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THE MAN OF SORROWS AND THE LAMENTING VIRGIN: THE EXAMPLE AT MARKOV MANASTIR*

The frescoes of the Man of Sorrows and the lamenting Virgin in the church of Saint Demetrios at Markov Manastir (1376/77) are depicted in the western part of the naos, which is a departure from their usual location in the sanctuary. The paper, therefore, looks at the location of these frescoes in the context of the entire fresco program at Markov Manastir. What is distinct is a conceptual link between the frescoes in the sanctuary and the depiction of the Dead Christ and the Virgin on the western wall. The relationship between the Incarnation and the death of Christ is considered from a theological and liturgical standpoint. Related examples of icons whose iconographic and thematic solutions share the same conceptual tenets are also analyzed, as well as the influence of the texts read during the Passion Service on the placement of the frescoes of the Dead Christ and the Virgin.

Key words: Markov Manastir, Man of Sorrows, lamenting Virgin, Passion service, Virgin's lament, iconography.

The frescoes of the Man of Sorrows (*Akra Tapeinosis*)[1] and the lamenting Virgin in the church of Saint Demetrios at Markov Manastir (1376/77)[2] are de-

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[1] The bibliography on Man of Sorrows (*Akra Tapeinosis*) is immense. See especially *G. Millet,* Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siécles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos, Paris 1916, 483–488; *A. Xyngopoulos,* Βυζαντιναὶ Εἰκόνες ἐν Μετεώροις, ΑΔ 10 (1926) 1929, 35–45; *J. Myslivec,* Dvě studie z dějin byzantského umění, Praha 1948; *V. N. Lazarev,* Kovalevskaia rospis i problema iuzhnoslavianskikh sviazei v russkoi zhivopisi XIVveka*, Ezhegodnik Instituta istorii iskusstv Akademii nauk SSSR 1957, Moskva 1958, 250–254; *D. I. Pallas*, Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz, der Ritus — das Bild, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 2, Munich 1965; *S. Dufrenne,* Images du décor de la Prothèse, REB 26 (1968) 297–310; *H. Maguire*, The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art, DOP 31 (1977)

picted in the western part of the naos. This feature makes the frescoes a seemingly lonely example in Orthodox Christian medieval art. The waist-length fresco-icons of Christ and the lamenting Virgin are depicted in the spandrels of the arch above the western doorway in the wall between the naos and the narthex. The accompanying inscriptions read: I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C and MH(TH)P Θ(EO)Y. Although the Man of Sorrows and the Theotokos are associated in a number of earlier frescos, these do not seem to have been of crucial importance for the conception in Markov Manastir.[3] Scholarly research has pointed to similarity in composition between the frescoes in Markov Manastir and some much earlier diptychs showing the Dead Christ and the lamenting Virgin.[4] A remarkably close analogy

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160–166; *H. Belting*, The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: form and function of early paintings of the Passion, New York 1990; *idem*, An Image and its function in the liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium, DOP (34–35) 1981, 1–16; *T. Velmans*, La décor du sanctuaire de l'église de Calendžikha, CA 36 (1989) 156–158; *D. Simić-Lazar*, Le Christ de Pitié vivant. L'exemple de Kalenić, Zograf 20 (1989) 81–91; *I. M. Djordjević*, Dve zanimljive predstave Mrtvog Hrista u srpskom slikarstvu srednjeg veka, ZRVI 37 (1998) 185–198; *D. Simić-Lazar*, Kalenić. Slikarstvo i istorija, Kragujevac 2000, 140–164; *eadem,* Sur le thème du Christ de Pitié en Serbie à la fin du moyen âge et dans les Balkans à l'époque post-byzantine, ed. *A. Paliouras*, Μίλτος Γαρίδης (1926–1996) Αφιέρωμα, Ioannina 2003, 689–720; *I. A. Shalina,* Ikona "Hristos vo grobe" i Nerukotvornyi obraz na Konstantinopolskoi plashchanitse, ed. *A. Lidov*, Eastern Christian Relics*,* Moscow 2003, 305–324.

2 *L. Mirković — Ž. Tatić,* Markov manastir, Novi Sad 1925; *C. Grozdanov — G. Subotić,* Crkva svetog Djordja u Rečici kod Ohrida, Zograf 12 (1981) 62–75.

3 A close spatial relation of the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin is to be found in the *prothesis* in Sopoćani, cf. *V. J. Djurić,* Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji, Beograd 1974,198; *idem*, Sopoćani, Beograd 1991[2], 153, fig. 116. In Gradac the Dead Christ is depicted in the apse of the *diakonikon*, while the Virgin has the position in the *prothesis*, cf. *Pallas,* Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz, 275; *Dufrenne*, Images du décor de la Prothèse*,* 299, n.11; *Djurić*, Vizantijske freske*,* 198. A tendency in iconography of the rapprochement of the Christ and the Virgin continued in the course of the 14th century in the Russian church of Transfiguration in Kovaljevo near Novgorod, cf. *Lazarev,* Kovalevskaia rospis i problema iuzhnoslavianskikh sviazei*,* 234. In the following century an example is to be found in Rudenica (1403/04), where in the *prothesis* occur the Man of Sorrows with the accompanying Virgin on the northern wall, cf. *L. Mirković,* Rudenica, PKJIF XI (1931) 98, fig.2. For the dating of the fresco paintings in Rudenica, cf. *D. Vojvodić*, Vladarski portreti srpskih despota, Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost, Despotovac 1995, 66. The examples with the Man of Sorrows embraced by the Virgin are discussed later in the text. See n. 100.

4 *Djordjević*, Dve zanimljive predstave Mrtvog Hrista, n. 36; *idem*, O fresko-ikonama kod Srba u srednjem veku, ZLUMS 15 (1979) 135–150, 142. The oldest relevant analogy is the 13th-century Italian diptych from the National Gallery in London, widely known as the Stoclet Man of Sorrows. However they are different in that the panel shows the Virgin holding the Christ Child instead of lamenting, cf. *J. Cannon*, The Stoclet 'Man of Sorrows': a Thirteenth-century Diptych Reunited, BurlMag 141 (1999) 107–112, fig. 54,55; Byzantium 330–1453, eds. *R. Cormack — M. Vassilaki*, London 2008, fig. 271.1–2. A more complex form was achieved in an early fourteenth century triptych of Italian origin, where the Man of Sorrows appears between the lamenting Virgin and most probably St John the Theologian. The back of the left wing shows two Dominican friars, cf. *H.W. van Os*, The Discovery of an Early Man of Sorrows on a Dominican Triptych, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 41 (1978) 65–75. Furthermore the theme of the Man of Sorrows was widespread in Italy and especially in the Venetian region, cf., Passion in Venice : Crivelli to Tintoretto and Veronese: The Man of Sorrows in Venetian Art, eds. *C. R. Puglisi — W. L. Barcham,* New York 2001. A diptych attributed to Simone Martini shows the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin with Child, cf., Il Gotico a Siena: miniature, pitture, oreficerie, oggetti, d'arte*,* exh.cat., ed. *G. Chelazzi Dini*, Siena 1982,187–88, no.66; *P. Leone de Castris,* Simone Martini, Milan 2003, 359–360, no.29. The Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St. Mark make part of another work attributed to Simone Martini, a

is offered by a diptych from the Monastery of Meteora dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[5] For further examples of this similarity in icon painting, we may turn to a late thirteenth-century icon of the lamenting Virgin from the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow,[6] or to the one at Benaki Museum in Athens, dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[7] According to Maria Vassilaki, both icons originally formed part of diptychs with the Man of Sorrows on the other panel.[8] The Man of Sorrows in Markov Manastir followed the firmly established iconography of the subject. The waist-length figure of Christ is depicted with his arms crossed, head leaning on the shoulders, and the cross behind his back. The main feature of the expressively rendered figure is the intense modeling of the body with an accent on the anatomy of the chest. Apart from the above-mentioned diptych from the Metamorphosis monastery at Meteora,[9] comparable stylistic elements are noticeable on an icon from a private collection in Athens (c. 1400)[10] and the Poganovo icon (c. 1400).[11] They all were produced in the workshops in Western Macedonia in the anti-classical style.

The location of the Man of Sorrows and the lamenting Virgin in the fresco decoration in Markov Manastir is a departure from its usual place in the sanctuary. The image of the Dead Christ in the *prothesis*, occasionally with the Theotokos as its counterpart in the *diakonikon*, primarily carries Eucharistic symbolism.[12] Therefore, the most recent identification of Christ as the Man of Sorrows above the entrance to the *prothesis* in Mileševa, put forward by Branislav Todić, is of decisive importance as this appears to be the earliest example in Serbian and Byzantine wall

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predella of poliptych which is kept in Muzeo Nazionale di San Matteo, cf. *van Os*, The Discovery of an Early Man of Sorrows on a Dominican Triptych*, fig.14c. The most representative is considered to be the central part of the Pala d'Oro in the church of San Marco in Venice. This panel, a work of Paolo Veneziano and his sons, painted c. 1343 sets the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and John the Theologian, cf., *van Os*, op. cit. 72.

[5] *Xyngopoulos*, Βυζαντιναὶ εἰκόνες ἐν Μετεώροις, 35–45; *Belting*, The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages, 109; *idem*, An Image and its function in the liturgy, 7–8; *P. Vokotopoulos,* Ελληνική Τέχνη. Βυζαντινές εικόνες, Athena 1995, fig. 123–124.

[6] Vizantiia. Balkany. Rus. Ikony konca XIII — pervoi poloviny XV veka. Katalog vystavki. Gosudarstvennaia Tretiakovskaia galereia. K XVIII Mezhdunarodnomu kongressu vizantinistov, Moscow 1991, 205–206, no. 2.

[7] Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art, ed. *M. Vassilaki,* Athens 2000, (*M. Vassilaki*) 488, no. 85.

[8] Ibid., 488.

[9] See n. 7

[10] Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art, exh. cat., Athens 1986 (*M. Chatzidakis*) 83–85 no. 86; From Byzantium to El Greco. Greek Frescoes and Icons, ed. *M. Acheimastou-Potamianou,* London 1987 (*M. Chatzidakis*) 163, fig. 27.

[11] *K. Weitzamann et al.*, Les Icônes, Paris 1982, fig. on p. 196.

[12] *M. Altripp*, Die Prothesis und ihre Bildausstattung in Byzanz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Denkmäler Griechenlands*, Frankfurt a. M. 1998; *idem*, Liturgie und Bild in Byzantinischen Kirchen. Korrespondenzen und Divergenzen, Bildlichkeit und Bildorte von Liturgie. Schauplätze in Spätantike, Byzanz und Mittelalter, Wiesbaden 2002, 115–124, 121; *idem*, Beobachtungen zum Bildprogramm der Prothesis, ed. *G. Koch*, Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme — Ikonographie — Stil, Wiesbaden 2000, 25–40.

painting.[13] This confirms that the *Imago Pietatis*, as an image of Christ's sacrifice, was associated with the *rite of prothesis* from its first appearance.[14]

Such an arrangement of frescoes of the Man of Sorrows and the lamenting Virgin on the walls of the church of St Demetrios is unique and will not occur again in Serbian and Byzantine art. This paper will analyze the place of the Man of Sorrows and the lamenting Virgin in the fresco program of the church,[15] looking at this distinctive spatial solution from the theological and liturgical standpoint.

