

ТЕКСТОВЕ НАДПИСИ ОБРАЗИ

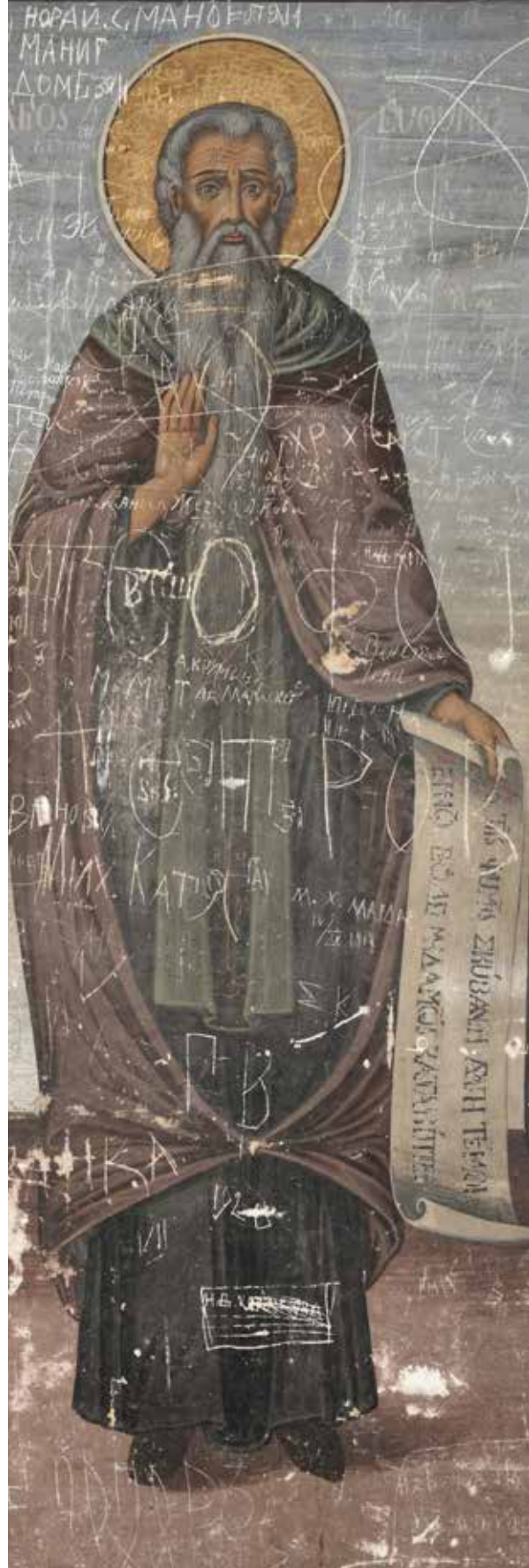
TEXTS INSCRIPTIONS IMAGES

St Euthymius the Great, 19th century fresco from the Archangels church, Monastery of Bachkovo, Bulgaria

Св. Евтимий Велики, стенопис от 19 в.,
църква „Архангели“, Бачковски манастир

Изкуствоведски времена 2016

Art Readings 2016



ИЗКУСТВОВЕДСКИ ЧЕТЕНИЯ

Тематично годишно рецензирано издание за изкуствознание в два тома

ART READINGS

Thematic annual peer-reviewed edition in Art Studies in two volumes

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ИЗКУСТВОВЕДСКИ ЧЕТЕНИЯ

Тематично годишно рецензирано издание за изкуствознание в два тома
2016/ т. I – Старо изкуство

ТЕКСТОВЕ • НАДПИСИ • ОБРАЗИ



TEXTS • INSCRIPTIONS • IMAGES

ART READINGS

Thematic annual peer-reviewed edition in Art Studies in two volumes
2016/ vol. I – Old Art

Под научната редакция на
Емануел Мутафов
Йелена Ерделян

Scholarly edited by
Emmanuel Moutafov
Jelena Erdeljan

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Изкуствоведски четения 2016

Втора година традиционните ни Изкуствоведски четения са разделени на два модула. През миналата 2015 г. нашият модул беше озаглавен „Герои. Култове. Светци“ и бе посветен на 400 години от успението на св. Георги Нови Софийски. Колоквиумът се проведе през май, а преди Коледа имаме издаден сборник, който се радва на голям интерес у нас и в чужбина. В миналогодишното събитие участие взеха 8 чужденци от БЮРМ, Гърция и Румъния.

Конференцията през 2016 г. бе изтеглена през април заради натовареността със събития и датата на тазгодишния Великден през м. май. Темата на събитието бе „Текстове. Надписи. Образи“, което привлече още по-голям брой участници зад граница. Участие в колоквиума взеха изтъкнати колеги от Франция, Гърция, Белгия, Сърбия, Русия и Албания. Броят на чуждестранните колеги представляваше една трета от общия брой участници в събитието, което говори за нарастващия международен авторитет на нашия форум.

Art Readings 2016

For the second year in a row, the traditional *Art Readings* have been divided into two modules. Last year (2015), our module, *Heroes. Cults. Saints* was occasioned by the 400th anniversary since the martyrdom of St George the New Hieromartyr of Sofia. The colloquium was held in May, and by Christmas we already had published a book (annual edition) enjoying popularity both in Bulgaria and abroad. The last year's event was attended by eight foreigners from FYROM, Greece and Romania.

The 2016 conference was held earlier in April due to the wide range of upcoming events and this year's Orthodox Easter in May. The colloquium is titled *Texts. Inscriptions. Images*, which attracted even more foreign participants, renowned colleagues from France, Greece, Belgium, Serbia, Russia and Albania. The number of the foreign attendees accounts for one third of all the participants in the event, rendering our forum even more authoritative.

There are several positive aspects to

Колоквиумът през 2016 г. имаше няколко силни страни:

- конкретна, но същевременно обща тема, която покрива различни периоди и професионални направления;
- липса на такса за правоучастие, което се превръща в рядкост през последните години в световен мащаб;
- ранно разгласяване;
- стремеж за покриване на някои от разностите на чуждестранните участници;
- общодостъпна локация в центъра на Балканите;
- предлагане на качествена публикация в рамките на същата календарна година.

Надявам се с общи усилия силните страни на Изкуствоведските четения, модул Старо изкуство, не само да се запазят, но и да се задълбочат. Голямата ми амбиция е да превърна тази конференция в ежегоден международен форум, който да е единственият специализиран в изучаването на античното, византийското и предмодерното изкуство, за който знаят всички колеги и участват с удоволствие. Искам темите за всяка следваща конференция да се обсъждат широко и с участието на учени извън България, за да се установят актуалните проблеми в историята на изкуството. Колоквиумът ни трябва да бъде алтернатива на съпоструващите на участниците конференции на Запад, както и да бъде

the 2016 colloquium:

- A subject, which is both concrete and general, covering various periods and areas of expertise;
- No registration fee, which has recently become a rare occurrence globally;
- Early publicity;
- Seeking to cover some of the costs of the foreign participants;
- An easily accessible location right in the heart of the Balkans;
- Offering quality publications within the same year.

Hopefully, the positive aspects to the *Art Readings*, module *Old Art*, will be not only retained, but also enhanced through joint efforts of the participants. I cherish the ambition to hold this international event, which is the sole one specialised in studying ancient, Byzantine and pre-modern art and of which all colleagues are informed and participate with pleasure, on a yearly basis. I'd be happy to have the topics of the next conferences widely discussed with researchers outside Bulgaria joining the discussion so that to specify the topical issues of the history of art. Our colloquium should be an alternative to the costly, when it comes to the participants, conferences held in the West as well as to be competitive with the Congress on Byzantine Studies, where the role, for example, of the post-Byzantine studies is underestimated. In our regular annual volumes of con-

конкуренция на конгреса по Византология, където мястото например на поствизантийските изследвания е подценено. В нашите сборници освен това присъстват равнопоставено повечето европейски езици като френски и немски например, а не само английски език.

Християнската и европейската култура са в опасност напоследък. Подценени и агресивно атакувани са нашите ценности, подиграват се с толерантността ни, милосърдието и нашето състрадание. Европейската иконичност също е жертва на терористите, които представляват аниконичната идея за световния халифат. Рушат се артефакти, подлагат се на поругание катедрали и жени. И от тази гледна точка този форум е форма на съхранение на нашата идентичност.

Вярвам, че това издание ще ни предложи интересни доклади, които ще предизвикат още по-ползотворни дискусии по темите, разисквани на конференцията. Несъмнено, всички участници са намерили нови приятели сред колегите, с които са обменяли идеи и са умували върху общи проекти.

Емануел Мутафов

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ference papers, most of the European languages such as French or German, for instance, rather than English alone are treated equally.

Christian and European cultures are in danger these days. Our values are belittled and aggressively attacked; our tolerance and compassion are being derided. European iconicity also falls prey to terrorists, who represent the aniconic idea of a caliphate. Artefacts are demolished, churches are desecrated and women are violated. From such a vantage point, this event is a form of protecting our identity.

I believe that interesting papers lay in store for us in the following pages, although they don't ignite even more informative discussions that appeared during the conference. For sure everyone involved was befriended their colleagues, with whom they exchanged ideas and deliberated on collective projects.

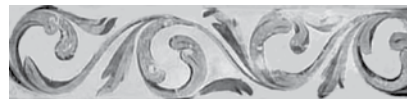
Emmanuel Moutafov,

Director of the Institute of Art Studies

ТЕКСТОВЕ • НАДПИСИ • ОБРАЗИ



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The Visual Language of Roman Art and Roman Thrace

Marina Koleva

Institute of Art Studies

Abstract: Who “spoke”/understood the visual language of Roman art in Roman Thrace? To answer this question the article’s author presents two groups of votive reliefs. The first group depicts Asklepios and Hygieia, and rendering iconography of the classical types of Hygieia Broadlands and Asklepios Giustini. And the second one presents the First Labor of Heracles - the Nemean lion. These monuments offer information on dedication of images and inscriptions, which in Thracian territories are an introduced Graeco-Roman tradition and an expression of the culture influence upon Thracians-dedicators. From the evidence from the above mentioned monuments, it could be deducted that dedicators not simply recognized iconographic types of popular deities, and “deciphered” mythological plots, but selected these representations for their personal votive. This perhaps is an issue of acquaintance with mythology, of iconography, and in general of Greek culture, although reworked during the Roman age, and distributed in a provincial context.

Keywords: image, Roman art, visual language, Roman Thrace, votive reliefs

The world of the Antiquity is often described as one of images. In part, this is due to the low level of literacy, which makes people more sensitive to communication power of the image, and in part because images are everywhere¹.

Towards the end of the republican period patrons, as well as sculptors, were conversed in the iconographic and stylistic “language” of Greek Art and selected the appropriate means through which the much earlier Greek models were to be used². Transformation of Greek forms to suit Roman ends is gradual and begins as early as the Hellenistic Age,

1 *Stewart, Peter. The Social History of Roman Art. Cambridge, 2008, 1.*

2 *Stewart, Peter. The Social History, 148.*

when during the Early Empire Greek models are “translated” into Roman contexts, according to the requirements of the time. During the Roman Imperial Age Greek Art is freely cited, and Greek models are accessible and recognizable to diverse strata within Roman society³.

Gradually a pan-imperial visual culture evolves, the beginning of which is formulated during the reign of Augustus, with an apex during the Antonine Age. The ubiquity of Greek Ideal types among the various genres of Roman sculpture illustrates how completely they were integrated in the visual language of the Empire. In time emerges a recognizable, readily comprehended and widely spread visual language of the Roman imperial art. Going up to the Antonine and Severan periods, this visual language formulated in the capital was selectively adapted in the provinces, where classical images are adopted by provincial patrons and craftsmen, and often are reworked to new ends. The idealized classicized representations of deities and personifications attest to the culture spread by the Romans throughout all of the Empire. In this sense, the works offer a valuable example of the periphery – center dialogue during the Roman Imperial Age. Besides, one should not neglect the fact that presence of replicas of classical types is also significant because it grants social acceptance to the owner and bestows upon the patron a sense of cultural identity, of *romanitas*. The shared visual language is owed to the presence of the Roman army, of the cities, and of the sponsored by the capital images, even when those were sometimes interpreted alternatively by the local spectators. Art serves to solidify the common language in the Empire, not only among the part of the population commissioning sculptural and other works of art, but also among those who look at them⁴.

Indubitably, this visual language of Roman Imperial art was “spoken” in Roman Thrace. And not only the sculptural, but also the other artworks of Balkan provenance corroborate this. Sculpture found here – portraiture and ideal, official, votive, and decorative – prove it. Replicas and variations based on classical originals, found in our ter-

3 Varner, Eric. Reading Replications: Roman Rhetoric and Greek Quotations. – Art History 2006, vol. 29/ 2, 299; Kousser, Rachel. Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture. The Allure of the Classical. Cambridge, 2008, 14.

4 Kousser, Rachel. Hellenistic and Roman Ideal, 6-7, 15, 139; Bartman, Elizabeth. Sculptural Collecting and Display in the Private Realm. In: Roman Art in the Private Sphere. New Perspective on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa and Insula. (ed. Elaine Gazda). Ann Arbor, 1991, 78; Stewart, Peter. The Social History, 162.

ritory, lead to the conclusion that types of Greek Classical sculpture were clearly popular and comprehensible to the members of this provincial society during the Roman period.

Who “spoke”/understood the visual language of Roman art in Roman Thrace? To answer this question one could use votive reliefs with preserved images and inscriptions. These make possible an appraisal of what kind of persons which kind of representations favored for their votives. First I will examine reliefs with representations of replicas of Greek classical sculpture, and later of some rendering myths.



Fig. 1. Votive relief of Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros from Glava Panega (After IGBulg. II, 519)

Here I present a group of votive reliefs from the sanctuary by Glava Panega depicting Asklepios and Hygieia⁵ (Fig. 1), and rendering iconography of the classical types of Hygieia Broadlands and Asklepios Giustini. Depictions in the round and in relief, executed in similar to the two deities' iconography are known in Thrace, of which several have already been identified as type Hygieia Broadlands⁶ and Asklepios Giustini⁷.

In the iconographic type Giustini Asklepios is rendered standing, relaxed, on left supporting leg, a himation thrown over the shoulders.

5 Dobruski, Vatslav. Trakijsko svetilishte na Asklepia do Glava Panega. – Arheologicheski izvestia na Narodnia Muzei v Sofia, 1907, I, 40-42, 44-50, 55, № 7-13, 15, 17-18, 33-34, fig. 13-18, 20-21, 25-26 = Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae II. Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae (IGBulg. II). (ed. Georgi Mihailov). Serdicae, 1958, II, 514-521, 523-524; Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae (ILBulg.). (ed. Boris Gerov). Serdica, 1989, 208, 199.

6 Croissant, Francis. Hygieia. – LIMC, 1990, V, 560-561, n 68, 86-89, 94-95; Gočeva, Zlatozara. Hygieia (in Thracia). – LIMC, 1990, V, 572, n 1; Leventi, Iphigeneia. Hygieia in Classical Greek Art. Athens, 2003, 106.

7 Doncheva, Ivanka. Ikonografiska karakteristika na izobrazheniata na Asklepii varhu trakijskite obrochni refei. In: Istoriko-arheologicheski izsledvania. V pamet na Prof. Dr. Stancho Vaklinov. V. Tarnovo, 1994, 328.

The deity is propped, under the right shoulder, by a staff with a snake; the left hand is flexed, resting on the left hip, covered by the draped cape. The head is slightly twisted to the right; the fastened hair is rendered in big curls, tighter on the beard. In the Broadlands type Hygieia is rendered standing, frontal, clad in a fastened below the chest chiton, over which is draped a himation. The hairstyle is classical, orderly. The right arm is drawn-out in front of the body below the chest, a snake coiling on it; the left arm is outstretched, likely holding a phiale from which the snake eats. It is thought that the originals of both types were created during the 4th century BC and installed in Athens⁸. Both types are very popular during the Roman Imperial Age, often copied in various scales, in the round and in relief⁹. They are likewise among the most commonly encountered depictions of deities in Thrace. On all presently discussed Glava Panega monuments, despite some stylistic variants, the original iconographic types are easily discernable in the replicas, with the principle features reflected in our provincial monuments.

In addition to the representations of Hygieia and Asklepios, the Glava Panega reliefs include also Telesphoros; his association with Hygieia and Asklepios is common to Thrace¹⁰. He is depicted in his standard iconography: standing, frontal, clad in a long garment, hooded, usually barefoot¹¹, a quite frequent interpretation among the sculptural monuments from Thrace¹².

On most of the cited reliefs the votive inscriptions are in Greek. The dedicators, of whom evidence survives, bear Thracian names (IG-Bulg. II, 523); other have Roman *nomen* and *cognomen* (IGBulg. II, 514, 518, 519, 520); Roman *praenomen* (IGBulg. II, 524); Roman *cognomen* used as a *praenomen* (IGBulg. II, 515); and Greek personal name and patronym (IGBulg. II, 516, 517); or have one preserved Greek name,

8 Holtzman, Bernard. Asklepios. – LIMC, 1984, II, 894; Meyer, Marion. Zwei Asklepiostypen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.: Asklepios Giustini und Asklepios Athen-Macerata. In: Antike Plastik, 1994, B. 23, 32; Leventi, Iphigeneia. Hygieia, 104-106; Croissant, Francis. Hygieia, 571.

9 Meyer, Marion. Erfindung und Wirkung. Zum Asklepios Giustini. – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, 1988, B. 103, 131-135, 158; Meyer, Marion. Zwei Asklepiostypen, 27-28, 32.

10 Rühfel, Hilde. Telesphoros. – LIMC, 1994, VII, 877; Doncheva, Ivanka. Kultat kam Telesphor i ikonografski osobenosti na izobrazheniata mu v Trakia. In: Seminarium Thracicum 5. Vtori akademichni chetenia v pamet na akademik Gavril Katsarov. Sofia, 2001, 192-194.

11 Rühfel, Hilde. Telesphoros, 876.

12 Doncheva, Ivanka. Kultat kam Telesphor, 191-192.

likely preceded by a Roman *nomen* (IGBulg. II, 521)¹³.

There is also evidence of the social status of some of the dedicators, some of which held eminent posts in the civic administration (IGBulg. II, 516, 517, 524), or had military carrier (IGBulg. II, 514-515, 518, 520, 521)¹⁴.

Besides Greek, some reliefs of Asklepios and Hygieia in the said iconography bear Latin inscriptions (ILBulg. 199, 208). Notably, these monuments are dedicated to Silvanus (ILBulg. 199) and to Silvanus and Diana (ILBulg. 208), despite the fact that the images used are of different deities. The inscriptions attest to the fact that the dedicators are military; both with Roman *nomen* and *cognomen*¹⁵. This case of dedication to Silvanus and Diana on reliefs depicting Asklepios and Hygieia is ascribed to a complex syncretism with the local cult¹⁶.

Thus, in conclusion, with regards to the names of the dedicators it could be pointed out that perhaps behind some Greek and Roman names hide Thracians¹⁷. Two Roman names indicate Romanization, while a single Roman name is interpreted as incomplete Romanization¹⁸.

Inscriptions provide evidence of the dedicators, their origin and occupation. They include people with prominent social standing in the city, as well as troops of various ranks. A large segment of those are of Thracian descent, at various degrees of Romanization/Hellenization, judging by the names. The milieu, urban or military, obviously versed them into Greco-Roman art sufficiently for them to make such choice.

Furthermore, one must not forget the role of the artists, who made the monuments, since conceivably at least in some instances dedicators were offered to choose between already completed works, person-

13 Gočeva, Zlatozara. Svetilishteto pri Glava Panega i problemat za romanizatsiata na Dolna Mizia. In: Jubilaus V. Sbornik v chest na Prof. M. Tacheva (eds. Konstantin Boshnakov, Dilyana Boteva). Sofia, 2002, 114; Valchev, Ivan. Izvangradskite svetilishta v rimskata provincia Trakia (I-IV в). Sofia, 2015, 106, 223.

14 Gočeva, Zlatozara. Svetilishteto pri Glava Panega, 114; Valchev, Ivan. Izvangradskite svetilishta, 106, 223.

15 Gočeva, Zlatozara. Svetilishteto pri Glava Panega, 115; Valchev, Ivan. Izvangradskite svetilishta, 222-224.

16 Gočeva, Zlatozara. Svetilishteto pri Glava Panega, 115.

17 Valchev, Ivan. Izvangradskite svetilishta, 106.

18 Gočeva, Zlatozara. Svetilishteto pri Glava Panega, 114.



Fig. 2. Votive relief of Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros from Glava Panega (After IGBulg. II, 519)

alized by means of the inscription. Craftsmen knew and reproduced popular orders from classical Greek sculpture, circulated in Roman provincial art. Of this proof is offered likewise by one of the monuments in the subsequently discussed group.

Now I draw your attention to a several reliefs depicting myths.

Romans refer freely to the Greek myths, usually reinterpreting them within the framework of their own culture¹⁹. The Greek mythological narrative is extensively incorporated in Ro-

man private art and demonstrates the sophistication of the possessors as well as their familiarity with the Greek world²⁰.

The myths associated with Heracles are also quite often depicted in Roman provincial art, including on monuments from the Bulgarian territories. Some of his Labors are very popular, and one of the most represented is his First Labor – the Nemean Lion.

The first Labor of Heracles is typically depicted through the myth's climax, and Heracles is represented in the act of killing the Nemean Lion²¹. The scene is very frequently rendered on Greek vases, where typically, true to the mythological narrative, Heracles is portrayed killing the Lion with his bare hands. The earliest authentic monuments illustrating this myth date to the final quarter of 7th century BC²². The images of the wrestling antagonists are very popular in Ro-

19 Woodford, Susan. *Images of Myths in the Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, 2003, 62.

20 Barringer, Judith. *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*. New York, 2008, 210.

21 Woodford, Susan. *Images of Myths*, 27.

22 Boardman, John, Brize, Philip, Felten, Wassiliki, Kokkorou-Alewrass, Georgia, Laurens, An-

man monumental plastic art (statues, sarcophagi), as well as in the small bronze figurines²³.

Some of the votive monuments from the contemporary Bulgarian territories are created in exactly this classical scheme of Heracles' First Labor. Votive reliefs depicting Heracles' First Labor originate from the village Souhache, Vratsa District²⁴, the environs of Shabla²⁵, of Byala Cherkva (IGB II, 700)²⁶, of Pautalia (IGB IV, 2069)²⁷ (**Fig. 2**) and one of unknown provenance, now kept at the Razgrad museum²⁸. To these should be added a votive monument of unknown provenance, perhaps from Northern Bulgaria²⁹. The iconography is identical, with certain variation in the details between the different monuments. Heracles is depicted standing, wrestling the lion, with strong bulky body, legs spread apart for support, gripping the animal's neck, while the lion is erect, the front paws grabbing at the hero's hands, one of the hind legs clawing at his.

The images on the presently discussed reliefs depict the First Labor of Heracles in accord with the Classical Greek iconography, very popular during the Roman Age, readily recognizable and warranting a clear interpretation of the character and myth involved. But two of the monuments, from Byala Cherkva and Pautalia, through their inscriptions, offer additional information, allowing tracing familiarity and use of the images among the provincial population.

The dedicator of the Byala Cherkva relief bears a Roman *praenomen*

nie-France, *Palagia*, Olga, *Smallwood*, Valerie, *Todisco*, Luigi, *Woodford*, Susan. Herakles. – LIMC V, 1990, 30.

23 *Woodford*, Susan. Images of Myths, 31.

24 *Nikolov*, Bogdan. Antichni pametnici ot Vrachansko. – *Izvestia na Arheologicheskia institut* 1967, t. 30, 229, 231, № 31, obr. 23.

25 *Vasilchin*, Ivan. Obrochni plochki ot Tolbuhinski okrag. – *Izvestia na Narodnia muzei* – Varna, 1979, kn. 15, 113, № 4, tabl. II, 1a.

26 *Katsarov*, Gavril. Antichni pametnitsi iz Bulgaria. – *Godishnik na Plovdivskata narodna biblioteka i muzei*, 1937-39, 112, № 5, obr. 5; *IGBulg.* II, 700.

27 *Katsarov*, Gavril. Antichni pametnitsi iz Bulgaria. – *Godishnik na Plovdivskata narodna biblioteka i muzei*, 1930-31, t. 6, 121-122, № 8, obr. 109; *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae IV. Inscriptiones in territorio Serdicensi et in vallibus Strymonis Nestique repertae* (*IGBulg.* IV) (ed. Georgi Mihailov). *Serdicae*, 1966, 2069.

28 *Katsarov*, Gavril. Antichni pametnitsi iz Bulgaria. – *Godishnik na Plovdivskata narodna biblioteka i muzei*. – *Izvestia na Balgarskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* 1911, t. 2, 184-185, № 8, obr. 9.

29 *Filov*, Bogdan. Relief na Herkules ot Madara. – *Izvestia na Balgarskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* 1911, t. 2, 88-90, obr. 2.

(IGB II, 700)³⁰. Although Roman, the name does not comply with Roman naming conventions, and as stated for analogical examples within the first group of reliefs, it is believed that the use of a single Roman name reveals incomplete Romanization³¹. The dedicator of the Pautalia relief (IGB IV 2069) is named Herodes, son of Eptaikentos, Hellenized Thracian with Greek given name and Thracian patronym, who also mentioned his occupation – sculptor³².

The latter of these votive reliefs offers the rare opportunity to learn the name of a local artisan. This inscription indicates that in one of the Roman cities in Thrace – Pautalia – operated workshops, managed by local people³³. This particular sculptor selected, and likely cut, a representation of a myth upon a votive relief. The repertory of the workshops in Thrace includes, certainly, similar images, known, as evidenced by this monument, also to local craftsmen of Thracian origin. As with evidence provided by some of the inscriptions found on the previously discussed group of reliefs, here too dedicators are Romanized or Hellenized Thracians.

These monuments offer information on dedication of images and inscriptions, which in Thracian territories are an introduced Graeco-Roman tradition and an expression of the culture influence upon Thracians-dedicators³⁴. From the evidence from all the above mentioned monuments, it could be deducted that dedicators not simply recognized iconographic types of popular deities, and “deciphered” mythological plots, but selected these representations for their personal votive. This perhaps is an issue of acquaintance with mythology, of iconography, and in general of Greek culture, although reworked during the Roman age, and distributed in a provincial context.

Indubitably, the visual language of Roman Imperial art was “spoken” in Roman Thrace. Even if not everybody within the local society could “speak” or comprehended the visual language, at least they “heard”/contemplated it.

30 IGBulg. II, 700.

31 *Gočeva*, Zlatozara. Svetilishteto pri Glava Panega, 114.

32 *Gerov*, Boris. Prouchvane varhu zapadnotrakiiskite zemi v rimsko vereme. – Godishnik na Sofiiskia universitet Filologicheski fakultet 1961, LIV, 3, 266, 352, № 87; IGBulg. IV, 2069.

33 *Gerov*, Boris. Prouchvane varhu zapadnotrakiiskite zemi, 266.

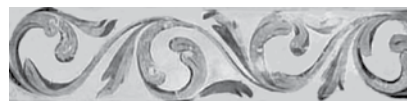
34 *Gerov*, Boris. Romaizmat mezhdun Dunava i Balkana. II chast. Ot Hadrian do Konstantin Veliki. – Godishnik na Sofiiskia universitet – Filologicheski fakultet, 1953, XLVIII, 348.

Визуалният език на римското изкуство и Римска Тракия

Марина Колева



Кой е „говорил“/разбирал визуалния език на римското изкуство в Римска Тракия? За да се отговори на този въпрос, са разгледани две групи вотивни релефи. Първата е с изображения на Асклепий и Хигия, копия на класическите гръцки типове Асклепий Джустини и Хигия Броудландс (фиг. 1). А втората представя първия подвиг на Херакъл – борбата му с Немейския лъв (фиг. 2). От надписите, които придружават образите, се черпят сведения кои са хората, посветили тези изображения, като една голяма част от тях са с тракийски произход, с различна степен на романизация/елинизация. По тези паметници се съди за разпознаването в общество на иконографията на популярни гръко-римски божества, а също така на митологията и изображенията на сцени от митове, и като цяло на гръцката култура, преработена в римската епоха и разпространена в една провинциална среда.



Contemporary Images of Vitruvius Texts

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Abstract: The aim of this article is to systematize the main contemporary approaches used to create images (mostly visual reflections) on the ancient concepts described by Vitruvius. His treatise “De architectura libri decem” (*De Architectura*) is an important stage of the knowledge and technology evolution, and has a huge impact on world architectural and constructional development. Its content includes main building concepts, processes and their main phases and participants, same as key architectural typologies, authors, methods and rules. Even now, though it is about two millennia later, various translations, illustrations, evaluations, comments, and criticism of Vitruvius’ ten books continue.

Keywords: Vitruvius, Roman Theater, Ideal design, Perfect man, architectural typology, reflection

The aim of this article is to systematize the main contemporary approaches used to create images (mostly visual reflections) on the ancient concepts described by Vitruvius. His treatise “De architectura libri decem” (*De Architectura*) is an important stage of the knowledge and technology evolution, and has a huge impact on world architectural and constructional development. Its content includes major building concepts, processes and their main phases and participants, same as key architectural typologies, authors, methods and rules. Even now, though it is about two millennia later, various translations, illustrations, evaluations, comments, and criticism of Vitruvius’ ten books continue.

In time, the known views over the treatise *De Architectura* vary in wide directions and ranges, as consequences of the alterations of scholarly perceptions, both of Vitruvius himself and of his place and role in knowledge development. An architect, a designer, a military engineer, a theorist, a teacher, a historian or simply an witness of the

era – all different sciences – have their different perspectives towards his life and achievements.

This study is focused mostly on the theoretical contributions of Vitruvius in the field of design and architecture of buildings and facilities.

At first, we should note that the treatise *De Architectura* has not come to our present time as an original object (like preserved manuscript) but in the form of transcripts, copies, prints, translations and comments. Therefore, its completeness is often questioned. As it is already noted by Mario Carpo¹ and by other researchers of the ancient treatise, Vitruvius himself mentions and even refers to several possible text illustrations. The roman architect also emphasizes the important role that drawings play in design processes². Yet, any existing graphics (in all known treatise copies) were not found to be directly related with Vitruvius³.

In addition, according to the text in his *De Architectura*, none of the possible lost original illustrations, was any representation of architectural objects, but they probably contained simple geometric patterns, schemes or rules⁴. Thus, although the text was focused on visual objects – mostly three-dimensional buildings, architectural and engineering elements and equipment – today all of Vitruvius' messages reach us directly only through communication in verbal channel. The ambiguity of this verbal presentation challenges scholars and architects in all generations to seek, create and add various schemes and images in subsequent copies and translations, same as to write comments and remarks of their textual descriptions. So, the lack of original illustrations leads to diverse scientific and artistic experiments, some of which are not quite logical graphic versions with high levels of speculation or even cause mythologizing trends towards the treatise data.

Besides possible images of Vitruvius' concepts and themes, over time

1 Carpo, Mario. *Architecture in the Age of Printing. Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*. MIT Press, 2001, 17, 150.

2 "Drawing is employed in representing the forms of his [an architect's] designs", in Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: *de Architectura*, Book I, chapter 1, 4. [online, 18.08.2016, <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/home.html>]

3 Sgarbi, Claudio. A Newly Discovered Corpus of Vitruvian Images. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, n 23, 1993, 31-51. [online, 18.08.2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20166865>]

4 Carpo, Mario. *Architecture in the Age of Printing*, 17.

appeared and various theoretical reflections or innovative interpretations of the treatise. Today we may group his respondents provisionally as:

- Vitruvius' scholarly reflections who create pure (linear) visual searches on the treatise objects, descriptions and rules
- Vitruvius' positive (and in some cases multidimensional or post-modern) followers, who try to continue and develop his ideas, even it is not always exactly the way Vitruvius could meant;
- Vitruvius' opponents questioning some principles, claims, concepts or as a whole his position and role in the contemporary history and theory of architecture⁵.

This report examines interpretations of just three cases of Vitruvius' verbal data, which (roughly) can be determined under the names: a *Roman theater*, a *Perfect man* and an *Ideal design*. The contemporary image solutions of these verbal descriptions are selected from the groups of positive (perceived as deeper reflections or just simply following Vitruvian goals and values) respondents.

The chosen case studies possess varying degrees of specificity and quality clearness regarding their possible preservation and transmission of data content in time. A *Roman theater* for example, is an architectural typology, which contains mainly geometric and quantitative information described in schemes, sizes and materials. Even not being complete, it still exists today in various media channels and graphic modalities as:

- text descriptions;
- primary or secondary comments, circuits and illustrations;
- real, but not quite preserved ancient objects and sites;
- same as their three-dimensional model or holographic reconstructions.

At the same time the data in each of these channels or modalities are influenced by the other (**Fig. 1**). In time, deriving their unique opinions, researchers on history, urbanism or roman architecture

⁵ See for example the opinion in: Wieringa, Roel. Debunking Vitruvius: An Anti-Hero for ICT Architects, [online, 30.08.2016 <http://graal.ewi.utwente.nl/WhitePapers/Vitruvius/Vitruvius.htm>]

Data channels and modalities

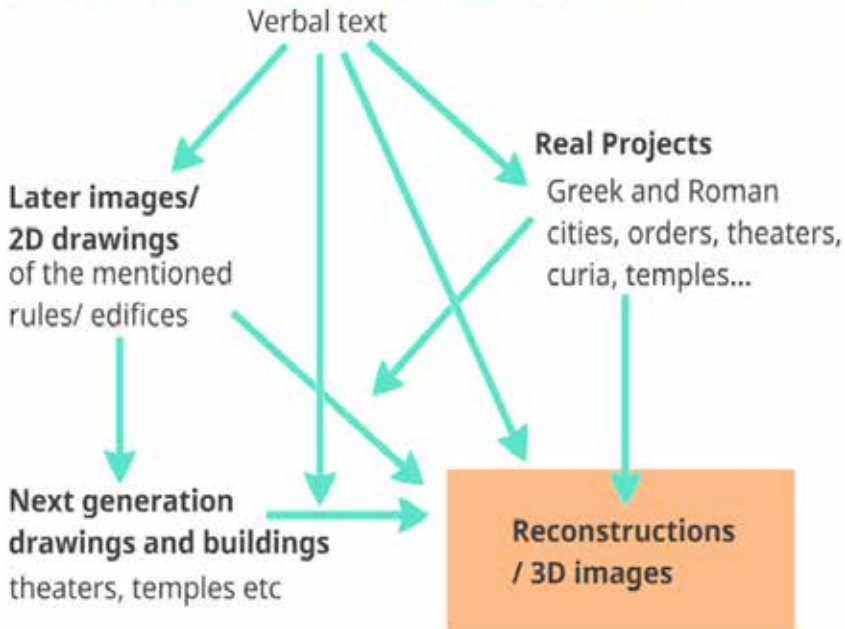


Fig. 1. Existing data and its links and influences exploring the *Roman theater*

used cross-cultural analysis or applied as parallel sources all found descriptions, relevant existing building and structures, and known reconstructions.

The second case is the *Perfect* – Vitruvian – man. Here we shall follow its visual solutions offered by contemporary authors, and their links with the description of the ideal human figure in measures and proportions according to Vitruvius. In this case, unlike the theater, we could assume that today we have a full existing original – a living human.

The third case will examine the purely qualitative definitions imposed by Vitruvius on the *Ideal design* – *Firmitas*, *Utilitas*, *Venustas* (which are often translated as *Strength*, *Utility* and *Beauty*). There were in fact no pure visual presentations of those categories, although all positive Vitruvius' interpreters claim to follow and express this "Vitruvian triad", while presenting his other concepts, like the architectural orders or various building scenery.

Several Renaissance reproductions of schemes following Vitruvius'



Fig. 2. The Roman Theatre in Mérida. Image: Wikimedia Commons, 2004, photo by Håkan Svensson

texts on the ancient Roman theaters are now available for comparing in the art teaching site of Davide Daolmi – these are drawings created by Giovanni Giocondo da Verona, Cesare Cesariano and Daniele Barbaro⁶. Some versions of plans and elevations of the object developed by Sebastiano Serlio⁷ are also well known and are often compared. In time, Vitruvius' principle reconstructions undergo many alterations following the perception of the text itself, same as its various translation amendments. For example, it is known that in the translation and comments created by Claude Perrault⁸ for the treatise of Vitruvius, the Roman theater reconstructions have been significantly altered comparing to the previous scheme versions: proportioning by inscribed triangles was then conducted only on the stage space, but not on the whole building spot, as it had been done in the Renaissance.

At the same time, as noted by David Small⁹, today we can estimate that the majority of the found ancient Roman theaters were not built

⁶ *Daolmi*, Davide. Le origini: Jubal e Pitagora, Vitruvio, Trattato di architettura [online, 18.08.2016, <http://www.examenapium.it/2007mav/jubal.htm>]

⁷ See: *Serlio*, Sebastiano. Il Terzo Libro [1540] Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Coll. Div. LI/28 [online, 18.08.2016 <http://www.rarebookroom.org/Control/serilt/index.html>]

⁸ Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve, corrigez et traduits nouvellement en français, avec des notes & des figures, by Vitruvius Pollio; Perrault, Claude, 1613 – 1688, translator; Pre-1801 Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), 173 [online, 18.08.2016, <https://archive.org/details/McGill-Library-122629-2080>]

⁹ *Small*, David B. Studies in Roman Theater Design. – American Journal of Archaeology 87, 1983, N 1, 55-68, 55.

according to the principles of Vitruvius. Thus, there is no existing example of his true building concept. (However, as typical Roman theaters following almost at least partially the treatise descriptions are often accepted the buildings in Merida, Spain (**Fig. 2**); Aspendos, Turkey; Dougga, Tunisia; Orange, France and some other not so preserved sites.)

Several virtual reconstructions of destroyed or inaccessible *Roman theaters* were also created using only partially details provided by Vitruvius, as well as chosen typological or stylistic material evidences. One of the interesting examples is the project for a comparative analysis of reconstructions of the Theatre of Pompey in Rome¹⁰ done by King's Visualization Lab (KVL), Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London. It creates a database with a history of exploration, field and archival documents of the antique building, incorporating also some possible three-dimensional models. We now may see how the coexistence of virtual restorations (which are not fully spotting the ideal and only possible replica of the ancient reality among them) is allowed within the postmodern scholarly culture of 21st century. The project produces a number of possible three-dimensional models of the Theatre of Pompey based on their author's assumptions about its structure, space and organization.

On the other hand, productions like those in the report of José Luis Gómez Merino¹¹ (which presents possible image of the Roman theater in Cordoba) could be accepted as attempts for methodological objectification of a scholarly author's reconstruction. Thus, for the final presentation of the building in Cordoba are combined scanometry and geometric data from the found items; selection of rules and descriptions of Vitruvius' texts and possible visual reconstructions according to them were finally built.

In parallel with their studies on Vitruvius, and while exploring buildings of "ancient Roman theater" on existing sites, some authors try to create their own, modern versions of the theater building itself. Thus, apart from secondary image reflections of the treatise and their later comments (which vary greatly according to the graphical and

¹⁰ <http://www.pompey.cch.kcl.ac.uk/>

¹¹ Gómez Merino, José Luis. The Roman Theatre of Cordoba: Multimedia Works Using the Scanometry of the Remains. New Procedures of Virtual Archaeology and the Sevilla Charter. XXIII CIPA Symposium – Prague, Czech Republic –12/16 September 2011 – Proceedings, 34-35.



Fig. 3. Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, Veneto, Italy, Image: Wikimedia Commons, 2007, photo by Tango7174

technological culture of the era), a kind of tertiary reflections of the ancient Roman theater were also created with their projects. Two major examples from the Renaissance period are Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza (**Fig. 3**) and Teatro All'Antica (in Sabbioneta). According to Pevsner¹², these two buildings are among the first permanent theater buildings in Italy after the decline of Antiquity. The author of the Teatro Olimpico was Andrea Palladio (after his death the project was continued by Vincenzo Scamozzi) and Teatro All'Antica was then entirely work of Scamozzi. The plan of Teatro Olimpico was developed as to reflect on most of the ancient compositional prescriptions for open theater building in closed building space, while in Teatro All'Antica Scamozzi brings a significant number of necessary functional plan changes, although some elements still retained. The next theater buildings were envisioned much more outside the ancient typology norms, as their authors were more focused on satisfying current artistic and stage requirements than to follow old needs and concepts. So their relationships with the Vitruvius' texts finally remained in some occasional references to details – as acoustic characteristics of the theatrical space. And later on even those new constant Renaissance theaters also undergo renovations and changes so today

12 Pevsner, Nikolaus. *A History of Building Types*. Thames and Hudson, London, 1976, 66.

it is often necessary to search a true base or an image of their initial appearance and design¹³.

Thus, in the first case in this report – “Roman theater” we can confirm, as many researchers until now, that architectural information about the building typology in the treatise of Vitruvius is valuable, but subjective and ambiguous. However, we can reveal some new tendencies in the contemporary attempts to recreate the typology of the Roman theater. Vitruvius himself probably applied quite generalized patterns of geometric rules in his treatise, or was satisfied with the common level of the defining building data. Renaissance scholars build their more detailed two-dimensional, but still conceptual developments that have been rethought all along during the era of the modernity. And now the typology search is almost ceased: extremely specialized and targeted versions of theaters are usually created, shown as intermodal, interactive and complete images for each particular site. These theater reconstructions could be called personificated versions: they are strongly influenced by the known construction place and time data, and are offering perfect virtual photorealistic images of each element and finish at the chosen spot.

Our second case, the *Ideal* human proportions described by Vitruvius and their architectural impact are also concepts with a great number of reflections and following images. Their special relationship with the evolution of the idea of anthropomorphism in architecture and design, is explored in detail by Frank Zöllner¹⁴. In fact the idea to bring the design accordingly to the size and shape of the human body also goes a long way – from metaphorical comparisons with temple architecture (like some Francesco di Giorgio sketches), through theoretical lessons of anthropomorphic proportion systems and conceptual geometric compositions, to finally, the industrial modular sizing of the modern era. This direction of development of architecture and technology can hardly be called a direct consequence of the treatise of Vitruvius, and yet the links between multiple imaging reflections on this text and current graphic form of ergonomic prescriptions and analysis, based on a “standard” human figure and its anatomy,

13 For example: A pilot digital reconstruction of Teatro Olimpico is done by Daniela Sirbu, in the WestGrid I-HEARD II Project.

14 Zöllner, Frank. Anthropomorphism: From Vitruvius to Neufert, from Human Measurement to the Module of Fascism. – In: Images of the Body in Architecture: Anthropology and Built Space. Ernst Wasmuth verlag, Tübingen – Berlin, 2014, 47-75.

should not be denied.

Like in the already noted case of the Roman theater building, significant series of images depicting ideal human proportions (which were literally following the treatise of Vitruvius) appeared during the Renaissance. Perhaps the most famous one of them is Leonardo da Vinci's drawing¹⁵.

Probably as a part of the same trend for personification and detailed definitions, mentioned in the theater reconstructions, today there is a strong interest in three-dimensional photorealistic images, in addition to any other schematic or two-dimensional representations of human proportions. Often, researchers now do not turn directly to the texts of Vitruvius but explore "successful" graphics which were proposed by later generations. Current digital technologies provide different options for the reproduction of three-dimensional objects and even partial or incomplete dimensional graphics and parameters. The main software approaches are:

- Depth Adding Software
- Creating a 3D vision or hologram
- Adaptation for cutting or printing machine

Again, the preparation files for these programming approaches may be created in entirely automatic, semi-automatic or manual way. The automatic method is based on the mathematical determinations of the depth of the sites according to individual distortion resulting in photographic or other graphic representation (Depth from motion; Depth from focus; Depth from perspective); or on mechanical deriving of volume from various views or elevations available for one and the same object. The semi-automatic approach allows somewhat free parameterization of the final three-dimensional object such as interactive algorithms of 3D modeling, Depth map and Multi-layering. Manual 3D modeling, on the other hand, uses an artistic imagination to recreate an editable version of the possible object in digital software environment.

15 In this educational site of the Stanford University (sts 102) one could see versions of Vitruvian man from the treatises of Fra Giovanni Giocondo, Cesare Cesariano, Francesco di Giorgio, etc. <https://leonardodavinci.stanford.edu/submissions/clabaugh/history/othermen.html>
Claude Perrault and Albrecht Durer also have famous versions of the ideal man by Vitruvius (<http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-HuuQMjQ6n0s/VDPCcC8JBjI/AAAAAAAAACXA/7FNTxBjGLBg/s1600/dearchitectura03.jpg>).

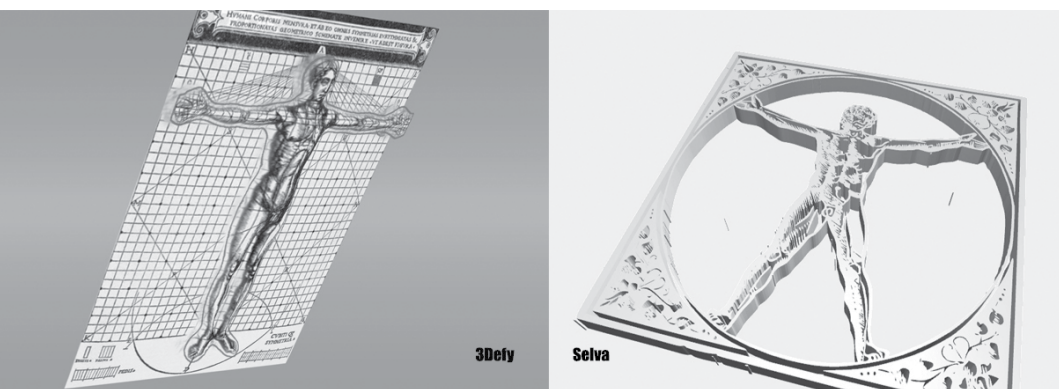


Fig. 4. Variants of semi-automatic relief creation, based on Vitruvian Man Renaissance graphics, using Selva and 3Defy software

However, automatic three-dimensional visualization of original pre-modern graphics, is almost impossible for implementation due to their specific ways of used image structuring. Neither rules of focus, nor movement or correct perspective distortion were explored and used at that historical moment, so they are not present at any of the old graphics. (Samples with semi-automatic software visualizations can be seen in **Fig. 4.**)

A peculiar cultural paradox could be found in some contemporary visual reflections of the Ideal man drawn by Leonardo da Vinci. Although the renowned high quality of his graphics (or perhaps, precisely because of it), various attempts to sculpt in matter Da Vinci's human figure continue even today. The literal transfer of his two-dimensional graphics in a three-dimensional figure turns out to be widespread in three directions:

- creating an ideal human figure, face and body as close as possible to the ones depicted in his sketch¹⁶;
- creating layers – two or three flat figures with various hands and feet positions, one over the other¹⁷;

16 As in the model by Fabio Severin, WASP C/O CSP S.R.L. <http://www.wasproject.it/w/en/3d-printing-uomo-vitruviano-2/>

17 As in Babette Bloch's sculpture, Shelton, CT, USA. <http://www.babettebloch.com/images/Vitruvian-Man-Sculpture-Public-Art-3lg.jpg>

- in mechanical transfer of the figure exactly as it is – supplemented by a second pair of hands and of feet, and with a describing cube / square and sphere / circle (**Fig. 5**); Such a 3D version was even printed and spread in flat relief on the 1 Euro coins of Italian design (Laura Cretara is their author) and thus approves the tendency of such a literal reading of any two-dimensional data organization. A surprising interpretation in this direction is also the creation of a true “action figure” of Vitruvian Man (which is able to change its positions). In the product description of a “figma Vitruvian Man” is specially noted the inclusion of “... a special panel to



Fig. 5. Gift souvenir miniature of Vitruvian man, photo by Mariela Vassileva

recreate the full effect of the drawing is included. Alternate chest and upper arm parts, thigh parts and wrist parts are also included for various poses¹⁸. Thus the Vitruvian and the Renaissance version of the Ideal man are merged with himself existing today, forming a new cultural myth: a spe-

¹⁸ <http://www.goodsmile.info/en/product/5700/figma+Vitruvian+Man.html>

cialized fantasy creation with 4 arms and 4 legs who is able to move them all.

So in our second case study – the Ideal man – we can again reveal the contemporary demand of a high level of specificity opposing to the more conceptual approach of previous eras. It is important to note also the tendency to replicate the Ideal man not directly following Vitruvius' texts, but its visual reflections – its Renaissance images, which are probably considered as more attractive, accessible and informative. So again, there are now tertiary reflections of his concepts, and again they exist as true in parallel.

The semantic changes in contemporary perceiving of Vitruvius' text of are perhaps most easily noticeable in the third case study in this article: the definition of *Ideal* design. Vitruvius have given a fairly accurate description of what is meant by his own *Firmitas, Utilitas, Venustas* (Strength, Utility, Beauty):

"All these [buildings] should possess strength, utility, and beauty. Strength arises from carrying down the foundations to a good solid bottom, and from making a proper choice of materials without parsimony. Utility arises from a judicious distribution of the parts, so that their purposes be duly answered, and that each have its proper situation. Beauty is produced by the pleasing appearance and good taste of the whole, and by the dimensions of all the parts being duly proportioned to each other"¹⁹.

In time, however, current translations of these three design qualities gradually alter their semantic coloration: the strength now gravitates between the need of balance, durability, elegant structure and solving environmental issues; the function is linked to the economic and social indicators, and beauty is a kind of replaced with other aesthetic values such as style, tectonics or cultural context. The pragmatic nature of these qualities is also changed. Once they were focused to satisfy the Ideal, somewhat divine observer – king, god, artist – and today their target is transferred to the common building owners, society, the authors or the users who now become the final judges of their performance.

19 Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: de Architectura, Book I, chapter 3, 2. [online, 18.08.2016, <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/home.html>]

In fact, despite the apparent original semantic clarity and completion of Vitruvian categories of architecture and design, a number of changes in their perception today is inevitable. Millennial development of civilization amended both their linguistic characteristics, and social and cultural context.

Vitruvius became an important patron of the artists during and after the Renaissance period. Although modernist architects themselves deny any traditions or links with classical architecture, in the context of Ideal design definitions Vitruvius can be regarded even as a role model for the Modernist architecture, as it is explained by Carroll Westfall²⁰.

In the third case study, we are able to note again the dynamic semantic development of Vitruvius' texts over time and their high specialization and personification, even on verbal mode. Their interpretations again are equally accepted as true, especially today. And their conceptual contributions to the development of architecture are also evident.

In conclusion, we can summarize the trends for high diversification and personification in the creation of images for each of the explored case studies, same as the trend of parallel existence of their contemporary images. Seeing their versions, I believe that the complete change in the cultural context for two millennia now, makes it almost impossible to expect any literal reflections of the original Vitruvius' ideas. Still perhaps their ambiguity and mystique aura are factors in the development of the modern civilization, providing scope for new searches, areas and working processes. For me knowledge itself cannot be perceived today as a complete static picture, and in its dynamic development Vitruvius won a special place.

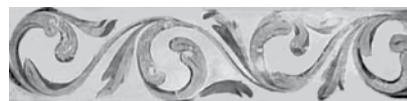
20 Westfall, Carroll William. Vitruvius as the Model for Modernist Architects. 2012 Newington-Cropsey Cultural Studies Center; [online, 18.08.2016, <http://www.nccsc.net/essays/vitruvius-model-modernist-architects>] published also in American Arts Quarterly, Spring 2015, Volume 33, Number 2.

Съвременни образи на текстовете на Витрувий

Стела Ташева



Трактатът на Витрувий „De architectura“ е важен етап от еволюцията на знанията и технологиите и има огромно влияние върху развитието на архитектурната и строителната дейност. Дори и сега, въпреки че са минали близо две хилядолетия, преводите, илюстрациите, оценките, коментарите и критиките на неговите десет книги продължават. В статията се изследват подбрани актуални рефлексии и диалози с текстовете на Витрувий, които обаче го третират като равностойна, валидна и днес перспектива към архитектурата и дизайна, а не само като добре известна отправна точка за историографски изследвания. Фокусът на статията пада върху три известни случая: описанията на Витрувий за типологията на римския театър, на пропорциите на идеалния (Витрувиански) човек и на характеристиките на идеалния дизайн. В текста се разглеждат съвременни примери за директни – първични – интерпретации на данни от трактата на Витрувий, както и последващи – вторични и третични техни рефлексии, създадени чрез нови проучвания и технологии. Предлагат се възможни систематизации на тези образи и отражения. Резултатите са в областта на историята на архитектурата и съвременната архитектура.



Wort und Bild in der Zeit des Ikonoklasmus

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Abstract: In this study the interaction between Image and Word is shown during the Iconoclastic period and especially in its second stage. It is about the problem which appears mainly in the iconological texts of Patriarch Nicephorus and of Theodore Stoudites, and it is a reflection of the oppositions of the age that are related to the dominance of the Divine Word over the Image according to the opinion of the iconoclasts. This query has not only an iconological aspect, but philosophical issues, that have their origin in the Ancient Greek tradition and in the literature of the Holy fathers of the preiconoclastic period.

Keywords: image/ logos relation, iconoclastic period, iconological ideology, Patriarch Nicephorus, Theodore Stoudites, ancient Greek philosophy

Bekannterweise ist der Bilderstreit ein Einschnitt in der politischen und kulturellen Geschichte der byzantinischen Gesellschaft¹. Bei den Auseinandersetzungen über die Ikone war das wesentliche ikonologische Thema, das sich stellte, das Problem der Sichtbarkeit des Unsichtbaren, das heißt die Frage, die die byzantinische Gesellschaft des achten und neunten Jahrhunderts beschäftigte, war, wie es möglich ist, den unsichtbaren Gott abzubilden. Die Antwort auf diese Frage gaben die Bilderfreunde in der ersten Phase des Streites, und sie stützte sich auf die Menschwerdung des Wortes Gottes. Die Bilderfreunde argumentierten, dass das unsichtbare Wort Gott Mensch wurde und aus diesem Grund die Abbildung Christi möglich ist².

1 Dazu siehe *Brubaker, Leslie, Haldon*. John. Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era (ca. 680 – 850): The Sources. An annotated survey, (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 7), Aldershot, 2001, xxiii; *Barber, Charles*. Figure and Likeness. On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm, Princeton – Oxford, 2002, 7-11; *Brubaker, Leslie, Haldon*. John. Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era (ca. 680 – 850). A History, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 9-15, 22-26, 29-32.

2 Die Möglichkeit der Abbildung Christi stützte sich auf das Dogma der Menschwerdung, dar-



Abb. 1. Sinai-Kloster.
Enkaustische Ikone.
Der thronende Christus.
Anfang des 7. Jhs.

Die Bilderfeinde aber akzeptierten die Abbildung Christi nicht und argumentierten, dass die wahre Abbildung Christi beispielsweise das einfache Kreuz ohne Abbildung des Gekreuzigten sowie das Evangelium sind³.

Die Ansicht der Ikonoklasten, dass das wahre Bild Christi das Wort ist, das heißt das Evangelium, war der Ausgangspunkt für eine Reihe von Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den beiden Lagern, die die

auf baute sich die Ikonologie der Bilderfreunde auf. Siehe *Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, Analekta Vlatadon 68, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2011, 187-202.*

3 *Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, a.O., 224-235. Vgl. auch Thümmel, Hans-Georg. Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor der Bilderlehre (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 139), Berlin, 1992, 118-127.*



Abb. 2. Zypern. Kirche in Lagoudera. Fresko. Die Gottesmutter mit dem Kind. 1192

philosophischen und ikonologischen Dimensionen zum Vorschein brachten. Diese Problematik des Verhältnisses von Wort und Bild begegnet uns vor allem in den ikonologischen Texten des Patriarchen Nikephoros und von Theodoros Studites. Die Bilderfreunde stellten natürlich das Bild gegenüber dem Wort in den Vordergrund, während die Bilderfeinde das Wort, das Evangelium, als das wahre Abbild Christi betonten⁴. Die Frage hat neben seiner tief ikonologischen Bedeutung auch philosophische Ausgangspunkte, die sowohl in der antiken griechischen philosophischen Überlieferung⁵ als auch im pa-

4 Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, α.Ο., 324-329. Vgl. auch Barber, Charles. Figure and Likeness. On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm, Princeton – Oxford, 2002, 125-137.

5 Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Οἱ αἰσθήσεις στὴν εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, Κληρονομία 37 (2005 – 2013), 386-388.

tristischen Gelehrtentum der vor-ikonoklastischen Zeit zu suchen sind⁶. Auf der anderen Seite hat die Auffassung der Bilderfeinde vom Vorrang des Gehörs, das heißt des Wortes, des Evangeliums, seine Ursprünge in den jüdischen Auffassungen über das Wort und über die Propheten⁷.

Parallel dazu ist in den ikonologischen Werken des Patriarchen Nikkephoros und bei Theodoros Studites die Auffassung zu finden, dass das Bild, das Wort, der Sehsinn und das Gehör gleichwertig sind, sowie dieselbe katechetische und gnoseologische Funktion haben⁸. Es sei angemerkt, dass auch diese Auffassung ihren Ursprung in der antiken griechischen Philosophie hat⁹.

