Abstract. *The present study focuses on a particular aspect of votive portraits in Moldavia, namely, on a group of founders' representations of the late-15th – early-17th centuries, where ktetors are depicted either holding scrolls with prayers or being accompanied by patron saints holding such scrolls. It examines some artistic and rhetorical techniques applied in the creation of these images, in order to shed light on the interaction between the depicted personages and their beholders, and to understand the role of characters' placing and postures, as well as of texts in medieval votive compositions. The paper also publishes a corpus of Slavic inscriptions included into these compositions. Finally, it deals with two main aspects of such representations, namely, with the texts of prayers written on the scrolls and the iconographic motif of scrolls held by founders or by the saints accompanying them. For a better understanding of the function of these texts and images, the study considers possible sources and comparative material for both, the texts and iconographies.*

Keywords: *Votive Compositions, Portraits, Moldavia, Ktetors, Donors, Sponsors, Dedicatory Portraits, Funerary Portraits, Patron Saints, Moldavian nobility, 15th century, 16th century, scrolls, prayers.*

MOLDAVIAN VOTIVE PORTRAITS WITH SCROLLS: TOWARD RHETORICAL TECHNIQUES APPLIED IN ART OF THE LATE 15TH – EARLY 17TH CENTURIES[*]

Anna Adashinskaya

(Moscou)

In recent decades, scholars dealing with art of Byzantium, the Byzantine common-wealth and post-Byzantine cultures tended to make inquiries concerning problems of founders and benefactors of ecclesiastic institutions whose portraits, graves, wills and other traces of pious activities survived.[1] In this sense, the Romanian scholarship also followed the trend and turned to the issue of *ktetoreia*, analyzing especially the reach material left by the Moldavian medieval monuments.[2] However, the phenomenon of Moldavian medieval ktetorial portrait, though being discussed in monographs and articles dedicated to individual monuments, has not yet received sufficient attention.[3] In recent years, one MA thesis, one article and one monograph[4] regarded the problem of Moldavian royal *ktetorial* portrait, accordingly, in the frameworks of *memoria* social practice and as comparison material for Wallachian rulers' cults, while the problems connected with the medieval images of noble Moldavian founders have not been studied separately.

The present study, however, doesn't try to comprehend the entire phenomenon of ktetorial portrait in medieval Moldavia, but rather it focuses on a particular aspect, namely on a group of founders' portraits of the late-15th – early-17th centuries, where the ktetors are depicted either holding scrolls with texts or being accompanied by

patron saints holding such scrolls. Thus, this article deals with some artistic and rhetorical techniques applied in Moldavian medieval portraits and it attempts to shed light on the interaction between the personages and the beholders and to see the role of attributes and texts in creating medieval votive compositions. In other words, I will try to answer the following questions:

- What is written on these scrolls?
- What are the sources of these texts?
- What is the role of such texts in the votive compositions?
- How the texts affected a potential beholder?

In this way the study shall deal with two important aspects of such representation, namely, with the texts of prayers written on the scrolls and with an iconographic motif of a scroll held by founders or the saints accompanying them. And if the former question leads a scholar to studying textual tradition in order to find out what kind of information such texts want to communicate to a beholder, then the latter problem directs me to research a visual concept of "depicted prayer" represented as performed by a ktetor or by his/her patron saint on his/her behalf. Consequently, to understand this concept I am going to look for possible analogies to such compositions in the art of the Byzantine commonwealth.

This iconographic solution including scrolls into the votive compositions was relatively common for the founders' portraits of the 15th- and 16th-century Moldavia, and, as it will be demonstrated below, it was employed by different social groups (*voievods*, noblemen, bishops) and for images in various media (murals, miniatures, book covers). However, the ways of depicting scrolls and their texts varied, and therefore, here I will try to put together all known examples preserved from this period, in order to establish a kind of general picture of the phenomenon. I will also regard the cases when the texts on scrolls are not preserved, but the scrolls themselves are still visible in votive compositions.

As a first stage of my research I am going to present the known instances of Moldavian votive composition involving the scrolls. In the majority of cases I transcribe these texts directly from the paintings and reconstruct the missing parts insofar as I am able. In some cases when the texts have been already transcribed or translated, I point a source of original transcription/translation in the footnote or, in examples when my own transcription does not coincide with the ones published earlier I mark this fact in the footnote and propose my own variant of reading in the body of the text.

Dolheştii Mari, St. Nicholas (Paraskeve) church (before 1481):[5]

The church was built by *hatman* Şendrea, *portar* of Suceava (1479-1481),[6] a member of *voievode*'s council, married to Maria, sister of Ştefan the Great. This foundation, being part of the boyar's court,[7] was intended to be a burial place for the family of Şendrea, his father,[8] his wife, and probably him himself.[9] On the southern wall of the church's narthex one can find a niche, intended for placement of the burial slab, and decorated with fresco painting. This niche, divided into several registers with images of the Holy Trinity, Evangelists, bishops and apostles, and martyrs, is arched on the sides by medallions with prophets. Its lowest register includes a votive composition representing Şendrea (with the prayer-scroll in his hand) with his wife and three children led by the Virgin to the enthroned Christ. On another side of the Lord, the boyar's family is interceded by St. Nicholas addressing Christ with a prayer painted on a scroll. As it was suggested by Ioan D. Ştefănescu,[10] such iconographic arrangement is connected with the list of the persons mentioned during the Proscomidia service in the prosthesis (from the Apostles to ktetors), and therefore it alludes to the funeral character of the niche and the founders' commemoration which resulted from their pious activities and donations.

On the scroll of *hatman* Şendrea (Dolheştii Mari), one can read the following:

ї(соу)с х(рист)є вл[а]д(ъі)ко животоу моємоу прїими м(о)лєнїа и м(о)лба раб твоих и прости и пом(и)лоуи на[с]

"Jesus Christ, Master of my life, accept prayers and petitions of your servants, and pardon and have mercy upon us". While the scroll of St. Nicholas reads:

Прїими вл(аду)ко м(о)лбѫ ра(бъ) свои(х) и пр(о)сти и помилоуи и(х) бл(а)госрьдїа си ра(ди) б(о)же – "O Master, accept the prayers of your servants, and pardon and have mercy upon them because of good-heart, o God!"[11] Thus, both texts have the same aim, to persuade the Lord to accept the prayers of the founders, the church built by them, and to pardon their sins. Because of the compositional arrangement of St. Nicholas and the Virgin reminding the Deesis scene[12] and the allusion to the Last Judgement through depicting Christ enthroned and mentioning the pardon of sins in the inscriptions, the funerary composition receive additional eschatological character representing the *ktetor* and his family facing the trial for their sins and virtues.

Rădăuţi, St. Nicholas church (1387-1391, 1420s, 1480-1482, 1497)

Traditionally, the construction of St. Nicholas' church was associated with *voievod* Bogdan I (1359-1365), but a recent study proved that first stone building was erected in the years 1387-1391,[13] during the reign of *voievod* Petru I. The church contains the first necropolis of Moldavian rulers (Bogdan I, Laţcu, Costea, Petru I, Roman I, Ştefan I and their family members),[14] and for the first time it was painted under Alexandru cel Bun, as mentioned in a document of 1414-1419.[15] Between 1479- 1482, Ştefan cel Mare ornamented the graves of six rulers of Moldova with carved stone slabs, while the present day murals of the naos were also made by the same ruler, about 1497.[16] In 1559 *voievod* Alexandru Lăpuşneanu added to the church a new narthex, and possibly renovated the paintings.

The votive composition is placed on the southern part of the western wall and consists of the following personages without inscriptions preserved: Christ sitting on the throne and flanked by angels, St. Nicholas with a scroll representing the *ktetors* before the Lord, a bearded ruler bringing the model of the church without the new, additional, narthex, an adolescent dressed like a ruler, a ruler with long hair and mustaches holding a scroll, a younger ruler, a girl and a royal lady. The identification of these personages was a subject of long-lasting debates,[17] however, in the second half of the 20st century the scholars agreed to identify the last four figures as Ştefan cel Mare, his son Bogdan (or Alexandru), his daughter (possibly Maria) and his last wife Maria Voichiţa.[18] Two first figures still pose a problem; leaving aside earlier authors regarding the votive composition remade in the time of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, L. and A. Bătrâna see here Petru I and Ivaşcu,[19] I. Solcanu[20] proposes personalities of Bogdan I or Alexandru cel Bun as a first figure, while he considers the second one, a young ruler, to be another son of Ştefan cel Mare. Another detail posing even more questions is a Slavonic graffito survived next to the second figure (an adolescent ruler) which reads, алеӡандрv[вое]во(д) стараг(о)[21] and consequently indentified the personage as either Alexandru *voievod* or as his son. However, there are several facts which can be surely stated:

1) In the votive composition, there are two persons responsible for the foundation acts, one with the model of the church, and second one with the scroll, consequently, they are depicted as two founders with different measures of participation (construction of the building and another form of endowment).

2) The first four figures are the *voievods* since they have crowns, the second personage being junior toward the first or the third ones (expressed by the difference

of sizes), thus being an offspring of one of them.

3) The last two personages are females, and, thus, construct a family group with the figures no. 4 and, probably, no. 3.

4) The composition including several generation of rulers with different measure of participation in the life of the building, as well as historical facts concerning involvement of Alexandru cel Bun and Ştefan cel Mare suggests that the painting had obvious ideological character expressing the succession and continuity between the rulers.

In this composition, the scrolls with texts appear twice. The first one is hold by St. Nicholas, and because of quite deteriorated condition it is hardly readable: въседръжи[тел]ю г(оспод)и молж тѧ въꙑ(с).....є прос[т]и.... прꙋ.....ъ тво...... м[олбж].. при[носи]мое.. им[ѧ] .... хїа сън, (All-mighty Master, I beg you… pardon….. prayer(?) brought to your name …. this one). Obviously this text is an addressing to the Lord on behalf of the first *ktetor* or all of them. The second scroll is held by a ruler and was considered as "testimony of donations which he endowed with the bishopric of Rădăuţi,"[22] however it would be better to call it a prayer since it reads: вл(а)д(ꙑ)ко м[ъ]но(го)м(и)л[о]тиве прїими м(о)л[ь]въꙑ мѧ грѣшнаго вьсьми ако жь[р]твїж вдовїцинѣ тꙑ таино пр.. <прииꙗ?> прїими ѿ оусрдїа прїносимое тебѣ (Oh, all-merciful Master accept the prayers of very sinful me as you accepted the secret offering of the widow, accept what is brought to you from my zeal).[23]

There is another composition involving a ktetor and, supposedly, a prayer written of her behalf. The northern part of the eastern wall of the original narthex is occupied by the Diesis, where enthroned Christ is flanked by St. Nicholas and the Virgin holding a scroll and presenting a royal lady to her Son. The lady can be identified as Anastasia, daughter of Laţcu, who gave a

village of Coţmanii to Rădăuţi church and died in 1420. Her grave was as well refashioned by Ştefan cel Mare considering her as his "ancestor."[24] So, even though the text of the scroll is not preserved, one can assume that it should have played a role similar with the same element of the votive composition in the narthex, i.e. addressing Christ on behalf of the *ktetoress*.

Bălineşti, St. Nicholas church (1493-1511):

The *ktetor* of the church was *logofăt* Ioan Tăutu,[25] member of the ruling council and head of chancellery under Ştefan cel Mare and Bogdan III.[26] Being a court chapel, St. Nicholas' church housed the burial of the *logofăt* himself and several generations of his offspring:[27] its narthex includes nine medieval graves.[28] The building is executed in elegant Gothic forms and consists of a long *naos* and narthex with polygonal western side, the entrance decorated with the southern adjoining bell-tower,[29] it was painted by the atelier of Gavriil Ieromonah, leader of one of the artistic Moldavian schools of painting.[30] The votive portrait depicting the founder approaching the enthroned Christ with the model of the church is situated on the western wall of the *naos*, i.e., in a different spatial unit than the burials.[31] The *logofăt* is accompanied by his family, sons (Patraşcu and Ioan), wife Magdalina, daughter Nastasia, Archangel Michael, and the patron Saint Nicholas holding a scroll with a prayer on the *ctitor*'s behalf.[32] St. Nicholas' scroll reads the following:

вл(а)д(ꙑ)ко въседрьжителю г(оспод)и I(соу)се Х(рист)е прїи молбж ра[бовь тво]ихъ (при но)симое въ имѧ твое свѣтое ꙗкоже приниль е(си) ѿ вдовїа двѣ чета <цате> тако і наше прї(ми) (Oh, All-mighty Master, Lord Jesus Christ accept prayers of your servants brought to your holy name as you accepted two coins from the widow, the same way accept our…).[33]

Humor , Church of the Dormition of the Virgin (1530)

The monastery was founded in 1530[34] by *mare logofăt* of Petru Rareş, Teodor Bubuiog,[35] with the support of the ruler himself (the dedicatory inscription placed mentions "help of Peter the *voievod*").[36] Therefore the church, although being a boyar's foundation, has a burial chamber between *naos* and narthex, a typical feature for royal foundations.[37] The *logofăt* himself is buried in the chamber, dedicated to the Life of the Virgin,[38] where, according to the votive inscription,[39] he organized his own burial and that of his wife, Anastasia, during his lifetime. The grave of the *logofăt* is placed under *arcosolium* decorated with painted scene of *Deisis*, while Anastasia's burial, likewise under an *arcosolium*, has only decorative painting.[40] The donor's wife is depicted in genuflecting in front of the enthroned Virgin with Child, while on the opposite wall, Teodor, kneeling before Christ, addresses him a prayer written on a scroll:

х(рист)є въседържителю приими молбѫ раб(ъ) своих приносимое въ имѧ твое с(вѧ)тое и пръч(и)стиа ти м(а)ти ꙗк(о) (all-Mighty Christ accept the prayer of your servants brought to your holy name and that of your most-pure mother, as…). So, as one can see the use of plural form in the inscription suggests that the supplication was addressed on behalf of both, Teodor and Anastasia.

However, in the *naos*, on the western wall, one can find a votive image of another founder: Petru Rareş (пєтръ воєвода) presents a model of the foundation to enthroned Christ,[41] he is followed by his wife Elena (г(ос)п(о)ж(д)їа єлєна) and son Ştefan, and interceded by the Virgin holding a scroll, which text, unfortunately, is not preserved.

