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PROPHETS CARRYING TEXTS BY OTHER AUTHORS IN BYZANTINE PAINTING: MISTAKES OR INTENTIONAL SUBSTITUTIONS?

Since there are no two identical churches in Byzantine art, consequently there are no two identical iconographic programs. This observation also applies to the representation of prophets in the drums of the domes or in other locations in Byzantine churches. Research dealing with this group of Old Testament figures reveals many variations regarding the planned selection of prophets and choices of the texts that they carry inscribed on their scrolls. This study examines the instances when one of the authors of the prophetic books carries the text by another author. These occurrences are neither frequent nor accidental. Such deviations from standard practice that are explored in this article demonstrate the following: first of all, exchanges of text can occur due to the mistake by the artist, as exemplified in the Palace Chapel in Palermo, or by the mistake of the person who inscribed the texts, as in the Chapel of Joachim and Anna in the Monastery Studenica. Secondly, in a number of monuments the text-bearer and the selection of the text by another prophet-author are not accidental. For example, if a number of quotations to be used are chosen from the book by the prophet Isaiah, and he is only represented once, because repetition of the same prophet within a group of Old Testament figures was not practiced, what is to be done? Therefore, other, usually minor, prophets, were selected to hold the scrolls inscribed with the text by other authors, for example, Isaiah. Such cases are well documented in the churches of Panagia ton Chalkeon and the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike, and in the church of the Resurrection in Verroia, where the selection of prophets' quotations, usually inspired by the liturgical tradition, furthermore serves to underscore a certain idea of a theological or iconographic nature.

Prior to the outbreak of Iconoclasm (711), complete groups of the sixteen identified authors of the biblical books of the prophets can be followed in Byzantine monumental painting only from the sixth century, probably due to the loss of the earlier monuments.¹ Formally, the prophets are depicted either in bust or in full figure,

¹ For a group of 16 unidentified prophet figures executed in low stucco reliefs and dating ca. mid-5th century, see: S. K. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, New Haven and London, 1965, 64–65, figs. 70–73, 83–102.

most frequently holding the symbol of their calling, a rolled or open scroll. When the scroll is rolled, it is obvious that the message is not revealed. In cases when the author holds an opened and inscribed rotulus, several observations can be made. There are some rare instances when the roll is covered with simulated writing as is the case with the mosaic image of the prophet Jeremiah in San Vitale, Ravenna (ca. 548), or in the Monastery Kalenić (early 15th c.), where the prophet Daniel holds a scroll inscribed with what appears to be simulated exotic writing, resembling the Kufic style. This enigmatic, unreadable message possibly refers to the Chaldeans and to Daniel's captivity.²

Prophets can also be depicted in the process of inscribing their text upon the scrolls. This iconographic type seems to have been inspired by the images of the four evangelists originally found in miniature paintings.³ According to the preserved evidence, the representation of prophets actively writing out their respective texts in monumental painting became popular during the last phase of Palaeologan art, especially during the second half of the fourteenth and the first decades of the fifteenth century.⁴ Most often, however, in a varied manner, the prophets display scrolls inscribed with a selected message from their own writings. There are, however, deviations from this rule, which are the focus of this article.

In the majority of cases, with the exception of Daniel, and Elijah when he joined this group of authors, prophets wear a chiton and a himation and follow iconographically the classical pattern of the three ages of man: young, middle-aged, and old. The facial features specific to a given prophet — his icon — were not absolutely standardized by the early stages in the development of their iconography, making their identifications very difficult when the name inscriptions or other texts are lacking. Even when the types of some of the prophets are firmly established, a generalized conventionalization occurs, especially in some of the minor prophets, who might have been less frequently chosen to be represented.

Two examples in monumental art, predating Iconoclasm, demonstrate the following: if the format of the prophet is a figure in bust, the prophet is identified by

² *S. Bettini*, *I mosaici di San Vitale a Ravenna*, Milano 1965, unnumbered plate on page 36. For an earlier example of Jeremiah holding scroll with simulated text, see: *K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler*, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, Washington D.C., 1990, 130–132, figs. 3 and 175; *B. Živković*, *Kalenić, Crteži fresaka*, Beograd, 1982, 5, fig. 1, 3; *D. Simić-Lazar*, *Kalenić, Slikarstvo, Istorija*, Kragujevac, 2000, 102, fig. 10. Just as I was completing this text, I received a communication from Mr. Branislav Cvetković in which he informed me that he had connected “mute text” (“nemušti tekst”) on the scroll of the prophet Daniel in Kalenić to the episode with Baltasar in his book (*Dan. 5:1–31*).

³ For the standing evangelists inscribing quotations on their scrolls, see: *J. Beckwith*, *The Art of Constantinople: An Introduction to Byzantine Art*, Greenwich, CT, 1961, fig. 171 (Acts and Epistles, first half of the 13th century, Vatican, gr. 1208, fol. 1v).

⁴ For the writing prophets, see: *J. Lowden*, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988, fig. 83 (Vat. gr. 1153, fol. 54v, Haggai); for the same in monumental painting, see: *Lj. D. Popovich*, “The Writing Prophets in Late Slavic Frescoes: A Question of Models”, paper delivered at The Midwest Slavic Conference, Columbus, OH, 1992 (unpublished). For visual evidence, see: *B. Živković*, *Kalenić*, Beograd 1982, drawing 1,3; *B. Živković*, *Manasija. Crteži fresaka*, Beograd 1983, drawings on page 8, I and page 24, no. 13; *B. Živković*, *Ravanica. Crteži fresaka*, Beograd 1990, drawing on page 53. *S. Djurić*, *Ljubostinja. Crkva Uspenja Bogorodičinog*, Beograd 1985, 75–76, drawing XII, and fig. 66.

name inscription but deprived of his attribute—the scroll—and thus the inscribed text. Such a case excludes any possibility of a specific message or of textual exchange. This was the case in the apsidal mosaic in St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (predating 565), where the presence of the prophets in this iconographic program is the message.⁵

The second example is the most significant complete fresco-group of the four major and twelve minor prophets, dated to the second half of the sixth or early seventh century and preserved in Chapel XII at the Coptic Monastery in Bawit, Egypt (now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo). Here the standing figures holding inscribed scrolls are placed in the uppermost zone of the four walls of this small chapel. Each figure was identified by the name inscription and the epithet “prophet”, which were placed above the shoulders. Atypical in Chapel XII is the fact that the name of each author was also written on the bottom of the scroll that he carries, thus reconfirming the authorship, and that the quotations are unusually long, exceeding in some instances ten lines (e.g., Isaiah’s scroll contains 11 lines), versus more regularly used five to six lines, and rarely reaching eight or nine. In this chapel, however, there are no examples of a prophet carrying the quotation borrowed from another biblical author, since all the Old Testament figures carry the texts selected from their own books.⁶