Eine weitere Facette der Problemstellung über das Verhältnis von Wort und Bild, der Ikone und des Textes ist die Existenz von Texten auf der Ikone. Mit der Aufschrift, dem Wort über dem Bild, wird die Identität der Darstellung erklärt und auch die Richtigkeit der Darstellung der abgebildeten Person mit dem Prototyp geprüft. Folglich ist eine Ikone nicht nur Bild, sondern auch Wort¹⁰. In der Zeit des Ikonoklasmus war Ioannes Damaskenos der erste, der es für notwendig hielt, dass auf den Ikonen eine Aufschrift existiert, und er verband sie mit der Beziehung zwischen Ikone und deren Prototyp. Die Ikonen-Aufschriften, das heißt der Name der Ikone, ist nicht bloß ein äußerliches Detail, sondern ein wesentliches Element, mit dem die abgebildete Person identifiziert wird¹¹. Aus diesem Grund werden Ikonen auch Graphe (γραφή) genannt¹².

Die Verteidiger der Bilder nahmen das Thema der Aufschrift der Iko-

6 Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Οἱ αἰσθήσεις στὴν εἰκονολογία, a.O., 389. Vgl. auch Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Philosophisches Instrumentarium der Christologie von Theodoros Studites über die Darstellung des menschengewordenen Logos, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 20 (1988), 268-277; Thümmel, Hans-Georg. Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre, a.O., 47-86, 96-117.

7 Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, a.O., 325. Vgl. auch Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Εἰκόνα καὶ Λόγος. Εἰκονολογικὰ σχόλια στὸν Ἀναστάσιο Σιναΐτη, Ἐάνθη 1999, 30-31.

8 Dazu siehe Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Philosophisches Instrumentarium, a.O., 272-273; Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Οἱ αἰσθήσεις στὴν εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, a.O., 387-389.

9 Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Philosophisches Instrumentarium, a.O., 272-273.

10 Vgl. Zografidis, Georgios. Βυζαντινὴ φιλοσοφία τῆς εἰκόνας. Μιὰ ἀνάγνωση τοῦ Ἰωάννη Δαμασκηνοῦ, Αθήνα, 1997, 255.

11 Vgl. Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, a.O., 150; Barber, Charles. Figure and Likeness, a.O., 127-128.

12 Zografidis, Georgios. Βυζαντινὴ φιλοσοφία τῆς εἰκόνας, a.O., 255-256.



Abb. 3. Sinai-Kloster. Ikone. Gottesmutter Vlachernitissa zwischen Moses und den Patriarchen von Jerusalem Euthymios II. Circa 1224

ne als eine ikonologische Fragestellung wahr, die mit der Homonymie, der Gleichnamigkeit, von Prototyp und Kopie zu tun hat. Es geht um den gemeinsamen Namen der abgebildeten Gestalt oder des abgebildeten Ereignisses mit seinem Archetyp¹³. Patriarch Nikephoros verbindet nicht nur die Homonymie mit der Aufschrift auf der Ikone, er vertritt sogar die Auffassung, dass die Aufschrift es ist, die die Homonymie des Archetyps mit seiner Kopie sichtbar macht. Für

13 Nikephoros, Αντιρρητικός III (PG 100, 465D-468A): κοινωνίαν τε καὶ σχέσιν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλα διασώζουσι κἀν τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑπάρξεως, τὸ διάφορον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφαίνηται, ὅμως δ' οὖν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετέσχον ὀνόματος, καὶ ὁμωνύμως ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηγορεῖται προσηγορία. Siehe auch Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, a.O., 150; Barber, Charles. Figure and Likeness, a.O., 127-128.



Abb. 4. Sinai-Kloster. Ikone. Die Kreuzigung Christi. Zweite Hälfte des 9. Jhs.

den gelehrten Patriarchen Nikephoros bestätigt die Aufschrift die Richtigkeit der abgebildeten Gestalt, identifiziert die abgebildete Person und drückt die Richtigkeit der Abbildung auf der Kopie aus¹⁴. Auf dieselbe ikonologische Grundlage stellt auch Theodoros Studites das Thema, für den die Identität von Archetyp und Ikone, die sich im gemeinsamen Namen äußert, selbstverständlich ist; das heißt, dass die Ikone durch die Aufschrift bildlich Gestalt annimmt¹⁵.

In der Ikonographie der byzantinischen Kunst begleitet immer die Aufschrift das bildlich dargestellte Ereignis oder die heilige Person. In der mittelbyzantinischen und in der spätbyzantinischen Kunst sowie auch in der nachbyzantinischen Malkunst¹⁶ sind Aufschriften anzutreffen, die nicht sehr ausführlich, erzählend angelegt sind, und nicht nur einfach das Ereignis oder die heilige Person bezeichnen, sondern es auch kommentieren. Ich bin der Auffassung, dass die ausführlichen Aufschriften, die die Abbildungen begleiten, ein Element sind, das die Auffassungen der Zeit betreffend den Gebrauch des Kunstwerkes und seine katechetische Bedeutung widerspiegelt¹⁷. Charakteristische Beispiele, die die Beziehung der Abbildung mit liturgischen und dogmatischen Texten veranschaulichen, zugleich aber auch umgekehrt den Einfluss des Textes auf das Bild klar machen, sind die Aufschrift auf der enkaustischen Sinai Ikone des thronenden Christus (**Abb. 1**), datiert aus dem Anfang des 7. Jhs., sowie jene auf dem Fresko der Gottesmutter mit dem Kind (**Abb. 2**), in der Kirche in Lagoudera in Zypern (1192)¹⁸. Zwei weitere

14 Nikephoros, Αντιορρητικός Ι (PG 100, 293B): καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ κατασφραγίζει τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξ ἁπαντός, τὴν μορφήν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς πρωτοτύπου, πρὸς αὐτὸ γὰρ τετυπῶται, ἡμῖν δηλοῦσα. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὰ θεωρουμένη σχέσις κρατύνει τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀληθές. Dazu vgl. auch Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, a.O., 158.

15 Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη, a.O., 157-158.

16 Dazu vgl. Tourta, Anastasia. Οἱ ναοὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου στὴ Βίτσα καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Μηνᾶ στὸ Μονοδένδρι, Αθήνα, 1991, 214, Anm. 1731; Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. Οἱ ζωγράφοι Κωνσταντίνος καὶ Αθανάσιος: Τὸ ἔργο τους στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος (1752 – 1783), Αθήνα, 2003, 227-241.

17 Siehe Lange, Günter. Bild und Wort. Die katechetische Funktion des Bildes in der griechischen Theologie des sechsten bis neunten Jahrhunderts, Würzburg, 1969.

18 Stylianou, Andreas, Stylianou, Judith A. The painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzan-

Beispiele aus Sinai-Kloster sind die im Bildrahmen der Ikone einfassende Epigraphie mit der Darstellung der Gottesmutter Vlachernitissa (Abb. 3) zwischen Moses und den Patriarchen von Jerusalem Euthymios II, circa 1224¹⁹, und jene auf dem Bildrahmen der Ikone der Kreuzigung Christi aus der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jhs (Abb. 4)²⁰. Interessant ist auch die Anwesenheit von Epigrammen auf Ikonen und anderen heiligen Gegenständen, die die Gegenstände bezeichnen²¹.

tine Art, London 1985, 160, Abb. 85.

19 Mouriki, Doula. Εικόνες από τὸν 12^ο ὡς τὸν 15^ο αἰῶνα. In: Manaphis, Konstantinos A. (Hrsg.), Σινᾶ. Οἱ ἠθσαυγοὶ τῆς Ι. Μονῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Αθήνα 1990, 113.

20 Siehe Corrigan, Kathleen. Text and Image on an Icon of the Crucifixion at Mount Sinai. In: Ousterhout, Robert, Brubaker, Leslie. (Hrsg.) The Sacred Image East and West, Illinois Byzantine Studies IV, Urbana & Chicago, 1994, 45-62, Abb. auf der Seite 230. Zur konkreten Ikone siehe Belting-Ihm, Christa, Belting, Hans. Das Kreuzbild im „Hodegos“ des Anastasios Sinaites: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den ältesten Darstellungen des toten Crucifixus. In: Tortulæ, Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1966, 30-39. Weitzmann, Kurt. The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons, Bd. 1, From the Sixth to the Tenth Century, Princeton, 1976, Nr. B. 51.

21 Siehe Hörandner, Wolfram. Epigrams on Icons and the sacred objects. The Collection of cod. Marc. Gr. 524 once again. In: La poesia tardoantica e medievale, Atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Studi Macerata, 4-5 maggio 1998, a cura di Marcell Salvatore, Torino, 2001, 117-124; Rhoby, Andreas. Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst (Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung 2), (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 23), Wien, 2010.



Abb. 5. Codex Parisinus gr. 1084 (P), f. 135v. Das Kreuz Christi



Abb. 6. Codex Monacensis gr. 467. Die Kreuzigung Christi

Folglich ist die schriftliche Anführung des Namens gemeinsam mit der getreuen Abbildung der physiognomischen Charakteristika einer heiligen Gestalt verpflichtend für den Maler, da der Gläubige die abgebildete heilige Person, die er anbetet, wiedererkennen muss.

Starken Bezug zum Thema der Beziehung der Ikone mit der Aufschrift hat ein Ereignis, das Anastasios Sinaites in seinem *Hodegos* "Viae Dux", einem Leitfaden für den Umgang mit Häretikern²², erzählt. Der *Hodegos* wurde zwar im 7. Jahrhundert geschrieben, das heißt vor dem Ikono-klasmus, aber wie auch weiter unten zu sehen sein wird, wurde dieser Text in der Zeit des Bilderstreites benutzt. Als also laut *Hodegos* einst Anastasios Sinaites eine theologische Auseinandersetzung über die häretischen Ansichten der Theopaschiten über die Göttlichkeit Jesu hatte, gebrauchte er nicht nur Worte, Argumente aus der Heiligen Schrift, das heißt theoretische Gedanken und logische Argumente, sondern auch Bildbeispiele. Er nahm eine Ikone der Kreuzigung Christi in die Hand, auf der die Aufschrift "Wort Gottes, vernunftbegabte Seele und Körper" (Θεὸς Λόγος καὶ ψυχὴ λογικὴ καὶ σῶμα) zu lesen war. Gemäß Sinaites war dieses Bildbeispiel so erfolgreich, dass der Autor die Ansichten der Häretiker leicht widerlegte²³. Mit diesem Beispiel wollte Sinaites die größere Aussagekraft zeigen, die ein Bildbeispiel, eine Ikone, bei theologischen Auseinandersetzungen im Vergleich mit Worten hat. Gleichzeitig betont Sinaites indirekt das Wissen durch unmittelbares Erleben, das die bildenden Künste bei der Heilsgeschichte und der dogmatischen Kirchenlehre vermitteln können. Folglich hat das Kunstwerk eine besondere gnoseologische Funktion, die unabhängig oder auch parallel zum Wort wirksam wird.

Es ist, denke ich, notwendig, darauf hinweisen, dass Anastasio Sinaites die Auffassung vertritt, im Streit mit den Häretikern könne man sowohl Bibelsprüche als auch Abbildungen verwenden. Er ist der Auffassung, dass Abbildungen wirkungsvoller als geschriebene Sprüche sind, weil das Bildbeispiel nicht willkürlich verändert oder falsch interpretiert werden kann, während im Gegenteil dazu das schriftliche Argument der Heiligen Schrift von boshaften Häretikern leicht falsch

22 Zu Anastasios Sinaites siehe Uthemann, Karl-Heinz. Anastasios Sinaites. Byzantinisches Christentum in den ersten Jahrzehnten unter arabischer Herrschaft (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte), Walter de Gruyter, 2015.

23 Anastasios Sinaites: Ὁδηγός, (Uthemann K.-H., *Viae Dux*, XII, 3, 1-12, 204-205). Vgl. Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. *Εἰκόνα καὶ Λόγος*, a.O., 34.

ausgelegt werden kann²⁴.

Im 12. Kapitel der "Viae Dux" von Anastasios Sinaites ist eine Aufforderung des Autors an seine Kopisten zu finden, nicht die Darstellung der Form des Heiligen Kreuzes zu vernachlässigen, also die Darstellung der Kreuzigung Christi²⁵. Die Verbindung des Textes von Sinaites mit dem Ikonoklasmus und den theologischen sowie künstlerischen Ansichten dieser Zeit kann man den Folgen der Erzählung von Anastasios entnehmen. Wenn in Handschriften, wie Par. gr. 1084²⁶ und Par. gr. 1115²⁷, nur ein einfaches Kreuz abgebildet ist, in das die Aufschrift "Wort Gottes, vernunftbegabte Seele und Körper" eingeschrieben wurde, ist das ein Hinweis dafür, dass die Handschrift aus der Zeit des Ikonoklasmus stammt²⁸. Es ist bekannt, dass die Bilderfeinde das Kreuz als einzig wahre Abbildung Christi anerkannten (**Abb. 5**). Im Gegensatz dazu ist in einer Reihe anderer Handschriften, wie etwa Vid. theol. gr. 40 und Mon. gr. 467, an dieser Stelle die Abbildung der Kreuzigung Christi zu sehen (**Abb. 6**)²⁹. In beiden oben angeführten Handschriftengruppen ist es offensichtlich, wie hoch die Bedeutung ist, die einerseits der Kraft des Bildes und der Überlegenheit über das Bild beigemessen wird, als auch andererseits bei besonderen Problemstellungen der Kunstgeschichte. Diese Beispiele sind ein weiteres Argument dafür, dass die Kunst machtvoller und sicherer als das Wort, der Text, im Kampf gegen die Häretiker ist, und deswegen fordert Sinaites die Kopisten der Handschrift dazu auf, die Darstellung der Kreuzigung Christi zu malen.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass die Aufschrift und die getreue Wiedergabe des Archetyps in der byzantinischen Kunst eine notwendige Voraussetzung bilden. Darüber hinaus spiegelt sich in der Beziehung von Wort und Bild, Aufschrift und Ikone, das Problem wider, ob die menschliche Form darstellbar ist - im Fall des Ikonoklasmus der Darstellung der heiligen Personen, und zwar speziell Christi, der Gottesmutter und der Heiligen. Folglich verweist die ikonologische

24 Anastasios Sinaites: Ὁδηγός, (Uthemann K.-H., *Viae dux*, XII, 1, 4-14, 202). Siehe Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. *Εἰκόνα καὶ Λόγος*, a.O., 29-34, 36-38.

25 Anastasios Sinaites, Ὁδηγός, (Uthemann K.-H., *Viae Dux*, XII, 13-15, 205).

26 Belting, Hans, *Belting-Ihm*, Christa. Das Kreuzbild, a.O., 30-39.

27 Chrysos, Evangelos. *Νεώτεροι ἀπόψεις περὶ Ἀναστασιῶν Σιναΐτων*, Κληρονομία 1 (1969), 136-137.

28 Chrysos, Evangelos. *Νεώτεροι ἔρευναι*, a.O.

29 Zu diesem Thema siehe Tsigaras, Georgios Chr. *Εἰκόνα καὶ Λόγος*, a.O., 35-36.

Problemstellung, die in der Zeit des Ikonoklasmus entwickelt wurde, und deren Teilaspekt die Frage nach der Beziehung von Wort und Bild sowie die Beziehung von Aufschrift und abgebildeter heiliger Person ist, auf die Existenzmöglichkeit und den Gebrauch der Ikone in der byzantinischen Kunst. Es handelt sich also um eine ideologische Auseinandersetzung, die die Möglichkeit des Weiterbestehens der bildlichen Künste in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft zum Inhalt hat.

Образ и слово през иконоборческата епоха

Георгиос Хр. Цигарас

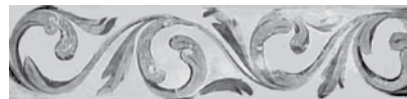


В това изследване се представя проблемът за връзката между образ и слово през иконоборческия период, и по-специално през втория му етап.

Става дума за проблем, който се появява най-вече в иконологичните текстове на патриарх Никифор и на Теодор Студит, където се отразяват противоборствата на епохата относно доминантната роля на образа над словото, както я представят иконопочитателите, или за по-важната роля на словото спрямо образа според иконоборците. Въпросът, освен иконологичен смисъл, има и философски аспекти, които трябва да се търсят в древногръцката философска традиция и в патеристичната литература от предиконаборческия период. Тази проблематика рефлектира във възможността за изобразяване на човешките фигури, на светците и най-вече на Христос, Богородица и апостолите.

Един друг въпрос, появяващ се през този период, е присъствието на надписи по изображенията. С надписа, словото върху образа се изразява идентичността на изображението, но и се контролира идентификацията на фигурата, като се свързва иконата с нейния първообраз. Надписите върху икони или името на иконата не е един обикновен външен елемент, а представлява важен компонент, чрез който се идентифицира изобразеното. Общото название на изобразената фигура или на нарисуваното събитие с архетипите им не е само външен белег на иконата, а е средство за единение и образ и първообраз, което се появява под влияние на Аристотеловата иконология на защитниците на иконите.

В резултат на това изписването на имената заедно с правдивото изображение на лицевите характеристики на една свята фигура са задължителни за зографите, тъй като вярващият трябва да разпознава изобразения персонаж, който почита.



Watermills in Byzantine Textual Tradition (4th – 12th Centuries)

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Abstract: In the present paper, we aim to provide an overview of the spread of the watermills in the Byzantine Empire, focusing on Asia Minor and Greece, occasionally in the Balkans. This geographical setting is less investigated and almost neglected in the study of milling technology. The evidence is listed in a chronological order, conventionally beginning from the 4th century and, ending in the 12th century. Far from being textually exciting, archaeologically intriguing or artistically appealing, sources, remains and depictions of watermills have a unique advantage; they bear witness to the ingenuity and the skills that the Byzantines had to develop in order to overcome the practical needs of their everyday routine.

Keywords: watermills, Byzantine Empire, practical needs, Byzantine written sources

The exploitation of hydraulic energy and, in particular, the breakthrough of water-milling technology for a variety of uses, principally for grinding cereals, was an achievement of pivotal importance. The invention of the watermill is attributed to the Hellenistic era and its technical evolution is ascribed to the creativity of the Roman mechanics. The geographical diffusion of the apparatus is traditionally linked to the territories of the Western Roman Empire and North Africa. Indeed, numerous references and a number of physical remains confirm the development of watermills in these provinces¹.

In the present paper, we aim to provide an overview of the spread

¹ The bibliography on Roman and Late Roman watermills is expanded. A (selected and limited) overview can be provided in Wikander, Örjan. The Watermill. In.: Handbook of ancient water technology, Leiden, 2000, 371-400. Spain, Robert. The power and performance of Roman water-mills: hydromechanical analysis of vertical-wheeled water-mills. Oxford, 2008. Wilson, Andrew I. (ed.). Water History. Special issue: Roman and Byzantine Empires, 2012, N 4.1.

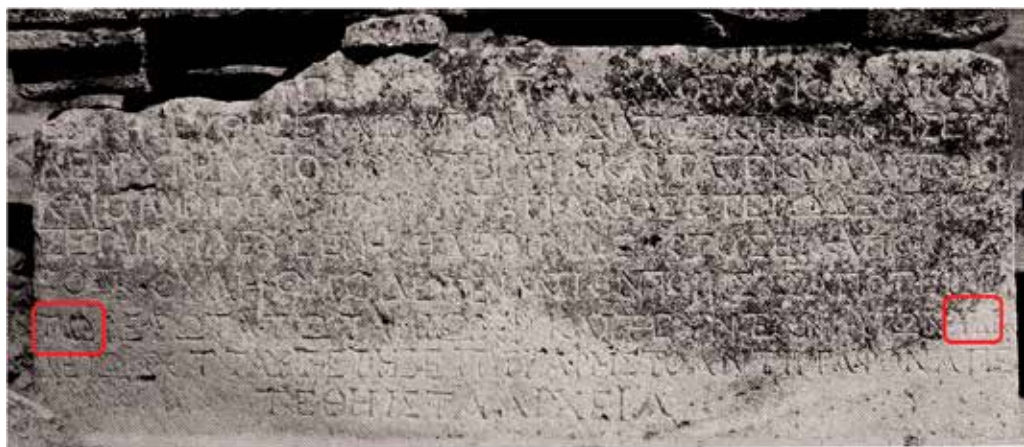


Fig. 1. Funerary inscription from Hierapolis, Phrygia (τῇ συντεχνίᾳ τῶν ὕδραλέτων. From: Ritti, Tullia – Grewe, Klaus – Kessener, Paul, A relief of a water-powered stone sawmill on a sarcophagus at Hierapolis and its implications. – *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 2007, N 20, 143-145, figs. 6-7)

of the watermills in the Byzantine empire, focusing on Asia Minor and Greece, occasionally in the Balkans. This geographically setting is less investigated and almost neglected in the study of milling technology. The information is collected mainly through the textual testimonies, classified according to their content and, combined with the scant depictions and physical remains. The evidence is listed, as wherever possible, in a chronological order, conventionally beginning from approximately the 4th century and, ending in the 12th century, that is to say before the great expansion and the resulting abundant documentation on the operation of the watermills².

One of the earliest (end of the 3rd – early 4th century) and most important references to watermills is contained in a funerary inscription from Hierapolis, in Phrygia, which mentions the guild of the water millers (τῇ συντεχνίᾳ τῶν ὕδραλέτων). Its significance is twofold; first, it records the operation of the watermills in western Asia Minor from an early date; secondly, it refers, for the first time in Greek, to the water millers as members of an established professional union (**Fig. 1**)³. Another inscription, found at Orkistos (today Ortakoy), also

2 For past bibliography in Byzantine watermills, see *Germanidou*, Sophia. Watermills in Byzantine Greece. A preliminary approach to the archaeology of Byzantine hydraulic milling technology. – *Byzantion*, 2014, N 84, 185-201.

3 Ritti, Tullia – Grewe, Klaus – Kessener, Paul, A relief of a water-powered stone sawmill on a sarcophagus at Hierapolis and its implications. – *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 2007, N 20, 143-145, figs. 6-7, with past bibliography. For the specific professional union see *Arnaoutoglou*, Ilias. Hierapolis and its professional associations: a comparative analysis. In: *Urban craftsmen and traders in the Roman world* (eds. Andrew Wilson, Miko Flohr). Oxford, 2015, 198-298, especially 201.

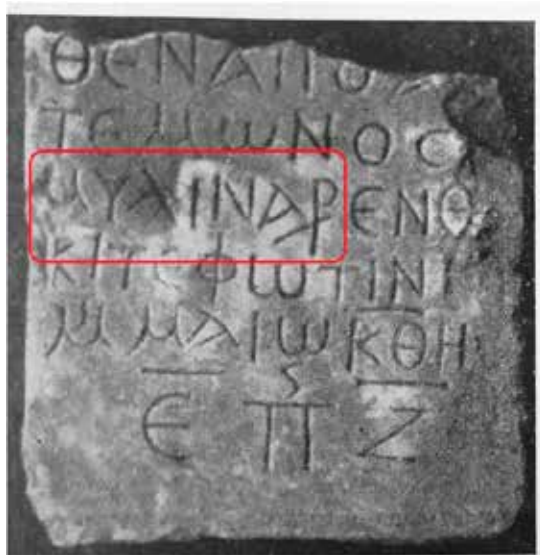


Fig. 2. Funerary inscription from Corinth, Peloponnese (μυλινάριος. From: Bees, Nikos. Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes, Lieferung I: Isthmos – Korinthos. Athen, 1941, 86-87, n 41)

in (eastern) Phrygia, and dated in 330, preserves the decree Constantine the Great granted to the city bestowing on it the urban status of a “*civitas*” instead of the provincial “*vicus*”. This distinction was made due to the large number of the watermills (*aquarum aquimolinarum*) that operated in the wider area⁴.

A funerary inscription of a later date, the 5th century, from Sardis, in Lydia, refers to the mechanic or the constructor of watermills (μανγαναρείου ὕδραλέτα) by name⁵. It is noteworthy that, in the Greek inscriptions, the watermills and the people involved in their operation are described as *hydraletaes*. This is the ancient term for the device, first attested in Strabo’s *Geographica* (XII, 556, late 1st BC – early 1st century AD), which literally means water grinder. It seems that this word was used during that early, transitional period to define an hydraulic-powered grinding machine. A change in terminology is recorded for the first time a century later (6th century), in another funerary inscription, this time from Corinth. It commemorates a certain *mylinarios* (μυλινάριος), evidently a person who can be identified as the owner of a mill or the miller himself (Fig. 2)⁶.

4 Chastagnol, André. L’ inscription constantinienne d’ Orkistus. – Mélanges de l’ École française de Rome. – Antiquité, 1981, N 93, 406-409, n 1. Ibid., Les realia d’une cité d’après l’inscription constantinienne d’Orkistos. – Ktema, 1981, N 6, 373-379.

5 Buckler, William H. – Robinson, David M. Sardis VII. Greek and Latin inscriptions. Leiden, 1932, n 169. Foss, Clive. Byzantine and Turkish Sardis. Cambridge Mass., 1976, 16-18, 110.

6 Bees, Nikos. Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes, Lieferung I: Isthmos – Korinthos. Athen, 1941, 86-87, n 41. Feissel, Denis – Philippidis-Braat, Anna. Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance III: Inscriptions du Peloponnese. – Travaux et Mem-

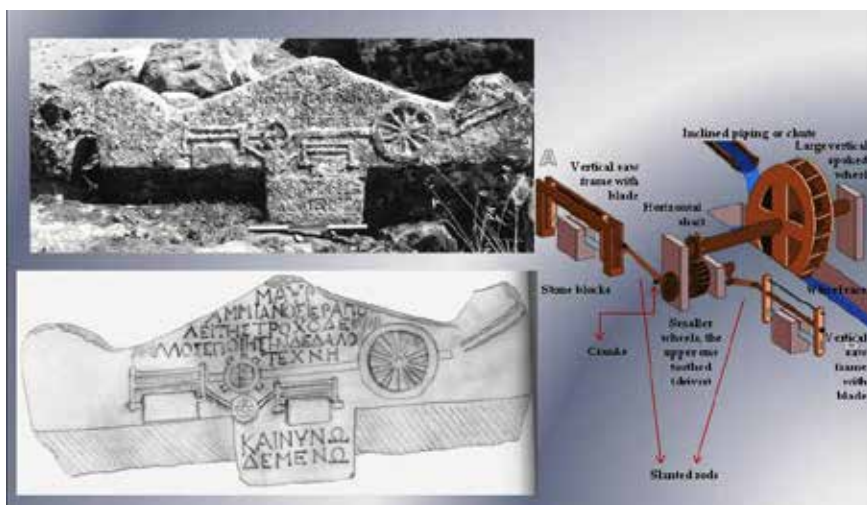


Fig. 3. Funerary inscription from a limestone sarcophagus, Hierapolis, Phrygia (τροχοδέδαλος. From: Ritti, Tullia – Grewe, Klaus – Kessener, Paul, A relief of a water-powered stone sawmill on a sarcophagus at Hierapolis and its implications. – *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 2007, N 20, 138, fig. 2, 140, fig. 3)

Hints in early patristic literature provide allusions to water-powered machines that evoked the interest of prominent prelates. Saint Basil of Caesarea juxtaposes the smooth nature of the water's force against the tough quality of stones. His brother, saint Gregory of Nyssa, speaks emphatically of the remarkable hydraulic-driven machines that broke the stones⁷. In all likelihood, he was marveling at an ingenious mechanism of that time, namely the water-powered sawmill, used to cut marbles, stones and logs into slabs or boards.

It is a great coincidence that a representation of such a marvelous device has been preserved until the present day. It comes from Hierapolis, in Phrygia, and it decorates the relief covering of a limestone sarcophagus. An inscription commemorates the ingenious mechanic who operated or designed the exquisite device (**Fig. 3**)⁸. Physical remains of water-powered sawmills have been excavated and identi-

oires, 1985, N 9, 359, n 6.

7 Saint Basil of Caesarea. Homily 19: Of the Forty Martyrs. – *Patrologia Graeca*, 31, 516, par. 5(32). Saint Gregory of Nyssa. Homily 3: On Ecclesiastes. – *Patrologia Graeca*, 44, 656A.

8 Grewe, Klaus – Kessener, Paul. A stone relief of a water-powered stone saw at Hierapolis, Phrygia. A first consideration and reconstruction attempt. In: *Énergie hydraulique et machines élévatrices d' eau dans l' Antiquité* (eds. Jean-Pierre Brun, Jean-Luc Fiches). Naples, 2007, 227-234. Grewe, Klaus. Die Reliefdarstellungen einer antiken Steinsagemaschine aus Hierapolis in Phrygien und ihre Bedeutung für die Technikgeschichte. In: *Bautechnik im antiken und vorantiken Kleinasien* (eds. Klaus Grewe, Martin Bachmann), *BYZAS* 2009, N 9, 429-454. Wefers, Stephanie – Mangartz, Fritz. Die byzantinischen Werkstätten von Ephesos. In: *Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit* (eds. Falko Daim, Sabine Ladstatter). Mainz, 2011, 223-240.

Fig. 4. Graphic reconstruction of the watermills' complex at Ephesos (from: *Wefers, Stephanie et al. Die Mühlenkaskade von Ephesos. Technikgeschichtliche Studien zur Versorgung einer spätantiken bis frühbyzantinischen Stadt.* Mainz 2015)



fied at Ephesos, in Turkey⁹, and at Gerasa, in Jordan¹⁰ – their main operational phases dating to the 6th century. Also in Ephesos, a complex of eight vertical watermills, of the overshot, undershot and breast-shot type, in use from the 4th to the first half of the 7th centuries, was fully excavated and recently published (Fig. 4)¹¹. It seems that Late Roman-Early Byzantine Ephesos became the center of water milling technology, which was diffused throughout southwestern Asia Minor.

In Greece, the operation of vertical overshot watermills is also record-

9 *Mangartz, Fritz*. The Byzantine hydraulic stone cutting machine of Ephesos (Turkey). In: *Énergie hydraulique et machines élévatrices d' eau dans l' Antiquité* (eds. Jean-Pierre Brun, Jean-Luc Fiches). Naples, 2007, 235-242. *Ibid et al.*, *Die byzantinische Steinsäge von Ephesos*. Mainz, 2010.

10 *Seigne, Jacques*. A sixth-century water-powered sawmill at Jerash. – *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 2002, N 26, 205-213. *Seigne, Jacques – Morin, Thierry*. Une scierie hydraulique du VI^e siècle à Gerasa (Jerash, Jordanie). In: *Énergie hydraulique et machines élévatrices d' eau dans l' Antiquité* (eds. Jean-Pierre Brun, Jean-Luc Fiches). Naples, 2007, 243-257.

11 *Wefers, Stephanie*. Die spätantik-frühbyzantinische Mühlenkaskade von Ephesos. Ein entscheidender Baustein zum Verständnis unterschiedlicher Wasserradtypen. In: *Byzantium as bridge between West and East. Proceedings of the International Conference, Vienna, 3rd – 5th May 2012* (eds. Christian Gastgeber, Falko Daim). Wien, 2015, 251-266. *Wefers, Stephanie et al.* *Die Mühlenkaskade von Ephesos. Technikgeschichtliche Studien zur Versorgung einer spätantiken bis frühbyzantinischen Stadt.* Mainz, 2015.

ed in significant excavated physical remains that date from during this period, namely the 4th to the 6th centuries. They are located in Kallithea, Chalkidiki, which is believed to be the earliest known milling installation in Greece; in the Ancient Agora of Athens, where only one watermill out of a complex of three still remains standing; probably in Eleusis; and in Ancient Messene, in Messinia, in the southern Peloponnese¹². It is striking that the only depictions we know of waterwheels – found in a catacomb of the Maius cemetery in Rome, in a mosaic pavement in Apameia of Syria and in the Great Palace of Constantinople – date from this early period¹³. This fact, combined with the rich and informative inscriptive and archaeological material dated from these centuries, reflects the impact of watermills on the transformation of local economies and societies.

Watermills became a topic of state's legislation, already in the legal codes of Theodosios II (Codex Theodosianus, XIV, 15.4, in 438) and Justinian I (Codex Justinianus, XI, 43.10, 6th century). However, their essential role in peasants' everyday lives and economic activity is revealed in the Farmer's Law, drawn up in the 8th century¹⁴. The primary aim of these regulations is to prevent conflicts over the ownership of a mill or the channeling of a watercourse across the fields. Moreover, they set the standards for the selection of an appropriate location to construct a watermill. In legislation of a later date, the Basilica (LVIII, 19.10, 4, ca 892), the word *hydromylion* (ὕδρομύλιον) is used to define watermill as a tax-unit that can be confiscated.

During the mid-Byzantine period, a series of references that relate to the operation of watermills fall into two groups of secular literature; the Lexica and the Dreambooks. It is worth mentioning that in the 6th century Lexicon of Hesychios, the watermills (ὕδρομύλοι) are described as grinders operating with water (ὕδραλετία ἀπὸ ὕδατος)¹⁵. However, in the Lexica of a later date, Suidae and Photios' (9th to 11th centuries), define an owner-miller (or the mill operator) as *mylothros*

12 For an overview and bibliography, see *Germanidou*, Sophia. Watermills in Byzantine Greece, 185-201.

13 Eadem. Depictions of hydraulic machines in the Late Roman art. – *Byzantina*, 2012, N 32, 285-299.

14 *Ashburner*, Walter. The Farmer's Law. – *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1910, N 10, 107-108.

15 *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, VI (eds. Allan Hansen Peter, Ian Campbell Cunningham). Berlin, 2009, 97.

(μυλωθρός)¹⁶. In the Dreambooks, there is an interesting interpretation of dreaming a mill while grinding, implying a lack of worries and the overcoming of dangers¹⁷.

The Lives of saints is a valuable source of information regarding the development of watermills. Theodoros Stoudites in his *Magna Cat-echesis* (799 – 800) lists, among other tasks, milling (μυλεύουσι) as a daily duty, supposed to be performed by monks¹⁸. The Vita (11th century) of the saint martyr Neophytos (285 – 302) contains a description of the natural beauties of his home land, Nicea of Bithynia, and refers to the watercourses that irrigated watermills (μύλωνας) in a row (στοιχηδόν) – meaning that they were erected as part of a complex¹⁹. Saint Athanasios of Athos is described in his Life as an ingenious monk, who was able to channel a watercourse, to build and to operate two watermills near the Lavra monastery²⁰. It is striking that a non-expert could be skilled enough to construct such an establishment; this leads us to assume that water milling technology was already not only widespread but also popularized in the Athos peninsula.

Indeed, monastic documents repeatedly comment on monks who built themselves watermills across streams or river banks. Place names, such as Mylopotamos or Mylonas, cited also in monastic documents, confirm that mills were productive establishments that became an essential part of a monastery's property in the Athos peninsula and in the wider region of Chalkidiki, already from the 9th century onwards²¹. Far more interesting is the fact that texts speak not only of a single watermill installation (... νεουργῆσαι... ἐποίησαν... ἀνήγειρα) but occasionally of milling complexes, named as μυλοστάσια or (ύδρο)

16 Suidae Lexicon, III (ed. Ada Adler). Lipsiae, 1933, 425. Photios Patriarchae Lexicon (ed. Christos Theodoridis). Berlin – New York, 1998.

17 See, for instance, in Achmet's: *Mavroudi*, Maria. A Byzantine book on dream interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic sources. Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2002, 194, line 12. *Oberhelman*, Steven. Dreambooks in Byzantium: Six Oneirocritica in Translation, with Commentary and Introduction. Aldershot, 2008, 102, 179, 180.

18 Theodori Studitae Magna Cataphesis (ed. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus). St Petersburg, 1904, paragraph 46.

19 Μνημεία αγιολογικά (ed. Theophilos Ioannou). Venice, 1884 (reprinted Leipzig, 1972), 239.

20 *Noret*, Jacques. Vitae Duae Antiquae; Sancti Athanasius Athonita, Vol. A. Brepols, 1982, 37, 81.

21 *Papangelos*, Ioakeim. Ο σίτος στη μεσαιωνική Χαλκιδική. In: Ο άρτος ημών. Από το σιτάρι στο ψωμί/ Πρακτικά Γ' Τριημέρου Εργασίας ΠΤΙ-ΕΤΒΑ, Pilio, 1992, 96. *Kaplan*, Michel. Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du vie au XI^e siècle, Paris, 1992, 53-55.

μυλικά ἐργαστήρια that sometimes are attested to have been operating in winter time²².

A rare case of a watermill's operation, attested in written sources and confirmed by archaeological finds, can be found in Thebes. Remains of a vertical overshot watermill have been unearthed a short distance from the city's center, near the Isminos river. According to the finds, it has been dated to the 9th – 10th century²³. The cadaster of Thebes, almost a century later, refers to a large amount of watermills (ὕδρομυλῶνας) operating in the wider area, indicating that they were a significant factor in the city's economic growth²⁴.

It seems that watermills became pervasive in Byzantine popular culture during the 11th century. There is a remarkable number and variety of references to their operation which do not stem from hagiography and monastic archives. Kekaumenos, in his treatise, *Strategikon*, persuades the prudent man to construct mills (μυλῶνας), because he considers them as a profitable workshop installation²⁵. The monastic foundation document (typicon) of Georgios Pakourianos for the monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Bačkovó contains references to numerous watermills operating in Stenemachon, in present-day southern Bulgaria²⁶. The historian Georgios Kedrenos names a certain Metrodoros, an eminent constructor or mechanic of Greek origin, who was sent in 4th century in India to build watermills (εἰργάζετο δὲ ὕδρομύλους) – a device, as he mentions, that was still unknown there²⁷. Ὑδρομυλοί, literally meaning mills conducted by water force, was the common word for the wa-

22 See for example documents in Lemerle, Paul et al. *Actes de Lavra I*, Des origines à 1204, Paris, 1970, 294, line 8 (dated in 1104), 308, line 15 (dated in 1110). Lefort, Jacques et al. *Actes d'Iviron I*. Des origines au milieu du XI^e siècle, 22, 50, 64, 79, 81, 82, 87 (dated in 995). Lefort, Jacques et al. *Actes d'Iviron III*. De 1204 à 1328, Paris, 1994, 159, line 24 (dated in 1247).

23 Koilakou, Charis. Βιοτεχνικές εγκαταστάσεις βυζαντινής εποχής στη Θήβα: Ὑδρομύλος. In: Αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια βιοτεχνικών εγκαταστάσεων κατά τη βυζαντινή εποχή 5^{ος} – 15^{ος} αι., Athens, 2004, 229-231.

24 Svoronos, Nikos. Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI et XII siècles: Le cadastre de Thèbes. – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1959, N 83, 1-145.

25 Vasilevskii, Vasilij – Jernstedt, Victor, *Cecaumenos*, *Strategicon*. Saint Petersburg, 1896 (Amsterdam 1965), 36, par. 88.

26 Gautier, Paul. Le typicon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos. – Revue des Études Byzantines, 1984, N 42, 43, 111, lines 392, 1538. Thomas, John – Constantinides-Hero, Angela. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A complete translation of the surviving founder's Typika and Testaments*. Washington D.C., 2002, 526, 549.

27 Niebuhr, Barthold Georg – Bekker, Immanuel. *Georgius Cedrenus, Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, Vol. I, Bonnae, 1838, 516, par. 295.

termills during the 11th century.

During the 12th century, the references to watermills in Byzantine literature are abundant in number and illustrative in their content. Eustathios, archbishop of Thessaloniki, speaks of the disputes among peasants, caused by the mills' operation and the watercourse routes. The same problems are encountered in Crete, as attested by local registers – and in one case, dated in 1118, the solution to the dispute applied was to demolish the mill²⁸. Watermills are mentioned by Theophylaktos, archbishop of Ohrid, as considerable taxable assets. However, the monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa in Veljusa, near Strumica (founded in 1085), in present-day FYROM, was exempted from paying the taxes connected with the operation of two mills²⁹.

As regards terminology, the usual word cited is “mill” without the prefix “water” or “hydro”, which probably suggests that the clarification was no longer necessary. For instance, Ioannes Tzetzes makes an interesting comment on the sound provoked by the mills' operation (κτύπος ἦν μυλῶνων)³⁰. The poet Theodoros Prodromos, the well-known Ptochoprodromos, additionally mentions the term *mylotikon*³¹, which was already in use in the 10th century Byzantine lexicography. The term implied the payment in kind (most probably that was in the form of flour) which was delivered to the miller as a compensation for the operation of his workshop.

An interesting, and at the same time, rare case of a written source which refers to a watermill' operation and is confirmed by archaeological finds, is the typicon of Christ Pantocrator in Constantinople, dated in 1136. It outlines that the monastery owned the mills that were located in Chortiates, in Thessaloniki³², and was, most probably, identified with the remains (in Platanorema) in Panorama. In-

28 Gasparis, Charalambos. Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη. Athens, 1997, 97, subnote 1.

29 Oikonomidès, Nicolas. Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IX^e – XI^e s.). Athènes, 1996, 207-208.

30 Leone, Pietro Luigi M. Ioannis Tzetzae historiae, Naples, 1968 (Galatina, 2007), chiliadae 12, historiae 449, line 858.

31 Eideneier, Hans. Ptochoprodromos, Einführung, kritisch Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glosar. Köln, 1991, 110, 26-3.

32 Gautier, Paul. Le typicon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator. – Revue des Études Byzantines 1974, N 32, 121, line 1534. Thomas – omission of A. Constantinides-Hero, Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, 759, 760, 764, 770, 771.



Fig. 5. Mapping the geographical diffusion of depictions, physical remains, written sources concerning watermills in Asia Minor

deed, physical remains of Byzantine watermills, dating probably from the 12th or 13th centuries, are preserved in sites a short distance out from the urban core of Thessaloniki (Polichni and Retziki in the north, Asvestochori and Panorama in the south)³³. The earliest mills share similar characteristics such as a pair of supporting pillars on the façade of the water tower, a triangular shaped conduit which transported water to the water tower pit, a wedge-shaped pit and, the pseudo-cloisonné masonry.

Of special interest is the fact that the watermills of Thessaloniki are different from all the earliest known excavated examples because they were not constructed as overshot vertical watermills, the common type until that period. They are horizontal, namely they are equipped with a horizontal wheel on a vertical axle instead of a vertical wheel on a horizontal axle. From that point on, horizontal water-

33 *Siaxabani-Stefanou*, Charikleia. Νερόμυλοι στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της πόλης της Θεσσαλονίκης. In: Πρακτικά Γ' Τριμήνου Εργασίας με θέμα "Ο Άρτος Ημών". Από το στάρι στο ψωμί. Pilio, 1992, 112-122. *Valavanidou*, Anastasia. The watermills of Macedonia. Thessaloniki 2008. *Siaxabani-Stefanou*, Charikleia. Νερόμυλοι βυζαντινών και μεταβυζαντινών χρόνων στην πέριξ της Θεσσαλονίκης περιοχή, Thessaloniki, 2014.

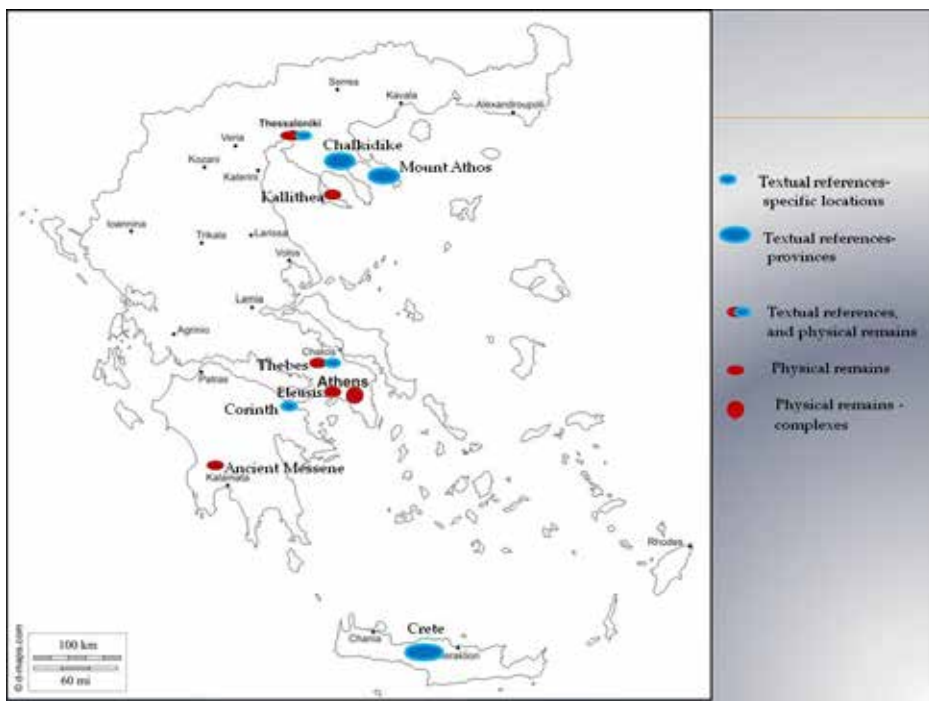


Fig. 6. Mapping the geographical diffusion of physical remains and written sources concerning watermills in Greece

mills grew in popularity in Greece to such a degree that they became the standard type of indigenous watermills.

This rudimentary approach of the textual evidence related to the operation of Byzantine watermills, combined with the related physical remains and depictions, allow us to deduce some key-points that can be summarized as follows:

References derive from both church literature (patristics, lives of saints, typica, monastic archives) and secular writings (historical narrations, treatises, legal codes or registers). They share common characteristics; they are brief, concise and certainly not narrative. Therefore, there is neither a hint, remark or comment in their technological gear, effectiveness or equipment nor a description of their construction and the materials used – with the exception of the short passage in the Life of Saint Athanasios Athonita. Our knowledge of their typology stems mainly from the data from excavated sites, and less from the depictions. A pronounced concern for stressing the terminology used in each period can be observed; *ύδραλέτα/ης* (*hydraletes/* water-grinder) is the most common word used until the 6th century,

while ὕδρομύλιον, ὕδρομύλοι (*hydrolylon, hydromyloi*/ water mill) and μυλοστάσια or (ὕδρο)μυλικά ἐργαστήρια (*mylika ergasteria, mylostasia*/ milling complexes) are the terms used in written sources from a later date. However, we should always keep in mind that animal-driven or hand-mills were extensively used in Byzantium during all periods. Thus, the word “mill” in itself may not necessarily denote a water-powered installation.

The geographical diffusion of the water milling technology is concentrated in finds located in south-western Asia Minor; a reference about watermills in Nikaia of Bithynia, a depiction in Constantinople and in Hierapolis, an early date inscription and a relief representation (**Fig. 5**). In Greece, mapping the spread of watermills leads us to two central areas; focal points in the north are Thessaloniki and Athos, and, in the south Athens and the Peloponnese. In two cases, Thessaloniki and Thebes, physical remains align with the testimonies of written sources (**Fig. 6**). A great deal of information on the watermills’ operation is still missing in the southern Balkans –with the exception of the references that related to Strumica and Stenemachon.

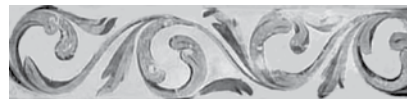
On the whole, the evidence concerning Byzantine watermills from both documents and finds is poor but gradually increasing, due mainly to the overall rise in material culture studies. Far from being textually exciting, archaeologically intriguing or artistically appealing, sources, remains and depictions of watermills have a unique advantage; they bear witness to the ingenuity and the skills that the Byzantines had to develop in order to overcome the practical needs of their everyday routine. In conclusion, they can be considered as achievements of active communities and resourceful people whose reality didn’t just focus on church aesthetics or high-profile cultural aspirations.

Водениците в писмените извори от византийската епоха

София Германиду



Разпространението на водениците през късноримската епоха е факт от решаващо значение за катализиращото влияние върху икономическия, социалния и културния просперитет на населението и селищата. В настоящото изследване се представят накратко данни от византийските писмени извори от всякакъв вид (надписи, жития на светци, манастирски архиви, типичи-завещания, разкази и пр.), в които се споменава за функционирането на тази „изненадваща“ машина. Ареалът на проучването са най-вече Мала Азия и Гърция, но се споменават и някои индикативни примери от Южните Балкани. Хронологичните граници на изследването са между IV и XII в., за които наличните данни са по-малко в сравнение с късновизантийската епоха, когато водениците вече са характерен отличителен белег на византийската земеделска общност.



Emperor in the Altar: An Iconoclastic Era Ciborium from Ulcinj (Montenegro)

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Abstract: Taking into account the complex link between the text and image, this article examines the iconography and the meaning of the representation over the early medieval ciborium from Ulcinj preserved in two different states – Serbia and Montenegro. Dislocated, uncovered in multilayered urban localities over a period of almost half a century, lost and found again, kept today in museums of two different states, the fragments of the Ulcinj ciborium, even when they were defined as a whole, have mainly been analyzed in historiography based on a methodologically characteristic approach which could only have yielded formalistic and, in their contents, inadequately reliable assessments. Speaking more precisely, the text and the image have so far been observed as two separate entities.

Judging by the Ulcinj ciborium, the idiom of the iconoclastic image remained fully within traditional framework while, at the same time, developing out of and being nurtured by the process of communication between Eastern Christianity, Judaism and Islam. In what we call "art", all three monotheistic creeds turned away from their axioms, often turning to zoomorphic and floral motifs, with or without any particular meaning. This lay at the source of the note found in the vita of Saint Stephen the Younger on the iconoclasts as keepers of representations of animals and birds. Their era preserved the value and the meaning of those images.

Keywords: Ciborium from Ulcinj, text, image, Iconoclastic era, religious syncretism

The constataction that researchers of the early medieval period are chronically faced with a lack of historical sources has long since become a truism. In the field of study of visual culture, whether western European or Byzantine, be it related to attempts to collect again in one place and/or analyze material of the visual arts in greater depth and detail¹, this lack is most conspicuous in the inadequate, meagre

¹ Cf. *Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History.*



Fig. 1. Ulcinj (Montenegro), site of ancient and medieval citadel (photo in public domain)

number of semiotically or chronologically reliably interpreted examples based on which one could look for an explanation of the more general concept relied upon in the process of transforming/transcribing holy scriptures into the emblemmatic and topography of the sacred space, relics, holy imagery and other elements of the early medieval Christian temple². This, however, does not imply the search for any sort of universal solution, for no such thing ever existed: Byzantine

Cambridge University Press, 2011; McKitterick, Rosamond. Text and Image in Carolingian World. In: *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (ed. Rosamond McKitterick). Cambridge University Press, 1998, 297-318.

2 For an early medieval West cf. Collins, Samuel W. *The Carolingian Debate Over Sacred Space*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; a study which discusses in a similar way Byzantine concepts and exposition of sacrality of space, is, according to my knowledge, yet to be written. Therefore, in this instance, I offer a list of texts which speak on the subject indirectly, cf. Ousterhout, Robert. *The Holy Space. Architecture and the Liturgy*. In: *Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium* (ed. Linda Safran). The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998, 81-120; *id.* *The Architecture of Iconoclasm*. In: *Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the Sources. An annotated survey*. Ashgate, 2001, 3-36; *id.* *New Temples and New Solomons: The Rhetoric of Byzantine Architecture*. In: *Old Testament in Byzantium* (eds. Paul Magdalino, Robert Nelson). Dumbarton Oaks, 2010, 223-254; *Marinis, Vasileios. Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople, Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries*. Cambridge University Press, 2014; *id.* *The Historia Ekklesiastike kai Mystike Theoria: A Symbolic Understanding of the Byzantine Church Building*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 108 (2015), 753-770; *Marinis, Vasileios. Ousterhout, Robert. "Grant Us to Share a Place and Lot with Them". Relics and the Byzantine Church Building (9th – 15th centuries)*. In: *Saints and Sacred Matter. The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond* (eds. Cynthia Hahn, Holger A. Klein), Dumbarton Oaks, 2015, 153-172.

iconoclasm took on different forms in different meridians, just as the western response to the stance of the eastern emperors on visual exposition of sanctity had multiple strata³. Therefore, the only term that could legitimately round off all the elements which lay at the core of its visual expression in the area stretching from the Middle East to the Atlantic is *regionalism*⁴, a set of phenomena within the fluid frameworks of the various territories, resulting from their universally recognized or local characteristics, migrations, the appearance of Islam and an ambivalent relation towards Jewish i.e. Old Testament heritage, which, in any given geographic location, lead to the creation of repertoires of *specific/general* messages expressed, *grosso modo*, through the employ of *identical* iconographic codes. Of course, such a structuring of “artistic time” and pertaining products was certainly not exclusive to the Early Middle Ages and is certainly not the sole coordinate system within which future research could reach for and gain truly grounded and, at the same time, general insights into the matter.

A entirely different and quite specific sort of truism, the source of which can be identified in the domain of inertia of smaller academic communities on the one hand, and the influence of contemporary ideologies in art history on the other⁵, is the fact that despite the rich collection of preserved monuments, ranging from traces of urban life and church architecture to large scale ensembles of stone sculpture, the individual regions, some of which were of special significance for *all* actors on scene of contemporary days, are practically nonexistent in “global” historiography. In this case, we address the issue of the Balkan coast of the Adriatic,⁶ the jagged coastline along the main

3 Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the Sources, 165sq; Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History, passim; Noble, Thomas F. X. Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

4 Ahrweiler, Hélène. The Geography of the Iconoclastic World. In: Iconoclasm (eds. Anthony Bryer, Judith Herrin). University of Birmingham, 1977, 21-28; Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History, passim.

5 Cf. Nelson, Robert S. The Map of Art History. – The Art Bulletin, 1997, N 97-1, 28-40.

6 After the seminal work of Dyggve, Eynar. History of Salonitan Christianity. Aschenchoug, 1951, early medieval monuments from this region have been published more-less as a whole only in the following books Goss, Vladimir P. Early Croatian Architecture: a Study in pre-Romanesque. Duckworth, 1987; *id.* Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia, Zagreb, 2006. Only following 1993 texts on individual monuments can be found in the journal Hortus Artium Medievalium, and prior to that also in bilingual academic publications issued in Croatia, cf. <http://hrcak.srce.hr/?lang=en>. More recently, basic information on those considered most significant

transversal Mediterranean route by which one travelled towards Ravenna, Venice and further westward, sailing through “numerous archipelago... so that ships never fear to be overwhelmed in those parts”, or docking at harbors of numerous coastal towns “because they obtained their livelihood from the sea”⁷. It is practacilly unnecessary to point out that these words, taken from the best known textual source on Byzantine history, summed up millennia old processes. For following the same route, various parts of this territory were reached by the legendary Phoenician king Cadmus, Diomedes, colonizers from Phokis as the first Greeks who sailed into the Adriatic⁸, while the strategy of full control over the “inner sea” was promoted already at the end of the 4th century BC by Dyonisos the Elder, tyrant of Syracue: the founding of his own colonies was initiated only after he had founded a stronghold on the location of present day Lezhë (Albania) by which he secured the sea routes between Sicly and Epirus⁹. In that manner manner, a gigantic triangle made up of land, islands and the sea was formed around the Otranto Gate as the most significant Mediterannean intersection of maritime taffic. Depending on the circumstances, its base oscillated slightly between the southern reaches of the Apennine Peninsula and the western coast of the Balkans do the line of Kephalonian islands, but its sides, judging by all available data¹⁰, met at a point located within the southern part of the east Adriatic coast, among the settlements mentioned collectively in the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Ulcinj was one of them (**Fig. 1**), an ancient Hellenic–Illyric–Roman emporium, the location of the early medieval ciborium whose textual/visual contents are the subject of study of this paper.

can be found in Čurčić, Slobodan. *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. Yale University Press, 2010, 326-327, 338-343, 346 (Map 7).

7 Quoted after Moravcsik, Gyula. *Jenkins*, Romily J. H. *Constantine Porphyrogenitos De Administrando Imperio*. *Dumbarton Oaks*, 1967, 139, 143; cf also *Ahrweiler*, Hélène. *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e – XV^e siècles*. Paris, 1966, 17sq; *Ferluga*, Jadran. *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*. Venezia, 1978; *Prigent*, Vivien. *Notes sur l'évolution de l'administration byzantine sur le Adriatique (VIII^e – IX^e siècle)*. – *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, N 120-2, 2008, 393-417.

8 Cf. *Cabanes*, Pierre. *Greek Colonisation in the Adriatic*. In: *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas II* (ed. Gosha R. Tsetskhladze). Leiden-Boston, 2008, 155-185; *Dzino*, Daniel. *Illyricum in Roman Politics, 229 BC – AD 68*. Cambridge University Press, 2010, *passim*.

9 *Ibid* (with previous literature); *Stevović*, Ivan. *Praevalis. The Making of the Cultural Space of the Late Antique Province*. Podgorica, 2014, 113sq.

10 *Stevović*, Ivan. *Praevalis. The Making of the Cultural Space of the Late Antique Province*, *passim*.