Finally, in 1555, *hatman* and *pârcălab*Daniil and his wife became the second *ktetors*[42] of the monastery and received their image on the eastern wall of the narthex.[43] This act of *ktetoreia* was motivated by the kinship of the second founders with the initial sponsor of the monastery, the predecessor of Teodor Bubuiog.[44] Under explanatory inscription (ѕ(д)є вторїи ктиторь и оукра(ситель?) св(ѧ)таго храма сєго пань данииль хатмань и пръкала(б) соучавскыи и….(тєодо?)сїѧ в л(ѣ)т(о) Ѕа̃/г/ м(єсѧ)цан(?) к/)[45] Daniil and his wife Theodosia are depicted kneeling in front of the enthroned Virgin with the Child, to whom the donor passes a *kivotion* and a censer, the objects mentioned among his other pious donations.[46] With his right hand Daniil holds a scroll with an extended prayer. Its text is in a very bad condition, and therefore the proposed reading is highly hypothetical and based on prayer *formulae* from Slavonic tradition, known to the author. However, without any doubt, one can distinguish here the words underlined in the transcription: вл(а)д[ычица пръчиста?]а м(а)ти [господа бога? н]а(ш)єго … (п?)рїи от (оуср̄ъ)дїє на(ш)єга м(о)л(бы?) творима и (с)єи киво(т) исък(оус)є(н)? и чєжи (въ к)азнѫ с(ъ)ноу своємоу и б(о)[гоу] н[ашє]моу и мо(л?)и[с]ѧ ѡ н[ас] [ра]бъ свои(х)… ти…. съгр[ѣш]єнїєм ….цєн (Oh, Mistress, the Most Pure(?), mother of our God and Lord(?) accept(?), from our zeal, the prayers made and this delicate(?) kivotion and pass(?) to the treasury(?) of your son and our god and pray for us, your servants…. and sins…).[47]

Even if one takes into account only the underlined words, the following can be stated about the inscription:

1) It is a prayer addressed to the Virgin

2) The *ktetor* mentions the real object of his benefaction, namely the *kivotion*

3) The *ktetor* asks the Virgin to address Her son concerning donators' sins.

In all three cases of Humor's votive compositions the scrolls are present, as a part of *ktetors* own prayers (Teodor Bubuiog and Daniil *hatman*) or prayers performed on *ktetors'* behalf (Petru Rareş).

Dorohoi, Church of St. Nicholas (1495, 1522-1525)

The church according to the dedicatory inscription was built in 1495 by Ştefan cel Mare himself, however its painting belong to a later period.[48] The building was intended a community church, and its territory included a cemetery used by the local population. Judging on the personages depicted in the votive composition and their inscribed titles, the murals can be dated back to the period of ruling of Ştefan cel Tînăr, more precisely, to 1522-1527. The portrits of Dorohoi have a peculiarity, it is the only case in Moldova when the votive painting was extended to the southern wall and directed from right to left, from the western wall to the southern one (more usual for Moldavian painting is a backwards direction). Thus, Christ sitting on the throne is portrayed on the southern wall, as well as St. Nicholas heading the procession of *ktetors*, Ştefan cel Mare with a model of the church presented to the Savior and *doamna* Maria, while three sons of the ruler, Bogdan, Ştefan cel Tînăr and his brother Petru are placed on the western wall. St. Nicholas presenting Ştefan cel Mare to the Lord holds a scroll with the following inscription: влⷣдꙑко многомилотивє приими молбѫ рабъ своиⷯ приносимоє въ имꙗ твоє свѣтоє ꙗко жє приꙗтъ вдовꙑꙗ двѣ лѣптѣ (Oh, All-merciful Master, accept the payers of your servants brought to your holy name as you accepted two coins of the widow).

Părhăuţi, All Saints' Church (1522 – 1530s)

The church was built by *logofăt* Gavril Totruşan (Trotuşan),[49] who was traditionally considered a son-in-law of Luca Arbore on the basis of erroneous understanding of the fact of his second marriage, however, recently C. Ciobanu proposed a later dating to the 1530s,[50]. The church was initially meant to be a family necropolis, and probably replaced the old church of wood, from where the burials of a previous founder and the *logofăt*'s mother were taken to the new church,[51] where burials of *logofăt*'s wife, Anna, and of *Murguleţ* family, his later descendants[52] were added to the earlier ones. As being accused in conspiracy and executed by Petru Rareş in 1541, Gavril Totruşan might not be buried in his foundation.[53] The dedicatory inscription informs that the church was built by the *ktetor* "for prayers for himself and his *knyaginya* Anna," but at the moment of the paintings' execution, his wife had been already dead, and the *logofăt* is depicted alone in the votive composition on the western wall of the *naos*. He is presented to the enthroned Christ by St. John the Baptist and the Virgin, both holding scrolls.

The texts on the scrolls are barely readable being covered by smoke; however, the fragments which I was able to decipher and comparison with some texts known from the *Deesis* scenes in Voroneţ and St. Elijah church (Suceava) allowed me to reconstruct the inscriptions. Thus, the scroll of St. John being compared with the text of the same personage's scroll in the *naos* of Voroneţ (слиши м(а)т(е)ри своꙗ молѣца сꙗ ꙁа люⷣ[54]), in the external painting of the northern wall of the same monument (слꙑши м(а)т(е)рь своꙗ молѣщаа тѣ съꙁдателю), and in the naos of St. Elijah church in Suceava (слꙑши м(ате)рїи своєи м(о)лꙗщꙗ тꙗ съꙁ(д)ател[ю])[55]allowed the following reconstruction: "сълоу[ши] м(а)т(е)рь своꙗ м(о)лꙗщаа тѣ съꙁ[д]ателіоу ра[ди] (?) м(и)л(ос)тѣ съ(д?)ꙗщиѣ..." (Oh, creator, listen to your Mother praying for adjudging mercy...). The text on Mary's scroll is covered by smoke in a greater measure, but being juxtaposed with the Virgin's text from Voroneţ' naos *Deesis* (сърⷪднаа ꙁри оусвоєнїю съгрѣшен(иа)) and external painting *Deesis* (сърⷪднаа присвоєнїа съгрѣшенїа и(ⷯ) ѡ(т)поусти с(ꙑ)нє и в(о)жє м(ои) the text of

the Theotokos' scroll in Părhăuţi might be read as: "съро[дн]аа прїс[во]енна съгр҃ѣ[шенїа] и[х] ѡ[тпоогсти с(ъı)не] и [б(о)же] м(о)и" (because of consanguinity pardon their sins, oh, my son and god).[56]

Voroneţ, St. George church (1488, 1547)

Built by Ştefan cel Mare in 1488 the church of St. George in Voroneţ monastery was modified by Grigorie Roşca, mitorpolitan of Moldova, in 1547.[57] He added a narthex to the older structure and covered it with external painting. On the southern façade, next to the entrance to the church, the second founder is depicted standing[58] holding an opened scroll with following text: Г(оспод)ниҫог(се) Х(рист)е пр(и)и моленїе и потрогж(д)енїе мое съ(и) мали припра(т) раб(ог) б(о)ж(н)ю митропо(ли)тог кирь Григорїю въ и(ма) твое с(ва)тое[59](Lord Jesus Christ, accept my prayer and efforts, this small narthex of the servant of God, the metropolitan kyr Grigorie to your holy name).

The figure of the metropolitan is placed next to the previous abbot of the monastery, Daniil Sihastru, who was a spiritual father of Grigorie, and, judging on his haloed representation, was venerated as a saint in the mid-15th century.[60] Moreover, the holy abbot, who was considered an advisor of the *voievod* in the foundation of the monastery, also holds an opened scroll with the text of Psalm 33:11, "Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord…" This psalm usually accompanies the depictions of teachers and spiritual leaders, such as St. Simeon Nemanja or St. Josaphat.[61] Consequently the placement of Daniil in front of Grigorie and the Psalm's text refer to his spiritual guidance in matters of organization of monastic community and personal life of the metropolitan of Suceava. However, the text of Grigorie Roşca's own scroll is addressed toward the *Deesis* composition situated slightly upper to the right, above

the church entrance. In this sense, the portraits of two abbots, the dedicatory inscription, situated just above them, and the *Deesis* scene create a common semantic unit, where the metropolitan by guidance of his spiritual father Daniil was directed to the "Light of the world" to follow it (John 8:12, inscription in the book held by Christ in *Deesis*), and therefore, as a care "for his own soul"[62] Grigorie created the narthex offered then to God. In turn, this gift allows him to count on the intercession of the Virgin and St. John, who are depicted pleading Christ for "pardoning" sins of humans.

Manuscripts of Anastasie Crimca (1609-1615)

A group of manuscripts written and illustrated by the 17th century calligrapher and miniaturist, the metropolitan of Suceava Anastasie Crimca[63] (c. 1560-1629) contains at least 8 books illuminated with his portrait. Usually, the metropolitan is represented dressed in a festive set of clothes and kneeling next to a depiction of a feast or a holy figure; on three portraits belonging to this group Anastasie Crimca holds a scroll bearing a text of a prayer. The Gospels book from Dragomirna collection, Ms. Inv. 1/1934 (1609),[64] has on fol. 290r the image of the author and donator. The miniature is divided into 3 rows, the lower one portrays kneeling Anastasie Crimca and the church building inscribed as Dragomirna monastery, the middle register shows the holy Trinity (Abraham's hospitality), while the upper segment depicts Christ and the Ancient of days sending the dove to the feast of Abraham. In the left hand the kneeling metropolitan holds an open scroll reading: "вл(а)д(ъı)ко г(о)п(од)и Х(рист)е Б(ож)е наш пр҃їими моленїа раб своих" (Oh, Master Lord Christ our God accept the prayers of your servants).

The miniature (fol. 75r) of the Apostol book kept at the National Library of Austria, Cod. Slav. 6 Han.,[65] has a very

similar composition consisting, thought, only of two registers (without Christ and the Ancient of days). Here again the metropolitan is depicted genuflecting and holding the scroll with the identical text.[66] In both described cases, the metropolitan directs his prayer to the holy Trinity, moreover in a similar way he twice mentions the trinity in the dedicatory inscription for so-called Dragomirna Mica church, calling himself and his fellow founders "worshipers of the Holy Trinity." Probably, during the ruling period of the Movileşti dynasty when Polish presence at court was often and noticeable,[67] the question concerning orthodoxy, and more precisely such specific orthodox dogmata as non- *filioque* and reality of the divine energies by which the Trinity creates, became again an agenda. And thus, expressing his veneration of the Trinity, as it was understood by the eastern theologians (with the Holy spirit depicted descending only from the Ancient of days), Anastasie Crimca demonstrated the strength of his faith in the face of the political situation.[68]

Besides these two manuscripts, a similar iconographic solution can be found in 3 miniatures of the Book of Liturgy (presently at the National Museum of History, Bucharest, cod. slav. 9182, previously, in the treasury of Dragomirna monastery inv. 3/1934) on fols. 15v, 65v, 107v.[69] Here the metropolitan is kneeling next to the figures of three authors of liturgies (St. John, St. Basil and St. Gregory) who are represented under the bust of the Virgin with the child surrounded by angels. As C. Costea noted[70] depiction of the donor with the holy authors and the Virgin reflected iconography of apsidal decoration, where the texts were meant to be read. Therefore, the presence of the scroll text ("вл(а)д(ъι)ко г(ос)п(од)и І(соус)є Х(рист)є Б(ож)є наш прїими м(о)ленїа раб своих") can be perceived as a part of liturgical rituals exercised by the donor in his quality of a bishop.

Silver gilded book covers of Anastasie Crimca's manuscripts (1614-1615)

Two book covers as well belonging to the group of monuments associated with Anastasie Crimca[71] bear similar iconographic solutions. These pieces of silversmith art were ordered by the founder of Dragomirna to Gligorie Moisiu, the silversmith of Suceava. On a silver gilded binding of Four Gospels Ms. Inv. 1/1934 the metropolitan is depicted kneeling under the scene of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, next to the votive inscription. In the similar fashion with the miniatures he is represented wearing the *polystavrion* and *mitra* and holding an opened scroll which reads, прїими сіа малоє прїношєніє (accept this small offering). With the same text he is also represented on a book cover of Four Gospels Ms. Inv. 2/1934, where the metropolitan and *voievod Ştefan IX Tomşa* with scrolls and crosses in their hands flank a dedicatory inscription under the scene of the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

Psalter with the Portrait of Ioan *logofăt* (the end of the 15th c.)

In the Museum of Regional History of Uzhgorod (Ukraine), a Moldavian Psalter manuscript with illuminations is kept under no. 2641.[72] Until 1971, it contained a miniature depicting enthroned Christ holding a book in his left hand and blessing with the right; in front of him, there were two personages, a kneeling boyar bringing a closed book to the Savior and the author of Psalms, king David, standing behind the nobleman with a scroll in his hand. In the difference with other cases described above, here the text of the scroll reflects the authorship of the holy personage, namely it contains two words, блажень мжж (blessed is the man), which are the beginning of the first Psalm. However, below the image an inscription pointing out to the personality of the benefactor (*logofăt* Ioan Tăutu)[73] reads, прїими г(оспо)ди приношєнїє раба твоєго іw(ана) логофєта (Oh, Lord, accept an offering of your servant Ioan the

logofet).[74] This way, though the prayer ("Oh, Lord, accept…") is not written of the scroll of David, it nevertheless refers to the pious endowment act of the depicted laic. Moreover, the words of the first psalms held by David can as well refer to Ioan, as a man truly blessed because of his pious actions.

Except for the cases examined above, there are several instances of votive compositions which included the depiction of the scrolls with prayers, but their texts didn't survive. With a certain degree of assurance one can state that the discussed above portraits of Anastasia, Laţcu's daughter, in Rădăuţi and Petru Rareş' family in Humor included prayers made by the Virgin of behalf of these persons as ktetors, since in both cases there are data confirming pious endowments made by the persons in question and their depictions are, in iconographic sense, similar to other monuments, where such texts are preserved (in case of Anastasia – Părhăuţi and Toader Bubuiog from Humor, and in case ofPetru Rareş' family – Bălineşti).In addition there are two more cases of unpreserved inscriptions, namely, the votive images from the church of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist (Arbore) and the Resurrection church of Suceviţa monastery.

Arbore, Beheading of Saint John the Baptist's church(1502, 1541)

The church dedicated to the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist was founded in 1502, according to the dedicatory inscription of the southern church façade, by Luca Arbore, *pârcălab* of Suceava,[75] who was accused of treason by Ştefăniţă Vodă (1517-1528) and beheaded in April of 1523.[76] The most probably, the murals of the church were executed immediately after its completion in 1502.[77] As attested by an inscription painted above the entrance to the naos (nowadays destroyed), the church was repainted or renovated in 1541[78] by "painter Dragosin, son of pan Coman from Iasi," who received 20 zloty from Luca

Arbore's daughter Ana. The church preserves two portraits of the Arbore family. The first portrait, situated under carved baldachin in the south-western corner of the narthex, represents the founder with two sons and wife Iuliana. Offering the model of the church to the enthroned Christ he is interceded by the Virgin and John the Baptist holding an empty scroll. This baldachin and, probably, the entire funeral composition were made in 1502.[79] Moreover, on the extradoses of the baldachin's arch are occupied by depictions of the evangelists, bishops, deacons and St. Paul, while the Hetoimasia with the dove crowns its top. This iconographic solution was once compared with the one in Dolheştii Mari[80] as alluding to the commemoration services, therefore by analogy with the texts of scrolls in Dolheştii Mari one can assume that the scroll in the hands of St. John once contained a prayer interceding for the founders' family in front of Christ.