In the preserved illuminated gospel books of approximately the same period, figures of prophets holding inscribed scrolls were included in the iconographic program. Their texts were selected as being appropriate to a given gospel scene as its Old Testament prefiguration. However, no textual migration from one author to the scroll of another writer can be documented.⁷

From the Macedonian period onward (867–1453), the situation changes considerably in Byzantine painting regarding the process of selecting prophets and their quotations. The church’s architectural configuration was changed, and prophets most often were moved from the walls of the basilica to occupy the drum of the dome, although they can be depicted in other areas, such as the tympana or the soffits of arches.⁸ The original set of sixteen authors of the prophetic books does not seem to

⁵ K. Weitzmann and G. H. Forsyth, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor, MI, n.d., pls. CIII, CXVIII, CXIX, CLXII–CLXX.

⁶ J. Cledat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouït*, Mémoires de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire XII, Le Caire 1904, 53–62, pls. XXXI, XXXII, 2, XXXIII, 1, and XXXV; Lj. D. Popovich, “Documentary Significance of the Prophets in Chapel XII at Bawit”, Eighteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers, 1992, 36–37. Standing prophets in the Chapel XII at Bawit hold the scrolls inscribed with the following quotations: Hosea: 2:21–22; Amos: 9:11; Micah: 5:2; Joel: 2:28; Obadiah: 1:17; Jonah: 2:10; Nahum: 1:3–4; Habakkuk: 3:2; Zephaniah: 1:7; Haggai: 1:7–8; Zechariah: 12:8–10; Malachi: 1:11; Isaiah: 7:14; Jeremiah: 21:12; Ezekiel: 44:2–3; and Daniel: 7:13.

⁷ G. Cavallo and W.C. Loerke, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, Museo dell’Arcivescovado, Rossano, Calabria, Edizione integrale in facsimile del manoscritto; Vollst andige Faksimili-Ausgabe im originalformat der Handschrift, Roma–Gratz, 1985, fols. 1v; 2r; 3–8, and 13–14; A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l’évangélaire de Sinope*, Paris 1948, fols. 10v; 11r; 15r; 29r; and 30v. C. Ceccheli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels*, facsimile edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I. 56 in the Medicean-Laurentian Library, Olten and Lausanne, 1959, fols. 36–96.

⁸ C. Mango, *Material for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies VIII*, Washington, D.C., 1962, 58–62, diagrams 3 and 4; V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd, 1963, 122–123, pls. III and IV.

have been strictly retained, but a selection of prophets mixed with other biblical characters, also labeled “prophets,” such as Kings David and Solomon, Moses, Aaron, and Elijah with Elisha, became a more preferred iconographic choice.⁹ The number of figures represented in the drum of the dome varies from eight to twelve or sixteen, but it can be as high as twenty or even twenty-four.¹⁰

With more visual evidence preserved, especially from the eleventh century and later, certain observations can be made: the strict biblical order of the prophets is abandoned, and the figures and their quotations are selected to underscore the theological and iconographic emphasis of a given monument. Since the eastern segment of the drum is symbolically the most significant because of its orientation, it was reserved for the most prominent among the prophets who are then the bearers of the most potent messages. The choice of texts is usually based on liturgical reading, although there are exceptions to that rule as well. Among the more than 800 examples of prophet ensembles, comprising nearly 5,000 individual figures in Byzantine monumental and miniature painting researched by the author, she has never found the same prophet or the same quotation repeated twice within the same group, nor an entire group of prophets and their citations being slavishly duplicated from one monument to another.

However, one can observe deviation from the standard practice of a prophet holding the text selected from his book. In this work the author will endeavor to pose the question and attempt to answer where, when, and why such textual substitutions occurred. From the surviving visual documentation the following can be deduced: in some instances, formal mistakes of two kinds are made, which the author of this article will examine first. Second, the evidence also points out that in the majority of examples exchanges of texts between the original author and the carrier of the message were purposefully done.

Classified as an obvious mistake by the author, the case of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (ca. 1148) can be cited.¹¹ Here the prophet Jeremiah, identified by the name inscription as such, carries a scroll inscribed with the text from Ezekiel 44:2. — Τάδε λέγει κ(όριος) Ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται οὐδεὶς οὐ μὴ διέλθῃ δι’ αὐτῆς. This famous quotation, referring to the closed gate, is interpreted as the prefiguration of the Nativity, and it is almost exclusively written on the scroll carried by Ezekiel.¹² In the same chapel the prophet identified as Ezekiel holds a

⁹ To the sixteen authors of the biblical books of prophets, the following Old Testament characters, also called “prophets” by inscriptions, were added to this group, from which the selections were then made, although in rare instances all of these were included. The most frequently selected are: Moses, Aaron, Elijah, Elisha, David, Solomon, Zachariah the Elder, and St. John Prodromos, with such occasional additions as Samuel.

¹⁰ As an example of twenty-four prophets depicted in two zones of a single, tall drum, one can cite the katholikon of the Monastery Resava (Manasija) in Serbia dated between 1407 and 1418: *S. Tomić* and *R. Nikolić*, *Manasija: Istorija–Živopis*, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Saopštenja VI, Beograd 1964, 74–76, drawing 5.

¹¹ *O. Demus*, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London 1949, 315–316, and pls. 13 and 12 respectively.

¹² In the database containing close to 5,000 images of prophets compiled by *Lj. D. Popovich*, there are a total of 198 entries for the prophet Ezekiel; 105 of these representations have either lost their

scroll inscribed with the text from the prophet Baruch, Baruch 3:35 (or 3:36, depending on variations in verse numbering in various biblical recensions — Οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν), which is the quotation most often given to Jeremiah to carry on his scroll as will be subsequently discussed.¹³ Since these two major prophets share certain iconographic similarities of older, gray-haired men, the mosaicist seems to have been unable to distinguish between their icons, or as a regional, Latin-speaking artist copying from a Byzantine original, he could neither understand nor read the text in Greek that he copied and inscribed on the scrolls of these two biblical characters.