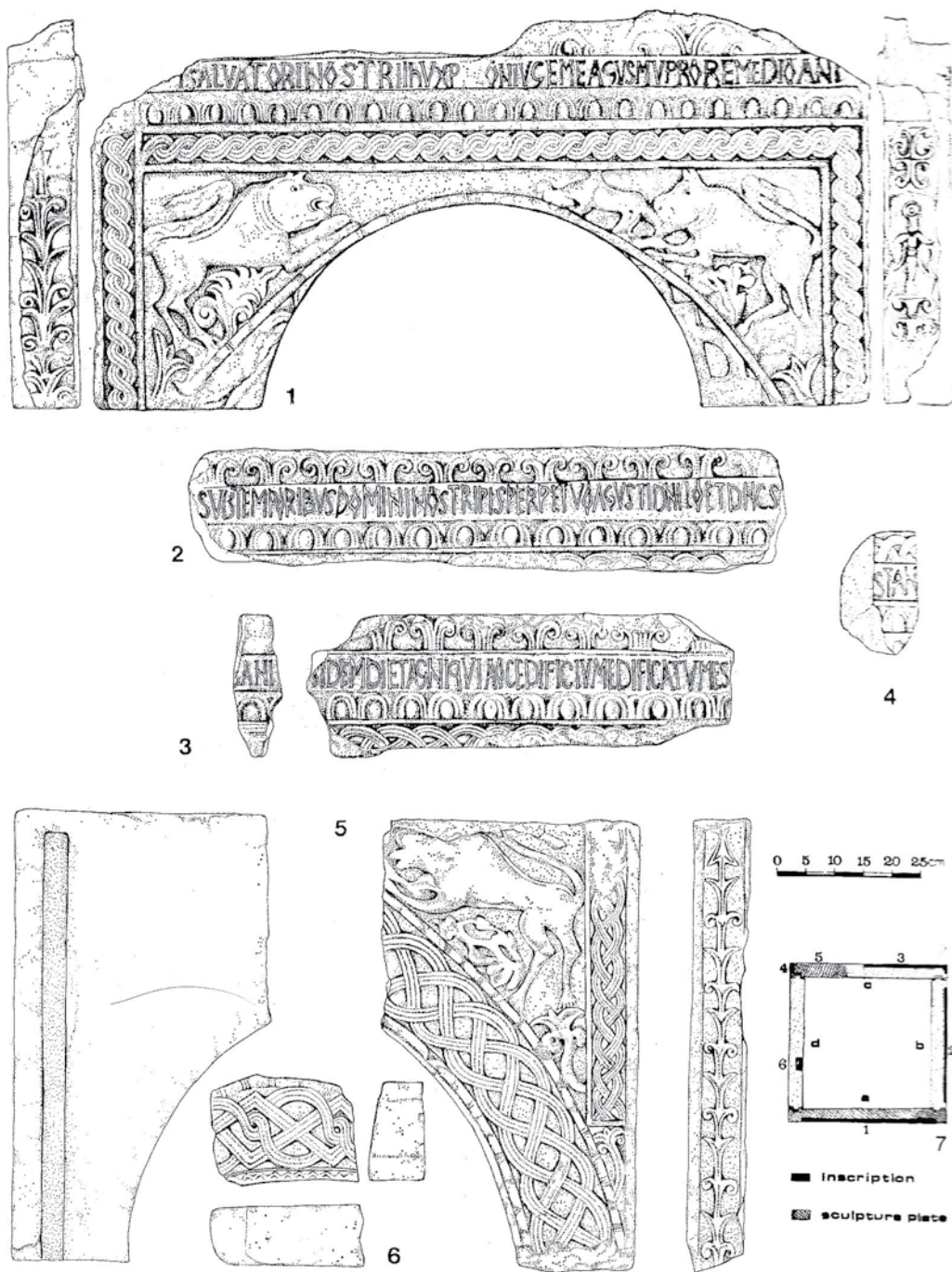


Fig. 2. Fragments of ciborium: 1) Belgrade, National Museum; 2-6) Ulcinj, Regional Museum; 7) ground plan reconstruction (after P. Mijović)

Dislocated, uncovered in multilayered urban localities over a period of almost half a century, lost and found again, kept today in museums of two different states¹¹, the fragments of the Ulcinj ciborium, even when they were defined as a whole (**Fig. 2**), have mainly been analyzed in historiography based on a methodologically characteristic approach which could only have yielded formalistic and, in their contents, inadequately reliable assessments. Speaking more precisely, the text and the image have so far been observed as two *separate entities*; the “historical” element of the partly preserved inscription has been used as proof of the dating of the ciborium and of the stylistic nature of the stone carving produced by shops from that era in the south Adriatic region¹², all in a manner which implied, *without any true reason*, that such conclusions had to fit the citations known from the sources, more specifically, the context of mentions of Ulcinj (Ελκύνιον, Helcynium) in Porphyrogenitus as one of the castles in the thema of Dyrrachium, although the precise time of founding of this administrative unit has to this day remained a question in itself¹³. The tendency to explain the unclear and the missing of the incomplete text by relying on the insufficiently studied or hypothetical has thus far yielded a collection of as many as seven different pos-

11 The best preserved arcade has been discovered in archaeological strata of the church within the citadel of Ulcinj in the period between the two World Wars and is kept today at the National Museum in Belgrade (fig. 3). Other fragments of the ciborium, along with the parts bearing the inscription, have been discovered in the course of the subsequent decades on various locations within the oldest part of the city. Those fragments are kept at the Museum of Ulcinj. Cf. *Муџоџић, Павле. Улцињски циборијум (Mijović, Pavle. Le ciborium d'Ulcinj).* – Старинар (Starinar), 1985, N XXXVI, 88-103.

12 In recent historiography, the Ulcinj ciborium has been investigated from various viewpoints, and with older bibliography, by *Bogdanović, Jelena*. Canopies: the Framing of Sacred Space in the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Tradition. UMI 3305752, Ann Arbor MI, 2008, 68 and n 194, et passim; *Preradović, Dubravka*. Bisanzio sull'Adriatico nel IX e X secolo. Topografia sacra / Byzance sur l'Adriatique aux IX^e – X^e siècles. Topographie sacrée. Corso di Dottorato di Ricerca in Storia dell'Arte Ciclo XXII. Tesi di Dottorato di Ricerca (relatori V. Pace – C. Jolivet-Lévy), Università degli Studi di Udine – École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2010-2011, 91-97; *Marasović, Tomislav*. Dalmatia Praeromanica 4. Split – Zagreb, 2013, 466-470; *Zornija, Meri*. Ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura na tlu Boka Kotorske (Early Medieval Sculpture from Boka Kotorska Bay). Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2014, 15sq. Certainly most complete research has been published by *Vežić, Pavuša. Lončar, Milenko*. Hoc tigmen. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije. Zadar, 2009, 143-147, 224-231.

13 Cf. *Moravcsik, Gyula. Jenkins, Romily J.H.* Constantine Porphyrogenitos De Administrando Imperio, 144-145; *Ферлуга, Јадран. Драч и његова област од VII до почетка XIII века (Ferluga, Jadran. Dyrrhachion und sein gebiet von 7. bis zum 13. jahrhundert).* – Глас САНУ (Glas SAAS), 1986, N CCCXLIII-5, 65-130, especially 73-83 (with previous literature), concluded that it happened before the third decade of the ninth century; *id.* Byzantium on the Balkans: Studies on the Byzantine administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth Century. Amsterdam, 1976; see also *Prigent, Vivien*. Notes sur l'évolution de l'administration byzantine sur le Adriatique (VIII^e – IX^e siècle), 402sq.



Fig. 3. Belgrade, National Museum, fragment of ciborium from Ulcinj (photo in public domain)

sible readings of which none has sole predominance. All together, rather, they signal an obvious necessity for a change in the approach to the problem¹⁴. On the other hand, the carved representations, i.e. the *images* (imago/imagines), especially those on the front side of the Ulcinj ciborium (Fig. 3), has so far, in historiography, remained at description level, treated simply as just another example among innumerable pieces of early medieval sculpture featuring the lion, and with just one single attempt to recognize more precisely in that motif “a representation of a metaphore containing moral and anagogical meaning”¹⁵.

Relying on the logical premise, particularly adequate in this case, that that which no longer exists is not worth searching for, i.e. because there is no existing study which goes beyond the above stated framework, the exit from the labyrinth of particularistic investigations of the Ulcinj ciborium calls as much for a correction of certain views presented in historiography, as for a considerable broadening of the

14 Cf. Vežić, Pavuša. *Lončar*, Milenko. Hoc tigmen. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije, 224-231, with older readings and interpretations of the inscription fragments and a series of new suggested possibilities.

15 Cf. Preradović, Dubravka. Ulcinjski ciborijum – natpis i reljefne predstave. – *Godišnjak pomorskog muzeja u Kotoru*, 2002, N L, 247-64; ead. *Bisanzio sull'Adriatico nel IX e X secolo. Topografia sacra / Byzance sur l'Adriatique aux IXè-Xè siècles. Topographie sacrée*, 91-97.

horizon and scope of study of the preserved fragments. For the purpose of the first, seeing that the preserved parts of the inscription do contain indisputable evidence of the time of creation of the ciborium, it appears reasonable to begin this quest from that point. The following text remains inscribed on one of the beams (**Fig. 2/2**): SVB TEMPORIBVS DOMINI NOSTRI PIS PERPETVO AGVSTI DN LEO ET DN CS [...] ¹⁶. Just reading these words it instantly becomes clear why any reliable interpretation of the monument is objectively difficult and why it is definitely impossible to achieve solely by relying on its epigraphic contents. For, as it is well known, from the first decades of the 8th do the beginning of the 10th century, the Byzantine throne was occupied by co-emperors with identical names in as many as four instances – Leo III and Constantine V (co-emperors 720 – 741), Leo IV and Constantine VI (co-emperors 776 – 780), somewhat later also Leo V and his son, Simvatos, who was also given the honorary titular name (co-emperors 813 – 820), and, finally, Leo VI and Constantine VII (co-emperors 908 – 912) ¹⁷.

The condition under which one of the mentioned pairs of co-emperors could be identified with that mentioned in the inscription on the Ulcinj ciborium, implies firstly the exclusion of the key false presumption which had determined the approach to the whole problem in the first place. It has to do with the fact that, within the framework of a specific and long term situation surrounding the relations between the capital and the eastern coast of the Adriatic as the westernmost territory in which Byzantium had its interests over the “dark centuries”, mentions of imperial rule over the said area did not necessarily have to be directly co-related to the existence of a strongly established system and absolutely all the *official* prerogatives of Romanian sovereignty ¹⁸. More specifically, since the crucial segments of inner social order of early medieval Dalmatian communes grew through a process of slow

16 Cf. Mihaljčić, Rade. *Steindorff*, Ludwig. Namentragende Steininschriften in Jugoslawien vom Ende des 7. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Wiesbaden. 1982, 100-101; *Vežić*, Pavuša. *Lončar*, Milenko. Hoc tignum. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije, 224.

17 Cf. Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium II (ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan). Oxford University Press, 1991, 1208-1211 (with previous literature).

18 *Ферлуга*, Јадран. Драч и његова област од VII до почетка XIII века (*Ferluga*, Jadran. Dyrrhachion und sein gebiet von 7. bis zum 13. jahrhundert), 74 and n 32; *Preradović*, Dubravka. Ulcinjski ciborijum – natpis i reljefne predstave, 257; ead. Bisanzio sull'Adriatico nel IX e X secolo. Topografia sacra / Byzance sur l'Adriatique aux IX^e – X^e siècles. Topographie sacrée, 93; for the subject in general see now *Kaldellis*, Anthony. The Byzantine Republic. People and Power in New Rome. Harvard University Press, 2015, 165sq.

transformation out of the remains of late antique structures, along with a contemporaneous symbiosis with their newly arriving inhabitants, recognizing of their own free will ever since the 7th century the rule of the emperor, at times even openly asking Constantinople to take full military-political control over their domains and affairs, relations with the Empire in the East depended as much on the process as on a given moment, i.e. the various possibilities of bringing the two sides together at various times¹⁹. Thus, in this particular case there is no grounded reason to assume that the Ulcinj ciborium could have been made only after the founding of the thema of Dyrrachium, as an official “link” in the Byzantine administrative system, which probably took place during the first decade of the 9th century. It was precisely because of such a line of reasoning that the imperial names mentioned on the ciborium were automatically, i.e. actually under the pressure of authority of Porphyrogenitus’s text composed almost a century and a half later, identified with Leo V and Simvatos-Constantine²⁰. Along with the written sources, the same is attested also by material evidence. Not too far from Ulcinj, in Kotor, as one of the strategically most significant points of the above sketched “Otranto triangle”, a fragment of a ciborium arcade has been found, inscribed with the name ... IKIFORIVS N... In view of Byzantine activity in the Adriatic before and after the Peace of Aachen, it seems plausible to identify it with that of emperor Nicephorus I (802 – 811)²¹, even though Kotor became the southernmost city of the thema of Dalmatia only during the reign of Basil I²². Whatsmore, the presence of imperial names in *altar spaces*, would, in this particular area, imply an entirely different set of Byzantine aspirations and na-

19 Cf. *Ferluga*, Jadran. L’amministrazione byzantina in Dalmazia, passim.

20 As in n 18.

21 Cf. *Vežić*, Pavuša. *Lončar*, Milenko. Hoc tigmen. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije, 134; *Čanak-Medić*, Milka. *Čubrović*, Zorica. Katedrala Svetog Tripuna u Kotoru (The Cathedral of St Tryphon at Kotor). Kotor 2010; *Marasović*, Tomislav. Dalmatia Praeromanica 4, 380-388; for Nicephorus’ activities in Dalmatia cf. *Niavis*, Pavlos. The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus. University of Edinburgh, 1984, passim; *Treadgold*, Warren. The Byzantine Revival, 780-842. Stanford University Press, 1988, 144sq.

22 *Ferluga*, Jadran. L’amministrazione byzantina in Dalmazia, 112sq; *Brown*, Thomas S. Byzantine Italy (680 – 876). In: The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500 – 1492 (ed. Jonathan Shepard), Cambridge University Press, 2008, 456. The practically absolute absence of the territory of the Balkans and its Adriatic coast up to the appearance of the Normans from the cited book, in spite of the relatively well published earlier period, reaching back to the age of Justinian and in accordance with the historical sources, in Serbian and Croatian historiography, is an illustrative indicator of the truism of which we spoke at the beginning of this text. It is with great caution that one should use the book by *Fine*, John V.A. The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century. The University of Michigan Press, 2000.

ture of presence, a question we shall address later in the text after we have presented our attempt at deciphering the issue of identity of the emperors mentioned in the inscription from Ulcinj.

Because they have been studied in greatest detail, the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty are the easiest to leave out. According to a number of sources, including ecclesiastical, throughout his reign Leo VI ruled as co-emperor with his brother, Alexander, who kept his position even after the birth of Constantine VII. Thus, the premise that all three imperial names must have been mentioned in the Ulcinj inscription is practically the only conclusion expressed in previous historiography, related to the historical aspect of the matter, which can be accepted without questioning²³. With one important note, however: by eliminating these three emperors one does not automatically eliminate the possibility that the legal ground for one part of the inscription of the frontal arcade could, in fact, have been found in Leo VI's *Novella* 20, his redaction of older laws on matrimonial property relations, and in particular of the *Eclogue* issued jointly in 726 by Leo III and Constantine V²⁴. From this point of view the inscription is quite clear since it also includes the following words: ...I SALVATORI NOSTRI Ihv XP [...] CONIVGE MEA GVSMV PRO REMEDIO ANIM[...]²⁵ Previous researchers were all confused by the lack of the name of Cosma's husband, a unique case in the epigraphic material from this territory, especially because it is difficult to find a textologically reasonable and logical place for it in the remaining parts of the inscription²⁶. Similar examples are found among the inscriptions from the other side of the Adriatic, on the Appenine Peninsula, in the region directly opposite the location of the city of Ulcinj. Because they are dated to a considerably later period, there is no sound ground for making direct comparisons, except for the purpose of determining the possible *longue duree* nature of

23 Mijović, Pavle. *Le ciborium d'Ulcinj*, 99-100; Tougher, Shaun. *The Reign of Leo VI (886 – 912)*, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1998, 146sq.

24 Margetić, Lujo. *Bizantsko bračno imovinsko pravo u svjetlu novele XX Lava Mudroga (La novela XX di Leone il Saggio ed il regime dei beni fra i coniugi nel Bisanzio e nelle citte' Dalmate)*. – *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 1978, N 18, 19-50; Burgmann, Ludwig. *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.* Frankfurt, 1983; Laiou, Angeliki E. *Family Structure and Transmission of Property*. In: *The Social History of Byzantium* (ed. John Haldon). Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, 51-75.

25 Vežić, Pavuša. *Lončar*, Milenko. *Hoc tigmen. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, 224.

26 Vežić, Pavuša. *Lončar*, Milenko. *Hoc tigmen*.

a specific legal tradition²⁷. The analyzed legacy of early medieval testaments from Apulia and Calabria i.e. Lucania, an area of intertwining of the *Eclogue* and *Leges Langobardorum*, seems to be more to the point for it contains records of legal actions by which wives, in their lifetimes, designated a part of their own property for the purpose of salvation of their souls (*pro remedio animae*), while husbands, by court decree, saw to the adequate handling of said property²⁸. In a word, what must have stood “under” this part of the Ulcinj inscription was Cosma’s will and testament. Because such documents were normally tied to the church, it could only have been ratified by the bishop, which, in turn, speaks of the existence of a municipal or regional ecclesiastic organization at the time of production of the ciborium. Also, in view of the acrobatics, both in eloquence and in the use of actual space, that would have been necessary in order to somehow insert the name of Cosma’s husband in the fragmented texts, it comes to mind either that after her death he took the monastic vow and was “dead for the earthly world” or that it had been carved elsewhere in the church, above the portal or, more probably, as part of the structure of their shared tomb, perhaps resembling the sarcophagus of the nearly contemporaneous Kotor nobleman, Andreaci, and his wife, Maria²⁹. In that case, Cosma and her husband would actually have been the ktetors of their own i.e. “private” church, an institution still insufficiently studied when the early medieval period is concerned and not only in the case of the eastern Adriatic³⁰, but it is worth noting that Andreaci and Maria most probably found their eternal rest in a family endowment.

The remaining sum of comparative sources relative to the quest for the co-emperors mentioned on the Ulcinj ciborium consists mainly of sylographic and numismatic finds, of the type not exactly looked upon

27 Cf. *Safran*, Linda. *The Medieval Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, 48, 253.

28 *Skinner*, Patricia. *Women, wills and wealth in medieval southern Italy. – Early Medieval Europe*, 1993, N 2-2, 133-152.

29 Cf. *Jakšić*, Nikola. *Pre-Romanesque Sarcophagi in Early Medieval Dalmatia. – Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 2004, N 10, 7-14, especially 7-9; *Preradović*, Dubravka. *Bisanzio sull’Adriatico nel IX e X secolo. Topografia sacra / Byzance sur l’Adriatique aux IX^e – X^e siècles. Topographie sacrée*, 128-132; *Marasović*, Tomislav. *Dalmatia Praeromanica* 4, 388-389; *Zornija*, Meri. *Ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura na tlu Boke Kotorske (Early Medieval Sculpture from Boka Kotorska Bay)*, passim.

30 Cf. *Thomas*, John Philip. *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*. *Dumbarton Oaks*, 1987, 111-166; *Wood*, Susan. *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*. Oxford University Press, 2006, 584sq.

favorably by art historians and especially in cases when it is evident that younger emperors emulated consciously the titular and visual formulae of their older, previous namesakes³¹. Still, although it is, therefore, clear that the value of data obtained therein is relative, indicative exceptions to the rule do exist. There are seven preserved seals dating from the relatively brief rule of Leo V and Simvaitos-Constantine on which the names of the co-emperors are followed by the formulation “in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit”. As far as jointly issued monetary units are concerned, it has been ascertained that, regardless of the fact he had been proclaimed an augustus, on the coins minted in Constantinople Constantine’s name is paired only with the title of despot or basileus, while on those from Sicily (Siracuse) there is no trace of any title he held at all³². The cited trinitarian invocation is found on one seal pertaining to Leo IV and Constantine VI, as well as on two examples ascribed to Leo III and Constantine V³³, so that more grounded assertions are certainly not to be reached by this path. An analysis of titles seems to yield better results: in his research of the coinage of this period, Philip Grierson found that the abbreviations DN for *Dominus Noster*, that is PPAVC for *Pis Perpetuo Augusti*, are not to be found on Byzantine coins after the reign of Constantine V³⁴. The fact that they had been used intensively precisely at the time of that emperor is attested, among other ways, by one of the remaining pair of seals on which his name appears together with the name of Leo III and which reads [D(omino) n(ostro) Leon(i) p(erpetuo) a(ugusto)] mul(-tos) [a(nnos)](?), i.e. D(ominus) n(oster) C[on]stantinus³⁵. However, the most significant example of the last known case of usage of this imperial formula has been preserved in its Greek equivalent, αἰώνιος ἀβγόνοστος, identified in the opening of an inscription found in the vicinity of the Thracian city of Bizas. The text in question is related to the restoration of a bridge undertaken in the day of co-emperors Constantine V and Leo IV. Having recognized the intitution, Cyril Mango and Ihor Shevchenko also confirmed that the abbreviation PA

31 Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History, 431.

32 http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals#b_start=375&c2=Leo+V&c4=9th (09-08-2106); cf. Foss, Clive. Emperors named Constantine. – *Revue Numismatique*, 2005, N 161, 93-102.

33 http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals#b_start=225&c2=Leo+V&c4=8th (09-07-2016)

34 Cf. Grierson, Philip. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collections and in Whittemore Collection III. Dumbarton Oaks, 1973, 177.

35 <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1643> (09-07-2016); see also in Grierson, Philip. Byzantine Coins. University of California Press, 1982, 154-155.

was no longer in use after that time, while stating that it had actually been incorporated in the Thracian inscription via an unabridged appropriation of the imperial title of Leo III and his son³⁶. In the context of both the text and, as we shall see, the imagery represented on the front side of the Ulcinj ciborium it appears reasonable to quote the opening words of the mentioned inscription from Thrace which testify of Constantine's, and Leo's before him, self identification: *This bridge was repaired under Constantine and Leo the eternal Augusti, Lords Upholders of the Universe and our great Emperors guided by God...*³⁷

What is represented on the front arcade of the Ulcinj ciborium, or rather, what are the biblical textual references of the sculpted imagery? Of the 150 plus places lions are mentioned in the Bible, just one corresponds to the image found on the right side of the ciborium arcade from Ulcinj. Actually, this is an image of a lioness. The distinction between this and the image of a lion opposite her is difficult to spot and yet quite clear. His mane, despite the damage, is presented in a series of shallow carving incisions, and there is no such feature around the neck of the lioness figure. Underneath her belly there is a motif, hardly recognizable at first glance, which can, nevertheless, be identified as a smaller animal figure carrying prey in its jaws right in front of the lioness³⁸. This is one of her whelps which she nourished among young lions and which learned to catch the prey and devour men, as described in Ezekiel 19:2-3. In essence, the conclusion that the prey is represented in the form of a bird, as stated in existing historiography, is thus basically correct.

The opening verses of Ezekiel 19 and pertaining attempts to interpret its contents have produced a veritable little library of texts and commentaries at the nucleus of which stand those aiming to identify the historical background of the lioness metaphore as well as the true meaning of the message conveyed though the enigmatic words of the prophet. For the most part, the lioness has been identified as Hamutal, the wife of king Josiah and mother of kings Jehoahaz and Zedekiah whose reign brought on the end of the dynasty of Juda, i.e. the lineage of David, finally resulting in Nabuchadnezzar's triumphant campaign

36 Mango, Cyril. Ševčenko, Igor. Three Inscriptions of the Reigns of Anastasius I and Constantine V. – *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift*, 1972, N 65-2, 384-393, especially 392.

37 Mango, Cyril. Ševčenko, Igor. Three Inscriptions, 385.

38 Preradović, Dubravka. Ulcinjski ciborijum – natpis i reljefne predstave, 239.

and Babylonian captivity. Being the female of the species, it has also been suggested that the lioness should be seen as a metaphor of Jerusalem, as an echo of Ezekiel's allusion to the activity of Jehoiachin, eldest son of Josiah by Zebidah³⁹. Not getting further involved in the discussion which has not produced any definite conclusion, it appears that the core message of Ezekiel's words was best summed up by Gary T. Manning who states that they point out a two-fold evil: although greater evil was certainly inflicted by the enemy of non-believers, a considerable contribution to the downfall of the kingdom of Judah was made by its inept or tyrant kings, especially, Zedekiah. This opinion is further corroborated by the fact that Ezekiel's verses are cross referenced by certain verses of the Second Book of Kings (2 Kings 23:31-32), and generally by its narrative describing the reign of king Josiah – his banishment of idol worshippers from the Temple of Jerusalem as well as to his problematic and entirely different heirs⁴⁰.

Such an interpretation of Ezekiel's verses, translated into visual narrative, seen in the context of historical, i.e. religious-ideological order of the epoch of Leo III, was probably the most appropriate means of emphasizing the positive effects of his reign for he was the founder of a new dynasty whose rise to the throne put an end to a deep and decades long crisis in the Empire, brought on as much by the appearance of Islamic conquerors as by the frequent changes on the throne occupied by rulers incapable of handling the new circumstances. Leo III also rose to the throne in the midst of an Umayyad siege of Constantinople and the capital was successfully defended by his military prowess. In Armenian tradition this won him the status of Moses *redivivus*⁴¹. Thus the image of the "two-fold evil", as the sublimation of both the mythologized

39 Cf. *Duguid*, Iain M. *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel*. Leiden-New York-Köln, 1999, 35sq; *Sweeney*, Marvin A. *King Josiah of Judah. The Lost Messiah of Israel*. Oxford University Press, 2001; *Manning*, Gary T. *Echoes of a Prophet. The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*. London-New York, 2004; *Joyce*, Paul M. *Ezekiel. A Commentary*. New York-London, 2009, 147sq; *Block*, Daniel I. *Beyond the River Chebar. Studies in Kingship and Eschatology in the Book of Ezekiel*, Cambridge, 2014, especially 45-73.

40 *Manning*, Gary T. *Echoes of a Prophet. The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*, 139.

41 Cf. *Gero*, Stephen. *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III, with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources*, Louvain, 1973; *ibid*, Notes on the Byzantine Iconoclasm in the eighth century. – *Byzantion*, 1974, N XLIV-1, 25; *Treadgold*, Warren. *A History of Byzantine State and Society*. Stanford University Press, 1997, 346sq; *Brubaker*, Leslie. *Haldon*, John. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History*, 69sq; see also *Velikov*, Julian. *Tsar Josya i ikonootritsanieto prez osmi i deveti vek*, available at https://www.academia.edu/10228390/King_Josiah_and_Iconoclasm_in_the_8th_and_9th_Century_

and the recent past, found its rightful place on the Ulcinj ciborium and in the right position – not on the right hand side but rather, guided by the axioms of sacral topography of the altar space, on the left hand side of the arcade, the one which corresponds with the category of Evil. As its counterpart, on the side belonging to the righteous, there is a figure of a lion rearing up over a bent plant, the standard symbol of victory or reign over the “corrupt tree” (*arbor mala*)⁴², for which reason the beam bearing the inscription mentioning the emperors *must certainly have stood on the right lateral side of the ciborium*⁴³. The kaleidoscopic nature of the unity of inscription and image thus made it possible that it be interpreted simultaneously as Christ himself and as the lion from the tribe of Juda but also as Leo III, both as the “New Josiah” and as the victor over the Synagogue, the adherents of which he had christianized *en masse*⁴⁴. Whether fictitious or real, Leo’s famous sentence “I am the emperor and the priest!” came out of the same contextual framework and its origins and reception have been analyzed by Gilbert Dagron; along with those of Hosea and Hezekiah, it appears that Leo III also identified his mission with that of Josiah⁴⁵. Absolutely logical from the point of view of an emperor who persecuted the Jews while introducing a series of Old Testament quotations into his *Eclogue* and maintaining theological discussions with the Umayyad caliph, Omar II, whose faith, as is well known, also recognized Ezekiel as a prophet⁴⁶.

And finally, are there any indications in the sources which could offer indirect testimony to corroborate the above stated identification of the Ulcinj ciborium? Although historical data should not be unconditionally associated with art historical material, and especially not in in-

42 Cf. Mayo, Penelope C. Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the “Liber Floridus”. – *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1973, N 27, 29-67; Coyle, Kevin J. Good Tree, Bad Tree: the Matthean/Lukan Paradigm in Manichaeism and Its Opponents. In: *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity* (eds. Lorenzo diTommaso, Lucian Turcescu). Leiden-Boston, 2008, 121-140; Rubin, Miri. Ecclesia and Synagoga: The Changing meanings of a Powerful Pairing. In: *Conflict and Religious Conversation in Latin Christendom: Studies in Honor of Ora Limor* (eds. Israel Jakob Yuval, Ram Ben-Shalom). Brepols, 2014, 55-86 (with extensive bibliography).

43 As was already expressed, in form of presumption, by Preradović, Dubravka. Ulcinjski ciborium – natpis i reljefne predstave,

44 Cf. Brubaker, Leslie. *Haldon, John*. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History, 69sq.

45 Dagron, Gilbert. *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le “césaropapisme” byzantin*. Paris, 1996 (after Serbian edition, pp. 187-197.); Velikov, Julian. Tsar Josya.

46 Hoyland, Robert. *The Correspondence of Leo III (717 – 741) and ‘Umar II (717 – 720)*. – ARAM, 1994, N 6, 165-177.

stances like this one, there is certain information regarding Leo's active engagement in events related to the area of the Otranto triangle even prior to the last years of his life when he had Illyricum and southern Italy removed by decree from papal jurisdiction and entrusted to the care of the patriarch of Constantinople⁴⁷. Although inspired by a theological dispute, this act of "closing the door" must surely have had clear strategic implications which further sustain the existence of some form of Byzantine administration at significant points of the Balkan coast of the Adriatic, in full harmony with the described political position this territory held for a very long time. Even in the early years of his reign Leo III had already experienced its importance: when a riot caused by the Umayyad siege of Constantinople broke out on Sicily in 718 – 719, with the intention of overthrowing the emperor, Leo III responded by organizing an expedition lead by strategos Paul, whose only weapon was the order he was carrying for the western archontes. In a detailed analysis of passages from the Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, the source which testifies of this episode, Tibor Živković has shown that the order could only have been addressed to the Slavic chiefs who appear in the sources bearing the title of *archontes* since the end of the 7th century at the latest. It was by their military strength, under the command of loyal Byzantine nobles in Durres and, in the opinion of Živković, in Zadar, too, that this conflict was resolved in favor of Leo III⁴⁸. Two centuries later still listed as the castellum of Durres, Ulcinj was, as we can logically conclude, living in peace or, more precisely, in peaceful coexistence with its Slavic neighbors already in the days of Leo III. In this instance it is not possible to discuss in further detail the more than far-reaching implications of the constatation, which delves essentially into the framework of an extremely significant issue raised by Florin Curta. It is, however, possible to underline the observation of Milenko Lončar, the most thorough reader of the fragments of Ulcinj ciborium inscription, who observed in the word of GVSMV an unusual form of ablative, thinking, at first, this was an example of a Greek declination, and stating, with utmost reserve, that it was perhaps too early to speak about the Slavic accusative of the name Cosma⁴⁹. Is it?

47 Treadgold, Warren. *A History of Byzantine State and Society*, 354-355.

48 Živković, Tibor. *The Strategos Paul and the Archontes of the Westerners*. – *Byzantina Symmeikta*, 2004, N 15, 161-176; Brubaker, Leslie. *Haldon*, John. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History*, 77.

49 Vežić, Pavuša. Lončar, Milenko. *Hoc tigramen. Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, 227.

Any sort of general conclusion based solely on the existing parts of a whole, however telling they may be, would certainly be a methodological *contradictio in adjecto*, especially in view of the fact that most recent historiography has openly challenged the older views on the monolithic iconoclastic stance of Leo III⁵⁰. Namely, except in its prominent visual-metaphoric proclamation of imperial power, Cosma's ciborium, in the measure in which it is preserved, is not essentially too different in its narrative/visual articulation from a number of other similar examples of stone carving from the Adriatic region which have yet to be carefully deciphered. At the time of its production, it appeared as just another, different form of the same message conveyed in a different medium in Jeme in Upper Egypt, where an image of a woman named Elisabeth, accompanied by her daughter, both in the usual *ex voto* stance of the Orans, appears by the painted cycle of Saint Menas, or the frescoes of Theodotus's chapel in Santa Maria Antiqua⁵¹. Based on these examples, it is not difficult to surmise that the church which had originally housed the Ulcinj ciborium must have been decorated in a similar fashion. All in all, there is still too little evidence for us to consider it as any sort of a particular "iconoclastic syntagm in stone". Such a conclusion actually falls along the line of recent research which has questioned Leo's supposedly exclusively iconoclastic theological views and is additionally strengthened by the fact that animal symbolism is also fully present in the centuries following the era of Iconoclasm and, in both Byzantium and the West, not solely in apotropaic form – by which we have reached the limits of existing theories and knowledge on the entire matter⁵². Judging by the Ulcinj ciborium, the idiom of the iconoclastic image remained fully within traditional framework while, at the same time, developing out of and being nurtured by the process of communication between Eastern Christianity, Judaism and Islam. In what we call "art", all three monotheistic creeds turned away from their axioms, often turning to zoomorphic and floral motifs, with or without any particular meaning⁵³. This lay at the source of the note

50 Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680 – 850): the History, 69sq.

51 Brubaker, Leslie. Haldon, John. Byzantium; Lucey, Stephen L. Art and Socio-Cultural Identity in Early Medieval Rome: the Patrons of Santa Maria Antiqua. In: Roma Felix-Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome (eds. Éamonn Ó Carrágain, Caron Neuman de Vegvar). Ashgate, 2007, 139-158.

52 For a solely apotropaic function in Byzantium cf. Maguire, Henry. Profane Icons: the Significance of Animal Violence in Byzantine Art. – RES: Anthropology and Aesthetic, 2000, N 38, 18-33.

53 For an Islamic art and its fusion with medieval christian art see, in general Grabar, Oleg. The

found in the vita of Saint Stephen the Younger on the iconoclasts as keepers of representations of animals and birds⁵⁴. Their era preserved the value and the meaning of those images.

Mediation of Ornament. Princeton University Press, 1992.

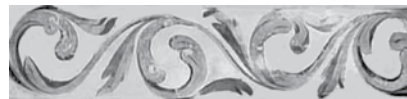
54 Cf. *Dauterman Maguire*, Eunice. *Maguire*, Henry. *Other Icons. Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture*. Princeton University Press, 2007, 95.

Император в олтара: иконоборчески киворий от Улцин, Черна гора

Иван Стевович



Имайки предвид сложната връзка между текст и изображение, тази статия изследва иконографията и значението на изобразеното върху ранносредновековния киворий от Улцин, който в наши дни се пази в музеите на две различни държави – Сърбия и Черна гора. Досега фрагменти от улцинския киворий, въпреки че се приема, че са част от едно цяло, са анализирани в историографията предимно формалистично. По-конкретно текстът и изображенията досега са възприемани като два различни компонента, заради което тази статия предлага необходимата промяна в подхода към проблематиката. Чрез сериозна и историческа контекстуализация на надписа киворийът е датиран по време на управлението на император Лъв III (717 – 741) и съвластващия му Константин V, а образите върху фронталната арка на кивория се интерпретират тук като визуализация на текста от Езекиил 19:2-3, и по-точно стиховете за лъвицата и нейните малки, които хранила сред младите лъвове, от които едно като станало млад лъв, се научило „да граби лов и да яде човеци“. Тези строфи от прор. Езекиил, преведени на визуален език, пречупени през историческия, и по-точно религиозния и идеологически аспект от времето на Лъв III, са били най-подходящият начин за открояване на позитивните ефекти от неговото управление, които поставят края на дълбоката и десетилетна криза в империята. По този начин изображението на лъвицата или на „удвоеното зло“ като еманация на митологизирането на миналото намират своето оправдано място върху кивория от Улцин и правилното местоположение, т.е. не от дясно, а по-скоро по силата на аксиомите на сакралното пространство на олтарната преграда – от ляво на арката, което кореспондира по-добре с категорията „зло“. Като негов контрапункт, върху страната на праведните е изобразена фигурата на лъв, изправен върху преобърнато растение – стандартен символ на победата или на възцаряването над „лошото дърво“ (*arbor mala*), заради което над олтара има надпис, който споменава, че императорите трябва да стоят от дясно на кивория. Единството между надпис и изображение сигурно помага тази сцена да се интерпретира едновременно като самия Христос и като лъв от коляното на Юда, но и като император Лъв III, и двамата в качеството им на „Нов Йосия“ и на победител над синагогата, чиито обитатели са били покръстени *en masse*. Съдейки по кивория от Улцин, характеристиката на иконоборческия образ остава изцяло в традиционния си изказ, но едновременно с това се развива, подхранван от процесите на комуникация между източното християнство, юдаизма и исляма. В това, което наричаме сега изкуство, трите монотеистични вероизповедания са се отдалечили от аксиомите си, като често се завръщат към зооморфните и флорални мотиви с подтекст или без. Това може би се дължи на такъв извор като житието на св. Стефан Нови, в което има бележка, според която иконоборците са поклонници на изображенията на животни и птици. Тяхната епоха е съхранила ценността и значението на тези образи.



Нов прочит на гръцкия надпис от село Черноглавци

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Abstract: The Greek inscription from the village of Chernoglavtsi, region of Shumen, is explored anew, seeking to make a more precise interpretation of the text. The inscription of two lines is in twelve-syllable verse of an apotropaic content. The author proposes the inscription to be dated to the period between the late tenth and the mid-eleventh century and in all probability, by the end of the First Bulgarian Kingdom.

Keywords: Chernoglavtsi, Greek inscription, First Bulgarian Kingdom

При археологическите разкопки в манастира „Св. Богородица“ в село Черноглавци край Шумен са открити десетки каменни надписи, главно изсечени, сред които има и много гръцки. На един от тях, вероятно защото е сметнат за най-стар, е посветена отделна статия¹. Става дума за кратък християнски гръцки надпис, изсечен върху варовиков камък с размери 0.19 x 0.22 x 0.36 м, който е намерен разчупен на четири парчета. Почти по цялата височина на изписаната повърхност има врязан кръст от латински тип, поставен леко наляво извън центъра (Фиг. 1).

Т. Балабанов, който пръв издава надписа, публикува негова снимка и чертеж, коментира обширно текста му и предлага негов препис с малки букви (в минускул). Впоследствие К. Попконстантинов в монография, издадена преди две години, публикува

¹ Балабанов, Тодор. За семантиката на един гръцки надпис от манастира при с. Черноглавци, Шуменско (*Balabanov, Todor. Za semantikata na edin gratski nadpis ot manastira pri s. Tsernoglavtsi, Shumensko. – Preslavska knizhovna shkola.* – Преславска книжовна школа, 2000, № 5, 107-112.

цветна фотография на надписа и преписва епиграфския текст с главни букви (в маюскул), давайки различен прочит само на последния от петте реда².

τὸ στ[αυ]ρὸ μορφὸ τ[ε]-	ΤΟ ΣΤΑΥΡΟ ΜΟΡΦΟ ΤΕ
κτον εὐσθενεὺς κρᾶ-	ΚΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΘΕΝΕΥΣ ΚΡΑ
τος δρᾶκο[v]	ΤΟΣ ΔΡΑΚΟΝ
τὸ μορφὸ τεύκτο[v]	ΤΟ ΜΟΡΦΟ ΤΕΥΚΤΟΝ
ἡσχυν οὖν τριβῇ	ΗΣΧΥΝΟΥ ΤΡΙΒΗ
(Т. Балабанов 2002)	(К. Попконстантинов 2014)

Тези два преписа на надписа подценяват качеството му, което налага неговото преразглеждане. Предлагам нов препис, който предавам в пет реда с разделяне на думите и с правописа, както е на самия камък. Следва и филологически препис в два реда, тъй като става въпрос за поетичен текст, изписан в дванайсетсричен стих.

	Τὸ στ[αυ]ρομορφότ[ευ]
	κτον εὐσθενεὺς κρᾶ-
	τος δρᾶκο[v]-
4	τομορφότευκτο[v]
	ἡσχὺν συντριβῇ
	(Г. Веленис 2016)

Вероятно неизвестният съставител на този текст е притежавал уникални способности за поетичен изказ. Това е видно от стихотворното произведение, което не е обикновено дванайсетстиш-

² Попконстантинов, Казимир, Тотоманова, Анна-Мария. Епохата на българския цар Самуил, език и писменост (*Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Anna-Maria. Epochata na balgarskia tsar Samuil, ezik i pismenost*). С. 2014, 54, фиг. 14.



Фиг. 1. Гръцки надпис от Черноглавци (сн. К. Попконстантинов)

но, а в чисто ямбичен триметър с абсолютна точност при местата на дългите и кратките срички в двустишието (χ - υ - χ - υ - χ - ύ -).

Τὸ σταυρομορφότευκτον εὐσθενὲς κράτος

δρακοντομορφότευκτον ἰσχὺν συντρίβει.

Това, което би могло да се сметне за недостатък и да се приеме като грешка на писача, е неправилният правопис в последния ред. По-специално това се наблюдава при думите ἰσχὺν (вместо ἰσχύν) и συντρίβη (вместо συντρίβει) и е явление, известно като итакизъм (т.е. неправилно произнасяне), което е познато от редица византийски надписи.

Въпросният текст не предлага нищо важно от гледна точка на директни или индиректни сведения за исторически събития. Първият изследовател, който публикува надписа, го свързва с

богомилската ерес, което не би могло да се отрече. Не е изключено обаче да се свърже и с други догматически противоречия, както и с някои християнски схващания относно живота на земята, но и този след смъртта, а и най-вече с идеята за Второто пришествие, когато се смята за сигурно превъзходството на Христос над сатаната (т.е. образът на Кръста, който се отъждествява с Христос, ще разруши силата на змея, който тук символизира сатаната).

Трябва да се отбележи, че първата от двете съставни думи се състои от двусричковите думи *кръст*, *образ*, *ръчно направен*, а втората също от двусричковите думи *змей*, *образ*, *ръчно направен*. В тази непозната от другаде игра на думи само първата от трите думи е различна и бележи различието между *кръст* – *змей* (Христос – сатана), което е и основният замисъл на съчинителя на стиха. Използването на другите две еднакви думи се налага от поетична гледна точка, както и за благозвучие.

Не е изключено думата „*τευκτός*“, която означава *ръчно направен*, но и *приготвен*³, да е избрана смислово и косвено да се отнася до строежа на храм, който според канона се издига в знак на благодарност към Бога, независимо от светеца покровител. Би могло да се приеме още, че е един вид поощрение, насочено към читателя, изказано по начин, който се среща и в наши дни, когато се казва „*прекръсти се и продължи*“, в смисъл на отхвърляне на изкушенията от сатаната.

Заслужава да се направи още една забележка относно съдържанието на епиграфския текст. Става дума за връзката между думите *държава* (*κράτος*) и *сила* (*ἰσχύς*), първата от които подобава да се свърже с господството на Христос над изключително голямата сила на вечния противник (сатаната), който накрая не само ще отстъпи, но и ще бъде унищожен, а последната придава още по-силен есхатологичен характер на епиграфския текст.

Освен всичко, казано по-горе, и имайки предвид, че изследваният надпис е намерен в нартекса на храм, съдържанието на текста

3 Liddel – Scott: *τευκτός*. В изследвания надпис прилагателното *ръчно направен* (*τευκτός*) се явява като такова с две окончания, вероятно, защото е част от съставна дума, както се случва и с прилагателното *υεότευκτός*. За тази податка благодаря на приятеля филолог Христос Фараклас.

би могло да се свърже пряко с тайнството на Светото кръщение, и по-специално с молитвата, която се чете три пъти от свещеника по време на освещаването на водата, когато се казва следното⁴: „Да сокрушатся под знаменiem образа Креста Твоего вся сопротивныя силы“.

Т. Балабанов причислява изследвания надпис към Х в. Същото мнение споделя и К. Попконстантинов, който го включва сред други надписи от епохата на цар Самуил. Датировката на изследвания надпис от двамата видни български изследователи става въз основа на обща преценка, без наличието на палеографски анализ, който първият от двамата изследователи обещава да направи в друга публикация⁵. Такъв вид общи датировки обаче са несигурни и биха могли да предложат още по-голям диапазон в датировката между последната четвърт на IX и средата на XI в. Въпреки това търсенето на възможно най-точна датировка винаги зависи от особените белези на предлаганите палеографски данни.

Във въпросния епиграфски текст се срещат шестнадесет главни букви на гръцкото писмо (Α, Δ, Ε, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ, Μ, Ν, Ο, Ρ, Σ, Τ, Υ, Φ, Χ), което е окуражаващ брой за резултатен палеографски анализ. Болшинството от тях обаче се откриват в големи хронологически периоди и не предлагат по-прецизна датировка, повече от два до три века. Особен интерес представлява буквата Α, която има ъглова петлица, прилетнала в средата на височината на изправеното рамо.

Следвайки въпросния тип на буквата сред различни надписи от средновизантийския период, се установява наличието на три варианта. В най-стария, чието начало е засвидетелствано в ранновизантийските векове, изправеното рамо е очертано с голям наклон наляво. Става дума за най-съставния вариант, който е имал много голяма продължителност на приложение и е бил особено любим сред каменоделците, както при прабългарските, така и при кирилските надписи.

При втория вариант изправеното рамо е вертикално – факт,

⁴ Насоката към този текст дължа на богослова и археолог д-р Георгиос Фустерис.

⁵ Балабанов, Тодор. За семантиката на един гръцки надпис, 107, бел. 3.

който предполага последователно развитие и влияние от минускулното писмо. Характерен е случаят с един точно датиран кирилски надпис от 954 г., който произхожда от същия манастир. При него са налични и двата споменати по-горе варианта, наклоненият наляво и съвсем изправеният в същата буква⁶.

Третият вариант е този, който се среща в изследвания надпис, с изправеното рамо, наклонено надясно, форма, която се свързва еволюционно с курсивното писмо на ръкописите⁷. Става дума за форма, която се среща изключително рядко сред гръцки надписи, но и при кирилските надписи, където би трябвало да се очаква наличието на задоволителен брой образци. За пример би могло да представим един недатиран надпис от същия манастир, където се различават доста разновидности на буквата А, главно тази с наклонено надясно изправено рамо⁸. Същото се наблюдава и при един недатиран кирилски надпис от с. Крепча край Попово, за който е предложена датировка през първата половина на X в.⁹ Въз основа обаче на различни от споменатите от изследователя доводи, надписът би могъл да бъде отнесен към по-късна епоха¹⁰.

Ключ към възможно най-точната датировка на изследвания надпис е сходството във формата на четирите букви, които съставят думата ΕΘΟΣ, феномен, особено чест сред византийските надписи. Трябва да се отбележи, че тези четири букви в съответните случаи обикновено се очертават с кръгли или елипсовидни линии, както се случва и при ръкописите, независимо дали е написан с минускулно или маюскулно писмо.

6 Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Anna-Maria. Epohata na balgarskia tsar Samuil, фиг. 16, където е дадена двойна датировка (954 – 955), без да е необходимо, тъй като месецът (септември) е споменат.

7 Mioni, Elpidio. Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική παλαιογραφία (превод: Ν. Παναγιωτάκη). Athens, 1985³, 74, 166-167.

8 Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Anna-Maria. Epohata na balgarskia tsar Samuil, 54 (1), фиг. 15. В текста към изображението надписът е споменат като гръцки, но не е изключено да е двуезичен. Изследователят го датира в X в., без обаче да предлага обосновка.

9 Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Anna-Maria. Epohata na balgarskia tsar Samuil, 26-27, фиг. 11.

10 В друга негова публикация същият надпис е поместен в края на X – началото на XI в. (Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Kronsteiner, Otto. Altbulgarische Inschriften 1. Wien, 1994, 46-47). Темата се нуждае от усърден палеографски анализ. За пример се споменава видът на буквата В с двете особено раздалечени и сравнително малки зърна, както и буквата N с вълновидно средно рамо, във втория ред на надписа, данни, които значително отдалечават надписа от датировка в X в.

Особеността в надписа, който ни занимава, идва от факта, че четирите букви, които съставят думата ΕΘΟΣ, както и буквата Φ, са ъглести, и то с особено остри ъгли, явление, което не се среща при датирани надписи преди средата на Х в. Това, което се наблюдава при някои надписи от по-ранни времена, е острата ъглова форма при О и при Θ, докато другите две букви в същия надпис Ε и Σ имат формата на полумесец или се очертават с паралелни хоризонтални рамене и изправени вертикални¹¹.

Едновременно оформяне на четирите споменати по-горе букви в ъглова форма се среща сред надписи, които датират от последната четвърт на Х в. нататък. Характерни примери са един надпис от Адрианопол (Κοçaş) във Фригия (976 – 1025)¹² и един друг от Афион Карахисар в Иония (989/90)¹³. Същото се наблюдава и при един особено калиграфски, но за съжаление, недатиран надпис, който се съхранява в музея на „Св. София“ в Истанбул и е датирани от различни учени в периода между IX и XII в.¹⁴

От проведения палеографски анализ излиза, че изследваният надпис от Черноглавци в България би могъл да бъде датирани в периода от последната четвърт на Х до средата на XI в., и най-вероятно след края на Първата българска държава. Видът на текста не предлага сведения за по-точна датировка. Освен това не е изключено коменоделецът или поръчителят на надписа да е знаел въпросната епиграма от другаде и да я е изсекъл на видно място в новопостроения храм „Св. Богородица“ в едноименния

11 Вж. напр. недатирания надпис на Мадарския конник, както и втората от двете надписани плочи от Базилика II във Филипи (837 сл. Хр.), вж. Beševliev, Veselin. Die Protobulgarischen Inschriften. Berlin, 1963, таб. 1-17 и таб. 37. За наличието на същото явление извън Балканите вж. недатирания надпис от Анкара, Турция, при Rhoby, Andreas. Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein. Wien, 2014, 1029, фиг. 93, за който авторът предлага датировката IX – X в., но би могъл да се вмести по-точно в IX в.

12 Calder, William, Cormack, John. Monuments from Lykaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias. Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua. 1962, N 8, N 190, 37, tab. 10.

13 Rhoby, Andreas. Byzantinische Epigramme. Tr 5, 522-523, 1025, fig. 86, където приема погрешния препис на изследователите преди него (Cξη' = 959/960), за което е предложен номер C (=90) вместо ξ (=60) в непубликуваната докторска теза на Αναστασιάδου, Αρχοντούλα. Η χρήση στις ανατολικές επαρχίες της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας, αφιερωματικές και κτητορικές επιγραφές ναών της Μ. Ασίας (4^{ος} – 15^{ος} αι.). Θεσσαλονίκη, 2004, N 60, 266-267, tab. 8.

14 Rhoby, Andreas. Byzantinische Epigramme. Tr 63, 633-636, 959, fig. 85-87, където изследователят предлага IX в. с въпросителна, без да прави палеографски анализ. За други датировки между IX и XI в. вж. библиографията, която предоставя същият изследовател във въпросния текст на каталога.

манастир в Черноглавци. Какъвто и да е случаят, византийската литература се е обогатила с една проста епиграма, която доказва с изказното си качество познатата сентенция: *πάγκαλόν ἐστ' ἐπίγραμμα τὸ δίστιχον· ἦν δὲ παρέλθης τοὺς τρεῖς, ῥαψωδεῖς κοῦκ ἐπίγραμμα λέγεις*¹⁵.

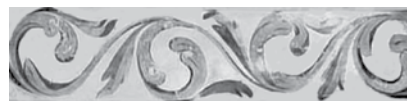
¹⁵ Κομίνης, Αθανάσιος. Το βυζαντινὸν ἱερὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ οἱ ἐπιγραμματοποιοί. Αθήνα, 1966, 19.

A New Reading of the Greek Inscription from Chernoglavtsi, Bulgaria

Georgios Velenis



The Greek inscription from the village of Chernoglavtsi, region of Shumen, is explored anew, seeking to make a more precise interpretation of the text. The inscription of two lines is in twelve-syllable verse of an apotropaic content. The author proposes the inscription to be dated to the period between the late tenth and the mid-eleventh century and in all probability, by the end of the First Bulgarian Kingdom.



Reactions to Death: Some Remarks on Early Byzantine Funerary Inscriptions

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Abstract: Funerary inscriptions are invaluable as a research tool for archaeologists, historians, and philologists. The aim of the present study is to glean information on the emotions of a group of familiars caused by the death of one of their own and, with the help of those emotions. Furthermore, observations pertinent to the subject will also be made on inscriptions referring to the death of children. We will considerate funerary inscriptions from the early Byzantine period. The texts particularly highlight the impact the death of parents has on the life of the children, especially when the offspring of the deceased are at quite a young age or how the death of children have made painful the rest of the life of their parents. These reports, taken as a whole, show the reactions, sentiments and inner world of a person in a state of grief. A synthesis of the above mentioned information paints a picture of how people express their emotions during the process of mourning, as it is disclosed through inscriptions relating to death.

Keywords: funerary inscriptions, early Byzantine period, death, mourning

Funerary inscriptions are invaluable as a research tool for archaeologists, historians, and philologists. Their testimony contributes to an understanding of various aspects of Byzantine life, from professional occupations to individual and collective perceptions of death. The aim of the present study is to glean information on the emotions of a group of familiars caused by the death of one of their own and, with the help of those emotions. Furthermore, observations pertinent to the subject will also be made on inscriptions referring to the death of children. We will considerate funerary inscriptions from the early Byzantine period.

The published inscriptions that were studied and about to be pre-

sented here¹ are drawn from the database *A Directory of Byzantine and Christian Published Inscriptions*, a University of Athens project where the published funerary, donor, and dedicatory inscriptions from the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire, dating from the fourth to the fifteenth century, are catalogued, indexed, and provided with historical annotations².

Funerary inscriptions were composed for the purpose of identifying the tomb of a particular person or persons. Apart from providing onlookers with basic information about the deceased, such as their name and age³, the text on the sepulchral plaque was meant to honour those no longer alive on behalf of people who were mostly their relatives, for instance a husband honoring the memory of his deceased wife or vice versa, or a mother or father that of their children. In addition to their usefulness as archaeological artefacts, the value of funerary inscriptions to modern scholars lies in the fact that they provide prosopographic data for the deceased themselves or their relatives: professional occupations, personal relationships, personality traits, and related information. It is evidence such as this that helps a person (in this case a researcher) to create an image in their own mind or, alternatively, bring us closer to the image the relatives themselves wished to convey of their deceased family member.

As was observed in the material under consideration, the text of funerary inscriptions recorded certain terms, in particular tears and sorrow, by which the physiological response and psychological state into which people enter when experiencing a loss, during mourning, were

1 The text of this paper is an enriched version of a communication delivered at the Art Readings 2015-International Colloquium, organized by the Institute of Art Studies – Sofia on 8 – 10 April 2016; the theme of the colloquium was *Texts/Inscriptions/Images*. My involvement with funerary inscriptions, as part of the work on my National and Kapodistrian University of Athens doctoral dissertation titled “Facets and aspects of death”, necessitated an examination of those inscriptions from a different perspective, above and beyond the generally-known archaeological methods. It should be noted that in this paper exemplified specific inscriptions in each reported category.

2 The research project *Indices of Published Christian and Byzantine Inscriptions* is conducted at the University of Athens under the joint supervision of professors Katerina Nikolaou and Irene Chrestou. It focuses on collecting and processing historically the published Greek inscriptions found in the regions of the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire and dating from the fourth to the fifteenth century. On the research project, see Nikolaou, Katerina, Chrestou, Irene. *Indices of Published Christian and Byzantine Inscriptions. An Old Project carried through with New Technologies*. In: *Inscriptions in Byzantium and Beyond. Methods – Projects – Case Studies* (ed. Andreas Rhoby). Wien, 2015, 129.

3 Concerning the topic of the age of the Byzantine child, see Nikolaou, Katerina. *The Woman in the Middle Byzantine Period. Social Models and Everyday Life in the Hagiographical Texts*. (in Greek). Athens, 2005, 41-54 (hereafter: Nikolaou, Katerina. *The woman in the middle Byzantine period*).

expressed. The above-mentioned words are used for a specific reason and accentuate the sentiments stated, either explicitly or implicitly. It should be noted here with regard to those inscriptions in which no emotion is expressed that it does not follow from this absence that none was felt; it is simply that the sententious style chosen for the composition of these particular texts did not lend itself to such wordings. The selection of words ultimately depends on each person.

The study of epigraphic texts shows that, in cases where the physiological response of weeping was caused by the mental pain suffered due to the loss of a loved one (especially a child or a mother), there was a simple statement of tears as in the following inscription from Syria (4th c.);

*Ιουλιανοῦ τόδε μνήμα, μακρῷ βεβαρημένῳ ὕπνου,
 Ἀγαθος δείματο πατήρ κατὰ δάκρυ[ον] εἰ[βω]ν,
 κοιμητηρίου παρὰ τέρμα κοινοῦ λαοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 ὅφρ' αὐτὸν ἀεΐδοιεν ἀμείνων εἰς αἰὲ λαὸς
 ἀμφά<ι>δια, Ἀγάθῳ πάροισιν πρεσβυτέρῳ
 πιστὸν ἐόντ' ἀγαπητὸν, ἐτέων δύο καὶ δέκα ὄντα.
 Ἐτο(υς) σλθ⁴*

It is observed that when the deceased addresses his or her relatives in the first person, he or she commands them not to weep for him/her, as if the latter is standing in front of them and addresses them in person. The decision to make this delivery in the first person probably stemmed from a desire on the part of the relatives to dramatize the contents of the epitaph, and hence the fact of death, as in the following inscription from Perinth (5th c.)

