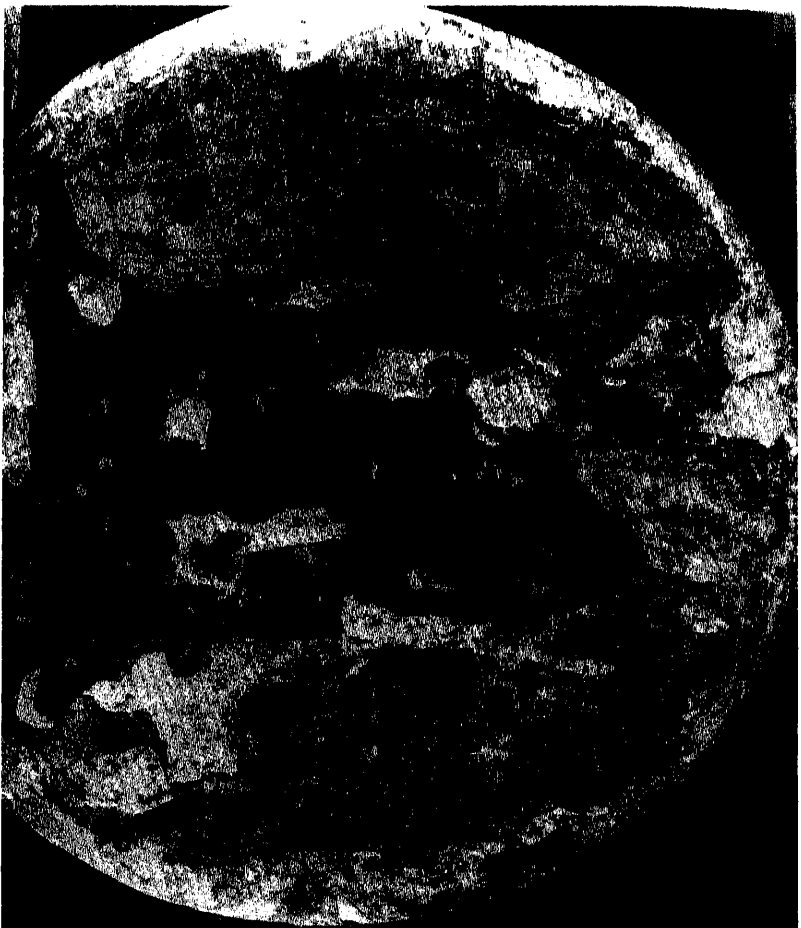


## FOUR THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SINAI ICONS BY THE PAINTER PETER

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The extensive group of icons datable to the thirteenth century that are preserved in St. Catherine's monastery of Sinai includes four panels which should, for various reasons, be attributed to the same painter.<sup>1</sup> The key piece, with the Virgin Blachernitissa between Moses and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Euthymios II, and with the painter's name, Peter (fig. 1), was included by George and Maria Sotirou in their publication of a selection of the Sinai icons.<sup>2</sup> They also published another panel of the same group, which depicts the Virgin Kyriotissa, or the Virgin of the Bush, together with the most prominent monastic personalities in the early history of Sinai (fig. 8).<sup>3</sup> This panel also bears the name of the painter Peter but because the inscription was revealed at a later date, after the cleaning of the panel, the connection between these two works was not noticed. We propose to attribute to the painter Peter two more panels (figs. 5 and 11), published here for the first time. The group of the four icons under discussion can be dated to the third decade of the thirteenth century on the basis of the portrait of the Patriarch Euthymios II included in one of them. This group is of special significance for three reasons: a) it represents one of the rare instances of Sinai icons that are securely datable on criteria other than style; b) it includes panels with a non-serial connection that can safely be attributed to the same painter, and c) it comprises works of a more personal character within the context of the monastic community of that period, thus offering evidence for some special groups of icons made at Sinai in this and in other periods of its long history.

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE ICONS

a) *The Virgin Blachernitissa between Moses and the Patriarch Euthymios II of Jerusalem*  
(figs. 1, 2, 3—4, 16 and 18)

Height: 44.7 cm; width: 37.3 cm; thickness: 1.80 cm; width of raised border: 3 cm. The panel is composed of two boards of thin wood of almost equal size. Four additional strips of wood were used for the border. The paint has been applied on the wood without the use of canvas.

The orant Virgin with the medallion of Christ Emmanuel is depicted standing on a footstool in the center. She wears a dark blue chiton and a red-brown maphorion outlined in gold, with gold tassels, and gold star-shaped ornaments above the forehead and on the shoulders, as well as on the sleeves of the chiton; two gold strips decorate her cuffs. She wears red shoes.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to His Beatitude the Archbishop Damianos, and the members of the Holy Synaxis of the Monastery of St. Catherine for giving me the permission to publish the icons in question. I am indebted to Father Gregorios, Skeno-

phyxas of the Monastery, for valuable suggestions.  
<sup>2</sup> G. and M. Sotirou, *Blachone, τὸ Μυστικὸν Ζητήμα*, Athens, 1956 (Plates), 1958 (Text) (hereafter cited, Sotirou, *Blachone*), pp. 138—139, and fig. 158.  
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134—135, and figs. 155—156.

The abbreviations of her name, ΜΗΡ ΘΥ, in red letters as in all the inscriptions on this panel, appear above her head. Her nimbus, almost imperceptible today, has an incised rim. Christ Emmanuel, clad in gold garments, blesses with his right hand, holding a closed white scroll with the left. He has a large gold cross nimbus. On either side of Christ the abbreviations of his name, ΙC XC appear. The medallion of Christ is red, framed in gold. The footstool on which the Virgin stands is placed at a slight angle. It is brown, outlined in gold, and on the side to the left is decorated with a double row of pearls.

Moses and the Patriarch of Jerusalem stand on the plain ground on either side of the Blachernitissa. Although the prophet is depicted in a three-quarter pose in the direction of the Virgin and Child, his face is turned towards the viewer. He raises his left hand in adoration and holds with the right hand the emerging from the sling of his himation. Tablet of the Law. It is rendered in orange and inscribed with letters imitating Hebrew. He wears a pink chiton highlighted in light blue, with clavi consisting of double black stripes. His himation is light blue with shadow lines in a deeper tone, and with white for the highlights. The prophet wears black sandals. The inscription of his name is: Ο ΠΡ(Ο)Φ(Η)ΤΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΗΣ. His nimbus is hardly visible.

The prelate is turned in a three-quarter view towards the Blachernitissa with his hands raised in prayer. He wears a white sticharion with brown "pokani", a white epitrachelion with gold embroidery around the neck and a gold embroidered tasseled him, a gold embroidered encheirion with a brown diaper pattern, as well as gold embroidered epimanika. Over the sticharion he wears a white polystavron phelonion, with black crosses enclosed by black gammaia, as well as a white omophorion with black crosses. The prelate, who has a nimbus,<sup>4</sup> is identified by the inscription above his head, ΕΛΑΘ Ο ΕΒΡΑ (sic) ΕΥΡΥΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΗΡΕΡΟΟ-ΑΗΜΟΝ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΣ.

In the lower section of the panel, on either side of the Blachernitissa, the supplicatory formula, ΔΕΗΘΙΟ ΠΙΕΡΟΥ ΖΩΤΡΑΦΟΥ (prayer of the painter Peter), is written in red letters (fig. 16). The same type of letters and the same red ink appear in a long inscription that covers the relatively wide border of the panel. The inscription starts at the top, continues on the right border, then on the left, and then at the bottom. It reads as follows:

† ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΜΕΝΟΝ ΣΕ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΕΥΕΥΟΛΟΓΗ ΠΑΡΕΡΕ ΕΝ ΣΤΑΡ Ο ΑΧΟΡΤΩΟ  
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΟ Ο ΕΥΕΟΟ ΕΜΕΝΗ ΧΟΡΕΠΩΝΕ ΕΥΑΟΚΙΣΕ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΗ ΕΩΜΕΝ ΚΕ ΙΜΕΝΟ ΠΡΟΟ-  
ΤΑΧΙΑΝ ΣΕ ΕΩΜΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΙΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΔ) ΝΗΚΤΟΙ ΠΡΕΒΕΡΙΟ ΥΠΕ ΕΜΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΑ  
ΚΑΗΤΡΑ ΤΙΟ ΒΑΟΙΑΗΑΟ ΤΩΟ ΣΕΟ ΕΚΚΕΤΕΟ ΚΑΤΙΝΟΝΤΕ, ΔΗΟ ΑΝΗΜΩΙΝΤΕΟ ΒΟΔΜΕΝ,  
ΧΕΡΕ ΚΑΧΑΠΤΩΜΕΝΗ Ο ΚΙΤΙΩΟ ΜΕΤΑ ΟΥΤ: —  
ΕΥΡΕΝΟ ΕΡΕΜΟΟ Τ ΟΥ ΤΙΚΟΥΑ ΕΥΡΥΜΗΟΝ Η ΟΥΚ ΟΑΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΙ ΕΥΙΑΗΘΗΝΕΝ  
ΤΕΚΝΑ ΑΝΗΡ ΕΥΕΥΕΜΗΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΝΕΙΜΑΤΟΥΙ.

The larger section of this inscription belongs to a troparion sung in the orthodox of the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin on August 15; this troparion is also included in the Akolouthia of the Trapeza.<sup>5</sup> The smaller section of the inscription reproduces the beginning of an apolytikion of the feast of St. Euthymios on January 20.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 138. The patriarch is described incorrectly as having a nimbus in K. Amantos, *Συναξαριστὴς ἀσκήσεων*, ΕΔούνη, I, Athens, 1928, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Th. Aliprantis, *Moses auf dem Berge Sinai. Die Hagiographie der Bergung des Moses und der Bergung der Gesetzstafeln*, Munich, 1986, p. 94. Sotirou, *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Sotirou, *Ibid.*, p. 138. An orange band outlining the border, which was added at a much later period, conceals some of the letters of the inscription. The text on the border of the icon contains numerous spelling mistakes. The first section reads as follows in the Menation for August 15:

The background of the icon under discussion was painted in gold and silver, which now give a dark brownish effect, a feature shared with the three other panels of our group. The absence of a green strip of ground for the figures to stand on is a further characteristic shared by all four panels. The main painted area of the Blachernitissa panel is framed by a double series of red and blue dots and dashes. The reverse side, covered with gesso, is decorated with a thick Greek cross of brown color, which has stylized trefoil ends and four petals issuing from its center. The cross is accompanied by the customary formula, ΙC XC ΝΗΚΑ, within circles (fig. 18). At the bottom to the left, there is a fragmentary short inscription which cannot be deciphered. As we shall see, this type of treatment of the reverse side is found, with slight variations, on three other panels of our group.

The figures of the Blachernitissa, Moses, and Euthymios II of Jerusalem occupy all the available space. The Virgin on her footstool is slightly taller than Moses, while a somewhat shorter scale was adopted for the figure of the prelate. All three figures, with staring eyes, a remote introverted expression, and hieratic immobility, convey a static quality. The rendering of the bodies is correct, except for the part beneath the knees, which is rather short. All three figures have small hands. The Virgin's face is oval and very youthful, with fleshy cheeks and regular features. It is smoothly modelled in ochre, olive, brown, and red. Moreover, red was used to emphasize the eyelids, one side of the bridge of the nose, and its tip, the lips, and the outline of the chin. Restricted olive shading appears around the eyes, the nose, beneath the mouth, and the contour of the chin. Brown was used for the eyebrows and eyelashes. The depiction of Moses lends itself particularly well to a stylistic study of this panel. The figure has moderate volume and its garments adhere to the body, enhancing its plasticity. A slight agitation in the lower section of the chiton is a reminiscence of stylistic conventions of the late Comnenian period, while, on the other hand, a soft human expression on the face, combined with a certain sense of volume in the body, and a relaxation in the pose, conform to up-to-date trends observed in some pictorial works from the early thirteenth century. This is also true of a somewhat painterly approach, shown in the face, smoothly modelled with ochre, light olive and red, as well as in the fluid treatment of the drape. Softly modelled and most impressive is the patriarch's face with very refined features and a sensitive expression, evoking the appearance of a real portrait. He is represented tonsured.

b) *The Virgin of the Bush between four holy monks of Sinai*  
(figs. 8, 9—10, 7, 17 and 19)

Height: 38 cm; width: 39.5 cm; thickness: 2.4 cm; width of raised border: 3 cm. The panel is composed of two boards of thick wood of equal size. Unlike the Blachernitissa panel, the paint has been applied on canvas, which also covered all four edges, but is preserved only on the vertical sides.

The Virgin stands in the center on a footstool holding Christ in front of her according to the iconographic type of the Kyriotissa which, at Sinai, has been designated as the Virgin of the Bush on the testimony of this particular icon. The Virgin wears a grey-blue chiton, a red-brown maphorion, and red shoes. Christ wears deep-red garments and extends both hands, blessing with the right hand and holding a closed white scroll with the left. The footstool on which the Virgin stands is placed at a slight angle, revealing the side to the left, which is decorated with pearls. The inscription that accompanies the depiction of the Virgin is: ΜΗ(ΤΗ)Ρ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ Ο (sic) ΤΙΟ ΒΑΤΟΥ (Mother of God of the Bush). It is written in red, as is the case of all the inscriptions on this icon.