The starting point for unraveling the conceptual complexity of this solution in the *katholikon* of Markov Manastir is the analysis of the fresco program of the naos and the sanctuary. The niche of the *prothesis*, the usual location for the Man of Sorrows in the churches of the Palaiologan period, shows the *prothesis rite*, which is performed by St. Peter of Alexandria and St. Stephen the Protodeacon over the dead body of Christ laid on a stone slab that evokes his tomb, under a ciborium, with a liturgical veil instead of the loincloth and the *asterikos* on his belly.[16] It seems therefore that the intention of the painter or the person who commissioned the frescoes was to choose for the niche of the *prothesis* a different form of Eucharist image, which, by virtue of its liturgical character, creates a whole with the rest of the program of the apse depicting the Great Entrance, with Christ the Archpriest celebrating the liturgy.[17] The Man of Sorrows and the lamenting Virgin are painted on the western wall of the naos below the scenes of Pilate's Court, which belongs to the Passion cycle.[18] If we bear in mind the fact that the offering of holy gifts in the *prothesis* marked a liturgical commemoration of the Passion of Christ and his death at Golgotha, then the new location of the fresco

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[13] B. Todić expresses doubt that the photographs of the now gone frescoes from Savana in Georgia (c. 1200) actually show the *Imago Pietatis*, cf. *B. Todić*, Novo tumačenje programa i rasporeda fresaka u Mileševi, eds. *D. Medaković — C. Grozdanov*, Na tragovima Vojislava J. Djurića, Beograd 2011, 55–68, 63 (for the same view see also *T. Velmans — A. Alpago Novello*, Miroir de l'invisible. Peintures murales et architecture de la Géorgie, (VIe–XVe s.), Paris 1996, 166, n. 67).

[14] Although not yet firmly established at the time, the earliest examples from the 13th century show that their position in the church decoration can be recognized around the space of the *prothesis*. It is the case in Sopoćani (c. 1272–1276), where this image is on the western wall of the *prothesis*, s. *Djurić*, Sopoćani, 153, fig. 16.

[15] Draginja Simić Lazar has already been dealt with this problem in recent scholarly writing. The author suggested an explanation of the spatial context of the Man of Sorrows in Markov manastir in reference with the iconography program of the sanctuary and associated Eucharistic-sacrificial character. The author reached the conclusion that the Man of Sorrows corresponds with the *Melismos* depicted in the niche of *prothesis*, while the Virgin is directed toward the group of the archbishops in prayer, depicted in the niche of the *diakonikon* (cf. *Simić-Lazar*, Kalenić, 149, n. 295; *eadem*, Le Christ de Pitié vivant, 87.

[16] *C. Grozdanov*, Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira, Zograf 11 (1980) 83, 84. On the iconography of Melismos, cf. *H. Konstantinidi*, Ο Μελισμός, Athena 2008. For the decoration of the prothesis in the church of St. Nicholas at Curtea de Arbes, depicting the dead body of Christ surrounded by angels — deacons, see. A. Dumitrescu, Une nouvelle datation des peintures murales de Curtea de Argeş. Origine de leur iconographie, Cahiers archeologiques 37 (1989) 159–150.

[17] Ibid., 83–87.

[18] *Mirković — Tatić*, Markov manastir, 56–59; *S. Radojčić*, Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka, Uzori i dela starih srpskih umetnika, Beograd 1975, 211–236.

of the Dead Christ becomes more comprehensible.[19] It establishes a firmer iconographic, liturgical and dogmatic link with the Passion theme, considering that the image of the Dead Christ and the Virgin, as a symbolic depiction, contains elements which belong to the "historical" scenes of the Crucifixion,[20] the Descent from the Cross,[21] the Lamentation,[22] and the Entombment.[23] On the other hand, the themes in the sanctuary which are devoted to the Incarnation of Christ suggest a conceptual link between the fresco decoration of this part of the church and the depiction of the dead Christ and the lamenting Virgin on the western wall of the naos. Along with the Theotokos flanked by the archangels in the apse, as well as the Annunciation on the triumphal arch,[24] some other images from the sanctuary stress the symbolism of the Incarnation. Three scenes of the Annunciation start the

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[19] *Sv. German Konstantinopolskii,* Skazanie o Cerkvi i rasmotrenie tainstv, Moskva 1995, 44–47, 54–57; *Nicolas Cabasilas*, Explication de la Divine liturgie, SC 4bis, Paris 1967, 80, 81, 92, 93; Sochineniia blazhennago Simeona arhiep. Fessalonikiiskago, Pisaniia sv. ottsev i uchitelei Cerkvi, otnosiashchiiasia k istolkovaniiu pravoslavnago bogosluzheniia, Sanktpeterburg 1856, 105–107. An example from Galata shows dead Christ wrapped in a linen cloth and prepared to be buried, cf. *Ch. Walter*, The dead Christ on the altar at Gelati, Georgia, Zograf 26 (1997) 139–142.

[20] It has been claimed that two independent portraits of the dead Christ on the cross and the lamenting Virgin refer to the Crucifixion presenting an illustration of a dialogue form in Virgin's laments. One of them is a group of the short poems referring to the lament of the Mother of God at the foot of the Cross, the *stavrotheotokia*, which were according to *Triodion* sung during the Lent, cf. *A. Drandaki,* Greek Icons 14th–18th century. The Rena Andreadis Collection, Milan 2002, 22. More developed compositions with the Man of Sorrows and lamenting Virgin also include a portrayal of St. John the Theologian, denoting the Crucifixion as more evident origin of their iconography. Such are the icon from Torcello, the above mentioned central panel of Pala d'Oro, cf. *van Os,* op. cit. 72 or frescoes in Voltovo pole near Novgorod, cf. *G. I. Vzdornov*, Voltovo. Freski cerkvi Uspeniia na Voltovom pole bliz Novgoroda, Moskva 1989, 49–50, fig. 84, 1–2, 84,5 and Calendžikha, cf. *Velmans*, Le décor du sanctuaire de l'église Calendžikha, 137. For the *stavrotheotokia*, see. *M. Alexiou*, The Lament of the Virgin in Byzantine Literature and Modern Greek Folk-Song, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 1 (1975) 111–140; *eadem,* The Ritual Laments in Greek Tradition, Cambridge 1974, 62–78. For discussion of the *stavrotheotokia* see *N. Tsironis,* The Lament of the Virgin Mary from Romanos the Melode to George of Nicomedia. An Aspect of the Development of the Marian Cult, (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of London 1998) 156–158 and *S. Janeras*, Le vendredi-saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine, Studia Anselmiana 99, Analecta Liturgica 12, Rome 1988.

[21] E.g. a double-sided icon from Kastoria (XVI c.) with the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin Paramythia. The inscription accompanying the lifeless Christ preserved: Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C Χ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C Η ΑΠΟΚΑΘΗΛΩΣΙΣ, cf. Ceremony and Faith. Byzantine Art and the Divine Liturgy, (*E.N.Tsigaridas*), Athens 1999, 77–78, fig.11.

[22] Such is an instance of the fresco from the prothesis of the Church of St. Peter and Paul in Trnovo, where the dead Christ is depicted between Virgin and St. John the Theologian, cf. *T. Velmans,* Christ de Pitié à l'église des Saints Pierre et Paul à Tarnovo et l'influence occidentale à la fin de l'époque des Paléologues, Godishnik na Sofiiskiia Universitet "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", Centr za slaviano-vizantiiski prouchvaniia "Ivan Duichev" 88 (7) (1995–96) 119–124, fig.1.

[23] *K. Weitzmann,* The Origin of the Threnos, ed. *M. Meiss*, De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, New York 1961, 476–490; *M. Sotiriou,* Ἐναταφιασμός — Θρῆνος, DchAH IV, vol. 7 (1973–1974) 139–148; *I. Spatharakis*, The Influence of the Lithos in the Developement of the Iconography of the Threnos, eds. *C. F. Moss — K. Kiefer,* Byzantine East, Latin West: Art — Historical Studies in Honour of Kurt Weitzmann, Princeton University Press 1995, 435–446.

[24] *Mirković — Tatić,* Markov manastir, 64; *H. Papastavrou*, Recherche iconographique dans l'art byzantin et occidental du XIe au XVe siècle: l'Annonciation*,* Venise 2007, 79, 238, 349, 352.

cycle of the Akathistos Hymn to the Theotokos (oikoi 1–3)[25] in the second register of the south wall of the bema. There follows the composition of the Virgin's Conception (oikos 4) in the niche of the *diakonikon*.[26] The symbolism of the Incarnation in the motif of the Virgin's *velum*[27] on the one hand, and the significance of the Virgin's attribute *Bride and Maiden ever-pure* (Νύμφη Ἀνύμφευτε),[28] represented in the fourth oikos of the Akathistos, points to the abovementioned link between Christ's human nature and his forthcoming Passion. The evangelical *Parable of the Ten Virgins* (Mat. 25:1), where Christ is called the bridegroom (Νιμφίνος), is recited at the Tuesday service of the Passion Week,[29] and the hymns mentioning *Christ the Bridegroom* are chanted at evening services from Palm Sunday to Maundy Thursday.[30] The fourth register of the bema has figures of Christ's earthly ancestors. The first pair make St. Joachim, depicted an the northern wall and facing him, on the soutern wall — St. Anne. The second pair could be identified as Abraham and Sarah.[31] All four figures gesture to the Virgin in the apse with their right hands.[32] The message of the Incarnation is complemented

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[25] *Mirković — Tatić,* Markov manastir, 47–48. On the position of the first four *oikoi* of Akathistos cycle in fresco painting and their link with Annunciation, see *Papastaurou,* Recherche iconographique, 126–127.

[26] *Mirković — Tatić,* Markov manastir, 48.

[27] About the vellum (velatio nuptialis) with the significance of human nature of Christ, see *Papastaurou*, Recherche iconographique 340–346.

[28] For examples in which the Virgin is called by the epithet *The Bride*, cf. Ibid., 341–342, n. 4.

[29] *L. Mirković,* Heortologija ili istorijski razvitak i bogosluženje praznika Pravoslavne istočne crkve, Beograd 1961, 164.

[30] *D. Pallas*, Passion*,* 233.

[31] Scarce evidence of inscriptions remain. There is a visible letter Ꙍ accompanying figure of St. Joachim, and ΛΗΗΛ accompanying figure of St. Anne. I am grateful to prof. Dragan Vojvodić for his help concerning the identification of the second pair of figures.