+ Φλά(βιος) Ρουμᾶνος Ἡρακλεώτῃ-Ι[ς] φυλῆς ἐνάτης κατεσκεύασα τ-ὶὸ
 λατόμιον ἐμαντῷ κῇ τῇ γλῡ-|κυτάτῃ μου μητρὶ | Ἡμη(ν) μ(ῆν) ἐτῶν || ὀλω(ν)
 ἱκοσι ὀκτώ | διὰ ταῦ(τὰ) μου | μήτηρ οὐ παύη δακρύ(ω)ν πλείον | γὰρ ἐμοῦ
 τέκν(ον) οὐκ ἔχεν ὀλω(ς). [Υ] | κτρά (δ) ἐτύμβευσε μόν(ω)ς ἐμὴ κό|ρη μ(ε).

4 Littmann, Enno, Magie, David Jr. and Stuart, Duane Reed. Syria, Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909, Div. III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Section A, Southern Syria. Leyden, 1921, 151-153, N 262.

Παῦσε δακρύων, δυστυχ|ῇ σύμβιε · τόπον γὰρ οἰκῶ σεμ(ν)ῶς ἐγκεκλισμένος.
Εἴ τις δὲ τολμή|σι ξένον καταθ(ήσ)ην δώσι τῷ τ|αμῖῳ χρυσοῦ ὠνκίος ἔξ⁵

In the vocabulary used in inscriptions, there is an expression of the direct physiological reactions of a person confronted with the consequences of death, the pain experienced, and (indirectly) their love for the person who is no longer with them. Sorrow during mourning is an emotion and a state of being which come to anyone who experiences loss, as in the following inscription from Aezani (Christian).

Ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχ[ε]ι Σωσθέ|νην ἄνδρα ποθητὸν | καὶ κάλλ[ε]ι καὶ με[γέ]
θ[ε]ι καὶ σ[ω]-|φροσύνη ἥδὲ μάλιστα τ[ὸ]-|ν πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐν | ἄνδρεσι
κῦδος ἔχοντα. | Τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἔ-|θανον, λύπησα δὲ πάλιντας καὶ πενθεροῦς
[ἔ]-|π[αι]σα, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐμάρα[ν]-|α γυν[αι]κὸς μετὰ ἧς τ[ρί]-|α ἔτη συνέζησα,
ἀπ[ὸ] | ἧς ἔν τέκνον ἔσχον · οἶ | δὲ γον[ε]ῖς πρὸς ἐμοῦ ἐν-|θάδε κ[ε]ῖν[τ]αι.
Ἀλέξανδ-|ρος πρεσβύτερος μετ[ὰ] | τῆς συνβίου Ἀππῆς κα[ὶ] | τῆς θυγατρὸς
Κυρίλλης | καὶ τῆς ἐγγόνης Δόμ[ι]ν-|ης τοῖς συτέκνοις Σω-|σθᾶ καὶ Δόμνη καὶ
Σωσ-|θένη γανβρῶ γλυκυτά | τω ἐποί[η]σαν χάριν χ-|ρηστῖανοὶ χρηστῖανο[ις].
| Τὸν θεὸν σ[ὺ] ἀναγ[ν]ο-|ύς μὴ ἀδικ[ή]σ[η]ς.⁶

An intense presence of emotions, even if only implied, is noticeable in the case of children regardless of age (which is stated in some inscriptions, but omitted in others). Children, as heirs and descendants, were a necessary and integral part of the family. References to them in the inscriptions are acute, both in sentiment and in frequency⁷. In order to examine the evidence offered by the inscriptions, for the purposes of this paper children as descendants are classified into two categories. The first includes funerary inscriptions which refer to children surviving their mother or father. The second category groups together the inscriptions which testify the passing of the child or children during the lifetime of their parents or on the occasion of the death of parents.

5 Seure, Georges. Antiquités Thraces de la Propontide. – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, 1912, N 36, 82.

6 Mirbeau, Gaëtan. Deux épitaphes chrétiennes de l'Aezanite. – Echos d'Orient, 1904, N 7, 330.

7 As Hennessy (Hennessy, Cecily. Images of Children in Byzantium. Burlington, 2008, 28) mentions, about burial and children graves in the Eastern Roman Empire, there were unmarked graves or no graves with children imply little loss. The graves in several cases do not report the age or the name of the child. See also, Patlagean, Évelyne. Familles chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure et histoire démographique du IV^{ème} siècle. In: Structure sociale, famille, Chrétienté à Byzance (IV^e – XI^e siècle) (ed. Patlagean, Évelyne). London, 1981, 180-182, Papaconstantinou, Arietta, Talbot, Alice-Mary. Becoming Byzantine. Children and Childhood in Byzantium. Harvard, 2009, 300-304 (hereafter: Papaconstantinou, Arietta, Talbot, Alice-Mary. Becoming Byzantine).

An examination of the inscriptions belonging to the first category reveals that a characteristic of several inscriptions mentioning surviving children is that the deceased simply indicates the name or names of the children, as the epitaph on the tombstone found in Athens (5th – 6th c.). It was one of the parents that had died, the mother⁸, and the fact that *Εὐτυχία* had offspring is considered an element essential enough to be included in the epigraphic text.

κοιμητήριον
 Ἐὐτυχί[ι]ας τῆς^ν
 μητρός Ἀθη-
 νέου καὶ Θεον-
 κτίστου^{ννν9}

In the next grave epigram from Athens (4th – 6th c.) *Νικηφόρος*, who was a noble man, died leaving behind many friends and his wife and infant children all alone. The grouping together of the key elements of the father's life, his friends and family, emphasize his good character as a man. Since the text characterizes the children of the deceased as *ἄχαια* (that is to say 'in need'), it may be assumed that they were very young, perhaps even in infancy or still being nursed.

εὐ<γ>ενῆς ἀνὴρ Νικηφόρος
^{νν}ἐνθάδε κῖτε
 πλείστους φίλους προλιπών
^{νν}γεί κέκρυπτε
 μόνην ἑάσας γαμετήν καὶ ἄχαια
^{νν}νήπια τέκνα¹⁰

8 In the study of Mentzou-Meimari (*Mentzou-Meimari*, Konstantina. The Presence of Women in Greek Inscription from the 4th to the 10th c. – Parousia, 1982, N 1, 232-251. Hereafter: *Mentzou-Meimari*, Konstantina. The Presence of Women) evidence about the woman presence in byzantine inscriptions, categorizing her status, as succinctly can be reported, are compiled in *μητέρα, ἐλευθέρα, γαμετή, γυνή, σύμβιος, σύζυγος, οἰκοδέσποινα*.

9 *Sironen*, Erkki. The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica. Helsinki, 1997, 239, N 199 (hereafter: *Sironen*, Erkki. The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions). See also, *Mentzou-Meimari*, Konstantina. The Presence of Women, 235.

10 *Sironen*, Erkki. The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions, 247, N 210.

Such is the case of the next inscription, one dedicated to the memory of a mother, a good-natured and wonderful woman from Attica, which was found in the Panathenaic Stadium (6th c.). In addition to the above, the reference to the young age of the mother adds even more drama to the fact that the woman in question is no longer alive to give suck to her children¹¹. The mother, *Ἀθηνοδώρα*, gave birth to little children and nursed the infants. The soil took away the mother, while the children were in need of milk.

*cross Ἀθηνοδώραν τὴν ἀγαθὴν τὴν Ἀττικὴν
τὴν Θαυμασίου γυναιῖκα τὴν φιλένθεον,
παιδιά τεκοῦσαν καὶ τρέφουσιν νήπια
ἢ γῆ λαβοῦσα τὴν νέαν τὴν μητέρα
κατέχει, γάλακτος δεμένων τῶν παιδι-
vacat ων*¹².

The intense aspect of the loss of the mother also appears in the funerary inscription from Athens (undated) of the blessed Paulina, about whom it is stated that death (we assume, since the plaque is damaged and the text fragmentary) snatched away the mother from her child and did not allow the toddlers—and once again the inscription fails us at this point.

... Π]αυλίνας μακαριωτ[άτης.
... ἀφήρπασε, παῖδ' ἀπό μητρός.
... μη]τιν κἀνείασε νήπια τέκνα¹³

Children at a tender age, mere babes-in-arms or toddlers, are forced to live without their mother or father, whom they need, as the texts of the inscriptions make plain. The sentiment created is a powerful one in the case of these children, who will have to live with the loss of one of their

11 Breastfeeding was an important issue for the Byzantines; it was seen as a natural need for infants and a practice which could last for several years after childbirth. See *Nikolaou, Katerina. The Woman in the Middle Byzantine Period*, 121. See also, *Papaconstantinou, Arietta, Talbot, Alice-Mary. Becoming Byzantine*, 65-83.

12 *Sironen, Erkki. The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions*, 236, n 195. *Guarducci, Margherita. Epigrafia greca, IV, Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane. Roma, 1978, 317, n 1* (hereafter: *Guarducci, Margherita. Epigrafia greca*).

13 *Kaibel, Georg. Epigrammata Graeca, ex lapidibus conlecta, Berolini, 1878, 63, n 178.*



Fig. 1. Tombstone of the chapel of St Athanasias in south Attica, built into the wall (4th c.).
[H. 0.032 m, W. 0.049 m, LH 0,002 m] – After McLean, Bradley. A Christian Epitaph: The Curse of Judas Iscariot. – *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1992, N 58, 243

parents; since this sentiment is stressed, it also affects in an indirect fashion the people reading the inscription.

On inscriptions where the death of the minors themselves is referenced, the second category of the inscriptions here presented, the content of the text is even more emotionally powerful. It should be stressed that these specific references are either in connection to the death of parents, or recorded as a separate incident concerning the children alone and their demise.

Several inscriptions simply mention the death of one or more children, without any further personal information, such as their names or age, being recorded, as in the case from Thira (5th c.) of the parents *Χαριλάω* and *Μνημοσύνη*.

Χαριλάω και Μνημοσύνη

*κὲ τοῖς πε[σίν]*¹⁴

Of course, there are also funerary inscriptions belonging to this category in which the name of the child is mentioned: one example is the tombstone from Athens (4th c.) marking the resting place of *Ἀνδρέου* and *Ἀθηναῆδος*, and their child, *Μαρίας*, who have lived through a good life (**Fig. 1**).

¹⁴ Grégoire, Henri. *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecque Crétiennes d'Asie Mineure*. Amsterdam, 1968, 57, n 166.

cross κυμητήριον Ἀνδρέου^{vv}
 κέ Ἀθηναῖδος κέ τοῦ πεδίου^{vv}
 αὐτῶν Μαρίας οἱ τὸν βίον καλῶς
 διαπραξάμενοι. ἂν τις δὲ τοῦ-^{vv}
 μήση ἀνῦξε κέ θῇ ἄλλον, ἔχι^{vv}
 τὴν μερίδαν τοῦ Ἰούδα κέ γέ-^v
 νητε αὐτῷ πάντα σκ{τ}ότος^{vv}
 κέ ἐξολεθρεύσῃ ὁ Θεός αὐτὸν^{vv}
 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκίνη.^v cross^{vv15}



Fig. 2. The inscription from Prusia (5th c.) is in a plaque (tabula). On the top of the inscription there is a cross. [H. 0,94 m, W. 0,76 – 0,67 m, LH 3,5 m] – After *Ameling*, Walter. *Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium*. – *Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Klein Asien*, 1985, N 27, 181, Plate XXXIV N 126

15 *Sironen*, Erkki. *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions*, 265, n 231. See also, *McLean*, Bradley. *A Christian Epitaph: The Curse of Judas Iscariot*. – *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1992, N 58, 241-244.

The death of a child is enough to explain how life for one or both parents can be so devastating and painful that it ultimately leads to their own demise. A case in point is that of *Γεόργιος*, in inscription from Prusia (5th c.), who lived a good and kind life but he and his wife *Εὐφημία* have lost a child (**Fig. 2**). The child had probably died several years before his mother (the matter is not defined with any sort of clarity), but his death had ushered in a particularly painful period for *Εὐφημία*, culminating in her own passing.

Κόσμιον και εὐγενῖ βί-
ον διάξασα, ἐπόλ εθ-
ρον δὲ καὶ ἐπώδυνον
διά τέκνον θάνα-
τον Γεοργίου σχο(λαρίου),
ἐκτελέσασα ἐν-
θάδε κατάκιμε, Εὐ-
φημία ὄνομα λεγο-
μένη. γαμετή γενο-
μένη Ἀρσακίου¹⁶

The next inscription makes a real impact (**Fig. 3**); it records the names of six children, four boys and two girls, probably in the order in which they died and was found in Heracleia–Perinto (3rd – 4th c.).

ἔξ ἐνθάδε κεῖνται παῖδες ·
πρωτοτόκος Λούκις, διςσῶ
κλήρῳ Θεόδοτος, παρθένος
ἡ Δόμνα κληρον τρίτον ἔξε-
τέλεσσαν, τετράδι Λουκία-

16 Ameling, Walter. Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium. – Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Klein Asien, 1985, N 27, 181, n 126. See also, *Mentzou-Meimari*, Konstantina. Comments on Early Christian Funerary Inscriptions. Form and Content (in Greek). – *Byzantiaka* 1994, N 14, 40-41.

νῆ πέμπτη Ζώη συνοδεύ-
 ει, ἕκτη Θεοδούλη, μετέπι-
 τα τεθεῖται πενθ' ἐτέων οὔσα καὶ
 δέκα πρὸς τοῖς παρθένος, ἑβδο-
 μάτη δὲ τεκοῦσα σπεῦσεν ἰδεῖν
 παῖδας οὓς αὐτὴ προέπεμψεν.
 οἷς πᾶσιν ποίησεν λατόμιν ἐνθά-
 δε Λούκις, τέκνοις ἰδίοις καὶ αὐ-
 τῷ, σὺν Ασκληπιοδότῃ ἀλόχῳ.



Fig. 3. Marble stele in the
 form of a shrine, with a
 small pediment at the center
 of a relief rosette, from He-
 raceia-Perinto (3rd–4th c.).
 After Guarducci, Margherita.
 Epigrafia greca, 364, fig. 105

Χριστιανοὶ δὲ πάντες ἔνε-

σμεν¹⁷

The children's names were Λούκις, Θεόδοτος, Δόμνα, Λουκιανή, Ζωή and Θεοδούλη. Only in the case of the girl Θεοδούλη, who was 15 years old when she died, is there a mention of her age at the time of death, perhaps because she was younger than her siblings when she died. The final part of the inscription gives the names of the parents, who survived their children. The father was called Λούκις, after whom both the first child on the list, the firstborn son (his status is clearly mentioned in the inscription), and one daughter, Λουκιανή, were named; the children's mother was called Ασκληπιόδοτη.

Apart from name and age, in most cases the inscriptions reveal few additional details about the lives of children, regardless of their age at the time of death. It should be noted that it was considered important to indicate that the late children had been baptized or had died shortly after their christening, a fact indicated through the use of the term νεοφώτιστος ("one who has just received a baptism"), as in the case of the newly-christened Νιγίλα (Constantinople, 5th c.).

cross Ἐνθάδε κα

τάκ(ει)τ(αι) Νι-

γίλα νεοφώ-

τιστος cross¹⁸

The texts of the funerary inscriptions express and externalize emotions, because in the case of death the fact of human loss is evident. The choice of inscriptions as a setting for the declaration of sentiments was based on human reactions in the course of the mourning process. The use of specific terms, such as tears and sorrow, exacerbates the intense emotions of the person or persons who commission the inscription, who decide on the posthumous text to be placed on their tombstone or on that of members of their own family, and who experience firsthand the reality of loss. The individual character of

17 Guarducci, Margherita. Epigrafia greca, 363-365, n 5.

18 Inscriptions related to this issue, into infant baptism, have been collected in a modern study. See, *Mentzou-Meimari*, Konstantina. The Meaning of the Adjective "Faithful" in Early Christian Funerary Inscriptions (in Greek). – Byzantina (Memorial volume of I. Karagiannopoulos) 1985, N 13, 1213-1214.

the person is implicitly stated through the content he or she chooses for the composition of the funerary inscription.

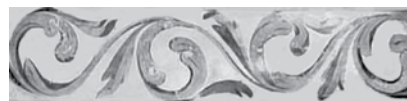
As for children, whether underage or not, whether they have died or are simply mentioned in the inscription as descendants of the person or persons lying under the burial monument, the fashioning of an inscription is a personal matter, one of a private and intensely emotional nature. The texts particularly highlight the impact the death of parents has on the life of the children, especially when the offspring of the deceased are at quite a young age or how the death of children have made painful the rest of the life of their parents. These reports, taken as a whole, show the reactions, sentiments and inner world of a person in a state of grief. A synthesis of the above mentioned information paints a picture of how people express their emotions during the process of mourning, as it is disclosed through inscriptions relating to death.

Реакции на смъртта: някои бележки върху ранновизантийските надгробни надписи

Константина Варела



В това съобщение се изследва въпросът за възприемането на смъртта във Византия въз основа на наличната информация от надгробните надписи от базата данни на Атинския университет „Индекс на публикуваните византийски и християнски надписи“. Тук се представят индикативни примери на надгробни надписи от ранновизантийския период и от различни райони на византийската империя, които съдържат податки за емоционалните реакции на близките на покойника, към починал родител или например за отношението към изгубено дете. Прави се опит и за категоризация на различните физиологични състояния, отразени предимно в надписите в мерена реч, като скръб, траур, плач. Предлагат се и примери за възможно най-кратки надписи, които съдържат само името на покойника.



The Issue of the Pre-Dated Inscriptions in Contrary with the Falsified. The Cyrillic Inscription from Edessa

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Abstract: The limits between falsified and pre-dated inscriptions are not always clear. The alleged falsified inscriptions may also contain true elements which, however, need to be cross-checked with reliable historical testimonies. The inscription of Edessa is considered to be a falsified one, in the sense that it was not written during Samuel's time but in the modern era. The inscription of Edessa was not written on the inscribed date and, as a result, it is necessary to examine whether it is pre-dated or if it is completely falsified. The main questions raised in relation to the Edessa inscription are three: a) when was it written? b) why was it written? and c) to what extent its text is true? We will try to answer to these questions.

Keywords: falsified inscriptions, pre-dated inscription, inscription of Edessa (Voden), Old-Church-Slavonic epigraphy

Under the term: *falsified inscription*, just like the term: *falsified manuscript* is considered every text written much later than the facts it is referred to, aiming at partly or totally distorting the truth. Behind the falsified texts, there is some kind of fraudulence of a different content i.e. succession, financial, political and ecclesiastical claims.

Under the term: *pre-dated inscription* is considered every inscription that was written retrospectively aiming at keeping the memory of real facts that occurred in the remote past, alive. This is a common phenomenon that has already been highlighted at the research¹. Such inscriptions

¹ Βελένης, Γεώργιος. Παλαιογραφική εξέταση της κτητορικής επιγραφής του ναού της Γκάλιστας. In: Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη 2004 (eds. Adam – Veleni, P., Tzanavari, K.). Thessaloniki, 2006, N 18, 705-712.

Fig. 1. Cyrillic Inscription from Edessa. (Photo G. Skiadaresis)



have been found in many regions of the Byzantine world and even in countries that are far from each other, such as Italy and Egypt².

The limits between *falsified* and *pre-dated* inscriptions are not always clear. The alleged falsified inscriptions may also contain true elements which, however, need to be cross-checked with reliable historical testimonies.

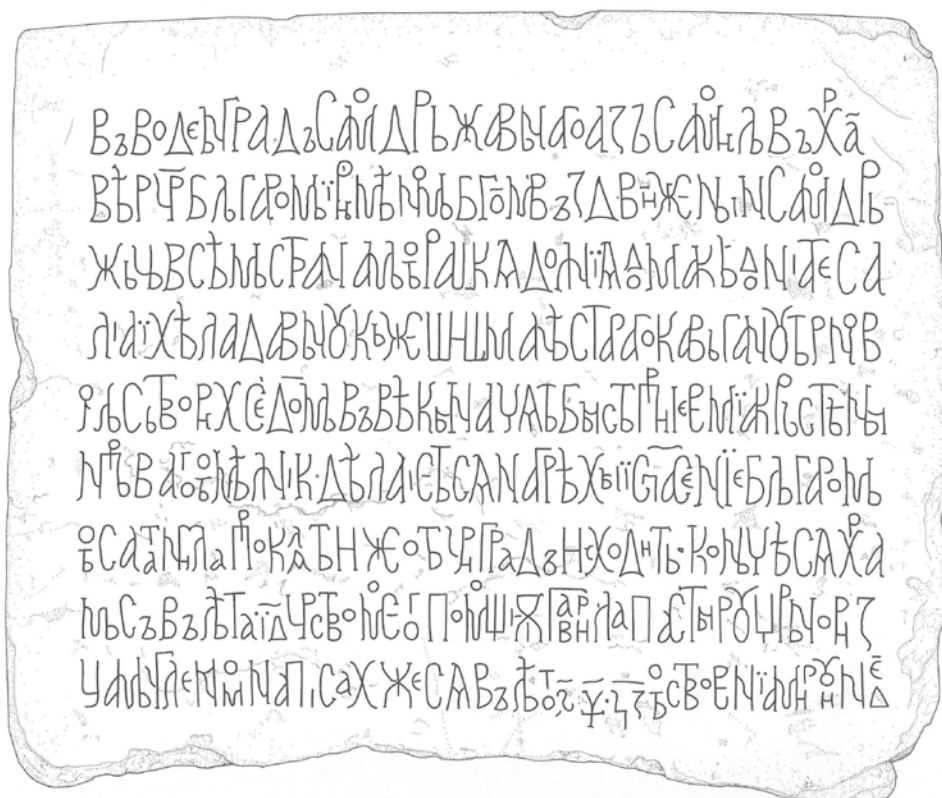
The inscription of Edessa (**Figs. 1 and 2**) is considered to be a falsified one, in the sense that it was not written during Samuel's time but in the modern era³. However, it is useful from a historical point of view, as it will become clear during the following documentation.

The so-called falsified Cyrillic inscription was found in the Palea Me-

2 Βελένης, Γεώργιος. Παλαιογραφική εξέταση, 706, footnote 3.

3 Dimitrov, Bozhidar. Nadpis za "Samuil, car na balgari i romei" otkrit voden. In: Kontinent, 02.10.1997, 7 Μουτσόπουλος, Νικόλαος. Η πλαστή κυριλλική επιγραφή της Έδεσσας. – Βυζαντινά, 2008, N 28, 393-460, Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Anna-Maria. The Age of Bulgarian Tsar Samuil. Sofia, 2014.

Fig. 2. Draw of the Cyrillic Inscription of Edessa. (Draw Th. Tiliopoulos)



ВЪВОДЕНЬ ГРАДЪ САМОДРЪЖАВНАГО АЗЪ САМОНАЪ ВЪ ХР(И)СТА
 ВЪР(Ь)НЪ) Ц(А)Р БЛАГАРОМЪ І РНМѢНОМЪ Б(О)ГОМ ВЪЗДВНЖЕНЫН САМОДРЪ-
 ЖЫЦЪ ВСѢМЪ СТРАНАМЪ ОТЪ РАШКА ДОЛНІА ДО МАКѢДОНИА ТЕСА-
 4 ЛІА І ХВАДАА ВНѢКЪ ЖЕ ШНШМАНЪ СТАРАГО КАВЪГАНЪ ТЪРНОВ-
 ОМЪ СЪТВОРНХ СЕ ДОМЪ ВЪ ВЪКЫ НАУАТЬ БЫСТЬ ПРИ ІЕРЕМІА КРЪСТЬНЫ-
 Н ПРЪВАГО ОТЪ МЪАЛНІК ДЪЛАІЕТЪ СА НАГРѢХЫ І СПАСЕНІЕ БЛАГАРОМЪ
 ОТЪ САТАННАА ПРОКЛАДЪН ЖЕ ОТЪ Ц(А)РНІ ГРАДЪ НСХОДНТЬ КОНУЪ СА ХРА-
 8 МЪ СЪ ВЪ ЛѢТА ІА ЦАРСТВО МОЕГО ПОМОЩНІЖ ГАВРНАА ПАСТЫРЪ УРЪНОРНЪ-

tropolis (Ancient Metropolis) of Edessa (Voden) and is kept at the Byzantine Museum of Veroia. The discovery of the inscription and everything that followed is described in detail at the extended article

of Nikos Moutsopoulos, published nine years ago⁴. Seven researchers – one Greek⁵ and six Bulgarians⁶ – have written about it.

In the imperial city of Voden, I Samuel faithful in Christ Tsar of Bulgars and Romans, dispatched by God, Emperor of all countries from south Rasca to Macedonia, Thessaly and Greece, grandson of Sisman who was the old Kavhan of Turnovians created this Dome to be preserved in eternity. Built in era of Jeremiah, the first Christian from Melnik. It was erected for sins and redemption of Bulgars from damned Devil who originates in Constantinople. This church was completed on fourteenth year of my reign by aid of monk Gabriel, shepherd of black dressed monks from Moglen. Written in the year 6497 after creation, indiction 5th.

Three of them (Dimitrov, Moutsopoulos, Pavlov) consider that the inscription of Edessa is falsified and associate it with nationalist ideologies of the 19th and 20th century⁷. Kazimir Popkonstantinov also considers it falsified but leaves the question related to the inscription year, open⁸. Everyone's estimate is based on the problematic historical references and, mostly, on the palaeographic data which, by no means, support the view that the inscription dates from the last years of the First Bulgarian State.

The only one who considers that the Edessa inscription is genuine and dates precisely from the year 989 is Professor Ivan Dobrev⁹. However, despite his high scientific prestige, his opinion did not become accepted. Moreover, his findings have already been arguably and firmly called into question by Kazimir Popkonstantinov¹⁰.

4 Μουτσόπουλος, Νικόλαος. Η πλαστή κυριλλική επιγραφή, 393-460.

5 Μουτσόπουλος, Νικόλαος. Η πλαστή κυριλλική επιγραφή, 393-460.

6 Dimitrov, Bozhidar. Nadpis za Samuil, 7. Pavlov, Plamen. Zalezet na Pervoto Balgarsko carstvo. Sofia, 1999, footnote 5, 18-19, http://www.bulgari-istoria-2010.com/booksBG/Pl_Pavlov_Zalez_I_BG_carstvo.pdf. Tabov, Yordan. Obrechennaia na zabvenie era v Vodenskoj nadpisi caria Samuila. In: Sborinik Pameti i zabrava vev Vizantia. Military publication. Sofia, 2011, <https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=ZGVmYXVsdGRvbWVpbnxwcm9pc2hvZGFuYWJ1b-Gdhcm0ZXxneDoxMDfKOTQ5MzEwOWU3Zjk2>. Dobrev, Ivan. Dva Carsamuilovi nadpisa. Slavia Verlag. Linz, 2007. Kalojanov, Ancho. Falshifikat li e kamennata plocha s nadpis na car samuil ot Voden? <http://liternet.bg/publish/akalojanov/samuil.htm>. Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Ana-Maria. The Age of Bulgarian Tsar Samuil, 56-66.

7 Dimitrov, Bozhidar. Nadpis za Samuil, 7. Pavlov, Plamen. Zalezet na Pervoto Balgarsko carstvo, 18-19. Μουτσόπουλος, Νικόλαος. Η πλαστή κυριλλική επιγραφή, 434-439.

8 Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Anna-Maria. The Age of Bulgarian Tsar Samuil, 66.

9 Dobrev, Ivan. Dva Carsamuilovi nadpisa, 266-272.

10 Popkonstantinov, Kazimir, Totomanova, Anna-Maria. The Age of Bulgarian Tsar Samuil, 55-66.

On the other hand, Yordan Tabov, does adopt the views of Ivan Dobrev but dates the inscription two to three years later thus considering that it was engraved at the same time as the inscription of Agios Germanos, proposing as date of inscribing, the year 992/993¹¹. His view is based on the argument that the date inscribed in the plaque of Edessa, which has as starting point the creation of the world ("anno mundi"), does not follow the Constantinopolitan calendar where the creation of the world is considered to be the year 5508, but the Bulgarian one, which uses the year 5505, as such date¹².

The inscription of Edessa was not written on the inscribed date and, as a result, it is necessary to examine whether it is pre-dated or if it is completely falsified. The main questions raised in relation to the Edessa inscription are three: a) when was it written? b) why was it written? and c) to what extent its text is true? We will try to answer to these questions.

The answer to the first question, i.e. when it was written, can only be found through a thorough palaeographic research¹³.

With regard to the examined inscription of Edessa, the forms of most letters are completely different from the ones on the table while, in terms of evolution, they seem more advanced. Some of the typical

11 Tabov, Yordan. Obrechennaia na zabvenie era, 13-14.

12 For chronological systems see: Kuzenkov, Pavel. Hristianskie hronologicheskie sistemi. Istoriia letoschislenija v svjatootecheskoj i vostochnohristijanskoj tradicii III – XV vekov. Moscow, 2014, 333 and 334-336.

13 The following analysis is the outcome of a six-month dissertation that was conducted at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki by Kostić, Elena. Μορφολογία της κυριλλικής γραφής στις επιγραφές από την εμφάνισή της έως τα τέλη του 12^{ου} αι. Thessaloniki, 2014, <http://search.lib.auth.gr/Record/ikey-267451>. During that research, from a palaeographic point of view all Cyrillic inscriptions dated up to the 12th century as well as those mentioning names of historical personalities of the same period were studied. In the specific list, the inscriptions which, according to some researchers, were falsified, were also included. In total, they amount to 27. During the research, the fonts of each inscription (letters, ligatures and Greek numbers) have been photographically documented and indexed. The fonts have been designed in their original forms and a single table of letters in chronological order has been prepared. From the table, we excluded, first of all, the three inscriptions about which, some expressed the view that they were fake (Agios Germanos, Bitola, Edessa). On the remaining table, there is a normal evolutionary process regarding the shape of the letters; the letters of the Agios Germanos inscription are in full conformity with these letters. Therefore, there is absolutely no reason to transpose the inscription from the chronological order of the table. There is no doubt that it is a genuine inscription from Samuel's era. This, however, is not the case with the inscription from Bitola, many letters of which do not correspond to the place of the inscribed dating; they do correspond, however, with the respective letters that appear after the mid-12th century. This issue is of great interest and was presented in detail at the 23rd International Congress on Byzantine Studies in Belgrade.

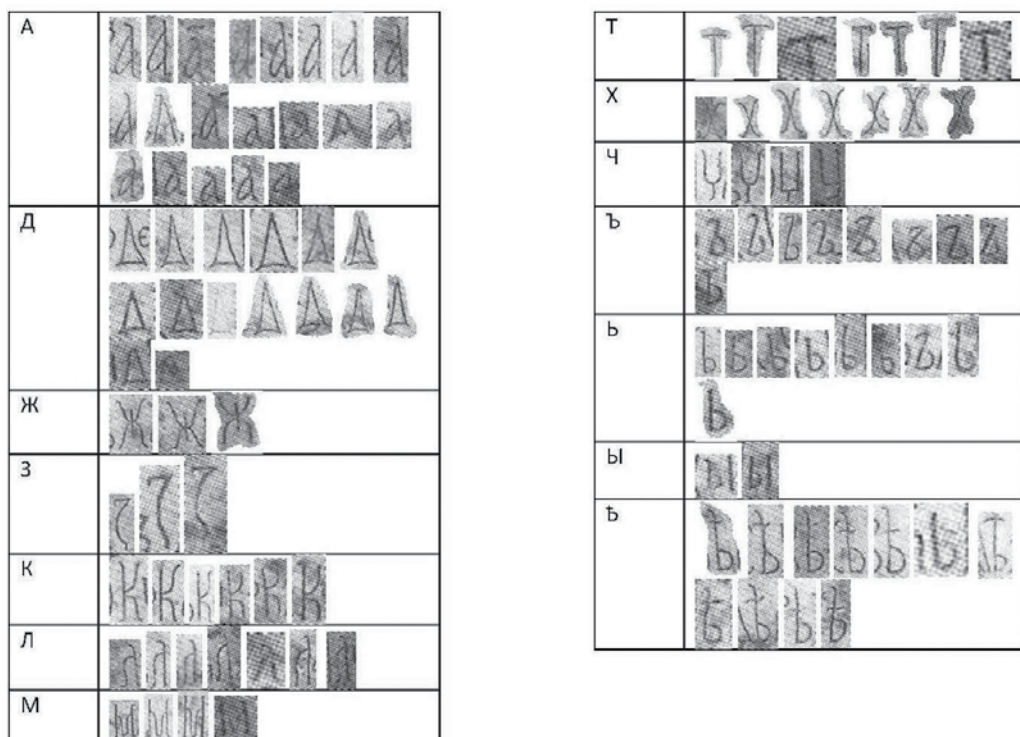


Fig. 3. Letters differentiated from those of 10th century

letters of this inscription are А, Δ, Ж, З, К, Λ, М, Т, Х, У, Ъ, Ь, ЪІ, Ъ. (Fig. 3) The forms of these letters do not appear on any of the inscriptions dated before the re-establishment of the Second Bulgarian State.

A systematic and careful study of some letters can contribute a lot to the dating of the inscription. Among the most characteristic ones for such a work are the letters: Ъ, Ь, ЪІ, Ъ, which were designed using a circular form, in contrast to the triangular or trapezoidal form that is used in the other inscriptions. Concerning the ligatures (Fig. 4), they are unusually numerous and complex, which is not the case with any inscription on stone or manuscript of the same period.

Consequently, according to the above, the palaeographic data of the inscription of Edessa do not make it possible to accept the inscribed dating as a genuine one. The main question is where and why it was written.

Regarding the inscription date, Ancho Kalojanov argues that the Cyrillic inscription of Edessa was written in the period of the Second



Fig. 4. Ligatures

Bulgarian State and invokes similarities with very well-known Cyrillic inscriptions dating from the second quarter of the 13th century up to the mid 14th century¹⁴.

The inscriptions invoked by Ancho Kalojanov do resemble the inscription of Edessa but not to an extent that would justify a common dating. The inscription of Edessa is posterior and is linked to an artistic writing trend that increasingly gained ground in the 15th century all over Eastern Europe, from Moscow to Crete.

Typography must have contributed greatly to the evolution of this artistic trend. The main feature of the inscriptions and the headpieces of the manuscripts was the very high density of the texts, which was achieved using fonts of many different sizes, as it is the case with the inscription of Edessa.

Apart from the various sizes of the letters, what mostly marks this

14 Kalojanov, Ancho. Falshifikat li e kamennata plocha, <http://litenet.bg/publish/akaloianov/samuil.htm>



Fig. 5. Inscription from Kritiziana – Chalkidiki (1530), (Th. Pazaras)

kind of inscriptions are the numerous and fanciful ligatures and the choice of adaptable shapes aimed to avoid empty spaces (*horror vacui*). It is an artistic trend that is found in both Cyrillic and Greek inscriptions. This trend emerged before the mid-16th century and reached its peak at the last quarter of the same century. It continued until the first decades of the 17th century and was then abandoned.

A very typical Greek inscription from Chalkidiki dating from 1530¹⁵

15 Παζάρας, Θεοχάρης. Η κτητορική επιγραφή του μετοχίου της Αγίας Αναστασίας στα



Fig. 6. Draw of the inscription from Crete (1593). (G. Gerola)

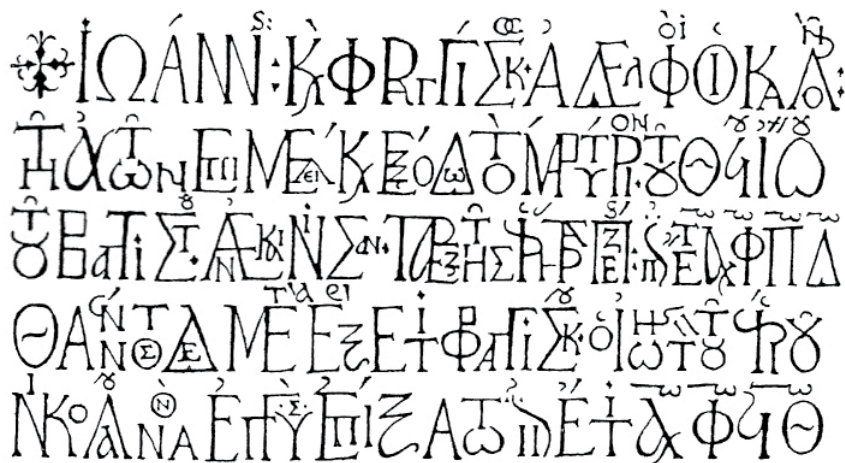


Fig. 7. Draw of the inscription from Crete (1599). (G. Gerola)

(Fig. 5) falls into a mature stage of the evolution of this artistic trend.

Three typical examples from the peak period of this trend are a Greek inscription from Crete, from 1593 (Fig. 6), written in a pure Byzantine writing¹⁶, a second one from the same island, from 1599 (Fig. 7), written in archaic Greek letters¹⁷ and a Russian encolpion from 1609 (Fig. 8) using Slavonic writing¹⁸. Of course, there are many more examples, but it would be tiring to mention them all.

The Cyrillic inscription of Edessa lies in the spirit of that period. As a

Κριτζιανιά Επανομή. – Μακεδονικά 1970, N 10, 143-150, ill. 3.

16 Gerola, Giuseppe. Monumenti Veneti dell'Isola di Creta. Venezia, 1932, Vol. IV, 520, n 6.

17 Gerola, Giuseppe. Monumenti Veneti, 527, n 20.

18 Γκιολές, Νικόλαος. Η Μεταλλοτεχνία. In: Παρουσία Ιεράς Μονής Δοχειαρίου. Mount Athos, 2001, 369-396, ill. 18 β.



Fig. 8. Encolpion
from Dochiariou Monastery.
(N. Gioles)

result, it can be reasonably placed in the last decades of the 16th century or beginning of the 17th at the latest.

This was a turbulent period which lasted about twenty to thirty years. During that period, the Archbishops of Ohrid and mostly Athanasius and his successor Varlaam¹⁹ played a leading role in a holy conflict aimed to putting an end to the Ottoman rule, which was led by the

19 *Snegarov, Ivan. Istorija na Ohridskata Arhiepiskopija. Vol. 1-2. Sofia, 1924, 95-103 and 193-194. For those bishops see indicatively Pavlov, Plamen. Belezhiti ohridski arhiepiskopi, <http://literaturansviat.com/?p=56217>*



Fig. 9. Cyrillic Inscription from Edessa with curved cutting of lower part (Photo G. Skiadaresis)

then Metropolitan of Veliko Turnovo, Dionysios Rallis²⁰. Given that the Serbian Patriarch Jovan Kantoul²¹ (1592 – 1614) also took part in the war, we can conclude that the war was inspired by religious and nationalist ideals of all Slavs.

In this context, it is easy to understand how the idea of placing a Cyrillic inscription with reference to the glorious past on the metropolitan church of Edessa was born. Most likely, the Edessa inscription is linked to a hierarchy that had adopted the aspirations of the movement of all Slavic people against the Turks. A brave hierarchy who sought to enhance the resistance spirit of his fold.

We tend to believe that it is an official inscription written by a distinguished personality of the Church with good knowledge of local history. The author of the inscription text must have had direct access to the ecclesiastical archives, where he obtained relevant information.

The historical data contained in the Edessa inscription are particularly interesting and valuable but need to be used under a critical

20 Βακαλόπουλος, Απόστολος. Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού. Vol. 3. Thessaloniki, 1968, 335-337.

21 On patriarch Jovan Kantul, as well as on re-established patriarchate of Peć see *Sljepčević*, Djordje. *Istorija Srpske pravoslavne crkve*. Belgrade, 1991, 229-232. *Sotirović*, Vladimir. The Serbian Patriarchate of Peć in the Ottoman Empire: The First Phase (1557 – 94). – *Serbian Studies* 2011, N 25, 143-167.



Fig. 10. Inscription on the Hagiasma font in the Palea Metropolis of Edessa (Photo G. Skiadaresis)

approach. Undoubtedly, they include some exaggerations that better served the goals of the author of the inscription text. Nonetheless, they also include some historical information that is very close to reality but need to be clarified. This is the reason why, for the time being, we consider this particularly interesting Cyrillic Edessa inscription as pre-dated and partly falsified.

The initial place of the inscribed Cyrillic slab remains unknown. Its curvature at the bottom part (Fig. 9) gives us good reason to assume that it was embedded above a large arch, most probably of the main entrance which was located at the western side of the late-Byzantine metropolitan church of Edessa. In any case, we can argue that this inscription did not remain at its initial place for long.

At the first half of the 17th century, perhaps at the end of the second decade, the metropolitan church of Edessa was completely restored²². It was expanded westwards through the addition of a larger narthex and also southwards, through the addition of a wooden-roofed gallery. Sometime later, its frescoes were painted. That is when, most probably, the said Cyrillic inscription was removed and used as a construction material to the covering of the floor.

One of the reconstruction works that were carried out was the addition of an elaborate marble font for hagiaσμα dating from 1618/9 with a Greek inscription (**Fig. 10**) in half-lettered writing. The inscription text is as follows:

+ δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ

θ(εο)ῦ ἀγγελάκη κ(αὶ) μέγα λο-

γοθέτα τῆς (πρώτης) ἰουστινιαν(ῆς)

κ(αὶ) πάσης βουλγαρί(ας), ἔτοις

,ζρκζ' ἰν(δικτιῶνος) β' τ(αλια)δ(όρος) δίΜΟΣ.

+ *Deisis (Prayer) of servant of God Aggelakis and great logothetes of Justiniana Prima and All Bulgaria, year 6127, indiction 2nd, craving knifer Dimos.*

The great logothetes²³ referred to in this inscription was a kind of a high minister of Justiniana Prima and All Bulgaria. His involvement in the reconstruction of Edessa Church could not have been accidental. He might have been the politician who removed the Cyrillic inscription, apparently with the consent of the church authorities. According to the above and any other data that may come out during the research, the Cyrillic Edessa inscription becomes particularly important. It also deserves to be studied by researchers of other specializations and used scientifically without prejudices.

22 Τσιγαρίδας, Ευθύμιος. Οικοδομικές φάσεις της παλιάς Μητροπόλης Εδέσσης. In: Η Έδεσσα και η περιοχή της. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός (Β' Πανελλήνιο Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο. 19 Σεπτεμβρίου 1997). Edessa, 2006, 136-175.

23 Kazhdan, Alexander. Logothetes. In: Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Vol. 2. New York, 1991, 1248.

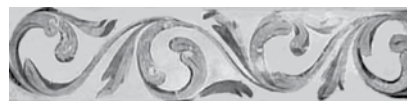
Казусът по-ранно датирани срещу фалшифицирани надписи. Кирилският надпис от Едеса (Воден)

Елена Костич, Георгиос Веленис



В този текст се изследва отново известният кирилски надпис от гр. Едеса (Воден), за който се смяташе, че е фалшификат, от гледна точка на грешната по-ранна датировка на определени паметници с цел установяване на историческия период, през който този надпис е изсечен. Това се прави въз основа на палеографския анализ на наличния епиграфски материал.

Този анализ води до извода, че става дума за надпис, който е създаден шест века по-късно от изписаната дата от Сътворението на света, и по-точно в десетилетията на преход между XVI и XVII в. Това е бурен период от балканската история, през който някои изтъкнати епископски катедри като тези на Охрид, Печ и Велико Търново започват да инициират действия срещу ислямския свят.



Two Inscriptions from the Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus Near Shkodër and the Question of Text and Image as Markers of Identity in Medieval Serbia

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Abstract: This text focuses on two ktetorial inscriptions in Latin from the Benedictine abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus on the River Bojana, near Shkodër, Albania, kept today in the Shkodër Historical Museum. They are related to the ktetorial activities of the Serbian queen Jelena and her two sons, kings Stefan Dragutin and Stefan Uroš II Milutin, dating from 1290 and 1318. Written in Latin, the inscriptions from Shkodër testify of and open for discussion several issues. One is the issue of continued ktetorship of Serbian rulers and scions of Serbian dynasties on the Adriatic littoral and its hinterland. The issue directly discussed in this text is that of text (and image) as marker of identity and, in a historical sense, the issue of manifestation in text (and image) of the (official and personal) identity of queen Jelena, as showcased by these inscriptions, above all of her (double) identity and authority - as a devout Catholic noble woman and queen of the Orthodox Serbian Nemanide state as a multilingual, multi-script, multi-confessional society, diplomatically oscillating between alignment with Constantinople and Rome.

Keywords: ktetorship, inscriptions from Shkodër, identity, Serbian queen Jelena, Catholic, Orthodox art

Two inscriptions written in Latin kept today at the Historical Museum in Shkodër, Albania, offer testimony of the ktetorship of Serbian rulers of the Nemanide dynasty, queen Jelena and her two sons, kings Stefan Dragutin and Stefan Uroš II Milutin, over the ancient Benedictine abbey of Sts Sergius and Bacchus. Both are inscribed in stone blocks which were part of the facade i.e. portal of the three nave basilica of the Benedictine monastery dedicated to the two Syr-

ian saints and located at the bend of the River Bojana, 10 kilometers from present day Shkodër, now mostly in ruins.¹

Queen Jelena's inscription (**Fig. 1**), carved onto a rectangular white sandstone slab, dates from 1290 and reads as follows:

1 *Smirnov*, S. N. Monastyr Sv. Sergiya i Vakha na Boyane, bliz goroda Skadra v Albanii. - Sbornik russkogo Arheologičeskogo obščestva v korolevste S.H.S., 1927, N 1, 119-147; *Korać*, Vojislav. Sv. Sergije (Srđ) i Vakh na Bojani. - Starinar, 1961, N 12, 35-43; id. Graditeljska škola pomorja. Beograd, 1965, 17-33.

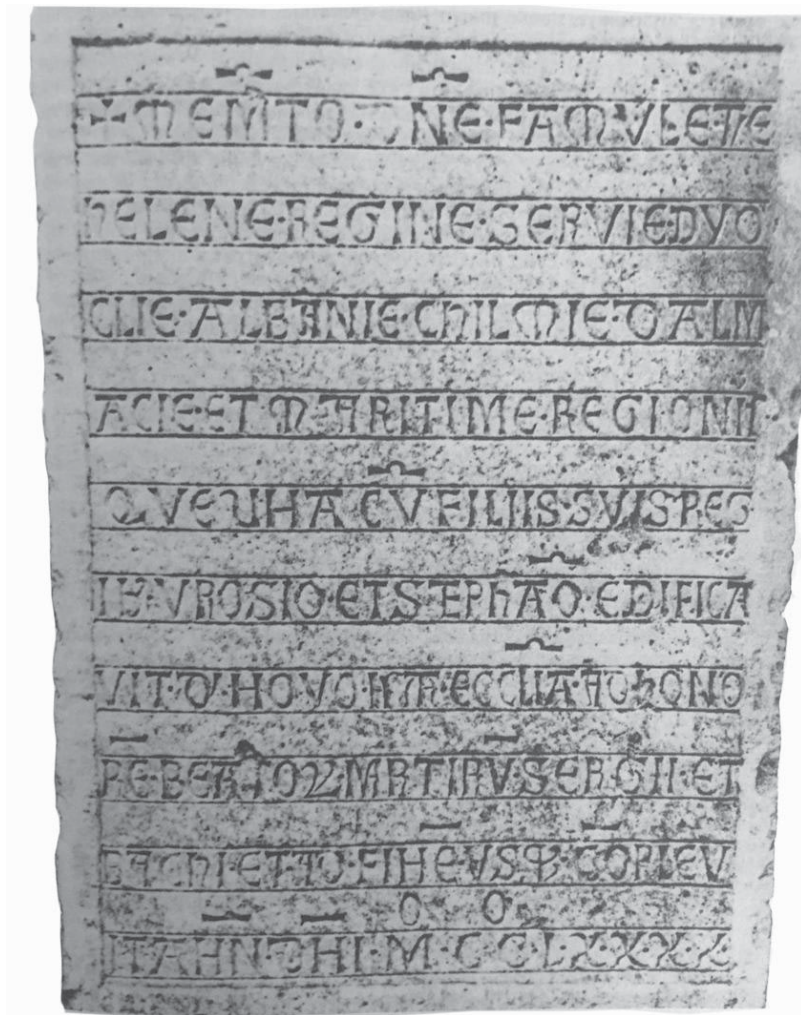


Fig. 1. Queen Jelena's inscription from the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana, 1290



Fig. 2. King Milutin's inscription from the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana, 1318



Fig. 2a. King Milutin's inscription from the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana, 1318



Fig. 2b. King Milutin's inscription from the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana, 1318

MEM/en/TO D/omi/NE FAMUL/a/E T/ua/E
HELEN/a/E REGINA/a/E SERVI/a/E DVO
GLI/a/E ALBANI/a/E CHILMI/a/E DALM
ACI/a/E ET MARTINIM/a/E REGIONI/s/
QUE VNA CV/m/ FILIIS SVIS REG
I/bu/S VROSIO ET STEPHA/n/O /a/EDIFICA
VIT D/e/ NOVO IS/ta/M ECCL/es/IA/m/ AD HONO
RE/m/ BEATO/rum/ M/a/RTIRU/m/ SERGI/i/ ET
BACHI ET AD FINE/m/ VSQ/ue/ CO/m/PLEV
IT ANN/o/ D/omi/NI MCCLXXXX

King Milutin's inscription (**Fig. 2**) is dated to the year 1318 and reads:

1. IN NO/m/I/n/E D/omi/NI AM/en/ EXIMI/a/E
VIRGINIS FILII ANNO MC/cc/XVIII MAGNIFIC/us
D/omi/N/u/S VROS D/e/I G/ratiae/
2. RAS/s/I/a/E REX ILLVSTRIS MAGNIFICI REGI/s/
VROSII NAT/us/ A/tque/ D/omi/N/a/E HELEN/a/E
REGIN/a/E /a/EDIFICAVIT HA/n/C ECC/lesiam/
3. IN /h/ONORE/m/ S/an/C/t/O/rum/ M/artirum/
S/er/GIE ET BACHI A FVNDAM/en/TIS VS/que/
AD FIN/em/ /assi/STENTE ABBATE PETRO
DOCHNE SCVTAREN/si/

Despite its prominence and strategic significance, bridging centuries of history and visual culture in the Balkans and, more specifically the southern region of the east Adriatic littoral and hinterland, the long history of the Benedictine abbey of Sts Sergius and Bacchus, near Shkodër, the Byzantine Rozafa, is not fully documented, nor known from detailed archeological survey. It is surmised that the church was founded in Justinian times, around 535, with the spread and especially with the imperial patronage of the cult of its patron saints, two Roman Christian soldiers martyred in Syria in the 4th century. Emperor Jus-

tinian I endowed their shrine in Rusapha, which changed its name to Sergiopolis, with a martyrium, public buildings and walls and raised a famous shrine in their name in Constantinople². At that time, the cult of the holy martyrs Sergius and Bacchus was spread throughout the Empire, and, thus, probably brought also to Shkodër. According to the testimony of the Chronicle of Bar, although a source considered unreliable, this basilica became the royal mausoleum of the 11th century Serbian Vojislavljević dynasty who ruled over Zeta and thus the burial place of kings Mihajlo and Bodin and their heirs, Vladimir and Gradihna. Documents from Kotor indicate that in 1166 the abbot of Sts Sergius and Bacchus, Petar, was present at the consecration of the cathedral of St Tryphon in Kotor and at that time, towards the end of the 12th century, Shkodër and its environs became a part of the Serbian Nemanide state³.

With the still historiographically insufficiently treated sudden change on the Serbian throne, caused most probably by the onslaught of the Tatars in 1242 and the death of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II, the father in law of Serbian king Vladislav (1234 –1243), a year earlier, and the rise to power of king Stefan Uroš I in 1243, the sovereign of “Serbs and the Littoral” further developed specific relations that his ancestors, father and grandfather, Stefan Prvovenčani and Stefan Nemanja, had established with the Adriatic towns, Dubrovnik in particular, and the coastal hinterland. The long reign of Uroš I (1243 – 1276), husband of queen Jelena, came at a tumultuous time for the Balkans and its Adriatic coast “without” Constantinople in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade. It was a dynamic time for the Nemanide state as both the scene and the stakeholder in the power play and brokerage between the archbishops of Dubrovnik and Bar, Nikea under Theodore Laskaris and Hungary under Bela IV, as well as of the events leading to and following the restoration of Roman rule in Constantinople under Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261 and the short lived Union of the Churches after the Second Council of Lyon of 1274⁴.

2 Walter, Christopher. The cult of saint George. – *Revue des études byzantines*, 1995, Vol. 53, N 1, 295-326, esp. 306-307.

3 Korać, Vojislav. Sv. Sergije (Srđ) i Vakh na Bojani, 35-43; id., Graditeljska škola pomorja, 17-33; Đurić, Vojislav J. Raško i primorsko ngraditeljstvo. In: *Istorija srpskog naroda I* (ed. Sima Ćirković). Beograd, 1981, 389-407, esp. 405; Stevović, Ivan. Praevalis. Obrazovanje kulturnog prostora kasnoantičke provincije. Podgorica, 2014, 97-98, with extensive bibliography.

4 Ćirković, Sima. Srpske i pomorske zemlje kralja Uroša I. In: *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 341-356. On the Balkans “without” Constantinople in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade from contem-

Nonetheless, there was a growth in trade and commerce between the Balkan heartland of the Serbian state and its coastal towns of Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, and the municipality of Dubrovnik with its strong ties to Venice, spurred on significantly by the development of mining in Serbia and the introduction of Saxon technology and establishment of Saxon mining colonies there, along with those of merchants from Dubrovnik and Kotor at inland markets such as Brskovo. At the close of 13th and the beginning of 14th century, as part of this political and commercial scene, the strategic and economic significance of the Bojana River, and the location of the abbey of Sts Sergius and Bacchus, at the final navigable point on that waterway, owed its prominence to the salt market by the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus, one of only four such markets on the territory between the Neretva and the Bojana, with king Uroš's customs officer in Dubrovnik collecting taxes for the Serbian crown from the sale of this strictly state controlled and highly profitable strategic resource⁵.

In 1276 Uroš I was deposed by his son, Stefan Dragutin (1276 – 1282)⁶. The position and status of the new king, Dragutin, was deeply dependent on his mother, queen Jelena, whose blessing he received. Stepping away from the policy of centralization of his father, and leaning more towards the adoption of the Hungarian model of principalities and semi dependent regions under feudal rule loyal to the crown, due both to the Hungarian ancestry of his mother and his own marriage to Katalina, the granddaughter of Bela IV, Dragutin resorted to the model of "constituent princedoms" which resulted in a "fragmentation" of the state. Thus, the political crisis affected the new king's rule in a very similar way to his father-in-law, Stephen V of Hungary⁷. As a result queen Jelena was given large territory to rule over independently: the regions comprised all of the Littoral and several smaller areas mentioned in charters, around the hills of Plav, her castles in Brnjaci, and in the environs of the monastery Gradac in central Serbia. For years these

porary methodological perspective see *The Balkans and the Byzantine World Before and After the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453* (ed. Vlada Stanković). Lexington Books, 2016, passim.

5 Ćirković, Sima. *Srpske i pomorske zemlje*, 344; *Blagojević*, Miloš. *Osnove privrednog razvitka*. In: *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 357-371.

6 Ćirković, Sima. *Srpske i pomorske zemlje*, 355-356.

7 Ćirković, Sima. *Srpske i pomorske zemlje*, 352-353, 355-356; *Popović*, Miroslav. *Srpska kraljica Jelena između rimokatoličanstva i pravoslavlja*. Beograd, 2010, 32.

regions were referred to as Queen Helen's realm⁸. There she started a complex project of erecting and rebuilding Franciscan and Benedictine monasteries in Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, Shkodër and elsewhere on the south-eastern Adriatic littoral⁹.

Written in Latin, the inscriptions in Shkodër testify of and open for discussion several issues. One is the issue of continued ktetorship of Serbian rulers and scions of Serbian dynasties on the Adriatic littoral and its hinterland, from the days of the Vojislavljević kings, through Nemanide times to the 15th century and the ktetorship of Jelena Balsić, which is a vast and complex issue that, with respect to the subject of this conference, we leave for a different occasion. The issue we are concerned with at this moment is the issue of text (and image) as marker of identity, broadly speaking the issue of vicarious human presence and representation in text (and image) of authority and identity and the notion of written text as an embodiment of its author and revolving around his/her authority and identity¹⁰. In a historical sense, the issue at hand is the manifestation in text (and image) of the identity of queen Jelena, as showcased by the inscriptions from the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus near Shkodër, above all of her (double) identity and authority – as a Catholic devout noble woman and queen of the Orthodox Serbian Nemanide state.

In Jelena's day, this double identity was, in fact, not a *condradictio in adiecto*. Through interdynastic marriages, both Catholic and Orthodox identities had been a part of Jelena's personal lineage from the very beginning. Studies of Hungarian – Serbian relations in the thirteenth century conducted by Gordon Mc Daniel have shown that Jelena was the granddaughter of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos and the great granddaughter of the king of Hungary, Bela III. Jelena's father, Angelo Janos (John Angelos), was Isaac's son from his marriage to Margaret of Hungary, daughter of the Hungarian king Bela III and

8 Popović, Miroslav. Srpska kraljica Jelena, 51-54; Koprivica, Marija. "Država" kraljice Jelene. In: Jelena. Kraljica, monahinja, svetiteljka (ed. Katarina Mitrović). Manastir Gradac, 2015, 13-26.

