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**B**eneurez li hūem chi ne alar el conseil des feluns: & en la uie des pecheurs ne s'our: & en la chaere de pehence ne fist. **M**ais en la lei de nre seignur la uolunté de lui: & en la sue leppenderat par uin é par nūre. **E**t iert ensemble cume le fust quē ē planté de iuste les decurs des esves, chi duntat sun frut en sun vent. **E**t s'a. fūille ne de currat: & tūtes les cōtes que il unquē ferat: le runt fait, spres. **N**ient cūsi li felun nient cūsi: mais ensemble cume la puldre que li uent gete de la face de terre. **E**mpice ne resurde li felun en iuste: ne li pecheur el conseil des drecuriers. **K**ar nre sire cūnuist la uie des iustes: & le ere des feluns perirat. **P**va qua fremirent les gentz: & li pōple purpensierent uaines cōtes. **L**i rei de terre estourerent: & li pnce s'a asemblerent en un: en cōtre nre seignur & en cūtre sun crist. **D**erūpūnt les lur lient: & degetūnt de nūf le iūb de els. **C**hi habiterent els les escharnuerent: & nre sire les sublannerat. **L**o: res parlerat à els en sa ire: & en sa furur les conturberat. **M**ais ie sui establie rei de lui sur syon sun saint mount: precheer sun cumandement. **N**re sire dist à mei tu es li meus filz: ie hūi rei engendrāi. **R**equer de mei & ie durrai a rei les gentz la tūe hereditere: & la tūe possession. les reemes de terre. **T**usquuerne rat en uage ferrine: & siframdrat ensemble cume le uaisel del potier. **E**t hore uis reis entendez: seiez apris uis chi uigiez la terre. **S**euez a nre seign: en crieme: & si esleuez a lui och tremblur. **P**ernez discipline que nre sire alquune fiere ne se curūnt: & uis pūstiez de la iuste uie. **C**ume la sue ire espenderat en brief vent: beneurez tūc icil chi en lui s'a fidenc.

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(*cf. p. 61*)

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studies



études



# The Burgeoning Rod in Three Vernacular Lives of Saint Audrey

## Clusters of Terms, Formulae, or Images?

Ileana Sasu

University of Tours—ICD (FR)

RÉSUMÉ: L'article analyse l'image du bâton fleurissant dans trois vies de sainte Audrey (Audrée ou Étheldrède d'Ely) : une en ancien français et deux en moyen anglais, ainsi que dans d'autres textes dévotionnels. L'étude montre comment, au-delà des mots, ce sont des images qui sont transférées d'une langue à une autre lors du processus de traduction. Ces images véhiculées dans les textes déterminent le choix des mots dans la traduction. L'analyse s'appuie sur deux extraits en moyen-anglais. Le premier est tiré d'une édition inédite de la vie de sainte Audrey en prose, conservée à Corpus Christi College à Oxford, et l'autre de la vie en prose conservée dans Ms Additional 2604 à Cambridge University Library, un texte écrit pour les membre d'une communauté monastique féminine. Le texte en ancien français est tiré du poème datant du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle *La vie seinte Audree, noneyne de Ely*, composé par une dénommée Marie—soit Marie de France, la fameuse poétesse, soit par une nonne anglo-normande au même prénom. À ces textes s'ajoutent d'autres exemples tirés de sources latines afin de démontrer l'interopérabilité de l'image du bâton fleurissant dans les textes médiévaux.

MOTS-CLÉS: traductologie ; hagiographie ; sainte Audrey ; thèmes et motifs littéraires ; langues vernaculaires.

REZUMAT: Articolul analizează imaginea toiagului înflorit în trei vieți ale Sfintei Audrey (sau Etheldreda de la Ely): una în franceză veche și două în engleză mijlocie, precum și în alte texte devoționale. Studiul arată cum, dincolo de cuvinte, imaginile sunt transferate dintr-o limbă într-alta în timpul procesului de traducere. Imaginile vehiculate de texte determină alegerea cuvintelor în traducere. Analiza se bazează pe două extrase în limba engleză medie. Primul este dintr-o ediție inedită a vieții în proză a Sfintei Audrey, acum într-un manuscris de la Corpus Christi College, Oxford, iar cealaltă din viața în proză din manuscrisul Additional 2604 de la Biblioteca Universității Cambridge, un text scris pentru o membră a unei comunități monahale feminine. Textul în franceză veche este preluat din poemul din secolul al XII-lea *La vie seinte Audree, nonneyne de Ely*, compus de o autoare pe nume Marie — fie Marie de France, celebra poeză, fie o călugăriță anglo-normandă cu același prenume. Aceste texte li se adaugă alte exemple preluate din surse latine pentru a demonstra interoperabilitatea imaginii toiagului înflorit în literatura medievală.

CUVINTE CHEIE: traductologie; hagiografie; sfânta Audrey; teme și motive literare; limbi vernaculare.

Saint Audrey or Etheldreda—Æthelthryth by her Anglo-Saxon name—was a daughter of King Anna (or Onna) of East Anglia and Queen Hereswide, married twice all while respecting her vow of perpetual virginity, and founded the monastery of Ely in 673.<sup>1</sup>

From the historical point of view, there did live an English princess named Etheldreda around 640; she was probably born at Exning, legend has it, near the town of Newmarket in Suffolk. She made an early first marriage (about 652) to Duke Tondbert or Tonbercht, chief of the South Gyrvians, whose territory bordered East Anglia, but is alleged to have remained a virgin until her husband's death in 655, as she had managed to persuade him to respect the vow of perpetual virginity she had made before her marriage. During their marriage, the duke gave her the lands of "the Isle of Ely" ("the island of eels" according to Venerable Bede,<sup>2</sup> an area surrounded by marshes in the Cambridgeshire Fens, where the town and cathedral of Ely now lie—Fig. 1).

Upon her first husband's death, saint Audrey retired to the Isle of Ely. She would later have to re-marry the King of Northumbria for political reasons, but in the end, she would take up vows as a nun, like other notable women from her family. When her second royal husband would no longer accept the chaste cohabitation she had imposed, and attempted to consummate their marriage, Audrey escaped and fled to Ely with two companions (either serving girls or nuns, depending on the version), a story told by many sources. In one of the versions, first recorded in the 12th-century *Liber Eliensis* (hereafter Book of Ely), saint Audrey is walking in a scorching heat, seeking shade and praying God to lead her to a sheltered place, which happens to be a meadow. There, she plants her staff in the ground, and it miraculously grows into a tree. Since this episode is the object of the current analysis of translation clusters and formulae, it is perhaps best to present the passage in full:

*Cumque ambularet calore solis urente et ex labore insolito nimium fatigata vix subsistere valuit, locum umbraculi et amenitatis quo sinus sudore diffluos refrigerare et in novis membra posset tabescentia viribus reficere diligenter*

◀ Fig. 1. The vault of the Octagon of Ely Cathedral (14th century). Credits: Ileana Sasu.

*appetiit. Nec diu frustratur voto, sed celeris efficatia mancipavit optatum. Et lento pede progrediens, disponente Dei gratia cominus locum suis necessariis aptum ostendit, virenti amictum decore, ad repausandum transeuntibus congruum, miranda planitie consitum, ut potius ex industria putares adequatum, undique aspersum floribus variorum colorum. Intendit valde optatum, videt delectabilem, iuvat pausabilem miros alitus ex herbarum odoribus dulciter spirare. Cuius amenitate sancta viatrix delectata modicum repausare, modicum se relevare exoptat, ut reparato membrorum tabescentium vigore reliquum itineris suppleret. Denique se collocavit atque dormivit ibique tantummodo quiescebat, ubi eam quiescere lassitudo coegisset.*

*Est mirandum valde quod narro, cuius rei vobis impertire cupio notitiam, quam veram esse nullus ambigat audientium. Cumque de sompno evigilata post paululum surrexisset, invenit baculum itineris sui, quem ad caput antea fixerat aridum et diu inveteratum, iam viridi amictum cortice fronduisse ac folia prodisse. Quod illa intuens admirando stupuit et pro tali facto Deum ex intimo corde cum consortibus suis laudans benedixit.*<sup>3</sup>

There came a time when she was walking in the burning heat of the sun, and exceedingly weary as the result of her unaccustomed exertion, she could scarcely stand. She therefore sought intently a shady, pleasant place, so that they might cool their bosoms, drenched as they were with sweat, and reinvigorate their weary limbs with a new strength. And her prayer was not unavailing: no, its swift effectiveness yielded the desired result, and, as she continued on her way at a slow pace, it was arranged by God's grace that she happened upon a place nearby, suitable as a stopping place for travellers, a remarkably flat meadow—you would have thought it had been levelled deliberately—sprinkled all about with flowers of various colours. She made for the longed-for place, saw it be agreeable, was delighted that it was possible to stop there, to breathe in with pleasure wonderful, flower-scented draughts of air. The saintly traveller, delighted by the pleasantness of the place, desired to stop there for a while, refresh herself for a little while, so that, once the strength of her weary limbs was restored, she might complete the remainder of her journey. Then she settled herself down and fell asleep. And there she slept for a while in the place where tiredness had compelled her to sleep.

My narrative now, the matter of which I desire to inform you, is miraculous: no one of those who hear it doubts its truth. When, after a little while, she woke up from her sleep and rose to her feet, she found that her travelling-staff, the end of which she had driven into the ground, dry and long-seasoned, was now clothed with green bark, and had sprouted and put forth leaves. Seeing this, she was stupefied with amazement and, along with her companions, she praised God and blessed him for this most extraordinary happening from her innermost heart.<sup>4</sup>

The scene does not appear in most Latin lives of the saint which are based on Bede's version from the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>5</sup> It is nevertheless included in the Old French poem *La vie seinte Audree, noneyne de Ely*, composed by Marie—either Marie de France, the famous poetess, or a Norman nun of the same name—at the beginning of the 13th century. The vernacular text, preserved in a single codex—Ms London, British Library, Additional, 70513, f. 100va-134va, and dated to the turn of the 14th century, seems to share several common features with the Latin text of the Book of Ely:<sup>6</sup>

*Tant fu anguiseuse d'errer  
k'ele out talent de reposer:  
issi avint par la Deu grace  
que ele vint a une place  
ke mut est covenable e bele  
de flurs, d'herbe freche et novele.  
La s'est cochie[e] seinte Audree,  
si s'est iluekes reposee,  
mes quant ele s'est enve[il]lie[e],  
de son baston s'est merveillie[e]  
qui estoit sec, ore fu cruz,  
fluriz et fueilliz et branchuz.  
Pur ice fait a Deu rendirent  
grace ke le miracle virent.*

After a while she became quite weary of traveling  
And needed to rest.  
By the grace of God  
She came to a place  
That was very pleasant and beautiful,  
With flowers and fresh grass.  
There saint Audrey lay down  
And took her rest.  
But when she awakened  
She was astonished by her [pilgrim's] staff  
Which had been made of dead wood but which had  
now grown  
And sprouted branches, foliage, and flowers.  
Then she had them all give thanks to God  
That they had witnessed this miracle.<sup>7</sup>

A previous study concerning Marie's Latin sources focused on the identification of the texts which could have been used in the writing of the second and third parts of the Old French poem, the latter being a series of miracles which does not follow the Book of Ely. Research agreed that the source of the first part of the poem (our chief interest on account of the miracle of the burgeoning staff) cannot stem directly from the Book of Ely, but from a lesser-known Life of saint Audrey from the *Acta Sanctorum*, where it bears the title *Acta prolixiora*, being attributed to a certain Thomas of Ely. Leaving aside the spelling, which is beyond the scope here, this text differs from the Book of Ely in only four readings in our passage: *mater* instead of *viatrix*; *exoptabat* instead of *exoptat*; *et mirandum* instead of *est mirandum*; and *quod* instead of *quem*. None of these readings impact the translation choices from the Old French text.<sup>8</sup>

As far as translation choices, strategies, and most of all translation techniques are concerned, there are several interesting features in the way the vernacular author adapted her Latin source text. To give but an example, OFr *anguiseuse d'errer* oversimplifies the ideas of the Latin text, retaining two vague notions—wandering and weariness—which lead to the translation choice *reposer*, which can be triggered either by the progression of the narrative or by the Latin gerund *ad repausandum*. This loose approach to the source does not mean that proper translation choices are absent. On the contrary, the OFr adjective *covenable* could be a translation of Lat *congruum*; Lat *ibique* corresponds to OFr *iluekes*; Lat *quiescebat* / *quiescere* to OFr *reposee*; OFr *baston* to Lat *baculum*; OFr *sec* to Lat *aridum*; and Lat *evigilata* to OFr *envelié*. The poetess' memory retains and reuses certain words, but then she also shortens Lat *viridi amictum cortice* to OFr *cruz*. This is not necessarily an abridgement, since the vernacular text does not always abridge the source.

On the contrary, in another passage, the vernacular

phrase *fluriz et fueilliz et branchuz* corresponds to Lat *fronduisse ac folia prodisse*. This Latin phrase was tautological and referred only to the leaves. It is therefore evident that the participles used by Marie presented the growth of the tree in a reversed manner—flowers, leaves, and branches. It looks like the vernacular poetess operated more of a transfer of images or notions than an actual transfer of words, which is consistent with the adaptation method used in the writing of her poem. However, the addition of flowers to the growing of leaves could be equally conditioned by the mention of prairie flowers in previous sentences from the Latin text. This general transfer of notions possibly led to the use of a plural in the final sentence, since the final prayer had been uttered by the saint accompanied by her companions. Lat *intuens [...] cum consortibus [...] benedixit* became OFr *rendirent [...] virent*. Yet one can also notice a subtle relocation of words which do not occur in the right places. For instance, Lat *mirandum* probably led to the use of OFr *merveillié*, even though this other word is placed in a different context. This could be due to an intuitive retention of vocabulary. The vernacular author read the Latin source, retaining both the progression of the story and a specific set of then, which she then used in the vernacular text, not always in the right order and not necessarily in the proper context. This is even clearer in the OFr phrase *de flurs, d'herbe freche et novele*, which mimics the Latin phrase *aspersum floribus variorum colorum*. It evokes the Latin text in the form of an image, reconstructed in the vernacular verses with unlike words.

In the case of this Old French version by Marie, it is evident that the way the vernacular text gets closer or farther from its Latin source, abridging it and retaining only certain notions or clusters of words, is the result of an uneven approach to the translation process. The vernacular author read a lengthy Latin passage, then adapted it to the vernacular metrical mould, absorbing only fragments of the original text, either disorderly or in a correct order. Direct correlations with the Latin source could be due to *ad hoc* equivalences made during the reading process, to the use of formulae, or to both processes at the same time. The only way to grasp its complexity is to compare it to similar texts. In the absence of other French texts,<sup>9</sup> our analysis will be focused on English ones.

Unfortunately, most Middle English texts do not include the staff miracle, perhaps because they do not draw on the Book of Ely for material. For instance, the burgeoning staff does not appear in the short poem dedicated to saint Audrey in the South English Legendary—a heterogeneous and ever evolving hagiographic compilation of the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, probably on account of the brief size of the poem dedicated to the saint.<sup>10</sup> The same reason explains its absence from the 600 verses of Osbern Bokenham's life of saint Audrey. This collection of texts written by a follower of Chaucer is preserved in Ms London, British Library, Arundel 327 (dated 1443–1447) and in the Abbotsford Ms<sup>11</sup> from the Advocates Library in Edinburgh (dated to the same period). Bokenham's life of Audrey (f. 117v–120r) is based on Bede and on the first book of the Book of Ely, but its verses compose too short a text to include a version of the burgeoning staff miracle.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the staff episode is also absent from the Metrical Life of saint Audrey written at Wilton



▲ Fig. 2. 18th-century drawing of two column capitals from the Octagon of Ely, one of which depicts the burgeoning staff scene. Source: Bentham 1771, p. 52, plate x.

Abbey (c.1420), preserved in Ms Cotton Faustina B. III, f. 265r–279v from the British Library in London, which loosely follows the text in the Book of Ely.<sup>13</sup> This does not mean that the miracle enjoyed only a peripheral distribution in a limited collection of texts. On the contrary, the burgeoning staff is the fourth of the eight scenes drawn from the Book of Ely which decorate the column capitals in the cathedral of Ely (c.1340), alongside the saint's marriage, her entrance in the monastery, her escape, her consecration as abbess of Ely, her death, and a posthumous miracle (Fig 2).<sup>14</sup> However, this miracle is mentioned in only two other Middle English texts.

The first one is a prose version of the saint's Life in a small manuscript preserved at Corpus Christi College in Oxford under shelfmark Ms ccc 120.<sup>15</sup> It is written on fairly good quality vellum and made up by two quires of eight leaves with sixteen available folios, sewn together without any binding. It is safe to assume that this particular manuscript was intended to be a part of a larger book, since all the pages are lined for writing, and the Life of Saint Audrey takes up only to folio 14 recto.

The scribe indicates the source of the manuscript to be Latin, announcing he will try to closely follow the old original: *as nye as I can folowe the olde originall therof, / f1v/ the whiche [was wr]yten in Latyn the monastery of Ely*. Since there is also overlap with Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, it would be fair to assume that at least one source of the text would indeed be venerable Bede's work, as the scribe himself makes reference to it: */f3r/As ryght truly testyfyethe the holy doctour of Crystys churche callyd venerabilis Beda in his iijte boke, De geste Anglorum*.

The burgeoning staff miracle is found on ff. 9v-10r:

*As she walkyd on a hot sommeris day, what for moche labour and what thorowe the feruent hete of the son, she was very wery and feynt, dissiring to fynde some shadowe or colde place wheryn she myght reste with hir ij maydyns. And as she walkyd softly, sumwhat esyng herself, she sodenly spyed a plesaunt place, all growne ouer wythe swete flowrs and herbys as thoowe yt had ben of purpose prepayrd wythe manys handis to þat intent, the whiche when she behelde with a full glad chere thankyd God, thorowe whois prouysion she knewe wele that was so ordenyd. Into the whiche place sone after that shewith hir ij maydyns had enteryd, they leyde them downe on the grene herbe to reste them, the holy Audry stekyng hir walkyng staff at hir hed whill she restyd. Sone aftyr, they all fell in sownde slepe. Ther bodys wele refresshid, thei rose; and when the deuoute monyall Audry lokyd to haue takyn hir dry walkyng staff in hir hand, ytt was fast growne in the grownde, all coueryd ouer with a fayre barke and was full of fresshe grene leuys, the whiche myracle she wele aduysyd was therof, moche astonyd. Wherefore she then with hir maydyns knelyd downe and thankyd God hertely of his infynite grace and goodness.*

There are no flowers in the segment of the text where the saint notices the miracle, perhaps because the vernacular author approached the source text slightly differently. Nevertheless, flowers and herbs are mentioned together in the description of the field, a little bit earlier. It is interesting to note that these flowers and herbs seem to be linked, even though they are mentioned separately in the Latin source. In the Book of Ely they are mentioned in two different sentences of that description: a visual reference, where flowers create a colourful image, and another one, olfactory, where the fragrance of the herbs is described. The situation is similar in spirit to that from the text of Marie, where OFr *de flurs, d'herbe freche et novele* mimics Lat *aspersum floribus variorum colorum*. However, even though the English translator also focuses on certain clusters of words, the MEn translation is less loose, and therefore closer to the Latin source text.

On the one hand, a phrase such as MEn *as thoowe yt had ben of purpose prepayrd wythe manys handis to þat intent* renders, glosses, and elucidates the idea of Lat *ut potius ex industria putares adequatum*. On the other hand, the epithets directly linked to Lat *locus* / MEn *place* are abridged and oversimplified to a generic adjective such as MEn *plesaunt*, perhaps triggered by Lat *congruus*, similar to Marie's use of OFr *covenable*. This explains why the English author often becomes an adapter, with a method not very different from Marie's oversimplification of the Latin source (see above the reference to the saint's wandering and weariness in the OFr text). The MEn text equally picks and chooses Latin clusters of words from two different sentences (*aspersum floribus variorum colorum* + *ex herbarum odoribus dulciter*) and condenses them in a flat and generic formula *swete flowrs and herbys*. As a result, the sweet smell of the herbs (cf. Lat *dulciter*) is reassigned to the flowers, which become MEn *sweete*, and the general impression is that the vernacular writer also operates a transfer of notions and images in an intertextual relation with the Latin hypotext and not with an actual source, because this is not a pure translation process. Many phrases are eliminated. For instance, Lat *virenti amictum decore* has no equivalent in the vernacu-

lar version. The flatness of the place (Lat *miranda planitie consitum*) is also glossed over. Nevertheless, the entire episode begins with an interpretation and an abridgement of the source text: As [saint Audrey] walkyd on a hot sommeris day (cf. Lat *cumque ambularet*) what for moche labour (Lat *et ex labore insolito*) and what thorowe the feruent hete of the son (cf. Lat *calore solis urente*), she was very wery and feynt (cf. Lat *nimum fatigata vix subsistere valuit*), dissiring to fynde (cf. Lat *diligenter appetiit*) some shadowe or colde place (cf. Lat *locum umbraculi et amenitatis quo sinus sudore diffluos refrigerare*) wheryn she myght reste with hir ij maydyns (cf. Lat *et in novis membra posset tabescentia viribus reficere*). As the vernacular writer progresses in the adaptation, it moves farther away from the Latin source and creates an almost cinematic image of saint Audrey waking up and trying to reach for the staff. This is where the text mentions that the staff was fast growne in the grownde, which the Latin text does not. Then the text renders two Latin segments with exact precision, where the adjective *grene* transferred from the former to the latter: Lat *iam viridi amictum cortice fronduisse ac folia prodisse*—MEn *all coueryd ouer with a fayre barke and was full of fresshe grene leuys*. In the following lines, the vernacular text follows the structure of the Latin source in a similar way to the passage where saint Audrey walks in the heat of the sun, even though it is hardly possible to define it as a proper translation: MEn *the whiche myracle* (cf. Lat *quod illa intuens*) *she wele aduysyd was therof moche astonyd* (Lat *admirando stupuit*). *Wherefore* (cf. Lat *et pro tali facto*) *she then with hir maydyns knelyd downe and thankyd God hertely of his infynite grace and goodness* (cf. Lat *Deum ex intimo corde cum consortibus suis laudans benedixit*). The Latin text is rendered loosely, perhaps not as loosely as in the OFr poem of Marie, the only difference between the former and the MEn prose text being that the English writer alternated translation, abridgement, and adaptation strategies in different textual segments of the same episode.

Another text based on the Book of Ely story is the prose version in Ms Additional 2604 preserved at the Cambridge University Library, on ff. 52v-59r (second half of the 15th century), written for the members of a feminine monastic community. Research suggests that this Middle English version was based on the Latin text from one of the various avatars of the *Sanctilogium Angliae* by John of Tynemouth's, originally written before 1349 but continuously supplemented with more lives of saints until it was published as an alphabetical collection of hagiographic texts by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. This other Latin text inserts short passages from the Book of Ely or its avatars into the mainframe of the story told by Bede:<sup>16</sup>

MEn version of Ms Cambridge, Additional 2604:

*Than fewe dayes aftir, Seynt Awdre toke with hir bothe hir nonnes and passid over the water of Humbyr and so come streyght into Hely and in hir goyng ther was such a stronge hete by the way that bothe she and hir to nonnes lay and restid hem vndir an hille. And Seynt Awdre picched hir staffe at hir hede in the grounde. It was not so sone in the grounde but it wax grene and bare grene leves, and within processe of tyme it grewe into a grete hoke. Therfore, evir aftir that place was and is called Awdres is stowe, that is for say, Awdre is resting place; and is now made ther a fayre chapell in the worship of Seynt Awdre.*<sup>17</sup>

Lat Sanctilogium Angliae:

*Etheldreda tandem assumptis duabus virginibus versus Hely iter arripuit, et transito Humbrie flumine, cum propter estum solis in loco quodam lassata quiesceret et parum sompni cepisset, evigilans invenit baculum itineris sui, quem ad caput suum fixerat, viridi amictum cortice fronduisse ac folia produxisse. Crevit ergo lignum illud et facta est fraxinus magna; et vocatur locus ille 'Etheldredestowe', quod sonat 'repausatio Etheldrede', et ecclesia in honore virginis sancte ibi fabricata est.<sup>18</sup>*

Once again, the English text makes no mention of flowers, because the Latin source is followed faithfully, though not scrupulously. As a matter of fact, no flowers are mentioned in the Latin text either, since it does not include a proper description of the field. If we focus less on the brief additions of a narrative nature, such as *MEN than fewe dayes aftir* (defining the time) or *MEN vndir an hille* (defining the place), the vernacular text can be considered a rather correct rendering of the ideas in the Latin source text. However, the narrative penchant of the vernacular writer led to the rephrasing of the source's syntax.

The translator needed to reverse the moment when the burgeoning staff is found and the moment when the saint had planted it in the ground. This does not imply that the English language was not capable of formulating a syntactic relation of anteriority in time; it simply means that the vernacular author needed the story to unfold in the proper chronological order. Since the Latin text is slightly tautological when it describes the action of *fraxinus* as *crevit* and *facta est magna*, the vernacular text replaces the first segment as *MEN within processe of tyme*, loosely rendering Lat *crevit ergo lignum illud*, while the proper translation is found in *MEN it grewe into a grete hoke*, which renders Lat *facta est fraxinus magna*. Immediately after, the Latin text is again approximated with additions such as *evir aftir* or the pair *was and is* probably for greater narrative effect. Perhaps another similar device is *MEN present tense is now made*, which should not be interpreted as a translation error for the Latin past tense in the passive voice *fabricata est*. The translator might have made a reference to an actual *MEN fayre chapell* on the site of the miracle, and not just a vague Lat *ecclesia*. This explains why the complex Latin formula *viridi amictum cortice fronduisse ac folia produxisse* becomes the plain *MEN sequence it wax grene and bare grene leves*. The translator oversimplifies the source text, whose verbs form once again a tautological pair. The *MEN* text does not mention the bark of the tree, probably because the vernacular phrases closely follow the syntactic structure of the Latin source. However, the English writer does mention that the staff grows green, and subsequently repeats the same adjective *grene* in connection with the leaves.

