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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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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: \( \text{I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C and MH(TH)P } \Theta(EO)Y \). 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


\(^{3}\) A close spatial relation of the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin is to be found in the \textit{prothesis} in Sopočani, cf. \textit{V. J. D jurić}, Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji, Beograd 1974,198; \textit{idem}, Sopočani, Beograd 1991, 153, fig. 116. In Gradac the Dead Christ is depicted in the apse of the diakonikon, while the Virgin has the position in the \textit{prothesis}, cf. \textit{Pallas}, Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz, 275; \textit{Dufrenne}, Images du décor de la Prothèse, 299, n.11; \textit{Djuric}, 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. \textit{Lazarev}, Kovalevskaja rospis i problema iuzhno-slavianskih sviazei, 234. In the following century an example is to be found in Rudenica (1403/04), where in the \textit{prothesis} occur the Man of Sorrows with the accompanying Virgin on the northern wall, cf. \textit{L. Mirković}, Rudenica, PKJIF XI (1931) 98, fig.2. For the dating of the fresco paintings in Rudenica, cf. \textit{D. Vojvodić}, Vladraski 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.

is offered by a diptych from the Monastery of Meteora dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century. 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, or to the one at Benaki Museum in Athens, dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century. According to Maria Vassilaki, both icons originally formed part of diptychs with the Man of Sorrows on the other panel. 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 diptychs from the Metamorphosis monastery at Meteora, comparable stylistic elements are noticeable on an icon from a private collection in Athens (c. 1400) and the Poganovo icon (c. 1400). 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. 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

predecessa of poliptychs 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, Βυζαντινή εικόνα εν 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.


8 Ibid., 488.

9 See n. 7

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


painting.\textsuperscript{13} This confirms that the \textit{Imago Pietatis}, as an image of Christ’s sacrifice, was associated with the \textit{rite of prothesis} from its first appearance.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{katholikon} of Markov Manastir is the analysis of the fresco program of the naos and the sanctuary. The niche of the \textit{prothesis}, the usual location for the Man of Sorrows in the churches of the Palaiologan period, shows the \textit{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 \textit{asterikos} on his belly.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{18} If we bear in mind the fact that the offering of holy gifts in the \textit{prothesis} marked a liturgical commemoration of the Passion of Christ and his death at Golgotha, then the new location of the fresco

\begin{itemize}
\item[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 \textit{prothesis}. It is the case in Sopočani (c. 1272–1276), where this image is on the western wall of the \textit{prothesis}, s. Djurić, Sopočani, 153, fig. 16.
\item[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 \textit{Melismos} depicted in the niche of \textit{prothesis}, while the Virgin is directed toward the group of the archbishops in prayer, depicted in the niche of the \textit{diakonikon} (cf. Simić-Lazar, Kalenić, 149, n. 295; eadem, Le Christ de Pitié vivant, 87).
\item[17] Ibid., 83–87.
\end{itemize}
of the Dead Christ becomes more comprehensible. 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, the Descent from the Cross, the Lamentation, and the Entombment. 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, some other images from the sanctuary stress the symbolism of the Incarnation. Three scenes of the Annunciation start the


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 Andreadi 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 Calendžika, cf. Velmans, Le décor du sanctuaire de l’église Calendžika, 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.


cycle of the Akathistos Hymn to the Theotokos (oikoi 1–3)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{26} The symbolism of the Incarnation in the motif of the Virgin’s velum\textsuperscript{27} on the one hand, and the significance of the Virgin’s attribute Bride and Maiden ever-pure (Νύμφη Ανυμφίωνη),\textsuperscript{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 (Νυμφίος), is recited at the Tuesday service of the Passion Week,\textsuperscript{29} and the hymns mentioning Christ the Bridegroom are chanted at evening services from Palm Sunday to Maundy Thursday.\textsuperscript{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 southern wall — St. Anne. The second pair could be identified as Abraham and Sarah.\textsuperscript{31} All four figures gesture to the Virgin in the apse with their right hands.\textsuperscript{32} The message of the Incarnation is complemented

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{26} Mirković — Tatić. Markov manastir, 48.

\textsuperscript{27} About the vellum (velatio nuptialis) with the significance of human nature of Christ, see Papastaurou, Recherche iconographique 340–346.

\textsuperscript{28} For examples in which the Virgin is called by the epithet The Bride, cf. Ibid., 341–342, n. 4.