9 Popović, Miroslav. Srpska kraljica Jelena, 59-63; Mitrović, Katarina. Kraljica Jelena i benediktinske tradicije u Primorju. In: Jelena, 65-81; Zagarčanin, Mladen. Manastir Ratac i kraljica Jelena. In: Jelena, 85-115; Cvjetković, Branislav. Franciscans and Medieval Serbia: The Evidence of Art. – IKON, 2010, N 3, 247-259; Cvjetković, Branislav, Gavrić, Gordana. Kraljica Jelena i franjevci. In: Jelena, 119-135.

10 On the question of ego and imago, text and image as representations of identity and authority see Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam. When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages. Brill, 2011, esp. 109-110, with extensive bibliography.



Fig. 3. Vatican icon of Sts Peter and Paul donated to the church of St Peter by queen Jelena

Agnes de Chatillon. Angelo Janos was count of Srem and married to countess Matildis de Vianden of Požega, Jelena's mother. Jelena's sister, Maria, was married to Anselm de Chau, captain general of Charles I of Anjou of southern Italy in Albania. Her ties with the Angevins of south Italy have been documented in letters in which Charles refers to Jelena as his dear cousin, as well as in correspondence and diplomacy related to the trade of luxury goods and imports of grain from Italy to the southeastern Adriatic cities under Jelena's rule. Her own ancestral ties to the Angevins of Italy or France have never in fact been proven and, according to Mc Daniel, the Anjou name attached to her in documents and historiography is probably just a misinterpretation of the Angelos name of her father¹¹.

In her marriage to the king of Serbia she could, according to canon

11 Mc Daniel, Gordon. On Serbian-Hungarian Relations in the Thirteenth Century: John Angelos and Queen Jelena. – *Ungarn-Jahrbuch*, 1982-1983, N 12, 43-50; Popović, Miroslav. *Srpska kraljica Jelena*, 31. On Jelena's life and works see also Tomin, Svetlana. *Srpska kraljica Jelena: vladarka ni monahinja*. Novi Sad, 2014.

law, have remained Catholic as there were no stipulations obliging her to convert to Orthodoxy. Her baptism was recognized as orthodox by the Serbian church¹². Whatsmore, it is well known that she retained close ties to the Curia and donated icons to the churches of St Peter in Rome and St Nicholas in Bari¹³. At the time of her marriage and the first decades of her life as Serbian queen, a time leading up to the, albeit short lived, Union of the Churches and the Second Council of Lyon (1274), her Catholic lineage and the Orthodox milieu which became her home and realm were perceived as just two guises of the same universal Christian faith¹⁴. Thus, a fact more often overlooked than investigated in existing Serbian historiography, it comes as no surprise that joint services were held in churches in medieval Serbia, an excellent example being the church of St Nicholas in Bar, a city under Jelena's control and in a church of which she was the ktetor¹⁵. On the other had she was a also a donor



Fig. 4. Queen Jelena presenting her son Milutin to the Virgin, narthex of the church of the Holy Trinity in Sopoćani monastery

12 Popović, Miroslav. *Srpska kraljica Jelena*, 29; Jović, Rastko. *Kraljica Jelena: Svetiteljstvo istoka i zapada*. In: *Jelena*, 171-182, esp. 174; Tomin, Svetlana. *Srpska kraljica Jelena*, 29, with earlier bibliography on the issue of Jelena's confessional affiliation.

13 Pejić, Svetlana. *Kraljica i monahinja Jelena i crkva Blagoveštenja manastira Gradac – crtice o darivanjima*. In: *Jelena*, 187-196, esp. 188. For the Vatican icon see also Todić, Branislav. *Srpsko slikarstvo u doba kralja Milutina*. Beograd, 1998, 37-39, 206-208, 295-296, with earlier bibliography. For the Bari icon see also Miljković, Bojan. *Nemanjići i sveti Nikola u Bariju*. – *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 2007, N 44/1, 277-279.

14 Jović, Rastko. *Kraljica Jelena*, 174.

15 Cvetković, Branislav, Gavrić, Gordana. *Kraljica Jelena*, 123.



Fig. 5. King Uroš I and queen Jelena in monastic habit, church of St Achilleus in Arilje

of the Serbian Orthodox monastery of Chilandar, as well as of ancient Eastern Christian holy sites and monasteries in Raita and the Sinai¹⁶. Jelena was the first Nemanide royal woman, to receive a *vita*. By employing the trope of “light of the world” the author of her *vita*, archbishop Danilo II, compares her to St Sava himself, the founder of the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church¹⁷. In general, however, her *vita* by Archbishop Danilo II presents an image of her far from the *realpolitik* of her own age but rather in synchronicity with the Byzantium oriented political tendencies of the age of king Milutin – by blurring her actual political and religious activity in an attempt to completely convert her to Orthodoxy *post mortem*¹⁸.

Visual culture of her era has preserved examples of all the various guises of her identity and the different political, religious and social roles and duties she performed. On the Vatican icon Jelena is repre-

16 Pejić, Svetlana. *Kraljica i monahinja Jelena*, 188.

17 *Arhiepiskop Danilo Drugi. Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih. Službe* (eds. Gordon Mak Danijel, Danica Petrović). Beograd, 1988, 79-107; Jović, Rastko. *Kraljica Jelena*, 174-176.

18 Cvetković, Branislav, Gavrić, Gordana. *Kraljica Jelena*, 129. On the politics of king Milutin see Stanković, Vlada. *Kralj Milutin*. Beograd, 2012.



Fig. 6. Church of the Annunciation, monastery of Gradac, 13th century

sented receiving a blessing from a Catholic bishop (**Fig. 3**)¹⁹. We must also point out that she was the first Serbian queen to be dressed on her portraits in full Byzantine imperial costume, as seen in the narthex of Sopoćani narthex, presenting her son, Milutin, to the Virgin (**Fig. 4**). Her attire is intentionally identical with her holy namesake, St Helen painted in the opposite angle of the narthex²⁰. Although Danilo II states that she took the monastic habit close to the end of her days, material sources of visual culture, her fresco portraits from Arilje and Đurđevi Stupovi (**Fig. 5**), prove that from 1296 to her death queen Jelena was officially portrayed as a nun while signed as the queen of all Serbian lands and actually performing a role far from that of a recluse²¹.

A point to be further investigated and discussed is that of existence and expression/performance of her “double” identity in her ultimate personal sacred space, in her own endowment and mausoleum in the central region under the Nemanide crown, the monastery of Gradac. It is a widely recognized and published fact that the visual identi-

19 The image of the church prelate blessing the queen, flanked on either side by images of her two sons, is probably that of the Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV, and an expression of the Serbian queen's efforts to nurture close relations with the Holy See; *Vojvodić, Dragan. Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija u Arilju. Beograd, 2005, 146-148; Cvetković, Branislav, Gavrić, Gordana. Kraljica Jelena, 132-133.*

20 *Cvetković, Branislav. Franciscans and Medieval Serbia, 250.*

21 *Cvetković, Branislav, Gavrić, Gordana. Kraljica Jelena, 132-133.*



Fig. 7. Church of St Nicholas in the monastery of Gradac

ty of the katholikon church of the Annunciation of the Virgin (Fig. 6) comprises elements to both Gothic and Byzantine, i.e. earlier Nemañide sacral architecture, and that it is the fruit of joint ktetorship of king Uroš I, who began the construction, and Jelena, who finished it under entirely different circumstances. The question of the church of St Nicholas (Fig. 7), a smaller chapel within the monastery precinct, raised atop an outcrop of rock with a cave displaying remains of cultic practice, however, remains open for discussion. Because of its clear western features, a rectangular plan of the apse ending in a straight wall associated with Franciscan building practices of the day, existing historiography ties it to the (Catholic) ser-

vices held for the western masons who were engaged in the construction of the katholikon²². However, bearing in mind Jelena's monastic vows which she took in Shkodër around 1295, under the guidance of her spiritual father Job, in the Catholic church of St Nicholas²³, it may be taken into consideration that the small church at Gradac, dedicated to the saint whom the queen so obviously venerated in both state and personal piety and devotion, actually had a more permanent Catholic function and service, and that, in Jelena's day, Gradac was a place of both Catholic and Orthodox devotion²⁴. Jelena's own state funeral, as we are informed by archbishop Danilo II, was a solemn Orthodox

22 On the architecture of the monastery of Gradac see *Kandić*, Olivera. Gradac. Istorija i arhitektura manastira. Beograd, 2005, esp. 169-170 for the church of St Nicholas, with earlier bibliography.

23 *Popović*, Miroslav. Srpska kraljica Jelena, 105, suggests that queen Jelena took the habit in 1308, following king Milutin's unsuccessful negotiations for a union with Rome. However, *Kandić*, Olivera. Gradac, 49, 55, has offered reliable proof of the queen's taking of monastic vows in 1295.

24 *Kandić*, Olivera. Gradac, 169-170, has pointed out that the small church of St Nicholas in Gradac served as her private chapel, not going further into the question of church denomination she herself used it as. Important for the discussion of this issue are the views of *Cvetković*, Branislav. Franciscans and Medieval Serbia, *passim*.



Fig. 8. Inscription on the western facade of the church of St Luke in Kotor

affair of the Serbian church and state and her final resting place and eternal memory is that of an Orthodox queen and saint²⁵.

As a multi-confessional and multilingual society medieval Serbia of queen Jelena's day was essentially similar to other Mediterranean societies such as those of Salento, Sicily, Cyprus or the Holy Land, to mention just a few²⁶. In the medieval Nemanide state itself, the case of queen Jelena was not the first (nor the last) example of multilingual expression (in discourses of both text and image) of identity and authority of rulers. Let us recall, for example, the donor's inscription in Latin on the church of St Luke in Kotor (1195), raised by Mavro Casafra and his wife Bona, which not only states that grand zhupan Nemanja was the sovereign ruler, but also that his elder son, Vukan, was *rex* of all maritime regions (Fig. 8)²⁷, or the inscription on the

25 On Jelena's tomb in the church of the Annunciation of the Virgin in Gradac see Popović, Danica. *Srpski vladarski grob u srednjem veku*. Beograd, 1992, 80-85; Kandić, Olivera. Gradac, 150-155. On the veneration of her tomb and donations following her funeral see Pejić, Svetlana. *Kraljica i monahinja Jelena*, 190-192.

26 From the vast corpus of titles see, for example, *The Society of Norman Italy* (eds. Graham A. Loud, Alex Metcalfe). Brill, 2002; *Asinou Across Time. Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus* (eds. Annemarie Weyl Carr, Andréas Nicolaïdès). Dumbarton Oaks, 2012; *Catlos*, Brian A. *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050 – 1614*. Cambridge University Press, 2014; *Safran*, Linda. *Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014; *Erdeljan*, Jelena. *Mediteran i drugi svetovi. Pitanja vizuelne kulture, XI – XIII vek*. Novi Sad, 2015.

27 Čanak-Medić, Milka. *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja II. Eglises de la vallée du Lim et*



Fig. 9. Golden pin of prince Petar of Zahumlje



Fig. 10. King Dragutin's dinar

golden pin of prince Petar from Zahumlje (1222 – 1228), kept today at the National museum of Belgrade, inscribed in Cyrillic letters, in the Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic, as belonging to the great prince of Zahumlje, Petar, while also bearing the Latin inscription reading *PRETENDE COMITI PET* (Fig. 9)²⁸. Queen Jelena's elder son, king Dragutin, issued a monetary unit, dinar, and was signed on the reverse in Latin as *rex* (Fig. 10)²⁹. Later examples, such as the signatures on the frescoes of the Virgin's church in Mržep in Boka Kotorska from the 15th century³⁰, testify of the persistence of multilingualism and multiple scripts in lands ruled by Serbian dynasties, in particular in the Littoral as the area of direct contact, cohabitation and interaction of populations of both Orthodox and Catholic affiliation.

du littoral adriatique. Beograd, 1989, 119-144; L'Eglise de Saint-Luc à travers les siècles. Recueil des travaux (ed. Vojislav Korać). Kotor, 1997, 7.

28 Radojković, Bojana. Staro srpsko zlatarstvo. Beograd, 1962, 10, 29-31.

29 Ivanišević, Vujadin. Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije. Beograd, 2001.

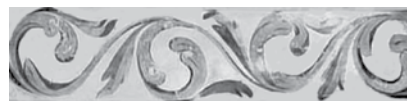
30 Djurić, Vojislav J. Dans l'ombre de l'union de Florence: L'Église de la Sainte-Vierge à Mržep (Bouches de Kotor). – Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, 1996, N XXXV, 9-56.

Два надписа от църквата „Св. св. Сергий и Вакх“ до Шкодра и проблемът за отношението между словото и образа като маркери на идентичността в средновековна Сърбия

Йелена Ерделян



Този текст се фокусира върху два ктиторски надписа на латински език от бенедиктинския манастир „Св. св. Сергий и Вакх“ на р. Бояна до Шкодра, Албания, които днес се пазят в Историческия музей на гр. Шкодра. Те са свързани с ктиторската дейност на сръбската кралица Елена и двамата ѝ синове – кралете Стефан Драгутин и Стефан Урош II Милутин – и датират от 1290 и 1318 г. Латинският език на надписите от Шкодра поставят за размисъл някои въпроси. Единият факт, наблюдаван тук, е продължаващото дарителство на сръбските владетели и васалите на сръбските династии на територията на Адриатическото крайбрежие и хинтерланд. Другият въпрос, разискван в тази статия, е как текстът (и образът) се превръщат в маркер на идентичност и от исторически аспект се дискутира проблемът за манифестацията в текста (и образа) на официалната и персонална идентичност на кралица Елена, както са показани в тези надписи, и най-вече за нейната двойна идентичност и авторитет в качеството си на знатна потомка на католически род и кралица на православната сръбска държава на Неманите като многоезично, многописмовно, мултиконфесионално общество, което дипломатично лавира между антажиментите си към Константинопол и Рим.



Lettering Medieval Imagination A Note on the Inscriptions and Images of Daniel Capital in San Pedro de la Nave*

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Abstract: The article experiments with new research approaches to the visual culture of medieval West, offering the tituli of the medieval images to be read as visual and semantic constructions, making possible the emergence of a new message through the artist's and viewer's imagination engagement in the re-creation of the missing image. As an example of a similar integral readings of the medieval artifacts is the capital of Daniel in the lions' den in San Pedro de la Nave and its inscriptions displays those interactions between texts and images in mobilizing the imagination of the medieval man.

Keywords: text/image relations, visual culture, semantic construction, imagination, San Pedro de la Nave

The omnipresence of inscriptions in Western medieval works of art and their apparent simplicity have for a long time converted them into anecdotal and almost transparent phenomena¹. For a certain his-

* This short article follows closely the talk given in Sofia in April 2016. I decided to keep it short and direct, and to focus on a single object in order to avoid adding another long title to the list of papers regarding the text/image topic. I would like to thank my colleagues from Sofia for their wonderful welcome and the quality of the symposium they organised.

1 For an overview of the gigantic bibliography, see the collective works published at the end of the 1990's: *Texte et image. Actes du colloque international de Chantilly (13 – 15 octobre 1982)*, Paris, 1984; *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du 6^{ème} International workshop on Medieval Societies*, Erice, 17 – 23 octobre 1992, Paris, 1996; *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo (15 – 21 avril 1993)*, Spolète, 1994; *Épigraphie et iconographie. Actes du colloque de Poitiers (1995)*, Poitiers, 1996. See also *Ott*, Norbert H. *Word and Image as a Field of Research: Sound Methodologies or just a Fashionable Trend? A Polemic from a European Perspective. Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages*, New York, 2005, 15-33; *Riccioni*, Stefano, *Épiconographie de l'art roman en France et en Italie (Bourgogne/Latium). L'art médiéval en tant*



Fig. 1. San Pedro de la Nave, church, exterior. © Jaume (Commons Wikimedia)

toriography that has exclusively considered the text/image relationship according to the couple source/illustration, the co-presence of alphabetic and iconic signs within the same visual object could only be the index of the ability of writing to identify or comment on a picture in which it would be raising possible ambiguities². Thus, inscriptions would serve the work of art in which it had been drawn and palliate the inability of images to signify by and for themselves.

Such reading of the modalities the text/ image interaction, beyond its extremely simplistic nature, is the antithesis of meaning mechanisms involved in medieval art whose works do not consider writing as a complement or an additional stratum added to a pre-existing image, but rather as one of the means to produce *visuality*, exactly as well as the image does³. Writing and image are therefore mobilized together

que discours visuel et la naissance d'un nouveau langage. *BUCEMA* 12 (2008), <http://cem.revues.org/document7132.html> (consulté le 10 avril 2014).

2 On the limits of such an interpretation, see the important article by Bayer, Clemens M. M., *Essai sur la disposition des inscriptions par rapport à l'image: proposition d'une typologie basée sur des pièces de l'orfèvrerie rhéno-mozane*. In: *Épigraphie et iconographie*, 1-25.

3 In order to emphasize the importance of a close reading of these relations, I would like to invite the reader to read, among others and according to subjective reasons, the following tit-

by the artist in his creative act, and function in harmony in order to produce a joint and unique object. The meaning created by this conjunction ignores the epistemological separation between art history and epigraphy in favor of the creation of a complex object appearing as such in the conditions of its production and use⁴.

Therefore, writing cannot simply identify a figure or a scene; it cannot only serve as a comment on a representation. It is, just as painted or sculpted forms, a way of developing the meaning of works of art beyond the limit of what is given to see. Text/image interactions indeed produce the conditions for a visual overrun, for which there is no longer need to see, but to imagine.

The capital in San Pedro de la Nave

To address this central issue in the practice of medieval art, but also – and especially – in the theology of images during the Middle Ages, this short note proposes to dwell on a single object dated 8th or 9th century, namely the capital representing the prophet Daniel in the lions' den, placed atop a column of the transept in the Pre-Romanesque church of San Pedro de la Nave, in the Spanish province of Zamora (**Fig. 1**)⁵. The construction of the building dates back to the end of the 7th century; moved stone by stone in the early 20th century to prevent its destruction, the church still shows today its original face and part of its sculpted decor⁶. The architecture and sculpture of the church of San Pedro de la Nave have already been studied by Spanish historiography, and the capitals of Daniel and the one fac-

les: Forsyth, Ilene H. Word-Play in the Cloister at Moissac, *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, éd. C.P. Hourihane, Princeton, 2008, 154-178; Méhu, Didier. Images, signes et figures de la consécration de l'église de l'Occident médiéval. Les fonts baptismaux de l'église Saint-Boniface de Freckenhorst (XII^e siècle), *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l'église dans l'Occident médiéval*, éd. D. Méhu, Turnhout, 2007, 285-327; *Leclercq-Marx*, Jacqueline. Les œuvres romanes accompagnées d'une inscription. Le cas particulier des monstres. – *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1997, N 40-157, 91-102; *Stratford*, Neil. Verse *tituli* and Romanesque Art. *Romanesque Art and Thought*, 136-153; *Teviotdale* Elisabeth. Latin Verse Inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon Art. – *Gesta*, 1996, N 35-2, 99-110; *Cohen*, Adam. *The Uta Codex*, 175-176.

4 In order to have a look at the shifts between the disciplines and what it induces in terms of knowledge, see the collective volume *Qu'est-ce que nommer? L'image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scolastique*, éd. Ch. Heck, Turnhout, 2010.

5 The capitals of the San Pedro de la Nave have been studied recently and in a very serious way by *Coroneo* Roberto. I capetelli di San Pedro de la Nave. *Medioevo: immagine i racconto*. Proceedings of the symposium of Parma (27 – 30 september 2000), Parma, 2003, 130-141.

6 On the church of San Pedro de la Nave, see *Barroso Cabrera*, Rafael. *Morin de Pablos*, Jorge. *La iglesia de San Pedro de la Nave*, Madrid, 1997.

ing it, namely the capital representing Abraham's sacrifice, and their inscriptions are edited and analyzed since the beginning of the 20th century as part of the search for the source of the images, the dating of the sculpture throughout paleography, or the identification of the sculptor's geographical origin - attribution, dating, identification, the three objectives of formal art history⁷.

The capital of Daniel in the lions' den is in very good condition (**Fig. 2**). Placed on the north wall of the cross of the transept, the basket is carved on three sides. The two side faces show two characters: on the north, the Apostle Philip raises a crown above his head; on the south, the apostle Thomas shows a tablet inscribed with the name EMMANUEL. On the abacus, capping the two figurations, two nominal inscriptions were engraved giving the following texts: north, SANCTUS FILIPPUS APOSTOLUS; south, SANCTUS TOMAS. The large face of the capital is oriented towards the sanctuary. It shows an imposing scene carved in haut relief on the basket. We see a character wearing a long tunic; his arms are raised in a praying position; his feet stand in a water element. He is flanked by two lions carved diagonally to the shape of the basket; they have a wide open mouth and they stick out their tongue towards the character's feet. Frozen in a moment on stone, the picture is however animated by a formal energy: the tension of muscles and the movements stirring the water and Daniel's clothing seem to make the sculpture vibrate under the effect of narrative. On the abacus, a long inscription starting with a small cross gives the following text: + UBI DANIEL MISSUS EST IN LACUM LEONUM. Thus, the capital fully gathers writing and image in different ways and different content, but as it will often be the case until the 12th century in narrative sculpture, it stills displays writing in the foreground of the image for the production of a complex visual work of art⁸.

Beyond their obvious syntactical variations, the inscriptions of the three faces of the capital are also very different in their relationship

7 It is the case especially in *Fontaine*, Jacques. *L'art préroman hispanique*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1973, 88.

8 The specialist of this iconographic motive is *Olañeta*, Juan A. Cristo o diablo? La contradictoria dualidad simbólica del león en el episodio de Daniel en el foso en la escultura románica. In: *BROCAR* 38 (2014), 65-81; Polyvalence symbolique de l'image du lion dans la sculpture romane, *Le bestiaire de la préhistoire à nos jours. Actes du colloque international de Verniolle*, Verniolle, 2013, 27-37.



Fig. 2. San Pedro de la Nave, church, capital (Commons Wikimedia)

the sculpture. If Thomas and Philippe names can refer to the content of the image, this is not the case with the long inscription of the eastern face. The object produced in the gathering of text and image echoes the biblical text of the Book of Daniel 6: 16-24:

So the king ordered Daniel to be brought and cast into the lions' den. To Daniel he said: "Your God, whom you serve so constantly, must save you." To forestall any tampering, the king sealed with his own ring and the rings of the lords the stone that had been brought to block the opening of the den. Then the king returned to his palace for the night; he refused to eat and he dismissed the entertainers. Since sleep was impossible for him, the king rose very early the next morning and hastened to the lions' den. As he drew near, he cried out to Daniel sorrowfully: "Daniel, servant of the living God, has your God whom you serve so constantly been able to save you from the lions?" Daniel answered the king: "O king, live forever! My God sent his angel and closed the lions' mouths so that they have not hurt me. For I have been found innocent before him; neither have I done you

any harm, O king!" This gave the king great joy. At his order Daniel was brought up from the den; he was found to be unharmed because he trusted in his God. The king then ordered the men who had accused Daniel, along with their children and their wives, to be cast into the lions' den. Before they reached the bottom of the den, the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones.

The inscription can be considered as a summary of the whole episode, even if it is close enough to the Latin text of verse 16: *Miserunt eum in lacu leonum*, the event triggering the punishment to Daniel and predicting its progress. The content of the image is rather in relation to the long narrative time and to the result of the action happening in the sculpture. Writing and image have no contradiction, but still, they offer a disjunction that is not found, for example, in the compositions of the side faces.

The inscription of the eastern side begins with a cross, as it is often the case for stone inscriptions in medieval Europe between the 8th and 12th centuries, whether or not combined with images. This cross appears in all the texts drawn on the abacus of the capitals in San Pedro de la Nave, regardless of their syntactic form, and it can be interpreted as an upper case letter indicating the beginning of a text, as a sign establishing the space of writing, or as a mark of scriptural authority combining the content of the text to the content of the image – it is also found before the word ALTARE inscribed on the altar of the sacrifice of Isaac, to the north wall of the transept. On the eastern side of Daniel capital, the cross is followed by the word *ubi*. Very common in visual works of art presenting both text and image, it creates a semantic link between the content of the inscription it introduces and the representation it adjoins. It should especially be understood as an indication of a place, a *locus*; the word *ubi* refers to the place of the image, namely, in San Pedro de la Nave, the capital, the material extent ordered by the action of the sculptor. For dating purposes, some commentators have linked the inscription on this capital with what can be read in several manuscripts of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Beatus of Liebana (**Fig. 3**), in which one can read *Lacum leonis ubi Daniel missus fuit*⁹. Although the wording is close, text/image relationships established by the word *ubi* in the manuscripts are not

9 See for example New York (USA), Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 644. Tábara Beatus (c. 940), fol. 260r.



Fig. 3. New York (USA), Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 644. Tábara Beatus (c. 940), fol. 260r. From J. Williams

similar because they do not designate the place of the text and image, but they identify one of the image elements. In San Pedro de la Nave, the word *ubi* refers to the work of art as a whole, text and image, as a visual site and event of Daniel in the lions' den. The inscription therefore not strictly identifies the image.

In that sense, the word *ubi* is more common in manuscripts *rubricae* where it introduces a "forthcoming" content which will be developed by the words and images following the inscription in the *locus* made of parchment leaves¹⁰. The word *ubi*, in the manuscript as in the capital, is thus related to the conception of the place for writing and image as a *pagina*, namely a domestic space to be built and lived, according for example to Rabanus Maurus' interpretations¹¹. The text

10 On the importance of the word *ubi*, see *Debiais*, Vincent. *Mostrar, significar, desvelar. El acto de representar según las inscripciones medievales.* – *Codex Aquilarensis*, 2013, N 29, 169-186.

11 The new edition and introduction of Rabanus' poems give interesting insights about this issue: *Raban Maur, In honorem sanctae Crucis*, éd. M. Perrin, Turnhout, 1997.



Fig. 4 . Poitiers, Saint-Porchaire, chapiteau. © CESCO/Poitiers

beginning with *ubi* therefore is a threshold, a programmatic indication that does not give necessarily the entire narrative triggered by writing. On the contrary, it only announces it and makes it start in a specific material location.

Because there is no redundancy between text and image, the disjunction between the inscription, very close to Dn 6, 16, and the sculpture, more in line with Dn 6, 20 or 23, is the result of a composition process mixing writing and image in order to produce in a necessarily, fixed and static representation, the dynamic content of a story. The shape of the basket – the *ubi* of this image – depicts the location of the scene – the *ubi* of the story. It programs an enclosed space, the *lacum leonum* mentioned in the inscription. The floor of the pit is occupied by water in which sink the central character's feet, also mentioned in the text: DANIEL. Instead of assuming an "iconographic slip" for the presence of water, this detail (in the full sense of the word "detail") reflects the desire to echo the *lacus* word, that means "pit", "tank",

“pond”, “lake”, or “cistern”. In the biblical story, Daniel is in any case in a confined place, sealed by the king; the space for the image – the *ubi* – matches this enclosed area, closed by the abacus, sealed by writing, in the same way that the door of the pit is marked with the king’s seal. Writing in the image is not only mobilized for its content, for what it can produce in terms of identification or comment, but also for what it visually produces as an iconic sign, such a *forma* in the visual composition. Unlike the side faces where the plants elements enter the image field, the main face thus present a hermetic picture: Daniel is alone among the lions and cut off from the outside world. This is such an absolute isolation visually enhanced by the depth of the sculpture that makes the miracle of his salvation more dramatic. Daniel’s prayer to his God ignores the borders of the pit in the biblical narrative, of the basket in the image, to achieve its objective. Daniel is thus figured in the center of the basket, in a praying position, arms raised, palms wide open. He contacts the water at the bottom of the pit and the abacus seals it, in an upward direction that contrasts to the wild beasts, turned towards the feet of Daniel. Their ostensibly open mouth reveals their teeth and tongue, in an unnatural posture in charge of imaging the ferocity of the lion at the same time that his submission to the divine will called by Daniel’s prayer. The basket of San Pedro de la Nave can be compared in its composition with other images painted or carved during the high Middle Ages showing the prayer and its outcome.

Anyway, the synthetic nature of the image on the basket highlights the disconnection between the content of the sculpture and the inscription. Image and text are not in unison; taken separately, they are not saying the same thing. The inscription fixes in stone a moment, Daniel’s conviction, while the image offers a narrative or a sequence of events (prayer-divine action-salvation). In an independent reading of the two types of signs, we could only notice the shift between written and visual contents, and consider the inscription as a title for the image – in a however imperfect way, unable to make readable what the image makes visible. But that would be reading the work of art in San Pedro de la Nave as it appears today to art historians and epigraphists, and not as it was conceived in the 8th or 9th century. Gathered in the depth of stone, text and image shape a single visual paradigm that must be read as a whole. Inscription and image are not therefore independent but both of them must be read in the continuity of the

material. The downward dynamics created by the location and posture of the two lions and by the shape of the basket leads the eye (as a result of the creative process) from the abacus to the bottom of the pit. It first stages the place of the image, the *locus* of visibility, the space of narrative through the cross and the word *ubi*; then, it sets the topic set in the image which is at the same time the cause of what happens in the basket, the trigger for the narrative sequence: DANIEL MISSUS EST IN LACUM LEONUM. Both ends of the inscription are used to grip the line delimiting the space of the basket and, joint the written lines, forms a continuous line on the main face. Such a display stages in the image the closure of the tank and the mark of the seal made by the king. If we continue down inside the image (following both the biblical narrative and the composition of the sculpture), Daniel touching with his hands the inscription makes us go from the prisoner's prayer to its result, namely the domestication of wild beasts which, in their submissive attitude, transform the place of Daniel's execution mentioned in the inscription into the place of grace evoked in the image.

The capital in San Pedro de la Nave is clearly different from another capital in Saint-Porchaire church in Poitiers where the image of Daniel saved by the angel (according to the biblical narrative of Dn 6, 22) is enclosed by the following inscription (**Fig. 4**): HIC DANIEL DOMINO VINCIT COETUM LEONINUM¹². This past tense of *vincit* establishes a perfect synchrony between text and image; narrative operates in the same terms and with the same time in both modalities - hence the choice of the opening word *hic*, not *ubi* in the inscription. The differences in content and layout between these inscriptions shape two different discourses, and the main change lies in the relation of both paradigms to time. If the capital in Poitiers presents a concise and visible action on the capital, the one in San Pedro de la Nave reveals a complex sequence of events within a single fixed image. Thus, the motion of this narrative sequence through text and image is made possible in the imaginative feature (in the etymological sense of the "imagination") displayed by the work of art¹³. By

12 Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale, I: City of Poitiers, Poitiers, 1974, N 78, 93-94, fig. 65-66.

13 I follow here what literary scholars have been writing since the 1980's about imagination, in particular Bundy, Murray W. The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought, Urbana, 1970 and Dronke, Peter. Imagination in the Late Pagan and Early Christian World. The First Nine Centuries A.D., Florence, 2003. I would like to stress in the first place what M. Karnes

definition, the disjunction between text and image produces interpretative spaces freed from what one can actually see in the reception of the object but especially in its creation, spaces in which visibility acts in order to achieve the representation/imagination of something that escapes to visibility and lies beyond shapes, forms, and colors. In San Pedro de la Nave, the angel is not mentioned either in the text or the image; Daniel, though he is safe, is still trapped in the pit. And it is because one can move beyond what he sees in the conjunction of writing and image that what follows in the biblical narrative can be conceived by mental images – the medieval imagines built by the *vis imaginativa*¹⁴. Now, it is the gap between the text and image contents, set in a material *ubi*, that engages the creation of these new images.

The example of San Pedro de la Nave is the illustration of a large-scale research on Romanesque works of art in the medieval West¹⁵. This research has shown that the energy released by the gathering of alphabetic and iconic signs (which could reside in the “/” of the title of this beautiful symposium) produces the emergence of an increased meaning of the visual. This mixture is neither clear nor systematic or fortuitous; rather it is one of the creative features used everywhere in the medieval artistic thought that finds here a way to represent that escapes by definition escapes the rules and limitations of forms.

wrote lately on this topic: *Karnes*, Michelle. *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages*, Chicago, 2011.

14 *Carruthers*, Mary. *Intention, sensation et mémoire dans l'esthétique médiévale*. – *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 2012, N 55, 367-378.

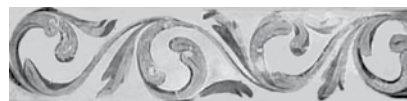
15 The results of this research will be published this Fall: *Debiats*, Vincent. *La croisée des signes. L'écriture dans l'image médiévale (800 – 1200)*, Paris, 2016.

Превръщане на средновековното въображение в слово. Размисли върху надписите и образите от Данииловия капител в „Сан Педро де ла Наве“

Венсан Дебие



Тази статия експериментира с нови изследователски подходи към визуалната култура на западните Средни векове, предлагайки да се четат *tituli*-те на средновековните изображения като визуални и семантични конструкти, които помагат за появата на ново послание чрез ангажирането на въображението на твореца и на зрителя в ре-сътворението на отсъстващи образи. Като пример за подобни интегрирани четения на средновековните артефакти, капителът, представящ прор. Даниил с лъва в църквата „Сан Педро де ла Наве“, Испания, VII в., и неговият надпис показват някои от тези взаимодействия между текстове и изображения в мобилизирането на въображението на средновековния човек.



Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Athonite Dedicatory Inscriptions in Historical and Archaeological Context*

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Abstract: The group of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine dedicatory inscriptions on Athos is the majority of the epigraphic material. In the paper are discussed some representative examples dated from the 10th until to the 16th century in order to underline some aspects of the dedicatory activity in the Byzantine era and in the early Ottoman period. The inscriptions under consideration will be incorporated in the historical framework, taking into account the written sources and the archaeological data.

Keywords: dedicatory inscriptions, Mount Athos, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine epigraphy

The group of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine dedicatory inscriptions on Athos is the majority of the epigraphic material¹. In this paper I will discuss some representative examples dated from the 10th

* The abbots and the brotherhoods of the Athonite monasteries mentioned below, permitted me to publish photographs of the inscriptions; to all above I extend my sincerest thanks. I am thankful to Prof. Alexandros Alexakis (University of Ioannina) and to my friends and colleagues Dr. Vangelis Maladakis, Dr. Nikos Siomkos and Dr. Lydia Cotovanu for their fruitful remarks.

1 *Liakos, Dimitrios*. Unpublished Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Inscriptions on Mt Athos. In: *Inscriptions. Their Contribution to Byzantine and Post-Byzantine History and History of Art*. Proceedings of the International Symposium "Inscriptions: Their Contribution to the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine History and History of Art" (Ioannina, June 26 – 27, 2015) (ed. Chr. Stavrakos). Wiesbaden, 2016, 279-319. On historiographical issues see *Maladakis, Vangelis*. Οι έρευνες του Gabriel Millet στο Άγιον Όρος μέσα από το αρχείο της Γαλλικής Σχολής Αθηνών. In: *Mount Athos at the years of Liberation, Conference Proceedings*. Thessalonike, 2013, 387-393; *idem*. Louis Petit, Jules Pargoire et l'épigraphie athonite. Le Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos (1904). In: *The Legacy of French Assumptionists for Byzantine Studies. A Critical Approach* (eds. M.-H. Blanchet, I.-A. Tudorie), Symposium held in Bucharest, September 25-27, 2014. Proceedings to be published in the series of Archives de l'Orient Chrétien.

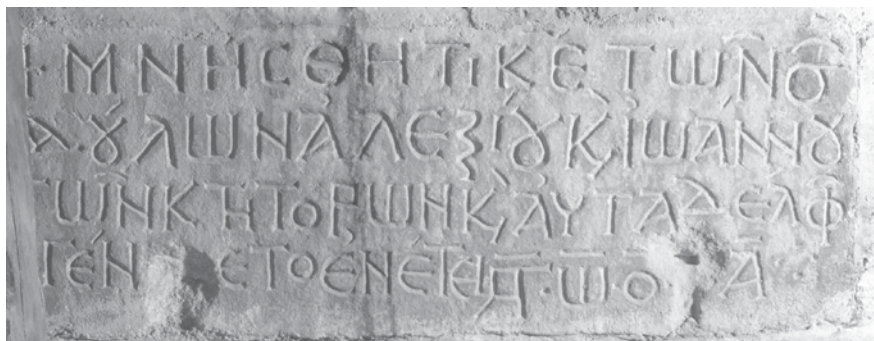


Fig. 1. Pantokrator; katholikon; dedicatory inscription (1362/3)

until to the 16th century in order to underline some aspects of the dedicatory activity in the Byzantine era and in the early Ottoman period. The inscriptions under consideration will be incorporated in the historical framework, taking into account the written sources and the archaeological data.

The preserved Byzantine material is poor. This lack is not unexpected since it could be connected to the consecutive reconstructions of the pre-existed Byzantine buildings in all monasteries from the 16th century onwards²; as it is obvious, the older structures and their inscriptions were lost. Very few examples are in their initial position. Other inscriptions were impacted in later buildings and some others, now removed, are kept in the sacristies or libraries.

I could name the following types of the dedicatory inscriptions on the basis of the level of the given information:

In some inscriptions only the year and the indict of the building construction is mentioned. I indicatively present two examples from Vatopedi: this one of the bell-tower³ (*Cat.* 1), as well as the removed marble slab⁴ with the very fragmentary sculpted depiction of the Sts Constantine and Helen holding the Holy Cross (*Cat.* 2); the latter could be recognized as the dedicatory inscription of the homonymous -non surviving today- chapel, mentioned in the liter-

2 On the building history on Athos after the 16th century see *Theocharidis*, Ploutarchos. Εισαγωγή στην αρχιτεκτονική του Αγίου Όρους. In: Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική. Άγιον Όρος. Athens, 1991, 11-14; idem. Οι πτέρυγες κατοικίας στα αγιορειτικά μοναστήρια (1500 – 1900). In: Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική. Άγιον Όρος, 26-32.

3 *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l' Athos. Paris, 1904, Thessalonike, 2004, 35-36, n 115.

4 *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 45-46, n 148.



Fig. 2. Lavra; removed dedicatory inscription (10th – 11th centuries)

ary sources⁵.

In some inscriptions the names of the patrons are additionally mentioned. The inscription of the katholikon of Pantokrator (1362/3)⁶ (*Cat. 3, Fig. 1*) is the only one in which the referred patrons, the high ranking officials and the founders of the monastery *Megas Premikerios* Ioannes and *Megas Statopedarches* Alexios, are secular persons⁷. In all other examples the patrons are monks. I present the inscriptions from the church of the former small monastery of St Nikolaos Troch-

⁵ Liakos, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 285-286.

⁶ Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 49, n 158. The inscription which was incised in a reused threshold, as it is attested by the grooves, initially existed in the *catechumena*; after the year 1847 was removed and was replaced in the stairway leading from the exonarthex to the bell-tower.

⁷ Actes du Pantokrator (éd. V. Kravari). Paris, 1991, 7-15; *Oikonomidis*, Nikolaos. Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos, Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism (ed. A. Bryer – M. Cunningham). Birmingham, 1996, 103-111.

ala (late 10th century) (*Cat.* 4), now cell depended on Vatopedi⁸, the phiale and the bell-tower of Lavra (*Cat.* 5) (1060)⁹ and the removed marble slab derived from an unknown non-surviving building also from Lavra (*Cat.* 6, **Fig. 2**)¹⁰. The latter is dating in the 10th – 11th centuries, based on the stylistic grounds of the sculpted decoration¹¹; the referred patrons are two, Arsenios and Nephon. Nephon is not mentioned in other sources. On the other hand, a monk Arsenios, house-keeper (οἰκονόμος) of the monastery, is referred in the document signed in 991¹² and actually it is a question if the two homonymous monks could be the same person. One more fifteen-syllable inscription (*Cat.* 7), accompanied the frescoes' remains in the non-existing today *catechumena* of the Lavra's katholikon, relates, as I supported, to a significance patron, a hieromonk Kallistos in the end of the 14th century¹³.

The dedicatory inscription (*Cat.* 8) of the old refectory and the olive-press in Vatopedi (1320) is of particular interest¹⁴. It was impacted as *spolium* in the exonarthex of the katholikon in the end of the 18th century. Apart from the construction's year, the building itself, but also the hieromonk Nephon, are also referred. The phrase ἐπιστατοῦντος Νήφωνος is *unicum* on an Athonite inscription and, in my point of view, could have the meaning of the person who supervised the project; nevertheless, we could not exclude the pos-

8 Liakos, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 284-285.

9 Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 107-108, n 333. Rhoby, Andreas. Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein. Nebst Addenda zu den Bänden 1 und 2 (= Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung, III /1-2, Hrsg. von W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – A. Paul) (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 474 = Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 35). Wien, 2014, 184-186.

10 Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 129, n 393.

11 On similar examples indicatively see Grabar, André. Sculptures Byzantines du Moyen Age II (XI^e – XIV^e siecle). Paris, 1976, pl. LVIIb, XLVI.

12 Actes de Lavra I. Des origines a 1204 (éd. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos). Paris, 1970, 122 (n 9. 51).

13 The inscription was written above the central opening to the interior of the main church; see Liakos, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 287-289; on the similar decorative ornaments in the frescoes' remains see The Kariye Djami (ed. P. Underwood), Vol. III. N. York, 1966, 410-423 (fig. 211-223). On the *catechumena* and their significance see Siomkos, Nikos. Παρατηρήσεις στη λειτουργική χρήση του νόρθκα και των κατηχουμένων. In: Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική και Λατρευτική πράξη (Εισαγωγικές ομιλίες, θεματικές και ελεύθερες παρεμβάσεις). Πρακτικά (eds. E. Chatzitriphonos – F. Karagianni). Thessalonike, 2006, 66-68, with further bibliography.

14 The inscription was transcribed by Mamaloukos, Stavros. Το καθολικό της μονής Βατοπεδίου. Ιστορία και αρχιτεκτονική. Athens, 2001, 266-267. In the lower part some rather unreadable elements are distinguished: θεοῦ κ(αι) ἀρὰν (?).

sibility that he was the patron at the same time. Nephon can be identified with the homonymous hieromonk who, according to the written sources, was abbot of Vatopedi in 1316 and probably two decades earlier, from 1290 until 1297¹⁵.

The lost Byzantine dedicatory inscriptions seem to be attested by later ones in some monasteries. I present the following example: in the dedicatory inscription (*Cat.* 9) of the church of the St John Baptist cell (1695)¹⁶, the former small homonymous monastery, now dependency of Docheiari, the year of the foundation of the church in 1295/6 in the reign of Andronikos II Palaeologos is referred. The written sources do not confirm the precise date of the initial construction of the church, as the inscription refers; however, the information could be considered reliable in general, since the construction of the small monastery in the period of Andronikos II is confirmed by the testament of the monk-founder Neilos (1330/1)¹⁷.

In the written sources sacred objects and other artifacts endowed by the emperors and high ranking persons on Athos are registered. **Moreover, the surviving objects** donated by certain persons, as attested by their inscriptions, are few. I mention for example the famous manuscripts, such as the n 16 (*Evangelion*, 1340/1) (*Cat.* 10), but also the epitaphios (mid-14th century, before 1354) (*Cat.* 11) in Vatopedi, gifts of John VI Kantakouzenos¹⁸ and the cross of Helen Palaeologina in Dionysiou (first quarter of the 15th century) (*Cat.* 12)¹⁹. In the

15 *Theophilos*, Proegoumenos Vatopedinos. Χρονικόν περί της Ιεράς και Σεβασμίας Μεγίστης Μονής Βατοπαιδίου Αγίου Όρους. Προλεγόμενα. – Μακεδονικά, 1972, N 12, 112.

16 *Smyrnakis*, Gerasimos. Το Άγιον Όρος. Karyes, 1988³, 571.

17 *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 301-303; Actes de Docheiariou (ed. N. Oikonomidès). Paris, 1984, 133-139; Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents (eds. J. Thomas, A. Constantinides Hero, G. Constable). Washington D.C., 2000, 1389-1395.

18 On manuscripts, *Lamberz*, Erich. Νεώτερες έρευνες στις βιβλιοθήκες του Αγίου Όρους. Αποτελέσματα και συμπεράσματα. In: Το Άγιον Όρος. Χθες–σήμερα–αύριο. Thessalonike, 1996, 162-163, with further bibliography; idem. Η βιβλιοθήκη και τα χειρόγραφα της. In: Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση-Ιστορία-Τέχνη, Vol. II. Mt Athos, 1996, 569; Le Mont Athos et l' Empire byzantin. Trésors de la Sainte Montagne, (Exhibition Catalogue, Petit Palais). Paris, 2009, 152-153, n 58 (P. Fotiadis). On epitaphios, *Theochari*, Maria. Χρυσοκέντητα άμφια. In: Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση-Ιστορία-Τέχνη, Vol. II. Mt Athos, 1996, 421-424; Le Mont Athos et l' Empire byzantin, 150, n 56 (N. Toutos). On the relations of John VI Kantakouzenos and his mother with Vatopedi see *Nicol*, Donald. The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus). Washington D.C., 1968, 92-93; idem. The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295 – 1383. New York, 1996, 141-142.

19 *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Η δωροδοσία στις μονές του Αγίου Όρους τον 15^ο και 16^ο αιώνα. Το τεκμήριο της μεταλλοτεχνίας. In: Το Άγιον Όρος στον 15^ο και 16^ο αιώνα. Thessalonike, 2012, 314-315, with older bibliography.



Fig. 3. Vatopedi; chapel of St Anargyroi; the portrait of John Uglješa and the dedicatory inscription (1847)

inscriptions on these artworks the donors are clearly named.

From the mid-14th century onwards and mainly in the period after the Fall of Constantinople the rulers of Orthodox countries, as Serbia, Wallachia, Moldavia and others, addressed a serious dedicatory activity on Athos. They financed the construction and the decoration of many churches or other buildings almost in all monasteries after the requests of their abbots; also, they donated artifacts²⁰.

20 *Năsturel*, Petre. *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIV^e siècle à 1654*. Roma, 1986; *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Η δωροδοσία, 318-319, 322, 324; idem. Η μεταλλοτεχνία τον 16^ο αι.: άγνωστα έργα στο Άγιον Όρος. In: 32^ο Συμπόσιο της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας. Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις εισηγήσεων και ανακοινώσεων. Athens, 2012, 60-61; idem. Λόγια πρόσωπα και λόγιο περιβάλλον στο Άγιον Όρος (14^ο – 18^ο αι.): η δυναμική τους στην τέχνη. In: Άγιον Όρος και λογισύνη. Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου. Thessalonike, 2014, 257-258, 260; idem. Η συλλογή των παναγιαρίων της μονής Βατοπεδίου (14^ο – 19^ο αι.). In: Α' [H'] Συνάντηση Ελλήνων Βυζαντινολόγων. Athens, 2015. On the ideological background see indicatively, *Năstase*, Dimitri. *L' heritage impérial byzantin dans l' art et l' histoire des pays roumains*. Milan, 1976; idem. *L' idée impériale dans les Pays Roumains et "le crypto-chrétien" sous la domination ottomane. État et importance du problème*. – Σύμμεικτα, 1981, N 4, 235; idem. *Idea imperiala în filile române. Geneza si evoluta ei în raport cu vechea artă româneasca*. Athènes, 1992; *Pippidi*, Andrei. *Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI – XVI-II*. Bucarest, 1983, 18-27; idem. *Entre héritage et imitation: la tradition byzantine dans les Pays*

Fig. 4. Vatopedi; chapel of St Anargyroi; St Prokopios (second half of the 14th century)



Some lost inscriptions related to patronage are known from the written sources. Porphyrios Uspenskij and Antonin Kapoustin for example mention the dedicatory inscription (*Cat.* 13) of the katholikon of the St Paul monastery, existed on the upper floor in the three storey building, constructed in 1447 by the Serbian ruler George Branković²¹ (1377 – 1456); the text was reproduced by Millet, Pargoire, Petit²². A part of the foundation of this building was revealed by the excavation works²³.

In another case the Byzantine text is probably repeated by a later one, which exists today. In the St Anargyroi chapel in Vatopedi, in the

roumains. Nouvelles réflexions, vingt ans après. In: Greek-Romanian Relations. Interculturalism and National Identity (eds. P. Kitromilides – A. Tabaki). Athens 2004, 23-37; *Iorga*, Nicolae. To Βυζάντιο μετά το Βυζάντιο. Athens, 1989, 132-162.

21 *Uspenskij*, Porfirij. Pervoje Putesestvige v Afonskije Monastiri I skiti, Cast I, Utdelenije Vtoroje 1846. Moskva, 1880, 66; *Kapustin*, Antonin. Zametki poklonnika Sviatoj Gori. Kiev, 1861, 245.

22 *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 143-144, n 426.

23 *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Recent information about the building history in the St Paul's monastery; the contribution of a small scale excavation. In: Niš and Byzantium XIII (ed. M. Rakocija). Niš, 2015, 271-286.



Fig. 5. Lavra; katholikon;
icon of St Athanasios Athonite
(1364 – c. 1377, 16th century)

later painting layer of 1847, the portrait of the Serbian despot John Uglješa (1365 – 1371) is depicted (in the external west wall of the main church), accompanied by the dedicatory inscription (*Cat.* 14, **Fig. 3**). The middle-Byzantine church of St Anargyroi (end of the 12th century?) was painted in the second half of the 14th century (**Fig. 4**), as it was documented by the limited conservation works²⁴. It was considered that the patron was the Serbian despot John Uglješa, who is depicted in the church. Therefore, it is likely that the inscription and the donor's portrait in the 19th century frescoes repeat the corresponding elements existed in the older partially revealed Palaeologan layer.

²⁴ *Tsigaridas, Eythimios. Τα ψηφιδωτά και οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες. In: Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπεδίου. Παράδοση-Ιστορία-Τέχνη, Vol. I. Mt Athos, 1996, 281, 283, fig. 240, 241; also Tanoulas, Tasos. "Θηβαΐς": Αυτή η πλευρά του παραδείσου. – Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 1998, N 20, 329.*

The Wallachian Vladislav I (1364 – c. 1377)²⁵ is one of the first orthodox rulers of Dunabian Principalities connected to Athos. He firstly came into contact with Koutlounous²⁶; after the abbot's Chariton request Vladislav financed the monastery's reconstruction and he was considered as a new patron (οἰκοκύριος καὶ κτήτωρ τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς)²⁷. Unfortunately, this benefaction is not documented epigraphically. The only epigraphic evidence of him is found in Lavra. He and his wife Anna donated the icon of St Athanasios Athonite (*Cat.* 15, **Fig. 5**), repainted in the 16th century²⁸. In the revetment, which, in my opinion, is consisted by parts dated in two different periods (1364 – 1377 and 16th century)²⁹, the dedicatory inscription³⁰ is accompanied by two icons with the rulers' figures.

From the late 15th century onwards the surviving dedicatory inscriptions on Athos are much more. Monks (mainly abbots or former abbots), patriarchs, high ranking secular persons and rulers from Orthodox countries founded new buildings or reconstructed older ones, but also endowed artifacts. In recent conference I discussed the

25 On Vladislav I see *Constantinescu*, Nicolae. Vladislav I, 1364 – 1377. Bucarest, 1979.

26 Actes de Kutlunus (éd. P. Lemerle). Paris, 1988, 9-11.

27 Actes de Kutlunus, n 26, lines 6-10.

28 The photograph of the icon you can see in *Nikodemos*, Lavriotes. Μεγίστη Λαύρα του αγίου Αθανασίου Αγίου Όρους. Εικονογραφημένος οδηγός προσκυνητάρειον. Mt Athos, 1988, fig. in p. 5; also, *Cândeia – Simionescu*, Virgil – Constantine. Mont Athos. Présences Roumaines. București, 1979, without page number.

29 The icon is mentioned by *Barskij*, Vasilij. Τα ταξίδια του στο Άγιον Όρος, 1725-1726, 1744-1745. Με τη φροντίδα και τα σχόλια του ακαδημαϊκού Παύλου Μυλωνά. Thessalonike, 2009, 232. According to *Năsturel*, Petre. Aux origines des relations roumano-athonites: L' icone de saint Athanase de Lavra du voivode Vladislav. In: Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines II. Paris, 1951, 307-314, but also *Efremov*, Alexandru. Icoane românești. București, 2003, 24-25, the icon with the silver-gilt revetment is dated in the second half of the 14th century and was donated by Vladislav I. On the contrary it was considered as gift of the Wallachian ruler Vladislav III (1524 – 1526) by *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 119 (n 361) and *Tsioran*, Georgios. Σχέσεις των Ρουμανικών Χωρών μετά του Άθω και δη των Μονών Κουτλουμουσίου, Λαύρας, Δοχειαρίου και Αγίου Παντελεήμονος ή των Ρώσων. Athens, 1938, 125-127. However, in my opinion only the parts in the four narrow sides of the exergue frame, the inscribed sheets and the two icons with the rulers' depictions are dated in the Palaeologan period; certainly, the two rectangular icons with the rulers' figures do not exist in the initial position, as it is proved by the constructional elements and their incorporation in the revetment (we could not exclude that they come from another object). The other revetment's parts covered the background of the St Athanasios' depiction, as well as the halo and the two rectangle sheets with rosettes, was created in the 16th century, namely in the period of the icon's repainting; on similar examples see *Sotirov*, Ivan. The Chiprovtsi Goldsmith school (the middle of 16th – the beginning of 18th c.) (in Bulgarian with English summary). Sofia, 2001, 103 (fig. 44); *Genova*, Elena. Applied Arts in Churches in Bulgaria from 15th – 19th century goldsmith's craft, miniature woodcarving, embroidery (in Bulgarian with English summary). Sofia, 2004, 15.

30 *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 119, n 361b, c.

dedicatory inscriptions related to the monks, patriarchs or high ranking officers in this period³¹. In this paper I comment some epigraphic material concerning the dedicatory activity addressed by the Moldavian or Wallachian rulers, especially the Moldavian Stephen the Great (1457 – 1504) and the Wallachian Neagoe Basarab (1512 – 1521), aspiring inheritors of the Byzantine emperors³².

Stephen the Great was connected to almost all monasteries and mainly to Zographou, Vatopedi and Grigoriou. In Zographou the Cyrillic dedicatory inscriptions of the shipyard (1474/5) (*Cat.* 16) and the old refectory (1495, now removed) (*Cat.* 17) are preserved³³. Moreover, from the number of artworks that he donated in the same monastery, as we know from the written sources, only a pair of *ripidia* has survived³⁴.

In Vatopedi he financed the construction of the shipyard (in 1495/6). In the impacted in the north side marble slab the dedicatory inscription³⁵ (*Cat.* 18), carelessly incised in Greek, runs around the donor's portrait offering the building model to Theotokos³⁶.

31 Liakos, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 290-308.

32 On Neagoe Basarab see Stoicescu, Nicolae. Dictionar al marilor dregători din Tara Românească și Moldova, sec. XIV – XVII. București, 1971, 74; Sapovici, Anca. Neagoe Basarab and the Representations of Power in the 16th century Valachia. In: Landscapes of Power. International Graduate Conference, 22 – 23 February 2013, University of Oxford. On Stephen the Great see indicatively Giurescu, Constantin. Istoria Românilor II, De la Mircea cel Bătrân și Alexandru cel Bun pana la Mihai Viteazul. București, 1943; Papacostea, Șerban. La politique extérieure de la Moldavie à l'époque d'Étienne le Grand: points de repère. – Revue roumaine d'Histoire 1975, N 14, 3, 423-440; Pippidi, Andrei. Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI – XVIII. București, 1983, 144-151; moreover, see the reprint of various papers concerning the Moldavian ruler in: Stefan cel Mare și Sfânt 1504 – 2004. Portret în Istorie. Putna, 2003; Stefan der Große – Fürst der Moldau. Symbolfunktion und Bedeutungswandel eines mittelalterlichen Herrschers (Hrsg. E. Binder – Iijima, V. Dumbrava). Leipzig, 2005.

33 Mertzimekis, Nikolaos. Περί των κτητόρων του πύργου του αρσανά της αγιορειτικής μονής Ζωγράφου. – Βυζαντινά, 1999, N 20, 333-334. Theocharidis – Mertzimekis – Tavlakis, Ploutarchos – Nikolaos – Ioannis. Ανασκαφική έρευνα στη μονή Ζωγράφου και στοιχεία για την αναπαράσταση του παλιού περιβάλλου της. In: Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη 22. Thessalonike, 2008, 444-445.

34 Nicolescu, Corina. Arta metalelor pretioase în România. București, 1973, 55, n 86; Oikonomaki-Papadopoulou, Giota. Εκκλησιαστική αργυροχοΐα. In: Πάτμος. Οι Θησαυροί της Μονής. Athens, 1988, 224; Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261 – 1557) (ed. H. Evans). N. York, 2004, 132-133, n 69 (V. N. Marinis).

35 Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 42 (n 139). In the slab two holes (probably originally existed) were revealed by the conservation works (2014).

36 Liakos, Dimitrios. Τα λιθανάγλυφα του Αγίου Όρους, Phd Thesis, Vol. I. Thessalonike, 2000, 23, 103-104, 151-152; idem. Από την ανώνυμη στην επώνυμη γλυπτική παραγωγή (19^{ος} αι.). “Δρόμοι στο Άγιον Όρος”. In: Α' Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο Νεοελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής τέχνης. Πρακτικά. Athens, 2009, 522-523, note 5; Sinigalia, Tereza-Irene. Un relief votif du prince



Fig. 6. Vatopedi; old sacristy; panagiaron (1510 – 1511) (detail)

In the aforementioned inscriptions from Zographou and Vatopedi, the epigraphic data is restricted. The patrons and their dignitary are referred; additionally in the inscriptions from the old refectory and the shipyard in Zographou the constructed buildings are mentioned. The symbol of Moldavia, the head of an ox, was curved in two cases. Also, in the inscription of the shipyard in Vatopedi the name of the abbot Kyrillos is noted.