Since most of these texts—if not all—were “written for, or read within, nunneries,”<sup>19</sup> it is perhaps possible that the coincidences between them are not necessarily dictated by simple intertextuality, at least not of the direct kind, but by memories of past readings which stimulated the imagination of writers and led them to similar choices on a lexical level. To name but an example, a comparable situation appears in a 15th-century *MEN* translation of John Mandeville's *Travels*, in the passage speaking of a

dry tree in the Holy Land:

*Sum prophecies saise þat a grete lord of þe west syde of þe werld salle conquere þe haly land wiþ helpe of cristen men and he salle ger syng a messe vnder þat drie tree and þan salle it wax grene agayne and bere leefes and fruyt, and thurgh vertu of þat miracle many Sarzenes and lews salle be turned to cristen faith.<sup>20</sup>*

Also, a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century verse Life of saint Anne reads *þe 3erd þat josep bare sodeynly wex al grene | and florysshid ful fayre with leef & with floure.<sup>21</sup>* It is small wonder that a copy of the *MEN Cursor Mundi* in Ms London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A III (c.1390) uses similar terms: *þe rode it was wit leif | and barc florist ful selcuthli.<sup>22</sup>* Intertextuality could explain these coincidences, but then another problem must be acknowledged. Identical formulae are used earlier in the text of *Cursor Mundi* in connection with stories whose protagonists are biblical characters:

*Ne sagh yee noght for drightin dome  
þe wand bar lef and frut and blom?  
þis wand bitakens a maiden clene,  
þat sal þe child haue þat i mene,  
þat sal his folk fra baret bij,  
To quam men sal haue gret envi.  
þat yow tels sent Ieremi,  
If yee wald lok his prophecy.<sup>23</sup>*

Burgeoning and flowering staffs can of course be connected with the Tree of Jesse (*Egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet*—Is 11:1) and with Aaron's rod, representing the tribe of Levi and putting forth buds, blossoms, and finally bearing ripe almonds (*sequenti die regressus invenit germinasse virgam Aaron in domo Levi: et turgentibus gemmis eruperant flores, qui, foliis dilatatis, in amygdalas deformati sunt*—Nb 17:8). As a matter of fact, biblical loci are the earliest references from the entire corpus. They explain why the OFr poem of Marie adds flowers to green bark and leaves, operating an unconscious transfer of formulae based on sacred models. Furthermore, biblical loci must be understood in light of exegetical writings. For instance, saint Jerome interprets the rod mentioned in Isaiah as “the mother of the Lord—simple, pure, unsullied; drawing no germ of life from without but fruitful in singleness like God Himself”; while “the flower of the rod” would be “Christ”.<sup>24</sup> And the wand which bears *lef and frut and blom* in *Cursor Mundi* represents an echo of the tale of Joseph from the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. Therein, a dove comes forth from Joseph's rod in the Holiest of Holies. There is also the version from the *Golden Legend* by Iacobus de Voragine, where the same rod flowers and a dove comes to perch on it. References such as these were well known to medieval authors. Intertextual reflexes from hagiographic or apocryphal texts could appear in vernacular texts independently, based solely on the adapter or translator's memory.

However, flowering or burgeoning rods and staffs come in many shapes and sizes. The dry rod which bursts into blossom is motif number F971.1 in Thompson's *Motif Index*.<sup>25</sup> In Sophocles' *Electra*, Clytemnestra dreams that the sceptre of Agamemnon is planted beside his hearth and flourishes and grows into a tree overshadowing the entire country. The motif occurs in folklore tales across the entire world (similar to those of burgeoning lances),

suggesting that the authors' familiarity with it could be based on other, not necessarily religious, stories. Perhaps the most interesting cases for this comparison are those appearing in other hagiographical texts. The Irish saint Maedoc, for instance, was still an infant in the cradle when he turned a piece of hazel into a green and never-ageing tree. Another Irish saint, Senán, followed the council of an angel and dug a well during a year of great drought using a stake of holly for a tool. When he finished digging up the well, he planted the stake next to it, and it became a tree.<sup>26</sup> Since it is impossible to tell these stories apart from timeless folkloric motifs, it is best to focus on written texts, especially those that can be dated to earlier periods, and concentrate on clearly linked texts, such as those referencing biblical or apocryphal tales.

The prose life of saint Eusebia, a late 10<sup>th</sup>-early 11<sup>th</sup> century text telling the story of an abbess of Hamage Monastery (North-western France), makes a direct reference to Aaron's rod. Leaving aside the comparison with the biblical text and concentrating on the deeds of the saint, the life recounts that "the little rod was cast down and stuck into the earth and, without any bit of moisture for growth, it immediately burst into leaf."<sup>27</sup> There are lexical correspondences between this text and the Latin story of the Book of Ely, at least in the case of three words (if not more): *flagellus*, *virgula* and *frondere*. In the metrical version of Eusebia's life, more similar terms are deployed: *flagellus*, *figere*, *siccus*, *frondere*, *viridis*, and *folium*.<sup>28</sup> According to A. L. Taylor, "the similar language in the accounts of Etheldred [i.e. Audrey] and Eusebia suggests a common heritage".<sup>29</sup> But what is the nature of this heritage? Monk John of Saint-Amand used similar words in his late 10<sup>th</sup>-early 11<sup>th</sup> century metrical version of *Vita Rictrudis*, a text narrating the life of the mother of saint Eusebia: the diminutive *virgula* instead of *virga*, a change of prefix for the verb *figere* (*infigere*), and the creation of a verb out of the noun *frondes* (*frondescere*).<sup>30</sup> A. L. Taylor also noted that this text echoes a previous one from the 9<sup>th</sup>-century *Miracula sancti Germani*, where the saint is "planting trees by fixing his staff in the ground." The first tree mentioned in the saint's legend "flourished into a hazel of great strength as a witness to his holiness." It is not extensively described, but the second tree, a beech tree, was particularly revered because of its shade. It is worth mentioning that certain words from both episodes are more or less the same as those used in the Book of Ely and in the lives of Eusebia: *virga* and *baculus*, *frondes*, and most of all, the verb *defigere* (*defixit* and *defixisset*).<sup>31</sup>

These examples support the notion that formulae such as these, based on a rather similar vocabulary and borrowing certain terms from one text to another, create two overlapping corpora. On the one hand, there is the group of Latin texts that share terms such as *figere*, *frondes* (or *frondescere*), *flagellus*, etc. On the other hand, the vernacular Lives of saint Audrey develop the scene of the burgeoning staff based on another set of terms, either consciously borrowed from other religious texts in their literature(s), in an intertextual relation of sorts, or as a result of similar translation strategies. Although they use very different styles (verse and prose) and although they can choose to follow their respective source either closely or loosely, the OFr and MEn writers studied here place their literary transfer mid-way between proper transla-

tion and adaptation. Since the process of translation and intertextuality is indistinguishable in this type of texts, the translation strategy fluctuates depending on the writers' degree of adherence to the source text. During the reading and subsequent translation process, the vernacular writer retains fragments of the source text, which are then used both as translation units and formulae. When vernacular authors retain only broad ideas or images (of either static or cinematic nature), the delicate equilibrium between textual transfer and intertextuality is disturbed, even for a fraction of a phrase, leading to a composite array of styles, methods, and strategies. However, the image recalls more or less the same words. This could perhaps be linked to the *imagines agentes* from *Rhetorica ad Herennium*—imagined images, figurative elements, or storylines that help recollect items or ideas. This mnemonic-technique, documented since Antiquity, played an important part in the transmission of sacred texts and ideas during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period.<sup>32</sup> *Imagines agentes* are also applicable to hagiographical texts (the lives of Saints Audrey, Eusebia, etc.) which explains their links to Marian hymnography.

Research conducted in the ANR PSALTERATIO project uncovered similar formulae in a stanza added to a Psalter of the Virgin known as *Ave virgo virginum parens absque pari* that was copied in London, British Library, Harley Ms 1770, f. 141r. Not all versions of the Latin text of this Psalter of the Virgin, attributed by G. G. Meersseman to Stephen Langton and dated to the early thirteenth century,<sup>33</sup> contain this formula. The addition in Harley Ms 1770, f. 141r reads:

*Aue uirga germinans protulisti florem  
Hunc adorant singuli [?]ndi saluatorem;  
Et de flore nascitur fructus in odorem;  
Per quem demon uincitur nostrum ad honorem.*<sup>34</sup>

Similar formulae occur in a rhymed litany from Mainz (twelfth century)—*virga Christum germinans florem*—or in an oration of the thirteenth century—*florem germinans pulchriorem*,<sup>35</sup> perhaps in connection with the designation of Virgin Mary as *lignum vitae*, with or without connection to the Tree of Jesse. Yet by far the most striking resemblance is with half a stanza from a thirteenth-century poem attributed to Stephen of Tournai:

*Fertur virga floruisse,  
Florens statim fronduisse,  
Frondens dans amigdalum.*<sup>36</sup>

The parallels between virgins or female saints having renounced the ways of the world and flowering rods are striking in these examples. Both Audrey and Mary start out as barren, dry branches—rods—since they do not follow the Old Testament injunction of going forth and multiplying, or at least not in the conventional way. Through their virginity and exemplary lives, however, death is conquered: one is graced by God with the immaculate conception and bringing the Saviour into the world, thus becoming the *lignum vitae*, while the other remains a virgin albeit married twice, and saves souls (on a somewhat smaller scale) through her ministry at Ely. But unlike Mary, Saint Audrey's life and legacy 'burst into leaf, although unnourished by the strength of sap' much like Saint Rictrudis' staff: they flower spontaneously, without man or God to help them along.

## Notes

- 1 A comprehensive study of all her existing lives and related materials—with a focus on those written in vernacular languages—is currently under way as part of my *habilitation à diriger les recherches* (professorship track) project at the University of Tours, France.
- 2 Colgrave, Mynors 1992.
- 3 Blake 1962, p. 30.
- 4 Fairweather 2005, p. 38-39.
- 5 For instance, the burgeoning staff miracle is absent from the texts of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin in c.1088, based on a revision of Bede. For the life written by Goscelin, see the parallel edition of MSS. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 393, f. 3r-33v, and Dublin, Trinity College 172 (B. 2. 7), p. 259-75, in Love 2004, p. 191-203.
- 6 For the attribution to Marie de France, see McCash 2002; McCash 2011. The hypothesis is based mainly on *usus scribendi* arguments. It was added to by Rossi 2006; Rossi 2007. For the sources of the poem, see e.g. Blanton 2007, p. 180-181; cf. Pickens 2011, *passim*.
- 7 Hall McCash, Clark Barban 2006, p. 98-99 (for the text, which is edited in an interventionist manner, but without major lexical changes; and its translation), v. 1523-1536.
- 8 For an edition of this passage, see AASS, June, vol. 4, p. 507E-F. Hall McCash, Clark Barban 2006, p. 262 sqq, published a comparison of the narrative units of the Old French poem, the Ms Cotton Domitian A xv, the text attributed to Thomas of Ely, and the Book of Ely (based on the work of Rupert T. Pickens). Cf. Pickens 2011 for more data about the comparison and a lengthy discussion concerning the sources of the Old French poem. The version published in the *Acta Sanctorum* was first identified as a possible source of Marie's poem by Södergård 1955, p. 33-37.
- 9 A common life of Oswald, Edmund, and Etheldreda was transcribed in a manuscript of Jean de Vignay's *Miroir historial*, but the story is too short to include the burgeoning staff miracle. Cf. Ms Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, f. fr. 964, f. 161vb-162rb (early 15th century).
- 10 Cf. Major 2010.
- 11 For a full edition and study of the collection of saints' lives in this manuscript, see Horobin 2020.
- 12 For a presentation of this poem, see Camp 2015, p. 77-85. For the collection of hagiographic poems whereof it was a part, see e.g. Horobin 2007.
- 13 For a brief analysis of this text, accompanied by the edition of various passages and their translation into contemporary English, see Blanton 2007, p. 249-257.
- 14 Blanton 2007, p. 154, note 57; cf. Lindley 1986. See also Camp 2015, p. 91-100.
- 15 I have already completed an edition of this manuscript for my Masters' thesis and am currently in the process of finalising an accompanying study to be published in the Middle English Texts series, Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg. The passages presented in this article are from this forthcoming edition.
- 16 For a discussion about the life of saint Audrey in this manuscript, see Blanton 2007, p. 257-263. For the manuscript in general, see O'Mara, Blanton 2010.
- 17 The text was recently edited by Virginia Blanton and Veronica O'Mara in *Saints' Lives for Medieval English Nuns: A Study of the 'Lyves and Dethes' in Cambridge University Library, Ms Additional 2604*, forthcoming (Brepols, 2024). I would like to thank both authors for their assistance with this study in having provided the excerpt.
- 18 Horstmann 1901, vol. 1, p. 425.
- 19 Camp 2015, p. 65.
- 20 Seymour 2010, p. 38.
- 21 Parker 1928, p. 123, v. 360-361.
- 22 Morris 1874-1878, vol. 3, p. 965, v. 16859-16860.
- 23 Morris 1874-1878, vol. 2, p. 537-538, v. 9327-9334.
- 24 Fremantle, Lewis, Martley 1893 (for the English quotation).
- 25 Thompson 1956, p. 252.
- 26 For these two miracles, see Plummer 1922, vol. 2, p. 185; and Stokes 1890, p. 218.
- 27 For the translation, see Taylor 2013, p. 263 (and note 115 for a short quote of the original text). For the original text in full, see AASS, March, vol. 2, p. 454: *Ferunt aliud quoque tunc contigisse: a flagello, dum illa corriperetur, excussam virgulam terrae inhaesisse, et absque ullo succi incremento protinus fronduisse. Est apud vulgus hoc quidem in opinione, quod ab eo ruminantur ex antiquitatis traditione: et mirum cur qui alia scripsere, hoc eo modo posterorum subtraxerunt notitiae. Hac etenim causa quibusdam videtur incredibile, sapientibus autem palate cordis minime, quia sciunt et in hoc illum valuisse, ad cuius nutum virga Aaron iam damnata ariditate potuit non solum reviviscens florere, verum etiam germinans sui feminis fructum proferre.*
- 28 For the original text and translation, see Taylor 2013, p. 263-264 (and note 118 of p. 264): *His dictis, sumptum, domino confisa, flagellum, | atque solo fixum dictu mirabile siccum | protulit in viride folium novitatis honestae | virgaque porrecta larga distenditur umbra | et manet haec testis tantae virtutis in annis.* "When these words had been spoken, she is trusting in the Lord. | And the dry rod, taken up and fixed in the soil – amazing to say – | bursts forth greenly into brilliant new leaf, | and the rod spreads itself forth to provide plentiful shade, | and this remains through the years as a witness to such a great miracle."
- 29 Taylor 2013, p. 264.
- 30 For the original text and translation, see Taylor 2013, p. 263, note 117: *Ictibus assiduis dum dextera percutientis | instat, dirupit, volat hinc excussa flagella | virgula, quae terrae haerens infixata repente | frondescit nulla vi suci suppeditata.* "While the right hand of the assailant threatens unremitting blows, | the cane breaks, cast down by the lash, it flies, | the cane, sticking fast in the earth, | bursts into leaf, although unnourished by the strength of sap."
- 31 PL, vol. 124, col. 1214B-D: *Per pagum Tullensem iter carpens, obvia populorum exceptius multitudine, quodam resedit loco, occurrentemque turbam verbi salutaris exhortatione formaturus, columnam, quam forte manu gestabat, virgam humi defixit. Explicata praedicatione (mirum quod fuit visu, mirum quod est et dictu) ramusculos iam frondesque produxerat. Haec in eius testimonium sanctitatis in corylum roboris immensi convaluit, atque usque hodie ingenti ab omnibus cautela veneratur, ne aut ramum quis ex ea decerpere, aut indecens quidpiam sub illa, aut circa illam, audeat perpetrare. Is locus non quoque vulgariter 'Ad cambuttam S. Germani' dicitur. In pago quoque Vastinensi, in vicinia Gaiaci monasterii, interiecto Odonna flumine, fagus est mirandae magnitudinis, stipite procera, ramorum ambitu vastissima, densitate opaca: quae similiter sancti virtute pontificis coaluisse incunctanter asseritur, dum post sermonem eo loci ad populum habitum, bacillum, quo seniles regebat artus, telluri altius defixisset. Haec pro insolenti magnitudine ad sui spectaculum multos e contiguis ascivit regionibus. Ecclesia secus arborem est eius insignis nomine; locusque idem 'Ad fagum S. Germani' populariter nuncupatur.*

32 E.g., Small 1997 for Classical Antiquity; Carruthers 1990 for the Middle Ages; and Yates 1966 for the Renaissance. For the use of *imagines agentes* in connection with the Passion of Christ, see e.g., Parshall 1999.

33 For the attribution to Stephen Langton, see Meersseman 1960, p. 16. For an edition of the text *Ave virgo virginum parens absque pari*, see Dreves 1900, vol. 2, p. 153–171.

34 Transcription provided by the PSalterRATIO team. Due to a major technology outage as a result of a cyber-attack on the British Library, we were unable to perform the final checks of the transcription, hence the presence of the question mark.

35 For these quotations, see Meersseman 1960, vol. 2, p. 164, 253.

36 Meersseman 1960, vol. 1, p. 214.

## Bibliographical Abbreviations

Bentham 1771—James Bentham. *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely from the Foundation of the Monastery, AD 673 to the Year 1771*, Cambridge, University Press, 1771.

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# *The Idea of Kyiv as a New Jerusalem in the Murals of the Church of the Saviour at Berestove (1643–1644)*

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RÉSUMÉ: Ruinée, l'église orthodoxe du Sauveur à Berestove a été restaurée en 1643–1644 par le métropolite de Kyiv Pierre Mohyla, afin de commémorer le saint prince Volodymyr, 'Grand Égal des Apôtres et Baptiseur de la Rus'. Les peintures murales et les inscriptions de l'église reflétaient l'idée que la ville sainte de Kyiv était une nouvelle Jérusalem et indiquaient également la succession du pouvoir métropolitain établi par le prince Volodymyr. Cette décoration murale du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle suivait des modèles beaucoup plus anciens. En effet, elle ressemblait aux programmes iconographiques du temps de la Renaissance macédonienne. La composition ktétoriale présente la Théotokos, le saint prince Volodymyr et Pierre Mohyla devant le Christ. Mohyla tient dans ses mains la maquette du temple restauré. Une analyse comparative permet d'affirmer que la peinture de l'église du Sauveur a été inspirée par l'ensemble monumental de Sainte-Sophie de Kyiv (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle). La forte insistance sur le thème de l'Incarnation, typique des polémiques post-iconoclastes, est conforme à l'image en mosaïque de la Mère de Dieu Orante dans la cathédrale Sainte-Sophie et à son inscription qui cite le Psaume 45 : 6. Ainsi, l'idée de Kyiv comme Nouvelle Jérusalem, ville patronnée par la Théotokos, acquiert une portée nouvelle et capitale dans le contexte de la restauration du siège métropolitain de Kyiv par Pierre Mohyla.

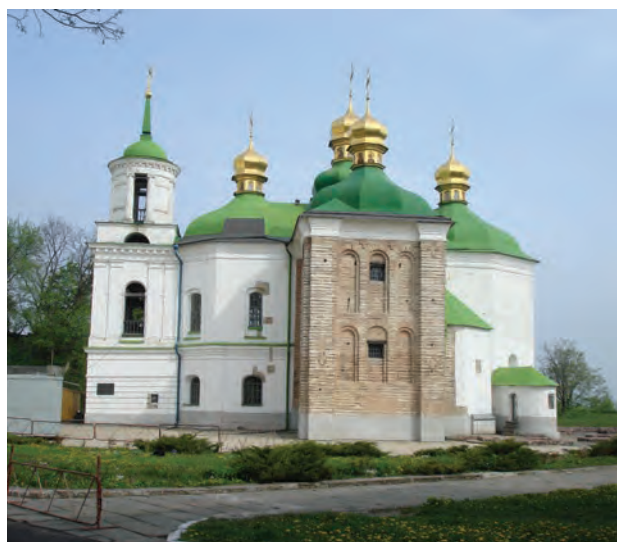
MOTS-CLÉS: Nouvelle Jérusalem ; Kyiv ; peintures murales ; Pierre Mohyla ; saint Volodymyr.

REZUMAT: Ajunsă în stare de ruină, biserica Mântuitorului de la Berestovo a fost restaurată între 1643–1644 de mitropolitul Petru Movilă al Kievului, cu intenția de a-l comemora pe prințul Volodymyr, sfânt și egal cu apostolii, cel prin care a fost botezată Rusia kieviană. Pictura murală și inscripțiile reflectă ideea transformării Kievului într-un oraș sfânt, un nou Ierusalim și, în același timp, indică succesiunea neîntreruptă a autorității mitropolitane stabilită de prințul Volodymyr. Această decorație murală realizată în secolul XVII urmează programe iconografice mult mai vechi, asemănându-se cu cele din vremea Renașterii macedonene. Tabloul votiv îi înfățișează pe Născătoarea de Dumnezeu, pe prințul Volodymyr și pe Petru Movilă stând înaintea lui Hristos, Movilă fiind cel care îi prezintă Mântuitorului macheta bisericii restaurate. O analiză comparată permite afirmația că noua pictură a bisericii Mântuitorului a avut ca model ansamblul monumental al bisericii Sfânta Sofia din Kiev, datând din secolul XI. Puternica insistență asupra temei Încarnării, tipică polemicilor post-iconoclaste, a fost inspirată de imaginea în mozaic a Maicii Domnului Orantă din catedrala Sfânta Sofia și de inscripția care o însoțește și care reproduce versetul 6 al Psalmului 45. Imaginarea Kievului ca Nou Ierusalim și punerea lui sub protecția Maicii Domnului au fost gândite de Petru Movilă ca pietre de temelie ale efortului său de reactivare a Mitropoliei Kievului.

MOTS-CLÉS: Noul Ierusalim; Kiev; picturi murale; Petru Movilă; sfântul Vladimir.

The ruined Church of the Saviour at Berestove (Fig. 1) was restored by Kyiv metropolitan bishop Peter Mohyla (Fig. 2) in the 1640s to commemorate the 'Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Volodymyr, Baptist of the Rus'.<sup>1</sup> The temple is located Northwest of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. Historical sources suggest that it was near the former princely village of Berestove.<sup>2</sup> The metropolitan bishop believed that the church had been built by the great prince Volodymyr, as did many scholars who studied the Old Rus' heritage of Kyiv in the nineteenth century and early-twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> Only later it was convincingly argued that the church was built a hundred years later, at the turn of the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup>

► Fig. 1. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Late 11th–19th centuries.  
Credits: Yevhen Kabanets.





▲ Fig. 2. National Art Museum of Ukraine (Kyiv). 19th-century copy of the 17th-century portrait of Peter Mohyla, metropolitan bishop of Kyiv, Galicia, and All Rus' (1627–1647). Credits: Leonid Andrieiev.



▼ Fig. 3. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Paintings of the eastern wall of the outer narthex: Transfiguration, Christ Pantokrator, Theotokos Pantanassa, ktetorial inscription of 1644. Fresco dated 1644, under 19th-century paintings. Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

▼ Fig. 4. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Eastern wall of the outer narthex. Ktetorial inscription of 1644. Credits: Yevhen Kabanets.

In his attempt to strengthen the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which had been in decline for some centuries and to revive Kyiv as a metropolitan see,<sup>5</sup> Peter Mohyla undertook a series of actions in honour of the 'Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince'. Having found the relics of saint Volodymyr in the ruins of the Church of the Tithes at Kyiv in 1635, Mohyla brought part of them to the Church of the Saviour at Berestove, where a separate northern altar was consecrated for their veneration.<sup>6</sup> In 1643–1644, Greek artists decorated the entire rebuilt church with new paintings upon the invitation of the metropolitan



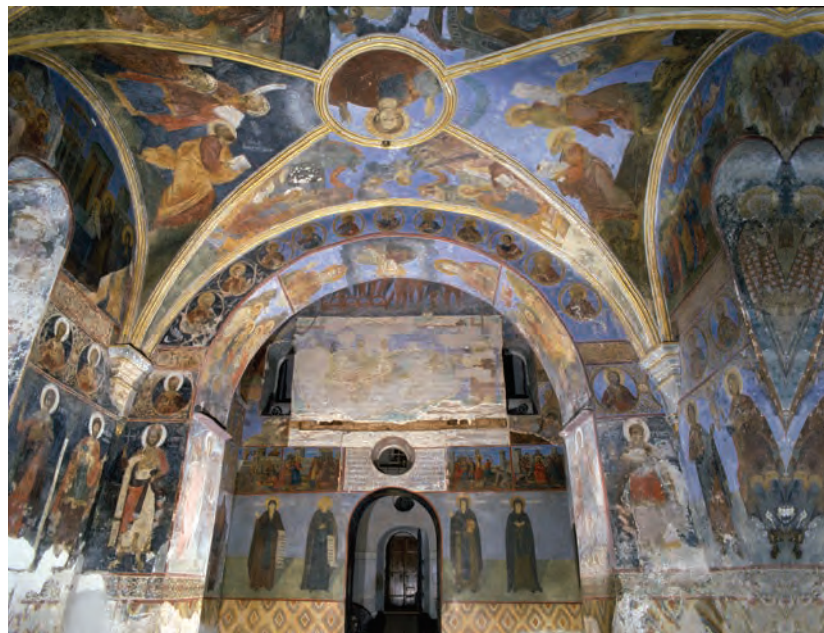
- Fig. 5. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Paintings of the main vault, triumphal arch, and western wall of the inner narthex. Fresco dated 1643, partly under the 19th-century paintings; fresco of the late 11th–early 12th century (central part of the western wall); oil painting of the 19th century (bottom row of the western wall).

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

- ▼ Fig. 6. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. West wall of the inner narthex. Ktetorial inscription of 1643.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

bishop (Fig. 3, 4).<sup>7</sup> Mural paintings and inscriptions reflected the idea of the Holy City of Kyiv as a New Jerusalem. They also alluded to the succession of metropolitan authority established by saint Volodymyr.<sup>8</sup> In this respect, the Church Slavonic inscription of the ktetor (church founder) painted on the western wall of the inner narthex deserves special attention (Fig. 5, 6). It mentions the completion date of the paintings—‘1643’, and it names both saint Volodymyr and Peter Mohyla. The titles and deeds of the two persons are compared. Furthermore, the fact that Peter Mohyla is a successor of Volodymyr is also emphasized: ‘This church was created by the autocratic prince of *All Rus*’ Vladimir, in holy baptism named Basil. Many years later, after its destruction by ungodly Tatars, by God’s will the church was renovated by humble Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan Archbishop of Kyiv and Galicia and *All Rus*’, Exarch of the Holy See of Constantinople, Archimandrite of the Pechersk Lavra. For the glory of Christ, God the Word, who transfigured Himself on Mount Tabor. In the year 1643—from the creation of the World 7151’. There is an evident parallel to be drawn between two segments of the text—the ‘prince of *All Rus*’ and the ‘Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia and *All Rus*’. It is quite likely that the metropolitan Mohyla deliberately mentioned his own name in the same phrase where



the name of the saint prince Volodymyr was mentioned. Perhaps this was done in an attempt to enforce the idea of Kyiv as a New Jerusalem in its unity of spiritual and secular power. In this context, saint (prince) Volodymyr would represent the Orthodox Kingdom, while metropolitan bishop Peter Mohyla would represent the Orthodox Priesthood.

The idea of Kyiv as a God-saved New Jerusalem dates back to the time of Kyivan scholars who lived during the reign of prince Volodymyr, shortly after the baptism of the Rus’.<sup>9</sup> This identification with the Holy Land as a generative matrix of all Christian cultures is well-known.<sup>10</sup> Constantinople was the first in a series of New Jerusalems.<sup>11</sup> It is small wonder that late-comers to Chris-





◀ Fig. 7. Saint-Sophia Cathedral. Paintings of the central apse and dome space. Early 11th century.