\textsuperscript{29} L. Mirković, Heortologija ili istorijski razvitak i bogosluženje praznika Pravoslavne istočne crkve, Beograd 1961, 164.

\textsuperscript{30} D. Pallas, Passion, 233.

\textsuperscript{31} Scarce evidence of inscriptions remain. There is a visible letter O accompanying figure of St. Joachim, and AHHA accompanying figure of St. Anne. I am grateful to prof. Dragan Vojvodić for his help concerning the identification of the second pair of figures.

\textsuperscript{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 Savior 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 Paintings of Crete, Leiden 2001, 12, 16, 17, 56; M. Bissinger, Kreta: Byzantinische Wandmalerei, Munich 1995, 106; S. Papadaki-Oklad, Μεσαιωνικά Κρήτης, ΑΔ Β2, 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, Ljubižbska dvojnja 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.


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. Peltoamaa, The Tomos 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. The dialogue between the Virgin and Christ, composed in a highly dramatic tone, occupies most of the kontakion. The refrain — ὁ νικός καὶ ἐός μου — repeated after each strophe, proclaims the Incarnation, acknowledging the humanity as well as the divinity of Christ. 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: ῥήμα χαράς (37, ζ’1), he reminds her of her distinctive role in the Incarnation: Οὐ γάρ πρέπει σοι θηνεῖν, ὅτι κεχαριτωμένη ὄνομάσθης (ε’ 2). 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. 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. The sermons of George of Nikomedia were very influential for the iconophile views in the ninth century. This author addresses the question of the Passion of Christ and the role of the Vir-


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.


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


gin in the Mystery of the Incarnation in his Passion homilies. According to the Typikon of the Evergetes monastery, his homily on Good Friday was to be read on Holy Friday Vespers. The suffering present is contrasted with a past full of happiness denoting the commonplace in homiletic. 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 φιλαξάθου σου πέρας ἀπειληφθεν οἰκονομίας). 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. 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 Mauropos about a “weeping Mother of God” describing the Crucifixion scene. 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

43 George of Nikomedia, 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, CSOC 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 100, 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 τούναντιν μοι περισταται και ὁ τοῦ Γαβριήλ ἀσπασμός. Οὐ γὰρ καὶ νῦν «Κύριος μετ’ ἐμοῦ», καθὼς ἐκεῖνος μοι ἐπηγγείλακεν ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἄπνους ἐν νεκρῆς καὶ ἢδου τομεῖα 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 angels 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.” (Ἀβλαμβῶς μὲν ἐμίξηθη πάλαι τὰ ἀμίκα, καὶ πῦρ θεοτητος ἄυλον, σπλάγχνων ἐμὸν ὡς κατάφερεν· ἀρτι δ’ ἐτέρων πῦρ τὸ ἐντὸς μου βόσκεται ἄπαντα, καὶ μέσην τὴν κορδάν λυμαίνεται. Χαράς ἐγγυς δ’ ἀγγέλου παρέλαβοι καὶ ἀφελόμεν δέκρουν πᾶν ἀπὸ προσοπου τῆς γῆς πλὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μόνον τοῖς ἐμοῖς πιαῖνεται δέκρουν (PG, 114, col. 212B-C).


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 Nikomedea On the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ55 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 Xanthopoulos59 and

50 Germanos of Constantinople, In Dominici Corporis Seputulturam, cols. 244B–289B.
51 Tsironis, From Poetry to Liturgy, 93.
52 Germanos of Constantinople, In Dominici Corporis Seputulturam, PG 98 col. 277C (translation by H. Maguire).
53 Patriarch Nikephoros, Antirrheticus III Adversus Constantium Copronymum, PG 100, cols. 425C, 428A, 432 B-C.
54 Maguire, The Depiction of Sorrow, 162.
55 George of Nicomedia, Oratio VIII, PG 100, col. 1488 (translation by H. Maguire).
58 Epithets in Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos’ Hymn, which address to the role of the Mother of God in the Incarnation of Logos are: χαίρε, διά Δόγμαν γεννήσασα τον Δόγμαν (iv, 15) / ραδος εις εαρουαλν εαρο δοκεται (iv, 19); χαίρε, πληνοιμένον η δόξης (xvi, 61) / ραδος εις εαρουαλκίσθαι, ηασταρην (xvi, 80); χαίρε, τόμε ἔμψυχες του θεού (xix, 73) / ραδος εις ωφρον πνευμάτως ὕπονομον (xix, 99); χαίρε, χαίρε, χαίρε, γῆρα η τον Χριστόν (xii, 85) / ραδος εις πνευματικήν χριστίνος, ραδος εις (xxii, 119); χαίρε, χαίρε, χαίρε, γῆρας υπερχεούσα την χαράν (xxii, 86); χαίρε, χαίρε, χαίρε, χαίρε, κεκαριστεμένη (xxii, 87) / ραδος εις επιστούλου του θεού (xxii, 121), ραδος εις σποιδά τη γεννήματι (xxii, 113) / cf. Dj.
Dionysios the Areopagite were the two natures of Christ and the role of the Virgin Mary in the Incarnation of the Logos. The works of these authors were translated into Old Serbian and very quickly became influential in the Serbian monastic milieu. Markov Manastir preserves one of the key examples of the pictorial cycle of the Akathistos Hymn 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.

