

List of Illustrations

Fig. 0.1 Alessandro Dalla Via (active 1688–1729), General View of Mount Athos, printed ca. 1707, etching and engraving (source: Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library. Gift of the Program in Hellenic Studies with the support of the Stanley J. Seeger Hellenic Fund) — 10

Fig. 0.2 Map of the regions of the Balkan Peninsula and the Carpathian Mountains, ca. 1355 (source: Andrei Nacu) — 13

Fig. 0.3 Map of the regions of the Balkan Peninsula and the Carpathian Mountains, ca. 1550 (source: Andrei Nacu) — 14

Fig. 1.1 Espigmen charter with portraits of despot Đurađ Branković and his family, 1429 (source: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church) — 36

Fig. 1.2 Andrija Raičević, icon of the holy despots Branković, Angelina, Stefan, Jovan, and Đorđe (Maksim), 1644 (source: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church) — 41

Fig. 1.3 Prince Lazar and Princess Milica, Curtea de Argeș, 1517 (source: Boldura et al., *Mărturii: Frescele Mănăstirii Argeșului*, 179.) — 43

Fig. 1.4 Neagoe Basarab and Milica Despina, Curtea de Argeș, 1517, interior fresco, now in the National Museum of Art, Bucharest (source: Wikimedia Commons) — 44

Fig. 1.5 Icon of SS. Symeon and Sava, 1522, panel painting (source: Bucharest, National Museum of Art, 11344/1 1) — 45

Fig. 1.6 Icon of Descent from the Cross, 1522, panel painting (source: Bucharest, National Museum of Art, 11345/1 2) — 49

Fig. 2.1 Church of the Theotokos, Studenica Monastery, east facade, 1191–96 or 1207 (source: Miodrag Marković) — 59

Fig. 2.2 Church of Christ Pantokrator, Dečani Monastery, east facade, 1327–35 (source: Platoneum Publishing) — 59

Fig. 2.3 Church of the Theotokos, Studenica Monastery, plan (source: Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 495, fig. 559.) — 61

Fig. 2.4 Virgin and Archangels, tympanum of the west portal, Church of the Theotokos, Studenica Monastery, 1191–96 or 1207 (source: Miodrag Marković) — 62

Fig. 2.5 Church of St. Stefan, Banjska Monastery, 1312–16 (source: Platoneum Publishing) — 66

Fig. 2.6 Virgin and Child from Banjska Monastery (now in Sokolica Monastery) (source: Platoneum Publishing) — 67

Fig. 2.7 Church of Christ Pantokrator, Dečani Monastery, southwest view, 1327–35 (source: Platoneum Publishing) — 69

Fig. 3.1 Calvinist church in Sântămăria-Orlea, painted decoration on the southern wall of the nave, 1311, fresco (source: Vladimir Agrigoroaei) — 82

Fig. 3.2 Calvinist church in Sântămăria-Orlea, painted decoration on the northern wall of the nave, 1311, fresco (source: Mihai Alexandru Bilici) — 83

Fig. 3.3 Finding of the Holy Cross, Calvinist church in Sântămăria-Orlea, lower register of the nave's northern wall, 1311, fresco (source: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu) — 85

Fig. 3.4 Last Judgment, Lutheran church in Dârlös, northern wall of the sanctuary, late fourteenth–early fifteenth century, fresco (source: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu) — 89

Fig. 3.5 Lutheran church in Dârlös, painted decoration on the southern wall of the sanctuary, late fourteenth–early fifteenth century, fresco (source: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu) — 90

Fig. 3.6 St. Dominic, Lutheran church in Dârlös, western side of the sanctuary's southeastern window jamb, late fourteenth–early fifteenth century, fresco (source: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsioiu) — 93

Fig. 4.1 The Elevation of the Cross, Russian icon, mid-sixteenth century. 150 × 111 cm. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, no. 20694 (source: The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) — 104