The positioning of these two major prophets in relationship to an imaginary eastern radius of the dome's drum provides certain indication that helps in solving this particular problem of mixing up prophets and exchanging their texts. In Cappella Palatina the so-called Ezekiel stands first, south of the eastern radius, to be followed by the figure named by the inscription as Jeremiah. It seems, however, based on precedents, that Jeremiah was always placed closer to the eastern radius where he was paired with Isaiah.¹⁴ When included in the group, Ezekiel follows Jeremiah but he is placed nearer the imaginary southern radius. If that were the case, the images of prophets and their quotations inscribed on the scrolls would have been correct in the Sicilian monument in question, that is to say that Jeremiah would be followed by Ezekiel, but for the name inscriptions. The author believes that the mistake was made by the artist who in this case exchanged the names of the two major prophets, while the iconography of the figures as well as their prophetic quotations remained true to the original visual tradition, order of placement, and liturgical practice.

Isaiah, one of the four major prophets, is the figure most frequently included in any painted group of the Old Testament authors. Since many of his prophecies were given exegetical interpretations, they became an important part of liturgical reading. For that reason, the scroll he holds is inscribed with a variety of selected quotations, the most famous being Isaiah 7:14.¹⁵ Seldom is his scroll rolled in the drum of the dome.¹⁶ This unusual case in the drum of the dome of the Dečani katholikon might be explained by the fact that the text of Isaiah 6:3 is inscribed around the Divine Liturgy in the calotte. However, at the disposal of the iconographic programmer were a

texts, held a rolled scroll, or the texts remain unidentified to date. Among the surviving texts, in 35 cases Ezekiel carries inscribed on his scroll Ezekiel 44:2 or 44:1–4. This text is read at the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, at the Presentation of the Virgin, and on the Annunciation, among others. Another 18 different quotations selected from his book were also used on the scroll held by this prophet.

¹³ *Mango*, *Material for the Study...* (1962), 59–60, fig. 86.

¹⁴ For the pairing of prophets and their quotations, see: *Lj. D. Popovich*, "Pairing of the Prophets and Their Quotations: A Constantinopolitan Tradition and Its Dissemination", Twentieth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers, Ann Arbor, MI, 1994, 49–50.

¹⁵ For example, as collected by this author, the prophet Isaiah carries on his scroll the following quotations from his book: Isaiah 1:2; Isaiah 4:2; Isaiah 6:1; Isaiah 6:3; Isaiah 6:6; Isaiah 6:7; Isaiah 7:14; Isaiah 9:5; Isaiah 9:6; Isaiah 12:6; Isaiah 19:1; Isaiah 25:9–10; Isaiah 35:5; Isaiah 50:6; Isaiah 53:2–3; Isaiah 53:5; Isaiah 53:7; Isaiah 63:1; Isaiah 65:17?; Isaiah 66:10; and Isaiah 66:15.

¹⁶ *V. R. Petković*, *Manastir Dečani II*, Beograd 1941, 28, pl. CLXIX, as originally published; also: *M. Marković*, *Program živopisa u kupoli*, ed. *V. J. Djurić*, *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana, gradja i studije*, Beograd 1995, 103, fig. 4.

number of other quotations from the book of Isaiah, appropriate for this context.¹⁷ Even more rarely does he display a text written by another author. An example of the latter is found in the Chapel of Joachim and Anna (*Kraljeva Crkva*) in the Monastery Studenica, in Serbia, dating from 1314.¹⁸ In the drum of this chapel's dome, Isaiah, thus identified by the name inscription and by his well-established iconographic type of an old, white-haired man with a gaunt face, occupies the first place south of the eastern window, a leading position that is often accorded him when the prophets are depicted in a polygonal or circular drum. However, in this group of eight figures that exhibits an interesting selection of prophets, he alone carries the scroll with text written by another author. It is the quotation from Genesis 1:1 — **ТАКО Г(ЛАГО)ЛЕ(ТЬ) Г(СПОД)Ъ В(ОГ)Ъ СТВОРЕ И Н(Е)ВО И ЗЕМЛЮ**, customarily inscribed on the scroll displayed by Moses.¹⁹ Obviously, a mistake is made in the drum of this chapel. Since the iconography of Isaiah in *Kraljeva Crkva* is traditional, making him clearly distinguishable from that of Moses, the mistake must then be found on the textual level. G. Babić, author of a monograph on the Chapel of Joachim and Anna, blames the inscription's transcriber for this mistake. Namely, the quotations from Genesis 1:1 and Isaiah 7:14 follow each other in the liturgical reading for the feast of the Nativity as recorded in the parimia.²⁰ The painter or the scribe, in case that these two were involved in the image-making process, mistakenly substituted the text from the book of Isaiah with that from Genesis when copying possibly in a hurried manner from the above mentioned liturgical book.

The instances cited above seem to be unintentional mistakes made by the artist-painter or scribe who executed the name inscription or the textual quotation, and they truly belong to the visual realm. However, there are other instances in which a prophet is assigned to carry on his scroll a text composed by another writer.²¹ In the author's opinion, these are intentional substitutions of the texts guided by the emphasis of the iconographic program of the given monument as planned by a learned theologian.

Several examples are sufficient to sustain this idea, with the most prominent provided by the prophet Jeremiah, who in a number of instances displays on his scroll the text from the book of Baruch, Baruch 3:35 (3:36). The oldest example of such a combination traced by the author goes back to the now lost mosaic figure of the prophet

¹⁷ See above, note 15.

¹⁸ G. Babić, *Kraljeva Crkva u Studenici, Prosveta, Beograd, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd 1987, 69–76, figs. 16–21.*

¹⁹ For example, Moses carries the scroll inscribed with Genesis 1:1 ("In the beginning God created heaven, and earth") in the following monuments: Daphne, Lagouradera, Elmali Kilise and Karanlik Kilise (Cappadocia), Panagia and St. Hierotheos in Megara, and Timotesubani (Gruzia), among others.

²⁰ G. Babić, *op.cit.*, (1987), 72, notes 86 and 87.

