Abstract. *In a group of five related post-Byzantine Akathistos cycles, Strophe 11 is illustrated with a scene that depicts Joseph and the Virgin with Christ on her arms standing in front of kneeling people who welcome them. That scene is different from the Flight into Egypt scene that served as a standard choice for the illustration of the strophe in most of the Akathistos cycles. This essay seeks to answer the question: why was that unusual iconography introduced?*

Keywords: *Akathistos cycles, Akathistos Hymn, Suceava, Humor, Suceviţa, Lavriv, Kraków epitrachelion, post-Byzantine iconography, fall of the idols, repetitive imagery, visuality.*

REASONS FOR INNOVATION: UNUSUAL POST-BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY OF AKATHISTOS STROPHE 11[*]

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The Akathistos iconography is characterized by a substantial variety. Again and again, Late and post-Byzantine artists who created Akathistos cycles (the sequences of scenes that illustrate the strophes of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin) replaced iconographic schemes that were in use earlier with new solutions ranging from small details to whole new scenes. Scholars have traced the origins of these innovations to the Hymn's rich metaphorical language that provides a fertile ground for divergent possibilities of its visualization. In this way, an explanation of a new detail or scene was considered complete if a scholar could identify a relevant concept in the Akathistos strophe that a former was designed to illustrate. In many cases, these text-based explanations seems convincing and insightful, yet taken as final assertions they construct a view of Akathistos iconography as a depended supplement to the text and neglect its value as a visual entity intended for visual perception. The case study of the unusual post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11 presented in this essay suggests that along with the textual reason for innovation in the Akathistos iconography there might have been a visual one triggered by the desire to achieve a structural unity of the Akathistos cycle as a coherent visual whole that would resonate with the Hymn's chanting and thus enhance a sensory consistency of a liturgical performance in general.

This essay consists of the three sections. In the first and the second I argue that the unusual post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11 was introduced as a next-in-a-line experiment aiming to provide a more close-to-text illustration for the strophe than a standard iconography did. In the final section, after showing that such a statement is insufficient, I proceed to the main point about visual reason for innovation in the Akathistos iconography and its link to liturgical performance.

Problem with illustration of Strophe 11

If you read the Strophe 11 of the Akathistos Hymn first and then examine

the usual way it was illustrated in the most of Akathistos cycles, you may be confused with how the image relates or rather does not relate to the text.[1] It is not that standard illustration contradicts the strophe's content, yet it does not clearly envision it either. The strophe has a dichotomic structure. At first it praises Christ as the bringer of light of truth into Egypt that caused idols to fall, later, however, the attention abruptly switches to the Virgin who is glorified in the series of salutations.[2] Meantime, a standard illustration for this strophe adopts the scene of the Flight into Egypt that depicts Joseph, Holy Virgin on a pack animal, and Jesus either on his father's shoulders or on mother's hands traveling across a mountain landscape.[3] The confusion is evident: although the strophe mentions the Christ's coming into Egypt, it is silent about the Flight which is the central motif of the Flight into Egypt scene.

Fig. 1 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, Tomić Psalter, 1360–1363, State Historical Museum in Moscow (after М. В. Щепкина, op.cit., табл. LVII).

Of course, Akathistos iconographers rarely used that scene in its bare core. Rather, they introduced additional details aimed to highlight the text's major points. Consider, for instance, the miniature on fol. 287v in the Tomić Psalter (1360–1363) from the State Historical Museum in Moscow (ГИМ 2752) where the Flight scene is augmented with the shining mandorla around Christ and the small figures jumping from the walls of a city towards which the Holy Family is traveling [Fig. 1].[4] The shining mandorla refers to the "light of truth" in the introductory line of the strophe,[5] while the jumping figures represent the falling Egyptian idols mentioned in the subsequent lines and in salutations.[6] The combination of these two details prompted Ioannis Spatharakis to mark this particular illustration as "the most appropriate depiction" for the strophe,[7] yet, in terms of details, I can point out even more distinguished example. I think about the fresco on the ceiling in the vestibule of the Annunciation church in the Moscow Kremlin (1564) where the Flight into Egypt scene is supplemented with several additional motifs inspired and inscribed with the salutations of Strophe 11. Thus, in the center of the scene we see a levitating veil over the Virgin's head, and next to it we read the salutation "Hail, the veil of the world, wider than the cloud;" [Fig. 2b] in the scene's left lower corner there is a depiction of a soldier drawn in the see which is the allusion to the salutation "Hail,