The votive portrait painted on the western wall of the naos was subject to the repainting and remodeling about 6 times.[81] Here, the Arbore family is depicted with five children (four boys and one girl) and interceded by St. John and an angel. St. John as well holds a scroll here, an its text again has not survived. However, since there are no monuments preserved with two inscribed scrolls painted in two compositions with identical personages, one can't make assumptions concerning the content of the lost prayer.

Sucevita, Resurrection church (1582-1601)

The construction of the Movileşti family's foundation started in 1582-84, while in 1595 Ieremia Movila added two narthexes to the church and finished other buildings on the monastic grounds. The painting is usually dated with 1601[82] because of appearance of Ieremia's son Alexei, born this year, and the absence of another his son, Bogdan, born in 1602, in the votive composition.[83]

Fig. 1 – Votive composition with *hatman* Şendrea and his family,
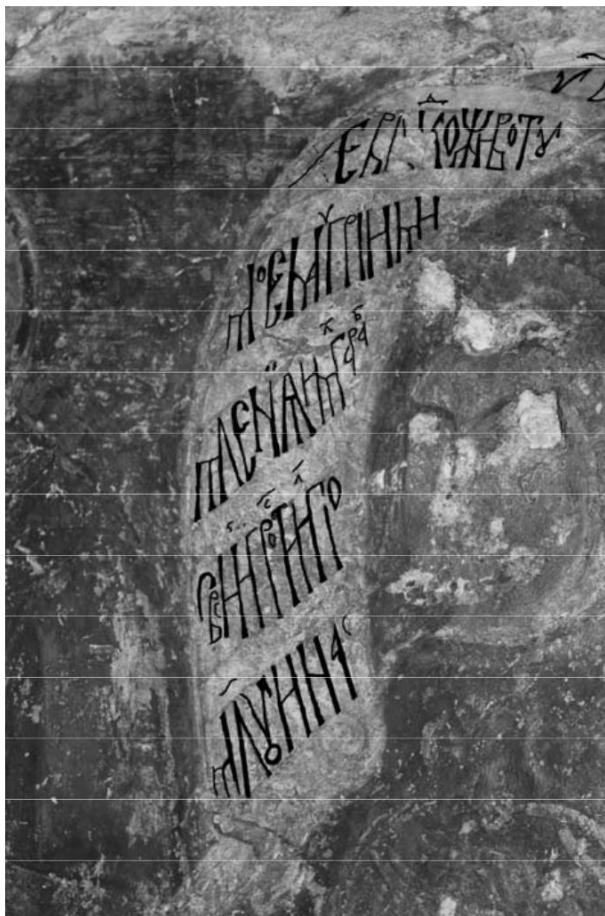St. Nicholas (Paraskeve) church, before 1481, Dolheştii Mari.

Fig. 2 – Overdrawing of the inscription on the scroll of *hatman* Şendrea,
St. Nicholas (Paraskeve) church, before 1481, Dolheştii Mari.

Fig. 3 – Overdrawing of the inscription on the scroll of St. Nicholas,
St. Nicholas (Paraskeve) church, before 1481, Dolheștii Mari.

Fig. 4 – Main votive composition, St. Nicholas church, the 15th century, Rădăuți.

Fig. 5 – Overdrawing of the inscription on the scroll of Ştefan cel Mare,
St. Nicholas church, the 15th century, Rădăuți.

Fig. 6 – Votive composition with Anastasia, daughter of Lațcu,
St. Nicholas church (narthex), after 1420, Rădăuți.

Fig. 7 – Votive composition with *logofăt* Ioan Tăutu and his family, St. Nicholas church, 1493-1511, Bălineşti.

Fig. 8 – Votive composition of *logofăt* Teodor Bubuiog,
Church of the Dormition of the Virgin (gropniţa), after 1530, Humor.

Fig. 9 – Votive composition of *voievod* Petru Rareș and his family,
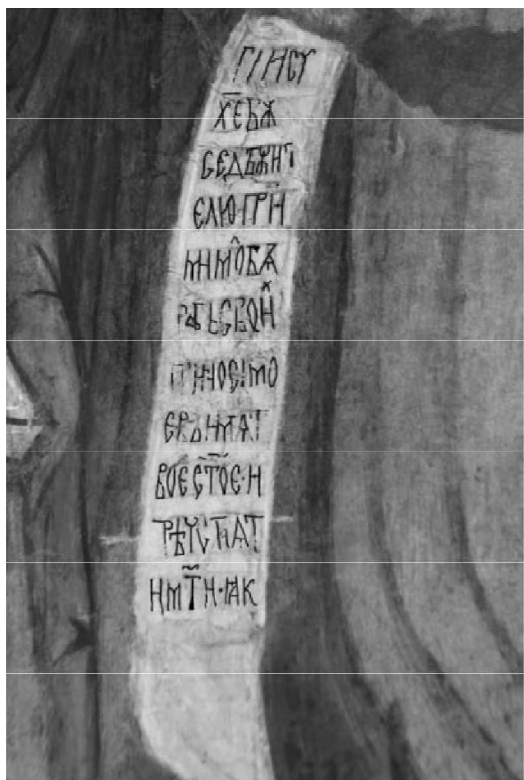Church of the Dormition of the Virgin (naos), after 1530, Humor.

Fig. 10 – Overdrawing of the inscription on the scroll of *logofăt* Teodor Bubuiog, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin (gropniţa), after 1530, Humor.
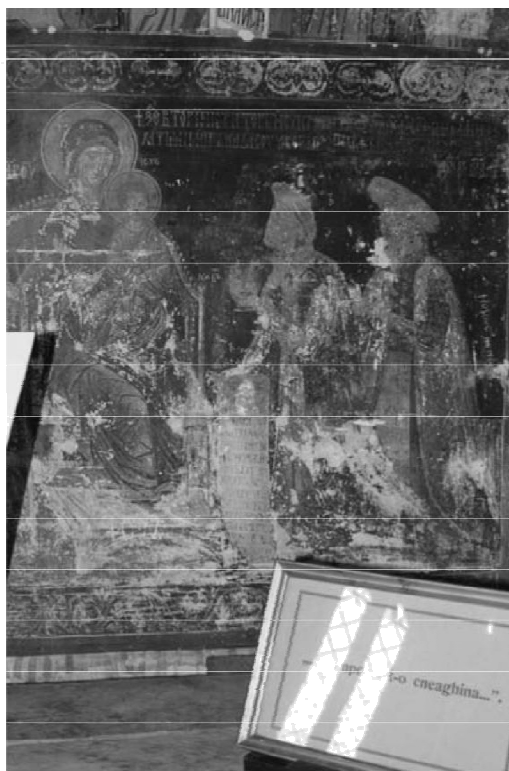

Fig. 11 – Votive composition of *hatman* and *pârcălab* Daniil and his wife, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin (narthex), after 1555, Humor.

Fig. 12 – Votive composition of *voievod* Ştefan cel Mare and his sons (detail), Church of St. Nicholas, 1522-1525, Dorohoi. The photo was taken with permission of Dr. Carmen Solomonea, restorer, prof. of the George Enescu Art University of Iaşi, the head of the Dorohoi Restoration team.

Fig. 13 – Votive composition with *logofăt* Gavril Totruşan, All Saints' Church, 1522 – 1530s, Părhăuţi.

Fig. 14 – Deesis composition, St. George church (external southern wall), 1547, Voroneţ.

Fig. 15 – Deesis composition, St. George church (naos), 1496, Voroneț.

Fig. 16 – Votive depiction of the mitorpolitan of Moldavia Grigorie Roşca,
St. George church (external southern wall), 1547, Voroneț.

Fig. 17 – Book of Liturgy, the National Museum of History, Bucharest, Cod. Slav. 9182 (former Dragomirna monastery inv. 3/1934), fol. 15v, the mitorpolitan of Moldavia Anastasie Crimca in front of St. John Chrysostomos. Source: Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, *La miniature roumaine*, Bucureşti, 1982.

Fig. 18 – Psalter, the end of the 15th c., Museum of Regional History of Uzhgorod (Ukraine), MS. no. 2641, the miniature nowadays has been lost, Portrait of Ioan *logofăt* with Christ and David. Source: Carmen Ghica, "Vel logofătul Ioan Tdutu: cea mai veche miniatură a unui dregător," *SCIA*, vol. 15, nr. 1, 1968, pp. 114-117.

Fig. 19 – Funeral composition of Luca Arbore, *pârcălab* of Suceava, and his family,
Beheading of Saint John the Baptist's church (narthex), after 1502, Arbore.

Fig. 20 – Votive composition of Luca Arbore, *pârcălab* of Suceava, and his family,
Beheading of Saint John the Baptist's church (naos), after 1502, Arbore.

Fig. 21 – Votive composition of voievod Ieremia Movilă and his family,
Resurrection church c. 1601, Sucevita. The photo is taken by Dr. Vlad Bedros.

Fig. 22 –The Four Gospels book, the National Museum of History, Bucharest, MS 11340 (former Suceviţa 24),
votive portrait of *voievod* Ieremia Movilă and his family. Source: Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, *Un manuscris al voievodului Ieremia Movilă*, Bucureşti, 1984.

Fig. 23 – Votive portrait of Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević, Holy Trinity church, 1408-1417, Resava (Manasija).

Fig. 24 – Votive portrait of *čelnik* Radič Postupović, St. George church, 1437 repainted in 1737, Vraćevšnica.

Fig. 25 – Votive portrait of Nektarios Apsarades, All-Saints church, the 16th century, Varlaam monastery (Meteora).

Fig. 26 – Votive portrait of patriarch Makarije Sokolović, the narthex of the catholicon complex, 1565, Peć Patriarchate.

Fig. 27 – Votive portrait of patriarch Jovan, the Holy Apostles' church, 1620-1621, Peć Patriarchate.

The family portrait of the Movileşti is situated on the southern and western walls of the *naos*. The procession headed by Ieremia Movilă and his son, "Constantin *voievod*," consists of his daughter Irina, his mother Maria, his wife Ilizafta (Elizabeta), and children, Maria, Ecaterina, Alexii, Stana, and Safira. Ieremia Movilă passes the model of the church to enthroned Christ in iconography of the Great High Priest

holding an open book with the words of Psalm 109:4 ("Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek"). This complex iconographic solution is unique in Moldavian murals,[84] and brings together two important roles of Christ, his priesthood and his royalty. The Lord is interceded, on behalf of the Movileşti, by the Virgin holding a scroll, which nowadays lost its text. This way, "we are dealing here with a developed stage of the *Deesis*," which relates "the historical personages with the main characters of the Last Judgment."[85] Consequently, one can suggest that the text on the scroll of Mary could be related with the *Deesis* iconography and contain either a prayer for the *ktetor* or for the humanity in general.[86]

Four Gospel Book from Suceviţa monastery (1607)

The Four Gospel book (Bucharest, National Museum of History 11340, former Suceviţa 24)[87] was according to its colophon ordered by "by the *voievod* Ieremia Movilă and his wife *doamna* Elisabeta and their son Constantine *voievod*" and "give, for their commemoration, to the monastery of Suceviţa, which they built themselves."

The ruler and his family are represented in miniature in form of a procession (Constantin *voievod*, his father Ieremia, his brothers, Alexandru and Bogdan, his grandmother Maria, three of his sisters and his mother Elisabeta) before enthroned Christ flanked by angels. Ieremia Movilă, addressing Christ, holds in his left hand a scroll, which is empty, either by intention, or, most probably, by inadvertence of the illuminator. Comparing two portraits of the Movileşti, in the miniature and fresco painting, T. Kambourova erroneously took this scroll for a symbol of donated manuscript, similar with the model of the church in the analogues composition in fresco,[88] however Ieremia Movilă holds a codex in his right hand, and it, actually, represent the object of donation; therefore the scroll should have contained a prayer appealing to Christ.

***

A further step in the present research is to understand structures and content of the inscribed texts in the above mentioned monuments. As I noted previously, these texts are, in fact, prayers made either by a founder himself or by a patron saint on founder's behalf. These supplications are not identical in all noted instances; they greatly vary in wording but form a kind of common semantic and lexical field, indeed denoting "a segment of reality symbolized by a set of related words"[89] or "a set of lexemes… applied to some content domain."[90] In other words for studying such texts one do not need to look for an exact source of quotations since there is no exact matching between the texts under consideration themselves, rather one need to detect a set of similar texts in a written tradition belonging to the same semantic field and expressing a common set of ideas using lexemes related to each other by affinity and "articulating a given content domain"[91]

However, before turning to the analysis of the lexemes in use and their textual parallels, I would like to note that among the described cases one can distinguish three separate groups. The first one, including the majority of instances, is characterized by a direct addressing to the Lord and asking Him to accept an offer (usually a prayer); two other groups include only one case each, namely the inscriptions of the Virgin and St. John from All saints church of Părhăuţi represent some variations of *Deesis* texts (the appeals of the Virgin to her Son on behalf of all people and that of St. John on behalf of the Virgin) and form a unity with texts of two *Deesis* scenes from Voroneţ and the same composition from St. Elijah in Suceava; finally, a content of the scroll held by *hatman* Daniil in the scene from Humor's narthex distinguishes from other by the addressee of the prayer, who is not Christ, but the Virgin. Therefore, in the article I am going to discuss the texts related to the first, and partially to the second, group; as for the

third one, the bad preservation of the inscription and the hypothetical character of the proposed reconstruction do not allow to make further precise conclusions.

Thus, the texts of the first group include the lexemes related to naming: divinity (владъіко животоу, владъіко въседръжителю, владъіко многомилостивє, господи etc.), its actions (mainly - приими, once - прости и помилоуи), the supplicants (раб твоих｜своих, мѧ грѣшнаго, раба твоєго, рабоу божию митрополитоу кирь Григорїю, твоєго раба іѡана логофєта), the offers (моленїа и молба, молбѫ, потрооужденїе моє, прїношенїе) and the biblical comparison (ꙗко же приатъ вдовъіа двѣ лѣптѣ). All of them have several parallels in the Byzantine and Slavic textual traditions, and the majority of the texts containing similar expressions are related either to acts of penitence or to offering a gift to the Lord.

