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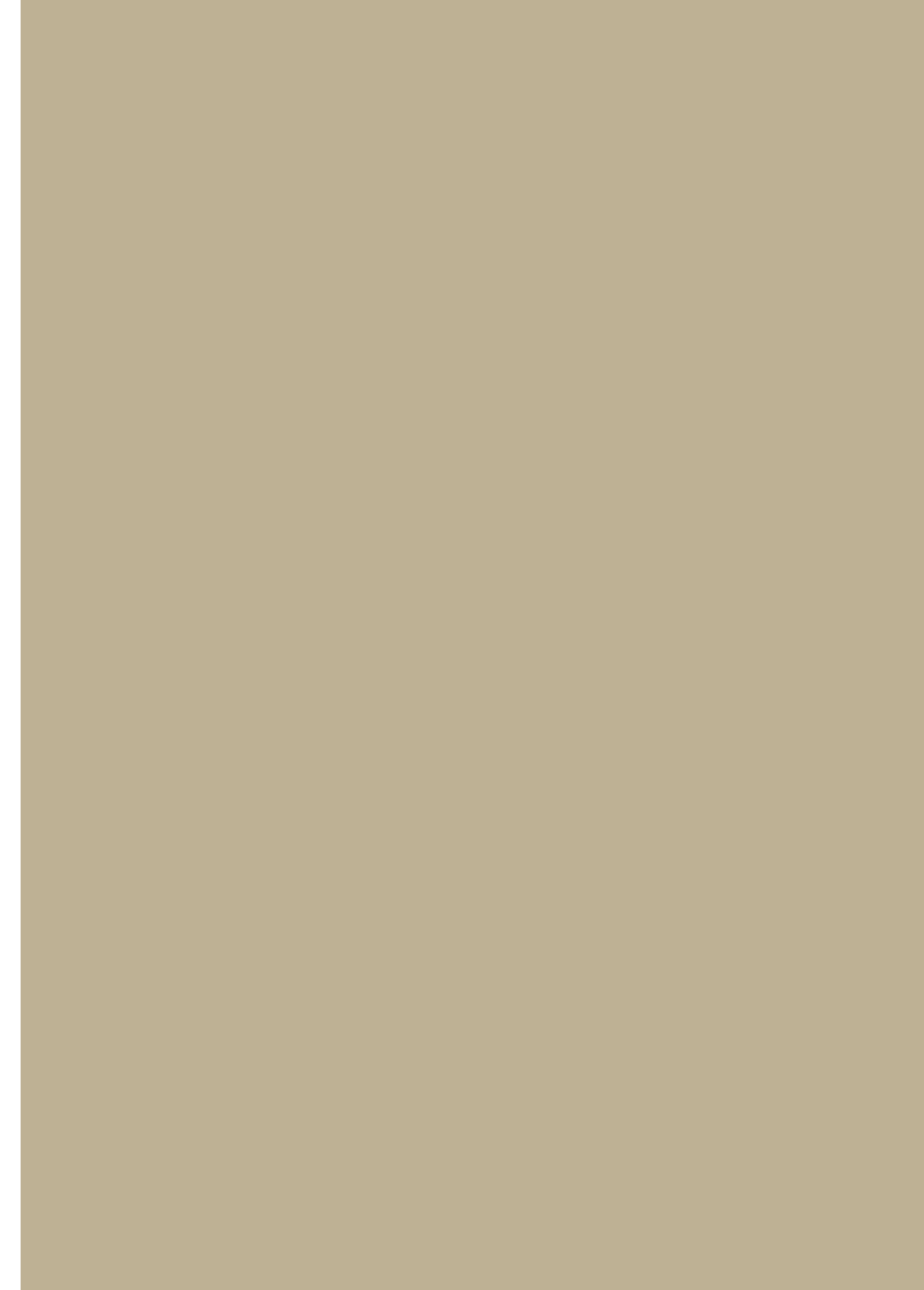
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Hell and Individual Punishment Scenes in an Early–Fourteenth Century Cycle of the Last Judgement in the Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour at Gardenitsa, Mani (Greece)

With Special Attention to a Depiction of the ‘Time of Man’

Panayotis S. Katsafados

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RÉSUMÉ: L'une des plus curieuses représentations du cycle du Jugement dernier de la péninsule de Mani (Laconie) peut être admirée dans le narthex de l'église de la Transfiguration, dans le village de Gardenitsa. Les représentations des pécheurs ont été initialement attribuées à un artiste du xviii^e siècle, mais des travaux de restauration récents ont remis en question l'ancienne datation en faveur du xv^e siècle. L'auteur montre, grâce à une analyse paléographique, que les caractéristiques des lettres et un certain nombre de particularités stylistiques peuvent être attribuées à un peintre local, Nomikos, dont l'œuvre comprend d'autres églises peintes dans la région au début du xiv^e siècle : l'église Saint-Georges à Marasse / Kitta, l'église Saint-Nicolas à Nymphi et le cathicon du monastère de Phaneromeni. Les peintures et les inscriptions de Gardenitsa pourraient être datées d'environ 1326/1327 et elles seraient, peut-être, parmi les dernières créations du peintre Nomikos. Contrairement aux châtiments individuels de pécheurs tels qu'on les connaît dans les peintures crétoises, chypriotes ou même serbes, le cycle peint sur la voûte ouest de l'église de Gardenitsa présente quelques traits qui le particularisent. Dans les huit cadres, regroupés en deux groupes de quatre sur les côtés nord et sud de la voûte, l'accent est souvent mis sur le clergé et les personnes qui lui sont liées (les femmes des prêtres, par exemple). Il n'y a pas de péchés de nature agricole ou familiale, et l'une des scènes représente un personnage mystérieux, accompagné d'une inscription qui se réfère au 'Temps de l'homme'. C'est d'ailleurs la seule représentation d'un pécheur à Gardenitsa qui ne trouve pas de terme de comparaison dans les cycles de pécheurs d'autres régions du Commonwealth byzantin. L'auteur identifie un certain nombre de modèles qui semblent avoir fusionné pour créer une représentation entièrement nouvelle. Le premier est certainement la parabole du mauvais riche et de Lazare, dont la place est souvent parmi les scènes accompagnant le Jugement dernier, sauf que le riche représenté à Gardenitsa ne conserve que certaines caractéristiques iconographiques de la scène attendue. Une autre image qui semble avoir été utilisée dans la scène de Gardenitsa peut être celle de l'homme poursuivi par une licorne dans une parabole de l'histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat. L'arbre sur lequel s'appuie le riche de Gardenitsa et les deux chiens noir et blanc (au lieu des souris), symbolisant le jour et la nuit, sont des éléments qui semblent avoir été repris de cet autre modèle. Le troisième modèle pourrait être une série d'images que l'on retrouve dans des psautiers occidentaux. Après un inventaire succinct d'autres représentations occidentalaisantes retrouvées dans la péninsule de Mani ou dans le reste du Péloponnèse, l'auteur conclut que les modèles fusionnés par l'artiste de Gardenitsa proviennent de manuscrits. Il pourrait s'agir des mêmes manuscrits que le donateur (aujourd'hui anonyme) semble offrir au Christ dans la scène votive. On suppose que ce fondateur est peut-être à l'origine des innovations iconographiques en question.

MOTS-CLÉS: Jugement dernier; peintures murales byzantines; Barlaam et Josaphat; paléographie; Mani.

REZUMAT: Una dintre cele mai curioase reprezentări ale ciclului Judecății de Apoi din peninsula Mani (Laconia) poate fi admirată în nartexul bisericii cu hramul Schimbarea la Față din satul Gardenitsa. Reprezentările păcătoșilor din acest ciclu au fost inițial atribuite unui artist activ în secolul al xviii-lea, dar restaurarea recentă a pus în discuție vechea datare, preferând una în secolul al xv-lea. Autorul demonstrează cu ajutorul unei analize paleografice că trăsăturile literelor și o serie de particularități stilistice pot fi atribuite unui pictor local, Nomikos, a cărui operă include și alte biserici pictate în regiune la începutul secolului al xiv-lea: biserica Sfântul Gheorghe de la Marasse / Kitta, cea cu hramul Sfântului Nicolae de la Nymphi și catoliconul mănăstirii Phaneromeni. Datarea picturilor și inscripțiilor de la Gardenitsa ar putea fi chiar după anul ca. 1326/1327, lucrările fiind poate printre ultimele din activitatea pictorului Nomikos. Spre deosebire de obișnuitele pedepse individuale ale păcătoșilor așa cum sunt ele cunoscute din picturile cretane, cipriote, sau chiar sârbești, ciclul pictat pe bolta vestică a bisericii de la Gardenitsa prezintă particularități care îl individualizează. În cele opt cadre grupate în două grupuri de câte patru pe părțile de nord și de sud ale bolții, accentul este pus de multe ori pe cler și pe persoane legate de acesta (preotesele). Lipsesc păcatele de natură agricolă sau cele familiale, iar într-una dintre scene este reprezentat chiar un personaj misterios, însoțit de o inscripție care îl numește „Timpul Omului”.

◀ Fig. 1. *The depiction of the ‘Time of Man’ in the Church of the Transfiguration at Gardenitsa.* Photo: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

Aceasta este de altfel singura reprezentare de păcătos care nu își află un termen de comparație în ciclurile păcătoșilor din alte arii ale Commonwealth-ului bizantin. Autorul identifică o serie de modele care par a fi fuzionate pentru a crea o imagine cu totul nouă. Primul dintre ele este cu siguranță pilda bogatului nemilostiv și a săracului Lazăr, al cărei loc este de multe ori printre scenele care însoțesc Judecata de Apoi, numai că bogatul reprezentat la Gardenitsa nu păstrează decât unele dintre trăsăturile iconografice ale scenei așteptate. O altă imagine care pare a fi contopită în scena de la Gardenitsa pare a fi cea a omului care încearcă să scape de un inorog în parabola cu același nume din povestea lui Varlaam și Ioasaf. Copacul pe care se sprijină bogatul de la Gardenitsa și cei doi câini (în loc de șoareci) alb și negru, simbolizând ziua și noaptea, sunt elemente care par a fi fost extrase din acest al doilea model. Al treilea ar putea să fie o serie de psaltiri occidentale. După un inventar succint al altor modele occidentale care pot fi întâlnite în Mani sau în restul Peloponezului, autorul conchide că modelele fuzionate de artist la Gardenitsa originesc din manuscrise. Acestea ar putea fi chiar manuscrisele pe care ctitorul (astăzi anonim) pare a le oferi lui Hristos în scena votivă. Autorul presupune că acest ctitor ar putea fi responsabil pentru noutățile iconografice din pictura bisericii.

CUVINTE CHEIE: Judecata de Apoi; picturi murale bizantine; Varlaam și Ioasaf; paleografie; Mani.

The author of the article and the editors of the journal kindly thank the direction and the personnel of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Laconia, Sparta, for their support.

The village of Gardenitsa is located at the centre of a small fertile plain in Mesa Mani, Laconia (Peloponnese), below the western slopes of the Agia Pelagia Mountain.¹ The most interesting monument of that village is the cross-in-square Byzantine church ‘Transfiguration of the Saviour’ (*Μεταμόρφωση του Σωτήρος*)—hereafter the church of the Saviour (Fig. 2).² It is larger than other local churches, makes an innovative use of *spolia*, and has elaborate painted ornamentation. Kalliopi Diamanti has already discussed several depictions found in the narthex during the conservation campaign in 2010, including the unusual image of a sponsor offering a stack of books to the Christ

(Fig. 3) in a scene which is rather intriguing.³ My current study will focus mainly on the inner western part of the building, which displays an extended cycle of the Second Coming (Fig. 4).

The dating of the decoration from the western part of the church has been ambiguous so far. Initially the depiction of the sinners on the narthex vault was dated to the eighteenth century,⁴ but was re-assessed during the 2010 restoration, carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Laconia. The preliminary investigation of Evangelia Pantou first re-dated these scenes to the fifteenth century.⁵ Diamanti, on the other hand, dated them



to c.1300 based on a stylistic analysis. I also discussed the depiction of the Second Coming in Gardenitsa in a chapter co-written with Prof. Sharon Gerstel for the Leverhulme Trust project *Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian Dominated Crete* of Angeliki Lymberopoulou (Open University, UK), Vasiliki Tsamakda (University of Mainz, DE), and Rembrandt Duits (Warburg Institute, UK).⁶ My current article focuses on the analysis of the scenes depicted on the southern vault of the church in Gardenitsa in an attempt to provide a better understanding of the singular depiction of the ‘Time of Man’. The peculiar features and the innovative rendering of the Last Judgement and Second Coming scenes, occasionally deviating from mainstream Byzantine art tradition, could come from artistic contact. It would then lead to a more accurate dating of the paintings and contextualise the conditions under which such artistic contact must have taken place.

This article also sheds light on various pieces of evidence that correlate the paintings of Gardenitsa with a series of well-documented and well-dated works of the local painter (*ιστοριογράφος*) Nomikos.⁷ He was active in Inner Mani, with a *floruit* in the third decade of the fourteenth century, and so far his signed works have been identified in the churches of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta (1323) and Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi (1325/1326).⁸ However, strong evidence suggests that Nomikos could have equally been involved in the decoration of the Phaneromeni monastery katholikon (1323)⁹; the stylistic comparison between the aforementioned paintings and the palaeographic study of their inscriptions lead to similar conclusions. Therefore a part of the article will deal with the identity of the painter of the Last Judgement. I will assign the work in Gardenitsa to painter Nomikos, thus re-dating the murals to early fourteenth century. Finally, the particular features of the Hell scenes from Gardenitsa (one of which could be defined as a sort of singularity) could shed light on the impact of outsider influence on the art of the Maniot peninsula.

The identification of the painter is based on the assumption that similar illustrative style and similar formulas in the inscriptions point to one artist (or artistic milieu). Therefore, I needed to correlate artistic and epigraphic evidence, but also to deal with the subject from both the art historical and palaeographic points of view. To keep this article balanced, I will not be addressing the broad discussion about the place occupied by the mural paintings of Gardenitsa in the wider context of the Last Judgement compositions in the Eastern–Mediterranean Byzantine world, nor compare them to similar cycles from Crete, Cyprus, and Serbia.¹⁰ I will instead focus on the local importance of their features, the palaeography of their inscriptions, the identity of the painter, his affiliations with (or influence from) other sources, thus leaving the wider contextualisation for a different study, in another context.

Brief description of the scenes from the cycle of the Second Coming

To understand the complexity of these features, I will briefly analyse the depictions of sinners (and the inscriptions associated with them) in the church of Gardenitsa.¹¹ It is worth mentioning that fully developed cycles of the Last Judgement first appear in the Byzantine art of the eleventh century.¹² Well before the beginning of the Late–Byzantine period, these cycles regularly included individual portraits of the damned, but always as a part of a larger composition. At Gardenitsa, for instance, the Last Judgement dominates the decoration of the narthex.¹³

Only fragments of the larger composition have survived, but we still recognize the enthroned apostles depicted in the central bay of the chamber, the theme of Christ, the Passion Instruments, and *Hetoimasia* that occupy the western tympanum, which had been apparently destroyed by the subsequent opening of a window. Only the imperial angel is partially visible. The depictions of Hell and the sinners are in the southern side of the vault. Another feature worth mentioning is that the apostles and the scenes from Hell have been painted by different hands.

Hell and the portrayals of the damned are depicted in eight rectangular scenes framed by red border lines (hereafter “frames”). These frames are arranged in pairs of registers that overlap one another. The four scenes painted in the eastern side of the vault (Fig. 5) are separated from the four scenes painted to the west by an ornamental band. Inscriptions are written part minuscule and part majuscule, and they describe the sins of the damned. In the specific case of Gardenitsa, depictions and inscriptions can both be attributed to the same artist. The paintings are frescoes, well preserved due to a limited amount of moisture in this section in the church (only a thin pellicle of salt

◀ Fig. 2. Gardenitsa, Inner Mani. External view of the church dedicated to the Transfiguration of the Saviour.

▼ Fig. 3. Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. Depiction of a donor presenting a stack of books to Christ.

▼ Fig. 4. Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. Western side of the narthex, southern vault: the Hell scenes.

Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.



is visible on the outer surface) and to the modern white-washing stratum that protected them to the present day.

The scenes are paired thematically (Fig. 5). The lower two from the western side of the vault represent the Sea and the Earth giving up the dead (Frames 1 and 2). Directly above, five male figures depicted as half-length portraits are tormented in Hell (Frame 3). The same frame also includes the depiction of a nude deacon (hung upside-down) and that of a servant of the church hung by his hands and feet. In the adjacent Frame 4, two female figures are depicted in the company of a seated man. The poses of the women mirror those of the men from the third Frame. Next to them, two partially visible scenes from the eastern side of the vault display more individual sinners and describe them with precise inscriptions.¹⁴ Frame 5 includes four female figures and Frame 6 shows three male heads alongside indistinct letters in the upper part of its northern section, presumably related to a fourth figure. The (lower) Frames 7 and 8 are still covered by whitewash. All painted figures are set against dark backgrounds.

The iconography of the scenes and their inscriptions: the eastern part of the vault

In order to better understand the depictions and the texts associated with them, I will analyse the subject of each Frame separately and I will transcribe each of its inscriptions. In the subsequent part of the study, I will examine a series of stylistic elements that link them to the dated works attributed to painter Nomikos. In the final section of this analysis, the entire palaeographic evidence will be examined in relation to the signed and dated writings of Nomikos. At the end, particular attention will be paid to the seated man depicted in Frame 4.

Frame 1

This depiction of the Sea is dominated by four large fish facing North and filling the entire frame (Fig. 6).¹⁵ The background is dark blue, almost black. Human body parts emerge from the mouths of the fish-like creatures which also present humanlike facial traits.¹⁶ An even larger creature clenches the stern of a ship, schematically marked by a triangular white sail, that holds two passengers (Fig. 7). This pictorial element is not uncommon in Laconia.¹⁷ The personification of the Sea raising a ship is a common feature in Cypriot churches as well.¹⁸ The sea in Gardenitsa is defined by a series of white wavy horizontal lines, similar to the representation of the water element in the mosaics of Monreale, Sicily.¹⁹ In Asinou, Cyprus, the liquid element of Tartarus and Outer Darkness is also represented as horizontally overlapping wavy white lines.²⁰ An inscription in lowercase letters, associated with Frame 1, is painted on the frame. It reads $\tau \eta$ $\theta \acute{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma \alpha$ $\alpha \rho \omega \delta \iota \delta \omega \sigma \alpha$ $\tau \omega \sigma$ $\nu \epsilon \kappa \rho \omega \sigma$ $\acute{\epsilon} \alpha \nu \tau \eta \varsigma$ 'the Sea giving up its dead'.

Frame 2

The painting in the second frame is well-preserved, with its lowest part still whitewashed, and it makes the scene in which Earth gives up its dead particularly expressive

▼ Fig. 5. Gardenitsa, *Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frames 3, 4, 2, and 1.*

► Fig. 6. Gardenitsa, *Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 1: general view.*

▲ Fig. 7. Gardenitsa, *Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 1: close-up of the ship.*

Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.







(Fig. 8).²¹ Three quadrupeds (dogs or wolves) and one bird, all facing right (*i.e.*, North), yield human body parts—a head, two hands, and a foot. The knotted tails of the animals imitate the Salomon knot, giving an apotropaic symbolism to the image.²² The dark shaded landscape consists of curves suggesting large hemispherical shapes. Sinusoidal lines stand for the contours of hills. Although the painter used rudimentary means, he pursued a naturalistic effect: the bird on the mountain is partly hidden behind a hill, whereas a bush is depicted at the confluence of winter streams. This lively scene may have inspired later painters; the animals in the scene have features that can be encountered in Post-Byzantine mural paintings from the region.²³ The inscription of Frame 2, also in minuscule, is written above the scene and reads *ἡ Γῆσ ἀποδίδουσα τοὺς ἑαυτῆς νεκροῦσ* ‘The Earth giving up its dead’.

Frame 3

The scene in the third frame is comprehensively designed and deserves an extensive analysis (Fig. 9).²⁴ To the left, a naked man whose hands and feet are bound is suspended above an assembly (Fig. 10). In the middle of the composition, the upper bodies of a group of five sinners (Fig. 11) (and to the right, a figure hanged upside down) are all consumed by the universal signifier of damnation—the flames of Hell (Fig. 12). A large plant with flaring branches is painted at the centre of the frame and divides the composition into two halves, thus providing a structure from which the figure to the left has been suspended. The naked man, whose hands and feet are bound to one of the branches, is also identified by an inscription:

ἢ οὐτο(σ) εσπην ὁ ηκονώμο(σ) τ(ῆ)σ εκκλησι(α)σ—‘this is the *oikonomos* of the church’. All through the fourteenth century, the *oikonomos* continued to be an important office in the administrative hierarchy, even in the small provincial churches.²⁵ He was either secular or cleric (usually of low rank) and was charged with managing properties and the financial matters of the church,²⁶ although the maintenance of said church could also be assigned to priests. The illustration in Gardenitsa is analogous to the naked sinner depicted in the church of Panaghia (Kera) in Kritsa, Crete (fourteenth century). That character is hanged in identical manner, being defined as *Ο Ιερέας που δεν φροντίζει την εκκλησία* ‘the priest who is not taking care of the church’.²⁷ In Gardenitsa, however, the depicted figure does not belong to the clergy, being a rather secular office. The conical white cap he wears signifies it plainly. The shape of the cap does not characterise priests or deacons (*i.e.*, the hemispherical skull-cap). For instance, the priest who does not take care of the church wears a semi spherical hat in the paintings of Saint John the Forerunner, also at Kritsa, Crete (fourteenth century).²⁸ Nevertheless, the sinners depicted in the Kritsa churches are found in the scenes of individual punishments, while the sinner of Gardenitsa is differentiated by being placed in a larger assembly of the damned in Hell.

The right part of the scene is taken by a bearded, naked figure, suspended by the feet from the upper border and wearing a monastic cowl. To the left, in the middle of the composition, a group of five other characters (only their upper bodies are shown) is tortured in flames that peer out of the Lake of Fire. A two-line inscription describes both



➤ Fig. 8. Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 2: general view.

Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

▲ Fig. 9. Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes: Frame 3: general view.

▶ Fig. 10. Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 3: close-up of the oikonomos.

Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

the five characters tormented and the monk hanged upside-down. The letters read as follows (the stroke marks the beginning of a new line): † ἄντι ησην ηστην Γεαινα του πυρο(σ) αρχ ιερη(σ) ιερη(σ) / Διάκονοι · κ(αι) μεγαλό σκημι. This can be interpreted as αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν εἰς τὴν Γεαινα τοῦ πυρός, ἀρχιερεῖς, ἱερεῖς, διάκονοι καὶ μεγαλόσχημοι ‘these are in the Gehenna of fire: archpriests, priests, deacons and those who have taken the Great Schema’. The tachygraphy αῖρ combined with ιερη(σ) forms the compound word αχριερη(σ). Dots separate the clerical titles; the line change acts as a separating dot. In the group of five characters we can identify the cleric, the monk, the white-capped archon, and the youth. The frequently illustrated figure of the emperor is missing. All (but one) wear head coverings that signify their positions. The figure at the centre of the group appears to be a prelate. He wears an omophorion and a hemispherical white skull-cap. The naked figure at the right (with strong facial features) wears a conical hat. Although the inscription seems to refer to clerics, the character does not seem to be an ecclesiastic. He could represent an archon or rich men in





- ▲ Fig. 11. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 3: close-up of the group of five sinners.*
 - ◄ Fig. 12. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 3: close-up of the scene concerning the archpriests, priests, deacons and those who have taken the Great Schema.*
 - ▶ Fig. 13. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 4: general view.*
- Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

general. His features resemble those of the small figure holding the sponge, depicted in a lower position at the left side of the Crucified Lord in the churches of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta and Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphii. Conical hats or headdresses of a similar shape are worn by characters from the scene of the Crucifixion at Marasse / Kitta (laymen and soldiers) and in the Massacre of the Innocents scene in the Phaneromeni catholic icon (soldiers). In Gardenitsa, the head coverings are decorated by a narrow golden band.

I have already pointed out that hemispherical skull-caps are related to the clergy in the depictions of late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century Mani. Conical head coverings, however, can be seen in the lesser-known depiction of the 'heretic priests' scene from the Last Judgment composition in the church of Saint John Chrysostom at Velanidia, Epidavros Limera (mid-fourteenth century), in the sphere of influence of the city of Monemvasia. Latins or Orthodox who had recognised the authority of the Latin Church during the Frankish period could probably be added to the rather comprehensive inventory of 'Others', marking a shift in the typology of those who are damned, although this has not been yet observed in Mani. Two head coverings from the Gardenitsa group of sinners resemble cowls worn by monks, as does the head covering

of the figure hanged upside down. The composition is an exacting condemnation of churchmen, including those belonging to the secular clergy and those who had taken monastic vows. Such condemnations of clergymen are often represented in churches of the period, albeit outside Mani. A sinner depicted in the church of Saint George at Kouvaras, Attica, for example, is designated as *κακόφρων αρχιμανδρίτης* ‘the evil-minded archimandrite’.²⁹

A cluster of the damned is often depicted in the representations of Hell. They are usually expelled by the fiery angel into the stream of Fire and driven to Hades. Both of these scenes are missing in what has come to light in Gardenitsa so far. The same can be said about the usual dark rectangular panels which visualise the biblical epithets of damnation.³⁰

The consuming flames of Hell run the full length of the scene. The condemned sinners are immersed in the punishment of fear and rejection. The fierce zeal with which mental torments are recounted in the Life of Basil the Younger demonstrates that such scenes acted as critical enhancements of the horror of Hell.³¹ In Gardenitsa, however, the ostensible condition of the damned does not follow a precise sartorial rule: sinners are not clothed in markers of their social, economic, (and gendered) identities. Instead, they appear as nude and already debased in Gehenna, similar to the manner in which the naked Rich Man of the parable of Poor Lazarus is often presented. In Gardenitsa, interestingly, the sinning prelate (not the monks) is the one who appears to be dressed. One could

argue that the tradition of the Second Coming was not an already established iconographical practice, but rather a work in progress. This could explain: (a) the lack of a universally accepted order; (b) the way each Last Judgement inflects Hell in its own way; and (c) the manner in which each iconographical programme must be examined in its own right. I am paraphrasing the ideas of Nancy Ševčenko about the deliberate rendition of the theme.³² As a result, the manner in which the theme of Last Judgement was dealt with has been often considered to be (at least to a certain degree) as a rather autonomous subject intending both to educate the faithful before entering the nave and to dissuade them during the sacrament of confession, that is, one of the rituals that took place in the narthex.³³ To some extent, this allows the painter (and occasionally the donor as well) to have a certain degree of interpretation freedom. As far as the inscriptions accompanying the figures are concerned, the painter made personal choices. He did not simply caption his paintings in the customary way, but rather addressed the viewer directly. For instance, in the inscription about the *oikonomos*, the painter did not merely describe the sin or the sinner but pointed directly at him: ‘this is the *oikonomos*...’.

Frame 4

Frame 4 extends the condemnation of ecclesiastical characters beyond ordained clergymen (Fig. 13).³⁴ Two female figures depicted at the central and left parts of the composition, suspended from its border, are named in the



plural. They are *Η ΠΙΕΣΒΙΤΕΡΑΙ · ΗΜΙ ΤΙΜΩΣΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΙΕΡΗC ΑΥΤ(ΩΝ)* ‘the wives of priests not honouring their priests’ (Fig. 14) and *Η ΜΟΝΑΚΤΙΕ* ‘the women who have taken monastic vows’ (Fig. 15). The writing in this scene is in majuscules. The character representing the wives of priests is hanged from her hands and feet over a rocky, brown-tinted, rectangular landscape drawn in the foreground, while the darker and lower part of the obscure background fades to an irregular line that signifies the horizon. The many strings into which the hanging rope is separated are tied to the fingers of the figure’s hands and feet. The same is applicable for the man hanged in the adjacent Frame 3. The woman, her mouth twisted, gazes in the direction of the viewer. At the centre of the composition, the second female represents those who have taken monastic vows, and she is suspended by her feet from a noose attached to the upper border. Arms and breasts, as well as the (now faded) monastic head-covering stretch upwards, as if they defy gravity. The women hanged in this frame replicate the male figures of Frame 3. From the technical perspective, the way the two female figures hanged by their feet have been drawn looks as if a cartoon (*άνθιβόλιον*) were held upside-down. The fact that the texts are in the plural, although they complement the depictions of single figures, is not regular in depictions from the Late-Byzantine period. Such captions that carry a collective meaning are more common in Post-Byzantine art.³⁵ When using such designations, the painter stigmatises categories of people. In the titles accompanying the third and fourth scenes, therefore, the painter becomes more daring, aiming to denounce social issues. The interpretation of his individual say highlights the importance

of the illustrations and the inscriptions in general.

Moving on, a fully dressed man is seated on a ‘throne’ of long beams with leaves, resembling the branches of a tree, at the right side of the same scene. Two small animals show their teeth and confront each other, consuming the tree trunk below him. An allegorical text written in uppercase letters above the head of the figure reads: *† Ο ΧΡΟΝΟ(C) ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ* ‘The Time of Man’. Two shorter texts refer to the animals from the lower part of the scene: *ΗνΉξ / Ήμέρα* ‘The Night / The Day’. The fire of Hell is absent from this scene.

Inscriptions associated with the punishment of the wife of the priest often read *παπαδιά πορνέουσα* ‘fornicating priest wife’ or similar. The participle *ΤΙΜΩΣΕ* of the verb *τιμῶ* ‘I honour’ could imply some sort of social or moral meaning. In this case, morality would rather be implied not by the intentions of the painter, as he appears to intentionally avoid the straightforward common characterization *πόρνη*, *πορνέουσα*, or *πόρνησσα* ‘female fornicator’, which he uses in Frame 5. The condemnation of the wives of priests is consistent with descriptions from Byzantine apocalyptic texts regarding those who have remarried after their husbands’ deaths.³⁶ As for *ΜΟΝΑΚΤΙΕ*, nuns are rarely represented in sinner scenes from rural Byzantium and the inscription is not attested elsewhere in Mani, to the best of my knowledge.³⁷ An unusual representation of a damned nun from the church of Panaghia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, Cyprus (dated 1332/1333), is designated as *αποκαλογρέα*. The character is depicted, however, in the section of the individual punishments.³⁸ The term could refer to (usually aged) women who consensually



separated from their husbands to take monastic vows, in order to avoid the everyday labour required to support the families of their children, as well as to escape the control of a male-dominated society.³⁹ The condemnation of nuns in Gardenitsa could regard a communal rather than a moral issue (such as the wives of priests), and it is also an indirect sign of the envy towards the social potential of nuns in the rural communities of the fourteenth century.⁴⁰ This specific status of rural women in Late-Byzantine Mani can be inferred from a supplicant depiction of a nun named Kyriaki and the inscription accompanying her. Kyriaki is illustrated close to the representation of a donor monk named Efthimios (to whom she could have been perhaps associated in the past) in the blind arch from the southern side of the church of Saints Theodore at Ano Poula (c.1265–1270).⁴¹ While the aforementioned envy is apparent in Gardenitsa, the composition cannot be interpreted as an extreme stage of misogyny, since women are distinguished from the exemplary sinners assembled by the flaming Lake of Fire in the adjacent Frame 3. It is beyond doubt that the two women refer to a form of punishment, but they are not devoured by flames. I therefore believe that these women are not under the eternal damnation that follows the Second Coming. Their depiction could be related to an intermediate, post-mortem condition of suffering, rather than a

terminal castigation.

It should also be noted that seven out of the nine figures of the damned (male and female) in the paired Frames 3 and 4 are directly connected or associated with the clergy or monasteries. Judging from their large number, the painter appears to express the negative sentiments of the local community towards the arrogance in male and female clerical ranks. This sentiment could be prevalent even before the decoration of Gardenitsa. I could even go as far as to consider it a form of growing dissent, resulting from the considerable percentage occupied by the clergy in the early thirteenth century narthex of the church of 'Episkopi', where five out of ten tormented figures are clergymen, and from the group of the damned in the church of Panagia Hodegetria (Agitria), where two out of four visible tormented figures also belong to the clergy.⁴² Moreover, the action of the priest who commissioned his own portrait in the sanctuary of the nearby church of Archangel Michael at Polemitas (1278) could offer further arguments in support of a negative impression that the locals could have had against the clergy in the rural communities.⁴³

The illustration of the seated male figure at the right side of this scene stands out as part of this diversity. At a first glance, it appears to be incongruous with the customary Hell scenes of the Last Judgement in Byzantine art. The placement of the specific figure among the damned and particularly among the punishment scenes calls for a closer examination as regards the message that the painter wished to convey. On the other hand, the inherent eschatological meaning of the imagery (in general), in correlation with the possible funerary implications of

▲ Fig. 14. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 4: close-up of the priestwife.*

▼ Fig. 15. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 4: close-up of the inscription of the nun.*

Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.





▲ Fig. 16. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes: the decorative motif of stepped crosses.*

Photo: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

▼ Fig. 17. *Comparative drawings of the patterns based on stepped crosses in Late Byzantine Mani: (a) + (b) Saint Nikitas at Karavas, c.1270–1290; (c) Saint Theodore at Tsopakas, c.1310–1320; (d) Saint George at Marasse / Kitta; (e) the monastery catholicon of Phaneromeni, 1323; (f) Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi, c.1325–1326.*

Credits: Panayotis S. Katsafados, Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

► Fig. 18. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 5: general view.*

Photo: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

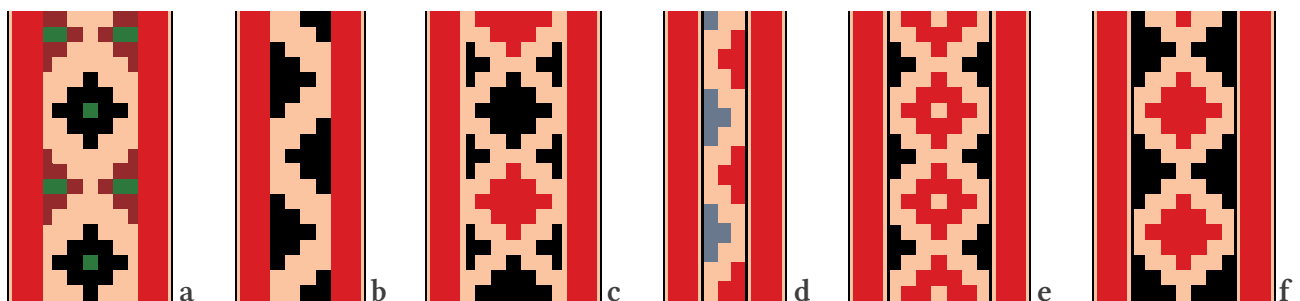
the depiction of the Second Coming in the church of the Saviour must inevitably be considered in association with a plea for salvation on behalf of the donor.⁴⁴ The peculiar nature of the iconography makes me dedicate a substantial part of this study to it. This will be done at the end, when the presentation of the punishment scenes and the discussion about the identity of the painter are completed.

The iconography of the scenes and their inscriptions: the western part of the vault

The scenes painted on the western side of the vault are separated from those on the eastern side by an elaborate or-

namental pattern. It is as if the fourteenth century painter wished to distinguish the scenes of individual punishments from the eastern side from the figures tortured in the immersive flood of fire to the West. This distribution is well illustrated in the contemporary church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou in Cyprus.⁴⁵ In earlier cases in Mani, Hell scenes and individual punishments are not clearly separated (see the decoration of the nearby church of AiStratigos at Boularii).⁴⁶

The separation is achieved with a decorative motif of geometric ‘stepped crosses’ and half crosses depicted in a light-coloured strip (Fig. 16). Originating from decorative tiles, this outline initially appears in the tenth century and is common in thirteenth-century monumental painting as well. Various development phases can be observed in churches decorated (or redecorated) during the Late-Byzantine period in Mani (Fig. 17).⁴⁷ The specific design and execution of this geometric motif is characteristic of Nomikos and adds to the arguments indicating his involvement in Gardenitsa. The ‘stepped crosses’ design of Nomikos is encountered in Mani only once, in the church of Saint George at Karynia (1281 for the main paintings). Nomikos was the one who painted the southern chamber attached to the main church of Saint George (c.1320). He could have been an ‘epigone’ of George, the master painter of Karynia.





Frame 5

This scene depicts women punished individually (Fig. 18). Such figures of sinners, specifically identified and strung up for punishment, often accompanied by tools of their crime or trade, proliferated at the turn of the thirteenth century in Byzantium. Four naked female figures are shown here.⁴⁸ Three of them are hanged by their hands (raised and crossed) to the upper border of the scene. The first woman is likely the one who is punished for refusing (or being reluctant) to nurse infants: *ἡ μὴ θ(η)λάζουσα τα νήπι(α)*. The precise interpretation of this sin raised a series of arguments.⁴⁹ The second figure is identified as the female fornicator: *ἡ πορ(νι)σα*. She is not hanging from a rope but from a noose around her neck, which appears to end at her half-opened mouth. The third figure is the eavesdropper: *ἡ παρακροῖστρον*.⁵⁰ The fourth one is designated as *ἡ σιβαλομάχησα*. This word, although misspelt, could be the informal feminine form of *συμβαλλομάχος*, meaning ‘prone to fighting, quarrelsome’.⁵¹ It is used, for instance, in a homily ‘On the departure of the soul and on the Second Coming’ by Cyril of Alexandria.⁵²

The lower part of the scene is covered with whitewash. Although the representations convey the feverish atmosphere of the Underworld, I cannot speculate whether the figures are displayed dangling above the fires, as in the Cypriote depictions of Asinou.⁵³ The sinners are obviously punished, but it is not clear whether they are part of the eternal punishment that follows the Second Coming, or how they might have been related to end-of-time damnation.⁵⁴ All of them have snakes biting the parts of their body associated with their iniquity, specifying their carnalities or transgressions.⁵⁵ In the case of the first two women, I expect that the serpents could have been depicted as well, but the whitewash might have covered them.

Explicit and pictorial as they are, these punishments were designed for public chastising. Certain depictions are so impressive that even the snakes seem to take part in a

sort of theatrical scene. The gaze of the fourth figure, with her raised left eyebrow, is rather powerful and quite representative of the confrontational nature of the sinner. An indication of the didactic nature of the scenes is that most of the seventeen sinners depicted do not gaze directly at the beholder, except for two of them. This is not the indirect glance often seen in portraits, but rather a sign of disgrace and repentance. They avert their eyes or stare off, being obviously charged by severe thoughts about their sins. The two exceptions are in the group of the five sinners in the Hell Frame 3 (Fig. 10). One is the monk at the left who stares straight into the eyes of the beholder with despair and agony, addressing his (seemingly not accepted) repentance. The second one is the miserable young layman partly hidden at the back of the composition. The rendering of the condemned women in Frame 5 is similar to the analogous depictions in the narthex of the nearby church of AiStratigos at Boularii, but more expressive.

Frame 6

Three male heads covered by deposits and oxidation are seen in the partially discernible uppermost part of Frame 6 (Fig. 19).⁵⁶ The rest of this frame is covered with whitewash. Certain facial features, such as eyes, eyebrows, and the upper part of the nose, are rather clear. The hair of the right-side figure is schematically outlined. The glance of the middle one conveys feelings of deep grief.

At the right side, the following words in majuscules have been painted above the sinner heads: *ἡ ὁ ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦ(ΩΝ) / ἡ ὁ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΑ<ΩΝ> / ἡ ὁ ΠΑΡΑ:ΚΑΜΠΑΝ(Ι)ΖΩΝ*. The painter proclaimed his literacy by using participles instead of nouns. *ἡ ὁ ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦ(ΩΝ)* is not a frequent designation. It could refer to a person (likely an official) involved in forging legal documents.⁵⁷ *ἡ ὁ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΑ<ΩΝ>*, often used in connection with women, characterises the one who gossips and relays the conversations of others. It is related to *ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΛΩΝ* or *ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΛΟΣ* ‘slanderer’. I interpret the

term ΠΑΡΑΛΛΑΩΝ as ‘gossiper’, since the distortion or purposeful modification of someone’s sayings (ΠΑΡΑΛΛΑΩ) is inherent to gossip. It is different from the false and malicious statement about someone, which is associated with the slanderer. Last but not least, ἄ Ο ΠΑΡΑ:ΚΑμπαν(ι)ζων could be a person accused of falsifying measurements or who also measures something fraudulently. The term ΠΑΡΑΖΥΓΙΣΤΗΣ is much more common name given to this sin.⁵⁸ In Mani, it is also found in the church of AiStratigos at Boularii, where the text reads Παρακαμπανιστής.⁵⁹

The upper left side of the scene seems to be designated by an obscure inscription of two (or more) lines written in bigger majuscules compared to the text painted to its right. The first line reads ἄ Ο ΠΑΡΑ(?Κ)ΡΑ~COMΕΙΞΟΜΕΝΟC. This refers to wine (κράσος) falsification. The term expressly describes the mixing of wine with water, but it is not attested elsewhere in Mani, so far.⁶⁰ Although they do not usually ligate, the letter Κ could be linked to the cursive treatment of the lowercase ρ, and this cannot be readily identified in the inscription, unless we consider that it could have been written in a reversed position (Ϟ) (see Fig. 24). Decorative patterns of bricks arranged in the shape of an inverted Κ can be found in cloisonné walls from eleventh century churches in Mani and elsewhere.⁶¹ The north wall of the porch from the church of the Saviour was decorated with the same pattern. The decoration is visible also in AiStratigos at Boularii, already mentioned for other comparisons. This reversed writing of letters is not uncommon in Mani, especially in the lapidary inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶²

All the scenes represent transgressions in financial and commercial activities. Sinners frequently carry attributes that help identify their crimes in tandem with inscriptions.⁶³ At the right side, close to the border, the falsifier of measurements holds an object that resembles a rectangular stick or the ruler of a balance. Unfortunately, much of the bodies are covered by whitewash and this precludes any further comments on the identification of the figures or on their attributes. Judging from the space that it occupied, the wine falsifier depicted to the left of Frame 6 could not be depicted as standing.

▼ Fig. 19. Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 6: general view.
Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

Frames 7 and 8 (?)

Representations of male sinners engaged in agrarian transgressions (e.g., ploughing over the boundary line or stealing livestock, etc.) are commonly found in rural churches.⁶⁴ Judging from the crimes designated by inscriptions in the earlier church of AiStratigos, one could argue that several figures of tormented sinners related to agrarian sins were depicted in two missing frames (7 and 8), on the eastern side of the vault, completely covered by whitewash in the present day. If this proves to be true, Gardenitsa could plausibly stand out as the most populated and explicitly named array of individual punishments (sixteen) among the Last Judgement representations from Byzantine Mani. Since the eastern section (Frames 5, 6, 7 and 8—especially Frames 7–8) was painted at the average height of a standing person, I believe that they would be seen first by those entering the narthex.

The rationale behind the placement of the individual punishments on the eastern side of the vault, separated from the Hell scenes of the western side, could be interpreted as a sort of moral admonition and it shows a series of analogies with the respective arrangement in Panaghia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, Cyprus.⁶⁵ A number of crimes in the Gardenitsa church of the Saviour seem to be customarily identified. Designations such as ΜΟΝΑΚΤΡΙΑ, ΠΙΡΕC-ΒΙΤΕΡΑΙ, ΠΑΡΑ(?Κ)ΡΑ~COMΕΙΞΟΜΕΝΟC, and σιβαλομάχησηα are rather rare and could be considered as recalling the official names used to describe the related sins, at least those that were used in the lifetime of the painter, in Mani. In the decades that followed the fall of Byzantium, the first three sins were replaced by ΑΠΟΚΑΛΟΓΡΑΙΑ, ΠΑΠΑΔΙΑ, and ΚΡΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ.

The Identity of the Painter: Stylistic juxtapositions

In this section of my study, I will not necessarily focus on the stylistic analysis of the Gardenitsa frescoes related to the Punishments and Hell, at least not in the context of the contemporaneous related imagery of the early fourteenth century Byzantine art in Mani and elsewhere. Instead, I will simply investigate a series of similarities in the decoration, in comparison with works of the named painter (hence the specific choice of the term ‘juxtapositions’ in the header).





A cursory examination of the artistic features of Gardenitsa shows that the style could be defined as occasionally spontaneous. Some executions are rather naïve (although not comical), primitive at times, and in certain instances even expressionistic. This expressionism is evident in the depiction of Hell in the third scene, where the five small-sized bust figures are unevenly placed, with bodies overlapping and faces portrayed at different heights and angles. The heads and scapulars of the monks are combined in a peculiar arrangement. The sinners are depicted with their heads turned to various directions, implying the essence of some chaotic movement in an otherwise balanced composition. Also, the facial expressions are intensely emotional in spite of an otherwise rather simple style.

There are other elements pertaining to this style, particularly those evident in the western section of the church, in the features associated with the art of Nomikos in the churches of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta, Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi, and Phaneromeni near Dryalos. In Mani,

▲ Fig. 20. Mani, Exo Nymphi, church of Saint Nicholas. The Baptism (the deesis of Nomikos is painted in the lower left corner).

▲ Fig. 21. Mani, Marasse / Kitta, church of Saint George. Baptism. Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

the depiction of the Sea in the Gardenitsa Frame 1 as a series of horizontal white wavy lines can be explicitly associated with the wavy lines found in the representation of the Jordan River in the Baptism scenes at Exo Nymphi (Fig. 20) and Marasse / Kitta (Fig. 21), going perhaps as far as in the scene of the Baptism from the church of Saint Sophia at Langada.

In Frame 2, the Gardenitsa painter tried to convey a third dimension through line breaking in order to simulate the existence of successive planes and a series of overlapping mountain slopes, in a manner that I consider to be characteristic of the style of Nomikos. I recognised this feature at Marasse / Kitta, in the clothing creases of the figures depicted in what remains from the Lazarus scene,



▲ Fig. 22. Marasse / Kitta, Saint George. *The Crucifixion*.

▲ Fig. 23. Exo Nymphi, Saint Nicholas. *The Three Innocents of Lycia*.
Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

in the portraits of Zachariah (or Aaron) and the deacon of the sanctuary, etc. In the same scene at Gardenitsa, the painter further tried to confer a sense of volume by depicting the mountains in the form of two deep-brown

round earth-ware shapes, presumably inspired by the trends of his time, all the more effectively handling their spherical shades. This treatment of the shades could suggest that Gardenitsa was painted later in comparison with the other works of Nomikos. However, the same painter also used a simple and continuous sinusoidal line to depict the hills in three other situations. This could mean that he did not completely abandon the provincial two-dimensional feature, deeply rooted in local tradition, since this could have been one of the trademarks of his apprenticeship. The brush strokes are clearly visible in the more painterly segments of his works. The use of light as an agent in communicating with the beholder, together with the astute use of the lines seems deliberate and constant in all his paintings. The half-shimmering faces of the sinner women from Frame 5 and the female figure in the unidentified composition at the north-western end of the vault of the narthex of Marasse / Kitta, are rendered likewise. The naked figures from the Gardenitsa Frames 3 and 4 incorporate bodily elements which can be found in the Baptism scene from Exo Nymphii (1325/1326) (cf. Fig. 20). As for the rendition of the bodies, several physiognomic features (noses—and the ‘fork’ pattern used for the rendering of their upper part; eye shapes; round chins and cheeks) as well as the hands and feet all suggest that Nomikos could have painted Gardenitsa. Furthermore, the clothes seem to be depicted in the same way, as witnessed by the attire of the red/brown-haired man of Frame 4, who wears a red robe, girdled with pearls around his waist. This garment is common in the paintings of Nomikos. One can notice here the representation of the layman who unwraps the burial clothing in the Raising of Lazarus from the church of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta. He carries a bearded belt and wears a similar red dress, the lower part of which is embroidered. The figure holding the sponge in the representation of the Crucifixion from the same church is similarly clad (Fig. 22).⁶⁶ Last but not least, in the narthex of the church of Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphii, three figures wearing such robes are depicted in the scene of the Three Innocents of Lycia (Fig. 23). The robe of the first one is red and he wears the same string of pearls round his waist.⁶⁷

The decoration from the church of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta (February 1323) highlights the series of works commissioned to Nomikos in the region and appears to be the first among the dated works that we know of. The second phase decoration from the church of Saint George at Karynia could be dated even earlier, but there is no way of knowing it for sure. As for the paintings from the Phaneromeni catholicon, they must have followed shortly after (probably in August, 1323). The scale of the Phaneromeni project probably meant a comparatively large-scale budget and high patronage. The working hypothesis is that this could have been a turning point in the artist’s career, and he probably handled it with extraordinary care. This is evident in the adoption and implementation of the new ‘monumental’ trends from the iconography of the turn of the fourteenth century, in the meticulous accomplishment of the sanctuary scenes and in certain portrayals of the saints. The intervention of the donors in the decoration of Phaneromeni is also very probable. In the interval between Phaneromeni and the last dated work of Nomikos in the church of Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphii (1325/1326), the artist could have painted other churches



▲ Fig. 24. Inscriptions painted in the six frames of the Hell scenes from the church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour at Gardenitsa.

Credits: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2024.

as well, such as Saint Nicholas at Skaltsotianika and Saint Sophia at Langada, where similar stylistic features can be found. However, this is beyond the scope of the current study. For the time being, I argue only that the paintings of Gardenitsa, presumably of a similar or even of a greater importance than those of Phaneromeni, were probably this painter’s last commissions (c.1326/1327?).

The Identity of the Painter: Palaeographic evidence

Since stylistic determinism is a rather dangerous path to follow if it is not backed by arguments of a different nature, the ultimate confirmation for the ideas listed in the previous section comes from the *ducti* of the inscriptions of Gardenitsa (Fig. 24), Exo Nymphii (Fig. 25, Fig. 26), Phaneromeni (Fig. 27), and Marasse / Kitta (Fig. 28). The similarities between the mural paintings are duplicated by those of palaeographic traits. In order to illustrate these correlations, I compared the most frequent *ductus* of a series of typical characters painted in the murals of Gardenitsa (such as α, π, ω, ρ, etc.) to those of the other inscriptions (see the comparative table in Fig. 29). This procedure, based on visual magnifications and overlapping approximations, follows the concept of the algorithmic

Φ χριστῆ· θαυμαστικῶς
 αὐτῶ γεωργεῖ εἰς σηφο
 μηφνώτισ· κ· μετεπίθι· υπομοναστηρι
 νφῆτισω τ̄ ταικῶ αὐθραφ ✕ ροφελ
 σωτηθατρε αὐτ̄· ερίμη κ· ἄε τοισ· υπομοναστηρι κ· κητοσχελα
 θη· αὐτῶ ✕ υποκναφμη το τριτ̄ τ̄ επεδοκ̄ οσαῖο κ· χόπτισ ✕ εἰς αε
 Τ κολοκα φου καλη βαει· μω· ᾱ· επεδοκ̄ ξετ̄· κ· οθωμοσ ✕ ηφλακα
 υτηλητασωθῆ αὐτ̄ ερίμη· ✕ υφ̄ ουτ̄εσπ̄ το μερ̄δ̄ιμον τ̄ επεδοκ̄ Λ̄} ΠΕΤΡ
 σι ✕ κομτληλητ̄· εχεαφ· μίαφ κ· κ̄ ξηλοκερατ̄ εαφ· ᾱ· (μην
 υδ το Δι ✕· ιετ̄ ἄριστικύσ· τ̄ εδδκ̄ και ο μω̄ πιακ α ✕ υτ
 ✕ το ✕ ηφξ̄ρο· ελεαυ μω̄· ᾱ· τ̄ επεδοκ̄ δημήτ̄ει τ̄ καλοκυει· υποσολ
 ισ τακαμνια
 το τ̄ Λ̄ αὐσι δε
 αὐτ̄ τ̄ δε Δι Δι
 ε κτ υμιου δε

μικολα^δ
 κατω ηπον αχταφ
 τει μολι
 φαλακη· μω̄
 τον ε̄ ατ̄
 εατ̄· κ· Δ· π̄μα
 λω· δ̄· ηγη
 ατ̄ε̄ αὐ· κ
 βατου σσιπ̄
 ημερατ̄
 τ̄ Δ̄ μω̄ τ̄ ιφοριωρα
 φου αμασιμβήσ και
 ταίκων αυτ̄σ αμην
 εσω γωλ̄Δ

method of comparison used in a related study, led by Constantin Papaodysseus, where it is associated primarily with lapidary inscriptions and Byzantine manuscripts.⁶⁸

The descriptive sentences in Frames 1, 2 and 3 are written with lowercase letters. The writing used in the remaining sinner scenes is written with majuscules. The general layout of the script from Gardenitsa, the shape of the letters and the ductus is identical to the inscriptions painted by Nomikos in the churches of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta and Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi. Moreover, they can also be found in Phaneromeni. More specifically:

The shape of the letters from Frames 1 and 2, particularly the characteristic script of Δι, the ending -ους, and the reversed stroke of the acute accent (from the lower left to the upper right), strongly recalls the hand of the Marasse / Kitta painter.

In the following Frames 3 and 4, the minuscules resemble Nomikos' writing once more. The abbreviation α^ρ for αρχ(ων) 'archon' mirrors the one used by Nomikos in the eighth line of the inscription of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta. The abbreviation ιερ(ο/η) 'priest' and the word Διάκονοι 'deacons' are written identically in the two churches.⁶⁹ The ductus of the letters εστ can be found twice in the church of Saint George. The same is valid for the six letters μεγαλο- of the μεγαλό σκημη in Gardenitsa. They fit the pattern set for the same letters in μεγαλομάρτυρος from the first line of the Marasse / Kitta inscription. The cross mark (✕) used by the painter at the beginning of the phrases is identical with the mark used in Saint George at Marasse / Kitta, Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi, and in the Phaneromeni dedicatory inscription.⁷⁰ In Gardenitsa, it defines the beginning of paragraphs in Frame 6 (Fig. 24).

- ▲ Fig. 25. Inscription painted on the eastern section of the northern wall of the narthex in the church of Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi, below the Dormition of Saint Nicholas.
 - ▲ Fig. 26. Deesis of Nomikos in the representation of the Baptism on the southern wall of the nave in the same church of Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi.
 - ▼ Fig. 27. Inscription painted in the sanctuary of the catholicon of Phaneromeni Monastery.
 - ▶ Fig. 28. Inscription painted on the architrave of the opening to the narthex, western wall of the nave, in the church of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta, below the Crucifixion.
- Credits for all drawings: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2024.

Both forms of the lowercase ε, in ligature or not, are identical. The symbol for the ending -ησ in the article της after the word ηκονώμος is rare in Maniot epigraphy; it can be found only in the Phaneromeni inscription (which I also attribute to Nomikos) in the ending -ησ of the word Κατζουπίτ(ησ).⁷¹

As for the palaeographic evidence from Frame 4, the words Ἡνῆξ / Ἡμέρα painted below the seated man contain three semi-majuscule types of H that fit the profile of the thin brush and specific ductus of Nomikos, noticeable in all his inscriptions. The letter ξ from the word Ἡνῆξ is also identical with the ξ in the word ΔωξHC from all the Crucifixions painted by Nomikos. Finally, I must point out the rough breathings transcribed in both uses of the article H in Gardenitsa. The scribe appears more consistent in his use of accents and breathings than in the

other two churches, perhaps because he had gained more experience.

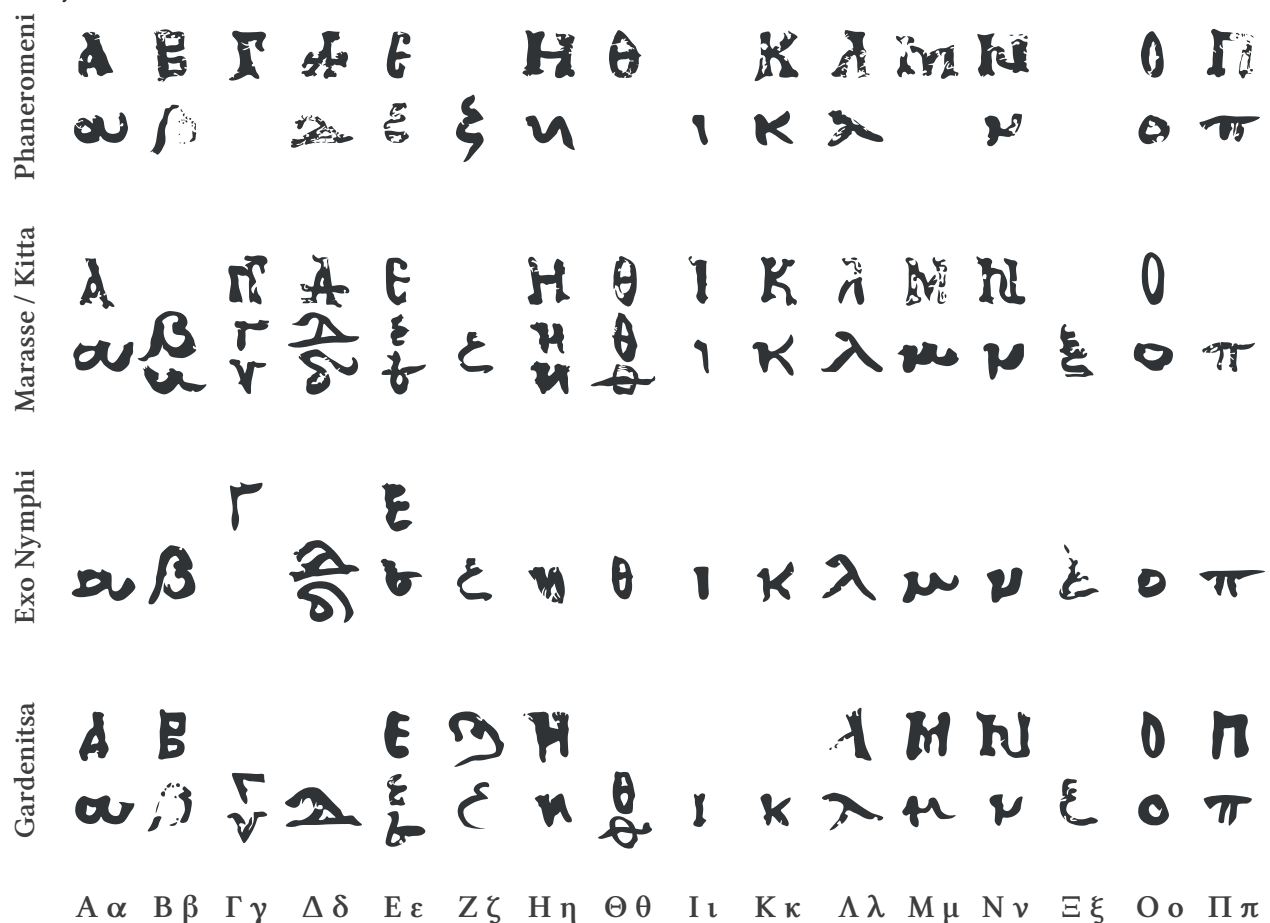
The Gardenitsa uppercase inscriptions equally resemble the uppercase letters of Nomikos. The ones painted on the shield of Longinus in the depiction of the Crucifixion from the church of Saint George show strong similarities with the ones painted on the left section of the Phaneromeni diptych, and with the uppercase inscriptions from various scenes in the church of the Saviour at Gardenitsa. Letters such as Ω, M, A, H, the ligature of A with other letters, etc., present identical calligraphies. Small discrepancies

can be attributed to the occasional change in a person's handwriting after the lapse of several years, to the kind of brush that was used, as well as to the uncomfortable writing position on the curved surface in Gardenitsa.

Several other palaeographical features of the inscriptions from the Hell scenes at Gardenitsa are visible in Frames 5 and 6. Chief among them are the overwritten θ with the long, horizontal stroke in the word θ(η)λάζουσα executed with a flourish, which is recorded identically in the inscriptions from the church of Saint George at the word ηστοριθ(ει) 'painted'. This applies to the ligature

† ΑΝΙΚΟΛΩΜΗΘΕ ΚΕΒΡΘΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΟΡΙΘΟΘΗΟΣ Κ ΠΑΥΣΕΠΤΟΣ
 ΗΔΘΣ ΤΗΣΥ ΠΕΡΑΓΝΣ Κ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΦΑΝΕΡΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΙΑΚΟΠΩΝ Κ
 ΕΞΟΑΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜ Κ ΚΤΙΤΟΡΩΝ ΤΗΣΥ ΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣΘΟΥ ΤΣΑΤΣ
 ΜΑΧ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΕΘΥ ΤΕΜΗΕΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩ ΒΑΙΛΕΩΣ ΩΣ ΩΣ ΔΑΡΟ
 ΝΙΚΣ Φ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ Κ ΤΕ ΣΕΒΕΣ ΑΤ Κ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΙΛΕΩΝ ΗΠ ΔΙ
 ΑΡΟΝΙΚΣ Κ ΑΡΗΗΣ ΑΧΙΕΡΑΕΒΟΥΤ ΔΕ ΛΕΣ ΜΙΚΟΛΑΧ ΤΡΕΧΟΠΟΣ ΑΕ
 ΕΠΟΥ ΣΩΛΑ † ΒΒΙ ΙΩΣΕΚΑ ΠΑ ΟΠΕΔΑΡΗΣ † ΣΗΙΝΗ ΙΩΣΕ ΟΚΑ ΤΣ ΠΙΤ ΙΩ ΙΩΣΕ
 Ο ΠΕΑΔΕΩΣ ΠΕΩΕΓΙ ΙΩΣΕ Ο ΚΑΥΣΠΙ ΤΩΣ ΜΙΚΟΛΑ ΙΩΣΕ Ο ΠΑΧ ΑΥΛΑΟ
 ΙΚΟΥ

† ΗΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗ Κ ΒΑΘΕΩΝ Κ ΙΦΡΕΙΜΗ Ο ΘΗΟΣ Κ ΠΑΥΣΕΠΤΟΣ ΜΑΟΣ ΤΑΣ Κ ΒΥΔΟΞ ΜΗΜΟΜΕ
 ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΠΟΦΟΡΑΣ ΓΕΥΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘΛΗ ΤΕ ΘΕΩΤΑΜΕΤΡΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΩΣ ΑΜΦΟΡΟΝΙΚΣ ΑΦΕΡΟ
 ΜΗΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΧΙΑΙΡΑΤΕΒΟΥΤ ΩΣ ΜΙΚΟΛΑΧ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΠΟΘΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΡΑΤΩΣ ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΕΨΑΣ ΚΟΨΣ Κ
 † ΚΑΡΑΒΑΝΟΣ Η ΦΗΧΗ ΙΩΣΕ ΔΙΑΚΟΜΕΤ ΚΑΤ ΣΩ Η ΣΙΜΒΗΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΗΟΣ Η ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩ ΙΩΣΕ Τ Τ ΒΡΑΔΙΚΑΕ Ι Κ ΕΠΙΔΟΜΕΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΠΟΔΟΥΜΑΤΗ ΔΙΑΥ ΕΠΗ ΓΟ
 ΜΙΚΗΜ ΔΑ ΤΡΕΟΦΩΡΑ Ο ΣΑΙΤΗΑ ΠΙΑΤΕΥΝΑ Χ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΜΟΡΙ ΑΠΙΕΛΙΑ Ο ΣΑΥΤ Κ
 ΔΙ Μ ΒΠ Τ ΚΑΧΑΕΧ † ΗΠΟΡΕΙ ΔΙΔ ΧΗΡ ΝΟ Λ ΤΣ ΙΦΟΡΙΟΓΡΑΦΟΥ Κ ΘΕΩ
 ΗΟΣ ΤΑΙ ΧΕ Τ ΚΑΡΑΒΑ ΔΟΣΙΣ ΜΗΝ Η ΦΑΙΛΕΔΑΕΙΣ ΤΣ ΚΔ ΕΡΟΤ ΣΩΛ
 † Ο ΣΤΗΣ Ο ΕΔΟΥ ΧΕΒΗ Τ Π ΑΡΗΟΜ Κ ΤΡΟ Η ΤΟ ΠΡΑΓΜΑ ΗΜΑ ΔΟΥ Λ ΕΒΗ Ε ΤΟΥ ΑΣ Β
 ΜΙΚΟΛΑΧ ΟΥ ΜΕΡΑ ΕΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΑΤΡΕΚΩΝ ΜΕ Κ Τ ΗΜΑ ΑΟΚ ΜΟΣ Κ



▲ Fig. 29. Palaeographic comparison of the inscriptions from Phaneromeni, Marasse / Kitta, Exo Nymphhi, and Gardenitsa. Credits: Panayotis S. Katsafados, Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

► Fig. 30. Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. The Hell scenes, Frame 4: close-up of the depiction of the 'Time of Man'. Photo: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

αρ as well, particularly in the word † η παρακροῶστρηα, which is written in an identical manner in the starting line of the inscription from the church of Saint George.⁷² The specific *ductus* of the preposition παρα- (frequent in manuscripts) is followed by Nomikos in all cases identically. In the Frame 5 from Gardenitsa, the painter uses the old symbol for the syllable νι. This is written in the exact same way in Phaneromeni, at the right of the minuscule section of the dedicatory inscription—in the eighth line, the one with red letters, in the words Ιου(νι)[ου] and αρ(νι).

It is also interesting to trace the implementation of the semi-majuscule ('Alexandrine')⁷³ α in the Maniot epigraphy of the early fourteenth century through the work of Nomikos. The use of this variant of the letter is well presented in manuscripts of the contemporary imperial scriptorium under Andronicus II (1282–1328).⁷⁴ In 1323, Nomikos used it rarely. In 1325/1326, he used it a few times at Exo Nymphhi, whereas the semi-majuscule Α appears regularly in Gardenitsa. Out of nine cases in total where Α is the last letter of a word, the 'Alexandrian' variant is used three times.

Moving on, the letter ζ is written in two ways. The one in the word ΠΑΡΑ:ΚΑμπαν(ι)ζων is identical with the

ζ that we find in the church of Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphhi—see line 7, ζέτο(σ)—and Phaneromeni—see Κατζουπίτης at the right end of the seventh line of the inscription). The other variant, similar to the one we see in the word θηλάζουσα 'nursing' of Frame 5, is frequently used in contemporary manuscripts.

A more general look at the Late-Byzantine Maniote inscriptions shows certain similarities with the minuscule writing of Gardenitsa and with the afore-mentioned monuments directly related to Nomikos. I can recognise certain features in the word τροπαιοφόρος in the depictions of the saint George on horseback from the churches of Saint George at Karynia (narthex) and Saint Nicholas at Skaltsotianika, as well as in the three-line inscription painted on the Synaxis of the Archangels from the church of Saint Theodore at Tsopakas, also known as Trisakia. As far as majuscule letters are concerned, resemblances can be noticed in certain uppercase inscriptions from the Trisakia church as well. Not all the features of Nomikos' writings are unique, they are a sign of their time, but the palaeographical comparison strongly suggests that Gardenitsa can be counted among his works.

As for the idiomatic manner of the scribe-painter, he seems to be influenced by the prevailing writing styles he had come across. Presumably, he could have been in contact with manuscripts both as 'nomikos' (notary) and 'historiographos' (painter). Other clues that point to Nomikos' awareness of manuscripts are the donation scene in Gardenitsa and the use of holy texts in many of the scrolls that he painted. Finally, another feature pointing in the same direction is the deep-red colouring of the last (eighth)

Ρ Ϛ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ω Ϟ Ϝ Ϟ
 ϙ τ υ φ χ ω α λ α † ιερο κυρ ζς δ=ου κ=κα

Ϛ τ υ φ χ ω Ϝ Ϟ Ϝ Ϟ
 ϙ σ τ υ φ χ ω α λ α † ιερο κυρ ζς δ=ου κ=κα

ϙ τ υ φ χ ω Ϝ Ϟ Ϝ Ϟ
 ϙ σ τ υ φ χ ω α λ α † ιερο κυρ ζς δ=ου κ=κα

Ρ Ϛ Τ Φ Χ Ω Ϟ Ϝ Ϟ
 ϙ σ υ φ χ ω † ιερο α Ϝ

Ρ ϙ Σ σ Τ τ Υ υ Φ φ Χ χ Ψ ψ Ω ω α γ ι ο Ϛ α † ι ε ρ ο / η κ υ ρ ζ Ϛ δ = ο υ κ = κ α

line from the right-side minuscule section of the Phane-
 romeni inscription. The use of this red ink imitates the
 rubrication of manuscripts or the use of red ink to high-
 light various segments of a text.⁷⁵ Perhaps this is where
 Nomikos had found certain features of his style, im-
 proving and building upon material that he had identified
 in books.

‘The Time of Man’

Having at this point established a connection between
 the damnation scenes at Gardenitsa and the art of the
 painter Nomikos (and consequently with the Maniot art
 of the third decade of the fourteenth century), I will now
 shift the focus of this study to the subject of Frame 4, and
 more specifically to the depiction of the seated man (Fig.
 30). This is a rather peculiar scene in a Last Judgement
 painted in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and
 in a church belonging to a Byzantine territory (Mani)
 which is customarily considered conservative and rather
 traditional. The way this figure of the seated man is
 designed and portrayed represents a unicum in the area
 and, therefore, rightfully deserves a prominent place in
 my analysis.

I will first underline in detail the particular features
 of this seated man illustration in Frame 4. The character
 seems to be young, beardless, brown-haired, and in the
 company of two sinners of the opposite sex. His ap-
 pearance is that of a healthy and wealthy person. He is
 seated in a three-quarter view, dressed in a dark red robe
 with decorative strips. He is wearing white, decorated
 trousers, and a girdle of pearls around his waist. The legs
 are peacefully crossed, and the fingers of his right hand



are depicted close to the face, as if the painter wished to convey that the character is pointing to the mouth. I cannot discard the probability that the hand movement could equally suggest the serving of food, such as enjoying fruits of the tree, for instance, but those fruits are not depicted in the scene and this possibility is less likely. Although the condition of the fresco surrounding his head is poor, the pose of the character still conveys a feeling of restlessness. The anxiety is enhanced by the functional use of the rolling-eyes effect, especially in the case of the right eye, which is the one well preserved to this day. A certain sense of astonishment and/or awe is implied when this ‘rolling-eyes’ feature is applied. The left arm of the man extends downwards, almost as if it were paralyzed. He looks as if he were sitting confidently on a mock throne of roughly drawn tree branches that one could also mistake for plumage. Remote similarities with other branches from the art of Nomikos can be noted in comparison with the decoration above the southern arches of the Phaneromeni catholicon. Charikleia Konstantinidi already characterised those decorations as ‘unusual’.⁷⁶

To the best of my knowledge, this peculiar composition is unique among the representations of Hell. Whatever in-

terpretation can be given to it cannot be unequivocal. The subject is in need of analogous paradigms for comparison. I will endeavour to present a series of preliminary notions about the nature and origin of the features in the composition, which I will bring to a common conclusion at the end of the article.

The most interesting element of the painting is the plant itself, since the man is seated upon it and the two animals consume its trunk. Both these elements can be interpreted as a representation of iconographic elements often occurring in the Byzantine manuscripts (Psalters included), but they occur in the illustration of a parable from the tale of Barlaam and Ioasaph, the one designated as ‘The Sweetness of the World’ (*Τοῦ Κόσμου ἡ Γλυκύτης*), or more commonly, ‘The Futile Life’ (*Ὁ Μάταιος Βίος*). This is where we find the tree and the mice that gnaw its roots.⁷⁷ I quote the text in an English translation from the main Byzantine Greek version that circulated in the Middle Ages:

These men that have foolishly alienated themselves from a good and kind master, to seek the service of so harsh and savage a lord, that are all agog for present joys and are glued thereto, that take never a thought for the future, that always grasp after bodily enjoyments,

▼ Fig. 31. Depiction of the parable of the Unicorn in Paris, National Library of France, gr. 36, c.1350–1400 (f. 203v).

Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/>.

▶ Fig. 32. The same parable in the Theodore Psalter, dated 1066—London, British Library Additional Ms 19352 (f. 182v).

Source: <https://www.bl.uk/>.

▲ Fig. 33. The same parable in the Barberini Psalter, fifteenth century—Vatican, Apostolic Library, Barb.gr. 372 (f. 237v).

Source: <https://digi.vatlib.it/>.





▲ Fig. 34. *The depiction of the parable in the church of Saint Demetrius in Thessaloniki, c.1474–1493.*

Source: Σωτηρίου 1928.

▼ Fig. 35. *The same parable in the thirteenth-century lunette of the Baptistery of Parma.*

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023.



but suffer their souls to waste with hunger, and to be worn with myriad ills, these I consider to be like a man flying before the face of a rampant unicorn, who, unable to endure the sound of the beast's cry, and its terrible bellowing, to avoid being devoured, ran away at full speed. But while he ran hastily, he fell into a great pit; and as he fell, he stretched forth his hands, and laid hold on a tree, to which he held tightly. There he established some sort of foothold and thought himself from that moment in peace and safety. But he looked and descried two mice, the one white, the other black, that never ceased to gnaw the root of the tree whereon he hanged, and were all but on the point of severing it. Then he looked down to the bottom of the pit and espied below a dragon, breathing fire, fearful for eye to see, exceeding fierce and grim, with terrible wide jaws, all agape to swallow him. Again, looking closely at the ledge whereon his feet rested, he discerned four heads of asps projecting from the wall whereon he was perched. Then he lifted up his eyes and saw that from the branches of the tree there dropped a little honey. And thereat he ceased to think of the troubles whereby he was surrounded; how, outside, the unicorn was madly raging to devour him; how, below, the fierce dragon was yawning to swallow him; how the tree, which he had clutched, was all but severed; and how his feet rested on slippery, treacherous ground. Yet, he forgot, without care, all those sights of awe and terror, and his whole mind hung on the sweetness of that tiny drop of honey. This is the likeness of those who cleave to the deceitfulness of this present life—the interpretation whereof I will declare to thee anon. The unicorn is the type of death, ever in eager pursuit to overtake the race of Adam. The pit is the world, full of all manner of ills and deadly snares. The tree, which was being continually fretted by the two mice, to which the man clung, is the course of every man's life, that spendeth and consuming itself hour by hour, day and night, and gradually draweth nigh its severance. The fourfold asps signify the structure of man's body upon four treacherous and unstable elements which, being disordered and disturbed, bring that

body to destruction. Furthermore, the fiery cruel dragon betokeneth the maw of hell that is hungry to receive those who choose present pleasures rather than future blessings. The dropping of honey denoteth the sweetness of the delights of the world, whereby it deceiveth its own friends, nor suffereth them to take timely thought for their salvation.⁷⁸

In the case of Gardenitsa, several other elements—the persecuted man, the honey dripping from the tree, several beasts, etc.—are missing. Also missing is the simplified, dark cavity at the root of the tree that usually contains Hades and the threatening dragon (cf. Fig. 33). Of these two elements, the mice (nondescript animals in Gardenitsa) follow the standard design that is deployed in various manuscript versions of the scene, including a series of psalters. These mice are pictorially linked with the inscriptions above them. The dark mouse is defined as 'The Night' (cf. *Ἡνὺξ* in Gardenitsa), whereas the white one is defined as 'The Day' (cf. *Ἡμέρα* in Gardenitsa). The coincidence is manifest and correlation can imply causation, meaning that the depiction that I attribute to Nomikos could be based on imagery derived from the manuscripts where this scene from Barlaam and Ioasaph was painted. The presence of the two *μύαες* (mice or rats) gnawing through the trunk of the tree is the strongest argument in favour of the identification of the parable of Futile Life, where the young man gets hold of the tree to escape a Unicorn. There are, on the other hand, a series of other images where these creatures have been gradually transformed from the *μύαες* of the psalters into dog-like animals, even dragons.⁷⁹

I refer to the British Library ms Add. 19352, originating from the Stoudion Monastery, dated 1066. The scene to which I refer to is painted on f. 182v and it glosses the meaning of Ps 144:4 (Fig. 32). The inscription accompanying it in the manuscript reads *AN(ΘΡΩΠ)OC ΜΑΤΑΙΟΤΗΤΙ ΩΜΟΙΩΘΗΝ ΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΩΚΕΙ ΚΚΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΟΥΣΙ*.⁸⁰ This scene also incorporates a series of features that can be compared to what we find in Gardenitsa: the man bringing his finger to the mouth, the tree, and the two animals (here, still as mice). All these features are accompanied by the interesting caption *ο χρόνος της ζωής* 'the lifetime' or the 'time of life', which could have a certain relation to the inscription of Gardenitsa (cf. Fig. 30).⁸¹



▲ Fig. 36. *The depiction of the same parable in the mural paintings of Cozia, dated 1542.*

Photo: Andrei Dumitrescu, 2018.

▼ Fig. 37. *Mani, Episkopi. Hell scenes: close-up of the lunette with the Rich man from the parable of Poor Lazarus, c.1200.*

► Fig. 38. *The depiction of sinners in the same part of the church.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2019.

The scene can also be found in the Barb.gr. 372 manuscript of the Apostolic Library in the Vatican. This manuscript's f. 237v repeats the pictorial part, but not all the captions (Fig. 33). Borrowing probably from a similar source is the (enriched) version of f. 203v in Paris, National Library of France, f. gr. 36 (c.1350–1400) (Fig. 31). In this scene, a man is at the centre of the composition. He is depicted standing on a tree and tasting some fruit. All around him there are a unicorn, dragons, beasts, and other animals that are interpreted as symbolising brevity, insecurity, futility, and, ultimately, the transient nature of life on earth. It is particularly interesting to note that the mice look like actual dogs, thus suggesting that the depiction from Gardenitsa could be based on previous Byzantine images.⁸²

The image found its way into mural paintings as well. A depiction of the parable can be found in the decoration of the belfry of the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (Kosovo), in the lunette of the window of the western wall, dated c.1307–1309, but the scene does not present the same elements that we find in Gardenitsa.⁸³ Other depictions are of a later date. A depiction of the same parable was painted c.1474–1493 on a southern pilaster of the tribelun-portico from the church of Saint Demetrius in Thessaloniki. It was still visible at the beginning of the twentieth century, when it was photographed (Fig. 34).⁸⁴ Finally, another depiction can be found in the sixteenth-century mural paintings of the hospital-church (Church Slavonic *больница*) of Cozia Monastery (Romania), dated 1542 (Fig. 36).⁸⁵ However, none of these depictions present the specific features that we find in Gardenitsa, and they are not very different from famous Western representations, such as the thirteenth-century carved lunette of the Baptistry of Parma (Fig. 35).

In these Byzantine manuscripts and (post-)Byzantine mural paintings,⁸⁶ the tree is depicted with the characteristics of a natural plant, as it develops fruit and has normal branches and foliage. In Gardenitsa, the man sits on something that differs considerably. It looks like an abstract arboriform creation with twelve protruding branches that extend radially upwards. It is hard to believe that this design could be correlated to a tree illustrated in a miniature, at least not to a tree that can be found in any of the Byzantine codices mentioned above.⁸⁷

Having briefly dealt with the tree, I now come to the depiction of the man seated upon it. I am particularly intrigued by the manner in which he brings the finger to the mouth. In my opinion, this is the most idiomatic feature of the composition. Yet this is also a common pictorial trait that all beholders are already familiar with, for it recalls the allegory of the Rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), which could be customarily included in the various scenes of the Last Judgement. Examples of the image of the Rich man in Hell are abundant. I have in mind the fourteenth century Cretan churches, including the church of Saint John the Forerunner at Kritsa (1353/1354).⁸⁸ However, there is perhaps no need to go as far as Crete, Attica, and other regions; the representation of the Rich man had already been a part of the earlier Maniote Last Judgement cycles, close to Gardenitsa, in the earlier decoration of the churches of Episkopi and Agitria, and the painter could have been aware of their existence.⁸⁹ In Episkopi (Fig. 37, Fig. 38) and Agitria (Fig. 39, Fig. 40), the Rich man brings his index finger to his half-open mouth, is middle aged, bearded, displayed in the dreadful environment of Hell, and the inscription that accompanies him is appropriately captioned.⁹⁰ In Gardenitsa, the depiction of the 'Time of Man' incorporates many of the features from Episkopi and Agitria, but also diverges from them in the essential aspects. It is beyond any doubt that the man from Gardenitsa is related to all these sources at the same time.

The sinner Rich man of the allegory cannot be identified with the man depicted at Gardenitsa. The former is depicted, as it is customary, in profile view as a plump man, naked (a sign of debasement) and by the Fiery River,⁹¹ which definitely is not the case with the latter. In Gardenitsa, the character is positioned in a three-quarter view, well dressed, and in a place where the devouring flames of Hell are not visible. Some sort of punishment can be implied,





▲ Fig. 39. Mani, Agitria. Hell scenes: close-up of the Rich man from the parable of Poor Lazarus, thirteenth century.

◀ Fig. 40. The context of the Hell scenes at Agitria.

Photos: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.



but not a direct one. The Gardenitsa man is presented as being rather attractive and dressed in luxurious garments. The only correspondence is that both refer to (once) wealthy persons. Besides, the mental state of the Rich Man from the parable of Poor Lazarus traditionally expresses the psychology of a person who realises that it is too late to repent. Perhaps this could be retained in an interpretation of the mental status of the Gardenitsa man. The stance of the latter is indicative of a behaviour that does not take into account (or does not take seriously) the material and moral dangers and enticements of life, but it could also demonstrate the psychology of a person who realises that it is too late to repent, judging from the dreaded look and the debilitated arm.

Conclusively, the scene in Gardenitsa evades contemporary pictorial practice, all the more in the region of Mani. It does not carry the typical characteristics, save for the finger to the mouth. And, although included in a Last Judgement cycle, it is substantially removed from the parable. This distance confers a sense of uniqueness recognized in the representation. The impression of naturalism evoked by the stance, combined with the divergence of the composition from the typical Byzantine iconography (particularly in the conservative Mani), perhaps implies a concealed, external influence.

The verses Ps 39:5–7 consider the brevity and uncertainty of human life.⁹² In Western Europe, certain Gothic psalters of the thirteenth century illustrate the initial

letter of *Dixi custodiam vias meas* with the image of a seated man (the psalmist), frequently in prayer, facing his enemies, and pointing to his tongue which he undertakes to hold silent.⁹³ His crossed legs could be a common feature, as well. Among the numerous psalters created in the north of France, Flanders, and elsewhere, an arbitrarily chosen French Psalter-hours dated to the turn of the fourteenth century shows David as king, bearded, seated cross-legged and pointing to his mouth, while the enemy, a brown devil with small pink bat wings, horns, and claws on his knees, stands before him (Fig. 41).⁹⁴ The similarity of the pose with the seated character from Gardenitsa is obvious. Perhaps both artists were inspired by the same tradition or perhaps this could come from a common source. Judging from the secular nature of the scenes, I doubt that this could originate in Byzantium. If, on the other hand, the two images are unrelated and the Gardenitsa representation is the development of a Byzantine artistic tradition stemming from a variant of the Second Coming, then there should have been a transitional image, which (to the best of my knowledge) does not exist. Tentatively speaking, my provisional interpretation is that Nomikos improvised based on a Western prototype that he adapted to a Byzantine theme.

This begs for a closer examination of the inscription from Gardenitsa: *O XPONOC(TOY ANΘPOTIOY)*. This ‘Time of Man’ is clearly the best clue that the painter left in order to decode the meaning of the image. I believe that the keyword here is *XPONOC* ‘Time’. The rationale of the Gardenitsa inscription points towards an understanding of Time that the painter associated with human lifetime. Since the depiction of the seated man is indeed combined with that of the two tortured female characters as part of the same scene, this pairing could be read in an ‘eternal’ key, as an after-death circumstance, in particular related to the place or state of being of these characters.⁹⁵ It is also hard to believe that the conceptual or allegorical scope of the depiction had been univocal. The seated man could not stand for the personification of Time and therefore his image would not be decrypted straightforwardly by the text of the inscription. When I make this assumption, I have in mind that there is no known anthropomorphic image of Time before the fifteenth century. Simona Cohen even goes as far as to say that “the observed absence of the Time imaging, combined with the prolific adoption of abstract personifications during that period, has rendered the conspicuous lack of the embodiment of the concept of Time per se a remarkable issue”.⁹⁶

As this cannot be a personification of Time, it is more appropriate to interpret the seated man as being symbolically linked to Time, in the sense that it confers more than one meaning to the abstract notion of *Xpónos*.⁹⁷ In this sense, the depiction could be conceived as the transitory image of a wealthy man, in the prime of his life, who is nevertheless concerned with the finite and futile lifecycle of men and the moral temptations that endanger his experience of a virtuous life. However, a secondary meaning of the word *XPONOC* would be used in the designating inscription. The particular meaning used in the painting of Gardenitsa being still obscure, I am tempted to consider the subject from a different point of view and to explain the inscription and the depiction accompanied by it as a loan from other artistic sources that the painter could have been familiar with. The pairing of those unknown sources with the contemporary Byzantine conception of *Xpónos* would, naturally, be due to the agency of the artist himself.



▲ Fig. 41. Initial of Ps 39 in Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 117 (f. 49v), second half of the thirteenth century.

Source: <https://www.digitalcollections.manchester.ac.uk/>.

Time had already been associated with the personified *Kairos* ‘Opportunity’ in many other instances.⁹⁸ In the twelfth century, John Tsetses’ seventieth Letter described a lost statue of Lysippos using the name *Xpónos*.⁹⁹ Tsetses then underlined the notion of transience in accord with the intentions of the ancient sculptor. However, he also used the word *Kairos* in the same text,¹⁰⁰ thus merging the personified Opportunity (*Kairos*) with a revived interpretation of Time (*Xpónos*). This led to an experienceable, sensorial notion that characterised the opportunity which humans should not leave to pass them by. Dietrich Boschung argued that *Xpónos* could correspond to the interpretation as *effigies Temporis* in Phaedrus. In this sense, the Byzantine term likely reflects a retranslation or reappropriation from Latin.¹⁰¹

Historically, the personification of *Kairos* had been more or less standardised as an almost unclothed wing-footed young person who moved hastily on wheels.¹⁰² In certain cases, it was the main character in images linked with the outcome of the dilemma: either when an opportunity to live a virtuous life had been seized by a human being during his/her lifetime, or when that opportunity had been lost. Research focused extensively on a marble plaque dated to the twelfth century, now included in the parapet of the pulpit ladder from the church of *Santa Maria Assunta* of Torcello. This carving seems to revitalise (at least artistically) the ancient concept of *Kairos*.¹⁰³ If the text accompanying the seated man in Gardenitsa could actually refer to *Kairos* as being directly related to *Xpónos*, then the image could possibly allude to the two alternatives that a man could choose and the figure could be a representation of a human being’s transient relation to the passing *Kairos* who extends his arm (ineffectively), as if to catch it.¹⁰⁴

There are, however, a series of features that point in a different direction. Contrary to the aforementioned Lysippos image, the Gardenitsa man is not standing. He is seated, his arm is bent, not stretched, while the hand is brought to his mouth. Contrary to the middle-aged character from Torcello, the Gardenitsa man also appears as a beardless young person who does not lack any comfort. It is therefore difficult to consider that he was the one who missed the *ocasio* and now helplessly recog-

nised the moral risks and the limited lifespan in comparison with the everlasting nature of the divine Time. The almost paralysed left arm, the upright torso, and the expression of astonishment on the seated man's face point to a certain awareness of the overwhelmingly unavoidable or unexpected power of God. The Gardenitsa posture could allude to the aftermath of salvation, to the punishment or ill fate of those who realise that they will find an inescapable end at the Last Judgement if they reject the alternative of living virtuously. In this sense, the placement of this scene in the narthex could be justifiably appropriate. In the Rylands ms Lat. 117, f. 49v, David has his left hand resting on his lap when he is conversing with the Evil One, and this obviously replicates the meaning of the Psalm verse, particularly the second verse. This is not exactly the case in the Maniot depiction: although the two stances are compatible, the seated man of Gardenitsa is not facing any visible evil character, nor is he conversing with another character. Instead, he rather directs his glance away and is seated on a strange tree the trunk which is consumed by two animals originating in the Byzantine depictions of a parable from the story of Barlaam and Ioasaph.

So far, I have linked the features of the Gardenitsa image to well-known and well-illustrated artistic depictions in an attempt to establish a possible source, but there still remain a series of essential differences that make it impossible to identify a single source. Several features partially overlap, but none of the identified sources provide a perfect match. This suggests that the artistic agency, in this case, did not rely on duplication, but on a clever design that borrows elements from various sources in order to construct a depiction that no-one had ever seen before. The placement of the inscription $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\text{(C)}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\eta\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\iota\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ in a scene that occupies the place of the parable of Poor Lazarus leads to the same conclusion, namely that the composition had to be a deliberate, innovative, and composite creation that cannot be attributed to the limited experience of the painter, to the lack of a knowledge of the parable, or to a rural cultural setting. If the inscription is flexibly interpreted, the seated man cannot be understood as a direct personification of $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$. He would then symbolise a multifaceted abstraction of Time.

The simplest explanation of this conundrum is that a painter who had been working on the Second Coming took advantage of the iconographically populous milieu of Hell and particularly of the punishment scenes usually depicted in the narthex. He was probably tempted to enhance the symbolism of those scenes and to bring new dimensions to the eschatological meaning of the entire iconographical program through an amalgamation of three or perhaps four sources into one, given that all of them shared a common significance: (a) the moral from the parable of Poor Lazarus demonstrated in detail the matter of the archetypal figure of the Rich Man; (b) the philosophical considerations on the vanity of human life could also be found in the implications of the $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ / $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ metaphor; (c) certain features of the character enjoying the ephemeral sweetness of life could also be found in the allegory of the Futile Life from the tale of Barlaam and Ioasaph; and (d) the allegory of the Tree of Life was a theme that the painter could have found in the psalters. All four are interlaced with the texts of the certain psalms, particularly Ps 39 (Septuagint numbering), the meaning of which seem to prevail in the amalgamation.

I cannot be sure that all these sources have been used to create the scene at Gardenitsa. Perhaps they were not all used at the same time (or some of them were known

from other adaptations). However, the parables of the Unicorn and Poor Lazarus were certainly in the mind of the painter when he set about to paint the 'Time of Man'. If the other two sources are more difficult to prove, this is due to the fact that they were of a Western origin and this is something that future research must elucidate. As to the initiative behind the painter's project, artists (especially those acting in a conservative milieu) could pursue innovations as long as they were tolerable in the eyes of their patrons. In order to achieve this, they could resort to a variety of sources (not only images, but also texts) and implement them with varying degrees of accuracy. The resulting artworks diverged widely, not only in relationship to the various parts of the source, but also with regard to the attribution and emphasis of the passages they referred to. Painters, sculptors, designers, and copper engravers could thus fill in the blanks of literary texts and pictorial arts in order to exhibit their own ideas.¹⁰⁵ Last but not least, our painter depicts the figure as a young beardless character, that is, by not wishing to abstain from the customary perception of the entity of Time.¹⁰⁶

The result of this is the obvious predilection of the painter to present his ideas in a concealed manner, and even allegorically. The obvious rationale is that he had to develop certain features in order to fit his creation in the local Orthodox environment. In other words, the cautious manner in which the painter of Gardenitsa approached the subject could be explained either by the need to avoid the integration of essential features that could be correlated (even hypothetically) by his viewers with the Latin doctrine; or perhaps he himself chose to reject that Latinity of the source. However, their traces are still there, little does it matter if said Latinity had been accepted or discarded. Since there are no traces of a subsequent *dammatio memoriae* of any kind, it is safe to assume that the orthodox parishioners who lived in a conservative and anti-Latin Orthodox environment of the post-Frankish Mani peninsula, did not believe those sacred images to be heretic, that is, associated with (or originating from) the Catholic dogma. I assume that hostile practices and control practices had become severe after the Council of Blachernae in 1351, when religious matters were scrutinised according to the Hesychast doctrine. Conclusively, my opinion is that the artist, whom I identify with Nomikos, ultimately succeeded to effectively communicate to his conservative audience a series of ideas which under ordinary circumstances would have been at least criticised for having originated at least in part in a Latin milieu.

The issue of the learned donor

The incorporation of the otherwise enigmatic 'Time of Man' in the Last Judgement might have, therefore, been built upon a series of Western models stemming from the cultural dialogue that took place at the turn of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Creative artists would feel obliged to devise ways for introducing new ideas, but the extent to (and especially the routes through) which such influences reached Byzantine Mani remain so far uncertain. Miniatures painted in manuscripts could be the usual suspects of cultural transfer. Perhaps some of the manuscripts illustrated in the donation scene of the church might be those used during the creative process. Let us not forget that the donor offers a stack of books, which is a rather unusual representation.

The status of the main donor, portrayed in the donation scene painted in the northern side of the narthex (where the righteous should have been depicted), could have



equally influenced the significance of the ‘Time of Man’ composition (Fig. 42). This donor could be the person who covered the expenses for the decoration, as well as the compensation of the painter. Even though we know nothing about him, he appears to be a wealthy man of high rank.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps the local beholders of the parable scene could have connected, even incidentally, the representation of the Rich Man from the biblical parable with this donor, thus explaining why the parable itself was not depicted in the decoration of Gardenitsa. To the contrary, the way the finger gesture from the parable is kept in the mural painting of Gardenitsa can be interpreted as an attempt of the donor or painter to diverge from (or replace) the bad reputation of the rich. Whether the composition was conceived by both the donor and painter together, or only by the latter, the answer is more or less the same.¹⁰⁹ In both cases, the painter would have been careful in his depiction of the Rich Man, abstaining from debasing the Rich Man to the status of a naked figure. The preference for the *Dixi custodiam* image confers a degree of complexity to the posture of the seated man. Perhaps this is why the painter also removed the threatening depiction of Hades from the root of the tree upon which the man is seated in the church of Gardenitsa. The adoption of this intellectual approach explains the motivation of the painter. Moreover, if the church had a funerary iconography (even partial), the comparatively large space occupied by the eschatological message could be related to the needs and expectations of a wealthy donor who was looking for the salvation of his soul.¹¹⁰ Such a funerary program would explain why the church of the Saviour at Gardenitsa was an isolated monument in the Maniot landscape of the fourteenth century. It is located half a kilometre away from the closest Byzantine settlement – the palaiochora ‘old village’ of Marasse, in the vicinity

► Fig. 42. *Gardenitsa, Transfiguration of the Saviour. Depiction of a donor presenting a stack of books to Christ.*

Photo: Panayotis S. Katsafados, 2016.

of the domed church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus and few other churches dating back to the Byzantine era.

It is most unfortunate that nothing is known about the identity of the donor. It was assumed that he could have been a member of the clergy, probably a prelate.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, I have reserves regarding this interpretation. The painter could not have been so critical in his depictions of the clergy if the donor had been a man of the cloth. Moreover, the attire worn by the donor is not that of a clergyman. The cloak looks rather like a phelonion although it is not one. The tunic is decorated; the sleeves are decorated as well. No clavicle is discernible. The cap was conical, not hemispherical, as the head-coverings of the priests depicted in the frames of Hell. My conclusion is that this was not a clergyman’s attire. Costume details being left aside, the crucial aspect of this depiction is the stack of five precious volumes that the donor offers to Christ in lieu of the customary kivotion of a church.

The significance of these five books perhaps surpasses the previous discussion of the painter’s aesthetic choices, initiatives, improvisations, or his knowledge, which might also reflect the donor’s scholarly contributions. Why not imagine the latter as being not only the person who provided the funds for the paintings, but also as an erudite personality (not necessarily a native Maniot, but a wealthy person who came to the region)?¹¹² If he were the one who had taken initiative in the design of the decoration, then he would be the one responsible for the innovations discussed here. The five books could represent the literacy of Gardenitsa in the third decade of the fourteenth century.

Western influences in Mani

The long debate about the cultural exchanges between Byzantines and Latins as far as literature, art, and other domains are concerned cannot be disregarded in this study.¹¹³ The Moreote corpus has already been studied by Sharon Gerstel, Sophia Kalopissi-Verti and others.¹¹⁴ The connections between Byzantine art and that of the Early Renaissance have been recently re-discussed (in part) by Lyn Rodley.¹¹⁵ As for the latest reports on the archaeological and artistic evidence from the Peloponnese, those of Sophia Kalopissi-Verti and Vassiliki Foskolou focused on the relation between Byzantines and Latins.¹¹⁶ It is common knowledge that the paintings of the Palaeologan period were characterised by the enhancement of compositional concepts via secondary scenes, some of which were adopted following the infiltration of Western artistic trends in the Byzantine art of that period.¹¹⁷ Panayotis Vokotopoulos, citing Elisabeth Roth, studied the multi-person Crucifixion and claimed that the trend appeared in Italy during the third quarter of the thirteenth century, being influenced by the *Meditationes vitae Christi* of saint Bonaventure, that is, by the detailed narratives regarding the Passion of Christ.¹¹⁸ Links would spring from rather indirect sources, probably from hybridised manuscripts that could have combined features of the works of the Franciscan saint and the aforesaid novel of Barlaam and Josaphat. It is the direction I would explore to trace the origin of the 'Time of Man'.

The issue of the Latin influence in the Maniot art of the post-Frankish period is therefore still under investigation. Preliminary evidence documented so far revealed a limited effect of Western models in decorative elements.¹¹⁹ Western (or hybrid) elements inserted into rather traditional building and carving programs of Late-Byzantine churches have been documented by Michalis Kappas in the decoration of several fourteenth–fifteenth century monuments in Western Exo Mani.¹²⁰ Among various interesting manifestations, one could count the heraldic eagle from the sanctuary of the church of Saint George at Karynia (1281).¹²¹ However, influences could go as far as the pairing of saint George and saint Kyriaki in the church of Saint Nicholas at Polemitas (mid-fourteenth century), that is, if the painter had in mind the Western depictions of the legend of saint George and the Princess.¹²² Another strange case is set in the northern part of Laconia and it does not concern a direct Western influence, only the Latin way of representing profane scenes in the margin of sacred images. This is the rare scene (dated to second half of the fourteenth century) in which Digenis fights Maximou the Amazon, before decapitating her, as depicted in the dado zone of the church of Panagia Chryssafitissa.¹²³ Last but not least, there are direct influences as well. A Greek interpretation, stemming from the French medieval bestseller *Roman de Renard*, can be recognised in the carvings from the churches of Saint Nicholas at Charia and the Transfiguration at Nomitsi, both of them in Mani, and perhaps also in the early Demotic text known as the *Synaxarion of the Venerable Donkey*.¹²⁴ Further influences can be found elsewhere, but, as Vladimir Agri-goroaei noted, the main problem is that Moreote Western influences appear mostly in rural areas, far from the urban settlements where one would expect them to occur.¹²⁵

To conclude...

The depiction of the 'Time of Man' is an unusual Western influence that has been adapted and integrated into a distinctly Byzantine theme, finding its place among the

series of sinners as a rare instance of individual punishments in fourteenth-century church decoration in Mani. This early-fourteenth century example from Gardenitsa complements the better-known thirteenth-century depictions that still survived in the region, such as those from Episkopi or Agitria. Nevertheless, most sinners depicted at Gardenitsa concern the morals of small settlements. Other sins pertaining to reprehensible behaviour in the community, particularly those of the female figures, are commonly represented in Mani and elsewhere. The male-associated sins, including the forging of documents and the falsification of measurements, can be linked to other depictions of the period, such as those of the usurer, the dishonest miller, etc., all manifesting the day-to-day concerns of villagers about legal and commercial transactions. Gardenitsa is a rural settlement, yet agrarian crimes are not pictured, such as those that we see in the rural churches of Crete, Cyprus, Serbia, and elsewhere. Perhaps some of them are still hidden under the whitewash that covers Frames 7 and 8 in the eastern part of the vault. However, if these two other scenes do not contain references to agrarian sins, then the Gardenitsa sinners are exceptional in that they do not refer to country-life, but chastise the sins of church servants and manifest the designer's concerns with the futility of human life. In other words, the list of sinners is dissonantly 'intellectual' for the rural setting in which it is found.

The depictions of Hell and the punishment scenes, as well as their accompanying inscriptions were painted by the same artist as a coherent programme. Strong similarities to the depictions in the churches of Saint George at Marasse / Kitta and Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi can be found. Based on epigraphical and palaeographical grounds, strong similarities also point towards the painter who worked in Phaneromeni near Dryalos. This is enough to conclude that they are all the works of the same person, the painter Nomikos. As regards to the structure of his texts, Nomikos does not seem to be in need of textual sources and model books in order to copy themes and specify details of his inscriptions. He probably did not even prepare his inscriptions, as he was adequately literate to write them while painting. The sinner scenes and their inscriptions have little to tell us about Nomikos as an artist and scribe. This rather secondary status of the punishments is at least partly due to them being steered towards ordinary and illiterate laymen. Even though imbued with a certain degree of creativity, the scenes do not belong to the category of high art, but they still capture and transmit to the viewer their complex meaning, as well as the gravitas of the themes. Bearing in mind the conservative environment in which they have been painted, the compositions appear rather creative, but this is due to the painter's familiarity with manuscripts, particularly in the conceptually charged depiction of the 'Time of Man'. The painter's familiarity with manuscripts likely influenced his development as a scribe. Within the iconography of the Church of the Saviour, the painter also assumes the role of a cultural mediator, demonstrating a level of literacy that complements the expressive depth of his art.

Further research must verify if the agency of the donor, whose portrait is found in the same part of the church, influenced the manner in which the scenes have been planned and the sins have been depicted. As for the emphasis on sinners who are members of the clergy (as well as their wives), a suggestion would be that the donor, who could plausibly have come to Mani from elsewhere, would have had something to say on local habits. His identity is unfortunately unknown. Nothing but a lowercase letter tau remains from the dedicatory

inscription that was painted next to his head in the emblematic donor scene. I assume that the manuscripts that influenced the painter could be counted among those that the donor presented to the Saviour in that scene. Could the ‘Time of Man’ have been an image found in

those manuscripts? While definitive evidence is lacking, this seems plausible. The detailed depiction of these manuscripts implies that the donor held them in high regard and would likely have displayed them, perhaps even ostentatiously, to inspire a curious painter with new ideas.

Notes

- 1 According to the census of 2001, the village had 81 permanent residents.
- 2 The monument was initially discussed by Γκιολές 1994. Partial information can be found in Traquair 1909, p. 180–81; and also in Δρανδάκης 1964, p. 70.
- 3 Διαμαντή 2010.
- 4 Γκιολές 1994, p. 328.
- 5 Πάντου 2009, p. 257, fn 164.
- 6 Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 336–342.
- 7 The name Nomikos is documented in the Late Byzantine period. See *PLP*, vol. 8, p. 180–182, s.v. *νομικός*. For a discussion about this painter, see Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 65–102, 109–117.
- 8 For Saint George at Marasse / Kitta, see Ετζέογλου, Κωνσταντινίδη 2009. The church is located a few hundred metres away from the church of the Saviour at Gardenitsa. The dedicatory inscription, painted below a depiction of the Crucifixion, is signed by Nomikos and dated 1323. The inscription was initially commented upon by Ετζέογλου, Κωνσταντινίδη 2009, 216–219; cf. a re-assessment in Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 67–81, fig. 33. For the church of Saint Nicholas at Exo Nymphi, see Αγγρέβη 2009. It is located twelve kilometres North-east of Gardenitsa, on a path that follows the southern ridge of Taygetos Mountains. In this other church, the depiction of the Baptism of the Lord is also signed by Nomikos and dated 1325/6. See Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 114, fig. 60Δ; cf. Fig. 14 of the present article.
- 9 Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 99; Κατσαφάδος (forthcoming). For Phaneromeni, see Κωνσταντινίδη 1998.
- 10 Cf. e.g., Lymberopoulou 2020 (both volumes).
- 11 A less detailed description of these scenes was included in the study for the Leverhulme Trust project: Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 336–342.
- 12 On the depiction of the Byzantine Last Judgement, see e.g., Brenk 1966; cf. Garidis 1982; Garidis 1985; Angheben 2002; Baun 2007; Patterson Ševčenko 2009; Perdiki, Nicolaïdes 2011. Further references to sinner depictions in Cretan churches, although later than the Maniot church of Gardenitsa, see Μαδεράκης 1978; Μαδεράκης 1979; Μαδεράκης 1981.
- 13 For the development of the Last Judgement iconography of the narthex, see Papadopoulos 1966, p. 68–70.
- 14 On the depictions of identified sins, see Kalopissi-Verti 2012, p. 115–208, 143–148, who quotes previous research, especially Garidis 1985, p. 82–117; Mouriki 1976, p. 149; Μαδεράκης 1979, p. 51–80; Tsamakda 2012, p. 205–208. For agrarian transgressions, see Gerstel 2002.
- 15 On the inclusion of Earth and Sea in the Second Coming, see Mijović 1967, p. 211–212.
- 16 The sea giving up the dead is represented in a simpler manner in the church of Episkopi, Katagiorgis (early thirteenth century). For the church of Episkopi, see Δρανδάκης 1964, p. 65–113; also Δρανδάκης 1995, p. 151–212.
- 17 Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 335.
- 18 See Kalopissi-Verti 2012, p. 150 and Fig. 5.29.
- 19 See Kitzinger 1991.
- 20 Kalopissi-Verti 2012, Fig. 5.25.
- 21 Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 335.
- 22 Trkulja 2009, p. 217.
- 23 See e.g., the beasts of the Earth on the southern wall of nave in the catholicon of the monastery of Prophet Elijah, Roussaki, Kalianeika (1758).
- 24 Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 336.
- 25 It could be based on the term *sacellarius* reconstructed in the ktetor inscription from the church of Saint George at Karynia (1282), two kilometres East-northeast of the church of Gardenitsa; see Katsafados 2020, p. 42.
- 26 For a discussion about this office, see e.g., Λεονταρίτου 1996, p. 352–435; Gerstel 2002, p. 214.
- 27 Μαδεράκης 1979, p. 75, fig. 27 below.
- 28 Μαδεράκης 1979, p. 34, fig. 17 below.
- 29 Mouriki 1976, p. 149.
- 30 I refer to the frequently depicted ‘sleepless worm’ and ‘gnashing of teeth’ scenes (cf. the neighbouring churches of AiStratigos, Episkopi, and Agitria). The scenes defined as ‘outer darkness’ and ‘inextinguishable fire’ are also not specifically mentioned in Gardenitsa.
- 31 Sullivan *et al.* 2014, p. 390–397.
- 32 Patterson Ševčenko 2009, p. 256–257.
- 33 Schroeder 2009.
- 34 Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 337–339.
- 35 Cf. Millet 1927, p. 149, 247, for the sixteenth-century mural paintings of the Great Lavra and Docheiarion Monastery.
- 36 Baun 2007, p. 361.
- 37 For nuns in rural Byzantium, see Gerstel, Talbot 2006; cf. Sullivan *et al.* 2014, p. 554–557. For the terms *ΠΙΠΕΚΒΙΤΕΡΑΙ* and *ΜΟΝΑΚΤΙΠΙΕ*, see Πάντου 2009, p. 257, fn 164.
- 38 Kalopissi-Verti 2012, p. 145.
- 39 Gerstel 2015, p. 101, 129.
- 40 Gerstel, Talbot 2006, p. 488. For a comprehensive summary on a woman’s life in fourteenth-century rural Mani, see Gerstel 2015, p. 70–101 (Chapter 3).
- 41 For Efthimios and Kyriaki, probably a couple who separated and took monastic vows in old age, see Gerstel 2015, p. 141; Katsafados 2015, p. 277, 278.
- 42 Δρανδάκης 1964, p. 102, pl. 78, 83. The cycle of tormented sinners at Panagia Hodegetria is quite similar to the one from Episkopi. According to Δρανδάκης 1964, p. 95, and Δρανδάκης 1995, 251, Fig. 29, it is dated to the thirteenth century (see also Δρανδάκης 1977, p. 218).
- 43 Gerstel 2015, p. 43; Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 44. Whether the specific action can be considered as irreverence or was a normal custom of the period in question is still a matter of debate.
- 44 Διαμαντή 2010, p. 133.
- 45 Kalopissi-Verti 2012, Fig. 5.27.
- 46 Δρανδάκης 1995, p. 426, Fig. 39.
- 47 Cf. Γκιολές 1977, p. 69–70.
- 48 Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 339.
- 49 Gerstel 2002, p. 211; Gerstel 2015, p. 91; cf. Kalopissi-Verti 2012, p. 145; Βασιλάκη 1986, p. 44; Baun 2007, p. 393; Μαδεράκης 1979, p. 79.

- 50 In some churches, this figure is designated as *παραφουγκραστρέα*. See Gerstel 2015, p. 97.
- 51 See Δημητράκος 1953, vol. 8, p. 6794: *συμβολομάχος* (with one lambda) *ο διαπληκτιζόμενος, ο συμβάλλων τινά ή συμβαλλόμενος εις μάχην*. Cf. Lampe 1976, p. 1280: *συμβαλλόμενος* 'prone to fighting, contentious'.
- 52 *PG*, vol. 77, coll. 1085A: *Οὐαὶ τοῖς παρακροαταῖς, καὶ συμβαλλομάχοις, καὶ παραχοποιοῖς*.
- 53 Kalopissi-Verti 2012, Fig. 5.27.
- 54 Baun 2007, p. 312; cf. Marinis 2015, for the interval between the after-death judgement and the final condemnation at the Last Judgement.
- 55 For the relation between punishments and their infliction upon certain parts of the body related to that particular sin, see Himmelfarb 1983, p. 75–109. Cf. Bathrellos 2014, p. 88–90, on Mark of Ephesus and the Orthodox Church interpretation of the post-mortem purifying experiences.
- 56 Gerstel, Katsafados 2020, p. 340.
- 57 Mouriki 1976, p. 150. ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦ(ΩΝ) could also fit the missing inscription above the head of a figure holding the kalamarin (penholder and inkpot attached around the cleric's neck) in the church of Saint George at Kouvaras.
- 58 This is a rather common transgression; see Pitarakis 2012, p. 416–426.
- 59 Δρανδάκης 1964, p. 64–65; cf. Gerstel 2002, p. 214.
- 60 The same trickery is referred to in the paintings from the church of Saint John the Forerunner Argentis, Chios (second half of the fourteenth century): 'here are the ones who mix wine with water' (*οὕτη ὑ σμημίγοντες τον ὑνον ἡδατι*). See Βάσση 2015, p. 161 and Fig. 11.
- 61 Δημητροκάλλης 1998, p. 130.
- 62 See comments on related lapidary inscriptions of Nikitas Marmaras and others in Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 131–132.
- 63 For the depiction of instruments of the sinners used to warn illiterate laymen, see Gerstel 2002, p. 212; Mouriki 1976, p. 149, 161.
- 64 Gerstel 2002, p. 211; Mouriki 1976, p. 149, 159; Πάντου 2009, p. 235, footnote 12, pls. 44–47.
- 65 Kalopissi-Verti 2012, p. 144, Fig. 5.30.
- 66 Ετζέογλου, Κωνσταντινίδη 2009, Pl. x–1.
- 67 Αγρέβη 2009, p. 187, Fig. 32.3.
- 68 Papaodysseus et al. 2014. For Byzantine palaeography, see Papaioannou 2015; Τσελίκας 2004; Canart 1991; Barbour 1981; Mioni 1973; Thompson 1912.
- 69 The titular hierodeacon (*ιεροδιάκονος* with *δ* in minuscule) is named only in Nomikos' mural paintings from the church of Saint George at Kitta.
- 70 Κατσαφάδος 2015, Fig. 56, below left at the right-side part, line 8.
- 71 Κατσαφάδος 2015, Fig. 50, seventh line.
- 72 Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 68, Fig. 33.
- 73 Cf. Cavallo 1975.
- 74 Papaioannou 2015, p. 29.
- 75 Κωνσταντινίδη 1998, p. 53; Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 99.
- 76 Κωνσταντινίδη 1998, p. 68, Fig. 27.
- 77 *PG*, vol. 96, coll. 976A–C (chapter 112). The vast bibliography behind the story of Barlaam and Ioasaph is beyond the scope of this article. A concise account of the citations referring to its imagery can be found in Orfanidis 2021. The illustration of this allegory in manuscripts dating back to the tenth century is well studied by Nersessian 1937. Manuscripts incorporating the scene under scrutiny here are London, British Library, Additional ms 19352, f. 182v (eleventh century), *vide infra*; the 'Barberini Psalter'—Vatican City, Apostolic Library, ms Barb. gr.372, f. 237v–238r (eleventh century), *vide infra*; the Kiev Psalter, also known as the 'Spiridon Psalter'—Sankt Petersburg, National Library of Russia, ms ОЛДП.6, f. 197r (dated 1397); and the collection of medical texts from Paris, National Library of France, gr. 36, f. 203v (dated to the second half of the fourteenth century), *vide infra*. For discussions, see Προβατάκης 1980; cf. Nersessian 1970, p. 63 *et seqq*; Popova 1975.
- 78 Woodward, Mattingly 1937, p. 187, 189, 191 (chapter XII).
- 79 The function of the dog as a symbol of persecution, castigation or treachery is familiar in Christian religious art.
- 80 'Man is like to vanity; his days are as a shadow that passeth away'—*ἄνθρωπος ματαιότητι ὡμοιώθη. αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ σκιά παράγουσι*.
- 81 See also Nersessian 1970, p. 57, 69–70.
- 82 Cf. the online facsimile of the greyscale microfilm at <http://gallica.bnf.fr> [February 2021]]. For this codex (which presumably is considered originating from Peloponnese) see Αντωνόπουλος 2007, p. 34, Fig. 3.
- 83 See Ραδογιῆ 1953; cf. Davidov Temerinski 2017, p. 65–66.
- 84 See Σωτηρίου 1928; cf. Σωτηρίου, Σωτηρίου 1952, p. 211–212.
- 85 Zamora 2023, p. 68, 76; cf. Iancovescu 2012.
- 86 For more images, see Orfanidis 2021.
- 87 In my opinion, these features of the tree could be related to interpretations derived from (or related to) the *Lignum Vitae* of the Franciscan saint Bonaventure, (c.1259–1260) (cf. a translation of the passage in Cousins 1978, p. 119–120). This Tree of Life has already been considered an as essential element in the artistic development of the *Βίος* 'Life' metaphor, being interwoven with *Καιρός* 'Opportunity', in turn linked to *Χρόνος* 'Time' (For the *Βίος* metaphor and its relation to *Καιρός* see Αντωνόπουλος 1995, p. 252–255; Old Testament references for the Tree of Life: Revelation 22:2; also Ezekiel 47:12). Bonaventure's Tree of Life concerns the mnemonic representation of prayer and meditation, focused on symbolic elements of conduct during lifetime (and death). Although I could not find images similar to the tree depicted in the murals of Gardenitsa, the geometrical *Lignum* sprouts twelve branches that correspond to the stages of the origin and life of Christ, His passion and His glorification, etc. (cf. Revelation 22:1–2). The eleventh 'fruit' of the Franciscan's *Lignum Vitae* ('The equity of His judgement') highlights the role of Christ as judge and conqueror and glorifies Him through the just condemnation of the unrepentant. This could justify the use of an idea from the *Lignum Vitae* as part of a Last Judgement iconography (cf. Cousins 1978, p. 168). For an artistic interpretation of the Tree of Bonaventure see for instance the panel of Pacino di Bonaguida (1310–1315) in the *Galleria dell'Accademia*, Florence (the lower part of the scene illustrates the cycle of the Creation, Temptation, Fall, and Expulsion, thus tying the Tree to the Garden of Eden); or the large-scale depiction of the Tree by an anonymous painter in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo (c.1342–1347). The connection of the image of Gardenitsa with Bonaventure's Tree does not suggest that the decoration of the church of Gardenitsa would have anything to do with Franciscans; only that the painter made use of various ideas, the origin of which is hard to ascertain.
- 88 Μαδεράκης 1978, p. 215 and fig. 8.
- 89 Thirteenth-century depictions of the Last Judgement in Inner Mani, including Hell scenes, can be found in the church of AiStratigos at Boularii; in Episkopi, Karayorgis (small, ruined settlement east of Episkopi), and Agitria, by the hamlet of Agia Kyriaki, as well as in the church of Saint Kyriaki at Kounos. Our painter could draw his inspiration from AiStratigos in the matter of individual torments (however, the features of the parable of the Rich and the Lazarus are missing in AiStratigos).

At Kounos, the paintings have been poorly preserved.

90 Δρανδάκης 1995, p. 253, Fig. 29.

91 For the depiction of the Rich Man in Byzantine iconography, see Mouriki 1976, p. 149, 148–149, 156–157, Fig. 85.

92 Ps 39:5–7: *γνώρισόν μοι, Κύριε, τὸ πέρασ μου καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν μου, τίς ἐστίν, ἵνα γινῶ τί ὑστερῶ ἐγώ. ἰδοὺ παλαιστὰς ἔθου τὰς ἡμέρας μου, καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασίς μου ὡσεὶ οὐθὲν ἐνώπιόν σου· πλὴν τὰ σύμπαντα ματαιότης, πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ζῶν. μέντοιγε ἐν εἰκόνι διαπορεύεται ἄνθρωπος, πλὴν μάτην ταράσσεται· θησαυρίζει καὶ οὐ γινώσκει τίς συνάξει αὐτά.* ‘Show me, Lord, my life’s end and the number of my days; let me know how fleeting my life is. You have made my days a mere handbreadth; the span of my years is as nothing before you. Everyone is but a breath, even those who seem secure. Surely everyone goes around like a mere phantom, in vain they rush about, heaping up wealth without knowing whose it will finally be’.

93 *Εἶπα· φυλάξω τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν με ἐν γλώσση μου· ἐθέμην τῷ στόματί μου φυλακὴν ἐν τῷ συστήναι τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐναντίον μου.* ‘I said I will take heed to my ways that I sin not with my tongue. I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me’.

94 Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms Lat. 117, f. 49v. For an earlier depiction, dated mid–thirteenth century, see f. 43v in the English ‘Rutland Psalter’—London, British Library, Additional ms 62925; it shows king David seated reflectively, legs crossed, pointing to his tongue, and conversing with a person in front of him. A similar scene can be found in the late–thirteenth century psalter of Worcester, Cathedral Library, ms Additional 34, f. 49, which again shows a man in reflective pose, as a group of men question him (cf. Alexander, Kauffmann 1973, p. 72).

95 Time after death is a subject discussed by Weyl Carr 2018, p. 129 *et seqq.*

96 Cohen 2014, p. 305.

97 Cf. Frank 1953.

98 The subject discussed by Μπούρας 1967 in relation to an eighteenth–century mural painting of Chios, including previous bibliographical references. It was further discussed by Αντωνόπουλος 1995, p. 255–259; Αντωνόπουλος 1997; Αντωνόπουλος 1999; Αντωνόπουλος 2001. For marble anaglyphs of the personified *Καιρός*, exhibited in various museums, see Boschung 2013, Figs. 1, 2, and 3.

99 Leone 1972, p. 99: *ἄνθρωπός τις ὁ χρόνος ἐκείνω δεδημιούργηται προκόμιον ἔχων βραχύ* (‘by that figure a human, Time [*Χρόνος*], has been created, having his front hair short).

100 Leone 1972, p. 100: *αἶπερ (πληγαὶ) ἐγγίγονται τοῖς χρόνον καθυστερίζουσιν. οὕτω πως σοφῶς ὁ Λύσιππος ἐνουθέτησε μὴ καθυστερίζειν καιροῦ.*

101 Boschung 2013, p. 38–39.

102 Αντωνόπουλος 1995, p. 256–257.

103 Αντωνόπουλος 1995, p. 256–257, table 60a,b; Boschung 2013, p. 48, Fig. 17. Cf. Σέμογλου 2018, p. 220–229, who has shown that the plaque could be inspired by the fifth homily of John Chrysostom. In his description of the Torcello marble, Αντωνόπουλος 1995, p. 257, notes the presence of a female figure at the right end of the plaque, which he interprets as a representation of ‘failure’. The odd choice of the Gardenitsa painter to pair his Man with the two condemned (and therefore failed) women in the same frame could be based on a similar rationale.

104 *...ἐκείνου δὲ κατόπιν ἕτερος δεδημιούργηται ἄνθρωπος... χεῖρά τε ἰδίαν ἐκτείνων, ἐκείνον ὡς συλληψόμενος...;* Leone 1972, p. 99.

105 See also Αντωνόπουλος 1995, p. 259.

106 Μπούρας 1967, p. 29–30.

107 The examples of stylistically combined features in the paintings of the church of Saint George in Galatsi, at the periphery

of Athens (Omorphi Ekklisia, c.1300) sheds light into how the Byzantine manner of the Latin proto-Renaissance art was re-imported to the East and modified (Βασιλάκη-Καρακατσάνη 1971, p. 39, 73–74, 80).

108 Διαμαντή 2010, p. 131; see also Fig. 2 of the current article.

109 For the relationship between donor and artist see Kalopissi-Verti 1994, p. 146–147. The analysis of the donor’s portrait adds arguments supporting the significance of his role in the decisions concerning the church program (Gerstel 2015, p. 133–134); Διαμαντή 2010, p. 133, 135–137).

110 Angeliki Mexia rejected the previous chronology for the building of the church of the Saviour in the twelfth century; she re-dated the monument to the turn of the fourteenth century; Μέξια 2011, vol. 2, p. 52.

111 Διαμαντή 2010, p. 131–132.

112 Wealthy immigrants from Cyzicus in Asia Minor formed a group of high-ranking men of the cloth who undertook the task of restoring and redecorating the catholicon of the Phaneromeni monastery, seven and a half kilometres north of Gardenitsa, in 1323. See Κωνσταντινίδη 1998, p. 84–85; Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 92–97. It is perhaps no surprise that I identified Nomikos with the painter who worked on this other decoration as well.

113 Cultural interactions and exchanges can occasionally be impeded, yet never completely seized. The Latin-Orthodox exchanges in literature and art, seen from a Western point of view, particularly observed several decades after the return of the occupied lands to Byzantines when the negative feelings of the local Orthodox towards the occupants had somehow appeased and the Gasmouloi have been assimilated in the Byzantine communities, is the subject of Agrigoroaei 2023.

114 Gerstel 2001, p. 273–280; Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 2004, p. 63–81. Cf. Bon 1966.

115 Rodley 2013.

116 Foskolou 2016; Kalopissi-Verti 2016; see also Mouriki 1995, p. 473–485.

117 Cf. Cole 1980; Cormack 2000.

118 Roth 1967, apud Βοκοτόπουλος 2006, p. 339.

119 Gerstel 2001, p. 270–277; Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 2004, p. 70, fn 42.

120 For a preliminary report on the architecture of the church of the Saviour in Langada, see Κάππας 2007; Kappas 2016b; Κάππας 2018 (p. 463–467, for more monuments in Mani that present Western features); Kappas 2016a, p. 164, 165; Kappas 2016c.

121 The Karynia eagle is first mentioned by Δρανδάκης 1986, p. 688. The image was first published by Κάσσης 1990, p. 156. See the analysis in Katsafados 2020, fn 24.

122 The images were first published in Δρανδάκης 1995, p. 146, Fig. 8. In the composition from Polemitas, saint George on horseback and the lavishly dressed saint Kyriaki are presented within the same frame and not as two separate portraits. According to Agrigoroaei 2023, p. 18, 387–388, the knight’s protective presence near the female saint could be influenced by the positioning of the princess in various Western images.

123 For mainly literary implications of this representation, see Αναγνωστάκης 2017, p. 80, Fig. 6; Cf. Agrigoroaei 2023, p. 479–482, for the Western implications of the placement of the image inside the church (*sub pede*, as “paratextual ornamentation”).

124 The images were first published by Δρανδάκης 1973, who dated the marbles to the eleventh–twelfth centuries. Cf. Agrigoroaei 2023, p. 490–499, who interprets the carving from the Charia capital as an echo of the Roman de Renart in the East. I discussed the marble column of Charia and the carvings on its capital at the 42 Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society in May 2023 (abstracts). My dating of the portico and the marbles is c.1255.

125 Agrigoroaei 2023, p. 2, 7.

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Woodcut Illustrations to the Gospel Text in Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia

PART 1: Lviv editions

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RÉSUMÉ: Le présent article se concentre sur les cycles d'images narratives de l'Évangile, présents dans les premiers Tétraévangiles liturgiques imprimés en cyrillique et publiés à Lviv. Les sept éditions des Évangiles publiées par l'imprimerie de la Confrérie de Lviv, ainsi que celle publiée par Mykhailo Slozka, comportent de nombreuses illustrations narratives placées en lien direct avec les versets qui décrivent les scènes représentées. Une étude approfondie de ces cycles évangéliques d'images narratives, ainsi que les changements que les illustrations ont subis dans chaque édition, nous permettent de classer les modèles de représentation en trois groupes, et de diviser les huit Tétraévangiles de Lviv en deux groupes. Deux annexes présentent toutes les images narratives gravées sur bois dans les éditions des Évangiles de Lviv. Le premier appendice contient des représentations d'événements évangéliques dans les Tétraévangiles de Lviv, tandis que le deuxième appendice présente les illustrations narratives de l'édition de Mykhailo Slozka.

MOTS-CLÉS: Tétraévangiles liturgiques imprimés en cyrillique; Lviv; Confrérie de la Dormition; Mykhailo Slozka; imprimerie; illustrations narratives; gravures.

REZUMAT: Acest studiu se concentrează pe ciclurile reprezentărilor iconografice narative ale Evangheliilor care ilustrează Tetraevangheliarele liturgice slavone tipărite la Lviv în secolul XVII și în prima jumătate a secolului XVIII. Toate cele șapte ediții ale Evangheliilor publicate de Tipografia Frăției din Lviv, precum și una publicată de Mykhailo Slozka, prezintă numeroase scene narative plasate în imediata apropiere a versetelor care descriu reprezentările. Un studiu aprofundat al acestor cicluri extinse de reprezentări narative evanghelice, precum și modificările pe care reprezentările narative le-au suferit în fiecare ediție, ne permit să clasificăm modelele de reprezentare în trei grupuri și să împărțim toate cele opt Tetraevangheliare din Lviv în două grupuri. Două anexe prezintă toate reprezentările narative xilografate din edițiile Evangheliilor de la Lviv. Prima anexă conține reprezentări ale evenimentelor evanghelice din Tetraevangheliarele de la Lviv, iar cea de-a doua anexă prezintă reprezentările narative din ediția lui Mykhailo Slozka.

CUVINTE CHEIE: Tetraevangheliare liturgice slavone tipărite; Lviv; Frăția Adormirii Maicii Domnului; Mykhailo Slozka; tipografie; reprezentări narative; gravuri.

Early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia inherited¹ many peculiarities from Slavonic manuscripts. Content, order of various individual texts and their division into sections, as well as ornamentation can serve as examples to prove this point. In the vast majority of Cyrillic handwritten Tetraevangelia each main section, i.e. every Gospel book, was preceded with more or less luxuriously ornamented headpieces and tailpieces, varying in size, while chapters or pericopes were marked with initial letters. Each Gospel book could also be preceded by full- or half-page Evangelist portraits. Only a few of the extant Cyrillic Gospel manuscripts were adorned with numerous densely spaced illuminated miniatures. These narrative illustrations were placed directly adjacent to the verses describing the episodes in question to serve as textual clarification. This demonstrates a close correspondence between the images and the Gospel text.²

Among hundreds of Slavonic Gospel manuscripts traditionally embellished with the abovementioned decorative elements just five³ with narrative miniatures are extant today.⁴ Two are kept at the Sucevița Monastery (shelf number 23⁵ and 24⁶), and three others are kept in: Warsaw, National Library of Poland (shelf number

12690 iv⁷), Moscow, Russian State Library (shelf number Muz. 9500⁸) and London, British Library (shelf number add. 39627⁹). The first four codices were created in the Moldavian region of Romania in the second half of the 16th or first half of the 17th century. Only the last Gospel book – which is widely known as the Gospel of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander – is dated to the middle of 14th century, and more precisely to the year 1356. It is known that it circulated in Moldavia in the 16th century – as indicated by the inscription on f. 5 – and served as a prototype¹⁰ for some, or perhaps all, of the others.¹¹ Each of these five lavishly illuminated Cyrillic Gospels contain approximately 350¹² miniatures¹³ executed in vivid colours and with gilding. These codices belong to a group of manuscripts related to *Parisianus graecus* 74.¹⁴ Careful study of their illumination proves that the system of full narrative Gospel picture cycle was developed in the early Christian era, but in the course of time selection and gradation of scenes reduced the total number of illustrations.¹⁵

Did all five or any of these prolifically illuminated Cyrillic Gospel manuscripts, four of which were executed in Moldavia, have any direct or indirect influence on the

early printed Cyrillic editions issued in Lviv, or did they merely inspire the printers? A definite answer at first sight appears to be negative. This assumption admittedly lacks clear and convincing proof, but further investigation may point to an answer. It is widely known that the Tetraevangelion at the National Library of Poland (shelf number 12690 iv) – known as Lviv Gospel 193/iv¹⁶ – was meant to be donated to Krekhiv Monastery, established in 16th century near Lviv.¹⁷ It is impossible to exclude that the Moldavian tradition of illuminating¹⁸ manuscripts, including this Tetraevangelion and the other three mentioned above, was well known in Lviv,¹⁹ which maintained close relations with Moldavian and Wallachian principalities.²⁰ Thus, the practices of embellishing books, practiced and brought to perfection in Moldavian lands, could have hypothetically influenced the first Gospel published by Lviv Dormition Confraternity Workshop in 1636.²¹ Lviv's style of embellishing books²² was undoubtedly influenced by Western editions (published in Germany, Netherlands, Italy, and Poland as well).²³ The Confraternity's way of decorating Gospel books, with numerous narrative miniatures, was uncommon for early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia. These were practices developed in Western printing shops. Thus, the first Lviv Gospel would seem to have appeared a result of a conflation of two various traditions.²⁴ Monumental Cyrillic type, its content, the Evangelist portraits, as well as many other elements, including the Moldavian practices of decorating liturgical books come from East Slavonic (i.e. Cyrillic) sources, while the West influenced its artistic style of narrative illustrations. The luxury Lviv Gospel thereafter affected Kyivan Tetraevangelia,²⁵ one of which served as the prototype for the Pochaiv Monastery workshop.²⁶

The production of lavishly decorated books, adorned with numerous ornamented elements, and especially with illustrations, i.e. painted illuminations or woodcut depictions, always involved a tremendous amount of labour, financial investments, application of various techniques as well as cooperation with well-trained, skilled, and talented art-professionals. Each richly or even modestly decorated book, especially a liturgical one, had to be executed according to a centuries-long tradition. This was true whether it was manuscript or an early printed book.

Early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in the 16th century were executed with an application of newly introduced movable type printing technology. Their ornamentation was primarily limited to head- and tailpieces as well as initial letters. Only three out of seventeen²⁷ 16th-century Gospels issued by two various workshops were equipped with Evangelist portraits.

The first²⁸ early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelion with four depictions of the Evangelists²⁹ was issued in 1546 in Sibiu by Philip Pictor, the Moldavian.³⁰ Evangelists' portrayals in this edition featured a height equal to several-lines of text³¹ and showed only their busts and symbols. These unusual and unique³² portraits were executed in a completely different style than was established and deeply rooted in manuscript tradition.³³

The first early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelion with full-page Evangelists' depictions was issued in Vilnius in 1575 at the Mamonich printing house.³⁴ Its four marvellous engravings of the Evangelists and splendid design were reproduced in the second and third Vilnius

Gospel editions issued in 1600 and ca. 1620³⁵ in the same workshop. All Mamonich's Tetraevangelia were enthusiastically received in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania³⁶ and Muscovy.³⁷ These three attractive Vilnius editions, especially their Evangelist portraits, had a great impact on all subsequent Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv³⁸ as well as in several other³⁹ printing centres.⁴⁰

Starting from the beginning of the 17th century all early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia, without any exception, were equipped with full-page Evangelists' depictions, but only handful of them featured narrative illustrations embedded in the Gospel text, placed adjacent the verses to illustrate scenes chosen by printers. Only 16 out of 111 early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia were embellished with narrative illustrations. They were issued in four workshops that operated in Lviv, Kyiv and Pochaiv. Six Lviv and six Kyiv Tetraevangelia feature a significantly more developed picture cycle, whereas two Lviv (issued in 1665 and 1743) and two Pochaiv (printed in 1759 and 1780 [the larger format]) Gospel editions have less complex layout.

A main objective of this essay is to study the extensive Gospel narrative picture cycles present in all early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv. The focus is on illustration patterns of the Gospel text as well as the changes that the narrative illustrations underwent in each of the eight editions of the Lviv Gospels.⁴¹ This publication is not intended to serve as a catalogue of woodcut narrative illustrations present in Lviv Tetraevangelia, although such study with references to other early printed books from Ukraine – such as a catalogue of the Monk Ilia's engravings⁴² – would be of great interest.

The *first*⁴³ early printed Cyrillic liturgical *Tetraevangelion*⁴⁴ decorated with narrative illustrations, executed in woodcut blocks, was issued in *Lviv* in **1636**. It appeared in the workshop run by the Lviv Dormition Confraternity which was directed at that time by the skilled printer Mykhailo Slozka.⁴⁵ This Gospel edition, as all subsequent Tetraevangelia⁴⁶ from this city, featured not only headpieces⁴⁷ at the beginning of each Gospel and book sections or tailpieces at their end, initials and the four full-page Evangelists' portraits,⁴⁸ all of which one would expect in such a representative liturgical book, but also narrative illustrations depicting episodes in the Gospel text which were chosen by the printers. This edition was also the first early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelion equipped with a title page,⁴⁹ and the only one, out of 111, with *apparatus criticus*. This six-page long addition, originally placed at the end of the volume, provided textual readings recorded in various Slavonic and Greek sources as well as in the Explanation of the Holy Gospels by blessed Theophylact, Archbishop of Ochrid and Bulgaria.

The first Lviv Tetraevangelion issued in 1636 features 56 woodcut narrative illustrations, executed from 48 woodblocks.⁵⁰ The respective books of the Gospels have the following number of engravings: Matthew – 21, Mark – 2, Luke – 17 and John 16.

In the Gospel of Matthew, the following scenes were depicted:

- 1) The Birth of Jesus Christ (Mt 2, 1) – Fig. 1.1 (f. 3v),
- 2) The Visit of Wise Men (Mt 2, 10–12) – Fig. 1.2 (f. 3v),
- 3) The Beam in the Eye (Mt 7, 1–6) – Fig. 1.3 (f. 19),
- 4) The Cleansing of a Leper (Mt 8, 1–4) – Fig. 1.4a (f. 22),

- 5) The Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Mt 8, 5–13) – Fig. 1.5 (f. 22v),
 6) The Calming of a Storm (Mt 8, 23–27) – Fig. 1.6 (f. 24v),
 7) The Calling of Matthew (Mt 9, 9–13) – Fig. 1.7a (f. 26),
 8) The Ruler asks Jesus about his Daughter (Mt 9, 18–26) – Fig. 1.8 (f. 27v),
 9) The Woman Who Touched Jesus's Garment (Mt 9, 20–22) – Fig. 1.9 (f. 27v),
 10) The Healing of a Dumb Man (Mt 9, 32–34) – Fig. 1.10b (f. 29),
 11) John the Baptist's Messengers (Mt 10, 2–4) – Fig. 1.11 (f. 34),
 12) The Parable of the Sower (Mt 13, 1–9) – Fig. 1.12 (f. 42),
 13) The Parable of the Weeds among the Wheat (Mt 13, 24–30) – Fig. 1.13 (f. 44),
 14) The Workers of the Vineyard (Mt 20, 1–16) – Fig. 1.14 (f. 67v),
 15) A Third Time Jesus Foretells His Death and Resurrection (Mt 20, 17–19) – Fig. 1.15 (f. 68v),
 16) The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21, 6–9) – Fig. 1.16 (f. 70v),
 17) The Cleansing of the Temple (Mt 21, 12–17) – Fig. 1.17 (f. 71v),
 18) The Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants – Killing of the Owner's Son (Mt 21, 33–46) – Fig. 1.18 (f. 74),
 19) Paying Taxes to Cesar (Mt 22, 15–22) – Fig. 1.19 (f. 77),
 20) The Anointing at Bethany (Mt 25, 6–13) – Fig. 1.20 (f. 92),
 21) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Mt 27, 32–44) – Fig. 1.21a (f. 102).