²¹ As some other examples of prophets carrying quotations by other authors, one can cite here the following: Habakkuk or Jonah with the text from Zechariah the Younger 14:8–11, in Hosios David, Thessalonike from 3/3 of the 5th century; Habakkuk with the text from Jeremiah 23:23, Elmali Kilise, Cappadocia, 1190–1200; Joel from Ezekiel 36:24, in The Virgin Peribleptos, Ochrid (Macedonia), 1294; Nahum from Proverbs 3:19, in Ravanica (Serbia), before 1387; Obadiah with Psalm 77:13 (76:14) and Haggai with Micah 5:2, in Resava (Serbia), before 1418; Jeremiah (?) with Isaiah 61:10, unidentified prophet with Isaiah 43:25, and unidentified prophet with Isaiah 77:13–14, in Kalenić (Serbia), ca. 1418–1427; and Nahum with Jonah 2:3, in Pološko (Macedonia), 2/2 15th century.

Jeremiah from Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, dating from the last quarter of the ninth century.²² The representation of Jeremiah stood at the eastern end of the north tympanum in the Great Church, holding the scroll with the above cited text from Baruch. This was not a mistake but a choice of the theologian who planned the prophets and the program of their messages for Hagia Sophia. Since Baruch was a companion of Jeremiah, this association provided the basis for this combination of the prophet and the text. Furthermore, the text of Baruch 3:35 (3:36) is liturgically paired with that of Isaiah 7:14, which was used with that prophet's image that once stood opposite Jeremiah at the eastern end of the south tympanum of Hagia Sophia.²³ Thus, it was necessary when liturgically pairing these two texts to pair the two prophets. However, because Isaiah was a major prophet, his counterpart had to belong to the same hierarchical rank, thus not Baruch, Jeremiah's companion, but Jeremiah himself.

Therefore, the two major prophets formed a visual as well as a liturgical pair, since the texts that they carried inscribed on their scrolls were read on the same feast days, such as the Eve of the Nativity, the Nativity, and so on.²⁴ Furthermore, it is important to state that this tradition of representing Jeremiah with the text from Baruch 3:35 (3:36) most likely emanated from Constantinople's Great Church into all areas under Byzantine artistic and religious influence, lasting well into the period of Turkish domination.²⁵

The example of Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessalonike will only be briefly mentioned here since a prophet whose scroll bears the text of Isaiah 19:1 remains unidentified due to the overall damage of the fresco surface in the entire drum and the loss of many name inscriptions.²⁶ This church, painted ca. 1028, contained sixteen prophet figures depicted in two zones of the drum, with each carrying an inscribed scroll. To date, only eight of the Old Testament characters have been identified along with six of their eight texts. Among them is the prophet Isaiah, whose message is the popular quotation of Isaiah 7:14. This major prophet occupies the space in the upper zone of the drum, south of the imaginary eastern radius, his most frequently used location. Knowing from numerous cases studied by this author that a figure of a prophet is not repeated two or more times within the same group, as already stated,

²² C. Mango, *op.cit.*, (1962), 59–60, fig. 86.

²³ *Idem*, 58–59, figs. 81 and 83.

²⁴ A. Rahlfs, "Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche", *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1915 (Berlin, 1916), 36 and 58 (Isaiah); 32 and 54 (Jeremiah, with Baruch 3:35 fol.); A-M. Gravgaard, *Inscriptions of Old Testament Prophecies in Byzantine Churches*, Copenhagen 1977, 52–53 (Isaiah) and 62–64 (Jeremiah).

²⁵ For example, the prophet Jeremiah holds the text from Baruch 3:35 (3:36) in the following monuments in addition to the above mentioned Hagia Sophia: Veljusa (Macedonia), 3/3 11th century; St. Sofia (Novgorod), early 12th century; Martorana in Palermo (Sicily), mid 12th century; Lagoudera (Cyprus), late 12th century; St. Demetrios Katzouri near Arta, 2/2 13th century; Fethiye Kamii (St. Mary Pammakaristos) in Istanbul, before 1320; Staro Nagoričino (Macedonia), ca. 1317; Andreaš (Macedonia), ca. 1371; St. Jovan Kaneo (Macedonia), 18th century, and many others.

²⁶ Δ. Ε. Ευγγελίδης, 'Η Παναγία των Χαλκίων, Θεσσαλονίκη 1954, 46–51, and K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalerei des XI Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki*, Graz–Köln 1966, 24–25.

one must assume that the unidentified prophet depicted west of the imaginary southern radius is not Isaiah, although he is assigned to carry the text from Isaiah 19:1.²⁷

There is a chronologically later example in which the prophet Zephaniah holds the scroll with the same quotation,²⁸ but that model cannot be applied to Panagia ton Chalkeon, since in the latter case Zephaniah is not only preserved but also securely identified by name inscription and placed directly below the prophet Isaiah's figure. He is one of the eight positively established identities, and the readable text on his scroll is from his own book, Zephaniah 3:8. Also since all four major prophets are recognizable in the Panagia ton Chalkeon's group, this text's carrier must be one of the remaining unidentified minor prophets, who was charged in this church with the task of delivering Isaiah's second prophetic message, that of Isaiah 19:1, also well known and used in monumental paintings. Both of these quotations are taken to be the Old Testament prefigurations of the First Coming of Christ, and should be related to the Christological scenes, painted in the proximity and below the prophet figure.²⁹

Groups of prophets from two churches of the mature Palaeologan style clearly illustrate this process of quotation selection and the choice of the figures assigned to carry the given message. These are the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike (ca. 1310–1312) and the Church of the Resurrection in Verroia (1314). In the dome of the Holy Apostles an unusual number of prophets executed in mosaic survived. The selection of the ten standing figures, instead of the more usual eight or twelve prophets, was dictated by their placement in the curvature of the calotte rather than on the vertical walls of the dome's drum. All the figures there have lost their name inscriptions, which in this author's opinion caused A. Xyngopoulos to mistakenly identify Isaiah as Zephaniah and the image of the latter as that of the former within this group.³⁰ Inscribed on the scrolls of two prophet figures in this dome are quotations from two of the books by the two major prophets. This combination represents a somewhat unusual case since as carriers of their messages, a minor prophet and a so-called prophet are selected. These are Zephaniah with the text written on his scroll from Isaiah 19:1 — Ἴδοὺ κ(ύριος) κάθηται ἐπὶ νεφέλης κούφης, and Elisha with that from Ezekiel 7:10 — Ἴδοὺ ἡμέρα κ(ύριος)υ The two major prophets, whose texts they carry, are also present in this ensemble, delivering the following messages selected from their own books: Isaiah, Isaiah 66:15, and Ezekiel, Ezekiel 1:19.³¹

²⁷ Isaiah holds inscribed on his scroll the text of Isaiah 19:1 in the churches of The Virgin Peribleptos in Ochrid (Macedonia) and in Fethiye Camii (St. Mary Pammakaristos) in Istanbul. The text was read on the Feast of the Presentation of Christ to the Temple. For the liturgical reading, see: *A-M. Gravgaard*, op. cit., (1977), 54; and *A. Rahlfs*, op. cit., (1916), 49 and 58.