The Virgin of the Bush is flanked by two pairs of holy monks of Sinai, identified by the extant inscriptions of their names. The monk on the far left is St. George Israelites, Ο ΑΓΙΟΟ

Μεταξὶ τούτου σε Πάτρια αὐ γένει, Γεωργίε Πατριεῖ  
σε αὐτ. Τόπ. ὁ ἀγιοπύργος, Χερσόνησος, ὁ Θεοῦ ἡγίου, Χο-  
ρηπίου καὶ ἰεροσολύμων, Μικαίου, ἑσῶν καὶ ἡγίου, Ἰσο-  
στούτου σε ἑσῶν, ἡγίου, ἡγίου καὶ ἰεροσολύμων, ἰερο-  
πέδου ὑπερ ἡγίου, καὶ τῶ ὀρθότομο ἡγίου Πατριεῖ  
ταῖς αὐτ. ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπὸ ἑσῶν ἡγίου  
πανόλου σου. Χείρας, χειροποιήτων, ὁ Κόσμος ἰερέ  
σου. Cf. also the Holograph for the inclusion of this  
troparion in the Akolouthia of the Dormition of the  
Virgin on August 15. The text on the border of the icon  
reads as follows in the Menation for January 20:  
ΕΥΡΕΝΟ ΕΡΕΜΟΟ Τ ΟΥ ΤΙΚΟΥΑ ΕΥΡΥΜΗΟΝ Η ΟΥΚ ΟΑΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΙ ΕΥΙΑΗΘΗΝΕΝ  
ΤΕΚΝΑ ΑΝΗΡ ΕΥΕΥΕΜΗΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΝΕΙΜΑΤΟΥΙ.

ΤΡΑΠΤΙΟC O ΓΕΑΝΗΑΤΙΚC. He wears a deep-olive-coloured tunic, a grey-blue analabos, a red-brown mantle, and a dark colored konkolobos. Next to him stands St. Neilos Sinaites, O ΑΙΤΙΟC ΝΗΑΟΝ O ΧΗΝΑΤΙΚC. He wears an olive-coloured tunic, a grey-blue analabos, and an orange-ochre mantle. The first saint to the Virgin's left is St. Anastasios Sinaites, abbot, O ΑΙΤΙΟC ΑΙΤΙΟC (sic) ΑΝΑΚΤΑCΘΙΟC O ΧΗΝΑΤΙΚC ΗΠΙΟΜΕΝΟC. He wears an orange-ochre tunic, a grey-blue analabos, and a deep-ochre mantle. The saint next to Anastasios is St. John Klimakos, a deep-ochre-colored tunic, a grey-blue analabos, and a red-brown mantle. All four monastic saints hold up their right hand a thin, white cross and raise their left hand with an open palm in a gesture of prayer. The nimbi of the Virgin and of the four holy monks are hardly visible. As in the previous icons, the background conveys a brownish effect owing to the use of gold and silver, traces of which are still preserved. On either side of the Virgin, in the lower section of the panel, the supplicatory formula, ΑΓΓΙΟC ΠΕΤΡΟC ΖΟΥΠΑΒΟΥ (fig. 17), confirms the attribution of this icon to the painter of the Bacteriussa panel. Both icons show, in addition, a striking affinity in the decoration of the reverse sides. The icon of the Virgin of the Bush and the four holy monks of Sinai exhibits on its back, covered with a layer of gesso, a thick Greek cross of brown color accompanied by the customary formula. IC XC ΝΗΚΑ, within circles (fig. 19). The cross has stylized trefoil ends and four petals issuing from its center. The entire design is framed in brown.

The compositional scheme of this Sinai icon adheres to a principle of strict symmetry, as on the icon of the Bacteriussa. The Virgin on her footstool has a slightly larger scale than the four monastic saints, who are presented in strict isoccephaly. These figures have abandoned the rigidity of the frontal pose by a slight turn to the right or left. Color is used to create rhythmic relations, mainly produced by the red-brown in the Virgin's maphorion and in the mantles of the two outermost saints, as well as by the orange-ochre in the mantle of St. Neilos and in the tunic of St. Anastasios. The alignment of frontal figures reveals the disposition of hagiographic portraits on the pages of illustrated Metaphrastian menologia or on painted menologia icons.

The Virgin's oval face is extremely youthful, with a small nose and fleshy red lips. Her face is modeled with warm tones, and the chin and neck are highlighted with white. Her eyes are enhanced by thick dark contours and dark curved lines below. They are overshadowed by thick curved eyebrows. All four monks have identical features. Although their faces do not reveal their original state, owing to overcleaning, they were apparently rendered in a painterly style. The animated quality of these faces is shown in the expressive glances and the nervous brushstrokes, used to form the eyebrows. Despite a certain monotonous effect produced by identical features, the refined, impressionistic modeling technique in ochre, white, and red contributes to the infusion of an intense, spiritual life in the faces.

c) *St. Makarios of Egypt and St. Makarios of Alexandria*  
(figs. 11, 12, and 21)

Height: 32.5 cm; width: 22 cm; thickness varies between 1.5 and 1.8 cm; width of stepped raised border: 2.5 cm.

The small panel consists of a single board of thick wood. It has been painted on canvas, which also covers the edges on all four sides. The paint has flaked in certain areas of the saint's garments.

The monk to the left is identified as St. Makarios of Egypt by the extant inscription of his name, written in red: O ΑΙΤΙΟC ΑΙΤΙΟC (sic) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥC O ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟC. He wears an orange-ochre tunic, a dark brown analabos, a grey-blue mantle, and a brown konkolobos.

With his right hand he holds a thin, white cross, and with the left, raised with the palm outward, makes the gesture of prayer. The second monk is St. Makarios of Alexandria, as attested by the extant inscription, also in red: O ΑΙΤΙΟC ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥC O ΑΙΞΑΝΑΠΙΝΟC. He wears a grey-blue tunic, a dark brown analabos, and a reddish-brown mantle. He is also holding a white cross with his right hand, and making the gesture of a prayer with the other. The nimbi of the saints are hardly visible. There is no strip of ground for the figures to stand on. The background is dark brown with traces of gold. The main painted area is framed by a red line with a row of small red crosses on the inner side. The back of the panel (fig. 21), covered with a layer of gesso, shows a brown cross with the usual formula, IC XC ΝΗΚΑ, within circles. As in the two previous panels, the cross has stylized trefoil ends, as well as four petals issuing from its center. The entire design has been enclosed within a border of brown color.

The icon with the portraits of two saint Makarios has not been cleaned. Although the inscription with the painter's name is not included, the attribution of the panel to the painter Peter gains ample support from numerous stylistic and technical features. Because of the excellent state of preservation of the faces, this work allows us to better observe the personal style of our painter. The modeling is free and painterly, characterized by the ample use of white impressionistic brushstrokes, which impart an animated quality to the faces. Makarios of Egypt has white hair and a beard rendered with white brushstrokes over olive-ochre, making it appear grey. Red is used to outline the bridge of the nose on one side and on its tip; spare use of the same color is noticeable on the cheeks. The face of Makarios of Alexandria also exhibits ample use of free white brushstrokes for the hair and the central section of his pointed beard. The ears are formed with bold brushstrokes of brown and white. The hands reveal a similar free modeling with ochre, light olive, and a little red. As in the case of the icon with the Virgin of the Bush and the four Sinaitic saints, here, too, the figures show a certain relaxation in their frontal poses.

d) *St. Procopios*  
(figs. 5, 6, 14—15 and 20)

Height: 69 cm; width: 37.3 cm; thickness: 2.5—3 cm; width of raised border: 3 cm.

The paint was laid on a thin board reinforced with a second thicker board. This second board consists of two pieces, 16 and 21 cm wide. A further strip of wood was added at the top. Moreover, two rounded transversal ledges affixed on the back with large nails provide an extra support to the panel. The icon was painted on canvas, which also covers the edges and extends slightly to the back.

The saint is identified by the inscription of his name in red, arranged in the form of two circular cartouches on either side of his head: O ΑΙΤΙΟC ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗΟC; the cartouches are composed of concentric incised circles. St. Procopios, in frontal pose, holds a thin, white cross decorated with a red stone in the middle in his right hand and in the left a sheathed sword with a luxurious golden hilt and a black baldric; the sheath is also black, with two double parallel lines in gold and a golden tip. The saint wears a greenish-blue tunic with a hem in dark ochre, a golden collar, golden cuffs decorated with floral designs, and a golden orbiculus with a rosette, seen on the right shoulder. A thin red belt, outlined in black, passes around the waist as attested by the small extant fragment on the left. Over his tunic the saint wears a red chlamys, decorated with a large golden tablion presently tarnished, as is the case with all surfaces that had been decorated in gold. The tablion of the mantle is ornamented with a diaper pattern, showing four dots within each lozenge; this pattern is bordered on top and bottom by a design of contiguous circles, each enclosing a dot. The saint wears black shoes and ochre leather leggings, with red stripes. The luxurious appearance of his garments is further enhanced

by a golden mannikon, outlined in black. It is made of rectangles decorated with pearls, and separated by black lines. A large oval brooch in the middle, outlined in black, is decorated with four white pearls. The mannikon matches the golden diadem upon his head. It is composed of a centerpiece with a red stone and rectangles decorated either with pearls or with a stone of green or red color. All these segments, outlined in black, are decorated with pearls on the outer side. The red rim of the nimbus of the saint is enhanced by blue dots, framed on the outside by a scalloped pattern, also enhanced by pearls.

The background of the panel has the same dark brownish color that we saw in the other panels of our group giving the impression of burnished bronze, the reason being that gold, traces are still visible, had been mixed with silver. The entire painted surface is framed by a narrow red strip.

In the lower area of the panel, on either side of St. Procopios, there is an inscription which needs careful study (figs. 14-15). The left-hand section and the first line of the right-hand section of this inscription are written in gold; the remaining four lines, below the first line of the latter, are written in red. The inscription in gold letters is as follows: † ΑΓΙΕ ΤΟΥ ΘΥΟΥ ΑΞΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΝ / ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ (sic) ΚΟΤ / ΕΘΡΑΙΜ / ΕΘΡΑΙΜ (γυν)εξ(ω)Υ ΑΞΟΥΤΕ ΜΕ ΑΙΛΑ / ΤΩΝ ΚΡΥΠΤΩΝ. In fact, the left-hand section of the inscription in gold was written over an earlier one in red of which a few letters are still discernible: ΑΓΓΗΤΙ... ΖΩΤΡΑΘΟΥ? It can thus be inferred that we here have as well the supplicatory formula, *Prayer of the painter Peter*, seen in two of the panels of our group. On the Procopios panel this inscription assumed a more elaborate form with the inclusion of the standard formula, especially familiar from the notes in the manuscripts, and those who read (the inscription) may pray to the Lord for me. It can thus be concluded that at some time, probably not too long after the painting of the icon, another person, a monk with the name of Ephraim, changed the first part of the original supplicatory inscription so as to make himself the recipient of the prayers of the faithful.

The back of the Procopios panel (fig. 20) bears a similar decoration to that of the three previous panels of our group. On a layer of gesso and in the area defined by the two transversal rounded ledges, we have a red-brown cross with stylized trefoil ends and four petals issuing from its center. The cross is accompanied by the formula, ΙC ΧΚC ΝΗ ΠΛΑ, within circles. Unlike the case of the three other panels, the cross here had been affixed on a stepped base, a fact that explains the inscription, ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΚΤΑΚΙC, written on either side of the base. Beneath the lower transversal ledge there was another inscription, too damaged to be deciphered. The type of its letters and their placement recall those on the reverse side of the icon with the Blachernitissa (fig. 18). In addition, above the transversal ledge, on the upper left-hand section of the reverse side of the Procopios panel, the inscription, ΤΟΤΙ ΚΙΝΑ, has been preserved.

The icon of St. Procopios is very impressive from the artistic point of view. The big size and high format of the panel have allowed for depiction of a large figure dominating the available space. A monumental rendering, enhanced by the projection of the figure against a uniform background with no green strip of the ground for the martyr to stand on, is combined with a markedly decorative approach, as shown by the color combinations; which convey enamel quality. Particularly effective is the use of red in the chlamys, in modelling of the face, and in the inscriptions. The luxurious appearance of the saint's garb, complemented by the jeweled diadem and mannikon, as well as the ornamentation of the rim of the nimbus, adds to the brilliant effect of this work. The style of the panel has the painterly quality which characterizes the other panels of our group as well. The modelling of the face was done with dark ochre, light ochre, and with red to emphasize the eyelids, one side the of the nose bridge and its tip, the fairly thick lips, the

7 I am indebted to Father Gregorios for his help in deciphering this section of the inscription.

cheeks, and the area of the chin. White highlights are noted beneath the eyes, on the nose, around the mouth, and on the chin. The light green shading is used sparingly. The face of the martyr is dominated by his large almond-shaped eyes with thick curved eyebrows and a curved thick area of olive shading beneath. The expression of the face has an introverted, hieratic quality which recalls the works from the eleventh century. On the other hand, the body has acquired a certain breadth, and the contrapposto is clearly shown. The drapey, characterized by a flowing painterly quality, has few folded lines, which stress the vertical axis. The Procopios figure bears close stylistic similarity to the Moses figure on the panel of the Blachernitissa. Both figures share similar proportions, with a characteristic short shank, identical approach to the drapery, and a similar painterly modelling of the faces.

