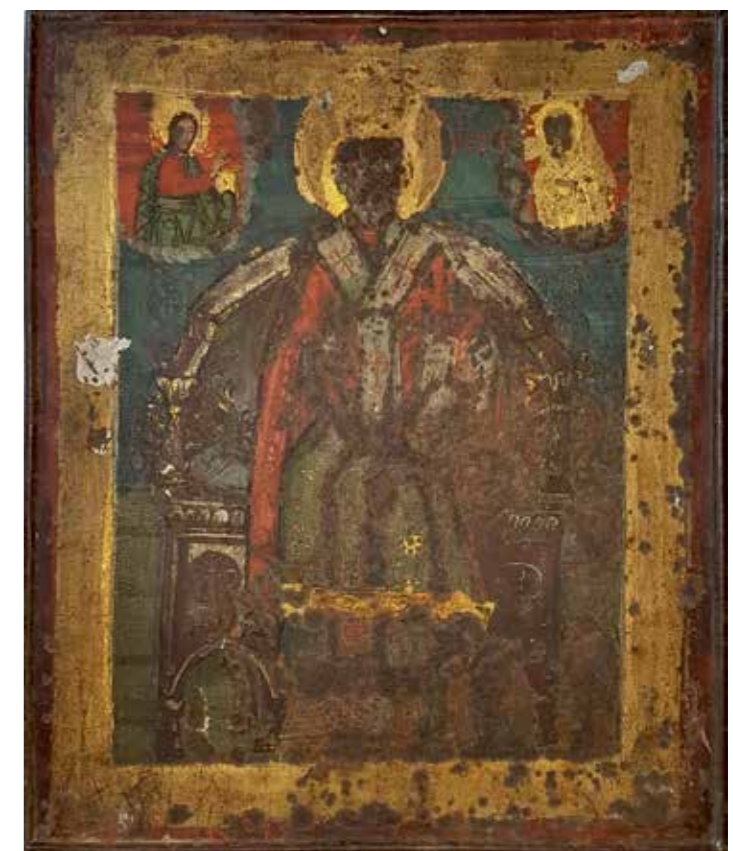
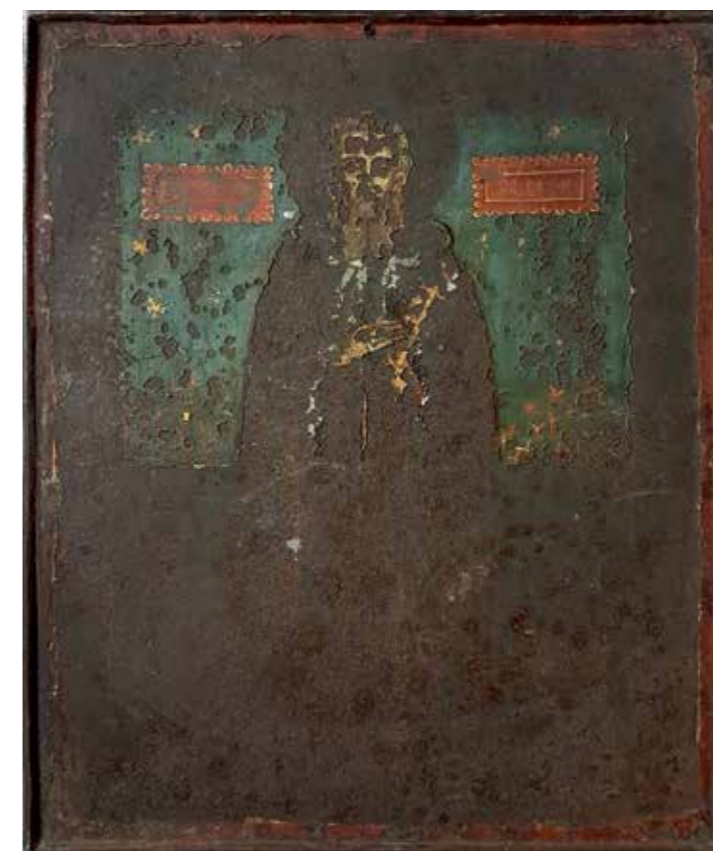
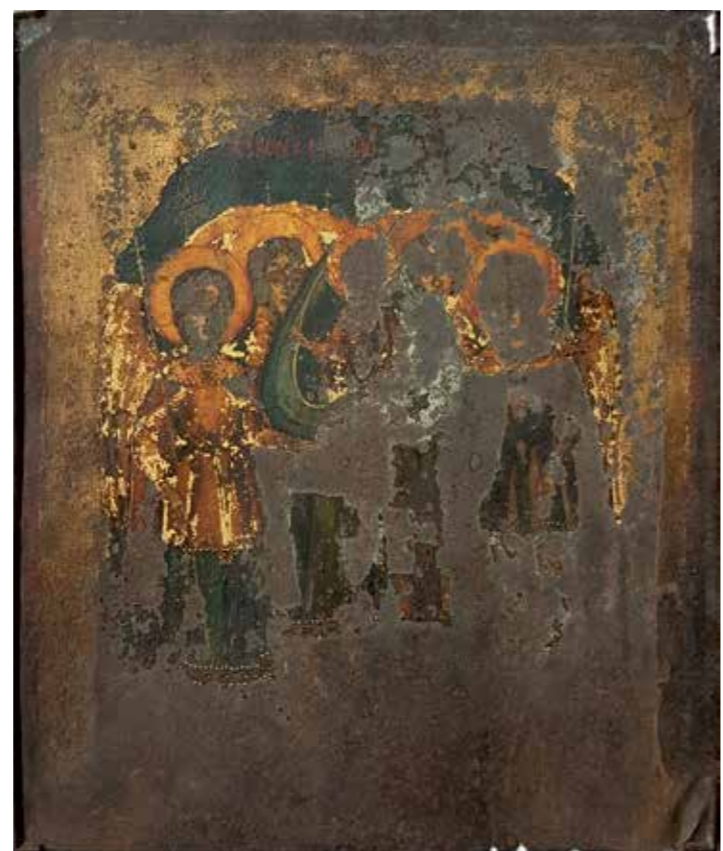
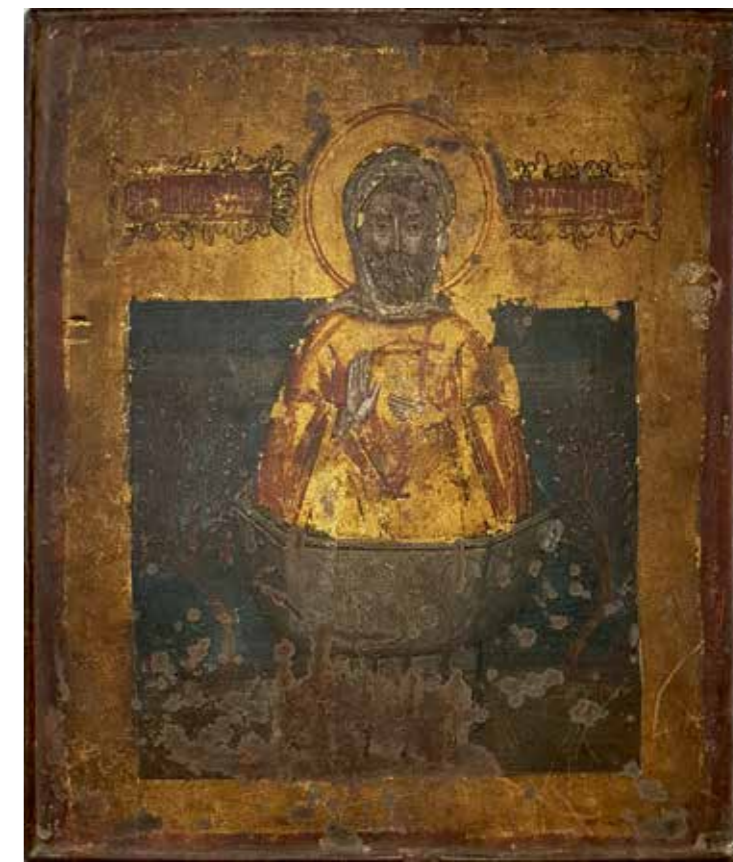
The Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu has two icons that, due to their consistent stylistic parallels, can be attributed to Radul of Rășinari. These icons, depicting the *Mother of God with the Child* and *Saint Archangel Michael*, originate from the church in Cornățel (Sibiu County). Although the exact date of the church's construction remains unknown, its mural decoration, signed by Priest Ioan Grigorievici, likely dates to the 1770s and 1780s.⁹²

▼ Fig. 20 a. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), *Holy Trinity*, icon from the festal tier, c.1760; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▶ Fig. 20 b-c. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), *Holy Trinity*, details with dedicatory inscription; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▶▶ Fig. 21 a-h. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), set of festal icons painted on brass plate, c.1760; Saint Paraskevi church in Rășinari. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

Regarding the circumstances under which Radul may have been commissioned to create what is presumed to be the entire register of sovereign icons, a plausible hypothesis is that he met Priest Matei (or Maței) from





▲ Fig. 22 a-b. *Radul from Rășinari* (attribution), *Mother of God with the Child–Hodegetria*; church in Cornățel, Sibiu County. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

Cornățel during a time when both were in Bucharest. As a deacon,⁹³ Matei was a key figure in the anti-Unitate revolt that started in 1745,⁹⁴ which saw the participation of 55 priests from the Sibiu, Făgăraș, and Alba deaneries. Fleeing to Wallachia, Matei signed a declaration in Bucharest on December 29 of the same year before Metropolitan Neophyte of Wallachia, renouncing the union with the Catholic Church and requesting ordination as an Orthodox priest.⁹⁵

In the *Hodegetria* icon (Figs 22a, b), the Holy Virgin is depicted crowned and adorned in a brown-reddish himation, embroidered with golden-thread ornaments. She carries the Infant Savior on her left arm, who is shown frontally, wearing a shirt with geometric motifs. He blesses with one hand while holding a *globus cruciger* in the other. The faces, infused with a classical aura, are crafted with simplicity, using continuous contour lines. The candid expression on Jesus' face—highlighted by the light in his eyes beneath the raised arch of his eyebrows and forehead, contrasting with his thick, dark hair—closely resembles the depiction in the icon from the Abou Adal collection.

Another shared element between these two works is the ornamentation: stylized lily flowers are profiled and interwoven on the golden disc forming the halo around

the Virgin's face, a feature also presents in the Archangel Michael icon (Figs 23a, b) as an artistic signature. When viewed in its entirety, and down to the smallest details, this icon from Cornățel directly descends from the image of the archangel painted by Nistor Dascăluș on the façade of the church in Gruï. The guardian angel's martial and imposing stance contrasts with his serene composure and archaic smile, reminiscent of a Greek "kouros."

Conclusions

Although direct evidence is still lacking to definitively confirm that the priest and the painter Radul from Rășinari were one and the same person—distinguishable through the attitudes and actions preserved in the chronicles of this Romanian village near Sibiu—such an identification can nonetheless be reasonably inferred and accepted with a fair degree of confidence. Otherwise, too many coincidences would have to be dismissed: that the priest Radul's father was named Stan; that his wife was named Ana; that he joined his fate with hers in marriage shortly before the presumed birth dates of the later painters Iacov and Stan in Rășinari; and that Stan frequently referred to himself as the son of priest Radul and priestess Ana. It is thus difficult to identify, among the people of Rășinari in the first half of the 18th century,



▲ Fig. 23 a-b. *Radul from Rășinari* (attribution), *Saint Archangel Michael*; the church in Cornățel, Sibiu County. Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

anyone besides the priest Radul who bore the same name and had equal talent and culture. No evidence points to the existence of anyone resembling that figure.

It is hard to imagine that two of the most accomplished Transylvanian artists of the post-Brancovan era could come from the same family without having a father deeply devoted to the exceptional craft of painting. The existence of numerous genuine dynasties of priests and painters in Rășinari highlights this as a customary pattern of the time. A particularly telling example is that of Iacov, who passed on the art of icon painting to two of his sons, or of Stan, who similarly encouraged his daughter to pursue the same artistic path. During this period, the combination of priesthood and artistic vocation was not uncommon but rather a prevalent and understandable phenomenon among those capable of committing to both callings—missions often guided by the Church itself.

Radul Măț exhibited various psychological and behavioral traits that, while seemingly contradictory, only enhance his authenticity. These contradictions make him a quintessential man of his time—a period characterized by turmoil and rich contrasts during the Enlightenment. Radul exhibited prudence, carefully planning his actions to achieve a level of affirmation that matched his intellectual abilities and aspirations for social and economic re-

spectability. This was evident in his choice of the priesthood and marrying into a distinguished family.

At times, he showed a temperamental nature, prone to sudden fits of anger, particularly when seeking greater solidarity from his father-in-law to protect a family he was left to support on his own after his wife's passing. Radul was rebellious and occasionally subversive towards both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, ready to challenge the world on his own terms. Even at an age when many seek stability and security, he was driven by a desire to preserve his freedom of conscience and to speak out against injustice.

Radul Măț was a man of action, deeply committed to the well-being of his children and the prosperity of the community he led. Yet, beneath this active behavior lay a contemplative spirit, one that pondered the subtle purposes of existence with perseverance and humility, seeking fulfillment in harmony and peace of mind. These introspective qualities reflected the artistic side of his personality. Clear-minded and sensitive, one can easily envision the modesty—and passionate desire to grasp the language of painting—with which he followed his mentors, Popa Ivan and Nistor Dascăluș, ultimately reaching a point where he could collaborate alongside a contemporary of his own generation, Grigorie Ranite.



▼ Fig. 24. Iacov from Rășinari, Enthroned Mother of God with the Child, 1746; Museikon collection, Alba Iulia.
Photo: Ana Dumitran.

▲ Fig. 25. Priest Ivan the Younger (attribution), Holy Trinity, c.1765; Holy Trinity church in Sibiel (Sibiu County).
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

◄ Fig. 26. Radul from Rășinari (attribution), Saint John the Apostle (lypira icon), c.1765, Holy Trinity church in Sibiel (Sibiu County)
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

▼ Fig. 28. Priest Ivan the Younger (attribution), Mother of God with the Child, c.1765; Holy Trinity church in Sibiel (Sibiu County).
Photos: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.



▲ Fig. 27. Painter Ivan the Younger, the royal doors, c.1769; the wooden church in Sângătin (Sibiu County).
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.



▲ Fig. 28. Priest Ivan the Younger, Holy Trinity, detail from the painted decoration of the lectern; late seventh decade of the 18th century; Holy Trinity church in Topârcea (Sibiu County).
Photo: Ioan-Ovidiu Abrudan.

Without Stan’s heartfelt declarations—his consistent praise for his parents and cherished family members—the nature of the relationship among painters Radul, Iacov, and Stan might have remained obscure, lacking any indication of a professional lineage. In contrast, Iacov’s silence might seem puzzling, but not suspicious. As the firstborn and the earliest to leave the family home, Iacov was perhaps less expressive of his affections. Instead, he illustrated his inheritance most profoundly through his art, where the legacy of his father, Radul, emerged as a deep and enduring source of creative inspiration. This influence is evident in the abundant use of bright red, a favorite hue in Radul’s icons, which appears vibrantly and enhanced by gold in Iacov’s paintings.

The legacy that Radul transmitted to his sons, viewed both as an artistic endeavor and a professional vocation, calls for in-depth exploration. It is quite plausible that other painters, either originating from or trained in Râșinari’s vibrant artistic milieu, may eventually emerge as disciples of Radul the painter. This possibility seems particularly strong in the case of Priest Ivan the Younger (Figs 25, 26), an artist about whom little is currently known. Two icons attributed to him—the *Philoxenia of Abraham* (Fig. 27) and *Mother of God with the Child* (Fig. 28)—are notable for the raw, unrefined freshness of their style. Positioned at the base of the iconostasis in the church of Sibiel, alongside works by Radul and Stan, these pieces may suggest a potential connection to Radul’s artistic influence.

Notes

1 See “Radu” in Constantinescu 1963, p. 355: “The enduring prevalence of the name “Radu” is undoubtedly rooted in tradition, a powerful force even in the realm of names. Initially, “Radu” was likely used within Boyar families, but over time, it became specifically associated with the voivodes of Wallachia. Between approximately 1377 and 1669, no fewer than 12 rulers bore this name, reinforcing its prominence. Further embedding its legendary status, the name is linked to Radu Negru, the mythical “founder of the country,” weaving it deeply within cultural narratives.” (<https://dexonline.ro/definitie/Radul/1215887>).

2 Rus 2020, p. 303.

3 Rus 2020, p. 303.

4 The conscription table from 1700, which documents the inhabitants of Râșinari along with their ages, livestock holdings, including cows, sheep, pigs, draft animals, and total livestock; tax brackets, contribution classes, notes, debts, interest rates, and creditors, is preserved in the volume *Transmissionales in Causa Possessionis Resinar contra Liberam Regiamque Civitatem Cibiniensem (1784)*—Transmissionales in the Case of Râșinari’s Possession against the Free Royal City of Sibiu, 1784. This important historical document is housed at the Church Museum in Râșinari. The relevant details can be found on p. 1189–1197 of the manuscript. For further insights, consult Rus 2020, p. 319–350.

5 *Tabella individualis praestanda contributionis pro anno militari 1754/5, pagi Resinar in Sede Saxonicali Cibiniensi existentis et ad emporium primae classis Cibiniense eiusque plagam primam spectantis. Transmissionales* 1784, p. 179–211.

6 Vizauer 2019, p. 194, 198.

7 Gilea 1959, p. 61: In the 1700 conscription table, Stan Mutz, aged 56, is documented as owning 7 cows, 27 sheep, 9 pigs, and a horse. The same record also mentions Radul Mutz, presumably Stan’s brother, who was 60 years old at the time. These entries provide valuable insights into the agricultural and economic activities of the Mutz family and their standing within the community. For further reference, see *Transmissionales* 1784, p. 1189, and Rus 2020, p. 320–321.

8 Throughout the 18th century, several prominent members of the Măț family distinguished themselves. The 1700 conscription lists the names of middling peasants such as Stan Măț, aged 56, who might have been the father of the future priest Radul, along with Alăman Măț, aged 50, Oprea Măț, aged 60, and Radul Măț, also aged 60. These records highlight the presence and status of the Măț family within the community. For further details, see *Transmissionales* 1784, p. 1193–1197.

Mihail (Mihály) Măț, a Greek Catholic priest in Râșinari, was ordained in 1727 by Metropolitan Daniil of Ungrovlahia. His

name appears in both Romanian clergy conscriptions of 1733 (Hitchins, Beju 1989, p. V; Togan 1898, p. 13) and in the fiscal records from 1753 (Gilea 1960, p. 347–348) and 1754/55 (*Transmissionales* 1784, p. 253, entry 746).

In July 1738, an inquiry was conducted in Râșinari to gather evidence regarding the village’s boundaries and territory. Witnesses were interviewed at the home of the widow Dobra Măț and at the residence of Alăman Măț, who was about 53 years old and served as the sworn judge (*judicis jurati*) of the commune that year. Testimonies were gathered from various jurors of the village council, which consisted of forty elders, including Neagoe Măț, aged 94, and Radul Măț, approximately 66 years old (Cosma 2019, p. 268).

9 During Bishop Petru Pavel Aron’s tenure, the term “grămățici” referred to candidates for the priesthood who studied dogmatics, liturgical practice, and homiletics at the theological school in Blaj, established in 1745 (Furtună 1915, p. 113).

10 Hitchins, Beju 1989, p. V.

11 The case file entitled “Inheritance lawsuit between Muțiu Popa from Râșinari and his father-in-law Ioan Bădilă from Poplaca, December 10, 1740,” comprises 33 pages of documents written in Latin, German, Hungarian, and Romanian. SJANSB, Magistrat, no. 504.

12 Cosma 2019, p. 264. A descendant, possibly a son or grandson, of Judge Bădilă, Ioan Bădilă, served as a non-Uniate priest in Poplaca in 1753 (Gilea 1960, pp. 346–347). He was later succeeded by another Ioan Bădilă, who completed the theological-pedagogical course in Sibiu in 1790 and was ordained in Arad in 1797 (Voileanu 1928, p. 10, 101).

13 SJANSB, Magistrat Fund, vol. 504, f. 1.

14 SJANSB, Magistrat Fund, vol. 504, f. 11.

15 Furtună 1915, p. 120.

16 Ioan Bădilă contested the validity of the contract cited by his son-in-law and sought the intervention of Inochentie Klein in Sibiu. The bishop resided on Bürgergasse Street, now known as Ocnei Street, during his stays in the city (SJANSB, Magistrat Fund, vol. 504, f. 10). Upon review in the episcopal consistory, the document was deemed legally invalid, resulting in substantial fines for Priest Radul and another priest who had co-signed the disputed agreement.

17 SJANSB, Magistrat Fund, vol. 504, f. 13.

18 The assets in question were rightfully his, having been bequeathed to him as an inheritance by his maternal grandparents, Coman and Bucura Barac, when he was still a child.

19 *In fine autem scriptum erat taliter: quod ubi superius scriptum*

est, ita etiam coram nobis verbatim reverendus Archi Diaconus Resinarenensis testificatus fuerit tester. Cibinii 26 septembr 1739, B. Klein Eppus Fagarasiensis. SJANSB, Magistrat Fund, vol. 504, f. 28.

20 “Popa Constandin signed in Cyrillic script, while the villagers used a fingerprint” (Gilea 1960, p. 347, note 4). It is important to note that the author of this citation referenced only “State Archives of Sibiu, Magistrate document no. 206 from 1742” in the footnote, without providing specific details regarding the structural subdivision of the archival collection or the inventory number.

21 SJANSB, Magistrat Fund, vol. 420.

22 Dumitran 2010, p. 21.

23 Ștefănescu 1928, p. 62.

24 Brătulescu 1942, p. 23.

25 Cristache-Panait 1984, p. 78.

26 Dumitran, Cucui 2008, p. 150–151.

27 Dumitran 2010, p. 21, note 96.

28 For an insightful discussion on the use of mirror writing (Fr.: *écriture spéculaire*) in icon art and Romanian monumental painting, see Ciobanu 2021, p. 23, note 43.

29 Dumitran 2011, p. 19, note 54.

30 Dumitran 2010, p. 56, 57; Dumitran 2011, p. 20, note 61.

31 Dumitran 2010, p. 10.

32 Bunea 1902, p. 419–420.

33 Bunea 1901, p. 252.

34 Cioran 1955, p. 1, 2.

35 Gilea 1960, p. 347.

36 *Tabella* 1754/5, p. 253.

37 Saint Neophyte the Cretan, Metropolitan of Wallachia between 1738 and 1753, was a supporter of the non-uniate Romanians from Transylvania.

38 Dumitran 2011, p. 17.

39 Dumitran 2011, p. 24.

40 Dumitran 2011, p. 24.

41 The 1993 exhibition was hosted by the Carnavalet Museum in Paris, while the 1996–1997 exhibition took place at the Museum of Art and History in Geneva.

42 Căndea 1993, p. 370–371, il. 126; Pop 2010, p. 205; Căndea 1997, p. 298–299, il. 134.

43 Căndea 1998, p. 316; Căndea 2011, p. 206.

44 Căndea 1997, p. 298.

45 Căndea 1997, p. 298.

46 It appears that the decision to title the icon “Eleusa,” despite its apparent “inappropriateness” relative to the iconographic type it represents, was not entirely uncommon. Iacov of Râșinari, for example, employed this designation (ІѲѦШСА or ІѲѦШСА, and frequently the Romanian variant *Мношитваре*) as a generic title for icons of the Mother of God, interpreting the epithet as referring to the person depicted rather than to the specific image. This practice was also adopted, albeit exceptionally, in individual icons by Iacov’s two sons, the painters Gheorghe and Nicolae.

47 Căndea 1997, p. 298.

48 Căndea 1997, p. 298.

49 Dumitran 2011, p. 24.

50 Cf. Pop 2011, p. 190.

51 This particular feature is distinctively present in the imperial icon of the *Mother of God with the Child* (1694), located within the iconostasis of the main church at Hurezi Monastery.

52 In the endeavor to adorn the church in Banloc with paintings,

Nedeleu Popovici likely collaborated with fellow artists such as Șerban Popovici and Gheorghe Ranite. For further insights, see Pârvulescu 1996, pp. 104, 105.

53 Pop, Cucui, Dumitran 2010, p. 74, il. 52.

54 According to the Analytical Record Sheet, no. 2769, from оѲСН Sibiu, compiled by Elena Popescu on July 20, 1976, the piece was actively used for the veneration of the faithful in the narthex area. The note attached to this record reads: “the icon probably belonged to the iconostasis.” For further information, see Pop 2012, p. 89, 112, il. 2.

55 In the year inscription, following the thousands and hundreds digits, only one letter-number appears to be missing. The space available and the size of the existing characters clearly indicate that there was no room for additional letters. It is possible that the missing letter was Ț (Csi), which holds a numerical value of 60. This interpretation aligns with the physical constraints of the inscription’s design.

56 The volume is enriched by an introductory piece by Ștefan Augustin Doinaș and further complemented by an afterword from Thomas Nägler.

57 This publication, introduced by a preface from Ioan Alexandru, was released in an edition exceeding 10,000 copies under the editorial direction of the journal Transilvania.

58 Marchiș (coord.) 2024, p. 351.

59 Dumitran 2012, fig. 2; Marchiș (coord.) 2020, p. 459.

60 Oancea 1965, p. 4.

61 In addition to the royal doors completed in 1775, three icons from Stan’s iconostasis have been preserved: the *Mother of God with the Child* (1776), the *Holy Trinity* (1779), and *Saint Nicholas* (1779). As for the fourth sovereign icon, depicting the Savior, it has since been removed from its original setting. By the mid-20th century, this icon was located in Bucharest, held by Professor I. Bembea, whose father had been a teacher in Sibiel. For further details, see Velescu 1963, p. 132.

62 The inscriptions made by Stan the painter in the church of Sibiel are referenced in Cristache-Panait 1984, p. 77; Porumb 1998, p. 365, 380, as well as catalogued in Dumitran 2011, p. 34, 38. Additionally, we note an unpublished commemorative inscription left by Stan on the left side of the northern wall of the nave, today partially destroyed and hidden behind the choir stalls: *АМЬ[...] Ш[...] Ш[...] АЬ. с[...] АМЬ. [...] ЛОРЬ. [...] СТАН. З. [...] ПОП. Р[...] -НЄЗЕШ СЪИ[...] -ТЕ.*

63 Antipa 1995, p. 272.

64 Velescu 1963, p. 132.

65 Oancea 1965, p. 4.

66 Oancea 1973, p. 11.

67 Porumb 2023, p. 597.

68 Herea 2013, p. 137–138, 209 (il. 226).

69 Ștefănescu 1930, p. 92–93, pl. 35–36; Dufrenne 1970, p. 51, note 17.

70 Marchiș (coord.) 2014, p. 69, 71.

71 “Most Holy Mother of God, assist us and those who have departed to the Heavenly dwellings, awaiting Your maternal mercy!” This prayer is part of the service for the *Lifting of the Panagia for the departed*, traditionally performed 40 days after the passing of a church member, according to the Book of Prayers (*Molitfelnic*). The ritual typically includes a bread offering, known in Romanian as panaghia or panahida, and an icon of the Mother of God, symbolizing the hope for divine intercession and comfort for both the living and the deceased.

72 Lupaș 1911, p. 7, 8.

73 Porumb 1975, p. 15.

74 Museikon Studies 6, p. 149.

75 “In Rășinari, the painter-priest Ioan Grigorievici crafted the icon of the Mother of God *of the Sign*, which he named *Mother of God – Merciful to Christians*.” This work, completed in 1793, adorns the vault of the porch beneath the bell tower of Saint Paraskevi Church (Abrudan 2019, p. 37).

76 Oancea 1973, p. 24, 25.

77 Oancea 1965, p. 4.

78 Cristache-Panait 1984, p. 77.

79 Cristache-Panait 1984, p. 77.

80 Meteș 1969, p. 649.

81 Cioran 1940, p. 335.

82 Abrudan 2019, p. 44.

83 Pop 2011, p. 180.

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88 Marchiș (coord.) 2024, p. 333.

89 Porumb 2023, p. 257.

90 Dumitran, Popescu 2010, p. 93-104; Pop 2012; Pop 2013; Abrudan 2014, p. 197-212; Budea 2005.

91 Pop 2012, p. 118, il. 11; Abrudan 2019, p. 33, il. 26.

92 Abrudan 2009, p. 331.

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records



archives

The Manufactory of Old French Psalters

PART 3

The Semi-Diplomatic transcription of Douce ms 320

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RÉSUMÉ: La troisième partie de l'article consacré aux psautiers en ancien français propose une transcription semi-diplomatique du manuscrit Douce 320, destinée à faciliter la consultation du fac-similé en ligne. Elle privilégie la structure du texte : les abréviations sont développées, les retours à la ligne supprimés, et seules les érasures et insertions clairement lisibles sont signalées. La numérotation des vers suit la Vulgate clémentine (afin d'éviter les confusions suscitées par les éditions antérieures) et la transcription distingue par majuscules la segmentation psalmique propre au manuscrit. La séparation des mots et la ponctuation médiévale sont conservées lorsqu'elles ont une valeur structurante. Sont reproduites des marques ressemblant à des accents, et qui semblent indiquer l'accent tonique, le hiatus, les diphtongues ou le timbre vocalique, bien que l'accentuation du scribe soit inégale et résulte parfois de corrections successives. Les accents appartenant à des lettres effacées sont également notés. Les doubles accents sont réinterprétés : loin d'indiquer l'accent tonique, ils signalent des fricatives, affriquées et autres particularités. Dans l'ensemble, la transcription s'efforce de restituer la structure du texte tout en éclairant les pratiques sribales, afin de fournir une base fiable pour l'analyse, la correction et l'exploitation ultérieure du manuscrit Douce 320 de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford.

MOTS-CLÉS: paléographie; critique textuelle; traductologie; Psaumes; linguistique.

REZUMAT: Cea de a treia parte a articolului consacrat psaltirilor în limba franceză veche oferă o transcriere semi-diplomatică a manuscrisului Douce 320, menită să faciliteze consultarea facsimilului online. Ea privilegiază structura textului: abrevierile sunt dezvoltate, întreruperile de rând nu sunt marcate; numai erazurile și inserțiile clar lizibile sunt semnalate. Numerotarea versetelor urmează Vulgata clementină (pentru a evita confuziile generate de edițiile anterioare), iar transcrierea marchează prin majuscule segmentarea psalmică proprie manuscrisului. Separarea cuvintelor și punctuația medievală sunt păstrate atunci când au valoare structurală. Accentele simple sunt redată ca indicatoare ale accentului tonic, ale hiatului, ale diftongilor sau ale timbrului vocalic, deși accentuarea scribului este inegală și rezultă uneori din corectări succesive. Accentele aparținând unor litere șterse sunt de asemenea notate. Accentele duble sunt reinterpretate: departe de a marca accentul tonic, ele semnaleză fricative, africte și alte particularități. În ansamblu, transcrierea încearcă să restituie structura textului, iluminând totodată practicile scribale, pentru a oferi o bază sigură pentru analiza, corectarea și exploatarea ulterioară a manuscrisului Douce 320 din Biblioteca Bodleiană din Oxford.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: paleografie; critică de text; traductologie; Psalmi; lingvistică.

Contrary to what was announced at the conclusion of the second instalment of this study, it is, for the moment, not possible to accomplish more than the second and third objectives, that is, the complete transcription of the French text of the Psalms and Canticles in Douce ms 320, preserving the original accentuation and marking the precise location of all erasures, accompanied by the examination of the accentual system. The analysis of the erasures that defy straightforward classification, the examination of the erasures in Arundel ms 230, and the completion of the comparative study of the Douce and

Arundel manuscripts (together with the formulation of final conclusions) cannot, at present, be carried out. The circumstances prove to be more intricate than initially anticipated. In particular, at least one bilingual psalter arranged in double columns yields notably significant insights, and the interlinear gloss from two manuscripts of the First French Commentary to the Psalms also presents material of considerable interest.

The semi-diplomatic transcription published in this third instalment may be used in any Open Access or Open Source project, provided that the two scholars who pro-

◀ Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 39v, showing erasures and accents. Photo: Alessia Chapel, 2024.

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<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/00f9f687-77e8-4099-ac49-8c94a6555125/surfaces/5754009d-9c98-474c-88dc-e4c2df967bfd/>
Alternatively, at: <https://tinyurl.com/Oxford-Psalter>

Our transcription prioritizes structural over formal features, since the goal is not to produce a literal facsimile. Our aim was never to produce a copy of the manuscript; for this reason, we have expanded all abbreviations in cursive and have not marked any line breaks. We are publishing this transcription so that other researchers can work with the same material we used—including our identification of erasures and insertions. By making this information available, we hope others can engage with our findings, correct or refine them where needed, and build on the research further.

We have marked the beginning of each psalm verse according to the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, last avatar of the Gallican Psalter. The previous edition (Short 2015) numbered every phrase preceded by a capital letter in the manuscript, giving the misleading impression that these corresponded to verses and thereby creating potential confusion when aligning the vernacular text with the Latin source. Our approach is intended to help researchers identify the familiar verses more reliably. In addition, we have distinguished between the separations of textual units in the manuscript and the divisions of psalms and their verses, as these two systems do not coincide. Subdivisions within psalms are occasionally present; these have been indicated simply through the use of large capital letters.

Passages highlighted in yellow mark the extent of the erasures. We still have doubts about some of them, and therefore decided to mark only those whose existence we can confirm with certainty.

Square brackets [] indicate letters that are not visible, either because they have been damaged or are obscured by stains, but whose presence is still discernible.

Only the most evident insertions have been recorded with \ /, specifically those written at a clearly separate stage. This category includes letters or words placed above or between the lines. Insertions do not include erasures. It was not feasible to record every cramped letter or word written over an erasure, as marking each instance individually would be excessive; in such cases, noting the erased spaces is sufficient. Insertions or additions that extend beyond the line margins often follow erasures, since they were usually written on unused portions of parchment without traces of prior correction. These are therefore marked with the same \ /. The same notation is used for marginal notes and for inversions of words or phrases indicated by the scribe.

Medieval punctuation—*punctus* (·) and *punctus elevatus* (⋈)—has been retained, as it has no clear equivalent in contemporary punctuation. In contrast, the *punctus interrogativus*, having the same value as the modern question mark, has been rendered as such. The guiding principle of our transcription is not to reproduce the manuscript verbatim but to reflect the structure and presentation of the text.

We have introduced word separation only where it was absolutely necessary, particularly in the case of prepositions and conjunctions: *achescun* > *a chescun*; *ádepartir* > *á departir*; *éagenuillúms* > *é agenuillúms*; *amangiér* > *a mangiér*, and so on. We did not, however, separate words in cases of simple elisions. Similarly, compound words were left separate if the scribe transcribed them as such, whereas long unhyphenated words split for various reasons (most often to fill space) were transcribed as single words, since these splits are formal rather than structural.

The scribe made changes during all the stages of the transcription. See, for instance, an elision marked by an underscore in red ink: *E el co_uément* (Ps 62:8b); it was probably written contemporaneously with the scribe's restoration of the letter *g* in *se gloriént* (Ps 48:7). Therefore, documenting his idiosyncratic inventions and conventions was essential to understanding how the text evolved. Accordingly, we indicated connections between letters joined by the scribe using an underscore (_). Such ligatures sometimes occur through the extension of the horizontal arm of the letter *t*, which we marked consistently with the use of the underscore. However, we did not mark underscores used to hyphenate words at line ends, or where gaps or damage in the parchment necessitated a visual connection. In these cases, the scribe was addressing formal, not structural, issues in the text.

Single acute accents: tonic stress, hiatus, vowel qualities, and specific diphthongs.

The green accents, which were added at a later stage, plainly indicate that several phases of accentuation were involved. See, for instance: *Saúlez* (Ps 16:14c); *cuneút* (Ps 31:5a); *Aite uís* (Ps 32:18); *Séient fait* (Ps 34:5); *Séit faite* (Ps 34:6); and *semblance* (Ps 49:2). In many cases, accents on small majuscule letters (placed at the upper right corner next to the letter) were added either before or after the transcription of the capital itself. This can be inferred from the ink intensity of the accent, which sometimes matches that of the following letters, while in other cases it appears either darker or more diluted.

It should be noted that the scribe did not accentuate individual letters but rather groups of letters or parts of a certain word (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 81, who argues that “it is often difficult to tell which letter really carries the accent”). Lincke 1886 interpreted this as evidence that the scribe was marking syllable stress rather than tonic stress. To avoid decisions that might be problematic, our transcription places accents above the letter on which they appear. When a letter was erased but its accent remained (serving to mark the relevant part of the word), we transcribed it as _ , since the scribe, fortunately, also employed an underscore to join the two parts of said word. In cases where the accent occurs between two or more letters, a decision was made to associate it with either the vowel or the sonant, depending on the context (*vide infra* for the issue of *-ue-*).

Many of the accents are redundant. In fact, the use of different colours (mostly green) or varying ink intensities suggests that the scribe became somewhat obsessed with them, likely out of hypercorrect grammatical concerns, leading him to accentuate and re-accentuate excessively. If this stems from the fact that French was not the native language of the Anglo-Norman scribe—a plausible, though speculative, assumption given that Anglo-Norman scribes counted many English-speakers as well (cf. Beaulieux 1927, p. 14-15)—it nevertheless remains evident that his chief concern in marking tonic accents was to ensure that the text sounded continental.

Several attempts have been made to systematize the logic of accentuation in Anglo-Norman manuscripts, beginning with Curtius 1911 and continuing through Careri and Lacanale 2015. The difficulty, however, lies in the fact that although these systems share certain features, they ultimately reveal a highly variable practice in which each scribe follows his own approach. Consider, for example, the claim of Curtius 1911, p. xcii, that in biblical translations accents appear only in the Anglo-Norman manuscripts and that they could be linked to other Anglo-Norman works, such as the *Romance of Horn*. Yet a significant difference emerges when comparing the accentuation of the Oxford Psalter with that of the Four Books of Kings, where scribes marked only plain front vowels such as *a*, *e*, and *i* (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 80).

The primary function of single acute accents in MS Douce 320 to guide pronunciation. They generally indicate tonic stress, being placed on the specific letter, syllable, or part of the word that the scribe intended to emphasize. However, accents are sometimes written over two neighbouring vowels in order to mark hiatus: *ááron*, *isáác*, *canáán*, *flistiím*, etc., but also *esleuées*, *lééce*, *benééiz*, and so on. Last but not least, a less common, though notable, use of single acute accents is to indicate specific vowel qualities, which could present challenges in terms of correct pronunciation. This can lead to the accentuation of two parts of a longer word (cf. Brachet 1870, p. 258). Most instances of these three types have been observed and discussed in previous research (Brachet 1870; Lincke 1886; cf. Sneddon 1972; Careri 2008; Careri, Lacanale 2015).

Short, Careri, Ruby 2010, p. 43, noted that the question of the use of certain accents is problematic and remains unresolved. At the same time, they suggest that the numerous accents along with the clear division and spacing of words, the use of the question mark, and the rare use of abbreviations, suggest the manuscript was intended for monastic recitation during the collective reading. Some phenomena can indeed be associated with reading, albeit not necessarily in a public context. For example, the presence of accents on monosyllabic words suggests that they were intended to be fully pronounced (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 81). It is, however, rather puzzling that the issue of these accents is connected to spelling and the scribe's obsessive hypercorrections to adjust to continental pronunciation, which suggests that their purpose aligns with reading in general, rather than specifically with public reading, given the multiplicity of systems employed for rendering the same sounds. Therefore, it seems far more plausible that the accents were simply intended for clarity.

The scribe's application of these accents is far from systematic. His idiosyncratic usage means that in some instances he omits such markings altogether, in favour of the tonic accent, such as in *aaaron*. This variability underscores the interpretive challenge of determining whether the accents consistently reflect phonetic distinctions, or merely the scribe's personal orthographic habits.

A case study: *-ue-*

Nevertheless, a discernible logic can be observed in the way he applied accent marks to particular segments of words or syllables. For example, one may consider the treatment of the Old French diphthong *-ue-*. In the majority of cases, the accentuation follows a consistent pattern, reflecting an underlying system or set of principles guiding the scribe's choices. The diphthong can be found in the strong (stressed) Old French possessive pronominal adjectives *tue(n)(s)* and *sue(n)(s)*. The masculine

second-person singular form is spelled predominantly as *túen(s)*, which occurs 189 times. The anomalous variant *tuén(s)*, with the accent placed on the second part of the vowel cluster (*-ué-*), is attested only 37 times (Ps 5:9; Ps 8:2; Ps 18:12; Ps 36:6; Ps 41:11; Ps 42:3; Ps 43:4; Ps 43:13; Ps 43:26; Ps 44:8; Ps 44:13; Ps 49:14; Ps 50:13; Ps 50:20; Ps 51:11; Ps 53:8; Ps 55:12; Ps 64:8; Ps 64:12; Ps 67:8; Ps 68:37; Ps 71:7; Ps 72:15; Ps 77:43; Ps 78:1b; Ps 80:11; Ps 83:2; Ps 83:4; Ps 87:8; Ps 88:14; Ps 105:23; Ps 105:47; Ps 118:108; Ps 118:118; Ps 118:125; Ps 118:140; Ps 118:148). The feminine form *túe(s)* is even more frequent, with 401 occurrences, and there is no trace of an alternative spelling *tué(s)*. This provides evidence that the scribe regarded *u* as the focal point of the syllable.

A similar distribution is observed for the third-person singular possessives: *súen(s)* occurs 22 times and *súe(s)* 50 times, whereas the variant *suén(s)*, with accentuation of the second letter of the vowel cluster, is extremely rare (attested only twice—Ps 77:43; Ps 105:23) and entirely absent in the feminine form.

Significantly, the scribe never writes *tué(s)* or *sué(s)*; instead, he consistently employs the forms *túe(s)* and *súe(s)*, in order to avoid any contact of the accent mark with the letter *e*. That mark is frequently placed immediately after or even above the initial consonant (*t-* or *s-*), which indicates a deliberate effort to prevent ambiguity. Consequently, the 37 anomalous instances of *tuén(s)* are likely the result of negligent or mechanical writing, where the accent appears to mark the stressed syllable. This implies that all instances in which the scribe placed the accent between the letters *u* and *e* should be interpreted as representing *-úe-*.

Interestingly, in Ps 150:3 the scribe originally wrote *Loéz lui én súen buisine* (“praise him in his trumpet”), but later corrected the line to *Loéz lui én súen \de/ buisine* (“praise him with the sound of the trumpet”). It is evident that he initially misread the word *son* or *sun* in his source as the possessive pronoun rather than the noun meaning “sound”, thus explaining the accent on the *u* of *súen*. The confusion was further reinforced by additional coincidences: when he recognized his error, there was no accent to correct, since Latin *sonus* would in any case have yielded Old French *súen*. Other instances in which the scribe translates Latin *sonus* pose various other problems. For example, in Ps 64:8 he writes *le suén de ses flúez* (Latin *sonum fluctuum eius*), with the accent on *e*, and in Ps 76:18 *multitúdene del sóen des éwes* (Latin *multitudo sonitus aquarum*), where he chooses a different digraph altogether.

A similar case concerns the accented spellings of the word *huem* (Latin *homo*). In at least 16 instances the accent is clearly written above the letter *u* (*húem*—Ps 21:7; Ps 24:12; Ps 33:9; Ps 38:7; Ps 38:12; Ps 40:10; Ps 48:8; Ps 83:6; Ps 103:23; Ps 126:5; Ps 127:4; Ps 139:12; Ps 143:3; Ps 143:4; 1 Sa 2:9; and Ex 15:3). By contrast, the alternative spelling *huém* appears only 4 times (Ps 39:5; Ps 54:14; Ps 87:5; and Ps 91:7), and even in these cases the placement of the accent may be explained by the proximity of the mark to the second minim of the letter *u*. The remaining 18 accented occurrences of *huem* place the accent squarely between *u* and *e*. This pattern suggests that the scribe highlighted the letter *u*, implying a pronunciation difficulty analogous to that observed in the forms *túen(s)* and *súen(s)*.

This is further supported by two spellings of the word *bues* (Latin *boves*), both of them in Ps 65:15 (*offerrái á téi búes ot búes* < *offeram tibi boves cum hircis*). They most likely substantiate that this type of accentuation con-

cerned a certain type of sound. It is therefore unsurprising that, in all the cases discussed above, the diphthong *-ue-* consistently reflects the result of the diphthongisation process applied to the [ō] vowel, resulting in a falling diphthong (cf. Chaussée 1977).

The general conclusion is that, despite the scribe's lack of systematic understanding of the relationships between phonemes and letter (or syllables and word segments), natural pronunciation directed him to accentuate certain parts of those words or syllables. Consequently, we refrained from taking drastic measures, aiming to respect the text's original accentuation while allowing future scholars the possibility of reevaluating the same passages.

Double acute accents: differentiation of non-graphemic sounds

The only instance in which we diverge from the manuscript concerns the transcription of double acute accents. These markings are better understood as formal rather than structural features. Structurally speaking, it is well known that the Douce scribe used double acutes for purposes entirely different from those of the regular accents, resorting to them simply because he lacked a more appropriate sign with which to indicate these particular situations. Our analysis confirmed and clarified the conclusions of Lincke 1886 p. 23-42; for a summary of the previous research, see Sneddon 1972, p. 82-83.

Consider that fact that many double acute accents appear over unaccented moras, indicating a phonetic peculiarity rather than tonic stress. Taken together with the fact that double acute accents are applied to parts of words or clusters of letters rather than to individual letters, these instances suggest that the scribe was marking distinctive sounds for which no dedicated letter existed—most often the pronunciation of fricatives and affricates such as *v*, *ch*, *j*, and others. Our decision to transcribe these letters with breves (*ū*, *č*, *ī*) rather than double acutes is purely typographical, dictated by the practical constraint that the double acute on the letter *c* is not yet available in Unicode fonts. Furthermore, retaining the double acute accents in their original positions from the manuscript would have risked creating misunderstandings in our transcription. To address this, we chose to simplify the presentation, prioritize structural features, and adopt a practical solution by reassigning the marked elements to the letters affected by the non-graphemic distinctions. The following section explains the rationale behind each of these decisions.

THE V FRICATIVE [v]. Most double-acute accents consistently fall on consonant clusters where an *r* follows a *v*-sound (*-vr-* written as *-ur-*). It is unnecessary to enumerate all the verbal and nominal forms derived from the roots of *aoürer* 'to open', *oürer* 'to work' (including *oüres* 'works'), or *(de)liürer* 'to deliver'; nor the numerous instances of the adjective *poüre* 'poor' (including *poüreté* 'poverty') or of the noun *leüre* 'lip'. We have counted the occurrences of several other relevant forms, as follows: *coürir* 'to cover', including *cuürement* 'coverage' and *descöüre* for Latin *revelare* (x 16); *des(s)e(i)ürer* for Latin *discedere*, *discernere*, *distinguere*, *amovere*, and *separare* (x 8); *soüra(i)n-* 'sovereign' (x 7); *uiüre* 'to live' (x 6); *des(s)eür-* (x 4); *abeür-* 'to drink' (x 3); *aüras* or *aürad* 'to have' (future tense) (x 3); *beür(r)e* 'beverage' (twice); *eniüras* and *eniüranz* 'to make drunk' (twice), *liüre* 'book' (twice); *rece(i)ür-* 'to receive' (twice); and only once for words like *iüre* 'drunken' or *quiüre* 'quiver'. This line of evidence invites the hypothesis that the double acute on *-ur-* indicates the consonan-

tal *v* value of the letter *u*. It is scarcely surprising that in many instances, the double acute is actually placed on *u* (e.g., *Ló_üre* in Ps 43:2b).

Further support for the idea that the double marking relates to the consonantal *v* value of the letter *u* comes from several instances in which the double acute appears on letter groups where *u* represents *v* in the absence of *r*: *salü-* 'to save', including *salüedur* 'saviour' (x 5); *coüert* 'covered' and *descüert* (x 4); *uédüe(s)* 'widow(s)' (twice); (*nun*)*säüanz* for Latin *sciens* and *insipientes*, as well as *nient aüanz* for Latin *non habens*; not to mention the single occurrences *äoiltres* for Latin *adulteri*; *encurüerent* for Latin *incurvaverunt*; *iüente* 'youth'; *mälüaistiét* for Latin *nequitia*; *müeüet* for Latin *moveat*; *reprüüai* for Latin *reprobavi*; *purüers* 'pervert'; and *üenques* for Latin *vincas*. Last but not least, double acutes placed on the second part of the preposition *enüers* (x 10 times) also mark a *v*-sound.

THE D FRICATIVE [d]. There are instances in which the double-acute *r* does not follow a *v*-sound. This occurs three times in consonantal clusters where the marked *r* follows the letter *d*, as in *adřece* (for Latin *dirige*), *uendřa* (for Latin *veniet*), and *uoldřa* (for Latin *volet*). It is plausible that this reflects patterns found in the English language. The English letter *đ*, representing a voiced dental fricative, appears throughout the Douce text in positions where the scribe also uses a standard *d*, particularly in feminine participles ending in *-ede(s)* or *-ede(s)*, whether accented or not. The manner in which the scribe otherwise writes the same words as *-ée(s)* to mark hiatus (cf. *méesme*, *benééiz*) suggests that *d* and *đ* mark an approximant rather than an actual voiced dental fricative. Old English attests the inverse pattern in contexts of assimilation and dissimilation (cf. Campbell 1959, p. 172). Nevertheless, Brunner 1960, p. 379, notes a Middle English phenomenon comparable to the one discussed here.

THE C/CH AFFRICATE [ts/tš]. Another context in which the scribe employs double-acute accents involves the treatment of the affricate represented by both *ch* and *c*. This type of double acute is placed either above the relevant letter or above an adjacent one, and it appears most often when the scribe writes *c* in place of the more common *ch*. He also uses it, however, in instances where *ch* is written, suggesting uncertainty about the pronunciation or spelling (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 82-83, who references Howarth's suggestion that the *h* was not a marker of hardening). This tendency can also be a hypercorrection, with the scribe marking both *ch* and the double acute simultaneously, thereby over-representing the same phonetic feature, but also as an indication, perhaps, of moments of phonetic hesitation or instability.