Fig. 4.2 The Elevation of the Cross, Gračanica Monastery, second decade of the fourteenth century, fresco (source: Bogdanović, *The Framing of Sacred Space*, fig. 2.18.) — 109

Fig. 4.3 The Elevation of the Cross (one side of a double-sided tablet), Russian icon (Novgorod), late fifteenth to early sixteenth century (source: Bridgeman Images) — 110

Fig. 4.4 View of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul immediately prior to its reconstruction by the Fossati brothers in 1847 (source: Gaspard Fossati, *Aya Sofia Constantinople: As Recently Restored by Order of H.M. the Sultan Abdul Medjid* [London, P. & C. Colhaghi, 1852], pl. 25.) — 119

Fig. 4.5a Engraving of the late Byzantine church of Christ Chalkites in Arslanhane, Istanbul, late eighteenth century (source: Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls* [Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977], fig. 62.) — 121

Fig. 4.5b Küçük Hasan Mosque, Chania, Crete (source: Elena Boeck) — 122

Fig. 4.6 The Elevation of the Cross, Russian icon, mid-sixteenth century (source: Sergiev Posad Museum) — 123

Fig. 4.7 The Elevation of the Cross from an icon painters' manual, late sixteenth to early seventeenth century (source: *Stroganovskii ikonopisnyi litsevoi podlinnik* [Moscow: Izdanie litografii pri khudozhestvenno-promyshlennom muzeume, 1869], fol. 4.) — 126

Fig. 5.1 Painters Michael and Kostas from Linotopi, dedicatory inscription with decorative patterns in the katholikon of the Fotmou Monastery, Lake Trichonida, Greece, 1589 (source: Theocharis Tsampouras) — 136

Fig. 5.2 Painter Nikolaos (I) from Linotopi, decorative details on the frescoes and iconostasis of the Church of St. Demetrios, Palatitsia, Greece, 1569–70 (source: Theocharis Tsampouras) — 137

Fig. 5.3 Using *anthivola*: (above) Michael from Linotopi (attrib.), Theotokos "Platytera" with angels, Church of St. Nicholas, Kleidonia, Epirus, Greece, ca. 1620–22; (below) Workshop of Michael from Linotopi, Theotokos "Platytera" with angels, katholikon of the Ravenia Monastery, Southern Albania, 1620/21 (source: Theocharis Tsampouras) — 140

Fig. 5.4 Painter Nikolaos (IV) from Linotopi, general view of the southern wall of the narthex, katholikon of the Novo Hopovo Monastery, Serbia, 1654 (source: Theocharis Tsampouras) — 145

Fig. 5.5 Painter Nikolaos (IV) from Linotopi, signature of the painter, katholikon of the Monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Spelaio, Greece, 1649 (source: Theocharis Tsampouras) — 147

Fig. 5.6 Copying Western prints: (left) Israhel van Meckenem the Younger, The Flagellation of Christ, 1465–1503. Engraving. Art Institute of Chicago; (right) Painter Nikolaos (IV) from Linotopi (after Israhel van Meckenem), The Flagellation of Christ, katholikon of the Monastery of the Transfiguration of Christ, Driovouno, Greece, 1652 (source: Theocharis Tsampouras) — 148

Fig. 5.7 Copying Islamic art: (*left*) detail of the Shamsa Medallion, Iran, sixteenth to seventeenth century. Art Institute of Chicago; (*right*) Painter Nikolaos (I) from Linotopi (attrib.), decorative details on the frame of an icon of Saint Solomoni and the seven Maccabees, late sixteenth century, Byzantine Museum of Veria (source: Theocharis Tsampouras) — 149

Fig. 6.1 Initial D of Psalm 109 (110), psalter from the Abbey Saint-Fuscien-aux-Bois, ca. 1170–85, Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 0019, fol. 133 (source: Institute for Research and History of Texts – CNRS) — 159

Fig. 6.2 *Paternitas*, Koumpelidiki church, Kastoria, 1260–70, fresco (source: Vera Zavaritskaya) — 161

