

The *Akathistos Hymn* in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Traditions

The History of a Liturgical Masterpiece
Between Text and Image

Vol. II

Supplementa

Études byzantines et post-byzantines

VOLUME 5/2

Editor

Andrei Timotin



Académie Roumaine
Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes
Société Roumaine d'Études Byzantines

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edited by
Emanuela Timotin, Lidia Cotovanu, Ovidiu Olar



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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Vlad Bedros is Lecturer in the Department of Art History and Theory at the National University of Arts in Bucharest and Senior Researcher at the “G. Oprescu” Institute of Art History of the Romanian Academy. From 2020 to 2022 he led the project *Networks of Devotion: The Selection of Saints as Marker of Religious Identity in Post-Byzantine Moldavian Representations (Wall-Paintings and Texts)* at New Europe College, Bucharest. He works on the visual culture of Moldavia from the reign of Stephen the Great (1457–1504) through the first half of the sixteenth century. He focuses on aspects of performativity, liminality, hybridity and transcultural exchanges in Moldavian art. His most recent publication is “The Devotion to the Five Companions in Moldavian Texts and Images, ca 1480 – ca 1530: Between Trebizond and Mount Athos,” RESEE 61, 2023, p. 63-84.

Policarp Chițulescu, archimandrite at the Monastery of Radu Vodă in Bucharest, patriarchal counsellor, director of the Library of the Holy Synod, is a specialist in bibliophilia and rare books. He holds a PhD in Theology with a specialization in Christian literature from the University of Sibiu. He attended numerous conferences, wrote and published books and several dozen of studies. Research fields: history of the book (manuscripts, printed books and libraries), writing practices and the circulation of ideas and cultural relations between the Romanian Principalities and Europe. He published catalogues of manuscripts and rare books, including *Cartea slavă din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod (secolele XVI–XVIII)* [The Slavic Book in the Library of the Holy Synod (16th–18th Centuries)] (Bucharest, 2024). He is Senior Researcher with the ERC Advanced Grant *Early Arabic Printing for the Arab Christians: Cultural Transfers between Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Near-East in the 18th Century* (TYPARABIC), hosted by the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, which studies the relationships between the Romanian Principalities and Arabic-speaking Christians through the printing of ecclesiastical books.

Constantin I. Ciobanu is scientific secretary of the “G. Oprescu” Institute of Art History of the Romanian Academy. He previously worked at the Institute of Cultural Heritage of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova.

He graduated from the “Mihail V. Lomonosov” State University in Moscow (1984). In 1993 he obtained his doctorate in Art History at the same institution, with the thesis “Attribution and dating of the mural paintings of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary Church in Căușeni.” He specialized in the field of Romanian medieval and pre-modern art. In 2002 he was awarded the National Prize of the Republic of Moldova in the field of literature, art and architecture for the book *Icoane vechi din colecții basarabene. Old Icons from Bessarabian Collections* (Chișinău, 2000).

Lidia Cotovanu (PhD, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris) is Senior Researcher at the “N. Iorga” Institute of History of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest). Her research focuses on the migration flows in South-Eastern Europe, in the 15th–18th centuries; the jurisdiction of the Eastern Patriarchates over the Romanian Principalities; Post-Byzantine Orthodox devotional practices and evergetism and “citizenships” in medieval and modern South-Eastern Europe. She is the author of *Émigrer en terre valaque. Estimation quantitative et qualitative d’une mobilité géographique de longue durée (seconde moitié du XIV^e – début du XVIII^e siècle)* (Brăila, 2022). For AKATHYMN, she investigated the Greek manuscripts of Metropolitan Matthew of Myra.

Cristina-Ioana Dima is Lecturer in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Bucharest. She completed a PhD in Philology with a monograph on the Romanian tradition of the *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, which was published in 2012. Her other main scientific works include: *O traducere inedită a Vechiului Testament din secolul al XVI-lea* [An Unknown Translation of the Old Testament from the 16th Century] (Bucharest, 2009); *Opera necunoscută a unui cărturar român din secolul al XVIII-lea. Traducerile din italiană și germană ale lui Vlad Boțulescu* [The Unknown Work of a Romanian Scholar of the 18th Century. Vlad Boțulescu’s Translations from Italian and German] (Bucharest, 2013, vol. 2) and *Vechi însemnări românești* [Ancient Romanian Notes] (Bucharest, 2021). As member of the AKATHYMN project, she focused on the edition of Dosoftei’s book *Carte de rugăciuni* (Uniev, 1673) [Prayer Book], which includes the first Romanian printed version of the *Akathistos Hymn*.

Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan, Prof. Dr. Phil. Habil., is the first and until now the only professor of Armenian Studies in Germany as well as the

long-standing director of the MESROP Centre of Armenian Studies at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Institute of Oriental Studies. Her research interests include comparative studies of Armenian medieval literature in the context of Byzantine Greek and Oriental Christian languages and cultures. Together with the theologian Hermann Goltz, within the framework of a DFG project, she prepared a parallel German-Armenian edition of the *Hymnarium* of the Armenian Apostolic Church SHARAKAN published by Brepols in the *Patrologia Orientalis* series.

Guoda Gediminskaitė is a third-year PhD student at the University of the Republic of San Marino. Prior to embarking on the PhD program in Historical Studies, she obtained her Bachelor's and Master's Degrees in History and Theory of Arts at Vilnius Academy of Arts. She earned her second Master's Degree at Ca' Foscari University of Venice, double majoring in History of Arts and Conservation of Artistic Heritage (Curriculum of Medieval and Byzantine Art). Relying on a thorough autoptic interrogation of evidence through a combined philological and art historical investigation, she focuses specifically on the intellectual history and the material culture in the late Palaiologan period. She aims to examine in particular the history of ideas and the intellectual exchanges between the capital Constantinople and Crete, a key area of Byzantium, in the late 14th – early 15th century.

Nicolae Gheorghîță is Professor of Byzantine Musical Palaeography, Musical Stylistics and Theories of Byzantine Chant Performance at the National University of Music in Bucharest, as well as a conductor and performer with the *Psalmodia* Choir of Byzantine music. Graduate of the National University of Music in Bucharest, he continued his studies in Greece (Athens and Thessaloniki), and he has been the recipient of research grants from the universities of Cambridge (UK), St. Petersburg and Venice. He has held post-doctoral fellowships at New Europe College and at the Musical Institute for Advanced Doctoral Studies, Bucharest. He has been a member of the Union of Romanian Composers and Musicologists since 2001. Twice he has been awarded the prestigious prize of this institution: in 2010 for *Byzantine Music between Constantinople and the Danubian Principalities. Studies in Byzantine Musicology* and in 2015 for *Musical Crossroads. Church Chants and Brass Bands at the Gates of the Orient*. In 2015 he also received the Music Prize of the Romanian Academy. Nicolae Gheorghîță is the author of ten volumes

on musicology and more than 50 academic studies published in Romania, Greece, Finland, Italy, the US, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and the UK. He is editor of the *Musica Sacra* section within the international journal *Musicology Today*.

Mihail-George Hâncu is Senior Researcher at the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy. He obtained his PhD in Classical Philology from the Universities of Bucharest and Hamburg (joint PhD) in 2018. His research interests include Classical Philology, Old Slavonic, Christian Hagiography and Serbian Literature. He wrote several studies on specific aspects within these subjects, including “*Begin as You Mean to Go On: The Opening Chapters of the Palaea Historica in Greek, Slavonic, and Romanian,*” *Études balkaniques* 57, n° 2, 2021, p. 227-250. He also authored two monographs: *Lupta cu Haosul. Terminologia cosmogoniilor presocratice* (Bucharest, 2018) and *The Terminology of Ancient Greek Cosmogonies* (Bucharest, 2019). His research within the AKATHYMN project was dedicated to the Slavonic tradition of the *Akathistos Hymn*.

Oana Iacubovschi (PhD, National University of Arts, Bucharest) is Senior Researcher at the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy. Her research focuses on artistic interactions in South-Eastern Europe during the late medieval and early modern periods, with a special emphasis on artistic production in the Moldavian and Wallachian principalities, the influence of private devotional practices and liturgy on visual arts, as well as the dynamic relations between different artistic media. As member of the ERC Advanced Grant TYPARABIC, she is currently investigating the impact of Wallachian book engraving on the first Arabic-language printing press established in Aleppo, Ottoman Syria, in the early years of the eighteenth century. In the frame of the AKATHYMN project, she focused on seventeenth-century depictions of the *Akathistos* cycles.

Roksolana Kosiv is Doctor in Art Studies (PhD Hab.), professor, head of the Sacral Art Department at Lviv National Academy of Arts (Ukraine) and Senior scholar at the Department of Old Art of the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv. Her main research interest is Ukrainian church art of the 17th–18th centuries. In her PhD dissertation (2002), she studied different types of Ukrainian banners of the 17th–18th centuries. Her habilitation dissertation was on the centre for religious art in the town of Rybotychi

(1670–1760): *Риботицький осередок церковного мистецтва 1670–1760-х років* (Lviv, 2019). Dr. Kosiv is also responsible for the collection of old textiles at the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv.

Danial Mutalâp is Junior Researcher in the Literary Language and Philology Department at the “Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. He is a PhD candidate, preparing a critical edition of the *Philokalia of Dragomirna* (BAR, Rom MS 2597). His research interests include: old Romanian Literature, philology, ascetical writings, monastic miscellanies, apocrypha, reading practices, textual criticism, palaeography, codicology and watermarks. His publications include: “The structure and composition of a proto-Philokalic Romanian manuscript from 1769,” in L. Taseva, R. Marti (eds), *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe*, Brăila, 2020, p. 301-333; “The Source of the Oldest Romanian Translation of the Writings of St. Symeon The New Theologian,” *Scripta & e-Scripta* 23, 2023, p. 325-360. Within the AKATHYMN project he worked on the oldest Romanian translation of the *Akathistos Hymn* and the transmission of the liturgical text in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Charbel Nassif completed a PhD in History of Art at Sorbonne University and a PhD at the Theology Catholic Institute of Paris, both in 2017. He is archivist and chief librarian of the Melkite Greek Catholic Patriarchate of Antioch (Raboueh) and researcher at CEDRAC – Saint-Joseph University (Beirut). From July 2021 he has been senior researcher in the TYPARABIC ERC Advanced Grant. His research interests are focused on the liturgical and iconographical heritage of the Melkite Church and on the Arab-Christian Heritage of Jesuits (16th–20th centuries).

Ovidiu Olar (PhD, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris) is Senior Researcher at the “N. Iorga” Institute of History of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest) and Principal Investigator of the ERC Starting Grant *Orthodoxies and Politics: The Religious Reforms of Mid-17th Century in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe* hosted by the Institute for Habsburg and Balkan Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Vienna). He has authored the book *La boutique de Théophile. Les relations du patriarche de Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris (1570–1638) avec la Réforme* (Paris, 2019). His research interests include the religious controversies of the seventeenth

century, the history of political ideas, and Jazz in Communist Romania. For AKATHYMN, he investigated the Greek manuscripts of Luke of Cyprus.

Oksana Shyroka is teacher of fine arts at the Oleksa Novakivskiy Art School in Lviv. She graduated from the Sacral Art department of the National Academy of Arts in Lviv with a Master's Degree. She graduated from the PhD graduate school at the same institution and is currently working on completing her dissertation, which focusses on the iconography and symbolism of the *Akathists* of the Mother of God and Jesus Christ in the Ukrainian art of the 17th and 18th centuries. Oksana's publications are devoted to the Ukrainian iconography of the *Akathists* of the Mother of God and of Christ.

Emanuela Timotin, Dr. Habil., is head of the Philology Department at the Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy. Her research areas are Romanian philology, charms, and apocrypha. She is currently leading the AKATHYMN project (New Europe College, Bucharest). She recently edited: *Représentations de la Vierge Marie entre culte officiel et vénération locale. Textes et images* (Heidelberg, 2022) (with C.-I. Dima and C. Bogdan), and *Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe and Related Areas* (Brăila, 2021) (with A. Miltenova and M. Cioată). Her most recent book is *The Cheirograph of Adam in Armenian and Romanian Traditions. New Texts and Images* (Turnhout, 2023) (with M. E. Stone).

Maria Tomadaki is Assistant Professor of Byzantine Philology at the University of Ioannina (Department of Philology). She worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony, within the framework of the long-term project *Die Editio critica maior des griechischen Psalters*. She studied Greek philology at the University of Crete and received her doctorate in Byzantine Philology from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 2015. From 2013 to 2017, she worked as a scientific collaborator at the *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams* of Ghent University. Her critical edition of John Geometres' iambic poems has been recently published by Brepols in *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* (2023).

Sister Atanasia Văetiși (Stavropoleos Monastery, Bucharest) is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Orthodox Theology at the University of Bucharest. She is art historian, alumna of the History and Theory of Art Department at the

National University of Art in Bucharest, where she obtained a PhD in 2007. She has published monographs, collection catalogues and academic studies in the field of medieval and pre-modern ecclesiastical heritage (16th–19th centuries). Her main areas of interest are post-Byzantine art in the Romanian territories, Byzantine and post-Byzantine iconography, monastic artistic patronage and artistic influences on the routes of spiritual lineage. She has worked on the last two topics in the framework of the ERC Consolidator Grant RICONTRANS.

ABBREVIATIONS

AARMSI = *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*

AB = *Analele Bucovinei*

AIIX = *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A. D. Xenopol"*

ANA = Albanian National Archives, Tirana

AP = *Analele Putnei*

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BAR = Biblioteca Academiei Române, Bucharest

BCMI = *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*

BMGS = *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France

BOR = *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*

BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

CA = *Cahiers archéologiques*

CRV = *Carte românească veche*

DIR, A = *Documente privind istoria României, A, Moldova*

DIR, B = *Documente privind istoria României, B, Țara Românească*

DLR = *Dicționarul limbii române*

DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

DRH, A = *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A, Moldova*

DRH, B = *Documenta Romaniae Historica, B, Țara Românească*

ΔΧΑΕ = *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*

EBE = Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος

EBPB = *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*

GIM = Gosudarstvennyj Istoritcheskij Muzej, Moscow

GOTR = *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*

HH = *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο*

JÖB = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*

JTS = *Journal of Theological Studies*

JWCI = *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

LR = *Limba română*

MMS = *Mitropolia Moldovei și a Sucevei*

MS(S) = Manuscript(s)

OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

PG = *Patrologia Graeca*

PL = *Patrologia Latina*

PLP = E. Trapp (ed.), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1996.

РАИК = *Русский археологический институт в Константинополе*

REB = *Revue des études byzantines*

RESEE = *Revue des études sud-est européennes*

RGB = Russiskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka

RGK = E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger (eds), *Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981–1997.

RI = *Revista istorică*

RIR = *Revista istorică română*

RMI = *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*

RMMMIA = *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă*

RRH = *Revue roumaine d'histoire*

RRHA = *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art*

RRL = *Revue roumaine de linguistique*

Rsl = *Romanoslavica*

SB = *Studi bizantini*

SCIA.AP = *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Artă plastică*

SMIM = *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*

ZRVI = *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF THE *AKATHISTOS HYMN* FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES: A DIACHRONIC SURVEY

Nicolae Gheorghiu

The written musical tradition of the *Akathistos Hymn* (AH) in Greek is one of the longest-lived, richest and best represented genres of Byzantine and post-Byzantine chant. Although some musicologists believe that elements of the AH were already used in liturgical practice as early as the sixth century,¹ the first surviving manuscripts of this remarkable hymn date from the thirteenth century.² The rich attestation to the written musical tradition of the AH spans about seven centuries, with manuscripts from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The structure of my article is determined by a division of this time span within two main periods: the first period covers the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and the second part deals with the second period, which stretches from the seventeenth until the first decades of the nineteenth century.³ Towards the end of this second period many compositions of the previous centuries were reworked or interpreted (ἐξήγησις) in the

¹ For an overview of the *Akathistos Hymn* during the Byzantine period, see E. Wellesz (ed.), *The Akathistos Hymn*, Copenhagen, 1957; idem, “The ‘Akathistos’: A Study in Byzantine Hymnography,” *DOP* 9–10, 1956, p. 141–174; Dimitri Conomos, “Akathistos,” in *Grove music online* (<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000000374?rskey=cvNVYW&result=1>, accessed on 12 February 2023); see also C. Thodberg, “Kontakion,” in *Grove music online* (<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000015341?rskey=Ohc8Ng&result=1>, accessed on 12 February 2023).

² It is interesting to note that the appearance of this repertoire and its recording in Byzantine musical codices from about 1300 onwards seems to be determined and influenced by the appearance, in the same period, of frescoes depicting the *Akathistos Hymn*. For details, see E. Spyrou, “When Iconography and Typika Meet: Performing the *Akathistos Hymnos* in Time and Space,” paper presented at the conference *Sung, Written and Painted. The Ακάθιστος ὕμνος and Intermedial Compositional Processes in Later Byzantium*, Göttingen University, 2–3 June 2022, unpublished. I thank Dr Spyrou very much for providing me with this paper.

³ See the excellent book by F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ὑμνος στη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή μελοποιία*, Athens, 2004. My paper is based, in particular, on the musicological and

so-called “New Notation” or “Chrysantine Notation”⁴ of Byzantine chant.⁵ This temporal partition is thus determined by the changes in Byzantine musical semiography that have occurred since the seventeenth century and which have had a major impact on the morphology and stylistics of this sacred repertoire.⁶

The AH repertoire is mainly included in a type of musical manuscript called *Oikēmatarion* or *Kalophōnikon Kontakarion*. There are more than 700 codices containing (partial or complete) musical versions of this hymn.⁷ From a stylistic point of view, it should be pointed out that the hymn’s melody is very elaborate, belonging to the type of composition called *papadikon melos*, developed most probably during the Palaeologan Renaissance.⁸

In what follows I will focus on what the musical manuscripts reveal about the composers of music for the AH. The first section will draw attention to composers from the first period. The second section provides a survey of composers from the second period. Within each of the two sections I will first mention composers who wrote music for part of the hymn, followed by those who composed music for the entire hymn.

1. *Composers of the Akathistos Hymn during the Thirteenth – Sixteenth Centuries*

For the first period, Byzantine musical codices mention nine composers of *oikoi* of the AH. Seven of these musicians composed music for specific sections of the Hymn and two others composed music for the entire AH. I will

paleographical investigation made by Flora Kritikou in this research and to whom I am grateful for the advice received during the elaboration of my study.

⁴ See the latest edition of Chrysanthos’ treatise edited by G. Konstantinou, *Θεωρητικόν μέγα της μουσικής, Χρύσανθου του εκ Μαδύτων. Το ανέκδοτο αυτόγραφο του 1816. Το έντυπο του 1832*, Mount Athos, 2007.

⁵ See Kenneth Levy’s definition (revised by Christian Troelsgård) of the term “Byzantine chant,” as it appears in *Grove music online*: <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004494?rskey=Z6LR4Z&result=1> (accessed 04.11.2023).

⁶ The movement was initiated by Balasios, Priest and Nomophylax (b. ca 1615 – d. ca 1700). A comprehensive bibliography on this subject can be found in Gr. Stathis, “Τὸ ὄνομά σου ὅτι καλόν, † Jørgen Raasted (19 Μαρτίου 1927 – 5 Μαΐου 1995),” *Θεολογία* 67, n° 3, 1996, p. 530-549.

⁷ F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114-117.

briefly review them in chronological order, starting with the authors who wrote music for certain fragments of the text of the AH.

1.1 *Composers of Specific Sections of the Akathistos Hymn*

The first known composer known of *oikoi* of the AH, especially of the first *oikos* and of the *kontakion*, was Michaēl Aneotēs or Ananeotēs (Μιχαήλ Ἀνεώτης/ Ἀνανεώτης) (ca. 1250 – ca. 1330). He was a well-known Byzantine musician, who held the offices of *Domestikos* (in a Byzantine choir, the pre-centor who intoned the melodic intonation formula [Ēchēma], sung to non-sense words) and *Lampadarios* (i.e. the musician leading the choir to the left of the altar).⁹ The fact that he was the first is recorded both in the musical manuscript tradition and also by an important musician of the Imperial Court in Constantinople, Manouil Doukas Chrysaphēs (fl. ca. 1440–1463). In his musical treatise written around 1548, preserved in the Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, Chrysaphēs mentions not only Aneotēs, but also other Byzantine musicians who composed the AH:

“The first composer of *oikoi* was Aneotēs and the second was Glykys, who imitated Aneotēs; next, the third was named Ethikos, who followed as teacher the aforementioned two writers, and after all of these Ioannēs Koukouzelēs who, even though he was truly great, was a teacher and did not depart from the science of his predecessors. Therefore, he followed in their footsteps and decided not to change anything which they had considered and proved sound. Thus he made no innovations. Ioannēs the lampadarios (i.e. Kladas), who came after these men and who was in no way inferior to his predecessors, wrote with his own hand these words, saying: ‘*Akathistos composed by me, Ioannēs Kladas, the lampadarios, imitating the old Akathistos as closely as possible.*’ He was not ashamed so to write, but rather took pride thereafter in not departing from the model provided by the effort of older composers and in not making innovations in matters that they had once and for all decided. In making this sound decision, these were his thoughts; he spoke his thoughts and in speaking did not lie, but he imitated the earlier composers who excelled in the science.”¹⁰

⁹ Gr. Stathis, *Introduction to Kalophony, the Byzantine Ars Nova. The Anagramatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*. Translated and revised by K. Terzopoulos, Oxford – Bern – Berlin – Bruxelles – Frankfurt am Main – New York – Vienna, 2014, p. 121-122; M. Chatzigiakoumis, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453–1832)*, vol. 1, Athens, 1975, p. 264-265.

¹⁰ D. E. Conomos (ed.), *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysapes, the Lampadarios: On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and on Certain Erroneous Views that Some Hold about it (Mount Athos,*

The second important author is Ioannēs Glykys the Protopsaltēs (fl. late thirteenth century), sometimes identified with Ioannēs XIII Glykys, the eponymous patriarch of Constantinople (r. 1315–1320).¹¹ The manuscripts record two melodic versions of the *kondakion* and of the first *oikos* (as well as of other *oikoi*) produced by Glykys. They have been transmitted in manuscripts from the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, some of the sixteenth and a few of the eighteenth century.¹²

Xenos or Xenophon Koronēs (fl. ca. 1325–1350) was a Lampadarios and Protopsaltēs of the Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople and an extremely important composer in the Palaeologan Renaissance. His works continued to be copied with great interest throughout the ages.¹³ He composed the *kontakion* and the first *oikos* of the AH, but they were written down a century later, in the fifteenth century.¹⁴

Nikiphoros Ethikos (fl. ca. 1300) is one of the major composers of the Byzantine period.¹⁵ He composed the music for a number of important *oikoi* of the AH (n^{os} 2, 12, and 18), which are now preserved in *Kontakaria* from the fourteenth – fifteenth century (see *Kontakaria* Iviron 972/1057, f. 44^v, 67^v; Sinai 1262, f. 109^v), and a few from the sixteenth century.¹⁶

Ioannēs Papadopoulos Koukouzelēs (fl. ca. 1300–1350) is generally viewed as the second great personality of Byzantine music after St. John of Damascus. In musical treatises of the time, he is often referred to as *maīstōr* (“master”) and *angelophōnos* (“angel-voice”).¹⁷ He was one of the most

Iviron Monastery MS 1120, July 1458), Vienna, 1985, p. 44–47. On the life and musical work of Manuel Chrysaphēs, see S. Antonopoulos, *The Life and Works of Manuel Chrysaphēs the Lampadarios, and the Figure of Composer in Late Byzantium*, PhD Thesis, City University London Department of Music, 2013.

¹¹ M. Chatziakoumēs, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα...*, p. 279–281. See also the analytical bibliography in K. Karagounēs, *Η παράδοση και εξήγηση του μέλους των χειρουργικών της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής μελοποιίας*, Athens, 2003, p. 179–182.

¹² See the *Kontakaria* MSS of Sinai 1262 (dated 1437), and of Iviron 972/1057 (first part of the fifteenth century). For details, see F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ύμνος...*, p. 120–133.

¹³ M. Chatziakoumēs, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα...*, p. 318–321; Gr. Stathis, *Η δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ύμνογραφία ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Μελοποιίᾳ*, ed. by Metropolitan of Kozanis Dionysios and Gr. T. Stathis, Athens, 1977, p. 102–103.

¹⁴ F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ύμνος...*, p. 134–135.

¹⁵ Gr. Stathis, *Η δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ύμνογραφία...*, p. 99–100.

¹⁶ F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ύμνος...*, p. 136–137.

¹⁷ E. Williams, *John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century*, PhD, Yale University, 1968, p. 211–229.

eminent Byzantine musicians during the Palaeologan dynasty (1261–1453)¹⁸ and was later declared a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Koukouzelēs composed the *kontakion* and *oikoi*, as well as *anagrammatismoi*¹⁹ to the first and last *oikos*. Of all the composers mentioned here, Koukouzelēs is the author whose musical work has most frequently been performed (translated/interpreted) and chanted in the nineteenth century.²⁰

Ioannēs Tzaknopoulos (fourteenth century) has composed only one *oikos*, *Πᾶσα φύσης ἀγγέλων* in the *nenano* mode (see Iviron 972/1057, f. 75^v).²¹

Manouil Doukas Chrysaphēs held the office of Lampadarios in the Byzantine Palace, being one of the close friends of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaeologos (1449–1453).²² He was one of the last *melourgoi*, composing during of the age of the fall of Constantinople. With the exodus caused by the Ottoman conquest of the imperial capital in 1453, Chrysaphēs moved first to Crete and then to Serbia where he continued his work as a composer.²³ He composed several *oikoi* of the AH, which were frequently copied in seventeenth – eighteenth-century manuscripts.²⁴

1.2 *Composers of Complete Akathistos Hymns*

There are only two Byzantine composers who wrote the music for the entire text of the *Akathistos Hymn*. The first of these was Ioannēs Lampadarios Kladas. He was a contemporary of Matthew I (Matthaios), Patriarch of Constantinople (1397–1410) and a disciple of Georgios Kontopetris the Domestikos.²⁵ Around 1400, Kladas composed his version of the AH, which is attested in about half of the manuscripts before and after 1453 recording the entire musical tradition of the AH. In the eighteenth century, his AH was interpreted by the most important musician of that age, Petros Lampadarios Peloponnēsios. At the beginning of the following century masters Grēgorios

¹⁸ Gr. Stathis, *Η δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ύμνογραφία...*, p. 101–102.

¹⁹ *Anagrammatismos* means a kalophonic (or an “embellished”) setting of certain Byzantine *stichēra* used on festal occasions. Only a part of the hymn’s text is used, and it is preceded and followed by very florid *teretismata*.

²⁰ See F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ύμνος...*, p. 138–151.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150–151.

²² Gr. Stathis, *Η δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ύμνογραφία...*, p. 110; D. E. Conomos (ed.), *The Treatise...*, p. 11–13.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 12–13.

²⁴ F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ύμνος...*, p. 151–155.

²⁵ Gr. Stathis, *Η δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ύμνογραφία...*, p. 103–104.

Protopsaltēs and Chourmouzos Chartophylakos (“the Archivist”) ensured that it entered the New Notation. Manuscript containing these eighteenth and nineteenth-century versions of Kladas’ composition of the music for the AH are currently part of the holdings of the National Library of Greece, in the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople (Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου collection).²⁶

The second composer of a complete AH during the first period was Ioannēs Hiereos Plousiadinos (ca. 1429–1500). He was one of the most outstanding personalities of the Byzantine musical world, with a prodigious musical œuvre and a fascinating life and career.²⁷ Born in Venetian Crete around the year 1429 and, like all the inhabitants of the island, ardently anti-Latin, Ioannēs Plousiadinos was educated in an environment that allowed him to become familiar not only with Latin and Greek, but also with Byzantine and Western music. Plousiadinos studied at the University of Constantinople. After the Ottoman conquest of the imperial capital in 1453, he immigrated to Italy, where he spent more than 20 years, mostly in Venice (1472 – ca. 1492, 1497/8), composing and copying numerous documents, even the proceedings of the Council held at Ferrara-Florence in 1438–1439. It seems that Plousiadinos changed his dogmatic beliefs based on these documents. After 1453, he became one of the fifteen Byzantine clerics that officially supported the Union between Western and Eastern Churches. In the meantime, he became a monk under the name of Joseph (1492).²⁸ Cardinal Bessarione di Calabria (1403–1472), one of the leaders of

²⁶ F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ύμνος...*, p. 156-175.

²⁷ N. Gheorghîță, “Between the Greek East and the Latin West. Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantine Polyphony,” in O. Lupu, I. Alonso de Molina, N. Gheorghîță (eds), *Curriculum Design & Development Handbook: Joint Master Programme on Early Music Small Vocal Ensembles*, Bucharest, 2018, p. 303-365.

²⁸ More information on Plousiadinos’s life and work can be found in M. Candal, “La ‘Apologia’ del Plusiadeno a favor del Concilio de Florencia,” OCP 21, 1955, p. 36-57; M. Manoussakas, “Recherches sur le vie de Jean Plousiadénos (Joseph de Méthone) (1429?–1500),” REB 17, 1959, p. 28-51. For more on his musical work, see M. Chatziakoumēs, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα...*, p. 28, 83; B. Schartau, “A Checklist of the Settings of George and John Plousiadinos in the Kalophonic Sticherarion Sinai gr. 1234,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin* 63, 1993, p. 297-308; M. Giannopoulos, *Η άνθηση τής ψαλτικής τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566–1669)*, Athens, 2004, p. 69-75; D. Balageorgos, “Autographed Codices of John Plousiadinos in the Library of the Monastery of Sinai,” in *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology*, Pittsburgh, 2007, p. 47-86; C. Corre, “Mothona in the 1500s through the Activity of the Philenotic Bishop Ioannes Plousiadinos (1492–1500),” in G. Vartzlioti, A. Panopoulou (eds), *De Veneciis Ad Mothonam: Έλληνες*

the Florentine Union, who became Latin Patriarch of Constantinople around 1467, appointed him to the position of “head of Churches” (ἄρχων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) in the Orient, “vice-protopapas” (ca 1466/7–ca 1481) and Bishop of Methoni (Mystras) in the Peloponnese. The province of Peloponnese had become a Venetian colony after the Fourth Crusade, and one of the bastions of the Catholic world. In 1498, documents record his presence in Rome where, during the Papal Mass, he read the Gospel in Greek, in the style of the Byzantine tradition.²⁹ During the second Ottoman-Venetian war (1499–1501) the Ottomans invaded the Peloponnese (1500) which prompted Plousiadinos (who was in Crete at the time) to return to the Italian peninsula. Carrying the cross, alongside the local community and the Venetian soldiers, the venerable Bishop of Methoni was killed in a final attack on the stronghold on August 9, 1500. Best known as a defender of the Union of the two Churches and as an author of numerous apologies, homilies, and other minor works, most of them recorded in the *Patrologia Graeca*,³⁰ Plousiadinos left behind an entire body of theological and musical works. MS Koutlounousiou 448 (Mount Athos) contains a hymn dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which is made up of nine stanzas composed in an established Byzantine medieval style (15 syllables). The acrostic forms the name ΒΗΣΣΑΡΙΩΝ (BĒSSARION). In marginalia, Plousiadinos adds: “music and lyrics composed by Ioannēs Plousiadinos for the Cardinal, mode 4”.³¹ Plousiadinos also wrote two canons which relate to Latin subjects: one of them is dedicated to the illustrious Western philosopher and theologian Tomas Aquinas,³² and the other to the Eighth Ecumenical

και Βενετοί στη Μεθώνη τα χρόνια της βενετοκρατίας, Athens – Venice 2012, p. 127-152; A. Botonakis, *Ο Ιωάννης Πλουσιαδηνός και η Ψαλτική κατάσταση κατά την εποχή του (1450–1500)*, Dissertation, “Kapodistrias” University of Athens, 2013. See also the bibliography cited in F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ύμνος...*, p. 176.

²⁹ The most important studies of this historical moment are still those of G. Cogo, “La guerra di Venezia contra i Turchi (1499–1501),” *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 18, 1899, p. 5-76, 348-421; 19, 1900, p. 97-138.

³⁰ PG 159, cols. 960-1093.

³¹ “... γράμματα καὶ μέλος ποιήματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ioannēs Plousiadinos], τοῦτο ἐποίησα διὰ τὸν Καρδηνάλιον, ἦχος δ’” (MS Koutlounousiou 448, f. 77^r, late sixteenth century – early seventeenth century), in Gr. Stathis, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς – Ἅγιον Ὅρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, vol. 3, Athens, 1993, p. 326.

³² *Canon for Saint Aquinas* (Κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Θωμᾶν τὸν Ἀγγίνου), published in R. Cantarella (ed.), “Canone Greco inedito di Giuseppe vescovo di Methone in onore di San

Council in Florence.³³ To conclude, Plousiadinós was a Byzantine convert to Roman Catholicism, a resident of Venice, and a member of Cardinal Bessarion's academy in Rome. He wrote numerous manuscripts attesting his expertise in various fields, including hymnody, theology, calligraphy, composition, the theory and performance of music, and diplomacy. Besides a rich musical corpus of monodic syntax, including a number of theoretical writings, Plousiadinós also composed two polyphonic works written for two voices, with Byzantine notation.³⁴

The AH composed by Plousiadinós can be found in a manuscript in the Sinai Monastery Library (MS 1575). The entire hymn is composed in the fourth authentic mode, except for the sixth, eighth and eleventh *oikoi* which are written in the two plagal mode. The *kontakion* (Τῇ Ὑπερμάχῳ Στρατηγῷ) is composed in the fourth plagal mode.³⁵

2. Composers from the Seventeenth – Nineteenth Centuries

This section will briefly survey the nine composers of music for the AH the second period (seventeenth – eighteenth centuries). First, I will mention the seven composers who wrote part of the music for AH, followed by a description of the two composers of complete *Akathistos Hymns*.

2.1 Composers of Specific Sections of the Akathistos Hymn

The first composer of partial music for AH in the second period was Panagiotēs the New Chrysaphēs (Παναγιώτης Χρυσάφης ο Νέος) or Chrysaphēs the Younger (ca. 1620–1625 – d. after 1682). He was a *protopsaltēs* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (1655 – ca. 1682) and he composed an extensive musical œuvre, with important contributions in the

Tommaso d'Aquino," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 4, 1934, p. 145-185.

³³ Κανών τῆς ὁγδόης συνόδου τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ γενομένης, PG 159, cols. 1095-1101. For commentary and discussion on this hymnodic genre, see K. Mitzakis, "Byzantine and Modern Greek Parahymnography," *Studies in Eastern Chant* 5, ed. D. E. Conomos, 1990, p. 9-76.

³⁴ For an analysis of these works and a discussion of the cultural context, see N. Gheorghîă, "Between the Greek East and the Latin West...", p. 336-355.

³⁵ F. Kritikou, *Ο Ακάθιστος Ὕμνος...*, p. 177.

area of kalophonic stichera.³⁶ He composed the second *oikos* (Βλέπονσα ἡ ἀγία) of the AH.

Balasios the Priest and Nomophylax (b. Constantinople, ca. 1615; d. ca. 1700) held an administrative position in the Great Church in Constantinople. He was a pupil of Bishop Germanos of New Pataras (b. Tyrnavo, Thessaly, ca. 1625 – d. Wallachia, 1685), a composer who settled in Bucharest towards the end of his life with his apprentice at that time, Iovascu Vlachos (fl. 1665–1689). Vlachos later became protopsaltes of the Wallachian Metropolitan See. The major contribution of Balasios is related to the embellishments (*kalopismos*) of the *Heirmologion*.³⁷ He composed *oikoi* 1 and 16 from the AH, which were both interpreted in the New Notation by Chourmouzios the Archivist.³⁸

Petros Bereketēs (late seventeenth – early eighteenth century) was the first composer who wrote an octaichon *oikos* (i.e. in all eight modes, for didactic purposes),³⁹ *Ψάλλοντές σου τὸν Τόκον*. He also composed the last AH *oikos*, as well as the *kontakion* (fourth plagal mode). It seems that these pieces were interpreted in the New Notation.⁴⁰

Antonios Hiereos was an eighteenth-century composer⁴¹ who wrote the music for *oikos* 7 (*Ζάλην ἔνδοθεν ἔχων*) in the fourth mode.⁴²

Petros Lampadarios Peloponnēsios (ca. 1730–1778)⁴³ composed music for the *oikos* *Ξένον τόκον ἰδόντες* (varys mode, but with many modulations), which also entered the New Notation.⁴⁴ Parthenios Meteoritēs (eighteenth

³⁶ Gr. Stathis, *Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία...*, p. 115, n. 5; M. Chatziakoumēs, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα...*, p. 404-411; idem, “Παναγιώτης Χρυσάφης ὁ Νέος καὶ Πρωτοψάλτης,” in *Μελοῦργοί του ΙΖ’ αἰῶνα, Μέγαρο Μουσικῆς Ἀθηνῶν 1995–1996, Κύκλος Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς*, Athens, 1995, p. 7-16; F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 197-198.

³⁷ Gr. Stathis, *Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία...*, p. 119-120; idem, “Μπαλάσης ἱερὺς καὶ νομοφύλαξ (β’ ἡμῖς ιζ’ αἰῶνος),” *Ἐπίσημοι Λόγοι* 26, n° 2, 1986 to 31, n° 8, 1988, Athens (1992), p. 721-747; M. Chamalières, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα...*, p. 341-351.

³⁸ F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 198-200.

³⁹ Gr. Stathis, *Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία...*, p. 121-122; idem, “Πέτρος Μπερεκέτης ὁ μελωδός,” in *Μελοῦργοί τοῦ ΙΖ’ αἰῶνα, Μέγαρο Μουσικῆς Ἀθηνῶν, 1995–1996, Κύκλος Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς*, Athens, 1996.

⁴⁰ F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 201-203.

⁴¹ M. Chatziakoumēs, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα...*, p. 266.

⁴² F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 200-201.

⁴³ Gr. Stathis, *Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία...*, p. 123; idem, “Πέτρος ὁ Λαμπαδάριος ὁ Πελοποννήσιος, ὁ ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος. Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργο του,” *Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί* 7, 1983, p. 108-125.

⁴⁴ F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 203-204.

century)⁴⁵ composed the *kontakion* (fourth plagal mode) and the first *oikos* Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης.⁴⁶

Dēmētrios Lotos (eighteenth century),⁴⁷ composed the melos to two *oikoi*: Υφίστου and Ζάλην ἔνδοθεν ἔχων.⁴⁸

2.2 Composers of Complete Akathistos Hymns

As in the first period, in the second period there were also two composers who wrote music for the entire *Akathistos Hymn*. The first of these was Benediktos Episkopopoulos (late sixteenth – early seventeenth century). He was part of a dynasty of Cretan musicians and an extremely original composer of the island tradition.⁴⁹ The entire AH can be found in MS Kutlumus 448 from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Benediktos frequently borrowed *kratēmata*⁵⁰ from Dēmētrios Lotos Damias or Tamis, protopsaltēs Chandakas, and integrated these within his version of the AH.⁵¹

The second composer of a complete AH of this period was Anastasios Rapsaniotēs (eighteenth century).⁵² According to Flora Kritikou, his AH is not a particularly well-established composition in the manuscript tradition, although it does appear in certain musical codes.⁵³ The *kontakion* Τῇ Ὑπερμάχῳ Στρατηγῷ is in varies mode.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ Gr. Stathis, “Παρθένιος Ἱερομόναχος Μετεωρίτης (δ’ τέταρτον ιη’ αἰῶνος): ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργο του,” in *Πρόγραμμα μὺςικολογικῆς σπουδῆς τοῦ Ἰδρύματος Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens, 1993; N. Veis, “Ὁ μελωδὸς Παρθένιος ὁ ἐκ Τρίκκης, ἡγούμενος τοῦ κατ’ ἐξοχὴν Μετεώρου” *Μετέωρα* 1, 1947, p. 46-49.

⁴⁶ F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 204-206.

⁴⁷ P. Stathi, “Ὁ φίλος του Κοραΐ Δημήτριος Λώτος καὶ τα μουσικὰ χειρόγραφα του,” *Ὁ Ερρανιστής* 10, 1973, p. 137-186.

⁴⁸ F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 206-207.

⁴⁹ M. Giannopoulos, *Ἡ ἀνθήση τῆς ψαλτικῆς τέχνης...*

⁵⁰ The terms literally mean “meaningless syllables” and their practical purpose is to extend the chant to allow the celebrating clergy to carry out the entire liturgical ceremony. From a theological point of view, a point expressed in the treatises on *kratēmata*, the *tererem* gives musical expression to apophatic theology, as they draw attention to the inability to praise God with human words. This is part of a liturgical symbolism connected with the joint service of angels and humans during the Divine Liturgy, their tacit co-celebration.

⁵¹ F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 208-231.

⁵² M. Chatziakoumēs, *Μουσικὰ χειρόγραφα...*, p. 380-381.

⁵³ F. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος...*, p. 231-239.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

Conclusions

My study of the musical tradition surrounding the AH, with a special focus on the composers of music for this hymn from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, has resulted in four important observations. In the first place, it can be concluded that there is no anonymous musical version of the AH. All versions have authors. This evidences that the written musical tradition does not begin before the thirteenth century, but starts at the time of the Paleologan Renaissance.⁵⁵

The second observation which follows from my study is that most of the composers of music for the AH were major personalities of Byzantine and post-Byzantine musical art. They represented various Orthodox musical traditions. For instance, the composers of the first period (Kladas, Koronēs, Manouil Chrysaphēs, etc.) were part of the group that dominated sacred musical production during the period of the Palaeologan Renaissance. The leader of this group was Ioannēs Koukouzelēs, a monk from the Great Lavra Monastery. Most of these personalities, composers, copyists, psaltes and protopsaltes, worked in the imperial capital. Several of them held high ecclesiastical offices, such as Ioannēs Glykys and Plousiadinós. From 1261 onwards, they started to develop a new musical direction, by creating a mix of the way of chanting practiced at Hagia Sophia until 1204 with a monastic musical tradition from Mount Athos. This resulted in a special type of services called *Asmatiki akolouthia* (the chanted order of prayer/service). Other composers who did not belong to this circle, but who nonetheless counted among the leading musical personalities of their times are the representatives of the tradition of Crete, Ioannēs Plousiadinós and Benediktos Episkopopoulos, both born in the Greco-Latin world. One of them, Plousiadinós, a Latinophile by conviction, later became Latin bishop of the Peloponnese. Interestingly, these two Cretans are among the only four composers who created complete musical versions of the AH.

My third concluding observation is that all musical versions of the AH (kalophonic or non-kalophonic) contain so-called *teretismata* or *kratēmata*.⁵⁶ The introduction of these *kratēmata* in the musical repertoire of the time is most probably determined by the way liturgical worship developed in the fourteenth century, characterized by the adoption of the *neo-Sabbaitic typicon* and the increase in all-night vigils, called *agrypnies*, on Saturday nights and on the eve of

⁵⁵ See *supra*, n. 2.

⁵⁶ See *supra*, n. 50.

feasts. Within the tradition of the AH, the *kratēmata* of kalophonic songs can be divided into two types:

a) *kratēmata syntoma*, related to the word *Χαῖρε* (“Rejoice”). Usually, they are three of these for each composition. *Kratēma syntoma* have specific *theseis* (*thesis*, sg.) or musical formulas. The first *kratēmata* has been inserted in the first part of the text of the *oikos* and of the *chairetismoι*. The second *kratēmata* has been placed between the fourth and fifth *sticheron*. The third *kratēmata* can be found between the sixth and seventh *sticheron*.

b) *kratēmata*, which are compositions in their own right, included within the melody of the *oikos* text. They may belong to a different author other than the one who composed the *Akathystos Hymn*’s melodies. These *kratēmata* are pieces of great melodic virtuosity.

The last important observation concerns the later interpretation of earlier works in the context of the so-called New Notation mentioned throughout this chapter. The term *exegesis* (ἐξήγησις) has often been used to refer to the interpretation or transcription of compositions notated with an older musical semiography into a newer, analytical, musical semiography, which fully transcribes the melody shorthanded in the old Byzantine musical notation. With respect to the *melos* of the AH, there are a number of important musicians who have made these exegeses, from the eighteenth century onwards. One of them is Petros Lampadarios Peloponnēsios, the central figure of his century. He interpreted and transcribed the entire AH by Ioannēs Kladas (Gritsani Collections, MS 1), probably the most important composer of this genre in the entire history of Byzantine and post-Byzantine music. Peloponnēsios was joined by a large number of musicians who wrote either in the transitional notation or in the New Notation (or Chrysanthine notation) adopted at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who interpreted creations by older or younger composers. Some of these musicians working alongside Peloponnēsios included Dionysios Photeinos (1777–1821), a musician and historian who settled in Bucharest in 1797 and died there, in the capital of Wallachia in 1821.⁵⁷ Although there is a significant corpus of AH chants composed over the centuries, unfortunately none of the complete creations of an author have been transcribed in full in the New Notation, but only sections of the *Hymn*.

⁵⁷ N. GheorghîȚă, “Διονύσιος Φωτεινός: Τὸ Ἀναστασιματάριον,” *Πολυφωνία* 16, 2010, p. 88-111.

LES DESTINATAIRES DE L'ŒUVRE MANUSCRITE DE MATTHIEU DE MYRES : NOUVELLES CONSTATATIONS

Lidia Cotovanu

Introduction : aux origines de la consommation de culture grecque en Valachie

Avec la soumission politique et l'intégration économique des Principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie dans l'espace ottoman, au milieu du XVI^e siècle, de nouvelles vagues de migrants commencent à gagner les deux pays, à la recherche de nouvelles opportunités politiques, sociales et économiques. Ainsi, les migrants sud-slaves, majoritaires jusqu'alors, présents dans tous les domaines de la vie locale, commencent à être « concurrencés » par des sujets chrétiens du sultan originaires pour l'essentiel d'Épire, de Thessalie et de la Macédoine occidentale, de Constantinople aussi, le centre de tous les pouvoirs du nouvel empire¹. Avec ceci, un nouveau public, consommateur d'art et de littérature religieuse et profane en grec, surgit au nord du Danube.

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¹ Pour l'émigration balkanique dans les Principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie, à l'époque pré-phanariote, et son impact sur divers domaines de vie locaux, voir principalement N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance. Continuation de l'histoire byzantine*, Paris, 1992 ; A. Pippidi, *Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI–XVIII*, Bucarest, 2001 ; R. Păun, *Pouvoirs, offices et patronage dans la Principauté de Moldavie au XVII^e siècle. L'aristocratie roumaine et la pénétration gréco-levantine*, Thèse de doctorat, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2003, inédite ; L. Cotovanu, *Émigrer en terre valaque. Estimation quantitative et qualitative d'une mobilité géographique de longue durée (seconde moitié du XIV^e – début du XVIII^e siècle)*, Brăila, 2022 ; eadem, « 1538 : un tournant pour l'émigration balkanique vers

Le phénomène est soutenu par la nouvelle pratique, qui démarre à la même époque, de la dédicace de lieux de culte valaques et moldaves à titre de métèques aux Patriarcats grecs (de Constantinople, de Jérusalem, d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche) et aux grands monastères se trouvant sous leur obédience (du Mont Athos, de Sinäi, des Météores, stavropégies patriarcales dépendantes du siège œcuménique)². En parallèle avec l'usage du grec comme vernaculaire domestique et du commerce, des véritables ateliers ou foyers artistiques d'expression grecque font leur apparition au nord du Danube, qu'il s'agisse de production calligraphique, d'art votif ou de miniature. C'est dans ce contexte politique, social et économique grécisant que le texte liturgique qui fait l'objet de recherche du projet AKATHYMN surgit – en grec – sur le « marché » culturel de la Valachie tout particulièrement.

Les premiers manuscrits de l'*Hymne Acatiste à la Mère de Dieu* en grec sont produits en Valachie et sont de la main de Matthieu, l'higoumène du monastère princier de Dealu (Fig. 1) et métropolite *in partibus* de Myres, originaire de la Pogoniani épirote (Fig. 2), de celle du métropolite du pays Luc le Chypriote (1603–1629)³ et de quelques-uns de leurs disciples. Matthieu de

la Valachie et la Moldavie », *Diasporas. Circulations, Migrations, Histoire* XL, 2022, p. 119-124.

² Entre 1565/8–1835, les Patriarcats grecs ont acquis 260 métèques environ dans les Principautés. Pour la pratique de la dédicace, voir principalement M. Lazăr, « Acte domnești reglementând statutul mănăstirilor închinat », RI VII, n° 5–6, 1996, p. 427-436 ; eadem, « Considerații privind statutul mănăstirilor din Țara Românească închinat Sfințelor Locuri (secolele XVIII–XIX) », dans P. Zahariuc (éd.), *Contribuții privitoare la istoria relațiilor dintre Țările Române și Bisericile Răsăritene în secolele XIV–XIX*, Iași, 2009, p. 9-33 ; L. Cotovanu, « Aux débuts de la dédicace des lieux de culte “roumains” envers le Mont-Athos (seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle) : entreprise publique ou privée ? », dans IXth *International Scientific Conference « Mount Athos : Spreading the Light to the Orthodox World, the Metochia »*. *Conference Proceedings. Thessaloniki, 21-23 November 2014, Hall of the Central Municipal Library of Thessaloniki*, Thessalonique, 2015, p. 191-215 ; eadem, « Le *ktitorikon dikaion*, les patriarches grecs et les limites du pouvoir absolu des princes valaques. Autour de la prétendue réforme monastique de Matei Basarab (1632–1654) », dans I. Biliarsky, M. Mitrea, A. Timotin (éd.), *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe. Proceedings of the Session Held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2-6 September 2019)*, Brăila, 2021, p. 241-272 ; eadem, « Migrants, villes, monastères, commerce. La concentration urbaine des métèques acquis par les Patriarcats grecs en Valachie et en Moldavie », *Études balkaniques* LVIII, n° 2, 2022, R. Zăimova, L. Cotovanu (éd.), *Pouvoir, société et commerce dans les villes des Balkans ottomans*, p. 58-118.

³ M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau et les centres de copie de manuscrits grecs en Moldo-Valachie (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)*, Athènes, 1995. Voir également l'article signé par Ovidiu Olar dans le présent volume.



Fig. 1. Monastère de Dealu, qui eut pour higoumène Matthieu de Myres et qui abrita son atelier de calligraphie. Photo L. Cotovanu, juillet 2018.



Fig. 2. L'église Saints-Apôtres de Dipalitsa, ancien siège de l'Archevêché de Pogoniani, la petite patrie de Matthieu de Myres. Photo L. Cotovanu, août 2023.

Myres s'est distingué par l'atelier de calligraphie grecque qu'il fit fonctionner au monastère de Dealu, près de la capitale valaque de Târgoviște, et par les quelques dizaines de manuscrits de luxe qu'il copia lui-même, manuscrits conservés de nos jours dans les grands monastères de Grèce et les grandes bibliothèques du monde⁴.

On connaît à ce jour cinq exemplaires manuscrits de l'*Hymne Acatiste* en grec issus des ateliers de calligraphie ayant pour maîtres Matthieu de Myres et Luc le Chypriote, qui se connaissaient et étaient dans de bonnes relations depuis au moins leur séjour en Valachie : le Ms. Iviron 1600, de la main de Luc le Chypriote, daté de 1591, sous forme de rouleau⁵ ; le Ms. Garrett 13, daté de 1614, conservé à la bibliothèque de l'Université de Princeton, avec deux fois l'*Hymne*, une fois de la main de Luc (f. 1^r-25^v) et une autre copie de la main de Matthieu de Myres (f. 27^r-47^r) (Fig. 3)⁶ ; le Ms. Iviron 1626, de la main de Matthieu de Myres, daté de 1615-1620 (Fig. 4)⁷ ; le Ms. Vatopedi 869, daté de 1627, de la main du hiéromoine Iakovos, disciple de Luc le Chypriote⁸.

⁴ Pour l'atelier de calligraphie de Dealu et les manuscrits de Matthieu de Myres, voir O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaïos von Myra (1596-1624). Untersuchungen zur griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600*, Athènes, 1982. La biographie de Matthieu de Myres a été synthétisée par O.-V. Olar, « Matthaïos of Myra », dans *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. X, *Ottoman and Safavid Empires (1600-1700)*, éd. D. Thomas, J. Chesworth, Leyde - Boston, 2017, p. 146-153.

⁵ L. Politis, M. L. Politi, « Βιβλιογράφοι τοῦ 17ου - 18ου αἰώνα. Συνοπτική καταγραφή », *Δελτίο του Ιστορικού και Παλαιογραφικού Αρχείου* 6, 1994, p. 536 ; G. Galavaris, *Τερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων. Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, Mont Athos, 2000, p. 97 et 126, n. 137, avec photo p. 100.

⁶ G. K. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton, 1973, p. 211-214 (n° 63), fig. 113-114 ; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 76-78, 99, 102, 164-165 (n° 38), fig. 128, 130-131 ; M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου στὸν κώδικα Garrett 13, Princeton*, Athènes, 1992 ; S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko (en collab. avec D. C. Skemer), *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century. A Descriptive Catalogue*, Princeton NJ, 2010, p. 80-95, fig. 85-113.

⁷ S. M. Pelekanidis et alii (éd.), *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, I^{re} série, *Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα. Παραστάσεις, ἐπίτιτλα, ἀρχικά γράμματα*, vol. II, *Μ. Ἰβήρων, Μ. Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος, Μ. Ἐσφιγμένου, Μ. Χιλανδαρίου*, Athènes, 1975, p. 341 (ancien Ms. 1435) ; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 165 (n° 39).

⁸ S. Eustratiades, Arcadios diacre, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*, Cambridge - Paris - Londres, 1924, p. 165 ; S. N. Kadas, *Τα διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα του Επισκόπου Γάνου και Χώρας Ιακώβου (πρώην Σιμωνοπετρίτου ιερομόναχου)*, Thessalonique, 2014, p. 65 sq.



Fig. 3. Ms. Garrett 13, f. 27^r, 28^r, l'Hymne Acatiste de la main de Matthieu de Myres (1614, Dealu). © Université de Princeton.



Fig. 4. Ms. Iviron 1626, f. 1^r, 16^r–17^r, l'Hymne Akatiste de la main de Matthieu de Myres (1615–1620, Dealu). © Monastère d'Iviron, Mont Athos.

Le but est ici de reconstituer le contexte historique, avec les réseaux des destinataires des manuscrits de Matthieu de Myres, pour mieux comprendre les circonstances et les raisons de la reproduction de ce texte liturgique en grec en Valachie à la charnière des XVI^e–XVII^e siècles.

Je ne suis pas la première à m'intéresser aux destinataires des manuscrits du prélat épirote. Ștefan Andreescu l'a déjà fait dans un article paru en 1997 et republié depuis⁹. L'auteur a le mérite de signaler que ce qui unissait au moins une partie desdits destinataires étaient leurs rapports avec la Valachie du temps où Matthieu de Myres y résidait à demeure en tant qu'higoumène du monastère de Dealu ; c'étaient des amis et d'autres connaissances de haut rang du calligraphe, des laïcs et des personnalités ecclésiastiques. Néanmoins, j'entends montrer l'étendue, bien plus ample, du réseau des personnages visés par l'œuvre de Matthieu, les motivations qui poussèrent celui-ci à les honorer de son œuvre, le contexte de la production et la thématique des manuscrits dédiés ou commandités par tel ou tel personnage de marque.

En somme, en révisant le sujet, je me suis proposé de reconstituer le mode opératoire du copiste, ce qui n'est pas chose aisée pour ce genre de maîtres d'écriture issus des milieux monastiques, vu aussi la pénurie des sources post-byzantines et le manque d'instruments de travail (répertoires prosopographiques, par exemple) dont souffrent les historiographies sud-est européennes actuelles. Je compte structurer la présente étude autour du profil sociopolitique des destinataires, tout en observant les choix thématiques de Matthieu et le contexte où il fit les dédicaces et honora des commandes. Précisons d'emblée que les manuscrits de l'higoumène de Dealu vont vers deux catégories de destinataires (laïcs et membres du clergé) : des commanditaires, d'un côté, et des personnes que l'auteur souhaite honorer de son art calligraphique, de l'autre.

Les destinataires couronnés de l'œuvre historiographique de Matthieu de Myres

En commençant par l'œuvre historiographique, l'analyse textuelle de celle-ci m'a permis d'identifier une catégorie de destinataires passés de vue par les prédécesseurs. Il s'agit de trois textes profanes rédigés en grec et destinés à des princes régnants de Valachie.

La liste commence par l'*Exposé* (Ὑπόμνημα δι' ἣν αἰτίαν αὐτῇ ἀκολουθία ἐγένετο) attaché à l'*Office de saint Grégoire le Décapolite* (Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν μέγαν Γρηγόριον τὸν Δεκαπολίτην, πονηθεῖσα καὶ γραφεῖσα Ματθαίῳ τῷ

⁹ Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii manuscriselor lui Matei al Mirelor», dans idem, *Istoria românilor : cronicari, misionari, ctitori (sec. XV–XVII)*, Bucarest, 1997, p. 143–153, réédité à Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 127–133. J'utiliserai ici la seconde édition.

ταπεινῶ μητροπολίτη Μυρέων). Le texte fut rédigé à la suite de la première invasion du prince de Transylvanie Gabriel Báthory (1608–1613) en Valachie, entre mi-décembre 1610 et début mars 1611, lorsque Matthieu de Myres dut se réfugier en Olténie, dans la grotte du monastère de Bistrița (dépt. de Vâlcea), selon son propre témoignage; c'est ici que se conservaient alors les reliques de saint Grégoire le Décapolite¹⁰. À l'occasion, nous dit l'auteur, il répondit à la demande de l'higoumène de Bistrița et rédigea l'*Office* du saint. Ensuite, une fois rentré à Dealu, il y ajouta l'*Exposé*, pour raconter les circonstances de la rédaction du texte hagiographique, et copia aussi la *Vie* du saint (*Βίος καὶ θαύματα τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Δεκαπολίτου*), composée par le diacre Ignace au XII^e siècle¹¹. L'*Exposé* devait se clore avec la victoire du prince Radu Șerban (1602–1610, 1611) sur Báthory, mais, de manière inattendue, celui-ci ayant quitté le trône sous la contrainte des événements ne parvint plus à le récupérer. La Porte ottomane le remplaça par Radu Mihnea (1611–1616, premier règne en Valachie) sur la demande de la faction politique valaque fidèle au sultan; elle était constituée principalement de boyards d'origine rouméliote, des « Grecs », selon les sources valaques. En corroborant l'*Exposé* avec les autres textes narratifs de Matthieu, j'ai pu conclure que l'auteur avait l'intention de le dédier à Radu Șerban, qui lui avait permis de s'installer en Valachie et d'accéder à l'higouménat du monastère princier de Dealu. Par ailleurs, il ne manque pas de vanter dans cette œuvre toutes les qualités de son protecteur couronné. Mais, puisque le destinataire présumé fut déchu de son trône, Matthieu l'offrit, avec l'*Office* et la *Vie* du saint, aux moines de Bistrița, qui lui avaient porté secours dans les temps troubles des années 1610–1611¹².

¹⁰ Pour le transfert des reliques à Bistrița, voir *infra*.

¹¹ L'*Exposé* (f. 19^v–28^v) et l'*Office* (f. 5^r–19^r), accompagnés de la *Vie* du saint (f. 29^r–96^r), sont reliés ensemble dans le Suppl. gr. 90 (papier, 96 folios), ancien Ms. Kollar 40, actuellement conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne. L'*Exposé* a été publié, d'après le Suppl. 90 de Vienne, par N. Iorga, «Manuscripte din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor. Întâiul memoriu», AARMSI, II^e série, XX, 1898, p. 240–247, et l'*Office*, d'après le même manuscrit, par Fr. Dvornik, *La vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IX^e siècle*, Paris, 1926, p. 76–82. À propos du manuscrit, voir aussi la description livrée par O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 161 (n° 30); H. Hunger, Chr. Hannick, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. IV, *Supplementum Graecum*, Vienne, 1994, p. 153 (n° 90).

¹² Pour l'entière démonstration de cette assertion, je me permets de guider le lecteur vers mon étude en cours de publication «The Historiographical Work of Matthew of Myra: Stages of

Matthieu voulut donc honorer Radu Șerban d'un manuscrit racontant les événements dont le voïévode était sorti vainqueur. Il choisit de lui dédier un texte hagiographique, car lié à son propre périple en Olténie : l'auteur put se réfugier au monastère de Bistrița, lieu de conservation et de vénération des reliques de saint Grégoire le Décapolite. Néanmoins, il est fort probable que Matthieu ait fait ce choix thématique, apparemment religieux, pour un motif bien plus séculier, directement lié à la personne du voïévode qu'il voulut flatter de son art. Il prit la peine de raconter aussi l'histoire du transfert des reliques depuis l'Empire byzantin vers la Serbie (*ante* 1453) et de là vers la Valachie (vers la fin du XV^e siècle). Ce fut ni plus ni moins que le grand *ban* de Craiova Barbul (Craiovescu) qui, après avoir érigé le monastère de Bistrița, décida de doter sa nouvelle fondation des reliques de saint Grégoire le Décapolite¹³. Or, il s'agit là de l'ancêtre collatéral de Radu Șerban, Barbul Craiovescu, l'oncle paternel du prince Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521) dont Radu Șerban se réclamait être le descendant et, à travers lequel, il tenait son droit de succession au trône valaque¹⁴. Si telle était la motivation de Matthieu, l'on déduit qu'il utilisa l'histoire des reliques de saint Grégoire le Décapolite conservées à Bistrița comme prétexte pour évoquer les ancêtres illustres de Radu Șerban et surtout Neagoe Basarab dont le voïévode se réclamait de manière ostentatoire, dans les actes officiels, être tantôt le petit-fils, tantôt l'arrière-petit-fils¹⁵. C'était la façon dont Matthieu entendait montrer sa reconnaissance et flatter son prince protecteur : le présenter en vainqueur des ennemis du pays et en digne héritier de Neagoe Basarab et des

Conceptions, Motivations and Messages (Beginning of the Seventeenth Century)», dans O.-V. Olar, K. Petrovsky (éd.), *Writing History in Ottoman Europe, 1500–1800*, Leyde – Boston, 2025, sous presse.

¹³ N. Iorga, «Manuscrite din biblioteci străine. Întâiul memoriu», p. 243 (orig. gr.) et 246 (trad. roum.) ; D. P. Petroșanu, *Sfântul Grigorie Decapolitul din mănăstirea Bistrița-Vâlcea și alte studii din istorie*, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, 2006 ; diac. I. I. Ică jr., *Sfântul Grigorie Decapolitul. Dosar hagiografic*, Sibiu, 2017.

¹⁴ Radu Șerban était le descendant éloigné d'une cousine de Neagoe Basarab et c'est par cette filière qu'il légitima sa montée sur le trône valaque ; voir N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova, sec. XIV–XVII*, Bucarest, 1971, p. 19 ; C. Rezachevici, «Cum a apărut numele dinastic *Basarab* și când l-a adoptat Matei Vodă», *Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie* X, n° 10, 2005, *Epoca lui Matei Basarab*, p. 7-14.

¹⁵ En tant que prince régnant et descendant des boyards Craiovescu par les femmes, Radu Șerban avait pris l'habitude de se présenter, dans les actes officiels, comme petit-fils de Neagoe Basarab ou de déclarer que celui-ci était son grand-père ou arrière-grand-père. C'est en vertu de cette filiation revendiquée publiquement que les contemporains lui ont reconnu et accolé le nom dynastique de *Basarab* : voir C. Rezachevici, «Cum a apărut...», p. 9-11.

boyards Craiovescu, les ktitors du monastère de Bistrița, où lui-même trouva refuge lors de l'invasion du prince transylvain Báthory en Valachie.

La *Chronique brève* (Διήγησις σύντομος περί τε τοῦ Σερμπάνου βοεβόδα τοῦ καὶ Ράδουλου, παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐκπεσόντος, καὶ Ράδουλ βοεβόδα, υἱοῦ Μίχνα βοεβόδα, ἐν τῇ Οὐγγροβλαχίᾳ εἰσελθόντος)¹⁶ reprend l'*Exposé* dont il a été question et suit la narration, toujours en prose, avec la seconde invasion de Gabriel Báthory en Valachie, en septembre 1613, lorsqu'il fut battu par l'armée du prince Radu Mihnea. Matthieu dédia cette brève histoire du pays au prince vainqueur et la lui offrit en signe de reconnaissance à l'occasion de la consécration du monastère de Dealu, le dimanche du 14 juillet 1614¹⁷. Car le voïévode, en plus d'avoir écarté le danger du pays, fit refaire depuis ses fondements le monastère endommagé par l'armée hongroise. À l'occasion, Radu Mihnea, de son côté, fit don à sa nouvelle fondation d'un village collonisé avec des paysans «étrangers» et, en plus, lui offrit l'autonomie de type athonite, scellée d'un nouveau *typikon*. Les deux actes princiers sont rédigés et décorés de minatures, y compris du portrait de la famille princière dans le cas du *typikon*, par l'higoumène Matthieu lui-même¹⁸. L'événement et l'échange de présents furent somptueux, marqués de la présence de toute une suite de hauts prélats du monde gréco-orthodoxe, le patriarche d'Alexandrie Cyrille Loukaris (1602–1621) en tête; je reviendrai sur ce détail. Ajoutons juste que deux ou trois mois plus tard, le même contingent d'invités de marque assista à la consécration du monastère Radu-Vodă de Bucarest, fondation

¹⁶ Publiée par N. Iorga, «Manuscrite din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor. Al doilea memoriu», AARMSI, II^e série, XXI, 1898–1899, p. 7-17, d'après le Ms. gr. 502, f. 161–180, copié le 6 juillet 1728 à Bucarest, conservé du temps de l'éditeur à la Bibliothèque du Métoque du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem à Constantinople (voir E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. II, Paris, 1881, p. LXXXV; description du manuscrit chez Ath. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Τεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Τεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. IV, Saint-Petersburg, 1899, p. 147-48, n° 175, l'actuel EBE, MPT 175). L'éditeur indique qu'il put consulter le manuscrit d'après les photographies déposées à la BAR par Manuil Gedeon (aujourd'hui introuvables): *ibid.*, p. 1-2. Une autre copie de la *Chronique brève* se conserve au monastère athonite de Kutlumus, Ms. 250, qui est toujours du XVIII^e siècle; voir Sp. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1895, p. 305-06 (n° 3323).

¹⁷ L. Cotovanu, «The Historiographical Work of Matthew of Myra...».

¹⁸ Documents émis le 10 juillet 1614, en slavon. Traductions en roumain publiées dans DIR, B, vol. XVII/2, ed. I. Ionașcu *et alii*, Bucarest, 1951, n° 266, p. 294-296, n° 267, p. 296-302.

familiale des voïévodes Mihnești détruite par l'armée ottomane en 1595 et récemment refaite encore par Radu Mihnea¹⁹.

C'est soit lors de la consécration de Dealu, soit lors de la consécration de Radu-Vodă que le métropolite du pays Luc le Chypriote et Matthieu de Myres ont offert au voïévode vainqueur le manuscrit Garrett 13 actuellement conservé à l'Université de Princeton. Le Codex Garrett 13, décoré de somptueuses miniatures, contient doublement l'*Hymne Acathiste à la Mère de Dieu*, de la main des deux prélats. Le sujet a été soigneusement choisi, l'hymne étant mobilisé en règle générale pour remercier la Vierge qui délivre les Chrétiens des périls. Or, dans ce cas précis, la Vierge est remerciée pour avoir sauvé le pays et les deux prélats personnellement – l'un réfugié outre-Danube et l'autre en Olténie – du « fou » Báthory²⁰.

Le troisième texte historiographique de Matthieu, l'*Histoire de la Valachie*, en vers iambiques celle-ci (*Ἑτέρα Ἱστορία τῶν κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγροβλαχίαν τελεσθέντων, ἀρξαμένη ἀπὸ Σερμπάνου Βοηβόνδα μέχρι Γαβριήλ Βοηβόνδα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δουκός, ποιηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Μυρέων κυροῦ Ματθαίου, τοῦ ἐκ Πωγωνιανῆς, καὶ ἀφιερωθεῖσα τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἄρχοντι κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Κατριτζῆ*)²¹, a été rédigé pendant le premier règne d'Alexandru Iliaș (1616–1618) dans le but de témoigner des « scandales » anti-grecques qui avaient secoué la Valachie à l'époque et qui avaient mis en péril boyards, clergé et marchands « grecs » faisant carrière et fortune au pays²². De l'aveu de l'auteur, il eut l'intention de dédier la chronique rimée à Alexandru Iliaș – le protecteur des « Grecs » du pays –, mais le voïévode perdit le trône en faveur de Gavril Movilă (1618–1620) à l'été de 1618. C'est alors au beau-père du voïévode, le grand *ban* de Craiova Ianache

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, n° 311, p. 352 (traduction en roumain de la charte du patriarche Cyrille Loukaris pour Radu-Vodă, émise en 1614); N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al monumentelor feudale din București*, Bucarest, 1961, p. 160-161.

²⁰ Puisque j'ai consacré une recherche spéciale, en cours de publication, aux circonstances dans lesquelles fut rédigé le Codex Garrett 13, je me suis contentée d'en évoquer ici juste les conclusions. Voir également, M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου*..., p. 131-135.

²¹ E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*..., vol. II, p. 231-333.

²² Pour ces événements, voir C. Rezachevici, « Fenomene de criză social-politică în Țara Românească în veacul al XVII-lea. Partea I: Prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea », SMIM IX, 1978, p. 58-84; A. Falangas, « Μία άγνωστη ελληνική μαρτυρία για την Βλαχία των αρχών του ΙΖ' αιώνα », dans *Ελληνική ιστορική Εταιρεία. ΚΒ' Πανελλήνιο Ιστορικό Συνέδριο, 25-27 Μαΐου 2001. Πρακτικά*, Thessalonique, 2002, p. 68-88; L. Cotovanu, « The Historiographical Work of Matthew of Myra... ».

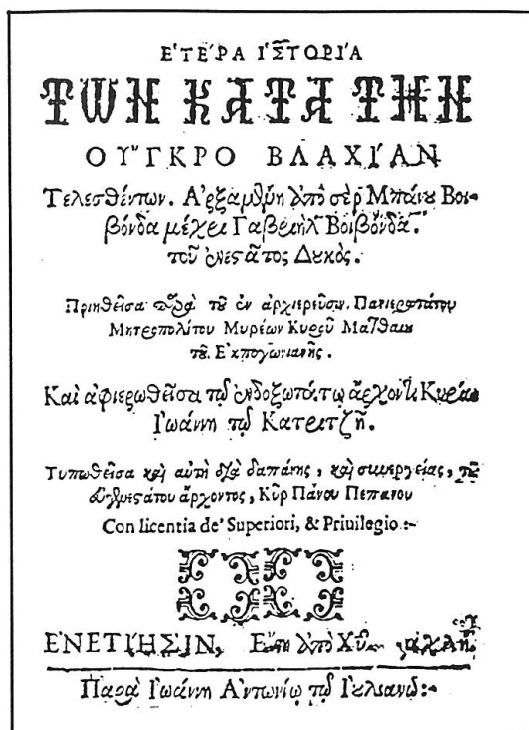


Fig. 5. Matthieu de Myres, *Histoire de la Valachie*, Venise, 1638 (première édition), dédiée au grand *ban* de Craiova Ianache Catargi, le beau-père du prince de Valachie Alexandru Iliaș.

Apud K. D. Pidonia, « Η πρώτη έκδοση των ιστορικών ποιημάτων του Σταυρινού και του Ματθαίου Μυρέων », *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης. Φιλολογία* 7, 1998, fig. 2.

Catargi († *ante* 1624, mars 14) qu'il dédia son œuvre (Fig. 5); c'était lui le vrai patron et protecteur des intérêts grecs en Valachie²³.

Des textes profanes donc, contenant l'histoire du pays, destinés par courtoisie ou par reconnaissance aux têtes couronnées et aux puissants entourant les princes régnants. On y ajoutera les membres de leurs familles élargies, comme c'est le cas de dame Catalina Buzescu, apparentée au *ban* Ianache Catargi, qui avait pour seconde épouse la nièce par alliance de celle-ci, Maria

²³ *Ibid.* Pour le grand *ban* Ianache Catargi, voir N. Stoicescu, *Dictionar...*, p. 147.

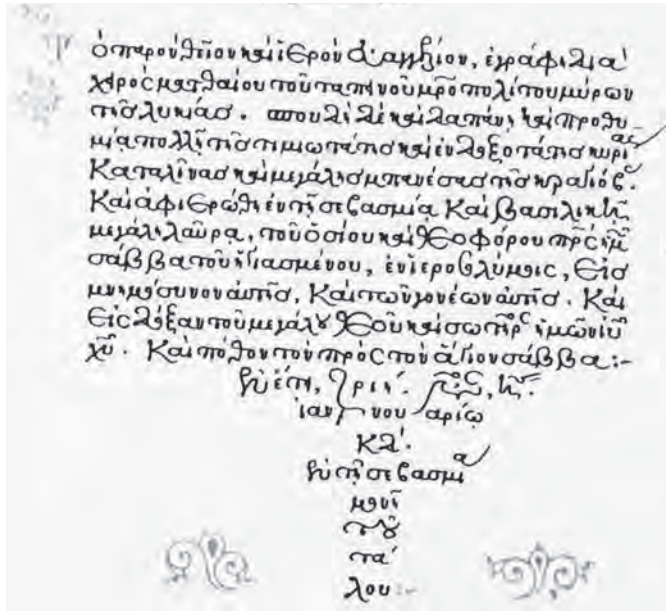


Fig. 6. Patriarcat de Jérusalem, Ms. Anastasis 2 (1610, janvier 24), colophon, avec la dédicace de dame Catalina Buzescu au Patriarcat de Jérusalem : <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279396674-jo/?sp=283> (consulté le 23.07.2024)

Buzescu, fille de Radu Buzescu grand *clucer*²⁴. Matthieu de Myres répondit à la commande de dame Catalina et rédigea un *Évangile* que celle-ci offrit en donation, en 1610, au Patriarcat de Jérusalem (Ms. Anastasis 2) pour la commémoration de son âme et des âmes des siens (Fig. 6)²⁵.

²⁴ Dame Catalina Buzescu, fille du « Grec » Andrei trésorier – originaire d'Épire, à en juger d'après les importantes donations qu'il fit vers cette région – fut l'épouse de Preda Buzescu grand *ban* de Craiova: *ibid.*, p. 37 (pour Catalina Buzescu) et 147 (pour Maria Buzescu); L. Cotovanu, « Aux débuts de la dédicace... », p. 255.

²⁵ « Τὸ παρὸν θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς Ματθαίου τοῦ ταπεινοῦ, μητροπολίτου Μυρέων τῆς Λυκίας· σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ δαπάνῃ καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ τῆς τιμιωτάτης καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτης κυρίας Καταλίνας καὶ μεγάλης μπανέσας τῆς Κραγιόβας καὶ ἀφιερῶθι ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ καὶ βασιλικῇ μεγάλῃ λαύρᾳ τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ ἡγιασμένου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς, καὶ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς δόξαν τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πόθον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἅγιον Σάββα. Ἐν ἔτει, ζρη', ἰνδ. η', Ἰανουαρίου κδ', ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Τάλου»: Ath. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol.

Archontes et autres figures laïques

Matthieu adapte encore la thématique de son œuvre au profil du destinataire dans le cas du puissant archonte constantinopolitain Skarlatos Grammatikos († 1630, Constantinople), connu des sources valaques du nom roumanisé et abrégé de Scarlat Grama²⁶. L'higoumène de Dealu lui dédie l'*Office encomias-tique* (Ms. Dionysiou 234) des hiérarques Mélétiōs Pigas, le *locum tenens* du siège patriarcal de Constantinople (1597–1598), Gavriil Seviros, le métropolite de Philadelphie siégeant auprès de la Communauté Grecque de Venise (1577–1616), et Maximos Margounios, métropolite de Cythère (1578–1602) : *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τοὺς νεοφανεῖς ἀστέρας καὶ θεολόγους καὶ διδασκάλους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον, πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὸν ἀπὸ Κρήτης· καὶ Γαβριὴλ Φιλαδελφείας, τὸν ἀπὸ Μενεμβασίας· καὶ Μάξιμον Κυθήρων τὸν Μαργούνιον, τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κρήτης· τοὺς ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ ἐπὶ στηριγμῷ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων καὶ πατρικῶν παραδόσεων διαλάμπαντας· πονηθεῖσα Ματθαίῳ τῷ ταπεινῷ μητροπολίτῃ Μυρέων*²⁷. Matthieu dédie donc à Skarlatos Grammatikos

III, Saint-Petersbourg, 1897, p. 196-197 (n° 2); N. Iorga, «Miniaturi românești în secolul al XVII-lea», BCMI XXIV, 1931, p. 145 et fig. 2; L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία γὰρ τοὺς τρεῖς ἱεράρχες Μελέτιο Πηγᾶ, Γαβριὴλ Σεβήρο καὶ Μάξιμο Μαργούνιο, ἀνέκδοτο ἔργο τοῦ Ματθαίου Μυρέων», dans *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. III, Athènes, 1968, p. 387 (n° 16); L. Politis, «Un copiste éminent du XVII^e siècle: Matthieu métropolite de Myra», dans *Studia Codicologica. In Zusammenarbeit mit Jurgen Dummer, Johannes Irmscher und Franz Paschke*, éd. K. Treu, Berlin, 1977, p. 393; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 66, 160 (n° 27); Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», p. 130.

²⁶ Pour ce personnage de marque, voir M. Theochari, «Ὁ ἐπιτάφιος τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου», *Θεολογία* 41, n° 4, 1970, p. 690-704; Șt. Andreescu, «Radu Mihnea Corvin, domn al Moldovei și Țării Românești», dans idem, *Restitutio Daciae*, vol. II, *Relațiile politice dintre Țara Românească, Moldova și Transilvania în răstimpul 1601–1659*, Bucarest, 1989, p. 49-52; R. Păun, «“Well-born of the Polis”. The Ottoman Conquest and the Reconstruction of the Greek Orthodox Elites under Ottoman Rule», dans R. Born, S. Jagodzinski (éd.), *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16–18 Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 2014, p. 68-69; L. Cotovanu, «The Thessalian origins of the Mavrocordats: from *çelep* Skarlatos Grammatikos to the thrones of the Romanian Principalities», dans M. Pechlivanos, N. Pissis, K. Sarris (éd.), *Bibliotheca Vivens*, vol. 2, *Intellectual Entanglements and Self-Fashioning of a Greek-Ottoman Elite (1641–1769)*, Wiesbaden, 2024, sous presse.

²⁷ Texte publié par L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 391-404, avec la lettre dédicatoire adressée par Matthieu à Skarlatos Grammatikos aux p. 405-409. Voir aussi O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 166 (n° 41); Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», p. 131. Pour les trois hiérarques, voir, entre autres, D. G. Apostolopoulos, *Gavriil Seviros, arcivescovo di Filadelfia a Venezia, e la sua epoca. Atti della Giornata di studio dedicata alla memoria di Manussos Manussacas (Venezia, 26 settembre 2003)*, Venise,

– l’une des personnes les plus en vue de Constantinople²⁸, l’un des plus riches marchands « grecs » de la capitale ottomane²⁹, qui avait l’habitude de s’entretenir avec le sultan en personne³⁰ et qui maria l’une de ses filles au fils de Radu Mihnea de Valachie, le prince Alexandru Coconul (1623–1627)³¹ – un texte au caractère religieux concernant trois « étoiles » (νεοφανείς ἀστέρας) de l’Église gréco-orthodoxe. Or, ce qui nous importe ici c’est que tous ces personnages devaient se connaître entre eux et cela dès leur jeunesse. À commencer par les trois hiérarques honorés de la plume du prélat épirote, Pigas, Seviros et Margounios, ils avaient été collègues à l’Université de Padoue dans les années 1580, aussi de bons amis, comme leurs activités ultérieures le prouvent³². Ensuite, lorsque Mélétios Pigas se vit confier le siège patriarcal de Constantinople à titre de *locum tenens*, dans les années 1597–1598³³, Skarlatos Grammatikos faisait déjà du grand commerce pour le compte de la

2004; V. Tzoga, *Μελέτιος Πηγάς (1550–1601), Πατριάρχης Αλεξανδρείας. Βίος – Δράση – Εργογραφία*, Thèse de doctorat, Université «Kapodistrias» d’Athènes, 2009, inédite; *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. IV, *Βαρθολομαίος Α’ – Γάιος*, Athènes, 2011, p. 483–486 (Gavriil Seviros); O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile. Les relations du patriarche de Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris (1570–1638) avec la Réforme*, Paris, 2019, p. 46–49 (Maximos Margounios), 52–57 (Μελέτιος Πηγάς); F. Ciccolella, «Maximos Margounios (c. 1549–1602), his Anacreontic Hymns, and the Byzantine Revival in Early Modern Germany», dans N. Constantinidou, H. Lamers (éd.), *Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe, 15th–17th Centuries*, Leyde – Boston, 2020, p. 215–229.

²⁸ Théophile Corydallée lui dédia à son tour un *Court traité de géographie*, en 1623/4: BAR, Ms. gr. 493, p. 53, et BAR, Ms. gr. 596, p. 173, manuscrits décrits par C. Litzica, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești*, Bucarest, 1909, p. 94, 326. Voir la lettre dédicatoire de Corydallée, accompagnant le manuscrit, dans Cl. Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l’enseignement et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans. La vie et l’œuvre de Théophyle Corydalée*, Thessalonique, 1967, p. 381–382. Voir aussi M. Costin, *Opere*, éd. P. P. Panaitescu, Bucarest, 1958, p. 91; *Istoria Țării Românești (1290–1690). Letopiseșul Cantacuzinesc*, éd. C. Grecescu, D. Simonescu, Bucarest, 1960, p. 94–95; R. Popescu, *Istoriile domnilor Țării Românești*, éd. C. Grecescu, Bucarest, 1963, p. 90–91.

²⁹ À la mort de Skarlatos, la rumeur courut qu’il était millionnaire en ducats d’or vénitiens : *et p(er) q(ues)to ne dice la fama, credesi habbi lasciata la somma di un million d’oro in contanti, oltre molti beni stabili* (voir M. Theochari, «Ὁ ἐπιτάφιος...», p. 693, 700–701; transcription corrigée par moi-même d’après l’original conservé aux Archives d’État de Venise, Dispacci Constantinopoli, Filza 112, doc. 1631, febbraio 22).

³⁰ Șt. Andreescu, dans *Addenda et corrigenda*, SMIM XXX, 2012, p. 264.

³¹ Idem, «Radu Mihnea Corvin...», p. 49.

³² Voir la bibliographie indiquée *supra*, n. 27.