[32] On the spatial linking of the figures of Mary's parents Joachim and Anne with the Annunciation on the triumphal arch in the 12th century (with examples) see *Papastaurou,* Recherche iconographique*,* 120. The Annunciation linked with the theme of the genealogy of Christ is encountered also in later examples of Serbian medieval painting. Thus on the triumphal arch in Kalenić and Rudenica next to the Virgin and Gabriel from the Annunciation, the figures of the Virgin's parents, with the prophets David and Solomon are depicted, cf. *Simić-Lazar*, Kalenić, 170, 171. A similar programmatic concern is observable in the Church of Christ the Savior in Veria, where the figures of Joachim and Anne are associated with the Annunciation, cf. *A. Tsitouridou-Turbié*, Remarques sur le program iconographique de l'église du Christ Sauveur à Veroia, ed. *G. Koch*, Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme — Ikonographie — Stil, 337–344, 341–342. Mary's parents are also associated with Mary's Annunciation in several Cretan churches from the last decade of the thirteenth and until the middle of the fifteenth-century. I am indebted to Eirini Panou who kindly indicated me examples from Cretan churches. The first example comes from the church of St George in Selino in Chania (1290–1291). The Mandylion is depicted in the sanctuary; underneath it are St Joachim and St Anne and underneath them is Annunciation. The same theme occurs in the church of St Demetrios (1292–3) in the same village but here the positions of Anne and Joachim are reversed. In the church of the Saviour in Kissamos (1319–1320) in Chania, we find St Joachim and St Anne in the sanctuary under the Mandylion, which is depicted on the triumphal arch framing the Archangel Michael, cf. *I. Spatharakis,* Dated Byzantine Wall Pintings of Crete, Leiden 2001, 12, 16, 17, 56; *M. Bissinger*, Kreta: Byzantinische Wandmalerei, Munich 1995, 106; *S. Papadaki-Okland*, Μεσαιωνικά Κρήτης, ΑΔ B2, Χρονικά, 1966, 431 pl. 468b. Mary's parents associated with the Annunciation are to be found on the icons as well, e.g. a double-sided icon from Ljubižba showing the Annunciation with the Meeting at the Golden Gate, cf. *M. Ivanović,* Ljubižbanska dvojna ikona sa predstavama susreta Ane i

by the scenes of the Infancy of Christ which occupy the east side of the intrados of the arch between the bema and the *diakonikon* and the highest area of the *diakonikon*, including the Visitation, Joseph's Dream and the Journey to Bethlehem.[33]

It should be reiterated that the concept of a symbolic association between the Incarnation and Passion of Christ was established in Serbian art as early as the thirteenth century. Such an example can be found in the iconographic program of Studenica and Gradac, in which the scene of the Crucifixion is located on the western wall of the naos, opposite from the sanctuary and the Annunciation on the triumphal arch.[34]

The relationship and conceptual link between the Annunciation and the Passion of Christ is founded in the Byzantine theological tradition, as well as the hymnography and homiletic literature which used the scholarly idiom of theological writings, of which many have been included in the Byzantine rite. In explaining the nature of Christ's suffering, the early church fathers drew on the New Testament to stress the importance of the Incarnation.[35] The Christological debate at the Council of Ephesus (431) about the two natures of Christ and the way in which they relate to one another was articulated in the themes of the Incarnation of Christ in the womb of Mary and Christ's suffering, his death and resurrection.[36]

Joakima i Blagovesti, Zograf 4 (1972) 19–23. The parents of the Virgin have been portrayed in the literal tradition as well. Hence, George of Nicomedia in his homily on the Conception of St Anne emphasizes the role of St Joachim and St Anne in the context of divine economy, cf. George of Nicomedia, Laudatio in conceptionem sanctae Annae, parentis sanctissimae Deiparae, PG 100, cols. 1353B–1376C, and esp. 1356D–1376A.

[33] The scenes of the Infancy of Christ end with the Massacre of the Innocents, an extended composition with several episodes, located on the surface of the south wall of the naos. For the cycle of the Infancy of Christ, see *J. Lafontaine-Dosogne*, Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ, ed. *P. A. Underwood*, Kariye Djami IV, Princeton 1975, 197–241.

[34] I thank Prof. Dragan Vojvodić, who called my attention to the relevance of the programmatic features of the frescoes in Studenica for the topic of this paper, cf. *G. Babić — S. Ćirković — V. Korać*, Studenica, Beograd 1986, 70; *G. Babić*, Les plus anciennes fresques de Studenica (1208/1209), Actes du XV Congrès international d'études Byzantines, vol. II, A, Athènes 1981, 34–40. For Gradac see *D. Pavlović*, O jednom osobenom modelu rasporedjivanja scena ciklusa Velikih praznika: Studenica — Gradac, eds. *B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović, R. Radić*, Vizantijski svet na Balkanu II, Beograd 2012, 443–457, 450. It is interesting to notice that the concept of a great mercy (τὸ μέγα ἔλεος) is connected with the symbolism of the Holy Cross. Such examples can be found in the Lenten *Triodia*, in the songs of the Passion Week Service, cf. *G. Richter*, Leiden und Erbarmen Christi in den Hymnen des Byzantinischen Busstriodions, BZ 56(1963) 36–40. On the other hand, the Byzantine hymnology links the Virgin of the Passion with the fullness of divine mercy, which was announced by the Archangel Gabriel at the moment of making known the Logos, cf. *C. Chevalier*, La Mariologie de St-Jean Damascène, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 109, Roma 1936, 172, 173, PG 96, 709 BC; *M. Tatić-Djurić*, Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne. Nastanak dogme i simbola, Studije o Bogorodici, Beograd 2009, 293.

[35] For a detailed study about Christ's Incarnation and suffering in the New Testament and the early church fathers, see *Tsironis,* The Lament of the Virgin Mary, 33–39.

[36] For the development of the Virgin's lament and the cult of Theotokos in the context of the Council of Ephesus see *N. Tsironis,* From Poetry to Liturgy: the Cult of the Virgin in the Middle Byzantine Era, ed. *M. Vassilaki*, Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of Theotokos in Byzantium, Ashgate 2005, 93; *eadem,* The Lament of the Virgin, 46–76 (with bibliography). For the importance of these two themes in the context of the Council of Ephesus and the Christological developments of the time see *L. M. Peltomaa,* The Tomus ad Armenios de Fide of Proclus of Constantinople and the Christological Emphasis of the Akathistos Hymn, JÖB 47 (1997) 25–37.

The notion of the Virgin Mary as Theotokos was of crucial importance for understanding the Incarnation of the Logos. Finally, the accepted doctrine of Christ's nature was the one formulated in the Twelfth Anathema of Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria, "God has suffered in the flesh". At the same time, with the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary during the fifth century, the first hymnographic works also appeared reflecting the accepted theological doctrine. Thus, the lament of the Virgin Mary is an important literary form where the themes of the Annunciation and the Passion of Christ overlap. The earliest precisely dated Virgin's lament in Greek is the sixth-century *kontakion* for Holy Friday written by St. Romanos the Melode: *Mary at the Foot of the Cross*.[37] The dialogue between the Virgin and Christ, composed in a highly dramatic tone, occupies most of the *kontakion*. The refrain — ὁ υἱός καί εός μου — repeated after each strophe, proclaims the Incarnation, acknowledging the humanity as well as the divinity of Christ.[38] In the third and concluding part of the lament, in strophe ε, Jesus seeks to soothe his mother's grief by reminding her of the most joyful event in her past, the Annunciation. Repeating the Archangel Gabriel's words to her: ῥῆμα χαρᾶς (37, ζ′1), he reminds her of her distinctive role in the Incarnation: Οὐ γὰρ πρέπει σοι θρηνεῖν, ὅτι κεχαριτωμένη ὠνομάσθης (ε′ 2).[39] The hymn of Romanos the Melode has survived in its entirety in seven manuscripts. Even though later on only the introduction and the first verse were retained in the Holy Saturday service, this hymn powerfully influenced the Byzantine laments of the Virgin Mary.[40] The theology of the Incarnation played a prominent role in the literature of the Iconoclastic period. The iconophile authors considered the Passion of the Lord as the most important manifestation of the Incarnation, which served as the basis for the defense of the veneration of icons.[41] The sermons of George of Nikomedeia were very influential for the iconophile views in the ninth century.[42] This author addresses the question of the Passion of Christ and the role of the Vir-

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[37] *Romanos le Mélode*, Hymnes, ed. *J. Grosdidier de Matons*, vol. IV, SC 128, Paris, 1967, 160–184. For the dating see *J. Grosdidier de Matons*, Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance, Paris 1977, 243 ff.

[38] *E. Catafygioty-Topping,* Mary at the Cross: St. Romanos' Kontakion for Holy Friday, Byzantine Studies 4, part 1 (1977), 18–37, 21.The same formulation related to Incarnation 'my child and my God' is to be found in the homily *On the Burial of the Divine Body of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, attributed to patriarch Germanos I. It reveals the hymn of Romanos on *Mary at the Foot of the Cross* as the source of inspiration, cf. Germanos I, Oratio in divini corporis Domini ac Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi sepulturam, PG 98, cols. 243–290, col. 269C.

[39] *P. Maas — C. A. Trypanis*, Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina, Oxford 1963, ε′ 2.

[40] For the laments, see *Alexiou,* The Lament of the Virgin, 111–140; *eadem*, The Ritual Laments, 62–78.

[41] cf. *Tsironis,* The Lament of the Virgin Mary, 76–116, wherein the author discusses the Incarnation theology and Passion of the Lord in the context of the Iconoclastic controversy.

[42] For the homilies of George of Nicomedia see *N. Tsironis*, George of Nicomedia: Convention and Originality in the Homily on Good Friday, ed. *E. A. Livingstone*, Papers presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Studia Patristica 33, Leuven 1997, 573–577; *eadem*, Historicity and poetry in ninth-century homiletics: the homilies of Patriarch Photius and George of Nikomedeia, eds. *M. B. Cunningham — P. Allen*, Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics, A New History of the Sermon I, Leiden 1998, 295–316.

gin in the Mystery of the Incarnation in his Passion homilies. According to the *Typikon* of the Evergetes monastery, his homily on Good Friday[43] was to be read on Holy Friday Vespers.[44] The suffering present is contrasted with a past full of happiness denoting the commonplace in homiletic.[45] A recollection of the Incarnation is at the beginning of the Virgin's lament: Behold (Lord), your benign dispensation (of the incarnation) has taken its end (Ἰδοὺ τὰ τῆς φιλαγάθου σου πέρας ἀπείληφεν οἰκονομίας).[46] These homilies had a pivotal role in the development of the genre of the lament of Virgin Mary and a considerable influence on the visual arts and liturgy.[47] Hans Belting drew attention to the fact that probably the first mention of the "lamenting woman" is to be found in the poem of John Mauropous about a "weeping Mother of God" describing the Crucifixion scene.[48] The development of the iconography of the Lamenting Virgin is based upon the doctrine of the reality of the Incarnation. This idea was first expressed in hymns

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[43] George of Nikomedeia, Oratio in sepulturam Jesu Christi, PG 100, cols. 1457–1489. It is worth to mention that a *Life of the Virgin* usually regarded as the earliest *Life* of the Virgin Mary, commonly attributed to Maximos the Confessor and surviving only in Georgian translation also has an extensive laments, cf. Maxim le Confesseur: Vie de la Vierge, ed. *M. van Esbroeck,* CSCO 478–479, Scriptores Iberici 21–22, 2 vols, Leuven 1986. This seventh-century narrative is recognized as primary source and literary model for George's homilies in the recent studies of Stephen J. Shoemaker, cf. *idem*, A Mother's Passion: Mary at the Crucifixion and Resurrection, eds. *L. Brubaker — M. Cunningham,* The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Texts and Images, Aldershot 2011, 53–69, 54. An account in the second Vita's lament corresponds closely to the present subject by contrasting past with present. Mary notes that 'although Christ preserved intact her virginity in his birth, his Passion has caused a sword to pierce her heart' This is an idea which George expresses by contrasting Mary's intact virginity with the nails that pierced her son's limbs, (*Shoemaker,* op. cit. *60;* Maxim le Confesseur: Vie de la Vierge, 104–105 (Georgien) and 70–71 (French); George of Nicomedia, Homily 8, PG 10, CO. 1472B).

[44] *Pallas*, Die Passion, 30, 56, 106.

[45] George of Nicomedia, Oratio in sepulturam Jesu Christi, PG 100 , col. 1476A.