sea that drowned the spiritual Pharaoh;" above it a group of men collecting water from a spring into a chalice refers to the salutation "Hail, rock, giving water to those who thirst for life;" [Fig. 2a] in the right corner of the scene, the depiction of winged demons are inscribed with the salutation "Hail, downfall of demons;" and above it, two groups of people stretching their hands to the fire illustrate the salutation "Hail, pillar of fire, guiding those in darkness." [Fig. 2c]
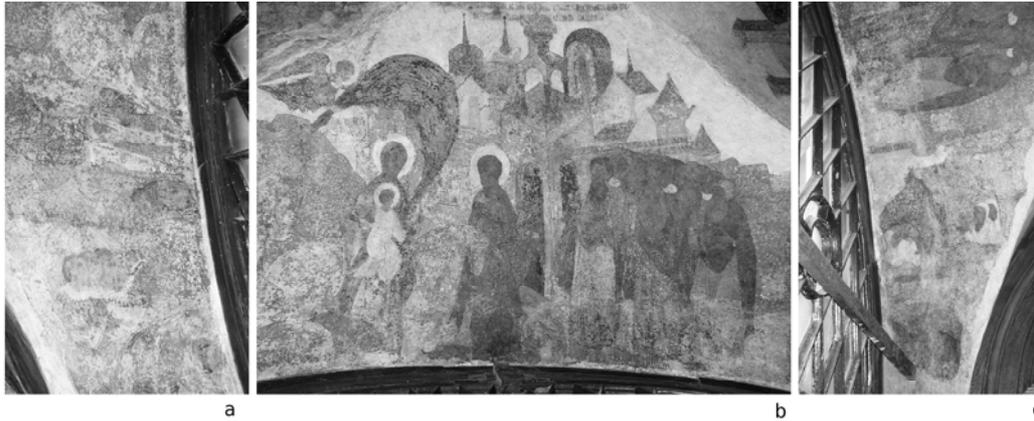
Fig. 2 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, Annunciation church, Moscow Kremlin, 1564 (photograph by the author). a) Salutations: "Hail, sea that drowned the spiritual Pharaoh" and "Hail, rock, giving water to those who thirst for life"; b) The main scene with the salutation: "Hail, the veil of the world, wider than the cloud"; c) Salutations: "Hail, downfall of demons" and "Hail, pillar of fire, guiding those in darkness."

Fig. 3 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, Akathistos Hymn, ca 1400, Escorial, Madrid (after Ioannis Spatharakis, op. cit., il. 181).

Such illustrations as the Tomić Psalter miniature or the Kremlin fresco, despite all the supplementary details, preserve the Flight into Egypt scene as their core and, hence, belong to a standard iconography of Strophe 11. There are, however, few examples that show a completely different illustrative approach. Most known among them are two almost identical miniatures: one on the fol. 15v in the manuscript of the Akathistos Hymn (ca 1360) in the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Synodal gr. 429)[8] and another in the manuscript of the Akathistos Hymn (ca 1400) in the Escorial in Madrid (R. I. 19) [Fig. 3].[9] In both cases, the Virgin stands in a shining mandorla in front of a city alone (the Joseph and Christ are absent), the idols are falling from the roofs of the buildings, and two men are walking towards the Virgin along the walls. Scholars, in general, agree that this illustration was an attempt to illustrate the text more precisely; yet, they have varying opinions on how successful that attempt was. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne and later Ioannis Spatharakis criticized the illustrators for the absence of Christ and the attribution of mandorla to the Virgin since in strophe's text it is Christ who brings the light of truth into Egypt.[10] Tania Velmans, however, did not see any problem in the association of the Virgin with the light and pointed out that this illustration is focused rather on the strophe as a whole.[11] Using similar interpretative approach Maria Aspra-Vardavaki explained the mandorla as a reference to the salutation "Hail, pillar of fire, guiding those in darkness."[12] I would agree with this latter opinion because there is another precedent that supports it. In the upper left corner on the fifteenth century Akathistos icon from the iconostasis of St. Nicolas Coreligionist monastery in Moscow, there is a scene that illustrates this specific salutation of Strophe 11 with the image of the Virgin in mandorla [Fig. 4].[13] We see the Virgin-Orans with the Child in front of her chests standing in the center and two groups of people stretching their hands to her depicted in dark caves on either side. The figure of the Virgin is circumscribed with the mandorla that consists of two partly intersect circles which form an outline that resembles the shape of number 8. At the top we read the salutation "Hail, pillar of fire, guiding those in darkness." The people in the caves represent "those in darkness," the Virgin's posture resembles a pillar, and the 8-shaped mandorla as a symbol of light signifies in this case the fire.