²⁸ *A. Ξυγγόπουλος*, Ἡ Ψηφιδωτή Διακόσμησης του Ναού των Αγίων Αποστόλων, Θεσσαλονίκης, Thessalonica 1953, 35–40.

²⁹ For the liturgical reading, see: *A. Rahlfs*, op. cit. (1916), 36 and 58 (Isaiah 7:14), and 49 and 59 (Isaiah 19:1 ff.); *A-M. Gravgaard*, op.cit. (1977), 51–53 (Isaiah 7:14) and 54 (Isaiah 19:1).

³⁰ See above, note 28, and *Lj. D. Popovich*, "The Prophet Isaiah and Isaiah 19:1: Tradition and Change in Byzantine Painting", 17th International Byzantine Congress, Abstracts of Short Papers, Washington, DC, 1986, 271–272.

³¹ For the liturgical reading, see: *A. Rahlfs*, op. cit., (1916), 38 and 69 (Isaiah 66:15), 39 and 64 (Ezekiel 1:19).

This and all other groups of prophets and the messages derived from their prophetic quotations can be read on two levels: one is theological and liturgical; the other is literal. The combination of textual selections in the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike stands out among all others that the author has studied. Liturgically, in this church the prophets' quotations deal with the ideas connected with Christ, from his First Coming to the promise of salvation.³² When read on the literal level, these biblical texts, although copied from secondary sources, such as prophetaetologia or parimia, deliver a message that speaks of frightening events, only to conclude with the reference to the Second Coming delivered through the seldom used words of Isaiah as inscribed on his scroll (Isaiah 66:15).³³

Might this selection and the message thus conveyed be inspired by the historical events that took place in the vicinity of Thessalonike only a few years prior to the execution of the decoration of the Holy Apostles and its prophet group? One needs to remember that toward the end of the first decade of the fourteenth century, the Catalan Company pillaged not only the monasteries on Mount Athos, but also the countryside in the vicinity of Thessalonike, causing terror among the population as well as material damage.³⁴ Might this unusual selection of prophetic quotations be a veiled reminder of those recent historical happenings with the promise of deliverance as well as a theological exegesis of the Old Testament prefigurations of the events from the Life of Christ and their consequences for the Christian believers? Can these cases of textual exchanges and substitution testify to the fact that these are not mistakes, but careful selections departing from tradition in order to better express a well-planned message.

The second selected example for this study regarding the practice of textual exchanges is also extremely instructive. The single nave, domeless Church of the Resurrection in Verroia, dating from 1314, has prophets, painted in fresco and depicted in bust, holding opened inscribed scrolls. They occupy the second zone of the

³² The following quotations are found on the scrolls of the prophets in the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike (Quotations cited throughout this article are from *The Holy Bible*, Douay Rheims Version, Ten Books and Publishers, Inc., Rockford, Illinois, 1989): Nahum 2:13, "Behold I come against thee, saith the Lord of hosts, ..."; Zephaniah, with the text from Isaiah 19:1, "The burden of Egypt. Behold the Lord will ascend upon a swift cloud, and will enter into Egypt, ..."; Jonah 2:6, "The waters come passed me about even to the soul: the depth has closed me round about, ..."; Habakkuk 3:3, "God will come from the south, and the holy one from mount Pharan: ..."; Elisha, with the text from Ezekiel 7:10, "Behold the day, behold it is come: destruction is gone forth, ..."; Elijah, with the text from III Kings 19:11, "... and behold the Lord passeth, and a great and strong wind before the Lord overthrowing the mountains, and breaking the rocks in pieces: ..."; Malachi 1:5, "And your eyes shall see, and you shall say: The Lord be magnified upon the border of Israel", and Malachi 1:6, "The son honoureth the father and the servant his master: ..."; Ezekiel 1:19, "And when the living creatures went, the wheels also went together by them: ..."; Jeremiah 23:5, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, and I will raise up to David a just branch: and a king shall reign, and shall be wise: and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth."; Isaiah 66:15, "For, behold, the Lord will come with fire, and his chariots are like a whirlwind, to render his wrath in indignation, and his rebuke with flames of fire."

³³ For the liturgical reading of Isaiah 66:15, see: *A. Rahlfs*, op.cit., (1916), 38 and 69. This text is read on Friday, the sixth week of Lent.

³⁴ *G. Ostrogorsky*, *History of the Byzantine State*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1957, 415; 441 ff.

south and north long walls of the nave.³⁵ Because of the architectural setting, the prophets are not associated with the image of the Pantocrator in the dome, which this church lacks, but with the Christological scenes painted directly above them. This close proximity between a scene and a prophet with his text determined in this case the choice of quotations, which were made on the basis of liturgical reading related to the given feast. What is unusual in this example is the fact that four quotations were used from the Book of Isaiah. Only one of them is delivered by the author, and the other three by three minor prophets. The scroll held by Isaiah bears the text from Isaiah 9:6. Nahum is assigned the task of delivering the message from Isaiah 50:5; Amos, that from Isaiah 53:7; and Haggai, from Isaiah 6:1.³⁶

Although studied by S. Pelekanides, primarily from the stylistic and iconographic points of view dealing with the known painter—Kalliergis—who frescoed the church in Verroia, the close relationship between the selected prophetic quotations inscribed on the scrolls and the Christological scenes remains to be explored in depth, but this author's focus will remain solely on textual substitutions. The events from the Life of Christ are on the third zone of the two long walls of the nave; their sequence starts at the eastern end of the south wall, and then moves clockwise to the western end of the north wall, to conclude at its eastern end. The entire length of the north wall is occupied by depictions of the Passion of Christ and the subsequent events. There are, however, two interruptions in this sequence: two shallow, arched niches pierce the north and south walls at the level of the standing figures and intrude slightly into the zone of the prophet medallions. The northern niche contains the depiction of the Crucifixion. The Resurrection, represented in its apocryphal variation of the Descent into Limbo, the feast day of this church, occupies the opposite niche on the south wall.³⁷

This rich iconographic program and meaning of the scenes is further explained by the figures in bust in the medallions below them or flanking them. Here in this second zone, in addition to the prophets, the church fathers and the four evangelists are included, and together with the martyrs, they are dispersed among the prophets. Since this examination concentrates only on those prophets who carry the quotations of other authors, the latter will be discussed only in the context of the liturgical reading of these texts without even touching upon their iconographic types.³⁸

³⁵ Σ. Πελεκανίδη, Καλλιέργης, Όλης Θεσσαλίας Άριστος Ζωγράφος, Athens 1973, 76–81, figs. 7–9 and 54–57.