³³ V. Tzoga, *Μελέτιος Πηγάς (1550–1601)...*; O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile...*, p. 52–57 et *Index*, s.v.

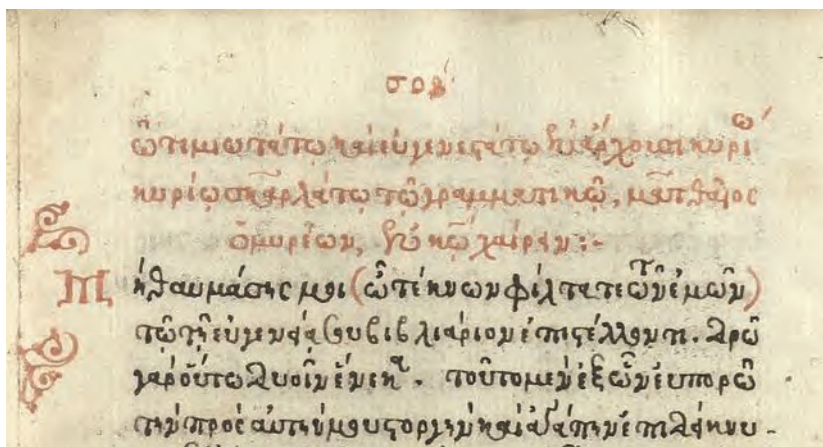


Fig. 7. Ms. Dionysiou 234, f. 272^r (1620, Dealu), début de la lettre dédicatoire adressée par Matthieu de Myres à Skarlatos Grammatikos.
© Monastère de Dionysiou, Mont Athos.

Porte (il était *çelep*, « marchand de moutons »)³⁴ et Matthieu de Myres avait commencé sa carrière auprès du siège œcuménique en tant que prôtosynclle (mentionné comme tel en 1596)³⁵. Enfin, on l'a vu, c'est au futur compère de Skarlatos, le prince Radu Mihnea, que Matthieu dédia la *Chronique brève* de la Valachie en 1614.

Le calligraphe dédia l'*Office* des trois hiérarques à Skarlatos en 1620 (Fig. 7), peut-être à l'occasion de l'avènement, pour la seconde fois, de Radu Mihnea sur le trône valaque. Le patriarche d'Alexandrie Cyrille Loukaris en personne dut y assister, vu qu'il se trouvait à l'époque en Valachie, et force est de rappeler que Loukaris était ni plus ni moins que le neveu de Mélétiôs Pigas et qu'il eut pour professeur à Venise Maximos Margounios, sous le pontificat de Gavriil Seviros, le métropolite de Philadelphie³⁶. Si les sources disponibles

³⁴ La première mention de Skarlatos en tant que *çelep* date de mai 1591, lorsqu'il achetait des milliers de moutons en Moldavie pour les revendre à Constantinople : E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor din sec. XVI relative mai ales la domnia și viața lui Petru-Vodă Șchiopul*, vol. XI, éd. N. Iorga, Bucarest, 1900, n° CCCLIV, p. 221 (orig. gr. et trad. roum.); DIR, A, vol. XVI/4 (1591–1600), Bucarest, 1952, n° 25, p. 26 (trad. roum.).

³⁵ O.-V. Olar, « Matthaïos of Myra... », p. 146.

³⁶ Pour les visites de Cyrille Loukaris dans les Principautés danubiennes, voir Cr. Luca, « Il patriarca di Alessandria [d'Egitto] Cirillo III Loukaris nei Principati Romeni », dans V. Nosilia, M. Prandoni (éd.), *Trame controluce/Blacklighting Plots: Il patriarca 'protestante' Cirillo*

n'attestent pas directement des relations amicales entre Skarlatos et Cyrille Loukaris, on en est au courant quand même à travers l'intervention du patriarche auprès des autorités vénitiennes en faveur de la veuve de Skarlatos et de ses filles qui tâchaient de récupérer par droit d'héritage le dépôt du défunt à la Zecca de Venise³⁷.

Du même cercle d'amis fait partie un autre destinataire des manuscrits de Matthieu, inconnu jusqu'ici. Il s'agit du marchand Michail ou Mike Kavvakos (dit Michele Cavaco dans les sources italiennes), originaire de Chios mais installé, on ignore depuis quand, dans la capitale ottomane, où il épousa la fille du marchand italien Pietro Galante³⁸.

Plusieurs membres de la famille élargie des Kavvakos sont connus pour avoir pratiqué le grand commerce dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle³⁹. Au moins un d'entre eux, Philippe Kavvakos (roum. Filip Cavac), pratiquait son négoce entre Iași, Baia-Mare (en Transylvanie) et Lvov, où il finit par s'installer après le départ de son prince protecteur Petru le Boiteux (*Șchiopul*) de Moldavie (en 1591). Il tint en fermage les douanes de Moldavie pendant le

Loukaris / The 'Protestant' Patriarch Cyril Loukaris, Florence, 2015, p. 97-107; O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile...*, p. 105-108.

³⁷ Voir les documents conservés aux Archives d'État de Venise publiés par K. D. Mertzios, «Πατριαρχικά ἤτοι ἀνέκδοτοι πληροφορία σχετικά πρὸς τοὺς Πατριάρχας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ 1556–1702», *Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 15, n° 4, 1951, p. 58-59.

³⁸ On lui connaît juste un frère, *Marini Cav(v)aco*: voir I.-A. Pop, Cr. Luca, «Alcuni documenti veneziani inediti riguardanti mercanti cretesi Servo e la loro presenza in Moldavia fra Cinque e Seicento», *Quaderni della Casa Romana di Venezia* 3, 2004, p. 75, n. 19. En 1608, Michail Kavvakos est devenu consul d'Angleterre en Égypte: O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile...*, p. 82.

³⁹ *Miser Giorgio Cav(v)aco* était propriétaire d'un navire marchand en 1581, *naviglio* qui fit naufrage à Chios. La même année, les autorités vénitiennes l'ont nommé consul à Sélymbrie: Ph. Mavroeiidi, «Πρόσωπα και δραστηριότητες το Β' μισό του 16ου αιώνα», *Δωδώνη. Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία* 27, 1998, n° 188, p. 80. Toujours en 1581, le fils de feu *Mafio Cav(v)aco* finissait ses jours à Venise à l'âge de six ans seulement. Lavrentios Kavvakos, de Chios lui aussi, est connu pour avoir été, dans les années 1640, l'élève du fameux homme de lettres installé à Venise Georgios Koressios: voir Ath. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, «Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς νεοελληνικῆς φιλολογίας. Μέρος πρῶτον περιλαμβάνον ἐπιστολάς λογίων ἀνδρῶν τῆς ις' καὶ ιζ' ἑκατονταετηρίδος», *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 17, 1882–1883, n°s 49–50, p. 80-81; N. M. Stoupakis, *Γεώργιος Κορέσιος (1570 ci.–1659/60). Η ζωή, τὸ ἔργο του καὶ οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἀγῶνες τῆς εποχῆς του*, Chios, 2000, p. 41, 163-166.

troisième règne de ce voïévode (1582–1591)⁴⁰. Par ailleurs, Michail Kavvakos dut avoir connu très bien lui aussi la Moldavie en pratiquant le commerce de transit, puisqu'on le retrouve en 1587 au marché saisonnier de Lvov aux côtés d'une pléiade d'autres marchands grecs qui y développaient régulièrement leurs affaires⁴¹. Dans les années 1599–1600, il s'y était rendu à nouveau, d'où il revint à Constantinople en compagnie du marchand crétois Batista Vevelli (*graecus de Candia*), son associé, qui fut un temps grand douanier de Moldavie; ils exportaient ensemble du vin crétois vers Lvov⁴². Les deux associés ont été choisis par Ianache Simotas et Batista Amorosi, les exécuteurs testamentaires du marchand crétois Leoninos Servos (†1600, Suceava), pour leur confier la tâche de faire traduire le testament du défunt du grec en italien à Constantinople et de le soumettre au *Bailo* de Venise pour authentification⁴³. La même année, en juillet, Michail Kavvakos recevait, depuis Hotin, la lettre du marchand épirote Ianache Simotas, bien connu pour ses relations avec la maison princière Movilă de Moldavie (il représentait les Movilă au Mont Athos)⁴⁴, ainsi qu'avec Mélétiôs Pigas, dont un livre imprimé à Vilna

⁴⁰ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. XXIII, *Acte străine din Arhivele Galiției, Vechii Prusii și Țărilor-de-Jos*, Bucarest, 1913, n° CCCXLVI, p. 426; M. Dan, S. Goldenberg, «Le commerce balkano-levantin et la Transylvanie au cours de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle et au début du XVII^e siècle», *RESEE* V, n° 1–2, 1967, p. 92–93 et n. 27; C. Tofan, «Dregători ai Țării Moldovei în Evul Mediu. Vameșii (secolele XIV–XVII)», *Memoria Antiquitatis* XXII, 2001, p. 523; E. M. Podgradskaja, *Torgovyje svjazi Moldavii so Ljvovom v XVI–XVII vekach*, Chișinău, 1968, p. 181, 141. Selon A. Pippidi, *Tradiția...*, p. 171, Filip Cavac était arrivé en Moldavie de Péloponèse, mais l'auteur n'indique pas la source de cette information.

⁴¹ I. Lil'o, *Narisi z istorii grets'koj gromadi L'vova. XVI–XVII stolit'*, Lvov, 2002, p. 41; F.A. Dimitrakopoulos, *Ἀρσένιος Ἑλλάσσονος (1550–1626). Βίος – ἔργο – ἀπομνημονεύματα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν λογίων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*, Athènes, 2007, p. 61.

⁴² Les deux marchands avaient pour associé Piero Galante, le beau-père de Kavvakos; voir Ph. Mavroeidi, «Πρόσωπα ...», n° 361, p. 100, 116; Cr. Luca, «La gestione familiare degli affari mercantili nel commercio internazionale riguardante l'area del Basso Danubio durante il XVII secolo: la fortuna dei Vevelli, dei Locadello e dei Pepanos», dans S. Cavaciocchi (éd.), *La famiglia nell'economia europea secc. XIII–XVIII. The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from the 13th to the 19th Centuries. Atti della "Quarantesima Settimana di Studi"*, 6–10 aprile 2008, Florence, 2009, p. 528, 529, 530.

⁴³ I.-A. Pop, Cr. Luca, «Alcuni documenti...», p. 75–76.

⁴⁴ E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. IV/2 (1600–1650), éd. N. Iorga, Bucarest, 1884, n° XVI, p. 24; N. Iorga, *Studii și documente...*, vol. XXIII, p. 389, n° 267, p. 443–444, n° 425, p. 456; idem, *Relațiile comerciale ale Țărilor noastre cu Lembergul. Regeste și documente din arhivele orașului Lemberg*, vol. I, Bucarest, 1900, p. 85, 106, 108; L. Vranousis, «Ἡ ἐν Ἡλείῳ μονὴ Σωσίνου», *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού*

lui fut consacré : *Τῷ εὐγενεστάτῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ ἄρχοντι κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ, τῷ μεγάλῳ πραγματευτῇ*⁴⁵. (Or, on sait que Skarlatos Grammatikos, dont il a été question auparavant, était lui aussi sollicité par les Movilă en tant qu'intermédiaire dans leurs relations avec le Mont Athos⁴⁶).

On ignore de quelle façon Michail Kavvakos était apparenté à tous les autres Kavvakos mentionnés ci-dessus, mais on comprend qu'il appartenait à un lignage très riche et de haute influence. Aux dires de Sebastian Lustrier von Liebenstein, le résident des Habsbourg à Constantinople dans les années 1624–1629, si l'on voulait gagner du terrain dans les Pays Roumains pour le profit du catholicisme, il fallait gagner avant tout trois familles de Constantinople apparentées aux princes des deux pays, «Scarlatiana, Ducum et Cavaconum»⁴⁷. «Scarlatiana» renvoie à nul autre qu'à Skarlatos Grammatikos, alors que le nom «Cavaconum» se réfère aux Kavvakos, lignage auquel appartenaient le douanier de Moldavie Philippe et le marchand Michail, l'ami de Matthieu de Myres.

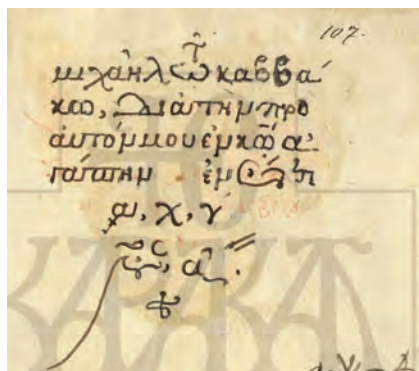
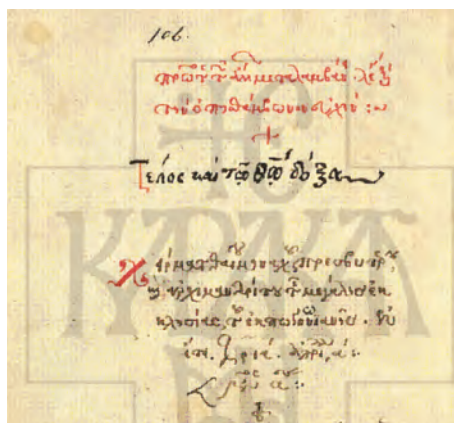
C'est donc à ce personnage haut en couleur dans les milieux constantinopolitains, Michail Kavvakos, que Matthieu de Myres dédia, le 1^{er} avril 1603, une *Sainte Liturgie* (Θεία Λειτουργία) suivie de l'*Ordre des ordinations* (Τάξις χειροτονιῶν), un manuscrit de 108 pages conservé de nos jours au Mont Athos (Karakallou 154). Le copiste en fit la dédicace «en signe d'amour dans le

Αρχεῖον 4, 1957, p. 89; P. Ș. Năsturel, «L'Épithaphios constantinopolitain du monastère roumain de Secul (1608)», dans idem, *Études d'histoire byzantine et post-byzantine*, éd. Em. C. Antoche, L. Cotovanu, I.-A. Tudorie, Brăila, 2019, p. 685-700; P. Ș. Năsturel, A. Falangas, «Istoria moaștelor Sf. Ioan Botezătorul de la Mănăstirea Secu», *Buletinul Bibliotecii Române*, nouvelle série, XV(XIX), 1989, p. 151, 152-153; M. M. Székely, «Casa Ieremieii vodă și moaștele Sfântului Ioan Botezătorul», dans A.-V. Bojar, I. V. Velculescu, H.-P. Bojar (éd.), *Cătălina Velculescu. O viață dedicată cercetării manuscriselor*, Cluj-Napoca, 2022, p. 489-503; O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile...*, p. 60-61.

⁴⁵ L. Vranousis, «Ἡ ἐν Ἠλείῳ μονὴ Σωσίνου...», p. 90.

⁴⁶ S. Eutratiades, «Ἱστορικὰ μνημεῖα τοῦ Ἀθῶ», *Ἑλληνικά* 3, 1930, n° 25, p. 50; L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 376; C. Pavlikianov, *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707. The Archive Evidence*, Sofia, 2008, n° 43, p. 186; N. D. Papadimitriou-Doukas, *Acta Vatopedii (μέσα 15ου – τέλη 17ου αι.)*. Δεύτερη έκδοση βελτιωμένη και επανωζημένη, vol. I, Komotini, 2015, n° 23, p. 171-178.

⁴⁷ G. Hofmann SJ, «Patriarchen von Konstantinopel. Kleine Quellenbeiträge zur Unionsgeschichte», *Orientalia Christiana* XXXII, n° 89, 1933, p. 33; G. Hering, *Ökumenische Patriarchat und europäische Politik (1620–1638)*, Wiesbaden, 1968, p. 129; Șt. Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae*, vol. II, p. 49; A. Pippidi, *Tradiția...*, p. 170 et n. 527; O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile...*, p. 61.



8. Ms. Karakallou 154 (1603, avril 1^{er}, Lvov ?):
p. 54, demande de commémorer le copiste Mattheu pendant l'office ; p. 106, colophon ;
p. 107, dédicace de Matthieu de Myres adressée au marchand Michail Kavvakos.
© Holy Community of Mount Athos (HCMA). Monastère de Karakallou.

Seigneur» – *μιχαὴλ τῷ καββάκω, Διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν μου ἐν κυρίῳ ἀγάπην. ἐν ἔτει , α, χ, γ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), α'(ης)* (Fig. 8) –, ainsi qu'il l'affirme de son écriture calligraphique à la p. 107⁴⁸. Personne de ceux qui ont étudié d'une façon ou d'une autre le manuscrit (copié probablement à Lvov – selon Olga Gratziou – où, on l'a vu, Michail Kavvakos développait son commerce dans les années 1580–1600) n'ont signalé la dédicace adressée à Kavakkos⁴⁹. On

⁴⁸ Le manuscrit et sa description peuvent être consultés sur <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11957/85464> (accédé le 01.10. 2023).

⁴⁹ Sp. P. Lambros, *Catalogue...*, p. 150 ; S.-G. Mercati, « Matteo di Mira... », p. 9 ; L. Vranousis, « Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία... », p. 386 (n° 12) ; L. Politis, « Un copiste... », p. 389 (n° 13) ; L. Politis, M. Politi, « Βιβλιογράφοι... », p. 548 ; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 155 (n° 17).

a manqué également de signaler qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un simple *Liturgiaire*, mais d'un *Hiératikon*, à savoir d'un *Liturgiaire* destiné à être utilisé par un hiérarque pour officier; ceci explique pourquoi le manuscrit contient aussi l'*Ordre des ordinations* qui incombe à l'autorité du hiérarque.

Il est légitime de se poser la question si Matthieu n'envisagea pas dans un premier temps de dédicacer ce manuscrit à un hiérarque cher à lui, mais, pour des raisons qui nous échappent, il finit par l'offrir au marchand Michail Kavvakos. C'est ce qui indique, par ailleurs, le fait qu'à la p. 54, le copiste demande expressément qu'on le commémore pendant l'office, à y entendre par le hiérarque qu'il visait à honorer de ce présent de luxe. Sur la même ligne d'interprétation nous amène le fait que la dédicace a été rédigée (p. 107), par Matthieu lui-même, après le colophon (Fig. 8); de toute vraisemblance, le copiste changea de destinataire après le 1^{er} avril 1603, date à laquelle il finit la rédaction du texte⁵⁰.

L'higoumène de Dealu dut avoir connu Michail Kavvakos à Constantinople, dans les années 1580–1600, lorsqu'il était au service du siège œcuménique en tant que prôtosyncelle et archimandrite. Il dut le retrouver par la suite à Lvov, si un jour sera confirmée l'hypothèse (lancée par Olga Gratziou) qu'il rédigea le manuscrit dédié à Kavvakos dans cet important centre commercial polonais. Quoi qu'il en soit, le fait que Michail Kavvakos et Matthieu fréquentaient les mêmes cercles d'influence constantinopolitains est facile à établir. Ils étaient tous deux les amis de Mélétiou Pigas; Kavvakos entretenait correspondance avec le patriarche lorsque l'un d'entre eux s'absentait de Constantinople⁵¹. Ils étaient également les amis de Cyrille Loukaris, Kavvakos étant l'allié du patriarche œcuménique dans sa politique européenne⁵². Bien sûr, ils avaient pour

⁵⁰ Je remercie vivement mon collègue et ami Grigoris Manopoulos de m'avoir fourni ces précisions.

⁵¹ Voir la lettre de 1596 adressée par Pigas à Kavvakos depuis Alexandrie. Le patriarche fait la morale à son destinataire pour avoir choisi d'épouser une catholique et le convoque à faire baptiser les enfants qu'ils auront ensemble dans « la vraie foi »: publ. Ath. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, « Ἐπιστολαὶ λογίων ἀνδρῶν... », n° 32, p. 73; commentaire chez L. Vranousis, « Ἡ ἐν Ἡπείρῳ μονὴ Σωσίνου... », p. 89, n. 3.

⁵² K. D. Mertzios, « Πατριαρχικὰ ἤτοι ἀνέκδοτοι πληροφορίες... », n° 4, 1951, p. 33, 35–36, 40–42; O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile...*, p. 61, 82, 128–129, 165. Michail Kavvakos n'a pas été rhéteur du Patriarcat de Constantinople, comme l'entend M. Theochari, « Ὁ ἐπιτάφιος... », p. 293, n. 10. L'auteur le confond avec un contemporain homonyme; on retrouve les deux personnages à signer en tant que témoins la recommandation accordée par Cyrille Loukaris aux héritiers du prince de Moldavie Radu Mihnea qui, en 1629, tâchaient de récupérer le dépôt du voïévode défunt à la Zecca vénitienne: K. D. Mertzios, « Πατριαρχικὰ

ami commun Skarlatos Grammatikos, qui bénéficia lui aussi des présents du calligraphe épirote de Dealu (*supra*). C'est à Michail Kavakkos que Skarlatos confia, en 1627, l'importante somme de 14 000 ducats pour la déposer à son nom à la Zecca de Venise⁵³. Parmi les amis communs de Matthieu de Myres et de Michail Kavvakos figuraient également les frères Tzigaras de Ioannina : Zotos, connu pour avoir épousé la fille unique du prince Petru le Boiteux de Moldavie (elle était la tante paternelle du prince Radu Mihnea) et fait carrière à la Cour de son beau-père, et Apostolos, qui pratiquait le commerce avec des fourrures moscovites entre Moscou, Constantinople et Venise⁵⁴. Du fait que Matthieu de Myres connaissait ces archontes épirotes en vue dans les Pays Roumains et dans les cercles grecs de Venise témoigne indirectement l'*Office des saints Nektarios et Theophanis Apsaras* qu'il composa en 1620 à Dealu (Ms. Varlaam 134)⁵⁵. Les deux saints, qui ont fondé le monastère Varlaam sur les rochers thessaliens des Météores au début du XVI^e siècle, n'étaient autres que les ancêtres collatéraux, du côté de leur mère (Pagona Apsaras), des frères Tzigaras. Si Zotos Tzigaras dut quitter la Moldavie avec épouse et enfants pour s'installer à Venise, où il finit ses jours jeune, en 1599, son frère Apostolos, bien que résidant à Venise, demeura l'homme de la maison de Radu Mihnea qui, on l'a vu, était le protecteur et l'un des destinataires de l'œuvre historiographique de Matthieu de Myres. Par ailleurs, Apostolos Tzigaras dédia la première édition du *Chonographe de Pseudo-Dorothee* (Venise, 1631), dans lequel il intégra l'histoire de l'ascension de son frère Zotos à la Cour de Petru le Boiteux de Moldavie, au fils de Radu Mihnea, le prince Alexandru Coconul. Il fit la dédicace justement au nom de la parenté qui liait Alexandru Coconul à Petru le Boiteux (ὥς ἂν ἀπέγγονος

ἤτοι ἀνέκδοτοι πληροφορίες...», p. 56-57 (1629, juin 15, orig. gr.); E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. IV/2, p. 429 (trad. lat.).

⁵³ M. Theochari, «Ὁ ἐπιτάφιος...», p. 699-700, doc. A (1631, février 22).

⁵⁴ L. Cotovanu, *Émigrer en terre valaque...*, p. 51, n. 129, p. 56-57, 64-65, 147-148, 263, avec bibliographie.

⁵⁵ L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 369-370 et 387 (n° 19); idem, «Ἡ ἐν Ἡπείρῳ μονὴ Σωσίνου...», p. 89-90, n. 3; L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 383 et 389 (n° 16 et 23); O. Gratiou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 157-158 (n° 22), 174. Pour le monastère de Varlaam et ses ktitors, voir, plus récemment, D. Agoritsas, «Ἀντώνιος Ἀψαράς, ἐπίσκοπος Βελλὰς, χορηγὸς τῶν τοιχογραφιῶν τῆς λιτῆς τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βαρλαάμ (1565)», *HH* 31, 2012, p. 269-286; idem, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῶν οσίων Νεκταρίου καὶ Θεοφανούς τῶν Ἀναράδων, κητόρων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βαρλαάμ*, Hagia Meteora, 2018. Matthieu dédia un autre de ces manuscrits au monastère Varlaam, qu'il rédigea au métoque valaque du couvent thessalien, le monastère de Coșuna-Bucovăț (en Olténie), ce qui montre son attachement à ce monastère fondé par les Apsaras de Ioannina : *infra*, n. 85.

ἐκεῖνων ὅπου εἶναι ἡ Λαμπρότης σου), le beau-père de Zotos et le commanditaire du *Chronographe* (μὲ τοῦ ὁποῖου πρόσταγμα ἐσυνήχθη καὶ ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν Ἱστορικὸν Βιβλίον), selon les dires d'Apostolos qui a rédigé la préface de l'édition. De rappeler au destinataire du *Chronographe* que feu son père Radu Mihnea prit soins de le laisser entre de bonnes mains et lui trouva pour beau-père le « Très respectable » archonte Skartatos [Grammatikos], dont la compagnie et les conseils étaient recherchés par beaucoup de gens (καὶ ἔτῃ εὕρικέ σου πενθερὸν τὸν εὐσεβέστατον ἐκεῖνον καὶ φρονιμώτατον ἄρχοντα σκαρλάτον, τοῦ ὁποῖου τὴν συντροφίαν καὶ τὸ συμβούλιον πολλοὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦσι)⁵⁶. Avant de déposer le manuscrit auprès de l'éditeur, Apostolos Tzigaras le montra pour autorisation au métropolite de Philadelphie Théophanis Xenakis et lui adressa à cet effet une lettre qu'il inséra entre la préface et le texte du *Chronographe*. À l'occasion, il demandait au prélat vénitien de faire expédier des exemplaires de l'œuvre imprimée partout, y compris à Constantinople, entre les mains du « Très noble » archonte Michail Kavvakos qui, en tant que bon ami et amateur de belles choses, la fasse éditer également là-bas, dans la capitale ottomane (θέλω πέμψει ἀντίτυπα πανταχοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ εὐγενέστατου κύριου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Καββάκου, τοῦ πιστοῦ φίλου τῆς Πανιερότητός σου, καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ὡς φίλος, καὶ ὡς ἐραστής τῶν καλῶν ὅπου εἶναι, θέλει κάμῃ νὰ δημοσιευθῇ καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη)⁵⁷.

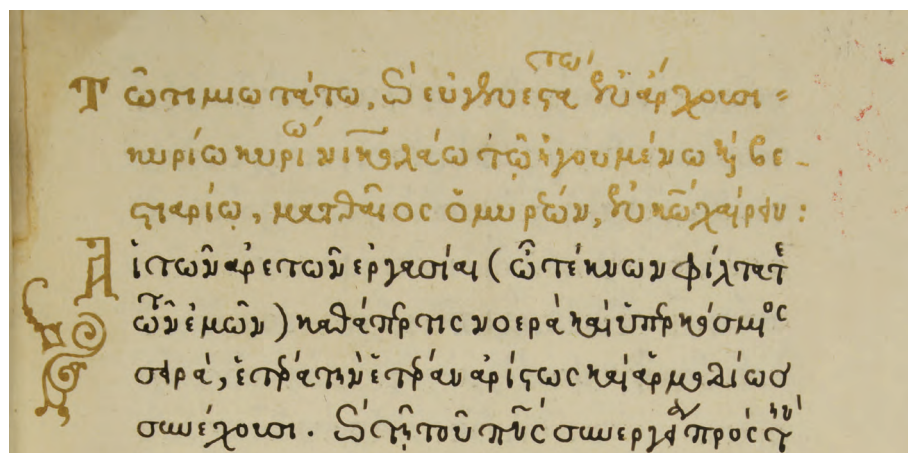
Voici que cette œuvre historiographique éditée aux frais d'Apostolos Tzigaras pour la gloire de son frère défunt Zotos, œuvre dédicacée au prince Alexandru Coconul, rassemble les noms de bien des amis de Matthieu de Myres, dont ceux des « Très nobles archontes » Skarlatos Grammatikos et Michail Kavvakos, qui nous ramènent dans les cercles de pouvoir ecclésiastiques et laïcs de Constantinople et des Principautés danubiennes.

Du cercle des destinataires laïcs des manuscrits de Matthieu fait partie un autre archonte influent à la Cour de Radu Mihnea et notamment le grand

⁵⁶ Βιβλίον Ἱστορικὸν περιέχον ἐν συνόψει διαφόρους καὶ ἐξόχους ἱστορίας : Ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ κτίσεως Κόσμου μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Συλλεχθὲν μὲν ἐκ διαφόρων ἀκριβῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν γλῶσσαν μεταλωτισθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Μονεμβασίας Κυρίου Δωροθέου. Νεωστὶ δε τυπωθὲν, περιέχον καὶ πῖνακα πλουσιώτατον πάντων τῶν ἀξιολημνημενῶν πραγμάτων, Venise, 1631, p. 2; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, vol. I, Paris, 1894, n° 1211, p. 292.

⁵⁷ Βιβλίον Ἱστορικὸν..., p. 6; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique...*, vol. I, p. 294; St. Bettis, « Ζώτος, Απόστολος καὶ Στέφανος Τζιγαράδες », *Ηπειρωτική Εστία* 26, 1977, p. 206.

trésorier Nikolaos (roum. *Necula*) Higouménos. Comme j'ai pu le montrer ailleurs, Nikolaos Higouménos était issu d'une importante famille marchande de Ioannina, avec son réseau de commerce s'étendant depuis sa petite patrie épirote jusqu'à Bucarest, Iași, Lvov et Venise (un de ses proches parents, Alexios / Alexa Higouménos, fut grand douanier de Moldavie dans les années 1590, lorsqu'il exerçait en parallèle le commerce à Lvov et à Bistrița, en Transylvanie)⁵⁸. De l'amitié qui liait l'higoumène de Dealu à ce compatriote riche et puissant témoigne non seulement le recueil de textes liturgiques qu'il lui a dédié (Ms. Iviron 1434), mais aussi la lettre dédicatoire qu'il y a annexée, portant la date du 7 mai 1621: τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ ἐὺγενεστάτῳ ἐν ἄρχουσι κυρίῳ κυρίῳ Νικολάῳ τῷ Ηγουμένῳ καὶ βεστιαρίῳ Ματθαῖος ὁ Μυρέων... ἐν ἔτει ζρκθ' μαρτίου ζ' (Fig. 9)⁵⁹.



9. Ms. Iviron 1434, f. 58^r (1621, mai 7, Dealu), début de la lettre dédicatoire adressée par Matthieu de Myres au grand trésorier de Valachie Necula Higouménos.

© Monastère d'Iviron, Mont Athos.

⁵⁸ Voir L. Cotovanu, « Gestionari epiroți ai cămărilor domnești. Cazul negustorilor Igumenos de la Ioannina și al familiei lor lărgite (sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea – începutul secolului al XVIII-lea) », dans A. Timotin (éd.), *Dinamici sociale și transferuri culturale în Sud-Estul european (secolele al XVI-lea și al XIX-lea)*, Bucarest, 2019, p. 147-163, et la version grecque « Ηπειρώτες έμποροι διαχειριστές των ηγεμονικών εισοδημάτων στη Βλαχία και στη Μολδαβία (15ος – αρχές του 18ου αιώνα) », dans A. Papadia-Lala et alii (éd.), *Ο Νέος Ελληνισμός: οι κόσμοι του και ο κόσμος. Αφιέρωμα στην Όλγα Κατσιαρδή-Hering*, Athènes, 2021, p. 209-226.

⁵⁹ M. Pelekanidis et alii (éd.), *Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους...*, vol. II, fig. 207-208, p. 122-123 ; L. Politis, « Un copiste... », p. 391 ; O. Gratiou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 69 et 168 (n° 44) ; Șt. Andreescu, « Destinatarii... », p. 130-131.

À la lumière d'investigations récentes, il semblerait que Nikolaos Higouménos honora lui aussi Matthieu de ses largesses. Il fit réparer le monastère princier de Golgotha situé à proximité de Târgoviște⁶⁰, édifice qui fut placé, dès les années 1570, sous la « tutelle », en quelque sorte, du monastère de Dealu⁶¹; les deux couvents avaient pour ktitors des membres de la même famille princière, l'un ayant été fondé par Radu le Grand (1495–1508) et l'autre étant entièrement refait par son petit-fils Pătrașcu le Bon (1554–1557)⁶². Nikolaos Higouménos procéda à la réparation de Golgotha pendant le (premier) règne de Radu Mihnea (*ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμέρων τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἐκλαμπροτάτου αὐθέντου κὺρ Ἰω Ράδου βοεβόδα*), selon l'inscription dédicatoire. Ce dut être à une date antérieure à 1616, alors que Matthieu de Myres était déjà higoumène à Dealu, et pourquoi pas en 1614, à l'occasion de la réfection par Radu Mihnea du monastère de Dealu et de la consecration de l'édifice princier au mois de juillet ?! Dans ce cas, Nikolaos Higouménos dut avoir été présent à la cérémonie qui réunit tout un cercle d'amis grecs à Dealu (*supra*). Les travaux ont été repris à Golgotha à partir de 1621 et ont été achevés en 1624, lorsque l'inscription dédicatoire fut apposée – en grec, slavon et roumain – au-dessus de la porte d'entrée du catholicon⁶³. Le nouveau ktitor dédia l'édifice fraîchement refait comme métoque au Grand Météore « de Roumélie » (*la sfânta mănăstirea Meteora la Rumele*) dès avant

⁶⁰ N. Iorga, *Inscripții din bisericile României*, vol. II, Bucarest, 1908, n° 272, p. 101; idem, « Fondations religieuses des princes roumains en Orient. Monastères des Météores en Thessalie », *Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la Section Historique* II, n° 2–4, 1914, p. 235–237; R. Gioglovan, M. Oproiu, *Inscripții și însemnări din județul Dâmbovița*, vol. I, *Municipiul Târgoviște*, Târgoviște, 1975, p. 289–290, 291; Cr. Moiescu, « Un vechi monument dâmbovițean necunoscut – biserica fostei mănăstiri Gorgota », *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice. Monumente Istorice și de Artă* XLIV, n° 1, 1975, p. 41; L. Cotovanu, « Gestionari epiroți... », p. 148–149.

⁶¹ DRH, B, vol. VI, (1566–1570), éd. Șt. Ștefănescu, O. Diaconescu, Bucarest, 1985, n° 79, p. 99–101. Voir aussi l'acte d'échange de biens fonciers entre les monastères de Panaghia et Golgotha, conclu en présence de l'higoumène Onufrie du monastère de Dealu: DIR, B, vol. XVII/1 (1601–1610), Bucarest, 1951, n° 207, p. 215–216.

⁶² DRH, B, vol. XI (1593–1600), éd. D. Mioc *et alii*, Bucarest, 1975, n° 181, p. 238–240, n° 268, p. 356. Voir aussi, DIR, B, vol. XVII/3 (1616–1620), éd. I. Ionașcu *et alii*, Bucarest, 1951, n° 130, p. 159–161; commentaires chez C. R. Vasilescu, « Mănăstirea Golgota », BOR LV, n° 3–4, 1937, p. 157–158; N. Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităților și monumentelor feudale din România, Țara Românească (Muntenia, Oltenia și Dobrogea)*, I, A–L, Mitropolia Olteniei, 1970, p. 344 et n. 75, p. 362.

⁶³ R. Gioglovan, M. Oproiu, *Inscripții și însemnări...*, vol. I, p. 289–291.

septembre 1616⁶⁴, et on sait combien Matthieu de Myres était lui aussi attaché aux monastères des rochers thessaliens ; j'y reviendrai sous peu.

On ignore si le manuscrit dédié à Nikolaos Higouménos est parvenu à Iviron par la donation de son possesseur ou des siens. On retiendra juste qu'Iviron était le monastère 'de cœur' de Radu Mihnea – le prince 'employeur' du trésorier Higouménos⁶⁵ –, qui lui dédia comme métoque la fondation familiale Radu-Vodă de Bucarest, refaite de fond en comble par lui-même en 1614 et consacrée, à l'automne de la même année, en présence du patriarche d'Alexandrie Cyrille Loukaris en personne (*supra*).

Le destinataire le moins connu de l'un des manuscrits de Matthieu de Myres est un certain Konstantinos Korpete Lepe d'Ankara. Il s'agit d'un commanditaire cette fois-ci, qui supporta les dépenses de la rédaction du Ms. Anastasis 6, un *Lectionnaire* achevé le 22 février 1599 (probablement à Lvov, selon Olga Gratziou) et conservé de nos jours au Patriarcat de Jérusalem. Le manuscrit fut destiné au monastère de la Vierge de Iași, l'un des métoques moldaves du Patriarcat de Jérusalem. En août 1677, par la décision du patriarche Dosithée, l'œuvre fut transférée à Jérusalem.

Selon Olga Gratziou, le nom du commanditaire a une forte résonance arménienne. C'était un chrétien, ainsi que l'affirme Matthieu de Myres lui-même (τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου τοῦ ἐξ Ἀγκύρας)⁶⁶. On se demandera où aurait pu connaître le copiste épirote ce commanditaire « très chrétien » et « très noble ». S'il s'agit d'un marchand arménien et si l'hypothèse selon laquelle Matthieu aurait pu rédiger le manuscrit à Lvov se confirme, c'est dans les milieux marchands de cette ville – où vivaient une forte communauté

⁶⁴ Date à laquelle le monastère de Golgotha était déjà administré par les moines du Grand Météore : Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, Mănăstirea Golgota, VIII/2 (orig. roum.) ; résumé dans *Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești din Arhivele Statului*, vol. II, (1601–1620), éd. M. Soveja, D. Duca-Tincușcu, R. Dragomir, Bucarest, 1974, n° 748, p. 580. Par ce document, le grand *clucer* Radu Buzescu, homme du proche entourage de Matthieu de Myres (son épouse Catalina et son gendre, le grand *ban* de Craiova Ianache Catargi, figurent dans la liste des destinataires des manuscrits de Matthieu) fait donation d'un domaine à Golgotha, pour que son âme soit commémorée tant auprès du couvent valaque qu'auprès du Grand Météore (*ca să avem și noi pomenire în véci și aici, și la sfânta mănăstire Meteora de la Rumele*).

⁶⁵ Pour la carrière du grand trésorier Nikolaos Higouménos sous Radu Mihnea, voir N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar...*, p. 217-218.

⁶⁶ O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 150-151 (n° 10), avec bibliographie plus ancienne.

marchande arménienne⁶⁷ – qu’ils durent se connaître (il a été supposé, on l’a vu auparavant, que c’est toujours à Lvov que Matthieu dût avoir rédigé le manuscrit dédié à Michail Kavvakos). Pareille possibilité nous ramènerait dans les milieux fréquentés par Matthieu lui-même, par les grands douaniers de Moldavie Ianache Simotas, Phillipos Kavvakos et Alexios Higouménos, ainsi que par le fameux archonte constantinopolitain Michail Kavvakos. Et puisque le manuscrit fut destiné à un métoque du Patriarcat de Jérusalem situé à Iași, l’on peut déduire que le commanditaire n’était pas étranger à la capitale moldave. On restera, pour l’instant, sur ces hypothèses, qu’on pourra, peut-être, soutenir un jour par de nouvelles découvertes documentaires.

Le Musée de la Métropole de Trikala conserve un di-folio portant la notice, de la main de Matthieu de Myres, indiquant que « cet *Évangile* a été offert par le logothète Isaris Angeletos le 1^{er} avril, indiction 6 [1608 ou 1623] » (...ὁπὸ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου κυρίου Ἰσαρι τοῦ Ἀγγελέτου καὶ λογοθέτου ἀπριλίου ι', ἰνδ. ζ') à l’église des Apôtres-Pierre-et-Paul, le siège de l’Archevêché de Pogoniani. Linos Politis, qui a déduit avec raison que le donateur présumé n’était autre que le frère de Matthieu, considérait que la notice ne faisait qu’annoncer la rédaction d’un nouveau manuscrit, vu qu’aucun manuscrit de la main du copiste destiné à l’Archevêché de Pogoniani ne se conserve dans la bibliothèque de la Métropole de Trikala ou ailleurs⁶⁸. Je n’exclurais pas pour autant l’existence de ce manuscrit (aujourd’hui perdu). Sinon, pourquoi l’inscription dédicatoire aurait été rédigée avant le manuscrit lui-même ?! Mais ce n’est pas ici le lieu de trancher la question. On retiendra juste le fait que le frère du copiste était lui aussi un potentiel destinataire de ses manuscrits. Étant lui-même logothète, Isaris doit avoir eu en sa possession une certaine bibliothèque – chose courante parmi les lettrés grecs et même parmi les marchands fortunés de l’époque –, contenant aussi des manuscrits de son frère. Le Ms. Lavra 530 lui avait appartenu, à en juger d’après sa notice autographe (...καὶ δὴ [= ἰδού] γράφω ἐγὼ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσαρηὶς ὁ Ἀγγελέτος, ἐν ἔτει, ζρλβ', ἰνδ. ζ' / ...et voici que

⁶⁷ L. Cotovanu, *Émigrer en terre valaque...*, p. 207-220, avec bibliographie.

⁶⁸ L. Politis, « Un copiste... », p. 393 ; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 171 (n° 53). Remarquons ici le nom de famille d’Isaris, *Angeletos*, qui est donc aussi celui de Matthieu de Myres, détail resté inaperçu jusqu’à présent ; ce n’est pas le prénom du père mais le nom de famille des deux frères. Je remercie Grigoris Manopoulos de m’avoir attiré l’attention là-dessus.

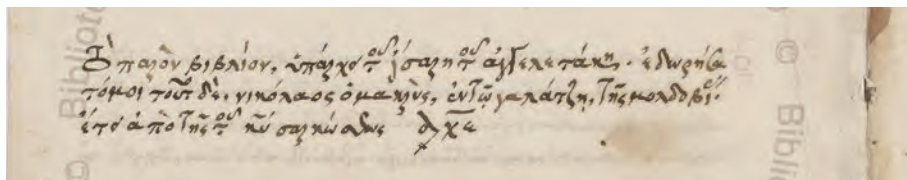


Fig. 10. BAV, Vaticanus Barberinus gr. 172, f. 64^v, *ex libris* d'Isaris Angeletaki, le frère de Matthieu de Myres (1605). © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

*j'écris moi, le frère de celui-ci, Isaris Angeletos, en l'an 7132 [1624], ind. 7)*⁶⁹. De même, le Codex Barberinus gr. 172, contenant des épigrammes de la main de Matthieu pur la mort de Mihail Movilă voïévode de Moldavie († 1608, Valachie), se retrouva dans sa possession en 1605 (*Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ὑπάρχει τοῦ Ἰσαρη τοῦ Ἀγγελετάκη· ἐδωρήσατό μοι τοῦτο δὲ Νικόλαος ὁ Μακρὺς ἐν τῷ Γαλάτῃ τῆς Μολδοβίας ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου σαρκώσεως, αχε'* / *Ce livre est à Isaris Angeletaki; il m'a été offert par Nikolaos Makris à Galați, en Moldavie, l'an depuis l'Incarnation du Seigneur 1605*)⁷⁰:

Vu que le logothète Isaris a acquis le manuscrit en 1605 et que son frère, Matthieu de Myres, a rédigé sur l'une de ses feuilles les épigrammes à la mort de Mihail Movilă voïévode en 1608 (f. 2^v), je me demande si le possesseur ne tenait pas sa 'bibliothèque' personnelle au monastère de Dealu et si ce n'était lui-même qui y passait ses jours, auprès de son frère (on ne lui connaît de possessions terriennes et immobilières ni à Târgoviște, ni aux alentours de la ville). La qualité de son écriture laisse entendre qu'il était lui aussi versé dans la calligraphie grecque et qu'il eut part d'une belle instruction dans sa jeunesse; pour cause, il accéda à la charge de logothète, la rédaction d'actes privés ou publics étant sa spécialité. Ce ne serait pas un cas isolé de migrants réunis en famille au sein d'un monastère valaque⁷¹. En plus, c'était devenu une

⁶⁹ L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 389 (n° 26); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 383 (n° 30); O. Gratziau, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 170-171 (n° 50).

⁷⁰ Épigrammes publiées par S.-G. Mercati, «Epigrammi in morte di Michele Movila, voivoda di Moldavia», SB I, 1924, p. 145. Pour le manuscrit, voir aussi idem, «Matteo di Mira è l'autore degli epigrammi in morte di Michele Movila», SB II, 1927, p. 9-10; L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 389-390 (n° 32); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 389 (n° 32); O. Gratziau, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 159 (n° 25, avec la cote d'archive erronée, Vaticanus Barberinus gr. 171 au lieu de 172).

⁷¹ Pour comparaison, voir le cas du monastère Stavropoleos de Bucarest, où le ktitor et le premier higoumène du couvent vivait ensemble avec ses proches parents arrivés de la Pogoniani épirote: L. Cotovanu, «Lumea lui Ioanichie de Stavrupolis între Pogoniani și București:

tradition chez les hiérarques et autres hommes d'Église grecs que de se faire accompagner au cours de leur carrière par un des leurs, un neveu le plus souvent (Mélétios Pigas et son neveu Cyrille Loukaris à Alexandrie ; Luc le Chypriote et son neveu Lorinț en Valachie ; Macaire d'Antioche et son fils Paul d'Alep ; Dosithée de Jérusalem et son neveu Chrysanthe Notaras, etc.)⁷². Tout semble indiquer que Matthieu de Myres et son frère Isaris logothète œuvraient coude à coude dans le *scriptorium* du monastère de Dealu. Reste à identifier des textes, des documents, en l'occurrence, écrits de la main du logothète Isaris Angeletos / Angeletakis.

Hommes d'Église

En ce qui concerne les destinataires issus des rangs du haut clergé grec, il convient de commencer par Raphaël II de Constantinople (1603–1607). Matthieu lui dédia l'*Office de sainte Parascève*, composé par lui-même, auquel il ajouta la traduction grecque, toujours de lui-même, de la *Vie* de la sainte rédigée en slavon par Euthème de Târnovo (XIV^e siècle) et des *Vers politiques* en l'honneur de la sainte. Il relia le tout dans le Codex gr. 161 du Métoque du Saint-Sépulcre⁷³. Le même *Codex* contient une autre unité thématique, de la main de Matthieu, composée de l'*Office de saint Grégoire le Décapolite*, de *Vers politiques* honorant la fête de la Naissance du Christ et d'un *Enkomion* en l'honneur du patriarche Raphaël II, qui n'était autre que celui qui avait ordonné Matthieu comme métropolite *in partibus* de Myres en décembre 1605⁷⁴. On remarquera le contenu du manuscrit adapté au profil du destinataire : une œuvre hagiographique honorant sainte Parascève, dont les

evlavie, afaceri și patriotism local», dans Pr. I. Marchiș, Stavrophore M. Luchian, Moniale A. Văetiși (éd.), *Stavropoleos 300 : București, Balcani, Europa*, Bucarest, 2024, p. 111-194.

⁷² Pour les cas de Luc le Chypriote, métropolite de Hongrovalachie, voir la contribution de Ovidiu Olar dans le présent volume.

⁷³ Ath. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. I, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1891, p. 157-158 (n° 161) ; O. Gratzou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 162 (n° 31). Le manuscrit avait appartenu au monastère Barnovschi de Iași, métoque du Patriarcat de Jérusalem, suite à la donation faite par le grand spathaire Nicolae [Milescu] en 1660 : *ibid.*, p. 157 ; N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar...*, p. 219-220. Pour cette œuvre hagiographique de Matthieu de Myres, voir I. Ștefănescu, « Viața sfintei Parascheva cea Nouă de Matei al Mirelor », RIR III, n° 4, 1933, p. 347-377.

⁷⁴ O.-V. Olar, « Matthaïos of Myra... », p. 146.

reliques se trouvaient alors à Constantinople⁷⁵, et saint Grégoire le Décapolite, dont l'*Office* fut accompagné de vers dédiés au patriarche (alors que l'*Office* et la *Vie* du saint destinés au prince Radu Șerban et finalement offerts aux moines de Bistrița en 1611 étaient accompagnés du *Προοίμιον* racontant les événements survenus en Valachie lors de l'invasion du pays par Gabriel Báthory : *supra*).

Bien évidemment, la liste des destinataires des manuscrits de Matthieu de Myres contient aussi le nom de Cyrille Loukaris, du temps où il était patriarche d'Alexandrie (1602–1621). C'est à l'occasion de la visite de Loukaris en Valachie, pour honorer de sa présence la consécration des monastères de Dealu et Radu-Vodă (1614), les nouvelles fondations de Radu Mihnea, que l'higoumène de Dealu lui offrit un *Hiératikon*, le Ms. Alexandria 115 : *Κυρίλλω τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπᾳ καὶ πατριάρχῃ τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας Ματθαῖος ἁμαρτωλὸς...*⁷⁶ (Fig. 11). Le manuscrit porte la date de 1615, indiquant que la dédicace avait été faite avant le départ de Cyrille Loukaris de Valachie⁷⁷. La même année, en février, le copiste dédia toujours un recueil de textes liturgiques, le Ms. Alexandria 165, à l'archimandrite d'Alexandrie Gerasimos (futur patriarche Gerasimos Spartaliotis), qui accompagnait le patriarche Loukaris en Valachie : *τῷ πανοσιωτάτῳ καὶ μουσικωτάτῳ μεγάλῳ ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ Ἀλεξανδρείας κυρίῳ κυρίῳ Γερασίμῳ, Ματθαῖος ἁμαρτωλὸς ἐν ἔτει ζρκγ^ο φεβρουαρίου ἰνδ. ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Δάλου* (Fig. 12)⁷⁸.

La liste des destinataires continue avec plusieurs métropolitites et évêques grecs que Matthieu de Myres connut de près. Tout d'abord, il manifesta son

⁷⁵ Les reliques de cette sainte vénérée tout particulièrement dans l'espace balkanique seront convoitées par le prince de Moldavie Vasile Lupu (1634–1653), qui les fit transférer finalement à Iași et les déposer dans sa nouvelle fondation, le monastère Trois-Hiérarques : D. I. Mureșan, «Autour de l'élément politique du culte de sainte Parascève la Jeune en Moldavie», dans P. Guran, B. Flusin (éd.), *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine. Actes des colloques internationaux «L'empereur hagiographe» (13-14 mars 2000) et «Reliques et miracles» (1-2 novembre 2000) tenus au New Europe College, Bucarest, 2001*, p. 249-280, avec la bibliographie du sujet.

⁷⁶ L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 379 et 387 (n° 18); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 387 et 389 (n° 22); O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 164 (n° 37); Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», p. 129.

⁷⁷ Le patriarche quitta la Valachie à une date antérieure à septembre 1615 : O.-V. Olar, *La Boutique de Théophile...*, p. 107.

⁷⁸ L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκωμιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 387 (n° 17); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 389 (n° 21); O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 163 (n° 36); Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», p. 129.



Fig. 11. Ms. Alexandria 115 (1615, Dealu), d'après microfilme ; page de titre et dédicace de Matthieu de Myres au patriarche d'Alexandrie Cyrille Loukaris, f. 126^r.

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affection envers Arsenios, l'archevêque d'Elassona (diocèse thessalien). Ils s'étaient rendus à la même époque à Moscou (Arsenios en 1588, pour un second voyage; Matthieu s'y trouvait en 1596), du temps où ils œuvraient ensemble au service de l'œcuménique Jérémie II Tranos (1572–1579, 1580–1584, 1587–1595) et du *locum tenens* Mélétiος Pigas (1597–1598)⁷⁹. C'est à Moscou, où il rédigea plusieurs de ses manuscrits, que Matthieu offrit à Arsenios un recueil de textes liturgiques, en février 1596, en signe de reconnaissance pour tous les bienfaits que le destinataire lui avait octroyés (χάριν τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ συχνῶν εὐεργεσιῶν). Arsenios en fit donation

⁷⁹ Ph. Ar. Dimitrakopoulos, *Ἀρσένιος Ἐλάσσωνος (1550–1626). Βίος – ἔργο – ἀπομνημονεύματα. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν λογίων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς*, Athènes, 2007, p. 113 sq.

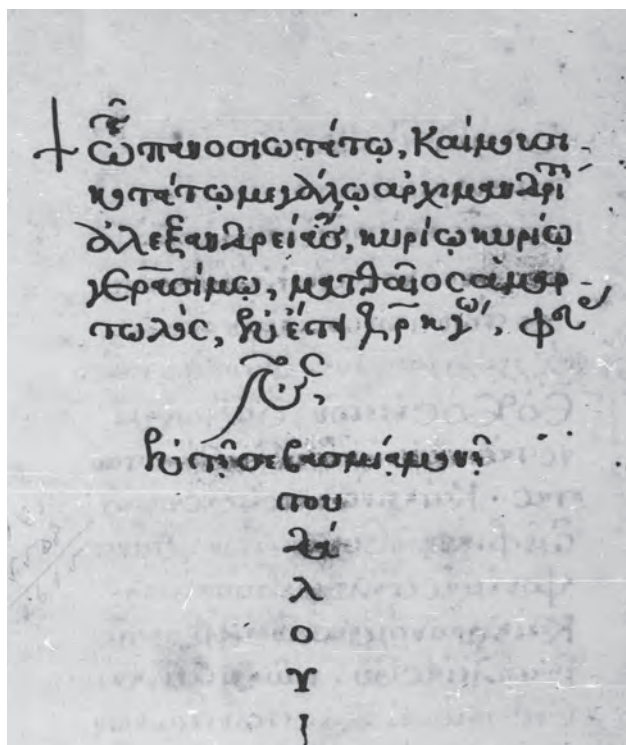


Fig. 12. Ms. Alexandria 165 (1615, Dealu), d'après microfilme ; colophon, avec la dédicace de Matthieu de Myres pour l'Archimandrite du Patriarcat d'Alexandrie Gerasimos, f. 68^r. © Ιστορικό και Παλαιογραφικό Αρχείο, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης.

à son tour, en 1602, au monastère thessalien de Tatarna⁸⁰, qui avait pour nouveau ktitor nul autre que le puissant archonte constantinopolitain Skarlatos Grammatikos⁸¹ ; j'ai déjà mentionné ce dernier pour avoir reçu de la part de Matthieu de Myres, en 1620, l'*Office* manuscrit des hiérarques Mélétiος Pigas, Gavriil Seviros et Maximos Margounios⁸². Car Skarlatos était lui aussi

⁸⁰ N. Beis, « Drei Urkunden der Bruderschaft des Tatarna-Klosters », *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 16, 1940, p. 214 ; L. Vranousis, « Ἐγκωμιαστική ἀκολουθία... », p. 385 (n° 2) ; L. Politis, « Un copiste... », p. 379 (n° 1) ; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 145 (n° 2) ; Ph. Ar. Dimitrakopoulos, *Ἀρσένιος Ἐλάσσωνος...*, p. 135-136, 139.

⁸¹ N. Beis, « Drei Urkunden... », p. 219-224 ; M. Theochari, « Ὁ ἐπιτάφιος... », p. 690 ; P. I. Vasileiou, *Τὸ μοναστήρι τῆς Τατάρνας Εὐρυτανίας*, Athènes, 1978² (1970¹), p. 48-49.

⁸² Pour la correspondance d'Arsenios d'Elassona avec Mélétiος Pigas et Gavriil Seviros dans les années 1595, voir Ph. Ar. Dimitrakopoulos, *Ἀρσένιος Ἐλάσσωνος...*, p. 130-133.

originaire de Thessalie, de la région d'Agrafa⁸³. Vu aussi l'attachement de Matthieu aux monastères des Météores – il offrit un *Menée* au monastère Varlaam (Ms. Varlaam 15), rédigé en 1605/6 au métoque valaque de celui-ci, le monastère de Coșuna-Bucovăț situé près de Craiova⁸⁴, puis, en 1620, il composa l'*Office* des saints ktitors Apsaras du même couvent des rochers (Ms. Varlaam 134 ; Fig. 13)⁸⁵ –, on peut supposer que Matthieu, Arsenios d'Elassona et Skarlatos se connaissaient dès leur première jeunesse. Ils se connaissaient peut-être même avant de quitter la Thessalie pour Constantinople, l'un pour y exercer le grand commerce et se mettre au service du sultan, les autres pour se mettre au service de l'œcuménique Jérémie II Tranos, l'ancien titulaire de la Métropole thessalienne de Larissa qui avait son siège à Trikala⁸⁶.

Ajoutons à cela que les liens du copiste avec Coșuna-Bucovăț, le métoque de Varlaam, nous ramènent dans la famille princière de Radu Mihnea, car c'étaient les devanciers du voïévode qui avaient contribué à la fondation de ce couvent dédié aux Météores en 1588. Ses grands-parents, le prince Alexandru II Mircea (1568–1577, avec une interruption) et la Pérote Caterina Salvaresso, son père Mihnea Turcitul (*le Turcisé*) encore en bas âge (il régna en Valachie entre 1577–1591, avec des interruptions), ainsi que les frères d'Alexandru II Mircea, Petru le Boiteux (prince de Moldavie entre 1575–1591, avec des interruptions) et Miloș voïévode, y sont somptueusement représentés en peinture votive⁸⁷.

Matthieu de Myres eut l'occasion de rencontrer en Valachie maintes autres connaissances de marque, de vieux amis qui venaient passer du temps au pays. L'un d'entre eux fut Ioakim, le métropolite de Dristra, éparchie située dans

⁸³ *Εὐγενίου Γιαννούλη τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ Ἐπιστολές. Κριτική ἔκδοση*, éd. I. E. Stephanis, N. Papatriantafyllou-Theodoridi, Thessalonique, 1992, p. 212 (n° 81); L. Cotovanu, «The Thessalian Roots of the Mavrokordatoi...».

⁸⁴ L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκομιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 386-387 (n° 15); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 389 (n° 17); O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 158-159 (n° 24).

⁸⁵ L. Vranousis, «Ἐγκομιαστικὴ ἀκολουθία...», p. 369-370 et 387 (n° 19); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 383 et 389 (n° 16 et 23); O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 157-158 (n° 22), 174.

⁸⁶ Chr. Hannick, K. Todt, «Jérémie II Tranos», dans C. Conticello, V. Conticello (éd.), *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. II, *XIII^e–XIX^e siècles*, Turnhout, 2002, p. 551-615.

⁸⁷ Pour le monastère de Coșuna-Bucovăț et ses ktitors, voir N. Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităților...*, vol. I, p. 103-105; G. D. Florescu, «Mănăstirea Coșuna (Bucovățul Vechi) și neamurile domnești și boierești din Țara Românească, din veacul al XVI-lea, legate de acest locaș», *Arhiva Genealogică* III, n° 1-2, 1996, p. 51-144.

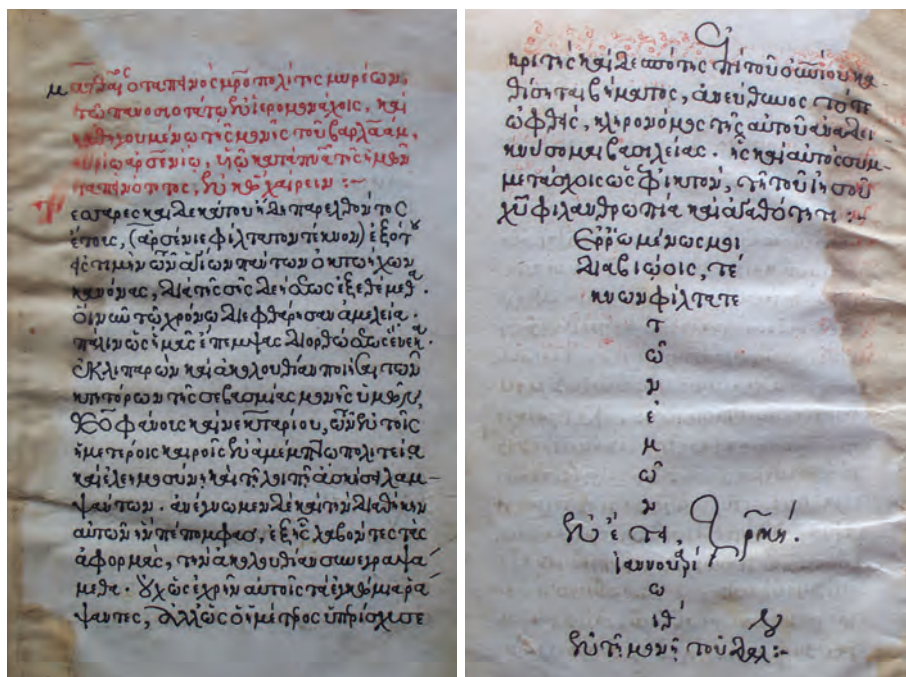


Fig. 13. Ms. Varlaam 134, f. 3^r, 4^v (1620, Dealu), l'Office des saints Nektarios et Theophanis [Apsaras] de la main de Matthieu de Myres.

© Monastère Varlaam des Météores.

la Roumélie bulgare et subordonnée au Patriarcat de Constantinople. Le 20 décembre 1611, c'est-à-dire l'année où le pays avait souffert suite à l'invasion de Gabriel Báthory, Matthieu offrit à Ioakim un recueil de textes liturgiques (Ms. Panteleimon 428) « en signe d'amitié » (*χαρίν φιλίας*)⁸⁸. Il est fort probable que la dédicace soit liée à l'expérience partagée devant l'invasion de Báthory en début de la même année. Certes, un mois plus tard, en janvier 1612, on les retrouve ensemble à la réunion de Târgoviște où l'on discuta des mesures à prendre pour réparer les dégâts provoqués par l'armée hongroise aux monastères du pays⁸⁹. On retrouve en leur compagnie le métropolite de Grevená Ioasaph qui, vers la fin de sa vie, le 26 mai 1623, se vit lui aussi offrir par Matthieu un

⁸⁸ L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 375-376 et 389 (n° 20); O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 160-161 (n° 28), 174; Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», p. 128.

⁸⁹ DIR, B, vol. XVII/3, n° 379, p. 418 et n° 382, p. 424; Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», *loc. cit.*

recueil de liturgies (Musée National d'Histoire d'Athènes, Ms. gr. 913), toujours «en signe d'amitié et de commémoration» (*φιλίας καὶ μνημοσύνου χάριν*)⁹⁰.

Quant à Ioakim de Dristra, on le retrouve à nouveau en mai 1615, aux côtés de l'higoumène de Dealu, à signer la confirmation émise par le métropolite de Valachie Luc le Chypriote en faveur de la dédicace du monastère de Stănești au Patriarcat d'Alexandrie⁹¹. Le bénéficiaire immédiat de cette dédicace fut Cyrille Loukaris en personne, l'ami et peut-être même le père spirituel de la donatrice : il s'agit de Maria Buzescu, la fille du grand *clucer* Radu Buzescu (celui qui se remarqua en 1616 par sa donation envers le monastère de Golgotha, la fondation du grand trésorier Nikolaos Higouménos; *supra*) et épouse du grand *ban* de Craiova Ianache Catargi (qui se verra dédier en 1618 l'*Histoire de la Valachie* par Matthieu; *supra*). On peut aisément supposer que Ioakim avait assisté lui aussi, aux côtés du patriarche Loukaris, de Radu Mihnea, du *ban* Catargi, de Luc le Chypriote et de Matthieu de Myres, à la consécration des monastères de Dealu et Radu-Vodă à l'été et l'automne de 1614 (*supra*).

En 1620, Cyrille Loukaris revint à Târgoviște, sans doute accompagné par d'autres hauts prélats grecs fidèles à lui. En février, le patriarche, et à ses côtés le métropolite d'Andrinople Anthime – futur patriarche de Constantinople pour une courte période (18 juin – 22 septembre 1623) –, assistèrent au conseil réuni par le prince Gavril Movilă pour juger une affaire patrimoniale⁹². Anthime d'Andrinople était encore au pays en novembre, lorsque Matthieu lui offrit un *Évangile* (Ms. 435 du Métoque du Saint-Sépulcre)⁹³. Or, à l'automne de 1620, Radu Mihnea était revenu sur le trône valaque (il y régna jusqu'en 1623, lorsque son fils Alexandru Coconul lui succéda)⁹⁴. Loukaris et Anthime devaient être restés en Valachie pour honorer de leur présence le nouveau couronnement de Radu Mihnea (peut-être que leur ami, le *celep*

⁹⁰ L. Vranousis, «Εγκωμιαστική ἀκολουθία...», p. 388 (n° 23); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 389 (n° 27); O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 168-169 (n° 46), 174; L. Politis, M. Politi, «Βιβλιογράφοι...», p. 549; Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», p. 129.

⁹¹ DIR, B, vol. XVII/2, n° 341, p. 392-393. Pour le monastère de Stănești, voir N. Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităților și monumentelor feudale din România, Țara Românească (Muntenia, Oltenia și Dobrogea)*, vol. II: M–Z, Craiova, 1970, p. 594-595.

⁹² DIR, B, vol. XVII/3, n° 437, p. 481-483; Șt. Andreescu, «Destinatarii...», p. 128.

⁹³ L. Vranousis, «Εγκωμιαστική ἀκολουθία...», p. 388 (n° 21); L. Politis, «Un copiste...», p. 389 (n° 25); O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 167 (n° 43).

⁹⁴ Pour les règnes de Radu Mihnea en Valachie et en Moldavie, voir V. Constantinov, *Țara Românească și Țara Moldovei în timpul domniilor lui Radu Mihnea*, Iași, 2007, qui réunit la bibliographie du sujet.

Skarlatos Grammatikos, s'y était rendu lui aussi, vu qu'il reçut en donation, la même année, un manuscrit de la part de Matthieu : *supra*). Encore une fois, ce dut être une belle occasion pour que de vieux amis échangent des honneurs et des présents précieux, comme ils l'avaient fait lors de la consécration des monastères de Dealu et Radu-Vodă en 1614.

Conclusion

Pour conclure, on peut affirmer qu'à peu près tous les destinataires des manuscrits de Matthieu de Myres sont des personnes qui ont compté dans la vie personnelle de l'auteur : amis de première jeunesse (tel Arsenios d'Elassona, peut-être aussi Cyrille Loukaris, qu'il dut avoir connu jeune à Constantinople, le Thessalien Skarlatos Grammatikos, qui atteignit une renommée inégalée à Constantinople et fut le compère du prince Radu Mihnea) ; le patriarche œcuménique Raphaël, qui ordonna Matthieu métropolite de Myres ; princes et archontes protecteurs (Radu Șerban, Radu Mihnea, Alexandru Iliăș et le beau-père de celui-ci, le grand *ban* de Craiova Ianache Catargi) ; proches parents des puissants, telle Catalina Buzescu, fille d'un trésorier épirote et tante par alliance de Maria Buzescu, qui fut l'épouse du *ban* Ianache Catargi et qui dédia la fondation familiale de Stănești, en Olténie, au Patriarcat d'Alexandrie via Cyrille Loukaris ; métropolites, évêques et autres membres du clergé réunis autour de la figure marquante de Cyrille Loukaris ; les moines de Bistrița, qui ont offert refuge à Matthieu dans les moments difficiles de 1610–1611 ; le frère lui-même de Matthieu, le logothète Isaris Angeletos. À peu près toutes les dédicaces sont liées à des événements concrets, des faits marquants de la vie et de la carrière du copiste : l'invasion de Gabriel Báthory en Valachie, la consécration des monastères de Dealu de Târgoviște et Radu-Vodă de Bucarest, les visites de Cyrille Loukaris en Valachie et le couronnement des princes valaques, les « scandales » anti-grecs qui ont secoué la Cour valaque mais aussi sa vie à lui.

Le réseau d'amitiés et de destinataires des manuscrits de Matthieu reflète parfaitement la hiérarchie des pouvoirs du monde gréco-orthodoxe lui-même, où laïcs et clergé cohabitaient en vertu de la « symphonie » traditionnelle des pouvoirs qui structurait la communauté gréco-orthodoxe : patriarches, archontes constantinopolitains, princes régnants dans les Principautés danubiennes, archontes au service de la Cour valaque, métropolites suffragants de Constantinople, y compris le titulaire de Valachie, un Grec lui aussi (*i.e.*

Luc le Chypriote). Ceci dessine le profil sociopolitique de Matthieu lui-même : c'était un homme d'élite et ses manuscrits étaient destinés au cercle restreint de ses amis de marque.

Par rapport à cet éventail de destinataires, mes conclusions rejoignent celle exprimées par Ovidiu Olar dans le présent volume : Matthieu de Myres ne semble pas avoir développé un programme de réanimation ou d'entretien d'une quelconque tradition byzantine. Il ne faisait qu'exercer son talent de copiste et le mobiliser pour courtiser les grands, assurer sa propre sécurité, manifester sa reconnaissance envers des bienfaiteurs, exprimer son amitié, etc. En tant qu'homme de lettres et membre du haut clergé gréco-orthodoxe, il puisait son art dans la tradition liturgique byzantine, ce qui était une normalité pour son espace culturel d'appartenance et son temps.

Enfin, on a pu voir comment le calligraphe adaptait ses choix thématiques au profil des destinataires de ses manuscrits : des textes profanes et historiographiques pour les princes de Valachie et les puissants archontes, mais des textes hagiographiques et liturgiques pour les membres du clergé. La reconstitution de ces choix nous aide à mieux comprendre le mode opératoire d'un copiste, la façon dont il conçoit les manuscrits et leur assemblage dans des codex, l'itinéraire des manuscrits et le lieu de leur conservation actuelle. D'où, je dirais, l'importance de la reconstitution du contexte dans lequel les copistes développaient leurs activités, de leur profil prosopographique et de leur entourage social, surtout lorsqu'on dispose de sources, et le cas de Matthieu de Myres est plutôt un cas heureux de ce point de vue.

A POST-BYZANTINE CALLIGRAPHER: LUKE OF CYPRUS

Ovidiu Olar

The manuscript that sparked my interest and triggered this research is well known to biblical scholars. Hermann von Soden assigned it the number ε617 in his classification system, Caspar René Gregory gave it the number 1239 in the “Minuscule” category, and William Henry Paine Hatch included the facsimile of a page from the *Gospel of Matthew* in his catalogue of Greek manuscripts of the New Testament at Mount Sinai.¹ However, the first to notice that there was more to the manuscript than met the eye was the American Byzantinist Gary Vikan. In 1988, Vikan dedicated a study to the famous post-Byzantine calligrapher Luke the Cypriot, Metropolitan of Wallachia. Trying to substantiate the claim that Luke “was closely acquainted with Anastasios Crimca, Moldavian Metropolitan, who was also a renowned manuscript illuminator,” he contended that in the Sinai manuscript mentioned above, “the text and initials are by Luke, while the headpieces and Evangelist portraits are by Crimca.”²

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¹ H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, vol. 1: *Untersuchungen* 1. *Die Textzeugen*, Göttingen, 1911, p. 80, 214; C. R. Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 88; W. H. P. Hatch, *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament at Mount Sinai: Facsimiles and Descriptions*, Paris, 1932, pl. LXXVIII. See also K. Aland (with M. Welte, B. Köster, K. Junack), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin – New York, 1994, p. 118; <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace?docID=31239> (accessed on 20.07.2023) – *New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room* 1239 (BC 31239).

² G. Vikan, “Byzance après Byzance: Luke the Cypriot, Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia,” in L. Clucas (ed.), *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, Boulder – New York, 1988, p. 180,

This was a particularly important detail because it highlighted a previously unsuspected connection between two major early modern “schools of scribes”, a Greek one in Wallachia gravitating around Luke († 1628 or 1629) and a Church Slavonic one in Moldavia galvanized by Crimca († 1629). Yet, the note went unnoticed. The codex is listed neither among Luke’s manuscripts³ nor among those linked to Crimca.⁴ This may be because Vikan speaks of “Mount Sinai, cods. 1480, Gospels”.⁵ However, Sin. gr. 1480 does not contain the *Gospels* and was not copied by Luke: it is a liturgical chant manuscript copied by one of Luke’s most talented disciples, the hieromonk Iakovos of Simonopetra, in Bucharest in 1625⁶ (Fig. 1).

There is, however, a manuscript that fits the (laconic) description provided by Vikan: Sin. gr. 203.⁷ It contains the four *Gospels*, the text was written by Metropolitan Luke, and the portraits of the evangelists were

n. 17. Vikan repeated the statement three years later: “Walters Lectionary W.535 (A.D. 1594) and the Revival of Deluxe Greek Manuscript Production after the Fall of Constantinople,” in J. J. Yiannias (ed.), *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, Charlottesville – London, 1991, p. 212, n. 30.

³ L. Politis and M. Politi list 26 items in their inventory of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Greek copyists: “Βιβλιογράφοι του 17ου–18ου αιώνα: Συνοπτική καταγραφή,” *Δελτίο του Ιστορικού και Παλαιογραφικού Αρχείου* 6, 1994, p. 536-537. M.-D. Zoumbouli indexes 30 items: *Luc de Buzau et les centres de copie de manuscrits grecs en Moldovalachie (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)*, Athens, 1995, p. 66-67.

⁴ É. Turdeanu counted first 22 and then 25 items: “Le métropolitain Anastase Crimca et son œuvre littéraire et artistique (1608–1629),” in idem, *Études de littérature roumaine et d’écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés roumaines*, Leiden, 1985, p. 226-242, 444-447. Ș. S. Gorovei indexed 27: “Anastasiu Crimca: Noi contribuții,” in *Dragomirna: Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, vol. 2, Sfânta Mănăstire Dragomirna, 2014, p. 107-128, 334-335. The list continues to expand: O. Mitric, “Un nou manuscris din ‘școala’ de caligrafi și miniaturişti de la Mănăstirea Dragomirna (1627),” in *Dragomirna: Istorie...*, p. 141-148; A. Pascal, “Surse noi, descoperite recent, privind viața și activitatea mitropolitului Anastasiu Crimca,” in *Dragomirna: Ctitori si restauratori*, Sfânta Mănăstire Dragomirna, 2015, p. 133-174.

⁵ G. Vikan, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 179, n. 2; idem, “Walters Lectionary...,” p. 211, n. 13.

⁶ <https://www.loc.gov/item/0027938345A-ms/> (accessed on 20.07.2023); see S. N. Kadas, *Ta διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα του Επισκόπου Γάνου και Χώρας Ιακώβου (πρώην Σιμωνοπετρίτου ιερομονάχου)*, Thessaloniki, 2014, p. 58-64, figs 33-48. Following Vikan, Zoumbouli counted Sin. gr. 1480 among Luke’s manuscripts, although she also ascribed it to Iakovos several pages later: *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 67, 124. The manuscript is not mentioned in L. Politis and M. Politi’s inventory: “Βιβλιογράφοι...,” p. 454 (Iakovos), 536-537 (Luke).

⁷ The Library of Congress has digitized the microfilms of the manuscripts at St Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai made in the context of the 1949–1950 expedition led by Kenneth W. Clark and has made Sin. gr. 203 available online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271078717->



Fig. 1. Liturgical chant manuscript copied by hieromonk Iakovos of Simonopetra (1625). Sin. gr. 1480, f. 100^v–101^r: <https://www.loc.gov/item/0027938345A-ms/> (accessed on 20.07.2023).

painted in the style of Crimca’s “school.” In what follows, I will first trace Luke’s career as a calligrapher. I will then argue that Sin. gr. 203 and the other representatives of the “major revival in the production of *deluxe* Greek manuscripts” spearheaded by Luke and Metropolitan Matthew of Myra († 1624) mirror the political, economic, and social transformation of Southeast Europe after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.⁸ Luke and his disciple Iakovos produced (at least) three deluxe copies of the *Akathistos Hymn* between them. Although these are not the main topic of this chapter, I will place them in their immediate cultural context.

ms/ (accessed on 20.07.2023). V. Gardthausen dated the manuscript to the sixteenth century: *Catalogus codicum Græcorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxford, 1886, p. 40.

⁸ For Matthew of Myra, see Lidia Cotovanu’s chapter in this volume, “Les destinataires de l’œuvre manuscrite de Matthieu de Myres: nouvelles constatations.” I have evaluated elsewhere the importance of Sin. gr. 203 for the “Crimca” group of manuscripts: “Un manuscris necunoscut al ‘școlii Crimca’ păstrat la Sinai,” AP 18, n° 2, 2022, p. 71–92.

Luke's Early Manuscripts

Unsurprisingly, the first available mentions of Luke are found in manuscripts. In June 1583, the “worthless hieromonk” from Cyprus placed a colophon at the end of a *Psalter*, introducing himself as its scribe and asking the reader to pray for him.⁹ Sometime before that, “the deacon Luke the Cypriot” copied (and probably illustrated with 80 miniatures) two late antique tales, the *Sermon on Joseph the Most Virtuous*, attributed to St Ephraim the Syrian, and the so-called *Romance of Joseph and Aseneth*.¹⁰ Previously, the calligrapher had been involved in the production of an illuminated manuscript version of the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph* in vernacular Greek.¹¹

⁹ Mount Athos – New Skete of the St Paul Monastery (Νέα Σκήτη τοῦ Ἀγίου Παύλου) MS 806: Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν ψαλτήριον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς Λουκᾶ ἱερομονάχου Κυπρίου καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχεσθὲ μοι διὰ τὸν κύριον Ἰησὺν [7091] ἰνδ. δ´, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ια´. See E. Kourilas, “Κατάλογος Ἀγιορειτικῶν χειρογράφων (ΙΑ´),” *Θεολογία* 21, n° 4, 1950, p. 522; G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts of Pseudo-Ephraem's “Life of Joseph” and the “Romance of Joseph and Aseneth”*, PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1976, unpublished, p. 621. The indiction does not correspond to the year: L. Politis, “Un copiste éminent du XVII^e siècle: Matthieu métropolitaine de Myra,” in K. Treu (ed.), *Studia Codicologica. In Zusammenarbeit mit Jurgen Dummer, Johannes Irmscher und Franz Paschke*, Berlin, 1977, p. 384, n. 1. The author proposes ἰνδ. ια´, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ δ´.

¹⁰ Virginia Beach VA (Greeley Collection) – MS McKell, f. 108^r: Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ διακόνου πονός· Λουκᾶ Κυπρίου τοῦ γράψαντος ἐν πόθει. See G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 607, 615, fig. 210; idem, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 168, 179, n. 4, figs 1, 3, 5, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23. See also J. Pächt, O. Pächt, “An Unknown Cycle of Illustrations of the *Life of Joseph*,” *CA* 7, 1954, p. 35-49.

¹¹ Athens – The Library of the Greek Parliament / Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Βουλῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων MS 11. See S. P. Lambros, “Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις βιβλιοθηκῶν πλὴν τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Α´: Κώδικες τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Βουλῆς,” *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημον* 1, 1904, p. 353 ff.; A. Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures et à ornements des bibliothèques d'Athènes*, Liège – Paris, 1926, p. 106-122 (n° 43), pl. XL-XLVIII. The attribution of the illuminations and captions to Luke is based on the script and miniature style: G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 490-492, 615-616, 620, figs 214, 216-218; idem, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 170-171, figs 13, 15; O. Gratzliou, “Ἡ διακόσμηση στα χειρόγραφα τοῦ Λουκᾶ Οὐγγροβλαχίας, τοῦ Κυπρίου,” *Επετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Επιστημονικῶν Ερευνῶν Κύπρου* 17, 1987–1988, p. 64-65, fig. 20; M. Toumpouri, “The Illustration of the *Barlaam and Joasaph Romance* of the Athens, *Library of the Greek Senate*, 11 by the Cypriot Loukas († 1629),” in E. Antoniou (ed.), *Πρακτικά τοῦ Δ' Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 29 Ἀπριλίου – 3 Μαΐου 2008)*, vol. 3/2, Nicosia, 2012, p. 927-936. The translator and the main scribe are unknown; the writing has been dated between the late 16th and early 17th centuries: P. Vasileiou, *Ἡ δημόδης παραλλαγή τοῦ Βαρλάαμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ κατὰ τὸν κώδικα I 104 τῆς Μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας: Συμβολὴ στη μελέτη τῶν δημοδῶν παραλλαγῶν τοῦ μυθιστορήματος*, PhD Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2003, unpublished, p. 25-30. I. Pérez Martín states that “Luke was a *scriptor*

None of these early codices mention the place of composition. However, during the reign of Peter “the Earring” (*Cercel*; r. 1583–1585, † 1590), Luke emerges in Wallachia as bishop of Buzău. The first surviving document issued in his own name dates from February 1585,¹² but the prince had already granted him ecclesiastical authority over his flock and confirmed his right to collect the ordinary and lucrative tithe on cheese, honey, and wax from the priests of his district.¹³

When did Luke arrive in Wallachia? Was it in the late summer of 1583, when Peter “the Earring” seized power, or was it earlier?¹⁴ Did he come directly from Cyprus after the conquest of the Venetian colony by the Ottomans (1570–1571), or did he stop first at a monastery on Mount Athos that had ties with Wallachia (Simonopetra, for example, possessed a metochion in Bucharest and another one in Buzău)?¹⁵ Although no definitive answers can be given, Luke’s early manuscripts provide a useful set of clues. The first manuscript (in chronological order) – the tale of the young prince Joasaph’s conversion

of the Vatican between 1585 and 1612”: “Δύο νεοελληνικές διασκευές της ‘ψυχοφελούς ιστορίας’ του Βαρλαάμ και Ιωάσαφ: Τα χειρόγραφα Βουλής 11 και MIET 25,” in P. Agapitos, M. Pieris (eds), “*Τ’ ἄδὸνιν κείνον ποὺ γλυκὰ θλιβᾶται. Ἐκδοτικά και ερμηνευτικά ζητήματα της δημόδους ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στο πέρασμα από τον Μεσαίωνα στην Αναγέννηση (1400–1600)*,” Heraklion, 2002, p. 57. This seems quite impossible.

¹² *Documente privind istoria României*, B, *Țara Românească*, XVI/5 (1581–1590), Bucharest, 1952, n° 193, p. 180–181.

¹³ *Ibid.*, n° 143, p. 135–136, 522 (year missing; since the document was issued by Peter “the Earring”, the editors dated it to 1583–1585), n° 178, p. 167 (12 July 1584).

¹⁴ According to I. Ionașcu, Luke may have settled in Buzău during the first reign of Mihnea II – that is, between 1577 and 1583: *Mănăstirea Izvorani (Buzău), ctitoria episcopului Luca (1583–1604)*, Buzău, 1936, p. 4. According to G. Cronț, Luke came to Wallachia after the fall of Cyprus in 1571: “Le chypriote Luca, évêque et métropolitain en Valachie (1583–1629),” in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Α΄ Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14–19 Ἀπριλίου 1969)*, vol. 3/1, Nicosia, 1973, p. 45–47. According to I. Ionescu, Peter “the Earring” may have met Luke in Cyprus during his exile and, appreciating his qualities, may have “facilitated” his relocation to Wallachia and his election as bishop: “Mitropolitul Luca din Cipru, un reprezentant al culturii bizantino-cipriote în Țara Românească. Trei sute cincizeci de ani de la moartea sa: 1629–1979,” *Glasul Bisericii* 39, n° 1–2, 1980, p. 81. A. Camariano-Cioran only mentions that Luke was in Wallachia “towards the end of the sixteenth century”: “Contributions aux relations roumano-chypriotes,” in eadem, *Relații româno-elene: Studii istorice și filologice (Secolele XIV–XIX)*, ed. L. Rados, Bucharest, 2008, p. 663.