Expression "владъіко многомилостивє" can be encountered in the last prayer of *liti* ritual, a part of service, according Simeon of Thessaloniki, officiated in a church narthex "on Saturdays and feasts and also in times of a distress or a grievous event happened."[92] Symeon interprets the prayer itself as a plea to "kind and human-loving God to hear all (people) and to become merciful and gracious to them" through "mediation of the holy Virgin Mother Theotokos herself and also angels, the apostles…and all the saints…to accept favorably the prayers (of people)."[93] Porphyri Uspensky witnesses about connection of these words with the supplication act, as, in Sinai monastery, he saw an icon of "the praying Virgin with a paper in her left hand, where there was the following Slavic inscription: Oh, all-merciful Master Lord Jesus Christ, my son and god accept every man glorifying you,"[94] The addressing "all-merciful Master" was as well typical for other icons of the petitioning Virgin with a scroll (iconographic type of Mediatrix or Paraklesis),[95] for example for some variants of Bogoljubskaja iconography.[96]

In a similar way addressing "владъіко въседръжителю" (all-Mighty Master) usually appears in connection with petitioning, in abbot Daniil's travelling journal, a prayer asking for helping to travelers starts with these words.[97] The same way the Virgin appeals to her Son in other variants of the Mediatrix iconography (Bogoljubskaja).[98] Moreover, several supplications for ill people also start this way.[99] Finally, the expression "the Master of my life," which appears only once in the monuments in question (Dolheştii Mari) is borrowed from a penitence prayer attributed to Ephrem the Syrian and read during the canonical hours of the Great Lent, as the text embodying all the elements of repentance.[100]

Expression "accept the prayers" addressed to the divinity is quite common for the orthodox contexts and was used not only in liturgical, but also in legal contexts[101](charters, inscriptions and epigrams) connected with making donations to the church. For example, just a part of the prayer book of Petr Mogila (1646) gives several instances of such expression in the contexts of prayers for renovation of a church, helping to a ruler, bringing rain, communion on Christmas day, being in need etc.[102] In majority of these cases the prayers were sent to the divinity asking for something in return (saving a ruler, bringing rain, releasing from a need etc.). At the same time this phrase can be encountered in different genres, but in a quite similar context, namely in donation acts and epigraphy. In the dedicatory inscription of Hilandar monastery (1321)[103] king Milutin pleads to the Virgin to "accept my miserable offering," the founder of Dobrun monastery (1343) addresses the Virgin with "taking this small offering,"[104] namely the erected church, while *knez* Lazar in his charter for Gornjak monastery (1380) appeals for accepting "this small offering" meaning the villages now subjected to the monastery,[105] and in all mentioned examples the benefactors count on future commemoration.

by the monastic communities, and on their prayers on behalf of the donators. An offering can be also a mobile object, as Nikola Rodop in 1432 calls this way a bell intended for a church of the Virgin and bearing an inscription: "the most -holy Virgin, accept this small offering of your very sinful servant Rodop."[106] In Bulgarian colophons, the writers name their work "small offering" (малое приношенїе) or, similarly with the formula encountered in the scroll from Rădăuţi, "what is brought to you from my zeal" (ѿ оусрьдна тебѣ приносимое).[107] And again, in all these instances the offerings were made in exchange for commemoration and supplied with pleads for salvation of soul.

Even more indicative are sources where one can find a combination of expression "accept the offering" and the evangelic comparison alluding to the poor widow bringing two copper coins for the temple (Mark 12:41-44, Luke 21:1-4), in these cases the act made by the widow becomes a prototype of soul-saving donations, while she herself turns into a symbol of an ideal ktetor who even with a small gift can provide for him/herself a place in the paradise. This comparison not so often found in the liturgical texts, the only two instances known to me are the 13th century Akathistos for sweetest Jesus (in Greek version – "Supplication Kanon for our Lord Jesus Chris") which became an inspiration for a Slavic translation by Francysk Skaryna published in 1522,[108] and a prayer for accepting the first fruits, contained in Byzantine as well as in Slavic *euchologia*. In the last *kontakion* of the Kanon for sweetest Jesus, the author finishing his supplication asks the Lord to "accept now this our small prayer as you have accepted two lepta of the widow,"[109] in a similar way the supplication for bringing the first fruits, in Greek[110] and in Slavic,[111] appeals to Jesus "accepting favorably a moderate offering of the widow, to accept now what is brought by your servant" and to give in exchange earthly goods and heavenly salvation.

However, the mentioned comparison is a very common place for other pious sources, charters, epigrams and inscriptions intended to describe a gift made by a donator to the divinity and donators' expectations of favorable acceptance and a future reward (salvation) . Serbian king Milutin in the *arenga* of his charter for Hilandar monastery (1302) says that his hopes for salvation were not abandoned since he "heard from my Savior about a widow who gained a fortune, greater than many others, with two copper coins."[112] In a charter of *knez* Lazar and that one of his sons, Stefan and Vuk, which copies the part of the earlier text, sanction opens with the following expressions: "and in this way, I (we) being zealot(s) and brought this small offering as that widow [brought] two copper coins."[113] In 1426 John Kastriot and his sons Staniša, Repoš, Konstantin and Gjurgje gave to Hilandar monastery two villages hoping that "all- graceful god and the most pure Theotokos would accept all these our small offerings, as [he accepted] two lepta of that widow."[114] However, the context of these charters allows one to realize that under the term "a small offering" the rulers understood quite significant land possessions, and therefore calling the donations "small" or insignificant was a pious figure of speech, as well as the comparison with the biblical widow, thus these two elements put together intended to prove humbleness of the donors and demonstrate their hopes for a successful reception of their gifts.

In the later charter addressed to the Virgin's monastery of Vatopedi (1533) Wallachian ruler Vlad Vintilă expects quite certain help in exchange for his offering. So, he pleads the Virgin to "accept this small gift from us, the sinners, as your son… accepted two copper coins of that widow and gave her the pardon of sins"[115] and in return the *voievod* expects the Virgin addressing prayers "to the Lord and savior…to make him the helper and the protector" from the visible and invisible enemies and to be favorable during the Last

Judgment and to receive the donator among the righteous ones. Such distribution of roles within the group consisting of a *ktetor*, the Virgin-mediator and the Lord reminds the way some Moldavian votive portraits are built, namely the *ktetor* addressing the holy mediator with his written text or gesture of prayer, while the mediator, as well by means of gestures or a written text, turns to the Lord.

Precisely with the same words "small offering" (малое приношенїе) Jefimija (or a poet on her behalf) describesa *katapetasma* sent by her to Hilandar (1388-1389). In the epigram embroidered on the gift itself, she asks the Lord not to "turn away this small offering which I bring to the holy church of your most pure mother and my hope, the Virgin of Hilandar, as I have embraced the faith of the widow who brought to you two copper coins."[116] Thus, comparing her offering with the one of the widow Jefimija resorts to the typical language of donation-making, whether it concerns the great gifts as that ones of king Milutin or just the liturgical vestments. In his recent paper dedicated to the questioning of Jefimija's authorship of the epigram Ivan Drpić considered that the "choice of the poor widow, one of the scriptural paragons of sacred giving, as a model for Jefimija was surely motivated by the fact that the latter was a widow herself,"[117] however in the light of the present study one can see that appearance of a figure of the biblical widow was rather a common place for the medieval language of gift-giving, and the allusion to Jefimija's own marital status might just have here an amplifying effect.

Similarly, a dedicatory inscription from St. Anastasia church-*pyrgos* in Kritza (1530), contemporary with the Romanian monuments in question, compares the building of the church for St. Anastasia by a community with the offering made by the widow ("accept this gift as the Lord before [accepted] the lepta of the widow")[118] and insists on the giving protection and help by the saint to the inhabitants of the holy place.

The comparison with the offering of two copper coins was also used by scribers in their colophons, in Greek[119] as well as in Slavic. A scriber who copied "by the toils and zeal" a book for St. Prochor of Pčinja monastery understands his work as a kind of donation similar to that of the widow (ꙗкоже она вдова двѣ лѣптѣ) and asks the readers to pray on his behalf,[120] while metropolitan of Palaia Patra Dionysios, in the dedication of his manuscript containing the collection of Hymns (1541), asks the Theotokos to "accept the smallest gift of you servant as two coins of the widow."[121] Moreover, in his *colophone*, *hegoumenos* Barlaam who, by the order of Stefan and Vuk Lazarevići and their mother Jevgenija, wrote a manuscript for the monastery of Dečani, uses almost a direct quotation from the above-mentioned hymnographical piece and addresses the Lord as "sweet Jesus, my Savior, accept this small offering as you have accepted two lepta of the widow."[122]

This way, the regarded texts can prove several points concerning Moldavian inscriptions in consideration. First of all, the inscriptions belong to a semantic field constructed on the intercession of several domains of ideas: repentance, gift-giving, expectation of future reward, and demonstrative humbleness of the donor. The addressing to the divinity similar with the penitent and petitionary prayers demonstrate the connection of the Moldavian inscriptions with the repentance rituals and community prayers, while the pleas for accepting the offer and comparison with the biblical widow bring to the picture demonstrative humility of the patrons which was seen as the way of achieving future salvation.

As it has been already noted above the texts on the scrolls held by the donators or their patron saints are quite similar with the prayers present in iconographies of the Virgin Mediatrix or *Paraklesis* addressing her son on behalf of humanity in different forms of dialogue written on her scroll. Indeed, in one of the cases under

consideration (All Saints church in Părhăuți) the donor's patron saints (St. John and the Virgin) are depicted holding texts almost identical to those present in *Deesis* compositions of St. Elijah church in Suceava and St. George church of Voroneț monastery. Moreover, the choice of St. John and the Virgin as the "representatives" of founder's supplication in Părhăuți is similar with a "classical" *Deesis* scene where the same saints as endued with the supreme intercessory powers advocate humanity at the heavenly court.[123] The inscriptions from Voroneț, St. Elijah church and Părhăuți have, probably, a composite nature, as I have not been able to find a direct literary source for them, nor even a single analogy among other artistic representation of *Deesis*.[124] However, the texts on the Virgin's scroll in all these monuments are quite similar with those, typical for *Paraklesis* (Mediatrix) iconography;[125] the main distinction of the Moldavian group is the beginning of the petitioning which starts with reminding to Christ about his consanguinity with the humanity ("съроднаа присвоенїа"). These words precisely demonstrate the composite character of the inscriptions as the only situation they can be encountered is the service for the Dormition of the Virgin as a beginning of the *stichera* ascribed to Theophanes the Graptos,[126] but in the context of the service the phrase is addressed to Mary, and not to her Son. On the other hand, the uniqueness of the Părhăuți, St. Elijah church and Voroneț compositions lies in the inscriptions on St. John's scroll and the effect created by this text. Thus, his prayer is also addressed to Christ, but in the difference with other cases of *Deesis*, St. John asks the Savior to give heed to the petition of the Virgin ("Oh, creator, listen to your Mother praying for adjudging mercy…"). And when such *Deesis* is inserted into the votive portrait of Părhăuți, it turns the composition to be more dramatic including several degrees of mediation: a silent supplication of the *ktetor* to the Virgin, expressed in his

kneeling and pious pose, the Virgin's prayer on behalf of the supplicant, and St. John's support to the Virgin's words addressed to Christ.

As the regarded examples prove, in both groups of inscriptions the texts have composite character operating with some *topoi*, common places of medieval gift-giving practices. These *topoi* met expectations of the medieval readers, who knowing the context (distinguishing the votive or funeral portraits as such and seeing the presence of burials) and being familiar at least with some texts from abovementioned examples anticipated to read a pious supplication seeing this supplication depicted in kneeling poses of the donators and praying gestures of their arms and arms of their holy patrons. Thus, the texts of the scrolls hold by the Moldavian *ktetors* or their patrons, in fact, extended the visual reality supplying it with the power of written word and giving voice to the images. In such cases the scrolls themselves were necessary attributes showing personages in interaction and playing out a dramatic dialogue to the beholders. These dialogues, however, have a fair amount of suspense for a medieval beholder, since the final answer from the judging Lord concerning the fate of the penitent donator has not yet been known. Indeed, the reference to the parable about the widow and two coppers coin, being introduced into such inscriptions, enforced the anticipation of salvation for the sponsors, as the beholders might imagine a joyful afterlife finally for the founder as determined by the generosity of his "small offering" to the Lord, namely the foundation itself.

***

In order to entirely understand the way of thinking of these Moldavian *ktetors* and the beholders of their portraits, one needs to analyze not only the textual mode of the expression, but also the visual language of these Moldavian compositions. The *ktetors* and members of their families were

represented in rich clothes or official garments reflecting their social status,[127] as if they participated in a solemn ceremony; their hands were raised in a gesture of offering and in an attitude of prayer, their looks were directed toward the Lord, all these measures were necessary to demonstrate the greatness and importance of the depicted moment. For more convincing expression of piety and humbleness, some of the Moldavian donors were represented kneeling (Bălineşti, Părhăuţi, portraits of Teodor Bubuiog and Daniil from Humor, all portraits of Anastasie Crimca and miniature portrait of Ioan Tăutu).

In many cases the depicted supplication was turned into a staged dramatic scene involving several actors, each of whom has his/her own part to play by means of gestures, poses, looks, and inscribed texts. In the group compositions the oldest male *ktetor* headed the family group in front of the celestial authorities and voiced or prayed on behalf of the rest of his relatives, so in the inscriptions from Dolheştii Mari, Bălineşti, Humor and Dorohoi texts mention the supplicants in plural as "servants." Spouses of the *ktetors* standing in the middle or in the end of such processions combined the gestures of prayer with a visual expression of the maternal role putting a hand on one of their children (both portraits from Arbore, main votive composition from Rădăuţi, Bălineşti, portrait of Petru Rareş' family from Humor) . A patron saint provided the support to the main donor either by putting his/her hand on the model of foundation presented to Christ (both portraits from Arbore, Suceviţa) or coming into direct bodily contact with the founder, holding sponsor's hand or touching his head or shoulder (Bălineşti, female portrait from Rădăuţi, Părhăuţi). Finally, the Savior always directed a gesture of blessing toward the *ktetor* visually expressing the acceptance of the supplications and/or the gift (church itself). Thus, in such compositions the scrolls hold by one of the

personages meant only the voicing of the depicted prayer acts, and therefore to understand the tradition standing behind the Moldavian portraits one needs to consider not only the depictions of *ktetors* or patron saints with the scrolls, but also the content of the texts written there.

Undoubtedly, the scroll held by a *ktetor* does not always means petitioning. As it was observed by V. Đurić,[128] in many cases the sponsors were depicted with scrolls in their hands to allude to charters granting possessions or privileges which these sponsors donated to certain foundations. This was the case of votive portraits of kings Vukašin and Marko holding unfolded scrolls with the texts of abbreviated sanctions[129] in Markov monastery (1376) and St. Archangels monastery of Priljep(1371) or a portrait of Vlad Vintilă, usually indentified as John Tzimiskes, holding rolled scrolls in his hands,[130] painted in the Athonite Great Lavra. However, in some other instances, the texts of such scrolls are not so easy to identify with the charters, and therefore an interpretation provided by scholars for these monuments can significantly differ. Once V. Đurić[131] assumed that the text on an unfolded scroll of despot Stefan Lazarević represented in his foundation Manasija (1406-1418) was "to express the main idea of arenga and sanction through abbreviated text," while in relation to the same image B. Todić considered that it "is only similar with the content of charter's arenga, but, undoubtedly, it represents a specially composed supplication" and belongs to a genre of prayer.[132] Indeed, the text under consideration addresses a plea to the Trinity to accept "this small offering,"[133] and therefore it seems that the image of Stefan Lazarević may belong to the same tradition as the Moldavian portraits dealt in the article. This way, one may trace back a tradition of imploring the Divinity by ktetor or on his behalf at least to the beginning of the 15th century. Moreover, S. Radojičić[134] regarded that appearance of written text held by a ktetor was a development of

Paraklesis iconography of the Virgin praying on behalf of a founder, and he even assumed that the appearance of the scroll in founders' hands coincided with the moment when the depiction of the Virgin as a mediator between the founder and Christ was abandoned. The Moldavian examples prove that the Virgin still preserved her position as sponsors' advocate at the same time with the ktetors voicing their own prayers (the cases of the main composition of Rădăuţi and Dolheşti Mari when both, the founders and their patron saints have written scrolls), but the regarded examples demonstrate that a strategy when either a donor or a patron saint address a supplication to Christ was more common. The specificity of such situation is the fact that the ktetor receives his own voice or is explicitly mentioned as a subject of a dialogue between the holy personages. In this sense, close communication between the donors and the holy personages occurred already in Byzantine art, but was relatively rare.