In all the cases mentioned above in which iconographers rejected the standard scene of the Flight into Egypt and invented new iconographies to illustrate Strophe 11, they attempted to find a formula that would match the content of the text in the best possible way. The origins of the unusual post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11, which is in the focus of this study, was not different. As we will see further it emerged as a next-in-line attempt to find a better illustration for the strophe's text. Now is the time to introduce it.

The unusual post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11: its source and the relation to the strophe's text

The unusual post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11 is known only through five examples. Three are found in wall paintings in northern Romania, namely on the south facade of St. George church in Suceava (1532–1534) [Fig. 5], on the south facade of the Dormition church in Humor monastery (1535) [Fig. 6], and on the bema vault of the Resurrection church in Sucevița monastery (ca 1600) [Fig. 7].[14] The fourth (now lost but known through photographs) example was painted on the west wall in the narthex of St. Onuphrius church in Lavriv monastery (ca 1550) in western Ukraine [Fig. 8].[15] The fifth example is an embroidery on the epitrachelion from Sucevița monastery dated to the year 1599 which was later sewn into the eighteenth-century Latin chasuble and in such changed condition is stored in the Franciscan monastery in Kraków in Poland [Fig. 9].[16]

Fig. 4 – Strophe 11, Salutation: "Hail, pillar of fire, guiding those in darkness," Akathistos icon, 15th century, St. Nicolas Coreligionist monastery, Moscow (after A. C. Преображенский, op.cit, ил. на c. 236).

Fig. 5 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, St. George church, St. John the New monastery, Suceava, 1532–1534 (photograph by the author).

Fig. 6 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, Dormition church, Humor monastery, 1535 (photograph by the author).

Fig. 7 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, Resurrection church in Suceviţa monastery, ca 1600
(after Anna Warzecha, op. cit., 14).
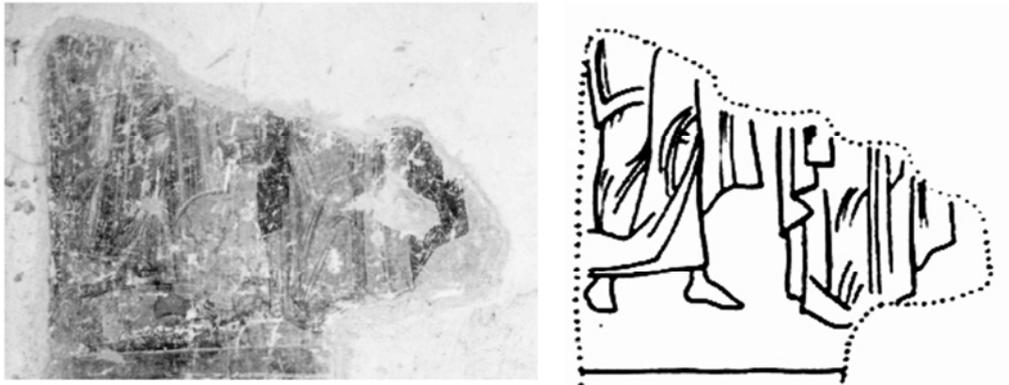
Fig. 8 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, St. Onuphrius church, Lavriv monastery, ca 1550: a) photograph by Yurii Dorosh, 1964, Photo-archive of the Andrei Sheptytskyi National Museum in Lviv; b) drawing (after A.I. Rogov, op.cit., ил. на с. 341).