By far, the more frequent spellings from among the 107 uses of double-acute accents in connection with this affricate can be found in *č(h)ose* 'thing' (x 13); *dreč-* 'to raise' and its derivatives (x 10: *drečanz*, *sesdrečowent*, *esdrečanz*, *adrečeat*, *drečanz*, *nadrečai*, *mesdrečowe*, *mesdrečai*); *esledeč-* 'to rejoice, cheer' (x 9: *esledečastes*, *mesledečai*, *esledečanz*, *esledečad*, *esle(d)ēčums*, *sesledečad*, *esledeča*); *čar(n)* 'flesh', including *esčarnir* (x 8); *čamp* 'field', also written *čams* (x 5); *čaua* 'horse' and *čaua(il)lėrs* 'riders' (x 5); *escerčh-* 'to search' (x 5: *escerčherái*, *escerčhad*, *escerčherent*, *escerčchant*, *escerčhement*); *exalčad* and *exalčai* 'to raise, lift' (x 3); *rečut* 'to receive' (x 3); *čant* 'song'

and *čanterúms* 'to sing' (twice); *častieras* and *častiá* 'to chastise' (twice); *esčamel* and *sčamél* 'stool' for Latin *scabellum* (twice); *puruočanz* and *puruoča* 'to encourage, incite' (twice); *purnunčai* 'to utter' and *annunčai* 'to announce'; *račated* and *račatá* 'to redeem' (twice); *trenčhe* and *trenčad* 'to cut' (twice). Less common forms are attested only once in *assečha* 'dry out' for Latin *exarvit*; *cačhassent* 'to chase, pursue'; *čajrent* 'to fall'; *čajtiuetéd* 'captivity'; *čalcement* 'footwear' for Latin *calciamentum*; *čalím* 'fog'; *čambres* 'chambers'; *čarbúns* 'charcoal'; *dečalcherás* 'to trample on' for Latin *conculcabis*; *empedečad* 'to impede, obstruct' for Latin *impedivit*; *esčables* 'shoulders'; *escerčowe* 'to search, seek'; *esforčad* 'to urge, press' for Latin *corroboravit*; *fiančusement* 'confidently' for Latin *fiducialiter*; *parčunier* 'partner' for Latin *particeps*; *pecčames* 'to sin'; *reproče* 'to reproach'; *sučast* 'to suck up' for Latin *sugeret*; *tračhas* 'to track' for Latin *investigasti*. I would single out the scribe's pronunciation of the vernacular developments of the Latin suffixes *-tio/-sio*, and *-cius*: *beničun* 'benediction' (x 4); *male(i)čun* 'curse' (twice); *heričuns* 'hedgehog'; *menčungiers* 'liar'; *plančun* 'seedling'; *raenčun* 'resentment'; *tenčun* 'dispute'; and *torčunerie* 'sinfulness, wickedness'. We therefore standardized the representation of this affricate in our transcription. As a general principle, our decision to render this type of double acute accent as *č* has led to its reassignment from the letter on which it appears in the manuscript to the nearest *c*. Take the example of *čar* from Ps 77:39 (for Latin *caro*), where the accent is transcribed close to the letter *r*. In this particular situation, the double acute most likely applies to the monosyllabic word as a whole, although it is also clear that the letter *c* is the only one which is assigned the phonetic value [ts/tš].

THE J AFFRICATE [dž]. Another case to consider is the small group of double acute accents used to indicate the *j*-sound. The scribe never marks it in initial position and only rarely in medial position, presumably because this sound occurs quite frequently in his pronunciation of Latin words as well. He resorts to placing the double acute on the letter *i* only in five instances, all of which appear to indicate the consonantal value of the letter *i*. Consider for instance the spelling *čalenianz* (Ps 118:121). There, the double acute marking on the second part of the word indicates the distinctive phonetic value *j*. There are four more situations in which the double acute accent marks the same affricate: *forias* 'to forge, form' for Latin *fabricatus es*; *uenianz* 'to avenge' for Latin *ulciscens*; *iuianz* 'to judge' for Latin *iudicans*; and *maniowe* 'to eat' for Latin *manducabam*.

CERTAIN INSTANCES OF O. Our transcription retains the double-acute accentuation in certain situations, as these cases present distinct phenomena. They pertain not to fricative or affricate pronunciation, but to vowel quality and the presence of diphthongs, in words where the same vowel is often rewritten as *o* after the erasure of a previous spelling. Instances that point to a probable diphthongisation occur in: *đlie* 'oil' for Latin *oleum* (twice, in Ps 4:8 and Ps 44:8); *đil* 'eyes' for Latin *oculi* (Ps 10:5). Other instances

document a hiatus, such as *đeltét* for Latin *equitatem* (Ps 51:5), a word which is written with a single accent in its twelve other occurrences: *đeltét(t/d)*. However, there is also the obscure situation of *đbliez* 'to forget' for Latin *obliviscimini* (Ps 49:22). A similar type of *o* can be found in *đólur* (Ps 7:17), also accentuated with a double acute. Nevertheless, this can also be a slip of the pen, since the lower acute is so faint and tiny that the scribe felt compelled to add a second, longer, and properly visible accent above it. In the latter situation, a decision was made to retain the use of a single (plain) accent.

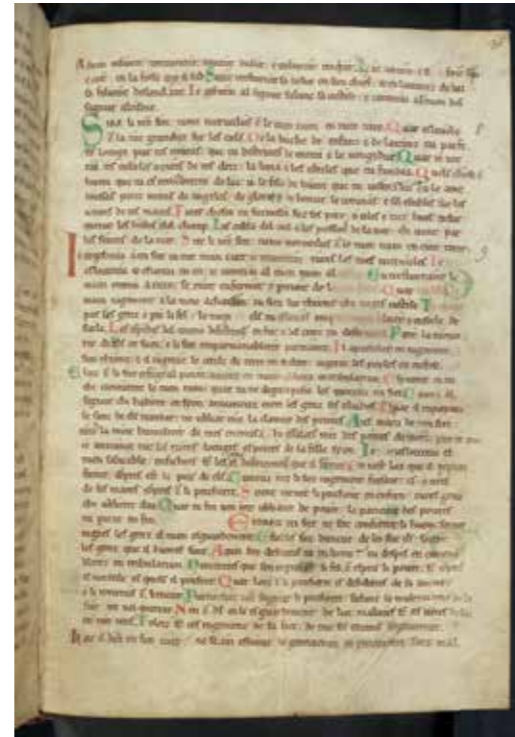
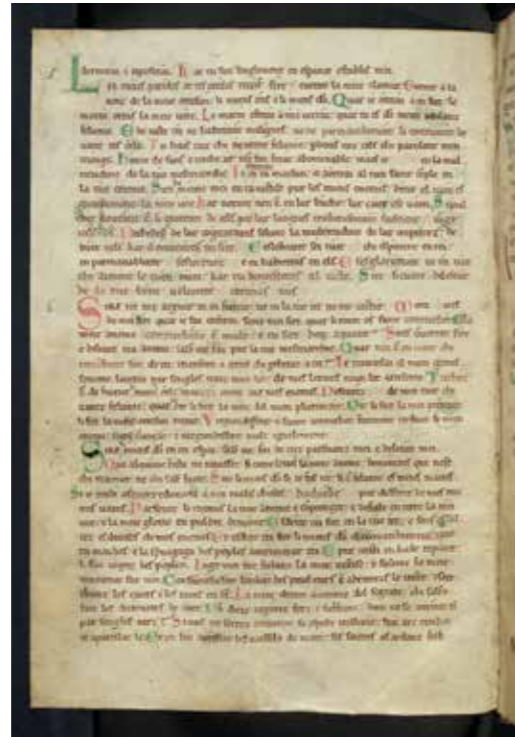
We kept the double accent in its most intriguing occurrence: *póppe* (Ps 2:1), on the very first folio of the manuscript (f. 37r). That vowel is the same as the one from the beginning of *đlie* and *đil*. Beaulieux 1927, p. 17, believed that this case indicated the diphthongisation of the vowel, but his analysis appears unsystematic, picking and choosing examples without a consistent method. For us, this is the also the first time when the scribe actually employed the double acute accent, with a second use in the same line, where he wrote the first double-acute spelling of *čoses*. Given that the word 'people' is consistently written as *póppe(s)* in all its remaining 128 occurrences, with only a single instance of unaccented spelling (*pople*), it is reasonable to assume that the early use of the double acute on f. 37r predates the scribe's adoption of the general spelling rule that he adhered to throughout the remainder of the text. We retained this initial double accent, as its function appears to be unclear.

FALSE DOUBLE ACUTES. Double acute accents also appear in a few additional contexts that we have excluded for various reasons. In Ps 9:35, for example, the letter bearing the marker is the *e* of *quě*. In reality, this double acute is a remnant from a word which was altered during a correction phase, its initial letter having been transformed into the letter *q*. The double acute is now faded, as is the single accent above an *e* from the proposition *én* used in the same sentence: *pur ce quě tus liüres én tés máins* (where *én tés máins* is written upon erasure). We have therefore chosen to suppress both the double acute accent as it now appears on *quě* in the manuscript and the plain accent on *én*, since both are relics of words no longer present in the current version of the text.

Last but not least, in the case of *cuneürent* (Ps 9:11), *eriterünt* (Ps. 36:9), and *sól* (Ps 148:13), the double acute accents are the result of two separate transcriptions of single-acutes and should therefore count as a reiterated use of the same accent. In these instances, one of the marks is almost faded and it is clear that they were written at different moments, as their angles of inclination differ noticeably and the ink tints differ as well. In the case of *sól*, where the first accent was applied with one type of ink, while the second is noticeably darker, it is also possible that the mark is not a true double-acute accent at all, but merely the result of an accidental slip of the pen. We chose to retain these double-acute accents in their original form, thereby allowing future scholars the opportunity to reassess or reinterpret them.

Linguistic supervision for this introductory text:

Constanța Burlacu (Slovanský ústav Akademie věd ČR, v. v. i., Prague, cz).



mus demüstret bones chòses ? ^{Ps 4:7}Seignet est · sur nus la lumière del tûen uult sire : tu dunas letice el mien cûer · ^{Ps 4:8}Del frûit del frument : del uin é del suen ôlie sunt multipliét · ^{Ps 4:9}En país en icé meisme : ^{f. 37v} dormirai · é ^{f. 37v} reposerai · ^{Ps 4:10}Kar tu sire : senquement en esperance establis mèi ·

^{Ps 5:2}**L**oreisún : li miens réis é li miens **deus** · ^{Ps 5:4}Quar ié órerai á téi sire : le matin orrás la meie uóiz · ^{Ps 5:5}Le matin esterai á téi é uerrai : quar tu es **deus** nient uóilanz felunie · ^{Ps 5:6}E de iuste téi ne habiterat malignes : **ne ne parmaiderunt li** torceunier deuant tes óilz · ^{Ps 5:7}Tu haís tuz chi óeurent felunie : **perderás tuz cels** chi parólent menceúge · Húme de **sáns** é triche **úr** nostre sire ferat abominable : ^{Ps 5:8}máis ie en la multitudine de la tûe misericordie · Ié \enterrai/ en ta maisun : *et* aórerai al tun saint temple en la tûe crieme · ^{Ps 5:9}Sire \de/ méine méi en ta iustise pur les miens enemís : **drece el tuén esguardement la meie** uéie · ^{Ps 5:10}Kar uerité n'en est · en lur búche : lur cûer est uáin · ^{Ps 5:11}Sépúlchré **aoüranz est · li guitrún di cels · par lur lángues tricherusement faiseient** : iuge **icels deus** · Dechédent de lur cogitatiúns selunc la multitudine de lur impietez : debúte **icels kar il entariérent téi sire** · ^{Ps 5:12}Esledécent séi tuit **chi** espéirent en téi : en parmanablet **sesioiruñt** é tu habiterás en els · E **sesglorierunt** en téi tuit **chi aiment le tuén num** : ^{Ps 5:13}**kar tu beneisterás al iuste** · Sire sicume · **dél escút de la tûe bóne uoluntét** córunás nus ·

^{Ps 6:2}**S**enferm : saíne mei sire · quar li mien ós sunt **conturbét** · ^{Ps 6:3}E lá meie áneime **conturbéde est · mult : é tu sire deque aquant ?** ^{Ps 6:5}Seies **conuertit sire** é deliure ma aneme : **salf me** fáí pur la tue misericordie · ^{Ps 6:6}Quar n'en est · en mort chi remembre seít de tei : en enfern á certes chi gehirá a téi ? ^{Ps 6:7}Ié trauaili el mien gemissement · lauerai par sengles nuiz mun lit : de mes lermes mun lit aruserai · ^{Ps 6:8}Turbéz est · de fuirur \li/ mien\ / óilz : enuiezi entre tuz mes enemís · ^{Ps 6:9}Deseürez **de** mei tuit chi úurez felunie : quar \at/ oít li sire la uóiz del mien plurement · ^{Ps 6:10}Oít li sire la mei preiere : li sire la meie oreisun receút · ^{Ps 6:11}Vergundissent é seient conturbet fortment trestuit li mien enemí : **seient cumuertit** é uergundissent mult igneement ·

^{Ps 7:2}**S**IRE \li/ miens **deus** en tei esperai : salf me fai de tuz parsuanz mei · é deliure méi · ^{Ps 7:3}Que alquúne fieðe ne raiisset si cúme **leún\ /** la meie aneme : deméntres que nest chi réaimet ne chi salf fácet · ^{Ps 7:4}Sire li miens **deus** si ié fis icé : si est · felunie és meies máins · ^{Ps 7:5}Si ie rendi as **guerredunanz** á mei males chòses : **dechiéde** par **desserte** de mes enemís uains · ^{Ps 7:6}Parséuet li enemís la meie aneme é **comprengét** : é defult en terre la méi uie : é la meie glórie en púldre deméit · ^{Ps 7:7}Esdréce téi sire en la tûe ire : é seies **essalcez** es deuises de mes enemís · ^{Ps 7:8}Ét esdrece téi sire li miens **deus** el **cummandement** que tu mandas : é la sínagoga des póples airunerat téi · E pur icestí en halt repaire : ^{Ps 7:9}li sire iúget les póples · Iúge mei sire sulunc la meie iustise : é sulunc la meie innocéce sur méi · ^{Ps 7:10}Consumméde seít lórdeet des peccheurs é adreceras le iuste : escerchanz les **cúers** é les ráins tu **deus** · ^{Ps 7:11}Lá meie dréite aiutórie del segnó : chi salfs fáit les dreiturers de **cuér** · ^{Ps 7:12}**Deus** dréiz iugérre forz é suffranz : dum ne se **curúce** il par sengles iúrz ? ^{Ps 7:13}Si uus ne serrez conuertit sa espéde crollerat : sun arc tendit · *et* apareilat lé · ^{Ps 7:14}Et en lúí aprestat les uaisels de mort : ses saíetes as ardanz fist · ^{f. 38r} ^{Ps 7:15}Astetéi ^{f. 38r} enfante **torceunerie** : conceút dulúr : é enfantat **iniquité** · ^{Ps 7:16}Lác aoürit · é si **foit** \lúí / é caít en la fósse que il fist · ^{Ps 7:17}Serát **tresturné** **sá** dólur en sun chéif : *et* en la uertiz de lúí sa felunie descend **rat** · ^{Ps 7:18}Ié gehirái al segnur sulunc sa iustise : é canterai al num del segnur altisme ·

^{Ps 8:2}**S**IRE li nostre sire : cume merueílús **est le tuén num** en tûte tère · Quar esleuède *est* · la tûe grandéce sur les ciels · ^{Ps 8:3}Dé la búche de **enfananz** é de laitanz **tu** parfesis loéngé pur tes enemís : que tu destrúies le enemí é le uengeður · ^{Ps 8:4}Quar ié uerrai tés ciels **les oeüres** de tes déiz : la luna é les estéiles que tu fundás · ^{Ps 8:5}Quels chòse *est* · huem que tu es remembre de lúí : ú le filz de húme que tu **uisites lúí** ? ^{Ps 8:6}Tú le amenúisás petit méins de **ángeles** : de glorie é de honur le córunás : ^{Ps 8:7}é sil establis sur les úeures de tes mains · ^{Ps 8:8}Tutes chòses tu suzmisís suz ses piez : **óeiles** é **tuz** bues : ensurquetut les béstes del champ · ^{Ps 8:9}Les oisels del ciel é les peissun\ / de la mer : **chi** uunt par les séntes de la mér · ^{Ps 8:10}Sire li nostre sire : cume merueílús *est* · le tuen num en tûte tère ·

^{Ps 9:2}**I**é regehirai á téi sire en tut mun **cuér** : **ie recunterai** tûtes les tûes merueiles · ^{Ps 9:3}Ié **esleecerai** *et* esiorrai en téi : ie canterai al tuén num altisme · ^{Ps 9:4}En tresturnañt le mien enemí áriere : se **runt** enfermét é **peruñt** de la tue face · ^{Ps 9:5}Quar tu fesis le mien iugement é la meie achaisún : tu siez sur thrône chi iuges iustise · ^{Ps 9:6}Tu encrepás les genz é **perit** li **fél** : le num **els** tu **eslauás** emparmenablet é en sécle de siécle · ^{Ps 9:7}**Les espédes del enemí defistrent** en fin : é les citéz tu destrúis · Perit la memorie de els ot súen : ^{Ps 9:8}é li sire emparmenabletét parmaint · Il apareilat en iugement sun thrône : ^{Ps 9:9}é il iugérat le cercle de terre é **oeltet** : iugerat les póples en iustise · ^{Ps 9:10}E faiz *est* · li sire **refúge\ /** ál póüre : **aiuère** en cuenabletéz en tribulatiun · ^{Ps 9:11}Espéirent en

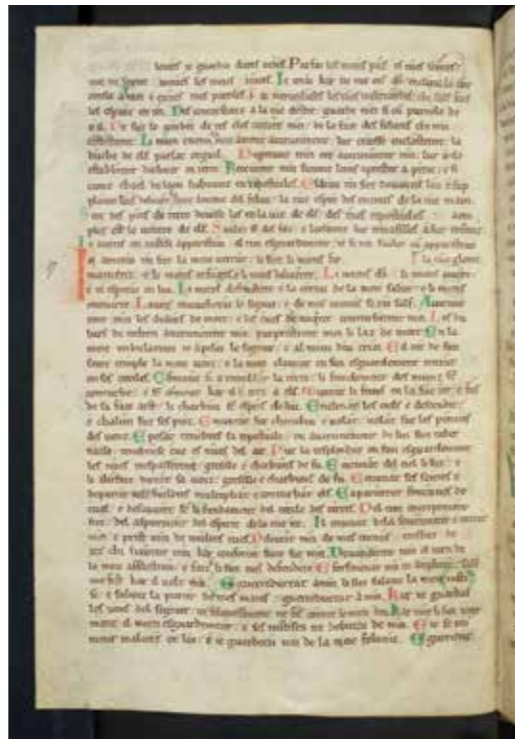
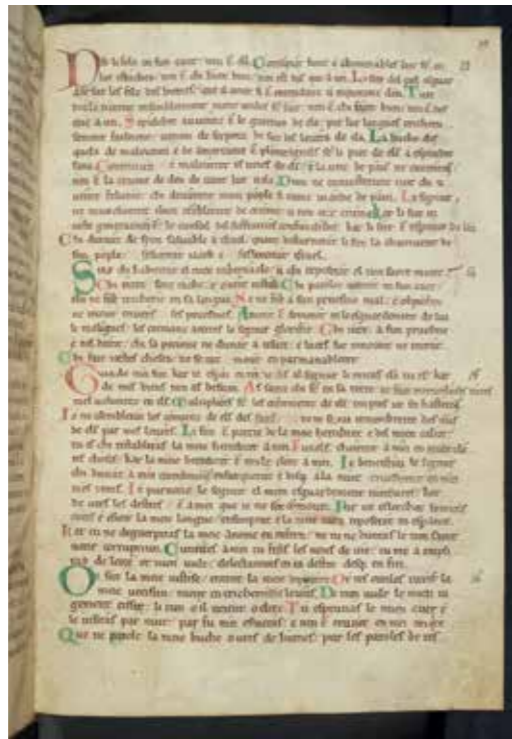
▲ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 37r, 37v, and 38r. Source: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
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^{f. 37r} ^{Ps 1:1} **B**eneurez lí huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns : *et* en la ueie des **peccheurs** ne stóut : *et* en la chaére de pestilence ne sist · ^{Ps 1:2}Mais en la lei de nostre **seigneur** lá uoluntét de lui : *et* en lá sue lei **purpenserat** par iurn é par nuit · ^{Ps 1:3}Et iert enement cume le fust queð *est* · plantét de iuste les decúrs des éwes · chi durrat sun frut en sun tens · Et **sá** fúille ne de **currat** : *et* tûtes les çoses que il unque\ / ferat : se **runt** fait **próspres** · ^{Ps 1:4}Nient eissi li felun nient eissi : mais enement cume la puldre que li uenge getet de la face de terre · ^{Ps 1:5}**Empuricé** ne resurdent li felun en iuíse : ne li pecheur el conseil des dreituriers · ^{Ps 1:6}**K**ar nostre sire cunúist la uéie des **iústes** : **é** le eire des felúns perirá ·

^{Ps 2:1}**P**VR quei fremírent les genz : *et* li póples purpensérent uáines çoses ? ^{Ps 2:2}Li réi de terre estóurent · *et* li prínce sei asemblérent en un : en cóntre nostre **seigneur** é en cuntre sun crist · ^{Ps 2:3}Derumpums les **lur liens** : **é** degetums de nus le iúh de els · ^{Ps 2:4}Chi habitet es ciéls les escharnirát : *et* nostre sire les subsannerát · ^{Ps 2:5}Lores parlerat á els en sa ire : *et* en sa fu **rur** les conturberát · ^{Ps 2:6}Máis ié sui establit réis de lúí sur syon sun saint munt : preech[an]z sun cumandement · ^{Ps 2:7}Nostre sire dist á mei tu es li miens filz : ie húi téi engendrai · ^{Ps 2:8}Requer de méi é ie durrá a téi les genz la tûe heredité : é la tûe possessiun les termes de terre · ^{Ps 2:9}Tus guuernerás en uerge ferrine : e sis fraindrás enement cume le uaisel del potier · ^{Ps 2:10}Et hore uus réis entendéz : seiéz aprís uus chi iugiez la terre · ^{Ps 2:11}Seruez á nostre **seigneur** en criéme : e si esleec **iez** á lui oth tremblur · ^{Ps 2:12}Pernez discipline que nostre sire alquune fieðe ne se curúist : é uus **perisseiez** de la iúste uéie · ^{Ps 2:13}Cume la súe ire esprenderat en brief tens : beneuré tuit icil chi en lúí séi fident ·

^{Ps 3:2}**S**IRE á quei sunt multipliét cil chi méi triblent ? mult **sesdrécent** en contre méi · ^{Ps 3:3}Mult dient á la meie **áneme** : nen *est* · salút a lúj en sun déu · ^{Ps 3:4}Máis tu sire ies li miens receuerre · é la meie glorie : é **exalchánz** mun chéif · ^{Ps 3:5}Ié criai á nostre seigneur par ma uóiz : *et* il me oít de sun saint munt · ^{Ps 3:6}Ié dormi é si sumeillaí · e releuai : **kar** nostre sire me receút · ^{Ps 3:7}Ne crendrai milliérs de póples airunant méi : **esdrece téi** sire · li miens **deus** fáí me **salf** · ^{Ps 3:8}Kar tu as ferút tuz contrarianz á méi **senz** achaisun : les denz des peccheurs tu ás **atriblet** · ^{Ps 3:9}de nostre seigneur · / Saluz *est* : é sur tun póples la tûe benedicéun ·

^{Ps 4:2}**Q**UANT ie apelowe · **deus** de la meie iustise me oít : en tribulatiun tu purlúgnás á méi · Áies merci **de** méi : é óies la meie óreisun · ^{Ps 4:3}Lí fil des humes desque aquant serez uús de griéf **cúer** : pur quéi amez uus uanitet · *et* querez menceúge ? ^{Ps 4:4}E **sachéz** que nostre sire at fáit merueillus sun saint : nostre sire mé orrat quant ié crierai á lúí · ^{Ps 4:5}Traissez uús é ne uillez peccer : les çoses que uus dites en uoz cúers · *et* en uoz líz · **aiez compunctiun** · ^{Ps 4:6}Sacrifiez sacrífise de iustise · *et* esperez el segnur : mult dient chi



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téi chi cuneürent le tuen num : quar tu ne deguerpésis les queránz téi sire · **Ps 9:12** Cantez al segnur chi habitet en syón : annunciez entre les genz ses estúdiés · **Ps 9:13** Quar il requeranz le sanc de els recordát : ne ubliát mie la clamur des poüres · **Ps 9:14** Aies merci de mei sire : **ueié**/s/ la méie humilité de mes enemis · **Ps 9:15** Chi **essálces** méi des pórtes de mort : pur cé que ié annonce tüz **les tuens** loénges es pórtes de la fille syón · **Ps 9:16** Ié mesleecerai el tuen saluáble : enfichees **sunt** les \généz/ **el destruiment que il firent** · En icest laz que il repunstreint : compris est lí **piéz** de els · **Ps 9:17** Cuneúz iert li sire iugement faisant : es oüres de **ses** mains **compris est** li pecchére · **Ps 9:18** Seient turnét li peccheür en enfern : tütés genz chi ubliént deu · **Ps 9:19** Quar en fin nen iert ubliáncie de poüre : la patience des poüres ne **perirat** en fin · **Ps 9:20** **ESDRECE** téi sire ne sét confortet li huem : seient iugées les genz el tuen esguardement · **Ps 9:21** Establis sire duneür de léi sur els : sácent les genz que il húmes sunt · **Ps 9:22** A quéi sire deseüras tu en luinz ? tu despís en cuenabletéz en tribulatiun · **Ps 9:23** Deméntres que sen orguillist li fel · est · esprís li poüre : **sunt** compris es conseilz es quels il pénsent · **Ps 9:24** Quar loéz est · li peccherre es desidéries de sa aneme : é li torcenús est · beneít · **Ps 9:25** **Puruóchát nostre seignur** li pecchére : sulunc la multitudine de la **súe** ire nel querrát · **Ps 9:26** **Nen est · deus** en le esguardement de lúi : maluées **sunt** ses ueies de lúi en tüt tens · Toléiz **sunt** tes iugemenz de sa fáce : de tuz ses enemis **seignurerát ·** **Ps 9:27** **Kar il dist en sun cuer :** ne se **rái** esmóut de generaciün **en generaciun senz mal ·** **f. 38v Ps 9:28** Lá qui búche plaíne est de maleiceün é de amertúme é de tricherie : de suz sa lánque traualz é dólürs · **Ps 9:29** Il siét en aguáiz ot les riches en repostáiles : pur cé que il ociet lé innocent · **Ps 9:30** Li ó_il de lúi el poüre regardent : agúaitet en **repostáile** ensemment **cúme** leun en sa fósse · Agúaitet que il rauisset le poüre : raur poüre deméntres que il le atráit · **Ps 9:31** En sun láz le humilierat : enclinerat sei é carrat quant il segnurerat des poüres · **Ps 9:32** **Kar il dist** en sun cuer ubliez est **deus** : desturnát sa fáce : que il ne ueiet en fin · **Ps 9:33** Esdréce tel **sire deus** é seit **essalcée** la tüe mains : que tu ne ublies **lés** poüres · **Ps 9:34** Purquéi entariát li fel deu ? **kar il dist** en sun cuer nel requerrát · **Ps 9:35** Tú ueiz **qué tu labúr** é dólür esguárdes : pur ce que tus lüres **en tés mains** · A téi deguerpít est · li poüre : al orphenín tu se **ras aiuére** · **Ps 9:36** Detriblé le braz del peccheür é del maligne : serat quis le pechiet de lui e ne se **rát** truué · **Ps 9:37** Lí sire regnerát en parmanablet é en siecle de secle : uus **periréz** genz de la terre de lúi · **Ps 9:38** Le desiderie des poüres oít li sire : le aprestement del cuer de els oít la tüe oreille · **Ps 9:39** Iugiér al orphenín **et** al humle : que il ne apost en últre magnifier sei li huem sur terre ·

f. 38v

É **Ps 10:1** segnur me fi cument dite uus a ma aneme trespásse el múnt si cume pásser · **Ps 10:3** **Kar** astetéi li peccheür **tendírent** lur arc : apareilérént lur saietes en **quüre** : que il saietent **en repóst les** dreiturers de cuer · **Ps 10:4** **Kár lesquels choses tu parfesis il** \destrui/\strent :/ le iüste a certes que fist ? **Ps 10:5** Lí sire en sun

saint témieple : li sire el ciel sun siet · Lí **óil de lúi** el poüre regardent : les pálpres de lúi demándent les fiz des húmes · **Ps 10:6** Lí sire **enquért** le iuste é le felún : chi acertes áimet felunie hét **la súe** anémé · **Ps 10:7** Il pluuerát sur les peccheurs laz : fous · súlfre é espiríz de **tempestéz** la partie del calíz de els · **Ps 10:8** **Kár dreiturers est** li sire é iustises amád : óeltet uít **li suens** · uólz ·

Ps 11:2 Alf me fái sire kar defíst li saínz : kar amenuisées **sunt** ueritez des fiz des húmes · **Ps 11:3** **Váines** choses parlarént chescuns á sun présme : leüres tricherrésses en cuer é en cuer parlarént · **Ps 11:4** **Deperdet** li sire tütés leüres tricherrésses : é **lángue** \granz chó/ses parlarant · **Ps 11:5** **Chí** distrent · la nostre lánque magnifierums : les noz leüres de nus **sunt** : chi est li nostre sire ? **Ps 11:6** Pur la miserie des sufraitús é le gemissement des poüres ore **mesdreceái** : dist li sire · Ié poserai el saluáble : fianceúsement ferai en lúi · **Ps 11:7** Lí parlement del segnur parlement chástes : argent par fu esmerét : pruuét á la terre · espurgét á set dúble · **Ps 11:8** Tú sire garderás nus · é garderás nus de ceste generaciün en parmanabletét · **Ps 11:9** En auirunement li felún éirrent : sulunc la tüe haltéce multipliás les filz des húmes ·

Ps 12:1 **ESque** aquánt sire óblíes tu méi· en fin : desque aquant destúrne tu la tüe **face** de méi ? **Ps 12:2** Cume lunghemént poserai cunséilz en la meie aneme : dulúr en mun **cuer** par iúr ? **Ps 12:3** Desque aquant se **rat** essalcét lí miens enemis sur méi ? **Ps 12:4** **resguarde é óies** méi sire lí miens **deus** · Enlumine les miens **óilz** que ié uñques ne dórme en mort : **Ps 12:5** que alquene fiéde ne diét lí miens enemis ié miélz ualúi \enuers/ lúi · Chi tribülent méi **sesléecerunt** si ie serai esmoüt : **Ps 12:6** máis ié en la tüe misericordie **esperai** · Esleecerat lí miens cuers el túen saluáble : ie canterai ál segnur chi bones choses dunát á mei : e canterai al num del segnur altísme ·

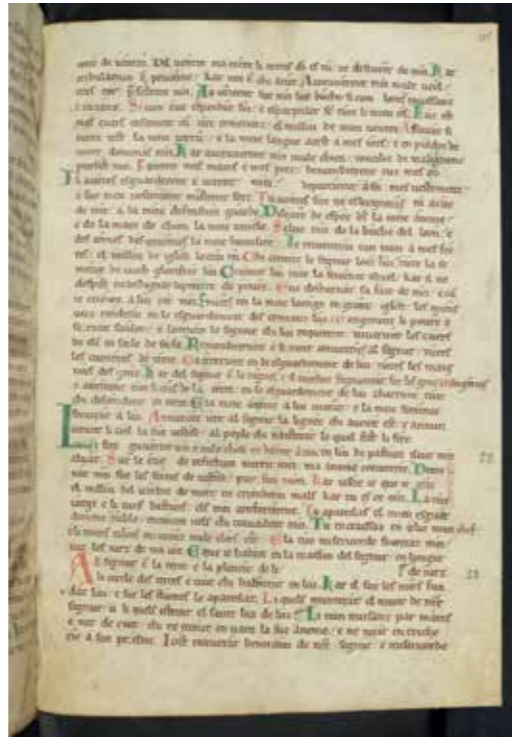
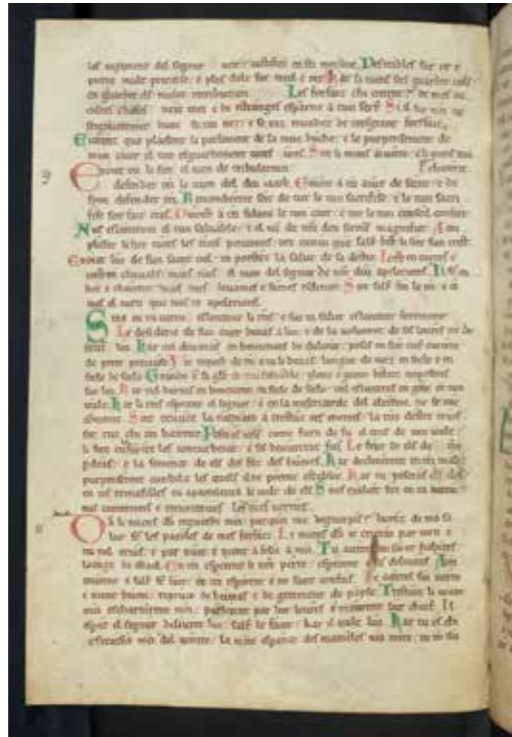
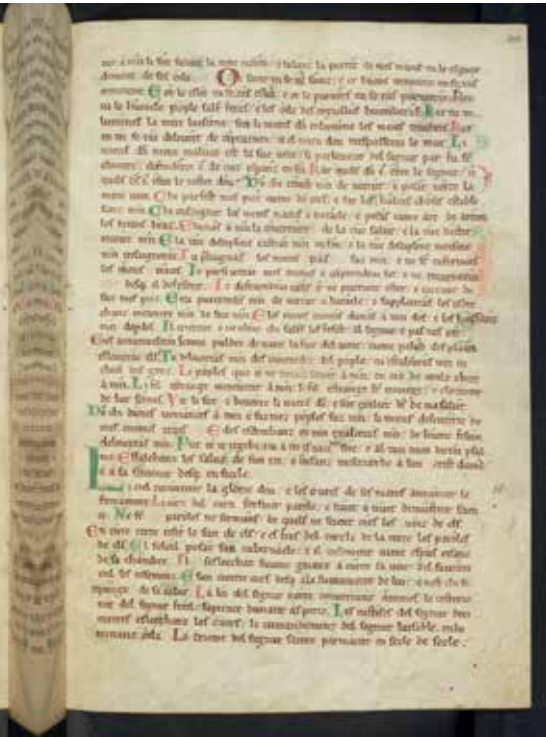
f. 39r Ps 13:1 ist li fols en sun **cuer** : nen est · **deus** · **Corrumpút** sunt é abominábles fait **sunt** · en lur estúdiés : **f. 39r** **nen est** · chi fácet bien : nen est des que á un · **Ps 13:2** Lí sire del ciel esguardát sur les filz des húmes : que il ueiet si **est** · entendánz ú requeranz déu · **Ps 13:3** **Túit decli** nérent ensemblement nient utiles **sunt** fáit : nen est · chi fácet bien : nen est · des que á un · Sepúlchre aúüranz **est** le guitrún de els : par lur lánques tricherusement faiseient : uenim de serpenz de suz les leüres de els · Lá búche des quels de maleiceun é de amertúme **est** · pléine : ignels **sunt** lí piet de els á espánde sanc · **Contriciün** é maleúrtet es ueies de els : é la ueie de páis ne cuneürent : nen **est** la crieme de déu deuant lur **óilz** · **Ps 13:4** Dum ne cunústerunt tuit chi uürent felunie : chi deuórent mun póples si cume uiánde de páin · **Ps 13:5** Le segnúr ne enuocherent iluec tremblérent de crieme : ú nen **er** t crieme · **Ps 13:6** **Kar** li sire en iuste generaciün **est** : le cunseil del sufraitús confundístes : **kar** li sire **est esperáncie** \de lúi · **Ps 13:7** Chi dunrát de syón saluáble á israel : quant desturnerát li sire la chaituuetet de sun póples : **sesiörrát** iacob é **sesleecerat** israel ·

Ps 14:1 **IRE** chi habiterát el tuen tabernácle : ú chi reposerát el tun saint munt ? **Ps 14:2** Chi éntre **senz** táche : e **soüret** iustise · **Ps 14:3** Chi parólet ueiritét en sun **cuer** : chi ne fist tricherie en sa lánque · Ne ne fist á sun pruesme mal : é obpöbre ne receüt **enuers** ses prúesmes · **Ps 14:4** A nient **est** · demenéit en le esguardement de lui li malignes : les cremanz acertes le segnur glorífie · Chi iúre **á** sun pruesme é nel decéit : **Ps 14:5** chi sa pecúnie ne dunát á usúre : é lúers sur innocent ne receüt · Chi fait icéstes choses : ne se **rat** moüt en parmanablet ·

Ps 15:1 **VARde** méi sire kar ie **esperai** en téi : **Ps 15:2** ie dis al segnur lí miens **deus** tu es : kar de mes biens nen as **besuin** · **Ps 15:3** Ás sainz chi **sunt** en sa térre : **at fáit merueílú** ses tütés/ mes uoluntez én els · **Ps 15:4** Multipliées **sunt** les enfermetez de els : empres ice sei hastérent · **Ps 15:4** Ié ne assemblerai les cónuenz de els des **sans** : **ne** ne se **rái** remembreire des **nums** de els par mes leüres · **Ps 15:5** Lí sire **est** · partie de la meie hereditét é del mien calice : tu es chi restabliás la meie hereditet á méi · **Ps 15:6** **Funéls** chaírent á méi en **mult** c\lé/res choses : kar la méie hereditét **est mult** clére á méi · **Ps 15:7** Ié beneístrai le segnur chi dunát á méi **entendement** : ensurquetút é **desque** á la nüt **cruissírent en méi**/ més reins · **Ps 15:8** Ié purueíe le segnur el mien esguardement tütés **úres** : kar de uers les déstres **est** · a méi que ie ne séie **commóut** · **Ps 15:9** Pur ice esleechát **li mi**ens/ **cuérs** é esioít la meie lánque : ensurquetut é la meie carn reposerát en **esperáncie** · **Ps 15:10** Kar tu ne deguerpirás la meie aneme en enfern : ne tu ne dunrás le tun saint ueeir corruptiun · Cuneúes á méi tu fesis les ueies de uie : tu me áempliras de leece ot tuen uult : delectatiuns en ta déstre **desque** en fin ·

Ps 16:1 i sire la meie iustise : entent la meie **depreiére** · Ót tes oreiles recéf la meie ureisün : nient en tricherrésses leüres · **Ps 16:2** De tun uult le mien iugement éisset : lí tun óil ueient óeltéz · **Ps 16:3** Tú espruúas le mien **cuer** é le uisitás par nüt : par fú méi esmerás : é nen est truuée en méi iniquité · **Ps 16:4** Que ne parólt la meie búche **óures** de húmes : pur les paróles de tes **f. 39v** leüres ie guardái dúres ueies · **Ps 16:5** Parfái **lés mieñs pás** es tütés séntes : que ne seient **moies** les meies **tráces** · **Ps 16:6** Ié criái **kár** tu me ois **deus** : encline **lá túe**/ oreile á mei é **exóies** més paroles · **Ps 16:7** **Fái merueílúses lés tús misericórdes** : **chi sals fá**is/ les **esperañz** en téi · **Ps 16:8** Des

f. 39v



serás/ sáinz : é ot húme innocent · tu se_rás innocent · Ps 17:27 E ót le eslít tu se_rás esliz : é ot le purúers tu se_rás puruertít · Ps 17:28 Kár tu le húmele pópale salf ferás : é les óilz des orguillús humilierás · Ps 17:29 Kár tu enlumínes la meie luisérne : sire li miens **deus** enlumíne les meies tenebres · Ps 17:30 Kar en téi se_rái deliüret de temptatiun : et el mien deu trespasserái le mur · Ps 17:31 Lí miens **deus** nient malúee est la sue ueie : li parlement del segnur par fu **sunt** · esmerez : defendérre est · de tuz **esperanz** en sei · Ps 17:32 Kar quels **deus est** · éstre le segnur : ú quels **deus est** · éstre le nostre déu ? Ps 17:33 **Deus** chi ceinst méi de uertút : é posát nette lá meie ueie · Ps 17:34 Chi parfíst mes piéz cume de cers : é sur les háltes chósés establisanz méi · Ps 17:35 Chi **ensaignet** les meies mains á batáile : é posás cume arc de aréim les miens braz · Ps 17:36 E dunás a méi la **couéture** de lá túde salút : é la túde déstre receút méi · E la túde disciplíne castiát méi en fin : é la túde disciplíne meésme méi ensaignerát · Ps 17:37 Tu **purluignás** les miens **pás** suz méi : é ne **sunt** enfermées les meies **tráces** · Ps 17:38 Ié **parsiwerái** mes enemís é **cumprenrai** les : é ne **retournerái** desque il **desissent** · Ps 17:39 Ié **defraindrái icéls** é ne purruút ester : é carrúnt de suz mes piéz · Ps 17:40 E tu purceinsís méi de uertút á batáile : e supplantás les esdrechanz encuntre méi de súz méi · Ps 17:41 E les miens enemís dunás á mei dós : é les haissañz méi **deperdis** · Ps 17:42 Il criérent é ne estéit chi salfs les fesist : al segnur : é pas nes oít · Ps 17:43 E iés amuniserái sicume púldre de uánt la fáce del uent : cume palúdes des pláces **eslauerái els** · Ps 17:44 Tú deliuerás méi des cuntredíz del pópale : tu establisás méi en chief des genz · Ps 17:45 Lí pópales que ié ne cunúí seruí á méi : en oíe de oreile obeít á méi · Ps 17:46 Li fil estrange mentírent á méi : li fil estrange **sunt enueigi** : é clócérent de lur séntes · Ps 17:47 Vít **li síre** é beneéz li miens **deus** : é séit **exalcét deus** de ma salút · Ps 17:48 **Deus** chi dúnes ueniánces á méi é suzmez pópales suz méi : li miens deliüerre de mes enemís iráis · Ps 17:49 E des esdrechanz en méi **exalcerás** méi : de húme felún deliuerás méi · Ps 17:50 Pur cé ie regehi_rái á téi és **naci**uns/síre : é al tun num dirrái psalme · Ps 17:51 Essalchanz les saluz de sun rei : é faisanz misericorde á sun crist dauid : é á sa seméncie **desque** en siecle ·

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contrestanz á la túde déstre : garde méi si **cum** purnéle de **óil** · De suz le úmbre de tes éles **cueüre** méi : Ps 16:9 de la fáce des feluns chi méi **afflistrent** · Lí mien enemí \la/ **meie** áneme airunérent : Ps 16:10 lur cráisse enclóstrent : la búche de els parlat orguil · Ps 16:11 **Degetant** méi ore **airunérent** méi : lur **óilz** establièrent declinér en terre · Ps 16:12 Receúrent méi sicume leóns aprestet á préie : é si cume chaél de león habitanz en repostáiles · Ps 16:13 Esdréce téi síre deuancís **lúí** é supplánte **lúí** : deliüre \la/ **meie** áneme del felún : la tue espée Ps 16:14 des enemís de la túde main · Sire des póis de terre deuise les en la uie de els : des **túes repostáiles** · aemplíz est le uéntre de els · Saúlez **sunt** des filz : é laisérrent lur **remasilles á lur enfan**z/ · Ps 16:15 Ié acértes **en** iustise apparistrai al tun esguardement : ie **se_rai** saúlet **cum** apparistrat la túde glorie ·

I^{Ps 17:2} É amerái téi sire la meie uertút : Ps 17:3 li síre li miens firmamenz · é li miens refúges · é li miens deliüerre · Lí miens **deus** **li** miens aiuére : é ié espererái en lui · Lí miens defendérre é la córnú de la meie salut : é li miens receúerre · Ps 17:4 **Loanz** enuucherái le segnur : é de mes enemís **se_rái** salf · Ps 17:5 Airunérent **mei** les dulúrs de mort : é les éues de iniquitet conturbérent mei · Ps 17:6 Les dulúrs de enfern airunérent méi : purpístrent mei lí laz de mort · Ps 17:7 En lá meie tribulatiun ie apelái le segnur : é al mien déu criái · E il oít de sun saint temple la meie uoíz : é la meie clamúr en sun esguardement entrát en sés oreíles · Ps 17:8 **Commoué est** é tremblát la térre : li fundament des munz **sunt** contúrbe **é sunt** commout kár il **est** · irez á els · Ps 17:9 Muntát li fúms en **la súde íre** : é \fus/ de sa fáce arst : li charbún **sunt** espris de lúí · Ps 17:10 Enclinát les ciels é descendít : é chalím suz ses piéz · Ps 17:11 E muntát sur cherubin é uolát : uolát sur les pénnés des uenz · Ps 17:12 E posát tenebres sa repostáile : en airunement de lui sun tabernácle : tenebrúse éue es núes del air · Ps 17:13 Pur la resplendúr en sun esguardement les núes trespassérent : gresille é charbúns de fu · Ps 17:14 E entunát del ciel li **sire** : é li altísme dunát sa uoiz : gresille é charbuns de fu · Ps 17:15 E enueiát ses saietes é departít **icéls** : fúildres multipliát é conturbát els · Ps 17:16 E aparúrent fontáines de éues : é descuüert **sunt** li fundament del cêrcle des terres · Del tun encrepemént sire : del aspiremént del espirít de la túde íre · Ps 17:17 Il enueiát de **lá souúraineté** é **re**ceút/ méi : é prist méi de múltes éues · Ps 17:18 Deliürat méi de mes enemís **tresforz** : de cez chi haírent méi **kár** confortét sunt sur méi · Ps 17:19 Deuancérent méi el iurn de la meie afflictíun : é faiz **vest/** · li síre mes defendérré · Ps 17:20 E forsmenát **mei en ampletét** : \salf/ me fist **kar** il uolt méi · Ps 17:21 E guerredurrát á méi li sire sulunc la meie iustise : é sulunc la purtét de mes mains **guerredurrat** á méi · Ps 17:22 **Kar** ié guardái les uéies del segnur : **ne felunessement ne fis cóntre le mien deu** · Ps 17:23 **Kar túit li sun iugement** el **mién** esguardemeñt : é ses iustises ne debutái de méi · Ps 17:24 E ie **se_rái** nient maluéz ot lúí : é ié garderái méi de la meie felunie · Ps 17:25 E guerredurrát á méi li síre sulunc la meie iustise : é sulunc la purtét de mes mains en le esguardement de ses óilz · Ps 17:26 **Ot saint tu**

f. 40r

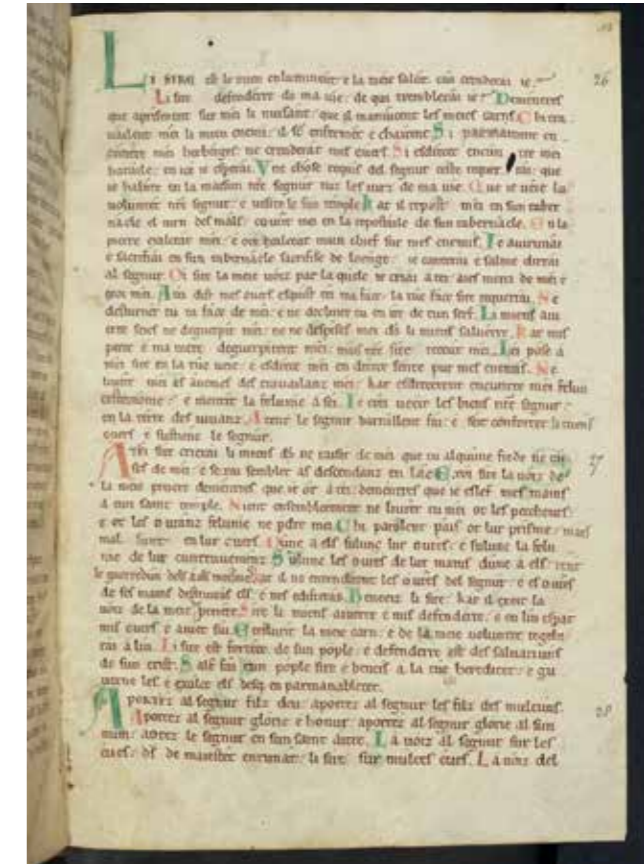
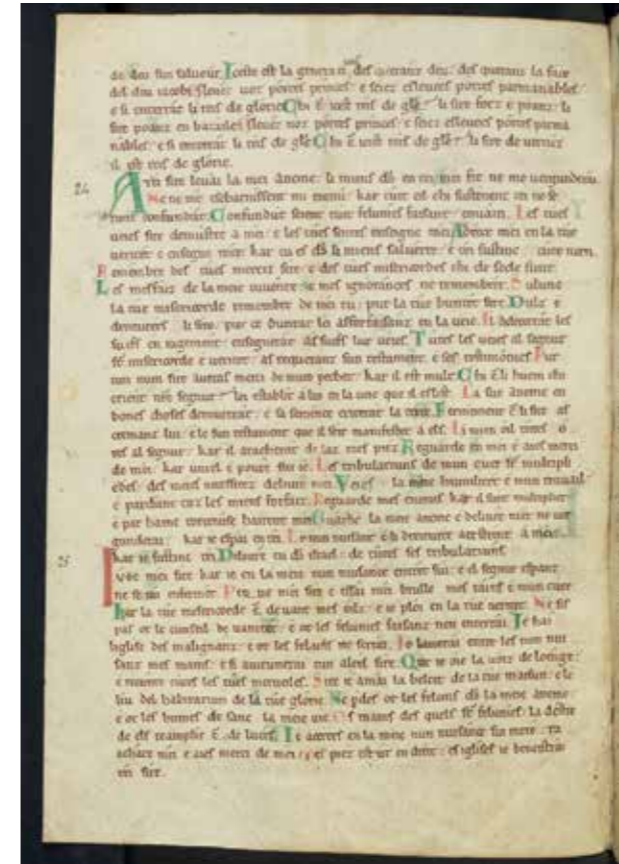
f. 40v