2. ICONOGRAPHIC REMARKS

a) The Virgin Blachernitissa between Moses and the Patriarch of Jerusalem Euthymios II

The most striking feature in the iconography of this panel is undoubtedly the portrait of the prelate identified as Euthymios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, by the accompanying inscription, which also specifies that the patriarch was already dead (Makarios) at the time when the panel was painted. This figure, rendered in a slightly smaller degree than that of the Virgin and Moses, has more precisely been identified as Euthymios II of Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> The presence of an icon with the portrait of this patriarch at Sinai is explained by the fact that he died in the Monastery and was buried there. The funerary inscription, in Greek and Arabic, engraved on the marble slab of his tomb, which is placed against the north wall of the easternmost section of the north aisle of the Katholikou, provides the date of his death and the name of the archbishop of Sinai in office at that time. The Greek inscription, published on several occasions<sup>9</sup> reads as follows: † Εθαδαε νεκρε τω οριγω τω εν θρησκω μαρτυρ ημων Εβθυμιω / πατριαρχω / λερονω εθωε, σθηβ μαρυ (Δεκ(ε)εβη(ε)ω) εν ηθρε(ε)ω 8. † Βηι τω δε(τω)τε(τω) π(ε)ρ(ε)β(ε)η ηθ(ε)ω) Μωυσεω δευ(ε)με(ε)τω) / τω(ε) εθ(ε)ω) ρωοε Σιναι, † Γρηωδ(ε)ε † Χρηωδ(ε)ε. Thus, Euthymios died on December 13, 1224, when Makarios was Archbishop of Sinai. Euthymios II is mentioned in the stichera composed in memory of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus.<sup>10</sup> More precisely, a tropaion of a canon mentions explicitly that Euthymios, inspired by an angelic message, went to Sinai, where he terminated his glorious archiepiscopal career. This tropaion reads as follows: Μερε τω εν θωο υδ(ε)ων λαροπυετω ηθ(ε)ω(ε)ε εκωδ(ε)ω ρωυμ(ε)εε, λεε Αεωρ(ε)ω κατ Μαρεμ μαρτυρε, ων Εβθυμιω τω εθ(ε)ωδ(ε)ε, τω χρηωδ(ε)ωσθ(ε)ωρ 8ε Αρηωω εθ(ε)ω μαρε τω Σιναι ρεθ(ε)ωσθ(ε)ω καεε ρεθ(ε)ωσθ(ε)ω τω τρηω ιερωτεε ηθ(ε)ωεωω δεδωω. <sup>11</sup> The date of death of Patriarch Euthymios II gives a terminus post quem for the icon with his portrait. It therefore must have been painted shortly after December 13, 1224. The role of the praying patriarch on our icon will become clearer after a study of the entire composition.

8 Amanios, Συμμερικὰ λυπητὴ (as in note 4), p. 47. Sorithou, Βίωσες, p. 138. It may be noted that the Patriarch Euthymios I lived toward the end of the eleventh century. Cf. O. Tahril, *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes du Sinai*, in the collection of his articles entitled, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Épigraphie Byzantines*, Paris 1913, p. 79 and note 3.

9 Porfirij Uspenskij, *Pervoe putestvie v Sinajskij monastyr' v 1845 godu*, St. Petersburg 1856, p. 246. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Avalkerer*, Teopokyparawcic Caxpawwawc, II, St. Petersburg 1891 (repr. Brussels 1963), p. 361, note 2. Tahril, *Mélanges* (as in note 8), p. 79. M. H. L. Rahmo, *Le Monastère de Sainte-Catherine (Mont-Sinaï). Souvenirs épigraphiques des anciens pèlerins*, *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte* XIX (1915) pp. 31 and 83 (no. inscr. 28). *Ibidem*, *Le Monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Mont Sinaï* (Royal Automobile Club of Egypt), Cairo 1938, pp. 27 and 103 (no. inscr. 33). The inscription in Arabic was published by N. Shoukar Bey, *The History of Sinai and Arabis*, Cairo, 1916, p. 211 (in Arabic). Cf. Rahmo (1915), p. 29. The Arabic inscription is also reproduced in Rahmo (1938), pp. 27 and 103 (no. inscr. 34).

10 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Avalkerer* (as in note 9), I, pp. 125, 133, 142 etc.; III, p. 33. The stichera are contained in cod. Sabb. 153 of the late 13th century.

11 *Ibid.*, I, p. 133; III, p. 33.

At the Monastery of Sinai, originally dedicated to the Virgin, as attested by Procopios,<sup>12</sup> icons depicting the Virgin with saints locally venerated enjoyed great popularity. Even after the period when the Monastery changed its name into St. Catherine's (10th-11th century), such icons were impressively numerous, while depictions of St. Catherine became large in number only at a much later period.

The Sinai icons adhering to this particular scheme show the Virgin, preferably in the iconographic type of the Kyriotissa, which in the local context has been designated as the Virgin of the Bush on the evidence of the legend on one of the icons of our group (fig. 8). On the other hand, the orant Virgin with the medallion of Christ Emmanuel, as on the icon being now discussed, is known as the Blachernissa but it represents what can best be called the Blachernissa-Episkopissa type.<sup>13</sup> The epithet Blachernissa seems to have originally been attributed to the depiction of an orant Virgin without the Child in the apse of the main church at Blachernae; moreover, one of the celebrated icons had been kept in the rotunda of the Holy Soros, annexed to the main church of Blachernae, depicted a full-length Orans with a medallion of Christ Emmanuel on her breast, and bearing the legend, ἡ Βλαχέρνας, as can be inferred from the seals and coins with this iconographic type and the very same legend.<sup>14</sup> This type of the Blachernissa — full length or in bust form — illustrates particularly well the mystery of the Incarnation, as attested by its appearance in the apses of a number of churches, especially during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> On our icon this meaning is borne out by the first section of the inscription on the border that has been taken from a hymn which glorifies the Virgin in her role as the instrument of the Incarnation of the Logos.<sup>16</sup> It has been argued, I believe correctly, that the iconographic type of the Blachernissa may be considered in the local context as another variant of the Virgin of the Bush,<sup>17</sup> mainly on the basis of the observation that many illustrations of the biblical episode of the Burning Bush show a frontal orant Virgin at the Bush with a bust of Christ Emmanuel on her breast.<sup>18</sup> The idea that the Blachernissa type of our icon can be considered as reflecting a Sinaite iconography is supported through its association with Moses. Similar evidence is provided by another Sinai icon of the thirteenth century, which depicts the Blachernissa between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, St. John Klimakos and St. John of Damascus on the top register, and the Forty Holy Fathers of Raithu on the four lower registers.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Hegel, *Kryptikon*, V, viii, 5, Ed. J. Hanry (Leipzig, 1964).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. A. H. S. Megaw and E. I. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perchevo*, Cyprus and its Frescoes, *D. O. P.* 16 (1962), pp. 298-299.

<sup>14</sup> For this iconographic type, see in particular, C. Belting, *Hm, Sub maris iudeli, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Schutzengelmadonnen* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1976, 3. Abhandlung), Heidelberg 1976, pp. 49-57 (with earlier bibliography), M. Tarrh-Brygh, *Froma Zbornice Znamenca*, 35 (Sopkari makrove Juremova 13 (1977)), pp. 3-26.

<sup>15</sup> For the adoption of this type in the 12th-century church programmes in Cyprus, see Megaw and Hawkins, *Perchevo* (as in note 13), p. 299, and note 43. The half-length variant is often found in the 13th- and 14th-century provincial churches, as shown by numerous examples in the Meoni and Bithoia. For collected examples of this type, in monumental painting, see Tarrh-Brygh, *Zkonia Zbornice* (as in note 14), figs. 3-15.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Aliprandis, *Moses auf dem Berge Sinai* (as in note 5), p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, and 93-99.

The depiction of Moses with the Virgin appears frequently on Sinai icons, and such an association reflects a local point of view.<sup>20</sup> As already noted, in these cases the type of the Virgin is usually that of the Kyriotissa, better known in the local context as the Virgin of the Bush, an iconographic type which also stresses the Virgin's primary role in the mystery of the Incarnation, since the Burning Bush is one of the most popular refigurations of the Virgin.<sup>21</sup> The depiction of Moses near the Blachernissa undoubtedly meant to stress the importance of this biblical personality in the scheme of Divine Economy. It may be recalled that in Byzantine hymnography the Tablet of the Law, which is held by Moses on our icon, has also been considered as a refiguration of the Virgin.<sup>22</sup>

Regarding the iconography of Moses we may note that he has a short thin beard, as is usually the case with his portraits from the thirteenth century on, whereas Moses is in middle-Byzantine art normally beardless.

#### b) *The Virgin of the Bush between four holy monks of Sinai*

The standing Virgin holding the Child in front of her on this icon copies the iconographic type of the Kyriotissa,<sup>23</sup> which is here designated as the Virgin of the (Burning) Bush by the accompanying inscription, thus providing the terminology for a substantial number of depictions of the Virgin preserved at Sinai.<sup>24</sup> Whereas the designation of this particular type of the Virgin of the Bush has not been detected in other pictorial examples at Sinai or elsewhere, a literal illustration of this metaphor appears in a few Sinai icons, where the Virgin, engulfed by the Burning Bush, is usually represented in an orant position without the Child.<sup>25</sup>

In the Kyriotissa type — full length or in bust form — the Virgin has Christ axially placed in front of her supporting him with both hands. Certain variations can be noticed

century, the Virgin is receiving the adoration of two censuring angels. The latter is presently on the iconostasis of the Chapel of St. Symeon Stylites on the south side of the Cathedral.

<sup>20</sup> For some 13th-century examples, see Sotriou, *Ekloges*, figs. 157, 197. K. Weitzmann, *Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom*, *D. O. P.* 20 (1960), fig. 32. K. Weitzmann et al. *Les Icoïnes*, Paris, 1983, III, p. 217.

<sup>21</sup> For the Marian symbolism of the Burning Bush in Byzantine art and hymnography, see D. Mouriki, *Al. Bihoracov presopovozec, čtje, Izvrtias ete tobj ropoljov čtje, Tepeljstero tobj Mloropa, Napravovozobj Lekstov* 23 (1971), *Melktra*, pp. 224-226.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., Sophronios Eustratiades, 'H Gese-ticos by τῆ βουνοπέλα, Paris — Chemnotères-sur-Marne, 1930, p. 62.

<sup>23</sup> For the iconography of the Kyriotissa, see M. Tarrh-Brygh, *L'icone de Kyriotissa*, Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines Athènes 1976, II B (Art and Archaeology), Athens, 1981, pp. 759-786 (with earlier bibliography). For a summary of the various theories concerning the origin of this iconographic type, see S. Kalonissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Heiligen Trifida bei Kramidi in caesia* 20 (1975), pp. 214-216.

<sup>24</sup> For depictions of the Virgin of the Bush (according to the iconography of the Kyriotissa), see Sotriou, *Ekloges*, pp. 133, 135, 143, 179, figs. 163 and 197. K. Weitzmann, *Loza Sanca* and the Representational Arts of Palestine, *D. O. P.* 28 (1974), pp. 53-54, figs. 47-49, and 51 (repr. in *idem, Studies in the Arts of Sinai*, Princeton, 1962, II, pp.

39-40, hereafter, *Studies*). *Idem*, *Icon Painting* (as in note 20), pp. 65-66, fig. 32 (repr. in *idem, Studies*, XII, pp. 339-340, fig. 32). *Idem*, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume One: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton 1976, no. B 54, pp. 87-88, pls. XXXIII and CIX, p. 66, fig. 26. *Idem*, *Icoïnes* (as in note 20), p. 202, III, p. 217. A half-length depiction of the same type is included on a 12th-century icon of St. Euthymios, K. Weitzmann et al. *A Treasury of Icons*, New York, 1966, p. XIV, pl. 74. It should be noted, however, that the appellation, the (Burning) Bush, has been given so far to a variety of iconographic types of the Virgin in pictorial works at Sinai, which include, apart from the Kyriotissa, the Blachernissa (Sotriou, *Ekloges*, p. 138; Aliprandis, *Moses auf dem Berge Sinai* (as in note 5), pp. 29-30, 93-99), a seated Virgin with the Child axially placed before her (K. Weitzmann, *A Group of Early Twelfth-Century Sinai Icons Attributed to Cyprus, Studes in memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. G. Robertson and G. Henderson, Edinburgh, 1975, p. 56 (repr. in *Studies*, IX, p. 254, pl. 25), and all types of the Virgin engulfed in a burning bush (cf. *ibid.*, p. 254).

<sup>25</sup> According to Professor Weitzmann, the earliest example of a literal depiction of the type of the Bush is probably the figure of the Virgin on an encasite icon of the Ascension that has been dated to the 9th-10th centuries. Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons* (as in note 24), no. B42, pp. 70-71, pl. XXXVIII. A more explicit example is the bust of the Virgin in the middle of the upper border of the Kyriotissa panel of the diptych, which also includes a depiction of St. Procopios. See *ibid.*, p. 71. *Idem*, *Icon Painting*, p. 67, fig. 35; repr. in *Studies*, XII, p. 341, fig. 35.

in the position of the Virgin's hands. Thus, the Kyriotes in the earliest examples holds her right hand on the right shoulder of the Child, who is making the gesture of blessing with his right hand, brought before his chest, whereas in the later works the Virgin usually passes her right hand before the chest of the Child, who is extending his right hand outwards.<sup>26</sup> This observation holds for the Sinai material as well. The type of the Virgin of the Bush with the characteristics of the Kyriotes is usually encountered at Sinai on icons where she is accompanied by one or more saints. The earliest example in this particular group seems to be the icon depicting the Virgin between SS. Ekremchos and Paricleimon, which has been dated to the first half of the tenth century.<sup>27</sup> Special mention should be made of the serial group of nine (originally ten) small icons, which can be dated to the early thirteenth century. They depict the Virgin of the iconographic type under discussion with a different saint every time.<sup>28</sup> The apparent preference for this type of the Virgin in a large group of icons including portraits of saints, often those that used to enjoy special veneration in the local context (e.g., Moses, Aaron, Elijah, Stephen), make the Kyriotes type the most explicitly Sinaitic iconographic type of the Virgin. The evidence provided by the legend, *Mother of God of the Bush*, found on the icon with the Virgin and the four most important monastic personalities in the early history of the Monastery, seems to support the hypothesis that this particular type had been recorded on a particularly venerated icon, kept in the Chapel of the Bush in the eastern section of the Katholikion.