Fig. 9 – Strophe 11, Akathistos cycle, Epitrachelion from Suceviţa monastery, 1599, Franciscan monastery, Kraków (after Anna Warzecha, op. cit., il. 4).

The earliest examples in Suceava and Humor point to the Moldavian principality as a most possible place where the iconography was introduced for the first time, Lavriv indicates that, in around 1550, it spread to the neighboring Ukrainian lands, and, Suceviţa along with the Kraków epitrachelion sets the latest date for it circulation at around 1600.

All five examples although not being copies of each other reveal a common compositional scheme. In its left part we see the Virgin standing on her feet with the Child

25

on her arms and Joseph walking behind them, while, in front, in the scene's right part, there is a group of people kneeling and stretching there hands in a gesture of adoration. In Suceava and Humor, we see an individual holding a square object in his hands at the top of this group. In Suceava and on Kraków epitrachelion, the scene is taking place at the architectural background with the veil stretched over two tall buildings. On the Kraków epitrachelion, we may also notice two vessels depicted at the top of the right building. In Humor there is a city inside a mountain landscape, and in Sucevița, we see a mountain and a building. On photographs from Lavriv, only a small fragment of the scene is visible and its specific details cannot be identified. As it is clear from this description, the unusual post-Byzantine iconography resembles the Flight into Egypt scene though with the major differences: the Virgin is not riding on a pack animal but is standing on her feet and people who greet the Holy Family are on their knees.

Earlier scholars have classified this iconography as an offspring of the mentioned above scheme represented by the Synodal and Escorial miniatures [Fig. 3]. Thus, Joseph Myslivec wrote about Romanian frescoes as "another version" of the Synodal illustration,[17] for Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne those were also "reminiscent" of Synodal and Escorial miniatures,[18] and Constanta Costea suggested that the Synodal illustration inspired the standing pose of the Virgin.[19]

I have a different opinion about the iconographic source that was used here. Most likely, it comes from the stock of Western medieval iconography. The thirteenth-century Gothic miniature on fol.17r in the manuscript of the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew from the National Library in Paris (Ms.lat. 2688) offers perhaps the most convincing comparison [Fig. 10].[20] The miniature illustrates an episode of Christ's stay in Egypt that followed the Flight. According to the Pseudo-Matthew's chapters 22-24, when the Holy Family arrived into the city of Sotinen they went to the city's temple, and the very moment Mary with the Child entered under its roof, the 365 idols that were there fell to the ground; after that miracle the governor of Sotinen and the Egyptians recognized Christ as true God.[21] In the left part of the Paris Pseudo-Matthew miniature, we see the Virgin with Christ on her arms, and Joseph behind her, while in front, there is a group of kneeling Egyptians raising their hands in adoration headed by their governor who stretches his body next to his crown. In the unusual post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11, the set of personages and their location in the scene is practically the same. In Humor and Suceava we even see the man at the top of the group of the Egyptians who resembles a governor of Sotinen in the Gothic miniature while the square object he holds in his hands might very likely be a misrepresentation of a crown.

This comparison leaves no doubt that the unusual post-Byzantine illustration of Strophe 11 was an adaptation of the preexisting western iconography of the Pseudo-Matthew's story about the incident in Sotinen. This is important because, as Leena Mari Peltomaa has shown, Akathistos' Strophe 11 itself is based on that same source – the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.[22] Indeed, the first lines of the strophe "Shining upon Egypt the light of truth you dispelled the darkness of falsehood, for her idols, O Saviour, fell down unable to endure your power," reads as a poetic allusion to the story about the massive idol-fall that happened in Sotinen.

Now, it becomes clear that in this specific case iconographers adopted for the illustration of Strophe 11 not just a random preexisting iconography but a specific one whose source-text, i.e. the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, served also as a source for the text of Strophe 11. Such an approach demanded in-depth knowledge of both texts and iconographies and could be regarded as an indeed creative and efficient visualization of the strophe's metaphorical language. This also seems a convincing support for the claim that the new post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11 was motivated by the desire to better illustrate the text. Crucial to our argument, this support, however, is problematized by few minor details at the background of the scene.

Fig. 10 – The idol fall in Sotinen, Manuscript of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, 13th century, National Library, Paris (after Michael Camille, op. cit., il. 2.).