Fig. 6.3 *Synthronoi*, Mother of God church in Matejče, 1356–60, wall painting in the diakonikon (source: Gabelić, *Ciklus Arhangelog u Vizantijskoj Umetnosti*, 99.) — 163

Fig. 6.4 *Synthronoi*, illustration to Psalm 109 (110), Serbian Psalter, ca. 1380. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Slav. 4, fol. 146v (source: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) — 163

Fig. 6.5 Trinity and Deësis, St. Nicholas of Tzotza church, Kastoria, mid-fourteenth century, wall painting in the triumphal arch over the apse (source: Sisiou, “Mia agnosti synthesi,” 512, fig. 1.) — 165

Fig. 6.6 Trinity and Deësis, fifteenth century, The Sinai Icon Collection (source: Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai) — 167

Fig. 6.7 Icon of the New Testament Trinity, ca. 1450, The Cleveland Museum of Art (source: The Cleveland Museum of Art) — 168

Fig. 6.8 “On the throne with the Father and the Spirit, wast Thou” (*Synthronoi*, part of the composition “In the grave bodily”), Dragalevtsi, 1497–1531, fresco in the narthex vault (source: Svetozar Angelov) — 171

Fig. 7.1 Dormition of the Virgin, Byzantine, probably Constantinople, late 900s, ivory (source: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.132) — 185

Fig. 7.2 Locket reliquary with the Dormition of the Virgin and Gnadenstuhl, France, probably Paris, ca. 1410–20, ivory (source: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979.521.3) — 186

Fig. 7.3 Dormition of the Virgin, Čečejovce, Protestant church (formerly dedicated to St. John the Evangelist), ca. 1340 (source: Krisztina Ilko) — 188

Fig. 7.4 Dormition of the Virgin, Rimavské Brezovo, Protestant church (formerly dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin Mary), second half of the fourteenth century (source: Krisztina Ilko) — 190

Fig. 7.5 Dormition of the Virgin, Šamorín, Protestant church (formerly dedicated to the Virgin Mary, ca. 1290–1340 (source: Krisztina Ilko) — 190

Fig. 7.6 Last Prayer and Coronation of the Virgin, Nitra, cathedral of St. Emmeram, ca. 1370s–80s (source: Vladimír Plekanec) — 193

Fig. 8.1 The studied monuments (source: Google Maps, edited by Vlad Bedros) — 200

Fig. 8.2 Lamb of God, apse window, St. Nicholas church, Probota Monastery, 1532, fresco (source: Vlad Bedros) — 206

Fig. 8.3 Abraham’s Sacrifice, the Man of Sorrows adored by angels, the Lamb of God, apse, St. Nicholas church, Bălinești, after 1500, fresco (source: Vlad Bedros) — 207

Fig. 8.4 Lamb of God, Virgin of Incarnation, and the Ancient of Days, adored by saints, western arch of the apse, church of the Ascension, Neamț Monastery, ca. 1500, fresco (source: Vlad Bedros) — 208

Fig. 8.5 Ancient of Days (dome), Christ Emanuel, Lamb of God, Christ Child on the paten, and Christ Pantokrator (axes of the arches), adored by saints, exonarthex, church of St. George, Suceava, 1532–34, fresco (source: Vlad Bedros) — 209

Fig. 8.6 Lamb of God adored by bishops (John Chrysostom and Basil), eastern arch of the naos, church of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, Arbore, first half of the sixteenth century, fresco (source: Vlad Bedros) — 210

Fig. 8.7 The Virgin, and the Lamb of God, adored by saints, apse, church of the Annunciation, Moldovița Monastery, 1537, fresco (source: Vlad Bedros) — 211

Fig. 9.1 Map of locations of the sixteenth-century Akathistos cycles containing the traits of type 1 (source: Nazar Kozak) — 230