[46] *Idem*, col 1488A-B. The same relation of antithesis between the Incarnation and the Virgin's lament at Christ's burial occurs in a prose lament which is generally attributed to the tenth-century writer Simeon Metaphrastes cf. *Maguire*, Art and Eloquence, 98. The Virgin's words are: "Even Gabriel's greeting turns out to be almost the contrary for me. For now it is not that the 'Lord is with me', as he promised me, but you (Lord) are wandering without breath among the dead in the innermost chambers of Hades." (Μικρὸν πρὸς τοὐναντίον μοι περιίσταται καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γαβριὴλ ἀσπασμός. Οὐ γαρ καὶ νῦν «ὁ Κύριος μετ' ἐμοῦ», καθὼς ἐκεῖνος μοι ἐπηγγείλατο· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἄπνους ἐν νεκροῖς καὶ ᾅδου ταμεῖα φοιτᾷ τὰ ἐνδότερα (PG, 114, col. 209A). She also makes an antithetical allusion to the Annunciation later in the text: "…immaterial fire of divinity did not burn my womb; but now another fire feeds on all my insides, and injures me to the core of my heart. I received through the angel pledges of joy, and I took away all tears from the face of the earth, but now these tears are increased by my own tears." (Ἀβλαβῶς μὲν ἐμίχθη πάλαι τὰ ἄμικτα, καὶ πῦρ θεότητος ἄϋλον, σπλάγχνον ἐμὸν οὐ κατέφλεξεν· ἄρτι δ' ἕτερον πῦρ τὰ ἐντός μου βόσκεται ἅπαντα, καὶ μέσην τὴν καρδίαν λυμαίνεται. Χαρᾶς ἐγγύας δι' ἀγγέλου παρέλαβον καὶ ἀφειλόμην δάκρυον πᾶν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς πλὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μόνον τοῖς ἐμοῖς πιαίνεται δάκρυσιν (PG, 114, col. 212B-C).

[47] *N. Tsironis*, George of Nicomedia: Convention and Originality in the Homily on Good Friday, 573–577; *eadem*, Historicity and poetry in ninth-century homiletics: the homilies of Patriarch Photius and George of Nikomedeia, 295–316; *M. Vassilaki — N. Tsironis*, Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ, ed. *M. Vassilaki*, Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art, Athens 2000, 453–463; *Tsironis,* From Poetry to Liturgy, 91–102.

[48] PG 120, 1148 no. 31; PG 120, 1129 no 6, cf. *Belting,* The Image and its Public, 112.

and other religious texts such as homilies, before being transposed into visual form.[49] The central part of the homily *On the Bodily Burial of the Lord* on Holy Saturday by Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople (715–730) is devoted to the lament of the Mother of God.[50] It stresses the human qualities of the Theotokos, linking them with the Passion of Christ.[51] According to his interpretation, "Mary wept over her son's tomb, because she was really the Mother of Christ".[52] Patriarch Nikephoros I (806–815) claimed that the Crucifixion was proof of Christ's physical humanity.[53] Christ's physical death was emphasized through the Lamentation as well.[54] Hence the Virgin's lament in the sermon of George of Nikomedeia *On the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ*[55] is to be found the point that although Christ is divine, his mother's sorrow also show him to be human.[56]

In the Late Byzantium, the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Logos was developed under the strong influence of hesychast theology.[57] The central issues in the works of Gregory Palamas,[58] Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos[59] and

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[49] The iconography of the lamenting Virgin started to develop in the post-iconoclast period, cf. *I. Kalavrezou,* Maternal side of the Virgin, Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art, Benaki Exh.Cat., Athens 2000, 41–46; *eadem*, Images of the Mother, 165–172; *Tsironis*, From Poetry to Liturgy, 95.

[50] Germanos of Constantinople, In Dominici Corporis Sepulturam, cols. 244B–289B.

[51] *Tsironis*, From Poetry to Liturgy, 93.

[52] Germanos of Constantinople, In Dominici Corporis Sepulturam, PG 98 col. 277C (translation by H. Maguire).

[53] *Patriarch Nikephoros*, Antirrheticus III Adversus Constantinum Copronymum, PG 100, cols. 425C, 428A, 432 B-C.

[54] *Maguire*, The Depiction of Sorrow, 162.

[55] *Tsironis*, George of Nicomedia, 573–578.

[56] George of Nicomedia, Oratio VIII, PG 100, col. 1488 (translation by H. Maguire).

[57] From the voluminous bibliography on hesychasm, we highlight the following: *J. Meyendorff*, A Study of Gregory Palamas, London 1964; *idem*, Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, Art et Societé à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Venise 1971, 53–71; *idem*, Byzantine Hesychasm: historical, theological and social problems, London 1974; *A. E. Tachiaos*, Le mouvement hésychaste pendant les dernières decénnies du XIVe siècle, Κληρονομία 6 (1974) 113–130; *T. Velmans*, La peinture murale byzantine d'inspiration constantinopolitaine du milieu du XIVe siècle (1330–1370), ed. *V. J. Djurić*, Dečani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XIVe siècle, Beograd 1989, 77.

[58] Palama's starting point for the doctrine of Deification was a doctrine of the Incarnation, cf. *Meyendorff*, A Study of Gregory Palamas, 157–227; *idem*, Hymanisme et Mystique à Byzance au XIVe siècle, Byzantine Hesychasm: historical, theological and social problems, 909–912; *N. Russel*, Partakers of the Divine Nature (2 Peter 1:4) in the late Byzantine Tradition, ed. *J. Chrysostomides*, ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ, Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday, Camberley 1988, 51–67; *idem*, The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition, Oxford 2004, 304–311; *R. E. Sinkewicz*, Gregory Palamas, eds. *C.G. Conticello — V. Conticello*, La Théologie Byzantine et sa tradition II, Turnhout 2002, 131–188, 190 (with further bibliography).

[59] Epithets in Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos' Hymn, which address to the role of the Mother of God in the Incarnation of Logos are: χαῖρε, διὰ Λόγου γεννήσασα τὸν Λόγον (iv, 15) / радоγ се слѫвомь слѫво рождьшїи (iv, 19); χαῖρε, πλανωμένων ἡ ὁδηγός (xvi, 61) / радоγ се заблоγжждьшимь настав'нице (xvi, 80); χαῖρε, τόμε ἔμψυξε τοῦ Θεοῦ (xix, 73) / радоγ се ѡбраьz въсѣх⟨ь⟩ дрѣв'ных ⟨ь⟩ ѡбьꙗвленїе (xix, 99); χαῖρε, χαῖρε, χώρα ἡ τοῦ Χριστόν (xxii, 85) / радоγ се въмѣстилище х⟨ри⟩с⟨то⟩во, радоγ се (xxii, 119); χαῖρε, χαῖρε, χύσις ὑπερχέουσα τὴν χαράν (xxii, 86), χαῖρε, χαῖρε, ἡ χάρις ἡ κεχαριτωμένη (xxii, 87)/ радоγ се бл⟨а⟩г⟨о⟩д⟨а⟩ти ѡбрадован'на (xxii, 121), радоγ с⟨е⟩, радоγ се въпїаше ти гаврїиль (xxii, 113) / cf. Dj.

Dionysios the Areopagite[60] were the two natures of Christ and the role of the Virgin Mary in the Incarnation of the Logos.[61] The works of these authors were translated into Old Serbian and very quickly became influential in the Serbian monastic milieu.[62] Markov Manastir preserves one of the key examples of the pictorial cycle of the Akathistos Hymn[63] in Late Byzantine art, which carries a subtle polemical undertone, reflecting the prominence accorded to Mary's role in the Incarnation and the economy of salvation within the context of the contemporary anti-Latin polemic.[64]

Mary's Lamentation played a prominent role in the celebration of Good Friday and Holy Saturday.[65] Particularly relevant in this context is the evidence of the fourteenth-century Serbian Lenten *Triodia, Pentekostaria* as well as the liturgi-

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Trifunović, Hymne de Nicéphore Calliste Xantopoulos consacré à la Vierge, dans la traduction serbe de Makarije de l'année 1382, Cyrillomethodianum 1 (1971) 58–79, 69–75.

[60] *J. Meyendorff*, Le thème du ' retour en soi ' dans la doctrine palamite du XIVe siècle, Byzantine Hesychasm: historical, theological and social problems*,* 188–206, 199.

[61] *H. Georg Beck*, Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen reich, München 1959, 712–773.

[62] *A. E. N. Tachiaos,* Mount Athos and the Slavic Literatures, Cyrillomethodianum IV (1977) 1–36, 14–27. On Old Serbian translations of Palamas' work, see *M. Teodorović-Šakota,* Inventar rukopisnih knjiga dečanske biblioteke, Saopštenje Zavoda za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje spomenika kulture NRS I (1956) 205, No 88; *Lj. Štavljanin-Djordjević*, Stari ćirilski rukopisi Narodne biblioteke u Beogradu, Bibliotekar 5 (1968) 414. On Old Serbian translations of the treates of Pseudo-Dionysius Aeropagita, see *V. Mošin*, Žitie starca Isaii, igumena russkago monastyrja na Afone*,* Sbornik Russkogo archeologicheskogo obshchestva v Jugoslavii, III (1940) 154–158; *Dj. Trifunović*, Zbornici sa delima Pseudo-Dionisija Aeropagita u prevodu inoka Isaije, Cyrillomethodianum 5 (1981) 166–171. On Old Serbian translations of Nicephoros Callistos Xantopoulos' work, see. *idem*, Hymne de Nicéphore Calliste Xantopoulos, 58–79.

[63] *Mirković — Tatić*, Markov manastir, 45–53; *C. Grozdanov*, Novootkrivene kompozicije Bogorodičinog Akatista u Markovom manastiru, Zograf 9 (1978) 37–41.

[64] *A. Pätzold*, Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart 1989, 91–99; *E. C. Constantinides*, The Wall Paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson, in Northern Thessaly, 2 vols, Athens 1992, 290.

[65] *B. Todić*, Slikarstvo priprate Zrza i bogosluž, enje Strasne sedmice, Zograf 35 (2011) 211–222, 218. Along with poetic texts associated with the Holy Passion Service in which the Incarnation of Christ and the birth is compared and juxtaposed with the Passion and death, the liturgical drama the Suffering of Christ (Χριστὸς Πάσχον) also offers an example, cf. *Grégoire de Nazianze*, La Passion du Christ, tragédie, sources chrétiennes No.149, trad. *A. Tuilier*, Paris 1969. For the hypothesis on the authorship of the tragedy the Suffering of Christ, see. *Alexiou*, The Lament of the Virgin*,* 122 (with further bibliography). In the introduction the Virgin recalls past events in a long monologue: "How could I not blare out my happiness when the messenger came to announce that I would be a mother, proclaiming redemption for the miserable race of mortal men and giving me a great reason for joy!" (Ἀνηλάλαξα πῶς πάλαι χαρᾶς ὕπο / ὅτ' ἦλθεν εὐάγγελος ἀγγελῶν τόκον / φράζων ἄλυξιν δυσμενῶν βροτῶν γένει / καὶ γηθόσυνον χάρμα μοι φέρων μέγα; (cf. *Grégoire de Nazianze*, La Passion du Christ, tragédie, 133). The literary tradition of the Virgin's lament became part of not only canonical, but also of apocryphal texts. The Gospel of Nikodemos, known as the *Acta Pilati* provides important references, cf. *Alexiou*, The Lament of the Virgin*,* 124–129 (with older bibliography). The earliest laments survive in three manuscript versions dating to the fifteenth century and later, cf. Acta Pilati, ed. *C. Tischendorf*, Evangelia Apokrypha, Leipzig 1853, pp. LXXII–LXXIII. The lament in Manuscript C contains a series of rhetorical questions posed as the Christ is nailed to the Cross. One of them is: "Where are the promises Gabriel made to me (Manuscript C: Ven. Marc. Class. II, cod. LXXXVII, cf. *Tischendorf*, Evangelia Apokrypha*,* pp. LXXII–LXXIII, M. Alexiou, op. cit. 126).

cal *Typikon* of Archbishop Nikodemos,[66] which was in use in Serbian monasteries. These liturgical sources incorporate several services that may be linked with the Lamentation iconography at Markov Manastir, namely the *Canon on the Crucifixion of Our Lord* and the *Lamentation of the Most Holy Theotokos*, performed at Small Compline on Good Friday.[67] Antithetical pattern is used in the seventh ode in the motif of the Virgin recalling the Annunciation and her shattered hopes for the future: "Woe is me, Gabriel! Where are the good tidings; where is your greeting, 'Blessed'?" (Οἴμοι Γαβριήλ, ποῦ τὰ εὐαγγέλια, ποῦ μου τὸ »χαῖρε«, ποῦ το »εὐλογημένη«);[68] (Гдѣ сыне мои и Боже благовѣщение древнее, еже ми Гавриль глаголаше, царꙗ тꙗ Сына и Бога вышнꙗго нарицаше).[69] The service of the *Epitaphios Threnos* at the Holy Saturday Matins assumed its final form in the first half of the fourteenth century.[70] Its characteristic feature is the lyrical treatment of the weeping mother's words.[71] The second *stasis* elaborates the theme of the Annunciation and Gabriel's promise: "Gabriel announced me this upon his descent: The Kingdom will be eternal, he said, of my Son, Jesus."[72] Сиꙗ Гавриль мнѣ возвѣсти, еегда слетѣ, иже царство вѣчное рече, сына моегѡ Инсꙋса.[73] The final ode of the Holy Saturday Canon,[74] written by Kosmas of Maiouma,[75] also influenced the Lamentation iconography: "Do not weep for me mother, seeing in the tomb the son whom you conceived in your womb without seed; I shall rise again and be glorified and as God will I exalt unceasingly in glory those who glorify you in faith and desire".[76] The Serbian *Pentekostaria* also include the famous hymn (Не ридаи мене мати, зреци въ гробѣ. его же въ чрѣвѣ бесѣмене зачела еси сина).[77] The verses, considered to be the earliest

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[66] Tipik arhiepiskopa Nikodima, II, ed. *Dj. Trifunović,* Beograd 2007.