D^{Ps 21:2}eus li miens **deus** reguárde méi : pur quei me deguerpís ? luiñz de ma salut **sunt** · les paróles de mes forfaíz · **Ps 21:3**Lí miens **deus** ié crieráí par iurn é tu nel orrás : é par nuít · é nient á folié á méi · **Ps 21:4**Tú acértes en saínt habítes : loéngé de israel · **Ps 21:5**En tei esperérent li nostre pérre : esperérent e sis deliúras · **Ps 21:6**A téi criérent é salf **sunt** fait : en téi esperérent é ne sunt confús · **Ps 21:7**Ié acértes súi ueñm é nient húem : reprúce de húmes é de getement de pópale · **Ps 21:8**Trestúit lí ueant méi eschárnírent méi : parlérent par lur leúres é **m**eurent lúr chiéf · **Ps 21:9**Il esperát el segnúr deliuret **lúí** : salf le fáct : kar il uult **lúí** · **Ps 21:10**Kar tu és chi estraisís méi dél uénte : la méie **esperance** des maméles ma mère : **Ps 21:11**en téi súi **f. 41r** ietét de uénte · Del uénte ma mère li miens **deus** es tú : **Ps 21:12**ne deseüere de méi · Kár tribulatiun **est** prucéine : kar nen **est** · chi aiút · **Ps 21:13**Auirunérent méi mult ueél : crás tór **pursistrent** méi · **Ps 21:14**Ao úrèrent sur méi lur búche : si cum leóns rauissañz é ruiánz · **Ps 21:15**Sí cum éue expandút súi : é esparpeilé **sunt** túit lí mien ós · Fáiz est mes cuérs ensemment **cum** círe remetañz : el millíu de mun uénte · **Ps 21:16**Assecát sicume test la meie uertú : é la meie langue aerst á mes íoes : é en púldre de mort demenás méi · **Ps 21:17**Kar auirunérent méi mult chien : concilie de malignanz **pursist** mei · **F**órent mes máins é mes piez : **Ps 21:18**denumbrérent tuz mes ós · Íl acértes esgarderent é uirent méi : **Ps 21:19**departírent á séi mes uestemenz : é sur men uestement místrent sort · **Ps 21:20**Tú acértes síre ne esluignerás tá aiúe de méi : á la méie defensiún guárde · **Ps 21:21**Deliúre de espée **deus** la meie aneme : é de la main de chien la meie uniéle · **Ps 21:22**Sálué méi de la búche del león : é des córnes des **unicórnes** lá meie humilité · **Ps 21:23**Ié recunteráí tun num á mes fréres : el millíu de iglise loeráí téi · **Ps 21:24**Chi creméz le segnúr loéz **lúí** : túte la seméce de iacob glorifiéz **lúí** · **Ps 21:25**Criémet **lúí** túte la seméce israel : kar il ne despíst ne desdeignat la preiere de pouëre · E ne desturnát sa fáce de méi : é **cum** ie criówe a **lúí** oít méi · **Ps 21:26**Enüers téi la meie loéngé en gránt **ig**lise : les miéus uuz renderáí en le esgardement des cremanz **lúí** · **Ps 21:27**Mangeruñt li pouëre é se **ruñt** saület : é loeruñt le segnur chi **lúí** requérent : uiueruñt les cúers de els en sécle de sécle · **Ps 21:28**Rememberrúnt é se **runt** conuerties al segnur : tútes les cuntrees dé terre · E aórerunt en le esgardement de **lúí** : tútes les maignées des génz · **Ps 21:29**Kar del segnur **est** · le régnes : é **il meésme seignurerát sur les geñz** · **Ps 21:30**Mangérent/ é aórérent túit li crás dé la terre : en le esgardement de **lúí** charrunt túit chi descéquent en terre · **Ps 21:31**E la meie aneme á lui uüirat : é la meie seméce seruirát á **lúí** · **Ps 21:32**Annuncée íert al segnur la lignée chi a uenír est : é annoncerúnt li ciél la súde iustise : al pópale chi naisterát le quel fist li síre ·

L^{Ps 22:1}i sire **guuérme méi · é núle chose ne desiert a mei** : **Ps 22:2**en lúi de pastúre ilúec méi aluát · Sur le éue **de** refectiun nurrít méi : **Ps 22:3**ma aneme conuertít · Demenát méi sur les séntes de iustise : pur sun núm · **Ps 22:4**Kar ia séit cé que ié iráí el millíu del umbre de mórt ne crienderáí mals kar tu es ot méi · Lá túe uérge é li tuns bastúns : els méi confortérent · **Ps 22:5**Tú apareilás el mien esgardement táble : encúntre icels chi traúáilent méi · Tú encaissás en ólie mun **chéf** : **é li miens calices eniurañz mult clérs est** · **Ps 22:6**E la túe misericorde siwerat méi : tuz les iurz de ma uie · E que ié habíte en la maisun del segnur : en lungur de iurz ·

A^{Ps 23:1}l segnur **est** la terre é la plentét de li : li cercle des terres é túit chi habitent en **lúí** · **Ps 23:2**Kar il sur les Amérs fundát **lúí** : é sur les flúmes le apareilát · **Ps 23:3**Lí quels munterát el munt de **nostre** segnur : ú li quels esterát el saint líu de **lúí** ? **Ps 23:4**Lí nun nuisañz par máins é net de **cu**er : chi ne recéut en uain la sue aneme : é ne iurat en tricherie á sun **pr**isme · **Ps 23:5**Icíst receuerát benei **céun** de **nostre** segnúr : é misericórde **f. 41v** de deu sun salueür · **Ps 23:6**Icésté est la generaci **uns**/ des querañz déu : des querañz la fáce del déu iacob · **Ps 23:7**Esleuéz uoz pórtés prínces : é séiez esleuéés pórtés parmanábles : é si enterrát li reis de glórie · **Ps 23:8**Chi **est** · icíst réis de **glorie** ? li sire forz é póanz : li sire poanz en bataíle · **Ps 23:9**Esleuéz uoz pórtés prínces : é seiez esleuéés pórtés parmanábles : é si enterrát li réis de **glorie** ? li sire de **glorie** ? li sire de uertúz il est reis de glórie ·

A^{Ps 24:1}Téi sire leuáí la mei aneme : **Ps 24:2**li miens **deus** en tei méi fit ne me uergunderáí · **Ps 24:3**Né ne **m**é eschárnissent mi enemí : kar túit cil chi susténeñt téi ne serunt confundút · **Ps 24:4**Confundút seient túit felunies faisant : enuáin · Les túes ueies sire demústre á méi : é les túes sentes enseigne méi · **Ps 24:5**Adrece méi en la túe ueríteté é enseigne méi : kar tu es **deus** li miens saluérre : é téi sustinc **túte** iurn · **Ps 24:6**Remémbré des túes merciz sire : é des túes misericordes chi de secle sunt · **Ps 24:7**Les mesfáiz de la meie iuuénte : é mes ignorances ne remembrér · Sulunc la túe misericorde remembre de méi tu : pur la túe buntét sire · **Ps 24:8**Dulz é dreiturérs **li** sire : pur cé dunrat léi as forfaisañz en la uéie · **Ps 24:9**Íl adrecheràñt les suefs en iugement : enseignerát **ás** suéfs lur ueies · **Ps 24:10**Tútes les ueies al segnur **sunt** · misericorde é ueritet : as requeranz sun testament · é **ses** testimónies · **Ps 24:11**Púr tun num síre auerás merci de mum pechet : kar il est mult · **Ps 24:12**Chi **est** · li húem chi criéñt **nostre** segnur ? lei establít á lui en la ueie que il eslíst · **Ps 24:13**Lá sue aneme en bones choses demurerát : é sa seméce eriterát la terre · **Ps 24:14**Fermement **est** · li sire ás cremanz lui : é le sun testament que il séit manifestet á els · **Ps 24:15**Lí mien óil tútes **óres** al segnur : kar il aracherát de laz mes piéz · **Ps 24:16**Reguárde en méi é aies merci de



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méi : kar uniél é pouëre sui ié · **Ps 24:17**Les tribulatiuns de mun **cu**er **sunt** multiplíedés : des méies nécessitéz deliúre méi · **Ps 24:18**Véies **la** méie humilité é mun traúáil : é pardúne tuz les miens forfaiz · **Ps 24:19**Reguarde mes enemis kar il sunt multipliet : é par haïne torcenúse haírent méi · **Ps 24:20**Guárde la meie aneme é deliúre méi : ne uergunderai : kar ié esperáí en téi · **Ps 24:21**Lí nun nuisant é li dreiturér aerstrént á méi : kar ié sustinc téi · **Ps 24:22**Deliúre tu **deus** israel : de tútes ses tribulatiúns ·

I^{Ps 25:1}vge méi síre kar ie en la méie nun nuisance entrét súi : é el segnur esperanz ne se **ráí** enfermét · **Ps 25:2**Pró **ue** méi síre é essáí méi brulle mes ráins é mun **cu**er · **Ps 25:3**Kar la túe misericorde **est** · de uant mes óilz : é ie plói en la túe ueritet · **Ps 25:4**Né sis pas ot le conseil de uanité : é ot les felunies faisanz nen enterráí · **Ps 25:5**Ié haí liglise des malignanz : é ot les feluns ne serráí · **Ps 25:6**Ié laueráí entre les nun nuisanz mes mains : é si auiruneráí tun altél sire · **Ps 25:7**Que ié óie la uoíz de loéngé : é recúnte tútes les túes merueiles · **Ps 25:8**Sire ie ámaí la beltet de la túe maisun : é lé líu del habitatiun de la túe glórie · **Ps 25:9**Né perdes ot les feluns **deus** la meie aneme : é ot les humes de sanc la meie uie · **Ps 25:10**Es mains des quels **sunt** felunies : la déstre de els reamplíe **est** · de luérs · **Ps 25:11**Ié acértes en la meie nun nuisance sui entré : raacháte méi é aies merci de méi · **Ps 25:12**Mes piéz estúnt en dréit : es iglises ié beneistráí téi sire ·

L^{f. 42r Ps 26:1}Í SIRE est le mien enluminéñt : é la méie salut · **cu**i crenderáí ié ? Lí sire **defendérre** de ma luie : de qui tremblaráí ié ? **Ps 26:2**Deméñtres que aprisment sur méi li nuisánt : que il maniúcent les meies cars · Chi traúáilent méi li mien enemí : il **sunt** enfermét é chaírent · **Ps 26:3**Si **par**mainent encúntre méi herbérges : ne crenderát mes **cu**ers · Sí esdrécet encúntre méi bataíle : en icé ie espereráí · **Ps 26:4**Vne chose requis del segnur ceste requerráí : que ié habíte en la maisun **nostre** segnúr tuz les iurz de ma uie · Que ie ueie la uoluntét **nostre** segnur : é uisite **le sun temple** **Ps 26:5**Kar il repóst **m**éi en sun tabernácle el iurn des máls : **co**urít mei en la repostáile de sun tabernácle · **Ps 26:6**En la pierre **ex**alceát méi : é óre **ex**alceát mun chief sur mes enemis · Ié auirunáí é sacrificáí en sun tabernácle sacrificse de loéngé : ié canteráí é salme dirráí al segnur · **Ps 26:7**Oi sire la meie uoíz par la quéle ié criáí á tei : aies merci de méi é éxoi méi · **Ps 26:8**A téi dist mes **cu**érs · esquíst téi ma fáce : la túe fáce sire requerráí · **Ps 26:9**Né desturnér tu ta fáce de méi : é ne declinér tu en íre de tun serf · Lí miens aiuerre seies ne deguerpír méi : ne ne despíses mei **deus** li miens saluérre · **Ps 26:10**Kar mis perre é ma mere deguerpírent méi : **mais** **nostre**

f. 42r

síre receút méi · **Ps 26:11**Léi póse á méi sire en la túe ueie : é esdrece méi en dréite sente pur mes enemís · **Ps 26:12**Né liürer méi es ánemes des _trauailanz méi : kar esdrecerént encuntre méi felún **testemónie** : é mentit la felunie á séi · **Ps 26:13**Ié créi ueeir les biens nostre segnur : en la tère des uiuanz · **Ps 26:14**Atent le segnur barnillent fái : é séit confortet **li t**ueüs/ **cuers** é sustieñc le segnúr ·

A **Ps 27:1** Têi síre crierái li miens *deus* ne taisir de méi que tu alquúne fieðe ne táises de méi : é se _rai semblét **as** descendáñz en **lác** · **Ps 27:2** Exói síre la uóiz de la méie preiere deméntres que ié **ór** á téi : deméntres que ié eslef mes mains á tun saint témple · **Ps 27:3**Nient ensembleément ne liürer tu méi ot les peccheurs : é ot les **óuranz** felunie ne **pèrdre** méi · Chi parólent páis ot lur prísmé : \máis/ **mal sunt** en lur **cuers** · **Ps 27:4**Dúne á els sulunc lur **óures** : é sulunc la felunie de lur cuntruueménz · Sulunc les **óures** de lur mains dúne á els : reñt **le guerredún dels á els méisme** \s/ · **Ps 27:5**Kar il ne entendírent les **óures** del segnúr : é es **óures** de ses mains destruírás els : é nes ediferás · **Ps 27:6**Beneiez li síre : kar il exoit la uóiz de la meie \de/preiere · **Ps 27:7****Síre li** miens aiuère é mis defendérre : é en lúi esperát mis **cuers** é aiuéú suí · E reflurít la meie carn : é de **la** meie uoluntet regehi _rái á lúi · **Ps 27:8**Lí sire est fortece de sun póphe : e defendérre **est** des saluatiúns de sun crist · **Ps 27:9**Salf fái tun póphe síre é beneis á la túe hereditet : é guerne les · é **exálce** els **desque** en parmanabletlet ·

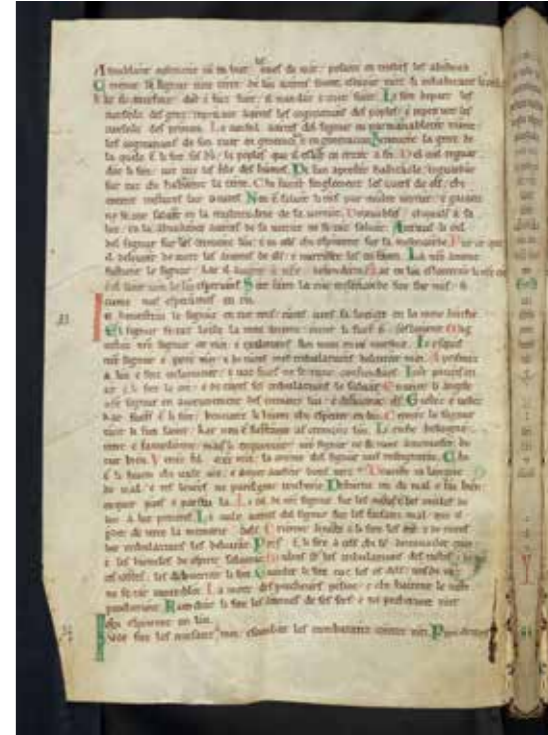
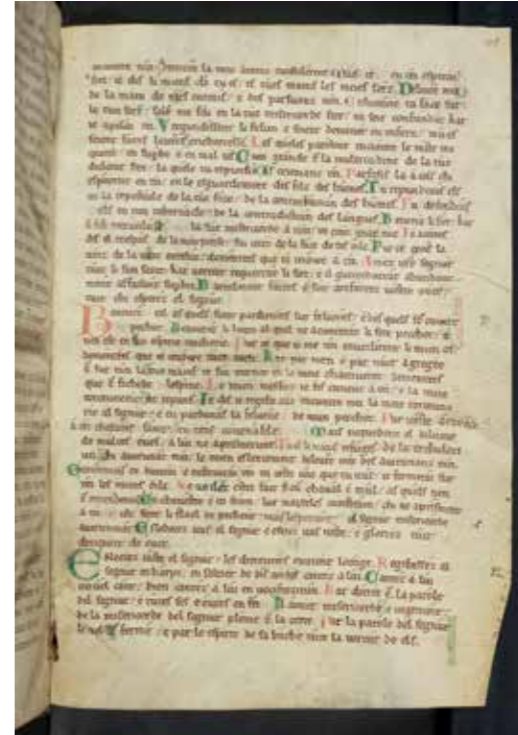
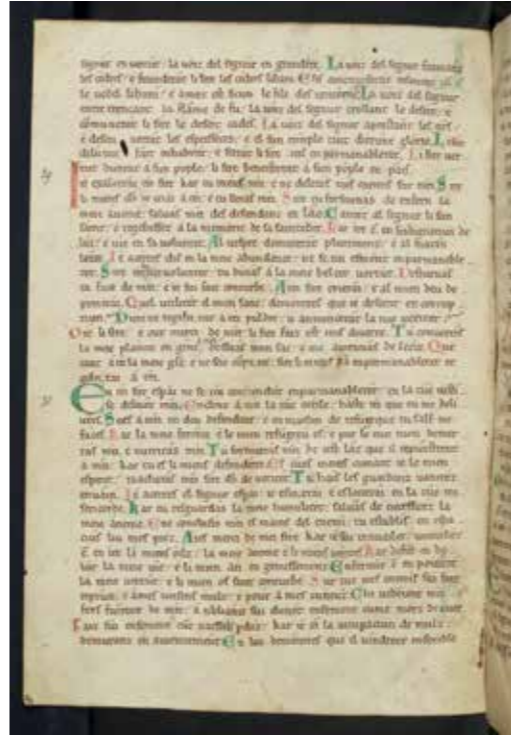
A **Ps 28:1**PORTÉZ al segnur filz deu : aportez al segnur les filz des multúns · **Ps 28:2**Aportéz al segnur glórie é **honor** : aportéz al segnur glórie al sun num : **aorez** le segnur en sun saint áitre · **Ps 28:3**Lá uóiz al segnur sur les éues : **deus** de maiestét entunát : li síre sur multes éues · **Ps 28:4**Lá uóiz del **f. 42v** segnúr en uertút : la uóiz del segnúr en grand**éce** · **Ps 28:5**Lá uóiz del segnur frainañz les cédrés : é frainderát lí síre les cédrés libani · **Ps 28:6**E sis amenuiserát ensement *cum* le ueðel libani : é amez est sicum le filz des unicórne \s/ · **Ps 28:7**Lá uóiz del segnur entre trencant la flamme de fu : **Ps 28:8**la uóiz del segnur crollant le desért : é **commuuerát** li síre le desért cadés · **Ps 28:9**Lá uóiz del segnur aprestañt les cérs : é descuerrát les espeisséces : é el sun témphe tuit dirrúnt glórie · **Ps 28:10**Lí síre dilúuie fái enhabitér : é serrát li síre **reis** en parmanabletét · **Ps 28:11**Lí síre uertut dunrat á sun póphe : li síre beneisterat á sun póphe en páis ·

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I **Ps 29:2**É exalcerái téi síre kar tu recéús méi : é ne délitás mes enemís sur méi · **Ps 29:3**Sire li miens *deus* ie criái **á** téi : é tu sanás méi · **Ps 29:4**Sire tu forsmená des enfem la meie aneme : saluás méi des descendañz en **lác** · **Ps 29:5**Cantéz al segnur li sun saint : é regehissez á la memórie de sa sainteðet · **Ps 29:6**Kar ire est **en lindignatiún de lúi** : é uie en sa uoluntét · Al ueðpre demurerát pluremenz : é al matin léece · **Ps 29:7**Té acertes dis en la meie abundáñce : ne se _rái esmóut en parmanabletlet · **Ps 29:8**Sire én \la/ túe uoluntét : tu dunás á la meie beltet uertút · Desturnás ta face de méi : é ié sui fait conturbe · **Ps 29:9**A téi síre crierái : e al mien deu depreierái · **Ps 29:10**Quel utilitét el mien sanc : deméntres que ié descent en corruptiun ? Dum ne regehi _rát á téi púldre : ú annuncerát la tue ueritét ? **Ps 29:11**Oit li síre é out merci de méi : li síre faiz est mis aiuerre · **Ps 29:12**Tú conuertís la meie plaínte en goíe vá méi : / dessirás mun sac : e me airunás de leece · **Ps 29:13**Qué cant á téi la meie *glorie* · é ne séie *compu* _nt : sire li miens [d]*eus* enparmanabletlet regehi _rai á téi ·

E **Ps 30:2**N téi síre esperái ne se _rái confundút en parmanabletét : en la túe iustise deliüre méi · **Ps 30:3**Encline á méi la túe oréile : háste téi que tu me deliüres · Seies á méi en deu defendeur : é en maisun de refú\ge/ que tu salf me fáces · **Ps 30:4**Kar la meie fortece é le mien refú\ge/ tú es : é pur le tun num demerrás méi · e nurrirás méi · **Ps 30:5**Tú forsmerrás méi de cest láz que il repúnstrent á méi : kar tu es li miens defendérre · **Ps 30:6**Es túes mains cumant ie le mien esprit : raachatás méi síre *deus* de ueritét · **Ps 30:7**Tu háis les guardanz uanitéz en uáin · Ié acertes el segnur esperái : **Ps 30:8**ie esio _rrái é esleceerái en la túe misericórde · Kar tu resguardás la meie humilitet : salúas de necessitéz la meie aneme · **Ps 30:9**E ne conclusís méi es mains del enemí : tu establís en espaciús liu mes piéz · **Ps 30:10**Aies merci de mei síre kar ié sui trauailet : conturbéz est · en ire lí miens óilz : la meie aneme **é li miens uéntres** · **Ps 30:11****Kar defist en dolúr** la meie uie : é li mien án en gemissemenz · Enfermée *est* en poüreté lá meie uertút : é li mien ós sunt conturbé · **Ps 30:12**Sur tuz més enemís súi faiz reprúce · é ámes ueisins mult : é poúr á mes cuneúz · Chi ueðéient méi fors fuirent de méi : **Ps 30:13**á ubliañce sui dunét ensement cume morz de cuer · Faiz súi ensement *cume* uaissels *perduz* : **Ps 30:14**kar ié oí la uituperaciun de mulz : demuranz en airunemént · En lúi deméntres que il uíndrent ensemble **f. 43r** encuntre méi : \a/ receiüre la meie aneme cunseilérent · **Ps 30:15**Máis **f. 43r** **ié** en téi esperái síre : ié dis lí miens *deus* tu es : **Ps 30:16**es túes mains les meies sorz · Deliüre méi de la main de mes enemís : é des parsuanz méi · **Ps 30:17**Enlumíne ta face sur le tun serf : salf me fái en la túe misericorde síre : **Ps 30:18**ne sieie confundút kar ie apelái téi · Vergundíssent li felun é sieient demenét en enfem : **Ps 30:19**múes sieient fáites leüres tricherrésses · Les quéles parólent encúntre le iúste iniquitét : en **superbe** é en **mál ús** · **Ps 30:20**Cum gránde *est* · la multitudine de la túe dulceur síre : la quéle tu repunsís as criemanz téi · Parfesis la á cels chi espéirent en téi : en le esguardement des filz des húmes · **Ps 30:21**Tu repunderás els en la repostáile de la túe

f. 43r



▲ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 42v, 43r, and 43v. Source: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
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face : de la conturbatiún des húmes · **Tu** defendrás **éls** en tun tabernacle : de la contradictiún des langes · **Ps 30:22**Beneiez **li síre** : kár il fist merueilúse **la** súe misericórde á méi : en **ciété guar_nie** · **Ps 30:23**Ié acertes dis el trespás de la méie pèñse : sui ietét de la face de tes óilz · Pur cé exóis la uoiz de la meie oreisún : deméntres que ié criówe á téi · **Ps 30:24**Amez *nostre* segnur tuit li sun saint : kar ueritét requerrát li síre : é il guerredurrát abundamment as faisanz **superbie** · **Ps 30:25**Barnilment fáites é séit confortet uóstre **cúer** : tuit chi esperéz el segnúr ·

B **Ps 31:1**eneuré cil as quels sunt pardunés lur felunies : é des quels *sunt* cuuért **pechet** · **Ps 31:2**Beneuré li huem al quel ne acunterát li síre pecchet : é nen est en sun esprit tricherie · **Ps 31:3**Pur cé que ié me tói enueilírent li mien ós : deméntres que ié criówe túte iurn · **Ps 31:4**Kar par iurn é par núit **agregée est** · sur méi la tue máin \s/ : ie súi turnet en la meie chaitiuetet : dementes que *est* fichéde **lespine** · **Ps 31:5**Le mien mesfait ié fis cuneút á téi : é la meie torceunerie ne repuns · Ié dis · ie regehi _rai encuntre méi lá meie torceunerie al segnur : é tu pardunás la felunie de mun pecchéú · **Ps 31:6**Pur **icéste órerád á téi chescúns sáinz en téns cóuenable** · Máis nequedent el dilúuie de multes éues : á lúi ne áprismeruñt · **Ps 31:7**Tú és lí miens **refúges de la tribulatiun** chi airunát méi : le mien esleecement deliüre méi des airunanz méi · **Ps 31:8****Entendement té** dunrái é enstruirái téi en céste ueie que tu irás : ie fermerái sur téi les miens óilz · **Ps 31:9**Ne uoilez éstre fái si *cum* chauál é mül : as quels nen est · **entendement** · En cheuéstre é en fráin : lur maixéles cunstráin : chi ne aprisment á téi · **Ps 31:10**Mult sunt li flael de pecheúr : **máis lesperánt** el segnúr misericórde airunerát · **Ps 31:11**Esledecez uus el segnúr é esioéz uus iúste : é gloriéz tuit dreiturer de **cuer** ·

E **Ps 32:1**Sleceez iúste el segnúr : les dreiturérs cuiéñ loéñge · **Ps 32:2**Regehísséz al segnúr en hárpe : en saltier **de** dis córdes cantéz á lúi · **Ps 32:3**Cantéz á lúi nouél cánt : bien cantéz á lúi en uociferatiún · **Ps 32:4**Kar dréite *est* · la paróle del segnur : é tútes ses **oéures** en féi · **Ps 32:5**Il áimet misericorde é iugemént : de la misericorde del segnur pléine *est* · la terre · **Ps 32:6**Par la paróle del segnúr li ciel **sunt fermé** : e par le esprit de sa bûche túte la uertút de els · **f. 43v** **Ps 32:7**Asemblánt ensement *cum* en bú **les** / éues de mér : posañt en tresórs les abísmes · **Ps 32:8**Críemet le segnur túte terre : de lúi acertes sieie esmóut tuit li enhabílant **lé** círculo · **Ps 32:9****Kar il meésme** **f. 43v** dist é faiz suñt : il mandát é criet súnt · **Ps 32:10**Lí síre depart les cunseílz des genz : **repro_uet** acertes les cogitatiúns des póples : é reprouet les conseilz des prínces · **Ps 32:11**Lé cunseíl acertes del segnur en parmanabletét máint : les cogitatiuns de sun **cuer** en generaci_un/ é en generaciun · **Ps 32:12**Beneurée la gent de la quéle *est* · li síre ses *deus* : **li** póples que il eslist en eritéú á séi · **Ps 32:13**Del ciél regardát li síre : uít tuz les filz des húmes · **Ps 32:14**Dé sun aprestét habitácle : regardát sur tuz chi habitent la tère · **Ps 32:15**Chi faíñst senglement les **cuers** de els : chi entent trestútes

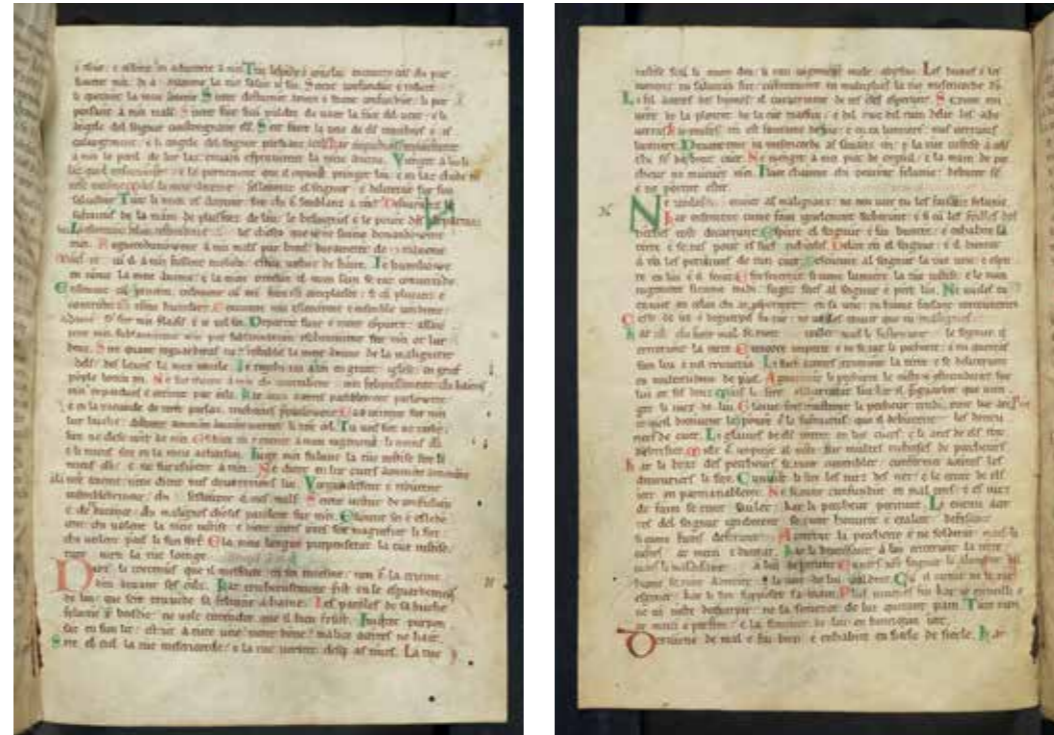
lur œures · Ps 32:16 Nen est · salüet li réis par mülte uertüt : é gaiänz ne se_rat salüet en la multitude de sa uertüt · Ps 32:17 Deceuables chauäls á salut : en la abundánce acertes de sa uertüt ne se_rát salüet · Ps 32:18 Aite uús li ôil del segnur sur les cremañz lúi : é en cels chi espéirent sur sa misericörde · Ps 32:19 Pur /cè que/ il deliüret de mort les áneimes de els : é nurrisset les en fáim · Ps 32:20 Lá nostre aneme sustieñt le segnur : kar il aiuërre é nostre defendérre · est Ps 32:21 Kar en lúi esleecerát /li nostre cuér/ é el saínt núm de lúi espererúms · Ps 32:22 Seít fáite la tús misericörde sire sur nús : sicume nus esperámes en téi ·

Ps 33:2 É beneistraí le segnúr en tut tens : tútes úres sá loénge en la meie búche · Ps 33:3 Él segnur se_rat loéde la meie aneme : óient li suéf é sesleécént · Ps 33:4 Magnifiéz nostre segnur ot méi : é exalceúms sun num en icé meésme · Ps 33:5 Ié esquis nostre segnúr é exoít méi : é de tútes mes tribulatiúns deliürat méi · Ps 33:6 Aprisméz á lúi é seiz enluminét : é uoz fáces ne se_runt confundúes · Ps 33:7 Icist póures criát é li sire le oít : é de tútes ses tribulatiuns le salüat · Ps 33:8 Enuëiet li ángele nostre segnur en aurunemeñt des cremañz lúi : e deliuerrát els · Ps 33:9 Gustéz é uedéz kar suefs est li sire : beneuréz li húem chi espéiret en lúi · Ps 33:10 Creméz le segnur túit li sun saínt : kar nen est · suffráite as cremañz lúi · Ps 33:11 Lí ríche besuignérent é fameilérent : máis li enquerañt nôstre segnúr ne se_runt amenusét de tut bién · Ps 33:12 Venéz fil o_éz méi : la crième del segnúr uus enseignerái · Ps 33:13 Chi est li huem chi uult uie : é aimet auedéir bons iúrz ? Ps 33:14 Deuieòe ta lánque de mal : e tes léúres ne parólgent tricherie · Ps 33:15 Destúrre téi de mal é fai bién : enquer páis é parféu lá · Ps 33:16 Lí ôil de nostre segnur sur les iústes : é les oreíles de lui á lur preiéres · Ps 33:17 Lé uult acertes del segnur sur les faisanz mal : que il pèrdet de terre lá memorie dels · Ps 33:18 Criérent lí iúste é li sire les oít : e de tútes lur tribulatiuns les deliürat · Ps 33:19 Prés est · li sire á cels chi sunt de trauailet cuér : é les húmeles de esprit saluerát · Ps 33:20 Múltes sunt les tribulatiuns des iústes : e de /tú/tes icéstes les deliuerrát li sire · Ps 33:21 Guárdet li sire tuz les ós dels : úns de icéz ne se_rát cuntriblét · Ps 33:22 Lá mort des peccheúrs pésmé : é chi haírent le iúste peccherúnt · Ps 33:23 Raendrát li sire les anemes de ses sers : e ne pecherunt túit chi espéirent en lúi ·

f. 44r Ps 34:1 VGE sire les nuisañz /á/ méi : escumbát les cumbatañz cóntre méi · Ps 34:2 Prén armes f. 44r é escút : e esdréce len adiutorie á méi · Ps 34:3 Traí lespéde é cónclu encuntre cels chi parsiwent méi : di á /máneme la tús salut ié súi · Ps 34:4 Seient confundút é reduté : li querañt la meie aneme · Séient desturnét ariere é seient confundút : li purpensañt á méi mals · Ps 34:5 Séient fáit sicum púlde de uant la fáce del uent : é li ángele del segnur cunstreignañt els · Ps 34:6 Seít fáite la ueie de els teniébres é esculurgement : é li angele del segnur parsuanz icéls · Ps 34:7 Kár emparduñs repunstrent á méi le peril de lur laz : en uain espruèrent lá méie aneme · Ps 34:8 Viénget á lúi lí /láz que il mescunúist : é le pernément que il repúnst préngét lúi : é en laz chéde /en/ icést méisme · Ps 34:9 Máis · la meie aneme sesleécérat el segnur : é deliterát sur sun saluédúr · Ps 34:10 Túit li mien os dirruñt : sire chi est semblanz á téi ? Deliürañz le sufraitús de la máin de plus forz de lúi : le besuignús é le póure des de/partañz/ /lui /· Ps 34:11 Lí esdreceáñz felún · testimónie : les chóses que ié ne sauéie demandówent méi · Ps 34:12 Regueredunówent á méi mals pur biens : baraineté de /máneme · Ps 34:13 Máis ié cum il á méi fússent moléste : estéie uestúz de haíre · Ié humiliówe en iúnie la meie aneme : é la méie oreisún él mien saín se_rát conuertíde · Ps 34:14 Ensement cum prucéin · ensement cum nostre frére issi complaisée : si cum pluranz é contristéz issi estéie humiliéz · Ps 34:15 E encuntre méi esleécérent é ensemble uíndrent : /a/ /duné sunt sur méi flaels é ié nel sói · Ps 34:16 Departit sunt é nient compun_t : assaié rent méi · subsannérent méi par subsannatiún : eschinnérent sur méi ot lur denz · Ps 34:17 Síre quant regarderas tu ? restablis la meie aneme de la malignitet /dels : des leúns la meie uniéle · Ps 34:18 Ié regehi_rái á téi en gránt /iglise : en grief póple loerái téi · Ps 34:19 Né sur esióient á méi chi cuntralient /mei felunessement : chi /haírent/ méi en pardúns é otrient par oílz · Ps 34:20 Kar á méi acertes paisiblement parlówent : é en la iracúnde de terre parlaz · tricheries /pupensówent · Ps 34:21 E aóurírent sur méi lur búche : dístrent aimenóre amenóre · ueírent li /nostre ôil · Ps 34:22 Tú ueís sire ne /táisir : sire ne dese_ürer de méi · Ps 34:23 Esdréce téi é entent á mun iugement : li miens deus é li miens sire en la meie achaisun · Ps 34:24 Iúge méi sulunc lá tús iustise sire li miens deus : é ne suresiéont á méi · Ps 34:25 Né dient en lur cuers aimenóre /aim /é /sesleécént á mes mals · Seient uestút de confusiún é de /re/dutánce : chi málgnes chóses parólent sur méi · Ps 34:27 Esioient sei é esledécént chi uólent la méie iustise : é dient tútes /óres seít magnifiet li sire : chi uólent páis li sun serf · Ps 34:28 E la méie lánque purpenserat lá tús iustise : tute iurn lá tús loénge ·

D Ps 35:2 IST li torcenús que il mesfácet en sei meésme : nen é · la crième déu deuant ses oílz · Ps 35:3 Kar tricherúsement fist en le esguardement de lúi : que seít truuéde sa felunie á haíne · Ps 35:4 Les paróles de sa búche felunie é boisdie : ne uolt enténdre que il bien fesist · Ps 35:5 Iniquité purpensát en sun lit : est_üt á tús ueie nient bóne : malice acertes ne haít · Ps 35:6 Sire el ciel la tús misericorde : é la tús uerité desque as nûes · Ps 35:7 Lá tús /f. 44v iustise sicum lí munt deu : li tun iugemént mult abýsme · Les húmes é les iumenz tu sáluérás sire : Ps 35:8 cumfaitement tu

f. 44v



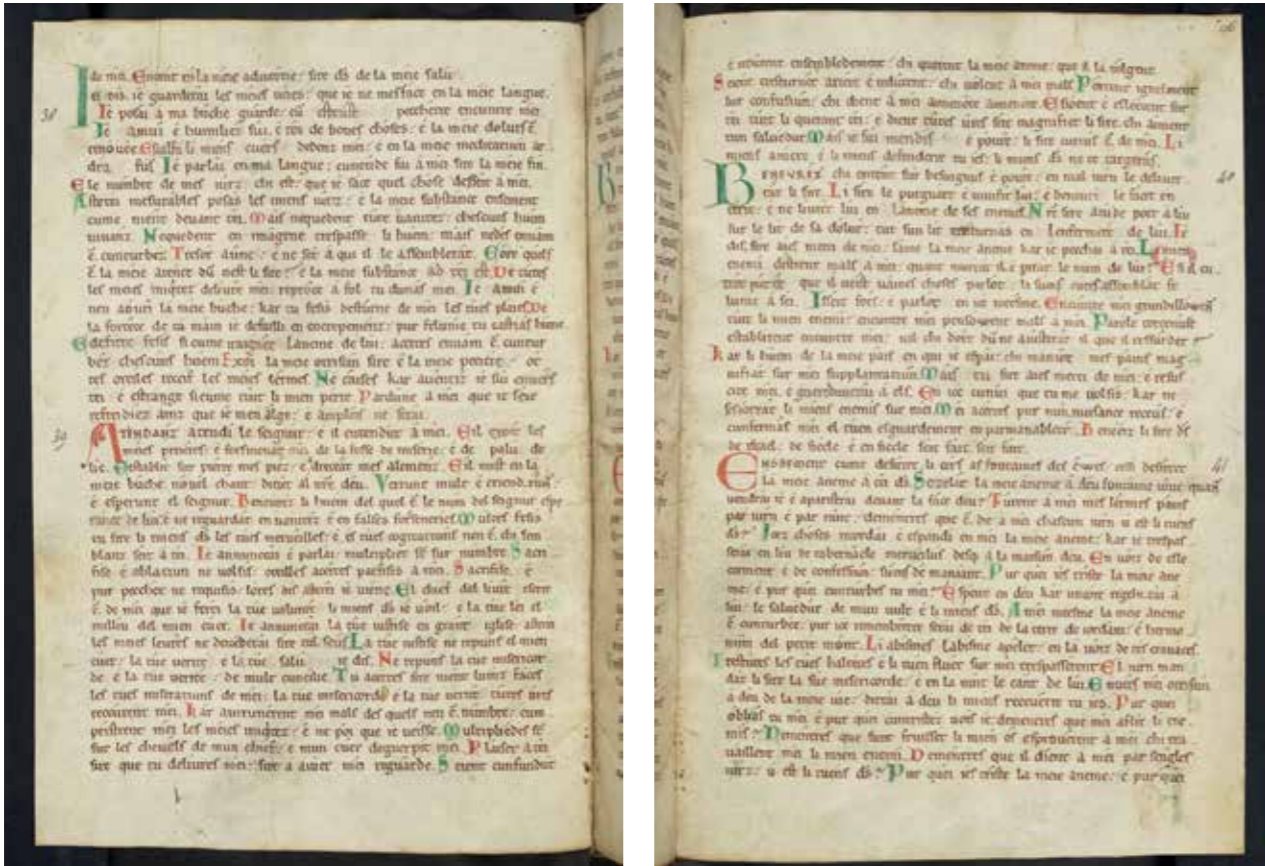
▲ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 44r, 44v, and 45r. Source: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
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multiplás lá tús misericorde deus · Lí fil acertes des húmes : el cuéurement de tes eles espererúnt · Ps 35:9 Se_runt eniüret de la plentét de la tús maisún : é del éwe del túen delít les /abeuerrás · Ps 35:10 Kár enüers téi est fontáine de uie : é en ta lumière : nus uerrúms lumière · Ps 35:11 Deuant tenít ta misericorde ás saüanz téi : é la tús iustise á cels chi sunt de dreit cuér · Ps 35:12 Ne uiénget á mei piét de orgúil : é la máin de peccheur ne múeüet méi · Ps 35:13 Ilúec chairent chi /óeuñt felunie : debutunt sunt · é ne pórent ester ·

N Ps 36:1 E uóiles enuier as malignanz : ne nen uier tu les faisanz felunie · Ps 36:2 Kar ensemement cume fáim ignedement secherúnt : é si cum les /fóilles des/ /herbes tost decarrúnt · Ps 36:3 Espéire el segnúr é fai buntét : é enhabíte la térre é se_ras poués és súes richéises · Ps 36:4 Delíte téi el segnur : é il durnat á téi les peticiuns de tun cuér · Ps 36:5 Descúeuñt al segnur la tús ueie : é espeire en lúi é il ferát · Ps 36:6 E forsmerát sicume lumière la tús iustise : é le tuén iugement sicume midí · Ps 36:7 sugéz seies ál segnur é prie lúi · Né uóiles tu enuier en celúi chi at prosperité én sá ueie : en húme faisant torceúneries · Ps 36:8 Cesse de ire é deguerpis fu_rúr : ne uóiles enuier que tú /málgnes · Ps 36:9 Kár cil chi funt mál se_runt /exillét : /mais lí sustenant le segnur · il eriterúnt la térre · Ps 36:10 E uncóre un petit é ne se_rat lí pechérré : é tu querrás sun líu é nel truerás · Ps 36:11 Lí suéf acertes eriterúnt la térre : é se deliterúnt en multítudine de páis · Ps 36:12 Aguaiterát lí pechérré le iúste : é estreínderát sur líu ot ses denz · Ps 36:13 Máis li sire escharnirát lúi : kar il purguárdet que uiénget li iúrz de lúi · Ps 36:14 Gláíue fors traístent li pecheúr : tendi_rent lur arc · /Púr/ /cè que il decéuñt le póure é le sufraitús : que il debútent_ les dreituriers de cuér · Ps 36:15 Lí gláíues de els éntret en lur cúers : é li arcs de els seít /debrisiét · Ps 36:16 Mielz est · un petit al iúste : sur múltes richéises de peccheúrs · Ps 36:17 Kar li bráz des peccheúrs se_runt cuntriblet : cunfermet acertes les dreituriers lí sire · Ps 36:18 Cunúist li sire les iúrz des néz : e le erité de els iert en parmanabletét · Ps 36:19 Né se_runt confundút en mal tens : é es iúrz de fáim se_runt sauléte : Ps 36:20 kar li peccheúr perirúnt · Lí enemí acertes del segnur ignelment se_runt honorét é exalcét : defisañz sicume fuñs defirúnt · Ps 36:21 Acrerrát lí peccherre é ne solderát : máis /li/ iústes_át merci é durnat · Ps 36:22 Kar lí beneissañt á lui eriterúnt la térre : /mais lí maldisañt á lui deperirúnt · Ps 36:23 Enüers nostre segnur lí alemént /del/ húme se_runt adreçiet : é la ueie de lui uoldrat · Ps 36:24 Cum il carrát ne se_rát esgenét : kar li sire supposéet sá máin · Ps 36:25 Plus iuueñes fúí kar ié enueilli · é ne uí iúste deguerpít : ne lá semence de lui querant páin · Ps 36:26 Túte iurn at merci é préstet : é la semence de lui en beneicún iert ·

D Ps 36:27 ESTúrre de mal é fai bién : é enhabíte en siécle de siécle · Ps 36:28 Kár /f. 45r li sire aimet iugement é ne deguerpirát ses saínz : en parmanablete /seruñt guardé /· Lí torceunús se_runt /pené : é la semence des felúns perirát · Ps 36:29 /Máis/ li iúste /eriterúnt lá térre : é enhabiterúnt en siécle de siécle sur lí · Ps 36:30 Lá búche

f. 45r



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del iuste purpenserat sapience : é sa lánge parlerat iugement . Ps 36:31 Lá léi de sun déu el cuér de lúi : é ne seruít supplanté . li sún alement . Ps 36:32 Esguarde . lí pecchére le iuste : é quiert mortifiér lúi . Ps 36:33 Máis li sire ne deguerpirá lúi \es/ mains de celúi : ne nel damnerá . cum sera iugié a lúi . Ps 36:34 Atent le seigneur é guarde sa ueie : é il exalcerat téi que tu par erité . prénges la terre : cum perirunt li peccheúr tul uerrás . Ps 36:35 Ié uí le felun sur exalcié : é esleué . sicum les cédres libani . Ps 36:36 E ié trespassái é astetéi nen éstéit : ié quis lúi é nen est truué . sés liús . Ps 36:37 Guarde nun nuisance é ueí óelté : kar sunt remasilles á húme páisible . Ps 36:38 Lí torcenús acertes deperirunt enseuble : les remasilles des feluns perirunt . Ps 36:39 Máis lá salút . des iústes del segnur : é lur defenderre el tens \de tri/bulatiún . Ps 36:40 E aiúerat els li sire é les deliuerat : é esrácherat els de peccheurs é salúerat les : kar il esperent en lúi .

Ps 37:2 ÍRE ne me arguér en ta fuírur : é en la tús ire ne castiér méi . Ps 37:3 Kar tes saiétes enfichédes sunt én méi : é tu confirmás sur méi ta máin . Ps 37:4 Nen est . sanctéz en la meie čarn de la face de tús : ne est . páis á mes ós de la face de mes pecchéz . Ps 37:5 Kar les méies iniquitez sur alérent mun chief : é sicume pesant fais sunt agreuées sur méi . Ps 37:6 Purrirent é corrupúes sunt les meies pláies : de la face de ma folie . Ps 37:7 Chaitif súi fáiz é encúruéz súi desque en fin : tús iurn cuntristéz álówe . Ps 37:8 Kar li mien lúmble . empli sunt de illusiúns : é nen est . sanctéz en la meie čarn . Ps 37:9 Trauáiez súi é humiliéz súi mult : ruiówe del gemissement de mun cuér . Ps 37:10 Sire deuánt téi est . tús le miens desidéries : é li miens gemissement de téi nen est . repóst . Ps 37:11 Lí miens cúers est . cunturbéz deguerpi . méi lá meie uertú : é la lumiere dé \més/ oilz . é éle meésme ne est ót méi . Ps 37:12 Lí mien ami é li mien prísmé : encuntre méi aprismérent é est úrent . E chí de iuste méi estéient delúinz est úrent : é force faiséient chi queréient la meie áne . Ps 37:13 E chi enqueréient mals á méi parlérent uanitez : é tricherías tús iurn purpensówent . Ps 37:14 Máis ié . ensemment cum surz nen odéie : é si cume muz nient aóurant sa búche . Ps 37:15 E fáiz súi si cume húem nient óanz : é nient aúanz en sa búche repenemeíz . Ps 37:16 Kar en téi sire esperái : tú exorrás sire li miens deus . Ps 37:17 Kar ié dis que alquune fiéde ne suresióent á méi li mien enemí : é deméntres que sunt commout li mien piét sur mei granz choses parlérent . Ps 37:18 Kar ié en flaels aprestéz súi : e la meie dolur en mien esguardement tutes óres . Ps 37:19 Kar la meie iniquité ie annuncerái : é penserái pur mun pechiét . Ps 37:20 Lí mien enemí acertes uiuent é confirmé . sunt sur méi : é

multiplié sunt chí haírent méi felunessemént . Ps 37:21 Chi regueredúnent mals pur biens detraéient á méi : kar ié siwéie bunté . Ps 37:22 Né deguerpir tu méi sire li miens deus : ne desseuér . f. 45v de méi . Ps 37:23 Entént en la meie adiutórie : sire deus de la meie salú .

f. 45v

Ps 38:2 É DÍS . ié garderai les méies ueies : que ié ne mesface en la meie lánge . Ié posái á ma búche Iguarde : cum esteúst . pecchére encuntre méi . Ps 38:3 Ié . amuí é humiliéz súi . é tói de bones choses : é la meie dolurs est . renouée . Ps 38:4 Escalfá lí miens cuérs dedenz méi : é en la meie meditatiún ardrá . fús . Ps 38:5 Ié parlái en ma lánge : cuneúde fái á méi sire la meie fin . E le núbre de mes iurz . chí est : que ié sáce quel chose desséit á méi . Ps 38:6 Astetéi mesurables posás les miens iurz : é la meie substánce ensemment cume niént deuant téi . Máis nequedent tús uanitez : chescuns húem uiuaúz . Ps 38:7 Nequedent en imágene trespásse . li húem : máis nedés enuáin est . cunturbéz . Tresór aúne : é ne sét á qui il le assemblerat . Ps 38:8 E óre quels est . lá meie atente dum nest li sire ? é la meie substánce ad téi est . Ps 38:9 Dé tutes les meies iniquitez deliure méi : reproče á fol tu dunás méi . Ps 38:10 Ié . amuí é nen aóurí lá meie búche : kar tu fesís . Ps 38:11 destúrne de méi les tús pláies . Ps 38:12 Dé la fortéce de tá máin ié defailli en encrepemenz : pur felunie tu castiás húme . E defirre fesís si cume iraignée láneme de lúi : acertes enuáin est . cunturbéz chescuns húem . Ps 38:13 Exói la meie oreisún sire é la meie preiére : ót tes oreíles receif les méies lérmes . Né táises kar auéntiz ié súi enúers téi : é étránge si cume tús li mien pèrre . Ps 38:14 Pardúne a méi que ie séie refreidiéz áinz que ié men álge : é amplés ne serái .