Fig. 9.2 Map of locations of the sixteenth-century Akathistos cycles containing the traits of type 2 (source: Nazar Kozak) — 231

Fig. 9.3 Map of locations of the sixteenth-century Akathistos cycles containing the traits of type 3 (source: Nazar Kozak) — 232

Fig. 9.4 Map of mobility zones of types 1, 2, and 3 of the Akathistos Cycle. (source: Nazar Kozak) — 233

Fig. 10.1 The Life of the True Monk, Bolnița Chapel, Horezu Monastery, ca. 1699, fresco (source: Wikimedia Commons, photograph by Țetcu Mircea Rareș, 2010) — 240

Fig. 10.2 The Crucified Monk, Cologne, first half of the seventeenth century. Broadsheet print (source: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 32.4, fol. 15.) — 241

Fig. 10.3 The Crucified Monk, Central Europe, first half of the fifteenth century. Pen drawing (source: London, Wellcome Institute, MS 49, fol. 63v.) — 243

Fig. 10.4 Ladder of Divine Ascent, Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, ca. 1603, fresco (source: Wikimedia Commons) — 245

Fig. 10.5 The Apocalypse Cycle, sixteenth century, fresco, Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece (source: Wikimedia Commons) — 249

Fig. 11.1 The Holy Trinity Chapel, Lublin Castle, before 1370 (source: Brykowska, “Architektura królewskiej kaplicy Św. Trójcy na zamku w Lublinie,” 133.) — 261

Fig. 11.2 Wall paintings in the Holy Trinity Chapel, Lublin Castle, ca. 1418 (source: The National Museum in Lublin) — 261

Fig. 11.3 Ladislaus Jagiełło kneeling before the Enthroned Virgin and Child, Holy Trinity Chapel, Lublin Castle, ca. 1418, fresco (source: The National Museum in Lublin) — 263

Fig. 11.4a Blessing Christ as a half-length figure above a dedicatory inscription, Holy Trinity Chapel, Lublin Castle, ca. 1418, fresco (source: The National Museum in Lublin) — 264

Fig. 11.4b Foundational inscription, Holy Trinity Chapel, Lublin Castle, ca. 1418, fresco (source: The National Museum in Lublin) — 264

Fig. 11.5 Ladislaus Jagiełło as a rider mounted on a white charging horse, Holy Trinity Chapel, Lublin Castle, ca. 1418, fresco (source: The National Museum in Lublin) — 266

Fig. 12.1 Donor portraits of Spata, Paregoritissa Church at Arta (source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Arta) — 296

Fig. 12.2 Detail from the donor portraits of Spata, Paregoritissa Church at Arta (source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Arta) — 297

Fig. 12.3 Donor portraits and inscription of Pantanassa at Philippiada (source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Arta) — 298

Fig. 12.4 Donor portraits of Michael Therianos and his family in the katholikon of St. Paraskevi at Monodendri (source: Christos Stavrakos) — 299

Fig. 12.5 Donor inscription of the katholikon of St. Paraskevi at Monodendri (source: Christos Stavrakos) — **300**

Fig. 12.6 Donor inscription of the katholikon of the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin Molybdoskepastos, 1521 (source: Christos Stavrakos) — **303**

Fig. 12.7 Left part of the donor inscription of the katholikon of the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin Molybdoskepastos, 1536–37 (source: Christos Stavrakos) — **304**

Fig. 12.8 Right part of the donor inscription of the katholikon of the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin Molybdoskepastos, 1536–37 (source: Christos Stavrakos) — **305**

Fig. 12.9 Donor inscription of Hagioi Apostoloi at Dipalitsa/Molybdoskepastos (source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Ioannina) — **307**

Fig. 12.10 Donors of the church of Hagioi Apostoloi at Dipalitsa/Molybdoskepastos (source: Ephorate of Antiquities of Ioannina) — **308**