The donor is explicitly mentioned as a subject of the Virgin's prayer at several occurrences of the Theotokos Mediatrix iconography. Thus, Mary prays for a byzantine official kneeling at her feet on the dedicatory miniature of the 12th-century Lectionary (MS Lavra A 103, fol. 3v).[135] The dialogue between Mary and her Son put into dodecasyllabic verses written on the background, as Mary being "intercessor and mediator" asks Christ to "reward the one who lies at my feet by inscribing him in the book of the just" on the grounds that the donor offered the book to her church, and Christ' responds that the man "will receive complete salvation." Under these circumstances, though unnamed, the specific donor, and not an abstract sinner, becomes a subject of Mary's pleas, while the donation was perceived as the reason for pardoning sins and granting salvation.

Already I. Spatharkis compared[136] the Lavra 103 Lectionary with the dedicatory panel in the narthex of La Martorana (Palermo) of 1146-1151. Here,

the church's founder, George of Antioch performing proskynesis was advocated by the Virgin, who asked her son "to grant (him) absolution from (his) sins."[137] The Virgin holding a scroll with the dodecasyllabic verses, similar in the content with the traditional prayers of the Meditrix, however the petition she presents bears the name of the founder and his special circumstances as a builder of the church. And, thus, the text of the scroll and the gesture of the Virgin pointing to binding George establish the ceremonial context of the celestial court, in which the sponsor is a humble and mute human whose pleas to the Judges are to be expressed by his powerful and sympathetic advocate.

Similarly, mute and kneeling St. Neophytos of Cyprus[138] was present in front of Christ-judge in the Deesis composition (the northern wall of the Cell of the Enkleistra), here a small figure of the petitioner touched the foot of enthroned Christ, who was flanked by the Virgin and St. John, both standing with the gestures of prayer. As a result of later alternations (possibly around 1183) a scroll with the dodecasyllabic verses was painted next to St. Neophytos; this text not being written from the first person perspective rather describes the depicted situation in which, "by the prayers" of the Mother and the Baptist, Christ is asked to "be merciful" to the ktetor, humbly presented as the one "that lies a supplicant at Thy divine foot."[139]

In all three cases regarded above the advocating for the donor happens under the conditions of him performing the *proskynesis*,[140] as a sign of humbleness, while the personages endowed with the spiritual power, the Virgin and St. John, address Christ on ktetor's behalf. In these compositions the texts on the scrolls mention the donors in the third person, thus leaving the sponsors voiceless and not involve into direct interaction with the personages.

Sometimes, when the donors themselves raise voices, they rather tend to address and

interact with the Virgin, than with Christ. In Jerusalem lectionary of 1061[141] (MS Megali Panagia no. 1, fol. IV) the dedicatory miniature depicts the Virgin praying for certain Basil kneeling to her feet, however the dodecasyllabic inscription placed on the background, above the laic figure, contains the addressing of the donor to the Virgin as the one who can "intercede" for him "to the Lord of All, to grant remission of many sins." A 12th-century fresco from the diakonikon of Kalenderhane Camii depicts personage,[142] once questionably indentified as John Geometres Kyriotes,[143] holding a scroll, nowadays unreadable, who presents his petitions to the figure of the Mother of God Kyriotissa with Christ-child on her chest. In these two cases even having their own voices the donors do not interact with the holy figures inside of the relations "petition – response," both donors are depicted as significantly smaller comparing to the Virgin's figure, whose face either turned to the Heavens (Jerusalem lectionary) or toward the beholder (Kalenderhane Camii).

Few Byzantine monuments, usually of the middle and late periods (starting from the 12th century), demonstrate the involvement of donors as participants into dramatic interaction between the holy personage, as 13th century miniature of the Gospels Iviron 5 (fols. 456v-457r),[144] where sponsor John is led by the Virgin toward enthroned Christ. The Virgin here, similarly with the Moldavian cases under consideration, holds a scroll with a supplication addressed to her son asking him to "grant the remission of sins…and long and fortunate life" for her protégée; while the sponsor, in his turn, presents the manuscript he ordered. Standing next to the throne of Christ St. John Chrysostomos reminds a scriber as he puts on his scroll the words of the Lord about granting the remission of sins for his "namesake John." This miniature was interpreted as a "Kanzleiszene"[145] of the heavenly court, where, by analogy with the court of Constantinople, Mary exercises an office of

επί των δεήσεων, while Christ dictates his "lysis" to St. John Chrysostom, as a secretary. It was also compared with the votive composition of king Vladislav from Mileševa (1222-1228)[146] on the grounds of a similar iconographic solution involving interaction between the Virgin and the sponsor.

This way, one may state that at least those Moldavian scenes where the holy patrons advocate with the scroll-written prayers for sponsors can be traced back to the Byzantine visual tradition, which, in turn, appeared as a development of the Virgin Mediatrix iconography representing Mary with a scroll containing a dialogue with her son where she asks to pardon sins of humanity. Moreover, such compositions involving the patron and donors evolved by the 13th century into dramatic scenes with active participation of ktetors into petitioning in front of Christ-Judge.

The ktetor's own voice sometimes as well appeared in the Byzantine visual art, so the tradition of depicting a sponsor with a scroll being a medium of direct speech can be traced back to the late 11th century, namely to the miniature with John *proedros* (Cod. acc, no. 11.21.1900, f. 1r, Speer Library, Princeton), the donor of the Metaphrastic Menologion,[147] who holds a scroll with a prayer addressed to Christ and asks for "forgiveness and the remission of many sins." However, this prayer slightly differs from the Moldavian cases, as the sponsors relies on advocacy of the Menologion books as "intercessors" and, at the same time, he does not interact with the Lord directly, but offers prayers to a big ornamented cross having the figure of Christ on its top.

On the other hand, the visualization of *ktetor*'s own speech act was not always equal to a supplication. In the 16th-century All-Saints cathedral of Varlaam monastery(Meteora) *ktetors*, Theophanes and Nektarios Apsarades, address Christ and the Virgin presenting them with the models of the church and holding scrolls. The text of Theophanes is not preserved, while

Nektarios' scroll reads: 'Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τῆς κτίσεως ἐπανίωμεν κατανοήσωμεν το μέγα θαῦματῆς σοφίας τοῦ κτίσαντος …[148] So, the concept of this inscription is completely different from both,the donationscrolls discussed by V. Đurić and the Moldavian inscriptions underconsideration. In the difference with the latter, the Meteora text is not only a precise quotation, but it elegantly points out to the result of the ktetorial act (κτίσεως) and glorifies a founder with the help of liturgical text, a prayer of St. Basil.[149] Consequently, the closest analogy to the praying Moldavian *ktetors* is the portrait of Stefan Lazarević from Manasija discussed above, and indeed, even the texts written the scrolls of the Moldavian portraits and that one of despot Stefan present some similarities in the content. Serbian art of later period (16-17th centuries) proves that the tradition of depictingfounders with scrolls containing their prayers lasted throughout the Middle Ages here; moreover, the later monuments bring very close analogies to the phenomenon found in Moldavian painting.

The church of St. George of Vraćevšnica monastery was painted in 1431 by Radič Postupović, the great *čelnik* of Stefan Lazarević. Here on the southern wall of the narthex the *ktetor*, led by St. George to the throne of Christ, holds a model of the church and a scroll with two prayers, addressed to the Lord and the patron saint.[150] This composition could be the closest analogy to the Moldavian portraits, but, unfortunately, one cannot be sure in the degree of its originality, since the present composition was made in 1737 when the *hegoumenos* Mihail ordered to a group of Wallachian painters[151] to restore the murals of the foundation; though, there are some evidences suggesting that the murals were restored on the basis on the earlier iconography.[152]

A row of similar compositions with an inclusion of supplicants into the Deisis group comes from the 16th century churches of Cyprus. One Cypriot icon originating from the Dormition church in Trianta (Rhodes) includes depictions of the supplicants and the Virgin and the Baptist, all of them holding the scrolls with prayers survived on an icon. This image dated back to 1514[153] was commissioned by a wife of an *anagnostes* and *pneumatographos*[154] Paul Matiditri and it depicts an enthroned Christ addressed by the Virgin and John the Baptist on behalf two donors kneeling at the bottom of the throne. The scroll of the Virgin reads the following, "Accept the prayer… salvation of souls to Paul the anagnostes and your sevant and establish him in the place of green grasses," while St. John as well addresses the Lord on behalf of the sponsors, "Sound ….of righteous … the Prodromos… the Savior of the world, award to your servants, Paul the anagnostes and his wife, and establish them in the land of righteous ones." Finally, with the help of his scroll the deceased anagnostes also addresses God directly, "When you sit, oh, Christ the Emperor, rightful judge, divide the world into all those who are righteous and sinful, and then, redeem me, oh, Christ, from your punishment and establish me on your right side."[155] As one can notice, the three prayers held by the holy figures and the ktetor echo each other and petition the Lord to allocate a place in the Paradise to the deceased sponsor. This image, as well as several others discussed by

N. Mastrochistos, is similar with the Moldavian examples in its intercessory character of the dialogues and the degree of proximity between the divinity the ktetor. On the other hand, the texts written on the scrolls do not coincide with the Moldavian cases in their wording and do not explicitly mention an offering made by a commissioner. Therefore, one may suggest that the Cypriote cases appearing in a significant geographical distance and bearing the significant differences in inscriptions represent a parallel development of the petitioning dialogue iconography in the votive portraits.

Other images, similar with the Moldavian ones, can be found in the murals

of churches of the Peć Patriarchate, and they portray three Serbian patriarchs, Makarije, Maksim, and Jovan, dated back to the second half of the 16th – 17th century. The earliest one depicts Makarije Sokolović (1565) who restored the Serbian patriarchate as well as some murals of the monastery, and therefore as a new *ktetor* he was depicted bringing the model of the church and the prayers written on his scroll to the Virgin with the Child placed on the following pilaster of the narthex. His prayer is addressed to Christ, who is asked "to accept this small offering and to grant… usual philanthropy … by the prayers of the Mother."[156] In its content, the text bears many similarities with those preserved in the Moldavian inscription, but its wording is completely different, and consequently one cannot assume the existence of direct influences between those monuments, but rather the presence of a common iconographic language and shared tradition into depicting a pious sponsor.

The second similar depiction of a *ktetor* with a scroll is situated in the church of the Holy Apostles on the northern wall, it is a funerary portrait of patriarch Jovan ordered by his successor patriarch Paisije in 1620/21. Jovan is represented next to the 14th-century figure of the Virgin Mediatrix holding a traditional dialogue with Christ concerning the "salvation of sinners,"[157] and his way Jovan's own long prayer forwarded to the Virgin "as the Advocate and Intercessor" to "accept the small offering and miserable singing"[158] seems to be a visual strategy which endows the old image with new iconographic meanings, namely it turns a general plea of the Theotokos into a petition for one particular personage. Finally, in the church of St. Nicholas, the *ktetor* patriarch Maksim (1674) was depicted holding a scroll (now unreadable). The patriarch chose to be depicted in the way similar with his predecessors, Makarije and Jovan, but here Maksim is led by St. Nicholas, dressed in liturgical vestments, to Christ flanked by St. John and the Virgin addressing usual prayers for the salvation of sinners to her Son.[159]

Taking into consideration such factors as the content of the scrolls' texts and the interaction between the ktetors and the holy personages one can conclude that the tradition of depicting a ktetor with a scroll as a part of votive composition link together two regions, namely late medieval Serbia and Moldavia, and though some similar solutions took place also in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek art, they do differ from the Serbian and Moldavian ones by the messages written on the ktetors' scrolls.

All the cases regarded here were examined on the basis of three elements, the presence of a scroll depicting an act of speech, the content of such scrolls expressing supplication of the ktetors and the interaction between the supplicants and the holy personages. As a conclusion, the origin of portraits representing ktetors accompanied by patron saints advocating for them by means of a prayer inscribed in their scrolls demonstrates a strong connection with the Byzantine tradition of the Virgin Mediatrix iconography and can be considered a step of its development, in course of which a general prayer for humanity on the Virgin's scroll became replaced by a supplication for a particular sponsor, while the donors themselves turn from kneeling and mute figures into participants of dramatic interaction between the holy personages. At the same time, the portraits of donors holding scrolls as expression of their own speeches addressed toward the holy figures was a relatively rare phenomenon in the Byzantine art, and it evolved completely only during late medieval period, in the art of the Byzantine commonwealth, including Serbia and Moldavia, and its evolution signified a growing importance of ktetor's own role. Two traditions, of the patron saint's advocacy and sponsor's own prayer merge in Moldavian cases being expressed with similar visual means (scrolls) and texts, and sometimes appear together in the same compositions (Dolheştii Mari, Rădăuţi)

***

Depiction of a scroll in donor's or holy patron's hands was a tool visualizing the act of speech, its presence undoubtedly demonstrated who was the originator of a message, while gestures, poses and looks were to show who was intended as an addressee. A medieval beholder examining such compositions, situated in Moldavian churches at the eye level, noticed these speech accessories, but further actions of such beholder depended on his/her literacy. If he/she was illiterate, the scrolls with presumed texts were only to express who undertakes a talk; in a case of a beholder being able to read, the scrolls with inscriptions received not only significance as additional tools voicing supplication, but also became a way of executing founders' will by commemorating him and praying on his behalf.

The matter is that the act of reading during the middle ages meant to be an oral performance, i.e the majority of texts was read aloud.[160] Of course, in the late 15th – 16th centuries silent reading already occurred in the European space, but as P. Saenger[161] noticed the main indicator of it was the appearance of spaces between words, and, therefore looking to the way the Moldavian inscriptions are written (in *scriptura continua,* without separation

of words and with traditional medieval abbreviations, so-called *titla*) one can understand that they were intended for traditionally medieval reciting aloud. As a consequence, a literate beholder was forced to pronounce an inscription made in this mode in order to understand it.