Missing idols, repetitive imagery, and chanting of the Hymn

Let us look closer on the miniature in the Paris Pseudo-Matthew manuscript again [Fig. 10]. In the middle of the scene's background, we see two idols on tall columns bowing at the sight of Christ. The presence of these is quite expectable since the fall of the idols is the culmination of Christ's visit to Sotinen. Yet, despite the fall of idols is one of the main themes of Strophe 11 too, the examples of its unusual post-Byzantine iconography we discuss here, nevertheless, do not include any depiction of idols at all. This is puzzling because to use the scene of the incident in Sotinen for the illustration of Strophe 11 but to exclude the motif of the fallen idols is the same as to preserve a package but to throw out a product.

The only plausible explanation I can propose for this is to assume that the exclusion of idols happened by mistake. It is likely that the iconographer who used the Sotinen scene to illustrate Strophe 11 for the first time included the idols motif into the original "master" template, but later copyists mistakenly dropped the idols out as a minor detail in the background of the scene. There is an indirect evidence for this. The scene on the Kraków epitrachelion has a peculiar detail depicted at the top of the building behind kneeling Egyptians. There are two vessels there: one reminiscent of an ewer and another of a wide bottle [Fig. 9]. Clearly, there is no reason for vessels to dwell on the roof of a building unless they are misrepresentations of something else. The artists of the epitrachelion, in fact, was skillful in misrepresenting details. For instance, in the scene of the icon veneration, the icon is depicted as a small blank rectangle.[23] If the icon could transform into the imageless rectangle, it would not be impossible for idols to turn into ewer and a bottle. Moreover, we need also to consider that mistakes are usual

in the Akathistos iconography in general. In some of the cycles not only important details are missing, but the whole scenes were lost or placed in a wrong order or inscribed improperly. The cycle on the bema vault in Sucevița has numerous scenes misplacement, and in Humor, the illustration of Strophe 11 itself has a wrong inscription.[24]

If the hypothesis that the idols were excluded from the unusual post-Byzantine iconography by mistake is correct, then it means that those illustrators who were responsible for that mistake likely were interested in the new iconography not only since it matched the strophe's text but also for some "extra-textual" reason. The right question to ask now is: which one?

I propose that iconographers used the unusual scene for illustration of Strophe 11 because it also helped them to achieve a visual coherence of the Akathistos cycle as a whole. In other words, artists adopted new iconography not only because it reflected the Hymn's textuality but also because it served the visuality of Hymn's pictorial cycles. Looking at any of these cycles, one may notice that their visual structure is dominated by repetitive imagery – a series of scenes with similar compositional schemes. These repetitive units are binding the visual structure of the Akathistos cycle together and transforming a set of random scenes into a complex unified entity the one I would define with the term "hyper-pattern." As an example of this, consider the Akathistos cycle on the south facade of Humor [Fig. 11]: we see that Strophes 1–4 are illustrated with almost identical scenes of the Annunciation, then, Strophes 8 and 10 are illustrated with the similar scenes of the Magi's journey, the illustrations of Strophe 13, 14, 16, and 19 also share a common compositional template with the Virgin holding Christ-Child in front of her chests depicted in the center of the scene and two groups of worshipers represented on the sides; and ultimately in Strophe 23 and 24 we see a Hesykhast mandorla surrounding the Virgin with Child venerated by monks.

This repetitive visual strategy clearly can be identified in the case of Strophe 11, too.

The illustration of this strophe is similar to the scene of the Hypapante which illustrates Strophe 12. The figures of Joseph and Mary in the left parts of both illustrations are almost identical [Fig. 12]. There is also a similarity with the illustration of Strophe 9 which is the Adoration of the Magi. The kneeling Egyptians in the right part of Strophe 11 are very similar to the kneeling Magi in the left part of Strophe 9. This is evident even more clearly on the bema vault in Sucevița where these scenes are located one above the other [Fig. 13].

In this light, an introduction of the new iconography for a particular strophe reveals itself not only as a matter of textual illustration but also as a tool for creating a sense of a cycle's visual unity based on clearly legible repetitive templates. Introducing new schemes that were similar to illustrations of other strophes iconographers were reducing the compositional variety of the cycle and thus achieving its visual unity.