Mary’s Lamentation played a prominent role in the celebration of Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Particularly relevant in this context is the evidence of the fourteenth-century Serbian Lenten Triodia, Pentekostaria as well as the liturgical drama the Suffering of Christ (14th century Serbian Lenten Triodia, Pentekostaria) in which the Incarnation of Christ and the birth is compared and juxtaposed with the Passion and death. Along with poetic texts associated with the Holy Passion Service in which the Incarnation of Christ is praised Gabriel made to me 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. LXXXII–LXXIII. The earliest laments survive in three manuscript versions dating to the fifteenth century and later, cf. Acta Pilati, ed. C. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apokrypha, pp. LXXXII–LXXIII, M. Alexiou, op. cit. 126).
cal Typikon of Archbishop Nikodemos, 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. 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’?” (Ὁ θυμος Γαβριήλ, ποῦ τὰ εὐαγγέλια, ποῦ μου τὸ χαιρε, ποῦ τὸ εὐλογημένη); (Γαβριηλ μη βουληστη, εις αυτη αφεν, ου χαιρης ουκ ου, ου χαιρης ουκ ου). The service of the Epitaphios Threnos at the Holy Saturday Matins assumed its final form in the first half of the fourteenth century. Its characteristic feature is the lyrical treatment of the weeping mother’s words. 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.” The final ode of the Holy Saturday Canon, written by Kosmas of Maiouma, 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”. The Serbian Pentekostaria also include the famous hymn (Πεντηκοστάριον, Μελώδος, Χριστός, Εορτάδων, Πατρικίων). The verses, considered to be the earliest

68 Roma e l’Oriente, 5 (1913), 311, verse 25.
69 Zbornik crkvenih bogoslužbenih pesama, psalama i molitava, Beograd 1991, 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.
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 Hodegetria80 and the Man of Sorrows expressing a complex interrelationship between the Incarnation81 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

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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 *Chatzidakis*, L’évolution de l’icône 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. Tsagaridas), 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 Nerukotvorenii obraz na Konstantinopolskoi plashchanitse, 305–324.
two more double-sided icons, one dating from the turn of fourteenth century, and the other from the sixteenth century. 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. 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. 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.

Passion services inspired iconographic programs concerning the Virgin’s lament at the death of her son. The highly venerated double-sided icon from Dečani dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century also demonstrates an iconographic conception with antithetical imagery. One side depicts the Virgin Pelagonitissa, 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. 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, Φορτιές εικόνες του 15ου αιώνα του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Κωστοριάς. 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. Cemery and Faith. (E. N. Tsigaridas) 77–79, fig. 11.
89 Ibid., 64–66.
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.\textsuperscript{94} Shallow notches at the bottom of the icon indicate its liturgical use, either as a freestanding icon on \textit{proskynetaria}\textsuperscript{95} or carried in the procession of \textit{epitaphios} on Good Friday.\textsuperscript{96} Such a fairly rare iconographical combination of the Pelagonitissa and the Virgin’s lament\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{98} In dogmatic terms, motherhood and sorrows as human nature of the Theotokos confirm the human side of Christ’s nature.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{100} Some of the most important dogmatic arguments re-

\textsuperscript{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).