³⁶ For the liturgical reading of the following quotations from the prophet Isaiah, see: *A. Rahlfs*, op. cit., (1916), 67, 36, 68, and 58 for Isaiah 6:1 (read on Thursday, second week of Lent, on July 6 and February 2); 65 and 62 for Isaiah 53:7 (read on Friday of the Holy Week). For Isaiah 9:6, see: *A-M. Gravgaard*, op.cit., (1977), 53. Liturgical reading for Isaiah 50:5 still remains unidentified to the author's best knowledge.

³⁷ On the south wall (from east to west) are the Nativity, the Presentation of Christ, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, and the Entry into Jerusalem; on the north wall (from west to east) are the Kiss of Judas, Christ before Annas and Caiaphas, the Carrying of the Cross, Christ Climbing the Cross, the Lamentation, and the Ascension, in addition to the two large compositions painted in the wall niches, the Crucifixion and the Descent into Limbo, already mentioned in the text.

³⁸ In this church the following prophets carry on their inscribed scrolls texts from their own books: Isaiah 9:6, and for liturgical reading, see: *A. Rahlfs*, op. cit., (1916), 61 (Jerusalem Lectionary),

The group of prophets on the north wall, moving from the west to the east, starts with Joel, who is one of the minor prophets given the task of delivering on his scroll a quotation from one of the major prophets. However, in the case of the Church of the Resurrection at Verroia, it is unusual in another aspect as well. The quotation, identified as Jeremiah 32:39, is Jehovah's answer to the prayer of Jeremiah:

And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they
may fear me all days: and that it may be well with them,
and with their children after them. (Jeremiah 32:39)

This quotation sounds very instructive. Neither A. Rahlfs nor A-M. Gravgaard provides a reference to the liturgical reading for it. The author was unable to find another example of this quotation among the identified texts inscribed on Jeremiah or any other prophet's scroll, nor a literary source for it, although in the author's opinion such a source might be found in Byzantine exegetical writing. The event from the life of Christ painted above Joel is the Kiss of Judas.

Nahum, who follows Joel, has inscribed on his scroll the text from Isaiah 50:6, which, according to A. Rahlfs, is read on Thursday and Friday of the Holy Week in the Greek Typicon as well as the Syro-Palaestian and Armenian Lectionaries.³⁹

I have given my body to the strikers, and my cheeks
to them that pluck them: I have not turned away my face
from them that rebuked me and spit upon me. (Isaiah 50:6)

These lines from Isaiah's prophecy are paraphrased in the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 26:67). This seldom used quotation on the prophet's scroll, to the best of this author's knowledge, is related in a metaphorical way to the scenes depicting the Passion of Christ represented above this prophet. Directly above Nahum is the representation of Christ before the Judges, suggesting the beginning of his condemnation process and the Passion sequence.

The selections from the Book of Isaiah continue, since the text from Isaiah 53:7 is written on the scroll held by Amos. Although it is read on other occasions, the primary reading given to it in the Greek Typicon and in the Syro-Palaestian and Armenian Lectionaries is for Friday of the Holy Week.⁴⁰

He was offered because it was his own will, and
he opened not his mouth: he shall be led as a sheep

and 32 and 54; Ezekiel's text is 44:2, see: *A-M. Gravgaard*, op. cit., (1977), 41–43; for Elijah's text II Kings (IV), 2:6, see: *A. Rahlfs*, op. cit., (1916), 33 (Epiphany), 58 (July 20), and 65 (Jerusalem Lectionary); Obadiah carries conflated text of Obadiah 1:17 and 1:15, but the standard sources do not quote that text in any of the liturgical readings, such as the typicon of the Great Church. See: *J. Mateos*, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, Tome I: *Le Cycle des Douze Moines*; Tome II: *Le Cycle des Fêtes Mobiles*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165 and 166, Roma 1962 and 1963, passim, and especially 222–223; Malachi's text 3:1–2 is read on August 29, the feast day commemorating the Decapitation of St. John the Baptist, see: *A-M. Gravgaard*, op. cit., (1977), 73–75; Zechariah the Younger's text, Zechariah 9:9, has primary reading at Saturday evening service, that is, the eve of Palm Sunday, and is therefore related to the Entry into Jerusalem, see: *A. Rahlfs*, op. cit., (1916), 38, 63, and 69.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 39, 55, and 64.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 99, 55, 62, and 65.

to the slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before
his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth. (Isaiah 53:7)

Although infrequently written on the scroll of the prophet Isaiah, it is found in those churches where he is depicted in the events chronologically close to the Crucifixion or in that scene itself. This practice is documented in the illustrations of the famous Chludov Psalter from the late ninth century. Here the prophet Isaiah is depicted in the scene of the Arrest of Christ, and his words are inscribed vertically in front of him and between him and Christ.⁴¹ In the Church of the Virgin (1208–1209) in the monastery Studenica, Isaiah, depicted in half-figure, is present at the Crucifixion, where he holds an abridged version of his prophecy inscribed in Church-Slavonic on his scroll and quoted here in Serbian: *Kao jagnje na zaklanje vođen bi...* (“... as a lamb to the slaughter he was led ...”).⁴² Furthermore, this quotation was incised on the carved representation of the Lamb of God in the Parigoritissa in Arta.⁴³ Its usage here is easily explained since this text from Isaiah is also read during the Prothesis Rite.⁴⁴ Therefore, its application in Verroia is clear: it is related to the Crucifixion scene, and thus selected for that reason. The choice of the minor prophet Amos to deliver it here seems to be purely arbitrary since at least two other minor prophets absent from this group could have done that task. They are Hosea and Micah.