On the patronage of Neagoe Basarab on Athos, well attested by the written sources, the earlier epigraphic evidence is found in the *panagiaron* (Cat. 19, Fig. 6) which he donated to Vatopedi from the position of Great Comes in 1510 – 1511, just before becoming ruler in 1512³⁷. Also, the St Nephon's reliquary (1514/5) kept in Dionysiou (Cat. 20)³⁸ and the revetment of the late 11th – beginning of the 12th century Lec-

de Moldavie Etienne le Grand au Monastère de Vatopedi. In: Άγιον Όρος, Φύση – Λάτρευα – Τέχνη, Vol. II. Thessalonike, 2001, 157-162.

37 Liakos, Dimitrios. Η συλλογή των παναγιαρίων της μονής Βατοπεδίου.

38 Foustieris, Georgios. Η λειψανοθήκη του Αγίου Νήφωνα. In: Ο Άγιος Νήφων Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1508 – 2008). Τόμος επετειακός επί τη συμπληρώσει πεντακοσίων ετών από της κοιμήσεως αυτού. Mt Athos, 2008, 463-466.

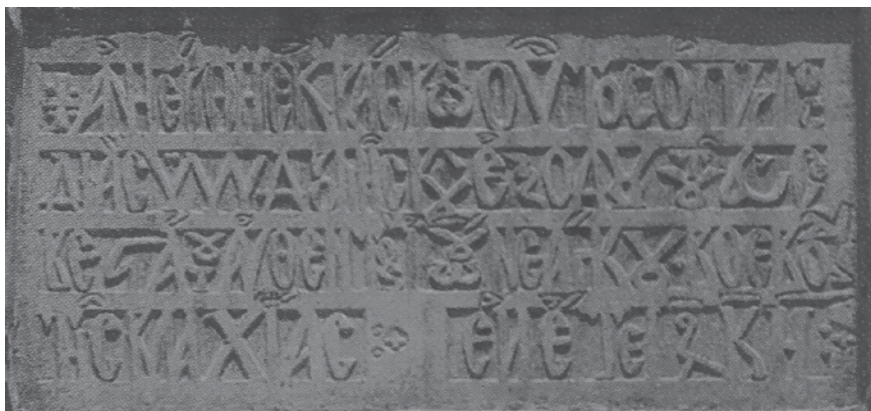


Fig. 7. Dionysiou; tower; dedicatory inscription (1519/20)

tionary in Iviron (*Cat.* 21)³⁹, are two other inscribed artifacts endowed by Neagoe. The inscriptions in the panagiaron and the revetment are Cyrillic, yet the other one in the St Nephon's reliquary is Greek. Apart from the donor, the recipients of these gifts, namely the monasteries themselves, are mentioned.

Neagoe contributed to the building renovation in Dionysiou and St Paul; in both monasteries he financed the construction of the towers. In Dionysiou tower the dedicatory inscription (1519/20) is Greek⁴⁰ (*Cat.* 22, **Fig. 7**), yet the other one in St Paul tower (1521/22) (*Cat.* 23, **Fig. 8**) is Cyrillic⁴¹. In the latter his son and successor Theodose (1521 – 1522)⁴² is also referred as patron.

In the same monastery one more removed dedicatory inscription of a tower is kept⁴³ (*Cat.* 24, **Fig. 9**). Two patrons are mentioned, Neagoe Basarab and a voivod Petru, but also a *clucer* Theodore. Professor Năsturel identified Theodore with the certain Wallachian boyar activated in the two last years of Neagoe Basarab (1520 – 1521) and according to him he was the responsible officer for the construction; moreover, Năsturel proposed the identification of the referred voivod

39 Liakos, Dimitrios. Η δωροδοσία, 318-319.

40 Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 171, n 494.

41 Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 152, n 446.

42 On the relations of Neagoe with Theodose see indicatively Stoicescu, Nicolae. La politique de Neagoe Basarab et ses *Préceptes* pour son fils Teodosie. – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, 1970, N 9.1, 19-42.

43 Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 152, n 447. Liakos, Dimitrios. Recent information, 274, 275 (fig. 5). The inscribed slab was immured at an unknown period in a fountain, as it is documented by the spout's hole.

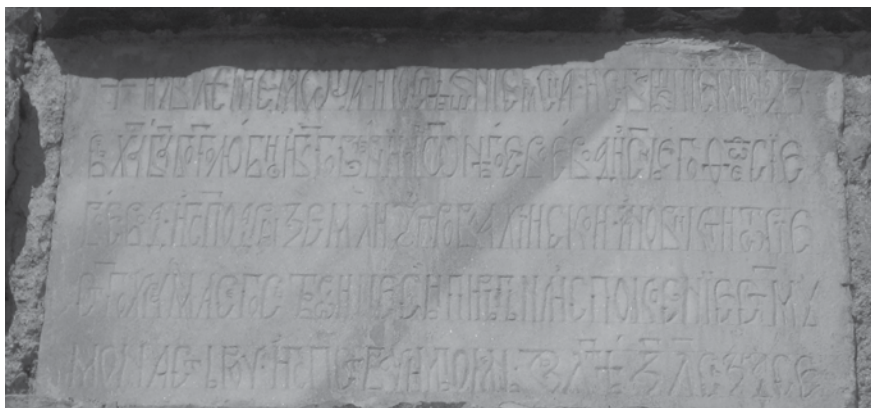


Fig. 8. St Paul; tower; dedicatory inscription (1521/2)

Petru either with the Wallachian ruler Petru de la Arges (1535 – 1545), also known as Radu Paisie, or the Moldavian ruler Petru Rareș (1527 – 1538, 1541 – 1546)⁴⁴. Therefore, the inscription concerns the construction of a tower in two close periods by the successive support of different rulers; it also informs about the authorizing dignitary of the Neagoe's court who was responsible for the tower's erection. I have suggested that it is about the dedicatory inscription of the sea side tower of the monastery; this aspect is reinforced by the archaeological data and the general observations arising of the research of the monument's architecture⁴⁵: the tower and a restricted precinct

44 *Năsturel, Petre. Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIV^e siècle à 1654. Roma, 1986, 245-247. On the dignitary of *clucer* in Wallachia and Moldavia see Instituții feudale din Țările române. Dicționar [Institutions féodales des Pays roumains. Dictionnaire] (eds. O. Sachelarie – N. Stoiescu). Bucarest, 1988, 107-108; on the ruler Petru de la Arges (Radu-Paisie) see *Iorga, Nicolae. To Βυζάντιο μετά το Βυζάντιο. Athens, 1989², 141.**

45 *Liakos, Dimitrios. Recent information, 274, 275 (fig. 5); idem. Παλαιά και νέα ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφικές έρευνες στις αγιορειτικές μονές Βατοπαιδίου, Φιλοθέου και Αγίου Παύλου. In: Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη 28. Thessalonike, 2015 (forthcoming); idem. Excavations on Mt Athos: Shedding Light on the Building History of Some Athonite Foundations during the Byzantine and the Early Ottoman Period. 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Belgrade, 22 – 27 August 2016. The morphological elements of the sea side fort are close to those in the tower of the monastic complex constructed by Neagoe Basarab and his son Theodose. On a short mention of the sea side fort see *Theocharides, Ploutarchos. Το οικοδομικό συγκρότημα της Μονής Αγίου Παύλου και το παρεκκλήσιο του Αγίου Γεωργίου. In: Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Παύλου. Οι τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλήσιου του Αγίου Γεωργίου έργο του ζωγράφου Αντωνίου (ed. E. Tsigaridas). Mt Athos, 2014, 53-54, who proposed a dating in the 15th – 16th centuries. It was considered that the discussed removed inscription comes from the tower of the monastic complex [Androudis, Paschalis. Οχυρωματικοί πύργοι του 16^{ου} αιώνα στις Μονές του Αγίου Όρους. In: Το Άγιον Όρος στον 15^ο και 16^ο αιώνα. Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου. Thessaloniki, 2012, 497, where it is erroneously mentioned that the inscription is immured in the staircase leads in the monastery's tower and it is not readable; the same aspect was expressed by *Theocharides, Ploutarchos. Το οικοδομικό συγκρότημα, 53. However, the inscription of the monastery's tower (Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 152, n 446) and the removed inscription have different palaeographic elements and the given information point out***

were initially constructed; besides, the recently disclosed fresco of St George in the blind arch above the tower's entrance in the west side (**Fig. 10**) is depicted in the first half of the 16th century⁴⁶. One not much later construction phase, the extension of the enceinte in the 16th century, has been attested⁴⁷. So, the epigraphic data seems to be in accordance with the aforementioned documentation: the sea side tower with the early precinct could be built by Neagoe Basarab and the latter could be extended by the Wallachian Petru de la Arges or the Moldavian Petru Rareș.

From all the above mentioned, some observations could be summarized. Firstly, the survived Byzantine dedicatory inscriptions on Athos – even though are few – attest the patronage activity addressed by persons either unknown or known from the written sources. However, it is obvious that our knowledge on the dedicatory practices on Byzantine Athos is still based on the written sources. It is possible that the early monastic complexes constructed by the first founders or the buildings erected in later periods by other persons in several monasteries, as it is known only from the texts, could have dedicatory inscriptions, which were lost⁴⁸.

From the epigraphic material concerning the early Ottoman Athos, I focused only in some dedicatory inscriptions related to certain rulers of the Danubian Principalities. The given information is limited, as it is also attested by many other published inscriptions related to these persons; the rulers in some cases are characterized as “the most pious rulers” (ἐὺσεβέστατοι αὐθέντες), apparently influenced of the Byzantine ones⁴⁹. Also, the phrase “divine right” (ἐλέω θεοῦ) in the

that they derive from different towers, as it is also proved by the abovementioned.

46 The unpublished fresco of St George was revealed during the restoration works (2015). I express my deeply gratitude to father Nikodimos for provided me with photographs.

47 See above, note 45.

48 The buildings of the first founders and their successors in some monasteries are mentioned in the texts; I refer for example the early edifices erected by the Georgians founders in Iviron [Actes d' Iviron I. Des origines au milieu du XI^e siècle (éd. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssantou, H. Métréveli). Paris, 1985, 59-63], as well as the dwelling of John VI Kantakouzenos in Vatopedi built with the money sent by him, *Nicol*, Donald. The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus). Washington D.C., 1968, 92-93; idem. The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295 – 1383. New York, 1996, 141-142.

49 *Kalopissi-Verti*, Sophia. Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-century Churches of Greece. Wien, 1992, 66 (n 18), 71 (n 21); *Inscriptiones Historicae picturis muralibus I Saeculorum XII – XIII* (eds. G. Subotić, B. Miljković, I. Špadijer, I. Toth) (in Serbian with French summary). Belgradi, 2015, 59, 111-112.

inscriptions of the voivod Stephen reflects the same Byzantine tradition⁵⁰.

In the inscription of the shipyard at Vatopedi, the reference of the abbot Kyrillos could not be accidental. The abbots' names are also referred in other inscriptions, for example in the frescoes of the katholikon of Dionysiou (1568) and Iviron (1588 – 1591), in which, as we are informed by the literary sources, they developed a personal relation with the rulers of the Danubian Principalities, who in turn benefited the monasteries. So, after the request of the abbots Matthew in Dionysiou or Gavriil in Iviron, the Moldavian ruler Alexandru Lapouşneanu (1552 – 1561, 1564 – 1568) and the Wallachian Mihnea II Turcitul (1577 – 1583, 1585 – 1591) respectively, undertook the construction and the painting decoration of the katholika or only their painting⁵¹. Taking into account the reasonable thought that the abbots intended to their reputation, it is expected to assume that they desired their mention in the dedicatory inscriptions even their depiction, as in the case of Iviron⁵².

Moreover, the mention and the depiction of Anna, the wife of Vladislav I, in the revetment of the Lavra's icon, reflect the general ideological framework of the representation of the members of the Wallachian or the Moldavian royal families in their donations. Similar examples are also found in many cases in their countries⁵³, but also on Athos (frescoes and artifacts)⁵⁴. The influence of the Byzantine

50 Ensslin, Wilhelm. *Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden*. München, 1943, 53ff; *Vogt, Joseph*. *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*. München, 1960, 208-209; *Constantini*, Porphyrogeniti imperatoris. *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, II. Bonnae, 1829, 638.4-5: «τὸν τε χρηστὸν βασιλέα κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν ἀναλογοῦντα Θεῷ».

51 *Vafeiadis*, Konstantinos. Περί της εν Αθω «Κρητικής» ζωγραφικής. Εικόνες και τοιχογραφίες της Ι. Μ. Διονυσίου και οι δημιουργοί τους (β' μισό 14^{ου} – β' μισό 16^{ου} αι.). Athens, 2010, 26; *Liakos*, Dimitrios. *Λόγια πρόσωπα*, 260.

52 *Liakos*, Dimitrios. *Λόγια πρόσωπα*, 266.

53 See indicatively *Brătulescu*, Victor. *Icoanele de familie ale lui Neagoe Basarab*. – Biserica Ortodoxă Română, 1961, N 79, 776-777; *Nicolescu*, Corina. *Costumul de Curte în Țările Române (sec. XIV – XVIII)*. București, 1970, 95 (fig. 47), 97 (fig. 48), 103 (fig. 51), 131, 133, 135; eadem. *Les Insignes du pouvoir. Contribution à l'histoire du cérémonial de cour roumain*. – *Resee* 1977, N 15, 2, 253 (fig. 67). *Dumitrescu*, Carmen-Laura. *Pictura Murală din Țara Românească în veacul al XVI-lea*. București, 1978, 18, 19, 57.

54 *Marinescu-Ieronymos*, Florin – Ieromonachos Xenophontinos. Σχέσεις της μονής Ξενοφώντος με τη Βλαχία και τη Μολδαβία. Πρόδρομη παρουσίαση. In: Άγιον Όρος. Πνευματικότητα και Ορθοδοξία, Τέχνη. Thessalonike, 2006, 189-190 (fig. 12, 13); *Bekiaris*, Antonis. Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του νάρθηκα και της λιτής της μονής Δοχειαρίου (1568), Phd Thesis. Ioannina, 2012, figs 203-205; *Dionysopoulos*, Nikos. Πορτρέτα κοσμικών δωρητών στην εντοίχια ζωγραφική του Αγίου Όρους (14^{ος} – αρχές 16^{ου} αι.). Η ιδεολογική διάσταση της εικονογραφίας του ορθόδοξου



Fig. 9. St Paul; the removed dedicatory inscription of the sea side tower (first half of the 16th century)

tradition, as the expression of the predominant ideological framework of the continuity of the imperial patronage, is self-evident⁵⁵.

Finally, I comment another subject. It is about the different language in which the inscriptions on the above-mentioned buildings and artifacts related to the patronage of the Moldavian and Wallachian rulers are written. The inscriptions in the towers of Zographou and St Paul are Cyrillic; the other ones in Dionysiou tower and in Vatopedi shipyard are Greek. The reason of this difference is rather obvious and it depends on the different ethnological origin of each monastic brotherhood in the period of the towers' construction. The Slav monks, namely the Bulgarians and Serbians, prevail in Zographou and in St Paul in the 15th and 16th century respectively⁵⁶. Therefore, the Cyrillic script in the above-mentioned examples is appropriate.

ηγεμόνα στο αθωνικό περιβάλλον, Phd Thesis. Volos, 2012, figs 79-81, 101, 103-107.

55 Grabar, Andre. Les revetments en or et en argent des icones byzantines du Moyen Age. Venise, 1975, 45-46 (n 18), pl. XXVII (fig. 43); Velmans, Tania. Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues. In: Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues (Actes du colloque de Venise 1968). Venise, 1971, 133-134, figs. 55-56; eadem. La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Age. Paris, 1977, 88, figs. 72-73; Năsturel, Petre. Considérations sur l'idée impériale chez les Roumains. – Βυζαντινά, 1973, N 5, 395-413; idem. Dix contributions roumano-athonites (XIV^e – XVI^e siècles). – Buletinul Bibliotecii Române, 1985, N 12, 1-46; Parani, Maria. Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th – 15th Centuries). Leiden/Boston, 2003, 332, pl. 76; Negrău, Elisabeta. Cultul suveranului sud-est European și cazul Țării Românești. O perspectivă artistică. Iași, 2011.

56 The Bulgarian character of the monastery of Zographou in the last quarter of the 13th century is attested by the document signed in 1276, Pavlikianov, Cyril. The Early Years of the Bulgarian Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980 – 1279) and Its Byzantine Archive. Sofia, 2011, 89-90; idem. Οι Σλάβοι στην Αθωνική μονή Ζωγράφου. – Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα, 1998, N 12, 1-3; idem. Σλάβοι μοναχοί στο Άγιον Όρος από τον Ι' ως τον ΙΖ' αιώνα. Η εμφάνιση Σλάβων μοναχών στα Ελληνικά Αθωνικά καθιδρύματα και οι απαρχές της μόνιμης παρουσίας τους στις μονές Ζωγράφου και Παντελεήμονος. Thessalonike, 2002, 32-37. On the Slavic (Bulgarian and Serbian) past of the monastery of St Paul see Pavlikianov, Cyril, Σλάβοι μοναχοί, 125-139.

Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the monumental inscriptions in Zographou and St Paul monasteries from the 15th until to the 17th century are also Cyrillic⁵⁷, since in their brotherhoods the Slav monks prevail, as it is attested by the documents⁵⁸. We could not exclude the fact that the scribes were monks or members of the building workshops came from the Balkans, even though any written evidence on these assumptions lacks⁵⁹.



Fig. 10. St Paul; sea side tower; blind arch above the entrance (west side); the depiction of St George (first half of the 16th century)

On the other hand, in Vatopedi and Dionysiou, where the brotherhoods were Greek, the dedicatory inscriptions from the shipyard and the tower, constructed by Stephen the Great and Neagoe Basarab respectively, are Greek.

The same language differentiation is also observed in the inscriptions on objects endowed by Neagoe. The Vatopedi panagiaron and the Iviron revetment, created in Wallachian workshops, bear Cyrillic inscriptions. Besides, many artifacts endowed by other foreign rulers, such as the gospel revetment in Xenophon monastery (1544), gift of Alexandru Lăpușneanu, are also inscribed in Cyrillic⁶⁰.

On the contrary, the dedicatory inscriptions on the revetment of the Lavra's icon, donated by Vladislav I and Anna, but also on the St Nephon's reliquary in Dionysiou, gift of Neagoe Basarab, are Greek. In each case the reasons seem to be different. The icon's initial revet-

57 Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 143-144 (nos 426, 427), 147 (n 435), 152-154 (nos 446-449); Mertzimekis, Nikolaos. Κυριλλικές επιγραφές από την αθωνική μονή Ζωγράφου ως πηγή πληροφόρησης για την οικοδομική της δραστηριότητα (15^{ος} – 17^{ος} αι.). In: Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος: το Βυζάντιο και ο κόσμος των Σλάβων. Thessalonike, 2015, 321-330.

58 See above note 56.

59 Greek monks-scribes are attested in a few cases on Athos, Millet – Pargoire – Petit, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 39 (n 128), 139 (n 417), 140-141 (n 421); Liakos, Dimitrios. Τα λιθανάγλυφα, 79.

60 Liakos, Dimitrios. Η δωροδοσία, 322.

ment was created in a Byzantine workshop, I consider in Constantinople⁶¹, so, as it is reasonable, the inscription was written in Greek. It is not surprising that a Wallachian ruler commissioned to Athos an object created in Byzantium, since they were under the influence of the Byzantine world from the mid-14th century until the Fall of Constantinople⁶². Concerning the St Nephon's reliquary, I suppose that Neagoe choose to be inscribed this sacred object in Greek, as a sign of respect to the origin of his spiritual father Nephon. Additionally, Greek inscriptions are also found on artworks donated by Greek patrons who were living and were working in the Danubian Principalities, probably as a reminder of their origin; a typical example is the revetment (dated in 1564/5) from the late 10th – beginning of the 11th century gospel (manuscript n 588) kept in Dionysiou⁶³.

61 On similar examples from Constantinople see indicatively, Byzantium. Faith and Power, 253-254, n 151 (L. A. Shchennikova – I. D. Soloveva).

62 On the historical framework (mainly the role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the ecclesiastical policy of Andronikos II Palaeologos) see indicatively *Papachrysanthou*, Dionysia. Ο αθωνικός μοναχισμός. Ασχέες και οργάνωση. Athens, 2004, 321-326; *Panou*, Nikos. Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns in the Early Modern Period: History, Mentalities, Institutions I. – The Historical Review, 2006, N 3, 87-110; *Falangas*, Andronikos. Présences grecques, Présences grecques dans les Pays roumains (XIV^e – XVI^e siècles). Le témoignage des sources narratives roumaines. Bucarest, 2009, 67-78. On the Byzantine influences in architecture and artistic production in Dunabian Principalities see *Musicescu*, Maria – Ana. Relations artistiques entre Byzance et les Pays Roumains (IV^e – XV^e s.). In: *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (ed. M. Berza, E. Stănescu). Bucarest, 1974, 520-523; *Romanian Medieval Art. Guide of the Gallery of the National Museum of Art of Romania* (ed. V. Gheorghită, M. Vazaca). Bucharest, 2002, 16-26; *Vasilescu*, Elena Ene. Between Tradition and Modernity. Icons and Icon Painters in Romania. Saarbrücken, 2009, 7-46; *Barbu*, Daniel. Les sources byzantines de la peinture murale en Valachie au XIV^e siècle. Art et société en Valachie et Moldavie du XIV^e au XVII^e siècles. – *Cahiers Balkaniques*, 1994, N 21, 7-19; idem. L'Église et l'Empereur au XIV^e siècle selon le témoignage de la peinture murale de Valachie. – *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 1995, N 34, 1-2, 131-139; idem. Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essais sur la production politique de la foi au Moyen Âge. Bucarest, 1998, 61-74; *Guran*, Petre. Moïse, Aaron et les "Rois de la terre". L'iconographie du tabernacle du Témoignage à Curtea de Argeș. In: *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 2005, N 43, 1-4, 193-222; *Dumitrescu*, Carmen-Laura. La structure originelle de l'église St Nikolae - Domnesc de Curtea de Argeș. – *Dacoromania*, Jahrbuch für Östliche Latinität, 1977 – 1978, N 4, 283-292; eadem. Pictura murală în Țara Românească în veacul al XVI-lea. Bucurest, 1978; *Simigalia*, Tereza. Modèles byzantines et interprétations originales dans la structure du narthex de l'église du monastère d'Argeș. In: *The XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Vol. III, Sheperdstown, 1996, 464-484; *Negrău*, Elisabeta. The structure of the monastery church from Curtea de Argeș. A theological interpretation. – *European Journal of Science and Theology*, 2010, N 6.1, 59-66; *Dionysopoulos*, Nikos. Πορτρέτα κοσμικών δωρητών, 220, note 671.

63 *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Η δωροδοσία, 319-320.

Catalogue of the Inscriptions⁶⁴

1. Vatopedi; bell-tower (1427)

Ετους //ϜϠλε [i]v[δικτιῶν]ος ε

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 36, n 115b; *Rhoby*, Andreas. Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein, 181-182.

2. Vatopedi; old sacristy; marble sculpted slab (1414) comes from the (non-existing today) chapel of the Sts Constantine and Helen

ΕτοςϜϠ // κδ [i]v[δικτιῶνος] θ

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 46, n 148; *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 285-286.

3. Pantokrator; katholikon (1362/3)

+ Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν σ[ῶν] / δούλων Ἀλεξίου κ(αὶ) Ἰωάννου / τῶν κτητορῶν κ(αὶ) αὐταδέλφ[ων] / ἐγένετο ἐν ἐτειξωα

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 49, n 158.

4. Vatopedi; courtyard; removed lintel of a door-frame (late 10th century) comes from the church of the St Nikolaos Trochalas cell (former old monydrion)

[+Κύρι]ε βοηθη τον δουλον σου Νηκολα[ον] [μοναχ]ο ταχα κε ηγουμενος της [---]

Literature: *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 284-285.

5. Lavra; library; removed; comes from the *phiale* and the bell-tower (1060)

Ἀριστον χρῆμα ἐξ ὕλης τῆς μαρμάρου

64 In the Cyrillic inscriptions Cat. 13, 23, 24 I quote the transcription (in Latin alphabet) given by *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil.

Κύπελον ὥσπερ χερσὶ τῶν λιθοξόων
 ἐξειργάσατο τοῦ φωτίσματος χάριν
 ὕδωρ ἐκβλύζειν καὶ ραντίζειν τοὺς πέριξ
 διειδέστατον ἀγιάσματος ἄγγος
 Ἰω(άννης) ὁ ἱερὸς ποιμενάρχης
 ἐγείρας ἅμα καὶ τὸ[ν] δόμον ἐκ βάθρω[ν]
 δόνακος λαμπροῦ ἀσφαλῆ κρεμαστ[ῆ]ρα
 σάλπιγγος δίκην ἀλαλάζοντο[ς] μέγα
 πρὸς τοὺς ὕμνους τε τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοῦ Λόγου
 ἀγγέροντο[ς] ἐν καιρῷ ψαλμωδίας
 τὴν παράταξιν τῶν δαιμόνων ὀλλύν[τος]
 σύντομον ἀρέμβαστο[ν] μέλποντ[ος] ασμα.
 Ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ἰγ' ἔτ[ους] ,ςφξη'.

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 107-108, n 333; *Rhoby*, Andreas. Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein, 184-186.

6. Lavra; removed marble sculpted slab (10th – 11th centuries); uncertain provenance

Σ(ταυροῦ) δ(υνάμει) δ(αίμονες) φ(ρίτουσσιν)
 Στ(αυ)ρου / σου Κ(ύρι)ε / τη ἰσχύ / η σοὺς οἱ / ικετας Ἀρσ / ἐνι / ον
 τε / Νιφωνα φρού / ρει +

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 129, n 393, (the cryptograms are not deciphered).

7. Lavra; katholikon; remains of the *catechumena* (today hidden in the roof); interior east wall (late 14th century)

[Τ]ον στ[αυ]ρωθέντ[α] Κ(ύρι)ον σαρκι εθελουσίως
 [ὁ] Καλληστο[ς] / ο αθλιος προσπίπτει μετα φόβου
 καὶ μνη / σθητί μου Κ(ύρι)ε ως ὁ ληστής / κραυγαζει: –

Literature: *Liakos*, Dimitrios. *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 287-289.

8. Vatopedi; katholikon (external west side of the exonarthex); re-used, comes from the building complex of the old refectory and the olive-press (1320)

Ανεκενισθη / η τραπεζα εν / ετει ρωκη / (ι)ν(δικτιων)ος γ
επηστατου̇ντο[ς] / του ιερο(μονα)χου κυρου Ν[ή]φ[ω]ν[ο]ς / κ(αι)
το ελετριβιον / ς θεου κ(αι) ἀρὰν (?).

Literature: *Mamaloukos*, Stavros. Το καθολικό της μονής Βατοπεδίου, 266-267.

9. Docheiari; removed; comes from the church of the depended cell (former old monastery) of the St John Baptist (1695)

Κατά τῷ ῥωγ' ἐκτίσθαι κ(αι) / ἀνιστορίθαι ὁ θεῖος οὗτος κ(αι) πάν/
σεπτος ναὸς τοῦ θείου καὶ ἐνδόξου προφήτου / Προδρόμου κ(αι)
Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω[ά]ννου· ἐπὶ τῆς βα / σιλείας τοῦ πανευσεβεστάτου
βασιλέως / Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλεολόγου· νῦν δὲ ἐ / κ βάθρων
ἀνεκενίσθη διὰ συνδρομῆς / κ(αι) ἐξόδου τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου
προηγούμενου Ἀνα / στασίου ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Δοχειαρίου·
δικαίβον / τος κυροῦ Βαρθολομαίου μοναχοῦ ἐν μηνὶ Μαίῳ /
ἔτους ,ζσγ· ἀπὸ Χ(ριστο)ῦ αχζε.

Literature: *Smyrnakis*, Gerasimos. Το Ἅγιον Ὅρος. Karyes, 1988³, 571; *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Unpublished Inscriptions, 301-303.

10. Vatopedi; old sacristy; manuscript n 16 (Evangelion, 1340/1)

+ Ἰωαννης ἐν / Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πι / στὸς Βασιλεύς /
καὶ αὐτοκρατω[ρ] / Ρωμαίων ὁ / Καντακουζην / νός

Literature: *Lampertz*, Erich. Η βιβλιοθήκη και τα χειρόγραφα της, 567 (fig. 513), 569; *Le Mont Athos et l' Empire byzantin*, 152-153, n 58 (P. Fotiadis).

11. Vatopedi; new sacristy; epitaphios (mid-14th century; before 1354)

Δωρον / ευσεβεστατου βασιλεως και / αυτοκράτωρος Ρωμαίων
/ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καντακουζηνού

τοῦ Βατοπεδίου

Literature: *Theochari*. Maria. Χρυσοκέντητα ἀμφία, 420-42.

12. Dionysiou; silver-gilded cross (first quarter of the 15th century)

Ἀνάθημα / Ελένης δε / σποίνης Ρω / μαίων της / Παλαιοῦ /
ογίνης συζύ / γου βασιλέως / Μανουήλ του / Παλαιολό / γου
θυγατρος / του Δραγα / αυθέντου της [Σ]ερβί / ας.

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 159, n 461.

13. St Paul; old katholikon (1447); non-surviving today

Prēstaa Troice I prēbžstvnaa chramī tvoi sūi utvrīdi / mslit-
vami prēcistie Vldčce naš Bce i stgo i slavnago ve / likomčka Geor-
gia. Iēt. 709, ind. I kroug. Slncu AI lun A.

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 143-144, n 426.

14. Vatopedi; chapel of St Anargyroi (external west wall of the main church, repainted in 1847)

Δείσις τοῦ δοῦλου τοῦ Θεοῦ / εὐσεβεστάτου δεσπότη / Ἰωάννου
τοῦ Οὐγγλεση

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 33, n 105.

15. Lavra; katholikon; icon of St Athanasios (1364 – c. 1377, repainted in the 16th century)

+ Ἰωαννης / Βλαντισλ/αβος μεγα/ς βοεβοδας εν / Χ(ριστ)ῶ / τω
θ(ε)ῶ πιστος αυ/θεντης κε αυτοκρατορ πασ/ης Ουγκροβλαχιας

+ Αννα ευσεβ/εστατη μεγ/αλη βοεβοδ/ισα εν Χ(ριστ)ῶ [τ]/ῶ Θ(ε)
ῶ πιστη κε

αυτοκρα/τορισα πασης / Ουγκροβλαχιας

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil,

akos, Dimitrios. Η συλλογή των παναγιαρίων.

20. Dionysiou; St Nephon's reliquary (1514/5)

Αυτη τη σεβασμία και αγια λαρναξας εστη του παναγιοτατου
αρχιεπισκοπου Κονσταντινουπολεως του κιο Νηφωνος Νεας
Ρομη[ς] και Οικουμενηκου Πατριαρχου η / κονωμηθη δὲ κα(ι)
ετεληωθη εν Χ(ριστ)ω το θ(ε)ω παρα του ευσεβαιστατου κα(ι)
φιλοχ[ρίστ]ων / [αὐθέντου Νεάγκου ἐ]κμηθη εκη ο πα[τριάρχης
ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ καὶ ἀγία μονῇ] του Τιμίου Προδρόμου [καὶ
βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου] / [ἐ]κμηθη εκη ο παν[α]γιωτ[ατος] τημ[ιος]
πατηρ κ(αὶ) φωστηρ [---] επι ετους ,ζκγ'

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil,
161-162, n 465; *Fousteris*, Georgios, Η λειψανοθήκη, 463-466.

21. Iviron; sacristy; revetment (1512 – 1521) of the 11th – 12th centuries Lectionary

ΑΖΒ Ϛ ΑΒΓ ΤΑΡΒ Η ΙΩ ΝΥΓΟΓ ΒΟΕΒΟΔΑ ΑΚΟΒΑ ΣΒΗ Η
ΤΕΤΡΗΕΨΑΓΓΑ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑ ΑΒΕΡΙΨΜΒ

Literature: *Liakos*, Dimitrios, Η δωροδοσία, 318-319.

22. Dionysiou; tower (1519/20)

+ Ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρων οὗτος ὁ πύργος / διὰ συνδρομῆς κ(αὶ)
ἐξόδου τοῦ εὐσε/βεστάτου αὐθέντος Ἰω[άνν]ου Νεάγκου βοεβόδα
/ τῆς Βλαχίας ἐν ἔτει ,ζκη

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil,
171, n 494.

23. St Paul; tower (1521/2)

Izvoleniemŭ otca. I pospěšeniemŭ snā. i sŭvrŭšeniemŭ styō dĉha./
vi Ćha Bŭ tġoljubni I blġōvĕrni. Io Nĕgoe voevoda ĭ snĭ ego Theo-
sie / voevoda. i gospodary zemli Ugrovlachiiskoi i novi ktitorie /
stġo chrama sego siivoriše sĭi pirŭġŭ na uspokoenie semu / monas-
tiru I ġspdstvu mi paminoke vŭ lĕto ZĀ sŭzdase.

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 152, n 446.

24. St Paul; removed; comes from the sea side tower (first half of the 16th century)

+ Nače siju pirgu Nėgœ / voevoda i sŭvrŭši ego Petru voe / voda i Θεodorŭ klu

Literature: *Millet – Pargoire – Petit*, Gabriel – Jules – Louis. Recueil, 153, n 447; *Liakos*, Dimitrios. Recent information, 274-275 (**Fig. 5**).

Византийските и поствизантийските ктиторски надписи от Света гора в исторически и археологически контекст

Димитриос Лякос



В това изследване се предлагат някои гледни точки от ктиторската дейност на Света гора между X и XVI в. на базата на групата от ктиторски надписи върху монументални и преносими произведения на изкуството от периода. Данните от надписите се вписват в по-широка историческа рамка, като се има предвид информацията от писаните извори и от археологическите данни.

В малобройните оцелели надписи от византийски паметници на монументалното изкуство, от които едни са *in situ*, други са използвани повторно в по-късни постройки, а трети се палят в ризници и библиотеки, се различават две нива на информация. При някои от тях се споменава само годината на издигане на сградата и съответният индикт, докато при други се изписват и имената на дарителите. В един от случаите се цитира и надзираващият строежа на сградата, което е вероятно рядка за автора практика.

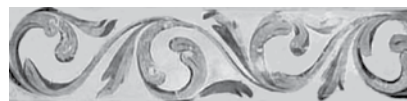
Някои вече изгубени византийски ктиторски надписи са известни само от изворите. Други пък вече са изчезнали, но се преписват от по-късни надписи, както понякога се установява в изворите.

Преносимите произведения на изкуството с надписи от византийската епоха, които са достигнали до нас, също са малко.

От общия брой на епиграфския материал от вековете след падането на Константинопол в ръцете на османците тук са представени някои ктиторски надписи, свързани с владетелите на Молдовлахия и най-вече на Нягое Бесараб (1512 – 1521) и Стефан VI (1457 – 1504). Тези славни „наследници“ на византийските императори даряват ценни произведения на изкуството и литургични предмети, подпомагат материално издигането на сграда като арсани, пиргове и др. на Атон.

Информацията, предоставяна от надписите на православните владетели, се свежда до споменаване на имената на ктиторите и техните велможи. В един надпис се изписва името на владетеля, както и на аристократа, който е бил натоварен със задължение-

то да надзирава строителните работи. Влиянието на византийската традиция се усеща в определението им като *εὐσεβέστατων ἀνθέωντων* и в друг казус с използването на фразата *ελέω θεού*. Важно е да се спомене освен това, че в манастирите, чиито братства произхождат от различни краища на Балканите, монументалните ктиторски надписи са кирилски, докато в обителите с гръцки монаси тези надписи са на гръцки. От друга страна, произведенията на изкуството, дарени от отвъддунавските владетели, са понякога на черковнославянски, понякога на гръцки – по различни причини във всеки конкретен случай.



On the Term “Daskal” and the Chronological Systems in Use in Some Inscriptions from Arbanassi, Bulgaria*

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Abstract: The article examines the meaning of the title “daskal” («δάσκαλος») used by the painters according to the inscriptions in the churches of Arbanassi, comparing the appearance of the term here and in other parts of the Balkans. An attempt for interpretation of the lack of correspondence between the dates mentioned in the mural paintings in the Saint Charalampos’ chapel of the church of Saint Athanasius have been made in the text.

Keywords: Arbanassi, “daskal”, icon-painters, St Charalampos, Balkan culture

The town of Arbanassi is situated 4.5 kilometers northeast of Veliko Tarnovo in present day Bulgaria. It is mostly known for its surviving churches, but also for its secular buildings¹.

Arbanassi, as its name suggests, was originally a village founded by Albanian speaking people, albeit in a Slavic speaking environment. We can actually trace its foundation and growth as depicted in surviving Ottoman sources.

Arbanassi did not exist in the Nikopol *sancak icmal defter* dated in the

* I would like to thank Prof. Ivanka Gergova for the interest she showed in my research and her advice, and Prof. Emmanuel Moutafov for inviting me to the conference and making available to me inaccessible Bulgarian articles.

1 A general survey of the churches of Arbanassi can be found in Vachev, Hitko. Tsarkovniat ansambal v Arbanassi. Varna, 2006. Cfr. Haritonov, Hristo – Chohadjieva, Galya – Raceva, Svetozaara. Arbanassi. Sofia, 2003.

1470^{s2}. Two generations later though, we find it in a *Vakf* and *Mulk defter* of the same *sancak* shortly after 1544. In this defter the village bears two names: the first was ‘*Yaylak*’ which is a Turkish term meaning “pasture” (winter or summer), but it was also called “Arnavud Koy” which in Turkish means exactly “Albanian village” or Arbanassi³. It is apparent that the founding of the village did not occur for a long period before the compilation of the register, since the name of the empty place where the village was built was still in use. We must also rule out the chance of a preexisting medieval village because in that case the name should be of Slavic origin. At any rate, the use of the term ‘*yaylak*’, which can be found in many places and several languages around the Ottoman Balkans, shows that the Ottomans found there an empty space used only by shepherds.

The next Ottoman register at our disposal is a *mufassal defter*, a detailed one, from around 1550 which contains a very important and exceptional narration about the history of the village in the form of a note. According to it, Arbanassi was founded sometime shortly after the year 1500 by an Ottoman magnate called Hilmi Celebi who possessed full ownership of it (*mülk*) and not as a *timar*, as was the norm at the time⁴. This gave Arbanassi a special and favourable fiscal status since the amount of taxes due would not increase despite any growth in population or production. Apart from this, Hilmi secured for the village the status of *derbend*, meaning that the settlers would be exempt from all kinds of extraordinary taxes, be they monetary or in goods or in labour, and in exchange they would have to guard roads and passages and protect the travellers. It is very probable that the Christian Albanian-speaking settlers were brought there as a result of Sultan Bayezid II’s Albanian campaign of 1492 and that they possibly were not strangers in the use of weaponry⁵. In such a way the Ottoman state would get potentially dangerous subjects away from the places where they could be the cause of unrest and at the

2 Kiel, Machiel. Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period. Assen/Maastricht, 1985, 111. Cfr. the oldest views as summarized in *Kyriakoudis*, Evangelos. The original founders’ inscription and frescoes in the church of the Nativity at Arbanasi in Bulgaria. – *Cyrrillomethodianum*, 1984-1985, N 8-9, 320-321.

3 Kiel, Machiel. Art and Society, 112.

4 Kiel, Machiel. Art and Society, 112-114. On timars and their sizes see *Mutafchieva*, Vera. Agrarian relations in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries. New York, 1988, 1-60, especially 27-33.

5 Kiel, Machiel. Art and Society, 114.

same time make them offer their services to the empire.

The favourable fiscal status of Arbanassi was repeatedly confirmed in all registers, the last one dating from 1579/80, and by all owners, judges and sultans and this is where we should seek the origins and the explanation of the flourishing of Christian art in the, soon to be, town. The above can be more clearly demonstrated if we examine the demographic data provided by the registers in the following chart⁶:

<i>year</i>	<i>families</i>	<i>estimated population</i>	<i>unmarried men</i>
c.1544	63	260	77
c.1550	169	670	59
1579/80	271	1120	277

It should be no surprise that the oldest surviving monuments of Arbanassi date back to this exact period of steep and abnormal population growth, with tendencies for further growth as the high number of young unmarried men shows. Apparently, people were flowing in the village, especially Greek- and Albanian-speaking from Epirus, because the more than 300% increase of the population cannot be explained through any calculation of natural growth.

The expansion of the town and the flourishing of Christian art continued in the 17th century as well, when at least five churches were built (or rebuilt) and no less than seven layers of murals were commissioned. The church of Saint Athanasius, a vaulted single nave building with a narthex, is one of the churches built at that time and painted in 1667⁷. Almost half a century later the chapel of

6 The data can be found in *Kiel, Machiel. Art and Society*, 114 and 115. The bachelors are not added to the population, since they are members of the already counted families and included in them. We use the coefficient 4.14 in order to estimate the population. For this coefficient see *Ασδραχάς, Σπύρος. Μηχανισμοί της αγροτικής οικονομίας στην Τουρκοκρατία. Αθήνα, 1978, 49*. This coefficient is confirmed in *Κόμης, Κώστας. Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της Μάνης 15^{ος} – 19^{ος} αιώνας. Ιωάννινα, 1995, 131*. Earlier researchers, along with Kiel, had adopted the coefficient 5 because it shows an order of magnitude easily compared with others and not because it is closer to reality. On this see *Lowry, Heath. The islamization & turkification of the city of Trabzon (Trebizon) 1461 – 1583. Istanbul, 2009² [in English, the first edition in Turkish was in 1981], 31, note 81*. In recent years smaller, and more rational, coefficients prevailed that are close to 4. See *Lowry, Heath. Fifteenth century Ottoman realities, Christian peasant life on the Aegean island of Limnos. Istanbul, 2002, 50*.

7 On the church of Saint Athanasius see *Ratseva, Svetozara. Tsarkvata "Sv. Atanasii" v Arbanassi i tradiciite na Epirskoto atelie. Veliko Tarnovo, 2005*. An external view can be seen on page 33 and a plan between pages 44-45. At this point, we must thank the good colleague Svetozara Ratseva



Fig. 1. Inscription in greek from 1726/5 over the south window, St Charalampos chapel in St Athanasius church, Arbanassi

Saint Charalampos to the south was painted as well⁸. These works are commemorated in two inscriptions above two windows of the southern wall⁹. The one above the first from the east reads as follows (Fig. 1):

✝ ΕΣΤΟΡΙ · ΤΩ ΠΑ·ΡΟΗ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΙΣΕΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕ
ΒΟΝΤΩΣ ΤΩ ΠΑΝΉΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΙΜΉΝ·ΚΪΡΙΟΥ ΚΪΡΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΪΦΟΡΟΥ
ΚΈ ΙΕΡΑΤΕΒΟΝΤΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΉΕΡΕΟΝ·ΤΟΥ ΝΪΚΩΛΟ ΚΕ ΙΟΆΝΟΥ·ΘΕΟΛΟΡΟΥ
ΚΕ· ΈΠΕΤΡΟΠΕΒΟΝ[Τ]Ο ΣΤΑΜΟΥ·ΚΕ ΆΒΡΑΜ ·ΕΤΙ ΑΠΟ ΑΔΑΜ ,Ζ Σ Λ Δ

1724 απο χρίστοϋ · ΑΨΚΔ

Its content can be rendered as: This hereby chapel was painted in the time of metropolitan Nikiforos, when Nicholas and Ioannis son of Theodore were priests and when Stamos and Abraham were wardens. In the year 7234 (=1726/5) after Creation. After Christ 1724.

The apparent discordance between the two given dates has created a slight confusion as to which is the exact date of the church's painting. Trying to look into this issue, and maybe resolve it, we approached the given data bearing in mind professor Velenis' studies on the

who very promptly sent us a digital copy of her study.

8 Ratseva, Svetozara. Tsarkvata "Sv. Atanasii", 153-163.

9 The inscriptions are published in Ratseva, Svetozara. Tsarkvata "Sv. Atanasii", 153 and fig. 94-95 on page 166 and in Gergova, Ivanka – Popova, Elena – Genova, Elena – Klisarov, Nikolay. Korpus na stenopisite v Bulgaria ot XVIII vek. Sofia, 2006, 146.

chronological systems in use during the Ottoman period¹⁰. The fact that the month or the indiction are not given adds an extra difficulty to the task. Anyway, our efforts to fit the two dates in chronological systems that would bring them in accordance have not been fruitful. Using the “improved byzantine” system or setting the beginning of the year in a March date¹¹ also would not help. So, are we dealing with an obvious mistake of the painters?

The solution is quite mundane, if the term may be used. On the left of the last verse of the inscription there are some traces of letters still visible¹². Although, nothing can be safely discerned, except maybe an ‘Α’, a ‘Λ’ and maybe a ‘Ι’, we can suppose that after finishing the main inscription it was pointed out to the painters that an event that took place two years earlier should also be noted. The only such event can be, without a doubt, the adding of Saint Charalampos’ chapel to the already existing church. So I think we would not stand far from

✙ ИСПІСА · СІА · ЦРКВА · ДАСКΑΛ · ЦОІО · Й НЕДІО · ВЪ ЛѢТО · ГДТ · АДАМА · 3 · С · Л · Д ·

reality if we accept that the last verse contained something like “it was built in 1724”. Unfortunately, the building itself cannot offer us any evidence. The thick layer of plaster covering all walls do not allow us to make any further observations in this direction.

The second inscription is situated above the middle window of the southern wall of the chapel and it reads as follows (Fig. 2):

Which can be translated as: this church was painted by “daskal” Tsoio and Nedio in the year 7234 (=1726/5) from the Creation.

This artistic inscription gives us the names of the painters and confirms the date of the paintings. Furthermore, we can establish by way of comparison that the painter that wrote this one wrote the last verse of the other. So, as is implied by the names of the painters, we are dealing

10 Βελένης, Γεώργιος. Χρονολογικά συστήματα σε επιγραφές και χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών χρόνων. In: Πρακτικά του 3' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας, Δράμα 21 – 27/9/2003 (eds. Βασίλειος Ατσαλος, Νίκη Τσιρώνη). Αθήνα, 2008, Vol. II, 659-679, especially 664-671.

11 Βελένης, Γεώργιος. Χρονολογικά συστήματα, 660-661 and 666.

12 This observation was made by professor Velenis and I thank him for that.



Fig. 2. Inscription in Slavic from 1726/5 over the south window, St Charalampos chapel in St Athanasius church, Arbanassi, Bulgaria

with a bilingual workshop of painters that can write both in Slavic and in Greek¹³.

The term “daskal” used by Tsojo derives of course from the Greek noun δάσκαλος or διδάσκαλος which means ‘teacher’. Teaching is a common course of action in any profession, let alone pre-modern religious painting¹⁴. So it is not a surprise that already in the late 15th and all the way to the late 17th centuries we have archival testimonies, unfortunately solely from Venetian dominated areas like Crete and the Ionian Islands, that show us how a boy would be taken to a painter and there he would learn to paint, usually over a period of several years¹⁵. We must also mention two cases of boys that are taken to a painter in order to learn how to paint and in the contract it is stated that they must become “daskaloi” of the profession¹⁶.

Furthermore, from the 16th century onwards we have testimonies from the same areas showing that the boys would be trusted to the painters not only to learn how to paint, but also to learn what they would normally be taught in a common school¹⁷. So, it can be no surprise that painters are

13 The accompanying inscriptions are all written in Greek, *Ratseva*, Svetozara. Tsarkvata “Sv. Atanasii”, 165-172, fig. 93-104. On bilingual painters’ workshops see *Velenis*, Georgios. Heterojezičke slikarske radionice i bilingvalni slikari. In: Σύμμεκτα – Zbornik radova povodom četrdeset godina Instituta za istoriju umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu (ed. Ivan Stevović). Beograd, 2012, 211-226. See also *Gergova*, Ivanka. Zografat kato pisatel i chital. In: *Filologia, istoria, izkustvoznanie*. Sbornik v chest na Prof. Stefan Smiadovski, Sofia, 2010, 269-287, on page 271.

14 For apprenticeship in professions of the pre-modern Balkans see *Παπαγεωργίου*, Γιώργος. Η μαθητεία στα επαγγέλματα (16^{ος} – 20^{ος} αι.). Αθήνα, 1986.

15 *Χατζηδάκης*, Μανόλης – *Δρακοπούλου*, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450 – 1830). Αθήνα, 1997, Vol. II, 50 (Καιροφύλας Ιωάννης), 59 (Κάλμπος Νικόλαος), 72-73 (Καρύδης Ιωάννης), 166 (Μάνεσης Μανόλης, 188 (Μηνιάτης Αντώνιος), 259-264 (Παβίας Ανδρέας) and 381 (Στρελίτζας Γεώργιος).

16 *Χατζηδάκης*, Μανόλης – *Δρακοπούλου*, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 106 (Κοντογενάδας Νικόλαος) who is the teacher of the painter-to-be Alexandros Belefandis and 276 (Παπαδόπουλος Αντώνιος 2). Cfr. *Χατζηδάκης*, Μανόλης – *Δρακοπούλου*, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 60 (Καλογεράς Μακάριος) who is the actual painter-teacher. Surprisingly both teachers of painting are not referred to as such.

17 *Χατζηδάκης*, Μανόλης. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830). Αθήνα, 1987,

called δάσκαλοι, teachers.

In spite of the above, though, upon closer examination, several things look off. For instance, none of these painters and teachers signs his work as “daskalos”, as we know at least for the few whose work survives. For example, the renowned painters that were undertaking pupils Andreas Pavia, Ieremias Palladas, Filotheos Skoufos and Theodoros Poulakis never signed any of their surviving works as daskaloi¹⁸.

Apart from this, there are cases of painters that although did not teach, or at least our testimonies for them are out of the context of teaching, they are still called “daskaloi”. For example, the famous Theophanes Strelitzas is called “didaskalos” in three of the several surviving documents concerning him. They are the ones from the Lavra Monastery from 1540 and 1543¹⁹. One can wonder why others did not call him a teacher. Or why he never gave this title to himself in one of his inscriptions. The same pattern goes for another famous painter, Michail Damaskinos who is even called “daskalos” in an Italian document²⁰, although no contract of apprenticeship survives nor he ever signed as a “daskalos”. There are several other instances dating from the 16th through the 19th century where the painters are called “daskaloi” out of the context of teaching, for example in contracts, short chronicles, logistic books and community codices²¹.

Vol. I, 145 (Αγαπητός Μιχαήλ). Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης – Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 180 (Μαυρίκης Αντώνιος), 185 (Μεσσήνης Σπυρίδων), 267-272 (Παλλαδάς Ιερεμίας), 304-317 (Πουλάκης Θεόδωρος), 287 (Περικουλιάνος Φίλιππος), 363-368 (Σκούφος Φιλόθεος) and 378 (Στέντας Σπυρίδων). We must add to these cases two more from lives of saints. The first is the case of Saint Pimin of Sofia, who died in 1620 and was himself a painter. In his *hagiography* it is said that he was sent to learn reading, writing and painting to a monk from the Athos monastery of Zographou called Thomas. On this see Γερζοβα, Иванка. Зографът като писарец, 269. The second case is very similar and is dated in the second half of the 18th century. Saint Theodore of Byzantium was sent to the painter Dimitrios to learn reading, writing and painting, Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450 – 1850). Αθήνα, 2010, Vol. III, 264 (Δημήτριος 56).

18 Cfr. notes 15 and 17 above.

19 Chatzidakis, Manolis, Recherches sur le peintre Théophane le Crétoise. – *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1969 – 1970, N 23-24, 309-352, on pages 345-346. Cfr. Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης – Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 382 (Στρελίτζας Θεοφάνης).

20 Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 232-242, on page 234. Cfr. Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης – Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 241-254.

21 Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 157 (Αθανάσιος 5) and 232 (Γριπιώτης Ιωάννης), Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 218 (Γεώργιος 46), Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης – Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 56-57 (Καλ[λ]έγγης Χριστόδουλος), 74 (Κασωμάτης Ανδρέας), 135-136 (Κωνσταντίνος 16), 222-223 (Μπορής Αντώνιος), 249-260 (Ντελούσας Ιωάννης), 279 (Παπαντώνης Θεόδωρος also called Γεωργιάς), 337 (Ρωμανός Λουκάς), 380 (Στραβοσχιάδης Ιωάννης), 424 (Τζάνες Κωνσταντίνος also called Μπουνιαλής), 440 (Τουτούς

A striking case is the one of the “holy didaskalos” Avgerinos from Vostitsa in the Peloponnese, certainly a painter, who ordered in 1696 a painting manual to be copied for him²². So, although he is referred to as “daskalos”, he does not have the ability to copy a manuscript. It is clear then, that the painters who were called “daskaloi” did not necessarily possess a high education.

We will also mention Christodoulos Kalergis²³, active from 1694 until at least 1740, from Mykonos who has not signed any of his works as “daskalos”. He used this term in only one amongst the dozens of documents he has written and signed for himself or others²⁴. On the other hand, there are at least 8 notes or mentions of him by others, even on the same documents mentioned above, that refer to him as “daskalos”²⁵.

In the same way, the painters Constantinos and Athanasios from Korce are referred to as the “most learned didaskaloi” in their contract with Xiropotamou monastery of 1782, but they never signed their works as such²⁶.

So, who and why was signing his work as a “daskalos”? Let us first see some examples from all over the Balkans.

In the monastery Karlukovo in 1602, the painter Nedelko is the first painter that uses this term and on top of that in a Slavic environment and inscription²⁷.

The “daskal” Kirjak mentioned in the 1633 inscription²⁸ of the Annunciation monastery in the Ovcar-Kablar Gorge most certainly must be the painter

Μιχελής) και 456 (Χαρκιόπουλος Δημήτριος).

22 Νέσσερης, Ηλίας. Τα άγνωστα επιγράμματα του κωδ. ΕΒΕ 1907 (olim Βυλίζης). Προόδρομη ανακοίνωση. In: Η Ιερά Μονή Βύλιζας στον τόπο και το χρόνο-Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου (eds. Κώστας Κωνσταντινίδης, Ηλίας Νέσσερης). Ιωάννινα, 2014, 137-162, on pages 139-140 and 159 (image 2).

23 See above note 21.

24 Ανωμερίτης, Γιώργος. Η ζωή και το έργο του αγιογράφου Χριστόδουλου Καλέργη “εκ νήσου Μυκόνου”. Αθήνα, 2013, 27 and 99 (image of the document).

25 Ανωμερίτης, Γιώργος. Η ζωή και το έργο, 26-27, 29-30, 107, 116, 118, 126.

26 Τσιγάρας, Γεώργιος. Οι ζωγράφοι Κωνσταντίνος και Αθανάσιος από την Κορυτσά-Το έργο τους στο Άγιον Όρος (1752 – 1783). Αθήνα, 2003, 47-49, 35-46 and 303-307.

27 Pandurski, Vasil. Manastirskata stenna zhivopis v Karlukovo. Sofia, 2002, 193-194; Kuneva, Tsveta. Karlukovski manastir “Uspenie Bogorodichno”. In: Korpus na stenopisite ot XVII vek v Bulgaria (eds. Bissierka Penkova, Tsveta Kuneva). Sofia, 2002, 21.

28 Pejić, Svetlana – Pešić, Blagota. Blagoveštenje kablarsko-Prvobitna prostorna struktura i enterijer. – Zograf, 1995, N 24, 90-106 on page 94.

of the church, since he did not fail to paint his namesake saint in a corner of the narthex²⁹.

In the last quarter of the 17th century the Wallachian painter Pârveu the Mute used the term “dascalul” for himself, along with the term “zugravul” which derives from a Greek word as well³⁰.

From 1680 until 1718 the painter Dimitrije from the bay of Kotor was using the term “daskal” for himself and so did his son Rafail Dimitrijevic after him³¹.

In 1685 the painter of the icons of the church of the Annunciation in Vithkuq signed as a “daskalos”, but his name is not preserved until today³².