\textsuperscript{96} M. Šakota, Dečanska riznica, Beograd 1984, 89; Todić — Čanak-Medić, Manastir Dečani, 66, n.209. The function and the role of the \textit{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 \textit{Eπιτάφιος} ἄρπ, 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 \textit{plashtanitsa} (\textit{ἐπιτάφιος}) was introduced in the procession of Epitaphios from the 16th century, cf. \textit{Iv. Boićeva}, Plashtanitsy paleologovski epohi iz bolgarskih cerkve i muzeev. Problemy funkcii i ikonografii, Vizantinski mir: iskustvo Konstantinopol i nacionalne tradicije. K 2000-letiu hristianstva, Moscow 2005, 537–552, 548. See also H. Schilb, Byzantine Identity and its Patrons: Embroidered Aërs and Epitaphioi 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.

\textsuperscript{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. Vojodić, Skit Uspenja Bogorodičinog u Belaji, 94.

\textsuperscript{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 Karanlık 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.

\textsuperscript{99} Tsironis, From Poetry to Liturgy, 95.

\textsuperscript{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 Nikomedia. 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.\footnote{Vassilikis – Tsironis, Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ, 457; George of Nicomedia, Oratio in sepulchram Jesu Christi, Oratio, VIII, PG 100, col. 1488A-B, “ταύτα της φιλάγθανον σε 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.} 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’ (Ἀπνουν νῦν κατε’χω, ὶν πρώην ὃς οἰκεῖον ἐνιγκαλιζόμην φιλτατον· ὦ τῶν ἡδίστων ἐπήκοων

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 МΗΡ ΘΥ and IC XC, in the upper right part is the title of the scene Η ΑΠΙΟΚΑΘΥΛΟΙΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ 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–16th 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(Η)Λ(ΕΥΣ) Τ(Η)Κ(Η) Δ(Ο)Σ(Η)Κ, 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. Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, 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 Gorodite 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 Ramača (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 Pittura di Icone Cretese-veneziana e i madonnari, Padua 1933, fig XXI.\footnote{Vassilikis – Tsironis, Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ, 457; George of Nicomedia, Oratio in sepulchram Jesu Christi, Oratio, VIII, PG 100, col. 1488A-B, “ταύτα της φιλάγθανον σε 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.}
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. 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* was a subject of great importance in religious art and life in Kotor in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. The double-sided icon from the treasury of the cathedral church of St. Tryphon in Kotor is an example of relevance to our subject. 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, its iconography reflects the religious beliefs of the Kotor flagellants and their empathy and identification with the suffering experienced by Christ (*Imitatio Christi*). This combination of the Pietà and Adoratio symbolically represents two dogmatic concepts — Incarnation and Passion.

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 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. idem*, The Lament of the Virgin, 63).


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.


The Virgin of the Passion is yet another iconographic type of interest for our study.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{111} Theodor the Studite described the Virgin of the Passion as the Dwelling of the King, as she gave birth to Divine Mercy.\textsuperscript{112} The notion of divine mercy\textsuperscript{113} was already apparent in the oldest representation of the Virgin of Passion, a fresco from the Arakos monastery near Lagudera in Cyprus (1192).\textsuperscript{114} She is depicted as a full-length Hodegetria with the Christ Child in her arms,\textsuperscript{115} flanked by the angels presenting the instruments of the Passion. The Virgin’s epithet Αρακιώτισσα και χαρτοφέμη is associated with Gabriel’s greeting from the Annunciation. According to the third-century Church Father Origen, the term καιροχριστομήν signifies the greatest Mercy proclaimed by the Archangel Gabriel at the moment of the announcement of the Logos.\textsuperscript{116} Later on, in the eighth 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.\textsuperscript{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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\item \textsuperscript{110} M. G. Sotiriou, Παναγία του Πάσθους, βυζαντινή εικόνα της Μονής Σινά, Πανηγυρικός τόμος επί τη 1400ο αμφιμπόριο της Ιεράς Μονής του Σινά, Athena 1969, 27–42, fig. 1; Tatić-Djurić, Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne, 293–298.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Pallas, Die Passion, 170, ff.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Cf. Tatić-Djurić, Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne, 293.
\item \textsuperscript{113} C. Chevalier, La Mariologie de St.-Jean Damascène, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 109, Roma 1936, 171.
\item \textsuperscript{114} G. A. Sotiriou, Θεοτόκος ή Ἡ Αρακιώτισσα τῆς Κύπρου, πρόδρομος τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Πάσθους, Athena 1954, 88, pl. 1. 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 ἀπαξεπλάζας, πᾶν ἀληθεύναι καὶ ἀτιμίας ἐμφαντικῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κατόψει πραττόμενοι μεθ’ ὑπερβολῆς· διὰ ταύτα, σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν διελέξασται ρομφαία· διὰ ταύτα κλαύσεις καὶ κωῆς, καὶ οία μὴν θρηνήσῃς ἐπὶ Υἱόν, τῶν τῶν κακούργων ὑπομένοντι θάνατον· μᾶλλα τούτων ἀπορρήτους ἐκείνους καθ’ εὐαίθειαν ἀνακεκτοῦσα λογισμοῦ· οἶον, τὸ τοῦ Γαβριὴλ εὐαγγέλιον, […]). 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. Todicić, Anapeson. Iconographie et signification du thème, Byzantion LXIV (Bruxelles) 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.
\item \textsuperscript{116} Cf. Tatić-Djurić, Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne, 293.
\item \textsuperscript{117} PG 96, col. 709 BC; C. Chevalier, La Mariologie de St.-Jean Damascène, 172, 173.
\end{itemize}
the Archangel who is bringing the Cross of the Passion. 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.