In an attempt to discover the reason for the choice of the Kyriotes type for the Sinaitic Virgin par excellence we are confronted with several theories about its origin and with various layers of theological interpretation implicit in this type, which only in three pictorial examples known so far has been accompanied by the legend, ἡ Κυριώτισσα.<sup>29</sup> Mirjana Tatit-Durčić has recently insisted on dogmatic implications of this appellation, associating it with related expressions in Byzantine hymnography. Compared to other types of the Virgin that lay special emphasis on the Incarnation, the Kyriotes type, which also stresses this mystery, emphasizes the sanctity of the Virgin. The invocation of the Virgin as the Burning Bush and other related metaphorical expressions in hymnographical texts reflect a similar association of ideas.<sup>30</sup>

The portraits of the holy monks flanking the Virgin of the Bush on our icon provide valuable evidence for the extant history of Sinai. The first monk, on the left, is St. George Isaielites, according to the extant inscription of his name (figs. 1 and 9). This epithet surely derives from the Valley of Isia (Wadi Isia) situated in the southernmost section of the region of Jebel Umm Shomer in the southwestern corner of the mountainous region in the Sinai peninsula.<sup>31</sup> We would tend to identify this saint as the celebrated Abba Georgios, called Arselaites from the desert, "la Arselahou", where he lived as a hermit.<sup>32</sup> According to the local tradition at the Monastery, the site has been identified as Wadi Rumhan, a small valley in the northeastern part of the region Jebel Umm Shomer region of the Southern Sinai, where early Byzantine remains have been preserved.<sup>33</sup> Some biographical information on St. George Arselaites is included in the seventh-century *Avrytēs* of the Monk Anastasios on the holy fathers of Sinai.<sup>34</sup> It is here reported

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Kalonissi-Ventri, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada* (as in note 23), p. 216. Very rarely the Kyriotes phases her right hand on the right foot of Christ while with the left she touches his left shoulder. Cf. M. Anaya-Vardavaki, *Οἱ πόλεμοι τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Ἐκκλησίου*, *οἱ Μεγαλομάρτυρες Ἀρχαῖοι*, vol. 8 (1975-1976), pp. 203-204.

<sup>27</sup> Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, I (as in note 24), no. B34, pp. 87-88, pls. XXXIII and CX. <sup>28</sup> Sotiriou, *Εἰκόνες*, p. 143, fig. 163. Weitzmann, *Icons*, *Sinai* (as in note 24), p. 53, figs. 48 and 49 (repr. in *Sinaites*, II, p. 39, figs. 48 and 49). <sup>29</sup> Cf. Kalonissi-Ventri, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada* (as in note 23), pp. 213-216. <sup>30</sup> Tatit-Durčić, *L'Épique de Kyriotes* (as in note 23), esp. pp. 761-771, 776. <sup>31</sup> Sotiriou, *Εἰκόνες*, p. 135. For the exact situa-

tion of the Valley of Isia, see P. Barnabé, *Meistermann, Guide du Nil au Jourdain par le Sinai et Petra*, Paris, 1909, p. 164, and map of the Sinai Peninsula. See also I. Finkelshteyn, *Byzantine Monastic Remains in the Southern Sinai*, D.O.P. 39 (1985), p. 74, and maps in figs. T and U.

<sup>32</sup> Whereas no connection with George Arselaites is suggested by G. and M. Sotiriou, they made the hypothesis that George Isaielites was the brother of John Klimakos. Sotiriou, *Εἰκόνες*, p. 135. <sup>33</sup> For the exact location of Wadi Rumhan and its archaeological remains, see Finkelshteyn, *Byzantine Monastic Remains* (as in note 31), pp. 65-66, and map in fig. U. <sup>34</sup> F. Nau, *Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints pères du Sinai*, *Ortus Christianus* 2 (1902), pp. 65-66 (text IX).

that, in period of great shortage of oil on Mount Sinai, the abbot of the Monastery descended to "the Arselahou" and requested the holy hermit to accompany him to the Monastery, a request which was granted. George Arselaites prayed in front of a pithos, in the old storeroom for oil, and subsequently quantities of oil came pouring out as from a spring. In the *Ephigme* of Nektarios and the *Description of Sinai* a detailed account of the miracle of the oil is included, as well as additional information that the event took place at the site of the Chapel of the Zoodochos Pege, which was actually built to commemorate this event.<sup>35</sup> In the twenty-seventh *Avrytēs* of the Klimax St. John Klimakos speaks about Georgios Arselaites with great admiration.<sup>36</sup> These references, as well as the inscription accompanying the depiction of George Isaielites on the Sinai panel, where our saint is neither designated as abbot nor represented near John Klimakos, do not allow us to conclude that George Arselaites was the blood brother of John Klimakos. As attested in the biography of John Klimakos by Daniel of Raithu, Georgios was appointed abbot of the Monastery by his brother John Klimakos, and died ten months after him.<sup>37</sup> Reference to the monk George, bishop and blood brother of St. John Klimakos, is also made in a section of the *Avrytēs* of the Monk Anastasios.<sup>38</sup> If George Isaielites or Arselaites is not the abbot George, brother of John Klimakos, as we believe, it will be difficult to formulate any reasonable hypothesis about the identity of a Sinai abbot with the name of George who is mentioned in the *Avrytēs* of John Moschos. The saintly man, characterized as *μῆτρως πρῶτω* *καὶ ἀσκήτης*, is given credit for the supernatural act, i.e., he received the Holy Communion in the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem without having ever left Sinai.<sup>39</sup>

The portrait on our icon is, to my knowledge, the only extant pictorial record on Sinai icons of the physiognomy of an early monastic personality from Sinai bearing the name of George. The rendering of this portrait recalls depictions of St. Anthony the Great, as indicated by the ascetic face with the white-greyish, pointed beard and by the kouklion.

The monk depicted next to St. George Isaielites is St. Neilos Sinaites, according to the extant inscription of his name (figs. 8 and 9). The local tradition, confirmed by early texts, such as the *Avrytēs* or *Avrytēs* of Neilos,<sup>40</sup> and by the synaxaries and the menaia, identifies St. Neilos Sinaites as the famous fifth-century Neilos of Anycra, who became eparch of Constantinople but abandoned his office to adopt the ascetic way of life in various monasteries in Egypt, and finally at Sinai, where he passed away in peace.<sup>41</sup> In these accounts the name of Neilos is connected with the story of the massacre of the Holy Fathers by the Arabs at Sinai, and the capture of his own son Theodoulos. According to the Synaxary of Constantinople, his relics, and those of Theodoulos and of other ascetics, were transferred to Constantinople by the Emperor Justin and deposited in the Church of St. Paul at the Orphanotropheion.<sup>42</sup> St. Neilos is commemorated on November 12.

<sup>35</sup> Nektarios, *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἱεραποστολικῆς Ἱστορίας*, Venice, 1677 (7th edition, Athens, 1980), pp. 199-200. According to the *Ephigme*, the miracle has been recorded in many Arabic writings. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. XXVII and 199, *Ἱεραποστολή τοῦ θεοφιλῆτος Ὁμοῦ*, Venice, 1817 (repr. Athens, 1978), pp. 133-136. <sup>36</sup> P. G., 88, col. 1112. <sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, col. 609. <sup>38</sup> See Nau, *Récits du moine Anastase* (as in note 34), p. 79 (text XXXII).

<sup>39</sup> P. G., 88,3, cols. 2988-2989. This tradition found its way to the hagiological compendia of Nikodemos Hagiorites, *Συναξαριστής*, Venice, 1819, pp. 204-205, and of Sophronios Eustratiades, *Ἀγιοδώρο* τῆς *Ὀρθόδοξου Ἐκκλησίας* (ed. Apostolikos Daskonia tes Hellados), Athens, n. d., pp. 92-93. In both compendia the feast day of this saint is placed on March 11 in the Synaxary of Constantinople includes a holy monk with the name of Ge-

orge, whose biographical notice shows no connection with the early Sinaitic saint under this name. *Synaxarium E. G.*, col. 530. In some of the Synaxaria selecta the monk George is reported to have lived at the time of John Zimisles. *ibid.*, cols. 527-528. <sup>40</sup> However, it is generally agreed that the writer of the Neilos Narratio or Narrationes is not Neilos of Anycra. Cf. P. Mavroun, *Observations on the "Nilus" Narrationes Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 (1975), pp. 31-34. For this text see Migne, P. G., 79, cols. 585-593; also, the latest edition by F. Conrath, *Nilus Anycranus Narratio* (Lap-218, 1983).

<sup>41</sup> For some biographical information, see *Nilus* *lascivie ou Nil d'Anoye dit le Sinaïte (saint)*, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 11, cols. 661-674. <sup>42</sup> *Synaxarium E. G.*, col. 217. Here reference to the saint is made in the entry for November 12, his feast day (col. 217), and on January 14, the day of the commemoration of the Holy Fathers of Sinai (cols. 389-391).

The portrait of St. Neilos on our icon is of the generalized ascetic type which shares identical features with the portraits of Anastasios and John Klimakos (fig. 10). Among the earliest known pictorial records of his physiognomy are his numerous portraits in the ninth-century *Sacra Parallela* (Paris, gr. 923),<sup>43</sup> where he is depicted with a long, pointed, white beard, always with the koukoulion. The rare examples of his portraits in Byzantine decorations include those in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas<sup>44</sup> and the frescoes of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica (1208/1209).<sup>45</sup> A portrait of the saint is occasionally included in the illustrated synaxaries and Meqaphrastan menologia for the entry of November 12.<sup>46</sup> The Sinai icons, with the possible exception of the menologia panels, which should be carefully examined, show that St. Neilos has not been a popular saint in the local context. Thus, the early thirteenth-century icon under discussion provides a rare example of his portraiture in the Monastery, which conforms to the pictorial tradition of his portraits beyond Sinai. Moreover, this tradition is also reflected in the *Hermeneia*, where the saint is presented as an old man with a long, two-pointed beard.<sup>47</sup>

The first monk on the left of the Virgin and Child, on our Sinai icon, is St. Anastasios Sinaïtes, abbot, according to the accompanying inscription (figs. 8 and 10). An attempt to place this holy monk within a historical context is related to the complex problem of the chronology and the biographical data of several Sinaitic personalities bearing the same name.<sup>48</sup> Stergios Sakkos has identified seven Anastasii in the sixth and seventh centuries, concluding that the most celebrated of all, Anastasios Sinaïtes par excellence, has actually been Anastasios II, patriarch of Antioch, and author of the *Ophrys*. This Anastasios was born in the middle of the sixth century, became a monk, and probably held the office of abbot of Sinai. He gained fame as an orator and author against the heresies of his time, especially Monophysitism. In 599 he became patriarch of Antioch and held this office until 609, the year of his death, during a riot of the Jewish element in the population of this city.<sup>49</sup> He is in all probability that Anastasios who was commemorated on April 21 in the synaxaries and menia under the name of Anastasios Sinaïtes. In the Synaxary of Constantinople the first place in the entry for that day is reserved for Hosios Anastasios of Sinai. He is particularly praised for his ascetic way of life, for his profound wisdom and for the fact that he distinguished himself by composing lives of holy fathers and editing homilies.<sup>50</sup>

The iconographic context of our Sinai panel indicates that the holy monk designated as abbot St. Anastasios Sinaïtes, was the monastic personality under this name who locally enjoyed the greatest prestige. As attested by the accompanying inscription, he is the only other abbot of

<sup>43</sup> The popularity of the saint in the *Sacra Parallela* is shown by a seated author portrait, eleven busts and eighteen medallions that accompany mainly excerpts from the *Apocrypha*. See K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela Parisinus Graecus 923*, Princeton 1979, pp. 122, 250–252, figs. 731–733.

<sup>44</sup> E. Siltka, *73 Özbekouzhsk. Xerovokh tñs Monij 'Odnou' Ikonu' Qvostokos*, Athens 1970, p. 134, and pl. 34.

<sup>45</sup> S. Chirković, V. Kornić and G. Babić, *Studenica Monastery*, Belgrade 1986, p. 72. Whereas there is nothing special in the inclusion of a portrait of St. Neilos in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas, an iconographic programme which heavily relies on monastic portraits, a puzzling case is represented by the portrait of St. Neilos in the sober and very carefully planned programme in the Church of the Virgin at Studenica. As generally agreed, this particular programme reflects the personal ideas of St. Sava, the founder of the Serbian Church. It is very probable that Sava became acquainted with the spiritual messages of the writings of St. Neilos at Mount Athos. It is interesting to recall that Sava visited twice Sinai at a later period.

<sup>46</sup> E. G., a portrait of St. Neilos in the 11th-century lectionary in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1156), fol. 266r. Cf. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* (as in note 41), p. 257 and note 155.

<sup>47</sup> *Hermeneia*, p. 164. In one of the sources of the Hermeneia St. Neilos is described as an old man with a long beard with three curls. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>48</sup> For the Anastasii of Sinai, see in particular, S. N. Sakkos, *Diei' Anastrovrou Zivrotou*, Thessaloniki, 1964; E. K. Christou, *Neotoraia' fepuvu nepi 'Avastrovrou Zivrotou*, *Kyprionika* 1 (1969), pp. 121–144 (with references to earlier bibliography).

<sup>49</sup> See Sakkos, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–160. Here it is suggested that the holy monk depicted on the Sinai icon was probably Anastasios II of Antioch (see p. 91).

<sup>50</sup> *Synaxarium E. C.*, cols. 617–618. The confusion regarding the identity of various Anastasii is also reflected in the Synaxaria selecta for April 20, where we read: *Avastrovrou tov ev rō Zivō*, *Avastrovrou, Erastrovrou 'Avroyelias*, *Avastrovrou tov Zivō epov*, *Avastrovrou Erastrovrou*, *Avastrovrou, tov detou Avastrovrou, tov evlou Iepoyidropov*, *Avastrovrou 'Avroyelias*, *Ibid.*, cols. 615–618.