In the Gospel of Mark, only the two following episodes were portrayed:

- 22) The Coming of the Son of Man (Mk 13, 24–27) – Fig. 1.22 (f. 163v),
 23) The Anointing at Bethany (Mk 14, 3–8) – Fig. 1.20 (f. 165).

The Gospel of Luke recorded the following scenes:

- 24) The Annunciation (Lk 1, 26–38) – Fig. 1.23a (f. 185v),
 25) The Birth of Jesus Christ (Lk 2, 1–7) – Fig. 1.1. (f. 190v),
 26) The Circumcision (Lk 2, 22–32) – Fig. 1.24 (f. 191v),
 27) The Boy Jesus in the Temple (Lk 2, 41–52) – Fig. 1.25 (f. 194),
 28) The Temptation of Jesus (Lk 4, 1–13) – Fig. 1.26 (f. 198v),
 29) Teaching on the Fulfilment of the Scriptures (Lk 4, 16–30) – Fig. 1.27 (f. 200),
 30) The Beam in the Eye (Lk 6, 37–42) – Fig. 1.3 (f. 211),
 31) The Good Samaritan (Lk 10, 25–37) – Fig. 1.28 (f. 233v),
 32) The Prodigal Son with Hogs (Lk 15, 15) – Fig. 1.29 (f. 254v),
 33) The Return of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15, 20–24) – Fig. 1.30 (f. 255v),
 34) The Rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16, 19–31) – Fig. 1.31 (f. 259),

- 35) The Cleansing of a Leper (Lk 17, 11–19) – Fig. 1.4a (f. 261v),
 36) The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18, 9–14) – Fig. 1.32 (f. 264v),
 37) A Third Time Jesus Foretells His Death and Resurrection (Lk 18, 31–34) – Fig. 1.15 (f. 266v),
 38) Let the Mountains Fall on Us and Hills Cover Us (Lk 23, 30–31) – Fig. 1.22 (f. 288v),
 39) The Walk to Emmaus (Lk 24, 13–35) – Fig. 1.33 (f. 292),
 40) The Ascension of Jesus (Lk 24, 50–53) – Fig. 1.34 (f. 295).

In the Gospel of John, the following scenes were depicted:

- 41) The Wedding in Cana (Jn 2, 1–12) – Fig. 1.35 (f. 305),
 42) Jesus and Nicodemus (Jn 3, 1–21) – Fig. 1.36 (f. 307),
 43) Jesus and the Woman of Samaria (Jn 4, 1–42) – Fig. 1.37 (f. 311),
 44) The Healing of the Official's Son (Jn 4, 46–54) – Fig. 1.8 (f. 314v),
 45) The Healing at the Pool (Jn 5, 1–18) – Fig. 1.38 (f. 316v),
 46) The Descent of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7, 37–39) – Fig. 1.39a (f. 330),
 47) The Healing of a Man Born Blind (Jn 9, 1–12) – Fig. 1.40 (f. 337v),
 48) Washing the Disciples' Feet (Jn 13, 1–20) – Fig. 1.41 (f. 354),
 49) Last Supper – Jesus Foretells his Betrayal (Jn 13, 21–30) – Fig. 1.44 (f. 356),
 50) Betrayal and Arrest of Jesus – Judas and Disciples Fall to the Ground (Jn 18, 1–11) – Fig. 1.43a (f. 369),
 51) The High Priest's Officer Gives Jesus a Blow (Jn 18, 19–24) – Fig. 1.42 (f. 370v),
 52) Jesus before Pilate (Jn 18, 28–38) – Fig. 1.45 (f. 372),
 53) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 19, 16–22) – Fig. 1.47a (f. 374v),
 54) The Crucifixion of Jesus – Jesus' Mother and Others by the Cross (Jn 19, 25–27) – Fig. 1.21a (f. 375v),
 55) Jesus and Thomas (Jn 20, 24–29) – Fig. 1.46a (f. 380),
 56) The Appearance of Jesus to the Seven Disciples (Jn 21, 1–14) – Fig. 1.48 (f. 381v).

It is worth noting that some of the woodcut blocks used for printing the first Lviv Tetraevangelion were cut several years before⁵¹ its accomplishment and were in use by the Lviv Confraternity printing workshop. In the Anthologion, issued in Lviv in 1630,⁵² out of 48 woodblocks were applied.⁵³ Some of them were also utilized for the Horologion issued in Lviv in 1609.⁵⁴

The *second Lviv Tetraevangelion* with narrative illustrations was published in **1644** by Mykhailo Slozka.⁵⁵ It was commissioned by the Lviv Dormition Confraternity.⁵⁶ It features 61 woodcut narrative illustrations executed from 50 woodblocks.⁵⁷ The second Lviv Gospel edition closely followed, with minimal differences,⁵⁸ the extensive picture cycle of its predecessor.⁵⁹ A comparison of the first two Lviv Tetraevangelia points to five more illustrations present in the second one. Three of them were executed from three woodblock matrices already attested

in the first edition, whereas two are from two newly applied woodblocks.

These three pictures resulting from doubly applied woodblocks illustrate the following three episodes described in the Gospel of Luke: the Crucifixion of Jesus (15, 21–32 [Fig. 1.21a])⁶⁰; the High Priest's Officer Gives Jesus a Blow (14, 60–65 [Fig. 1.42])⁶¹ and Jesus before Pilate (15, 1–5 [Fig. 1.45]).⁶² Their prints can be found respectively on f. 173, 169v and 171.

Two extra narrative illustrations present in the second Lviv Gospel edition, unknown to the first, were executed from two new woodblocks. They depict two episodes also presented in the Gospel of Mark: Death and Burial of Jesus (15, 33–47 [fig. 1.49]) and the Meeting of the Three Myrrh-Bearing Women with an Angel after the Resurrection of Jesus (16, 1–8 [Fig. 1.50]). Their prints can be found respectively on f. 175 and 175v.

Although the second Lviv Tetraevangelion closely followed the narrative illustration cycle of its predecessor, i.e. the first Lviv Gospel edition, its various paratexts (i.e. Prefaces to the Gospels by blessed Theophylact,⁶³ archbishop of Bulgaria, and Chapter titles⁶⁴), as well as the Gospel text⁶⁵ and commemoration of saints and feasts reflected in the menologion⁶⁶ had been subject to extensive revision. The widely edited text of the second Lviv Tetraevangelion, differing from that in the first one, was accurately reprinted in the next, i.e. the third, Tetraevangelion from this city, which appeared in 1665.

The *third Lviv Tetraevangelion* embellished with narrative illustrations was issued in **1665** by Mykhailo Slozka in his own workshop, which he established in 1639. The year 1651 is crucial for understanding the history of the Cyrillic printing market in Lviv. Because Lviv Dormition Confraternity sued for their rights in court against Slozka, they stopped any cooperation.⁶⁷ For this reason, in preparation of the third Lviv Tetraevangelion, Slozka did not have at his disposal any of the woodblocks which had been available to him in the not-too-distant past. To succeed on the book market,⁶⁸ he had to adorn his own Gospels in order to make it competitive with the two previous ones issued in Lviv. Therefore, he applied the woodcuts to which he had access.⁶⁹ That's why Slozka's Tetraevangelion, although issued in Lviv, did not follow the extensive illustration cycle of its two predecessors, i.e. the first and the second Lviv Gospel editions issued in 1636 and 1644. However, it did accurately copy⁷⁰ the Prefaces to the Gospels by blessed Theophylact of Bulgaria, the Chapter Titles, and text of the four Gospel books, as well as the special addition with liturgical rubrics from the second Lviv Tetraevangelion. The only Slozka's Gospel edition issued independently in 1665 features 18 woodcut narrative illustrations, executed from 14 woodblocks.⁷¹ Respective books have the following number of engravings for the Gospel texts: Matthew – 4, Mark – 2, Luke – 7 and John – 5.

In the Gospel of Matthew, the following scenes were depicted:

- 1) The Baptism of Jesus (Mt 3, 13–17) – Fig. II.1 (f. 7v),
- 2) The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21, 1–10) – Fig. II.2 (f. 70),
- 3) The Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants (Mt 21, 33–45) – Fig. II.3 (f. 73v),
- 4) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Mt 27, 32–44) – Fig. II.5 (f. 101v).

In the Gospel of Mark, the following episodes were illustrated:

- 5) The Baptism of Jesus (Mk 1, 9–11) – Fig. II.1 (f. 112),
- 6) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Mk 15, 21–32) – Fig. II.5 (f. 173).

The Gospel of Luke recorded the following scenes:

- 7) The Annunciation (Lk 1, 26–38) – Fig. II.4 (f. 184v),
- 8) The Departure of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15, 13) – Fig. II.6 (f. 254v),
- 9) The Prodigal Son with Hogs (Lk 15, 15) – Fig. II.7 (f. 255),
- 10) The Return of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15, 20–24) – Fig. II.8 (f. 255v),
- 11) The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18, 9–14) – Fig. II.9 (f. 265v),
- 12) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Lk 23, 32–43) – Fig. II.5 (f. 289),
- 13) The Ascension of Jesus (Lk 24, 50–53) – Fig. II.10 (f. 296).

In the Gospel of John, the following scenes were depicted:

- 14) The Descent of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7, 14–24) – Fig. II.11 (f. 331),
- 15) The Arrest of Jesus (Jn 18, 8–12) – Fig. II.12 (f. 371v),
- 16) Jesus before Pilate (Jn 18, 28–38) – Fig. II.13 (f. 373v),
- 17) The Soldiers mock Jesus (Jn 19, 1–5) – Fig. II.14 (f. 375),
- 18) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 19, 26–27) – Fig. II.5 (f. 377).

The study of the woodblock narrative illustrations⁷² in the third Lviv Tetraevangelion issued by Mykhailo Slozka proves that he faced difficulties in embellishing his edition with relevant scene depictions corresponding with the Gospel text. Only two (Fig. II.7–8) out of 14 woodblocks were also applied in the first and the second Lviv Gospel edition issued in 1636 (Fig. 1.29–30). Six woodblocks were cut several years earlier, for the Apostle⁷³ issued by Slozka in 1639⁷⁴ (Fig. II.1 [f. 193v], Fig. II.2 [f. 159], Fig. II.3 [f. 11v], Fig. II.5 [f. 143v], Fig. II.10 [f. 1v], Fig. II.11 [f. 2v and 194]). One of these six woodcut blocks (Fig. II.3), namely, that depicting the Stoning of Stephen which is described in the Book of Acts (7, 54–60), which lacks any corrections in the Cyrillic texts (i.e. *нѣко мѣ стѣфа*⁷⁵ and *савла*), was applied in the third Lviv Tetraevangelion (f. 73v) as a portrayal of the Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants described in the Gospel of Matthew (21, 33–34). Two woodcuts depicting the Departure of the Prodigal Son (Fig. II.6) and the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Fig. II.9) feature short texts proving their close connection with the second and the first Sundays of the Lent, i.e. *нл^а : б* and *нл^а : д*. This proves that these two woodblocks, as well as six others, were not originally executed for a printing of the third Lviv Tetraevangelion, but rather for a Homiliary Gospel. Thus, their appliance in this type of liturgical book had to be secondary and thus was serving as a solution for a printer's difficult situation.

The *fourth Lviv Gospel edition* with narrative illustrations was issued in **1670**. It, as all four subsequent Tetraevangelia from this city, was issued by the printing

house run by the Dormition Confraternity. This fourth Lviv edition features 51 woodcut narrative illustrations executed from 45 woodblocks.⁷⁵ The number of depictions portraying selected Gospel scenes suggests that the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelion does not follow the extensive picture cycle of its immediate predecessor, i.e. the third Lviv Gospel edition issued in 1665, but rather one of the first two Tetraevangelia issued in this city, i.e. in 1636 and 1644. Our investigation of these woodcuts demonstrates that the fourth Lviv Gospel edition copies, with some differences,⁷⁶ the extensive narrative picture cycle of the first Lviv Tetraevangelion issued in 1636.

Two narrative illustrations recorded only in the second Lviv Tetraevangelion and absent from the first and the fourth editions prove this assertion to be true. Depictions of these two scenes in the Gospel of Mark, i.e. Death and Burial of Jesus (15, 33–47 [Fig. 1.49]) and the Meeting of the Three Myrrh-Bearing Women with an Angel after the Resurrection of Jesus (16, 1–8 [Fig. 1.50]), are missing in the first and the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelia, but they appear in the second.

The number of depictions executed from three woodblocks, i.e. Fig. 1.21a, 1.42 and 1.45, also support this opinion. In the first and the fourth Lviv Gospel editions there are four narrative illustrations executed from these three wood blocks whereas in the second there are seven. These three additional illustrations can be found on f. 173, 169v and 171. All of them appeared in the Gospel of Luke.

The illustration portraying Judas and the disciples fallen to the ground during the Betrayal and Arrest of Jesus (Fig. 1.43a), recorded in the first and the second Lviv editions (f. 369), was replaced in the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelion by another image (Fig. 1.43b). It depicts the binding of Jesus (f. 370v). This portrayal came from the Lviv Gospels issued in the year 1665 (see Fig. 1.12 [f. 371v]). This in no way contradicts the statement that the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelion follows the extensive narrative picture cycle of the first Lviv Gospel issued in 1636. Employment of the first Lviv Tetraevangelion by printers as an original for their next edition in the light of the abovementioned litigation between Lviv Dormition Confraternity and Mykhailo Slozka is legitimate. The second Lviv Gospel issued by Mykhailo Slozka in 1644 and commissioned by the Lviv Confraternity, not to mention the third Lviv edition, was disregarded by them probably due to the widely revised text of the Gospel books and various paratexts, as well as the liturgical tradition reflected there. The history of printing records many examples of the displacements of woodblocks not only from one workshop but also from one city to another.

In the fourth Lviv Gospel edition, issued in 1670, five narrative illustrations present in the first two Lviv Tetraevangelia are missing. They depicted the following scenes: Birth of Jesus Christ and the Visit of Wise Men in the Gospel of Matthew (2, 1 [Fig. 1.1] and 2, 10–12 [Fig. 1.2]), the Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants (the Killing of the Owner's Son) and the Anointing at Bethany described in the same Gospel (21, 33–46 [Fig. 1.18] and 25, 6–13 [Fig. 1.20]), as well as the Foretelling by Jesus his Betrayal during Last Supper described in the Gospel of John (13, 21–30 [Fig. 1.44]). Omission of these five narrative illustrations in the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelion slightly modified the extensive picture cycle in the first Lviv edition. All four subsequent Lviv Tetraevangelia

from this workshop issued in 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743 also feature their omission. It is of greater significance that the absence of all these five engravings was not due to the woodblocks wearing out, as two blocks of wood depicting the Birth of Jesus Christ (Fig. 1.1) and the Anointing at Bethany (Fig. 1.20) were still in use for illustrating these scenes described in the Gospel of Luke (2, 1–7) and Mark (14, 3–8) in all four further Lviv Gospel editions. Thus, their omission in these places seems to be a highly deliberate choice.

In the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelion the illustration of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 1.39a), also present in the first and the second Lviv editions (f. 330), was replaced by a new one (Fig. 1.39b [f. 331]) and was applied once again for the next Lviv Gospel, i.e. the volume issued in 1690.

The **fifth Lviv Tetraevangelion** with an extensive picture cycle was issued in **1690**. This edition recorded 51 woodcut narrative illustrations executed from 44 woodblocks.⁷⁷ The number of illustrations and investigation of woodcuts shows that the fifth Lviv Gospels copies the illustration pattern of the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelion issued in 1670.

Three woodcut narrative illustrations present in the fourth Lviv Tetraevangelion (Fig. 1.21a and 1.34) were replaced in the fifth edition with one completely new image (Fig. 1.21b) and one that was already known (Fig. 1.39b). Depictions of the Crucifixion of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew (27, 32–44 [f. 104v]) and John (19, 25–27 [f. 376v]) were executed from previously unknown woodblocks (Fig. 1.21b). The most remarkable difference is the fact that in the fifth Lviv Tetraevangelion the Ascension of Jesus as described in the Gospel of Luke (24, 50–53) was illustrated with the woodblock (Fig. 1.39b [f. 296]) applied for depicting the Descent of the Holy Spirit (f. 331). All three subsequent Lviv Tetraevangelia, issued in 1704, 1722 and 1743 – which are discussed below – also feature this slight modification in their picture cycle.

The **sixth Lviv Tetraevangelion** with an extensive picture cycle was issued in **1704**. It is worth noting that the title page in all the catalogued copies of this edition point to the year 1690 as the printing date. Some typographical elements (for example, headpieces, tailpieces, and initial letters and some – as N. Bondar has pointed out – narrative illustrations⁷⁸ as well as mistakes in foliation⁷⁹), listed in manuals for book specialists,⁸⁰ allow to divide all Lviv Tetraevangelia with the year 1690 indicated on the title page into two separate groups, i.e. the fifth edition issued in 1690 and the sixth printed in 1704.

The sixth Lviv Tetraevangelion features 51 woodcut narrative illustrations, executed from 45 woodblocks.⁸¹ The number of depictions portraying selected Gospel scenes and an investigation of the woodcuts themselves demonstrates that the extensive pictorial cycle of this Tetraevangelion follows an illustration pattern of the fourth Lviv Gospel and features a modification attested in the fifth Lviv Tetraevangelion. This claim is supported by one significant fact related to the depiction (Fig. 1.34) of the Ascension of Jesus described in the Gospel of Luke (24, 50–53). In the fifth and the sixth Lviv Tetraevangelia (f. 296) woodcuts portraying the Descent of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 1.39b and 1.39c) were employed to illustrate the Ascension of Jesus, while in three previous editions from the Lviv Confraternity workshop (i.e. the first, the second and the fourth) the pertinent illustration (Fig. 1.34) was recorded. The narrative illustration (Fig. 1.21a) portraying

the Crucifixion of Jesus described in the Gospel of Matthew (27, 32–44) and John (19, 25–27) recorded in the first, the second and the fourth Lviv editions was replaced in the fifth Lviv Tetraevangelion by another one (Fig. 1.21b), which also happens to be present in the sixth Lviv Gospels.

Four woodcut narrative illustrations recorded in the fifth Lviv Tetraevangelion (i.e. 1.10b, 1.23a, 1.39b and 1.47a) were replaced in the sixth Lviv Gospel with new depictions (i.e. 1.10a, 1.23b, 1.39c and 1.47b).

This means that in the sixth Lviv Tetraevangelion three woodcut narrative illustrations (i.e. 1.10b, 1.23b and 1.39c) portraying four episodes, i.e. the Healing of Dumb Man described in the Gospel of Matthew (9, 32–34 [f. 30]), The Annunciation from the Gospel of Luke (1, 26–38 [f. 186v]), the Ascension of Jesus from the Gospel of Luke (24, 50–53 [f. 296]) and the Descent of the Holy Spirit from the Gospel of John (7, 37–39 [f. 331]) – all of these scenes are completely new and were not recorded in any of the five previous Lviv Gospel editions.

One woodcut illustration (Fig. 1.47b) depicting the Crucifixion of Jesus described in the Gospel of John (19, 16–22 [f. 375v]) appeared four times in the third Lviv Tetraevangelion issued by Mykhailo Slozka in 1665 (Fig. 1.4 [f. 101v, 173, 289 and 377]).

The scene of the Cleansing of a Leper described in the Gospel of Matthew (8, 1–4) and Luke (17, 11–19) in the sixth Lviv Tetraevangelion was depicted with two various woodcut narrative illustration, whereas in all previous Lviv editions only one was recorded (Fig. 1.4a). The portrayal present in the Gospel of Matthew (Fig. 1.4b [f. 23]) is a completely new design and is unknown to all five previous Lviv Gospels, while the depiction in the Gospel of Luke (Fig. 1.4a [f. 262v]) was present in all previous Lviv Tetraevangelia issued by the Confraternity printing house.

The *seventh Lviv Tetraevangelion* with extensive picture cycle was issued in 1722. It recorded 50 woodcut narrative illustrations, executed from 42 woodblocks.⁸² The number of depictions portraying selected Gospel scenes and our investigation of the woodcuts themselves demonstrate that the Gospel book follows the slightly modified illustration pattern of the fourth Lviv Gospel edition reflected in the fifth and the sixth Lviv Tetraevangelia published in 1690 and 1704.

In the seventh Lviv Tetraevangelion the illustration of the Rich man and Lazarus described in the Gospel of Luke (16, 19–31 [Fig. 1.31]) was omitted.

In comparison to the sixth Lviv Tetraevangelion three woodblocks, i.e. Fig. 1.7a, 1.27 and 1.47a, were not applied in the preparation of the seventh Gospels issued by the Dormition Confraternity workshop. Instead of the illustration (Fig. 1.7a) depicting the Calling of Matthew described in the Gospel of Matthew (9, 9–13) another with the portrayal of John the Evangelist (Fig. 1.7b [f. 27v]) was recorded. Instead of the depiction (Fig. 1.27) portraying Jesus's Teaching on the Fulfilment of the Scriptures, as described in the Gospel of Luke (4, 16–30), an illustration (Fig. 1.25) depicting the Boy Jesus Teaching in the Temple, as described in the same Gospel (2, 41–52), was included. Thus, this woodblock was used twice in this edition (f. 195 and 201). Instead of the illustration (Fig. 1.46a) portraying Jesus and Thomas as described in the Gospel of John (20, 24–29), another one (Fig. 1.46b [f. 381]) was recorded.

The *eighth Lviv Tetraevangelion* and the last one printed in this city with an extensive pictorial cycle was issued in 1743.⁸³ It recorded 24 woodcut narrative illustrations executed from 24 woodblocks. The number of depictions portraying selected Gospel scenes, at first sight, may suggest that it does not follow any of the extensive picture cycles recorded in previous Lviv Tetraevangelia. An investigation of woodcuts found in the eighth Lviv Gospels demonstrates that it does, in fact copy a slightly modified illustration pattern from the fourth Lviv Gospel edition as reflected in the sixth and the seventh Lviv Tetraevangelia which were published in 1704 and 1722. However, the cycle omits more than half of the narrative depictions (i.e. 27). This fact is supported by the presence of an image (Fig. 1.39c) portraying the Descent of the Holy Spirit to illustrate the Ascension of Jesus, as described in the Gospel of Luke (24, 50–53 [f. 307]), as it is recorded in the sixth and the seventh Lviv Tetraevangelia (f. 296).

In the eighth Lviv Gospel edition, in comparison to the fourth, fifth, sixth (and seventh) Lviv Tetraevangelia,⁸⁴ 27 (26) narrative illustrations were omitted.⁸⁵ Some of them could have been excluded due to the wearing out of the woodblocks, but not all of them. Four blocks of wood can serve as examples, i.e. Fig. 1.15, 1.21b, 1.22 and 1.39c.

In the first six Tetraevangelia from the Confraternity workshop, the depiction of Jesus foretelling the third time his death and resurrection (Fig. 1.15) was recorded twice; the prints illustrated the scene described in the Gospel of Matthew (20, 17–19) and Luke (18, 31–34). However, in the eighth Lviv Tetraevangelion issued in 1743 it was implemented only once, i.e. in the first Gospel (f. 72v).

The image (Fig. 1.22) applied to illustrate two scenes: the Coming of the Son of Man (Mt 13, 24,27) and Let the Mountains Fall on Us and the Hills Cover Us (Lk 23, 30–31) in the first six Tetraevangelia from the Confraternity workshop was recorded twice, whereas in the Lviv edition issued in 1743 it was confirmed simply once, in the first Gospel (f. 171).

The narrative illustration depicting the Crucifixion of Jesus (Fig. 1.21b) in the three Lviv Tetraevangelia printed in 1690, 1704 and 1722 was recorded twice to illustrate the texts in the Gospel of Matthew (27, 32–44) and John (19, 25–27), but in the Lviv edition issued in 1743 it was implemented only once, in the first Gospel (f. 108).

The image of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 1.39c) in the two Lviv Tetraevangelia issued in 1704 and 1722 was recorded twice to illustrate the text in the Gospel of John (7, 37–39) and the Ascension of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke (24, 50–53), but in the Lviv edition issued in 1743 it was implemented only once, in the Gospel of Luke (f. 307).

24 woodcut narrative illustrations, present in the eighth Lviv Gospel edition, portray the following scenes:

- in the Gospel of Matthew:

- 1) The Beam in the Eye (Mt 7, 1–6) – Fig. 1.3 (f. 20),
- 2) The Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Mt 8, 5–13) – Fig. 1.5 (f. 23v),
- 3) The Calming of a Storm (Mt 8, 23–27) – Fig. 1.6 (f. 25v),
- 4) The Calling of Matthew (Mt 9, 9–13) – Fig. 1.7a (f. 27v),
- 5) The Woman Who Touched Jesus's Garment (Mt 9, 20–22) – Fig. 1.9 (f. 29),
- 6) The Healing of Dumb Man (Mt 9, 32–34) – Fig. 1.10a (f. 30),
- 7) John the Baptist's Messengers (Mt 10, 2–4) – Fig. 1.11 (f. 35v),

8) The Parable of the Weeds among the Wheats (Mt 13, 24-30) – Fig. 1.13 (f. 46v),

9) The Workers of the Vineyard (Mt 20, 1-16) – Fig. 1.14 (f. 71v),

10) A Third Time Jesus Foretells His Death and Resurrection (Mt 20, 17-19) – Fig. 1.15 (f. 72v),

11) The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21, 6-9) – Fig. 1.16 (f. 75),

12) Paying Taxes to Cesar (Mt 22, 15-22) – Fig. 1.19 (f. 81v),

13) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Mt 27, 32-44) – Fig. 1.21b (f. 108),

- in the Gospel of Mark:

14) The Coming of the Son of Man (Mk 13, 24-27) – Fig. 1.22 (f. 171),

15) The Anointing at Bethany (Mk 14, 3-8) – Fig. 1.20 (f. 172v),

- in the Gospel of Luke:

16) The Annunciation (Lk 1, 26-38) – Fig. 1.23a (f. 191v),

17) The Circumcision (Lk 2, 22-32) – Fig. 1.24 (f. 198),

18) The Boy Jesus in the Temple (Lk 2, 41-52) – Fig. 1.25 (f. 200v),

19) The Temptation of Jesus (Lk 4, 1-13) – Fig. 1.26 (f. 205),

20) Teaching on the Fulfilment of the Scriptures (Lk 4, 16-30) – Fig. 1.27 (f. 207),

21) The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18, 9-14) – Fig. 1.32 (f. 275),

22) The Descent of the Holy Spirit as illustration of the Ascension of Jesus (Lk 24, 50-53) – Fig. 1.39c (f. 307),

- in the Gospel of John:

23) Jesus and the Woman of Samaria (Jn 4, 1-42) – Fig. 1.37 (f. 321v),

24) The Appearance of Jesus to the Seven Disciples (Jn 21, 1-14) – Fig. 1.48 (f. 396).

In the last Lviv Tetraevangelion its printers retrieved some woodblocks incorrectly applied in the previous Lviv edition, i.e. the seventh one issued in 1722. Instead of using the illustration of John the Evangelist (Fig. 1.7b [f. 27v]) to exemplify the Calling of Matthew (Mt 9, 9-13), the respective engraving portraying Matthew the Evangelist was applied (Fig. 1.7a [f. 27v]). Instead of using the woodblock depicting the Boy Jesus in the Temple (Fig. 1.25 [f. 201]) to illustrate the event described in the Gospel of Luke (4, 16-30) the proper woodblock portraying the Teaching on the Fulfilment of Scripture was applied (Fig. 1.27 [f. 207]).

The last Lviv Tetraevangelion features some older woodblocks that once were replaced by new ones. For instance, the image of the Annunciation Fig. 1.23a present in the first four Gospels from the Confraternity printing house (i.e. 1636, 1644, 1670 and 1690) and the eighth Lviv Tetraevangelion (f. 191v), whereas the editions from 1704 and 1722 recorded another one (fig. 1.23b).

Besides for these eight early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv with numerous narrative illustrations, there are other eight Gospel editions featuring quite extensive picture cycles. Six of them were

issued at Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra's Printing House and two at the Holy Dormition Pochoiv Lavra. Their illustration pattern deserves to be studied as well.

Conclusions

This short survey of pictorial cycles present in eight early printed Cyrillic liturgical Gospel editions from Lviv yielded some interesting results. The comparison of numerous narrative illustrations found in all Lviv Tetraevangelia, and their prints was a basis for an in-depth description of their extensive pictorial cycles and an indication of changes each of these illustration patterns underwent in every edition.

The study of the narrative illustrations found in the eight early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia from Lviv has allowed us to draw the following conclusions:

- there are three illustration patterns in the Lviv Gospel editions, represented by the Tetraevangelia issued in 1636, 1665 and 1670 – the last one was slightly modified in the 1690 edition and in subsequent copies,

- eight Lviv Tetraevangelia can be divided into two groups: the first one constitutes seven editions issued by the Confraternity printing house (i.e. in 1636, 1644, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743), while the second contains only one edition published by Mykhailo Slozka in 1665.

- the division of eight Lviv Tetraevangelia into groups based on their extensive picture cycles does not correspond to their classification based on the textual readings found in the Gospels,⁸⁶ paratexts⁸⁷ and liturgical practice,⁸⁸

- woodblocks applied by the Lviv Confraternity printing house were used for a relatively long time.

The above conclusions, which are based on an analysis of the extensive narrative cycles, as well as on textual and liturgical studies, point to the need to continue in the near future multidisciplinary research on other early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia which feature narrative illustrations, i.e. the Gospel books that were issued in Kyiv and Pochoiv.

For easy consultation the table below presents the main data obtained in this study: the numbers of narrative illustrations present in all Lviv Gospel editions (column No 2), the number of woodblocks applied (column No 3), the narrative pictorial cycle followed (column No 4) and the modification in the portrayal of the Ascension of Jesus Christ.

The two supplements below displaying all narrative illustrations recorded in early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia from Lviv, with an indication of the leaves where they occur, will contribute to future academic research by book specialists and art historians or curators. Alongside detailed description of variations in the pictorial cycles recorded in the Lviv Gospel editions all narrative illustrations published here can serve as reliable evidence necessary for the proper identification of fragmented or defected early printed books, i.e. with missing title pages.

Kurt Weitzman – the author of “pictorial criticism” in the field of book illumination – in his lecture delivered in 1948 stated that “pictures and text in manuscripts often travel together over long stretches of time”.⁸⁹ This study of early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv proved that his assertion applies not only to handwritten codices but to early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia as well.

	The year of the issue of the Lviv Tetraevangelion	Number of narrative illustrations	Number of woodblocks used	Pattern of illustration to be followed	Depiction of the Lk 24, 50-53 (Fig I.34 or I.39b/c)
1	1636	56	48	--	The Ascension of Jesus
2	1644	61	50	1 st edition	The Ascension of Jesus
3	1665	18	14	--	The Ascension of Jesus
4	1670	51	45	1 st edition	The Ascension of Jesus
5	1690	51	44	4 th edition	The Descension of the Spirit
6	1704	51	45	4 th edition	The Descension of the Spirit
7	1722	50	42	4 th edition	The Descension of the Spirit
8	1743	24	24	4 th edition	The Descension of the Spirit

▲ Table No 1.

Appendix I

Narrative illustrations present in the Tetraevangelia issued by Lviv Dormition Confraternity Printing House



▲ Fig. i.1. *The Birth of Jesus Christ:*
Mt 2, 1: 1636 and 1644 – f. 3v,
omitted in 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

Lk 2, 1–7: 1636 and 1644 – f. 190v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 191v,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▲ Fig. i.2. *The Visit of Wise Men (Mt 2, 10–12):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 3v,
omitted in 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



◀ Fig. 1.3. *The Beam in the Eye:*
 Mt 7, 1–6: 1636 and 1644 – f. 19,
 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743 – f. 20.
 Lk 6, 37–42: 1636 and 1644 – f. 211,
 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 212,
 omitted in 1743.
 Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▶ Fig. 1.4a. *The Cleansing of a Leper:*
 Mt 8, 1–4: 1636 and 1644 – f. 22,
 1670, 1690 and 1722 – f. 23,
 in 1704 replaced by Fig. 1.4b,
 omitted in 1743.
 Lk 17, 11–19: 1636 and 1644 – f. 261v,
 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 262v,
 omitted in 1743.
 Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.4b. *The Cleansing of a Leper (Mt 8, 1–4):*
 replaces Fig. 1.4a in 1704 – f. 23.
 Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▲ Fig. 1.5. *The Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Mt 8, 5–13)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 22v,
1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743 – f. 23v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▲ Fig. 1.6. *The Calming of a Storm (Mt 8, 23–27)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 24v,
1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743 – f. 25v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.7a. *The Calling of Matthew (Mt 9, 9–13)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 26,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1743 – f. 27v,
in 1722 replaced by Fig. 1.7b.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▼ Fig. 1.7b. *The Calling of Matthew (Mt 9, 9–13)*:
replaces Fig. 1.7a in 1722 – f. 27v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▲ Fig. 1.8. *The Ruler asks Jesus about his Daughter (Mt 9, 18–26):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 27v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 28v
omitted in 1743.

The Healing of the Official's Son (Jn 4, 46–54):
1636 and 1644 – f. 314v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 315v,
omitted in 1743

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.10a. *The Healing of Dumb Man (Mt 9, 32–34):*
replaces Fig. 1.10b in 1704 and 1743 – f. 30.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▲ Fig. 1.9. *The Woman Who Touched Jesus's Garment (Mt 9, 20–22):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 27v,
1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743 – f. 29.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.10b. *The Healing of Dumb Man (Mt 9, 32–34):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 29,
1670, 1690 and 1722 – f. 30,
in 1704 and 1743 replaced by Fig. 1.10a

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▲ Fig. 1.11. *John the Baptist's Messengers (Mt 10, 2-4):*
1636 and 1644 - f. 34,
1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743 - f. 35v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▲ Fig. 1.12. *The Parable of the Sower (Mt 13, 1-9):*
1636 and 1644 - f. 42,
1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 - f. 43v,
omitted in 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.13. *The Parable of the Weeds among the Wheats (Mt 13, 24-30):*
1636 and 1644 - f. 44,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 - f. 45v,
1743 - f. 46v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.14. *The Workers of the Vineyard (Mt 20, 1-16):*
1636 and 1644 - f. 67v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 - f. 69v,
1743 - f. 71v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▲ Fig. 1.15. A Third Time Jesus Foretells His Death and Resurrection: Mt 20, 17–19: 1636 and 1644 – f. 68v, 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 71, 1743 – f. 72v. Lk 18, 31–34: 1636 and 1644 – f. 266v, 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 267v, omitted in 1743
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.17. The Cleansing of the Temple (Mt 21, 12–17): 1636 and 1644 – f. 71v, 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 74 omitted in 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▲ Fig. 1.16. The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21, 6–9): 1636 and 1644 – f. 70v, 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 73, omitted in 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.18 The Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants – Killing of the Owner's Son (Mt 21, 33–46): 1636 and 1644 – f. 74, omitted in 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▲ Fig. 1.19. *Paying Taxes to Cesar (Mt 22, 15-22):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 77,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 79v,
1743 – f. 81v.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.21a. *The Crucifixion of Jesus:*
Mt 27, 32-44: 1636 and 1644 – f. 102,
1670 – f. 104v,
in 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743 replaced by Fig. 1.21b
Lk 15, 21-32: 1644 – f. 173,
omitted in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

*The Crucifixion of Jesus – Jesus' Mother and
Others by the Cross (Jn 19, 25-27):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 375v,
1670 – f. 376v,
in 1690, 1704, 1722 replaced by Fig. 1.21b,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▲ Fig. 1.20. *The Anointing at Bethany:*
Mt 25, 6-13: 1636 and 1644 – f. 92,
omitted in 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.
Mk 14, 3-8: 1636 – f. 165,
1644 – f. 164,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 166,
1743 – f. 172v.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.21b. *The Crucifixion of Jesus:*
Mt 27, 32-44: replaces Fig. 1.21a in 1690 (f. 104v), 1704 (f. 104v), 1722 (f. 104v) and 1743 (f. 108),
Jn 19, 25-27: replaces Fig. 1.21a in 1690 (f. 376v), 1704 (f. 376v) and 1722 (f. 376v).

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



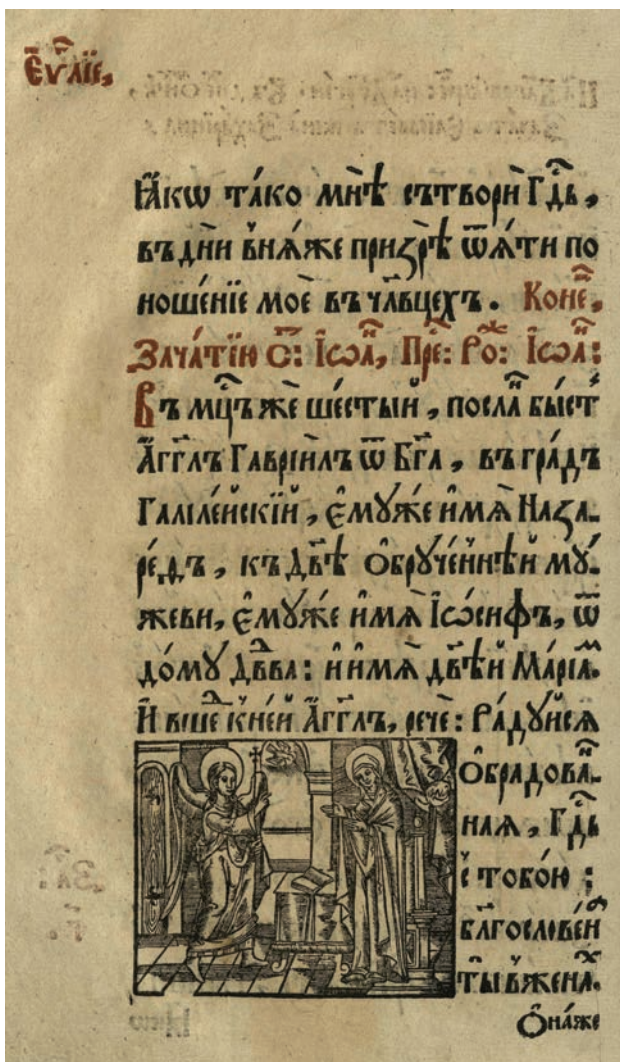


◀ Fig. 1.22. *The Coming of the Son of Man* (Mk 13, 24–27):
1636 – f. 163v,
1644 – f. 162v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 164v,
1743 – f. 171.

Let the Mountains Fall on Us and Hills Cover Us
(Lk 23, 30–31):

1636 – f. 288v,
1644 – f. 278v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 289v,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



◀ Fig. 1.23a. *The Annunciation* (Lk 1, 26–38):
1636 and 1644 – f. 185v,
1670 and 1690 – f. 186v,
in 1704 and 1722 replaced by Fig. 1.23b,
1743 – f. 191v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▶ Fig. 1.23b. *The Annunciation* (Lk 1, 26–38):
replaces Fig. 1.23a in 1704 and 1722 – f. 186v.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



► Fig. 1.26. *The Temptation of Jesus (Lk 4, 1–13)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 198v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 199v,
1743 – f. 205

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

◄ Fig. 1.24. *The Circumcision (Lk 2,22–32)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 191v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – 192v,
1743 – f. 198.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.25. *The Boy Jesus in the Temple (Lk 2, 41–52)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 194,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 195,
1743 – f. 200v,
and in 1722 (f. 201) replaces Fig. 1.27 to illustrate
Lk 4, 16–30.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▼ Fig. 1.27. Teaching on the Fulfilment of the Scriptures (Lk 4, 16–30):

1636 and 1644 – f. 200,
1670, 1690 and 1704 – f. 201,
in 1722 replaced by Fig. 1.25,
1743 – f. 207.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▲ Fig. 1.28. The Good Samaritan (Lk 10, 25–37):

1636 and 1644 – f. 233v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 234v,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▼ Fig. 1.29⁹⁰. The Prodigal Son with Hogs (Lk 15, 15):

1636 and 1644 – f. 254v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 255v,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▲ Fig. 1.30⁹¹. *The Return of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15, 20–24)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 255v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 256v,
omitted in 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▶ Fig. 1.31. *The Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16, 19–31)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 259,
1670, 1690 and 1704 – f. 260,
omitted in 1722 and 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.32. *The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Lk 18, 9–14)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 264v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 265v,
1743 – f. 275.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▼ Fig. 1.33. *The Walk to Emmaus (Lk 24, 13–35)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 292,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 293,
omitted in 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



- ▶ Fig. 1.34. *The Ascension of Jesus (Lk 24, 50–53):*
 1636 and 1644 – f. 295,
 1670 – f. 296,
 in 1690 replaced by Fig. 1.39b,
 in 1704, 1722 and 1743 replaced by Fig. 1.39c.
 Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



- ▼ Fig. 1.35. *The Wedding in Cana (Jn 2, 1–12):*
 1636 and 1644 – f. 305,
 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 306,
 omitted in 1743.
 Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



- ▼ Fig. 1.37. *Jesus and the Woman of Samaria (Jn 4, 1–42):*
 1636 and 1644 – f. 311,
 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 312,
 1743 – f. 321v.
 Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

- ▼ Fig. 1.36. *Jesus and Nicodemus (Jn 3, 1–21):*
 1636 and 1644 – f. 307,
 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 308,
 omitted in 1743.
 Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





◀ Fig. 1.38. *The Healing at the Pool (Jn 5, 1–18):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 316v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 317v,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▶ Fig. 1.40. *The Healing of a Man Born Blind (Jn 9, 1–12):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 337v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 338v,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▶ Fig. 1.41. *Washing the Disciples' Feet (Jn 13, 1–20):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 354,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 355,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▼ Fig. 1.39a. *The Descent of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7, 37–39):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 330,
in 1670 and 1690 replaced by Fig. 1.39b,
in 1704 and 1722 replaced by Fig. 1.39c,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▼ Fig. 1.39b. *The Descent of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7, 37–39):*
replaces Fig. 39a in 1670 and 1690 – f. 331,
and in 1690 (f. 296) replaces Fig. 1.34 to illustrate
the Ascension of Jesus (Lk 24, 50–53).

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▼ Fig. 1.39c. *The Descent of the Holy Spirit* (Jn 7, 37–39):
replaces Fig. 39a/39b in 1704 and 1722 – f. 331,
and in 1704 (f. 296), 1722 (f. 296) and 1743 (f. 307)
replaces Fig. 1.34 to illustrate the Ascension of Jesus (Lk 24,
50–53).
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



▼ Fig. 1.42. *The High Priest's Officer Gives Jesus a Blow*:
Jn 18, 19–24: 1636 and 1644 – f. 370v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 371v
omitted in 1743.
Lk 14, 60–65: 1644 – f. 169v
omitted in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





- ◀ Fig. 1.43a. *Betrayal and Arrest of Jesus – Judas and Disciples Fall to the Ground (Jn 18, 1–11)*,
1636 and 1644 – f. 369,
in 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 replaced by Fig. 1.43b,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

- ◀ Fig. 1.43b⁹². *Betrayal and Arrest of Jesus – The Bounding of Jesus (Jn 18, 1–12)*,
replaces Fig. 1.43a in 1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f.
370v.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

- ▶ Fig. 1.44. *Last Supper – Jesus Foretells his Betrayal (Jn 13, 21–30)*:

1636 and 1644 – f. 356,
omitted in 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

- ▶ Fig. 1.45. *Jesus before Pilate:*

Jn 18, 28–38: 1636 and 1644 – f. 372,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 373,
omitted in 1743.

Lk 15, 1–5: 1644 – f. 171,
omitted in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



- ▼ Fig. 1.46a. *Jesus and Thomas (Jn 20, 24–29)*:
1636 and 1644 – f. 380,
1670, 1690 and 1704 – f. 381,
in 1722 replaced by Fig. 47b,
omitted in 1743.

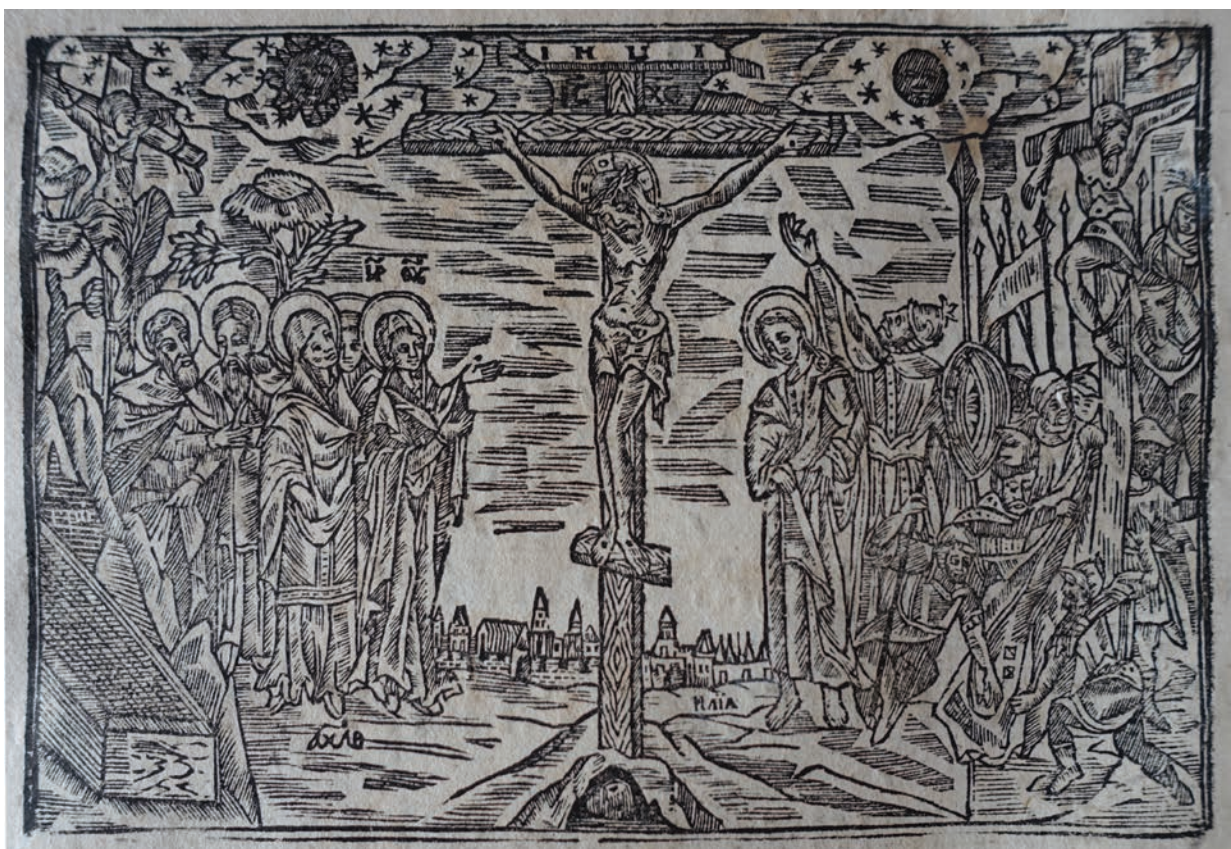
Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.



- ▼ Fig. 1.46b. *Jesus and Thomas (Jn 20, 24–29)*:
replaces Fig. 47a in 1722 – f. 381.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





- ◀ Fig. 1.47a. *The Crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 19, 16–22):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 374v,
1670 and 1690 – f. 375v,
in 1704 and 1722 replaced by Fig. 1.47b,
omitted in 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

- ▶ Fig. 1.47b⁹³. *The Crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 19, 16–22):*
replaces Fig. 1.47a in 1704 and 1722 – f. 375v.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

- ▶ Fig. 1.48. *The Appearance of Jesus to the Seven Disciples (Jn 21, 1–14):*
1636 and 1644 – f. 381v,
1670, 1690, 1704 and 1722 – f. 382v,
1743 – f. 396.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

- ▼ Fig. 1.49. *The Death and Burial of Jesus (Mk 15, 33–47):*
1644: f. 175,
omitted in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.





▲ Fig. 1.50. *The Resurrection of Jesus – Myrrh-bearing woman and Angel (Mk 16, 1–8):*

1644 – f. 175v,

omitted in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

Photo: Jerzy Ostapczuk.

▶ Fig. 11.1. *The Baptism of Jesus:*

Mt 3, 13–17 – f. 7v,

Mk 1, 9–11 – f. 112.

Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.

Appendix II

Narrative illustrations present in the third Lviv Tetraevangelion
issued by Mykhailo Slozka in 1665⁹⁴



БЛ, НВОЗЛОЖИША ВЕРХУ ЕЮ РИЗЫ



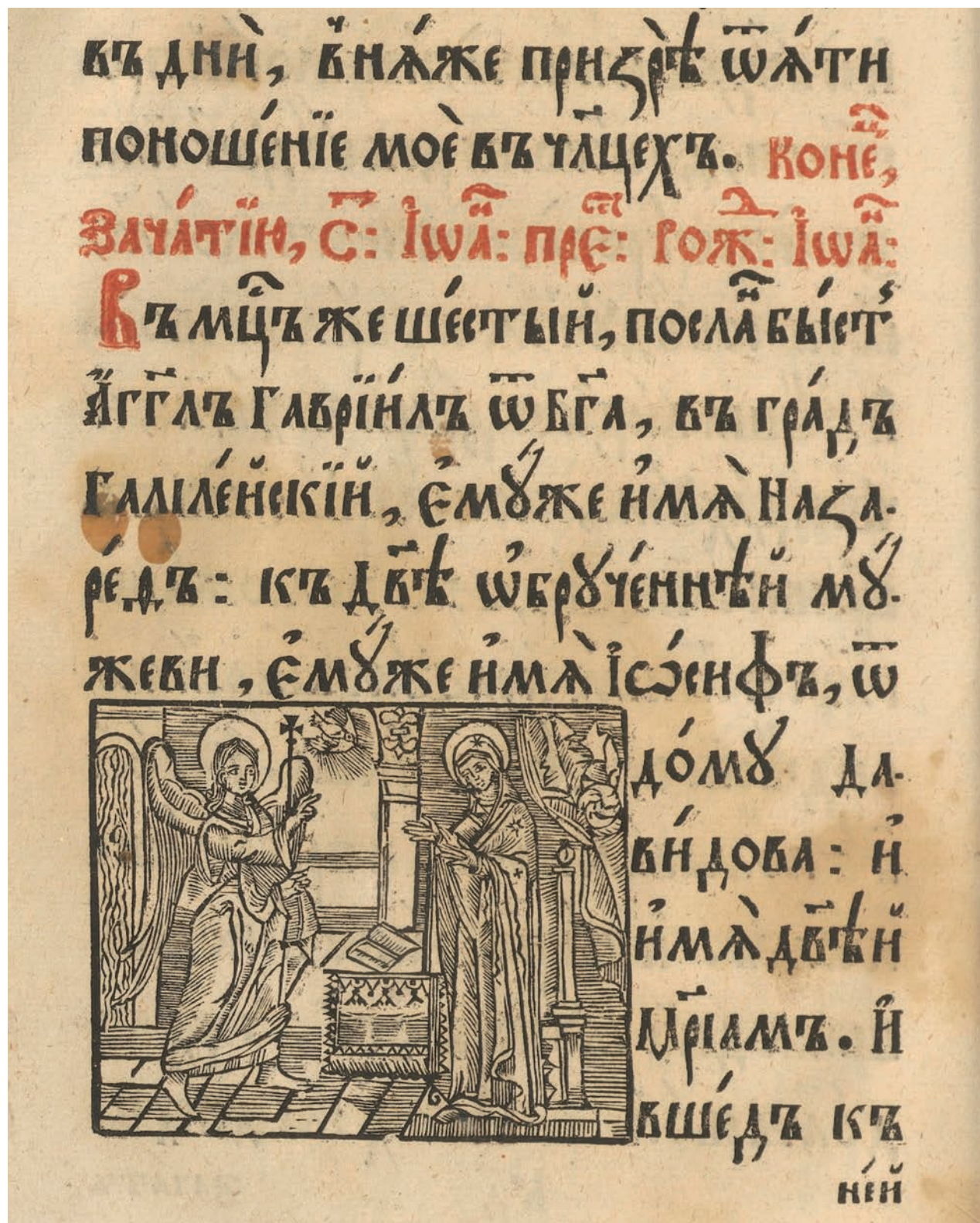
СВОЛ, НВСЕДЕ ВЕРХУ НХЪ. МНО.

ОУБНША, ОВОГО ЖЕ КАМЕНІЕМЪ



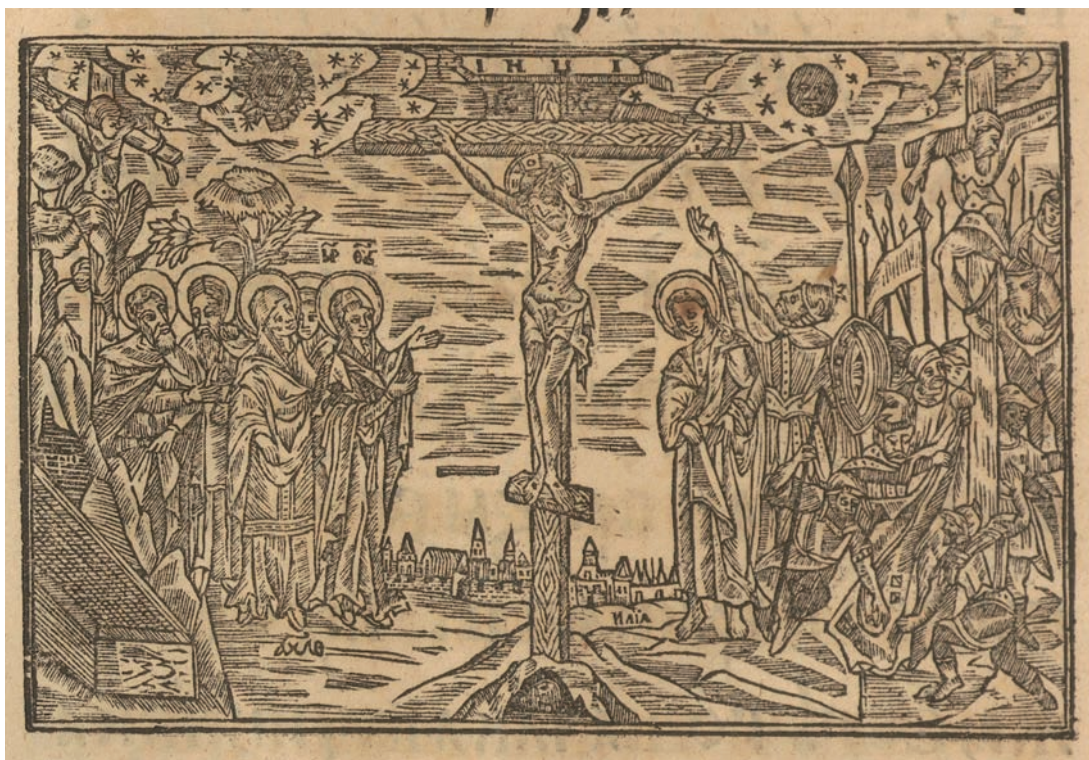
ПОБНША. ПАКН ПОСЛА ННЫ РАБЫ

◀ Fig. II.2. *The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21, 1–10) – f. 70.*
 Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.



◀ Fig. II.3. *The Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants (Mt 21, 33–45) – f. 73v.*
 Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.

▶ Fig. II.4. *The Annunciation (Lk 1, 26–38) – f. 184v.*
 Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.



◆ Fig. 11.5⁹⁵. *The Crucifixion of Jesus:*

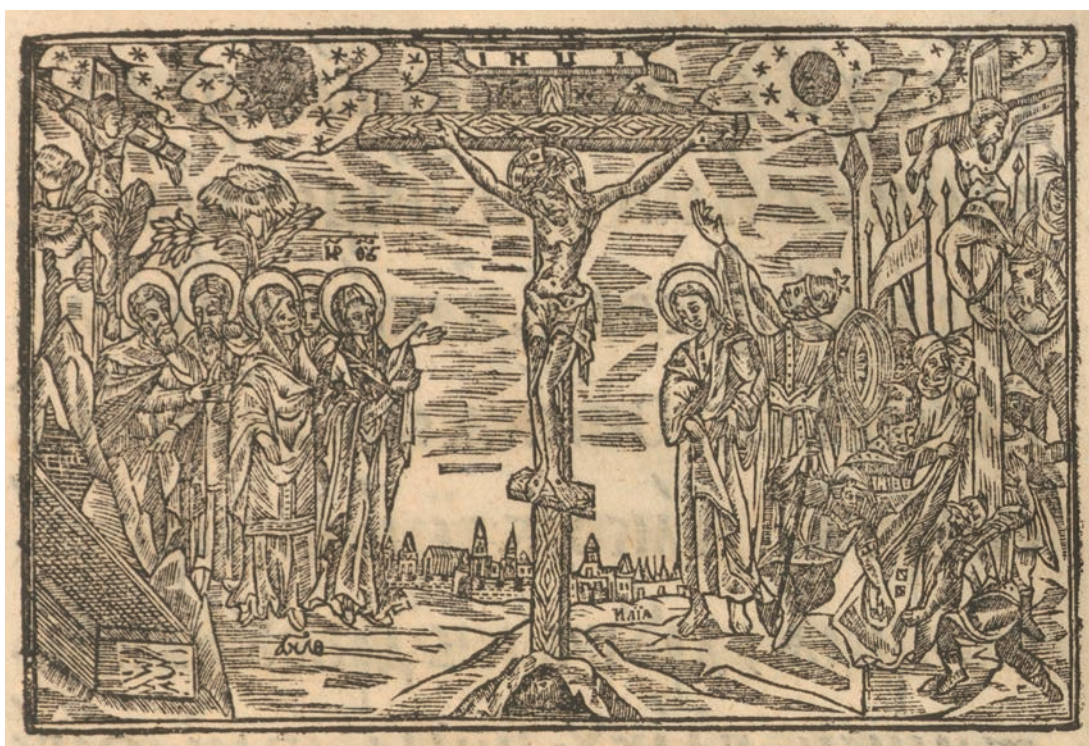
Mt 27, 32–44 – f. 101v.

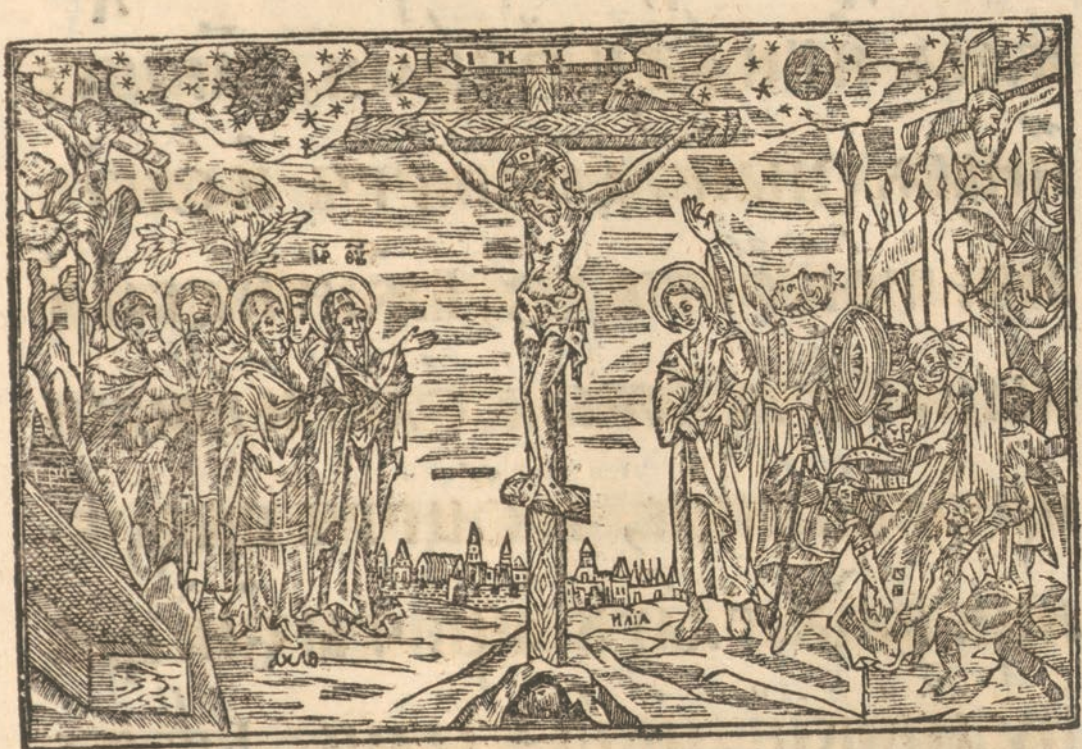
Mk 15, 21–32 – f. 173.

Lk 23, 32–43 – f. 289.

Jn 19, 26–27 – f. 377.

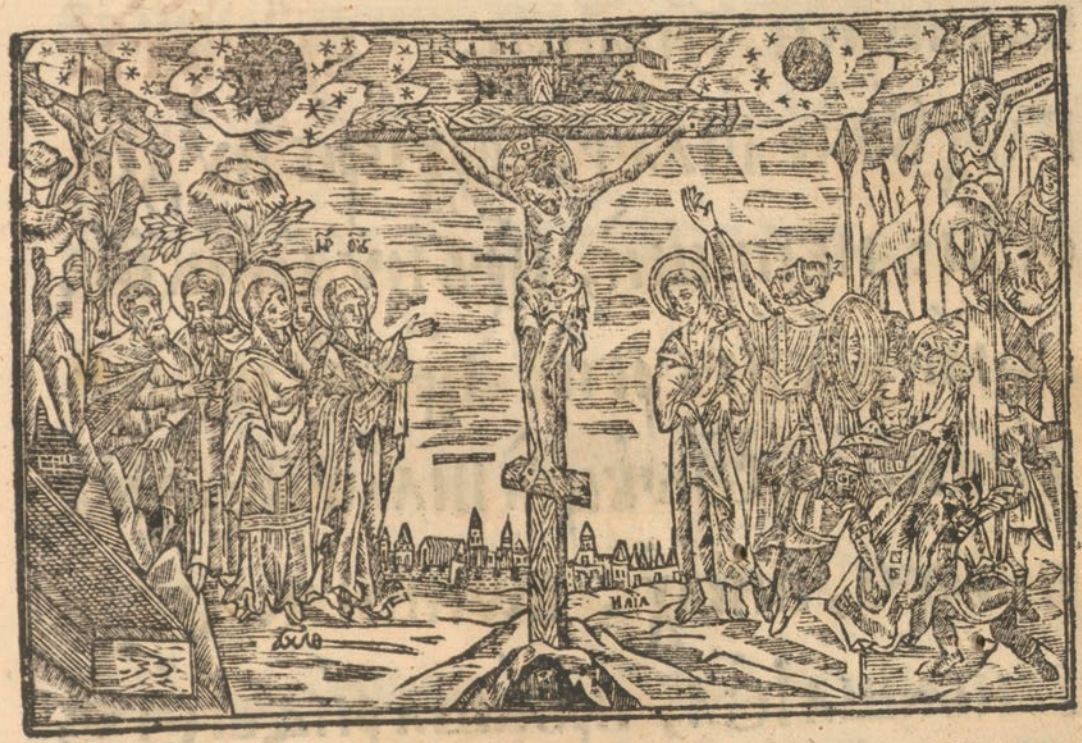
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.





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ѣже глѣтъся Евре́нскѣ Голго́дѣ.





▲ Fig. 11.6. *The Departure of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15, 13) – f. 254v.*
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.

▼ Fig. 11.7⁶. *The Prodigal Son with Hogs (Lk 15, 15) – f. 255.*
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.





▲ Fig. 11.8⁹⁷. *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (Lk 15, 20–24) – f. 255v.
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.

▼ Fig. 11.9. *The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector* (Lk 18, 9–14) – f. 265v.
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.





▲ Fig. II.10. *The Ascension of Jesus (Lk 24, 50–53) – f. 296.*

Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.

▼ Fig. II.11. *The Descent of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7, 14–24) – f. 331.*

Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.





▲ Fig. II.12⁹⁸. The Arrest of Jesus (Jn 18, 8–12) – f. 371v.
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.

▼ Fig. II.13. Jesus before Pilate (Jn 18, 28–38) – f. 373v.
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.





▲ Fig. II.14. *Soldiers mock Jesus (Jn 19, 1–5) – f. 375.*
Source: <https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca>.

Notes

1 Some early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia feature texts unknown to the Cyrillic handwritten tradition of the Gospel. Short biographies of the evangelists can serve as examples (see: Ostapczuk *et al.* 2020, p. 126–143).

2 Yota, 2017, p. 298.

3 Some other Cyrillic Gospel manuscripts featuring numerous, often full-page miniatures can also be pointed out here, i.e. Tetraevangelia kept at the Dragomirna Monastery (shelf numbers 601, 602 and 607) can serve as examples. More on these codices see: Iufu, Brătulescu 2012, p. 78–81 (No 85), p. 82–86 (No 87) and p. 81–82 (No 86).

4 Scholars point to the existence in the past of some intermediate manuscripts (Dragnev 2004, p. 193).

5 More on this codex see: Mitric 1999, p. 78–80 (No 23) with relevant literature.

6 More on this codex see: Mitric 1999, p. 83 (No 24) with relevant literature.

7 More on this codex see: Naumow, Kaszlej 2004, p. 127–128 (No 271). This Gospel manuscript is accessible online (<https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,MTYzNDE0Mzk/6/#info:metadata>) (access date: 28.02.2024).

8 This codex was studied by E. Dragnev (Dragnev 2004). It was published in a facsimile form (Евангелие Елисаветградское 2009) and is accessible online (<https://kp.rusneb.ru/item/mate>

[rial/elizabethgradskoe-evangelie-licevoe](http://elizabethgradskoe-evangelie-licevoe) - access date 28.02.2024).

9 More on this codex see: Cleminson 1988, p. 121–123 (No 78) and Попова, Миклас 2018 with relevant literature. This Gospel manuscript was edited several times, i.e. Живкова 1980; Мусакова, Миклас 2018; Попова, Миклас 2018.

10 The Gospel text in the Elisavetgrad Tetraevangelion was not copied from Tsar Ivan Alexander Gospel codex, see: Паскаль 2019, p. 289–291.

11 Dragnev 2004, p. 187.

12 In Kurt Weitzman's opinion Gospel codices with a very extensive narrative pictorial cycle resemble modern comic strips or a cinematographic image reel (Weitzman 1971, p. 250). Early printed block-books, in which each page was printed from a single block of wood, can undoubtedly be compared with contemporary comics.

13 See: Dragnev 2004, p. 36–48 and plates 1–72; Паскаль 2019, p. 284–286.

14 On the relationship between all five Cyrillic as well as Greek (i.e. *Parisianus graecus* 74) and three Georgian Gospel manuscripts see Dragnev 2004, 187. The tradition of embellishing manuscripts with miniatures was also found in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian manuscripts of the New Testament (Hatch 1951, p. 32–33).

15 Weitzman 1971, p. 250–254.

- 16 This manuscript was preserved at the University Library in Lviv, and 193/IV is its old call number (Dragnev 2004, p. 209).
- 17 The history of this codex showed that it did not reach its destination point (Dragnev 2004, p. 209–210).
- 18 Influences of Moldavian (and Wallachian) church architecture as well as iconographic cycles were noticed in the Confraternity Church (Gronek 2014a, p. 406–407; Kruk 2023, 15–16). The first church was founded by Moldavian Hospodar Alexandru IV Lăpușneanu (Janusz 1924, p. 53). Lviv Brotherhood was constantly in the 2nd half of 16th and through the whole 17th century supported by Moldavian hospodars (Kruk 2023, 15–16.32).
- 19 The monastery in Zhovkva owned a Gospel manuscript with a cover made for the Church in Suceava; the Stavropegian Institute in Lviv in 19th century had in its collection Gospel manuscript with cover executed in 16th century for the Metropolitanate of Suceva (see: Kruk 2023, 23–24).
- 20 More on very close relations of Lviv and monasteries located outside of it with Moldavia see: Dumitran, Kruk 2023 (especially Mirosław Piotr Kruk publication “Artistic Relations Between Moldavia, Transylvania, Lesser Poland, and Ruthenia in Polish Art Historiography [Kruk 2023, p. 13–34]).
- 21 Some woodblocks applied in the printing of the first Lviv Tetraevangelion issued in 1636 were cut almost 20 years earlier and as such they served for several other purposes.
- 22 Starting in the 16th c. all book decoration elements present in editions from East Slavonic printing houses (excluding only Mamonich workshop) feature Western influence (Gronek 2009, p. 112–130; 2015, p. 139–146; 2017, p. 333; Deluga 2013, p. 17.20–25).
- 23 Biskupski 1981, p. 39–44; Ісаєвич 2002, p. 144; Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 14–15; Gronek 2014a, p. 417–419; 2014b, p. 50–53; 2015, p. 139–146. The influence of Western engravings on Cyrillic prints was also continued in the 17th century (Yurchyshyn-Smith 2017, p. 18–20).
- 24 There are widely known Slavonic early printed books that appeared in the first half of 17th c., the contents of which were supplemented from Western editions (see Ісаєвич 2002, p. 170).
- 25 In the 2nd quarter of 17th c. metropolitan Petro Mohyla planned to print illustrated Bible, but most probably due to his death it was not issued. Prepared by skilled woodcutter Iliia 132 woodcuts, based on Western models, were later published as a stand-alone album (Yurchyshyn-Smith 2017, p. 19).
- 26 Ostapczuk 2023a, p. 10–23.
- 27 For a list of all early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia see: Ostapczuk, Dzierżanowska 2023, p. 465–514.
- 28 The first early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelion was issued in 1512 in Târgoviște and the second one in 1537 in Mrkšina Crkva.
- 29 All portraits of the Evangelists with the coat of arms of Sibiu and Moldova and headpieces see: Escedy 2004, p. 305–307; Ciubotă 2014, p. 21–28.
- 30 Erich 2003, p. 94; Немировский 2007, p. 772; Voznesenskij 2016, p. 42.
- 31 The height of Matthew’s portrait totals the height of six-lines of text.
- 32 Erich 2003, p. 94; Немировский 2007, p. 771; Eșanu, Eșanu 2021, p. 110.
- 33 Full-page and framed portraits of seated and writing evangelists with their symbols or with accompanying person (i.e. deacon Prochorus) – in the case of John the Evangelist portrait, were usually located in manuscripts on the pages opposite the beginning of the Gospel books. The 1546 Sibiu Gospel edition in three cases out of four features an unusual placement of the evangelists depictions. Only the Luke’s bust, placed below the silhouette of Jesus Christ in Majesty with the printer’s device, was located properly, i.e. on the page opposite the beginning of respective Gospel. For the printer’s device see: Eșanu, Eșanu 2019, p. 15; 2021, p. 109; Ciubotă 2014, p. 22–23 and 26.
- 34 The Mamonich printing house was founded in 1574 by Kuzma Mamonich together with Piotr Timofeev Mstislavets, who, together with Ivan Fedorov, worked previously in Moscow. The Mamonich workshop operated in Vilnius for almost 50 years. Its last edition was issued in 1623.
- 35 An in-depth study of the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia, see: Бондар 2012, p. 119–151; 2021.
- 36 Вознесенский 2018, p. 37.
- 37 Luka and Kuzma Mamonich aimed to distribute and sell their editions on the Moscow book market (Вознесенский 2018, p. 36), which by the end of the 16th century became a priority (Вознесенский 2021, 64).
- 38 Бондар 2005, p. 215.
- 39 Beside Vilnius and Lviv early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia were issued in Moscow, Kyiv (eight times), Pochaiv (five times) and once in Klintsy. The Gospel edition printed in Klintsy in 1786 was a reprint of Moscow Tetraevangelion issued in 1648 (Вознесенский 1994, p. 31 [No 85]; Емельянова 2010, p. 263–265 [No 169]).
- 40 Соловьева 1985, p. 455. It is worth citing of W. Deluga’s statement, that the graphic art of the Orthodox Church in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth developed in strict connection with the printing centers in Ukraine and Lithuania (Deluga 2013, p. 17).
- 41 It is sometime claimed that the narrative illustrations present in the first Lviv Tetraevangelion were reprinted in all subsequent ones issued in this city (Gronek 2014b, p. 54).
- 42 This publication features depictions of 496 engravings, of which 356 are signed, described in detail as well as study (Yurchyshyn-Smith 2017). Some of his woodcut blocks were applied in printing the third Lviv Gospel Tetraevangelion (Yurchyshyn-Smith 2017, p. 29–31 and 70).
- 43 There were eight Gospel editions issued in Lviv, i.e. in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743. On the number of Lviv Tetraevangelia see: Bondar 2002, p. 42–51; Ostapczuk 2017a, p. 181–189.
- 44 The first book issued in Lviv that was embellished with narrative illustrations with Western origins was a Horologion printed in 1609. It features 5 engravings depicting Gospel scenes (Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 11; Gronek 2014b, p. 53–54), that were later applied in preparation of the first Lviv Tetraevangelion.
- 45 Ісаєвич 2002, p. 211. His name can be found on the trim of Christ Pantocrator printed on the back side of the title page, i.e. МАЛѢШИЙ ВЪ ТИПОГРАФІИ, МІХАНЪ СЛЮЗКА.
- 46 All Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv were printed *in folio* format, i.e. 2o.
- 47 In subsequent Lviv Tetraevangelia iconographic themes were introduced into headpieces.
- 48 These full-page portrayals of the evangelists present in the Lviv Tetraevangelia were cut in the 1600s by monk Pamva Berynnda, skilled woodcutter and typographer (Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 15).
- 49 The title page recorded the date of its production (РОСЪ БОЖЪ АХЛС), i.e. 1636, as well as name of its woodcutter (ГЕВѢГОС ІЕДИНАС), i.e. hierodeacon Georgy. The use of woodcut block this title page was printed from attests the last Lviv Gospel edition issued in 1743 by Lviv Confraternity Printing House. Copies of all title pages of the Gospel editions issued in Lviv see Ostapczuk 2017a, p. 187–188. The book title with publication date appears in a cartouche placed in the center of title page with an oval image depicting the Dormition below. This cen-

tral composition is surrounded by Deesis (above), twelve medallions with Apostles' busts (six on each side), and busts of Jonah, Isaiah, Moses, and Daniel (on the bottom).

50 Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 14; Ostapczuk 2017a, p. 182. The first Lviv Gospel edition also features a full-page depiction of Christ Pantocrator (on the verso side of the title page) and a small picture of Golgotha on the f. 356v, where the first Gospel of the Passion of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ begins (Jn 13, 31–18, 1).

51 See Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 11.15. As Ukrainian scholar Natalia Bondar confirms, they were cut not earlier than the beginning of the 17th century. These illustrations are sometimes ascribed to Pamvo Berynda, who in 1610s worked for the Lviv Confraternity Printing house, but this claim has yet to be proved. See also Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 15.

52 I.e. the Birth of Jesus Christ (Fig. 1.1 [f. 244v]), the Visit of Wise Men (Fig. 1.2 [f. 244v]), the Calling of Matthew (Fig. 1.7a [f. 154]), the Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants (Fig. 1.18 [f. 253v]), the Crucifixion of Jesus (Fig. 1.21a [f. 49v]), the Annunciation (Fig. 1.23a [f. 385v]), the Circumcision (Fig. 1.24 [f. 265v]), the Teaching on fulfilment of Scriptures (Fig. 27 [f. 7v]).

53 See Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 14.

54 Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 11; Gronek 2014b, p. 53–54.

55 His name can be found on the trim of the Christ Pantocrator, cut on the back side of the title page, i.e. **МАЛЪШИЙ ВЪ ТИПОГРАФІИ, МИХАИЛЪ СЛЮКА**.

56 The second book printed by commission was the Octoechos, issued in the same year (Исаевич 2002, p. 214).

57 Ostapczuk 2017a, p. 182. On the verso side of the title page of the second Gospel issued in Lviv in 1644, the depiction of Jesus's Resurrection surrounded by six scenes related to this event, was placed.

58 Some portrayals were displaced, i.e. Fig. 1.20 (depicting Mk 14, 3–8) is on the f. 164 in the second Lviv Gospel edition, while in the first on f. 165; Fig. 1.22 as illustration to Mk 13, 24–27 is on f. 162v in the second Lviv Gospel edition while in the first on f. 163v and as illustration to Lk 23, 30–36 is on f. 278v instead of f. 288v.

59 The reprint of the first Lviv Tetraevangelion executed by Vilnius Confraternity Printing House in 1644 does not feature any narrative illustrations, as well as the manuscript copied in 1665 kept at the Lviv Historical Museum (call number 36; see Ostapczuk 2020a, p. 168–178).

60 The first appliance of the Fig. 21 illustrates Mt 27, 32–44 and was printed on f. 102.

61 The Fig. 44 was also used as an illustration to Mk 18, 19–23 and was printed on f. 370v.

62 The Fig. 45 was also applied as an illustration to Jn 18, 28–38 and was printed on f. 372.

63 Ostapczuk 2020b, p. 87–97.

64 Ostapczuk 2020c, p. 200–216; 2021a, p. 109–125; 2021b, p. 143–159.

65 Ostapczuk 2017b, p. 357–367.

66 Ostapczuk 2022, p. 41–48; 2023b, p. 116–146.

67 See Исаевич 2002, p. 214–215.

68 Numerous narrative illustrations present in Gospel editions not only complemented their content but also corresponded to their increased demand on the book market (Bondar 2002, p. 47).

69 Mykhailo Slozka maintained close relationships with Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra Workshop. Some of his woodcut blocks are of Kyivan origin (Запаско, Мацюк 1983, p. 16–17).

70 N. Bondar also pointed to a different order of some paratexts in the third Lviv Tetraevangelion in comparison to the first and the second Gospel editions (Bondar 2002, p. 48).

71 On the verso side of the title page of the third Lviv Gospel issued in 1665, depiction of Jesus's Resurrection surrounded with six scenes related to this event – as in the second Lviv edition issued in 1644 – was placed.

72 Some illustrations present in the third Lviv Tetraevangelion provide information on the execution date of woodcut blocks and their woodcutters. The year 1639 [i.e., **ДХЛД**] is present on one illustration (Fig. 1.1 and 1.4). The following names of woodcutters or only their initials can also be found: **К Д** (Fig. 1.1), **ВДЗ** (Fig. 1.3), **ЗВД** (Fig. 1.10), **ИЛИА** (Fig. 1.2), **ИЛ** (Fig. 1.6 and 1.9).

73 For the second time Mykhailo Slozka printed Apostle in 1654 with the application of the same woodcut blocks.

74 Two woodcuts, i.e. Fig. 1.1 and 1.4, have their execution date, i.e. 1639, indicated.

75 On the verso side of the title page of the fourth Lviv Gospel issued in 1670 was a depiction of Jesus's Resurrection surrounded with four scenes which was related to this event.

76 Most of the narrative illustrations were printed on different folios. Some woodcuts are completely missing in the fourth Lviv Gospel (Fig. 1.2), and some do not appear twice but only once (Fig. 1.1).

77 On the verso side of the title page of the fifth Lviv Gospel issued in 1690 was placed a full-page depiction of the Crucifixion of Jesus, cut by Eustafii Zavadvoskyi. See Bondar 2002, p. 47.

78 See Bondar 2002, p. 47.

79 Bondar 2002, p. 48.

80 See Гусева 1997, p. 15 and 74.

81 On the verso side of the title page of the sixth Lviv Gospel issued in 1704 was placed a full-page depiction of the Dormition of the Mother of God, cut in 1697 by Nicodem Zubritskyi. See Bondar 2002, p. 47.

82 On the verso side of the title page of the seventh Lviv Gospel issued in 1743 was placed the same depiction as in the Lviv Tetraevangelion from 1704. The supplement containing the Gospel readings for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday (2 readings: liturgy of Maundy Thursday and vespers of Good Friday) record a woodcut narrative illustration depicting the Crucifixion of Jesus. Fig. 1.21b (f. [13v]).

83 On the verso side of the title page of the seventh Lviv Gospel issued in 1722 was placed the same depiction as in the Lviv Tetraevangelia from 1704 and 1722. The supplement containing the Gospel readings for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday (2 readings: liturgy of Maundy Thursday and vespers of Good Friday) record a woodcut narrative illustration depicting the Crucifixion of Jesus. Fig. 1.21b (f. [13v]).

84 The seventh Lviv Tetraevangelion, issued in 1722, featured 50 illustrations, whereas the three previous editions recorded one more, i.e. 51.

85 The illustrations omitted in the eighth Lviv Tetraevangelion depict the following scenes: 1) The Birth of Jesus Christ (Lk 2, 1–17 [Fig. 1.1]), 2) The Beam in the Eye (Lk 6, 37–42 [Fig. 1.3]), 3–4) The Cleansing of a Leper (Mt 8, 1–4 and Lk 17, 11–19 [Fig. 1.4a–b]), 5–6) The Ruler asks Jesus about his Daughter (Mt 9, 18–26 and Jn 4, 46–54 [Fig. 1.8]), 7) The Parable of the Sower (Mt 13, 1–19 [Fig. 1.12]), 8) A third time Jesus Foretells his Death and Resurrection (Lk 18, 31–34 [Fig. 1.15]), 9) The Cleansing of the Temple (Mk 11, 15–17 [Fig. 1.17]), 10) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 19, 25–27 [Fig. 1.21a–b]), 11) Let the Mountains Fall on Us and Hills Cover Us (Lk 23, 30–31 [Fig. 1.22]), 12) The Good Samaritan (Lk 10, 25–37 [Fig. 1.28]), 13) The Prodigal Son with Hogs (Lk 15, 15 [Fig. 1.29]), 14) The Return of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15, 20–24 [Fig. 1.30]), 15) The Rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16, 19–31 [Fig. 1.32]), 16) The Walk to Emmaus (Lk 24, 13–35 [Fig. 1.33]), 17) The Wedding in Cana (Jn 2, 1–12 [Fig. 1.35]), 18)

Jesus and Nicodemus (Jn 3, 1–21 [Fig. 1.36]), 19) The Healing at the Pool (Jn 5, 1–18 [Fig. 1.38]), 20) The Descent of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7, 37–39 [Fig. 1.39c]), 21) The Healing of a Man Born Blind (Jn 9, 1–12 [Fig. 1.40]), 22) Washing the Disciples' Feet (Jn 13, 1–20 [Fig. 1.41]), 23) Betrayal and Arrest of Jesus – The Bounding of Jesus (Jn 18, 1–12 [Fig. 1.43b]), 24) The High Priest's Officer Gives Jesus a Blow (Jn 18, 19–24 [Fig. 1.42]), 25) Jesus before Pilate (Jn 18, 28–38 [Fig. 1.45]), 26) The Crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 19, 16–22 [Fig. 1.47a–b]), 27) Jesus and Thomas (Jn 20, 24–29 [Fig. 1.46a–b]).

86 Ostapczuk 2017b, p. 357–367.

87 Ostapczuk 2020b, p. 87–97; 2020c, p. 200–216; 2021a, p. 109–125; 2021b, p. 143–159.

88 Ostapczuk 2023b, p. 116–146.

89 Weitzman 1971, p. 247.

90 Fig. I.29 corresponds to Fig. II.7 in Appendix II.

91 Fig. I.30 corresponds to Fig. II.8 in Appendix II.

92 Fig. I.43b corresponds to Fig. II.12 in Appendix II.

93 Fig. I.46b corresponds to Fig. II.5 in Appendix II.

94 All narrative illustrations present in the Lviv Tetraevangelion issued in 1665 were derived from the copy kept at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw (shelf number SD Cyr 410) and are accessible online (<https://polona.pl/preview/627fd0e1-c7d0-4bca-9d8d-6706112e3aca> [access date: 04.04.2024]).

95 Fig. II.5 corresponds to Fig. I.46b in Appendix I.

96 Fig. II.7 corresponds to Fig. I.29 in Appendix I.

97 Fig. II.8 corresponds to Fig. I.30 in Appendix I.

98 Fig. II.12 corresponds to Fig. I.43b in Appendix I.

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Le portrait dans les anciens livres roumains imprimés

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МОТТО: *A feții tale icoană, Paisie minunate:
Tot zugravul cu știință întocma să o facă, poate.
Iară adâncul minții tale, nici ritorii prin cuvinte:
Nu vor putea să-l arate, izvor fiind celor sfinte.*¹

L'icône de ton visage, ô, bienheureux Païssy,
Tout peintre adroit peut la rendre semblable.
Mais les tréfonds de ton esprit ne pourraient le révéler
Ni même les rhéteurs, par leurs paroles, étant source de sainteté.



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SUMMARY: The painted, engraved, or sculpted portrait is an attempt to immortalize a person and preserve their memory. Often, portraits served both didactic and aesthetic purposes, particularly in religious texts. In Orthodox books, portraits typically depicted saints rather than individuals contemporary with the time of the book's publication. It is exceedingly rare for an Orthodox book to include the portrait of a person who was alive at the time of publication or who had passed away relatively close to that date.

While the practice of including portraits of individuals associated with a book was common in the West, it is a notable exception in the history of Romanian engraving and printing tradition. In this study, we have sought to identify the individuals and volumes printed in the Romanian Lands up to the nineteenth century in which such portraits appeared. We have also examined the motivations behind the inclusion of these portraits, whether engraved in wood or brass.

This research was inspired by the portraits of Elder Paisios of Neamț († 1794), printed in books by his disciples. We will analyze these representations of the great hesychast and then explore several other portraits we have identified in Romanian books thus far.

KEY WORDS: portrait art, Romanian printing press, St. Paisius of Neamț, woodcut.

REZUMAT: Portretul pictat, gravat sau sculptat reprezintă o încercare de imortalizare, de salvare a memoriei unei persoane. Adeseori, portretul a avut și funcție didactică, dar și estetică, în special în cărțile de cult. În cărțile ortodoxe, portretul a ilustrat sfinți, nu oameni contemporani cărții. Sunt foarte rare situațiile când într-o carte ortodoxă apare un portret al unei persoane care este în viață la data publicării volumului sau care a murit la o dată relativ apropiată de cea a tipăririi sale. Acest obicei de a include chipuri de persoane legate de cartea respectivă, destul de răspândit în Occident, este cu totul excepțional în istoria gravurii și a tiparului românesc. În acest studiu vom discuta despre acele volume tipărite în Țările Române până în secolul al XIX-lea în care au fost redată astfel de chipuri. Am încercat să identificăm și motivul pentru care astfel de portrete au fost gravate în lemn sau în aramă. Deoarece această cercetare a avut ca punct de pornire chipurile Cuviosului Paisie de la Neamț († 1794) tipărite de ucenicii săi, vom începe cu analiza acestor reprezentări ale marelui isihast, continuând cu alte câteva portrete găsite de noi în cărțile românești, fără a avea pretenția de a le fi identificat pe toate.

CUVINTE CHEIE: arta portretului, tiparul românesc, Paisie de la Neamț, xilogravură.

Dans les livres roumains, et surtout dans les livres de culte orthodoxes, les gravures qui accompagnent les textes représentent les figures des saints mentionnés. Il est rare

de rencontrer dans un livre le portrait d'un individu encore en vie ou récemment décédé. La coutume, assez répandue en Occident, de figurer des personnes en lien avec

l'ouvrage, ne se rencontre dans l'histoire de la gravure et de l'imprimerie roumaines que dans des situations tout à fait exceptionnelles. Dans les pages qui suivront, nous allons essayer d'identifier les personnes et les livres ayant fait l'objet de telles représentations – sous la forme d'un portrait gravé en bois ou en cuivre – et nous allons tenter d'en saisir la raison. Nous débuterons notre étude par l'analyse des portraits du grand hésychaste Païssy de Neamț, que nous avons découverts dans des livres imprimés par ses disciples. Ensuite, nous poursuivrons notre recherche, sans prétention à l'exhaustivité, avec l'étude de quelques autres portraits que nous avons identifiés.

Païssy de Neamț

Le Vénérable Païssy de Neamț nous a laissé les premières pages de son autobiographie avec l'intention de léguer à la postérité non seulement son souvenir, mais aussi l'image de toute la vie spirituelle et culturelle des communautés que Dieu lui avait confiées. Les moines, animés d'un sincère amour pour leur père spirituel, gardaient précieusement son souvenir. Cependant, les années passant, lorsque les moines qui avaient connu personnellement l'hésychaste – et qui appartenaient à la génération des monastères païssiens (répandus dans les Principautés Roumaines et au-delà) – commencèrent à disparaître, le besoin s'imposa d'immortaliser par écrit l'histoire de Païssy. Les premiers récits à son sujet portent la signature de quelques-uns de ses disciples les plus connus : Mitrofan, le moine de grand habit, et Isaac le Didascale. Toutefois, à cause de leur âge très avancé, ces deux disciples n'avaient pas pu mener à bonne fin leurs écrits sur la vie et les enseignements de leur père spirituel. C'est l'érudit hiérodiaque Grégoire le Didascale, futur métropolite de la Valachie, qui a été le premier à rédiger et à faire imprimer dans la typographie du monastère Neamț la vie, quoique résumée, de l'Hésychaste Païssy, dont il était l'un des disciples les plus proches.

En 1817, année de la publication de son livre, saint Grégoire le Didascale – qui avait déjà atteint l'âge de 52 ans – subissait une pression considérable, en raison des hautes attentes des pères du monastère de Neamț. Cette situation était également exacerbée par les critiques qui étaient adressées aux biographies antérieures, restées sous forme manuscrite. Saint Grégoire intitula son œuvre *Récit d'une partie de la vie de notre Vénérable Père Païssy*. Il l'intégra à une collection de conseils spirituels – issus de divers saints et pères ecclésiastiques – axés sur l'obéissance, pierre angulaire de la vie monastique (voir *infra*). Le texte reçut l'approbation du métropolite Veniamin Costachi et de la communauté monastique de Neamț (notamment de l'archimandrite Sylvestre), d'autant que son œuvre avait été imprimée dans la typographie du monastère, et décorée artistiquement par les talentueux moines de ses ateliers.

L'image spirituelle de l'higoumène Païssy, pur et vertueux depuis son enfance, se dessine à travers tous les écrits le concernant. Païssy se révèle parfait dans les vertus monacales l'obéissance, la pauvreté, la virginité, la prière, le jeûne, les veillées, l'humilité. Il était animé d'un grand amour pour tous ses frères et d'une véritable compassion pour les pauvres, à l'égard desquels il se montrait charitable et miséricordieux. Ses conseils édifiants étaient dispensés avec douceur et clarté, apaisant tout conflit et réconfortant les âmes ; il était en même temps un bon administrateur des biens de la communauté. Il bénéficiait d'une très bonne mémoire, connaissant presque par

cœur les Saintes Écritures et les enseignements de la foi, qu'il confessait et défendait sans répit. Très attaché à la tradition monastique athonite, il correspondait avec plusieurs théologiens renommés de son temps et connaissait en profondeur les écrits des Saints Pères. Polyglotte, il traduisait et transcrivait des textes, son écriture à l'encre sur papier étant précise et soignée².

Outre les vertus sans nombre et même les miracles relatés par ses disciples, nous trouvons aussi quelques informations sur l'aspect physique du grand higoumène, fournies par un de ses disciples, Isaac le Didascale, qui, dans la biographie qu'il lui consacre, cite les paroles de Mitrofan :

[Cuviosul Paisie] *era la statul trupului cam de mijloc, nu tare înalt, fața lui era albă și luminoasă ca la îngerul lui Dumnezeu, și uscată pentru înfrânare. Căutătura lui era lină și blândă, barba de mijloc, puțin cam rară și albă, ochii beșicați, sprâncenele lungi și încovoiate după ochi și albe. Nasul de mijloc. La gură, de mijloc tăiat. Părul lungu și mult alb. Împodobit la chip ca lacov patriarhul, întrucât orișicine l-ar fi văzut, îndată se cucernicea de dânsul ca de un sfânt oarecarele [ca oricare din sfinți - n.n. P. C.]. Că era blând la nărav și liniștit, graiul lin și rar, mare la glas și orgânos [avea voce de bas - n.n. P. C.], cuvântul smerit și străin de îndrăzneală. Pre toți cu a sa dragoste îi trăgea către sineși, fiind cu totul către milostivire revărsat. Mintea lui totdeauna în dragoste era unită cu Dumnezeu. Martori ai acestora erau lacrimile, căci când grația către noi ceva din Sfintele Scripturi, atuncea inima lui de dragostea cea către Domnul ardea. Fața lui de dragostea cea duhovnicească și de dragostea cea pentru aproapele infloria, iară ochii lui vărsau lacrimi întărind pre adevărul.*

[Le vénérable Païssy] était de stature moyenne, pas très grand, son visage était clair, lumineux comme celui d'un ange de Dieu, et émacié par l'ascèse. Son regard était doux et serein ; la barbe était blanche, fendue et clairesemée, les yeux saillants, les sourcils touffus et blancs. Le nez moyen. La bouche à moitié cachée. Les cheveux longs et blancs. Quiconque le voyait, de son visage qui rappelait le patriarche Jacob, éprouvait aussitôt une grande piété, comme devant un véritable saint. Car il était homme à s'attirer l'affection de tout un chacun, doux et paisible de nature, à la parole sage et posée, aux propos humbles, étrangers à toute outrecuidance, à la voix basse, forte et profonde. Tout à l'amour, son esprit s'épanchait en un flot de miséricorde. Entièrement uni à Dieu, il avait le don des larmes ; aussi fondait-il en larmes chaque fois qu'il nous parlait des Saintes Écritures et son cœur s'enflammait d'amour pour Dieu. Alors son visage rayonnait d'amour pour le Seigneur et pour son prochain et ses yeux versaient des larmes comme pour raffermir cette vérité.³

Dans l'ouvrage mentionné, Mitrophan justifie la nécessité de consigner par écrit la vie du Vénérable Païssy :

Iată, frați, iubiți, care nu ați văzut îngereasca față a sfântului nostru părinte, mi-am împlinit făgăduința cea făcută vouă în predoslovie, de a scrie sfânta sa viață: fuga sa din lume, peregrinările sale, sărăcia, viața sa împreună cu frații, și ostenele și nevoințele sale mai presus de fire.

Voilà, bien-aimés frères, vous qui n'avez pas vu le visage angélique de notre saint père, j'ai tenu la promesse que je vous ai faite dans la préface, d'écrire sa sainte vie : sa fuite du siècle, ses pérégrinations, sa pauvreté, sa vie auprès des frères, ses œuvres et ses actions spirituelles au-delà de toute attente.

Et, se référant aux expériences mystiques de l'higoumène, l'auteur nous raconte que la grâce divine qui habitait Païssy inondait son visage de lumière⁴. Dans une biographie écrite par le moine Vitalie, un autre disciple de Païssy,

on apprend que le visage du vénérable higoumène était comparé à une icône vivante. Il attirait le regard non seulement en vertu de sa grande piété, mais également par la lumière et la bénédiction qui rayonnaient de sa personne :

și fiindcă darurile cele din afară, iarăși daruri a lui Dumnezeu sunt, și acestea desăvârșite, și fără nicio lipsire, cu toate harurile împodobit care trăgia pe toți ce privea la dansul, spre a-l iubi și a te folosi de cuvioase vederea și starea lui, de care și mult de te-ai fi uitat la el, tot de nu te puteai sătura (subl. n. – P. C.). Și în scurt, toate chipurile lui cinstite și cuvioase, iconă vie, și la chipurile cele duhovnicești și la cele din afară.

et puisque les dons visibles sont, eux aussi, des dons de Dieu, parfaits et sans défaut, il était homme pourvu de toutes les grâces, à se faire aimer et suivre par tous ceux qui le voyaient, saisis de la piété de son être et de son état, car le plus on le regardait, le plus on voulait le voir, sans jamais en être rassasié. En somme, il était vénérable et pieux en toute chose, icône vivante, tant dans son éclat spirituel que dans sa face visible.⁵

L'expérience de la rencontre avec l'image lumineuse du Vénérable Païssy fut également vécue, puis relatée, par un boyard grec, Constantin Caragea, qui, étant profondément marqué par cette rencontre, avait éprouvé le besoin de la consigner dans ses notes :

atunci, întâiași dată am văzut și eu cu ochii mei virtutea întrupată, fără patimi, și cu desăvârșire fără fățarnicie; chipul său preadulce, fața sa prea albă și fără un picușor de sânge, barba lui albă și strălucitoare ca aurul de curată ce era, însă și îmbrăcămintea lui nespuz de curată ... Era prea dulce la sfat și fără vreo ascundere, și cu adevărat vedea cineva un om fără trup.

c'est alors que j'ai vu, moi aussi, pour la première fois, la vertu faite chair, sans passions et visiblement sans hypocrisie ; son visage si doux, clair et émacié, sans une goutte de sang, la barbe blanche et éclatante comme l'or tant elle était immaculée, tout comme ses vêtements... Il était plein de douceur et de paix dans ses conseils et sans aucune dissimulation ; en vérité, on voyait un homme hors de son corps.⁶

Nous ne nous arrêterons pas davantage sur les biographies du Vénérable Païssy, qui ont déjà fait l'objet d'études et d'éditions de la part de plusieurs historiens. Nous nous arrêterons, en revanche, sur un aspect moins exploré par la critique : l'image gravée du grand stareț, que les bibliothèques de plusieurs monastères ont soigneusement conservée, à côté de ses images peintes⁷.

L'image gravée de Païssy a été publiée pour la première fois par saint Grégoire le Didascale, en 1817, dans le livre (voir *supra*) intitulé :

Adunare a cuvintelor celor pentru ascultare de la mulți sfinți și dumnezeiești părinți spre folosul celor ce întru dansa vor voi să se grijască de mântuirea lor. Și viața cuviosului părintelui nostru starețului Paisie, împreună cu oarecare din trimiterile sfinției sale acum întâiu tipărite cu blagoslovenia prea sfințitului mitropolit al Moldovei kiriu Veniamin. Prin oserdia prea cuviosului stareț și arhimandrit al sfintelor monastiri Neamțul și Secul kir Silvestru. În sfânta m(ănăstire) Neamțul la anul 1817 de Gherontie Tip(ografu)

Recueil des apophtegmes de plusieurs saints et divins pères, destiné à ceux qui veulent s'en servir pour leur salut. Et la vie de notre vénérable père l'higoumène Païssy, avec certains de ses conseils, publiés maintenant pour la première fois avec la bénédiction de Son Eminence le métropolitain de Moldavie kir Veniamin. Par les soins du

vénérable higoumène et archimandrite des saints monastères de Neamț et de Secu kir Silvestru. Au saint m(onastère) de Neamț, en 1817, par Gherontie le Typ(ographe) (Fig.1)

Le livre est volumineux, car il compte 366 pages, auxquelles s'ajoutent 19 pages encore, non-numérotées, intercalées entre les pages 295 et 296 et contenant un texte à part, intitulé *Récit d'une partie de la vie de notre vénérable père Païssy, et présentation pour l'assemblée de la communauté qui par la Providence de Dieu continue à être protégée*⁸. Le portrait du Vénérable Païssy en xylogravure se trouve tout juste après la page 295 et ouvre le texte qui se réfère à lui.

Le récit de Grégoire le Didascale n'est pas un texte hagiographique proprement dit⁹, mais l'auteur laisse transparaître la sainteté du Vénérable Païssy à travers la description de ses actes et conclut par une prière-invocation adressée au grand higoumène, preuve de sa confiance inébranlable en la capacité d'intercession de Païssy¹⁰.

La publication en 1817 de la biographie de l'higoumène Païssy trouve sa justification dans le fait que la communauté monastique s'accordait à le considérer et à le vénérer de son vivant, comme un saint. Aussi, les disciples païssiens désiraient-ils immortaliser l'image de leur père spirituel pour les futures générations de moines. Ce faisant, ils aspiraient à ce que la sainteté de Païssy, dont eux, les premiers, avaient été les témoins directs, soit révélée à tous¹¹.

La xylogravure représente Païssy vêtu de son *mandyas*, la tête couverte d'un *kamilavkion* haut de type slavo-athonite. Son visage est dominé par de grands yeux pénétrants – remarquables aussi par un de ses biographes, Mitrophan – et par sa barbe fourchue. De longs cheveux couvrent les épaules du vénérable père. De sa main droite, Païssy donne sa bénédiction, en tant que serviteur du saint autel, et dans la même main il tient le bâton évoquant son rôle d'higoumène et de père spirituel. De sa main gauche, il tient un *komboskini*, signe de sa prière perpétuelle dans une conduite philocalique, qu'il a observée et enseignée toute sa vie.

Le portrait, encadré par une délicate ornementation florale, est l'œuvre d'une main experte, caractérisée par des lignes tracées avec une précision et une maîtrise remarquables. En bas, à droite, l'artiste a inscrit seulement la date (l'an 1817), cachée sous les fleurs. Il a choisi de ne pas signer. Dans un cartouche au-dessous de la gravure, il a placé le nom de la figure représentée : *Notre Vénérable Père Païssios l'higoumène des saints monastères de Neamț et de Secu*.

Les chercheurs, relativement peu nombreux, ayant étudié cette xylographie¹² l'ont généralement attribuée au moine Ghervasie, connu pour avoir signé uniquement la gravure encadrant la page de titre dans le volume de 1817. Ce Ghervasie avait également illustré d'autres publications importantes du monastère de Neamț – par exemple le Nouveau Testament (1818) ou l'Évangile de grand format (1821) –, ainsi que plusieurs icônes monophiles, et bien d'autres œuvres. Sa carrière artistique s'étale sur une période de 27 ans¹³, allant de 1817 à 1844. L'image du Vénérable Païssy réalisée par le moine Ghervasie constitue à la fois sa première œuvre artistique et l'une de ses productions plus remarquables. Il est probable que l'initiative de ce portrait émanait de lui-même, compte tenu de l'affection profonde que la communauté monastique conservait pour le grand higoumène, trois décennies après sa mort. En tant que gravure sur bois, cette œuvre ne vise pas la précision d'un portrait réaliste, comme cela aurait été le cas avec une gravure en taille-douce. Le but



▲ Fig. 1. Le Vénérable Païssy de Neamț.
 Source: Adunare a cuvintelor celor pentru ascultare, Neamț, 1817.
 © Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, Bucarest.



▼ Fig. 2. Le Vénérable Païssy de Neamț, dessin à l'encre de Chine.
 Source: BAR ms. slave 556.
 © Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest.



Мѣа ноѣмерїа въ єї дѣнь .
 Житїе и подвїги
 Блжѣннаго Оца нашего
СТАРЦА ПАІСІА,
 Архімандрїта Молдовахїйскихъ Сѣхъ
 Монастырей Намца и Сѣкдала.

Ѧе оубо блжѣннїи мѣдкѣ похва-
 лѣти, и вѣнцѣмъ имъ Пасетїи,
 и ивѣстїи сїхъ воспѣвати и
 водвѣшати, оубо сїа єсть и по-
 лѣдка,



◀ Fig. 3. *Le Vénérable Païssy de Neamț.*

Source: Platon schim., *Viața Prea cuviosului părintelui nostru starețului Paisie...*, Neamț, 1836.

© Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

du graveur n'était pas de représenter un homme ordinaire, mais plutôt l'image d'un saint, d'un homme transfiguré par la grâce. C'était une tâche difficile. Ghervasie ne pouvait pas recourir à un modèle déjà utilisé¹⁴, et il devait représenter la figure d'une personne que de nombreux disciples, encore en vie, avaient connue. Un manuscrit qui contient la *Vie du Vénérable Païssy de Neamț*, copié après 1827¹⁵ par un certain « moine Ghervasie le calligraphe », représente le starets dans un dessin à l'encre de Chine tout à fait pareil à la xylogravure de 1817. On peut donc reconnaître la main du même moine Ghervasie qui avait gravé en bois pour la première fois l'image de Païssy, la faisant imprimer en 1817 (Fig. 2).

L'image du Vénérable Païssy publiée en 1817 a été reprise avec peu de différences dans la biographie intitulée :

Viața Prea cuviosului părintelui nostru starețului Paisie, adunată de la mulți scriitori și alcătuită rusește de sfinția sa părintele shimonahul Platon, iar acum tălmăcită moldovenește și dată în tipariu în zilele prea înălțatului nostru Domn Mihail Grigoriu Sturza V(oie)v(od) cu blagoslovenia pre osfințitului mitropolit kiriu kir Veniamin în stăreția precuciviosului arhimandrit și stareț al sfințelor monastiri Neamțului și Secului, kir Mardarie. În sfânta monastire Neamțul, anul 1836, iunie 16¹⁶

La Vie de notre vénérable Père higoumène Païssy, établie d'après plusieurs écrivains et rédigée en russe par le révérend père Platon, moine de grand habit, maintenant traduite en langue moldave et imprimée au temps de notre glorieux prince Mihail Grigoriu Sturza V(oie)v(ode), avec la bénédiction de son éminence le métropolit kiriu kir Veniamin et pendant l'higouménat du vénérable archimandrite et supérieur des saints monastères de Neamț et de Secu, kir Mardarie. Au saint monastère de Neamț, an 1836, juin 16¹⁷

Pour cette nouvelle œuvre imprimée à Neamț¹⁸, dix-neuf ans après la première parution du portrait de Païssy, le moine Teodosie réalisa une nouvelle plaque xylographique, où il apposa la date (1836) et sa signature (Fig. 3). Le moine xylographe Teodosie avait exercé son art à Neamț durant plus de trois décennies, réalisant un vaste répertoire de xylogravures. Cependant, quoique ce moine ait travaillé avec soin et amour, *son art* – d'après la critique – *ne possède ni le dynamisme de Ghervasie, ni l'équilibre et la finesse de Simeon. Il demeure néanmoins sous le signe de la méticulosité, du zèle, de la bienséance et de la discrétion*¹⁹.

Platon est lui aussi un des biographes du Vénérable Païssy. Dans l'épilogue de son livre, lorsqu'il se réfère au moment du passage du grand higoumène de la vie terrestre à la vie céleste, synonyme de la disparition de toute possibilité de contempler son image physique, confessait :

ducându-te de la noi, o fericite Părinte, și al nostru învățătoriule, noi fiii tăi cei d(u)hovnicești am rămas acum săraci: ne-am lipsit de vederea feții tale ceii luminoase, ne-am lipsit de cuvintele tale dulci, și de suflet mântuitoarele tale învățături și povățuiri.

puisque tu nous as quittés, ô, notre bienheureux père et maître, nous, tes fils spirituels, nous sommes restés bien pauvres, privés de la possibilité de contempler ton lumineux visage, d'entendre tes paroles si douces et tes conseils édifiants et salvifiques.²⁰

Ces privations survenues suite au départ au Ciel du Vénérable Païssy devaient être surmontées par la publication et la diffusion de la vie du saint higoumène, accompagnée de son image gravée, afin de soutenir la mémoire de ceux qui l'avaient connu et d'édifier ceux qui, entrés ultérieurement dans la communauté monastique, n'avaient pas pu contempler son visage, ni entendre ses paroles réconfortantes et salutaires²¹.

Le portrait du Vénérable Païssy de Neamț n'a pas circulé seulement en sa forme gravée et imprimée dans les éditions de 1817 et 1836²². Ce portrait, mis en circulation pour la première fois par le moine Ghervasie de Neamț, a servi pour modèle aux peintres qui ont figuré en couleurs l'image du grand père spirituel. Les portraits peints de l'higoumène Païssy sont répandus partout où lui-même ou ses disciples étaient présents – dans les monastères de Moldavie, de Valachie, de Bessarabie et du Mont Athos. Depuis Dragomirna et Neamț jusqu'au Skite Saint Elie du Mont Athos, il est impossible que dans les monastères dont il a été le pasteur spirituel, on ne puisse pas contempler l'image lumineuse de l'higoumène.

Autres portraits des XVII^e-XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles

L'entreprise de graver et d'imprimer le portrait d'une personne que bon nombre de lecteurs avaient connue de leur vivant, et qui ne les avait quittés que récemment, représente une démarche tout à fait novatrice, en particulier dans le contexte de la littérature monastique et des ateliers typographiques des monastères. Dans la tradition de la xylogravure roumaine, il est rare de voir le portrait de personnes encore en vie ou décédées récemment. Après la publication du portrait du Vénérable Païssy en 1817, c'est encore au monastère de Neamț que furent réalisés les portraits de deux éminentes figures théologiques : le métropolit Hiérothée de Naxos (Fig. 4) et *Nicodème le moine athonite, également didascale de l'Église d'Orient* (Nicodème l'Hagiorite), qui avait entretenu une correspondance avec Païssy (Fig. 5).

Celui qui a réalisé ces deux portraits de petites dimensions (53 x 70 mm) était le moine Teodosie (voir *supra*), qui les a publiés en 1826 dans *Le livre de conseils pour la garde des cinq sens*. Ici, à côté de S. Nicodème l'Hagiorite, figure également l'image du métropolit Hiérothée de Naxos, pour lequel S. Nicodème avait composé son œuvre (imprimée initialement en grec, à Vienne, en 1801)²³.

L'initiative du monastère de Neamț consistant à reproduire par gravure les portraits de personnes encore vivantes et dans l'exercice de leur fonction n'était cependant pas la première en son genre. La typographie princière de Iași avait déjà ouvert cette voie au milieu du XVII^e siècle. Ainsi, dans un exemplaire du célèbre *Recueil d'Homélies* du métropolit Varlaam, édité en 1643 et conservé aujourd'hui à Bixad en Transylvanie, on a découvert deux feuilles (réutilisées lors de l'impression du texte) portant les traces d'une xylogravure de grandes dimensions. Sur ces feuilles on peut distinguer la légende de la gravure, composée de vers élogieux dédiés au prince de Moldavie, Vasile Lupu, à son épouse Ecaterina et à leur fils, Ștefăniță Lupu, à l'occasion de son troisième anniversaire.

Dans cette gravure, on distingue le portrait d'une femme, probablement la princesse Ecaterina, et celui d'un enfant en costume d'époque, le fils du couple princier. La gravure porte la signature *Il(ia)*²⁴ et l'on suppose qu'elle était destinée à circuler comme feuille volante en l'honneur de la famille régnante de Moldavie, qui avait des aspirations impériales byzantines. Le portrait de Vasile Lupu

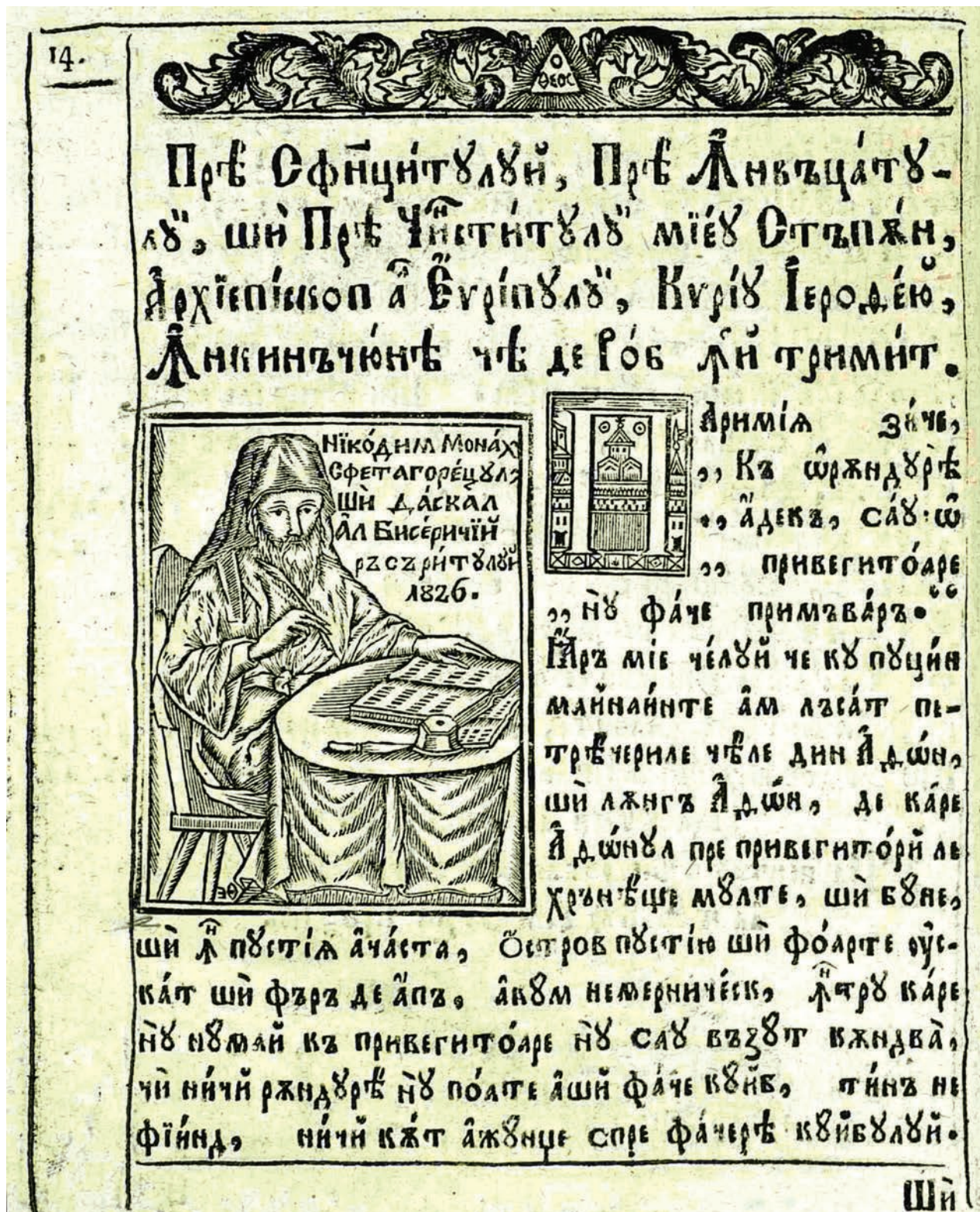


▲ Fig. 4. Le métropolitte Hiérothée de Naxos.
 Source: Carte sfātuitoare pentru păzirea celor cinci simțiri,
 Neamț, 1826.
 © Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, Bucarest.

▼ Fig. 5. Saint Nicodème l'Hagiorite.
 Source: Carte sfātuitoare pentru păzirea celor cinci simțiri,
 Neamț, 1826.
 © Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, Bucarest.

ne s'est pas conservé dans la xylogravure mentionnée (mais il est d'ailleurs possible que d'autres exemplaires restent à découvrir). En revanche le prince voisin, Matei Basarab de Valachie, a bénéficié d'une meilleure fortune

à cet égard. Par ailleurs, dans le *Hiératikon* slavon imprimé au Monastère de Dealu, près de Târgoviște, en 1646, nous retrouvons les portraits du prince Matei Basarab ; de son



épouse, la princesse Elina ; et de l'archimandrite Ioan, higoumène du Monastère de Dealu²⁵. Dans la même représentation, en haut, figurent les images du Christ Sauveur et de la Vierge Marie entourant saint Nicolas, patron de Dealu (Fig. 6).

Plus tard, en 1715, Chrysanthe Notaras († 1731), neveu et successeur du patriarche Dosithée de Jérusalem (+1707), allait imprimer à Bucarest l'ouvrage de son oncle intitulé : *L'histoire des patriarches de Jérusalem* (ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩ'Ν Ε'Ν ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΥΣΑ'ΝΤΩΝ,

διηρημένη (sic) μὲν ἐν δώδεκα βιβλίοις...) ²⁶. Dans ce volume de grandes dimensions, comptant plus de 1429 pages, conservé dans plusieurs bibliothèques de l'Orient et de l'Occident, se trouve le portrait du patriarche Dosithée de Jérusalem, gravé en taille-douce (Fig. 7). C'est le premier portrait d'un hiérarque orthodoxe à paraître dans un livre édité dans les Principautés Roumaines. Cependant, l'on a affirmé que cette gravure, signée par les initiales A. F. et d'une qualité remarquable, n'aurait pas été réalisée dans les Principautés Roumaines, mais plutôt à Venise.



▲ Fig. 6. Matei Basarab, la princesse Elina et l'archimandrite Ioan.

Source: *Hiératikon*, Dealu, 1646.

© Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest.



▲ Fig. 7. Le patriarche Dosithée de Jérusalem.

Source: *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩ Ν ΕΝ Ι ΕΡΟΣΟΛΥ ΜΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΥΣΑ ΝΤΩΝ*, Bucarest, 1715.

© Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, Bucarest.

Vera Tchentsova suppose, à juste raison, que son auteur pourrait être le graveur italien de grande renommée Faldoni qui avait gravé d'autres portraits de hiérarques, comme celui de Chrysanthé de Jérusalem et celui d'Elie Meniates, évêque de Kalavryta, publiés en 1716 à Paris (en réalité, Venise) et en 1720, à Venise²⁷.

Presqu'un demi-siècle plus tard, en 1756, on publiait, à Iași, un ouvrage en grec intitulé *ΤΟ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΥΚΤΙΟΝ ΗΤΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΨΥΧΟΦΕΛΕΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΣΤΗΝ. ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΝΘΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΝΗΣΤΕΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΝΩΝ*. Συντεθέντες, και έκφωνηθέντες παρά ού ταπεινού Ιερακήρυκος ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΙΕΩΣ. Ιδία δαπάνη τῶ Τύπῳ ἐκδοθέντες πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν χριστιανῶν. Καὶ ἀφιερωθέντες τῷ Ὑψηλοτάτῳ Γαληνοτάτῳ, καὶ Θεοσεβεστάτῳ Αὐθέντῃ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΩΜΙΧΑΗΛΑΡΑΚΟΒΙΤΖΑΒοεβόδακαὶ Ἡγεμόνι Μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ πάσης Μολδοβλαχίας. Ἐν Ἰασίῳ τῆς Μολδαβίας. Ἐν Ἑτεῖ Σωτερίῳ. αψνς'. Or, dans ce *Filet de pêche apostolique*, recueil d'homélie au Saint et Grand Carême, la feuille 9v contient le portrait de l'auteur : Nikolaos Mavroïdes, *celui de Kefalonia* (Fig. 8), prédicateur très connu, actif dans les Principautés Roumaines et à Constantinople, – et qui avait supporté les frais d'impression du livre, dédié au prince Constantin Mihail Racoviță de Moldavie. Ici, le portrait de l'auteur est réalisé grâce à la gravure sur plaque de cuivre du célèbre *Ierei Mihail Strilbițki*, qui le signe et le date de 1756²⁸. Le

livre est très rare et dans quelques-uns des exemplaires conservés le portrait en question manque²⁹.

En 1761, un ouvrage hagiographique appartenant à l'évêque Sinesie Jivanovici d'Arad († 1768), intitulé *Pravila Molebnaia ou la Règle de prière des saints serbes illuminateurs*, a été publié en langue slavo-serbe, à Râmnic. Le livre est une commande personnelle faite par l'évêque Sinesie à la typographie de l'évêché de Râmnic, qui avait alors à sa tête l'évêque Grigorie Socoteanu († 1777). Dans ses 261 pages, 13 gravures en pleine page ont été insérées, qui représentent les saints mentionnés dans le texte. La valeur de l'ouvrage est également augmentée par la présence d'une gravure figurant l'auteur, l'évêque Sinesie, placée au début du volume (Fig. 9). Tenant compte du fait que l'évêque Sinesie avait commandé différentes gravures à Vienne, auprès du graveur Joseph Lind, certains chercheurs ont affirmé que les gravures mêmes du *Pravila Molebnaia* auraient été réalisées dans la capitale des Habsbourg³⁰. Toutefois, cela reste encore à établir avec certitude. Le livre a été réédité en 1765 à Venise et à Moscou, et plusieurs éditions se sont succédé. Cependant, cet ouvrage, qui a surtout circulé en Serbie et en Transylvanie, demeure très rare. Aussi, dans les exemplaires peu nombreux qui sont conservés en Roumanie, il manque le portrait de l'auteur. La Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest³¹ et la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode³², à titre d'exemple, possèdent chacune un exemplaire sans le portrait de Sinesie.



▲ Fig. 8. Nikolaos Mavroides.

Source: *To Apostolikon Dyktion*, Jassy, 1756.

© Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest.

En 1784 paraissait à Iași, cette fois-ci en roumain, une petite anthologie sur les Sacrements de l'Église, intitulée *Petit recueil de prières* (*Prăvilioară*). Au verso de la page de titre se trouve le portrait du métropolite Gavriil Callimachi de Moldavie († 1786), qui était encore en vie au moment de la parution du livre. Le célèbre hiérarque est représenté sur le trône métropolitain, en prière, le bâton épiscopal dans sa main droite, tandis que, de la main gauche, il fait un signe d'attention. En face, un prêtre, peut-être le proto-prêtre Michel, le graveur, accompagné par un diacre, le *trikirion* à la main. Les images de saint Georges et de l'Archange Gabriel représentés dans la gravure, en haut du portrait, nous renvoient au patron de la cathédrale métropolitaine de Jassy et, évidemment, au saint patron du métropolite lui-même. Saint Georges apparaît de nouveau dans l'emblème de la Métropole de Moldavie, placée en bas, au même plan que l'hiérarque en fonction (Fig. 12).

Cette gravure avec le portrait du métropolite Gavriil appartient à la main du *Ierei Mihail Strilbișki*³³ et a été reprise dans l'*Euchologe* édité l'année suivante (1785). Après la publication, à Iași, du *Petit recueil de prières*, il faudra attendre quelques décennies avant de voir réapparaître – au début du XIX^e siècle – des gravures de portraits représentant notamment certains princes régnants et, plus rarement, des hiérarques.

Un portrait du métropolite de la Moldavie, Veniamin Costachi (1768-1846), que ses initiatives sociales et cultu-



▲ Fig. 9. L'évêque Sinesie Jivanovici d'Arad.

Source: *Pravila Molebnaia sau Pravilele de rugăciuni ale sfinților luminători sârbi*, Râmnic, 1761.

© Florian Dudaș.

relles (notamment ses versions du grec en roumain) ont rendu célèbre, a été imprimé en 1850 à Jassy, dans *Tâlcuirea Psaltirei a profetului și împăratului David scrisă elinește sub împărăția Constantinopolei de monahul filosof Eftimie Zigadinul iar pe românește dată de mitropolitul Veniamin [Costachi] cu biografia și portretul răposatului* (Fig. 10). Un second portrait du métropolite Veniamin ouvre le II^e volume de la traduction des *Commentaires aux Psaumes* d'Euthime Zigabenos, édités toujours à Jassy, en 1862. Le portrait est ici signé A. A. et daté de 1862 (Fig. 11). Les deux volumes contiennent la traduction du grec en roumain faite par Veniamin Costachi, mais que ce dernier n'était pas parvenu à publier. Quelques personnalités de l'époque, admirateurs et proches du métropolite – Anastasie Bașotă, Gheorghe Asachi et Nicolae Istrati – avaient pris l'initiative de publier la traduction manuscrite et, en signe d'hommage, avaient placé le portrait du grand hiérarque au début de chaque volume. En l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il s'agirait des seuls portraits de hiérarques parus dans une publication de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle dans les Principautés Roumaines³⁴.

Dans le présent article, nous n'avons fait que passer en revue le peu de portraits de clercs et de laïcs réalisés ou introduits ultérieurement dans des ouvrages imprimés au sein des Principautés Roumaines. En raison de leur rareté, bon nombre de ces portraits ne figurent même dans les répertoires consacrés à la gravure roumaine.



▲ Fig. 10. Le métropolite de la Moldavie, Veniamin Costachi.
Source: *Tâlcuirea Psaltirei a profetului și împăratului David*,
Jassy, 1850 (tome I^{er}).
© Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, Bucarest.

▼ Fig. 11. Le métropolite de la Moldavie, Veniamin Costachi.
Source: *Tâlcuirea Psaltirei a profetului și împăratului David*,
Jassy, 1862 (tome II^e).
© Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, Bucarest.

Contrairement à l'Occident, où les portraits des personnes impliquées dans la publication d'un livre – auteurs, commanditaires, mécènes, autorités – étaient couramment présents, dans les Principautés Roumaines, l'accent, dans les livres, était plutôt mis sur les images de saints. Les représentations de princes, de boyards et de hauts hiérarques étaient davantage réservées aux peintures murales et aux fresques des églises, occupant des espaces dédiés aux fondateurs ; elles étaient, en revanche, moins

fréquentes dans les pages des livres. Toutefois, des princes de renom tels que Constantin Brâncoveanu, Dimitrie Cantemir, Nicolae et Constantin Mavrocordat, ou des boyards comme le spathaire Zottu Tzigara et le stolnic [sénéchal] Constantin Cantacuzino, ont vu leurs images immortalisées dans des gravures de qualité, réalisées et incluses dans des livres édités en Occident (notamment à Venise, Vienne et Leipzig). Au XIX^e siècle, les portraits de clercs et dignitaires, généralement peints à l'huile sur toile, se sont



répandus. De grands musées et quelques monastères du pays, tels que Căldărușani, Cernica et Cheia, conservent de tels portraits dans leurs collections.

Le sujet de recherche que nous avons choisi peut susciter bien des questions. Ces portraits représentent-ils vraiment et fidèlement l'image des personnes en question, ou, comme l'affirment certains chercheurs, ils n'en seraient que l'œuvre figurative, voire imaginaire ? Pour notre part, nous considérons que, dans la plupart des cas, les dessins montrent l'image réelle des personnages représentés, les images gravées et consacrées de Constantin Brâncoveanu et de ses fils, de Dimitrie Cantemir, des Mavrocordat etc. étant des exemples bien éloquentes à cet égard.

On peut se demander également pour quelle raison, dans les Principautés Roumaines, la gravure en bois était préférée à celle en métal, cette dernière étant d'une qualité supérieure. Pour trouver une réponse, il faut d'abord tenir compte du fait que, dans ces Principautés, le bois a toujours été considéré comme la matière première par excellence (accessible à tous, peu coûteuse et facile à travailler). Le métier de la sculpture en bois se transmettait au sein des typographies où travaillaient les artisans qui préparaient les clichés à imprimer dans les pages des livres. Force est cependant de constater que les plaques xylographiques ont une vie brève, car elles s'usent très vite, ce qui explique pourquoi il y en a si peu qui nous sont parvenues jusqu'à ce jour³⁵. La collection la plus re-



▲ Fig. 12. Le métropolitaine Gavriil Callimachi de la Moldavie.

Source: *Prăvilioară*, Jassy, 1786.

© Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, Bucarest.

présentative de plaques xylographiques est sans doute celle qui se trouve encore au monastère de Neamț, avec des pièces provenant de la typographie qui y avait fonctionné depuis 1807, jusqu'à la sécularisation (1864)³⁶.

Même si, en ce qui concerne les livres anciens, on ne

peut parler d'une longue tradition dans la représentation des clercs et des laïcs, ces portraits ne sont pas dépourvus de qualités artistiques pour autant. Ils embellissent les volumes où ils sont insérés et augmentent leur valeur documentaire et bibliophile.

Notes

1 *Viața Prea cuviosului părintelui nostru stareșului Paisie, adunată de la mulți scriitori și alcătuită rusește de sfinția sa părintele shimonahul Platon, iar acum tălmăcită moldovenește și dată în tipărire în zilele prea înălțatului nostru Domn Mihail Grigoriu Sturza V(oi)e(vod) cu blagoslovenia pre osfințitului mitropolit kiriu kir Veniamin în stăreția precuviosului arhimandrit și stareș al*

sfințelor monastiri Neamțului și Secului, kir Mardarie. În sfânta monastire Neamțul, anul 1836, iunie 16 [Vie de notre vénérable Père higoumène Païssy, établie d'après plusieurs écrivains et rédigée en russe par le révérend père Platon, moine de grand habit, maintenant traduite en langue moldave (roumaine) et imprimée au temps de notre glorieux prince Mihail Grigoriu

Sturza V(oie)v(ode), avec la bénédiction de son éminence le métropolite kiriu kir Veniamin et pendant l'higouménat du vénérable archimandrite et supérieur des saints monastères de Neamț et de Secu, kir Mardarie. Au saint monastère de Neamț, an 1836, juin 16], f. 56. Exemplaire en possession de l'auteur.

2 *Viața Cuviosului Stareț Paisie scrisă de Mitrofan schimonahul* dans le volume Ică jr. 2015, p. 306-307. Ce volume réunit les principales versions de la *Vie du Vénérable Païssy de Neamț*. Il dispose également d'une riche bibliographie.

3 Ică jr. 2015, p. 331.

4 Ică jr. 2015, p. 331.

5 *La Vie de l'higoumène Paisie écrite par Vitalie le moine* est conservée au format manuscrit à la fin du *Ménologe* pour le mois de février (Râmnic, 1780). Elle a été découverte et publiée par Mihail 1964, et reprise dans le volume dont nous nous servons dans ce texte : Ică jr. 2015, p. 343-357. La citation se trouve à la p. 348.

6 Cette remarque est parue dans Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909, p. 108-109, voir aussi Racoveanu 1936, p. 9.

7 Sur l'image peinte du Vénérable Païssy, voir Diaconu 2016, p. 47-87.

8 L'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, cote II 4914 ; Bianu 1912-1936, p. 178-181.

9 Ică jr. 2015, p. 44. Pour la première réédition du livre voir Căndea 1997.

10 Ică jr. 2015, p. 378.

11 Le fait que les disciples considéraient leur père spirituel comme un saint est attesté aussi par l'office qui a été composé pour lui en slavon, afin de lui rendre hommage tout juste après son départ au Ciel. L'auteur était l'ancien prédicateur de la cathédrale Sainte Sophie de Kyiv, Ioan Diakovski, entré dans les ordres au monastère de Neamț et ayant trépassé dans le Seigneur quatre mois après la mort de saint Païssy, en 1795. Un manuscrit avec l'office du Vénérable Païssy en version roumaine, daté 1858 et conservé en Bessarabie, au monastère du Nouveau Neamț, a été édité par le père Paul Mihail en 1992 sous le titre : *L'office du Vénérable Paisie de Neamțu* et repris dans le volume Ică jr. 2015, p. 415-447. Des fragments de cet office, copiés après 1827, se retrouvent dans le ms. slave 556 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine à Bucarest. Voir note 15.

12 L'image du vénérable Païssy a été reproduite par impression d'après les plaques originales des portraits de 1817 et 1836 en 1929 par Maniu 1929 (planches XL et XLI). Elles ont été reprises dans Racoveanu 1940 (planches XIV et XV) et dans Oprescu 1942 (feuille 35 non-numérotée à la fin du volume, où est reproduite seulement la gravure avec le portrait du vénérable Païssy de 1817).

13 Racoveanu 1940, p. 17-18. Les études ultérieures portant sur l'activité typographique et celle des graveurs de Neamț n'apportent malheureusement aucune information supplémentaire au sujet du talentueux graveur Ghervasie le moine. Voir Ivan 1968, p. 418-430 ; Crăciunaș 1968, p. 350-352.

14 Oprescu 1942, p. 170.

15 Ms. slave 556 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine v. Panaitescu 2003, p. 409-411.

16 À la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode se trouve un exemplaire – qui témoigne de la piété et de l'intérêt à l'égard de l'œuvre spirituelle du vénérable higoumène – ayant appartenu successivement à l'évêque Sofronie de Huși (devenu ultérieurement métropolite de la Moldavie), à son neveu le métropolite Calinic Miclescu et au métropolite Iosif Naniescu (depuis 1897).

17 Bibliografia 1989, p. 885-886. L'ouvrage fut réédité intégralement cent ans après sa parution, en 1936, avec quelques adaptations faites par G. Racoveanu, et publié à Râmnicu Vâlcea, à la typographie « Episcopul Vartolomeiu ».

18 Voir note 8.

19 Racoveanu 1940, p. 18.

20 Platon 1836, p. 54.

21 Platon 1836, p. 54.

22 Au XIX^e siècle, une série de feuilles volantes représentant le Skyte de Saint Elie du Mont Athos et figurant aussi l'image du Vénérable Païssy de Neamț, ont été imprimées. L'information m'a été fournie par le prof. Ioan Augustin Guriță de la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université « Al. Ioan Cuza » de Jassy, que je remercie sincèrement.

23 Les deux portraits de S. Nicodème et du métropolite Iérothée de Naxos ont été reproduits d'abord dans Bianu 1912-1946 (p. 513), et ensuite réimprimés d'après les plaques originales par Maniu 1929 (planches XI et XII).

24 Cette xylogravure a été découverte et publiée par Dudaș 2017, p. 77-78.

25 Bianu 1903, p. 153. L'exemplaire que nous avons étudié se trouve à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine sous la cote I 49.

26 Vu le grand nombre d'exemplaires imprimés et leurs dimensions, on a conclu que l'ouvrage avait été imprimé sur un intervalle de temps plus grande, entre les années 1715-1719 (voir Lupu 2014, p. 96). D'autres chercheurs indiquent l'année 1722 comme année de sa parution, mais il pourrait s'agir uniquement de l'année d'achèvement de l'ouvrage. Pour une récente bibliographie autour de ce sujet, voir Tchentsova 2024, p. 145-175. Dans le texte mentionné, ce sont les notes 8-9 qui nous intéressent plus particulièrement ici. Dositheos, *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩ Ν Ε Ν Ι Ε Ρ Ο Σ Ο Λ Υ Μ Ο Ι Σ Π Α Τ Ρ Ι Α Ρ Χ Ε Υ Σ Α Ν Τ Ω Ν*, διηρημένη (sic) μὲν ἐν δώδεκα βιβλίοις... Bucarest, 1715 [1722]. Pour une description du livre, voir : Legrand 1918, p. 120-122 ; Bianu 1903, p. 501-508 ; Παπαδόπουλος 1984, p. 331 ; Chițulescu 2016, p. 209-211.

27 Le portrait d'Elie Méniates publié en 1720 porte comme date d'exécution l'année 1714.

28 Bianu 1910, p. 137. La gravure est mentionnée dans la description du livre, mais sans pour autant y être reproduite. En revanche, elle a été publiée avec des omissions par Andreescu 2004, p. 243. Voir aussi Legrand 1918, p. 464. Erbiceanu 2020, p. 99.

29 Pour le présent texte, nous avons tenu compte d'un exemplaire complet conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, sous la cote BRV 302 (exemplaire unique). Un autre exemplaire, auquel manque le portrait de l'auteur, est conservé à la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode sous la cote II 4962.

30 "Pravila de rugăciune a sfinților luminători" dans Dudaș 2007, p. 237-240. Voir aussi, Mihăilă 1999, p. 169-178. Le volume a été premièrement décrit par Bianu 1910, p. 157. Au sujet de l'évêque Sinesie, voir Vesa 2013.

31 Cote BAR : II 327.

32 Cote Bibliothèque du Saint Synode : II 5030.

33 Bianu 1910, p. 293.

34 Dans le *Code civil* de la Principauté de la Moldavie (Calimah), Iași, 1816-1817, apparaît le portrait du prince Scarlat Alexandru Calimah ; voir Bianu 1912-1936, p. 166. En ce qui concerne les portraits du métropolite de la Moldavie, Veniamin Costachi, pour la présente étude, nous avons consulté les exemplaires de 1850 et de 1862 conservés à la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode de Bucarest sous la cote D. 101622/2014. Voir Bibliografia 1984, p. 835. Les portraits ne sont pas mentionnés dans la bibliographie spécialisée.