Fig. 13.1 Michael VIII Palaiologos and his family offering the church to the Virgin, narthex of the church of the Theotokos, Apollonia, Fier (Albania), late thirteenth century (source: Gianvito Campobasso) — **318**

Fig. 13.2 Deësis with donor, apse of the Church of St. Savior, Rubik, Lezha (Albania), 1272 (source: Gianvito Campobasso) — **322**

Fig. 13.3 Nicola della Marra, his family, and army visiting the Madonna del Casale, northern wall of the nave in the Church of Sta. Maria del Casale, Brindisi (Italy), 1338 (source: Gianvito Campobasso) — **325**

Fig. 13.4 St. Stephan and Maria Regina among angels and donors, southern wall of the “Byzantine chapel” of the Amphitheatre, Durrës (Albania), sixth to seventh centuries (source: Gianvito Campobasso) — **328**

Fig. 13.5 Virgo Platytéra and Pantokrator, cave church of the Theotokos, Letmi, Elbasan (Albania), fourteenth century (source: Gianvito Campobasso) — **331**

Fig. 13.6 Virgo Platytéra and Pantokrator, detail of the donors, cave church of the Theotokos, Letmi, Elbasan (Albania), fourteenth century (source: Gianvito Campobasso) — **335**

Fig. 14.1 St. Prokopios, chapel of Saints Anargyroi, Monastery of Vatopedi, second half of the fourteenth century, fresco (source: Dimitrios Liakos) — **346**

Fig. 14.2 Low seat, sacristy, Monastery of Vatopedi, second half of the fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, wood (source: Dimitrios Liakos) — **347**

Fig. 14.3 Panagiarion, sacristy, Monastery of Vatopedi, second half of the fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries. Rhinoceros horn (source: Dimitrios Liakos) — **348**

Fig. 14.4 Eastern wall of a three-story building, Monastery of St. Paul, 1446–47 (source: Dimitrios Liakos) — **349**

Fig. 14.5 Icon of St. Athanasios the Athonite, Monastery of Great Lavra, second half of the fourteenth century (overpainted in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries) (source: Dimitrios Liakos) — **350**

Fig. 14.6 Silver-gilt revetment of a lectionary (back), Monastery of Iviron, sacristy, 1512–21 (source: Dimitrios Liakos) — **355**

Fig. 14.7 Seaside fort, Monastery of St. Paul, first half of the sixteenth century (source: Dimitrios Liakos) — **355**

Fig. 15.1 “Great curtain,” offered to Slatina Monastery, February 1561, embroidery (source: Bucharest, National Museum of Art of Romania, 15801/B.155) — **372**

Fig. 15.2 “Imperial veil,” offered to Slatina Monastery, ca. 1555–60, embroidery (source: Bucharest, National Museum of Art of Romania, 15801/B.156) — **373**

Fig. 15.3 Prince Radu Paisie and his son Marcu, infirmary church of Cozia Monastery, 1543, fresco (source: Cătălin D. Constantin) — **379**

Fig. 15.4 Neagoe Basarab; his son Theodosie; and Mircea Ciobanul, Snagov Monastery, west wall of the naos, 1563, fresco (source: (Monahia) Atanasia Văetişii) — **380**

Fig. 15.5 Mircea Ciobanul's sons, Peter, Radu, and Mircea; and his wife, Chiajna, Snagov Monastery, west wall of the naos, 1563, fresco (source: (Monahia) Atanasia Văetişii) — **381**

Fig. 15.6 Neagoe Basarab; his son Theodosie; Mircea Ciobanul; his son Mircea; and his wife, Chiajna, Snagov Monastery, west wall of the naos, 1563, fresco (source: Vlad Bedros) — **382**

Fig. 15.7 Neagoe Basarab; his son Theodosie; Mircea Ciobanul; his sons, Peter, Radu, and Mircea; and his wife, Chiajna, Snagov Monastery, south wall of the pronaos, 1563, fresco (source: (Monahia) Atanasia Văetişii) — **382**