In this small church in Verroia, the prophet Zephaniah represents another exception among the many examples dealing with prophets that the author has studied. His scroll is not inscribed with a text from one of the prophets, but from the Gospel of Matthew 24:30 in which the evangelist speaks about the return of the King of Glory:

And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in
heaven: and then shall all tribes of the earth mourn:
and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds
of heaven with much power and majesty. (Matthew 24:30)

This quotation is also paraphrased in the Apocalypse 1:7,⁴⁵ and therefore is not a New Testament exegesis of a prophetic vision, but a Gospel text obviously chosen here for its physical proximity to the Ascension scene, painted above the prophet Zephaniah. Furthermore, the text and the image also provide the possibility for a verbal and visual allusion to the Second Coming of Christ.

Finally, the prophet concluding this series and closest to the eastern wall is Haggai who delivers the message from Isaiah:

⁴¹ M. B. Щенкина, Миниатюры хлудовской псалтыри, греческий иллюстрированный кодекс IX века, Москва 1977, fol. 38r, Psalm 38:10, Kathisma 6.

⁴² S. Radojčić, Staro srpsko slikarstvo, Beograd 1966, 34, pl. 5.

⁴³ A. Ορλάνδος, Ἡ Παρηγορητισσα τῆς Ἄρτης, Athens 1964, 88, fig. 98, IE.

⁴⁴ L. Mirković, Heortologija, Beograd 1961, 174; L. Mirković, Liturgija, Beograd 1966, 59; Dionysius of Fournà, The ‘Painter’s Manual’ of Dionysius of Fournà, transl. by P. Hetherington, London 1974, 30.

⁴⁵ The Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle 1:7, “Behold, he cometh with the clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also that pierced him ...”

In the year that King Ozias died, I saw the Lord sitting
upon a throne, high and elevated: and his train filled
the temple. (Isaiah 6:1)

The opening words of this vision of Isaiah and the following lines were inscribed on the scroll held by Isaiah, for example, in Timotesubani, Gruzia, from the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, or in the katholikon of the Monastery Kalenić, in Serbia, from the early fifteenth century, in addition to a number of other monuments.⁴⁶ The textual reference to this vision of the Lord was wisely chosen to be included in the program of this church. On one level it also can be related to the image of Christ in the Ascension above the prophet, but on another level it forms a theological counterpoint to the image of Isaiah and the text that he carries directly opposite Haggai on the eastern end of the south wall. There the text of Isaiah 9:6, referring to the Nativity, the Incarnation of the Lord, opens the liturgical sequence, while the text by the same prophet (Isaiah 6:1), but carried by Haggai, forms its logical conclusion with the Vision of the Lord.⁴⁷

It is also noteworthy to mention that the placement of the text of Isaiah 6:1, held by Haggai, as close as possible to the altar space is not accidental. Only two medallions containing representations of church fathers separate the prophet from the side of the apsidal wall. The verses following the opening lines from this chapter of the Book of Isaiah (Isaiah 6:2–3) form the basis for the cherubic hymn sung just before the consecration of the Host. Such a textual choice and its placement reconfirm how closely connected were the visual renditions and theological thoughts expressed in this church.⁴⁸

The selection of the prophetic quotations, their sequence, and their relationship with the scenes from the life of Christ painted in their proximity, though unusual in the Palaeologan period, testify to a well-thought-out message planned by a learned theologian, and not a series of mistakes made by the ignorant painter, in this case named Kalliergis, a very famous artist of his era and region, or a scribe. The small, domeless Church of the Resurrection in Verroia provides us with a singular insight into how an iconographic program is planned to satisfy the cycle of annual liturgical celebrations, as well as how to underscore certain chosen themes, in this case, scenes from the Passion of Christ, which were leading to the Resurrection, the dedicatory feast of this church.

This ideal visual and liturgical correlation between the prophets with their abridged quotations and abbreviated words and the Christological scenes is reminiscent of a much older tradition of the same nature. It is documented not in monumen-

⁴⁶ Е. Л. Привалова, Роспись Тимотесубани: Исследование по истории грузинской средневековой монументальной живописи, Тбилиси 1980, 28–33, 79, drawings 9–10, 11–11a; D. Simić-Lazar, Kalenić et la dernière période de la peinture byzantine, Skopje, 1995, 47, fig. 6.

⁴⁷ For the liturgical reading, see: A. Rahlfs, op. cit., (1916), 36, 58, 67, and 68.

⁴⁸ For more on this subject: Lj.D. Popovich, "The Importance of the Psalms and the Prophets in their Exegesis of the Byzantine Iconography of the Dome", a paper delivered at the IV Annual Sewanee Mediaeval Colloquium, 1979 (unpublished); for further explanation and bibliographic references, see: The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Volume 3, A. P. Kazhdan, editor-in-chief, New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991, s. v. TRISAGION, 2121.

tal painting but on the folios of the illustrated Gospel books dating from the sixth century. As typical examples one can cite here the Rossano and the Sinope Gospels and to a lesser extent the Rabbula Gospels, where the prophets lack the inscribed scrolls. On their pages with the texts of the Gospels and their appropriate illustrations, the images of prophets were added. In the two gospels written in Greek, they hold opened scrolls inscribed with quotations relevant to the given scene.⁴⁹ New Testament scenes were interpreted as fulfillment of Old Testament foretelling of the events from the life of Christ. This tradition can be followed only sporadically and in specifically selected scenes during the intervening centuries, but it seems to have been revived in an unprecedented way, as far as the preserved evidence allows one to judge, in the small Church of the Resurrection in Verroia.

In many Byzantine churches decorated during the periods after the end of Iconoclasm and even after the Ottoman conquest, there are occasional examples of a prophet carrying a scroll inscribed with the text written by another author.⁵⁰ However, the cases discussed here, more typically and completely than any others, document both unintentional, formal mistakes by the painter or the scribe, and intentional adjustments in selecting texts of the prophets as well as their carriers. This seems to be dictated by the theological emphasis given to the iconographic program of a church by the planner of such a program, and which may be driven by the religious discourse or even historical events of the given period.

Љубица Д. Појовић

ПРОРОЦИ КОЈИ НОСЕ ТЕКСТОВЕ ДРУГИХ АУТОРА — ГРЕШКЕ ИЛИ НАМЕРНЕ ЗАМЕНЕ?

Од македонског периода надаље (867–1453), ситуација се доста променила у византијском сликарству, нарочито када се ради о одабирању пророка и њихових цитата. Облик црквене архитектуре се такође изменио и врло често пророци су премештени са зидова цркве у куполу, и ако могу да се виде и на неким другим површинама, као на пример у тимпанону или на потрбушју лукова. Изгледа да се није више обраћала строга пажња оригиналном скупу од шеснаест писаца пророчких књига, и зато су извесном броју изабраних пророка додате друге библијске личности које су исто тако обележаване као „пророци“. На пример то су цареви Давид и Соломон, затим првосвештеници Мојсије са Аро-

⁴⁹ See above, note 7.