35 Pour l'histoire de la xylogravure dans les livres roumains anciens, voir Tatay 2015, qui présente également une riche bibliographie.

36 Bulat 1978, p. 323.

Abréviations bibliographiques

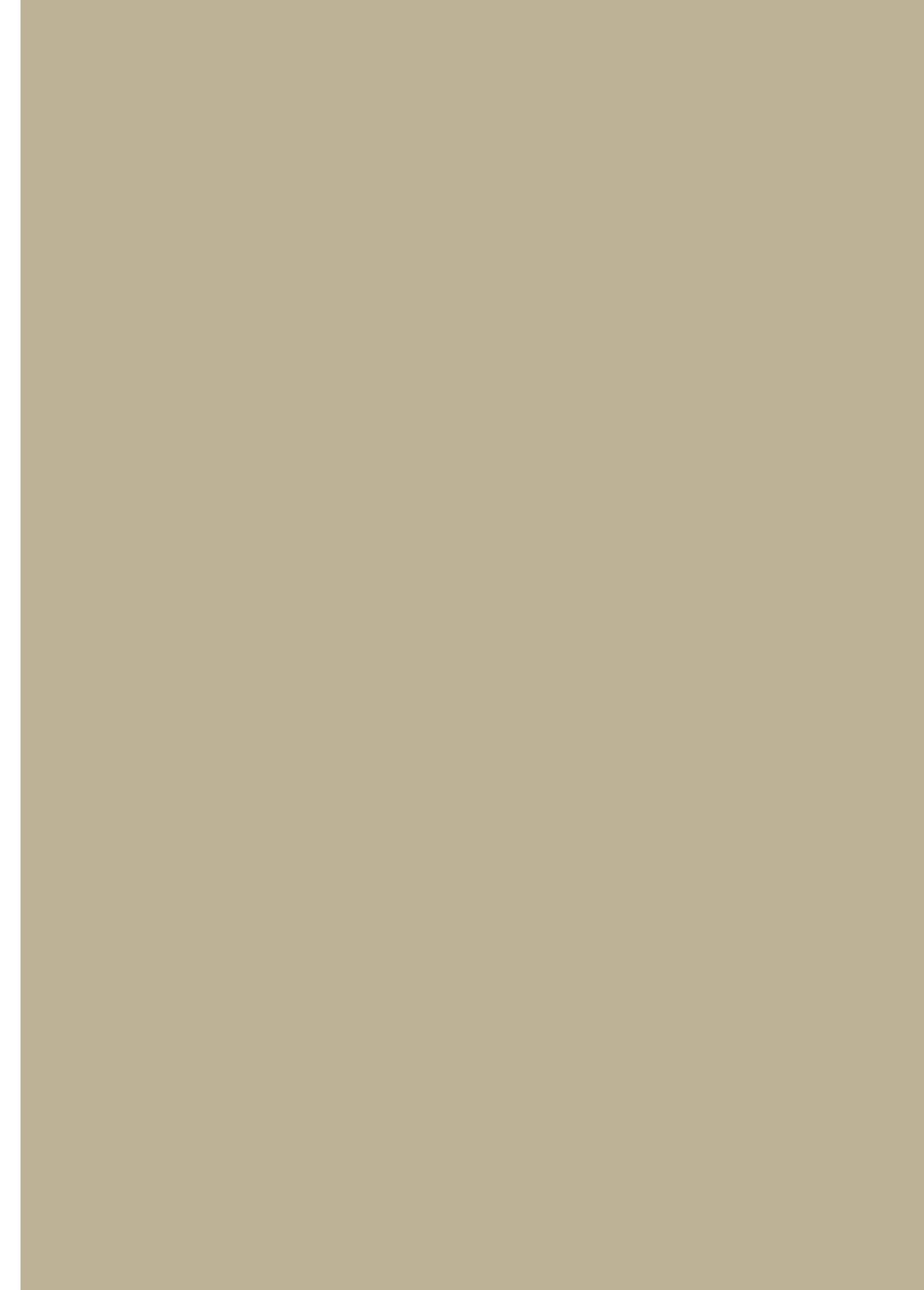
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te. **M**oab. é agaréni. gebai.
es habitanz tyre. **K**ar
e as filz loth. **F**ai á els
abin en leswe de cison.
deüre de terre. **P**ose les
é salmana. **T**uit li pnce
ms le saintuárie de deu.
me stúble deuant la face
ue. é sicume fláme brúl
n la tûe tempestéd. é en la
cels d'opprobre. é querrús
conturbéd en siecle de secle.
ent que núms é. á téa sire.

re de uertúz. couerte é
ostre seignúr. **L**i miens cuers
ar li passere trúue á
e ses pulcíns. **L**es tuens
ms ds. **B**eneuré cil chi
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The Manufactory of Old French Psalters

PART 2

The Genetic Stratigraphy of Douce MS 320 (Continuation) and Its Links with the Maidstone and Orne Fragments

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RÉSUMÉ: Le présent article s'inscrit dans la continuité de celui qui a été publié en 2023 dans la même revue (*The Manufactory of Old French Psalters : Part 1...*). Ce deuxième volet comprend d'abord une section de *addenda* qui complètent certaines parties du précédent article. S'ajoutent ensuite les érasures dans diverses formes verbales, suivies par un recensement des corrections liées aux préfixes *ex-* et *es-*. D'autres séries d'érasures concernent différentes parties du discours : articles définis ; pronoms personnels ; pronoms réflexifs ; formes possessives ; démonstratifs ; avec une étude de cas sur les choix de traduction du génitif *eius*, dont plusieurs documentent l'existence d'un antigraphes. Il s'agit souvent d'une hésitation entre les formes faibles et fortes. Des sections complémentaires sont consacrées aux érasures des pronoms relatifs et de la conjonction *que* ; à l'adjectif pronominal *toz / tuit* ; aux prépositions ; à la conjonction *é* ; aux signes de ponctuation ; et aux particules négatives. L'analyse des érasures du manuscrit d'Oxford, Bibliothèque bodléienne, Douce 320 se termine par un examen détaillé des corrections liées à différents phénomènes lexicaux. L'article porte ensuite sur les rapports entre le manuscrit Douce et les fragments de Maidstone, dont la transcription a été publiée dans le premier volet. Suivent une transcription des fragments de l'Orne (Paris, Archives Nationales, dossier AB XIX 1734) et une étude sur l'origine de ces derniers et sur leurs liens avec le texte de Douce. Les choix de traduction pour le latin *numquid* documentent les liens entre Douce, Arundel (Londres, Bibliothèque britannique, Arundel 230) et Orne. Les choix de traduction du latin *exaltare* permettent en partie de restituer le texte latin de la source de Douce. Les différentes stratégies de traduction d'Orne, de Douce et d'Arundel semblent être des réécritures d'antigraphes similaires. Toutes ces analyses montrent que Douce, Arundel, Orne et Maidstone proviennent de deux ou plusieurs gloses vernaculaires apparentées. L'article propose ensuite une perspective globale sur les approches vernaculaires de la traduction des psaumes en Angleterre jusqu'au XIII^e siècle, qui documente l'interaction des langues vernaculaires anglaises et françaises avec les textes (et l'exégèse) latins. Il se termine par une discussion (appuyée sur deux exemples du XII^e siècle) concernant le double pliage du Douce, lié sans doute à sa circulation et à son emploi dans la réalisation des psautiers bilingues à deux colonnes. Le troisième volet du présent article est prévu pour 2025. Il comprendra la transcription du texte de Douce (avec l'accentuation originale et l'emplacement des érasures), ainsi que plusieurs études complémentaires.

MOTS-CLÉS: paléographie; critique textuelle; traductologie; Psaumes; linguistique.

REZUMAT: Acest articol este o continuare a celui publicat în 2023 în aceeași revistă (*The Manufactory of Old French Psalters: Part 1...*). Cea de a doua parte cuprinde mai întâi o secțiune de *addenda* care completează anumite părți ale articolului precedent. Ea este urmată de un studiu al erazurilor care privesc diferite forme verbale,

◀ *Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 56v.* Photo: Alessia Chapel, 2024.

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precum și de un studiu al corecturilor legate de prefixele *ex-* și *es-*. Alte categorii de erazuri se referă la diferite părți de vorbire: articole definite; pronume personale; pronume reflexive; forme posesive; demonstrative; urmate de un studiu de caz privind alegerile de traducere pentru genitivul *eius*, dintre care câteva documentează existența unui antigraf. Scribul ezită adeseori între formele slabe și puternice ale pronumelor în cauză. Secțiuni suplimentare sunt dedicate erazurilor care privesc pronumele relative și conjuncția *que*; adjectivul pronominal *toz / tuit*; prepozițiile; conjuncția *é*; semnele de punctuație; și particulele negative. Analiza erazurilor din manuscrisul Oxford, Biblioteca bodleiană, Douce 320 se încheie cu o examinare detaliată a corecturilor care privesc diverse fenomene lexicale. Articolul analizează apoi relația dintre manuscrisul Douce și fragmentele de la Maidstone, a căror transcriere a fost publicată anul trecut. Urmează transcrierea fragmentelor din departamentul Orne (Paris, Arhivele naționale, dosarul AB XIX 1734) și un studiu al originii și legăturilor acestora cu textul din Douce. Opțiunile de traducere pentru latinescul *numquid* documentează legăturile dintre Douce, Arundel (Londra, Biblioteca britanică, Arundel 230) și Orne. Opțiunile de traducere pentru latinescul *exaltare* permit în parte restabilirea textului latin al sursei probabile a lui Douce. Strategiile de traducere diferite ale versiunilor Orne, Douce și Arundel par a fi rescrieri ale unor antigrafe similare. Toate aceste analize arată că Douce, Arundel, Orne și Maidstone derivă din două sau mai multe glose vernaculare interlineare înrudite. Articolul include apoi o perspectivă globală asupra abordărilor vernaculare ale traducerii psalmilor în Anglia până în secolul al XIII-lea, documentând interacțiunea limbilor vernaculare engleză și franceză cu textele (și exegezele) latine. Articolul se încheie cu o discuție (bazată pe două exemple din secolul al XII-lea) despre dubla pliere a manuscrisului Douce, legată fără îndoială de circulația sa și de utilizarea sa în producția de psaltiri bilingve cu două coloane. A treia parte prezentului articol este prevăzută pentru 2025. Ea va include transcrierea textului versiunii Douce (cu accentuarea originală și localizarea erazurilor), precum și mai multe analize complementare.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: paleografie; critică de text; traductologie; Psalmi; lingvistică.

ADDENDA TO THE PREVIOUS INSTALMENT OF THIS PAPER (AC)

Before delving into the categories of erasures that were not covered in the previous instalment of this paper, it is necessary to address a number of erasures that were inadvertently omitted from the earlier survey. I will present these overlooked erasures in chronological order, based on when they originally appeared in *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 55–143. The subtitles (and pages) of categories and sections are references to the previous instalment and complete the 2023 survey. The colour red marks the extent of the erasures:

VOWEL SPELLING AND DIGRAPHS (pages 62–68):

Aovrir: f. 41r, line 3, *Ao_uřirent* (**u > o**).
Aquilon: f. 47v, line 6, (*d*)*aquilon* (**u > o**).
Ciel: f. 38v, line 18, *ciel* (**e > i**).
Conjoindre: f. 51v, line 36, *coniúint* (**u > o**).
Confermer: f. 45r, line 17, *cónfermás* (**u > o**); f. 45r, line 38, *conferme_* (**u > o**); f. 51v, line 40, *conferme* (**u > o**).
Contrister: f. 44r, line 17, *contristéz* (**u > o**).
Conturber: f. 49r, line 4, *conturbéz súi* (**u > o**).
Coverir: f. 49r, lines 7–8, *cóuřirent* (**u > o**); f. 52v, line 31, *couěrt* (**u > o**); f. 55r, line 40, *couřit* (**u > o**).
Cuevrement: f. 50v, line 21, *co_uřement* (**ue > o**).
Dolur: f. 45v, line 4, *dolurs* (**u > o**).
Esprovant: f. 46v, line 28, *esprouánt* (**u > o**).
Forme: f. 47r, line 1, *förme* (**u > o**).
Fuir: f. 41r, line 8, *Fořrent* (**u > o**).
Home: f. 47r, line 2, *homes* (**u > o**); f. 56r, line 19, (*l*)*ome* (**u > o**).
Mont: f. 46v, line 7, *mont* (**u > o**); f. 47r, line 26, *mont* (**u > o**).
Morir: f. 47v, line 28, *mor_ánz* (**u > o**).
Novel: f. 45v, line 24, *nóuél* (**u > o**).
Oblier: f. 38v, line 6, *_ubliez* (**ou > u**); f. 46v, line 30, *obliámes* (**u > o**); f. 46v, line 37, *obliés* (**u > o**); f. 47r, line 13, *oblie* (**u > o**).
Oil: f. 38v, line 18, *óil* (**e > i**).
Oeille: f. 38r, line 11, *óeiles* (**u > o**).

Ovre: f. 38r, line 29, *o_uřes* (**oe > o**).
Ovrer: f. 48v, line 28, *ó_uřént* (**oe > o**).
Poance: f. 52v, line 34, *poánces* (**u > o**).
Prover: f. 51r, line 27, *prouás* (**u > o**).
Renover: f. 45v, line 5, *renóuée* (**u > o**).
Reproce: f. 49v, line 9, *repróce* (**u > o**).
Soner: f. 56v, line 10, *sonérent* (**u > o**).
Ure: f. 52v, line 32, *óres* (**u > o**).
Ureisun: f. 49r, line 3, *óreisún* (**u > o**).
Voler: f. 50v, line 9, *uóilez* (**u > o**).
Vou: f. 50v, line 40, *uót* (**u > o**).

DENTALS IN FUTURE TENSES (pages 69–71):

f. 45r, line 7, *ne deguéřpirá_lúi* (< Latin *non derelinquet eum*); f. 54r, line 39, *naposerá_* (< Latin *non apponet*).

A RELATED PROBLEM: INTERCONSONANTAL *-E-* (pages 72–73):

f. 46v, line 21, *é tu deus_neist_rás es nóz uertúz* (< Latin *et non egredieris Deus in virtutibus nostris*); f. 49r, line 33, *crend_rái* (< Latin *timebo*); f. 50v, line 17, *beneist_rái* (< Latin *benedicam*) (indicative, future tense, first person, singular); f. 51r, line 13, *beneist_rás* (< Latin *benedices*) (indicative, future tense, second person, singular).

It is also necessary to revisit some conclusions. Pope states that “two tendencies conflicted in Anglo-Norman: the tendency to efface unstressed *e* in interconsonantal position, and the tendency to develop a vocalic glide between interconsonantal groups consisting of consonant + *r*. Effacement showed itself earliest and was commonest between breathed consonants and *r*; the glide development began in the later twelfth century and was at first most frequent between voiced consonants and *r*” (Pope 1952, § 1290). As a result, it is likely that the Douce scribe often transcribed and maintained interconsonantal *-e-* in the initial phase of his copy, before the erasures and corrections, most of which are condensed approximately between f. 45 and f. 54. Only later did he decide to eliminate it (cf. Pope 1952, §1173, 1290; Sneddon 1972, 68, 97–98; Short 2015, 30–31). To quote Short 2015, 30, there

are “more than twice as many forms without *e* than with it.”

DENTALS AND DOUBLE *-R-* IN THE FUTURE TENSE OF *ESTRE* (pages 74–75):

f. 53r, line 36, *será* (*cónuertí*), with evident traces of a previous final *t*. There is also the case of f. 55r, line 21, the spelling of which is not *ferá*, but rather *será*. In these two occurrences, the Douce scribe simply followed the same pattern identified in the previous instalment of this article. He deletes the final dental of the third person singular of verb ‘to be’. This type of erasure covers a large section of the text, going from f. 45r to f. 59r, and modifies all the occurrences of the spelling *será*. After this section, *será* can be found from f. 60r, line 19, to f. 75r, line 2. The spelling *serát* is found from f. 38r, line 2, to f. 50v, line 34. As for *serád*, it occurs from f. 59v, line 2, to f. 75v, line 35.

f. 56v, line 9, *DEUS chi será* *semblanz á téi*. The previous instalment of this article highlighted evident traces of an erased *t* at the end of the verb *será*. A second mission to consult the manuscript led to the conclusion that the Douce scribe initially wrote *DEUS chi semblanz*. As he wished to correct word order, he probably preserved the letters *sem*, transforming the *m* in an *r* and rewrote the text as *serát semblanz*. Arundel reading: *Deus liquel serat semblanz a tei ?*

f. 42r, line 32-33, *regehi_rái*.

DENTALS IN PAST TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE (pages 76–78):

All the following examples show evident traces of a previous final *t*: f. 53r, line 36, *trespassá*; f. 55r, line 22, *abundá*; f. 55r, line 23, *recordá*; f. 55r, line 7, *tresportá*; f. 59r, line 17, *esperá*; f. 59r, line 18, *criá*.

DENTALS IN OTHER VERBAL FORMS (pages 79–80):

f. 37r, line 35, *iraissez* (< Latin *irascimini*) is a present imperative, not a present indicative, as I argued by mistake.

See also f. 37v, line 38, *se curúce* (< Latin *irascitur*), for traces of a final *t*; f. 47r, line 27, *esledéced* (< Latin *laetificat*); f. 56v, line 1, *deiúge* (< Latin *diiudicat*), for evident traces of a previous final *t*.

In two cases, final *t* was added during at a later time, with a different ink tint: f. 72v, line 39, *dúnet* (< Latin *dat*); f. 72v, line 40, *desliét* (< Latin *solvit*).

DENTALS IN PARTICIPLES (pages 81–85):

f. 43r, line 40, (*sunt*) *fermé* (< Latin *firmitati sunt*), with a possible final *z* erased in order to follow the declension (nominative plural); f. 45r, line 22-23, *emplí_sunt* (< Latin *impleti sunt*), f. 45r, line 38, *confermé* (*sunt*) < Latin *confirmati sunt*, with a possible final *z* erased in order to follow the declension (nominative plural); f. 53r, line 20, (*sera*) *duné* (< Latin *dabitur*); f. 53r, line 22, (*sera*) *sur esleue* (< Latin *superextolletur*); f. 53r, line 37, *seruít truué* (< Latin *invenientur*, nominative plural); f. 53v, line 9, *demené* (*súi*) < Latin *redactus sum*, nominative singular, with a probable erasure of a final *t*; f. 56v, line 29, *amé* (*sunt*) < Latin *dilecta*, with a final *z* erased in order to follow the declension (nominative plural).

OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO THE PAST PARTICIPLE DECLENSION (page 86):

f. 48r, line 34, *que tu seies iustifiez* (< Latin *ut iustificeris*, nominative singular); f. 49r, line 4, *conturbéz súi* (< Latin *conturbatus sum*, nominative singular); f. 49v, line 14, *aprestéz est* (< Latin *paratum est*, nominative singular); f. 52v, line 39, *conuertíz* (< Latin *conversus*, nominative singular); f. 53r, line 1, *conuertíz* (< Latin *conversus*, nominative singular); f. 54r, line 36, *turbéz súi* (< Latin *turbatus sum*, nominative singular).

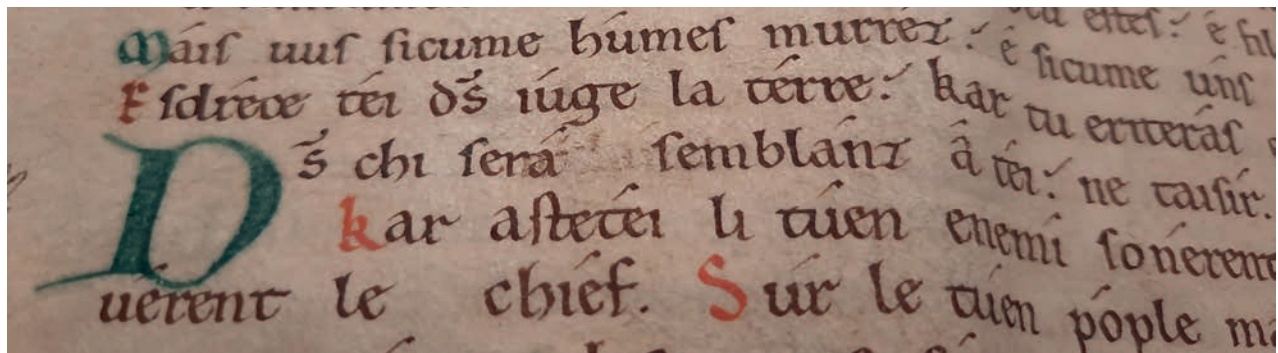
MATTERS RELATED TO THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (page 87):

f. 40r, line 37, *Lá léi del segnur nétte. conuertañz ánemes* (< Latin *Lex domini immaculata convertens animas*) (the Douce scribe seems to have changed final *-t* into *-z*, thus agreeing the present participle to the subject *lex*, nomi-

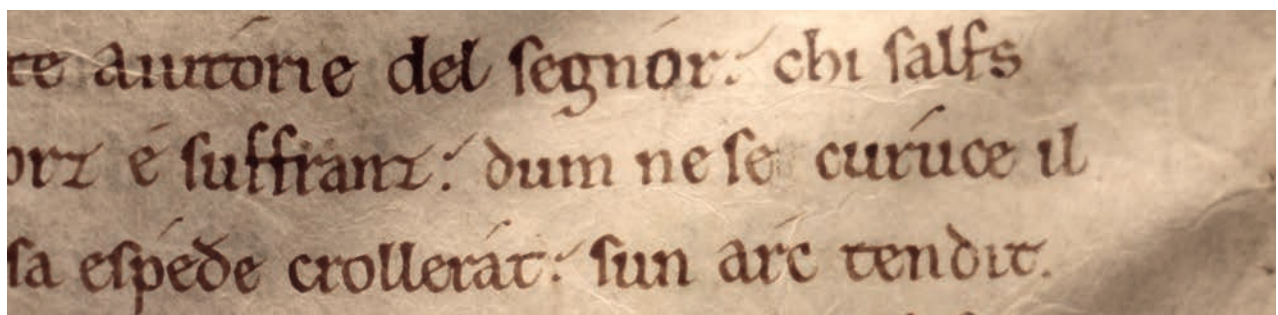
▼ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.*

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

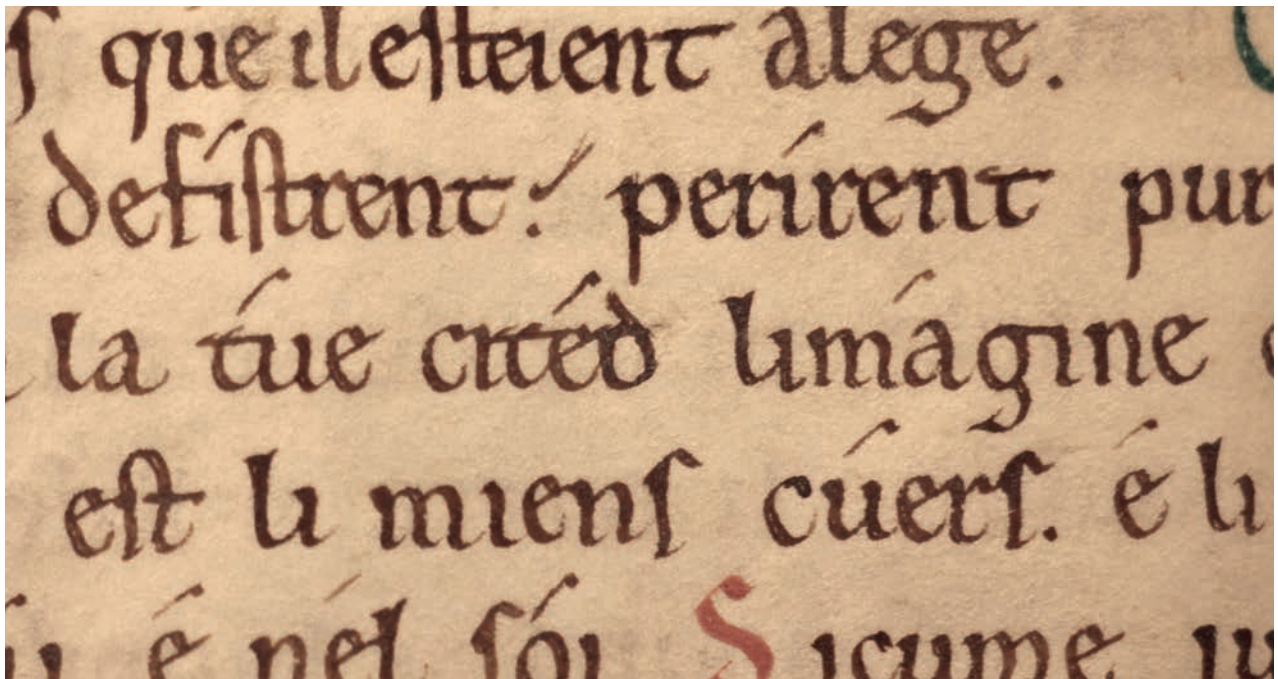
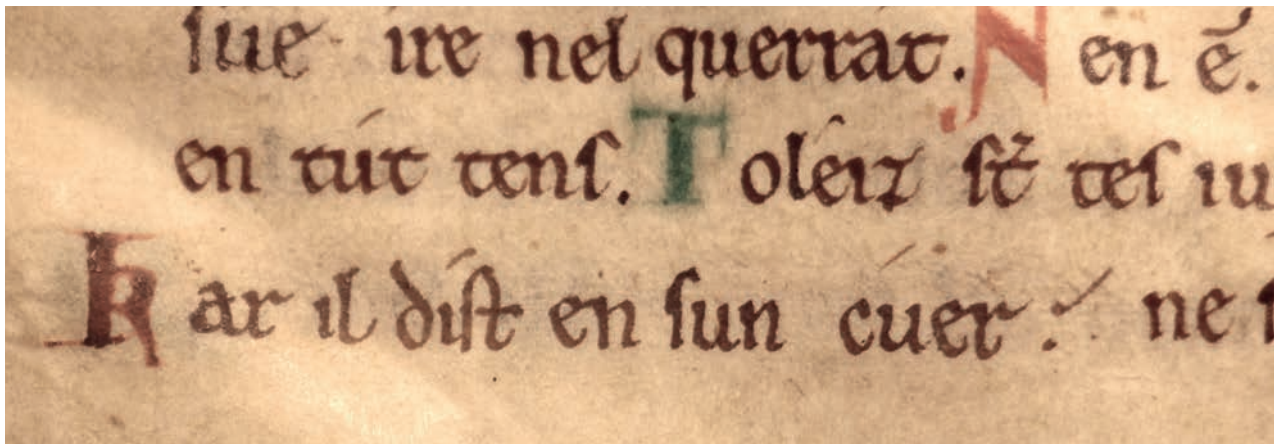
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f. 56v
line 9



f. 37v
line 38

f. 53v
line 7f. 38r
line 40

◀ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
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native singular); f. 48r, line 23, *Seđaríz* (< Latin *sedens*), where a probable final *-t* was written at first; f. 48r, line 25, *serái semblańz a téi* (< Latin *ero tui similis*), with a similar *-t*; f. 53v, line 40, *les anemes regehissánz á téi* (< Latin *animas confitentes tibi*).

FINAL *-T* AND *-D* IN THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (pages 88–93):

f. 40r, line 39, *li cumandemenz del segnur luisáble* (< Latin *praeceptum domini lucidum*). The Douce scribe modified a *-t* into *-z*, in order to follow the declension (nominative singular) (nevertheless, he also missed the agreement of *lucidum*; agreed with *Domini*, not with *praeceptum*); f. 41r, line 13, *humilitéé* (< Latin *humilitatem*, oblique singular), with traces of a previous final *-t*; f. 45v, line 22, *palú* (Latin *lacu*, oblique singular), with traces of a final *-d*; f. 47r, line 12, *doré* (Latin *deaurato*, oblique singular), with traces of a final *-t*; f. 47r, line 13, *uarieté* (Latin *varietate*, oblique singular), with traces of a final *-t*; f. 47v, line 34,

mórz (< Latin *mors*, nominative singular), probably a previous *-t*; f. 49v, line 36, *pecchiez* (< Latin *peccatum*, nominative singular); f. 50v, line 9, *uanite* (< Latin *vanitate*, oblique singular); f. 50v, line 9, *iniquité* (< Latin *iniquitate*, oblique singular); f. 51v, line 24, *mónz grás* (< Latin *mons pinguis*, nominative singular); f. 52v, line 24, *forz* (< Latin *fortis*, nominative singular), with evident traces of a previous final *-t*; f. 53v, line 7, *cited* (< Latin *civitate*, oblique singular) (in this particular case, the Douce scribe wrote *citet* at first, then corrected it without erasure into *cited*); f. 53v, line 23, *solennité* (< Latin *solemnitatis*, oblique singular), with the erasure of a previous final *-t*; f. 55r, line 8, *carz* (< Latin *carnes*, nominative plural); f. 53v, line 33, *salúd* (< Latin *salutem*, oblique singular); f. 71v, line 10, *serpénz* (< Latin *serpentis*, oblique singular).

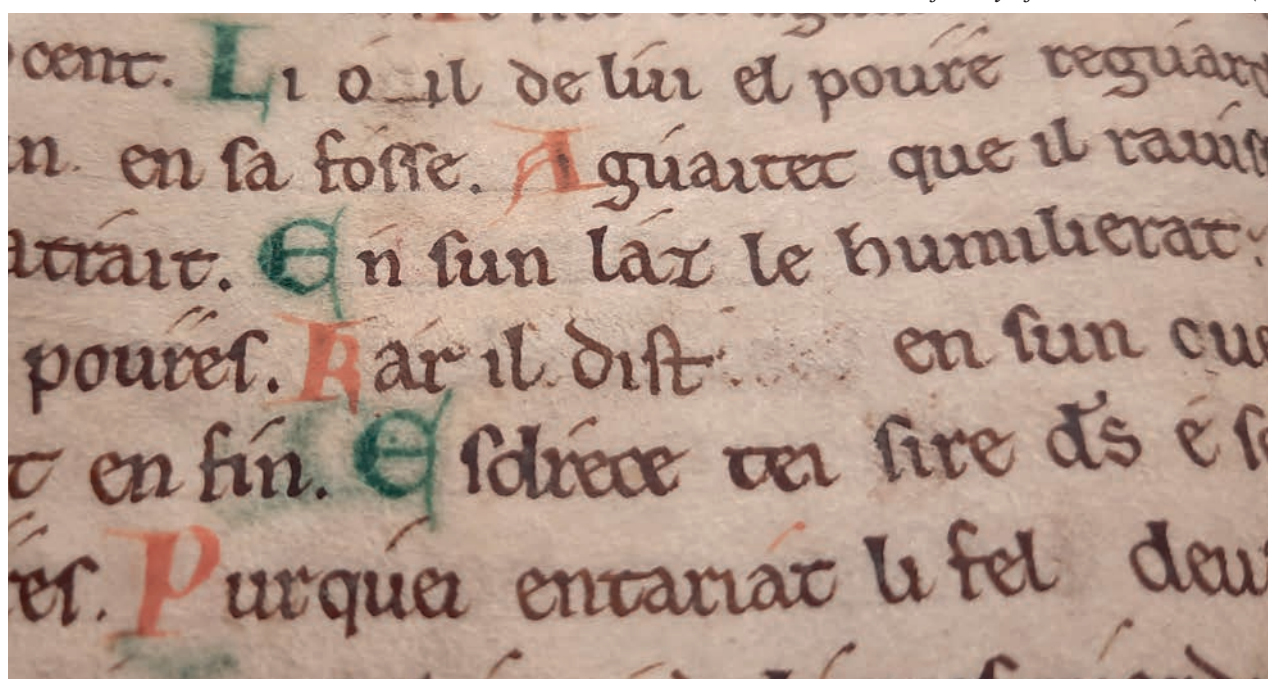
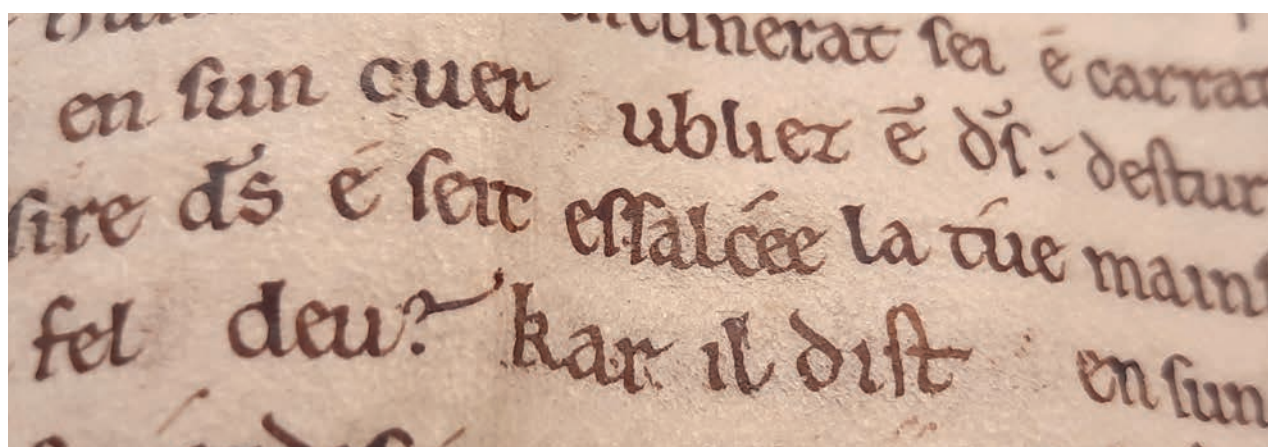
KAR, *QUAR*, AND *KER* (pages 96–97):

f. 39r, line 30, *kar*, with traces of a previous *e*; f. 50v, line 11, *kar*.

QUER > *CUER* (pages 98–99):

f. 41r, line 5, *cuers*; f. 42v, line 38, *cuer*.

MAIS vs *ACERTES* (pages 100–101):

f. 38v
line 6f. 38v
line 8

f. 37v, line 7, *máis ie* ___ *en la multitudine de la tûe misericôrde* (< Latin *Ego autem in multitudine misericordie tue*), perhaps a previous *acertes*; f. 38r, line 40, *Kar il dist en sun cuer* (< Latin *Dixit enim in corde suo*), Arundel reading: *Kar il dist adecertes en son quor* (there are traces of erasure and previous letters at the end of the preceding line as well); f. 38v, line 6, *Kár il dist* ___ *en sun cuer ubliez est deus* (< Latin *Dixit enim in corde suo oblitus est deus*), Arundel reading: *Kar il dist adecertes in sun quor obliez est deus* (clear traces of *acertes*, with *-rtes* rather visible); f. 38v, line 8, *kar il dist* ___ *en sun cuer nel requerrat* (< Latin *dixit enim in corde suo non requiret*), Arundel reading: *Kar il dist adecertes en sun quor nent requerat* (with traces of *acertes*). These are the only three occurrences of the Latin phrase *dixit enim*. In the remaining part of the text, *enim* is frequently translated as *kar* (Ps 24:11; Ps 43:4a; Ps 43:7; Ps 43:8; Ps 49:12; Ps 54:20b; Ps 72:25; Ps 80:11; Ps 88:22; Ps 88:48; Ps 106:17; Ps 118:3; Ps 118:120; Ps 121:4); and very rarely as *acertes* (Ps 43:22a; Ps 50:7; Ps 50:8; Ps 53:6; Ps 61:2; Ps 134:17).

I must add two occurrences on f. 40v, line 15, *máis nus* (< Latin *nos autem*), and f. 40v, line 16, *máis nus* (< Latin *nos autem*). In both cases, the Arundel reading is *nus adecertes*. Traces of an *s* in the erased blank space after

nus suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *nus acertes* before the erasure.

Other situations that must be noted are on f. 42r, line 16, *máis nostre sire receút méi* (< Latin *Dominus autem assumpsit me*), Arundel reading: *li sire acertes receut mei* (at first, the Douce scribe probably wrote the same words as Arundel); f. 44r, line 9, *Máis la meie aneme* (< Latin *Anima autem mea*), Arundel reading: *Mais le moie aneme* (the size of the erasure and the traces of erased letters suggest an initial text *Ma aneme / la meie aneme acertes* before the erasure); f. 45r, line 13, *Máis lá salút* ___ *des iústes del segnur* (< Latin *Salus autem iustorum a domino*), Arundel reading: *Mais la salut des iustes del al seignur*; f. 46r, line 18, *Máis tu sire aies merci de méi* (< Latin *Tu autem Domine miserere mei*), same reading in Arundel; f. 49r, line 20, *Máis ié* ___ *á deu criái* (< Latin *Ego autem ad Deum clamavi*), Arundel reading: *Jo acertes a deu criai*.

I add an example illustrating the first translation choice (*mais* + subject) on f. 42r, lines 26-27 (*máis mal sunt en lur cuers* < Latin *mala autem in cordibus eorum*); and two examples illustrating the second translation choice (subject + *acertes*) on f. 38v, line 18 (*le iúste acertes que fist* < Latin *iustus autem quid fecit*) + line 20 (*chi acertes aimet felunie* < Latin *qui autem diligit iniquitatem*).

VARIOUS ERASURES ON VERBAL FORMS (AC)

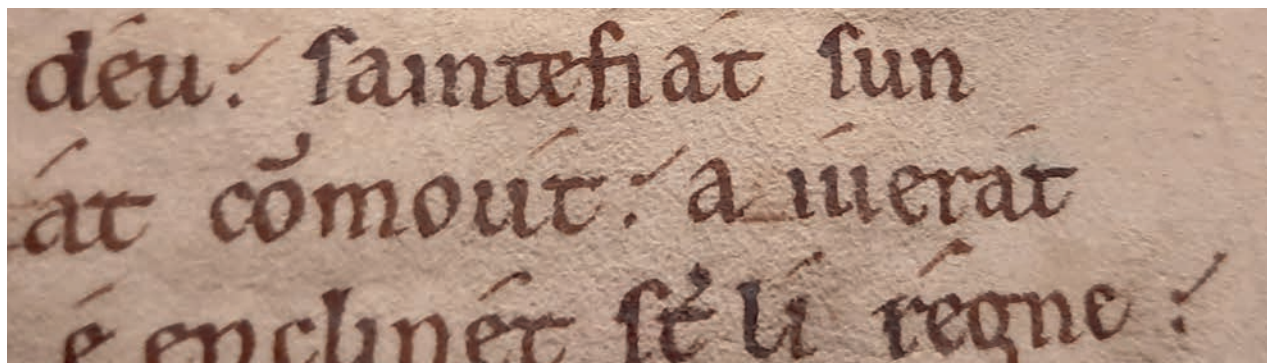
The inventory of erasures led to the identification of a large number of verbal forms that are difficult to classify and must be presented as a separate group. Their erasures concern present, future, and past tenses of the indicative; present and past participles; present and past tenses of the subjunctive; as well as imperatives and infinitives. The Douce scribe erased and made corrections to various parts of these verbal forms, from root to ending, but several erasures and corrections cover the entire word, and (on certain occasions) a series of adjacent words such as personal pronouns, nouns, or demonstratives. Various erasures and corrections concern majuscules and accents,

too. Some could be caused by simple eye-skips, others could be related to difficulties in spelling, morphology (conjugation), preferences for other translation choices, or word order. Since it is impossible to identify the precise cause of each case, I present them in the following list, organised according to their entries in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND). A (future) detailed analysis must analyse them in comparison with the readings of Arundel MS 230.

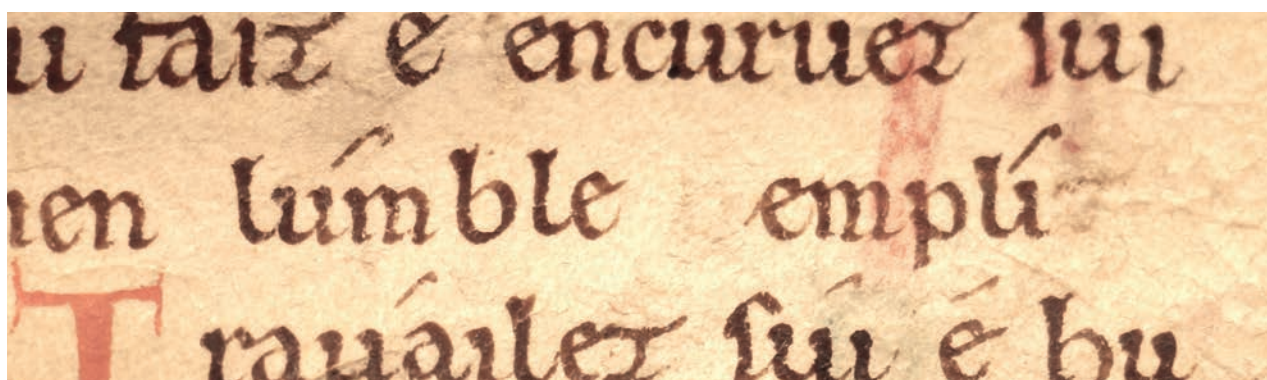
Adjuver: f. 47r, line 28, *a_iuerat* (< Latin *adiuvabit*), with traces of *d* or *e*.

Adrescer: f. 51v, line 2, *adréces* (< Latin *dirigis*).

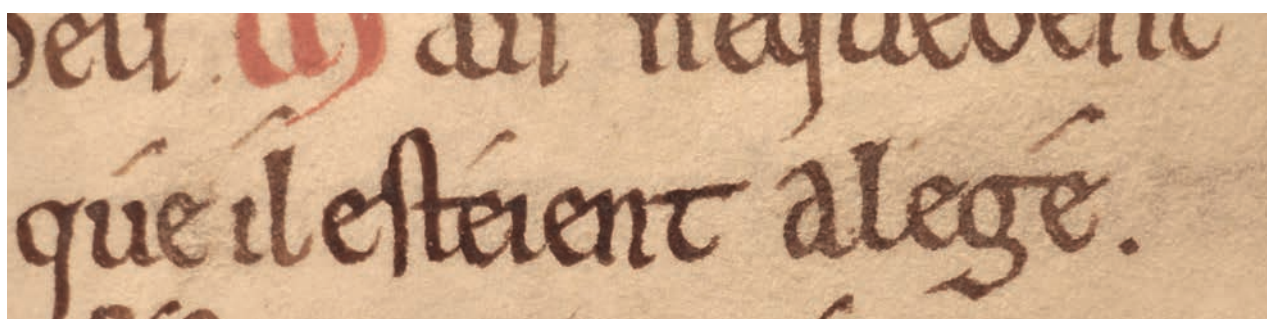
f. 47r
line 28



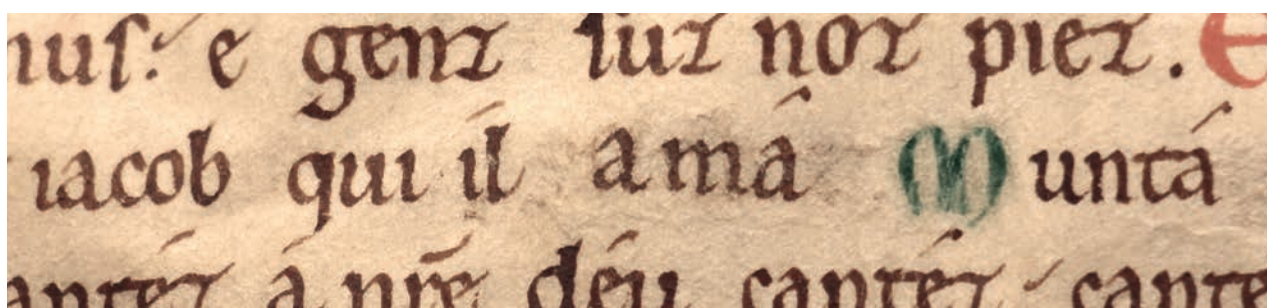
f. 45r
line 22



f. 53v
line 5



f. 47r,
line 39



Aemplir: f. 45r, lines 22-23, *_empli_ sunt* (< Latin *im-pleti sunt*).

Afflire: f. 39v, line 6, *afflístrent* (< Latin *affligerunt*).

Aleger: f. 53v, line 5, *estéient alegé* (< Latin *allevarentur*).

Amer: f. 47r, line 39, *amá* (< Latin *dilexit*).

Amollir: f. 49r, line 26, *Amoliées sunt lés paróles* (< Latin *molliti sunt sermones*) (possible problem related to an agreement in the feminine plural).

Amuir: f. 45v, line 4, *_amuí* (< Latin *obmutui*); f. 45v, line 13, *_amuí* (< Latin *obmutui*).

Apareir: f. 55v, line 35, *é aparéisse* *es génz* (< Latin *et innotescat in nationibus*) (given the extent of the erasure

and the traces left by previous letters, the correction concern much more than the verb); f. 59r, line 29, *aparistrúnt* (< Latin *apparuerint*).

Apeler: f. 43r, line 5, *apelái* (< Latin *invocavi*).

Areistre: f. 58v, line 26, *areísse* (< Latin *arescat*).

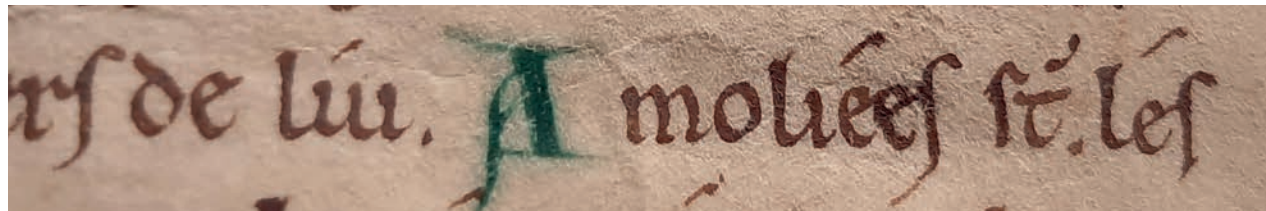
Aruser: f. 48r, line 37, *Tu arouserás* (< Latin *asperges*).

Assaier: f. 44r, line 18, *assaiérent* (< Latin *tentaverunt*).
e > a.

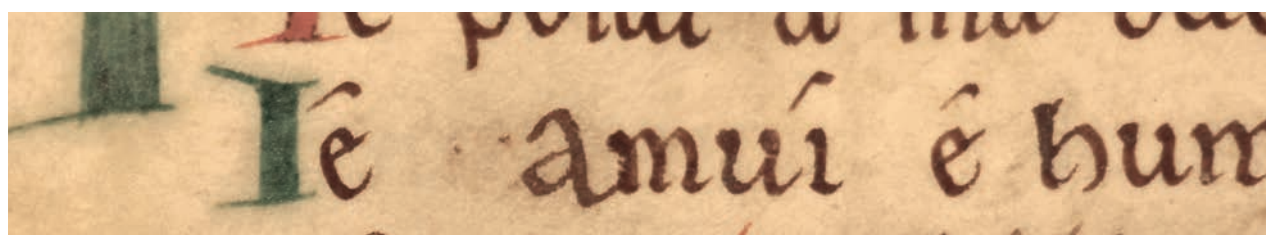
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

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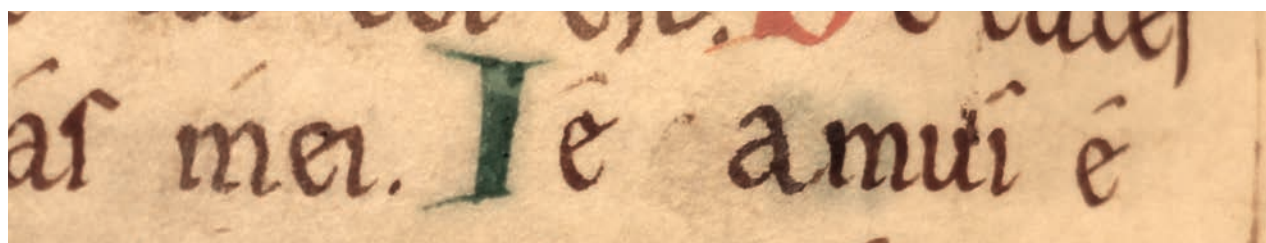
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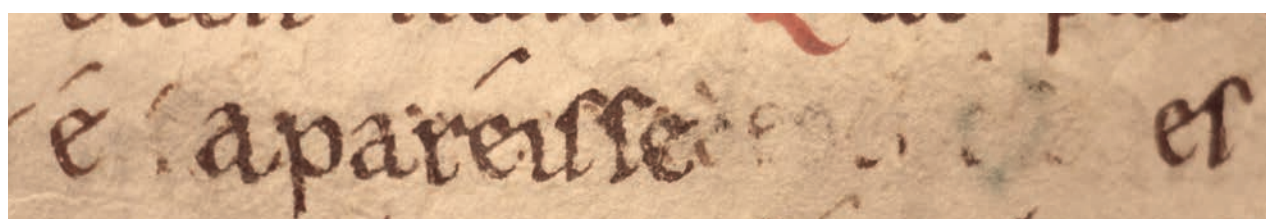
f. 49r,
line 26



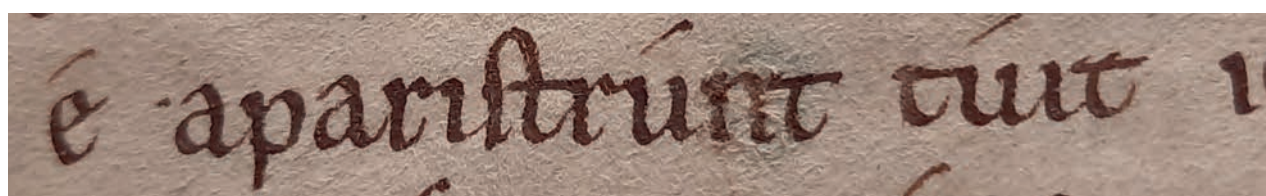
f. 45v,
line 4



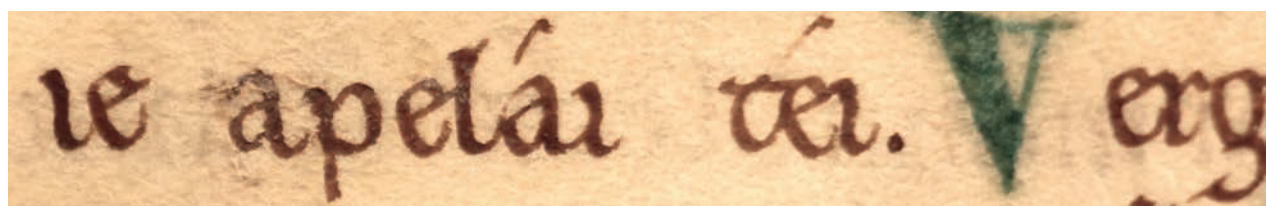
f. 45v,
line 13



f. 55v,
line 35

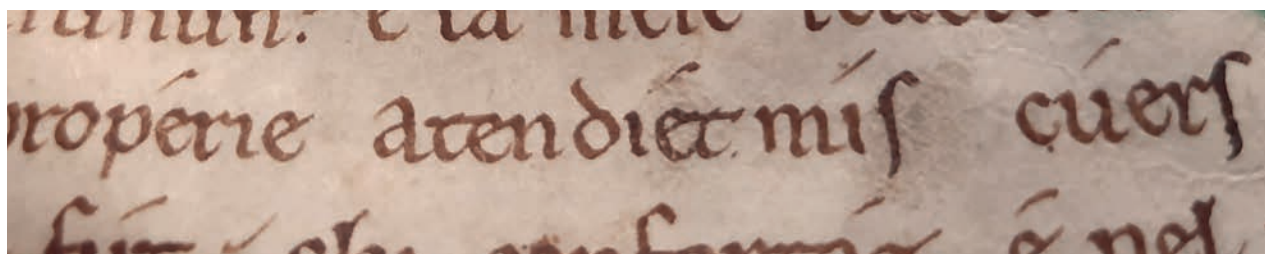


f. 59r,
line 29

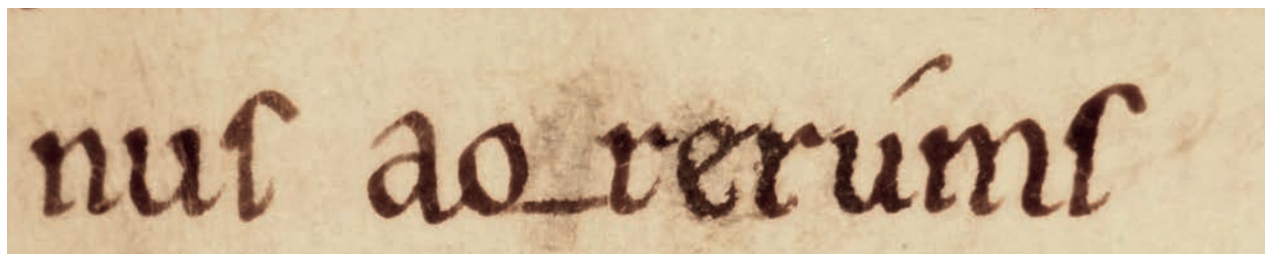


f. 43r,
line r

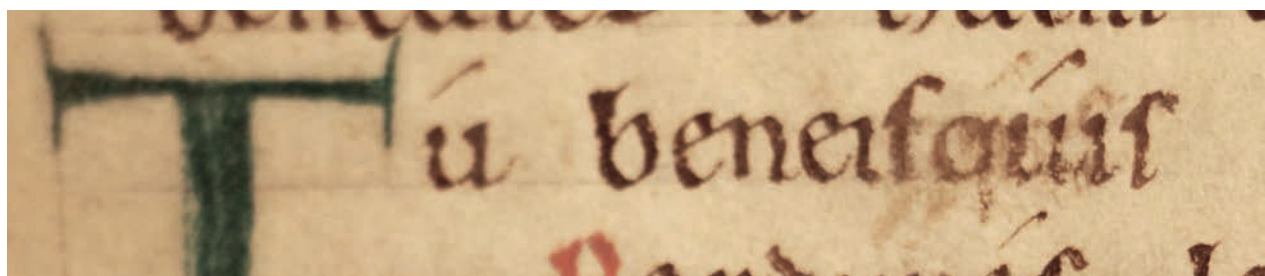
f. 52r
line 33



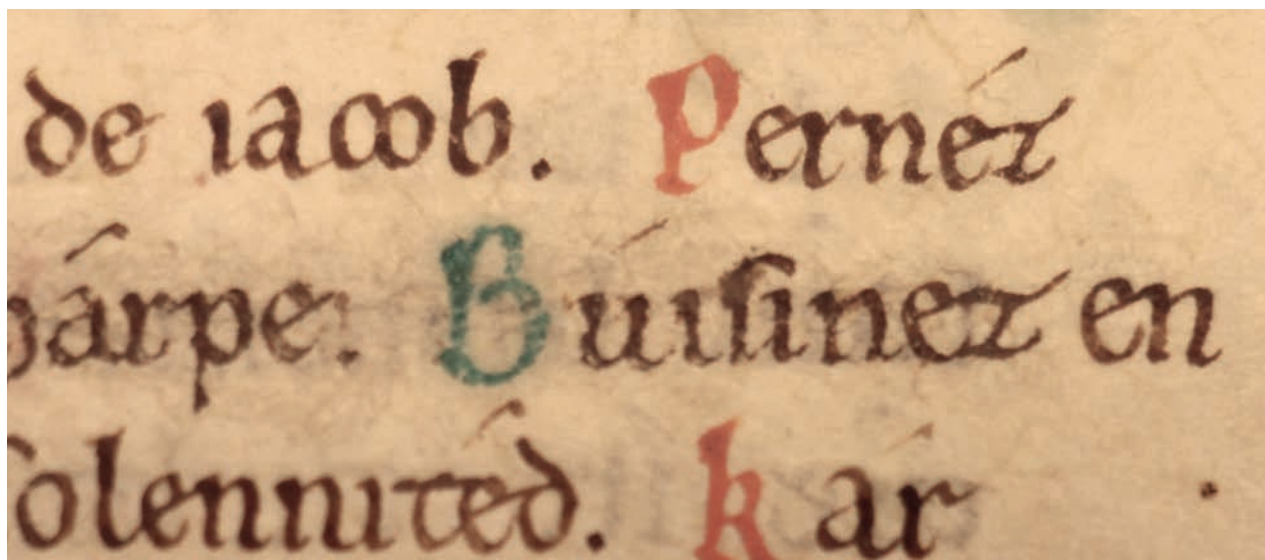
f. 70r
line 16



f. 57r
line 6

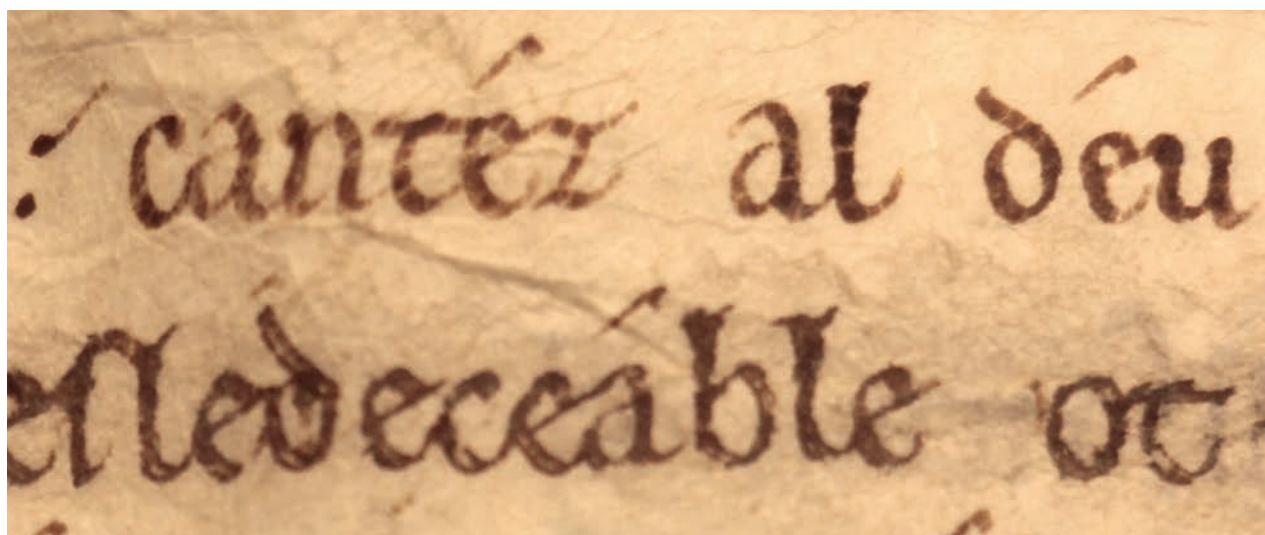
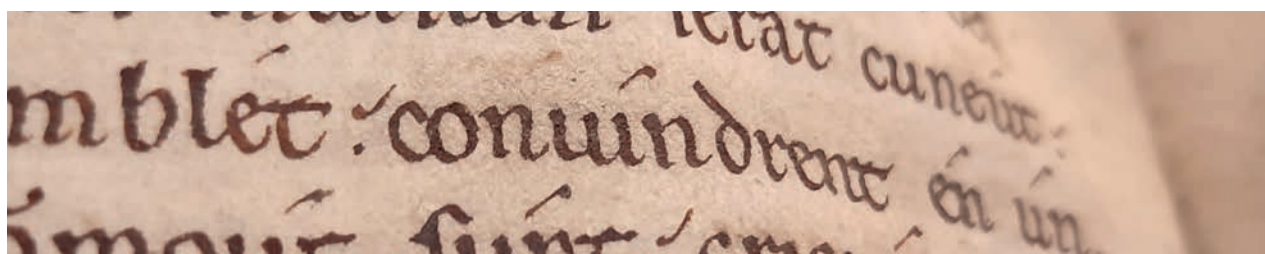
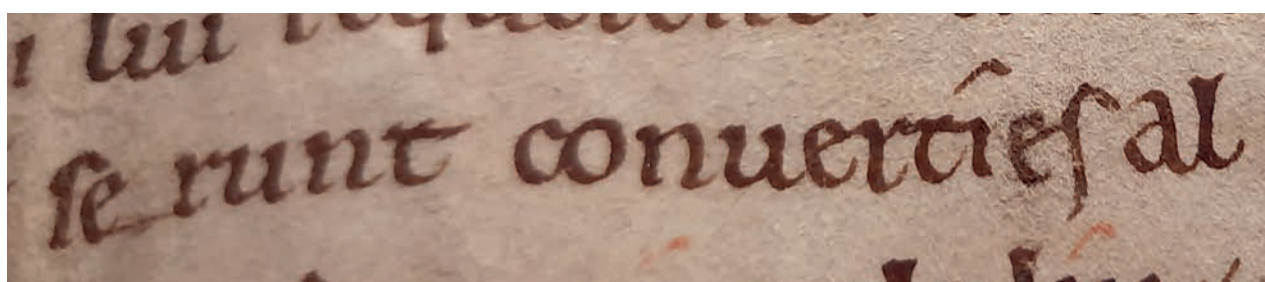


f. 56r
line 24



Atendre: f. 52r, line 33, *atendiét* (< Latin *expectavit*).
Atribler: f. 37r, line 29, *atriblet* (< Latin *contrivisti*).
Auner: f. 44r, line 18, *aduné sunt* (< Latin *congregata sunt*).
Aurer: f. 51r, line 20, *adórt* (< Latin *adoret*); f. 70r, line 16, *ao_rerúms* (< Latin *adorabimus*).
Avoir: f. 37r, line 36, *aiez compunctiun* (< Latin *compungimini*), with traces of an *s* between *a* and *i* in *aiez*. At first, the scribe could have written a verbal form with the auxiliary *estre*, such as *seiz* + past participle.
Beneistre: f. 57r, line 6, *Tú beneisquís* (< Latin *benedixisti*); f. 70v, line 19, *Benedéiz* (< Latin *benedictus*).
Businer: f. 56r, line 24, *Buisinez* (< Latin *buccinate*).

Chanter: f. 47r, line 36, *cantéz* (< Latin *iubilare*); f. 48r, line 23, *cantót_* (< Latin *concinnabat*); f. 56r, line 23, *cantéz* (< Latin *iubilare*).
Complaire: f. 47v, line 34, *complairúnt* (< Latin *complacébunt*).
Compuindre: f. 42v, line 21, *compu_nt* (< Latin *compungar*); f. 44r, line 18, *compun_t* (< Latin *compuncti*) (at first, the scribe could have written *compumt*).
Conoistre: f. 60r, line 6, *cunurent* (< Latin *cognoverunt*). Maybe a previous *e*.
Consummer: f. 37v, line 36, *Consumméde séit* (< Latin *consumetur*).

f. 56r
line 23f. 37v,
line 36f. 47v,
line 7f. 41r,
line 20

Contribler: f. 47v, line 9, *cuntriblerás* (< Latin *conteres*).

Convenir: f. 47v, line 7, *conuindrent* (< Latin *convenire*).

Convertir: f. 37v, line 19, *Seies conuertit síre* (< Latin *Convertere, Domine*); f. 37v, line 26, *seient conuertit* (< Latin *convertantur*); f. 41r, line 20, *se_runt conuerties* (< Latin *convertentur*) (here, the problem could be linked to the agreement in the feminine).

Corucer: f. 60r, line 5, *curucéz fúi* (< Latin *offensus fui*), with traces of serifs above *u* and *r* which suggest that the Douce scribe could have written a participle of the verb *offendre* at first.

Coveiter: f. 56v, line 29, *couéite_* (< Latin *concupiscit*).

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

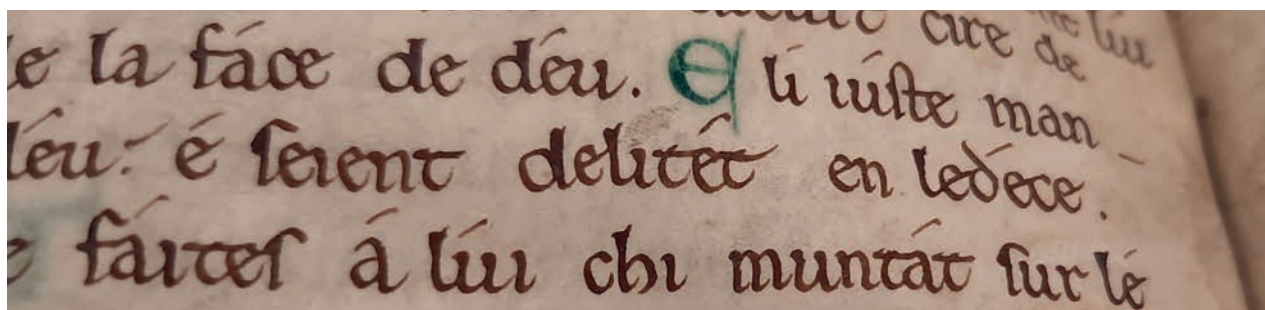
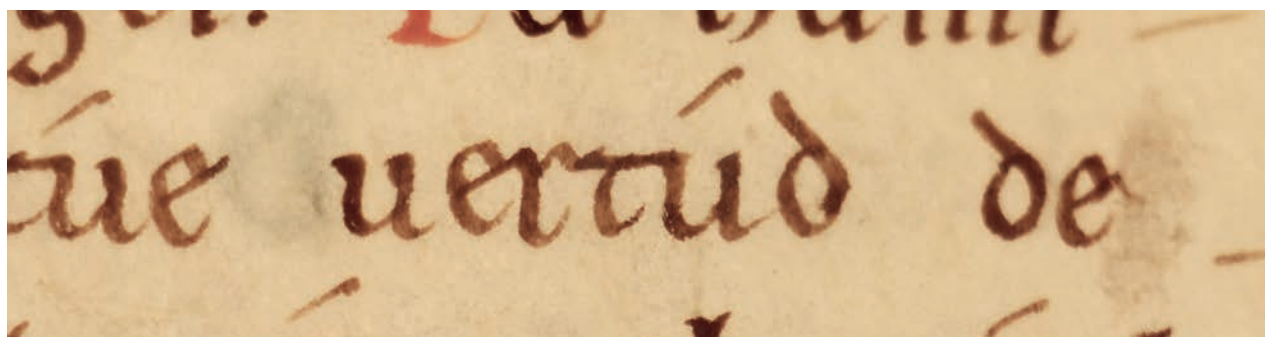
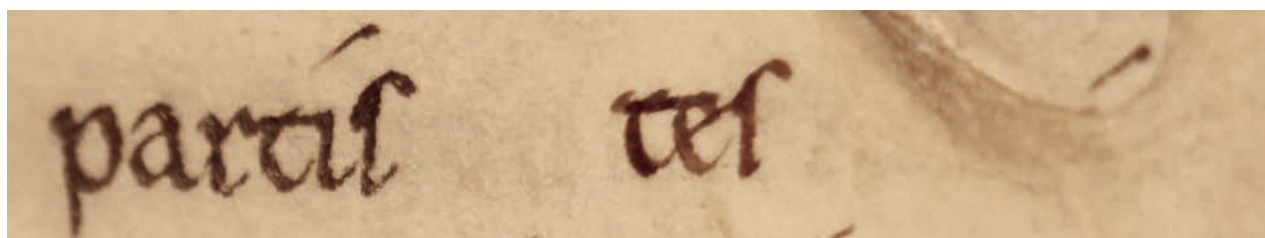
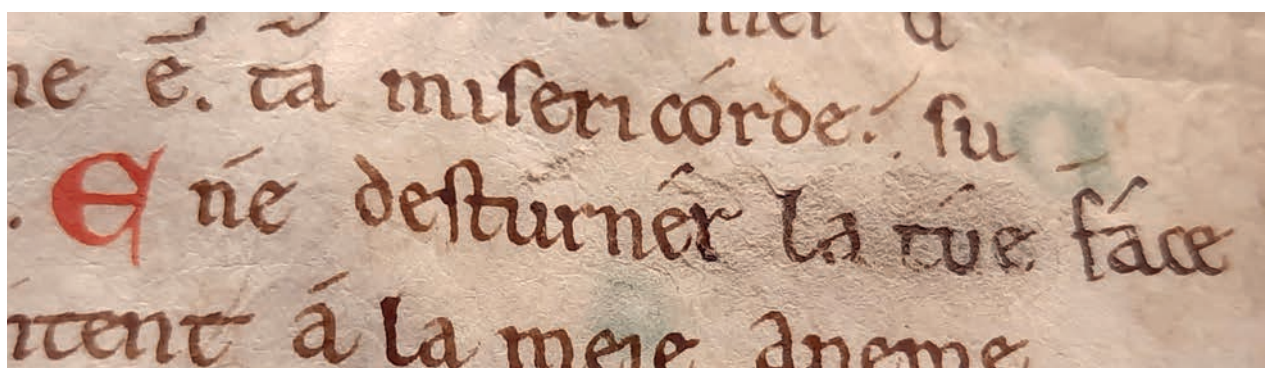
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Coverir: f. 39v, line 5, *cueufe* (< Latin *protege*); f. 50r, lines 30-31, *serái cu_uerz* (< Latin *protegar*); f. 50v, line 28, *couřis* (< Latin *protexisti*).

Creistre: f. 39r, line 29, *cruišsirent en méi* (< Latin *in-crepauerunt me*). *Vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Criendre: f. 47v, line 37, *ne crièmes_* (< Latin *ne timeeris*); f. 49r, line 33, *crend_rái* (< Latin *timebo*); f. 59r, line 7, *ne crendrás* (< Latin *non timebis*). *Vide infra*: negative particles.

f. 51v
line 8f. 58r
line 8f. 58r
line 9f. 52r
line 29

Debriser: f. 44v, line 27, *debrisiét* (< Latin *confringatur*); f. 64v, line 38, *debrisá* (< Latin *confregit*).

Debiter (+ Desturner): f. 44v, line 25, *debútent* (< Latin *trucidant*); f. 66r, lines 21-22, *Debutéz désturné súi* (< Latin *Impulsus eversus sum*).

Deceivre: f. 40v, lines 19-20, *né deceus* (< Latin *non fraudasti*); f. 55r, line 11, *ne sunt deceú* (< Latin *non sunt fraudati*).

Dechair: f. 37v, line 30, *dechiède* (< Latin *decidam*).

Decire: f. 54r, line 40, *decirera* (< Latin *abscidet*).

Decliner: f. 39r, line 4, *decli_nérent* (< Latin *declinaverunt*).

Defire: f. 40r, line 16, *defísent* (< Latin *deficient*); f. 44v, lines 32-33, *defisañz sicume fuñs defirúnt* (< Latin *deficientes quemadmodum fumus deficient*); f. 45v, line 16,

defirre fesis (Latin *tabescere fecisti*); f. 53v, line 6, *defistrent* (< Latin *defecerunt*), with traces of a previous *d* under the erasure; f. 54r, line 9, *Defíte_ est* (< Latin *liquefacta est*); f. 56v, line 30, *defíst* (< Latin *deficit*); f. 61r, line 8, *defistrent* (< Latin *defecerunt*).

Degeter: f. 39v, line 7, *Degetant* (< Latin *proiicientes*).

Deliter: f. 51v, line 8, *seient delitét* (< Latin *delectentur*), with an erased accent upon *i*; f. 66v, line 15, *_ súi delitéd* (< Latin *delectatus sum*), with traces of a previous *d* (at first, the scribe could have written the prefix *de* of *delitéd* instead of *sui*).

Deliverer: f. 43v, line 24, *é deliuerát els* (< Latin *et eripiet eos*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Demener: f. 46v, line 17, *demerrúms* (< Latin *ventilabimus*).

Depaistre: f. 47v, line 34, *depaistrát els* (< Latin *depascet eos*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Departir: f. 46v, line 23, *departís* (< Latin *dispersisti*); f. 58r, lines 8-9, *de_partís* (< Latin *dispersisti*).

Deperdre: f. 46v, line 13, *deperdiét* (< Latin *deperdidit*).

Descomforter: f. 55v, line 30, *desconfortérent* (< Latin *desolaverunt*).

Desevrer: f. 37v, line 23, *Deseuréz __ de mei* (< Latin *discedite a me*) (the erasure could cover a previous *est*, if the scribe mistook the imperative for a past participle); f. 44r, line 26, *ne dese_uřer* (< Latin *ne discedas*), where an *i* seems to be erased in the blank space (the final *r* is also the result of a change *s* > *r*; the initial word could have been *deseiures*).

Desturner: f. 52r, line 29, *E né desturnér la tūe face* (< Latin *et ne avertas faciem tuam*), with traces of an erased accent above the *u* in *desturnér*; and an *s* corrected into *r*.

Devancir: f. 52r, line 4, *deuancirát* (< Latin *praeveniet*).

Deveer: f. 45v, line 33, *ne deuéderái* (< Latin *non prohibebo*). Traces close to the letter *d* suggest that the scribe initially wrote another letter (probably *i*), immediately corrected into *d*, without the need for an erasure.

Devenir: f. 49v, lines 26-27, *deuendrunt* (< Latin *devenient*).

Embeverer: f. 44v, lines 4-5, *abeurrás* (< Latin *potabis*); f. 50r, line 16, *abeuřas* (< lat. *potasti*).

Embriver: f. 74v, line 4, *Embriue* (< Latin *irruit*), with traces of a previous *t* under the erasure; the final *e* is also written in a darker ink.

Empescher: f. 55r, lines 13-14, *empedecád* (< Latin *impedivit*).

Enasprir: f. 51r, line 24, *enasprissent* (< Latin *exasperant*).

Encercher: f. 54r, line 38, *escercōwe* (< Latin *scopebam*).

Enclore: f. 55v, line 11, *en_clóst* (< Latin *conclusit*).

Englutir: f. 46v, line 38, *englutíz est* (< Latin *conglutinat* est).

Enhabiter (+Faire): f. 51v, line 12, *deus chi enhabitér fait __* (< Latin *Deus qui inhabitare facit*). Same reading in Arundel. *Vide infra*: relatives and conjunction *que*.

Enhaucer: f. 37v, lines 32-33, *essalcez* (< Latin *exaltare*); f. 38r, line 26, *essálces* (< Latin *exaltas*); f. 38v, line 7, *seit essalcée* (< Latin *exaltetur*); f. 38v, line 35, *se_rat essalcét* (< Latin *exaltabitur*); f. 40r, line 28, *Essalchanz* (< Latin *mag-*

nificans); f. 45r, line 9, *sur exalcíe* (< Latin *superexaltatum*); f. 70r, line 7, *exalcái* (< Latin *exaltavi*).

Enseigner: f. 40r, line 11, *ensaignet* (< Latin *docet*); f. 41v, line 10, *enseigne* (< Latin *edoce*).

Enquerre: f. 38v, line 20, *enquert* (< Latin *interrogat*).

Entendre: f. 45v, line 21, *entendíet* (< Latin *intendit*).

Enviezir: f. 37v, line 23, *enuiezi* (< Latin *inveteravi*); f. 40r, line 23, *sunt enuiégi*; (< Latin *inveterati sunt*); f. 47v, line 35, *enuiezirát* (< Latin *veterascet*).

Escrivre: f. 47r, line 1, *escriuánt* (< Latin *scribentis*).

Esdrescer: f. 37r, line 28, *esdrece téi sire* (< Latin *exsurge domine*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns; f. 51v, line 5, *ESdrést_séi deus* (< Latin *exurgat Deus*).

Esglorier (s): f. 37v, line 14, *sesglorierúnt* (< Latin *gloriabuntur*). *Vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Esjoir (s): f. 37v, line 14, *sesioirunt* (< Latin *exultabunt*). *Vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Eslassier: f. 56r, line 33, *esláiise* (< Latin *dilata*).

Eslover: f. 38r, line 18, *eslauás* (< Latin *delestesti*); f. 40r, line 21, *eslauerái els* (< Latin *delebo eos*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns; f. 48r, line 31, *esléue* (< Latin *lava*).

Eslever: f. 74r, line 15, *esléued __* (< Latin *eleuat*).

Esleescer: f. 37r, line 20, *esleec_iez* (< lat. *exsultate*).

Esloigner (s): f. 41r, line 10, *ne esluignerás* (< Latin *elongaveris*); f. 49r, line 9, *_mesluignái* (< Latin *elongavi*), with traces of an *n* under *sl*, *vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Esmoveir: f. 40v, line 38, *émeurent* (< Latin *moverunt*).

Esperer: f. 49v, line 7, *espererái* (< Latin *sperabo*).

Estendre: f. 50r, line 22, *estendrai* (< Latin *extendam*).

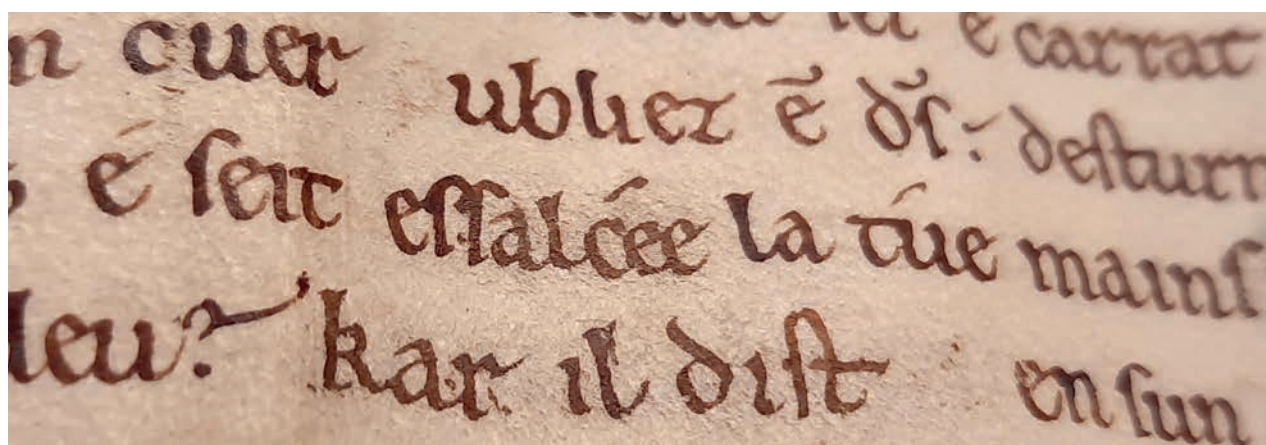
Ester: f. 41v, line 39, *est_út* (< Latin *stetit*); f. 44r, line 39, *est_ut* (< Latin *astitit*); f. 45r, line 28, *est_úrent* (< Latin *steterunt*); f. 45r, lines 28-29, *est_úrent* (< Latin *steterunt*); f. 45v, line 3, *esteúst__* (< Latin *consisteret*); f. 47r, line 12, *est_út* (< Latin *astitit*).

Estre: f. 37r, line 33, *desque aquant serez uús de griéf cúer* (< Latin *usquequo gravi corde ?*); f. 39r, line 11, *nen er_t crième* (< Latin *non erat timor*); f. 41v, line 3, *Chi est_*

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.

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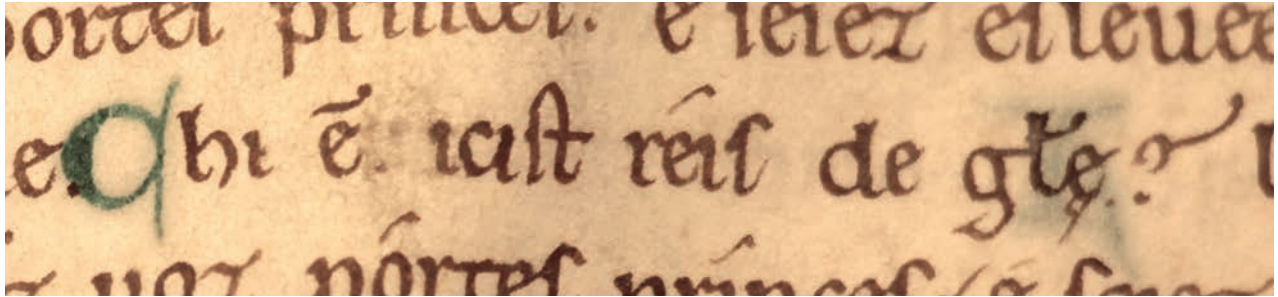


f. 38v,
line 7

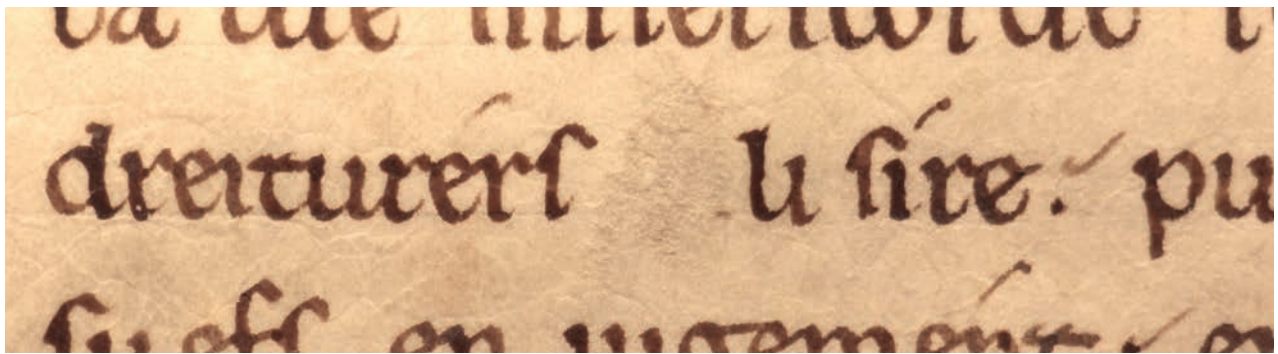
icist réis de glorie ? (< Latin *Quis est iste rex gloriae?*), with traces of an *r* after *é* (*est*) (the scribe could have written *chi ert cist réis*); f. 41v, line 15, *_ li sire* (< Latin *Dominus*) (at first, the scribe could have written *est*); f. 42r, line 2, *Lí sire _ defendérre* (< Latin *dominus protector*) (at first, the scribe could have written *est*), cf. f. 42r, line 1 and line 33; f. 42r, line 33, *e defenderre **est** des saluatiuís de sun crist* (< Latin *et protector salvationum christi sui est*); f. 43v, line 11, *Deceúables _ chauáls á salút* (< Latin *Fallax equus ad salutem*), with traces of an abbreviated *est*, same reading in Arundel; f. 45r, line 10, *nen **estéit*** (< Latin *non erat*); f. 45v, line 19, *séie refreidiez* (< Latin *refrigerer*); f. 48v, line 8, *Sacrifise á deu _ espiríz trauailliez* (< Latin *Sacrificium*

Deo spiritus contribulatus), with traces of an abbreviated *est*; f. 50r, line 10, *ne **serúnt** saúlet* (< Latin *non fuerint saturati*); f. 50r, line 21, *Iúda _ li miens réis* (< Latin *Iuda rex meus*) (at first, the scribe could have written *est*); f. 50v, line 4, *Eñ deu _ la méie salú* (< Latin *in deo salutare meo*), with traces of an abbreviated *est* under the erasure; f. 51r, line 36, *Benedeíz _ **deus*** (< Latin *benedictus Deus*) (the erasure could hide here a previous *seit* or *est*); f. 52v, line 10, *Séient confundút* (< Latin *confundantur*) (possible traces of *seit*); f. 61v, line 8, *_ paciént. é mult merciáble* (< Latin *longanimis et multum misericors*), with traces of *fu*; f. 64r, line 18, *Lí quels _ sauánz é guarderá icéz chósés* (< Latin *Quis sapiens et custodiet haec?*), with traces of an

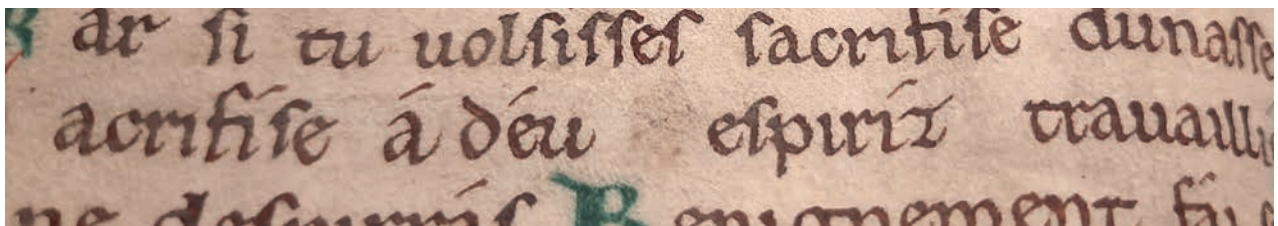
f. 41v
line 3



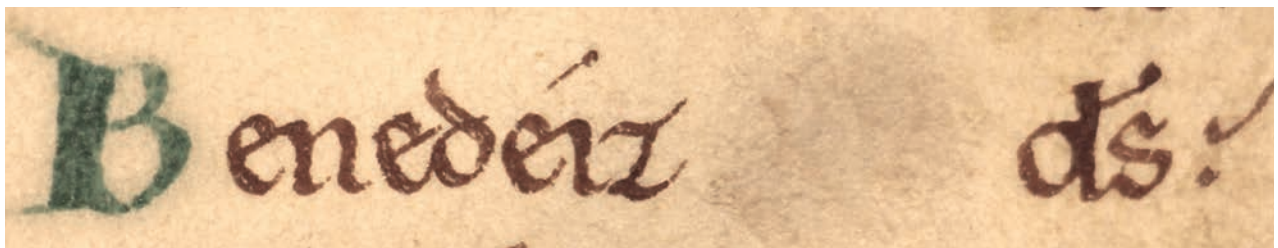
f. 41v
line 15



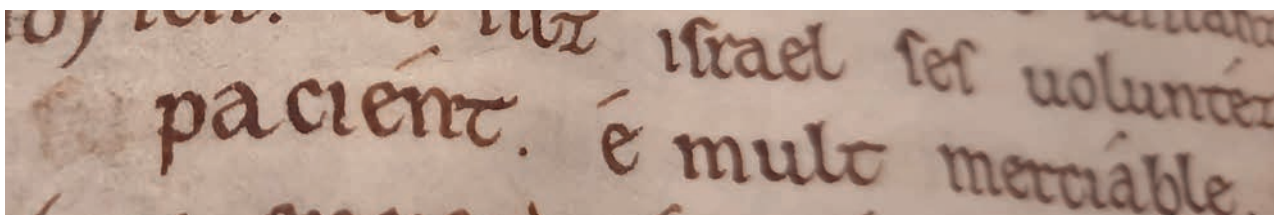
f. 48v
line 8

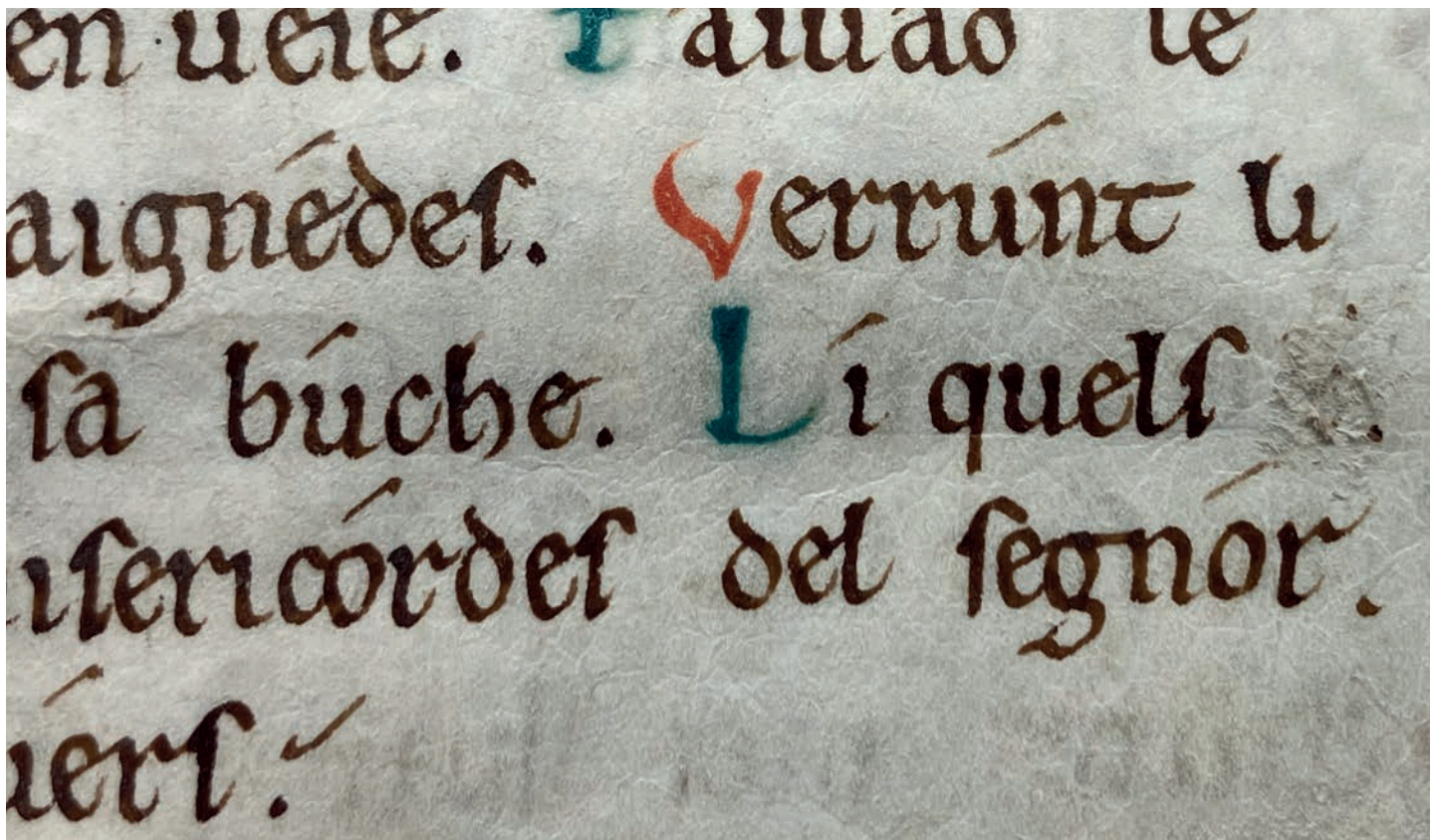
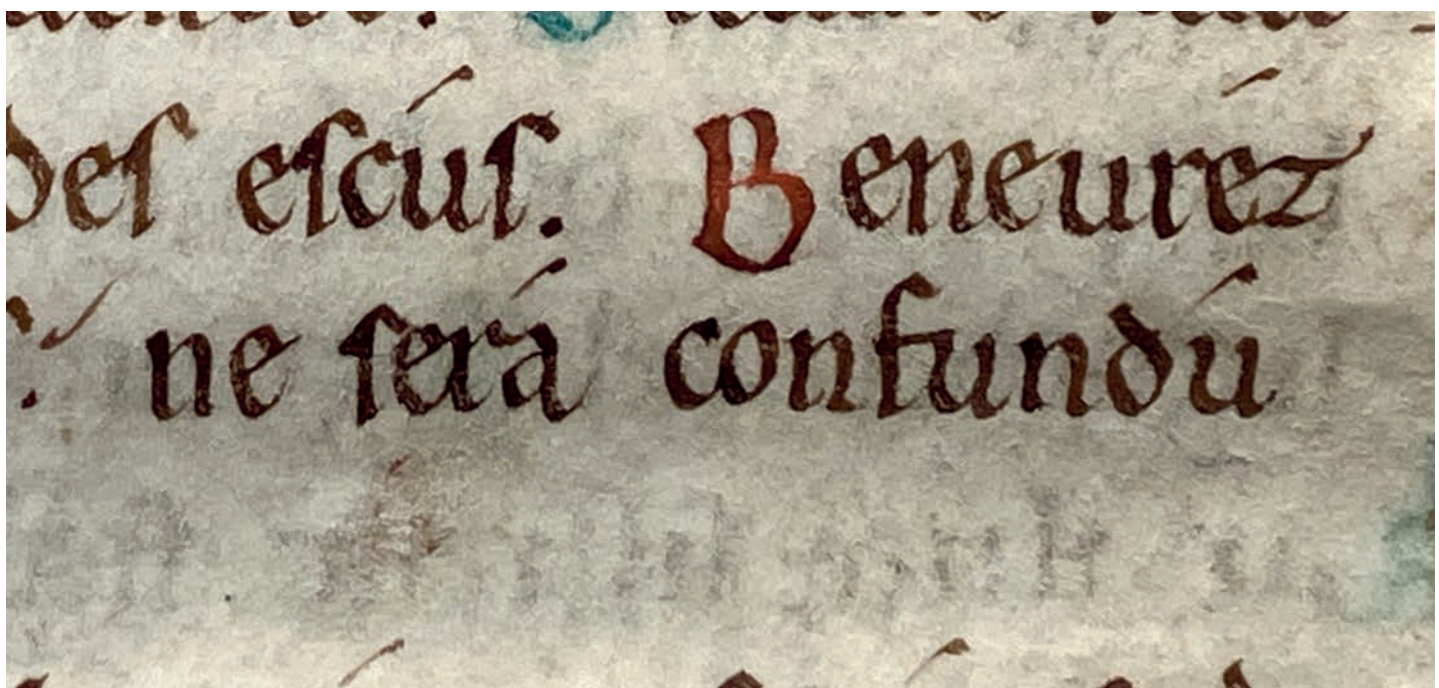


f. 51r
line 36



f. 61v
line 8



f. 64r
line 18f. 69v
line 20

abbreviated *est* under the erasure; f. 69v, line 20, *ne será confundú* (< Latin *non confundetur*), with traces of an *a* in the following line, under *será*.

Exiler: f. 44v, line 19, *se_runt __ exillét* (< Latin *exterminabuntur*).

Exoir: f. 39v, line 3, *exóies* (< Latin *exaudi*); f. 60v, line 21, *exoiéies* (< Latin *exaudiebas*); f. 64r, line 26, *é exói méi* (< Latin *et exaudi me*); f. 71r, line 12 *__ exoi__ méi* (< Latin *exaudi me*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

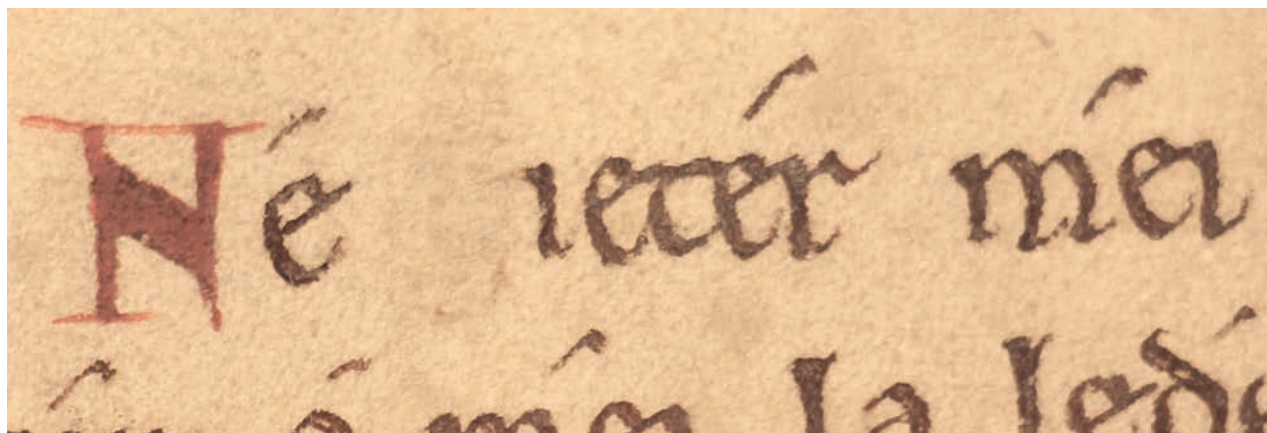
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Fameiller: f. 48r, line 15, *fameillerái* (< Latin *esuriero*).

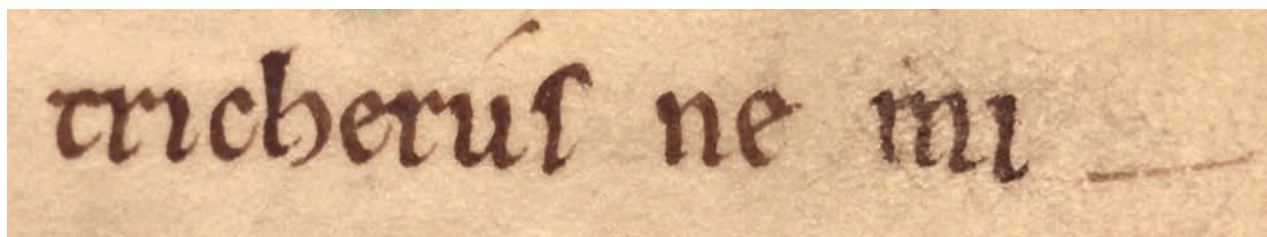
Formener: f. 46v, line 40, *Formóst* (< Latin *eructavit*).

Fuir: f. 38r, line 1, *é si__foít* (< Latin *et effodit*).

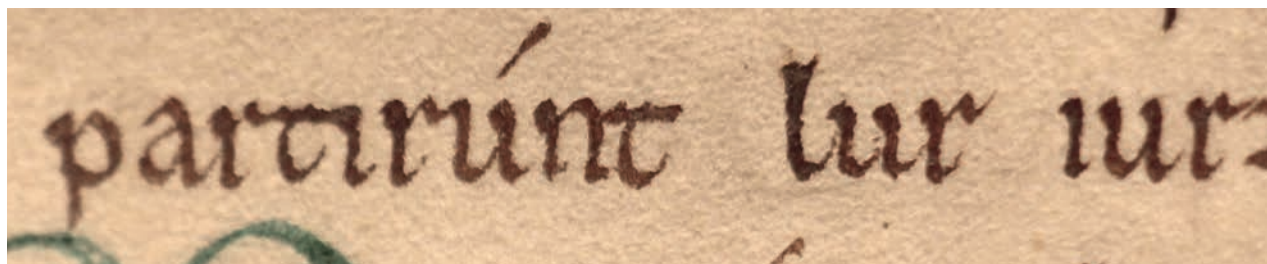
f. 48v
line 1



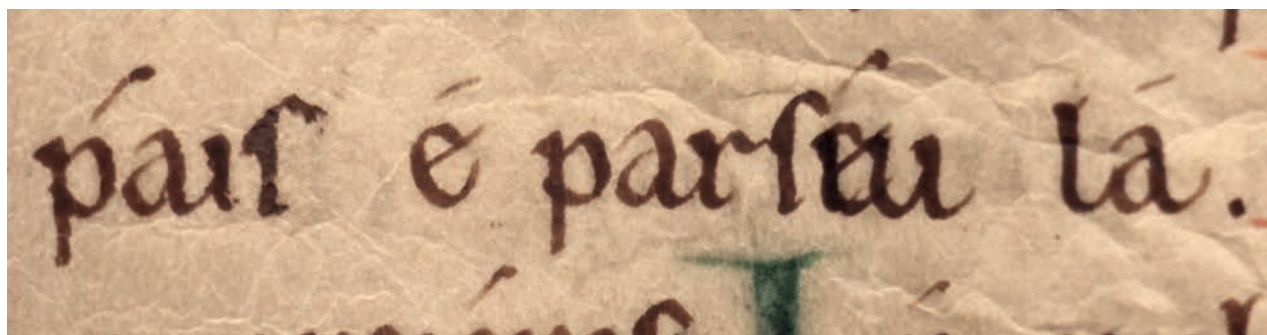
f. 49r
line 29



f. 49r
line 30



f. 43v
line 31



Garder: f. 41v, line 26, *Guárde* (< Latin *Custodi*).

Geter: f. 48v, line 1, *ne_ietér* (< Latin *ne proicias*), with traces of a *g* under the erasure.

Guerduner: f. 37v, line 30, *guerredunanz* (< Latin *retribuentibus*); f. 39v, line 36, *guerredurrát* (< Latin *retribuet*) (the scribe corrected an *n* into an *r*; at first, he had probably written *guerredun*); f. 46r, line 19, *gueredunerái* (< Latin *retribuam*).

Irer: f. 37r, line 35, *iraissez* (< Latin *irascimini*).

Issir: f. 51r, line 11, *_issi est* (< Latin *ita est*).

Juger: f. 37r, line 19, *iugiez* (< Latin *iudicatis*); f. 48r, lines 34-35, *tu iúgerás* (< Latin *iudicaris*).

Maligner: f. 44v, line 18, *malínes* (< Latin *maligneris*); f. 53v, line 22, *maligná_* (< Latin *malignatus est*).

Maluer: f. 49r, line 25, *maluérent* (< Latin *contaminaverunt*).

Mentir: f. 58r, line 39, *méntirái* (< Latin *mentiar*).

Merguillier: f. 63r, line 39, *merguílléde est* (< Latin *contaminata est*).

Mesurer: f. 50r, line 20, *mesurerái* (< Latin *metibor*).

Mipartir: f. 49r, lines 29-30, *ne mipartirúnt* (< Latin *non dimidiabunt*), with traces of a previous *d*. At first, the scribe could have chosen *departir*, thus writing *departirunt*.

Morir: f. 47v, line 28, *mor_ánz* (< Latin *morientes*).

Murmurer: f. 50r, line 10, *murmurerúnt* (< Latin *murmurabant*).

Occire: f. 38v, line 2, *ocíet* (< Latin *interficiat*).

Oir: f. 37r, line 32, *é óies la meie óreisun* (< Latin *et exaudi orationem meam*); f. 38v, line 36, *é óies méi* (< Latin *et exaudi me*); f. 43v, line 28, *o_éz méi* (< Latin *audite me*).

Parmaindre: f. 42r, line 4, *parmáinent* (< Latin *consistant*).

Parsivre: f. 43v, line 31, *parséu* (< Latin *persequere*). This is not an erasure, but the scribe obviously wrote *parsi* at first, then corrected *i* > *u*.

Peiner: f. 45r, line 2, *se_runt pené* (< Latin *punientur*).

Perir: f. 37r, line 21, *perisseíz* (< Latin *pereatis*).

Perdre: f. 53v, line 14, *perdiés* (< Latin *perdidisti*).

Planter: f. 46v, line 13, *plantás* (< Latin *plantasti*).

Poser: f. 40v, line 26, *Poseras icels* (< Latin *pones eos*); f. 56v, line 36, *qué il posá* (< Latin *quem posuit*), *vide infra*: demonstratives; relatives and conjunction *que*.

Prendre: f. 37r, 20, *pernez* (< Latin *apprehendite*).

Provocher: f. 53v, line 30, *puruóche* (< Latin *improperabit*); f. 55v, line 4, *puruóchérent* (< Latin *exacerbaverunt*).

Purluigner: f. 40r, line 14, *purluignás* (< Latin *dilatasti*).

Purpenser: f. 44r, line 24, *purpensówent* (< Latin *cogitabant*).

Pursivre: f. 41r, line 3, *pursístrent méi* (< Latin *obsederunt*).

Quere: f. 45r, line 6, *quíert* (< Latin *quaerit*).

Raindre: f. 37v, line 29, *réáimet* (< Latin *redimat*); f. 47v, line 36, *raíendrát* (< Latin *redimet*).

Receivre: f. 55v, line 20, *recút lúi* (< Latin *accepit eum*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

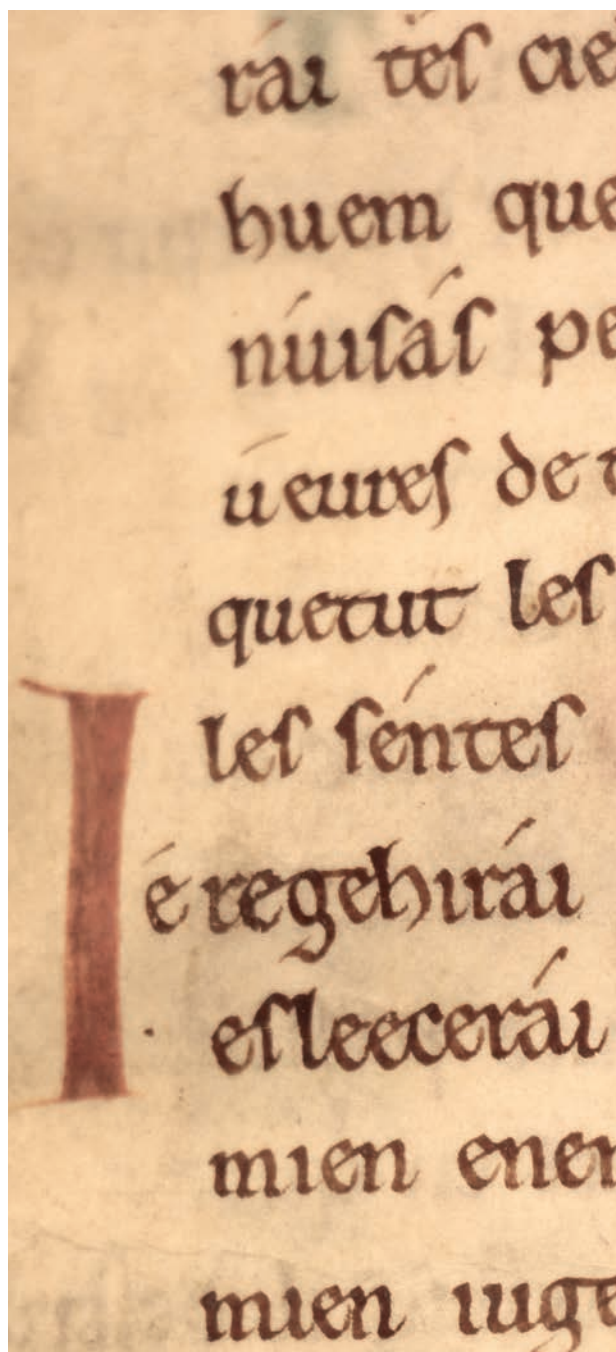
Recunter: f. 38r, line 14, *ié recunterái* (< Latin *narrabo*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns; f. 40r, line 30, *recúntent* (< Latin *enarrant*).

Regehir: f. 38r, line 14, *regehirái* (< Latin *confitebor*), with traces of an erasure between lines 14 and 15, that might be the result of a bad handling of the razor (see the slight cut into the parchment); f. 63v, lines 19-20, *Regehíssent* (< Latin *confiteantur*); f. 63v, line 28, *regehíssent* (< Latin *confiteantur*); f. 66r, line 38, *regehirái* (< Latin *confitebor*).

Remettre: f. 53v, line 8, *_remerrás* (< Latin *rediges*).

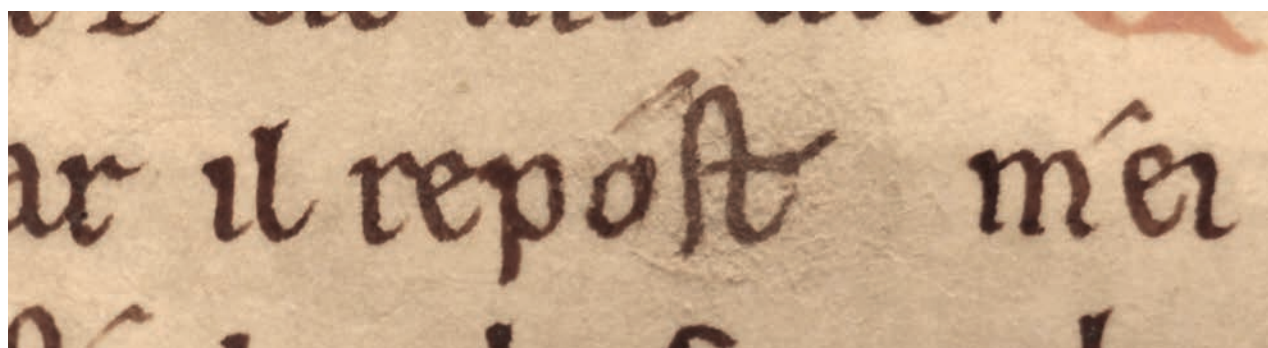
Remplir: f. 51r, line 10, *raemplíz est* (< Latin *repletum est*); f. 51r, line 14, *serúnt raemplít* (< Latin *replebuntur*).

Repundre: f. 40r, line 36, *se_repúnge* (< Latin *se abscondat*), *vide infra*: reflexive pronouns; f. 42r, line 8, *repóst* (< Latin *abscondit*), with traces of two different ink shades on the partially erased *o*; and traces of a previous accent between *o* and *s*.

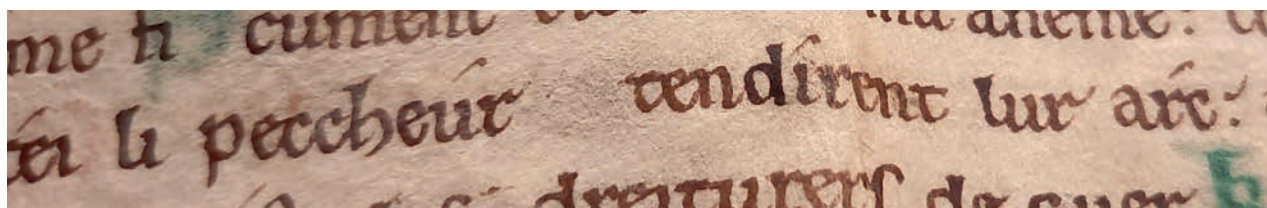
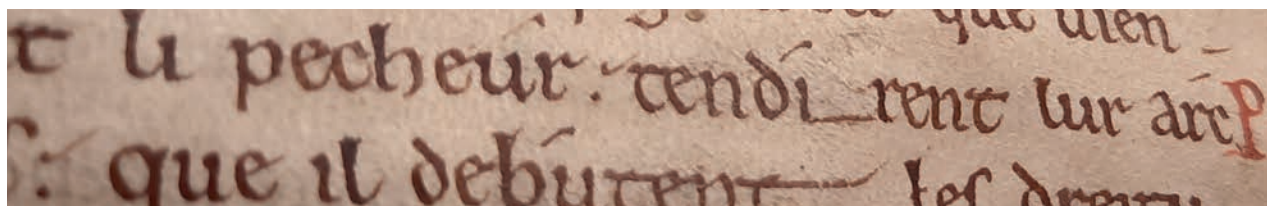
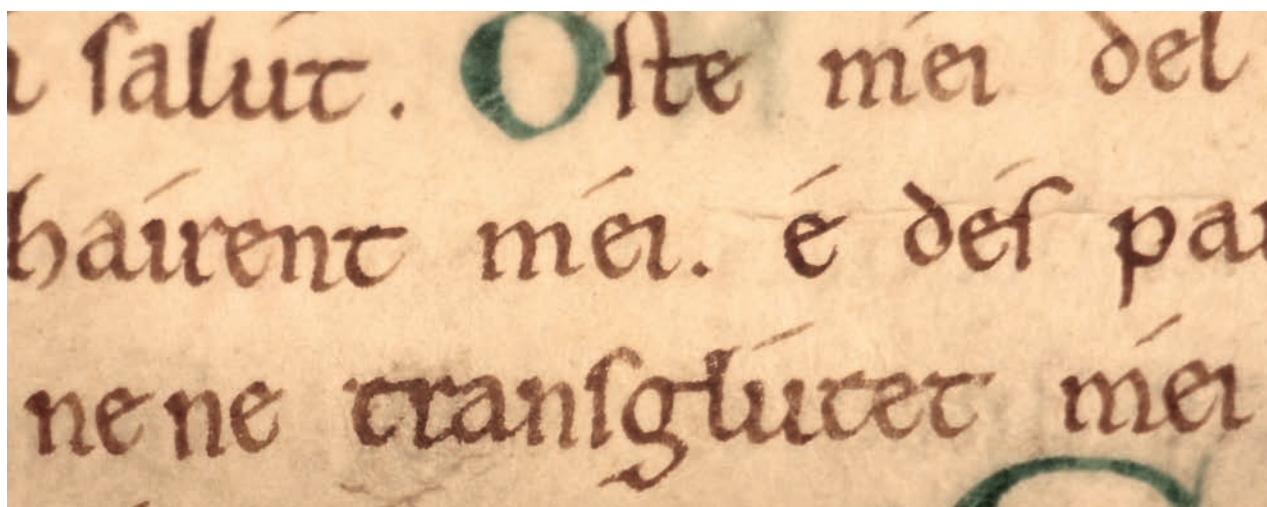


f. 38r
line 14

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
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f. 42r
line 8

f. 38v
line 16f. 44v
line 24f. 52r
line 27

Returner: f. 40r, lines 15-16, *é ne returnerái* (< Latin *et non convertar*); f. 55r, line 16, *returnówent* (< Latin *revertebantur*).

Requere: f. 54v, line 38, *requesissent* (< Latin *petere*nt).

Rugir: f. 41r, line 4, *ruianz* (< Latin *rugiens*).

Salver: f. 49v, line 34, *sálué méi* (< Latin *salva me*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Saver: f. 37r, line 34, *E sachéz* (< Latin *et scitote*); f. 45v, line 33, *túl seús* (< Latin *tu scisti*); f. 50r, line 7, *saueruñt* (< Latin *scient*), where an accent upon an *a* seems to be erased; f. 52r, line 15, *tu séis* (< Latin *tu scis*); f. 52r, line 31, *Tú séis* (< Latin *tu scis*); f. 59v, line 15, *sacéiz* (< Latin *sapite*).

Seeler: f. 46r, line 24, *Sezelat* (< Latin *sitivit*); f. 50v, line 13, *Sezelát* (< Latin *sitivit*).

Seignurir: f. 38r, line 39, *seignurerát* (< Latin *dominabitur*), with traces of erasures after the period following *seignurerát* (the erasure could be related to that of *Kar il dist en sun cuer* on the following line); f. 40v, line 5, *ne seignurerúnt* (< Latin *non fuerint dominati*).

Sullever: f. 55v, line 19, *é susleuá lúi* (< Latin *et sustulit eum*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Supplanter: f. 39v, lines 9-10, *deuancís lúi é supplánte lúi* (< Latin *praeueni eum et supplantat eum*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Sustenir: f. 52r, line 33, *ié sustínc* (< Latin *sustinui*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

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Suzmettre: f. 50r, line 22, *sunt suzmís* (< Latin *subditi sunt*), with traces of a previous *s*.

Targer: f. 46r, line 6, *targerás* (< Latin *tardaveris*).

Teisir: f. 44r, line 25, *ne táisir* (< Latin *ne sileas*).

Tendre: f. 38v, line 16, *tendirent* (< Latin *intenderunt*), *vide infra*: verbal prefixes; f. 44v, line 24, *tendi rent* (< Latin *intenderunt*), *vide infra*: verbal prefixes *ex-* / *es-*.

Transglutir: f. 52r, line 27, *transglútet* (< Latin *absorbeat*).

Travailler: f. 54r, line 38, *estéie trauailliez* (< Latin *exercitabar*).

Trencher: f. 53v, line 25, *trenchérent* (< Latin *exciderunt*).

Trover: f. 39r, line 39, *est truuée* (< Latin *est inventa*).

Turber: f. 37v, line 22, *Turbéz est* (< Latin *Turbatus est*).

Uindre: f. 47r, line 9, *óinst* (< Latin *unxit*); f. 58r, line 21, *óins* (< Latin *unxi*).

Veer: f. 38r, line 26, *uéies* (< Latin *vide*); f. 41v, line 24, *Véies* (< Latin *vide*); f. 49v, line 28, *ne uírent* (< Latin *non viderunt*).

Vergunder: f. 37v, line 25, *Vergundissent é seient con-turbet* (< Latin *Erubescant et conturbentur*).

Voler: f. 44v, line 10, *ne uóiles* (< Latin *noli*).

VERBAL PREFIXES: **EX/ES-** (AC)

The Douce scribe also encountered a series of problems associated with **ex/es-**. The initial spelling (before the erasures) often coincides with Arundel ms 230.

Abhominer: f. 63v, line 1, **_abominá** (< Latin *abominatus est*), with traces of an erased **es** just before the **a**, Arundel reading: *haiz est*.

Adrescer: f. 44v, line 36, **adreciét** (< Latin *dirigentur*), same reading in Arundel; f. 49v, line 36, **adreceâi** (< Latin *dirixi*), same reading in Arundel. Taking into account the size of the letter written over these two erasures, as well as the size of the erasure itself, it is entirely possible that the initial spelling was written with the prefix **es-**.

Enhauer: f. 37r, line 25, **exalchanz** (< Latin *exaltans*); f. 40r, line 24, **séit exalcét** (< Latin *exaltetur*), Arundel reading: *seit essalceat*; f. 40r, line 26, **exalcerás** (< Latin *exaltabis*), Arundel reading: *exhalceras*; f. 40v, line 30, **Séies exalcét** (< Latin *exaltare*), Arundel reading: *seies essaulcez*; f. 42r, line 10 (twice), **exalceát** (< Latin *exaltavit*), Arundel reading: *exalceat*; *exhalchat*; f. 42r, line 35, **exálce** (< Latin *extolle*), same reading in Arundel.

Enquerre: f. 43v, line 20, **esquis** (< Latin *exquisivi*), Arundel reading: *exquis*.

Esjoir (s): f. 46r, line 19-20, **ne _sesíorrát** (< Latin *non gaudebit*), Arundel reading: *nient sesioirat*. The erasure

seems to focus on the agglutination of the reflexive pronoun, as well as the root of the verb, perhaps a previous **ex-**. *Vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Esleescer: f. 50v, line 21, **esledecerái** (< Latin *exultabo*). Arundel reading: *eslecerai*.

Esprover: f. 44r, line 7, **espruuérent** (< Latin *exprobraverunt*), same reading in Arundel; f. 46v, line 28, **del esprouánt** (< Latin *exprobrantis*), same reading in Arundel. Only one letter seems to have been erased at the beginning of the word; the scribe could have written *eprouant* at first.

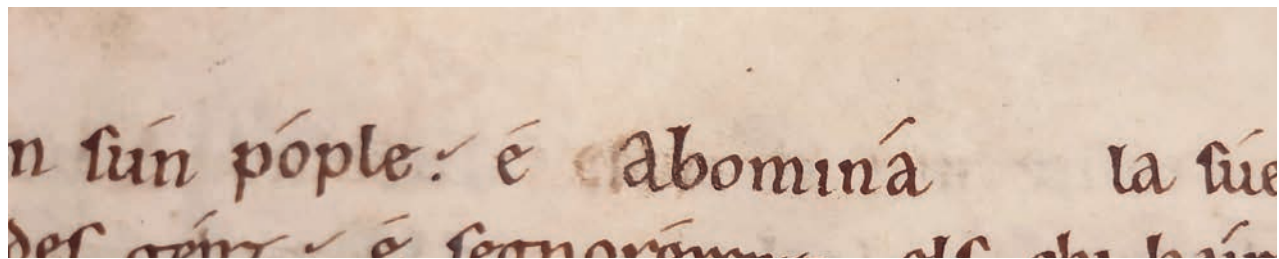
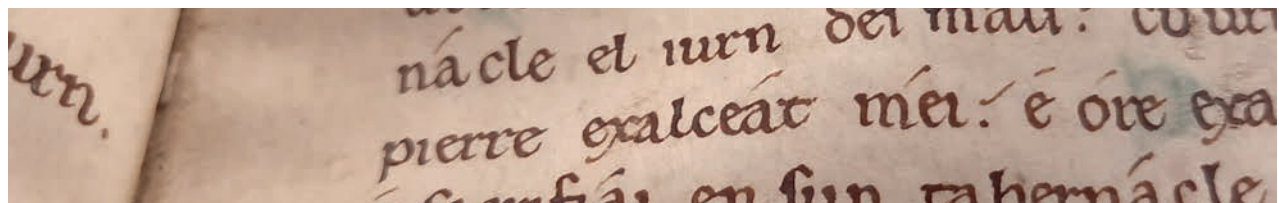
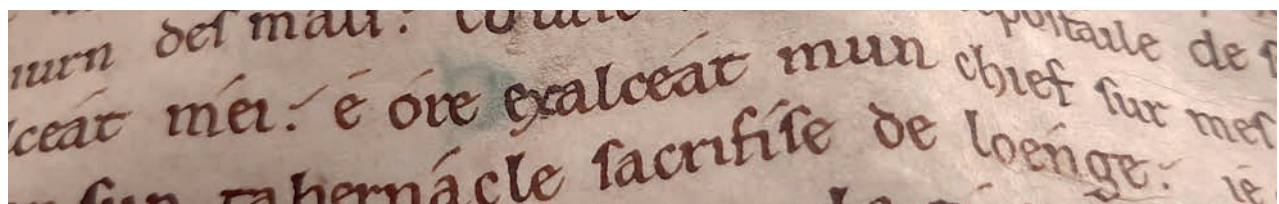
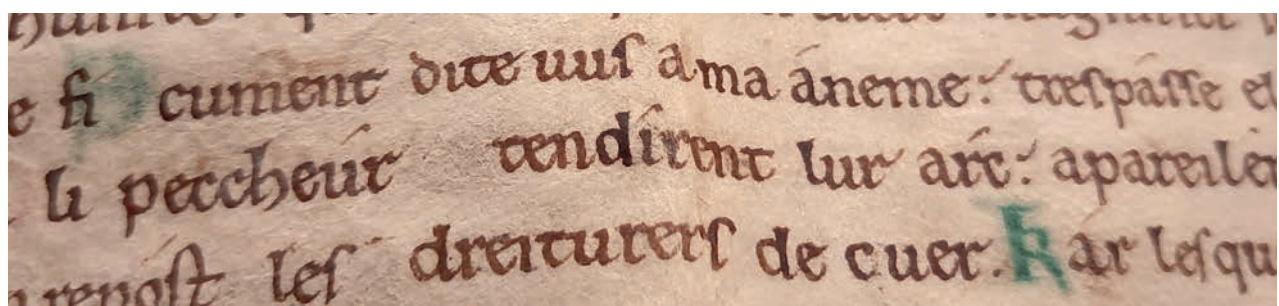
Espuiser: f. 54r, line 16, **expúiséde** (< Latin *exinanita*), same reading in Arundel.

Essardre: f. 48r, line 7, **exard_rát** (< Latin *exardescet*), Arundel reading: *exarderat*.

Guerduner: f. 39v, line 37, **_guerredurrat** (< Latin *retribuet*), with traces of a previous **ex-**, Arundel reading: *guerdunrat*.

Mover: f. 39v, line 2, **ne seient _moúes** (< Latin *non moveantur*), Arundel reading: *ne seient mouez*; f. 39r, line 21, **ne serat _mouít** (< Latin *non movebitur*), with evident traces of an erased **es-**, same reading in Arundel.

Tendre: f. 38v, line 16, **_tendirent** (< Latin *intenderunt*), same reading in Arundel.

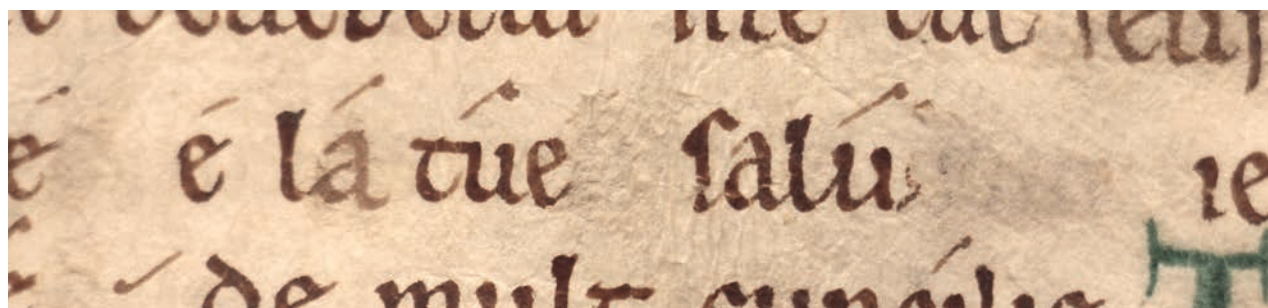
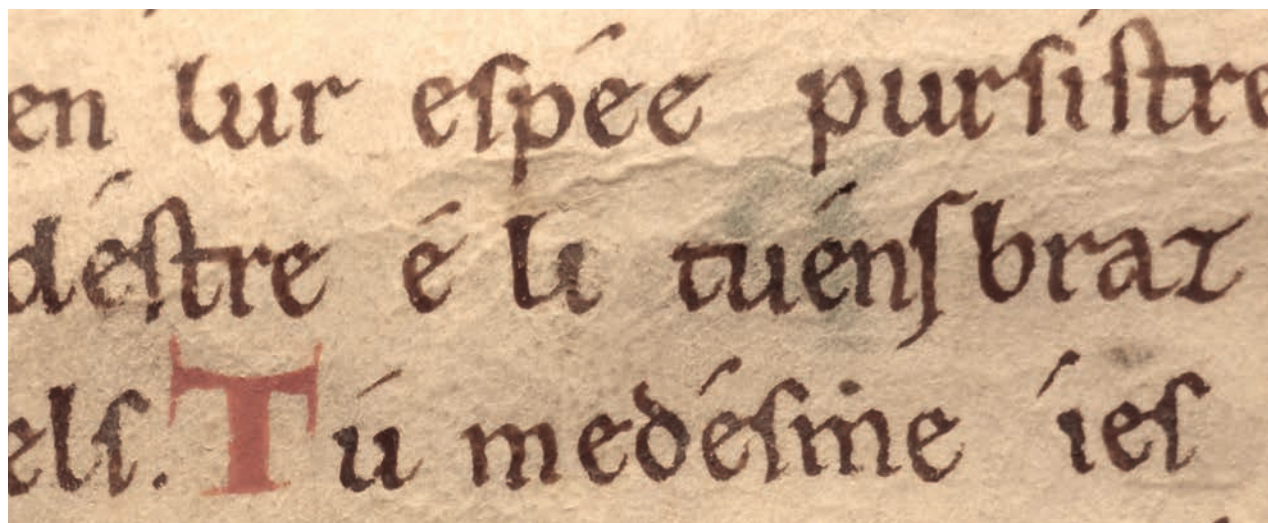
f. 63v
line 1f. 42r
line 10 (1)f. 42r
line 10 (2)f. 38v
line 16

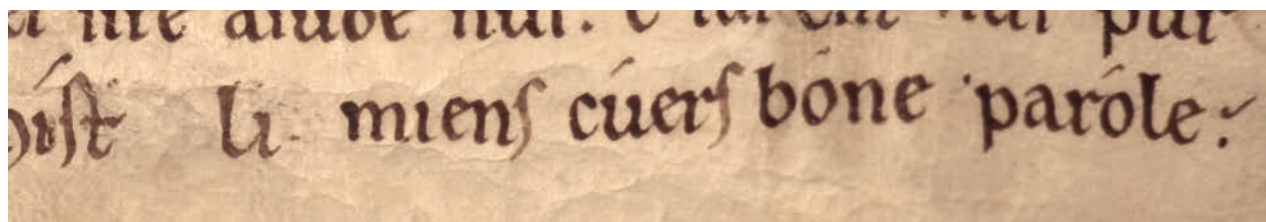
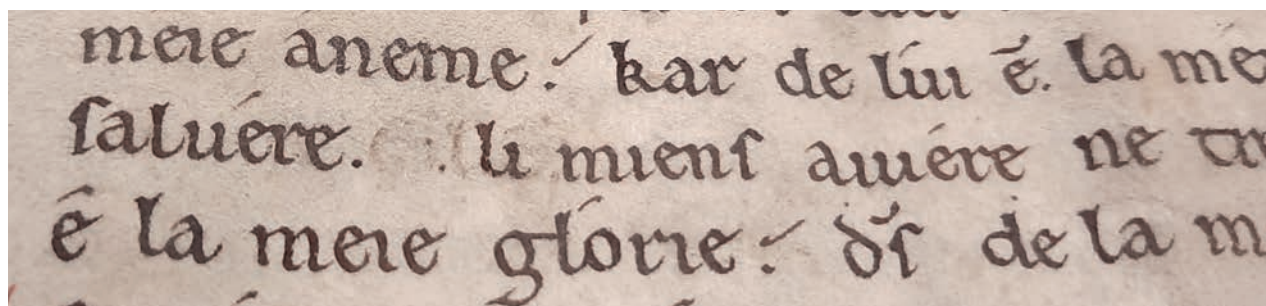
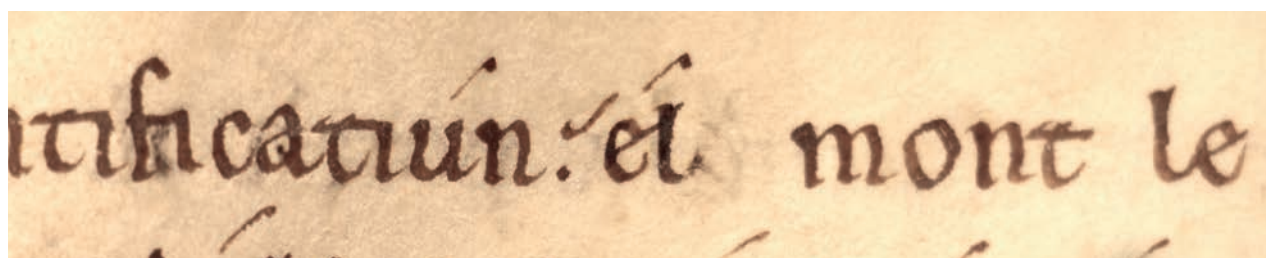
ARTICLE ERASURES (AC)

In the following category of erasures, the scribe of Douce ms 320 corrected a series of articles preceding the noun, some of which are linked to the prepositions *a*, *de*, and *en* (cf. Sneddon 1972, 88–89; 120–123; Short 2015, 23–24; for grammar, see also Pope 1952: §834; §1252–1253). Several examples from the latter category cannot occur in an autograph translation from a Latin source. The use of a vernacular antigraph is once again inevitable.