And now, if one consider that a literate beholder of the Moldavian ktetorial compositions was reciting aloud the supplication texts appearing on the scrolls held by the sponsors or their holy patrons, this turned an act of viewing into a participation in a commemorative ritual since pronouncing such phrases as "Oh Lord, accept prayers and petitions of your servants…" a beholder exercised a short prayer addressed to Christ. Simultaneously, by seeing images of the ktetors expecting the Master to accept their gifts such lecturing beholder would perceive the texts as a part of his/her recognition of ktetors' merits and remembrance about their existence. Hence the act of beholding turns into an act of reading and consequently into delivering a short prayer for the salvation for the depicted personage. This way the texts on the scrolls were not only the means of communication between the depicted figures, but also agents of execution of founder's desire to be commemorated and posthumously remembered.

Notes

[1] A bibliography of such topic can be rather enormous, therefore here I include only the most important studies. Initially, the topic of *ktitoreia* and patronage was discussed from the point of view of social studies by Anthony Cutler ("Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage," *JÖB,*vol. 31, nr. 2, 1981, pp. 759-787) and later it attracted interest of byzantinists dealing with problems of imperial power and aristocracy: Robin Cormack, "Aristocratic Patronage of the Arts in 11th- and 12th-Century Byzantium," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (ed. M. Angold), Oxford, 1984, pp. 158–172; Alice M. Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," *DOP*, vol. 44, 1990, pp. 119 – 129; Nicholaos Oikonomides, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos," in Idem, *Society, culture and politics in Byzantium*, Aldershot, 2005, art. XXV; Maria Panagiotidi, "Donor personality traits in 12th century painting: Some examples," in *Το Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές: επιλογές, ευαισθησίες και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδέκατο στον δέκατο πέμπτο αιώνα* (ed. Chr. Aggelidi), Athens, 2004, pp.145-166; Robin Nelson, 'Tales of two cities: the patronage of early Paleologian art and architecture in Constantinople and Thessaloniki," in *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* (ed. K. Nikolaou), Athens, 1999, pp. 127–145; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Patronage and artistic production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture* (ed. S. Brooks), New Haven, 2007, pp. 76-97; Tania Kambourova, "Ktitor: Le sens du Don des panneaux votifs dans le monde byzantin," *Byzantion,* vol. 78, 2008, pp. 261-287; Vassilaki Dimitropoulou, "Giving Gifts to God: Aspects of Patronage in Byzantine Art," in *A Companion to Byzantium* (ed. L. James), Wiley-Blackwell: 2010, pp. 161–170.

[2] The initial step in studies of *ktitoreia* in Moldavia and Wallachia was made on the field of legal studies (Gheorghe Cronţ, "Dreptul de ctitorire în Ţara Românească şi Moldova," *Studii şi materiale Istorie Medie*, vol. 4, 1960, pp. 77-116) which was followed by an inquiry in the social background of Moldavian non-royal founders (Răzvan Theodorescu, "Despre câţiva "oameni noi", ctitori medievali," *SCIA. Seria artă plastică, vol.* 24 (1977): pp. 67-124). In recent years several scholars approached this topic from different positions representing the main research directions such as archeological (Voica M. Puşcaşu, *Actul de ctitorire ca fenomen istoric în Ţara Românească şi Moldova până la sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea*,Bucureşti, 2001), artistic (Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Programul iconografic al gropniţelor moldoveneşti (sec. XVI)," in: *Artă Românească Artă Europeană: centenar Virgil Vătăşianu*(ed. M. Porumb, A. Chiriac), Oradea, 2002, pp. 85-96; Tereza Sinigalia, "L'église l'Ascension du monastère de Neamt et le problème de l'espace funéraire en Moldavie aux XVe - XVIe siècles," *RRHA*, vol. 35, 2004, pp. 19-32) and socio-economical (Arcadie Bodale, "Actul de ctitorire şi cartea liturgică în Ţările Române," *Xenopoliana*, vol. 12, 2004, pp. 55-89; Idem. "Semnificatiile actelor ctitoricesti în Evul Mediu românesc," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie »A.D. Xenopol«*, vol. 42, 2005, pp. 17-56).Two authors, Maria M. Székelyand Maria S. Crăciun, have dedicated several studies to social and cultural aspect of Moldavian ktitoreia basing their conclusions on a variety of source and applying multidisciplinary methodologies: Maria M. Székely, "Mănăstirea Putna – loc de memorie," in *Stefan cel Mare si Sfânt. Atlet al credintei crestine,* Mănăstirea Putna, 2004, pp. 37-70; Eadem, *Actul de ctitorire în Evul Mediu românesc.Curs special de istorie medievală a românilor* (Iaşi: 2011); Eadem, "Ctitorii Voroneţului," *Analele Putnei*, vol. 1, 2009, pp. 139-156; Eadem, "Portrete târzii de ctitori în biserici din judeţul Suceava," *Analele Ştiinţifice ale Universităţii »Alexandru Ioan Cuza« din Iaşi. Istorie*, vol. 60, 2014, pp. 369-372. Maria S. Crăciun, "Orthodox Piety and the Rejection of Protestant Ideas in XVIth-century Moldavia," in *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe* (ed. M. Crăciun, O. Ghitta), Cluj-Napoca, 1995, pp. 70–91; Eadem, "Semnificaţiile ctitoririi în Moldova medievală. O istorie socială a religiei," in *Naţional şi universal în istoria românilor. Studii oferite prof. dr. Şerban Papacostea cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani* (eds. P. Cernovodeanu, A. Pippidi), Bucureşti, 1998, pp. 137–171; Eadem, "Piety and Individual. Options in Moldavian Donation Deeds, 14th to 16th Centuries," in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe* (eds. Eadem and O. Ghitta), Cluj-Napoca, 1998, pp. 319-323; Eadem, "*Apud Ecclesia*: church burial and the development of funerary rooms in Moldavia," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (eds. W. Coster, A. Spicer), Cambridge, 2005, pp. 144-166.

[3] It is worth to notice here two overviews of *ktetorial* portraits which placed Romanian

phenomenon in a wider context: Maria.A. Musicescu, "Byzance et le portrait roumain au Moyen Age," *Etudes byzantines et postbyzantines*, vol. 2, 1979, pp. 153- 179, and Ion Solcanu, "Un element laic local in pictura religioasa din Moldova, secolele XV -XVII," *SCIA* , vol. 16, nr. 2, 1969, pp. 309-316, as well as some other similar studies.

[4] Tereza Sinigalia, "Ctitori şi imagini votive în pictura murală din Moldova la sfârşitul secolului al XV-lea şi în prima jumătate a secolului al al XVI-lea. O ipoteză," in: *Arta istoriei. Istoria artei. Academicianului Răzvan Theodorescu la 65 de ani*(ed. M. Popa), Bucureşti, 2002, pp. 59-65; Laura C. Ştefănescu, *Gift-Giving, Memoria and Art Patronage in the Principalities of Walachia and Moldavia The Function and Meaning of Princely VotivePortraits*,M.A.Thesis,Utrecht University, 2010; Elisabeta Negrău, *Cultul suveranului sud-est european şi cazul Ţării Româneşti: o perspectivă artistică*, Iaşi, 2011.

[5] For dating the foundation and its paintings see: Gheorghe Balş, *Bisericile lui Ştefan cel Mare*, Bucureşti, 1925, pp. 124-129; Nicolae Grigoraş, "Date şi observaţii asupra unui vechi monument de artă din Moldova (Dolheştii Mari)," *BCMI*, vol. 41, nr. 1, 1972, pp. 40-44. Ioan D. Ştefănescu, *La peinture murale en Bucovine et en Moldavie. Nouvelles recherches. Etudeiconographique*, Paris, 1929, pp. 6-7.

[6] For details about Şendrea's origin, family and biography see: Sever Zotta, "Note cu privire la neamul lui Şendrea, portar de Suceava, cumnatul lui Ştefan cel Mare," *Arhiva Genealogică*, vol. 2, 1913, pp. 70–75; Nicolae Grigoraş, "Date şi observaţii…" pp. 42-43.

[7] Cristian N. Apetrei, *Reşedinţele boiereşti din Ţara Românească şi Moldova în secolele XIV-XVI*, Brăila, 2009, pp. 152-153.

[8] Grigorie Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (ed. P. P. Panaitescu), Bucureşti, 1955, p. 97.

[9] Sever Zotta, "Note cu privire…", p. 70. For general information on the church and earlier bibliography see: *Repertoriul monumentelor şi obiectelor de arta din timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare* (ed. M. Berza, A. Nicolescu), Bucureşti, 1958, pp. 204-206; Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Programul iconographic al gropniţelor moldoveneşti (secolul XVI)," in *Artă românească, artă europeană: centenar Vigil Vătăşianu* (eds. M. Porumb, A. Chiriac), Oradea, 2002, p. 86.

[10] Ioan D Stefănescu, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient*, Bruxelles,1936, pp. 47-48.

[11] Both scrolls were read and translated into French by Ioan D. Stefănescu,*L'illustration des liturgies…*, pp. 45-46.

[12] For the iconography of *Deesis* and its meaning see; Christopher Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis," *REB* 26 (1968): pp. 311–336; Idem, "Further Notes on the Deësis," *REB*, vol. 28, 1970, pp. 167–187; Anthony Cutler, "Under the Sign of the

Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature," *DOP*, vol. 41, 1987, pp. 145–154; Elisabeta Negrău, "The Deesis in the Romanian Painting of the 14th-18th Centuries," *Revista Teologică*, vol. 93, nr. 2, 2011, pp. 64-81 (esp. p. 69).

[13] Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, *Biserica „Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi. Cercetări arheologice şi interpretări istorice asupra începuturilor ţării Moldovei*, Piatra Neamţ, 2012, p. 358.

[14] Ibid., pp. 43-60, 75-92, 169-192.

[15] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, Seria A. Moldova, Vol. 1, Bucureşti. 1975, p. 55.

[16] For earlier bibliography and discussion of murals' dating see Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, *Biserica „Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi*, pp. 315-322, and *Monumente istorice bisericeşti din Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei* (eds. V. Drăguţ, C. Nicolescu), Iaşi, 1974, p. 30.

[17] For the discussion of different views see: Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, *Biserica „Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi...*, pp. 338-339.

[18] Except Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, *Biserica „Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi...*, pp. 333-345, see also Ana M. Musicescu, "Consideraţii asupra picturii din altarul şi naosul Voroneţului," in *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare* (ed. M. Berza), Bucureşti, 1964, pp. 368-370, and Ion I. Solcanu, "Portretul lui Ştefan cel Mare în pictura epocii sale," *Cercetări istorice*, vol. 6, 1975, pp. 88-101, and his opinion repeated in the review Idem., "Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, Biserica „Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi. Cercetări arheologice şi interpretări istorice asupra începuturilor Ţării Moldovei," *Arheologia Moldovei*, vol. 29, 2013, pp. 323-324.

[19] Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, *Biserica „Sfânţul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi...*, p. 340.

[20] Ion I. Solcanu, "Portretul lui Ştefan cel Mare...," p. 92.

[21] Ion I. Solcanu, "Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, Biserica.." 324

[22] Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, *Biserica „Sfânţul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi...*, p. 336.

[23] An earlier attempt to read this inscription was made by Vlad Bedros ("The monk, equal to the martyrs? Moldavian iconographic instances (15th-16th centuries)," *Diversité et identité culturelle en Europe* vol. 12, nr. 2, 2015, p. 54), and here I bring a version supplied with some newly deciphered words.

[24] Lia Bătrăna, Adrian Bătrăna, *Biserica „Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi...*, pp. 317-319; *Repertoriul monumentelor…*, pp. 262-263.

[25] For details on Ioan Tăutu's biography and family, see: Ştefan S. Gorovei, "Une ancienne famille moldave: le logothete Tăutu et sa descendance," in *12. Internationaler Kongres fur genealogische und heraldische Wissenschaften, Munchen 1974. Kongresbericht. Band G*, Stuttgart, 1978, pp. 157–163.

[26] Idem, "Activitatea diplomatică a marelui logofăt Ioan Tăutu", *Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean*, vol. 5, 1978, pp. 237-251.

[27] The dedicatory inscription and texts of burial slabs are published by Nicolae Iorga, "Contributii la istoria bisericii noastre, 1, Despre manastirea Neamtului, 2, Bălineşti," *ARMSI*, vol. 34, s. II, 1911-1912, pp. 480-484.

[28] Voica Puşcaşu, "Rezultatele cercetarilor arheologice efectuate la biserica "Sf. Nicolae" din Bălineşti" *RMI*, vol. 74, 2005, pp. 5-35.

[29] *Repertoriul monumentelor…*, pp. 169-181.

[30] For dating of the building, see Corina Popa, *Bălineşti*, Bucureşti, 1981, p. 13; for dating and characteristics of the painting see: Gheorghe Balş, *Bisericile lui Ştefan cel Mare...*, pp. 132-139, 195-202; Sorin Ulea, "Gavril Ieromonahul, autorul frescelor de la Bălineşti. Introducere la studiul picturii moldoveneşti din epoca lui Ştefan cel Mare," in *Cultura moldovenească din timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare* (ed. M. Berza), Bucureşti, 1964, pp. 419-461 (esp. pp. 24-47); Ion Solcanu, "Biserica de la Bălineşti: datarea construcţiei şi a picturii interioare," *AIIA*, vol. 19, 1982, pp. 532–534; Corina Popa, *Bălineşti*, pp. 36-37; Dumitru Năstase, "Biserica din Bălineşti şi pictura exterioară," *SCIA*, vol. 43, 1996, pp. 3-18; Tereza Sinigalia, Andrei Vretos, 'Decoraţia exterioară a bisericii Sf. Nicolae din Bălineşti," *RMI*, vol. 77, 2008, pp. 102-119. For the discussion on the painting: Sorin Ulea, "Gavril ieromonahul…", pp. 424-447; Corina Popa, *Bălineşti*, pp. 15-25.

[31] Corina Popa, *Bălineşti*, p. 20.

[32] Ştefan S. Gorovei, "Un tablou votiv şi o necropolă familială. Biserica logofătului Tăutu de la Bălineşti," *Analele Putnei*, vol. 11, 2015, pp. 1-34 with discussion of previous dating of the frescoes and proposed identifications of the family members of Ioan Tăutu (p. 14) and proposition of dating the votive composition with 1501-1505 (p. 19).

[33] The phrase is not finished in the original inscription.

[34] Vasile Drăguţ, *Humor* (Bucharest: 1973).

[35] Maria M. Székely, *Sfetnicii lui Petru Rareş: studiu prosopografic*, Iaşi, 2002, pp. 51-80.

[36] Eugen A. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina. Epigraphische Beiträge zur Quellenkunde der Landes- und Kirchengeschichte*, Wien: 1903, pp. 28-29.

[37] Tereza Sinigalia, "L'église l'Ascension," pp. 19-20.

[38] Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Programul iconografic al gropniţelor….", pp. 86-87.

[39] Eugen Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina…*, p. 34.

[40] Vasile Dragut, *Humor..*, 20; Maria A. Székely, *Sfetnicii lui Petru Rareş...*, p. 53.

[41] Vasile Dragut, *Humor…*, pp. 18-19.

[42] Maria M. Székely, *Actul de ctitorire în Evul Mediu …*, p. 8.