Credits: Nadiia Nikitenko.

▶ Fig. 8. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. View from West to East. Paintings of the main vault, central apse, triumphal arch and the eastern wall of the inner narthex. Fresco of 1643, partly under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

▲ Fig. 9. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. East wall of the inner narthex. Deïsis with a portrait of Peter Mohyla. Ktetorial composition. Fresco of 1643, partly under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

tianity, including Kyivan Rus', likened their own lands to the Holy Land. In the specific case of prince Volodymyr 'Baptist of the Rus', it is worth mentioning that he was already perceived as the New David by contemporaries.<sup>12</sup> The metropolitan resident see of Saint Sophia Cathedral, founded by him, was also likened to the Temple of Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup>

The idea of a special patronage of the Theotokos over Kyivan Rus' and its capital was also spread at that time. The mosaic depicting a Virgin *Orans* in the cathedral of Saint Sophia (Fig. 7) was not just a visualisation of the dogma of the Incarnation. The image was perceived as a personification of the Heavenly City.<sup>14</sup> This mosaic image of the Virgin was surrounded by an inscription the text of which is based on Psalm 45/46:6—'God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved; God shall help her, just at the break of dawn'. The same text can also be found in Byzantine sources,<sup>15</sup> where it was used in relation to Constantinople.<sup>16</sup> There is no surprise in the fact that the creators of Saint Sophia's theological program—theologians and artists—used the same quote from the book of Psalms in a temple built in the land of Kyiv, far from Jerusalem and Constantinople. To them, that temple was another feature of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the abode of God.

All these ideas were undoubtedly known to Peter Mohyla centuries later.<sup>17</sup> Thanks to Mohyla's efforts, the re-establishment of the metropolitan see in Kyiv after a two-hundred year break—the metropolitan see of Kyiv had been moved to Vilnius by Gregory Tsamblak in 1416 (1418?), in the aftermath of the city being raided and burnt by Khan Edigu—breathed new life into the old sacred legend of Kyiv as a 'God-saved city'.<sup>18</sup> One can therefore infer that the idea of Kyiv as a New Jerusalem became topical in the first half of the seventeenth century. Orthodox believers living in a Catholic state such as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth would be persecuted for their religious beliefs. By that time, the topos of suffering at the hands of misbelievers was frequent in disputes between the Orthodox and the Catholics. Thus, it is only natural that the parallel drawn between Jerusalem as a 'Mother of Churches' and Kyiv as a sort of 'Mother of Rus' Baptism' would re-emerge. Kyiv was in fact presented as a 'Mother of Churches' that stood up to a hostile environment.<sup>19</sup> This explains why one of Mohyla's first actions was to restore the temples that he believed to have been built by Volodymyr the Baptist of the Rus'. In addition to the Church of the Saviour at Berestove, Mohyla was certainly interested in the Church of the Tithes, the Church of the Three Hierarchs, and the







◀ Fig. 10. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. East wall of the inner narthex. The figure of Peter Mohyla from the composition 'Deïsis with a portrait of Peter Mohyla'. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

▲ Fig. 11. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Paintings of the vault and upper register of the northern, eastern and southern walls of the inner narthex. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kyiv. Unfortunately, the first two churches mentioned above have not survived to the present day. The monumental decoration of the Church of the Saviour at Berestove, on the other hand, has many common points with the mural paintings of Saint Sophia Cathedral.<sup>20</sup> As a matter of fact, the metropolitan bishop created memorials to saint prince Volodymyr both in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia and in the Church of the Saviour.

An ensemble of Byzantine mosaics and frescoes dating back to the eleventh century—the time of the Macedonian Renaissance, has been preserved in the cathedral church of Saint Sophia. Mohyla only added 'semantic accents' to this complex decoration. In particular, the ktetor's inscription was placed on the four arches of the central dome of the

Cathedral. Its text narrated the history of the construction of the church and its foundation date—'1011' (i.e., during the reign of prince Volodymyr) was a chief preoccupation.<sup>21</sup> It was also noted that the construction was carried out by Volodymyr's son Yaroslav the Wise. Finally, the text concludes with a mention that the 1634 restoration of the Cathedral was started at the expense of Peter Mohyla.<sup>22</sup> The formulas seem quite similar to those we read in the inscription from the Church of the Saviour at Berestove.

The eleventh-century group portrait of prince Volodymyr's family was also restored thanks to the efforts of Peter Mohyla in the 1630s–1640s. The figure of saint Volodymyr was added in the centre, in a spot where there was no figure before.<sup>23</sup> He held a model of the Church of the Tithes, the first church built in Kyiv,<sup>24</sup> whereas Yaroslav the Wise was depicted to the right of Volodymyr, his father.<sup>25</sup> A multi-figure ktetorial composition was also executed on the eastern wall of the inner narthex, above the arched entrance to the Church of the Saviour at Berestove (Fig. 8). The composition is called 'The Gift of Peter Mohyla' or 'Deïsis with a portrait of Peter Mohyla'. The scene shows the Theotokos, saint Volodymyr, and Peter Mohyla before Christ. Mohyla holds the model of the restored temple in his hands, while Christ the



- ◀ Fig. 12. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Paintings of the upper registers of the eastern wall of the inner narthex (southern side). Prophets Solomon, David, Malachi, and compositions of the Passion Cycle. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

- ▶ Fig. 13. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Paintings of the upper registers of the east wall of the inner narthex (northern part). Prophets Daniel, Elijah, Elisha and compositions of the Passion Cycle. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

- ▶ Fig. 14. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Eastern wall of the inner narthex. Bottom row. Saint Martyr Mercurius. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ihor Kizema.

- ▶ Fig. 15. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Eastern wall of the inner narthex. Bottom row. Saint Eustace Plakidas. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

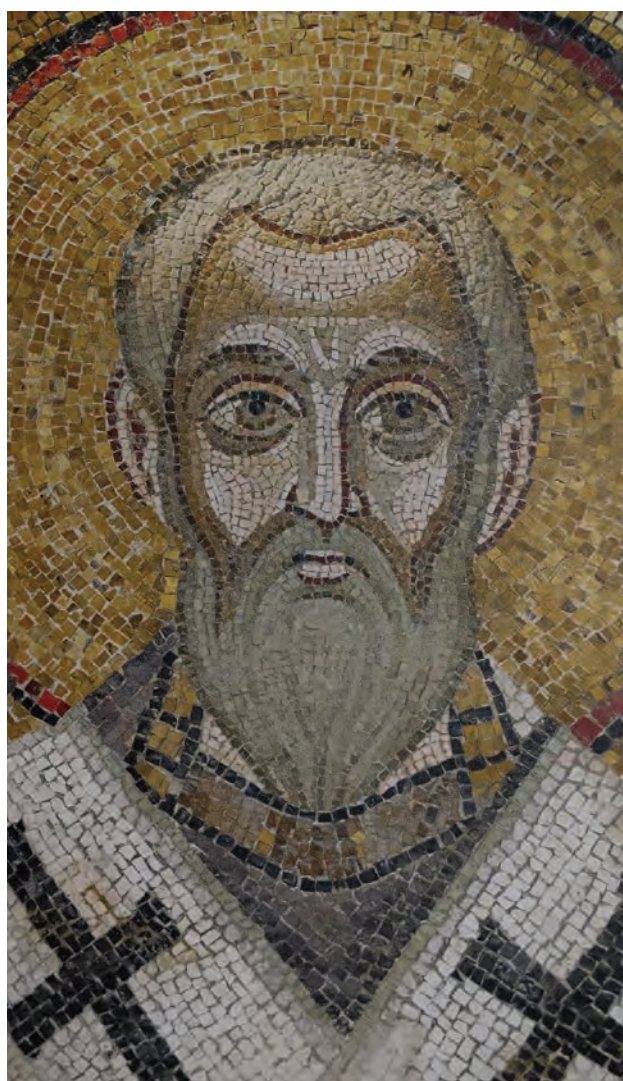
Credits: Ihor Kizema.

Great Bishop is depicted sitting on a throne in the centre, with two angels behind Him. The angels are dressed as Byzantine courtiers, saint Volodymyr is depicted to the left of Christ, wearing a princely fur coat and a crown (Fig. 9), whereas metropolitan Peter Mohyla is depicted in the lower-left part of the composition, with marked features of portraiture (Fig. 10). His outstretched left hand holds a model of the Church of the Saviour as it appeared in the 1640s. This Deïsis composition plays a key role in the complex theological concept of the Church of the Saviour.

Another large Deïsis composition is found in the same inner narthex at the top of the vault. The Trimorphon presents half-figure images of the Saviour, a Virgin *Orans*, and saint John the Baptist, locked in medallions. The composition is surrounded by several images of angels of various ranks (Fig. 11). The depictions of the prophets are displayed on the eastern wall, to the right and left of the Deïsis where Peter Mohyla is featured. As for the prophets Daniel, Elijah, and Elisha, they are depicted on the left, while Solomon, David, and Malachi are depicted on the right (Fig. 12). I believe that the images of Solomon and David were not featured there by mere coincidence. It is worth noting that prince Volodymyr and his son Yaroslav the Wise had already been compared to the two prophets in the times of Kyivan Rus'—in his *Sermon on Law and Grace*, metropolitan Hilarion noted that Yaroslav accomplished his father's works just as Solomon had accomplished the works of David.<sup>26</sup> Thus, Yaroslav had built the cathedral of Saint Sophia, that his father had founded.

Also featured in the middle and lower registers of the same eastern wall are festive and passionate scenes and depictions of holy warriors (Fig. 13, 14). In this respect, the figure of the warrior-martyr saint Eustace Plakidas, presented in the lower register on the left, deserves special attention (Fig. 15). He was considered to be a prototype of saint Volodymyr.<sup>27</sup> The lives of both saints were similar—they were converts in Christ; Volodymyr's sons Boris and Gleb and the children of Eustace equally suffered martyrdom. I believe that the image of saint Eustace in the Church of the Saviour could be inspired





▲ Fig. 16. Saint Sophia Cathedral. Central apse. Hierarchs' register (close-up): saints Epiphanius of Salamis, Clement of Rome, Gregory the Theologian, Nicholas of Myra, First Martyr Stephen. Early 11th century.

Credits: Nadiia Nikitenko.

♦ Fig. 17. Saint Sophia Cathedral. Central apse. Hierarchs' register (close-up): saint Epiphanius of Salamis. Early 11th century.

Credits: Nadiia Nikitenko.

▼ Fig. 18. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Paintings of the main vault, walls of the church, and sanctuary. General view. Fresco of 1643, partly under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ihor Kizema.

► Fig. 19. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. North and north-eastern walls of the sanctuary. Liturgy of the Holy Hierarchs (close-up): saints Epiphanius and Peter of Alexandria. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

by the decoration of Saint Sophia Cathedral, where two images of this saint are now preserved. Just like in the Church of the Saviour, the images of saint Eustace in Saint Sophia were a part of the memorial in honour of saint Volodymyr.

The depiction of saint Epiphanius of Salamis can be the object of another analogy. As in Saint Sophia, saint Epiphanius is depicted in the sanctuary of the Church of the Saviour. He is the first character in the row of Church Fathers in both temples (Fig. 16, 17, 18, 19). The commemoration day of this saint being May 12 (25), which is also consecration date of the Church of the Tithes, the first church built by saint Volodymyr, his presence there would be perfectly justified.<sup>28</sup> It can be argued that this image glorifies the main act of Prince Volodymyr—the baptism of the Rus'. In Kyiv, this saint is depicted only in the above-mentioned churches.





▲ Fig. 20. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Paintings of the main vault. General view. Fresco of 1643, partly under 19th-century paintings.  
Credits: Ihor Kizema.

▼ Fig. 21. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. The main vault. Christ Emmanuel. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.  
Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.



▼ Fig. 22. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. The main vault. Our Lady of the Incarnation. Fresco of 1643.  
Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

▼ Fig. 23. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Vault of the inner narthex. Virgin Orans. Deisis composition (close-up). Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.  
Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.





Moreover, one of the altars of Saint Sophia was dedicated to saint Volodymyr and a part of the relics of the 'Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince' was transferred there in 1640, as it was done in the Church of the Saviour. Since a chapel built in the northern outer gallery of Saint Sophia was also consecrated in honour of saint Volodymyr, a parallel can be drawn between this decision and the fact that the northern altar of the Church of the Saviour was consecrated in honour of saint Volodymyr.<sup>29</sup> These examples suggest that the ensemble of Saint Sophia in Kyiv was one of the primary sources of inspiration for the persons who conceived the mural decoration of the Church of the Saviour.

Another significant fact in the monumental ensemble of the Church of the Saviour are the archaic features of the seventeenth-century iconographic programme. They recall the Macedonian Renaissance decorations (ninth–eleventh centuries). Just as in the art of the Macedonian Renaissance, the Incarnation is the main theological theme of the decoration in the church.<sup>30</sup> The Incarnation theme had gained special significance in Byzantine art after the victory over iconoclasm. The theme of Incarnation is presented in the iconographic programme by the series of compositions. It is combined with the theme of Eucharistic Sacrifice. The motif of hymns being sung by the Heavenly Powers to the Eucharistic Sacrifice is also present.<sup>31</sup> The scenes 'Christ Emmanuel' (Fig. 20, 21), the 'Virgin of the Incarnation' (Fig. 22), and 'Virgin

Orans' (Fig. 23) on the vaults of the temple express the theme of Incarnation and the idea of the eternal existence of Christ. The composition 'Christ the Vigilant Eye', depicted on the southern wall of the inner narthex (Fig. 24), expresses the same ideas in combination with the Eucharistic theme.<sup>32</sup> I believe that this strong emphasis on the theme of Incarnation in the Church of the Saviour, typical of post-iconoclastic disputations, is compatible with the mosaic image of the Virgin *Orans* in Saint Sophia and its surrounding inscription quoting the Psalm 45/46:6.

According to the Byzantine tradition, the walls and vaults of the temple were to be covered with images of saints and scenes of the festive cycle. This festive cycle was formed in Byzantium in the post-iconoclastic era, when it could have contained from four to six or eight feasts. Classical Dodekaorton compositions comprising twelve scenes were formed in the eleventh century. At that time, the twelve scenes were the 'Annunciation', the 'Nativity', the 'Presentation at the Temple', the 'Baptism', the 'Transfiguration', the 'Resurrection of Lazarus', the 'Entry to Jerusalem', the 'Crucifixion', the 'Resurrection' (of the *Anastasis* type), the 'Ascension', the 'Descent of the Holy Spirit', and the 'Dormition of the Theotokos'. This complete version of Dodekaorton is actually depicted in the Church of the Saviour. Twelve subjects marking the feasts of the Lord and the Mother of God are placed in the upper register of the walls and on the triumphal arch<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29). The depictions





► Fig. 24. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Southern wall of the inner narthex. Christ the Vigilant Eye. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

◄ Fig. 25. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Top row of the eastern wall of the sanctuary. Annunciation. Fresco of 1643.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

▲ Fig. 26. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Top row of the south-eastern wall of the altar. Nativity of Christ. Fresco of 1643.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

► Fig. 27. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Triumphal arch. Resurrection (of the 'Anastasis' type). Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.

Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

of saint Volodymyr and Peter Mohyla must be interpreted in this theological context.

Leading theological ideas were also expressed in the texts accompanying the most significant compositions. One of these inscriptions frames the depiction of Christ in the Deïsis composition on the vault of the inner narthex. The text is written in Church Slavonic. I quote it in translation: 'Return, we beseech Yee, O God of hosts; Look down from heaven and see. And visit this vine And the vineyard which Your right hand has planted. And save Your people. And bless Your property' (Fig. 30). A bishop would utter the quotation from Psalm 79:15 (Ps 80:14) during the Eucharist when he would go out to bless the people, holding a cross and a double-candle. Since the double light of a candlestick in the hands of a bishop symbolizes dual nature of Christ, the actions of a bishop should remind the saving goal of the Incarnation, which is the Crucifixion.<sup>34</sup> This text was also





included in the prayers for the temple's consecration, being uttered by the princes of Old Rus'. According to the chronicles, saint Volodymyr made this very prayer during the consecration of the Church of the Tithes—the first church of Kyiv.<sup>35</sup> It is highly likely that Peter Mohyla proclaimed this prayer during the consecration of the newly restored Church of the Saviour. In this context, saint Volodymyr and Peter Mohyla were presented as vinedressers caring for the vine planted by the Lord.

In conclusion, the comparative analysis suggests that the frescoes painted in the Church of the Saviour in 1643–1644 were primarily inspired by the eleventh-century monumental decoration of the cathedral of Saint Sophia, a monument of the Macedonian Renaissance. Strong emphasis on the theme of Incarnation in the Church of the Saviour at Berestove, typical of the post-iconoclastic disputations, is compliant with the mosaic image of the Virgin *Orans* from Saint Sophia Cathedral and its inscription quoting Psalm 45/46:6. As for the idea of Kyiv as New Jerusalem, a city whose patron was the Theotokos, I believe that its expression in the paintings of the Church of the Saviour at Berestove acquired a new and momentous significance in the context of the restoration of the metropolitan see of Kyiv by Peter Mohyla.

◀ Fig. 28. *Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Triumphal arch. Baptism. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.*  
Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.

▼ Fig. 29. *Church of the Saviour at Berestove. The northern wall of the church and the north-eastern wall of the altar. Top row. Ascension and Descent of the Holy Spirit. Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.*  
Credits: Ivan Krezhenstovskiy.



## Notes

- 1 Плохий 2006, p. 309.
- 2 Логвин 1985, p. 227.
- 3 Берлинский 1820, p. 44, 147; Сементовский 1877; Шмит 1919, p. 36; Лукомский 1923, p. 10.
- 4 Лашкарев 1867, p. 127–138; [Лебединцев П.] 1888, p. 8–11; Петров 1897, p. 72–73; Каргер 1961, p. 374–378.
- 5 Яковенко 2002, p. 321.
- 6 Жиленко 2003, p. 204.
- 7 Логвин 1960, p. 192; Килессо 1975, p. 59.
- 8 Яковенко 2002, p. 321–322; Ševčenko 1984, p. 36–37, fn. 40.
- 9 Завгородній 2001, p. 59–64; Ричка 2005, p. 12.
- 10 Лидов 2009, p. 5–7.
- 11 Guran 2009, p. 35–57.
- 12 Нікітенко 2021, p. 66–67.
- 13 Нікітенко 1994, p. 169–174; Нікітенко 2021, p. 66–67.
- 14 Нікітенко 1994, p. 172–173.
- 15 Акентьев 1995, p. 77–78; Нікітенко 2021, p. 66–67.
- 16 Православный Палестинский сборник 1892, p. 232–233.
- 17 Яковенко 2002, p. 328; Ševčenko 1984, p. 36–37 (fn. 40), 38.
- 18 Яковенко 2002, p. 324 (fn. 96).
- 19 Яковенко 2002, p. 327.
- 20 Нікітенко 2002, p. 158–163.
- 21 Not all researchers agree with dating this inscription to

▼ Fig. 30. Church of the Saviour at Berestove. Vault of the inner narthex. Christ Pantokrator. Deïsis composition (close-up). Fresco of 1643, under 19th-century paintings.  
Credits: Ivan Krezhnevskyi.

the time of Peter Mohyla. An alternative dating was proposed by Oleksii Tolochko: Толочко 2010, p. 4–25. However, I disagree with the arguments he puts forth, since Peter Mohyla perpetuated the memory of saint ‘Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Volodymyr’ in Saint Sophia Cathedral in many other ways.

22 Нікітенко 2022, p. 187.

23 Нікітенко 2022, p. 261–262.

24 Many researchers disagree with such a reconstruction of the portrait of the princely family in Saint Sophia of Kyiv. See, for example, Gleb Ivakin’s article: Івакін 2010, p. 72–73. The fresco was repainted many times over the centuries. At the current stage of research, the issue of reconstructing its original cannot be unequivocally resolved.

25 Нікітенко 2022, p. 257.

26 Молдован 1984, p. 97–98.

27 Чтение о святых мучениках Борисе и Глебе 1916, p. 4 (alternative numbering [33]); Нікітенко 2003, p. 203–205; Москаль 2018, p. 106.

28 Нікітенко 2016, p. 159.

29 Нікітенко 2002, p. 158–163; Нікітенко 2022, 535–538.

30 Кондратюк 2018, p. 135–139.

31 Кондратюк 2012, p. 360.

32 Кондратюк 2012, p. 360.

33 Кондратюк 2018, p. 138–139.

34 Смысл и значение православного богослужения 2011, p. 96.

35 Ричка 2005, p. 101.



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# The Ship of Salvation

## Thematic Transfers in the Rhetoric and Iconography of the Orthodox Church in the Seventeenth Century

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RÉSUMÉ: Partant d'une scène peinte dans le porche de l'église du cimetière monastique de Hurezi (1699), qui représente la Nef de la Chrétienté attaquée par les ennemis de la vraie foi, l'article retrace l'évolution du motif théologique et iconographique de l'Église-Navire et se propose d'identifier les sources probables de la représentation valaque. Dans les écrits patristiques et dans l'iconographie byzantine et médiévale occidentale, ce motif prend des formes spécifiquement confessionnelles (notamment l'arche de saint Pierre ou le bateau de saint Pierre dans le milieu catholique). Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, sur le fond polémique confessionnel catholique-protestant, les artistes commencent à réaliser des images satiriques illustrant allégoriquement les affrontements entre les deux églises par des batailles entre deux navires en mer. Plus particulièrement, ces gravures sont une création du milieu protestant allemand. Alors que la Contre-réforme catholique continue d'utiliser le motif allégorique du navire sillonnant la mer comme image de l'Église catholique triomphante ; le milieu protestant, lui, développe une iconographie de l'Église où cette dernière est assimilée à un navire assiégé en mer par différentes catégories d'ennemis : l'église papale, les hérésiarques, les Juifs, les musulmans, et finalement les personnages infâmes de l'Apocalypse. Imprimées, ces gravures parviennent en Europe de l'Est, dans le grand centre d'impression de la Laure de Petchersk à Kiev, qui se servait de sources visuelles allemandes pour son atelier de lithographie. Les peintres, graveurs et dessinateurs ukrainiens de la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle reprennent ce motif ; ils l'exploitent comme une allégorie de l'Église orthodoxe assiégée ; et ils l'exportent ensuite dans les régions voisines, notamment en Valachie et en Russie. Aussi, au milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le motif rejoindra-t-il les circuits catholiques du monde grec. Dans le milieu du Mont Athos, il sera notamment utilisé par Nicodème l'Hagiorite, qui inclura une illustration du motif dans un recueil de canons, le *Pedalion*, à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

MOTS-CLÉS: Hurezi ; Nef de la Chrétienté ; gravures ; XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle ; Laure de Petchersk.

REZUMAT: Plecând de la o scenă reprezentând *Corabia creștinătății atacată de dușmanii credinței*, pictată în pridvorul bisericii din cimitirul mănăstirii Hurezi (1699), articolul urmărește dezvoltarea temei teologice și iconografice a Bisericii ca Navă și cercetează sursele pentru această reprezentare din biserica amintită. În scrierile patristice și în iconografia bizantină și medievală occidentală, tema ia forme specifice confesionale (*arca Petri* sau *barca Petri*, în mediul catolic). În secolul al XVI-lea, pe fondul conflictului confesional catolico-protestant, polemicile încep să dea naștere unor imagini satirice ale unor lupte între două vase pe mare, ilustrând alegoric înfruntările dintre cele două puncte de vedere. Exprimate plastic prin tehnica gravurii, aceste imagini sunt o creație a mediului protestant german. În timp ce Contrareforma continuă să folosească motivul alegoric al vasului navigând pe mare ca reprezentare a Bisericii Catolice triumfătoare, mediul protestant dezvoltă o iconografie a Bisericii ca navă asediată pe mare de diverse categorii de dușmani: biserica papală, ereziarihi, evrei și musulmani, personaje infame ale Apocalipsei. Tipărituri cu astfel de reprezentări ajung și în estul Europei, inclusiv în mediul Lavrei Pecherska din Kyiv, care folosea surse vizuale germane pentru atelierul său de litografie. Pictorii, gravorii și desenatorii ucraineni din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea preiau acest motiv, îl instrumentalizează ca alegorie a Bisericii Ortodoxe asediate și îl exportă în spațiile învecinate, în Valahia și Rusia. Motivul pătrunde în paralel, tot la jumătatea secolului al XVII-lea, și în lumea grecească, pe canale catolice. Mediul grecesc al Muntelui Athos, prin Nicodim Haghioritul, îl va include ca ilustrație a *Pidalionului* (culegere de canoane), la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea.

MOTS-CLÉS: Hurezi; Corabia creștinătății; gravuri; secolul al XVII-lea; Lavra Pecherska.

### The Fresco Image of the Ship of Salvation at Hurezi Monastery, 1699

The Ship of the Church as an iconographic subject made an object of interest to Romanian scholarship beginning in the 1980s, relative to its depiction in the mural fresco in the porch of the Dormition of the Mother of God in-firmity church at the Hurezi Monastery (1699) (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The painting was investigated in more detail in 2006–2008, within a research project focusing on the inventory of the murals from the period of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (r. 1688–1714) in the county of Vâlcea, by a team

composed of Corina Popa, Ioana Iancovescu, Vlad Bedros, and the author of the present article.<sup>2</sup>

The composition at Hurezi is allegorical. The Church is depicted as a ship sailing on the sea, with Christ standing at the back of the ship, accompanied by an inscription: “Jesus Christ the helmsman of His Church”.<sup>3</sup> At the front, the apostles Peter and Paul are lowering an anchor; monks are rowing, and holy fathers, hierarchs, and martyrs are sitting around an altar table on which lays the Holy Gospel. From the shore, several heresiarchs target the ship with spears and harpoons: Eutychius, Nestorius,



Arius, but also Calvin, together with another character labelled by an inscription as “the Jew murderous of God”. The city of Jerusalem is depicted on the upper left. To the left of the image there is a woman riding a dragon, labelled “Jezebel”, whose setting recalls the Whore of Babylon from the book of Revelations, embodiment of vices and sins (Rev. 17: 4-5). Below, there is a group of four Roman emperors, persecutors of Christians: Maximianus, Julian the Apostate, Diocletian, and Nero.<sup>4</sup> At the bottom, Saints Elijah and Enoch preach the true faith in front of Antichrist. Out of the mouth of Leviathan comes prophet Mohammed, raising his bow to the ship, and to the right there is a man who wears a seventeenth-century *capello romano*. The Ship of the Church was not included

among the iconographic subjects in the Hermeneia of Dionysios of Fourni. Only apocalyptic references concern the manner to depict the verses 11, 3–12 of the Book of Revelation in the Apocalypse cycle.<sup>5</sup>

Professor Corina Popa connected the meaning of the scene to the confessional conflicts of the seventeenth century: the threat to Christianity, respectively to Orthodoxy, was perceived by iconographers in the time of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu from an apocalyptic perspective. She concluded that the Ship of the Church is a theme related to the concerns of the Orthodox Church, threatened by the intensity of Catholic and Calvinist propaganda in the region.<sup>6</sup> The painters used apocryphal and canonical sources, as well as allegorical language



that characterized the polemical literature of the time.<sup>7</sup> According to the author, the role of the monks – the rowers of the Church-ship, in the image – in defending the true faith was particularly emphasized by iconographers in order to offer a theoretical and a practical model of monastic life to the community to which it was dedicated, the Hurezi Monastery.<sup>8</sup>

Ioana Iancovescu, another key member of the Vâlcea project, published a Kyivan satirical drawing with the same subject dating from the mid-eighteenth century in her study on the influence of Ukrainian book engravings on the iconography developed in Wallachia in the times of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (Fig. 2). She concluded that the theme at Hurezi most likely was adopted in

▲ Fig. 1. Hurezi Monastery, the infirmary church, 1699, the porch. *The Ship of the Church*.