Ps 39:2 TENDAÑZ átendí le seignúr : é il entendiet á méi . Ps 39:3 E il exoít les méies preiéres : é forsmenát améi de la fosse de miserie : é de palú de lie . E establít sur piérré mes piéz : é \a/drečeat mes alemeíz . Ps 39:4 E il mist en lá meie búche nouél chant : ditiét al nostre déu . Verrunt mult é criend . funt : é espererunt el seignúr . Ps 39:5 Beneuréz li huém del quel est . le núm del seignúr \espe/rance de lúi : é ne regardat en uanitez é en fálse for\s/seneries . Ps 39:6 Múltes fesís tu sire li miens deus les tús meruilles : é es tús cogitatiúns nen est . chí semblanz séit á téi . Ié annunceái é parlái : multipliet sunt sur núbre . Ps 39:7 Sacrífise é oblatiun ne uolsís : oreilles acertes parfisis á méi . Ps 39:8 Sacrífise . é pur pecché ne requisís : Ps 39:8 Ióres dís astetéi ié uiénc . Él chief del liúre escrit est . de méi . Ps 39:9 que ié feréi la tús uolunté . li miens deus ié uóil : é la tús léi el milliú del mien cuér . Ps 39:10 Ié annunceái la tús iustise en grant . iglise : astetéi les meies léúres ne deuederái sire tús seús . Ps 39:11 Lá tús iustise ne repúns el mien cuér : la tús uerité é lá tús salú . ie dís . Né repúns la tús misericorde é la tús uerité : de mult cuncilie . Ps 39:12 Tú acertes sire niént lúinz faces les tús miseratiuns de méi : la tús misericord[e] é la tús uerité . tús óres receúrent méi . Ps 39:13 Kar airunérent méi mals des quels nen est . núbre : cumpristrent méi les méies iniquitez : é ne pói que ié ueissé . Multiplíedes sunt sur les cheués de mun chief : é mun cuér deguerpít méi . Ps 39:14 Pláiset a téi sire que tu deliures méi : sire á aiúer méi reguarde . Ps 39:15 Seient confundú . f. 46r é redútent ensemblement : chí querent lá meie aneme : que il lá tólgent . Seient tresturnét ariére é redútent : chí uólent á méi mals . Ps 39:16 Pórtent ignelment lur confusiún : chí dient á méi aimenóre aimenóre . Ps 39:17 Esióent é eslécent sur téi tús li querant téi : é dient tús úres séit magnífiet lí sire . chí aiment tun saluédur . Ps 39:18 Máis ié súi mendís . é póúre : li sire curiús est . de méi . Lí miens aiúere é li miens defenderre tu ies : li miens deus ne te targerás .

f. 46r

Ps 40:2 ENEVRÉZ chí entént sur besuignéús é póúre : en mal iurn le deliuerat li sire . Ps 40:3 Lí sire le purguárt B é uiuifit lúi : é beneuré lé facet en terre : é ne liúret lúi en láneme de ses enemís . Ps 40:4 Nostre sire aiúde port á lúi sur le lit de sa dólur : tut sun lit tresturnás en lenfermeté de lúi . Ps 40:5 Ié dis . sire aies merci de méi : sáine la meie aneme kar ié peccháí á téi . Ps 40:6 Lí mien enemí distrent mals á méi : quant murrat il . é perirat le num de lúi ? Ps 40:7 E si \il en/trót pur cé que il ueist uáines choses parlót : li súens cúers assemblat felunie á séi . Isséit foís : é parlót en icé meésme . Ps 40:8 Encuntre méi grundillówent tús li mien enemí : encuntre méi pensówent mals á méi . Ps 40:9 Paróle torcenúse esblárent encuntre méi : icil chí dort dum ne aiústerat il que il ressúrdet ? Ps 40:10 Kar li húem de la meie páis en qui ié esperái : chí maniót mes páins magnifiát sur méi supplantatiún . Ps 40:11 Máis tu sire aies merci de méi : é resuscite méi . é gueredunerái á els . Ps 40:12 En icé cunú que tu me uolsís : kar ne sesiórrat li miens enemís sur méi . Ps 40:13 Méi acertes pur núnnuisance receús : é cunfermés méi el tús esguardement en parmanableté . Ps 40:14 Benéiez li sire deus de israel : de siécle é en siécle séit fait . seit fait .

Ps 41:2 NS SEMent cume desírret li cés as fontáines des éwes : eissí desírret lá meie aneme á téi deus . Ps 41:3 Sezélát la meie aneme á déu fontáine uiúe : \quant/ uendrái ié é aparistrái deuant la face déu ? Ps 41:4 Fúrent á méi mes lérmes páins par iurn é par núit : deméntres que est . dit á méi chascun iurn ú est lí tús deus ? Ps 41:5 Icez choses récordái é espadí en méi la meie aneme : kar ié trespasserái en líu de tabernacle meruélús desque á la maisún déu . En uóiz de esleecement é de confessiún : súens dé maniant . Ps 41:6 Pur quéi iés triste la meie aneme : é pur quéi cuntúrbes tu méi ? Espéire en déu kár uncóre regehi rái á lúi : le saluédur de mun uult



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testament par ta bûche ? Ps 49:17 Tû acertes haïs discipline : é ietas les meies paróles arière . Ps 49:18 Sí tu uedées larrun · curéies ot lúi : e ot les aũoiltes la tûe partie posówes . Ps 49:19 Lá tûe bûche abundát de malice : é la tûe lánque cantót tricherías . Ps 49:20 Seðańz encuntre tun frêre parlówes : é encuntre le filz ta mère posówes escandle : Ps 49:21 ícéstes chósés fesis tú · é ié me tói · Tú aasmás felunessement que ié serái semblańz a téi : ie argúerái téi é establirái encuntre ta face . Ps 49:22 Entendéz ícéstes chósés uós chi õbliez déu : que il alquune fiéde ne rauisset · é ne séit chi deliüret . Ps 49:23 Sacrifise de loenge honurerát méi : é ilüec est · li éires par lequel ie musterrái á lúi le salüedur de déu ·

MPs 50:3 ERCI Áies de méi *deus* : sulunc tá gránt misericorde · E sulunc la multitude des tûes merciz : **esléue** la méie felunie · Ps 50:4 Ampléis **léue** méi de la meie iniquité : é de mun peché esnéie méi · Ps 50:5 Kar la méie felunie ié **conúis** : e le mien pechiét encuntre méi *est* · tûtes **óres** · Ps 50:6 A téi sul pechái · **é** mal deuant téi fıs : que tu seies iustificé **es tûes paróles** é ñenques *cum tu iúgerás* · Ps 50:7 Asetéi acertes en felunies súi conceúz : é en pechiéz **conceút** méi la meie mère · Ps 50:8 Asetéi acertes uerité amás : les nun_certes chósés é les occultes de la tûe sapiéce manifestás á méi · Ps 50:9 Tû **arouserás** méi de ysópe e ié serái esnéiet : lauerás méi é sur neif serái emblancit · Ps 50:10 A la meie oie dunras goie e ledéce : é esledeceruńt lí_ós humilié · Ps 50:11 Destúrne **la tûe face** d/é/ mes pechiéz : é tûtes les méies felunies esléue · Ps 50:12 Nét cúer críe en méi *deus* : f. 48v **Ílé** d/reituriér esprit renouéle es meies entráiles · Ps 50:13 Ne **ñietér** méi de la tûe face : é le tuén saint esprit ne tólges de méi · Ps 50:14 Reńt á méi la ledéce del tuén saluedur : é **par** esprit principél **conferme** méi · Ps 50:15 Ié enseignerái **ás** torcenús les tûes uéies : é li felún á téi serunt cunuertit · Ps 50:16 Deliüre méi de sańs *deus* · *deus* de la meie salút : é exalcerat ma lánque la tûe iustise · Ps 50:17 Síre les meies leüres tú **áuerrás** : é la meie bûche annuncerát la tûe loenge · Ps 50:18 Kar si tu uolsisses sacrifise dunásse : acertes en sacrifises tu ne deliterás · Ps 50:19 Sacrifise á deu **espiríz** trauailliez : cúer contriblé é humiliet *deus* tu ne despirrás · Ps 50:20 Benignement fái síre en la tûe bóne uoluntet á syon : é seiént edifiéet li múr de ierusalem · Ps 50:21 Lóres receuerás tu sacrifise de iustise : oblatiúńs é sacrifises : dunc emposerúnt sur \le/ tuén altél uedels ·

f. 48v

PPs 51:3 UR quéi te gloríes tu en malice : chi póanz íes en felunie ? Ps 51:4 Tûte iúrn torcéunerie pensát la tûe lánque : sicum nouácle agú_ fesis tricherie · Ps 51:5 Tû amás malice sur benignité : felunie plusque parler òeltét · Ps 51:6 Tû amás tûtes les paróles de trebuchement : lánque tricherúse · Ps 51:7 Pur icé *deus* destruirát téi en fin : esracerát téi é forsmeterát téi de tabernácle : é la tûe racine de la terre des uiuáńz · Ps 51:8 Verrunt li iúste é crend_runt : é sur lúi rírunť · é dirrunt : Ps 51:9 astetéi li húem chi ne posát déu sun aiüedür · Más esperát en la multitude de ses richéies : é miézl ualút en sá uanitéť · Ps 51:10 Más ié sicume oliue frúit portant en la máisun déu : ié esperái en la misericorde déu en parmanabletéť é en siécle de siécle · Ps 51:11 Ié regehirái á téi en siécle kar tu fesis : é atenderái le tuén num : kar *est* · bóne chósé én lesguardement de tes sańńz ·

DPs 52:1 IST li fols en sun cúer: nen *est* · *deus* · Ps 52:2 Corruptú *sunt* · é abominábles fáit *sunt* en felunies : nen *est* · chi fácet bien · Ps 52:3 *Deus* del ciél resguardát sur les filz des húmes : que il uéiet *si est* · entendanz ú requerańz déu · Ps 52:4 Tûit declinérent ensemblement inúteles fáit *sunt* : nen *est* · chi fácet bien : nen *est* desque

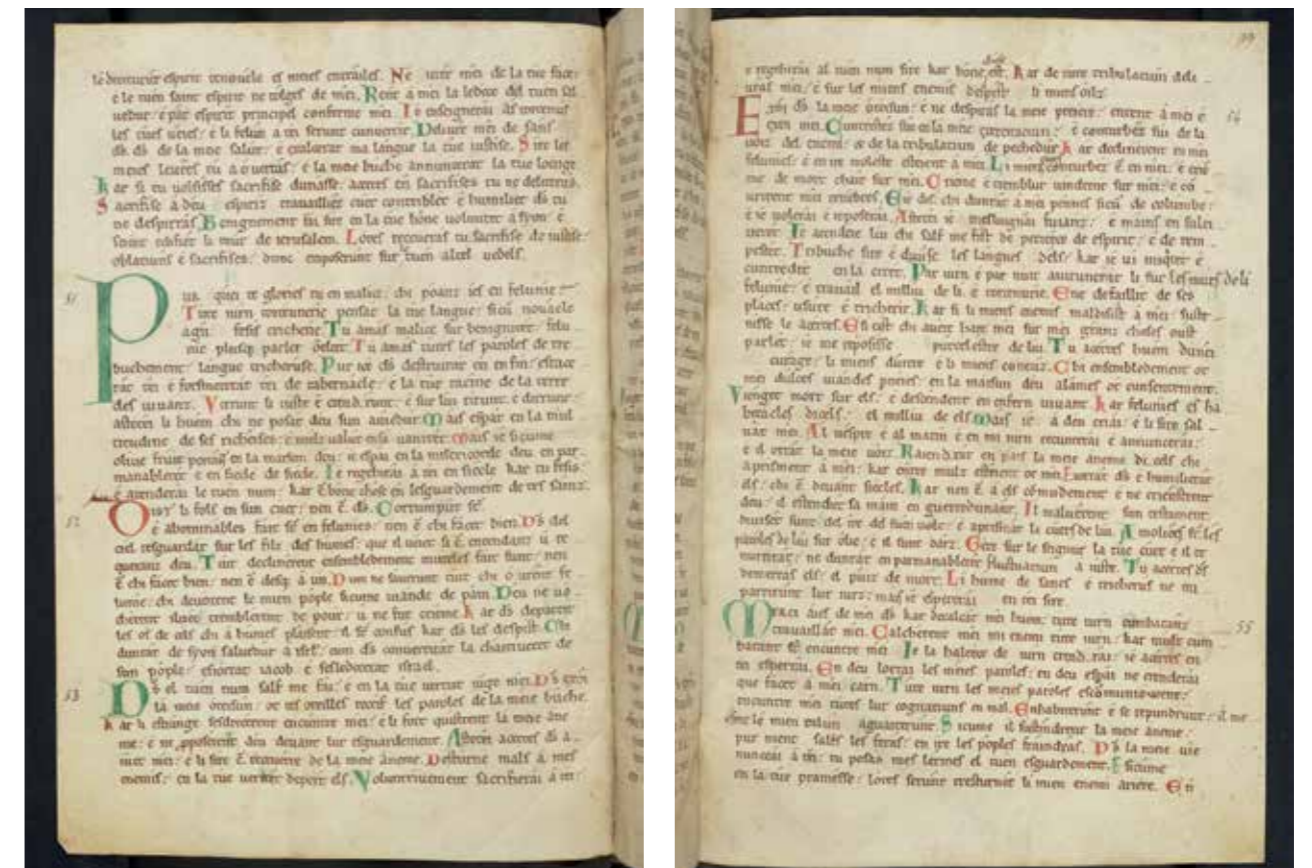
á ún · Ps 52:5 Dum ne sáuerunt tûit chi **ó_ürent** felunie : chí deuórent le mien póple sicume uiánde de páin · Ps 52:6 Déu ne uóchérent ilüec tremblérent de póur : ú ne fut criéme · Kar *deus* departít les ós de céls chí á húmes pláissent : il *sunt* confús kar *deus* les despíst · Ps 52:7 Chi dunrát de syon saluedür á israel : *cum deus* conuertiráť la cháitiuuet de sun póple : esiórrat iacob é sesledecerat israel ·

DPs 53:3 *eus* el tuén num salf me fái : é en la tûe uertut iúge méi · Ps 53:4 *Deus* exói lá meie óreisún : ot tes oreilles recéif les paróles de la méie bûche · Ps 53:5 Kar li estráńge sesdrecérent encuntre méi : é li fort quístrent lá meie áneime : é ne **proposérent** déu deuant lur esguardement · Ps 53:6 Asetéi acertes *deus* aiuet méi : é li síre *est* · receuerre de la meie áneime · Ps 53:7 Destúrne mals á mes enemís : en la tûe ueritéť depért éls · Ps 53:8 Voluntriúement sacrifierái á téi : f. 49r é regehirái al tuén num síre kar bóne \chósé/ *est* · Ps 53:9 Kar de tûte tribulatiúń deliüras méi : é sur les miens enemís despíst lí miens óilz

f. 49r

EPs 54:2 xói *deus* la meie **óreisun** : é ne despirás la meie preiere : Ps 54:3 entent á méi é exói méi · Cuntristéz súi en lá méie exercitaciun : Ps 54:4 **conturbéz** súi de la uoiz del enemí : *et* de la tribulatiun de pechedür · Kár declinérent en méi felunies : é en ire moléste estéient á méi · Ps 54:5 Lí miens \cúers/ **conturbéz** *est* · en méi : é criéme de mort cháit sur méi · Ps 54:6 Criéme é tremblur uíndrent sur méi : é **có_ufírent** méi tenébres · Ps 54:7 E ié dis · chí dunrát á méi péńnes sicum de columbe : é ié uolerái é reposerái · Ps 54:8 Asetéi ié **mesluignái** fuiáńz : é **máins en sultiuuetéť** · Ps 54:9 Ié atendéie lúi chí salf me fist de petitéce de esprit : é de tempestéť · Ps 54:10 Tribúche síre é diuise lés lánques **déls** : kar ié ui iniquitéť é cuntredit en lá citéť · Ps 54:11 Par iúrn é par núit auirunerát li sur **les múr**s dé lí/ felunie : é trauáil el milliu de lí · Ps 54:12 e torcenurie · E ne defaillít de ses pláces : usúre é tricherie · Ps 54:13 Kar si li miens enemís maldisíst á méi : sustenisse le acertes · E sí **císt** chí auéit hait méi sur méi gránz chósés oust parlét : ié me reposísse **pútcéléstre** de lúi · Ps 54:14 Tû acertes huém dunéi **curáge** : li miens dúitre é li miens **coneúz** · Ps 54:15 Chí ensembledement óť méi dúlces uiándes **pernéies** : en la máisun déu alámes óť cunsentement · Ps 54:16 Viéngét mort sur éls : e descéndent en enfeńn uiuant · Kar felunies és habitácles dicéls : el milliu de éls · Ps 54:17 Más ié_á deu criái : é li síre salüat méi · Ps 54:18 Ál uéspre é al matín é en mi iúrn recunterái é annuncerái : é il orrát la meie uoíz · Ps 54:19 Raiend_rát en páis la meie áneime dí_cels chí aprísment á méi : kar eńtre mulz estéient ot méi · Ps 54:20 Exorrát *deus* é humiliérat éls : chí *est* · deuant siécles ·

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D^{Ps 69:2}euS en la meie aiutorie entent : sire á aiuder méi háste téi . ^{Ps 69:3}Séient confundút é redútent : chi quérent lá meie ánome . ^{Ps 69:4}Séient \destúr/né áriere é uergundissent : chi uólent á méi mals . Seient desturné tost é uergundissant : chi dient á méi áimen_óre áimen_óre . ^{Ps 69:5}Esiódent é esledécent en téi tuit chi quérent téi : é dient tutes óres séit magnifiét li sire : chi áiment tun saluedúr . ^{Ps 69:6}Ié acértes besuignús é pources súi : *deus* aiúde méi . Lí miens aiúere é li miens deliüre . tu ies : sire ne demórer .

E^{Ps 70:1}N TÉI sire esperáí ne séie confundút en parmanableté : ^{Ps 70:2}en ta iustise deliüre méi é guaris méi . Encline á méi la tute oréille : e salue méi . ^{Ps 70:3}Séies á méi en déu defendeur : é en liú guarínit que tu sálf me fáces . Kár lí miens firmamenz : é lí miens refúges ies tú . ^{Ps 70:4}Lí miens *deus* deliüre méi de la máin de pechedúr : é de la máin encúntre léi faisañt . é de torcenús . ^{Ps 70:5}Kar tu ies la meie pacieñce sire : sire la meie esperáñce . dés lá meie iuente . ^{Ps 70:6}En téi conforméz súi del uentre : del uentre ma mére tu ies li miens defendere . En téi la meie canceún tute uéie : ^{Ps 70:7}ensement cume demustrement faiz súi á mülz . é tu aidérre forz . ^{Ps 70:8}Séit raemplide la meie búche de loenge : que ié cante la tute glórie : tute iurn la tute grandece . ^{Ps 70:9}Ne degetér mei el tens de ueiléce : *cum* defaldrát lá meie uertút ne deguerpír méi . ^{Ps 70:10}Kár dístrent lí mién enemí á méi : é chi guardówent lá meie aneme conséil firent en ún . ^{Ps 70:11}Disáñz *deus* deguerpít lúi . persuéz é cumpernéz le . kar nen est . chi deliüret . ^{Ps 70:12}*Deus* ne seies esluígnét de méi : li miens *deus* en la meie aiúde resguarde . ^{Ps 70:13}Seient confundút é defáillent li detraiañt á la meie ánome : seient couert de confusiún é de hunte chi quérent mals á méi . ^{Ps 70:14}Máis ié tutes óres espereráí : é aiusteráí sur tute ta loenge . ^{Ps 70:15}Lá meie búche annuncerát lá tute iustise : tute iurn tuen saluedúr . Purcé que ié ne cunúí litteratüre ^{Ps 70:16}enterráí es poánces del seignur : sire ié rememberráí de ta sóle iustise . ^{Ps 70:17}*Deus* tu enseñnás méi dés ma iuente é desque óre : pronunceráí tes meruélles . ^{Ps 70:18}E desque en ueilléce é ueilléce : *deus* ne deguerpíesses méi . Desque ié annúnce le tuen braz : á tute generaciun chi auenír est . Lá tute potence ^{Ps 70:19}é tá iustise *deus* desque es haltísmes grandeces que tu fisis : *deus* chi est . semblanz á téi ? ^{Ps 70:20}Quántes tu demustrás á méi tribulatiún mültes é máles . é tu conuertíz uiuifías méi : e des abýsmes de terre derrechíef remenás méi . ^{Ps 70:21}Tú multipliás/ ta grandece : é tu conuertíz confortás méi . ^{Ps 70:22}Kar nedés ié regehiráí á téi . es uáisels de sálme la tute uerité . *deus* : ié canteráí á téi en harpe *sáinz* *disrael* . ^{Ps 70:23}Esledecerúnt mes leüres *cum* ié canteráí á téi : é la meie ánome *la quel tu ra*\énsis . / ^{Ps 70:24}Máis nedés la meie lánque tute iurn purpenserát la tute iustise : *cum* confús é reduté . seruúnt : chi quérent mals á méi .

f. 53r

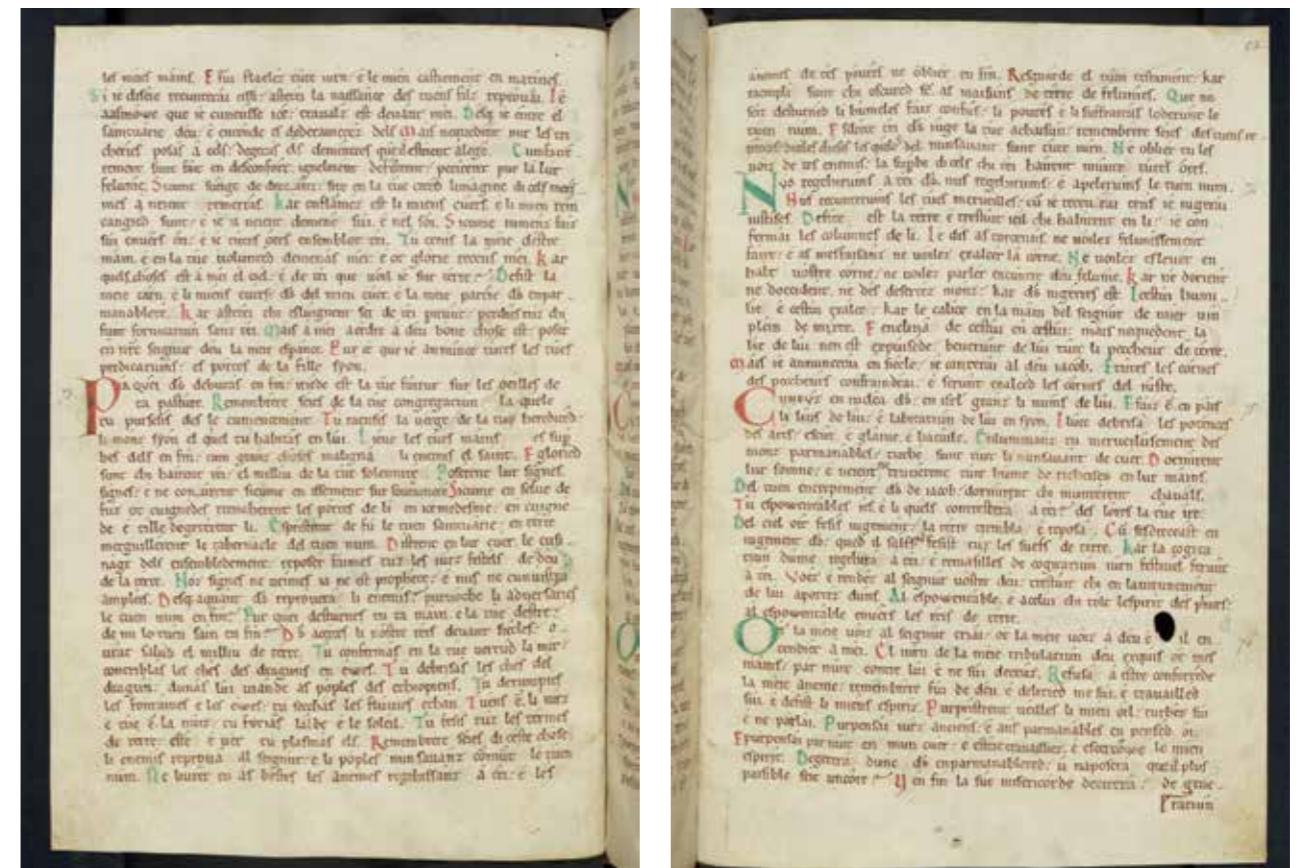
D^{Ps 71:2}euS tuen iugement al réi dúne : é tá iustise al fiz le réi . Iugiér tun pople en iustise : é tes pources en iugement . ^{Ps 71:3}Recéiuent li munt páis al pople : é li tértre iustise . ^{Ps 71:4}Il iugerát les pources del pople : é sálf ferá les filz des pources : e humiliará le calengedúr . ^{Ps 71:5}E parmaiderá ot le soléil é deuañt la lúne : en generatiúns de generatiúns . ^{Ps 71:6}Descend_rá sicum plúie en túsún : é sicum gutiéres degutañz sur terre . ^{Ps 71:7}Náist_rá es súens iürz iustise : é abundáñce de páis desque séit toléite lá lúne . ^{Ps 71:8}E seignurerá de mér desque á mér : e del flúm desque ás térmes del cercle des terres . ^{Ps 71:9}Deuañt lúi carrúnt li ethiopién : é li enemí de lúi la terre lecheruñt . ^{Ps 71:10}Lí réi de tharsís é les illes duñs offerrúnt : li réi des arabieñs é de sabá dúns amerruñt . ^{Ps 71:11}E áorerunt lúi tuit réi : tutes geñz seruuirúnt á lúi . ^{Ps 71:12}Kar il deliüerra le pource del poañt : é le pource á qui ne estéit aiúere . ^{Ps 71:13}Esparnirá al pource é al suffraitús : é les ánemes des pources sálues ferát . ^{Ps 71:14}Dé usúres é de iniquité raanderát les ánemes *dicéls* : é honoráble le núm de éls deuañt lúi .

^{Ps 71:15}E uiuerá é sera duné á lúi del ór de arabie : é áorerúnt de lúi tutes óres : tute iurn beneisterúnt á lúi . ^{Ps 71:16}Iert firmameñt en terre es soüraninetéz des mónz : sera sur esleue sur líbanum le frút de lúi : é flúrirúnt de la citét sicume féin de terre . ^{Ps 71:17}Séit lí núms de lúi beneiez en sécles : deuañt le soléil parmáint li suens núms . E seruúnt beneítees en lúi tutes lignées de terre : trestútes geñz magnifierúnt lúi . ^{Ps 71:18}Benediez lí sire *deus* *disrael* : chi fáit meruélles sols . ^{Ps 71:19}E beneiez li núms de sa maiesté en parmanableté : é sera raemplie de la súa maiesté tute terre séit fáit . \séit fáit . /

C^{Ps 72:1}ÚME bóns est . li *deus* *disrael* : á icels chi sunt de dréit cüer . ^{Ps 72:2}Máis li mién piét a bién prúef sunt mouít : a bién prúef espadú sunt li mién pás . ^{Ps 72:3}Kar ié enuiáí sur les torcenús : la páis des pecchedúrs ueaíñz . ^{Ps 72:4}Kar nen est reguárz á la mort dicéls : é fermement en la pláie déls . ^{Ps 72:5}El trauáil dúmes ne sunt : é ot húmes ne seruúnt flaelé . ^{Ps 72:6}Empurcé tiñt els superbe : couért sunt de felunie é de lur impieté . ^{Ps 72:7}Eissit ensement cume de cráisse la felunie déls : trespasérent én entalentament de cüer . ^{Ps 72:8}Il purpensérent é parlérent malüaistiét : felunie en hált parlérent . ^{Ps 72:9}Posérent el ciél lur búche : é la lánque déls trespasá en terre . ^{Ps 72:10}Empurce sera conuertí icíst miens póples : é li iurn pleniér seruúnt truvé en éls . ^{Ps 72:11}E dístrent cumfáitèment séit *deus* : é si est sciéñce en haltéce . ^{Ps 72:12}Aiteuús icilmeésme peccheúr é abundáñt el siécle : purtíndrent richéises . ^{Ps 72:13}E díis giérres senz acháium iustifáí le mién cüer : é lauáí eñtre les nun_nuisaíñz . ^{f. 53v} Les méies máins . ^{Ps 72:14}E fúi flaeléz tute iurn : é le mién castiemént en matines . ^{Ps 72:15}Sí ié diséie recunteráí eissí : astetéí la naissañce des tuéñs filz repróuai . ^{Ps 72:16}Ié aasmówe que ié cuneússe icé : traválz est deuañt méi . ^{Ps 72:17}Désque ié éntre él saíntuarie déu : é enténde es dederainetéz déls . ^{Ps 72:18}Máis nequedeñt pur les tricherías posás á céls : degetás éls deméñtres que il estéient *alegé* . ^{Ps 72:19}Cumfáitèment sunt fáit en desconfort . ignelmént defístrent : perírent pur lá lúr felunie . ^{Ps 72:20}Sicume sünge de dreč_anz : sire en la tute citéd limáigne di cels meésmes á neient remerrás . ^{Ps 72:21}Kár enflámméz est li miens cüers . é li mién réin cangiéd sunt : ^{Ps 72:22}é ié á neient demené súi . é nél sói . ^{Ps 72:23}Sicume iumeñz faiz sui enüers téi : é ié tutes óres ensemblót téi . ^{Ps 72:24}Tú tenís la meie déstre máin . é en la tute uoluntéd demenás méi : é ot glorie receús méi . ^{Ps 72:25}Kár quels_chóses est á méi él ciél : é de téi que uóil ié sur terre ? ^{Ps 72:26}Defíst lá meie cárn . é li miens cüers : *deus* del mien cüer . é la meie partie *deus* enparmanableté . ^{Ps 72:27}Kar astetéí chi esluígnent séi de téi perirúnt : perdiés tüz chi

f. 53v

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fúnt fornicatiún sañz téi · Ps 72:28Máis á méi aérdre á déu bóne chóse est : posér én nostre seignúr déu la méie esperánce · Pur cé que ié annúnce tútes les túes predicatiúns : es pórtés de la fille syón ·

Ps 73:1UR QVEI *deus* debutás en fin : iriéde est la tús fúirur sur les oéilles de ta pastúre · Ps 73:2Remembrére séies de la tús congregatiún : la quéle tu pursésis des le cumencement · Tú raensís la uérge de la tús hereditéd : li mónz syón el quel tu habitás en lúi · Ps 73:3Liéue les túes máins es supérbes déls en fin : cum grañz chóses maligná li enemís el saínt · Ps 73:4E gloriéd sunt chi haírent téi : el millíu de la tús solennité · Posérent lur signes · signes : Ps 73:5é ne con_úrent sicume en issement sur **soûraineté** · Sicume en sélué de fúz ót cuignédes Ps 73:6**trenchérent** les pórtés de lí en icé medésme : en cuignéde é tille degetérent li · Ps 73:7Espristrent de fú le tuen saintuárie : en terre merguillérent le tabernacle del tuen num · Ps 73:8Distrent en lur cuér · le cusináge dels ensemblédement : reposér fáimes tuz les iúrz festéls de déu de la terre · Ps 73:9Nóz signes ne ueímes ia ne est prophéte : é nus ne cunústrá ampléis · Ps 73:10Desque aquánt *deus* repróuerá li enemís ? puruóche li aduersáries le tuen num en fin ? Ps 73:11Pur quéi destúrnes tu ta máin · é la tús déstre : de mi le túen saín en fin ?

Ps 73:12*Deus* acértes li nóstre réis deuant siécles : óurat salud el millíu de terre · Ps 73:13Tu confirmás en la tús uertú lá mér : contriblás les chés des dragúns en ewes · Ps 73:14Tú debrisás les chés dél dragún : dunás lúi uiánde as póples des ethiopiéns · Ps 73:15Tu derumpiés les fontáines é les ewes : tu secchás les flúuiés ethán · Ps 73:16Túens est · li iúrz é tús est · la núiz : tu foríás lálbe é le soléil · Ps 73:17Tú fesís túz les termes de terre : esté é uér tu plasmás els · Ps 73:18Remembrére séies di céste chóse · li enemís reproúá al seignúr : e li póples nunsauáñz **commút** lé túen núm · Ps 73:19Ne liürer tu ás béstes les anemes regehissánz á téi : e lés f. 54r anemes de tes póüres ne óbliér en fin · Ps 73:20Resguárde el túen testamént : kár raempli sunt chi oscuréd *sunt* · ás maisúns de terre de felunies · Ps 73:21Que né séit desturnéd lí húmeles fáiz confús : li póüres é li suffraitús loderuñt le túen núm · Ps 73:22Esdréce téi *deus* iúge la tús achaisún : remembfere séies des /tuens re/**proces : dicéles chóses les quéles del** nunsauáñt sunt túte iúrn · Ps 73:23Né obliér tu les uóiz de tes enemís : la supérbe di céls chi téi haírent múnte tútes óres ·

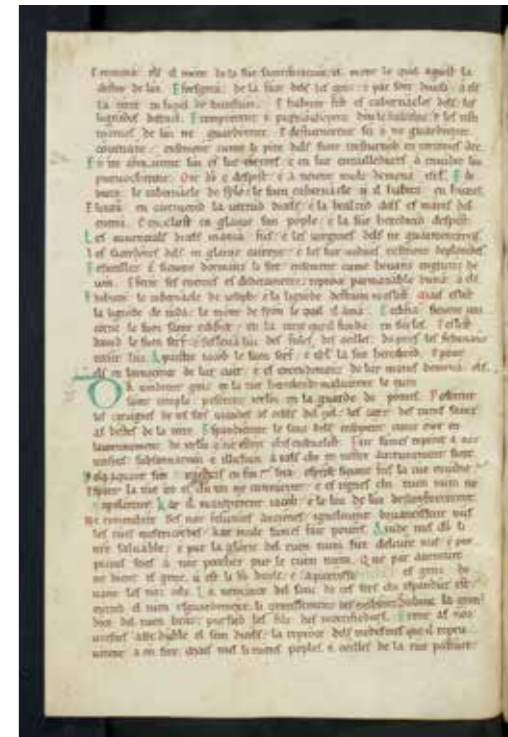
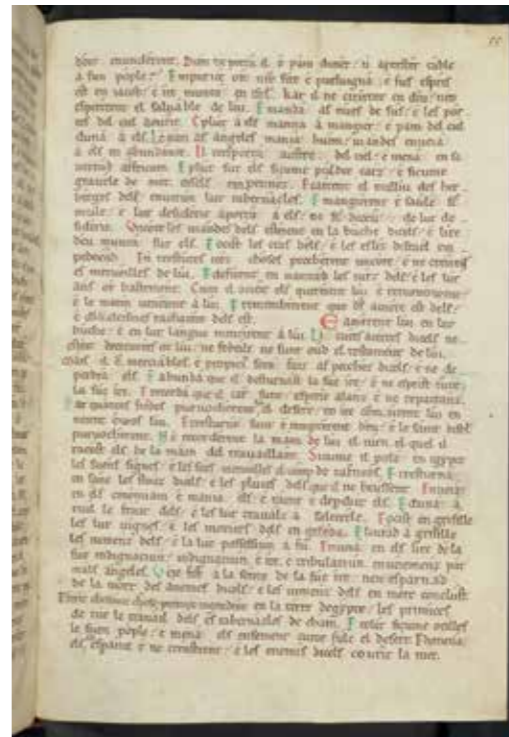
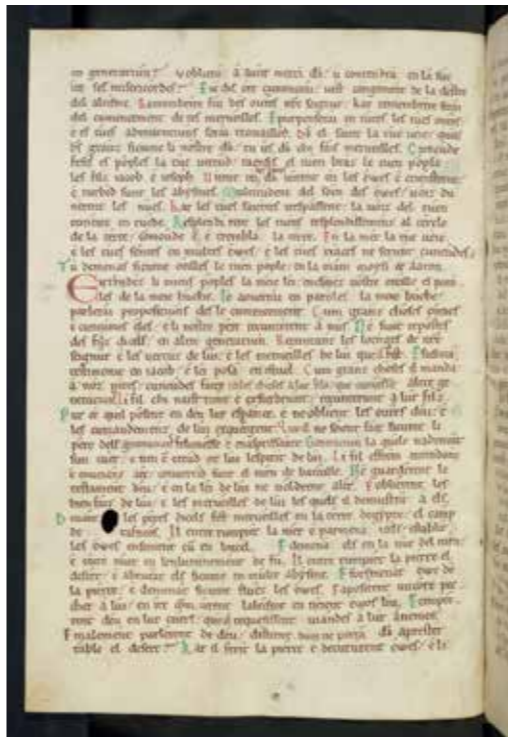
f. 54r

NPs 74:2VS regehírúms á téi *deus* · nus regehírúms : e apelerúms le túen núm · Nús recunterúms les tútes meruéilles · Ps 74:3*cum* ié receu_fai teñs ié iugeráí iustises · Ps 74:4Defite est la terre · é trestúit icil chi habitent én li : ié confirmáí les colúmenes de lí · Ps 74:5Ié dis as torcenús · ne uóiléz felunessemeñt fáire : é as mesfaisáñz ne uóiléz exalcér lá córne · Ps 74:6Ne uoiléz esleuér en hált uóstre córne : ne uoiléz parlér encúntre déu felunie · Ps 74:7Kár né dorieñt ne doccidenñt · né dés desertéz mónz : Ps 74:8kar *deus* iugerres est · Icestúí humílie é cestúí exálce · Ps 74:9kar le calice en la máin del seignúr de **míer** uín pléin de míxte · E encliná de cestúí en cestúí : máis nequedent la líe de lúi nen est expúisède : beuerúnt de lúi túit li peccheúr de terre · Ps 74:10Máis ié annunceráí en siécle : ié canteráí al déu iacob · Ps 74:11E tútes les córnes des peccheúrs confraíndráí : é seruñt exalcéd les córnes del iúste ·

CPs 75:2UNEVZ en iudéa *deus* : en israel grañz li nuñs de lúi · Ps 75:3E fáiz *est* · en páis li líus de lúi : é labitatiún de lúi en syón · Ps 75:4Ilúec debrisá les poténces des arcs : escút · é gláíue · é batáíle · Ps 75:5Enlumañz tu merueílusement des mónz parmanables : Ps 75:6aturbé sunt túit li nunsauánt de cuér · Dormírent lur soíme : é neient \ne/ truuérent túit húme de richéises en lur máins · Ps 75:7Del tuen encrepement *deus* de iacob : dormírent chi muntérent chauváls · Ps 75:8Tú espowentábles ies · é li quéls contrestera á téi ? des lóres la tús ire · Ps 75:9Del ciél oit fesís iugement : la terre tremblá é reposá · Ps 75:10*Cum* sedreceást en iugement *deus* : queó il sálfs fesíst túz les suéfs de terre · Ps 75:11Kár la cogitatiún dúme regehirá á téi : é remasíilles de cogitatiún iúrn festiuél feruñt á téi · Ps 75:12Voéz é rendez al seignúr uóstre déu : trestúit chi en lauirunement de lúi aportéz dúns · Ál espowentáble · Ps 75:13é acelúí chi tólt lespirít des prínces : ál espowentáble enúers les réis de terre ·

OPs 76:2T la méie uóiz al seignúr criái : ót la méie uóiz á déu é il entendiét á méi · Ps 76:3Él iúrn de la méie tribulatiún déu exquís ót mes máins : pár núit contre lúi é ne súi deceúz · Refusá á éstre confortéde la méie aneme : Ps 76:4remembrére fúi de déu · é delitiéd me súi · é trauailléde súi · é defíst li miéns espiríz · Ps 76:5Purpristrent uéilles li mién óil : turbéz súi é ne parláí · Ps 76:6Purpensái iúrz anciéñs : e ans parmanábles en penséd ói · Ps 76:7E purpensái **par núit en** mun cuér : é estéie **trauailliez** · é **escerçowe** le mién espirít · Ps 76:8Degeterá duñc *deus* en parmanabletéde : ú naposerá que il plus paisible séit uncóre ? Ps 76:9U én fin la sús misericórde **decirerá** : de generatiún f. 54v en generatiún ? Ps 76:10V oblierá á auér merci *deus* : ú contendrá en lá sús ire ses misericórdes ? Ps 76:11E ié dis · óre cumenceáí : icést cangement de la déstre del altisme · Ps 76:12Remembrére fúi dés oüres *nostre* seignur : kar remembrére seráí del cumencement de tes meruéilles · Ps 76:13E purpenseráí en tútes les túes oüres : é es túes adinuentiúns seráí trauailléde · Ps 76:14*Deus* el saínt la tús uéie : quéls *deus* gránz sicume lí nóstre *deus* ? Ps 76:15tu ies *deus* chi fáis meruéilles · Ps 76:15Cuneúde fesís es póples la tús uertúde : Ps 76:16raensís el túen bráz le tuen póples : les filz iacob é ioséph · Ps 76:17Uírent téi \les ewes/ *deus* uírent téi les

f. 54v



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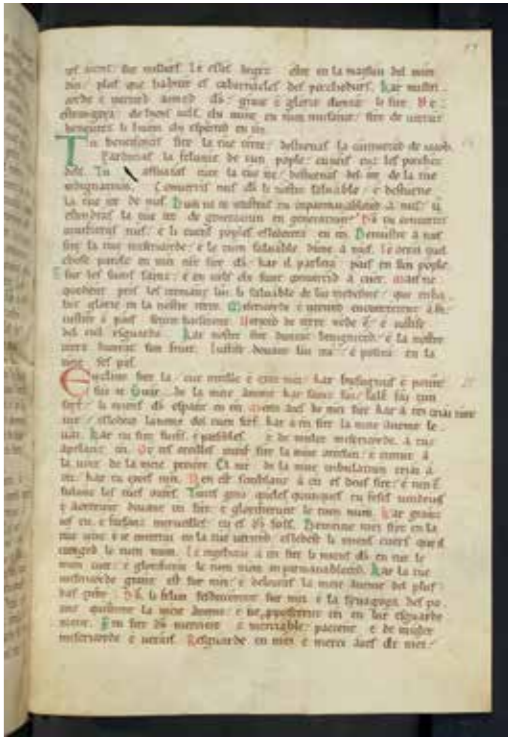
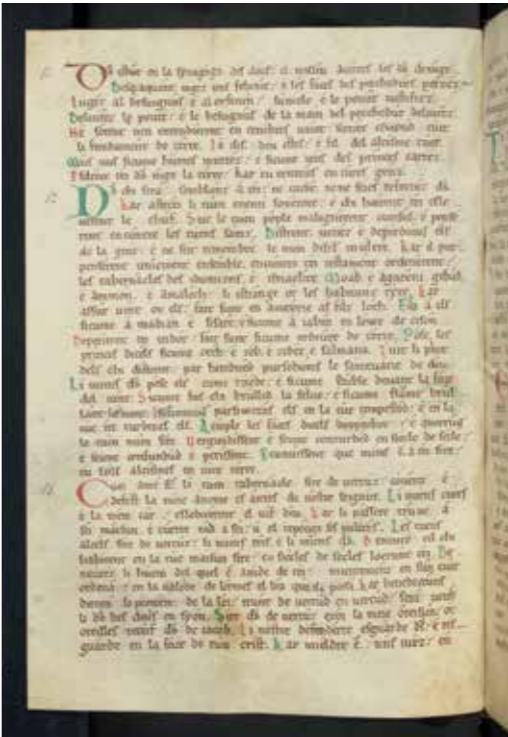
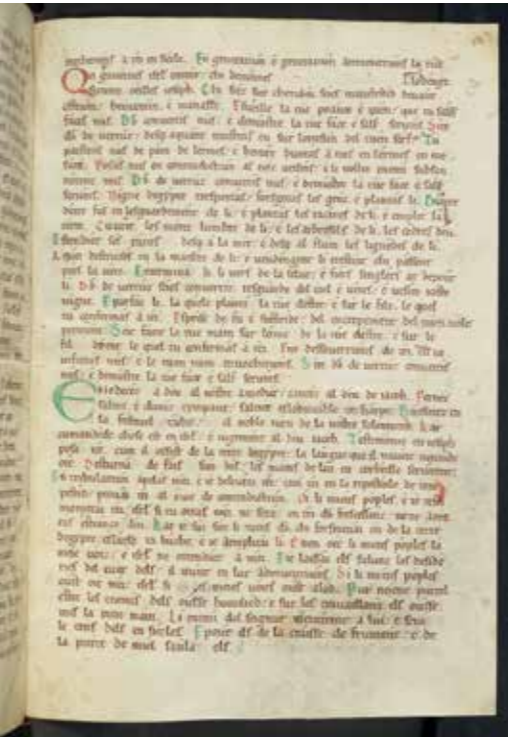
éwes é criénstrent : é turbéd sunt les abýsmes · Ps 76:18Multítudene del sóen des ewes : uóiz dunérent les núes · Kar les túes saiétes trespásent : Ps 76:19la uóiz del túen tonéire en ruéde · Resplendírent les túens resplendisseménz al cércele de la terre : commóude *est* · é tremblá la terre · Ps 76:20En la mér · la tús uéie · é les túes séntes en múltés ewes : é les túes tráces ne seruñt cuneúdes · Ps 76:21Tú demenás sicume oéilles le túen póples : en la máin moysi *et* áaron ·

EPs 77:3NTENDé li miens póples la méie léi : enclinéz uóstre oréille es paróles de la meie búche · Ps 77:2Té ouerráí en paróles la meie búche : parleráí propositiúns des le cumencement · Ps 77:3*Cum* grañz chóses oimes é cuneúmes éles : é li nóstre pére recunteréñt á nus · Ps 77:4Né sunt repóstes des filz dicéls : en áltre generatiún · Recuntañz les loénges de *nostre* seignúr é les uertúz de lúi : é les meruéilles de lúi que il fist · Ps 77:5E suscité testimonie en iacob : é léi posá en israel · *Cum* gránz chóses el mandá á nóz péres : cuneúdes fáire **icéles chóses a lur filz** : Ps 77:6**que cunúisse** áltre generaciún\ / · Lí fil chi naíst_rúnt é exsurdrúnt : recunteruñt á lúr filz · Ps 77:7Pur cé quil pósent en déu lur esperánce · é ne óblient les oüres déu : é les cumandeménz de lúi exquergent · Ps 77:8**Que il** ne séient fáit sicume li pére déls : **generaciún\ /** felunése é enasprissánte · **Generaciún** la quéle nadreceát sun cuér : e nen *est* · creúde ot lúi lespirít de lúi · Ps 77:9Lí fil effrem entendañz é enueiañz arc : conuertíd sunt el iúrn de batáíle · Ps 77:10Né guardérent le testamént déu : é en la léi de lúi ne uóldrent alér · Ps 77:11E obliérent les bienfáiz de lúi : e les meruéilles de lúi les quéls il demustrá á els · Ps 77:12Deuant les péres dicéls fist meruéilles en la terre degýpte : el camp de tafneós · Ps 77:13Il entre rumpiét la mér é parmená **icéls** : establí les ewes ensemeñt *cum* en bucéle · Ps 77:14E demená éls en la núe del iúrn : é túte núit en lenluminement de fú · Ps 77:15Il entre rumpiét la piérre el desért : é abeúrat éls sicume en múlté abýsme · Ps 77:16E forsmenát éwe de la piérre : é demenát sicume fluéz les ewes · Ps 77:17E aposeréñt uncóre peccher á lúi : en ire **comm_úrent** laltisme en néient éwos lúi · Ps 77:18E temptérent déu en lur cuérs : **qué il** requesissent · uiándes á lúr ánemes · Ps 77:19E maleméñt parlérent de déu : distrent · dum ne porrá *deus* aprestér táble el desert ? Ps 77:20Kar il ferít la piérre é decurúrent éwes : é li f. 55r doit enundérent · **Dúm ne porrá il** é páin dunér : ú aprestér táble á sun póples ? Ps 77:21Empuricé oit *nostre* síre é purluigná · é fus esprís est en iacob : é ire muntá en israel · Ps 77:22Kar il ne créireñt en déu : nén esperérent el saluáble de lúi · Ps 77:23E mandá as núes de sús : é les pórtés del ciel aóúrit · Ps 77:24E plút á els manna á mangiér : e pain del ciél duná á éls · Ps 77:25**Lé páin as** ángeles mania húem : uiándes enueia á éls en abundánce · Ps 77:26Il trespotá aústre del ciél : é mená en sa uertúde áffricum · Ps 77:27E plút sur éls sicume púldre cañz : é sicume grauèle de mér · oiséls em_pennéz · Ps 77:28E caireñt el millíu des herbéges déls : enuirún lur tabernacles · Ps 77:29E mangiérent é saulé *sunt* · mult : é lur desidéie aportá á els · Ps 77:30ne **sunt deceú** de