¹⁵ For the second option and for Simonopetra’s Wallachian metochia, including Izvorani monastery, Luke’s foundation, see P. Zahariuc, “Noi informații despre mănăstirea Izvorani (județul Buzău) și despre mitropolitul Țării Românești, Luca de Cipru,” *RI* 21, n° 3–4, 2010, p. 252–253, 260. Constantinople cannot be excluded as a possible stopover, either: *ibid.*, p. 252.

to Christianity by the monk Barlaam – is of small size, being intended for personal use. It is adorned with 23 miniatures on 14 integral folios, which focus on the spiritual education received by a royal offspring destined to rule (Fig. 2). The markedly “courtly” character of the pictorial cycle, coupled with the use of vernacular Greek, suggests a courtly audience, possibly that of the Wallachian prince Mihnea II (r. 1577–1583 and 1585–1591, † 1601), son of Alexander II Mircea (r. 1568–1577 with a short interruption, † 1577).¹⁶

The second, also non-liturgical, manuscript, which depicts the story of the biblical patriarch Joseph and his marriage with Aseneth, the daughter of an Egyptian priest, also seems to point towards the family that ruled Wallachia in the early 1580s. The extensive iconographical cycle indicates a wealthy non-clerical patron and pays considerable attention to royal depictions (Fig. 3). Furthermore, both Mihnea and his father share striking similarities with the fictional hero: the experience of exile (Joseph and Alexander), the protection of a non-Christian sovereign (the pharaoh and the Ottoman sultan, respectively), and the brutal separation from the father (Joseph, Alexander, and Mihnea).¹⁷

Was the “Joseph and Aseneth” manuscript a wedding gift for Mihnea?¹⁸ The prince married “the daughter of a local boyar” in June 1582.¹⁹ Although the choice puzzled his aunt, it was a strategic decision that sealed his alliance with one of the leading families in the Buzău region.²⁰ The bride, Neaga – Νάγ or Νάγα, as her mother-in-law writes in her letters²¹ – was the daughter of Vlaicu, a *clucer* from Cislău, and the niece of Rada, the spouse of the

¹⁶ M. Toumpouri, “The Illustration of the *Barlaam and Joasaph*...,” p. 933-934.

¹⁷ G. Vikan, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 172-174. Another indication of a princely patron could be the (later) addition, at the end of the codex, of an Italian translation of the 1535 “Capitulations” between the French king François I and the Ottoman sultan Süleymân “the Lawgiver”: *ibid.*, p. 537.

¹⁸ Idem, *Illustrated Manuscripts*..., p. 494; idem, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 174.

¹⁹ Τοῦ τόπου ἀρχοντοπούλα: N. Iorga, “Contribuțiuni la istoria Munteniei în a doua jumătate a secolului XVI-lea,” AARMSI, 2nd series, 18, 1895–1896, p. 35-36; E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. 14/1, ed. N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1915, n° CXXXV, p. 60-62.

²⁰ M. Coman, *Putere și teritoriu: Țara Românească medievală (secolele XIV–XVI)*, Iași, 2013, p. 111-119.

²¹ C. Erbiceanu, N. Iorga, “Scrisori ale unei familii domnești din Muntenia și Moldova în veacul al XVI-lea,” *Arhiva Societății științifice și literare din Iași* 6, n° 3–4, 1895, p. 124; N. Iorga, “Contribuțiuni...,” p. 57-58; E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente*..., vol. 14/1, n° CXLIII, p. 77-78.



Fig. 2. *Barlaam and Joasaph*. Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament MS 11, f. 244^r, the martyrdom of the monks. Courtesy of the Library of the Greek Parliament.



Fig. 3. *Romance of Joseph and Aseneth*. Virginia Beach, VA (Greeley Collection) MS McKell, f. 5^v, Jacob blesses Joseph, surrounded by the brethren. *Apud* J. Pächt, O. Pächt, “An Unknown Cycle...,” pl. XII/1.

Wallachian prince Vlad Vintilă (r. 1532–1535, † 1535).²² Luke may have wanted to ingratiate himself with those who controlled the area if he had already moved or was considering moving there.

Alexander and his son Mihnea do fit the profile of an ideal reader/artistic patron. Born in Constantinople in 1565, Mihnea spoke and wrote Greek, as attested by his correspondence with his aunt, with his son and with the future patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pigas.²³ His father, Alexander,

²² C. Anton-Manea, “Din nou despre Doamna Neaga și familia ei: Genealogia unei familii de boieri buzoieni, secolele XIV–XVII,” in T. Teoteoi, B. Murgescu, Ș. Solcan (eds), *Fațetele istoriei: Existențe, identități, dinamici. Omagiu academicianului Ștefan Ștefănescu*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 67–77.

²³ É. Legrand, *Lettres de Mélétiüs Pigas antérieures à sa promotion au Patriarcat*, Paris, 1902, p. 106–107 (n^o. 80); N. Iorga, “Contribuțiuni...,” p. 63–65, 102–106; E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. 14/1 n^o CXLII, p. 76–77, n^o CXLV, p. 79–80, n^o CLXXI, p. 95–96,

“embellished” and donated several deluxe Byzantine manuscripts, such as the twelfth-century lectionary Sin. gr. 208, to prestigious monasteries. Alexander also commissioned an illustrated Church Slavonic manuscript containing the *Gospels* – the magnificent *Sucevița* 23.²⁴

However, there is no explicit connection between Luke’s first two surviving codices and Wallachia. According to Gary Vikan, the “Joseph and Aseneth” manuscript bears the autograph signature of Mihnea’s son and Alexander’s grandson, prince Radu Mihnea (r. 1601–1602, 1611–1616, 1620–1623, in Wallachia, and 1616–1619, 1623–1626, in Moldavia, † 1626), which would have been copied on the same page at a later date.²⁵ Unfortunately, the hypothesis is infirmed by a closer examination of the handwritings: both signatures are copies, and neither belongs to Radu Mihnea. The “autograph” seems to be a far-from-perfect imitation of the signature of the Moldavian prince Vasile Lupu (r. 1634–1653, † 1661), while its alleged “naive copy” actually imitates the signature of Vasile’s son, Ștefăniță (r. 1659–1661, † 1661). It is impossible to know who did the imitation and when. It may have happened in Constantinople. Both the *Sermon on Joseph the Most Virtuous* and the *Romance of Joseph and Aseneth* eventually found their way into the library of the Phanariot bibliophile Nikolaos Karatzas. The former codex had also belonged to the late seventeenth-century Constantinopolitan *protokanonarchos* Andronikos (Rhangavis), while the latter had counted among its owners the Constantinopolitan *archon* Dimitraki Gouliano.²⁶ These owners had access

n° CLXXXIII, p. 101–102, n° CLXXXV–CLXXXVI, 102–103. Mihnea II converted to Islam, but we do not know whether he spoke Ottoman Turkish: N. Bănescu, “Opt scrisori turcești ale lui Mihnea II ‘Turcitul’,” AARMSI, 3rd series, 6, 1927, p. 177–191. The prince’s mother and regent, Catherine Salvaresso, a member of Perot family, originally from Chios, was also fluent in Italian: see D. Caciur, “Purtătorii de scrisori: Agenții corespondenței dintre doamna Ecaterina Salvaresso și Maria Valarga Adorno,” SMIM 40, 2022, p. 165–204.

²⁴ M. Beza, *Urme românești în Răsăritul ortodox*, Bucharest, 1937, p. 103–105, 107; G. Popescu-Vâlcea, *Un manuscris al voievodului Alexandru al II-lea*, Bucharest, 1984; K. Weitzmann, G. P. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 1: *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, Princeton, 1990, p. 166–170 (n° 61), figs 645–651.

²⁵ MS McKell, f. 59^v; G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 494–495, 607, fig. 219; idem, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 173, 182, n. 59, fig. 16.

²⁶ G. K. Papazoglou, *Ο λόγιος Φαναριώτης Νικόλαος Καρατζάς και η βιβλιοθήκη των χειρογράφων κωδίκων του (1705 ci.–1787)*, vol. 2: *Η βιβλιοθήκη των χειρογράφων κωδίκων του*, Thessaloniki, 2019, p. 182–184 (n° 10), 305–306 (n° 27). For the Gouliano family and

to the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, which contained a large number of Moldavian documents, many of them issued by Vasile and Ștefăniță Lupu.²⁷ Be that as it may, there is no direct proof that Radu Mihnea received the *Romance of Joseph and Aseneth* from his father, inherited it, or acquired it after he started to rule. In fact, the codex may have been a gift from the deacon Luke of Cyprus to Mihnea's arch-rival – the polyglot, knowledgeable, and charismatic Peter “the Earring”²⁸ – or to someone else. We have only partial evidence and can only speculate.

The Gift of God

We do know that the Cyprus-born Luke was a “good and pious man”, had “by nature a heart free from sorrow”, was “reared from childhood in the solitary way of life”, and was “highly trained in calligraphy.” The testimony of Metropolitan Matthew of Myra, a fellow calligrapher, is beyond doubt.²⁹ Metropolitan Anthimos of Adrianople also praised Luke's calligraphic skills: “He has surpassed, in our times, all others in the art of calligraphy.”³⁰ But where did he acquire these skills? Wallachia is not an option: there were no centres of Greek manuscript production in the second half of the sixteenth century. Mount Athos is not an option either: the Athonite manuscripts of

their Wallachian ties, see L. Cotovanu, “Les livres grecs anciens de la Métropole de Moldavie et de Bucovine conservés dans la bibliothèque ‘Dumitru Stăniloae’ de Iași,” *Museikon* 6, 2022, p. 229-230, 252, n. 14.

²⁷ P. Mihailovici, “Documente moldovenești găsite la Constantinopol <1462–1755>,” *Cercetări istorice* 8–9, n° 3, 1932–1933, n° 24-28, p. 36-45 (Vasile Lupu), n° 32, 51-54 (Ștefăniță Lupu). See also C. Velichi, “Documente moldovenești (1607–1673) din arhiva Metohului Sf. Mormânt din Constantinopol,” *Buletinul Institutului român din Sofia* 1, n° 1, 1941, p. 211-258, and n° 2, 1941, p. 493-556.

²⁸ G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 536, n. 49. The McKell MS was produced before June 1583; Peter “the Earring” may have met Luke in Cyprus (*ante* 1579) or Constantinople (May 1581 – June 1583).

²⁹ Ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πιστός, καρδίαν ἄλυπον ἐκ φύσεως ἔχων, ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων τῇ μοναδικῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐνθεραμμένος καὶ ἄκρως τὴν καλλιγραφικὴν ἐξησκημένος, ἔλκων ἀπὸ Κύπρου τὸ γένος: N. Iorga, “Manuscripte din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor. Al doilea memoriu,” *AARMSI*, 2nd series, 21, 1899, p. 13.

³⁰ Ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπερβαίνοντος τῇ καλλιγραφίᾳ: Mount Athos – Lavra Ω 140 (Lectionary); L. Politis, “Un copiste...,” p. 384; idem, “Persistances byzantines dans l’écriture liturgique du XVII^e siècle,” in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974, Paris, 1977, p. 376.

the time were austere.³¹ Judging by the handwriting – round, elegant, and large-lettered, reserved at first, then bold and extraordinarily brilliant³² –, Luke may have been trained in a Cypriote scriptorium.³³ Starting in the 1530s, the monk and future hegumen Ambrosios of the monastery τῶν Ἀνδρείων in Nicosia imitated the fourteenth- / early fifteenth-century “liturgical” style practised at the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Mother of God “who points the way”, also known as τῶν Ὁδηγῶν.³⁴ Inspired by St Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians – “for by grace you have been saved through faith, and this is not from yourselves, *it is the gift of God*” (Eph. 2:8; my emphasis) –, the formula used by Luke to sign his first signed manuscript had been used by Ambrosios and by the τῶν Ὁδηγῶν scribes: Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, καὶ [name] πόνος (The gift of God and the labour of [name]).

This does not automatically make Luke a late representative of the late Palaiologan style. His script may have been related to another type of liturgical minuscule used by Theodoros Hagiopetritis, a late thirteenth-century copyist from Thessaloniki.³⁵ Nonetheless, it explains the “westernized”, “Italianized” aesthetic of the early miniatures, given that until the Ottoman conquest in

³¹ Idem, “Ἀγιορεῖτες βιβλιογράφοι τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα,” in idem, *Paléographie et littérature byzantine et néo-grecque. Recueil d’études*, London, 1975, n° VII, p. 355–384; idem, “Eine Schreiberschule im Klöster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν,” *ibid.*, n° VI, p. 281–282; idem, “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 373; idem, “Un centre de calligraphie dans les principautés danubiennes au XVI^e siècle: Lucas Buzau et son cercle,” in *X^e Congrès international des bibliophiles, Athènes, 30 septembre – 6 octobre 1977*, Athens, 1979, p. 3; G. P. Galavaris, “Production and Circulation of Illuminated Manuscripts on Mount Athos,” in idem (ed.), *Athos, la Sainte Montagne. Tradition et renouveau dans l’art*, Athens, 2007, p. 23–25.

³² L. Politis, “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 373; idem, “Un centre de calligraphie...,” p. 3; G. Vikan, “Walters Lectionary...,” p. 188.

³³ Idem, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 177–178; idem, “Walters Lectionary...,” p. 188–189; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 39, 52–53; C. N. Constantinides, “Scriptoria in Sixteenth-Century Cyprus,” in S. Patoura (ed.), *Η ελληνική γραφή κατά τους 15ο και 16ο αιώνες*, Athens, 2000, p. 267–268, 273. For the sixteenth-century Cypriot scribes, see C. N. Constantinides, R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Washington, DC – Nicosia, 1993, p. 246–249, pl. 98, 196b (Neophytos), p. 274–278, 293–295, 315–317, 323–325, pl. 136, 216–218 (Ambrosios).

³⁴ For the “Hodegon style,” see Guoda Gediminskaitė’s chapter in the first volume of this book, “Manufacturing Illuminated *Akathistos* Manuscripts in Late Byzantine Constantinople: The History and Compositional Processes of Sinod. gr. 429.”

³⁵ In a study of the τῶν Ὁδηγῶν scribal school, L. Politis, “Eine Schreiberschule...,” p. 282–283, wondered whether Luke’s liturgical script emerged from the Hodegon one. In a later study, however, he argued for another script, such as the one of Hagiopetritis: “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 373. According to G. Vikan, “Byzance après Byzance...,” p. 168, several

1571, Cyprus belonged to the Venetian empire.³⁶ Consequently, Luke's script advocates a Cypriot origin of both "Joseph and Aseneth" and "Barlaam and Joasaph." It also strengthens the case for a later departure of the scribe from the island than usually accepted.

To prevent hypotheses from spiralling, one must focus on the calligrapher's works. In the colophon of Luke's first dated manuscript – the 1583 *Psalter* – the copyist presents himself as a hieromonk, declares that he is from Cyprus, and states that he completed the codex in June. No indication is provided about the monastery at which he took the monastic vows, the place of his ordination to the priesthood, or the item's place of production. Five years later, in 1588, during the reign of Mihnea II, Luke copies a miscellany containing liturgical offices and the hymns of the *Octoechos* and signs it as "the humble and insignificant bishop of Buzău Luke the Cypriot".³⁷ In 1591, during the reign of prince Stephen "the Deaf" (*Ștefan Surdul*; r. 1591–1592, † 1595), the bishop copies the *Akathistos Hymn*.³⁸

These manuscripts mark a departure from the earlier ones in terms of both content and miniature style. The copyist switches from non-liturgical to liturgical subjects. The shift would become permanent. Moreover, he abandons the figural miniatures in "Italo- or Franco-Byzantine style" in favour of a non-narrative, ornamental decorative programme.³⁹

of Luke's manuscripts "show remarkable parallels with Hodegon school products". See also M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 39-60.

³⁶ G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 520, 525; idem, "Walters Lectionary...", p. 189.

³⁷ Mount Athos – Dionysiou MS 429: Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα δέλτος διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἐπισκόπου Μποζέου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Κυπρίου ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου αὐθεντοῦς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου Μίχνε βοεβόνδα. Ἐν ἔτει ζϛ' [7096 = 1588] ἰνδικτιῶνος α^{ης} μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ κ'. See S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1895, p. 424 (n° 3963); E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. 14/1 n° DCLXXXVII, p. 719; G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 621-622; L. Politis, "Un copiste...", p. 376, 385, 389, fig. 6; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaios von Myra (1594–1624). Untersuchungen zur griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600*, Athens, 1982, p. 24-25, 148 (n° 6), fig. 18; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 193-196.

³⁸ Mount Athos – Iviron MS 1600: Ἐγράφη ὁ παρὼν ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος τῆς ὑπεραγίας μου Θεοτόκου, ἐν τῇ ἐπισκόπῃ Ποζέου, ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου αὐθεντοῦς Ἰωάννου Στεφάνου βοεβόνδα. Ἐν ἔτει ζϛ,θ^ο [7099 = 1591]. See G. Galavaris, *Holy Monastery of Iveron. The Illuminated Manuscripts*, transl. by G. Cox, Mount Athos, 2000, p. 97, 100; idem, "Production and Circulation...", p. 26, 38, fig. 15.

³⁹ G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 489, 492, 523-526; idem, "Byzance après Byzance...", p. 169, 177.

and Marietta, attested as deacon around 1580 and as hieromonk in June 1583, had become a respected Wallachian bishop.⁴¹

During Luke's tenure as bishop, his production of high-quality Greek liturgical manuscripts – mainly copies of the *Divine Liturgies* – flourished.⁴² The persons, churches, or monasteries receiving the items remain unknown. Nevertheless, the numbers are telling: beautifully written and illuminated, these codices became precious commodities. In 1597, during an official diplomatic mission to Muscovy undertaken on behalf of the Wallachian prince Michael “the Brave” (*Mihai Viteazul*; r. 1593–1601, † 1601), Luke brought with him a monumental *Gospel lectionary* that he had finished in June 1594.⁴³

⁴¹ The names of his parents are mentioned in a manuscript of the *Divine Liturgy*: Athens – EBE MS 836, f. 27^r (Μνήσθητι Κύριε του δούλου σου Λουκᾶ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τῶν γεννητόρων αὐτοῦ), 58^v (Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῶν δούλων σου Λουκᾶ ἀρχιερέως, Ἰωάννου καὶ Μαργέττας). See L. Politis, “Un centre de calligraphie...,” p. 4; O. Gratziou, “Ἡ διακόσμηση...,” p. 60, n. 17; M.-D. Zouboulouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 66, 72-74, figs 36-37.

⁴² Undated manuscripts signed by Luke as bishop: Mount Athos – Lavra H 148 (Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα δέλτος διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς ἐπισκόπου Ποζέου Λουκᾶ τὸ γένος Κύπριος καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχεσθαί μοι διὰ τὸν Κύριον) [*Divine Liturgies*; Spyridon and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos, with Notices from other Libraries*, Cambridge – Paris – London, 1925, p. 122 (n° 803)]; Meteora – Varlaam Monastery 78, f. 36^v (Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ δούλου σου, Λουκᾶ ἀρχιερέως), 102^r († Θ(εο)ῦ τὸ δῶρον, (καὶ) ἐπισκόπου πονός· Λουκᾶ δὲ Κυπρίου τε, (καὶ) τοῦ Ποζέου) [*Divine Liturgies*; N. A. Veis, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων*, vol. 2: *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Βαρλαάμ*, Athens, 1984, p. 86-87, figs XII-XIV, p. 83-85; D. Z. Sophianos, G. Galavaris, *Τὰ εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων*, vol. 1, Athens, 2007, p. 238-243 (n° 52), vol. 2, pl. 45-46, p. 214-216, figs 269-272]. In several manuscripts, Luke “the archpriest” (i.e. most probably bishop) asks the lord to remember his soul (Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τοῦ δούλου σου Λουκᾶ ἀρχιερέως), but no date is provided: Athens – EBE MS 755 [*Divine Liturgies*, once in the library of Dousikou Monastery; O. Gratziou, “Ἡ διακόσμηση...,” p. 58-60, figs 1, 5]; Mega Spilaion 213; Ikaria – Agios Kyrkos Lyceum 3 [M.-D. Zouboulouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 67-72, 187, 198, figs 27-28].

⁴³ Baltimore – Walters Art Gallery W535, f. 422^r: Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν θεῖον (καὶ) ἱερὸν ἄγιον εὐαγγέλιον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ (καὶ) εὐτελοῦς ἐπισκόπου Μπουζέου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Κυπρίου ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου αὐθεντὸς ἡμῶν Ἰω(άννου) Μηχαῖλ βοεβόντ(α), ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) ΑΦΨΔ°, ιν(δικτιῶ)νος Ζ, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ Δ°, ἡμέρᾳ Γ°. Οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχεσθε μοι διὰ τὸν Κ(ύριον). See G. R. Parpulov, “A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of the Walters Art Museum,” *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62, 2004, p. 132-140, <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W535/description.html> (accessed on 20.07.2023). See also G. Vikan, “Walters Lectionary W.535...”; L. I. Antonova, “Евангелие апракос 1594–1596 годов Луки Кипрского из Буззю,” in *Неизвестные произведения. Новые открытия*.

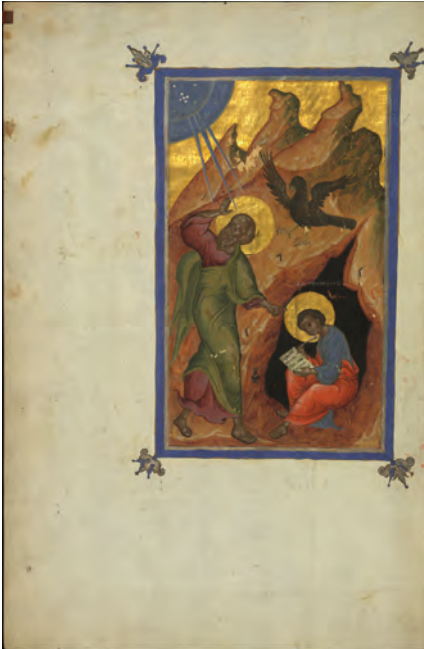


Fig. 7. *Gospel lectionary*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W535, f. 8^v, John the Evangelist receives divine inspiration and dictates his *Gospel* to his disciple, Prochoros: <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W535/description.html> (accessed on 20.07.2023).



Fig. 8. *Gospel lectionary*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W535, f. 9^r, beginning of the *Gospel* according to John and to the right Christ's Resurrection and St John the Baptist preaching: <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W535/description.html> (accessed on 20.07.2023).

Embellished by Muscovite illuminators, the manuscript was subsequently dedicated in the Holy Land⁴⁴ (Figs 7 and 8). Furthermore, the script itself became fashionable. The acts of the 1593 Constantinopolitan synod, which

Сборник научных статей к юбилею Музея имени Андрея Рублёва, Moscow, 2017, p. 336-361.

⁴⁴ G. Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W.535...", p. 199 ("probably to the Monastery of St Saba"), 206, n. 5. For Luke's mission, see P. P. Panaitescu, *Mihai Viteazul*, ed. C. A. Bobicescu, Bucharest, 2002, p. 199-200; A. Grecu [P. P. Panaitescu], "Mihai Viteazul și Rusia: O scrisoare inedită," *Studii. Revista de istorie* 1, n° 4, 1948, p. 142-148. G. Cronț's study does not bring new ideas to the discussion: "Episcopul Luca al Buzăului sol diplomatic al lui Mihai Viteazul," *Apulum* 12, 1974, p. 711-714 (also published in *Mitropolia Olteniei* 27, n° 5-6, 1975, p. 357-363).

elevated the See of Moscow to the rank of Patriarchate, may have been written by Luke or one of his disciples.⁴⁵ The calligraphic work of the hieromonk Matthew of Pogoniani – the future metropolitan of Myra –, who had met Luke in Moscow, was influenced by the bishop's style.⁴⁶

Several manuscripts attest to the connection between the two calligraphers. The liturgical miscellany copied by Luke in 1588 presents some additions by Matthew.⁴⁷ A copy of the *Divine Liturgies* of SS John Chrysostom and Basil offered by Luke to his “brother in Christ” Matthew (probably) in 1599 is expanded by the recipient, who adds the *Liturgy of the presanctified gifts*.⁴⁸

These codices also showcase ties with two important Greek prelates and scribes acquainted with Luke in Moscow, namely Arsenios, archbishop of Ellassona († 1626), and the hieromonk Hierotheos Koukouzelis from Cyprus, disciple of Luke and future hegumen of Stavronikita monastery on Mount Athos (fl. 1588–1626). For example, Arsenios inserts two prayers of intercession in the *Divine Liturgies* copied by Luke and expanded by Matthew, while Hierotheos buys the 1588 liturgical miscellany in 1595 and adds several prayers and hymns.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 76-79. For the document, see B. L. Fonkitch, “Из истории учреждения патриаршества в России. Соборные грамоты 1590 и 1593 гг.,” in idem, *Греческие рукописи и документы в России в XIV – начале XVIII в.*, Moscow, 2003, p. 377-384 (n° XXVI); idem, “Акт Константинопольского собора 1593 г. об основании Московского патриархата,” *ibid.*, p. 385-399 (n° XXVII).

⁴⁶ L. Politis, “Eine Schreiberschule...,” p. 283; idem, “Un copiste...,” p. 386-387; idem, “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 374-375; idem, “Un centre de calligraphie...,” p. 7; O. Gratzou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 29-31.

⁴⁷ Mount Athos – Dionysiou MS 429. See L. Politis, “Un copiste...,” p. 385-386, fig. 9; idem, “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 374; O. Gratzou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 24-25, 148 (n° 6).

⁴⁸ Mount Athos – Panteleimon MS 426, f. 99^r (Ἐτελειώθησαν αἱ παροῦσαι θεῖαι λειτουργίαι διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἐντελοῦς ἐπισκόπου Μποζέου καὶ εὐχεσταί μοι διὰ τὸν Κύριον), 100^r (Ταύταις ἡ θεῖαις καὶ ἱεραῖς λειτουργίαις ὑπάρχουν τοῦ ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) μοι ἀδελφοῦ κυρίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Ματθαίου, καὶ εἴ τις βουλευθεῖ ἄραι αὐτὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χωρὶς συγγνώμην, ἔστω ἀφορισμ(έν)ος καὶ καταραμ(έν)ος ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ Λουκᾶ ἀρχιερέως), 120^r (Χεῖρ Ματθαίου μοναχοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ ἐκ Πάγωνιανῆς). See L. Politis, “Eine Schreiberschule...,” p. 283, n. 121, fig. 31; idem, “Un copiste...,” p. 376, 385, fig. 6; idem, “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 374, fig. 9; idem, “Un centre de calligraphie...,” p. 6-7; O. Gratzou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 42-43, 52-53, 153 (n° 13), figs 61-63; eadem, “Ἡ διακόσμηση...,” p. 66-67, fig. 22; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 85-88, 189-190.

⁴⁹ L. Politis, “Un copiste...,” p. 385-386; idem, “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 373-374; idem, “Un centre de calligraphie...,” p. 4-6. O. Gratzou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*,

The Wallachian Greek Script

In 1603, Luke became metropolitan of Wallachia.⁵⁰ His election, coupled with the rise to power of Radu Mihnea, a Grecophone prince who surrounded himself with Grecophones, boosted the production of deluxe Greek liturgical codices. No longer a “wandering scribe,” Matthew of Myra relocated to Wallachia and became hegumen of Dealu Monastery.⁵¹ Several other scribes around Luke flourished. In November 1616, the metropolitan offered a *Book of Hours* to the hieromonk Anthimos of Ioannina, his spiritual “son and beloved disciple.”⁵² In 1623, Luke gave a copy of the *Divine Liturgies* to his “master,” the hieromonk Iakovos of Simonopetra. A future bishop, first of Sidi, then of Ganou and Chora, Iakovos considered himself Luke’s disciple.⁵³ Wallachia had become a leading centre of Greek manuscript production.

p. 153, does not believe that Arsenios of Panteleimon MS 426 is Arsenios of Elassona. For the latter, see P. A. Dimitrakopoulos, *Αρσένιος Ελασσόνος (1550-1626): Βίος, έργο, απομνημονεύματα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη των μεταβυζαντινών λογίων της Ανατολής*, Athens, 2007². For Hierotheos, see C. Patrinelis, A. Karakatsani, M. Theochari (eds), *Μονή Σταυρονικήτα. Ιστορία, Εικόνες, Χρυσοκεντήματα / Stavronikita Monastery. History, Icons, Embroideries*, Athens, 1974, p. 34-36; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 116-120, figs 64-67.

⁵⁰ N. Iorga, “Un antimis al mitropolitului Luca (1604),” BOR 53, n° 9–10, 1935, p. 484-487; N. Șerbănescu, “Mitropolii Ungrovlahiei,” BOR 77, n° 7–10, 1959, p. 768-772. T. Dinu’s study “Η πολιτικο-διπλωματική δραστηριότητα του Λουκά του Κυπρίου, μητροπολίτη της Ουγγροβλαχίας (1603–1629),” in E. Antoniou (ed.), *Πρακτικά του Δ’ Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 29 Απριλίου – 3 Μαΐου 2008)*, vol. 3, Nicosia, 2012, p. 471-480, brings nothing new to the discussion.

⁵¹ “Wanderschreiber”: O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 103-104. See also L. Cotovanu’s chapter in this volume.

⁵² Meteora – Transfiguration Monastery (Metamorphoseos) 645γ [one detached folio]: † Τὸ παρὸν ὥρολόγιον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ μ(η)τροπολίτου Οὐγκροβλαχί(ας) Λ(ου)κ(ᾶ) καὶ εὐεργετῶ αὐτὸ τῷ ἐμῷ υἱῷ καὶ φιλάτῳ μου μαθητῇ κυρίῳ Ἀνθίμῳ τῷ ἱερομονάχῳ ἐν ἔτει ᾿ζρκε’ [7125 = 1616] ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε’, Νοεμβρίου δ’. See N. A. Veis, *Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων*, vol. 1: *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Μεταμορφώσεως*, Athens, 1967, p. 698, fig. LXXII.

⁵³ St Petersburg – Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople / Русский археологический институт в Константинополе (РАИК) 189, f. 91^o: Αὐτῇ ἡ θεία λειτουργία, ἐράφη, διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Οὐγκροβλαχί(ας), Λου(κᾶ), τοῦ Κυπρίου· κ(αι) ἐπεδόθη, κ(αι) ἐδωρήθη, τῷ πανοσιοτ(ά)τ(ω) κ(αι) περιπόθητό μοι διδασκάλῳ κυρ(ίῳ) κυρ(ίῳ) Ἰακώβῳ τῷ μουσικωτ(ά)τ(ω), ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, χάριν εὐλογί(ας). See S. N. Kadas, *Τα διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα...*, p. 89-97, figs 79-104. Iakovos completed the manuscript in 1630.

Several items have been irrecoverably lost.⁵⁴ Many of the surviving items cannot be dated or can only be dated tentatively.⁵⁵ For example, the magnificent *Akathistos Hymn* of the Princeton University Library – 25 full-page miniatures, one for the *prooimion* and 24 for the hymn's stanzas, each with its corresponding text by the hand of Luke on the *recto* (Figs 9–12) – may have been offered to the Wallachian prince on the occasion of the consecration of Radu Vodă Monastery in 1614.⁵⁶ However, there is no colophon and no

⁵⁴ MS Mega Spilaion 213 [*Divine Liturgies*; N. A. Veis, “Κατάλογος τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου (Β’),” *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 7, 1957, p. 22, n° 213]; MS Simonopetra 140 (lost in a fire) [S. N. Kadas, *Τὰ διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα...*, p. 145–146]. A manuscript of the *Gospels*, a gift to the Wallachian prince dated 1609, is now lost, but the colophon was copied by the Phanariot bibliophile Nikolaos Karatzas; see G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 608, 615–616, 624, 629–630 (Vikan confuses prince Radu Șerban with Radu Mihnea); G. K. Papazoglou, *Ο λόγιος Φαναριώτης Νικόλαος Καρατζάς...*, vol. 2, p. 305–306 (n° 27).

⁵⁵ A *Psalter* was copied while Luke was a metropolitan, but we cannot tell when exactly: Athens – Byzantine & Christian Museum / Βυζαντινὸ & Χριστιανικὸ Μουσεῖο 203, f. 186v: Τέλος καὶ τῷ Θεῷ δόξα Λουκᾶ Οὐγκροβλαχίας ὁ γράψας [L. Politis, “Un centre de calligraphie...,” p. 4; O. Gratziou, “Ἡ διακόσμηση...,” p. 62–63, n. 31]. The same is true for Panteleimon MS 428, copied by Matthew of Myra in 1611 and completed by Luke [*Divine Liturgies*; L. Politis, “Un copiste...,” p. 375–376; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 66–67, 160–161 (n° 28), fig. 107]. Several manuscripts have been ascribed to Luke based on script only: Meteora – Transfiguration Monastery (Metamorphoseos) 624 [*Divine Liturgy*; N. A. Veis, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων...*, vol. 2, p. 693, fig. LXXI (not attributed to Luke); M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 67 (attributed to Luke)]; Mount Athos – Iviron 1396 (117) [*Psalms and Hymns*; P. Sotiroidis, *Τερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων – Κατάλογος ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων*, vol. 11: 1387–1568, Mount Athos, 2007, p. 13–15, figs 199–200 (attributed to Luke); S. M. Pelekanidis, P. K. Christou, C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, S. N. Kadas (eds), *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους. Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα. Παραστάσεις, ἐπίτιτλα, ἀρχικὰ γράμματα*, vol. 2: *Μ. Ἰβήρων, Μ. Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος, Μ. Ἐσφιγμένον, Μ. Χιλανδαρίου*, Athens, 1975, p. 331 (n° 117μ), figs 154–155; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 67; G. Galavaris, *Holy Monastery of Iveron...*, p. 101, figs 79–80 (attributed to Anthimos of Ioannina)].

⁵⁶ Princeton – Garrett MS 13, f. 1–25 (15.5 × 10.5 cm and 10 × 8 cm). Luke's *Akathistos Hymn* is bound together with an *Office of the Akathistos Hymn* copied by Matthew of Myra (f. 27–89) and with a third part by the hand of yet another scribe (f. 90–102): <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99108926643506421> (accessed on 20.07.2023). For details, see G. Vikan (ed.), *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton, 1973, p. 211–214 (n° 63), figs 113–114; idem, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 532–533, n. 28, p. 624–625; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 76–77, 164–165 (n° 38), figs 128, 130–131; M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου στὸν κώδικα Garrett 13, Princeton*, Athens, 1992; S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, with the collab. of D. C. Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Princeton NJ, 2010, p. 80–95, figs 85–113. The dedication to Prince Radu Mihnea



Fig. 9. *Akathistos Hymn*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Library Garrett MS 13, f. 11^r, return of the Magi to Babylon: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99108926643506421> (accessed on 20.07.2023).

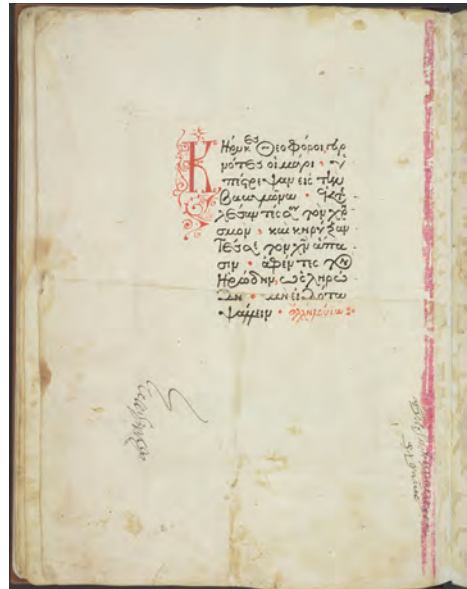


Fig. 10. *Akathistos Hymn*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Library Garrett MS 13, f. 1^v, *oikos* 10: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99108926643506421> (accessed on 20.07.2023).

early seventeenth-century ownership note, the painter is anonymous, the scribe has been identified based on script only, and there are almost no data on the manuscript's early history.⁵⁷

in 1614 was proposed by L. Cotovanu, "Le Ms. gr. Garrett 13 de l'Université de Princeton et les circonstances de sa production" (unpublished paper consulted courtesy of the author). See also Oana Iacubovschi's chapter in this volume, "The *Epitachelion* of Metropolitan Metrophanes of Cyzicus at the Walters Art Museum and its Embroidered Version of the *Akathistos Hymn*."

⁵⁷ In 1903, the manuscript was in the library of the skete of St Andrews of the Russians on Mount Athos: Garrett MS 13, f. 1^v (stamp). In September 1688 ("Eylül 99"), at least the second part – the *Akathistos* copied by Matthew of Myra – had a Muslim owner: *ibid.*, f. 89^v. Erased, a note in Greek on f. 1^r is illegible. Interestingly, the reused Ottoman binding is strikingly similar to the binding of the MS Gr. 7036 from Stavropoleos Monastery's collection in Bucharest: *Liturghierul grecesc de la Mănăstirea Stavropoleos. Ediție facsimilată / Greek Divine Liturgies from Stavropoleos Monastery. Facsimile Edition*, Bucharest, 2024.



Fig. 11. *Akathistos Hymn*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Library Garrett MS 13, f. 28^r, headpiece for the *parakletikos kanon* to the Mother of God – Matthew of Myra: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99108926643506421> (accessed on 20.07.2023).



Fig. 12. *Akathistos Hymn*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Library Garrett MS 13, f. 90^r, strip and initial T for the beginning of the Resurrection morning readings: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99108926643506421> (accessed on 20.07.2023).

In some cases, the date is known, but the possible commissioner or potential recipient is not disclosed⁵⁸ (Fig. 13). Still, the inventory is impressive and includes liturgical codices offered to or contracted by Wallachian princes, high ecclesiastics, (Wallachian and Moldavian) dignitaries of Greek origins,

⁵⁸ Jerusalem – Greek Orthodox Patriarchate / Ελληνορθόδοξο Πατριαρχείο Ιεροσολύμων, *Skevophylakion* 2: Το παρόν θεϊόν Εὐαγγέλιον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Μητροπολίτου Οὐγκροβλαχίας Λουκά, ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ φιλοχρίστου αὐθεντὸς ἡμῶν κυρίου Ἰω. Ῥαδοῦλα Βοεβόνδα, ἐν ἔτει ᾿ζρκδ´ [7124 = 1616], μηνὶ Μαΐῳ δ´, ἡμέρᾳ ε´ [Gospels; <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271070743-jo/> (accessed on 20.07.2023); N. Iorga, “Noi obiecte de artă găsite la Ierusalim, în Mănăstirea Sf. Sava și la Muntele Sinai,” BCMI 24, n° 70, 1931, p. 183-184 (figs 7-12), 185-186, and fig. 15; M. Beza, *Urme românești...*, p. 20, 22, 24-25, and photos between p. 24-25, 32-33]; Paris – BnF gr. 100A: Λουκάς ἀρχιερέως [“arch-sacrificer”] ὁ γράψας τὸ παρόν θεϊόν τετραεὐάγγελον ᾿ζρλγ´ [7133 = 1625], μηνὶ φεβρ. ιε´ [Gospels; H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1883, p. 292-293, n° CLII, figs 173-174].

and Greek merchants active in Wallachia and Moldavia. In 1609, prince Radu Șerban (r. 1602–1610 and 1611, † 1620) receives a manuscript of the *Gospels*.⁵⁹ In 1615/6, Radu Mihnea commissions a copy of the *Divine Liturgies* and offers it to Iviron monastery on Mount Athos.⁶⁰ One year later, the hieromonk Arsenios, Luke's disciple, hegumen of Varlaam Monastery in Meteora, and friend of Metropolitan Matthew of Myra, commissions a *Psalter*.⁶¹ Anthimos of Adrianople, soon-to-be ecumenical patriarch, offers the Athonite Great Lavra a lectionary copied by Luke in 1620.⁶² In 1624, grand treasurer Hrizea, a proxy of prince Radu Mihnea, commissions a copy of the *Gospels* and offers it to Iviron Monastery.⁶³

There were two main reasons for Luke's popularity. First, the scribe used his remarkable calligraphic skills to cultivate friendships and ingratiate himself with the rich and powerful. Second, there was an increasing number of members of the Christian elite who were capable of appreciating and consistently consuming such valuable commodities. Greek-speaking clerics,

⁵⁹ See *supra*, n. 54.

⁶⁰ Mount Athos – Iviron 1519, f. 91r: Ἡ παροῦσα θεία λειτουργία ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Οὐγκροβλαχί(ας) Λου(κᾶ) τοῦ Κυπρίου, καὶ ἐπεδώ(θη) ἐν τη ἱερᾷ καὶ βασιλικῇ μονῇ τῶν Ἡβήρων, διὰ προσταξέως τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου αὐθέντος Ἰω(άννου) Ραδοῦ(λου) Βοεβόν(δα). Ἐν ἔτη ᾿ζρκδ᾿ [7124 = 1615/6]. See P. Sotiroudis, *Τερὰ Μονὴ Ἱβήρων – Κατάλογος...*, vol. 11, p. 216-217, figs 119, 175. See also S. M. Pelekanidis, P. K. Christou, C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, S. N. Kadas (eds), *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους...*, vol. 2, p. 118, figs 196-197, p. 338 (former shelf mark 1423μ); G. Vikan, *Illustrated Manuscripts...*, p. 625-626; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 67; G. Galavaris, *Holy Monastery of Iveron...*, p. 96-97, fig. 65.

⁶¹ Meteora – Varlaam Monastery 34, f. 254v: † Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς εὐτελοῦς Λουκᾶ Οὐγκροβλαχίας καὶ ἀφιέρωθη παρὰ Ἀρσενίου ἱερομονάχου εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ἱερὰν μονὴν τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Βαρλαάμ ἐν ἔτει ᾿ζρκςω᾿ [7126 = 1617/8]. See N. A. Veis, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων*, vol. 2, p. 42-43, fig. V, 39-40; O. Gratziou, “Ἡ διακόσμηση...,” p. 26, fig. 14; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 67, 187-189, figs 38-40; D. Z. Sophianos, G. Galavaris, *Τὰ εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα...*, vol. 1, p. 244-248 (n° 53), vol. 2, pl. 47-49, p. 217-218, figs 273-275.

⁶² Mount Athos – Lavra Ω 140. See *supra*, n. 30.

⁶³ Mount Athos – Iviron 1385: [Α]ὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Οὐγκροβλαχίας Λουκᾶ τοῦ Κυπρίου διὰ ἐξόδου τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος μεγάλου βεστιαρίου κυρίου Ρίζου καὶ ἀφιέρωσεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῶν Ἡβήρων ἐν τῷ ἁγιωνύμφῳ Ὁρει ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ πανευσεβεστάτου αὐθέντος κυρίου Ἰω. Ἀλεξάνδρου Βοεβόνδα υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀφεντὸς Ῥάδουλου Βοεβόνδα ἐν ἔτει ᾿ζρλβ᾿ ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας ᾿αχκδ᾿ ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ´. See S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1900, p. 279 (n° 5505); E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. 14/1, n° DCXCVIII, p. 723.



Fig. 13. *Gospels*. Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate *Skevophylakion* 2, f. 95^v–96^r, portrait of St Luke and beginning of his *Gospel*: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271070743-jo/> (accessed on 20.07.2023).

monks, and laymen exhibited their piousness, status, and wealth by receiving, displaying, and offering deluxe religious codices.

Sin. gr. 203 is a perfect example of early seventeenth-century secular patronage of Greek liturgical manuscripts.⁶⁴ It was commissioned by Panos Philippos (*Pană Filip*), treasurer of third rank in Moldavia, who dedicated it to the Holy Monastery of the Burning Bush on Mount Sinai “for the salvation of the soul” on 20 April 1627.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ For the patronage of Greek non-liturgical manuscripts and printed books, see O. Gratziou, *Αναμνήσεις από τη χαμένη βασιλεία. Σελίδες εικονογραφημένης χρονογραφίας του 17ου αιώνα*, Athens, 1996 (illuminated manuscript version of Pseudo-Dorotheos’s *Chronography*); R. G. Păun, “Pseudo-Dōrotheos of Monemvasia,” in D. Thomas, J. Chesworth (eds), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 10: *Ottoman and Safavid Empires (1600–1700)*, Leiden – Boston, 2017, p. 174–184 (*Book of Histories* printed in Venice in 1631).

⁶⁵ Sin. gr. 203, f. 302^r: † ἐτιπόθη τῷ παρῶν τε εὐάγγελιον διὰ ψυχικὴν σοτιρίαν ἥς τὴν ἁγίαν βάτων ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ πάνου φιλήπου βησιτάρου [ἔτει] 1627, ἀπριλίου κ^μ. I am grateful to Lidia Cotovanu and Vera Tchentsova for their help in deciphering the inscription. The manuscript is on paper (15.2 × 10.3 cm) and has 392 folios.

Panos/Pană, also known by his diminutive name Penișoară, was from Epirus.⁶⁶ He came to Moldavia during the first reign of Radu Mihnea (1616–1619) and started to invest in land, ponds, and mills. The change of princes was not good for his business. He had to sell or pawn properties and was forced to move to Wallachia, where Radu Mihnea ruled for a fourth time (1620–1623). Backed by the rich and influential grand treasurer Hrizea, who also hailed from Epirus, Panos survived the setback.⁶⁷ He returned to Moldavia as soon as Radu Mihnea resumed power (1623–1626), recovered his assets, and went on to purchase new ones.⁶⁸ On 12 April 1627, prince Miron Barnovschi officially confirmed the acquisitions.⁶⁹ A week later, the beneficiary offered a *Gospel* book to Mount Sinai.

Since Panos was Grecophone – he signed as Πανος Φηληπως βηστηαρης⁷⁰ –, the manuscript was in Greek. Since the commissioner had both the means and the connections, the writing was entrusted to the most prestigious Greek scribe of the day. However, the portraits of the four Evangelists were not painted by Luke's usual collaborator. While the metropolitan and his disciples worked with the priest Vlaicu, a Wallachian icon painter and miniaturist, Panos opted for a Moldavian artist. One can only guess at the artist's identity,

⁶⁶ In 1644, a sister and several brothers of his still lived in Ioannina. See DRH, A, *Moldova*, vol. XXVII, (1643–1644), ed. P. Zahariuc, C. Chelcu, M. Chelcu, S. Văcaru, N. Ciocan, D. Ciurea, Bucharest, 2005, n° 250–251, p. 230, n° 397, p. 381.

⁶⁷ *Documente privind istoria României*, B, *Țara Românească*, vol. XVII/4, (1621–1625), Bucharest, 1954, n° 336–339, p. 328–331, n° 587, 572–573; DRH, B, *Țara Românească*, vol. XXI, (1626–1627), ed. D. Mioc, Bucharest, 1965, n° 16, p. 24–27. For Hrizea of Bălteni, see L. Cotovanu, *Émigrer en terre valaque. Estimation quantitative et qualitative d'une mobilité géographique de longue durée (seconde moitié du XIV^e – début du XVIII^e siècle)*, Brăila, 2022, p. 274–275.

⁶⁸ DRH, A, *Moldova*, vol. XVIII, (1623–1625), ed. I. Caproșu, V. Constantinov, Bucharest, 2006, n° 252, p. 322 (facsimile on p. 646), n° 285, p. 355–356, n° 310, p. 381–382, n° 337, p. 410–411, n° 369, p. 438–439, n° 389–390, p. 453–455, n° 404–406, p. 469–472 (facsimile on p. 677), n° 408, p. 474 (facsimile on p. 678); DRH, A, *Moldova*, vol. XIX, (1626–1628), ed. H. Chirca, Bucharest, 1969, n° 4, p. 7–8, n° 8, p. 13–14, n° 128, p. 158–159 (see also p. 781, fig. III), n° 129, p. 159–162.

⁶⁹ DRH, A, *Moldova*, vol. XIX, n° 179, p. 232–236. Another land purchase was confirmed by Barnovschi in December 1627: *ibid.*, n° 335, p. 460–461, n° 457, 628–629.

⁷⁰ Bucharest – Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, Mănăstirea Radu Vodă, IV/25 (Hârlău, 18 November 1625).



Fig. 14. *Gospels*. St Catherine Monastery on Mount Sinai, Sin. gr. 203, f. 301^v–302^r, portrait of St John and beginning of his *Gospel*: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271078717-ms/> (accessed on 20.07.2023).

but the style clearly points to the circle of the archbishop and metropolitan of Suceava Anastasie Crimca⁷¹ (Fig. 14).

The Evangelists of Hrizea's 1624 *Gospels* were painted by Vlaicu.⁷² Why did his protégé choose a different artist and different iconography?⁷³ Was it a matter of personal taste? Were there practical reasons for hiring a Moldavian painter? We simply do not know. The result, however, mirrors the donor's status. Born in Epirus and active in Moldavia and Wallachia, Panos was a

⁷¹ Sin. gr. 203, f. 1^v, 108^v, 179^v, 301^v. For the time being, the most plausible candidate seems to be Ștefan from Suceava, the painter who in 1616–1617 illuminated the *Gospels* copied by the monk Theophil of Voroneț in 1614: Warsaw – Biblioteka Narodowa / National Library, Akc. 10788: <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,MTYzNDE0Mzk/6/#info:metadata> (accessed on 20.07.2023). I would like to thank Sebastian Wierny for providing images.

⁷² Mount Athos – Iviron 1385, f. 1^v, 42^v, 104^v, 189^v. Priest Vlaicu worked with Luke, the hieromonk Iakovos, and Anthimos of Ioannina: O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 131–132, n. 322; eadem, “Η διακόσμηση...,” p. 65–66, 79, fig. 21, 80, figs 23–24; T. Sinigalia, “Popa Vlaicul și creația sa artistică,” SCIA.AP 1 (45), 2011, p. 33–47; O. Olar, “Un manuscris necunoscut...”

⁷³ The similarities and dissimilarities were addressed by N. Iorga, “La figuration des évangélistes dans l'art roumain et l'école chypriote-valaque,” BCMI 26, n° 75, 1933, p. 1–4.

minor player who joined a major transregional patronage network with ties to Constantinople and a power base in the Romanian Principalities.

Conclusions: “Reconstructed” Elite and Strengthened Communities

Neither the death of Radu Mihnea nor that of Luke marked the end of the production of deluxe Wallachian Greek liturgical manuscripts. In 1626/7, another proxy of the late prince, the merchant Antonios Grammatikos, commissioned a sumptuous lectionary.⁷⁴ In 1628/9, the Crete-born Konstantinos Vevelli, brother-in-law and favourite of prince Alexandru Iliăş (r. 1616–1618, 1628–1629, in Wallachia, and 1620–1621, 1631–1633 in Moldavia), received a lectionary partially copied by Luke and completed by his disciple Iakovos.⁷⁵

The same Iakovos offered an *Akathistos Hymn* to the grand *clucer* Konstantinos Asanis, son-in-law of the rich and influential Constantinopolitan archon Skarlatos Grammatikos, in 1626/7 (Figs 15–16).⁷⁶ He also presented Luke’s successor, Metropolitan Grigorie, with a copy of the *Divine Liturgies* in August

⁷⁴ Durham – Duke University Library, MS gr. 39, f. 260^v: Τὸ παρὸν θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ, Οὐγκροβλαχί(ας), Λουκᾶ· Δι’ ἐξόδου τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου ἄρχοντο(ς) κυρίου Ἀντονίου γραμματικοῦ τοῦ τρισμακαρίστου Ῥάδουλα βοεβόνδ(α)· Καὶ ἐπεδόθη ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ· Καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχεσθε ἡμῶν διὰ τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν· ἔτους ᾿ζρλε’ [7135 = 1626/7]: <https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r3h70844w> (accessed on 20.07.2023). The transcription and translation of the colophon by J. L. Sharpe III are incomplete and full of errors: *An Exhibition of Greek Manuscripts from the Kenneth Willis Clark Collection: Perkins Library – Duke University, March 1999*, Durham, 1999, p. 14–16.

⁷⁵ Mount Athos – Simonopetra 128, f. 370^v: Τὸ παρ(ὸν) θεῖον, κ(αὶ) ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιο(ν), ἐγεγράφη διὰ χειρὸς Λουκᾶ Οὐγκροβλαχί(ας), τοῦ Κυπρίου· κ(αὶ) ἐπεδόθη τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ, καὶ εὐγενεστάτ(ῳ), ἄρχοντι κυρίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Βηβέλι, τῷ ἐκ Κρήτης· κ(αὶ) ὑπετελειώτη παρ’ ἐμοῦ Ἰακώβου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Σιμοπετρίτου· κ(αὶ) ἐμοῦ, ὄντος μαθητοῦ, αὐτῷ, εὐαριθμῇ. τῷ κ(ατὰ) ᾿ζρλζ’ [7137 = 1628/9]. See S. N. Kadas, *Τα διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα...*, p. 71–88, figs 59–78. In 1634/5, Iakovos completed a Psalter copied by Luke: Mount Athos – Simonopetra 140 (Τὸ παρὸν Ψαλτήριον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς Λουκᾶ Οὐγκροβλαχίας τοῦ Κυπρίου καὶ ἐτελειώτη παρ’ ἐμοῦ Ἰακώβου ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐμοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ μαθητοῦ εὐαριθμῇ κατὰ ᾿ζρμγ’ [7143 = 1634/5]). See S. N. Kadas, *Τα διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα...*, p. 145–146.

⁷⁶ Mount Athos – Vatopedi 869, f. 40^r: Ὁ παρ(ὸν) Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος, ἐγράφη ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ Ἰακώβου ἱερομονάχου· καὶ ἐδωρήθη, τῷ εὐγενῇ, καὶ τιμιωτάτῳ ἄρχοντι, καὶ μέγα κλωτζίρι κυρίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τῷ Ἀσανί· κ(α)τ(ὰ) ᾿ζρλε’ [7135 = 1626/7]. See S. N. Kadas, *Τα διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα...*, p. 65–70, figs 49–58.



Fig. 15. *Office of the Akathistos Hymn*. Mount Athos, Vatopedi 869, f. 1^r.
Courtesy of the Holy and Great Vatopedi Monastery.



Fig. 16. *Office of the Akathistos Hymn*. Mount Athos, Vatopedi 869, f. 6^v–7^r.
Courtesy of the Holy and Great Vatopedi Monastery.

1629.⁷⁷ Two other disciples of Luke, the hieromonks Porphyrios and Anthimos of Ioannina, continued their work until (at least) 1635 and 1648, respectively.⁷⁸

This spectacular activity may have influenced the scribal practices of the Wallachian princely chancellery, which was more concerned with the overall visual impact of the charters than its Moldavian counterpart.⁷⁹ The first official

⁷⁷ Mount Athos – Simonopetra 167 (lost in a fire): Ἡ παροῦσα θεία λειτουργία ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Ἰακώβου ἱερομονάχου καὶ ἐπεδόθη τῷ πανιερωτάτῳ μητροπολίτῃ Οὐγκροβλαχίας κυρίῳ Γρηγορίῳ κατὰ (ζρλ)ζ' [7137 = 1629] ἐν μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ κε' ἡμέρᾳ γ'. See S. N. Kadas, *Ta διακοσμημένα χειρόγραφα...*, p. 143–144.

⁷⁸ L. Politis, M. Politi, “Βιβλιογράφοι...,” p. 352–353 (Anthimos), 610 (Porphyrios); M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 124–134, figs 74–78 (Anthimos), p. 142–149, figs 86–88 (Porphyrios). Porphyrios declares that he is a disciple of Luke, “former bishop of Buzău”, in 1613 (ἐγράφη ὑπὸ χειρὸς Πορφυρίου ἱερομονάχου, μαθητοῦ ἐπισκόπου πρόην Μποζέου κυρίου Λουκά): Athens EBE 756, f. 69^r; L. Politis, “Persistances byzantines...,” p. 375, fig. 12; idem, “Un centre de calligraphie...,” p. 8–9; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 98, n. 209 (the transcription is slightly different).

⁷⁹ The fashion may have spread from Wallachia to Moldavia during the reigns of Radu Mihnea, but the Moldavian charters followed different patterns: Ș. Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae*, vol. 2: *Relațiile politice dintre Țara Românească, Moldova și Transilvania în răstimpul 1601–1659*, Bucharest, 1989, p. 55–61; P. Zahariuc, Fl. Marinescu, “O manifestare a moștenirii bizantine în diplomatica medievală moldovenească și câteva note despre biserica

document issued in Greek by a Wallachian prince was written in liturgical minuscule and was endorsed by a document in Romanian issued by Luke⁸⁰ (Figs 17–18), while mid-seventeenth-century charters imitated Church Slavonic documents penned at Dealu Monastery and illuminated by Matthew of Myra in 1614–1615.⁸¹

Important pieces of information on Luke, his collaborators, and his models are still missing. Can we speak of a scriptorium?⁸² Who painted the 25 full-page miniatures of the Princeton *Akathistos Hymn*? Was the *Akathistos Hymn* that was copied by the hieromonk Joasaph of Hodegon Monastery in the late fourteenth century one of the manuscripts transferred to Wallachia in the late sixteenth / early seventeenth century?⁸³ No definitive answers can be given. It is certain, however, that Luke's calligraphic endeavours contributed greatly to the creation and development of "a common language" for the decoration of liturgical manuscripts, which covered a vast area of Eastern and Southeast Europe and lasted until the eighteenth century.⁸⁴

mănăstirii Golia," in P. Zahariuc, *De la Iași la Muntele Athos. Studii și documente de istorie a Bisericii*, Iași, 2008, p. 9-29; P. Zahariuc, "Un nou document cu portretul votiv al lui Miron vodă Barnovschi," *ibid.*, p. 31-38.

⁸⁰ BAR, Documente istorice, XLII/6 (20 June 1623). Alexandru Elian had long noted the peculiarity of the document: "Elemente de paleografie greco-română," in idem, *Bizanțul, Biserica și cultura românească*, Iași, 2003, p. 236, 251. The recipient was the *postelnic* Pătrașcu, son of Peter "the Earring;" see R. Popescu, Ș. Andreescu, "Un prinț cărturar: Pătrașcu, fiul lui Petru vodă Cercel," *Arhiva genealogică* 7(12), n° 1–4, 2000, p. 149-153.

⁸¹ O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften...*, p. 80-82, 162-164 (n° 32-35), figs 113-117; Ș. Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae*, vol. 2, p. 56-58, 60-61, 81-82.

⁸² According to M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 81-85, we cannot.

⁸³ V. G. Tchentsova, "De Byzance à Moscou par les Pays roumains: un scribe inconnu et le destin d'un manuscrit de l'*Akathiste* (Mosc. (GIM). Syn. gr. 429 / Vlad. 303) au XVII^e siècle," in D. Țeicu, I. Căndea (eds), *România în Europa medievală (între Orientul bizantin și Occidentul latin). Studii în onoarea Profesorului Victor Spinei*, Brăila, 2008, p. 464-465. For the manuscript, see also G. Gediminskaitė's chapter in first volume of this book.

⁸⁴ M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 82, 85. Manuscripts belonging to Luke's "school" can be found in many public and private collections: M. Politi-Sakellariadi, "Λειτουργικά χειρόγραφα της σχολής Μποζέου στην Κύπρο," *Ἐπετηρὶς Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν [Κύπρου]* 17, 1987–1988, p. 81-111; A. Džurova, "L'étincelle allumée à Chypre," in C. N. Constantinides, N. M. Panagiotakes, E. Jeffreys, A. D. Angelou (eds), *Φιλέλλην. Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, Venice, 1996, p. 75-90; eadem, "Missel grec illustré de l'école de Lucas de Buzău, découvert récemment (Liturgikon, Germ. Priv. Gr. 1) (notes préliminaires)," in C. Maltezos, P. Schreiner, M. Losacco (eds), *ΦΙΛΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ. Studi in onore di Marino Zorzi*, Venice, 2008, p. 129-137; D. Ramazanov, "Греческая каллиграфия Балкан конца XVI – первой половины XVII в. ('Школа' Луки Бозеу)," in *Палеография и кодикология: 300 лет после*

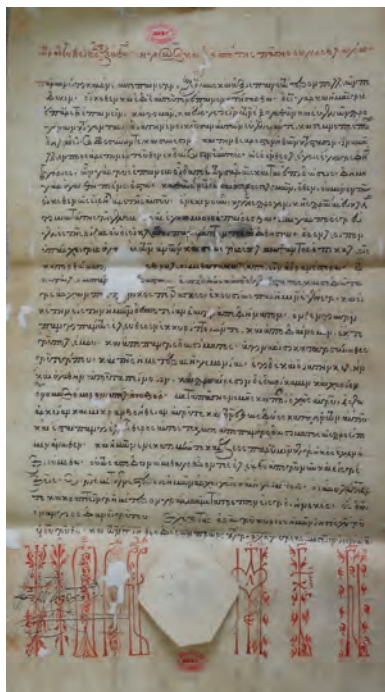


Fig. 17. Charter issued by prince Radu Mihnea on June 20, 1623. BAR, Documente istorice, XLII/6. Courtesy of the Library of the Romanian Academy.

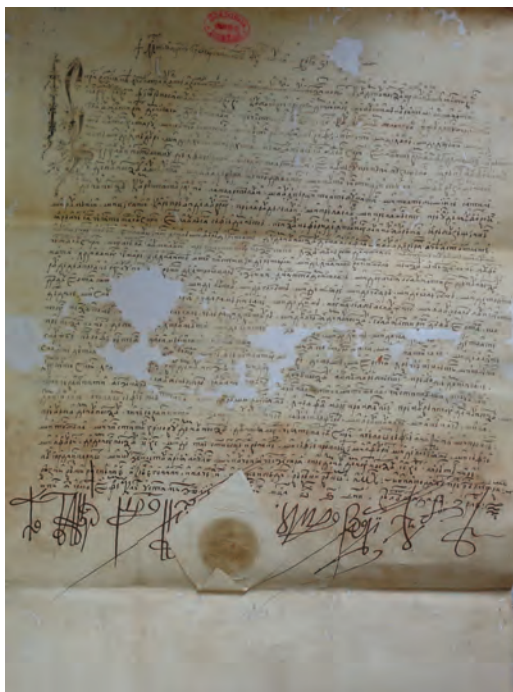


Fig. 18. Charter issued by Metropolitan Luke of Wallachia on October 6, 1623. BAR, Documente istorice, XLII/10. Courtesy of the Library of the Romanian Academy.

Luke was not the only Greek-language calligrapher of his time, and other (contemporary or later) scribes preferred different styles and models. An *Akathistos Hymn* copied in 1669 by Metropolitan Grigorios of Laodicea, former hegumen of Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos and Golia Monastery in Iași, may have followed the ornamental fashion dictated by Luke and Matthew of

Монфокона. Материалы Международной научной конференции. Москва, 14–16 мая 2008 г., Moscow, 2008, p. 149-157; eadem, “‘Школа письма’ Луки Бозеу: выявление, описание и изучение рукописей, принадлежащих одной писцовой школе (по рукописям РНБ и БАН),” in *Современные проблемы археографии. Сборник статей по материалам конференции, проходившей в Библиотеке РАН 25-27 мая 2010 г.*, St Petersburg, 2011, p. 165-178; A. Jakovljević, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Kykkos*, Nicosia, 2016.

Myra⁸⁵ (Figs 19–20). A manuscript containing the liturgies, the *Akathistos Hymn*, and prayers copied by the priest Ioannis Sakoulis of Chios seems reminiscent of Matthew’s manuscript decorations. The scribe, whom the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo calls “Papa Yani”, is attested in Wallachia in the 1650s⁸⁶. Conversely, a manuscript *Office of the Akathistos to the Mother of God* kept in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest favours a completely different pattern: unlike the two previous ones, which only feature a miniature depicting the Annunciation, it includes 24 miniatures that exhibit a “promiscuity of Byzantine and Western elements”⁸⁷ (Fig. 21). Nevertheless, Luke’s decades-long activity was instrumental in putting Wallachia on the map of Greek manuscript production.

This production was initially studied through the lens of “Byzantine persistency” and the survival of Byzantium as an idea.⁸⁸ The accent then

⁸⁵ A. Džurova, “L’étincelle allumée à Chypre,” p. 85–87; eadem, “L’enluminure des manuscrits liturgiques grecs des XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles (conservatisme et innovations),” in V. Atsalos, N. Tsironi (eds), *Πρακτικά του 5^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας (Δράμα, 21–27 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003)*, vol. 2, Athens, 2008, p. 498. For the codex Mount Athos – Vatopedi 1560 (paper; 43 ff.; 28 × 20.5 cm), see P. K. Christou, C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, S. N. Kadas, A. Kalamartzi-Katsarou (eds), *Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους – Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα. Παραστάσεις, επίτιτλα, αρχικά γράμματα*, vol. 4: M. Βατοπεδίου, M. Ζωγράφου, M. Σταυρονικήτα, M. Ξενοφώντος, Athens, 1991, p. 169–171, figs 327–332, p. 326–327. For Grigorios, see L. Politis, M. Politi: “Βιβλιογράφοι...,” p. 402 (manuscripts); M. S. Theochari, “Χρυσοκέντητα άμφια,” in *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση – Ιστορία – Τέχνη*, vol. 2, Mount Athos, 1996, p. 440, figs 373–374, p. 441 (n° 12) (stole dating from 1669 and depicting the Tree of Jesse owned by Grigorios, a gift from Princess Roxandra Lupu); P. Ş. Năsturel, “Patrafirul dăruit de domnița Ruxandra mitropolitului Grigorie al Laodichiei (1669),” in S. Iftimi (ed.), *Mănăstirea Golia: 350 de ani de la sfințirea ctitoriei lui Vasile Lupu. Studii și documente*, Iași, 2010, p. 133–138.

⁸⁶ Athens – Gennadius Library Genn. 5.4 (paper; 112 ff.; 13.5 × 7.5 cm). See O. Gratziou, “Illustrated Manuscripts in the Age of the Printed Book,” in M. L. Politi, E. Pappa (eds), *Exploring Greek Manuscripts in the Gennadius Library*, transl. J. C. Davis, E. Key Fowden, Princeton, 2011, p. 50–51, pl. 30–35. For Sakoulis, see L. Politis, M. Politi: “Βιβλιογράφοι...,” p. 476; V. Tchentsova, “Les artisans grecs des projets culturels du patriarche Macaire III d’Antioch,” RESEE 52, n° 1–4, 2014, p. 315–346. According to Tchentsova, Genn. 5.4 may have been copied in Moscow ca 1666–1668: *ibid.*, p. 336.

⁸⁷ BAR Gr. 113 (paper; 65 ff.; 19 × 14 cm); G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Imnul Acatist al Maicii Domnului: Ediție facsimilată după manuscrisul grec 113 al Bibliotecii Academiei Române*, Bucharest, 2019. See O. Taffrali, “Iconografia Imnului Acatist,” BCMI 7, 1914, p. 49–84. See also Sister Atanasia Văețiși’s chapter in this volume, “Two Icons of the *Akathistos Hymn* (18th–19th centuries): Cultural and Spiritual Encounters between Romanian Monasticism, the Pechersk Lavra and Mount Athos.”

⁸⁸ L. Politis, “Persistances byzantines...”; G. Vikan, “Byzance après Byzance...”; A. Džurova, P. Canart (eds), *Сиянието на Византия. Украсени гръцки ръкописи от Балканите*



Fig. 19. *Akathistos Hymn*. Mount Athos, Vatopedi 1560, f. 1^v, The Annunciation. Courtesy of the Holy and Great Vatopedi Monastery.



Fig. 20. *Akathistos Hymn*. Mount Athos, Vatopedi 1560, f. 2^r, initial A for *oikos* 1. Courtesy of the Holy and Great Vatopedi Monastery.



Fig. 21. *Akathistos Hymn*. BAR Gr. 113, f 11^v, *oikos* 19. Courtesy of the Library of the Romanian Academy.

shifted from continuity to transformation and adaptation to new contexts.⁸⁹ However, neither the “Byzance après Byzance” paradigm nor concepts such as “Slavo-Byzantine synthesis in the framework of Byzantium after Byzantium” can fully account for the renewed interest in deluxe Greek manuscripts. Luke of Cyprus and his disciples never claimed to preserve an ancient “tradition” and showed no interest in the resurrection of Constantine’s fallen empire. Their manuscripts were offered to and commissioned by the members of a new Greek-speaking Orthodox elite “reconstructed” – as Radu G. Păun compellingly argued – under Ottoman rule.⁹⁰

The spread of liturgical codices through extensive transregional patronage networks significantly contributed to the reconstruction efforts, simultaneously deriving substantial benefits from this process.⁹¹ These manuscripts, primarily consisting of *Divine Liturgies* aligned with the practices of the Constantinopolitan Great Church, facilitated the promotion of a unified artistic language. In doing so, they played a crucial role in reinforcing the shared Orthodox identity among the Christian communities governed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This circulation not only fostered a sense of unity and cohesion among these communities but also underscored the importance of common religious and cultural practices in maintaining their collective identity.

(VI–XVIII в.). Каталог за изложба (XXII Международен конгрес за Византийски изследвания). София, 22–27 август 2011 г. / *Le rayonnement de Byzance. Les manuscrits grecs enluminés des Balkans (VI^e–XVIII^e siècles). Catalogue d'exposition (XXII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines). Sofia, 22–27 août 2011, Sofia, 2011.*

⁸⁹ A. Džurova, “La synthèse slavo-byzantine dans les manuscrits grecs dits de ‘grande luxe,’ créés en Valachie et en Moldavie aux XVI^e–XVII^e siècles,” in S. Patoura (ed.), *Η ελληνική γραφή...*, p. 499–521; G. Galavaris, “At the Crossroads of Taste in the 17th Century: Sinai, Crete and Russia,” in *МОСКОВИЯ. Проблемы византийской и новогреческой филологии. К 60-летию Б. Л. Фонкича*, Moscow, 2001, p. 153.

⁹⁰ R. G. Păun, “‘Well-born of the Polis’: The Ottoman Conquest and the Reconstruction of the Greek Orthodox Elites under Ottoman Rule (15th–17th Centuries),” in R. Born, S. Jagodzinski (eds), *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Ostfildern, 2014, p. 59–85.

⁹¹ See, along the same lines: O. Olar, “Un manuscrit necunoscut...;” idem, “De la Muntele Athos la București: Peregrinările unui manuscrit din colecția Mănăstirii Stavropoleos / From Mount Athos to Bucharest: The Travels of a Manuscript from Stavropoleos Monastery’s Collection,” in *Liturgierul grecesc de la Mănăstirea Stavropoleos...*, p. 7–60.

THE *EPITRACHELION* OF METROPOLITAN METROPHANES OF CYZICUS AT THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM AND ITS EMBROIDERED VERSION OF THE *AKATHISTOS HYMN**

Oana Iacubovski

During the 1947 *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* exhibition organised by the Walters Art Gallery in collaboration with Princeton University, a remarkable liturgical stole featuring the twenty-four distinct *oikoi* of the *Akathistos Hymn* was displayed for the first time at the Baltimore Museum of Art. The seventeenth-century *epitrachelion* (Figs. 1–3) owned by the Walters Art Gallery (Walters 83.315) was showcased alongside the various silk, linen, and wool woven fabrics originating from Coptic Egypt, Syria, and Byzantium that were borrowed for this special occasion from museums and private collections across the United States.¹

The *epitrachelion* featuring the *Akathistos Hymn* was originally owned by art collector Henry Walters (1848–1931). In 1931, Walters generously bequeathed his entire collection, including the embroidery, to the city of Baltimore with the aim of ensuring its continued accessibility.² Much like other art collectors of his day, Walters had a diverse range of interests in various types of artwork. He acquired Greek and Roman antiquities, Western European masterpieces, and artefacts representing Eastern Christianity and Islam. The Walters Art Gallery's international prominence among Byzantine art scholars is mainly due to its vast collection of illuminated Greek manuscripts, generously

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¹ D. Miner (ed.), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art. An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, April 25–June 22. Organized by the Walters Art Gallery in Collaboration with the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University and Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University*, Baltimore – Maryland, 1947, p. 162 (n° 832).

² The privately-owned Walters Art Gallery first opened its doors to the general public in 1909. The most important monograph on the Walters collection is W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors*, Baltimore – London, 1999.

bequeathed by Henry Walters in 1931. Orthodox liturgical garments and other post-Byzantine works of art were significantly underrepresented in Walters' collection. This was due to the limited availability of such items in the market at that time, as well as their relatively low popularity.³

The considerable temporal disparity between the embroidered stole and the other objects displayed in the textile section of the Baltimore exhibition prompted the curators to borrow a similar item⁴ from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston to complement the Walters Museum's one-of-a-kind holding. Furthermore, as the exhibition was organised in partnership with Princeton University to celebrate its bicentennial anniversary, the manuscript of the Princeton University Library, inventoried as Garrett 13, was also selected as part of the display (Fig. 4a-b).⁵ The Princeton manuscript consists of two lavishly decorated copies of the *Akathistos Hymn* produced in Wallachia around the early seventeenth century and later combined into a single binding. The first copy of the *Akathistos Hymn* (f. 1^r–25^r) is particularly noteworthy due to its twenty-five full-page miniatures that serve as a visual illustration of the Marian hymn.

The presence of the Walters *epitrachelion* and the Garrett 13 manuscript in the *Early Christian and Byzantine* exhibition increased the visibility of Eastern Orthodox art produced after the Ottoman conquest. Nevertheless, the artistic output throughout the period from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century was presented to the public as an extension of the artistic traditions preserved from late Byzantium. The two items, the *epitrachelion* and the manuscript Garrett 13, seemed to have been viewed as connected by virtue of their common time of creation. The question of whether there may have been

³ This is a common feature shared between several collections at the time, for example the holdings of the Brummer Gallery. Its textile collection included numerous secular clothing and parts of clerical vestments, but a limited number of functional Eastern Christian embroideries. The Brummer Gallery records from the early 20th century until 1946 have been preserved at the Cloisters Archives since 1993. For the textile collection, see <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/search/searchterm/Textiles/field/brumme/mode/exact/conn/all/order/title/ad/asc> (accessed on 10.12.2023).

⁴ The *epitrachelion* adorned with standing figures of apostles, bishops and martyrs, identified as 83.431, no longer appears in the online inventory of the Art Museum in Boston. A photograph of the embroidery was published in D. Miner (ed.), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art...*, pl. CXVIII, fig. 831.

⁵ My remarks are based on the data provided by the catalogue of the Early Christian and Byzantine Art exhibition. By following the catalogue entries, which are systematically arranged by object category, one can acquire an overview of the scope and focal points of the Baltimore display. For Garrett 13, see *ibid.*, p. 147 (n° 744).

a deeper connection between them did not seem to have been explored by art historians, neither at the time of the exhibition nor later on.⁶

The priestly vestment held by the Walters Art Museum is notable for being one of a few surviving *epitrachelia* which depict the best known Byzantine poem devoted to the Mother of God.⁷ Despite its broad appeal as a monumental iconographic theme across the Balkans starting in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century⁸ and the dissemination of illuminated copies of the *Akathistos*

⁶ To date, no research has been carried out on the *Akathistos* stole. The embroidery has been publicly displayed on a single occasion: the 1947 exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art. A description of the vestment accompanied by photographs is accessible at <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/6492/stole-epitrachelion-with-scenes-from-the-akathist-hymn/> (accessed on 10.12.2023).

⁷ In the year 1599, the Moldavian prince Ieremia Movilă and his wife Elisabeta presented an *epitrachelion* adorned with scenes from the *Akathistos Hymn* as a gift to the monastery of Sucevița in northern Moldavia. This is one of the earliest dated *epitrachelion* featuring the *Akathistos Hymn*. At some point, the Moldavian embroidery was transported to Poland where it was repurposed to embellish a Western chasuble (*casula*), which is currently being preserved at the Franciscan Monastery in Krakow; see O. Mitric, “Un epitrahil necunoscut din timpul voievodului Ieremia Movilă,” *AP* 11, n° 1, 2015, p. 265-286; O. Iacubovschi, “From Liturgy to Private Devotion. The *Akathistos Hymn* in Late Sixteenth-Century Moldavia,” in J. C. Cubas Díaz (ed.), *The Akathistos Hymnos and Intermedial Compositional Processes in Later Byzantium: Sung, Written and Painted*, London, 2025, forthcoming. The Athonite Lavra and the sacristy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul house two additional *Akathistos epitrachelia* from the seventeenth century. These liturgical stoles were most likely produced in the same Constantinopolitan workshop. For general information on the Istanbul stole, see G. Sotiriou, *Κεμήλια του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου: Πατριαρχικός ναός και Σκευοφυλάκιον*, Athens, 1938, p. 46-48, pl. 32 β, 33 α-ς. A fourth *epitrachelion* featuring the twenty-four scenes of the *Akathistos Hymn* is preserved in the collection of Stavronikita Monastery on Mount Athos. Based on its stylistic and iconographic features, the embroidery has been dated to the late sixteenth century; see Chr. Patrinelis, A. Karakatsanis, M. Theocharis (eds), *Μονή Σταυρονικήτα. Ίστορία, Εικόνες, Χρυσόκεντήματα / Stavronikita Monastery. History, Icons, Embroideries*, Athens, 1974, fig. 56, p. 153-156, 173-174. For the *epitrachelion* at the Great Lavra, see *ibid.*, fig. 99.

⁸ The earliest extant mural cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn* is located in the church of Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson, in Thessaly (Greece); it dates from 1295/7 or 1304/5; see E. C. Constantinides, *The Wall Paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in Northern Thessaly*, vol. 1, Athens, 1992, p. 30-35, vol. 2, pl. 126-132. For a comprehensive analysis of the mural cycles depicting the *Akathistos Hymn* throughout the fourteenth century, see A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1989. For insight into the various iconographic renditions of particular scenes of the *Akathistos* cycle, in fresco ensembles, icons, and manuscripts until the fourteenth century, see I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin*, Leiden,

Hymn in Byzantine and Slavonic *Psalters*,⁹ there is a lack of extant examples of *epitrachelia* featuring the *Akathistos Hymn* during this era.¹⁰ Likewise, I have not yet been able to identify an embroidered stole that can be chronologically situated after the *epitrachelion* held by the Walters Art Museum, which illustrates the *kontakion*¹¹ that was sung on the fifth Saturday of Lent. Preliminary research shows that liturgical stoles adorned with the *Akathistos Hymn* experienced a rise in popularity from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. The Greek Orthodox clergy associated with the Patriarchate in Constantinople and its metropolitan sees showed a growing interest in liturgical stoles featuring the Marian hymn during this period. Various workshops located in the capital responded to their demand by producing such stoles. The visual promotion of the *Akathistos Hymn* by means of priestly vesture indicates a high level of interest in the famous prayer to the Virgin Mary within the ecclesiastical circles of

2005. Spatharakis' work also includes important Cretan examples from the same period that were not included in Pätzold's study.

⁹ H. Belting (ed.), *Der Serbische Psalter. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 1, with collab. of S. Dufrenne, S. Radojčić, R. Stichel, I. Ševčenko, Wiesbaden, 1978; E. Dobrynina, "The Akathistos Hymn," in V. Tsamakda (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, Leiden – Boston, 2017, p. 328–347, with special emphasis on the Greek illuminated manuscripts Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. Gr. 429 and Real Biblioteca, R. I. 19; the study also contains an up-to-date bibliography. See also the contribution of G. Gediminskaitė, "Manufacturing Illuminated Akathistos Manuscripts in Late Byzantine Constantinople: The History and Compositional Processes of Synod Gr. 429," in the first volume of this book.

¹⁰ Conversely, a pair of wooden lecterns that has been conserved within the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, showcases a unique iconography, which includes a complete depiction of the *Akathistos* cycle. The lecterns, believed to originate from the fifteenth century, are of an octagonal structure, with each facet divided into three panels, resulting in 24 panels. This design was particularly suitable for the rendition of the *Akathistos Hymn*, which has been carved into the wood of one of the lecterns, completely covering its surface. Regrettably, the catalogue *Le Mont Athos et l'Empire byzantin. Trésors de la Sainte Montagne. Petit Palais – Musée des Beaux Arts de la Ville de Paris, 10 avril – 5 juillet 2009*, Paris, 2009, figs. 114–115, presents a limited selection of photographs, showing nine of the 24 scenes, namely the three initial scenes of the Annunciation to Mary and the final six scenes of the cycle.

¹¹ Regarding the *Akathistos Hymns*' classification as *kontakion* and its use in the Byzantine liturgy, see J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Liturgie et Hymnographie: Kontakion et Canon," DOP 34–35, 1980–1981, p. 31–43; E. Wellesz, "Akathistos": A Study in Byzantine Hymnography," DOP 9–10, 1956, p. 145–158; idem, *The Akathistos Hymn*, Copenhagen, 1957, with an edition of the Greek text; idem, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford, 1962² (1949¹), p. 192–197; E. M. Toniolo, *Akathistos inno alla Madre di Dio. Edizione metrica, mistagogica, commento al testo*, Rome, 2017; on the poetic and dogmatic content of the hymn, see M. L. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2001.



Fig. 1. *Epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667. *Akathistos Hymn*, stanzas 1-24, embroidery in silk and gilded silver thread on silk background; length: 1.57 m., Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

the capital during the time the Walters *epitrachelion* was created. However, the prominence gained by *epitrachelia* adorned with the *Akathistos Hymn* in Orthodox ecclesiastical embroidery over this relatively brief timeframe has not received much scholarly attention.

The Walters *epitrachelion* provides a case study that has the double benefit of revealing the adaptability of the *Akathistos Hymn* as an iconographic theme across different artistic media and yielding valuable insights into the reception of the liturgical hymn that extend beyond its artistic history. In the seventeenth century, the *Akathistos Hymn* served as a means for both church elites and ordinary Christian believers to express their personal devotion to the Mother of God. The Marian hymn was also sung outside the Lenten period in monastic environments.¹² It essentially modulated the religious life of Eastern Orthodox Christians, both at the communal level

and on an individual basis. The prominence of the *Akathistos Hymn*, and consequently the status of the Virgin Mary within the ritual context, attained an unprecedented level of significance at the time of its incorporation onto the priest's liturgical stole.

¹² The *Akathistos Hymn* was translated into Romanian in the seventeenth century from Old Church Slavonic. The hymn was performed during special services at the monastery of Bisericiani in Neamț County (Romania), where the earliest known translation originated. The oldest printed versions of the *Akathistos Hymn* as well as the earliest manuscript translations produced in Moldavian monastic scriptoria have been the subject of intensive research by AKATHYMN project members throughout the past few years. See, for example E. Timotin, O. Olar, "The Oldest Romanian Manuscript and Printed Versions of the *Akathistos Hymn* (seventeenth century)," RRL 67, n° 1, 2022, p. 65-83; E. Timotin, D. Mutalâp, "Cele mai vechi versiuni românești ale *Imnului Acatist*. Manuscrise și copiiști," LR 70, n° 1, 2021, p. 91-110; M.-G. Hâncu, "Acatistul Maicii Domnului într-un manuscris bilingv din 1683: probleme ale traducerii din slavonă în română," Rsl 58, n° 2, 2022, p. 20-40.