[43] Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Pictura pronaosului bisericii mănăstirii Humor," accessed at http://www.istoria-artei.ro/resources/files/SCIAAP_2014_Art_10.pdf , p. 194.

[44] Maria M. Székely, *Actul de ctitorire…*, pp. 5-9.

[45] The inscription was published twice, by Gheorghe Balş, *Bisericile si Mănăstirile moldovenesti din veacul al XVI-lea*, Bucureşti, 1928, p. 28, and Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Pictura pronaosului…," p. 184, who considered that the month can be read as November, and consequently suggested to re-date the composition to 1554. However I publish the inscription again since my reading slightly differs from the previous ones.

[46] *Documente privind istoria României*, Seria A: Moldova, veacul XVI, Vol. 2, Bucureşti, 1951, pp. 98–99, nr. 89.

[47] An attempt to read the inscription was made by Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Pictura pronaosului…", p. 194, however, the proposed reading varies greatly.

[48] *Repertoriul monumentelor...*, pp. 114-119; *Monumente istorice bisericeşti din Mitropolia Moldovei …*, pp. 98-101, Sorin Ulea, "Datarea ansamblului de pictură de la Sf. Nicolae – Dorohoi," *SCIA*, vol. 11, 1964, pp. 69-79.

[49] Irimia Bogdana, "Semnificaţia picturilor murale de la Părhăuţi," *RMM. MIA*, vol. 1, 1976, pp. 57-66; Tereza Sinigalia, Oliviu Boldura, *Monumente medievale din Bucovina*, Bucureşti, 2010, pp. 83-87; For possible datings and discussion of the monument's iconographic program see: Constantin Ciobanu, "Programul iconografic al bisericii Tuturor Sfinţilor din Părhăuţi," accessed on the web-page of the project "*Text şi imagine în pictura românească din secolul al XVI- lea*" (2011-2014) of the Art History Institute of the Romanian Academy http://www.medieval.istoria-artei.ro/resources/P%C4%83rh%C4%83u%C5%A3i.%20Programul%20iconografic.%201.%20Constantin%20Ciobanu.pdf (esp. p. 2); Idem. "Date noi referitoare la programul iconografic al bisericii Tuturor Sfinţilor din Părhăuţi," *Arta*,2012, pp. 17-27.

[50] Constantin Ciobanu, "Eroare şi adevăr în cercetarea iconografiei Părhăuţilor," *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Artă plastică, serie nouă*, vol. 2 (46), 2012, pp. 121-126 (esp. pp. 123-126).

[51] Nicolae Grigoraş, "Biserica Părhăuţi, ctitoria marelui logofăt Gavriil Trotuşan," *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei*, vol. 52, nr. 5-6, 1976, pp. 400-410 (esp. pp. 405-409).

[52] Eugen M. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina...*, pp. 51-60.

[53] Concerning biography and offices held by Gavril Totruşan see: Maria A. Székely, *Sfetnicii lui Petru Rareş...*, pp. 423-438.

[54] As it seems, during the restoration of frescoes of Voroneţ' naos the restores mistakenly reconstructed the last words of the inscription, so it might read the following: слиши м(а)т(е)ри своа

молѣща соз(д)ателю.

[55] In case of St. Elijah's church only the text on St. John's scroll is readable, while the text on the Virgin's scroll is badly preserved. About the iconographic and theological meaning of royal *Deesis* scenes (St. Elijah's church, Milişăuţi, Vroneţ)

see: Petre Guran, "Les implications théologico-politiques de l'image de la Deesis a Voronet," *RRH*, vol. 44, 2005, pp. 40-67.

[56] Bogdan Irimia ("Semnificaţia picturilor murale de la Părhăuţi," *RMM.MIA*, vol. 45, 1976, p. 66) made an attempt to read the inscriptions, however his reading seems erroneous in most of the places.

[57] The date of renovation is given in the dedicatory inscription painted on the southern façade of the church – see Ion I. Solcanu, Pr. Costache Buzdugan, *Biserica Voroneţ*, Iaşi, 1984, p. 28.

[58] Ibid., 44; Sorin Ulea, "Originea si semnificaţia ideologică a picturilor exterioare moldoveneşti," *SCIA*, vol. 10, 1963, p. 86-88.

[59] The inscription was translated in Romanian: Oreste Luţia, "Legenda Sf. Ioan cel Nou dela Suceava în frescurile din Voroneţ," *Codrul Cosminului*, vol. 1, 1924 <1925>, pp. 281-354 apud. Ion I. Solcann, Pr. Costache Buzdugan, *Biserica Voroneţ..*, p. 44.

[60] More about biography and historical role of Daniil Sihastru see: Petru Rezuş, "Viaţa şi faptele Sfântului Daniil Sihastrul," *Studii Teologice*, vol. 8, nr. 3-4, 1956, pp. 227-240.

[61] Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića: diplomatička studija*, Beograd, 1997, p. 241.

[62] This expression, in Slavic «въꙁадоушиесѣѣ», is a part of the dedicatory inscription – Eugen M. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina…*, p. 210, footnote 1.

[63] Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, *Anastasie Crimca*, Bucureşti, 1972.

[64] Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, "Şcoală miniaturistică de la Dragomirna," *Dragomirna. Istorie, Tezaur, Ctitori* (eds. Ş. S. Gorovei, M.M. Székely), vol. I, Mănăstirea Putna, 2014, pp. 269-272, 277-278, 290; Ioan Iufu, Victor Brătulescu, *Manuscrise slavo-romane din Moldova. Fondul Mănăstirii Dragomirna*,Iaşi, 2012, p. 78.

[65] Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, *La miniature roumaine*, Bucureşti, 1982, cat. 50, fig. 89; Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, "Şcoală miniaturistică…", pp. 293-304, 313; Constanţa Costea, "Ilustraţia de manuscris în mediul cărturăresc al mitropolitului Anastasie Crimcovici. Apostolul (Viena, Nationalbibliothek cod. sl. 6)," *SCIA*, vol. 39, 1992, pp. 41-57.

[66] The Slavic text was read and translated in Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, "Şcoală miniaturistică…," p. 293.

[67] Nicolae Iorga, "Moldavie et Pologne, au commencement du XVIIme siècle," *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen*, vol. 7, 1930, pp. 139-149; Pr. Gabriel Herea, *Mesajul eshatologic al spatiului liturgic crestin, Arhitectura si icoana in Moldova secolelor XV-XVI*, Suceava, 2013, pp. 24-28.

[68] About "folosirea reprezentărilor Sfintei Treimi pentru a mărturisi şi predica adevărata" in the late 16th – early 17th centuries in Moldavia see Pr. Gabriel Herea, *Biserica Mănăstirii Suceviţa*, publishes at http://locurile-sfinte.ro/locuri-sfinte-

romania/item/19-biserica-manastirii-sucevita, last accessed on 04.09.2016.

[69] Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, "Şcoală miniaturistică…", pp. 329-330, 345; Ioan Iufu, Victor Brătulescu,*Manuscrise slavo-romane*, pp. 107-109; Constanţa Costea, "Ilustraţia de manuscris în mediul cărturăresc al mitropolitului Anastasie Crimcovici. Liturghierul," *SCIA*, vol. 43, 1996, pp. 19-35.

[70] Constanţa Costea, "Ilustraţia de manuscris… Liturghierul," pp. 24ff.

[71] About both book covers see Gheorghe Popescu-Vâlcea, "Şcoală miniaturistică…", pp. 229-232, 243-245, 277-278, 308-311; Ioan Iufu, Victor Brătulescu, *Manuscrise slavo-romane*, p. 227, fig. 115-116.

[72] For the history of the manuscript and previous bibliography see: Яким Прохорович Запаско, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Українська рукописна книга*, Львів, 1995, pp. 288-291, cat.60.

[73] About identification of the personality of Ioan Tăutu see Carmen Ghica, "Vel logofătul Ioan Tdutu: cea mai veche miniatură a unui dregător," *SCIA*, vol. 15, nr. 1, 1968, pp. 114-117.

[74] Inscription was published in: Яким Прохорович Запаско, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва…*, p. 290.

[75] Eugen M. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina…*, p. 2.

[76] Dimitrie Dan, "Ctitoria hatmanului Luca Arbore," *BCMI*, vol. 19, 1926, pp. 37-46; Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători din Ţara Românească şi Moldova, sec. XIV-XVII*, Bucureşti, 1971, pp. 261-262.

[77] Ion I. Solcanu, "Datarea ansamblului de pictură de la biserica Arbure, I, Pictura interioară," *AIIAI*, vol. 12, 1975, pp. 35-53; TerezaSinigalia, "Din nou despre picturile din pronaosul bisericii din satul Arbore," *RMI*, vol. 74, nr. 1-2, 2005, pp. 44-50.

[78] TerezaSinigalia, "Din nou despre picturile…," p. 49; For earlier bibliography see *Repertoriul monumentelor…*, pp. 184-187.

[79] Tereza Sinigalia, "Programul iconografic al spaţiului funerar din biserica "Tăierea Capului Sf. Ioan Botezătorul" din satul Arbore," *RMI*, vol.72, nr.1, 2001-2003, pp. 27-33.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Oliviou Boldura, "Restaurarea Tabloului votiv de la biserica din satul Arbore," *RMI*, vol.76, nr. 1-2, 2007, pp. 30-31

[82] Sorin Ulea, "Datarea ansamblului de pictură de la Suceviţa," in *Omagiu lui George Oprescu cu prilejul împlinirii a 80 de ani* (eds. T. Vianu et al.), Bucureşti, 1961, pp. 561-565; Though, Victor Brătulescu, "Pictura Suceviţei şi datarea ei," *MMS*, vol.40, nr. 5-6, 1964, p. 229 suggested a different dating with 1596.

[83] Rezachevici, Constantin, "Dinastia Movileştilor - între Bogdaneşti, magnaţi polono-lituani si casele regale europene," in *Civilizaţia*

Demir Dragnev (ed. L. Zabolotnaia), Chişinău, 2006, p. 383.

[84] Elisabeta Negrău, *Cultul suveranului sud-est european şi cazul Ţării Româneşti: o perspectivă artistică*, Iaşi, 2011, p. 199.

[85] Pr. Gabriel Herea, *Biserica Mănăstirii Suceviţa*, online edition.

[86] For the typical texts on the Virgin's scrolls in scenes where she addresses her son see: В. В. Филатов, Ю.Б.Камчатнова, *Наименование и надписи на иконных изображениях: Справочник для иконописцев*, Москва, 2006, pp. 35-36, 39.

[87] Gheorghe Popescu-Vîlcea,*Un manuscris al voievodului Ieremia Movila* (Bucureşti, 1984); Constanţa Costea, "Une nouvelle réplique slavonne du Paris. Gr. 74: seven decades after," *RRHA*, vol.38, 2001, pp. 3-17.

[88] "ils lui rendent hommage en offrant soit le modèle de l'église (dans le cas de la fresque) soit un phylactère (dans le cas du manuscrit)" - Tania Kambourova, "Pouvoir et prière dans les images byzantines de don," *Revue des Etudes Sud-est Européennes*, vol.46, 2008, p. 138.

[89] Laurel J. Brinton, *The structure of modern English: a linguistic introduction*, John Benjamins Publishing, 2000, p. 112.

[90] Eva F. Kittay, Adrienne Lehrer "Introduction," in *Frames, Fields, and Contrasts: New Essays in Semantic and Lexical Organization*, Hillsdale, 1992, pp. 3- 4.

[91] Ibid.

[92] *Symeonis Thessalonicensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia,Patrologia graeca*(ed. J.P. Migne), vol. 155, Paris, 1866, col. 613.

[93] Ibid., col. 616.

[94] "владъıко многомилостивє господи іисоусє христєсъıнє и божє моі пріими всıакого чєловѣка славаıщєго тıа"– Порфирий Успенский, *Путешествіе по Египту и в монастыри святаго Антонія Великаго и преподобнаго Павла Ѳивейскаго в 1850 году*, Санкт-Петербург, 1836, с. 111.

[95] About origin of the iconography and earlier dialogue texts of theVirgin's scroll see: Михаил Н. Бутырский, "Богоматерь Параклесис у алтарной преграды: происхождение и литургическое содержание образа," *Иконостас. Происхождение – развитие – символика* (ред. А.М. Лидов), Москва, 2006, с. 207-222; Ivan M. Đorđević, Miodrag Marković "On the Dialogue Relationship between the Virgin and Christin Eastern Christian Art. A Propos of the Discovery of the Figures of the Virgin Mediatrix and Christ in the Naos of Lesnovo," *Zograf*, vol.28, 2000-2001, pp. 13-47.

96 *Иконы Владимира и Суздаля* (ред. Л. В. Нерсесян, А. С. Преображенский et al.), Москва, 2008, сс. 45-48, 239-240.

97 *Путешествие игумена Даниила по Святой земле, в начале XII-го века* (ред. А.С. Норов), Археографическая Коммиссия Императорской Академии Наук, 1864, p. X.

medievala si moderna în Moldova: in honorem

98 Мария А. Маханько, "«Богоматерь Боголюбская». Об использовании древних иконографических изводов в иконописи XVI века," *Искусствознание*, vol. 13, nr. 2, 1998, сс. 240-261(esp. с. 247); *Иконы Вологды XIV–XVI веков* (ред. Е. В. Гладышева, Л. В. Нерсесян), Москва,2007, сс. 439-440.

99 А.В. Горский, "Историческое описание Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры. Часть 2: Описание славянских рукописей библиотеки Троице-Сергиевой Лавры", *Императорское Общество Истории и Древностей Российских,* 1878, nr. 4, с. 62. *Православный Молитвослов*, - http://azbyka.ru/molitvoslov/molitvy-o-bolyashhix.html, last accessed on 10.09.2016.

100 Alexander Schmemann, *Great Lent*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1969, pp. 36-40.

101 Such expressions as "Πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν" / "Приими, Боже, моление наше" (O God, accept our prayers) or "ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενῆ ταύτην ἱκεσίαν πρόσδεξαι παρὰ τῶν σῶν δούλων" / "Боже наш, прилежное сие моление приими от твоих раб" (Our God, accept from us, Thine unworthy servants, this fervent supplications), are parts of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostomos, officiated daily, and therefore well know for the medieval people – See: Jacobus Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines divinaeliturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum, etc*, Venice, 1730, pp. 639 and 56 accordingly.

102 *Требник Петра Могилы*, Киев, 1646, часть 3, pp. 21, 45, 55, 56, 57, 68, 145, 207, 253, 291, 296. (http://azbyka.ru/otechnik/assets/uploads/books/15436/Untitled.FR11.pdf - last accessed on 11/09/2016).

103 Ђорђе Трифуновић, "Ктиторски натпис краља Милутина у Саборној цркви манастира Хиландара – естетичко разматрање," *Зборник Матице српске за књижевност и језик*, vol. 50, 2002, p. 41.

104 Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. 1, Beograd, 1902, nr. 154, p. 49.

105 *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii*(ed. F. Ritter von Miklosich), Wien, 1858, p. 194.