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lur desidérie · Vncôre les uiañdes dèls estéient en la bûche dicèls : **Ps 77:31** é lire déu muntá sur els · E ocíst les crás dèls : é les eslíz disraél empedeçad · **Ps 77:32** En trestútes icéz chòses pecchérent uncôre : é ne creïrent es meruèilles de lúi · **Ps 77:33** E desfirent en uanité les iúrz dèls : é les lúr aans ôt hastement · **Ps 77:34** Cum il ocieít els queriéent lúi é returnówent : é le matin uenéient á lúi · **Ps 77:35** E remembrérent que *deus* aiuère est dèls : é *deus* **li** altísmes rachatére dèls est · **Ps 77:36** E amérent lúi en lur bûche : é en lur lánque mentírent á lúi · **Ps 77:37** Li cuérs acertes dicels ne \e/stéit dreiturérs ot lúi : ne fedéilz ne sunt oúd el testamént de lúi · **Ps 77:38** Máis il est · merciábles · é propicius será fáiz as pecchéz dicèls : e ne deperdrá els · E abundá que il desturnást la súa ire : é ne espríst túte la súa ire · **Ps 77:39** E recordá que il çar sunt : espríz alañz é ne repirañz · **Ps 77:40** Par quántes fiédes puruochérent \lúi/ el desért : en ire com_múrent lúi en neient éwos lúi · **Ps 77:41** E tresturné sunt é temptérent déu : e le saínt disraél puruochérent · **Ps 77:42** Né recordérent la máin de lui el iúrn · el quel il raeñst éls de la máin del trauaillañt · **Ps 77:43** Sicume il posá en egýpte les suéns signes : é les súes meruèilles el çamp de tafneós · **Ps 77:44** E tresturná en sañc les fluéz dicèls : é les plúies dèls que il ne beússent · **Ps 77:45** Enueiá en éls cinómiam é maniá éls : é ráine é deperdiét éls · **Ps 77:46** E duná á ruil le frúit dèls : é les lúr trauálz á salteréle · **Ps 77:47** E ocíst en grisille les lur uignes : e les moriérs dèls en **geléda** · **Ps 77:48** E liürad á grisille les iumeñz dèls : e la lúr possessiún á fú · **Ps 77:49** Enueiá en els lire dé la súa indignatiún : indignatiún · é ire · é tribulatiún · enueiémeñz pár máls ángeles · **Ps 77:50** Véie fist á la sénte de la súa ire : nen esparn ad de la mort des ánemes dicèls : é les iumeñz dèls en mort conclúst · **Ps 77:51** E f/erít chescúne çose premiér engendrée en la tère degýpte : les primices de tút le trauáil dèls es tabernacles de çám · **Ps 77:52** E tolít sicume oéilles le sún póples : é mená els ensemement cume fúlc el desért · **Ps 77:53** E demená éls \en/ esperánc é ne crénstrent : é les enemís dicèls couñit la mér · **f. 55v Ps 77:54** E enmená éls el mónt de la súa saintificatiún : él mont le quel aquíst la déstre de lúi · **Ps 77:54** E forsetgá de lá fáce dèls les geñz : é pár sórt diuisá á els **la tère** en funél de diuisiún · **Ps 77:55** E habitér fist es tabernacles dèls : les lignédes disraél · **Ps 77:56** E temptérent é puruochérent déu **le haltísme** : é les testimónies de lúi ne guardérent · **Ps 77:57** E desturnérent séi é ne guardérent cóuenañt : enseméñt cume li pére dèls sunt tresturnéd en torcenús arc · **Ps 77:58** En ire comm_úrent lúi és lur tértres : é en lur entáilledúres á enuidie lúi puruochérent · **Ps 77:59** Oít *deus* é despíst : é á neient mult demená *israél* · **Ps 77:60** E debutá le tabernacle de syló : le suen tabernacle ú il habitá en húmes · **Ps 77:61** E liüra en caitiuetéd la uertúdicèls : e la bealtéd dèls es máins del enemí · **Ps 77:62** E en clóst en gláie sun póples : e la súa hereditéd despíst · **Ps 77:63** Les iuencéals dicels maniá fús : é les uírgines dèls ne guáimentérent · **Ps 77:64** Les sacerdotés dèls en gláie caírent : é les lur uedués nestéient deplorédes · **Ps 77:65** E esueilléz est · sicume dormánz li síre : ensemement cume beuanz engrutíz de uín · **Ps 77:66** E ferít ses enemís es dederainetéz : repróce parmanáble duná á éls · **Ps 77:67** E debutá le tabernacle de ioseph : é la lignéde deffraim né eslíst · **Ps 77:68** Máis eslíst la lignéde de iúda : le mónt de syón le quel il amá · **Ps 77:69** E edifiá sicume unicórne le suen saínt edifice : en la tère que il fundá en siécles · **Ps 77:70** E eslíst dauid le suen seíf : e **susleuá lúi** des fúlc des oéilles : **dapñes** les fedunañz **reçut lúi** · **Ps 77:71** Apáistre iacob le suen seíf : é *israél* la súa hereditéd · **Ps 77:72** E pót els en linnocénc de lúr cuér : é es entendemeñz de lúr máins demená éls ·

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▲ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 56r, 56v, and 57r. Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

Ps 79:10 Dúitre déire fús en lesguardemént de lí : é plantás les racines de lí · é emplít lá tère · **Ps 79:11** Cuñrit les mónz lúmbre de lí : é les arbrissels de lí · les çéres déu · **Ps 79:12** Estendiét sés ráins desque á la mér : é desque al flúm les lignédes de lí · **Ps 79:13** A queí destruisís tu la maíere de lí : é uendéngent lí trestúit chi passent prés la uéie · **Ps 79:14** Exterminá li · li uérs de la sélue : é fiérs senglér at depout lí · **Ps 79:15** *Deus* de uertúz seies conuertíz · resguárde del ciel é ueies : é uisíte icéste uigne · **Ps 79:16** E parfá li · la quele plántá la tée déstre : é sur le filz · le quel tu confirmás á téi · **Ps 79:17** Esprise de fú é suffoide : del encrepement del tñen u\ólt/ perirúnt · **Ps 79:18** Séit faite la tée máin sur lóme de la tée déstre : é sur le fil dóme le quel tu confirmás á téi · **Ps 79:19** E ne desseuerruñs de téi · tú uiuifierás nús : é le tñen num enuocheruñs · **Ps 79:20** Síre *deus* de uertúz conuertís nús : é demústre la tée fáce é sálf seruñs ·

Ps 80:2 SLEdecéz á déu al nóstre aiuedúr : cantéz al déu de iacob · **Ps 80:3** Pernéz sálme · é dunéz týmpane : saltiér **esledeceáble ot hárpe** · **Ps 80:4** Búisinez \en/ la festiuel **túbe** : el nóble iúrn de la nóstre solennitéd · **Ps 80:5** Kár cumandéde çose est en *israél* : é iugemént ál déu iacob · **Ps 80:6** Testimónie en ioséph posá icé · cum il eissist de la tère degýpte : la lánque que il nauéit cuneúde oít · **Ps 80:7** Desturná de fáis sún dós : les máins de lúi en corbéille seruírent · **Ps 80:8** En tribulatiún apelás méi · é ié deliüra téi : exoi téi en la repostáile de tempestéd : prouái téi al éwe de contradictiún · **Ps 80:9** Oí li miéns póples · e ié testimonierái téi : *israél* si tu orrás méi · **Ps 80:10** ne será en téi *deus* frescissañz : ne ne aorerás \déu/ étráncge · **Ps 80:11** Kar ié súi síre li tuéns *deus* · chi forsmenái téi de la tère degýpte : **esláise** ta bûche · é ie aemplirái lí · **Ps 80:12** E nen oít li miéns póples lá meie uoíz : é *israél* ne entendiét á méi · **Ps 80:13** E ié laissái els sulunc les desidéries del cuér dèls : il írúnt en lur adinuentiúns · **Ps 80:14** Sí li miéns póples oust oít méi : *israél* si es méies ueies oust aléd · **Ps 80:15** Pur neient putceléstre les enemís dèls oussé humiliéd : é sur les trauaillañz els oussé mis la meie máin · **Ps 80:16** Li enemí del seignúr mentírent á lúi : é será le téns dèls en siécles · **Ps 80:17** E pót els de la cráisse de frumént : é de la piérrre de miél saulá els ·

f. 56v Ps 81:1 *eus* estút en la synagoga dés déus : él milliu acertes les *deus* deiúge · **Ps 81:2** Desque aquánt iugéz uus felunie : é les fáces des pecchedúrs pernez ? **Ps 81:3** Iugéz al besuignús é al ofrenín : lúmele é le poure iustificéz · **Ps 81:4** Deliürez le poure : e le besuignús de la máin del pecchedúr deliürez · **Ps 81:5** Né sórent nen entendiérent en tenébres uúnt : serúnt esmoud túit li fundamént de tère · **Ps 81:6** Té dis · déu éstes : é fil del altísme túit · **Ps 81:7** Máis uus sicume húmes murréz : é sicume uñs des prínces carréz · **Ps 81:8** Esdréce téi *deus* iúge la tère : kar tu eriterás en tútes geñz ·

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D^{Ps 82:2}eus chi será semblanz á téi : ne ne séies refrenéz deus . ^{Ps 82:3}Kar astetéi li túen enemí sonerent : é chi hairent téi esleuérent le chief . ^{Ps 82:4}Súr le túen pópale malignerent cunséil : é penserent encúntre les tuens sáinz . ^{Ps 82:5}Dístrent · uenez é deperdúms éls de la geñt : é ne séit remembré le num disrael en últre . ^{Ps 82:6}Kar il purpenserent uníement ensemble · encúntre téi testamént ordenerent : ^{Ps 82:7}les tabernacles des idumiens · é ismaélite · Moáb · é agaréni · ^{Ps 82:8}gebál · é ammón · é amaléch : li estrange ót les habitañz týre · ^{Ps 82:9}Kár assúr uínt ot els : fáit sunt en aiutórie ás filz lóth · ^{Ps 82:10}Fái á els sicume á madián é sisaré : é sicume á iabín en léwe de cison · ^{Ps 82:11}Deperírent en endór : fáit sunt sicume ordeúre de terre · ^{Ps 82:12}Póse les prínces dicéls sicume oréb : é zéb · é zebée · é sáلمانá · Túit li prínce déls ^{Ps 82:13}chi distrent : par hereditéd puredúms le saíntuárie de déu · ^{Ps 82:14}Lí miens deus póse éls cume ruéde : é sicume stúble deuant la fáce del uént · ^{Ps 82:15}Sicume fús chi brúlléd la sélue : é sicume flámme brúllánt **les monz** · ^{Ps 82:16}Issifaitement parsiwerás els en la túde tempestéd : é en la túde íre turberás els · ^{Ps 82:17}Aeuple les fáces dicéls dopprobre : é querrúnt le túen núm sire · ^{Ps 82:18}Uergundíssent é seient conturbéd en siécle de sécle : é seient confundúd é períssent · ^{Ps 82:19}E cunuíssent que núms est · á téi sire : tú sòls altísmes en túte terre ·

C^{Ps 83:2}VM amé sunt · lí tuén tabernacle sire de uertúz : ^{Ps 83:3}couéite é defíst la méie áneime es aítres de nóstre seignúr · Lí miens cuérs é la méie cár : esledecerent el uíf déu · ^{Ps 83:4}Kar li pássere trúue á séi máisun · é túrtre nid á séi : ú el repónges pulciñs · Les tuéns altéls sire de uertúz : li miens réis · é li miens deus · ^{Ps 83:5}Beneuré cil chi habitent en la túde maisun sire : en siécles de sécles loerúnt téi · ^{Ps 83:6}Beneuréz li húem del quel est · aiúde de téi : muntemeñz en sún cuér ordená : ^{Ps 83:7}en la ualéde de lérmes el líu qué il posá · ^{Ps 83:8}Kár benediceúms dunrá li portérre de la léi : iruñt de uertúd en uertúd : será ueñt/d/ li deus des déus en syón · ^{Ps 83:9}Síre deus de uertúz exói la méie oreisún : ót oreilles recéf deus de iacob · ^{Ps 83:10}Lí nóstre defendérre esguarde deus : é resguarde en la fáce de tún crist · ^{Ps 83:11}Kar miéldre est · úns iúrz : en f. 57r tés áitres : sur milliérs · Lé eslés degéz éstre en la maisun del mién déu : plus que habitér es tabernacles des pechedúrs · ^{Ps 83:12}Kár misericórde é ueritéd áimed deus : gráce é glórie dunrá li sire · ^{Ps 83:13}Né estrangerá de biens icéls · chi uínt en nun nuisánce : sire de uertúz beneuréz li húem chi espéired en téi ·

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T^{Ps 84:2}ú beneisquís sire la túde terre : desturnás la cáitiuétéd de iacob · ^{Ps 84:3}Pardunás la felunie de tun pópale : cuírís túz les pechéz déls · ^{Ps 84:4}Tú assuaiás túte la túde íre : desturnás del íre de la túde indignatiún · ^{Ps 84:5}Conuertís nus deus li nóstre saluáble : é destúrme la túde íre de nus · ^{Ps 84:6}**Dum ne te irastrás tu enparmanableté á nus : ú** estendrás la túde íre de generaciún en generatiún ? ^{Ps 84:7}Deus tu conuertíz uiuifierás nus : é li tuens pópales esledecerá en téi · ^{Ps 84:8}Demústre á nus sire la túde misericórde : é le túen saluáble dúne á nus · ^{Ps 84:9}Ié orrái quéel chósé parólt en méi nostre sire deus : kar il parlerá páis en sún pópale · E sur les súens sáinz : é en icéls chi sunt conuertíd á cuér · ^{Ps 84:10}Mais nequedéñt prés les cremanz líu · li saluáble de líu medésme : que enhabít glórie en la nóstre terre · ^{Ps 84:11}Misericórde é ueritéd encúntrérent á séi : iustise é páis sentrebaisérent · ^{Ps 84:12}Ueritéd de terre néde est : é iustise del ciél esguardá · ^{Ps 84:13}Kar nóstre sire dunrát benignitéd : é la nóstre terre dunrát sun frúit · ^{Ps 84:14}Iustise deuánt líu irá : é poserá en la uéie ses pás ·

E^{Ps 85:1}ncline sire la túde oreille é exói méi : kar busugnús é pouére súi ie · ^{Ps 85:2}Guarde la méie áneime kar sáinz súi : salf fái tún serf : li miens deus esperañt en téi · ^{Ps 85:3}Mérci áies de méi sire kar á téi criái túte/ iúr : esledéce láneme del túen serf · kar á téi sire la méie aneime leuái · ^{Ps 85:4}Kar tu sire suéfs · é paisibles · é de múlte misericórde · á túz apelañz téi · ^{Ps 85:5}Ót tes oreilles recéf sire la méie oreisún : é enteñt á la uoíz de la méie preiere · ^{Ps 85:6}Él iúr de la méie tribulatiún criái á téi : kar tu exoís méi · ^{Ps 85:7}Nen est semblañz á téi es déus sire : é nén est suluñc les túes oúres · ^{Ps 85:8}Tútes geñz quéles quínques tu fesís uendrúnt é aoreruñt deuant téi sire : é glorifieruñt le túen núm · ^{Ps 85:9}Kar gránz íes tu · é fáisanz merueilles : tu es deus sòls · ^{Ps 85:10}Deméine méi sire en la túde uéie · é ie enterrái en la tue ueritéd : esledést li miens cuérs que vil/ crengéd le tuen núm · ^{Ps 85:11}Ié regehirái á téi sire li miens deus en tut le mien cuér : é glorifierái le tuen núm en parmanableté · ^{Ps 85:12}Kar la túde misericórde gránz est sur méi : é deliúras la méie aneime del plus bás enfer · ^{Ps 85:13}Deus · li felún sesdrecerent sur méi · é la synagoga des poanz quístrent la méie aneime : é ne proposerent téi en lur esguardement · ^{Ps 85:14}E tu sire deus merciére é merciáble : paciént · é de múlte misericórde é ueráis · ^{Ps 85:15}Resguarde en méi é merci áies de méi : f. 57v dúne empérie á tun enfañt : é salf fái le fil de la túde ancéle · ^{Ps 85:16}Fái ót méi signe én bien · que uéient chi méi hairent é seient confundúd : kar tu sire aiuás méi é ás conforté méi ·

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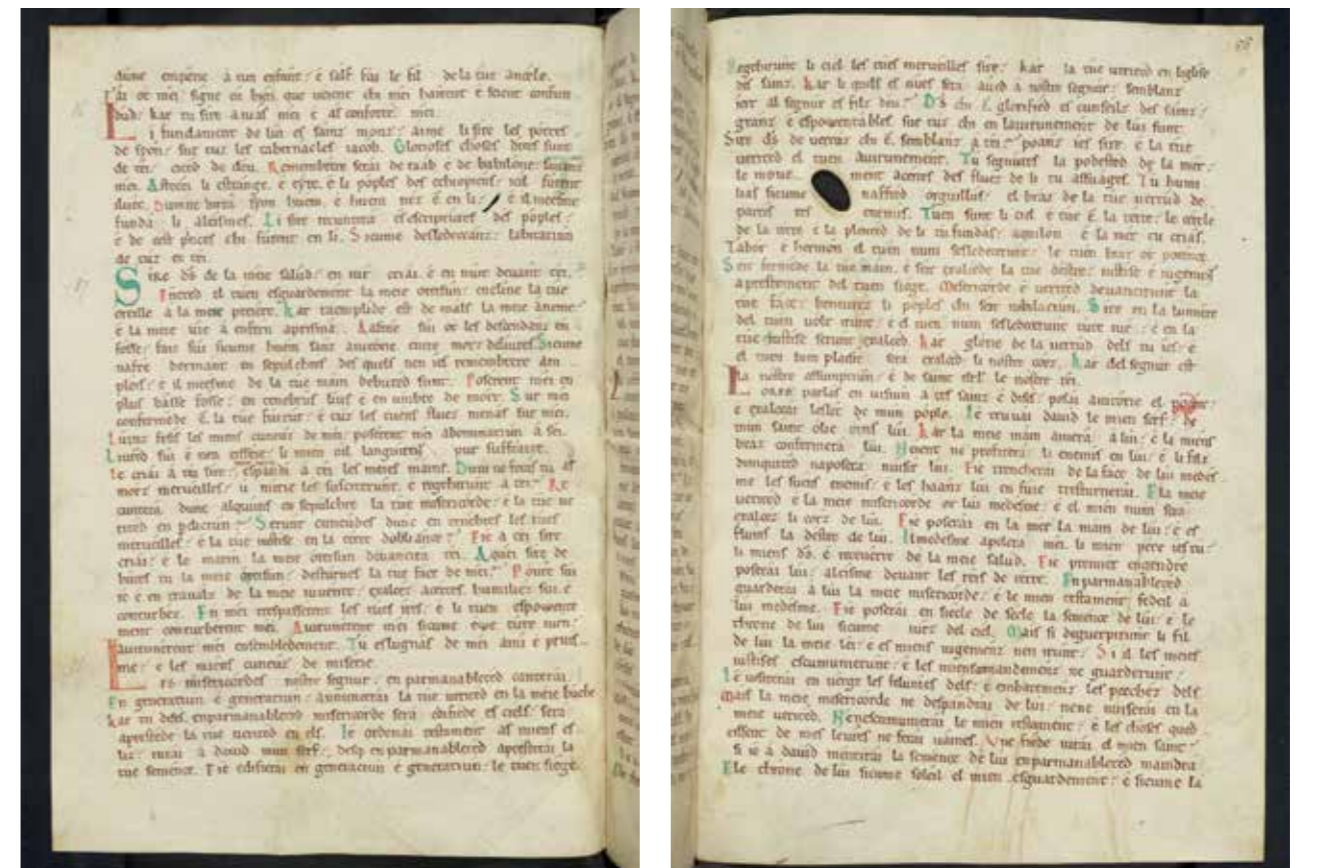
L^{Ps 86:1}i fundament de líu es sáinz monz : ^{Ps 86:2}áme li sire les pórtes de syón : sur tuz les tabernacles iacob · ^{Ps 86:3}Gloriosés chósés dites sunt de téi : citéd de déu · ^{Ps 86:4}Remembrére serái de raáb é de babilóne : sauañz méi · Astetéi li estrange · é týre · é li pópales des ethiopiéens : icíl fúrent ilúec · ^{Ps 86:5}**Dum ne dirrá** syón húem · é huem néz est · en li : é il meésme fundá li altísmes · ^{Ps 86:6}Lí sire recunterà és escriptúres dés pópales : é de cést prínces chi fúrent en lí · ^{Ps 86:7}Sicume desledeceañz : labitatiún de túz en téi ·

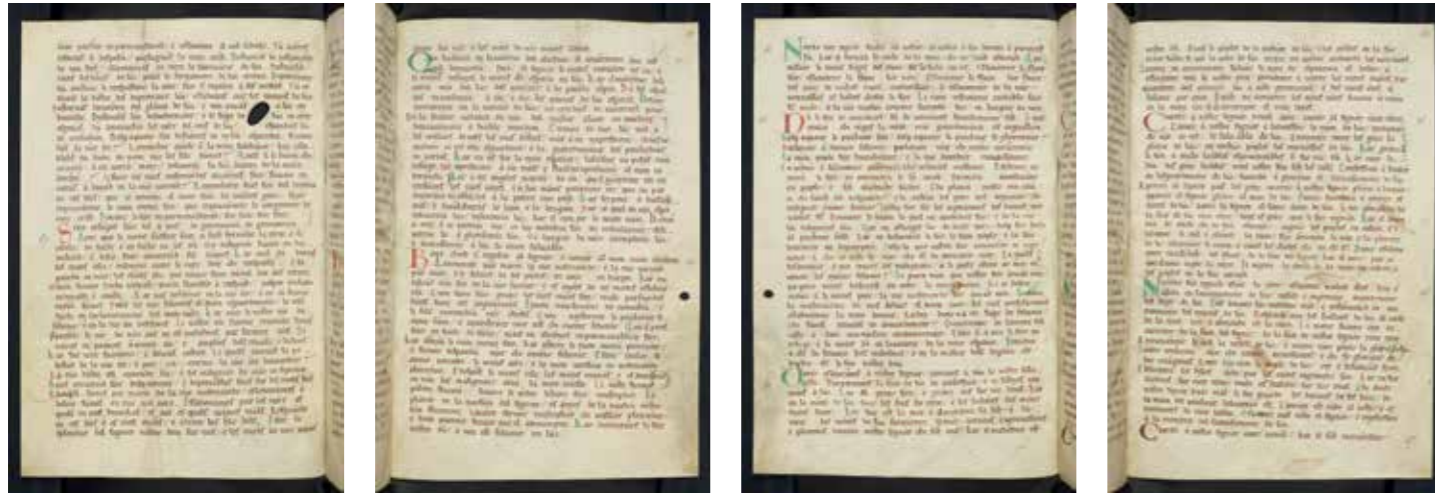
S^{Ps 87:2}Íre deus de la méie salud : en iúr criái · é en núit deuant téi · ^{Ps 87:3}Enútre el túen esguardement la méie soreisún : encline la túde oreille á la méie preiere · ^{Ps 87:4}Kar raemplide est de máls la méie áneime : é la méie uie á enférn aprismá · ^{Ps 87:5}Aasmé súi ót les descendanz én fosse : faiz súi sicume huém sañz aiutórie · ^{Ps 87:6}entre mórz deliúres · Sicume nafré dormánt en sepúlchres des quels nen íes remembrere ampléis : é il meésme de la túde main debutéd sunt · ^{Ps 87:7}Poserent méi en plus bássé fosse : en tenebrús líus é en úmbre de mórt · ^{Ps 87:8}Sur méi conferméde est · la túde fuírúr : é túz les tuéns fluez menás sur méi · ^{Ps 87:9}Lúinz fesís les miens cuneúz de méi : poserent méi abominatiún á séi · Liúred súi e nen eisséie : ^{Ps 87:10}li mien oíl languírent pur suffraíte · Je criái á téi sire : túte iúr/ espadí á téi les meies máins · ^{Ps 87:11}**Dum ne ferás tú** ás mórz meruilles : ú mirie les susciteruñt · é regehiruñt á téi ? ^{Ps 87:12}Recunterà dúnc alquúns en sepúlchre la túde misericórde : é la túde ueritéd en perdiúñ ? ^{Ps 87:13}Seruñt cuneúdes dúnc en tenébres les túes meruilles : é la túde iustise en la terre dobliañce ? ^{Ps 87:14}E ié á téi sire criái : é le matin la méie oreisún deuancirá téi · ^{Ps 87:15}A quéi sire debútes tu la méie oreisun : destúrnes la túde fáce de méi ? ^{Ps 87:16}Póúre súi ié é en trauáz de la méie iuueñte : exalcéz acértes · humiliéz súi · é conturbéz · ^{Ps 87:17}En méi trespasérent les túes íres : é li tuen espowementement conturbérent méi · ^{Ps 87:18}Auirunérent méi sicume éve túte iúrñ : auirunérent méi ensemblédement · ^{Ps 87:19}Tú eslugnás de méi ami é pruísme : é les miens cuneúz de miserie ·

L^{Ps 88:2}ÉS misericórdes nóstre seignúr : en parmanableté canterái · ^{Ps 88:3}En generatiún é generatiún : annucerái la túde ueritéd en la méie búche · ^{Ps 88:4}Kar tu disís · en parmanableté misericórde será edifiéde es ciéls : será aprestéde la túde ueritéd en éls · ^{Ps 88:5}Ié ordenái testameñt as miens esléz : iurái á dauíd mun serf : ^{Ps 88:6}desque en parmanableté apresterái la túde seméce · E ié edifierái en generaciún é generatiún : le túen siège · f. 58r ^{Ps 88:7}Regehiruñt li ciél les túes meruilles sire : kár la túde ueritéd en liglise dés sáinz · ^{Ps 88:8}Kár li quels es nús será aúed á nóstre seignúr : semblañz íert al seignúr es filz déu ? ^{Ps 88:9}Deus chi est · glorifiéde es cunséilz des sáinz : gránz é espowentables · sur túz chi en lauirunement de líu sunt · ^{Ps 88:10}Sire deus de uertúz chi est · semblañz á téi ? poañz íes sire · é la túde ueritéd el tuen auirunement · ^{Ps 88:11}Tú seignúres la podestéd de la mér : le mouement acértes des fluez de li tu assuáges · ^{Ps 88:12}Tú humiliás sicume naffré orguillús : el bráz de la túde uertúd de partís tes enemís · ^{Ps 88:13}Túen sunt li ciel é túde est · la terre : le cercle de la terre é la plentéd de li tú fundás :

f. 58r

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Ps 95:5 Kar tuit li déu des genz diables : mais nōstre sire fist les ciels · Ps 95:6 Confessiūn é bealté en lesguardemēt de lūi : saintedé é grandéce el saintefiement de lūi · Ps 95:7 Aportéz ál segnōr país des genz · aportéz á nōstre segnōr glōrie é honūr : Ps 95:8 aportéz al segnūr glōrie al nūm de lūi · Portéz sacrificses · é entréz és áitres de lūi : Ps 95:9 aoréz le segnōr el saint áitre de lūi · Séit commōude dé la face de lūi tūte terre · Ps 95:10 dītes es genz que li sire regnád · Kar il amendád le círculo chi ne será commōud : iugerá les pōples en óeltéd · Ps 95:11 Ésledécent li ciél é esióied la terre : séit commōude la mér · é la plentéz de li : Ps 95:12 esiorrūnt li cañp · é tūtes les chōses chi en els sunt · Dunc esledecerunt tūit lí fūst des sélues : Ps 95:13 de la face del segnōr kar il uīnt : pur cé que il uīnt iugerá la terre · Il iugerá le círculo de la terre en oeltéd : é les pōples en la sūe ueritéd ·

NPs 96:1 OSTRE sire regnád esiót la terre : esleécēt mūltes illes · Ps 96:2 Nūe é čalím en lauirunemēt de lūi : iustise é iugemēt amendemēt del siége de lūi · Ps 96:3 Fūs deuant lūi medésme irád : é enflammerád én auirunemēt les enemís de lūi · Ps 96:4 Resplēdīrent les fūildres de lūi ál círculo de la terre : uīt é commōude est la terre · Ps 96:5 Lí mōnt sicume círe decurērent de la face del segnōr : de la face de nōstre segnōr tūte terre · Ps 96:6 Annuncērent li ciél la iustise de lūi : é uīrent tūit pōple la glōrie dé lūi · Ps 96:7 Séient confondu tūit chi aōrent entailleūres : é chi se glorient en lūr imágenes · Aoréz lūi tūit li añgle de lūi : Ps 96:8 oīt é sesledečad syōn · E sesioīrent les filles iūde : pur les túens iugemenz sire · Ps 96:9 Kár tu sire altīsmes sur tūte terre : mult ies exalciez sur tūz déus · Ps 96:10 Chi améz nōstre segnōr haéz mál : li sire guárde les ánemes de ses sáinz : de la máin del peccheūr deliurrád els · Ps 96:11 Lumière est néde al iūste : é as dreiturērs de cūer ledéce · Ps 96:12 Esledecéz uūs iūste el segnōr : é regehissēz á la mémōrie del saintefiement de lūi ·

Cf. 60v Ps 97:1 ANTÉZ á nōstre segnōr cant nouél : kar il fist meruēilles · f. 60v Saluád á séi la dēstre de lūi : é le saint bráz de lūi · Ps 97:2 Cuneúd fist li sire suñ saluáble : en lesguardemēt des genz · reuelá la sūe iustise · Ps 97:3 Recordát la sūe misericōrde : é la sūe ueritéd á la maisún disraēl · Vīrent tūit li térme de terre : le saluáble de nōstre déu · Ps 97:4 Cantéz á nōstre segnōr tūte terre : cantéz · é esledecéz · é cantéz · Ps 97:5 Cantéz al segnūr en hárpe en hárpe é en uóiz de sálme : Ps 97:6 en buisīnes turneīces · é en uóiz de búisīne de corñ · Cantéz en lesguardemēt del réi segnūr : Ps 97:7 séit moude la mér · é la plentéd de lí : li círculo des terres · é chi habitent en lūi · Ps 97:8 Lí flūm bateruñt lur máins enséble : li mōnt esleeceruñt Ps 97:9 del esguardemēt nōstre segnūr : kar il uīnt iugerá la terre · Il iugerád le círculo des terres en iustise : é les pōples en oeltéd ·

LPs 98:1 Í sire regná iráissent séi li pōple : chi siēt sur cherubín séit moude la terre · Ps 98:2 Nōstre sire en syōn granz : é hálz · sūr tūz pōples · Ps 98:3 Regehissent al tūen grant num · kár espowentábles é sáinz est : Ps 98:4 é lonūr del réi áimed iugemēt · Tú aprestás adrecemēz : iugement é iustise en iacób tu fesís · Ps 98:5 Exalcéz le segnūr nōstre déu : e aoréz le scámél des piéz de lūi kar sáinz est · Ps 98:6 Moýses é áaron es sacerdotés de lūi : e samuél entre icéls chi apélent le num de lūi · Il apelōwent le segnūr é il meésme exoéit els : Ps 98:7 en la colūmne de la nūe parlót á els · Il guardōwent les testimōnies de lūi : e le cumandemēt que il dunád á els · Ps 98:8 Sire li nōstre deus tu exoéies els · deus tu fūs merciábles á els : é uenīanz en tūz les truuemēz dels · Ps 98:9 Exalcéz le segnūr nōstre déu : é aoréz el saint mont de lūi : kar sáinz est · li sire nostre déu ·

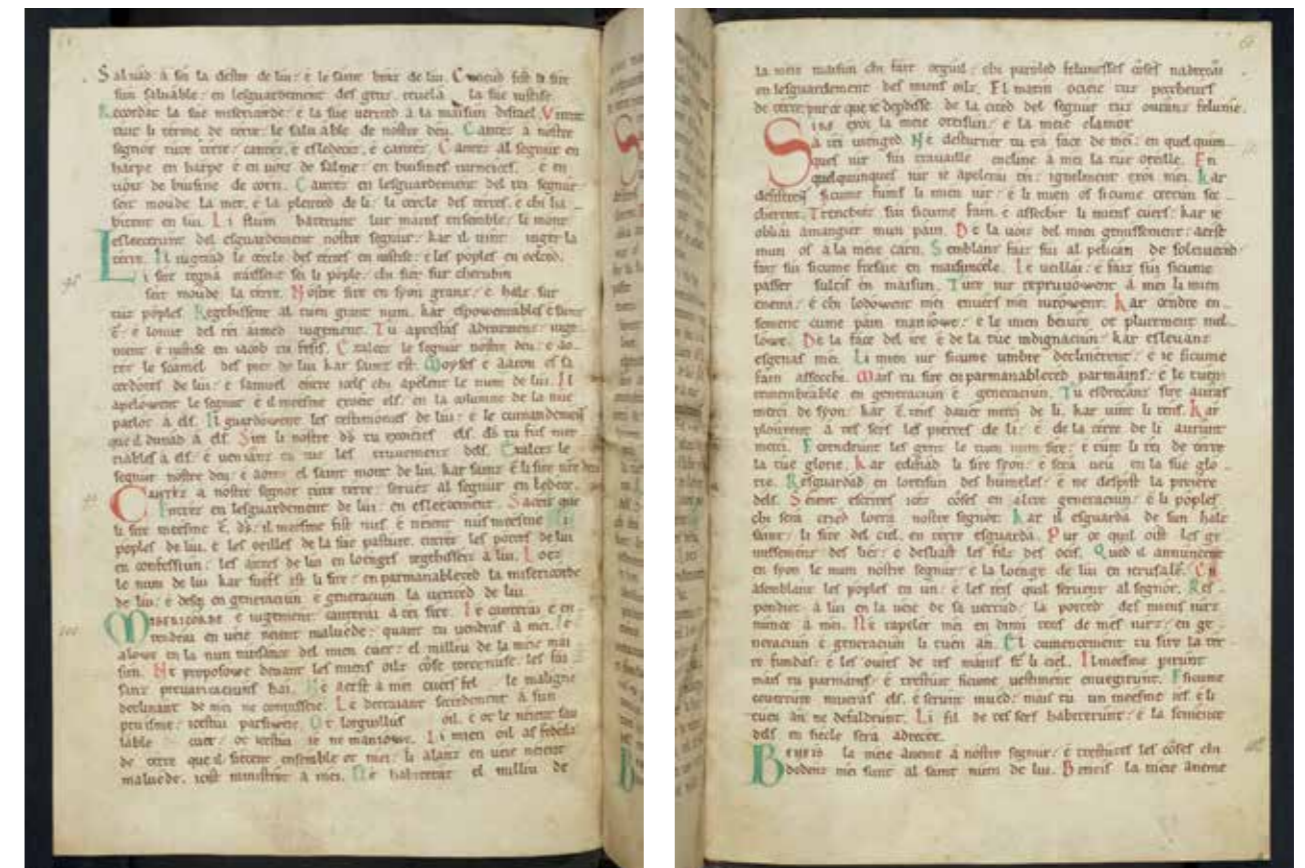
CPs 99:2 ANTÉZ á nōstre segnōr tūte terre : seruéz al segnūr en ledéce · Entréz en lesguardemēt de lūi : en Cesleécement · Ps 99:3 Sacéiz que li sire meésme est · deus : il meésme fist nus · é néient nūs meésme Lí pōples de lūi · é les oēilles de la sūe pasture · Ps 99:4 entréz les pōrtes de lūi en confessiūn : les áitres de lūi en loēnges regehissēz á lūi · Loéz le num de lūi Ps 99:5 kar sués est li sire : en parmanableté la misericōrde de lūi : é desque en generaciūn é generaciūn la ueritéd de lūi ·

MPs 100:1 ISERICORDE é iugemēt : canteráí á téi sire · Ié canteráí Ps 100:2 é entendráí en uēie néient maluēde : Quant tu uendrás á méi · Ié alōwe en la nun nūisánce del mien cūer : el millū de la méie máisún · Ps 100:3 Né proposōwe deuant les miens oīlz čose torcenūse : les fáisanz preuaricaciūns háí · Né aerst á méi Ps 100:4 cuers fel : le maligne declinánt de méi ne conuissēie · Ps 100:5 Lé detraiant secrédemēt á sun pruísmē : icestūi parsiwēie · Ót lorguillūs oīl · é ot le néient sauláble cuér : ot icestūi ié ne maniōwe · Ps 100:6 Lí mien oīl as fedéilz de terre que il siécent enséble ot méi : li alánz en uēie néient maluēde · icist ministrót á méi · Ps 100:7 Né habiterát el millū de f. 61r la méie maisún chi fáit orgūil : chi paróled felunēsses čoses nadrečai en lesguardemēt des miens oīlz · Ps 100:8 Él matīn ociēie tuz peccheurs de terre : pur cé que ié deperdisse de la citéd del segnūr tūz oūranz felunēie ·

f. 61r

SPs 101:2 ÍRE exóí la méie oreisún : é la meie clamór á tei uīnged · Ps 101:3 Né desturnér tu tá face de méi : en quelquūques iūr sūi trauailé encline á méi la tūe orēille · Én quelquūques iūr ié apeleráí téi : signelment exóí méi · Ps 101:4 Kar defistrent sicume fūms li mién iūr : é li mien ós sicume cretūn secchérent · Ps 101:5 Trenchiéz sūi sicume fáin · é assechít li miens cūers : kar ié obliáí a mangiér mun páin · Ps 101:6 Dé la uóiz del mien gemíssement : aerst mun ós á la méie cárn · Ps 101:7 Semblánz fáiz sūi al pelicán de soltiuetéd : fáiz sūi sicume fresáie en maisuncéle · Ps 101:8 Ié ueilláí : é fáiz sūi sicume pásser sultís én máisún · Ps 101:9 Tūte iur reppuōwent á méi li mien enemí : é chi lodówent méi enūers méi iurówent · Ps 101:10 Kar céndre ensemēt cume páin maniōwe : é le mien béiure ot plurement mellōwe · Ps 101:11 Dé la face del íre é de la tūe indignaciūn : kar esleuánz esgenás méi · Ps 101:12 Lí mien iūr sicume umbre declinērent : é ié sicume fáin assecchí · Ps 101:13 Máis tu sire en parmanableté parmáins : é le tūen remembráble en generaciūn é generaciūn · Ps 101:14 Tú esdrečanz sire aūras merci de syōn : kar est · téns dauér merci de lí · kar uīnt li téns · Ps 101:15 Kar plōurent á tes seřs les piérres de lí :

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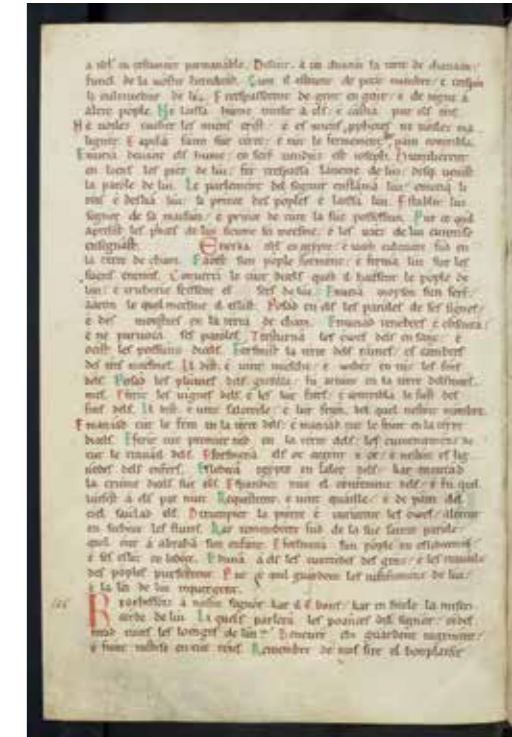
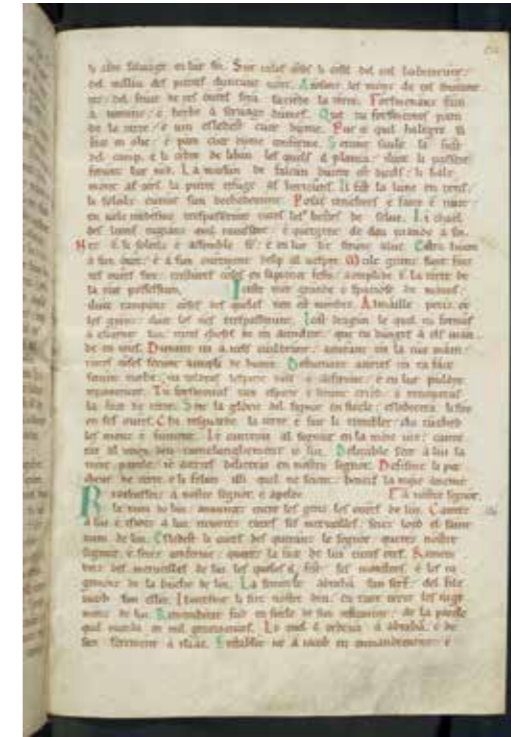
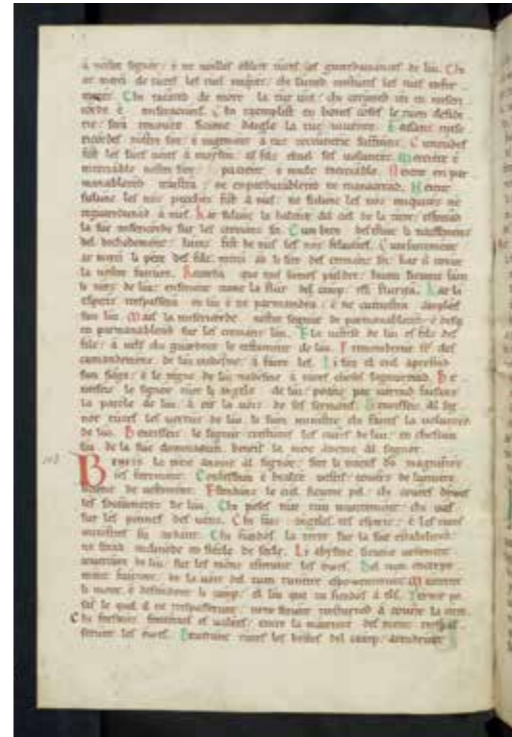
é de la terre de lí aürunt merci . Ps 101:16E crendrúnt les genz le tuen num síre : é tút li réi de terre la tús glorie .
Kar edifiád li síre syón : é sera ueú en la sús glórie . Ps 101:18Resguardád en loreisún des húmeles : é ne despít
la preiere délz . Ps 101:19Séient escrites icéz çoses en áltre generaciún : é li póples chi será criéd loerá nostre segnór .
Kar il esguardá de sun hált sáint : li síre del ciél . en terre esguardá . Ps 101:21Pur ce quil oíst les gemisseméz
des liéz : e desliást les filz des ocís . Ps 101:22Quéd il annúcent en syón le num nóstre segnúr : é la loéng de lui en
ierusalem . Ps 101:23En asemblánt les póples en ún : é les réis quil séruent al segnúr . Ps 101:24Respondiet . á lui en
la uéie de sa uertúð : la poitédes mes miens iúrz núnce á méi . Ps 101:25Né rapelér méi en dimí tens de més iúrz : en
generaciún é generaciún li tûen án . Ps 101:26Él cumencemént tu síre la terre fundás : é les oüres de tes máins sunt
li ciél . Ps 101:27Íl meésme perirunt máis tu parmäins : é trestúit sicume uestimént enuegirunt . E sicume couerture
muerás els . é serúnt muéd : Ps 101:28máis tú un meésme ies . é li tûen án ne defaldrunt . Ps 101:29Li fil de tes sers
habiterunt : é la seméce dels en siécle será adrecée .

f. 61v

Ps 102:1ENEÍŠ la méie aneme á nóstre segnúr : é trestútes les çoses chi dedeñz méi sunt al sáint núm de
lui . Ps 102:2Beneis la méie aneme f. 61v á nóstre segnúr : é ne uóilles obliér tútes les gueredunánces de lui .
Ps 102:3Chí at merci de tútes les túes iniquitéz : chi sáined trestútes les túes enfermetéz . Ps 102:4Chi raçated de mórt
la tús uie : chi corúned téi en misericórde é miseraciúns . Ps 102:5Chi raemplíst en bónes çoses le tûen desidérie :
será renouée sicume dángle la tús iuuénte . Ps 102:6Faisañz misericórdes nóstre síre : é iugemént á tuz torçunerie
suffránz . Ps 102:7Cuneúdeš fist lés sús ueies á moyšén : as filz israel ses uoluntéz . Ps 102:8Merciere é merciáble nóstre
síre : paciént . é mult merciáble . Ps 102:9Néient en parmanableté iráistrá : ne en pardurableté ne manacerád .
Ps 102:10Néient suluñc les noz pecchéz fist á núš : ne suluñc les nóz iniquitéz né regueredunád á nus . Ps 102:11Kar
suluñc la haltéce del ciél de la terre : esforçád la sús misericórde sur les cremánz séi . Ps 102:12Cum bien des estáit
li naisseméž del dechedemént : luinz fist de núš les nóz felunies . Ps 102:13Cumfaiemént at merci li père des filz
mercí ad li síre des cremánz séi : Ps 102:14kar il conút la nóstre faitúre . Recordá que nus sumes púldre : Ps 102:15hum
sicume fáin li iúrz de lui : ensemnt cume la flúr del cañp : issi flurirá . Ps 102:16Kar lí espiríz trespasserá en lui é ne
parmaindrá : é ne cunuistrá ampléis sun líu . Ps 102:17Máis la misericórde nóstre segnúr de parmanableté : é desque
en parmanableté sur les cremánz lui . E la iustise de lui es filz des filz . Ps 102:18á icéls chi guárdent le testamént de
lui . E remembreúr sunt des cumandeméž de lui medésme : a faire les . Ps 102:19Lí síre el ciél aprestád sun siège :
é le régne de lui medésme á tútes choses segnurerád . Ps 102:20Beneiséz le segnúr tút li ángle de lui : poáñz par
uertúð . faisanz la parole de lui : á oír la uóiz de ses sermóns . Ps 102:21Beneiséz al segnúr tútes les uertúz de lui .
li súen ministre chi fáites la uoluntéd de lui . Ps 102:22Beneiséz le segnúr trestútes les oüres de lui : en chescún líu
de la sús dominaciún . beneis la méie aneme ál segnúr .

f. 62r

Ps 103:1ENEÍŠ la méie aneme ál segnúr : síre li miens deus magnifiéz ies fortmént . Confessiún é bealté uestis :
Ps 103:2coüerz de lumière sicume de uestemént . Estendáñz le ciél sicume pél : Ps 103:3chi coüres déwes lés
souřainetez de lui . Chi póses núe tún muntemént : chi uás sur lés pénnes des uéñz . Ps 103:4Chi fáiz ángeles .
tes espiríz : é les tuens ministres fú ardánt . Ps 103:5Chi fundás la terre sur la sue estabiledé : ne será enclinéde
en siécle de secle . Ps 103:6Li abýsme sicume uestemént couerture de lui : sur les mónz esterúnt les éwes . Ps 103:7Del
tuen encrepement fuirunt : de la uóiz del tuen tunéire espowenterúnt . Ps 103:8Múntent li mont . é descéñdent li
cañp : é lí líu que tu fundás á els . Ps 103:9Térme posás le quel il ne trespasserúnt : nene serúnt tresturnéd á coürir
la terre . Ps 103:10Chi forméz fontéines es ualées : entre la máieneté des mónz trespasserúnt les éwes . Ps 103:11Beuerúnt
tútes les béstes del cañp : atendrúnt f. 62r li ášne saluáge en lúr séi . Ps 103:12Súr icéles çoses li oísel del ciel habiterúnt :
del millú des piéres dunnrúnt uóiz . Ps 103:13Arosáñz les mónz de tes souřainetez : del frúit de tes oüres será saziéde
la terre . Ps 103:14Forsmenád fáin á iuméñz : é hérbé á seruáge dúmes . Que tu forméines páin de la terre : Ps 103:15é
uín esledést cúer dúme . Pur cé quil halégre sa fáce en olie : é páin cúer dúme conférme . Ps 103:16Seruúnt saulé lí
fúst del cañp . é li cédre de libán les quéls il plantá : Ps 103:17ilúec li pássere ferúnt lur nid . Lá maisún de falcún
dúitre est dicéls : Ps 103:18li hált mónt as cérs . la piérré réfúge as hericúns . Ps 103:19Íl fist la lune en téns : li soléilz
cunút sun dechedemént . Ps 103:20Posás tenébres é fáite est núit : en icéle medésme trespasserúnt tútes les béstes
de selue . Ps 103:21Lí chaél des leóns rugiánz quil rauissent : é quérgent de déu uiáñde á séi . Ps 103:22Néz est . li soléilz
é assemblée sunt : é en lúr líz serúnt alúe . Ps 103:23Eistrá húem á sun oüre : é á sun oürement desque al uéspre .
Ps 103:24Múlt gránz sunt fáiz tes oüres síre : trestútes çoses en sapiéñce fesís : aemplide est . la terre de la tús
possessiún . Ps 103:25ÍCéste mér gránde é spacióse de máins : ilúec rampánz çoses des quées nen est númbre .
Almáille petíz . ót les gránz : Ps 103:26ilúec les nés trespasserúnt . Icíst dragún le quel tú formás a esçarnir lui : Ps
103:27tútes choses de téi aténdent : que tu dúnges á els uiáñde en téns . Ps 103:28Dunánt téi á icéls cúldrúnt : aouřant
téi la tús máin : tútes çoses serúnt aemplí de bunté . Ps 103:29Desturnánt acértes téi ta fáce serúnt turbé : tu toldrás
lespirít délz é defirúnt : é en lur púldre repáirerunt . Ps 103:30Tú formetrás tun espirít é serúnt criéd : é renouerás
la fáce de terre . Ps 103:31Séit la glórie del segnúr en siécle : esledecerá li síre en ses oüres . Ps 103:32Chi resguárde la

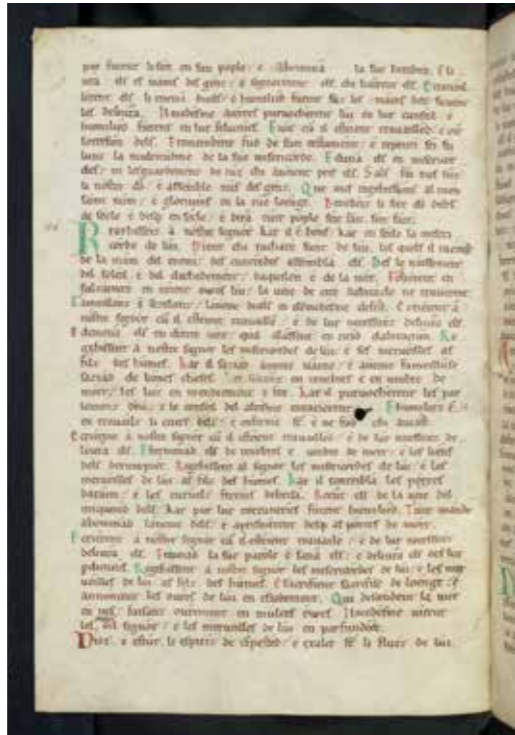
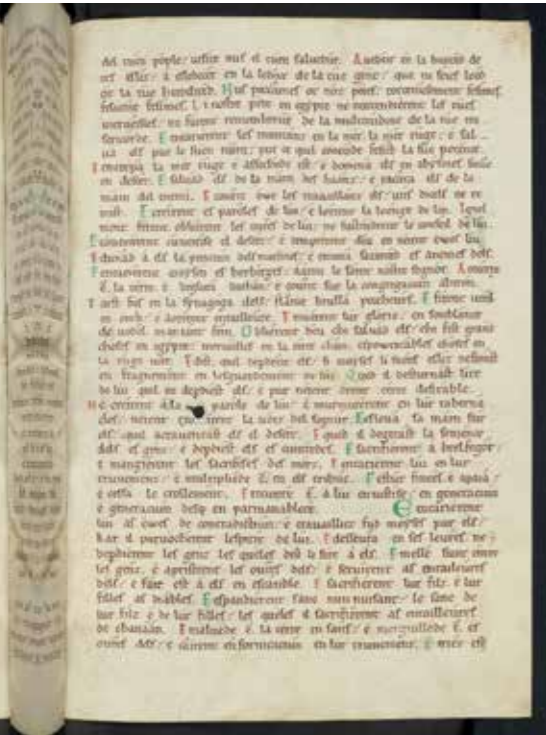


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terre é fait li tremblér : chi túched les mónz e fúment . Ps 103:33É canteráí al segnúr en la méie uie : canteráí al
mién déu cume lунhemént ié súi . Ps 103:34Delitáble séit á lui la méie parole : ié acértes deliteráí en nóstre segnúr .
Ps 103:35Defisent li pecheúr de terre . é li felún issi quil ne séient : beneis la méie aneme á nóstre segnúr .

f. 62v

Ps 104:1EGEHisséz á nostre segnúr . é apeléz le núm de lui : annúncéz éñtre les genz . les oüres de lui .
Ps 104:2Cantéz á lui . é esioéz á lui : recuntéz tútes ses meruilles : Ps 104:3seíéz loéd el sáint núm de lui . Esledést
li cúers des queránz le segnúr : queréz nóstre segnúr é seíéz confirmé : Ps 104:4queréz la fáce de lui tútes óres .
Ps 104:5Remembrez des meruilles de lui . les quées il fist : ses mónstres . é les iugeméž de la búche de lui . Ps 104:6Lá
seméce abrahám sun serř : del filz iacob sun eslít . Ps 104:7Il meésme li síre nóstre déu : en tute terre les iugeméž
de lui . Ps 104:8Remembrez fúdeñ en siécle de sun testamént : de la parole quil mandá en mil generaciúns . Ps 104:9Lé
quel il órdená á abrahám : é de sun seremént á isaác . Ps 104:10E establit icé á iacob en cumandemént : é f. 62v á israel
en testamént parmanáble . Ps 104:11Disañz . á téi dunnrái lá terre de chanáan : funél de la uóstre hereditéđ . Ps 104:12Cum
il estéient de petit númbre : é trespói li cultiuedúr de lí . Ps 104:13E trespasseréñt de gent en gént : é de régne á áltre
póple . Ps 104:14Né laissá húme núisir á éls : é častiá pur éls réis . Ps 104:15Né uóilez tuchér les miens críst : é es miens
prophètes ne uóilez malignér . Ps 104:16E apelá fáim súr terre : é tút le fermemént \de/ páin contriblá . Ps 104:17Enueiá
deuánt els húme : én serř uendúz est ioséph . Ps 104:18Humiliérent en lieñs les piéz de lui : fér trespassá laneme
de lui : Ps 104:19desque ueníst la parole de lui . Lé parlemént del segnúr enflammá lui : Ps 104:20enueia li réis é deslié
lui : li príñce des póples é laissá lui . Ps 104:21Establit lui segnúr de sa maisún : é príñce de tute la sús possessiún .
Ps 104:22Pur ce quil aprisist les príñces de lui sicume séi meésme : é les uiez de lui cuiñtise enseignást . Ps 104:23ENTRÁ
israel en egýpte : é iacob cultiueére fúdeñ en la terre de čám . Ps 104:24E aoíst sun póple formént : é fermá lui sur les
suens enemis . Ps 104:25Conuertí le cúer dicéls qued il haissent le póple dé lui : é tricherie feissent és seřs de lui .
Ps 104:26Enueiá moyšén sun serř : áaron le quel meésme il eslít . Ps 104:27Posád en els les paroles de ses signes : é des
mónstres en la térra de čám . Ps 104:28Enueiád tenébres é obscurá : é ne puruoča ses paroles . Ps 104:29Tresturná les
éwes délz en sañc : é ocíst les peissúns dicéls . Ps 104:30Forsmíst la terre délz ráines : es čambres des réis meésmes .
Ps 104:31Íl dist . é uínt músche : é wibéz en túz les fiñs délz . Ps 104:32Posád les plúuies délz gresille : fú ardánt en la terre
dels meésmes . Ps 104:33E ferít les uignes délz . é les lúr fiérs : e contriblá le fúst des fins délz . Ps 104:34Íl dist . é uínt
salteréle : é lúr feún . del quel nestéit númbre . Ps 104:35E maniád tút le féin en la terre délz : e maniád tut le frúit
en la terre dicéls . Ps 104:36E ferít tút premiér néd en la terre délz : les cumenceméž de tut le trauáil délz . Ps 104:37E
forsmená éls ot argént é ór : é nestéit es lignédes dels enférs . Ps 104:38Esledeča egýpte en lalér délz : kar encutád la
criéme dicéls . súr éls . Ps 104:39Espandiét núe él cóürement délz : é fú . quil lúisist á els par núit . Ps 104:40Requístrent .