Credits: Daniel Constantinescu.

Wallachia from the Ukrainian environment.<sup>9</sup>

I will reexamine the Kyiv connection with the aim to clarify the role of the Kyivan milieu in shaping and disseminating this iconographic motif, which the authors were unable to document in more detail at the time of publishing. I will also bring into discussion Russian examples, which have not been previously analyzed, revealing very close iconographical relations to the image at Hurezi. As a more theoretical discussion, I will revisit the hypotheses pertaining to the polemical context by

- ▼ Fig. 2. *The Attack of the Heretics on the Righteous' Arch*, Ukrainian satirical drawing, Kyiv, 1760s.  
Source: Berezhnaya 2009-2010.
- ▼ Fig. 3. *The Persecution against the Church, mid-17th century, the Church of the Virgin Mary in Trostianets near Yavoriv*.  
Source: Kosiv 2004.
- ▶ Fig. 4. *The Persecution against the Church, second half of the 17th century, the Russian Museum in Sankt Peterburg*.  
Credits: Aleksandr Preobrazhenskii.
- ▲ Fig. 5. *The Persecution against the Church, late 17th or early 18th century, 64 x 92 cm, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow*.  
Source: <https://www.icon-art.info/>.



following the theme from its first apparitions in Christian theology and art to its confessional instrumentalizations and visual transformations through time, up to its adoption via Central-European channels in the Orthodox space.

### Ukrainian and Russian Examples

The first such image preserved from the Orthodox lands is an icon entitled *Гоніння на церкву* 'The Persecution of the Church', from the Church of the Virgin Mary in Trostianets, near Yavoriv, in the Lviv region (Fig. 3). The painting was dated to the mid-seventeenth century<sup>10</sup> and it shows close similarities to the fresco at Hurezi. The main difference is the vertical orientation of the composition instead of horizontal. However, the narratives in the image are the same: a wooden ship with Christ sitting at the top, in the middle there is an altar table with the Gospel and a cross on it, surrounded by holy bishops and martyrs; holy apostles are lowering the anchor, while monks are rowing. From the shore, different heresiarchs are attacking the ship with harpoons: heretic monks, Muslims, Jews, people dressed in Western clothes and wearing cavalier hats. Other enemies in the image are the four Roman persecutor emperors attacking from horseback, The Whore of Babylon / Jezebel riding a dragon and holding a torch, Mohammed aiming his bow from the mouth of Leviathan, and a character dressed in Western clothes aiming a rifle at the ship. To the lower left, saints Elijah and Enoch are preaching the Gospel before Antichrist.

A second painting closely reproducing this iconography is a Russian icon dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, kept today in the Russian Museum in Sankt Petersburg (Fig. 4). All the above-mentioned narratives are in place, with very few variations: Christ holds the first row; the rowers of the ship are holy hierarchs, not monks; and St. Peter joins Elijah and Enoch in the Antichrist scene. Otherwise, the two icons seem to be very closely related. The Russian painting at Sankt Petersburg must have followed a Ukrainian mid-seventeenth century model.

The Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow also has an icon with this subject (64 x 92 cm.) in its collections, dated by the museum curators to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Fig. 5). Its place of origin is unknown, but it was apparently executed in a more conservative environment, showing no influence of the naturalism practiced in Moscow's Kremlin Armory Painting Workshop after 1660. Its composition is almost identical with the mural image at Hurezi, with which it shares the same horizontal setting. All the characters and narratives are similar, with very few variations. Calvin cannot be identified with certainty in the Russian icon as the inscriptions are very poorly preserved, but there are two characters in Western clothing among the heresiarchs that could represent Calvin and Luther. The prophet Mohammed in the Russian icon was replaced with the Ottoman sultan Mohammed. The man near him, who at Hurezi was wearing a *capello romano*, is holding a firearm aimed at the ship in the icon at Tretyakov, probably embodying the Western powers and/or confessions. The title inscription of the icon is suggestive and explanatory: *Образ гонения на церковь Божию*, 'the image of the persecution against the Church of God'.

The subject is found again among the frescoes in the church of St. John the Baptist in Yaroslavl, dated to the early eighteenth century (Fig. 6).<sup>11</sup> The mural follows a

vertical disposition, like the icons in Sankt Petersburg and Trostianets. All the narratives in the image are the same: the heretics, the persecutor emperors, the Whore of Babylon, the attacking Westerner. It contains very few variations: the two saints who preach to Antichrist seem to be Apostles Peter and Paul, not Elijah and Enoch; and the figure aiming at the ship from the mouth of Leviathan does not wear a turban and he may not be Mohammed.

Since the Russian icon at Tretyakov and the fresco at Hurezi were painted around the same time and are almost identical in their iconography and spatial arrangement, it may be assumed that they drew from a common model, which circulated in both countries through engravings, drawings, or icons.

The best possible candidate for the origin of this image is the Kyiv milieu of the Pechersk Lavra, where the largest Orthodox printing house in Eastern Europe at that time was located. Roksolana Kosiv studied the motif of the 'Militant Church' in relation to several such types of images, among which a banner dated to 1718, from St. George Church in Drohobych, depicting Christ surrounded by an army of saints and angels holding shields against the swords of heretic enemies.<sup>12</sup> Another example is an engraving depicting an army of saints<sup>13</sup> on the upper front page of a collection of sermons of Lazar Baranovych, bishop of Chernihiv, printed at the Pechersk Lavra in 1666 and entitled *Mech dukhovnyi* (*The Spiritual Sword*) (Fig. 7a).<sup>14</sup> On the same front page there is also an image of the Church as a ship attacked by enemies (Fig. 7b). The composition at the bottom of the title page is an allegorical illustration of the book's title, the Word of God as a spiritual sword against evil. The allegorical image represents two ships confronting each other on the stormy sea: the ship of the Church, led by Christ, rowed by apostles with swords as oars while being guarded by an archangel, and the ship of the Antichrist, surrounded by his acolytes dressed in Western clothes, also armed with swords. The inscriptions elucidate the spiritual nature of these swords and weapons used in the confrontation: near the Ship of the Church, the inscription reads: "the living Word of God is sharper than any sword" (Hebrews 4: 12); around the ship of Antichrist: "they have sharpened their tongues like a serpent" (Ps. 140: 3 / 139: 3). Excerpts from Psalms are written within and above the image: "Behold, they shall cry with their mouth, and with their swords in their lips; for who hath heard them?" (Ps. 59: 7 / 58: 8) and "Sons of mankind, their teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue is a sharp sword" (Ps. 56: 6 / 57: 4). Above the scene, there is a sword laying horizontally and below it four martyrs with their heads severed, two men and two women: St. John the Baptist, St. Jacob the brother of the Lord, St. Barbara, and St. Catherine. On the sword, an inscription reads: "By the slaying of the sword / they died under the altar for the Word of God". The first part of the inscription is a fragment from Hebrews 11: 37: "They were put to death by stoning; they were sawed in two; *they were killed by the sword*". The second part is a paraphrase of the verse from Revelation 6: 9: "*I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slaughtered because of the Word of God and the testimony they had given.*"<sup>15</sup>

### The Evolution of the Motif of the Ship of the Church in Christian Thought and Iconography

The representation of the Church as a sailing ship has Early Christian origins. Building on the words of 1 Peter 3: 20-21: "In the Ark of Noah, few, that is, eight souls, were



saved by water; the like figure whereunto even baptism shall save you", early Church Fathers interpreted Noah's Ark from Genesis as a foreshadow of the Church. St. Augustine argued that the Ark was made with the proportions of a man's body to prophesize the Incarnation of Christ and that it represented the primary means of salvation—the wood of the Cross and the waters of baptism by which the original sin is washed away.<sup>16</sup> St. Cyprian of Carthage makes a similar case, saying that the one Ark of Noah was a type of the one Church.<sup>17</sup>

Tertullian and St. Augustine also interpreted the episode when Jesus protected the Peter's boat and the apostles on the stormy Sea of Galilee (Matt. 4: 35-41) as an image of the Church amidst tribulations. St. Paul in 1 Timothy 1: 19 uses the same metaphor with regards to how a Christian should navigate temptations, "holding on to faith and a good conscience, which some have rejected and so have suffered shipwreck with regard to the faith". Tertullian evoked the same sailing imagery while referring to the persecutions and temptations that the Church endures in the world: "Others suggest [...] that the apostles then served the turn of baptism when in their little ship, were sprinkled and covered with the waves: that Peter himself also was immersed enough when he walked on the sea. It is, however, as I think, one

▼ Fig. 6. *The Persecution against the Church, early 18th century, the church of St. John the Baptist in Yaroslavl.*  
Credits: Aleksandr Preobrazhenskii.

► Fig. 7a-b. *The Battleship of the Church and the Antichrist, title page of Lazar Baranovych, The Spiritual Sword, Kyiv, 1666.*  
Source: <https://kp.rusneb.ru/>.



thing to be sprinkled or intercepted by the violence of the sea; another thing to be baptized in obedience to the discipline of religion. But that little ship did present a figure of the Church, in that she is disquieted in the sea, that is, in the world, by the waves, that is, by persecutions and temptations; the Lord, through patience, sleeping as it were, until, roused in their last extremities by the prayers of the saints, He checks the world, and restores tranquility to His own'.<sup>18</sup> Augustine reiterated this image in one of his sermons, referring again to the hardships of the temptations and evil: "Meanwhile the boat carrying the disciples – that is, the Church – is rocking and shaking amid the storms of temptations, while the adverse wind rages on. That is to say, its enemy the devil strives to keep the wind from calming down. But greater is he who is persistent on our behalf, for amid the vicissitudes of our life he gives us confidence. [...] Therefore, stay inside the boat and call upon God. When all good advice fails and the rudder is useless and the spread of the sails presents more a danger than an advantage, when all human help and strength have been abandoned, the only recourse left for the sailors is to cry out to God."<sup>19</sup> However, the motif in Christian thought is even older, as it is already present in Clement of Alexandria's *Hymn to the Saviour* (c.190 AD), one of the first examples of Christian poetry which contains a great deal of paleo-Christian symbols. Written at the end of *Pedagogue*, the hymn is addressed to Christ, the Pedagogue, or the Logos, and uses navigation metaphors such as the "unwavering helm of ships."<sup>20</sup>

The image of the Church as a ship was considered so persuasive a typological image in patristic thought that it appeared in the Apostolic Constitutions, dated to 375–380 AD: "When you call an assembly of the Church as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill, charging the deacons as mariners to prepare places for the brethren as for passengers, with all due care and decency. And first, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end, and so it will be like a ship. In the middle let the bishop's throne be placed, and on each side of him let the presbytery sit down; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship."<sup>21</sup>

Another Early Christian author who used navigation metaphors in his writings with regards to the Christian life is St. John Chrysostom. *If Christ is with me, whom shall I fear* is a famous homily delivered by archbishop John Chrysostom to his church in Constantinople just before being sent into exile by the empress Eudocia for refusing to accept her Arian bishops.<sup>22</sup> This homily became so iconic that it was selected for inclusion in the Roman Office of Readings for the feast of St. John Chrysostom on September 13<sup>th</sup>: "The waters have risen, and severe storms are upon us, but we do not fear drowning, for we stand firmly upon a rock. Let the sea rage, it cannot break the rock. Let the waves rise, they cannot sink the boat of Jesus."<sup>23</sup> Thomas Edward Ameringer demonstrated that the sailing comparisons used by the Patristic authors and John Chrysostom in particular were taken from among the rhetoric *topoi* of the Second Sophistic School.<sup>24</sup> John Chrysostom used such comparisons throughout his sermons, likening the Church in times of persecution with a ship ruled by a pilot skilled in battling with the waves.<sup>25</sup> However, the ship metaphor as an image for society or state at large is ancient, going back to Aristophanes<sup>26</sup> and Plato, who in *The Republic* likened

the governance of a city-state to the command of a vessel (Greek: *ναῦς*) by a strong shipowner (i.e. the population at large) but nearly deaf and of impaired vision, whose knowledge of seafaring is lacking. The quarreling sailors are demagogues and politicians, and the ship's navigator, a stargazer, is the philosopher.<sup>27</sup>

In Byzantium, the ancient classical motif of the Ship of the State as a metaphor for the *basileia* takes over and incorporates the Church, on the background of the development of the Byzantine caesaro-papist doctrine with regards to the power relationship between the state and the Church, centered upon the emperor in Constantinople. In the opening of the Quinisext Council in 691, emperor Justinian II was being praised by the assembly of bishops as he whom the divine Wisdom of Christ has entrusted her Church to. Christ, the commander of the celestial ship, has appointed the emperor helmsman and captain.





▲ Fig. 8. Parri Spinelli, copy after the Navicella mosaic of Giotto, c.1420, Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv. 19.76.2 (27.5 x 39 cm).

Source: MetMuseum.

▼ Fig. 9. *Navicula Petri*, from the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* manuscript (c.880–883 AD), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. gr. 510, f. 170r (close-up).

Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/>.

The state ruler, as the divinely guided steersman of humanity, having concern of the spiritual salvation of the Church's flock, navigates to save his subjects from the winds of evil, defending the ship like a captain.<sup>28</sup> In the Middle Byzantine period, this image is used again to emphasize the rule of the state over the Church affairs: "Churches of God, these too being contained within the ship (*σκάφος*) of the universal state, are most assuredly subject to the protection of the ruler."<sup>29</sup>

The allegorical representation of the Church as a ship in visual art is a characteristic of the West, where it went through several stages of development. The *arca Petri* or *barca Petri* as a motif of the Church became common in twelfth-century theological writings.<sup>30</sup> Pope Boniface VIII uses this metaphor to defend the universal subjection of the Christians to the Roman Pontiff in his bull *Unam Sanctam* (November 18, 1302).<sup>31</sup> Its most famous visual representation was the *Navicella*, a large mosaic made in the early fourteenth century by Giotto di Bondone for the Old St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Commissioned by Cardinal Jacopo Gaetani Stefaneschi, member of the curia of Avignon and nephew of Pope Nicholas III, it was executed on the western façade of the entrance portico wall facing the main façade of the basilica and illustrated the version from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 14:24–32) with Christ walking on the water and reaching Peter.<sup>32</sup> The mosaic, still visible in the early 1620s, was in most part destroyed during the construction of the New St. Peter's Basilica complex, but there are several depictions of it in drawings and prints dating from before the reconstruction which testify of its iconography and spatial context<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 8). Wilhelm Paeseler argued that Giotto's mosaic was the replacement of a similar early Christian mosaic representing Christ rescuing St. Peter from the Sea of Galilee that had existed on the gatehouse of Old St. Peter's Basilica Complex either since the pontificate of Damasus (366–385 AD)<sup>34</sup> or of Pope Leo I (after 451 AD),<sup>35</sup> then restored during the time of Pope Gregory IV (827–844)<sup>36</sup> and burned in a fire in 1167.<sup>37</sup> While the evidence for the iconography of this early mosaic is ambiguous,<sup>38</sup> scholars tend to consider Paeseler's identification as correct.<sup>39</sup> The presence of the theme of Peter's rescuing from the Sea of Galilee represented on sixth- and seventh-century pilgrimage ampoules (today in the treasuries of Bobbio and Monza),<sup>40</sup> in the eighth-century





▲ Fig. 10. *Basilica Santi Quattro Coronati, The Ship of the Catholic Church, fragment of mid-fourteenth century fresco.*  
Source: <https://roma-nonpertutti.com/>.



▲ Fig. 11. *Hans von Kulmbach, The Sinking Nave of the Catholic Church, engraving from Josef Grünpeck, Speculum naturalis, coelestis et propheticae visionis, Nürnberg, 1508.*  
Source: Wikimedia Commons.



▲ Fig. 12. *Matthias Gerung, The Ship of the Lutheran Church, 1548, British Museum, London.*  
Source: British Museum.

fresco of the San Saba Monastery in Rome,<sup>41</sup> and among the illustrations of the late ninth-century Byzantine manuscript of the *Homilies* of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (BNF, Paris. gr. 510)<sup>42</sup> points to an early development of this iconographic device (Fig. 9).

Drawing on the motif of *Arca Petri*, a mid-fourteenth century fresco in the basilica of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome—a titular church run by a cardinal—displays the next phase of the allegory of the Ship of the Church. The Catholic Church was represented as a ship in the middle of which sits the Pope crowned with the three-tiered tiara and holding the keys of Heaven, between St. Paul holding a book and St. John rowing (Fig. 10). The Pope depicted with the three-tiered tiara, the symbol of the Supreme Pontiff showing his authority over the three realms, that is, the Church, Heaven, and Earth, is emphasized as the Vicar of Christ. The keys of St. Peter that the Pope holds refer to his quality of Vicar of Peter. The image embodies thus the medieval papal doctrine of *Vicarius Petri* and *Vicarius Christi*.<sup>43</sup>

Such representations as the allegory of the Church ship struggling on a stormy sea became relevant again amid the confessional conflicts between Catholics and Protestants in the sixteenth century. In Germany, the allegory was used as a satire against the Catholic hierarchy, in an engraving by Hans von Kulmbach depicting the ship of the Catholic Church sinking, a woodcut made for the book *Speculum naturalis, coelestis et propheticae visionis* of Joseph Grünpeck, printed in Nürnberg in 1508 (Fig. 11). Stephan Liebfried and Wolfgang Winter suggested that the original source of inspiration for this type of composition may have been an engraving by Albrecht Dürer from his *Cycle of the Apocalypse*, where St. Peter pulls a ship of believers ashore, while the ship of Antichrist is sinking. This engraving was used as an illustration for Sebastian Brant's satirical allegory *The Ship of Fools* published in 1494 (*folio* between cxvi–cxvii).<sup>44</sup> However, other images were “Protestant agitators’ pictures”, that is, propaganda engravings destined to be shared

among people. Some of the first known such representations were produced by the German engraver Matthias Gerung, as part of his set *Apocalypse and Satirical Allegories of the Church*. The set was commissioned by Palatine Count Ottheinrich in 1544, after his conversion to Protestantism in 1542, and was produced until 1558. The engravings were intended as illustrations to Sebastian Meyer's polemical commentary on the Apocalypse, *In Apocalypsi Joannis Apostoli Commentarius* (first published in Latin in Zurich in 1539), translated from Latin into German by Laurentius Agricola in 1544. The series was never completed or published, but a set of 48 illustrations is preserved at British Museum<sup>45</sup> and a manuscript of Agricola's work including 58 woodcuts is kept at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.<sup>46</sup> Two of Gerung's engravings represented the Lutheran Church as a ship threatened by the boats of the infidels and first of all by the Catholic Church,<sup>47</sup> which in other engraving is represented as a shipwreck (1545).<sup>48</sup> In his 1548 engraving (Fig. 12), in the center of the image a ship with Christ preaching to true believers is defended from beasts by Sts Peter and Luke, both standing at the bow, and by Sts Paul and Mark at the stern, while in the center of the ship is the building of a church and the mast. Two angels defend the nave against two dragons at the bow of two other ships from the top corners of the image: the left is sailed by Turks, and the right by Catholic clerics. In the foreground, two shipwrecks are sailed by nonbelievers and Jews respectively.<sup>49</sup>

The Catholic Church continued to represent itself as a sailing ship. The *Piccolomini Breviary*, written for an Augustinian foundation in 1475 in Lombardy, contains an *in-folio* representation of the Ship of the Catholic Church with a crucified Christ attached to a cross-like mast and with St. Peter as the helmsman.<sup>50</sup> A miniature by Hans Mielich from a book of songs of the *Penitential Psalms* on music composed by Orlando di Lasso, made at the behest of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria between 1559 and 1570, has a depiction of the same subject (Fig. 13): Christ blessing sits at the top of the mast of the Church-ship, and the Virgin Mary sits on the sail in a glory of rays. In the clouds, evangelists preach the Gospel under the sound of trombones and angels with the Passion tools hover around. The boat full of people is led by St. Peter, whose figure joining St. Paul is also depicted on the sails, while saint hierarchs and popes are watching from the mast. The ship is attacked from the shore by forces of evil, while boats float around it, some led by apostles and others by demons whose crew is pierced with arrows from the Ship of the Church.<sup>51</sup>

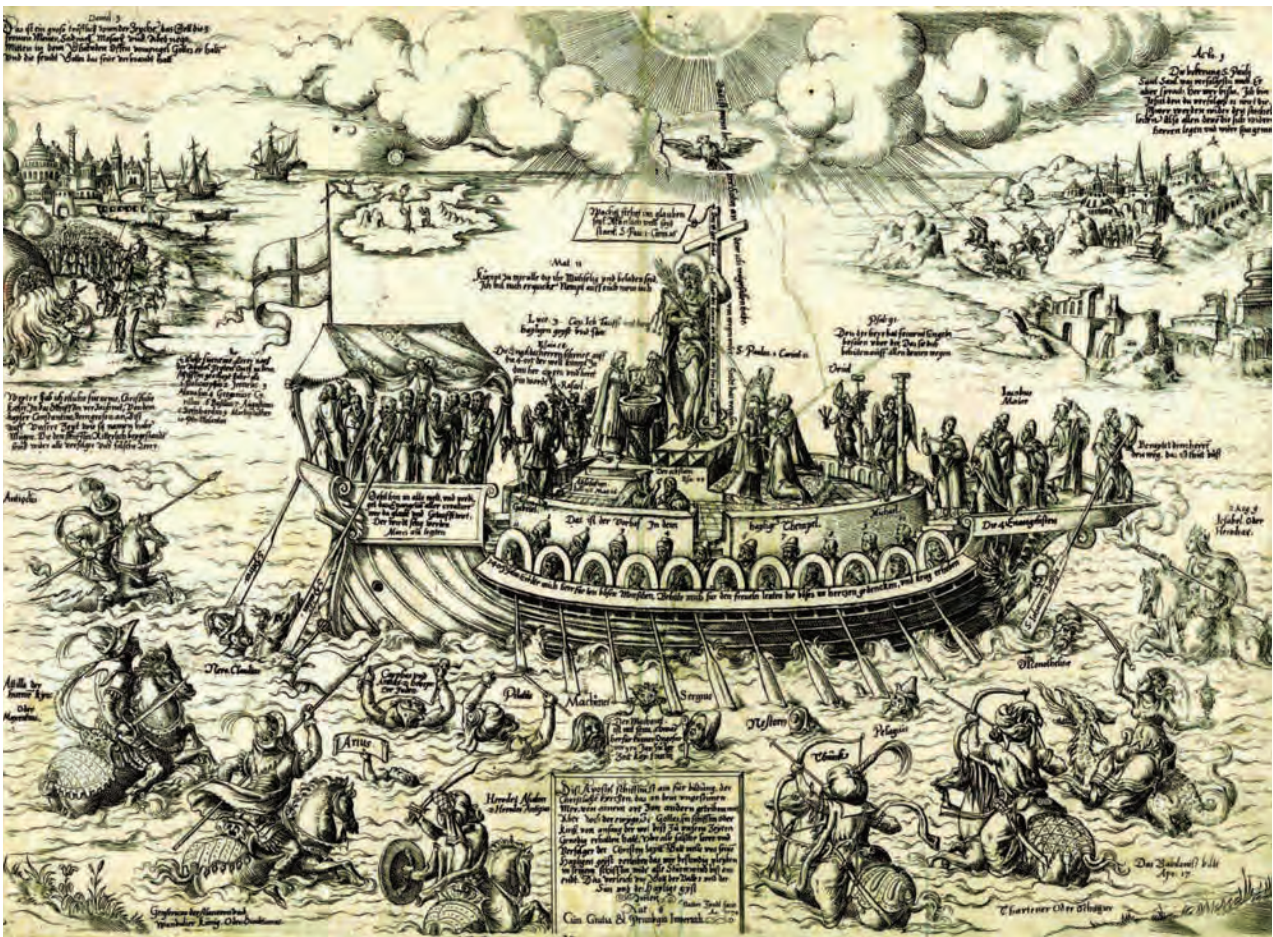


▲ Fig. 13. Hans Mielich, *The Ship of the Catholic Church*, illustration to *Penitential Psalms* by Orlando di Lasso, 1559-1570, Bayerische Landesbibliothek, München, Mus. ms. A II, p. 173. Source: Bayerische Landesbibliothek.

The Catholic Church did not remain outside of this theological battle and joined the fray through polemical allegories of the One True Church. Federico Giannini and Ilaria Baratta presented in a recent article<sup>52</sup> two such paintings, a mural in the church of San Francesco in Mantua and a painting from the parish church of Riva del Garda in Trento (today in the Museo dell'Alto Garda in Riva del Garda, Fig. 14), closely related in their concepts to the miniature of Hans Mielich. They convey the iconography of the complex allegory of *Triumphus Ecclesiae* propaganda image of the Counter-Reformation era of the early seventeenth century. The authors of the study linked the two paintings to the Catholic Church idea of reviving the iconography of the *navicula Petri* by linking it to recent historical events—the war against the Ottoman Empire and the fight against heresies. The paintings celebrated two Catholic successes embodied in the refutation of the Protestant Reformation at the Council of Trent in 1563, and the successful Battle of Lepanto of the Holy League against the Ottoman fleet in 1571.

The Catholic ship scenes emphasized the role of St. Peter in the Church, which enforced the role of the Pope as *Vicarius Petri* and *Vicarius Filii Dei*. Or Luther polemized against this control exercised by Catholic authority

- ♦ Fig. 14. Elia Naurizio, *Allegory of the Church Triumphant*, first half of the seventeenth century, oil on canvas, 192.5 x 282 cm; Riva del Garda, Museo dell'Alto Garda. Source: Giannini, Baratta 2022.
- ▼ Fig. 15. Matthias Zündt, *Diss Apostel schifflein* (1570?), engraving, 298 x 395 mm; British Museum, London. Source: British Museum.



to 'the access to the ship' and to salvation.<sup>53</sup> Protestant Church ships were therefore going to be designed in a different manner.