Sinai, except for St. John Klimakos, chosen to be portrayed on our icon that obviously was meant to bring together the four most prominent monastic personalities in the early history of Sinai. This Anastasios is probably the abbot of the same name mentioned in the *Avroyelias* of the Monk Anastasios<sup>51</sup> and the "great Anastasios" referred to in the Life of St. John Klimakos by Daniel of Raithu.<sup>52</sup>

As in the case of St. George Isacelites and St. Neilos, Anastasios Sinaïtes has not been a popular subject in icon painting at Sinai. Apart from the depiction under consideration, there is also a post-Byzantine icon of the Cretan school with a portrait of St. Anthony the Great in the principal area and portraits, mainly of Sinaitic saints, including "St. Anastasios, abbot of Mount Sinai", depicted on the border of the icon.<sup>53</sup>

The last holy monk in the right-hand section of our panel is St. John Klimakos, abbot of Sinai, according to the accompanying inscription (figs. 8 and 10). Biographical information on the most famous monastic personality of Sinai is scanty.<sup>54</sup> It is actually based on the short vita composed by his contemporary Daniel of Raithu.<sup>55</sup> This account does not help us to establish with accuracy the chronological record of this saint; on the basis of a variety of sources, it has been concluded that John Klimakos was born shortly before 599 and that he died at some time between 654 and 680.<sup>56</sup>

Compared to other holy monks on our icon, the portraits of St. John Klimakos are abundant in the Monastery and can also be found in the works beyond Sinai. We have ample evidence from the illustrated copies of the *Klimax*, his *magnum opus* meant to be a guide for attaining the monastic ideal of virtuous life,<sup>57</sup> as well as from his frequent representations on Sinai icons.<sup>58</sup> These portraits are usually of a generalized type known in depictions of holy monks. The saint is almost invariably represented as an old man with a long, pointed beard. This convention is also recorded in the *Hermeneia*.<sup>59</sup>

In the illustrated copies of the *Klimax* and in most icons the famous Sinai abbot does not wear the koukoulion,<sup>60</sup> as is the case on our icon as well. Moreover, he is more often represented holding a scroll rather than a cross. The cross, which is the attribute of all four monastic saints on this icon, although only one of them suffered martyrdom, reflects a very old tradition which identifies the confessor with the martyr.<sup>61</sup> Such an approach is often noticeable in Byzantine art as shown, for instance, by the monastic portraits in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas and the Nea Moni. St. John Klimakos is commemorated on March 30, but the entry for this day in the Synaxary of Constantinople makes no reference to the synaxis held in the capital on his feast day.<sup>62</sup> His portraits are not very frequently encountered in church programmes or other pictorial media beyond the orbit of Sinai.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>51</sup> See Nau, *Récits du moine Anastase* (as in note 34), p. 80 (text XXXIV).

<sup>52</sup> P. G., 88, col. 608. Cf. K. Amantos, *Zivrotou 'Ieroula rñs*, *Ierog. Monij' tov Zivō* (*Elthypivōt*, 3), Thessaloniki, 1953, p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> See *Ibid.*, *Zivrotou jupvōtōs* (as in note 4), pp. 48–49. The panel bears the signature: *Xeipō Dypvōtōv Ierogov*.

<sup>54</sup> For biographical information on this saint, see *Icon Climax*, *Dictionary de Théologie Catholique de la Heavenly Ladder of John Klimakos*, Princeton, 1954, esp. pp. 3–6. D. Bogdanović, *Jean Climacog dans la littérature byzantine et la littérature serbe ancienne* (Institut d'Études Byzantines, Monographies, 11), Belgrade, 1968, pp. 7–21 (in Serbo-Croatian).

<sup>55</sup> P. G., 88, cols. 596–612.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Bogdanović (as in note 54).

<sup>57</sup> Martin, *Climacus* (as in note 54), pp. 19–23, 167, 172, 193, and 208; *Ephores*, pp. 95, 134, 135, 156, 189, 220, and 238.

<sup>58</sup> *Hermeneia*, p. 164.

<sup>59</sup> St. John Klimakos wears the koukoulion in the 9th-century *Sacra Parallela* (Paris, gr. 923), Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* (as in note 41), fig. 712; in a Decesis icon of the Comnenian period (Sofriou, *Ephores*, fig. 83); in the twin panels depicting the Holy Fathers of Sinai (*Ibid.*, fig. 153) and of Raithu (unpublished), and in the small icon with the saint's portrait from the 15th century (*Ibid.*, fig. 238).

<sup>60</sup> See E. E. Malton, *The Monk and the Martyr*.

<sup>61</sup> See E. E. Malton, *The Monk and the Martyr*, *Synaxarium E. C.*, cols. 401–402.

<sup>62</sup> *Synaxarium E. C.*, cols. 401–402.

<sup>63</sup> For some examples in monumental decorations, see D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, Athens, 1985, pp. 168–169.

c) St. Makarios of Egypt and St. Makarios of Alexandria

The icon in question provides a rare example of a paired depiction of the two Egyptian hermits bearing the name of Makarios who share a common feast on January 19.<sup>64</sup>

The saint bearing the name of Makarios of Egypt, or Makarios the Great, is much more famous than Makarios of Alexandria; thus, when a portrait bears only the name of Makarios, we should ascribe it to Makarios of Egypt. This fourth-century ascetic enjoyed great fame in Egypt on account of the strict rules he had set for himself, his effective struggles against demons, as well as his miracles of raising the dead. He passed away at the age of ninety.<sup>65</sup> No special information on the physical appearance of Makarios of Egypt is included in the synaxaries.<sup>66</sup> The *Hermeneia* describes him as a very old man.<sup>67</sup>

St. Makarios of Alexandria, a fourth-century ascetic and friend of the other Makarios, also excelled in the trials of hard life that he had set for himself and in his miraculous confrontations with demons.<sup>68</sup> We find some interesting information in Palladius on his physical appearance: He was of a somewhat stunted height and had a thin beard with some hair only on the lip and on the edge of the chin.<sup>69</sup> This information found its way into the synaxaries.<sup>70</sup> In the *Hermeneia* the saint is described as having a cheerful and pleasing appearance.<sup>71</sup>

On the Sinai icon under discussion the physiognomy of St. Makarios of Egypt is very close to the portraits of the four holy monks of Sinai on the previous icon. His portrait recalls the depictions of St. Anthony the Great, as shown by the ascetic features, the pointed, white beard, and the koukoulion. On the other hand, St. Makarios of Alexandria is differentiated from the other Makarios and the four Sinaiic holy monks by his more youthful appearance and the shorter beard. Moreover, the hair, the mustache, and a small area of the beard on the chin are white, while the remaining section of the beard is brown.

Depictions of St. Makarios of Egypt on Sinai icons,<sup>72</sup> are found several times and, on an unpublished panel heavily indebted to Western art, the two Makarii appear together with a third hermit, St. Kyriakos.<sup>73</sup> On this icon Makarios of Egypt is characterized by a short beard and a more youthful appearance, as on our icon.<sup>74</sup> St. Makarios of Egypt is rather infrequently represented in church programmes, e. g., in the Hosios Loukas mosaics,<sup>75</sup> as well as in other media.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, no portraits of Makarios of Alexandria beyond Sinai<sup>77</sup> are known to me.

<sup>64</sup> *Synaxarium E. C.*, cols. 401—402.  
<sup>65</sup> For biographical information on Makarios of Egypt, see *Makarios d'Egypte*, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 9, cols. 1452—1453. The principal source for his life is Palladius. See *The Lives of the Fathers of Palestine*, ed. C. Butler (Texts and Studies, Vol. Cambridge, 1898, pp. 43—47. An important source for the hermit's life is also the *Historia monachorum*. See E. Preusschen, *Palladius und Rufinus. Ein Beitrag zur Quellen-Kunde des alttestamentlichen Monchs*, Giessen, 1897, pp. 86—90.  
<sup>66</sup> In one of the *Synaxaria selecta* it is mentioned that the hermit was very short. *Synaxarium E. C.*, cols. 403—404.  
<sup>67</sup> *Hermeneia*, p. 164.  
<sup>68</sup> For biographical information on this ascetic, see *Makarios d'Alexandrie*, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 9, cols. 1440—1441. For references to his life in Palladius, see *The Lausiac History* (as in note 65), pp. 47—58.  
<sup>69</sup> *Ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἄσπετος ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἄσπετος, ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου ἰσοπέδον ἔχει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχει ἄσπετος ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος. Ἦν ἄσπετος ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος.* *The Lausiac History* (as in note 65), p. 58.  
<sup>70</sup> *Synaxarium E. C.*, col. 404.  
<sup>71</sup> *Hermeneia*, p. 164. However, in one of the texts that have been considered as sources of this

manual we find the information that the saint should be represented as an old man with hair only on the lip and the edge of the chin. *Ibid.*, p. 294.  
<sup>72</sup> E. g., on a leaf of a diptych datable to the 13th century. *Southern Ebores*, p. 202, fig. 231. Here the panel is dated to the 14th century.  
<sup>73</sup> Height 32.5 cm. Width, 21.2 cm.  
<sup>74</sup> A small unpublished panel belonging to a series of group of the 13th-century icons portrays St. Makarios as attested from the inscription, and St. Arsenios. The short beard and the turban, which characterize Makarios, probably indicate that we here have Makarios of Alexandria.  
<sup>75</sup> *Sikras, Oikodomykōv Xρονολογία* (as in note 44), pl. 28. Here St. Makarios is represented on the same arch with St. John Klimakos.  
<sup>76</sup> E. g., in the Menologion of Basil II. *Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vaticanus Graec. 1613)*. II (Plates), Turin 1907, page 334; the two saints depicted at the head of the entry for January 19 are Makarios the Roman and Makarios the Egyptian according to the captions. Also in the *Der Neussassin. Illustration des parviers grecs du Moyen Age*, I. *Leones*, Add. 19.352, Paris, 1970, fols. 67v and 98, fols. 109 and 160.  
<sup>77</sup> It goes without saying that both Makarii enjoyed popularity in pictorial arts in other parts of

d) St. Procopios

The saint depicted on this panel has no special connection with Sinai. Nevertheless, the inclusion of his portrait on one of the four panels of our group finds ample justification in his biographical data found in a contemporary source, the account of the martyrs of Palestine by Eusebios. He is here praised as being Palestine's first martyr.<sup>78</sup> This early account of the life of Procopios informs us that the fourth-century martyr was born in Aelia, i. e., Jerusalem, and that he served as a reader and exorcist in the church of Scythopolis. As a confessor of the Christian faith he had been martyred in Caesarea of Palestine; a basilica built on his tomb became his cult center. A later legend, read during the Seventh Oecumenical Council in 787, gives an elaborate account of Procopios' life, in which he is presented as a high ranking military official.<sup>79</sup> Owing to this legend the martyr enjoyed wide popularity as a warrior saint, and his fame was second only to that of SS. George, Demetrios, and the two Theodores.<sup>80</sup> Of the churches dedicated to this saint, commemorated on July 8, we can mention the martyria in Constantinople, situated in the area of Chelone, and in the Kondyliion.<sup>81</sup>

The portraits of Procopios in Byzantine art present to view a beardless youth, as prescribed in the *Hermeneia*,<sup>82</sup> in a number of variants sharing a common feature: his hair falls almost to his shoulders as shown, for instance, on an eleventh-century icon at Sinai<sup>83</sup> and in some ivories.<sup>84</sup> Our icon probably reflects the more authoritative variant, according to which the round, beardless face of the saint is framed by wavy hair, pushed back behind the ears.<sup>85</sup> On this panel Procopios is depicted in the customary attire of a martyr, which is stressed by the cross which he holds in his right hand. In fact, the only specific allusion to his military career, according to the above mentioned legend, is the sheathed sword which he holds with his left hand. Whereas the martyr's attire for a military saint reflects an earlier tradition, the diadem on Procopios' hair is a feature found in the iconography of martyr saints only from the late twelfth century.<sup>86</sup> This feature is frequently noted in the thirteenth-century icon painting at Sinai.<sup>87</sup>

A unique detail in the iconography of St. Procopios recorded on our icon is the mannikion, the metal collar that he wears around his neck. As it is well-known, this detail very often distinguishes the attire of SS. Sergios and Bacchos<sup>88</sup> as mentioned in the biographical notices on these two saints in the synaxaries.<sup>89</sup> The mannikion is an insignium of authority appropri-

Egypt. Both seem to have had great influence among the monastic colonies of Nitria. Cf. *Makaire d'Alexandrie* (as in note 68), col. 1440.  
<sup>78</sup> *Eusebius, De martyris Palaestinae*, I, 1, ed. Dindorf, IV (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 383—384. Also *Éusebe de Césarée, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, III, 1, *Les martyrs en Palestine*, ed. G. Berdy (Sources chrétiennes, 55, Paris, 1958), pp. 121—122.  
<sup>79</sup> For the various legends about St. Procopios, see H. Delahaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris 1909, pp. 77—89. For the various written sources on the saint's life, see *BHG*, II, pp. 218—20. *Actuarium*, pp. 161—2.  
<sup>80</sup> Cf. *Delahaye, Les légendes grecques* (as in note 79), pp. 2—3.  
<sup>81</sup> *Synaxarium E. C.*, col. 808. Four churches dedicated to St. Procopios are known to have existed in Constantinople. See R. Jamb, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin. Première partie. Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat oecuménique*, III. *Les églises et les monastères* (2nd ed.), Paris 1969, pp. 443—4.  
<sup>82</sup> *Hermeneia*, pp. 157 and 206.  
<sup>83</sup> *Southern Ebores*, fig. 47.  
<sup>84</sup> E. g., the triptych with the Great Deisis in the Palazzo Venezia, in Rome, in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican, and in the Louvre (the Harlowville

triptych), as well as in the triptych with the Crucifixion in the British Museum. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Eichenholzmalereien des X. Jahrhunderts*, in Berlin 1954, pls. X, 310, XI, 324, XII, 334, and XV, 384.  
<sup>85</sup> E. g., in the Paraclesion of the Katholikon of Chora. P. A. Underwood, *The Karye Djami*, I—III, Princeton 1966; I, p. 257; III, pl. 501. The exposed ears are also found in the late 12th-century frescoes of the Hagios Anargyroi in Kastoria. S. Palekandides, *Katopoyi*, Thessaloniki, 1923, I, pl. 23. b. The icon diptych with the Virgin Kyriothosis and St. Procopios at Sinai shows the saint with exposed ears as on our icon. *Southern Ebores*, fig. 188, however, here and in other examples, the martyr's hair is curly.  
<sup>86</sup> One of the earliest examples is found in the frescoes of Staraja Ladoga. V. Laceray, *Freski Starog Ladoga*, Moscow 1960 (in Russian), figs. 10—11. For 13th-century examples see D. Mouriki, *Of τριπτυχίου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ὁρθοδόξου Μεγάρου*, Athens 1978, p. 43, pls. 55—58.  
<sup>87</sup> E. g., *Southern Ebores*, figs. 185, 187, and 188.  
<sup>88</sup> Cf. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* (as in note 63), pp. 141—142.  
<sup>89</sup> *Synaxarium E. C.*, col. 115.



atic to the iconography of other martyr saints who also had the posts of high ranking officials. This, however, has not been attested in their pictorial records. Therefore, the inclusion of the martyrion only in this depiction of St. Procopios, in conjunction with the almost identical hysogonomical features he is sharing with the portraits of Sergios and Bacchos, supports the hypothesis that this detail has been taken over from the iconography of the two Syrian martyrs in an attempt to enhance the status of the Procopios, figure on our icon.