Articles without preposition: f. 38r, line 29, *li_ piez* (Latin *pes*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (perhaps an erased *les* corrected to *li*); f. 38v, line 7–8, *que tu ne ublies les poures* (< Latin *ne obliviscaris pauperum*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *que tu ne ublies des poueres* (traces of an ascender suggest that the Douce scribe could have written *des* at first, just as in Arundel, mirroring the Latin phrase *oblivisci + genitive*); f. 39v, lines 2–3, *lá tús oreile* (< Latin *aurem tuam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel; f. 40r, line 32, *Né sunt _ paróles* (< Latin *Non sunt loquela*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel (perhaps an erased *les*); f. 40r, line 39, *li cumandemenz* (< Latin *praeceptum*), Arundel reading: *li cumandement* (perhaps the Douce scribe wrote *le* at first); f. 42r, line 31, *Sire li miéns aiuérre* (< Latin *Dominus adiutor meus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Sire li miéns aidere*; f. 43r, line 23 *_ lespíne* (< Latin *spina*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (possible elision *la > l*); f. 43v, line 7, *li póples* (< Latin *populus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li pople* (traces of an erased letter suggest that the Douce scribe corrected *le > li*); f. 44r, line 5–6, *é _ esculurgement* (< Latin *et lubricum*), Arundel reading: *et esculurable* (the traces of the ascender of an erased letter suggest that the Douce scribe wrote the con-

tracted form *l'* at first); f. 44r, line 8, *le pernement* (< Latin *captio*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce scribe could have written either a feminine form, mirroring Latin *captio*, or a masculine *li*; the scribe corrected it as an accusative instead of the required nominative); f. 45r, line 26, *Lí miéns cúer* (< Latin *cor meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li miens quors*; f. 45v, line 11, *Tresór aúne ; é ne sét á qui il le a_ssemblerát* (< Latin *thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregabit ea*), Arundel reading: *Tressor aune et ne set a cui il assemblerat*; f. 45v, line 16, *_ laneme* (< Latin *animam*, oblique singular), with evident traces of an erased *la*, Arundel reading: *la aneme*; f. 45v, line 34, *lá tús salú_* (< Latin *salutare tuum*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *et le tuen salut*; f. 46r, line 33, *Lí abísme _ labísme apélet* (< Latin *Abyssus abyssum invocat*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *le abísme* (possible elision *li/le > l*); f. 46v, line 15, *li tuéns braz* (< Latin *brachium tuum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li tuen braz* (the final *s* in *tuéns* was written later, in the blank space between the possessive and the noun; at first, the scribe wrote *le tuen braz*, a singular oblique case; the Douce scribe corrected it into a nominative singular, similar to the preceding *la tús destre* < Latin *dextera tua*—in the phrase that follows, *_ lenluminemeñt* (< Latin *illuminatio*), does not agree with the declension of a nominative singular); f. 46v, line 15, *_ lenluminemeñt* (< Latin *illuminatio*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (possible elision *li/le > l*); f. 46v, line 32, *_ úmbre* (< Latin *umbra*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la umbre*; f. 46v, line 40, *li miéns cúers* (< Latin *cor meum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe wrote the form *le* at first; the

f. 45v
line 34f. 46v
line 15

f. 46v
line 40f. 50v
line 4

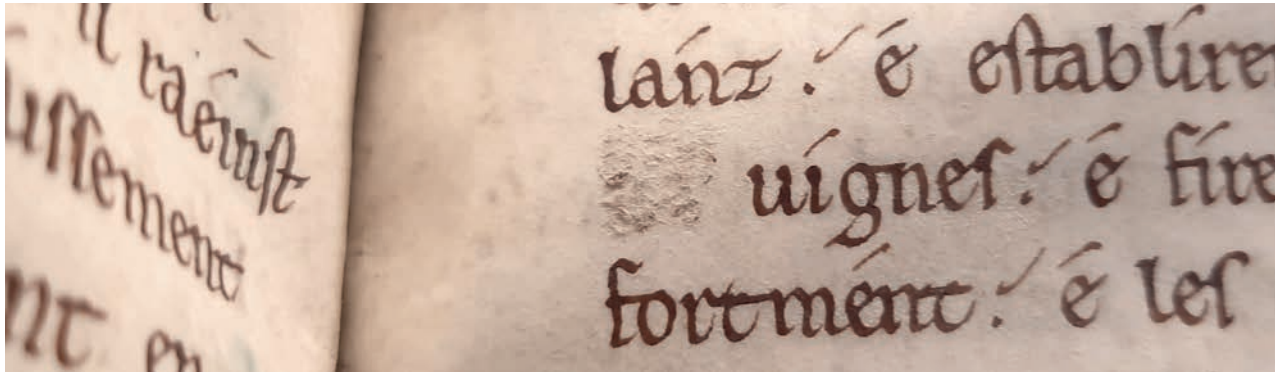
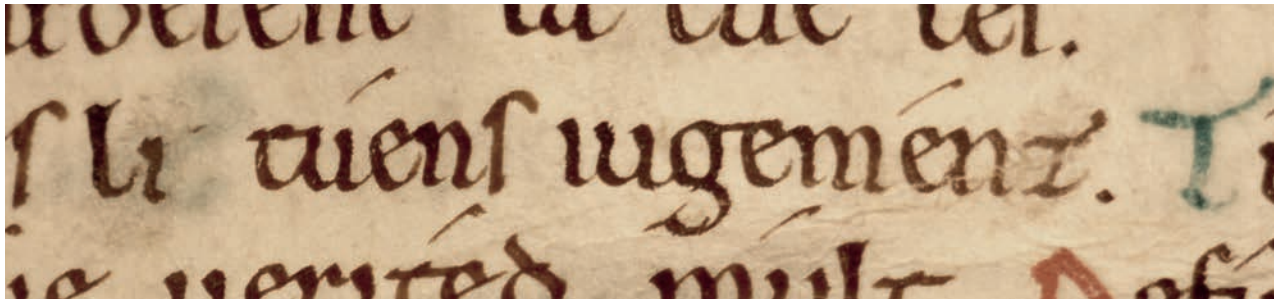
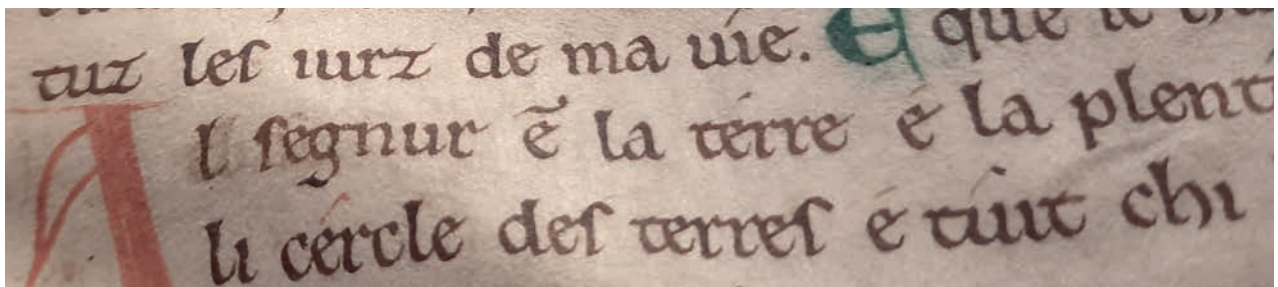
final *s* in *miens* and *cuers* was also added later); f. 47r, line 29, *li régne* (< Latin *regna*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel; f. 47v, line 4, *en la_ citét* (< Latin *in civitate*), with traces of a previous *c*, as if the scribe had written *en lac* at first; f. 47v, line 14, *li monz* (< Latin *mons*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (perhaps *le* was written at first); f. 47v, line 23, *liniquité* (< Latin *iniquitas*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li iniquité* (possible elision *la > l'*); f. 48r, line 14, *li iument* (< Latin *iumenta*, nominative plural), Arundel reading: *li iumentz* (the traces of the erased letters suggest that the scribe of Douce wrote the accusative plural *les* at first); f. 48r, line 18, *les tuens uoz* (< Latin *vota tua*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *les tues uouz*; f. 48r, line 39, *li os humilié* (< Latin *ossa humiliata*, nominative plural), Arundel reading: *li os humiliet* (the Douce scribe could have written the plural accusative *les* at first); f. 49v, line 3, *les quels ie rendrai* (< Latin *quae reddam*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; f. 49v, line 9, *la sue misericorde* (< Latin *miser ricordiam suam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the possessive *sue* is written in the interline, between *la* and *miser ricorde*; the Douce scribe could have written the possessive weak form *sa misericorde* at first, then decided to use the strong form); f. 49v, line 36, *li miens pecchiez* (< Latin *peccatum meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li miens pecchet* (traces of *le* under the erasure); f. 50v, line 4, *li miens aiuere* (< Latin *adiutor meus*, nominative singular), with clear traces of *il* and an abbreviated *est*, Arundel reading: *li miens aidere* (the Douce scribe could have written *é il é (= est)* at first, similar to what he had written in previous phrasings; there are also traces of a descending comma, similar to those used for later additions or the separation of words); f. 51r, line 10, *Li flúues* (< Latin *flumen*), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe could have written the plural

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

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accusative *les* at first); f. 51v, line 23, *li monz* (< Latin *mons*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce scribe could have written *le*); f. 51v, line 24, *monz* (< Latin *mons*, nominative), same reading in Arundel (possibly a definite article was erased); f. 51v, line 25, *Li monz* (< Latin *mons*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (a correction of *le* or *les*?); f. 51v, line 26, *Li cúrres* (< Latin *currus*, nominative plural), Arundel reading: *si curres* (a correction of *le* or *les* in Douce?); f. 51v, line 27, *li síre* (< Latin *dominus*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel; f. 51v, line 32, *lá uertiz* (< Latin *verticem*), same reading in Arundel; f. 55r, line 18, *li altismes* (< Latin *excelsus*, nominative singular) (possibly *l'* at first); f. 55r, line 19, *Li cuers* (< Latin *cor*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel; f. 55v, line 1, *él mont* (< Latin *in montem*, oblique singular), with traces of an erased *e*, same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe wrote *le* at first, then erased *-e* and added *é-* before the *l* > the elided form *en + le*); f. 55v, line 4, *deu le haltisme* (< Latin *deum excelsum*), Arundel reading: *le deu halt* (the correction in Douce could be linked to a modified translation choice), *vide infra*: lexical issues, *vide infra*: Orne fragments; f. 56v, line 29, *li tuen tabernacle* (< Latin *tabernacula tua*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel (the correction probably concerned the declension); f. 57v, line 24, *lés susciteruít* (< Latin *suscitabant*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *les susciterent*; f. 58r, line 8, *orguillús* (< Latin *superbum*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the traces of an erased letter suggest that the scribe probably wrote the elided *l'* at first); f. 60v,

f. 64r
line 12f. 68r
line 35f. 41r
line 35

lines 37-38, *Ót lorguillús _ oíl. é ot le néient sauláble _ cuér* (< Latin *superbo oculo et insatiabili corde cum hoc non edebam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (definite articles erased?); f. 61r, lines 27-28, *les gemisseméncz* (< Latin *gemitus*), same reading in Arundel; f. 62r, line 6, *lí fúst* (< Latin *ligna*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel (the Douce text probably read *les* at first); f. 64r, line 13, *_ uignes* (< Latin *vineas*, oblique plural), with possible traces of an erased *les*, same reading in Arundel; f. 66r, line 33, *le quel fist _ nóstre síre* (< Latin *quam fecit Dominus*, nominative singular), with traces of a previous *le* before *nóstre*, Arundel reading: *la quele fist nostre síre*; f. 67v, line 33, *_ més purpéns est* (< Latin *meditatio mea*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (perhaps *li* was written at first, then erased); f. 68r, line 35, *li tuéns iugeméncz* (< Latin *iudicium tuum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe possibly wrote *le tuén iugeméncz* at first); f. 72r, line 29, *lí miens refúges* (< *refugium meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li mien refuges* (perhaps *le* was written at first in the text of Douce); f. 75v, line 5, *e deuorerúnt els _ oisél* (< Latin *et devorabunt eos aves*), with traces of a previous monosyllabic word ending in *s*, Arundel reading: *et deuorerunt els oiseals* (perhaps an erased *les*).

Preposition a + article: f. 39v, line 13, *_ al tun esguardement* (< Latin *conspectui tuo*), Arundel reading: *al tuen esguardement*; f. 41r, line 35, *Al segnur est la terre* (< Latin *Domini est terra*), Arundel reading: *Del seignur est la terre*;

f. 41v, line 16, *ensegnerát as suéfs* (< Latin *docebit mites*), Arundel reading: *enseignerat les suefs* (in all probability, the Douce scribe wrote *les* at first, then erased *le* in order to write *a* and mend the word to the contracted form of *a + les*); f. 48v, line 3, *Ié enseignerái ás torcenús* (< Latin *docebo iniquos*), Arundel reading: *Jeo enseignerai les feluns* (once again, in all probability, *les* > *a + les*); f. 51r, line 2, *é ás nóz impieténcz* (< Latin *et impietatibus nostris*), same reading in Arundel (again, *les* > *a + les*); f. 51r, lines 17-18, *dunéz glórie ál loéngé de lúi* (< Latin *date gloriam laudi eius*), same reading in Arundel.

Preposition de + article: f. 38r, line 6, *de _ enfanz é de laitanz* (< Latin *infantium et lactentium*), with traces of a previous final *s*, Arundel reading: *des enfanz et de laitanz*; f. 40r, line 31, *Lí iúrcz del iúrn* (< Latin *dies diei*), same reading in Arundel; f. 40v, line 27, *de _ terre* (< Latin *de terra*), Arundel reading: *de la terra* (the Douce scribe probably wrote *la*, then erased it); f. 42r, line 32, *de la meie uoluntet* (< Latin *cor meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *de le moie uolentet*.

Preposition en + article. A particular erasure and correction is repeated throughout the text: *en lesguardement* < Latin *in conspectu* (same reading in Arundel): f. 48r, line 6, *en _ lesguardement*; f. 50r, line 34, *en _ lesguardeméncz*; f. 51v, line 8, *en _ lesguardement*; f. 51v, line 10, *en _ lesguardement*; f. 51v, line 14, *en _ lesguardement*. I would like to add a list of similar occurrences: f. 43r, line 2, *es _ tues mains* (< Latin *in manibus tuis*), Arundel reading: *en tes*

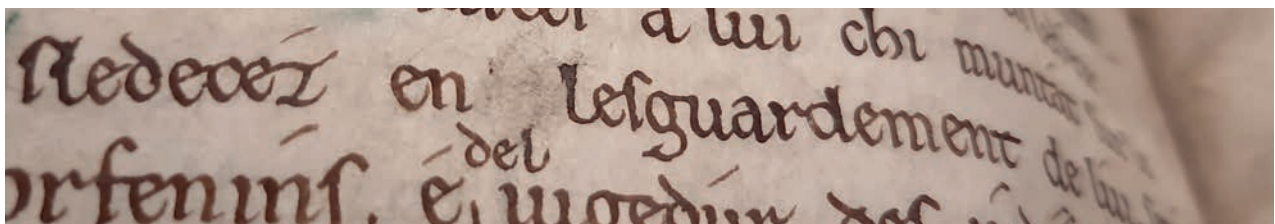
mains (the Douce scribe probably wrote *en* at first, then erased a minim, in order to write *s*: *en* > *en* + *les*); f. 46r, line 9, *en* laneme (< Latin *in animam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *en aneme* (in all likelihood, a change from *la* to *l*); f. 46r, line 10, *en* lenfermeté (< Latin *in infirmitate*), Arundel reading: *en lenfermetet* (probable correction *la* > *l*); f. 49v, line 7, *en* lúmbre (< Latin *in umbra*), Arundel reading: *en umbre* (probable correction *la* > *l*); f. 51r, line 9, *les eissemeñz dé matin é el uéspre tu deliterás* (< Latin *exitus matutini et vespere delectabis*), same reading in Arundel (in this particular case, the Douce scribe made an eye-skip and wrote the preposition *de* twice, then realised that the two Latin words—*matutini* and *vespere*—needed different phrasings); f. 52r, lines 34–35, *en la méie séi* (< Latin *in siti mea*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *en la moie sei* (perhaps the word *ma* was written at first); f. 55v, line 18, *en la tэрre* (< Latin *in terra*), Arundel reading: *en la tere*; f. 56r, line 36, es méies uéies (< Latin *in viis meis*, oblique plural), with evident traces of an *en* and an *l* erased, Arundel reading: *en moies uoies* (it is very likely that the Douce scribe wrote *en les méies*

uées at first, then corrected it to include the contracted form *es*); f. 60r, line 14, *el* saintefiemént (< Latin *in sanctificatione*), with traces of an ascender *l* before *saintefiemént*, and traces of an ascender *s* above the first *i*, Arundel reading: *en le seintefiemént* (the Douce scribe could have written *en le s(aintefiemént)* at first); f. 61r, line 25, *en* áltre generaciún (< Latin *in generatione altera*, oblique singular), with evident traces of a previous *l*, same reading in Arundel; f. 62v, line 16, *és* sérs de lúi (< Latin *in servos eius*), same reading in Arundel (in all probability, the erasure concerned a previous *les*, perhaps a redundant repetition of the article); f. 71v, line 33, *és* bien ploúdes chóses (< Latin *in beneplacitis*), Arundel reading: *en bien plus coses* (probable presence of an *en* at first; the Douce scribe probably erased a minim of the *n*, to correct it into an *s*: *en* > *en* + *les*).

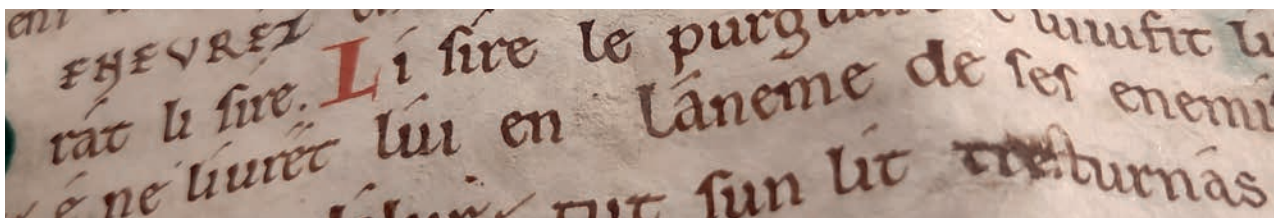
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.

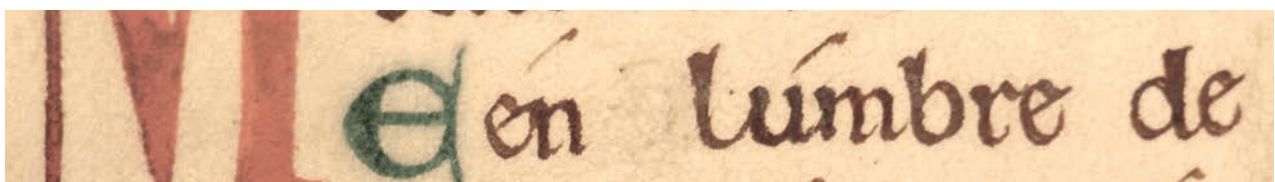
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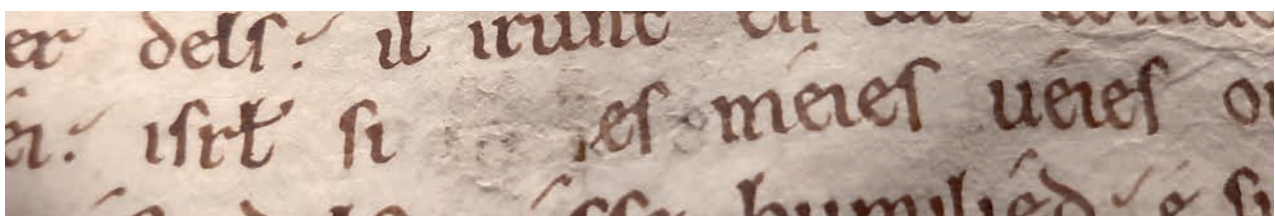
f. 51v
line 10



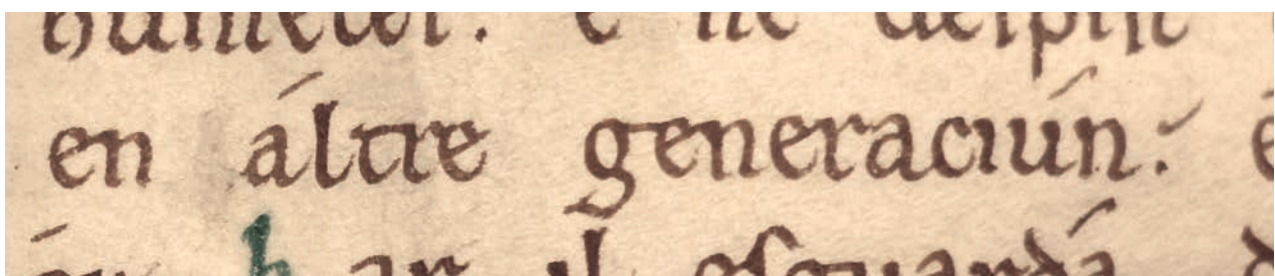
f. 46r
line 9



f. 49v
line 7



f. 56r
line 36



f. 61r
line 25

ERASURES IN PERSONAL PRONOUNS (AC)

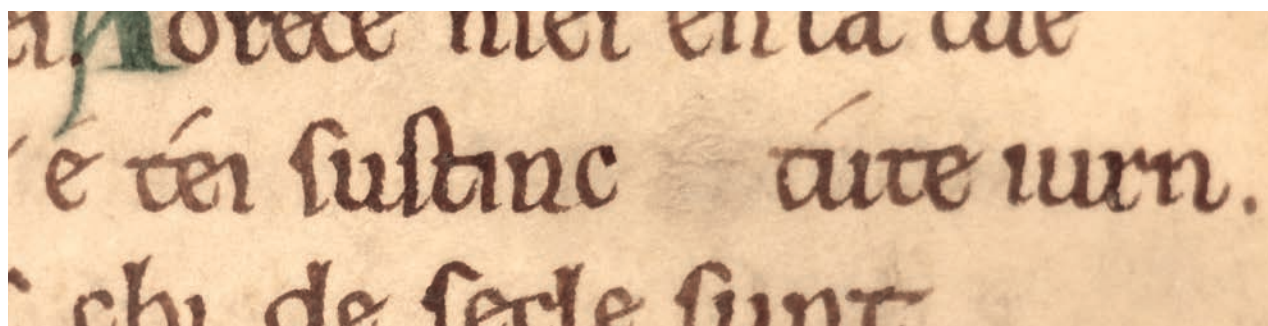
Another survey of erasures concerns masculine and feminine personal pronouns. These erasures and corrections mend scribal errors, spelling and changes in translation choices; morphological issues concerning pronouns (strong and weak forms; pronoun + article / preposition). When the erasure of the pronoun is linked to the erasure of a verbal form, it is hard to define the exact nature of the problem.

Ie: f. 37r, line 14, *Mais ie_ sui establît* (< Latin *Ego autem constitutus sum*); f. 38r, line 14, *ie_ recunterài* (< Latin *narrabo*), Arundel reading: *io cuncterai*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 41v, line 11, *é téi sustinc _ túte iurn* (< Latin *et te sustinui tota die*), Arundel reading: *et tei sustinc tut en iurn* (possible reading *ie* or *en*, erased); f. 49r, line 33, *le la haltéce de iurn crend_rái* (< Latin *Ab altitudine diei timebo*), Arundel reading: *De la haltece de iurn criendrai* (the Douce scribe transcribed the wrong majuscule); f. 50v, line 17, *beneistrái _ téi* (< Latin *benedicam te*), with evident traces of a previous *ie* under the erasure, same reading in Arundel; f. 52r, line 33, *ie_ sustinc* (< Latin

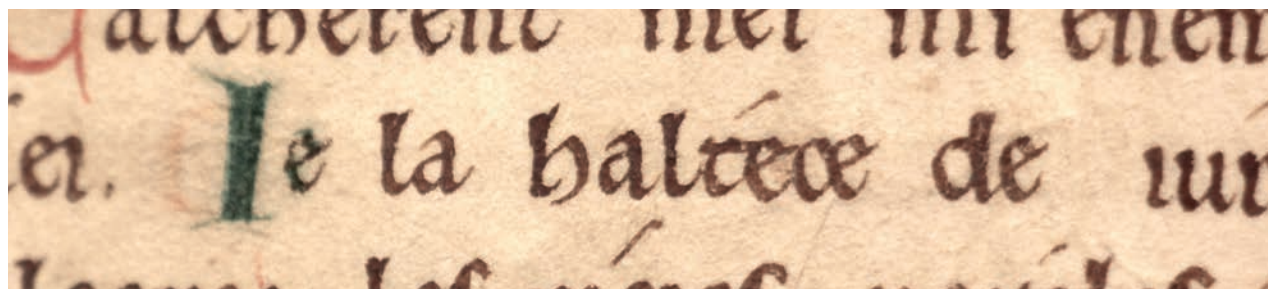
sustinui), Arundel reading: *et sustinc*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 55v, line 28, *_ iráistrás* (< Latin *irasceri*), with evident traces of a previous *ie* under the erasure, Arundel reading: *seras tu curuce*; f. 72r, line 3, *Ié esguardówe* (< Latin *Considerabam*), Arundel reading: *io esguardou* (a low serif has been erased in Douce, as if the scribe had written an *I* at first). Several of these corrections mend scribal errors, thus proving once again the existence of an antigraph of Douce Ms 320.

Me/Mei: f. 37r, line 28, *fâi me_ salf* (< Latin *salvum me fac*) (probable erasure of the final *i* in the tonic form *mei*, strong form > weak form); f. 39r, line 29, *crüssirent en méi* (< Latin *increpauerunt me*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 39v, lines 17-18, *Auirunèrent _méi les dulúrs* (< Latin *Circumdederunt me dolores*), with possible traces of an *I* under the *m*, same reading in Arundel (perhaps the scribe of Douce wrote the article *les* at first, instead of the pronoun); f. 39v, line 36, *salf me_ fist* (< Latin *salvum me fecit*), with evident traces of a previous *i* at the end of *me* (strong form > weak

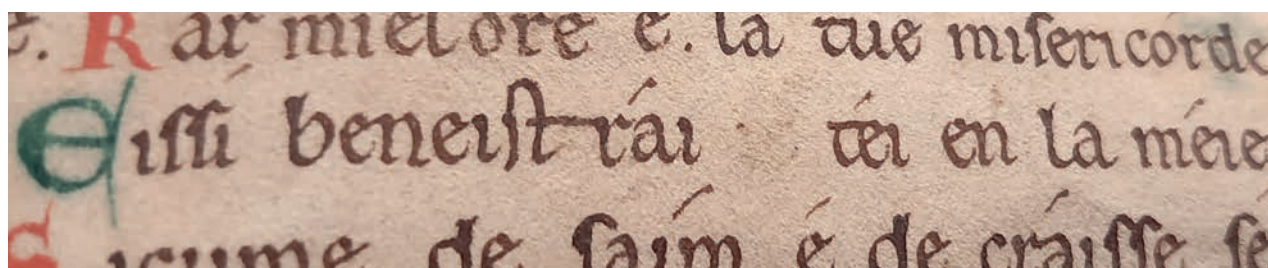
f. 41v
line 11



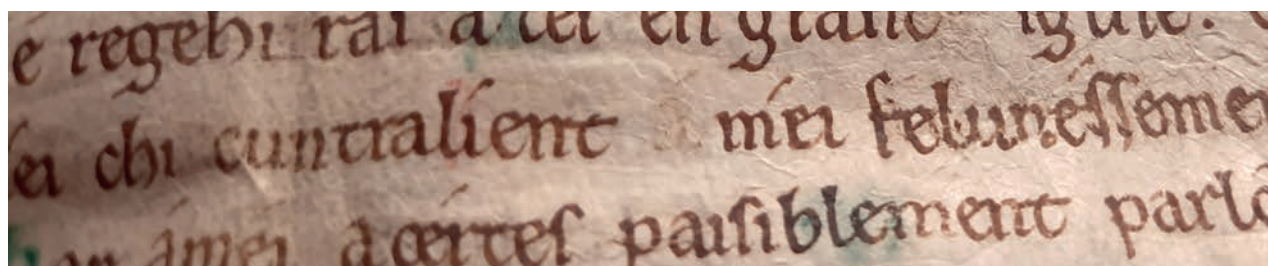
f. 49r
line 33



f. 50v
line 17



f. 44r
line 22



form), Arundel reading: *salf mei feist*; f. 40v, line 32, *pur quéi me deguerpis*? (< Latin *quare me dereliquisti* ?), with traces of a previous *i* (strong form > weak form), Arundel reading: *purquei mei deguerpis* (the scribe of Douce had written *mei* at first as in the previous segment of the same verse—*Deus li miens deus reguârde méi* / Latin *Deus, Deus meus, respice in me*); f. 41v, line 8, *Né ne mé_ escharnissent* (< Latin *neque irrideant me*), Arundel reading: *ne ne charnissent mi enemi* (a letter was erased at the end of *mé*, probably an *i*; strong form > weak form); f. 44r, line 22, *chi cuntralient _ méi* (< Latin *qui adversantur mihi*), with clear traces of an erased *a* before *méi*, Arundel reading: *a mei* (the Douce scribe probably wrote *mi* at first, then corrected it to *mei*, without erasure); f. 49v, line 34, *salue méi* (< Latin *salva me*), Arundel reading: *salf mei*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 66r, line 27, *Aourez á _ méi* (< Latin *Aperite mihi*), with traces of a previous *li*, same reading in Arundel.

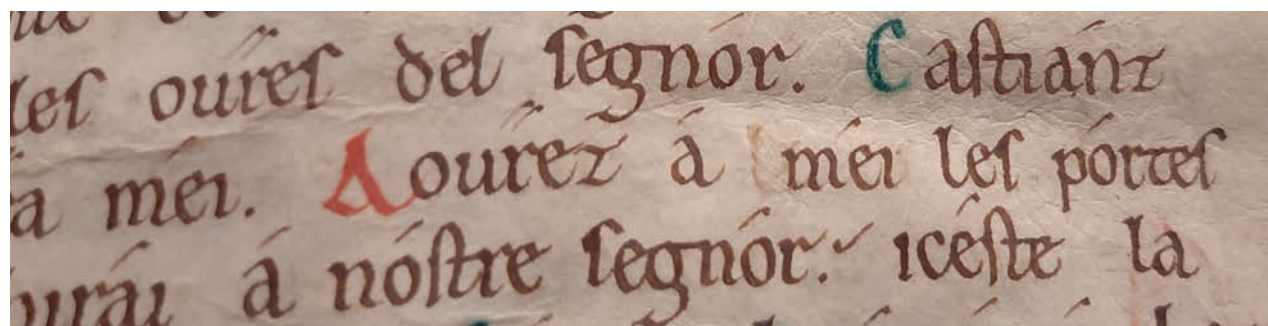
Tu/Tei: f. 37r, line 28, *esdrece téi sire* (< Latin *exsurge domine*), *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 38r, line 6-7, *tu parsisis* (< Latin *perfecisti*), same reading in Arundel; f. 40v,

line 29, *Kar tu_ poserás* (< Latin *Quoniam poses*), with traces of a previous *s*, same reading in Arundel (the *s* written at first could concern the combined form *tus = tu + les*; cf. Ps. 2:9 and Ps. 9:35a); f. 43r, lines 10-11, *Tu_ defendrás_ els* (< Latin *proteges eos*), with traces of an *s* erased after *tu*, Arundel reading: *Tu ueras icouls* (at first, the Douce scribe could have written *tus = tu + les*, in order to translate the two pronouns—the stressed *tu* and the unstressed *les*, reconstructed as *Tus defendrás*, with *defendrás* written between lines 10 and 11; a part of the verb was probably erased on line 11 and rewritten on line 10, in the margin of the column, in order to make space for the new pronoun *els*); f. 45r, line 33, *tú exorrás* (< Latin *tu exaudies me*), same reading in Arundel; f. 46v, line 9, *é pur quéi cuntúrbes _ méi*? (< Latin *et quare conturbas me* ?), with traces of a previous *tu*, Arundel reading: *et*

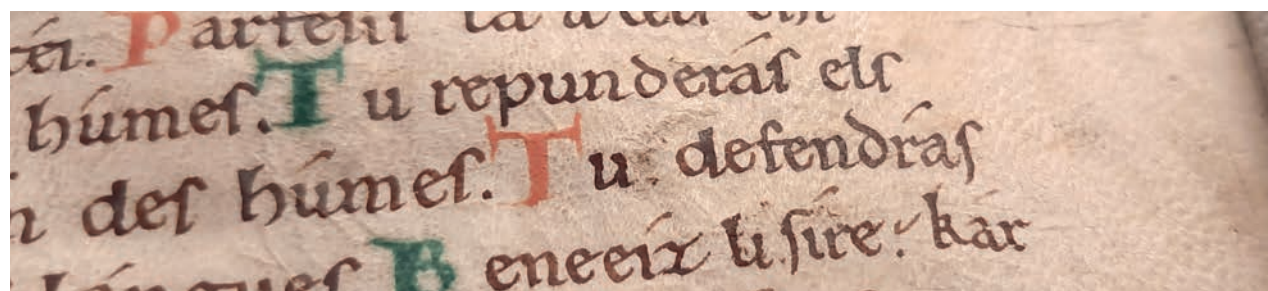
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.

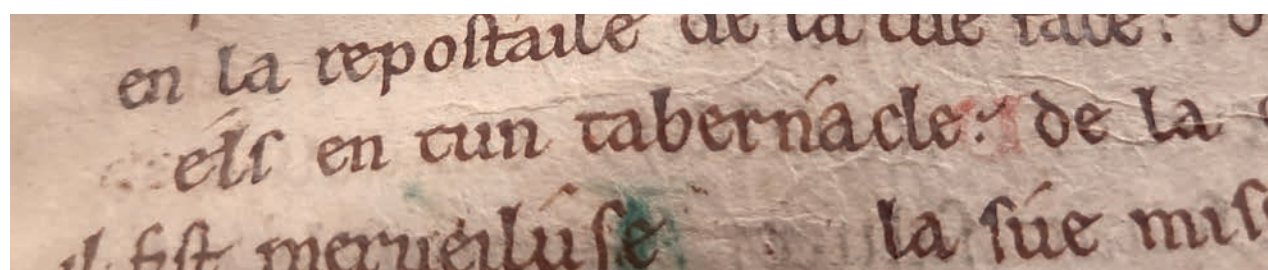
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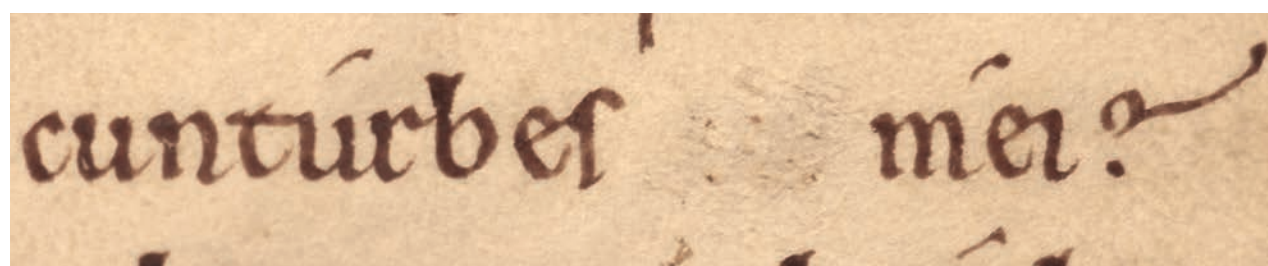
f. 66r
line 27



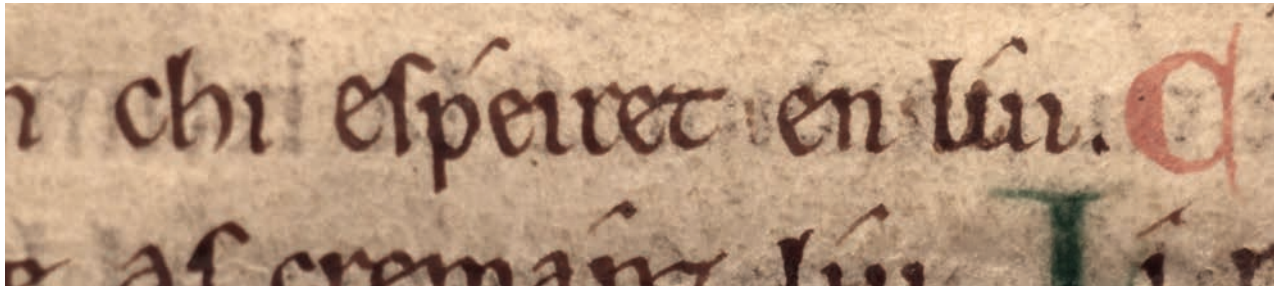
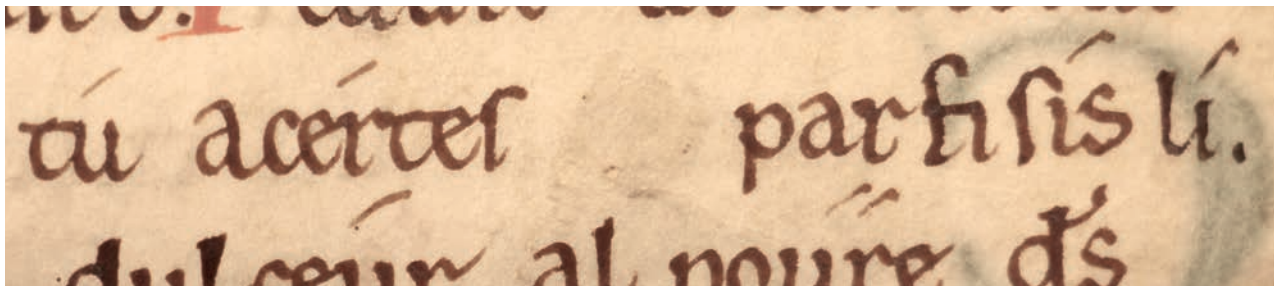
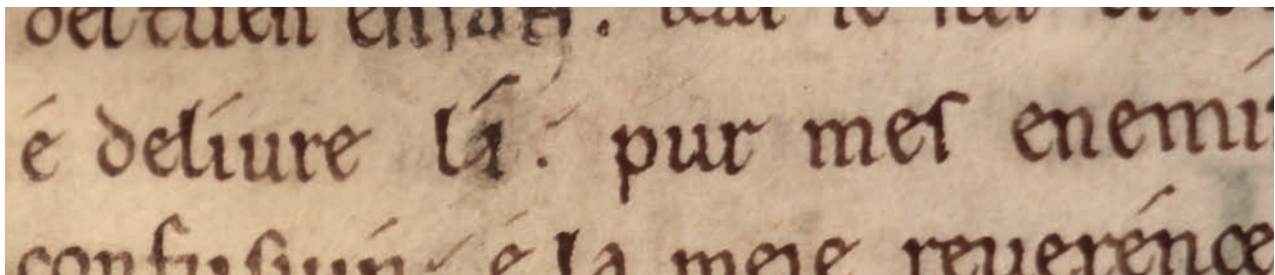
f. 43r
line 10



f. 43r
line 11



f. 46v
line 9

f. 41v
line 11f. 51v
line 17f. 52r
line 31

purquei contrubles mei ?; f. 47v, line 37, *ne criemes* _ (< Latin *ne timueris*), Arundel reading: *ne crienges* (at first, *tu* could have been written in the blank space, particularly if the scribe of Douce thought that he was writing an interrogative clause), *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 71r, line 12, *exoi méi* (< *exaudi me*), with evident traces of a previous *tu* before *exoi*, Arundel reading: *exoie mei*. Once again, many of these erasures concern scribal errors and document the existence of an antigraph of Douce MS 320.

II: f. 72v, line 39, *Chi guárde ueritéd en siécle ; fait iugemént as suffránz torcenurie* (< Latin *Qui custodit veritatem in saeculum facit iudicium iniuriam patientibus*), with evident traces of a previous pronom *il* (subject), Arundel reading: *Ki garde ueritet en siecle fait iugement torcenerie as sufranz*.

Lui/Li (masculine pronoun): f. 39v, lines 9-10 (twice), *Esdrece téi sire deuancís líi é supplánte líi* (< Latin *Exsurge Domine praeveni eum et supplantat eum*), Arundel reading: *Esdrece tei sire deuancis ei lui et suplante lui*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 40v, line 39, *Il esperát el segnúr deliuret líi ; salf le fácet ; kar il uult líi*. (< Latin *Speravit in Domino eripiat eum salvum faciat eum quoniam vult eum*), Arundel reading: *Il esperat elei(?) el seigneur liuret lui; salf facet lui kar il uolt lui*; f. 41r, line 14, *Chi creméz le segnúr loéz líi* (< Latin *Qui timetis Dominum laudate eum*), same reading in Arundel; f. 43v, line 25, *en líi* (< Latin *in eo*), Arundel reading: *en lui* (no traces of an erasure, but the Douce scribe corrected *li* into *lui*); f. 45r, line 6, *mortifíer líi* (< Latin *mortificare eum*), same reading in Arundel; f. 45r, line 7, *ne deguépirá líi* (< Latin *non derelinquet eum*), Arundel reading: *nient deguerpirat lui* (the Douce scribe corrected the ending of the verb, as documented by an erased final *t* or *z*; the pronoun was also corrected upon erasure); f. 55v, line 19, *é susleuá líi*

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

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(< Latin *et sustulit eum*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 55v, line 20, *recút líi* (< Latin *accepit eum*), Arundel reading: *receut lui*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 60r, line 33, *Aoréz líi* (< Latin *Adorate eum*), same reading in Arundel; f. 62v, line 3, *de lí* (< Latin *incolae eius*), Arundel reading: *de lui*, *vide infra*: *eius*; f. 70v, line 37, *el millíu de lí* (< Latin *in medio eius*), with evident traces of a previous *lui*, Arundel reading: *el milliu de lui*, *vide infra*: *eius*; f. 72v, line 7, *beneuré li póples / * lí sire // /* del quel // est. li súens deus* (< Latin *beatus populus cuius Dominus Deus eius*), with traces of *li sire*, Arundel reading: *boneurez li pople del quel li sire est deus de lui* (the Douce scribe muddled the word order; the error is odd, since the first version of the text, before the erasure, was correct), *vide infra*: *eius*.

Lui/Li (feminine pronoun): f. 47v, line 15, *Auirunéz syon é embracéz lí* (< Latin *Circumdade Sion et complectimini eam*), same reading in Arundel (the scribe could have replaced the weak oblique form *la* with the strong oblique form *li*); f. 51r, line 9, *Tú uisitás la terre é enúñas lí*; *multiplíás á enrichír lí* (< Latin *Visitasti terram et inebriasti eam*), same reading in Arundel (same oblique *la* replaced with strong *li*); f. 51v, line 17, *tú acertes par fisis lí* (< Latin *tu vero perfecisti eam*), same reading in Arundel (oblique *la* > strong *li*); f. 52r, line 31, *Éntent á la meie aneme é deliure lí* (< Latin *Intende animae meae et libera eam*), with traces of a previous *a*, same reading in Arundel (oblique *la* > strong *li*).

Eles: f. 46v, line 6, *éles mé demenérent* (< Latin *ipsa me de-*

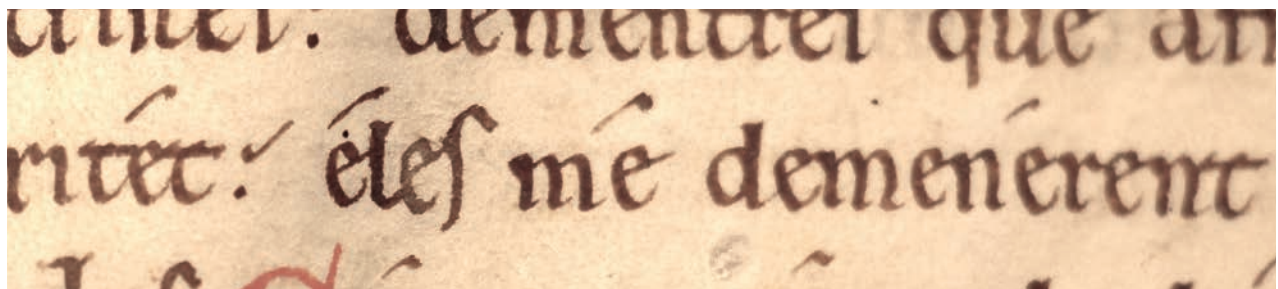
duxerunt), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce scribe probably wrote the masculine pronoun *els*). 46v_6

II/Els: f. 40r, line 21, *eslauerâi els* (< Latin *delebo eos*), Arundel reading: *eslauerai ils*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 43v, line 24, *é deliuerât els* (< Latin *et eripiet eos*), Arundel reading: *et sustreirat els* (no trace of a pronoun under *els*, thus suggesting that the Douce scribe wrote, at first, a phrase such as *les* + verb; the traces of an *r* from a previous verbal form are actually visible between the final *t* of the verb and *els*), *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 46v, line 23, *e chi haïrent nús departéient á els* (< Latin *et qui oderunt nos diripiebant sibi*), Arundel reading: *et ki haïrent nus departeient a sei* (the traces of a serif above the *e* of *els* suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *á se* at first); f. 47v, line 34, *depaistrát els* (< Latin *depascet eos*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 53r, line 37, *en éls* (< Latin *in eis*), same reading in Arundel; f. 60r, line 7, *si il enterrúnt* (< Latin *si introibunt*), same reading in Arundel.

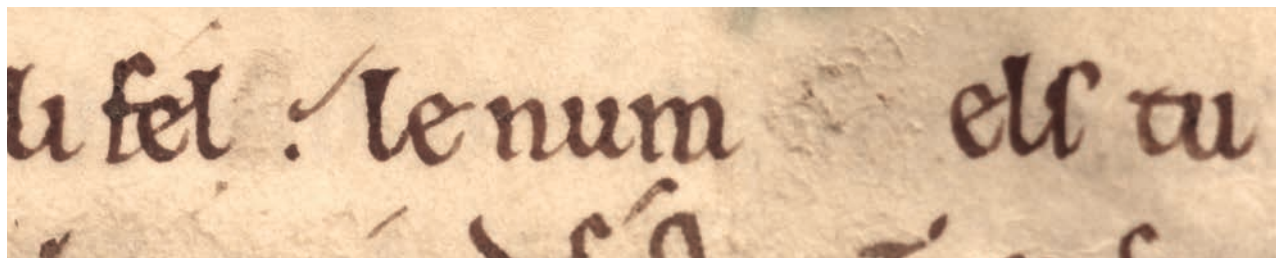
De + éls: the extended form *de els* is used from f. 37r to f. 53r. The contracted *dels* (agglutinated to the pronoun = *d+els*) is used from f. 42r to f. 75r. In a series of erasures going from f. 38r, line 18, to f. 52r, line 40, the Douce scribe changes *de els* to a contracted *dels*—f. 38r, line 18, *le num _ els* (< Latin *nomen eorum*), with evident traces of a previous *de*, Arundel reading: *le num de couls*; f. 43v, line 33, *lá memorie _ dels* (< Latin *memoriam eorum*), Arundel reading: *la memorie de els*; f. 44r, line 21, *de la malignitet _ dels* (< Latin *malignitate eorum*), Arundel reading: *del malignitet de els*; f. 46v, lines 24–25, *es chángemenz _ dels*

(< Latin *in commutationibus eorum*), Arundel reading: *es changemenz de els*; f. 47r, line 26, *les éwes _ déls* (< Latin *aquae eorum*), Arundel reading: *les ewes de els*; f. 47v, lines 29–30, *les sepúlchres _ . déls* (< Latin *sepulchra eorum*), Arundel reading: *les supulcres de els* (*de* was probably erased after *sepúlchres*, and another *d* was added to the pronoun *els* in the following line); f. 47v, line 30, *Les tabernáculos _ déls* (< Latin *tabernacula eorum*), Arundel reading: *les tabernacles de els*; f. 49r, line 12, *lés lángues _ déls* (< Latin *linguas eorum*), Arundel reading: *les langues* (without the translation of *eorum*); f. 49v, line 11, *les denz _ déls* (< Latin *dentes eorum*), Arundel reading: *les denz de els*; f. 49v, line 40, *es leuŕes _ déls* (< Latin *in labiis eorum*), Arundel reading: *es leueres de icels*; f. 50v, line 35, *pláies _ déls* (< Latin *plagae eorum*), Arundel reading: *plaies de els*; f. 51r, line 11, *la uiánde _ déls* (< Latin *cibum illorum*), with evident traces of a previous *de*, Arundel reading: *la uiande de els*; f. 51v, line 38–39, *dúitúr _ déls* (< Latin *duces eorum*), Arundel reading: *duitres de cels*, *vide infra*: lexical issues; f. 52r, line 40, *lá felunie _ déls* (< Latin *iniquitatem eorum*), Arundel reading: *la felunie de els*; f. 53r, line 19, *dicels* (< Latin *eorum*), Arundel reading: *de els* (at first, the Douce scribe seems to have written *de els*), *vide infra*: demonstrative pronouns.

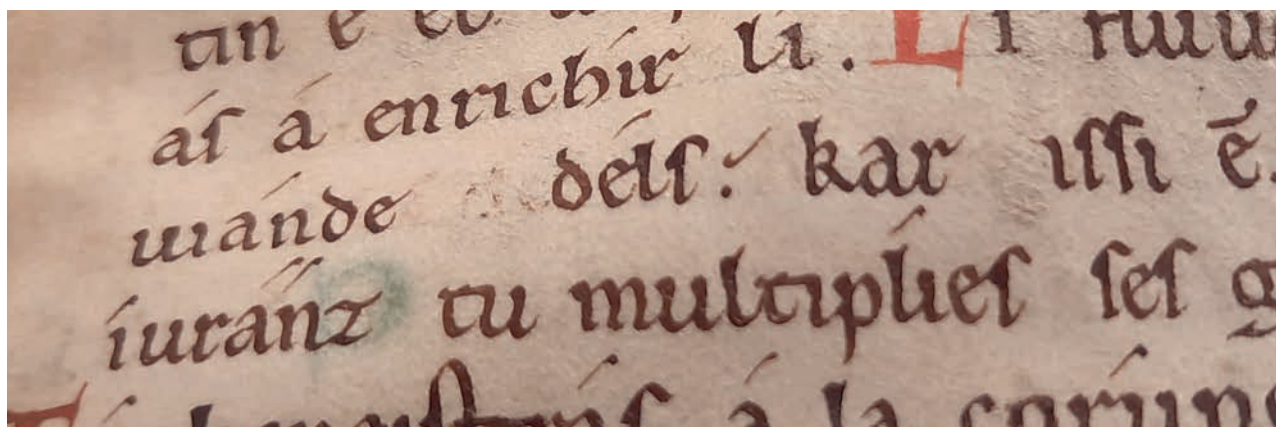
For pronouns, see also Pope 1952: §826–843; §1248–1251; Short 2015, 24–25; Sneddon 1972, 89–90, 123–124.



f. 46v
line 6



f. 38r
line 18



f. 51r
line 11

ERASURES IN REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS (AC)

Other erasures concern the elision of reflexive pronouns *se* (singular and plural) and *me*. The erasures and corrections are the following: f. 37r, line 23, *_sesdrécent* (< Latin *insurgunt*); f. 37v, line 14, *sesglorierúnt* (< Latin *gloriabuntur*), Arundel reading: *se lecerunt*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 37v, line 14, *sesioirunt* (< Latin *exultabunt*). Arundel reading: *ses gloriesent*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 38r, lines 14-15, *Ié _esleecerái* (< Latin *laetabor*), with traces of an erased *me* after *Ié*, Arundel reading: *Jo eslescerai*; f. 38r, line 27, *Ié _mesleecerái* (< Latin *exultabo*), Arundel reading: *Jo meslaescerai*; f. 38v, line 28, *_mesdreecerái* (< Latin *exurgam*), Arundel reading: *me esdreecerai*; f. 38v, line 38 *_sesléecerunt* (< Latin *exultabunt*), Arundel reading: *se eslecerunt*; f. 39r, lines 3-4, *Túit _declinérent ensemblement* (< Latin *omnes declinaverunt*), with evident traces of a previous reflexive pronoun *se*, same reading in Arundel; f. 39r, line 14, *_sesiorrát* (< Latin *exultabit*), Arundel reading: *sesioirat*; f. 39r, line 14, *_sesleecerát* (< Latin *laetabitur*), Arundel reading: *sesleecerat*; f. 40r, line 36, *se_ repúnge* (< Latin *se abscondat*), with traces of an erased *s*

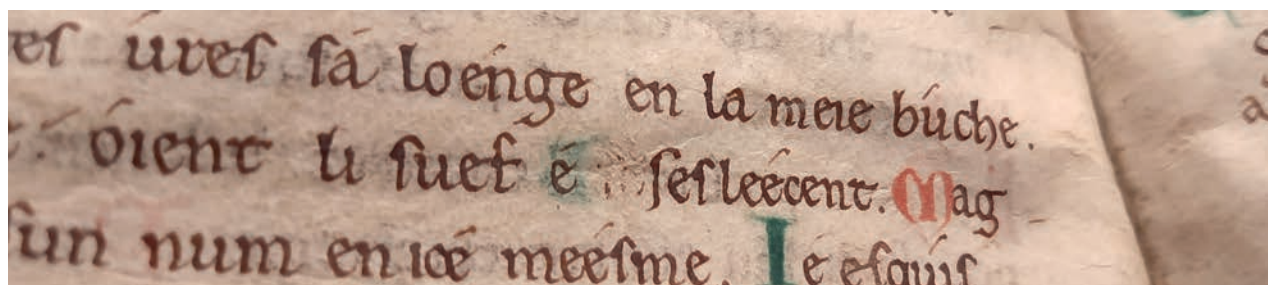
at the end of *se*, Arundel reading: *se repuinge* (at first, the Douce scribe could have written the possessive form *ses*), *vide supra*: verbal forms; f. 43v, line 19, *_sesléecent* (< Latin *laetentur*), Arundel reading: *si se esleecent*; f. 44r, line 30, *_sesléecent* (< Latin *gratulantur*), Arundel reading: *sesleecent*; f. 46r, lines 19-20, *ne _sesiorrát* (< Latin *non gaudebit*), Arundel reading: *nient sesioirat*; f. 49r, line 9, *_mesluignái* (< Latin *elongavi*), with evident traces of a previous *me* under the erasure, Arundel reading: *enlunignai*; f. 50r, line 19, *_mesledecerái* (< Latin *laetabor*), Arundel reading: *meslescerai*; f. 50v, line 9, *que il medésme _decéiuent de uanité en icé medésme* (< Latin *ut decipiant ipsi de vanitate in idipsum*), Arundel reading: *que il deceiuant de uanite en ice mesme* (the extent of the erasure in Douce ms 320 suggest that the scribe wrote a monosyllabic word of two letters at first; perhaps *se*, to reinforce the reflexive aspect).

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

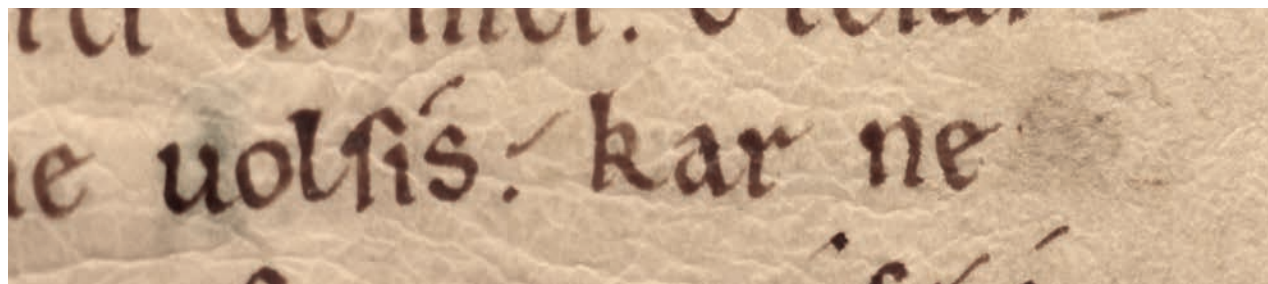
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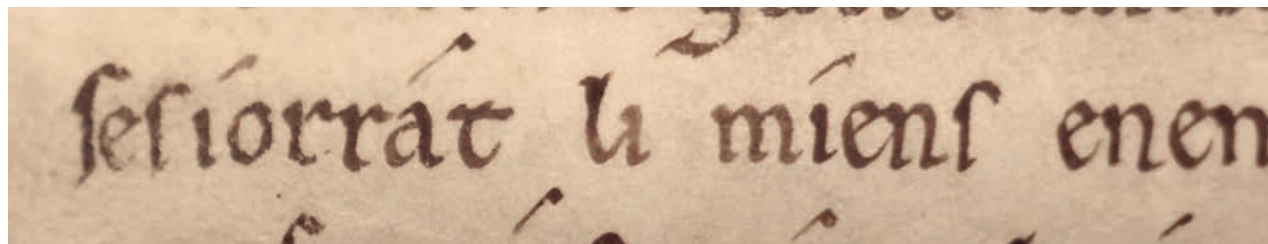
f. 43v
line 19



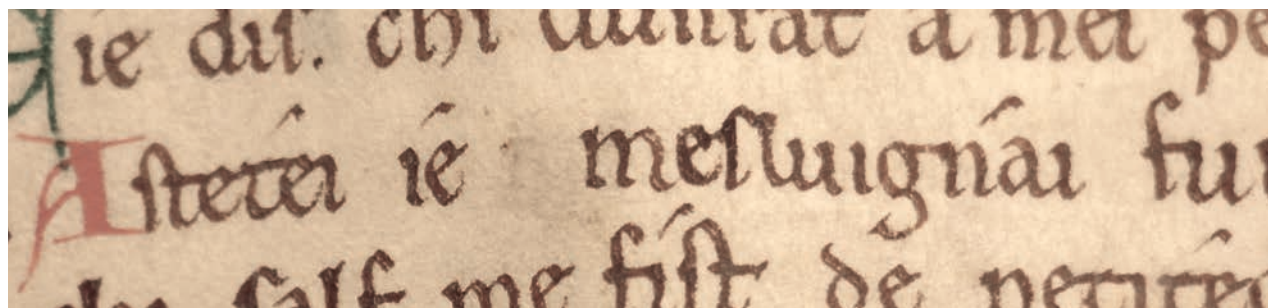
f. 46r
line 19



f. 46r
line 20



f. 49r
line 9



ERASURES IN POSSESSIVE FORMS (AC)

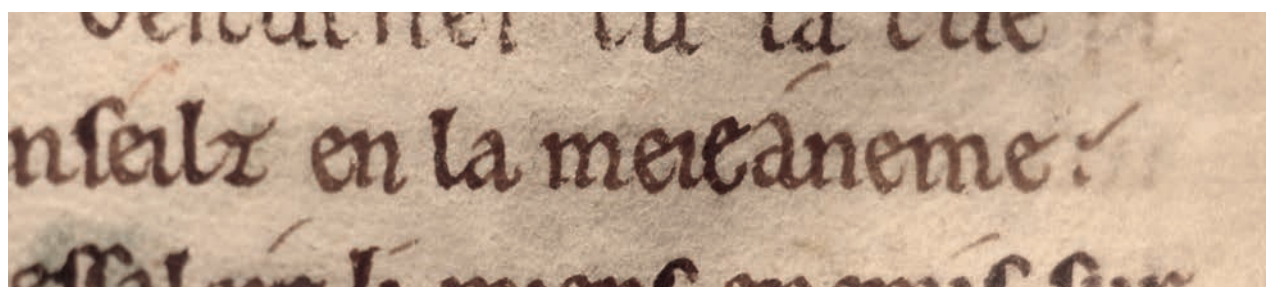
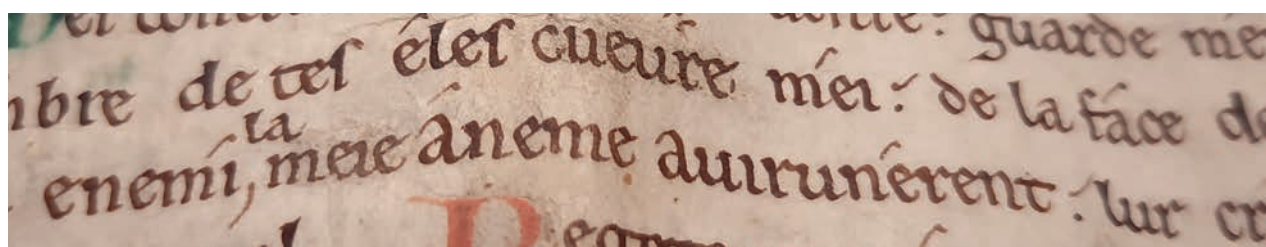
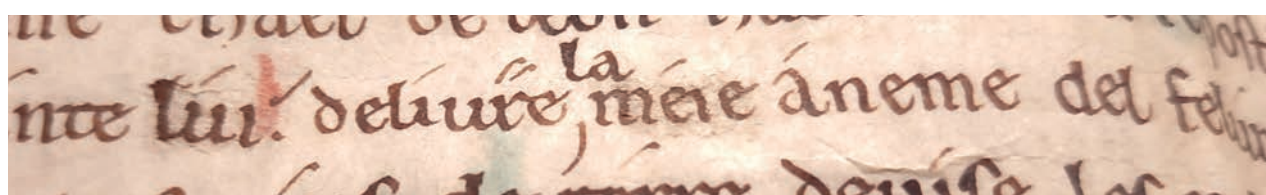
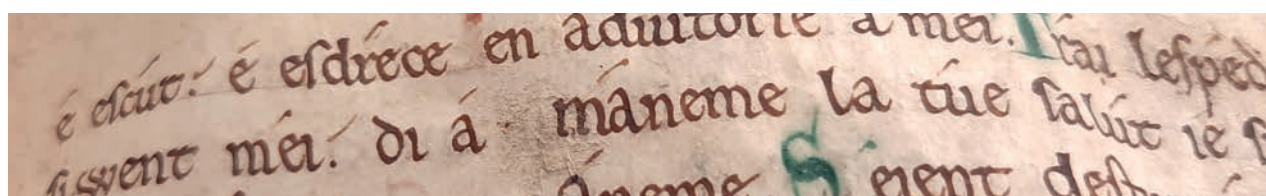
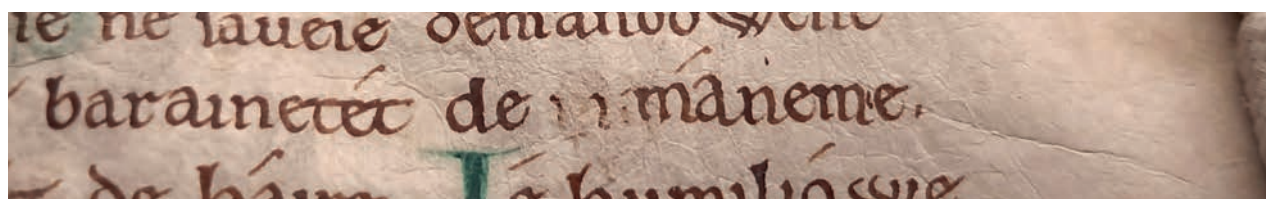
A series of issues related to the use of strong and weak possessive forms led to a plentiful category of erasures. Since these erasures concern the use of possessive forms in relation with certain nouns, they must be presented as separate groups, with the nouns in question.

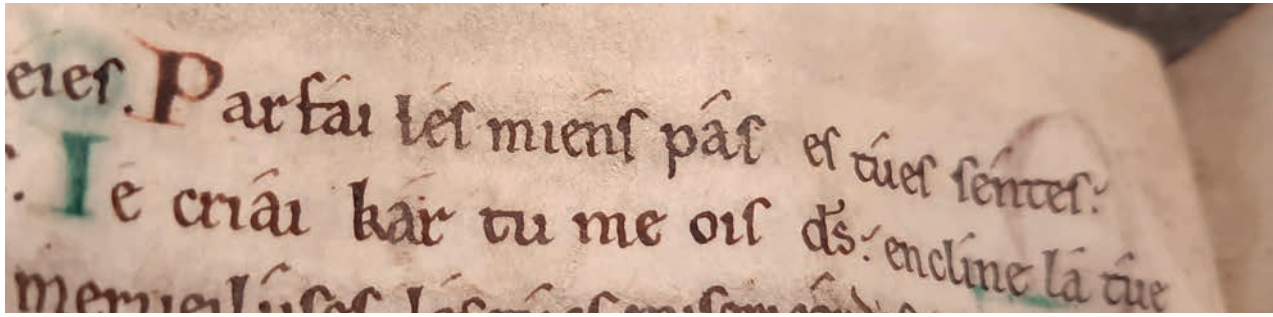
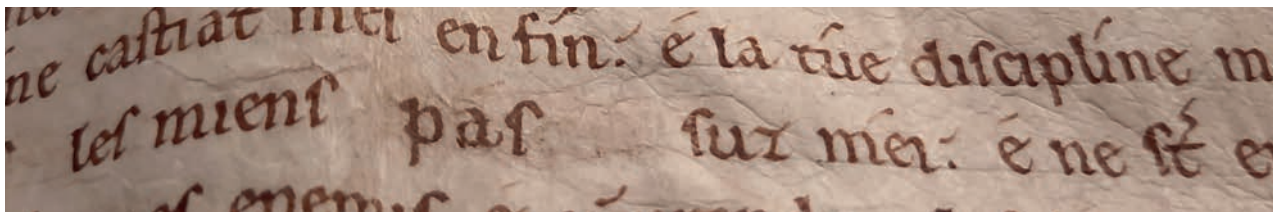
Possessive + aneme: (a) **La meie aneme / Ma aneme.** The phrase *la meie aneme*, built on the use of the strong possessive form *meie*, is undoubtedly most frequent, from the beginning (f. 37r, line 24) to the end (f. 74r, line 35) of the text of Douce ms 320. It is often preceded by the prepositions *a*, *de*, *en*, and it can render both a nominative singular and an oblique singular. On many occasions, the phrase is corrected by the scribe. For instance, he writes *mei aneme* twice at the beginning of the manuscript, and he uses the spelling of the personal pronoun (*mei*) instead of the possessive one (*meie*). In the case of f. 38v, line 34, the scribe corrects the text without erasure, simply by adding an *e* at the end of *mei*. On f. 41v, line 7, nevertheless, he makes no correction. It is worth noting that the form *mei* is used in a possessive construction with feminine

noun on f. 37v, line 24 (*la mei preiere*) + lines 31–32 (*la méi uie*); and f. 67r, line 23 (*lá méi partie*).

Other corrections are written upon erasures: f. 39v, line 6, *la meie aneme* (< Latin *animam meam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *la moie aneme*; f. 39v, line 10 : *la meie aneme* (< Latin *animam meam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *la moie aneme*. In these two situations, the article *la* is written in the interline, before the possessive and upon erasure. The Douce scribe probably replaced the weak form *ma* with the strong form *meie*.

However, the Douce scribe changes the phrase that includes the weak possessive form (*ma*) in a rather different manner, on two other occasions: f. 44r, line 2, *á _maneme* (< Latin *animae meae*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *a ma aneme*; f. 44r, line 13, *de _maneme* (< Latin *animae meae*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *de la moie aneme*. The scribal intervention favours the elision of the weak form of the possessive. Elided *m* is partly written upon erasure, and preceded by an erased space. In the latter case, traces of the previous *ma* are also visible.

f. 38v
line 34f. 39v
line 6f. 39v
line 10f. 44r
line 2f. 44r
line 13

f. 39v
line 1f. 40r
line 14

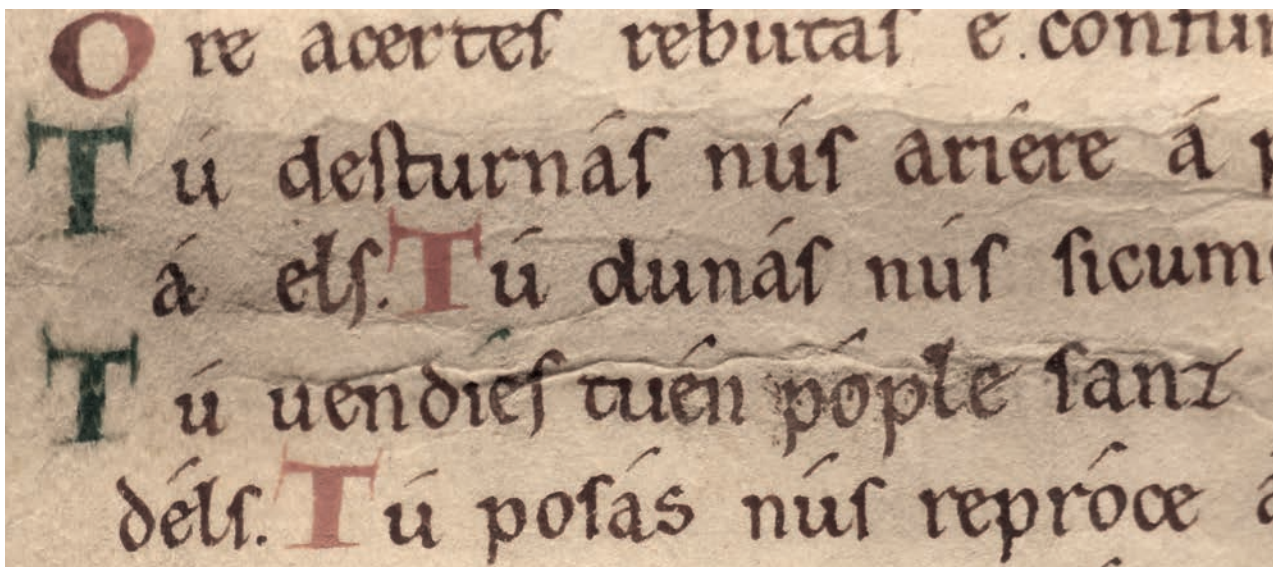
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.
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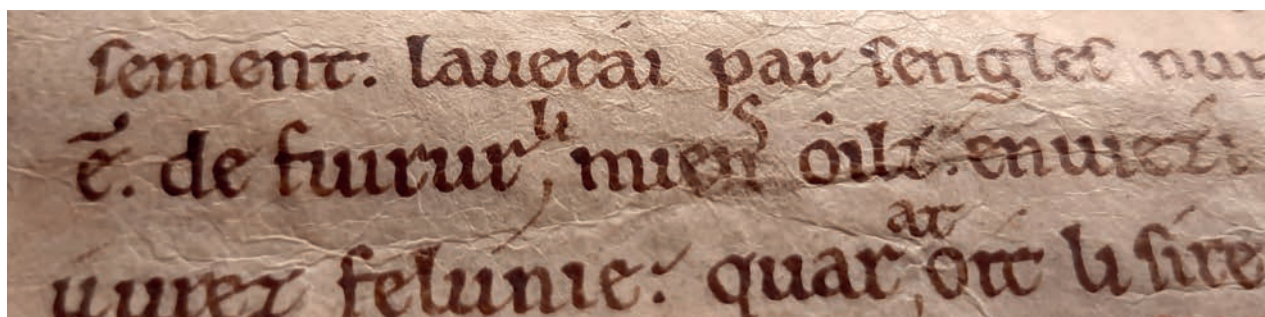
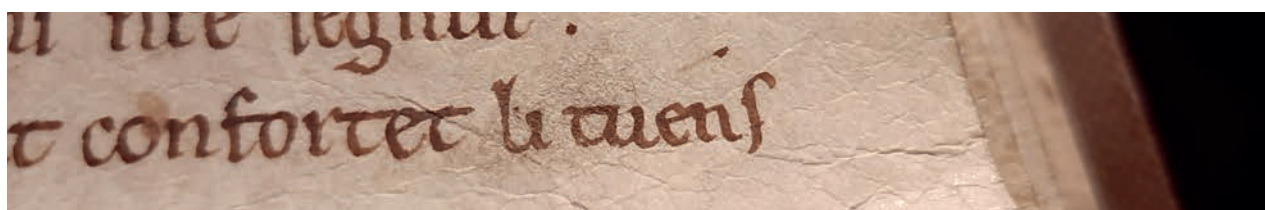
Possessive + aneme: (a) *La sue aneme / Sa aneme*. The phrase *la sue aneme* (strong possessive form), appears three times, without any sign of erasure: f. 41r, line 39 (oblique singular); f. 41v, line 19 (nominative singular); f. 58v, line 13 (oblique singular). There is only one case of erasure, on f. 38v, line 20, *la s^{ue} aneme* (< Latin *animam suam*, oblique singular), with the same reading in Arundel. The Douce scribe also made an elision based on the weak possessive form: f. 47v, line 26, *de s^{an}eme* (< Latin *animae suae*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *de sa anene*. Both situations are probably similar to those analysed in the previous paragraph.

Possessive + ire: Three other situations concern the noun *ire*: f. 38r, line 37-38, *de la s^{ue} ire* (< Latin *irae suae*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the phrase *de la* was added in the margin; probably a weak form *sa* was written at first); f. 40v, line 27, *en la s^{ue} ire* (< Latin *ira sua*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the article *la* is written in the interline, before the possessive;

a previous weak form *sa* could have been written before the erasure); f. 45r, line 18, *de la f^âce de t^{ir}e* (< Latin *facie irae tuae*), Arundel reading: *de la face de ta ire* (the Douce scribe must have written *de ta ire* at first, then erased the extensive possessive weak form in order to write the contracted form).

Possessive + pas: Two more situations are linked to the noun *pas*: f. 39v, line 1, *les miens pás* (< Latin *gressus meos*); f. 40r, line 14, *les miens pás* (< Latin *gressus meos*). Arundel reads: *les mens alemenz* and *les miens alemens*. It is rather plausible that the Douce scribe wrote a phrase such as *mes alemenz* in place of the first erasure; in the second erasure, the first translation choice, before the correction, could also be *alemenz*. These are the first two occurrences of the phrase *gressus meos* in the text. In all other occurrences, the scribe generalised the translation choice *pas*, without erasure: f. 53r, line 30 (*li mién pás* < *gressus mei*); f. 57r, line 21 (*ses pás* < *gressus suos*); f. 68r, line 29 (*les miéns pás* < *gressus meos*); f. 71v, line 12 (*les miens pás* < *gressus meos*). The interlinear gloss of Arundel continues to use *alemenz* in the third occurrence as well, before switching to *pas* in the fourth and fifth situation. Another feature worth mentioning is that the two erasures of Douce occur in two verses in which the

f. 46v
line 24

f. 37v
line 23f. 42r
line 20

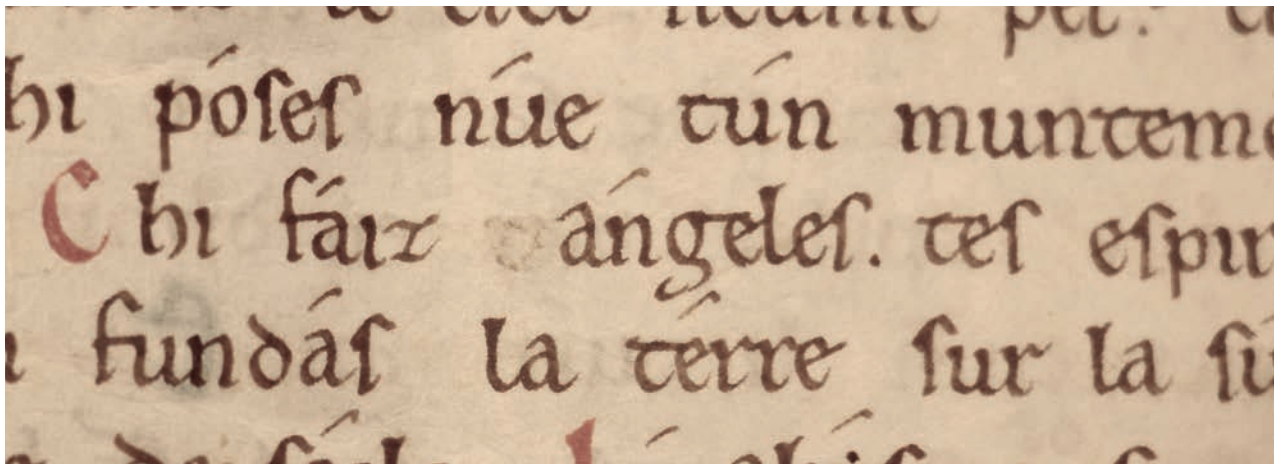
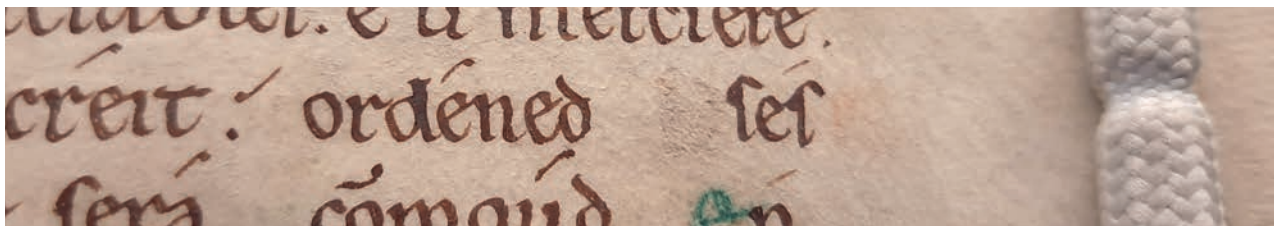
scribe also reworked the translation of Latin *vestigia*; *vide infra*: lexical issues.

Possessive + pople: f. 46v, line 24, *tuén póp*le (< Latin *populum tuum*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *tun pople*. In this particular erasure, the weak form *tun* could have been replaced by the strong form *tuen*. In order to save space and write more letters, the scribe erased the same word *póp*le and rewrote it slightly to the right (traces of similar letters are visible under the erasure). In all the other occurrences of *tuen pople*, the strong form of the possessive is preceded by an article or a preposition + article. The original use of *tun*, before the erasure, was correct. Throughout the text, nevertheless, *tuen* is used for an oblique singular: f. 39r, line 35 (*ot tuen uult*); f. 52v, line 33 (*tuén saluédúr*); f. 53r, line 6 (*túen iugement*); f. 55v, line 29 (*tuen núm*). For the variant *tun pople*, used to translate a direct object (oblique singular), see: f. 42r, line 34; f. 53r, line 7. For other variants with prepositions (oblique singular), see: f. 37r, line 30 (*sur tun póp*le); f. 57r, line 7 (*de tun póp*le); f. 74v, line 31-32 (*de tún póp*le). Other erasures involving corrections with the strong form *tuen* are: f. 50r, line 16, *al tuén póp*le (< Latin *populo tuo*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe possibly wrote *a tun* at first); f. 51v, line 14, *del tuén póp*le (< Latin *populi tui*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *de tuen pople* (same explanation).

Possessive + part of the body: This other category requires the presentation of each example individually: f. 37v, line 23, *li miens oilz* (< Latin *oculus meus*, nominative singular). Arundel reading: *Oilz li mens*. The article *li* is written in the interline, before the possessive form. The final *s* of *miens* is also written in the interline, at the end of the word. Cf. f. 38r, line 30, *de ses mains* (< Latin *manuum suaruum*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel (perhaps *sa* was written at first). Cf. f. 38v, lines 33-34, *la tús _ _ fáce* (< Latin *faciem tuam*), same reading in Arundel. Clear traces of an initial *fa-* are visible immediately after *tús*. There are traces of two erased letters at the beginning of the next line (34). It is possible that the scribe had initially written *face* with a line-break (*fa-ce*). Cf. f. 39r, lines 31-32, *lí miéns cuers* (< Latin *cor meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li mens cors*. Cf. f. 42r, lines 20-21, *li tuéns cúers* (< Latin *cor tuum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers a space of three letters under *li t-*. The ending

-uéns is written on the margin. The word written at first was probably shorter than the strong form inserted after the erasure and correction. Initially, the Douce scribe probably used a weak form. Cf. f. 47v, line 24, *del mien talún* (< Latin *calcanei mei*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. Cf. f. 48r, line 39, *la tús fáce* (< Latin *faciem tuam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. (perhaps *ta face* was written by the Douce scribe at first); Cf. f. 49v, lines 13-14, *Foírent deuant la méie fáce fósse* (Latin *foderunt ante faciem meam foveam*), Arundel reading: *Foírent deuant la moie face fosse*. Cf. f. 49v, line 15, *mis_ cúers* (< Latin *cor meum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel. In the same verse, *cor meum* was also translated as *li miens cuers* (similar to the translation choice of Arundel). The Douce scribe probably wrote *miens* at first. Cf. f. 51r, line 26, *lés miens piéz* (< Latin *pedes meos*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. Cf. f. 52r, line 18, *la méie fáce* (< Latin *faciem meam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *la moie face* (the Douce text probably read *ma face* before the erasure and correction). Cf. f. 52r, line 29, *E né desturnér la tús fáce* (< Latin *faciem tuam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *Et ne destrunes ta face*. The extent of the erasure and the fact that the correction goes beyond the textual column suggest that the possessive phrase could have been *ta face* at first. Cf. f. 52r, line 33, *mis cúers* (< Latin *cor meum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel. Cf. f. 61r, line 5, *ta fáce* (< Latin *faciem tuam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel.

Possessive + various other nouns: Another situation can be found on f. 38r, line 27, *pur cé qué ié annúnce tús les tuéns loénges* (< Latin *ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. At first, the scribe could have written *tutes les tues loenges*, a feminine phrasing that he had already used at the beginning of the same Psalm on f. 38r, line 14: *tútes les túes meruéiles*. The decision to change it to a masculine noun may be linked to the Douce scribe's hesitations concerning the gender of the word *loenge*. The word is usually used in the feminine, but on this occasion, as well as on f. 51r, line 17 (*ál loéngé de lúi*), it is interpreted as a masculine one; *vide infra*: *toz/tuit*. A different situation on f. 39v, line 11, concerns word order: *des tús repostáiles _ aemplíz est le uéntre de els* (< Latin *de absconditis tuis adimpletus est venter eorum*), Arundel reading: *des tues respotailles aempliez*

f. 61v
line 32f. 65r
line 20

est le uentre de els. The Douce scribe initially followed the Latin word order and wrote *de les repostâiles tûes aempliz est le uentre de els*. There are traces of *tûes* in the blank space. See also f. 39v, line 15, *_li miéns aiuère* (< Latin *adiutor meus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li miens aidere* (perhaps the Douce text read *é mis* at first). Cf. f. 39v, line 39, *el mién esguardemént* (< Latin *in conspectu meo*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. Only one letter seems to be erased; it is possible that the scribe originally wrote the weak form *mis* instead of the strong form *mién*. Cf. f. 40v, line 13, *les tûes peticiúns* (< Latin *petitiones tuas*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *tute les tuens peticiuns*. Cf. f. 41r, line 9, *_mes uestemeíz* (< Latin *vestimenta mea*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. There seem to be traces of a *t* before the possessive form. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *tot/toz*; *vide infra*: *toz/tuit*. Cf. f. 42v, line 15, *én la tûe uoluntét*, Arundel reading: *Sire en la tue uolentet*. The article *la* was written in the space above *en* and *tue*; the Douce scribe probably wrote *ta* at first. Also, on f. 43r, lines 18–19, *Beneuré cil as quels sunt pardunées lur felunies; é des quels sunt cuuert _ pechet* (< Latin *Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata*), Arundel reading: *fcil sunt bounourez de quels sunt pardonees lur felunies; et des quelq sunt cuuersz lur pecchet*. Given the traces of erased letters, the Douce scribe probably wrote the possessive form *lur* at first. Cf. f. 44r, line 30, *a mes mals* (< Latin *malis meis*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. Cf. f. 45v, line 1, *Entént eñ la méie adiutorie* (< Latin *intende in adiutorium meum*), Arundel reading: *entent en la moie adiutorie*. Cf. f. 46v, line 7, *és tuéns tabernacles* (< Latin *in tabernacula tua*), same reading in Arundel. Cf. f. 47r, line 7, *Lí tuéns siéges* (< Latin *sedes tua*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la tue sege*. The Douce scribe could have used the weak form *tun* (oblique singular) at first, then corrected it into the strong form of the nominative singular. Cf. f. 47v, line 26, *le suén apaisemént* (< Latin *placationem suam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *sun apaisement*. Cf. f. 48r, line 34, *es tûes paróles* (< Latin *in sermonibus tuis*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. Perhaps the Douce scribe wrote *en tes sermuns* at first; *vide infra*: lexical

issues. Cf. f. 50r, line 37, *lá méie salú* (< Latin *salutare meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la moie salut*. It is possible that the Douce scribe initially wrote a variant with the weak form of the possessive (*ma salú*). The *l* of *la* seems to be written in the blank space before the erasure. Cf. f. 51r, line 4, *de tá máisún* (< Latin *domus tuae*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. Cf. f. 52r, line 40, *en lá tûe iustise* (< Latin *in iustitiam tuam*), same reading in Arundel. See also f. 52v, line 21, *la méie _ paciéncie* (< Latin *patientia mea*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la moie paciencie*. There seem to be traces of a previous *ma* under the erasure. The correction could be due to a hesitation between the strong and weak forms. Cf. f. 58v, line 33, *é pur ta crième* (< Latin *prae timore tuo*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *et pur pour*. Probably a previous reading *la tue*. Cf. f. 61v, line 32, *Chi faiz _ angeles. tes espiriz* (< Latin *qui facis angelos tuos spiritus*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *ki fais angles tes espiriz*. There are traces of a *t* under the erasure. Cf. f. 64r, line 24, *la tûe ueritéd* (< Latin *veritas tua*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la tue ueritet*. Cf. f. 65r, line 20, *ordened _ sés paróles en iugement* (< Latin *sermones suos*), same reading in Arundel. There are traces of a *le* at the level of the erasure. Perhaps the Douce scribe initially wrote *les* instead of *ses*. Having changed his mind, he erased *le* and used the final *s* of the article as a new initial for the possessive form *ses*. Last but not least, on f. 67r, line 25, *les méies _ ueies* (< Latin *vias meas*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *les moies uoies*. The word *ueies* is written in the interline, just after *méies*. A letter was erased immediately after the punctus. The Douce scribe could have made here a confusion between *meies* et *ueies*.

Contrary to the opinion of Sneddon 1972, 90–91, the form *mis* (always used for nominative singular) occurs more than once in our text. Here is the complete list: f. 42r, line 15–16 (*mis perre*); f. 42r, lines 31–32 (*mis defendérre / mis cuers*); f. 42v, line 19 (*mis aiuerre*); 49v, line 15 (*mis cúers*); f. 52r, line 33 (*mis cúers*); f. 74r, line 5 (*mis cúers*). For other mentions, see Short 2015, 25. For grammar, see Pope 1952, §851–861; §1260–1261.

ERASURES IN DEMONSTRATIVES (AC)

The paradigm of the demonstrative strengthened forms (cf. Pope 1952: § 844-845; §1254-1257)—*cil* / *cil* (nominative) and *cel* / *cels* (oblique)—is often respected. The issue was briefly explored by Sneddon 1972: 91-92, and Short 2015: 25. Nevertheless, a certain group of erasures concern such forms.

f. 37v, line 6, *perderas tuz cels chi parolent menceunge* (< Latin *perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium*). A vowel was corrected under the *e*. It could be an *i* with traces of an erased accent. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *cil*. The Latin text has a nominative plural, but the scribe ultimately chose the French oblique plural. Similar forms—*cels* (oblique plural, corresponding to Latin)—without any sign of erasure, occur on: f. 43r, line 8; f. 43v, line 13 + line 34; f. 44r, line 1; f. 44v, line 6; f. 48v, line 31; f. 52r, line 26; f. 53v, line 5; f. 71v, line 4. In the last case, the *Gallicanum* has a subject in the plural (*Nonne qui oderunt te, Domine, oderam*), that the Douce scribe renders by a pronoun in the oblique plural (*Dum ne hai ié síre céls chi haírent téi*). The error could be due to the phrasing of the Latin text. *Cil* (nominative plural, corresponding to Latin) without any sign of erasure, can be found on: f. 37r, line 23; f. 41v, line 8; f. 43r, line 18; f. 44v, line 19; f. 56v, line 33; f. 69v, line 1; f. 70v, line 16. There is also the expression *pút*

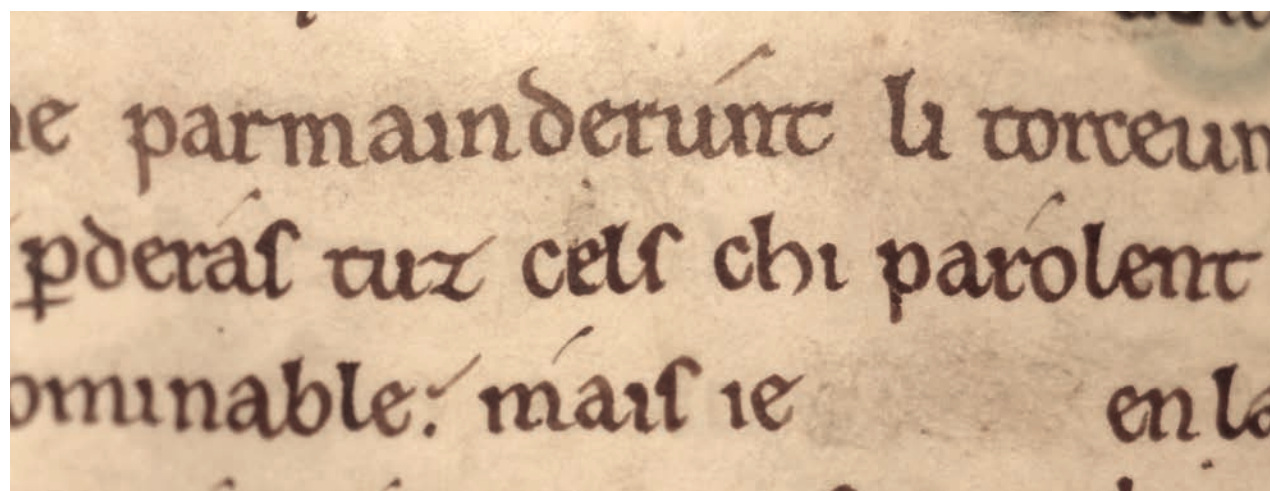
cél éstre (< Latin *forsitan*), which presents the neuter form *cel*. It was transcribed without any sign of erasure on: f. 56r, line 36; f. 69r, line 33 + line 34, f. 71r, line 30. It could be linked to an erasure of 2-3 letters in a single case, on f. 49r, line 16, *ié me reposisse ___ pút céléstre de lúi* (< Latin *abscondissem me forsitan ab eo*). Unfortunately, there is no medieval vernacular interlinear gloss in Arundel for this verse.

The paradigm is also respected in most reinforced forms such as *icil* / *icil* (nominative), *icel* / *icels* (oblique). The ten erasures of this category always concern an oblique plural. The first one occurs on f. 39v, line 30, *é departít icéls* (< Latin *et dissipavit eos*), same reading in Arundel. The scribe could have written *els*. The second erasure occurs on f. 40r, line 16, *Ié defraindrái icéls é ne purruínt estér* (< Latin *Confringam illos nec poterunt stare*), Arundel reading: *Jo confreindrái els et ne purrunt ester*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *els*. He probably erased the conjunction in order to save space and write *icéls*.

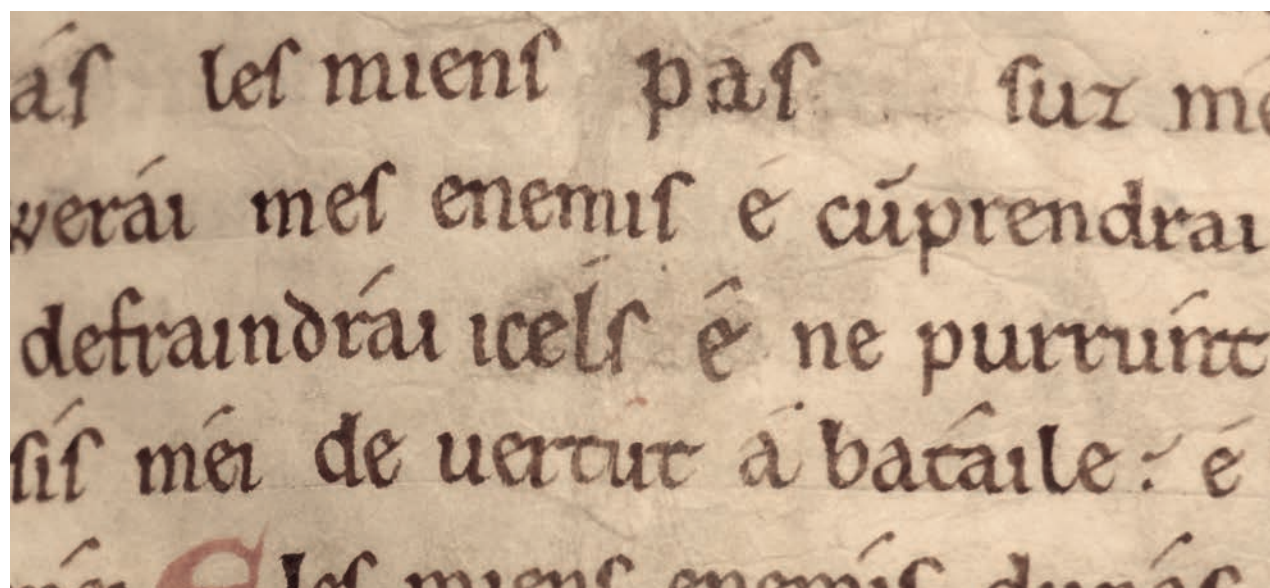
◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

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f. 37v
line 6



f. 40r
line 16

f. 44r
line 6

e la... le lui. ... e re
Sient desturnet ariere e serent confundut
 nt fait sicu puldre de uant la face del u
 gnant els. **S**ent faite la ueie de els temie
 del seignur parsuantz icels. **K**ar emparduns
 enuain espruuerent la meie aneme.

f. 49r
line 22

alamei ot cuntemment.
 uant. **K**ar felunies es ha
 deu criai. e li sire sal
 unterai e annuncerai.
 reie aneme di cels chi
Exorrat ds e humilierat

f. 55v
line 35

noz pechez pur le tuen num. **Q**
 u est li ds dicels. e apareusse
 z. **L**a ueniance del sanc de tes
 lguardement. li gemissementz des
 az. pur sied les filz des mortif

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
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There are eight more erasures of the same type. See, for instance, f. 40v, line 26, *Poseras icels* (< Latin *pones eos*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms. The exact same Latin phrase is translated as *tú poserás éls a*

few lines below, on the same folio. At first, the Douce scribe probably wrote an incorrect verbal inflection. He could also have written the pronoun *els* at first. Four folios later, on f. 44r, line 6, the erasure concerns *é li angele del seignur parsuanz icéls* (< Latin *et angelus Domini persequens eos*), Arundel reading: *et li angele del seignur parsuiuant els*. This erasure covers the space of approximately three letters, and the final letters *-ls* (followed by a punctus) are written in the unerased space between the original punctus (object of an erasure) and the majuscule of the following verse. The erased punctus is still visible below the *l*. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe possibly wrote the form *els* at first. The fifth situation is on f. 49r, line 22, *Raiend_rát en páis la meie áne me dí_cels chi aprisment á méi* (< Latin *Redimet in pace animam meam ab his qui appropinquant mihi*), Arundel reading: *Raindrat en pais la moie aneme de icels ki aprisment a mei*. At first, the Douce scribe probably wrote *de cels*, then changed his mind, correcting *de* into *d* and writing the *i* on the erasure, with a low dash to connect the two groups of letters. The next example is on f. 49v, line 29, *sicum uiuanz. eissi en ire deuóret icéls* (< Latin *sicut viventes sic in ira absorbet eos*), Arundel reading: *sicume uiuanz eissi en ire deuoret icels*. The Douce scribe probably wrote *els* at first. The seventh one is on f. 54v, line 32, *Íl entrerumpiét la mér é parmená_ icéls* (< Latin *Interruptit mare et perduxit eos*), Arundel reading: *Íl entrerumpiet la mer e parmenat icels*. Here, the Douce scribe also wrote *els* at first. On f. 55v, line 35, Douce reads *ú est li deus dicéls* (< Latin *ubi est Deus eorum*), Arundel reading: *u est li deus de icels*. Traces of previous letters suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *dels* at first. The penultimate example is on f. 62r, line 8, *Lá maisún de falcún dúitre est dicéls* (< Latin *herodii domus dux est eorum*). Once again, the Douce scribe probably wrote *de els* at first, then erased it and corrected the final *e*, also adding a *c* in order to write *de + icels*. The last situation is on f. 64v, line 17, *Íceste ouře _dicéls chi detráient méi enués nóstre segnór* (< Latin *Hoc opus eorum qui detrahunt mihi apud Dominum*), Arundel reading: *Íceste oure de icels ki trahient a mei en uers nostre seignur*. There are traces of a *d* before *dicéls*. Given the space covered by the erasure, the Douce scribe must have written *de cels*, as he had done on f. 48v, line 31 (*de céls*) and f. 52r, line 26 (*de cels*). The original preposition was deleted by the erasure. As a result, he ended up writing a contracted form *d'*, and added an *i* to write *icels*.

It is also worth mentioning all the situations in which he wrote the demonstrative without any sign of erasure. *Icel / icels* (oblique singular and plural, corresponding to Latin) can be found on: f. 41r, line 32 (*encuntre icels*); f. 46v, line 25 (*á icéls*); f. 49r, line 20 (*dicéls*); f. 50v, line 36 (*di céls*); f. 53r, line 31 (*dicéls*); f. 53r, line 28 (*á icéls*); f. 53v, line 7 (*di cels*); f. 54r, line 6 (*di céls*); f. 54v, line 19 (*di céls*); f. 54v, line 31 (*dicéls*); f. 55r, line 12 + 19 + 21 + 29 + 36 + 40 (*dicéls*); f. 55v, line 10 + 12 + 39 (*dicéls*); f. 55v, line 27 (*á icéls*); f. 56v, line 20 + 25 (*dicéls*); f. 57r, line 4 (*icéls*); f. 57r, line 15 (*en icéls*); f. 60v, line 18 (*entre icéls*); f. 61v, line 20 (*á icéls*); f. 62r, line 20 (*á icéls*); f. 62v, line 15 + 20 + 26 + 29 (*dicéls*); f. 63r, line 10 (*dicéls*); f. 63v, line 3 + 17 (*dicéls*); f. 65v, line 8 (*dicéls*); f. 65v, line 14 (*icéls*); f. 67r, line 38 (*dicéls*); f. 69r, line 36 (*dicéls*); f. 70v, line 15 + 31 (*dicéls*); f. 71v, line 19 + line 33 (*dicéls*); f. 72r, line 37 (*dicéls*); f. 72v, line 2 (*dicéls*); f. 72v, line 4 + 35 (*en icel*); f. 73r, line 16 (*en*

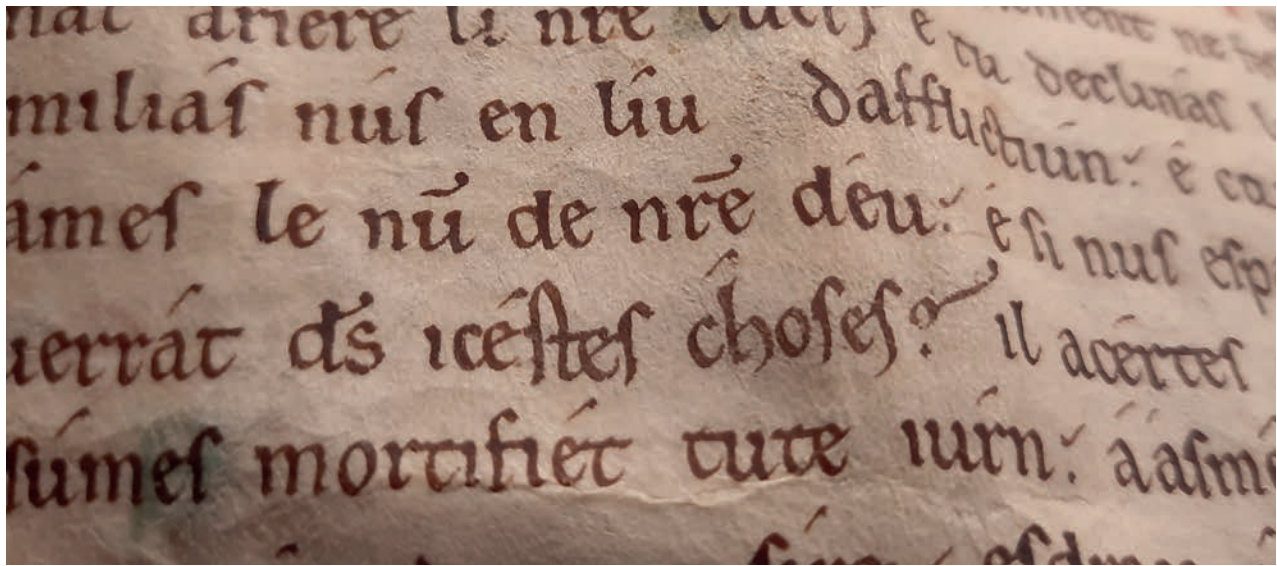
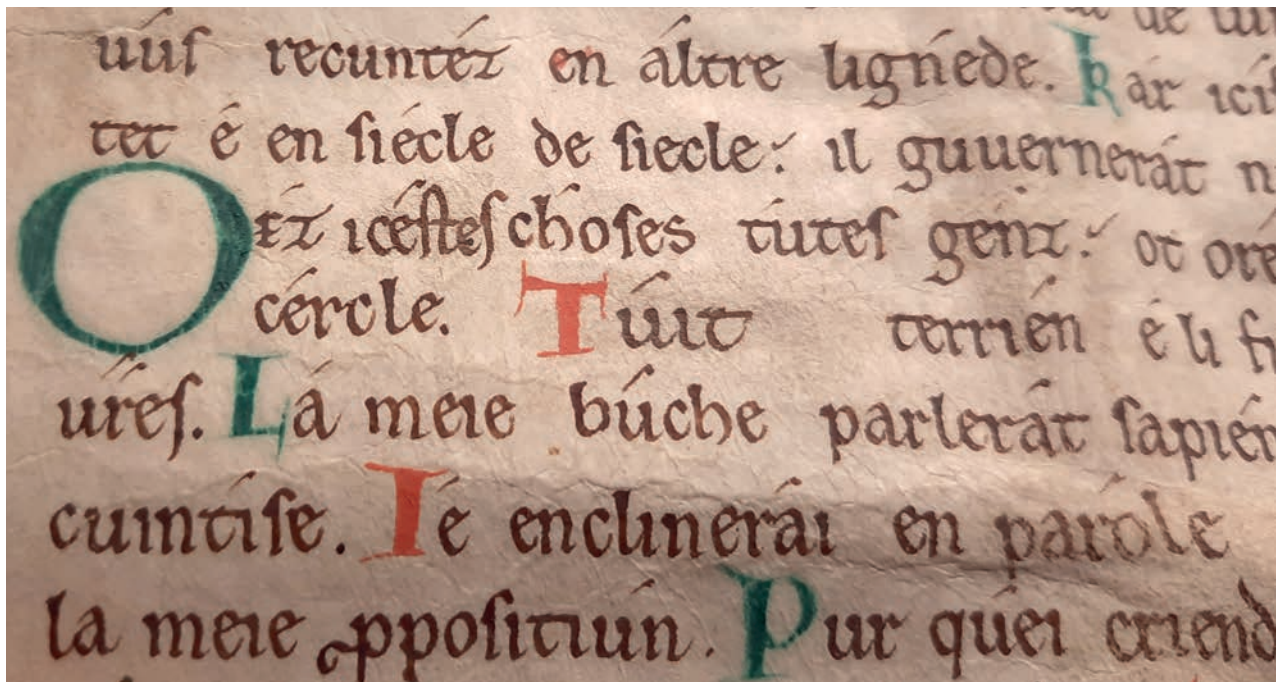
icéls); f. 73v, line 19 (*en icél*); f. 75v, line 9 + 15 + 16 + 17 + 18 + 20 + 23 + 34 (*dicéls*). There are also four interesting cases where the scribe wrote separately: *di cels*. *Icélui* (oblique singular, corresponding to Latin) occurs on: f. 73v, line 2; f. 75r, line 40; f. 75v, line 1. *Ícil* (nominative singular and plural, corresponding to Latin) occurs on: f. 37r, line 22; f. 46r, line 16; f. 53r, line 38; f. 54r, line 9; f. 57v, line 7; f. 59r, line 29; f. 65v, line 24; f. 66v, line 3; f. 68v, line 23; f. 69v, line 22; f. 75r, line 15.

Another set of erasures concerns the masculine and feminine forms *icist / icist* (nominative), *icest / icez* (oblique), *cist / cist* (nominative), *cest / cez* (oblique); *iceste / icestes-icez* (nominative and oblique), *ceste / cestes-cez* (nominative and oblique). There are six erasures of this type.

The first case is on f. 40v, line 14-15 (x 2), *Ícist en cúrres é icist én chauls* (< Latin *Hi in curribus, et hi in equis*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel. Cf. f. 41v, line 3, *Chi est icist réis de glorie ?* (< Latin *Quis est iste rex gloriae ?*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Li quels est icist li reis de glorie*. The third erasure is on f. 43v, line 35-36, *Múltes sunt les tribulatiuns des iústes ; e de tútes icéstes les deliurrát li sire* (< Latin *Multae tribulationes iustorum ; et de omnibus his liberabit eos Dominus*), Arundel reading: *Multes les tribulaciuns des iustes; et de tutes icestes deliuirat icouls li sire*. See also: f. 44r, line 9, *en laz chède en icést méisme* (< Latin *et in laqueum cadat in ipsum*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *et en laz cheet en lui mesme*. The fifth is on f. 49r, line 15, *E sí císt chi auéit hait méi sur méi granz chósés oust parlét* (< Latin *Et si is qui oderat me super me magna locutus fuisset*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Et si cist ki auoit hait mei sur mei grant choses hout parlet*. The sixth and last erasure is on f. 66r, line 32, *Ícíst est li iúrz le quel fist _ nóstre sire* (< Latin *Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Iceste est li iurz laquele fist nostre sire*.

There are, obviously, many situations in which the Douce scribe wrote this demonstrative without any sign of erasure. The nominative (singular and plural) form *icist* (corresponding to Latin), without any erasure, is found on: 41r, line 40; f. 41v, line 5; f. 43v, line 22; f. 47v, line 17; f. 53r, line 37; f. 60r, line 6; f. 60v, line 40; f. 62r, line 18; f. 74r, line 24, f. 74v, line 6. The oblique singular form *icest* occurs on: f. 38r, line 28; f. 54v, line 2 (French oblique < Latin nominative); f. 70r, line 24 (French oblique < Latin nominative). In these two cases, the scribe was probably dealing with two Latin phrases that did not have a verb accompanying the subject: *Et dixi : Nunc coepi ; haec mutatio dexterae Excelsi and Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi*. The oblique plural form *icez* (corresponding to Latin) is found on: f. 43v, line 36; f. 69r, line 6; f. 70r, line 22, f. 75v, line 30. The oblique singular form *cest* (corresponding to Latin) is found on: f. 42v, line 27; f. 57v, line 10; f. 72v, line 4. There is also the oblique plural form *cez* (corresponding to Latin) on f. 39v, line 34. An oblique singular form *cestui* (corresponding to Latin) occurs on: f. 54r, line 14 (Latin nominative > French oblique) + line 15 (x 2). The oblique singular form *icestui* (corresponding to Latin) is found on: f. 54r, line 13 (Latin nominative > French oblique) ; f. 60v, line 37 + line 38.

Whenever the Douce text concerns feminine examples, the paradigm is followed and corresponds to the Latin cases. The form *iceste* (corresponding to Latin, nominative

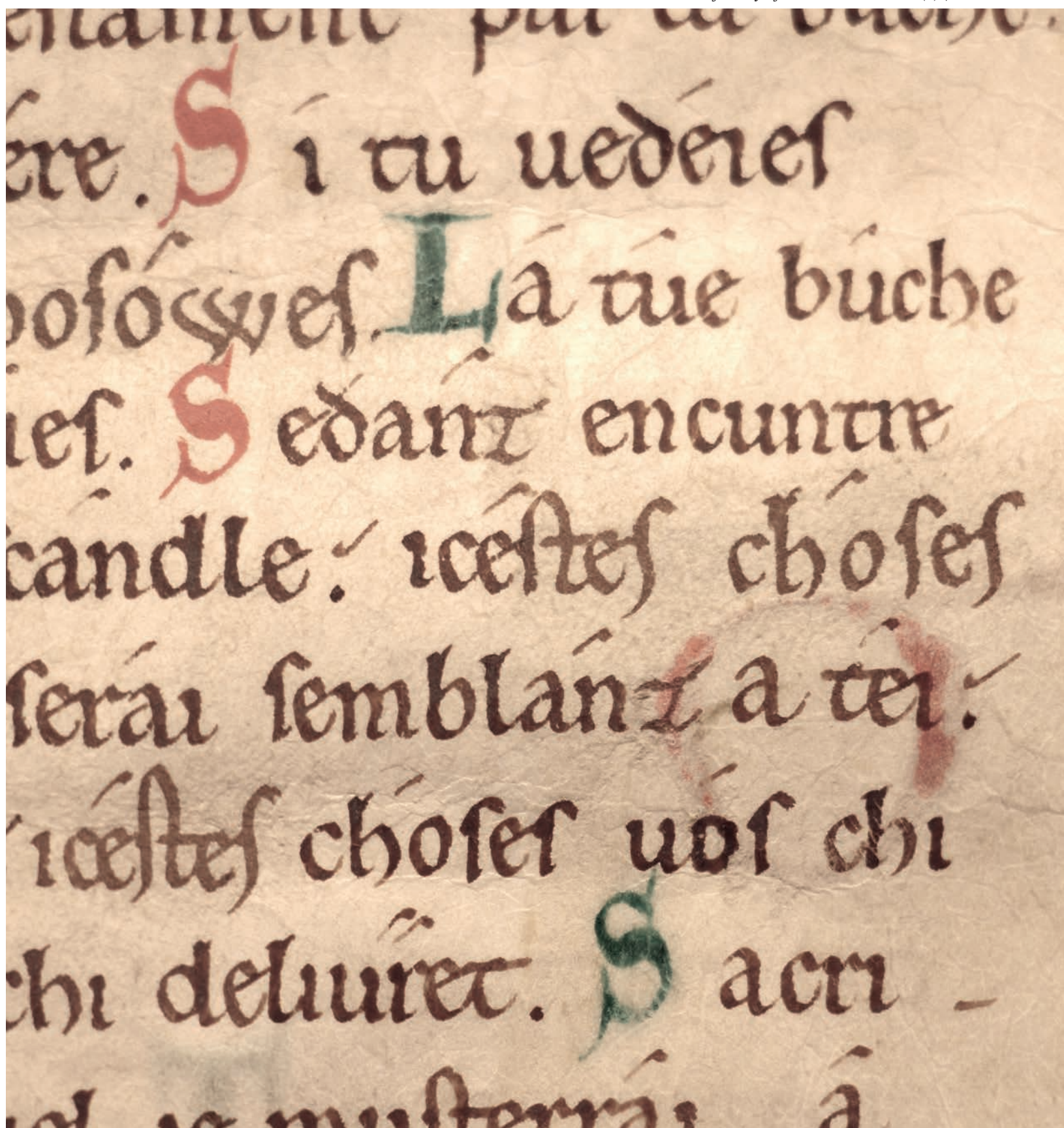
f. 46v
line 34f. 47v
line 19> f. 48r
line 24> f. 48r
line 26

and oblique singular) is found without any erasure on: f. 41v, line 1; f. 56r, line 16; f. 62r, line 16; f. 64v, line 17 + 25; f. 66r, line 28 + 31; f. 67r, line 15 + 21; f. 72r, line 2; f. 73v, line 9. The form *ceste* (corresponding to Latin, oblique singular) is found on: f. 38v, line 30; f. 42r, line 6; f. 43r, line 29. *Icele* (corresponding to Latin, nominative and oblique singular) is found on: f. 60r, line 5; f. 62r, line 11; f. 74r, line 13. *Iceles* (corresponding to Latin, oblique plural) is found on: f. 67v, line 26. Feminine oblique form *icesti* (singular, corresponding to Latin) occurs on: f. 37v, line 34.

The Douce scribe also encountered a series of problems in the transcription of a feminine phrasing based on demonstrative + *choses* (oblique plural): f. 46v, line 34, *icéstes choses* (< Latin *ista*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; f. 47v, line 19, *icéstes choses* (< Latin *haec*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; f. 48r, line 24, *icéstes choses* (< Latin *haec*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; f. 48r, line 26, *icéstes choses* (< Latin *haec*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *icestes cosas*. The correction

made upon each of the erasures follows closely the cases of the Latin text. Apart from these erasures, the phrase occurs without any sign of erasure as *icéstes choses* (corresponding to Latin, oblique plural) on f. 39r, line 21; *icéste chose* (corresponding to Latin, oblique singular) on f. 53v, line 38 (*di céste chose*); f. 66r, line 32; f. 73v, line 22; and *icéles choses / cōses* (corresponding to Latin, oblique plural) on f. 62r, line 1; f. 70r, line 15 (Latin singular > French plural); f. 70v, line 16; f. 73r, line 23 + 31. The form *icéz choses / cōses* (corresponding to Latin, nominative and oblique plural) can be found on: f. 46r, line 27; f. 46v, line 29; f. 50v, line 11; f. 55r, line 14; f. 59r, line 28; f. 61r, line 25; f. 64r, line 19; f. 69r, line 15; f. 72v, line 6-7; f. 75r, line 14; f. 75v, line 11 + 19.

It is also important to point out that several translation choices based on the word *choses* caused problems to the Douce scribe, irrespective of the phrase based on the demonstrative: f. 40v, line 3-4, *de més occúltes choses neie mei é de estranges espárne á tun serf* (< Latin *ab occultis meis munda me*), Arundel reading: *de mes repostailles choses*



neie mei; et des estrainges esparniue a tun serf; f. 45v, line 7, que ié sáce quel *ch*ose desséit á méi (< Latin *ut sciam quid desit mihi*), Arundel reading: *que io sache quel cose deseit a mei*.

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

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THE ISSUE OF *EIUS* (AC)

This section deals with a number of erasures related to the translation choices (and phrasing) used for the rendering of the Latin demonstrative pronoun *is* in the genitive singular: *eius*. As pointed out by Sneddon 1972, 163-164, *Gallicanum* expresses possession either by a possessive adjective (e.g., *meus*) or (in the case of ‘his’ and ‘theirs’) by *eius* and *eorum*. Old French translators could use *de* + *pronoun* or two forms of possessive adjectives, the strong one (e.g., *li miens*) or the weak one (e.g., *mun*). Sneddon assumed that the three different translation choices made by the Douce scribe resulted from a poetic approach to translation. In her opinion, “the reason for change from the strong to weak form (...) may perhaps be the rhythm.” Sneddon also stated that “the use of *de* + *pronoun* gives greater emphasis to the possessive aspect (...)”

It is true that the scribe of Douce ms 320 often uses a strong or a weak form of a possessive adjective in the translation of Latin *eius*, but he also uses the phrasing *de* + *pronoun*. In many cases listed below, the scribe often hesitates in his translation choices, being confronted with various difficulties when rendering a Latin phrase such as *noun* + *eius*. Thus, in order to gain a better understanding of the scribal practice, I chose to present the erasures in the form of a list of all his translation choices for such phrasings. It will become obvious that the scribe had a clear preference for the use of the *possessive adjective* + *noun* in the first part of the text (approximately until f. 53). In the second part of the text (starting from f. 54), the Douce scribe had an increasing preference for the phrasing *de* + *pronoun*. This change seems to indicate a simplification or harmonisation of the translation strategy, favouring the use of *de lui* (and, occasionally, *de li*), all while gradually using less and less strong and weak possessive adjectives.

The large majority of the *eius*-type erasures occur in the first part of the text. The Douce scribe often hesitated in the translation of the noun as well. However, his most frequent hesitation concerns *eius*. More often than not, the scribe could have written a *possessive adjective* + *noun* at first, he erased it and corrected it later to *noun* + *preposition* ‘*de*’ + *pronoun*.

f. 38v, line 18-19, *lí õil de lúi* (< Latin *oculi eius*). Same reading in Arundel. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe wrote *de li* and corrected it into *de lúi*, which extends farther than the erasure. Traces of a curved letter are visible after the *e* of *de* (perhaps a previous preposition *de* from the phrasing *de li*). The erasure could be related to the scribe’s hesitation between *li* and *lui*; *vide supra*: personal pronouns.

f. 38v, line 22, *li suens . uólz .* (< *vultus eius*, oblique singular). Arundel reading: *uolz de luj*. Clear traces of the previous possessive *ses* are visible under the current article *li*. The scribe probably wrote *ses uólz* followed by a punctus at first, the trace of which is visible after *suens*, *vide supra* possessive forms.

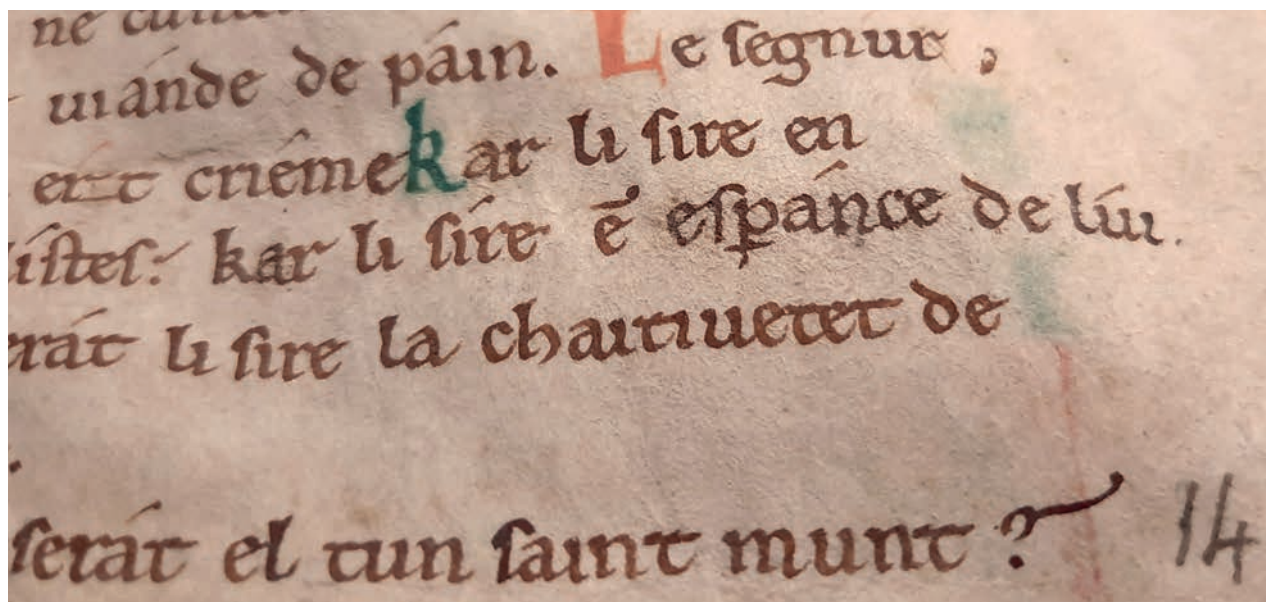
f. 39r, line 12, *kar li sire est esperánce de lúi* (< Latin *quoniam Dominus spes eius est*). Same reading in Arundel. The word is abbreviated (*p* with a stroke for *per*) and followed by the phrase *de lui*, which extends into the margin of the folio. This suggests that *de lui* was written there after the decision to erase the previous text. The entire segment *esperánce de lúi* was rewritten with a sharper calamus and in a tone of ink than seems to be diluted in comparison with the remainder of the text. In all likelihood, the initial translation choice was either the strong form *la sue* (covering the entire erasure) or the weak form *sa*, perhaps in elision with *esperánce* (> *sesperánce*). Another interesting erasure which concerns the exact same noun can be found at f. 45v, lines 25–26: *Beneuréz li huém del quel est. le núm del seignur espe-ránce de lúi* (< Latin *Beatus vir cuius est nomen Domini spes eius*). The sequence *espe-* was written into the margin of line 25 at the same time as the erasure and correction of line 26. In fact, just as in the case of f. 39r, line 12, it is rather obvious that the scribe wrote *la sue* or *sa* in the initial version of the text, before the erasure. The word *spes* (in all its forms) is rendered without erasures on f. 37v, line 1; f. 39r, line 32; f. 40v, line 40; f. 50r, line 21-22 + line 29; f. 50v, line 5; f. 51r, line 5;

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

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f. 39r
line 12

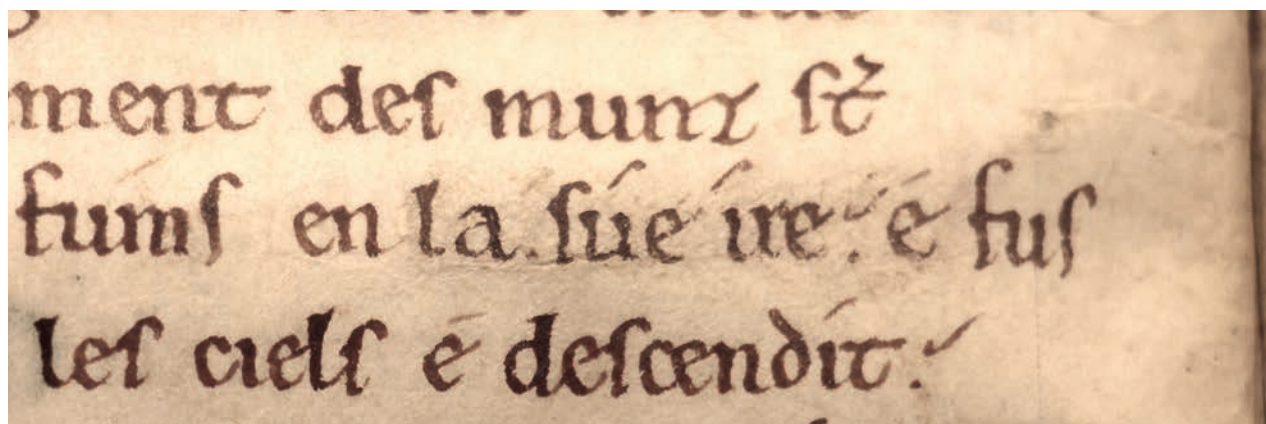
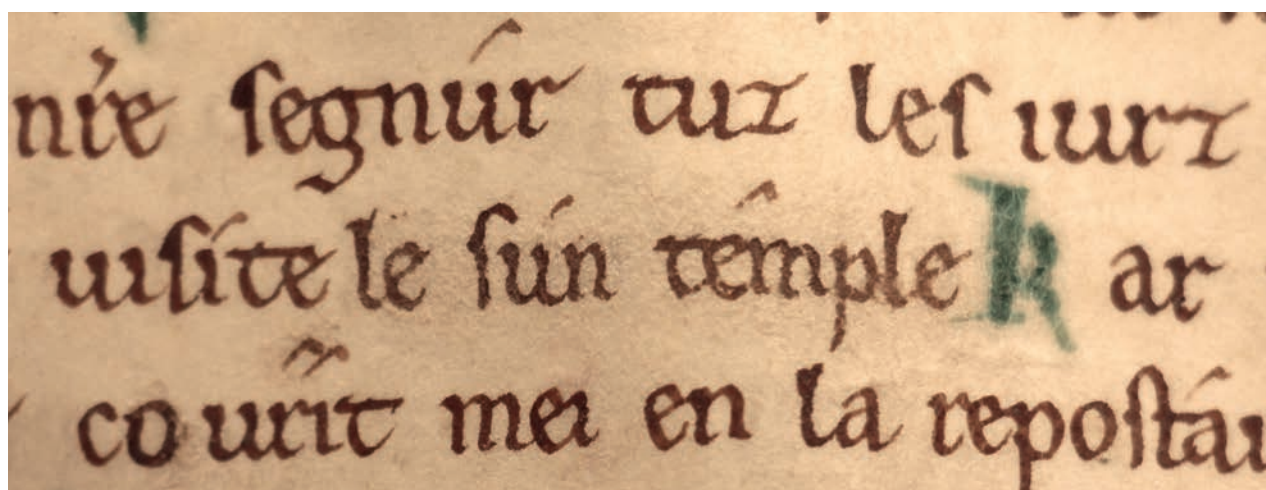


menz. **E** il mist en la
 unt mult e criend ruy:
 e. le num del seignur espe
 seneries. **M** ultes fesis
 itatiunf nen e. chi sem
 t se sur numbre. **S** acri

f. 45v
 line 25

meies preieres: e fo
 lie. **E** stabilic sur pierre
 meie buche nouel cha
 e esperunt el seignur.
 rance de lui. e ne regard
 tu sire li miens ds les
 blanz fait a ter. **L**e ann
 fise e oblatun ne uel

f. 45v
 line 26

f. 39v
line 23f. 42r
line 8

f. 52v, line 21; f. 53v, line 16; f. 54v, line 24; f. 55r, line 40; f. 59r, line 12; f. 59v, line 31; f. 64r, line 29; f. 67r, line 15; f. 72r, line 5; and f. 72v, line 37 (this last occurrence is the third one from the series of the phrase *spes eius*, but it is written without erasure: *esperánce de lúi*).

f. 39v, line 23, *en la súa ire; é fus* (< Latin *Ascendit fumus in ira eius, et ignis a facie eius exarsit*). Same reading in Arundel. In this particular situation, the scribe could have written *en sa íre; é fus* at first. This sequence of letters and characters fits perfectly in the space covered by the erasure. The substitution of the weak form with the tonic (and longer) form of the same possessive pronoun led the scribe to erase and rewrite the entire segment of text, transcribing the word *fus* farther, in the margin of the folio. As a matter of fact, the traces of an accented *i* from *íre* are still visible between the words *la* and *súa*. Furthermore, the phrase *sa íre* occurs at f. 37r, line 14: *en sa íre* (< Latin *in ira sua*). This is the only time when *sa íre* is used in the final text. The variant *la súa ire* is used nine times. *Vide supra*: possessive forms.

f. 41v, line 17, *as requeranz sun testament. é ses testimónies* (< Latin *requirentibus testamentum eius et testimonia eius*). Arundel reading: *al requeranz testamenz de lui et le testimónies de lui*. The possessive adjective itself seems to be the problem here. It is possible that the scribe had written *sun* at first (traces of ink suggest in fact the existence of a final *-n* in the word before the erasure).

f. 42r, line 8, *le sun temple* (< Latin *templum eius*). Same reading in Arundel. Traces of a simple punctus or a partially erased letter are visible between the letters *p* and *l* of *temple*. Traces of an *l* or *s* are visible above the *e* of *le*. It is

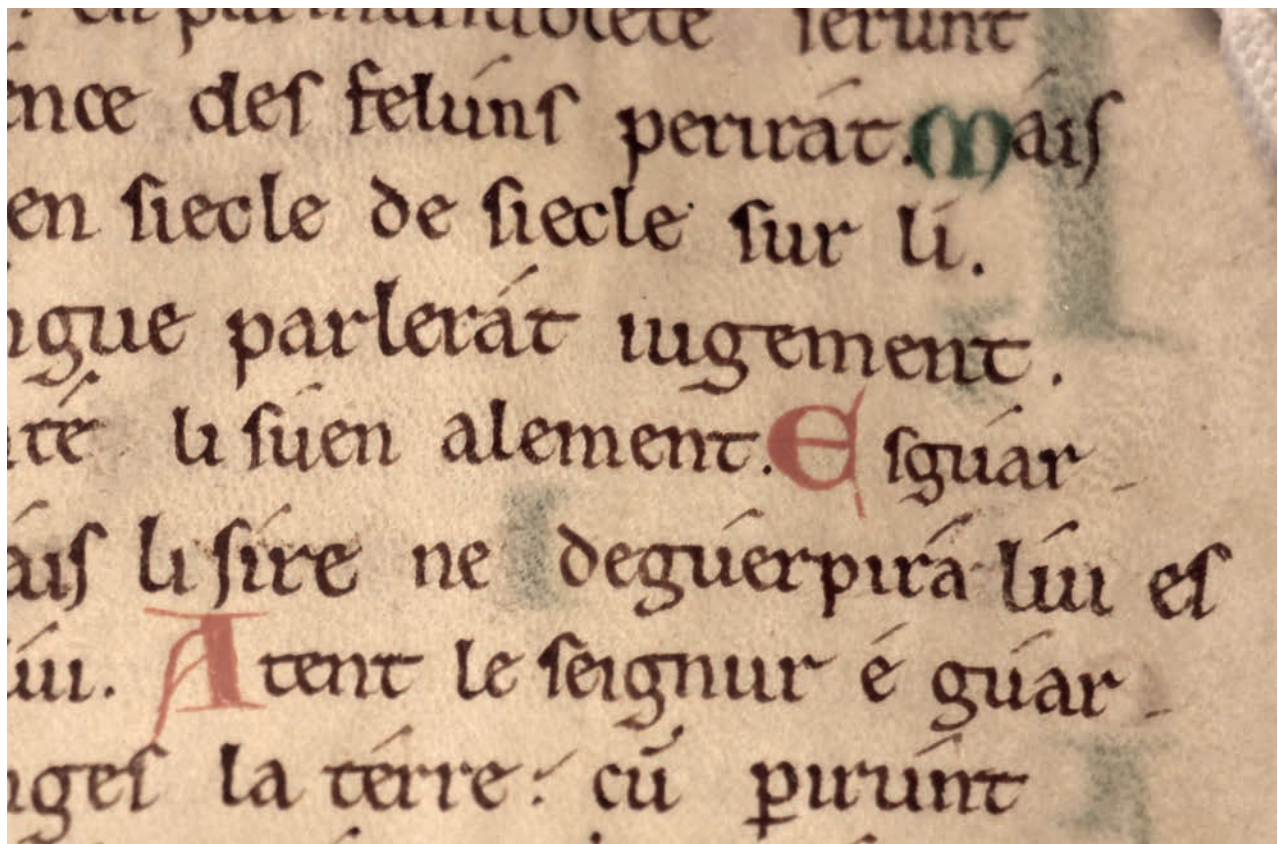
not clear if the erasure ends before or after the final letters *-le* of *temple*. The strong form *le sun* is used twice in the entire text: in Ps 24 (f. 41v, line 21, *le sun testament*) and in Ps 26 (our erasure). On f. 42v, line 6, the phrase *in templo eius* is rendered as *el sun temple*. The Douce scribe could have written *el sun temple* at first, although it is difficult to understand why he did not simply erase *el* and replace it with *le*. It is also unlikely that he had written *li sun* at first (as he did on a few rare occasions), since this does not explain the extent of the erasure. It is possible, nevertheless, that he had written a phrase based on the weak form *sun* at first, then erased everything to rewrite the strong form *le sun*.

f. 42v, lines 12–13, *en lindignatiún de lúi* (< Latin *in indignatione eius*). Arundel reading: *en le indignaciun de lui*. There are traces of *sa* under the letters *li* of *lindignatiún*. In all likelihood, the scribe wrote *en sa indignatiún* at first, with the word *indignatiún* divided at the end of line 12.

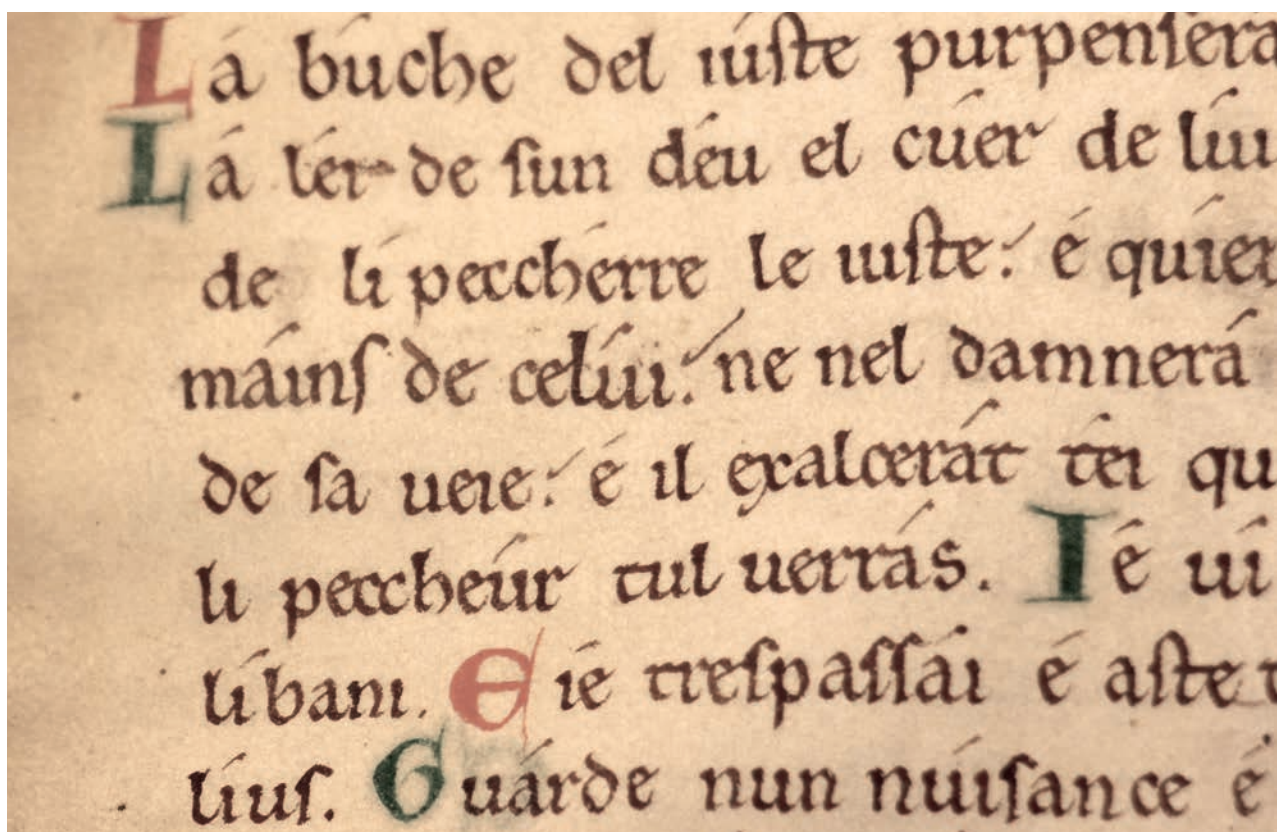
f. 43v, line 16, *Kar en lúi esleecerát lí nostre cuér é el saint núm de lúi espererúms* (< Latin *Quia in eo laetabitur cor nostrum et in nomine sancto eius speravimus*). Arundel reading: *Kar en lui esleecerat li nostre quers; et en le seint nun de lui esperuns*. The scribe could have written *é en sun saint núm* at first. The traces of minims and accents suggest that this is the best interpretation. This erasure occurs after a sequence *li nre cuér*, written in the inner margin of the folio; the Douce scribe probably forgot to copy a part of the text. I cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the scribe wrote a shorter sequence of words and letters in the space covered by the erasure, although it is difficult to ascertain how the Latin *cor nostrum* would be translated in this case).

f. 45r, line 6-7, *es mains de celúi* (< Latin *in manibus eius*). Same reading in Arundel. This is the only time when the Douce scribe translated *eius* as *de celúi*. Since the *es* of line 6 was written into the outer margin of the folio, the scribe probably wrote *en ses mains* at first.

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.*
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f. 45r
line 6



f. 45r
line 7

f. 48r, line 8, Asembléz á lui **les sáinz de lui**; **chi** ordénent sun testament sur sacrifises (< Latin *Congregate illi sanctos eius, qui ordinant testamentum eius super sacrificia*). Arundel reading: *Asemplet a lui les seint de lur ki ordenent sun testament sur sacrifises*. The most obvious explanation is an eye-skip. The Douce scribe could have written *chi ordénent* after *Asembléz á lui*, then realising that he had missed the translation of *sanctos eius*. The subsequent insertion of the phrase *les sáinz de lui*, could explain why *chi ordénent* was written partly on the erasure and partly into the margin of the folio.

f. 48r, line 16, *kar miens est. li cercle de la terre é la plentét. de lí* (< Latin *meus est enim orbis terrae et plenitudo eius*). Arundel reading: *kar miens est li cercle de la terre et le plentet de lui*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written the possessive form *sa*, then correcting the sentence by its replacement with the definite article *la*, as well as the addition of *de lí* after the punctus that follows *plentét*. The word *lí* was written on another erased segment of the parchment, which is the result of a different erasure, linked to the following verse.

f. 49r, line 12, *sur les múrs de lí* (< Latin *super muros eius*). Same reading in Arundel. It is possible that the Douce

scribe initially wrote *sur múrs de felunie* (?).

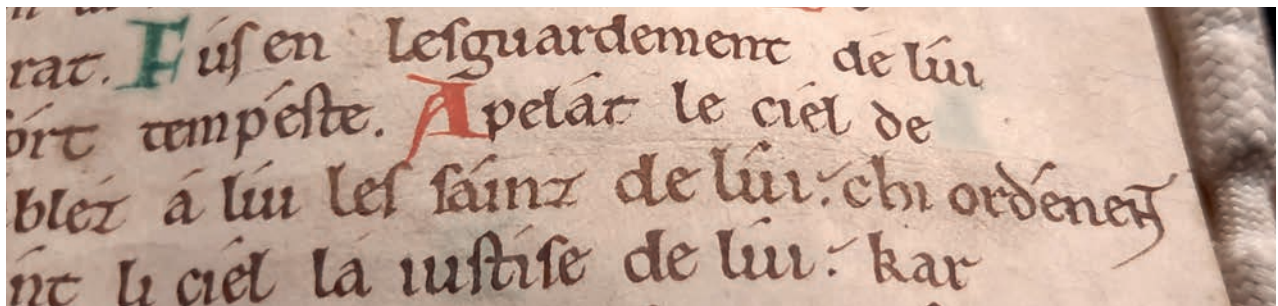
f. 49r, line 26, *dél suen uólt* (< Latin *vultus eius*). Arundel reading: *de sun uult*. The Douce scribe could have written the weak form *sun* at first, then corrected it into the strong form *suen*.

f. 50r, line 2, *la misericórde de lui* (< Latin *miserecordia eius*). Same reading in Arundel. In this particular case, the initial translation choice of the Douce scribe could have been *la sue misericórde*, similar to what he wrote on eight other occasions.