With the late sixteenth-century engraving by Matthias Zündt (c.1570)<sup>54</sup> (Fig. 15), we come closer to the iconography of the Ukrainian and Russian examples and the image at Hurezi. This is an image drawing from the model of Gerung's engraving, which suffered modification in a Protestant direction. Its title above reads: "This ship of apostles is an exemplar / Christian Church, that is being tossed in the stormy / ocean from place to place, / But the eternal Son of God has mercifully preserved his ship or / Church from the beginning of time until our times. / Against all false teachers and persecutors of Christians God has sent us his Holy Spirit such that we may stay on his wide ship until the / end of time. May this be conferred to us by God the Father, the / Son and the Holy Spirit. / Amen."<sup>55</sup> At the center of the ship are present the characteristics of the [new] church of the 1530 *Confessio Augustana*: Christ holds the cross and invites, according to the inscription, "all ... who are weary and burdened" (Matt. 11:28), which implies the doctrines of *Solus Christus* and *Sola Fide*, with no mediation of a hierarchy.<sup>56</sup> To the left, a priest is baptizing a child. To the right, two priests give the communion to a man and a woman. According to *Confessio Augustana* articles ix and x, baptism and communion are the only holy sacraments of the Lutheran Church.<sup>57</sup> At the back of the ship there is the group of apostles, and at the front, the four evangelists. St. Peter is no longer emphasized as the ship leader.

On its voyage through the stormy sea, the Lutheran Christian ship is threatened by persecutors from the Old Testament like Antiochus Epiphanes, or from the New Testament like Herod and Pilate, by Roman Emperors Claudius and Nero, by pagan tyrants like Attila, and by the contemporary Ottomans; also, by heresiarchs like Arius, Sergius, Nestorius, Pelagius, and prophet Mohammed; and, from the side, by the Whore of Babylon and Jezebel.

### The Polemical Context and the Motif Transmission in the Orthodox Milieus

The closest sources for the iconography of the Ship of the Church in the Ukrainian Orthodox environment seem to come from German engravings of Lutheran confession. They served as a visual source for both the battle scene between the two ships from the cover of the book of Lazar Baranovych, and for the Russian icons and the fresco at Hurezi. The connection between all these Orthodox environments may have been the printing press of the Pechersk Lavra.

Lazar Baranovych (1620–1693) was a Ruthenian Orthodox ecclesiastical and literary figure. In 1650, he became professor and rector of the College in Kyiv founded by Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (Romanian: Petru Movilă). Later in 1657, Baranovych became archbishop of Chernihiv and Novgorod-Severskyi. The two cities, then located in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were annexed to the Tsardom of Russia in 1667. Baranovych, an anti-Catholic, supported the incorporation of the Left-bank Ukraine into the Tsardom of Russia, but at the same time he defended the independence of the Kyiv Metropolitan Seat from the Patriarchate of Moscow. He is the author of several polemical works against Catholicism, in Polish and Church Slavonic.<sup>58</sup> Not much is known about Baranovych's formation, except that he was heavily influenced by the Baroque rhetoric style, in which he



▲ Fig. 16. *The Persecution against the Ship of the Church*, 1789, from the church of the Resurrection of Christ in Puchezh, today in Andrey Rublev Museum, Moscow.

Source: Andrey Rublev Museum.

composed sermons in Slavonic as well as poems in Polish language. *The Spiritual Sword* is written when Baranovych was Archbishop of Chernihiv and rector of the College in Kyiv during the Russo-Polish War (1654–1667). Ihor Ševčenko stressed that the Mohyla College in Kyiv was created on the Jesuit model from the beginning, with classes of poetics and rhetoric teaching elements of literary theory, literary genres, and mythology. The manuals of poetics and rhetoric were written in Latin and Polish with examples drawn from classical writings, Latin Church Fathers like Augustine, and from contemporary Western and Polish authors.<sup>59</sup> The class of dialectic trained students in scholastic disputations and was taught in Latin; king Władysław IV Vasa of Poland, in his charter of 1635, restrained the college the right to teach courses higher than dialectic and logic and forbade theology teaching.<sup>60</sup> While the Cossack treaty of Hadiach in 1658 gave the Mohyla College the same prerogatives and liberties as the Academy in Kraków, it would be the Russian tsar Peter I who would elevate the college to the rank of academy in 1694 and 1701.<sup>61</sup> The collegium's goal, as Ševčenko pointed out, was to absorb the existing Western cultural standards at that time.<sup>62</sup> In a letter of Peter Mohyla to prince Yarema Vyshnevetskyi (Polish: Jeremi Wiśniowiecki), who was in danger of apostatizing from Orthodoxy, the motif of ship and mast appear again, testifying to Mohyla's scholarly education in patristic theology and classical literature in Latin translations: "this venerable cross will be onto your princely grace what the mast was once onto Ulysses (*Ulessesovy*), which protected him upon the Sirens, that is the pleasures of this world".<sup>63</sup>

Lazar Baranovych dedicated *The Spiritual Sword*, 1666, his collection of sermons, to Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich. The illustration on the frontispiece (see fig. 4a-b) depicts a battle between the forces of Orthodoxy and those of Satan. The lower part of the engraving shows two ships at sea, one with the righteous led by Christ and the "hostile ship" which is defeated, carried by the horned Antichrist. Jelena Pogosjan proposed the identification of the Polish king Jan II Kazimierz Vasa as "the hostile enemy" likely alluded to in the engraving and the volume.<sup>64</sup> The identification of the enemy with the Polish Catholic king is not obvious in the engraving, but the visual reference



▲ Fig. 17. *The Persecution against the Ship of the Church*, colored engraving, 18th century.  
Source: Rovinsky 1900–1901.



▼ Fig. 18. *The Persecution against the Ship of the Church*, mid-19th century, Regional Museum in Kursk, 109 x 90 cm.  
Source: Kursk Regional Museum.



▼ Fig. 19. *Christ as the Helmsman of the Church*, in *Nicodemus the Hagiorite, monk Agapios, the Pēdalion*, Leipzig, 1800, engraving before the title page.  
Source: Onassis Library.

to the Russian tsar as the righteous ruler, and of Prince Vladimir the Great as his forefather, present in the second engraving in the book illustrating the genealogical Tree of Aleksey Mikhailovich,<sup>65</sup> may be considered as a complement to Baranovych's argument about the Polish king being the persecutor of the Orthodox, in the view of Liliya Berezhnaya.<sup>66</sup>

Baranovych's book *The Spiritual Sword* has a strong apocalyptic and bellicose component. The author sees the Church's struggle from an eschatological point of view, as a battle with the ship of the acolytes of Antichrist. It might be that this powerful martial imagery in Baranovych's book was motivated by the civil war between the Orthodox and the Catholics at that time on the eastern flank of the Dnieper, where Kyiv and the diocese of Baranovych in Chernihiv were located. Perhaps also the symbolism of the *annus horribilis* 1666 vehiculated by Protestant thinkers relating to Apocalyptic interpretations of an expected destruction of Papal Rome<sup>67</sup> had an impact on Baranovych's thought.

At the same time, the emphasis put on the word as a spiritual sword speaks of the humanistic desire of the bishop to promote education and literacy among his subjects in order to fight against obscurantism and ignorance and prepare proper intellectuals and theologians for the local Church. In the introduction of his book, Baranovych states: "This Spiritual Sword, the Word God, Christ gave to his soldiers, – let the soldiers win. [...] Christ himself had in his mouth a sword, fighting and ruling his Church like a ship, and the disciples of the Lord sailed with nothing but spiritual swords. On the mast of this ship is Christ, the wings of their sails are represented by the Saint Archangel Michael with a sword, saying: 'Who is God?'. Similarly, a rival ship sails opposite, a council of wicked heretics, with 'swords in their lips' (Ps 58: 8 / Ps 59: 7), 'And their tongue—sharp sword' (Ps 56: 6 / Ps 57: 4), but this sword is not that out of which the mouth of Christ comes out, but comes out

of the mouth of their father, the father of lies, the ancient serpent: on the mast is their serpent with his sword. 'They have sharpened their tongues like a serpent' (Ps 139: 3 / Ps 140: 3), but do not be afraid of this serpent's sword, Christ affirms. 'I have given you power to tread serpents and scorpions underfoot, and to trample on all the power of the Enemy' (Lk 10: 19). With the sword of his mouth Christ kills the chief of heresies, who has in the mouth the serpent's sword, which the apostle recalls: 'And then the lawless one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will overthrow with the breath of His mouth and destroy by the splendour of His coming' (2 Thessalonians 2: 8). [...] Lord Jesus is the righteous head of His Church, our righteous God [...] He alone imposes bans on winds and the sea, 'He calms the storm, so that its waves are still' (Ps. 106: 29/ Ps. 107: 29).'<sup>68</sup>

The printers of Pechersk Lavra used German engravings as models for their woodcuts, and the allegorical composition of the Ship of the Church must have been inspired by engravings like that of Matthias Zündt. There are some missing links between the image from Baranovych's book and the iconography of the Ship of Church as we see it in the Ruthenian icon at Trostianets and in the Russian examples followed by the fresco at Hurezi. They all seem to combine elements taken from German Protestant engravings—the presence of the Roman emperors, Jezebel as the Whore of Babylon, Prophet Mohammed—with the apocalyptic figure of the Antichrist from the engraving of Baranovych's book *Spiritual Sword*. The Apocalypse cycle had been very popular in Germany in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries with relation to the millenarist expectations of the end of the world in the year 7000 from the Creation (1492 AD). The cycle remained a frequent subject among the German Lutheran engravers, who emulated the illustrations with an anti-papal stance of Lucas Cranach the Elder (early 1520s).<sup>69</sup> The availability of German engravings helped the Apocalypse cycle permeate the Orthodox space in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>70</sup>

The iconographical synthesis may have taken place not in the Orthodox milieu of the Western parts of Ukraine, but in Kyiv. Paul of Aleppo, Deacon of the Patriarchate of Antioch and companion of the Syrian Patriarch Macarios III Zaim travelling through Southeastern and Eastern Europe, saw in 1654 at St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv such an icon on the great Baroque iconostasis of the church: 'On the left of the icon of Jesus Christ, there is an icon of St. Sophia church, made by a great and very skilled master. The church is depicted with its pilasters

in the middle of the courtyard, and its base all around is like a ship. Above it is the Holy Saviour [Jesus Christ]. The Holy Ghost sends His rays upon it. The Gehenna is depicted in the lower tier, where Satan is, with a big nose and a bow and arrows in his hand. Near him are scores of Persians (i.e. Muslims?) in their turbans and their clothes, aiming their bows and arrows at the church. The group of Frenchmen (i.e. Catholics, or Westerners), with bonnets, [soldier] clothes, rifles and firearms, fire them and attack it (i. e. the church).<sup>71</sup> St. Sophia Church in Kyiv also had a fresco above the northern entrance, depicting a similar image of 'the church of St. Sophia, Christ, the rays of the Holy Spirit which descend over the church, while the Devil and Persians with turbans, arrows, and bows head toward the church, and the French with cannons and their rifles are standing against them (i.e. the churchmen).'<sup>72</sup> Most probably, the Kyivan Orthodox environment further spread the motif to Russia and Wallachia by way of icons or painter drawings in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Calvin's presence in the image at Hurezi may be related to the 1672 synod in Jerusalem of Patriarch Dositeos Nottaras. The Synod of Jerusalem was specifically convened by Patriarch Dositheos to examine the *Confession of Faith* attributed to Cyril Lucaris and condemned as heretical the assertions and the theological notions drawn from the writings of John Calvin. Patriarch Dositeos wrote a book containing his own refutation of Calvinism joining the polemical work against Catholicism by Meletios Syrigos, which he printed in 1690 in Bucharest with the support of Constantin Brâncoveanu.<sup>73</sup> This may have justified Calvin's presence among persecutors in the Hurezi scene, along with the generic 'Western perpetrator'.

While the motif did not generate a multitude of illustrations overall, in the Ukrainian and Russian milieus a second type of iconography appears during the eighteenth century, with the mast in the form of the Cross; on the left side of the composition is the Whore of Babylon sitting on a multiple-headed dragon; also pictured are hostile knights aiming their weapons at the ship. The sinners grouped in the foreground are marked with inscriptions and are clearly identifiable by their clothing. These are the figures of Luther, Calvin, Arius, Muslims, Jews, a Catholic bishop and other schismatics.<sup>74</sup> The iconography appears in the Kyivan 1760s etching *Napad hrishnykiv na kovcheh pravednykiv* ('the Attack of the Sinners on the Ark of the Covenant') (see Fig. 2).<sup>75</sup> It is reiterated in Russian mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century mural paintings (Fig. 16),<sup>76</sup> drawings (Fig. 17),<sup>77</sup> and icons (Fig. 18),<sup>78</sup> proving the constant interest of the Eastern Slavs for such polemical and allegorical images.

### The Diffusion of the Motif in the Greek Church

There is another somewhat parallel adoption example of the Ship of the Church allegory in the Greek environment. In 1653, Paul of Aleppo, the Syrian deacon traveling in Southeastern Europe with Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, was in Constantinople and participated, along with the Patriarch of Antioch, in a synodal meeting at the Ecumenical Patriarchate.<sup>79</sup> Meletios Syrigos, who was the great rhetor of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and whom Paul of Aleppo presented as 'the greatest intellectual of our time, righteous and great defender of the true faith' gave a passionate speech from the ambo of the Patriarchal Church where he pleaded for the cause

of the Orthodox Church alluding to the scandals related to the various struggles for the Patriarchal Seat at that time: "What is this unrest, what is this fear and disturbance in the Church of the Lord?" He was like St. John Chrysostom when he returned from exile: 'The Church of Christ is like a ship in the midst of the sea and its enemies are assaulting it from all directions. And we, its children, are striving from within to drown it'.<sup>80</sup>

Meletios Syrigos was born in Candia, Crete, in c.1586, to a family which generated several Catholic bishops. He received a scholarly education in Candia, Venice, and Padua. Following his scholarly contacts with the Italian Catholic theology, he became a fervent anti-Catholic. Passing as one of the most knowledgeable scholars of his time, he was welcomed in 1630 by Patriarch Cyril I Lucaris to Constantinople and appointed great preacher of the Patriarchate to combat Jesuit proselytism. After the death of Cyril Lucaris, Syrigos, having a rigorous Orthodox orientation, composed a refutation of the *Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith* in 1638—the work of Calvinist inspiration which had been published under the name of Lucaris in 1629 in Geneva. Syrigos spent all his life vigorously combating both Calvinism and Catholicism, for which he suffered moments of exile alternating with periods of rehabilitation.<sup>81</sup>

In the Greek milieu, this seemingly isolated occurrence did not generate any effect in iconography during the seventeenth century. However, the motif made a robust comeback at the end of the eighteenth century. The *Pēdalion* (Greek: Πηδάλιον, helm) was a book of Holy Canons of the Church by Hieromonk Nicodemos the Hagiorite and monk Agapios which received the approve of the Patriarchal Synod in 1791 and was published in Greek in Leipzig in 1800. It included the canons of the Holy Apostles, the Ecumenical Councils, and other local councils of the Church. The title, which translates as 'the Helm', is illustrated by an engraving by a German artist at the beginning of the book representing the apostles on a ship, on which Christ holds the cross-shaped mast (Fig. 19). The legend written below points to the navigation metaphors used by John Chrysostom in his sermons: 'Through this ship is imagined the Church of Christ, whose foundation is the Orthodox faith in the Holy Trinity. The planks and beams are the dogmas and traditions of the Faith, the mast is the Cross, and the sails are Hope and Love. Our Lord Jesus Christ is the helmsman, and the Apostles and their successors are the mariners, and all the clergy, grammarians, notaries, and teachers of all times. The travellers are all Christian Orthodox, and the sea is this life. The winds are the temptations against it, and the gentle breeze and the zephyr are the breath and graces of the Holy Spirit. The helm through which the ship goes to the heavenly harbor is this book of Holy Canons. This is how Godly Chrysostom envisions the Church'.<sup>82</sup>

Nicodemos the Hagiorite had many contacts with Catholic missionaries in the Cyclades Islands and in Asia Minor, where he completed his education. He spoke Italian and French and translated Catholic texts like the sixteenth-century treatise *Il combattimento spirituale* by Lorenzo Scupoli (Venice, 1589).<sup>83</sup>

The two authors of the *Pēdalion* indicate St. John Chrysostom as the source of their Church-ship motif. Paul of Aleppo also made the same comparison with the famous exile sermon of John Chrysostom with regards to the speech of Meletios Syrigos given at the Patriar-

chal Church in Constantinople in 1653. If the inspiration source of all these authors was—as they state—St. John Chrysostom, then the emphasis put on this fragment from his homilies may have been owed to the Catholic cult of the saint, which had this sermon among the readings for the feast of St. John Chrysostom on September 13<sup>th</sup>. The sermon was not included in the Byzantine system of liturgical lectures, nor did it attract attention to any Middle or Late Byzantine author sufficiently to turn it into a literary and iconographic *topos* since, as we saw, Byzantium turned to the classical motif

of the ship of state, i.e. the *basileia*, which incorporated and dissolved the early-Christian motif of the sailing Church. The metaphor from the sermon of St. John Chrysostom comes to the attention of the Greek theologians only in the middle of the seventeenth century, in the context of the confessional debates of the Orthodox with the Catholics and Protestants. The Orthodox authors with a Western scholastic background, both Ruthenian and Greek, recuperated this motif from the Western polemical imagery, converted it into a symbol of the Orthodox Church, and reused it in this rhetorical battle.

## Notes

- 1 Vasiliu 1986, p. 14-15. The Church-Ship scene at the Hurezi infirmary church is also mentioned and commented on by Archimandrite Bartolomeu Anania in his book Anania 1990, p. 254-255.
- 2 Popa, “Bolnița Mănăstirii Hurezi. Pictura,” in Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău, 2008, vol. 1, p. 128-129.
- 3 The inscriptions in original Slavonic language and translation in Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, I, p. 141, cat. 12.
- 4 Corina Popa emphasized that the Roman emperors, persecutors of Christians, may evoke the four knights of the Apocalypse: Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, I, p. 129.
- 5 Rev. 6, 1-8; 11, 3-12; 15, 1; 17, 3-5; Didron 1845 (second part), p. 243, 253, 256-257, 261. Elijah and Enoch are also present in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Cf. Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, *loc. cit.*; Popa 2008, p. 89, and notes 54-55.
- 6 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, *loc. cit.*
- 7 C. Popa proposed a comparison with the engraving illustrating the Romanian translation published at Neamț Monastery in Moldavia in 1844 of the 1800 Greek *Pédalion* that had an engraving with a similar subject but a simpler setting, a much later representation which documents the popularity of this theme with iconographers. Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 128-129 and note 16. The *Pédalion* engraving is discussed *infra* in the present text.
- 8 Popa, Iancovescu, Bedros, Negrău 2008, p. 129.
- 9 Iancovescu 2008, p. 101-116, at p. 113 and fig. 19b.
- 10 Свенцицьца, Откович 1991, p. 64; Kosiv 2004, illustration after p. 354. I thank Dr. Roksolana Kosiv for making her article known to me.
- 11 I am deeply grateful to Dr. Aleksandr Preobrazhenskii from Lomonosov State University in Moscow for making the icon at Sankt Petersburg and the image at Yaroslavl known to me and for the very useful comments made on the draft of this paper.
- 12 Kosiv 2004, illustration after p. 350.
- 13 Kosiv 2004, second illustration page after p. 352.
- 14 Лазар Баранович. Меч духовный или Книга проповеди слова божьего уже соорд жи... Лазар Баранович епископ Черниговским Новгородский и проч. Київ, тип. Лавры, 1666; online, at <https://kp.rusneb.ru/item/reader/mech-duhovnyy-ezhest-glas-bozhiy-ili-kniga-propovedi-slova-bozhego>, p. 2r.
- 15 The translation of the inscriptions belongs to Dr. Mihail-George Hâncu from the Institute of Southeast European Studies, Bucharest, to whom I am deeply grateful.
- 16 St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, Book XII, 14; *idem*, *The City of God*, Book 15, chapt. 26: *That the Ark Which Noah Was Ordered to Make Figures In Every Respect Christ and the Church* (online at <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120115.htm>).
- 17 St. Cyprian of Carthage, *Epistle* 75, 2 (online at <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050675.htm>).
- 18 Tertullian, *On Baptism*, Chapter 12 (online at <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0321.htm>).
- 19 St. Augustine, *Sermon* 75, 4, in Oden 2002, p. 11-12 col.2/1.
- 20 Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* 3.12.101.4, in Van den Hoek

- 1997, p. 571-585, at p. 576, 578, 579 and note 21.
- 21 *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book II, Section 7, *On Assembling in the Church*, LVII: *An Exact Description of a Church and the Clergy, and What Things in Particular Every One is to Do in the Solemn Assemblies of the Clergy and Laity For Religious Worship* (online at <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/07152.htm>).
- 22 *Homilia ante exsilium*, nn. 1-3, PG 52:427-430.
- 23 September 13th, Office of Readings for Wednesday in Ordinary Time, the *Memorial of Saint John Chrysostom, Bishop and Doctor*, second reading (online, at <https://divineoffice.org/0913-or/>).
- 24 Ameringer 1921, chapter VI: *The Comparison*, 4, p. 70. See on the rhetorical sources of John Chrysostom, Hunter 1988, p. 525-531.
- 25 Ameringer 1921, *loc. cit.*
- 26 Aristophanes, *Vespæ*, 29: Sosias says his dream is about the ship of state, *περὶ τῆς πόλεως γὰρ ἔστι τοῦ σκάφους ὅλου* (online at <https://wasps.gr/sfikes.html>).
- 27 Plato, *The Republic*, Book 6, 488a-489d (online, at <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0168%3Abook%3D6&force=y>).
- 28 *Apud* Magdalino 2017, p. 575-598, at p. 583.
- 29 *Vita Basilii*, 32, 1-3, ed. Ševcenko 2011, p. 124-125.
- 30 See, for instance, Arnoldus Bonaevallensis, *Vita prima sancti Bernardi Claraevallis abbatis*, Lib. 2, par. 45, p. 122, line 1225, ed. Verhdeyey, Veire 2011, p. 122: *Solus ex principibus mundi arcam Petri intravit iste Rogerius et, ceteris omnibus enecatis, solus ipse salvabitur*, ‘This Roger alone of the princes of the world entered Peter’s ark, and, after all the others had been slain, he alone would be saved’.
- 31 The text in Latin and English, online at <https://www.geocities.ws/caleb1x/documents/unamsanctam.html>.
- 32 Hauknes 2013, p. 24-25.
- 33 Paeseler 1941, p. 49-162, a medal from 1619 and an engraving from 1620 depicting Old St. Peter and the *Navicella* on the side, fig. 64-65, p. 82; a 1586 situation engraving of the mosaic, fig. 71, p. 91.
- 34 Paeseler 1941, p. 51, 121-133, 159.
- 35 Adams 2018, p. 10-16.
- 36 Duchesne 1981, vol. 2, p. 80-81.
- 37 A mid-twelfth century source describes a mosaic of an ‘image of our Lord Jesus Christ, before whom stood also another most beautiful image of St. Peter out of the same gold’, gravely damaged in a fire during the attack of the troops of Frederick Barbarossa in 1167; Güterbock 1930, p. 203-204; Adams 2018, p. 17-19.
- 38 See above, note 37. See also De Blaauw 1994, vol. 2, p. 640.
- 39 Krautheimer, Corbett, Frazer 1977, vol. 5, p. 269 and note 6; Adams 2018, p. 18-20.
- 40 Paeseler 1941, p. 146 and figs 125 and 126.
- 41 Paeseler 1941, p. 147, fig. 127.
- 42 Paeseler 1941, fig. 128; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082/f353.item>.

- 43 On the doctrine, see more recently Saccenti 2017, p. 189-210.
- 44 Liebfried, Winter 2014, p. 12-14.
- 45 <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionsearch?keyword=Apocalypse&keyword=Satirical&keyword=Allegories&keyword=Church>.
- 46 BSB Cgm 6592, online at <https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00104170&pimage=6&v=100&nav=&l=en>, see p. 257 and 399. See also Roettig 1991.
- 47 BSB Cgm 6592, p. 399; Liebfried, Winter 2014, p. 21-23.
- 48 BSB Cgm 6592, p. 257; Liebfried, Winter 2014, p. 23.
- 49 [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1911-0708-117](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1911-0708-117).
- 50 Morgan Library, ms M.799 fol. 234v; online at <https://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/33/145066>.
- 51 Bayerische Landesbibliothek, Mus. ms. A II, p. 173, online at: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00089636?page=52,53>; Liebfried, Winter 2014, *Ships of Church and State*, p. 31-33.
- 52 Giannini, Baratta 2022, online at <https://www.finestresultarte.info/en/works-and-artists/the-church-ship-a-propaganda-image-of-the-counter-reformation>.
- 53 Luther wrote a treatise in 1520, entitled *Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche/ De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae, praeludium*, where he openly accused the Pope of being the Antichrist (online, at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10981223?page=,1>).
- 54 British Museum No. 1871, 1209.4735; online, at [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1871-1209-4735](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1871-1209-4735); Liebfried, Winter 2014, p. 34-36.
- 55 Original German text and English translation, at Liebfried, Winter 2014, p. 34 note 1.
- 56 Liebfried, Winter 2014, p. 34.
- 57 *The Augsburg Confession*, article ix, *On baptism*; article x, *Of the Lord's Supper*; article xxii, *On both kinds of the sacrament* (online at <https://bookofconcord.org/augsburg-confession/>).
- 58 Lazar Baranovych, *The Spiritual Sword (Mech dukhovnyi)*, Kyiv, 1666; *The Trumpets of Preaching Words (Truby sloves propovidnykh na narochityia dni prazdnikov)*, Kyiv, 1674, and of a poetry collection in Polish, named *Apollo's Lute (Lutnia Apollinowa)*, Kyiv, 1671.
- 59 Ševčenko 1984, p. 9-44, reprinted in Ševčenko 1996, p. 164-184, at p. 168-170, 174.
- 60 Ševčenko 1996, p. 180-181.
- 61 Ševčenko 1996, p. 181.
- 62 Ševčenko 1996.
- 63 *Apud* Ševčenko 1996, p. 174.
- 64 Pogosjan 2004, p. 315-332.
- 65 <https://kp.rusneb.ru/item/reader/mech-duhovnyy-ezhe-est-glas-bozhiy-ili-kniga-propovedi-slova-bozhego>, p. 3r.
- 66 Berezhnaya 2009-2010, p. 309-354, at p. 315.
- 67 Thomas Lupton, *Babylon is fallen*, London 1567, fol. 26r. See Brady 1979, p. 314-336.
- 68 My translation from the original text, online at <http://lito.pys.org.ua/suspil/sus113.htm>. Military imagery and metaphors such as the spiritual sword as defender from sectarian false teachings remained a recurrent theme in the Eastern Slavic Church; see, for instance, Smolin 1910.
- 69 Hartmann 2010.
- 70 Paolicchi 2023.
- 71 Paul of Aleppo 2020, p. 545.
- 72 Paul of Aleppo 2020, p. 540.
- 73 Pargoire 1908, no. 72, p. 265.
- 74 Berezhnaya 2009-2010, p. 315.
- 75 The Ukrainian scholar Pavlo Zholtovskiy found the drawing in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Manuscript Collection, among the so-called *kuzhbushky* (engraving specimens). See Zholtovskiy 1983, p. 31, 36; Iancovescu 2008, p. 113 and fig. 19b; Berezhnaya 2009-2010, p. 315 and fig. 7.
- 76 The scene had been painted in the church of the Resurrection of Christ in Puchezh, a foundation of Catherine the Great with magnificent frescoes painted in 1789 by masters from Yaroslavl. The church was destroyed during the construction of the Gorky Reservoir. It contained a cycle of the Apocalypse in the refectory and other scenes which drew their compositions from the *Piscator Bible*. Several watercolour copies of the frescoes and fragments of the murals are preserved in Andrey Rublev Museum in Moscow.
- 77 An eighteenth-century Russian engraving of the scene can be found in volume 3 of Rovinsky 1900-1901.
- 78 See such an icon in the Kursk Regional Museum, online at <http://kursk-museum.ru/ikona-korabl-very-obraz-goneniya-na-cerkov-bozhiyu/>. Another similar icon (cut in half and only its left part preserved) was on display in the Zurab Tsereteli Art Gallery of the Museum and Exhibition Complex of the Russian Academy of Arts, Moscow, in an exhibition entitled *Ship. Traveling through Time and Image*, opened on Jan. 20, 2015 (<https://museum-ru.livejournal.com/100760.html>).
- 79 Paul of Aleppo 2020, p. 307.
- 80 Paul of Aleppo 2020, p. 307.
- 81 On his life and works, see Pargoire 1908, no. 72, p. 264-280; no. 73, p. 331-340; 1909 no. 74, p. 17-27; no. 76, p. 167-175; no. 78, p. 281-286, no. 79, p. 336-342.
- 82 My translation from Νικόδημος Ἀγιορείτης – Ἀγάπιος, μοναχός. *Εἰς Δόξαν Πατρός... Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς Νηός...*, καὶ Θεῖοι Κανόνες... ἐρμηνευομένοι, παρὰ Ἀγαπίου... καὶ Νικοδήμου..., Τυπογραφία Βρέιτκοπφ καὶ Ἑρτελ, Λειψία, 1800, full-page illustration before the title page; *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηός, τῆς Μίας Αγίας*, 2η εκδ. Ἐν Αθήναις, Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας τοῦ εκδότου Κωνσταντίνου Γκαρπολά, Ἀωμα' 1841, full-page illustration before the title page; cf. *Pidalion sau Cârma Corabiei Soborniceştii și Apostoleştii Biserici a Ortodocșilor ... îndreptate și îndeplinite de protosinghelul Neofit Scriban în tipografia Sfintei Mănăstiri Neamtu de ieromonahul Teofan și monahul Cleopa tipografu*, Neamț Monastery, 1844, full-page illustration after the title page.
- 83 Karaisaridis 2000, p. 171.