[67] The Lenten Triodion, 617; Posni triod. Sveta Velika sedmica — strasna, Gračanica 2008, 183–188. *Pallas*, Die Passion, 31 ff. *Typikon* of Archbishop Nikodemos stipulates that this compline should be held in *kellia,* cf. Tipik arhiepiskopa Nikodima, 150b. The authorship of this liturgical lament is uncertain, cf. *Maguire*, Art and Eloquence, 100; *Tsironis*, The Lament of the Virgin, 195.

[68] Roma e l'Oriente, 5 (1913), 311, verse 25

[69] Zbornik crkvenih bogoslužbenih pesama, psalama i molitava, Beograd 1991², 457.

[70] *Pallas*, Die Passion, 2; *Alexiou*, The Lament of the Virgin 119–121.

[71] *Alexiou*, op. cit. 119.

[72] Stasis 2, Triodion, Athens 1960, 421.

[73] Zbornik crkvenih bogoslužbenih pesama, 472.

[74] A literary tradition of contrasting the present with past related to Holy Saturday can be traced back to Romanos the Melode. In the third hymn *On the Resurrection,* Romanos relates the story of the Incarnation and the Resurrection. A theme of the lament is different from previous examples but employs the same contrast between the past and present: it is Hades lamenting his destruction, recalling the happiness of the past in the third hymn *On the Resurrection,* cf. *Romanos the Melode*, On the Resurrection III, vol. IV, 460–481, st. 8 and *passim.*

[75] *Cosmas Melodos*, Saturday Canon, eds. *W. Christ — M. Paranikas*, Canons and Triodia, Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum, Leipzig 1871, 196–201.

[76] *Cosmas Melodos,* Saturday Canon, ode 9, verses 166–170.

[77] Pentekostarion, Belgrade, Archives of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, no. 107, 70.

instance of the dialogue between the dead Christ and his mother,[78] became influential for the iconography of the Man of Sorrows.[79]

The conceptual link between Christ's Incarnation and death established in Markov Manastir was also established by way of various iconographic solutions on double-sided icons and diptychs, such as the double-sided icons of the Virgin Hodegetria[80] and the Man of Sorrows expressing a complex interrelationship between the Incarnation[81] and the Passion.[82] A programmatic conception of these icons can be interpreted in the light of the rhetorical device of *antithesis*.[83] The earliest known iconographic example of combining the Virgin Hodegetria and the Man of Sorrows is the twelfth-century double-sided icon from the Byzantine Museum at Kastoria.[84] According to Demetrios Pallas and Hans Belting, the creation of this iconographic formula was related to *akolouthies*, services of the Passion, which were included in monastic worship services in the eleventh century.[85] The notches at the bottom of the icon indicate its specific liturgical use during the already mentioned Good Friday service. The Byzantine Museum at Kastoria keeps

[78] *Tsironis*, The Lament of the Virgin Mary, 138.

[79] The verses took place as an inscription from the sixteenth century, cf. *M. Marković*, Prilog proučavanju uticaja kanona Velike Subote na ikonografiju srednjovekovnog slikarstva, ZRVI 37 (1997) 167–183, but Russian historiography denotes all iconography types of dead Christ and the Virgin with the starting verses of the ninth Ode, 'Ne ridaj mene mati', cf. *Djordjević*, Dve zanimljive predstave Mrtvog Hrista, n. 47.

[80] *N. P. Kondakov*, Ikonografiia Bogomateri, tom II, St. Petersburg 1915, 154–162; *A. Grabar*, L'iconoclasme byzantine, Dossier archeologique, Paris 1957, s. 'Odigitria': 3, 120, 128, 184, 185, 189, 190, 200, 202, 212, 213, 260; *K. Kalokyri*, Η Θεοτόκος εις την εικονογραφίαν ανατολής και δύσεως, Thessalonike 1972, 60–66; *G. Babić*, Les images byzantines et leur degrés du signification: l'example de l'Hodegitria, ed. *J. Durand*, Byzance et les images, Paris 1994, 189–222; *Chr. Angelidi — T. Papamastorakis*, The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery, ed. *M. Vassilaki*, The Mother of God, 378–385.

[81] For the Incarnation theology associated with the Hodegetria, see. *S. der Nersessian*, Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, DOP 14 (1960) 71–86; *M. Tatić-Djurić*, L'icône de l'Odigitria et son culte au XVIe siècle, eds. *C. F. Moss — K. Kiefer*, Byzantine East, Latin West, 557–569; *D. Kotoula*, The British Museum Triumph of Orthodoxy Icon, eds. *A. Louth — A. Casiday*, Byzantine Orthodoxies, Papers from the Thirty-six Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23–25 March 2002, 121–129; *B. V. Pentcheva*, Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium, Pensylvania State University Press 2006, 107–117; *Ch. Baltoyanni*, The Mother of God in Portable Icons, ed. *M. Vassilaki*, Mother of God, 139–153, 147.

[82] *Vassilaki — Tsironis*, Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ, 453–463, 457.

[83] *Cormack*, Living Painting, 245–246.

[84] *M. Chatzidakis*, L'évolution de l'icone aux 11e du 13e siècles et la transformation du templon, XVe Congrès International d' Etudes Byzantines, Rapports III, 1 (Athens 1976) 159, ff., fig. 20, 21; Ceremony and Faith (*E. N. Tsigaridas*), 75–76, fig.10; From Byzantium to El Greco. Greek Frescoes and Icons, ed. *M. Acheimastou-Potamianou*, Athens 1987 (*M. Chatzidakis*), 159, fig. 8; *Cormack*, Living Painting, 245–246.

[85] *Pallas*, Die Passion, 197 ff; *Belting*, An Image and its function in the liturgy, 5ff. For the different standpoint concerning the origin of the iconography of the Man of Sorrows and its relation with a Passion Relic of Christ — Holy Shroud, see I. A. Shalina, "Hristos vo grobe" i Nerukotvorenyi obraz na Konstantinopoiskoi plashchanitse, 305–324.

two more double-sided icons, one dating from the turn of fourteenth century,[86] and the other from the sixteenth century.[87] They too have notches at the bottom indicating their use in processions. The twelfth-century processional double-sided icon from Melnik, Bulgaria, also demonstrates a programmatic association between the Incarnation and Passion themes, but using different iconographic elements.[88] One side shows the Virgin Hodegetria with the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin from the Annunciation depicted in the upper corners. The other side shows Passion scenes in an arrangement that lays emphasis on the Deposition and the Lamentation, which are surrounded with other twelve scenes from the Passion cycle.[89] The iconography arrangement of the fourteenth-century diptych from the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai also lays emphasis on the interrelation of the Incarnation and Passion scenes. The left wing shows the Virgin Hodegetria, while the right wing depicts the Deposition.[90]

Passion services inspired iconographic programs concerning the Virgin's lament at the death of her son. The highly venerated double-sided icon from Dečani[91] dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century also demonstrates an iconographic conception with antithetical imagery. One side depicts the Virgin Pelagonitissa,[92] while the other shows an unusual iconography of the Lamentation theme. A gesture expressing the mother's tender sorrow and the frightened child anticipate Christ's future suffering.[93] The Lamentation of the Virgin on the obverse shows the mourning Virgin embracing her dead son in the company of a myrrh-bearer and St. John the Theologian. This iconography is close to the Deposition scene with its literary source recognized by Branislav Todić in the fifth Ode

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[86] *E. N. Tsigaridas,* Φοριτές εικόνες του 15ου αιώνα του Βυζαντινού Μουσίου Καστοριάς, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου ''Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία'', Thessalonike 1995, 347, fig. 2.

[87] In the course of cleaning this icon it was ascertained that under the present painting layer an earlier representation of the same subject is preserved, though it is not known to what extent, cf. Ceremony and Faith. (*E. N. Tsigaridas*) 77–79, fig. 11.

[88] *E. Bakalova*, Liturgiia i iskusstvo v XII vek. Po materialam pamiatnikov zhivopisi territorii Bolgarii, Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo, Rus i strany vizantiiskogo mira, XII vek, S. Peterburg 2002, 57–74.

[89] Ibid., 64–66.

[90] *Chr. Baltoyanni*, Εικόνες. Ο Χριστός στην Ενσάρκωση και στο Πάθος, Athena 2003, no. 66, 379–380.

[91] *B. Todić — M. Čanak-Medić,* Manastir Dečani, Beograd 2005, 54, 66, сл. 45 (with older bibliography); *D. Vojvodić,* Skit Uspenja Bogorodičinog u Belaji, *D. Popović, B. Todić, D. Vojvodić,* Dečanska pustinja. Skitovi i kelije manastira Dečana, Beograd 2011, 57–130, 91–96.

[92] From the large number of scholarly research on the Virgin Pelagonitissa, we can single out: *N. Beljaev*, Obraz Bozhei Materi Pelagonitisy, Bsl 2 (1930) 386–392; *P. Miljkoviḱ-Pepek*, Umilnitelnite motivi vo visantiskata umetnost na Balkanot i problemot na Bogorodica Pelagonitisa, Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej 2 (Skopje 1958) 9–15, 20–27; *L. Hadermann-Misguich*, Pelagonitissa et Kardiotissa — variants, extrêmes du type Vierge de Tendresse, Byzantion LIII /1 (1983) 9–16; *G. Babić*, Epitet Bogorodice koju dete grli, ZLUMS 21 (1985) 261–271; *Ch. Baltoyanni,* Εἴκονες Μήτηρ Θεού, Athena 2004.

[93] An idea of the future Passion of Christ in this icon is underlined with His short dress simply decorated, which has the meanings of the cloth in which the Christ was wrapped before the burial, cf. *Todić — Čanak-Medić,* Manastir Dečani, 66.

of the Canon for the Good Friday Compline.[94] Shallow notches at the bottom of the icon indicate its liturgical use, either as a freestanding icon on *proskynetaria*[95] or carried in the procession of *epitaphios* on Good Friday.[96] Such a fairly rare iconographical combination of the Pelagonitissa and the Virgin's lament[97] might have been also inspired by the literary antithesis of the Virgin's laments, where the motifs of the embraces that Mary gave her son in his infancy and in his death are contrasted.[98] In dogmatic terms, motherhood and sorrows as human nature of the Theotokos confirm the human side of Christ's nature.[99] The motif of the embrace in the Lamentation scene, apart from its emotional significance, also had a theological explanation. From the Middle-Byzantine period, when it was introduced in iconography, this gesture was conceived of as demonstrating the reality of Christ's Incarnation.[100] Some of the most important dogmatic arguments re-

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[94] *Todić — Čanak-Medić,* Manastir Dečani, 54, 66. Especially the strophe: "Bearing your body in her maternal arms, the Blessed Virgin wept bitterly: my beloved Son, why do you forsake me in this most trying of pain and sorrows. And she shed bitter tears, stroking you" (Zbornik crkvenih bogoslužbenih pesama, 456).