### 3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The four icons discussed in this paper provide interesting insights into the motivation for the creation of some of the icons at Sinai. The attribution of all four panels to the same painter and the local affiliations of their iconography indicate that they were painted in the Monastery. Moreover, the special iconography of these icons raises a particular interest as to their patronage. The inclusion of the four most eminent monastic personalities in the early history of Sinai, two of them having served as abbots of the Monastery, the monumental portrait of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Euthymios II, and the depictions of the two saints Makarios should lead us to believe that the patronage of these panels belongs to the highest echelon in the hierarchy of the Monastery, the Abbot and Archbishop of Sinai, Makarios. However, neither a portrait of Abbot Makarios nor any of the extant inscriptions point to such a conclusion.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, three panels from our group preserve inscriptions in rather prominent places, which include or included the name of the painter with a preceding standard supplicatory formula, prayer of . . . (*kyrie eleison*), normally used to indicate the patronage in icons, wall paintings, illustrated books, and liturgical objects, as well as their function as ex-votos. We should consequently assume that the painter Peter has also been the patron of the three icons bearing his name. As for the small icon with the portraits of St. Makarios of Egypt and St. Makarios of Alexandria, the only panel in our group that does not seem to have included an inscription with the name of the painter, we may assume that it either was meant to be a gift of the painter Peter to the Archbishop or that it had been painted under his specific instructions. The small size of the icon made it suitable for private prayers or for placement on the proskynetation on the feast day of these two saints. The icon in question is, to my knowledge, the only extant panel with a paired depiction of SS. Makarii in the Monastery, has this liturgical use in the Katholikon for some time.

The fact that the painter Peter was also the patron of three panels in our group is not surprising in itself, since another branch of artistic activity, illuminated manuscripts, show that in some cases the scribe, painter, and donor were one and the same person.<sup>91</sup> Regarding the Sinai icons under discussion we would expect that the painter and patron were one and the same monk.<sup>92</sup> While the supplicatory formulas on our panels do not lead us directly to such a conclusion, they indicate that Peter was the painter and patron of the panels. So far, the only safe hypothesis that can be formulated is that the painter Peter had close connections with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and also that he was especially favoured by the Abbot and Archbishop of Sinai.

<sup>90</sup> A portrait of the archbishop and abbot of Sinai is included on the large early 13th-century icon, depicting Moses and scenes of his life. See K. Weitzmann, *Icon Program of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai*, A. X. A. E. ser. 4, vol. 12 (1984—1986), pp. 97—8, fig. 28.

<sup>91</sup> E. g., the early 12th-century Four Gospels of Melbourne, H. Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of About 1100 A. D., Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria, Centenary Year 1961*, p. 1, cover illustration.

<sup>92</sup> Most of the donor portraits on the Sinai icons are those of monks. See, e. g., Soltun, *Enthymios*, pp. 139, 141, 142, 144, 150, 152, etc., figs. 159, 161, 162, 164, 167, 168 etc. On the other hand, in a few instances the names of painters are recorded in inscriptions, with no specific indication that they were monks, e. g., *ibid.*, pp. 88, 89, figs. 74 and 75. Moreover, a monologon terrazzo, a Last Judgment panel and the well-known icon with various types of the Virgin and miracles of Christ include minimal inscriptions which reveal that a monk was the painter and donor of the panels. *ibid.*, pp. 123, 126, and 130, figs. 136—143, 146—149, and 150.

He could have belonged to the close suite of the Patriarch in Jerusalem and accompanied him to Sinai.

The composition on the panel with the Blachernitissa between Moses and the Patriarch Euthymios II, in conjunction with the supplicatory formula, i. e. *prayer of the painter Peter*, follows in many respects the standard iconographic scheme of the "presentation-intercession" theme. According to this scheme, the patron saint of the donor assumes the role of the intercessor to Christ on his behalf. In our panel this particular function of the saintly mediator between the donor and the Virgin with Christ seems to have been entrusted to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, which explains his monumental scale. Compared to Moses, who with his pose retains more clearly his role as a witness of the Incarnation, the Patriarch is turned towards the Blachernitissa in an orant position. The substitution of a saint by a recently deceased patriarch, who had not been canonized or even considered as a saint during his lifetime, as indicated by the absence of the nimbus, illustrates a unique variant in the iconographic scheme of the "presentation-intercession". This reinforces the hypothesis that the painter Peter had been so closely associated with the Blachernitissa by this saintly man. If our interpretation is correct, we could also understand why the St. Procopios panel bears a more expanded supplicatory formula, which indicates the special veneration has been accorded to this saint by the painter Peter. As noted above, Procopios was not one of the saints to whom special chapels were dedicated in the Monastery. The first martyr of Palestine, who was born in Jerusalem and had his principal cult center in Caesarea, is most likely to have been the patron saint of a painter who had probably been a former resident of Jerusalem. We might perhaps infer that Procopios was the secular name of the monk Peter. The justification for such a hypothesis can be based on the monastic custom of assuming a religious name beginning with the identical letter used for the mundane name. In this case, the name Peter could have replaced the original name Procopios.

The portraits of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Euthymios II, and of St. Procopios clearly seem to indicate a more personal character in terms of the preferences of the painter Peter, who was probably a monk. On the other hand, the iconographic types of the Blachernitissa and the Virgin of the Bush, the portraits of the four more celebrated spiritual fathers in the early history of Sinai, including at least two abbots, and the depictions of two Egyptian hermits named Makarios show a close affiliation with the Sinaitic monastic community and suggest a more direct connection with the Archbishop and Abbot Makarios, in office at that time.

A careful study of the four panels of our group leaves no doubt that, as suggested above, they were painted at Sinai. The iconography and the accompanying inscriptions were planned in advance, and appropriate wood panels were chosen for this particular subject matter. The wide border of the Blachernitissa panel was intended to accommodate a long inscription which elucidates the contents of the composition. It is also probable that the treatment of the background on all four panels, which distinguishes our group from the other panels preserved in the Monastery, was meant to enhance the inscriptions, which include sections of hymnological texts, the names of historical figures probably depicted for the first time, as well as the supplicatory formulas with the painter's name. In fact, the relative prominence given to the name of the painter and patron of the icons, with no written indication that he was a monk, although it is the most reasonable assumption in this case, constitutes a further striking feature of the group of panels discussed in this paper.

The chronology of the four Sinai panels of our group gravitates towards the date of the death of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Euthymios II, at Sinai, December 13, 1224. The panel with the portrait of the Patriarch, rendered without a nimbus but designated "makarios" by the accompanying inscription, had in all probability been painted shortly after this date. The small icon with the portraits of St. Makarios of Egypt and St. Makarios of Alexandria should be dated during the tenure of the Archbishop and Abbot of Sinai Makarios, mentioned in the funerary inscription

on the tomb of the Patriarch in the Katholikon. At the present stage of our knowledge of the records of Sinai archbishops we can conclude that the term of office for Archbishop Makarios ranged from 1224 to 1227.<sup>93</sup> The panel with the Virgin of the Bush and the four holy monks of Sinai should be assigned to the same four-year period, since it shows a close iconographic and stylistic similarity with the panel depicting the two SS. Makarii. Finally, a dating close to 1224—1225 may be suggested for the St. Procopius panel, owing to its close stylistic affinity with the panel of the Theotokos, Moses, and Euthymios II.

Having finally established the chronology of the four icons of our group it is worth to examine in brief their place in the history of the Byzantine painting of this period. It hardly needs to be stressed that in both iconography and style all four panels adhere to a strict Byzantine tradition. In these works the linear late Comnenian style has given way to a more fluid, painterly idiom combined with a more monumental approach to the figures, which are characterized by a moderate volume and a degree of relaxation in their poses. The free painterly style of our Sinai panels finds parallels in other examples of icon painting produced at Sinai in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>94</sup> This trend is also illustrated by Byzantine fresco painting that can be dated in the same period.<sup>95</sup> The style of the four icons of our group is of a type that could have been practiced anywhere in the Byzantine world. For instance, the monastic portraits on the panels of our group share close stylistic affinity with the portrait of Symeon Stylites in the frescoes of the Rameira Ktira on Chios (fig. 14).<sup>96</sup> All these observations suggest that we are dealing with what appears to be a reaction to the impasse which painting experienced in the late Comnenian period, as well as with a new start for the stylistic developments in the thirteenth century.

#### ЧЕТИРИ СИНАЈСКЕ ИКОНЕ СЛИКАРА ПЕТРА ИЗ XIII ВЕКА

ДУЛА МУРИКИ

Четири синајске иконе, односно четри панона који представљају пражоре: Влакхр-витање између Мојсија и јерусалимског патријарха Евталија II (сл. 1, 2, 3—4, 16 и 18), Богородица „Несагорина кћуница“ између четри света синајских монаха (сл. 8, 9—10, 7, 17, и 19), св. Макарије Египатски и св. Макарије Александријски (сл. 11, 12 и 21) и св. Проклије (сл. 5, 6, 14—15 и 20) требало би, из разних разлога, датирати у трећу декаду XIII века и приписати истом сликару. Ике сликара Петра појављује се у натписима на два панона (сл. 8 и 11), а природно се налазило и на трећој икони из ове групе (сл. 5). Постојане сликарске иконе у стандардној форми поимаче молићте — „Молитва сликара Петра“, значи да је и Петар био заштитник ових трију икона, које су тако означаваље ек-војо.

Портрет јерусалимског патријарха Евталија II, времјеником 13. децембра 1224. г. на Синају, према натпису урезаном у његов гроб у најисточнијем делу северног крила

<sup>93</sup> According to the list of the archbishops of Sinai included in the *Epitome* of Nektarios, the archbishop in office, in 1223, was Euthymios, in 1224 it was Makarios, and in 1228 Germanos. Nektarios, *Byzantine Toponymy*, *Jeroides* (as in note 35), p. 222.

<sup>94</sup> The most outstanding example of this style is the iconostasis beam discussed by K. Weitzman in *Byzantium and the West Around the Year 1200, The Year 1200, A Symposium*, New York, 1975, pp. 59—61, figs. 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, and 23. For color reproductions, see K. Weitzman et al., *A Treasury of Icons*, New York, 1966, pl. 35; idem, *Mount Sinai's Holy Treasures*, National Geographic (January 1964) pl. on p. 118.

<sup>95</sup> E. g., some figures in the Nativity and the Baptism scenes of Hosios David in Thessaloniki reveal a very painterly approach. D. Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends in Monastic Painting of Greece during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, D. O. P. 34—35 (1980—1981), pp. 119—123, figs. 88—91, 93—96. These frescoes should, in our opinion, be dated around 1200, but other scholars have proposed a dating in the third quarter of the 12th century. See ibid., note 137.

<sup>96</sup> The wall paintings in the Church of the Virgin at Ktira on Chios, recently cleaned and restored, are soon to be published by Charalambos Panias to whom I am indebted for the photograph of fig. 14. These frescoes can be dated close to 1200.

базилике, потврђује да је панно Влакхрвитање после тог датума. Икона на којој су приказана два св. Макарија (сл. 11), једина из групе која не носи натпис је именом сликара Петра, али која је без сумње његово дело, судећи по њеној уобичајеној сличности са панном Богородица „Несагорина кћуница“ (сл. 8), може се датирати у времјенски распон између 1224. и 1227. г. Овај четвороглавиши период, који одговара манастирској архиепископа Макарија, коме је мали панно комонијанских исповеника из Египта вероватно био намењен, може се такође приложити за икону која представља Богородицу „Несагорну кћуницу“ између четри света синајских монаха (сл. 8). На крају, панно св. Проклија (сл. 5), који има блиске стилиске афинитете са панном Влакхрвитање (сл. 1), требало би датирати у годину 1224.