This strategy was opposed to what performers and composers of the Akathistos chant did. In his analysis of the earliest fully available Byzantine notation of the Hymn in Codex Ashburnham in the Laurentian Library in Florence (L 64), Egon Wellesz notes that, despite singing of each strophe is based on basically the same set of melodic phrases and the Hymn's chanting, in general, has a "solidly constructed melodic scheme," a careful examination of notation reveals a great diversity "in the minute divergences in rhythm," in displacing of the melodic phrases, in making phrases long in one strophe sound compressed in another, and "in the insertion of vowels and syllables which do not belong to the word."[25] If composer worked from the solid structure toward it melismatic "ornamentation," the visual artists worked in the opposite direction attempting to bridge together a variety of diverse composition into sets of recognizable repetitive patterns. Being on the counter courses in process of their production the imagery and the chanting met with each other at the site of liturgical performance which served, therefore, as focal point of their ecstatic harmonization.
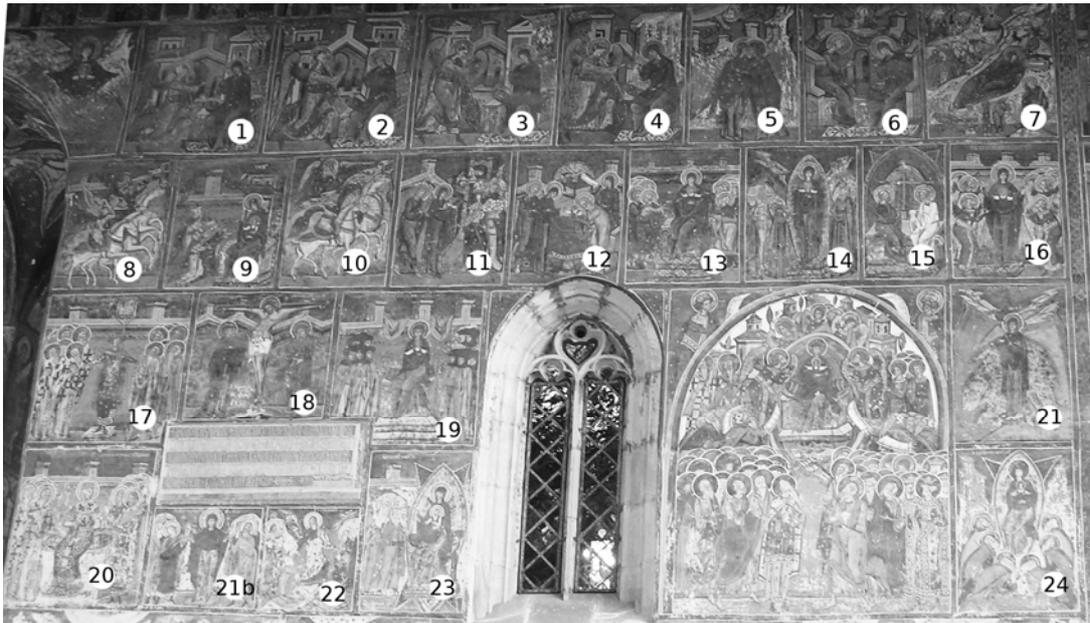
Fig. 11 – Akathistos cycle, Dormition church, Humor monastery, 1535 (photograph by the author).

Fig. 12 – Strophe 11 and 12 (detail), Akathistos cycle, Dormition church, Humor monastery, 1535
(photograph by the author).

Fig. 13 – Strophe 9 and 11, Akathistos cycle, Resurrection church in Suceviţa monastery, ca 1600 (after Anna Warzecha, op. cit., 14).

At the beginning of this essay, I argued that the unusual post-Byzantine iconography of Strophe 11 emerged as an attempt to find a better illustration for the strophe's text than a standard iconography did provide, but in closing it becomes evident that along with this textual reason for iconographic innovation there was a visual one since, through its compositional similarity to illustrations of strophes 9 and 12, this new iconography produced a repetitiveness that furnished the cycle's visual unity as a whole or as a hyper-

pattern. Moreover, since the visual unity of an Akathistos cycle struggled with its visual diversity in the analogous way as the solid melodic structure of the Hymn's chanting resisted its melismatic ornamentation, the resonance between the imagery and the chanting that emerged in the result enhanced the sensory consistency of a liturgical performance in general.