[95] On proskynetaria and their function, see *S. Kalopissi-Verti,* The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Nartex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections and Reception, ed. *S. E. J. Gerstel,* Threshold of the Sacred. Arhitectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West, Harvard University Press 2006, 107–132.

[96] *M. Šakota*, Dečanska riznica, Beograd 1984, 89; *Todić — Čanak-Medić,* Manastir Dečani, 66, n.209. The function and the role of the *Epitaphios* opens the topic of its correlation with the presentation of The Man of Sorrows in the Markov manastir. Hans Belting reached the conclusion that the embroidered Επιτάφιος ἀερ, beside the procession of Great Entrance, started to be used as well in the burial procession on Holy Saturday from the 14th century, cf. *idem*, The Man of Sorrows, 15. On the contrary, according to the results of research of Juliana Bojčeva the *plashtanitsa* (επιτάφιος) was introduced in the procession of Epithapios from the 16th century, cf. *Iu. Boičeva,* Plashtanitsy paleologovskoi epohi iz bolgarskih cerkvei i muzeev. Problemy funkcii i ikonografii, Vizantiiskii mir: iskusstvo Konstantinopol i nacionalnye tradicii. K 2000-letiiu hristianstva, Moscow 2005, 537–552, 548. See also *H. Schilb*, Byzantine Identity and its Patrons: Embroidered Aërs and Epithaphioi of the Palaiologan and Post-Byzantine Periods, PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 2009. Although relevant for the present topic, this discussion goes beyond the scopes of this study.

[97] The double-sided icon from Dečani is the only example which combines Pelagonitissa with such an unusual iconography of the Virgin's lament, cf. *Vojvodić,* Skit Uspenja Bogorodičinog u Belaji, 94.

[98] *Kalavrezou,* Maternal side of the Virgin, 43. The Annunciation and the Nativity were to be associated with the Crucifixion and Deposition from the Cross by both homilists and iconographers, a vivid juxtaposition being made between the Mother of God holding Christ first as an infant and then as a dead young man, the paschal lamb, cf. *H. Maguire*, Truth and Convention in Byzantine Works of Art, DOP 28, 1974, 113–140; *idem*, The Depiction of Sorrow, 162; *idem,* Art and Eloquence, 99–101; *idem*, Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin Drama and the portrayal of the New Testament, ed. *E. Jeffreys*, Rhetoric in Byzantium: papers from the thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001, Ashgate 2003, 215–233. The arrangement of the church decoration also confirms the prominence of the juxtapositions of Christ's infancy and death from the post-iconoclastic period. As an example the Cappadocian church Karanlik Killise may be cited, where the Nativity and the Crucifixion were placed in the centers of the south and north wall, cf. *H. Yenipinar — S. Sahin*, Paintings of the Dark Church, Istanbul 1998, 40–41, 76–77.

[99] *Tsironis*, From Poetry to Liturgy, 95.

[100] *Maguire*, The Depiction of Sorrow, 160–166; *I. Kalavrezou,* Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary became Meter Theou, DOP 44 (1990) 165–172; *Belting*, Likeness and Presence,

lated to Christ's divine and human nature came from George of Nikomedeia. The themes of the Passion of Christ and the role of the Virgin in the Mystery of Incarnation were clearly outlined in the abovementioned homily *On the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ*.[101] Mary's recollection of the moments when she embraced Christ as a child: 'I am now holding him without breath whom lately I took in my arms as my own dearest one, whose sweetest word I heard' (Ἄπνουν νῦν κατε΄χω, ὃν πρώην ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐνηγκαλιζόμην φίλτατον· οὗ τῶν ἡδίστων ἐπήκουον

281–296; *M. Vassilaki — N. Tsironis*, Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ, 453–463; The same can be argued for the representations of the mourning Virgin who embraces her dead son. Such is the icon from Western Macedonia dating from 1400. Apart from the conventional abbreviations МНР ΘY and IC XC, in the upper right part is the title of the scene Η ΑΠΟΚΑΘYΛΟCIC ΤΟY ΧΡICΤΟY relating to the specific moment of the Virgin's lament, which is immediately after the Deposition, cf. *Ch. Baltoyanni*, Icones de collections privées en Grèce, Exhibition catalogue, Athens 1986, no.17; *A. Drandaki*, A variation of the Man of Sorrows in a Late Byzantine Icon, Griechische Ikonen, byzantinische und nachbyzantinische Zeit, Marburg 2010; *eadem*, Greek Icons 14th–18th century, 20–23. The same iconography conception has the icon from the Museo Horne in Florence and the accompanying inscription reads: Ο Β(Α)Σ(I)Λ(ΕYΣ) Τ(ΗC) Δ(Ο)Ξ(Η)C, cf. *G. Schiller*, Iconography of Christian Art, 2, The Passion of Jesus Christ, New York 1972, p. 208, fig. 730. According to D. Pallas it dates from the 16th century, cf. *Pallas*, Die Passion, 224–225, n. 684. The same iconography conception has a post-byzantine icon from monastery of Iviron, a Cretan work dated in the 16th century, cf. Θησαυροί του Αγίου `Ορους, Thessaloniki 1997, exhibition catalogue no. 2.39 (*E. N. Tsigaridas)*. The other examples of the same iconography type from Byzantine period are to be found only in the fresco paintings. The Dead Christ embraced by the Virgin is depicted in the Russian church in Gorodište in Novgorod, from the end of the 14th beginning of the 15th c., cf. *L. I. Lifshits,* Monumentalnia zhivopis Novgoroda XIV–XV vekov, Moscow 1987, 513, fig. 344, and in two Serbian churches of the Morava school: Jošanica (c.1400) and Ramaća (1392–93), cf. *Djordjević*, Dve zanimljive predstave Mrtvog Hrista, 186–189 (with older bibliography). According to I. Djordjević the iconography of the double-sided icon from Dečani, dating from the third quarter of the 14th century offers possibilities for an inquiry considering the creation of this iconography conception in Serbian art. It has the Virgin Pelagonitissa and the Lamentation of the Virgin, while the central motif of the latter representation is the Virgin embracing her dead son, which might have been influential for depicting an independent image in fresco paintings, cf. Ibid., 197–198. Other comparable examples of the dead Christ embraced by the mourning Virgin are mainly Italian works dating from the 14th century and later, e.g. the diptych from the National Gallery in London, attributed to a Florentine workshop c. 1340–1355, cf. The National Gallery, Complete Illustrated Catalogue, compiled by *Chr. Baker — T. Henry*, London 1995, 3895, p.338; the upper section of the polyptych by Pseudo-Jacobino in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Bologna, cf. *R. Gibbs*, Tomaso da Modena*,* Cambridge University Press 1989, fig. 47; the diptych by Vitale da Bologna, kept in the Fondazione Longhi, Florence, ibidem, fig. 80b. The same representation with the Cross behind the two figures is on the upper section of the right hand panel of a 15th century Cretan triptych, now in Museo Correr, Venice, cf. *S. Bettini*, La Pitura di Icone Cretese-veneziana e i madonneri, Padua 1933, fig XXI.

101 *Vassilaki — Tsironis*, Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ, 457; *George of Nicomedia*, Oratio in sepulturam Jesu Christi, Oratio, VIII*,* PG 100, col. 1488A-B, "'Ιδοὺ τὰ τ''ῆς φιλάγαθου σου πέρας" Behold (Christ) Your benign dispensation (of the incarnation) has taken its end…For now you, the bestower of all breath, recline in bodily form, without breath…I am now holding and embracing the body without breath of the maker of the life of the universe, the controller of my own breath… I am now kissing the motionless and wounded limbs of him who cured the incurable wounds of nature…I am now embracing the voiceless mouth and silent lips of the maker of every natural power of speech…I am kissing the closed eyes of him who invented the operation of sight.' Cited after *H. Maguire*, The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art, DOP 34–35 (1980–81) 266, n. 42.

ῥημάτων) offers a close literary analogy with the depiction of the Pelagonitissa, in which the Virgin tenderly holds her infant and touches her cheek against his.[102]

The Passion of Christ was an important theme in western art. The programmatic conception of some western examples was very similar to the Byzantine one, such as the Bohemian diptych of the Madonna and the Man of Sorrows from Karlsruhe, dating from 1360.[103] Its imagery suggests the same idea of contrasting the Virgin's maternal embrace of the Christ Child to the Dead Christ. The Virgin is of the Pelagonitissa type, which makes this example comparable in terms of iconography with those showing the Hodegetria type or the lamenting Virgin. The *Imago Pietatis*[104] was a subject of great importance in religious art and life in Kotor in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century.[105] The double-sided icon from the treasury of the cathedral church of St. Tryphon in Kotor is an example of relevance to our subject.[106] One side of the icon shows the Virgin and the Christ Child lying on her lap, while the other depicts the *Imago Pietatis*. Commissioned by the Fraternity of the Holy Cross in 1468,[107] its iconography reflects the religious beliefs of the Kotor flagellants and their empathy and identification with the suffering experienced by Christ (*Imitatio Christi*).[108] This combination of the *Pietà* and *Adoratio* symbolically represents two dogmatic concepts — Incarnation and Passion.[109]

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[102] Ibid., col. 1488, translation by H. Maguire; cf. *idem,* The Depiction of Sorrow, 162, n. 220. Christ's prophesy about his death is also to be found in the kontakion of Romanos the Melode *On the Nativity*. It describes a dialogue between the Virgin and Christ while she is holding him in her arms as an infant: "I shall not make you grieve, my servant and my mother. I will make known to you know what I shall do and I shall take care of your soul, o Mary… The one that you are holding in your arms, before long you shall see him with his hands nailed, because I love your race; the one that you are breast-feeding, others will make him drink gall; the one that you are embracing, he will be spat upon by others; the one you named Life, you must see him hanging on the cross and you shall lament my death, but you shall kiss me when I shall be resurrected, [o Mary] full of grace." (*Romanos the Melode*, On the Nativity II*,* st. 16, 108, translation by N. Tsironis, cf. *eadem,* The Lament of the Virgin*,* 63).

[103] *Schiller*, Iconography of Christian Art*,* 200, fig. 685; *M. Frinta*, An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Medieval Italian and non Italian Panel Painting, The Art Bulletin, June 1965, vol. XLVII, no 2, fig 17; *Belting*, Image and its Public, 53–58, Abb. 8–10.

[104] Imago Pietatis includes imitation and compasio — two primary principles of the Late Medieval religious devotion. Byzantine mosaic icon from the church Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome was the most influential for its spreading in the western art. Made around 1300, it was moved to Italy about 1380 and gained a rank of a miracle-working icon epitomizing a depiction of Imago Pietatis in the West, cf. *Schiller*, Iconography of Christian Art, 199–201; *C. Bertelli*, The 'Image of Piety' in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*,* ed. *D. Fraser et al*., Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolph Wittkower*,* London 1967, 40–55; *Belting*, Likeness and Presence, 337–341.

[105] Modern Kotor, Montenegro, was under Venetian suzerainty (1420–1797) and known as Cattaro.