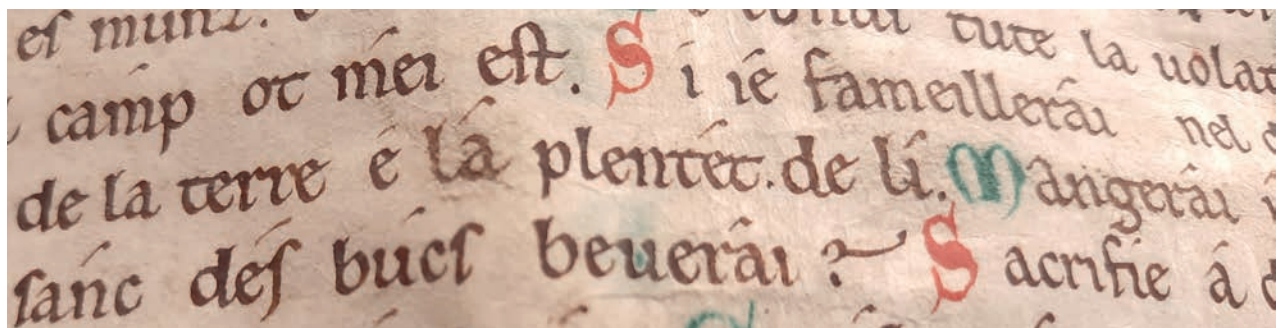
f. 50v, line 37, *les faíz de lui* (< Latin *facta eius*). Same reading in Arundel. The Douce scribe could have written *é lí suéns faíz* at first. Traces of an *é* are visible between the new *é* and the *l* of *les*. The erasure eliminated the old *é*. The scribe had to rewrite it close to the punctus elevatus, in order to save space and write more letters.

f. 51r, line 25, *de lá loéngé de lui*. *Chí* posát (< Latin *laudis eius*). Same reading in Arundel. The *l* of *lá* seems to be written upon an erasure that could have touched the letter *s* of the possessive adjective *sá*. The Douce scribe could have written *sá loéngé*. (C)hi po– at first. The substitution of the possessive by an article could have led to the correct of *s* into *l*, followed by the erasure of (C)hi

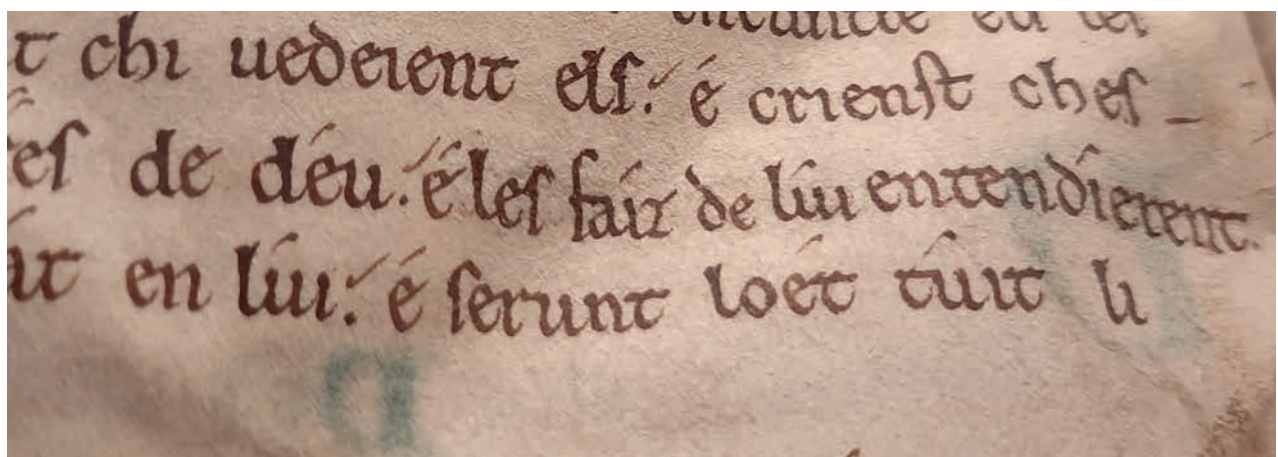
f. 48r
line 8



f. 48r
line 16



f. 50v
line 37



po– in order to add *de lúi*; and the rewriting of the same (C)hi po– into the margin of the folio.

f. 51v, line 5-6, *é séient departit lí enemí de lúi ; é fuiént chi haírent lúi de lá fáce de lúi* (< Latin *et dissipentur inimici eius ; et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure upon which the Douce scribe later wrote *lí* could have been covered by another possessive form. In the following segment, the first translation choice could have been *é fuiént chi haírent lúi*. The erasure would not concern changes in this part of the text, only its displacement to make way for *de lúi*. This led to the writing of the second word *lúi* in the margin of the folio. It is also possible that the initial translation choice for *de lá fáce de lúi* could have been *de sá fáce*.

f. 51v, line 22, *del dos de lí* (< Latin *dorsi eius*). Arundel reading: *del dos de lui*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written a phrase based on *del sun/suen dos* (similar to the one we find at f. 49r, line 26, *dél sun/suen uólt*).

f. 53r, line 11, *es suéns iurz* (< Latin *in diebus eius*). Arundel reading: *es suens iurz*. In this particular situation, there are traces of a letter *u* under the erasure. The Douce scribe could have made a mistake in the translation of *in*, writing *es* (*en + les*) at first, with a temporal value, then

the adverb of place *ú*, subsequently erased.

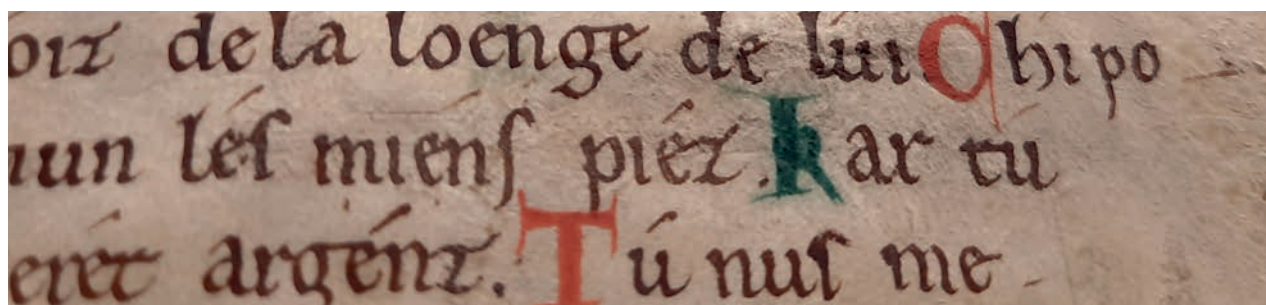
f. 56r, line 28, *_sún dós* (< Latin *dorsum eius*). Same reading in Arundel. There are traces of *le* under the erasure.

Several erasures concerning the translation of *eius* seem to be linked to various types of scribal errors, thus documenting the existence of an antigraph. It is difficult to estimate if the rhythmic or emphatic-poetic translation choice (suggested by Sneddon 1972, 112) is indeed a valid interpretation (cf. Short 2015, 25, who simply states that the possessive can be translated in two different manners). It is evident, nevertheless, that the Douce scribe favoured a hesitant use of the two translation choices in the first part of his text (perhaps also in a desire to confer a certain sense of rhythm), whereas in the second part he enforced standardisation, as if a translation automatism had been already established by then. Whether this translation automatism was dictated by a desire to confer more emphasis to the vernacular text or not is something that still needs to be proven.

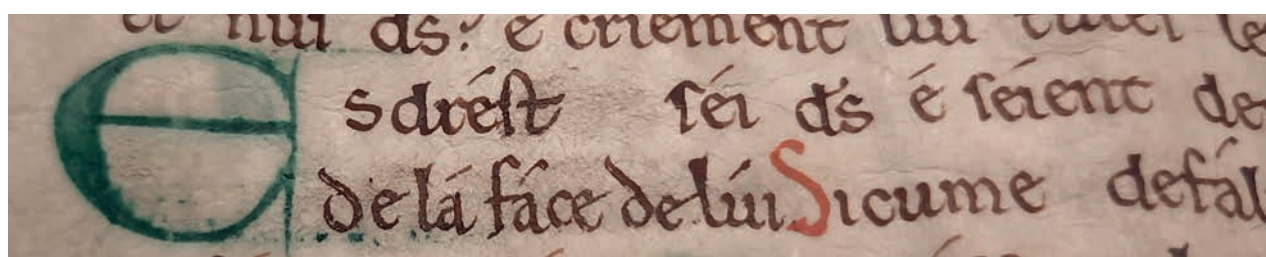
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

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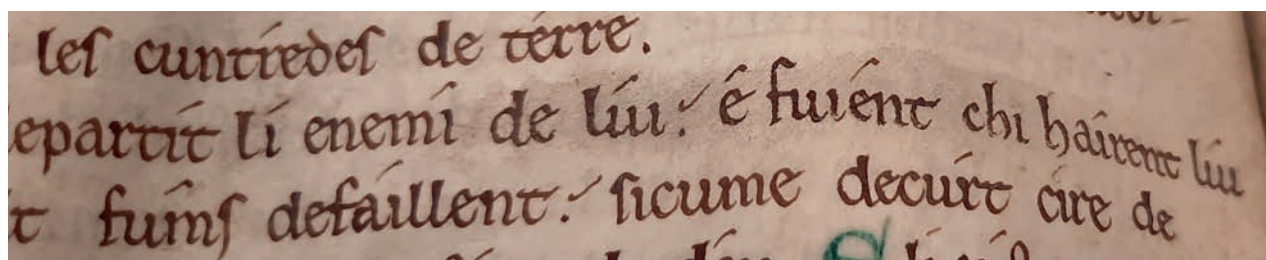
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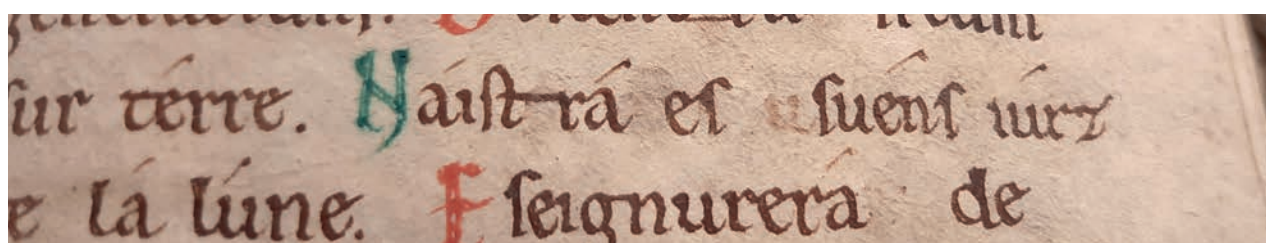
f. 51r
line 25



f. 51v
line 6



f. 51v
line 5



f. 53r
line 11

à tē tūt pōple. **E**stedecent ē eslodent les genz. kar tū iuges les pōples en o-
elce. ē les genz en terre adreces. **R**egebissent à tē li pōple d's. regebissent à
tē tūt pōple. la terre dunat sun fruct. **B**enediet nus d's li nre d's. benedi-
et nus d's. ē criement lū tutes les cuntredes de terre.

Es drest sei d's ē seient departir li enemi de lū. ē fuient chi haurent lū
de la face de lū. **S**icume defalt fumf defaillent. sicume decurt cre de
la face de su. essi perissent li pechedur de la face de deū. **E** li iuste man-
uicent ē esledecent en lesguardement de deū. ē seient delirer en ledece.

Antez à deū. salme dites al sun nrm. ēre faites à lū chi muntat sur le
dechement. sire ē. num à lū. **E**stedecet en lesguardement de lū. seruz
turbet de la face de lū. ^{del} pere des orfenins. ^{del} ē iugedur des uedues. **D**s en
sun saint lū. d's chi en habitet fait dūne custūme en maifun. **Q**hi fors-
menet les lez en forece. ensemēt els chi enasprissent. chi habitent
en sepulchres. **D**s cū tu fors eusses en lesguardement del tuen pōple.
cū tu trespassowes el desert. **L**a terre ē. moude. kar li ciel deguterent
de la face de deū de sinay. de la face de deū de isrl. **P**luue uoluntūe
desseueras d's à la tūe hereditet ē enfermede ē. tū acertes par fisis li.

Les ^{aiel} almailles habitent en li. tū aprestas en ta dulceur al poure d's.
Li sire dunrat parole as predeceanz par multre uertut. **L**i reis de uertuz
de amē. del amē. ē de la bealtet de maifun adepartir espūilles. **S**i
uus dormez entre meiens clergiez penes de columbe sur argentedes.
ē les derainetes del dos de li en pallor dor. **D**ementres que desseueret
li celestiel. les reis sur li. de neif serunt enblancit en selmon. **L**i monz de
deū. monz gras. **M**onz assemblez. monz gras. à quei suschez uis les monz
assemblez. **L**i monz el quel bien plout ē. à deū à habiter en lū. kar li sire
habiterat en fin. **L**i cures de deū. à dis milliers multipliable. milliers
desledceanz. **L**i sire en els en fina en saint. **T**ū muntas en halt prisif caru-
uetet. receus duns en humes. **A**ceres les nun credanz. habitet nostre seignur
deū. **B**enedet li sire el iurn chescun iurn. prospere ēre ferat à nus
d's des noz saluz. **L**i nostre d's. d's de salff faisant. ē de seignur del seignur
de eslement de moit. **M**ais nequedent d's fraundrat les chiefs de ses enemis.
la uertuz del che. uel des paralanz en lur messanz. **D**ist li sire de basan
conuertirai. conuertirai el parfund de la mer. **P**ur ce que seir entanz li tuens
piet en sanc. la langue de tes chiens des enemis de lū. **I**i uirent les tuens
entremenz d's. les entremenz del mien deū. del mien rei chi ē. en saint. **D**euanci-

rent li prince conuunt as cantanz. el milliu des uuenceles tympanistes.
Ef iglises benedisez à deū. al seignur des fontanes de istael. **L**uēc ē. ben-
iamin li uuencel. el trespassement de pense. **L**i prince de iuda se. durtur
dell. li prince de zabulon. ē li prince de neptalim. **M**ānde d's la tūe
uertut. conferme d's icē que tū as ouret en nus. **D**e tū temple en

▲ Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 51v
(erasures marked in yellow). Various types of erasures in
pronominal forms are visible in the drawing.

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► Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

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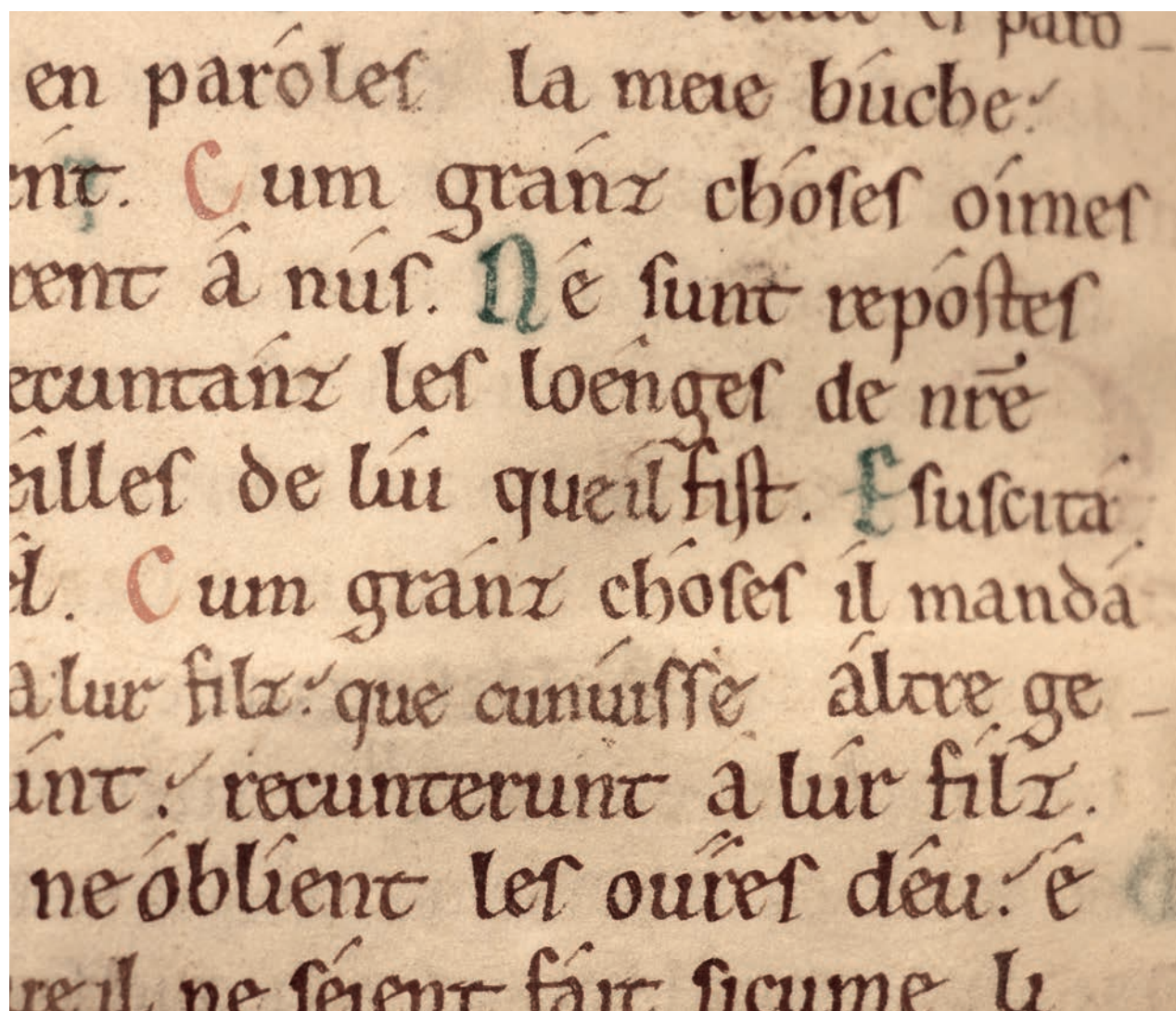
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ERASURES IN RELATIVES AND THE CONJUNCTION **QUE** (AC)

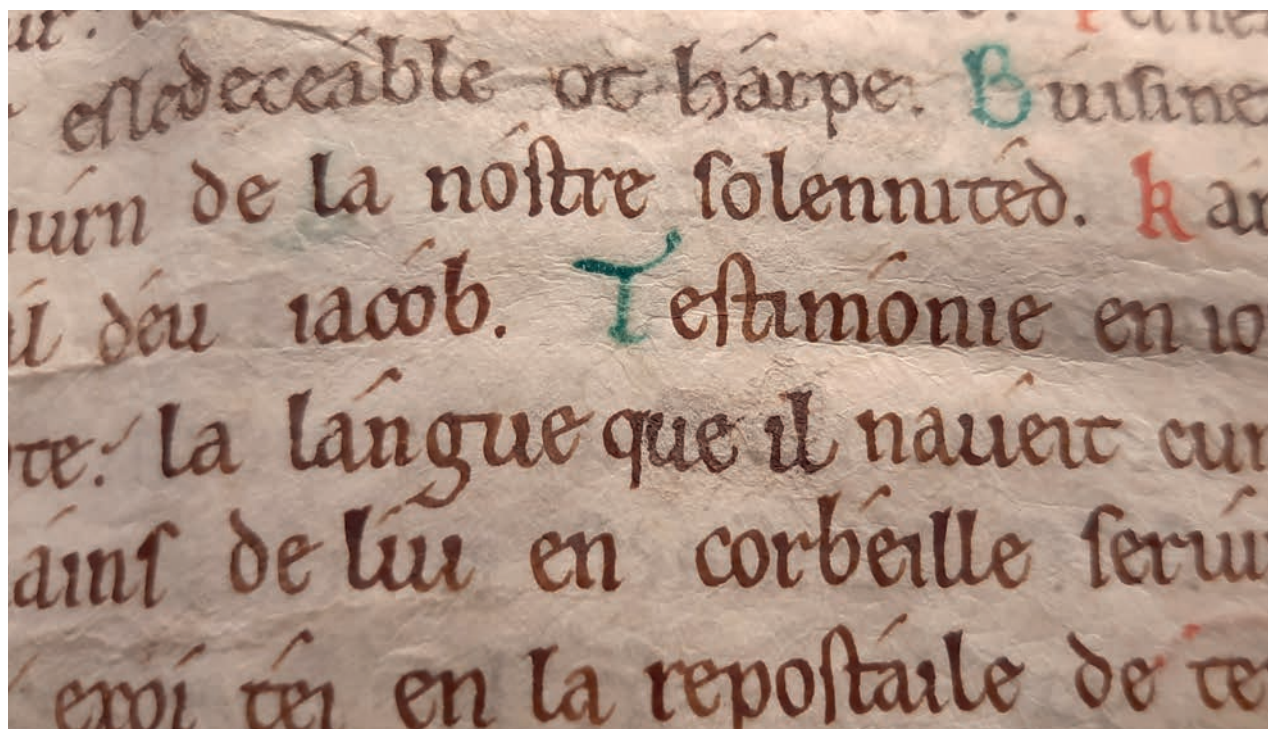
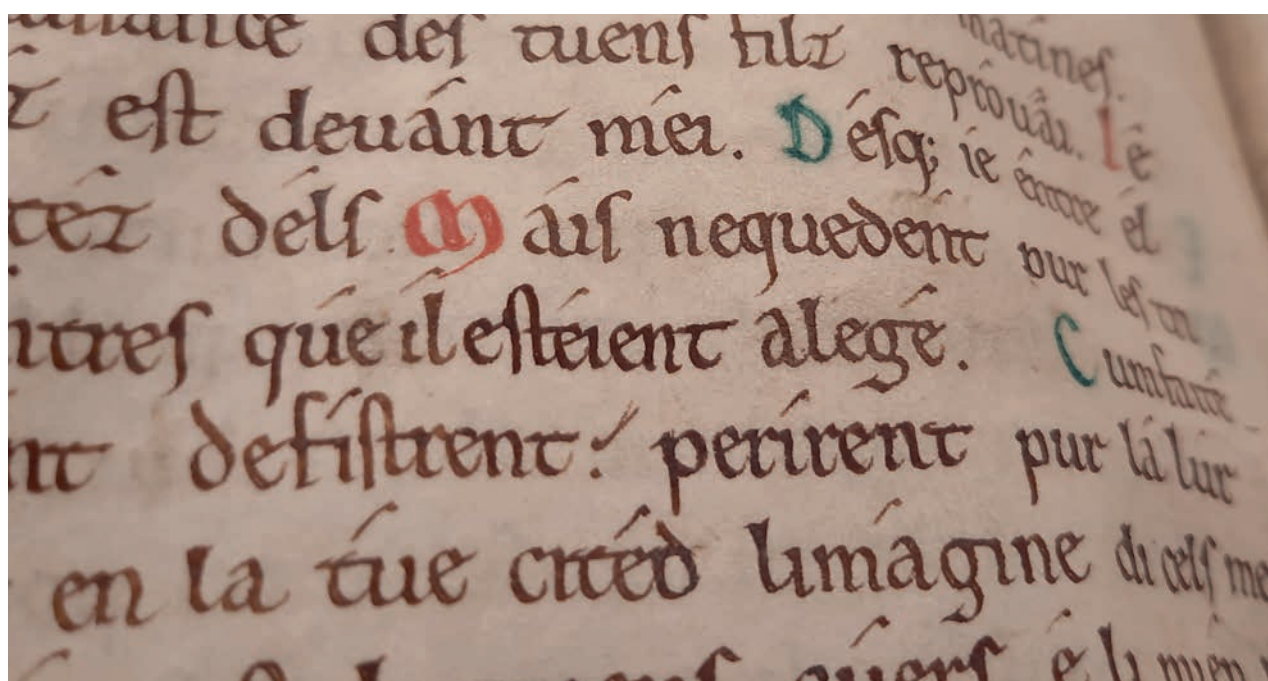
The following category of erasures concern changes in the use of relative forms such as *que il*, *pur ce que*, *que*, *chi*, *cui*. Cf. Sneddon 1972, 92–93, 113–114; Short 2015, 25–26. For grammar, see Pope 1952: §862–867, §1262.

Que il: Many erasures concern the phrase *que il* and they occur in a specific part of the text, precisely between f. 53 and f. 60. In certain cases, *que* is used as a relative pronoun; in other situations, it is used with the value of a conjunction. All the remaining occurrences of *que il* are written without any sign of erasure after f. 60. The wavering of f. 53–60 overlaps the turning point identified in other categories of erasures. (1) **Que as a relative pronoun (oblique).** It is very likely the erasure corrected a previous reading *quil*. See f. 54v, line 20, *é les meruëilles de lúi que il fist* (< Latin *et mirabilia eius quae fecit*), same reading in Arundel; f. 55r, line 29, *é les plúies déls que il ne beüssent* (< Latin *et imbres eorum ne biberent*), Arundel reading: *e les pluies de icels que il ne buisant*; f. 55v, line 18, *en la tэрre que il fundá en siecles* (< Latin *in terra quam fundavit in saecula*), Arundel reading: *en la tere laquele il fundat en siecles*; f. 55v, line 39, *la repróce dels medésmes que il reprüerent á téi sire* (< Latin *improperium ipsorum quod exprobraverunt tibi Domine*), Arundel reading: *la reproce des meimes que il reprouerent a tei sire*; f. 56r, line 27,

la lánque que il nauéit cuneúde oít (< Latin *linguam quam non noverat audivit*), Arundel reading: *la langue lequele il ne audit conout oit*; f. 56v, line 36, *en la ualéde de lérmes el líu qué il posá* (< Latin *in valle lacrimarum in loco quem posuit*), same reading in Arundel; f. 60v, line 21, *e le cumandemént que il dunád á els* (< Latin *et praeceptum quod dedit illis*), same reading in Arundel. (2) **Que as a conjunction.** In this subcategory, the majority of erasures seem to be corrections of a phrase initially written *quil*: f. 53v, line 5, *degetás éls deméntres qué il estéient alegé* (< Latin *deiecisti eos dum allevarentur*), with traces of a final **l**, same reading in Arundel (the word *il* is written in the blank space); f. 54r, line 39, *ú napersá que il plus paisible séit uncóre?* (< Latin *aut non apponet ut complacitior sit adhuc?*); f. 54v, line 25, *Que il ne séient fáit sicume li pére déls* (< Latin *ne fiant sicut patres eorum*), Arundel reading: *que il ne seient fait sicume la pere de icels*; f. 54v, line 38, *qué il requesissent uíándes á lúr ánemes* (< Latin *ut peterent escas animabus suis*), same reading in Arundel; f. 55r, line 22, *E abundá que il desturnást la súa ire* (< Latin *Et abundavit ut averteret iram suam*), same reading in Arundel; f. 55r, line 23, *E recordá que il cař sunt* (< Latin *Et recordatus est quia caro sunt*), Arundel reading: *e recorda est que il char sunt*; f. 57r, line 33, *esledést li miens cuérs que il crengéd le tuen núm* (< Latin *laetetur cor meum*



f. 54v
line 20

f. 56r
line 27f. 53v
line 5

ut timeat nomen tuum), Arundel reading: *eslecece li miens cuer que il crenget le tuen nun* (the word *il* is written slightly in the margin of the text column); f. 59r, line 14, *que il guárdent téi en trestútes les túes uéies* (< Latin *ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis*), same reading in Arundel; f. 59r, line 29, *Qué il perissent en siécle de sécle* (< Latin *ut intereat in saeculum saeculi*), same reading in Arundel; f. 59r, line 39, *é bien pacieñt serúnt que il annúncent* (< Latin *et bene patientes erunt ut annuntient*), Arundel reading: *et bien suferanz serunt que il annuncent*; f. 60v, line 39, *Li mien óil as fedéilz de tère, que il siécent ensemble ot méi* (< Latin *Oculi mei ad fideles terrae ut sedeant mecum*), Arundel reading: *Li mien oil as feils de tere que il sient ensemblement ot mei*.

▲ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.
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As already argued, most of these erasures corrected an initial reading with an elided *quil*. The Douce text of the Psalms presents several elided forms *quil* with the value of a relative pronoun (both nominative and oblique), or as a conjunction, part of the phrase *pur ce que*: f. 54v, line 24 (*Pur cé quil pösent en déu lur esperáncé < ut ponant in Deo spem suam*); f. 59r, line 17 (*Pur cé quil en méi esperá deliurráí lúi < Quoniam in me speravit liberabo eum*); f. 61r, line 27 (*Pur ce quil oíst les gemisseméñz des liéz*

Enmenā els el mōnt de la sūe sanctificatiūn. el mōnt le quel aquisit la
 destre de lūi. **E**forstgetā de la face d'els les genz. é par sort diuisā à els.
La terre en funel de diuisiūn. **E** habitēt fist es tabernacles d'els. les
 lignēdes d'israēl. **E** tempterent é puruocherent deu le halatisme. é les testi-
 monies de lūi ne garderent. **E** desturnerent sei é ne garderent
 cōuenānt. ensement cume li pere d'els sunt tresturned en torcenūs arc.
En ire cōmūrent lūi es lur tētres. é en lur entāilledures à enuidie lūi
 puruocherent. **O**it d's é despist. é à neient mult demenā isrl. **E** de-
 butā le tabernacle de sylo. le sien tabernacle ū il habitā en hūmes.
E lurā en cartueted la uertūd dicels. é la bealtēd d'els es māns del
 enemi. **E**nclost en glāue sun pople. é la sūe hereditēd despist.
Les iuenceals dicels manā fūf. é les iūrgines d'els ne guāimentēres.
Les sacerdotēs d'els en glāue cairent. é les lur uedues nestēent deploredes.
Esuillez é. sicume dormānz li fire. ensement cume beuānz engrucz de
 uin. **E**ferit ses enemis es dederamētēz. reproce parmanāble dunā à els.
Edebutā le tabernacle de ioseph. é la lignēde deffraim neel list. **M**ais es list
 la lignēde de iūda. le mōnt de syon le quel il amā. **E**edifiā sicume un
 corne le sien saint edifice. **en la terre que il fundā** en siecles. **E**es list
 dauid le sien serf. **é susleua lūi** des fulcs des oilles. **da pres** les fedunānz.
recūt lūi. **A**pāstre iacob le sien serf. é isrl la sūe hereditēd. **E**pōut
 els en innocēce de lur cuer. é es entendemēz de lur māns demenā els.
Os. uindrent genz en la tūe hereditēd. maluerent le tūen
 saint temple. poserent ierlm en la guārdē de pomes. **P**oserent
 les carūignes de tes serf uāndes as oisels del ciel. les carz des tuens saintz
 as bestes de la terre. **E**spandierent le sanc d'els ensement cume esye en
 laurunement de ierlm. é ne estēt chisenueel list. **F**ait sūmes reproce à nōz.
 uēisins. subsannatiūn é illusiūn à icels chi en nostre aurunement sunt.
Desq; aquānt sire **trāst** en fin. **serā** esprise sicume fūf la tūe enuidie.
Espant la tūe ire es chi tē ne cuneūrent. é es régnes chi tūen nūm ne
apelērent. **K**ar il mangierent iacob. é le lūi de lūi desconfortērent.
Hé remembrer des nōz felunies anciēnes. ignelmēt deuancissēnt nūs
 les tūes misericordes. **k**ar mult sūmes fait poures. **A**uide nūs d's li
 nre saluāble. é pur la glorie del tūen num sire deliūre nūs. é pro-
 picius seies à nōz pecchez pur le tūen nūm. **Q**ue par auentūre
 ne dient es genz. ū est li d's **dicels.** é **apareisse** es genz de
 uānt les nōz oilt. **L**ā ueniānce del sanc de tes serf chi espanūz est.
 entred el tūen esguardement. li gemissement **des embōiez.** **S**ulunc la gran-
 dece del tūen brāz. pursied les filz des mortifiedurs. **E**rent as nōz
 uēisins asēt duble el sein dicels. la reproce d'els medesmes **que il repru-**
 uerent à tē sire. **M**ais nūs li tūens poples. é oilles de la tūe pastūre.

▲ Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 55v (erasures marked in yellow). Various types of erasures in pronominal forms are visible in the drawing, as well as two erasures that concern **que + il**.

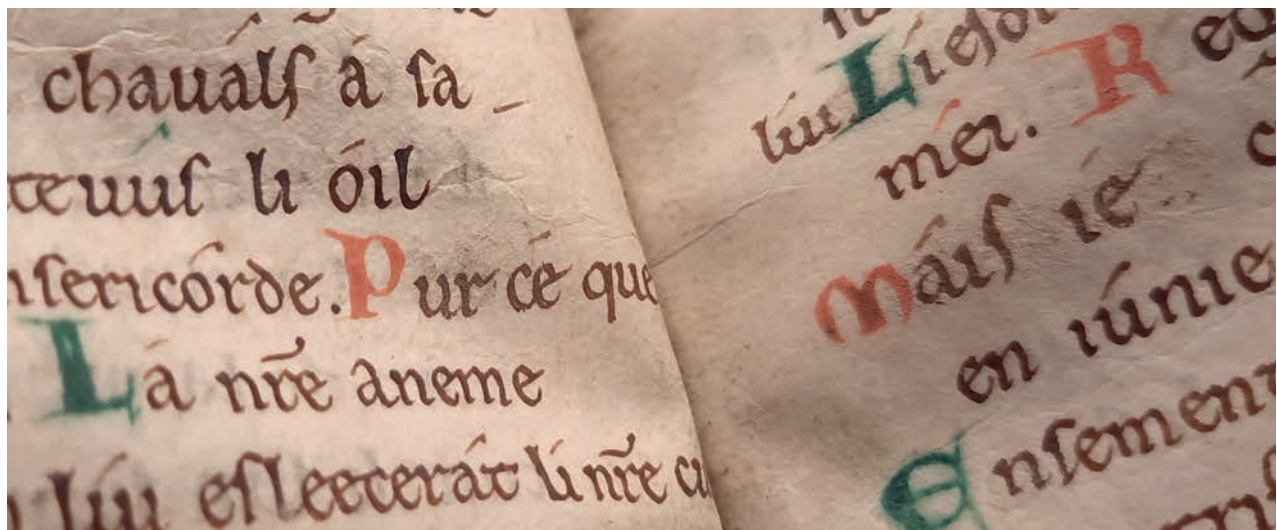
< *ut audiret gemitus compeditorum*); f. 61, line 30 (*é les réis quil séruent al segnór < et reges ut serviant Domino*); f. 62r, line 5 (*Pur cé quil halégre sa fáce en ólie < ut exhilaret faciem in oleo*); f. 62r, line 12 (*Lí chael des leóns rugíanz quil rauíssent < catuli leonum rugientes ut rapiant*); f. 62r, line 29 (*é li felún issí quil ne séient < et iniqui ita ut non sint*); f. 62r, line 39 (*de la paróle quil mandá en mil generaciúns < verbi quod mandavit in mille generationes*); f. 62v, line 11 (*Pur ce quil aprisíst les prínces de lúi < ut erudiret principes eius sicut semetipsum*); f. 62r, line 35 (*é fú . quil lúisíst á els par núit . < et ignem ut luceret eis per noctem*); f. 62v, line 33 (*quil óut á abraham sun enfánt < quod habuit ad Abraham puerum suum*); f. 62v, line 35 (*Pur cé quil guárdent les iustifeméncz de lúi < ut custodiant iustificationes eius*); f. 63r, line 7 (*pur ce quil cóneúde fesíst la súde poténce < ut notam faceret potentiam suam*); f. 63r, line 21 (*E díst . quil deperdréit éls < Et dixit ut disperderet eos*); f. 63r, line 23 (*Qued il desturnást lire de lúi quil ne deperdiést els < ut averteret iram ejus ne disperderet eos*); f. 63r, line 26 (*quil acrauentást éls el desért < ut prostérneret eos in desérto*); f. 63v, line 19 (*quil alássent en citéd dabitaciún < ut irent in civitatem habitationis*); f. 64r, line 5 (*E esledecérent purce quil se túrent < Et laetati sunt quia siluerunt*); f. 64r, line 38 (*Pur icé quil méi amássent detraeient á méi < Pro eo ut me diligerent detrahebant mihi*). It should be noted that all these occurrences can be found in the same 'turning point' as the erasures listed in the previous paragraph (f. 54–64). The existence of this type of *quil* is just a witness of the wavering in spelling of the Douce scribe. The spelling *que il*, written without any trace of erasures, is used throughout the text with the value of a conjunction or as relative pronoun (oblique). There is also an error (a nominative *qui il* instead of the oblique form *que il*) on f. 47r, line 39 (*speciem Iacob quam dilexit > la bealté de iacob qui il amâ*).

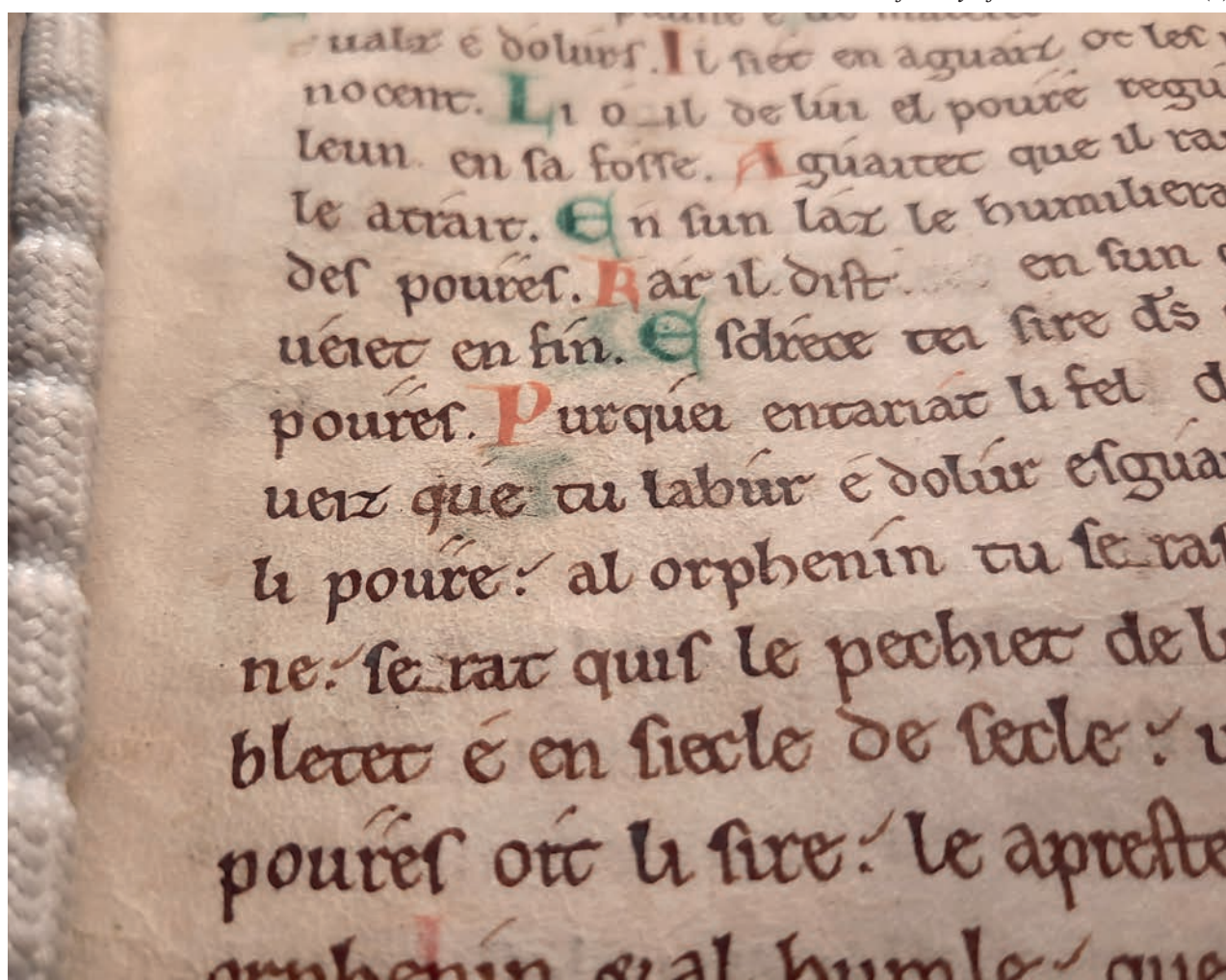
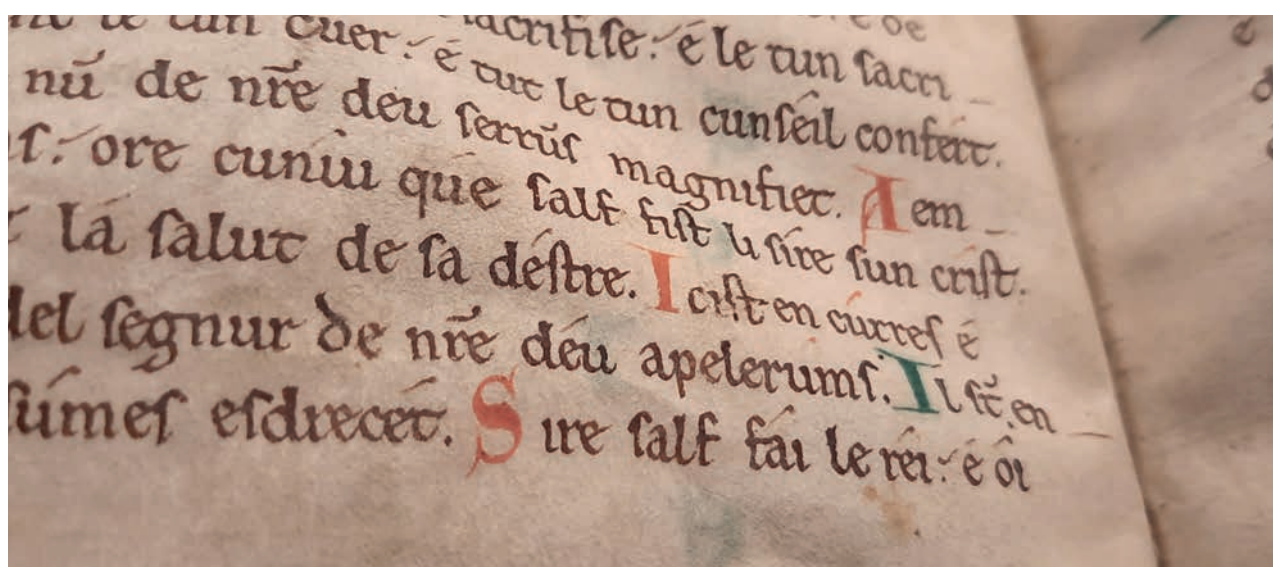
Pur ce que: Six other erasures concern the phrase *pur ce que*, four of which can be found between f. 43 and f. 60, where they replace the conjunction *que* in the translation of Latin purpose clauses introduced by *ut*, or *quoniam*: f. 43v, line 13, **Pur cé que** *il deliúrét de mort les ánemes de els* (< Latin *ut eruat a morte animas eorum*), with *cé que* written on the margin, Arundel reading: *que il deliueret de mort les anemes de els*; f. 44v, lines 24–25, **Púr cé qué** *il decéiuent le póuré é le sufraitus* (< Latin *ut dejiciant pauperem et inopem*), with *púr* writ-

ten on the margin, Arundel reading: *pur ce que il deceiuent le poure et le sufraitus*; f. 46r, lines 12–13, **E si il entrót púr cé que** *il ueíst uáines chóses parlót* (< Latin *Et si ingrediebatur ut videret, vana loquebatur*), Arundel reading: *Et si il entroit pur ce que il veist uaines choses parlout* (in this particular situation, a part of the text is written in the margin of the text column, particularly the beginning of the verb (**en-**); *que* is written outside of the erasure; in all likelihood, the space covered by the erasure initially comprised the verb and *que*); f. 50r, line 18, **Tú dunás ás criemánz téi significatiún ; que il fúient de lá fáce darç.** **Púr cé que** *seient deliúrét li tuén amét* (< Latin *Dedisti mentibus te significationem ut fugiant a facie arcus ut liberentur dilecti tui*), Arundel reading: *Tu donas as cremanz tei significaciun; que il fuient de la face de tuen arr. Que il seient deliueret le tuen aiment* (in this example, the two subordinate clauses are linked to the main clause by the conjunction *ut*; in the first clause, the Douce scribe expressed purpose through a simple *que* + subjunctive; in the second clause, he used *pur ce que*, but he probably wrote a simple *que* at first; since *darç* is written in the margin of the text column, it is safe to assume that this word could have been written in the space now covered by the erasure; it was rewritten at the end of the preceding line, to save space and replace *que* with *pur ce que*); f. 60r, line 23, **pur cé que il uiñt iugér la tэрre** (< Latin *quoniam venit iudicare terram*), Arundel reading: *pur co que il uint iuger la tere* (with traces of a correction *quil > que il*). I must also note that, on f. 38r, line 26, the phrase *pur cé qué* seems to be at the heart of an erasure that probably replaces another *que*: **pur cé qué** *ie ánnúnce túz les tuéns loénges es pórtes de la fille syón* (< Latin *ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiae Sion*), Arundel reading: *que io annonce tuz les tuens loenges en portes flie syon*. There are traces of letters under the word *pur*; *qué* is also written in the margin of the text column.

Que < Kar. In two more erasures, *que* translates Latin *quoniam*), although the Douce scribe probably wrote *kár* at first. The readings of Arundel ms 230 and the traces of an erased accent above the **u** strengthen this conclusion: f. 38v, line 9, **Tú ueiz qué tu labúr é dolúr esguárdes** (< Latin *Vides quoniam tu laborem et dolorem consideras*), Arundel reading: *Tu ueiz kar tu labur et dolur esguardes*; f. 40v, line 13, **ore cunúi qué** *salf fist li síre sun críst* (< Latin *nunc cognovi quoniam salvum fecit Dominus christum suum*),

f. 43v
line 13



f. 38v
line 9f. 40v
line 13

Arundel reading: *ore cunui kar salf fist li sire sun crist.*

Finally, two more erasures concern *chi* and *cui*. See f. 38r, line 12, *chi uunt par les sentes de la mer* (< Latin *qui perambulans semitas maris*), where the Douce scribe probably modified an initial reading *qui* in order to replace it with *chi*; same reading in Arundel. As for f. 42r, line 1, *cui crenderai ie* ? (< Latin *quem timebo* ?), Arundel reading: *lequel io crendrai* ?, the descender of an erased *q* is still

visible. No other occurrence of the spelling *cui* could be found in the translation of Douce MS 320.

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.*

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THE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVE **TOZ** / **TUIT** (AC)

The following category of erasures concerns forms of *toz* / *tuit* that translate Latin *omnis*, *quisque*, *totus*, and *universus*.

f. 38r, line 11, *óeiles é tuz bues* (< Latin *oves et boves universas*), Arundel reading: *oeilles et boues tuz tuz*.

f. 43v, lines 35-36, *Múltes sunt les tribulatiuns des iústes; e de tutes icéstes les deliurrát li sire* (< Latin *Multae tribulationes iustorum; et de omnibus his liberabit eos Dominus*), Arundel reading: *Multes les tribulaciuns des iustes; et de tutes icestes deliurrat icouls li sire*. There are traces of a previous *z* in the blank space at the end of *icestes*. 43v_35 + 43v_36 (2). *Vide supra*: demonstratives.

f. 45r, line 25, *Síre deuánt téi est. túz le miens desidéries* (< Latin *Domine ante te omne desiderium meum*), Arundel reading: *Sire deuant tei est tut li mien desideries*. This example was listed in the first instalment of our article (cf. *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 93). The adjective is in agreement with a masculine, nominative singular. The width of the erasure suggests that the Douce

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

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scribe erased two letters (in all likelihood: *túit*, the usual form of nominative plural). He also added final *s* to *miens* and *desidéries*, in order to write a nominative plural.

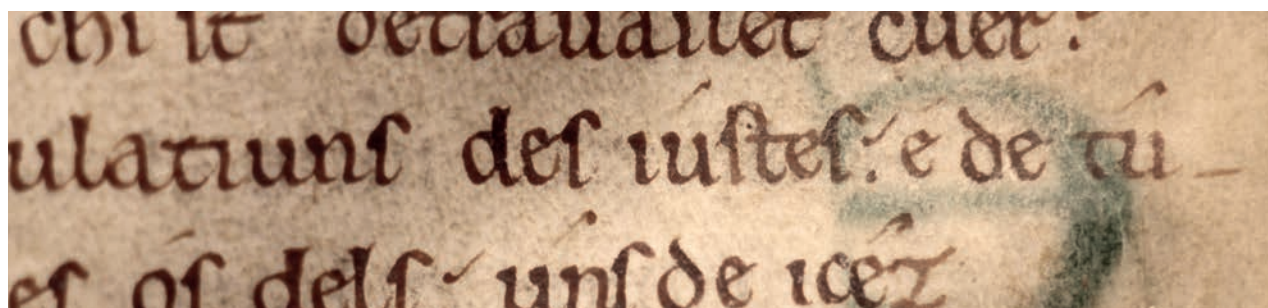
f. 45r, line 30, *é tricheries tute iurn purpensówent* (< Latin *et dolos tota die meditabantur*), same reading in Arundel. There are traces of a final letter in the blank space.

f. 47v, lines 19-20, *ot oréilles receuéz tuit chi habitéz le cércle*. (< Latin *auribus percipite omnes qui habitatis orbem*), same reading in Arundel. At first, the scribe could have written a demonstrative such as *icels*. To translate *omnes* from the phrase *omnes qui*, the scribe used either *toz* + demonstrative *cil* / *icil* or the adjective *toz* alone. There are also a few cases where he preferred *trestuit* + *icil* or *trestuit* alone, but he also used a demonstrative followed by *chi*. *Vide supra*: demonstratives.

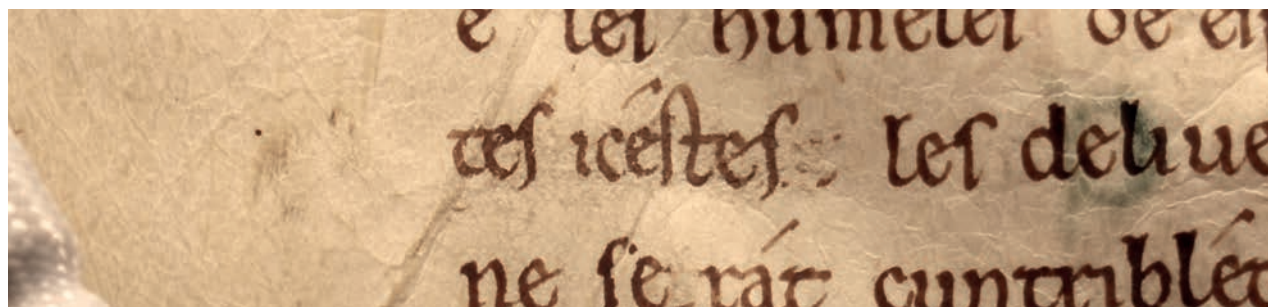
f. 47v, line 20, *Tuit terrién é li fil des húmes* (< Latin *quique terrigenae et filii hominum*), same reading in Arundel.

f. 60r, line 22, *Dunc esledecerunt tuit lí fúst des sélués* (< Latin *Tunc exsultabunt omnia ligna silvarum*). In all likelihood, the Douce scribe initially wrote *túz* (singular nominative form). He erased the flexional *z*, to correct the nominative plural, then writing *i* on the erasure and adding a final *t* in the blank space.

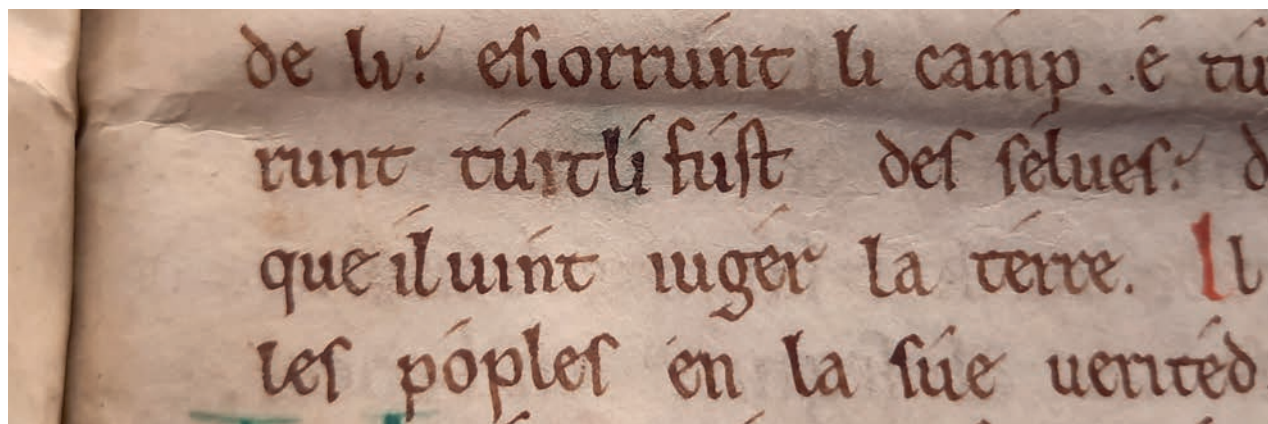
f. 43v
line 35



f. 43v
line 36



f. 60r
line 22



nt. **E**chi de iuste mei esteient deli
 quereient la meie aneme. **E**chi enc
 uitez: e trichierief tute iurn pur
 nen odeie: e si cume muz nient a ou
 buem nient oanz: e nient auanz en
 re espai: tu exorraf sire li mienf ds.
 ioent a mei li mien enemí: e demen

f. 45r
line 30

yon e embracéz li: recunte
 le lui: e departéz ses maifun
 icist e. ds li nre ds en parr
 t nus en siecles.
 oreilles receuez tuit chi habi
 fil des humes: en un li rich
 nce: e la meditatiun de m
 la meie oreille: a ouerrai

f. 47v
line 19

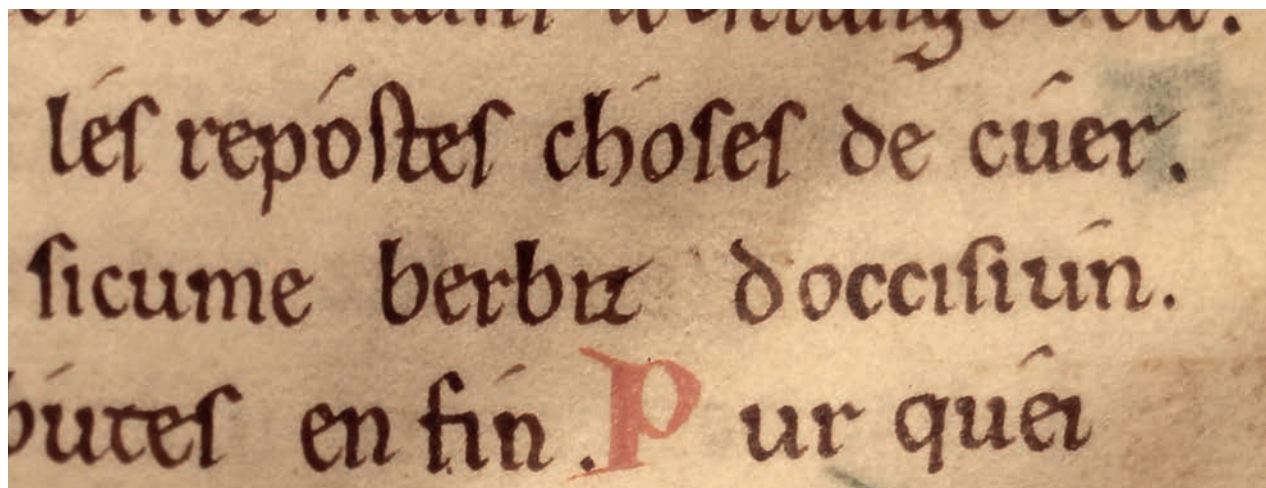
ERASURES IN PREPOSITIONS (AC)

The previous sections listed several erasures that concern prepositions + pronouns, articles or possessives. The following list completes that survey and presents a series of erasures that involve the prepositions *de*, *a*, and *en*.

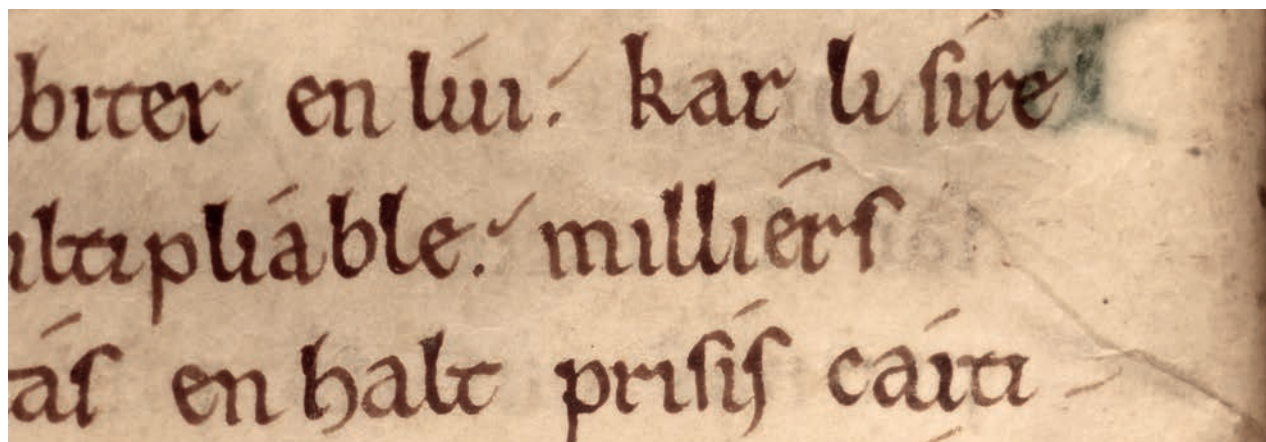
Preposition de. Most of these erasures are linked to the elision of the preposition (*de* > *d'*): f. 46v, line 32, *en líu _ dafflictiún* (< Latin *in loco afflictionis*), Arundel reading: *en liu de aqflictium*; f. 46v, line 35, *berbiz _ doccisiún* (< Latin *oves occisionis*), Arundel reading: *berbiz de occisium*; f. 47v, line 6, *lés léz _ daquilón* (< Latin *latera aquilonis*), Arundel reading: *les lez de aquilon*; f. 47v, line 14, *les filles _ íude* (< Latin *filiae Iudae*), with traces of an erased *de*, same

reading in Arundel; f. 50r, line 25, *la salú _ dúme*. (< Latin *salus hominis*), Arundel reading: *la saluz de hume* (the erasure also concerns an *h* at the beginning of *úme*); f. 50v, line 19, *é par leurés _ desledecemént* (< Latin *labiis exsultationis*), Arundel reading: *et par leueres de eslecement*; f. 51v, line 12, *_ dúne custúme* (< Latin *unius moris*), same reading in Arundel; f. 51v, line 22, *_ dór* (< Latin *auri*), Arundel reading: *de or*; f. 51v, lines 26-27, *milliér _ desledeceanz* (< Latin *millia laetantium*), Arundel reading: *milliers de leechanz* (the elided *d'* was added on the margin of the text column); f. 52r, line 3-4, *li messagier _ degýpte* (< Latin *legati ex aegypto*), Arundel reading: *li messenger de egypte* (the elided *d'* was added on the margin of the text

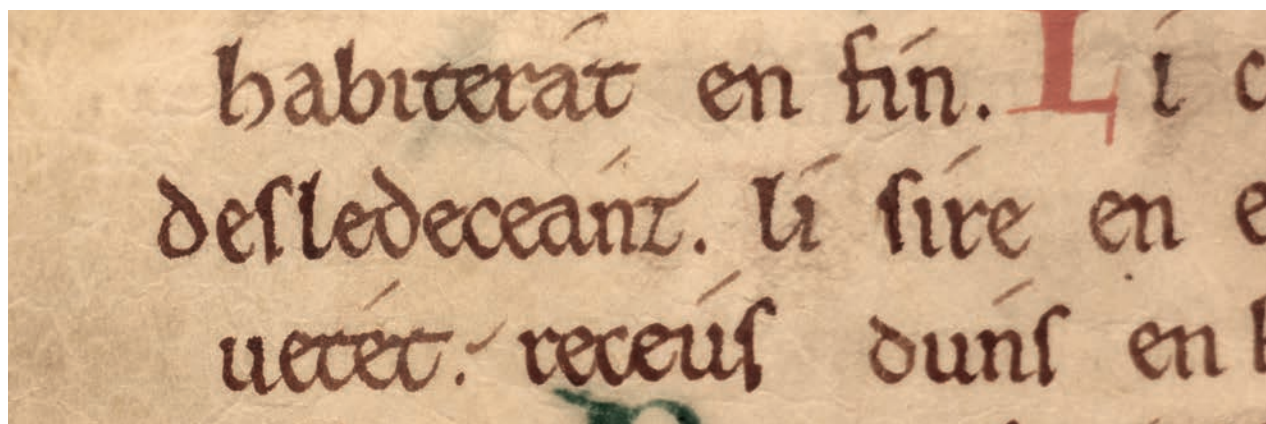
f. 46v
line 35



f. 51v
line 26



f. 51v
line 27



column); f. 52r, line 27, *tempestét _dēwe* (< Latin *tempestas aquae*), Arundel reading: *tempestet de ewe*; f. 52r, line 35, *abeuřerent méi _daisil* (< Latin *potaverunt me aceto*), Arundel reading: *abeurent mei de aisils*; f. 53r, line 26, *Benedéiz lí sire deus _disrael* (< Latin *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*), Arundel reading: *Benedist li sire deus de israel*; f. 54v, line 32, *el cámp de _tafneós* (< Latin *in campo Taneos*), with a hole in the parchment (in all likelihood, the Douce scribe started writing *tafneós*, but rewrote the entire word after the hole; however, the erasure could also be linked to *de*); f. 65r, line 37, *EÑ leissement _israel* (< Latin *In exitu Israel*), with traces of an erased previous *d* before *israel*, Arundel reading: *En leissement israel de egypte*; f. 67r, line 40: *_dór é dargent* (< Latin *auri et argenti*), Arundel reading: *de or et de argent*; f. 72r, line 36, _

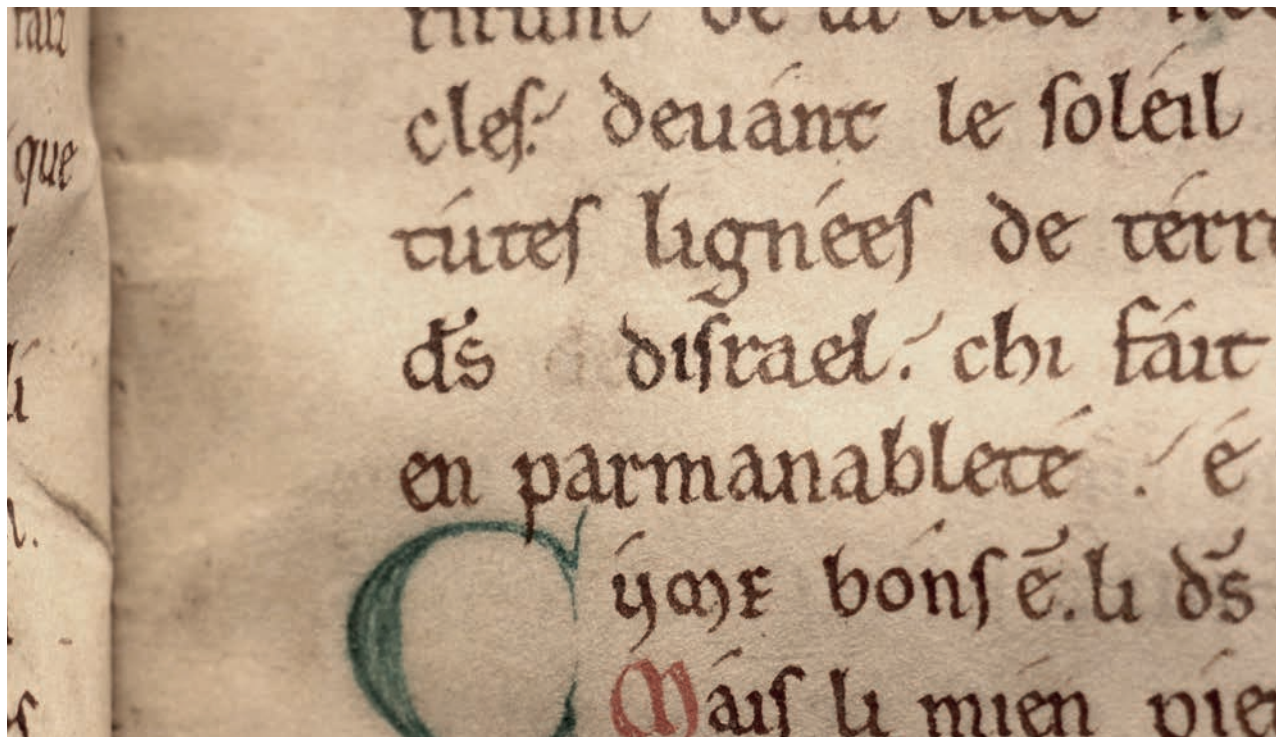
de la main (< Latin *de manu*), Arundel reading: *de main* (doubtful erasure).

Preposition a. There are only four instances where erasures concern this preposition: f. 51v, line 26, *Lí cúrres de déu . á díś milliárs multipliáble* (< Latin *Currus Dei decem millibus múltiplex*), same reading in Arundel; f. 52r, line 6, *ád órient* (< Latin *ad orientem*), same reading in Arundel; f. 69r, line 3, *_á téi* (< Latin *tibi*), with traces of a previous *i* before the *á*, same reading in Arundel; and the most interesting case is on f. 67v, line 36, *kar tu*

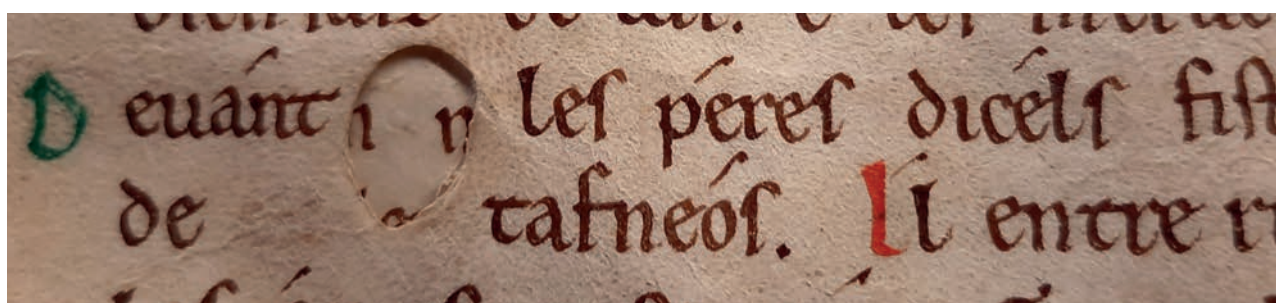
◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

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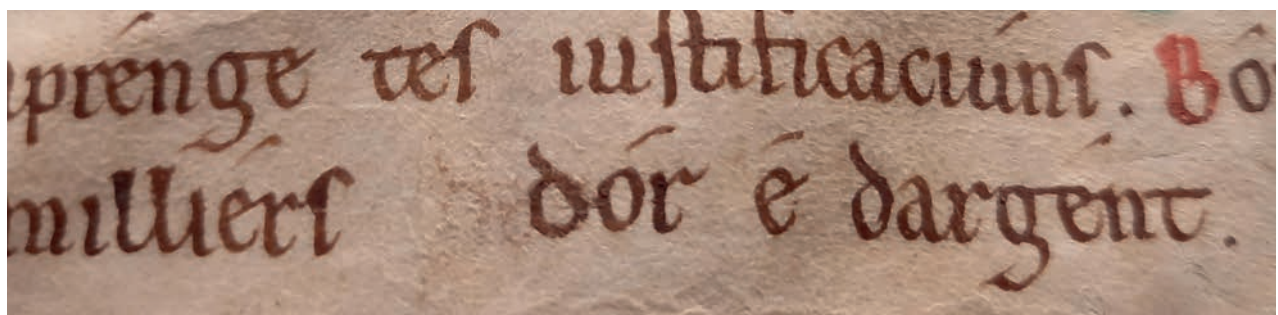
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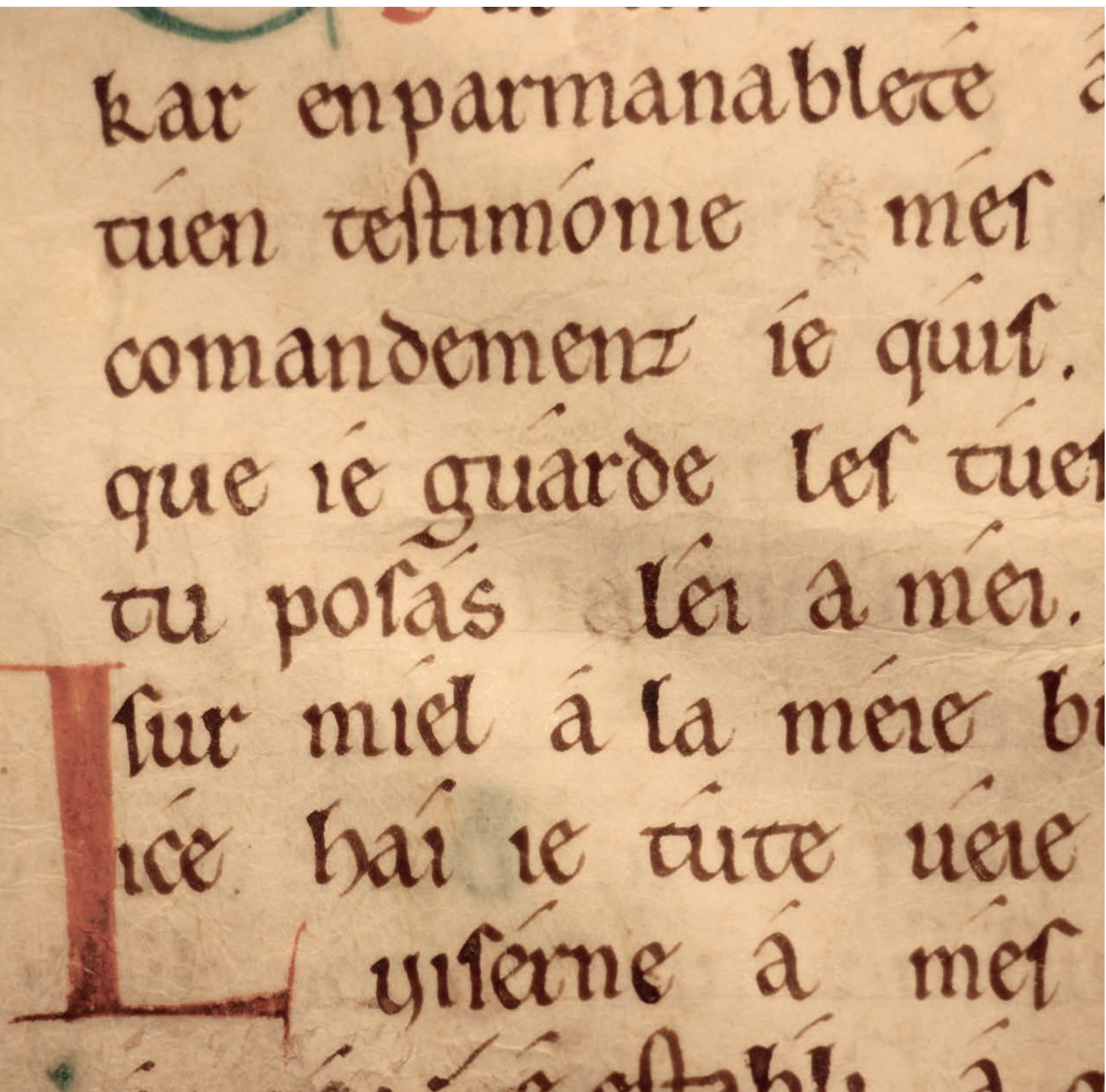
f. 53r
line 26



f. 54v
line 32



f. 67r
line 40



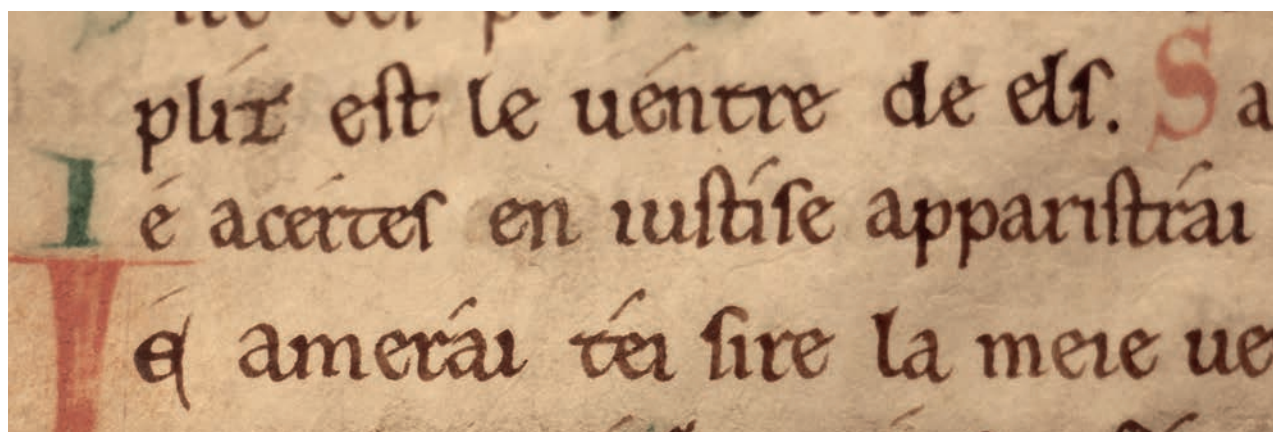
posas lei a mei (< Latin *quia tua legem posuisti mihi*), same reading in Arundel. On the erasure preceding *lei*, there are evident traces of an *a*. Given the similar ending of *lei* and *mei*, it is possible that the scribal error was an eye-skip. He could have started writing *a mei*, and then realised his mistake.

Preposition en. Three more erasures concern the preposition *en*: f. 39v, line 13, *Ié acertes en iustise apparistrâi*

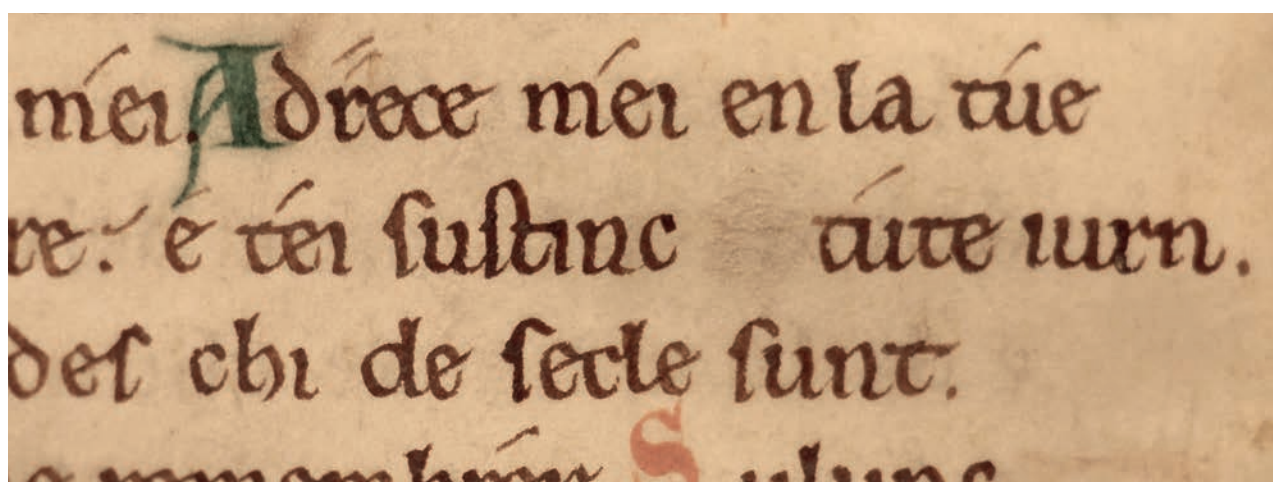
(< Latin *Ego autem in iustitia apparebo*), same reading in Arundel (there are clear traces of an *a* and perhaps of a descender of the letter *p* under the erasure; at first, the scribe could have begun writing the verb *apparistrâi*); f. 41v, line 11, *é téi sustinc tute iurn* (< Latin *et te sustinui tota die*), Arundel reading: *et tei sustinc tut en iurn* (perhaps an initial reading *en* or *iê*); f. 74v, line 32, *en salúd* (< Latin *in salutem*), Arundel reading: *en salut* (there are

traces of two letters *a* under the erasure, the first of which carries an accent, partially erased; the Douce scribe must have made a mistake, copying a phrase that he had written in the previous line: *à la salud*).

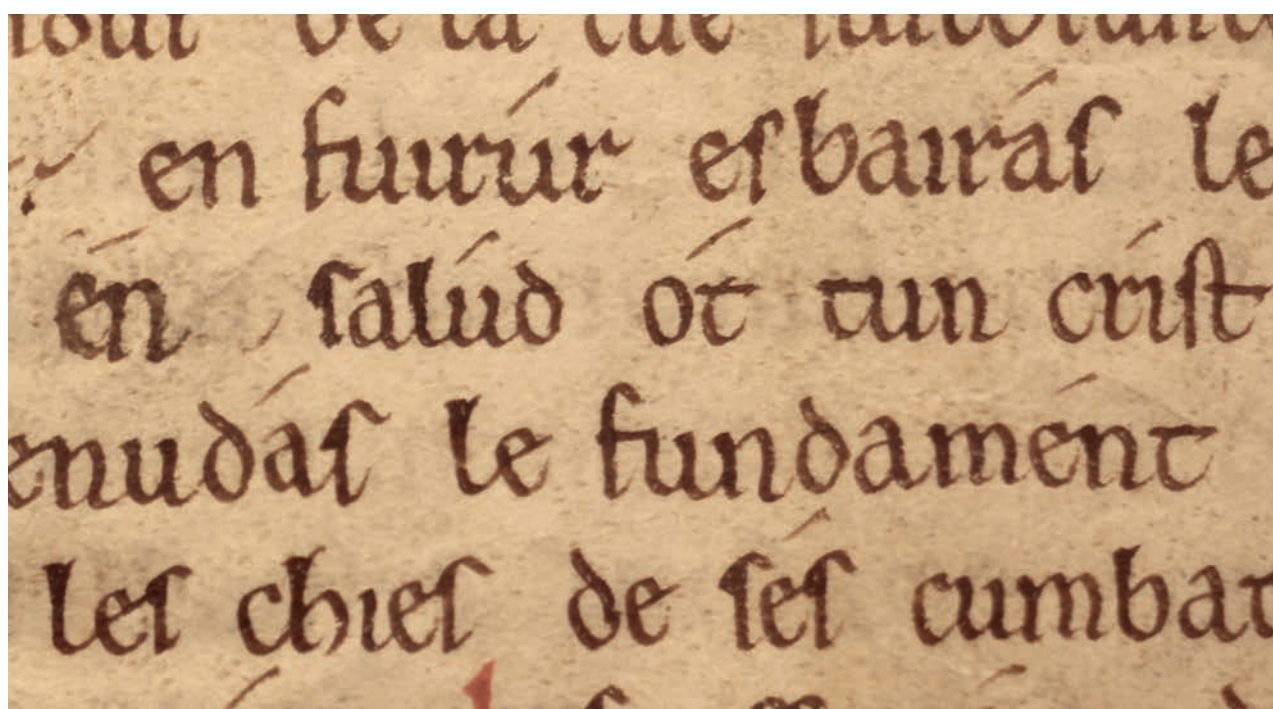
◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.*
 Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.
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f. 39v
 line 13



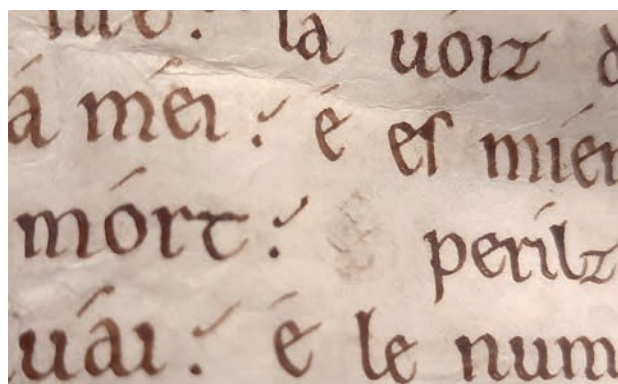
f. 41v
 line 11



f. 74v
 line 32

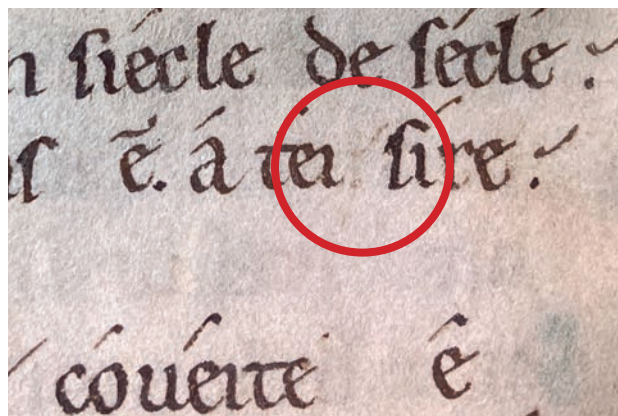
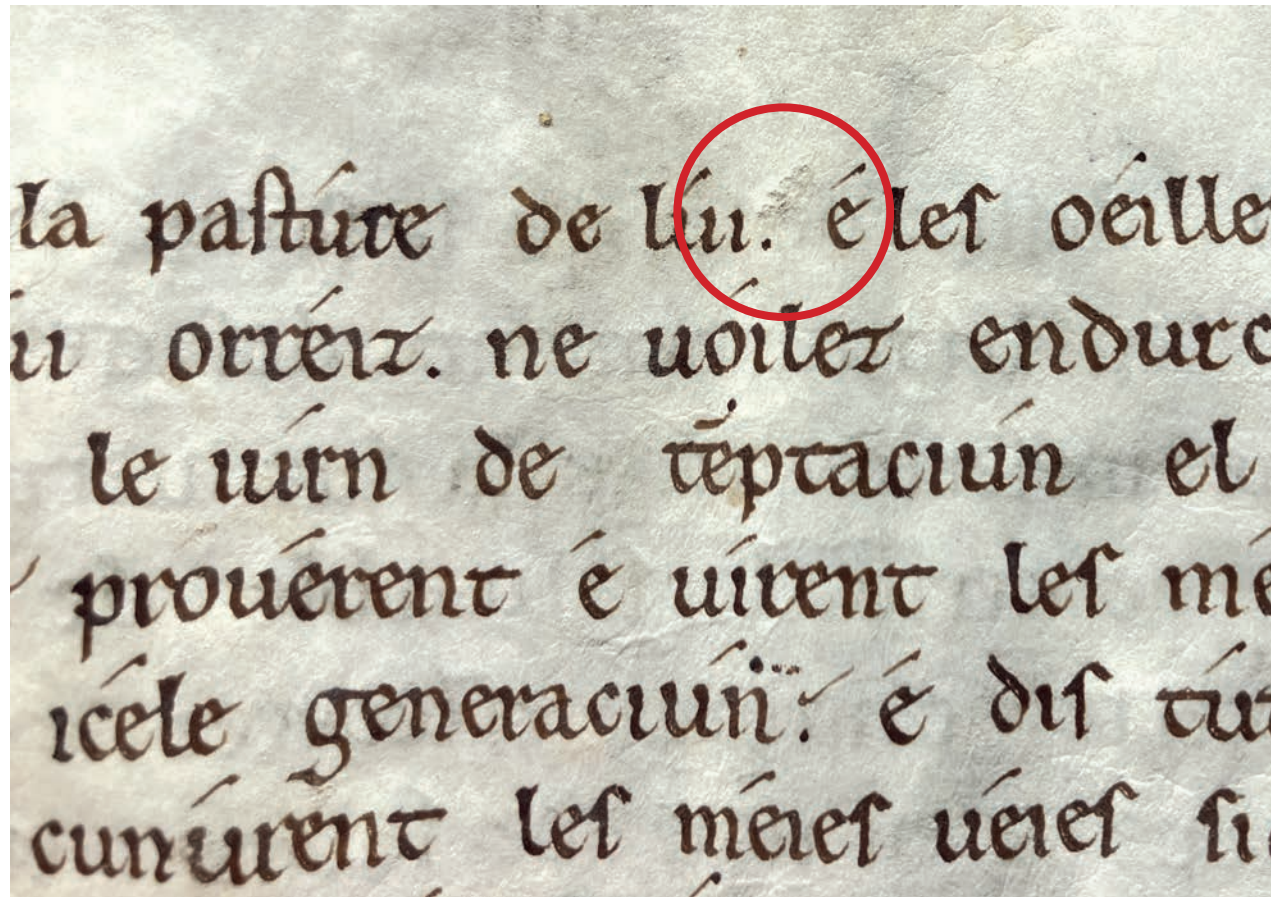
ERASURES OF THE CONJUNCTION *É* (AC)

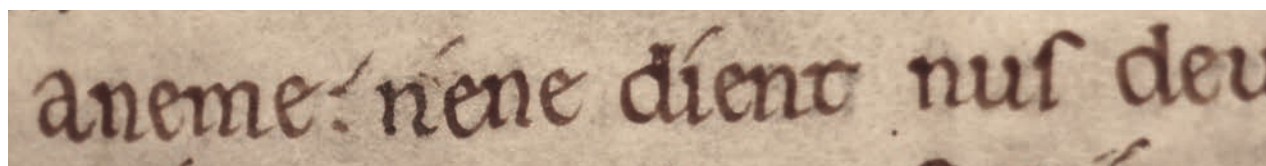
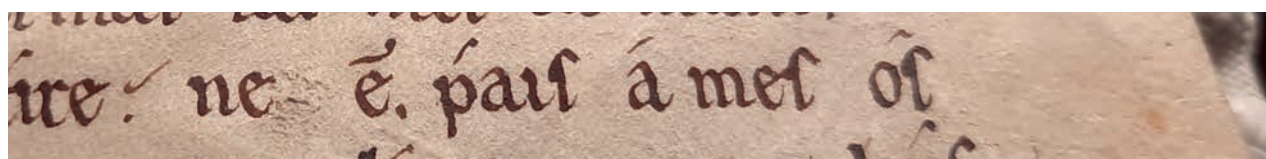
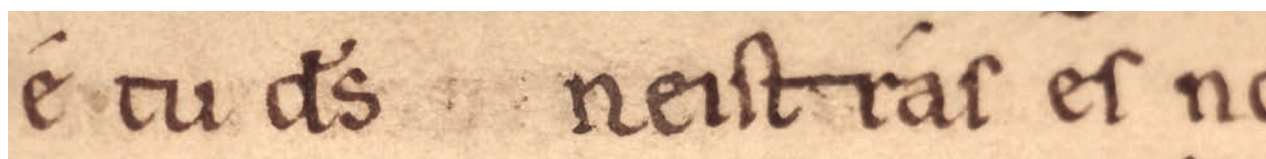
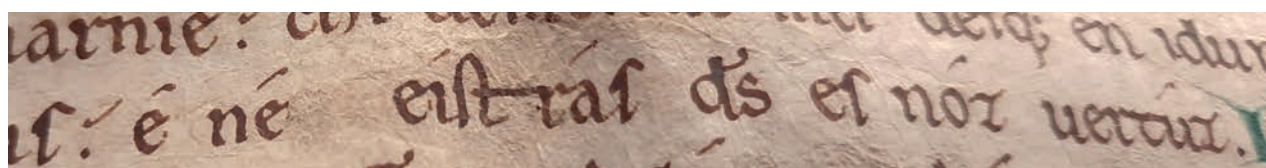
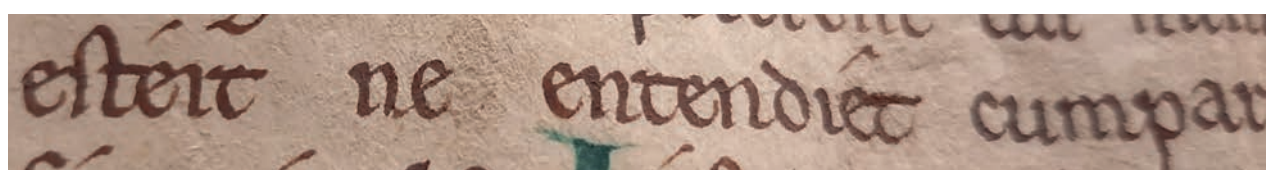
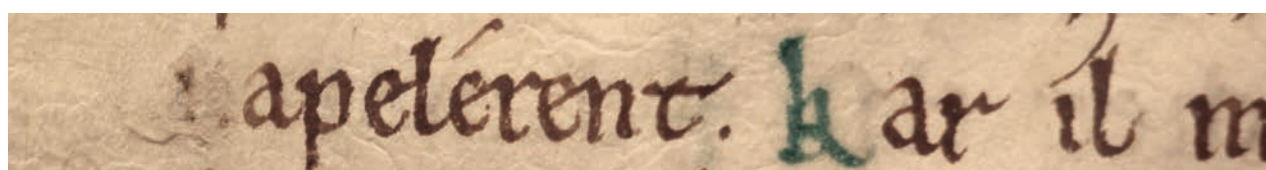
Some corrections upon erasures concern the conjunction *et* (*é*): f. 48r, line 19, *é ié deliuerrái téi. _é tu honurerás méi.* (< Latin *eruum te et honorificabis me*), same reading in Arundel (a single letter was erased before *é*); f. 49r, line 39, *E sicúme* (< Latin *sicut et*), Arundel reading: *Sicume et* (the Douce scribe probably changed his mind and inverted the two particles); f. 65v, line 28, *_perilz de enfern truuérent méi* (< Latin *et pericula inferni invenerunt me*), with evident traces of an *é* under the erasure, same reading in Arundel; f. 68v, line 6, *_en tés paróles suresperái* (< Latin *quia in verba tua supersperavi*), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce he scribe could have written an *é*).

f. 65v
line 28

ERASURES IN PUNCTUATION MARKS (AC)

Other erasures and corrections concern the punctuation of the text: f. 43v, line 10, *Nen est. saluét li réis par mülte uertút ; é gaiáanz ne se rat saluét en la multitudine de sa uertút* (the punctus elevatus is written upon an erasure); f. 45v, line 7, *E le nombre de mes iurz _ chi est* (< Latin *et numerum dierum meorum quis est*), with traces of a punctus elevatus under the erasure; f. 56v, line 27, *E cunuissent que núms est. á téi _ síre* (< Latin *Et cognoscant quia nomen tibi Dominus*), with evident traces of another previous punctus elevatus under the erasure; f. 60r, line 1, *E nús li póples de la pastúre de lúí . é les oéilles de la súa máin* (< Latin *et nos populus pascuae eius et oves manus eius*), where the upper segment of the punctus elevatus coming after *de lúí* was erased and turned into a punctus.

f. 56v
line 27f. 60r
line 1

f. 44r
line 29f. 45r
line 18f. 46v
line 21f. 50r
line 24f. 47v
line 32f. 55v
line 30

ERASURES IN NEGATIVE PARTICLES (AC)

The following section lists the cases in which the scribe made changes to the negative particle: f. 44r, line 29, *nene dient nus deuorerúms lúi* (< Latin *nec dicant devoravimus eum*), with traces of an accented *e* under *n*, Arundel reading: *et ne dient nus deuoreums lui* (perhaps the Douce scribe wrote *é ne* at first); f. 45r, line 18, *ne ē. pais á mes os* (< Latin *non est pax ossibus meis*), with a letter erased at the end of *ne*, Arundel reading: *nient iest pais a mes os* (the letter erased by the Douce scribe could be the *n* of a previous *nen*, similar to the one from the beginning of the verse, where the syntactic structure is the same: *Nen est. sanctéz* < Latin *Non est sanitas*); f. 46v, line 21, *é tu ds neist rás es nóz uertúz* (< Latin *et non egredieris Deus in virtutibus nostris*), Arundel reading: *et nient tu deus istras es noz uertuz*; f. 50r, line 24, *e né eíst rás deus es nóz uertúz* (< Latin *et non egredieris Deus in virtutibus nostris*), with a single letter erased at the end of *né* (probably *n*), Arundel reading: *et nient eistras deus en noz uertuz* (the Douce scribe could have written *nén*, as on f. 64r, line 32, where the phrasing is very similar: *é nen eistrás deus es nóz uertúz* < Latin *et non exhibis Deus in virtutibus nostris*); f. 47v, line 32, *ne entendiet cum par* (< Latin *non intellexit*), with a letter erased at the end of *ne* (probably *n*), Arundel reading: *nient entendiet*; f. 52r, line 16, *Ne áient hunte* (< Latin *non erubescant*), again with a single letter erased at the

end of *né* (probably *n*), Arundel reading: *Ne aient hunte*; f. 55r, line 35, *nen_esparn_ad* (< Latin *non pepercit*), with evident traces of a previous *n* before *esparnad*, Arundel reading: *nient esparnat* (at first, the Douce scribe wrote *ne nesparnad*); f. 55v, line 16, *é la lignéde deffraim né eslíst* (< Latin *et tribum Ephraim non elegit*), Arundel reading: *nient eslist* (in this case, the Douce scribe's first choice could have been *neslíst*); f. 55v, line 29-30, *ne_apelérent* (< Latin *non invocaverunt*), with evident traces of an *n* under the erasure, same reading in Arundel (in all probability, the Douce scribe wrote a contracted form *napelérent*, then corrected it and wrote *ne* at the end of the preceding line); f. 59r, line 7, *ne_crendrás* (< Latin *non timebis*), with traces of an accentuated *e* just before *ne*, as well as an ascender and a *u* in the blank space between *ne* and *crendrás*, Arundel reading: *nient criendras* (the erasure in Douce could be due to a change in the translation choice); f. 59r, line 13, *flaéls né aprismerá* (< Latin *et flagellum non appropinquabit*), Arundel reading: *et flaels ne aprismera* (the Douce probably wrote *naprismera* at first, as there are traces of an *n* under *né*), *vide infra*: lexical issues; f. 59r, line 16, *né offéndes* (< Latin *non forte offendas*), Arundel reading: *ne curuces* (in all probability, the Douce scribe wrote *nofféndes* at first).

ERASURES IN LEXICAL ISSUES (AC)

This category of the survey deals with erasures that concern matters related to vocabulary (various translation choices) or phrasing (word order or fixed expressions). I will present them in the following list, organised according to their entries in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND). All erasures have been analysed in comparison with the readings of Arundel ms 230.

Agu: f. 48v, line 13, *sicum nouácle agú_fesis tricherie* (< Latin *sicut novacula acuta fecisti dolum*). Arundel reading: *sicume nouacle acue fesis tricherie*. There are traces of two previous letters, the first of which is an *e*. At first, the adjective was probably in agreement with *tricherie*. The erasure and correction led to a correct agreement with *nouácle*.

Aide: f. 41r, line 10, *aíue* (< Latin *auxilium*). Same reading in Arundel. The word is used for the first time on f. 40v, line 9, without erasures. In this second occurrence, the root of the word was erased.

Aiuére: f. 38r, line 22, *aiuére en cuenabletéz en tribulatiun* (< Latin *adiutor*). The entire word was erased. It is safe to assume that the Douce scribe chose a synonym or a different spelling at first. Arundel reads here *aidere*. However, it is difficult to imagine that this was the initial translation choice of Douce. If that were the case, the Douce scribe would have had to change a single letter (*d > u*), without the need to erase the entire word. See also f. 38v, line 10, *al orphenin tu se_ras aiuére* (< Latin *adiutor*). Arundel reading: *aidere*. See also f. 43v, line 15, *kar il aiuére é nostre defendérre . est* (< Latin *quoniam adiutor et protector noster est*). The Douce scribe made a large erasure, but he also added the verb *est* after the punctus. Arundel reads: *kar aidere et est nostre defendre*. Perhaps the Douce scribe wrote an incorrent

phrase at first, similar to the one that we find in Arundel. The variant reading *aiué(r)e* is transcribed without erasures on: f. 39v, line 15; f. 40v, line 7; f. 42r, lines 14–15; f. 42r, line 31; f. 42v, line 19; f. 46r, line 6; f. 47r, line 23; f. 50r, line 12; f. 50v, line 4 + line 7 + line 21; f. 52v, line 15; f. 53r, line 17; f. 55r, line 17; f. 64v, line 6; f. 65v, line 15 + line 16 + line 17; f. 66r, line 14 + line 15; f. 68r, line 8; f. 72v, line 37. Two other variant readings occur in Douce ms 320: *aíuedur* on f. 48v, line 19, and on f. 56r, line 23; as well as *aidérre* on f. 52v, line 24.

Amen ore: f. 44r, line 25, *dístrent aimenóre amenóre . ueírent li nostre óil* (< Latin *Euge, euge*). Same reading in Arundel. See also f. 44r, line 28, *Né díent en lur cuers aimenóre aimenóre á lá nostre aneme* (< Latin *Euge, euge*). Arundel reading: *aiemere aimenore*. See also f. 46r, line 3, *chi díent á méi aimenóre aimenóre* (< Latin *Euge, euge*). Same reading in Arundel. A fourth occurrence of the phrase is on f. 52v, line 12, without any sign of erasure, but with a low dash : *aímen_óre aímen_óre* (< Latin *Euge, euge*). Same reading in Arundel. Cf. Sneddon 1972, 18.

Ampléis: f. 45v, line 20, *ampléis ne serái* (< Latin *amplius non ero*). Arundel reading: *et plus ne serai*. See also f. 48r, line 31, *Ampléis_léue méi* (< Latin *amplius lava me*). Same reading in Arundel. The space covered by the erasure suggests that the Douce scribe wrote *amplement* at first. See also f. 50r, line 39, *Ne serái mouí ampléis* (< Latin *non movebor amplius*). Arundel reading: *ne serai mout plus*. The adverb *ampléis*, without erasure (and translating Latin *amplius*) is found on: f. 53v, line 30 (Arundel: *plus*); f. 57v, line 17–18 (Arundel: *amples*); f. 58v, line 31 (Arundel: *aemplus*); f. 61v, line 17 (Arundel: *plus*).

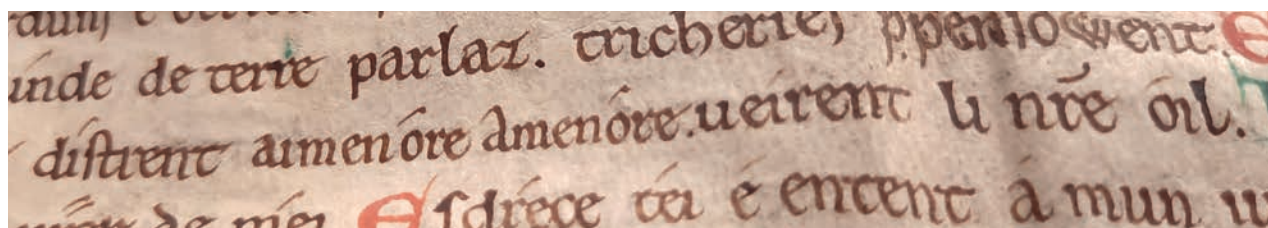
Angeles: f. 38r, line 10, *de ángeles* (< Latin *ab angelis*). Arundel reading: *des angles*. This is the first occurrence of the word in the Douce text. The erasure concerns only the letter *e*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *angle*, reducing the ascender of the *l*, and transforming it into an *e*. It is also possible that the Douce scribe simply erased an accent, although it is hard to imagine that an

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

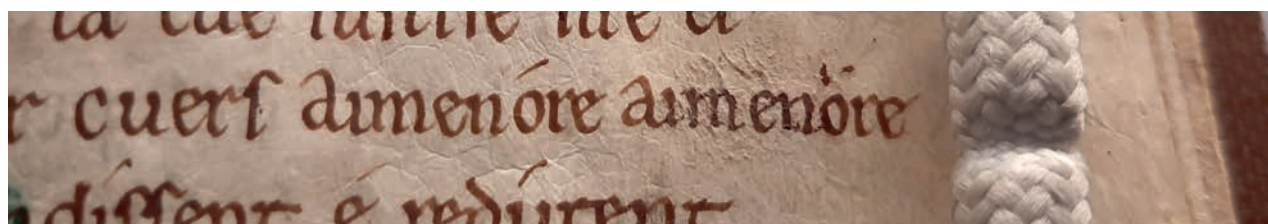
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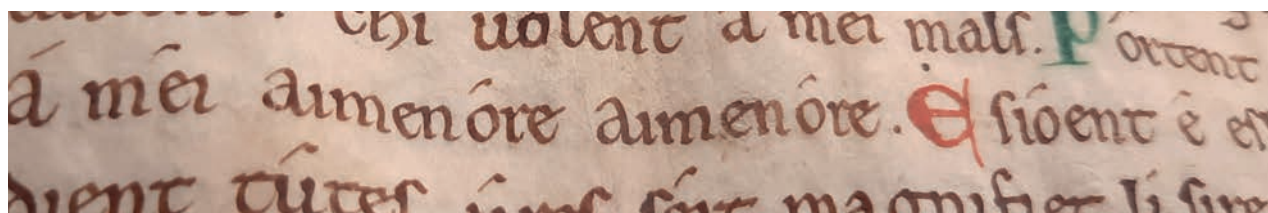
f. 44r
line 25

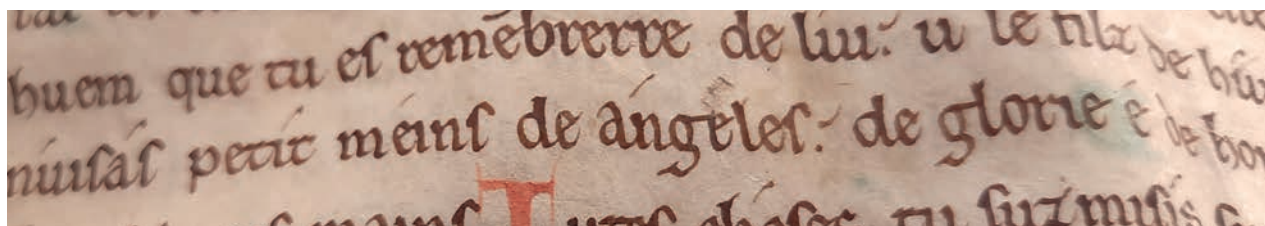
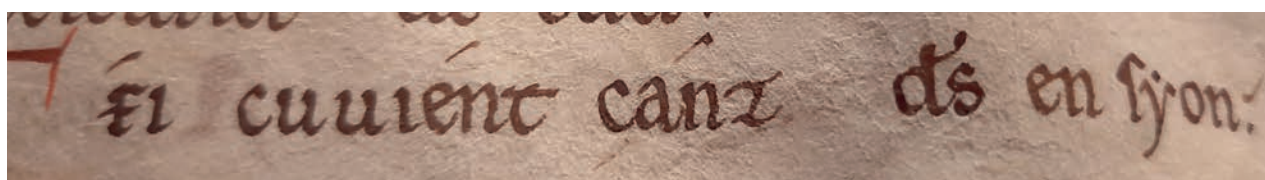
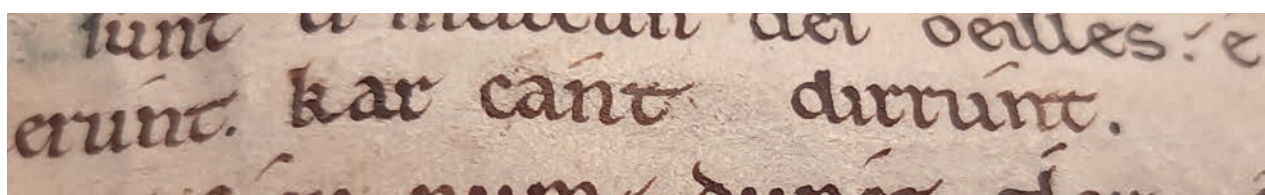


f. 44r
line 28



f. 46r
line 3



f. 38r
line 10f. 50v
line 16f. 51r
line 16

accent would be written so close to the letter *e*.

Après: f. 55v, line 19-20, *daprés les fedunañz recūt lúi* (< Latin *de post foetantes accepit eum*). Arundel reading: *de apres les founanz receut luj*.

Arbreisel: f. 56r, line 12, *é les arbrissels de lí. les cedres déu* (< Latin *et arbusta eius cedros Dei*). Arundel reading: *et les arbriseals de li les cedres de deu*.

Assemblé: f. 51v, line 24, *Monz assembléz* (< Latin *mons coagulatus*). Arundel reading: *monz asemblet*. See also f. 51v, line 24-25, *monz assemblez* (< Latin *montes coagulatos*). Arundel reading: *monz asemblez*. These are the only occurrences of the adjective *coagulatus* in the Latin text. It is likely that the Douce scribe used a synonym or an incorrect translation choice, that he later decided to erase and replace.

Austre: f. 55r, line 7, *Il tresportá _aústre_ del ciél* (< Latin *Transtulit austrum de caelo*). Arundel reading: *Il tresportat icel uen del ciel*. The term *auster* occurs only twice in the Latin text. The text of Douce translates both occurrences as *austre*. The second occurrence is no longer the object of an erasure: *sicume éwe en aústre* < Latin *sicut torrens in austro*. In the first occurrence, there are traces of an *l* before the beginning of the word. This could be due to the presence of a definite article in the first version of the text. Nevertheless, the blank space erased at the end of the shows traces of the letters *re*.

Bassesse: f. 50v, line 23, *il enterrunt és basséces de la terre* (< Latin *introibunt in inferiora terrae*). Arundel reading: *il enterunt es bassecces de la tere*.

Bel: f. 47r, line 1, *beáls* (< Latin *speciosus*). Same reading in Arundel.

Belté: f. 47r, line 4, *beáltet* (< Latin *pulchritudine*). Same reading in Arundel. There are traces of a previous *l* just after *be-*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *béltet*, as he did on f. 40v, line 22. The spelling *beáltet* without erasure can be found on f. 47r, line 14; f. 48r, line 5 + line 15; f. 51v, line 20.

Cant: f. 47r, line 39: *muntá deus en cánt* (< Latin *Ascendit Deus in iubilo*). Arundel: *en chant*. The term *iubilum* occurs only once in the text of the Psalms. See also f. 50v,

line 40, *tei cuuiént cánz deus en syon* (< Latin *Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion*). Arundel reading: *chant*. In this particular situation, there are possible traces of a *y* under the first letter of the erasure. This suggests that the Douce scribe wrote *ymne* at first. See also f. 51r, line 16, *kar cánt dirrunt* (< Latin *etenim hymnum dicent*). Arundel reading: *chant*. Once again, there are possible traces of a previous *y* at the beginning of the erasure. The Latin word *hymnus* is not frequent in the text of the Psalms. In other occurrences, such as in Ps 99, Ps 118, Ps 136, and Ps 148, the Douce scribe translates it as *loenge*.

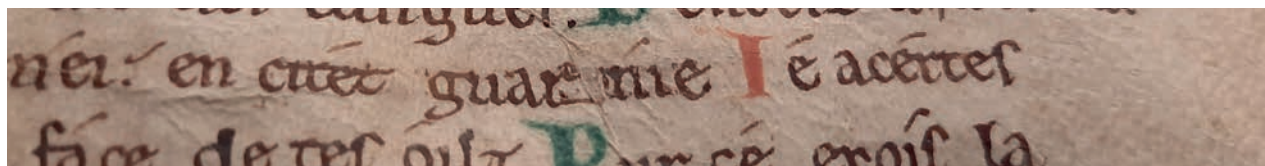
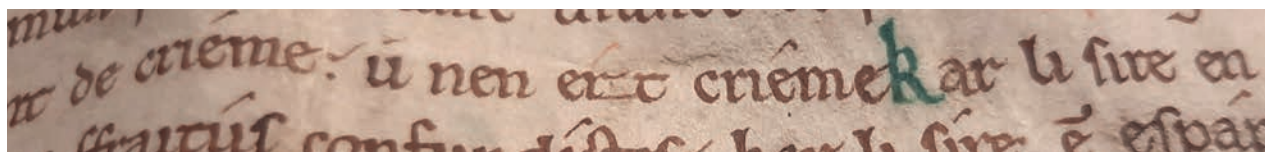
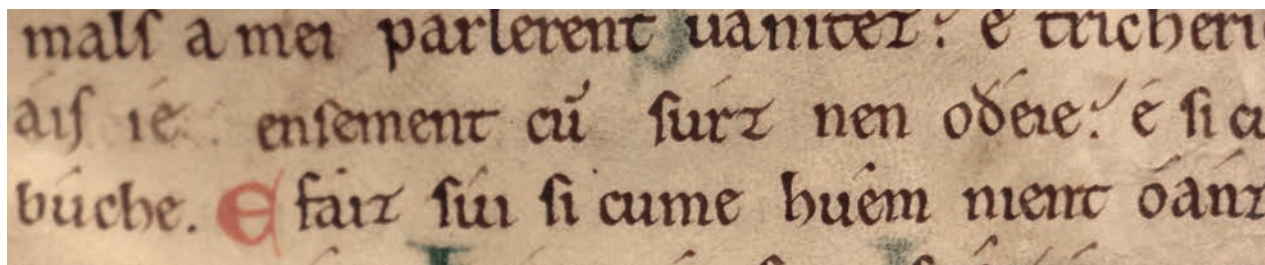
Cercle: f. 40r, line 33, *del cercle* (< Latin *orbis*). Same reading in Arundel. Two letters were erased and rewritten at the beginning of the word.

Chef: f. 37r, line 25, *mun chief* (< Latin *caput meum*). The erasure concerns the first occurrence of the word in the Douce text. In the remaining part of the translation, the scribe used the same spelling (except for f. 41r, line 32, *chéf*). No other term was used to translate the Latin word *caput*.

Cheveil: f. 45v, line 39, *cheuels* (< Latin *capillos*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers the space of a single letter. At first, the Douce scribe probably wrote *cheuals* 'horses'. See also f. 51v, line 32, *che_uél* (< Latin *capilli*). Same reading in Arundel. In this situation, the scribe probably wrote *cheuuel* at first (cf. DÉAF quoting *Cligès*). The third and last occurrence of the word can be found without erasure on f. 52r, line 13 (*cheuél*s).

Citet (guarnie): f. 43r, line 12, *en citet guar_nie* (< Latin *civitate munita*). Same reading in Arundel. The same phrasing can be found on f. 50r, line 23, *en citét guarnie* (< Latin *in civitatem munitam*); f. 64r, line 31, *en citéd guarnide* (< Latin *in civitatem munitam*). Perhaps the Douce scribe chose a different phrasing or translation choice at first. It is also worth noting that he corrected *guarnie* using a low dash after the erasure and correction.

Contrition: f. 39r, line 8, *Contriciún* (< Latin *contritio*). Same reading in Arundel. *Contriciúns* translates Latin *contritiones* on f. 50r, line 15. However, the Douce scribe also uses the translation choice *detribleménz* on f. 73r, line 6-7. This could be the reading that he wrote at first.

f. 43r
line 12f. 39r
line 11f. 45r
line 31

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.
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Coverture: f. 40r, line 12, *la cōuerture* (< *protectionem*). Arundel reading: *cuuerture*, *vide supra*, articles. The word occurs twice as a translation of Latin *vestimentum* on f. 61r, line 36; f. 61v, line 30. Two other occurrences of Latin *protectio* were translated as (*el*) *couřement* on f. 59r, line 2; f. 62v, line 29.

Cremur: f. 47v, line 8, *criemúr* (< Latin *tremor*). Same reading in Arundel. When the Latin word *tremor* occurs elsewhere in the Psalms, the Douce scribe translates it as *tremblur* (f. 37r, line 20; f. 49r, line 7). There are no other occurrences of *criemur*. It is possible that the scribe wrote *tremblur* at first.

Crieme: f. 39r, line 11, *criéme* (< *timor*). Arundel reading: *creme*. The parchment has a spongy texture under this word. It is also likely that the letter *e* was simply added later, after the ink of the initial word dried out, without erasure. The initial reading *criem* could have been simply followed by a punctus. See also f. 40r, line 40, *crieme* (< Latin *timor*). The tiny erasure can be noticed above the letter *c*, as if the scribe were correcting the ascender of another letter. The word is written without erasure (*criéme*) on f. 37r, line 19, and f. 74v, line 4.

Cum: f. 45r, line 31, *cum_ surz* (< Latin *tamquam surdus*). Arundel reading: *a cume surz*. The adverb is written as *cū*. The erasure concerns the last letter of the word, probably an *e* of *cume*.

Cúme: f. 38v, line 3, *ensemént cúme leun* (< Latin *quasi leo*). Same reading in Arundel. The scribe had already used *ensemént cúme* in previous parts of the text. Nevertheless, this is the first occurrence of the Latin word *quasi*, later translated as *ensemént cum* (x 2) and *sicum* in Psalm 34. In Ps 36, the Douce scribe wrote *sicume*; in Ps 72, *ensemént cume*; in Ps 73, *sicume*; in Ps 77, *ensemént cum*.

Delivre: f. 57v, line 16, *entre mórz deliures* (< Latin *inter mortuos liber*). Arundel reading: *entre les mors desliures*. In this situation, the French word translates an adjective. Other uses of *deliure(s)* concern the verb *delivrer* (present

indicative, present subjunctive, or past participle). In Ps. 69:6b, the same spelling is used to translate Latin *liberator* (*vide infra*: *delivrer*).

Delivrer: f. 52v, line 15, *deliuré_* (< Latin *liberator*). There are clear traces of a previous final *-re*. This erasure represents an exception. All other occurrences of *deliure(s)* are either adjectival or verbal (*vide supra*: *delivre*). However, the Douce scribe translated Latin *liberator* as *deliurer(r)e* on f. 39v, lines 14-15 (large erasure); f. 40r, line 25; f. 72r, line 29.

Depriere: f. 39r, line 36, *depreière* (< Latin *deprecationem*). Arundel reading: *priere*. Latin *deprecatio* is always translated as *preiere* in the Douce text. The erasure is the only exception to this rule and it concerns the second occurrence of the Latin word. On f. 42r, line 31, the Douce scribe wrote *preière*, then added *de* in the interline above the beginning of the word, in order to write *depreière*. There are two occurrences on f. 71v, line 15, and f. 72r, line 6, where the scribe writes *depreaciún*. (*vide infra*: *priere*)

Dereinété: f. 51v, line 22, *é les deraineté del dos de lí* (< Latin *et posteriora dorsi eius*). Same reading in Arundel. In all likelihood, the scribe wrote *dereinété* at first, with *e* instead of *a*. The *i* was erased by mistake, being too close to the *e*. It was rewritten. The Latin term *posteriora* is also translated as *dederaineté* on f. 55v, line 15. The variant *deraineté* translates Latin *in extremis* in Ps 138 and in the Canticles.

Dessérte: f. 37v, line 30, *par dessérte* (< Latin *merito*). Arundel reading: *par deserte*. The Douce scribe probably wrote *deserte* at first, then corrected it to *desserte* by the addition of a second *s*. Traces of an *e* are visible after the first *s*. The scribe could have made this choice in order to avoid the homonymy *desserte* and *desert*.

Dis: f. 75v, line 13, *dí_s milliés* (< Latin *decem milia*). Same reading in Arundel. The size of the erasure suggests that the initial reading could have been *diis*. The variant *dís* without erasure had been used by the Douce scribe previously on f. 43r, line 36; f. 51v, line 26; f. 59r, line 10 + line 24; f. 72r, line 38.

Drecañz (< *Drecañz*): f. 53v, line 7, *de drec_änz* (< Latin *surgentium*). Arundel reading: *de drecañz*. The same spelling without erasure can be found on f. 65r, line 33 (< Latin

suscitans). In the case of f. 53v, line 7, the Douce scribe probably erased an *e* or an *h*; he could have written *drechanz* at first. See also *esdrechanz* < Latin *insurgens* on f. 40r, lines 17-18 + line 26; and *esdreceanz* < Latin (*in*)*-surgens* on f. 44r, line 12 (large erasure); as well as f. 46v, line 18; f. 49v, line 33; f. 59r, line 34).

Dreiturier: f. 66r, line 24, *es tabernacles des dreiturérs* (< *in tabernaculis iustorum*). Arundel reading: *dreitures*. Traces of previous letters (an *i* at the beginning of the word and an *s*) suggest that the Douce scribe wrote a variant of the word *iuste* at first. Further confirmation can be found in Ps 1, where Latin *iustus* was translated using both synonyms: *in concilio iustorum* > *el conseil des dreiturérs*; *viam iustorum* > *la uéie des iústes*.

Dustre: f. 51v, line 38, *duitur* (< Latin *duces*). Arundel reading: *duitres*. The word *dux* is translated *dúitre* in its first occurrence on f. 49r, line 17. The same translation choice is used on f. 56r, line 10; and on f. 62r, line 8. Two other occurrences of the French word *dúitre* can be found in the Canticles.

Embuié: f. 55v, line 37, *li gemissemenz des embóiez* (< Latin *gemitus compeditorum*). Arundel reading: *les gemissemenz des enboiz*, *vide supra*, articles.

Empuricé: f. 37r, line 8, *Empuricé* (< Latin *ideo*). This is the first occurrence of the term in the French text.

Encendement: f. 51r, line 32, *ot encendement* (< Latin *cum incenso*). Same reading in Arundel. The word *incensum* is translated as *esprise* in Ps. 79:17. See also *encéns* on f. 71v, line 26, same reading in Arundel.

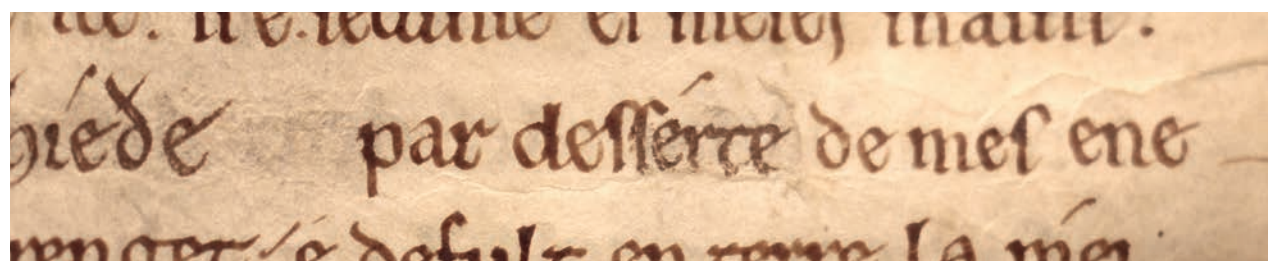
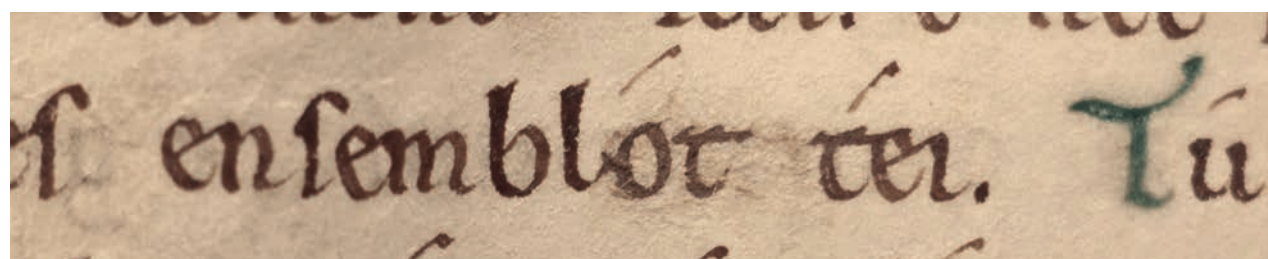
Enfant: f. 52r, line 30, *dél tûen enfant* (< Latin *a puero tuo*). Same reading in Arundel. This is the first occurrence of the word *puer* in the Psalms. The same French noun is used as a translation choice for Latin *puer* on f. 57v, line 1; f. 62v, line 33; and f. 65r, line 28. The word *enfant* is also used as a translation choice for Latin *parvulus* on 39v, line 12 (large erasure); f. 50v, line 35; f. 71r, line 7. It could translate *infans* as well, on f. 38r, line 6. Given the size of the erasure on f. 52r, line 30, the Douce scribe probably used a different spelling of the word at first.

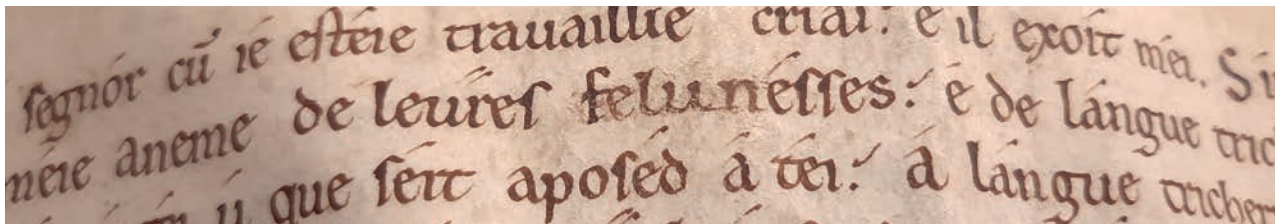
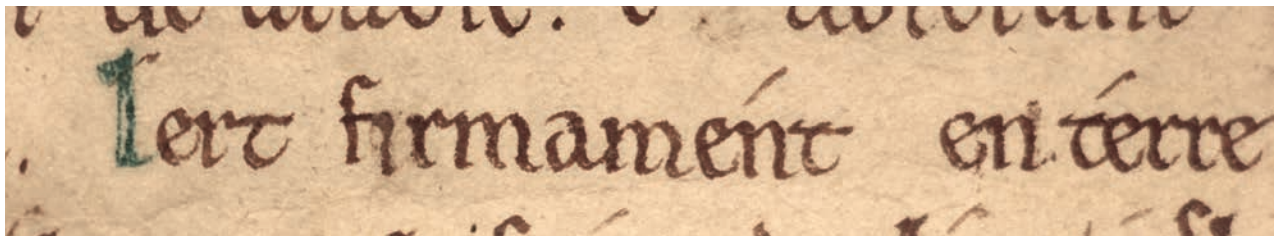
Ensemble: f. 53v, line 10, *ensemblót téi* (< Latin *tecum*). Arundel reading: *ensemblement ot tei*. Traces of a previous *e* can be seen under the *o*. The Douce scribe could have written *ensemble ot* at first, then decided to contract *ensemble* and the preposition *ot*. 53v_10.

Entendement: f. 39r, line 29, *entendement* (< Latin *intellectum*); f. 43r, line 29, *entendement* (< Latin *intellectum*), with the prefix *en* written in the margin of the text column; f. 43r, line 31, *entendement* (< Latin *intellectus*). Same readings in Arundel. These are the first occurrences of the word in the text (and the first occurrences of Latin *intellectus* in the Psalms). The word was written without erasure in the remaining part of the Douce text, as if the scribe had decided that it was a fixed translation choice for *intellectus*. In all likelihood, he used a shorter synonym at first.

En vain: f. 44r, line 7, *enuain* (< Latin *supervacue*). Same reading in Arundel. The Douce scribe wrote the same word without erasures on f. 41r, line 39; f. 41v, line 9; f. 42v, line 30; f. 45v, line 10 + line 16; f. 50v, lines 22-23; f. 58v, line 12; f. 69v, line 14 + line 15. The erasure concerns a single letter (scribal error: *enuain* instead of *enuain*?).

Enuers: f. 39r, line 18, *enuérs ses pruesmes* (< Latin *adversus proximos suos*). Arundel reading: *enuerses*; f. 52r, line 22, *Enuér méi parlówent* (< Latin *adversum me*), same reading in Arundel. In the second occurrence, the Douce scribe possibly made a scribal error and wrote *encuntre / encontre* at first. See also f. 44v, line 5, *Kâr enuér téi* (< Latin *apud te*), same reading in Arundel. There are traces of an *s* from the erased word at the end of the correction. The Douce scribe probably did not write the word *kar* at first. See also f. 45v, line 18, *enuérs téi* (< Latin *apud te*), Arundel reading: *uers tei*; f. 46r, line 35, *Enuér méi oreisún á déu de la meie uie* (< Latin *apud me*), same reading in Arundel. The word *envers* is written without erasure on f. 38v, line 37 (< *adversus eum*); f. 41r, line 17 (< *apud te*); f. 53v, line 10 (< *apud te*); f. 54r, line 31 (< *apud reges terrae*); f. 59v, line 23 (< *adversus malignantes*); f. 61r, line 14 (< *adversum me*); f. 64r, line 39 (< *adversum me*); f. 64v, line 18 (< *apud Dominum*); f. 66v, line 25 (< *adversum me*); f. 69v, line 40 (< *apud te*); f. 70r, line 2 (< *apud Dominum*); f. 75v, line 19 (< *apud me*). In all occurrences (with and without erasure) *envers* translates Latin *adversus*, *adversum*, and *apud*. In many other occurrences, the Douce scribe also uses *encuntre / encuntre* to translate Latin *adversus*, *adversum*, *in* + ablative, *contra* + accusative: f. 37r, line 11 + line 12 + line 23; f. 40r, line 18; f. 41r, line 32; f. 42r, lines 4-5 + line 5 + line 18; f. 43r, line 1 + line 6 + line 24; f. 44r, line 1 + line 17; f. 45r, line 27; f. 45v, line 3; f. 46r, line 14 + line 15 + line 16; f. 46v, line 27; f. 48r, line 23 + line 24 + line 26 + line 33; f. 48v, line 36; f. 49r, line 33 + line 36; f. 49v, line 33; f. 50v, line 35; f. 52v, line 20; f. 54r, line 12; f. 56v,

f. 37v
line 30f. 53v
line 10

f. 69r
line 1f. 53r
line 21

line 12 + 14; f. 59v, lines 23–24; f. 64r, line 36; f. 64v, line 10 + line 18. The remaining occurrences of *envers* translate Latin *apud* + accusative, with the exception of two situations. The first one occurs on f. 45v, line 12, upon an erasure: *é la meie substānce ad téi est* < *et substantia mea apud te est*. The second one occurs on f. 56r, line 30: *al éwe de contradictiún* < *apud aquam contradictionis*. The first occurrence (with the erasure) has a different reading in Arundel: *et la moie substance uers tei est*. Consequently, the erasures of *envers* on f. 39r, line 18, and f. 52r, line 22, probably concern a different translation choice. For a part of this analysis, see also Sneddon 1972, 159–160.

Ewe: f. 44v, line 4, *é del éwe*. Same reading in Arundel. The size of the erasure suggests that two letters have been erased. The word is frequently written with a **w** from f. 37r, line 5, to f. 74v, line 27. The alternate spelling *eue(s)* can be found from f. 39v, line 18 + line 27 + line 31 + line 33, to f. 43v, line 1. Since the **w** of f. 44v, line 4, covers the space of two letters, the Douce scribe probably wrote *eues* at first, with an error in agreement.

Fei: f. 43r, line 38, *en féi* (< Latin *in fide*). Arundel reading: *in feiiz* or *in feuz*. A single letter was erased at the end of the word in Douce. The initial reading could have been a scribal error: *enfern*.

Felunesse: f. 69r, line 2, *de leuřes felunesses* (< Latin *labiis iniquis*). Same reading in Arundel. The problem concerns the root of the word. The correction *felun-* was written with sprawling, unrestrained strokes. The Douce scribe probably wrote *tricheresses*, an adjective that occurs twice in his text (*tricherúse* / *tricherresse*, same reading in Arundel) to translate Latin *dolosa*. Traces of a **t** at the beginning of the erasure confirm this interpretation. For the adjective *tricheruse* / *tricherresse*, *vide infra*. For the translation choice *felun* / *felunesse*, see Agrigoroaei 2023, 112–113.

Felunessement: f. 44r, line 22, *chi cuntralient méi felunessement; chi hairent méi en pardúns* (< Latin *qui adversantur mihi inique, qui oderunt me gratis*). Same reading in Arundel. The adverb is part of a large erasure on f. 39v, line 38: *né felunessement ne fis cóntre le mien deu. Kar túit li sun iugement el mién esguardemént* (< Latin *quia custodivi vias Domini, nec impie gessi a Deo meo*). These are the first two occurrences of *felunessement* as a translation choice for Latin *inique*. The remaining occurrences are written without erasures on f. 45r, line 39; f. 46v, line 30; f. 48r, line 25; f. 54r, line 10; f. 67r, line 16.

Fil: f. 61r, line 37, *lí _fil* (< Latin *fili*). Same reading in

Arundel. A single letter was erased at the beginning of the French word (scribal error?).

Firmament: f. 53r, line 21, *firmaméit* (< Latin *firmamentum*). Same reading in Arundel. On the same folio, Ps 72:4, the word is written *fermement* (< Latin *firmamentum*). Traces of a previous **e** are visible. The scribe used both variants in his text: *firmament* in Ps 17:3; Ps 18:2; Ps 70:3; Ps 150:1; *fermement* in Ps 24:14; Ps 88:41; Ps 104:16.

Flael: f. 59r, line 13, *é flael̄s né aprismerá_* (< Latin *et flagellum non appropinquabit*). Same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*, negative particles. Latin *flagellum* is always translated *flael(s)*. See f. 43r, line 32; f. 44r, line 18; f. 45r, line 35.

Flum: f. 51r, line 10, *flúues* (< Latin *flumen*, nominative singular). Same reading in Arundel. This spelling is also used on f. 53v, line 36 (*flúuies*, oblique plural < Latin *fluvios*). The Douce scribe also uses *flúez* (< Latin *flumen*, *fluctus*, *fluvius*, oblique plural or nominative plural) on f. 51r, line 7; f. 54v, line 36; f. 55r, line 29; f. 57v, line 20; 58r, line 7; f. 59v, line 4; f. 63v, line 40; f. 74v, line 26. The correction could be linked to the use of a singular form or an **-ez** ending before the erasure.

Fontaines: f. 39v, line 30, *fontaines* (< Latin *fontes*). Arundel reading: *fonteines*. The Douce scribe erased and changed **e** > **a**. The variant spelling *fontéine* can be found on f. 51v, line 37, and f. 61v, line 39. All other occurrences of the word read *fontáine*: f. 44v, line 5; f. 46r, line 23 + line 24; f. 65v, line 5; f. 73v, line 19.

Frenge: f. 47r, line 17, *en f_renges orines* (< *in fimbriis aureis*). Arundel reading: *en frendes orines*. There are traces of an **e** between **f** and **r**. Traces of a **g** are visible under the **n**; as well as a previous **e** and a probable **s** under the **g**. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *fereges*, a term that cannot be found elsewhere in the text.

Fuille: f. 44v, line 11, *les foilles des herbes* (< Latin *olera herbarum*). Same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*, articles. Latin *folium* is translated as *fúille* on f. 37r, line 5.

Fuirur: f. 37r, line 14, *fu_rúr* (< Latin *furore*); f. 44v, line 18, *fu_rúr* (< Latin *furorem*). Arundel reading: *forsene*. There are evident traces of an erased **i**.

Funel: f. 39r, line 27, *Funéls chairent á méi* (< Latin *Funes ceciderunt mihi*). Arundel reading: *cordes*. The Douce text always translates this Latin word as *funel* (cf. f. 67r, line 27; f. 71v, line 13). Latin *funiculus* can also be translated as *funel* on f. 55v, line 3; 62v, line 2; f. 71r, line 22. The term can also be found in Canticles. The situation is different in Arundel, where Latin *funes* > French *cordes*; and Latin

funiculus > French *funel*. The erasure on f. 39r, line 27 corresponds to the first occurrence of the two terms and there are traces of a previous *s* at the end of the erased word. At first, the Douce scribe also had the choice to write a variant spelling of *funel* that he modified, leaving the *u* unchanged and correcting the second part of the word only. However, the Douce scribe could also write the word *cordes* as *ordes*, with a space for the coloured majuscule (to be painted later). If the erased letters were *ordes*, the scribe would have written the letters *F* and *u* in the blank space of the majuscule, with *nels* on the erasure.

Gelee: f. 55r, line 32, *en geléda* (< Latin *in pruina*). The second occurrence of this word is without erasure on f. 67v, line 14. Arundel reading: *en gelae*. There are traces of an ascender between *g* and *e*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *freid* ‘cold’.

Grandece: f. 42v, line 1, *grandéce* (< Latin *magnificentia*). Same reading in Arundel. The word often translates Latin *magnificentia* and is written without erasure on f. 38r, line 6; f. 52r, line 7; f. 53r, line 1; f. 60r, line 14; f. 65r, line 4; f. 72v, line 12. It can also translate Latin *magnitudo* on f. 52v, line 25; f. 55v, lines 37–38; f. 72v, lines 10–11 + line 14; f. 73v, line 12. The same word is part of a phrase that translates Latin *in altissima quae fecisti magnolia* on f. 52v, line 38. At first, the Douce scribe could have written the spelling *grandur*.

Gras: f. 51v, line 24, *_mónz grás* (< Latin *mons pinguis*).

Arundel reading: *monz cras*. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe replaced a *c* with a *g*. The variant spelling *crás* for Latin *pinguis* is found on f. 40v, line 11; f. 41r, line 3 + 23; f. 55r, line 13. The spelling *grás* occurs for a second time (without erasure) on the same f. 51v, line 24.

Haltesc: f. 52r, line 11, *en la haltéce* de mér (< Latin *in altitudinem maris*). Same reading in Arundel. The first occurrence of the word *altitudo* is translated *haltéce* on f. 38v, line 31. The spelling is kept on f. 49r, line 33; f. 59v, line 37; f. 61v, line 11. The Douce scribe could have written a variant spelling or a longer synonym. There is room for 2–3 more letters at the end of *haltéce*.

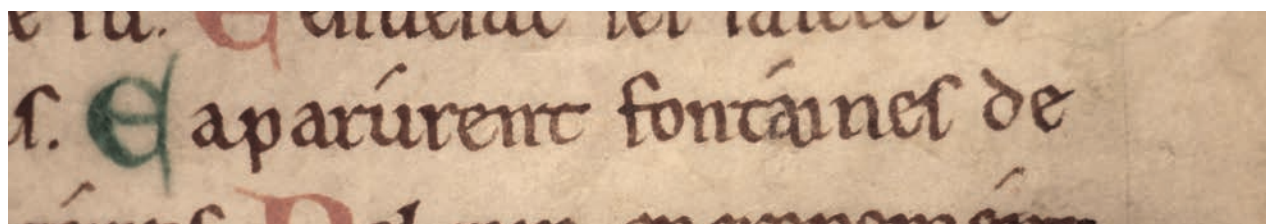
Haltisme: f. 55v, line 4, *déu le haltisme* (< *deum excelsum*). Arundel reading: *le deu halt*, *vide supra*, articles. Several verses before in the text of the same Psalm, Latin *excelsus* is translated as *laltisme* (f. 54v, line 37). The variant reading *altisme* is used elsewhere in the text to translate Latin *excelsus* and *altissimus*. The spelling with an initial *h* is used only one other time, when *haltismes grandéces* translates the Latin neuter plural *altissima* on f. 52v, line 38.

Hodie: f. 60r, line 2, *hódie* (< Latin *hodie*). The Latin

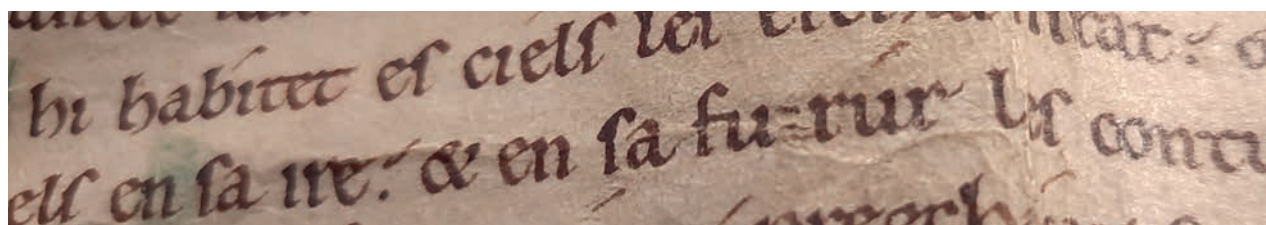
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.