From the end of the 17th century and all through the first quarter of the 18th century a workshop of painters, probably originating from Trjavna close to Tarnovo³³, used the term daskal, but only for the leader painter. Daskal Nedio painted sometime towards the end of the 17th century the church of the Virgin in Arbanassi³⁴. By 1704 Nedio was probably no longer alive and the group comprised of “daskal” Krsto, Tsojo and Gergi and painted the chapel of Saint Trinity attached to the above mentioned church of the Virgin in Arbanassi³⁵. Probably this is the earliest appearance of Tsojo that over two decades later painted the chapel of Saint Haralampos. A few years later, in 1709, “daskal” Krsto and Tsojo painted the church of Saint George again in Arbanassi³⁶. As we already mentioned above, by 1726,

29 *Rajić, Delfina – Timotijević, Miloš. Manastiri Ovčarsko-kablarske klisure. Čačak – Beograd, 2012, 273.*

30 *Stošić, Ljiljana. Srpska umetnost 1690-1740, Beograd, 2006, 93-94.*

31 *Raičević, Slobodan. Slikarstvo Crne Gore u novom vijeku. Podgorica, 1996, 133-138. Rakić, Zoran. Bokokotorski slikar Dimitrije i Manastir Morača (eds. Branislav Todić, Danica Popović). Beograd, 2006, 213-248. Stošić, Ljiljana. The Bay of Cattaro (Kotor) School of Icon-Painting 1680-1860. – Balcanica, 2014, N 45, 187-202, especially 187-188.*

32 *Popa, Theofan, Mbishkrime të kishave në Shqipëri, Tiranë, 1998, 162 and Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Εικόνες από τις Ορθόδοξες Κοινότητες της Αλβανίας. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2006, 116-117. At this point, I must thank the good friend and colleague Kostas Giakoumis for bringing these icons to my attention.*

33 *Gergova, Ivanka. Novi fakti za nachaloto na zhivopista na Tryavna. – Izkustvo, 1978, N 3-4, 72-74.*

34 *Gergova, Ivanka. Tsarkvata na arbanashkia manastir “Uspenie Bogorodichno”. – Problemi na izkustvoto, 1999, N 1, 9-18 Gergova, Ivanka – Kuneva, Tsveta. Arbanashki manastir “Uspenie Bogorodichno”. In: Korpus na stenopisite ot XVII vek v Bulgaria (eds. Bissverka Penkova, Tsveta Kuneva). Sofia, 2002, 173.*

35 *Gergova, Ivanka – Popova, Elena – Genova, Elena – Klisarov, Nikolay. Korpus na stenopisite. 98-99 and Gergova, Ivanka. Tsarkvata na arbanashkia manastir, 14.*

36 *Gergova, Ivanka – Popova, Elena – Genova, Elena – Klisarov, Nikolay. Korpus na stenopisite,*

“daskal” Tsojo had taken over the group and he had with him Nedio, probably a grandson of the first Nedio.

The first painter from predominantly Greek-speaking lands that used the term “daskalos” when signing his work appeared around the same period. It was Panagiotis Klirodetis from Mani and he painted the church of Christ the Lifegiver in the village Germa in 1725³⁷. This was Klirodetis’ first work, while his last was several decades later. The question arises as to why he never used the term “daskalos” again.

More than a century later, in 1840, the painter Dimitri from Samokov signed the paintings of a chapel of the Catholicon of the Rila Monastery as “proto daskal”³⁸. This verbal construction is obviously influenced by the term “protomastor” used in the guilds, although painters did not belong to guilds in the Ottoman Balkans.

The latest known to us case of a painter that used the term “daskalos” in an inscription is the one of Dimitrios Anagnostou³⁹. After painting for over a decade alongside his father, he started working alone and only at the end of his career he signed a painting of the Second Coming of Christ in his native village of Plesia close to Ioannina using the term *didaskalos* in 1852 (Fig. 3)⁴⁰.

From the first half of the 19th century we have some more testimonies from painters that were using the term *daskalos*, but not when signing their work. The first one comes from the German traveller Bartholdy who visited Athens in 1803 and there he met a painter “who had named himself *didaskalos*”⁴¹.

122-123 and *Gergova*, Ivanka. Tsarkvata Sv. Georgi v Arbanassi. – *Problemi na izkustvoto*, 2005, N 3, 47-53, on pages 49-50.

37 Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης – *Δρακοπούλου*, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 81 (Κληροδέτης Παναγιώτης).

38 *Τάπανο*, Stefan. Rezultati ot prouchvaneto i restavraciata na stenopisite v paraklisa “Uspenie na sv. Ivan Rilski” v Rilska manastir. – *Problemi na izkustvoto*, 2010, N 4, 15-17 and *Kuyumdzhiev*, Alexander. Stenopisite v glavната tsarkva na Rilska manastir. Sofia, 2015, 585.

39 *Δρακοπούλου*, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 263 (Δημήτριος 55).

40 The paintings and the inscription are not published.

41 *Bartholdy*, Jakob. Voyage en Grèce. Paris, 1807, Vol. II, 108.

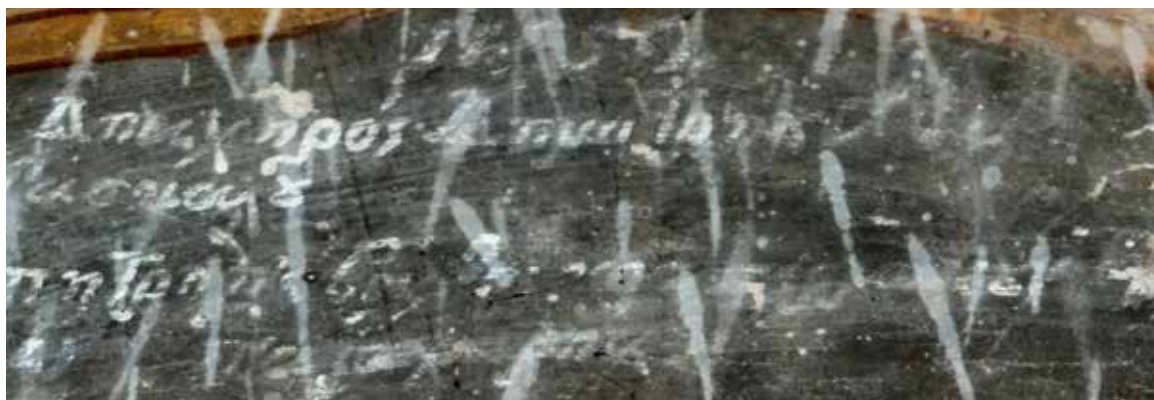


Fig. 3. Inscription from 1852 from the painting of the Second Coming of Christ, eastern wall of the narthex of the Virgin's church, Plesia, Greece

A few years later in 1809, the painters Athanasios⁴² and Georgios⁴³ from Fortossi close to Ioannina did not call themselves “daskaloi” in the inscription of the church of Saint Paraskevi in Chuliardes⁴⁴, a village close to their own. In the Prothesis apse though they reserved a special panel which they entitled “ton daskalon” (Fig. 4), of the “daskaloi”, where they commemorated the names of their family:

✝ τον δασκαλον τα ονοματα
 καικημμενα · νικολαου παναγιωτου · ξαυκουστις · γαρουφος
 παναγιωτου · χρισαφος · αθανασιου νερεος · κοσταντινου
 λαμπρος · λαπρος · γεωργιου · ανκελος · βασιλικης πρεσβιτερας
 παρθενιας μοναχισ · ιωαννου · σουλτανας · μαριας ·
 χριστοδουλου · ξανθος · στεργιου · αγορος · παρθενιου μοναχου · σταθος
 νηκολαου · χαυδος · βασιλίου · [...]ις · δεσπος · ηρανου ηερεος
 και τον τεκνον·

42 Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 159 (Αθανάσιος 12), Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης – Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 297-298 (Πλακίδας Αθανάσιος) and Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 148-149 (Αθανάσιος 10).

43 Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 224 (Γεώργιος 39) and 225 (Γεώργιος 43). Δρακοπούλου, Ευγενία. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι, 218 (Γεώργιος 43).

44 Μανόπουλος, Γρηγόρης. Η δραστηριότητα των Κατσάνων ζωγράφων στα Τζουμέρκα. – Τζουμερκιώτικα Χρονικά, 2013, Ν 14, 189-190.

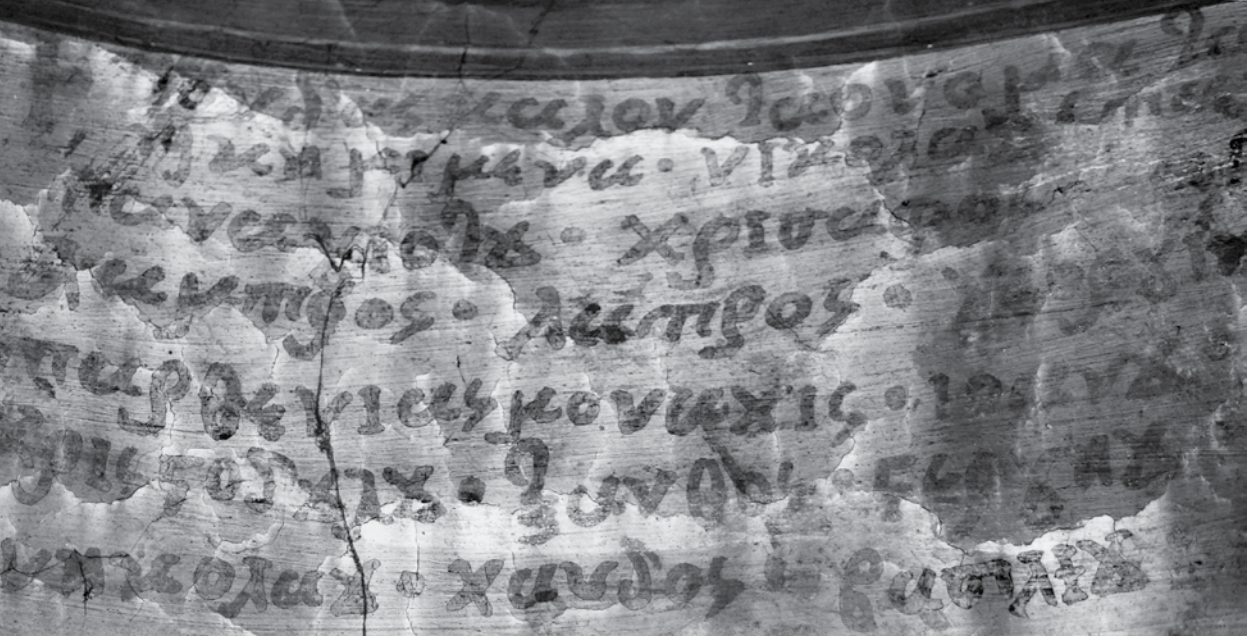


Fig. 4. Inscription dated in 1809 from the Prothesis apse, sanctuary of St Paraskevi church, Chuliarades, Greece

More than twenty years later the above painter Georgios was painting, along with others, the church of the Virgin in Sistruni⁴⁵, close to Ioannina, and there he placed again in a panel of the Prothesis the names of the “didaskaloi” which of course coincide with the ones of the previous church (Fig. 5):

κιμμενα
 ✚
 τον δηδ[α]
 σκαλον τα ο[ν]ο
 ματα • νικωλαου
 λαμπρος • αθανα
 σην υερεος • χριστο
 δου[λου]

So is there a way to propose a single interpretation of the use of this term? We think not. It is obvious that in the early uses in the

45 Μανόπουλος, Γρηγόρης. Η δραστηριότητα των ζωγράφων από τα Κατσανοχώρια στη Λάκκα Σουλίου και την ευρύτερη περιοχή. In: Πρακτικά του Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου “Λάκκα Σουλίου. Νέες ιστορικές και αρχαιολογικές καταγραφές” (eds. Σταύρος Μαμαλούκος, Γιώργος Ρήγινος, Michael Stork). Θεσπρωτικό-Αθήνα 2013, 239-240.



Fig. 5. Inscription dated in the decade of 1830 from the Prothesis apse, sanctuary of the Virgin's church, Sistrouni, Greece

archival evidence “daskaloi” meant teachers. It was also a convenient translation of the title “maestro” and its variations that were used in the Italian documents. We must point out that at that time the term was not used in inscriptions and in our opinion this was happening because it could create confusion to Greek-speaking people as to whether the “daskalos” mentioned was a painter or an actual teacher. In spite of that, even in this early period several painters were called “daskaloi”, as if the term meant just ‘painter’.

From the Venetian dominated areas the term passed to or was copied by the painters of the Ottoman Balkans. Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence as to how this transition occurred, but it was completed before the beginning of the 17th century. The use of the term “daskal”

by painters of Slavic (Bulgarian and Serbian), Wallachian (Romanian) and Albanian origin until the first quarter of the 18th century shows, in our opinion, that people who were not at risk of creating confusion did not avoid using the term. We should also not exclude that maybe in these cases the title “daskal” was a sign that the painter could write and maybe speak Greek.

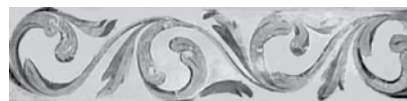
The sporadic use of the term by Greek-speaking painters until the middle of the 19th century, when at the same time the evidence about painters being teachers became scarce, maybe demonstrates that for a certain audience the term “daskal” meant actually ‘painter’.

Титлата „даскал“ и системите за датиране в надписите от с. Арбанаси

Григориос Манопулос



Въз основа на надписите от храмовете, които се намират в с. Арбанаси, авторът се опитва да обясни титлата „даскал“ („δάσκαλος“), използвана от зографите, сравнявайки нейната поява тук и в други части на Балканите. Освен това в този текст се прави опит за тълкуване на съществуващото несъответствие между датата, спомената в надписите на стенописите в параклиса „Св. Харалампий“ на църквата „Св. Атанасий“. За нея Г. Манопулос допуска съществуване на известна грешка или употребата на различни хронологични системи.



Textual Visuality & Visual Textuality in Texts Correlated with Artworks. Nektarios Terpos' *Pistis* and Last Judgement Scenes from Myzeqe, central Albania*

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Abstract: This paper looks onto the relation between the visual embedded in narrative technique (text) and the textual embedded in visual technique (image). In doing so, I am illustrating the interplay between text and imagery integrated not in one and the same artwork, but in a spatial – service unity, thereby suggesting a conscious relation between an artist and a priest-preacher in a church or a monastery. My thesis is that complementarity and interdependency between text and image can exist even beyond the boundaries of a single artwork. As an entry point to this discussion, building up on previous work, I am using the Tenth Homily “On Future Judgement” by Nektarios Terpos and the scene of the Last Judgement primarily from the narthex of the catholicon of Ardenica Monastery, but also from other churches in Myzeqe region, central Albania.

Keywords: textual visibility, visual textuality, text-image complementarity, Nektarios Terpos, Last Judgement, Post-Byzantine homiletics, Post-Byzantine painting, Myzeqe, central Albania, Moschopolis, Voskopojë

This paper looks into the relationship between the visual embedded in a narrative technique (text) and the textual embedded in a visual technique. In doing so, I am illustrating the interplay between text and imagery integrated not only within the same artwork, but also within the context of a spatial – service unity, thereby suggesting a conscious relation between an artist and a priest-preacher in a church or a monastery. My thesis is that complementarity and interdependency between text and image **can** exist even beyond the boundaries



of a single artwork. As an entry point to this discussion, and building up on previous work¹, I am using the Tenth Homily “On Future Judgement” and other homilies by Nektarios Terpos² together with scenes of the Last Judgement from Myzeqe region, central Albania, where Nektarios Terpos engaged in his homiletic activity and where copies of his book circulated.

Echoing the virtually iconological methodological fascination for contextually significant synthesis³, I am drawing from the digressive and descriptive elements of the homilies’ *enargeia* to interpret the deeper meaning of frugal, scattered and otherwise enigmatic images-episodes in the Last Judgement scene, which, in spite of the subject’s laconic inscriptions, does not allow anyone to advance beyond the second level of meaning-making of an image (iconographic description)⁴. Conversely, I argue that the very homiletic character of a text aimed primarily at being heard – as opposed to being read – by a mostly illiterate flock would make the text appear to be fragmented, episodic and virtually incomprehensible in its complexity. What made it understandable, at least in part, was visualization by means of tracing of the narrative in the scene of the Last Judgement painted in the narthexes of churches and monasteries. It is precisely at these places where, as I am suggesting, such homilies must have taken place as part of services. It is in this spatial and time context that the textual and the visual became deeply imbued with both ideological and meta-textual / meta-visual intentions.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Before delving into the rhetorical *enargeia* of the selected sermon

* Acknowledgement: I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Christopher Lockwood, for his insightful observations and edits that helped me polish my argument in this paper. The theoretical part of this paper also benefited from discussions with Genci Shehu.

1 Giakoumis, Konstantinos. Preparing for Martyrdom: Ardenica Monastery’s (Myzeqe) Decorative Programme. – Art Studies Quarterly, 2016, N 3, 10-21 and Giakoumis, Konstantinos. Nektarios Terpos and the Iconographic Programme of Ardenica Monastery. – Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 2017, N 41.1, forthcoming.

2 Terpos, Nektarios. Βιβλιάρχιον Καλούμενον Πίστις. Venice, 1732, 59-68.

3 Mitchell, Thomas W.J. Iconology: Images, Text, Ideology. Chicago and London, 1986; Van Straten, Roelof. An Introduction to Iconography 2007 (transl. Patricia de Man). London and New York, 2007.

4 Van Straten, Roelof. An Introduction, 3-23.

which was used in preaching, there is a need to provide the conceptual framework of the terms *enargeia*, imagery, textual visibility and visual textuality, which are used in this work. The literature review of the theoretical topic under consideration is also provided below.

The Greek word *enargeia* (Greek: ἐνάργεια; Latin: *evidentia*) denotes “the power of language to create a vivid presence” of something expressed in words⁵. After Lunde, *enargeia* “amounts to visual clarity, immediacy and strong emotional appeal, whilst what is represented verbally acquires ‘its own reality’ (becomes self-evident) in the minds of both speaker and audience⁶”. Its main characteristics and contexts in rhetorical practice are vividness and visibility, presence, *ekphrasis*, *phantasia* and authenticity/truth⁷. The effect of visualization, after Pseudo-Longinus, is described as “when inspiration and emotion make you appear actually to see what you describe and you bring it before your hearers’ eyes”⁸. The experience of *seeing* what is textually rendered leads “to the feeling of *being present* for what is being talked about, to the point either of acting as a witness to the represented event(s), or of assuming the identity of the person(s) portrayed”⁹. *Ekphrasis* is best explained as a complete textual description of a visual representation, as is used, for example, in the well-known manual of Byzantine painting by Photios Kontoglou¹⁰. *Phantasia*, as “a recurrent term in the context of *enargeia*” refers to “the ‘mental representation’ of an outside object which makes an impression (*hypotyposis*) on the soul or mind”¹¹. The visual experience of rhetorical *enargeia* is a guarantee of its eyewitness value¹². Thus, after Lunde, “rhetorical *enargeia* ... is an attempt to produce the effect of ‘visual testimony’ in words. What is narrated in an “*enargetic*” way may acquire “its own reality”, become true, as it were, in the artist’s and the audience’s percep-

5 Lunde, Ingunn. Rhetorical *Enargeia* and Linguistic Pragmatics. On Speech-Reporting Strategies in East Slavic Medieval Hagiography and Homiletics. – Journal of Historical Pragmatics, 2004, N 5:1, 50.

6 Lunde, Ingunn. Rhetorical *Enargeia*, 50.

7 Lunde, Ingunn. Rhetorical *Enargeia*, 52-55.

8 Longinus, On the Sublime, 15.1. In: ‘Longinus’ On the Sublime (ed. Donald Russell), Oxford, 1964, 21.

9 Lunde, Ingunn. Rhetorical *Enargeia*, 53.

10 Kontoglou, Photios. Έκφρασις τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Εἰκονογραφίας. Athens, 1960.

11 Lunde, Ingunn. Rhetorical *Enargeia*, 54.

12 Lunde, Ingunn. Rhetorical *Enargeia*, 55.



Fig. 1. Frangos Katelanos, *Crucifixion*, 1548, fresco, Naos, Varlaam Monastery, Meteora, Thessaly, Central Greece. © I. Stoufi-Poulimenou

tion”¹³. The remarkable typology of the visual in Procopius’ corpus¹⁴ is an excellent large-scale research on the effects of *enargeia*.

Imagery, after Mitchell, is a family tree with several branches – graphic, optical, perceptual, mental and verbal¹⁵. Iconologist art historians are preoccupied with graphic imagery (pictures, statues, designs, etc.), verbal imagery, an interest they share with literary critics (metaphors, descriptions, etc.) and perceptual imagery (sense data, appearances, etc.)¹⁶. Conceptual imagery is “the region occupied by a number of strange creatures than haunt the border between physical and psychological accounts of imagery... “sensible forms”... which emanate from objects and imprint themselves on the... receptacles of our senses..., the *phantasmata*, which are revived version of those impressions called up by the imagination in the absence of the objects that initially stimulated them”¹⁷. Images are thus used in a variety of institutionalized discourses, literary criticism, art history, theology, and philosophy¹⁸. The polysemy of the term thus resembles that of

13 Lunde, Ingunn. *Rhetorical Enargeia*, 55.

14 *Turquois*, Elodie Eva. *Envisioning Byzantium: Materiality and Visuality in Procopius of Caesaria*. – Thesis (Ph.D.) submitted at the University of Oxford, 2013.

15 Mitchell, Thomas W.J. *Iconology*, 7-46.

16 Mitchell, Thomas W.J. *Iconology*, 10.

17 Mitchell, Thomas W.J. *Iconology*, 10.

18 Mitchell, Thomas W.J. *Iconology*, 9.

the notion *logos*¹⁹.

The use of the terms “textual visibility” and “visual textuality,” as opposed to the way in which they are used in this study, have hitherto been used to denote works integrating text and imagery. By the term “textual visibility” I mean a text that constructs an image, or an image rendered by means of a text²⁰. It has been argued that “the visibility of literature’s visibility is dependent on conventions of reading rather than writing²¹”; yet, the term is used by Shusterman to denote a property within one and the same text using Lewis Carroll’s “Tale of a Mouse” as a case-study, whereby the format of words and fonts in the poem visually render the image of a mouse tail.²² Conversely, visual textuality is termed to be an image constructing a text, or a text conveyed by means of an image. Pencheva has used this term – without defining it – to demonstrate how the frontispiece of the mid-12th century manuscript of the liturgical edition of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzos, Sinai Cod. Gr. 339, fol. 4v integrates both the theological and the philosophical meaning of *Logos*²³.



Fig. 2. Terpos, Nektarios, *The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Spirit*, engraving, Piórtis, 366

19 Pencheva, Bissera. Visual Textuality. The *Logos* as Pregnant Body and Building. – RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, Sept. 2007, N 45, 225.

20 I prefer the term ‘visual textuality’ against the term ‘visual rhetoric,’ which was used by Mateusz Ferens to denote the textual (rather than ‘rhetoric’) quality of Dionysios of Fournas’s *ekphrasis* (manual) of Byzantine painting; cf. Ferens, Mateusz J. Dionysius of Fournas. Artistic Identity through Visual Rhetoric. Etna, CA, 2015.

21 Shusterman, Richard. Aesthetic Blindness to Textual Visibility. – The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Autumn 1982, N 41, 95.

22 Shusterman, Richard. Aesthetic Blindness, 91-95.

23 Pencheva, Bissera. Visual Textuality, 225-238.



Figs. 3-4. *Cenotaphs* intended to contain the bodies of Berat Metropolitans, first half of the 18th century, Ardenica Monastery, © K. Giakoumis

It

should be noted, however, that the use of the terms with reference to text and imagery in one and the same artwork can denote the various relations of interdependence of the text and the image. Thus, in her study of the Bible Moralisée (Vienna Cod. 2554) Eva Maria Raeppe uses the term textual visuality to refer to a relationship whereby the image is subjugated to (underlies) the text; thus, the use of imagery is primarily to give more emphasis to the text, whose interpretation is anchored by way of an image²⁴, something very typical in illustrated manuscripts. It seems to me that the term is similar to what Leslie Brubaker refers to as 'image as exegesis' in her seminal analysis of the relationship between text and imagery in the

²⁴ Raeppe, Eva Maria. Setting the World into Motion: Textual Visuality in the Bible Moralisée, Vienna Codex 2554. – Philosophy Scholarship, 2010, N 20, <http://dc.cod.edu/philosophypub/20>, 1-13.

middle Byzantine Par. Gr. 510 (the illuminated homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzus). In her work she demonstrates that images are exegetical to the text they illustrate and not merely illustrations of it²⁵. I likewise argue that one could also use the term visual textuality to refer to cases whereby a text is subjugated to (under) the image. For example, images of Christ or the Mother of God are instantly recognized and reflexively associated with their very names to the extent that the standard inscriptions 'IC XC' (Jesus Christ) and 'MP ΘΟΥ' (Mother of God) appear to be redundant. Indeed, nobody ever seems to be bothered by the fact that the famous 6th century Sinai icon of Jesus Christ no longer bears an inscription identifying the figure as Jesus Christ, for the simple fact that the name and its inscription are inseparably embedded into the image. I am asserting that textual associations of an image lead the process of meaning-making when one looks at an image and that the inscription an image bears plays little or no role when it comes to interpreting it. For example, the beautifully preserved (after its conservation) fresco of the Crucifixion from Varlaam Monastery Meteora, painted by Frangos Katelanos in 1548 (**Fig. 1**), promulgates multiple textual associations of such episodes as the weeping Maries, tombs opened with the bodies of saintly figures coming out, Longinus' profession of faith, the soldiers' dispute over the seamless garment of Jesus and others; hence, the frugal inscription 'Η ΣΤΑΥΡΩΣΙΣ' (The Crucifixion) appears to be a rather redundant reminder of the principal event which few notice and fewer read.

In what follows, I argue that complementarity and interdependency between text and imagery **can** exist even beyond the boundaries of a single artwork. In particular, I shall demonstrate the textual visuality faculties of Nektarios Terpos' tenth homily "On Future Judgment" together with other homilies; and how these relate to the visual textuality properties of Last Judgement scenes from the narthexes of churches and the Monastery of Ardenica in Myzeqe. As I maintain, their unity is owed to the act of preaching that very homily in the course of services performed in the narthex, thereby integrating two diverse, yet complementary and interdependent, pieces of art historical discourse in the same spatial and time contexts.

25 *Brubaker, Leslie*. Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The "Homilies" of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B.N. gr. 510). – *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1985, N 39, 1-13; *Brubaker, Leslie*. Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus. Cambridge, 2001. For an earlier approach, see *Matthews, Thomas F.* The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. gr. 1. – *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1977, N 43, 94-133.



Fig. 5. Constantine and Athanasios, painters from Korça, *Last Judgement*, 1744, wall painting, fresco, eastern wall of the narthex, Ardenica Monastery, Myzeqe, central Albania, © K. Giakoumis

NEKTARIOS TERPOS AND HIS WORK

It is impossible to delve into Nektarios Terpos' masterful iconopoietic ability and the homiletic character of his work without making reference to his life and the regional extent of his activity, which, to some extent, determined the authors' knowledge of the needs, wants, desires, ambitions, values, fears and threats of his flock.

Nektarios Terpos, the offspring of a well-known family²⁶, was born in Voskopoja (Moschopolis) in the latter half of the 17th century²⁷. It was there that he completed his education, pursuing studies at the well-known Moschopolitan New Academy; his work is evidence of broad education and familiarity with biblical texts, the Fathers of the Church and many ancient authors²⁸. After completing his studies, he pursued the path of monasticism. According to Kourilas he

26 Kourilas, Eulogios. Γρηγόριος Αργυροκαστρίτης. – Θεολογία, 1933, N 11, 45 (4). Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος και το Έργο του. Εισαγωγή – Σχόλια – Κριτική Έκδοση του Έργου του Πίστις. Thera, 2002, 52 (and n 26).

27 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 52 (and n 25).

28 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 53.

travelled to the *Skete* of St Anna on Mount Athos, where he was ordained a monk, and later to St Naoum's Monastery in Ohrid, before serving as abbot of Ardenica Monastery²⁹. His affection to that monastery is also evidenced by various references in his single most important work³⁰, dedicated to "the Holy Embrace of the Lady *Theotokos*, the so-called Ardenica", whose icon, dated 1731, Nektarios Terpos calls to help her servants³¹. It is interesting to notice that his concern for the monastery remained undiminished even when he was temporarily deposed from the monastery's abbacy, having suffered much, as he claimed, from a certain Arsenios³². Throughout the course of his abbacy, the monastery was renovated, attracted several new monks and operated as an important educational centre of the region³³. He must have died at the end of 1740 or the beginning of 1741 possibly in Venice³⁴. In 1752 his portrait was painted with full monastic attire at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Voskopja³⁵.

Nektarios Terpos' tenth homily "On Future Judgment" and the other homilies under consideration are part of his single most important work, Βιβλιάριον Καλούμενον Πίστις (A Booklet Called Faith). This book was initially published in 1732 and henceforth republished at least twelve times during and after his lifetime with possibly more than 10,000 copies³⁶. The sources of the book include the teachings of the Bible, Church Fathers, as well as ancient Greek authors. The anthology of passages in every chapter, however, was almost entirely borrowed from the works of St John of Damascus

29 For his paths into monasticism, see *Kourilas*, Eulogios. Γρηγόριος Ἀργυροκαστρίτης, 45-6; *Tritos*, Michael. Νεκτάριος Τέρπος. Ο Μοσχοπολίτης Διδάσκαλος του Γένους. In: Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Μοσχόπολις, Θεσσαλονίκη, 31 Οκτωβρίου – 1 Νοεμβρίου 1996, Thessaloniki, 1999, 227-52 (228). Cf. *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 54-63.

30 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις.

31 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 9-11 of his prelude to the book.

32 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 411-412.

33 *Tritos* Michael. Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 229.

34 *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 69-70.

35 *Georgiadis*, Theophrastos. Μοσχόπολις. Athens, 1975, 69; cf. *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 48-49. The church and the fresco regrettably no longer exist.

36 *Valetas*, Georgios. Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, ὁ ἀγνοημένος μεγάλος ἐθνδιαφωτιστής, πρόδρομος τοῦ Κοσμᾶ Αἰτωλοῦ (1690 – 1740). *Nea Hestia*. 1971, N 89, 577-588; *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Κωνσταντίνος Ρεσινός και Νεκτάριος Τέρπος: Ἡ Περίπτωση μιᾶς Ἐκδόσεως. In: Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ἑλλάδος και Κύπρου. "Παράδοση και Ἀνανέωση στο Βυζάντιο". Komotini, 2007, 313-315; *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 9, 17, 47.

Sacra Parallela (Ιερά Παράλληλα)³⁷. The clearly homiletic character of a text aimed primarily at being heard – rather than read – by a mostly illiterate flock is demonstrated by a couple of passages at the prelude of his book: “I composed this booklet, called Faith, not for the wise and learned, but for the illiterate and peasants... Hence, every person, especially priests, should admonish what God would illuminate them [to preach] to the Christians in their churches; then, let them read from this booklet what is necessary”³⁸. As Mary Cunningham has demonstrated, the practice of using homilies for the purpose of preaching was quite widespread in Byzantium from the 9th century. Terpos’ passage “I am therefore kindly asking you not to misunderstand the harsh words I spoke to you” is evidence the practice was still in use in the 18th century³⁹.

Nektarios Terpos’ homilies, including the tenth “On the Future Judgement”, belong to the exegetical type:

Exegetical homilies are distinguished by their lack of structure and generally simple, conversational style. Literal, moral, or allegorical exegesis may be employed, according to the categories established by Origen and other early preachers. Exegetical homilies frequently interpreted scriptural readings dramatically, quoting biblical or apocryphal texts or inventing their own dialogues. It has been suggested that besides entertainment, dramatic homilies served a didactic purpose⁴⁰.

The tenth homily “On the Future Judgement”⁴¹ is, moreover, not dissimilar to the rest of his work. His treatment of the topic of the Last Judgment involves the establishment of a theoretical and empirical basis. The theoretical foundations are established by way of citing – in translation to the demotic language of his time – eschatolog-

37 *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 71-2; cf. *PG* 95, 1033-1587.

38 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, α.3.ρ&ν & α.4.ν.

39 *Cunningham*, Mary B. Messages in Context: The Reading of Sermons in Byzantine Churches and Monasteries. In: *Byzantium: Visions, Messages and Meanings*. Festschrift for Prof Leslie Brubaker on her 60th Birthday (ed. Angeliki Lymberopoulou), Farnham and Burlington, 2011, 83-98 (85-86). For the passage, see *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 328.

40 *Cunningham*, Mary. Homilies. In: *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (eds. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon and Robin Cormack). Oxford, 2008, 875. For the didactic purpose of dramatic homilies, see *Kecskeméti*, J. Doctrine et drame dans la predication grecque. – *Euphrosyne*, 1993, N 21, 29-68. For the interaction between the preacher and his audience in Byzantium, see *Cunningham*, Mary B. and *Allen*, Pauline, eds. *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*. Leiden, 1998.

41 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 59-68.

ical excerpts from the works of Old Testament authors (Sirach, Isaiah, Nahum, Kings, David, Solomon), the New Testament (Matthew, Luke, Paul, John the Theologian) and various Church Fathers (Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa). The theoretical foundations are intertwined with empirical explanations of these passages, usually addressed in the first person plural: For example, the exclamation “[a]ll we human beings will present ourselves at Christ’s tribunal” follows Isaiah’s excerpt “the Day of the Lord is near. It will come like destruction from the Almighty!” (Is. 13:6)⁴². Although Terpos’ work is not coherent in modern stylistic terms, it has a stable core around which the author revolves without deviation. His aim is to counter Islamization. In this homily Nektarios Terpos thus follows the

⁴² For the literary style of his work, cf. *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 73-75.



Fig. 6. George and John Tzetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1795, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Vanaj, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis



Fig. 7. Nicholas Tzetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1811, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Krutja e Sipërme, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis

direction of bringing the divine matters to earth⁴³. The selected passages revolve time and again around three key-themes:

1) The conduct of a virtuous life on earth as pre-requisite for entering into Paradise⁴⁴;

2) The very act of judgement, the *psychostasia* and the sorting of the just from the unjust with the following subthemes: Christ's advent in glory to sit on His throne⁴⁵; the bodily resurrection of humanity⁴⁶; the disclosure of each person's deeds⁴⁷; the separation of the just from the unjust through the metaphor of the separation of the wheat from the chaff⁴⁸; and righteous judgment by God⁴⁹.

3) The corporeal punishments of the unjust in Hell, according to whatever sins they have committed. This key theme is analysed in a number of aspects: i) the realized event and the impeding fear of judgment (the repayment of each one according to his or her deeds

43 For the eschatological dimensions of his work, see *Glaros*, Athanasios B. Εσχατολογικές Προεκτάσεις στο Βιβλίο του Καλούμενου Πίστις του Νεκταρίου Τέρπου. – *Altarul Banatului*, January-March 2014, N 1-3, 106-14; cf. *Argyriou*, Astérios. Angéologie et Démonologie à Byzance: Formulations Théologiques et Représentations Populaires. – *Cuadernos del CEMYR*, December 2003, N 11, 157-84. For the context of his work in the wider polemical and apologetic literature towards Islam, see *Argyriou*, Asterios. Η Ελληνική Πολεμική και Απολογητική Γραμματεία έναντι του Ισλάμ κατά τους Χρόνους της Τουρκοκρατίας. – *Θεολογία*, 2013, N 1, 133-65. See also *Tapkova-Zaimova*, Vassilka. Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria. Sofia, 2011 and *Nikolov*, Angel. Mezdu Rim i Konstantinopol iz Antikato-liceskata Literatura b Blgariya i Slavianskiya Pravoslaven sviam (XI – XVII v.). Sofia, 2016.

44 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60, 62-3. Cf. "St Gregory says [that] it is better for human beings to be abstinent here, exercise their flesh in fasting and get inured to a hard life so as to cleanse their soul by the way of repentance than... And the great Chrysostom utters that our Lord Jesus Christ, the just Judge of everything, neither forgets nor disregards even the smallest good deeds which we do in this life by word or work..." (63);

45 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 59 "The Son of Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, will come in the glory of His Father and sit on his most honourable throne and then he will reward each person according to what they have done" (cf. Mt. 16, 27-8).

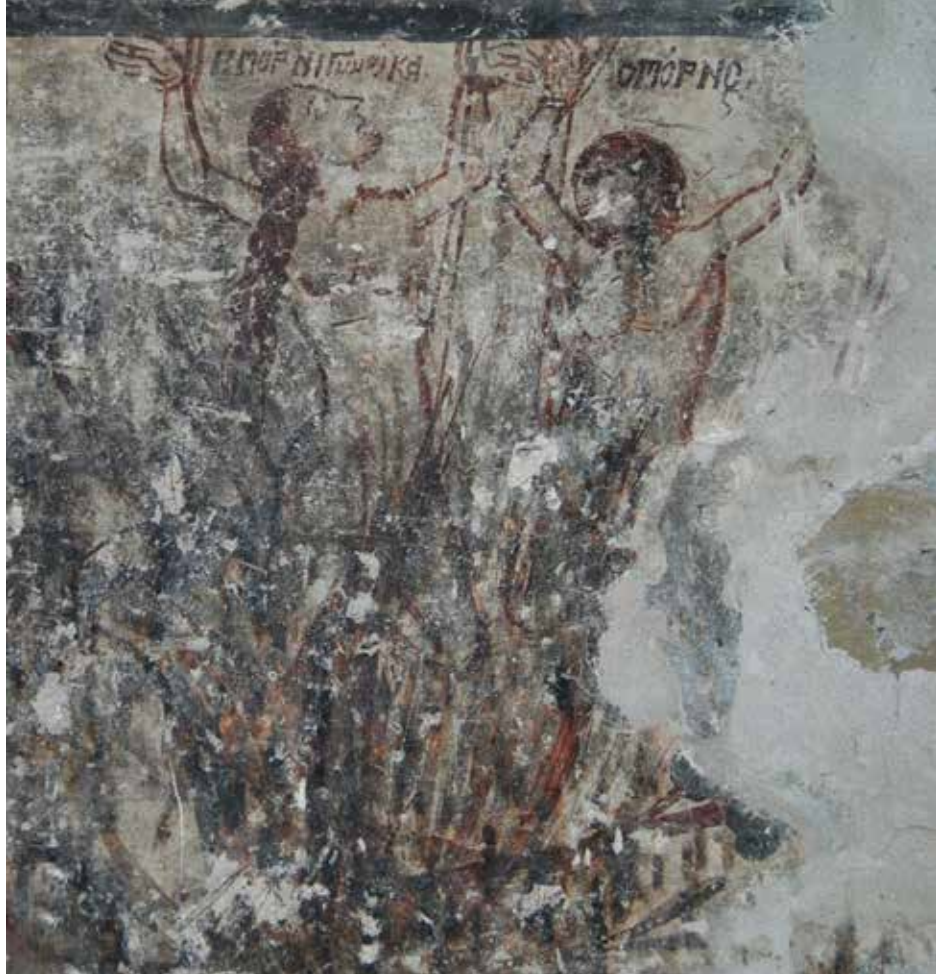
46 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 65 (Not only the bodies of the righteous, but also those of sinners will rise incorrupt and immortal on the Day of Judgement); 67 (Apparently we will rise at the day of God's judgement with our very bodies incorrupt and immortal).

47 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60-2. For example: Each one's "work will be revealed" [*Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60 and 62; cf. 1 Cor. 3:13] for "there is nothing hidden that will not be revealed, and nothing concealed that will not be known or brought to light on that terrifying day of judgement" [*Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 61; cf. L. 8:17].

48 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 59, 64-5. As indication thereof: "As humans separate the wheat from the chaff and throw the latter into the fire; so will it be at the end of the age. For our Lord Jesus Christ will send his angels to gather [and throw] all causes of scandal out of his Kingdom, i.e. all those who committed sins, and throw them into the fiery furnace, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth" [*Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 59; cf. Mt. 13:40-42].

49 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 63. Cf. n 41.

Fig. 8. Constantine and Athanasios, painters from Korça. *The Torments of the Male and Female Prostitute and the Bad Confession, details from the Last Judgement*, 1744, wall painting, fresco, eastern wall of the narthex, Ardenica Monastery, Myzeqe, central Albania, © K. Giakoumis



in the face of God's indignation and wrath⁵⁰; the shame and guilt of sinners)⁵¹; **ii**) the way to hell (sinners' vanishing from the earth⁵²;

50 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60 (God will rise to make recompense on the heads of the sinners); 61 (On that day, who can resist God's anger and wrath?); 65 (For He writes through the prophet, revenge is mine, says the Lord, and I have the power to repay. And again he says, The Lord will judge His people; and again he says that He will reveal His anger to the sinners); 66 (O man, you are due to harvest as you worked and sowed your land in order to receive the fruit of your toil. You sowed bitterness, go then to reap the sheaf of a life full of toils; you sowed ruthlessness, go and reap ruthlessness, as you preferred; you avoided alms-giving and did not sow alms in favour of a poor man, just so alms will be withheld to you, i.e. the Lord shall show himself to be ruthless and uncharitable with you the uncharitable. You detested the poor and destitute, the Lord who became a poor and humble man for your salvation will detest you); and 67 (The wrath of God is being revealed from heaven against all the godlessness and wickedness of men; cf. Rom. 1:2).

51 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 65-6 (They said shame and embarrassment of the future judgement will be the most severe, greater than all [other] punishments and tortures. For He says, the righteous will rise to eternal life, and the sinners to endless shame and embarrassment).

52 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60, 62-3 (The prophet Daniel says, may the sinners be eliminated from the book of life, i.e. the saints, and may the unfaithful not be recorded alongside the righteous. As smoke blows away and as wax melts before the fire, so will the sinners and unfaithful



Fig. 9. Constantine & Terpos, painters from Korya, *The Torments of the Miller who steals and the Bad Confession, details from the Last Judgement*, 1782, wall painting, fresco, church of St George, Libofsha, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis

the eternal hell where purging one's sins is impossible⁵³; the gates of hell opening widely to devour sinners in rivers of fire⁵⁴, including the glorious, the potentates, the rich, and any others who lived in excess, who will descend to hell through its mouth⁵⁵; **iii**) details of the torments of sinners (of worms unceasingly eating their flesh⁵⁶; of unquenchable fire burning them⁵⁷; of punishment in blazing furnaces, where there is weeping and the gnashing of teeth⁵⁸; of body parts which committed sins being impressed with the signs of their

perish from the face of God and the righteous be glad in Paradise; cf. Ps. 68:2-3); 66 (The Lord will exterminate all sinners from the earth; and exile them away from the city of the Lord; and send them to the eternal hell, for they worked in lawlessness).

53 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 61 (God says via the mouth of the Prophet Isaiah: I will send evils on the earth and eternal hell upon the unfaithful, in accordance with their sins); 62-3 (cf. n 49).

54 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 67 (The deep gates of hell will open and rivers of fire will flow and darkness with fall on the unfaithful, whose faces are ugly).

55 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 61 (Death expanded its soul and did not omit to open its mouth, into it will descend the vain-glorious and the potentates, the rich and the rest of the earth; cf. Is. 5, 14).

56 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 61 (For the worms that eat them will not die; cf. Is. 66:24).

57 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 62 (And the Lord will take vengeance with fire from those humans who did not want to believe in Christ as true God and did not want to obey his Gospel's word and denied it; he will send them to everlasting fire; 2 Thess. 1:8-9); see also 60, 65, 66 and 67.

58 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 59, 60, 61; cf. n 45.

Fig. 10. George and John Tzetiri, *The Bad Confession*, detail from the *Last Judgement*, 1795, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Vanaj, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis



sins and of the punishment of sinners from these body parts⁵⁹; and in general concerning torments and punishments⁶⁰); **iv**) details of the results of these tortures (i.e. of the deformed and ugly faces of sinners⁶¹); **v**) and the sinners' reactions to these tortures (cries and screams)⁶².

59 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 62 (According to Joshua, as he says, every sin will be revealed to man and then the sinner will know all the deeds he committed and those which he said; and [they will be revealed] with his very body, with the very parts of the body with which he committed the sin...); 63 (... they will see with their own eyes their sins impressed on the very body parts with which they committed sin...); 67 (Apparently we will rise at the day of God's judgement with our very bodies incorrupt and immortal... If one is a sinner, he will get a patient body, to be worthy of forbearing the punishments of everlasting hell, of forever burning in everlasting fire, because nobody committed a sin without a body; cf. I Cor. 6:18-19).

60 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 64, 65, 67.

61 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 67; cf. n 52.

62 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 67 (And [the unfaithful] will cry with deplorable voices, because



Fig. 11. Constantine & Terpos, painters from Korça, *Psychostasia and the Adulteress grabbed by a devil*, details from the *Last Judgement*, 1782, wall painting, fresco, church of St George, Libofsha, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis

The homiletic character of this work is manifested in different ways. First, at the end of every page the reader encounters either the first word, or part of the first word of the following page. This was meant to have a functional purpose: to help the reader of the homily turn the pages without interruption in the rhythm of the reading, as this would impair rhetorical dynamics⁶³. Second, by the integrated triple narrative structure of his work. Nektarios Terpos, as an author, appears sometimes as a narrator, elsewhere as Christ and again in another place as a member of the community sharing the same fate. The role of a narrator is subsumed especially when he recites passages from the Bible, such as “[s]ee, the day of the LORD is coming --a cruel day, with wrath and fierce anger – to make the land des-

there they will see punishments and chaos and occult places filled with thousands of evil things).

63 For the importance of rhetoric and rhythm, see *Valiavitcharska*, Vessela Venelinova. *Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantine Homilies*. Doctoral thesis at the University of Texas at Austin, Austin TX, 2007.

olate and destroy the sinners within it" [Is. 13:9]⁶⁴. While the narrator quotes excerpts written by biblical authors, in other passages the narrative breaks away from indirect speech and acquires a strictly direct character; thus the author subsumes the role of Christ, as He would have spelt out biblical passages: *"Then he will say to" the sinners standing "on his left. You are cursed! Go away from me into the fire that burns forever, which I have prepared for the devil and his" demons; so go receive your punishment along with them forever, because you did their will and not mine. For "I was hungry. But you gave me nothing to eat".* (cf. Mt. 25:41-42) Finally, the narrative's vividness is further enhanced, as Nektarios Terpos in other passages writes as a member of a wider community of listeners and readers of his sermon. Thus, one passage reads: *"All of us (human beings), will stand before Christ's tribunal. Then each of us will give account of his sins to God"*⁶⁵. It can be argued that the very iconopoetic attributes of Terpos' language is evidence of textual visuality; as, for example, in his image of the separation of the wheat from the chaff⁶⁶ to convey the idea of the separation of the just from the unjust in the last judgement, an image addressed precisely to a peasant audience which could habitually comprehend it. Hence, I have no doubt that this homily was developed in the course and for the needs of preaching in churches.

This said, three vantage points indicate that the homily was delivered or read nowhere else but the church's narthex and was intertwined with its decorative programme. The first has to do with the uses of the narthex in rapport to the homily's content, the second with the preaching customs of Nektarios Terpos and the third with the iconographic programme of the narthex and, particularly relevant to this paper, the monumental painting of the Last Judgement scene.

In terms of the use of the narthex, I rely primarily on the seminal work of Spyridon Photeinakis focusing on the middle Byzantine narthex. He has demonstrated by extensive research of the textual sources⁶⁷, that the monastic narthex was used as a place of burial, as well as a place in which a number of church services took

⁶⁴ Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60.

⁶⁵ Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60.

⁶⁶ Cf. n 49.

⁶⁷ Photeinakis, Spyridon. Η Χρήση και η Εικονογράφηση του Μεσοβυζαντινού Νάρθηκα: Εμπνηνευτική Προσέγγιση με Βάση τις Γραπτές Πηγές. Ph.D. thesis at the University of Athens. Athens, 2012, 35-47. Cf. Lingas, Alexander L. 45-6, 62-3, 66-88, 92-100, 122-8, 221-78.



Fig. 12. George and John Tzetiri, *Who sleep on Sundays and do not go to church and the trials of the adulteress*, detail from the *Last Judgement*, 1795, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Vanaj, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis

place: the holy angelic schema service, the service of the *proschema*, the compline and *pannychis*, the *mesonychtikon*, the funerary service of monks, as well as the service of the *typikon*. A number of other services were common for the monastic and the parochial narthex: Baptism, the service of Epiphany and the Blessing of the Waters, the Washing of the Feet, the prayers of the entrance and the first entrance, the Matins service, the service of the Hours, the service of the *Lychnikon* (oil-lamp lighting) or Vespers, the church inauguration service, the service of commemorating the dead, ordination to the office of sub-deacon, and of the *diaklysmos*⁶⁸. Other services conducted in the narthex included the *Office of the Three Children*⁶⁹. Archaeological evidence in middle Byzantine narthexes has revealed tombs, baptismal *phialae* (fonts) and desks (for the *kataklysmos*)⁷⁰. The services performed in the narthex are therefore an appropriate setting for the delivery of Terpos' tenth homily.

Although it is impossible at this stage to fully reconstruct the way

68 Photeinakis, Spyridon. Η Χρήση, 48-68.

69 Walker White, Andrew. *The Artifice of Eternity: A Study of Liturgical and Theatrical Practices in Byzantium*. Ph.D. thesis at the University of Maryland, College Park, 2006 188-9.

70 Photeinakis, Spyridon. Η Χρήση, 69-74.



Fig. 13. John Tzetiri, *The Torments of the adulterer and the adulteress*, details from the *Last Judgement*, 1806, wall painting, fresco, Church of the Annunciation, Kozare, Berat, © G. Giakoumis

in which homiletics and the act of preaching interplayed with artworks in post-Byzantine times, we stand on relatively firmer grounds when we try to understand the socially constructed meaning of images in the homiletic practices of Nektarios Terpos. First, at the start of his *Menologia*, in his account of the *vita* and martyrdom of St Niketas, Terpos begins with the enjoinder: “Come and see, blessed Christians, the brevity of a young man”⁷¹. Although the use of the verb ‘see’ in other passages also bears the meaning of ‘pay attention to,’ his urge to combine text and imagery in his own work, and his marginal notes on his drawings reveals that the preacher utilized images for didactic purposes. His engraving of a tree (Fig. 2), whose twelve branches represent the twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit, topped by a barren branch representing “non-confession”, is accompanied by a note of the homiletic practice associated with it: “This tree [and the teaching illustrated through it] was declaimed [preached] in the village of Grabova, in the province of Berat, Shpat, on August 15, 1730. Nektarios Terpos.” Another inscription at the top left of the engraving enhances the interdependency of text and image: “The unconfessed Christian

⁷¹ Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 68.



Fig. 14. John & Naoum Tzeiti, *The Women who blab in church and the trials of the adulteress*, details from the Last Judgement, 1811, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Toshkëz, Lushnjë, © G. Giakoumis

looks like this tree, whose top is dry"⁷². Furthermore, two passages referring to the roads leading to Paradise and Hell⁷³, which are illustrated in another engraving possibly by Nektarios Terpos are additional evidence of such homiletic practice⁷⁴.

In intertwining text and imagery, Nektarios Terpos continues a centuries-old practice encountered both in the Orthodox East as well as in the Roman Catholic West. Writing the *Life of Tarasios* (784 – 806) between 843 and 847, Ignatius the Deacon concentrates on the viewers' responses to a lost martyrdom sequence, "[f]or who would see a man represented in colours and struggling for truth, disdaining fire... and would not be drenched in warm tears and groan with compunction?"⁷⁵. One could also cite Pho-

⁷² Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 366.

⁷³ Cf. Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 342-3, 419-421.

⁷⁴ Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 358. For reproductions, see Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 637-638; and Giakoumis, Konstantinos. Preparing for Martyrdom, 17.

⁷⁵ Brubaker, Leslie. *Vision and Meaning*, 21-22.

Fig. 15. Constantine and Athanasios, painters from Korça, *The Dragon of the Depths, Belzebul and the Torments of those who steal someone else's land while ploughing, details from the Last Judgement*, 1744, wall painting, fresco, eastern wall of the narthex, Ardenica Monastery, Myzeqe, central Albania, © K. Giakoumis



tius' sermon commemorating the completion of the well-known Hagia Sophia mosaic of the Virgin with Christ on her lap, delivered on Holy Saturday, May 29, 867⁷⁶. Such practices were also widespread in Italy, as, for example, in the homiletic practices of San Bernardino of Siena (1380 – 1444), utilizing Simone Martini's famous *Annunciation* painting for a moral speech to young girls in attendance:

Have you ever seen the Annunciation that is at the Cathedral, at the altar of St Ansano, beside the sacristy? It seems to me surely the most beautiful, the most reverent, the most modest pose you ever saw in an Annunciation. You see she does not gaze at the angel, but sits with that almost frightened pose. She knew well it was an angel, so why should she be disturbed? What would she have done if it had been a man? Take her as an example, girls, of what you should do. Never talk to a man unless your father or mother

76 Brubaker, Leslie. *Vision and Meaning*, 20.



Fig. 16. Constantine & Terpos, painters from Korça, *The Torments of those who steal someone else's land while ploughing, details from the Last Judgement*, 1782, wall painting, fresco, church of St George, Libofsha, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis

is present⁷⁷.

The inclusion of the monumental scene of the Last Judgement in the iconographic programme of the narthex was dictated by the monastic and non-monastic services conducted there. A number of these services make explicit reference to the devil and hell, such as the exorcisms in the reception into catechumenate or the tonsure service, in which the new catechumen or monk is invited to renounce Satan three times⁷⁸. The use of the narthex as a burial place makes another association between the use of the space and the representation of the Last Judgement scene⁷⁹. The existence of two cenotaphs in the narthex of Ardenica Monastery aimed as burial places for metropolitans of Berat (**Figs. 3-4**) is indicative of the remarkable continuation of such practices well into the post-Byzantine period. It has further been suggested that the placement of the subject in the narthex's eastern wall invites repentance of the faithful who are entering the church's *naos*⁸⁰, while as they leave

77 Bernardino of Siena (1380 – 1444). Sermon in the Twelve Handmaidens the Virgin Mary Had. In: *Italian Art, 1400 – 1500: Sources and Documents* (ed. Creighton Gilbert), Evanston, IL, 1992, 146-147.

78 See *Orthodox Church in America*. Baptism. <https://oca.org/PDF/Music/Baptism/baptism-service.pdf>, accessed in 18.12.2016, 1-7.

79 Photeinakis, Spyridon. Η Χρήση, 130-139.

80 Baun, Jane Ralls. *Tales from Another Byzantium*. Celestial Journey and Local Community in

through the same naos after the end of the divine Liturgy they get a glimpse of Paradise. Apparently, both views emphasized the didactic character of the subject⁸¹. Eschatological references are also made in other services in the narthex, such as in the burial service, compline, and the Paschal homily of St Gregory of Antioch linking Christ's resurrection with the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgement, at one time read in the narthex⁸². Moreover, the narthex has also operated as a place of repentance for sinners – both laymen and clergy – who were deemed unworthy to participate in the divine Liturgy⁸³.

It is therefore evident that various liturgical and homiletic texts are harmonized with images in accomplishment of similar ends in the space of the narthex. I suggest that Nektarios Terpos' tenth homily "On Future Judgement"⁸⁴ should be added to these texts and that there was no better place that the homily could have been read than the narthex. In what follows, I will demonstrate that the complexity of the artwork's subject, hard to grasp even from learned men, points precisely to an interaction between the textual visibility of the homily and the visual textuality of the Last Judgement scene.

THE LAST JUDGEMENT SCENE AND NEKTARIOS TERPOS' WORK

Having introduced the concepts of visual textuality and textual visibility in correlating text and imagery not integrated into a single artwork, in the last section I delved into the life and work of Nektarios Terpos, focusing on his tenth homily "On Future Judgement". There I suggested that its textual visibility matches the uses, services, decorative programme and homiletic practices of the narthex, the most likely place in which the homily was delivered or read. Although such a suggestion seems plausible, it provides no proof that Terpos' tenth homily was actually read in the

the Medieval Greek Apocrypha. Cambridge, 2007, 159.

81 *Photeinakis*, Spyridon. Η Χρήση, 131-132.

82 *Photeinakis*, Spyridon. Η Χρήση, 132-134.

83 *Photeinakis*, Spyridon. Η Χρήση, 134.

84 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 59-68.

narthexes. What would corroborate this suggestion is evidence of the interaction of the faithful with select episodes from the scene of the Last Judgement, which, as I argue, could otherwise not be grasped by the faithful without the assistance of Nektarios Terpos' work. The objective of this section is therefore three-fold: first, to show the complexity of the subject, which made it impossible for a simple flock to fully grasp its meaning; second, to demonstrate the subject's visual textuality, especially when combined with explanatory moralizing texts; and third, to showcase how the interaction between Terpos' work with the Last Judgement scene led to the selective scraping of certain satanic figures. This, I believe, provides evidence that the partial understanding of the subject by the faithful was only achieved due to the interactivity between the textual visuality of Terpos' work and the visual textuality of the Last Judgement scene.

For the purpose of researching the third objective of this section, I selected eight scenes of the Last Judgement from monuments throughout Myzeqe, a region, among others, in which we are certain that Terpos developed his preaching activity. The scenes date from 1744 (Ardenica Monastery) to 1811 (St Nicholas at Krutja e Sipërme and St Nicholas in Toshkëz), i.e. a period in which Nektarios Terpos' work was reprinted eight times⁸⁵. Monuments No. 4, 5, 7 and 8 were visited only briefly, on a pre-expeditionary basis; hence, photographic materials of the Last Judgement scene are either sparse and partial, or do not exist at all. The monuments considered are as follows:

1) Constantine and Athanasios, painters from Korça, *Last Judgement*, 1744, wall painting, fresco, eastern wall of the narthex, Ardenica Monastery, Myzeqe, central Albania (**Fig. 3-5, 8, 15**)⁸⁶.

2) Constantine & Terpos, painters from Korça, *Last Judgement*, 1782, wall painting, fresco, Church of St George, Libofsha, Lushnja (**Figs. 9, 11, 16, 20, 23**)⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 17.

⁸⁶ Giakoumis, Konstantinos. Preparing for Martyrdom, 14 and Giakoumis, Konstantinos. Nektarios Terpos and the Iconographic Programme of Ardenica Monastery. – Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 2017, N 41 (1), 6-15, where extensive literature on the monument.