Fig. 2. *Epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667. Detail of the upper part of the vestment, stanzas 1-14 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 3. *Epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667. Detail of the lower end of the vestment, with stanzas 19-24 of the *Akathistos Hymn* and the owner's inscription, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 4a-b. MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library: a) The Tree of Jesse as an illustration for the *prooimion* of the *Akathistos Hymn* (f. 1^r); b) The *prooimion* or introductory stanza (f. 1^v).

The Epitrachelion as a Symbol of Priestly Ministry and the Emergence of Marian Imagery on Liturgical Soles

The *epitrachelion* is the ecclesiastical garment that signifies ordination to the priesthood. It serves as the insignia of the priesthood, from the lowest to the highest ranking clergy. It is typically worn beneath the *phelonion* or, in the case of bishops, beneath the *sakkos*.¹³ It is uncertain when exactly its use

¹³ An abundance of visual evidence from the eleventh century attests to its use by priests and bishops in the same way, namely, beneath the *sakkos* or the *phelonion* secured at the waist with a belt (*zone*). The *Menologion* of Basil II (Vat. Gr. 1613) serves as a valuable visual resource. The portraits of Philotheus Thaumaturgus (f. 38) and Pope Martin (f. 40) are the first in a series of several examples. On early visual evidence of the *epitrachelion* in wall paintings, see also N. Thierry, "Le costume épiscopal byzantin au IX^e du XIII^e siècle d'après les peintures datées (miniatures, fresques)," REB 24, 1966, p. 308-315. For an inventory of the visual sources illustrating early liturgical ceremonies, see Chr. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, London, 1982, p. 35-78.

was extended to all liturgical rites performed by the clergy. However, Symeon of Thessalonika (d. 1429) confirmed that by the early in the fifteenth century, exceptions were only allowed during the minor-hours service that took place in monastic environments.¹⁴

From its earliest stages, Byzantine liturgical exegesis regarded the performance of the divine liturgy as a form of reenactment of Christ's earthly life, starting with his birth from the ever-Virgin Mary and culminating in his redemptive sacrifice.¹⁵ In this context, the celebrants' mimetic association with Christ extends beyond their actions to emulate Christ's Passion in their outward appearance. During the Byzantine era, patriarch Germanus of Constantinople (715–730) was credited with establishing the famous correlation between the priestly stole and the rope that was fastened around Christ's neck when he was “dragged to his passion.”¹⁶ This idea exerted a significant influence on

¹⁴ For Symeon of Thessalonika's comments with regard to the meaning, liturgical use and the preparatory prayer for the *epitrachelion*, see *Expositio de divino templo* / Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ Θείου ναοῦ, in PG 155, 713A, 256B, 257D; St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The Liturgical Commentaries*, ed. S. Hawkes-Teeple, Toronto, 2011, translated after MS Zagora 23: Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ Θείου ναοῦ (p. 102–103) and Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας (p. 171, 177). In one of his responses to Gabriel of Pentapolis (*Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, in PG 155, 868D–869A), the author of the *Expositio de divino templo* provides further explanation regarding the necessity for the celebrant to wear the liturgical stole. The author suggests that if the *epitrachelion* is absent during the administration of sacraments, it would result in the priest not receiving the divine grace. See also W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon. Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium*, Oxford, 2012, p. 11.

¹⁵ R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1966, p. 173–178, 202–213, 218–221.

¹⁶ Τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιον ἐστὶ τὸ φακιδόλιον μεθ' οὗ ἐπεφέρετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δεδεμένος καὶ συρόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ ἀπερχόμενος (*The epitrachelion is the cloth which was put on Christ at the hands of the high priest, and which was on His neck as He was bound and dragged to His passion*): St. Germanos of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy*, ed. P. Meyendorff, Crestwood, 1984, p. 66–67. Cf. PG 98, col. 393, C–D, with later interpolations. According to the *Gospel* of Matthew (27:2), Christ was bound before being handed over to Pilate. According to the *Gospel* of John (18:12), he was bound in the Garden by soldiers who later brought him to Anna, the high priest. In the iconography of the Passion, Christ is occasionally depicted tightened with a rope around his neck on his road to Golgotha. This particular detail (the rope encircling his neck) surfaces in the iconography of the Passion cycle most likely under the influence of liturgical exegesis and the rituals associated with the donning of the *epitrachelion*. In the wall paintings of the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričane in Northern Macedonia (second decade of the fourteenth century), the procession moving along the route leading to Calvary, shows Christ escorted by soldiers, with a tight rope around his neck and his wrists; see N. Zarras, “The Passion Cycle in Staro Nagoričino,” *JÖB* 60, 2010, p. 195–196, fig. 13, p. 211. A comparable

the preparatory prayers spoken by the priest during the act of donning the liturgical garb around his neck. Nina Glibetić' investigation into the vesting ceremony associated with the *epitrachelion*¹⁷ is a notable contribution to the limited body of literature addressing this particular topic. Instead of a unique formula, Byzantine *euchologia* contain a wide range of private vesting prayers for the *epitrachelion*¹⁸ from which the officiating priest could choose before the standardisation of the practice in the late fourteenth century. Glibetić' research reveals that a considerable portion of the private prayers associated with the *epitrachelion* in early Byzantine *euchologia* revolved around the theme of the paschal sacrifice. The texts which were most frequently reproduced were those that depended on Germanus' interpretation of the priestly stole as the rope that was tied around Christ's neck before being handed over to Pontius Pilate.¹⁹ At times, however, the vesting prayers for the *epitrachelion* established associations with other symbols of the Passion, such as the crown

representation of Christ with a clearly visible rope fastened around his neck as he makes his way to Golgotha may be found in the Taxiarchis Mitropoleos church in Kastoria (ca. 1359/6): E. N. Tsigaridas, *Καστοριά. Κέντρο ζωγραφικής την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων (1360–1450)*, Thessaloniki, 2016, p. 41, fig. 11. The *epitrachelion*-like rope encircling Christ's neck appears in two consecutive scenes on the murals of St Demetrius Church in Boboshevo (1487/8), in south-western Bulgaria: the Presentation before Pilate and the Road to Calvary; H. Staneva, R. Rousseva, *The Church of St. Demetrius in Boboshevo. Architecture, Wall Paintings, Conservation*, Sofia, 2009, p. 73–74, with illustrations. Additionally, a panel icon by Cretan painter Nikolaos Tzafouris (active 1489–1493), inscribed with the title *Ἐλκόμενος ἐπὶ σταυροῦ* (*Being dragged to the Cross*) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, shows the same iconographic detail; see H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New York, 2004, p. 505 (n° 308), 506, fig. 308.

¹⁷ N. Glibetić, "The Passion of Christ in Byzantine Vesting Rituals: The Case of the Epitrachelion," in B. Groen, D. Galadza, N. Glibetić, G. Radle (eds), *Oriental Liturgy. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, New York, 10–15 June 2014*, Leuven, 2019, p. 265–276.

¹⁸ In contrast to the bishop's vesting ritual, which took place in the presence of the congregation, the vesting of the priest in Byzantium, as in the modern practice, was conducted in private. Both the priest and deacon donned their liturgical attire within the confines of the sanctuary; see R. F. Taft, "The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church According to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex British Museum Add. 34060," OCP 45, 1979, p. 284–306; W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 89–90.

¹⁹ On the implications of Germanus' early interpretation of the priestly vestments in *Historia Ecclesiastica* for the evolution of vesture-related rituals, see N. Glibetić, "The Passion of Christ...", *passim*.

of thorns that was placed on Christ's head by the soldiers, as an emblematic gesture of mockery.²⁰

Surprisingly, the Passion symbolism that Byzantine mystagogical writers associated with the priestly stole and that reverberated in the words spoken by the priests as they put on their ritual clothes is not readily discernible in the images embroidered on the *epitrachelia*. One notable exception is a liturgical stole dating back to the fourteenth century, currently housed at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens (Inv. No. 685).²¹ Once owned by Dositheos the Hieromonk, the *epitrachelion* displays a conventional iconographic scheme, comprising a three-figure Deesis adorning the yoke, followed by holy bishops and martyrs along the parallel bands. Nonetheless, the most notable aspect of the Athens embroidery, as previously noticed by Warren T. Woodfin,²² is an inscription that surrounds Christ's roundel portrait positioned on the collar of the vestment. The embroidered scriptural reference evokes the Gospel episode of the presentation of Christ before Pilate, the Roman governor: "And they brought him bound and delivered him to [Pontius] Pilate the governor" (Mt. 27:2).²³ For a considerable length of time, the Matthean verse served as the standard reference in Byzantine vesture prayers related to the *epitrachelion*.²⁴ References to Christ's Passion persisted in the Eastern Slavic formularies into the seventeenth century, long after the Byzantine standardised prayer books adopted a formula inspired by Psalm 133:2.²⁵

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 270-272; W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 105.

²¹ Dated by Warren T. Woodfin to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. See *ibid.*, p. 71-72, 256-257, fig. 2.12. The embroidery was first published in G. Millet, with the collab. of H. des Ylouses, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin: Texte et album (deuxième fascicule)*, Paris, 1947, p. 29-30, pl. LIV-LV.

²² For the Greek transcription, see W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 257.

²³ The Revised Standard Version of the *Bible* is used for Scriptural quotations in English.

²⁴ The same passage marks the beginning of the prayer uttered by the priest while donning the stole in several Slavonic and Greek *euchologia* analysed by Nina Glibetić. The prescription, according to the text in an early fourteenth century manuscript (Moscow, GIM, Uvarov 46), reads: "They took Jesus and bound him, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor, so that he, our God Lord Jesus Christ, may absolve us our sins. The chains with which we were bound by the devil with his chains he broke, and he decorated our neck, and brought us into his kingdom, now and ever into the ages," cited by N. Glibetić, "The Passion of Christ...", p. 272.

²⁵ In late Byzantine *euchologia*, like in present-day practice, the prayer uttered by the priest when he puts on the *epitrachelion* paraphrases Psalm 133:2, which evokes the anointing

In another prayer analysed by Glibetić in the aforementioned article, the donning of the *epitrachelion* is metaphorically likened to the bestowal of divine grace upon the apostles at Pentecost.²⁶ This association is founded upon the idea that the priest occupies a position within a lineage that traces back to the apostles. It is during the ceremony of donning the liturgical stole that the priest is invested with the authority to act as an intermediary between Christ and the Church. Eastern ecclesiastical embroidery exemplifies the concept of apostolic succession through a distinct group of *epitrachelia* embellished with figures of holy apostles in standing and half-length poses.²⁷ This iconographic

of Aaron, the founder of the Israelite priesthood: Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐκχέων τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ πώγωνα, τὸν πώγωνα τὸν Ἀαρὼν, τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν ὦαν τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ (*Blessed is God who pours out His grace upon His priests, as myrrh upon the head that ran down the beard of Aaron, which ran down to the helm of his garment*); see Ch. E. Hammond, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western: Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*, vol. 1: *Eastern Liturgies*, ed. F. E. Brightman, Oxford, 2010, p. 28-31, 355; cf. I. Nesseris, D. Galadza, E. Schiffer, E. Afentoulidou, G. Rossetto, C. Rapp (eds), *Dmitrievskii's Euchologia: A Modified English Version of Volume II of Aleksei Dmitrievskii's Description of Liturgical Manuscripts Preserved in the Libraries of the Orthodox East (Kyiv 1901)*, Lviv, 2023² (Kyiv, 1901¹), p. 276, 554, 890. The predilection of Constantinopolitan circles for this formula first encountered in the thirteenth-century codex Athens, EBE 662, was most likely responsible for its wider adoption; N. Glibetić, "The Passion of Christ...", p. 273-276.

²⁶ According to *Euchologion* Esphigmenou 34, dating from 1306, Ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ βοήθεια τοῦ πνεύματος ἔσται μεθ' ἡμῶν πάντοτε. Ὡς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν μαθητῶν σου παρεγένου σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, τὴν (εἰρήνην διδοὺς αὐτοῖς...) / *May the grace and guidance of the Spirit always be with us. As you were in the midst of your disciples, our Saviour (bringing about peace upon them...)*; see A. Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока*, vol. 2: *Εὐχολόγια*, Kyiv, 1901, p. 262-263; I. Nesseris et alii (eds), *Dmitrievskii's Euchologia...*, p. 240; N. Glibetić, "The Passion of Christ...", p. 273, n. 33.

²⁷ One of the earliest surviving priestly stoles originating from the Byzantine realm belongs to the same iconographic group. The *epitrachelion* decorated with apostles depicted below in rounded arches, currently integrated into the chasuble of St Willibald displayed in the Diocesan Museum of Eichstätt, is believed to originate from the early thirteenth century; W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 42-44, fig. 1.12. For further examples, see G. Millet, with the collab. of H. des Ylouses, *Broderies religieuses...*, vol. 2, pl. XCIV, figs. 1-4, pl. XCV, figs. 1, 2, pl. XCVI, figs. 1 and 2, pl. XCVII, figs. 1 and 2, pl. XCVIII, pl. XCIX; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art. Athens Old University, July 26th 1985 – January 6th 1986*, Athens, 1986, p. 219 (n° 249), p. 220, fig. 249. An *epitrachelion* adorned with the bust figures of the twelve apostles, delicately embroidered on a blue silk background, was commissioned by voivode Stephen the Great of Moldavia (1457–1504) and his wife Maria Voichița for the monastery of Dobrovăț shortly before the passing of the voivode in 1504; see J. Durand, E. Cernea, I. Damian, *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XV^e au XVII^e siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand*, Paris, 2019, p. 42 (n° 11).

formula, which adheres closely to Symeon of Thessalonika's argument concerning the bishop's direct lineage to the apostles,²⁸ is already present on a sixth-century Coptic stole adorned with standing images of the disciples, accompanied by Christ and the Virgin Mary (ΜΑΡΙΑ).²⁹ The positioning of the Theotokos *orans* between Thomas (ΘΩΜΑC) and Matthew (ΜΑΘΕ) on the vertical band of the stole evokes the Virgin praying amid the apostles at the Ascension of Christ, as it appears in the sixth-century illuminated *Rabbula Gospel*.³⁰ The design of the *epitrachelion* also recalls artistic representations of Mary amid the apostles at Pentecost, enabling the various visual elements present on the priestly stole to be understood as a historiated composition.³¹

The ritualised act of donning the *epitrachelion* in the Byzantine tradition interprets the meaning of the priestly ministry in relation to the paschal sacrifice. Alternatively, the accompanying prayers for the *epitrachelion* serve to establish the priest as an intermediate between the human and the divine by paralleling the donning of the liturgical stole with the descent of grace upon the apostles fifty days after Christ's resurrection. In current practice, the notion of priestly authority is exemplified by evoking Aaron's anointing as a high priest, which marked the inauguration of the priesthood under

²⁸ St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *Expositio de divino templo* (PG 155, 709A): Ὁ γὰρ ἱεράρχης τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων τυγχάνει διαδοχῆς. Ὅθεν καὶ ὡς τὸν Χριστὸν εἰκονίζων, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἱερουργεῖν, τὰ ἱερά περιβάλλεται ἄμφια, σημασίαν ἔχοντα πάντα καὶ Θεωρίαν πνευματικὴν (*For the bishop falls in the succession of the apostles. For these reasons, and because he is representing Christ when he is about to officiate, he puts on the holy vestments, all of them having symbolism and spiritual interpretation*); for the English translation, see St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The Liturgical Commentaries*, p. 97.

²⁹ The Coptic stole, made from wool and linen, was lent by the Brummer Gallery to the Boston Museum of Art for the Early Christian and Byzantine exhibition in 1947. Following Joseph Brummer's death two years later, the Brummer Gallery closed down and sold its collection at auction. A black and white photo of the item can be seen in the exhibition catalogue; D. Miner (ed.), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art...*, p. 777, pl. CXI, fig. 792; for the catalogue entry, see *ibid.*, p. 156.

³⁰ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. 1.56, copied in the monastery of St. John of Zagba / Beth Zagba (modern-day Syria): <http://mss.bmlonline.it/catalogo.aspx?Collection=Plutei&Shelfmark=Plut.1.56>; K. Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977, p. 100-101, plate 36.

³¹ On f. 14^v of the *Rabbula Gospel* the Virgin Mary appears alongside the apostles at the Pentecost. The Holy Dove is depicted conspicuously above her. The "tongues of fire" (Acts 2:1-4) that endowed the apostles with the authority to spread the message of the Gospel also touch the Virgin; see K. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, New York, 1979, p. 495 (n° 446).

the Old Law.³² In turn, the iconography of liturgical stoles reveals the role of the celebrant as a substitute for and imitator of Christ amid the earthly congregation by employing a variety of visual analogies that complement the message of the accompanying prayers rather than directly depicting the content of these prayers.

Epitrachelia depicting events from Christ's life make up a well-represented category of liturgical stoles which serve a similar purpose. Their iconographic configuration imitates the Christological cycle, also known as the Great Feast cycle, which in late Byzantine churches unfolds clock wise along the upper walls of the nave. Warren T. Woodfin pondered upon this association, positing that the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy advocated by mystagogical commentators such as Nicholas and Theodore of Andida in the late eleventh century and twelfth century or Nicholas Cabasilas in the fourteenth century³³ might have exerted a significant impact on the incorporation of the Christological cycle into the iconographic program of the priest's vestment. The idea that the priest exemplifies Christ's life, death and resurrection in every action performed during the divine service may well have informed the meaning of the festival cycle on the *epitrachelia*. The celebrant priests' exclusive role as the imitator of Christ is further emphasized by the absence of a comparable iconography on the *orarion* worn by the deacon³⁴ and by

³² *Supra*, note 25.

³³ See especially in W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, the chapter "Mystagogy and the Christological cycle," p. 107-114. The *Protheoria* (Προθεωρία κεφαλαιώδης περί τῶν ἐν τῇ θεῇ λειτουργίᾳ..., PG 140, col. 418-468) written by Nicholas of Andida sometime between 1085 and 1096 (J. Darrouzès, "Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes," REB 32, 1974, p. 199-210) and updated in the twelfth century by his successor to the see, Theodore of Andida, establishes a consistent connection between the liturgical deeds of the clergy and events in the life of Christ. Nicholas Cabasilas (ca. 1320 – ca. 1391) maintains the line of interpretation drawn by the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea and the *Protheoria*, asserting that the liturgy enables us to reflect upon the life, death, and resurrection of Christ; see for example chapter 1:7, Nicholas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, ed. S. Salaville, R. Bornert, J. Gouillard, P. Périchon, Paris, 1967.

³⁴ In Eastern Orthodox Christianity the deacon plays an essential part in church rituals, serving as the primary assistant of the priest during the holy liturgy. He is authorised to carry the offerings to the altar, to lead the procession bearing the Gospel for solemn recitation, to chant litanies, and to assist in the distribution of the Eucharist; see S. Salaville, G. Nowack, *Le rôle du diacre dans la liturgie orientale. Étude d'histoire et de liturgie*, Athens – Paris, 1962.

the presence of the Great Feast cycle on the bishop's *sakkos*³⁵ and on the *epitrachelia* worn by both priests and bishops.³⁶

Artistic evidence seems to support Woodfin's claim that "the emphasis given to the role of the priest as an image of Christ completely overshadowed the individual meanings assigned to the various insignia by commentators on the liturgy."³⁷ Liturgical stoles adorned with portraits of the twelve apostles with major church festivals and a third kind, not discussed here, with images of holy bishops, all serve to communicate the meaning of the ordained ministry, each in a different way. In contrast, *epitrachelia* displaying the *Akathistos Hymn* to the Virgin seem at first glance to diverge from this established iconographic tradition and its underlying concepts.

Before the seventeenth century, Marian iconography on priestly vestments was limited to a few specific themes. Three-figure Deesis compositions featuring the Virgin Mary as an intercessor alongside John the Baptist were frequently seen on the collar of liturgical stoles. Elaborate iconographic schemes were also implemented, drawing inspiration from the composition referred to as the Great Deesis included in the upper register of the iconostasis. One remarkable example of this type is the *epitrachelion* once owned by metropolitan Anthimos Kritopoulos (ca. 1370–1389) preserved at the monastery of Tismana (Gorj County, Romania), which portrays the Virgin alongside the Forerunner, above forty busts of apostles, bishops, patriarchs and prophets from the Old Testament, martyrs and hermits, arranged in this order on the two descending bands of the vestment.³⁸ As an alternative to the intercessory

³⁵ The two *sakkoi* of metropolitan Photius of Kiev (ca. 1408–1431) – the so-called "minor sakkos" (fourteenth century) and the "great sakkos" (ca. 1414–1417) –, which are kept in the Kremlin Armoury (*Oruzhejnaja Palata*), received a sophisticated embroidered iconography, combining Gospel episodes and individual portraits of saints; see P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery*, London, 1967, figs. 7–10, 11–14.

³⁶ The publication of the *Holy Liturgies of John Chrysostom and Basil the Great*, along with Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (Ιστορία Ἐκκλησιαστική), in a 1526 edition by Demetrios Doukas printed in Rome (Αἱ Θεῖαι λειτουργεῖαι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου υιοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου. Καὶ ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων. Γερμανοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἱστορία Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ μυστικὴ Θεωρία) provides evidence that up to a later time, the *Ecclesiastical History* retained its significance as a fundamental text for the understanding of the priest's role during the celebration of the holy liturgy.

³⁷ W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 109.

³⁸ For the *epitrachelion* of metropolitan Anthimos Kritopoulos, see G. Millet, with the collab. of H. des Ylouses, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin: Album (premier fascicule)*, Paris, 1939, p. 2–6, pl. I–IV, VI; M. A. Musicescu, *Broderia medievală românească*, Bucharest, 1969,

prayer of the Virgin and John the Baptist, some *epitrachelia* represent the Annunciation, with Mary and the Archangel Gabriel positioned face-to-face on the top part of the vestment. Each of these compositional schemes seen on *epitrachelia* integrates the figure of the Virgin Mary, without giving her visual prominence.

Liturgical stoles adorned with Old Testament prophets typically exhibit a Marian-centered programme. However, this iconographic type emerged rather late. The earliest documented *epitrachelion* decorated exclusively with full-length figures of prophets dates to the early sixteenth century. The embroidery, currently housed in the collection of the Putna Monastery in northern Moldavia, was offered as a gift to the monastic community by voivode Stephen the Great (1457–1504) with his wife, Maria, and their son, Bogdan (Fig. 5). Adorned with a standard three-part Deesis, followed by twelve prophets bearing symbols that serve as prefigurations of the virgin birth, or, alternatively, blank phylacteries, the *epitrachelion* from Putna is unique within the Moldavian context in terms of its iconographic subject.³⁹ Chronologically, the next *epitrachelion* with a similar design that I have been able to identify can be seen on an icon of St John Damascene. Emmanuel Tzanes painted the icon of St John Damascene for the church of Sts Jason and Sosipater on Corfu in 1654⁴⁰ (Fig. 6). A leading exponent

p. 28 (n° 2), figs. 2 and 3 (details); W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 231-232, fig. A.4. For liturgical stoles with a similar design preserved on Mount Athos, see C. M. Vafeiadis, "Epitrachelia with three-figure medallions from Mount Athos, chronological topics," CA 51, 2003–2004, p. 159-168.

³⁹ G. Millet, with the collab. of H. des Ylouses, *Broderies religieuses ...*, vol. 2, p. 31, 34-35, pl. LXVII, fig. 3, pl. LXX, figs. 1 and 2, pl. LXXI; Monk A. Cojocar, "Contribuții și îndreptări privind epitrahilul cu proroci de la Mănăstirea Putna, dăruit de Ștefan cel Mare și Bogdan al III-lea," AP 12, n° 2, 2016, p. 61-94, accompanied by high quality photographs of the embroidery; J. Durand, E. Cernea, I. Damian, *Broderies de tradition byzantine...*, p. 47 (n° 15).

⁴⁰ There is another *epitrachelion* in between these two, which is not of direct relevance to the present study, as it falls into a category of *epitrachelia* with a mixed iconographic design. It was presented to the monastery of Vatopedi by Wallachian prince Radu Paisie (1535–1545, with intermittent periods) and his son Marcu, during the initial decades of the sixteenth century. The embroidery features eight standing prophets and four martyrs; see G. Millet, with the collab. of H. des Ylouses, *Broderies religieuses...*, vol. 2, p. 34-35, pl. LXXVII, figs. 1 and 2; I. Papangelos, P. Gravvalos (eds), *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition, History, Art*, vol. 2, Mount Athos, 1998, p. 438-439 (n° 10), figs. 370-371. Except for Aron, who carries a censer rather than the more common budding rod (a type of Mary, derived from the exegesis of Numbers 17:8), and Moses, who appears to be holding the

of the Cretan school of icon painting, he showed a remarkable level of accuracy in recreating the saint's attire.⁴¹ John Damascene's episcopal costume includes three elements which are relevant for the present study. First, he wears a lavishly embellished *epitrachelion*. The portion of it that is visible beneath the *phelonion* reveals four Old Testament prophets in animated stances. The full-length figures can be identified as Moses, Aaron, David, and Daniel. They all carry phylacteries inscribed with verses from the Old Testament (Ex. 35:31, Lev. 16:32-33, Ps 36:30, and Dan. 5:14). The selected excerpts do not overtly extol the Virgin Mary, but instead they seem to point to the fact that the hymnographer was divinely inspired to celebrate the incarnation of God and his birth from Mary. Second, the artist included a bishopric *epigonation* which displays an image of the Resurrected Christ stepping out of a sarcophagus, in line with Western iconographic tradition. Thirdly, he meticulously depicted an *enkolpion* bearing an image of the Theotokos Orans positioned prominently on the chest of St John Damascene. Emmanuel Tzanes has thus created an appropriate tribute to the well-known Syrian hymnographer, whose literary compositions exalted the Mother of God, much like the visionary prophets represented on his *epitrachelion*.⁴²

Tables of the Law, all the other prophets carry phylacteries without inscriptions. Should Gabriel Millet's identification of the faded object held by Moses with the *Tables of the Law*, be correct, as suggested by the authors of the catalogue *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi*..., then, this would be an equally uncommon iconographic choice, for the prophet is typically portrayed alongside Marian symbols, such as the "golden vessel" (Ex. 16:33) or the "burning bush (Ex. 3)."

⁴¹ The icon (190 x 88 cm) is currently displayed in the church of Saints Jason and Sosipater on Corfu where it initially functioned as a sanctuary door; see P. L. Vocotopoulos, *Εικόνες της Κέρκυρας*, Athens, 1990, p. 117-119 (n° 80), figs. 57, 58, 228, 229. A similar *epitrachelion* is associated with Saint James the Brother of the Lord on an icon by Stephanos Tzangarolas from the collection of the Benaki Museum in Athens (GE 3012). The icon (203 x 81 cm) was painted on Corfu in 1688, after Tzangarolas had fled Crete during the Ottoman-Venetian war, and originally served as one of the lateral sanctuary doors of the church of the Holy Trinity on the island: M. Chatzidakis, E. Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830)*, vol. 2, Athens, 1997, p. 427, fig. 339.

⁴² In his *Third Sermon on the Dormition of the Mother of God* (Jean Damascène, *Homélies sur la Nativité et la Dormition*, Paris, 1960, p. 102-107), John Damascene develops a comprehensive inventory of the symbols that prefigured the Virgin Mary in the visions of the Old Testament prophets. He confines himself to enumerating those that are frequently encountered in patristic exegesis while devoting more effort to interpreting the less familiar ones to his audience. For a more in-depth discussion on how typological exegesis influenced the portrayal of the Virgin Mary in Byzantine hymnography in the eighth century, see M. B. Cunningham, "The Meeting

Notwithstanding this potential deliberate association, it seems unlikely that the liturgical stole with Old Testament prophets was based exclusively on the artist's imagination. The *epitrachelion* of metropolitan Meletios of Ochrid,⁴³ completed in 1682, serves as compelling evidence that this type of decoration was applied on liturgical stoles produced during this period.⁴⁴ Presently housed in the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, the liturgical stole once owned by the metropolitan of Ochrid is adorned with figures of Old Testament prophets and ancestors, each bearing symbols associated with the Virgin Mary. Like the *Akathistos Hymn*, the iconographic theme representing Mary amid prophets who foretold her virginal motherhood gained prominence in Paleologan art.⁴⁵ In contrast to the Akathistos cycle, the

of the Old and the New: The Typology of Mary the Theotokos in Byzantine Homilies and Hymns,” in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary*, Woodbridge, 2004, p. 52-62.

⁴³ According to the authors of the catalogue *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi...*, p. 441-443 (n° 13), the *epitrachelion* (150 x 30 cm) was owned by Meletios I, who served as the archbishop of Ochrid during the second patriarchate of Cyril Loukaris (1620–1638 with intermittent periods): K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη ή Συλλογή ανεκδότων μνημείων της Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, vol. 3, Venice, 1872, p. 566, 568.

⁴⁴ The ownership inscription reads ΣΕ ΕΠΙΤΡΑΧΙΛ ΕΣΤΥ ΠΡΕΒΛΑЖЕНОМ(Ъ) АРХ(И)ΕΠ[Ι]СΚ(Ο) ПЪ І ПАТРИА(Р)ХЪ ПРѢВ(О) ІЗ(С)ТИНИИ | АХР[І]ДΩСКОИ Γ[Ο]Υ(С) [Π]Ο[Δ]Ι[Ν]ΗΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ СОΒΕ(Р) ШІСА РОКЪ 718 : X : П : В, (*This epitrachelion is [the property] of the most blessed archbishop and patriarch of Justiniana Prima of Ochrid Sir Meletios and it was completed in the year 1682*): *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi...*, p. 442, fig. 375. The transcription is based on the photographs provided in the catalogue. Because of the low quality of the image, superscripted letters may present transcription errors. However, there are clear disparities between the translation provided by the authors of the catalogue and the one I propose above. For example, the former omits the word ‘patriarch’ from Meletios’ title. Apart from Meletios’ *epitrachelion*, another noteworthy priestly vestment adorned with standing prophets holding Marian symbols is currently housed at the National Museum of Art in Bucharest. The *epitrachelion*, which may be traced back to the mid-seventeenth century, was part of the treasury of the monastery of Secu (Neamț County, Romania). The embroidery was crafted using gilded silver threads on purple silk fabric. The presence of Greek inscriptions indicates that the stole was likely created in Constantinople or in one of the Greek workshops operating across the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Moldavian monastery had already been granted embroideries which had been commissioned in Constantinople (see below, n. 64).

⁴⁵ The icon with the Virgin Kikkotissa praised by prophets from the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai from ca. 1080–1130 (J. C. Anderson, A. Weyl Carr, K. Corrigan, N. Patterson Ševčenko, *The Glory of Byzantium at Sinai. Religious Treasures from the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine. 17 September – 24 October 1997*, Athens, 1997, p. 42-45, fig. 4) and a similar icon from Mount Athos (late twelfth century), currently preserved in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (Inv. No. I-301) are among the earliest witnesses

later cannot be traced back to a single literary source but serves as a tangible representation of the numerous sermons, hymns and encomia associated with the commemoration of the Mother of God throughout the liturgical year.⁴⁶ During the seventeenth century, when the *epitrachelion* of Meletius of Ohrid was created, the composition was already being designated as *The prophets from on high [foretold you]* (Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται [σὲ προκατήγγειλαν]).⁴⁷

to this iconographic subject. For more on this second icon, see Y. Piatnitsky, O. Baddeley, E. Brunner, M. Mundell Mango (eds), *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia. Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century*, St. Petersburg, 2000–2001, fig. B.90. In the late fourteenth century, the Virgin surrounded by Old Testament prophets has been depicted as the central part of the so called “Pohvala Bogomateri” icon with *Akathistos Hymn* from the Assumption Cathedral (*Uspenskij Sobor*) in the Moscow Kremlin; see E. B. Gromova, *История русской иконографии Акафиста. Икона “Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом” из Успенского собора Московского Кремля*, Moscow, 2005. This composition gained significant popularity during the post-Byzantine era, particularly in murals and icon painting: M. P. Kruk, “Is the so-called Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται, described in Dionysius’s *Hermeneia*, the source of the iconography of the Mother of God surrounded by prophets?” *Museikon* 1, 2017, p. 53–68.

⁴⁶ Authors such as Germanus I of Constantinople (ca. 634–732), John of Damascus (ca. 675–749), Theodore the Studite (759–826), and numerous others utilised Mariological symbolism extensively in their works before the emergence of the subject in iconography. However, there is a lack of consensus among scholars regarding the literary origins of the image. See, for example, G. Babić, “L’image symbolique de la ‘Porte Fermée’ à Saint-Clément d’Ohrid,” in *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge. Recueil d’études par André Grabar et un groupe de ses disciples*, Paris, 1968, p. 145–152. Babić discusses the Mother of God announced by prophets in relation to John of Damascus’ hymnographic work; see also D. Mouriki, “Αἱ βιβλικαὶ προεικονίσεις τῆς Παναγίας εἰς τὸν τροῦλλον τῆς Περιβλέπτου τοῦ Μυστρᾶ,” *Архαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 25, 1971, p. 217–251; more recently, the topic has been addressed by M. P. Kruk, “Is the so-called Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται...,” p. 53–68, with a survey of related literature.

⁴⁷ In monumental programs, the composition bears no title. The current designation of the image recalls a *troparion*, specifically the one titled Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται, which was chanted as part of the *Canon of the prophets* during the first week of Lent. This particular *Canon* has been preserved in a *Triodion* from the eleventh century from the collection of the monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai (Sinait. gr. 736, f. 71); O. Etingoff, *Образ Богоматери. Очерки византийской иконографии XI–XIII веков*, Moscow, 2000, p. 42–43, cited by M. P. Kruk, “Is the so-called Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται ...,” p. 56. The inscription alluding to the Lenten troparion can be found on a seventeenth-century *panagiarion* from the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade (n° 7025). The words ΑΝΘΕΝ Η ΠΡΦ are clearly discernible above the figure of the Virgin; see B. Radojković, *Ситна пластика у старој српској уметности*, Belgrade, 1977, p. 121, fig. 52b; V. Milanović, ““Пророци су те нагостили” у Пећи,” in V. J. Djurić (ed.), *Архиепископ Данило II и њего доба. Међународни научни скуп поводом 650-годино од смрти. Децембар 1987*, Belgrade, 1991, p. 414–415, n. 32. The same title has been given to the iconographic subject of the Virgin announced by prophets

One notable feature that distinguishes Meletios' *epitrachelion* from the sixteenth-century Moldavian stole from Putna Monastery is the substitution of the Deesis image typically located on the upper collar of earlier *epitrachelia*⁴⁸ with the icon of the Mother of God of the Platytera type, accompanied by seraphim. This innovation in the design of Meletios' *epitrachelion* has resulted in an iconography that is entirely focused on the Virgin Mary. Despite featuring prophets holding symbols of their Marian prophecies, the Moldavian embroidery follows a traditional iconographic formula by adorning the collar of the *epitrachelion* with the intercessory prayer of the Virgin and the Forerunner. This suggests that early in the sixteenth century, the incorporation of Marian iconography on *epitrachelia* had not yet reached a significant level of development. The earliest evidence of Marian imagery being incorporated into clerical vestments, according to the evidence presently available, appears in the seventeenth century.

The Walters Epitrachelion and its Owner

The *Akathistos* stole currently housed at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore shows no evident traces of restoration that might have altered its original shape.⁴⁹ Carefully stitched with a mix of gilded silver and coloured silk threads on a silk background, the *epitrachelion* is fastened together along

in the *Painter's Manual* composed by Dionysius of Fourni in the eighteenth century: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ, Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης καὶ αἱ κύρια αὐτῆς ἀνέκδοτοι πηγαί...*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 146.

⁴⁸ As an alternative to the Deesis theme, Orthodox liturgical stoles from the Byzantine era typically depict a portrait of Christ as High Priest, wearing the *sakkos* and the *omophorion* at the neck junction. Several embroidered stoles featuring this design have been inventoried by W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 263 (n° 9), sixteenth-century stole from Simonopetra, p. 264 (n° 40), sixteenth-century stole from Cetinje Monastery, Serbia. Woodfin elsewhere refers to the use of the image of Christ as High Priest on liturgical vestments in terms of "self-referentiality," to imply an indirect way for the celebrant to assert his role as Christ's substitute; see W. T. Woodfin, "Orthodox liturgical textiles and clerical self-referentiality," in K. Dimitrova, M. Goehring (eds), *Dressing the Part: Textiles and Propaganda in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2014, p. 31-51. On the portrayal of Christ in episcopal garments in Byzantine art, see T. Papamastorakis, "Ἡ μορφή του Χριστοῦ-Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα," ΔΧΑΕ 17, 1993-1994, p. 67-78.

⁴⁹ The silk background that serves as a support for the embroidered scenes shows a few signs of wear, as well as the presence of wax marks. This suggests that it has not undergone restoration since it stopped being used as a liturgical garment.



Fig. 5. *Epitrachelion* with prophets holding Marian symbols; early sixteenth century, Putna Monastery, Romania.

Photo: A. Cojocaru, "Contribuții...", 2016, fig.1.



Fig. 6. Emmanuel Tzanes, icon of St John of Damascus (190 x 88 cm), 1654, church of Saints Jason and Sosipater, Corfu, Greece.

Photo: P. L. Vocotopoulos, *Εικόνες της Κέρκυρας*, Athens, 1990, fig. 57.

the two bands using metallic buttons.⁵⁰ According to a well-established tradition, the name of the owner of the embroidery is recorded in the three-line Greek inscription that can be read on the lower end of the stole, running parallel over the two adjacent stripes (Fig. 3):

Τοῦ πανιερωτάτου κ(αὶ) λογιωτάτου μ(ητ)ροπολίτου Κυζίκου | κυρίου
Μ(ητ)ροφάνους τοῦ ἐκ Θη|βῶν τῆς Βοιωτίας κτῆ|μα ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τοῦτο / ἐν
ἔτει, αχξξ

*This is a sacred possession of the most holy and most learned metropolitan of
Cyzicus, Kyr ('Sir') Metrophanes from Thebes in Boeotia, in the year 1667.*⁵¹

The priestly vestment was thus commissioned by Metrophanes when he served as metropolitan of Cyzicus in Asia Minor, most likely with the purpose of being used by him in his public ministry. The lack of comprehensive archival records of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the period following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople poses a significant obstacle in precisely establishing the succession of Greek metropolitans in the various local eparchies. This also applies to Metrophanes, whose tenure as head of the archdiocese of Cyzicus started in 1656 and ended on an unknown date in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵² Gaining further insights into his life and pastoral endeavours proves to be even more challenging. The Legal Collection (*Nomike Synagoge*) compiled around 1680 at the request of patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem

⁵⁰ During the seventeenth century, the two stripes of the *epitrachelion* were usually secured with buttons running along their length. Compact liturgical stoles were also manufactured, featuring undivided bands that created an uninterrupted embroidered field and a singular aperture for donning the vestment. An exceptionally fine example of this kind is the *epitrachelion* (28.5 x 149) with the Tree of Jesse, currently housed at the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Inv. No. ND TII-607), which dates from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Notably, the stem of the tree crosses the middle axis of the embroidery where the *epitrachelion* should have split into two distinct bands: <https://catalog.shm.ru/entity/OBJECT/118763> (accessed on 16.01.2024).

⁵¹ See also the description of the object on the website of the Walters Museum: <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/6492/stole-epitrachelion-with-scenes-from-the-akathist-hymn/> (10.12.2023).

⁵² D. Kiminas' recent contribution to the topic provides a list of the metropolitans of Cyzicus, starting from the year 1800: D. Kiminas, *The Ecumenical Patriarchate: A History of Its Metropolitans with Annotated Hierarchy Catalog*, San Bernardino, 2009, p. 76-77. The recently published collection of documents of the Ecumenical Patriarchate by M. Paizi-Apostolopoulou, Y. Evangelou, D. Apostolopoulos (eds), *Επίσημα κείμενα του Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, vol. 2: *Τα σωζόμενα από την περίοδο 1498–1565*, Athens, 2021, concludes its coverage a century prior to the era of Metrophanes of Cyzicus.

(1669–1707) provides evidence for the election of hieromonk Metrophanes as the metropolitan of Cyzicus in September 1656, during the tenure of patriarch Parthenios III (1656–1657).⁵³ According to the record in Dositheos' Legal Collection, Metrophanes assumed office after the passing of Antim of Cyzicus (d. 1656). Thus, the embroidered stole preserved at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore marked the tenth year of Metrophanes' pastorate of the metropolis of Cyzicus.

The city of Cyzicus was located relatively close to Constantinople. Moreover, the head of the metropolitan see of Cyzicus⁵⁴ assumed an important role within the Patriarchal Synod. Metrophanes' signature is one of the first listed on official documents produced by the chancery of the Patriarchal Synod during a period marked by frequent rotations in the highest administrative position within the Patriarchate.⁵⁵ In the latter half of the seventeenth century, two ecumenical patriarchs held the position of metropolitan of Cyzicus either before being appointed to the highest ecclesiastical office or in between their terms.⁵⁶ Patriarch Paisios I (1652–1653, 1654–1655) served as head of the archdiocese of Cyzicus between 1653 and 1654, which represents the period between the conclusion of his first tenure as patriarch and the beginning of his second. After stepping down from his role as the head of the patriarchate in 1655, he was appointed as the administrator (*proedros*) of Cyzicus.⁵⁷

⁵³ D. G. Apostolopoulos, P. D. Mihailaris (eds), *Η Νομική Συναγωγή του Δοσιθέου. Μία πηγή και ένα τεκμήριο*, vol. 1, Athens, 1987, p. 338, n° 745.

⁵⁴ For the history of this archbishopric during the Byzantine era, see R. Janin in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 13, Paris, 1956, p. 1191–1196; idem, *Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, vol. 2: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975 (1953¹), p. 192–214.

⁵⁵ See below, n. 60, 61, 62.

⁵⁶ The origins of this practice could be traced to the Byzantine era. Niphon I (1310–1314) and Matthew I (1397–1310) ascended to the patriarchal throne following their tenure as metropolitans of Cyzicus. Similarly, Metrophanes II of Constantinople (1440–1443), the unionist patriarch, served as bishop of Cyzicus while attending the Council in Florence alongside patriarch Joseph II (1416–1439), whom he succeeded in 1440.

⁵⁷ V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines*, vol. 1: *La Chronologie*, Paris, 1958, p. 438; N. M. Vaporis, "A Study of the Ziskind MS n° 22 of the Yale University Library. Some Aspects of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (I)," *GOTR* 12, 1967, p. 17–18.

Likewise, Cyril IV was appointed patriarch in 1711, after having served as metropolitan of Cyzicus for more than two decades.⁵⁸

On the Akathistos *epitrachelion* its owner Metrophanes is referred to as λογιωτάτου, a term commonly used to denote someone widely recognised for their erudition or ability to produce literary works.⁵⁹ Notwithstanding the choice of this specific epithet, Metrophanes does not seem to have authored any writings of his own. However, as the head of the see of Cyzicus, he was also a member of the Patriarchal Synod and could have contributed to the drafting of official documents instead. Metrophanes' signature is present on several documents issued by the Patriarchal chancery in the sixth and seventh decades of the seventeenth century. In February 1668, his name appears on a document issued by Methodius III of Constantinople in connection with the ordination of the metropolitan of Herakleia.⁶⁰ Along with 36 other archbishops and former patriarchs, he signed Dionysius IV Mouselimis' *Response to inquiries about the mysteries of the Eastern Orthodox Church* in January 1672.⁶¹ The position of Metrophanes as metropolitan is further confirmed in April 1675, by his signature on a letter in which Parthenius IV of Constantinople notifies the metropolitan of Herakleia about the suspension of a hierodeacon named Laurentius due to his immoral conduct.⁶² Metrophanes of Thebes became the metropolitan of Cyzicus in 1656 and effectively held this position

⁵⁸ The earliest known document signed by Cyril IV as metropolitan of Cyzicus is dated 1 September 1684: idem, "A Study of the Ziskind MS n° 22 of the Yale University Library. Some Aspects of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (II)," GOTR 13, 1968, p. 64, n° XXXIII. The last time he was mentioned as metropolitan of Cyzicus dates from 27 February 1701: *ibid.*, p. 60. However, Cyril IV remained in function until 4 December 1711 when he was appointed patriarch (*ibid.*, p. 60); cf. *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. 33, Moscow, 2013, accessible electronic edition at <https://www.pravenc.ru/text/1684583.html> (accessed on 10.12.2023).

⁵⁹ For example, Georgios Hrisogon of Trebizond, teacher at the princely Academy in Bucharest and editor of Nicolae Mavrocordat's work *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων* (*De officiis*), published in 1719, is referred to on the title page of the book as "the most learned Georgios of Trebizond" (Ἐπιμελεία καὶ διορθώσει τοῦ λογιωτάτου κῆρ Γεωργίου Τραπεζούντιου, διδασκάλου τῆς ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ αὐθεντικῆς σχολῆς...).

⁶⁰ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1891 (anastatic impression, Brussels, 1963), p. 347-348.

⁶¹ *Διονυσίου δ' Ὁνοσταντινουπόλεως ἀποκρισις πρὸς ἐρωτήσεις περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀνατολὴν ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας* (μηνὶ ἰαν. 1672 ἰνδικτ. 10); see *ibid.*, p. 335-336 (n° 276.15).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 347 (no 122).

for at least two decades. His resignation occurred at some point after the year 1675, but the precise date is uncertain.⁶³

As a member of the Holy Synod, Metrophanes most likely resided in Constantinople, and the Akathistos stole was probably manufactured there. Different workshops in the capital were concurrently engaged in the manufacturing of liturgical embroideries and garments for the Orthodox clergy at that time. Their products were distributed as far as mainland Greece, Mount Athos, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Romanian Principalities.⁶⁴ Liturgical garments manufactured in Constantinople in the early seventeenth century were distinguished primarily by their close adherence to traditional Byzantine embroidery techniques and iconography. During the mid-1600s, the production of ecclesiastical embroidery in the capital city showed few signs of the significant transformations that took place by the end of the century, when Western iconographic models and Ottoman ornamental features gained increasing popularity.⁶⁵

⁶³ Unfortunately, there is no information available in the registers of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to address this matter. The last officially documented year of Metrophanes' tenure is 1675 (*supra*, n. 62), while Cyril IV (metropolitan of Cyzicus, ca. 1684–1711; later patriarch, 1711–1713) is first attested as metropolitan of Cyzicus on 1 September 1684 (*supra*, n. 58). One plausible hypothesis for this inconsistency may be that Metrophanes remained in function longer than recorded in the surviving documents; cf. *Православная энциклопедия*..., vol. 33, p. 401–404 (<https://www.pravenc.ru/text/1684583.html>), which erroneously lists Metrophanes of Thebes after Paisius I (metropolitan of Cyzicus, 1653–1654). The predecessor of Metrophanes of Cyzicus was Anthim of Cyzicus, not Paisius I. Metrophanes became Anthim's successor in 1656, as shown above.

⁶⁴ P.Ș. Năsturel, "L'Épithaphios constantinopolitain du monastère roumain de Secul (1608)," in idem, *Études d'histoire byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. E. C. Antioche, L. Cotovanu, I.-A. Tudorie, Brăila, 2019, p. 685–700. For further examples, see G. Chatzouli, "À propos d'un épitrachilion de 1664 de la Métropole Trikkis et Stagon attribué à la broderie de l'École de Constantinople," *Cahiers balkaniques* 48, 2021 [= E. Papastavrou, M. Martiniani-Reber (eds), *L'évolution de la broderie de tradition byzantine en Méditerranée orientale et dans le monde slave (1200–1800)*], p. 171–172.

⁶⁵ Scholarly interest in ecclesiastical embroidery and liturgical vestments produced during the late Ottoman era has increased in recent years. The eclecticism of the embroidery production of the period, manifested in technical, iconographic and decorative characteristics, has been highlighted for example by E. Papastavrou, "Osmosis in Ottoman Constantinople: The iconography of Greek church embroidery," in N. Vryzidis (ed.), *The Hidden Life of Textiles in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean: Contexts and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Islamic, Latinate and Eastern Christian Worlds*, Turnhout, 2020, p. 205–230; E. Papastavrou, D. Filiou, "From Constantinople to Vienna: On the Different Tendencies in Greek Orthodox Ecclesiastical Embroidery (17th–18th Centuries)," in *Cahiers balkaniques*

*The Akathistos Cycle Embroidered on Metrophanes' Epitrachelion
and its Relation to Manuscript Garrett 13
from Princeton University Library*

The practice of representing the *Akathistos to the Mother of God* in a continuous series of twenty-four distinct scenes, which correspond to the poetic structure of the hymn, originated in Byzantium in the latter half of the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ The rapid increase in popularity of the Akathistos cycle resulted in the dissemination of multiple versions in various artistic media and over a wide geographical area. In an effort to classify the different iconographic renditions of the *Akathistos Hymn*, art historians commonly relied on comparing the scenes that make up the hymn's final sequence, which exhibit unique regional characteristics.⁶⁷ The opening section of the pictorial cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn* comprises twelve scenes derived from the *Life of the Virgin Mary* and the *Infancy cycle of Christ*. The episodes follow in chronological order, forming the so-called "historical" part of the *Akathistos Hymn*.⁶⁸ This segment consistently conveys the same narrative throughout each Akathistos cycle, which can make comparisons of depictions across different periods ineffective. Conversely, from stanza 13 to stanza 24, artists were challenged with illustrating a poetic content devoid of any historical references, commonly referred to as the "dogmatic" section of the hymn. Consequently, they produced new illustrations⁶⁹ that serve as reliable indicators

48, 2021 [= E. Papastavrou, M. Martiniani-Reber (eds), *L'évolution de la broderie...*, p. 185-211; N. Vryzidis, E. Papastavrou, "Italian and Ottoman Textiles in Greek Sacristies: Parallels and Fusions," in M. Bernardini, A. Taddei (eds) with the collab. of M. D. Sheridan, *15th International Congress of Turkish Art. Proceedings*, Ankara, 2018, p. 677-687; O. Olar, "A Murderer Among the Seraphim. Lăpușneanu's Transfiguration Embroideries," in M. A. Rossi, A. I. Sullivan (eds), *Eclecticism in Late Medieval Visual Culture at the Crossroads of the Latin, Greek, and Slavic Traditions*, Berlin – Boston, 2022, p. 369-400.

⁶⁶ *Supra*, n. 8.

⁶⁷ For a recent attempt to classify and trace the geographical origins of the most important mural cycles of the *Akathistos Hymn* from the sixteenth century, see N. Kozak, "The Akathistos on the Move and the Geography of Post-Byzantine Art," in M. A. Rossi, A. I. Sullivan (eds), *Eclecticism in Late Medieval Visual Culture...*, p. 221-238.

⁶⁸ J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la première partie de l'*Hymne Acatiste* et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l'enfance de la Kariye Djami," *Byzantion* 54, 1984, p. 648-702.

⁶⁹ The most notable exception is the Anastasis composition, which serves as the representation of stanza 18 (*Wishing to save the world...*) in an important number of Akathistos cycles. Strophe 14 (*All the ranks of angels...*) is frequently illustrated by an image of Christ Emmanuel, the Incarnate Logos sitting among incorporeal powers. This composition closely resembles a miniature in the so-called *Kokinobaphos* codices (Paris, BNF, Gr MS 1208, fol. 153^v and

of the geographical origin of a pictorial cycle and are typically transmitted as a cohesive iconographic unit.

The Walters *epitrachelion* features a complete version of the iconographic cycle inspired by the Marian hymn, which differs from the versions seen on other embroidered stoles manufactured during the same period. Another *epitrachelion* adorned with scenes from the *Akathistos Hymn* is preserved in the collection of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. The vestment belonged to metropolitan Anthim I of Adrianoupolis⁷⁰ who held the office from 1618 until June 1623, when he became ecumenical patriarch for a short period of time.⁷¹ This *epitrachelion* exhibits notable differences in comparison with the Walters stole, which was produced several decades later. On the other hand, its decoration is indistinguishable from that of a third *epitrachelion*, which is preserved in the collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul. Based on this similarity I suggest that these

BAV, Gr MS 1162, f. 113^v) inspired by Jacobus Monachus' homiletic compilation on the Life of the Virgin Mary. The two Parisian codices created in Constantinople in the first part of the twelfth century provide an excellent illustration of how Byzantine iconographers skilfully combined Gospel episodes with innovative compositions to accompany Jacobus' text; K. Linardou, "The Homilies of Iakovos the Kokkinobaphou Monastery," in V. Tsamakda (ed.), *A Companion...*, p. 382-392. On the impact of the imperial imagery of acclamations (*laudes*) on the scenes depicted in the second part of the *Akathistos* cycle, see T. Velmans, "Création et structure du cycle iconographique de l'*Akathiste*," in M. Beza (ed.), *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucarest, 1976), vol. 3, Bucharest, 1976, p. 469-473.

⁷⁰ The inscription embroidered on the lower part of the stole mentions metropolitan Anthim of Adrianoupolis as the sponsor of the *epitrachelion*. It states ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΑΧΗΛΙΟΝ ΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗ ΔΙΑ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΘΙΜΟΥ... (*The present epitrachelion was made through the efforts and care of the humble metropolitan of Adrianoupolis, Anthimos...*). The inscription concludes by indicating the year, which unfortunately cannot be determined based on the available photographs, and the month of September as the completion date of the embroidery; see Chr. Patrinelis, A. Karakatsanis, M. Theocharis (eds), *Μονή Σταυρονικήτα...*, p. 213, fig. 99.

⁷¹ V. Semnoz, "Les dernières années du patriarche Cyrille Lucar," *Échos d'Orient* 6, n° 39, 1903, p. 97-107; C. D. Cobham, *The Patriarchs of Constantinople*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 89; M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες. Ειδήσεις ιστορικά βιογραφικά περί των Πατριαρχών Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, από Ανδρέου του Πρωτοκλήτου μέχρις Ιωακείμ Γ' του από Θεσσαλονίκης*, Constantinople, 1884, p. 552-553; R. Janin, "Anthime II," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 3, Paris, 1924, p. 532; Archim. of Sinai Germanos Afthonidis (ed.), *Ἀθανασίου Κομνηνοῦ Ὑψηλάντη, Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ Πολιτικῶν τῶν εἰς Δώδεκα, Βιβλίων Η', Θ' καὶ Ι' ἦτοι τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν (1453-1789)* (Ἐκ Χειρογράφου Ἀνεκδότου τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ), Constantinople, 1870, p. 132.

two *epitrachelia* were manufactured by the same workshop in Constantinople. The workshop commissioned to manufacture the liturgical stole of the metropolitan of Adrianoupolis and the Patriarchate stole employed an iconographic model for the Akathistos cycle that can be traced back to the sixteenth century. Comparable visual representations of the hymn have survived in the wall paintings of the monastery churches of Snagov and Tismana in Wallachia,⁷² as well as in the seventeenth-century frescoes of the Ekatontapyliani Church of the Virgin on the island of Paros.⁷³ A comparison of the Walters Akathistos cycle with a fourth embroidered representation of the hymn yields comparable results. This fourth embroidered stole is a sixteenth-century *epitrachelion*, commissioned by bishop Dorotheos and preserved at the monastery of Stavronikita on Mount Athos.⁷⁴ Its design exhibits notable differences not only in comparison with the Walters *epitrachelion*, but also with the other two.

The available evidence, however limited in scope, indicates that various workshops in seventeenth-century Constantinople crafted distinct designs for *epitrachelia* featuring the *Akathistos Hymn* to cater for the diverse artistic preferences of their clientele. Embroidery workshops that were entrusted with multiple commissions would, on occasion, repeat the same pattern on different vestments.

The model used for the Walters *epitrachelion* exhibits a remarkable similarity to the illustrations in a contemporary manuscript of the *Akathistos Hymn* attributed to Luke of Cyprus, who served as bishop of Buzău from approximately 1583 until around 1603 and from 1603 until 1629 as metropolitan of Wallachia.⁷⁵ Due to the lack of a colophon, the illuminated *Akathistos Hymn*

⁷² A shared drawing model was used in two fresco cycles of the *Akathistos Hymn* preserved in Wallachian monasteries, one in Snagov, Ilfov County (1563), and the other in Tismana, Gorj County (1564), separated by over 350 km. The use of the same drawings for both can be explained by the fact that both fresco ensembles were sponsored by princess Chiajna, the widow of Wallachian prince Mircea Ciobanul (1545–1552, 1553–1554, 1558–1559), and that they were completed a year apart; see C. L. Dumitrescu, “Deux églises valaques décorées au XVI^e siècle: Snagov et Tismana,” *RRHA. Série Beaux-Arts* 10, n° 2, 1973, p. 129–164; O. Iacubovski, “Der Akathistos-Bilderzyklus in der Wandmalerei der Wallachei im 16. Jahrhundert,” *EBPB* 6, 2011, p. 289–324.

⁷³ For the representations of the hymn in the frescoes of Snagov and Tismana, see *supra*, n. 72. The seventeenth-century mural cycle that has been only partially conserved in the altar apse of the church of Panagia Ekatontapyliani on Paros is treated in T. C. Aliprantis, *Η εκατονταπυλιανή της Πάρου*, Thessaloniki, 1993, p. 67–77, figs. 60–75.

⁷⁴ *Supra*, n. 7.

⁷⁵ A native of Cyprus, he left the Ottoman-conquered island in the latter part of the sixteenth century and established himself in Wallachia. He was appointed metropolitan during the reign

that opens this codex (Garrett 13 in the Princeton University Library) has been attributed to Luke of Cyprus, based on epigraphic evidence.⁷⁶ Each strophe of the *Akathistos* to the Mother of God copied by Luke, including its preamble (*prooimion*), is preceded by a full page illustration accompanied by the beginning of the respective stanza. The text copied by Luke covers f. 1^r to 25^v of the codex. This independently crafted copy of the *Akathistos Hymn* was subsequently bound together⁷⁷ with another Greek version of the poem (f. 27^r–46^v)⁷⁸ written down by Luke's contemporary, Matthew of Myra, a *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Dealu in Wallachia at that time.⁷⁹ The most relevant part of Garrett

of prince Radu Șerban (1601, 1602–1610, 1611); see G. K. Vikan, "Byzance après Byzance: Luke the Cypriot, Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia," in L. Clucas (ed.), *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, Boulder – New York, 1988, p. 165–184; P. Zahariuc, "Noi informații despre mănăstirea Izvorani (județul Buzău) și despre mitropolitul Țării Românești, Luca de Cipru," RI 21, n° 3–4, 2010, p. 251–270; O. Olar, "La răscruce de vânturi. Luca al Buzăului, Matei al Mirelor și Anastasie Crimca," in *Dragomirna și ctitorii ei*, Sfânta Mănăstire Dragomirna, 2014, p. 305–320. Luke of Cyprus was also a prolific copyist of liturgical manuscripts. So far, twenty-two manuscripts copied by him are known. See M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau et les centres de copie de manuscrits grecs en Moldovalachie (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)*, Athens, 1995, p. 69–75; G. K. Vikan, "Byzance après Byzance...", p. 168, 179, n. 2; O. Olar in the present volume.

⁷⁶ M. A. Vardavaki, *Oi μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου σὸν κώδικα Garrett 13*, Princeton, Athens, 1992, p. 128–129, figs. 1–25; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau...*, p. 76–81; S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, with the collab. of D. C. Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century. A Descriptive Catalogue*, Princeton NJ, 2010, p. 80–95, figs. 85–113, on the attribution, p. 81.

⁷⁷ L. Cotovanu, "Le Ms. gr. Garrett 13 de l'Université de Princeton et les circonstances de sa production," presented at the conference *Manuscript Tradition and Visual Culture. Circulating Models and Their Reception in South-Eastern Europe* (New Europe College, Bucharest, November 26, 2021), argued that the two Greek hierarchs joined these two manuscripts of the *Akathistos Hymn*, with the purpose of presenting the resulting codex to prince Radu Mihnea, who defeated Gabriel Bathory following the 1613 invasion of Wallachia, thereby personally rescuing Matei and Luca from peril and offering them refuge and protection in the Wallachian Principality. This presentation may have taken place at the reconsecration of the *katholikon* of the monastery of Dealu in July 1614 or the consecration of the monastery of Radu Vodă, three months later. See also Lidia Cotovanu's contribution in the present volume.

⁷⁸ There is a blank folio, numbered as 26, between Luke of Cyprus' *Akathistos*, which concludes on f. 25^v, and Matthew of Myra's *Akathistos*, which begins on f. 27^r. The manuscript can be accessed at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99108926643506421> (accessed on 11.01.2024)

⁷⁹ Matthew transcribed the hymn together with the liturgical service for the Saturday of the fifth week of Lent (f. 47^r–65^v) and the *parakleitikos*, or supplicatory canon, dedicated to the Virgin (f. 66^r–89^v); see S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton...*, p. 90–95, figs. 110–113; O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaios von Myra (1596–1624). Untersuchungen zur griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600*, Athens, 1982; M. A. Vardavaki, *Oi μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου...*, figs. 60–67. The concluding

13 for the present study are the illustrations which precede each stanza of the hymn. These were executed by a skilled illuminator with whom Luke collaborated either before the writing process or afterwards.⁸⁰

Despite being created over five decades apart and featured in distinct artistic media, the illuminated cycle of the Princeton Garrett 13 codex and the version embroidered on Metrophanes' stole exhibit obvious similarities. The relationship between the two works of art remained until now unexplored in detail although it was noticed by Maria Aspri Vardavaki three decades ago.⁸¹ Considering the relatively brief period between the creation of Luke's Akathistos manuscript and Metrophanes' *epitrachelion* and the regular interactions between Greek and Wallachian clergy in the seventeenth-century, which enabled the circulation of artwork such as portable icons and manuscripts to and from Constantinople as diplomatic gifts, Luke's manuscript included in the Garrett 13 codex appears as a strong contender for being the model for the Akathistos stole. The question of whether Metrophanes of Cyzicus travelled to Wallachia during his pastorate remains an issue for future research. He did, however, have family connections within the principality, which will be discussed in greater depth later.

The following section will attempt to illustrate the embroiderer's informed and nuanced approach in relation to his manuscript model. I aim to facilitate insight into the process by which the illustrations in manuscript Garrett 13 have been adapted to form the images which can be seen on the Walters *epitrachelion*.

section of the codex comprises the *Eleven Resurrection Gospel* readings (f. 90^r–102^v), also known as the "Eothina," copied by a different scribe around the same period: S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*..., p. 81.

⁸⁰ There is at least another manuscript which evidences that Luke collaborated with an artist. That codex, Walters Gospel Lectionary 535, is part of the same collection as the *epitrachelion* which is the focus of the present study. Unlike Garrett 13 it contains a colophon which revealed that Luke copied it in 1594, so while he was still bishop of Buzău. Two years after its completion, the manuscript accompanied the copyist on a diplomatic trip to Moscow. The hypothesis that the manuscript was embellished with miniatures by Muscovite artists there was formulated by G. K. Vikan, "Walters Lectionary W.535 (A.D. 1594) and the Revival of Deluxe Greek Manuscript Production after the Fall of Constantinople," in J. J. Yiannias (ed.), *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, Charlottesville – London, 1993, especially p. 194–199, and is further supported by the stylistic and iconographic characteristics of the miniatures that illustrate the Gospel text; on Walters Gospel Lectionary 535, see also G. R. Parpulov, "A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum. A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum and Essays in Honor of Gary Vikan* 62, 2004, p. 132–140; D. Miner (ed.), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*..., p. 147 (n° 743).

⁸¹ M. A. Vardavaki, *Oi mikrographies tou Akathistou*..., p. 48.

This will be done by discussing several examples of images seen in the manuscript and on the liturgical stole illustrating stanzas from the first (stanzas 1-12) as well as the second (stanzas 13-24) part of the *Akathistos Hymn*, so both the “historical” and the “theological” parts. Additionally, the present analysis will specifically highlight those discrepancies observed between the two pictorial cycles that seem to be related to the embroiderer’s artistic background and iconographic routines. The consistent nature of the iconographic alterations, however, further supports the argument that the embroiderer had access to the illustrations to the *Akathistos Hymn* in Garrett 13. He did not merely replicate his model but endeavoured to improve it.

The illuminated Akathistos cycle and its embroidered version open with a virtually identical sequence of images. An examination of any of the three consecutive Annunciation scenes on the Walters *epitrachelion* demonstrates that the embroiderer exerted great care in faithfully reproducing his manuscript model onto the silk surface, paying attention to the smallest details. Significant parallels are evident in the depiction of the initial encounter between Mary and the Archangel Gabriel (stanza 1), which reflects a well-established Cretan prototype of the Annunciation scene, transmitted on portable icons.⁸² In the scene corresponding to stanza 3 (*The Virgin, yearning to grasp a knowledge unknowable...*),⁸³ both artists portray Joseph positioned behind the Virgin as a witness to the event, anticipating the doubts he would express in the well-known scene dedicated to his first encounter with Mary after the Annunciation (Figs. 7, 8). The animated gestures of the Archangel and the Virgin in the miniature f. 4^r in the Princeton manuscript have been accurately replicated on the *epitrachelion*. The same applies to the backdrop scenery suggested in the corresponding miniature, despite the evident challenges faced by the embroiderer in attempting to render the different architectural volumes in perspective.

⁸² The miniature on f. 2^r of the Garrett 13 *Akathistos* is almost identical to the principal panel of the two-part icon featuring the Annunciation and Saint George fighting the Dragon (Inv. No. 37.725) from the collection of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore; for the miniature, see S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts...*, p. 83, fig. 86. The icon, datable to the fifteenth century, is discussed by M. Vassilaki, “Some Cretan Icons in the Walters Art Gallery,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 48, 1990, p. 76, fig. 1, as part of a series of similar representations by Cretan artists. See also M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου...*, p. 42-44.

⁸³ For English quotations, I used the translation of the *Akathistos Hymn* by M. L. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary...*



Fig. 7. The Annunciation to the Virgin, illustration of stanza 3 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("The Virgin, yearning to grasp a knowledge unknowable..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 4^r.



Fig. 8. The Annunciation to the Virgin, illustration of strophe 3 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("The Virgin, yearning to grasp a knowledge unknowable..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 9. The Holy Conception, illustration of stanza 5 of the *Akathistos Hymn* (“Then the power of the Most High...”), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 5^r.



Fig. 10. The Holy Conception, illustration of stanza 5 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("Then the power of the Most High..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

The Annunciation sequence reaches its climax in the fourth scene of the cycle which visually symbolises the moment of Conception, as described in strophe 4 (*Then the power of the Most High overshadowed her...*). The iconographic rendition of the stanza on the *epitrachelion* matches the Garrett 13 miniature on f. 5^r down to the smallest detail. In both examples, the Virgin is actually overshadowed by a veil that is being upheld by a pair of angels positioned behind her. Simultaneously, a dove which emerges from the body of the Ancient of Days is seen descending towards her (Figs. 9, 10). Notwithstanding the inherent technical difficulties posed by the partial overlap of the Holy Dove with the body of the Ancient of Days, the embroiderer managed to render the same iconographic detail on the *epitrachelion*.

The portrayal of God the Father sending the dove-like manifestation of the Holy Spirit to Mary can be traced back to a common pattern found in Trecento icons illustrating the Annunciation. The central panel of Lorenzo Veneziano's Annunciation altarpiece (1371), displayed at the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice, portrays God the Father bending down from heaven towards the Virgin, while the archangel Gabriel delivers the message of her divine conception. With outstretched arms, the Father releases both the Holy Dove and the Son, who descends towards the Virgin carrying the symbol of his Passion in Lorenzo Veneziano's panel (Fig. 14).⁸⁴ Unlike Italian Trecento painters, Eastern artists considered the Holy Spirit to be the only Person of the Holy Trinity⁸⁵ that ought to be depicted in the Annunciation scene.⁸⁶ They rarely deviated from

⁸⁴ A similar representation can be seen on the left panel of a polyptych of the former Cistercian convent Marienthal, Waldeck, Germany, painted around 1370; see E. Papastavrou, *Recherche iconographique dans l'art byzantin et occidental du XI^e au XV^e siècle: l'Annonciation*, Venice, 1997, figs. 47, 53. On the analogy between the depiction of the Ancient of Days in Garrett 13 and Italian panel icons, see also M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου...*, p. 53.

⁸⁵ One notable exception is the Annunciation of Ustyug (Устюжское Благовещение), an icon painted in Novgorod in the twelfth century, which depicts Christ the Ancient of Days seated on a throne, all covered with glory in the composition.

⁸⁶ The symbolic representation of the Holy Spirit as a Dove is a relatively late development in the Byzantine iconography of the Annunciation. The earliest evidence may be linked to the fresco on the eastern wall of the bema in the church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou, dating back to 1105/6; see A. Weyl Carr, A. Nicolaïdès (eds), *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa Cyprus*, Washington, 2012, p. 225, fig. 6.11. Despite the scriptural support of Luke 1:35 (*And the angel answered and said unto her, the Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee*), artists of the early Byzantine period placed less emphasis on the 'Descent of the Holy Spirit' as on the encounter of the Virgin with the angel, and her response to the

this widely accepted convention. However, a number of wall paintings in Orthodox churches on Cyprus, display unique iconographic versions of the Annunciation to Mary, which include the second Person of the Trinity. In the church of the Mother of God (Panagia Phorbiotissa) of Asinou, the figure of Christ as the Ancient of Days is depicted in a section of sky, directing the Holy Spirit towards Mary with his right hand.⁸⁷ The Annunciation fresco in the church of Agios Nikolaos tis Stegis (“of the Roof”) in Kakopetria, Cyprus portrays the Ancient of Days in a *clipeus*, sending the Holy Spirit by blowing a ray of light towards Mary.⁸⁸

The theological emphasis in the Western and Eastern representations of the Annunciation is notably dissimilar. The Holy Trinity depicted on the altar panel by Lorenzo Veneziano (Fig. 14) serves to foreshadow God’s deliberate and ultimate act of sacrifice, made possible through Christ’s incarnation. The Father, depicted as an elderly man by Lorenzo Veneziano, consents to the ultimate sacrifice and sends the Son into the world. In the Cypriot mural paintings of the Annunciation, on the other hand, it is the pre-eterna Logos, whom the painters render with a beard and hair whitened by years. On the triumphal arch of the church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou, the Ancient of Days is labelled ἸC ΧC Ο ΠΑΛΕΟC ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ, which indicates that it is the Son, born before the ages, who made himself visible by descending

divine message: E. Kitzinger, “The Descent of the Dove. Observations on the Mosaic of the Annunciation in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo,” in I. Hutter (ed.), *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1984, p. 99-116; K. Weitzmann, “Eine spätbyzantinische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite Byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts,” in G. Kauffmann (ed.), *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem*, Berlin, 1965, p. 299-312. Early representations of the Holy Conception, as seen in the Bristol Psalter (London, British Library, Add. 40 731, f. 115^v) and the Barberini Psalter (BAV, Barberinus gr. 372, f. 119^v) depict the descent of the Holy Dove onto a beam of light, directed towards an image of the Virgin and Child enclosed in a *clipeus*. In both examples, a discrete manifestation of divine intervention emerges in the form of a *Dextera dei* from a segment of heaven: E. Kitzinger, “The Descent...,” pl. XXXIX, figs. 9 and 11.

⁸⁷ The triumphal arch of the church of the Panagia in Asinou was given a new coat of paint in the fifteenth century; A. Weyl Carr, A. Nicolaïdès (eds), *Asinou Across Time...*, p. 224, fig. 6.10, p. 226-227. For the monument and its wall paintings, see A. Stylianou, J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art*, Nicosia, 1997² (1985¹), p. 254.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53-75; Ch. Chotzakoglou, “Religious Conflicts between Byzantium and the West Mirrored in the Iconography of Byzantine Lands under Latin rule,” in F. Daim, D. Heher, C. Rapp (eds), *Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge: Wege der Kommunikation zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen*, vol. 1: *Bilder und Dinge*, Mainz, 2018, p. 206, fig. 1.

into the womb of Mary. Furthermore, the inscription serves to clarify that only Jesus Christ can be depicted in his bodily manifestation, and not the Father.

Nevertheless, the peculiar representation of the Dove symbolising the Holy Spirit emanating from the bosom of the Ancient of Days, as seen in Garrett 13, appears to have been inspired by a particular image known in literature as the “Throne of Mercy” or “Gnadenstuhl,”⁸⁹ which first appeared in the Catholic West.⁹⁰ The Trinitarian image representing the Father holding the Crucified Son and the Holy Dove emphasises the corporeal nature of Christ’s death, which stands at the core of Western sacramental theology.⁹¹ The same representation has occasionally been used by Western medieval artists to convey another doctrinal concept, namely the double proceeding of the Spirit, from the Father and the Son. The idea was occasionally communicated through the representation of the Dove with its expanded wings pointing towards the mouth of the Father and the Son at the same time.⁹² Following its inclusion in

⁸⁹ B. Kress, “A Relief by Peter Dell (1548) after a Drawing by Paul Lautensack, and the Origins of the Term ‘Gnadenstuhl’,” *JWCI* 73, 2010, p. 181-194; H. Gerstinger, “Über Herkunft und Entwicklung der anthropomorphen byzantinisch-slawischen Trinitätsdarstellungen des sogenannten Synthronoi- und Paternitas (Otéchestow)-typus,” in G. Gsodam (ed.), *Festschrift W. Sas-Zaloziecky zum 60. Geburtstag*, Graz, 1956, p. 79-85.

⁹⁰ This opinion has been expressed by M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου...*, p. 52-53; E. Papastavrou, D. Filiou, “Το ελληνορθόδοξο κέντημα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά την οθωμανική περίοδο,” in N. Vryzidis, P. Androudis, M. Martiniani-Reber (eds), *Μετάξι και πορφύρα – Ο κόσμος του βυζαντινού και μεταβυζαντινού υφάσματος*, Athens, 2023, p. 182, n. 24. Papastavrou and Filiou discuss a similar image that is embroidered on an *epigonation* displayed at the Christian and Byzantine Museum in Athens (BXM 1702).

⁹¹ The “Gnadenstuhl,” which is first of all the most important Trinitarian eucharistic representation within the Western artistic tradition, communicates the basic lines of the sacramental theology widespread in the West: A. Kriza, “The Russian ‘Gnadenstuhl’,” *JWCI* 79, 2016, p. 79-130.

⁹² This is clearly conveyed by the representation of the dove’s expanded wings pointing to the Father and the Son’s mouth in the miniature of the Cambrai Missal (ca. 1120) preserved in the Public Library of Cambrai (MS 234, f. 2^r): A. Kriza, “The Russian ‘Gnadenstuhl’...,” p. 97-98, fig. 8. Michael Altripp presented another example: a representation from ca. 1200 in a manuscript of Petrus Lombardus’ *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum*, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels, Lat. MS 470, f. 4^r: M. Altripp, “Die Rezeption trinitarisch interpretierter Texte des Alten Testaments in der Byzantinischen Kunst,” *ZRVI* 59, 2022, p. 255-256 (without illustration). However, the depiction of the Father sending the Holy Dove through a bundle of rays towards the Crucified Son in a *Book of Hours* from approximately 1460, which is presently housed in the Getty Museum Collection as MS Ludwig IX 12 (83.ML.108), f. 130^v, is one of numerous instances where this principle does not apply (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105SWQ>, accessed on 11.01. 2024). Ioannis Spatharakis, who

the wall paintings of the Greek Orthodox churches on the islands of Crete and Cyprus under Latin occupation,⁹³ the anthropomorphic Trinity was allegedly employed to counter the *filioque* doctrine,⁹⁴ namely by depicting the Spirit as proceeding solely from the Father. The most well-preserved examples of this compositional type are the wall paintings in the nave of Panagia Roustika

also pointed out that numerous examples from the West show the procession of the Spirit from the Father in a manner similar to the frescoes in Panagia Roustika, strongly criticises the interpretation of both Western and Eastern versions of the “Gnadenstuhl” composition in relation to the *filioque* doctrine. See I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete. Rethymnon Province*, vol. 1, London, 1999, p. 198-206.

⁹³ In the church of the Panagia in Roustika on Crete, the arch above the apse of the sanctuary is decorated with a typical composition of the “Gnadenstuhl,” in which the Holy Dove takes shape from the breath of the Father; see I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete...*, vol. 1, p. 180-181 (n° 2), p. 184-185, 198-200, fig. 242; idem, *Byzantine Wall-Paintings in Rethymnon*, Rethymnon, 2010, p. 36, fig. 33. Several mural paintings on Crete and Cyprus attest the incorporation of the image of the Father blowing the Holy Spirit towards the Son as an isolated element into the iconography of different scenes. In the church of St. George near the monastery of Preveli in the province of Rethymnon, an image of the so-called “Paternitas” type, depicting God the Father holding Emmanuel while sitting on a throne recalls the thirteenth-century fresco on the barrel vault of the Kumbelidiki Church in Kastoria: cf. S. Pelekanidis, M. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, Athens, 1985, p. 85, 90. However, the Cretan artist depicts the Dove as proceeding from the Father, which is not the case in the murals at Koumbelidiki: I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete...*, p. 203, fig. 349. The depiction of the martyrdom of St. Stephen in the eponymous church in Drakona, Chania, incorporates a comparable representation of the Father blowing the Holy Dove towards the Son (*ibid.*, p. 203-204). In the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati near Platanistasa in Cyprus (1494), the western pediment of the wooden-roofed nave showcases a fresco of the Crucifixion featuring in the upper part of the composition the image of the Father sending the Dove towards the Crucified Son; for general information on the monument, see A. Stylianou, J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus...*, p. 186-216. For a photographic reproduction of the Crucifixion fresco, see Ch. Chotzakoglou, “Unveiling the Venetian Art-Image: Remarks on the Painting and its religious background of Cyprus during the period of the venetian Rule (1489–1571),” in Chr. Maltezou, A. Tzavara, D. Vlassi (eds), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.)*. *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, 3-7 dicembre 2007*, Venice, 2009, p. 801, fig. 1.

⁹⁴ This opinion was expressed by N. A. Gkioles, “Εικονογραφικά θέματα στη βυζαντινή τέχνη εμπνευσμένα από την αντιπαράθεση και τα σχίσματα των δύο Εκκλησιών,” in Ch. S. Kakouri, T. Albani (eds), *Θωράκιον. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη*, Athens, 2004, p. 263-281; Ch. Chotzakoglou, “Unveiling the Venetian Art-Image...,” p. 434-435; idem, “Religious conflicts between Byzantium and the West...,” p. 205-210; S. Kalopissi-Verti, “Aspects of Byzantine Art after the Recapture of Constantinople (1261–ca.1300): Reflections of Imperial Policy, Reactions, Confrontation with the Latins,” in F. Joubert, J.-P. Caillet (eds), *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIII^e siècle: les programmes picturaux*, Paris, 2012, p. 46-48. For a different opinion, see Ioannis Spatharakis (as in n. 88 above).

Church on Crete (1390–1391) and the one in the sixteenth-century single-aisle church of the Holy Cross in the village of Hagia Eirini on Cyprus (Fig. 12). In both instances, the Holy Spirit is depicted as emerging from the mouth of the Father.⁹⁵

In the seventeenth century, the image of God the Father with the Holy Dove coming either from his body or his mouth was popularized to such an extent that it was indiscriminately used in various iconographic contexts besides the Annunciation in Eastern Orthodox art. An illustrative example can be seen on the *epigonation* created in 1689 in the famous Constantinopolitan workshop of Despineta of Argyris, which is currently on display at the Museum of Byzantine and Christian Art in Athens (BXM 1702) (Figs. 11, 13).⁹⁶ The figure of the Ancient of Days, accompanied by the dove of the Holy Spirit, forms a complementary pair to the enthroned Christ surrounded by the apocalyptic creatures. Additionally, an eighteenth-century drawing model (*antivola*) for the Tree of Jesse, kept at the Benaki Museum in Athens, includes a portrait of the Ancient of Days sending the Holy Dove towards the Virgin who is crowned by angels. The representation of God as an old man emerging from the clouds in the model drawing is nearly identical to the one in the Princeton miniature.⁹⁷

In light of the above discussion, the inscription Ὁ ΘΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΠΙ, which is associated with the representation of the Ancient of Days on f. 5^r of the Garrett 13 manuscript, raises questions as to its significance. It has been read as Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ περιστέρι (*God and the dove*),⁹⁸ which matches the two abbreviated

⁹⁵ For the representation of the “Gnadenstuhl” in the church of the Holy Cross in Hagia Eirini, see Ch. Chotzakoglou, “Unveiling the Venetian Art-Image...,” p. 801, fig. 2; Monk Dometios, *Οδοιπορικό στις αγιογραφημένες εκκλησίες της Κύπρου*, Cyprus, 2007, p. 68; for general information about the monument, see A. Stylianou, J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*..., p. 151–156.

⁹⁶ No inscription has been preserved next to the representation of the Ancient of Days on the *epigonation*’s upper corner. For more information on this embroidery, see E. Papastavrou, “Κεντήτρες και κεντήματα από την Κωνσταντινούπολη στις Συλλογές του BXM,” in J. Moysidou (ed.), *Ιστορία και Τέχνη: Μνήμη Δημήτρη Κωνσταντίου. Από τους κύκλους διαλέξεων του Συλλόγου Φίλων του Βυζαντινού & Χριστιανικού Μουσείου (2000–2010)*, Athens, 2014, p. 248; cf. E. Papastavrou, D. Filiou, “Το ελληνορθόδοξο κεντήμα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη...,” p. 182.

⁹⁷ M. Vassilaki, *Working Drawings of Icon Painters after the Fall of Constantinople. The Andreas Xyngopoulos Portfolio at the Benaki Museum*, Athens, 2015, p. 286–287.