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# *The Manufactory of Old French Psalters*

## PART 1

### *The Genetic Stratigraphy Documented by the Erasures of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320*

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**RÉSUMÉ:** Afin d'avancer dans la compréhension des relations intertextuelles entre les psautiers français médiévaux, il était essentiel de revenir à une source fondamentale telle que le Psautier d'Oxford (manuscrit d'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 320). Ainsi, l'une des finalités du présent article est de jeter les bases d'une étude des altérations textuelles (représentées par de très nombreuses érasures) qui rendent compte du procédé rédactionnel et approfondissent la logique intrinsèque de ce manuscrit. L'étude étant de grande envergure, elle est segmentée en plusieurs publications. Dans cette première étape, après une introduction qui analyse les rapports du manuscrit Douce 320 avec d'autres codices de sa famille (e.g., Londres, British Library, Arundel ms 230), les auteurs discutent les érasures liés à la fluctuation de voyelles et diphtongues dans l'orthographe de certains mots. L'analyse du traitement des dentales finales occupe ensuite des sections concernant certaines formes verbales du mode indicatif, subjonctif et participe. Elle se complète par des approfondissements concernant le cas du -e- interconsonantique dans des formes futures et le choix entre -r- et double -rr- dans le futur du verbe *estre*. Encore, les érasures et/ou corrections liés aux dentales ont permis d'aborder la question de la déclinaison, non seulement dans le cas des participes, mais également dans le cas de plusieurs substantifs et adjectifs. L'étude porte ensuite sur des études de cas : l'effacement d'un -n final dans *enfer(n)*, *iur(n)* et *car(n)* ; les hésitations du scribe liés à l'orthographe de la conjonction *car* ; le fréquent remplacement du *q* en *c* dans le mot *quer/cuer* ; le choix parfois hésitant entre les conjonctions *mais* et *acertes* ; ou bien les différents choix pour traduire le suffixe latin -tio. Une parenthèse ouverte sur certains ajouts et/ou corrections suggère la possibilité que le manuscrit Douce 320 pourrait ne pas être une traduction autographe du Psautier de St. Albans (ms Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1) ; et que le scribe se serait plutôt servi d'une source latine avec une glose vernaculaire interlinéaire. Cette piste semble également confirmée par l'emploi du tiret bas, que le scribe utilise pour compenser des probables fautes de transcription. Mais elle est surtout soutenue dans la section où les auteurs s'arrêtent sur quelques « longues érasures », à savoir des unités de transcription dont l'émendation paraît liée à la structure et à l'interconnexion textuelle d'une source présentant à la fois latin et glose interlinéaire. En conclusion de cette partie, après avoir présenté, à titre comparatif, des exemples tirés du Psautier de Winchester et du Psautier d'Arundel, les auteurs proposent la reconstruction d'un segment textuel qui pourrait se rapprocher de la source du manuscrit Douce 320. L'article se termine par une comparaison avec les précédents veils-anglais et une transcription des fragments de Maidstone, Centre d'histoire et bibliothèque de Kent, Fa/Z1 (fragment Faversham 1). La continuation de la publication est prévue pour le prochain numéro *Museikon*.

**MOTS-CLÉS:** paléographie; critique textuelle; traductologie; Psalms; linguistique.

**REZUMAT:** Pentru a înțelege mai bine relațiile intertextuale dintre psaltirile franceze medievale, întocmirea la o sursă fundamentală precum Psaltirea de la Oxford (manuscrisul Oxford, Biblioteca Bodleiană, Douce 320) este esențială. Astfel, unul dintre scopurile acestui articol este cel de a pune bazele unui studiu al modificărilor de natură textuală reprezentate de numeroase ștersături care reflectă procesul de redactare și spun povestea acestui manuscris. Deoarece studiul este de amploare, a fost necesară segmentarea lui în mai multe publicații. În această primă etapă, după o introducere care analizează relațiile manuscrisului Douce 320 cu alte manuscrise din fami-

◀ *Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 39r.* Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

lia sa (de exemplu, Londra, British Library, Arundel ms 230), autorii discută ștersăturile legate de fluctuația vocalelor și diftongilor în ortografia anumitor cuvinte. Analiza tratamentului dentalelor finale ocupă apoi secțiuni referitoare la anumite forme verbale ale modurilor indicativ, conjunctiv și participiu. Acestea sunt completate de studii privind ștergerea unui *-e-* interconsonantic în formele de viitor și oscilarea între *-r-* și dublu *-rr-* în formele de viitor ale verbului *estre*. În cele ce urmează, ștersăturile și/sau corecturile legate de dentale permit de asemenea să fie abordată problema declinării, nu numai în cazul participiilor, ci și a mai multor substantive și adjective. Cercetarea se concentrează apoi pe studii de caz: ștergerea unui *-n* final în *enfer(n)*, *iur(n)* și *car(n)*; ezitățile scribului legate de ortografia conjuncției *car*; înlocuirea frecventă a lui *q* cu *c* în cuvântul *quer/cuer*; ezitarea între folosirea conjuncției *mais* sau a conjuncției *acertes*; precum și multiplele opțiuni de a traduce sufixul latin *-tio*. O paranteză deschisă cu privire la anumite adăugiri și/sau corecturi sugerează posibilitatea ca manuscrisul Douce 320 să nu fie o traducere autografă a Psaltirii St. Albans (păstrată la Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St. Godehard 1). Scribul ar fi folosit mai degrabă o sursă latină cu o glosă vernaculară interliniară. Această deducție pare să fie confirmată și de utilizarea unei liniuțe de unire, pe care copistul o folosește pentru a compensa erori probabile de transcriere. Ipoteza aceasta este susținută mai ales de cercetarea asupra câtorva „ștersături lungi”. Ele par a privi unități de transcriere a căror modificare este legată de structura și interconectarea textuală cu o sursă care prezintă atât un text latin, cât și o glosă interliniară. În încheierea acestei părți, după ce au prezentat, spre comparație, exemple preluate din Psaltirea Winchester și Psaltirea Arundel, autorii propun reconstituirea unui segment de text care ar putea fi mai aproape de sursa manuscrisului Douce 320. Articolul se încheie cu o comparație cu precedentele în limba engleză veche și cu o transcriere a fragmentelor de la Maidstone, Centrul și Biblioteca de Istorie Kent, Fa/Z1 (fragmentul Faversham 1). Continuarea cercetării este prevăzută pentru următorul număr al revistei *Museikon*.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: paleografie; critică de text; traductologie; Psalmi; lingvistică.

## FOREWORD (VA, AC)

In an analysis of Peshitta's Syriac rendition of the book of Jeremiah, Greenberg investigated how scribes modified the text of the original translation. It became evident that features characterising translation technique often indicate revisional activity too (Greenberg 2002: 126–142). In other words, when a sacred text went through a 'di-orthosis' process, alterations were usually inserted in a coherent manner, that is, reviewers and rewriters inserted them according to a certain logic. This is what the authors of the present paper intend to examine in studying the filiation between the earliest Old French Psalters, with special attention to the particular case of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

Psalters written in the Anglo-Norman dialect in the 12th century and their copies or adaptations from the 13th and 14th centuries form an odd category of texts, the dynamics (and mechanics) of which have not been properly explored. There are monolingual manuscripts, bilingual manuscripts on double columns presenting the Latin and vernacular texts as individual units aligned to the verse, there are interlinear glosses in Latin manuscripts, and many other arrangements. Some of these Old French psalters written in Anglo-Norman dialect are related; some of them are not. It is hard to explain their filiation, since no proper analysis of the manner in which the text evolved has been made. Partly influenced by philological Bédierism, scholars focused on one manuscript more than others and often came up with incompletely justified conclusions.

Some believe that the first text of the group must have been a psalter with an interlinear translation. It is an old idea, allegedly superseded by new research, but—as the current experimental paper will show—it is not an idea to be dismissed. The most interesting candidate for a source has always been the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel ms 230, 12th century), given its strong textual links with the other texts (*vide infra*). Others argued that the prototype of the translation was the only monolingual psalter of the lot—Oxford Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, also dated to the middle of the 12th century). Douce's links with the Latin Psalter of St Albans (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1), its alleged source, would confirm that Oxford Psalter was the first in the series. In all these instances, neverthe-

less, the perspective is misleading; each time we query the corpus, it gives different results. Since the texts are unstable and shape-shifting, it is our opinion that the relationships between them must be analysed to the letter (and to the erasure).

One thing is certain: most translations are linked in one way or another to Douce ms 320, a manuscript that was the focus of many linguistic studies at the end of the 19th century, at a time when the history of the Old French language was still in an exploratory stage. See e.g., Brachet 1870 on accentuation; Meister 1877 on conjugation and declension (cf. the review of Koschwitz 1878); Cornu 1878 for conjugation; Harseim 1879 on vocalism and consonantism; Varnhagen 1879 for the Old French rendering of Latin *c* (cf. the reply of Cornu 1881b); Faulde 1880 on geminated consonants; Cornu 1881a on matters related to verbal forms; Lincke 1886 on accentuation; etc. To this, it is possible to add various comparative studies with other vernacular texts, such as Berger 1884: 1–34 (cf. the reviews of Meyer 1888: 122–124, Suchier 1884: 416–429); Förster 1914; etc.

Currently there is no way of knowing if the Psalm section of Douce ms 320 was the very first codex of its group, but it is one of the oldest manuscripts preserved today. Arundel ms 230 seems to be part of the same textual tradition, yet it goes into realms of functional equivalence, towards a different aesthetic of translation, as if it were a manuscript that stood alone in the middle of the entire textual tradition. As of now, we present only these two manuscripts, with others to follow at a later stage of the paper or in future instalments.

Douce ms 320 is a monolingual Old French codex, dating from the 12th century and produced somewhere in England. It was located in the Benedictine abbey of Montebourg (Normandy) at the beginning of the 14th century. There, it was bound in a single volume with an Old French translation of the Rule of Saint Benedict, dated to the first half of the 13th century. This is why old bibliographical references refer to it as the 'Psalter of Montebourg'. The

► Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 37r.

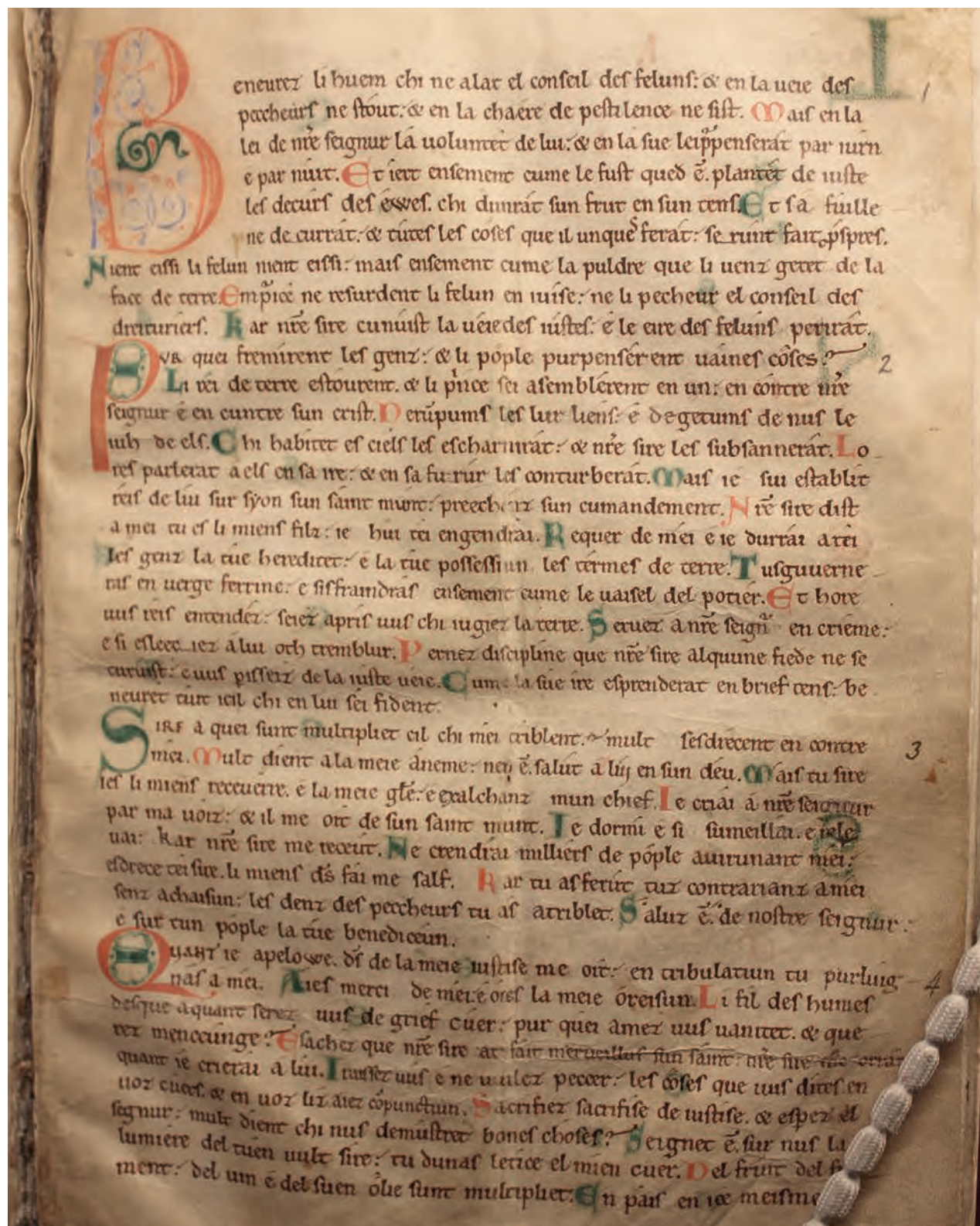
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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manuscript's folios are approximately 29 x 20 cm, the text is transcribed in a single column. It has forty lines per page, with initials and majuscules written in red or green, used alternately. This second part of the Douce manuscript contains the translation of the 150 Psalms based on Gallicanum, followed by the Canticles. The translation is written in prose, contrary to the custom of early Anglo-Norman biblical texts, which are often written as adaptations in verse. The text was edited first by Michel 1860

and more recently by Short 2015. We concur with the palaeographic analysis of Short, Careri, Ruby 2010 in the matter that the translation of the Psalms in Douce ms 320 does not show signs of being the work of more than one scribe. Variations in character width are the result of the scribe's attempt to fit more letters in the tight space left available by certain erasures; no sign of different ducti can be found throughout this copy of the Psalms.

Occasional claims have been made that the version of

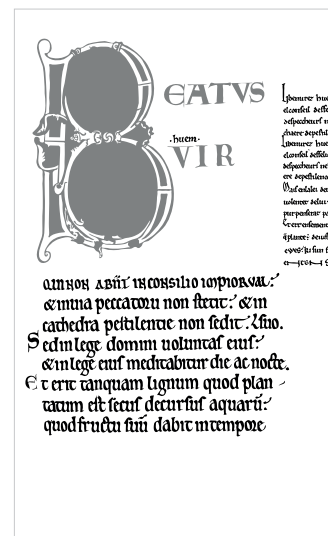


- Two folios from the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1): the prologue of the Song of St Alexis, a seminal text at the beginning of Old French literature (p. 57), and the Canticle of Isaiah at the end of the Psalter (p. 372).

Source <https://www.albani-psalter.de/>.

- Drawing of the marginal transcription (without the modern text) in London, Bodleian Library, Arundel MS 230, f. 9r.

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Douce ms 320 could be derived from a now lost bilingual psalter, despite its antiquity when compared with the other psalters of its group. All this changed a decade ago, when Short, Careri, Ruby 2010 proposed a different interpretation. They argued that the text of Douce could be the original autograph of the Old French translation and that the other witnesses (all bilingual), could be derived from it. In their opinion, Douce would be translated from a distinct Gallicanum, the one preserved in the already-mentioned St Albans Psalter. This famous codex, contains not only the Psalms, but also one of the oldest version of the Old French *Song of Saint Alexis*, the vernacular text being copied after a cycle of images. To avoid the twists and turns of various interpretations, we mention only fundamental notions, notably the fact that this codex was probably composed for a certain Christine of Markyate, a recluse whose life would have several points in common with the story of saint Alexis. Certain researchers argue that the manuscript could be linked to the evangelical conversion of Christine. Others consider that the quire comprising the *Song of Saint Alexis* was produced separately, in a different devotional context, before being included in the final structure of that Latin psalter (e.g., Gnädinger 1972, 24–28; cf. Matthew 2008; Gerry 2009: 600; Gerry 2013, 81; for the recluse and her links with the St Albans Psalter, see also Geddes 2005).

The conjecture that the Oxford Psalter and the St Albans Psalter could be related is to many scholars' liking, since it establishes a relationship between two texts (and two manuscripts) which greatly influenced the onset of Anglo-Norman translations (or French literature in general). This led to speculations about the uses of Douce ms 320, especially in connection with Christina of Markyate.

The key argument of Short, Careri, Ruby 2010 is an oral observation made by R. Thompson. He noticed that the hand of scribe B from the St Albans Psalter, dated 1130–1160, closely resembles that of the copyist who transcribed the French translation of the Psalms in Douce ms 320. It was from this palaeographic observation that the three scholars set out to search other common points between the two codices. According to them, St Albans Psalter's Gallicanum would preserve a Latin text with contaminations from Romanum. By comparing specific *lectiones* from it with the translation from Douce ms 320, they argued that the translation from the latter could be based on the Latin Gallicanum of the former. There are no mentions, however, of why the features identified in

St Albans Psalter are specific to this manuscript and not to any other psalters of the same area or timeframe. The relevance of the comparison rests entirely on palaeographic arguments.

In the publication, they mention few cases of variation or discrepancy. Such an exception occurs in the translation of Ps 136:9. St Albans Psalter follows Romanum in that verse, while the Old French translation is modelled on Gallicanum. Another one appears in the translation of Ps 118:69. There, Douce ms 320 renders a term which is erased in St Albans Psalter (found in Romanum). Short, Careri, Ruby 2010: 36 explain these exceptions as 'memory-triggered mechanisms or individual initiatives on the part of the scribe of the Saint Albans Psalter or the Oxford Psalter' (*mécanismes de type mémoriel ou des initiatives individuelles de la part du copiste du Saint Albans ou de l'Oxford*). They do not analyse them further and focus on the divisions of longer Psalms in two or more textual units. It appears that these internal divisions would correspond to those of St Albans Psalter, but it is not explained why the comparison with this particular manuscript is relevant in aspects which both the Latin manuscript and the vernacular translation probably share with an extensive number of codices from the same period. Indeed, as the three scholars suggest, perhaps this can be linked to a Benedictine liturgical tradition, but the fact that the two manuscripts (and texts) are monastic in origin does not link them in a direct manner. In the remainder of the paper, further similitudes are identified in the sizes of initials, but these initials do not always correspond from one manuscript to the other. In concluding their study, it is argued 'that it is not excluded, or rather that it is highly probable, [...] that the Anglo-Norman psalter [i.e., Douce ms 320] was translated directly from the Psalter of St Albans' (*qu'il n'est pas exclu, ou plutôt qu'il est hautement vraisemblable, [...] que le psautier anglo-normand a été traduit directement sur le Psautier de Saint Albans*; Short, Careri, Ruby 2010: 40). This conclusion sets the stage for a reconstruction of the social and cultural context in which Douce ms 320 would have been produced.

Arundel ms 320 is not the chief interest of their paper, nor of the edition of Douce ms 230 by Short 2015. However, this manuscript represents the most interesting example in the category of Old French interlinear gloss translations of the Psalms and can be just as well a candidate for the source of the Oxford Psalter manuscript tra-

dition. Arundel dates to the middle of the 12th century (cf. Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 68; for previous editions of Arundel ms 230, see Beyer 1887 and Beyer 1888). Arundel's French gloss, in small letters, occupies the interline of a Gallicanum in large characters (f. 7r–161v). In most cases, this vernacular interlinear gloss seems to be subservient to the Douce ms 320 translation choices, but the relationship between the two is still unclear. It is often implied that 'only the order of the words has changed [in Arundel ms 230], which is not surprising, because [t]here the French is copied word for word, in the form of glosses, unlike all the previous psalters' (Ruby 2010, 183). Last but not least, it was argued that the Psalms could have been written at the Benedictine abbey of SS Peter, Paul and Andrew in Peterborough, whereas the calendar that precedes them could be that of a Benedictine abbey at Crowland (Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 69).

Indeed, nobody can deny that such conclusions can be drawn, but the matter is complex. The Arundel manuscript presents a series of curious elements. We will leave aside the fact that the gloss is preceded by a prologue in six hexasyllables taken from a much later text, the First French Metrical Psalter (cf. Meyer 1866, who identified the source), and the fact that the gloss of f. 7r–8v was transcribed by a modern hand, without trace of erasure (cf. Rector 2010: note 76, who believed that the initial text could be lost "due to either fading or erasure;" the modern hand transcribes an Anglo-Norman text, dated to the 17th century by Careri, Ruby, Short 2011; cf. Michel 1860: xvi, who sees it as more recent). Instead, we will briefly concentrate on a matter already analysed in Agrigoroaei 2016, 44–46 (cf. Rector 2010, for a different interpretation). Well before the beginning of the medieval gloss, starting at the end of f. 8v, one notices a tentative transcription of the vernacular gloss in the margin of the Latin text, not between its lines. This happens on the first folio of the first Psalm (f. 7r), the margin of which is now cropped. The gloss was possibly transcribed at a time when the quires had not yet been bound together, that is, when the margin of the folio was a few centimetres thicker. The French scribe copied the translation of the first verse of the first psalm twice, making an eye-skip, although he had already written *huem* above *vir* on the same leaf, as if tempted to transcribe an independent text and not an interlinear one. Here is the transcription of the text in the margins to the right:

*Li benurez huem [...]  
el conseil des felun[...]  
des pecheurs nest[...]  
chaere de pestilence [...]  
Li benurez huem [...]  
el conseil des feluns. [...]  
des peccheurs ne stu[...]  
ere de pestilence n[...]  
Mais en la lei de nostre[...]  
uolentet de lui ; et e[...]  
purpenserat par iu[...]  
Et ert ensement cu[...]  
que plante est ; deiuste l[...]  
ewes ; ki sun fru[...]  
en tens.*

It corresponds to the version of Douce ms 320, f. 37r (cf. the editions of Short 2015, 43; Michel 1860, 1), but the first three words and several other words from the third verse appear in a rather different order:

*Beneurez li huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns ; et en la ueie des peccheurs ne stout ; et en la chaere de pestilence ne sist .  
Mais en la lei de nostre seignur lá uoluntét de lui ; et en la*

*sue lei purpenserát par iúrn é par núit .*

*Et iert ensement cume le fust queð est . plantét de iuste les decurs des ewes . chi dunrát sun frut en sun tens .*

This eye-skip gives the impression that Arundel ms 230 is based on a previous text. That text was adapted, but it cannot be the text of Douce ms 320. The source copied by the Arundel scribe was slightly different. This is confirmed by the fact that the scribe does not change the word order in the second part of the eye skip repetition: *li benurez huem* appears twice with the same word order, as opposed to *beneurez li huem* in Douce ms 320.

This does not mean that Arundel ms 230 is not related to Douce ms 320. The different readings can be due to the emendations of scribes. As a result, Short, Careri, Ruby 2010: 39 can also be right in their assumption that the possible Latin source from which the Old French Psalter tradition stems could be related to the Latin versions of Cotton ms Nero C iv and Arundel ms 230 of the British Library. Therefore, another hypothesis must be taken into account: that Arundel is the witness of an original development of (French) biblical translations though being composed of words that match the Latin ones and following the syntax of Latin verses. Douce ms 320 can be a reworking of a primary version, not necessarily that of Arundel ms 230. This hypothesis was first formulated (albeit only in part) by Herman 1954: 75, who followed in the footsteps of Franzén 1939 (cf. Nordahl 1972, who followed Herman 1954). It was certainly a possibility for Beyer 1887: 517, and it is not completely excluded by Pignatelli 2015, 35, note 1 (cf. Pignatelli 2009; Pignatelli, Lavrentiev 2013).