All this is to say that post-Byzantine iconographer's role was not restricted to the illustration of the texts but it also assumed a creative experimenting with imagery and

bridging it with other aspects of the liturgical environment. This means that while exploring the textuality of innovation in Akathistos iconography, we should be alert to its visuality and rituality as well.

[1] On iconography of Strophe 11, see Josef Myslivec, "Ikonografie Akathistu Panny Marie, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, T.V, 1932, s. 121; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illusıration de la première partie de l'Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaigues de l'enfance de la Kariye Djami," *Byzantion*, Vol. 54, 1984, p. 687–689; Alexandra Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1989, s. 26–28; Μαρία Ασπρά Βαρδαβάκη, *Οι μικρογραφίες του Ακάθιστου στον κώδικα Garrett 13, Princeton*, Αθήναι, 1992, σ. 68-71; Е.Б. Громова, *История русской иконографии Акафиста. Икона "Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом" из Успенского собора Московского Кремля*, Москва, 2005, с. 270–271; Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Pictoral Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin*, Leiden, 2005, p. 138–139.

[2] Strophe 11 is Οίκος Λ in Greek tradition and Ικος S(6) in Church-Slavonic tradition. The text of the strophe is cited here in English translation after Leena Mari Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001, p. 11: "Shining upon Egypt the light of truth you dispelled the darkness of falsehood, for her idols, O Saviour, fell down unable to endure your power, and those who were saved from them cried to the Theotokos: "Hail, elevation of humans; Hail, downfall of demons; Hail, you who trampled upon the delusion of error; Hail, you who refuted the deceit of the idols; Hail, sea that drowned the spiritual Pharaoh; Hail, rock, giving water to those who thirst for life; Hail, pillar of fire, guiding those in darkness; Hail, protection (veil – N.K.) of the world, wider than the cloud; Hail, food, following after manna; Hail, minister of holy joy; Hail, promised land; Hail, from whom flow milk and honey; Hail, bride unwedded."

[3] On the iconography of the Flight into Egypt, see Н.В. Покровский, *Евангелие в памятниках иконографии преимущественно византийских и русских*, Москва, 1892, с. 137–145; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ," in *The Kariye Djami, Vol. IV: Studies in the Art of Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background*, Princeton, 1975, p. 226–229.

[4] М. В.Щепкина, *Болгарская миниатюра XIV века. Исследование псалтыри Томича,* Москва, 1963, табл. LVII.

[5] On mandorla as a signifier of light, see William C. Loerke, "Observations on the representation of Doxa in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, and St. Catherine's, Sinai," *Gesta,* Vol. 20, No. 1, 1981, p. 15–22; Jerzy Miziołek, "Transfiguratio Domini in the Apse at Mount Sinai and the Symbolism of Light," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 53, 1990, p. 42–60; Andreas Andreopoulos, *Metamorphosis: the Transfiguration in Byzantine theology and iconography,* New York, 2005, p. 83–96, 228–235; Priscila Hunt, "The Wisdom Iconography of Light. The Genesis, Meaning and Iconographic Realization of a Symbol," *Byzantinoslavica,* LXVII, 2009, p. 55–118; Rostislava Georgieva Todorova, "New Religion – New Symbolism: Adoption of Mandorla in the Christian Iconography," in *Ниш и Византиjа: Зборник радова (Симпозиум, Ниш 3-5 jун 2010),* Vol. IX, Ниш, 2011, с. 47–64.

[6] On idol motif in Byzantine and Western medieval iconography, see Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconography of the Cycle...*, p. 228; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge, 1989; Beate Fricke, "Fallen Idols and Risen Saints: Western Attitudes Towards the Worship of Images and the "Cultura Veterum Deorum"," in *Negating the Image. Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, ed. by A. Mc Clanan and J. Johnson, Aldershot, 2005, pp. 67–95; Francesca Dell'Acqua, "The Fall of the Idol on the Frame of the Genoa Mandylion: a Narrative on/of the Borders," in *Negotiating Co-Existence: Communities, Culture and Convivencia in Byzantine Society*, ed. by B. Crostini Lappin, S. La Porta, Trier, 2013, p. 143–73.