é fait est á els en escandle . Ps 105:37E sacrifièrent lur filz . é lur filles as diables . Ps 105:38E expandièrent sanc nun nuisant : le sanc de lur filz é de lûr filles : les quéles il sacrifièrent as entailleures de chanaán . E maluède est · la terre en sañs : Ps 105:39 · é merguilléde est · és oüres dels : e çairent én fornicaciún en lûr truemenz . Ps 105:40E iriéz est f. 63v par fuirûr li sire en sún pöple : é abominá la süe heredité . Ps 105:41E liuía els es máins des génz : é segnorérent els chi haïrent els . Ps 105:42E trauaillèrent els li enemí dicéls : é humiliéd fürent suz les máins dels . Ps 105:43 · suuênt les deliüra . Ps 105:43 Il medésme acertes puruochérent lûi en lur cunséil : é humiliéd fürent en lur felunies . Ps 105:44E uit cum il estéient trauaillé : é oit loreisún dels . Ps 105:45E remembrére fûd de sun testament : é repenti séi sulunc la multitudíne de la sue misericörde . Ps 105:46E duná els en misericordes : en lesguardemént de tûz chi auéient pris els . Ps 105:47 · Sals fai nus sire li nòstre *deus* : é assemble nús des génz · Que nus regehissúms al tuén saínt núm : é gloriuúns en la tûe loenge . Ps 105:48 · Benedéiz li sire *deus* disrael de sécle é desque en sécle : é dirá tûit pöple séit fáit · séit fáit ·

f. 63v

R Ps 106:1EGEhisséiz á nòstre segnór kar il *est* · bóns : kár en sécle la misericörde de lûi . Ps 106:2Dient chi rachaté suñt de lui · les quels il raéinst de la máin del enemí : des cuntrédes assémbla els . Ps 106:3Des le náissement del soléil · é del dechedemént : daquilón é de la mér . Ps 106:4Foliérent en sultáineté en néient éwós lûi : la uéie de cité dabitacle ne truèrent . Ps 106:5E ameillañz é sézelánz : láneme dicéls en els medésme defíst . Ps 106:6E crièrent á nòstre segnór cum il estéient trauaillé : é de lur necessitéz deliüra els . Ps 106:7E demená els en dreite uéie : quil alássent en cité dabitaciún . Ps 106:8Regehissent á nòstre segnór les misericordes de lûi : é ses meruëilles as filz des húmes . Ps 106:9Kar il saziád áneme uáine : é aneme fameillüse saziád de bónes chóses . Ps 106:10Les sedañz en tenébres é en ombre de mórt : les liéz en mendiemént é fér . Ps 106:11Kar il puruochérent les parlemenz déu : é le conséil del altisme entariérent . Ps 106:12E humiliéz est · en trauaülz li cuérs déls : é enfermé sunt · e ne fûd chi auiást . Ps 106:13E crièrent á nòstre segnór cum il estéient trauaillé : é de lûr necessitéz deliüra els . Ps 106:14E formenád els de tenébres · é úmbre de mórt : é les liens déls derumpiét . Ps 106:15Regehissént ál segnór les misericordes de lûi : e les meruëilles de lûi · as filz des húmes . Ps 106:16Kar il contriblá les pórtés daráim : é les turuülz ferríns debrísá . Ps 106:17Reçut els de la uéie del iniquitéd déls : kar pur lur torcuneríes fürent humiliéd . Ps 106:18Túte uiánde abominád láneme dels : é aprismérent desque as pórtés de mórt . Ps 106:19E crièrent á nòstre segnór cum il estéient trauailé : é de lur necessitéz deliurá els . Ps 106:20 · Enueiád la süe parole é saná els : é deliüra els des lûr perdicúns . Ps 106:21Regehissent á nòstre segnór les misericordes de lûi : é les meruëilles de lûi · as filz des húmes . Ps 106:22E sacrifiant sacrifise de loenge : é annúncent les oüres de lûi en esiodement . Ps 106:23 · Qui descendent la mér én nes : faisánz oürement en mültes éwes . Ps 106:24 · Il medésme uírent les \oures/ del segnór : e les meruëilles de lûi en parfundedce . Ps 106:25 · DIST · é estút li espiríz de tempsted : é exalcé sunt li fluéz de lûi · f. 64r Ps 106:26Müntent desque as ciéls · é descendent desque as abýsmes : láneme dels en máls enfláistrisséit . Ps 106:27 · Turbé sunt · é moúd súnt sicume iüre : é túte la sapiénce déls deuórede est . Ps 106:28 · E crièrent á nòstre segnú cum il estéient tribulé : é de lur necessitéz forsmená els . Ps 106:29 · E establí la tempsted de lûi en lóre : é túrent li fluét de lûi · Ps 106:30 · E esledecérent purce quil se túrent : é demená els el pórt de la uoluté dels . Ps 106:31 · Regehissent á nòstre segnór les misericordes de lûi : e les meruëilles de lûi as filz des húmes . Ps 106:32 · E exálcen lûi en liglíse del pöple : é en la chaére des segnórs löent lûi · Ps 106:33 · Posad flúms en desért : e eisseménz déwes en séid . Ps 106:34 · Terre fruitifíable ení salsúgene : de la malíce des habitánz en lí · Ps 106:35 · Posád le desért es estáns déwes : é la terre sánz éwe en eisseménz déwes · Ps 106:36 · E aloád ilüec les fameillañz : é establirent cité dabitaciún · Ps 106:37 · E semérent les çamps · é plantérent uignes : é firent fruit de natiuté · Ps 106:38 · E beneisquid els · é multiplié sunt · fortmént : é les iumenz dels namenuisád · Ps 106:39 · E poi fáit sunt · é trauaillé sunt · de la tribulaciún de máls é de dolúr · Ps 106:40 · Expandúe est · tençun sur les prínces : é foliér fist els en desuëiement é néient en uéie · Ps 106:41 · E auiad lé póüre de suffraíte : é posá sicume oéilles les maignédes · Ps 106:42 · Verrúnt li dreiturer é esledecerúnt : é túte felunie estuperá sa búche · Ps 106:43 · Lí quels sauánz é garderá icéz chóses : é entendrá les misericordes del segnór ·

f. 64r

A Ps 107:2 prestéz est · li miens cuérs *deus* aprestéz vest -/ li miens cuérs : ié canterái · é esiorraí en la méie glórie · Ps 107:3 · Esdréce téi saltiér é *hárpé* : ié mesdreceirá pár matin · Ps 107:4 · Já regehirái á téi en póples sire : é canterái a téi es génz · Ps 107:5 · Kar gránde sur les ciéls la tûe misericorde : é desque ás nûes la tûe ueritéd · Ps 107:6 · Séies exalcé sur les ciéls *deus* : é sur túte térre la tûe glórie · Ps 107:7 · que séient deliüre li tûen améd · Salf me fai par lá tûe déstre é exói méi : Ps 107:8 · *deus* parlá en sun saínt · Ié mesledeceirá é departirá sícimam : é la ualée des tabernacles mesurerái · Ps 107:9 · Miens est · galáád · é miens est · manassés : é effraím receuemént de mun chieff · Iúda li miens réis · Ps 107:10 · moáb caldère de la meie esperáncé · Ení iduméa estendrái le mien çalcement : á méi li étráncé amí sunt fáit · Ps 107:11 · Lí quels demerrá méi en cité d guarníde : li quels demerrá méi desque en iduméa ? Ps 107:12 · Dum né tu *deus* chi debutás nus ? é nen eistrás *deus* es nóz uertúz · Ps 107:13 · Dúme á nús aiúde de tribulaciún : kar uáine est · salud dúme · Ps 107:14 · Ení déu ferúms uertúd : é il medésme á néient demerrá les nóz enemís ·

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é uínt quáille : é de pain dél ciél saülad els . Ps 104:41Derumpiét la piérré é curúrent les éwes : alérent en sechéce les flúms · Ps 104:42Kár remembrére fûd de la süe saínte parole : quil óut á abrahám sun enfánt · Ps 104:43E forsmená sun pöple en esledecemént : é ses eslíz en ledéce · Ps 104:44E duná á els les cuntrédes des génz : e les trauaülz des póples pursístrent · Ps 104:45 · Pur cé quil guárdent les iustifíeméz de lûi : é la léi de lûi requérgent ·

R Ps 105:1EGEhisséiz á nòstre segnór kar il *est* · bóns : kar en siécle la misericörde de lûi . Ps 105:2Li quels parlerá les spoánces del segnór : oídes ferád tútes les loénges de lûi ? Ps 105:3 · Beneuré chi guárdent iugemént : é fünt iustise en tût téns · Ps 105:4 · Remembre de nus sire el bon plaisir · f. 63r del tuén pöple : uisíte nus el tuén saluedúr · Ps 105:5 · A uedéir én la bunted de tes eslíz : á esledecér en la ledéce de la tûe génz : que tu séies loéd ót la tûe heredité · Ps 105:6 · Nus peccámes ot nòz péres : torcenúsement fesimes · felunie fesimes · Ps 105:7 · Li nòstre pére en egypte ne pentiérent les túes meruëilles : ne fürent remembreúr de la multitudíne de la tûe misericörde · E entariérent les muntánz en la mér · la mér rúge : Ps 105:8 · é saluá els pur le sűen núm : pur ce quil cónéude fesíst la süe poténce · Ps 105:9 · E encrepá la mér rúge é assechéde est : é demená els en abýsmes sicume en desért · Ps 105:10 · E saluád els de la máin des haanz : é raçatá els de la máin del enemí · Ps 105:11 · E çoúrit éwe les trauaillánz els : uñs dicels ne remíst · Ps 105:12 · E creírent es paroles de lûi : é loérent la loenge de lûi · Ps 105:13 · Ignelment firent · obliérent les oüres de lûi : ne sustíndrent le conséil de lûi · Ps 105:14 · E coueitérent cúueitise él desért : é temptérent déu en néient éwós lûi · Ps 105:15 · E dunád á els la peticiún dels meésmes : é enueiá sazietéd es anemes déls · Ps 105:16 · E entariérent moýsén es herbérges : ááron le saínt nòstre segnór · Ps 105:17 · Aouérte est · la terre · é deglutí dathán : é çoúrit sur la congregaciún abirón · Ps 105:18 · arst fús en la sýnagoga dels : flámmé brullá peccheurs · Ps 105:19 · E firent ueél én oréb : é aorérent entailleüre · Ps 105:20 · E muérent lûr glórie : en sembláncé de uedél maniánt féin · Ps 105:21 · Obliérent déu chi saluád els : chi fist grañz chóses en egypte : Ps 105:22 · meruëilles en la terre çám · espowentábles chóses en la rúge mér · Ps 105:23 · E dist · quil deperdréit els : si moýsés lí suéns eslíz nestouíst en fragnemént en lesguardemént de lûi · Qued il desturnást líre de lûi quil ne deperdiést els : Ps 105:24 · é pur néient órent terre desiráble · Né creírent á la parole de lûi : Ps 105:25 · é murmurérent en lûr tabernacles : néient exoírent la uoíz del segnúr · Ps 105:26 · E esleuá sa máin súr els : quil acrauentást els el desért · Ps 105:27 · E qued il degetást la seménce déls es génz : é deperdiést els es cuntrédes · Ps 105:28 · E sacrifièrent á beelfegór : é mangiérent les sacrificés des mórz · Ps 105:29 · E entariérent lûi en lûr truemenz : é multipliéde est · en els tribúc · Ps 105:30 · E estút finéés · é apaiá : é cessá le crollemént · Ps 105:31 · E recunté est · á lûi en iustise : en generaciún é generaciún desque en parmanableté · Ps 105:32 · E entariérent lûi as éwes de contradictiún : e trauailliez fûd moýsés pur els : Ps 105:33 · kar il puruochérent lespirít de lûi · E desseüra en ses leüres · Ps 105:34 · ne deperdiérent les genz les quéles dist li sire á els · Ps 105:35 · E melle sunt étre les genz · é aprístrent les oüres dels : Ps 105:36 · é seruírent as entailleures déls :

D^{Ps 108:2}*euS* la méie loéngne ne tasirás : kar búche de peccheúr · é búche de boisús sur méi aouérte est · ^{Ps 108:3}Parlèrent encúntre méi par tricherrésse lánque : é par paróles de haïne auirunèrent méi é escumbatírent méi en pardúns · ^{Ps 108:4}Pur icé quil méi amásent detraéient á méi : ié acértes órówe · ^{Ps 108:5}E posérent enuérns méi **f. 64v** meés chéses pur bónes : é haïne pur la méie dilectiún · ^{Ps 108:6}Establís sur lúi peccheúr : é li diábles **f. 64v** estóist deuérns les déstres de lúi · ^{Ps 108:7}Cum il *est* · iugiéz eísse condennéz : é loréisun de lúi séit faite en pecchéd · ^{Ps 108:8}Séient fait li iúr de lúi pói : é leuesqué de lúi recéiue áltre · ^{Ps 108:9}Séient fait li fil de lúi orfenín : é la fême de lúi uédue · ^{Ps 108:10}Crollánt séient trespporté li fil de lúi é mendíent : séient forseté de lur habitaciúns · ^{Ps 108:11}Escérst li gablére túte la substáncie de lúi : é départent li estráncie les labórs de lúi · ^{Ps 108:12}Né séit á lúi aiuére : ne ne séit chi merci áit des orfeníns de lúi · ^{Ps 108:13}Séient fait li fil de lúi en peril : en úne generaciún séit esfacéd **■** li núms de lúi · ^{Ps 108:14}En mémorie repáirt la felunie des péres de lúi · en lesguardement del segnór : é le pecchéd de sa mère ne séit esfacé · ^{Ps 108:15}Séient fait encuntre nóstre segnór tútes óres : é deperísse de tэрre la mémorie déls : ^{Ps 108:16}pur icé que ne recordá faire misericórde · ^{Ps 108:17}E parsúit húme suffraitús · é mendí : é le compúnt de cúer amortifiér · ^{Ps 108:18}E amá malečun é uendřa á lui : é ne uolt beneičun é será eslugnéde de lúi · E uestí maleičun sicume uestimént : é entrá sicume éve es dedezeinetéz de lúi : é sicume ólie es ós de lúi · ^{Ps 108:19}Séit fait á lúi sicume uestemént del quel il *est* · coúert : é sicume ceingtúre de lá quéle tútes óres il *est* · purcéint · ^{Ps 108:20}Icésste oüre **■**dicels chi detraíent méi enuérns nóstre segnór : é chi parólent máls encúntre la méie áneme · ^{Ps 108:21}E tu síre síre fai ot méi pur le tuen num : kar suéue *est* · la tée misericórde · ^{Ps 108:22}Delíure méi kar busugnús é póure ié súi : é li miens cuérns conturbéz *est* · dedézn méi · ^{Ps 108:23}Sicume úmbre cum éle declíne toléiz súi : é escús súi sicume locúste · ^{Ps 108:24}Les miens genúilz enfermé *sunt* · de ieúnie : é la méie čarn muéde est pur ólie · ^{Ps 108:25}E ié súi fáiz repřoce á els : úirent méi é móurent lur chiés · ^{Ps 108:26}Aiúde méi síre li miens *deus* : salř me fai sulunc la tée misericórde · ^{Ps 108:27}E saurúnt · que la tée máin icésste : é tu síre fesís li · ^{Ps 108:28}Maldirúnt il é tu beneistrás : chi sesdřecent en méi séient confondu : máis li tuens seřs sesledecerá · ^{Ps 108:29}Séient uestú chi detraíent méi de húnte : é séient couért sicume de dúble uesteúre de lur confusiún · ^{Ps 108:30}Ié regehirái á nostre segnór mult en mun cúer : é el millíu de mulz loerái lúi · ^{Ps 108:31}Chi estút deuérns les déstres del póure : qued il sálue fesíst des parsuánz la meie áneme ·

D^{Ps 109:1}IST li síre al mien segnór : sié deuérns les méies déstres · Désque ié póse les tuens enemís : esčamel de tes piéz · ^{Ps 109:2}Lá uérge de la tée uertú forsmetrá li síre de syón : segnore el millíu de tes enemís · ^{Ps 109:3}Ensemblotéi cúmencement el iúr de la tée uertú : es resplendórs des saínz : de uentre deuant lucíferum engendrái téi · ^{Ps 109:4}Iurá li síre é ne se repentirá : tu ies préstre en parmanableté · sulunc lórdre de melchisedech · ^{Ps 109:5}Li síre deuérns les túes déstres : **debrisá** el iur de la sée ire les réis · ^{Ps 109:6}Iugerá es naciúns aemplirá tribucheménz : dequasserá les chiés en tэрre de mülz · ^{Ps 109:7}Déwe en uéie **f. 65r** bút : empuricé exalčad sun chiéf ·

I^{Ps 110:1}É regehirái á téi síre en tút mún cúer : el concilie des dreiturérs é en la congregaciún · ^{Ps 110:2}Gránz les oúres nóstre segnór : esquises en tútes les uoluntéz de lúi · ^{Ps 110:3}Confessiún é grandéce loúre de lúi : é la iustise de lúi máint en sécle de siécle · ^{Ps 110:4}Mémorie fist de ses meruélles : merciábles é merciére li síre : ^{Ps 110:5}suiánde duná as cremánz séi · Remembrére serád en siécle de sun testamént : ^{Ps 110:6}la uertú de ses oúres annuncerád á sun pópale · ^{Ps 110:7}Pur cé que il dúinst á els leredité de génz : les oúres des máins de lúi uerité é iugement · ^{Ps 110:8}Fedéilz túz les mandemenz de lúi conferméz en siécle de siecle : fáiz en uerité é en oeltéd · ^{Ps 110:9}Raenčun enueiád á sun pópale : mandá en parmanableté sun testament · Sáint é espowentáble le num de lúi : ^{Ps 110:10}cúmencement de sapiéncie la criéme de nóstre segnór · Entendemént bóns á tuz fáisanz lúi : la loéngne de lúi máint en sécle de siécle ·

B^{Ps 111:1}ENEVRÉZ li huem chi crient nóstre segnor : es mandeménz de lúi uoldřa mülť · ^{Ps 111:2}Poánz en tэрre será la seméncie de lúi : la generáciún des dreiturérs será benedéite · ^{Ps 111:3}Glórie é richéises en la maisún de lúi : é la iustise de lúi máint en sécle de siécle · ^{Ps 111:4}Néde est en tenébrés lumière as dreitureřs : li merciábles · é li merciére · é li iúste · ^{Ps 111:5}Delitábles huem chi ad merci é acréit : ordénéd **■**sés paróles en iugement : ^{Ps 111:6}kar en parmanableté ne será *commouđ* · ^{Ps 111:7}En mémorie parmanáble será li iúste : de oáncie mále ne créndřa · Aprestéz *est* li cuers de lúi a esperé el segnór : ^{Ps 111:8}conferméz *est* · li cuers de lúi ne sera *commouđ* : *desque* il despísed ses enemís · ^{Ps 111:9}Departíd duná á poúres : la iustise de lúi máint en sécle de sécle : la corne de lúi será exalčé en glórie · ^{Ps 111:10}Pecchérre uerrá é iraistrá : ót ses denz fremirá é defirá : le desidérie des peccheúrs perirád ·

L^{Ps 112:1}oéz enfánt nóstre segnór : loéz le num del segnór · ^{Ps 112:2}Séit le num nóstre segnor benedéit : des óre é *desque* en siécle · ^{Ps 112:3}Des le naissement del soléil *desque* al dechedement : loáble le num del segnór · ^{Ps 112:4}Altísme sur tútes genz li síre : e sur les ciels la glórie de lúi · ^{Ps 112:5}Lí quels sicume li síre nóstre déu chi es haltéces habíte : ^{Ps 112:6}é les húmeles chéses resguárde el ciel e en terre · ^{Ps 112:7}Drečanz de tэрre le suffraitús : é de fiens esleuánz le póure · ^{Ps 112:8}Que il aliút lúi ot príncés : ot les príncés de sun pópale · ^{Ps 112:9}Chi habitér fait barháine en máisun : la mère des filz esledécante ·



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E^{Ps 113:1}N leissement **■**israél degýpte : de la maisún de iacób del pópale estráncie · ^{Ps 113:2}Fáite est iudéa le saintefiement de lúi : israel la poestéd de lúi · ^{Ps 113:3}Lá mér uít · é fúit : iordáin conuertí fúd ariere · ^{Ps 113:4}Lí mont sesledecerent sicume multún : e li tэрre **f. 65v** sicume li aignél des oéilles · ^{Ps 113:5}Que *est* · á téi mér · que tu tenfuis : é tu iordáin que tu ies conuertíz ariere · ^{Ps 113:6}Mónz uos esledéčastes sicume multún : é tэрre sicume li aignél des oéilles · ^{Ps 113:7}Dé la face nóstre segnór moude *est* · la tэрre : de la face del déu iacób · ^{Ps 113:8}Chi tresturnád la piérre en estángs déwes : é la róche en fontáines déwes · ^{Ps 113:9}Néient á nus síre neient á nus : máis al tuen num dúne glórie · ^{Ps 113:10}Sur la tée misericórde é la tée uerité : que alquúne fiede ne díent les genz · ú est li *deus* dicels · ^{Ps 113:11}Lí nóstre *deus* acértes el ciél : trestútes les chéses que il únques uolt fist · ^{Ps 113:12}Lés estatúes des genz argent é ór : oúres de máins de húmes · ^{Ps 113:13}Búche uít é ne parlerúnt : oílz uít é ne uerrúnt · ^{Ps 113:14}Oréilles uít é ne orrúnt : narilles uít é ne odererúnt · ^{Ps 113:15}Máins uít é ne tasterúnt : piéz uít é ne iruít : ne crierúnt en lur gúitrun · ^{Ps 113:16}Semblánt á els séient fait chi fúnt icéls : é túit chi séi fident en els · ^{Ps 113:17}Lá maisún israel esperá en nóstre segnór : aiuére déls · é defendérre dels *est* · ^{Ps 113:18}Lá maisún aaron esperá el segnór : aiuére déls · é defendérre dels *est* · ^{Ps 113:19}Chi criement le segnór esperérent el segnór : aiuére déls é defendérre dels *est* · ^{Ps 113:20}Lí síre remembrére fud de nus : é beneisquíd á nus · Beneisquíd á la maisún israel : beneisquíd á la maisún aaron · ^{Ps 113:21}Beneisquíd á túz chi criément le segnór : as petíz ót les graingnúrs · ^{Ps 113:22}Aiúst li síre sur uús : sur uús e sur les uóz filz · ^{Ps 113:23}Beneíit \séiz/ uús del segnor : chi fist ciél é tэрre · ^{Ps 113:24}Lé ciél al segnór del ciel : la tэрre acértes duná as filz des húmes · ^{Ps 113:25}Néient li mórt loerúnt téi síre : ne trestúit icil chi descéndent en enfern · ^{Ps 113:26}Máis nus chi uiuúms benediúms á nóstre segnór : dés óre é *desque* en siécle ·

I^{Ps 114:1}é amái · kar exorrá li síre : la uóiz de la meie oréisún · ^{Ps 114:2}Kar il enclíná la sée oreille á méi : é es miéns liúrz lapelerái · ^{Ps 114:3}Auirunèrent méi les dolórs de mórt : **■**perilz de enfern truuérent méi · ^{Ps 114:4}Tribulaciún é dolúr truuái : é le num del segnór apelái · ^{Ps 114:5}O síre delíure la méie áneme merciáble síre é dreiturérs : é li nóstre *deus* ad merci · ^{Ps 114:6}Guardanz les petíz li síre : humiliéz súi é deliúrad méi · ^{Ps 114:7}Séies conuertíde la méie áneme el tuen repós : kar nóstre síre bienfíst á téi · ^{Ps 114:8}Kár il deliúra la méie áneme de mórt : les miens oílz de lérmes : les miens piéz de esculurgement · ^{Ps 114:9}Ié plaisirái á nostre segnór : en la cuntréde des uifs ·

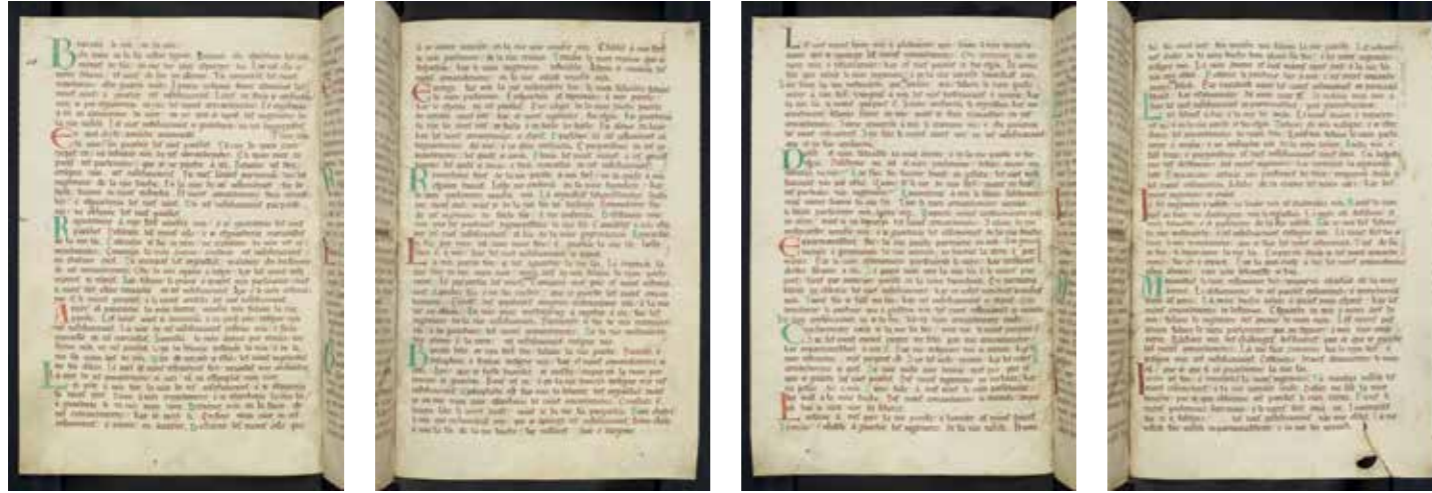
I^{Ps 115:1}é crei · pur la quel chése ie parlái : ie acértes humiliéz súi mult · ^{Ps 115:2}Ié díis el mién trespasement : Ichesquúns húem \est / menčungiers · ^{Ps 115:3}Quél chése regueredurrái ie á nóstre segnór : pur tútes les chéses que il reduná á méi ? ^{Ps 115:4}Lé caliz del saluedúr receuerái : é le num de nóstre segnór apelerái · ^{Ps 115:5}Les miens uóz al segnór rendrái deuant **f. 66r** tút le pópale de lúi : ^{Ps 115:6}precióse en lesguardement del segnór la mort des saínz de lúi · ^{Ps 115:7}O síre kar ié li tuens seřs · ie li tuens seřs : é li filz de lá tée ancéle · Derumpiés mes liens · ^{Ps 115:8}á téi sacrifierái sacrifise de loéngne : é le num del segnór apelerái · ^{Ps 115:9}Lés miens uóz rendrái al segnór en lesguardement de tut le pópale de lúi · ^{Ps 115:10}es áitres de la maisún del segnór el millíu de téi ierusalem ·

L^{Ps 116:1}OÉZ nóstre segnor tútes génz : loéz lúi túit pópale · ^{Ps 116:2}Kar conferméde est sur nus la misericórde de lúi : Le la uerité del segnór máint en parmanableté ·

R^{Ps 117:1}EGEHisséiz á nostre segnor kar il *est* · bons : kar en sécle la misericórde de lúi · ^{Ps 117:2}Díe óre israel que il est bóns : kar en siécle la misericórde de lúi · ^{Ps 117:3}Díe óre la maisún áaron : kar en siécle la misericórde

f. 65v

f. 66r



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de lúi · Ps 117:4 Dient ore chi crément nòstre segnor : qué en siécle la misericórde de lúi · Ps 117:5 De tribulaciún apelái le segnor : é exoít méi en laúr li síre · Ps 117:6 Lí síre a méi aiúere : né crendrái quel chose fáce á méi huem · Ps 117:7 Lí síre á méi aiúere : é ie despirái les miens enemís · Ps 117:8 Bóne chose est · a fiér el segnor : que fiér en húme · Ps 117:9 Bóne chose est · esperér el segnor : que esperér en prínces · Ps 117:10 Tútes genz airunérent méi : é el num del segnor kar ié me ueniái en els · Ps 117:11 Airunánz airunérent méi : é el num del segnor kar uengé súi en els · Ps 117:12 Airunérent méi sicume és · é exástrent sicume fús en espínes : é el num del segnor kar uengé súi en éls · Ps 117:13 Debutéz désturné súi que ié caisse : é li síre reçut méi · Ps 117:14 Lá méie fortéce é la méie loenge li síre : é fáiz est á méi en salú · Ps 117:15 Vóiz desledecement é de salú : es tabernacles des dreiturérs · Ps 117:16 Lá dèstre de nòstre segnor fist uertú : la \dèstre/ del segnor exalcád méi : la dèstre de nòstre segnor fist uertú · Ps 117:17 Né morrai máis uiürai é recunterái les oüres del segnor · Ps 117:18 Castiánz castiád méi li síre : é á mórt ne liüra méi · Ps 117:19 Aoürez á méi les pórtés de iustise · é ie entréz en éles regehirái á nòstre segnor · Ps 117:20 Icèste la pórté del segnor · li dreiturér enterrúnt en lí · Ps 117:21 Té regehirái á téi · kar tu exoís méi : é fáiz ies a méi en salú · Ps 117:22 Lá piérre la quéle repropérent li edifiánt : icèste fáite est · el chiéf del angle · Ps 117:23 Del segnor est fáite icèste chose : é est merueilluse chose es noz oilz · Ps 117:24 Icíst est li iürz le quel fist nòstre síre : esiodúms é esleécums en lúi · Ps 117:25 O síre sálf me fái · ó síre bién fái pòspre les chóses : / Ps 117:26 benééiz chi uiént el num del segnor · Ps 117:27 Nús beneisquimes á uós de la maisún del segnor : Ps 117:27 deus li síre é resplendiéd á nús · Establisséiz iür festiuél es espeisséces : desque á la corne del altél · Ps 117:28 Lí miens deus ies tu é regehirái á téi : li miens deus ies tú é exalcerái téi · Ié regehirái á téi kar tu exoís méi : é fáiz ies á méi en salú · Ps 117:29 Regehisséiz á nòstre segnor kar il est bons : kar en siécle la misericórde de lúi ·

f. 66v

B f. 66v Ps 118:1 ENEVRÉ li nét en la uéie : chi uúnt en la léi nòstre segnor · Ps 118:2 Beneuré chi escérchent les testimónies de lúi : en tút lur cüer esqüerent lúi · Ps 118:3 Kár icil chi oürent felunie : es uéies de lúi ne alérent · Ps 118:4 Tú cómandás · les túens mandeméz éstre guardé múlt · Ps 118:5 La méie uolunté séient adrecédes les méies uéies : á guardér tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:6 Lóres ne serái ié confundú : cum ie par esguarderái en túz les túens comandeméz · Ps 118:7 Té regehirái a téi en adreceméz de cüer : en icé que ié aprís les iugeméz de la tée iustise · Ps 118:8 Les túes iustificaciúns ie garderái : ne me deguerpisses tée uéie ·

E Ps 118:9 n quel chose aménde iuencéals sa uéie ? en guardér les túes paróles · Ps 118:10 En tút le mién cuér exquís téi : ne debutér méi de tes comandeméz · Ps 118:11 En mún cuér repuús tes parleméz : que ié ne pécche á téi · Ps 118:12 Beneéiz ies síre : enséigne méi tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:13 En mes léüres purnunçai : tuz les iugeméz de la tée büche · Ps 118:14 En la uéie de tes testimónies súi delitéd : sicume en tútes richéises · Ps 118:15 És túens comandeméz serái trauailliez : e esguarderái les túes uéies · Ps 118:16 En tes iustificaciúns purpenserái : ne oblierái les túes paróles ·

R Ps 118:17 egueredúne á tun serf uiuifíe méi : é ie garderái les túes paróles · Ps 118:18 Descóüre les · miens oilz : é ie esguarderái meruélles de la tée léi · Ps 118:19 Cultiuére ié súi en tée : ne repúndre de méi tes comandeméz · Ps 118:20 Coueitád la méie áneme : a desirér tes iustificaciúns en chescún téns · Ps 118:21 Tú encrepás les orguillús : maledéit chi declinent de tes comandeméz · Ps 118:22 Óste de méi repróce é despít : kar les tuens testimónies ié esquis · Ps 118:23 Kar sístrent li prínce é enüers méi parlowent : máis li túens serfs estéit trauaillé en tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:24 Kar é li túen testimónie est · li miens purpéns : é li miens conséilz · les túes iustificaciúns ·

A Ps 118:25 ÉRST al pauement la meie áneme : uiuifíe méi sulúnc la tée paróle · Ps 118:26 Les méies uéies ié annunçai é tu exoís méi : enséigne méi tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:27 La uéie de tes iustificaciúns enstrúí méi : é serái trauaillé en tes meruélles · Ps 118:28 Sumeillá la méie áneme pur ennúi : conférme méi en tes paróles · Ps 118:29 Véie de felunie desséüere de méi : é de la tée léi merci áies de méi · Ps 118:30 Uéie de ueritéd ié eslis : les túens iugeméz ne súi obliéz · Ps 118:31 Ié aers as túens testimónies síre : ne uóilles méi confúndre · Ps 118:32 Lá uéie de tes comandeméz ié curí : cum tú essamplás mún cüer ·

L Ps 118:33 éi póse á méi síre la uéie de tes iustificaciúns : é ie esquerrái lí tútes óres · Ps 118:34 Dúne á méi entendement é ie escercherái la tée léi : é garderái lí en tút mún cüer · Ps 118:35 Deméine méi en la sente de tes comandeméz : kar ié uóil lí · Ps 118:36 Encline mun cüer en tes testimónies : é néient en auaríce · Ps 118:37 Destúrne les miens óilz que il ne uéient uanitéd : en la tée uéie uiuifíe méi · Ps 118:38 Establís á tun serf le túen parlement : en la tée crième · Ps 118:39 Trenche le mien repróce que ié suspecháí : kar li túen iugement delitable · Ps 118:40 Asetéi ié coueitái les túens comandeméz : en la tée oeltéd uiuifíe méi ·

f. 67r

E Ps 118:41 uiéngé sur méi la tée misericórde síre : li tuen saluáble sulúnc le túen parleméz · Ps 118:42 E responderái as reprouánz á méi paróle : kar ié esperái en tes paróles · Ps 118:43 E ne tólges de la méie büche paróle de ueritéd tútes óres : kar es túens iugeméz suesperái · Ps 118:44 E ié garderái la tée léi tútes óres : en siécle é en siécle de siécle · Ps 118:45 E ié alówe en laúr : kar les túens comandeméz ié esquis · Ps 118:46 E parlówe dé tes testimónies én lesguardeméz des réis : é ne estéie confundú · Ps 118:47 E purpensówe en tes comandeméz : les quels ié amái · Ps 118:48 E leuái les méies máins á tes comandeméz : les quels ié amái : é serái trauaillé en tes iustificaciúns ·

R Ps 118:49 Emembrére séies de la tée paróle á tun serf : en la quéle á méi esperánce dunás · Ps 118:50 Icèste me confortá en la méie humilité : kar le túen parlement uiuifíá méi · Ps 118:51 Lí orguillús felunésseméz faiséient tútes óres : máis ié de la tée léi ne declinái · Ps 118:52 Remembrére fúi de tes iugeméz de siécle síre : é me confortái · Ps 118:53 Defisement tint méi : pur les peccheúrs deguerpissánz la tée léi · Ps 118:54 Cantábles á méi estéient les túes iustificaciúns : el líu de la méie peregrinaciún · Ps 118:55 Remembrére fúi par nùit del tuen num síre : é guardái la tée léi · Ps 118:56 Icèste fáite est · á méi : kar les tues iustificaciúns ié esquis ·

L Ps 118:57 á méi partíe síre : ié dis aguardér la tée léi · Ps 118:58 Ié depréi_ái la tée fáce en tút mun cuér : merci áies de méi sulúnc le túen parlement · Ps 118:59 Ié purpensái les méies ueies : / é conuertí mes piéz es túens testimónies · Ps 118:60 Aprestéz súi é ne súi turbéz : que ié guárde les túens comandeméz · Ps 118:61 Funéls des peccheúrs enuirún embraciérent méi : é lá tée léi ne obliái · Ps 118:62 En mie nùit mesdreçowe á regehir á téi : sur les iugeméz de la tée iustificaciún · Ps 118:63 Parçunier ie súi de tuz criemánz téi : e de guardánz les tuens comandeméz · Ps 118:64 Dé la tée misericórde síre pléine est · la tée : tes iustificaciúns enséigne méi ·

B Ps 118:65 untéd fesís ot tun serf síre : suluñc la tée paróle · Ps 118:66 Buntéd · é disciplíne · é sciéce enséigne méi : kar es túens comandeméz ié creí · Ps 118:67 Ainz que ié fússe humilié ié mesfis : empur icé le tuen parlement ié guardái · Ps 118:68 Boñs ies tú : é en la tée buntéd enséigne méi tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:69 Multipléde est sur méi la felunie des orguillús : máis ie en tut mun cüer escercherái les túens comandeméz · Ps 118:70 Coalliéz est · sicume láit li cuers dicéls : máis ie la tée léi purpensái · Ps 118:71 Bóne chose est · á méi que tu humiliás méi : que ie apréngé tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:72 Bóne chose á méi la léi de la tée büche : sur milliérs dór é dargént ·

f. 67v

L f. 67v Ps 118:73 és túes máins firent méi é plasmérent méi : dúne á méi entendement que ie apréngé les tuens comandeméz · Ps 118:74 Chi criément téi uerrunt méi é sesledecerúnt : kar es túes paróles ié suesperái · Ps 118:75 Ié conuí síre que oeltéd li túen iugement : é en la tée ueritéd humiliás méi · Ps 118:76 Séit fáite la tée misericórde que \éle/ confort méi : sulúnc le túen parlement á tun serf · Ps 118:77 Viéngent á méi les túes miseraciúns é uiürai : kar la tée léi · li miens purpéns est · Ps 118:78 Séient confundú li orguillús · kar torcenúsement felunie firent en méi : máis ié serái trauailliez en tes comandeméz · Ps 118:79 Séient conuertíd á méi li criémant téi : é chi conurent les túens testimónies · Ps 118:80 Séit fáiz li miens cuers néz en tes iustificaciúns : que ié ne séie confundú ·

D Ps 118:81 eüst el túen saluáble la méie áneme : é en la tée paróle ié suesperái · Ps 118:82 Defístrent mí oil el túen parleméz : disánt · quant conforterás tu méi ? Ps 118:83 Kar fáiz súi sicume bucél en geléda : les túes iustificaciúns náí pás oblié · Ps 118:84 Quánz · sunt li iür de tun serf : quant tu ferás des parsuánz méi iugement ? Ps 118:85 Recuntérent á méi li felún fablieméz : máis néient sicume la tée léi · Ps 118:86 Túit li tuen comandeméz ueritéd : li felún parsuárent méi · aiúde méi · Ps 118:87 Un petit méins consummérent méi en tée : máis ié ne deguerpí les túens comandeméz · Ps 118:88 Sulúnc la tée misericórde uiuifíe méi : e ie garderái les testimónies de la tée büche ·

E^{Ps 118:89}N parmanableté sire : la tûe parole parmaïnt en ciél · ^{Ps 118:90}En generaciún é generaciún la tûe ueritéd : tu fundás la térre · é parmaïnt · ^{Ps 118:91}Par le tûen ordenement parseuéred li iúrz : kar trestútes chósés séruent a téi · ^{Ps 118:92}Si purce nún que la tûe léi · est · li miéns purpens : lóres par auentúre perísse en la méie humilitéé · ^{Ps 118:93}En parmanableté ne oblierái les tûes iustificaciúns : kar en icéles medésmes uiuifiás méi · ^{Ps 118:94}Túens súi ié salf me fái : kar tes iustificaciúns ié esquis · ^{Ps 118:95}Méi atendírent li peccheúr que il perdíssent méi : les tûens testimónies ié entendí · ^{Ps 118:96}Dé tûte consummaciún ui ié la fin : léd est le tûen comandement múlt ·

C^{Ps 118:97}UM faitement amái ié la tûe léi sire : tûte iúr li miéns purpéns est · ^{Ps 118:98}Sur les miéns enemís cúinte me fesís par tun comandement : kar en parmanableté á méi est · ^{Ps 118:99}Sur tûz enseignanz méi ie entendí : kar lí tûen testimónie méis purpéns est · ^{Ps 118:100}Sur les uiélz entendí : kar les tûens comandeméz ié quis · ^{Ps 118:101}Dé tûte mále uéie deueáí mes piéz : pur cé que ié guárde les tûes paroles · ^{Ps 118:102}Des tûens iugeméz ne declináí : kar tu posas **l**éi a méi · ^{Ps 118:103}Cúme dúlz á mes iódes li tûen parlemént : sur miél á la méie búche · ^{Ps 118:104}Des tûens comandeméz ié entendí : empuricé háí ie tûte uéie de felunie ·

f. 68r **L**^{Ps 118:105}uisérne á més piéz la tûe parole : é lumière as méies séntes · ^{Ps 118:106}Ié iuráí : é estáblí á guardér les iugeméz de la tûe iustise · ^{Ps 118:107}Humí^{f. 68r}lié súi tûtes óres : sire uiuifie méi sulúnc la tûe parole · ^{Ps 118:108}Lés uoluntriúes chósés de la méie búche · bien plóud fáí sire : é les tuéns iugeméz enségne méi · ^{Ps 118:109}Lá méie ánome es tûes máins tûtes óres : é la tûe léi náí mie oblié · ^{Ps 118:110}Posérent li peccheúr láz á méi : é des tûens comandeméz \ne/ foliáí · ^{Ps 118:111}Par heredité aquis les tûens testimónies en parmanableté : kar esledecemént de mún cuer *sunt* · ^{Ps 118:112}Ié enclináí mun cuer á fáire les tûes iustificaciúns en parmanableté : pur guerredunánc ·

L^{Ps 118:113}ÉS felúns ié háí : é la tûe léi amái · ^{Ps 118:114}Lí miéns aiuére é receuérre iés tú : é en la tûe parole ié sur esperáí · ^{Ps 118:115}Declinéz de méi maligne : é ie escercheráí les comandeméz de mún déu · ^{Ps 118:116}Recéif méi sulúnc le tûen parlemént é uiúrai : é ne confúndre méi de la méie aténte · ^{Ps 118:117}Aiuéde méi é sálf seráí : e purpenseráí es tûes iustificaciúns tûtes óres · ^{Ps 118:118}Tú despisís tûz les desseüranz des tuéns iugeméz : kar torcenúse la cogitiaciún déls · ^{Ps 118:119}Preuariánz aasmái tûz peccheúrs de térre : empuricé amái ié les tuéns testimónies · ^{Ps 118:120}Afiche de ta criéme les méies cárz : kar des tûens iugeméz ié criéns ·

I^{Ps 118:121}é fis iugemént é iustise : ne liúrer méi as chaleníanz méi · ^{Ps 118:122}Recéif le tûen seíf en bién : ne chaléngent méi lí orguillús · ^{Ps 118:123}Lí mien oíl defistrent el tûen saluáble : é el parlemént de la tûe iustise · ^{Ps 118:124}Fai ot tun seíf sulúnc la tûe misericórde : é tés iustificaciúns enséigne méi · ^{Ps 118:125}Lí tuéns seís súi ié dúne á méi entendemént : que ie sáce les tûens testimónies · ^{Ps 118:126}Téns de fáire sire : il departírent la tûe léi · ^{Ps 118:127}Empur icé amái ie les tuéns comandeméz : sur ór é topáze · ^{Ps 118:128}Pur laquel chósé á tuz les tûens comandeméz estéie adreziéz : tûte uéie felunése ié háí ·

M^{Ps 118:129}ERueillús li tûen testimónie sire : empuricé escerchad els la méie ánome · ^{Ps 118:130}Lí escláireméz de tes paroles enlumined : é entendemént dúne as petíz · ^{Ps 118:131}Lá méie búche aóuri é atráís mún esprit : kar les tûens comandeméz ie desirówe · ^{Ps 118:132}Esguárde en méi é merci áies de méi : sulunc le iugement des amanz le tûen núm · ^{Ps 118:133}Les miéns pás adrece sulunc le tûen parlemént : que ne segnórt á méi tûte torcenerie · ^{Ps 118:134}Racháte méi des chalénges dés húmes : pur cé que ie guárde les tûens comandeméz · ^{Ps 118:135}Lá tûe fáce enlumine sur le tûen seíf : é enségne méi tés iustificaciúns · ^{Ps 118:136}Eisseméz déwes demenérent li mien oíl : pur cé que il né guardérent la tûe léi ·

f. 68v **I**^{Ps 118:137}STES iés sire : é dreiturérs **l**i tûens iugeméz · ^{Ps 118:138}Tú mandás iustise les tûens testimónies : é la tûe ueritéd múlt · ^{Ps 118:139}Defire me fist la méie enuidie : pur cé que obliérent tés paroles li tûen enemí · ^{Ps 118:140}Fuiúns lí tuéns parleméz fortmént : é li tuéns seís amá icé · ^{Ps 118:141}Iuenceáls súi ié é sufisanz : les tûes iustificaciúns náí mie oblié · ^{Ps 118:142}Lá tûe iustise sire iustise en parmanableté : é la tûe léi ueritéd · ^{f. 68v Ps 118:143}Tribulaciún é angúisse truuérent méi : li tûen comandemént mes purpens est · ^{Ps 118:144}Oeltéd li tûen testimónie en parmanableté : é entendemént dúne á méi que ié uiúe ·