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 Ἄμολωντος, 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.” 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. 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. The programmatic conception of a double-sided icon from Russia, dated to the sixteenth century, is very similar to the Greek examples. 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. 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.

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118 Tatić-Djurić, Bogorodica Strasna u Žići, Studije o Bogorodici, 607–621.
120 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Έρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης, Petersburl 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, Istoričeskoе znachenie italo-grecheskoi ikonopisi, Izobrazhenia Bogomateri v proizvedeniiah italo-grecheskih ikonistsev i ih vliianie na kompozicii nekotoryh proslavlenyih russkih ikon, S. Peterburg 1911, 196, fig. 424.
121 Baltoyanni, Eikónes, Μήτηρ Θεού, no. 51, 172, 173, fig. 89, 90.
122 M. Georgopoulos-Verra — Z. Mylona — D. Rigakou, Holy Passion — Sacred Images. The Interaction of Byzantine and Western Art in icon painting, Athens 1999 (M. Georgopoulos-Verra) 50–51, fig. 3.
123 Baltoyanni, Eikónes, Μήτηρ Θεού, 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. 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 and a Mandylion respectively. 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. The association of the Man of Sorrows with reliquaries was not uncommon in Byzantine tradition. The central panel of the well-known triptych reliquary preserved in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme shows the Man of Sorrows. The program and arrangement of scenes on the Georgian triptych drew inspiration from the liturgy and the church decoration. The Annunciation 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. It exemplifies an original conception of the Incarnation and Passion that belonged to the realm of private devotion.

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.
130 About other iconography details that make similarities and differences between Ecce Homo and the Man of Sorrows see Rapiti, 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 walls, 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 di Oriente: spiritualità, arte e potere nell’Europa post bizantina, Milan 1999, 117–119, fig. 63.
131 Shalina, Ikona “Hristos vo grobe”, 305–324.
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, ΔΧΑΕ, Δ (Athens 1964) 16–18.
134 It may be a sort of antimensation or portable altar. About the old tradition of building in the relics in the sanctuaries, cf. Rapiti, 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.\footnote{The thematic program of the Monastery Church of Markov manastir includes several representations and cycles inspired by liturgical poetry, e.g., the Royal Deesis based on the 44(45.9 and (92)93.1 psalms, cf. C. Grozdanov. Iz ikonografie Markovog manastira, Zografi 11 (1980) 83–85; \textit{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. Vasiljia 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 значаје. 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 разумљиви. 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 клињају арханђели, и Христа Емануила у конхи апсиде, као и сцене Благовести на тријумфалном луку, из садржаја олтара се издавају још неколико представа које употпунују и истичу симболику Оваплоћења Логоса. Три сцена Благовести и Безгрешно зачеће Богородице започињу циклус Богородичиног акатиста у другој зони јужног зида апсиде и ништи џаконикона. 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 употпунује 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 теолошки традицији, као и иконографским 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 певале су састав 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 разматрају 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 предуслов-
ва учења о Оваплоћењу и Смрти Христа и сходно одговарајућем текстуалном
надахнућу из службе Светих Страсти.
Fig. 1. Markov Monastery, 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 Archpriest
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 century
Fig. 10. The Collection of the former Greek queen Frederika, The Virgin of the Passion, H AMOAYNTOC, 15th century