[7] Ioannis Spatharakis, op. cit., p. 138.

[8] V. D. Likhachova, *Byzantine miniature. Masterpieces of Byzantine miniature of 9th-15th centurirs in Soviet collections*, Moscow, 1977, unnumbered plate between plates 44 and 45.

[9] Tania Velmans, "Une illustration inedite de l'Acathiste et l'iconographie des hymnes liturgiques a Byzance," *Cahiers Archeologiques*, T. 22, 1972, fig. 13.

[10] Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illusıration de la première partie de l'Hymne Akathiste...", p. 687; Ioannis Spatharakis, op.cit., 139

[11] Tania Velmans, op. cit., p. 142.

[12] Ασπρά Βαρδαβάκη, Μαρια. *Οι μικρογραφίες του Ακάθιστου στον κώδικα Garrett 13, Princeton,* Αθήναι, 1992, σ. 70.

[13] On this icon, see А. С. Преображенский, "Новооткрытая икона XV в. со сценами на сюжет Акафиста Богоматери," в *Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. Письменность. Искусство. Археология. Ежегодник 1998 г.*, Москва, 1999, с. 233–248.

[14] The Romanian examples are discussed in: Ruth Fabritius, *Außenmalerei und Liturgie. Die streitbare Orthodoxie im Bildprogramm der Moldaukirchen*, Düsseldorf, 1999, S. 213; Constanța Costea, "Sub semnul Miresei nenuntite. Despre reprezentarea Imnului Acatist în Moldova secolului XVI-lea," *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XIX, 2009, p. 102.

[15] On Lavriv scene, see Назар Козак, "Втрачені фрагменти стінопису церкви св. Онуфрія в Лаврові," in *Бюлетень Львівського філіалу Національного науково-дослідного реставраційного центра України*, Вип. 9, 2007, с. 35–38. In Lavriv, only a small fragment of the scene was visible in the south compartment on the west wall in the narthex, but after 1984 it vanished (the last photograph known to me is dated to that year). A.I. Rogov who published a complete drawing of Lavriv Akathistos cycle mistakenly identified this fragment as a part of the Last Judgment (А.И. Рогов, "Фрески Лаврова," в *Византия, южные славяне, и древняя Русь, Западная Европа. Искусство и культура. Сборник статей в честь В.И. Лазарева*, Москва, 1973, с. 348). On the Akathistos cycle in Lavriv, see also Constantin I. Ciobanu, "L'iconographie de l'Hymne Acathiste dans les fresques de l'église St.Onuphre du monastère Lavrov et dans la peinture extérieure moldave au temps du premier règne de Petru Rares," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, T.XLVII, 2010, p. 3–24.

[16] On this epitrachelion, see Anna Warzecha, "Epitrachelion z fundacji hospodara Jeremiego Mohyły w skarbcu klasztoru Franciszkanów w Krakowie," in *Studia o kulturze cerkiewnej w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,* Red. Agnieszka Gronek, Alicja Z. Nowak, Kraków, 2016, 101–112.

[17] Josef Myslivec, op.cit., s. 121.

[18] Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la premiire partie de l'Hymne Akathiste...", p. 689.

[19] Constanţa Costea, op. cit., 102.

[20] Michael Camille, op. cit., il. 2. The earliest example of this iconography is identified by some scholars among the fifth-century mosaics on the triumphal arch in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (André Grabar. *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins*, Princeton, 1968, il.139). Since it seems unlikely that Post Byzantine iconographers knew that specific scene I will not discuss it here. On interpretation of the mosaic, see Suzanne Spain, "The Promised Blessing": The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 61, № 4, 1979, p. 519–25.

[21] "The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew," The Gnostic Society Library. Christian Apocrypha and Early Christian Literature, http://www.gnosis.org/library/psudomat.htm (accessed Dcember 6, 2018).

[22] Leena Mari Peltomaa, op. cit., 167.

[23] Anna Warzecha, op. cit., il. 9.

[24] Illustration of Strophe 11 in Humor is inscribed with the first line of Strophe 9.

[25] Egon Wellesz, "The "Akathistos". A Study in Byzantine Hymnography," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 9–10, 1955–1956, p. 141–174.