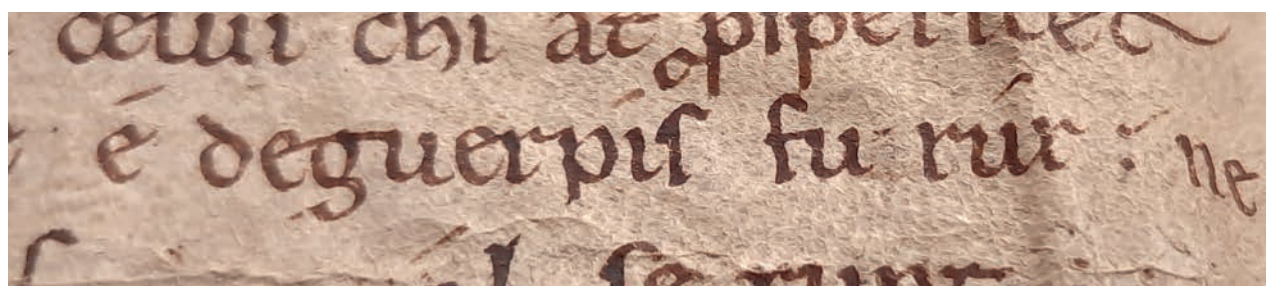
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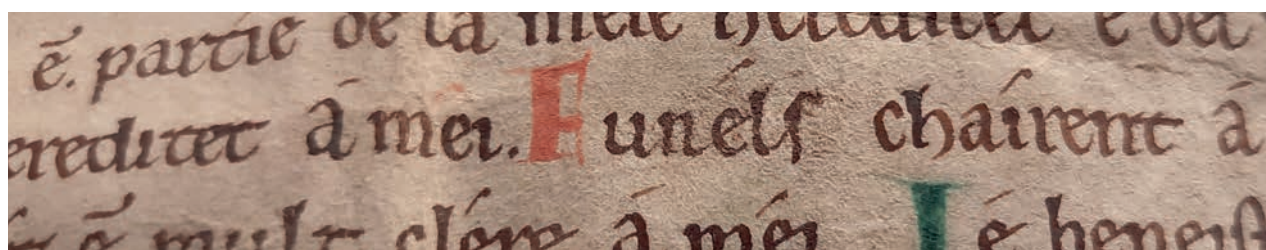
f. 39v
line 30



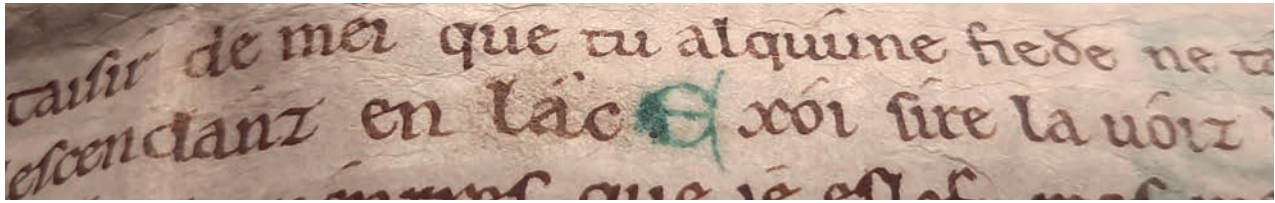
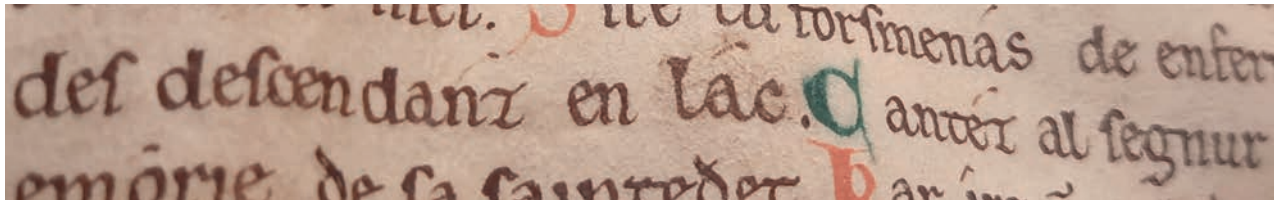
f. 37r
line 14



f. 44v
line 18



f. 39r
line 27

f. 42r
line 23f. 42v
line 11

adverb *hodie* occurs only twice in the *Gallicanum*. In Ps 2: 7, the Douce scribe translates it as the French adverb *húi* (f. 37r, line 16). In the case of f. 60r, line 2, he probably wrote *húi* at first, similar to Arundel: *ví*, but he changed his mind and rewrote it as *hódie*, with the *h* and *e* written on the blank spaces at the beginning and the end of the erased word. There are traces of a previous accent.

Idumiens: f. 56v, line 15, *idumiens* (< Latin *Idumaeorum*). Same reading in Arundel.

Iraine: f. 45v, line 16, *iraigné* (< Latin *araneam*). Arundel reading: *iregne*. Latin *aranea* is translated for a second time on f. 58v, line 29, as *irainéde*. In the erasure of f. 45v, line 16, the scribe did not erase the initial *ir-*. He probably used a different variant of the word at first.

Iuste: f. 37r, line 9, *la uéie des iústes ; é* (< Latin *viam iustorum, et*); f. 43v, line 31, *sur les iústes* (< Latin *super iustos*); f. 43v, line 33, *criérent lí iúste* (< Latin *clamaverunt iusti*); f. 43v, line 35, *les tribulatiuns des iústes* (< Latin *multae tribulationes iustorum*); f. 44v, line 34, *máis li iústes át merci* (< Latin *iustus autem miseretur*); f. 45r, line 3, *Máis li iúste eriterúnt lá terre* (< Latin *Iusti autem haereditabunt terram*). Arundel has the same readings for the Douce occurrences of f. 43v and f. 45r. The Arundel reading for the Douce f. 44v is: *li iustes acertes ad merci*. All erasures concern the ending of the word. The spelling *iúste(s)* without erasure can be found in many occurrences throughout the Douce text. *Vide supra:* *felunesse*.

June, Jejunie, Jun: f. 52r, line 20, *en ieúnie* (< Latin *in ieiunio*). Latin *ieiunium* is first translated on f. 44r, line 15: *en iúnie* (< Latin *in ieiunio*). The last occurrence is on f. 64v, line 22: *de ieúnie* (< Latin *a ieiunio*). Arundel reads *en ieunie* for Latin *en ieiunio*; and *de ieunie* for Latin *a ieiunio*. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe probably wrote *iunie* at first, with the same spelling as the first translation choice on f. 44r, line 15. Further confirmation comes from the last letters of the word *ieúnie*, written into the margin of the textual column. The traces of an accent under the *e* suggest that this is where a *ú* had been written.

Labur: f. 38v, line 9, *labúr é dolúr* (< Latin *laborem et dolorem*). Same reading in Arundel. Traces of the first two letters of the erasure (possibly a *t* and an *r*) suggest that the Douce scribe wrote the synonym *traual / trauail* at first. Nevertheless, there is little room for this initial reading. The word *traual* had already been used in lines 1–2 for a similar phrasing (*vide infra:* *travail*): *traualz é dolúrs* (< Latin *labor et dolor*). The Latin phrase is translated once again in Ps. 89, on f. 58v, line 31: *traualz é dolúrs* < Latin *labor et dolor*. Folio 38v, line 9 is a rare occurrence of the word *labúr* as a translation choice for

Latin *labor*. The variant *labórs* occurs on f. 64v, line 6 (< Latin *labores*). All other occurrences of Latin *labor* are translated as *trauail / trauail*.

Lác: f. 42r, line 23, *en lác* (< Latin *in lacum*), Arundel reading: *lai*; f. 42v, line 11, *en lác* (< Latin *in lacum*), Arundel reading: *lai*. In both occurrences, the word is part of the same phrase (*descendanz en lác* < Latin *descendentibus in lacum*). A similar phrase occurs twice in the remaining part of the text: *descendanz en fósse* (f. 57v, lines 15–16; f. 72r, line 19), where it translates the same Latin phrase *descendentibus in lacum*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *fosse* on f. 42r, line 23, and f. 42v, line 11. The decision to erase the initial translation choice and replace it with *lác* could be determined by an etymological choice and by previous decisions. Such a choice could be the use of the French word *lác* (< Latin *lacum*) written without erasure on f. 38r, line 1. I believe this explains why the Douce scribe decided to correct the two occurrences on f. 42r–v. The word *fósse* translates both *lacus* and other Latin words on f. 38r, line 2 (< Latin *foveam*); f. 38v, line 4 (< Latin *spelunca*); f. 45v, line 22 (< Latin *de lacu*); f. 49v, line 14 (< Latin *foveam*); f. 57v, line 19 (< Latin *in lacu*); f. 59v, line 20 (< Latin *fovea*).

Langue: f. 38v, lines 25–26 (x 2), *langue* (< Latin *linguam*), same reading in Arundel; f. 39r, line 17, *en sa langue* (< Latin *in lingua sua*), same reading in Arundel. The word *langue* is written without erasure on f. 38v, line 1, and from f. 39r, line 32, to f. 71v, line 10. The corrections on f. 38v, lines 25–26, and f. 39r, line 17 are the second and third occurrences of the word. Perhaps the scribe wrote *lengue* at first.

Mer: f. 54r, line 14, *mier uín* (< Latin *vini meri*). This is the only occurrence of the Latin adjective *merus* ‘pure’ in the Psalms. The French adjective *mier* is also used in Arundel. Since there are no traces of erasure under the *m*, the Douce scribe could have written a different spelling or could have made a scribal error.

Merveillus: f. 43r, line 12, *kár il fist merueilúse la súa misericórde á méi* (< Latin *quoniam mirificavit misericordiam suam mihi*), same reading in Arundel. The phrase *fist merueilúse* translates Latin *mirificavit*. Since the blank space following *merueilúse* is also part of the erasure, the Douce scribe could have written a longer word at first. In Ps. 4:4, the same verb is translated without erasure: *fáit merueillus* (f. 37r, line 34). The feminine is used again on an erasure on f. 39r, line 23, *at fáit merueilúses tútes mes uoluntez én els* (< Latin *mirificavit*); and on f. 39v, line 3, *Fái merueilúses lés tútes misericórdes ; chi sals fáis les esperanz en téi* (< Latin *mirifica*). The Arundel readings

are the same. See also f. 59v, line 5, *Merueillús li esleuement de la mér* (< Latin *Mirabiles elationes maris*), Arundel reading: *Merueilluses eleuementz de mer*. This correction is the result of a hesitation in the agreement of the translation choice for Latin *elatio* (feminine) > French *esleuement* (masculine). Arundel has an agreement in the feminine (nominative singular or oblique plural). Traces of the erased letters *es* suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *merueilluses* at first.

Mes: f. 45v, line 10, *máis* (< Latin *sed*). Same reading in Arundel. The Douce scribe probably wrote *meis* at first.

Mort: f. 47v, line 27, *mórt* (< Latin *interitum*). Same reading in Arundel.

Nunnuisant: f. 53r, line 40, *nun_nuisanz* (< Latin *innocentes*), with traces of a previous *s*. Arundel reading: *nienz nuissanz*.

Nue: f. 54v, line 10, *uóiz dunérent les_núes* (< Latin *vocem dederunt nubes*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers the space of a single letter (possible scribal error?).

Oreison: f. 63v, line 6, *loreisún* (< Latin *orationem*). Arundel reading: *le oreisun*. There are traces of *s > i*.

Palur: f. 51v, line 22, *en pallór dór* (< Latin *in pallore aurei*). Arundel reading: *en pallisur de or, vide supra*, prepositions. The erasure is so large that it damaged the *r* and the *u* of *serunt* in the line below.

Par: f. 48v, line 3, *é pár esprit* (< Latin *et spiritu*). Same reading in Arundel. The same Latin phrase is translated *par le spirit* on f. 43r, line 40, without erasure. The Douce scribe could have written another preposition and/or article at first.

Pardunable: f. 75v, line 35, *é pardunáble serád* (< Latin *et propitius erit*). Same reading in Arundel. The *p* is written to the left of the erasure. The ending *able* is equally written in a blank space that separated the initial spelling of the adjective from the verb.

Parole: f. 54v, line 16, *en paróles* (< Latin *in parabolis*). The first occurrence of Latin *parabola* is translated *paróle* on f. 47v, line 22. The second occurrence, on f. 52r, line 22, does not show traces of an erasure either. The erasure on f. 54v is the last occurrence of the word in the text of the Psalms. Arundel has the same readings in all three occurrences. Since the root of the word is not touched by the erasure, the Douce scribe probably wrote a different spelling or the etymological choice *parable*.

Pecheur: f. 37, line 2, *des peccheurs* (< Latin *peccatorum*); f. 69v, line 32, *des peccheurs* (< Latin *peccatorum*), same reading in Arundel; f. 71v, line 32, *de peccheur* (< Latin *peccatoris*), same reading in Arundel. The *p* minuscule from the erasure on f. 71v was written above the ascender of a majuscule. In this particular situation, the scribe's hesitation could be due to the separation of the verses. See also line 30 of the same folio, where the majuscule *O* of the phrase *Ót húmes* was written after the erasure of a minuscule *o*.

Peissuns: f. 38r, line 12, *peissuns* (< Latin *pisces*). Same

reading in Arundel. Since the erasure covers the space of 3–4 letters, the Douce scribe probably wrote a variant spelling or a word beginning with *peis-* (*peisoun?* *peisces?*). The word is written with the same spelling without erasure on f. 62v, line 20.

Peisant: f. 45r, line 20, *sicume pesánt* (< Latin *onus grave*). Arundel reading: *peisant*. This is the only occurrence of the word in the entire text.

Plaisír: f. 58r, line 17, *bién plaisír* (< Latin *beneplacito*). Same reading in Arundel. The same Latin word is translated as *bón pláit* (< Latin *beneplaciti*) on f. 52r, line 24; *bonplaisír* (< Latin *beneplacito*) on f. 62v, line 40; *bien plouíd* (< Latin *beneplacita*) on f. 68r, line 2; *bien plouídes chóses* (< Latin *beneplacitis*) on f. 71v, line 33; *bien plouíde(chóse* (x 2 < Latin *beneplacitum*) on f. 73r, line 15; *bien plouíde chóse* (< Latin *beneplacitum*), on f. 73v, line 4. There are traces of two letters with ascenders under the *r* of *plaisír* and close to it.

Prés: f. 43v, line 34, *Prés est li síre* (< Latin *Iuxta est Dominus*). The word written by the Douce scribe at first was longer than the one that replaces it. This is its first occurrence in the text. It was used in the translation of other Latin phrases, such as *qui praetergrediuntur viam > chi pássent prés la uéie*; or *prope timentes eum > prés les cremañz lúi*. The Douce scribe translates the Latin adverb *iuxta* as *de iuste* on f. 37v, line 5; f. 45r, line 28; f. 59v, line 22; f. 71v, line 13. Since the majuscule of f. 43v, line 34 was painted later, the scribe could have written (*d*)*eiuste* at first. Arundel also reads *deiuste* in this instance.

Priere: f. 45v, line 17, *preière* (< Latin *deprecationem*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers the space of a single letter. The Latin word *deprecatio* is also translated on f. 37v, line 24 (*preiere*); f. 39r, line 36 (*depreiere*); f. 41r, line 16 (*preiere*); f. 42r, line 24 (*preiere*) + line 31 (*depreiere*); f. 49r, line (*preiere*); f. 50r, line 27 (*preiere*); f. 51r, line 36 (*preiere*); f. 57r, line 28 (*preiere*); f. 68v, line 30 (*preiere*); f. 69v, line 39 (*preiere*); f. 71v, line 15 (*deprecciun*); f. 72r, line 6 (*deprecciun*); f. 72v, line 28 (*preiere*). The scribe probably made a scribal error, transcribing another letter at first.

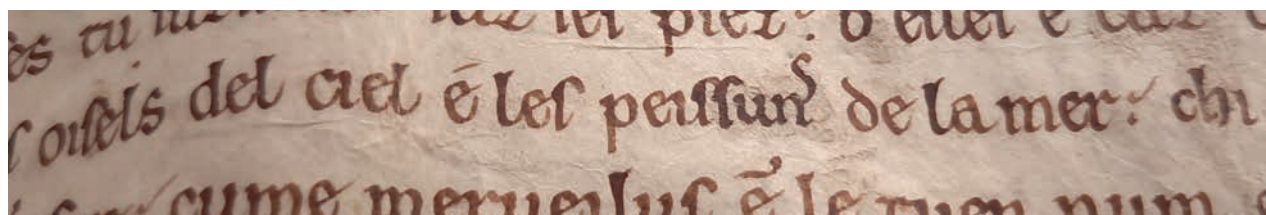
Proisme: f. 41r, line 40, *pr isme*. Arundel reading: *prosme*. The same word is used on f. 42r, line 26; f. 45r, line 27; f. 69r, line 23. Other variants are also transcribed. The spelling *pruísm* is used on f. 57v, line 33–34 and on f. 60v, line 37; *presme* on f. 38v, line 24; *pruesme(s)* on f. 39r, line 17, line 18, line 19. All these occurrences translate the Latin adjective *proximus*. In the case of the erasure on f. 41r, line 40, the spaces between letters and the traces of the erased letter suggest that the scribe wrote *proisme* at first.

Pussance: f. 51r, line 6, *ceínz de puissañce* (< Latin *accinctus potentia*). Arundel reading: *ceint de puissanz, vide supra*, prepositions. Latin *potentia* is translated *poténce*

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

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f. 38r
line 12

on f. 52v, line 37; f. 58r, line 11; f. 63r, line 7; f. 72v, line 12 + line 19 + line 20. The variant *poance* can be found on f. 56r, line 4. Traces of previous letters suggest that the scribe initially wrote a preposition + noun (perhaps a variant of the same noun with *p*; there are traces of a descender below the *u*).

Rain: f. 56r, line 13, *Estendiét sés ráins* ___ (< Latin *Extendit palmites suos*). Arundel reading: *Extendit ses rains*. There are traces of a previous *p* at the beginning of the word, below the *r*. The Douce scribe used *rain* to translate *renes*, *palmae*, and *rana*. In the case of this erasure, the scribe probably wrote *palme(s)* at first.

Refuge: f. 38r, line 22, *li síre refúges al póûre* (< Latin *refugium*), with a final *s* written in the interline. Same reading in Arundel. See also f. 50r, line 12, *refúges* (< Latin *refugium*). Same reading in Arundel. In the text of Douce, *refuge* always translates Latin *refugium* and is written without erasure on f. 47r, line 23; f. 58v, line 19; f. 59r, line 4 + line 13; f. 59v, line 31; f. 62r, line 9; f. 72r, line 29. Two occurrences on f. 42v, line 25 + line 26, show no sign of no erasures, but the scribe corrected an initial *refui* into *refuge*. In all likelihood, the erasures on f. 38r and 50r could concern a similar variant *refui*.

Rei: f. 42v, line 7, *Li síre _reis* (< Latin *rex*). There are traces of an *s* before *reis*. The scribe could have made an eye-skip, writing *sire* twice.

Repost (en): f. 38v, line 17, *que il saietent en repost les dreiturers de cuer* (< Latin *ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde*). Arundel reading: *que il saietent en obscure les dreitures de quor*, vide supra, articles. In Ps 142, the Douce scribe translates without erasures Latin *in obscuris* > French *en oscurtéz* (f. 72r, line 14). Furthermore, whenever he encounters the Latin verb *obscurare*, he also writes *o(b)scurer* (f. 52r, line 36; f. 54r, line 2; f. 62v, line 18; f. 71r, line 32). In the erasure on f. 38v, line 17, the Douce scribe does not follow these choices. Elsewhere in the Douce text, the word *repost(e)* translates Latin *abscondere* and *occultare*: f. 42r, line 8, with erasure (< Latin *abscondit*); f. 45r, line 25 (< Latin *est absconditus*); f. 46v, line 34 (< Latin *abscondita*); f. 54v, line 18 (< Latin *sunt occultata*); f. 71r, line 36 (< Latin *est occultatum*); f. 74v, line 18, Canticles (< Latin *abscondita est*).

Repostáile: f. 38v, line 3, *en repostáile* (< Latin *in abscondito*). The same translation choice is used on f. 39, line 11; f. 42r, line 9; f. 43r, line 10; f. 56r, line 29. Elsewhere, it translates Latin *occulis* on f. 38v, line 2; *abditis* on f. 39v, line 9; and *latibulum* on f. 39v, line 26.

Reproche: f. 52r, line 18, *repróce*; (< Latin *opprobrium*). Same reading in Arundel. I already described the change *u* > *o* in the first instalment of this paper. This erasure concerns the entire ending of the word, covers the punctus elevatus as well, and extends above towards the previous line. The Douce scribe probably erased several ascenders (*s*? *h*?). I assume he could have written the variant spelling *reprusce* at first. The word *reproce* is again the subject of erasures in lines 20 and 21 on the same folio. These two occurrences have been dealt with in the first instalment of the paper, as a possible correction *ou* > *o*. The word *reproce* always translates Latin *opprobrium*, except for two occurrences where it translates *improperium*.

Riche: f. 43v, line 26, *Lí ríche besuignérent* (< Latin *Divites eguerunt*). Same reading in Arundel. Latin *dives* is translated as *riche(s)* in Ps 9:29 (< *divitibus*); Ps 44:13 (<

divites); Ps 48:3 (< *dives*); Ps 48:17 (< *dives*).

Richesce: f. 53r, line 39, *_richéises* (< Latin *divitias*). There are ink traces at the beginning of the word.

Rive: f. 51r, line 11, *ríues* ___ (< Latin *rivos*). Same reading in Arundel.

Sacrefise: f. 45v, line 29, *Sacrifise* (< Latin *holocaustum*). Arundel reading: *sacrefise*. The erasure covers the space of a letter. The initial spelling could have been *secrifise*.

Salf: f. 37v, line 20, *salf me fai pur la tue misericordie* (< Latin *salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam*). Arundel reading: *salf mei fai pur la tue misericordie*. The phrase *salvum (me) fac* is translated in the same way on f. 37v, line 27; f. 38v, line 23; f. 43r, line 4; f. 48v, line 34; f. 50r, line 18; f. 52r, line 9; f. 64r, line 25; f. 61v, line 24; f. 66r, line 34; f. 67v, line 27; f. 68v, line 5. The erasure concerns the second occurrence of the phrase. In the first occurrence, on f. 37r, line 28, the word order is different: *fai me salf*.

Seint: f. 53r, line 2, *sáinz disrael* (< Latin *sanctus Israel*). Arundel reading: *seinz israel*.

Sei: f. 52r, lines 34–35, *é en lá méie séi_ abeuferent méi _daisil* (< Latin *et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto*). The Arundel interlinear gloss translates Latin *aceto* twice, as if the meaning of the verse were not understood: *et en la moie sei abeurent mei de aisis de aisil*. The translation choice of Douce (*séi*) is kept in all occurrences, except for f. 64r, line 9: *séid*. It is safe to assume that the erasure on f. 52r, lines 34–35 concerned a final dental, vide supra articles; prepositions.

Senz: f. 37r, line 29, *senz achaisun* (< Latin *sine causa*). The phrase occurs a second time on f. 53r, line 40, without erasure (*senz acháisun*). The preposition *sine* is translated *senz* on f. 38r, line 40 (large erasure), and on f. 39r, line 16. The scribe wrote *sanz* from f. 46v onwards: f. 46v, line 24; f. 49v, line 36; f. 57v, line 16; f. 64r, line 11; f. 72r, line 17. The only exception is on f. 53r, line 40 (where the Arundel reading is *seinz acaisun*). The erasure on f. 37r, line 29, concerns the first occurrence of the word in the text. The Douce scribe probably wrote a different spelling of the word or a different preposition.

Si: f. 53r, line 20, *é _ aórerunt* (< Latin *et adorabunt*). Arundel reading: *et orerunt*. Two letters have been erased. The size of the erasure suggests that the Douce scribe wrote *é si aórerunt* at first.

Sícimam: f. 50r, line 19, *é partiráí sí_ cimám* (< Latin *et partibor Sichimam*). Arundel reading: *et partiráí sicimam*. The erasure covers the space of a single letter. In all likelihood, a *c* was erased. The same phrase without erasure can be found on f. 64r, lines 26–27: *é partiráí sícimam* (< Latin *et dividam Sichimam*).

Sire: f. 38v, line 7, *sire*. There are traces of an initial *j*–.

Suffraite: f. 46v, line 37, *oblies la nostre su ffráite* (< Latin *oblivisceris inopiae nostrae*). Same reading in Arundel. The same noun, translating Latin *inopia*, is written without erasure, on f. 43v, line 26; f. 57v, line 22; f. 64r, line 17. Given the extensive area covered by the erasure, the letter *s* could have been erased.

Sovereinté: f. 53v, line 24, *é ne conurent sicume en issement sur soufáineté* (< Latin *et non cognoverunt sicut in exitu super summum*). This correction is particularly revealing in comparison with the Arundel reading: *et nient conurent sicume enissement sur suenge*. The scribe of Arundel ms 230 misinterpreted Latin *summum* as *somnium* and translated it *suenge* accordingly. In all likelihood, the

Douce scribe copied a similar (if not the same) error from his antigraph, then erased and corrected it.

Sultiveté (+ *Gaste*): f. 75r, line 22, *é guáste_soltiuetéd* (< Latin *et uaste solitudinis*). Same reading in Arundel. Underneath the word *guáste*, there are traces of a **b** and an **e** at the beginning; of a **g** in the middle; and of a **d** and an **e** at the end. The issue with *soltiuetéd* could have been a variant or the spelling of its ending.

Tabernacle: f. 52r, line 38, *é en lur tabernáculos* (< Latin *et in tabernaculis eorum*). Arundel reading: *et en lur tabernacles*. The Douce scribe could have used a synonym.

Tens: f. 45r, line 13, *el tens de tribulatiún* (< Latin *in tempore tribulationis*). Same reading in Arundel.

Testemonie: f. 42r, line 19, *feluñ testemonie*; (< Latin *testes iniqui*). Arundel reading: *felun testimonie*. The same Latin phrase (*testes iniqui*) is used again in Ps 34 (f. 44r, line 12) and resulted in a large erasure: *Lí esdreceánz felún . testimonie* (Arundel reads: *felun testimunie*). The variant *testimonie* translates Latin *testis* on f. 58v, line 1. All other occurrences of *testimonie* translate Latin *testimonium*. Since the entire word is written on top of an erasure, the previous translation choice could have been a different (and longer) word.

Tráces: f. 39v, line 2, *les meies _tráces* (< Latin *vestigia mea*); f. 40r, line 15, *les meies _tráces* (< Latin *vestigia mea*). Same reading in Arundel for both occurrences. The word *traces* is used again on f. 54v, line 13 (< Latin *vestigia tua*) without erasure. In the two first occurrences, there are traces of erasure at the beginning of the word. The previous reading could have been *estrace(s)*. It is worth noting that the two erasures occur in verses where the Douce scribe had problems with the translation of *gressus meos* (*vide supra*: possessive forms).

Travail: f. 38v, lines 1–2, *tra_ualz é dólúrs* (< Latin *labor et dolor*). Arundel reading: *trauailz et dolurs*. The word is hyphenated (*tra-ualz*) at the end of the first line. Traces of a previous **t** and a small low dash can be seen before the second part *-ualz*. See also f. 69v, line 23, *Trauáile_ de tes enemís kar tu mangerás* (< Latin *Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis*). Arundel reading: *les trauals de tes mains kar tu maingeras*. Arundel has here a faithful translation of the Latin text; whereas Douce does not seem to understand the first part of the verse. There is no negative interpretation of the phrase *manuum tuarum* in the *Glossa Ordinaria*. It is therefore unlikely that the Douce scribe reinterpreted the Latin text metaphorically. The most evident explanation is that he did not understand the text of the antigraph. The reading *enemis* instead of *mains / meins* is the ultimate proof of a scribal error. As for the erasure *Trauáile_*, the initial word was certainly longer than the one written after the erasure. There are traces of letters in the blank space following the word. Given that the majuscule was written later, there are several possible interpretations. Just like Arundel, Douce could have had a phrase based on a definite article + noun (*trauail* or *labur*). The erasure could also be related to the scribal error *mains / meins* > *enemis*. The Douce scribe could have tried to make sense of the text, thus choosing

the past participle of the verb *travailler*. In the remaining part of the text, the Douce scribe translates Latin *labor* as French *travail* (pl. *traualz*). Only twice did he render it as *labúr* (< Latin *laborem*, Ps 9:35) and *labórs* (< Latin *labores*, Ps 108:11). Arundel has the same reading (*labur*) in Ps 9 and the reading *trauals* in Ps 108.

Tricheur, Tricheresse: f. 37v, line 7, *triche_ur* (< Latin *dolosum*), same reading in Arundel; f. 38v, line 24, *leuřes tricherréses* (< Latin *labia dolosa*), Arundel reading: *leueres trecheresses*; f. 38v, line 25, *leuřes tricherréses* (< Latin *labia dolosa*), Arundel reading: *leueres tricheruses*; f. 39r, line 37, *en tricherréses leuřes* (< Latin *labii dolosis*), Arundel reading: *en tricheresses leueres*; f. 43r, line 6, *leuřes tricherréses* (< Latin *labia dolosa*), Arundel reading: *tricheresses leures*. The first erasure (*triche_ur*) is probably the correction of a previous form *tricheour* or *tricherur*. There are two other occurrences of the Latin adjective *dolosus* that Douce translates as *tricherús* without erasure on f. 46v, line 4; f. 49r, line 29. As for the feminine forms, Douce uses two alternative spellings: *tricherrésse* without erasure on f. 64r, lines 36–37; f. 69r, line 3; and *tricherúse* without erasure on f. 48v, line 16; f. 69r, line 2. All the erasures concerning the feminine forms could have been corrections of previous endings in *-uses*.

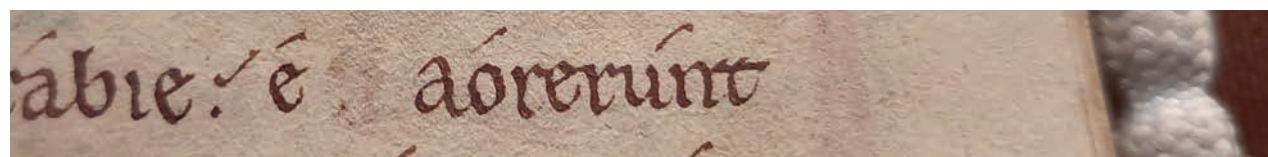
Ure: f. 39r, line 30, *Ié purueéie le segnur el mien esgwardement tútes úres* (< Latin *Providebam dominum in conspectu meo semper*). Same reading in Arundel. This is the first occurrence of the Latin adverb *semper* in the Psalms. The second translation of the same adverb is also on top of an erasure: f. 40v, line 7, *tútes _úres*. In the first instalment of this article, I argued that the Douce scribe could have written *oures* at first (p. 68). The same explanation can apply to the third occurrence on f. 41v, lines 21–22: *_óres*, where the scribe could have corrected the digraph *ou > o*. Other occurrences of the French phrase *tútes óres* upon erasure are also the result of a change *u > o*: f. 44r, line 32, f. 45r, line 36, f. 45v, line 36, f. 48r, line 12, f. 48r, line 33, f. 52v, line 31–32. The erasure of the entire phrase occurs only on f. 52v, line 13 (*tútes óres*). When it is written without erasure, the phrase is *tútes úres* on f. 43v, line 18 and f. 46r, line 4. The spelling *tútes óres* is found on f. 53r, line 21; f. 53v, line 10; f. 54r, line 6; f. 60r, line 5; f. 62r, line 34; f. 64v, line 11; f. 64v, line 17; f. 66v, line 37; f. 67r, line 9; f. 68r, line 3; f. 68r, line 12. There are also two occurrences where *semper* is translated as *túte ueie*: f. 52r, line 37; f. 52v, line 23. In light of the above, the erasure of f. 39r, line 30 could have corrected a previous reading *túte ueie*. The final *-s* for the plural *tutes* was added later, during the correction. Furthermore, *ueie* also started with a *u-*, thus explaining why the first letter was not erased.

Voiz: f. 40r, line 32, *les _uóiz* (< Latin *voces*). Same reading in Arundel. One letter was erased at the beginning of the word.

▼ *Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.

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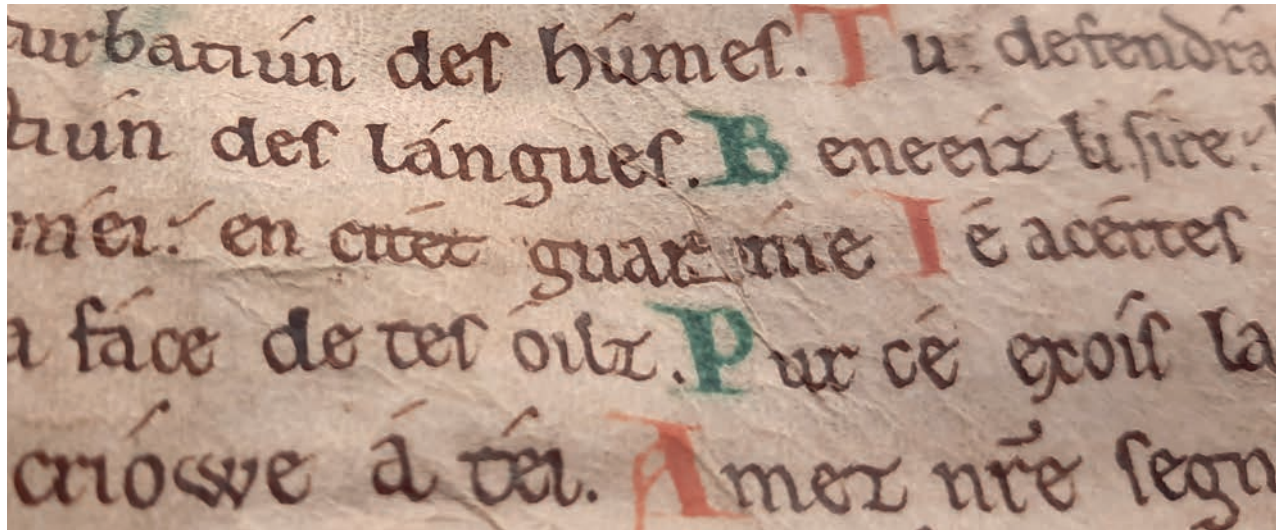
f. 53r
line 20

CORRECTIVE USES OF THE LOW DASH (CONTINUATION) (AC)

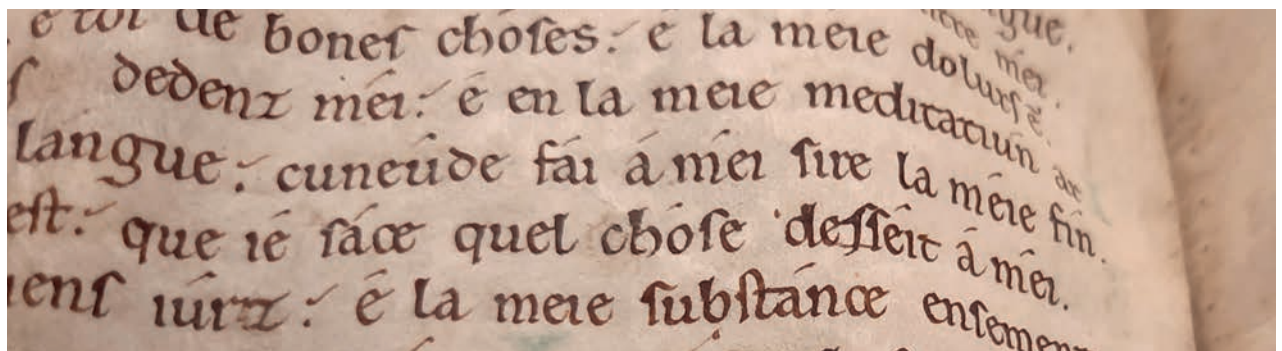
The first instalment of this paper already documented a series of low dashes used by the Douce scribe to correct various scribal errors and misunderstandings from his initial transcription (*The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 110–111). The majority of these low dashes bear witness to the existence of an antigraph copied or interpreted by the scribe. Other uses of the low dash are related to material features of the copy (such as holes in the parchment, etc.). The following survey completes the 2023 list: f. 40v, line 14, *Exói_et* (to avoid reading *exói + et*, unclear if this is an actual error); f. 41v, line 30, *pró_ue* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable); f. 42r, line 5, *encún_tre* (accidental, determined by a hole in the parchment, see also *requer_rái* in the following line, analysed in the previous

instalment); f. 43r, line 12, *citét guar_ríe* (low dash upon erasure, part of the correction); f. 44r, line 14, *humilió_we* (to avoid reading *humilió + we*, unclear if this is an actual error); f. 45r, line 10, *aste_téi* (the same situation occurs on f. 38v, line 16, analysed by the previous instalment); f. 45r, line 24, *rui_ówe* (to avoid reading two words, unclear if this is an actual error); f. 45v, line 7, *quel chose desséit á méi* (the Douce scribe initially wrote *de séit*, placed a low dash between the two segments: *de_séit*, then added an additional *s* on the low dash); f. 45v, line 11, *a_ssemblerát* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable); f. 45v, line 20, *men_álge* (to avoid reading two words, unclear if this is an actual error); f. 46r, line 20, *nún_nuisance* (at first, the Douce scribe separated the negative particle

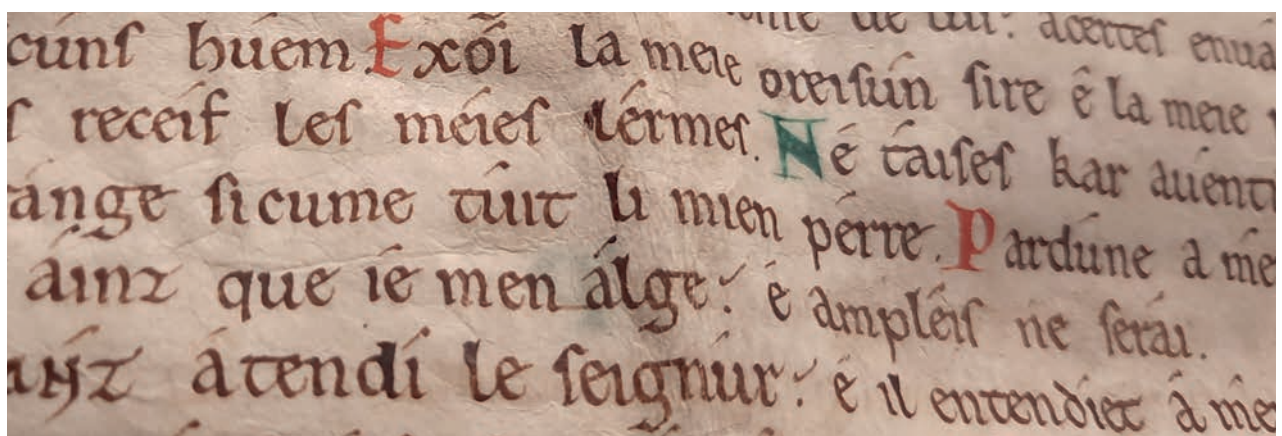
f. 43r
line 12

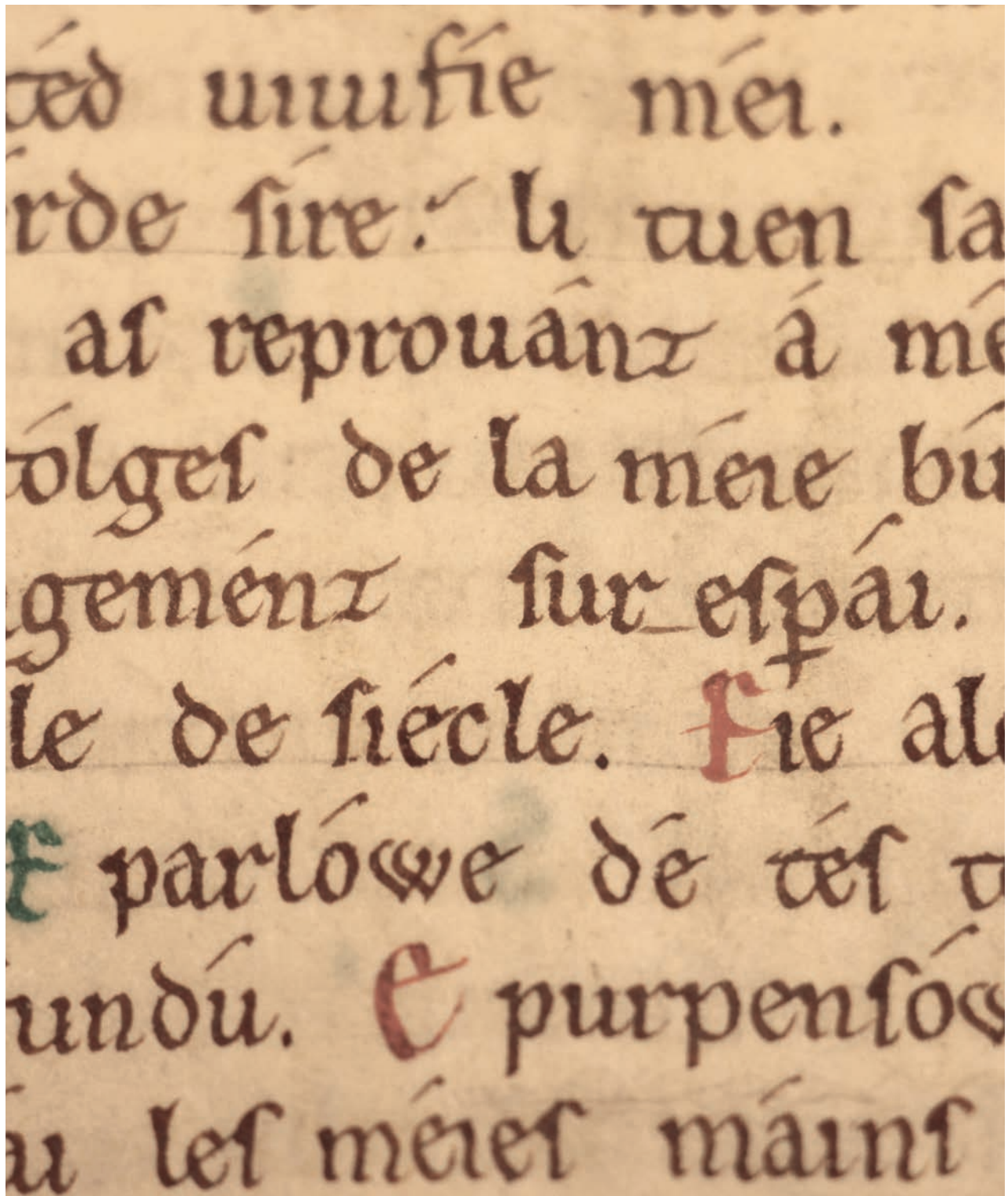


f. 45v
line 7



f. 45v
line 20





f. 67r
line 8

non from the noun; similar situations on f. 47v, line 28, *nun_sáuez*, and f. 48r, line 3, *nun_sauãnz*; however, on f. 47v, line 32, *nun_sauãnz* without any low dash; f. 48r, line 36, *nun_certes* (identical situation to *nún_nuisance*); f. 53v, line 12, *quels_chôses* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable); f. 55r, line 35, *esparn_âd* (to avoid reading two words, unclear if this is an actual error); f. 55v, line 39, *aset_duble*, cf. Latin *septuplum* (the Arundel interlinear gloss also reads *aset double*; the separation in two parts could originate in the antigraph of Douce); f. 57r, line 18, *sentre_baisèrent* (to avoid reading two words); f. 60r, line

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023 / 2024.

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10 + f. 60v, line 4, *le salu_âble* (to avoid reading two words, especially the noun *salu*); f. 67r, line 8, *sur_esperâi* (to avoid reading two words); f. 67v, line 30, *cum_faitement* (at first, the Douce scribe probably thought he was writing the preposition *cum* + noun); f. 68v, line 26, *nen_est*, cf. Latin *non est* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable).

THE RELATION BETWEEN DOUCE MS 320 AND THE MAIDSTONE FRAGMENTS (VA)

The first instalment of this article presented a transcription of the Maidstone psalm fragments (Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1, dated mid–12th century); see *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 137–140. The issue of the *ker* (translation choice for Latin *quoniam*) in the vernacular verses of the Maidstone fragments was briefly dealt with in the previous instalment (see *The Manufactory...*, 2023, 96–97), where it was argued that this particular reading could be found in the antigraph of Douce ms 320. What remained to be done in the second instalment of the paper was a comparative translational study, in order to clarify the nature of the relation between Douce and the Maidstone fragments.

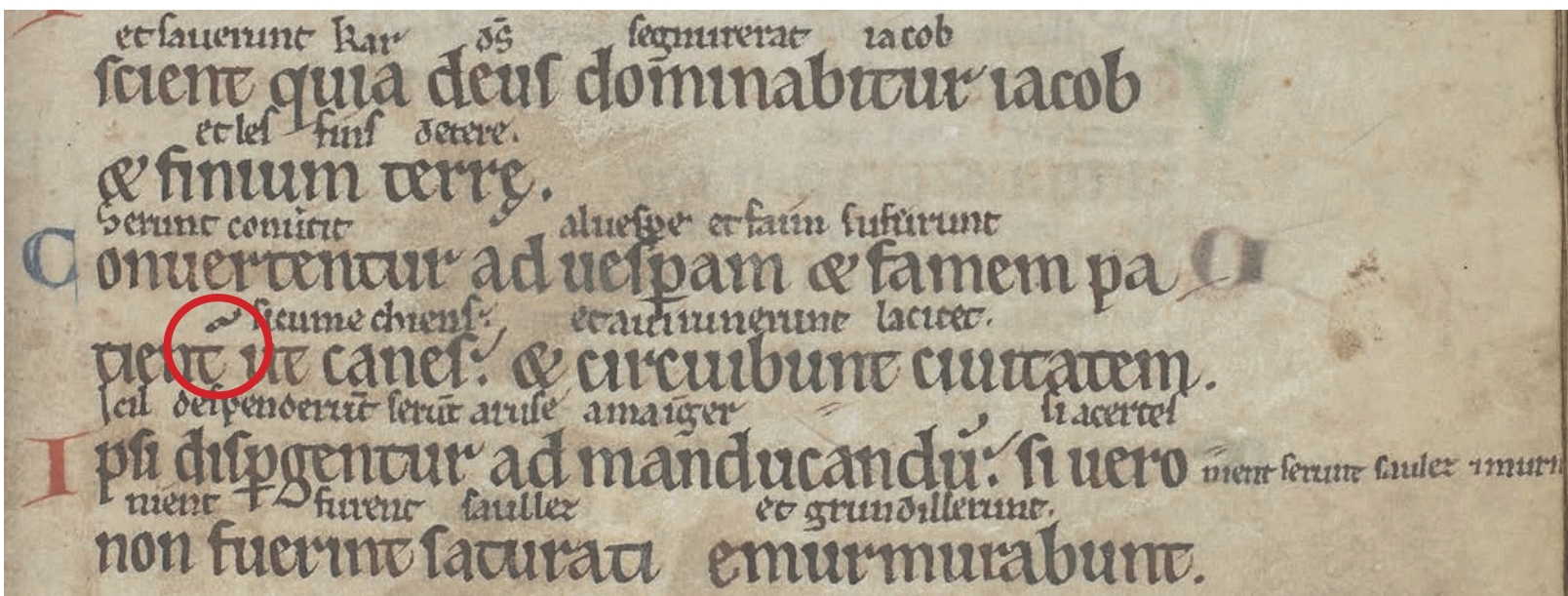
There are many scribal errors that point to a careless treatment of the source material. In Ps 55:9b, for instance, Maidstone reads *arete*, where Douce reads *arière* for Latin *retrosum*; Arundel reading: *arriere*. In Ps 56:9, Maidstone reads *leuaria*, where Douce reads *leuerai* for Latin *exurgam*; Arundel reading: *leuerai*. In Ps 57:3, Maidstone reads *uus ourent en terre*, where Douce reads *uús ouřez en terte* for Latin *operamini in terra*; Arundel reading: *uus ourez en tere*. In Ps 57:10, Maidstone reads [si]cume uiande where Douce reads *sicum uiuanz* for Latin *sicut viventes*; Arundel reading: *sicume uiuanz*. It is also worth noting that the Maidstone vernacular translation of this last example adds the word *uiuant* (possibly from Ps 57:10) two vernacular verses below, at the end of Ps 57:12. This is due to the displacement of the word at the end of another line of the antigraph, as is often the case in Arundel ms 230. The error also suggests that the antigraph of Maidstone was a vernacular interlinear gloss. Moving on, in Ps 58:4, Maidstone reads *embruierent*, where Douce reads *enbriuèrent* for Latin *irruerunt*; Arundel reading: *enbreuerent*. Here, Maidstone seems to be based on a text that is much closer to the version of Douce than the one from Arundel. In Ps 59:8, the Maidstone scribe missed an *r* when he wrote *mesuerai* (Latin *metibor*); Douce and Arundel readings: *mesurerai*. In Ps 68:21b, Maidstone reads *o mei tristast*, where Douce reads *cuntristáz* for Latin *contristaretur*; Arundel reading: *contristanz*. In all probability, the Maidstone scribe did not understand what was written in his source, possibly on account of the source being written in rather small characters, such as those of an interlinear gloss (for more evidence, *vide infra*). Perhaps the most interesting scribal error and eye-skip can be found in Ps 69:4a, where the Maidstone scribe copied a phrase from Ps 69:4b, although he had to write *arriere* (as in Douce and Arundel) instead of *tost*. Last but not least, in Ps 69:5, Maidstone reads *sun* where Douce reads *tun* for Latin *tuum*; Arundel reads: *tun*.

Another category of possible scribal errors can be mere inconsistencies in the adaptation of a source. In Ps 55:10b, Maidstone reads *erte tei* where Douce reads *astetèi* for Latin *ecce*; Arundel reading: *aeste tei* (cf. Ps 58:4, where Maidstone reads *eite tei*, Douce reads once again *astetèi* for Latin *ecce*; Arundel reading: *aestetei*; and again, in Ps 58:8, Maidstone reads *eite tei*, where Douce reads *astetèi* for Latin *ecce*; Arundel reading: *aeste tei*). In Ps 58:5, Maidstone reads *curu*, where Douce reads *curi* for Latin *cucurri*; Arundel reading: *curi*. In Ps 59:4, Maidstone reads *seigne*, where Douce reads *saine* for Latin *sana*; Arundel reading: *saine*. Quite possibly, the Maidstone scribe mistook the

verb *saner* ‘to heal’ for *seigner* (aphetic form of *enseigner*) ‘to teach’. In Ps 68:19, Maidstone reads *entendez*, where Douce reads *entent* (singular) for Latin singular *intende*; Arundel reading: *entent*. In all likelihood, the Maidstone scribe rewrote this part in order to sound more polite in his address to God (for a similar situation, see *oiez* in Ps 68:18). In Ps 68:28, Maidstone reads *e pose* where Douce reads *apose* for Latin *appone*; Arundel reading: *apose*. To this, I must add a case of pure lack of attention: in Ps 55:10b, Maidstone reads *in*, where Douce reads *en* for Latin *in*; Arundel reading: *en*.

There are several instances of corrections. I list only one: in Ps 58:18, the Maidstone scribe started writing *canta-*, then deleted the *a* and wrote *canterai*. Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, 108, believed that this word should be transcribed as *cantærai*; however, the same result can be noticed in the Hereford copy of the First French Commentary to the Psalms (Hereford, Cathedral Library, ms O.III.15, second half of the 12th century), when that manuscript’s scribe corrected an *a* into *e*.

By far, the differences between the readings of Maidstone vs Douce and Arundel concern the issue of variants. In Ps 55:9b, Maidstone reads *sicume* where Douce reads *e sicume* for Latin *sicut et*; Arundel reading: *sicume*. In Ps 56:7a, Maidstone reads *encurberent* where Douce reads *encuruèrent* for Latin *incurvaverunt*; Arundel reading: *encuerrèrent (...)* *curuèrent*. In Ps 56:9, Maidstone reads *ainz iorn* where Douce reads *par matin* for Latin *diluculo*; Arundel reading: *par matin*. In Ps 58:13b, Maidstone reads *execration* where Douce reads *escumuniement* for Latin *execratione*; Arundel reading: *escumungement*. The fact that the Maidstone scribe left a blank line after this verse suggests either that he was copying from an antigraph where the two texts were not perfectly aligned, or that he planned to return to this passage and make amendments, to avoid a situation that he encountered, for instance, in Ps 68:32 (where he had to erase a segment of text). In the same verse (Ps 58:13b), Maidstone reads *annuncie serunt* where Douce reads *serunt annunciet* for Latin *annunciabuntur*; Arundel reading: *serunt annunciet*. Moving on, in Ps 58:16, Maidstone reads *serunt esparpeille*, where Douce reads *serunt despandut* for Latin *dispergentur*; Arundel reading: *desperderunt serunt*. In Ps 58:17a, Maidstone reads *force*, where Douce reads *fortèce* for Latin *fortitudinem*; Arundel reading: *fortece*. Such changes seem to be rewritings of another text. In Ps 59:8, Maidstone reads *siccima* where Douce reads *sicimam* for Latin *siccimam*; Arundel reading: *siccimam*, with the final *-m* abbreviated. Perhaps the Maidstone scribe missed the abbreviation. In Ps 59:10a, Maidstone reads *spee* where Douce reads *esperance* for Latin *spei*; Arundel reading: *esperance* (another rewriting). In Ps 68:18, Maidstone reads *isnelement oiez* where Douce reads *ignement oi* for Latin *velociter exaudi*; Arundel reading: *ignelement exoie*. The *s* instead of *g* suggests that the antigraph of the vernacular text was an interlinear gloss, where the two letters can be easily mistaken, such as in the same verse from Arundel ms 320, f. 68v. In Ps 68:25, Maidstone reads *la furor* where Douce reads *la forsenerie* for Latin *furor*; Arundel reading: *la forsenerie*. In Ps 69:4b, Maidstone reads *eimunore eimunore*, where Douce reads *aimenore aimenore*; Arundel reading: *aimenore aimenore*. The high



number of differences in variant readings suggests that the antigraph of the Maidstone fragments could have been a gloss similar to the Orne fragments (*vide infra*).

By far, the most interesting category is that of the additions. In Ps 56:9, Maidstone adds *sire* in *Esdrece tei sire meie glorie* where Douce reads *Esdrece téi la meie glorie* for Latin *Exurge gloria mea*; Arundel reading: *Esdrece tei la moie glorie*. In Ps 58:15, Maidstone adds *a* in *e faim sufferunt*; *a cume chens*, where Douce reads *é faim sufferunt cume chiens* for Latin *et famem patientur ut canes*; Arundel reading: *et faim sufferunt sicume chiens*. This monosyllabic addition is essential for the reconstruction of the antigraph of the Maidstone fragments. It is already evident that the Maidstone scribe did not pay close attention to the correspondences between the Latin and vernacular texts that he was transcribing. In this case, in particular, he misunderstood the Latin abbreviation for *-ur* (above *patientur*), that he had already transcribed two lines before. Since he read the two texts (Latin and vernacular) separately, he interpreted the abbreviation *-ur* as the letter *a* in the vernacular text. This led to his odd reading of an *a* before *cume*. However, this is possible only in the case of a vernacular interlinear gloss, written in small letters above the large letters of a Latin text, in manuscripts such as Arundel. This is the ultimate confirmation that the antigraph of the Maidstone fragments was not a manuscript stemming from the text of Douce MS 320, as it was often implied. This antigraph was related to the antigraph of Douce (or perhaps it was the actual source of Douce, although there is not enough evidence to reach that particular conclusion).

Once this is established, it is easier to interpret the deletions of various readings that can be found in Douce and Arundel. In Ps 56:10, Maidstone reads *dirrai en gent* where Douce reads *dirrai á téi es genz* for Latin *dicam tibi in gentibus*; Arundel reading: *dirrai a tei es genz*. In Ps 57:6, Maidstone reads *La quele nen norra la uoiz des enchantanz sagement* where Douce reads *Lá quéle nen orrat la uoiz des encantanz*; *é del uenimús encantant sagement* for Latin *Que non exaudiet uocem incantantium; et uenefici incantantis sapienter*; Arundel reading: *La quele nient orrat la uoitz des encantant*; *et del uenimus encantant*

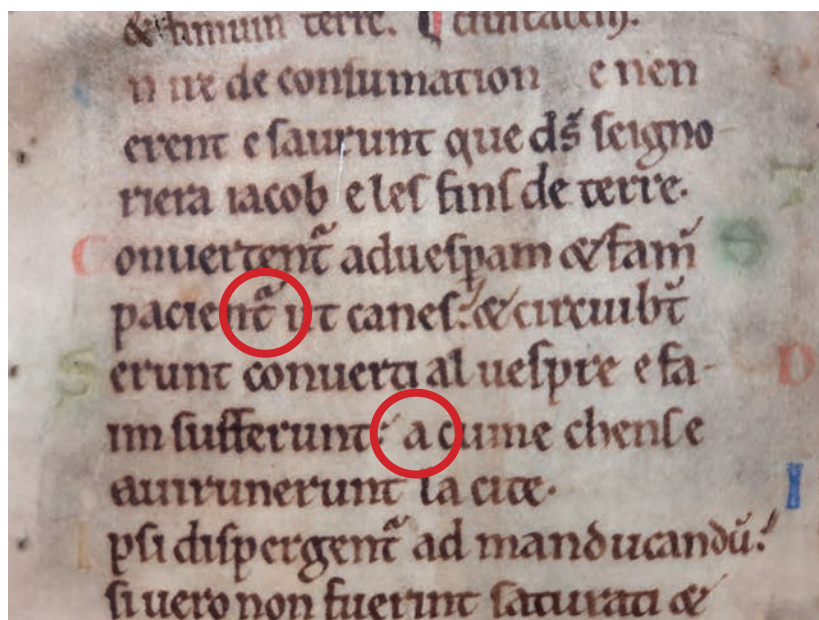
▲ Print screen close-up of Ps 58:15 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel MS 230, f. 60r).

Source: <https://iiif.bl.uk/>

▼ Close-up of the second folio recto of Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I).

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023.

Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.



sagement. The Maidstone scribe made an eye-skip and missed almost half of the verse. The same thing occurred in Ps 68:15, where he forgot to write *deliure mei*, and in Ps 68:37, where he forgot to write *de lui*.

In conclusion, the Maidstone fragments are based on an interlinear gloss, written in small letters in the interline of a Latin text written in large characters. This gloss cannot be that of the Arundel. It could be a gloss of the same type as that of the Orne fragments, where substitutions are abundant. Furthermore, the punctuation of this source was different from the one that of Douce.

ORNE FRAGMENTS: TRANSCRIPTION (VA)

Since the assumption that the Maidstone fragments stem from the tradition of psalters such as Douce MS 320 and Arundel MS 230 is no longer valid, it is of uttermost importance to analyse one of the translations that were often considered to be independent from the texts of Douce and Arundel. The Orne fragments are a bifolium in the file of the Orne department (AB XIX 1734), in the collections of the National Archives, in Paris. Little is known about their provenance, but they were certainly extracted from a book binding. The text was first presented and edited by Samaran

1929, who argued that the many different readings of this translation suggest that it had nothing to do with the text of Douce and Arundel. This idea is still mentioned in Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, 154, who date the fragments mid-12th century.

► *Close-up of the first folio recto of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1). Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.*
With the kind permission of the National Archives, Paris.

Orne Fragments

[text of the first fragment]

- Ps 74:40** ^[f. 1^r] [...] lui el desert . en ire comourent lui en nun égos . E tolit ^[f. 1^v] sicume oelles sun pueple ; é demena icels **Ps 74:52**
[...] eum in deserto ; in iram concitauerunt eum in inaquoso . ensement cume greu en desert .
- Ps 74:41** E sunt conuerti e essaierent deu . e le seint disrael Et abstulit ^[f. 1^v] sicut oues populum suum ; et perduxit **Ps 74:53**
enuaierent . eos tanquam gregem in deserto .
[E]t conuersi sunt et temptauerunt deum ; et sanctum E demena icels en esperance . é ne crenstrent ; é lur **Ps 74:53**
israel exacerbauerunt . eorum operuit mare .
Et deduxit eos in spe . et non timuerunt ; et inimicos E les demena el munt de sa seiantificatiun ; munt le quel **Ps 74:54a**
Ne sunt recorde de la main de lui . el iur kil reienst icels aquisit la destre de lui . **Ps 74:54a**
de la main del atriblant . Et induxit eos in montem sancificationis suę ; montem **Ps 74:54b**
Non sunt recordati manus eius ; die qua redémit eos de quem adquisiuit dextera eius .
manu tribulantis . E geta de la faice dicels ^{les} genz ; é par sort departit a els **Ps 74:54b**
Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua ; et prodigia sua in la terre en funel de departement .
campo taneos . [E]t eiecit a facie eorum gentes ; et sorte diuisit eis **Ps 74:55**
E conuerti en sanc les flueues dicels . e les plúies dels ; Et fist abiter es tabernacles dicels les lignies disrael . **Ps 74:55**
ke ne boussent . Et habitare fecit in tabernaculis eorum tribus israel .
Et conuertit in sanguinem flumina eorum . et imbres E esseérent e espruuerent deu le halt ; e les testimoines **Ps 74:56**
Eum ; ne biberent . de lui ne garderent . **Ps 74:56**
Et misit in eos cynomiam et comedit eos ; ranam ; et Et temptauerunt et exacerbauerunt deum excelsum ; et **Ps 74:57**
disperdidit eos . testimonia eius non custodierunt .
E desturnérent sei é ne gardérent le cuenant ; ensement E desturnérent sei é ne gardérent le cuenant ; ensement **Ps 74:57**
cume lur peres sunt conuerti en felun arc [---]. cume lur peres sunt conuerti en felun arc [---].
Et auertérunt se et non seruauerunt pactum ; Et auertérunt se et non seruauerunt pactum ; **Ps 74:58**
quemadmodum patres eorum conuersi sunt in arcum quemadmodum patres eorum conuersi sunt in arcum **Ps 74:58**
prauum . prauum .
[E]n ire cumourent lui en li [---] [---] e en lur creuz al [E]n ire cumourent lui en li [---] [---] e en lur creuz al **Ps 74:58**
segrefiement dels le prouochérent . segrefiement dels le prouochérent .
In ira concitauerunt eum in collibus suis ; et in sculptili- In ira concitauerunt eum in collibus suis ; et in sculptili- **Ps 74:59**
bus suis ad emulationem eum prouocauerunt . bus suis ad emulationem eum prouocauerunt . **Ps 74:59**
Dex les oid é despist ; e a neient ramena forment israel . Dex les oid é despist ; e a neient ramena forment israel . **Ps 74:59**
Audiuit deus et spreuit ; et ad nichilum redégit ualde israel . Audiuit deus et spreuit ; et ad nichilum redégit ualde israel . **Ps 74:59**
- Ps 74:49** Jl mist en els ire de sun desdeignement ; desdeignement E debuta le tabernacle de silo ; sun tabernacle ú il abita **Ps 74:60**
. e ire . e tribulatiun ; entermetement par mals angeles . es úmes .
Misit in eos iram indignationis suę ; indignationem et E réppulit tabernaculum syló ; tabernaculum suum ubi **Ps 74:60**
iram et tribulationem inmissionem per angelos malos . habitauit in hominibus .
E dunna en chaitiuete la uertu dicels ; é la bealte dicels **Ps 74:61**
Eum ; e les iumenz dicels en la mort esnclost . E dunna en chaitiuete la uertu dicels ; é la bealte dicels **Ps 74:61**
Viam fecit semitę irę suę ; non pepercit a morte es mains del enemi .
animarum eorum ; et iumenta eorum in morte conclusit . Et tradidit in captiuitatem uirtutem eorum ; et **Ps 74:61**
pulchritudinem eorum in manus inimici .
E enclost en gláie sun pueple ; e se heredité [...] E enclost en gláie sun pueple ; e se heredité [...] **Ps 74:61**
Et percussit omne primogenitum in terra egypti ; Et percussit omne primogenitum in terra egypti ; **Ps 74:61**
primitias omnis laboris eorum in tabernaculis cham . primitias omnis laboris eorum in tabernaculis cham .

in deserto. en ire conuierent lui en inuagos.
eum in deserto: in ira concitauerunt eum in inuagoso.
Et se conuerterunt & essauerunt deum. & se conuerterunt & ceptauerunt deum. & se conuerterunt & ceptauerunt deum.
enuairent. Ne sunt recorde de la main delui. el iur hui.
exacerbauerunt. Non sunt recordati manus ei. die. qua
reuerit icel de la main del attriblant. Sicut il posu en
redemit eos de manu tribulantis. Sicut posuit in
egypte ses signa. & ses merueilles en ces lius. Et
egypto signa sua & prodigia sua in campotaneos. Et
conuerterunt en sanc les flucuel dicels. & les plues del.
conuerterunt in sanguine flumina eorum. & umbres eorum.
de ne bouissent. Il mist en els iede beste de les mania.
ne biberent. Misit in eos cynomiam & comedit eos.
reine. & ele departit icels. Et diua aruelle lur fruz.
ranam & disuclidit eos. Et dehit erug in fructis
e iur laburs alanguste. Et il occit grelle
eorum. & labores eorum locuste. Et occidit in grandine
les iuguel dicels. & lur morier en geles. Et il liura
uineas eorum. & mors eorum in pruina. Et tradidit
agres lur uiment. & lur possessione fou. Il mist
granclini uimenta eorum. & possessione eorum igni. Misit
en els ire de sin desdeignement. desdeignat. & ire.
in eos iram indignationis sue. indignatione & iram
& tribulatione. encernement par mal angeles. Vere
& tribulatione. inuissionem p anglos malos. Viam
fist ala sente de sire. ne spayna de la mort de lur an
fecit semite ire sue. non pepcit a morte animatum
mes. & les uiment dicels en la mort esclost. Et fuit
eorum. & uimta eorum in morte conclusit. Et percussit
tuit le premiereinne en la terre de egypta. les principes
omne primogenitum in terra egypti. primitias
de tuit lur trauail es tabernacles de cham. Et colit
omnis laboris eorum in tabernaculis cham. Et abstulit

2
sicut oves sine pascua. & demona israel ensemit eum sicut grege
sicut oves populi sui. & perdidit eos tanquam gregem
in deserto. & demona israel in eis pascua. & non crederent
in deserto. Et perdidit eos in spe. & non timuerunt.
Et in die illa currit mare. & les demona et inuit
& inimicos eorum operit mare. Et induxit eos in mon-
de la sanctificationum. inuit le quel aquist la de-
tem sanctificationum. in monte quem adquisiuit dex-
tra eius. & gaza de la face d'israel. & par sort departit
terra eius. & cecit a facie eorum gentes. & sorte diuisit
a eis la terre en funel de departement. & fist abiter
eis terra in funiculo distributionis. Et habitare fecit
eis tabernacula d'israel le lignes d'israel. & esseerent
in tabernaculis eorum tribus israel. Et temptauerunt
& espruerent deum le hater. & les testimonies de lui ne
& exacerbaerunt deum excelsum. & testimonia eius non
garderent. & desturnerent sei & ne garderent le covenant.
custodierunt. Et auerterunt se & non seruauerunt pactum.
ensemit eum le peres se conuerterent en seculum aie.
quemadmodum patres eorum conuersi sunt in arcum.

prauum. In ira concitauerunt eum in collibus suis.
& in sculptilibus suis ad emulationem eum puocauerunt.

Deus israhel despisit. & a neient ramena forment
Audiuit deus & spreuit. & ad nichilum rededit ualde
israhel. & debuita le tabernacle de silo. sun tabernacle
israhel. Et reppulit tabernaculum silo. tabernaculum suum
in il abita eis uies. & diuina en chariuete
ubi habitauit in hominibus. Et tradidit in captiuita-
tem uirtutes eorum. & pulchritudines eorum in manus inimici.
Et enclost en glaue sun pueple. & se hereditate
Et conclusit in gladio populum suum. & hereditatem suam

mi oill... languent pur suffrante. **I**ocriet a rei sire
o. si mei languerunt pre inopia. **C**lamau ad te dñe:
tute iur westendi a rei mes meis. **D**unkes feras ai mer
tota die expanchi ad te man' meas. **U**inquid mortuus
neilles as mozz. v li murie suscitetur e regohurunt
facies mirabilia: aut medici suscitab' & confitebim

arei. **D**unkes recumteri alcuns el sepulcre
tur tibi. **N**umqd' narrabit aliquis in sepulchro mi
ta misericorde. e ta uerte en pdiaon. **D**unkes
sericordia tua. & uertate tua in pdiaone. **N**umqd'
cunustrunt es tenebres tes merueille. e ta iustice
cognoscantur in tenebris mirabilia tua. & iustice

en terre dubiance. **E** ieo a rei sire crier.
tua in terra obliuionis. **E**t ego ad te dñe clamaui.
e parmatin de auancira rei muresun. **P**urquei sire debuit tu
& mane oratio mea pueniet te. **C**onuid dñe repellis
muresun. **D**el arnes ta face de mei. **I**o sui pomes
oratione mea. **A**uertis faciem tua a me. **P**aup sum

en traualz des ma iuente. **E** iustice adret
ego & v laborib' a iuuentute mei. **E**rat autem
foi humilitate e trublez.

Humiliatus & conturbatus. **I**n me transierunt ire
res. e tes pourf trublerent mei. **A**u' unerent
tue. & terrores tui conturbauerunt me. **C**ircumdede

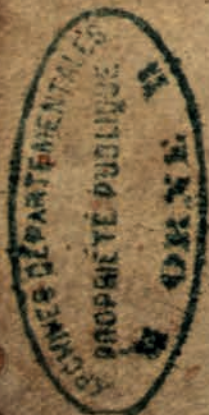
mei sicume ewe tute ior. **A**u' unerent mei ensemble.
runt me sicut aqua tota die. **C**ircumdedere me simul.

In esloignas de mei mun ami e mun presme. e mes conu' de misere.
Glorcasti ame amicum & primi. & notos meos a misera.

Misericordias dñi in eternum cantabo. **I**n gene

Latione & gnatione. annuntiabo uertate tua
en ma buche. **R**ex tu desis. durabement misericorde sera eclesiee
in ore meo. **Q**u' dixisti. in eternum misericordia etifica

fuit et celi: fere apertae ta ueritate en calu. Jo ordu
bitur in celis: pparabitur ueritas tua in eis. **S**po
nei mun. afer meum. ames el hz. io uiri. a dauid. uniu. fere.
sui testamentum. lectis meis. iuram. claud. seruo
gesque en la durablete apresteret io ta semence. **P**ro
pheta. usq; in genum pparabo semen tuum. **E**t
edificauerit en generatione. y en la genatione ^{tu} siege.
edificado in generatione & gnatione sedem tuam.
Liciel regel. uniu. tes merueilles. fire. Jacertes. carer
Confitebunt. ut celi mirabilia tua dñe. eternum uerita
te en h. glise des seuz. Per qui es uniu. fere equi
tem tua in ecclesia sanctoy. **Q**uoniam quis in nubib; equa
lie al seign. semblanz fere al seign. el h. cedon. **E**t
bitur dñs: similis erit dño in filiis dei. **D**eus qui
glorific. el cunserit des sanz. grantz y est. mirabile
y incedit in ceteris sanctoy. magni & terribilis
sup. tu. totis h. se en la uirumet. de lui. Dite. de. de. uer
sup. omnes qui in circuitu ei sunt. **D**ñe deus uirtu
tuz. h. = semblable. a. tu. uel. poanz. fire. y ta uerte
tum quis similis tibi potens es dñe. & ueritas tua
en tuu. aurumet. **T**u al seignone de la poeste de. ames. le moue
in circuitu tuo. **T**u dñaris. pot. stat. u. maris. m. cu
ment. acerte. de. flueues. de. li. asuages. tu. **T**u. uniu. las. loz. g. h. el
autem fluctuum ei tu mitigas. **T**u humiliasti sic
lus. sic. uine. nafre. el. braz. de. ta. ueritu. tu. p. r.
uulnerati sup. bum. in brachio uirtutis tue disp
tis. tes. enemis. **T**uens. se. li. ciel. e. tue. =. la. terre. le
fisti inimicos tuos. **T**ui. sunt. celi. & tua. =. terra. or
cerce. de. la. terre. e. la. plente. de. li. fundas. tu. aquilun
bam. terre. & plenitudinē ei tu fundasti. aquilonem
e. la. mer. creas. tu. **T**al. mont. e. cel. al. tre. en. tuu. mun.
& mare tu creasti. **T**abor & hermon in nomine
est. h. al. cerunt. cun. braz. o. poance. **S**er. de. de.
tuo: exaltabit tuum brachium cum potentia. **T**ir me



[text of the second fragment]

- Ps 87:10a** ^[f. 2r] [...] mi oill languirent pur suffraite .
[...] o[cu]li mei languerunt pre inopia .
- Ps 87:10b** Jo criei a tei sire ; tute iur io estendi a tei mes meins .
Clamaui ad te domine ; tota die expandi ad te manus meas .
- Ps 87:11** Dunkes feras tu merueilles as morz ? v li mirie
susciterunt é regehirunt a tei ?
[N]umquid mortuis facies mirabilia ? aut médici
suscitabunt et confitebuntur tibi ?
- Ps 87:12** Dunkes recuntera alcuns el sepulcre ta misericorde ; é ta
uerte en perdicion ?
Numquid narrabit aliquis in sepulchro misericordiam
tuam ; et ueritatem tuam in perditione ?
- Ps 87:13** Dunkes cunuistrunt es teniebres tes merueilles ; é ta
iustice en la terre dubliance ?
Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua ; et
iusticiam tuam in terra obliuionis ?
- Ps 87:14** E iéo a tei sire criei ; é par matin desauancira tei
mureisun .
Et ego ad te domine clamaui . et mane oratio mea
preuéniet té .
- Ps 87:15** Purquei sire debutes tu mureisun ; desturnes ta faice de
mei ?
Vtquid domine repellis orationem meam ; auertis faciem
tuam a me ?
- Ps 87:16** Jo sui poures e en traualz des ma iuente ; ió eshalciez
acertes sui humiliez e trublez .
Pauper sum ego et i[n] laboribus a iuuentute mea ;
exaltatus autem humiliatus [s]ú et conturbatus .
- Ps 87:17** En [m]ei trespasserent tes ires ; é tes poúrs trublèrent mei .
In me transierunt irę tuę ; et terrores tui conturbauerunt me .
- Ps 87:18** Auirunerent mei sicume ewe tute iór ; auirunerent mei
ensemble .
Circumdederunt me sicut aqua tota die ; circumdederunt
me simul .
- Ps 87:19** Tu esloígnas de mei mun ami é mun priesme ; é mes
comunz de misere .
Elongasti a me amicum et proximum ; et notos meos a
miseria .
[text division]
- Ps 88:2a** Les merciz del seignor durablement chanterei .
MISERICORDIAS domini in ęternum cantabo .
- Ps 88:2b** En la generatiun e en la generatiun ; anuncerei ta uerte
en ma buchẽ .
In generatione et generationem ; annuntiabo ueritatem
tuam in ore meo .
- Ker tu desis . durablement misericorde sera edefiee ^[f. 2v]
fiee es ciels ; sera aprestee ta uerte en eals .
Quoniam dixisti . in ęternum misericordia ędifica ^[f. 2v] bitur
in cęlis preparabitur ueritas tua in eis .
Jo ordenei mun afermement a mes esliz ; ió iurei a
dauid mun serf ; gesque en la durablete apresterei ió ta
semence .
[Di]sposui testamentum [e]lectis meis ; iurauí dauid
seruo meo ; usque in ęternum preparabo semen tuum .
E ió edifierei en generatiun e en la generatiun ta tun
siege .
Et edificabo in generationem et generationem sedem
tuam .
Li ciel regehirunt tes merueilles . sire ; e acertes ta uerte
en liglise des seinz .
Confitebuntur celi mirabilia tua domine ; etenim
ueritatem tuam in ecclesia sanctorum .
Ker qui es nues sera egaillie al seignor ; semblanz sera al
seignor es filz de deu .
Quoniam quis in nubibus equabitur domino ; similis erit
domino in filiis dei .
[D]ex ki [e]st glorifie el conseil des sainz . granz e es-
poentables sur tuz icels ki sunt en lauirunement de lui .
Deus qui glorificatur in consilio sanctorum ; magnus et
terribilis super omnes qui in circuitu eius sunt .
Sire dex de uertuz ki est semblables a tei ? tu ies poánz
sire . e ta uerte en tun auirunement .
Domine deus uirtutum quis similis tibi ? potens es
domine . et ueritas tua in circúitu tuo .
Tu as seignorie de la poeste de la mer . le mouement
acertes des flueues de li asuáges tu .
Tu dominaris pot[e]stati[-] maris ; motum autem
fluctuum eius tu mitigas .
Tu umilias lorgheillus sicume nafré ; el braz de te uertu
tu departis tes enemis .
Tu humiliasti sicut uulneratum superbum ; in brachio
uirtutis tuę dispersisti inimicos tuos .
Tuens sunt li ciel . é tue est la terre ; le cercle de la terre
é la plente de li fundas tu ; aquilun é la mer crias tu .
Tui sunt cęli . et tua est terra ; orbem terrę et
plenitudinem eius tu fundasti ; aquilonem et mare tu
creasti .
Jcil monz é cel altre en tun num eshalcerunt tun braz ó
poance .
Thabor et hermon in nomine tuo ; exaltabunt tuum
brachium cum potentia .
Seit afer[...]
Firme[...]
- Ps 88:3**
- Ps 88:4+**
- Ps 88:5a**
- Ps 88:5b**
- Ps 88:6**
- Ps 88:7**
- Ps 88:8**
- Ps 88:9**
- Ps 88:10**
- Ps 88:11**
- Ps 88:12+**
- Ps 88:13**
- Ps 88:14a**
- Ps 88:14b**

Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, 154, point out that the Orne fragments do not (technically) qualify as an interlinear gloss. Nevertheless, the manner in which the vernacular text follows closely the main text, written in Latin and in slightly larger characters, is undoubtedly based on a gloss. A linguistic analysis of the Orne text was published by Le Hir 1961, but he did not contradict the general conclusion of Samaran 1929, simply focusing on a series of pronouns and on issues related to word order. The interlinear gloss

of Arundel ms 230 is not used in Le Hir's analysis. A proper comparative analysis is therefore needed.

◀ Close-up of the bifolio 1v-2r of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).

◀ Close-up of the second folio verso of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

With the kind permission of the National Archives, Paris.

eris en eali. Jo orde
 tas tuâ in eis. **S**po
 rei adauud inun fert.
 auu clauud seruo
 et io ta semence. **P**ro
 semen tuum. **E**t
 genatum ^{tuu} siege.
 ationē sedem tuam.
 fire. Jacertes. **T**u
 dñe. etenim uerita
 t qui es uies. fera egau

THE ORIGIN OF THE ORNE FRAGMENTS AND THEIR LINKS TO THE TEXT OF DOUCE (VA)

In spite of the demonstration presented by Samaran 1929: 173 (*vide infra*: Thabor et Hermon...), the text of the Orne Psalter fragments is based on a previous interlinear gloss that could be related to the interlinear-gloss antigraph of Douce ms 320 and, consequently, to Arundel ms 230.

That the Orne gloss was adapted from another source and not made specifically for its manuscript is evident in the text of Ps 77:45. The Latin text features a scribal error: it skips the conjunction *et* before the noun *ranam*. Nevertheless, this did not stop the glossator from writing *e reine* in the French text, as if he were copying it from a source.

Another odd feature occurs at the passage from the recto to the verso of the second folio of the Orne fragments. The glossator wrote *edefiee* at the end of the recto, but continued with *fiee* at the beginning of the verso, as if he were copying from a source that had *ede/fiee* written in two halves above a Latin *edificabitur*, separated by the ascender of the letter *b*, as it often happens in interlinear glosses. This suggests that the scribe of Orne copied a pre-existing gloss and made an error (whether he intended to or not) as he turned the folio.

Other than the differences in ink colour and punctuation, further proof to the fact that the glossator copied the Orne fragments in two different sessions is the abbreviation of *et* as *&* in the Latin text, while the French text uses *7* systematically. This could be either (1) the result of the pairing of an autonomous Latin text with a vernacular gloss extracted from a different manuscript of a bilingual nature, or (2) the result of a stratification of texts in the antigraph, where the Latin text could have been written autonomously, with the French interlinear gloss added later by a different scribe.

Add to this a piece of ambiguous evidence, which does not confirm the existence of an antigraph as much as it reflects a series of revisions made to a pre-existing text. In Ps 88:5b, on the verso of the second folio, the glossator first wrote *ta*, then erased it and wrote *tun* upon the era-

sure. This could happen either (1) because its source had an error in the agreement between the noun and the possessive determiner (**ta siege*); or (2) because it had an odd formula that the glossator had simplified without paying much attention (cf. *le tûen siege* in Douce ms 320 and *le tuen sege* in Arundel ms 230).

This brings us to the connection with the Douce text. For the time being, I will leave aside the comparison proper of the differences between the two vernacular versions, which I will analyse later, when I will argue that Orne is an adaptation of an interlinear gloss from the same family as the antigraph of Douce. I prefer to focus here on two minor details, the first of which being that Orne has only two occurrences of Latin *quoniam* (Ps 88:3 and Ps 88:7), but both of them are rendered as French *ker*, a reading that seemed to be present in the antigraph of Douce, as documented in the previous instalment of this paper (cf. *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 96–97), where the connection with the Maidstone fragments was also noted, as they had the exact same rendering for the Latin *quoniam*.

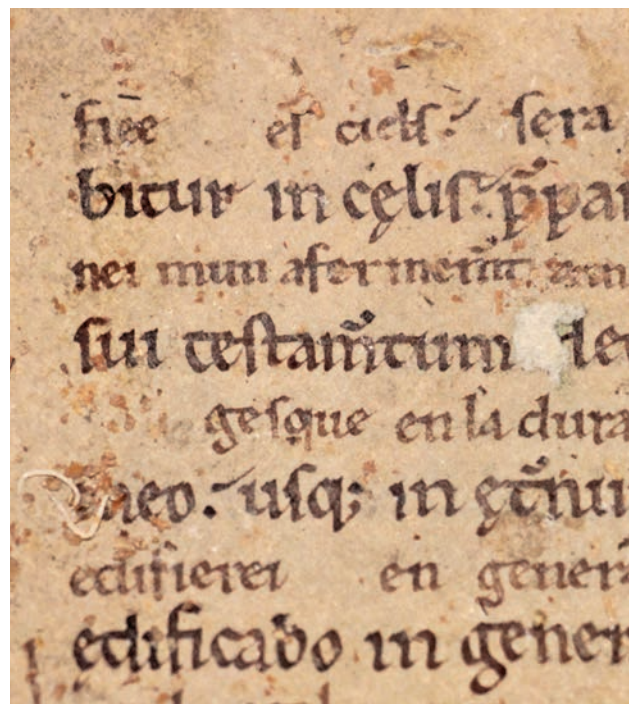
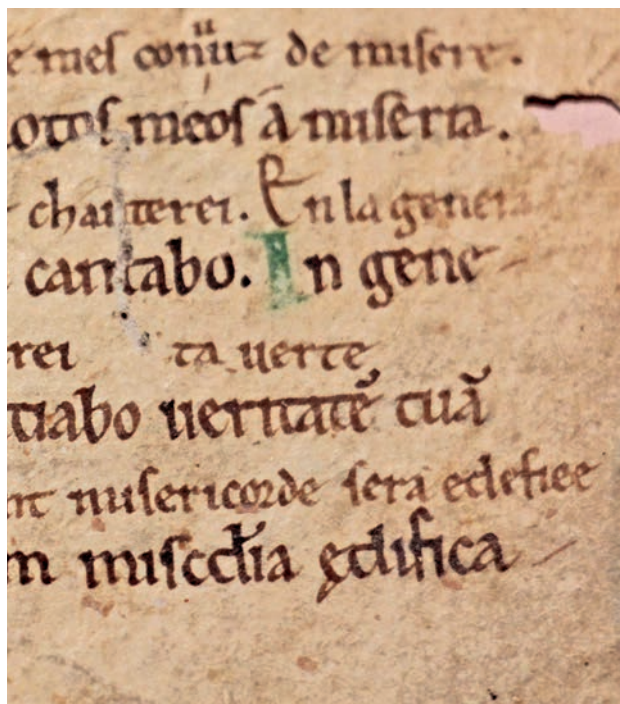
The second piece of evidence is the vernacular translation choice for *in inaquoso* (Ps 77:40). The vernacular text of Orne reads *en nun égos*, whereas Douce reads *en neient éwos liu* and Arundel *en neient euus liu*. However, the Orne reading *nun égos* makes no sense in absence of *liu*, and looks like the simplification of a pre-existing text that had to contain the word *liu* ‘place’.

◀ Close-up of the *ta > tun* erasure (Ps 88:5b) of the second folio, verso, of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).

▼ Close-ups of the *edefiee / fiee* turn of folio (Ps 88:3) in the same Orne Psalter fragments of the National Archives.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

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THE ISSUE OF *NUMQUID* AND THE LINKS BETWEEN DOUCE, ARUNDEL, AND ORNE (AC, VA)

Several Latin phrases based on the interrogative adverb *numquid* + the future form of a verb have been the subject of erasures made by the Douce MS 320 scribe. The erased text was corrected to the corresponding Old French translation *dum* + future form / future form + *dunc*. At a first glance, the scribe's erasures and corrections may originate from the hesitations between two different translation choices, from an incorrect word order for the interrogative clause, or from a wrong translation choice altogether. The erasures and corrections are as follows:

f. 48r, line 16-17, *Mangerai ie dunc les* carz des tors ? (< *Numquid manducabo carnes taurorum*). Arundel reads : *Nient unces mangerai les chars des tors*.

f. 54v, line 39, *dístrent. dum ne porrá deus aprestér tábte el desert* ? (< *dixerunt numquid poterit deus parare mensam in deserto*). Traces of a low jamb under *d*. Same reading in Arundel.

f. 55r, line 1, *Dúm ne porrá il é páin dunér* ? (< *Numquid et panem poterit dare*). Traces of an accentuated letter under *u* and *m*, possibly an *é*. Arundel reads: *Dum ne e pain porrat il doner* ?

f. 57r, line 10, *Dum ne te irastrás tu enparmanableté d á nus ; ú estendrás la tée ire de generaciún en generatiún* ? (< *Numquid in æternum irascaris nobis aut extends iram tuam a generatione in generationem*). Arundel reads: *nient unces en parmanabletet curuces tu a nus ; u estendras la tue ire de generaciun en generaciun* ?

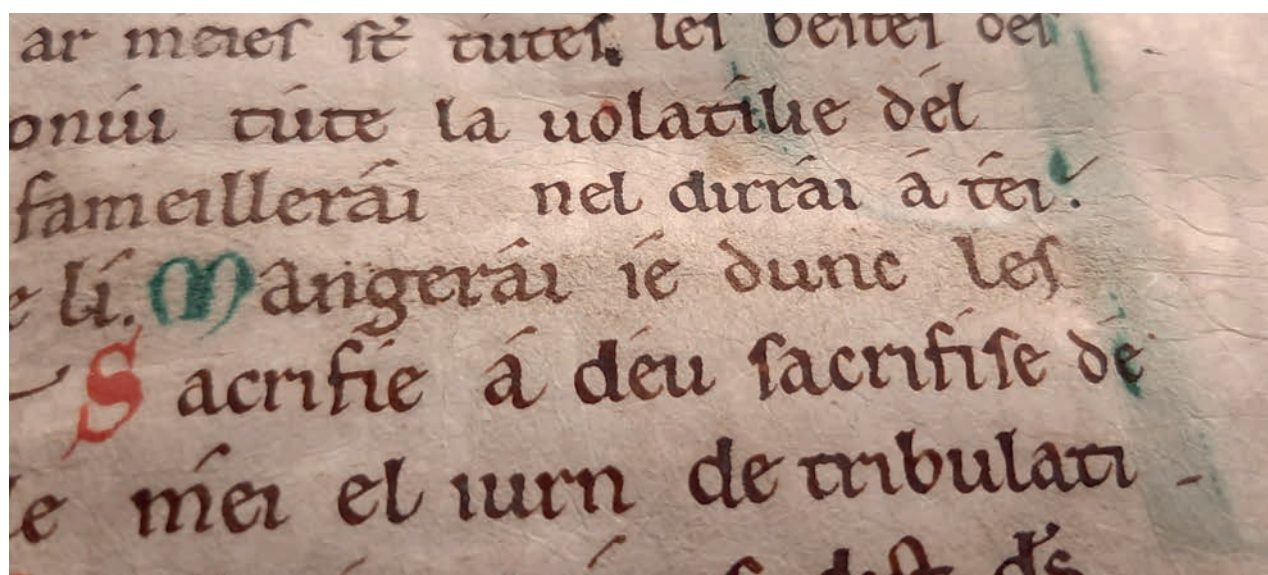
f. 57v, line 8, *Dum ne dirrá syon huém* (< *Numquid Sion dicet homo*). Arundel reads: *dun ne dirat syon hoem*.

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

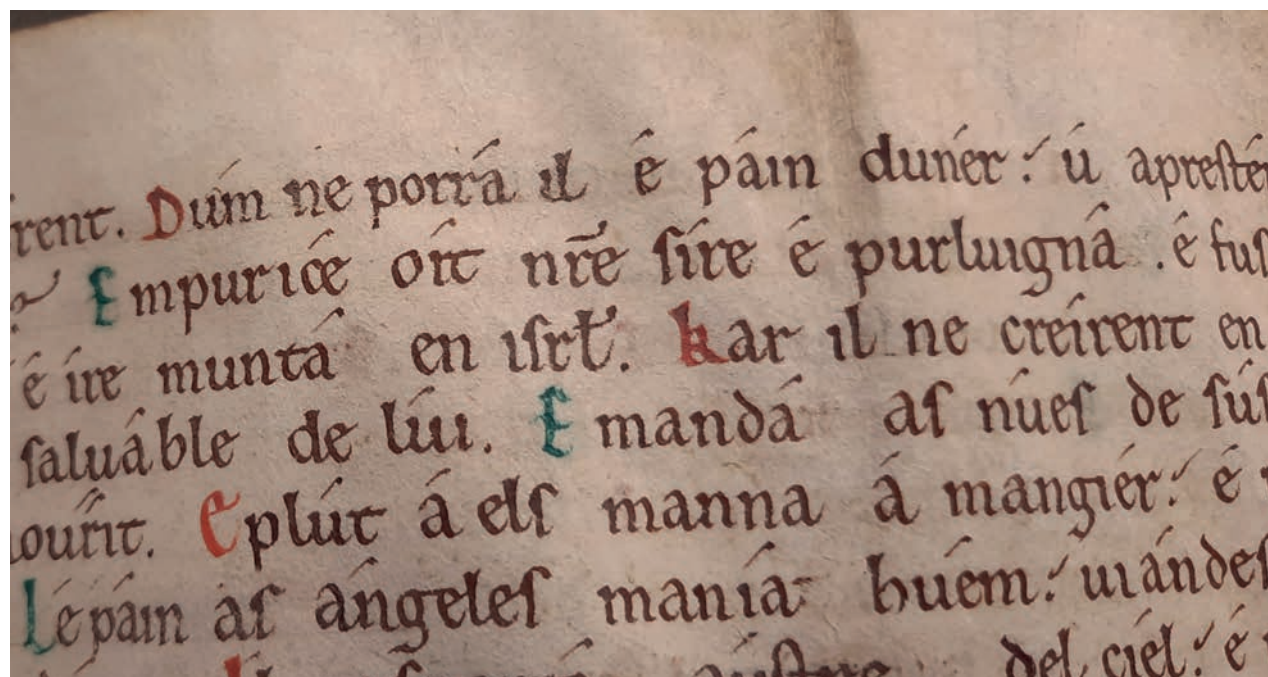
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

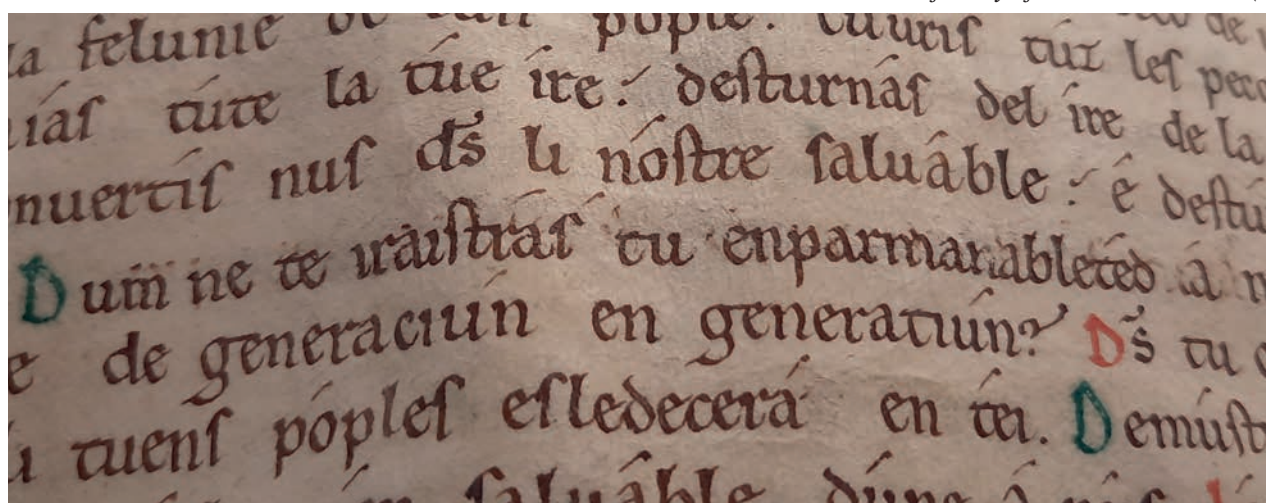
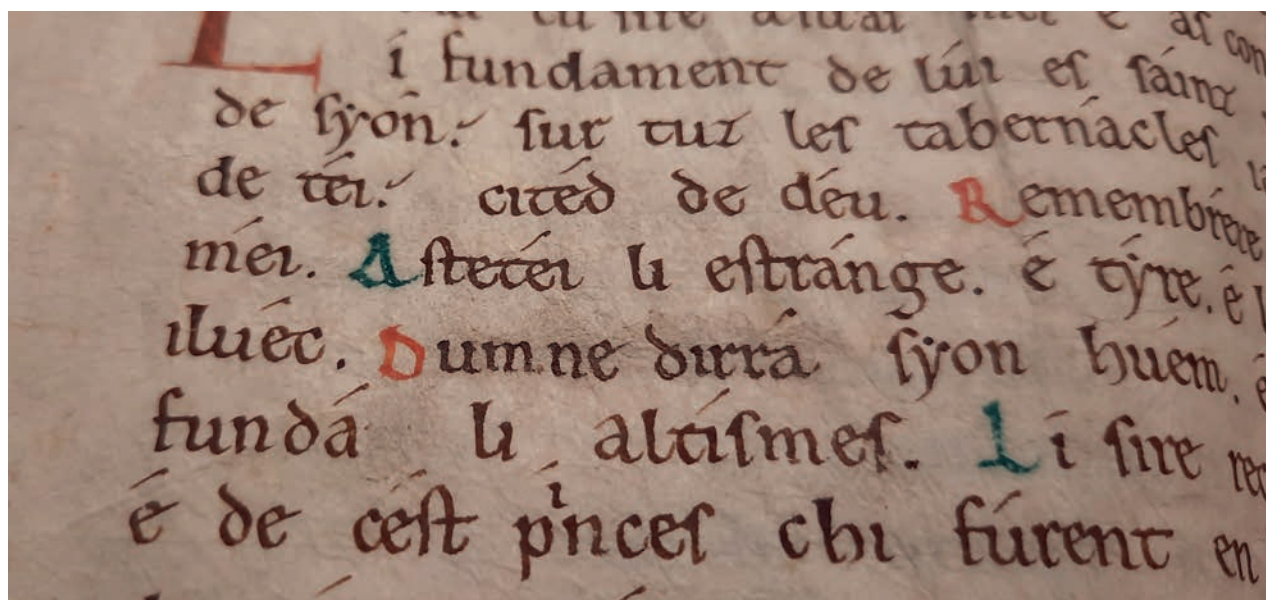
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f. 48r,
line 16



f. 55r,
line 1



f. 57r,
line 10f. 57v,
line 8

f. 57v, line 23, *Dum ne ferás tú ás mórz meruélles ?* (< *Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia*). Same reading in Arundel. Orne reads: *Dunkes feras tu merueilles as morz ?*

f. 57v, line 24-25, *Recunterá dúnc alquíns en sepúlchre la túe misericórde ?* (< *Numquid narrabit aliquis in sepulchro misericordiam tuam*). Arundel reads: *Recunterat nient unces alcuns en sepulcre la tue misericorde ?* Orne reads: *Dunkes recuntera alcuns el sepulcre ta misericorde ?*

Except for the erasure on f. 48r, all other erasures occur within the space of the correctional turning point of the manuscript, covering from f. 54v to f. 57v. This is particularly revealing, as the scribe opts for an expression based on a future form of the verb + *dunc* on f. 48r, line 16-17, and on f. 57v, line 24-25. In all the other occurrences from the folios covered by the turning point, the preferred choice is *dum* + future form of a verb. In the case of f. 57r, line 10, the issue seems to be related to the word order of the interrogative clause. Traces of previous letters suggest the presence of an initial *iraistras tu a nus* at the end of the erasure; while the beginning of the erasure could have read *dum/dunc (?) en parmanableted*. It is therefore safe to assume that *dum* + future form could have been the preferred choice of the scribe before the correctional turning point. In the remaining part of the

text, the scribe seems to favour clauses based on a future verbal form + *dunc*. See for this the following examples:

f. 37v, line 38, *dum ne se curúce il par sengles iúr ?* (< *numquid irascitur per singulos dies*). Arundel reads: *nient unces se curuce il par sengles iursz ?*

f. 42v, line 18, *Dum ne regehi_rát á téi púldre ?* (< *numquid confitebitur tibi pulvis*). Arundel reads: *nient unces regehírat a tei puldre.*

f. 46r, line 16, *icil chi dórt dum ne aiústerát il que il resúrdet ?* (< *Numquid qui dormit non adjiciet ut resurgat*). Arundel: *nient unces chi dort nient aiusterat que il resurdet.*

f. 54r, line 39, *Degeterá_duñc deus en parmanableted ?* (< *Numquid in aeternum proiciet deus*). Arundel reads: *Nient unces en parmanabletet deietas deus ?*

f. 57v, line 26, *Seruñt cuneúdes duñc en tenébres les túes meruélles ?* (< *Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua*). Arundel reads: *Nient unces serunt cuneuz en tenebris les tues merueilles ?* Orne reads: *Dunkes cunuistrunt es teniebres tes merueilles ?*

f. 58v, line 11-12, *kar establisís tu dúnc en uáin túz les filz dúmes ?* (< *numquid enim vane constituisti omnes filios hominum ?*). Same reading in Arundel.

f. 59v, line 28, *Aerdrá duñc á téi siége de felunie ?* (<

Numquid adhaeret tibi sedes iniquitatis). Same reading in Arundel.

Dum / dunc was the proper way to translate Latin *numquid* into Old French and the preferred translation choice of several biblical translators of the same period. When the translation strategy was more formal / functional, the same word appears as the only option of the translator in the Old French version of Judges, dated mid-twelfth century as well (see Albon 1913; I quote from Paris, BnF, ms n.acq.fr. 1404): Jg 6:31—*Quibus ille respondit: Numquid ultores estis Baal, ut pugnetis pro eo? / Estes vos donc vengeors Baal...?* (Albon 1913, p. 23); Jg 9:9—*Numquid possum deserere pinguedinem meam...? / Porroye ge donc guerpir la moye grace...?* (p. 34); Jg 9:11—*Quae respondit eis: Numquid possum deserere dulcedinem meam, fructusque suavissimos...? / Puis je donc guerpir la moye dousor et mon tres soef frut...?* (p. 34); Jg 9:13—*Numquid possum deserere vinum meum...? / Puis je donques guerpir mon vin...?* (p. 34); Jg 9:28—*numquid non est filius Jerobaal...? / Dont n'est il Ierobaal...?* (p. 36); Jg 10:11—*Numquid non Egyptii et Amorrhaei, filiique Ammon et Philisthiim ? / Dont n'en aorrastes vos ainz cil d'Egypte et li Amoreu et li fiz Amon et li Philistien...?* (p. 41); Jg 12:5—*Numquid Ephrathaeus es? / Estes vos donc Eufrateus?* (p. 48); Jg 14:3—*Numquid non est mulier in filiabus fratrum tuorum...? / Beau fis, n'a il donques nules des filles a vos parens...?* (p. 51). These examples also show that the interrogative adverb was rather mobile and did not create major problems with word order.

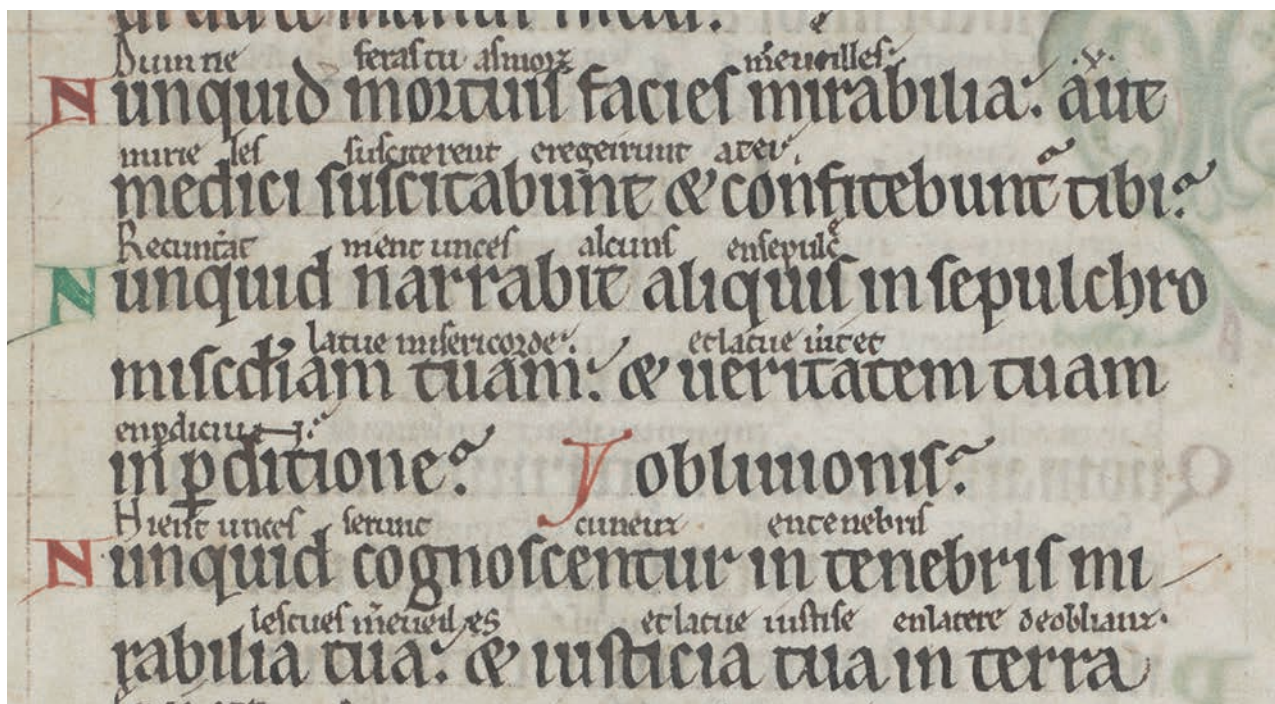
Dun is also the frequent translation choice of *numquid* in the Old French Four Books of Kings (*Li quatre livre des reis*), a vernacular adaptation of 1-2 Sa and 1-2 Ki, dated also mid-twelfth century (see Curtius 1911), although the translation strategy for this text was often dynamic, altering the source material, suppressing certain parts of verses, and inserting glosses: 1 Sa 1:8—*numquid non ego melior tibi sum, quam decem filii? / Dun n'as tu m'amur?* (Curtius 1911, p. 4); 1 Sa 2:27—*Numquid non aperte revelatus sum domui patris tui, cum essent in Agypto in domo*

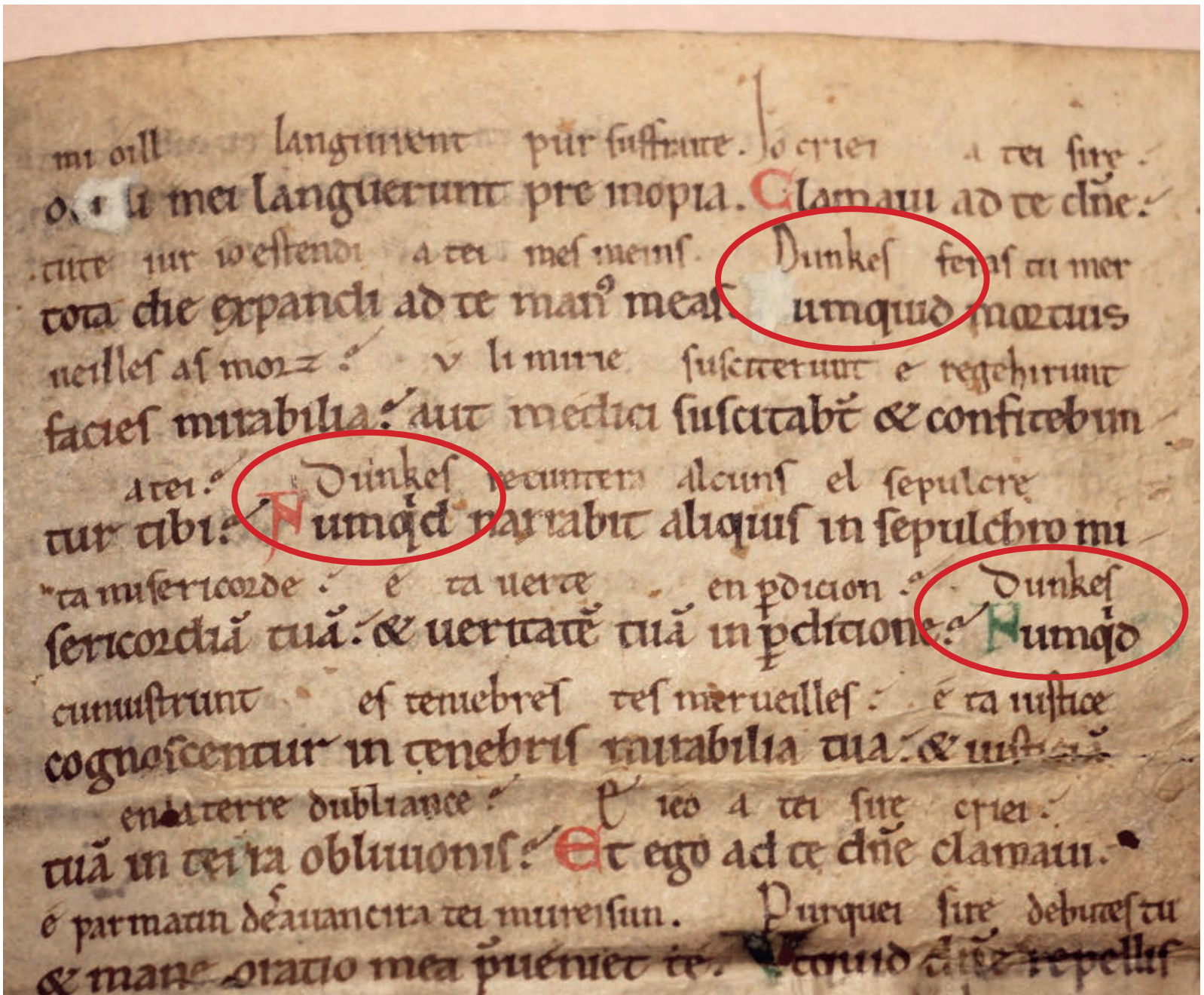
Pharaonis? / Dun ne me revelai, e apertement mustrai a tun pere Aaron e a sa maignee, tant cume il fud en Egypte en la poeste le rei Pharaunt? (p. 7–8); 1 Sa 9:21—*Numquid non filius Jemini ego sum de minima tribu Israel...? / Dun ne sui jo des fiz Gemini, de la menur lignee de Israel?* (p. 18); 1 Sa 15:22—*Numquid vult Dominus holocausta et victimas...? / Cument? Quides tu que a Deu plus plaise oblatiun e sacrefise* (p. 30); 1 Sa 16:11—*Numquid jam completi sunt filii? / Dun nen as tu plus fiz?* (p. 31); 1 Sa 17:43—*Numquid ego canis sum, quod tu venis ad me cum baculo? / Cument? Sui jo chiens encuntre ki deiz si od bastun venir?* (p. 35); 1 Sa 21:11—*Numquid non iste est David rex terrae? / Dun n'est ço David, li reis de la terre de Israel?* (p. 43); 1 Sa 26:15—*Numquid non vir tu es? / E dun es tu uns merveillus bers...?* (p. 53). The other translation choice for *numquid* is *cument*, but this occurs when the translation strategy steers towards a more dynamic approach and ventures into rewriting / interpretation.

The translation choices from the Old French Judges and Four Books of Kings suggest that a good translator would have had a single choice to make, and that said choice was the one that made its way in the final version of the text of Douce ms 320 (after erasures and corrections).

This is where one must note that the scribe of Arundel often mistakes *numquid* (single interrogative word based on *num* 'whether, if' and *quid* 'something') and *numquam* (temporal adverb meaning 'never, at no time'). There are only two exceptions where he renders the Latin text correctly and presents the same readings as those found in Douce. Since the Arundel scribe often renders Latin *numquid* as Old French *nient unces*, which is the correct translation of Latin *numquam*; and since the remaining words and phrases of those same verses align seamlessly with the text of Douce, it is quite probable that the initial version transcribed by scribe of Douce ms 320, before the erasures, could contain the translation error *nient unkes*.

Once again, this does not mean that Douce is based on Arundel. As already argued in the previous article (2023), the text of Arundel ms 230 is the rewriting of an interlin-





▲ Print screen close-up of Ps 87 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 89r).
Source: <https://iiif.bl.uk/>

▲ Close-up of the second folio, recto, of the Orne fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.
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ear gloss. Situations such as those of f. 89r, where *numquid* is translated in two different ways in the tight space of three consecutive verses (Ps 87:11—*dum ne*; Ps 87:12 + Ps 87:13—*nient unces*) go to show that the scribe of Arundel either did not pay attention to what he was transcribing or inserted occasional emendations only when they had been made. The inconsistency of the three subsequent translation choices of the Arundel scribe and the manner in which they appear correctly (as *dunkes* +

future verbal form) in Orne, suggest that the scribe of Douce could have consulted a second source.

The end result of the erasures and corrections made by the Douce scribe is similar to the text of Orne, whereas the version of Arundel explains the translation choices made by the Douce scribe in the initial stage, that is, before the erasures. Since the final text of Douce is not always similar to that of Orne (note the different word order in Douce ms 320, f. 57v, line 24-25; f. 57v, line 26; or the presence of an additional *ne* in Douce ms 320, f. 57v, line 23), one cannot argue that the text of Douce ms 320 could be based on the Orne fragments. Nevertheless, a manuscript witness related to the antigraph of Orne could have been used as a second source for Douce. If this is indeed the case, “the turning point” could be more than a critical moment in the scribe’s decision-making process. A second source, in the form of a different interlinear gloss, could have led to many of the Douce corrections.

THE TRANSLATION CHOICE FOR *EXALTARE* AND THE ISSUE OF THE LATIN SOURCE OF *DOUCE* (VA)

The Orne text interprets Ps 88:13b+Ps 88:14a as *Jcil monz é cel altre en tun num eshalcerunt tun braz ó poance*, the second part of which is close to both Douce and Arundel. The text of Douce ms 320, f. 58r, reads *Tabór é hermón el tuén num sesledeceruñt ; le tuén bráz ót poténce . ;* whereas Arundel ms 230, f. 90r, reads *Tabor e ehermon en le tuen nun sesléecerunt ; li tuen braz ót puissance*.

Arundel and Douce use the verb *esle(d)ecer* ‘to rejoice’ because the Latin text of Arundel reads *exultare* (*Tabor & hermon in nomine tuo exultabunt ; tuum brachium cum potentia* .). Orne reads *eshalcer* ‘to raise’, because its Latin text reads *exaltare* (*Thabor et hermon in nomine tuo ; exaltabunt tuum brachium cum potentia* .). We unfortunately do not have the text of the following verses in the Orne fragments, where the mentions of *exaltare* are even more frequent. The situation is nevertheless complicated by a series of readings where *esle(d)ecer* and *es(h)alcer* are used in places where they were not supposed to be.

The majority of readings from Douce ms 320 confirms that the scribe wrote (or copied) *exalcer* ‘to raise’ whenever he read (or had the confirmation that the Latin source used) the verb *exaltare*. See Ps 3:4—*exaltans caput meum* (Douce ms 320: *exalchánz mun chieff*); Ps 7:7—*exaltare in finibus inimicorum* (Douce ms 320: *seies essalcez es deuises de mes enemís*); Ps 9:33—*exaltetur manus tuam* (Douce ms 320: *seit essalcée la tús mains*); Ps 12:3—*exaltabitur inimicus meus* (Douce ms 320: *serat essalcét lí miens enemís*); Ps 17:47—*exaltetur deus salutis mee* (Douce ms 320: *séit exalcét deus de ma salút*); Ps 17:49—*exaltabis me* (Douce ms 320: *exalcerás méi*); Ps 20:14—*exaltare domine in virtute tua* (Douce ms 320: *séies exalcét síre en ta uertú*); Ps 26:6—*in petra exaltavit me et nunc exaltavit caput meum* (Douce ms 320: *en la pierre exalceát méi*); Ps 29:2—*exaltabo te domine* (Douce ms 320: *ié exalcerái téi síre*); Ps 33:4—*exaltemus nomen eius* (Douce ms 320: *é exalceúms sun num*); Ps 36:20—*exaltati deficientes* (Douce ms 320: *exalcét ; defisañz*); Ps 36:34—*exaltabit te* (Douce ms 320: *il exalcerát téi*); Ps 36:35—*vidi impium superexaltatum* (Douce ms 320: *ié uí le felun sur exalcié*); Ps 45:11—*exaltabor in gentibus et exaltabor in terra* (Douce ms 320: *serái exalced es genz . é serái exalcét en terre*); Ps 56:6—*exaltare super celos deus* (Douce ms 320: *séies exalceat sur les ciéls deus*); Ps 60:3—*exaltasti me* (Douce ms 320: *exalceás méi*); Ps 63:8—*exaltabitur deus* (Douce ms 320: *serát exalceat deus*); Ps 65:7—*non exaltentur in semetipsis* (Douce ms 320: *ne seient exalcét en séi medésme*); Ps 74:5—*delinquentibus nolite exaltare cornu* (Douce ms 320: *as mesfaisañz ne uóiléz exalcér lá córne*); Ps 74:8—*hunc humiliat et hunc exaltat* (Douce ms 320: *icestúí humílie é cestúí exálce*); Ps 74:11—*exaltabuntur cornua iusti* (Douce ms 320: *seruñt exalcéd les córnes del iúste*); Ps

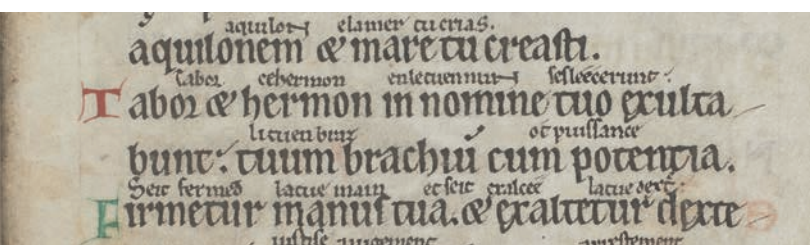
88:14—*exaltetur dextera tua* (Douce ms 320: *séit exalcée la tús déstre*); Ps 88:17—*in iustitia tua exaltabuntur* (Douce ms 320: *en la tús iustise seruñt exalcéd*); Ps 88:18—*exaltabitur cornu nostrum* (Douce ms 320: *será exalcéd li nóstre córz*); Ps 88:20—*exaltavi electum de plebe mea* (Douce ms 320: *exalceái leslít de mún póple*); Ps 88:25—*in nomine meo exaltabitur cornu eius* (Douce ms 320: *el mién núm será exalcéz li córz de lúi*); Ps 88:43—*exaltasti dexteram deprementium eum* (Douce ms 320: *tú exalceás la déstre des depremañz lúi*); Ps 91:11—*exaltabitur sicut unicornis cornu meum* (Douce ms 320: *será exalcé sicume unicórz li miéns córz*); Ps 93:2—*exaltare qui iudicas terram* (Douce ms 320: *séies exalcé chi iúges la tús terre*); Ps 96:9—*nimis exaltatus es super omnes deos* (Douce ms 320: *mult íes exalciez sur tús déus*); Ps 98:5—*exaltate Dominum Deum nostrum* (Douce ms 320: *exalcéz le segnúr nóstre déu*); Ps 98:9—*exaltate Dominum Deum nostrum* (Douce ms 320: *exalcez le segnúr nóstre déu*); Ps 106:25—*exaltati sunt fluctus eius* (Douce ms 320: *exalcé sunt li fluéz de lúi*); Ps 106:32—*exaltent eum in ecclesia plebis* (Douce ms 320: *exálcen lúi en liglise del póple*); Ps 107:6—*exaltare super caelos deus* (Douce ms 320: *séies exalcé sur les ciéls deus*); Ps 109:7—*propterea exaltabit caput* (Douce ms 320: *empuricé exalcád sun chieff*); Ps 111:9—*cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria* (Douce ms 320: *la córne de lúi será exalcé en glórie*); Ps 117:16—*dextera domini exaltavit me* (Douce ms 320: *la déstre del segnór exalcád méi*); Ps 117:28—*deus meus es tu et exaltabo te* (Douce ms 320: *li miens deus íes tú é exalcerái téi*); Ps 130:2—*exaltavi animam meam* (Douce ms 320: *máis exalcái la méie áneime*); Ps 139:9—*ne derelinquas me ne forte exaltentur* (Douce ms 320: *ne deguerpír méi ; que par auentúre ne séient exalcé*); Ps 144:1—*exaltabo te deus meus rex* (Douce ms 320: *Ié exalcerái téi deus . li miens réis*); Ps 148:13—*quia exaltatum est nomen eius solius* (Douce ms 320: *kar exalciez est . li nuñs de lúi sól*); Ps 148:14—*exaltavit cornu populi sui* (Douce ms 320: *exalcerád la córne de sun póple*); Ps 149:4—*exaltabit mansuetos in salutem* (Douce ms 320: *exalcerád les suéfs en salúd*).

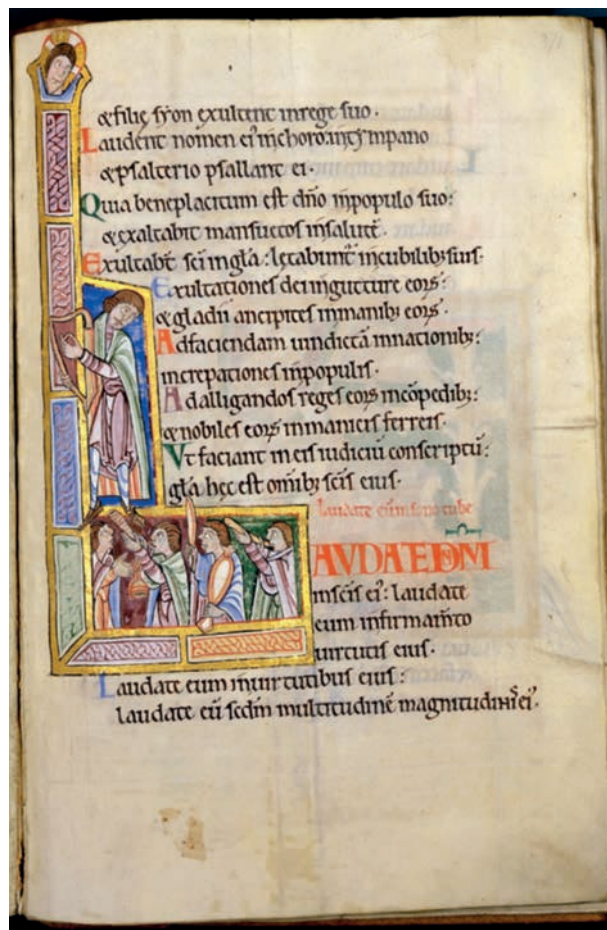
On two occasions, the Maidstone fragments show again signs that their version is close to the one copied in Douce ms 320. See Ps 56:12—*exaltare super celos deus* (Douce ms 320: *séies exalcét sur les ciéls deus* / Maidstone: *seies esalce s[u]r les c[ie]ls deus*); Ps 58:17—*exaltabo mane misericordiam tuam* (Douce ms 320: *é exalcerái par matín la tús misericórde* / Maidstone: *essalcerai par matin la tue misericorde*). The many coincidences between the two vernacular texts suggest that the Maidstone fragments belong to the same textual tradition as Douce ms 320. Nevertheless, the Orne fragments can present similar readings, at least on one occasion. For instance, the Orne scribe made the same translation choice, using *exhalcier* ‘to raise’, in Ps 87:16—*exaltatus autem humiliatus sum et conturbatus* (Douce ms 320: *exalcéz acértes . humiliéz súi . é conturbéz* / Orne: *ió eshalciez acertes sui humiliez e trublez*).

However, this does not prove beyond any doubt that the apograph of the Orne fragments belongs to the textual tradition of Douce ms 320. The verb *ex(h)alc(i)er* could just as well be a translation automatism determined by the presence of the Latin verb *exaltare*, just as *esle(d)ecer* seemed to be based on *exultare*. I must stress here that the only place where the Gallicanum proper (not its mixed readings found in various manuscripts) uses *exultare*, Ps 9:16—*exultabo in salutari tuo*, is rendered in Douce ms 320 as *ié mesleecerái el tuen saluáble*.

▼ Print screen close-up of Ps 88 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 90r).

Source: <https://iiif.bl.uk/>



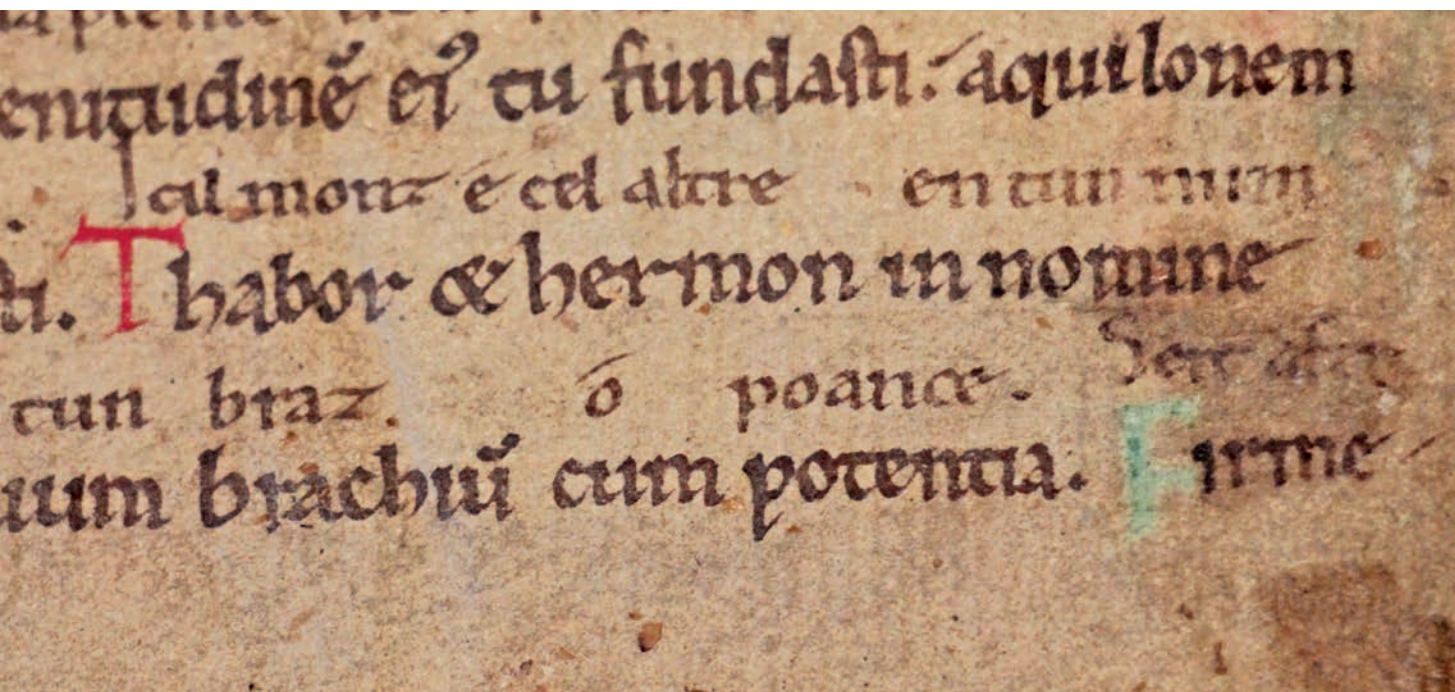


◆ Three folios from the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dom-
 bibliothek, St Godehard 1): Ps 130:1—*non est exaltatum cor meum* (p. 342); Ps 149:5 and Ps 149:6 (p. 371); Ps 88:16 (p. 260).
 Source: <https://www.albani-psalter.de/>

Further proof of the existence of such an automatism comes from another reading where Douce ms 320 seems to translate *exultare* rather than *exaltare*. In Ps 130:1—*non est exaltatum cor meum*, Douce ms 320 reads *ne ne sunt esleu li mién oil*, which seems to be based on *exultatum*. The Hildesheim manuscript of the St Albans Psalter, p. 342, reads here *exaltatum*, not *exultatum*, thus suggesting that Douce ms 320 cannot be based on this Latin version. The situation is slightly different in Ps 149:6—*exultationes dei in gutture eorum*, where Douce ms 320 reads *lés esledecermènz déu el guitrún dels*. This is, indeed, based on Latin *exultationes*, a reading that the Hildesheim manuscript has on p. 371, in the exact same verse, but the preceding verse of St Albans Psalter (Ps 149:5) reads *exultabunt sancti in gloria; letabuntur in cubilibus suis*. This is where Douce ms 320 reads *esiorrunt li saint en glorie; esledecerunt en lur liz*, reversing the two verbs. The reversal suggests that Douce did not follow the Latin text, but rather rewrote a pre-existing vernacular one.

In light of the above, the Douce ms 320 reading of Ps 88:14 (f. 58r, *el tuén num sesledecerunt*) fits both the reading of St Albans Psalter, p. 249 (*in nomine tuo exultabunt*), and the one from Arundel ms 230, f. 90r, where *en le tuen nun sesléecerunt* is based on *exultabunt*). The same can be said about Ps 88:16, where Douce ms 320 reads *el tuen num sesledecerunt tute iur*, whereas St Albans Psalter, p. 260, and Arundel, f. 90r, both read *in nomine tuo exultabunt tota die*.





THABOR ET HERMON OR THE TRANSLATION STRATEGIES OF ORNE, DOUCE, AND ARUNDEL (VA)

Another interesting feature of the Orne gloss is a specific translation choice *Jeil monz é cel altre* for the Latin words *Thabor et hermon* at the beginning of the same Ps 88:13. This corresponds to a certain translation strategy that is deployed in other passages, as if to blur the specifics of the Latin text. In Ps 77:43, Orne renders the Latin expression *in campo taneos* ‘in the field of Tanis’ as *en ces lius* ‘in those parts’, whereas Douce reads *el câmp de tafneós* and Arundel *el cham de tafneos*. In Ps 77:45, Orne reads *icele beste* ‘that creature’ for Latin *cynomiam* ‘biting fly’, where both Douce and Arundel read *cinomiam*, without even attempting to deploy a vernacular declension for the Latin word, as they do in other instances.

This blurring effect can explain a series of differences, including the *languste* translating Latin *locustae* in Ps 77:46, the reading that had convinced Samaran 1929: 173 that the text of Orne represented a different translation than that of Douce:

Au verset 51 du psaume LXXVII, le fragment de l'Orne est seul à traduire par languste le mot locusta que Cambridge [Eadwine Psalter] et Oxford [Douce ms 320] rendent par salterele.

Au verset 50 du même psaume, le fragment de l'Orne traduit par icelle beste le mot cinomia que le texte d'Oxford reproduit tel quel et que le texte de Cambridge rend par tute maniere de musches.

Et, dans le même ordre d'idées, il est remarquable que, dans deux versets (Psaume LXXVII, v. 48; psaume LXXXVIII, v. 13), les allusions aux noms propres (camp de Tafneos, monts Thabor et Hermon), introduits tels quels dans les textes de Cambridge et d'Oxford, sont rendus dans celui du fragment de l'Orne de la façon la plus vague (en ces lius et icil monz, e cel altre), soit que le traducteur ait ainsi avoué son ignorance, soit que son ouvrage s'adressât à un public aussi ignorant que lui-même.

Il apparaît donc que le fragment de l'Orne nous fait connaître une troisième traduction en prose française du Psau-

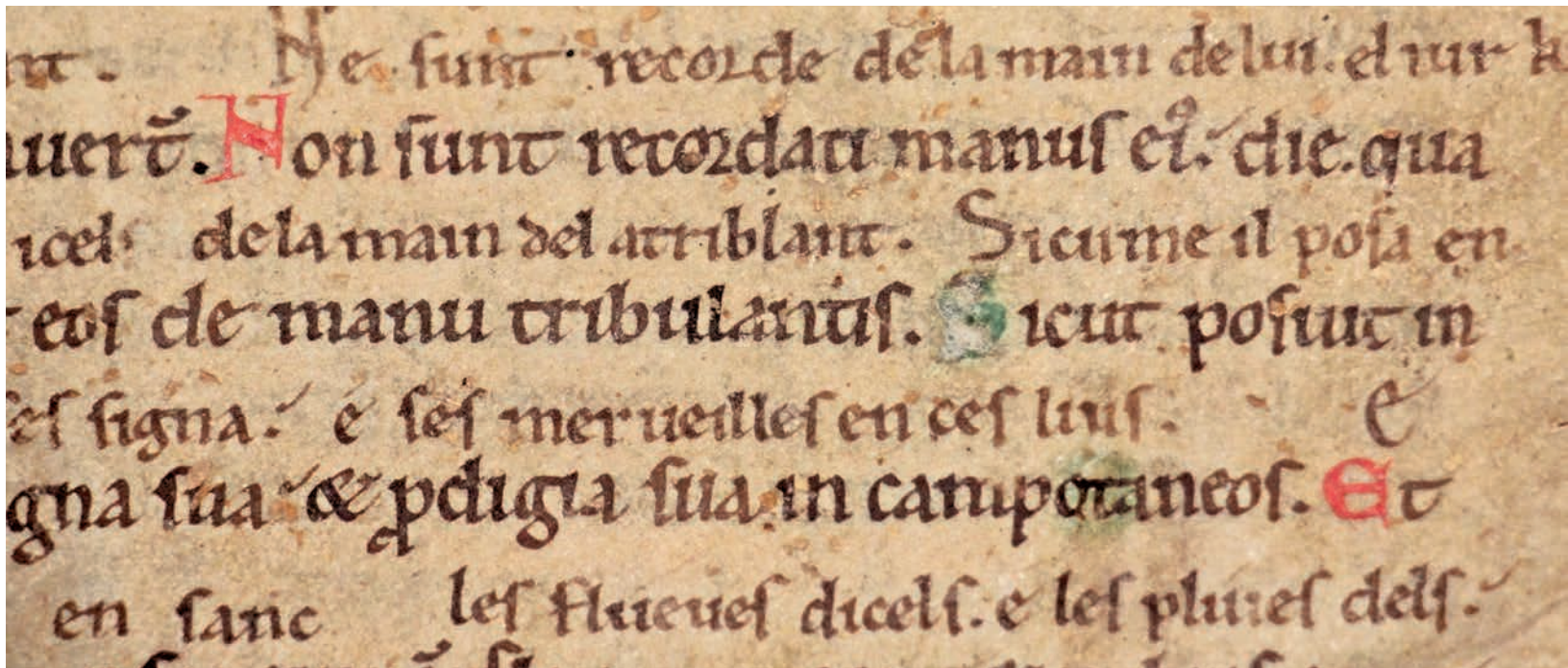
tier, traduction vraisemblablement composée en Angleterre vers la même époque que celle des Psautiers de Cambridge et d'Oxford, c'est-à-dire dans le courant du XII^e siècle.

Samaran does not consider the text of Arundel, which he does not even take into account in his study. His comparison with the Eadwine Psalter (a version transcribed in the interline of a *Hebraicum* Psalter) does not justify.

In reality, the scribe of the Orne fragments (or the author of their antigraph) simply introduced a SUB2 type of gloss from among those analysed by Blom 2017: 29–32: “substitution glosses which provide an explanatory replacement.” Some of them could be even based on the commentary paratext from the margin of a manuscript; others could be the pure creation of any one scribe. The issue was already discussed in the previous instalment of this paper (cf. *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023: 132) and the conclusion I reached was that the manner in which the texts of Arundel and Douce interact is rather similar to that of the Psalm glosses written in Old English, Old Frisian, Old High German, etc. It is perhaps time to add another piece to the collage, the Orne fragments, and to reevaluate that conclusion.

The most interesting feature is the phrase *en ces lius* ‘in those parts’ as a substitution gloss for *in campo taneos*. The use of *ces* in connection with *lius* implies that the place, the city of Thanis, was a part of Egypt (cf. Orne fragment Ps 77:43 *Sicume il posa en egipte ses signa ; e ses merueilles en ces lius . // Sicut posuit in egipto signa sua ; et prodigia sua in campo taneos .*). This implies knowledge of the Old Testament realia, not ignorance. The same can be said about Thabor and Hermon. The glossator knew that they were mountains. If he knew not, he would have left them as they were in the Latin text. This is also the situation of *cynomiam*, which the scribes of the Arundel and Douce manuscripts leave in its Latin accusative form (proof of ignorance? or uncertainty?), whereas the Orne glossator identifies it as a living being.

When similar things occur in Old English manuscripts,



such as the substitution glosses of the Vespasian Psalter, briefly described in Blom 2017: 166 (who quotes further references on this matter), the glossator's choices seem to be influenced by patristic exegesis (Augustine, Jerome, or Cassiodorus). In Ps 28:5, to name but an example, the Vespasian Psalter glosses *cedros libani* 'cedars of Lebanon' as *cederbeamas des mutes* 'cedars of the hills', and this is same type of substitution that we find in the Old French fragments from the Orne dossier of the National Archives.

A similar principle could be at the heart of the three changes from the Orne fragments. *Glossa Ordinaria* has a marginal note based on a passage of Augustine, whereby Thabor of Ps 88:13 is explained as *Iudei ad quos primum lumen venit*, and Hermon as *gentes que prius erant anathematizate*. Both of them are, obviously, *montes Syrie et per eos gentes accipiuntur a parte totum per synecdochen* (cf. GLOSS-E). The glossator could have chosen to replace the proper names with more vague counterparts in order to render the text more accessible to a less instructed reader.

The *Glossa Ordinaria* also has a marginal note for Ps 77:12 *in campo Thaneos*. It reads: *civitas humile mandatum quod hic nobis necessarium ut in futuro erigamur* (cf. GLOSS-E). The Orne glossator did not have enough room to explain that *Thanis* is a city and that its genitive was *Thaneos* in the Greek language. 'In those parts' does justice to the original text and clarifies an aspect that would directly affect the comprehension of the verse.

As for Ps 77:45, the *Glossa Ordinaria* has a marginal note that reads *cynomia canini mores sunt*, accompanied by two interlinear notes that read *caninos mores ut non honorarent parentes vel prelatos* and *muscam caninam*. It is not as much a matter of ignorance on behalf of the translator as it is a matter of a translator's approach to gloss. Had he chosen the solution of the Arundel or Douce scribes, the reader would not be able to understand if *cinomia* was a meteorological phenomenon such as the *gresle* 'hail' that follows it in Ps 77:47 and Ps 77:48, or a living creature.