106 Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. 1.., nr. 255, p. 84.

107 Боряна Христова, Даринка Минчева Караджова, Елена Узунова. *Бележки на българските книжовници X- XVIII век: X- XV век,* София, 2003, nos. 89, 196, published online at Cyrillomethodiana (http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_52), last accessed on 12.09.2016.

108 прот. М. Козлов, "Акафист в истории православной гимнографии," *Журнал Московской Патриархии*, vol. 6, 2000, pp. 83-88 (esp. pp. 85-86).

109 The Slavic version is "прїими нꙑнѣ малоє моленїе сїе наше, ꙗкоже прїꙗлъ еси вдовицꙑ двѣ лѣптѣ," (*Молитвослов и псалтирь*, Сретенский монастырь, 2003, pp. 102-103) and the Greek is "πρόσδεξαι ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν ἱκέσιον δέησιν ὡς ἐδέξω τὰ τῆς χήρας δύο λεπτά" (Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου, Ὀρθόδοξος Ὑμνογραφία, online edition, http://orthodoxhymnography.blogspot.hu/2013/10/blog-post_28.html last accessedon 13/09/2016).

110 "ὁ τῆς Χήρας τὴν κατὰ δύναμιν προσφορὰν εὐαρέστως δεξάμενος, πρόσδεξαι καὶ τὰ νῦν προσκομισθέντα παρὰ τοῦ δούλου σου" - Jacobus Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale….*, p. 522.

111 "Вдовꙑꙗ же еже по силѣ приношенїе бл(а)гооугоднꙍ прїемлꙑи, прїими и нꙑнѣ принесеное ѿ раба твоегꙍ" - *Требник Петра Могилы,* Киев, 1646, часть 2, p. 223 (http://azbyka.ru/otechnik/assets/uploads/books/10261/trebnik-petra-mogily_II.pdf , last accessed on 11/09/2016).

112 Слꙑшавъ же отъ Спаса моего нѣкоюю вдовицоу, двѣма мѣдницима прїꙍбрѣтшоу паче богатства инѣхъ многаа - *Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника*, Vol. 1, (уред. В. Мошин, С. Ћирковић), Београд, 2011, сс. 350-351.

113 Симь и азъ (мꙑ) рьвнитель бихъ (ревнителє бꙑхꙍмь) и принесохъ (принесохꙍмь) малое сїе приношенїе, ꙗко же она вдоваа двѣ лептѣ - *Actes de l'Athos. V. Actes de Chilandar, Deuxième partie: Actes slave* (ed. L. Petit et B. Korablev), Византийский Временник, vol. 19, 1915, Приложение, pp. 542, 549.

114 а всеблаги Богъ и прѣчиста богомати да вьсь приметь сига наша малага приношениіа, ꙗкоже и вдовици ꙍнои ꙅ лептѣ, *Actes de Chilandar, Deuxième partie...*, p. 561.

115 "прїими сїе малое дари ѿ нас грѣшниих, ꙗкоже сꙑнь твои приеть вдовїе ꙍнои двѣ цете и ꙍставленїе грѣхꙍм еи даровавшоу" – *Documenta romaniae historica*, Seria B: Țara Românească vol. 3 (1526-1535), București, 1975, p. 264-265.

116 "Ни малоіе сиіе приношение ꙍтрини гаже приношоу с(ве)томоу храмоу прѣчистиіе твоіе м(а)тере и надежде моіе Б(огороди)ци хиландарскои вѣроуꙋ во вьсприиехъ вьдовичюꙋ принесьшоуꙋ ти двѣ цетѣ" – Лазар Мирковић, *Монахиња Јефимија*, Сремски Карловци, 1922, сс. 25-26.

117 Ivan Drpić, "Jefimija the Nun: A Reappraisal," a paper presented at the round table *"Inscriptions in Byzantium, in the West,and in the Slavonic World,"* convened by Andreas Rhoby, at the Twenty-Third InternationalCongress of Byzantine Studies in Belgrade, Serbia (24 August 2016), accessed at https: // www. academia.edu/27185780/ Jefimija_the_Nun_A_Reappraisal?auto=download on 13/09/2016.

[118] ΘεοχάρηςΠαζαράς, "Ή κτητορική επιγραφή του μετοχιού της Αγίας Αναστασίας στα Κριτζιανά Επανομής," *Μακεδόνικα*, τομ. 10, 1970, σελ. 147.

[119] *Κατάλογος των εν τη Ιερά Μονή Βατοπεδίου αποκειμένων κωδίκων* (υπό μητροπολίτου Σωφρονίου Ευστρατιάδο), Παρίσι, 1924, σελ. 107, 132, 170.

[120] Боряна Христова, Даринка Минчева Караджова, Елена Узунова. *Бележки на българските книжовници X - XVIII век: X-XV век* (София: 2003), no. 159. Accessed at Cyrillomethodiana (http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_52) on 12.09.2016

[121] "'Ω Ὑπεραγία μου Θεοτόκε δέξαι τό μικρότατόν τι δῶρον τοῦ δούλου σου ὡς τά δύο λεπτά ὁ Υἱός καί Θεός σου, τῆς χήρας. Ἀμήν" – Ἱερά Μητρόπολη Πατρῶν, Τα εγκώμια της Παναγίας (http://i-m-patron.gr/i-m-patron-old.gr/news1/news_2010/100810_egkomia_panagias_2010.html, lastaccessedon 12/09/2016)

[122] " сладки Ісоусє, спасє мои, сиѥ малоѥ моѥ приношениѥ прїими, такожє приѣть и вдовѣьи двѣ лепьтѣ" - Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. 1, nos. 204-205, s. 65.

[123] Christopher Walter "Two Notes…", pp. 335-336.

[124] In every Post-byzantine School of painting there are their own traditional texts inscribed on the scrolls of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. In case of Russia, the texts of the Virgin can be in a way, but not verbatim, similar with those in case of Părhăuţi, St. Elijah church, and Voroneţ (seeВ. В. Филатов, Ю. БКамчатнова, *op. cit.*, сс. 34-35, 39), while those of St. John the Baptist differ significantly, as they are direct quotations from the Gospel texts (Ibid., 100). In case of Greek and Cretan images, except the biblical quotations, sometimes on St. John's scroll appear new texts, created, possibly composed specially for some icons (see Myrtale Achemastou-Potamianou, *Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens*, Athens, 1998, cat. 28; Μυρτάλη Ἀχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, "Δύο είκόνες του Ἀγγέλου καί του Ἀνδρέα Ρίτζου στό Βυζαντινό Μουσείο," Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρίας τομ.15, 1989-1990, σελ. 105-117) or mural compositions (Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Διονυσίου, Οι τοιχογραφίες τοϋ καθολικού, Αγιον Όρος 2003, εικ. 154-155; Gabriel Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*. Vol. I. Les Peintures,Paris, 1927, fig. 236).

[125] See the Greek and Slavic dialogue texts in:Ivan M. Đorđević, Miodrag Marković, "On the Dialogue Relationship between the Virgin and Christ in Eastern Christian Art. A Propos of the Discovery of the Figures of the Virgin Mediatrix and Christ in the Naos of Lesnovo," *Zograf*, vol. 28, 2000-2001, pp. 13- 47.

[126] Праздничная Минея, Август 15, Успение Пресвятой Богородицы, на великой вечерне – Accessed on

[127] http://azbyka.ru/bogosluzhenie/mineia/mineja_ucs_39.shtml#vv on 13.09.2016.

[127] Laura Ştefănescu, *Gift-Giving…*, pp. 79-82; pr. Gabriel Herea, *Mesajul eshatologic...*, p. 284; Tereza Sinigalia,"Ctitori şi imagini votive…", p. 64.

[128] Vojislav Đurić,"Portreti vizantijskih I srpskih vladara s poveljama," in *Esfigmenska povelja despota Đurđa*(ured. P. Ivić, V. Đurić, S. Ćirković),Beograd-Smederevo, 1989, pp. 20–54 (esp. pp. 36-38, 48-52).

[129] Ibid., 48.

[130] Nikos Dionysopoulos, "The Expression of the Imperial Idea of a Romanian Ruler in the Katholikon of the Great Lavra Monastery," *Zograf*, vol. 29, 2002-2003, pp. 207-218.

[131] Vojislav Đurić,"Portreti vizantijskih I srpskih vladara s poveljama…", p. 48.

[132] Branislav Todić, *Manastir Resava*, Beograd, 1995, p. 103.

[133] Ibid., fig. 7.

[134] Svetozar Radojičić, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku*, Beograd, 1996, p. 79.

[135] Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976, pp. 78-79, fig. 45.

[136] Ibid., p. 79.

[137] Ernst Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990, pp. 197-206, 316-317; Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, Wien, 2009, pp. 390-392.

[138] Cyril Mango, Ernest J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, vol. 20, 1966, pp. 180-182, fig. 95-97; Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken…*, pp. 356-357.

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[140] Iohannis Spatharakis, "The proskynesis in Byzantine art. A study in connection with a nomisma of Andronicus II Palaeologue," *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, vol. 49, 1976, pp. 190–205. On depiction of *proskynesis* as an act of penitence and prayer see Anthony Cutler, *Transfiguration: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography*, London, 1975, pp. 80- 91.

[141] Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait…*, pp. 57-59, fig. 26.

[142] Cecil Striker, Doğan Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Second Preliminary Report," *DOP*, vol. 22, 1968, p. 192.

[143] C. A.Trypanis, "A Possible Portrait of Johannes Géomètres Kyriotes," *Μελετήματα στὴ μνήμη Βασιλείου Λαούρδα*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1975, σελ. 301-302.

[144] Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait…*, pp. 84-87, fig. 53-54.

[145] Hans Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Heidelberg, 1970, pp. 35ff, fig. 23-24.

[146] Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait…*, p. 86-87.

[147] *Ibid*., p. 75, fig. 42.

[148] But if we return to contemplation of the created thing we would observe the greatness of the wisdom of the creator…

[149] This prayer is to found in the 16th century Greek codex see: Giovanni Mingarelli, *Graeci codices manu scripti apud Nanios patricios Venetos asservati*, Typis Laelii, 1784, p. 404.

[150] Since these prayers have not been published in the original, I am bringing here their transcription and English translation: 1) ѡ вл(а)д(ъі)ко мои вседержителю <г(оспод)и?> творує н(є)во и ꙁемлѣ видіми же все(га) и невиди(ми) оуслиши гла(с) моленига моєгои же по тве <на крьстѣ?> кровь свою иꙁлигашаго и прими малоє сиє приношенїє раба своєго радица и сподоби єго съ иꙁв<р>аними твоими вѣуни(х) бла(гъ) насладитисѣ въ ц(а)р(с)тви твоє(м) гако благослове(н) єси во вѣки. ами(нь) (Oh, my Master All-mighty Lord, the creator of the heavens and the Earth, of all visible and invisible, listen the voice of my prayer, you, who pour out his blood <on the cross?>, and accept this small offering of your servant Radić, and honor him to enjoy the eternal goods together with your chosen ones in your Kingdom, as you are blessed in the ages. Amen.) 2) ѡ великомоуүениүє х(ристо)вь гєѡргіею. прими малоє сїє приношенїє вл(ади)ц́ѣ и творцоу всѣи в(о)гоу нашемоу гако да иꙁбавит ми твоими молитвами вѣүнаго моуүенїѧ въ дь(нь) страшнаго испитанїѧ и спо(до)вит ми оуслишати бл(а)г(о)сл(о)вен гла(с) вл(д)ичнѣ прїидите благословении ѡ(т)ца моєго наслєдоуйтє оуготованоє вам царствие ѡт сложенїѧ мироу и ѡдє(с)нꙋю вл(ади)коу моєго стати съ оугождьшими ємоу (Oh, the Great-martyr of Christ George, accept this small offering for the Master and creator of all and our god, in order to him to redeem me, with your prayers, from the eternal tortures in the day of awful trial, and to honor me to hear the blessed voice of the Lord, come ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the World (Mathew 25:34), and to stand on the right side of my Lord, together with those who pleased him.)

[151] Ljiljana Stosić, "Les peintures murales du group de zographes d'Andrei Andreović au monastère de Vraćevšnica," *RRHA*, vol.33, 1996, pp. 39-48.

[152] Radomir Stanić, *Manastir Vraćevšnica*, Kraljevo, 1980, pp. 24-30.

[153] For the publication of the icon and its inscriptions see: Νικόλαος Μαστροχρήστος, "Εν τόπῳ τῆς χλόης. Κυπριακή εικόνα Δέησης στα Τριάντα της Ρόδου," Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας τομ. 34, 2013, σελ. 273-284.

[154] For the discussion of the term see Μαστροχρήστος, Ἐν τόπῳ τῆς χλόης…, σελ.. 281 and *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts* eds. E. Trapp et al. http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg/#eid=57770&context=lsj&action=from-search – Accessed on 02.03.2017

[155] For the transcription of the Greek inscriptions see: Μαστροχρήστος, Ἐν τόπῳ τῆς χλόης…, σελ. 274-277.

[156] Vojislav Đurić, Sima Ćirković, Vojislav Korać, *Pećka Patrijaršija*, Beograd, 1990, pp. 255-256, here Vojislav Đurić also brings several analogies of this iconographic solution preserved in the late 16th century Serbian painting, mainly connected with activities of Makarije himself.

[157] *Ibid*., p. 292.

[158] *Ibid*., p. 255.

[159] I*bid*., p. 302.

[160] The discussion concerning sociology of reading initially appeared in the scholarly discourse in connection with modes of reading during the Late Antiquity. Josef Balogh ("«Voces paginarum»: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens," *Philologus - Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption*, vol. 82, nr. 1-4, 1927, pp. 84-109.202-240) stated that the silent reading was unknown before the Modern Time, however his position was corrected by Bernard M. W. Knox ("Silent Reading in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* vol. 9, 1968, pp. 421-435), who nevertheless suggested that reading aloud was rather a norm thought the Middle Ages. Charles Radding (*A World Made by Men: Cognition and Society, 400-1200*, Chapel Hill, 1985) and Brian Stock (*The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and 12th Centuries*, Princeton, 1983) argued that the origins of the nowadays silent reading are to be found in the European monastic tradition of the 12th-13th centuries. For similar observation concerning the Byzantine reading practice see: Guglielmo Cavallo (*Leggere a Bisanzio*, Milano, 2007, pp. 61-72) Riccardo Picchio (Риккардо Пиккио, "Об изоколических структурах в литературе православных славян," in Idem., *Slavia Orthodoxa: Литература и язык*, Москва, 2003, cc. 543-592) suggested that the isocephalic structures of Slavic texts were kind of syntactic indicator allowing a pronouncing reader to adapt his/her intonation accordingly.

[161] Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words The Origins of Silent Reading*, Stanford, 1997; the way of reading the inscriptions in the Byzantine tradition as implying the pronunciation aloud and moving along the space where texts were written was suggested by Amy Papalexandrou, "Text in Context: eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder", *Word and Image*, vol. 17, 2001, pp. 259-283.