I^{Ps 118:145}É criáí en tut mún cuer exóí méi sire : les tûes iustificaciúns requerráí · ^{Ps 118:146}Ié criáí á téi salf me fai : pur cé que ie guárde les tûens comandeméz · ^{Ps 118:147}Ié deuanci en maurtéde é criáí : **l**en tés paroles suesperáí · ^{Ps 118:148}Deuancírent li mien oíl á téi par matín : que ie purpensásse les tuéns parleméz · ^{Ps 118:149}Lá méie uoíz ói sulúnc la tûe misericórde sire : é sulúnc le tûen iugemént uiuifie méi · ^{Ps 118:150}Aprismérent li parsuánt méi á felunie : de la tûe léi acértes lúinz fáit sunt · ^{Ps 118:151}Prúef iés tu sire : é tûtes les tûes uéies ueritéd · ^{Ps 118:152}El comencemént ié conuí de tes testimónies : kar en parmanableté tu fundás éls ·

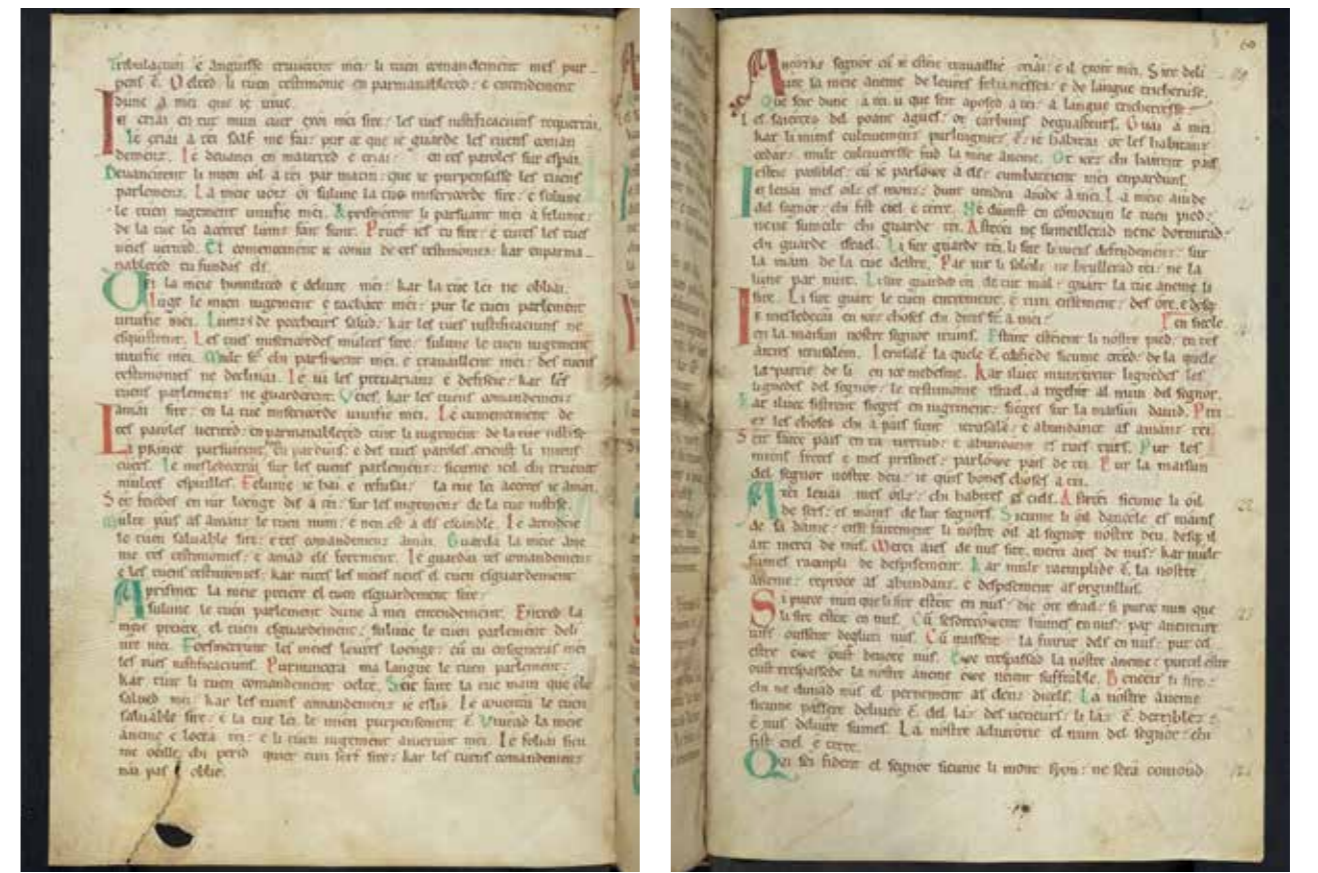
U^{Ps 118:153}ÉI la méie humilitéé é deliúre méi : kar la tûe léi né obliáí · ^{Ps 118:154}Iúge le mien iugemént é racháte méi : pur le tûen parlemént uiuifie méi · ^{Ps 118:155}Lúinz est de peccheúrs salud : kar les tûes iustificaciúns né esquistrent · ^{Ps 118:156}Les tues misericórdes múltes : sire : sulunc le tûen iugement uiuifie méi · ^{Ps 118:157}Múlt *sunt* chi parsíwent méi · é trauáillent méi : des tûens testimónies ne declináí · ^{Ps 118:158}Ié ui les preuariánz é defisíe : kar lés tûens parleméz ne guardérent · ^{Ps 118:159}Véies · kar les tûens comandeméz amái sire : en la tûe misericórde uiuifie méi · ^{Ps 118:160}Lé cumencemént de tes paroles ueritéd : en parmanableté tûit li iugemént de la tûe iustise ·

L^{Ps 118:161}Í PRínce parsuírent \méi/ en pardúns : é des tûes paroles criénst lí miéns cuérs · ^{Ps 118:162}Ié mesledeceráí sur les tûens parleméz : sicume icíl chi truéuet múltes espúilles · ^{Ps 118:163}Felunie ié háí · é refusáí : la tûe léi acértes ié amái · ^{Ps 118:164}Sét feiédes en iúr loéngé dis á téi : sur les iugeméz de la tûe iustise · ^{Ps 118:165}Múlte páis as amanz le tûen núm : é nen_est á els escánde · ^{Ps 118:166}Ié atendíe le tûen saluáble sire : é tes comandeméz amái · ^{Ps 118:167}Guardá la méie aneme tés testimónies : é amád éls fortmént · ^{Ps 118:168}Ié guardáí tés comandeméz é les tûens testimónies : kar tûtes les méies uéies el tûen esguardemént ·

A^{Ps 118:169}prismet la méie preiére el tûen esguardemént sire : sulúnc le tûen parlemént dúne a méi entendemént · ^{Ps 118:170}Éntred la méie preiére el tûen esguardemént : sulúnc le tûen parlemént deliúre méi · ^{Ps 118:171}Forsmetrúnt les méies léúres loéngé : *cum* tu ensegnérás méi les tûes iustificaciúns · ^{Ps 118:172}Purnuncerá ma lánque le tûen parlemént : kár tûit li tûen comandemént oelté · ^{Ps 118:173}Séit fáite la tûe máin qué éle sálued méi : kar les tuéns comandeméz ié eslis · ^{Ps 118:174}Ié coueitáí le tûen saluáble sire : é la tûe léi · le mien purpensement est · ^{Ps 118:175}Viúrad la méie ánome é loerá téi : é li tûen iugemént aiuerúnt méi · ^{Ps 118:176}Ié foliáí sicume oéille chi períd quiér tun seíf sire : kar les tûens comandeméz náí pas oblié ·

A^{f. 69r Ps 119:1}NÓSTRE segnór *cum* ié estéie trauaillié criáí : é il exóit méi · ^{Ps 119:2}Síre deliúre la méie aneme de leúres **f. 69r** **Afelun**esses : é de lánque tricherúse · ^{Ps 119:3}Que séit duné **l**á téi · ú que séit aposéd á téi : á lánque tricherresse ? ^{Ps 119:4}Les saíettes del poánt agúes : ot éarbúns deguastéurs · ^{Ps 119:5}Guái á méi · kar lí miéns cultiueméz purlúgniéiz est : ié habitáí ót les habitanz cedár · ^{Ps 119:6}mult cultiuéresse fúde la méie ánome · ^{Ps 119:7}Ót icéz chi háirent páis estéie paisibles : *cum* ié parlówe á els : cumbatéient méi enpardúns ·

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I^{Ps 120:1}É leuáí mes óilz es mónz : dunt uendrá aiúde á méi · ^{Ps 120:2}Lá méie aiúde del segnór : chi fist ciél é térre · ^{Ps 120:3}Né dúinst en commociún le túen piéd : nene suméilt chi guárde téi · ^{Ps 120:4}Astetéi ne sumeillerád nene dormirád : chi guárde israel · ^{Ps 120:5}Lí síre guárde téi · li síre li túens defendeménz : súr la máin de la túde déstre · ^{Ps 120:6}Par iúri li soléilz ne brullerád téi : ne la lúne par núit · ^{Ps 120:7}Lí síre guárded téi de tút mál : guárt la túde áneime li síre · ^{Ps 120:8}Lí síre guárt le túen entrement · é tun eissement : des óre · é desque en siécle ·

I^{Ps 121:1}É mesledeçai en icéz chósés chi dítes *sunt* · á méi : en la máisun nostre segnór irúms · ^{Ps 121:2}Estánt estéient lí nóstre piéd : en tés áitres ierusalém · ^{Ps 121:3}Ierusalem la quéle *est* · edifiéde sicume citéd : de la quéle la partíe de lí en icé medésme · ^{Ps 121:4}Kar ilúec muntérent lignédes les lignédes del segnór : le testimónie israel · á regehír al num del segnór · ^{Ps 121:5}Kar ilúec sistrent siéges en iugemént : siéges sur la maisún dauíd · ^{Ps 121:6}Préiez les chósés chi á páis *sunt* ierusalem : é abundánce as amánz téi · ^{Ps 121:7}Séit faite páis en tá uertúd : é abundánce es túes túrs · ^{Ps 121:8}Pur les miéns freres é mes prismes : parlówe páis de téi · ^{Ps 121:9}Pur la maisún del segnór nóstre déu : ié quis bónes chósés á téi ·

A^{Ps 122:1}Téi leuáí mes óilz : chi habítes es ciéls · ^{Ps 122:2}Astetéi sicume li óil de sérs : es máins de lur segnórs · Sicume li óil dancéle es máins de sa dáme : eissi fáitement li nóstre óil al segnór nóstre déu · ^{Ps 122:3}désque il áit merci de nús · ^{Ps 122:3}Merci áies de nus síre · merci áies de nús : kar múlt súmes raemplí de despisement · ^{Ps 122:4}Kar múlt raemplíde *est* · la nóstre áneime : reproce as abundánz · é despisement as orguillús ·

S^{Ps 123:1}I purce nún **que lí síre** estéit en nús : díe óre israel : ^{Ps 123:2}si purcé nun que li síre estéit en nus · *Cum* sesdreçowent húmes en nús : ^{Ps 123:3}par autentúre uífs óussent deglutí nús · *Cum* iraisséit **■** la fuírúr dels en nús : ^{Ps 123:4}put céll_éstre éve óust deouré nús · ^{Ps 123:5}Éwe trespasád la nóstre áneime : putceléstre óust trespaséde la nóstre áneime éve néient suffráble · ^{Ps 123:6}Benééz li síre : chi ne dunád nús el pernément as dénz dicéls · ^{Ps 123:7}Lá nóstre áneime sicume pássere deliüre *est* · del láz des ueneúrs : li láz *est* · detribléz : é nus deliüre súmes · ^{Ps 123:8}Lá nóstre adiutórie el núm del segnór : chi fist ciel é térre ·

f. 69v **Q**^{Ps 124:1}VI séi fident el segnór sicume li mont syón : ne será comoúd **f. 69v** en parmanabletéde chi habítéd ^{Ps 124:2}en ierusalem · Lí mont en lauirunemént de lúí é li síre en lauirunemént de sun póphe : dés óre é desque en sécle · ^{Ps 124:3}Kár il ne deguerpirád la uérge des peccheúrs sur la sórt des iústes : que nenesténdent li iúste á felunie lur máins · ^{Ps 124:4}Bién fáí síre : as bons · é as dreiturérs de cuer · ^{Ps 124:5}Máis les declinánz en lieménz amerrád li síre ot les oúranz felunie : páis sur israel ·

E^{Ps 125:1}N conuertant li síre la caiuitéd de syón : fáit súmes sicume confortéd · ^{Ps 125:2}Tuñc raemplíz *est* · de ióie la nóstre búche : é la nóstre lánque de esledecemént · Lóres dirrúnt entre les génz : magnifiád li síre á faire ót els · ^{Ps 125:3}Magnifiád li síre á faire ót nús : fáit súmes esledeçanz · ^{Ps 125:4}Conuertís síre la nóstre caiuitéd : sicume éve en aústre · ^{Ps 125:5}Cil chi sement en lérmes : en esledecement cuillent · / ^{Ps 125:6}Alánz alówent e plurówent : enueiánz lúr seménces · Máis uenánz uendrúnt ót esledecemént : portánt lur manuédes ·

S^{Ps 126:1}I nóstre síre ne edifierád la máisún : en uáin trauaillérent chi edifient lí · Sí li síre ne garderád la cité : en uáin uéilled chi guárde lí · ^{Ps 126:2}Váine chósé *est* · á uus deuánt lumière leuér : leuéz púis que uús serréiz chi mangiéz páin de dolúr · *Cum* il dunrád á ses améz sómne : ^{Ps 126:3}astetéi leredité del segnór luiér del filz · fruit de uentre · ^{Ps 126:4}Sicume saiéttes en la máin de poañt : eissifaiteremént li fil des escús · ^{Ps 126:5}Beneuréz li húem chi aemplirá sun desidérie dels medésmes : ne será confundú *cum* il parlerá á sés enemís en la pórté ·

B^{Ps 127:1}ENEVRÉ tút icil chi criément nóstre segnór : chi uúnt es uéies de lúí · ^{Ps 127:2}**Trauáile** de tes enemís kar tu mangerás : beneuréz íes é bién será á téi · ^{Ps 127:3}Lá túde féme sicume uíz abundánt : és léz de la túde maisún · Lí tuen fil sicume li plançun des oliúes : en lauirunemént de la túde táble · ^{Ps 127:4}Astetéi eissi será beneéz li húem : chi criént nóstre segnór · ^{Ps 127:5}Benedié á téi li síre de syón : é uéies les biéns de ierusalem tuz les iúrz de la túde uie · ^{Ps 127:6}E uéies les filz de tes filz : páis sur israel ·

S^{Ps 128:1}ouéntes fiédes escumbatírent méi dés la méie iuuénte : díe óre israel · ^{Ps 128:2}Souént escumbatírent méi des la méie iuuénte : acértes ne pórent á méi · ^{Ps 128:3}Súr mun dós faurichérent li peccheúr : purluignérent lur felunie · ^{Ps 128:4}Lí síre iústes trancherá les ceruíz des peccheúrs : ^{Ps 128:5}séient confundú é tresturné arière tút chi háirent syón · ^{Ps 128:6}Séient fait sicume fáin de maisúns : le quel áinz que séit arachié assecha · ^{Ps 128:7}Del quel ne aemplirá sa máin chi seirá : e sun sáin · chi les manuédes coildra · ^{Ps 128:8}E né distrent chi trespasówent la beneičun nóstre segnór sur uús : nus beneisquimes á uus el num del segnór ·

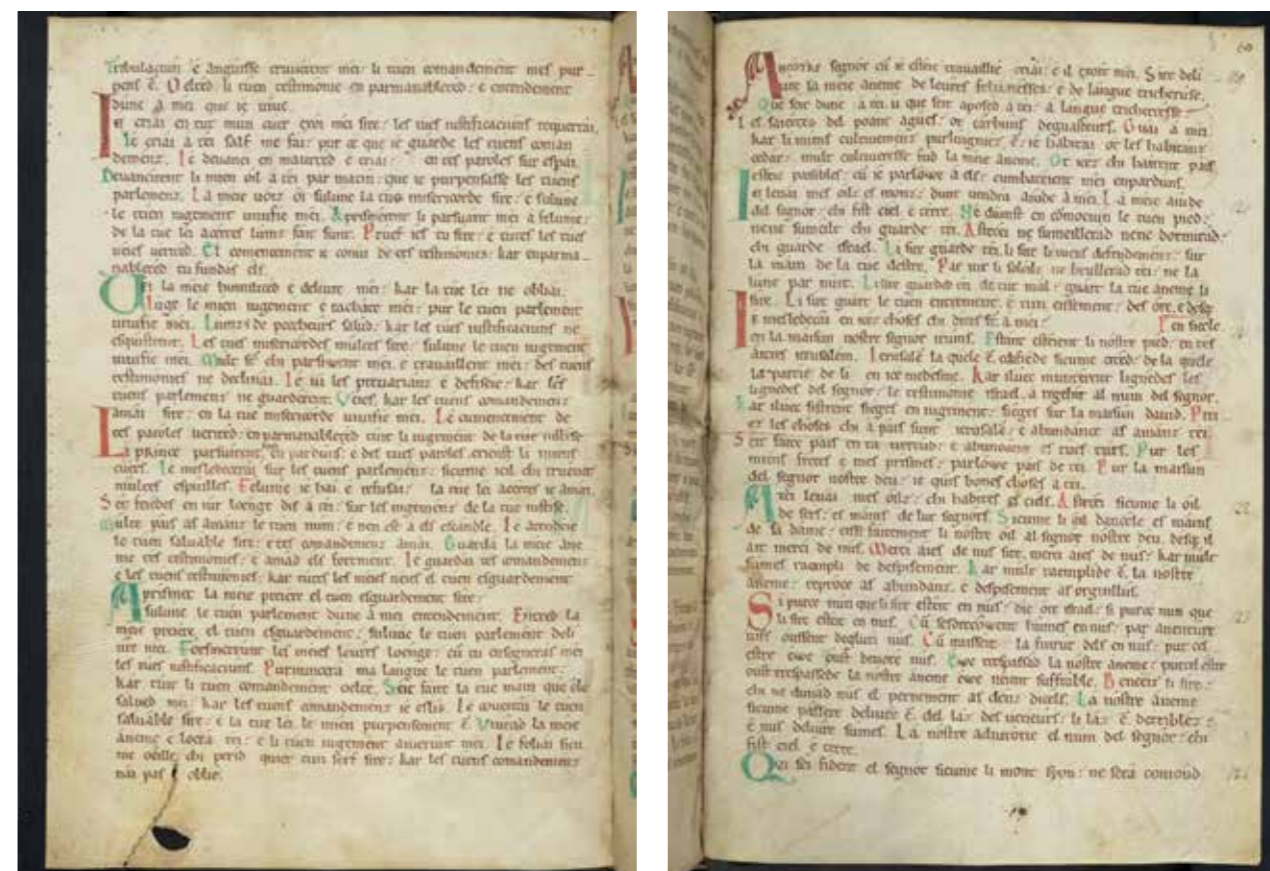
D^{Ps 129:1}ES parfundéces ié criái á téi síre : ^{Ps 129:2}síre exói la méie uóiz · Séient fáites tes oreilles entendánz : en la uoiz de la méie preière · ^{Ps 129:3}Si tu les felunies esguarderás síre : síre chi sustendrá ? ^{Ps 129:4}Kar enuérts téi pardunánce *est* · é pur la túde léi sustiñc téi síre · Sustínt la méie aneme en lá **f. 70r** parole de lúí : ^{Ps 129:5}esperád la méie áneime el segnór · ^{Ps 129:6}Dé la guárde matinéle desque á núit : espéire israel el segnór · ^{Ps 129:7}Kar enuérts le segnór misericórde : e plenteíue ót lúí redempciún · ^{Ps 129:8}E il medésme rachaterá israel : de tútes les felunies de lúí ·

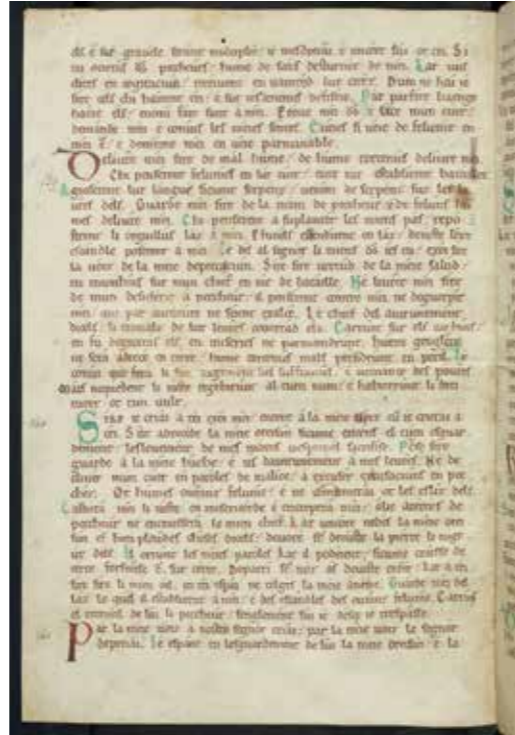
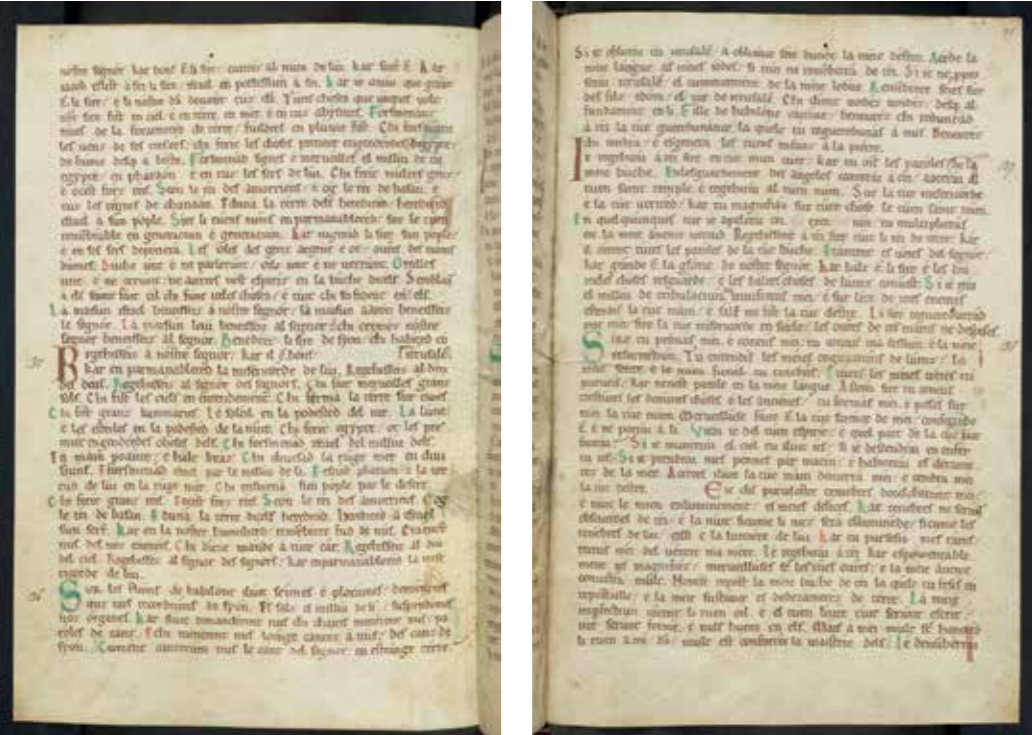
f. 70r

S^{Ps 130:1}IRE nenést exalcé li miéns cuérs : ne ne *sunt* · esleué li mién óil · Né nen aláí en gránz chósés : ne en meruéillúses chósés sur méi · ^{Ps 130:2}Si ie néient humelement sentéie : máis exal**çai** la méie áneime · Sicume lí alaitiéz de sá mère : eissi séit guerredunánce en la méie áneime · ^{Ps 130:3}Espéire israel el segnór : desóre · é desque en siécle ·

R^{Ps 131:1}EMembre síre de dauíd : é de túde la suatúme de lúí · ^{Ps 131:2}Sicume il iurád al segnór : uót uoad al déu de Riacób · ^{Ps 131:3}Si ie enterrái el tabernácle de ma maisún : si ie munterái el lít de mún repós · ^{Ps 131:4}Si ie dunrái sómne á mes óilz : é á mes palpébres dormitaciún · ^{Ps 131:5}E repós ás miéns téns desque : ié trúisse líu al segnór tabernácle al déu de iacob · ^{Ps 131:6}Astetéi nús odímes icéles chósés en effratá : nus truuámes lí é çhamps de la sélué · ^{Ps 131:7}Nús enterrúms en sun tabernácle : nus ao_rerúms el líu · ú estúrent li piéd de lúí · ^{Ps 131:8}Esdréce téi síre el túen repós : tú é lárche de la túde sanctificaciún · ^{Ps 131:9}Lí túen proueire séient uestúde /de/ iustise : é li túen sáint sesledécent · ^{Ps 131:10}Pur dauíd tún seff : ne desturnér la fáce de tun críst · ^{Ps 131:11}Iurád nóstre síre a dauíd ueritéd · é ne deceuerá lúí : del fruit de tún uentre poserái sur le túen siége · ^{Ps 131:12}Si garderúnt li túen fil mún testament : é mes testimónies icéz que ié enseignerái els · E li fil dels desque en sécle : serrúnt sur le túen siége · ^{Ps 131:13}Kar eslist li síre syón : eslist li en possessiún á séi · ^{Ps 131:14}Icést mien repós en siécle de sécle : ici habiterái kár ié eslis li · ^{Ps 131:15}Lá uédue de lúí beneissánz beneistrái : les súens póures saulérai de páins · ^{Ps 131:16}Lés sacerdotés de lúí uestirái del saluáble : é li suen sáint par esledecemént sesledecerúnt · ^{Ps 131:17}Ilúec formerrái la córne dauíd : aprestái luisérne á mun críst · ^{Ps 131:18}Les enemís de lúí uestirái de confusiún : máis sur lúí medésme florirád la méie sanctificaciún ·

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▲ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 70v, 71r, and 71v. Source: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
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A^{Ps 132:1}steuús cume bone chose · é cume delitable chose *est* · habitér freres en ún · ^{Ps 132:2}Sicume lí ugneméz
 el chiéf : le quel descendit en bárbe la bárbe ááron · Lé quel descendit en lúrlé de sun uestemént :
^{Ps 132:3}sicume la rosée de hermón · chi descendit el mont de syón · Kar ilüec mandá li sire benicün : é úie desque
 en sécle ·

A^{Ps 133:1}steuus óre beneisséz le segnór : túit li seíf nóstre segnór · Chi estéz en la maisún del segnór : es áitres
 de la maisún nóstre déu · ^{Ps 133:2}En núiz esleuez uóz máins en saintes choses : é beneisséz nóstre segnór ·
^{Ps 133:3}Benedié téi li sire de syón : chi fist ciél é terre ·

L^{Ps 134:1}oéz le núm del segnór : loéz sérif nóstre segnór · ^{Ps 134:2}Chi estéz en la máisún del segnór : es áitres de la
 f. 70v maisún nóstre déu · ^{Ps 134:3}Loéz ^{f. 70v} nostre segnór kar bons *est* · li sire : cantéz al núm de lui · kar suéf *est* ·
^{Ps 134:4}Kár iacob eslist á séi li sire : israel en possessiún á séi · ^{Ps 134:5}Kár ié conuí que gránz *est* · li sire : é li nóstre
deus deuant tüz *deus* · ^{Ps 134:6}Tútes choses que únques uólt nostre sire fist en ciél é en terre · en mér · é en tüz
 abýsmes · ^{Ps 134:7}Forsmenánz nús de la foraineté de terre : füildres en plúuie fist · Chi forsméine les uéinz de ses
 trésors : ^{Ps 134:8}chi ferit les choses premiér engendrées degýpte : de húme *desque* á béste · ^{Ps 134:9}Forsmenád signes
 é meruëilles el millü de téi egýpte : en pharaón é en tüz les seifs de lui · ^{Ps 134:10}Chi ferit múltes génz : é ocist fórz
 réis · ^{Ps 134:11}Seón le réi des amorriéns : é óg le réi de basán · é tuz les régnes de chanaán · ^{Ps 134:12}E duná la terre dels
 heredité : heredité israel á sun pöple · ^{Ps 134:13}Sire li túens núms en parmanableté : sire le túen *remembráble*
 en generaciún é generaciún · ^{Ps 134:14}Kár iugerád li sire sun pöple : é en ses seifs depréiera · ^{Ps 134:15}Les idles des génz
 argent é ór : oüres des máins dúmes · ^{Ps 134:16}Búche unt é ne parlerünt : óilz unt é ne uerrünt · ^{Ps 134:17}Oréilles unt · é
 ne orrünt : ne acértes nést espiriz en la búche dicéls · ^{Ps 134:18}Semblánt á els séient fait cíl chi fúnt icéles choses : é
 túit chi séi fident en éls · ^{Ps 134:19}Lá maisún israel beneisséz a nóstre segnór : la maisún aaron beneisséz le segnór ·
^{Ps 134:20}Lá maisún leuí beneisséz al segnór : chi creméz nóstre segnór beneisséz al segnór · ^{Ps 134:21}Benedié li sire
 de syón : chi habitéd en ierusalem ·

R^{Ps 135:1}Egehisséz á nóstre segnór : kar il *est* · bons : kar en parmanableté la misericórde de lui · ^{Ps 135:2}Regehisséz
 al déu des déus · ^{Ps 135:3}Regehisséz al segnór des segnórs · ^{Ps 135:4}Chi fait \gránz meruëilles/ sóls · ^{Ps 135:5}Chi fist
 les ciéls en entendemént · ^{Ps 135:6}Chi fermá la terre sur éwes · ^{Ps 135:7}Chi fist granz lumináries · ^{Ps 135:8}Lé soléil en
 la podestéd del iúr · ^{Ps 135:9}Lá lúne é les estéiles en la podestéd de la núit · ^{Ps 135:10}Chi ferit egýpte : ot les premiér
 engendrées choses déls · ^{Ps 135:11}Chi forsmenád israel del millü déls · ^{Ps 135:12}En main poánte : é hált bráz · ^{Ps 135:13}Chi
 deuisád la rúge mér en diuisiúns · ^{Ps 135:14}E forsmenád israel par le millü de lí · ^{Ps 135:15}E escúst pharaón é la uertúd

de lui en la rúge mér · ^{Ps 135:16}Chi tresmená sun pöple par le désert · ^{Ps 135:17}Chi ferit granz réis · ^{Ps 135:18}E ocist fórz réis ·
^{Ps 135:19}Seón le réi des amorriéns · ^{Ps 135:20}E óg le réi de basán · ^{Ps 135:21}E duná la terre dicéls heredité · ^{Ps 135:22}Heredité
 á israel sun sérif · ^{Ps 135:23}Kar en la nóstre humilité : *remembrere* fud de nús · ^{Ps 135:24}E raEinst nús des nóz enemís ·
^{Ps 135:25}Chi dúne uíande á túte čar · ^{Ps 135:26}Regehisséz ál déu del ciél · Regehisséz ál segnór des segnórs : kar en
 parmanableté la misericórde de lui ·

S^{Ps 136:1}VR les flúms de babilone ilüec seimes é plorámes : deméntres que nús recordiúms de syón · ^{Ps 136:2}Es sálz
 el millü de lí : suspendímes nóz órganes · ^{Ps 136:3}Kar ilüec demandérent nús chi chaitis menérent nús : paroles
 de cánz · E chi menérent nus loéngé cantéz á nús : des cánz de syón · ^{Ps 136:4}Cumént canterúm nus le cánt del
 segnór : en étränge terre ? ^{f. 71r} ^{Ps 136:5}Sí ie oblierá téi ierusalem : a obliánce séit dunée la méie destre · ^{Ps 136:6}Aérde
 la méie língua ás méies iódes : si méi ne *remembrá* de téi · Sí ie ne *proposerá* ierusalem : el cumencemént de
 la méie ledéce · ^{Ps 136:7}Remembrere séies sire des filz edóm : el iúr de ierusalem · Chi díent uoidéz uoidéz : désque
 al fundamént en lí · ^{Ps 136:8}Fille de babilone cáitiue : beneuréz chi redunrad á téi la tüe gueredunánce la quéle tu
 regueredunás á nús · ^{Ps 136:9}Beneuréz chi tendrá : é esgenerá les tuens enfánz á la pierre ·

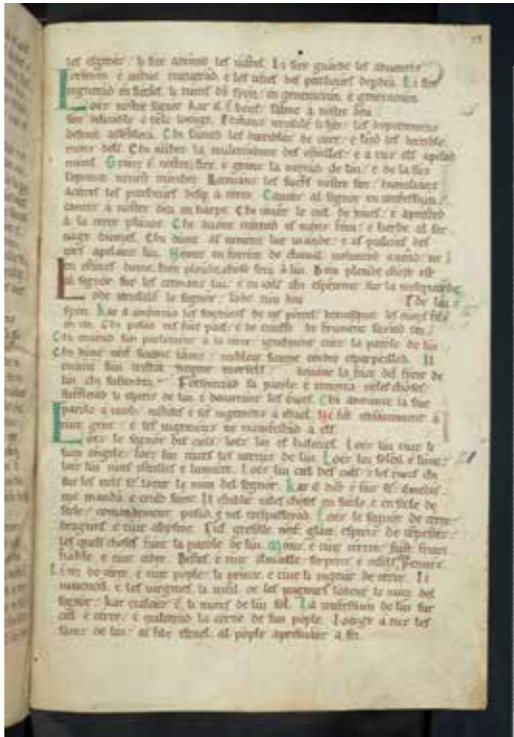
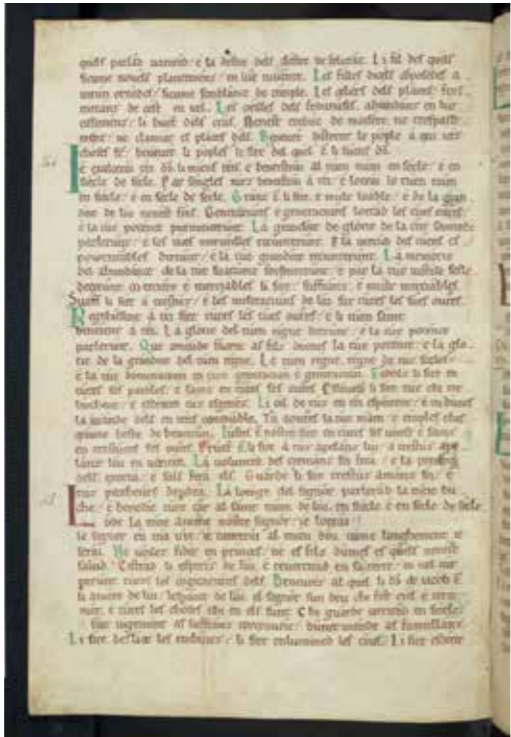
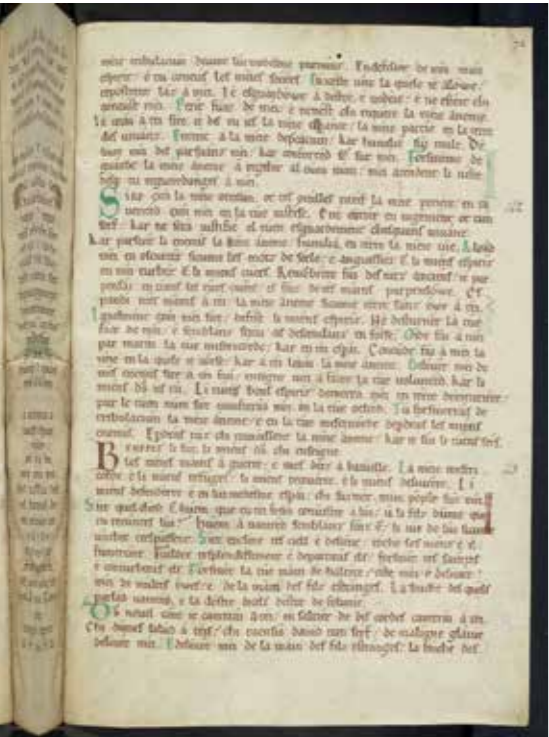
I^{Ps 137:1}É regehirá á téi sire en tüt mun cúer : kar tu oís les paroles de la méie búche · En lesguardemént des
 ángeles canterá á téi : ^{Ps 137:2}aorerá al tuen saint temple · é regehirá al túen núm · Sur la tüe misericórde é la tüe
 ueritéd : kar tu magnifiás sur tüte chose le túen saint núm · ^{Ps 137:3}En quelquúnques iúr ie apelerá téi · **exoi**
 méi : tu multiplierás en la meie aneme uertúd · ^{Ps 137:4}Regehissent á téi sire túit li réi de terre : kár il oírent tútes les
 paroles de la tüe búche · ^{Ps 137:5}E cántent es uéies del segnór : kar grande *est* · la glórie de nóstre segnór · ^{Ps 137:6}Kar
 hálz *est* · li sire é les húmeles choses resguárde : é les háltes choses de lúinz conúist · ^{Ps 137:7}Sí ie irá el millü de
 tribulaciún · \tu/ uuiuiferas méi : é sur líre de mes enemís estendís la tüe main : é sálf me fist la tüe destre · ^{Ps 137:8}Lí
 sire reguereddurrád pur méi : sire la tüe misericórde en siécle : les oüres de tes máins ne despises ·

S^{Ps 138:1}Íre tu prouás méi · é coneús méi : ^{Ps 138:2}tu coneús má sessiún · é la méie resurrectiún · ^{Ps 138:3}Tú entendís les
 méies cogitaciúns de lúinz : lá méie sémte é le mién funél tu trachas · ^{Ps 138:4}E tútes les méies uéies tu puruéis :
 kar nenést parole en la méie língua · ^{Ps 138:5}Astetéi sire tu coneús trestútes les deráines choses · é les anciénes : tu
 formás méi · é posás sur méi la tüe main · ^{Ps 138:6}Merueillúse fáite *est* · la tüe sciéce de méi : confortéde *est* · é ne
 porrá á lí · ^{Ps 138:7}Virá ié del túen esprit : é quel párt de la tüe fáce fuirá ? ^{Ps 138:8}Sí ie munterá el ciél tu ilüec íes :
 si ie descendrá en enfér tu íes · ^{Ps 138:9}Sí ie prendrá mes pennes pár matin : é habiterá es derainetéz de la mér · ^{Ps}
^{138:10}Acértes ilüec la tüe main demerrá méi : é tendrá méi la tüe destre · ^{Ps 138:11}**E** íe díis putceléstre teniébres
 decálcherünt méi : é núit le mién enluminémént : es méies delices · ^{Ps 138:12}Kár tenébres ne serünt obscurédes de
 téi : é la núit sicume lí iúr será elluminéde : sicume les tenébres de lui : eissi e la lumière de lui · ^{Ps 138:13}Kar tu
 pursesis més ráins : receús méi del uéntre ma mére · ^{Ps 138:14}Té regehirá á téi kar espowenáblement íés magnifiéz :
 merueillúses *sunt* · les túes oüres : e la méie áneme conuistrá mult · ^{Ps 138:15}Nenést repóst la méie búche de téi la
 quéle tu fesis én repostáille : é la méie sustánce es dedezáinetéz de terre · ^{Ps 138:16}Lá méie imperfectiún uírent li
 túen óil · é el túen líüre túit serünt escrit : iúr serünt formé · é nuls húem en els · ^{Ps 138:17}Máis á méi mult *sunt* ·
 honoréd li túen a_mí *deus* : mult *est* confortée la maistrie déls · ^{Ps 138:18}Ié denumberrá ^{f. 71v} éls · é sur grauéle serünt
 multiplié : íe mesdrecai · é uncóre súi ót téi · ^{Ps 138:19}Sí tu ocirrás *deus* peccheúrs : hume de sañs desturnéz de méi ·
^{Ps 138:20}Kar uús dítes en cogitaciún : receüent en uanitéd lur citéz · ^{Ps 138:21}Dum ne hái íe sire céls chi hairent téi :
 é sur tés enemís defisiee · ^{Ps 138:22}Pár parfite haéngé haéie éls : enemí fait *sunt* á méi · ^{Ps 138:23}Próue méi *deus* é sáce
 mún cúer : demánde méi é conúis les méies sémtes · ^{Ps 138:24}E uéies sí uéie de felunie en méi *est* : é deméine méi en
 uéie parmanáble ·

D^{Ps 139:1}eliüre méi sire de mal húme : de húme torcenús deliüre méi · ^{Ps 139:2}Chi pensérent felunies en lúr cúer :
 túte iúr establírent batáilles · ^{Ps 139:3}Aguisérent lur língua sicume serpenz : uením de serpenz suz les leüres
 déls · ^{Ps 139:4}Guárde méi sire de la main de peccheúr : é de felúns húmes deliüre méi · Chi pensérent á suplantér les
 miens pás : ^{Ps 139:5}repóstrent li orguillús lám á méi · E funéls estendírent en lám : déiüstre léire escánde posérent á
 méi · ^{Ps 139:6}Té díis al segnór li miéens *deus* íes tú : exóí sire la uóiz de la méie deprecaciún · ^{Ps 139:7}Sire sire uertúd de la
 méie salud : tu enumbrás sur mun chiéf en iúr de bataille · ^{Ps 139:8}Né líüer méi sire de mun desidérie á peccheúr :
 il pensérent cóntré méi · ne deguerpir méi : que par aentúre ne séient exalcé · ^{Ps 139:9}Lé chiéf del aurnemént
 dicéls : li traualz de lur leüres couerrád éls · ^{Ps 139:10}Carrünt sur els carbúns : en fú degeterás els · en miséries ne
 parmaindrünt · ^{Ps 139:11}Húem genglere ne sera adrecé en terre : húme torcenús mals prendrünt en péril · ^{Ps 139:12}Té
 conúí que fera li sire iugemént des suffraitús : é ueniánce des póüres · ^{Ps 139:13}Máis nequedent li iúste regehirünt
 al tuen num : é habiterünt li dreiturér ot tun uult ·

f. 71r

f. 71v



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Ps 140:1 IRE ie criai á téi exoi méi : entént á la méie uoiz cum ié crieraí á téi . **Ps 140:2** Séit adrecéde la méie oreisún sicume encéns el túen esguardemént : lesleuemént de més máins uespertinéll sacrificise . **Ps 140:3** Póse sire guárde á la méie búche : é ús dauirunemént á mes leüres . **Ps 140:4** Né declinéll mún cüer en paróles de malíce : á excusér excusaciúns én pecchéz . **Ps 140:5** Ót húmes oüranz felunie : é ne communieráí ót les esliz déls . **Ps 140:6** Castierà méi li iúste en misericórde é encreperá méi : ólie acértes de peccheúr ne encaisserá le mien chiéf . Kár uncóre nedés la méie oreisún és bien plouúdes chósé dicéls : **Ps 140:7** deuoré sunt deiúste la piérre li iugeúr déls . **Ps 140:8** Il orrúnt les méies paróles kár il podéient : sicume cráisse de térre formise *est* . sur térre . **Ps 140:9** Departí *sunt* . nóz ós deiúste enfér : kár á téi sire sire li mien óil : en téi esperáí ne tólges la méie áneме . **Ps 140:10** Guárde méi del laz le quéll il establírent á méi : é des escándles des oüranz felunie . **Ps 140:11** Carrúnt el retenéll de lúi li peccheúr : senglemént súi ié désque ié trespáse .

f. 72r **Ps 141:2** ar la méie uoiz á nóstre segnór criai : par la méie uoiz le segnór depreiai . **Ps 141:3** Ié espánt en lesguardemént de lúi la méie oreisún : é la **f. 72r** méie tribulaciún deuant lúi medésme purnúnz . **Ps 141:4** En defisañt de méi mún espirít : é tu conéus les méies séntes . En icéste ueie la quele ié alówe : repóstrent láz á méi . **Ps 141:5** Ié esguardówe á dístre . é uedéie : é ne estéit chi coneúst méi . Perít fuíe de méi : é nenést chi requére la méie áneме . **Ps 141:6** Ié criai á téi sire . ié dis tu íes la méie esperánce : la méie partíe en la térre des uiuánz . **Ps 141:7** Entént á la méie depreaciún : kar humilié súi múlt . Delíure méi des parsuánz méi : kar confortéd *sunt* . sur méi . **Ps 141:8** Forsméine de guárde la méie áneме á regehír al túen núm : méi aténdnt li iúste désque tu regueredúnges á méi .

Ps 142:1 IRE exoi la méie oreisún . ot tés oréilles recéif la méie préiere : en tá ueritéd exoi méi en la tús iústise . **Ps 142:2** E ne entrér en iugemént ót tún seif : kar ne será iustificié el túen esguardemént chesquúns uiuánz . **Ps 142:3** Kár parsúit li enemís la méie áneме : humiliá en térre la méie uie . Aloád méi en oscurtéz sicume les mórz de sécle : **Ps 142:4** é anguissié *est* . li miéns espiríz en méi turbéz *est* . li miéns cúers . **Ps 142:5** Remembrére fuí dés iúrz anciéns : ié purpensái en tútes les túes oüres : es fáiz de tés máins purpensówe . **Ps 142:6** Espandí més máins á téi : la méie áneме sicume térre sanz éwe á téi . **Ps 142:7** Ignelmént exoi méi sire : defíst li miéns espiríz . Né desturnér lá tús fáce de méi : é semblánz serái as descendánz en fósse . **Ps 142:8** Oide fáí á méi par matín la tús misericórde : kar en téi esperáí . Coneúde fáí á méi la ueie en la quele ie uoíse : kar á téi leuáí la méie áneме . **Ps 142:9** Delíüre méi de més enemís sire á téi fuí : **Ps 142:10** enségne méi á faire la tús uoluntéd . kar li miéns *deus* íes tú . Lí túens bons espiríz demerrá méi en térre dreituriére : **Ps 142:11** pur le túen núm sire uiuifierás méi en la tús oeltéd . Tú formerrás de tribulaciún la méie áneме : **Ps 142:12** é en la tús misericórde deperdrás les miéns enemís . E perdrás tús chi trauaillent la méie áneме : kar ié súi li túens seif .

Ps 143:1 ENEEÍZ li sire . li miéns *deus* . chi enseigne les méies máins á guérre : é mes déiz á batáille . **Ps 143:2** Lá méie misericórde . é li miéns refúges : li miéns receuérre . é li miéns delíürrere . Lí miéns defendérre é en lúi medésme esperáí : chi suzmét mún pópé súz méi . **Ps 143:3** Sire quel chósé *est* . húem que tu téi fesís conüistre á lúi : ú li filz dúme que tu recúntes lúi ? **Ps 143:4** Húem á uanitéd semblánz fáiz *est* : li iúr de lúi sicume úmbre trespásent . **Ps 143:5** Sire encline tés ciéls é descént : tóche les múnz é il fumerúnt . **Ps 143:6** Fúidre respéndíssement é departirá els : forsmét tés saiettes é conturberás els . **Ps 143:7** Formét la tús máin de haltéce : óste méi é delíüre méi de múltes éwes : é de la máin des filz estránges . **Ps 143:8** Lá buche des quéls parlad uanitéd . é la dístre dicéls dístre de felunie .

Ps 143:9 euS nouel çant ié canteráí á téi : én saltiér de dís córdes canteráí á téi . **Ps 143:10** Chi dúnes salúd á réis : chi raensís dauíd tun seif : de maligne gláieu delíüre méi . **Ps 143:11** E delíüre méi de la máin des filz estránges : la búche des **f. 72v** quéls parlad uanitéd : é la dístre déls dístre de felunie . **Ps 143:12** Lí fil des quéls sicume nouéls planteménz : en lúr iuúente . Les filles dicéls composédes airún ornédes : sicume semblánce de ténple . **Ps 143:13** Les celiérs déls pláins : forsmetánz de cést en icéll . Les oéilles dels fedunúses . abundánz én lúr eisseménz : **Ps 143:14** Lí búef déls crás . Nenést trebúc de maisére . ne trespasement : ne clamúr es pláces déls . **Ps 143:15** Beneuré dístrent le pópé á qui icéz chósé *sunt* . beurell li póples /del quéll/ li sire *est* . li súens *deus* .

Ps 144:1 é exalceráí téi *deus* . li miéns réis . é beneistráí al túen núm en sécle : é en siécle de sécle . **Ps 144:2** Par séngles iúurz beneistráí á téi : é loeráí le túen núm en siécle : é en sécle de sécle . **Ps 144:3** Gránz *est* . li sire . é múlt loáble : é de la grandéce de lúi nenést fins . **Ps 144:4** Generaciúns é generaciúns loerád les túes oüres : é la tús potéce purnuncerúnt . **Ps 144:5** Lá grandéce de glórie de la tús saintedé parlerúnt : é les túes meruéilles recunterúnt . **Ps 144:6** Lá uertúde des túens espowentábles dírúnt : é lá tús grandéce recunterúnt . **Ps 144:7** Lá memórie del abundánce de la tús suatúme forsmetrúnt : é pár lá tús iústise sesledecerúnt . **Ps 144:8** Mercière é merciábles lí sire : suffránz . é múlt merciábles . **Ps 144:9** Suéff lí sire á trestúz : é les miseraciúns de lúi sur tútes les túes oüres . **Ps 144:10** Regehissent á téi sire tútes les túes oüres : é li túen saint beneiént á téi . **Ps 144:11** Lá glórie del túen régne dírúnt : é la tús potéce parlerúnt . **Ps 144:12** Que coneúde fácent as filz dúmes la tús potéce : é lá glórie de la grandéce del túen régne . **Ps 144:13** Lé túen régne . régne de tús sécles : é la tús dominaciún en tús generaciún é generaciún . Fedéill li sire en tútes sés paróles : é sáinz en tútes ses oüres . **Ps 144:14** Esléued lí sire tús chi trebúchent : é esdréced tús esgenéz . **Ps 144:15** Lí óil de tús en téi espéirent : é tu dúnes la uiánde déls en téns couenáble . **Ps 144:16** Tú aouères la tús máin : é émples chesquúne béste de beneičun . **Ps 144:17** Tústes *est* . nóstre sire en tútes ses ueies : é sáinz en trestútes sés oüres . **Ps 144:18** Prúef *est* . li sire á tús apelánz lúi : á trestúz apelánz lúi en ueritéd . **Ps 144:19** La uoluntéd des cremánz séi ferá : é la préiere dels exorrá : é sáls ferá éls . **Ps 144:20** Guárde li sire trestúz amánz séi : é tús peccheúrs deperdrá . **Ps 144:21** Lá loéngé del segnór parlerád la méie búche : é benedie túte çar al sáint núm de lúi . en siécle . é en sécle de sécle .