⁵⁰ See above, note 20.

ном, и пророк Илија са Јелисејем. Такве групе фигура су постале повлашћен иконографски избор.

Како је сачувано доста ликовне евиденције, нарочито из 11. века и доцније, студирајући ове фигуре могу да се донесу извесни закључци: строги библијски ред пророка је напуштен, личности и њихови цитати одабирани су да би се подвукла теолошка и иконографска порука одређеног споменика. Међутим, могу да се примете и одступања од устаљених репрезентација пророка који држе уобичајене цитате изабране из њихових књига. У овом чланку, ауторка ће поставити питања и покушати да пружи одговоре, где, када и зашто су се десиле замене пророчких текстова. Из сачуване визуелне документације може да се закључи следеће: прво, у неким случајевима налазе се две врсте формалних грешака, које ће ауторка овога чланка испитати на почетку рада. Друго, докази указују да је у већини сачуваних примера, када се изврши размена текста између оригиналног писца цитата и носиоца тог цитата, то је намерно учињено.

Сврстан од стране ауторке као очигледна грешка визуелне природе, случај Палантинске Капеле у Палерму (око 1148) може да се наведе (сл. 1). Овде пророк Јеремија, идентификован као такав у натпису имена, носи свитак са цитатом из Језекије 44:2, а Језекија држи свитак са цитатом пророка Баруха, Барух 3:35. Како ова два велика пророка имају иконографске сличности као стари и седи људи, изгледа да мозаичар није могао да направи разлику између њихових ликова, или као локални уметник, који говори латински, а копира са византијског оригинала он није могао ни да разуме ни да прочита грчки текст који је копирао и уписао на свицима пророка, тако да је направио замену текстова и тиме начинио грешку.

Исаија је најчешће од свих пророка био укључен у насликане групе ових фигура, зато што су многа од његових пророчанстава била важан део литургијског читања. Због тога је свитак који он држи исписан разним изабраним цитатима, од којих је најпознатији текст Исаија 7:14. Скоро никад његов ротулус није савијен, или испуњен цитатом неког другог аутора. Један пример оваквог случаја налази се у капели Јоакима и Ане (Краљева црква) у манастиру Студеници у Србији, која је датирана у 1314. годину (сл. 2). Овде Исаија носи цитат из Књиге Постања 1:1, који је стандардно написан на свитку који држи пророк Мојсије. Г. Бабић, писац монографије о капели Јоакима и Ане, приписује преписивачу текста ову грешку, зато што цитати из Књиге Постања 1:1, и Исаија 7:14 следе један другог у литургијском читању из паримија за време прославе Христовог Рођења.

Горе наведени примери изгледају као нехотичне грешке, које су направиле или сликар или преписивач, исписујући име и преписујући цитат, и оне заиста припадају категорији формалне природе. Међутим, постоје и други случајеви у којима је један пророк био одређен да носи на своме свитку текст неког другог аутора. По мишљењу ауторке, ово су намерно учињене замене текста, проузроковане варијацијама иконографског програма датог споменика, који је планирао неки учени теолог. Неколико примера је доста да докажу ову идеју.

Најзапаженији је случај пророка Јеремије, који у доста великом броју споменика носи на свом свитку цитат из књиге Баруха, Барух 3:35 (3:36). Најстарији пример овакве комбинације који је нашла ауторка је сада изгубљена мозаичка фигура пророка Јеремије из Свете Софије у Цариграду, која датира из последње четвртине деветог века (сл. 3). Овај избор може да се прати у свим земљама под утицајем Византије као и за време отоманске владавине.

Пример из цркве *Panagia ton Chalkeon* у Солуну, сликане око 1028, биће овде само споменут, зато што није идентификован пророк који носи свитак са цитатом из Исаије 9:1, због изгубљеног имена ове фигуре, и великог оштећења површине фресака овог споменика. До данас је овде у добошу куполе идентификовано само осам од шеснаест старозаветних пророка, и шест од њихових осам текстова. Међу препознатим фигурама је и пророк Исаија, чија порука је популарни цитат Исаија 7:14. Пошто је проучила многе случајеве, ауторка зна да се представа истог пророка не понавља два пута у једној групи, па се мора претпоставити да неидентификован пророк насликан западно од замишљене јужне осе кубета није поновљен Исаија, него неки други пророк, одређен да носи цитат из Исаије 19:1.

Групе пророка из две цркве зрелог палеолошког стила јасно илуструју овај процес селекције цитата и избора фигура које су задужене да носе одређене поруке. То су црква Светих Апостола у Солуну (око 1310–1312) и црква Васкрсења Христовог у Верији (1314). У куполи прве налазе се Софоније са свитком на коме је написан цитат из Исаије 19:1, и Јелисеј са цитатом из Језекије 7:10 (сл. 4). Два велика пророка, чије цитате горе споменути пророци носе су такође присутни у Светим Апостолима, шаљући следеће поруке изабране из њихових књига: Исаија, Исаија 66:25, и Језекија, Језекија 1:19.

Једнобродна, безкуполна црква Васкрсења Христовог у Верији има насликане бисте пророка, који држе отворене и исписане свитке. Они се налазе у другој зони јужног и северног зида брода, а односе се на сцене из Христовог живота, које су насликане директно изнад њих. Оно што је необично у овом примеру је чињеница да су четири цитата узета из књиге пророка Исаије. Аутор носи само један од њих, док се остала три текста налазе на свицима три мала пророка. Свитак који држи Исаија има цитат из Исаије 9:6; Науму је дат задатак да преда поруку из Исаије 50:5; Амосу, поруку из Исаије 53:7; а Егеју, из Исаије 6:1 (сл. 5). Поред тога, Јоило има цитат из Јеремије 32:39, а изузетак чини Софоније, који носи текст 24:30 из Јеванђеља по Матеју.

У многим византијским црквама које су сликане у периоду после Иконоклазма, па чак и после отоманског освајања, има повремених примера да пророк носи свитак исписан цитатом неког другог аутора. Међутим, случајеви који су обрађени у овом чланку, типичније и потпуније од других документују ненамерне формалне грешке направљене од стране сликара или преписивача и намерно подешавање у избору текстова разних пророка и њихових носиоца, проузроковано разноврсним разлозима.