⁹⁸ M. A. Vardavaki, *Οί μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου*..., p. 53.

words inscribed next to the Ancient of Days.⁹⁹ The designation generates ambiguity by not specifying which trinitarian hypostasis is depicted in the miniature. The conventional orthodox approach in the iconography of the Annunciation would have required, as seen earlier, that the manifestation of God is referred to as Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ Παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν (Dan 7:9-14). This title specifically refers to the Son, the pre-eternal Logos who was sent by the Father into the world (John 5:23). However, this does not seem to be the case in Garrett 13 miniature. An alternative approach would have been for the Father to be named in the miniature – a practice generally avoided by Byzantine artists, but occasionally attested to, especially in images that conveyed a trinitarian symbolism.¹⁰⁰

To avoid any confusion, the embroiderer of Metrophanes' stole altered the inscription next to the Ancient of Days in the Conception scene to ἸC ΧC. Through the explicit designation of Jesus Christ, the embodied Logos, he conformed to a well-established tradition of Byzantine representations

⁹⁹ The inscription associated with the image of the Ancient of Days in the Princeton Garrett 13 miniature does not align to any of the known attributes of God that have been previously recorded in mural paintings, icons, or illuminated manuscripts. An alternative depiction of the *Paternitas* type preserved on the barrel vault of the narthex of the Panagia Koumbelidiki church in Kastoria (1260–1280) features Christ seated on the bosom of God the Father holding the Holy Dove with both hands. The first line of the accompanying inscription can be compared with the one inscribed next to Ancient of Days in the Princeton manuscript: I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C O Θ(EO)C (H)MΩ(N), “Jesus Christ our God” (first line); O Π(ATH)P Y(IO)C KAI ΠN(EYM)A TO AΓION, “The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit” (second line); see I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete...*, p. 202. Another parallel can be made with the text written on the open scroll that the Ancient of Days holds in the diaconicon of the church of St. Nicholas of Rodia in Arta, Greece: ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐγὼ εἰμι (*I the Lord, the first, and with the last*); see L. Fundić, “Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Nikole Rodijasa kod Arte,” *Zograf* 34, 2010, p. 87-110. On the same representation, see M. Kuyumdzhieva, *Ликът на Бога. Изображенията на Св. Троица в православното изкуство*, Sofia, 2020, p. 66-67. For a comprehensive analysis of the depiction of the Ancient of Days and its associated epithets in Eastern artistic tradition, see *ibid.*, p. 39-83.

¹⁰⁰ For the depiction of the *Paternitas* theme in the church of Panagia Koumbelidiki in Kastoria (1260–1280) and its associated inscriptions, see above, n. 99. For the related iconographic representation known as “Synthronoi,” which shows the Father, the Son and the Holy Dove seated side by side on a bench, see A. Kriza, “Pro or Contra Filioque? Trinitarian Synthronoi Images at the Crossroads of the Catholic West and the Orthodox East (ca. 1300–1500),” in M. A. Rossi, A. I. Sullivan, *Eclecticism in Late Medieval Visual Culture...*, p. 157-178; V. Bedros, “Notă despre iconografia cu caracter trinitar în pictura murală din Moldova (sec. XV–XVI),” *AP* 15, n° 1, 2019, p. 149-166.



Fig. 11. *Epigonation* embroidered by Despineta of Argyris, 1689. Central medallion: Christ surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists. In the corners: The Ancient of Days (top), prophet Isaiah (left), prophet David (bottom), prophet Ezekiel (right), Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum (BXM 1702).
Photo: O. Iacubovski.



Fig. 12. The Throne of Mercy, fresco painting, church of the Holy Cross, Hagia Eirini, Cyprus, first quarter of the sixteenth century.
Photo: P. Dometios, *Οδοιπορικό στις Αγιογραφημένες Εκκλησίες...*, p. 68.



Fig. 13. *Epigonation* (detail of Fig. 11). Upper corner of the embroidery: The Ancient of Days with the Holy Dove emerging from his breath, Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum. Photo: E. Papastavrou, “Κεντήτρες και κεντήματα...,” p. 248.



Fig. 14. Lorenzo Veneziano, central panel of the Annunciation altarpiece (111 x 54 cm). Detail of the Annunciation scene, 1371, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.
Photo: O. Iacubovschi.

that reflects the same concepts found in the hymnographic repertory of the Church, which interprets the God of the Old Law and the “ancient of days” witnessed by the prophet Daniel (Dan. 7: 9-10) as the Logos in human form: “The Ancient of Days who formerly gave the law to Moses, is seen today as a child” (first *sticheron* of the *lite*).¹⁰¹

In the same year in which Metrophanes’ *epitrachelion* was manufactured, the representation of the Father as an elderly man with grey hair and beard received official disapproval during the council convened in Moscow by tsar Aleksej Mikhailovich (1645–1676). The synod was assembled in 1666 in an effort to secure the definitive approval of the liturgical revisions initiated by patriarch Nikon (1652–1667) which had already been implemented with the support of the tsar in 1653. The event, which initially focused on the internal affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, subsequently attracted an international audience. From November 1666, the assembly was presided over by patriarch Paisius of Alexandria (1657–1678). Patriarch Macarius III of Antioch (1647–1672) was present, as were representatives of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.¹⁰² Chapter 43 of the Acts of the Moscow Council (*On the Iconographers and the Lord Sabaoth*) condemned the portrayal of the Father in icons and in wall paintings unless the

¹⁰¹ The paradox of the incarnate Logos is a recurrent theme in Orthodox hymnography, for example: “O Virgin who hast not known wedlock, hast held in thy womb the God of all and hast given birth to an eternal Son, who rewards with salvation all who sing thy praises” (*Canon of the Mother of God*, ode 5, sung on the matins of the Saturday of the Akathistos); English translation after *The Lenten Triodion*, translated from the original Greek by Mother Mary and Archim. Kallistos Ware, London–Boston, 1978, p. 432; “Let us all raise our eyes to God in heaven, as we cry like Jeremiah: The One who appeared on earth (...) whom Ezekiel contemplated like the form of a man on the fiery chariot, and Daniel as a son of man and ancient of days, proclaiming the ancient and the young to be one Lord” (second *kontakion* on Theophany by Romanos the Melodist; Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, vol. 2: *Nouveau Testament (IX–XX)*, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. G. de Matons, Paris, 1965, p. 228), cited and translated by B. G. Bucur, *Scripture Re-envisioned: Christophanic Exegesis and the Making of a Christian Bible*, Leiden – Boston, 2018, p. 224. For further examples, see *ibid.*, p. 222–225.

¹⁰² W. Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, vol. 3: *History of the Condemnation of the Patriarch Nikon by a Plenary Council of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church, Held at Moscow A. D. 1666–1667: Written by Paisius Ligarides of Scio...*, London, 1873; P. Meyendorff, *Russia, Ritual, and Reform: The Liturgical Reforms of Nikon in the 17th Century*, New York, 1991, p. 66–80.

representation was directly related to the *Book of Revelation*.¹⁰³ The synod overtly condemned the depiction of God the Father in the Annunciation scene, where Russian painters used to represent him blowing the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove towards the Virgin Mary, following Western models. The absence of a scriptural basis for such depiction was cited as an argument against this practice.

Aware of the Orthodox reluctance towards the portrayal of the God the Father, the embroiderer commissioned by Metrophanes of Cyzicus made the appropriate adjustments to the inscription next to the image of the Ancient of Days, unambiguously identifying him as “Jesus Christ” on the *epitrachelion*. As long as the image was properly designated, it did not present any challenge to Orthodox tradition and was therefore suitable to be displayed on a priestly vestment.

Strophe 6 of the *Akathistos Hymn* (*Tossed inwardly by a storm of doubts...*) serves as an additional illustration of the embroiderer’s close adherence to his manuscript model. The corresponding scene, also known as Joseph’s Doubts, portrays the Virgin Mary in a defensive stance, as Joseph assumes a rather contemplative posture. Despite minor compositional changes made to ensure that the scene fits the proportions of the wider but less tall panel of the *epitrachelion*, the embroiderer has faithfully reproduced the posture and gestures of the protagonists, as evidenced by the Garrett 13 miniature (Figs. 15, 16). All elements, including the angel’s waving phylactery and the scarlet-red cloth flung over the rear wall, were drawn from the manuscript model.

However, reaching stanza 8 of the *Akathistos Hymn* (*The magi saw a star moving towards God...*), the embroiderer suddenly decided to create an entirely new composition. The scene on the *epitrachelion* is markedly more dynamic than the one found on f. 9^r of the Princeton *Akathistos*.¹⁰⁴ The three magi are the dom-

¹⁰³ “To paint on icons the Lord Sabaoth (that is, the Father) with a white beard, holding the only-begotten Son in his lap with a dove between them is altogether absurd and improper, for no one has ever seen the Father in His divinity [...]. Likewise, on icons of the Holy Annunciation, they paint the Lord Sabaoth breathing from His mouth, and the breath reaches the womb of the Most Holy Mother of God. But who has seen this, or which passage from the Holy Scripture bears witness to it? [...] it is only in the *Apocalypse* of St. John that the Father can be painted with white hair, for lack of any other possibility, because of the visions contained in it;” see L. Ouspensky, *Theology of the Icon*, vol. 2, translated by A. Gythiel, New York, 1992, p. 371-409, quotation from p. 371-372.

¹⁰⁴ S. Kotzabassi, N. Petterson Ševčenko, with the collab. of Don C. Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts...*, p. 85, fig. 93.



Fig. 15. The Doubts of Joseph, illustration of stanza 6 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("Tossed inwardly by a storm of doubts..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 7^r.



Fig. 16. The Doubts of Joseph, illustration of stanza 6 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("Tossed inwardly by a storm of doubts..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 17. The Journey of the Magi to Bethlehem, illustration of stanza 8 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("The magi saw a star moving towards God..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 9^r.



Fig. 18a. The Journey of the Magi to Bethlehem, illustration of stanza 8 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("The magi saw a star moving towards God..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 18b. The return of the Magi to Babylon, illustration of stanza 10 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("The magi became heralds, bearing the message of God..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

inant figures in the composition. They appear to be riding towards the birthplace of Jesus in Bethlehem, guided by the shining star through a barren landscape. Architectural components are conspicuously absent from the scene (Fig. 18a).

The reason behind the embroiderer's decision to abandon his model at this point becomes evident when looking at the *epitrachelion* as a whole. In the new embroidered version of scene 8, the magi appear to be moving towards the Nativity scene, positioned at the same level on the opposite band of the stole. In order to achieve this effect, the embroiderer needed to change the direction of the magi's movement to the left, as seen by the viewer. Neither of the two possible miniature models, specifically the one depicting stanza 8 on f. 9^r or the one depicting stanza 10 on f. 11^r, could have met this requirement. The scenes showing the magi's journey to and from Bethlehem, which are painted on the *recto* of the manuscript folio, naturally follow a left-to-right progression. In turn, the embroiderer chose to use the scene corresponding to stanza 8 in the Princeton manuscript (Fig. 17), the one he had previously overlooked, to illustrate the 10th stanza of the hymn (*The magi became heralds, bearing the message of God...*) on the *epitrachelion* (Fig. 18b). As expected, he removed the guiding angel from the sky since it no longer belonged in the final episode of the Nativity microcycle, which depicts the return of the magi to Babylon.

Consequently, a paradoxical situation arises where the differences between the two versions of the Akathistos cycle provide evidence of the embroiderer's knowledge of the original, presumably the Princeton manuscript. The artist's improvements to the design of the *epitrachelion* can be discerned for the better if compared with the miniatures in Garrett 13. Scene 8 of the embroidered Akathistos cycle is not exceptional in this regard.

Besides the slight variations in iconography as a consequence of technical adjustments made by the artist to adapt the model for the embroidery (e.g., reducing the number of figures and simplifying the overall landscape), significant iconographic divergences in his work suggest a deliberate departure from the manuscript model. Examples are occasions on which the artist modified the iconography of several Gospel episodes that he felt were not in line with the prevailing Byzantine pictorial tradition (Figs. 19-20, 21-23, 27-28). These perceived discrepancies are primarily Western iconographic conventions Cretan artists had long since incorporated into their art. This approach can be observed in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi and the Flight into Egypt, which traditionally illustrate strophes 9 and 11 of the *Akathistos Hymn*. The

scene of the Adoration of the Magi, corresponding to stanza 9 (*The children of the Chaldaeans...*) on f. 10^r of the Princeton Garrett 13 manuscript (Fig. 19) conforms to the account in the *Protoevangelium of James* (§ 21).¹⁰⁵ The apocryphal Gospel mentions that the magi were led by the star to the cave where Jesus was born, in contrast with Matthew (Mt. 2:11), where the event is placed indoors. Byzantine artists were familiar with both iconographic depictions of the episode. The embroiderer appeared to have considered the naked figure of the newborn in his model improper, as he presents the infant instead sitting in his Mother's lap and wearing a bright himation stitched with silver thread (Fig. 20). The embroiderer thus altered the typical way for Western painters to show the infant Jesus in order to conform to the Byzantine canon. The miniature on f. 10^r of the Princeton *Akathistos* is a highly simplified version of Michael Damaskinos' renowned icon of the Adoration of the Magi (ca. 1585–1591) now housed in the collection of the Sinaitic Dependency of Saint Catherine Monastery in Heraklion (Saint Menas cathedral).¹⁰⁶ Similar to its Cretan counterpart, the miniature marks the distinct origin of each of the Oriental kings in the designs of their costumes. By contrast, the embroiderer opts for a more generalised “orientalizing” Persian dress for all three kings, conferring on the group a sense of uniformity. Both representations, the illustration in Garrett 13 and the embroidery, have retained the polymorphism resulting from the three different ages in the countenance of the three magi.¹⁰⁷ However, the miniature displays the figures on different pictorial planes, following once again an iconographic tradition originating in the Italian Renaissance, whereas the embroidery features the three magi in a straight line on the forefront of the composition, presenting their gifts to Christ, the “mighty king” mentioned in verse 8, line 4 of the hymn, who is seated on the Virgin's lap.

The representation of strophe 11 (*Shining upon Egypt the light of truth...*) is another case where the *epitachelion* and manuscript Garrett 13 diverge. Both the miniature and the embroidered version of the stanza feature the pagan deities of Egypt collapsing as Christ approaches the city gates (Figs. 21, 23). This representation captures the essence of the *Akathistos* strophe, which

¹⁰⁵ J. K. Elliott, *The Protevangelium of James*, with a commentary by P. M. Rumsey, Turnhout, 2022, p. 84-85.

¹⁰⁶ M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art...*, p. 135, fig. 138.

¹⁰⁷ Which occasionally acquired Christological significance: K. McMay, “Christ Polymorphism in Jerusalem, Taphou 14: An Examination of Text and Image,” *Apocrypha* 14, 2003, p. 177-191.



Fig. 19. The Adoration of the Magi, illustration of stanza 9 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("The children of the Chaldaeans..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 10^r.



Fig. 20. The Adoration of the Magi, illustration of stanza 9 of the *Akathistos Hymn* ("The children of the Chaldaeans..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

references the prophecy of Isaiah 19:1.¹⁰⁸ The depiction of the falling idols in Western representations of the Flight into Egypt can be ascribed to the popularity of the seventh-century *Infancy Gospel* of Pseudo-Matthew (§ 22-24).¹⁰⁹ However, the Latin apocryphon did not directly impact Eastern artists.¹¹⁰ Notably, the detail of the falling idols is only present in the Flight into Egypt within the context of the Akathistos cycle.

The overall structure of the Garrett 13 miniature (f. 12^r) recalls Emanuel Tzanes' icon of the Flight into Egypt in the Rena Andreadis Collection.¹¹¹ The swaddled newborn being carried by his Mother, accompanied by Joseph holding the donkey's harness, and the presence of palm trees symbolising Egypt's eastern *locale*¹¹² in the Princeton miniature are typical elements in Western mediaeval depictions of the episode. The same motifs are present on an eleventh-century screen slab from the church of the Holy Dominica (Sv. Nediljica) in Zadar,¹¹³ as well as on the twelfth-century bronze doors crafted by Bonanno Pisano for the cathedral in Pisa (Fig. 22).¹¹⁴ Both the humble portrayal of Christ as a child in his mother's arms and the palm tree persist

¹⁰⁸ "Behold, the Lord is riding on a swift cloud and comes to Egypt; the idols of Egypt will tremble at his presence, and the heart of the Egyptians will melt within them" (Is. 19:1).

¹⁰⁹ Chapters 22,2–24,1 recount how the Virgin Mary, upon her arrival in Egypt, entered one of the temples in the town of Sohenen. At the sight of her, the 65 idols in the temple immediately fell to the ground and broke into pieces; J. Gijsel, R. Beyers, *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, Turnhout, 1997, p. 470-481; J. K. Elliott, *A Synopsis of the Apocryphal Nativity and Infancy Narratives*, Leiden, 2006, p. 115-116.

¹¹⁰ J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of the Christ," in P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4: *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background*, London, 1975, p. 228-229.

¹¹¹ A. Drandakis, *Images de la spiritualité grecque. Icônes de la collection Rena Andreadis*, Milan, 2004, p. 70-73. On the Garrett 13 miniature, see also M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου...*, p. 68-71.

¹¹² On the representation of the landscape in the Flight into Egypt scene by Western painters, see L. Valensi, *La Fuite en Égypte. Histoires d'Orient & d'Occident*, Paris, 2002, p. 67-178. On the representation of the miracle of the leaning palm tree, see also C. F. Ives, *Picturesque Ideas on the Flight into Egypt Etched by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo*, New York, 1972.

¹¹³ The Archaeological Museum in Zadar currently houses two panels of the screen slab originating from the former church of Holy Dominica. The limestone panels display scenes from the Infancy cycle of Christ: M. Skoblar, *Figural Sculpture in Eleventh-Century Dalmatia and Croatia: Patronage, Architectural Context, History*, New York – London, 2016, p. 14, fig. 1.2.

¹¹⁴ J. White, "The Bronze Doors of Bonanus and the Development of Dramatic Narrative," *Art History* 11, n° 2, 1988, fig. 33b.

deep into the Italian Trecento.¹¹⁵ The enduring presence of the palm tree motif in representations of the Flight into Egypt by Western artists can be ascribed to an iconographic tradition that emerged in relation to the *Latin Gospel* of Pseudo-Matthew (§ 20-21).¹¹⁶ Medieval manuscripts that convey the text frequently illustrate the miracle performed by Jesus during the Holy Family's journey to Egypt.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, it is to be considered in light of early Christian apocryphal narratives concerning the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin Mary that circulated in Western Europe before the *Latin Gospel* of Pseudo-Matthew.¹¹⁸ The miracle of the palm tree remained unknown within

¹¹⁵ The palm tree appears, for example, in the scene of the Flight to Egypt depicted as part of Christ's *Infancy cycle* on the ceiling of the north transept of the Lower Church of the basilica of San Francesco in Assisi during the first and second decade of the fourteenth century: L. Belloso, "Moda e cronologia. A) Gli affreschi della Basilica inferiore di Assisi," *Prospettiva* 10 (July 1977), p. 21-31.

¹¹⁶ The so-called "miracle of the palm tree" took place during the Holy Family's journey to Egypt, when Mary found respite under a palm tree. As she looked up, she saw an abundance of fruit at the top of the tree. She longed for the fruits, but they were out of reach. Jesus then requested the tree to lower its branches and provide nourishment for Mary. In response, the palm tree gracefully leaned its branches towards the earth at Jesus' command, offering nourishment to Mary. As a reward for its obedience, Jesus returned the tree to Paradise; see J. Gijssels, R. Beyers, *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, p. 458-469; J. K. Elliott, *A Synopsis...*, p. 105, 113-116.

¹¹⁷ The miracle of the palm-tree was frequently illustrated in medieval manuscripts containing the *Gospel* of Pseudo-Matthew (for example, Schaffhausen Stadtbibliothek Gen 8, f. 20^r, from the fourteenth century: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbs/0008/20r>, accessed on 10.01.2024). The episode of the Holy Family resting on their way to Egypt has also been depicted independently. A copperplate engraving from around 1470 by Martin Schongauer portrays the Holy Family resting during their flight into Egypt, drawing inspiration from the same apocryphal narrative. Schongauer's composition depicts the Virgin under a palm tree. Its branches are lowered by angels who assist Joseph in reaching its fruits (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 29.48.1; Städel Museum, Frankfurt, Inv. No. 33709: <https://www.staedelmuseum.de/go/ds/33709d>, accessed on 10.01.2024). The popularity of the miracle of the palm tree likely accounts for the inclusion of the date-palm in the representation of the Flight into Egypt in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (mid-twelfth-century) and in the Lower chapel of the basilica of San Francesco in Assisi (see *supra*, n. 115), where a solitary tree bends awkwardly towards the Virgin Mary, as she traverses the desert on a donkey. For the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina, see E. Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects," *The Art Bulletin* 31, n° 4, 1949, p. 276, 279-280, fig. 7.

¹¹⁸ The apocryphal *Book of Mary's Repose* (*Liber Requiei Mariae*) describes the Virgin's ascension to the Mount of Olives after learning of her approaching death. Upon reaching the summit, she is met by an angel, who reminds her of a miraculous event that took place during the Holy Family's journey to Egypt. The account provides a rather detailed description of the moment when Mary and Joseph came across a date palm filled with ripe fruits, as

the artistic traditions of Byzantium. The embroiderer thus seemed to have made a deliberate choice to not use the miniature which comprised a number of elements he was unfamiliar with. Instead, he proceeded with a model that was extensively used by Eastern iconographers. A depiction of the Gospel scene resembling the one embroidered on the Walters *epitrachelion* can be seen, for example, in the Molivoklisia *parekklesion* of the Dormition of the Virgin (1536) at Karyes, on Mount Athos, as part of the Akathistos cycle painted in the naos (Fig. 24).¹¹⁹

An examination of the concluding scenes of the Akathistos cycle reveals that the embroiderer faithfully reproduced the design conveyed by his model, with only a few variations (Figs. 27, 28, 31-34). The depiction of stanza 23 (*We all sing in honour of thy Son, O Theotokos, and praise thee as a living temple...*) in Garrett 13 presents the Virgin seated on a throne under a domed canopy, praised by melodists wearing different styles of headcoverings (Fig. 29). Instead of reiterating the liturgical processions with the icon of the Mother of God¹²⁰ seen in the frescoes of the katholikon of Dečani Monastery (ca. 1350),¹²¹ in the church of Saint Demetrius at King Marko's Monastery

they journeyed through the barren landscape on their way to Egypt. On the apocryphon concerning Mary's Dormition, see S. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford, 2006, p. 32-46, 91-93. The earliest complete version of the *Book of Mary's Repose* has been preserved in Ethiopic: V. Arras, *De transitu Mariae apocrypha aethiopice*, 2 vols, Leuven, 1973; for a translation from Ethiopic into English of the chapters relating to the miracle of the palm tree, see S. Shoemaker, *The Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, Turnhout, 2023, p. 58-63; idem, *Ancient Traditions...*, p. 292-298. The Ethiopic version is generally acknowledged to be an accurate translation of the original Greek (before the fifth century), which no longer exists. In contrast, the earliest known Greek versions of the text (sixth century) do not include the passage where Mary is reminded by the angel of the miracle performed by her Son during their flight to Egypt: A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle*, Paris, 1955, p. 210-213; S. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions...*, Appendix B, p. 351-369, especially p. 354, n. 6. However, similarly to the Greek revisions of the original text, the Latin narratives begin with Mary receiving a 'palm leaf' from a celestial messenger: A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge...*, p. 245-247; cf. J. K. Elliott, *A Synopsis...*, p. 122-123 (Irish version of the apocryphon).

¹¹⁹ Very similar representations can be found in several Athonite wall-paintings, specifically within the context of the Akathistos cycle; see G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, vol. 1: *Les peintures*, Paris, 1927, pl. 146-147 (Great Lavra, trapeza, sixteenth century), pl. 238, fig. 1 (Dochiariou Monastery, katholikon, 1568).

¹²⁰ N. Patterson Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," DOP 45, 1991, p. 45-57.

¹²¹ B. Todić, M. Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani*, Belgrade, 2005, p. 363, fig. 284, p. 368, 369, fig. 288.



Fig. 21. The Flight into Egypt, illustration for stanza 11 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 12^r.

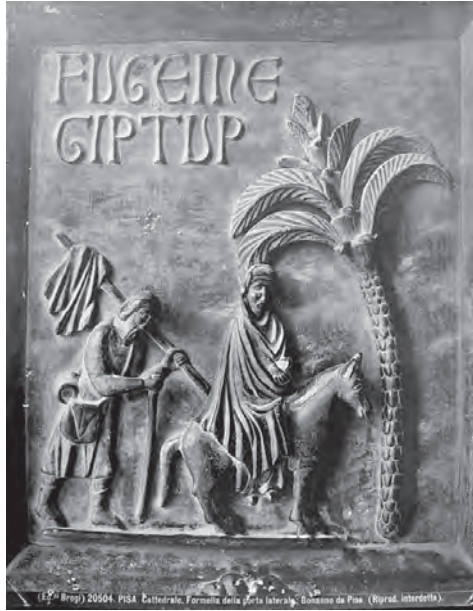


Fig. 22. Pisa Cathedral, door of San Ranieri, ca. 1185. Detail of the bronze panel depicting the Flight into Egypt. Public domain.



Fig. 23. The Flight into Egypt, illustration for stanza 11 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 24. Karyes, Mount Athos, church of Moliwoklisia. The Flight into Egypt as an illustration for stanza 11 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, nave, mural painting, before the middle of the 16th century.

(*Markov Manastir*) (1376/7)¹²² and the church of the Holy Trinity at Cozia Monastery (1390/1) in Wallachia,¹²³ the miniature of the Princeton manuscript stays close to the text of the hymn. The artist visually depicted the main metaphor of stanza 23, which draws upon Mary as a “type” of the Church.¹²⁴ The first three salutations (*chairetismoi*) of the stanza in question are concerned with the same concept, creating a stronger resonance between the image and the text. The Virgin Mary is specifically referred to in the *chairetismoi* as “Tabernacle of God and the Word” (strophe 23, salutation 1), “Greater than the Holy of Holies” (strophe 23, salutation 2) and “Ark gilded by the Spirit” (strophe 23, salutation 3).¹²⁵ Notably, the domed ciborium that frames the enthroned Theotokos and the *psaltai* positioned on each side of the throne, reappear in simplified forms on the Walters *epitrachelion* (Fig. 30).

The final strophe of the *Akathistos Hymn* (*O Mother worthy of all praise...*) follows a similar compositional arrangement. The scene on f. 24^r of the Princeton *Akathistos*, as well as its embroidered version on the Walters *epitrachelion*, replace the more elaborate rituals envisioned in well-known Byzantine cycles during the Palaeologan era¹²⁶ with a composition centered on the enthroned Virgin and Child glorified by angels. In the Princeton miniature (Fig. 31), the artist took advantage of the liberties afforded by the medium to include a greater amount of elements into the picture. Consequently, the deacon-angel on the left

¹²² In the mural painting of the church of St. Demetrios at King Marko’s Monastery in Sušica, near Skopje (1376/7), strophes 23 and 24 of the hymn are illustrated as processions that revolve around the icon of the Mother of God. Specifically, stanza 24 features the Hodegetria type, while stanza 23 features the Eleousa type: M. Tomić-Djurić, *Фреске Мерковог Манастира*, Belgrade, 2019, p. 332-337, 332, fig. 159, p. 336, fig. 161; I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, fig. 133. For similar examples in other *Akathistos* cycles, see N. Patterson Ševčenko, “Icons in the Liturgy...,” figs. 9-15.

¹²³ G. Babić, “L’iconographie constantinopolitaine de l’*Akathiste* de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie),” *ZRVI* 14–15, 1973, p. 178-179, 188-189, figs. 4, 6.

¹²⁴ On the typological interpretation of Mary as the New Temple see, for example, Fr. D. Olkinuora, “The Spiritual and Material Temple Byzantine Kanon Poetry for the Feast of the Entrance,” in Th. Arentzen, M. B. Cunningham (eds), *The Reception of the Virgin in Byzantium. Marian Narratives in Texts and Images*, Cambridge, 2019, p. 195-213; J. A. Mihoc, “The Mary-Temple Correlation in the *Protevangelium* of James,” in J. N. Bremmer, J. A. Doole, Th. R. Karmann, T. Nicklas, B. Repschinski (eds), *The Protevangelium of James*, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, 2020, p. 96-109.

¹²⁵ The church of St. Neophytos Monastery in Cyprus exhibits a comparable compositional arrangement, albeit without the inclusion of a church edifice as a symbol for Mary: A. Stylianou, J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus...*, p. 376, fig. 223.

¹²⁶ *Supra*, n. 120, 121.

side, with an *orarion* draped over his left shoulder, displays the first two lines of the concluding stanza on his open phylactery: “O Mother hymned by all, you who gave birth to the [Word], the holiest of all holies.”¹²⁷ His counterpart, whose stole is wrapped around his body and crossed on his chest, holds an open scroll inscribed with the last verse of the same stanza: “And deliver from the punishment to come all those who cry to you.”¹²⁸ The most astonishing aspect of these inscriptions is their phonetic rendition, disregarding any concern for orthography. It leaves the impression that the painter reproduced these verses from memory and that he did not turn the page to copy them from the manuscript.¹²⁹ Only two deacon-angels, each swinging censers, have been kept on the *epitrachelion* (Fig. 32), on either side of the enthroned Virgin. Notwithstanding the formal adaptations implemented by the embroiderer, the *epitrachelion* and the miniature both convey the same notion: the Church’s daily worship mirrors the unceasing adoration of the Mother of God by celestial beings.

There is, however, another unexpected component of Metrophanes’ liturgical stole which warrants additional scrutiny regarding its connection to the Garrett 13 manuscript. This is the image located at the place where the *epitrachelion* turns around the neck. Within the limited space left between the initial two scenes of the *Akathistos Hymn*, the embroiderer represented Mary seated on a throne, holding the Child in her lap (Fig. 33).¹³⁰ Her right arm rests

¹²⁷ Ω ΠΑΝΗ|ΜΝΙΤΕ| ΜΙΤΕΡ|Η ΤΕΚΟ(Υ)|CΑ ΤΟΝ|ΠΑΝΤ[ΩΝ]|ΑΓΙΟΝ (Ὡ πανύμνητε μήτηρ, ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν πάντων ἁγίων).

¹²⁸ ΚΑΙ Τ(ΕC) ΜΕ|[Λ]ΛΟΥCΙC| ΛΗΤΡΟ|CΕ ΚΟ|ΛΑCΕ|ΟC ΤΟΥC| CΙ ΒΟ|ΟΝ[ΤΑC] (καὶ τῆς μελλούσης λύτρωσαι κολάσεως τοὺς σοὶ βοῶν[τας]).

¹²⁹ Art historians have occasionally taken an interest in the level of orthographic accuracy in mural inscriptions. Painters of the Byzantine era frequently faced difficulties in differentiating between letters and combinations of letters with similar pronunciations (iotacisms), as well as deciding whether to use the letter omega or omicron when reproducing texts from memory on wall paintings. The inscribed *rotuli* held by the angels in the miniature related to stanza 24 in the Garrett 13 manuscript display both type of errors. For a comprehensive analysis of the literacy level of Byzantine painters, conducted on a group of monuments from North Macedonia and Greece, decorated in fresco in the second part of the twelfth century, see M. Panagiotidi, “Le peintre en tant que scribe des inscriptions d’un monument et la question du niveau de sa connaissance grammaticale et orthographique,” in M. Bacci (ed.), *L’artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, Pisa, 2007, p. 71-116.

¹³⁰ The portion surrounding the neck is more vulnerable to wear and tear than the rest of the stole. The replacement of this segment of an *epitrachelion* occurs quite frequently. For example, the embroidered stole commissioned by bishop Parthenios of Dryinoupolis and Argyrokastro only three years before Metrophanes’ *epitrachelion* and preserved in the treasury of the metropolis of Trikala and Stagon, underwent a repair process that replaced precisely



Fig. 25. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 15 (“The uncircumscribed Word...”), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 16’.



Fig. 26. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 15 (“The uncircumscribed Word...”), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 27. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 18 ("Wishing to save the world..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 19r.



Fig. 28. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 18 (“Wishing to save the world...”), *epitachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 29. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 23 (“As we sing in honour of your giving birth...”), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 24^r.



Fig. 30. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 23 ("As we sing in honour of your giving birth..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 31. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 24 ("O Mother hymned by all..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 25r.



Fig. 32. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 24 ("O Mother hymned by all..."), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

gently on Christ's shoulder, while her left arm is extended to make contact with his leg. The embroiderer could have conveniently joined the two initial panels depicting the Annunciation to Mary at the top of the vestment without any need for extra decoration.¹³¹ Instead, he added the figure of the Mother of God, which partially covers the corners of the first to scenes of the cycle on the collar of the *epitrachelion*. In my view, the embroiderer's decision to depict this particular image of the Virgin Mary on Metrophanes' stole was inspired by the miniature which illustrates the second *prooimion* of the *Akathistos Hymn* in the Garrett 13 manuscript. The Tree of Jesse composition on f. 1^r of the Princeton manuscript features an almost identical iconic figure of the Mother of God at its centre (Fig. 34). Precisely because the prologue of the *Akathistos Hymn* is not commonly illustrated as part of Akathistos cycles,¹³² the presence of the Virgin enthroned on the *epitrachelion* provides additional evidence that the Garrett 13 manuscript (comprising twenty-five distinct compositions) served as a model for the Walters *epitrachelion*.

There is yet another possible explanation for the embroiderer's decision to incorporate the image of the Virgin enthroned on the collar of the liturgical stole. The resemblance of the way the Virgin is depicted in the Princeton manuscript and on the *epitrachelion* to the central image of the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Fig. 35) suggests that the apsidal image of the Constantinopolitan church may have been regarded as an intercessional icon in the Ottoman capital during Metrophanes' time. The devotion to the Virgin and Child from Hagia Sophia in post-Byzantine Constantinople would have merely perpetuated a tradition that can be traced back to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. This particular veneration is attested by one of the icons of the famous calendar hexptych (a series of six panels) from the Monastery

the segment around the neck: G. Chatzouli, "À propos d'un épitrachilion...". A similar intervention is evident on the *epitrachelion* of Gabriel, the metropolitan of Chalcedon, which dates from 1661, and is presently housed in the collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul: *ibid.*, p. 168, fig. 3. Similar circumstances led to the replacement of the same portion of the *epitrachelion* with the *Akathistos Hymn* preserved in the Patriarchal sacristy in Istanbul. The excellent state of preservation shown by the Walters stole, on the other hand, suggests that the priestly vestment either did not remain in use for a very long period of time or was only worn on special occasions.

¹³¹ The *epitrachelion* of Dositheos the Hieromonk from the monastery of Stavronikita on Mount Athos serves as an illustrative example.

¹³² Only a few mural cycles and even fewer manuscript representations include it (see the discussion in the next section below).

of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, which shows five miracle-working icons of the Mother of God in the upper row. The central one (Fig. 36) is the enthroned image of the Virgin with Child labelled in Georgian minuscule script as “from the conch of Saint Sophia.” The portrait of donor Ioannes Tokhabi kneeling before the image of the Mother of God associated with the famous Constantinopolitan shrine proves that the Georgian patron perceived the apsidal representation in Saint Sophia as an authoritative intercessory icon. It seems plausible to posit that Metrophanes held a similar reverence for the image that epitomised the iconic site of Orthodox Christianity, which had been converted into a mosque decades before.¹³³

A Cretan Prototype and its Subsequent Artistic Reworkings

The illuminated Akathistos cycle of the Princeton Garrett 13 codex is not an entirely original composition either. Its model can be traced back to a pictorial tradition that emerged during the late Palaeologan period, spreading extensively on Crete before reaching Mount Athos.¹³⁴ A comparison of the full-page

¹³³ The Sinai icon (48.1 x 36.1 cm), featuring 36 scenes from the life of Christ, is part of a hexptych *Menologion* preserved in the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine. Notably, the depiction of the Mother of God identified as the image of the conch of Saint Sophia occupies the central position on the upper margin of the icon, above the Gospel episodes: Z. Skhirtladze, “The Image of the Virgin on the Sinai Hexptych and the Apse Mosaic of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople,” *DOP* 68, 2014, p. 369-386, especially p. 376-377; G. Galavaris, *An Eleventh Century Hexptych of the Saint Catherine’s Monastery at Mount Sinai*, Venice – Athens, 2009, p. 21-23, 25-43, 152-153, figs. 1, 2.

¹³⁴ The Akathistos cycle is included in the murals of refectories in Athonite monasteries such as Great Lavra (sixteenth century), Philotheou (1539/40), Stavronikita (1546), Hilandar (1621), Xenophontos (sixteenth-seventeenth century), *Hilandar* (1621), and Dochiariou (eighteenth century). For the exact place of the *Akathistos Hymn* within the iconographic programme of the Athonite refectories, see N. Toutos, G. Fouteris, *Ενρετήριο της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Όρους, 10ος–17ος αιώνας*, Athens, 2010, p. 84-93, figs. 2.5.2, n^{os} 14-38 (Great Lavra), p. 361-363, fig. 11.1.1, n^{os} 39, 45-67 (Philotheou), p. 386-387, fig. 14.2.1, n^{os} 12-16 (Stavronikita), p. 414-416, fig. 15.6.1, n^{os} 23-38 (Xenophontos), p. 193-195, fig. 5.3.1, n^{os} 26-50 (Hilandar), p. 353-356, fig. 10.3.1, n^{os} 15-38 (Dochiariou). For the underlying concepts of the iconographic programs of Athonite dining chambers, see J. J. Yiannias, “The Refectory Paintings of Mount Athos: An Interpretation,” in idem (ed.), *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall...*, p. 269-340. The *Akathistos Hymn* is also represented as part of the iconographic program of the narthex in the katholikon of the monastery of Dochiariou (1567/8: N. Toutos, G. Fouteris, *Ενρετήριο της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής...*, p. 344, fig. 10.1.5, n^{os} 181-205) and in the Molivoklisia parekklesion (1536) in Karyes. A thorough analysis of the Akathistos cycles depicted in Athonite wall paintings has not yet been conducted. Moreover,



Fig. 33. The enthroned Virgin with child, embroidery on the collar of the *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 34. The Tree of Jesse, illustration for the *prooimion* of the *Akathistos Hymn*, MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 1^r.



Fig. 35. The Mother of God enthroned, holding Christ in her lap, church of Saint Sophia, Istanbul, central apse mosaic, ninth century.



Fig. 36. The Mother of God enthroned, labelled as “of the conch of Saint Sophia”. Sinai hexptych, detail of the panel icon with Christological cycle and five miraculous images of the Virgin, Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, Egypt. Courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

miniatures accompanying Luke of Cyprus' *Akathistos Hymn* with the cycle preserved on the barrel vault of the single-nave church of Panagia Roustika on the island of Crete (Fig. 37),¹³⁵ evidences that the general outlines of stanzas 13 to 24 are roughly the same (Figs. 38, 39, 40).¹³⁶ In contrast, the first twelve miniatures of Garrett 13 exhibit considerably fewer similarities to the models utilised by Cretan artists three hundred years earlier. An explanation for this is that the iconography of the scenes that illustrate the first twelve strophes of the *Akathistos Hymn* developed independently from the Akathistos cycle. Apart from being included in the *Infancy Cycle of Christ*, some of them were also featured in the Festival cycle (*Dodecaorton*) in monumental programs and were depicted as standalone icons for the great liturgical feasts. Consequently, scenes 1 to 12 were subject to continuous revisions by the artists.

for iconographic comparisons, we continue to largely rely on the photographic evidence provided in Gabriel Millet's book, *Monuments de l'Athos*. The Athonite and the Cretan cycles exhibit common iconographic solutions for several strophes of the hymn, the most notable of which are strophes 4, 15, 16, 17 and 18: G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos...*, vol. 1, pl. 146-147 (Great Lavra, trapeza), pl. 236, figs. 1 and 2 (Dochiariou, katholikon, narthex), pl. 102, fig. 3, pl. 103, figs. 1 and 2 (Hilandar, trapeza), pl. 155, fig. 1 (Molivoklisia, naos). For the representation of strophe 15 of the *Akathistos Hymn* in Cretan wall-paintings, see I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, p. 142-143, and figs. 575, 576. For the illustration of strophe 16 of the Akathistos cycle, see *ibid.*, p. 143-144 and figs. 593, 596-598; for strophe 17, see *ibid.*, p. 144-145; fig. 34 (strophe 17, church of the Panagia, Vori, ca. 1400), figs. 605-607; for strophe 18, see *ibid.*, p. 145-147 and figs. 629, 630, figs. 15-18 (Panagia Roustika, ca. 1390-1391), figs. 51-54 (Monastery of St. Phanourios Valsamonero, Kainourgion, ca. 1430), figs. 68, 69 (Hodegetria Monastery, Kainourgion, beginning of the fourteenth century). For the Akathistos cycle at St. Pahourios Valsamonero, see also M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, A. Katsioti, M. Bormpoudaki, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της Μονής του Βαλσαμονέρου. Απόψεις και προνήματα της ύστερης βυζαντινής ζωγραφικής στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη*, Athens, 2020, p. 64, fig. 11, p. 66-67, fig. 13, p. 90-98, 153, pl. 9, p. 154, pl. 10, p. 155, pl. 11, p. 156, pl. 12, p. 171-176, pl. 27-32.

¹³⁵ I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete...*, p. 179-224, 180-181 (iconographic scheme). On the Akathistos cycle, see *ibid.*, p. 206-219; idem, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, Leiden, 2001, p. 137-141; idem, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, p. 8-18.

¹³⁶ The only exception to this rule is the scene that illustrates stanza 16 (*All the ranks of angels marvelled...*). Garrett 13 features the Mother of God enthroned among angels (M. A. Vardavaki, *Οι μικρογραφίες του Ακάθιστου...*, p. 82-87, fig. 51), while the fresco cycle at Panagia Roustika portrays Christ elevated in an eight-pointed star and adored by groups of monastics and priests. If Ioannis Spatharakis' claim regarding the Cretan painter's reversal of compositions for scenes 14 and 16 is accurate, the interpretation of stanza 16 in Garrett 13 and its corresponding fresco would still differ. This is because the scene in the 14th position in Panagia Roustika portrays Christ Emmanuel surrounded by angels instead of the Virgin Mary; I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, p. 144, figs. 14 and 16.

The compositional similarities shared by the seventeenth-century miniatures in Garrett 13 and the murals on the vault of the church at Roustika have already been pointed out by Maria Aspri Vardavaki in her study of the illuminated decoration of the Princeton Garrett 13 codex.¹³⁷ Comparatively, less attention has been given to the interpretation of certain passages of the text in the miniatures. Compared with other visual representations of the liturgical hymn the illustrations of the *Akathistos* in the Princeton manuscript incorporate supplementary visual elements into the scenes depicting stanzas 20 and 21. In these illustrations, the painter who created the miniatures demonstrated remarkable awareness of passages in the hymn that could be interpreted as allusions to the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Scene 20 of the *Akathistos* cycle typically features Christ alone, revered by groups of officiating clergy, monks and melodists.¹³⁸ Certain iconographic cycles endow this scene with a more profound ecclesiological meaning by depicting Christ seated among holy bishops and wearing the episcopal *insignia*.¹³⁹ This was how earlier iconographers interpreted the allusion to hymnody in strophe 20 of the poem: "Ὑμνος ἅπας ἡττᾶται συνεκτείνεσθαι σπεύδων | τῷ πλέθει τῶν πολλῶν οἰκτιμῶν σου· | ἱσαριθμούς γὰρ ψάλμοῦς καὶ ῥῥάς, | ἂν προσφέρωμέν σοι, βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, | οὐδὲν τελοῦμεν ἄξιον |,

¹³⁷ See above, n. 76.

¹³⁸ Officiating clergy accompanied by angels appear in the *Akathistos* cycle at King Marko's Monastery (1376/7) near Skopje (M. Tomić-Djurić, *Фреске Мерковог Манастира*, p. 325, fig. 155; I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, fig. 130), in the katholikon of the monastery of Saint Phanourios Valsamonero, near Voritza, in the region of Kainourgion, Crete, ca. 1430 (I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, fig. 56; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, A. Katsioti, M. Bormpoudaki, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες...*, p. 97, 174, pl. 30/β), and in the trapeza of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, sixteenth century (G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos...*, vol. 1, pl. 146.2). Christ enthroned is praised by bishops; holy bishops and melodists are featured in the Synodal Gr. 429 and Escorial RI 19 manuscripts (I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, figs. 168, 189). Bishops alone praise Christ in the fresco corresponding to stanza 20 in the monastery of Ferapont (*ibid.*, fig. 289). For additional examples, see *ibid.*, p. 149-150 and figs. 645-657.

¹³⁹ To the best of my knowledge, the earliest examples of Christ depicted with episcopal insignia in the *Akathistos* cycles are on the south façade of the Moldavian monastery churches of Humor (1532) and Moldovița (1537). Both fresco representations of strophe 20 feature Christ vested as archpriest and seated among nimbed hierarchs: C. Costea, "Sub semnul miresei nenuntite: despre reprezentarea *Imnului Acatist* în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea," AT 19, 2009, p. 105, fig. 39. The fragmentarily preserved mural cycle in the sanctuary of the seventeenth-century Ekatontapyliani Church of the Virgin on Paros relies on the same iconographic solution: T. C. Aliprantis, *Η εκατονταπυλιανή...*, p. 75, 252, fig. 73.



Fig. 37. Crete, church of the Panagia in Roustika, vault of the nave, eastern half, northern side (detail). Fresco cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn*, stanzas 13-21, ca. 1390–1391. Photo: O. Iacubovski.



Fig. 38. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 20 (“No hymn can recount...”). Church of the Panagia in Roustika, Crete, fresco painting, vault of the nave, ca. 1390–1391 (left). Photo: O. Iacubovschi. MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 21^r (right).



Fig. 39. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 22 (“Wishing to grant release...”). Church of the Panagia in Roustika, Crete, fresco painting, vault of the nave, ca. 1390–1391 (left). Photo: O. Iacubovschi. MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 23^r (right).



Fig. 40. *Akathistos Hymn*, illustration of stanza 24 (“O Mother hymned by all...”). Church of the Panagia in Roustika, Crete, fresco painting, vault of the nave, ca. 1390–1391 (left). Photo: O. Iacubovschi. MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 25^r (right).

ὧν δέδωκας τοῖς σοῖ βοῶσιν... (*No hymn can recount the wealth of your great compassion, for even if we offer you, O holy King, an equal number of psalms and odes, we will achieve nothing worthy of your gifts to us...*),¹⁴⁰ stanza 20, 1-5). The Princeton miniature adheres to the most common visual interpretation of the strophe by depicting Christ enthroned in a *mandorla* of light, lifted by angels and worshipped by two groups of hierarchs. However, as Maria Aspri Vardavaki has previously noted,¹⁴¹ the Garrett 13 miniature further elaborates on the recurring theme of the 20th stanza by indicating the circumstances in which the clergy engages in the act of singing hymns to glorify Christ's redemptive sacrifice. The scene depicted on folio 21^r of the Princeton *Akathistos* manuscript points to the sacrament of the Eucharist as it is performed in accordance with the traditions of the Orthodox Church. On the altar table everything needed for performing the Eucharist is present: the paten (*diskos*) containing the bread, covered with the star-cover (*asterisk*) and a red veil (*aër*) alongside the chalice containing the wine and the communion spoon,¹⁴² and a Gospel book.¹⁴³ With the addition of the altar table adorned with liturgical paraphernalia between the two groups of

¹⁴⁰ The Greek quotations in this article are based on the edition published by M. L. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary...*, p. 3-19, unless otherwise specified.

¹⁴¹ M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου...*, p. 96-99.

¹⁴² In early Christianity, the laity received the two elements of the Eucharist (the bread and the wine) separately. Since the eleventh century, the current practice emerged in Byzantine churches where priests began to distribute the Eucharist in the form of pieces of bread soaked in wine, with the aid of a spoon. However, priests continued to partake the pieces separately. On the ritual use of the spoon in the Byzantine liturgy, see R. F. Taft, "Byzantine Communion Spoons: A Review of the Evidence," *DOP* 50, 1996, p. 209-238. In the wall paintings of St. John the Theologian Church in Poganovo, Serbia (1499), the apostles themselves partake of the wine with a spoon (B. Živković, *Πογανовο. Цркежи фресака*, Belgrade – Mladenovac, 1996, p. 17) like in the wall paintings of the recently restored church of St. George in Dorohoi (Botoșani County), Romania (early sixteenth century).

¹⁴³ Byzantine apsidal programs developed both realistic depictions of the altar table (such as this one) and more allegorical ones. For examples resembling the realistic representation in the Garrett 13 miniature, see Ch. Konstantinidi, *Ο Μελισμός. Οι συλλειτουργούντες ιεράρχες και οι άγγελοι-διάκονοι μπροστά στην Αγία Τράπεζα με τα Τίμια δώρα ή τον ευχαριστιακό Χριστό*, Thessaloniki, 2008, p. 334, fig. 35 (Panagia Chrysafitissa, Monemvasia, apse), p. 470, fig. 259 (Agia Triada, Rethymnon, Crete), p. 469, figs. 257 and 356 (Panagia Meronas, Crete, prothesis). Regarding the various dating hypotheses, see I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, p. 18, nt. 2. For examples with the allegorical representation of the Christ child on the paten, see *ibid.*, p. 367, figs. 102-103 (St. Nikita, Čučer, North Macedonia), p. 393, fig. 148 (katholikon of Dečani Monastery), p. 377, figs 118-119 (*katholikon* of Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos, prothesis and altar apse).

hierarchs in prayer towards Christ (Fig. 41), the concluding statement of the strophe, οὐδὲν τελοῦμεν ἄξιον, ὧν δέδωκας (*we will achieve nothing worthy of your gifts to us*), is likewise given a more concrete connotation, presenting the reader with a familiar imagery related to the celebration of the liturgy. The iconographic scheme employed on the Walters *epitrachelion* scene corresponding to stanza 20 is essentially similar to that of the Princeton miniature, with a notable exception: the central altar table has been omitted. In this case, the revision of the original design was likely dictated by the format of the embroidered panel (Fig. 42).

Scene 21 reveals more clearly that the artist who created the composition for this stanza actively engaged with the text of the hymn (Figs. 43, 44). The illustration on f. 22^r of the manuscript focusses on the figure of the Mother of God. The introductory verse of stanza 21 extols her as follows: Φωτοδόχον λαμπάδα τοῖς ἐν σκότει φανεῖσαν | ὁρῶμεν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον· | τὸ γὰρ ἄϋλον ἅπτουσα φῶς | ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς γνῶσιν Θεῖκὲν ἅπαντας, αὐγῇ τὸν νοῦν φωτίζουσα... (*We see the holy Virgin as a torch full of light, shining upon those in darkness. For by kindling the immaterial light, she guides all to divine knowledge, illuminating the mind with brilliance...*; stanza 21, 1-5). The miniature effectively captures the double meaning of the main metaphor of the text within a single image. On top of the eight-pointed star projected over a mandorla that casts a blue light around Mary, a red flame directly above her head serves as a visual representation of the burning “torch” stated in the initial line of the *stanza*. At the same time, the Virgin is portrayed as the “lampstand of the light that never wanes” (λαμπτήρ τοῦ ἀδύτου φέγγους; stanza 21, salutation 2), that is, as the receptacle that supports Christ, who is the “immaterial light” (ἄυλος φῶς) according to the first line of the strophe. The double source of the spiritual light indicated in this strophe is similarly visualised in the murals of the Pantocrator Church at Dečani Monastery (ca. 1350) and Marko’s Monastery (1376/7).¹⁴⁴ In both examples, a flame

¹⁴⁴ In the church of St. Demetrius at King Mark’s Monastery (*Markov Manastir*), the scene can be seen inside the sanctuary, on the north wall adjacent to the prothesis apse. One notable element is that the Virgin is flanked by the twelve apostles, with Peter and Paul prominently featured in the foreground. The apostles are portrayed as the initial recipients of the spiritual light that descended into the world at Christ’s birth. On the iconography of stanza 21 in the church of St. Demetrius at Marko’s Monastery, see M. Tomić-Djurić, *Фреске Мерковог Манастира...*, p. 328-331, 329, fig. 157, and 528-529, fig. 5 (n° 284). See also A. Pätzold,

hoovering over Mary's head, as she cradles the Child in her arms, illuminates the two groups of male figures depicted in the darkness of the cave.¹⁴⁵

The Princeton miniature elaborates an early prototype that can be traced back to the Panagia Roustika cycle on Crete, with close parallels in the Synodal Gr. 429 *Akathistos*,¹⁴⁶ which dates from the later part of the fourteenth century, and to the frescoes completed around the same period in the church of the Mother of God Peribleptos in Ohrid.¹⁴⁷ However, the conspicuous two-handled vessel that functions as a receptacle for Mother and Child sets the Garrett 13 redaction apart from all other known visual representations of the same stanza. Despite its composite appearance, the amphora-like object depicted in the Princeton miniature suggests a Byzantine communion chalice rather than a candlestick. This suggestion is motivated by the way the perspective of the cup was altered, obviously meant to highlight its precious content, depicted in a deep crimson colour. The vessel is thus clearly distinguished from a simple candle holder.¹⁴⁸ The 10th salutation

Der Akathistos-Hymnos..., p. 163, fig. 26 (n° 25); I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, fig. 131, with commentary on p. 150-151.

¹⁴⁵ This image type differs in its emphasis compared with portrayals of the Virgin Mary holding a torch with a flame which reveals Christ's image, such as the icon of the Dormition with *Akathistos* scenes on Skopelos island (I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, fig. 251) and from the representation of the Theotokos *orans* standing alone for the metaphor of the "torch" in the church of the Ascension of the Virgin at the monastery of Matejče (ca. 1356-1360): E. Dimitrova, "Циклусот на Богородичниот Акатист во црквата Света Богородица – Матејче," *Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет* 49, 1996, p. 285, fig. 6, p. 293-294; I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, pl. 108.

¹⁴⁶ On the illuminated *Akathistos* in the Moscow Synodal Gr. 429, a manuscript created in the renowned scriptorium of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, see V. D. Likhatcheva, "The Illumination of the Greek Manuscript of the *Akathistos Hymn* (Moscow State Historical Museum, Synodal Gr. 429)," *DOP* 26, 1972, p. 253-262; G. M. Prochorov, "A Codicological Analysis of the Illuminated *Akathistos* to the Virgin," *DOP* 26, 1972, p. 239-252; E. N. Dobrynina, "The Akathistos Hymn." See also G. Gediminskaitė's contribution, "Manufacturing Illuminated *Akathistos* Manuscripts..."

¹⁴⁷ C. Grozdanov, "Илустрацијата на химните на акатистот на Богородица во црквата Богородица Периблепта во Охрид," in *Живописот на Охридската архиепископија*, Skopje, 2007, p. 196-197, p. 214. See also the comparative plate compiled by I. Spatharakis, which includes, among other examples, the scenes from Panagia Roustika (fig. 658), Synodal Gr. 429 (fig. 660) and the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (fig. 670), in I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, figs. 658-672.

¹⁴⁸ Large chalices with handles on either side of the cup to facilitate holding it are attested in the fifth – seventh centuries: A. Demandt, "Der Kelch von Ardabur und Anthusa," *DOP* 40, 1986, p. 113-117. Smaller chalices of a similar shape can be seen in the scene of the communion of

of the strophe, which refers to the Virgin as κρατήρ κινρῶν ἀγαλλίασιν (*bowl wherein is mixed the wine of mighty joy*), may have stimulated the artist's imagination. The impact of the *chairetismoι* on the representation of the 21st strophe is similarly evident on the Akathistos *epitrachelion* from the collection of Stavronikita Monastery on Mount Athos, where a four-armed candelabra visualising the “many-beamed lantern” (τὸν πολύφωτον ἀνατέλλεις φωτισμόν; strophe 21, salutation 5) holds the Mother and Child represented at its centre as the fifth burning torch.¹⁴⁹

The depiction of the infant Christ wrapped in swaddling clothes in the miniature that illustrates strophe 21 in Garrett 13 adds a subtle yet eloquent element to the overall tableau, enhancing its sacramental character. The portrayal of Jesus as a newborn in his Mother's arms serves as a powerful reminder of the Nativity scene, which stands for the 7th strophe of the hymn, at the beginning of the manuscript. That strophe describes Christ as a “lamb without spot, pastured in Mary's womb” (ὡς ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ Μαρίας βοσκηθέντα; stanza 7, verses 4-5). The passage makes a clear reference to the prayers of the preparatory rite during which a piece of bread representing Christ's eucharistic body is cut from the *prospophora*.¹⁵⁰ This portion of the bread, which will later be consecrated and prepared for communion, is referred to as the “Lamb of God.”¹⁵¹ Ultimately, the visual

the Apostles depicted in the fourteenth-century murals of the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričane and the *katholikon* of Dečani Monastery: M. Lee Coulson, “Old Wine in New Pitchers. Some Thoughts on Depictions of the Chalice in the Communion of the Apostles,” in M. A. Vardavaki (ed.), *ΛΑΜΠΗΛΩΝ. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη*, vol. 1, Athens, 2003, p. 149, 151-153. Coulson has also suggested that this type of vessel imitates the shape of a wine container (*stamnōs*). For the shape, decoration, material and function of the chalice in the Byzantine rite, see B. Pitarakis, “La vaiselle eucharistique dans les Églises d'Orient,” in N. Bériou, B. Caseau, D. Rigaux (eds), *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, vol. 1, Paris, 2009, p. 318-324.

¹⁴⁹ Chr. Patrinelis, A. Karakatsanis, M. Theocharis (eds), *Μονὴ Σταυρονικήτα...*, p. 155 and fig. 79.

¹⁵⁰ While extracting Christ's body from the *prospophora*, the priest utters the following words: Καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ (*And as a lamb without spot before the shearer is dumb, so he opens not his mouth*); see Ch. E. Hammond, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western...*, p. 356; *The Orthodox Liturgy being the Divine Liturgies of S. John Chrysostom and S. Basil the Great and the Divine Office of the Presanctified Gifts together with the Ordering of the Holy and Divine Liturgy, the Office of Preparation for the Holy Communion, the Prayers of Thanksgiving after the Holy Communion*, London – New York, 1982, p. 23.

¹⁵¹ After the portion of the “Lamb” is taken out of the *prospophora*, the priest makes a crosse-shaped incision on this fragment of bread. As he does so, he recites a phrase that quotes John 1:29,



Fig. 41. *Akathistos Hymn*, stanza 20 ("No hymn can recount..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 21r.



Fig. 42. *Akathistos Hymn*, stanza 20 (“No hymn can recount...”), *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 43. The Virgin as “a torch full of light” holding the infant Christ. Illustration of stanza 21 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 22^r.

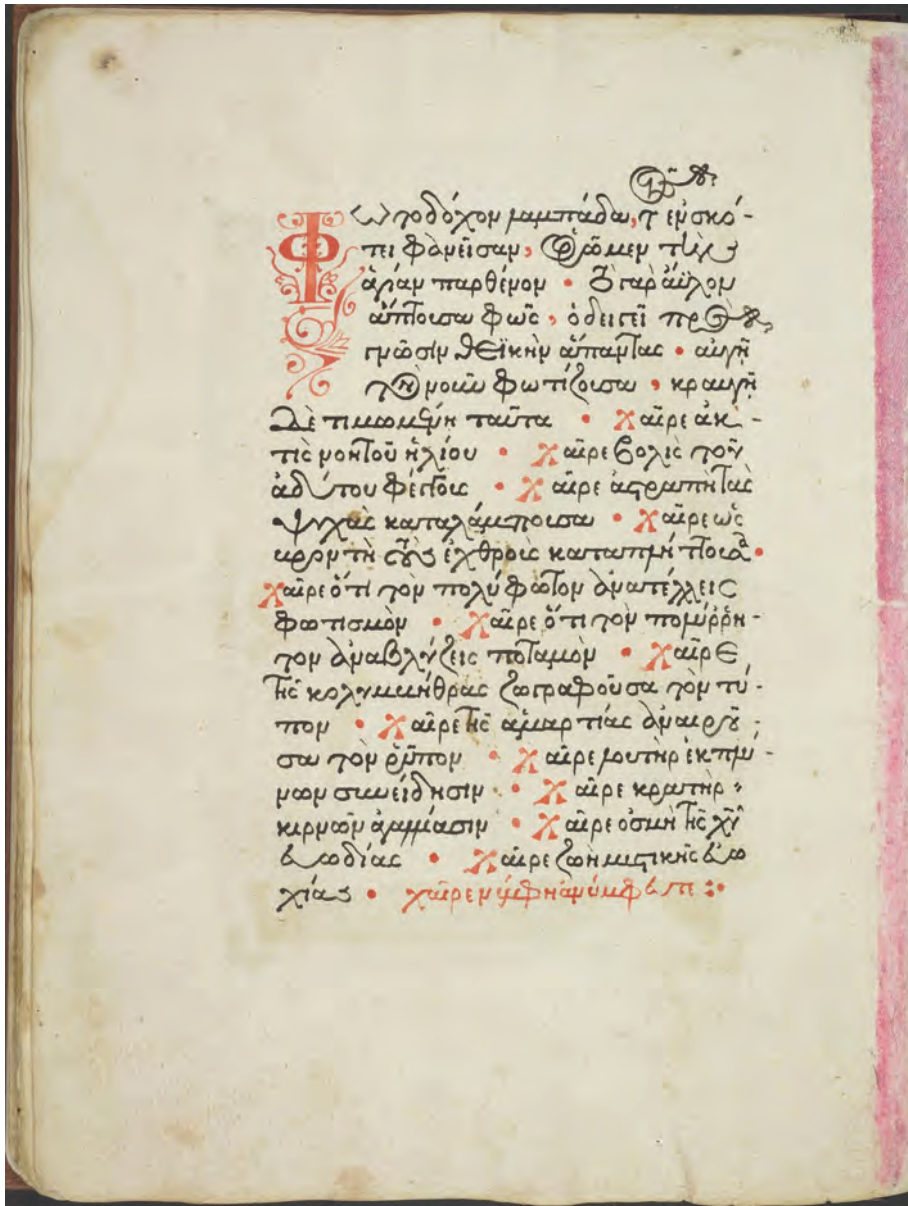


Fig. 44. Akathistos Hymn, stanza 21 ("We see the holy Virgin as a torch full of light..."), MS Garrett 13, Princeton University Library, f. 22v.

bridge established by the illuminator of Garrett 13 between strophe 7 and strophe 21 of the *Akathistos Hymn* invites both theologically trained viewers and regular church attendees to engage in contemplation over the sacrificial mission of the newborn cradled in Mary's arms.

It is not surprising that manuscript illuminators were naturally more inclined to innovate than painters responsible for large-scale monumental programs. Illuminated manuscripts have traditionally served as a more appropriate medium for artists to visually interact with liturgical, theological or hymnographic texts. Unlike fresco painters who worked in teams, illuminators enjoyed the freedom of working individually. In most instances, miniature painters had full access to the text they were illustrating and even worked together with copyists.¹⁵² In contrast, fresco painters only engaged with the textual excerpts they reproduced on the wall paintings. These fragments of biblical, liturgical or hymnographic texts were incorporated alongside the iconographic material into their model books.¹⁵³

In the case of the Garrett 13 *Akathistos* which features miniatures and stanzas on distinct pages, it is difficult to assess whether the main text was written before the illuminations were added or if the images were created first and then the scribe added the text of the hymn on the verso of each page.

The artist responsible for the miniatures of the Princeton *Akathistos* employed either an illuminated manuscript or a set of drawings as a model. It seems reasonable to posit that his model included an iconographic prototype

"The Lamb of God, which is taketh away the sin of the world is sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world": *The Orthodox Liturgy*..., p. 24; cf. Ch. E. Hammond, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*..., p. 357.

¹⁵² Regarding the illustration process of the *Akathistos Hymn* in Synodal Gr. 429, see the contribution of Gouda Gediminskaitė in the present volume.

¹⁵³ A painter's sketchbook from the late eighteenth century currently preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy (BAR MSS 4602 and 5307) illustrates this practice in relation to the *Akathistos Hymn*. The sketchbook has been preserved in two parts and consists of drawings for fresco and icon painting created by the renowned Wallachian church painter Radu Zugravu (ca. 1740–1802), as well as other artists during the nineteenth century. BAR MS 4602, f. 68^r, 68^v, 105^{r-v}, contain scenes that illustrate the second section of the *Akathistos Hymn* to the Mother of God. Notably, each scene is accompanied by the initial lines of its corresponding stanza, which have been inscribed within the frame of the composition, in Romanian in the Cyrillic alphabet; see G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Radu Zugravu. Caiete de modele. Ediție facsimilată după manuscrisele românești 4602 și 5307 ale Bibliotecii Academiei Române*, Bucharest, 2018; T. Voinescu, *Radu Zugravu*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 47, 55.

for the initial stanza (*prooimion*) of the *Akathistos* accompanied by the initial verses of the strophe. The artist faithfully reproduced this text from his visual source, rather than from the complete version of the hymn copied by the scribe of the text in Garrett 13. This is suggested by inconsistencies between the opening line of the *prooimion* that is inscribed above the miniature depicting the Mother of God as part of the Tree of Jesse composition (f. 1^r), and the matching verse in the complete rendition of the *stanza*. Except for this discrepancy, which will be discussed below, all the passages which have been transcribed in capital letters above the corresponding miniatures match the version of the text copied by the scribe on the reverse side of the manuscript page.

The excerpts accompanying the miniatures seem to have been transcribed by two different hands after the paintings were completed. The first two verses of every strophe have been transcribed above the first twelve miniatures, namely from the *prooimion* (f. 1^r) to the Flight into Egypt (f. 12^r). Most of the time, the scribe failed to accurately estimate the required space for the desired quotation and began transcribing the text too close to the upper limit of the miniature, or using too large letters. In the case of longer verses, he made visible efforts to compress the words in the allocated area, often by shrinking the size of the letters (f. 12^r, 19^r). However, when extra space resulted from the lower word count of the initial section of a strophe or a better spacing between the first line of the text and the illustration (f. 5^r, 9^r), he chose not to add another verse to fill it. Instead, he maintained the established convention of a minimum of two verses per strophe. It seems that a different hand copied the lines above the Presentation of Christ to the Temple (f. 13^r) and the following two miniatures (f. 14^r, 15^r). The second scribe displays a lack of care and precision in his work. He frequently truncates phrases, which end with incomplete words. From f. 16^r, the first copyist returned and continued to the very end following the initial model.

The representation of the second *prooimion*¹⁵⁴ of the *Akathistos Hymn*, Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ, is typically omitted by artists. There was no consensus

¹⁵⁴ The *Akathistos Hymn to the Virgin* was accompanied by different introductory strophes, as it moved from the fixed to the movable liturgical cycle, ultimately settling on the fifth Saturday of Lent. Its initial *prooimion*, Τὸ προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς, reflects to the central theme of the hymn, which is the Incarnation; see C. A. Trypanis, "The Akathistos Hymn," in idem, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, Vienna, 1968, p. 20-21, 29. It is unclear when exactly the verses that extol the Virgin as a defender of the capital city and as an ally in battle were

on the depiction of the prologue in the manuscript tradition. Only two illuminated manuscripts of the *Akathistos Hymn* from the Byzantine period provide visual representations of the introductory strophe of the hymn: Synodal Gr. 429 and the Escorial RI 19 *Akathistos*.¹⁵⁵ The selection of a suitable

added to the twenty-four stanzas, thereby converting the *Akathistos to the Virgin* into a song of thanksgiving for military victory: *ibid.*, p. 21. According to L. M. Peltomaa, "Role of the Virgin Mary at the Siege of Constantinople in 626," *Scrinium* 5, n° 1, 2009, p. 284-299, the composition of the second *prooimion* can be traced back to the period shortly after the first major victory achieved by the Byzantines against the Sassanid Persians and Avars in 626.

¹⁵⁵ In the context of wall paintings, the incorporation of an additional scene at the very beginning of the cycle would have substantially diminished the intended impact of the Annunciation sequence, which gradually immerses the viewer into the narrative, while echoing the hymn's refrain, "Hail, bride unwedded!" with each of Gabriel's salutations. The same reasoning does not, however, extend to illuminated manuscripts of the *Akathistos Hymn*. This is evident in the Synodal Gr. 429 manuscript of the Moscow Synodal Library created in the scriptorium of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, and its fifteenth-century copy housed at the Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial (Escorial RI 19). Both illuminated versions of the hymn feature an icon depicting the Mother of God seated on a bench, with her arms elevated in prayer, as an illustration to the *prooimion* found on the same page. On the illustration of the *prooimion* of the *Akathistos Hymn*, see J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la première partie de l'Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l'Enfance de la Kariye Djami," *Byzantion* 54, 1984, p. 663-671. For a reproduction of the miniature in the Escorial RI 19, see eadem, "Nouvelles remarques sur l'illustration du *prooimion* de l'Hymne Akathiste," *Byzantion* 61, 2, 1991, p. 448-457, plate X, fig. 23. On Escorial RI 19, see E. Dobrynina, "The Akathistos Hymn," p. 332-347. The portrayal of the Virgin *orans* alone, seated on a bench, can also be seen in an illuminated icon on folio 34^r of the pocket-sized Sinait. gr. 2123. The parchment manuscript preserved at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai contains the New Testament and the Psalter, copied in 1242, and was later enriched by several miniatures, including the portraits of Byzantine emperors Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282) and John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448). The icon of the Virgin was most likely added during the fifteenth century (I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976, p. 51-53), so contemporaneous to its counterpart in the Escorial RI 19. This particular iconographic type of the seated orant Virgin thus seems to have been popular among Byzantine devotees in the fifteenth century. Another notable representation of the *prooimion* of the *Akathistos Hymn* appears on the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century icon of the Mother of God "Pochvala Bogomateri," surrounded by scenes of the *Akathistos Hymn* from the cathedral of the Dormition of the Virgin (*Uspenskij Sobor*) in the Moscow Kremlin. In this particular case, the composition associated with the triumphant *troparion* is positioned towards the conclusion of the Akathistos cycle, on the lower margin of the icon, in relation to the hymn's last strophe ("O Mother hymned by all..."). The concluding scene of the Kremlin *Akathistos* is believed to depict the Tuesday procession with the Hodegetria icon, as described by Russian pilgrims in Constantinople during the fourteenth century; see N. Patterson Ševčenko, "Servants of the Holy Icon," in C. Moss, K. Kiefer (eds), *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art Historical. Studies in Honor of Kurt*

visual representation to accompany the prayer articulated in the introductory strophe of the *Akathistos Hymn* would have entailed a collaborative endeavour between the illuminator and commissioner of the manuscript. It was only in the context of the Muscovite artistic production of the late sixteenth century that the introductory troparion of the *Akathistos Hymn* achieved a standardized iconographic formula. The dominant image of the *prooimion* in Russian art is exemplified by the manuscript of the *Akathistos Hymn* presented by the Russian court poet Karion Istomin to tsarina Paraskovja Fjodorovna in 1695. This illuminated manuscript copy of the hymn depicts the miraculous deliverance of Constantinople from the siege by the Rus'

Weitzmann, Princeton – New York, 1995. Thus, it has been hypothesized that the *prooimion*, which shows the Hodegetria being elevated on a pedestal and transported in a procession illustrates the transfer of the miraculous icon to Constantinople; see E. B. Gromova, "An Encomion of Our Lady with the *Akathistos* from the Circle of Theophanes the Greek: an Iconographic Program as a Reflection of Russian Historical Events at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century," in I. Ševčenko, G. G. Litavrin, W. K. Hanak (eds), *Acts, XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Selected Papers, Main and Communications*, "Moscow 1991, vol. 1: History, Shepherdstown, 1996, p. 94-102; eadem, *История русской иконографии Акафиста...*, p. 109, fig. 3 and 26. The iconographic formula employed for the introductory strophe of the *Akathistos* on the Kremlin icon did not establish a tradition, although it was occasionally replicated. An example of this can be seen on the sixteenth-century Muscovite icon of the Hermitage Museum (Inv. No. ERI-971). This icon depicts a shortened cycle of the hymn surrounding the central icon of the Virgin, praised by prophets. The *prooimion* is depicted at the beginning of the cycle, on the upper margin of the icon, in the first position: Y. Piatnitsky, O. Baddeley, E. Brunner, M. Mundell Mango (eds), *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia...*, n° R27. Contrary to the argument expressed by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la première partie...", p. 666-671, it is debatable whether the portrayal of the *Siege of Constantinople* in the exterior murals of several post-Byzantine Moldavian churches was intended as an illustration of its *prooimion*. The Moldavian wall-paintings do not include the beginning of the introductory stanza of the *Akathistos Hymn* as a title, thus preventing such an interpretation. Moreover, the scene of the *Siege* is depicted with much greater detail than any of the scenes that compose the *Akathistos* cycle, presenting a distinct visual narrative that remains separate from the visual message conveyed by the Marian hymn. Rather, the depiction of the *Siege of Constantinople* on Moldovan churches is informed by a broader spectrum of sources, especially homiletical readings included in the *Triodion* and recommended by the *typica* for the Saturday of the *Akathistos* on the fifth week of Lent: C. Ciobanu, *Stihia profeticului. Sursele literare ale imaginii "Asediul Constantinopolului" și ale "profețiilor" Întelepților Antichității din pictura murală medievală moldavă*, Chișinău, 2007; A. I. Sullivan, "Visions of Byzantium: The Siege of Constantinople in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia," *The Art Bulletin* 99, n° 4, 2017, p. 31-68; K. Ivanova, I. Biliarsky, "Le récit des sièges de Constantinople et sa traduction slave chez les peuples orthodoxes des Balkans," OCP 88, n° 2, 2022, p. 425-502.

Khaganate in 860 next to the introductory *stanza* of the *Akathistos*. The miniature shows patriarch Photius outside the city walls, lifting the Virgin's *maphorion* from the sea, while the divine defender of the Byzantine capital appears in the clouds above the city sending thunder and hail at the enemy's cavalry.¹⁵⁶

The composition of the Tree of Jesse, which illustrates the *prooimion* of the *Akathistos Hymn* (f. 1^r)¹⁵⁷ in Garrett 13, depicts the enthroned Virgin holding the Child at the top of the tree. The branches of the tree uphold twelve busts of prophets with no forebears included.¹⁵⁸ Each prophet holds an unfolded scroll with only his name written on it. The Tree of Jesse is essentially the visualisation of a Christological prophecy.¹⁵⁹ It depicts Christ's genealogical

¹⁵⁶ I would like to thank my colleague Dr. Mihail-George Hâncu for directing my attention to this illuminated text of the *Akathistos Hymn*: Russia, St. Petersburg, RNB, OP F.I.142. See E. P. Salikova, "Сложение иконографии иллюстрации кондака 'Взбранной воеводе' в древнерусской живописи," in *Материалы и исследования*, vol. 11: *Русская художественная культура XV–XVI веков*, Moscow, 1998, p. 59. This iconographic formula was already achieved in the later part of the sixteenth century, as attested by the depiction in a fresco from the Cathedral of Our Lady of Smolensk in Moscow, made between 1526 and 1530. By the seventeenth century, the practice of representing the siege of 860 (A. V. Tchernetsov, "Древнейшие события русской истории на миниатюрах XVI века," *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 44, 1990, p. 421–432) for the *prooimion* had become widespread in the Muscovite milieu (E. P. Salikova, "Храмовая икона Благовещенского собора и иконография Акафиста Богоматери в московской живописи первой половины XVII века," in *Благовещенский собор Московского Кремля: Материалы и исследования*, Moscow, 1999, p. 264–279, with high-quality reproductions). For further examples, see T. Borisova, "Poetic Text and its Iconographic Interpretation: the *Akathistos Hymn* in the Russian and Cretan Religious Art," *Journal of Visual Theology* 1, 2020, p. 100–113.

¹⁵⁷ M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου*..., p. 24.

¹⁵⁸ The icon of the Tree of Jesse (60 x 46 cm) preserved at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (no. 1582) shows a similar change in focus from Christ's royal lineage to his divine birth from the Virgin Mary. The transition is achieved by removing Christ's royal ancestors from the image, in order to bring the prophets of the Incarnation to the fore. Eventually, this causes the Tree of Jesse to become entangled with the iconography of *The prophets from on high*..., much like the Princeton miniature. The seventeenth-century icon is the creation of a Cretan painter: M. Borboudakis, *Εικόνες της κρητικής τέχνης (Από τον Χάνδακα ως την Μόσχα και την Αγία Πετρούπολη)*, Herakleion, 1993, p. 443–444 (n° 90), fig. 90.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example the interpretation of Matthew 1 in light of Isaiah 11:1–10 in John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* (homilia 4): Εἰ τοῦτο ἦν, οὐδὲν ἔχει κοινὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἀλλ' ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν ἐκεῖνη ἡ σὰρξ, οὐ τοῦ φυράματος τοῦ ἡμετέρου. Πῶς οὖν ἐκ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσοῦ; πῶς δὲ ῥάβδος; πῶς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου; πῶς δὲ μήτηρ ἡ Μαριάμ; Εἰ πῶς ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ (PG 57, col. 43), "If this were so, He would have nothing in common with us, but that flesh

descent from the bloodline of King David and his father Jesse, as foretold in the prophecy of Isaiah 11:1-10 (*There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots...*; Is. 11:1) and reaffirmed in the opening verses of Matthew's *Gospel* (Mt. 1:1-17). From the early thirteenth century onwards, Byzantine artists visualised Christ's genealogical tree in elaborate mural compositions. These encompassed depictions of biblical events from before and after the birth of Christ in addition to individual portraits of prophets and ancestors. In the pictorial traditions of the geographical area that was under Byzantine influence, Christ was consistently depicted alone on top of the tree, with the Virgin Mary positioned below or even omitted from the composition.¹⁶⁰ This iconographic pattern can also be seen in a number of Armenian Gospel manuscripts that use an abridged version of the composition as an introductory illustration to Matthew's text.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, a Marian interpretation of the Tree of Jesse was suggested in the fourteenth century murals of the Holy Apostles Church in Thessaloniki by placing a representation of the Tree of Jesse in the proximity of themes which have a history of being interpreted as Marian prophecies, such as Jacob's Ladder, Gideon's Fleece, the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant.¹⁶² The depiction of the Tree of Jesse alongside the illustration of a second canon of John of Damascus on the Dormition of the Mother of God and Jacob's Ladder in the outer narthex of

would be of some other kind, and not of the mass which belongs to us. How then [was he] of the root of Jesse? How [was he] a rod? How Son of man? How [was] Mary [his] mother? By what means [was he] of David's seed? Cf. John Chrysostom, *Homilies in the Gospel of Matthew. Part I: Homilies 1-25*, trans. by G. Prevost, Piscataway NJ, 2011² (1843¹), p. 49.

¹⁶⁰ V. Milanović, "Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting of Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Contribution to the Research of the Theme," *Zograf* 20, 1989, p. 48-59, figs. 3 and 4. The large painting of the Tree of Jesse in the southern aisle of the ambulatory of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki shows Christ standing on top of a long line of forefathers. The Virgin Mary is conspicuously absent from the genealogical tree: E. N. Tsigaridas, K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Η ζωγραφική των Αγίων Αποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης. The Painting of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike*, Athens, 2023, p. 342-347, figs. 183-188.

¹⁶¹ I will give three examples here: (1) *Tetraevangelion* no. 2568, f. 14^r, thirteenth century, preserved in the Jerusalem Patriarchate, where it is included as a marginal miniature accompanying the beginning of the first chapter of Matthew; (2) the Matenadaran *Gospel* no. 7651, f. 10^r, from the thirteenth century; (3) *Tetraevangelion* no. 278 at the Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, f. 5^r, from the thirteenth century. All three are discussed by T. Velmans, "L'arbre de Jessé en Orient chrétien," *ΔΧΑΕ* 26, 2005, p. 129-131.

¹⁶² M. D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *DOP* 34-35, 1980-1981, p. 165-174; E. N. Tsigaridas, K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Η ζωγραφική των Αγίων Αποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης...*, p. 49, pl. 1 (n° 146, 148, 152, 153), 150-155, 338-340, figs. 177-181.

the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška (*Our Lady of Ljeviš*) in Prizren in the first decade of the fourteenth century had a similar impact.¹⁶³ However, before the sixteenth century there were only a few depictions that positioned the Virgin holding the Child on top of the tree in Eastern representations of the subject.¹⁶⁴

In the sixteenth century, Cretan artists revised the iconography of the Tree of Jesse to emphasize Mary's role in the Incarnation. This transformation was undoubtedly influenced by the Western artistic tradition, which had long preferred this iconographic formula. The iconography of the Jesse Tree, with its emphasis on Mary, was further reinforced by the Christian exegesis of Isaiah 11 and Matthew 1.¹⁶⁵ Emmanuel Tzanes,¹⁶⁶ the Cretan

¹⁶³ D. Panić, G. Babić, *Богородица Лјевишка*, Belgrade, 2007, p. 139, fig. 30.

¹⁶⁴ One is featured in the early thirteenth-century illuminated Mytilene Gospel book (Lesbos, Mytilene Boys Gymnasium, Cod. 9), f. 8^v. Vocotopoulos has argued that it was created in Asia Minor: P. L. Vocotopoulos, "L'Évangile illustré de Mytilène," in V. Korać (ed.), *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200: à l'occasion de la célébration de 800 ans du monastère de Studenica et du centième anniversaire de l'Académie Serbe des sciences et des arts, septembre 1986*, Belgrade, 1988, p. 377-383. On the miniature with the Tree of Jesse as illustration to the genealogy of Matthew's Gospel, see *ibid.*, p. 380, fig. 6; A. Weyl Carr, "A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century," *DOP* 35, 1982, p. 50, nt. 16. The other two examples are preserved within monumental paintings. One example can be seen in the north porch of the church of St. Sophia in Trebizond, dating back from ca. 1260–1270. The south façade of the church of Mavriotissa in Kastoria, features a similar representation, which can be traced back to the mid-thirteenth century: N. Moutsopoulos, *Καστοριά. Παναγία Μανιώτισσα*, Athens, 1967, p. 73, n° 47, figs. 35-37.

¹⁶⁵ Late antique and mediaeval authors of the Eastern Church repeatedly affirmed the descentance of the Virgin Mary from the Old Testament kings. Epiphanius of Cyprus (310–403), *Homilia in laudes Mariae deiparae / De laudibus sanctae Mariae Dieparae, oratio*: Ἐκ τῆς ρίζης δὲ Ἰεσσαὶ Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Δαβὶδ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡ ἁγία Παρθένος (PG 43, col. 488C), "And from the root of Jesse [sprang] David the king, and from the tribe of David the king, the holy Virgin"; Theodore the Studite (759–826), *Laudatio in Dormitionem sanctae Dominae nostrae Dieparae*: ἡ ἡμῖν ἡ Χριστοανθῆς ρίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἡ ἱερόβλαστος ῥάβδος τοῦ Ἀαρών, "The root of Jesse who bore the flower of Christ, the sacred rod of Aaron with its sacred bud" (PG 99, col. 721C); Andrew of Crete (ca. 660–740), *Oratio II. In Natalem diem sanctissimae Dominae nostrae Deiparae. Ostenditur quod ex semine Davidis deducitur*, "On the Nativity of Our Supremely Holy Lady, the Theotokos, with proof that she descends from the seed of David" (PG 97, col. 820D–844B; for the English version, see M. B. Cunningham, *Wider than Heaven: Eighth-Century Homilies on the Mother of God*, Crestwood – New York, 2008, p. 85-105).