Ps 145:1 óde la méie áneме nústre segnór : ié loeráí le segnór en má uie : ié canteráí al mién déu cume lungement ié seráí . Né uóilez fidér en prínces : **Ps 145:3** né es filz dúmes es quéls nenést salúd . **Ps 145:4** Eistrád li espiríz de lúi . é ruertiráde en sá térre : en icéll iúr perirúnt tútes les cogitaciúns déls . **Ps 145:5** Beneuré al quéll li *deus* de iacób *est* . li aiuére de lúi : lesperánce de lúi . el segnór sun déu **Ps 145:6** chi fist ciéll é térre : mér . é tútes les chósé chi en éls sunt . **Ps 145:7** Chi guárde ueritéd en siécle : fait iugemént as suffránz torcenurie : dúnet uiánde as fameillánz . Lí sire deslié/ les embúiez : **Ps 145:8** li sire enlumined les ciús . Lí sire esdréce **f. 73r** les esgenéz : li sire adréced les iústes . **Ps 145:9** Lí sire guárde les aduentíz : orfenín é uédue receuerád . e les ueies des peccheúrs deperdrá . **Ps 145:10** Lí sire regnerád én siécles . li túens *deus* syón en generaciún . é generaciún .

Ps 146:1 OÉZ nóstre segnór kar il *est* . bóns : sálme á nóstre déu séit delítáble é béle loéngé . **Ps 146:2** Edifiánz ierusalem li sire : les departemenz disraél assemblerá . **Ps 146:3** Chi sáined les detribléz de cüer : é liéd les detribleménz déls . **Ps 146:4** Chi nùmbre la multítudine des estéilles : é á tús els apéled núms . **Ps 146:5** Gránz *est* . nóstre sire . é gránz la uertúde de lúi : é de la sús sapiéce nenést nùmbre . **Ps 146:6** Receuánz les suéff nóstre sire : humiliánz acértes les peccheúrs désque á térre . **Ps 146:7** Cantéz al segnór en confessiún : cantéz á nóstre déu en hárpé . **Ps 146:8** Chi cóüre le ciéll de nús : é aprésted á la térre plúuie . Chi auánt méined es múnz féin : é hérbe al seruáge dúmes . **Ps 146:9** Chi dúne as iuménz lúr uiánde : é as pulcíns des córs apelánz lúi . **Ps 146:10** Néient en fortéce de chauál uoluntéd áurád : ne en estíues dume . bién ploude_chósé será á lúi . **Ps 146:11** Bién ploude_chósé est al segnór sur les cremánz lúi : é en icéls chi espéirent sur la misericórde de lúi .

Ps 147:1 óde ierusalem le segnór : lóde túndéu syón . **Ps 147:2** Kar il confortád les seredúres de tes pórtes : beneisquít les túens filz en téi . **Ps 147:3** Chi posád tes fins páis : é de cráisse de frumént sazied téi . **Ps 147:4** Chí enuécied sun parlemént á la térre : ignelmént cúrt la paróle de lúi . **Ps 147:5** Chi dúne néif sicume láine : nubléce sicume céndre esparpílléd . **Ps 147:6** Il enuécie sún cristál sicume morséls : deuant la fáce del fréit de lúi chi sustendrá ?

f. 72v

f. 73r

^{Ps 147:7} Forsmetrad sá parole · é remetrá icéles chósés : sufflerád li espiríz de lúi · é decurrúnt les éwes · ^{Ps 147:8} Chí annúnce lá súe parole á iacob : iustíses é sés iugeménz á israél · ^{Ps 147:9} Né fist issifáitement á tute gént : é sés iugeménz ne manifestád á éls ·

^{Ps 148:1} OÉZ le segnór des ciéls : loéz lúi es haltéces · ^{Ps 148:2} Loéz lúi túit li súen angele : loéz lúi tutes les uertúz de lúi · ^{Ps 148:3} Loéz lúi soléil é lune : loéz lúi tutes estéilles é lumière · ^{Ps 148:4} Loéz lúi ciél des ciéls : é les éwes chi sur les ciéls *sunt* · ^{Ps 148:5} Ióent le núm del segnór · Kar il díst é fait *sunt* : il medésme mandá é criéd *sunt* · ^{Ps 148:6} Il establit icéles chósés en siécle · é en sécle de sécle : comandement posád · é nel trespasserád · ^{Ps 148:7} Loéz le segnór de terre : dragúns é túit abýsme · ^{Ps 148:8} Fús · gresille · néif · gláce · espiríz dé *temp*estéz : les quels chósés fúnt la parole de lúi · ^{Ps 148:9} Mónz · é túit tértre : fúst fruitifiáble · é túit cédre · ^{Ps 148:10} Béstes · é túit almáille : serpenz · é oiséls \em/pennéz · ^{Ps 148:11} Lí réi de terre · é túit póphe : li prínce · é túit lí iugeúr de terre · ^{Ps 148:12} Lí iuucél · é les uírgines · li uieíl · ot les iuignurs lódent le núm del segnór : ^{Ps 148:13} kar exalciéz *est* · li nuús de lúi sól · ^{Ps 148:14} Lá confessiún de lúi súr ciél é terre : é exalcerád la córne de sun póphe · Loéngé á túz les sáinz de lúi : as filz israel · al póphe aprismánt a séi ·

f. 73v ^{f. 73v Ps 149:1} **C**antéz al segnór nouél cánt : la loéngé de lúi en liglise des sáinz · ^{Ps 149:2} Esledést israel en icelúí chi fist lúi : é les filles de syón esledécent en lur réi · ^{Ps 149:3} Lódent le num de lúi en caróle : en týmpane · é saltiér cántent á lúi · ^{Ps 149:4} Kar bien ploude chósé *est* · al segnór en sun póphe : é exalcerád les suéfs en salud · ^{Ps 149:5} Esiorrúnt li sáint en glórie : esledecerúnt en lur líz · ^{Ps 149:6} Lés esledeceménz déu el guitrún dels : é espédes dutús · en lur máins · ^{Ps 149:7} A fáire ueniánce és genz : encrepeménz en póples · ^{Ps 149:8} Aaliér les réis déls en bués : é les lúr nobles en liéns ferríns · ^{Ps 149:9} Que fácent en éls iugement escrit : icéste glórie est á túz les sáinz de lúi ·

^{Ps 150:1} Loéz nóstre segnor en sés sáinz : loéz lúi el firmamént de la uertúd de lúi · ^{Ps 150:2} Loéz lúi en ses uertúz : loéz lúi sulúnc la multitudíne de la súe grandéce · ^{Ps 150:3} Loéz lui én súen \de/ buisine : loéz lúi en saltiér é harpe · ^{Ps 150:4} Loéz lúi en týmpane é chóro : loéz lúi en córdes é órgano · ^{Ps 150:5} Loéz lúi en cýmbles bien sonánz : loéz lúi en cýmbles de ledéce : ^{Ps 150:6} chescúns espiríz lóed nóstre segnór ·

^{Is 12:1} é regehiráí á téi síre kar iriéyz ies á méi : conuertíde *est* · la túde fuírúí é confortás méi · ^{Is 12:2} Astetéi *deus* li miéns saluére : fiançusement feráí é ne crendráí · Kár la méie fortéce é la méie loéngé li síre : é fáiz *est* · á méi en salud · ^{Is 12:3} Vús espucerez éwes en ióie des fointáines del saluedúr : ^{Is 12:4} é dirréz en icél iúr · regehisséz al segnór é apeléz le num de lúi · Coneúdes fáites en póples les súes adinuenciúns : remembréz que hálz *est* · li núms de lúi · ^{Is 12:5} Cantéz al segnór kar grantmént fist : annuncéz icéste chósé en tute terre · ^{Is 12:6} Esledéce é lóde habitaciún de syón : kár gránz el milliú de téi li sáinz israel ·

^{Is 38:10} é díis en la meiénetéde de mes iúrz : ié iráí as pórtés denfér · Ié quis la remasille de més aúz : ^{Is 38:11} ié díis ne uerráí damnedéu en la terre des uiuánz · Né esguarderáí húme enúltre : é habitéur de repós · ^{Is 38:12} Lá méie generaciúns toléite *est* · é desturnéde *est* · de méi : ensemént cume tabernácle de pastúrs · Trenchéde *est* · ensemént cume de teissánz la méie uie : deméntres uncóre qué ié ordisséie suz trenčad méi : des le matin désque al uépre feniráis méi · ^{Is 38:13} Ié esperówe désque al matin : ensemént cume leuús issi detriblá trestúz lés miéns ós · Des le matin désque al uépre feniráis méi : ^{Is 38:14} sicume pulcín darúnde issi crieráí : purpenseráí sicume colúmbe · Ateneuíd *sunt* li mién oil : esguardánz en haltéce · Síre fórce ié súffre respónt pur méi : ^{Is 38:15} que dirráí · ú chi responderá á méi · quant ié medésme le fis ? Ié repurpenseráí túz les miéns aúz : en amertúme de lá méie áneme · ^{Is 38:16} Síre sí issi est uescúdí · é en téls chósés la uie de mun espirít : tu častieras méi : ^{Is 38:17} astetéi en páis la méie amertúme tres amére · Tú acértes deliúras \la meie áneme/ quéd éle ne *perisist* : tu degetás ariére tún dós túz les miéns pecchéz · ^{Is 38:18} Kár enférs ne regehirád á téi · ne mórt ne loerád téi : **f. 74r** né atendrúnt chi descédent en fósse la túde ueritéde · ^{Is 38:19} Viuánz uiuánz il regehirád á téi · sicume nedés ié hóí : li pére ás filz coneúde ferá la túde ueritéde · ^{Is 38:20} Síre sálf me fáí · é nóz sálmes nús čanterúms pár trestúz les iúrz de nóstre uie en la maisún del segnór ·

f. 74r

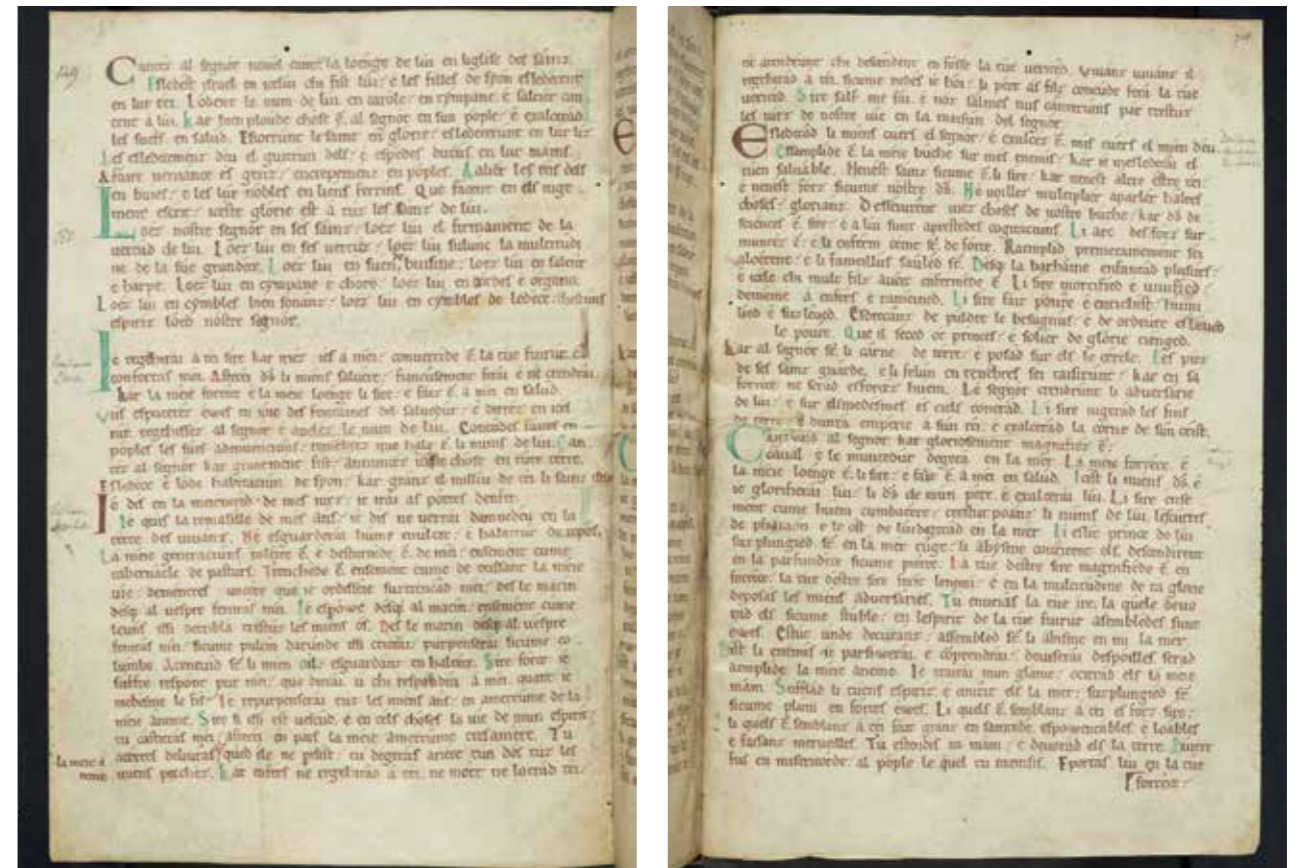
^{1Sa 2:1} sledečad li miéns cuérs el segnór : é exalcéz *est* · mis cuérs el mién déu · Essamplíde *est* · la méie búche sur més enemís : kár ié mesledečai el túen saluáble · ^{1Sa 2:2} Nenést sáinz sicume *est* · li síre : kar nenést áltre éstre téi : é nenést fórz sicume nóstre *deus* · ^{1Sa 2:3} Né uoillez multipliér aparlér háltés chósés : gloriánz · Desséiürent uiéz chósés de uóstre búche : kar *deus* de sciénces *est* · síre : é á lúi *sunt* aprestédes cogitaciúns · ^{1Sa 2:4} Lí arc des fórz surmuntéz *est* : é li enférm céint *sunt* · de fórce · ^{1Sa 2:5} Raemplid premerainemént séi aloérent : é li fameillús sauléd *sunt* · Désque la barháine enfantád plusúrs : é icéle chi mult filz auéit enferméde *est* · ^{1Sa 2:6} Lí síre mortifiéd é uiuifiéd : deméine á enférs é raméined · ^{1Sa 2:7} Lí síre fáit póüre é enrichíst : humilíed é suzléued · ^{1Sa 2:8} Esdrečanz de púldre le besugnús : é de ordéure esléued/ le póüre · Que il séced ót prínces : é solier de glórie tiénged ·

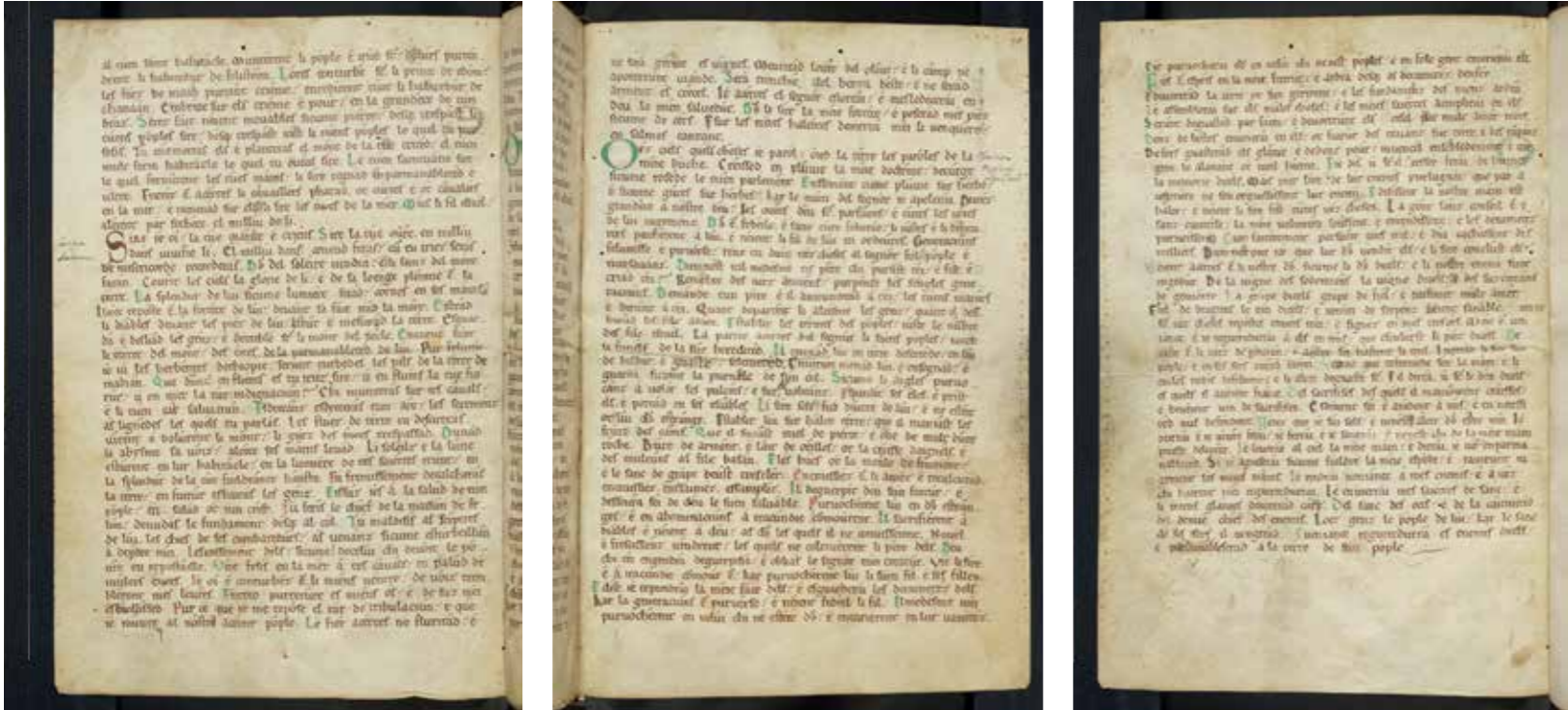
Kár al segnór *sunt* · li čarne de terre : é posád sur éls le cércele · ^{1Sa 2:9} Les piéz de ses sáinz guárde · é li felún en tenébres séi taisirúnt : kar en sá fortéce ne serád esforcéz húem · ^{1Sa 2:10} Le segnór crendrúnt li aduersárie de lúi : é sur elsmédésmes és ciéls tonerád · Lí síre iugerád les fiús de terre : é dunrá empérie á sún réi : e exalcerád la córne de sún críst ·

^{Ex 15:1} ANTÝVMS al segnór · kar gloriósement magnifiéz *est* : čauál é le muntedúr degetá en la mér · ^{Ex 15:2} Lá méie fortéce · é la méie loéngé *est* · li síre : é fáiz *est* · á méi en salud · Icíst li miéns *deus* · é ié glorifieráí lúi : li *deus* de mún pére · é exalceráí lúi · ^{Ex 15:3} Lí síre ensemént cume húem cumbatére : trestut poánz li núms de lúi · ^{Ex 15:4} Iéscúrrés de pharaón é le óst de lúi \de/getád en la mér · Lí eslít prínce de lúi suz plungiéd *sunt* · en la mér rúge : ^{Ex 15:5} li abýsme cóürrent els · descendírent en la parfundece sicume piérré · ^{Ex 15:6} Lá túde déstre síre magnifiéde *est* · én fortéce : la túde déstre síre ferít lenemí : ^{Ex 15:7} é en la multitudíne de tá glórie deposás les miéns aduersáries · Tú enueiás la túde ire · la quéle deuorád els · sicume stúble : ^{Ex 15:8} en lespirít de la túde fuírúí asemblédes súnt éwes · Estút únde decuránz : assembléd *sunt* · li abísme en mí la mér · ^{Ex 15:9} Díst li enemís ié parsíweráí : é *compre*ndráí : deuiseráí despóilles · serád aemplíde la méie áneme · Ié trairáí mun gláíue : ocirrád les lá méie máin · ^{Ex 15:10} Sufflád li túens espiríz · e cóürít els la mér : suz plungiéd *sunt* · sicume plúm en fórtes éwes · ^{Ex 15:11} Lí quels *est* · semblánz á téi es fórz síre : li quels *est* · semblánz á téi fáit gránz en saintedé · espowentábles · é loábles é faisanz merueille · ^{Ex 15:12} Tú estendis la máin : é deuorád els la tétre · ^{Ex 15:13} Dúitre fús en misericórde : al póphe le quel tu raecíns · E portás lúi en la túde *fortéce* **f. 74v** al túen sáint habitácle · ^{Ex 15:14} Muntérent li póphe é iriéde *sunt* : dolúrs purtíndrent li habitedúr de filistiím · ^{Ex 15:15} Lóres conturbé *sunt* · li prínce de edóm : les fórz de moáb purtiút criéme : enredírent túit li habitedúr de chanaán · ^{Ex 15:16} Embríue sur els criéme é pouír : en la grandéce de tún bráz · Séint fáit néient mouábles sicume piérré : désque trespást li túens póples síre : désque trespást icíst li túens póples le quel tú pursesis · ^{Ex 15:17} Tú énz merrás éls · é planterás el mónt de la túde eritéde : él túen mult férm habitácle le quel tu oúras síre · Lé túen saintuárie síre le quel fermérent les túes máins : ^{Ex 15:18} li síre regnáde en parmanabetéd é últre · ^{Ex 15:19} Entréyz *est* · acértes li čauaillérs pharaó · ot cúrrés é ót čualérs en la mér : é ramenád sur éls li síre les éwes de la mér · Máis li fil israel : alérent pár sechéce el milliú de lí ·

f. 74v

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▲ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 74v, 75r, and 75v. Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence cc-by-nc 4.0.

f. 74r

S^{HAB 3:2}IRE ié oi : la tûe oiânce é criens · Sire la tûe ouïre · en milliu dans uiuuife li · Él milliu dans coneud ferás : Cum tu iriez serás dé misericôrde recorderas · ^{HAB 3:3}Deus del soléire uendrà : é li sáinz del mónt farán · Couirit les ciéls la glórie de lí : é dé sa loéngé pléinne est · la terre · ^{HAB 3:4}Lá splendúr de lúi sicume lumière serad : córnes en ses máins · llúec repóste est · la fortéce de lúi : ^{HAB 3:5}deuánt sa fáce irad la mórt · Eistrád li diábles deuánt les piéz de lúi : ^{HAB 3:6}estút é mesurád la terre · Esguardá é desliád les géngz : é detriblé sunt li mónt del siècle · Encurué súnt li tértre del mónt : des éires de la parmanableté de lúi · ^{HAB 3:7}Púr felunie ié uí les herbérges dethiôpie : serúnt turbédés les péls de la terre de madián · ^{HAB 3:8}Que dunc en flúms es tu iriez sire : ú en flúms la tûe fuirúr : ú en mér la tûe indignaciún ? Chi munterás sur tes çauals : é li túen cár saluaciún · ^{HAB 3:9}Esdreçanz esdreçerás tun arc : les sereménz ás lignédes les quéls tu parlás · Les flúez de terre tu descirerás · ^{HAB 3:10}úirént é dolúrent li mónt : li gúrz des éwes trespasád · Dunád li abyême sa uóiz : altéce ses máins leuád · ^{HAB 3:11}Li soléilz é la lune estúrent en lur habitácle : en la lumière de tes saíettes irúnt : en la splendúr de la tûe fuildránte hánste · ^{HAB 3:12}Eñ fremissement decalcherás la terre : en fuirúr esbairás les géngz · ^{HAB 3:13}Eissúz ies á la salud de tún pöple : **én** salud ót tun crist · Tú ferís le chief de la maisún dé felún : denudás le fundament désque al cól · ^{HAB 3:14}Tú maldísás as scéptres de lúi · les chies de sés combatedúrs : ás uenánz sicume estúrbeillún á deperdre méi · Lesioissement déls : sicume decelúí chi deuóre le póure en repostáille · ^{HAB 3:15}Véie fesis en la mér á tes çauals : en palúd dé mültes éwes · ^{HAB 3:16}Ié oi é conturbéz est · li miéns uéntre : de uóiz tremblérent mes léures · Eñtred purretúre es miéns ós : é de suz méi ésbuillisséd · Pur cé que ié me repose el iúrd de tribulaciún : é qué ié munte al nóstre acéint pöple · ^{HAB 3:17}Lé fiér acertes né flurirád : é ^{f. 75r}ne será germe es uignes · ^{HAB 3:17}Mentirád loüre del oliúe : é li çamp né apórtérúnt uiánde · Será trenchié del berzil béste : é ne serád arment és créces · ^{HAB 3:18}Ié acertes el segnór esiorrái : é mesledecerái eñ déu le mién saluedúr · ^{HAB 3:19}Deus li sire la méie fortéce : é poserád més piéz sicume de cérs · E sur les méies haltéces demerrá méi li uenquere : en sálmes cantánt ·

O^{Dr 32:2}ÉZ ciéls quéls chósés ié paról : óied la terre les paróles de la méie búche · ^{Dr 32:2}Créisséd en plúuie la méie doctrine : decúrge sicume roséde le mién parlemént · Ensemémnt cume plúuie sur hérbe : é sicume gútes sur hérbes : ^{Dr 32:3}kar le núm del segnór ié apelerái · Dunéz grandéce á nóstre déu : ^{Dr 32:3}les ouïres déu sunt · parfáites : é tûtes les uéies de lúi iugeménz · Deus est · fedéilz · é sanz tûte felunie : li iústes é li dreiturés ^{Dr 32:5}pecchérent á lúi · é néient li fil de lúi en ordeúres · Generaciúns felunesse é peruérse : ^{Dr 32:6}réngz tu dúnc icéz chósés al segnór fól pöple é nunsauánz · Dum nést icil medésme tís pére chi pursíst téi : é fist · é criád téi ? ^{Dr 32:7}Remembre des iúrz anciéns : purpénse lés séngles generaciúns · Demánde tun pére é il annuncerád á téi : les túens maiúrs é dirúnt á téi · ^{Dr 32:8}Quant departéit li altisme les géngz : quánt il desseúrad les filz adám · Establít les termes des pöples : iúste le númbre des filz israél · ^{Dr 32:9}Lá partie acertes del segnúr li súens pöples : iacób li

funéls de la súde heredité · ^{Dr 32:10}Il truuád lúi en terre desertéde : en líú de hisdúr · é **guáste** soltiuetéd · Enuirún menád lúi · é enseignád : é gardá sicume la purnéle de sún oil · ^{Dr 32:11}Sicume li ágles puruócánz á uolér ses pulcíns : é sur vels/uolítanz · Espandít sés éles · é portád en sés escábles · ^{Dr 32:12}Li síre sols fud dúitre de lúi : é ne estéit ot lúi *deus* estrangé · ^{Dr 32:13}Establít lúi sur hálte terre : que il maniást les frúiz des çams · Que il suçást miel de piérré : é olie de mult dúre roche · ^{Dr 32:14}Bûre de armént · é láit de oéilles : ot la cráisse daignéls · é des multúns as filz basán · E lés bús ót la mouïle de frumént : é le sanc de grápe beúst tresclér · ^{Dr 32:15}Encreaissié est · li améz é recalcitrad : encraissiez · ensaiméz · essamplíz · Il deguerpít déu sún faitúr : é desseúra séi de déu le sűen saluáble · ^{Dr 32:16}Puruochérent lúi en *deus* estrangés : é en abominaciúns á iracúndie *commoúrent* · ^{Dr 32:17}Il sacrificérent á diábles é néient á déu : as *deus* les quels il ne conuisséient · Nouél é frescissánz uíndrent : les quels ne coltiuérent li pére déls · ^{Dr 32:18}Déu chi téi engendrá deguerpís : é obliás le segnór tún creatúr · ^{Dr 32:19}Vít li síre · é á iracúndie *commoúz est* : kar puruochérent lúi li sűen fil · é ses filles · ^{Dr 32:20}E díst · ié repundrái lá méie fáce déls : é esguarderái les derainetéz del · Kar la generaciúns *est* · puruérse : é néient fedéil li fil · ^{Dr 32:21}Il medésme méi puruochérent en icelúí chi né estéit *deus* : é entariérent en lur uanitéz · ^{f. 75v} ^{Dr 32:21}E ié puruocherái els en icelúí chi nenést pöples : é en sóle gent entariérai éls · ^{Dr 32:22}Fús est · esprís en la méie fuirúr : é ardrá désque : as derainetéz denfér · E deuorerád la terre ot sun germiné : é les fundament des mónz ardrá · ^{Dr 32:23}Ié assemblerái sur éls máles chósés : é les méies saíettes emplirái en els · ^{Dr 32:24}Serúnt deguastéd par fáim : é deuorerúnt els **oisél** par mult amér mórs · Déngz de béstes ueneierái en éls : ot fuirúr des traiánz sur terre · é des rampánz · ^{Dr 32:25}Defórs guasterád éls gláiué é dedéngz pouír : iuencél ensemblemément é uírgine · le alaitánt ót uieíl húme · ^{Dr 32:26}E ié díst · ú *sunt* · il : cessér ferái de húmes la mémorie dicéls · ^{Dr 32:27}Máis pur líre de lúr enemís purlugnái : que pár auentúre ne sen orguillissent lur enemí · E disissent la nóstre máin est hálte : é néient li síre fist tûtes icéz chósés · ^{Dr 32:28}Lá gént sanz conséil *est* · é sanz cuintise · ^{Dr 32:29}la méie uoluntéd soussent · é entendissent : é les derainetéz pureúissent · ^{Dr 32:30}Cum faitérement parsuéit úns míl : é dúi cachassent díst milliérs · Dúm nést pur icé que lur *deus* uendít éls : é li síre conclúst éls ? ^{Dr 32:31}Néient acertes *est* · li nóstre *deus* sicume li *deus* dicéls : é li nóstre enemí sunt iugedúr · ^{Dr 32:32}Dé la uigne des sodomiéns la uigne dicéls : é des suz citeáins de gomórré · Lá grápe dicéls grápe de fiél : é **raisimét mult amér** · ^{Dr 32:33}Fiél de dragúns le uín dicéls : é uením de serpénz néient sanáble · ^{Dr 32:34}[D]um ne *sunt* · icéz chósés repóstes uenúrs méi : é signéz en més tresórs · ^{Dr 32:35}Méie *est* · ueniáncé · é ié reguerredurrá á els en téns : que esculúrst li piéz dicéls · Deíúste *est* · li iúrd de perdicíún : é aestre séi hástent li téns · ^{Dr 32:36}Iugerád li síre sún pöple : é en ses seírs áurad merci · Verrád que enferméde séit la máin : é li enclós nedés defístrent : é li áltre deguasté *sunt* · ^{Dr 32:37}E il dirrá · ú *sunt* · li déu dicéls es quéls il auéient fiáncé · ^{Dr 32:38}Des sacrificses des quéls il maniówent cráisses : é beuéient uín de sacrificses · Esdrécent séi e aiúdent á uús : é en necessitéd uús deféngent · ^{Dr 32:39}Uéiez que ié súi sols : é nenést áltre *deus* éstre méi · Ié ocirrái é ie uíúre ferái : ié ferrái · é ié sanerái : é nenést chi de la méie máin púisse deliúrer · ^{Dr 32:40}Té leuerái al ciél la méie máin : é dirrái · ié uif en parmanableté · ^{Dr 32:41}Si ié aguiserái sicume fúildre la méie espéde : é rauriúnt iugement les méies máins · ^{Dr 32:41}Ié rendrái ueniáncé á mes enemís : é á icéz chi haírent méi reguerredurrái · ^{Dr 32:42}Ié eniuerrái més saíettes de sanc : é li miéns gláiués deuorerád çarz · Dél sanc des ocís : é de la çaitiuetéd del denué chief des enemís · ^{Dr 32:43}Loéngz genz le pöple de lúi : kar lé sanc de ses seírs il uengerád · E ueniáncé reguerredurrá es enemís dicéls : é **pardunáble** serád á la terre de sun pöple ·

f. 75v

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


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IKONEN-MUSEUM RECKLINGHAUSEN
25. JANUAR BIS 6. JULI 2025

Ikonen-Museum Recklinghausen
Kirchplatz 2a
D-45657 Recklinghausen
Telefon: +49(0)2361-50 1941
E-Mail: ikonem@kunst-re.de
www.ikonem-museum.com

 IkonenmuseumRecklinghausen
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Öffnungszeiten
dienstags bis sonntags
und an Feiertagen
11 bis 18 Uhr

Heiligabend und Silvester
11 bis 14 Uhr
montags geschlossen

Ostkirchliche Kunst aus Grenzregionen
Belarus, Ukraine, Rumänien, Westlicher Balkan, Griechenland

Icons in-between

Eastern Christian art from border areas
Belarus, Ukraine, Romania, Western Balkans, Greece



Icons in-between

Curators: Liliya Berezhnaya, Lutz Rickelt
Recklinghausen Icon Museum, January 25 – July 6, 2025
ORTHPOI project; ERC grant agreement no. 950287
EurAsian Transformations; FWF-funded Cluster of Excellence Grant-DOI: 10.55776/COE8
Catalog available at: <https://doi.org/10.17613/0TR5Q-1W335>
Photo: by courtesy of Liliya Berezhnaya and Lutz Rickelt







НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ
МУЗЕЙ У ЛЬВОВІ
ІМЕНІ АНДРЕЯ ШЕПТИЦЬКОГО
ПРОСП. СВОБОДИ, 20

Львівщина
Львів діє

ZAG

07.11.2025
14.12.2025

АРХАНГЕЛ
МИХАІЛ
АНГЕЛ ПЕРЕМОГИ

Archangel Michael, the Angel of Victory

Curators: Mariya Helytovych, Olha Horda-Tsybko
 "Andrey Sheptytskyi" National Museum in Lviv, November 7 – December 12, 2025
 Catalog available at: <https://svichado.com/novynky/arhangel-mihayil-z-diyannyami>
 Photo: by courtesy of Mariya Helytovych, Roksolana Kosiv, and Liza Derevska





LOUVRE

EN CHAIR ET EN OR : REGARDS SUR L'ICÔNE

XV^e-XX^e SIÈCLE



FLESH AND GOLD: GAZING AT ICONS

15th-20th CENTURY

Colloque international

Organisé avec le soutien exceptionnel de la Société des Amis du Louvre

Collège de France, lundi 7 avril 2025

École du Louvre, mardi 8 avril 2025

Sur inscription : programmation-centre-vivant-denon@louvre.fr

AMIS DU LOUVRE

CERCLE DES MÉCÈNES
DU LOUVRE

COLLÈGE
DE FRANCE

École du Louvre
Palais du Louvre

L'Œuvre d'Orient

Haines et Quilici, *L'Événement de l'Iconographie: l'art de l'icône, de la peinture à la sculpture*, Louvre, 2019, p. 102. © Musée du Louvre, Dess. : Graciliano Rossi / Julien Vidal

En réunissant des universitaires et des responsables de collections d'icônes aux États-Unis, en Europe (Albanie, Allemagne, Grèce, République tchèque, Roumanie, Royaume-Uni, Suède, Ukraine, France) et au Proche-Orient (Liban et Syrie), le colloque *En chair et en or : regards sur l'icône, XV^e-XX^e siècle* souhaitait mettre en lumière des approches renouvelées sur l'icône en s'intéressant aux questions transnationales, à l'historiographie, à l'histoire matérielle et à la réception de ces œuvres. Il explorait également la matérialité singulière de cette peinture. Ce colloque portait ainsi l'ambition d'interroger et de renouveler les perspectives de la recherche dans le domaine des icônes en s'ouvrant à de nouvelles méthodologies, histoires et géographies.

L'événement marquait l'acquisition réalisée au début de l'année 2025, par le musée du Louvre, pour son département des Arts de Byzance et des chrétientés en Orient, de l'exceptionnelle collection d'icônes réunie au Liban par Georges Abou Adal et complétée par son fils Freddy Abou Adal. Elle avait été révélée en 1993 au musée Carnavalet, à Paris, puis présentée au musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève en 1997. Depuis, plusieurs icônes de cette collection, considérées comme des jalons importants de l'histoire de l'art, ont été exposées ou commentées dans des publications scientifiques. La collection Abou Adal comporte 272 icônes crétoises, grecques, balkaniques, transylvaines, valaques, russes, levantines et melkites. Elle illustre ainsi la diversité des centres de production et les échanges culturels, depuis le XV^e siècle jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle. Elle se distingue aussi par l'abondance des signatures d'artistes qui y sont représentées. Enfin, elle conserve un rare ensemble d'icônes produites dans le contexte du renouveau du patriarcat grec d'Antioche au XVII^e siècle, à Alep notamment, et par les chrétiens arabophones de Syrie, du Liban et de Jérusalem.

Ce colloque a été conçu et organisé par Maximilien Durand et Camille Chenais, avec la collaboration de Julie Botte, Margaux Gomes, Michèle Donatien, Gabriel Kamano, Philippe Cordez, Etienne Blondeau, Sylvie Bourrat et Lucy Stubbs-Eginton.

Il a été organisé grâce au soutien exceptionnel de la Société des Amis du Louvre, en partenariat avec le Collège de France et l'École du Louvre, et avec l'aide de L'Œuvre d'Orient.

Bringing together academics and curators from the United States, Europe (Albania, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Romania, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom, France) and the Near East (Lebanon, Syria), the symposium *Flesh and Gold: Gazing at Icons, 15th-20th Century* aimed to shine a light on new approaches to the study of icons, focusing on transnational questions, historiography, material history, and the reception of these works, in addition to their unique materiality. This symposium was also organised with the intent to question and renew research perspectives in the field of icon studies through new methodologies, histories, and geographies.

The event marked the Louvre's acquisition in early 2025 of the exceptional collection of icons assembled in Lebanon by Georges Abou Adal and completed by his son, Freddy Abou Adal for its Department of Byzantine and Eastern Christian Art. This collection was first publicly displayed at the Musée Carnavalet (Paris) in 1993, and later shown at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (Geneva) in 1997. Several pieces from the Abou Adal collection, considered landmark works in art history, have since been displayed or discussed in scholarly publications. The collection includes 272 Balkan, Cretan, Greek, Levantine, Melkite, Russian, Transylvanian and Wallachian icons, and serves as a testament to the diversity of production centres and cultural exchanges from the 15th to 20th century. The number of artists' signatures on the pieces in the collection is also remarkable. Additionally, the collection holds some of the rare examples of icons produced during the 17th century revival of the Greek Patriarchate of Antioch, including Aleppo, and by the Arabic-speaking Christians of Syria, Lebanon and Jerusalem.

This symposium was conceived and organised by Maximilien Durand and Camille Chenais, with the collaboration of Julie Botte, Margaux Gomes, Michèle Donatien, Gabriel Kamano, Philippe Cordez, Etienne Blondeau, Sylvie Bourrat and Lucy Stubbs-Eginton.

It was organised with the exceptional support of the Société des Amis du Louvre, in partnership with the Collège de France and the École du Louvre, and with the help of L'Œuvre d'Orient.





'In our own tongues'

The Medieval Vernacular Bible and its European Contexts

International Conference

University of Oxford, 30 September–2 October 2025

The conference focused on placing national medieval traditions of Bible translation and religious discourse in European context. It brought together scholars interested in comparative research on the vernacular adaptation of Christian textual and artistic culture as a common European process. The conference was organised jointly by the Oxford and Augsburg research teams of the 'Medieval Vernacular Bibles as Unity, Diversity and Conflict'. The project is based at the universities of Oxford and Augsburg and is supported by the UK-German Funding Initiative in the Humanities (Arts and Humanities Research Council and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) and the Bavarian Academy.

30 September 2025

9am-10.30am, St Stephen's House //

Chair: Elizabeth Solopova (University of Oxford)

ELIZABETH SOLOPOVA (University of Oxford), *Welcome*

HANNAH SCHÜHLE-LEWIS (University of Oxford), *'Ye pope, maister of bishoppes': Translating an Episcopal Oath in 1380s England*

MICHAEL KUCZYNSKI (Tulane University), *Hebrew and Greek Words in the Wycliffite Bible*

11am-12.30pm St Stephen's House //

Chair: Nadine Popst (University of Augsburg)

DOMENIC PETER (University of Augsburg), *'Als Daniel gesprochen hat': The Book of Daniel in the Work of the Austrian Bible Translator and Beyond*

STEFANIE KATZMEYER (University of Augsburg), *'Ungeführte pfaffen', 'Stifter alles kriegs vnd streytz', 'Discipuli Antichristi': Criticism of the Clergy by the Austrian Bible Translator, Austrian Heretical Movements, and the Wycliffites*

ANGILA VETTER (Hamburg University), *Modelling Lay Authority in Digital Editions: When the Austrian Bible Translator Invokes Wolfram von Eschenbach*

Afternoon: Walk to the Norman church of St Mary, Iffley, with Henrike Lähnemann, followed by viewing of the Old Library, St Edmund Hall.

1 October 2025

9am-10.30am St Stephen's House //

Chair: Catherine Mary MacRobert (University of Oxford)

KATEŘINA VOLEKOVÁ (Charles University / Czech Language Institute), *Old Czech Glosses on the Psalms in Latin Biblical Dictionaries*

ANDREA SVOBODOVÁ (Czech Language Institute), *Colophons in Late-medieval Bohemian Biblical Manuscripts*

KATARZYNA JASIŃSKA-RÓŻYCKA (Institute of Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences), *Scriptural Echoes in the Prologues to Medieval Dictionaries: Motifs, Citations, and Inspiration*

11am-12.30pm St Stephen's House //

Chair: Freimut Löser (University of Augsburg)

VLADIMIR AGRIGOROEI (CNRS / Centre for Medieval Studies, Poitiers), *The Cultural Implications of God's Preference for the French Speech in the Old Testament Poem Written by Évrart (Late-Twelfth Century)*

CORENTIN DELATTRE (University of Poitiers / Centre for Medieval Studies, Poitiers), *'To furnish the priests to maintain the law': Structures and Contents of London, British Library, MS Arundel 230*

ÁGNES KORONDI (Fragmenta et Codices Research Group of the Hungarian Research Network, National Széchényi Library), *Converting the Gospel of Nicodemus into a Sermon: The Old Hungarian Adaptation of the Apocryphon and its Latin Homiletic Background*

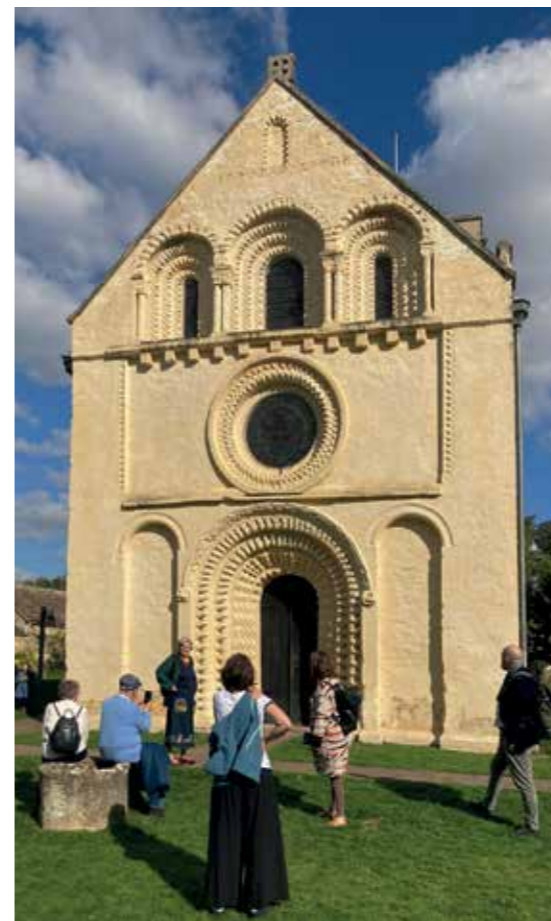
3pm-5pm Bodleian Library, Lecture Theatre //

Chair: Andrew Dunning (University of Oxford)

EMILY DAVENPORT GUERRY (University of Oxford), *MS. Duke Humfrey c. 1: Illuminating the French New Testament and its readers, from Jean le Bon to Duke Humfrey*

FREIMUT LÖSER (University of Augsburg), *MS. Laud Misc. 479: The Paradisus-collection*

HENRIKE LÄHNEMANN (University of Oxford), *MSS. Bodl. 969-970: A Fifteenth-century German Bible*



CATHERINE MARY MACROBERT (University of Oxford), MS e Mus. 184: *The Vicissitudes of the Church Slavonic Psalter*

COSIMA GILHAMMER (University of Oxford), MS. Bodl. 243: *Wycliffite Glossed Gospels*

ELIZABETH SOLOPOVA (University of Oxford), MS. Bodl. 441: *Gospels in Old English*

2 October 2025

9am-10.30am St Stephen's House // Chair: Vladimir Agrigoroaei (CNRS / Centre for Medieval Studies, Poitiers)

ANA-MARIA GINSAC (Institute of Interdisciplinary Research, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași), *The Practice of Alternative Translation in Two Seventeenth-century Romanian Psalters*

ILEANA SASU (University of Tours), *Translating Saint Audrey: Images, Motifs, and Cultural Adaptations Across Europe*

ÉLISA MARCADET (University of Tours), *From Latin to*



Middle English: Vernacular Adaptations of Psalm 135 in the Surtees Psalter

11am-12.30pm – St Stephen's House // Chair: Ian Johnson (University of St Andrews)

ONDŘEJ FÚSIK (Charles University and National Library of the Czech Republic), *Latin Gerunds and Gerundives and their Old English Translational Equivalents as Evidenced in Old English Biblical Translations*

Audrey Southgate (University of Oxford), *Wyclif on Scripture and Islam*

Mishtooni Bose (University of Oxford), *The Sword of Solomon: John Bury, Reginald Pecock and the Authority of Scripture*

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Conference site: <https://www.english.ox.ac.uk/our-own-tongues-medieval-vernacular-bible-and-its-european-contexts>.





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Tron – Hetimasia – Sintron

în iconografia post-bizantină

Throne – Hetoimasia – Syntropon

in post-Byzantine iconography

Трон – Етимасія – Синтрон

у пост-візантійській іконографії

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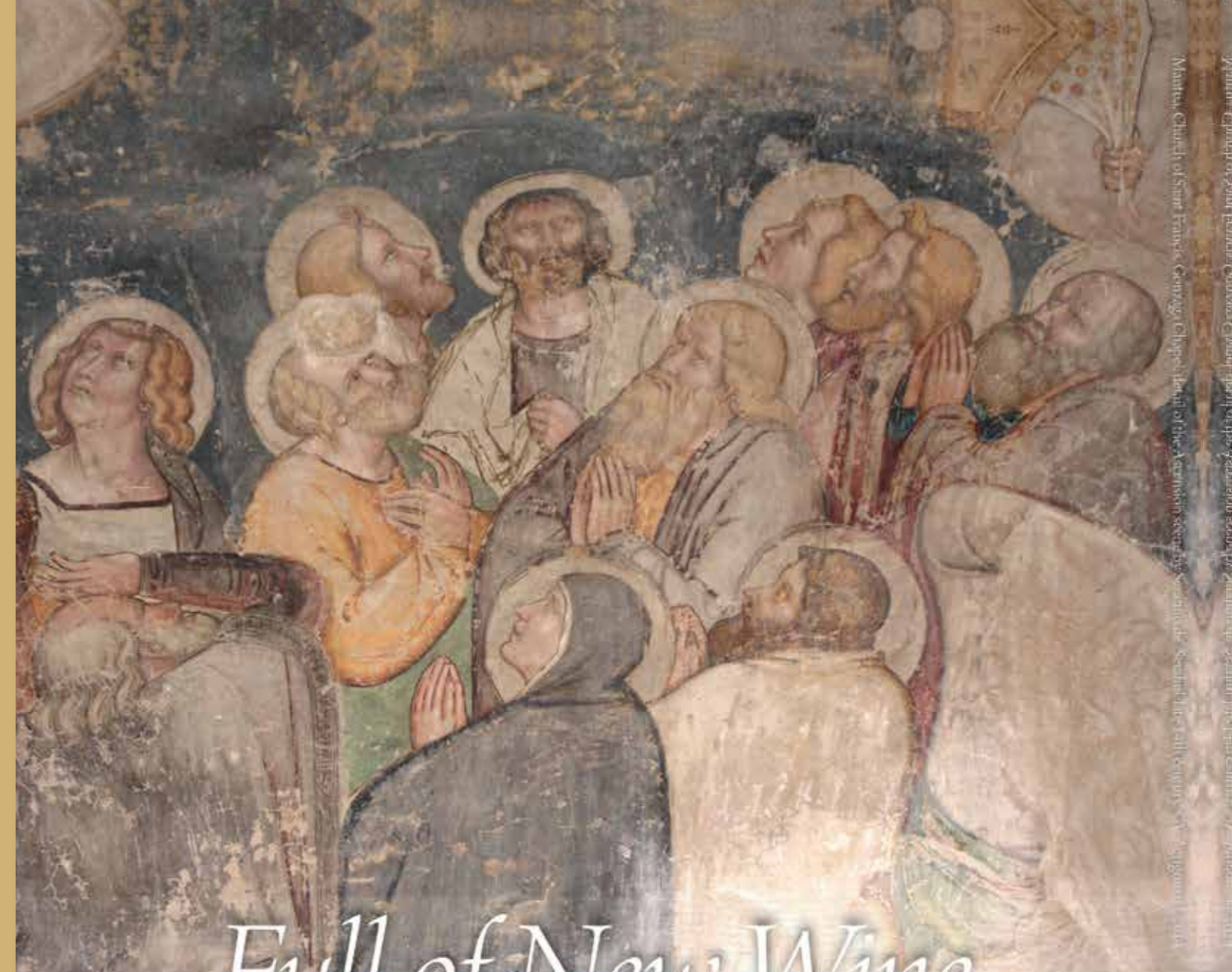
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Monica Brnzei (Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, FR)

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