This substitution technique is not restricted to glosses; it can also occur in actual translations. See, for instance, the Anglo-Norman text of two chapters from the Gospel

of Matthew in Vatican, Apostolic Library, ms Ottob. lat. 1473. On f. 43va, the first part of Mt 26:37—*Et assumpto Petro et duobus filiis Zebedaei* which is rendered as *et il mena auoques soi pierre et iames. et iehan*. The translator from the early thirteenth century provided the actual names of the characters, for the same reasons of clarity.

This suggests that Douce looks like a prose rewriting of a previous gloss; Arundel looks like a rewriting of a translation gloss; whereas Orne is just an interpretative gloss. Although they seem to derive from a similar point of origin, the three of them did not serve the same purpose and were not made the same way.

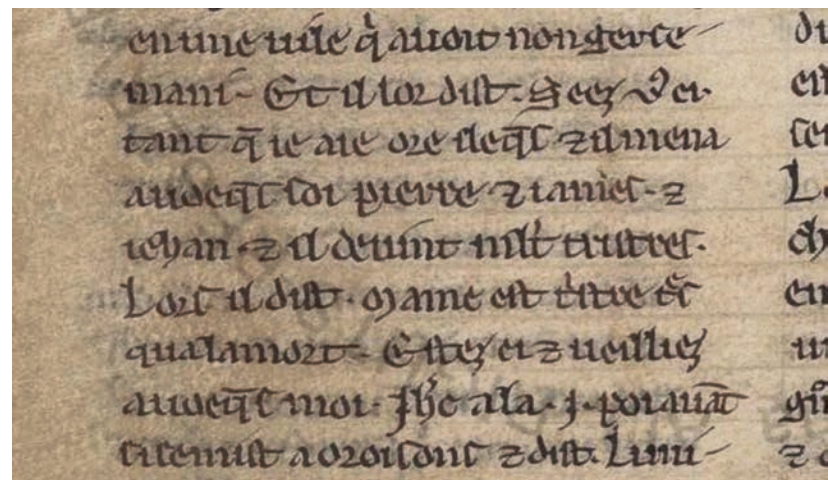
◆ Close-ups of the last folio, verso, and of the first folio, recto, from the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, 1/1). The first image (f. 2v) shows Ps 88:14. The second one (f. 1r) shows the substitution gloss for Ps 77:43.

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

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▼ Print screen close-up of Mt 26:37 in the two chapters of Matthew (Vatican, Apostolic Library, ms Ottob. lat. 1473, f. 43va).

Source: <https://digi.vatlib.it/>



THE SPECIFICS OF THE REWRITING STRATEGY OF THE ORNE FRAGMENTS (VA)

There are too many coincidences between Orne and Douce, and they occur in phrases that could have had different translation choices. Let us consider the seamless alignment of the two texts in Ps 77:47–48, as if Orne was a diorthosis of the text from Douce (Orne: *e il ocist gresle les uignies dicels ; é lur moriers en gelee . E il liura a gresle lur iumenz ; é lur possessiun[-] [a] fou / Douce: É ocist en grisille les lur uignes ; e les moriers dels en geléda . E liurád á grisille les iumenz déls ; e la lúr possessiún á fú .*). Latin *pruina* ‘hoarfrost’ could have been translated in several manners, using different words. *Moriers* for Latin *moros* ‘mulberry trees’ (here ‘vine stocks’) is also an odd coincidence, given the preference of Orne for simplification whenever the situation requires it. Another odd coincidence can be found in Ps 87:16, where the Orne glossator left the text as it was in Douce (*exalcéz acertes . humiliéz súi*), including the curious use of *acertes*, which was identified as one of the features of the interlinear-gloss antigraph of Douce ms 320, in turn linked with the one of Arundel ms 230.

As a matter of fact, there are several readings where Orne agrees with Arundel against Douce. In Ps 77:56, Orne reads *le halt* for Latin *excelsum* (epithet of God), where Douce reads *le haltisme* and Arundel *halt*. In Ps 87:15, Orne reads *purquei*, which is the same translation as that of Arundel for Latin *utquid*, while Douce reads *a quéi*. In Ps 77:58, Orne reads *creuz*, where Douce reads *entáilledúres* and Arundel *en ses ceris* (or *teris*) for Latin *collibus*. In Ps 88:7, Orne reads *sera egaillie*, which is closer to Arundel’s *sera quillene* translation of Latin *equabitur* than the Douce reading *será aúed*.

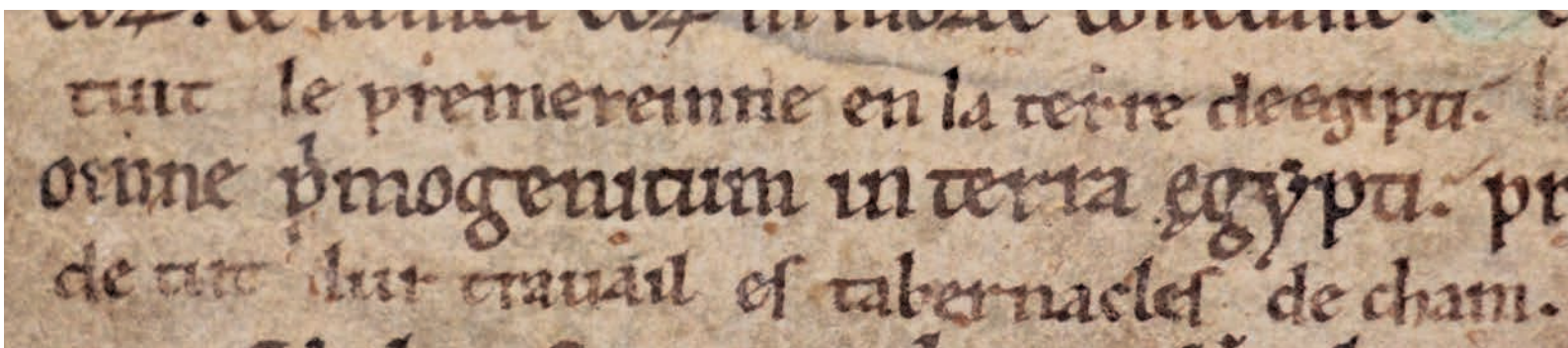
Last but not least, on two occasions (Ps 77:41 and Ps 77:56), the Orne glossator writes *esseérent / essaierent* where Douce reads systematically *temptérent* for Latin *temptaverunt*. It is particularly revealing that both occurrences are translated as *asaierent* in Arundel ms 230. This suggests that the antigraph of Orne is probably related, in one way or another, to the antigraph of Arundel. Further confirmations come from five other occurrences of *tentaverunt* in the text of the Psalms. In Ps 25:2, Douce reads *essái* for Latin *tempta*, where Arundel reads *ensaie*. In Ps 34:16, Douce reads *assaierent* for Latin *tentaverunt*, with *e* erased and corrected in *a* (*vide supra*: other verbal forms), where Arundel also reads *asaierent*. In Ps 77:18, Douce reads *temptérent* for Latin *tentaverunt*, but Arundel sticks to its translation choice: *asaierent*. In Ps 94:9, Douce reads *essaierent* for Latin *tentaverunt*; Arundel reads *assaierent* once again. And in Ps 105:14, Douce reads *temptérent*, with Arundel reading *assaierent* for the same Latin *tentaverunt*. It is beyond any doubt that Arundel and Orne agree on this translation choice because they derive from the same family of interlinear glosses. The translation from Douce ms 320 adapts an interlinear gloss from the same family, but the Douce scribe forgets, every now and then, to make the change from *assaier* to *tempter*.

In many other places, Orne presents a different reading than Arundel and Douce. On certain occasions, it prefers Latinisms. In Ps 77:46, Orne reads *languste* for *locustae*, where Douce reads *salteréle* and Arundel *saltarele*. In the

exact same verse, Orne makes a second translation choice based on a Latinism: *laburs* for Latin *labores*, where Douce reads *trauálz* and Arundel *trauailz*. The Orne glossator nevertheless forgets to make this change in Ps 87:16, where he leaves *travalz* for *laboribus*, exactly as we find it in Douce and Arundel. Certain verbs are also chosen to fit the Latin text. On three occasions, Orne uses *convertir* where Douce and Arundel read *tresturner*: Ps 77:41—Orne: *sunt conuerti* / Douce: *tresturné sunt* / Arundel: *tresturne sunt* (Latin *conversi sunt*); Ps 77:44—Orne: *conuerti* / Douce: *tresturná* / Arundel: *tresturna* (Latin *convertit*); Ps 77:57—Orne: *sunt conuerti* / Douce: *sunt tresturnéd* / Arundel: *sunt tresturnet* (Latin *conversi sunt*). Finally, another frequent change in Orne is *mist* for Latin *misit*, that Douce and Arundel render as *enueíá*, *enueiat* / *enuoiat* (Ps 77:45 and Ps 77:49). There are also readings where the Orne glossator tries to follow the Latin text more closely: Ps 77:52—Orne: *greu* / Douce: *fúlc* / Arundel: *fulc* (Latin *gregem*); to the point where he uses an actual Latin word (or makes a mistake) in Ps 77:43—Orne: *ses signa* / Douce: *les suéns signes* / Arundel: *les sues signes* (Latin *signa sua*). However, he can also be pedantic. See, for instance, the situation of Ps 77:42—Orne: *atriblant* / Douce: *trauailant* / Arundel: *tribulanz* (Latin *tribulantis*).

In many other places, Orne eliminates a lot of Latinisms: Ps 77:49 x 2—Orne: *desdeignement* / Douce: *indignatiún* / Arundel: *endignaciun* (Latin *indignationem*); Ps 77:54b—Orne: *departit + departement* / Douce: *diuisá + diuisiún* / Arundel: *deuisat + diuisiun* (Latin *diuisit + distributionis*); Ps 77:50—Orne: *esclost*, corrected into *enclost* / Douce: *conclúst* / Arundel: *conclust* (Latin *conclussit*); Ps 87:10b—Orne: *estendi* / Douce: *espandí* / Arundel: *espandí* (Latin *expandi*); Ps 87:16—Orne: *trublez* / Douce: *conturbéz* / Arundel: *conturbez* (Latin *conturbatus*); Ps 87:17—Orne: *trublèrent* / Douce: *conturbérent* / Arundel: *conturberent* (Latin *conturbaverunt*); Ps 88:2a—Orne: *merciz* / Douce: *misericórces* / Arundel: *misericordes* (Latin *misericordias*) / but Orne leaves the Douce and Arundel *misericorde* in Ps 88:3; Ps 88:4—Orne: *afermement* / Douce: *testameñt* / Arundel: *testament* (Latin *testamentum*).

This type of inconsistency is visible in other places, where it gives the impression that the intention was to make changes to a pre-existing text, but those changes were not done systematically, although the repeated occurrences of the words were close to one another. For instance, in Ps 77:41, Orne reads *enuairent* for Latin *exacerbaverunt*, where Douce uses *puruochérent* and Arundel *puruocherent*. However, this is a verse where the Orne glossator had already made changes to *tresturner* > *convertir*. When he encountered Latin *exacerbaverunt* for a second time in Ps 77:56, he forgot his initial translation choice and used *espruuerent*, where Douce read *puruochérent* and Arundel *puruocherent*. This is also one of the verses where Orne *esseérent* agrees with Arundel *asaierent* against Douce *temptérent*. This goes to show that the ‘ecdotic triangle’ formed by Orne, Douce, and Arundel is rather complex and the three different versions are tied together in a textual filiation, the origin of which is hard to attribute to a single manuscript. Each of the three manuscript witnesses discussed here was based on a different antigraph. The situation of Orne is complicated



by the inconsistency of its changes. Let us not forget that Orne changes *misericorde* into *merci*, but forgets to repeat the change because the attention of the glossator is focused on *durable*.

This is one of the Orne glossator's favourite choices. In Ps 88:2a and Ps 88:3, Orne reads *durablement* for Latin *in eternum*, where Douce has *en parmanableté* and Arundel *en parmanabletet*. Two verses below, in Ps 88:5a, Orne uses *en la durablete*, where Douce reads *en parmanableté* and Arundel *en parmanabletet* (again, for Latin *in eternum*). He tries to simplify and harmonise the text of the gloss, something that transpires from other changes, such as the variants of *mener*: Ps 77:52—Orne: *demena* / Douce: *mená* / Arundel: *menat* (Latin *perduxit*); Ps 77:54a—Orne: *demena* / Douce: *enmená* / Arundel: *enmena* (Latin *induxit*); Ps 77:59—Orne: *ramena* / Douce: *demená* / Arundel: *demenat* (Latin *redegit*). However, Orne also reads *demena*, just as Douce and Arundel, in Ps 77:53 (Latin *deduxit*). By far, the best example can be found in Ps 88:10—Orne: *as seignorie de la poeste de la mer* / Douce: *segnúres la podestéd de la mér* / Arundel: *seignures la pouéstet de la mer* (Latin *dominaris* etc.). The glossator rewrote the text, to make more sense in the vernacular.

This preoccupation with the simplification of its source material is also evident in Ps 77:54b—Orne: *geta* / Douce: *forsgetá* / Arundel: *fors ietat* (Latin *eiecit*); Ps 88:7—Orne: *sera* / Douce: *iert* / Arundel: *ert* (Latin *erit*). It goes as far as to compress it when the original material, too long and written in tiny interlinear characters, could not fit in the new layout, where the characters of the vernacular text are just as large as the Latin ones. This is visible in Ps 77:51—Orne: *tuit le premereinne* / Douce: *chescúne chöse premiér engendrée* / Arundel: *chascune cose premier engendréé* (Latin *primogenitum*). In this segment, the Orne glossator had to keep the interlinear French text above the Latin words and could not afford to write a very long phrase. This can be related to the changes in word order, to make the text more fluent, even though it still remained a interlinear gloss (Orne inverts the order of certain vernacular sequences above the Latin ones).

There are also two occasions where the harmonisation of the text leads to odd choices that could be taken from other segments of the source material. In Ps 77:50, Orne reads *sire* 'his wrath', where Douce has *la súa íre* and Arundel *de la sue íre*. The elision is similar to the one we find in Douce MS 320, f. 45r, line 18: *de la face de tíre*. The second case is the odd use of *e acertes* in Ps 88:6 for Latin *etenim*, where Douce and Arundel have a basic *kár/kar*. The position of *acertes* is nevertheless unusual, as Arundel and the erasures of Douce show that it was used

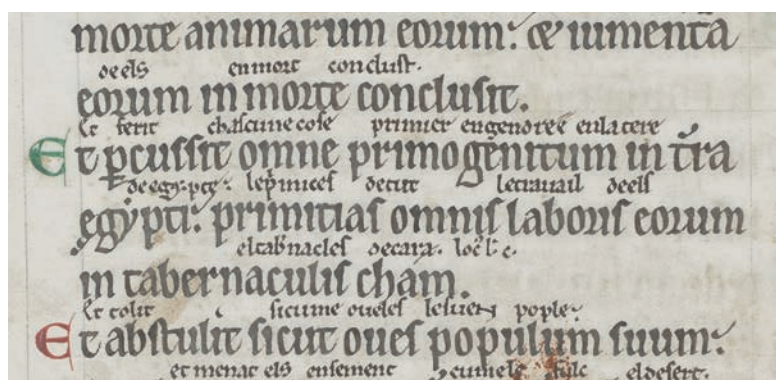
▲ Close-up of the 'primogenitum' gloss (Ps 77:51) on the first folio, recto, from the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

With the kind permission of the National Archives, Paris.

▼ Print screen close-up of Ps 77:51 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 80v).

Source: <https://iiif.bl.uk/>



after the subject, not at the beginning of a phrase (cf. *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 100–101).

In other instances, the attention given to the correspondences between the Latin and vernacular texts led to absurd situations where one could doubt the glossator's training and his proficiency in Latin. If we focus only on Ps 77:42—Latin *sunt recordati* > Orne: *sunt recorde* / Douce: *recordérent* / Arundel *recorderent*, we could even accuse him of not knowing that *recordari* is a deponent verb. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to blame him for not knowing the passive ending of the third person plural in Ps 87:13, where Latin *cognoscentur* is rendered in Orne as *cunuistrunt*, while Douce reads *serunt cuneudes*, Arundel *serunt cuneus*. It is very likely that the glossator's preoccupation was to replicate the number of words from the Latin source.

Finally, certain changes do not belong to a specific category: Ps 77:49—Orne: *entermetement* / Douce: *enuéiemeñz* / Arundel: *enuoiemenz* (Latin *inmissionem*, plural *inmisiones* in Arundel); Ps 77:57—Orne: *felun* / Douce: *torcenús* / Arundel: *torcenus* (Latin *pravum*); Ps 77:57—Orne: *segrefiement* / Douce: *enuídie* / Arundel: *enuie* (Latin *emulationem*); Ps 77:59—Orne: *forment* / Douce: *mult* / Arundel: *mult* (Latin *valde*); Ps 77:60—Orne: *dunna* / Douce: *liurá* / Arundel: *liuerat* (Latin *tradidit*); Ps 88:9—Orne: *semblables* / Douce: *semblañz* / Arundel: *semblanz* (Latin *similis*).

THE PSALTER IN ENGLAND: AN OVERVIEW OF THE VERNACULAR
APPROACHES UNTIL THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY (PL)

Arundel ms 230 and Oxford ms 320

The study undertaken by Alessia Chapel and Vladimir Agrigoroaei in the framework of the ANR *PSalteRATIO* project focuses on 12th- and 13th-century England. The English interest in the Psalter lasted centuries, producing a considerable number of Psalter manuscripts (more than a dozen of which glossed in Old English, a translation in prose and one in verse) and passing on the baton to French. Their research is devoted to the translation of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, and also to the interlinear version of the Psalter in London, British Library, Arundel ms 230. Both works play a crucial role when read from multiple perspectives. Chapel has taken into examination the erasures in Douce ms 320.

The London manuscript, British Library, Arundel ms 230 is an interlinear French gloss added to a slightly earlier version of the *Gallicanum*, with both texts dating from the second half of the 12th century. The codex is composite, made of four parts (f. 1–6; f. 7–161; f. 162–180; f. 181–194), and was copied at the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter, St Paul, and St Andrew in Peterborough in the 12th and 13th centuries. Folios 7r–146r contain the Psalter with the interlinear translation in French, followed by canticles and hymns. The collection of pieces which usually accompany the Psalter (f. 157v–161r) had, by this time, progressively reached a stable composition. However, in the case of Arundel ms 230 there is neither a liturgical calendar nor prayers, as if the patron and scribes performing their task had chosen to give more prominence and attention to the text of the Psalter.

The translation of Arundel ms 230 sets the manuscript apart from what would become the norm of French versions of the Psalter, even though it would seem that its author has learned the lesson of the 10th and 11th interlinear glosses to the Psalter in Old English. The ‘originality’ of Arundel ms 230 is underscored by Agrigoroaei on several occasions in the first instalment of the paper. The approach builds on what went before, independently of the language, but within the same category of text, a vernacularisation of a Biblical work. Working on the logic of *lemma / interpretamentum* allows to detect how close is the dialogue between the Arundel version and the Latin text of the Psalter. This is true notwithstanding the changes in the word-order (e.g., the possessive adjective and the name it determines), which is too often remarked. It is not a matter of greater and lesser freedom, but a question of firm anchoring.

On the other hand, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320 is a French prose text with no parallel Latin text. Douce ms 320 is a composite manuscript where psalms and canticles (f. 37–75) were later combined with a 13th-century French translation of the Benedictine Rule, a key text of medieval monasticism. Upon thorough analysis of the erasures of Douce ms 320, it would appear that this translation is a rewriting of a former continuous gloss. According to Chapel and Agrigoroaei, Douce ms 320 is actually a reworking of an interlinear gloss. In this regard,

the same considerations made above for Arundel ms 230 apply, although the two scholars work at a more remote step: hence its fluidity. The second conclusion that is reached in the first instalment of the research is that the previous layer of the Douce ms 320 should not be identified in Arundel ms 230. In the suggested interpretation, the original gloss was not that ‘servile’ as regards the Latin text that it accompanied, but (as to their words) it was already “fluid” (cf. *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 130). This assumption, which results rather obscure when applied to a text which is irretrievably lost, is better exemplified by the parallel analysis of the interlinear version of Arundel ms 230. The aspect of the text’s fluidity emerges more evidently when the translation operates with longer clusters, which allows a larger degree of freedom when it comes to word-order and syntax in general.

The study of the erasures shows that the scribe of Douce ms 320 is striving to correct his errors in spelling / pronunciation, inflection / agreement, and word order / syntax. The scribe is apparently making editorial adjustments on the fly as he works at speed, and realigning his translation with the Latin source. Short 2015 has underscored that scribal erasures remain visible, making clear the nature of the corrections. In the already published paper, which is a preliminary one, the authors highlight how several corrections were made to have the French text sound more continental, with all the meaning attached to this term which also meant high-prestige. The capillary assessment of the erasures starts from a graphematic and grammatical level to then move onto sociolinguistic questions. The Latin text, if there was one, remains in the background and it is evident how the Oxford Psalter manuscript is unusual in its all-French component. Later manuscripts of this translation have a full Latin text or at least Latin incipits.

The St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard ms 1) is dated 1123–1135 and is possibly one of the several Psalters produced or commissioned by St Albans. The text of the Psalters is preceded by a prefatory cycle. The more than 200 initials, quite large—also compared to the relatively small size of the manuscript—and inhabited with figures, provide a visual version to the texts to follow, starting with the prayers and, with further continuity, with the psalms. Much has been written on the patron of the codex and its recipient within the walls of St Albans. Hefty is also the more firmly grounded assessment of the units of the manuscript, which combines a Psalter and its common paraphernalia with the *Song of St Alexis* and a treatise on Good and Evil.

As in other instances, all components of the insular Psalter manuscripts contribute to illustrate their nature. However, in this respect, the two manuscripts under examination seem to follow a different path from that of other contemporary Psalter manuscripts (both the trilingual Eadwine Psalter and the all-Latin ones): they bear no special illumination, but betray a good (and at times apparently similar) care in the layout and in alternating

the colours of the capitals. Additionally, when it comes to Arundel ms 230, the balancing of the Latin and French texts aligns the manuscript to similar codices.

The Psalter in England

Of the many early English manuscripts of the Psalter, eleven are provided with a continuous interlinear gloss in Old English. A number of fragments now in Cambridge, Haarlem, Sonderhausen, Elblag, and Alkmaar (of a further continental manuscript in England by the mid-11th century, known by the sigla **N**; see Gneuss, Lapidge 2014, no. 141 and the recent discovery of further fragments reported by Porck 2024) are also provided with glosses. One manuscript (**M**) (New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, ms M 776; mid-8th century) bears sparse glosses in the vernacular. Another, the Southampton Psalter (Cambridge, St John's College, ms 59; 10th/11th century, written in Ireland and probably arrived in England before 1100) features glosses in both Old Irish and Latin.

What is more, both *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* versions of the Psalter were provided with Old English glosses. *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* were both in use in England, but the latter ousted the *Romanum* by the middle of the 10th century. A clear net of relationships between these glossed Psalters emerges. The **A-type** group comprises: **A** (London, British Library, Cotton ms Vespasian A. i; second quarter of the 8th century with 9th-century glosses), **B** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius ms 27; first half of the 10th century), **C** (Cambridge, University Library, ms Ff. 1. 23; c.1000). The gloss of **B** and **C** is independently derived from **A**. The **D-type** group includes most Psalters of a later date: **D** (London, British Library, Royal ms 2. B. v; mid-10th century), **F** (London, British Library, Stowe ms 2; mid- or third quarter of the 11th century), **G** (London, British Library, Cotton ms Vitellius E. xviii; mid-11th century), **H** (London, British Library, Cotton ms Tiberius C. vi, mid- or third quarter of the 11th century), **J** (London, British Library, Arundel ms 60; second half of the 11th century), **K** (Salisbury, Cathedral Library, ms 150, f. 1-151; second half of the 10th century with an 11th-12th century gloss), **L** (London, British Library, Add. ms 37517; third quarter of the 10th century with an early 11th-century gloss) (see Schabram 1965, 21-28, Pulsiano 2001 and Kitson 2001 and 2003). While some apparatuses date to the same time as the Latin text or slightly afterwards, others are multilayered.

The Lambeth Psalter (**I**) (London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms 427; first half of the 11th century) offers an independent gloss which, however, incorporates **A-type** as well as **D-type** glosses, as well as providing evidence for a process of correction and revision of the Old English interlinear glosses. The affiliation and the relative position of **E** (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms R.17.1, 12th century, see below) is hard to determine. The corrections and the additions of **E** (from Ps 2 to Ps 77) as well as the latter stratum of the occasional glosses of **M** (see below) belong to the **D-type**.

In addition to these glossed Psalters, mention should be made of a manuscript (Paris, BnF, ms lat. 8824; mid-11th century, origin unknown) containing the Latin *Romanum*

and a facing vernacular translation of the psalms (Ps 1-50 in prose, Ps 51-150 in verse).

In total, the manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100 contain more than forty complete or fragmentary Psalters in Latin, which are recorded in the *Catalogue* by Gneuss, Lapidge 2014. Moreover, the presence in a number of these codices of Latin glosses and commentaries attests to the high level of textual exegesis of the Psalter text in England (see Rushforth 2009 and 2011).

The first continuous interlinear gloss of the Psalter, that of the Vespasian Psalter, is written in Mercian and dates to the 9th century (the manuscript was likely copied in Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey, in the 8th century). As far as England is concerned, the very first group of texts bearing sparse Old English glosses which were contained in either English or originally continental manuscripts is followed, after a time-gap of about a century, by the Vespasian manuscript, which bears a large and structured presence of interlinear glosses, alongside with another codex, the Blickling manuscript, which provides evidence for the on-going process leading to a continuous gloss. Besides the Psalter, the Vespasian manuscript features nine canticles and five Hymns. The *Te Deum*, *Quicumque vult*, and prayers were added in the 11th century. The trend to combine the Psalter with liturgical paraphernalia will become more evident in the 12th century and the early Middle English period.

By comparison with the earlier group of occasional glosses in Old English, which were in part scratched and even in-text, both the medium of the gloss, written in ink throughout, and the contents of the manuscripts are wholly different. However, note that in the case of the Vespasian gloss (**A**), the dialect is Mercian, while the Blickling Psalter (**M**) (New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, ms M 776; mid-8th century) was written in Southern England and bears glosses in West Saxon (both the former and the latter layer dating to the beginning of the 9th and the late 10th century respectively). Vespasian offers a continuous interlinear gloss to the whole Psalter, while Blickling has sparse glosses which were incremented by another layer of glosses more than a century later. These are more random and that of Blickling cannot be called a focused project to implement the interlinear gloss as with the *Lorica* of Laidcenn mac Baith in the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, ms Ll 1.10; 820x840) (Lendinara, forthc.)

The hierarchical relationship between the Latin and the vernacular is generally evident in the layout of the interlinear versions of the Psalter. There are manuscripts that were ruled from the outset to contain interlinear glosses. In other instances, one or more layers of glosses, either in Latin or in the vernacular, were added between the lines of the text or in the margins of the manuscript. The arrangement of the folio yields invaluable evidence for the study of glosses and allows to establish, for example, whether a gloss was an addition or was copied along with the main text. Glosses might be written in the hand of the main text, or added at a subsequent stage by the same or a different hand.

Indeed, the trend toward the production of Psalter accom-

panied by an interlinear vernacular gloss sees a final acceleration, so that the majority of the Old English interlinear versions date to the 11th century. There is one interlinear gloss, that of **K**, which dates to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century (Lendinara 2021).

The scriptoria associated to the 11th-century Old English interlinear versions of the Psalter were the two houses of Winchester (Psalters **F**, **G**, **H**, **J**, and possibly **I**, for which see below). The manuscripts of Psalters **F** (London, British Library, Stowe ms 2), **G** (London, British Library, Cotton ms Vitellius E. xviii), and **J** (London, British Library, Arundel ms 60) were copied at New Minster, Winchester, while **H** (London, British Library, Cotton ms Tiberius C. vi) at Old Minster. Most importantly, Psalter **D** (London, British Library, Royal ms 2. B. v), the exemplar of the **D-type** group of glossed Psalters, was in Winchester by the second half of the 10th century (the original of its vernacular gloss was possibly brought there from Abingdon, whence Æthelwold and some of the monks accompanying him came, according to Wildhagen 1912, resumed and reworked by Gretsch 1999; most importantly Gretsch 1999: 233–241 and *passim* demonstrated that the Royal glossator drew in some ways on the **A-type** gloss). Also an **A-type** glossed Psalter, the Junius Psalter manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius ms 27) (**B**), written in the first half of the 10th century, has been associated with Winchester.

The bishop of Winchester, Æthelwold (963–984), was one of the principal proponents of the English Benedictine Reform of the second half of the 10th century. The revival of monastic life brought along an increase in book production and the re-establishment of a solid educational background for Latin learning, promoting several translations. Moreover, the Reform gave impetus to continuous interlinear glosses of texts such as the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (the translation in the vernacular of the *Regula* is to be placed at the very beginning of such a momentous period in the Old English language) and the Psalter. Instruction in English seems to have comprised the translation of set Latin texts, and it is quite evident that the teaching methods employed by Æthelwold in the school at the Old Minster at Winchester (his cathedral church) involved the use of English, though, possibly, only at an oral level (Wulfstan, *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*, chapter 31). The school at Winchester was established after 963.

The fact that Æthelwold used the vernacular with his students was not particularly new. However, the stress laid by Wulfstan on this feature of the teaching carried out at Winchester bears witness to an attitude developed in the late Anglo-Saxon period toward the status and function of the vernacular, the use of which had gained ground in the interim between Alfred and Æthelwold.

Æthelwold's literary production attests to his concern with both English and Latin. He translated into English the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and composed the *Regularis concordia*, a Latin customary (issued after the council of Winchester in 973), which served as the norm for the reformed Benedictine monasticism in England. He is also thought to be the author of the interlinear gloss of the Royal Psalter (**D**) and the glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* preserved, among others, in Brussels, KBR, ms 1650

(see Gretsch 1999: 261–331 and 332–383, respectively).

In the second half of the 10th century, a standardized lexical usage linked to Winchester became established. Æthelwold's school and the Winchester scriptorium were the regulating forces behind this trend of linguistic normativity. The standardisation that took place with the epicentre in Winchester is also the final result of the intellectual atmosphere at King Æthelstan's court (924/5–927 and 927–939, King of the English), where Æthelwold was raised (see Foot 2011, chapter 3). The texts which reflect the 'Winchester usage' include the works of Ælfric, the Lambeth Psalter gloss, the interlinear gloss to the *Expositio hymnorum*, and the Old English translation of the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz (for an overview, see Hofstetter 1987).

The Old English gloss to the Royal Psalter (**D**) has been accredited to Æthelwold by Gretsch. Its gloss has been praised for the abundance of its vocabulary and for the knowledge of Psalter exegesis which looms behind a number of his interpretations of Biblical verses (Gretsch 1999: 261–331). This interlinear gloss to a *Romanum* offers sophisticated renderings of the verses and experiments with proposing new renderings for a good number of Latin words. The glossator employed a range of synonyms and largely used word-formation to coin new compounds, which would go on to earn their place elsewhere. There are Old English words such as *geðwære* 'kind, gentle', *ðæslíc* 'suitable', and *gymen* 'care', which are used both in the interlinear apparatus to the Royal Psalter and Aldhelm's glosses in Brussels, KBR, ms 1650.

Glosses and glossaries had a role in normalizing the rendering of set Latin words. The interaction between the two languages can be observed nowhere better than in interlinear glosses, which allow us to understand the ways in which these texts were interpreted. Glosses demonstrate the concern over a correct rendering of the meaning and in the selection of synonyms. The same purpose is evident in the Old English translations (Lendinara 2019). As Mechthild Gretsch remarks in the conclusions of her book, "[s]uch interest in a stylistic and intellectual refinement of the vernacular cannot be paralleled anywhere else in early medieval Europe" (Gretsch 1999: 426). The Royal Psalter (**D**) gloss as well as the Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule, reproduces a nascent state of the Winchester usage.

All the interlinear glosses composed at Winchester, with the sole exception of the Lambeth Psalter (**J**), draw on the interlinear gloss of **D**. However, in a number of instances, the other **D-type** Psalter glosses will not repeat the renderings of Psalter **D** choosing instead a more common gloss word, and will therefore reduce the lexical variation which is typical of Psalter **D**.

The Lambeth Psalter (**J**) (London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms 427) was written in the early 11th century, perhaps at Winchester, although like many Lambeth manuscripts it has a late-medieval provenance of the Augustinian priory of Llanthony Secunda in Gloucestershire. Only a part of the psalms are provided with continuous Old English glosses. The manuscript also contains a few glosses in Latin, usually quite short, which have been thoroughly exam-

ined, together with the other texts included in the manuscript, by Patrick O'Neill (O'Neill 1991). "The Lambeth Psalter gloss is [...] a fresh and highly competent interlinear version", writes Gretsches 1999: 27, and belongs to the 'Winchester group'.

Psalter *D*, the ancestor of one of the groups of Old English glosses Psalters (*D-type*), moving from Winchester, was at Christ Church, Canterbury by the 11th century. From the same scriptorium of Canterbury comes Psalter *L* (London, British Library, Add. ms 37517). On the other hand, the latest Psalter gloss (11th–12th century), that on the Psalter of Salisbury (*K*), was written at the Shaftesbury Abbey, in Dorset (Lendinara 2021).

The 12th-century hinge

The 12th century inaugurated a long period of multilingualism in England. This circumstance was true only for a small percentage of population, living in towns such as London, York, or Canterbury, and for some of the classes of the population and their exchanges both oral and written. In the last decades, the approach to medieval multilingualism in general and Anglo-French bilingualism in particular has significantly changed, which makes it possible to study the literary production from a different perspective.

As far as glosses are concerned, while the centuries to come will see the production of a large number of glosses and glossaries, only the four short glossaries of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley ms 730 are copied at the beginning of the 13th century (Cataldi 2023). Texts continued to be glossed in English, for example, Aldhelm's, whose *De virginitate* was object of study well in the 13th century. Every new selection of *glossae collectae* vouch for the interest accorded to the same works as in the last centuries of Anglo-Saxon England. For instance, I have identified a whole series of *glossae collectae* from Bk III of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, *Bella Parisiaca urbis* in a late Anglo-Saxon glossary (London, British Library, Cotton ms Domitian i) and batches of glosses from the same work in two 12th-century glossaries (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms O.3.37 and London, British Library, Royal ms 7. D. ii) (Lendinara 2023).

The typologies of glossary inherited from the Anglo-Saxon period continue, although intermittently as the alphabetical glossaries, and new genres such as the metrical vocabularies are introduced. The semantic domains of topical glossaries include new lexical fields (and shares of new items) which reflect the changes of society. Most remarkable is the employment of different languages: Latin, English, and French. The choice of the language of the *interpretamenta* (French or English), the pairing of French and English, and the gradual replacement of French with English yield a number of cues on the changing role of French, also in relation to teaching practices and the target language. Psalters continued to be glossed, and such a production has no interruption.

The Eadwine Psalter

The Eadwine Psalter (*E*) participates in the picture of the 12th century taken into examination by Agrigoroaei, how-

ever idiosyncratic its project, not only for the triple text, but in its combination of different levels of paratext, not only the images inherited from the Utrecht Psalter and shared by other contemporary Psalter manuscripts stemming from this same model. Dated to the 1150s, this Psalter, with three main columns on a page, is earlier than other works employing French and offers an example of parallel use of both English and French, on a parity stance, possibly in accordance with the wish of the manuscript's patron, the prior Wibert, and, at the same time, with no interference whatsoever on the respective texts. It has been remarked how Latin does not play the third wheel; on the contrary it is the main language of the Eadwine Psalter—note that the column with the *Gallicanum* is the largest one and the outermost on both sides—and it is with the Latin text that the illustrations of the psalms converse.

The codex contains a post-Conquest calendar from Christ Church, which has received much attention. This calendar features different layers of feasts and maintains all the main feasts that had been observed in Anglo-Saxon Canterbury. It hence includes both the feast day of Augustine (26 May), and that of his translation (13 September), but not the recently introduced feast for the ordination of Augustine (16 November).

The codex, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, ms R. 17. 1, is a display manuscript, written and produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, c.1155–1160 (with additions c.1160–1170). In this *Psalterium triplex*, the *Romanum* bears interlinear glosses in Old English while the *Hebraicum* has an incomplete interlinear version in Old French. The codex also features one of the early instances of *Glossa ordinaria* (a commentary on Ps 1–150) and exegetical prologues. Its Old English glosses, rarely called into question and for a long time mistrusted by scholars, adhere to an *A-type* version, much altered against a *D-type* gloss as far as the first part of the psalms is concerned (Ps 2–77). The gloss also features about 2500 exclusive glosses (once evaluated within the Old English psalter gloss tradition, see Faulkner 2017). As mentioned above, the manuscript includes an apparatus of illustrations, besides the well-known memorialization of Eadwine the 'prince of scribes', who was however only one of the at least thirteen scribes that worked at the codex, within a close interconnected programme of manuscript construction.

Although the Old English gloss of the Eadwine Psalter features a number of corruptions, it is possible to compare its word choices to the other interlinear versions of the Psalter composed in England before, being it the last link in a chain, whereas its French version is a novelty, but not, at least at this stage, a target of the study by Agrigoroaei. Indeed, both the glosses and the Latin commentaries of the Eadwine Psalter are in need of reconsidering. As far as the Old English gloss is concerned, for example, the number of hapaxes is quite low and, to a summary calculation, only around thirty, that is much less than the Lambeth Psalter, but also than the Royal Psalter and on par with the Stowe Psalter on the one hand (*D*-Psalter), and the Vespasian on the other (*A*-Psalter), not to speak of the Old English translation in verse. Moreover, such reckoning should, in my opinion, take into account the differences between single and multiple interpretations, which are

characteristic of some late interlinear Old English gloss, where hapaxes witness to a wish of word accumulation, rather than to a pursuit of refining the rendering of the Latin.

Its status of an uncommon illustrated *Psalterium triplex* (we will have to wait until Paris, BnF, ms lat. 8846, for a similar, although more minimalistic and unfinished enterprise), is such to justify Agrigoroaei's choice. Moreover, the Eadwine Psalter French text comes through a different route from that of Arundel ms 230 and Oxford ms 320 and will be at the start of a different tradition.

The Eadwine Psalter is one of the surviving medieval copies of the Utrecht Psalter, which arrived in Canterbury in the late or early 11th century. The Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae 32), a 9th-century Carolingian Psalter with 166 pen illustrations, seems to have been disbound on purpose when the scribes of London, British Library, Harley ms 603 (first half of the 11th century) penned its first copy with more than 100 pen and wash drawings, which ends abruptly at Ps 143:12.

The 13th-century Psalters

The Utrecht Psalter was in England from about 1000 to 1640. The artists working in the Canterbury scriptoria replicated its iconography, but also increased the readability of each psalm in their copies: in the Harley Psalter the text is carefully laid out to march in step with the images, the more so because there is no need to match the Latin text with a vernacular version. This last was an exercise that might affect an entire manuscript and was practiced when dealing with bilingual texts. Its outcome is commented upon on several occasions by Agrigoroaei with regards to French and Latin. Moreover, when copying the Utrecht Psalter, the illustrations of the Eadwine and Harley Psalter (and the Paris Psalter) produce a number of subtle changes, building on the Carolingian iconographic solutions and adding their own variations.

The Anglo-Catalan Psalter, manuscript Paris, BnF, ms lat. 8846, was written at Canterbury about 1200 and implemented much later (c.1340) in Catalonia, where the codex had been moved shortly after being copied. This manuscript, also known as Great Canterbury Psalter or Paris Psalter, covers most of the psalms up to Ps 52. Its iconographic paratext is not limited to illustrations, but includes full page images and capitals. Incompletion is apparently a constant with massive works such as this, if not with the main texts itself, but with paratext. Time might run short, patronage and money vanish, goodwill and the perspective of divine recompense wear off.

In the Anglo-Catalan Psalter, the *Hebraicum* is glossed in Anglo-Norman, a few English glosses accompany the *Romanum*, while the widest column is allotted to the *Gallicanum*, which is written in a larger script. The text bears marginal and interlinear glosses likely drawn from the *Glossa ordinaria*. The hierarchy seems to be constant and the layout of the folios, here and in other instances, can teach important lessons. This Psalter is the last representative of a series of manuscripts following the lead of the Utrecht Psalter and, while paratextual apparatuses

seem to lose their *raison d'être*, after a century or so, a new style of Psalters begins to thrive in England. The 14th-century exemplars classified as East Anglian go beyond the time-space of this research, however, they deserve a mention considering the remarkable change in the paratext iconography that seems to overturn the canon of the Utrecht group and, at the same time, vouches for a different use of the Psalter.

The group, which is far from homogeneous in his iconographic choices and disposition of the Latin text, includes the Ormesby Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 366, c.1300–1325), given to the Norwich Cathedral by the monk Robert of Ormesby about 1325, with its richly decorated margins—and its “linear, rhythmic, sculptural style” (Watson 1974: 4); the Oxford Psalter (Oxford, All Souls College, ms 7), possibly destined to Ely, showing a more restrained decoration than Ormesby, the Gorleston Psalter (London, British Library, Add. ms 49622), for which one may already speak of Gothic style, and the first half of London, British Library, Arundel ms 83, dated to 1310–1320 (now bound together with the De Lisle Psalter). The first part of the manuscript includes, besides the Psalter (with the text written in two columns), a calendar, the canticles, a litany, the Office of the Dead, and an unfinished Hours of the Passion. It hence looks to the Books of Hours which will include about fifty psalms set in a different context and with a well-identified lay recipient, and where the interest in Psalter results in England, to the detriment of its vernacularisation.

Watson 1974 includes in his scrutiny also the St Omer Psalter (London, British Library, Add. ms 39810), from Norfolk (?), c.1325–1330, the Tickhill Psalter (New York, Public Library, Spencer ms 26), and a Psalter in the library of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, ms 11, as well as a manuscript such as the Douai Psalter (Douai, Municipal Library, ms 171). As far as its stylistic features are concerned, the Longleat Psalter has connections with New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, ms 53, another codex whose illumination stems from the workshop of Queen Mary's Psalter (London, British Library, Royal ms 2. B. vii) and has been attributed to its atelier, whose influence spread until Paris, inspiring Master Honoré, active c.1300.

Much reproduced and often out of context are the *bas-de-page* of some of these manuscripts, although the relationship—though far and intricate—with the Psalter text is rarely taken into examination and largely missed. In some cases, the pursuit of a fuller Psalter iconography affects the beginning of the *Beatus* with historiated medallions surrounding its initial to supplement the visual apparatus. The *Beatus* page had for a long time its own story and these manuscripts show the culmination of the tendencies of the English Psalters.

► *Beginning of Ps 4 in the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms R.17.1, f. 4r).*

The three main columns present the text of the Hebraicum, the Romanum, and the Gallicanum. The Old French gloss is transcribed above the Hebraicum (left); the Old English gloss is transcribed above the text of Romanum (middle), and various Latin glosses are transcribed in the interline and on the margin of the Gallicanum (right).

Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.

The higher-level study of Psalter and the Latin commentaries

In the early English period, the Psalter was used both for monastic and lay audiences. It was the central book of the Divine Office, but it was also used for personal or private devotion and education. In monastic settings, monks were required to memorize the entire Psalter and the psalms were the basic text for elementary education. Open to question is the use of Psalter at a more advanced level in the early English period and in the following centuries. Rebecca Rushforth, who has devoted two important studies to the Latin commentaries of Psalter, underscores the valence of the message of Cassiodorus in his *Expositio psalmorum*, where the psalms are seen as the basis for every discipline of proper education (e.g., the remarks in his commentary to Ps 150). Her studies yield witness of “a more sophisticated level” of the Psalter approach in late Anglo-Saxon England.

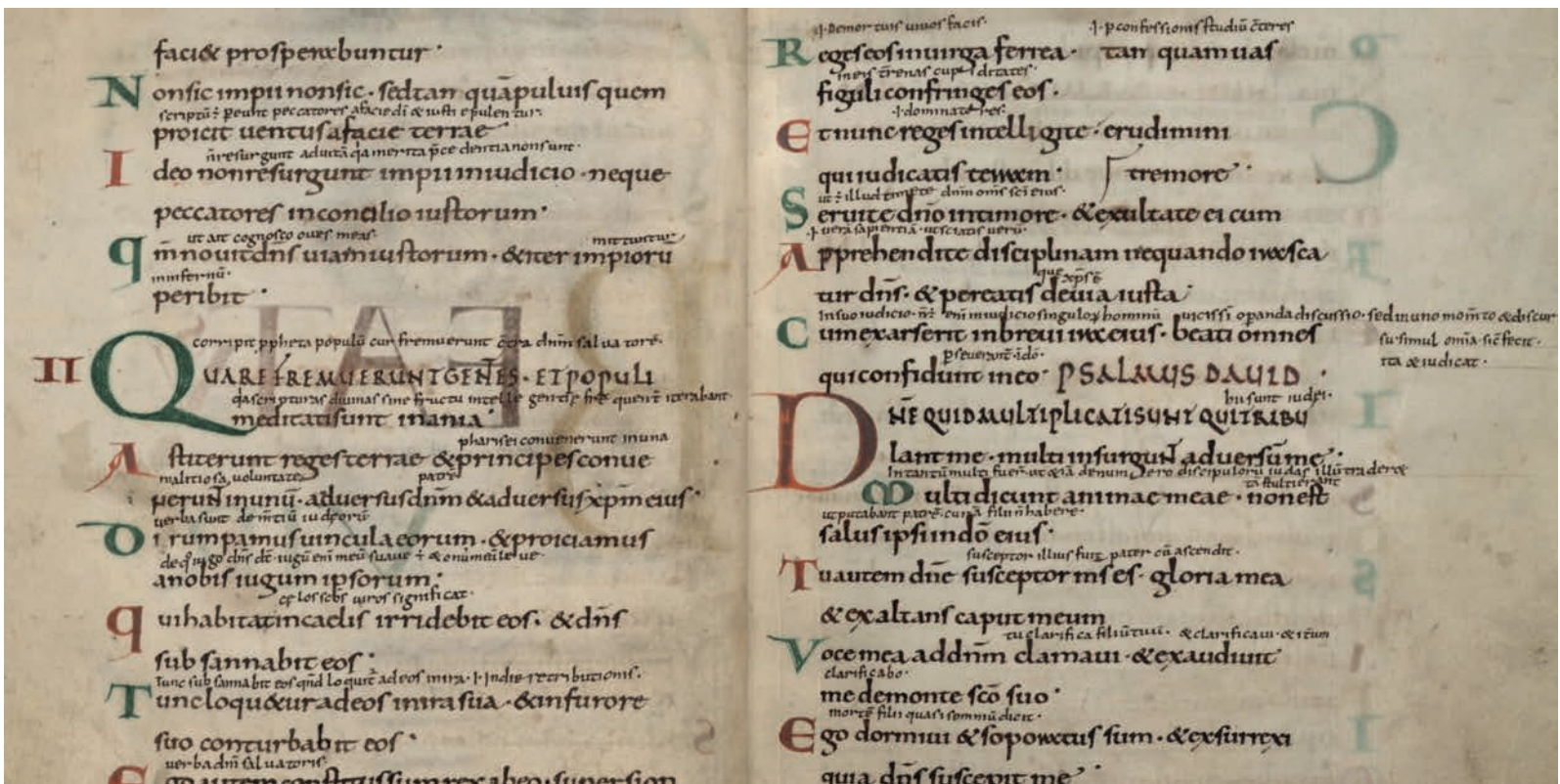
The evidence for higher-level psalm study seems slight, at first glance, because it has been commonplace not to take heed of Latin glosses, even when they had been written by the same scribe as the Old English ones. Relevant to Rushforth’s investigation is a manuscript with an exegetical commentary written in the Continent and acquired in England: the so-called Achadeus Psalter (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 272). The codex comes from the Rheims area and is dated to the late 9th century: the Latin commentary was added in England in the mid-11th century, perhaps at Canterbury. These Latin glosses came from a single exemplar and are the same as those occurring in a number of South German manuscripts such as St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek ms 27, which features an exten-

sive marginal gloss in Latin.

Another codex of possible continental origin, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 411, has the first twelve psalms fully annotated in Latin, but the remaining part bears only a few Latin glosses. This codex might come from West France, perhaps from Tours, and was completed at Canterbury in the early 11th century, where a line drawing of a standing man, who has been identified with David, was added on f. 1v facing the beginning of the Psalter. Scholars such as T.A.M. Bishop (1954–1958) rather suggest a Canterbury origin and remark on the similarity of this manuscript with the Boethius’ codex, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 214. In this case, the Latin gloss draws from a number of sources, including Cassiodorus, and suggests a personal study of the Psalter, the more so for its unfinished status.

The next manuscript studied by Rushforth is a fragment of Worcester, Cathedral Library, ms F. 173, f. 1 (10th century; West Midland region), which bears an integral gloss (all that remains is the end of Ps 33 and the beginning of Ps 34). As can be seen from this folio, the layout of the Latin text of the Psalter was adjusted line by line to fit the glossing material that accompanies it. The different spacing between the lines of the text witnesses to the attention of the scribe and finds a counterpart in the codices analysed by Agrigoroaei. The care shown in producing such manuscripts finds a reason in the destination of these codices and apparently is the same, notwithstanding the difference or the equality of the languages of the text and its

▼ Print screen close-up of the interlinear glosses of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 411, f. 2v-3r (Ps 2 and beginning of Ps 3). Source: <https://parker.stanford.edu/>



comment, whatever form it takes.

An interesting remark uttered by Rushforth may be addressed to Agrigoroaei concerning the likelihood of the same conditions as regards Arundel MS 230 and Douce MS 320. According to Rebecca Rushforth, in the case of the Achadeus Psalter and the Worcester fragment, the addition of a gloss might have contributed to the value of the manuscript at issue. This argument might be extended to the Old English additional component of the Royal and Lambeth Psalters.

The Royal Psalter manuscript (*D*) also features a commentary, which is drawn from the *Expositio psalmorum* of Cassiodorus, sometimes word for word. Davey 1979 edited the Latin commentary, focusing on the difficult issue of the relationship between the commentary and the authoritative Old English gloss of the same codex. Intriguing is the hypothesis that the Psalter continued to receive additional material from the same scribe over time (note, however, that Gretsch thinks that the Royal Psalter was itself a copy). Indeed, Royal MS 2. B. v was likely a teaching manuscript.

For its part, the Lambeth Psalter (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427: *I*), written in the early 11th century, perhaps at Winchester, contains, besides the interlinear gloss in Old English, a few glosses in Latin, usually very short, which have been taken into examination by O'Neill 1991.

Towards the Book of Hours and manuscripts' contents

While the 11th-century Psalters might be employed either for liturgical readings or private devotion, there was a steady progress toward manuscripts for individual devotion, quite distinct from the service book. This too was initially part of the clerical Divine and it has been suggested that some of the later medieval Books of Hours were meant for liturgical purposes, although the majority of them was used by the laity. The trend that led to the development of the Books of Hours was completed by the 13th century and the earliest surviving English example of the Book of Hours was written c.1240 for a laywoman living in or near Oxford. The 'de Brailes Hours' includes a selection of psalms, either penitential or gradual.

By the 14th century the basic contents of the Books of Hours were standardized, featuring, beside fifty-two different psalms, a liturgical calendar, extracts from the Gospels, the Mass reading for major feasts, the Little Office of the Virgin Mary, the Office for the Dead and the Hours of the Cross and a Litany of Saints. The Psalter was still the foundation of these Books and maintained its value for secular individuals

Another path to follow towards a better understanding of the Psalter manuscripts would be to contrast the content of the codices where the Psalter is accompanied by Old English glosses (and also the sole early English manuscript with a translation in the vernacular carried out in 11th-century Canterbury) with the manuscripts under examination in this research and those which will stem from these last.

It is worth remarking, that, as the medieval period pro-

gressed, the contents of the manuscripts containing the Psalter had grown to include a liturgical calendar, hymns, canticles, and prayers, not to speak of single images and cycles of images with different distribution and intensity. On the other hand, the presence, within the Psalters used by a monastic community, of texts for confession and penitence is indicative of the pastoral role performed by these texts within these communities. Compare the addition—before the beginning of the 14th century—of a translation of the Benedictine Rule to the French Psalter of Douce MS 320.

The Oxford Psalter and the Galba Psalter

The text of the Oxford Psalter had a continuation in a dozen copies dated to the 12th to 13th centuries (such as London, British Library, Add. MS 35283: see Dean, Boulton 1999: 240), but there might be more copies not yet charted. Of all these codices, which demonstrate the relevance of the Oxford Psalter in England, the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero C. iv, mid-12th century; Winchester) merits a mention. It is a bilingual Psalter on two columns, where the layout is such that, when the book lays open, the French version, in the initial part of the codex, occupies the centre, as the Latin is at its left in the versos and at its right in the rectos.

Latin-French double Psalters feature some evolution as regards the representation of the hierarchies of the two languages as in the fragment of Psalter in Maidstone, Kent County Archives, MS file Fa Z 1. A first transcription of the Maidstone fragments is provided at the end of the essay published by Chapel, Agrigoroaei 2023.

It is remarkable that the Winchester Psalter also witnesses the influence of a Psalter imported to England, the Galba Psalter, also known as the Æthelstan Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Galba A. xviii: written at Rheims in the first quarter of the 9th century). By the early 10th century, the manuscript had reached England, where two prefatory quires (f. 1r–19v) were added containing a metrical calendar (f. 3r–14v) illuminated with zodiac signs, KL monograms, single figures, and five full-page pictures. Four prayers copied in the last folios of this book which have been associated with King Æthelstan (f. 200r–v with the last prayer incomplete) are thought to have passed through the hands of Israel the Grammarian who is said to have spent some time at the court of King Æthelstan, in the years 924–939, probably as a refugee from political turmoil in Brittany. Israel was a scholar of Breton origin (but he is also deemed to be a Welshman or an Irishman), who, after this sojourn, returned to the Continent where, from about 940 onwards, was the tutor of Bruno, later Archbishop of Cologne (953–965).

The codex has 38 full-page illustrations grouped at the beginning. This is the prefatory cycle of illustrations imitated by the Tiberius Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C. vi). In particular, the two pictures of the Saved (Winchester Psalter, f. 34r) and the Damned (Winchester Psalter, f. 37r) both remind that of the Galba Psalter, f. 2v (Deshman 1997). Deshman highlights the connections, both textual and art-historical, with the calendar in Junius MS 27, which also features a Psalter (Psalter *B*).

THE DOUBLE FOLDING OF DOUCE MS 320: A MATRIX FOR ANGLO-NORMAN BILINGUAL PSALTERS? (VA)

Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, 132, believe that ‘the layout and frequency of accents would seem to indicate that the Oxford Psalter [i.e., Douce MS 320] could be read aloud, and the wear and tear on the pages would support this theory’ (*La mise en page et la fréquence des accents semblent indiquer que le Psautier d’Oxford pouvait être lu à haute voix, et l’usure des pages conforterait cette thèse*). Nevertheless, the damaged parts of the parchment do not show evident signs of careless handling. On the contrary, the damages are much more specific in nature.

One of the features of Douce MS 320 that did not attract much attention is its double folding. The first folding was horizontal, more or less aligned with the horizontal axis of the folios. The second folding was vertical. The horizontal folding is rather straight, while the vertical one changes its position from one folio to the next, often reclining at an angle. This reclining imprint of the second folding results in a mirroring effect in the upper and lower segments of the folios, and the angle gradually accentuates towards the end of the manuscript. This suggests that the five quires were folded together. It is obvious that a double-folded stack of five quires would look like a handheld fan, thus explaining the reclining angle of the second folding.

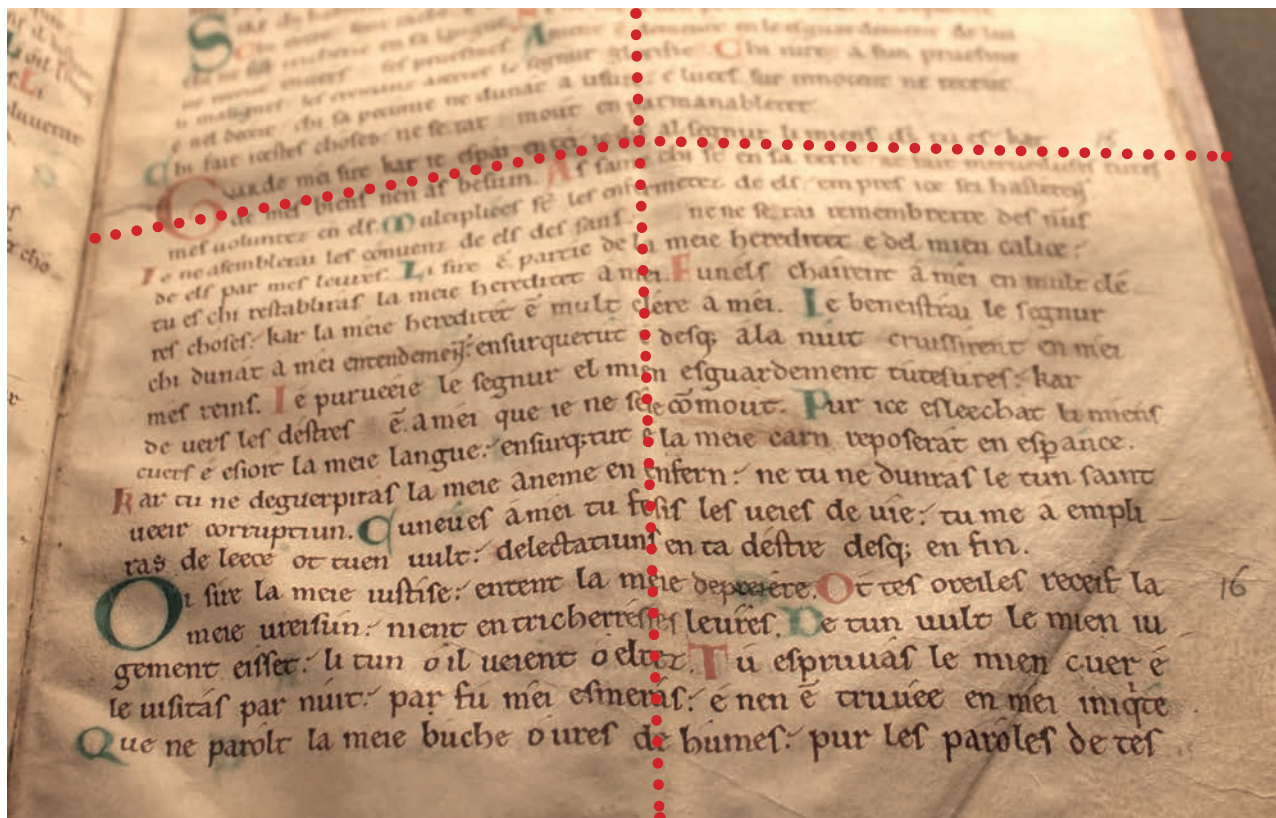
This double folding is a precious clue for the understanding of the use of the manuscript prior to the beginning

◆ *Close-up of the recto and general view of the verso of f. 39. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320. The double folding.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

of the 14th century. The double folding is not present in the first part of Douce MS 320, on f. 1r–36v, where a 13th-century French version of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* was transcribed. An ex-libris written by an early-14th century hand, reading: *In isto libro monasterii Montisburgi sunt Regula sancti Benedicti in gallico Psalterium in Gallico*, confirms that the two parts of Douce MS 320 had been assembled within the covers of a single book by that date. Consequently, the double folding of the five quires that comprise the Old French translation of the Psalms is an essential witness of the usefulness of the Psalm text in the first century and a half of its existence, before its arrival at the monastery of Our Lady of the Star in Montebourg (Manche department, Normandy).

It can also be argued that the double folding was either done immediately after (or soon after) the completion of the text, when the parchment leaves were still flexible, or that the manuscript remained folded for an extended period of time. Although it was bound with the *Rule of Saint Benedict* and shared the same covers with it for a period of seven centuries, the folios of the Psalm translation are still marked by the double folding to this day. Most of the damages to the vernacular text occur on the segments subject to the double folding, where it is often difficult to discern between erasures, on the one hand, and wear and tear, on the other.

When the hypothesis of the continuous reading (linked to the accents) was made, the wear and tear had to be explained as a consequence of the manuscript’s use by (or for) the community of Christina of Markyate. Nevertheless, the first instalment of the current article (cf. *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters...*, 2023, 58) argued that



leures ie guardaï durs ueies. Par fai les miens pas et tues sentes:
que ne seient moues les mees traces. **I**e criai kar tu me ois ds: encline la tue
oreille a mei e exoies mes paroles. **I**e ai merueluses les tues misericordes: chi fals fait
les espanz en toi. **D**es contrestanz a la tue destre: garde mei si cu purnele de
o il. **D**e suz le umbre de tes eles cueure mei: de la face des feluns chi mei
afflistrent. **L**i mien enemi, me ane ane aurrinerent: lur craisse enclostrent: la
buche de els parlat orguil. **D**egetant mei ore aurrinerent mei: lur oile
establirent decliner en terre. **R**eceurent mei sicume leons aprestet a preie: e si
cume chaël de leon habitanz en repostales. **E**sdrece toi sire deuancis lui e sup
plante lui: deliure la meie aneme del felun: la tue espee des enemis de la tue man.
Sure des pois de terre deuise les en la uie de els: des tues repostales. **A**em
pluz est le uentre de els. **S**aulez se des filz: e laiserent lur remasilles a lur enfanz.
Ie accites en iustise apparitraï al tui esguardement: ie se rai saulet cu apparitraï
Et amerai toi sire la meie uertut: li sire li miens fir- **I** la tue glorie.
mamentz. e li miens refuges. e li miens deliurere. **L**i miens ds. **L**i miens auere:
e ie esperai en lui. **L**i miens defendere e la cornu de la meie salut: e li miens
receuerre. **L**oanz enuucheraï le seignur: e de mes enemis se rai fals. **A**urrine
rent mei les dulurs de mort: e les eues de miqtet conturberent mei. **L**es du
lurs de enfern aurrinerent mei: purpristrent mei li laz de mort. **E**n la
meie tribulatiun ie apelai le seignur: e al mien deu criai. **E**il oit de sun
saint temple la meie uoiz: e la meie clamur en sun esguardement entrat
en ses oreilles. **Q**omou e. e trembla la terre: li fundament des muns se
conturbe e se comout kar il e. **M**untat li fums en la sue ue: e fuf
de la face arst: li charbun se esprit de lui. **E**nclinat les ciels e descendit:
e chalim suz ses piez. **E**muntat sur cherubin e uolat: uolat sur les pennes
des uenz. **E**posat tenebres sa repostale: en aurrinement de lui sun taber
nacle: tenebruse eue es nues del air. **P**ur la resplendur en sun esguardement
les nues trespasserent: gresille e charbuns de fu. **E**ntunat del ciel li sire: e
li altisme dunat sa uoiz: gresille e charbuns de fu. **E**nueriait ses saietes e
departit nels: fuidres multipliat e conturbat els. **E**aparurent fontaines de
eues: e descuvert se li fundament: del cercle des terres. **D**el tui encrepement
sire: del aspirement del esprit de la tue ue. **I**l enueiat dela souverainete e receut
mei: e prist mei de multes eues. **D**eliurat mei de mes enemis tresfortz: de
cei chi haurent mei kar confortet sunt sur mei. **D**euancirent mei el urn de
la meie affliction: e faiz li sire mes defendere. **E**forstmenat mei en amplectet: fals
me fist kar il uolt mei. **E**guerredurrat a mei li sire sulunc la meie iusti
se: e sulunc la purtet de mes mains guerredurrat a mei. **K**ar ie guardaï
les ueies del seignur: ne felunessement ne fis contre le mien deu. **K**ar tuit li sun iuge
ment el mien esguardement: e ses iustises ne debutai de mei. **E**ie se rai
ment maluez ot lui: e ie garderai mei de la meie felonie. **E**guerredur

this conjecture is hardly credible and that the manuscript could have served many other purposes. The wear and tear must therefore be interpreted in light of the place occupied by Douce ms 320 in the manuscript tradition of the Old French psalters. Although it was certainly not an autograph translation but rather a rewriting of a previous gloss, there is strong evidence that Douce ms 320 influenced the evolution of bilingual double-column psalters such as Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton ms Nero C iv) and many others from the same family of texts. No proper analysis ever confirmed this conclusion, but the Latin text of those bilingual psalters presents different readings, while the Old French translation of the same verses stays more or less the same. As a result, it is possible to argue (until future research will prove or disprove it) that the Oxford Psalter copied in Douce ms 320 could have been the point of origin for most Old French psalters, particularly those with the Latin and French texts written on facing columns (cf. Ruby 2010, 183).

When these two features are combined (the double folding and the key role played by this particular text in the evolution of Old French psalters), the most obvious conclusion is that the five quires that form the second part of Douce ms 320 travelled extensively, in order to be used as an antigraph for various bilingual psalters, and that they were a mere matrix for other texts. There was no need to place them between two covers. When the manuscript was produced, a pouch would have been enough to transport it from one location to another.

The dirty aspect of its first folio (f. 37r) suggests that Douce ms 320 was folded several times and served as the

▼ *Close-up of f. 41v. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320. The reclining angle of the second (vertical) folding.*

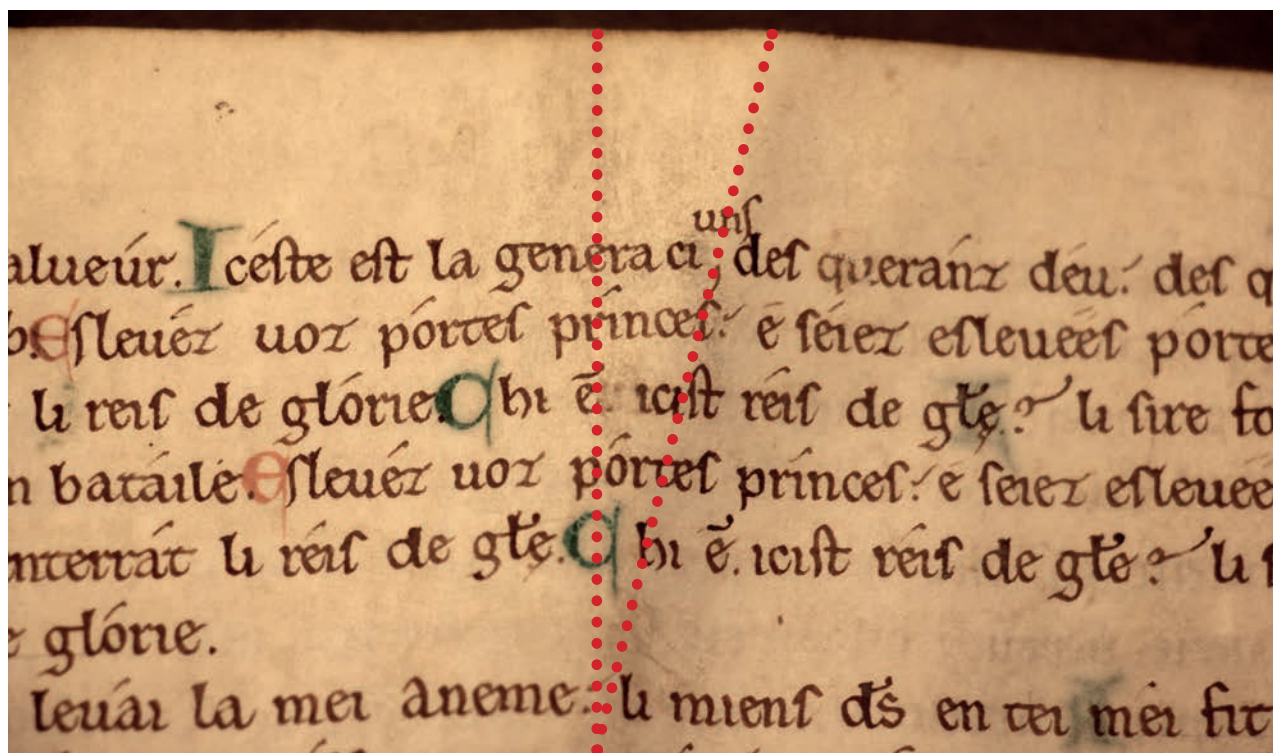
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

outer coating of the bundles of five quires. Nevertheless, there are some indications that the last folio (now lost) might have served as coating as well. This affected the horizontal folding, where the wear and tear is more significant and the flexibility of the fold goes both ways; the vertical folding stayed the same, leaving only a concave imprint into the folios. Unfortunately, the last original folio of the fifth quire is missing and it is difficult to ascertain if it was used in the same manner.

The reason why I speak of pouches and not slipcases (as in the case of 13th- and 14th-century bat books; see several slipcases in Gumbert 2016, 81, 96, 100, 118–119, 163, etc.) is the fact that the folios and quires of Douce ms 320 have not been folded separately, but together, as a bundle. This does not exclude the possibility that bat books could be an actual development of prior experiments such as the matrix-text of the Psalm translation analysed here. There is further proof that the Psalm quires of Douce ms 320 were not the only folded manuscript of this kind.

Another folded quire of the same type can be found in the miscellaneous manuscript Vatican, Apostolic Library, Reg.lat.1244, where the *Computus* of Philip of Thaon occupies f. 53ra-58rb. It was an independent quire, whose purpose was to transmit only the text of the *Computus*, with one bifolium missing between f. 55v and f. 56r. The incomplete quaternion was bound with other texts at a modern date, but the dirty aspect of its folios suggests that it did not have covers at first. The folding of the quire is vertical, it affects all six folios, and the wear and tear is most evident on the initial one (f. 53r). The quire is not a close witness of the original version of the text, but it is possibly the most thorough version in terms of rubrics and illustrations. It could have been intended as a matrix for other copies of the *Computus*, just as Douce ms 320 was not the starting point of its manuscript tradition, but rather a systemisation of a chaotic tradition of glosses.

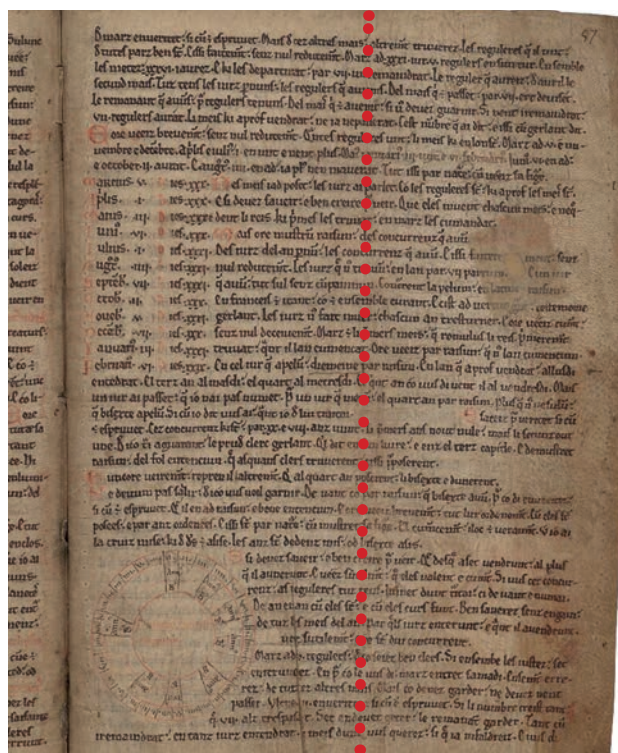


THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT IN THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF PHILIP OF THAON'S *COMPUT* (CD)

Philip of Thaon's *Comput*, a poem in imperfect hexasyllabic verse dating to first quarter of the 12th century, deals with the science of the calendar and is one of the earliest scientific works written in Old French. The author argued that its subject was essential for the education of the clergy, as it helped determine dates and liturgical celebrations, as well as astronomical and astrological explanations. There are six manuscripts of the work, three of which are in the British Library: Sloane MS 1580 (henceforth **S**); Cotton MS Nero A.v (Co); and Arundel MS 230 (A)—which also comprises one of the interlinear glosses of the Psalms analysed in this paper. The other manuscripts are Cambridge, University Library, Additional MS 4166 (Ca); Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 199 (L), and Vatican, Apostolic Library, Reg.lat. 1244 (V). The latest edition of the poem, Short 1984 (cf. Mall 1873), is based on the Cotton manuscript (Co). However, several readings from other manuscripts reveal the endless potential of the study of Philip's *Comput* (see O'Donnell 2017 and the study of the Cambridge fragment's glosses (Ca)). My attention was drawn to the case of the Vatican manuscript (V), where various readings are particularly interesting, such as the one concerning the Kalends. Co (similar text in A and S) reads on f. 12r:

*Saciez que en ienuer ; pur có que ert premier .
 Ses chalendes poserent ; dis enof lendunerent
 Altre tant enposerent ; feurer edunerent
 A septembre ensement ; icel ordenement
 Auril iuinnet ensemble . aust e séptembre
 Dis e set enposerent ; á chascun tant dunerent
 E vitoure é decembre : altretant ensemble*

▼ Print screen close-up Philip of Thaon's *Comput* in Vatican, Apostolic Library, MS Reg.lat.1244, f. 57r.
 Source: <https://digi.vatlib.it/>



The transcription corresponds to v. 1121–1138 in Short 1984. The Vatican manuscript (V) reads on f. 54v:

*Sacez que en ienuer ; pur co que ert primer . Ses kalendes
 poserent ; disenoef lendunerent . Altertant enposerent ;
 feurer e dunerent . A septembre enfement ; icel
 ordenement. Auril . iuignet en semble ; aust é nouembre .
 Disaset enposerent ; a chascun tant dunerent . E vitoure .
 mai . é decembre ; dis et vit un ensemble . E marz ad sez
 kalendes ; iuign disaset ben lentendes .*

I marked in red the additions of V. Another interesting passage in which V differs from Co and other manuscripts is the description of the Nones. Co (similar text in A and S) reads on f. 12r:

*E des nones mustrum par mult breue raisun .
 Jenuers qui fut premiers ; quatre ennout e feirers .
 Aueril iuinnet septembre . e aust é nouembre .
 Altre tant en poserent ; en decembre e dunerent .
 October ensement ; out cel ordenement .
 E enz en chascun mois ; uint ides mist li reis .*

This transcription corresponds to v. 1139–1152 in Short 1984. The Vatican manuscript (V) reads on f. 54v:

*E des nones mustorum ; par mult breue raisun . Jenuers
 ki fut premiers ; quatre en out e feurers . Auril . iuigne
 septembre ; e aust e nouembre . Altrement enposerent ;
 en decembre e dunerent. Marz . e mai . e iugnet ; sis
 unt . é vitoure ensement . E enz en chascun mais ; i ut ides
 mist li reis .*

I marked in red the essential differences in V.

Both versions are scientifically incorrect. None of the notions related to the Kalends are right. However, V is more comprehensive in its presentation. Both V and Co declare incorrectly that April, July, August and September have 17 Kalends, yet V goes further by stating that October, May and December have 18 Kalends, whereas Mars has 16 and June has 17. Although incorrect, V is more precise in its errors. In the case of the Nones, the situation is slightly different. V has two different verses, stating that Mars, May, July and October all have 6 Nones, which is actually correct. Since V is the only manuscript with this correct reading, it is hard to believe that its *varia lectio* is a mere literary variation. The reason for the presence of this information is none other than the completion of scientific knowledge. This does not necessarily suggest that the reading of V is closer to the autograph of the poem than the reading of Co. It simply highlights the scientific attention to detail that differentiates V from the other recensions.

The rubrics of V are just as interesting as its readings, and they reveal the potential (re)structuration of the poem. As of now, only V and Co contain rubrics. Some of them have been provided. The existence of other such rubrics can be assumed from the spaces left blank. When a rubric is written in the same place in the text of both manuscripts, one can expect them to have similar readings, such as *De la lune que lon veit ainz que nuuel sai* (cf. Short 1984, v. 2458), or *quaestio quare luna diuresis temporibus et statibus appareat* (cf. Short 1984, v. 2518). Nevertheless, V contains 18 rubrics, whereas Co contains only

6, and this is without taking into account the missing bifolio of **V**. To illustrate the differences, let us consider the text covered by v. 3084–3210 in Short 1984. In this part of the poem, **V** has 6 rubrics, some of which are impossible to read due to the smearing and fading out of the red ink, while **Co** has only two blank spaces. This careful preparation of rubrics goes hand in hand with the scientific attention to detail.

V and **L** are the only recensions to have illustrations depicted. Other recensions, such as **A** and **Co**, have only the spaces where the illustrations had to be depicted. As for **S**, which is a late manuscript in the textual tradition, it keeps the verses that refer to the illustrations, proving that they were an intricate part of the poem, but has neither the illustrations nor the space to place them. **V** perfectly aligns verses with illustrations, the latter being represented as (and where) the poem describes them. However, two illustrations are missing from **V** in places where two sets of two blank lines have been left in **Co**. The poem deals with concurrents (weekdays for 24 March in the Julian calendar, counted from 1 to 7) in that part of the text:

Co (similar text in **A** and **S**) reads on f. 32r–v:
*Que alquant clerz truuereent . le bisexte égarderent .
 Odune concurrent . issi faiterement .*

[place for the illustration of the first line of concurrents]
*Et encore ueirement . repret il altre gent .
 Que el quart an poserent . le bisexte é dunerent .
 Od lui . v. concurenz . cum ueez cidedenz*
 [place for the illustration of the second line of concurrents]
Ne deuum par sailir . de ceo uus uoil guarinir .

The transcription corresponds to v. 2957–2968 in Short 1984. The Vatican manuscript (**V**) reads on f. 57r:

*que asquans clers truuuerent; e issi purposerent.
 E uncore ueirement; repren il autrement. Qui al quart an
 poserent; li bisexte e dunerent .
 Ne deuum pas sailir; de ico uus uoil guarinir*

Not only does **V** not have these two illustrations of the concurrents, but, unlike manuscripts such as **S**, **V** also excluded the verses that introduce them. As it is still difficult to ascertain which redaction is closer to the autograph of poem, I can only stress the coherence that **V** enforces from the first to the last folio.

For the time being, it is difficult to explain the exact purpose of the folding of the Vatican quire. However, although **V** is not necessarily the best version in terms of scientific rigor, my analysis confirms that its objective was the conception of the most coherent redaction of the Old French computistical poem.

CONTENTS OF THE NEXT (THIRD) INSTALMENT OF THIS PAPER (VA, AC)

The survey of the erasures in Douce ms 320 allows to take a glimpse at the actual workshop of the scribe, to analyse the text from a genetic point of view, and to provide accurate evidence for future studies concerning grammar, syntax, and vocabulary, aspects that are not covered by the current analysis, where the focus is on ecdotics and translational issues. Although the comparative textual analysis is not complete, a series of conclusions can be reached.

The turning point defined in the previous instalment of the paper is once again confirmed by a series of choices made by the Douce scribe in the erasures and corrections that concern, among others, the phrase *que il* or the translation choices for Latin *numquid*. Since they can be linked with phenomena occurring in Arundel and Orne, it is obvious that the source of Douce and the other psalters was one (or more) interlinear vernacular gloss(es). The scribal error from the Maidstone fragments (vernacular *a* for Latin *-ur*) points in the same direction and confirms the use of a previous interlinear gloss.

That Douce, Arundel, Maidstone, and Orne are part of the same *mouvance* of texts is obvious, but the exact filiation is still subject to debate. For the time being, it is impos-

sible to establish a stemma, since this is not a single text, but a continuous rewriting of the same text, with different translation strategies, different Latin sources, and perhaps even different readers. As the same evolution characterises Old English glosses, it is safe to assume that the Anglo-Saxon tradition played an important role in the development of the Anglo-Norman glosses of the Psalms.

The third instalment of the paper will be published in 2025 and will comprise: (1) the analysis a few unclassifiable erasures (too long or too complex to be presented in a certain category); (2) the complete transcription of the French text of the Psalms and Canticles in Douce ms 320, with the original accentuation and the position of the erasures; (3) an analysis of the Douce accents; (4) the erasures of Arundel ms 230; (5) the end of the comparative study of Douce and Arundel; (6) final conclusions.

The article is now open to feedback and contributions from colleagues who wish to take part in the debate on the manufacture of twelfth-century French psalms. Contributions may take the form of a peer review, of case studies dealing with aspects that have not been fully explored by the current paper, or even well-argued comments.

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debates



débats



Raphaëlle Ziadé

L'ART DES CHRÉTIENS D'ORIENT

CITADELLES
& MAZENOD

Promenade dans le labyrinthe de l'art chrétien oriental avec Raphaëlle Ziadé

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A. Introduction

Raphaëlle Ziadé est bien connue du public français et libanais pour ses expositions, conférences et publications sur l'art chrétien oriental. Pour les lecteurs de la revue « Museikon », disséminés à travers le monde, une brève présentation s'impose.

Conservatrice française exerçant au Petit Palais de Paris, Raphaëlle Ziadé a hérité de son père, diplomate libanais, une propension à la diplomatie dans son aspect culturel. Après une licence en philologie et histoire des religions à l'Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, elle poursuit ses études en 1992-1993 à l'École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem. C'était l'époque où la présence française au Proche-Orient n'était pas seulement un souvenir. Le pont entre la France et les chrétiens arabes de Syrie, du Liban et de Terre Sainte donnait encore l'espoir de préserver les liens forts entre ces peuples, jadis unis par mille ficelles.

En 1996-1999, en tant qu'allocataire de recherche à l'Université Paris IV, elle a préparé sa thèse de doctorat, qu'elle a défendue en 2002 et qui a été publiée en 2007 par les éditions Brill¹.

En poste au musée du Petit Palais depuis 2008, elle a été chargée de l'organisation et de la mise en valeur de la collection d'icônes et objets d'art byzantins, domaine pour lequel ses compétences d'historienne de l'art, complétées par une spécialisation orientale, trouvent un cadre idéal pour s'épanouir. La conception du nouvel espace d'exposition des icônes et de l'art chrétien d'Orient, inauguré en octobre 2017, lui est entièrement due.

Les activités muséographiques de Raphaëlle Ziadé ont inclus le commissariat d'exposition de deux manifestations d'envergure organisées au Petit Palais (*Le Mont Athos et l'Empire byzantin. Trésors de la Sainte Montagne* en 2009) et *Dieu(x), modes d'emploi* en 2013), qui ont été suivies en 2017-2018 par l'exposition *Chrétiens d'Orient. 2000 ans d'histoire*. Cette exposition a été présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe (IMA), à Paris, du 26 septembre 2017 au 14 janvier 2018 ; puis au MUba Eugène Leroy, à Tourcoing, du 23 février au 12 juin 2018. L'inauguration à Paris a été faite par le président de la République française, Emmanuel Macron, et par Michel Aoun, le président de la République libanaise, en visite à Paris.

Raphaëlle Ziadé est également membre statutaire du laboratoire de recherche « Orient-Méditerranée » (UMR 8167) et enseigne régulièrement à l'École du Louvre et à l'Institut Catholique de Paris.

◀ Couverture du livre.

En 2022, Raphaëlle Ziadé achève un projet personnel de longue haleine, jusqu'alors accessible au public académique à travers les différentes facettes d'un même thème de recherche poursuivi avec constance pendant deux décennies : une histoire illustrée de l'art chrétien oriental depuis ses sources byzantines jusqu'aux formes locales du XIX^e siècle, telle qu'elle n'avait jamais été publiée auparavant. Si au début de sa carrière scientifique l'auteure semblait s'orienter vers la littérature chrétienne orientale dans ses formes situées au carrefour de plusieurs cultures – byzantine, judaïque et chrétienne –, plus tard, sans doute grâce à ses activités muséales dans un environnement d'une grande richesse artistique et d'un grand prestige, au musée du Petit Palais, elle a orienté ses compétences vers les formes figuratives de l'art chrétien oriental.

L'album *L'art des chrétiens d'Orient : de l'Euphrate au Nil* a été publié en 2022 par la maison d'édition Citadelles & Mazenod, dans des conditions graphiques exceptionnelles. Citadelles & Mazenod est connue pour son portefeuille de livres d'art d'une grande beauté et richesse d'illustration. De l'ikebana à la peinture chinoise en passant par les carnets de voyage d'Eugène Delacroix et l'art du livre², cet éditeur offre aux amateurs de beauté des ouvrages alliant connaissance de l'histoire de l'art et plaisir d'admirer des chefs-d'œuvre créés par une grande variété de maîtres.

Depuis une trentaine d'années, à cause des nouvelles vagues de migration de l'est à l'ouest générées par les guerres incessantes du Proche-Orient, les chrétiens arabes se sont souvent retrouvés à l'avant-scène des médias, ce qui a rendu le grand public plus sensible et curieux à propos des communautés issues de terres où le christianisme est né il y a plus de 2 000 ans. C'est ce que prouvent, entre autres, la publication par Mahmoud Zibawi de l'album *Orients chrétiens entre Byzance et l'Islam*, préfacé par Olivier Clément³ (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1995)⁴, et l'exposition *Chrétiens d'Orient, 2000 ans d'histoire*, présentée à Paris et Tourcoing en 2017-2018. Celle-ci a été accompagnée par un catalogue-collection d'essais publié sous la direction de Raphaëlle Ziadé, dans lesquelles sections sont présentées dans leur contexte historique, accompagnées de reproductions des objets exposés. L'événement a été conçu comme une occasion de présenter les chrétiens du Proche-Orient à la fois d'hier et d'aujourd'hui : la dernière section, « Être chrétien dans le monde arabe aujourd'hui », évoquait la vie contemporaine des « Arabes et chrétiens » (titre de l'essai de Joseph Maïla, aux pages 170-177), le renouveau monastique et les pratiques religieuses du XXI^e siècle en Syrie, au Liban et en Terre Sainte, ainsi que l'actualité du patrimoine des Églises orientales (essai de Charles Personnaz, pages 188-195⁵).

D'un format album de luxe (environ 31 x 25 cm), l'ouvrage de Raphaëlle Ziadé, qui appartient à la collection « L'art et les grandes civilisations », compte 592 pages. Le sommaire conçu par l'auteure présente les grandes périodes envisagées comme suit :

- I. Des origines à la conquête arabo-musulmane (I^{er}-VII^e siècle), pp. 25-201.
- II. Au temps des Omeyyades et des Abbassides (VII^e-X^e siècle), pp. 203-283.
- III. À l'époque médiévale (XI^e-XIV^e siècle), pp. 285-395.
- IV. Dans l'Empire ottoman (XVI^e-XIX^e siècle), pp. 399-565.

Avant de commencer son récit historique illustré, Raphaëlle Ziadé présente sa vision d'ensemble et ses méthodes de travail dans une introduction à « L'Art chrétien du Proche-Orient » (pp. 11-23). Les premiers sous-chapitres ont un rôle informatif : « Le christianisme, une religion orientale » ; « Le développement du christianisme au III^e siècle » ; « Les Patriarcats » ; « Conciles et séparations des Églises ». À partir d'une *unité* des chrétiens, l'histoire se déroule vers un *manque d'unité* des Églises, à la suite de plusieurs « séparations », dont il convient de mentionner celle qui est commémorée en 2024 : les 300 ans depuis la scission de l'Église d'Antioche en Église grecque orthodoxe d'Antioche et Église grecque-catholique melkite d'Antioche. L'auteure constate qu'au terme de ce processus d'« éclatement », la réalité en Orient est celle d'« identités singulières », un élément à prendre en compte dans l'interprétation de cette « histoire complexe » (p. 18). On peut admirer ici la célèbre lettre adressée par le sultan Soliman le Magnifique au roi de France François I^{er} pour lui confirmer la protection de la Sublime Porte pour les chrétiens de l'Empire ottoman (fig. 12, p. 22).

Dans les deux dernières sections, l'auteure propose sa définition de l'appellation « chrétiens d'Orient », ainsi qu'un commentaire sur la place de l'art chrétien oriental dans l'histoire de l'art, en tant que champ d'étude général. Elle constate ainsi l'existence, à cette date, de douze Églises, dont la moitié ont des racines anciennes et l'autre moitié sont nées au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle en embrassant le dogme latin de l'Église de Rome. La façon dont elle décrit la variété des appellations de ces Églises, éternellement déroutantes pour les Occidentaux, mérite d'être citée ici :

La difficile appréhension de cette histoire morcelée est accentuée par le fait que chaque Église peut recevoir différentes dénominations. Ainsi, le terme « melchite » peut renvoyer aussi bien aux Grecs-orthodoxes qu'aux Grecs-catholiques selon la période historique à laquelle on se réfère. L'Église assyrienne, qui fut un temps appelée « nestorienne », préfère désormais s'appeler « Église de l'Orient », tandis qu'on la désigne aussi comme « Église de Perse » ou « Église syro-orientale », alors que sa sœur catholique se qualifie de « chaldéenne ». Les Syriaques orthodoxes, ou Syro-orthodoxes, sont bien connus aussi sous le nom de « jacobites », etc. (p. 19).⁶

L'auteure conclut que l'expression « chrétiens d'Orient » permet de comprendre une réalité complexe de l'Orient, mais aussi de souligner que ces communautés « partagent un point commun avec l'Occident, le christianisme » (p. 19). C'est ici que réside la raison pour laquelle l'art du christianisme oriental peut et doit intéresser le monde académique occidental, ainsi que le grand public : les racines communes des Églises, les traditions nées avant et pendant l'Empire byzantin, la vision partagée des débuts de la vie chrétienne et des mystères divins, les rites et

rituels similaires sont les fondements de toute perspective sur les formes visuelles et artistiques des créateurs de l'art chrétien.

Raphaëlle Ziadé aborde ce sujet de plus près à la fin de l'introduction : comment situer le patrimoine artistique arabe chrétien dans l'histoire de l'art ? Évoquant l'exposition *Chrétiens d'Orient, 2000 ans d'histoire*, elle relève le mérite particulier de cette manifestation muséale exceptionnelle :

Elle révéla pour la première fois la cohérence des arts visuels chrétiens de la région, avec un angle d'approche spécifique, dégagé des cloisonnements disciplinaires et communautaires. Ces créations artistiques furent examinées non pas comme le produit d'une culture qui se serait développée dans l'ombre de Byzance avant d'être étouffée par l'islam ou encore dominée par l'Occident, mais comme un fait de civilisation à part entière (p. 20).

Il apparaîtra clairement à ceux qui liront l'ouvrage de Raphaëlle Ziadé jusqu'au bout qu'elle a poursuivi cette ligne de recherche et que, capitalisant sur l'investissement d'un travail de recherche approfondi, nécessaire à l'organisation de cette exposition, elle a franchi de nouvelles étapes dans la description de l'univers représenté par les pièces que le public a pu admirer à l'époque. Sans aucun doute, le présent ouvrage développe des lignes de force visibles dans la présentation de l'art chrétien oriental dans l'exposition de l'IMA, avec une plus grande diversité de thèmes, de sources et d'interprétations savantes. Bien que cette exposition et son catalogue aient été une source d'inspiration et un modèle pour l'album de Raphaëlle Ziadé publié en 2022 ; son propre travail dépasse, d'un point de vue géographique et chronologique et de par la profondeur de l'étude, toute entreprise antérieure dans le domaine de l'art des chrétiens d'Orient. En effet, si l'exposition *Chrétiens d'Orient, 2000 ans d'histoire* – comme le montre son catalogue – mettait plutôt l'accent sur l'aspect historique de l'art chrétien oriental ; l'accent est placé ici sur l'aspect *artistique*, sans négliger les données historiques qui permettent de situer chaque moment, chaque école artistique ou chaque objet d'art dans son contexte.

Il convient également de souligner qu'il existe une différence qualitative entre les deux manières de présenter – et de connaître – l'art des chrétiens d'Orient. Si dans une activité muséale les objets exposés font appel au sens visuel du spectateur et, dans une moindre mesure, à sa patience à lire les légendes qui les accompagnent dans les vitrines, sur les murs ou sur divers supports et continuer en lisant le catalogue ; lire sur l'histoire des objets d'art, avec des images à côté, est une expérience différente et plus riche que de les voir dans une exposition, aussi bien conçue soit-elle. Le gain d'informations est bien plus important et plus susceptible de rester gravé dans la mémoire. Les yeux, mais encore plus l'esprit, nous permettent d'enrichir notre patrimoine mental et sensoriel.

Mon intention, en commentant l'album conçu par Raphaëlle Ziadé, est d'éveiller la curiosité de ceux qui s'intéressent à l'art chrétien oriental et de les inciter à consulter personnellement le livre, afin de se faire une idée complète de l'abondance d'informations et de la beauté que l'auteure y a recueilli.

B. L'album : guide dans le labyrinthe de l'art chrétien oriental

I. Des origines à la conquête arabo-musulmane (I^{er}-VII^e siècle)

Le chapitre I, « Des origines à la conquête arabo-musulmane, I^{er}-VII^e siècle », indique d'emblée qu'il s'agira essen-

tiellement des *Arabes*. Bien que le titre évoque la conquête islamique, la première partie se réfère à « La naissance de l'art chrétien en Orient (I^{er}-III^e siècle) ». Le récit commence par un célèbre repère historico-géographique, le site de Doura Europos, ville fondée par les Macédoniens à la fin du IV^e siècle avant J.-C. pour contrôler la route entre les deux capitales de l'empire seldjoukide, Antioche et Séleucie sur le Tigre (p. 27-37). Les pages qui suivent contiennent une véritable leçon de niveau universitaire qui met à la portée du lecteur tous les faits connus et toute la beauté des peintures murales de la synagogue de Doura Europos du milieu du III^e siècle, aujourd'hui au Musée national de Damas, et d'une *domus ecclesiae*, maison de prière de 232 (datée par un *graffito*) découverte en 1932-1933.

L'auteure évoque ensuite la période allant jusqu'en 313, repère chronologique désigné comme « la paix de l'Église ». Cette période est illustrée par des pièces découvertes à Meggido⁷ et en Asie Mineure (sculptures en marbre conservées au Cleveland Museum of Art).

La section qui suit traite de l'architecture des édifices religieux et de leur ornementation, notamment sous la forme de mosaïques (p. 40-71). Raphaëlle Ziadé décrit ici « Un paysage chrétien : l'émergence d'une topographie sacrée ». Le lecteur voyage avec un guide ultra-compétent sur les terres où les apôtres et les saints sont passés, suivant une route au bout de laquelle se trouve Jérusalem. De Jérash, Madaba et Bethléem aux premières églises syriennes de Tayybet el-Imam et Temanaa, de Qabr Hiram à Shim au Liban, de gracieuses mosaïques multicolores témoignent de l'émergence de la symbolique chrétienne et d'une foi solidement ancrée dans la région aux VI^e-VII^e siècles : le paon, symbole d'immortalité hérité de la culture romaine ; le phénix ; des scènes paradisiaques d'animaux et de plantes exubérants ; des esquisses d'églises, etc.

À partir de la page 49 nous voyageons avec Raphaëlle Ziadé à travers le Liban, l'un des pays que l'auteure connaît le mieux, pour visiter, dans le chapitre « Les églises du Liban », les établissements chrétiens de la Phénicie maritime. Le voyage commence à Tyr, ville antique où une cathédrale fut construite entre 315 et 322. Deux siècles plus tard, une nouvelle église a été construite sur les anciennes fondations, mentionnée par Eusèbe de Césarée, tout en évoquant la beauté du premier édifice. Le musée du Louvre conserve des mosaïques multicolores aux thèmes variés (travaux des champs, représentations des saisons, scènes de la vie des animaux) provenant d'une des anciennes églises de la Méditerranée orientale, Qabr Hiram, dédiée à saint Christophe. L'auteure décrit également une pièce conservée au Musée national de Beyrouth : un portrait peint à fresque d'un saint inconnu, avec un nimbe et deux croix peintes à gauche et à droite, sur une tombe excavée à Tyr, datée du 12 août 440 (p. 52).

Vient ensuite une partie consacrée aux implantations chrétiennes en Palestine et en Transjordanie (pp. 53-61), précédée d'un bref excursus historique pour rappeler que la Palestine passa en 451 de l'autorité du patriarcat d'Antioche à celle du nouveau patriarcat de Jérusalem qui s'étendait de Haïfa à Gaza, au Sinaï et à la Transjordanie. L'auteure souligne que dans cette dernière région, fondée en 106 par l'empereur Trajan sous le nom de *Provincia Arabia* sur les territoires conquis du royaume nabatéen, le nombre d'églises était important : huit à dix à Madaba, cinq à Philadelphie/Amman, dix-sept à dix-huit à Gerasa, quatre ou cinq à Petra et d'autres encore – nombreuses – dans les zones rurales. Nous pouvons admirer ici les célèbres mosaïques de Madaba et du mont Nebo (Mémorial de Moïse), ainsi qu'un chapiteau en calcaire du VI^e siècle

provenant du sanctuaire de Moïse au mont Siyagha en Jordanie.

Une section sur « Les églises du nord de la Mésopotamie » conclut l'itinéraire géographique de Raphaëlle Ziadé au Proche-Orient, avec des informations sur l'Église syro-orientale (« de Perse ») et ses lieux de culte, dont le baptistère de l'église de Nisibe (aujourd'hui, Nusaybin en Turquie), résidence, depuis 308, d'un évêché et siège de la fameuse école de Nisibe⁸.

Le chapitre se termine par une section sur « Les aménagements liturgiques », où l'auteure met à profit les découvertes archéologiques les plus récentes concernant les sites des églises chrétiennes citées plus haut. Les salles des lieux de culte prennent vie sous les yeux du lecteur, avec une forme d'autel appelée *chœur*, où les prêtres s'asseyaient sur un *synthronon* semi-circulaire, et une autre appelée *bema*, une plate-forme au centre de la nef, avec un banc pour le clergé et un trône au milieu, face aux allées du chœur. Des dalles de pierre ont été retrouvées dans ces zones des églises, décorées de croix, d'esquisses d'autels, de colonnades, de figures animales et de mosaïques. Le sous-chapitre comprend également la description d'une pièce d'une rare beauté, d'origine syrienne, qui est conservée aujourd'hui dans la basilique Saint-Marc de Venise : un petit trône-reliquaire du VI^e siècle, taillé dans un bloc d'albâtre et décoré de nombreux symboles chrétiens (l'agneau, les symboles des quatre Évangélistes, un arbre surmonté d'une croix flanquée de deux apôtres, etc.).

Même si, par la suite, la variété artistique, l'évolution de l'imaginaire chrétien et l'inspiration des grands créateurs de l'art religieux se diversifieront et atteindront une extraordinaire abondance d'éléments spécifiques aux terres d'origine, ce premier chapitre illustre amplement l'effort des premiers chrétiens pour exprimer leur foi par des moyens visuels et créer leur propre répertoire de thèmes et de modèles, d'inspiration néotestamentaire, même s'ils ont parfois repris des éléments des cultures préchrétiennes qui ont laissé des traces profondes dans les terres d'Orient.

Ensuite, les autres pièces du grand puzzle de Raphaëlle Ziadé s'emboîtent parfaitement. La section « Pèlerinages et culte des martyrs » pose les bases des commentaires qui suivent en évoquant Théodoret de Cyr⁹ dans un beau passage qui éclaire la popularité des saints et des martyrs dans la Syrie septentrionale du V^e siècle.

Les philosophes et les orateurs ont été oubliés. Les gens ne connaissent plus ni les noms des empereurs ni les noms des officiers. Toutefois, tout le monde connaissait les noms des martyrs, beaucoup plus même que ceux de leurs proches cousins (p. 73).

L'introduction de cette section mentionne évidemment les saints vénérés par les chrétiens d'Orient nés en Méditerranée orientale : les saints chevaliers Serge et Bacchus, saint Siméon le Stylite (l'Ancien, 390-459), sainte Thècle et saint Ménas, dont le culte a largement dépassé les frontières de leurs pays d'origine, jusqu'en Europe de l'Est et en Éthiopie.

L'auteure recense ensuite les nombreuses sources qui renseignent sur la pratique du pèlerinage dans l'Antiquité tardive : témoignages archéologiques, synaxaires, martyrologes, sermons des Pères de l'Église (ou panégyriques), souvenirs de pèlerinage, afin de renforcer son affirmation selon laquelle, dans les offices liturgiques et les actes de dévotion privée, « les images jouent un rôle de fixation des événements commémorés dans des synthèses visuelles compréhensibles par tous ».



▲ Fig. 1. L'Arche de Noé, dans Genèse de Vienne.
Syrie, v^e siècle, manuscrit enluminé, 32 × 26,5 cm.
Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. Gr. 31, fol. 2v.
© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienne.



▲ Fig. 2. Deuxième miracle de la multiplication des pains, dans Codex Sinopensis ou Évangile de Sinope (détail).

Syrie, Palestine ou Constantinople, vers 550-600, manuscrit enluminé, 30 × 25 cm.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. grec 1286, fol. 15r.

© Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



▲ Fig. 3. Trésor d'Attarouthi : calices, encensoirs et colombe eucharistique (détail).
Attarouthi, Syrie, 500-650, argent, argent doré et cuivre.
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Cette définition du rôle de l'image, de l'élément visuel dans la pratique dévotionnelle, peut s'appliquer à toutes les formes artistiques décrites dans le présent ouvrage, en gardant à l'esprit les fonctions fondamentales du visuel dans l'art : la représentation, l'empreinte dans la mémoire et la reconnaissance.

Le pèlerinage est avant tout le chemin vers les lieux saints où Jésus, les apôtres et les premiers chrétiens ont marché. L'histoire du pèlerinage à Jérusalem est racontée et illustrée par des objets portatifs que les pèlerins emportaient avec eux lorsqu'ils quittaient la Terre Sainte, pour se souvenir qu'ils revivaient les moments de la naissance de Jésus, de sa prédication, de sa crucifixion et de sa résurrection sur les lieux mêmes où ils s'étaient déroulés. On trouve notamment un reliquaire du Vatican, plusieurs récipients miniatures pour l'huile ou l'eau bénite, des ampoules en métal (conservées à Dumbarton Oaks) et un bas-relief égyptien représentant saint Ménas flanqué de deux dromadaires assis (tel que nous l'avons vu dans les églises de Gondar et de Lalibela, peint à fresque ou sur des murs en bois).

Pour les Syriens, le lieu de pèlerinage le plus populaire au cours des siècles fut le monastère de Qal'at Sam'an, le lieu où saint Siméon le Stylite vécut une vie d'ascèse extrême, perché sur une colonne haute d'environ 16,5 m. L'histoire de sa vie et les vestiges de la colonne sur laquelle il vécut ont inspiré de nombreuses formes artistiques, associées à des actes de vénération liturgique et personnelle, parmi lesquelles des représentations de sa figure et des scènes de sa vie sur des ampoules, des jetons et des plaques en basalte ou métal doré, telle la plaque du musée du Louvre à Paris (p. 83).

Le monachisme est ensuite présenté dans ses grandes lignes, en parcourant les terres où il est né au début du III^e siècle : l'Égypte, le mont Sinaï, la Palestine et le Tur Abdin (à l'est de Mardin, dans le sud-est de la Turquie asiatique). L'auteure évoque toutes les formes d'art associées à la vie ascétique dans le désert de Nitrie, la région d'Alexandrie et les autres terres orientales où la règle monastique a été formulée avant de se cristalliser dans des formes ayant une spécificité locale. Cette section décrit l'architecture des lieux où vécurent les premiers moines – ermites, chapelles, salles de prière – et leur ornementation : sculpture, gravure sur pierre, fresque, bas-relief. Le monastère dédié à saint Apollon, le plus grand ensemble monastique d'Égypte, près du village de Baouit (Bawit), est le cas le plus soigneusement détaillé de l'histoire des premiers monastères. Il est connu des spécialistes grâce aux nombreux vestiges conservés aujourd'hui dans de grands musées comme le Louvre, le Musée copte du Caire, le Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York et le musée de la Sculpture et de l'Art Byzantin de Berlin.

L'auteure évoque également le monastère de saint Jérémie à Saqarra, la nécropole de Bagawat, le Monastère Blanc et le Monastère Rouge près de Sohag. Ce dernier a été fondé par le célèbre ascète Shenoute aux VI^e-VII^e siècles. Les images impressionnantes du Monastère Rouge présentent des fresques et des colonnes multicolores qui inspirent une grande joie.

La fin de cette section est consacrée au monastère de Sainte-Catherine au mont Sinaï, qui fait naturellement le lien avec la section (malheureusement trop brève) sur le monachisme palestinien, où l'histoire se poursuit avec des récits de la vie ascétique dans la région la plus aride de la Terre Sainte. Nous apprenons qu'avant l'avènement de l'islam il y avait environ 120 monastères en Palestine. Si l'établissement monastique dédié à saint Sabas (Mar Saba) est bien connu des lecteurs, les recherches menées

par l'École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem après 2001 sur le site d'Umm el-'Amr, situé à 10 km au sud de Gaza-ville, constituent un témoignage utile de l'importante présence chrétienne dans ce centre monastique, l'un des plus grands de la région (p. 100-101).

La dernière partie du voyage à travers le monde monastique oriental nous conduit en Syrie du Nord et en Mésopotamie, où ces communautés, souvent fondées sur le modèle de celle de saint Siméon le Stylite, assuraient leur subsistance quotidienne sans dépendre des villages voisins. L'auteure nous amène ensuite dans la région du Tur Abdin, en soulignant l'importance de ce centre ecclésiastique pour la culture maronite et la civilisation syriaque. Nous voyageons dans ce monde de grande beauté à travers les images de l'église du monastère de Mor Gabriel¹⁰, dont l'intérieur est recouvert de mosaïques multicolores décorées de symboles chrétiens (p. 101-107). Le monastère conserve les plus anciennes mosaïques murales mésopotamiennes connues, datant de 512, dont Raphaëlle Ziadé a choisi de faire découvrir à ses lecteurs quelques exemples d'une beauté sublime. Elle raconte qu'il a attiré l'attention des voyageurs occidentaux : en 1909 puis en 1911, la célèbre archéologue Gertrude Bell les photographia et les étudia, ce qui les rendit connus des spécialistes.

L'économie du chapitre I nous conduit maintenant vers la culture écrite, plus précisément la culture manuscrite : « Les premières Bibles illustrées » (p. 108-137). Après les merveilles architecturales et ornementales présentées dans les pages précédentes, Raphaëlle Ziadé se tourne vers les amateurs de littérature biblique et de manuscrits enluminés. Le commentaire s'ouvre sur une brève histoire des Bibles grecques, en commençant par les pièces conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale de France et au Museo dell'Arcivescovado (Museo Diocesano) de Rossano. S'intéressant plus particulièrement à l'Évangélaire de Rossano ou *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* (Syrie, VI^e siècle), l'auteure remarque que, outre d'autres éléments d'intérêt majeur, dans ce manuscrit « l'Entrée à Jérusalem constitue sans doute la plus ancienne représentation connue de ce sujet dans un manuscrit » (p. 114 et reproduction à la p. 112).

Viennent ensuite les descriptions de plusieurs enluminures de manuscrits de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament conservés dans de grandes bibliothèques du monde entier, commentées en termes de traits paléographiques, palette de couleurs, modèles iconographiques et par rapport aux autres arts de l'époque, y compris la fresque. L'auteure décèle des traits distinctifs de l'artiste : la finesse du pinceau, l'harmonie des proportions, la tension dramatique conférée à l'action. Les textes choisis comme illustrations sont l'*Évangélaire de Rabbula*, texte syriaque du VI^e siècle (ainsi nommé d'après le copiste¹¹), le *Livre des Rois*, texte syriaque du VII^e siècle copié au monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Sinaï, le *Tetraevangelium syriaque de Mardin*, manuscrit enluminé copié à Mardin en Turquie (VII^e-XII^e siècles). L'on admire aussi l'*Évangélaire de Diyarbakir*, un texte du VI^e siècle conservé dans l'église Sainte-Anne du patriarcat syrien orthodoxe, et la *Bible de Paris* (Ancien Testament avec une partie du Nouveau Testament), manuscrit syriaque copié en Mésopotamie (VI^e-VII^e siècle). D'une part, l'auteure évoque les moments de l'évolution de l'art des copistes et des miniaturistes des premiers siècles chrétiens. D'autre part, elle examine les particularités des miniatures créées en Orient dans différentes régions et cultures avec les outils et le regard d'une spécialiste de l'histoire de l'art oriental.

La dernière partie du chapitre I est consacrée aux « Trésors et mobiliers des églises » (p. 138-201). Changeant



▲ Fig. 4. Stèle : Saint Pacôme.
Saqqarah (?), v^e-vi^e siècle, calcaire, 57 × 44 × 14 cm.
Londres, The British Museum.
© Réunion des Musées Nationaux-Grand Palais / (British Museum Londres / Trustees of the British Museum).

de registre, l'auteure a inclus ici plusieurs types d'objets ayant une fonction et un caractère religieux, ainsi que des pièces artistiques créées par de grands artisans, connus ou inconnus. Le récit commence par expliquer l'importance de la vaisselle d'apparat dans l'office divin en tant qu'élément contribuant à créer l'atmosphère de sobriété et de vénération requise par la liturgie, telle qu'elle fut décrite par Narsai (399-502), théologien de l'école d'Édesse (p. 140). En pénétrant de plus en plus dans le labyrinthe de l'art chrétien oriental, nous avons maintenant l'occasion d'admirer des créations réalisées à partir de tous les matériaux connus des artistes des IV^e-VII^e siècles. D'emblée, la prédilection de l'auteure pour les pièces réalisées en terre syrienne s'impose, mettant en lumière une collection d'objets d'art moins connus du grand public.

« L'orfèvrerie ». Pour souligner l'usage répandu de l'argenterie même dans les églises rurales, l'auteure mentionne le trésor de 56 objets de culte en argent trouvé en 1908 à Kaper Koraon (aujourd'hui Kurin, en Syrie). Ce trésor est marqué des noms d'une cinquantaine de donateurs qui ont offert ces objets à l'église de Saint-Serge de ce village. L'une des pièces, un gobelet en argent doré recouvert d'un réseau en relief de silhouettes de saints entourés de vignes et d'oiseaux (aujourd'hui conservé au Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), est le seul exemple de cette technique. D'autres pièces du « trésor de Hama » (Syrie, V^e-VI^e siècle), représentant des scènes du Nouveau Testament en relief doré, témoignent du raffinement artistique auquel étaient habitués les chrétiens de la région avant l'invasion islamique. Outre l'aspect esthétique et social, cette préférence pour les objets de grande valeur artistique s'expliquait par le respect et la révérence pour l'espace sacré de l'église, le caractère sacré de la liturgie et les figures divines représentées sur ces pièces.

La description se poursuit par une présentation des lampes en alliage de cuivre fabriquées sur la côte orientale de la Méditerranée aux V^e-VI^e siècles. À la fin de ce siècle et au début du VII^e siècle, les techniques d'orfèvrerie se sont beaucoup développées, comme le montre le vase d'Émèse (musée du Louvre), dont le bandeau présente les bustes de personnages du Nouveau Testament travaillés selon la technique du repoussé, avec une grande finesse du détail (p. 153-155), ou bien les trésors en argent et or de Beth Misona et de Homs en Syrie, de Constantinople et de Saint-Pétersbourg, de Palestine et de Chypre. On peut en conclure qu'il y avait, à cette époque, une grande richesse de trésors ecclésiastiques, témoignage de la profonde révérence des communautés chrétiennes, qui se manifestait par leur générosité à l'égard des établissements locaux.

« Objets liturgiques en ivoire ». L'art de la sculpture sur ivoire est l'un des artisanats les plus spectaculaires de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge. Créés en Méditerranée orientale, mais aussi à Constantinople, Rome et Ravenne, les objets religieux en ivoire représentent avec beaucoup de réalisme et de raffinement des personnages divins, des scènes de la vie de Jésus, de la Vierge et des apôtres, des éléments architecturaux miniatures et des images des lieux saints. Raphaëlle Ziadé décrit quelques pièces connues de ceux qui ont visité le musée de Cluny, le musée d'art byzantin de Berlin ou le Louvre, mais aussi des pièces moins connues qui témoignent de la diffusion des styles et des goûts de la Mésopotamie à l'Italie. Un exemple ancien est une boîte à encens (pyxide) du IX^e-VII^e siècle av. J. C., confectionnée dans l'actuel Irak. Réinterprétées comme réceptacle de reliques, ces boîtes sont conservées en grand nombre. L'auteure décrit également

les cinq sections qui composaient autrefois le « diptyque de Murano » : séparées de la pièce originale du V^e-VI^e siècle, les sections se trouvent aujourd'hui éparpillées entre le musée diocésain de Ravenne, la John Rylands Library de Manchester et le musée de l'Ermitage à Saint-Pétersbourg (pp. 178-182).

Les sections qui suivent sont consacrées aux « Icones de templon » et aux « Rideaux et tentures d'église ». Les icônes sont un sujet sur lequel l'auteure reviendra longuement dans les chapitres suivants. On voit ici les premières images de saints, sculptées en relief ou peintes sur bois pour les panneaux séparant l'autel de la nef (*templon*) à Baouit en Égypte. L'autre partie traite également de la représentation des chevaliers vénérés dans les cultures anciennes d'Égypte, de Syrie et du Liban (le dieu Horus, parmi eux), dont la représentation iconographique est stylistiquement proche de celle des saints militaires du christianisme (p. 187). Elle souligne que le choix du thème représenté sur ces objets dépendait de leur fonction dans l'église et l'acte liturgique. Ainsi, un fragment de textile provenant de la nécropole d'Akhmim en Haute-Égypte devait faire partie d'un rideau d'autel, puisque son iconographie est consacrée à la glorification de la Croix. La présence d'un tel rideau au British Museum permet d'établir un parallèle entre les deux pièces : les figures féminines ailées, inspirées de Nike, la personnification de la Victoire dans la culture gréco-romaine, sont vêtues de la même manière et portent des couronnes de laurier comme celles visibles à Doura-Europos.

Dans la conclusion du chapitre 1, Raphaëlle Ziadé se concentre sur l'évolution artistique de l'imaginaire chrétien aux V^e et VI^e siècles, en reprenant des modèles et des éléments des cultures préchrétiennes et en les réinterprétant pour embrasser la nouvelle vie spirituelle fondée sur les bases de la continuité entre l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament, le souvenir des débuts de la vie chrétienne à travers les pèlerinages vers les lieux saints et une vie vécue au rythme du cycle liturgique.

II. Les époques omeyyade et abbasside (VII^e-X^e siècles)

Le chapitre commence par un bref récit historique concernant les changements politiques et étatiques au Proche-Orient et les relations entre l'Église et le nouveau pouvoir à partir de la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle. Les Perses et les Byzantins, puis les Arabes, se sont disputés les territoires placés sous l'autorité des patriarchats d'Antioche, de Jérusalem et d'Alexandrie. C'est dans ce contexte que s'inscrit la discussion qui suit, sur la conquête perse puis islamique, à une époque où les relations entre les patriarches orientaux et Constantinople étaient troublées par des divergences dogmatiques.

Ici est donnée pour la première fois la définition du terme « melkite »¹² qui, selon l'auteure, est apparu vers 750 pour désigner les chrétiens qui restaient attachés aux décisions du synode de Chalcédoine et se rattachaient à l'Église de Constantinople (« impériale »). Les communautés chrétiennes se divisaient alors en jacobites, melkites (chalcédoniens), nestoriens, syriaques orthodoxes, qui formaient la grande famille des « chrétiens d'Orient », mais appartenaient à des Églises différentes. Avant le schisme de 1724 dans l'Église d'Antioche, les melkites étaient tous des chrétiens chalcédoniens. Après le schisme, le terme « melchite » a été pris comme appellation exclusive par les fidèles de l'Église grecque-catholique melchite d'Antioche.

L'histoire des conquêtes arabes est racontée sous l'angle de la présence chrétienne dans la péninsule arabique,



◀ Fig. 5. Les archanges Michel et Gabriel.

Monastère de Baouit, Égypte, première moitié du VII^e siècle, sycomore et peinture, 94 × 12,5 cm.

Le Caire, Musée copte.

© Ifao, A. Lecler.

où le prophète Mahomet a fondé, en 622 à Médine, l'État islamique. Raphaëlle Ziadé décrit brièvement cette situation, afin de fournir une base pour la suite de l'histoire de l'art chrétien d'Orient, qui commence, géographiquement, avec l'« Arabie chrétienne » (p. 210). Suit une brève présentation des vestiges archéologiques à symbolique chrétienne qui témoignent de la vie des communautés chrétiennes dans les territoires qui sont aujourd'hui l'Arabie saoudite, le Koweït, le Bahreïn et les Émirats arabes unis.

Avant de décrire l'ornementation des édifices à fonction religieuse dans la section « Décors des églises et des monastères » (pp. 214-242), l'auteure commente le sort de plusieurs lieux importants pour l'histoire du christianisme oriental datant des IV^e-VIII^e siècles : le monastère de Baouit, Deir Abour Maqar, Deir el-Suryan dans le désert de Nitrie (Wadi Natrun, Égypte), la cathédrale de Faras au Soudan¹³, l'église Saint-Étienne à Umm el-Rasas, en Jordanie. De nombreuses images de Deir el-Suryan sont décrites en détail, ce qui constitue une occasion rare de comprendre le rôle de ce site dans le pays qui a vu naître le monachisme. La description des églises de quelques communautés syriaques du VIII^e siècle dans la région du Tur Abdin en Turquie – Mor Ya'qub (Salah), Yoldat Aloho et Al-Adra (Hah), Mor Azozoyel (Kerferzi) et Mor Lozor (Habsenas) – est également intéressante. Ainsi que l'auteure le remarque, la présence de colonnes de piliers à proximité de ces monastères est remarquable, démontrant le déplacement vers le nord du culte et du modèle de vie des stylites, en particulier saint Siméon le Stylite l'Ancien (p. 240). Pour les lecteurs qui voyagent en Turquie, il s'agit d'une occasion remarquable pour découvrir les traditions chrétiennes de la région de Mardin, peu connues même des promoteurs du tourisme culturel.

À partir de la page 242, Raphaëlle Ziadé revient sur un territoire auquel elle a consacré une grande partie de ses recherches : l'art des icônes. La section intitulée « Le culte des icônes » présente l'évolution de cet art après la crise iconoclaste de l'Empire byzantin (726-843), en mettant l'accent sur des exemples provenant d'Égypte (Baouit), du mont Sinai et de Jordanie (Madaba), notamment des icônes à la tempera sur bois, que l'auteure décrit suivant les critères de l'historien de l'art : style, nuances de couleur, influences et signification.

À la page 245 se trouve l'image choisie pour la couverture de l'album, une icône peinte au VIII^e siècle à l'encaustique et à la tempera sur bois de figuier, conservée au musée du Louvre, qui représente Jésus avec Ména, abbé du monastère de Baouit (« Apa Mena » dans l'inscription). Le Christ tient, de la main gauche, un Évangélaire « gemmé muni de fermoirs », tandis que de la main droite il retient l'abbé Ména par l'épaule, « dans un geste de protection empreint de fraternité ». Comme le remarque Raphaëlle Ziadé, la représentation de Ména vise à montrer son humilité et sa piété : sa tête est légèrement plus petite que celle du Christ et il est vêtu d'une tunique sobre et modeste. Son auréole est un simple cercle et elle n'est pas cruciforme comme celle du Seigneur. Aussi, Ména fait-il le signe de la croix vers le Christ. L'illustration reflète d'une part la beauté des icônes orientales d'avant l'an 1 000, d'autre part la capacité des peintres à transmettre un message clair à travers leur art raffiné. Ici, il s'agit de la

protection du monastère – et des chrétiens en général – par Jésus-Christ et de la dévotion de ceux qui sont appelés à conduire une communauté monastique.

On peut également admirer des objets de culte fabriqués avec des matériaux divers : textiles, bois, argent et ivoire. De l'Égypte à la Syrie du Nord, des pièces d'une rare beauté défilent sous les yeux du lecteur, témoignant des progrès de l'artisanat et de la diversification de l'imagerie chrétienne après le VII^e siècle. Des pièces spectaculaires en ivoire sculpté – provenant des collections du Victoria and Albert Museum et du British Museum (Londres), du Castello Sforzesco (Milan) et du musée de Cluny (Paris) – sont décrites et présentées en images successives aux pages 266-277. En revenant à la page 77 et en comparant le bas-relief de saint Ménas flanqué de deux dromadaires, trouvé à El-Dekela et daté du V^e siècle (aujourd'hui au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie), avec la représentation du même thème iconographique sculpté en ivoire à la fin du VII^e siècle – début du VIII^e siècle, probablement aussi en Égypte (reproduction à la page 277), nous avons une preuve évidente de l'évolution de l'art chrétien en Égypte : sur le deuxième, les détails sont abondants et délicats, du visage et de l'auréole du saint jusqu'à l'attelage des dromadaires et à la décoration de l'arrière-plan, riche en éléments architecturaux ecclésiastiques, croix et lampes.

Dans la dernière partie, l'auteure revient sur les manuscrits enluminés, qu'elle lie à la naissance de la littérature arabe chrétienne. Elle les présente comme des témoins des débuts d'une activité de traduction et de copie d'écrits liturgiques et patristiques aux VIII^e et IX^e siècles. Elle explique l'intervention de la langue arabe dans un domaine dominé par le grec, le copte et le syriaque, ainsi que le rôle des communautés monastiques de Palestine dans le lancement du mouvement de traduction des textes chrétiens en arabe et dans la composition d'écrits originaux dans la langue des conquérants musulmans. Les exemples choisis pour démontrer que l'arabe s'est imposé comme langue de communication et de culture sur un vaste territoire, de Mossoul à Alexandrie et de Bagdad à Jérusalem, permettent de comprendre l'effort des créateurs et des financeurs de copies de manuscrits pour produire des œuvres qui perdurent et qui reflètent les significations profondes des textes chrétiens copiés.

Ce n'est cependant pas l'époque des manuscrits enluminés. Quelques exemples sont présentés ici, y compris un Lectionnaire de Syrie-Palestine daté de 859 et un recueil de sermons du Fayoum en Égypte (989-990), qui contiennent certaines des plus anciennes miniatures connues aujourd'hui. Sur la feuille du début de l'Évangile de Jean, reproduite à partir du Lectionnaire (p. 278), l'élégante calligraphie avec insertions d'encre rouge, l'ornementation et le soin apporté à l'aspect esthétique de la page sont remarquables. Les feuilles qui ne contiennent que du texte sont des œuvres d'art à part entière – même si ce n'est pas l'art figuratif auquel cet album est consacré¹⁴.

L'auteure commente également l'illustration d'un célèbre manuscrit enluminé, la *Sacra Parallela*, un écrit grec attribué à saint Jean Damascène, qui contient un recueil de passages des Saintes Écritures. Une copie de la première moitié du IX^e siècle conservée à la Bibliothèque nationale de France pourrait provenir du monastère de Saint-Sabas en Palestine, où vécut Jean Damascène. Raphaëlle Ziadé commente la richesse de l'illustration de ce manuscrit : 1 658 miniatures, dont beaucoup décorées à l'or, ainsi que quelques passages et mots du texte. Cette abondance d'images devait célébrer le triomphe des iconodules sur les iconoclastes avec 546 images de saints (dont saint Jean





▲ Fig. 6. *Chaire de Grado : Annonciation.*
Égypte (?), fin du VII^e ou début du VIII^e siècle, ivoire, 19,7 × 9,5 × 0,6 cm.
Milan, Castello Sforzesco.
© Castello Sforzesco/Comune di Milano.

◆ Fig. 7. *Diptyque de Murano (feuillet 2, partie centrale) : L'Adoration des Rois mages et la Nativité.*
Syrie ou Constantinople (?), VI^e-VII^e siècle, ivoire, 23,2 × 12,3 cm
Manchester, John Rylands University Library.
© John Rylands University Library.

Damascène, portrait en pied au f. 208r). On pourrait dire qu'il s'agit d'un véritable manifeste anti-iconoclaste, créé par les vainqueurs de cette longue bataille.

J'ajouterais que ce manuscrit est d'autant plus particulier que la décoration des textes par des miniatures n'était pas encore courante à l'époque. Comme le démontreront les chapitres suivants, il faudra attendre encore plusieurs siècles pour que de véritables écoles de miniature apparaissent sur la rive orientale de la Méditerranée, dans les milieux arabophones.

III. L'époque médiévale (XI^e-XIV^e siècles)

Les XI^e-XIV^e siècles ont été marqués par une floraison rapide de l'art chrétien dans toutes ses formes, exploitant toutes sortes de matériaux et de techniques artistiques. Le chapitre commence par les éléments décoratifs des églises et des monastères et parcourt l'aire chrétienne orientale, de la Grèce à la Palestine méridionale. Des châteaux croisés – Crac des Chevaliers et Margat (Marqab) en Syrie – aux chapiteaux de l'église de l'Annonciation à Nazareth, l'histoire se déroule sous nos yeux et sert de contexte historique aux descriptions qui suivent. L'auteure consacre une section au Royaume latin de Jérusalem et évoque les récents efforts de restauration de la Basilique de la Nativité à Bethléem dans les conditions difficiles d'une autorité conjointe grecque orthodoxe, catholique et arménienne. Elle poursuit ensuite l'histoire de la construction et de la décoration de cet édifice, célèbre à travers la chrétienté, grâce à de nouvelles images des mosaïques pariétales obtenues après l'achèvement de la restauration (pp. 290-293).

Le sous-chapitre consacré au monastère catholique d'Abu Gosh, à l'ouest de Jérusalem, un site moins connu des amateurs d'art chrétien, illustré et décrit ici en détail, est particulièrement intéressant. Son église ornée de fresques a été reconstruite par les croisés au XII^e siècle sur le site du premier édifice, érigé sous l'empereur byzantin Théodose I^{er}, qui avait été démoli par les Perses en 614.

L'auteure nous emmène ensuite au Liban où, entre Tripoli et Jbeil et dans la vallée de la Qadisha, sur le territoire du comté de Tripoli, une trentaine d'églises et de chapelles décorées de peintures murales ont été construites à la fin du XII^e et au début du XIII^e siècle. Elle qualifie cet ensemble de « sans équivalent au Moyen-Orient » (p. 301). Le comté de Tripoli, l'un des États latins fondés par Raymond de Saint-Gilles après la première Croisade, a résisté à l'expulsion jusqu'en 1289.

La plupart des églises qui composent cet ensemble sont maronites. Il est remarquable que les caractéristiques de l'art post-byzantin soient massivement présentes dans leur peinture intérieure, tant dans les modèles iconographiques suivis que dans la coloration. Raphaëlle Ziadé expose ainsi les deux tendances (ou styles) qu'on a voulu reconnaître dans ces fresques : l'une purement byzantine, l'autre caractérisée par des traits locaux, un soi-disant « style syrien », également tributaire des influences byzantines. Son argumentation s'appuie sur les images des fresques de l'église Saint-Serge et Bacchus à Kaftūn, de Saydat el-Kharayeb à Kfar Helda, de Mar Sabba à Edde Batrun, de Saint-Théodore à Bahdeida et de Saint-Charbel à Ma'ād. L'auteure aborde à la fois les détails stylistiques des fresques et les différences entre les programmes iconographiques, ainsi que les inscriptions votives et les portraits.

Dans le prolongement de son discours sur les colonies de Syrie et d'Égypte, l'auteure explique le rôle de l'art dans la préservation de la vie chrétienne sur des terres soumises à la domination musulmane. Bien que voisins du comté de Tripoli, les chrétiens syriens ne sont pas tombés sous la domination latine : leurs terres ont été gouvernées par la dynastie des Fatimides en Égypte, ensuite par les Ayyubides. Les Mongols les ont conquises en 1260, chassés par les Mamelouks la même année. Dans la région de Qalamun, dépendant de l'émirat de Damas, les églises conservent les traces des couches successives de peinture du XI^e au XIII^e siècle. Les commentateurs de l'auteure se réfèrent à Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi, où les noms des saints sont écrits en grec, mais il y a aussi des inscriptions en syriaque et en arabe. Heureusement, les



▲ Fig. 8. *Saint en pied tenant un évangile (Damianos ?).*
Monastère Deir al-Sourian, église al-Adra, Égypte, VIII^e siècle, peinture murale.
Deir al-Surian Conservation Project.
© Deir al-Surian Conservation Project.

▶ Fig. 9. *Christ en majesté.*
Monastère Deir al-Sourian, église al-Adra (coupole de l'haïkal), Égypte, X^e siècle, peinture murale.
Deir al-Surian Conservation Project.
© Deir al-Surian Conservation Project.







▲ Fig. 10. Gourde.
Syrie ou nord de l'Irak, milieu du XIII^e siècle, laiton et argent incrusté, 45,2 × 36,7 cm.
Washington, Freer Gallery of Art.
© The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

◆ Fig. 11. Les Évangélistes saint Mathieu et saint Marc ; Nativité ;
Les Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste, dans le Lectionnaire syriaque.
Couvent de Mar Mattai, Irak, vers 1220, pigments sur parchemin.
Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Sir
559.
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano.

noms des peintres qui ont travaillé lors de la deuxième et la troisième campagnes sont visibles ici : Hunayn (Jean) a signé en arabe le 7 juillet 1095, tandis qu'une inscription en syriaque nomme Sarkis ibn Gali ibn Baran qui acheva la nouvelle peinture en 1208-1209. Les scènes peintes lors de chacune des trois campagnes se distinguent clairement dans les fresques conservées jusqu'à aujourd'hui, restaurées et étudiées par les soins du père Paolo Dall'Oglio (n. 1954), après que la communauté monastique d'Al-Khalil, qu'il a fondée ici en 1992, a pris en charge l'établissement pour le transformer en centre de dialogue entre l'islam et le christianisme¹⁵.

Raphaëlle Ziadé décrit les relations entre les peintres et la tradition byzantine, illustrant son propos par l'exemple des fresques du monastère Saint-Antoine (xiii^e siècle), du Monastère Blanc (Sohag), de Deir el-Suryan et d'Al-Adra dans le Wadi el-Natrûn.

Dans la section consacrée aux « Églises de Mésopotamie à la période Atabeg (xii^e-xiii^e siècles) », l'auteure nous entraîne dans un autre monde, celui du Moyen-Orient, où les formes artistiques prennent une couleur locale plus prononcée que dans les sections précédentes. Loin de la Méditerranée, la culture mésopotamienne s'est imprégnée très tôt d'éléments locaux, ainsi que d'influences venues d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient. Mossoul et les régions voisines sont passées sous domination mongole en 1234, puis, en 1259, les Abbassides de Bagdad ont été renversés par les Mongols. Les monuments du xiii^e siècle qui ont survécu présentent les caractéristiques architecturales d'une communauté venue d'Extrême-Orient. Raphaëlle Ziadé explique ainsi la symbiose des éléments séculaires centrasiatiques, musulmans et chrétiens dans les églises de cette région, comme Mar Behnam en Irak (p. 327, une superbe image pleine page d'une niche sur la façade avec des ornements islamiques et deux grandes croix – l'une en bas-relief, l'autre sculptée dans la pierre – entourées d'inscriptions en syriaque).

Le sous-chapitre suivant donne à l'auteure l'occasion d'illustrer son expertise reconnue dans l'art des icônes. De la page 328 à la page 357, le lecteur peut admirer les bijoux de la peinture religieuse orientale de Jérusalem au mont Sinaï, de Deir el-Suryan en Égypte à Kaftûn au Liban. La grande majorité des icônes commentées par Raphaëlle Ziadé sont conservées au monastère Sainte-Catherine du mont Sinaï. Comme elle le souligne, l'art des icônes était l'un des arts ecclésiastiques les plus florissants aux xii^e et xiii^e siècles. L'idée de la fonction curative des icônes apparaît dès le début, à travers l'exemple de la guérison d'un enfant après que le moine Saliba eut apporté à son chevet une icône de saint (Mar) Barsauma, vénérée dans le monastère du même nom. Apparu en rêve à ses parents, le saint leur demanda de lui construire une église et l'enfant fut guéri. En 1156, des moines de l'Église syriaque et des prêtres latins consacrèrent la nouvelle église. Ce passage est suivi d'autres exemples d'icônes miraculeuses, comme l'icône de Notre-Dame « Al-Chaghoura » (« l'Illustre ») du monastère de Saydnaya, en Syrie.

Pour présenter les icônes de la région de Tripoli, l'auteure évoque, évidemment, la célèbre icône biface de Kaftûn, de grande taille (118 x 80 cm), datée du xiii^e siècle. Elle représente la Vierge à l'Enfant (*Hodigitria*) sur la face et le Baptême du Christ au revers (pp. 329-331). On apprend que le métropolitain Georges Khodr, éminent père de l'Église grecque orthodoxe d'Antioche, a confié

cette icône à l'auteure en 1987 pour qu'elle soit restaurée, pendant une période de grands troubles dans son pays d'origine. Après sa restauration au Laboratoire des musées de France, l'icône a été exposée à Paris en 1986, puis est retournée au Liban. La description détaillée de Raphaëlle Ziadé nous convainc de l'importance majeure de cette icône qui, outre ses éléments artistiques uniques, porte des inscriptions en trois langues : le grec, le syriaque et l'arabe, ce qui prouve la coexistence de plusieurs cultures au Liban au xiii^e siècle. Cette icône a également été analysée pour ses similitudes avec les icônes du mont Sinaï par Mat Immerzeel, spécialiste reconnu des fresques et des icônes réalisées par les peintres arabes chrétiens.

La discussion porte ensuite sur la série d'icônes attribuées aux peintres du monastère de Sainte-Catherine au mont Sinaï, qui compte – selon les auteurs – entre dix et trente pièces, et dont beaucoup sont aujourd'hui conservées dans le trésor du monastère. Cette collection contient également un grand nombre d'icônes peintes dans d'autres centres artistiques, dont certaines datent de la fin du xii^e siècle. Les exemples choisis par l'auteure pour commenter leur réalisation thématique et artistique sont d'une variété et d'une beauté particulières : les saints militaires – saint Georges et saint Théodore Stratelates, à cheval – sainte Catherine, sainte Marina, Notre-Dame *Hodigitria*. La présentation des commanditaires et des portraits votifs qui figurent sur les icônes, reflétant parfois une grande humilité, est très intéressante. Les reproductions pleine page de l'icône *Échelle spirituelle de saint Jean Climaque* (xii^e siècle), de saint Procope et de la Vierge *Kykkotissa* (datées vers 1280), ainsi que la description détaillée des poutres d'épistyle du monastère Sainte-Catherine concluent cette section particulièrement riche d'illustrations.

La section suivante, « Objets d'art et sculptures sur bois, témoins de l'interaction avec le monde islamique », présente au lecteur des pièces d'art ecclésiastique réalisées avec des techniques et des modèles employés par les maîtres musulmans. On y trouve également des éléments chrétiens : symboles divins, éléments de la tradition byzantine, inscriptions votives, inscriptions grecques, syriaques et arabes. Les objets liturgiques chrétiens orientaux présentés ici, provenant d'Égypte et de Syrie, témoignent du savoir-faire des orfèvres et de leur capacité à reproduire en métal des inscriptions élaborées en caractères syriaques. Nous apprenons aussi que le centre artisanal de Mossoul (Irak), d'où sortaient les bronzes musulmans incrustés, était au service des émirs ayyoubides de Damas, d'Alep et du Caire, et produisait des plateaux, des vases, des bols ornés de peintures multicolores, ainsi que des lampes en bronze et en verre décorées de motifs chrétiens combinés à des scènes de cour et à des images d'animaux.