¹⁶⁶ In 1644, Emmanuel Tzanes produced a unique painting featuring the Virgin Mary accompanied by her parents Joachim and Ana, with the Tree of Jesse prominently present as a pedestal for the child: I. Leontakianakou, "L'arbre de Jessé avec la Vierge et ses parents: création et contenu dogmatique d'une icône d'Emmanuel Tzanès à l'Institut hellénique de

painter Victor¹⁶⁷ and Theodore Poulakis¹⁶⁸ engaged with the theme of the genealogy of Christ in their icons offering compelling visual interpretations of it. Cretan icons adapted the compositional scheme of the Tree of Jesse by deliberately omitting depictions of Old Testament prophecies and scenes pertaining to Christ's earthly life, which were characteristic of large monumental versions of the theme. Instead, the image narrowly focused on the representation of the Virgin Mary accompanied by ancestors and pairs of prophets holding Marian symbols or scrolls with texts of their prophetic visions. The depiction of the Tree of Jesse in Garrett 13 complies with this later development of the theme in the works of Cretan artists, where the image acquired the function of a Marian symbol.

Thus, the choice to place the image of the Virgin from the root of David and Jesse at the beginning of *Akathistos* in Garrett 13, illustrating the prayer that serves as the *prooimion* Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ, would have been motivated by its immense appeal to icon painters, their patrons, and the wider Christian audience of that era. The Mother of God of the Tree of Jesse type was represented on portable icons as well as on the despotic icons affixed to the iconostasis, a practice observed not only on Crete but also on the nearby island of Rhodes.¹⁶⁹ Eventually, icons representing the Virgin emerging from

Venise,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 29, 2008, p. 159-168. A similar example from the seventeenth century can be seen in the Historical Museum in Moscow: M. Borboudakis (ed.), *Εικόνες της κρητικής τέχνης...*, fig. 124.

¹⁶⁷ Currently housed in the Hellenic Institute in Venice, the 1674 icon of the Tree of Jesse (52 x 41 cm) by the Cretan artist Victor portrays the Virgin Mary amid full-length figures of ancestors seated on the Tree's branches and holding phylacteries bearing their names. The substitution of the prophets of the Incarnation for the patriarchs of the Old Testament is atypical compared with the prevailing iconography of the theme on Cretan icons. This choice by Victor may indicate that he based his work on a manuscript model; see M. Chatzidakis, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs de la collection de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise*, Venice, 1962, p. 148-149 and pl. 71, fig. 129.

¹⁶⁸ Another remarkable icon of the Virgin raising from the Root of Jesse (BXM 1575, 107 x 70 cm), made by Cretan painter Theodore Poulakis in 1666, is preserved in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens: *The World of the Byzantine Museum*, Athens, 2004, p. 185, fig. 154.

¹⁶⁹ The icon of the Tree of Jesse with the Mother of God at its centre is depicted on the royal doors (before 1700) of the church of the Virgin Mary of Lyndos on Rhodes: S. Ligkas, *The Beauty behind the Holy Icons. A Recount of the History and Tradition of the Church Including a Description of the Church and the Iconography*, Rhodes, 2015, p. 39, fig. 7, p. 41, fig. 9.

the royal lineage of David and Jesse were displayed in front of the iconostasis for veneration.¹⁷⁰

The first two lines of the introductory stanza of the *Akathistos Hymn*, in which the Virgin is praised as a “leader in battle and defender” are written above the miniature icon of the Tree of Jesse in crimson red letters in Garrett 13: Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ, τὰ νικητήρια | ὡς λυτρωθῆσα¹⁷¹ τῶν δεινῶν, εὐχαριστήρια | [ἀναγράφω σοι ἡ πόλις σου],¹⁷² “To you, our leader in battle and defender, O Theotokos, [I, your city], delivered from sufferings [ascribe] hymns of victory and thanksgiving.” Although the text above the miniature stops just before the subject is explicitly stated, the use of the feminine participle λυτρωθῆσα (correct: λυτρωθεῖσα) implies that the subject of the phrase is ἡ πόλις (the city). This makes the text consistent with the original version of the *prooimion*, in which the city of Constantinople praises the Mother of God for her miraculous intervention during the Avar and Persian siege of 626.¹⁷³ In contrast, in the corresponding line on the following page (f. 1^v) copied by the scribe, the subject changes to “your servant”: Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ, τὰ νικητήρια | ὡς λυτρωθέντες τῶν δεινῶν, εὐχαριστήρια ἀναγράφω σοι ὁ δοῦλος σου Θεοτόκε. The change of the subject to ὁ δοῦλος (*servant*) was noticed by Maria Aspri Vardavaki¹⁷⁴ and later by Sofia Kotzabassi and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. All of them compared the example in Garrett 13 with the same change made by Nicephorus Gregoras (ca. 1295–1360) in an autograph pastiche of the *prooimion* in the Vatican Library Gr MS 165, f. 1^r.¹⁷⁵ The transition

¹⁷⁰ The large dimensions of the icon signed by Theodore Poulakis indicates that it may have been used in such a way. See above, n. 168.

¹⁷¹ Instead of λυτρωθεῖσα, the feminine passive participle of λυτρώνομαι, meaning “to be saved” or “relieved.”

¹⁷² Cf. the edition published by C. A. Trypanis, “The Akathistos Hymn,” p. 29; T. Detorakis, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος. Ἐκδοση κριτική*, Herakleion, 2021, p. 167.

¹⁷³ See M. L. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary...*; T. Dethorakis, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος...*, p. 167. A tradition transmitted by the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (PG 92, col. 1352B). Moreover, in commemoration of the 626 victory, the *Typicon of Constantinople* maintains the tradition that during the Lenten season, on the day of the *Akathistos* celebration, the patriarch proceeds to the church of the Virgin in Blachernae and performs the liturgy there, before returning to Saint Sophia: J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Saint-Croix n° 40, X^e siècle*, vol. 2: *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles*, Rome, 1963, p. 53-55.

¹⁷⁴ M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου...*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁵ The prologue of the *Akathistos Hymn* is positioned at the beginning of Nicephorus Gregoras’ autograph of the *Byzantine History*; see S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton...*, p. 80. Gregoras made two modifications to the text. Firstly,

from a collective to an individual subject effectively converts the *troparion* of the *Akathistos Hymn* into a personal prayer of thanksgiving and supplication and makes it suitable for recitation in a private devotional setting.¹⁷⁶

There are no marginal notes or other clues in the manuscript that might shed light on the recipients of this exceptional copy of the *Akathistos Hymn*.¹⁷⁷ Its icon-like framed miniatures, which convey a Palaeologan prototype of the *Akathistos* cycle, complement Luke of Cyprus' calligraphic writing, which can be traced back to a distinctive tradition of liturgical script, known as the Hodegon style. The minuscule script that originated in the scriptorium of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople during the fourteenth century continued to have a notable impact on copyists of liturgical manuscripts after the collapse of the Byzantine empire. The monastic scriptoria on Luke's native Cyprus played a key role in keeping this practice alive.¹⁷⁸

The iconographic version of the *Akathistos* cycle in Garrett 13 can be attributed to a specific geographical location, probably Crete. The explicit allusions to the sacrament of the Eucharist in the illustration of stanzas 20 and 21 indicate the work of a skilled artist who paid careful attention to the text of the hymn and adapted it to the particular wishes of its patron, who was a high representative of the Church. Alternatively, the painter may have faithfully reproduced a model he inherited, or he may have been provided with a model

he substituted the term ἡ πόλις with ὁ δοῦλος. Secondly, he changed the participle form from feminine singular (λυτρωθεῖσα) to masculine singular (λυτρωθεῖς). The plural form of the masculine participle (λυτρωθέντες) in the Princeton manuscript would have required a construction such as "your servants."

¹⁷⁶ For example, the *akolouthia* of the *Akathistos* in the printed Greek edition of the *Horologion* of 1621 in Venice by Antonio Pinelli, repeats the original version of the *prooimion*. The same is true of the 1681 edition of the *Horologion* printed by Nikolaos Glykis in Venice.

¹⁷⁷ Except for the stamp on its first page, which indicates that the manuscript was kept in the library of the Athonite *skete* of St. Andrew of the Russians at the beginning of the 20th century; see S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*..., p. 94-95.

¹⁷⁸ L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Klöster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν," BZ 51, 1958, p. 17-36. Regarding the similarities between Luke of Cyprus' writing and the Hodegon style, see M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau*..., p. 34-68. Zoumbouli's analysis considers the ongoing influence of the Hodegon minuscule script in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, specifically focusing on its influence on the principality of Wallachia and Luke's birthplace, Cyprus. For an alternative perspective on Luke's style that challenges the Hodegon theory, see L. Politis, "Un centre de calligraphie dans les principautés danubiennes au XVI^e siècle. Lucas Buzau et son cercle," in Fr. R. Walton (ed.), *Dixième Congrès international des bibliophiles. Athènes, 30 septembre – 6 octobre 1977*, Athens, 1979, p. 1-11.

by the commissioner, the copyist of the manuscript. While the circumstances surrounding the creation of the miniatures of Garrett 13 remain uncertain, it can be suggested with reasonable certainty that the stole of Metrophanes of Thebes, the metropolitan of Cyzicus, was created in Constantinople.

Metrophanes' Epitrachelion: Technical and Stylistic Elements Pointing to Constantinople

Since the *Akathistos* stole conserved at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore is currently unavailable for study, a comprehensive evaluation of its technical and stylistic characteristics cannot be completed at this time. However, a preliminary examination was possible based on the photographs provided by the Walters Art Museum.¹⁷⁹ The initial findings of this investigation will be presented, along with a hypothesis about the origin of the embroidered garment.

A brief comparison of metropolitan Metrophanes of Cyzicus' liturgical stole¹⁸⁰ with a pair of liturgical cuffs (*epimanikia*) commissioned by patriarch Dionysios IV of Constantinople in 1672, seems to confirm the assumption that Metrophanes' stole was produced in the capital of the Ottoman empire. Furthermore, by comparing the two embroideries with the *Akathistos epitrachelion* preserved in the *skevophylakion* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, additional valuable information can be obtained.¹⁸¹

Dionysios IV Mouselimis was first elected patriarch in 1671 and held the function on five separate occasions until 1694. He was not only a contemporary of Metrophanes, but also his superior in the church hierarchy, as the latter served as metropolitan of Cyzicus at the time of Dionysios' appointment. Shortly after attaining the rank of patriarch Dionysios IV ordered a set of

¹⁷⁹ I would like to express my gratitude to Laura Seitter, the Imaging and Rights Coordinator at the Walters Art Museum, for kindly providing me access to the photo archive of the embroidery.

¹⁸⁰ According to the catalogue of the 1947 Baltimore exhibition (D. Miner (ed.), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*..., p. 162, n° 831), the *epitrachelion* originated in a monastery in Beotia, Greece. However, the name of the monastery has not been provided. The information given in the catalogue may have been the result of a superficial reading of the inscription on the *epitrachelion* which refers to Thebes in Beotia as the birthplace of Metrophanes, who commissioned the stole.

¹⁸¹ For the same pair of *epimanikia*, see also N. Vryzidis, E. Papastavrou, "Italian and Ottoman Textiles...", p. 677-687 and figs. 9, 10.

epimanikia embellished with two significant events from the liturgical calendar: the Baptism of Christ and the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. The liturgical cuffs created for Dionysios reflect his sophisticated preferences in ceremonial clothing, as evidenced by other items of his liturgical attire preserved in the collection of the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos.¹⁸²

The *epimanikia* of patriarch Dionysios IV, presently housed in a private collection, have benefited from scholarly attention from Eleni Papastavrou and Daphni Filiou.¹⁸³ Their comprehensive examination of the technical characteristics of the embroidery enable a comparison of the *epimanikia* with Metrophanes' *epitrachelion*. To exemplify the similarities between the stitching patterns employed in these embroideries, I have included detailed photographs of both items: Metrophanes' stole and Dionysos' *epimanikia* (as seen in the detailed images published in the aforementioned study of Papastavrou and Filiou).

The *epimanikia* of Patriarch Dionysios IV are a fine example of Byzantine embroidery, showcasing a meticulous and skilful application of stitching patterns in a variety of styles. Metrophanes' stole employs similar stitching designs, apparently serving the same functions. First of all, both the *epimanikia* and the *epitrachelion* exhibit a flat relief, characteristic for Byzantine embroidery. The same style of stitches executed in silk satin thread, has been used for the skin of the figures on the liturgical stole and the two *epimanikia*. Dark silk thread has been skillfully employed to outline facial features (Figs. 45, 46). Moreover, two distinct kinds of halo appear on each of the embroideries under consideration. One is in higher

¹⁸² Dionysios IV Mouselimis passed away in Târgoviște in 1696 and was buried in the monastery of Radu Vodă in Bucharest. As part of his bequest, he entrusted his liturgical garments and personal library to the Monastery of Iviron, which served as a metoch of the Radu Vodă Monastery: see M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες...*, p. 595; P. Ș. Năsturel, "La pierre tombale de Denys IV Mousselimès, ex-patriarche de Constantinople," in idem, *Études d'histoire byzantine et post-byzantine...*, p. 841-842. The *sakkos* of Dionysios IV Mouselimis is still preserved at the monastery of Iviron; see A. A. Karakatsanis (ed.), *Treasures of Mount Athos. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Museum of Byzantine Culture*, Thessaloniki, 1997, p. 449-450 (n° 11.2). The monastic collection also houses the patriarch's *epitrachelion*, embellished with scenes from the festival cycle, and his *epigonation*, featuring the Assumption of the Mother of God: M. Theochari, "Αφιερωτικά ἐπιγραφὰ ἐπὶ ἀμφίων τοῦ Ἀθῶ," *Θεολογία* 28, 1957, p. 453 (n° 2), p. 454 (n° 3).

¹⁸³ E. Papastavrou, D. Filiou, "On the beginnings of the Constantinopolitan school of embroidery," *Zograf* 39, p. 161, 176; G. Chatzouli, "À propos d'un épitrachilion...", p. 161-176.

Fig. 45. *Epimanikion* of patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis, 1672. Portrait of the prophet Elijah sewn in silk thread and featuring an elevated halo design, detail from the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, private collection. Photo: E. Papastavrou, "On the beginnings....," fig. 11c.



Fig. 46. *Epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667. The portrait of Christ sewn in silk thread and featuring an elevated halo design, detail of stanza 22 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 47. *Epimanikion* of patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis, 1672. Portrait of John the Forerunner, second type of halo, gilded silver thread sewn in horizontal pattern, detail from the Baptism of Christ, private collection. Photo: E. Papastavrou, “On the beginnings...,” fig. 11d.



Fig. 48. *Epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667. Portrait of the Mother of God, second type of halo, gilded silver thread sewn in horizontal pattern, detail of stanza 9 of the *Akathistos Hymn* (The Adoration of the magi), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 49. *Epimanikia* of patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis, 1672. Detail of the Transfiguration of Christ, gilded wires sewn in the form of a grid, private collection. Photo: E. Papastavrou, "On the beginnings...", fig. 11d.



Fig. 50. *Epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667. *Akathistos Hymn*, stanza 10 (detail of Fig. 18b), rocky textures suggested by gilded wires sewn in the form of a grid.

relief, coated in gold metallic threads with plait applied in the contour (Figs. 45, 46). This more basic type of halo was used for the secondary characters in the two epiphany scenes depicted on patriarch Dionysios's *epimanikia*: the prophets Elijah and Moses in the Transfiguration scene and the angels of the Baptism scene. On the other hand, the *epitrachelion*'s artist consistently used high relief stitching as his favourite method of emphasising haloes. The sole exceptions he made are evident in scenes 9, 12, 16 and 23. Here, a more elaborate design was employed, with gilded silver wires sewn in horizontal stitches (Figs. 47, 48). The same design was used on the *epimanikia* to distinguish Christ and John the Forerunner from the other participants in the Baptism scene. It is worth noting that the flat, horizontally stitched haloes also appear on the *Akathistos epitrachelion* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul (Fig. 52).

The contour for pearl strings, which are now lost from both the *epitrachelion* and the *epimanikia*, can still be seen around the golden *nimboi* (Figs. 45-48, 51). The original pearls were also lost from the *Akathistos epitrachelion* preserved in the *skevophylakion* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. New ones were carefully attached, likely during the restoration that took place in the

nineteenth century (Fig. 52).¹⁸⁴ Finally, both Metrophanes' *epitrachelion* and Dionysius' *epimanikia* employ a common technique to suggest different textures by means of gilded wires couched in the form of a grid, which exposes the colour of the background (Figs. 49, 50). The effect of this stitching can be seen in the various rocky textures on the *epitrachelion*.¹⁸⁵

Patriarch Dionysius IV's *epimanikia* were manufactured in a workshop in the capital five years later than Metrophanes' stole. Both embroideries adhere to the purest Byzantine iconographic tradition achievable at that time. However, there is a noteworthy distinction between the two works of art: the amount of space each artist allocated to ornamental decoration. On Dionysius' *epimanikia*, a significant portion of the embroidered surface was allocated to prominent Ottoman flower motifs in Renaissance-inspired craters. Metrophanes' *epitrachelion* exhibits a more restrained approach to decorative elements.¹⁸⁶ In relation to this prevailing austerity, it is not superfluous to mention that the embroiderer replaced the Renaissance vase depicted in the 2nd stanza of the hymn in the Princeton miniature with a more familiar Ottoman-style vase adorned with a tulip and two carnations. The limited ornamental repertory places Metrophanes' *epitrachelion* closely to embroideries produced earlier in the seventeenth century in Constantinopolitan workshops. The stole that was commissioned by Parthenios, bishop of Dryinoupolis and Argyrokastro, in 1664 serves as a pertinent point of comparison.¹⁸⁷ The dark yellow silk fabric used as

¹⁸⁴ I would like to express my gratitude to His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, for granting me permission to study the *epitrachelion* with scenes from the *Akathistos Hymn* housed in the Patriarchal Sacristy. To date, there have been no scholarly investigations published on the *epitrachelion*, apart from the description by Georgios Sotiriou in the catalogue of the Patriarchal collection published in 1938 (see above, n. 7).

¹⁸⁵ E. Papastavrou, D. Filiou, "On the beginnings...." p. 170.

¹⁸⁶ See also the commentaries by Maria Theochari in A. A. Karakatsanis (ed.), *Treasures of Mount Athos...*, p. 463. The incorporation of Ottoman floral motifs into Orthodox priestly attire predates the seventeenth century. As early as the late Byzantine period, Orthodox liturgical garments began to include Islamic ornamental elements: N. Vryzidis, "The 'Arabic' Stole of Vatopediou Monastery: Traces of Islamic Material Culture in Late Byzantium," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 36, n° 1, 2019, p. 85-99. During the Ottoman era this tradition persisted and expanded: N. Vryzidis, "An Early Modern Syncretism: Greek Orthodox Ecclesiastical Dress in the Ottoman Empire," *Βυζαντινά. Αφιέρωμα στον Νικόλαο Μουτσόπουλο* 37, 2019–2020, p. 239-270.

¹⁸⁷ The *epitrachelion* of bishop Parthenios preserved in the *skevophylakion* of the metropolis of Trikala and Stagon in Thessaly was examined by Glicérie Chatzouli. She also noted the

background for the *epitrachelion* owned by the metropolitan of Cyzicus closely resembles Parthenios' *epitrachelion* about which it has been suggested that it was created in Constantinople. In contrast with the eclecticism that characterised the liturgical embroidery produced in Ottoman Constantinople in the latter part of the seventeenth century and during the early eighteenth century,¹⁸⁸ the *epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus demonstrates comparatively traditional aesthetic preferences.

Trends in Ceremonial Clothing of High-Ranking Orthodox Clergy in the Seventeenth Century

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Greek scholars and members of the Orthodox clergy continued to seek refuge in the principality of Wallachia. They were not only welcomed to stay, but were also encouraged to pursue careers within the church hierarchy, at the princely court, or as professors at the princely schools in Bucharest and Iași. Kaisarios Dapontes (1713–1784), a native of Skopelos island, came to Bucharest at a very young age, in the 1730s. After attending Saint Sava Academy in Bucharest, he went to serve as Prince Constantine Mavrokordates' personal secretary. Eventually, he came to be known as one of the most prolific authors of the era, whose work covered a wide range of literary genres, including hagiographical and liturgical compositions, panegyrics and historical writings.¹⁸⁹ Kaisarios Dapontes is invoked here for his indirect contribution to the biography of Metrophanes of Cyzicus.

Composed largely in the second half of the eighteenth century, Dapontes' *Historical Catalogue of important contemporary Greek figures* (Κατάλογος

existence of an earlier *epitrachelion* with a similar design in the collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This *epitrachelion* was commissioned by Gabriel, the metropolitan of Chalcedon, in 1661; G. Chatzouli, "À propos d'un épitrachilion...", p. 168, fig. 3.

¹⁸⁸ In the 1680s the renowned embroiderer Despineta established her innovative workshop in Constantinople, marking a shift away from conventional embroidery manufacturing; see A. Ballian, "ΧΕΙΡ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΑΙΑΣ: μια Φαναριώτισσα Δέσποινα ή η Δεσποινέτα αλλιώς," in *Ἄγγελος – Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Ἀγγέλου Δεληβοριά*, Athens, 2023, p. 201–223.

¹⁸⁹ E. Tsalicoglou, "Introduction," in eadem (ed.), *Konstantinos Dapontes, Selected Writings*, Cambridge MA, 2019, p. xiii–xviii; C. Rapp, "Kaisarios Dapontes (1713–1784): Orthodoxy and Education between Mount Athos and the Danubian Principalities," *AP* 14, n° 1, 2018, p. 61–80.



Fig. 51. *Epitrachelion* of Metrophanes of Cyzicus, 1667. *Akathistos Hymn*, detail of stanza 9, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Fig. 52. *Epitrachelion* with scenes from the *Akathistos Hymn*, first half of the seventeenth century, detail of stanza 14, Ecumenical Patriarchate, Istanbul.
Photo: O. Iacubovschi.

ἱστορικὸς ἀξιόλογος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρηματισάντων ἐπισήμων Ρωμαίων...)¹⁹⁰ provides valuable information about Metrophanes of Thebes, the metropolitan of Cyzicus, adding to the existing body of knowledge drawn from historical and artistic sources. Dapontes' biographical compilation includes a brief portrait of the learned hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodona (ca. 1630–1730) who worked as an editor and recensor for several Greek books printed in Bucharest, Râmnic and Târgoviște between 1705 and 1715.¹⁹¹ Gregoras' contribution to the printing of books in Wallachia entailed not only the revision of the texts but also the production of epigrams dedicated to the sponsors of the books.¹⁹² Following his editorial activity, Metrophanes undertook the composition of a *Chronicle* of Wallachia, which covered the period from 1714 to 1716.¹⁹³

Several of Gregoras' epigrams were published in Daponte's *Historical Catalogue*. These included two epigrams dedicated to his uncle, Metrophanes

¹⁹⁰ Kaisarios Dapontes, *Κατάλογος ἱστορικὸς ἀξιόλογος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρηματισάντων ἐπισήμων Ρωμαίων...* [*Ἱστορικὸς κατάλογος ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων (1700–1784)*], in K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 3, Venice, 1872, p. 73–200; C. Erbiceanu, “Catalogul istoric a ómenilor însemnați din secolul XVIII, dintre cari marea majoritate au trăit în Țările Române Valahia și Moldova de Chesarie Daponte,” in idem, *Cronicarii greci cari au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă*, Bucharest, 1888 [anastatic edition Bucharest, 2003], p. 125–129.

¹⁹¹ As an apprentice of the renowned typographer and later metropolitan Anthim the Iberian (1708–1716), Metrophanes Gregoras made valuable contributions to the printing of several Greek books in different Wallachian printing houses. Examples include: *Ἀκολουθία Α. Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βησσαρίωνος* [*The service of Saint Visarion*], Bucharest, 1705; *Τόμος Χαράς*, Râmnic, 1705, containing the *Epistles* of Patriarch Photius of Constantinople and other anti-heretical texts; Euthymios Zigabenos, *Πανοπλία δογματικὴ* [*The Dogmatic Panoply*] of Alexios I Comnenos, Târgoviște, 1710; see Archim. P. Chițulescu (ed.), *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, Bucharest, 2016, p. 129, 135–136, 160–161. In a letter dated August 9, 1714, addressed to Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, Anthim the Iberian makes reference to 24 Greek books that Metrophanes Gregoras requested in return for his work as a proofreader; Archim. M. Stanciu, G. Ștrempel, *Sfântul Antim Ivireanul. Scrisori*, Bucharest, 2016, p. 156–158.

¹⁹² *Τόμος Χαράς*, Râmnic, 1705. For the description of the book, see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 1, Paris, 1918, p. 43 (n° 37); I. Bianu, N. Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508–1830*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 1903, p. 463 sq. (n° 149); D. Poenaru, *Contribuții la Bibliografia românească veche*, Târgoviște, 1973, p. 173 (n° 149); Archim. P. Chițulescu (ed.), *Țipărituri din Țara Românească în Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 77.

¹⁹³ D. Russo, “Mitrofan Grigoràs, Cronica Țării Românești (1714–1716),” *RIR* 4, 1934, p. 1–43 (reprinted in idem, *Studii istorice greco-române. Opere postume*, vol. 2, ed. C. C. Giurescu, A. Camariano, N. Camariano, Bucharest, 1939, p. 409–461).

of Cyzicus. The first epigram composed by Gregoras in honour of Metrophanes is titled *To his uncle Metrophanes of Cyzicus, who resigned* (Πρὸς τὸν Θεῖον αὐτοῦ Κυζίκου Μητροφάνη παραιτησάμενον) and reveals a significant biographical detail about Metrophanes, namely that he willingly stepped down, most likely in his later years, from his role as the metropolitan of Cyzicus.¹⁹⁴

<p>Θήβης ἑπταπύλοιο κλυτὸν πέδον εἰσέτι κλαίει, καὶ μεδέουσ' ἀκτῆς Κύζικος Ἀσιάδος κἄλλιπες ἀμφοτέρησιν ἄχος μέγα· κἄμφοτέρων γὰρ ἄσπετον εὖχος ἔης, φαίδιμε Μητρόφανες¹⁹⁵</p>	<p>The splendid plain of the Seven-Gated Thebes still grieves and Cyzikus, the guardian of the coast of Asia you left to both of them a great dis- tress, because for both of them you were an infinite (unspeakable) glory, o, famous Metrophanes.</p>
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Gregoras makes use of an ancient Greek topos as he evokes the birth-place of Metrophanes in Boeotia, referring to it as the “Seven-Gated” Thebes.¹⁹⁶ He portrays his uncle as a man of great spiritual accomplishment who carried out his pastoral duties with remarkable success. Metrophanes’ long period in office can be perceived as a confirmation of his nephew’s view. The second epigram transcribed by Dapontes bears the title *About his eloquence* (Εἰς τὴν ἐγγλωττίαν αὐτοῦ) and complements what is already known about the metropolitan of Cyzicus from the short inscription preserved on his *epitrachelion*:

¹⁹⁴ Greek edition of the epigrams: K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη...*, vol. 3, p. 116. Greek edition with Romanian translation: C. Erbiceanu, “Catalogul istoric...,” p. 127, 128.

¹⁹⁵ The two epigrams dedicated to Metrophanes of Cyzicus were brought to my attention by my colleague Mihai Țîpău from the Institute for South-East European Studies in Bucharest. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr. Țîpău once more for translating the two epigrams included in this study.

¹⁹⁶ The city was referred to as “seven-gated” in *The Odyssey* traditionally attributed to Homer, by Pindar (*Pythian Odes*, *Isthmian Odes*), Aeschylus (*Seven against Thebes*) and by later authors. Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* is the first narrative which names the seven gates around the acropolis; see D. V. Berman, “‘Seven-Gated’ Thebes and Narrative Topography in Aeschylus’ ‘Seven against Thebes’,” *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, New Series, 71, n° 2, 2002, p. 73-100.

Ἄθλα λυροκτυπῆς πιστεύομεν ἀμφιονείης, ἔπλετ' ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν εἵκελος Ἀμφίωνος, αἰμυλὴν, καὶ ἥθεα, καὶ νόον, εὐκλεὲς ἔρνον, γαίης Καδμηΐδος δῖος ὁ Μητροφάνης.	We believe that in the trophies for playing the amphionic lyre He is now equal to Amphion in the charm (of speaking), and in the manners, and in the intellect, the famous offspring `of Kadmos' land, the noble Metrophanes.
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In his second epigram, Gregoras praises Metrophanes' oratorical and intellectual skills in the same archaizing language he employed in the first one and incorporates further mythological references. The illustrious Theban origins of his uncle are once more emphasised by evoking the name of the city's legendary founders.¹⁹⁷ Due to the uncertainty surrounding the precise length of Metrophanes' tenure as metropolitan of Cyzicus, we can only conclude that Metrophanes Gregoras composed his epigrams after 1675. In that year Metrophanes of Cyzicus was still active, signing official documents as a metropolitan.

Metrophanes' indirect connection with Wallachia through Metrophanes Gregoras, who bears the same name as his esteemed uncle illustrates the complex social networks of the period. It also demonstrates the potential for close connections and familial ties within the church hierarchy, particularly among the Greek diaspora.

The Great Lavra houses an *epitrachelion* embellished with scenes from the *Akathistos Hymn*, which has been previously mentioned in this study. The attribution of this *epitrachelion* to metropolitan Anthim I of Adrianoupolis is supported by the inscription affixed to the lower part of the vestment.¹⁹⁸ Anthim began his term as head of the archdiocese of Adrianoupolis in 1618. In 1620, he travelled to Wallachia accompanying patriarch Cyril Loukaris on

¹⁹⁷ Kadmos was the initial founder of the Boeotian Thebes. Amphion and Zethus, the twin offspring of Antiope with Zeus, established the fortified walls of the city. The tomb of Amphion is situated on a prominent hill, still known today as Ampheion, to the north of the city's acropolis (Cadmeia): D. V. Berman, "'Seven-Gated' Thebes...", p. 100, map. 4, n° 6; S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, E. Eidinow, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 2012⁴, p. 73.

¹⁹⁸ *Supra*, n. 70.

a sojourn that lasted several months. During this visit, he was presented with a Gospel book as a gift from Matthew of Myra.¹⁹⁹ He was also acquainted with the manuscripts of Luke of Cyprus, the Wallachian metropolitan, whom he regarded as the most skilled calligrapher of his time.²⁰⁰ Anthim's tenure as metropolitan of Adrianoupolis came to an end in 1623 when he assumed the role of ecumenical patriarch. He occupied this seat from June to October, when he resigned in favour of Cyril Loukaris.²⁰¹

Anthim was born in Constantinople. He belonged to the social elite of the capital and possessed substantial financial means that enabled him to actively engage in restoration efforts at the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos from his earliest years as a metropolitan.²⁰² He also frequently donated manuscripts to the Athonite monastery.²⁰³ His *epitrachelion*, which dates from the period when he was metropolitan of Adrianoupolis, was probably crafted in one of the workshops in Constantinople that specialised in producing liturgical embroidery in a fine Byzantine style. Following his resignation from the patriarchal office and his permanent departure from Constantinople, Anthim presumably brought his priestly attire with him to Mount Athos, where he spent the last part of his life. The year of his death, 1628, is recorded in his epitaph at the Great Lavra. The embroidered stole has been kept in the monastic collection ever since.²⁰⁴

The workshop where Anthim commissioned his priestly stole most probably also manufactured the Akathistos *epitrachelion* which is presently located in the sacristy (*skevophylakion*) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.²⁰⁵ The embroidery is in a very good state of preservation, but at least two interventions have been made to it. Unfortunately, one of these concerns the

¹⁹⁹ L. Cotovanu, "Les destinataires de l'œuvre manuscrite de Matthieu de Myres: nouvelles constatations," in the present volume.

²⁰⁰ In a note on one of the manuscripts copied by Luke in 1620 (Lavra Ω 140), Anthim stated that Luke "surpassed all others in the art of calligraphy during his time," ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπερβαίνων τῇ καλλιγραφίᾳ; the transcription was published by L. Politis, "Un centre de calligraphie..." p. 376.

²⁰¹ On Anthim I of Adrianoupolis, who eventually became patriarch Anthim II, see *supra*, n. 70, 71.

²⁰² G. Millet, J. Pargoire, L. D. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos*, Paris, 1904, p. 113 (reprint: Thessaloniki, 2004).

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130 (n° 394).

²⁰⁵ *Supra*, n. 7.

inscription that would have revealed the first owner of the vestment. The lower panels of the *epitrachelion*, where details regarding the date and ownership of the vestment are typically displayed, have been entirely removed. Instead, a row of spiral metallic fringing has been added below the last two Akathistos scenes (Fig. 53). The *epitrachelion* has also undergone repairs on the segment around the neck, which has been replaced with a new embroidery featuring the Mandylion icon held by angels. On the reverse side of the stole, an inscription embroidered with silver thread, sewn over the red silk background, designates Patriarch Joachim III of Constantinople (1878–1884, 1901–1912) as the sponsor of the repairings, ΕΠΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΗ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΙΩΑΚΕΙΜ ΤΟΥ Γ., “Repaired by Patriarch Joachim III”. Both alterations made to the embroidery most likely occurred as part of the restoration sponsored by Joachim III, who probably owned and used the *epitrachelion*.

Similarly little is known regarding the owner of the Akathistos *epitrachelion* from Stavronikita Monastery, namely bishop Dorotheos. Maria Theochari meticulously described the Akathistos cycle which decorates the stole. She determined that the embroidery was created in the late sixteenth century in a Constantinopolitan workshop.²⁰⁶ However, the iconographic type of the Akathistos cycle on the Stavronikita stole lacks a point of reference so far and the identity of its owner has yet to be determined.

Indeed, liturgical stoles were embroidered with the *Akathistos Hymn* of the Mother of God since the sixteenth century. The *epitrachelion* presented by Moldavian prince Ieremia Movilă and his wife, princess Elisabeta, as a gift to the monastery of Sucevița in 1599²⁰⁷ provides undeniable evidence of the early usage of *epitrachelia* adorned with the Marian hymn. The Moldavian embroidery is one of the earliest liturgical stoles depicting this iconographic subject. It predates all other similar liturgical stoles that originated in Constantinople, possibly with the exception of the Stavronikita stole. It is also worth noting that its model for the Akathistos cycle is of local provenance, closely resembling the fresco representations of the hymn on the outer walls of Moldavian churches created during the same period.²⁰⁸ Most likely, the *epitrachelion* was presented to the monastic community at Sucevița

²⁰⁶ Chr. Patrinelis, A. Karakatsanis, M. Theocharis (eds), *Μονή Σταυρονικήτα...*, p. 153-156, 173-174, and fig. 56.

²⁰⁷ See above, n. 7.

²⁰⁸ O. Iacubovski, “From Liturgy to Private Devotion...” (*supra*, n. 7).



Fig. 53. *Epitrachelion* with scenes from the *Akathistos Hymn*, first half of the seventeenth century, Ecumenical Patriarchate, Istanbul. Photo: O. Iacubovschi.



Fig. 54. *Epitrachelion* with the Tree of Jesse, 1669, Mount Athos, Monastery of Vatopedi. Photo: I. Papangelos, P. Gravvalos (eds), *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi ...*, vol. 2, p. 440, fig. 373.

by the princely family shortly after the mural painting of the *katholikon* was completed. However, the initiative to adorn the priestly stole with the *Akathistos Hymn* most likely belonged to metropolitan Gheorghe Movilă (1588–1591, 1595–1605), the *de facto* founder of Sucevița and brother of voivode Ieremia Movilă.²⁰⁹ During the same period, the metropolitan of Moldavia made use of his position to promote the *Akathistos Hymn* as a means of devotion to the Virgin Mary among monastic groups and regular churchgoers. The depiction of the *Akathistos* cycle on both the interior and exterior walls of the monastic *katholikon* at Sucevița, as well as the establishment of a hermitage dedicated to the *Akathistos to the Mother of God* in the mountains of Ceahlău by Gheorghe Movilă serve as tangible evidence of the Moldavian metropolitan's steadfast commitment to enlightening his audience about the potential of the *Akathistos Hymn* as a means of communal worship. The metropolitan's agenda during his second term in the late sixteenth century may have been influenced by practices prevailing in the Orthodox world and the Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical circles. During the same period, his unwavering commitment to enhancing the reputation of the Moldavian Church was further exemplified by his insistence on receiving the title of archbishop from Meletius I Pegas, the patriarch of Alexandria (1590–1601) and *locum tenens* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1597–1598), an honour that was ultimately bestowed on him.²¹⁰

It remains to be determined when exactly the *Akathistos Hymn* was first introduced as an iconographic subject on embroidered ecclesiastical garments. Conversely, the disappearance of the subject from the iconographic repertory of liturgical stoles seems to have occurred in the late seventeenth century.

Metrophanes of Cyzicus' embroidered stole was completed in 1667. Two years later, in 1669, Grigorios of Vatopedi, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Golia in Iași,²¹¹ was anointed as metropolitan of Laodicea. On this occasion, he received an *epitrachelion* as a gift from princess Roxanda, the daughter of

²⁰⁹ On Gheorghe Movilă, see I. V. Dură, "Figuri de ierarhi moldoveni: mitropolitul Gheorghe Movilă," in Șt. S. Gorovei, M. M. Székely (eds), *Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, vol. 2: *Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca*, Sfânta Mănăstire Sucevița, 2006, p. 121-142; Șt. S. Gorovei, "Note și îndreptări pentru istoria Mitropoliei Moldovei (I)," *MMS* 56, n° 1-2, 1980, p. 80-81; O. Iacubovski, "From Liturgy to Private Devotion..."

²¹⁰ DIR, A, vol. XVI/4 (1591–1600), ed. I. Ionașcu *et alii*, Bucharest, 1952, n° 232, p. 174-176 (12 July 1597); I. V. Dură, "Figuri de ierarhi moldoveni...", p. 133-135.

²¹¹ N. Mertzimekis, Fl. Marinescu, "Mănăstirea Vatoped și Vasile Lupu. Câteva mărturii mai puțin cunoscute," in P. Zahariuc (ed.), *Relațiile românilor cu Muntele Athos și cu alte locuri sfinte (secolele XIV–XX). In honorem Florin Marinescu*, Iași, 2017, p. 119-130.

Moldavian prince Vasile Lupu (1634–1653). This vestment is still preserved in the monastery of Vatopedi. It contains an inscription on the lower extremity of the *epitrachelion* which commemorates Grigorios as head of the metropolis of Laodicea and princess Roxanda as the sponsor of the embroidered stole (Fig. 54).²¹² Grigorios' *epitrachelion* is embellished with the busts of twelve prophets holding open scrolls with Marian prophecies. They are surrounded by foliated vine tendrils on a stem growing from the side of Jesse. The reclining figure of Jesse, the father of king David (Mt. 1:6), is prominently shown on the lower end of the vestment, while the Mother of God of the Platytera type has been represented on the collar.²¹³ It has not yet been determined where the embroidery was produced. However, it is important to acknowledge that this *epitrachelion* not only features remarkable embroidery, with gilded silver threads on a purple velvet foundation, but also a subject matter that was becoming increasingly popular on priestly stoles during that period.²¹⁴

Although the majority of surviving examples date from the late seventeenth and the first half of eighteenth centuries, *epitrachelia* featuring the Marian type of the Tree of Jesse were already manufactured by the early seventeenth century. A photograph of an *epitrachelion* adorned with the composition depicting the Mother of God extolled as the Root of Jesse was published by Joseph Braun in 1907.²¹⁵ This is the only available image of the object at this time. The *epitrachelion* was part of the Düsseldorf Kunstgewerbemuseum collection before the onset of the First World War. Regrettably, despite my best

²¹² P. Ș. Năsturel, "Patrafirul dăruit de domnița Ruxandra mitropolitului Grigorie al Laodichiei (1669)," in S. Ifțimi (ed.), *Mănăstirea Golia 350 de ani de la sfîntirea ctitoriei lui Vasile Lupu. Studii și documente*, Iași, 2010, p. 133-138.

²¹³ I. Papangelos, P. Gravvalos (eds), *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi...*, p. 441 (n° 12), figs. 373-374.

²¹⁴ *Epitrachelion*, State Historical Museum in Moscow (GIM, ND TII-607, 28.5 x 149 cm), last quarter of the seventeenth century (see above, n. 50); *epitrachelion* (152.5 x 34.6 cm) of Grigorios of Vella, Vatopedi Monastery, 1813 *ibid.* p. 443, fig. 376, p. 444, fig. 377); *epitrachelion*, Piatnytska Church (Chernihiv), Ukraine, 1713 (T. Kara-Vasiljeva, *Шледепу церковного шутва України XII–XX ст.*, Kyiv, 2000); *epitrachelion* (126 x 29/34 cm), Museum of Echmiadzin, Armenia, 1736; *epitrachelion* (149 x 34 cm), church of the Mother of God Yeniköi, first half of the eighteenth century, preserved in the collection of the Armenian Patriarchate, Kumkapı, Istanbul (R. T. Marchese, M. R. Breu, *Splendor & Pageantry: Textile Treasures from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, Istanbul, 2010, p. 59, fig. 22, p. 329)

²¹⁵ J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient; nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, p. 607.

efforts, I was unable to locate the item today. In the caption accompanying the photograph of the *epitrachelion*, Braun states that the embroidery was created in 1617. However, he does not provide any further information about it. The reclining figure of Jesse, which is symmetrically depicted on both strips, on the lower end of the liturgical stole, is a clear indication of the genealogy theme, eliminating any potential confusion with the subject known as *The prophets from on high*. The collar of the vestment is likely to have contained an image of the Virgin Mary within the medallion that is discernible on the black-and-white photograph included in Joseph Braun's book.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the iconographic subject of the Tree of Jesse had already been depicted on *sakkoï* as a "pendant pair" to the visually related composition known as Christ "the true Vine," ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή, which represents Christ at the apex of a prominent vine plant, resembling a tree, with the apostles distributed over its branches. The iconographic subject was developed in the first half of the fifteenth century by Cretan artists. It visually renders the parable in John 15:1-17 interpreted via I Corinthians 12:12-27 as an image of the Church symbolised by Christ and founded on the apostles. The iconography was apparently modelled on the Tree of Jesse composition.²¹⁶

The combination of the two images can be seen on the *sakkos* of archbishop Neophytos Patelaros of Crete (1651–1678), which is presently on display at the National Museum of Art in Bucharest (Inv. No. 84b).²¹⁷ The front side of the vestment is adorned with the enthroned image of the Mother of God rising from the Tree of Jesse while the back side contains Christ represented as a High Priest amid the apostles (Fig. 55). The *sakkos* was probably brought to Wallachia by Neophytos Patelaros during his stay at the court of prince Șerban

²¹⁶ One of the earliest representations of this iconographic subject can be seen on an icon by the painter Angelos, kept at the Vrontisi Monastery on Crete: M. Borboudakis (ed.), *Εικόνες της κρητικής τέχνης...*, fig. 124; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Εικόνες του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών*, Athens, 1998, p. 170 (n° 30). For Angelos Akotatos as the painter of three icons depicting Christ as "the true Vine," his possible contribution to the creation of the iconographic type, and the relevance of the depiction of Christ the Vine in the context of the debates in Ferrara and Florence concerning the union of the two Churches (1437/9), see A. Mantas, "The Iconographical Subject 'Christ the Vine' in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art," *ΔΧΑΕ* 24, 2003, p. 347-360.

²¹⁷ A. Lăzărescu, "O broderie cretană în colecția secției de artă medievală românească a Muzeului Național de Artă al României," *Revista muzeelor* 4–6, 2000, p. 128-133; A. Dobjanschi, E. Cernea, C. Tănăsioiu, *Musée National d'Art de Roumanie. Guide de la galerie d'art roumain ancien*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 99.

Cantacuzino (1678–1688) in 1679.²¹⁸ Neophytos was the first archbishop of Crete under Ottoman rule. He was appointed by the ecumenical patriarch with permission from the sultan in 1651,²¹⁹ during the Ottoman-Venetian war for the island of Crete.²²⁰ According to the Greek inscription embroidered on the lower edge of its front side, the garment was crafted by abbot Gerasimos Vlastos of the monastery of Arkady on Crete in 1655.²²¹ The *sakkos* on display at the National Museum of Art is an example of exquisite craftsmanship. The production of such an embroidered vestment may have taken several years, due to its large size, intricate design and great care for detail. Therefore, it

²¹⁸ Neophytos is the author of an *encomium* in which he extols the erudition of *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino (1639–1716), the brother of prince Șerban Cantacuzino: A. E. Lavriotis, “Νεοφύτου Μητροπολίτου Κρήτης τοῦ Πατελάρου πρὸς Κωνσταντίνου Καντακουζηνὸν ἐγκώμιον,” *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 27, 1895–1899, p. 287–294. On the literary work and intellectual profile of Constantin Cantacuzino, see V. Căndea, *Stolnicul între contemporani*, ed. I. Feodorov, Bucharest, 2014. An eighteenth-century manuscript compilation containing exegetical writings on Old and New Testament chapters, which was catalogued by Constantin Litzica in 1909, provides evidence of the friendship between Neophytos and Constantin Cantacuzino. On the first page of the manuscript, Litzica identifies a marginal note that was likely added by two hands. This note states that the book was previously owned by Neophytos Patelaros, who likely presented it as a gift to Constantin Cantacuzino: Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Νεοφύτου Πατελάρου ἦν, νῦν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Καντακουζηνοῦ; BAR Gr 382; C. Litzica, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești*, Bucharest, 1909, p. 261–262 (n° 582).

²¹⁹ T. Veneris, “Νεόφυτος ο Πατελλάρος, ο πρώτος μητροπολίτης Κρήτης μετὰ την κατάστησιν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων,” *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν* 1, 1938, p. 2–14; O. Iacubovschi, “From Liturgy to Private Devotion...,” E. Bayraktar Tellan, “The Orthodox Church of Crete, 1645–1735: a Case Study of the Relation between Sultanic Power and Patriarchal Will,” *BMGS* 37, n° 2, 2012, p. 199–200.

²²⁰ The war for Venetian-ruled Crete lasted from 1645 to 1669. The end of the conflict was marked by the conquest of Candia (modern Herakleion) by the Ottomans. Regarding the social and political climate on the island of Crete both before and after the Ottoman conquest, see M. Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton – New Jersey, 2000. On Neophytos Patelaros, see *ibid.*, p. 178, 181–182. On the legal status of the Orthodox Church on Crete during the Ottoman administration, see E. Bayraktar Tellan, “The Orthodox Church of Crete...,” p. 198–214. For information regarding Neophytos Patelaros’ activity as archbishop of Crete, see *ibid.*, p. 199–207.

²²¹ A. Elia, C. Bălan, H. Chircă, O. Diaconescu, *Inscriptiile medievale ale României. Orașul București*, vol. 1: 1300–1800, Bucharest, 1965, p. 726 (n° 1080). Prior to his appointment as head of the Orthodox community on the island, Neophytos was a monk in the wealthy monastery of Arkady on Crete. Established in the sixteenth century in the province of Rethymnon, the monastery of Arkady was a prolific centre of ecclesiastical embroidery. On the embroidery collection of the Arkady Monastery, see N. Drandakis, *Εκκλησιαστικά κεντήματα της Μονής Αρκαδίου*, Ιερά Μονή Αρκαδίου, 2000.



Fig. 55. *Sakkos* of archbishop Neophytos Patelaros of Crete, 1655. The Tree of Jesse, embroidery on the front side of the vestment, National Museum of Art, Bucharest, by permission.



Fig. 56. *Sakkos* of Cyril (1759–1790), the archbishop of Sinai. The Tree of Jesse, embroidery on the back side of the vestment, Cretan workshop, seventeenth century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, by permission.

is reasonable to assume that Neophytos commissioned the embroidered vestment shortly after 1651 to commemorate his recent promotion within the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. However, his garment is unique among its kind because it features the Mother of God on its front side and Christ on its back side, which was not the usual way to display the two icons on *sakkoi*.

The monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai owns a comparable intricately decorated *sakkos* attributed to a Cretan workshop and presumably crafted during the seventeenth century. The same iconographic subjects adorn the *sakkos*, with the difference that their distribution is the usual one: the Tree of Jesse is depicted on the reverse side of the garment, while Christ the Vine is featured on the front side (Fig. 56). During the eighteenth century, the episcopal garment adorned with the icons of the Tree of Jesse and of Christ among the apostles was in the possession of Cyril (1759–1790), the archbishop of Sinai.²²² Due to the close ties between the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai and the Church of Crete, the monastery frequently procured liturgical vestments from the renowned Cretan workshops.²²³

As a final example, I will mention the *sakkos* of Dionysios IV Mouselimis, kept in the monastery of Iviron, which is believed to have been produced in a Western workshop, probably in Vienna.²²⁴ Although it departs stylistically and technically from the Cretan examples mentioned before, the patriarchal *sakkos* remained consistent with the dominant imagery employed on Orthodox episcopal attire at this period. The enamel portraits of the apostles that were incorporated into the embroidery are arranged around the central medallion containing Christ on the front of the vestment to recreate the composition of Christ the Vine. Similarly, the reverse side of the garment shows small enamel portraits of prophets surrounding the image of the Virgin Mary.²²⁵

²²² K. A. Manafis, *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, Athens, 1990, p. 237, figs. 25–26, p. 259–260.

²²³ The Monastery of St. Catherine had several metochia on Crete and a number of Cretan hierarchs became abbots of the Sinai Monastery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; see A. G. Ilias, *Τα μετόχια του Πανάγιου Τάφου και της μονής Σινά στην Ελλάδα, 1830–1888*, Athens, 2003; M. Sariyannis, Y. Spyropoulos, “Το οθωμανικό αρχείο του σιναϊτικού μετοχίου του Αγίου Ματθαίου στο Ηράκλειο Κρήτης (1573–1849),” in *Σιναϊτικά μετόχια σε Κρήτη και Κύπρο*, Athens, 2009, p. 71–98.

²²⁴ A. A. Karakatsanis (ed.), *Treasures of Mount Athos...*, p. 449–450 (n° 11.2, catalogue entry by M. Theochari).

²²⁵ Similar to the *sakkos* (BYΦ 58) that Hristofor Žefarović made for Ioannikios of Melenikon somewhere between 1745 and 1753, which is currently housed in the Thessaloniki Museum

After the *sakkos* ceased to be a privilege of the patriarch,²²⁶ it became the standard *insignia* of the episcopate during the Ottoman era.²²⁷ The production of more *sakkoi* led to a standardisation of their iconographic programme. The two-scene scheme combining the Tree of Jesse with Christ the Vine was widely accepted.²²⁸ The pairing of the two subjects had several advantages. Firstly, it depicted Jesus clad in priestly garments among the apostles, thereby emphasising the divine origin of the ministry. Secondly, it acknowledged the central role of the Mother of God as an enabler of the Incarnation and, with that, as the origin of all sacraments within the Church. The successful integration of the two iconographic subjects, the Tree of Jesse and Christ the Vine, on the vestments of bishops mirrors their combination in the iconostasis and icon triptychs in the Cretan artistic milieu. For example, the two related iconographic subjects are the central focus of a composite Cretan icon from the Byzantine Museum in Athens by painter Konstantinos Smirnaïos, dating from 1729.²²⁹

The presence of the Tree of Jesse composition featuring the Virgin in the foreground on ecclesiastical textiles like curtain veils and other sacerdotal garments (*e.g.*, *epigonatia*) is particularly significant.²³⁰ With regard to

of Byzantine Culture: <https://www.mbp.gr/en/exhibit/archieratikos-sakkos-episkopou-mel-en/> (accessed on 10.12.2023).

²²⁶ On Byzantine *sakkoi*, see G. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus, images et croyances*, Paris, 1945; J. Bogdanović, “The Moveable Canopy. The Performative Space of the Major Sakkos of Metropolitan Photios,” *Byzantinoslavica* 72, n° 1–2, 2014, p. 247–288.

²²⁷ W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon...*, p. 25–28, 46.

²²⁸ The Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens holds a unique *sakkos* (Inv. No. 754) from the seventeenth century, embroidered with the image of the Virgin Mary as foretold by prophets on its back side and Christ as “the true Vine” on the front side. This artwork should be interpreted in the context of the emergence of the Tree of Jesse–Christ the Vine formula; see E. Papastavrou, “The Byzantine Tradition on the Decoration of a 17th-Century Sakkos (Inv. No 754) in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens,” in M. Grünbart, E. Kislinger, A. Muthesius, D. Ch. Stathakopoulos (eds), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453). Proceedings of the International Conference (Cambridge, 8–10 September 2001)*, Vienna, 2007, p. 177–180, with 37 plates.

²²⁹ The icon was commissioned for the monastery of Taxiarches in Cesarea on the Black Sea coast; see M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Εικόνας...*, p. 280 (n° 95). The same combination of iconographic subjects can be seen on a triptych from the same collection; see *The World of the Byzantine Museum in Athens*, p. 214, fig. 182.

²³⁰ A seventeenth-century *epigonation* icon (tempera on panel), featuring the Tree of Jesse, was located in the collection of the monastery of St. Catherine during the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria expeditions to Mount Sinai. This icon (Princeton work

epitrachelia, the representation has proven to be an equally successful solution. The depiction of the Mother of God of the Tree of Jesse rapidly gained widespread acceptance, superseding earlier images of the Virgin Mary on *epitrachelia*, including *The prophets from on high* and the *Akathistos Hymn*.

Conclusion

The Akathistos *epitrachelion* preserved at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore is the latest of five documented liturgical stoles adorned with a representation of the Marian hymn sung on the fifth Saturday of Lent. In addition to the Walters embroidery, two *epitrachelia* from the later part of the sixteenth century feature the same iconographic subject. These are the *epitrachelion* of bishop Dorotheos from the Athonite monastery of Stavronikita and the fragmentarily preserved *epitrachelion* offered by members of the Moldavian ruling family to the monastery of Sucevița in 1599. Furthermore, there are two liturgical stoles dating back to the seventeenth century that feature a complete set of images illustrating the Marian hymn. One of these is Anthim of Adrianoupolis' *epitrachelion*, which is currently kept at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. The other is an identical stole preserved at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul. Even though other examples may surface, it seems unlikely that this particular type of *epitrachelion* saw a significant recurrence after the 1600s. The emergence of new models of *epitrachelia* decorated with the Tree of Jesse most likely contributed to the decline in the popularity of Akathistos stoles.

During the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, *epitrachelia* adorned with the Tree of Jesse were manufactured in workshops in Greece, Ukraine, Russia, Armenia and possibly even the Romanian Principalities. Nevertheless, Cretan artisans were the ones who initially integrated the Tree of Jesse into the design of various types of liturgical garments, including *sakkoi*, *epigonatia* and probably also *epitrachelia*. The composition

No 11 / Michigan Inv. No 18) provides evidence of the spread of the iconographic subject on this type of priestly vestment. A templon veil (179.5 x 54.4 cm) with a representation of the Tree of Jesse, dated to the seventeenth-century, is preserved at the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos: A. Karakatsanis (ed.), *Treasures of Mount Athos...*, p. 489 (n° 11.38, catalogue entry by M. Theochari). A *phelonion* (170 x 147cm) dated to the late eighteenth or nineteenth-century, preserved at the monastery of Xeropotamou, is adorned with the Tree of Jesse: *ibid.*, p. 455 (n° 11.6, catalogue entry by M. Theochari).

of the Tree of Jesse reproduced on priestly garments in the seventeenth century departs from the examples seen on the wall paintings of Orthodox churches across the Balkans. Instead, it draws upon a version that gained prominence among Cretan artists who were exposed to Western, Marian-centered interpretations of the subject. Cretan *sakkoi* featuring a combination of the Tree of Jesse and Christ the Vine had become popular enough during the seventeenth century for patriarch Dionysios Mouselimis to commission his *sakkos* in a Viennese workshop, where it was embroidered with the exact same combination of subjects.

The *Akathistos Hymn* and the depiction of the Virgin as a rod from the line of Jesse both convey similar theological concepts. The *Akathistos Hymn* is a celebration of the divine Logos, who assumed human form through the Virgin Mary. A poem initially composed for the Annunciation or the Nativity festivals, the *Akathistos Hymn* later evolved into a distinct feast commemorated in the middle of the Lenten season. Christ's earthly genealogy is a topic associated with the feast of the Nativity and the preceding Sunday of the Forefathers. It affirms the doctrine of the Incarnation, particularly by highlighting the royal lineage of Christ, as stated in the opening of the Gospel of Matthew (Mt. 1:1-17). As opposed to the *Akathistos Hymn*, which adheres to a linear, narrative structure, the Tree of Jesse is visually represented by an iconic composition with strong visual impact and a lower degree of complexity. Unlike the *Akathistos* cycle, it does not illustrate a single text. The exaltation of the Mother of God emerging from the root of the Old Testament monarchs is supported by the Christian exegesis of Matthew 1, Psalm 44/45 and Isaiah 11, and is particularly evident in homilies composed for Marian feasts. The iconographic type of the Tree of Jesse centred on the Mother of God was known both in Western and Byzantine art. As early as the sixteenth century, Cretan painters played an important part in spreading the image through portable icons, which finally resulted in its inclusion in liturgical embroidery. In a paradoxical turn of events, the embroiderer of Metrophanes of Cyzicus' stole employed an iconographic model for the *Akathistos* cycle that is likewise of Cretan provenance.

This article offered a detailed examination of two iconographic versions of the *Akathistos* cycle. One of these, Princeton MS Garrett 13, proposes a well-established iconographic model that can be traced back to a pictorial tradition developed on Crete during the late fourteenth century. In contrast,

the embroiderer of the stole commissioned by Metrophanes of Cyzicus drew inspiration from different sources to create an eclectic iconographic version of the Akathistos cycle. The miniatures in Garrett 13 served as its primary source. However, he adapted the manuscript model to suit his own needs. The differences between the two visual renditions of the *Akathistos Hymn* provide insight into the process of transferring the model from the manuscript version onto the textile medium of the *epitrachelion*. Simplified scenes with reduced details reflect the limitations of the embroiderer compared with the illuminator's ability to achieve finer details. In contrast with the sequential presentation of miniatures in the Princeton manuscript, the scenes embroidered on the two vertical bands of the Walters *epitrachelion* are arranged in an alternating pattern from left to right. Therefore, some of the variations between the *Akathistos* stole and its model (the manuscript) are due to the embroiderer's deliberate attempt to enhance the coherence of the visual narrative on the *epitrachelion*. Moreover, the decision was made to replace specific scenes of the Princeton *Akathistos* that showed a noticeable Western influence with models originating from the Balkan repertoire. This choice highlights the embroiderer's artistic background and his affiliation with the traditional Constantinopolitan artistic milieu in which he operated. Technical aspects of the embroidery, such as the flat relief with a variety of stitching styles, which are also present on other garments made by workshops based in the Ottoman capital (e.g., the *epimanikia* of patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis adorned with the Baptism and the Transfiguration scenes or the *epitrachelion* with the *Akathistos Hymn* from the collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul), lend further credence to the assumption that the Walters *epitrachelion* was manufactured in Constantinople.

Not much is known about Metrophanes of Cyzicus. However, we do know that he was not a Constantinopolitan by birth. He was born in the city of Thebes in central Greece and took great pride in his Theban origins. He held the position of metropolitan of Cyzicus from approximately the mid-seventeenth century until after 1675. During his tenure, he actively participated in the decisions made by the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of which he was a member. His nephew, Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodona, speaks of him in laudatory terms, placing particular emphasis on his eloquence. The exact circumstances under which Gregoras composed his two epigrams dedicated to Metrophanes of Cyzicus remain unclear. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to

assume that he composed them shortly after his uncle resigned from his position as metropolitan, having faithfully served the Patriarchate and his congregation for a considerable number of years.

There is no information about Metrophanes of Cyzicus' *epitrachelion* prior to its acquisition by Henry Walters. Moreover, the exact date of acquisition and the provenance of the Akathistos stole remain unclear as a result of the loss of the purchase records. My comparison between the full-page miniatures in Garrett 13 and the embroidered Akathistos cycle strongly suggests that the iconographic scheme of the *epitrachelion* was modelled on an illuminated version of the *Akathistos Hymn*. If Luke of Cyprus' *Akathistos* copy served as a direct source for the embroiderer, this would further imply that the Garrett 13 manuscript possibly made its way to Constantinople (potentially as a diplomatic gift) before being transferred to Mount Athos. Manuscript Garrett 13 was acquired by Thomas Whittemore (1871–1950) in 1924 from the Athonite Skete of Saint Andrew of the Russians and sold the same year to collector Robert Garrett (1875–1951).²³¹ The codex containing the *Akathistos* copies by Luke of Cyprus and Matthew of Myra had been added to the library of the Athonite Skete in 1903.²³² Three years prior, in 1900, the Skete of Saint Andrew purchased an illuminated *Gospel Book* from Constantinople dating back to the thirteenth century.²³³ The manuscript which later became Garrett 13 might have been acquired in a similar way, possibly from Constantinople.²³⁴

The representation of the Akathistos cycle on liturgical stoles marked the hymn's complete assimilation into the ecclesiastical art of the Orthodox East.

²³¹ S. Kotzabassi, N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts...*, p. xvii–xviii, 94–95; G. Parpulov, "A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts..." p. 71.

²³² The year is inscribed by hand on f. 1' of Luke of Cyprus' *Akathistos*, positioned below the circular golden stamp that has been identified as belonging to the Skete of St. Andrew of the Russians.

²³³ Before it was acquired by the Russian monastery on Mount Athos, the manuscript was in Constantinople, in the possession of Sophia Negroponte. Subsequently, Thomas Whittemore acquired the illuminated Gospel Book (currently designated as the Walters Museum W. 526) from the Russian Skete and offered it for sale to collector Henry Walters; see D. de Ricci, W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, vol. 1, New York, 1935, p. 759 (n° 9); G. Parpulov, "A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts..." p. 101.

²³⁴ It is worth mentioning that the two manuscripts, which were acquired by the Russian Skete three years apart, display distinct stamps. For the black ink stamp on Walters MS 526, f. 1', see *ibid.*, p. 101, and <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W526/> (accessed on 06.12.2023).

The current shortage of Byzantine *epitrachelia* featuring the *Akathistos Hymn* along with the significant concentration of such occurrences in the period after the Byzantine era support this idea. The early omission of the theme from *epitrachelia* illustrates the conservative tendencies of liturgical embroidery in terms of iconography. The conventional iconographic repertory of *epitrachelia*, centred on the sacred nature of the priestly ministry instituted by Christ passed down through the apostles and exemplified in the ministry of the holy bishops, had to be expanded to include the Marian hymn and its more nuanced associations with the liturgy. In spite of the custom of depicting the Annunciation scene the royal doors leading to the sanctuary and the presence of the *Akathistos* cycle in or near the altar apse (as evidenced by the late Byzantine programs at Dečani Monastery, King Marko's Monastery, and the church of Panagia Roustika on Crete), it appears that the twenty-four scenes of the *Akathistos Hymn* were not added to liturgical stoles until a later date. Should this hypothesis prove to be accurate, further research is necessary in order to identify the main factors that led to the emergence of Marian imagery on post-Byzantine priestly attire.

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROMANIAN TRADITION OF THE *AKATHISTOS HYMN* BETWEEN VARIATION AND STANDARDISATION¹

Emanuela Timotin

The *Akathistos Hymn* (henceforth AH), the most famous Byzantine liturgical poem dedicated to the Virgin, was repeatedly translated into Romanian in the seventeenth century.² The first Romanian translations appeared at a late period not only in comparison to the Greek tradition, which dated very likely to the fifth century,³ but also in respect to other textual traditions rendered from Greek, such as the Latin, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Slavonic, or the Armenian.⁴ The Romanian

¹ This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS – UEFSCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0995, within PNCD III.

² Mariana Costinescu and Cristina-Ioana Dima were the first to draw attention to this important aspect of the Romanian tradition of the AH; see M. Costinescu, “Versiuni din secolul al XVII-lea ale *Acatistului* și *Paraclisului Precistei*,” in *Studii de limbă literară și filologie*, vol. 3, Bucharest, 1974, p. 217-239; C.-I. Dima, “Primele traduceri românești ale *Acatistului Maicii Domnului*,” LR 58, n° 1, 2009, p. 74-85. The research within the AKATHYMN project has enriched knowledge about this topic; see E. Timotin, D. Mutalâp, “Cele mai vechi versiuni românești ale *Imnului Acatist*. Manuscrise și copiiști,” LR 70, n° 1, 2021, p. 91-110; D. Mutalâp, “Când au fost realizate cele mai vechi versiuni manuscrise românești ale *Imnului Acatist*?,” LR 70, n° 3-4, 2021, p. 511-527; E. Timotin, O. Olar, “The Oldest Romanian Manuscript and Printed Versions of the *Akathistos Hymn* (Seventeenth Century),” RRL 67, n° 1, 2022, p. 65-83; D. Mutalâp, “O versiune românească necunoscută a *Imnului Acatist* de la finele secolului al XVII-lea,” LR 72, n° 3-4, 2023, p. 369-415; E. Timotin, M.-G. Hâncu, I. Paraschiv, “Grammatical Changes in the Seventeenth-Century Romanian Translation of the Slavonic *Akathistos Hymn*,” RRL 69, n° 1-2, 2024, p. 77-107; Dosoftei, *Carte de rugăciuni, 1673*, ed. C.-I. Dima, Bucharest, 2024; E. Timotin, C.-I. Dima, M.-G. Hâncu, D. Mutalâp, *Imnul Acatist în literatura română din veacul al XVII-lea*, Bucharest, forthcoming.

³ See L. M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2001; E. M. Toniolo, OSM, *Akathistos, inno alla madre di Dio. Edizione metrica, mistagogia, commento al testo*, Rome, 2017.

⁴ See mainly Dom M. Huglo, “L’ancienne version latine de l’*Hymne acathiste*,” *Le Muséon* 64, n° 12, 1951, p. 27-61 (for the Latin tradition); S. P. Brock, “The *Akathist Hymn* in a Syriac Translation,” *ibid.* 135, n° 1-2, 2022, p. 47-81 (for the Syriac tradition); I. Feodorov, “New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant and its Connections to the Romanian Presses,” RESEE 56, n° 1-4, 2018, p. 217-221; eadem, “Conexiunile românești ale primului *Acatist* arab

textual tradition of the AH thus appeared almost three centuries later than the first depiction of the Akathistos cycle in the Romanian-speaking regions, which featured in the late fourteenth-century frescoes of Cozia Monastery (Vâlcea County).⁵ Since that period, the Akathistos cycle has been reproduced unceasingly in various media: on frescoes of numerous churches,⁶ in illuminated manuscripts, mainly Greek, which were produced or circulated in Romanian context⁷ and on

tipărit,” *Philologica Jassyensia* 18, n° 1(35), 2022, p. 13-26 (for the Arabic tradition, especially on the first printed Arabic *Akathistos*, dating to the eighteenth century, and its connections with the Romanian environment); J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des Serbischen Psalters der Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München. Nach einer Belgrader Kopie ergänzt und im Zusammenhange mit der Syrichen Bilderredaktion des Psalters untersucht*, Vienna, 1906; H. Belting (ed.), *Der Serbische Psalter. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 1978; M. Momina, “Славянский перевод Ύμνος Ἀκάθιστος,” *Полаца књигописная* 14–15, 1985, p. 132-160; A. F. Gove, *The Slavic Akathistos Hymn. Poetic Elements of the Byzantine Text and its Old Church Slavonic Translation*, München, 1988 (for the Slavonic tradition); A. Drost-Abgarjan, H. Glotz, “An Armenian Translation of the *Hymnos Akathistos*: Introduction, Edition, German Translation and Armenian-Greek Glossary,” in H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkovska, R. F. Taft (eds), *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honour of Gabriele Winkler*, Rome, 2000, p. 193-249; A. Drost-Abgarjan, “Die Rezeption des *Hymnos Akathistos* in Armenien: Eine neu entdeckte Übersetzung des Akathistos Hymnos aus dem 12. Jahrhundert,” in M. Altripp (ed.), *Byzanz in Europa: Europas östliche Erbe*, Turnhout, 2011, p. 422-445; eadem, “*Akathistos Hymn* Translations in Armenian Literature” in the first volume of this book (for the Armenian tradition). Given the history of writing in Romanian, the seventeenth-century Romanian recensions of the AH are not very late; see n. 11.

⁵ G. Babić, “L’iconographie constantinopolitaine de l’Acatiste de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie),” *ZRVI* 14–15, 1973, p. 173-189, with 15 illustrations.

⁶ See mainly O. Iacubovschi, “Der *Akathistos Hymnos* im 16. Jahrhundert. Narthex programm des Klosterkirchen in der Wallachei,” *RESEE* 48, n° 1–4, 2010, p. 77-90; eadem, “Der Akathistos-Bilderzyklus in der Waldmalerei der Wallachei im 16. Jahrhundert,” *EBPB* 6, 2011, p. 289-324; C. Ciobanu, “La symétrie dissimulée dans l’ordonnance des illustrations aux strophes de la deuxième moitié de l’*Hymne Acatiste* peintes sur la façade méridionale de l’église de la Décollation de Saint-Jean le Précurseur du village d’Arbore,” *RRHA, Série Beaux-Arts* 48, 2011, p. 123-138; idem, “Les représentations iconographiques de l’*Hymne Acatiste* sous Petru Rareș comme critère de datation des peintures murales de l’église moldave d’Arbore (XVI^e siècle),” in the first volume of this book; V. Bedros, “‘The Saturday of the *Akathistos*’ Reflected in Moldavian *Zborniki* and Marian Imagery from the Early Fifteenth to Mid-Sixteenth Century,” *ibid.*

⁷ See recently G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Imnul Acatist al Maicii Domnului. Ediție facsimilată după manuscrisul grec 113 al Bibliotecii Academiei Române*, Bucharest, 2019, with important bibliography on the topic; L. Cotovanu, “Les destinataires de l’œuvre manuscrite de Matthieu de Myres: nouvelles constatations,” in this volume; O. Olar, “A Post-Byzantine Calligrapher: Luke of Cyprus,” *ibid.*

liturgical vestments created for high hierarchs of the Orthodox Church.⁸ A skete dedicated to the *Akathistos* was built in northern Moldavia (Neamț County) at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹

In parallel with the continuous representation of the Akathistos cycle, there was an important production of Greek and Slavonic manuscripts of the AH in the Romanian-speaking regions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among these, some were deluxe manuscripts, meant to be offered to important commissioners, while most of them were used in the liturgy.¹⁰ In this context, the emergence of Romanian translations of the AH marked a turning point: in the history of Romanian literature, with its earliest surviving text dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century,¹¹ in the history of Marian literature in Romanian,¹² and in the history of the liturgy in Romanian, since the AH is read on the Saturday of the fifth week of Lent.¹³

⁸ See O. Iacubovschi, "The *Epitrachelion* of Metropolitan Metrophanes of Cyzicus at the Walters Art Museum and its Embroidered Version of the *Akathistos Hymn*," *ibid.*

⁹ Eadem, "From Liturgy to Private Devotion: Reading and Viewing and Celebrating the *Akathistos Hymn* in Late Sixteenth-Century Moldavia," in J. C. Cubas Díaz (ed.), *The Akathistos Hymnos and Intermedial Compositional Processes in Later Byzantium. Sung, Written, Painted*, London, 2025, in press.

¹⁰ See L. Cotovanu, "Les destinataires...;" O. Olar, "A Post-Byzantine Calligrapher...;" M.-G. Hâncu, "One Side of the Coin...".

¹¹ The first original (that is, non-translated) text available in Romanian, a letter of a Wallachian merchant, dates from 1521; see Gh. Chivu *et alii*, *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 95. This letter has long been considered to be the oldest text written in Romanian. However, recent research has shown that a manuscript *Psalter* translated from Slavonic was copied around the year 1500; see Al. Mareș, "Considerații pe marginea datării *Psaltirii Hurmuzaki*," LR 49, n° 4–6, 2000, p. 675–683.

¹² The Romanian apocryphal tradition related to the Virgin – especially the *Apocalypse of the Virgin* and the *Dream of the Virgin* – has been under important scrutiny lately: C.-I. Dima, *Apocalipsul Maicii Domnului. Versiuni românești din secolele al XVI-lea – al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, 2012; eadem, "L'Apocalypse de la Vierge Marie. Versions roumaines du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle," in M. Cioată, A. Miltenova, E. Timotin (eds), *Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe and Related Areas*, Brăila, 2021, p. 219–248; E. Timotin, "Versifier la Passion. Les versions roumaines versifiées du *Rêve de la Vierge* dans leur contexte littéraire (XVII^e–XIX^e siècles)," *Neophilologus* 102, n° 4, 2018, p. 471–481; eadem, "An Unknown Romanian Recension of the *Dream of the Virgin*," in C. Bogdan, C.-I. Dima, E. Timotin (eds), *Représentations de la Vierge Marie entre culte officiel et vénération locale. Textes et images*, Heidelberg, 2022, p. 249–265. For the Romanian liturgical tradition related to the Virgin, more exactly for the *Paraklesis of the Virgin*, translated in the seventeenth century, see M. Costinescu, "Versiuni din secolul al XVII-lea...".

¹³ For the translation movement of liturgical texts into Romanian beginning with the the sixteenth century, and for the role of multiple translations in the enrichment of this literature, see generally

This chapter focuses on the seventeenth-century Romanian tradition of the AH and studies the process of its adaptation in Romanian literature. I will focus both on manuscripts and books and will inquire about their filiation; I will examine to what extent the Romanian translators attempted to preserve the main prosodical elements of the AH and I will shed light on the main rhetorical strategies devised by the translators and scribes in order to render the AH in Romanian. I will also pay attention to how these rhetorical strategies evolved over the course of the seventeenth century.

I. The Romanian Tradition of the AH in the Seventeenth Century

The AH appears in five manuscripts and in four books from the seventeenth century. The AH was always embedded in larger liturgical texts. None of these recensions was a poetic text; they were all prose translations. Yet all of them preserved a series of prosodical elements of the poem: the 24 stanzas were always clearly delimited; a refrain concluded the long and the short stanzas; the series of twelve acclamations addressed to the Virgin and present in long stanzas consistently began with the verb *bucură-te* “rejoice,” corresponding to Gr. Χαῖρε / Sl. Радуйся (see also II below).

The manuscripts of the AH are preserved in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (BAR Rom MSS 170, 540, 1348, and 5027) and in the Museum of Oltenia in Craiova (MS I 529).

Three of them, MSS 170 (f. 193^r–217^v), 540 (f. 172^r–203^v), and MS I 529 (f. 84^r–93^v), form a unique group: they witness to the oldest Romanian translation of the AH. It was a translation from Slavonic, indicated by the short fragments in Slavonic (titles and marginalia) present in all three witnesses. The manuscripts were written in Moldavia (Neamț County) between 1633 and 1650 (MS 540),¹⁴ before 1650 (MS 170)¹⁵ and toward the end of the cen-

Z. Mihail, “Retranslating, a Method Employed in Romanian Religious Literature,” in L. Taseva (ed.), *Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие*, Sofia, 2006, p. 491–501; Al. Gafton, *De la traducere la norma literară. Contribuția traducerii textului biblic la constituirea vechii norme literare*, Iași, 2012; Al. Mareș, “The First Romanian Translations of Patristic Writings,” in L. Taseva, R. Marti (eds), *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe*, Brăila, 2020, p. 283–300.

¹⁴ On the basis of the analysis of watermarks, D. Mutalâp showed that the manuscript was written between 1633 and 1651 (“Când au fost realizate...,” p. 517). Further research into the textual tradition showed that MS 540 was prior to MS 170, which was written before 1650.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

tury (MS I 529).¹⁶ All were copied in monastic environments, in Bisericani Monastery or maybe in its proximity (Neamț Monastery). In all three manuscripts, the AH was copied close to other liturgical texts, among which the *Psalter* and the *Paraklesis of the Virgin* are recurrent.¹⁷

The three manuscripts share an otherwise rare feature: they frequently include double readings scattered throughout the texts. These double readings can be sentences, phrases or isolated words. They are usually written neither in the margins nor in parentheses, but they have been inserted in the text and separated from the previous readings by the number “2” (Fig. 1).¹⁸ Their features distinguish double readings from double translations, which rely on the rendering of a word by two distinct words, most often coordinated.¹⁹ The use of double readings is occasionally attested in biblical manuscripts,²⁰ but it is employed systematically in the Romanian manuscripts discussed here. In the AH in MS 170, for example, there is a variable number of double readings per page, which ranges from 3 to 10. In all cases, the manuscripts do not show scratches, and none of the double readings are drafts or systematic corrections.²¹

¹⁶ Idem, “O versiune românească necunoscută a *Imnului Acatist...*”.

¹⁷ E. Timotin, D. Mutalâp, “Cele mai vechi versiuni românești ale *Imnului Acatist...*,” p. 92-98; D. Mutalâp, “O versiune românească necunoscută a *Imnului Acatist...*”.

¹⁸ There are few other Romanian manuscripts which present multiple readings inserted in the text and separated from the previous ones by numbers (e.g. BAR Rom MSS 69, 85, 296, and 1252). None of them includes the AH, so I will not insist upon them; see however Gh. Ghibănescu, “Un manuscript vechiu românesc. Secolul al XVII-lea” (I-II), *Arhiva* 21, n° 4, 5-6, 1910, p. 187, 212-215; M. Combiescu, “*Psaltirea de la Mehadia*,” LR 17, n° 3, 1968, p. 264; eadem, “*Apostolul din colecția Gaster*,” in *Studii de limbă literară și filologie*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 1969, p. 173-187; E. Timotin, D. Mutalâp, “Cele mai vechi versiuni românești ale *Imnului Acatist...*,” p. 103-104; D. Mutalâp, “O versiune românească necunoscută a *Imnului Acatist...*”.

¹⁹ For the use of double translations in Slavonic medieval literature, see, for example, S. Fahl, D. Fahl, “Doppelübersetzungen und Paraphrasen in der kirchenslavischen Übersetzung des ‘Corpus areopagiticum’ durch den Mönchsgelehrten Isaija,” in L. Taseva (ed.), *Многократните преводи...*, p. 445-466; A. Dimitrova, “Double Translations as a Characteristic Feature of the Old Church Slavonic Translation of John Chrysostom’s *Commentaries on Acts*,” *Studia Ceranea* 9, 2019, p. 407-428. For their use in Romanian seventeenth-century religious literature, see, for example, I. I. Roman, “Un *Apostol* brașovean din secolul al XVII-lea,” LR 12, n° 5, 1963, p. 561-562.

²⁰ See G. Dublin, “The Doublet Readings in the Book of Kells,” *Hermathena* 94, 1960, p. 103-106; S. Talmon, “Double Readings in the Massoretic Text,” *Textus* 1, 1960, p. 144-184; S. Brock, “A Doublet and its Ramifications,” *Biblica* 56, 1975, p. 550-553.

²¹ Cf. S. Mariev, “Tracking Changes and Corrections in Bessarion’s Manuscripts,” in *Il libro di Bessarione in difesa di Platone: nell’officina dell’ultimo filosofo bizantino*. Venezia, Museo Correr, 23 agosto – 31 ottobre 2022, Venice, 2022, p. 65-76.

Another manuscript, BAR MS 1348 (f. 85^r–104^v), is a bilingual codex with a Slavonic version of the AH on the left side of the folios and the Romanian version on the right side. It is a unique manuscript in the Slavonic and the

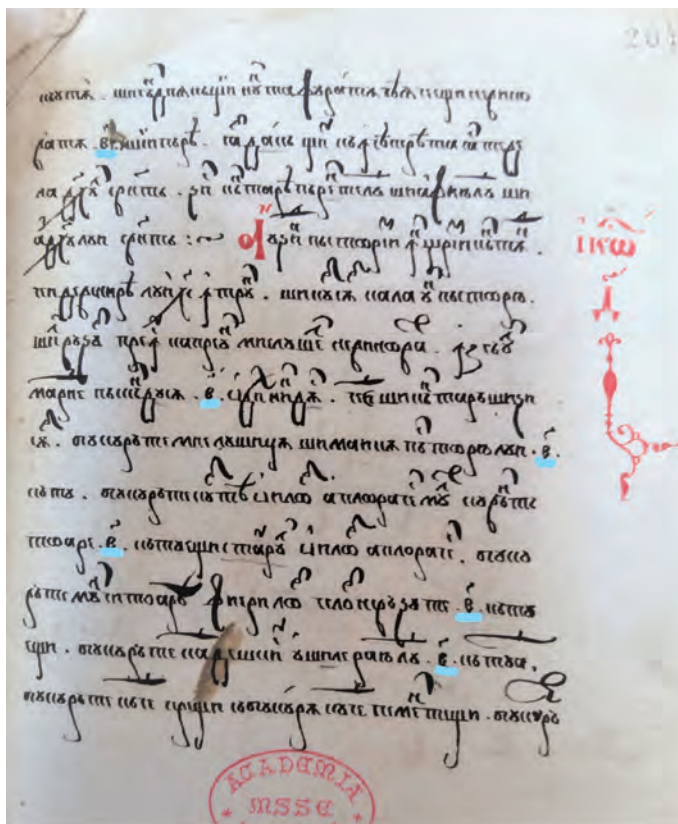


Fig. 1. BAR Rom MS 170, f. 204^r. I underlined the figure “2” (“B” in Cyrillic script) which introduces the double readings.

Courtesy of the Library of the Romanian Academy.

Romanian traditions of the AH. An anonymous scribe copied it after a Slavo-Romanian dictionary, in Wallachia; the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the manuscript is 1683.²²

²² See mainly M.-G. Hâncu, “Acatistul Maicii Domnului într-un manuscris bilingv din 1683: probleme ale traducerii din slavonă în română,” *Rsl* 58, n° 2, 2022, p. 20-40; idem, “One Side of the Coin...”.

The AH features in a manuscript *Triodion* of the last decade of the seventeenth century (BAR MS 5027). The scribe was a prolific translator of liturgical books and translated it from Slavonic. He was of foreign origin.²³ Sometimes he signed as *Alexandru Rusul* “Alexander the Russian” (BAR Rom MS 2644),²⁴ yet his Russian origin is not sure. On the basis of the main linguistic features of his texts, Alexandru Mareș suggested that Alexandru Rusul was of Ukrainian origin.²⁵ Still, he occasionally introduced himself as *praeceptor Polonus* (BAR Rom MSS 2452, 5026)²⁶ and he wrote in Polish in the margin of a manuscript *Penticostarion* (BAR Rom MS 5026).²⁷

Apart from the manuscript tradition, there was an important printed tradition of the AH in Romanian which emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century. The AH was printed by important clergymen in Moldavia and Walachia. First, it was published by Dosoftei, metropolitan of Moldavia (1671–1674, 1675–1686), in Uniev (nowadays western Ukraine) in 1673 (CRV 66).²⁸ Dosoftei’s book was a *Prayer Book*, in which the AH featured right at the beginning. It was followed by the *Canon* and the *Paraklesis of the Virgin*, as well as by other canons and prayers. Fortunately, several copies

²³ See G. Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, vol. 4, Bucharest, 1992, p. 181; R.-G. Păun, “Slujba la sărbătoarea Duminicii Ortodoxiei. Pentru o istorie a *Triodului* în limba română,” in E. Timotin (ed.), *Elemente de ceremonial în literatura din spațiul românesc (secolele al XIV-lea – al XVIII-lea)*, Bucharest, 2019, p. 126-150 (with the edition of the *Canon* by Patriarch Methodius present in the *Triodion* on p. 141-150). For the translator’s biography and rich activity, see *ibid.*, p. 139, n. 55; R.-G. Păun, I. Biliarsky, *Du combat pour la « juste foi » au péché politique. Pour une histoire du Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie*, Vienna, 2022, p. 105.