[106] *V. Živković*, Dvostrana ikona iz Kotora — Imago Pietatis i Bogorodica sa Hristom — u svetlu religiozne prakse bratovštine flagelanata, Zograf 33 (2007) 137–144 (with older bibliography).

[107] About the history of the flagellants movement cf. *J. Mc Cabe,* The History of Flagellation, Girard 1946; *G. Leff*, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, II, Manchester 1967 (chapter VI).

[108] About the religious practice of the Italian flagellant brotherhoods, cf. *J. Henderson*, Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence, Chicago — London 1997, 113–154.

[109] About the liturgical significance of the two dogmatic concepts in western religious practice, cf. *M. Rubin*, Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture, Cambridge — New York 1991, 142–147.

The Virgin of the Passion is yet another iconographic type of interest for our study.[110] It exemplifies a profound doctrinal content relating to the theology of the Incarnation and Passion of the Lord. It denotes a broadly soteriological conception of the image, pointing to the Incarnation and the Passion as prerequisites for salvation.[111] Theodor the Studite described the Virgin of the Passion as the *Dwelling of the King*, as she gave birth to Divine Mercy.[112] The notion of divine mercy[113] was already apparent in the oldest representation of the Virgin of Passion, a fresco from the Arakos monastery near Lagudera in Cyprus (1192).[114] She is depicted as a full-length Hodegetria with the Christ Child in her arms,[115] flanked by the angels presenting the instruments of the Passion. The Virgin's epithet Ἀρακιώτισσα καὶ χαριτομένη is associated with Gabriel's greeting from the Annunciation. According to the third-century Church Father Origen, the term καιχαριτομένη signifies the greatest Mercy proclaimed by the Archangel Gabriel at the moment of the announcement of the Logos.[116] Later on, in the eight century, John of Damascus conceived this in a similar tradition. He found the role of Divine Mercy helpful in the Virgin's acceptance of suffering.[117] Also, the oldest example of the Virgin of the Passion in Serbian medieval painting, in the monastery of Žiča, points to the symbolic connection with the Annunciation: the standing figure of the Virgin Hodegetria on the eastern side of the southern pilaster carries the symbolism of Passion. She holds in her arms the frightened Child who turns his eyes away from

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[110] *M. G. Sotiriou*, Παναγία του Πάθους, βυζαντινή εικών της Μονής Σινά, Πανηγυρικός τόμος ἐπί τη 1400η αμφιετηρίδη της Ιεράς Μονής του Σινά, Athena 1969, 27–42, fig. 1; *Tatić-Djurić*, Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne, 293–298.

[111] *Pallas*, Die Passion, 170, ff.

[112] Cf. *Tatić-Djurić*, Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne, 293.

[113] *C. Chevalier,* La Mariologie de St.-Jean Damascène, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 109, Roma 1936, 171

[114] *G. A. Sotiriou*, Θεοτόκος ἡ Ἀρακιώτισσα τῆς Κύπρου, πρόδρομος τῆς Παναγίας του Πάθους, Athena 1954, 88, pl. I. The presence of St. Simeon holding the Christ Child and John the Baptist on the opposite, northern, wall expands the overall composition to the scene of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. For the iconography of the Presentation, cf. *Maguire*, The Iconography of Symeon, 261–269. The association with the lament of the Virgin from the sermon on the Presentation of Christ provides a meaning for the iconography. It has been presumed that George of Nicomedia is the author of this text. The lament has the form of the Virgin's dialogue with Symeon about Christ's forthcoming passion. Symeon tells her that she will remember the miraculous conception and Gabriel's good tidings for the future (*George of Nicomedia*, Homilia in occursum Domini, PG 28, col. 996 C: Καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς, πᾶν ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀτιμίας ἐμφαντικὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατόψει πραττόμενον μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς· διὰ ταῦτα, σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ρομφαία· διὰ ταῦτα κλαύσεις καὶ κόψῃ, καὶ οἷα μήτηρ θρηνήσεις ἐπὶ Υἱῷ, τὸν τῶν κακούργων ὑπομένοντι θάνατον· μάλιστα τοὺς ἀπορρήτους ἐκείνους καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀνελίττουσα λογισμούς· οἷον, τὸ τοῦ Γαβριὴλ εὐαγγέλιον, […])

[115] The reclining pose of Emmanuel is usually interpreted as Christ in the tomb (Anapeson). For the symbolic meaning of the theme of Anapeson, s. *Pallas*, Passion, 233, 234; *Belting*, An Image and its function in the liturgy, 10; *B. Todić*, Anapeson. Iconographie et signification du thème, Byzantion LXIV (Bruxlelles) 1994, 134–165. For the relationship between Anapeson and the iconography of the Virgin of the Passion, s. *A. Grabar*, La Peinture religieuse en Bulgarie, Paris 1928, 250; *M. Chatzidakis*, Les Icônes de St. George des Grecs, Venise 1962, 9.

[116] Cf. *Tatić-Djurić*, Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne, 293.

[117] PG 96, col. 709 BC; *C. Chevalier*, La Mariologie de St.-Jean Damascène, 172, 173.

the Archangel who is bringing the Cross of the Passion.[118] Passion symbolism of the Hodegetria brings together the doctrinal concepts of Incarnation and Passion, while the presence of the Archangel Gabriel reinforces the association with the Annunciation and the Passion.[119]

A group of post-Byzantine icons of the Virgin of the Passion with angels presenting the instruments of Passion also evokes the Annunciation. The very epithet Ἀμόλυντος, which usually accompanies the Virgin, denotes her immaculate virginity, and the inscription in the painters' manuals relates to the Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation: "The one who greeted the Blessed Virgin before, now displays symbols of passion; Jesus, who donned a human body, dreading death, grew afraid seeing the symbols of Passion."[120] The epigram on a fifteenth-century icon of the Virgin of the Passion reflects this tradition of juxtaposing the joy brought by the Archangel in the past to the suffering foreshadowed in the future.[121] A similar icon painted around the year 1500, now kept in the museum of Zakinthos, shows the identical epigram.[122] Another icon from the same museum, painted in the early sixteenth century, conveys a similar idea, applying a somewhat different iconographic solution. In its lower part, beneath the Virgin of the Passion, are three scenes from the Virgin's life: the Birth and the Presentation of Mary, and the scene of the Annunciation.[123] The programmatic conception of a double-sided icon from Russia, dated to the sixteenth century, is very similar to the Greek examples.[124] The icon is of mystical-didactic type for it associates the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector on one side with the Annunciation carrying the symbolism of the Passion on the other.[125] This latter scene depicts the Archangel Gabriel showing the Cross of the Passion to the standing Virgin holding in her arms the Child who turns his eyes away in fear. The accompanying inscription in the upper part of the icon is a dialogue between the Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel on the joy of the Annunciation, the prophecy of Simeon and the forthcoming suffering and death of Christ.[126]

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[118] *Tatić-Djurić*, Bogorodica Strasna u Žiči, Studije o Bogorodici, 607–621.

[119] *D. Mouriki*, Variants of Hodegetria on Two Thirteenth Century Sinai Icons, CA 39 (1991) fig. 1, 5, 12.

[120] *A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus,* Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης, Petersburg 1909, 231, 238. The inscriptions, written in Latin or Greek, emerged on Cretan icons representing the Virgin of the Passion from the late fifteenth century, cf. *V. N. Lihačev*, Istoričeskoe znachenie italo-grecheskoi ikonopisi, Izobrazheniia Bogomateri v proizvedeniiah italo-grecheskih ikonopistsev i ih vliianie na kompozicii nekotoryh proslavlennyh russkih ikon, S. Peterburg 1911, 196, fig. 424.

[121] *Baltoyanni,* Εἰκόνες. Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, no. 51, 172, 173, fig. 89, 90.

[122] *M. Georgopoulu-Verra — Z. Mylona — D. Rigakou,* Holy Passion — Sacred Images. The Interaction of Byzantine and Western Art in icon painting, Athens 1999 (*M. Georgopoulou-Verra*) 50–51, fig. 3.

[123] *Baltoyanni,* Εἰκόνες. Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, no. 52, 174, 175, fig. 92

[124] I am grateful to Miloš Živković, who provided me with this valuable reference. *N. P. Kondakov*, Russkia ikona II, Praga 1929, no. 94.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid.

A seventeenth-century Georgian reliquary shows the continuity of the close association between the Annunciation and the dead Christ.[127] The reliquary has a two-wing silver lid engraved with the Annunciation scene. When open, the lid reveals a triptych showing a complex and unusual arrangement of images. The central removable panel is in fact a double-sided icon showing an Ecce Homo[128] and a Mandylion respectively.[129] The two side panels show the figures of twelve saints. This representation of Ecce Homo presents a peculiar interpretation of the theme because the way in which Christ is depicted refers to the iconography of the Man of Sorrows.[130] The association of the Man of Sorrows with reliquaries was not uncommon in Byzantine tradition.[131] The central panel of the well-known triptych reliquary preserved in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme shows the Man of Sorrows.[132] The program and arrangement of scenes on the Georgian triptych drew inspiration from the liturgy and the church decoration. The Annunciation[133] evokes the mystery of the Incarnation, while the opening of the wings reveals the image of the humiliated Christ before crucifixion. At the same time, the central panel with the Mandylion along with the relics of the saints is exposed for veneration. The conception of the triptych reliquary suggests a certain liturgical function.[134] It exemplifies an original conception of the Incarnation and Passion that belonged to the realm of private devotion.

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[127] *I. Rapti*, Image du Christ, Reliques des Saints: un triptyque géorgien inédit, eds. *J. Durant — B. Flusin*, Byzance et reliques du Christ, Paris 2004, 191–222.

[128] The image has the characteristic of western iconography because of the nudity of Christ, which was not widespread in the Orthodox world in the post-Byzantine period. Western influence was introduced over the course of the 17th century, when it was introduced in the decoration of churches of the Ionian islands, *Georgopoulu-Verra — Mylona — Rigakou*, Holly Passion Sacred Images, 84–88, fig. 19–20.

[129] The association of the Mandylion with Ecce Homo suggests the interpretation related to the dogma of the Incarnation, s. *S. Gerstel*, Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary, Seattle and London, 1999, 68; *N. Thierry*, Deux Notes à propos du Mandylion, Zograf 11 (1980) 16–19.

[130] About other iconography details that make similarities and differences between Ecce Homo and the Man of Sorrows see *Rapti,* Image du Christ, 199. The Man of Sorrows appeared in Georgian art, and henceforth the creation of its iconography in the late 12th century. Regarding the sacrificial connotation of the image corresponding to Passion rites, it was presented in monumental church painting, on the icons, as well as on embroideries, cf. *Velmans*, Le décor du sanctuaire de l'église Calendžikha, 137; *N. Lomouri*, Storia della Georgia dal 1400 al 1800, Cristiani d' Oriente: spiritualità, arte e potere nell'Europa post bizantina, Milan 1999, 117–119, fig. 63.

[131] *Shalina*, Ikona "Hristos vo grobe", 305–324.

[132] *Schiller*, Iconography, *2*, 199–201; *Bertelli*, The 'Image of Piety' in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, 40–55; *Belting*, Likeness and Presence, 337–341; Faith and Power, ed. *H. Evans*, New Heaven 2004, 221, 547–550, 556–557, no 131.

[133] A tradition of Georgian triptychs rarely includes the Annunciation. More often the angels or warrior saints are depicted. Regarding the programmatic conception of the present example, the Annunciation symbolically evokes the Royal Door. About the comparison between the opened wings of the triptych and the royal door of iconostasis and their liturgical significance, s. *K. Weitzmann,* Fragment of an early St. Nicholas Triptych on Mount Sinai, ΔXAE, Δ (Athens 1964) 16–18

[134] It may be a sort of *antimension* or portable altar. About the old tradition of building in the relics in the sanctuaries, cf. *Rapti*, Image du Christ, 214.