Група од четри синајске иконе о којима размишљамо је од посебног значаја из три разлога: а) она представља један од ретких примера синајских икона XIII века које се могу са сигурношћу датирати према критеријумима који нису везани за стили; б) она представља панно који се са сигурношћу могу приписати истом сликару чиме ике је додато, тако да се могу сматрати јединим од ретких примера икона из XIII века које су очувале име свог сликара; в) она обухвата два која су драгоцени доприноси проучавању историје Синајског манастира. Требао би, у том контексту, поменути портрете Мојсија и јерусалимског патријарха Евталија II са иконе Влакхрвитање, и четри најистакнутије манастирске личности у раној историји Синаја: св. Борфа, Исаејинићког или Арсалијског, св. Нила Синајског и два кћумана Анагасија и Јована Лествичника са иконе Богородице „Несагорине кћунице“. Поред тога, требало би посебно поменути слику Богородица „Несагорна кћуница“ као једини лик Богородице ове врсте, који је доуљен натписом и који тиме обезбеђује критеријуме за пријачан број других слика Богородице, рађених по том узору и сачуваних на Синају.

Приписивање ове четри иконе истом сликару и везивање њихове иконографије за одређене локације потврђује да су насликане у Синајском манастиру. По иконографским особеностима и стили ове четри иконе су верне византијској традицији. У њима је линијарни, позни комонијански стил успио место флуиднијем, синкопираним дијалом, комбинацијом са монументалнијим пржитком фигурара, које се одликују умереном величином и извесном лежерношћу става. Слободан стил сликара Петра, заснуљен на четри синајске иконе, доказују и друге иконе и фреске које се могу датирати у сам почетак XIII века. Овај правац представља реаковање на застој који је византијско сликарство доживело у позном комонијанском периоду, а самим тим и почетак новог стилиског процвата у XIII веку.



Fig. 1. The Virgin Blachernitissa between Moses and the Patriarch Euthymios II of Jerusalem