²⁴ G. Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, vol. 2, Bucharest, 1983, p. 344.

²⁵ Al. Mareș, “Povestea călugăriței care și-a scos ochii (versiunea din *Codicele Drăganu*),” in idem, *Cărți populare din secolele al XVI-lea – al XVIII-lea. Contribuții filologice*, Bucharest, 2006, p. 161-162; idem, “Elemente de ceremonial aulic într-un manuscris slavon din secolul al XVI-lea,” in E. Timotin (ed.), *Elemente de ceremonial...*, p. 61.

²⁶ G. Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor...*, vol. 2, p. 275; *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 181.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 181. G. Ștrempel considered that the note was written in Croatian. I am grateful to Prof. Constantin Geambașu (University of Bucharest) and to Prof. Davor Nikolić (University of Zagreb) who kindly read the note for me and confirmed that it was written in Polish.

²⁸ I. Bianu, N. Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche. 1508–1830*, vol. 1: *1508–1716*, Bucharest, 1903, p. 215; C.-I. Dima, “Primele traduceri românești ale *Acatistului*...,” Dosoftei, *Carte de rugăciuni*, 1673.

have survived up, which enabled Cristina-Ioana Dima to reconstruct its transmission history.²⁹

Another AH appeared in Bucharest, probably between 1679–1683, most likely after 1681, in the Metropolitan Printing House, when Teodosie was archbishop of Wallachia (1668–1672, 1679–1708). The book is preserved in a unique, fragmentary copy at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (CRV 81A).³⁰ Just like in Dosoftei's *Prayer Book*, the AH featured at the beginning of Teodosie's book and was followed by the *Paraklesis of the Virgin* and by other prayers.

It had a similar position in the book which Antim, metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716), published in 1698 at Snagov Monastery, when he was a hieromonk in the monastery. The Romanian Synod Library keeps a complete copy of it, as well as a fragmentary one (I 4121).³¹ The title of the book is *Acatistul către Preasfânta Născătoare de Dumnezeu și cu alte rugăciuni* "The Akathistos to the Holy Mother of God and Other Prayers."

Mitrofan, bishop of Buzău (1691–1702), published it in the Slavo-Romanian *Triodion* printed in Buzău in 1700 (CRV 121).³²

²⁹ C.-I. Dima, "La première version de l'*Hymne Acatiste* imprimée en roumain. Réflexions sur un livre peu connu du métropolite Dosoftei," in the first volume of this book.

³⁰ I. Corfus, "Contribuțiuni la *Bibliografia românească veche*," RIR 15, n° 4, 1945, p. 499; D. Poenaru, *Contribuții la Bibliografia românească veche*, Târgoviște, 1973, p. 23-24; Archim. P. Chițulescu, "Completări și îndreptări la *Bibliografia românească veche*," *Libraria. Studii și cercetări de bibliologie* 14–15, 2015–2016, p. 142-145; idem, "Un *Acatist* necunoscut tipărit la București," *Tezaur* 2, n° 3, 2021, martie, p. 8; E. Timotin, "Două descântece românești inedite pe marginea unui *Acatist al Născătoarei de Dumnezeu* tipărit în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea," in C.-I. Dima, A.-M. Gherman, G. Mihăilescu (eds), *De rebus philologiae mirabilibus. In honorem Mihai Moraru*, Bucharest, 2021, p. 243-258.

³¹ See N. Șerbănescu, "Încă o carte tipărită de mitropolitul Antim Ivireanul. Contribuție la *Bibliografia românească veche*," BOR 94, n° 3–4, 1976, p. 349-355; Archim. P. Chițulescu, "O redescoperire: un *Acatist* tipărit la Snagov în 1698 de către Sf. Antim Ivireanul," *Libraria. Studii și cercetări de bibliologie* 8, 2009, p. 12-132; Z. Mihail, "Răspândirea scrierilor Sfântului Antim în Basarabia," *Tabor* 7, n° 9, 2013, p. 33-42; Archim. P. Chițulescu, "Completări și îndreptări..." p. 141-163; E. Timotin, "Despre vechea tradiție românească a *Imnului Acatist*. Versiunea tipărită de Antim Ivireanul," in A. Dragomirescu *et alii* (eds), *Rodica Zafiu. Lingvista, profesoara, colega, prietena*, Bucharest, 2023, p. 845-857 (including the edition of the AH).

³² For this book, see I. Bianu, N. Hodoș, *Bibliografia...*, vol. 1, p. 402-409. For the presence of a specific text celebrating the Triumph of Orthodoxy in this book, see I. Biliarsky, R. G. Păun, "La version roumaine du Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie (Buzău, 1700) et les combats pour la 'juste foi' à la fin du XVII^e siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe* 58, n° 3, 2017, p. 395-434;

These data show that in the seventeenth century the Romanian AH circulated in various books: in prayer books (Dosoftei's, Teodosie's and Antim's), in liturgical manuscripts for weekly use in monastic communities (BAR MSS 170, 540; Craiova MS I 529),³³ in manuscripts or books for the Lenten period (BAR MS 5027's *Triodion*; Mitrofan's *Triodion*). It rarely appears in relation to non-religious texts (BAR MS 1348).³⁴

Not only the composition of manuscripts and books which included the AH varied in the seventeenth century, but also the text itself. There are several levels of textual variation: variants related to the original structure of the AH, to the specific features of the Romanian translations, and to the process of creation of a stable Romanian tradition of the AH.

II. Challenging the Prosodical Constraints: the Refrains of the AH in the Seventeenth-Century Romanian Tradition

The refrains of the AH often varied in the seventeenth-century Romanian tradition. This variation contradicts a key prosodical element of the text. In the Greek tradition of the AH and in the other traditions which rely on it, there are two types of refrains: one of the long stanzas (gr. Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε, sl. Радуйса невѣсто ненеvѣстнаа "Hail, Bride Unwedded"), one of the short stanzas (gr. Ἀλληλούϊα, sl. Аллилуѿа "Alleluia").

Most seventeenth-century Romanian manuscripts did not obey the prosodic rule or followed it partially.

The three manuscripts produced in Moldavia (BAR MSS 170, 540; Craiova MS I 529) systematically used an approximative translation of the word "Alleluia" as refrain in the short stanzas: *cântarea Părintelui și a Fiului și a Duhului Svânt* "the song of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."³⁵ In contrast, the refrain of the long stanzas was very variable. This

R.-G. Păun, I. Biliarsky, *Du combat pour la « juste foi »...*, with edition of the text on p. 235-253.

³³ See E. Timotin, D. Mutalâp, "Cele mai vechi versiuni românești ale *Imnului Acatist*...", p. 102-103.

³⁴ For the use and the function of the AH in the eighteenth-century Romanian tradition, see D. Mutalâp, "Shapes, Forms and Uses of the *Akathistos Hymn* in the Eighteenth-Century Romanian Manuscripts and Printed Books," in the first volume of this book.

³⁵ The word "Alleluia" is correctly translated in some sixteenth-century Romanian Psalters; see Al. Mareș, "Filiația psaltirilor românești din secolul al XVI-lea," in I. Gheție (ed.), *Cele mai*

variation needs to be understood in light of the specific organization of the texts, which frequently included double readings. These doublets, inserted in the text, were separated from the previous reading by the figure “2” (Table 1). In BAR MS 540, the refrain of the long stanzas, though identical, had double readings, hence its variation. The first reading – *Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită* “Rejoice, bride unwedded!”³⁶ – calqued the Slavonic source: the verb in the imperative second person singular (*bucură-te* “rejoice”) was followed by a name in vocative (*nevastă* “bride”³⁷), modified by a less usual adjective derived from it (*nenevestită* “unwedded”³⁸). The second reading, *bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!* “Rejoice, bride and still virgin,” had a specific pattern, in which the verb in the imperative second person singular (*bucură-te* “rejoice”) was followed by two vocatives (*nevastă* “bride,” *fecioară* “virgin”); the latter was part of a nominal group (*tot fecioară* “still virgin”) and was modified by an adverbial clitic (*tot* “still”).

In later manuscripts, such as BAR MS 170,³⁹ the second reading presented two specific features. First of all, it did not preserve the verb and it became *nevastă și tot fecioară* “bride and still virgin.” This absence is surprising, because the verb is a key-word in the long stanzas of the AH, where it opens all the twelve acclamations to Mary, as well as the refrain. Under the circumstances, it is very likely that its presence was implied and that it was read, recited or sung, although it was not present in the text. The second reading of the refrain of two long stanzas of MS 170 {7, 23}⁴⁰ omitted not only the verb, but also the word *nevastă* “bride,” so it has become very shortened: *și*

vechi texte românești. Contribuții filologice și lingvistice, Bucharest, 1982, p. 222; I. Camară, “Izvodul bilingv al *Psaltirii Hurmuzaki*,” LR 71, n° 1–2, 2022, p. 43.

³⁶ In this article I provide literal translations of all Romanian passages.

³⁷ *Nevastă* was used with the meaning of “bride” in the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth century it acquired the meaning of “wife,” which is the main meaning in contemporary Romanian; see *Dicționarul limbii române*, vol. 7/1, Bucharest, 1971, s.v.

³⁸ The most important dictionary of Romanian considers the word “unusual” and explains it as “who is not married, unmarried.” No example is quoted; see *ibid.*, s.v. *nenevestită*.

³⁹ MS I 529 closely follows MS 170. Its features are presented in detail in the critical edition of the text, in E. Timotin *et alii*, *Imnul Acatist în literatura română...*

⁴⁰ In the present article, the 24 stanzas of the AH will be rendered as stanzas 1 to 24 and rendered as {1}, {2}, ... {24}. In the process of translation, the Romanian tradition of the AH lost the versified structure. The scribes of manuscripts and typographers did not mark the verses of the stanzas. For the sake of clarity, I will however refer to the verse numbers of each stanza. I will write the numbers of verses between square brackets, meaning that, for example, the first verse of the first stanza will be referred to as {1} [1].

tot fecioară! “and still virgin!” The preservation of the conjunction *și* “and” shows that the reader was obviously supposed to use the noun *nevastă* “bride,” although it was not present in the second reading.

The tendency for variation of refrains is even more obvious in BAR MS 1348, produced in Wallachia in 1683, which displays the Slavonic text in the left column and the Romanian in the right one. The Slavonic refrain of the long stanzas was unchanged: Радуйся невѣсто ненеѣстнаѧ. The Romanian translator calqued it only on one occasion: *Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită!* (MS 1348 {3}). In all the other situations, the translator used a different type of phrase, with several variations: its centre remained the verb *bucură-te* “rejoice,” but the verb was followed by two vocatives in coordination. The second noun is accompanied by the adverbial clitic *tot* “still.” This type of phrase displayed lexical variation with respect to the selection of nouns in the vocative: in most situations the nouns were *nevastă* “bride” and *fecioară* “virgin” (MS 1348 {1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19}), in a couple of situations they were *maică* “mother” and *fecioară* “virgin” (MS 1348 {21, 23}).

The refrain of the short stanzas in MS 1348 shows even more variation, even though the Slavonic text in the same manuscript renders it consistently as аллилуѧа. The word *Aliluia* was used in four stanzas in the Romanian text (MS 1348 {4, 8, 22, 24}). Most often, the refrain was rendered by a phrase with the noun *cântarea* “song” at its centre, followed by a genitive modifier (*cântarea Părintelui* “the song to the Father” MS 1348 {18, 20}; *cântarea Tatălui* “the song to the Father” MS 1348 {12}) or by two nominal modifiers in coordination (*cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului* “the song to the Father and of the Son” MS 1348 {14, 16}; *cântarea Tatălui și a Fiiului* “the song to the Father and the Son” MS 1348 {10}). On two occasions a phrase with the verb *praise* in subjunctive at its centre was used. Its complements are a direct object (*să laudăm pre adevărul Dumnezeu!* “let us praise the true God” MS 1348 {6}) or three coordinated direct objects (*să laudăm pre Tatăl și pre Fiul și Duhul Svânt* “let us praise the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit” MS 1348 {2}).

Unlike the manuscripts mentioned above, the seventeenth-century books and MS 5027 seemed less open to variation. They all followed the prosodical rule of the AH and all used “Alleluia” as refrain of the short stanzas. On the contrary, even in these books and in MS 5027, the refrain of the long stanzas occasionally differed from the model syntactically and lexically.

Dosoftei's AH exclusively used the refrain *Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită* "Rejoice, bride unwedded" in the long stanzas. The refrain calqued the Greek and Slavonic patterns; the same refrain had been previously employed in the first Romanian translation of the AH (BAR MSS 540 and 170). It also featured in the AH printed by Teodosie in Wallachia in 1681 and in MS 5027 written at the very end of the seventeenth century.

The refrain of the long stanzas in Antim's and Mitrofan's AH followed the prosodic rule, but not the syntactic pattern, nor the meaning of the Greek and Slavonic refrains. Here the refrain was: *Bucură-te, maică, pururea fecioară!* "Rejoice, mother, always virgin." Syntactically, the new refrain preserved the verb (*bucură-te* "rejoice") followed by a name in vocative (*maică* "mother"). The latter was no longer modified by an adjective, but followed by an apposition formed by an adverb (*pururea* "always") and a name (*fecioară* "virgin"). From a lexical point of view, this refrain no longer included words belonging to the same lexical family.

Refrain (Greek / Slavonic)	MS 540	MS 170	MS 1348	Dosoftei Teodosie MS 5027	Antim Mitrofan
Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε/ Радуйся невѣсто неневѣстнаа	<i>Bucură-te, nevestă nenevestită 2 bucură- te, nevastă și tot fecioară! “Rejoice, bride unwedded 2 rejoice, bride and still virgin!”</i>	<i>Bucură-te, nevestă nenevestită 2 nevastă și tot fecioară! “Rejoice, bride unwedded 2 bride and still virgin!”</i> <i>Bucură-te, nevestă nenevestită 2 și tot fecioară! “Rejoice, bride unwedded 2 and still virgin!”</i>	<i>Bucură-te, nevestă nenevestită! “Rejoice, bride unwedded!”</i> <i>Bucură-te, nevestă și tot fecioară! “Rejoice, bride and still virgin!”</i> <i>Bucură-te, maică și tot fecioară! “Rejoice, mother and still virgin!”</i>	<i>Bucură-te, nevestă nenevestită! “Rejoice, bride unwedded!”</i>	<i>Bucură- te, maică, pururea fecioară! “Rejoice, mother, still virgin!”</i>

Table 1. Variation of the refrains of the long stanzas in the seventeenth-century Romanian tradition of the AH.

Refrain (Greek / Slavonic)	MS 540	MS 170	MS 1348	Dosoftei Teodosie Antim Mitrofan MS 5027
Ἀλληλοῦῖα/ Аллилуѣа	<i>cântarea Părintelui și a Fiului și a Duhului Svânt</i> “the song to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit”	<i>cântarea Părintelui și a Fiului și a Duhului Svânt</i> “the song to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit”	<i>Aliluia!</i> “Alleluia” <i>cântarea Părintelui</i> “the song to the Father” <i>cântarea Tatălui</i> “the song to the Father” <i>cântarea Părintelui și a Fiului</i> “the song to the Father and the Son” <i>cântarea Tatălui și a Fiului</i> “the song to the Father and the Son” <i>să lăudăm pre adevărul Dumnezeu!</i> “let us praise the true God” <i>să lăudăm pre Tatăl și pre Fiul și Duhul Svânt</i> “let us praise the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit”	<i>Aliluia!</i> “Alleluia”

Table 2. Variation of the refrains of the short stanzas in the seventeenth-century Romanian tradition of the AH.

The synthetic tables above show the main features of the AH's refrains in the seventeenth-century Romanian tradition. First of all, only the books and a very late manuscript (BAR MS 5027) observed the rule of the *kontakion* and preserved a unique refrain for the long stanzas and another one for the short stanzas. Among the exceptions, MSS 540 and 170 are the most interesting, because there the variation of the refrain of long stanzas stemmed from the use of double readings, a feature specific to a group of Moldavian manuscripts.

The preservation of the refrain in all the stanzas sometimes coincided with the exact replication of the Greek / Slavonic pattern. In three cases (the books printed by Dosoftei and Teodosie and MS 5027) the refrains of long and short stanzas followed the Greek-Slavonic sources closely and were word-for-word translations.

Manuscripts 540 and 170 and Dosoftei's and Teodosie's AH calqued the Greek / Slavonic refrain of the long stanzas, but among these only the AHs preserved in MS 5027, in Dosoftei's and Teodosie's books used only this refrain. The manuscripts added (an)other refrain(s), which, syntactically, adopted a new pattern type (second readings in MSS 540 and 170; MS 1348).

The evidence shows that there has been a continuous search for the right way to express the mystery of the Virgin's maternity since the beginning of the Romanian tradition of the AH. MSS 170 and 540 provided a double solution to this quest: they preserved the original pattern ("rejoice, bride unwedded") or adopted a new one, in which the noun in the vocative modified by adjective derived from it was replaced by two nouns in the vocative ("rejoice, bride and still virgin"). MS 1348 echoed this quest and gave up the original pattern completely. So did the late books (Antim's and Mitrofan's), which, moreover, introduced a lexical innovation. The word *nevastă* was no longer used, probably because of its multiple meanings; nor was *nenevestită* "unwedded," which might have been perceived as a nonce-word. The books resorted to a couple of new names: *maică* "mother" and *fecioară* "virgin," which functioned as antonyms in this context.

The books and MS 5027 adopted the original refrain of the short stanzas and used it extensively. On the contrary, the word "Alleluia" was not easily accepted in the manuscript tradition: the manuscripts produced in Moldavia (MSS 540 and 170) ignored it systematically; the manuscript produced in Wallachia (MS 1348) used it occasionally in parallel with other types of phrases.

The double readings preserved in the refrain of MS 170 show that the AH was meant to be memorized from the very beginning of its Romanian tradition. The fact that the second readings lack the verb or the first name in the vocative is a clear mark that the users of the text – readers or singers – were aware that they were having abbreviated fragments before their eyes and that they could recompose them from memory.

III. Double Readings: Variation and Standardisation of the AH in the First Romanian Translation

The AH was first translated into Romanian from Slavonic, in the first part of the seventeenth century. The three witnesses to this translation (BAR MSS 170 and 540 and Craiova MS I 529) were monastic codices created in Moldavia (county Neamț). Two were definitely written in Bisericani Monastery (MSS 540, 170), while the third one (Craiova MS I 529) was produced either in Neamț Monastery, or, more likely, in Bisericani Monastery. They were written between 1633 and 1648 (MS 540), before 1650 (MS 170), and toward the end of the seventeenth century (Craiova MS I 529).⁴¹

These data show that the monastic community from Bisericani copied the AH at least twice in less than twenty years. The AH was very probably translated in the monastery, though none of the two manuscripts, which are both clean and neat, includes the draft of the translation. Despite their production in the same centre, the two manuscripts are far from being standardized. This is evidenced especially by the frequent presence of multiple readings scattered throughout the texts. They have various dimensions and can be sentences or isolated words. They are inserted in the text and are separated from the previous readings by figure “2.”

In the following I will present the main principles of variation, based on a comparative analysis of the oldest manuscripts (MSS 540 and 170).⁴²

⁴¹ See notes 14–18 above.

⁴² For the differences between the three manuscripts, see the critical edition which Danian Mutalâp and I prepared in E. Timotin *et alii*, *Imnul Acatist în literatura română...* For the double readings in MS 170, see E. Timotin, “Deux manuscrits roumains du milieu du XVII^e siècle. Problèmes d’édition de l’*Hymne acathiste*,” in D. Corbella, J. Dorta, R. Padrón (eds), *Perspectives en linguistique et philologie romanes*, vol. 2, Paris, 2023, p. 1079–1090. For the double readings in Psalm 118 preserved in MSS 540 and 170, see M.-C. Nistor, “Traduceri multiple într-o *Psaltire* manuscrisă românească din secolul al XVII-lea,” in C. Bălășoiu

1. Morpho-Syntactic Standardisation in Double Readings

In many situations, the second reading amplifies the first reading, though it does not modify its meaning.

Sometimes the second reading differs from the first one by the use of the personal pronoun *tu* “you.” In these cases, the pronoun – syntactically the subject of the sentence – is absent from the first reading⁴³ and present in the second reading. In Romanian, phrases are correct both with and without an explicit personal pronoun. The effect of this variation is additional emphasis on the Virgin, to whom the pronoun *tu* “you” refers.

{7} [9] Bucură-te, că ai deschis ușile raiului ceale încuiate 2 bucură-te, că *tu* ai deschis ușile raiului ceale încuiate! (MS 540, f. 186^v)

“Rejoice, because [you] opened the closed doors of Paradise 2 Rejoice, because *you* opened the closed doors of Paradise!”

{21} [13] Bucură-te, că ai luat spurcăciunea păcatelor 2 bucură-te, că *tu* ai luat spurcăciunea păcatelor! (MS 540, f. 196^v)

“Rejoice, because [you] took away the filth of sins 2 rejoice, because *you* took away the filth of sins!”

Another tendency of variation is visible in the long stanzas, more exactly in the acclamations addressed to the Virgin. In these passages, the name in the vocative following the verb *bucură-te* “rejoice” is often replaced by a sentence. The newly-created sentences enlarge the first reading: they add the conjunction *că* “because,” the subject *tu* “you” and the copulative verb *ești* “[you] are.” In such situations, the additions in the second reading do not present additional information to the first reading.

{7} [8] Bucură-te, muncitoarea fierilor celor nevădzute 2 bucură-te *că tu ești* muncitoarea fierilor celor nevădzute! (MS 540, f. 185^v–186^v)

“Rejoice, chastener of unseen wild beasts 2 rejoice *because you are* the chastener of unseen wild beasts!”

et alii (eds), *Lingvistică sincronică, diacronică și tipologică. Actele celui de-al XXII-lea Colocviu Internațional al Departamentului de Lingvistică (București, 18-19 noiembrie 2022)*, Bucharest, 2023, p. 251-263.

⁴³ In the English translation I placed the personal pronoun between brackets if it was not expressed in the Romanian text.

{7} [12] Bucură-te, rostul apostolilor cel netăcut 2 bucură-te *că tu ești* rostul apostolilor cel netăcut! (MS 540, f. 186^r)

“Rejoice, unsilenced mouth of the apostles 2 rejoice, *because you are* the unsilenced mouth of the apostles!”

The new pattern with the subject of the verb in the second reading was preferred by the scribe of MS 170. Compared with MS 540, MS 170 introduces an innovation: the second reading is no longer complete and it contains only the first part of the modified phrase.

{7} [9] Bucură-te, c-ai deschis ușile raiului ceale încuiate 2 *că tu ai!* (MS 170, f. 204^r)

“Rejoice, because [you] opened the closed gates of Paradise 2 *because you did!*”

{21} [13] Bucură-te, că ai luat spurcăciunea păcatelor 2 *că tu!* (MS 170, f. 211^v)

“Rejoice, because [you] took away the filth of sins 2 *because you!*”

In these examples ({7} [9]; {21} [13]), the second readings are at the same time an addition to and an abbreviation of the first readings. They are an addition, because they introduce a new word: the subject of the verb (the personal pronoun), the presence of which is not compulsory in Romanian. At the same time, they also shorten the first readings, since they no longer include the actual semantic matter (the verb *bucură-te* “rejoice” and the other information of each verse). As a result of this abridgement, these second readings are extremely synthetic and have a very repetitive pattern. They include the conjunction *că* “because,” the pronoun-subject *tu* “you,” and, sometimes, a verb void of semantic information: the auxiliary verb of past tense *ai* “(you) did.” Because of their composition, second readings such as “because you did” or “because you” never convey the meaning of the first readings and, moreover, are meaningless in themselves. Obviously, their users knew the first readings, they had probably memorised them, and thus they could grasp the meaning of the second readings which they had carefully noted down.

There are also other situations when the second readings in MS 170 witness to a high degree of abridgment: they transform the nominal group of the first reading into a sentence and they abbreviate it in accordance to another repetitive pattern. This pattern includes the conjunction *că* “because,” the pronoun-subject *tu* “you,” and another verb void of semantic information: the copula verb *ești* “[you] are.” Just like the second readings described above, they are unfinished phrases and do not convey a meaning by themselves. Once

again, their users must have known the first readings, in order to be able to use the second ones.

{7} [8] Bucură-te, muncitoarea fierilor celor nevădzute 2 *că tu ești!* (MS 170, f. 204^r)

“Rejoice, chastener of unseen wild beasts 2 *because you are!*”

{7} [12] Bucură-te, rostul apostolilor cel netăcut! 2 *că tu ești!* (MS 170, f. 204^v)

“Rejoice, unsilenced mouth of the apostles 2 *because you are!*”

2. Lexical Variation: The Quest for the Right Word

In several cases, the variation of double readings in the AH produced in Bisericani Monastery is lexical. The second reading differs from the first one by a (perfectly) synonymous word. These words can be nouns, such as *curte* “yard” and *staur* “stable” {7} [7]; adjectives as *preacurată* “most pure” and *preacinstită* “most blessed” {19} [1-5], or verbs as *apuca* “to grab” and *lua* “to take” {24} [1-5].

{7} [7] Bucură-te, *curtea* oilor acelora ce-s mult cuvântătoare 2 *că tu ești staurul* oilor acelora ce-s mult cuvântătoare! (MS 540, f. 185^v)

“Rejoice, *yard* of the sheep which are very eloquent 2 rejoice, because you are the *barn* of the sheep which are very eloquent!”

{19} [1-5] ceaea ce ești *preacurată* 2 *preacinstită* (MS 540, f. 194^r)

“who are *most pure* 2 *most blessed*”

{24} [1-5] și ne *apucă* din muncile cealea ce-s să fie 2 și ne *ia* din muncile cealea ce-s să fie (MS 540, f. 198^r)

“and *grab* us from the punishments which are to be 2 and *take* us from the punishments which are to be.”

More often, the variable words are not perfect synonymous. This is the case of the following doublets: *pominoc* “gift to divinity, offering” – *rugă* “prayer” {24} [1-5]; *întrece* “surpass” – *covârși* “overwhelm” {3} [16]; *sălășlui* “to dwell” – *odihni* “to rest” {19} [1-5].

{24} [1-5] priimește-ne acest *pominoc* de acmu 2 priimește-ne această *rugă* de acmu (MS 540, f. 198^v)

“accept this present *offering* 2 accept this present *prayer*”

{3} [16] Bucură-te, că *ai întrecut* cu înțelepciunea pre cei preaînțelepți 2 bucură-te, că tu *ai covârșit* cu-nțelepciunea pre cei preaînțelepți (MS 540, f. 183^v)

“Rejoice, because you *surpassed* the very wise with your wisdom 2 rejoice, because you *overwhelmed* the very wise with your wisdom”

{19} [1-5] și *se-au sălășluit* în zgăul tău 2 și *se-au odihnit* în zgăul tău (MS 540, f. 194^r)

“and he *dwelt* in your womb 2 and he *rested* in your womb.”

3. The Use of Multiple Sources in the Scriptorium of Bisericani Monastery

The thorough analysis of the first Romanian translation of the AH and of the doublet readings demonstrates that the monks working in the scriptorium of Bisericani Monastery had access to various Greek / Slavonic recensions of the AH and that the translator(s) used them simultaneously.⁴⁴

In stanza 19, MS 170 orders two lines of the AH in a different succession than MS 540.

{19} [10] Bucură-te, că tu ai înnoit începerea stidirii 2 rușinii! (MS 540, f. 194^v)

“Rejoice, because you gave new birth to the conception in fear 2 shame”

{19} [11] Bucură-te, că tu ai certat pre cei furați cu mentea! (MS 540, f. 194^v)

“Rejoice, because you admonished those despoiled in mind!”

{19} [10] Bucură-te, c-ai certat pre cei furați cu mentea 2 că tu! (MS 170, f. 210^r)

“Rejoice, because you admonished those despoiled in mind 2 because you!”

{19} [11] Bucură-te, că tu ai înnoit începerea stidirei 2 rușinei (MS 170, f. 210^r)

“Rejoice, because you gave new birth to the conception in fear 2 shame!”

This rearrangement can be understood in two different ways. On the one hand, it can be seen as an error which the scribe corrected tacitly: he could have accidentally skipped a line, then copied it straight away, without marking the new order of lines to the readers. The hypothesis is unlikely, because MS 170 never presents such inversions in respect to MS 540 in other situations. On the other hand, a similar inversion of lines is also attested in the Greek

⁴⁴ Variation within the Greek tradition of the AH has received extensive scholarly attention, most recently in the form of an edition by Th. Detorakis, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος. Ἑκδόση κριτική*, Heraklion, 2021. On the contrary, a thorough study into the variation of the Slavonic tradition remains a desideratum. For some preliminary findings, see M. Momina, “Славянский перевод Ὑμνος Ἀκάθιστος;” M.-G. Hâncu, “One Side of the Coin...”

tradition.⁴⁵ Under these circumstances, the specific order of the two lines could suggest that the scribe had more manuscripts of the AH at his disposal and that he followed the order of lines which seemed appropriate to him.

Other situations confirm that the scribes had various recensions of the AH in their scriptorium. The double readings in both MS 540 and MS 170 display the same variation in stanza 1, verse 8:

{1} [8] Bucură-te, *strigarea* lui Adam celui cădzut 2 bucură-te, că tu ești *sculara* lui Adam celui cădzut! (MS 540, f. 181^v)

“Rejoice, the *calling* of fallen Adam 2 rejoice, because you are the *rising* of fallen Adam!”

Bucură-te, *strigarea* lui Adam celui cădzut 2 că tu ești *sculara* lui! (MS 170, f. 201^r)

“Rejoice, the *calling* of fallen Adam 2 because you are the *rising* of.”

The variation *strigare* “calling (on), invocation” – *sculare* “rising” is well attested in the Greek tradition, where some texts use ἀνάκλησις “calling on, invocation,”⁴⁶ while others use ἀνάστασις “rising up / from the dead.”⁴⁷

In stanza 13, the double readings of MS 540 display words with divergent meanings:

{13} [10] Bucură-te, pom cu bună roadă ce dintr-îns se hrănesc *mulți* 2 bucură-te, că tu ești pomul cel cu bună roadă ce dintr-însu se satură *credincioșii*! (MS 540, 190^r).

“Rejoice, tree of good fruit on which *many* feed 2 Rejoice, because you are the tree of good fruit on which *the faithful* feed!”⁴⁸

This variation is again very telling in respect to the manuscripts extant in the scriptorium in Bisericiani: in the Greek tradition of the AH there is a

⁴⁵ E. M. Toniolo, *Akathistos inno...*, p. 161.

⁴⁶ H. G. Liddle, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, a new edition revised and augmented throughout by H. S. Jones, Oxford, 1961, s.v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. For Greek manuscripts which include either ἀνάκλησις or ἀνάστασις, see C. A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, Vienna, 1968, p. 30; E. M. Toniolo, *Akathistos inno...*, p. 159; Th. Detorakis, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος...*, p. 168.

⁴⁸ MS 170 no longer preserves the same variation:

“Bucură-te, pom cu bună roadă ce dintr-însu să hrănescu *mulți* 2 că tu ești pomul cel cu bună roadă ce dintr-însu să satură *mulți*!” (MS 170, 207^r)

“Rejoice, tree of good fruit on which *many* feed 2 because you are the tree of good fruit on which *many* feed!”

similar variation in this line: some texts mention the “faithful” (πιστοί) who eat, others refer to “all” (πάντες) those who eat.⁴⁹

It is therefore obvious that the monks did not use only one text when they translated the AH. Instead, they had access to different Greek and Slavonic recensions of it.⁵⁰ When they came across certain differences between these recensions, which revealed divergent interpretations of specific lines of the AH, they sometimes preferred to convey both options instead of choosing one of them.

There is therefore a three-fold tendency of variation in the manuscripts which illustrate the first Romanian translation of the AH. The analysis has shown that the translators, most probably monks from Bisericani Monastery, were simultaneously using more manuscripts of the AH which witnessed to different Greek / Slavonic redactions. The three Romanian manuscripts (BAR MSS 540 and 170; Craiova MS I 529) fortunately preserve the differences between their sources, which gives modern readers a unique glimpse of the richness of the scriptorium of Bisericani Monastery. The vivid activity of this scriptorium has been documented for a long time, with a special emphasis on the manuscripts and documents produced there between the end of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth century.⁵¹ The research within the AKATHYMN project has shed light onto Romanian and Slavonic manuscripts of the AH produced in the Bisericani scriptorium since the first half of the seventeenth century;⁵² thus, it disclosed a less known period of activity of

⁴⁹ Th. Detorakis, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος*..., p. 180.

⁵⁰ M.-G. Hâncu (“One Side of the Coin...”) also proved that the translator of MS 1348 used more recensions of the text.

⁵¹ See mainly Gh. Ghibănescu, “Două pomelnice vechi,” *Arhiva* 2, n° 2, 1890–1891, p. 115–124; Al. Lapedatu, “Manuscrisele de la Bisericani și Râșca,” *BOR* 28, n° 10, 1905, p. 1142–1152; 29, n° 6, 1905, p. 685–701; n° 7, p. 770–787; n° 8, p. 908–918; N. Iorga, *Studii și documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. 16, Bucharest, 1909, p. 231–249; Șt. Gr. Berechet, “Importanța însemnărilor slavo-române de pe manuscrisele vechi,” *Arhiva* 38, n° 2–4, 1931 (= *Omagiu prof. Ilie Bărbulescu*), p. 451, 455–458; D. C. Giurescu, “Bisericanii – ctitorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare?,” *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* 8, n° 1, 1961, p. 222–228; E. Lința, “Pomelnicul de la Bisericani,” *Rsl* 14, 1967, p. 420–437; É. Turdeanu, “Le Sbornik dit ‘de Bisericani’: fausse identité d’un manuscrit remarquable,” *Revue des études slaves* 44, 1965, p. 29–45; N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităților și monumentelor medievale din Moldova*, Bucharest, 1974, p. 7–73; M. Mirza, M.-B. Atanasiu, “Pomelnicul Bisericanilor scris la Mănăstirea Putna,” *AP* 5, n° 2, 2009, p. 121–306.

⁵² See E. Timotin, D. Mutalâp, “Cele mai vechi versiuni românești ale *Imnului Acatist*...;” D. Mutalâp, “O versiune românească necunoscută a *Imnului Acatist*...;” M.-G. Hâncu, “One

this scriptorium. The information on the different sources used by the scribes in Bisericani Monastery presented here gives access not only to the production of texts related to the monastery, but also to the sources of the monastic library.

At the same time, the manuscript variation displays an obvious intention to clarify the text. This intention appears both at a lexical level, by the use of synonyms in the double readings, and at a morpho-syntactic level, by constant amplification of the second reading, through the insertion of the subject or the transformation of a noun in the vocative into a clause.

The constant textual amplifications in second readings, yet with no semantic modification, suggest that this principle of variation might have been influenced by constraints imposed on the users by the oral, even musical performance of the text.⁵³ This issue is still unresolved and remains a recommendation for future research.

IV. Between Multiple Translations and Successive Revisions

Research into the variation and the standardisation of the Romanian tradition of the AH is closely related to the reception of the text throughout the centuries. The history of the reception of the AH in Romanian is still to be written. This would establish the vitality of the various translations of the AH, their partial transmission in other literary genres⁵⁴ and their use in religious life and practices.⁵⁵ A thorough description of the connections between the seventeenth-century Romanian manuscripts and books of the AH is beyond the goals of the present study. Yet several preliminary observations can be made.

Recent research conducted within the AKATHYMN project showed that MS 1348 partially relied on the first Romanian translation of the AH, now

Side of the Coin...".

⁵³ See also A. F. Gove, *The Slavic Akathistos Hymn...*, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Antim the Iberian used fragments of the AH which he printed when he was a hieromonk in Snagov Monastery in the sermons which he gave as metropolitan of Wallachia; see E. Timotin, "Despre vechea tradiție românească a *Imnului Acatist*...", p. 846. It seems that metaphors referring to the Virgin from the AH came to be used in amulets consisting of lists of names of the Virgin; C.-I. Dima, "Les noms de la Vierge dans l'*Hymne Acathiste* et dans une amulette," in E. Barale *et alii* (eds), *Transitions et variations mariales du Moyen-Âge*, Paris, 2023, p. 217-233.

⁵⁵ See already D. Mutalâp, "Shapes, Forms and Uses...".

preserved in BAR MSS 170 and 540, and Craiova MS I 529.⁵⁶ MS 1348 took over certain stanzas from the first translation, and displayed a new translation for other stanzas of the AH.⁵⁷ The text is therefore both tributary to the burgeoning Romanian tradition of the AH, and innovative. This working process was not new in Romanian clerical environments in which liturgical texts were translated into Romanian: similar practices of translation were documented, for example, in the translation process of the *Psalter* or of the *Apostolos* in the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ Two aspects are of particular importance here: first of all, MS 1348 gave up all the double readings which represented the pattern of the first translation, which proves the scribe's / the translator's intention to create a fluent text. Secondly, this partial transfer of the AH did not take place in manuscripts from the same geographical area: MS 1348 was produced by a Wallachian scribe, while the first translation was rooted in Moldavia, in connection with Bisericiani Monastery. The transfer reveals a dynamic transmission of the AH, the context of which needs to be clarified by further investigations.

There are obvious connexions between the three books printed in Wallachia.

It is clear that Antim knew Teodosie's AH and used it. A full comparison between the two texts is impossible for the moment, since Teodosie's AH is preserved only in one fragmentary copy.⁵⁹ However, on the basis of the material available, I can say that Antim did not translate the AH anew, but used Teodosie's text and occasionally revised it.

Antim actually applied specific types of modification. First, he systematically changed the syntactical pattern of the refrain of long stanzas (see table 1 above). Secondly, he frequently modified verbal tenses, and transformed simple past, imperfect and present tense into past tense, especially in the five lines of long stanzas and in short stanzas. Here are some examples: *fu* trimis (Teodosie {1} [1-5]) > *au fost* trimis (Antim {1} [1-5]) "[he] was sent;" *să*

⁵⁶ These remarks nuance a study which claims that MS 1348 was an independent translation; see C.-I. Dima, "Primele traduceri românești ale *Acatistului*...", p. 79-85.

⁵⁷ E. Timotin, M.-G. Hâncu, I. Paraschiv, "Grammatical Changes...", p. 84-102.

⁵⁸ See Al. Mareș, "Filiația psaltirilor românești...", p. 207-261; M. Costinescu, "Raportul dintre *Codicele Voronețean* și celelalte versiuni românești din secolul al XVI-lea ale *Apostolului*," *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 29 1978, p. 51-60; eadem, "Versiunile din secolul al XVI-lea ale *Apostolului*. Probleme de filiație și localizare," in I. Gheție (ed.), *Cele mai vechi texte românești. Contribuții filologice și lingvistice*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 93-145.

⁵⁹ Stanzas 4 and 10 are lacking, stanzas 3, 5, 9, and 11 are preserved fragmentarily.

spămânda (Teodosie {1} [1-5]) “[he] was getting scared” > *s-au spăimântat* (Antim {1} [1-5]) “[he] got scared;” *vădu-l* (Teodosie {7} [1-5]) “[they] see him” > *văzutu-l-au* (Antim {7} [1-5]) “[they] saw him.” The modification did not change the meaning of the text, but its recurrent use imprinted a certain cadence onto the AH.

At the same time, Antim replaced certain words from Teodosie’s AH with synonyms: *zgău* (Teodosie {1} [15]) > *pântece* (Antim {1} [15]) “womb;” *ziditoriul* (Teodosie {13} [1-5]) > *făcătoriul* (Antim {13} [1-5]) “creator;” *dorire* (Teodosie {13} [17]) > *poftă* (Antim {13} [17]) “desire;” *fetie* (Teodosie {15} [13]) > *feciorie* (Antim {13} [17]) “virginity;” *înomenire* (Teodosie {16} [1-5]) > *întrupare* (Antim {16} [1-5]) “incarnation;” *cercător* (Teodosie {17} [10]) > *întrebător* (Antim {17} [10]) “disputant;” *păreate* (Teodosie {19} [1-5]) > *zid* (Antim {19} [1-5]) “wall;” *stâlp* (Teodosie {19} [6]) > *turn* (Antim {19} [6]) “pillar;” *înspământezi* (Teodosie {21} [9]) > *îngrozești* (Antim {21} [9]) “[you] terrify;” *luminare* (Teodosie {21} [10]) > *strălucire* (Antim {21} [10]) “light, glow;” *mirosire* (Teodosie {21} [16]) > *mireazmă* (Antim {21} [16]) “fragrance;” *sălaș* (Teodosie {23} [6]) > *lăcaș* (Antim {23} [6]) “dwelling.”

In several situations, he slightly modified Teodosie’s text with the intention to clarify it, as for example in the following passage, where extra material is added:

{15} [14] Bucură-te, pentru carea s-au dezlegat călcarea! (Teodosie, f. 23^v)
 “Rejoice, through whom the transgression was remitted!”

Bucură-te, pentru carea s-au dezlegat călcarea *poruncii*! (Antim, f. 30^v)
 “Rejoice, through whom the transgression of *the commandment* was remitted!”

There is also a situation in which Antim seems to have compared Teodosie’s text with another source and then replaced the word used by Teodosie with a word he considered more appropriate:

({15} [6]) Bucură-te, *holda* lui Dumnezeu celui neîncăput! (Teodosie, f. 23^r)
 “Rejoice, field of the uncontainable God!”

Bucură-te, *încăpearea* lui Dumnezeu celui neîncăput! (Antim, f. 30^v)
 “Rejoice, *container* of the uncontainable God!”

There is no information regarding the type of source used in Teodosie’s book. It might have been either Greek (Χαῖρε Θεοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώρα), or

Slavonic (Радуйса бѣ невѣмѣстиго село⁶⁰). Antim seems to have considered the translator's choice to render χώρα "space or room in which a thing is"⁶¹ or село "ager, habitaculum"⁶² by *holdă* "field" as inappropriate. Antim chose the word *încăpere* "container, room," which is etymologically related to a word designating an attribute of God: *neîncăput* "uncontainable," just like in the Greek text. The etymological connection between the two words suggests that he used a Greek source when he corrected Teodosie's text and that he calqued its structure.

Antim's AH (Snagov, 1698) and Mitrofan's (Buzău, 1700) go together. Mitrofan followed Antim's text closely. Various reasons explain his choice: the two printing houses were established in Wallachia, respectively in Buzău and Snagov; the two books were published one after another in a short period; more important, Antim and Mitrofan had worked together in Moldavia, in the printing house established in Cetățuia Monastery (near Iași), before they moved to Wallachia.⁶³

Conclusions

The seventeenth century saw the emergence of a rich tradition of the AH in Romanian: numerous books and manuscripts, all prose translations, attest to a lively interest in this well-known text honouring the Virgin.

This tradition presents a high level of variation. This variation is the result, first of all, of the absence of an authoritative centre as promoter of the text. High clergymen, monks and scribes repeatedly translated, copied and printed the AH in Moldavia (Biserican Monastery and maybe Neamț Monastery), in Wallachia (Bucharest, Snagov, Buzău, etc.) and elsewhere (Uniev, Ukraine).

⁶⁰ I use MS 1348, f. 96^v, for the Slavonic text.

⁶¹ H. G. Liddle, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v.

⁶² F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum emendatum auctum*, Vienna, 1862–1865, s.v.

⁶³ For Mitrofan and Antim's connections, see mainly I. Bianu, "Mitrofan, Episcopul Hușilor și al Buzeului, mare tipograf, 1681–1702," *Revista română de istorie a cărții* 9, n° 9, 2012, p. 34–38 (first published in *Almanahul grafice române* 1927, p. 44–49); D. Mihăescu, "Considerații asupra vieții și activității tipăritorului primei *Biblie* românești, Mitrofan, episcopul de Huși," *MMS* 55, n° 3–6, 1979, p. 314–334; Gh. Clapa, "Un tipograf moldovean în slujba Cantacuzinilor și a lui Brâncoveanu," *Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis* 25–26, 2004–2007, p. 192–199; F. Faifer, "Antim Ivireanul," in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 42–44; G. Ștrempel, *Antim Ivireanul*, Bucharest, 1997.

The tradition of the AH emerged in Moldavia in the first half of the seventeenth century, but it became more prominent in Wallachia in the second half of the century. Manuscripts of the AH continued to be created both in Moldavia (Craiova MS I 529) and in Wallachia (BAR MSS 1348 and 5027) in the last decades of the century, but Wallachia gradually became the main centre of production of books including the AH, with the support of typographers trained in Moldavia (Antim, Mitrofan). The enrichment of the Romanian tradition of the AH was part of the growing effort of translation of liturgical texts into Romanian, but its variation and its subsequent attempts to standardisation were the result of specific connections between production centres, typographers and scribes. Monks from Moldavia continued to copy the first Romanian translation of the AH, though highly variable (BAR MSS 540 and 170; Craiova MS I 529; see II, III above). Passages from this first translation, with no variance at all, were also adopted in a Wallachian manuscript (MS 1348; see IV above). The books printed in Wallachia created a unitary block, though systematic revisions occurred (see II, IV above).

In this context of production and transmission, manuscripts and books of the AH changed according to various circumstances and types of variations.

The prosodical constraints imposed on the Romanian translators by the Greek and Slavonic sources had different effects. The books followed a key prosodic rule of the text: they had a specific refrain for the long and short stanzas (see II above). From this point of view, they were definitely more stable than contemporary manuscripts. There was an important amount of variation between the manuscripts in this respect: MS 5027 followed the same prosodic principle (see II above), while another manuscript created in Wallachia, MS 1348, which relied on the first Romanian translation, but which also included newly translated stanzas, was extremely unstable (see II, IV above).

The translators and the revisors of the AH have adopted opposite strategies of translation: in the same text, some passages have been translated word-for-word, following the sources closely, while on other occasions a freer approach was adopted. Antim, for example, in his revision of a previously printed AH (Teodosie's), adopted a word-for-word translation when he modified a certain verse ({15} [6], see III above), but a free rendering in the refrain of long stanzas (see II above). The hesitation in translating the refrain of long stanzas, one of the key formulae of the AH (νόμῳ ἀνόμευτε), had existed since the beginning of the Romanian tradition of the AH (see II above, MSS 540 and

170); the rejection of the word-for-word translation might have been caused by the less usual character of the compound *nenevestită* “unwedded.” Scribes of most manuscripts had already alternated this type of formula with others (see II above; MSS 540, 170, 1348), but Antim was the first typographer to leave it out altogether. In this case, the standardisation process led to the gradual emergence of a new syntactic type of refrain in the Romanian tradition of the AH.

The first Romanian translation, by its frequent double readings, uniquely illustrates the sinuous process of standardisation of the liturgical text. The present article has thus shed light onto recurrent tendencies in the process of revision, with implications on morphological, syntactical and lexical levels (see III above). Persistent morphological and lexical patterns of revision appeared in Antim’s AH as well (see IV above).

Still, the analysis of variation in the first Romanian translation disclosed three other important circumstances in which it appeared. First of all, while the scribes from Bisericiani Monastery were writing the AH with double readings, they were simultaneously using more manuscripts of the AH which witnessed to different Greek / (and) Slavonic redactions. Secondly, in MS 170, the tendency to standardisation went along with the tendency to abbreviation, which shows that the second readings required knowledge of the first readings. Finally, the constant textual amplifications in second readings, yet with no implication at the semantic level, suggest that variation might have been influenced by constraints imposed on the users by the oral performance of the text. This research into the first Romanian translation of the AH also revealed some insight into the elaborate working process for creating this liturgical text in the monastic community: it involved various sources, implied double readings, and relied on memory, trained by repeated reading or oral performance.

“NEW” ICONOGRAPHY OF AN “OLD” *AKATHIST*:
THE INFLUENCE OF ENGRAVINGS FROM
THE OLD PRINTED BOOKS ON THE SCENES
OF THE *AKATHIST* TO THE MOTHER OF GOD
IN WALL-PAINTINGS AND ICONS IN UKRAINIAN ART
OF THE 17th–18th CENTURIES

Oksana Shyroka, Roksolana Kosiv

Introduction

In the 1540s the monastery church of St. Onuphrios in Lavriv¹ (Lviv region, Ukraine) was enriched with a cycle of frescoes dedicated to the *Akathist* to the Mother of God cycle. Due to the lack of other surviving wall-paintings and icons, a gap of over a century was formed in Ukrainian iconography. Therefore, it is useful to study the scenes of the *Akathist* in engravings of old printed books from the 17th–18th centuries. They show the evolution of iconography and interpretations of the compositions of this solemn prayer to the Mother of God. When studying these engravings, it becomes evident that there is a departure from the traditional illustration of the *Akathist*, which was typical for medieval art. This period marks the formation of a new iconography. The present article traces how the “old” text of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God was represented by new images on the pages of old printed books from the printing houses in Kyiv and Lviv in the 17th–18th centuries. It also analyses how these engravings influenced the iconography of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the wall-painting and icon painting.

Some Cyrillic printed books with the text of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God had already appeared in the late 15th and early 16th centuries (*Lenten*

¹ These frescoes are the only surviving Ukrainian medieval iconography of the *Akathist*. About the iconography and dating of frescoes in Lavriv, see N. Kozak, ““Візантія після Візантії” в монументальному живописі України,” *Народознавчі Зошити* 3–4, 2009, p. 319–324; A. Rogov, “Фрески Лаврова,” in *Византия, южные славяне и древняя Русь. Западная Европа. Искусство и культура: сборник статей в честь В. Н. Лазарева*, Moscow, 1973, p. 339–351.

Triodion, 1491, Krakow; *Psalter*, 1495, Shtetin (Szczecin); *Small Travelers Book* (*Mala Podorozhniaia Knyzhycha*), 1525, Vilno. However, these books did not contain illustrations on the theme of the *Akathist*. In the Ukrainian context of the 17th–18th centuries, the text of the *Akathist* was included in various liturgical books: *Triodions*, *Menaions*, *Horologia*, *Octoechos*, *Psalters*, and collections of *Akathists*. From the 1620s, engravings illustrating the themes of *kontakia* and *oikoi* began to appear in these old printed books together with the texts of the *Akathist*.

For the first time, an illustration on the theme of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in Cyrillic books was included in the *Akathists* of 1625, printed at the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra printing house.² In the preface, it is noted that these *Akathists* are printed here for the first time, and in the text before the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, it is stated that it “had been illustrated for the first time”. This illustration consists of only one image, the composition of which resembles an icon with *kleima*, where a large central scene is surrounded with smaller scenes³ (Fig. 1). Its scenes only illustrate the *kontakia*, thus forming an abridged pictorial version of the cycle of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, which here consists of 13 scenes. Each scene has a Cyrillic lettering, which helps identify a particular scene according to the text of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. The engravings in this book were made by masters who signed their works with monograms “ТІІ”, “ТІ”, and “ЕК”,⁴ but their names are not known.

For the first time, the complete cycle of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God with 25 separate scenes placed throughout the text was illustrated with engravings in the *Lenten Triodion*, printed by the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra printing house in 1626–1627.⁵ The engravers were not identified as they signed only with their initials: “ЛІТ”, “Т.Т”, “ТІІ”, “Т.І”, “ЛІМ”.⁶ Two of them obviously were the same artists who illustrated the *Akathist* of 1625. Matrices of these engravings from the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 were used for the second Kyiv edition of the *Akathists* in 1629.⁷ Some initials of the engravers in this edition

² *Акафисти пречистій Богородиці й Ісусу сладкому*, Kyiv, 1625.

³ The smaller scenes are called *kleima*. That Slavonic word has no direct translation into English.

⁴ А. Zapasko, Ya. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, vol. 1: (1574–1700), Lviv, 1981, p. 76.

⁵ *Тріодь пісна*, Kyiv, 1627.

⁶ А. Zapasko, Ya. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки...*, p. 80.

⁷ *Акафисти*, Kyiv, 1629.

were similar to those in the books of 1625 and 1627: "Л.Т.", "ПБ", "П", "СБ", "ЕК", "АККФ".⁸ The third Kyiv edition of the *Akathists*, in 1636, did not have engravings for the text of the *Akathist*. Instead, the *Akathists* printed in Kyiv in 1654 have the same scenes as in the *Akathists* of 1629. The engravers were "Іля", "ЕК", "ЛМ", "П", and "С.Б."⁹

The fifth and sixth editions of the *Akathists* printed by the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra printing house, in 1663¹⁰ and 1674,¹¹ also contain the complete cycle of the illustrations to the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, which consists of 25 scenes. The fifth edition features a series of new engravings executed by the masters: "И.", "ИЛ.", "Ілі.", "ИС", "Илія", "ЛМ.", "АККФ", "В".¹² As we can see from the signatures, the leading master of these engravings was Ilia, who was the prominent artist of that time.¹³ Each of the woodcuts contains the opening words of the strophe it illustrates, with indications of the *oikos* and the *kontakion* by the Cyrillic alphabetical order. The engravings of the sixth edition of the *Akathists* in 1674 are thematically and compositionally similar to those of the fifth edition in 1663. In the 1674 edition, the engravings were authored by a master with the monogram "A.K." This master could have been the Kyiv engraver Afanasy K., who was active especially in the 1660s–1680s.¹⁴ It is known from the signatures that he was the author of the engravings "Nativity," "Arrival of the Magi," "Departure of the Magi," "Flight into Egypt."¹⁵ The engravings of the Kyiv *Akathists* of 1693¹⁶ were apparently executed from the matrices of the 1674 edition. The author of these engravings, according to the signature "A.K.", was also Afanasy K.

The *Akathists* of 1699, printed by the Dormition Stauropegeion Brotherhood in Lviv, contain a complete cycle of engravings of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God.¹⁷ The masters who worked on these engravings were Nykodym

⁸ A. Zapasko, Ya. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки...*, p. 84.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁰ *Акафисти*, Kyiv, 1663.

¹¹ *Акафисти і [...] мољби [...]*, Kyiv, 1674.

¹² A. Zapasko, Ya. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки...*, p. 125.

¹³ O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, *The Monk Ilia (fl. 1637–1663). Catalogue. Ukrainian and Romanian Baroque Engravings*, Kyiv, 2021.

¹⁴ H. Lohvyn, *З глибин. Гравюри українських стародруків XVI–XVIII ст.*, Kyiv, 1990, p. 81.

¹⁵ V. Stasenko, *Христос та Богородиця в дереворізах кирилических книг Галичини XVII ст.: особливості розробки та інтерпретації образу*, Kyiv, 2003, p. 81.

¹⁶ *Акафисти з стихирами і канонами*, Kyiv, 1693.

¹⁷ *Акафисти з стихирами і канонами*, Lviv, 1699.

Zubrytskyi and Dionysii Sinkevych.¹⁸ N. Zubrytskyi signed with a monogram “NZ”.¹⁹ The engravings do not have inscriptions or Cyrillic numbering of the *kontakia* or *oikoi* which were typical for the 17th-century Kyiv prints.

The full cycle of the illustration of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God can also be seen in the *Akathists* of 1706²⁰ and 1709²¹ by the printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. The engravings in these two volumes are identical in size and composition. N. Zubrytskyi is considered to have been their creator based on the monogram “NZ” and the style of the engravings. The *Akathists* of 1731²² by the printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra also have illustrations of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, some of them present new iconography. This edition (and later books) have the same engravings, consisting of the first letter of the text of the *kontakion* or *oikos* of the *Akathist* of the Mother of God, and an illustration of the text. Between 1731 and 1798, the printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra issued some more of *Akathists* editions that mostly repeated the engravings from earlier books of this printing house. The engravings in printed books influenced the iconography of the *Akathist* in icon painting. Let us consider this with an example of wall-painting in St. George’s Church in Drohobych.

The Wall-Painting Akathist to the Mother of God in the Church of St. George in Drohobych

The wall-painting *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the wooden church of St. George in Drohobych (Lviv region) has been dated to the period 1659–1666.²³ The overall size of the painting is 240×270 cm. It is located on

¹⁸ A. Zapasko, Ya. Isaievych, *Пам’ятки...*, p. 183.

¹⁹ V. Stasenko, *Христос...*, p. 77.

²⁰ *Пречестный акафисты всеседмичный со стихиры и каноны*, Kyiv, 1706.

²¹ *Пречестный акафисты и прочія спасительныя молбы [...]*, Kyiv, 1709.

²² *Акафисты, каноны і прочая душеполезная моления*, Kyiv, 1731.

²³ For a monograph dedicated to the wall-paintings of the church of St. George in Drohobych, see L. Milyaeva, O. Rishniak, O. Sadova, *Церква св. Юра в Дрогобичі. Архітектура, малярство, реставрація*, Kyiv, 2019, p. 77-79. The dating of the wall-painting with the *Akathist* to the Mother of God is determined there on the basis of the creation of icons in the iconostasis, which are dated to 1659 and 1666. The iconostasis covers part of the wall-painting. Based on similar stylistic features, the authors suggest that the wall-painting and the iconostasis were created at approximately the same time. The manner of paintings shows that one master worked on the icons and wall-painting. Master Stefan Medytskyi signed his name on the icon in the lower part of the iconostasis.

the northern wall of the nave and consists of 24 scenes. It is worth to mention that on the opposite southern wall of the nave an *Akathist* to Jesus Christ is depicted. Stefan Medytskyi is considered to have been the painter.²⁴ Like the engraving from the *Akathists* to the Mother of God of 1625 printed in Kyiv, the Drohobych painting resembles the composition of a medieval icon: it has a large central composition surrounded by smaller scenes. The scenes surround the central composition from three sides: four compositions are painted on the upper side, nine scenes are placed from top to bottom on the right, and ten scenes – on the left, in two columns (Fig. 2). This scheme is non-typical for wall-paintings of the time, where the scenes are often arranged in rows or columns, but without a central scene. Such examples can be found in Balkan, Moldavian, Wallachian, and Greek frescoes of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God from the 14th to the 16th centuries, as well as in the frescoes of the Church of St. Onuphrios in Lavriv from the 1540s.

A closer look at the composition of the wall-paintings in the church of St. George in Drohobych will reveal how closely it is connected with the engravings from printed *Akathist*. Let us look at each scene. The first image in the upper row illustrates the 1st *kontakion* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God “To the Invincible Leader...”. It depicts a historical event – the siege of Constantinople in 626²⁵ with the miraculous liberation of the city by the Mother of God from its enemies (Fig. 3). The architectural decor (a three-domed church with three crosses), the image of the Mother of God with the Jesus Child on an icon, and the scenes of a battle on land and sea from the Drohobych painting are similar to the engravings of the 1st *kontakion* from the Kyivan *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 4) and the *Akathist* of 1629 (Fig. 5).²⁶ In other graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God of the 17th century, these scenes have a larger number of characters, and the Mother of God (mostly in the Incarnation type with Jesus Child before her chest) is depicted not on an icon, but in a segment of the sky (*Akathist*, Kyiv, 1663) (Fig. 6).

The next three images on the upper row and the first one on the left beneath the depiction of the 1st *kontakion* contain scenes of the Annunciation

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Klimentina Ivanova and Ivan Biliarsky have explored how the different sieges of Constantinople in the 7th and 8th centuries have been portrayed in written accounts: K. Ivanova, I. Biliarsky, “Le récit des sièges de Constantinople et sa traduction slave chez les peuples orthodoxes des Balkans,” OCP 88, n° 2, 2022, p. 425-502.

²⁶ L. Milyaeva, O. Rishniak, O. Sadova, *Церква св. Юра в Дрогобичі ...*, p. 79.

commonly used in illustrations to the *Akathists* of the Mother of God. The 1st *oikos*, “The oldest angel...,” is represented by the scene of the Annunciation near the well (Fig. 7). Like the previous image, it resembles an engraving from the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 8). The image illustrating the 2nd *kontakion*, “Seeing herself pure...,” offers a representation of the Annunciation in a room (Fig. 9). It resembles the engraving for the 2nd *kontakion* in the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1625, where the Mother of God is also depicted sitting on a throne (Fig. 10). The 2nd *oikos*, “Desiring to comprehend the incomprehensible mystery...,” continues the story of the conversation between Mary and Gabriel during the Annunciation. In the Drohobych wall-painting, this *oikos* is represented with the scene where the Archangel stands before the Virgin (Fig. 11). Based on the interpretation of the figures and gestures of Mary and Gabriel, the prototype for the composition of the wall-painting may be the engraving from the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 12). In later engraving of the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1663, the West European version of the Annunciation is presented in the illustration to the 2nd *kontakion* (Fig. 13) and the 2nd *oikos* (Fig. 14). It presents the Mother of God standing near a table with a book. The last image of the Drohobych painting devoted to the Annunciation illustrates the 3rd *kontakion* “The Almighty Power then overshadowed the Most Pure Virgin” (Fig. 15). The Drohobych master seemed to have borrowed the figures in the scene from the engraving of the 3rd *kontakion* in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 16). However, in the Drohobych painting, the Archangel holds a branch of lilies, which is not pictured in the engraving. In the Kyiv edition of the *Akathist* of 1625, the Virgin is shown on a throne (Fig. 17), while in the engraving of the *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 18), the Virgin is depicted in a garden.

The illustration in the Drohobych wall-painting of the 3rd *oikos* “Having God in her womb...” depicts the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth (Fig. 19). The image here is similar to the engraving from the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 20). In printed books from the second half of the 17th century, in addition to the two female figures, the figures of the prophet Zechariah (for example, in the engraving of the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 21) and Joseph the Betrothed (*Akathist*, Lviv, 1699) (Fig. 22) also appear. A similar depiction of the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth with four figures can be found in the same Drohobych church on the icon from the early 18th century in the lower tier of

the iconostasis in the upper chapel of the Entrance of the Blessed Virgin Mary into the temple.²⁷

The last composition in the second row of the Drohobych painting illustrates the 4th *kontakion* “Tossed inwardly by a storm of doubts, righteous Joseph...” (Fig. 23). Here, the Virgin Mary and Joseph are depicted standing. All the engravings in the cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, except for the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 24), depict the figures of the Virgin Mary and Joseph standing in a chapel or in a church (for example, in *Akathist*, Kyiv, 1625) (Fig. 25). In the fresco in Lavriv (1540s), Joseph and the Virgin Mary are depicted sitting.²⁸

The 4th *oikos*, “The shepherds heard the angels praising Christ...,” is depicted in the Drohobych church with a scene of the Adoration of the Shepherds (Fig. 26). The peculiarity of the composition of the Drohobych painting is the image of a shepherd who points to the sky. This motif seems to have been borrowed from the engraving for the 8th *kontakion* in the *Akathist* of 1625 (Fig. 27). In general, similar iconography could be seen in West European engravings; for example in the *Piscator Bible*, 1650 (Fig. 28).²⁹ A similar illustration to this *oikos* appears in the graphic cycles accompanying the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the volumes published by the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra printing house in the 18th century, starting with the *Akathist* of 1731 (Fig. 29). Another illustration similar to the one in Drohobych church can be found on the engraving of the *Akathist* of 1663 printed by Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (Fig. 30), but in the painting the figures of the Virgin Mary and Joseph are presented against the background of a cave, while on the engraving they are placed next to a tent.

The next figures to make an appearance in the Drohobych painting are the magi. Their story begins in the illustration to the 5th *kontakion* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, “Having seen the guiding star...” The magi are traveling with the star. There is no depiction of the city they left, as in the fresco in the monastery church in Lavriv (1540s), or of the city they are heading for,

²⁷ Models for such compositions in Ukrainian art of the 17th and 18th centuries (at first in engraving, and later in wall-painting and icon painting), became Western European engravings of the 15th–early 17th centuries, in particular the works of A. Durer, M. de Vos, H. Wierix.

²⁸ As A. Rogov, “Фрески...,” p. 341–342, pointed out, similar sitting images of Virgin and Joseph can be found in the wall-paintings of Romanian churches in Moldovița and Humor.

²⁹ Альбом № 24, *Біблія Піскатора*, 1650 (?). Source: <http://irbis-nbuv.ua/ulib/item/UKR0007150>.

as in the engraving of the *Akathist* of 1625 (Fig. 31). Likewise, absent is an accompanying angel, which does feature in the engraving in the Kyiv *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 32). The image of horses of different colours which overlap each other reproduce the compositional scheme from the engraving in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627. In the Drohobych painting attention is drawn to the rich clothing and headwear of the magi. They are adorned with white turbans with crowns. This can be contrasted with 17th-century engravings of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, where the orientalising turbans are absent and the magi are depicted in princely attire including hats with crowns (*Akathist*, Kyiv, 1674) (Fig. 33), or simply hats (*Akathist*, Kyiv, 1663) (Fig. 34). The right part of the illustration to the 5th *oikos*, “When the Chaldean sons...,” depicts the Virgin Mary with the Child on a throne against a background of a wall, as on the mural of the church in Lavriv (1540s). A magus with gifts is kneeling before Jesus, two others stand behind him. A similar scheme can be seen in the engraving from the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 35). A characteristic feature of the Drohobych wall-painting is the absence of the figure of Joseph. There is no image of a stable or tent either. Representing the dwelling place of Christ’s birth became, under the influence of West European art, almost obligatory in the graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the second half of the 17th century: *Akathist*, Kyiv, 1663 (Fig. 36), 1674 (Fig. 37) and Lviv edition of 1699 (Fig. 38).

The 6th *kontakion*, “The Magi, preachers of divinity, return to Babylon...,” traditionally depicts the scene of the magi’s departure. In the Drohobych wall-painting, this scene, as well as illustrations to the 8th, 10th, 12th *kontakia* and the 7th *oikos*, are almost completely lost due to the peeling of the paint layer. It is therefore impossible to determine the iconography.

Most of the engravings illustrate the 6th *oikos*, “Enlightening Egypt...,” with the “Flight into Egypt” scene. In contrast, the Drohobych painting illustrates it with the scene depicting the “Arrival into Egypt”. The peculiarity of this iconography is the depiction of the city gate (Fig. 39), which is absent in the scene “Flight into Egypt.” The illustration in the Drohobych church, seems to have been partially inspired by the scene from the engraving in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 40). A difference between the two images is that the latter does not only present the Virgin Mary with the Child and Joseph, but also Joseph’s son. In the graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Virgin in printed books from the 17th–18th centuries, the scene “Flight into Egypt” contains the

motif of idols’ statues falling from their pedestals (*Akathist*, 1663) (Fig. 41). This motif is typical for the *Akathist* cycles of the 16th–17th centuries³⁰ and is common in West European engravings of the 15th–16th centuries (for example, in *Biblia Pauperum*) (Fig. 42).³¹

The illustration to the 7th *kontakion*, “Simeon took you in his arms...,” depicts the scene of the Presentation. It can be characterised by the asymmetric nature of its composition. The right side of the image shows Simeon with the Child Jesus, portrayed against the background of the city’s architecture (Fig. 43). Opposite Simeon are three figures: Virgin Mary, Anna, and Joseph with two doves in his hands. A similar composition characterizes the illustration in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 44). The cycles of illustrations in printed *Akathist* from the second half of the 17th century (*Akathist*, 1663, Fig. 45, 1674, Fig. 46, and 1699, Fig. 47) depict the event inside the temple.

The 7th *oikos*, “The Creator revealed a new work...,” introduces the symbolic or philosophical part of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. While the iconography of the first thirteen scenes illustrating the first part of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God was more or less consistent in Eastern Christian art of the 14th–18th centuries, the iconography of the symbolic part in the Drohobych wall-painting stands out due to the new interpretation of the text and changes in iconography. The sources for the new iconography were graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in printed books. Some images of the new iconography and a more realistic interpretation of the scenes were borrowed from West European art. In the Drohobych painting, the illustration to the 7th *oikos* has only been partially preserved. It can be assumed that it depicted Christ on the throne against the background of the cross with three horizontal bars with three hierarchs standing opposite. This assumption is based on comparison with the engraving in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 48). In our view, such an image became a new interpretation of Simeon’s prophecy about the sufferings that Jesus had to endure on the cross. Other engravings found in *Akathist* to the Mother of God, illustrating this *oikos*, show the Mother of God with the Child Jesus in a garden against the background of a

³⁰ For example, wall-painting in the church of the Ferapont Monastery in Russia (1502–1503); see L. Nersesjan, *Дионисий иконник и фрески Феропонтова монастыря*, Moscow, 2006, p. 327.

³¹ *Biblia Pauperum*, sheet 6, ca. 1465, woodcut, British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1845-0809-7.

cross with a crown of thorns and instruments of the Passion (*Akathist*, Kyiv, 1663) (Fig. 49). Others present the Mother of God with a sword in her heart (*Akathist*, Lviv, 1699) (Fig. 50).

In line with most of the scenes in the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, already analysed, the 8th *oikos*, “Thou you were on earth, yet did not abandon the heavens...,” is represented in the Drohobych church in a matter similar to the engraving in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 51). The composition is conventionally divided into two tiers. In the upper tier, at the centre of the mountain, stand the Mother of God and the young Jesus with their hands raised to heaven. This symbolizes the simultaneous presence of the Messiah on earth and in heaven. In the lower tier, on earth, there are two groups of people: the clergy (monks in black coverings) and the laity (Fig. 52). Similar images are found in Kyivan *Akathist* of the second half of the 17th century (1663, Fig. 53, 1674, and 1693). A major difference is that in these printed books, the engravers deliberately avoid depicting the laity and clergy, focusing the attention instead on the figures of the Mother of God and the young Christ, who have been enlarged to the full size of the engraving. We have not been able to trace any prototypes to this iconography in the cycles of *Akathist* of the 14th–16th centuries. We argue that in the printed books and in the Drohobych wall-painting it is a new interpretation of the theme of that *oikos*. The engraving in the Lviv *Akathist* of 1699 by N. Zubrytskyi presents the Holy Family (Fig. 54). In the early 18th-century *Akathist*, the figure of Christ is depicted twice: on earth (next to the laity and apostles) and in heaven (together with the Holy Trinity) (*Akathist*, Kyiv, 1706, Fig. 55, and 1731, Fig. 56).

The illustration of the 9th *kontakion*, “All the angelic powers were amazed at the greatness of Your incarnation...,” in the Drohobych church depicts the Christ as Pantokrator in glory, sitting on a rainbow (Fig. 57). A similar image is found in the Kyivan *Lenten Triodion* of 1627. In contrast to the painting, the engraving shows Christ as Emmanuel (Fig. 58). In the cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God of the second half of the 17th century, instead of the Christ in a mandorla, the Mother of God with the Child Jesus and angels are depicted (*Akathist*, 1663, Fig. 59, and 1674, Fig. 60).

The 9th *oikos*, “We see the eloquent orators who were as mute as fish before You, O Mother of God...,” reflects the prophecy of the birth of Christ by the Old Testament prophets and ancient philosophers (Fig. 61). In the lower part of the image, the paint has deteriorated significantly. By analogy with the

engraving in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 62), it can be assumed that the composition was two-tiered. In the engraving, as well as in the preserved fragment of the painting, the upper part depicts the Mother of God with the Child on a throne, with St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom standing on either side. At the bottom, as indicated by the inscription on the engraving, are the “philosophers,” whose figures are lost in the Drohobych painting. Similar images are also pictured on the engravings of the *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 63) and 1674 (Fig. 64).

The fragment of the painting illustrating the 10th *kontakion* is almost entirely lost. It can only be assumed that its iconography was similar to the engraving in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627, which depicts Christ with the apostles in a temple (Fig. 65). The scene belonging to the 10th *oikos* represents the Protection of the Mother of God. Mary is painted standing on a pedestal with a cloth in her hands (Fig. 66). The motif of the wall, which serves as background, and the depiction of two groups of people (nuns and monks) have obviously also been borrowed from the engraving of the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 67). In the engravings of the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 68), the traditional iconography of the Protection of the Mother of God is replaced by the West European image of the Mother of Mercy, under whose cloak monks and laypeople are depicted.

The illustration for the 11th *kontakion*, “The best song will be nothing in comparison to your mercy...,” represents the image of Christ Pantokrator (the upper part of the image has been completely lost), standing on a raised platform in the centre of the church (Fig. 69). On either side of Jesus two processions of clergy led by archbishops have been depicted. Similar images can be found in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 70) and in the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 71) and 1674, which have similar compositions, but differ in the large figure of Christ the High Priest (blessing with two hands) and the absence of church architecture.

The scene of the 11th *oikos*, “The Virgin became a shining lamp...,” depicts the Virgin Mary, who holds a candle in her hand and rises above the darkness of Hades and people (Fig. 72). Similar iconography is known from medieval illustrations of this *oikos*. In the engravings of Kyivan editions of the *Akathist* from the 17th century, the Virgin Mary is significantly larger than the human figures in the abyss of Hades (*Lenten Triodion*, Kyiv, 1627) (Fig. 73), or the candle in her hand resembles a lit torch (*Akathist*, Kyiv, 1663) (Fig. 74).

The composition of the 12th *kontakion*, “Desiring to bestow grace...,” in the Drohobych painting is almost entirely lost. Only by analogy to other Akathist cycles can it be assumed that it represented the scene of “The descent of Christ into Hades”.

The central composition of the Drohobych *Akathist* depicts the Virgin Mary with the Jesus Child in the iconographic type of Eleousa. Prophets and singers bowed at the feet of the Virgin Mary. One of them holds a paper with the text of the 13th *kontakion*, “O All-Praiseworthy Mother...” (Fig. 2). In the graphic cycle of *Akathist* of the 17th century, the 13th *kontakion* has been illustrated as a veneration of the icon of the Incarnation of the Theotokos³²: *Lenten Triodion*, Kyiv, 1627 (Fig. 75), *Akathist*, Kyiv, 1663 (Fig. 76).

Therefore, as the comparison shows, the prototype for the composition of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the St. George church in Drohobych was the engraving from the Kyivan *Akathist* of 1625, but most of the scenes were borrowed from the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 from the same printing house.

The Akathist to the Mother of God on Icons of the 17th–18th Centuries

There are not many Ukrainian icons surviving which represent the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. We only discovered one icon that contains an almost complete cycle of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. More icons illustrate a separate *kontakion* or *oikos* of the *Akathist*. The icon “Mother of God with the Jesus Child and the Scenes of the Akathist”³³ (Fig. 77) is a unique one, because no analogues in composition have been found as so far. The icon was registered in the Inventory book of the National Museum in Lviv between 1905–1906.³⁴ Maria Helytovych, emphasizing the high artistic level of the icon, associates it with Lviv painters of the mid-17th century.³⁵ Patriarch

³² In the pictorial cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God of the 14th–17th centuries the 12th *oikos* and the 13th *kontakion* often depict the veneration of the icon of the Hodegetria or the Theotokos Incarnation. For example, in the *Akathist* to the Mother of God of the Moldovița Monastery, in the 12th *oikos*, the veneration of the Hodegetria icon is depicted, in the 13th *kontakion* – the Theotokos Incarnation; see I. Vicovan, “Theological Significance of the *Akathistos Hymn* from Moldovița Monastery,” *European Journal of Science and Theology* 2, n° 2, 2006, p. 51-68.

³³ M. Helytovych, *Богородиця з Дитям і похвалою. Ікони колекції Національного музею у Львові*, Lviv, 2005, p. 159.

³⁴ Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HML i-13), 99.3 x 82.4 cm.

³⁵ M. Helytovych, *Богородиця...*, p. 159.

Dmytriy (Yarema) mentioned that icon originated from the church in the town of Kamianka-Buzka (Lviv region).³⁶ The icon is placed in a carved frame, on the three sides of which, on the inner sides of the frame, and on its outer side there are medallions with scenes of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God with the numbering of *kontakia* and *oikoi*.³⁷ The medallion containing the first scene illustrating the 1st *oikos* is presented at the bottom left on the inner part of the frame. The next one medallion illustrating the 2nd *kontakion* is on the left on the outer side of the frame. The next 2nd *oikos* is on the inner part of the frame (about the medallion illustrating the 1st *oikos*). The sequence of scenes is as follows: from the bottom left upwards, then from the upper left to the right part of the frame, and further down in the right part of the frame from top to bottom. On the left side on the outer part of the frame, there are four scenes illustrating the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th *kontakia*, while on the inner side, four scenes in medallions depict the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th *oikoi*. At the top of the frame on the outer side, three scenes illustrate the 6th, 7th, and 8th *kontakia*, and one scene illustrates the 8th *oikos*. On the inner side, three scenes illustrate the 5th, 6th, and 7th *oikoi*. On the right side of the frame on the inner part, four scenes depict the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th *kontakia*. The images in the medallions on the outer side have not been preserved. It is likely that scenes illustrating the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th *oikoi* were once located there. In total, twenty-three medallions are included on the frame. There is no depiction of the first *kontakion* of the *Akathist*, “To the Invincible Leader...,” which usually shows the scene of “The Siege of Constantinople.” Neither is there a scene of veneration of the icon of the Mother of God which usually illustrates the 13th *kontakion*. This scene can be replaced by the central image of the Mother of God with the Jesus Child in the iconographic type of Hodegetria.

The numbering starts with the composition of the 1st *oikos* of the *Akathist*, “The oldest angel...,” that is from the first lower medallion on the left on the inner side of the frame (Fig. 78). The Annunciation of the Virgin Mary is pictured near a well. Analogies to this scene can be found in engravings of the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 8), *Akathist* of 1629, and on the painting of the St. George church in Drohobych (Fig. 7). The illustrations to the 2nd *kontakion*

³⁶ Patriarch Dmytriy (Yarema), “Богородичний Акафіст у церковному образотворчому мистецтві,” in *Дрогобицькі храми Воздвиження та Святого Юра у дослідженнях. Третє читання*, Drohobych, 2010, p. 70.

³⁷ M. Helytovych, *Богородиця...*, p. 159.

(Fig. 79) and the 2nd *oikos* (Fig. 80) represent scenes of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary on a golden background without details. The illustration to the 3rd *kontakion* represents a symbolic image of the Incarnation of Christ. Here, the Virgin Mary is depicted in radiance with hands in prayer. An analogy to this image can be found in the engraving of the *Akathist* of 1625 (Fig. 17). The composition that illustrates the 3rd *oikos* depicts the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth (Fig. 81). Along with the two female figures, a male figure with a stick is pictured, presumably the prophet Zechariah who had to use a stick, as he was blind at the moment. A similar composition with three figures can be found in the engraving of the Kyivan *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 21).

Traditionally for the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, the 4th *kontakion* is illustrated with a dialogue between Joseph and Mary. The fact that the action takes place in a living room is indicated by the entrance arch in the wall, on which the Virgin Mary is painted (Fig. 82). The 4th *oikos* is illustrated with the scene of the Nativity of Christ in the version of the adoration of the shepherds (Fig. 83). A similar iconography is presented in the engraving of the *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 30). The compositions of the arrival, adoration, and departure of the magi illustrate the 5th *kontakion* (Fig. 84), the 5th *oikos*, and the 6th *kontakion* (Fig. 85). The scenes have analogies to the engravings of the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1625 (depicting riders near the city gate) (Fig. 86) and *Akathist* of 1663 (adoration of the magi against the backdrop of a stable) (Fig. 36). A direct analogy to the engravings from the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1663 is the composition of the 6th *oikos*. It depicts the scene of the Flight into Egypt with a falling idol (Fig. 87). The 7th *kontakion* is illustrated with the scene of the Presentation of the Lord (Fig. 88) and is similar to the engravings in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 44) and the *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 45). The medallion depicting the 7th *oikos* shows a young Christ standing by a large cross, holding it with one hand and showing onto it with another to the Virgin and Joseph, thus anticipating his suffering (Fig. 89). In the engravings, only the Virgin and Jesus are pictured; Joseph is absent (Fig. 49). The 8th *kontakion* is illustrated with the scene of the Nativity of Christ (Fig. 90). The only other case we found where this verse is illustrated with this scene the engraving of the *Akathist* of 1625 (Fig. 27). The iconography of the 8th *oikos* represents the Virgin Mary and the young Christ with their hands raised to the sky (Fig. 91), similar to the engravings from the *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 53) and 1674 (Fig. 92). The illustration for the 9th *kontakion* depicts the Virgin

Mary standing behind the Child Jesus, who is laying in a manger, surrounded by angels (Fig. 93). This scene has no direct analogues in the engravings from the printed *Akathist*. The illustration for the 10th *kontakion* with the scene of the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 94) coincides with the engraving of the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1706 (Fig. 95), made by N. Zubrytskyi. Obviously, there was an older prototype for the iconography of this *kontakion*. In the illustration for the 11th *kontakion*, the Virgin has been depicted on a throne with the Child Jesus on her knees (Fig. 96). Four men stand before them holding a white scroll with the inscription with the words “laws of nature are defeated by you, pure virgin [...]” (*побеждаються естества уставу в тобі, діво чиста діє бо рождество*). These words are from the *irmos* of the 9th song of the canon for the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos. Like the previous image discussed, this one neither has a direct prototype in the printed *Akathist*. The same counts for the next image, the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, which illustrates the 12th *kontakion* (Fig. 97). However, this scene can also be found on the fresco of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in Lavriv (1540s). Thus, the author of the icon has used an earlier prototype, but it is no longer known. The iconography of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God on the icon indicate that, in addition to engravings of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God from printed books, icon painters used other prototypes, which could have been old sketches or images they had seen in churches. The scenes that are similar with the engravings indicate that the master used as a model the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 and the *Akathist* of 1663. From this it follows that the icon was painted not earlier then in 1660s.

On the other icons, as we mentioned, we see only a separate *kontakion* or *oikos* from the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. For example, three icons on the theme of the *Akathist* were painted by Stefan Medytskyi, who is considered to have been the creator of the Drohobych wall-painting with the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. One of these icons has been dated to 1659 and can be seen in the lower tier of the iconostasis of the aforementioned St. George church in Drohobych (Fig. 98), below the Mother of God Hodegetria icon. The icon illustrates the 12th *oikos* or 13th *kontakion* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. The composition represents the veneration of the icon of Theotokos’ Incarnation. Two groups of people are placed beside the throne with the icon: clergy and lay people. A bishop and a monk in a klobuk are presented closest to the icon, behind them two noblemen can be seen. They may be the

patrons of the church or the sponsors of the icon. It is difficult to say whether the figures on the icon represent specific people, and whom they may have been. The tradition of depicting historical figures in scenes of the *Akathist* has existed for a long time. For example, the frescoes of the 12th *oikos* and 13th *kontakion* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the Dečani Monastery depict King Dušan, Queen Jelena, and Prince Uroš with halos (14th century). In the Marko's Monastery, King Uroš V is depicted.³⁸ The engravings of the old printed books of the 17th–18th centuries contain generalized images of monks and clergy, rulers, and common people. On the Drohobych icon, the action takes place inside a church. A similar depiction of a church with three domes can be seen in the *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 in the engravings for the 12th *oikos* and the 13th *kontakion* (Fig. 75). Stefan Medytsky, as we have already pointed out, used this edition for the compositions of the wall-painting. The veneration of the icon of the Theotokos Incarnation is depicted in a fragmentarily preserved composition of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the church in Lavriv (1540s). This may indicate the veneration of some miracle working icon in this region.