The Latin text of Arundel is often close to Romanum, and the French gloss is based on a Latin text which contained a slightly different text from Gallicanum. The close reliance on Latin syntax in Arundel appears to be significantly greater than the one we find in other texts of the same period. The only downside of these analyses is that they evaluate the vernacular rendering in terms of good or bad—that is, in terms of the 'superiority' of Arundel ms 230 (based on its respect for the Latin source), or its 'inferiority' in comparison to the fluidity of the vernacular text in Douce ms 320.

We believe that the maze of Anglo-Norman psalters should be analysed via in-depth analyses of each essential manuscript. All phenomena related to translation, rewriting, or copying should be properly listed, so that each individual research can take a step further in the direction of a general comprehensive explanation for the filiation links in the entire group. The current analysis is conducted on the erasures of Douce ms 320, as a continuation of ideas already presented in Agrigoroaei 2016: 26–29, and in other articles by the same author. A research mission of the two authors (Chapel and Agrigoroaei) at the Bodleian Library in July 2023 allowed them to note down all indisputable erasures in the Psalm section of the manuscript, leading to subsequent classifications suggesting that the conclusions reached by Sneddon 1978, though neglected by many scholars, could be correct. The reason for such negligence might be due to the unavailability of the results of the extensive research of Sneddon 1972. This publication (a B.Litt. diss.) became available online as a scanned copy only in recent years. Initially, our research was independent of this publication, but when it could be confronted with it, it became evident that it was heading towards similar conclusions. It is therefore copiously quoted in the following pages, to acknowledge its value, especially since it is the only study that focused on the erasures of Douce ms 320.

We chose to ignore (for safety reasons) the segments of the folio where porosity could be due not only to erasures, but also to the fact that the second part of the manuscript circulated independently for a certain time, being folded twice (see the photo on the facing page). The words or passages quoted from Douce MS 320 are presented in semi-diplomatic transcription (with abbreviations expanded silently). The *punctus* is transcribed as a full stop preceded by a non-breaking space. The *punctus elevatus* is transcribed as a semicolon preceded by a non-breaking space. The rare uses of *punctus interrogativus* are transcribed as question marks preceded by non-breaking spaces. The colour red marks the extent of the erasures (either entire words and phrases; or just letters in a given word); and essential graphemes or endings, for better identification. Accents are transcribed as they appear in the manuscript. In many situations where the accent was placed above a consonant or close to one, the comparison with similar instances in the remaining part of the Psalm translation suggests that it should be placed on a nearby vowel. In the rare and ambiguous situation of intervocalic consonants carrying accents, our temporary choice is to present the accent above said consonant, as it appears in the manuscript.

The selection criteria for the list of “selected scribal corrections” published by Short 2015: 147–149 are unclear, as the list does not include examples from many categories of erasures that our own research considers of utmost importance. The list is very selective, to the point that it provides an incomplete picture of the reality in the manuscript. Preference seems to be given to certain categories, and the bulk of the corpus of extensive erasures is not taken into account. In several instances, the editor considered that only one or several letters were erased in examples where erasures cover entire words. Since these divergences between the picture painted by Short 2015 and the reality found by us cannot be evidenced via a simple compilation of a table or list of erasures in the manuscript, and since the facts relevant to the case need to be substantiated thoroughly, we present and illustrate our own interpretation in a manner which might often seem redundant. This redundancy is a guarantee against data manipulation. It provides readers with direct access to an extensive segment of our raw data, enabling them to verify whether or not interpretations are correct, and allows them to form their own clarifications. For the same reasons, every now and then our inventory will provide lists of spellings of certain words in the remainder of the Psalm translation, spellings that are not written on erasures, but which are essential for a statistical approach to the idiosyncrasies of the scribe, to be presented in the second instalment of this paper. In certain sections, these lists of a comparative nature can be used to study the scribe’s particular patterns and conventions that help him differentiate between homograph verbal forms or other ambiguous situations. No in-depth linguistic analysis is provided at this stage of the analysis. A thorough linguistic study will be included in the second instalment of this paper, at the end of the analysis of the erasures of Douce MS 320. The study of the erasures is accompanied by photos that testify to the validity of the reconstructions, to provide a stable basis for a general evolution chart of the scribe’s idiosyncrasies that will be presented at the end. As a result, research can be presented only in stages, thus the choice for a long publication, in several instalments. The authors thank the Imaging Services of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, for the permission to illustrate their research with an extensive number of images.

The first instalment of this paper deals only with some

aspects of the extensive analysis, chief among which are: (1) the scribe’s inconsistency in spelling vowels and his use of digraphs; (2) the issue of final dentals erased and/or corrected in verbal and nominal forms, linked to the related problem of (3) *enfer(n)*, *iur(n)*, and *car(n)*; (4) the spelling of *kar / quar / ker*; (5) the transformation of *quer* into *cuer*; (6) the complex relationship between *mais* and *acertes*; (7) a series of hesitant renderings of Latin *-tio*; (8) odd additions and corrections suggesting that the Douce scribe was copying from (and adapting) a source; (9) the use of certain low dashes, pointing in the same direction; and (10) the issue of extensive erasures that seem to correspond to copy units made up of interlinear glosses based on the Latin lines of a source. To this, (11) a comparison with the filiation of Old English psalters was added, since it can explain the complex relationship of Arundel, Douce, and other manuscripts. Finally, (12) a transcription of the Maidstone fragments was also added, since it will be used for translational analyses in the next instalments of the paper.

Speaking of these instalments, the next one will be finalised at the end of 2024, to be published in this same journal. It will analyse erasures (with or without correction on top of them) that concern other phonetical issues, issues related to conjugation, to the declension of nouns and adjectives, or determinative articles. A large survey will concern the scribe’s treatment of personal pronouns, possessive adjectives, and pronouns, as well as demonstrative adjectives and pronouns. Several other categories will be explored as well: adverbs (e.g., *ne*) and prepositions (e.g., *a*, *de*, *en*) followed by a noun, an article or a pronoun, and our analysis will reach the issue of prefixes, thus entering the lexical realm proper. Many terms (especially nouns and adverbs) have been corrected or replaced by the scribe during his revision process (e.g., body parts or musical instruments). Last but not least, there are syntagmatic units that need to be taken into account; other low dashes, made for different reasons; the blank spaces left by the scribe before, after, and in between words (that he filled in later); other categories of extensive erasures, also made for different reasons; and the issue of accentuation (cf. Careri, Lacanale 2015: 43). Only then can the links between Douce MS 320 and Arundel MS 230 be determined. The double folding of the Psalm section of the Douce manuscript is another topic worth investigating, as it can be related to the physical circulation of this vernacular copy of the Psalms, perhaps even to the fact that many bilingual psalters of the 12th century seem to be based on it.

We do not yet discuss the comparison of the Orne fragments with the Douce MS 320 tradition (see e.g., Le Hir 1961; cf. the edition and study of Samaran 1929 for the hypothesis that Orne and Douce are unrelated); nor the conjecture that the Old French gloss of Eadwine Psalter could be a rewriting of Douce MS 320 (cf. Förster 1914: 12–14; for the contrary, see Agrigoroaei 2023; for an edition of the text of the Eadwine Psalter, see Markey 1989). They should be discussed as separate issues. Analysis into the translation or adaptation techniques of other psalters, either related (e.g., Maidstone fragments) or unrelated (e.g., Orne fragments or Eadwine Psalter) will contribute to a better picture of the evolution of Anglo-Norman psalters.

► Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 37v (erasures marked in yellow in this drawing).

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**B**eneurez li huem chi ne alar el conseil des feluns: & en la uie des pecheurs ne stour: & en la chaere de pestilence ne sist. **M**ais en la lei de nre seignur la uolunté de lui: & en la sue leippenferat par iurn e par nuit. **E**t iert ensemblement cume le fust qued e planté de iuste les decurs des esves. chi duntat sun fruct en sun tens. **E**t sa fuille ne de currat: & tutes les coses que il unque ferat: se runt fait pspres.

**N**ient eissi li felun nient eissi: mais ensemblement cume la puldre que li uent gete de la face de terre. **E**mpice ne resurden li felun en uise: ne li pecheur el conseil des drecuriers. **K**ar nre sire cunvint la uie des iustes: e le eue des feluns perirat.

**D**es quei fremirent les gentz: & li poeple purpenserent uaines coses. **L**i rei de terre estourent: & li pnce se assemblerent en un: en contre nre seignur e en cuntre sun crist. **D**erupunt les lux liens: e de getunt de nus le uis de els. **C**hi habiter es ciels les escharnerat: & nre sire les subannerat. **L**o res parlerat a els en sa ire: & en sa furur les conturberat. **M**ais ie sui establi reis de lui sur syon sun saint mount: prechier sun cumandement. **N**re sire dist a mei tu es li mien filz: ie hui te engendrai. **R**equer de mei e ie durrai a tei les gentz la tue heredité: e la tue possession. les termes de terre. **T**usguernerai en uerge ferrine: e si fraindra ensemblement cume le uaisel del potier. **E**t hore uis entendez: seiez apris uis chi uigiez la terre. **S**eruez a nre seign en crieme: e si esleuez a lui och tremblur. **P**renez discipline que nre sire alquune fiede ne se curvint: e uis pissez de la iuste uie. **C**ume la sue ire esprenderat en brief tens: beneurez tunc icil chi en lui se fident.

**S**iez a quei sunt multipliet cil chi mei triblent: mult se drecent en contre mei. **M**ult dient a la meie aneme: ne e salut a lui en sun deu. **M**ais tu sire les li mien receivre: e la meie gle: e exalchant mun chief. **I**e criai a nre seignur par ma uoiz: & il me oit de sun saint mount. **I**e dormi e si sumeillai: e le uai. **K**ar nre sire me receut. **N**e crendrai nulliers de poeple aurunant mei: e drece tei sire. li mien ds fai me: sals. **K**ar tu as ferit tuz contrariant a mei senz achaisun: les dent des pecheurs tu as acribler. **S**alut e: de nostre seignur: e sur tun poeple la tue benediceun.

**Q**uait ie apelosse. ds de la meie iustise me oit: en tribulatiun tu purlingnas a mei. **A**ies merci de mei: e oit la meie oreisun. **L**i fil des humes desque aquant seret uis e grief cuer: pur quei amez uis uantret: & que rez menceunge? **E**lachez que nre sire ar fait merueillus sun saint: nre sire me orat quant ie criai a lui. **T**ranssez uis e ne uulez peccer: les coses que uis dites en uoz cuers: & en uoz liz aiez copunctiun. **S**acrifiez sacrificie de iustise: & espez el seignur: mult dient chi nus demustret bones choses? **S**eignec e: sur nus la lumiere del tuen uult sire: tu dunas letice el mien cuer. **D**el fruct del frument: del uin e del sien olie sunt multipliet. **E**n pais en ice meisme:

## VOWEL SPELLINGS AND DIGRAPHS (AC)

While analysing the erasures of Douce MS 320, I came across several examples of fluctuating vowels or vowel groups that the scribe erases (and often replaces by writing a new letter on top of erasure). The most important one is **u > o** (see also **o > u**; **i > e**; **ou > o**; **ou > u**; **ue > oe**; **oe > o**; **ue > u**). The following list contains all the erasures of this type found in the manuscript, introduced according to their entry order in *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND). For a study of the phonology and spelling in Douce MS 320, see Sneddon 1972, 50–79, where the replacement of **u** by **o** was already noted, as well as the alteration of certain digraphs. Short 2015, 13–22, also analyses certain variations. Both studies, however, do not present a comprehensive list of examples.

## Verbs

aovrir: **u > o**

f. 44r, line 24, *aourírent*; f. 45r, line 31, *aóuráñz*; f. 45v, line 14, *aóurí*; f. 47v, line 22, *aóuerrái*; f. 48v, line 6, *aóuerrás*.

aurer: **u > o**; **ou > o**

f. 41r, line 23, *aórérent*; f. 42r, line 24, *ór*; f. 42r, line 38, *aorez*; f. 70r, line 16, *ao\_rerúms*. In the first two examples, the scribe replaced **u** by **o**, hesitating between *aurer* and *aorer*. In the latter case, the initial choice could have been *aourer*.

commoveir: **ou > u**

f. 53v, line 39, *commút*; f. 54v, line 37, *comm\_úrent*; f. 55r, line 24, *comm\_úrent*; f. 55v, line 7, *comm\_úrent*.

conceivre: **u > o**

f. 48r, line 35, *conceút*.

confermer: **u > o**

f. 48v, line 3, *conferme*.

conuistre: **u > o**; **ou > u**

f. 48r, line 33, *conúis*; f. 49r, line 17, *coneúz*; f. 49v, line 1, *conúi*; f. 53v, line 24, *con\_úrent* (probably based on an initial spelling *conourent* with the erasure of **o**; not confirmed by an example in AND).

conturber: **u > o**

f. 49r, line 4 + line 6, *conturbéz* (with evident traces of the correction, see photo); f. 49v, line 10–11, *conturbéz*.

corucer: **? > u**

f. 60r, line 5, *curucéz*. The word is entirely rewritten on top of an erasure, except for the first letter. The variant *curúce* without erasure occurs on f. 37v, line 38.

coveiter: **u > o**

f. 47r, line 14, *couéiterá*.

coverer (2): **u > o**

f. 42r, line 9, *courít*, with evident marks of the previous **u** changed into **o**.

covrir: **u > o**

f. 46v, line 32, *co\_urít*; f. 52r, line 18, *co\_urít*. Cf. f. 50r, line 31, where the scribe wrote *cu\_uérz* entirely on top of an erasure, without changing **u** into **o**.

devorer: **u > o**

f. 39r, line 10, *deuórent*; f. 44r, line 29, *deuorérúms*; f. 48v, line 29, *deuórent*.

doner (1): **o > u**

f. 50r, line 24, *dúne*.

envucher: **u > o**

f. 39r, line 11, *enuocherent*.

escumunier: **u > o**

f. 49r, line 35, *escommuniówent*

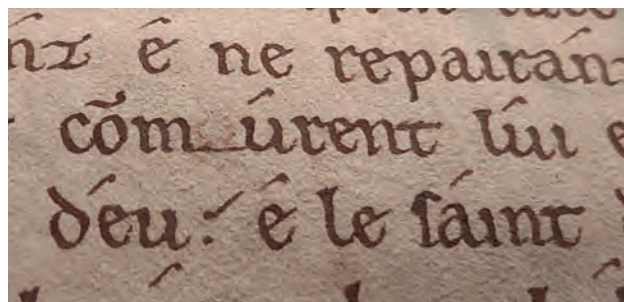
esprover: **u > o**

f. 46v, line 28, *esprouánt*

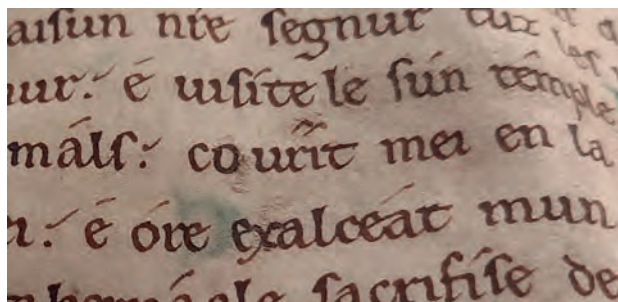
fuir (2): **u > o**

f. 49v, line 13, *foírent*

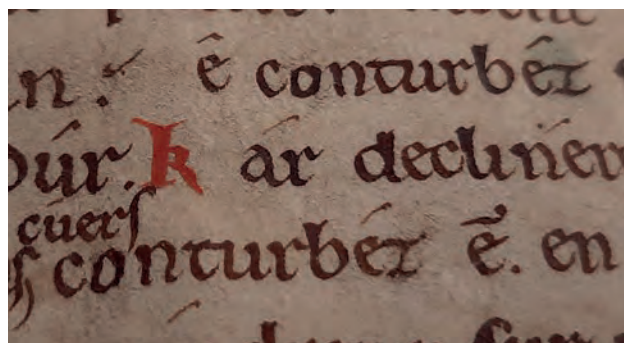
f. 54v,  
line 37



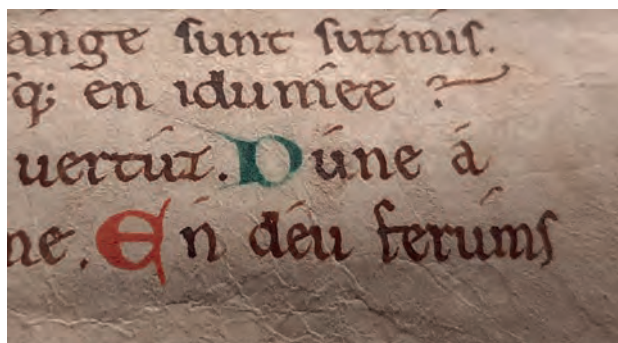
f. 42r,  
line 9



f. 49r,  
line 4



f. 49r,  
line 6



f. 50r,  
line 24

oblier: **u > o**

f. 46r, line 37, *óbliás* ; f. 46v, line 33, *obliámes*

ovrer (1): **u > o**; **oe > o**

f. 37v, line 6, *óeurent* (< ouurent?); f. 39r, line 16, *ouřet* (< uuref?); f. 42r, line 26, *ó\_urānz* (< uuranz?); f. 44v, line 8, *óeurēnt* (< ueurent?); f. 46v, line 12, *ó\_uřas* (< uuras?); f. 49v, line 38, *ó\_urēnt* (< oeurent?); f. 50v, line 29, *ó\_urānz* (< oeuranz, with evident trace of the initial **e**); f. 51v, line 40, *ó\_urēt* (< oeuref?) Two phenomena concur in the spelling of this verb: the erasure of an **u**, then changed into **o** (**u > o**); and the deletion of **e** which breaks down the digraph **oe**.

prover (1): **u > o**

f. 52r, line 2, *prouēt*.

renoveler: **u > o**

f. 48v, line 1, *renouéle*.

reprover (1): **u > o**

f. 43v, line 4, *repró\_uet* and *repro\_uet*; f. 52r, line 20, *reprouānz*.

tesmoigner: **u > o**

f. 48r, line 10, *testimonierái*.

voler (2): **u > o**

f. 44r, line 32-33 (twice), *uólent* ; f. 46r, line 2, *uólent*.

## Nouns

corone (1): **u > o**

f. 51r, line 13, *corúne*.

coverment: **ue > u**

f. 50r, line 31, *cu\_uřement*.

dolur: **u > o**

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,  
University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

f. 45r, line 36, *dolúr*.

funtaine: **u > o**

f. 44v, line 5, *fontáine*; f. 51v, line 37, *fontéines*. See f. 46r, line 24, where the variant *fontáine* is written on top of an extensive erasure; and f. 73v, line 19, where the word *fontáines* is written with no erasures.

home: **u > o**

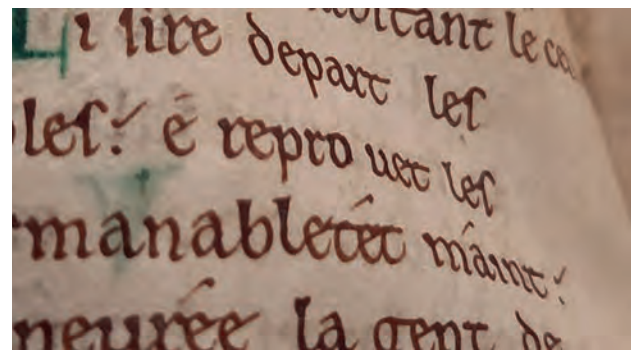
f. 56r, line 19, *(l)óme*; f. 56r, line 20, *(d)óme*.

honur: **u > o**

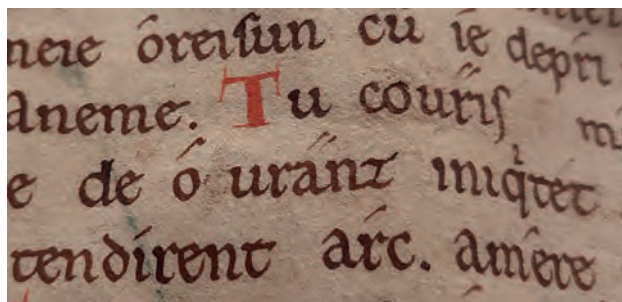
f. 42r, line 37, *honur*. AND does not register the specific spelling *hunur*.

leun (2): **i > e**; **u > o**

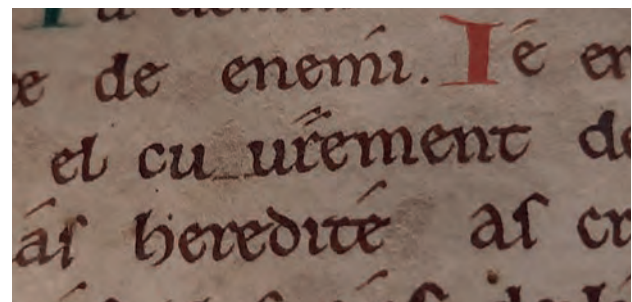
The scribe hesitates between two spellings: f. 37v, line 28, *leúns*; f. 44r, line 21, *leúns*; and f. 49v, line 10, *leóns*. The spelling *leúns* is written without any trace of erasure on f. 49v, line 26; and f. 73v, line 31. However, the spelling *león(s)* is also found in passages where no trace of erasure can be noted, such as on f. 39v, line 8; f. 39v, line 9; f. 41r, line 3; and f. 62r, line 12. Therefore, the scribe makes two types of corrections. When he writes *leuns* / *leúns* on f. 37v and f. 44r, it is likely that the initial spelling, rejected later by the scribe, was *liuns*. AND does not register the spelling *liun* with an *i*, only the form *lyun* with an *y*. When the scribe corrects it as



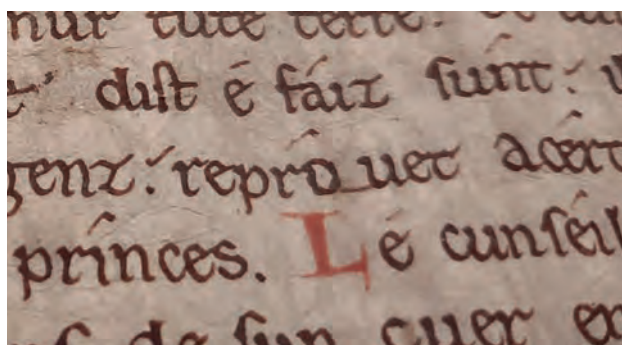
f. 43v,  
line 4 (2)



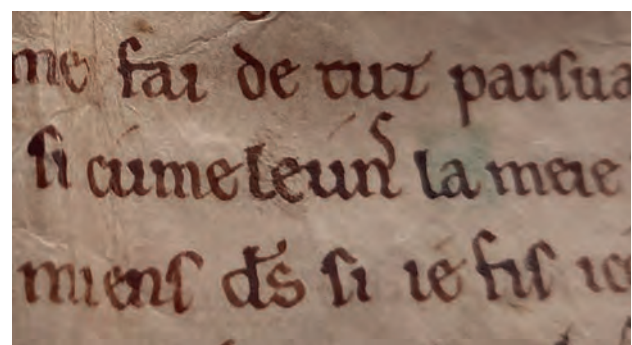
f. 50v,  
line 29



f. 50r,  
line 31

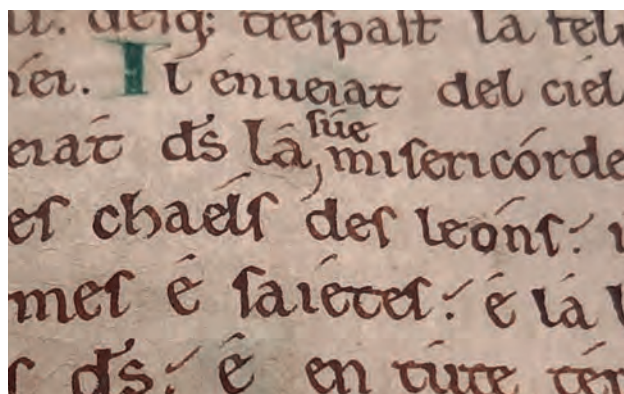


f. 43v,  
line 4 (1)



f. 37v,  
line 28

f. 49v,  
line 10



*leons*, he does not like the initial *u* and turns it into an *o*. One can also note that the two types of corrections are never found together in the same examples.

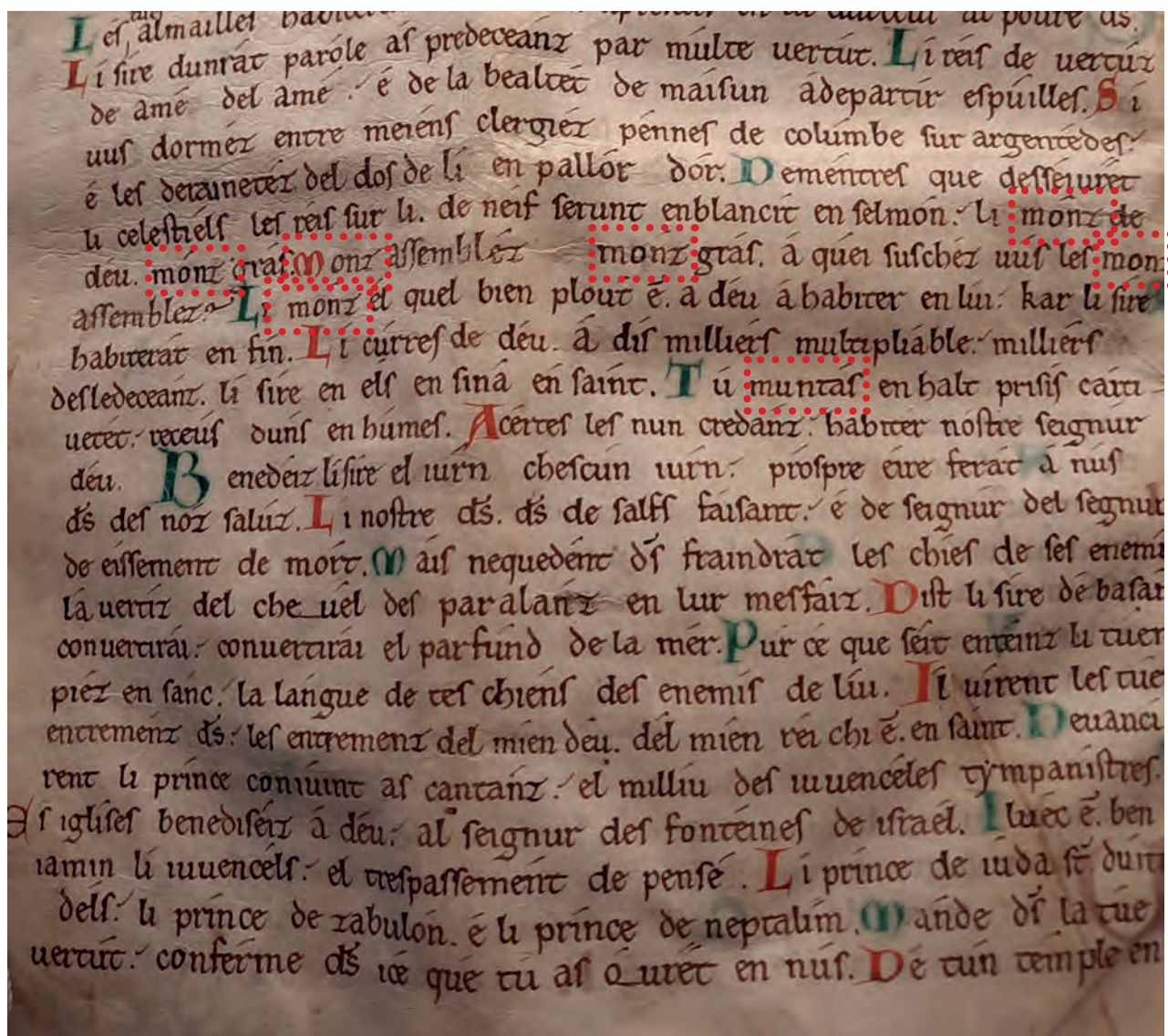
*munt* (1): *u > o*

- ◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
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f. 46r, line 33, *mónt*; f. 47v, line 5, *mónt* (twice); f. 47v, line 14, *mónz*; f. 51r, line 6, *mónz*; f. 51v, line 23, *mónz*; f. 51v, line 24, *mónz* (three times). All examples probably bear witness to the transformation *u > o*. In two other cases of erasure, it is difficult to say what precise problems the scribe had encountered: f. 51v, line 24; and f. 56v, line 24, where *monz* is written on top of an extensive erasure.