⁸⁷ Popa, Theofan. Mbishkrime të Kishave në Shqipëri. (Eds. Nestor Nepravishta and Konstantinos Gjakumis). Tirana, 1998, 103-104 & 109-110 (n 138 and 157).

Fig. 17. George and John Tzetiri, *The Torments of those who steal someone else's land while ploughing*, detail from the Last Judgement, 1795, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Vanaj, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis



Fig. 18. John Tzetiri, *The Torments of the miller and those who steal someone else's land while ploughing*, details from the Last Judgement, 1806, wall painting, fresco, Church of the Annunciation, Kozare, Berat, © G. Giakoumis

3) George and John Tzetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1795, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Vanaj, Lushnja (Figs. 6, 10, 12, 17, 19)⁸⁸.

4) George and John Tzetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1797, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Athanasios, Karavasta, Lushnja⁸⁹.

5) John Tzetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1798, wall painting, fresco, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, Bishqethëm, Lushnja⁹⁰.

6) John Tzetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1806, wall painting, fresco, Church of the Annunciation, Kozare, Berat (Figs. 13, 18, 21, 22)⁹¹.

88 Popa, Theofan. Mbishkrime, 112 (n 169).

89 Popa, Theofan. Mbishkrime, 113 (n 170).

90 Popa, Theofan. Mbishkrime, 114-5 (n 174).

91 Popa, Theofan. Mbishkrime, 117 (n 182).



Fig. 19. George and John Tzetiri, *The Torments of the adulteress, the miller and those who steal someone else's land while ploughing*, detail from the *Last Judgement*, 1795, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Vanaj, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis

7) Nicholas Tzetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1811, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Krutja e Sipërme, Lushnja (**Fig. 7**)⁹².

8) John & Naoum Tsetiri, *Last Judgement*, 1811, wall painting, fresco, Church of St Nicholas, Toshkëz, Lushnjë (**Fig. 14**)⁹³.

The iconography of the subjects in all cases studied here follows, for the most part, the *ekphrasis* of Dionysios of Fournā⁹⁴. At the top of the scene (**Fig. 5**), on the elevated matroneum (*gynaikonitis*) of the narthex in the Ardenica case, Christ in mandorla, bearing the *stigmata*, sits on ten cherubim in the middle of a banderol held by two angels which bears the moon and the stars. The scene's inscription identifies the scene as "The Just Judgement". Christ is flanked by the Holy Theotokos to His right and St John the Baptist to His left. At the far sides his twelve closest disciples are seated on thrones, below angels looking at Christ. Below him is depicted the episode of the *Hetoimasia* (Preparation) of His throne by three angels. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove is seated on a throne holding a closed gospel book, upon whose back appears the signs of Christ's martyrdom (the sponge, the spear and the Cross). At the sides of the throne Adam and Eve are kneeling, holding pre-

92 Popa, Theofan. Mbishkrime, 119-20 (n 193).

93 Popa, Theofan. Mbishkrime, 120-1 (n 194).

94 Dionysios of Fournā. Ἐμπνεῖα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ζωγραφικῆς Τέχνης. (ed. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus). Athens 1997, 129-42 (particularly 140-2).



Fig. 20. Constantine & Terpos, painters from Korça, *The rustler*, detail from the *Last Judgement*, 1782, wall painting, fresco, Church of St George, Libofsha, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis

cious gifts with their hands covered by their garments. At the left of the scene throngs of just to be saved are portrayed on clouds: prophets, prelates, male and female martyrs, who ascend from the earth to Heaven to welcome Jesus. The partial destruction of the fresco in Ardenica Monastery does not permit us to observe other groups of *hosioi*, fathers and faithful kings, which can be observed in the other examples (e.g. St George at Libofsha); they are identified as the 'blessed' ones by an inscription below Adam, which reads "Come, you who are blessed by my Father" (Mt. 25:34). The opposite inscription, to the right of Eve, reads: "Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire" (Mt. 25:41). Below Eve, a throng identified by inscription as "the poor men" is heading towards Paradise.

The right part of the scene is transversely divided by a river of fire springing from a dragon (Figs. 6, 15) at the bottom right corner of the scene and reaching up the bottom of Christ's mandorla where the fire quenches. To the fire river's right, at the level of the preparation of the throne Moses riding on a cloud is pointing the glorified Jesus to a throng of surprised Jews, identified as

such by way of an inscription; they are looking with awe, their faces scraped and otherwise defaced. Above this dragon, a flying angel toots the last trumpet blare and the personified earth (**Fig. 7**) is portrayed under him. The personification of the sea (**Fig. 6**) with ships is returning parts of the dead, just as carnivore animals, mythical or not, also do (**Figs. 6-7**). Some of them appear to go to welcome Christ, others are thrown to the place of their punishment. All sinners are portrayed in their persecution by demons and can be identified as Judas, tyrannical kings, idol-worshipers, antichrist, heretics, murderers, traitors, usurpers, uncharitable, avaricious, liars, male and female prostitutes, Scribes and Pharisees and other Jews. In and by the river of fire fearsome demons emerge cruelly torturing sinners with various tyrannical instruments, such as spears, harpoons and lances, pushing them with javelins into the fire; other demons appear as fiery dragons seizing and violently pushing them to hell. There, they encounter the direst darkness, the unshakeable shackles, the gnashing of teeth, the sleepless worm, the unquenchable fire, where they are to receive everlasting punishment, together with the rich Man⁹⁵.

The most visible portion of the Last Judgement at ground-floor level depicts the scene of *psychostasia* (**Fig. 11**). Literally designated as 'the weighing of the soul', the concept of psychostasia is derived from ancient Egyptian mythology and first appeared in literary form within the *Coffin Texts*. As an artistic representation, however, it may be traced to the *Book of the Dead*, from which it spread to the Judaic and Hellenic world⁹⁶. In Christian iconography the composite subject of the Last Judgement was gradually developed from the 6th century onward, while various constitutive elements were added to it between the 9th and the 11th centuries⁹⁷. The earliest examples of the composition are therefore encountered in the 11th and 12th century in the mosaic of Panagia Chalke-

95 Dionysios of Fournia. Ερμηνεία, 140-2.

96 Drakopoulou, Eugenia. Ο Φόβος της Τιμωρίας στη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Ζωγραφική. In: Οι Συλλογικοί Φόβοι στην Ιστορία, Athens, 2000, 94; Howes, Llewellyn. "Who Will Put My Soul on the Scale?" Psychostasia in Second Temple Judaism. – Old Testament Essays, 2014, N 27/1, 100-103.

97 Milosevic, Desanka. Das Jüngste Gericht, Recklinghausen, 1963; Brenk, Beat. Tradition und Neuerung in der Christlichen Kunst des Ersten Jahrtausends. Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes. Mit 95 abbildungen auf 83 Tafeln und 25 Figuren im Text. Wien, 1966, 65-75; Berezhnaya, Lilya. *Sub Specie Mortis*: Ruthenian and Russian Last Judgement Icons Compared. – European Review of History, 2004, N 11/1, 6.



Fig. 21. John Tzetiri, *The Torments of the thief*, detail from the *Last Judgement*, 1806, wall painting, fresco, Church of the Annunciation, Kozare, Berat, © G. Giakoumis

on, the miniature of MS. Paris. Gr. 74, some icons from Sinai and, most importantly, the mosaic at Torcello⁹⁸. This mosaic has been considered a paradigm for the independent development of the subject in the Eastern and Western iconography⁹⁹. Christian iconography on the subject is almost entirely based on a specific set of literary sources. Aside from the Bible and a number of saints' *vitae*, such philological sources of inspiration have been identified as St Peter's Apocalypse, the later Apocalypse of St Paul (4th – 6th centuries) and the even later Apocalypse of the Virgin¹⁰⁰.

98 Garidis, Miltiadis. Les Punitions Collectives et Individuelles des Damnés dans le Jugement Dernier du XII^e au XIV^e siècle. – Зборник за ликовне уметности, 1982, N 18, 1-18; Garidis, Miltiadis. Etudes sur le Jugement Dernier Post-Byzantin du XV^e à la fin du XIX^e Siècle. Iconographie – Esthétique. Thessaloniki, 1985, 22-30; Vassilaki, Maria. Οι Παραστάσεις των Κολαζομένων Γυναικών στις Εκκλησίες της Κρήτης. – Αρχαιολογία, November 1986, N 21, 41.

99 For the western variant of the subject, cf. Golay, Laurent. Le Jugement dernier du narthex de l'église abbatiale de Romainmôtier. – Nos monuments d'art et d'histoire: bulletin destiné aux membres de la Société d'Histoire de l'Art en Suisse, 1993, N 44/3, 373-82; Berezhnaya, Lilya. Sub Specie Mortis, 7 (n 10).

100 Jugie, Martin. La Doctrine des Fins Dernières dans l'Eglise Greco-Russe. – Échos d'Orient 1914, N 17/104, 5-22; N 17/106, 209-28; 1915, N 17/108, 402-21; Vassilaki, Maria. Οι Παραστάσεις, 41-6; Drakopoulou, Eugenia. Ο Φόβος, 97; Berezhnaya, Lilya. Sub Specie Mortis, 6.

The *par excellence* didactic character of the subject¹⁰¹, often crossing over into the realm of propaganda¹⁰², provided the impetus for the subject to develop episodes regarding the nature of punishment of various sinners which were not at all inspired by these literary sources but were drawn from other sources including, most notably, Nektarios Terpos' work. The overall subject of the Last Judgement was not easy to grasp by the faithful on account of its complexity and dependency on textual sources inaccessible to most. Hence, popular texts, including the tenth homily of Nektarios Terpos, and homiletic practices dictating and eventually utilizing the subject, made these episodes understandable even by the largely illiterate flock, as evidenced by, among others¹⁰³, the deliberate and selective, as we shall demonstrate below, scraping of the devils' faces in our artworks. It was precisely the need created by such homiletic practices that made this subject necessary in the fresco decorations of narthexes¹⁰⁴. These newly developed episodes revolved around the torments of the souls of the damned whose sins and vices are identified by way of inscriptions. Such episodes seem to have depended upon the influence and decision of the patrons or the artists – in the case of Ardenica Monastery this was Nektarios Terpos¹⁰⁵. These episodes often reflected societal beliefs and values promoted at a local level¹⁰⁶ which were, more often than not, most commonly encountered throughout the provincial setting rather than urban areas¹⁰⁷.

101 *Drakopoulou*, Eugenia. Ο Φόβος, 96-102; *Graikos*, Nikolaos. Ακαδημαϊκές τάσεις της εκκλησιαστικής ζωγραφικής στην Ελλάδα κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα. Πολιτισμικά και εικονογραφικά ζητήματα. PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, 2011, 794-5.

102 *Leader*, Anne. Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*: The Culmination of Papal Propaganda in the Sistine Chapel. – *Studies in Iconography*, 2006, N 27, 103-56.

103 One can cite here the well-known poem by François Villon (1431 – 1463), which he placed in the mouth of his own mother: *I'm just a poor old woman | Who knows nothing and can't read | On the walls of my parish church I see | A paradise painted with harps and lutes | And a hell where they boil the damned | One gives me a fright, one great bliss and joy | Let me have the good place, mother of God | To whom sinners all must turn | Filled with faith, sincere and eager | In this faith I want to live and die.* Kinnell, Galway, trans. The Poems of François Villon. Hanover, 1977, 83.

104 *Konstantios*, Dimitris. Προσέγγιση στο Έργο των Ζωγράφων από το Καπέσοβο της Ηπείρου. Συμβολή στη Μελέτη της Θρησκευτικής Ζωγραφικής στην Ήπειρο τον 18^ο αι. και το α' μισό του 19^{ου} αι. PhD diss., 1. University of Athens, Athens, 1997, 147, 159, 158-159, 178-180; *Fousteris*, Giorgos P. Εικονογραφικά Προγράμματα σε Βυζαντινούς Σταυρεπίστεγους Ναούς. PhD diss. Aristotelean University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, 2006, 56, 64-66, 71-72, 78-79, 161-162, 165, 166, 173-175, 178, 219-221, 239; cf. *Golay*, Laurent. Le Jugement dernier, 373.

105 *Giakoumis*, Konstantinos. Nektarios Terpos.

106 *Vassilaki*, Maria. Οι Παράσταςες, 42.

107 *Dekazou*, Akrivi. Η Εικαστική Απόδοση των Ατομικών Τιμωριών των Αμαρτωλών στην

All torments were painted at the bottom right part of the Last Judgement scene at slightly lower than eye level with the viewer¹⁰⁸. The souls of the damned appear to be naked and bound by demons or Satan, on occasion represented with the organ through which they committed their sins being either tormented by demons or masticated by a snake. For example, the torment of witches is to be tied up and dragged by a demon¹⁰⁹ (cf. **Fig. 11**). The representation of a witch in a box of contributions from Berat¹¹⁰, dated 1846, may be due to certain pagan customs associated with witchcraft, and, as a consequence of this, the issue may have been perceived as problematic by local ecclesiastical circles¹¹¹. Quoting Joshua and Basil the Great, Terpos reminds his reader “how sins will be revealed to each man. The sinner will apparently get to know what deeds he might have done, what he might have said; and this revelation will be made through the very body parts that committed the sin. The decision of the righteous Judge will be instant and the sinner and infidel will burn in everlasting hell...”¹¹². Adding that, according to St Basil the Great, “those who committed cardinal sins and did not repent would have rise in great shame and would have their sins marked upon the very body parts that committed the sin”¹¹³.

Παράσταση της Δευτέρας Παρουσίας στη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Μνημειακή Ζωγραφική και Εικονογραφικοί Συσχετισμοί με τις Ατομικές Τιμωρίες στην Κινεζική Κόλαση. Athens, 2015, 8-21. Cf. *Dekazou*, Akrivi. Οι Ατομικές Τιμωρίες των Επαγγελματιών στην Παράσταση της Δευτέρας Παρουσίας στη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Μνημειακή Ζωγραφική. Athens, 1998.

108 For the spread of the subject as far as Romania, check *Betea*, Raluca. “The Death of Sinners is Evil.” The Personification of Death in the Iconography of the Last Judgement in Maramureș (17th – 19th Centuries). – *Transylvanian Review*, 2011, N XX/20:1, 307-21; *Betea*, Raluca. The Trial of the Soul. Post-Byzantine Visual Representations of the Tollbooths in the Romanian Churches of Maramureș. – *Kunsttexte.de/ostblick*, 2001 N 4: 1-15; www.kunsttexte.de/ostblick, accessed 29.04.2015.

109 *Vassilaki*, Maria. Οι Παράσταςες, 43.

110 *Giakoumis*, Konstantinos. 2.6. Box of Contributions with the Last Judgement. In: *Water in Arts and Crafts of the Berat Region, 4th Century B.C. to 19th Century A.D.* (ed. Konstantinos Giakoumis). Tirana, 2015, 91-6.

111 A few years before the scene was painted, St Kosmas the Aetolian urged his local audience “to abstain from magic herbs... and... talisman”, because “those who use evil divinations, incantations, foot-clothes, whispers and the like, set fire to their own home and are burnt alive here and in the afterlife, inheriting eternal Hell together with their teacher, the Devil, and his followers.” Cf. *Giakoumis*, Konstantinos. An enquiry into the construction, deconstruction, transubstantiation and reconstruction of Christian pilgrimages in modern-day Albania. – *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο*, 2013, N 32, 267-318, 285.

112 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 60.

113 *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 63.

The tables below present the sequence, distribution and frequency rate of torments in the monuments under consideration:

Table 1: Sequence of sinners' torments in the monuments considered.

No.	Monument	Date	Sequence of Torments in Symbols (left to right; cf. Table 2)
1.	Ardenica Monastery	1744	A, B, C ... D
2.	St George Church, Lifofsha	1782	E, A, F, D, G, B
3.	St George Church, Vanaj	1795	E, B, F, D, A
4.	St Athanasios Church, Karavasta	1797	N/A
5.	Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, Bishqethëm	1798	N/A
6.	Church of the Annunciation, Kozare	1806	B, G, H, I, F, D, J (above G)
7.	St Nicholas Church, Krutja e Sipërme	1811	 B
8.	St Nicholas Church, Toshkëz	1811	K, B.....

Table 2: Explanation of symbols used and frequency of appearance.

Sym- bol	Meaning	Frequency Rate & Monument Number
A.	The dishonest confession of a woman.	11.54% (1, 2, 3)
B.	The adulteress.	23.08% (1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8)
C.	The adulterer.	7.69% (1, 6)
D.	The ploughman who usurps someone else's land in plowing.	15.38% (1, 2, 3, 6)
E.	Whoever sleeps on Sundays and does not go to the church.	7.69% (2, 3)
F.	The miller who steals.	11.54% (2, 3, 6)
G.	The thief.	7.69% (2, 6)
H.	The avaricious.	3.85% (6)
I.	The vintner.	3.85% (6)
J.	The witch	3.85% (6)
K.	The women who blab in church	3.85% (8)

The representation of the adulteress is the most common torment of the scene of the Last Judgement appearing in at least six monuments (Figs. 8, 11-14); the adulterer appears only twice (Fig. 8, 13) in Ardenica Monastery and the church at Bishqethëm next to the adulteress¹¹⁴. With the exception of Libofsha (Fig. 11), where the adulteress appears to be grabbed by her left arm by a demon who pulls her towards hell, after she was chased by Archangel Michael with a trident-edged spear. In all other representations (Figs. 8, 12, 13 and 14) the adulteress and the adulterer, when painted together, are tied by their hands from the red tape of the episode's frame playing the role

¹¹⁴ Inscriptions (the numbers before the inscriptions here and hereafter refer to the numbers of monuments as in Table 1): 1. "ἡ πόρνι γυναῖκα" (the adulteress) and "ο πόρνος" (the adulterer). 2. "ἡ πόρνι" (the adulteress). 3. "ἡ πόρνι" (the adulteress). 6. "[πό]ρνοι" (the adulteress and the adulterer). 8. "ἡ πόρνι" (the adulteress).

of a beam. Their legs are tied either behind the body from the same beam (**Figs. 12, 14**), or from two wooden stakes on the ground (**Figs. 8, 13, 14**) keeping their legs open, so that a devil standing at her/their left (Vanaj) or right (Kozare) can apply an incandescent metal rod on their inflamed genitals. It is interesting for our understanding of how 18th and 19th century people heard homilies and saw artworks to note how the inflamed genitals matches with what one can infer by combining corporeal torments at the very body parts with which sins were committed with the following excerpt of Terpos' eighth homily "On Adultery and Fornication: ... Who seeds lust, i.e. who commits adultery, would harvest the eternal fire after death and interminable hell"¹¹⁵. Both the adulterer and the adulteress are portrayed completely nude, ugly¹¹⁶ and in profile or semi-profile. None of the evil figures escaped consistent scraping, especially their eyes.

The ploughman usurping someone else's land while ploughing is the second most common torment subject, appearing four times in our monuments (**Figs. 15-18**), as is to be anticipated in a predominantly agricultural region. Two pale (souls of) farmers are paired to drag a plough led to the left (**Figs. 15, 17, 18**) or the right (**Fig. 16**) by a defaced devil who holds a spear and stabs the men in order to continue pulling the plough. The inscriptions¹¹⁷ clarify these are farmers who stole from someone else's land when ploughing their own land. There are some details pointing to some appreciation of naturalism in the scene at Libofsha, as at the right background we can discern a house, a one-aisled church and a tree. The way their punishment is manifested is reminiscent of an excerpt from a homily "On just and unjust standards and weights," according to which "usurpations will be loaded on your soul"¹¹⁸.

The torment of the miller¹¹⁹ (**Figs. 9, 19 and 18**), scene indicative of economic pre-occupations complementary to agriculture, appears as

115 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 215; cf. n 112.

116 Cf. n 62.

117 Inscriptions: 1. Illegible. 2. "Ὁποιος ὀργόνει κὲ πέρνει τοῦ ἀλουνοῦ τόπον" (Who ploughs and gets someone else's land) 3. "ὁ ζευγίτης ὅπου σπρόχνη ἀλουνοῦ χωράφι" (the ploughman who pushes [the border signs] of someone else's land). 6. "ὅποιος πέρνει τοῦ ἀλουνοῦ τὸν τόπον" (who gets someone else's land).

118 Terpos, Nektarios. Πίστις, 398.

119 Inscriptions: 2. "Ὁ μύλωνας ὅπου κλέπτει" (The miller who steals) 3. "ὁ μύλωνας" (the miller). 6. "ὁ μύλωνας" (the miller).

many as three times and in two iconographic types. In the earlier type, encountered in Libofsha (**Fig. 9**), the miller is hanging on the air with his back towards the ground and his head turned upwards, his hands and feet tied to a beam (the upper frame of the scene). His torments consist in having two containers on his head and his face turned down at the burden of two millstones and a disfigured devil burning him with a fire below his back. In the other two scenes (**Figs. 19 and 18**) the miller is on his knees and arms, like a pack animal, with a millstone hanging from his neck and a flour container on his head. On his back, there is a kneading-trough in which a devil, again disfigured, sits smoking his pipe with his left hand. In the fresco at Vanaj (**Fig. 19**) the devil, with his left hand, sticks a steelyard into his bottom, with blood being spilt out of the plague. The scene illustrates the corporeal punishments of miller-thieves as they are described in Terpos' homily on just and unjust standards and weights, in which he comments on the proverb "The Lord detests dishonest scales, but accurate weights find favour with him" (Prov. 11:1), by stating that "God told you not to sell underweight, not to extract more [profits], not to have two measures, two weights, two cubits and two kneading-troughs, the one to buy and the other to sell... Abandon this onerous conduct and do not repeat it again... God gave you your finger to use it for your needs, not to make a hook of it, so that you sometimes press the steelyard and some other times you push it upwards to damage our brother and your neighbour..."¹²⁰. Similarly to the previous scenes, the faces of devils have been scraped out.

The representation of the dishonest confession of a woman¹²¹ (**Figs. 8, 9, 10**) presents a woman standing and facing left (Ardenica and Libofsha) with a black serpent-like dragon coming out of her mouth. In the Libofsha variant (**Fig. 9**) she stands at the left of a building, most likely identified as a church. The Vanaj theme (**Fig. 10**) presents the woman at the left kneeling before a priest sitting at her right, in the fashion dictated by Nektarios Terpos¹²², yet, with a snake-like dragon coming out of her mouth, an indication of lying. She lifts her

120 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 394-395.

121 Inscriptions: 1. "... ξομολογοῦσι τὴν ἀ[μαρ]τία" (Who does not confess the sin). 2. "... [ἐξομ]λογάτε ὁ..." (Who does not confess all sins?) 3. "ἡ γυνὴ ὅπου ψεύματα ἐξομολογήτε" (the woman who lies in confession).

122 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 424: Stand upright, on your knees, with devout heart and tell all of your sins, those which you have told nobody else, even a spiritual father, one by one.



Fig. 22. John Tzetiri, *The Torments of the avaricious and the vintner*, detail from the *Last Judgement*, 1806, wall painting, fresco, Church of the Annunciation, Kozare, Berat, © G. Giakoumis

left hand in a gesture of speech, while the priest also raises his right hand. The left parts of the scenes at Ardenica and Libofsha are destroyed. Nektarios Terpos devotes a good part of his work to emphasize the importance of honest confession, including an engraving of the twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 2), which are impaired by the dry top branch, representing the absence of honest confession¹²³.

The thief¹²⁴ is represented twice in our monuments (Figs. 20 and 21).

123 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 295, 421, 424.

124 Inscriptions: 2. "Ὁπιος κλέπτει ἀκολουθάη τὸν διάβολον" (Who steals follows the devil).



The iconography of the Church of St George at Libofsha presents a man walking towards the right with a stick in his left hand. He wears a white garment with red edges, leading a goat walking on his right side. A mostly destroyed devil has tied the animal thief and pulls him forward to hell. The other scene in the Church of the Annunciation at Kozare presents in grotesque realism the thief hung from a beam (i.e. the top frame of the scene). On his right stands a well-dressed man with a *chiton* and a sleeveless garment, probably a member of

6. "ὁ κλέπτης" (the thief).

the local nobility. The man points to the hanging thief, while with his left he engages in a conversation with a devil standing, looking and pointing with his right hand's pointer to the thief in a gesture of claiming him. The devil's facial features are deliberately defaced. While both thieves were handed over to the devil, as affirmed by Nektarios Terpos¹²⁵, the scene from Kozare is most-likely directly rendering another passage, referring to those "who extract [monies] from a church or a monastery without informing the overseer or his assistants, the priests of the church"¹²⁶.

Visual statements of the Church's late 18th century desire to keep its flock regularly in services were also represented in the scene of the Last Judgement, in the representation of those who sleep on Sundays, painted at Libofsha and Vanaj (Figs. 23 and 12). The subject is painted with few variations other than the inscriptions¹²⁷ from one monument to the other. In the Libofsha variant a man and a woman appear laying on their bed and covered with a blanket. Above their heads a devil points them to another devil standing by the bed with a fan to increase the sweetness of their sleep. The devil above the couple's heads is omitted in Vanaj, possibly on account of limited space. All three devils have been brutally disfigured.

The avaricious¹²⁸ (Fig. 22) is rendered in the Church of the Annunciation at Kozare. The scene literally renders Terpos' warning that "your avarice remains here; your greed and grabs will be loaded on your soul and you will bear them in the fair and horrific judgement of the Almighty God and all acts of unrighteousness of your soul will be uncovered"¹²⁹. The naked soul of the avaricious is hanging from a beam (represented by the black tape of the upper limit of the register) with hands and feet tied, position similar to the torments of the miller at Libofsha (Fig. 9). Heavy sacks of money tied with ropes and hung from the avaricious' body illustrate the burdens of avarice

125 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 298.

126 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 397.

127 Inscriptions: 2. "Ὅστιος κοιμάτε τὲς ἅγιες Κυριακὲς καὶ δὲν πηγέν[ει] ἡσπὴν ἐκκλησίαν" (Who sleeps on the holy Sundays and does not go to the church). 3. "Ὅστιος κυμάται τὴν Κυριακὴν μὲ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ τοῦς περιπέζῃ ὁ διάβολος" (Who sleeps on Sundays with his wife, he is duped by the devil).

128 Inscription: 6. "ὁ φυλαγγυρος" (the avaricious).

129 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 398 (as part of his homily on "On just and unjust standards and weights"). Nektarios Terpos treats the damages of avarice in several passages of his work, *Terpos*, Nektarios. Πίστις, 285, 294, 305, 397 and 421.

in the afterlife. The long hair of the avaricious fall down, while from his open mouth his tongue is coming out from between his teeth in an expression of agony.

The torments of the vintner are represented only once at Kozare (**Fig. 22**)¹³⁰. The soul of the vintner is forced to crawl toward the left. A hanger-hook is suspended from his nose to keep a steelyard. On his back is a barrel filled with wine with a cork at its top and a spigot at its bottom right, close to the buttocks of the vintner's soul. A devil at his back is holding a jar and filling it with wine. The scene can easily be misinterpreted as an opposition of the Church towards the consumption of wine and spirits or intoxication¹³¹, although the steelyard would be hard to fit such an interpretation. I suggest that the proper understanding of the fresco's message is provided by a passage of Terpos' homily "On just and unjust standards and weights", in which he describes the following fraud of taverners and vintners: "Here are the taverners, i.e. the vintners, and the grocers; they have the art of trickery [taught to them] in its entirety by the devil. Their measures are right and equal, stamped by the competent inspector. They put the jar, the *okka* or another measure and they fill them with violent and sonorous pouring and the measure gets filled with froth, which becomes like a dome, and then he immediately throws it into the container of the poor Christian"¹³². He then goes on by calculating the money earned by such trickery. This description integrates the steelyard of our scene and complements inseparably our understanding of both the fresco and the sermon. Selected facial parts of the devil, such as the eyes, have been scraped off.

The women who chatter at church appear only once, in the Church of St Nicholas at Toshkëz (**Fig. 14**)¹³³. A throng of five people are standing before a church at the top left of the painting and engage into conversation. Two men at the front, dressed with the clothes of local nobility are discussing facing each other, the one on the left opening both his arms. Two of the women are standing behind the two men, while a third one is standing to their left. Men wear hats, while wom-

130 Inscription: "ὁ κρασοπουλῖς" (the vintner).

131 It is not surprising that Nektarios Terpos castigates drunkenness, *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 286.

132 *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 396.

133 Inscription: 8. "ἡ γυναῖκαις ὅπου συντιχένουν, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν" (the women who blab in the church).

en head-scarfs. A thick black line appears to tape their mouths, in a depiction of disapproval of chattering in church. The reason for which the scene represents both men and women, although only women are mentioned in the inscription is provided in a moral teaching of a homily “on perfect love” by Nektarios Terpos: “Your wives should be quiet in church, because they have been granted no power to talk, but should be submissive, as the law requires. If they want to learn anything, they should ask their husbands at home. Because it is an ugly thing for women to blab in God’s church”¹³⁴. Although no demon is depicted in the scene, the placement of the subject in the register of sinners’ torments leaves no doubt as to where such practices lead.

Having described the Last Judgement scenes from eight Myzeqe monuments, with special emphasis on the representations of sinners’ torments, and how our partial understanding of the scenes is complemented by the work compiled by Nektarios Terpos, I was stunned to conclude that the defacing of devils’ faces and, on occasion, other parts was undoubtedly deliberate. Such defacing is selective in the sense that other representations of devils, such as the dragon of depths at Ardenica Monastery and St George’s Church at Vanaj (Figs. 15, 6) or the devil devouring Arius in Libofsha (Fig. 11), have not been defaced. I find it unreasonable to believe that the scraping of the devils’ faces in all monuments considered was accidental or non-deliberate, as the figures and faces of devils in other, also accessible parts of the subject not mentioned in Nektarios Terpos’ work bore no such signs of violence. Despite this, however, it was impossible to conclusively determine whether or not the damage coincided with the time Nektarios Terpos’ homilies circulated and were utilized in preaching. Such selective defacing is surely evidence that the audience was very capable of grasping what these figures were and expresses their discontent with them by scraping some of their parts off. What, then, made the scrapers associate with these specific representations of devils and not others? By linking the Last Judgement scene with homilies compiled by preaching practices associated with Nektarios Terpos, I suggest that it is the complementarity of a text and an image in the unity provided through homiletic practices in the narthex of churches which should be credited with the faithful being able to figure out parts of the immensely complex subject of the

134 Garitsis, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 302. Cf. 1 Corinthians 14:34-35.

Fig. 23. Constantine & Terpos, painters from Korça, Those who sleep on Sundays and do not go to church, detail from the Last Judgement, 1782, wall painting, fresco, Church of St George, Libofsha, Lushnja, © G. Giakoumis



Last Judgement. The, once again, selective scraping of other devils mentioned in Terpos' work, such as the devils participating in the weighing of the souls (Fig. 11) or Belzebul (Figs. 15, 6)¹³⁵, seems to support my thesis.

¹³⁵ On Belzebul, for example, see *Garitsis*, Konstantinos. Ο Νεκτάριος Τέρπος, 445.

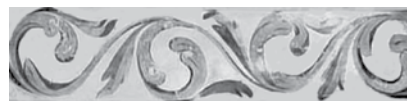
Such an organic complementarity between one or more artworks (scenes of the Last Judgement) and texts (the *enargetic* work of Nektarios Terpos), united in homiletic practices delivered within a space where imagery and text meet (the narthex) is an example in which the textual visuality (aka *enargeia*) of Nektarios Terpos' work interacts with the visual textuality of the Last Judgement scene. This occurs in such a way that when one is not coupled with the other, then the understanding of the text and the image is incomplete. Furthermore, this helps explain why some – and not other – evil figures escaped defacement. I have therefore argued that complementarity and interdependency between a text and an image can exist even beyond the boundaries of a single artwork. By doing so, I believe I have demonstrated how Nektarios Terpos' work and episodes of the Last Judgement scenes were experienced by the 18th and 19th century Myz-eqe peasantry in the frame of homiletic practices.

Текстуална визуалност и визуална текстуалност на изображения, повлияни от текстове. Сборникът „Вяра“ на Нектариос Терпос и сцената „Страшният съд“ в Мюзече, Централна Албания

Константинос Якумис



Тази статия разглежда релацията между визуалността, заложена в наративната техника (текст), и текстуалността, третирана чрез визуализиращата техника (образ). Следвайки тази връзка, авторът илюстрира взаимодействието между текст и образност, които се интегрират не само в едно произведение на изкуството, а в пространството като функционално единство с цел да предложи осъзнато взаимодействие между художника и свещеника проповедник в църква или манастир. Така се достига до тезата, че съществува взаимно допълване и взаимозависимост между текст и изображение, които могат да надскочат обемите на един паметник. За основа на този дебат се използват не само други публикации, но и десетата хомилия „За предстоящия съд“ на Нектариос Терпос и сцената „Страшният съд“ от нартекса на католикона на манастира Арденица, а също така и от други църкви в района на Мюзече, Централна Албания.



Texts, Inscriptions, and Images in the Church of St Nicholas, Monastery of Bachkovo

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Abstract: An analysis of the epigraphic material of the Church of St Nicholas at the Monastery of Bachkovo, built, according to researchers, in the period 1834–1837, is provided here. A detailed deciphering of all the Greek inscriptions at the church suggests even spicier observations. The Church of St Nicholas at the Monastery of Bachkovo is a good case in point of a reconstruction of the creative process of Orthodox painters during the Ottoman period. In the process, it becomes apparent, the use of painter's manuals was common; at times prints and vitae of saints were used as models, while the iconographic innovations were limited, being compilations of already used motifs.

Keywords: Bachkovo monastery, Zachary Zograph, Greek epigraphy, cryptography, Samokov art school, artistic creative process, murals technique

The Church of St Nicholas at the Monastery of Bachkovo was built, according to researchers, in the period 1834 – 1837¹. The church has a cross-in-square plan with one nave, naos, and an open columned narthex. This medium-sized for the nineteenth century church has a pentagonal apse at the east end and a dome resting on a drum pierced by 12 windows over its central part².

1 *Goshev, Ivan. Novi dannii za istoriata i arheologiatata na Bachkovskia manastir. – Godishnik na Sofiiskia Universitet, Bogoslovski fakultet, VI, 1931, 371; Prashkov, Lyuben – Bakalova, Elka – Boyadzhiev, Stefan. Manastirite v Bulgaria. Sofia, 1992, 264; Tsavarakov, Georgi. Bulgarski manastiri. Sofia, 1978, 352; Dinova-Ruseva, Vera. Stenopisite v bachkovskata manastirska tsarkva "Sv. Nikolay Mirlikijski". – Izkustvo, 1994, № 14, 26; Kisiov, Stoyan. Tvorchestvoto na Zahari Zograf v Bachkovskia manastir. – Trakia, 1975, № 2, 113, etc.*

2 The church was explored in November 2015 under the project *Index and Repertorium of the Church Mural Painting in Bulgaria of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, and materials of the deputy project leader, Dr Alexander Kuyumdjiev as well as photos by Dr Ivan Vanev have been used for this study.





Fig. 1. Detail of the Last Judgment' scene, narthex of the St Nicholas church at the Bachkovo monastery, Zachary Zographos, 1840

The church is decorated with a layer of murals, dating from the nineteenth century, spanning the naos and the open narthex. The church was painted by Zachary Christof Zographos from Samokov, the church donor was Vulko Chalukov from Plovdiv³. On 1 May 1840 the icon-painter was commissioned by the monastery administration to paint the church for a fee amounting to 7,000 groschen⁴. Zachary's correspondence with Neophyte of Rila shows that the decoration has commenced in late May⁵, while the donor's inscription in the naos makes it clear that the painting of this section of the church has been completed on 15 October 1840⁶. In other words, this medium-sized church has been fully decorated by one chief work-master for a period of eighteen weeks. Zachary had possibly a helpmate preparing the ground and the undercoat, mixing paints to the right shade, execut-

3 Zahariev, Vassil. Zaharij Hristovich Zograf. Sofia, 1957, 46.

4 Vasiliev, Assen. Bulgarski vazrozhdenski majstori. Sofia, 1965, 340, 360. The same date occurs in one of Zachary's ledgers.

5 Dinova-Ruseva, Vera. Stenopisite, 27.

6 Goshev, Ivan. Novi dannii, 371, 373.

ing raiments, backgrounds, architectural elements, ornamentations, etc. The assumptions that he has worked with his brother Demeter Zographos on the *Last Judgment*⁷ (Fig. 1) in the narthex have proved unfounded for now.

The iconographic items, i.e. figures, scenes, symbols, ornaments, etc., in the Church of St Nicholas total 229. Of them, 201 bear just one inscription each – a name of a saint, martyr, righteous or a scene title – while about 49 of the scenes/figures have a second inscription. These are more often than not inscriptions on scrolls or other information about the representations. In other words, we have about 250 inscriptions, mostly in Greek due to the Greek-speaking environment at the stauropegic Monastery of Bachkovo in the first half of the nineteenth century, as well as to the multiethnic and multireligious picture in the cities located nearby such as Stenimachon and Philippopolis (Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Jews, Catholics). A few of the inscriptions were translated into Old Church Slavonic language. Assuming that the process of decoration of the church has lasted precisely eighteen weeks, the icon-painter and his possible helpmate have painted about 1.7 iconographic motifs per day, making around 0.92 inscriptions or 3 or 4 sq m of the decorated area, which in some ways explains the somewhat inaccurate performance of the painter at the church under consideration. The work stages, of course, have varied in duration with varying degrees of painter's concentration: the process began with lining off the paint area, outlining the main contours using compasses onto a limewash primer; then stencils were applied onto some areas; dark colours were applied first of all because of the egg tempera used here; the contours of the images were formed using black pigment and at the next stage, the lighted planes, the carnation and the so-called highlights in white were done. Such techniques allowed for working at the same time on several square metres with tempera paints, i.e. to work simultaneously on several scenes. To all appearances, the inscriptions were last to be done at the final stage of the decoration of the Church of St Nicholas in Bachkovo, typically of any Orthodox church.

Zachary Christovich, born in Samokov, was of Bulgarian extraction, a champion of an autocephalous church, the leader of the movement for expelling the Greek metropolitan from his native place, an enlight-

⁷ Goshev, Ivan. Novi dannii, 371, 373.

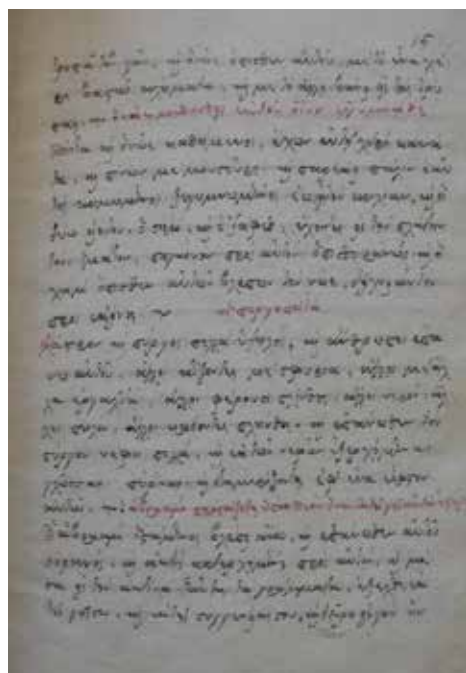
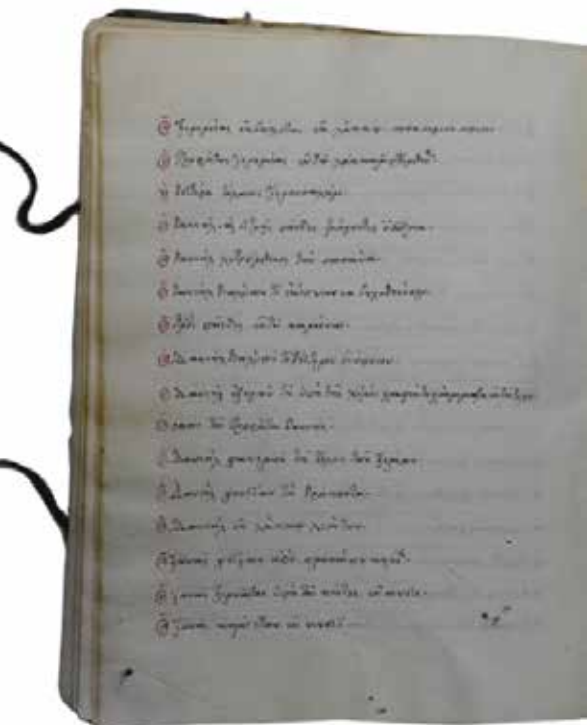


Fig. 2 and 3. Pages of Dospey's family painter's manuals, NAIM 6 (left) and NAIM 11 (right)

ener⁸, who nevertheless was proficient in written and spoken Greek to be able to work at churches in Greek-speaking environments. The Dospey family, whose member Zachary was, had painter's manuals in Greek, proven to have been used by brothers Demeter and Zachary⁹ (Fig. 2 and 3). Notes, letters and drafts in Greek occur also in Zachary's ledgers, kept now at the National History Museum, but owned by the National Institute of Archaeology with Museum, BAS¹⁰.

Both his proficiency in Greek and his Bulgarian extraction are demonstrated at the Church of St Nicholas in Bachkovo. The painter, for example, apparently without consulting the manual at hand, has inscribed: Ο ΠΡΟΦ(ΗΤΗΣ) ΝΑΤΑΝ (sic! ΝΑΘΑΝ); Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ. scroll: ΤΑΔΕ ΛΕΓΗ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΘΕΣΤΕ (sic! ΘΕΣΘΕ) ΤΑΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΥΜΩΝ¹¹. Confusing letters

8 Dinova-Ruseva, Vera. Socio-psihologicheski etyud varhu lichnostta i tvorchestvoto na Zaharii Zograf. – Art Studies Quarterly, 2010, № 4, 3.

9 Russeva, Ralitsa. Zografski narachnik na Zahari Zograf (NAIM № 11) – sadarzhane i prilozhenie. – Art Studies Quarterly, 2010, № 4, 9.

10 Russeva, Ralitsa. Zografski narachnik, 9-14.

11 As mentioned previously, the quotes from the prophets are somewhat confused. This is Hag-



Fig. 4. St Stefan, naos of the St Nicholas church at the Bachkovo monastery, Zachary Zographos, 1840

T and *Θ* is a common occurrence within the Slavs when writing in Greek. There is another inscription in the chancel: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ*¹²

¹² gai 1:7. See Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά, Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης. Εν Πετρούπολει, 1909, 78.

¹² The spelling here is specific: *Ο ΑΓΓΜΣ*, but is merely of decorative importance.



Fig. 5. The Holy Spirit with a Gospel and Tools of the Passion as an Epitome of Salvation and Paradise, naos of the St Nicholas church at the Bachkovo monastery, Zachary Zographos, 1840

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΟΜΑΡΤ(Υ)ΡΟΣ ΟΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ¹³ (Fig. 4), where the painter inscribed 'οι' instead of 'και' as a phonetic transcription of the Slavonic conjunction 'u' (*and*). And in some instances a careless reference to the original text resulted in funny messages as, for example, in a segment of the inscription circumscribing the representation of Jesus in the dome: ... ΕΓΩ ΤΗ ΧΟΙΠΙ (sic! ΧΕΙΠΙ) ΜΟΥ ΕΣΤΕΡΕΩΣΑ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ, where the diphthong *ει* is confused with *οι* and the word 'hand' has become 'pig', i.e. this text has to be translated as: '... I supported the Heaven with my pig'. On Archangel Gabriel's scroll, however, the word 'hand' is spelled correctly: ΟΞΥΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ/ ΤΗ ΧΕΙΠΙ ΦΕΡΩΝ/... These, of course, are isolated cases of errors of a total of 250 or so inscriptions due to either imprecisely consulting the source or illegibly written characters in the manuscript. I'd put down to the latter the following inaccuracies in the spelling, for instance, of the names of some of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste: Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΑΥΔΩΣ. (sic! ΚΑΝΔΙΔΩΣ)¹⁴;

13 Πρωτομάρτυς και αρχιδιάκονος. Apparently, here the masculine plural definite article 'οι' has a merely phonetic function standing for the Bulgarian conjunction 'u'. The entire signification of Archdeacon St Stephen evinces an improvisation, which rather bears a resemblance to a Greek text than to a phonetic inscription with errors.

14 As below, in spelling the name of St Xanthius 'v' has been mistaken for 'u' in the original text, because in the Hermeneia the names are written in lower case.



Fig. 6. Scene of St Nicholas vita, entitled Shocked at the sight of that saint, the bishop asked if it was an angel, naos of the St Nicholas church at the Bachkovo monastery, Zachary Zographos, 1840

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΣ. (sic! ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ); Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΞΑΥΔΙΑΣ (sic! ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ); Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΕΝΟΙΚΟΣ (ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ¹⁵/ ΕΥΝΟΪΚΟΣ¹⁶), etc. Apparently, the handwriting of the entire record of the Martyrs of Sebaste in the available painter's manual had not been legible enough, due to which the Bulgarian painter could not distinguish handwritten 'v' from 'y'.

In his work on the iconographic programme of the Church of St Nicholas, Zachary would for the most part follow the written instructions of Dionysius of Phourna, a fact establishable by the previously discussed scenes and inscriptions belonging to them. He would, however, take the liberty of experimenting, which shows in a rare not signified scene, which I could descriptively title *The Holy Spirit with a Gospel and Tools of the Passion as an Epitome of Salvation and Paradise* (Fig. 5). It is placed in a central position on one of the pendentives of the naos. The motif has been thematically 'taken out' of the scene of the Second Coming or more particularly of the scene *Κολάσεις*

15 In older iconographic manuals of Daniel's type the name of the martyr is Eunicus, i.e. 'who conquers best'. Cf. *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*. Εμμηνεία, 272.

16 In Dionysius of Phourna the name has become Eunoicus, i.e. 'well-intentioned'. Cf. *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*. Εμμηνεία, 160. Here Zachary apparently used a manual where the name was almost illegible and he wrote an over-line symbol for an abbreviation. Ευνόικος though has to mean 'well hired'.

because of the presence of the Holy Spirit in it. Semantically, this part of the scene is an opposition to Hell, representing the True Cross and the Arma Christi (the instruments of Christ's passion). On each side, a couple of angles is represented as saying: *'Ours is the kingdom of heaven'* and *'Show us (thy) good works and rejoice at thy reward'*¹⁷. Making

17 See Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά. Ερμηνεία, 288.

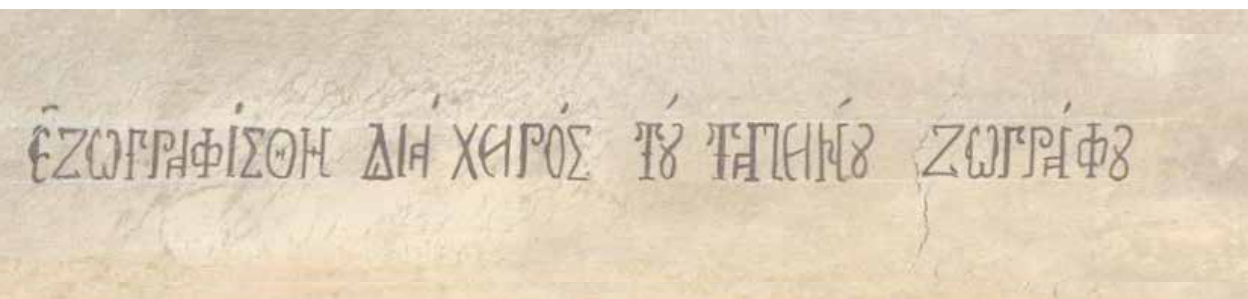


Fig. 7 Signature of Zachary Zographos on his self-portrait at the St Nicholas church at the Bachkovo monastery, Zachary Zographos, 1840

this choice, Zachary on the one hand adhered to the logic of the iconographic programme, representing the Holy Spirit here, and painting together the Holy Trinity and Heaven as a soteriological symbol in an appropriate for this purpose area of the church on the other. It may safely be said that here none of the known painter's manuals has been used, nor could I refer to a theological text, from which this idea could be gleaned. At the eponymous church, Zachary painted also a more amplified version of the pictorial cycle of the life of St Nicholas as compared with the standard scenes prescribed in the painter's manuals. Some of the scenes in Bachkovo occur in a print (paper icon) of 1793, which has certainly been a source of the representation of some of the hagiographical moments at the Chapel of St Nicholas at the Rila Monastery¹⁸. Others though have been borrowed from the saint's vita, which shows in the Greek vernacular of the turn of the nineteenth century, in which the Bachkovo inscriptions are written. The following inscription, for example, presents serious difficulties (**Fig. 6**): [CYN]EKAMENOS (EPXAMENOS?) O EΠIΣKOΠOΣ NA EIDH EKEINON AΓIOY TON [EPΩTΩN?] O AΓΓEΛOΣ: *'Shocked at*

18 Kuyumdzhiev, Alexander. Stenopisite v glavnata tsarkva na Rilska manastir. Sofia, 2015, 559.

the sight of that saint, the bishop asked if it was an angel'¹⁹. There is a chance that the scenes here have been selected and prescribed by the Bachkovo friary and that the latter have possibly dictated the inscriptions on them to the painter as may be evidenced by an inscription, where 'St Nicholas rescues a man from drowning en route to Byzantion (Constantinople)' Η ΕΚ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΝ (sic! ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ).



A detailed deciphering of all the inscriptions at the church suggests even spicier observations, which may well be due to the professional deformation of the epigrapher's personality. Only in four instances of the entire painted mural decoration of the Church of St Nicholas the painter has inscribed the mostly Slavonic at that time character 'З' instead of the usual Greek 'Ζ'²⁰ (Fig. 7). This has taken place in signifying the eponymous Prophet ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ; in the scene *The Entry into Jerusalem*: Η ΒΑΪΟΦΟΡΟΣ/ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΣΦΟΔΡΑ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡ ΣΙΩΝ, ΙΔΟΥ ΓΑΡ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΟΥ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΣΟΙ, ΕΠΙΒΕΒΗΚΩΣ, ΕΠΙ ΥΠΟΖΥΓΙΟΝ²¹ ΚΑΙ ΠΩΛΟΣ ΝΕΟΝ./ ЦѢТОНОСІЕ.; in his self-portrait:²² Ο ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ Χ. ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ. САМОΚΟΒΙΟΝ ΖΑΧΑΡΙЇ Χ. ЗΩΓΡΑФЪ БОЛГАРИНЪ and on his scroll: ΕΖΩΓΡΑΦ(Ι)ΣΘΗ/ ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΜΟΥ. ѿзобрази сѧ рскаго моего., and in the donor's inscrip-

19 The inscription to this scene is a problematical one as it has probably been effaced as early as the nineteenth century. Here on the one hand not everything is discernible and on the other, what is discernible is grammatically incorrect. For instance, in the end an angel is mentioned, who could have been the central figure in the sentence but for the fact that the angel is missing in the painting. The angel is not to be found in any of the manuals available to me for the time being. In any case, this is a citation from a late Greek popular vita of St Nicholas.

20 Actually 3 for Z in Byzantine epigraphy is used, but in previous periods.

21 Here as with the spelling of Prophet Zechariah, the Cyrillic letter 'З' is used.

22 The inscription is published in: *Ivanov*, Yordan. Asenevata krepost i Bachkovskia manastir. – *Izvestia na bulgarskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo*, II, 1911, 226; *Vasiliev*, Assen. Bulgarski vazrozhdenski majstori, 341.



Fig. 8. The Most Holy Mother of God in *The Annunciation* at the chancel of the Church of St Nicholas at the Bachkovo monastery, Zachary Zographos, 1840



Fig. 9. The Most Holy Mother of God (detail)

tion about the painting of the church.²³
 ΕΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΣΘΗ
 ΕΙC/ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΤΗΣ
 ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣ ΗΜΩΝ
 ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ, ΚΑΙ/
 ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ
 ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ
 ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ
 ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ/ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ
 ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ
 ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΙΣ
 ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
 ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΥ/ ΤΟΥ
 ΕΚ ΖΑΑΡΑ/ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ
 ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ 1840.
 Μ(ΗΝ). ΟΚΤΟΒΡΙΟΥ
 15./ ΕΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΣΘΗ
 ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ
 ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΥ
 ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΧΡΙΣΤ. ΤΟΥ

ΕΝ ΣΑΜΟΚΟΒΙΟΝ. 'Painted in praise of our Holy Trinity and in commemoration of our Father Nikolay in the days of the Hegumen, servant of God, Hieromonch Matthew from Zaara, in the year of Our Lord 1840, on the Fifteenth Day of October, painted by the hand of the humble icon-painter Zachary Christ(ovich), from Samokov'. In other words, the Slavonic 'z' has been used only in the name of the painter, in that of the eponymous prophet and in the Greek word for 'donkey', ὑποζύγιον. It is hard to judge whether it has happened inadvertently or the painter has sought to admit using self-deprecating humour: 'Zachary (is) a donkey!?'

I wouldn't go so far as to make the above assumption, if Zachary's affinity for cryptic messages had not been recorded. He is known to have exchanged cryptic letters with Neophyte of Rila. Such sym-

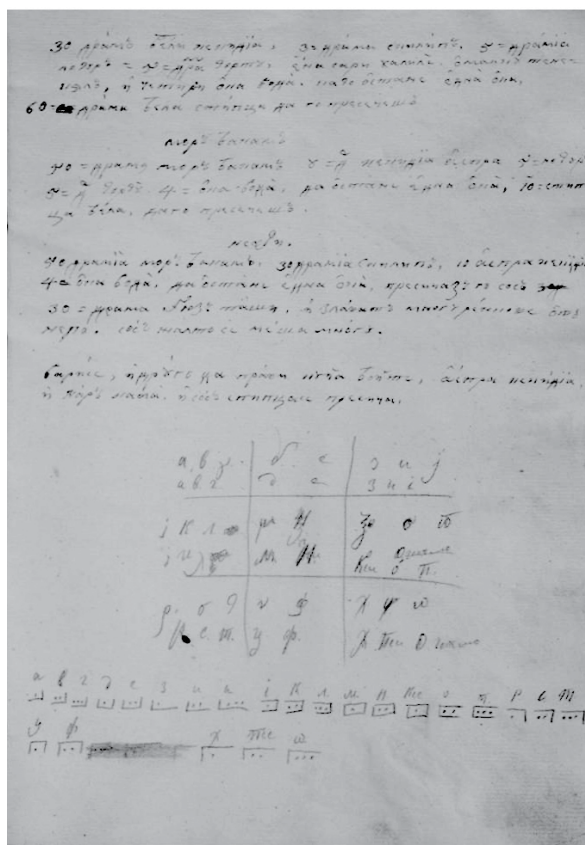


Fig. 10. Page of Zachary's agenda with the key for his cryptic script (KVP 7034)

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bols, matching certain Cyrillic and Greek characters, occur also in the open book of the Most Holy Mother of God in *The Annunciation* at the chancel of the Church of St Nicholas (Fig. 8). The key to deciphering the symbols is found in one of Zachary's ledges, which I publish here. Some of the symbols in the book are barely discernible, and some of them are lost, damaged, in all likelihood, during the restoration works back in the 1970s. On the face of it, the symbols in the first row resemble characters, but they form nonexistent words such as κηζικι (κατζίκι?) (Fig. 9). The symbols further furnish insufficient information for deciphering: ... λ η χ ε θ... ε... ο... ... εος ο... One thing is certain though: the inscription is in Greek because of the letter θ there (the rest of them are identical to the Cyrillic letters of the code). Zachary apparently has encrypted a text within the representation of the Most Holy Mother of God in *The Annunciation* in the chancel to convey his own 'good news', yet its content remains concealed. It hardly made sense to the monks either or they would have not endorsed the painter's work if noticing the strange symbols in the open book before the Most Holy Mother of God. The addressee of the message is also unclear as the access for readers behind the chancel screen is limited (Fig. 10).

The Church of St Nicholas at the Monastery of Bachkovo is a good case in point of a reconstruction of the creative process of Orthodox painters during the Ottoman period. In the process, it becomes apparent, the use of painter's manuals was common; at times prints and vitae of saints were used as models, while the iconographic innovations were limited, being compilations of already used motifs. Artists, in their work, were also playing pranks on the viewer to a degree, due either to the artist's narcissistic ego, as in the use of the Cyrillic letter 'З' in precisely specified words, or cryptic messages have been used in the manner of the medieval period, which, for a variety of reasons, remain unknown. Ironically, by the time when Zachary painted his traditional two-dimensional representations in Bachkovo, giving the final touches to the Balkan medieval period and making efforts to make them varied by using childish codes, Samuel Morse was awarded overseas a patent for the telegraph code on 24 June 1840... And we are still struggling with this communication time delay.

Текстове, надписи и образи в бачковската църква „Св. Никола“

Емануел Мутафов



Тази статия е резултат от обработването на всички надписи от църквата „Св. Никола“ в Бачковския манастир от 1834 – 1837 г. Използвайки цялата налична информация за изписването на тази средна по размер за православието църква, се предлага модел за реконструкцията на творческия процес и в по-ранни епохи – приблизителни срокове за изписване, детайли от последователността в изографисването, писането на надписите, използването на писани наръчници, внасянето на индивидуални елементи в иконографската програма и закодираните послания на художника. Изследва се и отношението между иконографски модел (наративен и изобразителен), между надпис в ръкопис и появата му върху стена или дърво, както и между изобразеното и неговото словесно сигниране. Пикантен акцент се поставя и върху приложението на тайнописа на Захарий Зограф, използван в този паметник.

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