Fig. 2 The Virgin Blachernissa: Detail of fig. 1



Fig. 3 Moses: Detail of fig. 1

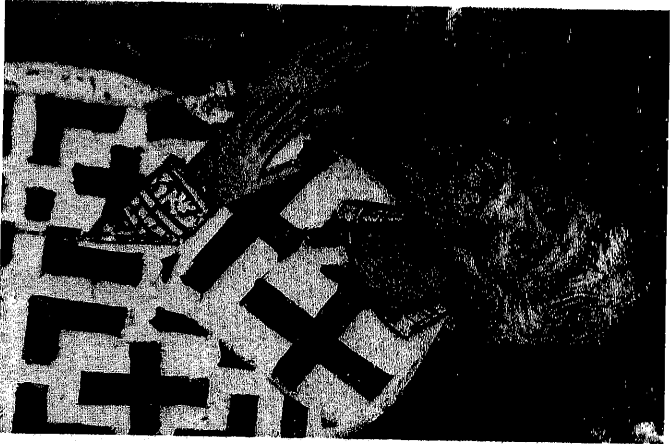


Fig. 4 The Patriarch Euthymios II of Jerusalem: Detail of fig. 1

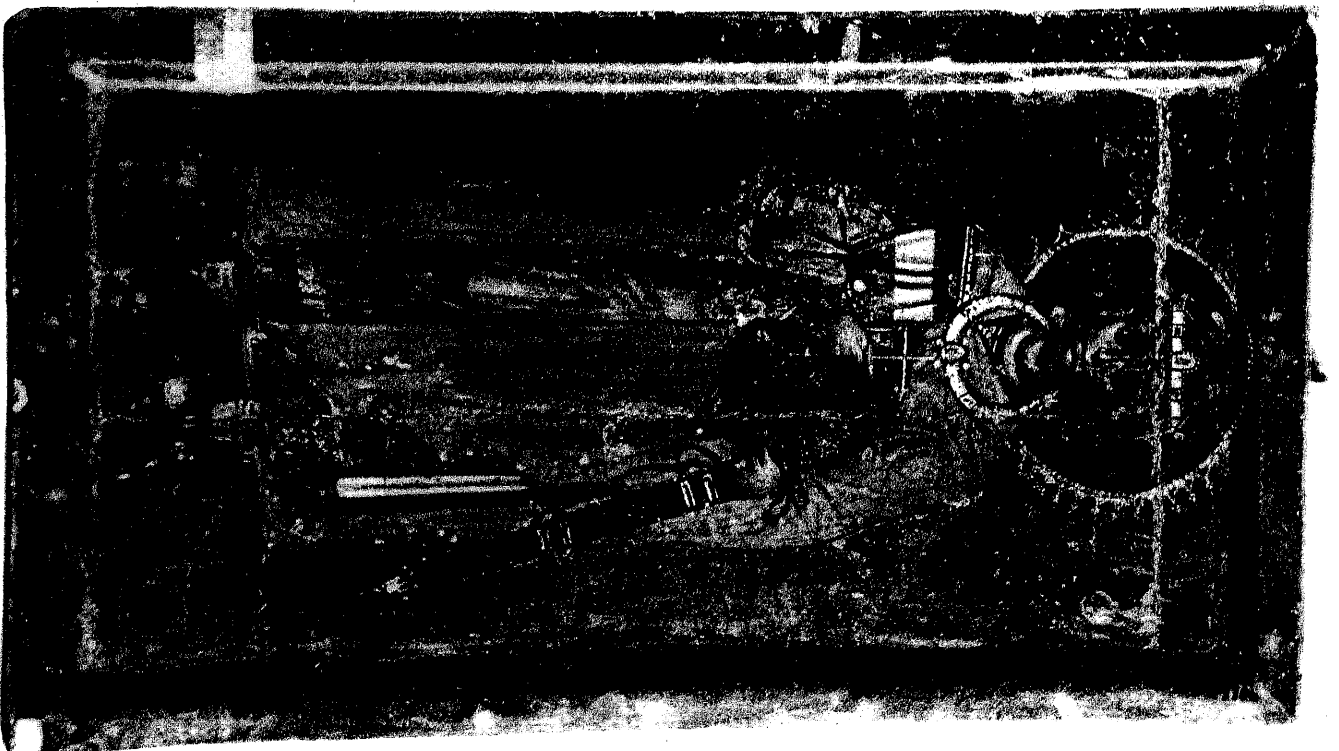


Fig. 5 St. Procopios

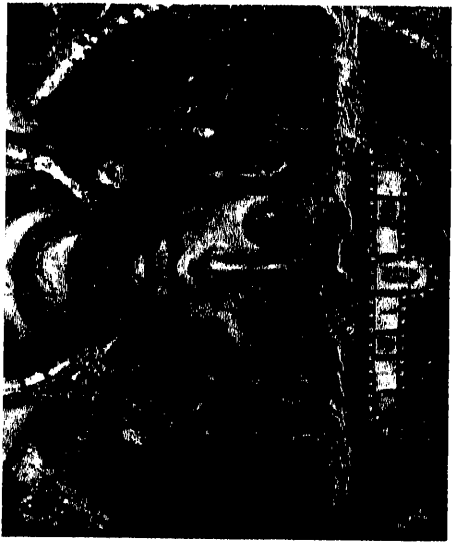


Fig. 6. St. Procopius.  
Detail of fig. 5



Fig. 7. The Virgin of  
the Bush. De-  
tail of fig. 8

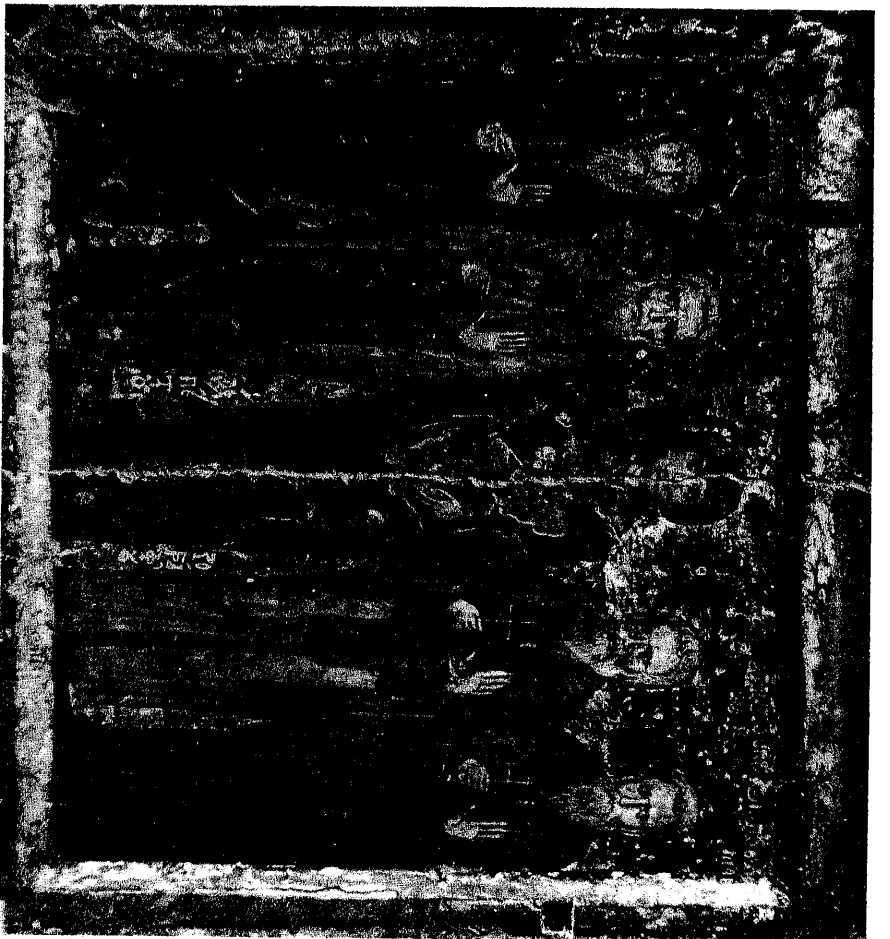


Fig. 8. The Virgin of the Bush between four holy monks of Sinai

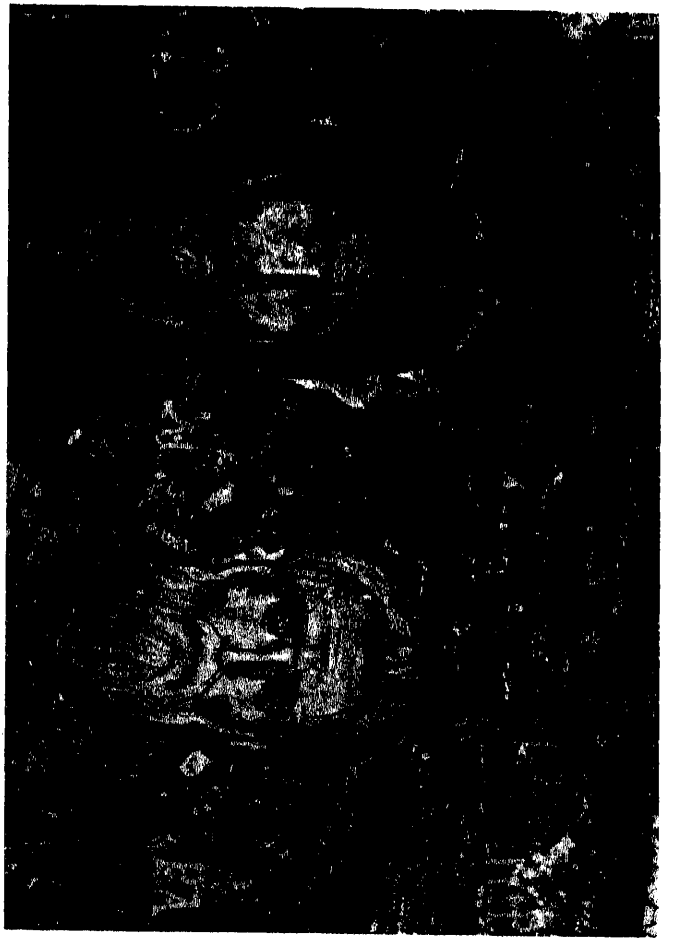


Fig. 9. St. George Isidore and St. Neilos Sinaites. Detail of fig. 8

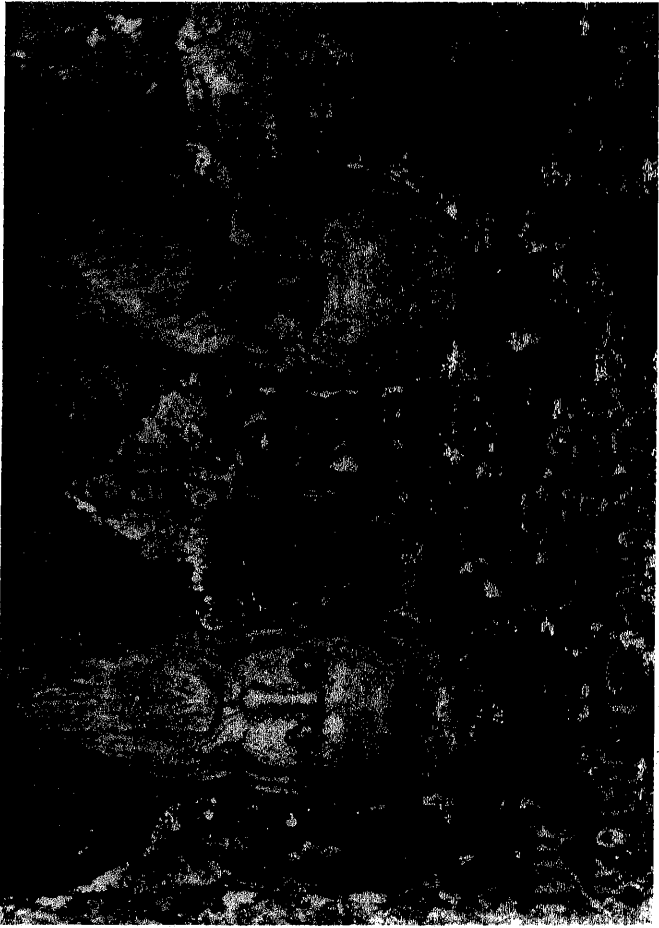


Fig. 10. St. Anastasio Sinaites and St. John Klimakos. Detail of fig. 8



Fig. 11. S. Makarios of Egypt and St. Makarios of Alexandria

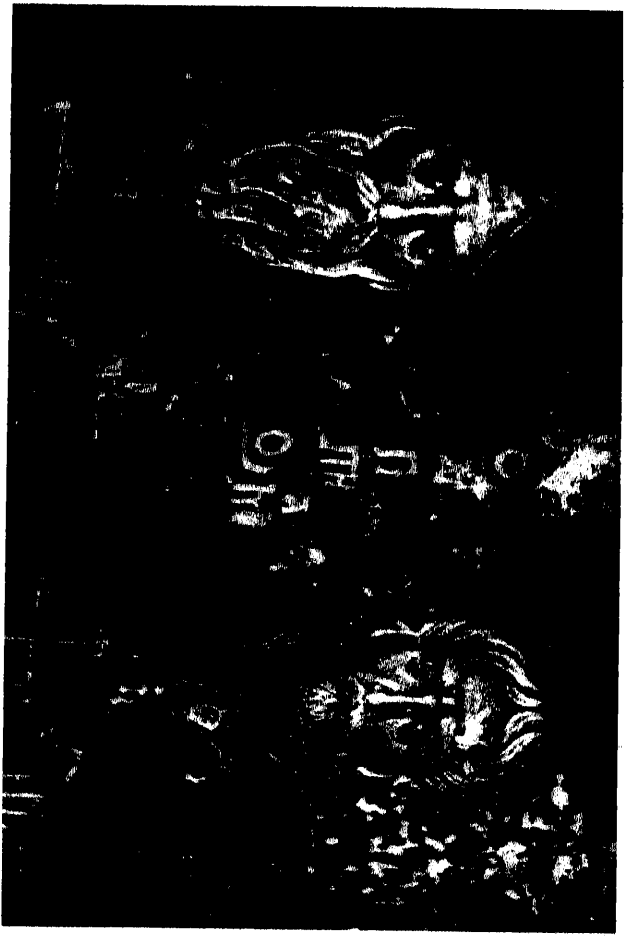


Fig. 12. St. Markos of Egypt and St. Markos of Alexandria. Detail of fig. 11

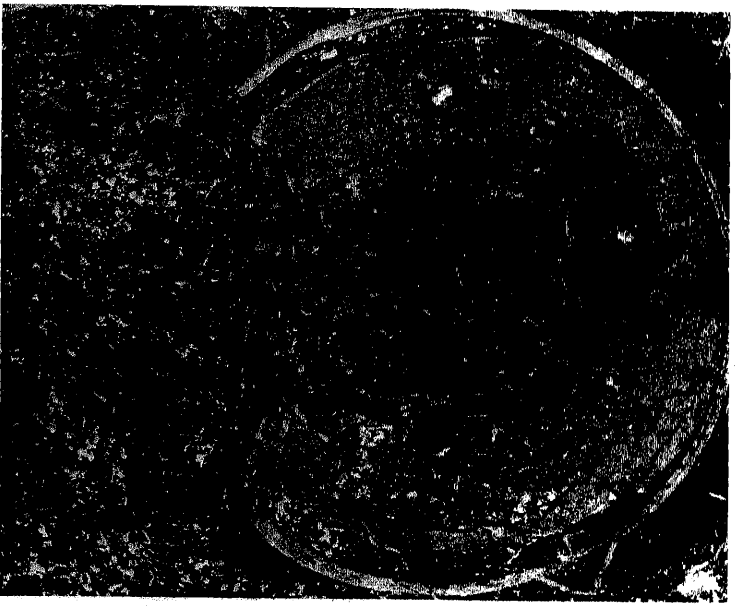


Fig. 13. St. Symeon Stylites. Fresco in the Church of the Panagia Krina on Chios



Fig. 14. Dedicatory inscription. Detail of fig. 5

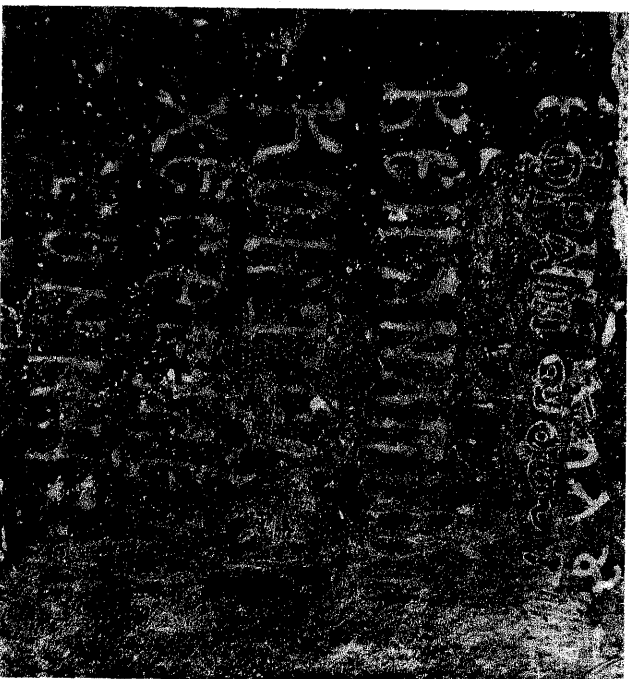


Fig. 15. Dedicatory inscription. Detail of fig. 5



Fig. 16. Supplicatory formula with the name of the painter Peter. Detail of fig. 1

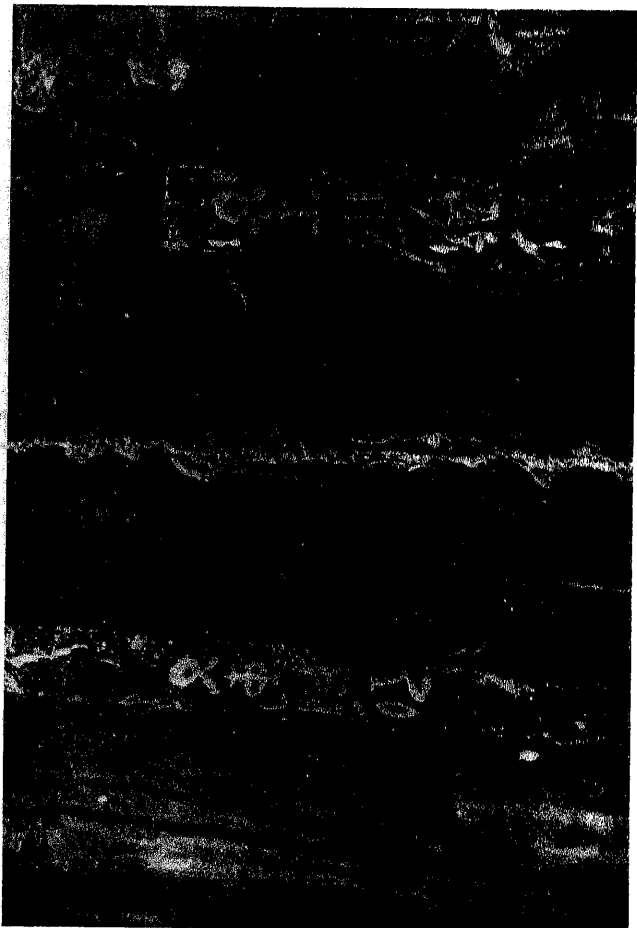
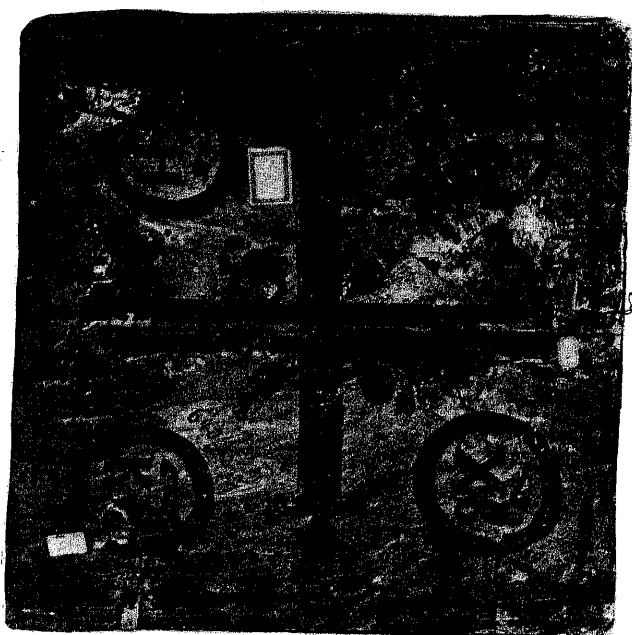


Fig. 17. Supplicatory formula with the name of the painter Peter. Detail of fig. 8

Fig. 18. Reverse side of the icon of the Blacheritissa, Moses, and Euthymios II of Jerusalem



Fig. 19. Reverse side of the icon of the Virgin of the Bush and four holy monks of Sinai





## ZUM STIL KLEINASIATISCHER WANDMALEREIEN IN DER 1. HÄLFTE DES 13. JAHRHUNDERTS

MARCELL RESTLE

Das Problem der Wandmalerei in Kleinasien im 13. Jh. ist bereits mehrfach behandelt worden. Ich erinnere nur an den großen Überblick, den unser Kollege Djurić auf dem Kongreß in Athen 1979 gegeben hat<sup>1</sup> oder an den Aufsatz von Frau Kollegin Thierry aus dem Jahr 1975.<sup>2</sup> Sie hat das Problem nochmal in ihrem eben vorangegangenen Referat aufgenommen (vgl. S. 359). Danach soll das 13. Jh. in Kappadokien auf frühere und ältere Vorbilder des 10. und 11. Jhs in Kappadokien selbst zurückgegriffen haben, weil unmittelbar Vorangehendes aus dem 12. Jh. nicht vorhanden gewesen sei, auf dem man hätte aufbauen, das man hätte weiter entwickeln können, auch gar nicht vorhanden gewesen sein könne, weil nach der Schlacht von Mantzikert die politischen Realitäten der Seltsukenherrschaft im Inneren Kleinasien während des 12. Jhs ein künstlerisches Vacuum für die byzantinische Kunst bedeuteten hätten. Dies kann meiner Meinung nach so nicht richtig sein; zu viele Fakten stehen einer solchen Ansicht entgegen. Gestatten Sie mir, hier eine Auswahl von Argumenten vorzutragen, die zu einer anderen Sicht der Dinge führen und Kappadokien auch im 13. Jh. mit der allgemeinen Entwicklung mit der byzantinischen Kunst in Verbindung zeigen, zwar als Provinz, aber immer noch als Provinz des byzantinischen Kunstbereiches.

Ausgangspunkt für eine Betrachtung des 13. Jhs in Kappadokien bilden die Malereien der *Vierzig-Martyrer-Kirche in Sövis*, die auf das Jahr 1216/17 durch eine Inschrift fest datiert sind. Gerade für Sövis läßt sich m. E. ein Rückgriff auf Älteres am wenigsten belegen. Dort findet sich in Kappadokien zum erstenmal die szenische Darstellung der Vierzig Martyrer von Sebaste, die in der übrigen byzantinischen Malerei außerhalb Kappadokiens schon früher gebräuchlich war — ich erinnere nur an die Sophienkirche in Ochrud — nicht aber in Kappadokien, wo die Vierzig bislang als einzelne Heilige in der traditionellen Art dargestellt worden sind.<sup>3</sup> Die neue Szene in Sövis kann also nicht einem älteren kappadokischen Vorbild entnommen sein, sondern muß unmittelbar von außen importiert worden sein.

Ähnlich ist auch ein stilistisches Element zu bewerten: In der Szene der Geburt Christi sitzt Josef links, hat aber eines seiner Beine so untergeschlagen, daß die Fußsohle zu sehen ist (*Abb. 7*). Das Motiv ist außer hier nirgendwo in der kappadokischen Malerei anzutreffen. Otto Demus hat es als spezielles manieristisches Stilelement der Zeit um 1200 und der 1. Hälfte des 13. Jhs in der Buchmalerei behandelt.<sup>4</sup> In der Wandmalerei habe ich es sonst nur noch in

<sup>1</sup> Vojislav I. Djurić, *La peinture murale Byzantine, Actes du XVe Congrès international d'Etudes Byzantines I*, Athen 1979, 159—252, für Kleinasien, besonders im 13. Jh., 207 (Nikata) und weiter 212ff (Trapezunt) sowie 233—235 (Kappadokien).

<sup>2</sup> Nicole Thierry, *L'art monumental Byzantin en Asie Mineure du XIe s. au XVIIe*, Dunbarton Oaks Papers 29 (1975) 73—111, besonders 105—110.

<sup>3</sup> Zusammenfassend über das Thema und seine Ikonographie O. Demus, *Two Palaeological Mosaic Icons in the Dunbarton Oaks Collection*, Dunbarton Oaks Papers 14 (1960) 83—119, bes. 96—109.

<sup>4</sup> O. Demus, *Studien zur byzantinischen Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik 9 (1960) 77—89.

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НАУЧНИ СКУПОВИ

Књига ХЛ

ОДЕЉЕЊЕ ИСТОРИСКИХ НАУКА

Књига 11

СТУДЕНИЦА  
И ВИЗАНТИЈСКА УМЕТНОСТ  
ОКО 1200. ГОДИНЕ

МЕЂУНАРОДНИ НАУЧНИ СКУП ПОВОДОМ  
800 ГОДИНА МАНАСТИРА СТУДЕНИЦЕ  
И СТОГОДИШЊИЦЕ САНУ

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