Stefan Medytskyi painted two more icons on the theme of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in 1669: “The Descent of Christ into Hades”³⁹ (Fig. 99) and “The Virgin with a candle”⁴⁰ (Fig. 100). They were painted for the iconostasis of the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Drohobych. According to the image and the inscription on the first icon, it illustrates the 12th *kontakion* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, “Desiring to bestow grace and forgive the ancient debts of all who sin...”. The icon depicts the moment of Christ's descent into Hades and the destruction of the contract between Adam and the Devil. The motif of the “Contract of Adam” being torn apart was first depicted in the engraving in the first Kyiv edition of the *Akathist* in 1625 (Fig. 101). On the Drohobych icon, as well as in the engravings of the Kyiv *Lenten Triodion* of 1627 (Fig. 102) and the *Akathist* of 1629 (Fig. 103), the composition is symmetrical. In the *Akathist* to the Mother of God on the wall-painting in the church dedicated to St. George in Drohobych, the composition of the 12th *kontakion* is lost, but the scene of

³⁸ E. Gromova, *История русской иконографии Акафиста. Икона “Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом” из Успенского собора Московского Кремля*, Moscow, 2005, p. 254–255.

³⁹ Gallery of Sacred Art of the Drohobychchyna Museum in Drohobych (I-104), 99 x 153 cm.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* (I-109), 88 x 80 cm.

the Descent of Christ into Hades with the scroll of the “Contract of Adam” being torn apart can be seen on the wall-painting with the composition of the Passion of Christ (Fig. 104). The icon “The Virgin with a candle” illustrates the 11th *oikos* of the *Akathist* in a way similar to the Kyiv *Akathist* of 1663 (Fig. 74).

Several icons present the scene “To the Invincible Leader...” which illustrates the 1st *kontakion* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. The composition of the icons is similar to the engravings of 17th-century books printed in Kyiv. This is a West Ukrainian icon (the exact place of origin is unknown) from 1670⁴¹ (Fig. 105). Considering the shape and framing of the icon it can be assumed, that it may have been a predella in an iconostasis. The scene features a group of clergies. A bishop holds an icon of the Virgin Mary with Jesus in his hands. Another icon of 1748 originates from the church in the village of Sapohiv in Ternopil region (Fig. 106).⁴² Pavlo Zholtovskiy, examining the icon, compared its image with scenes of battles between the Cossacks and the Turks.⁴³ He suggested that the composition of the icon was borrowed from the engraving of the 1st *kontakion* of the Kyiv edition of the *Akathist* of 1731 (Fig. 107). However, similar compositions can be seen in all graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God from the 17th–18th centuries, starting from the first Kyiv edition in 1625. Thus, an earlier image could also be the source to the icon of 1748.

The Akathist to the Mother of God in the Paintings of the Petro Mohyla Chapel in St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv

Among the 18th-century oil paintings of St. Sofia cathedral in Kyiv, scenes of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God occupy an important place. It has been suggested that visual representations of the *Akathist* were during the period of the Cossack Hetmanate associated with the apotheosis of Orthodoxy and should be interpreted within a political context.⁴⁴ The cycle of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God is located in the eastern part of the northern gallery of the

⁴¹ Andrey Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv (HML i-325), 65 x 61.5 cm.

⁴² Ternopil regional museum of local history (TKMJ-577), 54 x 40 cm.

⁴³ P. Zholtovskiy, *Український живопис XVII–XVIII ст.*, Kyiv, 1978, p. 240.

⁴⁴ N. Nikitenko, “Меморіал святого Володимира у Софії Київській могилянської доби,” *Наукові записки НаУКМА. Історичні науки* 20, n° 2, 2002, p. 22; idem, *Свята Софія Київська: історія в мистецтві*, Kyiv, 2003, p. 243.

chapel, known as the burial chapel of Prince Volodymyr the Great, built on the order of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1633–1647).⁴⁵ The theme of the murals is related to the function of the chapel. Petro Mohyla intended it to become the memorial chapel of Prince Volodymyr the Great. A memorial service was held here on *Akathist* Saturday, on the fifth week of Great Lent.⁴⁶ This day is also known as the Praise of the Mother of God. All images in the chapel were therefore dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Interpretation of their significance is made difficult by the unsatisfactory preservation of the paintings. Only fragments of the images have survived.

Different suggestions have been made about the possible time of creation of the paintings of the chapel. Nadia Nikitenko proposed that the compositions above the entrance to the chapel and scenes inside the chapel which illustrate the *Akathist* were painted during the time of metropolitan Petro Mohyla, to be more precise after 1635, when he discovered a tomb of prince Volodymyr the Great in the ruins of Desiatynna church, but before the 1680s when the chapel was partially rebuilt.⁴⁷ Irina Totska and Oleksandr Yerko considered that the oil painting of the Petro Mohyla chapel of the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv is close in stylistic to the wall-paintings of the 1720s–1730s in the Holy Trinity gateway church of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra.⁴⁸ Thus they believed that it was made in the 1720s–1730s. Another suggestion is that the oil paintings of the chapel belonged not to one, but at least two chronologically different periods: scenes of the miraculous defence of Constantinople, The Protection of Theotokos and Virgin Mary with the saints Anthony and Theodosios of Pechersk are attributed to the period of metropolitan Petro Mohyla, while other scenes are dated to the 18th century.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ N. Nikitenko, *Свята Софія Київська...*, p. 188. See also L. Charipova, “Peter Mohyla and St Volodimer: Is There a Symbolic Link?,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 80, n° 3, 2002, p. 439–458.

⁴⁶ N. Nikitenko, “Меморіал святого Володимира...,” p. 22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ I. Totska, O. Yerko, “До історії північної галереї Софії Київської,” in P. Tolochko (ed.), *Археологічні дослідження стародавнього Києва*, Kyiv, 1976, p. 128. The murals of this church were painted by local monks which studied the art of icon painting in the school of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra.

⁴⁹ L. Stromylyuk, “Євангельський сюжет в олійних розписах XVIII ст. Софії Київської: проблеми атрибуції,” in *Історія України: сучасні виклики: матеріали Всеукраїнської наукової конференції*, Ternopil, 2015, p. 26.

The paintings cover the altar apse, the northern and southern walls of the chapel, and the western wall above the exit from the chapel. But not all of them illustrate the *Akathist*. (Some small fragments of the frescoes belong to the 11th century). Based on the style of painting and iconography, we suggest that most of the murals with *Akathist* scenes were created in the period 1690s–1730s by local Kyivan masters. This coincides with the time of great upheaval of culture during the rule of hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709). It is the time when Varlaam Yasynskyi was metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych and Little Rus’ (1690–1707). There is an image of a holy monk of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, with the name *Reverend Varlaam* (*npn Bapnaam*) written above it. This may have been the patron saint of metropolitan Varlaam Yasynskyi. The chapel does not contain any other images of saints who are not directly connected with the Virgin Mary.

In the conch of the apse there is an image of Theotokos with Jesus Child before her chest (in the type of Incarnation of Christ), which was typical for 17th century iconography of the sanctuary. Due to significant losses of the paint layer, it is impossible to determine the exact number of scenes in the lower part of the altar apse. Most likely, it contained two large images, one of which is completely lost. The other one has been preserved fragmentarily. Details within the composition allow for identification of the scene of the Dormition of the Mother of God (Fig. 108). Above the apse, two large figures (possibly Joachim and Anna) are depicted, but their faces have been completely lost (Fig. 109). The figures are separated by a round window, with a Mandylion below it.

Three images are placed on the northern wall. According to inscriptions on the wall, the first one represents the figures of Joachim and Anna, which have been partially lost. They are still identifiable, as they have been portrayed with two branches growing from their chests, intertwining into a flowering lily (Fig. 110). This is a symbolic image representing the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. This iconography emerged under the influence of West European art and was widespread in Ukrainian icon painting in the late 17th–18th centuries.⁵⁰ Although the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was officially accepted by the Catholic Church only on December 8, 1854, Pope Sixt IV had already established the feast of the Immaculate

⁵⁰ R. Kosiv, *Риботицький осередок церковного малярства 1670–1760-х років*, Lviv, 2019, p. 299–300.

Conception as a local feast for Rome in 1476, and Pope Clement XI extended it to the entire Catholic Church in 1708.⁵¹ Ukrainian theologians of the Kyiv school of the 17th–18th centuries defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Ioanykiy Halyatovsky, the author of the book entitled *The Key to Understanding* (*Ключ розуміння*), stated in his second sermon on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, “The third great privilege that God bestowed on the Blessed Virgin is that He freed her from original sin”.⁵² The second scene on the northern wall is a fresco from the 11th century, apparently depicting the meeting of Joachim and Anna near the golden gate. The third mural depicts the previously mentioned image of Rev. Varlaam. These images do not illustrate the *kontakia* or *oikoi* of the *Akathist*.

Five compositions on the northern wall are located on the intrados of the arch. They illustrate the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. Of the first of them only a fragment in the upper right corner has been preserved. It shows a part of a throne on which, presumably, the Virgin Mary was depicted along with an angel and a saint, probably Theodosios of Pechersk (Fig. 111). This identification is based on the similarity between this fragment and icons and engravings of the 17th–18th centuries that represent the enthroned Virgin with Jesus Child accompanied by the saints Anthony and Theodosios of Pechersk. It is obvious, that this composition which emphasises the role of early Kyivan saints in the developing of the traditions of the Kyivan church and Metropolia was included into iconography of the chapel. The second composition within the thickness of the arch wall illustrates the 1st *kontakion* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God and depicts the miraculous defence of Constantinople. The image is almost entirely lost. Only fragments of the sea, ships, people on the shore, and half of the figure of the Virgin in the sky have been preserved (Fig. 112). In the centre of the arch, there is a six-winged seraph, with two more images visible on either side. The first one represents the Virgin Mary holding a candle in her hand (Fig. 113). The composition illustrates the 11th *oikos* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. Monks and laity, headed by the royal family, kneel before the Virgin Mary. The four figures in crowns can be identified as Prince Volodymyr the Great and his sons Yaroslav, Borys, and Hlib.⁵³ The next

⁵¹ Yu. Katriy, *Пізнай свій обряд*, Lviv, 2004, p. 267.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁵³ I. Vilchynska, “Історичні образи у сюжеті могилянської доби. ‘Світоприїмна свіча’ Благовіщинського вітваря Софії Київської,” in N. Nikitenko (ed.), *Софія Київська в*

composition resembles West European iconography of the Holy Family (Fig. 114). Joseph and the Virgin Mary hold hands with the young Christ, whose face, like almost all faces in the chapel, has been lost. The iconography is similar to engravings from the *Akathist* of 1699 (Fig. 54) and 1706 (Fig. 115) illustrating the 8th *oikos* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, “Thou you were on earth, yet did not abandon the heavens...”

Two more compositions, significantly larger in size are located above the arch on the vault. The first illustrates the Nativity of the Virgin, as indicated by the inscriptions near the figures of Anna and Joachim, and the traditional bathing scene of the infant (Fig. 116). The second composition depicts the Annunciation to the Virgin, but the figure of Archangel Gabriel is almost completely lost. The last composition may depict the 1st *oikos*, 2nd *kontakion*, or 2nd *oikos* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God.

The image on the arch of the southern wall is almost entirely lost. As evidenced by the preserved fragments of figures and architecture depicted in the upper part of the composition it is the Protection of the Mother of God (Fig. 117).⁵⁴ The Protection has been depicted in two different ways in Ukrainian iconography of the 17th–18th centuries: 1) The Virgin Mary holds a veil in her hands; 2) Two angels extend a veil over the Virgin Mary. Based on the preserved fragments of the mural, the second version is depicted here. The architectural motifs representing the interior of the church with arches and columns in the painting are similar to those in the engraving of the Protection of the Virgin in the book *The Trumpets of Preaching Words (Truby sloves propovidnykh...)* by Lazar Baranovych, Kyiv, 1674 (Fig. 118). Angels are depicted next to the Virgin Mary, holding the veil over her and other figures who have been lost, probably attendees of the temple. In the cycles of the *Akathist* to the Virgin Mary of the 17th centuries, the iconography of the Protection of the Virgin illustrates the 10th *oikos*.

Two lower compositions within the thickness of the arch of the southern wall remain unidentified. The upper composition within the thickness of the arch of the southern wall seems to depict the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth (Fig. 119), representing the 3rd *oikos* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. The composition is damaged, but based on the preserved fragments and analogies

новітніх дослідженнях. Колективна монографія, Київ, 2018, р. 83-84.

⁵⁴ N. Nikitenko, “Меморіал святого Володимира...,” р. 22, dated the scene of the Protection of the Mother of God to the 1630s.

to engravings, we can conclude that four figures are depicted: Elizabeth and Mary embracing each other, with Zechariah and Joseph beside them. This scene has prototypes in the engravings in the *Akathist* of the Lviv print of 1699 (Fig. 22) and the Kyiv print of 1706. Another composition within the thickness of the arch of the southern wall that has been relatively well preserved is the Virgin holding the Child Jesus on her left arm and a sceptre in her right hand, standing on a crescent (Fig. 120). A similar depiction can be found in engravings by N. Zubrytskyi to the *Akathist* of 1699 printed in Lviv (Fig. 121) and of 1706 printed in Kyiv (Fig. 122). The composition illustrates the 9th *oikos* of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. However, in the engravings, the Virgin appears without Jesus, which indicates the adoption of West European iconography of the Immaculate Conception (Fig. 123).⁵⁵ The concept of the Immaculate Conception was related to the birth of the Virgin Mary. Despite the fact that the dogma of the Mary's Immaculate Conception was not yet accepted in the Catholic Church in the 17th–18th centuries, and the Orthodox Church has not recognized it to this day, the immaculacy of the Mother of God was not questioned by the clergy of that time, as mentioned above. The apocalyptic image of “a woman clothed with a sun” from the vision of John (Revelation 12:1) is closely related to the image of the Immaculate Conception of the Mary and associates the Mother of God with the new Eve.⁵⁶ This motif was popular in West European graphic cycles of the Apocalypse in the 16th–18th centuries. Another parallel that can be drawn while examining the representation of the Virgin Mary in this painting in the chapel is her association with the bride from the Old Testament *Song of Songs*. Poetic expressions from the *Song of Songs* – such as “a lily” (Song 2:1), “a tower of David” (Song 4:4), “a garden enclosed” (Song 4:12), “a sealed source” (Song 4:15), “the moon and the sun” (Song 6:10) – were borrowed by the author of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the *chairetismoi* of the *oikoi*. In the chapel, some of these poetic symbols representing the Virgin Mary were depicted in six medallions next to Her image. The medallions are connected with each other by a painted thread with knots which resembles a rosary. Unfortunately, the images in the

⁵⁵ For example, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception by Raphael Sadeler, 1605. Source: <https://colonialart.org/archives/subjects/virgin-mary/the-immaculate-conception/the-virgin-of-the-immaculate-conception-la-inmaculada/72a-72b>.

⁵⁶ For example, the renowned theologian Lazar Baranovych in his sermon “The Word at the Conception of the Most Holy Virgin” compares the Mother of God to the New Eve and the biblical bride: L. Baranovych, *Труби на дни нарочитая праздникова*, Kyiv, 1674, p. 104.

medallions are partially lost. Only in two of them (to the right) can the symbols of the Virgin Mary be identified: the well (the “sealed source”) and the flower (the “unfading blossom”). The image of the Virgin Mary with symbols and on a crescent is known from the engraving in the Kyivan *Akathist* of 1731⁵⁷ (Fig. 124), which could have been the prototype for the painter. This also indicates that scene was painted in or after the 1730. The image of the Virgin Mary with symbols is rare in Ukrainian art and was transferred from Western European engravings and paintings of the 16th–17th centuries (Fig. 125). In the West European art, similar images illustrated the text of the Catholic hymn in honour of the Virgin Mary – the Litany of Loreto. The poetic images of the litany were borrowed from the *Song of Songs*. The images on the medallions, connected to each other by a ribbon with knots, are similar to West European iconography of Rosary.

Above the arch, on the vault of the southern wall, two more compositions can be seen. They have survived fragmentarily, but enough to allow for identification of the images. The composition on the left represents the Nativity of Christ, more specifically The Adoration of the Shepherds (Fig. 126). The composition to the right represented the Entrance of the Most Holy Theotokos into the Temple (Fig. 127). The last scene never belonged to the graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in the printed books of the 17th–18th centuries.

So, in the murals of the Petro Mohyla chapel in the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, about 20 compositions can be counted which seem to illustrate the *Akathist* to the Mother of God (the complete cycle of the *Akathist* consists of 25 scenes). It remains an open question whether all of the scenes analysed here belonged to the *Akathist*. The following images could illustrate the *Akathist* to the Mother of God: “To the Invincible Leader...,” “The Mother of God on the throne with St. Antony and St. Theodosios of Pechersk,” “The Mother of God with a candle,” “The Holy Family” (located on the northern wall), “The Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth,” “The Virgin Mary with Jesus Child and with the symbols” (located on the southern wall). The compositions of the Annunciation, Nativity of Christ and the Protection of the Mother of God are also typical for cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God. The scene of the Dormition of the Mother of God is presented in graphic cycles of 25

⁵⁷ This image is placed here on a whole page before the text of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, thus it does not illustrate a specific *kontakion* or *oikos*.

compositions in old printed books of the 17th–18th centuries, which illustrate the *Akathist* to the Dormition of the Mother of God. The scenes “The Entrance into the Temple” and “The Nativity of the Mother of God” are included in cycles of 12 feasts in the Feast tiers of iconostases, but are not known in the pictorial or graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in Ukrainian art of the 17th–18th centuries. So, in the chapel we can see the *Akathist* scenes and scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary which apparently do not illustrate the *Akathist*.

Conclusions

The majority of graphic cycles of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God were included in the books of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra printing house from the 1620s to 1730s, with only one cycle in the *Akathist* printed in Lviv in 1699. By examining the engravings in these editions and comparing them with the Drohobych and Kyiv wall-paintings and icons on the theme of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God, we can assert that the influence of engravings on the icon painting is obvious. The cycles of the engravings in the Kyiv and Lviv editions of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God differ in iconography of the symbolic part (from the 7th *oikos* till the 12th *oikos*) from the painted cycles of the *Akathist* of the 14th–16th centuries. In this way we can talk about the emergence of a new iconography of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God in Ukrainian art of the period from the 17th to the first third of the 18th centuries, at least regarding the illustrations to the second part of this prayer. The illustrations of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God had important theological significances. The development of these new graphic cycles coincided with the flowering of theological thought during the Cossack Hetmanate, when leading theologians such as Petro Mohyla, Lazar Baranovych, Ioanykyi Halatovskyi, Antonyi Radyvylovskyi, Varlaam Yasynskyi and others worked. It is worth mentioning that in the 17th century together with illustrated *Akathist* to the Mother of God, illustrated *Akathist* to Christ, the Dormition of the Mother of God, St. Nicholas, Archangel Michael which have no analogues in medieval art, appear in Ukrainian printed books⁵⁸. The new images of the *Akathist* were in harmony with the development of a new Baroque aesthetic and new iconography in Ukrainian art of that time, which became rich in symbolic

⁵⁸ All of them were included in one volume, thus the name of the books is in plural, *Akathists*.

and allegorical compositions. Some scenes of the *Akathist* to the Mother of God were borrowed from West European patterns, and others have no direct analogues in Catholic art. The popularization of illustrated *Akathist* was not only a way of expressing theological ideas related to the Mother of God, in particular, advocating the doctrine of her immaculateness, which was promoted during the period of Counter-Reformation. The *Akathist* to the Mother of God, which originated in Constantinople, reflected the orientation of the Ukrainian clergy towards the Eastern Christian tradition. The attention given to illustrated *Akathist* coincides with the restoration in 1620 of the Orthodox Kyiv Metropolitanate (it existed until 1686), subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, by the Jerusalem patriarch Teophanes III (1608–1644) and the movements to protect the faith and rites of the ancestors.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

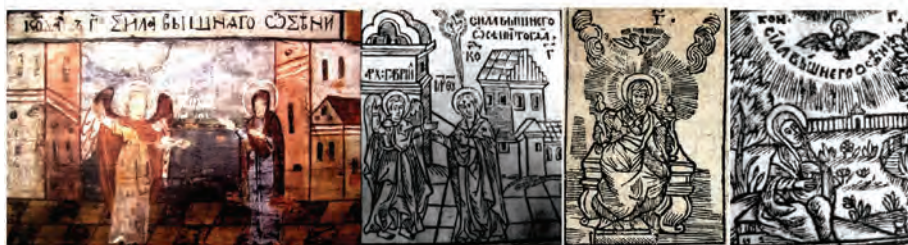


Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22



Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60



Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71



Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74



Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78



Fig. 79



Fig. 80



Fig. 81



Fig. 82



Fig. 83



Fig. 84



Fig. 85



Fig. 86



Fig. 87



Fig. 88



Fig. 89



Fig. 90



Fig. 91



Fig. 92



Fig. 93



Fig. 94



Fig. 95



Fig. 96



Fig. 97



Fig. 98



Fig. 99



Fig. 100



Fig. 101



Fig. 102



Fig. 103



Fig. 104



Fig. 105



Fig. 106



Fig. 107



Fig. 108



Fig. 109



Fig. 110



Fig. 111



Fig. 112



Fig. 113



Fig. 114



Fig. 115



Fig. 116



Fig. 117



Fig. 118



Fig. 119



Fig. 120



Fig. 121



Fig. 122



Fig. 123



Fig. 124



Fig. 125



Fig. 126



Fig. 127

TWO ICONS OF THE *AKATHISTOS HYMN* (18th–19th CENTURIES):
CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL ENCOUNTERS
BETWEEN ROMANIAN MONASTICISM,
THE PECHERSK LAVRA AND MOUNT ATHOS

Sister Atanasia Văetiși

The artistic representation of verses and canons from the Byzantine hymnographical and liturgical heritage, specifically of Marian hymns, developed significantly in the late post-Byzantine era. This article will focus on the iconographic cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn*. It dates from just before the fall of Byzantium, which makes it one of the oldest attempts of painters to translate a poetic liturgical composition into images. Over the centuries, the 24 stanzas of the *Hymn* (12 long stanzas called *oikoi* and 12 short stanzas called *kontakia*) were depicted in varied and complex compositions, divided into sequences suggested by the text itself. The representations intended to depict the theological-liturgical synthesis expressed by Marian piety in the Byzantine tradition, in formulas that use visual metaphors and allegories characteristic of the poetic genre of the text.

The *Akathistos Hymn* of the Mother of God is of Byzantine origin, anonymously transmitted and undated,¹ but composed, according to most researchers, in the 6th century. In the liturgical calendar of the Eastern Christian Church, a special feast is dedicated to it on the fifth Saturday of Lent.² In

¹ For debates regarding the author, the date of creation and its place in divine service, see the synthesis by E. Dobrynina, “The Akathistos Hymn,” in V. Tsamakda (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, Leiden – Boston, 2017, p. 329-330.

² The *Hymn*’s liturgical use has a long history. In the 6th century, it was sung around the time of the feast of Annunciation, but also in connection with a vigil that took place in Constantinople, honouring the Mother of God, which was combined with a procession from Blachernae to Chalkoprateia. Via its inclusion in the canon of Saint Joseph the Hymnographer (9th century), in the 10th century the *Hymn* was incorporated into the *Triodion* cycle. Beginning in the 14th century, the service also received a *synaxarion*, written by Kallistos Xanthopoulos (ca. 1256 – ca. 1335); see E. M. Toniolo, *Acatistul Maicii Domnului explicat. Imnul și structurile lui mistagogice*, transl. by Deacon I. I. Ică jr, Sibiu, 2009, p. 178; E. Dobrynina, “The Akathistos Hymn,” p. 330.

addition to this, the *Akathistos Hymn* is also read in monasteries beyond the period of the *Triodion*, in accordance with the liturgical *typicon* of the monastic community. In Cernica Monastery (Ilfov county), the Annunciation *Akathistos* has been read every Friday. This tradition started with the foundation of the monastery and continues until the present day. Cernica Monastery was founded in 1608 and experienced a revival, both material and spiritual, under hegoumen Gheorghe (1781–1806), a monk shaped by the spiritual guidance of Abbot Saint Paisij Veličikovskij (1722–1794), an essential figure in the hesychastic and Philokalic revival of Orthodox monasticism at the end of 18th century. In the *Testament* that he wrote in 1785, hegoumen Gheorghe listed seven Marian celebrations that were required to have all-night vigils in the monastic community of Cernica, including the Saturday of the *Akathistos Hymn*.³ This special dedication to the service of the *Akathistos* may also explain, besides the representation of the cycle in the mural painting of the oldest church of the Monastery, Saint Nicholas, the presence of two icons

³ *Viețile, povăţuirile şi testamentele sfinţilor stareţi Gheorghe şi Calinic de la Cernica*, eds. C. Popescu, Deacon I. I. Ică jr, Sibiu, 1999, p. 96. Abbot Gheorghe's *Testament* from 1785 is kept in the Library of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest): BAR Rom MS 2058 ("Diata ieromonahului Gheorghe, stareţului de la Metohul Sfintei Mitropolii de la metohul ce se află în ostrovul Cernichei, întru carele dimpreună cu ai săi fii sufleteşti au început rânduială cu viaţă de obşte, petrecând aici 3 ani deplini. Şi acum, foarte greu bolnăvindu-se, s-au gătit a se lăsa fericita sănătate," that is, "The testament of hieromonk Gheorghe, hegumen of the Metochion of the Holy Metropolis, from the metochion on Cernica Island, in which, together with his spiritual children he started a coenobitic monastic life, spending here three full years. And now, becoming very ill, he prepared to leave the happy health"). A copy made in 1842 for Căldăruşani Monastery can be found in BAR Rom MS 1983 ("Diata Cuviosului ieromonah Gheorghe, stareţul sfintei Mănăstiri Cernica, carele împreună cu 55 ai săi fii sufleteşti, au început rânduială călugărească cu viaţă de obşte şi după petrecerea de trei ani, foarte greu bolnăvindu-se, s-au aşezat aceste aşezămături arătate," that is "The testament of hieromonk Gheorghe, hegoumen of the Holy Monastery Cernica, who, together with 55 of his spiritual children started a monastic order with community life and, after three years, becoming very ill, these instructions were established.") The text was edited on several occasions, the most recent one being in *Viețile, povăţuirile şi testamentele...*, p. 72-105. For Cernica Monastery, see *Istoriile Sfințelor monastiri Cernica și Căldărușani de smeritul monah Casian Cernicanul*, Iași, 2002; A. Mironescu, *Istoria Mănăstirii Cernica*, Sfânta Mănăstire Cernica, 1930; I. L. Georgescu, R. Stanciu, *Mănăstirea Cernica*, Bucharest, 1969. For hegoumen Gheorghe, see the *Life* written by hieromonk Protasie (c. 1807–1810), in BAR Rom MS 2042 (beginning of the 19th century), edited in Pr. D. Furtună, *Ucenicii stareţului Paisie în mănăstirile Cernica și Căldărușani*, Bucharest, 2002, p. 123-134, and the *Life* written by monk Casian (1870), in BAR Rom MS 2058, published in *Istoriile Sfințelor monastiri Cernica și Căldărușani...*

with this theme in the monastery. The aim of the present article is providing an analysis of these two icons, namely:

[P]: *The Virgin Iverskaya with the Cycle of the Akathistos Hymn*, signed by Petros “zogaphos” (the painter), end of the 18th century – beginning of the 19th century, 77x59 cm, held in the Museum of Cernica Monastery;⁴

[A]: *The Virgin of the Unfading Rose, with the Cycle of the Akathistos Hymn*, signed by Adam “zogaphos”, dated 1844, 111x77 cm, held in the monastery’s chancellery.

It is not known how [P] reached Cernica Monastery: was it commissioned by the monastic community or was it donated? The other icon, [A], was painted by one of the representatives of Cernica painting school, Adam “zogaphos”. He was also responsible for the painting of the church dedicated to the Transfiguration, which is located on the monastery’s St. George Island.⁵ The icon probably had a liturgical destination. A study from 1969 mentions that at that time it was located in the narthex of the monastery’s main church.⁶

The two icons belong to the late post-Byzantine period of the 18th and 19th centuries. This period has received little scholarly attention, compared with the wealth of studies dedicated to the illustrated cycles of the *Akathistos*

⁴ See also Maria Tomadaki’s article in the first volume of this book.

⁵ Adam is credited with many icons, signed and dated between 1843 and 1847, present today in the collections of the Monasteries of Cernica and Pasărea. He is also responsible for the paintings in Saint George’s Church of Cernica Monastery and in the main church of Pasărea Monastery, dedicated to the Holy Trinity (1847). For the painting school from Cernica and Căldărușani and its representatives, see I. D. Ștefănescu, “Școala de pictură din Mănăstirile Cernica și Căldărușani – ucenicia lui N. Grigorescu,” *Glasul Bisericii* 28, n° 3–4, 1969, p. 364–392; Sister A. Văețiși (ed.), *Iconostase din București. Secolele XVII–XIX*, Bucharest, 2017, p. 127, 253; C. Cojocaru, “Pictura religioasă din Țara Românească în secolul XIX,” in R. Theodorescu, M. Porumb (eds), *Arta din România. din preistorie în contemporaneitate*, vol. 2, Bucharest – Cluj-Napoca, 2018, p. 226–231; and, most recently, Sister A. Văețiși, “Monastic Schools of Painting in the Romanian Principalities (End of 18th Century – Middle of 19th Century) and the Role of the Russian Icon in their Stylistic and Iconographic Approaches,” paper at *Ricontrans hands-on Workshop “Religious Art, Visual Culture and Collective Identities in Central and South-Eastern Europe (16th – Early 20th Century)”*, Alba Iulia, 20–23 June 2023, unpublished.

⁶ “[...] in the pronaos, a wooden icon depicts the *Akathistos Hymn* of Theotokos in 24 small icons. The icon is dated 1846 (*sic!*) and signed Adam zogaphos”: I. D. Ștefănescu, “Școala...,” p. 370.

Hymn prior to the fall of Byzantium⁷ or from the 16th century.⁸ Nonetheless, numerous examples from this late period exist, especially in monasteries, icons on panels and engravings. Therefore, an analysis of an isolated example may be a valuable contribution to an ongoing inquiry.⁹

In this study, I will analyse the two icons in Cernica Monastery with a special focus on the iconographic sources. From a methodological point of view, I will categorise them according to the typology proposed by Nazar Kozak for the 16th century, which takes into consideration the characters and the action depicted in the scenes¹⁰ (Fig. 1).

⁷ J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la première partie de l'*Hymne Akathiste* et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l'enfance de la Kariye Djami," *Byzantion* 54, 1984, p. 648-702; A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1989; I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin*, Leiden, 2005; E. B. Gromova, *История русской иконографии Акафиста. Икона "Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом" из Успенского собора Московского Кремля*, Moscow, 2005.

⁸ M. A. Vardavaki, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ἀκάθιστου στὸν κώδικα Garrett 13*, Princeton, Athens, 1992; G. Gounaris, "Die Ikonographie des *Akathistos-Hymnos* in der nachbyzantinischen Ikonenmalerei," in G. Koch (ed.), *Byzantinische Malerei: Bildprogramme, Ikonographie, Stil*, Wiesbaden, 2000; N. Kozak, "The *Akathistos* on the Move and the Geography of Post-Byzantine Art," in M. A. Rossi, A. I. Sullivan (eds), *Eclecticism in Late Medieval Visual Culture at the Crossroads of the Latin, Greek, and Slavic Traditions*, Berlin – Boston, 2022, p. 221-238.

⁹ For other case studies, see S. Sophokleous, "Νέα στοιχεία γιὰ τὴν παραμονὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Κρητικοῦ ζωγράφου Ἰωάννη Κορνάρου στὴν Κύπρο," *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί. Δελτίον τῆς Ἑταιρείας Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν* 50, 1986, p. 231-232, fig. 6; P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Composite Icons," in E. Haustein-Bartsch, N. Chatzidaki (eds), *Griechische Ikonen. Beiträge des Kolloquiums zum Gedenken an Manolis Chatzidakis in Recklinghausen, 1998 / Greek Icons. Proceedings of the Symposium in Memory of Manolis Chatzidakis, Recklinghausen, 1998*, Athens – Recklinghausen, 2000, p. 8, fig. 8; C. Costea, "Constantinopolul în iconografia târzie din Țara Românească," *SCIA.AP* 14, n° 40, 1993, p. 60-66; C. Brisby, "The Role of Orthodox Religious Engravings in the Samokov Archive: Visual Prototypes?," *Seria Byzantina* 6, 2008, p. 87-101; S. Pajić, "Иконографија Богородичиног Акатиста у критском иконопису," in *Језик музике. Музика и религија & Реч и слика. Иконографија и иконографски метод – теорија и примена. Зборник радова са VI међународног научног скупа „Српски језик, књижевност, уметност"*, vol. 3, eds. B. Kanački, S. Pajić, Kragujevac, 2012, p. 285-303; N. Kozak, "Acatistos and Pokrov: A Case Study of Iconographic Contamination," *Искусствоведски чтения* 201, 2015, p. 312-320; T. Borisova, "Poetic Text and its Iconographic Interpretation: The *Akathistos Hymn* in the Russian and Cretan Religious Art," *Journal of Visual Theology* 1, 2020, p. 100-113.

¹⁰ N. Kozak, "The *Akathistos* on the Move...", p. 223-226.

Strophe	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
4	Virgin in a mandorla	An image of the Virgin Enthroned with the veil raised behind her	Annunciation
10			Journey of the Magi
13	Veneration of the Virgin with Child	Christ blessing people	Christ pointing at the book for the disciples to look
14	Nativity		
16	Nativity		
18	Christ Anapeson	Anastasis	Helkomenos
20	Veneration of an icon of Christ	Veneration of Christ	Christ appearing to the people sitting in the healing sands
22	Christ approaching the gates of Hell	Christ tearing up a scroll of Adam's treaty with Satan	Anastasis
23+24	Combination: Strophe 23: Veneration of the Virgin with Child + Strophe 24: Veneration of an icon of the Virgin with Child	Combination: Strophe 23 and Strophe 24, both representing the veneration of the Virgin with Child	Combination of Strophe: 23: An image or an icon of the Virgin with Child appearing on the church + Strophe 24: Veneration of an icon of the Virgin with Child Proimion: Veneration of an icon of the Virgin with Child

Fig. 1. The trait-illustrations of the three major types of the *Akathistos* Cycle (*apud* N. Kozak, "The *Akathistos* on the Move and the Geography of Post-Byzantine Art," in M. A. Rossi, A. I. Sullivan (eds), *Eclecticism in Late Medieval Visual Culture at the Crossroads of the Latin, Greek, and Slavic Traditions*, Berlin – Boston, 2022, p. 226.

I consider this to be a useful tool for the later period as well, even if there are more numerous variations in the composition of scenes and within a cycle in this period. As the icons depict a poetical text rich in symbols and metaphors, there are numerous iconographical solutions to represent the 24 stanzas of the *Hymn*. An attempt to systematise these variants is an essential feature of a study of these icons. Even if the depiction of one stanza might differ from one cycle to the other, there are some shared features that enable the establishment of a single type. Another aspect that I will pay attention to is the identification of the direct prototype, in an attempt to form a few conclusions regarding the circulation of the models, as well as the influence of different artistic threads on the two icons. Finally, I will demonstrate that the iconographic transfer from one cultural milieu to another is the consequence of monastic migration and of contacts between monasteries and monks on the routes between Kyiv, Mount Athos and the Romanian Principalities.

My analysis will only focus on the representations of the second, dogmatic part of the hymn. Unlike the historical part (stanzas 1–12) which depends on an established iconography, the dogmatic part (stanzas 13–24) introduces new themes into Byzantine art. These new themes are responsible for the variety within the cycles. In composing these themes, the artists integrated elements of imperial iconography, worship ceremonies dedicated to the Virgin in Constantinople, processions with icons – themes which flourished in the period when the iconography of the *Akathistos Hymn* was in the making. What resulted were collective portraits of emperors, hierarchs, and members of the imperial courts grouped around the Virgin or Jesus Christ. These compositions enabled the painter to evoke a typical image of Constantinopolitan piety.¹¹ In the depiction of the second part of the *Hymn* we encounter the symmetrical juxtapositions of characters: saints, Church Fathers, virgins, rhetors and simple believers have been portrayed in different positions and embodying different attitudes to veneration. Depending on the iconographer, the Virgin and Child could be depicted sitting on the throne or standing, on clouds or venerated by angels, together or separate, together with those who venerate them. In any case the elements were selected and developed to shape the image of veneration and doxology specific to Byzantine art. Both icons which feature in this study, fit this general iconographical pattern, despite their particularities and adherence to a different iconographic type.

¹¹ I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles...*, p. 4.



2	3	0	1	4	5
6	7			8	9
10	11			12	13
14	15			16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23
		24			

Figs. 2–3. *The Virgin Mary and Child Iverskaya* (icon [P]), end of the 18th century – beginning of the 19th century, Cernica Monastery. Photo L. Tatulescu. Courtesy of Cernica Monastery.

1. *The Virgin Iverskaya with Cycle of the Akathistos Hymn*

Although it contains some iconographic elements that are specific to type I (for stanzas 1 – The Virgin, 14 – the Nativity, and 16 – again the Nativity) and type III (for stanza 10 – The three kings’ journey), [P] could be considered as belonging to type II of the iconographic schema systematised by Kozak¹² (Figs 2–3).

The first part of the icon, the ‘historical part’ representing the first twelve stanzas, follows the usual pattern (Figs 4–5). In contrast, the iconography of

¹² The following elements define the iconographical scheme of type II: Strophe 4 – an image of the Virgin Enthroned with the veil raised behind her; Strophe 13 – Christ blessing people; Strophe 18 – the Anastasis; Strophe 20 – veneration of Christ; Strophe 22 – Christ tearing up a scroll of Adam’s treaty with Satan; Combination of Strophe 23 and Strophe 24, both representing the veneration of the Virgin with Child: N. Kozak, “The *Akathistos* on the Move...,” p. 226.



Fig. 4. Strophes 4 and 5, icon [P].
Photo A. Văetiși.
Courtesy of Cernica Monastery.



Fig. 5. Strophes 10 and 11, icon [P].
Photo A. Văetiși.
Courtesy of Cernica Monastery.

the second part contains three major deviations from the traditional norms, namely stanzas 13, 14 and 18. In addition to their special composition, attention should also be paid to the textual fragment (the beginning of each stanza) written on three rows in a cartouche at the base of each scene. No full study or reproduction of the icon exist. It has been mentioned in passing in an article by Ion D. Ștefănescu in 1969,¹³ among a list of more valuable icons from the collection of the museum of Cernica Monastery. Ștefănescu stated that “the inscriptions of the *oikoi* and icons (*sic!*) are in the Greek language” and he proposed a dating “based on technique and style” to the first half of the 18th century. In my opinion, the icon is of a later date. The chromatics, the modelling, the compositional dynamism, the characters’ postures and certain details in the interior scenes (the vase with flowers, the curtains and the neo-classical architectural structures) reveal the influence of Western art

as it was assimilated within the artistic milieu of Greek Baroque. The icon could be classified as what art historians call “oriental rococo” or “Turkish baroque,” a pictorial style that spread in the Balkans between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁴ The dynamic compositions and the

¹³ I. D. Ștefănescu, “Școala de pictură...,” p. 371.

¹⁴ Its specific characteristics being “the miniaturized details, the theatrical postures, the organic incorporation of abundant naturalistic decoration, as well as the widespread use of gold and



Fig. 6. Strophe 13, icon [P].
Photo A. Văetiși. Courtesy of
Cernica Monastery.

backgrounds of the scenes suggest the artistic milieu of Crete or of the Ionian islands, namely, the painters from Zakynthos – Panagiotis Doxaras and his school. These features point especially to the end of the evolution of this pictorial style, the so-called Heptanese School of painting.¹⁵ Besides the style, the deviations from the established iconography for the three stanzas, more specifically the composition of the scenes that can also be seen in other icons from this area, might support the hypothesis of an affiliation to the Cretan school or the suggestion that it was painted by painters from the Ionian islands.

The three stanzas with unusual compositional features are:

Strophe 13 (N) (Fig. 6): Νέαν ἔδειξε κτίσιν, ἐμπανίσας ὁ Κτίστης, ὑμῖν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἐξ ἀσπόρου βλαστήσας γαστρός...

The scene depicts Jesus Christ in the centre, stepping on a snake; he holds a chalice in one hand and a cross in the other. To each side of Him are many

of bright tints of green, blue and red.” All these elements can be seen in the Cernica icon; see I. Vitaliotis, “Reproducing Engravings on a Single Icon: The Case of the Theotokos Megaspelaitissa,” in E. Moutafov, M. Kuyumdzhieva (eds), *Patterns. Models. Drawings. Art Readings. Thematic Peer-reviewed Annual in Art Studies*, vol. 1, *Old Art*, Sofia, 2019, p. 159. The same stylistic particularities appear in the descriptions of some mural ensembles presented by N. Bonovas, *Ὀψιμη μεταβυζαντινὴ ζωγραφικὴ στο Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Το ἐργαστήριο των Καρπενησιωτῶν ζωγράφων (1773–1890)*, PhD dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Faculty of Philosophy, School of History and Archaeology, Thessaloniki, 2009, unpublished, p. 50–76.

¹⁵ Here, in 1726, Panagiotis Doxaras (1662–1729) compiled the treatise on painting *Περὶ ζωγραφίας*, which adopts discourses of the Italian Renaissance painters, including aspects relating to style and technique, thus orienting the Byzantine painting tradition towards Western art. Using this treatise, the painters around Doxaras caused an iconographic, technical, and stylistic change, by assimilating European styles, from Renaissance to Mannerism and Baroque.

believers, kneeling in an attitude of veneration. This corresponds to the notion of “the people” as represented in the iconography of the *Hymn* in many of the scenes of the second part. Usually, in type II, the scene is illustrated with Jesus Christ in the middle, venerated by hierarchs, emperors, and those that He blesses. The scene is painted in this way for example in a manuscript from the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, also from a Greek milieu, most likely from Mount Athos¹⁶ (Fig. 7). The strophe has also been depicted in this way in engravings from Mount Athos that circulated intensely (some in coloured versions) among Orthodox monasteries in the 19th century.¹⁷



Fig. 7. Strophe 13, BAR, Gr MS 113, *apud* G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Imnul Acatist al Maicii Domnului...*, Bucharest, 2019.

In type I, the scene is depicted with the Virgin holding the Infant in her arms, being venerated by groups of people. She appears this way for example

¹⁶ BAR Gr MS 113, published in G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Imnul Acatist al Maicii Domnului. Ediție facsimilată după manuscrisul grec 113 al Bibliotecii Academiei Române*, Bucharest, 2019. In 1914, the manuscript became the object of an extended study by O. Tafrali, “Iconografia *Imnului Acatist*,” BCMI 7, 1914, p. 49-84. Based on the writing, Tafrali suggested that it was transcribed in the seventeenth century by a monk from Mount Athos. The analysis of the illustration undertaken by Tafrali indicates the second half of the eighteenth century, which does not exclude, of course, its creation on Mount Athos. The notes of possession – ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Νικοδήμου τοῦ Βατοπαιδινού and νῦν δὲ ὁμονίμου ἐλαχίστου δούλου Ἀγίου Τάφου – are not on the manuscript pages of the *Akathistos*, but on the title page of a book, *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου Μανδηλίου* (Office of the Holy Mandylion), Venice, Nikolaos Glykis, 1745, which is also bound in this codex.

¹⁷ W. Deluga, *Panagiotafitika. Greckie ikony i grafiki cerkiewne*, Collegium Columbium, Krakow, 2008, p. 194, for illustration. I will further analyse these engravings.



Fig. 8. Semaan the Priest, *Akathistos Hymn*, icon, 1764. Greek-Catholic Archbishopric, Beyrouth, *apud Icônes du Liban...*, Paris, 1996, cat. 17.

in an icon created in Lebanon by Priest Semaan in 1764¹⁸ (Fig. 8) who follows a 1667 model of Yusuff Al-Musawir (*Iosif zographos*), the founder of the Aleppo painting school. In type III, which became particular to the Slavic world in the 14th century,¹⁹ the 13th stanza is depicted with Jesus Christ showing the Gospel, placed on a lectern, to a group of apostles. It can also be

¹⁸ *Icônes du Liban. Exposition organisée par la Mairie du V^e arrondissement et le Centre culturel du Panthéon, 16 septembre 1996 – 20 octobre 1996, Paris, 1996, cat. 17.*

¹⁹ The prototype is the icon from the Kremlin Cathedral of the Dormition of the Theotokos, in Moscow (14th century). Representations of the cycle can be found in the post-Byzantine period in the Ferapontov frescoes (16th century), and in many other Russian icons.



Fig. 9. Ioasaf from Vatopedi and Nifon “zographeos,” *Mother of God with the Jesus Child with the Akhatistos Hymn*, 1762, Secu Monastery. Photo A. Dumitran/Ricontrans Project. Courtesy of Metropolis of Moldavia and Bukovina.



Fig. 10. Strophe 13, icon from Secu Monastery. Photo A. Dumitran/Ricontrans Project. Courtesy of Metropolis of Moldavia and Bukovina.

encountered in an icon from the collection of Secu Monastery (Neamț county) painted by Ioasaf of Vatopedi in 1762²⁰ (Figs 9–10).

Strophe 14 (Ξ) (Fig. 11): Ξένον τόκον ἰδόντες, ξενωθῶμεν τοῦ κόσμου, τὸν νοῦν εἰς οὐρανὸν μεταθέντες· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ὑψηλὸς Θεὸς ἐπὶ γῆς...

The scene is depicted as a manger in which the Infant Jesus is laid, and choirs of angels are moving towards Him. In the Greek manuscript from the Library of the Romanian Academy (Fig. 12) and in the engravings from Athos,

²⁰ The icon *Mother of God with the Christ Child with the Akathistos Hymn*, signed by Ioasaf from Vatopedi and Nifon “zographeos”. It is from Crăcăoani skete. According to an inscription, it was commissioned by Ioanichie, bishop of Roman (1747–1769). Ioanichie was hegoumen of Neamț Monastery between 1746–1747; he was formed in Pocrov skete, where Russian monks had settled from the beginning of the 18th century, according to the documents. He lived for a while in Kyiv, he was “teacher of Slavonic,” and he was part of a clerical delegation to the palace of Catherine the Great. Although signed by Ioasaf from Vatopedi, the icon, which is now at Secu Monastery, was not based on a Greek model from Mount Athos, but rather on a model which is specific to the Slavic world.



Fig. 11. Strophe 14, icon [P].
Photo A. Văetiși. Courtesy of
Cernica Monastery.



Fig. 12. Strophe 14, BAR Gr MS 113, *apud*
G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Imnul Acatist al Maicii*
Domnului...



Fig. 13. Strophe 14, icon from
Secu Monastery.
Photo A. Dumitran / Ricontrans
Project. Courtesy of Metropolis
of Moldavia and Bukovina.

the scene is depicted as groups of monks heading towards the Theotokos enthroned, holding the Infant in her arms. The illustration is specific to type II. In the icon from Secu Monastery, which belongs to type III, the scene is similar, except that the Mother of God does not sit on a throne, but is standing. The scene is divided horizontally in two: Christ is above, in a segment of heaven, and the believers are below (Fig. 13).

The composition with Jesus and the manger from icon [P] represents a simplified version of the Nativity; the theme is used to illustrate the 14th strophe, but in type I. The first words of the stanza “Strange Birth”

Fashioner of all things *came to it of His own free choice*".²¹ In other cycles belonging to type II, it also appears as a version of the Descent into Hell. An example of this is BAR Gr 113 (Fig. 16). In type I, the scene is also presented as an *Anapason*, with or without the Virgin, just like in the icon from the Aleppo school.

The illustration of the strophe with the image of Good Shepherd, as in the Cernica [P] icon, can also be encountered in the Akathistos cycle on some *proskynetaria* canvases. On some of these *Palestinian eulogiae*,²² created in workshops of the Holy Land, the Virgin is surrounded by medallions which depict the 24 scenes of the Akathistos cycle, or just a selection of them in simple compositions with just one or two characters. The stanzas have been indicated by letters of the Greek alphabet, forming an acrostic. In these *proskynetaria*, strophes 3 and 14 do not depict the details which can be seen in icon [P]; since they are part of an established iconography, a common prototype is out of the question (Fig. 17).



Fig. 16. Strophe 18, BAR, Gr MS 113, *apud* G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Imnul Acatist al Maicii Domnului...*

²¹ *The Lenten Triodion*, transl. by Sister Mary and Archim. Kallistos Ware, London, 1978, p. 430.

²² For an analysis of these painted cloths from Jerusalem (18th–19th centuries), known in the Balkans as *Jerusalems* or *Jerusalimia*, bought by Orthodox pilgrims who visited the Holy City, see W. Deluga, *Panagiotafitika...*, p. 37-50 and 69-86; M. Immerzeel, "Souvenirs of the Holy Land: The Production of Proskynetaria in Jerusalem," in B. Kühnel, G. Noga-Banai, H. Vorholt (eds), *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, Turnhout, 2014, p. 463-470; M. Immerzeel, W. Deluga, M. Łaptaś, "Proskynetaria: Inventory," *Series Byzantina* 3, 2005, p. 25-31; P. Arad, "Landscape and Iconicity: Proskynetaria of the Holy Land from the Ottoman Period," *The Art Bulletin* 100, n° 4, 2018, p. 62-80; I. Ženarju Rajović, "Pilgrimage and Visual Culture in 19th-Century Kosovo and Metohija," in E. Moutafov, M. Kuyumdzhieva (eds), *Journeys. Art Readings. Thematic Peer-reviewed Annual in Art Studies*, vol. 2, *Old Art*, Sofia, 2020, p. 239-257.



Fig. 17. *Proskynetation*, 1844, detail. Stavropoleos Monastery. Photo A. Văetiși. Courtesy of Stavropoleos Monastery.

In order to identify the prototype of the icon from Cernica Monastery, I began with the epigraphical and stylistic information that it offers. In the bottom part, within the box depicting the 24th stanza, the icon is signed: ζωγράφος Πέτρο(ς) (σ)ώζω.²³ No date has been provided. The list of Greek painters from the period following the fall of Constantinople mentions 11 homonymous painters for the post-Byzantine period, out of which nine were active in the 18th and 19th centuries.²⁴ Until now I have not encountered other signed works

²³ Or ζωγράφος Πέτρο(ς) (σ)ώζω. The inscription is almost illegible, but in front of the letters ω ζ ω something else can be noticed. If we suppose that it is a letter, it could only be sigma (σ), with the result that the word becomes: σωζω, meaning “saved”. If we accept that it is a simple stroke of the brush, and we only read the letters ωζω, then we could suppose that the zographos wrote: “ζωγράφος Πέτρο(ς) ωζω”, meaning cries, begs for (Theotokos’ intercessions). According to Lidell and Scott, σώζω = the act of saving or being saved from danger or disaster; ὠζω = a/to cry, to express something with wonder; see H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement*, Oxford, 1996, s.v.

²⁴ M. Chatzidakis, E. Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες Ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450–1830)*, vol. 2: *Καβαλλάρης–Ψαθόπουλος*, Athens, 1997, p. 291-292.



Fig. 18. Details of icon [P] (strophes 20 and 21). Photo A. Văetiși.
Courtesy of Cernica Monastery.

that would enable detecting stylistic analogies and a possible identification of this “Petros zographos”.

From a stylistic point of view, I would like to draw attention to the compositional solution in which the segment of the sky in the top part of the image – depicted in a Baroque manner, with swirling clouds and rays of light – also absorbs elements and characters that usually belong to the central nucleus of the illustration of this scene. This method has also been encountered in some icons of the *Akathistos Hymn* in the Cretan milieu²⁵ (Fig. 18). The creativity particular to the Cretan school, with its strong influence of Western painting, may be the source of the special iconography of the three stanzas of icon [P]. I was however unable to find a prototype that matched all the particularities reflected in [P].

The important role that text has within the [P] icon led me to book illustration in my search for the iconographic source. As a working hypothesis,

²⁵ I. Kastrofylakos, *Mother of God with the Infant, with Akathistos Hymn*, Hodighitria Monastery, Grotina and Arcadia Metropolis (Crete), 17th century, with interventions 1845; Stefanos Tzagarolas, *Mother of God with the Infant, with Akathistos Hymn*, 1700.

the suggestion can be made that Cernica Monastery may have owned an illustrated service book, which could have influenced the patron's preferences. The icon's presence in the Cernica monastic community led me to check the translations and printed books of the school of Paisij Veličikovskij, since the Cernica community claims to have been founded in his spirituality. Amongst these books, the so-called *Acatiste* (anthologies of several *Akathists*), could have been of particular interest.²⁶ These anthologies were encountered in the Slavic monastic world and, more specifically, in Pechersk Lavra, where the first printed *Akathists* appeared, with illustrations for each scene. Through this Slavic connection, they spread in the Romanian territories. Within the Greek world, the office of the *Akathistos Hymn* does not circulate in print outside of the *Lenten Triodion* service book; autonomous volumes with illustrations for each scene do not exist. From the beginning of the 17th century up until the end of the 18th century, the printing houses of Kyiv and Lviv produced no less than eight editions of the *Akathistos* book with illustrations for each scene. They did not use the same engravings for each edition, but three different sets of illustrations can be identified.²⁷

In the *Akathistos* book printed in Kyiv in 1754, which was re-edited in 1758,²⁸ stanzas 13, 14 and 18 have the same unusual illustrations as those seen in icon [P] from Cernica: Jesus stepping on the snake, Jesus in the manger and Jesus the Good Shepherd (Figs 19–23). This set of engravings used in the Kyiv printing houses served as a model for the engravings that adorn the first illustrated Romanian *Akathistos* book, printed in Bucharest in 1823 with the blessing of Metropolitan Grigorie Dascălul²⁹ (Figs 24–26). The main engraver of the illustrations in the books printed in Kyiv signs his works “hierod F.” Hieromonk Simeon and monk Ghervasie worked on the illustrations for the

²⁶ The *Akathistos* had already been printed as an independent book in Kyiv in 1625. It was used in the service and for private prayer. A second Kyivan edition followed in 1629; neither of them was illustrated.

²⁷ I thank Professor Jerzy Ostapczuk (Christian Theological Academy, Warsaw) for his help with acquiring copies of these sets.

²⁸ *Акафісти і канони*, Kyiv, 1754; A. Zapasko, Ya. Isaievych, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні*, vol. 2/1: 1701–1764, Lviv, 1984, n° 1863. In 1758, a second edition was printed: *ibid.*, n° 2037.

²⁹ I. Bianu, N. Hodoș, D. Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche, 1508–1830*, vol. 3, 1809–1830, Bucharest, 1912–1936, p. 405 (n° 1172): *Acatistier care cuprind acatistul, adecă lauda cea neșezută către Preasfânta Născătoare de Dumnezeu, și Paraclisul, Rugăciunile Preceșcaniei, și canonul către Domnul nostru Iisus Hristos*, Bucharest, 1823.



Fig. 19. Akatist, Kiev, 1758. Library of Trinity Lavra. ©Public Domain.



Fig. 20. Pages with strophe 13, Akatist, Kiev, 1758 ©Public Domain.



Fig. 21. Pages with strophe 14, Akatist, Kiev, 1758. ©Public Domain.

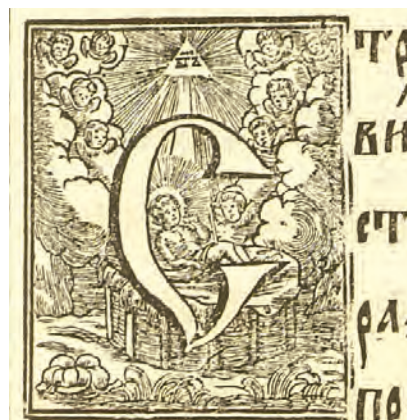


Fig. 22. Illustration of strophe 14, Akatist, Kiev, 1758. ©Public Domain.



Fig. 23. Pages with strophe 18, Akatist, Kiev, 1758 ©Public Domain.



Fig. 24. Page with strophe 13, *Acatistier*, 1823. ©Library of Stavropoleos Monastery.

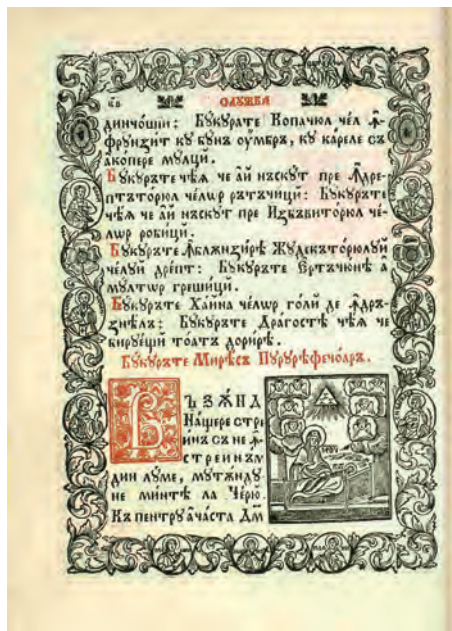


Fig. 25. Page with strophe 14, *Acatistier*, 1823. ©Library of Stavropoleos Monastery.

Romanian *Akathistos* book.³⁰ Simeon, the illustrator from Neamț, created his own illustrations for each of the 24 scenes, inspired by the Kyiv model.

It can be suggested that the 1754 Kyiv *Akathistos* book was the source for the illustrations of the Romanian engravers working on the *Akathistos* books and for Petros “zographeos” and his icon (icon [P]), although they worked independently from one another. The painter is more faithful to the prototype. The Romanian engraver decided to place the initial capital of each stanza

³⁰ The illustration has two signatures: “Ghervasie monah” (Ghervasie the monk) and “Simeon ierei” (Simeon the priest). Gh. Racoveanu, *Gravura în lemn la Mănăstirea Neamțul*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 16-17, considers that the scenes were painted by Simeon: “not only the ornamentation with saints which make up the frame of the *Akathist* printed in Bucharest in 1823 are the work of P. Simeon, but also the numerous engravings which illustrate the book, they also seem to be his work [...] the technique of these small icons betray the hand of Simeon.” Priest Simeon started to work in the last decade of the 18th century, not only for Neamț Monastery, but also for Iași and Bucharest. According to Racoveanu, “his engravings stand out by a careful distribution of scenes over the surface, a rare sense of balance, the outstanding attention to faces, and the fineness of the technique.”



Fig. 26. Page with strophe 18, *Acatistier*, 1823. ©Library of Stavropoleos Monastery.

in a cartouche and to depict the scene that illustrated the stanza in a side cartouche. In contrast, the engraver working for the Kyiv printing house superimposes the letter and the figurative scene in the same box, in line with the models used in Western engraving.³¹

At this time, as monks travelled between Pechersk Lavra, Mount Athos and the Romanian Principalities, book circulation became an important means of iconographic transfer. Petros “zogaphos” might have been working on Mount Athos, encountering there the illustration in the book printed in Kyiv, which he used as a model for his icon. Books printed in Pechersk Lavra were used on Mount Athos in monasteries and sketes inhabited (among others) by Slavonic monks. Whilst it is unknown whether the icon was specially ordered for Cernica Monastery, it is known that Paisij Veličikovskij (between 1754 and 1763), hegoumen Gheorghe of Cernica (between 1750 and 1763), and hierodeacon and future Metropolitan Grigorie Dascălu (in 1821) spent time on Athos. Connected with the Paisian communities during their stay on the Holy Mountain and after they settled in Moldavia, hegoumen Gheorghe and Metropolitan Grigorie had contact with Slavonic printed books. Either of them could have seen the 1754 Kyiv *Akathistos* book and could have proposed it as model. In 1823, Grigorie chose the Kyiv illustration for the

³¹ See, for instance, the illustrations by Hans Holbein, *Dance of Death Alphabet* (1524, woodcutter Hans Luzelburger), a series of 24 historiated initials integrated within compositions that depict different characters in scenes of macabre dances. The last letter, (Z), accompanies the resurrection of the dead on the Day of Judgement. Holbein’s illustration was reproduced by numerous engravers and editors: see <http://www.dodedans.com/Eholbein.htm> (accessed on 10.10.2023). In Neamț Monastery, this type of composition was also elaborated. The 1821 *Gospel* printed there had historiated initials placed in cartouches with decorative or figurative elements. For an illustration, see G. Racoveanu, *Gravura...*, pl. PLVI and LVI.

Akathistos book that he commissioned in his role of Metropolitan. He may have proposed it as the source for an icon representing the *Akathist* cycle. It is also possible that other Cernica monks who had connections with Mount Athos during the 19th century³² commissioned the icon.

For comparison, it is relevant to devote some attention to another case in the Romanian territories, where the painter uses the same composition of stanzas 13, 14 and 18, namely the *Akathistos* cycle in the Saint Parascheva episcopal church altar in Roman (Bacău county). Founded by voivode Petru Rareș and his sons Ștefan and Constantin, the episcopal church of Roman was finished in 1550 and painted around the year 1558.³³ It was renovated in the second part of the 18th century. The painting of the altar and nave was part of this renovation. The names of the painters for the *Proskomedie* mention one “Ioan zographos” together with his apprentices. In order to identify this Ioan, correspondences have been proposed with Greek art, which was experiencing “adaptations of the means of artistic expressions of Western types”.³⁴ Still, the exact identity of this painter could not be established. Recent studies have attributed the ensemble from Roman to Jovan Četerević Gabrovan, an Aromanian painter from Albania, who also worked in Walachia.³⁵ According to Aleksandra Kučeković, citing a marginal note written by Gabrovan in a manuscript,³⁶ he worked in Roman between September 1754 and May 1755. Quoting from a 2010 study by Branislav Todić, Kučeković added that Jovan Četerević Gabrovan was in Russia between 1746 and 1750 to study painting, and very likely had been in contact with the painting school of Pechersk Lavra. During this period, he would have adopted Western Baroque iconographic

³² A. Mironescu, *Istoria...*, p. 173, who explained that in 1817, the spiritual father Pimen visited all the monasteries on the Holy Mountain.

³³ For the debate regarding the dating of the original mural ensemble, see M. I. Sabados, *Catedrala Episcopiei Romanului*, Roman, 1990, p. 99-103.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁵ A. P. Kučeković, “Painters Jovan Četerević Grabovan and Grigorije Popović. *Addenda* to the Biographies of the Master and the Apprentice,” *Saopštenja* 52, 2020, p. 137-152; eadem, “Ерминија Слика Рајована Четиревића Грабована. Записи и цртежи,” *Matica Srpska Journal for Fine Arts* 49, 2021, p. 61-83. See also C. Cojocar, “The Painter Grigorie Popovici and His Master Jovan. Contacts Between East and West During the Second Half of the 18th Century,” *Museikon* 5, 2021, p. 249-316.

³⁶ A. P. Kučeković, “Ерминија...,” p. 146. Alexandra Kučeković refers to the handwritten marginal note in a *Hermeneia* manuscript, kept in the library of the Orthodox Church in Nyíregyháza, Hungary. There, in a marginal note, Gabrovan mentioned the works he finished prior to 1760, specifying that he worked in Roman between September 1754 and May 1755.



Fig. 27. Strophe 13, St Parascheva Church in Roman, altar, 1754–1755, *apud* M. I. Sabados, *Catedrala Episcopiei Romanului*, Roman, 1999.



Fig. 28. Strophe 14, St Parascheva Church in Roman, altar, 1754–1755, *apud* M. I. Sabados, *Catedrala...*



Fig. 29. Strophe 18 (bottom left), St Parascheva Church in Roman, altar, 1754–1755. Photo I. Popa / *Iconari vechi și noi Project*. Courtesy of Archdiocese of Roman and Bacău.

models and European engravings in his work.³⁷ It can be assumed that, having been in contact with the cultural milieu of the Kyiv Lavra, Gabrovan could have come across publications like the *Akathistos* book printed in Kyiv in 1754. In those books he would have encountered the illustrations that concern us here: Jesus stepping on a snake for stanza 13 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, the

³⁷ A. Kučeković, “Jovan Četirević Grabovan – An 18th-Century Itinerant Orthodox Painter. Some Ethnic and Artistic Considerations,” in E. Moutafov, I. Toth (eds), *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art: Crossing Borders. Art Readings*, vol. 1, Sofia, 2018, p. 362-363.

Christ-child in the manger for stanza 14 and Jesus portrayed as the Good Shepherd in the illustration of stanza 18. In 1754–1755, for his assignment of painting in the altar of Saint Parascheva Church in Roman, he used the engravings signed “herod. F”, as the model for the fresco cycle (Figs 27–29). The three scenes from Roman reproduce the iconographic types encountered on the Cernica icon and in the Bucharest publication. The common prototype for all three was the *Akathistos* book printed in Kyiv in 1754 and republished with the same images in 1758.

2. *The Virgin of the Unfading Rose, with the Cycle of the Akathistos Hymn [A]*

The second Cernica icon with the Akathistos cycle, signed by Adam “zo-graphos”, is part of a tradition that is easier to identify (Figs 30–31). Around 1730–1733, Dionysios of Fournà compiled a painter’s manual known as the *Hermeneia*. This work systematised Orthodox iconography, with clear instructions which were easy to follow. This resulted in more standardized representations of the Akathistos cycle, at least on Mount Athos and in places where the *Hermeneia* became a reference manual beginning with the second half of the 18th century. Frescos, icons and book engravings were created in accordance with its essentialised descriptions for illustrating the “*oikoi* and *kontakia* of the Theotokos.”³⁸

Dionysios’ work was translated into Romanian in 1805³⁹ in the Căldărușani Monastery by Macarie, Archimandrite of the Metropolitan See. The purpose of the translation was for its instructions to be used by the painting school, which

³⁸ Rendered in simple formulas, such as “All the host of angels. Christ seated on a throne, blessing; above him is heaven, and all the choirs of the angels in wonder ascending and descending to it” (Strophe 16) or “The Heaven with sun and moon and stars; two angels come down from it. Below are mountains adorned and made beautiful with trees and flowers, and with houses among them; Christ is walking there, followed by his apostles talking to one another in wonder” (Strophe 18). *The “Painter’s Manual” of Dionysius of Fournà: An English translation [from the Greek] with commentary of cod. gr. 708 in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Leningrad*, transl. by P. Hetherington, London, 1974, p. 52.

³⁹ *Carte numită gramatică ori ustav sau erminie adică închipuire și tâlcuire ori alcătuire a tot meșteșugul zugrăviei; acum scoasă și tălmăcită de pre ellino-grecesca limbă întru cea românească. Întru Sfânta mănăstire a Căldărușanilor. La anul mântuirii 1805, ianuarie 15. Arhimandritul Macarie al Sf. Mitropolii a tradus-o*, in V. Grecu, *Cărți de pictură bisericească bizantină*, Cernăuți, 1936.



1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10
11				12
13				14
15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24

Figs. 30-31. Adam “zographeos”,
*The Virgin Unfading Rose, with
 the Akathistos cycle* (icon [A]),
 1844. Cernica Monastery. Photo
 A. Văetiși. Courtesy of Cernica
 Monastery.

had been active there since 1778, in parallel with that of Cernica Monastery. In Cernica, the *Akathistos* cycle was represented for the first time in the Saint Nicholas Church by Fotache “zographeos” and his team (David, Irinarh) in 1827. They were monks who had learned their painting skills in the Cernica school, where the *Hermeneia* was known and used, as it was in all the monastic and diocesan painting schools active in the 19th century.⁴⁰ The Akathistos cycle from the painting of Fotache, as well as the one in the icon of Adam, are depicted in accordance with the descriptions of the *Hermeneia*. In spite of some different decorative details or postures of characters, both Cernica painters illustrated the poetical formulas of the *Hymn* in the same way, with the same characters, following the instructions in the *Hermeneia*. Based on the

⁴⁰ V. Grecu, “Versiunile românești ale *Erminiilor* de pictură bizantină,” *Codrii Cosminului* 1, 1924, p. 105-174; Ghenadie of Râmnic, *Iconografia, arta de a zugrăvi templele și icoanele bisericesti. Manuscris cu o precuvântare, descris și adnotat*, Bucharest, 1891.

typology developed by Kozak, introduced earlier in this article, the two cycles belong to type II.

Adam used an engraving as a model for his icon: a “paper icon”, that is, a religious engraving circulating independently and serving sometimes as icon, depicting the Mother of God of the Unfading Rose, surrounded by prophets in medallions and scenes of the *Akathistos* cycle. This engraving by brothers Stephanos and Neophytos Skourtaios, Athos monks connected with the Kollyvades movement and with Saint Nicodemus the Hagiorite (1749–1809), was printed in Venice, in 1819.⁴¹ It is accompanied by text in Greek and Slavonic. It circulated in Orthodox circles from the Balkans and the Russian Empire⁴² all the way to the Christian Arabic world,⁴³ as is attested by its presence in numerous monastic collections.⁴⁴

In her ground-defining synthesis dedicated to Greek Orthodox paper icons, Dory Papastratos presents seven engravings of the Mother of God of the Unfading Rose, from between 1819 and the last quarter of the 19th century. According to the inscription, the first of these was “delineated” by the Skourtaios brothers and printed with the help of some Venetian craftsmen.⁴⁵ In the middle of the 19th century, the drawing was also printed on Mount Athos, in Karyes, by the engraver Anthimos Alitzeridis from the Peloponnese.⁴⁶ Either of these two could have served as model for the Cernica icon [A].

⁴¹ D. Papastratos, *Paper Icons: Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings. 1665–1899*, vol. 1, transl. by J. Leatham, Athens, 1990, p. 131–132.

⁴² In Russia, a version of the engraving of the Theotokos with the *Akathistos Hymn* was edited by V. V. Ribenzov in 1847; see C. Brisby, “The Role...,” p. 87–101, n. 29.

⁴³ D. Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, p. 132, cat. 122, mentions a copy in the collection of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The fact that the written dedication includes a fragment in Karamanlî (Turkish dialect written in Greek script), also tells us that it was destined for the Turkish language Orthodox communities: *ibid.*, p. 132, cat. 122.

⁴⁴ In Romania, there are copies in the repositories of the Monasteries of Secu and Văratec (Neamț county): W. Deluga, *Panagiotafitika...*, p. 194. The paper icon of Secu Monastery has been coloured by hand, receiving as such the status of an icon.

⁴⁵ The text of the inscription is “These joyous and world-saving 24 *oikoi* of the Theotokos have been engraved on copper at the expense of the Most Reverend Athonite Fathers kyrioi Stephanos and Neophytos, painters, by whom they were delineated for the Common weal of the Orthodox in Venice 1819”; see D. Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, p. 132. Papastratos assumes that the two brothers had worked, as they sometimes did, with Ignatio Colombo and Giannantonio Zuliani, whom they paid and supervised: *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 135, cat. 126: “engraved on copper by the hand of the Most Holy Anthimos Peloponnisios Alitzeridis from the Vatopedi kellion of Saint Nicholas for the common weal

The extensive spread is due to the fact that it had been included in a series of books sent to the Kydonia School (which had been an important centre of the Greek enlightenment), beginning in 1819. The volumes were sold by subscription.⁴⁷ The Skourtaios brothers also supervised a later reprint of their original engraving, in Venice, in 1834, which was distributed on Mount Athos. From that moment on the paper icon functioned as a model in painters' ateliers.⁴⁸

Saint Paul's monastery on Mount Athos contains an icon on panel with the Mother of God of the Unfading Rose, with the same iconography as the engraving, but dated a decade and a half earlier, that is, 1795. The icon originated in Nea Skiti, also on the Holy Mountain.⁴⁹ If the dating of this icon is correct,⁵⁰ the Skourtaios brothers did not create an original drawing for their engraving, but instead copied an existing model. Their engraving, rather than the Nea Skiti icon, served as a model for the Cernica icon. This can be established based on the presence of roses at the base of the image of the Theotokos, as well as the garlands of flowers that surround the medallions (Figs 32–33). Both of these details are absent from the Nea Skiti icon.

An interesting difference between the icons created by Adam "zogaphos" and the Skourtaios brothers concerns the selection of texts from the service of the *Akathistos Hymn* which accompany the images. The Cernica icon created by Adam "zogaphos" contains the following text near the Virgin's portrait: "Ceea ce ai odrăslit spicul cel Dumnezeiesc ca o ho(l) / dă nearată luminat: Bucură-te masă însufleți(tă) / Care ai încăput pâinea vie/ții. Bucură-te stea (?) tranda / firul cel neveștejit / Și izvorul cel nedeșertat al apei celei vii."⁵¹ The

of devout and Orthodox Christians. On the Holy Mountain in Karyes." This engraving also contains brief Karaman and Slavic inscriptions.

⁴⁷ The Skourtaios brothers sent 104 prayer books and 16 Commentaries on the Letters of Saint Paul to the teachers Teophilos Kairis and Grigorios Saraphis, to be distributed to those that subscribed. Each of these books included an engraving with the 24 *oikoi* of the Mother of God; *ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ This hypothesis has been supported by C. Brisby, "The Role...", p. 87-101. In her argumentation she starts from the presence of an engraving in the Samokov painters' archive in the National Art Gallery in Sofia.

⁴⁹ <https://repository.mountathos.org/jspui/handle/20.500.11957/28270> (accessed on 10.10.2022).

⁵⁰ I did not have access to the icon, therefore I could not check the inscription myself.

⁵¹ "You who brought forth divine ear (*used in botanic sense*), enlightened as an unploughed field: Rejoice lifegiving table that you contain the living bread. Rejoice star (?) unfaded rose and full spring of living water".



Fig. 32. Stephanos and Neophytos Skourtaios, *The Virgin Unfading Rose, with the Akathistos Cycle*, paper icon, 1819, *apud* D. Papastratos, *Paper Icons. Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings. 1665–1899*, Athens, 1990.



Fig. 33. Detail of icon [A].
Photo A. Văețiși. Courtesy of Cernica Monastery.

fragment depicts a verse from the 3rd strophe of the *Canon of Joy to the Most Holy Mother of God*, sung on the Saturday of the *Akathistos Hymn*, and written by Joseph the Hymnographer, with an interpolation from the third stanza of the first ode of the same Canon.⁵² In their engraving, the Skourtaios brothers selected the text of the third stanza of the first ode from the same canon of

⁵² The third strophe: “Ceea ce ai odrăslit spicul cel dumnezeiesc, ca o țarină nearată, bucură-te, masă însuflețită care porți pâinea vieții, bucură-te, izvor nedeșertat al apei vieții, Stăpână” (“From thee, the field untilld, has grown the divine Ear of corn. Hail, living table that hast held the Bread of Life; hail, Lady, never failing spring of the living water”). The first strophe: “Bucură-te, ceea ce singură ai odrăslit trandafirul cel neveștejit, mărul cel înmiresmat, bucură-te, ceea ce ai născut buchetul Împăratului tuturor, bucură-te, nenuntită, mântuirea lumii” (“Hail, from whom alone there springs the unfading Rose; hail, for thou hast borne the sweetly-smelling Apple. Hail, Maiden unwedded, nosegay of the only King and preservation of the world”). See *The Lenten Triodion*, p. 428.

Joseph the Hymnographer: “Unfading Rose, hail uniquely fruitful one, Sweet-scented Apple, hail thou who hast brought forth, fragrance of the King of all things, hail immaculate one, salvation of the world.”⁵³

In the lower part of the icon, on the frame, Adam “zogaphos” depicted the troparion text of the *Akathistos* in two rows, as follows: “Apărătoare Doamnă, laude pentru biruință, cu mulțumită, izbăvindu-ne de nevoi aducem ție Născătoare de Dumnezeu izbăvindu/ne pre noi din toate nevoile, ca să-ți strigăm ție: Bucură-te, Pururea Fecioară⁵⁴.” In the Athos engraving, the troparion “To thee, invincible general...” is written on the left side of the frame.

The iconography provides clear clues that the engraving by the Skourtaios brothers was the prototype of the Cernica icon. The question which is unresolved regards the origin of the prototype. Was it created by the brothers, as the literature up until now considers, or did they merely reproduce, in the medium of engraving, the iconography of a painter who remains anonymous: the one who executed the 24 compositions that correspond to the hymn stanzas in the icon from Nea Skiti?

There are two recently discovered cases where the engraving was used as a model for an icon and for a mural painting, both in Bulgaria.⁵⁵ Sokolovtsi Monastery (founded in 1833) contains an icon painted in 1836 by Ioanniki Vitanov, a painter from the famous Tryavna School. He used the engraving printed in Venice in 1819 as a model for the side scenes, which are dedicated to the *Akathistos Hymn*. However, in the central scene he did not depict the Mother of God as The Virgin of the Unfading Rose, but according to the way she is represented in the *Kykkotissa* type, that is, Christ sits on the right side of the Virgin with his naked legs hanging down. The engraving was also used as model for murals executed in 1847 by Zahari “zogaphos” in the Troyan Monastery catholicon. Furthermore, the engraving of the Skourtaios brothers figures, alongside other engravings with side scenes, in the Samokov painters’ archive, kept in the National Art Gallery of Sofia; this means it was used as model by them and other contemporary painters.

⁵³ This English version has been taken from D. Papastratos, *Paper Icons...*, p. 131.

⁵⁴ “To thee, our leader in battle and defender, O Theotokos, we thy servants, delivered from calamity, offer hymns of victory and thanksgiving. Since thou art invincible in power, set us free from every peril, that we may cry to thee: Hail, Bride without bridegroom”: *The Lenten Triodion*, p. 437.

⁵⁵ C. Brisby, “The Role...,” p. 88-90.

These examples, to which can be added, chronologically in the middle, the 1844 Cernica icon, demonstrate the influence of the engraving. They also showcase the impact of the *Hermeneia*, which conveyed to the painter what he had to paint, without referring him to the poetical and metaphorical content of the *Hymn's oikoi* and *kontakia* or to other icons that functioned as models.

Conclusions

Via a detailed analysis of two icons, *The Virgin Iverskaya with the Cycle of the Akathistos Hymn* by Petros “zogaphos” [P] and *The Virgin of the Unfading Rose, with the Cycle of the Akathistos Hymn* by Adam “zogaphos” [A], this article aims to contribute to the ongoing study of visual representations of the *Akathistos Hymn* from the late post-Byzantine period (18th and 19th centuries), a period largely overlooked in previous scholarship. Both of these icons belong to Cernica Monastery, which also has mural paintings representing the cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn* in its oldest church. The visual representations of the *Akathistos Hymn* at this monastery can be perceived in a context of special devotion to Marian feasts, which were honoured with all night vigils, including the feast of the *Akathistos Hymn*, celebrated on the fifth Saturday of Lent.

My research revealed that each of these icons was modelled on engravings. The engraving which was the source of icon [P] was created in the artistic milieu of Pechersk Lavra. It served as an illustration in a service book which came to be used in the Slavic-speaking monasteries on Mount Athos. From there it travelled with monks of the milieu influenced by Paisij Veličikovskij to the Romanian lands.

The engraving which served as a model for [A] was created on Mount Athos and had an important circulation in the Orthodox monasteries during the 19th century. In an era in which illustrated printed books were disseminated by monks who travelled between important Orthodox monastic centres, such iconographical transfers were frequent. In both cases engravings which were used as illustrations within printed books were the source of the painted icon. In other words, they proved to be a vehicle for an innovative artistic language.

The fact that both icon painters based themselves on book illustrations, rather than reproducing another panel painting, shows that they chose to absorb this new language, renouncing the iconographic norms of the previous centuries. At this time, during the late post-Byzantine period, engraving increasingly

fulfilled the function of transmitting Western models, reformulated in the spirit of Eastern iconography. These new engravings spread throughout the Orthodox area, being used in both Slavic and Greek contexts. The painting school from Pechersk Lavra, the place where these models came to life, was a centre in which German and Flemish engraving art was fully assimilated during the process of painters' formation. The illustrated albums used as models by the students of the painting school⁵⁶ prove that the education of painters, draughtsmen, and engravers was based on redrawing engravings from diverse Western European albums. The scenes were reformulated and adapted to Eastern iconography, but they retained elements and themes that had their source in Renaissance and Baroque painting. In this way scenes like the Good Shepherd, Jesus stepping on the snake, and the Nativity educed to Jesus in the manger, came to be integrated in a natural way in elaborate compositions to illustrate a Marian hymn of Byzantine origin, for a book used in the services of the Eastern Church. This is the engraving which formed the model for icon [P]. The model of the other icon, [A], was an engraving created on Mount Athos according to the norms established by Dionysios of Fournas's *Hermeneia*. This painting guide synthesised and reinterpreted a long tradition of iconography representing the Akathistos cycle. Immediately after its creation it became a reference point for church painters, thus uniformizing and standardizing representations of the Akathist cycle (Fig. 34). In addition to the effect of this handbook serving as the standards from which painters learned their art, standardisation of the iconography was also created via common models on which drawings and engravings were based. This uniformization of representations of the *Hymn* also testifies to a common sense of Orthodox spirituality, and it contributed to the creation of a shared liturgical piety within the entire Orthodox world.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The Academy of Science in Kyiv holds sets of these types of albums containing engravings of European artists, together with works of local engravers and sketches of the teachers and students from Pechersk Lavra. A series of notebooks with models created between 1728 and 1760 was published. These models show how the icon painters of Eastern Europe easily incorporated all iconographic novelties developed in the West. In particular, these albums contained engravings in copper of artists like Albrecht Dürer, Cornelis Galle, Justus Sadeler, Frederik de Witt, and Jacques Callot: P. M. Zholtovskiy, *Малюнки Києво лаврської іконописної майстерні*, Kyiv, 1982, p. 5-8.

⁵⁷ C. Brisby, "The Role...", p. 87.



Fig. 34. Fotache “zographos”, details from *Akathistos* cycle (strophes 15 and 16, murals, St. Nicolae Church of Cernica Monastery, 1827. Photo A. Văețiși. Courtesy of Cernica Monastery.

These new iconographical types of the *Akathistos Hymn* appear late, in the 18th century, and they are the product of a bookish literary environment. In the case of icon [A], it is worth highlighting the literal rendering of the poetical images of the *Hymn* and a clear construction, easy to perceive, to reproduce, and to multiply. The source for [P] was an illustration in a service book. The type of representation is less literal, but more related to the context of religious instruction, catechism, with its emphasis on the Incarnation and the Eucharist. The iconography elaborated in Pechersk Lavra is evident in this type of representation, which is also present in numerous other compositions in Russian art of the 17th to 19th centuries. It reflects the contamination with the Eucharistic spirituality of the Catholic and Greek-Catholic world, as well as with the Scripture-oriented biblical theology of Protestant Reformation. This new iconography, mediated by the Kyivan monastic culture, reached Mount Athos, and from there, via monks and printed books, the Romanian Principalities. At least in two cases – the Cernica icon and the cycle from the Roman altar – it generated a new, original, type of representing the *Akathistos Hymn* within the Romanian territory.

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