Albeit at first glance incongruent with one another and only loosely related to the issue discussed with regard to Markov Manastir, all the mentioned examples share the same underlying idea, within the framework of which Byzantine art produced diverse programmatic and iconographic solutions over time. In that sense, the different placement of the dead Christ and the lamenting Virgin in Markov Manastir appears to have been the result of a carefully worked-out conception that acknowledged the theological postulates of the doctrine of the Incarnation and Death and the relevant textual sources incorporated in the service of the Holy Passion.[135]

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[135] The thematic program of the Monastery Church of Markov manastir includes several representations and cycles inspired by liturgical poetry, e.g., the Royal Deeisis based on the 44(45).9 and (92)93.1 psalms, cf. *C. Grozdanov,* Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira, Zograf 11 (1980) 83–85; *idem*, Isus Hristos — car nad carevite vo živopis na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija od XV–XVII vek, Živopis na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija: studii, Skopje 2007, 332–355; Christ as the Divine Wisdom inspired by the ninth ode of the Canon on Holy Thursday of Kosmas of Maiouma, cf. *L. Mirković,* Da li se freske Markova manastira mogu tumačiti žitijem sv. Vasilija Novoga, Starinar, n.s. 12 (1961) 78–88; *I. M. Djordjević,* Darovi Svetog Duha u proskomidiji Bogorodičine crkve u Morači, eds. *B. Todić — D. Popović,* Manastir Morača, Beograd 2006, 195–211; the Akathistos cycle, cf. *I. Spatharakis,* The Pictorial cycles of the Akathistos hymn for the Virgin, Leiden, 2005, 8–43, 128–185.

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МРТВИ ХРИСТОС И ПЛАЧ БОГОРОДИЧИН У МАРКОВОМ МАНАСТИРУ

У Марковом манастиру се фреске са представама мртвог Христа и Богородице налазе на западном зиду наоса. Необичним положајем фресака мртвог Христа и Богородице у систему декорације Цркве Светог Димитрија одступа се од уобичајеног места у олтарском простору, које овој теми даје евхаристијско значење. У раду се разматра положај представа Умрлог Христа и плача Богородичиног у програму фреско декорације храма. Сагледавању специфичног просторног решења приступа се и са становишта теолошких и литургијских тумачења. Полазиште за разрешење поменутог одступања јесте разматрање програма фресака наоса и олтара Цркве Светог Димитрија. Представа Мртвог Христа и Богородице добила је место на западном зиду наоса испод сцена Пилатовог суда, које припадају циклусу Страдања. Ако се узме у обзир да је жртвено приношење часних дарова у протезису носило литургијско сећање на Христово страдање и смрт на Голготи, онда нови положај фреске Мртвог Христа постаје разумљивији. Њиме је чвршће утемељена иконографска, литургијска и догматска веза са темом Христових Страсти. Са друге стране, теме у олтарском простору, које су посвећене Христовом Оваплоћењу, наводе на разматрање идејне повезаности садржаја фресака овог дела храма и представе мртвог Христа и Богородице са западног зида наоса. Поред уобичајене стојеће фигуре Богородице Оранте, којој се клањају арханђели, и Христа Емануила у конхи апсиде, као и сцене Благовести на тријумфалном луку, из садржаја олтара се издваја још неколико представа које употпуњују и истичу симболику Оваплоћења Логоса. Три сцене Благовести и Безгрешно зачеће Богородице започињу циклус Богородичиног акатиста у другој зони јужног зида апсиде и ниши ђаконикона. А у четвртој зони, окренути ка Богородици у апсиди, налазе се фигуре Христових земаљских предака. На јужном зиду су представљене Ана и Јелисавета, а наспрам њих, на северном зиду Јоаким и Захарија. Тему Оваплоћења употпуњује и сцена Сусрета Марије и Јелисавете и Анђео се јавља Јосифу, које припадају сценама Христовог рођења. Међусобни однос и идејна веза Оваплоћења и Страдања Христовог дубоко је утемељен у византијској теолошкој традицији, као и химнографским саставима и хомилитичкој литератури, које су књижевним језиком преносили богословска учења, од којих је велики број ушао у састав богослужења. У XIV веку током Служби Светих страсти у српским црквама певају се састави у којима се Христово Оваплоћење и рођење пореди и супротставља са страдањем и смрћу. Веома важно место у богослужењу Великог петка и Велике суботе има Богородица и њена туга за распетим сином. Идејна веза између Христовог Оваплоћења и Смрти, које разматрамо у просторном односу у Марковом манастиру, заступљена је кроз разнолика иконографска решења на двостра-

ним иконама и диптисима. Бројни примери остварују разноврсним иконо-
графским и програмским решењима исто идејно начело — симболичну везу
Оваплоћења и Смрти Христа. Као закључак може се изнети претпоставка да
је промена места представе умрлог Спаситеља и Богородичиног плача у Мар-
ковом манастиру изведена промишљено, уз поштовање теолошких предусло-
ва учења о Оваплоћењу и Смрти Христа и сходно одговарајућем текстуалном
надахнућу из службе Светих Страсти.
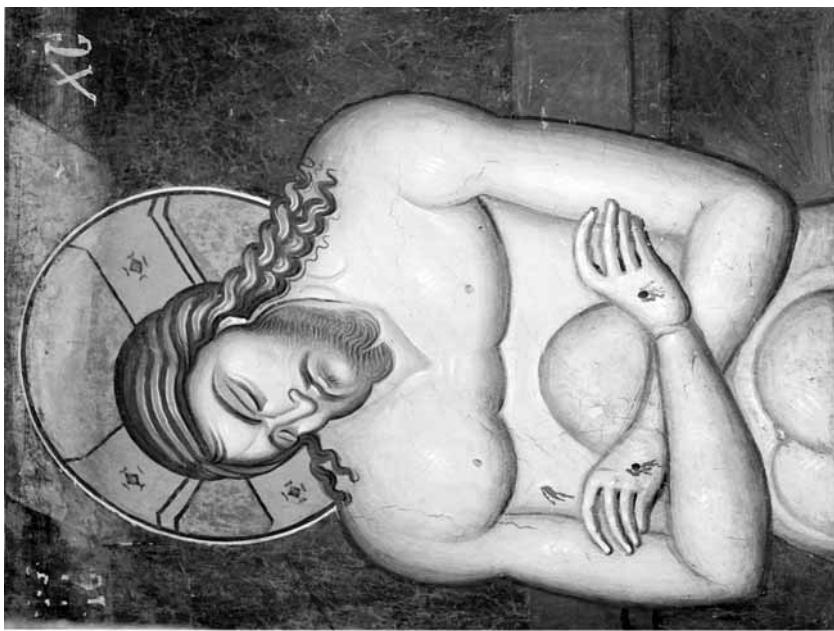
Fig. 1. Markov Manastir, the Lamenting Virgin and the Man of Sorrows

Fig. 2. Markov Manastir, frescoes on the western wall of the naos

Fig. 3. Greece, Meteora, Transfiguration Monastery, Diptych, the Lamenting Virgin and the Man of Sorrows, third quarter of the 14th century

Fig. 4. Moscow, Tretiakov Gallery, icon of the Lamenting Virgin, late 13th century

Fig. 5. Serbia, Poganovo Monastery, icon of the Man of Sorrows, c. 1400

Fig. 6. Markov Manastir, *Prothesis rite*

Fig. 7. Markov Manastir, Great Entrance with Christ the Archipriest

Fig. 8. Markov Manastir, Akathistos Hymn, 1–4 oikoi
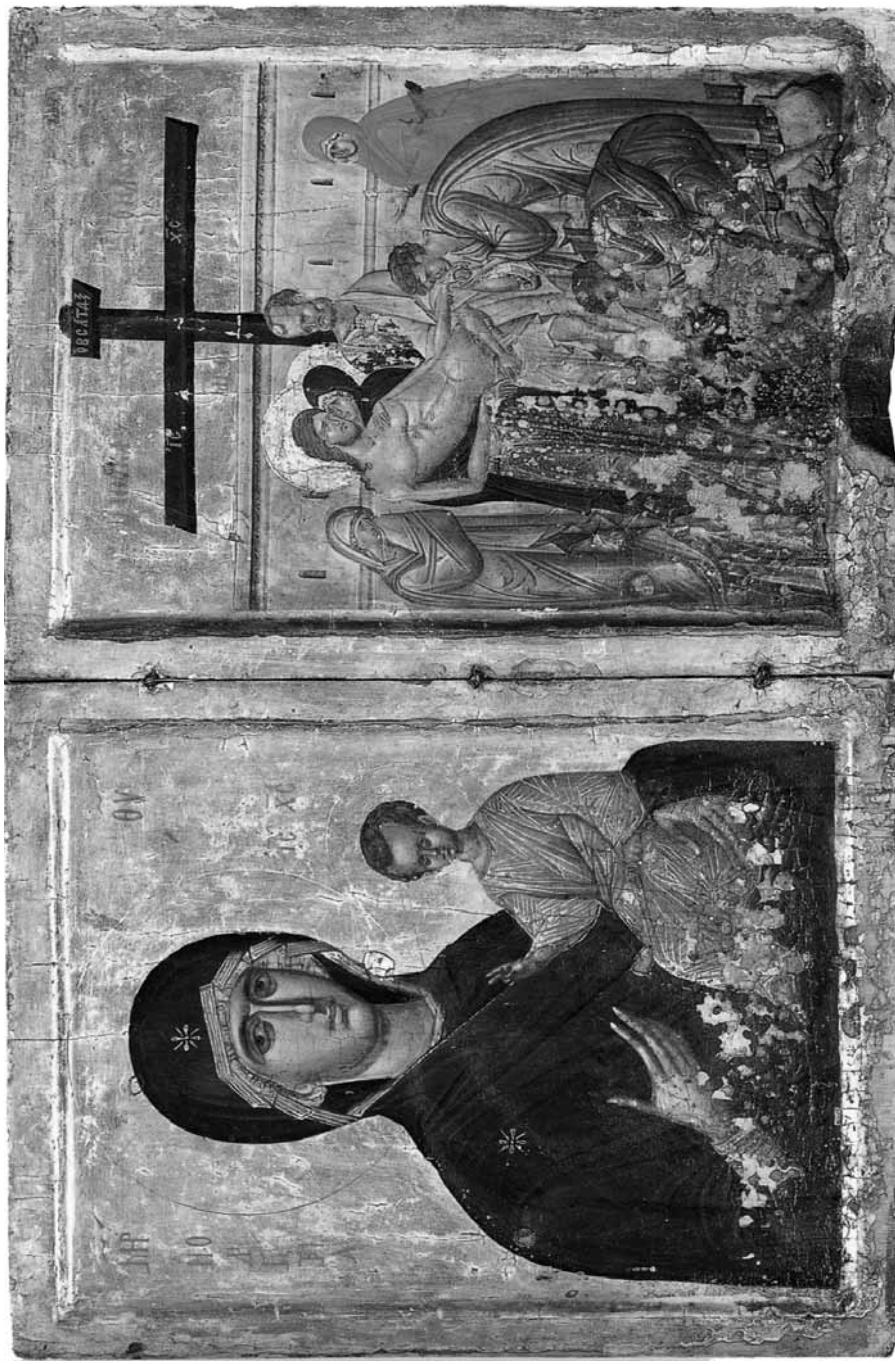
Fig. 9. Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Diptych with the Virgin Hodegetria and the Deposition, 14th centruy

Fig. 10. The Collection of the former Greek queen Frederika, The Virgin of the Passion,
Η ΑΜΟΛΥΝΤΟC, 15th century