Enfin, l'auteure présente l'art du bois sculpté et incisé d'Égypte, où de grands panneaux, souvent utilisés pour séparer l'autel (en guise d'iconostase), ont été créés, et sur lesquels sont finement sculptées des scènes du Nouveau Testament. Pour l'église d'Al-Mu'allaqa au Caire, des panneaux à scènes évoquant la vie de Jésus, la Nativité, le Baptême du Seigneur, l'Entrée à Jérusalem, la Descente aux Enfers, etc. (conservés au British Museum de Londres), furent sculptés au xii^e siècle, en bois de cèdre. L'ornementation végétale qui entoure les scènes chrétiennes démontre la virtuosité des artisans musulmans, qui travaillaient également pour les palais de la noblesse et les établissements islamiques (pp. 374-381).



▲ Fig. 12. Icône de Kaftoun (revers) : Le Baptême du Christ. Comté de Tripoli, XIII^e siècle, tempera et or sur bois, 111 x 80 cm. Kaftoun, Liban, monastère Notre-Dame. © Musée du Petit Palais, Archive photo. Droits réservés.

La dernière section de ce chapitre est consacrée à l'art du livre, entendu comme l'art des manuscrits enluminés, principalement ceux qui furent confectionnés pendant la « Renaissance syriaque » des XI^e-XIII^e siècles. En évoquant cette période où les Évangélistes syriaques et nestoriens ont été copiés et enluminés, l'auteure met en lumière l'histoire d'un creuset de cultures byzantines, arméniennes et syriaques : celle de la région de Mélitène en Turquie. Le lecteur pourra apprécier à la page 389 une reproduction pleine page de la célèbre miniature des Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste du Lectionnaire syriaque écrit vers 1220 au monastère de Mar Mattai en Irak, et aujourd'hui conservé à la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. L'histoire des manuscrits enluminés du XIII^e siècle se termine par des considérations sur les « Interactions artistiques avec l'art islamique des manuscrits syriaques, coptes et melchites » (pp. 392-397), occasion pour l'auteure de présenter ses conclusions sur « l'interpénétration des cultures » reflétée dans les manuscrits chrétiens et musulmans depuis la fin du XII^e siècle. L'un des exemples est la légende de l'homme échappant à la licorne, présente aussi bien dans le recueil de fables d'origine indienne *Kalila wa-Dimna*, l'un des textes les plus connus de la littérature islamique, que dans le roman chrétien de Barlaam et Joasaph, commenté plus tard. Pour soutenir son propos, Raphaëlle Ziadé évoque également les décors géométriques des pages-tapis des manuscrits islamiques qui ont migré vers les manuscrits arabes de l'Église copte, dans lesquels le texte est aniconique et soigneusement calligraphié (p. 394, convaincante illustration d'un manuscrit du Pentateuque, Égypte, 1353, BnF).

iv. Les chrétiens dans l'Empire ottoman (XVI^e-XIX^e siècles)

Ouvrir ce chapitre par un firman, œuvre d'un maître calligraphe de la cour ottomane, gracieusement calligraphié et inscrit d'une *tughra*, la signature raffinée du sultan, peut sembler un choix surprenant. Pourtant, Raphaëlle Ziadé commence son analyse de l'art chrétien dans l'Orient ottoman par un récit historique qui servira de décor pour le tableau complexe de l'activité des grands artistes de cette période, qui débute avec l'installation des Turcs ottomans dans les territoires habités par les chrétiens de l'est de la Méditerranée. Le document reproduit à la p. 400 est une capitulation accordée par le sultan Mehmed IV au roi de France Louis XIV à Edirne le 5 juin 1673 (encre et or sur papier, rouleau, 76 cm de long)¹⁶. En quelques paragraphes, l'auteure retrace les changements intervenus après la conquête de Constantinople par les armées du grand sultan, le rôle de la Russie et le sort des Églises orientales dans un climat de luttes incessantes entre les puissances occidentales et la cour ottomane. Avant de commencer sa présentation des formes d'art chrétiennes de cette période, Raphaëlle Ziadé introduit un joyau de la sculpture sur bois syrienne, la « Chambre d'Alep » (de la maison Wakil, Alep, Syrie, 1600-1603), aujourd'hui au Museum für Islamische Kunst de Berlin. Les panneaux en bois, qui couvrent les murs de la chambre tout autour, combinent l'ornementation et les techniques islamiques avec des éléments figuratifs et des inscriptions chrétiennes.

Le premier domaine artistique choisi par l'auteure est l'imprimerie, avec une attention particulière pour les livres religieux en langues orientales. Le lecteur découvre d'abord les premiers livres d'office imprimés en syriaque et en arabe, dans les alphabets propres à ces deux langues (*Horologion* de Fano, 1515, *Psautier polyglotte* de Gênes, 1516, *Évangélaire syriaque* de Vienne, 1555). En évoquant les imprimeries qui étaient actives à Rome à la fin du XVI^e siècle, en premier lieu la *Typographia Medicea Orientale*, Raphaëlle Ziadé mentionne la reproduction, dans l'*Évangélaire* de Rome de 1590-1591, des dessins d'Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) – d'après les gravures d'Albrecht Dürer – grâce au travail d'un grand graveur, Leonardo Parasole (1570 – vers 1630), qui creusa les matrices en bois nécessaires à l'impression¹⁷.

Le XVII^e siècle marque le début de l'imprimerie en Orient, avec le *Psautier* imprimé en 1610 à Qozhaya, au Liban, en syriaque et en arabe, dans deux types d'écriture syriaque (mais pas dans l'alphabet arabe). Il s'agit d'une production unique, œuvre d'un grand hiérarque de l'Église maronite, l'évêque Sarkis al-Rizzi (1572-1638). Étudié par le Pr. Joseph Moukarzel, expert en la matière, l'histoire de ce livre surprenant (et rare), racontée ici par Raphaëlle Ziadé, démontre le rôle des Maronites dans le progrès des communautés chrétiennes en Méditerranée orientale sous les Ottomans.

Dans les années 1701-1702, en Valachie, Athanase Dabbās, hiérarque antiochien situé à l'époque entre deux missions comme patriarche de l'Église d'Antioche, imprima deux livres en arabe et en grec (un *Livre des Liturgies* et un *Livre d'heures*) pour les chrétiens arabophones, en collaboration avec Antim Ivireanul (« l'Ibérien »), imprimeur de la cour de Constantin Brâncoveanu, érudit théologien, traducteur et écrivain, futur métropolitain de la Valachie. Le transfert des outils typographiques réalisés par Antim de Bucarest à Alep en 1704-1705 a permis de créer la première imprimerie de langue arabe dans l'Orient ottoman, qui, entre 1706 et 1711, produit onze titres imprimés en arabe. Raphaëlle Ziadé relate briève-



ment cet épisode et poursuit l'histoire des imprimeries arabes en Orient avec celle qui fut fondée par 'Abdallah Zākher vers 1730 au monastère de Saint-Jean-Baptiste à Khenchara (Dur al-Shuwayr), au mont Liban. Entre-temps, un schisme était survenu dans l'Église d'Antioche (dont on commémore les trois siècles en 2024) : la communauté chrétienne de la Syrie ottomane (la Syrie et le Liban d'aujourd'hui) se divisa entre grecs-orthodoxes et grecs-catholiques melkites. Tout en conservant le rite byzantin, les deux Églises ont poursuivi leur chemin côte à côte, dans un monde musulman plutôt hostile, après une première période de conflits qui vit la production de livres devenir une arme dans la lutte confessionnelle.

Le patriarche Sylvestre d'Antioche (1724-1766) s'adressa aux souverains phanariotes des terres roumaines, Jean et Constantin Mavrocordat, pour imprimer en 1745-1747 des livres liturgiques, ainsi que des livres polémiques d'une grande force de persuasion, pour lesquels il fit venir de Syrie des moines compétents et fit fondre les caractères arabes au monastère de Saint-Spyridon à Bucarest. Raphaëlle Ziadé reprend ici les informations existantes au moment de sa publication, qui ont été largement amplifiées et précisées grâce aux recherches récentes de l'équipe multinationale du projet TYPARABIC financé par le Conseil Européen de la Recherche (ERC)¹⁸.

Cependant, l'auteure note que l'introduction du livre arabe imprimé au Proche-Orient, principalement par l'import d'Europe occidentale, n'entraîna pas la disparition de l'art du manuscrit et de l'enluminure dans les communautés chrétiennes de l'Empire ottoman. Dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle, un grand maître de l'art de la miniature et de la peinture d'icônes était actif en Syrie : Youssef al-Musawwir, créateur d'école et inspirateur de générations successives de sa propre famille, qui continuèrent son travail. Raphaëlle Ziadé lui consacre plusieurs pages, présentant son travail de copiste, de miniaturiste et de traducteur du grec vers l'arabe. Son œuvre est illustrée par de splendides reproductions de miniatures représentant des saints du Nouveau Testament conservé à Beyrouth (Bibliothèque orientale de l'université Saint-Joseph), de l'Apôtre du monastère de Sarba et du Psautier de Saint-Pétersbourg¹⁹. D'autres images, provenant de manuscrits enluminés appartenant à une collection privée, sont des témoins convaincants de la continuité des modèles byzantins et des traits stylistiques locaux dans le traitement des thèmes iconographiques traditionnels. C'est le cas de l'icône de saint Jean Chrysostome du Qondaq (Livre de prières en grec et en arabe, XVII^e siècle) choisie pour la couverture et l'affiche du catalogue de l'exposition *Chrétiens d'Orient, 2000 ans d'histoire*. Raphaëlle Ziadé nous éblouit également avec les reproductions en couleurs des miniatures de saint Basile et de saint Grégoire le Grand, en pleine page (p. 431-433).

Le dernier épisode de ce dialogue entre le texte manuscrit et l'image enluminée en terre syrienne est l'évocation des deux copies de l'*Histoire de Barlaam et Joasaph* réalisées à Alep et conservées au Liban, à Zouk Mikhael (1612) et à Sarba (1646)²⁰. De ce dernier, les lecteurs peuvent ici admirer l'icône de saint Jean Damascène, à qui le texte a été attribué originellement (p. 430)²¹.

L'histoire des manuscrits enluminés aux XV^e-XVII^e siècles se poursuit avec l'Égypte, où l'expression artistique prend des formes locales, tout en s'appuyant sur

la tradition byzantine et post-byzantine. La transition entre les sections se fait par la description d'un manuscrit enluminé du *Roman de Barlaam et Joasaph* en copte provenant des collections de la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Le lecteur peut en admirer la Vierge à l'Enfant en trône, avec des inscriptions en calligraphie arabe (p. 434), ainsi que deux autres miniatures. Un autre exemple illustré ici est le Tétravangile arabe daté de 1684, conservé au Walters Art Museum de Baltimore.

Suit une présentation des manuscrits syriaques enluminés, avec des exemples du *Beth Gazo* (« Trésor »), un recueil de textes essentiellement martyrologiques. Enluminé à Alep en 1691, c'est le manuscrit syriaque le plus richement illustré de l'époque. L'auteure commente les traits distinctifs de l'art des miniaturistes du nord de l'Irak, les scènes communes, qui se retrouvent dans plusieurs manuscrits, la variété des couleurs et l'interprétation stylistique différente de celle des cultures méditerranéennes orientales.

Les manuscrits arméniens enluminés d'Alep concluent cette section, avec quelques exemples commentés des Évangéliques arméniens (1656), du Synaxaire arménien (1658) et du traité *Stimulum Cumpunctionis* (XVIII^e siècle). Raphaëlle Ziadé raconte qu'à Alep, à la fin du XVI^e siècle, lorsque les patriarches arméniens y résidaient, il existait un atelier de miniatures dont les productions sont toujours conservées par la communauté arménienne locale. D'autres manuscrits arméniens enluminés sont conservés au Liban, au Catholicossat de Cilicie (à Antélias, Liban). L'auteure se réfère aux travaux de Sylvia Agémian, spécialiste libanaise de la miniature et de la peinture arméniennes, qui a publié un catalogue de cette collection en 1991²². À la fin de cette section, l'auteure tire des conclusions sur le rôle que les manuscrits ont joué dans la préservation de la mémoire spirituelle et des traditions confessionnelles au cours des siècles où les chrétiens attachés aux différentes Églises orientales ont lutté pour leur survie et leur progrès social. Elle constate que l'art du livre, manuscrit et imprimé, est resté entre les mains des communautés chrétiennes tout au long du XVIII^e siècle²³. Dans ce contexte, elle évoque l'imprimerie de la cathédrale Saint-Georges de Beyrouth, financée par un chef de la communauté grecque-orthodoxe, mais mise au service de l'ensemble de la communauté chrétienne, pour laquelle elle imprima des livres liturgiques²⁴.

L'avant-dernier chapitre de l'ouvrage est consacré aux « Icônes de l'époque ottomane » (p. 454-547). Pour les lecteurs qui connaissent déjà les travaux de Raphaëlle Ziadé dans le domaine de la conservation et de l'étude des icônes arabes, il n'est pas surprenant que les premières pages contiennent une description détaillée de l'icône « Dormition de la Vierge » peinte dans la région de Qannoubine au Liban en 1523 (tempera sur bois de cèdre, grand format, 180 x 98 cm), provenant de la collection du Patriarcat maronite de Bkerké. Partant de l'identification des éléments de tradition byzantine de l'icône, l'auteure décrit chaque élément figuratif, y compris les portraits votifs de deux personnages (Antoine, peut-être un évêque maronite, et le moine franciscain Carmelo), leurs habits, les inscriptions et les éléments du décor. Pour elle, la restauration de cette icône à Paris et son exposition au musée du Petit Palais représentent une histoire vécue avec passion et partagée aujourd'hui avec les lecteurs, dont certains ont peut-être pu admirer en vrai cette pièce exceptionnelle²⁵. La description détaillée publiée ici est le fruit de longues recherches et d'une parfaite connaissance de l'histoire de l'icône et de ses différents moments dans la vie de la communauté maronite au Liban et des missions catholiques en Orient. Elle est aussi le résultat

◀ Fig. 13. *Dormition de la Vierge*.
Liban, 1523, tempera sur bois, 180 x 98 cm.
Bkerké (Liban), Patriarcat maronite.
© Patriarcat maronite.



▲ Fig. 14. Youssef al-Musawwir (attribué à), Saint Syméon stylite l'Ancien et Saint Syméon stylite le Jeune. Alep, Syrie, 1666, tempera et or sur bois, 77 x 60 cm. Collection Abou Adal. © Droits réservés.

d'une participation aux travaux de restauration, qui visaient à mettre en valeur l'icône en tant que pièce du patrimoine artistique et témoin convaincant de la nécessité impérieuse de sauver les chefs-d'œuvre de l'art chrétien arabe des nombreux dangers qui les menacent dans les temps troublés que traversent les pays du Proche-Orient.

Poursuivant la présentation des icônes du xvi^e siècle, l'auteure consacre deux pages à la circulation et à l'influence des icônes crétoises sur les peintres melkites. Elle mentionne ici l'icône offerte par le patriarche d'Antioche Yuwakim v ibn Da'u à Gheorghe Movilă, évêque de Rădăuți (en Moldavie, région de la Roumanie), lors de son voyage de Pologne à Moscou en 1587 (p. 466). Connue aujourd'hui uniquement par quelques sources écrites qui la décrivent comme représentant la Vierge Marie avec saint Nicetas, évêque de Novgorod, l'icône a longtemps été conservée dans le trésor du monastère de Sucevița, une fondation de la famille Movilă, où elle vient d'être retrouvée récemment²⁶.

Les cinquante pages suivantes sont consacrées aux icônes arabes des xv^e-xviii^e siècles. Ce chapitre essentiel de l'album, accompagné de plusieurs dizaines de notes et de références aux sources, reflète amplement l'expertise de Raphaëlle Ziadé dans l'art des icônes créées par les peintres arabes chrétiens. Celles-ci sont présentées ici de manière très détaillée, dans leurs principaux moments et écoles. Le lecteur aura le plaisir de découvrir les icônes arabes les plus célèbres et d'admirer les reproductions de nombreux chefs-d'œuvre de l'art melkite, dont beaucoup ont été exposés depuis 1969, année de la première exposition au Musée Nicolas Sursock de Beyrouth²⁷. L'événement a été organisé par un groupe d'experts internationaux, dont Jules Leroy et Manolis Chatzidakis, sous la coordination de Virgil Căndea, historien roumain du Moyen Âge et de l'art de l'icône orthodoxe²⁸. Le catalogue qui accompagnait cette exposition comprend les premières études académiques sur l'art melkite²⁹. Il est devenu un modèle pour les catalogues des expositions postérieures. Les commentaires de Raphaëlle Ziadé révèlent l'atmosphère d'enthousiasme et de collégialité qui a entouré l'événement de 1969, ce qui a permis à d'autres personnalités de se joindre à l'effort de faire connaître au monde cet art spécifique aux chrétiens arabes (p. 469). La collection Abou Adal, exposée dans plusieurs musées d'Europe (toujours partiellement) et accessible aux lecteurs de cet album grâce à de splendides reproductions, reste l'un des trésors de l'art melkite (mais aussi des icônes grecques, russes et roumaines) qui mériterait d'être exposé de façon permanente dans un grand musée. L'auteure raconte la formation de cette collection, établie en 1952, et évoque les expositions qui en ont été organisées, en commençant par celle du musée Carnavalet à Paris en 1993, pour laquelle un grand catalogue a été publié par les éditions Skira³⁰.

L'auteure consacre une partie de ce chapitre à l'école d'Alep, que nous avons déjà rencontrée à travers ses principaux représentants, Youssef et Ne'me al-Musawwir, père et fils. Alep était un centre artistique important à l'époque ottomane, où l'art chrétien de plusieurs communautés confessionnelles s'est manifesté très tôt selon des paramètres exceptionnels. La famille al-Musawwir – Youssef, Ne'me et Hanania – est représentée dans cette section par plusieurs dizaines d'icônes à la tempera sur bois provenant de la collection Abou Adal, de l'église Saint-Elian à Homs, de la collection Georges Antaki, du couvent du Saint-Sauveur de l'Ordre basilien alépin à Sarba, du couvent grec-catholique de Khenchara et du monastère de Balamand au Liban, etc. Raphaëlle Ziadé décrit chaque pièce avec minutie, en comparant la tech-

nique et le style, en décelant les particularités de chaque peintre, et en commentant le contexte et l'histoire de chaque création. Elle évoque également le cercle des intellectuels melchites du xvii^e siècle, dont Macaire III ibn al-Za'im, le patriarche d'Antioche (1647-1672), et son fils, l'archidiacre Paul (« d'Alep »), dont les notes de voyage consignées pendant leurs voyages à Constantinople et en Europe de l'Est (Moldavie, Valachie, pays des Cosaques et terres moscovites) en 1652-1659 (et en Géorgie et Russie en 1664-1671)³¹ contiennent de nombreuses descriptions d'icônes. L'auteure est d'avis que ces voyages « ont joué un rôle dans le renouveau de l'activité artistique chez les melchites, sans doute encouragé par le patriarche à son retour » (p. 470)³².

Deux icônes de saint Siméon le Stylite d'Ancien, attribuées à Youssef al-Musawwir (1637 ? et 1666), se distinguent par un ensemble de scènes et de personnages typiques de l'art melkite, dont l'origine se trouve dans les livres saints des chrétiens arabes – synaxaires, vies des saints et textes hagiographiques (p. 474-475)³³. Les saints stylites se trouvèrent toujours parmi les personnages ascétiques les plus aimés des chrétiens d'Orient. L'auteure évoque ici le journal de l'archidiacre Paul d'Alep, dans lequel il raconte qu'il se rendit avec son père, le patriarche, en pèlerinage au monastère de saint Syméon le Stylite le Jeune, au Mont Admirable (*Mons Mirabilis*), avant de partir vers l'Europe.

Une caractéristique spectaculaire de ces icônes, ainsi que des autres icônes de la famille al-Musawwir, est leur taille : la première icône mentionnée ici mesure 115,2 x 72,3 cm. Les couleurs sont également très riches et les inscriptions souvent en grec et en arabe, avec une calligraphie élégante. J'ai personnellement eu l'occasion de voir plusieurs icônes de Youssef et Ne'me al-Musawwir et de plusieurs autres membres de l'école d'Alep, toutes placées dans la même salle, dans l'exposition parisienne de 2017 : l'effet était formidable. L'icône de l'Hymne acathiste peinte par Youssef, riche en détails d'une grande finesse, dans un grand format (87 x 58,5), signée et datée entre 1650 et 1667 (collection Georges Antaki), et celle de 1650 de la Vierge entourée de saints, qui lui est attribuée (p. 476-477), sont également exceptionnelles. Le portrait de Youssef al-Musawwir que dresse Raphaëlle Ziadé est vivant et convaincant.

Si l'on considère la rareté des icônes du Proche-Orient avant Youssef al-Musawwir, on ne peut qu'admirer l'étendue des thèmes traités, l'inventivité, la culture du peintre, la place accordée aux thèmes enracinés dans la culture proche-orientale, la connaissance des sources hagiographiques, la personnalité d'un peintre qui entend signer ses œuvres (p. 474).

Parmi les icônes de Ne'me al-Musawwir se distinguent celle de saint Georges terrassant le dragon, entouré de scènes de sa vie (1666), reproduite à la page 480, et l'icône de l'Adoration de la Vierge Marie conservée au monastère de Balamand. Cette icône mesure 164 x 120 cm et permit au peintre d'exprimer une grande richesse de détails, accentuée par la prédominance des teintes rouges. L'auteure explique aussi que Hanania al-Musawwir, qui vécut au xviii^e siècle, se distingua de ses prédécesseurs par les éléments baroques caractéristiques de son époque et par une plasticité et une technique des volumes toutes nouvelles. Les icônes attribuées à Hanania, telle que celle de saint Joseph couronné par l'Enfant Jésus (conservée au monastère de Khenchara), montrent aussi « que le peintre a su s'adapter à des commandes de thèmes catholiques à l'intention des grecs-catholiques, avant même l'officialisation du schisme » (p. 496).



▲ Fig. 15. *Nativité.*
Levant, XVII^e siècle, tempera sur bois, 65,5 x 46,5 cm.
Collection Abou Adal.
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▲ Fig. 16. Youssef al-Musawwir (attribué à), *L'Anastasis ou Descente aux limbes*.
Alep, Syrie, 1645, tempera et or sur bois, 81 x 63 cm.
Collection Abou Adal.
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▲ Fig. 17. *Maquette du Saint-Sépulcre.*

Jérusalem, Bethléem, xvii^e siècle, bois, nacre et ivoire, 33,3 x 48,5 x 58 cm.

Jérusalem, Terra Sancta Museum.

© Jérusalem, Terra Sancta Museum.

Aux pages 510-511, l'auteure présente la figure exceptionnelle du patriarche Sylvestre d'Antioche, « défenseur de l'orthodoxie », nommé sur deux icônes peintes par lui et conservées dans la cathédrale grecque-orthodoxe de Tripoli. Résidant longtemps en Roumanie, il y laissa des traces de son talent de peintre, notamment, l'icône de saint Spyridon restaurée et embellie pour le nouveau *metochion* antiochien de Bucarest, l'église et le monastère de saint Spyridon dédiés au patriarcat grec-orthodoxe de Damas par le prince Constantin Mavrocordat en 1746. Raphaëlle Ziadé commente le style du patriarche Sylvestre : « Les icônes de Sylvestre se ressentent de sa fréquentation des milieux grecs et en particulier de la peinture d'icônes athonite, par un certain hiératisme étranger à l'école d'Alep ». Les icônes de Tripoli furent restaurées

▼ Fig. 18. *Girgis Hanania, Saint Elie.*

Alep, Syrie, 1754, tempera et or sur bois, 39 x 20,5 cm.

Sarba (Liban), Ordre basilien alépin, couvent Saint-Sauveur.

© Saër Karam.

par Michel Polychronis, ou Michel le Crétois, célèbre peintre grec qui a beaucoup travaillé au Liban, où des icônes crétoises ont circulé depuis le xvi^e siècle. Compte tenu de son influence majeure sur la peinture melkite et du grand nombre d'œuvres conservées dans les collections libanaises et syriennes qu'il a peintes ou restaurées, Raphaëlle Ziadé lui consacre un long passage aux pages 528-531, avec de belles reproductions de quelques œuvres célèbres.

Tous les peintres que Raphaëlle Ziadé inclut dans son histoire de l'art melkite du xviii^e siècle ne peuvent être mentionnés ici. On notera cependant qu'un long passage fait référence aux iconostases comme témoins de l'activité artistique de cette période, les signatures conservées sur ces œuvres permettant d'établir des repères historiques



sur les ateliers et les créateurs de peintures religieuses dans la région de la Méditerranée orientale. Parmi elles, l'iconostase de la cathédrale Saint-Georges de Beyrouth, réalisée entre 1770 et 1780, sur laquelle sont placées deux icônes peintes par le patriarche Sylvestre d'Antioche. Il s'agit de deux des plus belles icônes conservées parmi la liste assez longue des pièces signées par lui ou qui lui sont attribuées (pp. 520-521)³⁴.

Dans les sections suivantes, l'auteure décrit les sculptures de l'iconostase de 1725 de l'église Saint-Nicolas à Khenchara (pp. 532-538), les œuvres de quelques peintres du XIX^e siècle du Liban et de Syrie (p. 540-541) et la peinture d'icônes en Égypte (p. 542-547). Cette dernière section présente les icônes d'Ibrahim al-Nasikh (m. 1785) et Yuhanna al-Armani al-Qudsi (m. 1786). Après avoir travaillé ensemble sur l'iconostase de l'église Saint-Mercure du Caire, al-Armani a peint une série de sept grands panneaux (89 x 57,5 cm), placés dans la partie supérieure de l'iconostase de l'église de la Vierge Marie du Caire, appelée également al-Mu'allaqa. En étudiant ces panneaux, Raphaëlle Ziadé a établi un lien avec l'*Evange-*

licum arabicum (Rome, 1591), ouvrage mentionné *supra*, qui contient des gravures d'Antonio Tempesta. Un exemplaire était conservé dans le monastère franciscain voisin (Muski), où le peintre, désireux d'introduire dans son œuvre des thèmes et des détails de la gravure occidentale, avait peut-être eu l'occasion de le consulter.

Le dernier sous-chapitre, « Jérusalem, centre artistique à dimension régionale et internationale », réunit en quelques pages l'histoire de Jérusalem en tant que centre artistique exceptionnel aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles (p. 548-565). Ici plus qu'ailleurs, toutes les confessions chrétiennes, tous les styles et toutes les tendances artistiques d'Orient et d'Occident ont trouvé un terrain fertile pour se développer indépendamment, mais surtout ensemble. Les techniques et les matériaux utilisés pour les pièces chrétiennes choisies – certaines créées à Jérusalem, d'autres apportées d'ailleurs pour orner les églises de la ville sainte – sont la céramique (de Kutahya), les textiles (superbe rideau d'autel avec l'icône de saint Théodore Stratilates à cheval, Ispahan, Iran, 280 x 600 cm, 1799), les icônes peintes à la tempera sur bois et les objets



▲ Fig. 19. *Hanania al-Musawwir, Annonciation.*
Alep, Syrie, 1719, tempera et or sur bois, 90 x 71 cm.
Collection Abou Adal.
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créés pour être emportés en souvenirs de pèlerinage. Ces derniers sont représentés dans l'album par de splendides maquettes du Saint-Sépulcre en bois et nacre, des créations artisanales qui servaient parfois aussi de reliquaires (pp. 554-555). Une icône et un crucifix en bois habillés de nacre donnent la pleine mesure de la beauté de cet artisanat.

L'objet le plus connu apporté en Europe par les pèlerins, le *proskynetarion*, ou plan de Jérusalem avec les lieux saints, ne pouvait pas être absent de cet album (p. 558-562). Raphaëlle Ziadé montre que les Grecs orthodoxes avaient le monopole de la réalisation de ces pièces et disposaient d'ateliers très lucratifs. Les exemples choisis sont une pièce exécutée en Grèce en 1704 (85,5 x 125,5 cm), conservée au château de Saumur, et une autre (80,3 x 106,7 cm) réalisée à Jérusalem, conservée à l'archevêché grec-catholique de Beyrouth. Il convient de noter l'inclusion dans ce récit du tableau de Johann Durheim (1811-1895) représentant un « Atelier de fabrication de toiles de pèlerinage à Jérusalem » (milieu du XIX^e siècle) : plusieurs artisans se concentrent sur des *proskynetaria* en cours de fabrication. Au cours de la dernière décennie, les *proskynetaria* ont attiré l'attention du public averti, comme en témoigne leur présentation dans de grandes expositions d'art chrétien, dont celle de l'Institut du Monde Arabe en 2017, et la vente aux enchères de tels objets pour des sommes considérables³⁵.

Raphaëlle Ziadé mentionne également l'impression, par les grecques orthodoxes, de livres appelés *Proskinitaires* qui comprennent un guide de Jérusalem avec les lieux saints visités par les pèlerins. Celui de Chrysantos Notaras a été imprimé à Venise en 1728. Un autre, du patriarche Parthénios de Jérusalem, à Vienne en 1749 (avec 68 illustrations des lieux saints et des scènes de la vie de Jésus-Christ)³⁶.

C. « Notes » et « Bibliographie »

Le volume se termine par deux annexes : « Notes » (p. 572-577) et « Bibliographie » (p. 578-589). Bien qu'imprimées en petits caractères, ces sections finales ne sont pas moins importantes que le texte principal. La première annexe contient 934 notes qui fournissent des commentaires supplémentaires, des détails et des références à des sources diverses. Celles-ci sont référencées dans la section suivante, où l'éventail chronologique des publications s'étend du XVIII^e siècle jusqu'en 2021. On y trouve également les publications des missions archéologiques récentes, ce qui représente l'une des qualités de cet album – celle d'avoir réuni les résultats de fouilles et recherches de dernière heure. La rigueur de la présentation des deux « Annexes », l'exactitude de l'information et l'effort de mise en valeur des travaux de recherche des précurseurs qui ont étudié l'un ou l'autre des domaines couverts par ce volume sont pareillement remarquables. Les « Notes » et la « Bibliographie » renforcent le sentiment que le lecteur gardera après avoir parcouru cet album : à savoir que, même s'il est destiné au grand public amateur du beau, il s'agit d'un ouvrage de niveau académique, qui peut rapidement devenir une source d'inspiration pour des cours universitaires dans plusieurs domaines de l'histoire de l'art et pour des communautés chrétiennes du Proche-Orient.

D. Conclusions

J'espère que les lecteurs de mes commentaires seront encouragés à consulter l'album et à lire dans son intégralité

la section intitulée « Conclusion » aux pages 567-569 (accompagnée, bien sûr, de reproductions d'icônes). Parmi les conclusions de Raphaëlle Ziadé, nous citons le premier paragraphe, qui résume les intentions de l'auteure ainsi que le but de l'élaboration et de cet album.

Les communautés chrétiennes du Moyen-Orient appartiennent à des pays profondément marqués non seulement par leur présence depuis les origines du christianisme, mais aussi par leur patrimoine qui s'inscrit dans l'histoire des sociétés du monde arabe. Leur richesse culturelle et artistique est le reflet de leur ancienneté, de leur vitalité à travers les âges et de leur inscription dans des univers soumis à des influences variées. Le décloisonnement géographique et communautaire de l'ouvrage a permis de mettre en évidence la dimension civilisationnelle de cette culture chrétienne moyen-orientale, transcendant les identités régionales et confessionnelles, sur la longue durée. Nous avons analysé ses formes à travers une chronologie qui révèle ses continuités comme ses évolutions, en mettant l'accent sur les techniques artistiques afin de mieux cerner la continuité des phénomènes culturels au-delà des changements politiques.

Elle poursuit par un vibrant plaidoyer en faveur de la sauvegarde du patrimoine chrétien du Moyen-Orient, mis en péril depuis le siècle dernier par des conflits régionaux et locaux aux cours desquels de nombreuses œuvres d'art uniques ont été détruites ou ont disparu sans laisser de traces.

Mes propres conclusions visent à souligner l'importance de disposer d'une histoire des périodes et épisodes-clés des arts de l'Orient chrétien, composée d'introductions au contexte social et de descriptions détaillées de pièces artistiques représentatives, souvent célèbres.

Pour parcourir l'œuvre de Raphaëlle Ziadé, le lecteur devrait posséder un minimum de connaissances sur les civilisations de l'Orient, s'intéresser à l'art des communautés chrétiennes qui y sont nées et y survivent et avoir la patience de s'imprégner d'informations historiques qui l'aideront à comprendre la toile de fond sur laquelle se sont tissés d'innombrables portraits de peintres, graveurs, sculpteurs, copistes, imprimeurs, tisserands et artisans de toutes sortes, créateurs d'œuvres et de styles qui composent le puzzle dont Raphaëlle Ziadé est bien arrivée au bout. Les commentaires de l'auteure mettent en valeur sa formation d'historienne de l'art byzantin et sa connaissance approfondie de la peinture arabe chrétienne, une expertise rare qu'elle a acquise au cours d'une vie d'études sur la civilisation arabe chrétienne, un monde qu'elle connaît par les racines de son être. La beauté des reproductions habilement et judicieusement choisies par l'auteure aide le lecteur à bien comprendre le commentaire textuel. Les images sélectionnées et analysées par Raphaëlle Ziadé incitent à poursuivre la lecture : nul doute qu'après avoir terminé ce livre, le lecteur cherchera à en savoir plus sur certains des créateurs des œuvres présentées ici. En effet, retenir l'ensemble des informations et garder une empreinte rétinienne de toutes les images contenues dans cet album est impossible. C'est là, peut-être, le seul reproche que l'on pourrait faire (si l'on veut être vraiment pointilleux) à ce bel album : l'abondance trop grande qui rend le lecteur frustré d'oublier trop vite ce qu'il y a admiré.

L'album est aussi l'exemple d'une approche égale des différentes communautés et confessions de l'Orient chrétien. Il décrit ces dernières de manière équilibrée et scientifiquement rigoureuse, sans parti pris, en accordant à toutes les formes de l'art religieux la chance d'être connues et admirées.

Il faut également noter que même si le titre se réfère à la civilisation chrétienne, le contenu de l'album reflète



◆ Fig. 20. Léontios al-Qobrossi, dit le Chypriote, en partie repeinte par Michel le Crétois, Saint Georges combattant le dragon. Liban, fin du XVIII^e siècle, tempera et or sur bois, 135,5 x 104 cm. Beyrouth, Cathédrale Saint-Georges des Grecs orthodoxes. © Musée du Petit Palais, Archive photo. Droits réservés.

▲ Fig. 21. Saint Georges combattant le dragon. 1879, copie d'une icône de Miḥā'il Muḥannā al-Qudsi, tempera et or sur bois, 47,5 x 36 cm. Collection Ioana Feodorov. © Droits réservés.

souvent les cultures islamiques qui ont vécu dans les pays où les diverses Églises sont nées. Les brefs récits et les illustrations reflètent l'essor des arts islamiques, ainsi que les goûts et les réalisations des artisans et des commanditaires de l'est de la Méditerranée. Il constitue par conséquent une lecture intéressante pour tout spécialiste de l'Orient musulman.

En évoquant et en citant les chercheurs – historiens, archéologues, historiens de l'art, restaurateurs et collectionneurs – qui forment le monde des experts des arts religieux d'Orient, Raphaëlle Ziadé témoigne de son appréciation et de son respect pour ces générations antérieures de champions d'une meilleure connaissance des communautés chrétiennes, qui ont vécu et survivent dans les pays est-méditerranéens, malgré les guerres et les difficultés qui ne cessent de s'aggraver. Par son travail de recherche et de conservation, elle s'inscrit dans le « consortium » des grands spécialistes de l'art byzantin et chrétien oriental d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, aux côtés d'André Grabar, Manolis Chatzidakis, Jules Leroy, Daniel Schlumberger, Sylvia Agémian, Mahmoud Zibawi, Mat Immerzeel, etc.

Il faut également rappeler que l'œuvre de Raphaëlle Ziadé est depuis longtemps remarquée par les milieux intellectuels et artistiques de France. Elle a d'ailleurs reçu plusieurs prix :

Le prix d'Histoire des religions de la Fondation Pierre-Antoine Bernheim et de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres ;

Le Prix Drouot, décerné par les experts du marché de l'art (jury présidé par Jean-Marie Rouart, membre de l'Académie Française) ;

Enfin, le prix de l'Œuvre d'Orient, prix littéraire présidé par le secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie française et donc remis par Mme. Hélène Carrère d'Encausse.

Il faut aussi mentionner une traduction italienne de cet album qui vient d'être publiée à Milan chez Giulio Einaudi Editore, dans la série « Grandi Opere »³⁷.

Nous sommes partis de l'idée que Raphaëlle Ziadé nous a conduits, avec cet album, dans le labyrinthe de l'art chrétien oriental. Un monde artistique où sont représentées toutes les confessions chrétiennes depuis la prédication de Jésus jusqu'au XIX^e siècle ; où sont commentés des textes et des inscriptions dans toutes les langues parlées en Orient (et même en Europe de l'Est) ; où tous les types de matériaux et de techniques sont illustrés par d'innombrables reproductions. Sans doute un labyrinthe dans lequel nul ne peut s'orienter sans guide, car ce n'est pas facile de suivre le fil de la pérennité de l'art byzantin dans toutes les formes de l'art chrétien, comme le fait avec aisance notre guide.

Raphaëlle Ziadé a consacré son temps de création et, auparavant, sa formation académique, à un monde d'une grande richesse spirituelle, que des créateurs de tous les temps se sont efforcés de refléter dans des œuvres artistiques d'une grande beauté et profondeur. Au-delà de l'aspect esthétique, l'art des chrétiens d'Orient témoigne des profonds mystères du Christ et de Son Église ; il atteste de la présence divine dans le monde, de la prédication des apôtres et des miracles des saints. Par la connaissance des formes de l'art chrétien oriental, nous nous rapprochons d'une vie vécue dans la vérité et la lumière. Nous devons donc être reconnaissants à Raphaëlle Ziadé et nous plonger avec joie et curiosité dans les pages de l'album d'art qu'elle nous a offert.

Notes

1 Raphaëlle Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées : de l'histoire juive au culte chrétien. Les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome*, Leiden, Brill, 2007.

2 Publié en 2023, l'album *L'art du livre* (575 p.) est dû à Michel Melot, conservateur général honoraire des bibliothèques et historien de l'art, et Anne Zali, conservatrice générale honoraire, ancienne directrice du service de l'action pédagogique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.

3 Olivier Clément ouvre sa préface avec cette phrase révélatrice : « Le livre étonnant de Mahmoud Zibawi nous fait entrer dans des galaxies spirituelles trop négligées, univers chrétiens pourtant, et farouchement fidèles au dépôt, à l'originel » (p. 7). Le livre comprend des chapitres sur les arts syriens, arméniens, égyptiens et éthiopiens.

4 Publié aussi en édition italienne chez Editoriale Jaca Book, Milano, la même année.

5 Suivi par un récit dramatique, signé par Amir Harrak, de la destruction, en 2015, par Daech du Monastère de Mar Behnam près de Mossoul, l'un des monuments chrétiens les plus anciens et les plus beaux du nord de l'Irak, représentatif pour l'art atabeg, dont le baptistère (dynamité) datait du milieu du VI^e siècle (p. 196-199).

6 Pour le récit de la naissance des Églises du Proche-Orient et leur situation jusqu'au XXI^e siècle, voir Aurélien Girard, Sylvain Parent et Laura Pettinaroli, *Atlas des chrétiens. Des premières communautés aux défis contemporains*, Paris, Éditions Autrement, 2016.

7 Tel Megiddo, ville antique située dans le nord de l'état ac-

tuel d'Israël, à environ 30 km au sud-est de Haïfa. Les Grecs l'appelaient Armageddon, de l'hébreu מַגְדּוֹ, *Har Məgiddō*.

8 Centre spirituel de l'Église orientale, l'une des premières universités du monde, fondée en 350. On y enseignait la théologie, la philosophie et la médecine. Certains de ses professeurs sont issus de l'école d'Édesse, tout aussi célèbre, mais plus ancienne.

9 Auteur d'une *Histoire des moines de Syrie* composée en grec au milieu du V^e siècle.

10 D'après le nom de Gabriel de Beth Qustan, premier abbé de la communauté monastique au VII^e siècle.

11 Le colophon indique que Rabbula vivait au monastère Saint-Jean de Beth Zagba, dans la région d'Apamée en Syrie (Djebel Riha).

12 Probablement du mot syriaque *melek*, « empereur » (byzantin). Le mot avait été utilisé auparavant pour tourner en dérision les croyants qui « servaient » l'empereur de Byzance.

13 Basilique à cinq bras, dédiée à la Vierge et à saint Michel. Elle était restée enfouie dans le sable depuis le XI^e siècle et a été découverte et fouillée par les archéologues en 1961-1964.

14 Il ne fait aucun doute que, outre son âge et sa valeur historique indéniable, sa beauté a contribué au prix d'achat du *Codex Crosby-Schøyen* vendu le 11 juin 2024 par la maison Christie's : 3 065 000 livres sterling. L'un des plus anciens manuscrits chrétiens connus, écrit en copte sahidique, le codex comprend des versions complètes et incomplètes de quatre livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament.

15 Paolo Dell'Oglio, prêtre de l'Église catholique syriaque provenant de l'Ordre Jésuite, titulaire de plusieurs doctorats en

théologie, a consacré sa vie à la promotion de la paix et du dialogue interreligieux au Moyen-Orient. Il a été fait prisonnier par l'État islamique et il est porté disparu depuis 2013.

16 Le document est conservé dans les archives du ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères à La Courneuve.

17 Les lecteurs passionnés de l'œuvre d'Albrecht Dürer et curieux de cet épisode spécial de l'histoire de l'imprimerie seront intéressés par l'ouvrage de Richard S. Field, *Antonio Tempesta's Blocks and Woodcuts for the Medicean 1591 Arabic Gospels*, Paris, Les Enluminures, 2012. Tempesta a reproduit 73 dessins, dont 67 ont été imprimés dans *Evangelium Sanctum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*.

18 Projet que je dirige à Bucarest (2021-2026). Pour plus de détails, visiter www.typarabic.ro et le Facebook du projet (TYPARABIC).

19 Ce dernier a été publié en facsimilé dans un petit tirage distribué par le coordonnateur de l'édition : *The Arabic Psalter, facsimile edition of Manuscript A 187, The Petersburg Arabic Illuminated Psalter from the collections of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg Branch)*, publié par les soins de Valery V. Polosin, Nikolay I. Serikoff et Serge A. Fransouzoff, édité par N. I. Serikoff, Saint-Petersbourg – Voronezh, éditions Kvarta, 2005 ; voir Ioana Feodorov, compte-rendu dans *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 46, 2008, nr. 1-4, p. 519-524.

20 Ce manuscrit, orné de trente-trois miniatures, a été publié en 1955 par Jules Leroy, célèbre spécialiste de l'art chrétien oriental, en particulier des manuscrits et des icônes.

21 Un volume qui contient l'édition et la traduction du manuscrit conservé au monastère de Balamand vient de paraître : *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaph. Version arabe chrétienne*, introduction, traduction française, notes et index par Marlène Kanaan, texte critique arabe établi en collaboration avec le Père Hareth Ibrahim, Paris, Beauchesne, 2023 (Textes – Dossiers – Documents 20).

22 Sylvia Agémian est aussi l'auteure d'un catalogue illustré des manuscrits arméniens enluminés de Roumanie, publié à Bucarest en 1982, par les Éditions Meridiane (en deux versions, française et roumaine).

23 Avec l'exception notable de l'imprimerie d'Istanbul fondée par Ibrahim Müteferrika en 1729, après de longs efforts pour persuader la cour ottomane et les autorités islamiques. Là, seuls des livres laïques en turc furent imprimés. Voir Orlin Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika: Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture*, Boston, Academic Studies Press, 2018 ; Id., « The Müteferrika Press: Obstacles, Circumvention, and Repercussion According to Contemporary German Sources (1727-1741) », dans *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project (EAPE-2)*, édité par Radu Dipratu et Samuel Noble, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2024, p. 21-47.

24 Voir Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands. The East-European Connection (EAPE-1)*, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2023, p. 235-254, 295-308.

25 J'ai eu la chance d'assister à une présentation de cette icône par Raphaëlle Ziadé au musée du Petit Palais en 2022, en compagnie d'autres participants au XIII^e Symposium Syriacum et XI^e Symposium d'études arabes chrétiennes, organisés par l'INALCO.

26 Encouragée par moi, la philologue roumaine Olimpia Mitric a fouillé récemment la collection d'icônes du monastère de Sucevița avec la mère responsable du musée, identifiant une icône post-byzantine sur ce thème, d'origine russe, très abîmée,

qui paraît être celle que le patriarche Yuwakim v a donnée à Gheorghe Movilă.

27 Pour un inventaire commenté des expositions d'icônes arabes et des catalogues publiés, voir Charbel Nassif, « Cinquante ans d'études sur l'art melkite (1969-2019). Essai d'historiographie », dans *Arabic Christianity between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe (ACTS-3)*, édité par Ioana Feodorov, Bernard Heyberger et Samuel Noble, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2021, p. 299-366.

28 Pour le récit de cet événement, voir Ioana Feodorov, « Through the Looking-Glass: Remembering the First Exhibition of Melkite Icons at the Nicolas Ibrahim Sursock Museum in Beirut, May – June 1969 », dans *Arab Christians between the Ottoman Levant and Eastern Europe (ACTS-3)*, édité par Ioana Feodorov, Bernard Heyberger et Samuel Noble, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2021, p. 339-357.

29 Virgil Căndea (éd. coord.), *Îcônes Melkites. Exposition organisée par le Musée Nicolas Sursock du 16 mai au 15 juin 1969*, Beirut, Musée Sursock, 1969.

30 *Îcônes Grecques – Melkites – Russes [– Roumaines]*, direction scientifique et introduction par Virgil Căndea, Genève, Éditions A. Skira / Beyrouth, Éditions Art et Patrimoine, 1993.

31 Paul est mort à Tiflis en 1668, au retour de Moscou.

32 Une nouvelle traduction anglaise accompagnée de l'édition du texte arabe est disponible depuis peu : *Paul of Aleppo's Journal. Syria, Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia and the Cossacks' Lands*, Vol. 1, étude introductive par Ioana Feodorov, texte arabe et traduction anglaise par Ioana Feodorov, avec Yulia Petrova, Mihai Țipău et Samuel Noble, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2024. Le volume contient les folios 1r-93v, avec deux autres volumes en préparation, qui vont compléter l'édition du manuscrit de la BnF, comparé à trois autres.

33 Dans cette représentation de saint Siméon le Stylite l'Ancien on perçoit aussi l'écho d'une histoire qui a fait de lui le patron des éleveurs de vers à soie. L'on racontait que le diable punit le saint en lui donnant une plaie à la cuisse, que le saint laissa suppurer dans un esprit d'ascèse ou comme pénitence. Les vers qui l'infestèrent tombaient de sa cuisse au pied du pilier. L'icône, datée de 1666, représente une figure masculine enturbannée cueillant dans la paume de sa main ces vers de couleur blanche, semblables à des vers à soie.

34 Pour une liste complète des icônes signées et attribuées au patriarche Sylvestre d'Antioche, voir Mihai Țipău, *Sylvester of Antioch. Life and Achievements of an 18th-Century Christian Orthodox Patriarch (EAPE-3)*, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter, 2024, Annexe 2 (sous presse).

35 Un *proskynetarion* décrit comme « Icône de pèlerinage, Cité de Jérusalem, tempera, feuille d'or et d'argent sur toile, 135 x 194 cm » a été vendu à Bucarest en décembre 2023 pour 8 485 euros.

36 À noter qu'Antim l'Ibérien avait imprimé en 1701 au monastère de Snagov, près de Bucarest, l'œuvre de Jean Comnène *Proskinitaire de la Sainte Montagne Athos*, original grec, avec une gravure des monastères. Il a réimprimé ce livre en 1710 à Târgoviște, après son installation en tant que métropolitain. Voir *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, éd. coord. par Archim. Policarp Chițulescu, éds. Doru Bădără, Ion Marian Croitoru, Gabriela Dumitrescu et Ioana Feodorov, Bucarest, Institutul Cultural Român, 2016, pp. 84-87, 164-166.

37 Raphaëlle Ziadé, *L'arte dei Cristiani d'Oriente dall'Eufrate al Nilo*, traduction par Luca Bianco, Milano, Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2024. Une traduction anglaise paraîtra en 2026 chez Abbeville, New York.

Linguistic supervision:

Alessia Chapel (Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers (CÉSCM) – CNRS).

Cătălina Velculescu

PROLOAGE
FIZIOLOG
ALEXANDRIA
COSMOGRAFII

Cătălina Velculescu
Ileana Stănculescu

NU DUPĂ SLOVĂ,
CI DUPĂ DUH
ȘI DUPĂ TAINA
GÂNDULUI

Cătălina Velculescu

MIC ÎNDRUMAR
DE CERCETARE
A MANUSCRISELOR
DIN CATALOGUL
PR. DUMITRU FECIORU



Scoala Agatonă
2020

« Tout ce qui existe à une signification, il reste seulement à la déchiffrer »

La Professeure Cătălina Velculescu et ses livres-testament

Laura Lazăr Zăvăleanu

Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca (RO)

Les grands professeurs restent toujours parmi nous. Leur esprit et leur mémoire continuent de nourrir ceux de leurs disciples ; leurs livres prolongent des dialogues alimentés pendant toute une vie.

Madame Cătălina Velculescu a été l'un de ces professeurs qui ont marqué plusieurs générations d'étudiants, non seulement par le professionnalisme de son enseignement, mais aussi par son modèle humain. Sa générosité, son dévouement envers ses disciples et sa recherche, sa capacité à fédérer les gens et les idées, sa foi en l'homme, la vie et la parole écrite s'alignent aux valeurs transmises par les textes de la culture roumaine ancienne – culture sur laquelle Cătălina Velculescu s'est penchée durant toute sa carrière et à laquelle sont consacrés ses derniers livres-testament.

Les ouvrages *Mic îndrumar de cercetare a manuscriselor din catalogul pr. Dumitru Fecioru* [Petit guide de recherche des manuscrits du catalogue du prêtre Dumitru Fecioru] ; *Nu după slovă, ci după duh și după taina gândului* [Non pas selon la lettre, mais selon l'esprit et le mystère de la pensée], réalisé en collaboration avec Ileana Stănculescu ; et *Proloage. Fiziolog. Alexandria. Cosmografii* [Prologues. Physiologie. Le Roman d'Alexandre. Cosmographies], ont tous les trois été publiés à la Maison d'Éditions Școala Agatonina, en 2020 et 2018. Il s'agit de trois volumes préparés et publiés par la professeure Cătălina Velculescu, avec la conscience aiguë de son passage annoncé, ce dernier étant sublimé dans l'ancienne conviction que « l'écriture est chose éternelle » (*scrisoarea este lucru vecinicu*, Miron Costin), et qu'écrire donne accès à un au-delà du seuil du fini pour rejoindre l'éternité de la lecture.

Prologues. Physiologie. Le Roman d'Alexandre. Cosmographies et *Non pas selon la lettre, mais selon l'esprit et le mystère de la pensée* recueillent en un seul volume plusieurs études et articles publiés auparavant dans des volumes collectifs, actes des colloques et revues, entre 2000 et 2016 (*Non pas selon la lettre ...*) et entre 1989 et 2016 (*Prologues. Physiologie ...*). Le but de ces deux ouvrages était de regrouper, enfin, des recherches thématiques poursuivies pendant plus de cinq décennies concernant la culture roumaine ancienne, les livres populaires, la symbolique médiévale, la littérature religieuse et d'influence religieuse, et de faciliter ainsi l'accès à une œuvre scientifique de toute une vie. Le dernier volume, *Petit guide de recherche des manuscrits du catalogue du prêtre Dumitru Fecioru*, devient même une sorte de profession de foi qui, à travers l'étude des manuscrits d'un catalogue, propose

une synthèse de toutes les questions que la recherche des manuscrits anciens pourrait soulever.

Le catalogue étudié est celui de la Bibliothèque du Saint-Synode de l'Église orthodoxe roumaine, réalisé par son premier directeur, le prêtre Dumitru Fecioru, en collaboration avec le patriarche Justinian Marina qui, en 1959, était en charge de la réorganisation de la bibliothèque. Le travail d'acquisition était impressionnant, mis en œuvre par une *Commission d'Acquisition* composée par : Tit Simedrea, l'ancien métropolite de Bucovine, les éminents professeurs, spécialistes de littérature roumaine ancienne, Dan Simonescu, Alexandru Elian et Virgil Câdea, ainsi que Dumitru Fecioru, prêtre classiciste. Grâce à leurs soins, « des dizaines de milliers de volumes, livres anciens manuscrits et imprimés, mais aussi beaucoup d'autres objets de valeur : chartes, photographies, monnaies et cartes anciennes »¹ avaient pu être rassemblés.

Comme Cătălina Velculescu le précise, le catalogue du Pr. Dumitru Fecioru « contenait la description des 164 premiers manuscrits entrés dans la bibliothèque »². Le point de départ de l'étude des manuscrits contenue dans *Petit guide ...* est l'initiative de l'actuel directeur de la Bibliothèque Synodale, l'Archimandrite Policarp Chițulescu, qui a souhaité entamer une révision des descriptions et une remise à jour de l'ancien catalogue. Cette révision-complément est encore en cours de réalisation et les résultats partiels de la recherche de l'Archimandrite Policarp Chițulescu ont été publiés entre 2016 et 2018 dans la revue *Studii Teologice*³.

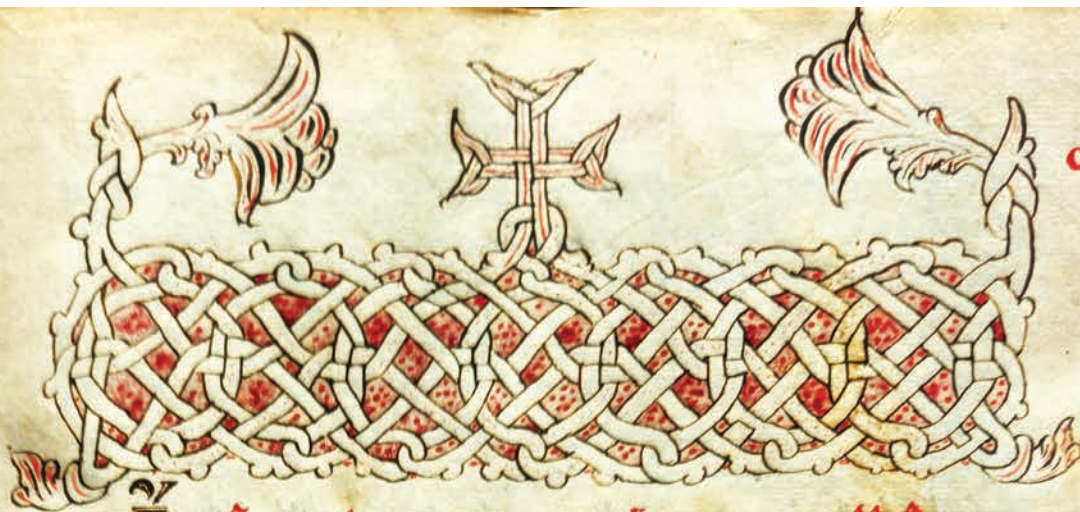
Une telle révision a soulevé de nombreuses questions, particulièrement complexes, et la valeur du *Petit guide ...* réside non seulement dans les compléments de descriptions aux manuscrits qui y sont proposés, mais également – et surtout, peut-être – dans le fait qu'il est conçu sous forme de dialogue implicite avec les futurs chercheurs – tel un manuel dans lequel se trouvent des questions/réponses, mais aussi tel un bréviaire portant sur des problèmes non encore élucidés, ou seulement partiellement étudiés, et qui auront besoin d'une recherche approfondie dans les années à venir. C'est pour cette raison d'ailleurs que notre attention se concentre sur ce dernier livre conçu, selon nous, comme une sorte de testament scientifique de la part d'une professeure qui laisse en héritage non seulement son savoir, mais aussi des questionnements qui attendent d'être explorés par ses disciples ou d'autres chercheurs ; et cela dans une dynamique de prolongation ininterrompue de la connais-

◀ Couvertures de livres.



▲ Fig. 1. Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. II 65. Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

▶ Fig. 2. Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. IV 11a. Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.



ДѢЛЪ КЪРІСЪ СЪВѢЩІИ
МАРІИ ПЪРІНТАСІИНОСТЪ СЪМЪ СЪНЪ
Къвѣнтъ торію де дмнезѣхъ, Прѣштхлхй шй игъ менхлхй
Мѣнѣстїи Сѣмѣлѣн Мамантї аї зроронѣ-
нѣлѣн.

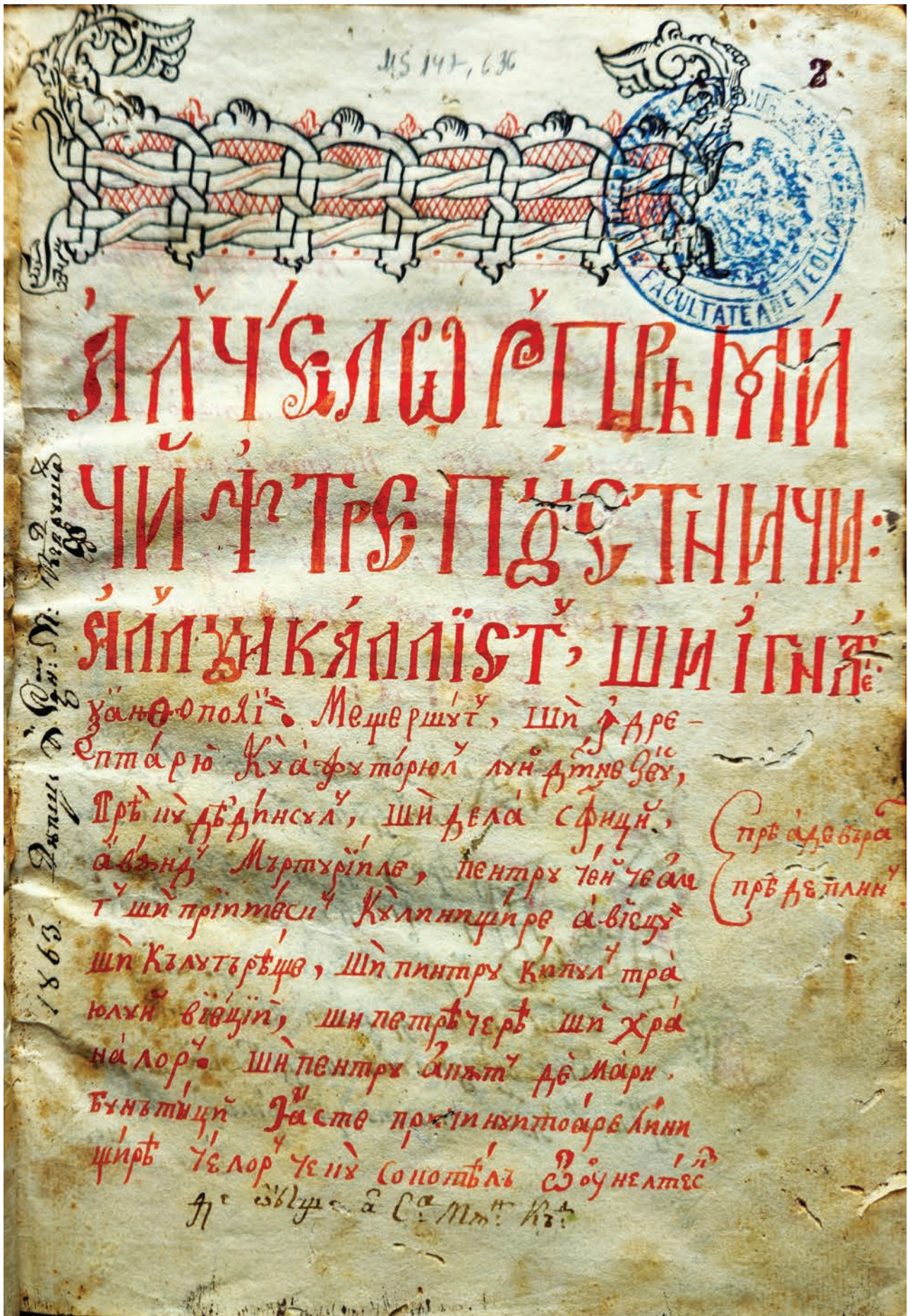
КЪ СЪВѢЩІИ, Я:

Я: Пѣнтръ Драгосте, шй нарѣ сѣмїи Кѣмѣ дѣрогѣмѣлѣн пѣлѣн Аѣховитїи шй фѣптѣлѣ.

Б: Шй фѣрїнїрїи пѣтрѣ гїтїи аѣ прѣ Драгосте гѣ Пѣнтрѣ.



рацїлоръ шй фѣрїнїрїи, вѣсїи сѣтрѣсїи пѣтрѣ вѣнї а-
тѣлѣ нарѣ прѣвїсїи шй аѣрѣмѣ пѣтрѣ фѣлѣсѣ сѣфѣлѣ-
тѣлѣн: Шй тѣ сѣрїсїи, Мартор гѣмїи фѣстѣ хї а-
дѣвѣрѣ, дѣ Драгостѣ вѣаѣтрѣ, пѣносїлїнѣ шй пѣ-
вѣрїнїїи тѣ. Кї пѣнтрѣ аїаѣта шй дѣ пѣрѣрѣв
а тѣлѣ вѣа, дѣпрѣ пѣ шїе Аѣмїѣ: шй нїтїи аїгїдѣ
гѣсїе нїтїи дѣлѣ, шй фѣлѣ дѣ шїи аѣсѣлѣ, фїпнї
нї аї прѣ шїїнїа тѣ нарѣ тѣ сѣлїнѣтѣ, пѣлї
ш ма рѣнїдїлїтїи пѣтѣтѣ пѣсѣ фїѣ Пѣвѣнїлїторѣ аї
вѣстѣрѣ аї тѣтѣрѣ пѣнѣвѣрїнїїе, пѣ оунѣ тѣ
тїѣ





◀ Fig. 3. Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. II 46b.
Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

◀ Fig. 4. Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. II 46.
Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

▶ Fig. 4. Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. II 46a.
Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

sance, essentielle dans tout rapport *magister – disciple* et pour tout professeur qui aurait bien rempli sa mission.

En début du Chapitre II, *Manuscrits parvenus du Monastère Căldărușani et d'autres monastères*, l'auteure explique que son objectif « est d'offrir aux chercheurs en matière d'histoire de la culture roumaine une réponse éventuelle sur la nécessité et l'utilité d'un temps d'étude dans la Section Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Saint-Synode ». Elle précise également qu'elle ne visera pas l'exhaustivité, mais qu'elle se limitera à fournir « quelques orientations »⁴.

La majeure partie du volume, concernée par le Chapitre II, traite successivement des *traducteurs moines*, des *auteurs locaux moines* et, dans un troisième volet, des *copistes des manuscrits*. La plupart d'entre eux appartiennent, ou sont liés, à cette véritable école spirituelle qu'a été le monastère de Neamț sous le patronage du Saint Païssy Velitchkovsky – grand érudit hésychaste, traducteur en slavon de la *Philocalie* publiée en 1792 (dix ans après l'édition grecque de Macaire de Corinthe et de Nicodème l'Hagiorite) –, où les moines traduisaient en roumain des textes classiques philocaliques de la spiritualité orthodoxe. L'ordre de présentation choisi par l'auteure est, comme elle l'explique, celui que Valentina Pelin propose dans son livre consacré au courant culturel et spirituel du païssyanisme et à son rôle dans le contexte sud-est et est-européen entre le XVIII^e et le XIX^e siècles⁵.

Dans une dynamique narrative quelque peu scénographique, les moines traducteurs deviennent les protagonistes d'une mise en scène de l'histoire culturelle vive et mouvementée des traductions du grec et, plus rarement, du slavon en roumain. L'ouvrage présente ainsi Macaire Dascălul, Ilarie Dascălul, Ilarion Dascălul, Issac Dascălul, Gherontie Dascălul, Chesarie Monah, tout comme Ioanichie Monahul, Teodosie Monahul, les hiéromoines Irinarh et Veniamin (futur Métropolitte) ou Climent Duhovnic, avec, en plus, l'exemple particulier d'une traduction anonyme qui pourrait être attribuée à Antim Ivireanul, le Métropolitte de Valachie.

Figure exemplaire, Macaire Dascălul (le Maître) l'était, d'une part, pour ses traductions (qui sont peut-être les meilleures œuvres écrites par les saints Parents) et, d'autre part, parce qu'il était aussi un bon orateur, qui prononçait les homélies à la Métropole de Bucarest. Il était également auteur de vers, se préoccupant de poétique ; et même auteur d'une grammaire, d'un lexique et d'un abécédaire. Mais tous les traducteurs que nous avons mentionnés étaient, dans leur majorité, des érudits dont le portrait est similaire à celui que saint Païssy Velitchkovsky faisait de Macaire et d'Ilarion, à savoir, « de talentueux maîtres en traduction et des hommes éduqués »⁶.

Un aspect fondamental à relever, et que Cătălina Velculescu ne manque pas de mettre en exergues, c'est la *conscience aigüe et la forte motivation de ces traducteurs d'écrire en langue roumaine* (donc ni « moldave », ni « va-









◀ Fig. 8. Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. II 116.

Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

◀ Fig. 9. Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. IV 11.

Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

unes sont écrites par ma main, et les unes par d'autres, pour m'aider »⁸.

L'analyse consacrée aux auteurs se concentre sur plusieurs préfaces (*predoslovii*), mais aussi sur des vers ou des essais en prose ou en prose mémorialistique. Ce qui se distingue ici, c'est la beauté des métaphores ou des allégories souvent récurrentes, dont certaines circulaient déjà dans les préfaces du xvi^e siècle. Nous remarquons en premier lieu la *métaphore de l'écriture ou de la lecture-voyage* et celle de *l'écrivain ou du lecteur voyageur, homo viator*, parti dans une sorte de pèlerinage symbolique et qui, par un exercice continu d'introspection, est à la recherche des sens du livre, mais aussi de ses sens intérieurs. En deuxième lieu, nous mettons en avant la reprise de la parabole des talents, la conscience d'un don reçu qui doit être multiplié et le devoir de continuer à transmettre à son tour ce qu'on a reçu. L'idée est la même, partager avec l'autre dans l'effort commun et absolu de la rédemption, comme la citation de Meletie le Hyérodiaque le prouve : « ce livre n'étant pas imprimé, mon désir ardent m'a poussé à l'écrire aussi proprement que possible, afin que le talent du Seigneur se multiplie, qu'il se partage et que d'autres amoureux des saints enseignements en communient et en soient sauvés »⁹.

À propos des *copistes*, tout comme des *traducteurs* ou des *auteurs*, Cătălina Velculescu pose des questions importantes auxquelles elle essaie de répondre en fonction des acquis de la recherche actuelle et en donnant de passionnantes futures pistes de recherche. Avec un regard aussi bien affûté que profond, l'auteure se tourne vers le monde ancien qu'elle connaît si bien, et qu'elle étudie suivant une méthode qui s'ouvre aux questionnements de l'histoire des idées et des mentalités, de l'histoire des gestes, des sensibilités et des émotions. La Professeure se focalise sur les directions dans lesquelles il faudrait de plus en plus s'interroger pour « essayer de déchiffrer *quelle place occupait l'activité de copiste* [tout comme celle de traducteur ou d'écrivain en général, *n. n. L. L. Z.*] parmi les autres obligations de l'hiéromoine [*i.e.* Acachie] et *combien de temps il pouvait lui accorder*. On se pose aussi la question de savoir *où avait lieu cette activité* : dans sa propre cellule ou dans un espace commun à plusieurs copistes ? *Travaillait-il de manière isolée ou dans des groupes plus grands ou plus petits ?* [*n. s.*] »¹⁰. Devant tous ces questionnements, une mise en garde est nécessaire : il ne faut pas se laisser leurrer par des informations similaires, reprises d'autres espaces géographiques, mais « déchiffrer les matériels concrets »¹¹ conservés dans l'espace roumain et qui lui sont propres.

Cătălina Velculescu propose aussi d'organiser et de classer les manuscrits pour faciliter la recherche et combler les lacunes. D'autres analyses se concentrent sur *le geste du copiste* et sa signification, *les motivations* des actes de traduire, copier, écrire ou embellir les manuscrits par de magnifiques miniatures. Des sections à part de l'étude sont, par ailleurs, dédiées aux *correcteurs* et aux *corrections* (de première main, de seconde main ou encore des corrections multiples contemporaines ou postérieures à

laque », ni « moldovalaque »). Ils étaient mus par la conviction que leur effort devait être « d'utilité commune pour tout le peuple roumain »⁷. Ils étaient mus par cette conscience que les humanistes et les illuministes partageaient, et qui les poussait à cultiver et à renforcer, par leurs ouvrages (dont ces traductions), *l'unité de la langue commune (et identitaire, tout comme la religion orthodoxe) des trois Pays roumains*.

Une autre idée essentielle qui se dégage de ce travail de traduction soutenu et qui se transmet de maître à élève(s) est cette dynamique de transfert des pratiques et des connaissances, dans un rapport interdépendant entre *praxis et theoria* de la transmission de type *predanie du magister à son disciple* que l'hésychasme cultivait en se basant sur les écrits des saints Parents de la Sainte Tradition. À ce propos, un très bel exemple est donné par le modèle de Veniamin le Hiéromoine (futur Métropolitain de Moldavie, Veniamin Costachi), modèle que le prêtre Dumitru Fecioru reprenait aussi dans son catalogue en utilisant l'image d'une œuvre commune à laquelle participent plusieurs protagonistes. Fecioru précisait ainsi que Veniamin Costachi dictait ses traductions et que ses disciples écrivaient, à tour de rôle, à côté de leur maître. Ce qui explique la présence de plusieurs écritures et mains dans ses manuscrits et donne une touchante image d'émulation et d'entraide, comme la citation du futur métropolitain le prouve : « Toutes mes traductions [...] les



ВЪ ОСТАВА ДОРМІТРИ

Прѣдъ свѣтѣи Къзкзгѣорей дѣ дѣлнезѣхъ,
 на дѣлне стритѣсѣла: Пѣнепа стѣ хѣрпае
 Пѣ Къ. шѣнѣнѣтѣмъ стѣ хѣрпае
 Похѣрѣтѣ, Глѣис, Я. ѣсхшѣ похѣрѣтѣ,

С прѣдъ свѣтѣи мѣнѣне! Извѣрѣлѣ вѣсѣшѣ ѣморѣлѣнѣтѣ вѣ
 пѣне, шѣнѣ свѣрѣ кѣтрѣтѣрѣ морѣлѣнѣтѣлѣ вѣ дѣтѣ, вѣсѣлѣ
 шѣтѣ Пѣкѣлѣнѣнѣ, ѣнѣкѣзгѣорей дѣ дѣлнезѣхъ, вѣлѣнѣ
 тѣнѣсѣ, вѣ стрѣтѣмъ крѣдѣнѣтѣшѣ прѣ Гѣвѣрѣнѣ еѣвѣнѣ
 ѣлѣпѣзгѣорѣлѣ тѣвѣлѣор, тѣ' пѣлѣнѣ дѣ дѣрѣ Вѣкѣхѣрѣтѣ,
 кѣтѣнѣнѣ ѣстѣ дѣрѣнѣлѣ тѣлѣтѣ дѣ хѣлѣнѣ прѣнѣтѣнѣнѣ мѣ
 рѣ мѣлѣ!

М ѣнѣнѣтѣрѣ свѣнѣтѣнѣнѣлѣтѣрѣлѣ прѣкѣхѣрѣтѣ, тѣлѣхѣ
 дѣ вѣи свѣхѣнѣ тѣнѣ ѣрѣтѣрѣтѣ вѣтѣлѣнѣ, шѣнѣ дѣ прѣ
 пѣлѣнѣтѣ лѣ тѣрѣо тѣнѣ мѣтѣрѣтѣ ѣсѣтѣзѣнѣ, вѣлѣкѣтѣтѣ кѣ
 вѣнѣзѣ кѣкѣнѣнѣ, пѣхѣрѣрѣ дѣ лѣлѣнѣнѣ дѣлнезѣ ѣшѣ стрѣ

a

◀ Fig. 10. *Bibliothèque du Saint Synode, ms. II 116a.*
Photo: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

l'acte d'écriture), aux *enluminures* et aux *miniaturistes*, ainsi qu'à des questions de sociologie littéraire comme celles des *mécènes* / du mécénat ou de la *censure*.

Une place de grande importance est occupée par *les notes en marge des manuscrits* et leur problématique, qui ouvrent tout un univers de préoccupations de ce monde qui frémit et qui a besoin de transmettre par écrit – en rentrant dans l'espace même du livre, comme pour l'habiter – des émotions, des événements personnels, naturels ou historiques, et de dresser de cette manière le portrait d'une époque avec toute sa sensibilité et avec *la conscience de la valeur du livre, de l'écriture et, implicitement, la conscience de la valeur de son propre travail*, dans ce processus de transmission, d'édification spirituelle et d'enseignement qui se fait à travers l'écriture et la lecture.

Un chapitre particulièrement important est consacré aux interventions du prêtre Dumitru Fecioru sur les manuscrits, à ses commentaires et suggestions. Au-delà de l'incroyable nature visionnaire de sa conception académique (qualité qu'il partage, d'ailleurs, avec Cătălina Velculescu), je m'arrêtera sur un commentaire que je trouve particulièrement touchant. Il s'agit de l'explication fournie à propos de l'absence de plusieurs pages enlumi-

nées dans un manuscrit : « La feuille, à mon avis, a été enlevée par un copiste postérieur qui, séduit autant par la beauté de la fleur finale de cette homélie que par la beauté du frontispice de l'homélie suivante, n'a pas pris la peine de la copier mais l'a arrachée sans réfléchir »¹². Une sorte de *rapt symbolique et irrésistible de la beauté* là où l'on la trouve, dans une époque où l'on n'a pas toujours le temps et les conditions pour se la créer soi-même – voilà l'essence de la sensibilité de la période. Les protagonistes de ce *monde amoureux de la beauté* (de la réalité immédiate, mais aussi – et souvent surtout – de l'esprit et de l'art), essayent de le récupérer dans tous leurs gestes pour remettre en ordre, guérir et redonner du sens à une histoire terriblement déchirante – les temps terribles / *cumplitele vremi* de Miron Costin. La même façon d'identifier la beauté et la sagesse de ce monde se retrouve dans la vocation à la réorganisation (*a orânduiri*) de la Profesoare Cătălina Velculescu, tout comme dans sa vocation de découverte et de redécouverte des textes oubliés, de leur remise en circulation, de leur promotion à la médiation culturelle. Le tout avec l'intention de promouvoir l'initiation des jeunes chercheurs et leur implication dans l'action d'une recherche faite *ensemble*, dans un geste de *predanie* continue, guidée par la profession de foi de toute une vie, selon laquelle « tout ce qui existe à une signification, il reste seulement à la déchiffrer ».

Notes

1 [...] *zeci de mii de volume, carte veche manuscrisă și tipărită, dar și alte multe valori: hrisoave, fotografii, monede și hărți vechi* (Arhim. Policarp Chițulescu, « Catalogul manuscriselor românești din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod » [Le Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode], dans *Studii Teologice*, série III, no. 1, 2016, p. 134, citation que Cătălina Velculescu note dans le *Mic îndreptar ...* à la page 5).

2 Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 5.

3 Pour des précisions supplémentaires voir Arhim. Policarp Chițulescu, « Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod. Istorie și actualitate » [La Bibliothèque du Saint Synode. Histoire et actualité], dans *Libraria. Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, XII, Târgu-Mureș, 2013, pp. 208-225, *Idem*, « Catalogul manuscriselor românești din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod » [Le Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Saint Synode], dans *Studii Teologice*, série III, no. 1, 2016, pp. 133-145, *Idem*, « Catalogul manuscriselor Românești din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod », dans *Studii Teologice*, série III, no. 2, 2016, pp. 53-77, *Idem*, « Catalogul manuscriselor românești din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod », dans *Studii Teologice*, série III, no. 4, 2018, pp. 9-30.

4 Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 6: *Scopul nostru este acela de a oferi cercetătorilor istoriei culturii românești un răspuns la o eventuală întrebare asupra necesității și utilității unui timp de studiu în secția de manuscrise a Bibliotecii Sf. Sinod. Facem deci o expunere orientativă, nu exhaustivă.*

5 Cf. Valentina Pelin, *Paisianismul în contextul cultural și spiritual sud-est și est european (secolele XVIII-XIX)* [Le païssyanisme dans le contexte culturel et spirituel sud-est et est-européen (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles)], Édition soignée et révisée par acad. Andrei Eșanu

et Valentina Eșanu, *Doxologia*, Iași, 2017.

6 *Dascăli iscusiți în traducerea cărților și bărbați învățați* – Saint Païssy Velitchkovsky (*apud* Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, qui cite aussi, à son tour, Valentina Pelin, *op. cit.*, p. 75).

7 [...] *ca să fie spre folosul cel de obște al neamului românesc – le traducteur Isac Dascălul* (*apud* Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 14).

8 *Toate tălmăcirile mele [...] unile sânt scrise cu mâna mea și unile de alții, spre ajutorul meu* (*apud* Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 14).

9 [...] *nefiind dată la tipărire această carte, râvna mea m-au îndemnat a o prescrie pre cât am putut mai curat, ca să se înmulțească talarul Domnului, a să împărțăși și alți iubitori de sfințele povățuiri și a să mântui* (*apud* Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 23).

10 [...] *pentru a încerca să descifrăm ce loc ocupa activitatea de copist între celelalte îndatoriri ale ieromonahului și cât timp putea să îi acorde. Ne întrebăm de asemeni unde se desfășura această activitate: în propria chilie sau într-un spațiu comun pentru mai mulți copişti? Se lucra oare izolat sau în grupuri mai mari sau mai mici?* (Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 28).

11 Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 28 : *Aici nu trebuie să ne amăgim cu informații luate din alte spații geografice, ci să descifrăm materialele concrete de la noi, păstrate.*

12 *Foaia, după părerea mea, a fost ruptă de un copist posterior, care, îndrăgostit atât de frumusețea florii finale a cazaniei acesteia, cât și de a frontispiciului cazaniei următoare, nu s-a mai ostenit să le copieze, ci le-a rupt, fără să mai stea pe gânduri* (Cătălina Velculescu, *Mic îndreptar ...*, p. 59).

Linguistic supervision:

Hélène Rivoal-Mateescu (Délégation Générale à la Langue Française, Paris);

Alessia Chapel (Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers (CÉSCM) – CNRS).

echoes



échos

Glossy Glosses

in Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts

International Workshop

Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance (CÉSAR), Tours, 10-12 April 2024

Wednesday / 10 April 2024, 14h–17h30

ARNAUD PERROT (University of Tours / CÉSAR): *Opening Remarks.*

ANA MARIA GÂNSAC ('Alexandru Ioan Cuza University', Iași): *Slavonic-Romanian Alternative Texts of the 16th Century. Their Model and Aim between Exegesis and Liturgy.*

MARKÉTA PYTLÍKOVÁ, HANA KREISINGEROVÁ (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague): *Scripture interprets Scripture? Explanatory notes without a known source in the first Czech translation of Books of Samuel.*

KATEŘINA VOLEKOVÁ (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague): *Return to the Source: Latin Glosses in Old Czech Bibles.*

ALESSIA CHAPEL, VLADIMIR AGRIGORAEI (CNRS / CÉSCM-UMR 7302, Poitiers): *The erasures of the Old French Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320) and the likelihood of a previous interlinear gloss.*

Thursday / 11 April 2024, 9h–11h30

MICHAEL KUCZYNSKI (Tulane University, New Orleans): *Words and Deeds: The Primitive Church in the Wycliffite Bible Glosses.*

ELIZABETH SOLOPOVA (University of Oxford): *Reader Annotations in the Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible.*

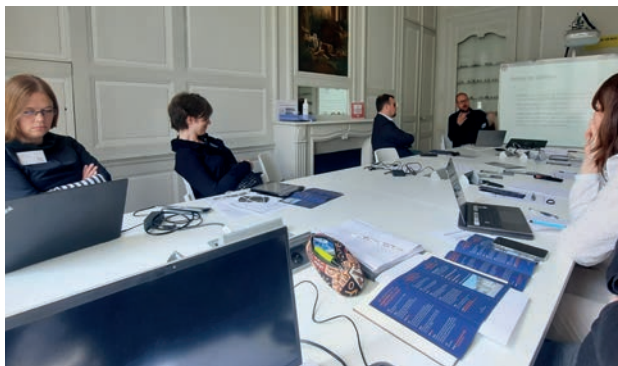
ONDŘEJ FÚSIK (Charles University / National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague): *Latin Glosses in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 509.*

VLADIMIR AGRIGORAEI (CNRS / CÉSCM-UMR 7302, Poitiers): *What kind of "book covered in writings in the French language comprising the text and the gloss of the Psalter (as well as many books of both Testaments)" did the Waldensians present to the pope during the Third Council of the Lateran in March 1179?*

Afternoon trip to Blois Castle.

Friday / 11 April 2024, 9h–17h30

Transcribathon II organised by ÉLISA MARCADET (University of Tours / LLL) and ILEANA SASU (University of Tours / ICD).



Multilingualism and the Sacred Page in Medieval and Early Modern Contexts

International Workshop

'Alexandru Ioan Cuza' University of Iași, 2-4 October 2024

Wednesday / 2 October 2024 - Iași

SORIN TAȘCU (Head of the Institute of Interdisciplinary Research / Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași) / Rev. LUCIAN FILIP (Metropolitanate of Moldavia and Bucovina): *Welcome Address.*

Session 1 (Chair: Vladimir Agrigoroaei)

ÁGNES KORONDI (National Széchényi Library, Budapest / Fragmenta et Codices Research Group): *Translating the Passion: Hungarian Glosses to Biblical Pericopes and Sermons for the Paschal Season in a 15th Century Latin Sermon Collection.*

ILEANA SASU (University of Tours): *Multilingualism in the Etheldrediana: One Saint and Four Languages over 900 Years.*

JOANNA POETZ (PhD from Trinity College Dublin / Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies - Independent Researcher): *Waldensian Texts and Translations: The Case of Manuscript Dijon 234.*

Keynote Speaker:

ELIZABETH SOLOPOVA (University of Oxford): *The Middle English Bible: Canonical Scriptures or a Collection of Texts?*

Session 2 (Chair: Elizabeth Solopova)

JANA ZDEŇKOVÁ (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague / Czech Language Institute): *Old Czech Imperfect and Biblical Style: A Path from Grammatical Function to Stylistic Feature.*

ROXANA VIERU & ADINA CHIRILĂ (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași & Western University of Timișoara): *Incongruences between the Romanian and Slavic Translations of the Interlinear 1646 Version of Acta Apostolorum*

ALESSIA CHAPEL (CNRS – CÉSCM Poitiers): *Automatismes formulaires dans la stratégie d'adaptation du premier Psautier français métrique.*

KATARZYNA JASIŃSKA (Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków / Institute of Polish Language): *The Three Parts of the Sankt Florian Psalter: Latin, Polish and German, and Their Interrelationships.*



Thursday / 3 October 2024 - Sihăstria Putnei

Session 3 (Chair: Ileana Sasu)

Books in Late Medieval Carpathians: The Romanian Psalters of the 15th-16th Centuries and Their Cultural Context (Editors in dialogue with contributors)

VLADIMIR AGRIGOROAEI (CNRS – CÉSCM Poitiers): *Allelophronies in South-Western Transylvania or the Uneven Beginnings of Romanian Culture (14th-15th Centuries).*

ANA DUMITRAN (National Museum of Alba-Iulia): *The Upper Echelons of the Orthodox Church Hierarchy vs the Circulation of Church-Slavonic Books in 15th Century Transylvania.*

ANA-MARIA GÎNSAC (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași / Institute of Interdisciplinary Research): *Early Romanian Rhotic Psalters and Their Translation: What is New?*

Trip to Putna, Sucevița, and Voroneț monasteries.

Friday / 4 October 2024 - Iași

Session 4 (Chair: Katarzyna Jasińska)

ION-MIHAI FELEA (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași): *Were the Biblical Odes Translated Together with the Psalms in Early Slavonic-Romanian Psalters? A Lexical Analysis.*

CLAUDIA TĂRNĂUCEANU & ANA-MARIA GÎNSAC (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași): *Vernacularizing Medieval and Early Modern Sermons: Amelio Silvestro's Conciones Latinae Muldavo (1725).*

Workshop: The Making of a Digital Edition

ILEANA SASU & ÉLISA MARCADET (University of Tours): *Challenges and Solutions to Digital Editions: How to Edit Multiple Manuscripts Together.*

ELIZABETH SOLOPOVA (University of Oxford): *The Critical Edition of the Wiclifite Bible.*



MULTILINGUALISM AND THE SACRED PAGE IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CONTEXTS

ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA UNIVERSITY of IAȘI

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
2-4 OCTOBER 2024



PROGRAM



WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2ND
Corp A, Sala Ferdinand

9.45 *Welcome Address*

Dr. Sorin Tașcu (Head of the Institute of Interdisciplinary Research / Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași)
Dr. Rev. Lucian Filip (Metropolitanate of Moldavia and Bucovina)

Session 1 | Chair: Vladimir Agrigoroaei

- 10.00 Ágnes Korondi (National Széchényi Library, Budapest / Fragmenta et Codices Research Group)
Translating the Passion: Hungarian Glosses to Biblical Pericopes and Sermons for the Paschal Season in a 15th Century Latin Sermon Collection
- 10.30 Ileana Sasu (University of Tours)
Multilingualism in the *Etheldrediana*: One Saint and Four Languages over 900 Years
- 11.00 Joanna Poetz (PhD from Trinity College Dublin / Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies - Independent Researcher)
Waldensian Texts and Translations: The Case of Manuscript Dijon 234

11.30 *Tea & Coffee*

12.00 *Keynote Speaker*

Elizabeth Solopova (University of Oxford)
The Middle English Bible: Canonical Scriptures or a Collection of Texts?

13.00 *Lunch*

Session 2 | Chair: Elizabeth Solopova

- 15.00 Jana Zdeňková (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague / Czech Language Institute)
Old Czech Imperfect and Biblical Style: A Path from Grammatical Function to Stylistic Feature
- 15.30 Roxana Vieru & Adina Chirilă (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași & Western University of Timișoara)
Incongruences between the Romanian and Slavic Translations of the Interlinear 1646 Version of *Acta Apostolorum*

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2ND
Corp A, Sala Ferdinand

16.00 *Tea & Coffee*

- 16.30 Alessia Chapel (University of Poitiers / CNRS – CÉSCM)
Automatismes formulaires dans la stratégie d'adaptation du premier Psautier français métrique
- 17.00 Katarzyna Jasińska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków / Institute of Polish Language)
The Three Parts of the *Sankt Florian Psalter*: Latin, Polish and German, and Their Interrelationships
- 18.00 *Dinner*

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3RD
Sihăstria Putnei Monastery

Session 3 Round Table | Chair: Ileana Sasu

- Books in Late Medieval Carpathians: The Romanian Psalters of the 15th-16th Centuries and Their Cultural Context*
(Editors in dialogue with contributors)
- 11.30 Vladimir Agrigoroaei (University of Poitiers / CNRS – CÉSCM)
Allelophonies in South-Western Transylvania or the Uneven Beginnings of Romanian Culture (14th-15th Centuries)
Ana Dumitran (National Museum of Alba-Iulia)
The Upper Echelons of the Orthodox Church Hierarchy vs the Circulation of Church-Slavonic Books in 15th Century Transylvania
Ana-Maria Gînsac (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași / Institute of Interdisciplinary Research)
Early Romanian Rhotic Psalters and Their Translation: What is New?

13.00 *Refectory Lunch*

14.00 *World Heritage Journey: Monasteries of Bucovina*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4TH
Corp A, Sala Ferdinand

Session 4 | Chair: Katarzyna Jasińska

- 10.00 Ion-Mihai Felea (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași)
Were the Biblical Odes Translated Together with the Psalms in Early Slavonic-Romanian Psalters? A Lexical Analysis
- 10.30 Claudia Tărnăuceanu & Ana-Maria Gînsac (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași)
Vernacularizing Medieval and Early Modern Sermons: Amelio Silvestro's *Conciones Latinae Muldavo* (1725)
- 11.00 *Tea & Coffee*

11.30 *Workshop: The Making of a Digital Edition*

Ileana Sasu & Élixa Marcadet (University of Tours)
Challenges and Solutions to Digital Editions: How to Edit Multiple Manuscripts Together
Elizabeth Solopova (University of Oxford)
The Critical Edition of the *Wicliffite Bible*

12.30 *Concluding Remarks*

Scientific Committee

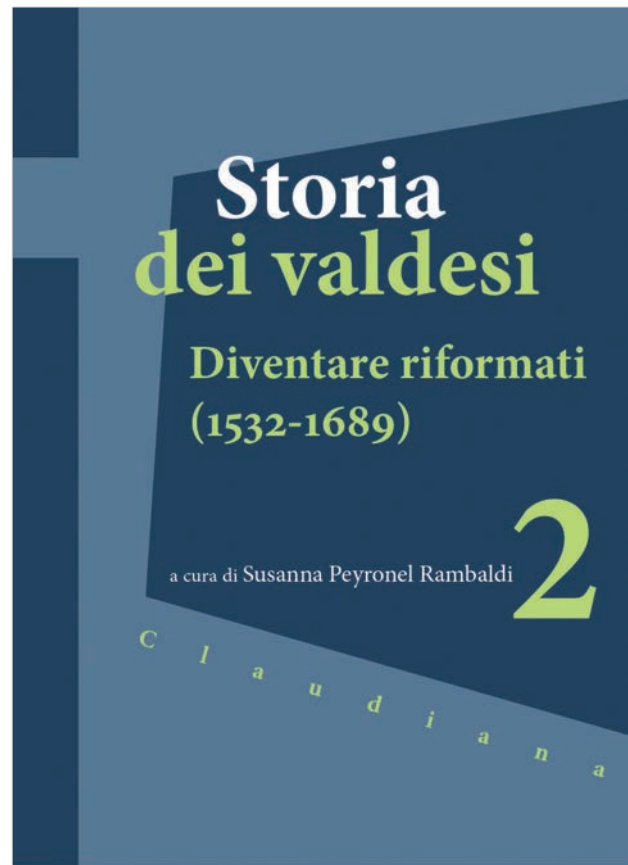
Prof. Dr. Csilla Gábor (Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)
Dr. Gabriela Haja ("Alexandru Philippide" Institute of Romanian Philology)
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ana-Maria Minuț (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași)
Prof. Dr. Mihaela Paraschiv (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași)
Prof. Dr. Maria Magdalena Székely (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași)

Conference organized conjointly between Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași (Institute of Interdisciplinary Research & the Faculty of Letters) and the ANR Project PSALTERATIO, with the support of the Metropolitanate of Moldavia and Bucovina.

Organizers: Dr. Ana-Maria Gînsac, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Claudia Tărnăuceanu, Dr. Ion-Mihai Felea.



Storia dei Valdesi.
1: *Come nuovi apostoli (secc. XII-XV)*
ed. Francesca Tasca
(Torino: Claudiana, 2024), 678 p.



Storia dei Valdesi.
2: *Diventare riformati (1532-1689)*
ed. Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi
(Torino: Claudiana, 2024), 864 p.

Opera collettiva in quattro volumi, racconta attraverso molti nuovi contributi 850 anni di storia valdese, dal Medioevo all'adesione alla Riforma, dalle persecuzioni all'emanipolazione, fino alla piena cittadinanza nell'Italia democratica. Tra luci e ombre, discontinuità e mutamenti, è la storia di una comunità radicata nelle Valli piemontesi e divenuta, non di rado, tassello di vicende internazionali. Una storia di secolare resistenza, fondata sull'autorità della Bibbia.

Nel 1174 a Lione il laico Valdo si spoglia del proprio ingente patrimonio per dedicarsi alla libera predicazione apostolica in totale povertà. Presto altri uomini e donne aderiscono a questa scelta religiosa radicale ritenuta minacciosa dagli apparati ecclesiastici. Ma né la condanna ereticale né la conseguente repressione fermano la diffusione dei Poveri di Lione. L'inasprirsi delle persecuzioni modifica però la fisionomia del movimento valdese che sopravvive lungo i secoli medievali in clandestinità. I predicatori itineranti sono cardini e vettori di tale resistenza. La fedeltà al modello apostolico, alla genesi della conversione di Valdo, riesce così ad approdare alle soglie dell'età moderna. Collettivo ma non corale, il volume ripercorre queste vicende attraverso una pluralità di sguardi e di approcci metodologici. Collaboratori del primo volume: Gabriel Audisio, Peter Biller, Irene Bueno, Fabrizio De Falco, Albert de Lange, Enrico De Biasio, Andrea Giraud, Ota Halama, Andrea Maraschi, Georg Modestin, Riccardo Parmeggiani, Piercarlo Pazé, Joanna Poetz, Paolo Rosso, Lucy Sackville, Tommaso Scaramella,

Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, Vincenzo Tedesco, Alfonso Tortora, Daniel Toti, Daniele Tron, Kathrin Utz Tremp, Reima Välimäki, Lothar Vogel, David Zbiral.

Il volume 2 prende le mosse dal movimento tardo medievale dei Poveri di Lione per raccontarne l'adesione alla Riforma e il suo riconoscersi «popolo valdese», identificandosi con un territorio, le «Valli», difeso tenacemente nei secoli in nome di una fede alternativa a quella della maggioranza, nell'Italia della Controriforma. Fino a giungere, alla fine del Seicento, alla sua cacciata dalle Valli e al suo inatteso ritorno in armi, all'interno di un movimentato quadro internazionale. Le vicende di persecuzione e di resistenza, ma anche di convivenza e adattamento, vengono qui inserite in un quadro di vita sociale e materiale, di organizzazione politica ed ecclesiastica, di rapporti di villaggio e cosmopoliti, costruiti attraverso molte ricerche, studi e convegni accumulati nel corso degli ultimi decenni. Collaboratori del secondo volume: Luca Addante, Guillaume Alonge, Gabriel Audisio, Emidio Campi, Giorgio Caravale, Albert de Lange, Davide Bruno De Franco, Lucia Felici, Marco Fratini, Rosanna Gorris Camos, Daniele Jalla, Yves Krumenacker, Martino Laurenti, Vincenzo Lavenia, Ottavia Niccoli, Alessandro Pastore, Luca Perrone, Bruna Peyrot, Chiara Povero, Blythe Alice Raviola, Matteo Rivoira, Gian Paolo Romagnani, Daniela Solfaroli Camillocci, Debora Spini, Samuele Tourn Boncoeur, Daniele Tron, Stefano Villani, Federico Zuliani.



Storia dei Valdesi.

3: *Dal rimpatrio all'emancipazione (1690-1870)*

ed. Gian Paolo Romagnani

(Torino: Claudiana, 2024), 844 p.

Nel Settecento i valdesi consolidano la loro presenza in un regime di tolleranza segnato dalla discriminazione. Mentre le idee dei Lumi penetrano nelle Valli, molti di loro si spingono in Europa per studio, affari, avventura. Nel 1798 l'amministrazione francese proclama la libertà di culto e i valdesi possono accedere alle cariche pubbliche e di governo. Ma si tratta di una breve stagione. Con la Restaurazione tutto sembra tornare indietro, ma molti stranieri percorrono le Valli, mentre la diplomazia internazionale preme in difesa delle minoranze. Nel 1848 Carlo Alberto concede l'emancipazione a valdesi ed ebrei. Il Risorgimento italiano spinge i valdesi a scegliere se mantenere la propria orgogliosa identità o partecipare insieme ad altri alla costruzione della nuova Italia. Collaboratori del terzo volume: Jacopo Agnesina, Gabriella Ballesio, Simone Baral, Chiara Bertoglio, Marco Bettassa, Eugenio F. Biagini, Paola Bianchi, Dino Carpanetto, Paolo Cozzo, Marco Fratini, Pierangelo Gentile, Louisa Hoppe, Martino Laurenti, Roberto Levoni, Simone Maghenzani, Marco Novarino, Maria-Cristina Pitassi, Chiara Povero, Federica Tammarazio, Michele Vellano, Adriano Viarengo, Stefano Villani.

L'avvento del fascismo e la guerra frenarono questo processo ma, grazie alla riflessione teologica e all'impegno di alcuni gruppi sia pure minoritari, nella nuova democrazia la chiesa ebbe la forza di avviare nuovi progetti e di consolidare un importante apparato di opere diaconali, dalle Valli alla Sicilia. Successivamente, dopo il vivace



Storia dei Valdesi.

4: *Evangelizzazione e presenza in Italia (1870-1990)*

ed. Paolo Naso

(Torino: Claudiana, 2024), 820 p.

confronto degli anni Sessanta su "fede e politica" si profilano nuove leadership e nuove strategie che, in pochi anni, portarono alla nascita della Federazione delle chiese evangeliche (1967), all'integrazione tra valdesi e metodisti (1975) e all'intesa con lo Stato (1984). Collaboratori del quarto volume: Alberto Annarilli, Gabriella Ballesio, Eugenio F. Biagini, Luca Castagna, Alberto Cavaglion, Mario Cignoni, Renato Coisson, Massimo Di Gioacchino, Donato Di Sanzo, Daniele Ferrari, Fulvio Ferrario, Pawel Andrzej Gajewski, Ermanno Genre, Maria Chiara Giorda, Filippo Maria Giordano, Agostino Giovagnoli, Giovanni Jarre, Marta Margotti, Alberto Melloni, Roberto Morozzo della Rocca, Marco Novarino, Enzo Pace, Sandro Simon Palmieri, Claudio Paravati, Bruna Peyrot, Juan Javier Pioli, Gian Paolo Romagnani, Gabriella Rustici, Debora Spini, Anna Strumia, Letizia Tomassone, Sara Emmanuela Tourn, Ilaria Valenzi, Lothar Vogel, Paolo Zanini.

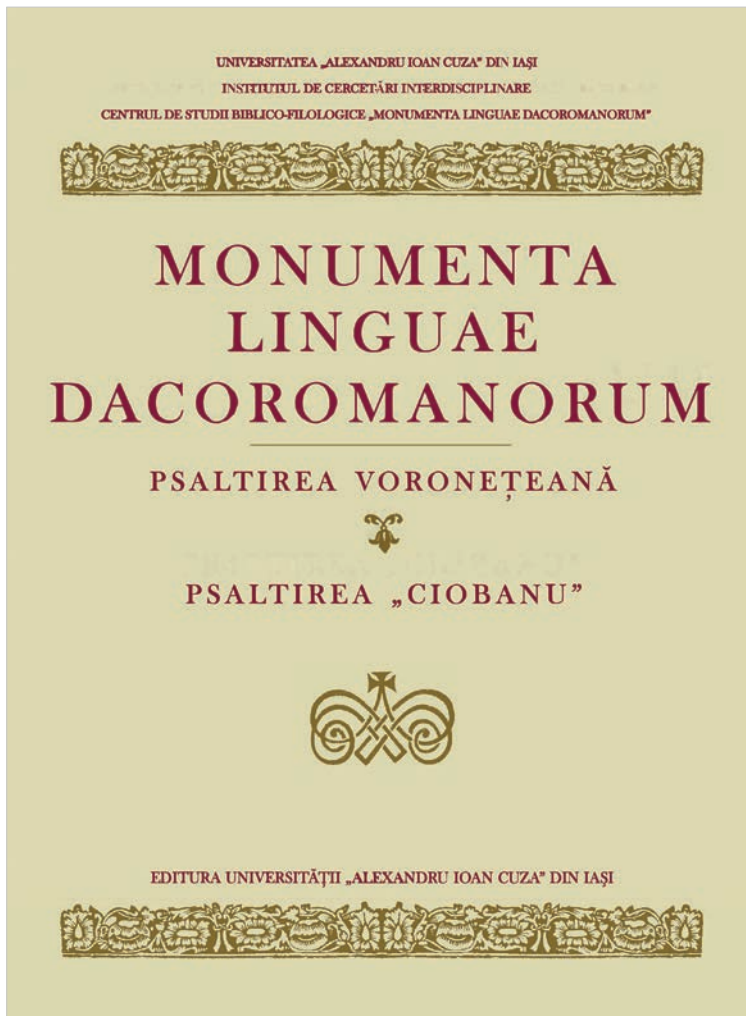
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Ana-Maria Gînsac (ed.)

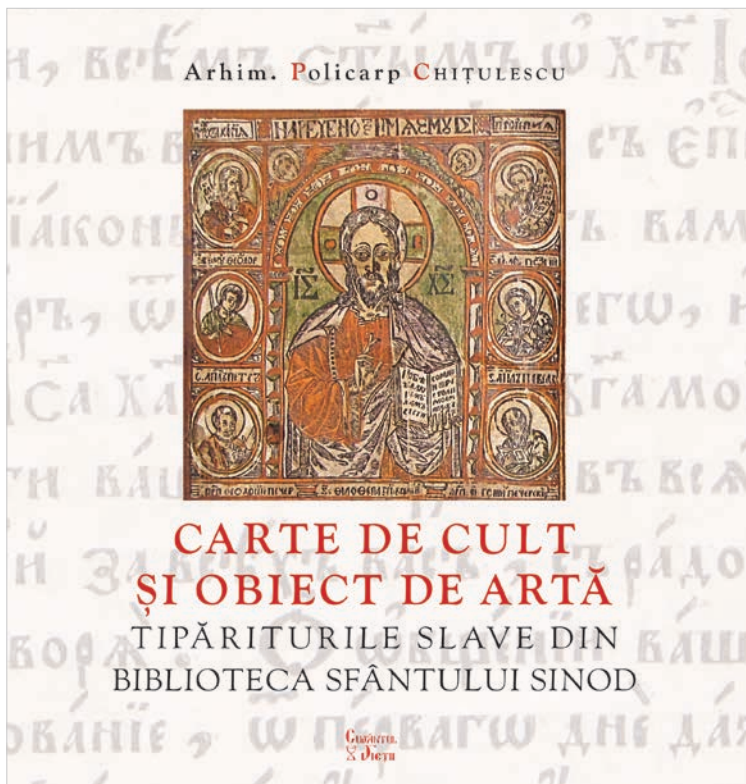
Monumenta linguae Dacoromanorum. Psaltirea Voronețeană. Psaltirea „Ciobanu”.
Texte, studii, indice de cuvinte

coll. Constanța Burlacu, Iosif Camară, Ion-Mihai Felea, Dinu Moscal, Mădălina Ungureanu

(Iași: Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2024), 485 p.

<https://www.editura.uaic.ro/>

The series *Monumenta Linguae Dacoromanorum* continues with the publication of the earliest biblical translations in the Romanian language. The present volume presents the critical edition of two of the manuscript witnesses (dated second half of the sixteenth century) of one of the earliest Romanian texts—the Psalter, in a phonetic-interpretative transcription, with philological apparatus and word index. The two texts are those of the *Voroneț Psalter* (Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy, MS 693) and the *Ciobanu Psalter* (MS 3465). The critical edition is exceptional in Romanian philology, as it also publishes the intertwined Church Slavonic text of the two bilingual manuscripts, relevant for both the study of the Romanian text and that of the Church Slavonic tradition of the Psalter. The volume respects the structure of the series: I. Note on the edition; II. Texts (aligned at verse level); III. Studies; IV. Philological notes and commentaries; V. Word Index; VI. Bibliography; VII. Abbreviations; VIII. Appendixes. The studies present new data on the translation and transmission of the Romanian text of the Psalter in the sixteenth century and its reception in the following century. The work is the result of the *roPsalt* project (PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-2939), funded by CNCS-UEFISCDI (2021-2023).



Arhim. Policarp Chițulescu

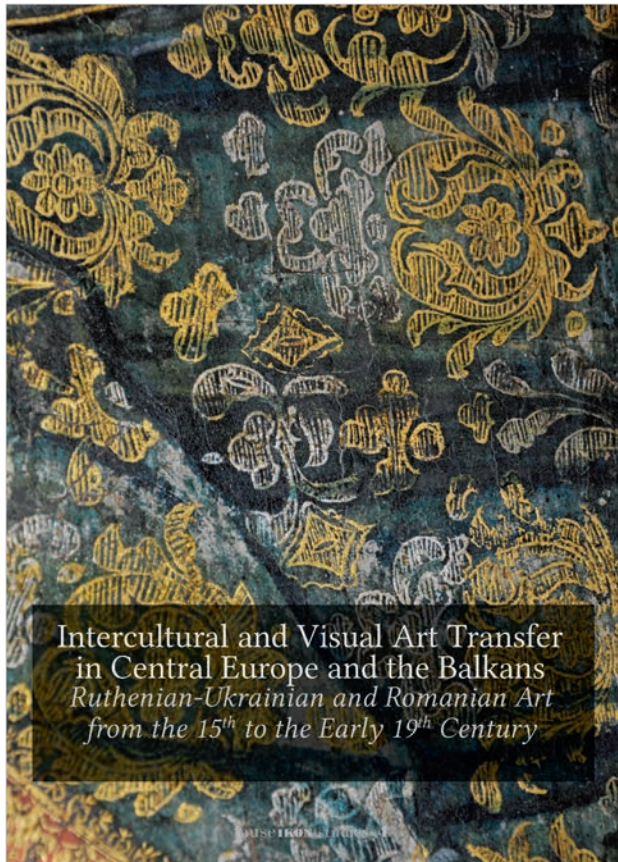
Carte de cult și obiecte de artă. Tipăriturile slave din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod
(București: Editura Cuvântul Vieții, 2024), 416 p.

<https://www.edituracuvantulvietii.ro/>

The book lays a cornerstone for the research of book history in Romania, with regard to Slavic imported books, an aspect that has been treated in few studies.

The collection of Slavic books in the Library of the Holy Synod contains 141 titles in 149 copies. Of these, 68 titles (in 72 copies) are published in Moscow, 35 titles (in 38 copies) in Kyiv, 15 titles (in 16 copies) in Lviv, three (in four copies) in Cernigov, three in Ostrog, three in St. Petersburg, two in Vilnius, two in Kuteino Lavra, one in Goražde and one in Pochaiv. There are eight other titles whose editions could not be identified. (p. 13)

One should not be misled by the large number of Slavonic manuscripts carefully preserved in Romanian repositories, due to the uniqueness of each copy. It is the printed book that has ensured the uniformity of the Romanian Church's liturgy and, through its recognized normative character, authenticated by the hierarchical authorities, has provided the assurance of dogmatic authenticity. (p. 8)



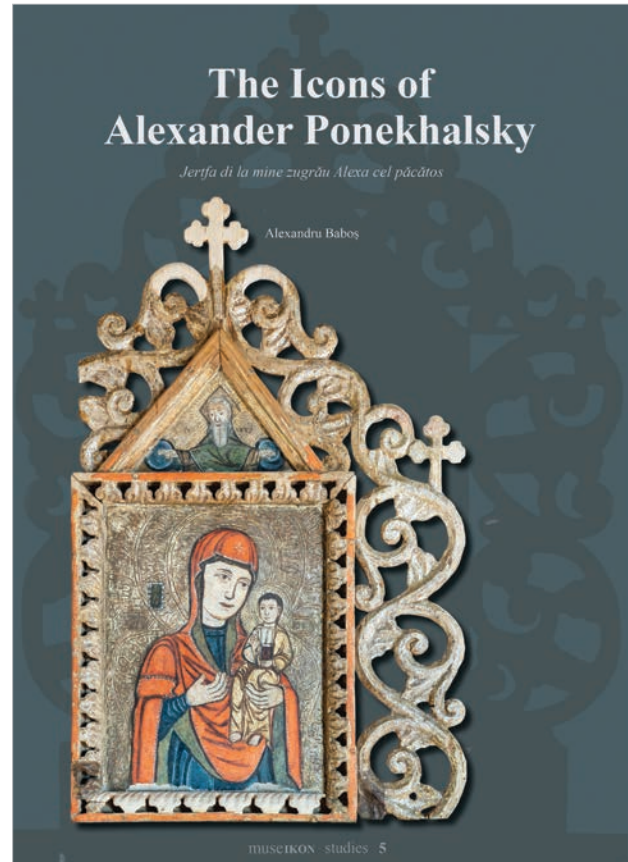
Ana Dumitran, Mirosław Piotr Kruk (eds)
Intercultural and Visual Art Transfer in Central Europe and the Balkans. Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Romanian Art from the 15th to the Early 19th Century (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega; Editura Muzeului Național al Unirii Alba Iulia, 2023), 368 p.

<https://works.hcommons.org/records/mzed1-d1m84>

The book contains 11 studies on cultural and artistic transfers between the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Romanian territories (Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania), signed by M. P. Kruk, G. D. Herea, W. Michalchuk, E. Negrău, C. Bogdan, R. Kosiv, Sz. Terdik, S. Olianina, R. Nedici, and A. Dumitran.

Previously, very few scholars had given the appropriate importance to this line of research, partly because of the language barrier and partly on account of the isolation to which historiographies of the Eastern Bloc have been subjected during most of the 20th century – isolated both from one another and from Western Europe altogether. This volume is a first attempt to present, in a more readily accessible language, both the evidence concerning the Romanian presence in the areas inhabited by the Ruthenians and, conversely, the involvement of Ruthenians (or the transfer of their artistic creations) in the cultural life of Romanians.

The book is a result of the RICONTRANS project, funded from the ERC under the European Union' Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No. 818791).



Alexandru Baboș

The Icons of Alexander Ponekhalsky. Jertfa di la mine zugrău Alexa cel păcătoș (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega; Editura Muzeului Național al Unirii Alba Iulia, 2024), 384 p.

<https://works.hcommons.org/records/hjck1-c6h67>

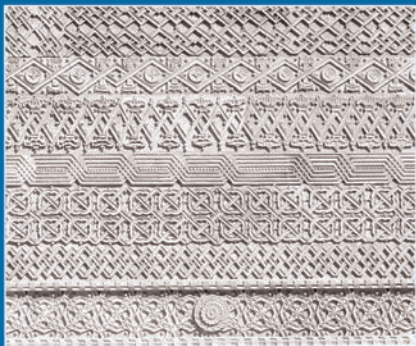
Alexandru Baboș offers a reference volume, a fine quantitative contribution, by bringing together and illustrating all the icons belonging to the work of Alexander Ponekhalsky identified so far, and a useful scientific contribution, by the information added to the artist's biography, in his triple role: painter, sculptor and scribe who, through the inscriptions with which he accompanied his paintings, made a decisive contribution to the introduction of the Romanian language into the art of Maramureș; icon painting. The ability to visualize his works in detail and the knowledge of the direction in which the origins of his art and the sources of inspiration will make it easier to identify many of the details in common with the paintings of Ukrainian workshop and, through them, the ability of Romanian society in Maramureș to relate to an artistic synthesis that dominated for centuries in Central Europe, and which during the lifetime of Alexander Ponekhalsky expanded even further, himself being one of the vectors.

The book is a result of the ORTHPOL project, funded from the ERC under the European Union' Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No. 818791).

ARABIC CHRISTIANITY TEXTS AND STUDIES

PAUL OF ALEPPO'S
JOURNAL
Volume 1

*Syria, Constantinople, Moldavia,
Wallachia and the Cossacks' Lands*



Introductory study, Arabic edition and English translation by
IOANA FEODOROV
With
YULIA PETROVA,
MIHAI ȚIPĂU AND SAMUEL NOBLE
BRILL

broader academic community the first complete English translation of Paul of Aleppo's *Journal*, accompanied by the first complete Arabic edition of the original text. Both texts are richly annotated with historical and philological comments.

This volume comprises the English translation and Arabic edition of ff. 1v–94r of ms Arabe 6016 preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, compared with three other manuscript copies. On the last page, the reader will find the moment where the Syrian travelers reach the border between the Cossacks' lands and the realm of Muscovy. The following section, entirely devoted to their journey across Muscovy (the Russian lands), makes up the content of the second volume of this series, while the third will present their return across Moldavia to Wallachia, where their second sojourn was longer than the first one, and their way back home to Aleppo and Damascus via Asia Minor.

The Arabic text covers a longer section than the only extant edition published by Vasile Radu (in 1930–1944),

Ioana Feodorov (ed. and trans.)

Paul of Aleppo's Journal.

Vol. 1: Syria, Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia and the Cossacks's Lands.

Introductory study, Arabic edition and English translation

with Yulia Petrova, Mihai Țipău, Samuel Noble
(Leiden, Boston: Brill), 915 p.

<https://brill.com/>

The *Journal* of Būluṣ ibn al-Zaʿīm al-Ḥalabī, generally known as Paul of Aleppo, is the richest text in Arabic literature that refers to the history of the Antiochian Christians, the Romanians, Russians, Ukrainians, and other peoples of Eastern and Central Europe in the mid-17th century. From 1652 to 1659, accompanied by a retinue of high clergy and monks, the Archdeacon Paul and his father Makarios III ibn al-Zaʿīm, the Patriarch of the Church of Antioch and All the East, journeyed through Greater Syria, Constantinople, Wallachia and Moldavia (the Romanian Principalities), the Cossacks' lands (present-day Ukraine), the territories of Muscovy, and, on their way home, Asia Minor.

In 2014, I published with the Editing House of the Romanian Academy / Istros Editing House (Bucharest–Brăila) the volume *Paul din Alep, Jurnal de călătorie în Moldova și Valahia*, where I included all the sections that refer to the Romanians in an annotated Arabic text and Romanian translation. In 2020, I started a series, hosted by the Istros Editing House (Editura Istros) in Brăila, which will present to the Romanian public the first translation from Arabic into Romanian of the complete text of Paul of Aleppo's *Journal*.

In the series inaugurated with this volume, I offer to the

with the advantage of having compared four manuscripts while preparing the Arabic edition included in the present volume. All the relevant information is to be found in the chapter on *Editions of Paul's Journal*.

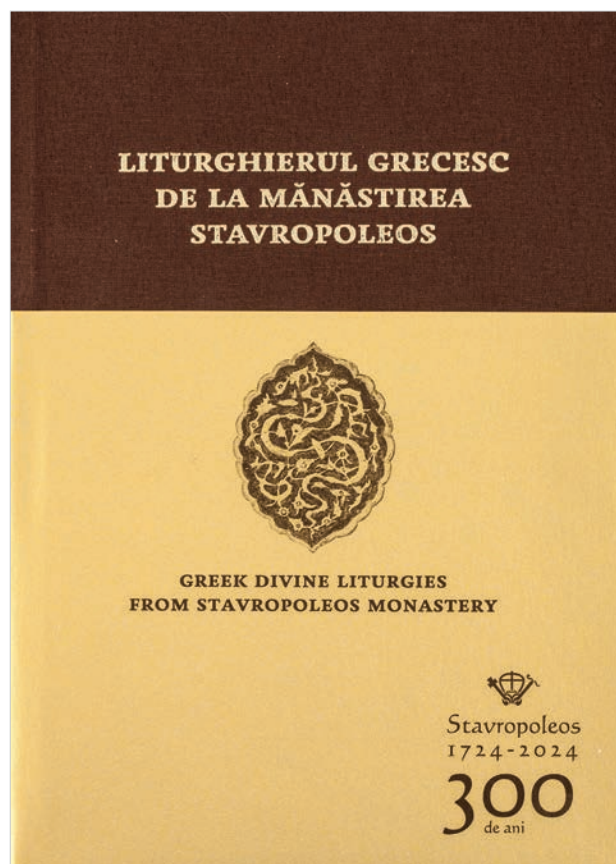
The reader will also find here the opening section of Paul of Aleppo's *Journal* – the story of the al-Zaʿīm family, the chronicle of the bishops of the Church of Antioch from its foundation to the year 1647, a report on the enthronement of Patriarch Makarios III and his visits in Syria and Mount Lebanon—followed by their departure together from Damascus, their sojourn in Constantinople, the journey to Moldavia and Wallachia, and the crossing of the Cossacks' lands in the direction of Moscow. In the chapter dedicated to the *Translations* I discuss in detail the particularities of the present English version and its advantages as compared to the well-known translation of Francis C. Belfour (t. I, 1829, and t. II, 1836). (Preface, p. IX–X)



Anca Elisabeta Tatay, Cornel Tatai-Baltă
Gravorul Mihail Strilbițchi
 (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea)
 (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2023), 350 p.
<https://edituramega.ro/>

The book focuses on the biography and the vast activity of a renowned engraver, printer, publisher, bookbinder, translator, author and secret agent in the service of the Tsar, active in the territories of today's Romania, Moldova, Ukraine, Poland and Russia. Of uncertain ethnicity (Polish, Russian, Ukrainian), Mihail Strilbițchi, born in Mirgorod (Миргород in Ukraine) and a graduate of the Kyiv Theological Academy, was undoubtedly the most important publisher, printer and engraver in Moldavia in the second half of the 18th century. He contributed to the publication of about 30 books, printed in Iași (Romania), in the metropolitan printing house and in his own printing house, and later in Dubăsari (Republic of Moldova) and Movilău (Могилів Подільський in Ukraine).

The authors analyze 45 engravings, 41 of which bear Strilbițchi's signature, one executed in metal, the others being woodcuts. His models were from the Byzantine tradition, with some notable exceptions, which came from late German Gothic or the Polish, Ukrainian and Russian Renaissance and Baroque. Consequently, his characters and scenes conveyed both volume and perspective. It is obvious that Strilbițchi was very interested in the woodcuts illustrating the writings printed in Kyiv, Lviv, Cernihiv and Pochaiv. (Abstract, p. 173-177).



Liturgierul grecesc de la Mănăstirea Stavropoleos /
Greek Divine Liturgies from Stavropoleos Monastery
 Ediție facsimilată / Facsimile edition
 Studiu introductiv / Introduction by Ovidiu-Victor Olar
 (București: Editura Cuvântul Vieții, 2024), 64 p.+136 pl.
<https://www.edituracuvantulvietii.ro/>

In the last quarter of the 16th century, a skilled Cyprus-born Greek calligrapher called Loukas settled in Wallachia. Shortly afterward, he became bishop of Buzău (1583/4-1603) and then metropolitan of Wallachia (1603-1628/9). His outstanding ecclesiastical career did not end his work as a copyist. On the contrary, Loukas and his disciples and friends were responsible for the revival of the production of luxury Greek liturgical manuscripts, which had almost come to a standstill after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and Constantinople. Of the dozens, perhaps even hundreds, of manuscripts copied and decorated with miniatures by the first representatives of the "Wallachian school" of Greek calligraphy, only two survive in Romanian collections: one in the Romanian Academy Library and the other at the National Museum of Art, both in Bucharest. Stavropoleos Monastery succeeded in recovering a manuscript written by the hieromonk Anthimos of Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos, a copyist of Greek manuscripts active in the early 1640s, whose style combines graphic elements particular to Loukas and his workshop with elements specific to the "austere" Athonite tradition. This study aims to place this manuscript in the wider context of post-Byzantine Greek manuscript production and to reconstruct, to the extent possible, its story. (p. 9)



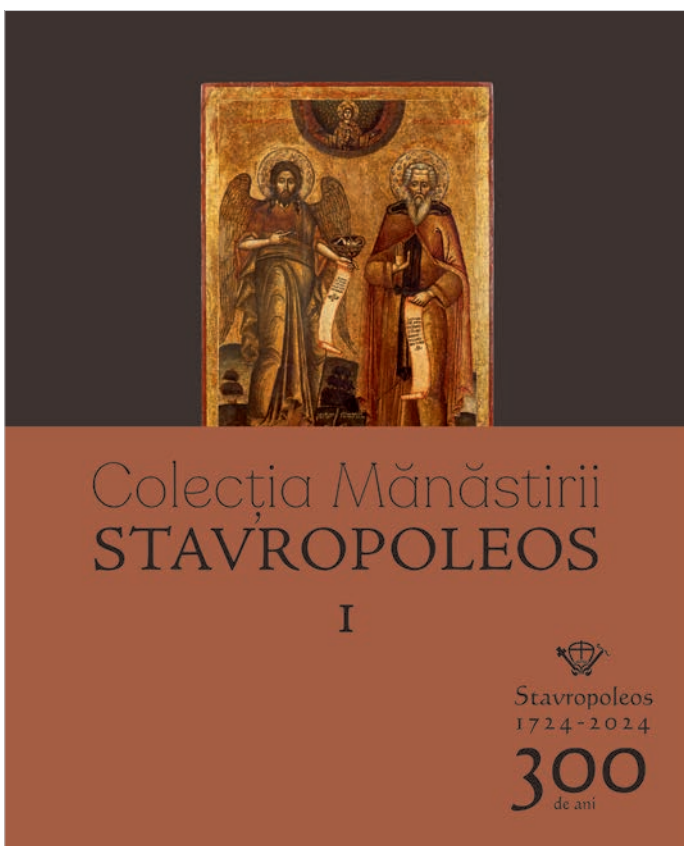
Oana-Mădălina Popescu

*Minunat este Dumnezeu întru Sfinții Lui.
Chipuri sfinte în vechi hrisoave românești.*
Ediția a II-a

(București: Dinasty Books Proeditură și Tipografie,
2021), 653 p.

<https://libris.ro/>

The book is dedicated to a special type of official old Romanian historical documents, namely foundation books decorated with icons. These documents had never been studied separately in historiography, but together with other categories of miniatures (frontispieces, borders, ornamented lettering, floral elements or coats of arms). Thus, being a new, unexplored scientific topic, it was necessary to investigate several collections of historical documents held by the National Archives of Romania, the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest - Manuscripts - Rare Books Section - as well as to read the bibliography on similar pieces kept in museums and monasteries in Greece and Bulgaria. A total of 120 Romanian documents decorated with splendid icons have been identified, most of them issued by the voivodes of Wallachia between the 17th and 19th centuries. The charters decorated with icons are very important for their iconography, but they also emphasize a Christian society and state ideology, being public, official, not private, documents. They are presented thematically, the recipients being great boyars, merchants and monasteries in Wallachia or abroad. All are illustrated in facsimiles.



Monahia Atanasia Văetiși

*Colecția Mănăstirii Stavropoleos. Vol. I. Catalog.
Icoane, prapori, pomelnice, picturi murale.*
(București: Cuvântul Vieții, 2024), 168 p.

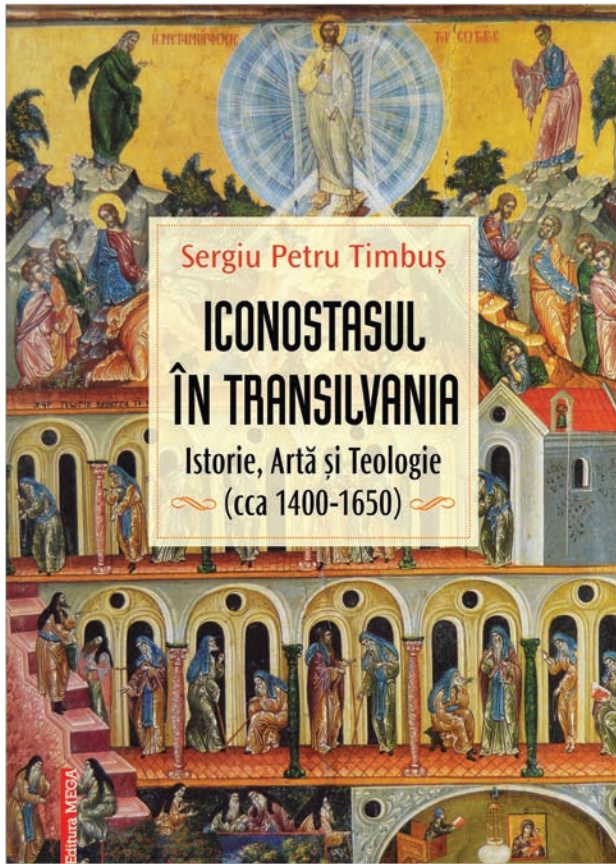
<https://www.edituracuvantulvietii.ro/>

This catalogue is part of a series dedicated to the inventory and study of the Stavropoleos Monastery's museum collection according to the technique in which the artifacts were made. It will be followed by three more volumes, dedicated to 1) goldsmithery, embroidery and sculpture, 2) old books, historical documents, engravings and maps, and 3) peasant art (icons on glass, furniture and household inventory, ceramics and costume).

The volume presents 98 pieces, 62 of which were presented, with more extensive descriptions or only identifications, in the first catalogue dedicated to the Stavropoleos collection, published in 2006. The remaining 38 were later added to the collection.

The structure of a catalogue card follows the established headings, namely: year, technique, dimensions, author/workshop, inscriptions, provenance and bibliography in which the piece has been published, followed by a brief description of the piece.

The volume was published on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the founding of Stavropoleos Monastery by the Greek abbot John Ioannice, who began to endow it with valuable works of art, today significant pieces of the collection.



Sergiu Petru Timbuș

Iconostasul în Transilvania.

Istorie, artă și teologie (cca 1400-1650)

(Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2023), 336 p.

<https://edituramega.ro/>

Perceived as a “purely Byzantine” element, the iconostasis, in the forms we are used to today, is, in fact, a post-Byzantine tradition that includes an amalgam of Byzantine, post-Byzantine and even Western elements. The specific form of Transylvanian iconostasis in the 14th-17th centuries was the wall iconostasis with two symmetrical entrances. It can be found in the entire area of residence of the Romanian population in Transylvania and, most probably, had as its prototype the wall iconostasis in the church of the Râmeț Monastery.

Historians have not yet been able to establish the origin and the route by which the iconostasis with two symmetrical entrances appeared in Transylvania. From our point of view, it can be considered as a specifically interior solution, determined by the emergence and spread of Romanesque architecture in Transylvania and, in particular, by its evolution at the local level, which presupposes that “adaptation of Romanesque forms to the Orthodox church space program.”

As a system of separation between the nave and sanctuary, the Transylvanian mural iconostasis is in line with the spread of the mural iconostasis in Byzantium in the 13th-14th centuries, but also with the spread of the lettner in parish churches in the German lands of Central Europe (1400-1600). (p. 257-258)



Laura Lazăr Zăvăleanu

Locul unde odihnește cerul.

Timpul și spațiul în literatura română veche

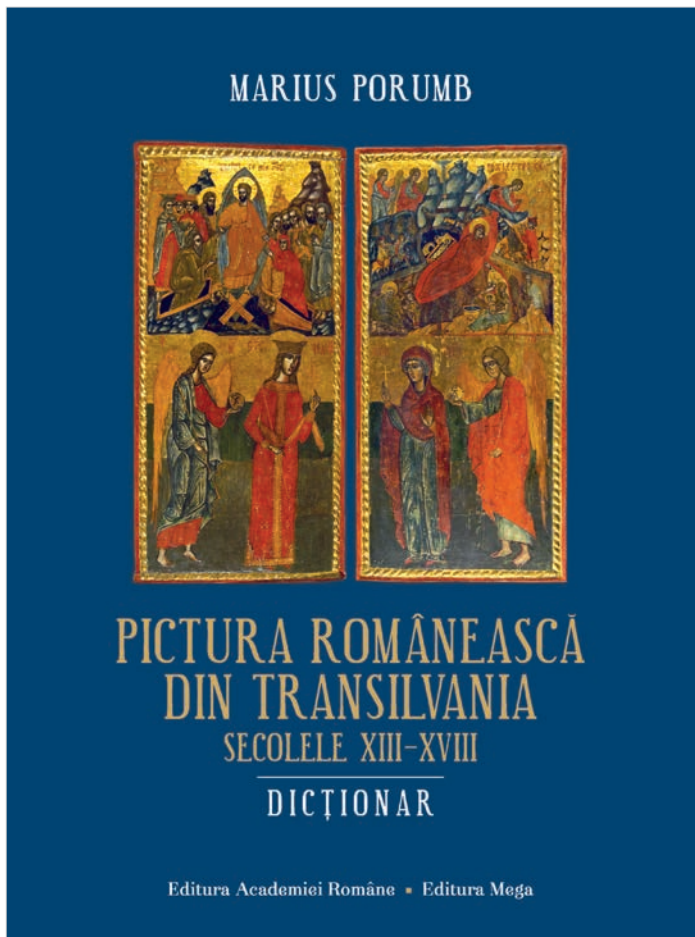
(București: Pro Universitaria, 2023), 366 p.

<https://www.prouniversitaria.ro/>

Dialogue, narration of experiences are primordial forms in an existence shaped by the laws of medieval Christian love. This is why books open with a direct address to the “beloved reader,” the indispensable interlocutor invited on the journey of reading. By placing him or her in the fabric of the work, the works of ancient Romanian literature create a time and a space in which to both rest and instruct the guest reader. And the grateful guest carries the story forward, sharing it with others.

The book is a plea for this carrying forward of ancient Romanian literature. Banished from school curricula and handbooks, threatened to disappear from university courses, punished for all sorts of guilts that do not belong to it and imprisoned by prejudices of reception, Old Romanian literature suffers, above all, from being unread. More topical than ever in its message - proof that contemporary literature takes up its themes and updates its attitudes - old Romanian literature is reaching out to today's reader with the solution it believes in: because it was made through the Word, the world can be healed through it. Through utterance, chaos becomes order and time and space reconfigure their meanings because, for our ancient writers, the word must be fulfilled in deed.

To do this, however, the story of the exemplary foundations of our first centuries of literature must be retold, reheard, reread. (p. 13)



Marius Porumb

Pictura românească din Transilvania.

Secolele XIII-XVIII. Dicționar.

(București: Editura Academiei Române; Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2023), 768 p.

<https://edituramega.ro/>

In 1998 I published the *Dicționar de pictură veche românească din Transilvania (sec. XIII-XVIII)*, a work which enjoyed a remarkable success and became an important tool used in the research of old Transylvanian Romanian paintings, both for historians of medieval art and for restorers.

Initially conceived as a index of Romanian painters from the intra-Carpathian area, in the course of research and documentation it became necessary to present artistic centers, religious monuments decorated with mural paintings, icons and iconostases, as well as museums and collections that preserve in their patrimony works of old Romanian painting, which are often true documents and sources for local and national history.

Twenty-five years, a quarter of a century, have passed since the publication of the *Dictionary of Old Romanian Painting in Transylvania*, a period during which our research has continued, with a deeper study of the artistic phenomenon in the Romanian world of Transylvania. The volume entitled *Pictura românească din Transilvania. Secolele XIII-XVIII*, published by Editura Academiei Române & Editura Mega in Cluj-Napoca, represents the current stage of our research, the results enriching and developing the texts of the old *Dictionary* published in 1998 with new data and a new vision of the artistic phenomenon. (p. 11-12)



Carte de rugăciuni, 1673, Dosoftei

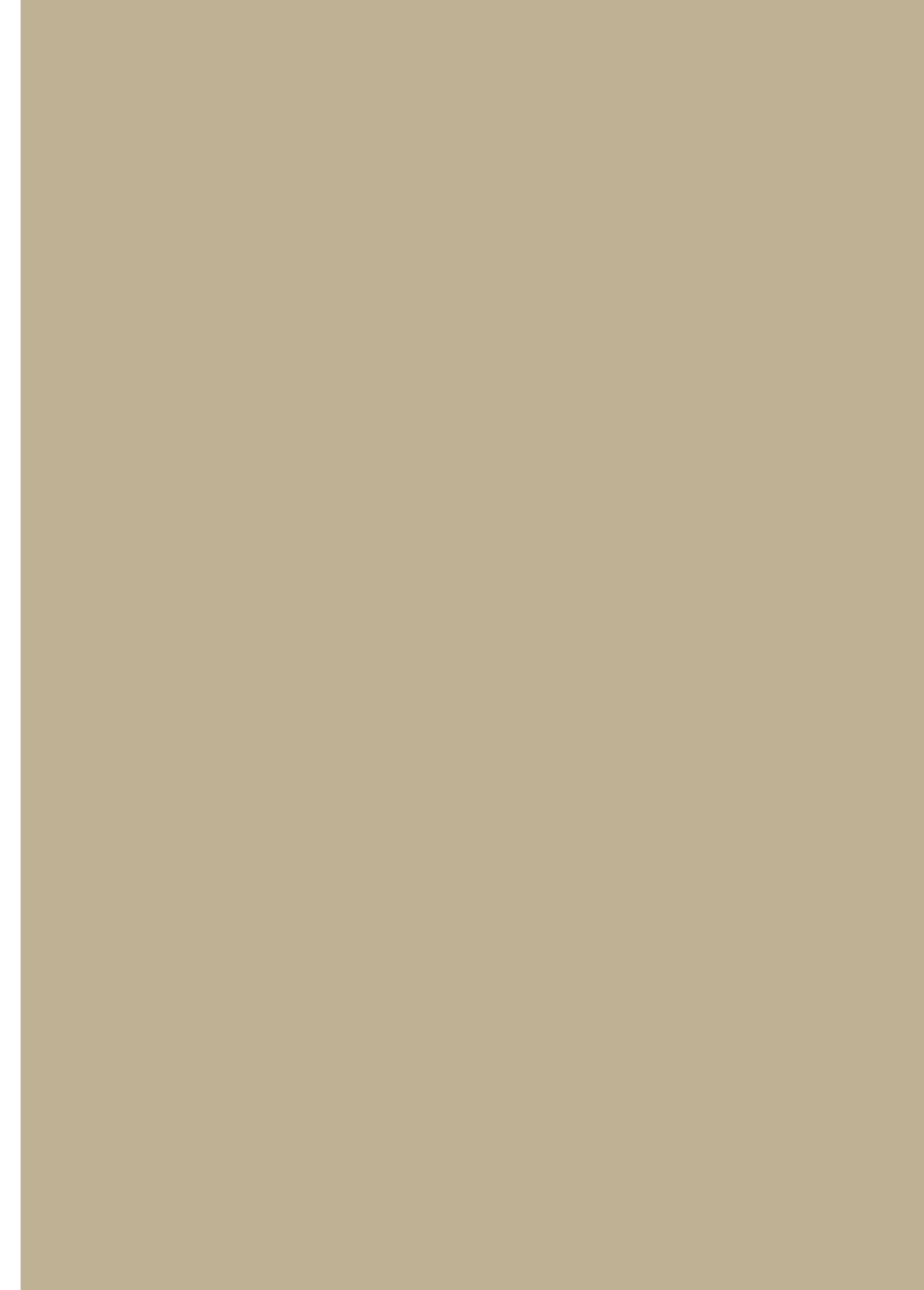
Studiu introductiv, ediție și glosar de Cristina-Ioana Dima

(București: Editura Universității din București, 2023), 292 p.

<https://www.editura-unibuc.ro/>

The book that is the subject of this edition, printed together with the *Psalter in verse*, in Unieiv, in 1673, is a small book and could pass as a minor work of ancient Romanian writing, but when looked closely, it proves to be, in my opinion, the starting point for understanding the entire activity of Metropolitan Dosoftei as a translator. I will try to show that, beyond the nuanced expression to which he forces the Romanian language, he succeeds in proposing, indirectly, through the way he relates to the texts he transposes from one language into another, a true vision of the act of translation itself. (p. 13)

Thus, some texts he translates in their entirety, others he modifies and others serve as models. This richness of the materials involved shows that, for Metropolitan Dosoftei, the volume was not a mere worthless appendix to a more important work, as is sometimes the case with such little books printed in the temporal neighborhood of translations that were fundamental for the ecclesiastical culture of the time. On the other hand, Dosoftei seems to have thought out a very clear plan and destination for this work, which heralds a vast and extremely complex work of translation. (p. 75-76)



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