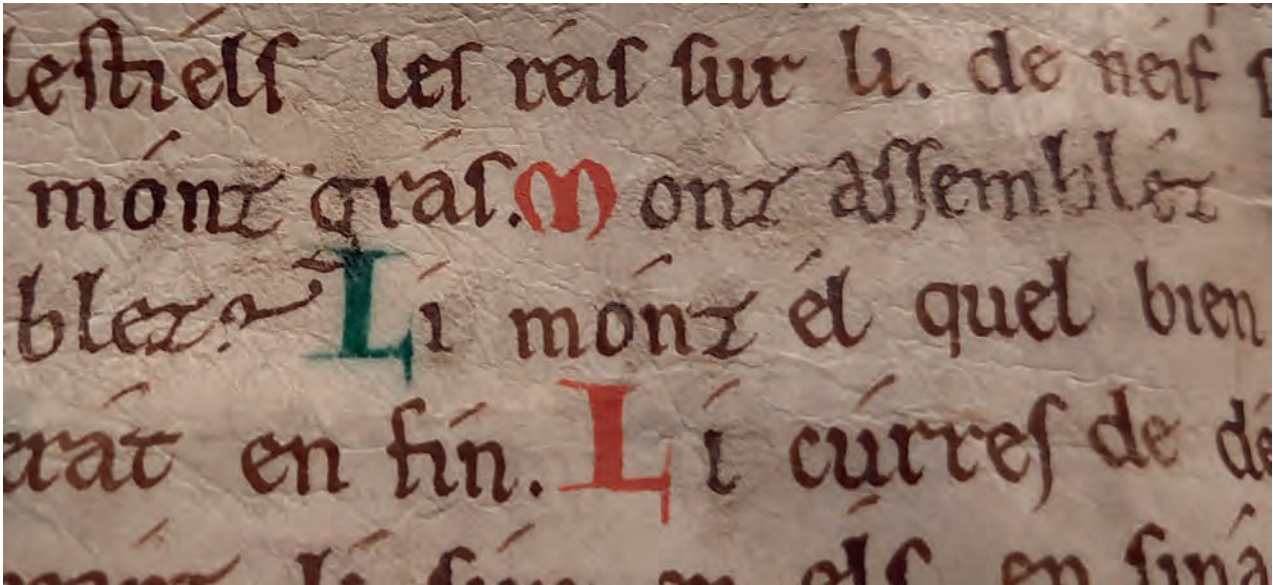
*Mont* / *Monz* can be written without erasure. For a complete list of these occurrences, please refer to the section on dentals (specifically the issue of declension). It will suffice here to mention just a few other interesting examples, which show the *u > o* wavering between two choices of the scribe: f. 46v, line 7; f. 47r, line 26; f. f. 51r, line 6, where the imprint of an initial *u* is visible under an *o*. Residual occurrences of the spelling *munt* / *munz* are condensed in the first part of the text (between f. 37 and f. 49), where the scribe gradually stabilised his spelling choices (for a complete overview see once again the section on dentals, specifically related to declension). To conclude, one can also note that the verb *munter* never undergoes any spelling corrections and remains stable throughout the entire text,

f. 51v,  
line 24  
line 25

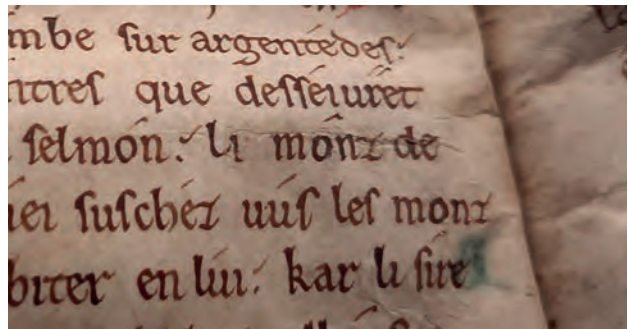
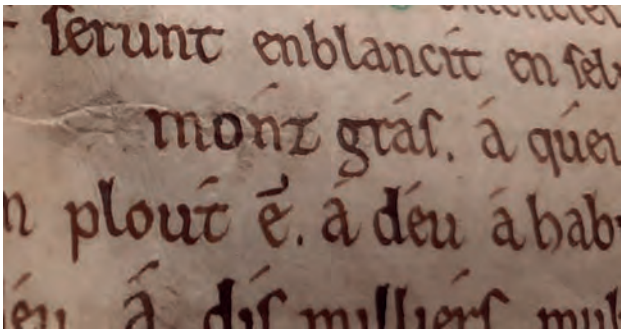


f. 51v,  
line 24

f. 51v,  
line 25



f. 51v,  
line 24



f. 51v,  
line 23

line 24

without any trace of **u** becoming **o**. In the following list, I provide an example for each spelling in the text (the list is therefore not exhaustive): f. 39v, line 23 + line 25 (*munterát*); f. 41r, line 37 (*munterát*); f. 47r, line 39 (*munterát*); f. 51v, line 27 (*munterát*); f. 54r, line 6 (*munterát*); f. 54r, line 24 (*munterát*); f. 61v, line 36 (*munterát*); f. 63r, line 6 (*munterát*); f. 64r, line 1 (*munterát*); f. 70r, line 12 (*munterát*); f. 74r, lines 10-11 (*munterát*); f. 74v, line 24 (*munterát*). The same situation concerns the noun *muntemént*: f. 56v, line 35 (*muntemént*); f. 61v, line 31 (*muntemént*); and the noun *munteour*: f. 74r, line 23 (*munteour*).

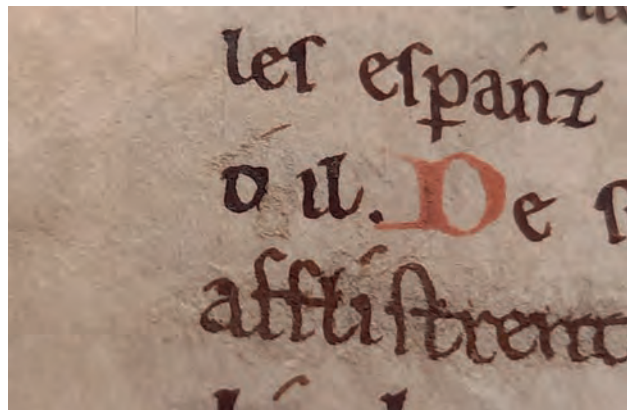
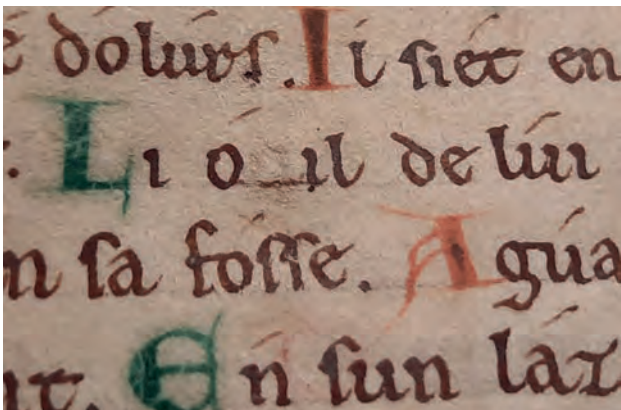
oil (1): **ou** > **o**; **u** > **o**

The word *oil* has undergone two different types of erasure.

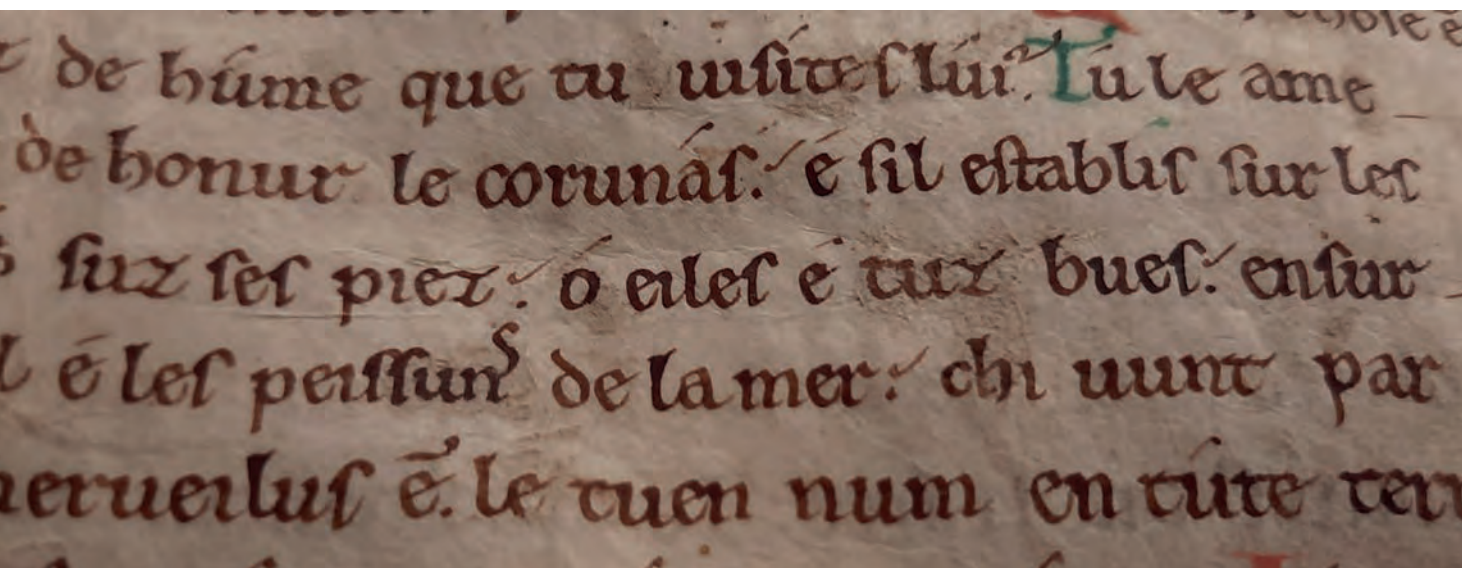
The first type is on f. 38v, line 3, *ó\_il*, where traces of a previous **u** are visible under the blank space. Thus, the word was originally spelled *ouil*. In other instances there is place for two letters in the initial version, before the erasure. The scribe probably corrected a previous **u** into an **o**. In other words, the initial spelling could have been *uilz*. Cf. f. 38v, line 36, *ó\_ilz*; f. 39r, line 9, *ó\_ilz*; f. 39v, line 5, *oil* (where one can actually see the traces of an initial **u** under the **o** written on top of the erasure); and f. 39v, line 7, *ó\_ilz*.

The spelling *óil* / *óilz* (with or without accent) occurs for the first time on f. 37v, line 6 + line 23, where there is no trace of erasure. Examples of variation can be found on f. 38v and f. 39r-v. In the remaining part of the text, the spelling is stable. Examples of variation are

f. 38v,  
line 3



f. 39v,  
line 5

f. 38r,  
line 11

found on f. 39r, line 38; f. 40r, line 2, line 4 + line 40 ; f. 41v, line 21 + line 31, etc. ; f. 60v, line 37, etc.

ombre (2): **o > u**

f. 49v, line 7, *úmbre*.

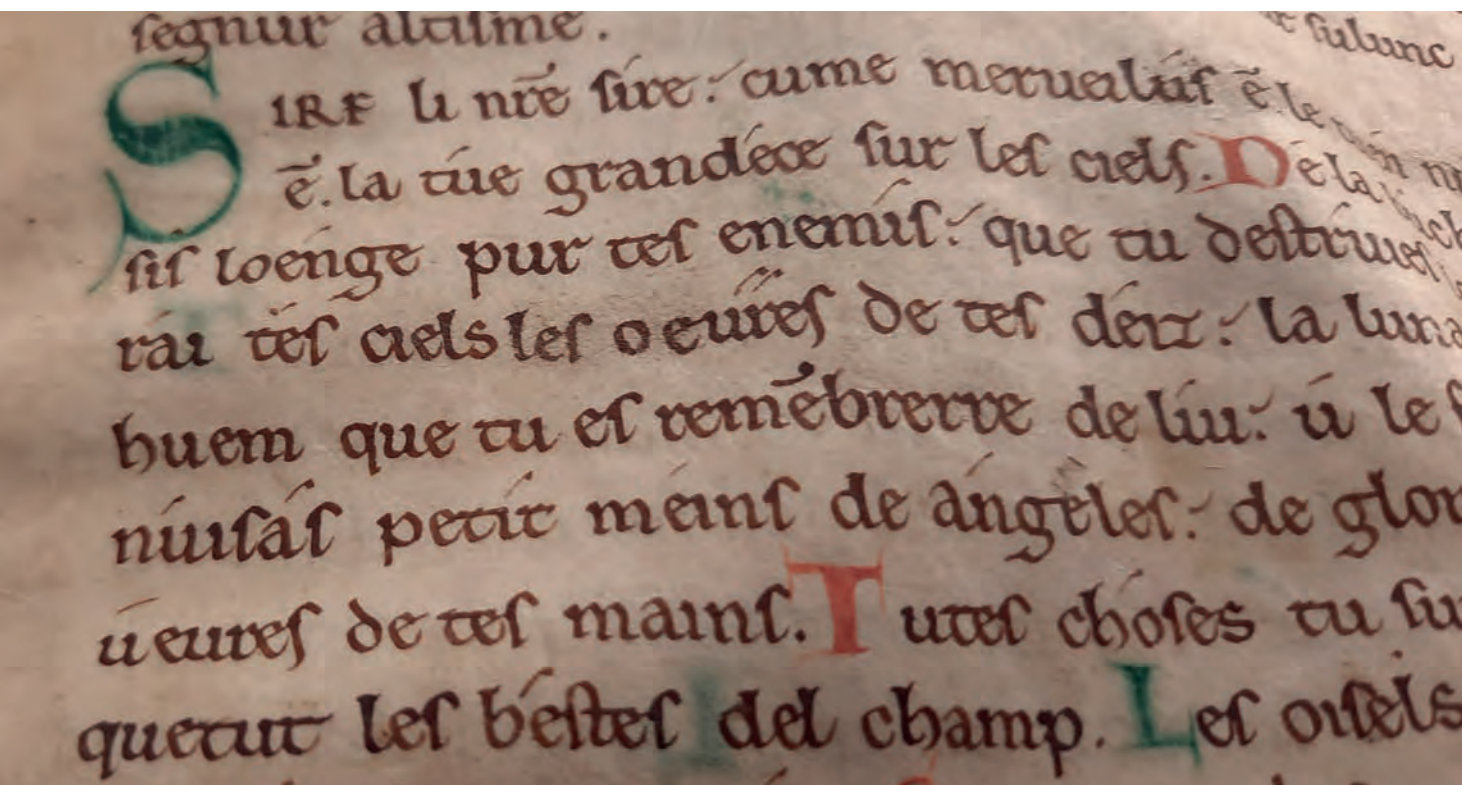
oeille: **u > o**

f. 38r, line 11, *o\_eiles*, with visible traces of the change of the letter. The word is written with **o** throughout the rest of the text.

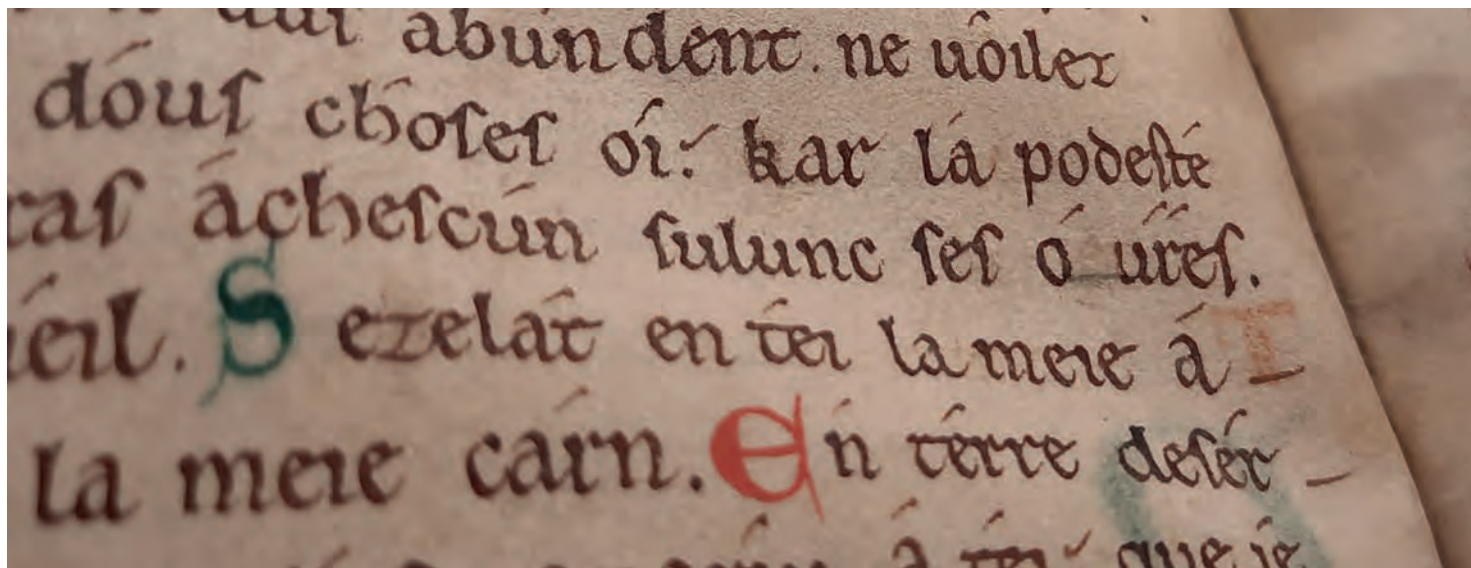
ovre (1): **ue > oe; u > o; oe > o**

With *ovre*, we are once again confronted with different types of erasures. On f. 38r, line 8, (*les*) *oeuřes*, the digraph **ue** was replaced by **oe**. Sneddon (1972: 56-57) argues "that in the case of *uevres* / *oevres* the **oe** forms were used to avoid the possibility of the initial **u** being

thought in as a **v**," which is quite plausible. On f. 39r, line 40, there is *óures*; f. 40r, line 30, *óures*; and f. 42r, line 27 + 28 + 29 (twice), *ouřes*. In these cases, the change is **u > o**. On f. 43r, line 38, *oéures*; and f. 43v, line 10, *oeures* show two peculiarities. There occurs, on the one hand, the transformation **u > o** at the beginning of the word, and, on the other hand (and only these two exemples), a brief return of the digraph **oe**. This is a unique situation. In the following erasures, the **e** of this digraph has been systematically deleted: f. 46v, line 11, (*L*)*ó\_uřes*; f. 46v, line 40, *ó\_uřes*; f. 47r, line 31, *ó\_uřes* (with clear traces of an **e** still evident on the parchment); f. 50v, line 12, *o\_uřes* (again traces of a previous **e** on the parchment); f. 50v, line 37, *ó\_uřes* (once again traces of a previous **e**); f. 51r, line 18, *ó\_uřes* (there are traces

f. 38r,  
line 8

f. 50v,  
line 12



too, but not as evident as the previous ones); f. 51r, line 21, *ô\_uřes*.

reproce: *u > o; ou > o*

f. 52r, line 18, *repróce*; f. 52r, line 20, *repró\_ces*; f. 52r, line 21, *repró\_ce*.

seignur: *u > o*

f. 37v, line 37, *segnór*. The spelling *segnor* / *segnór*, without any trace of erasure, is found several times in the remaining part of the text, starting on f. 59v, line 40, and up to the very end. The parallel spelling *segnur* / *segnúr*, without erasure, can be found from the beginning of the text (f. 37r, line 37) until the end (f. 75r, line 20).

The noun (or its verbal counterpart) is found in extensive erasures: f. 37r, line 3, *seignur*; f. 37r, line 12, *seignur*;

f. 37r, line 19, *seignur* (with an abbreviated *ur* superscript); f. 37r, line 25, *seignur*; f. 38r, line 37, *seignur* (this case involves a much longer erasure); f. 38r, line 39, *seignurerát* (written over a two-lines long erasure); f. 40v, line 5, *seignurerúnt* (written over a three-lines long erasure); f. 41r, line 22, *seignurerát* (extensive erasure); f. 44v, line 35, *seignur* (again extensive erasure). In these instances, it is not clear if the initial spelling of the word posed a problem. When the entire word is written on top of an erasure, the issue may concern word order (see the section on extensive erasures below).

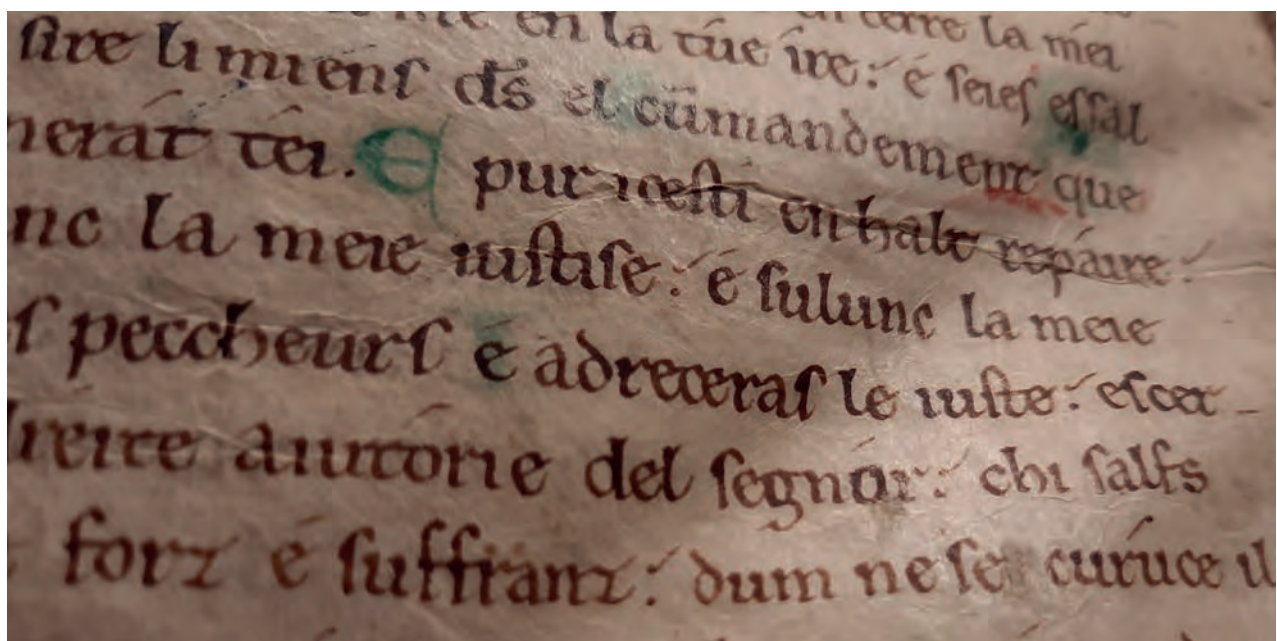
This noun and its verbal counterpart are written *seignur* without erasure on f. 37r, line 29; f. 44r, line 5, line 6 + line 9; f. 44v, line 12 + line 13 + line 14 + line 16 + line 32; f. 45r, line 7; f. 45v, line 21 + line 25 (twice); f. 47r, line 31; f. 47v, line 10 + line 35 (*seignurerunt*); f. 49r, line 27; f. 49v, line 2; f. 50r, line 7-8 (*seignurerát*); f. 50v, line 38; f. 51r, line 23 (*seignúret*); f. 51v, line 28 + line 30 (twice) + line 37; f. 52r, line 5; f. 52v, line 34; f. 53r, line 12 (*seignurerá*); f. 53v, line 16 + line 39;

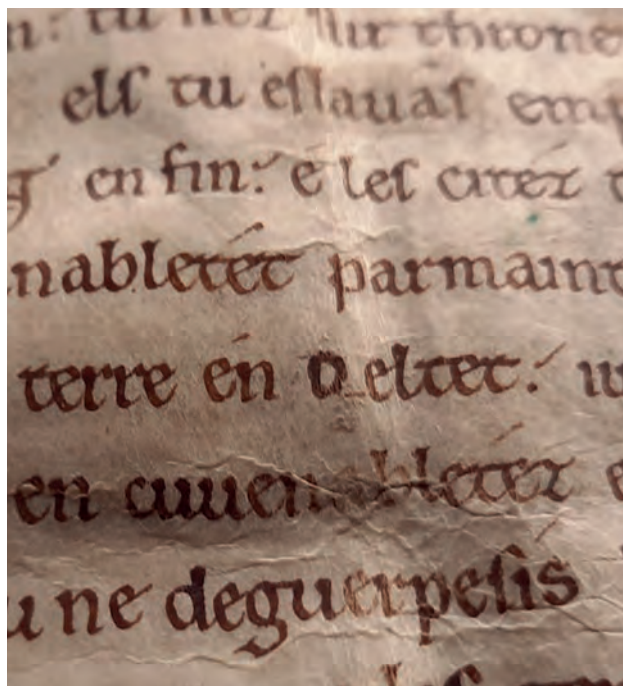
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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f. 37v,  
line 37



f. 38r,  
line 21

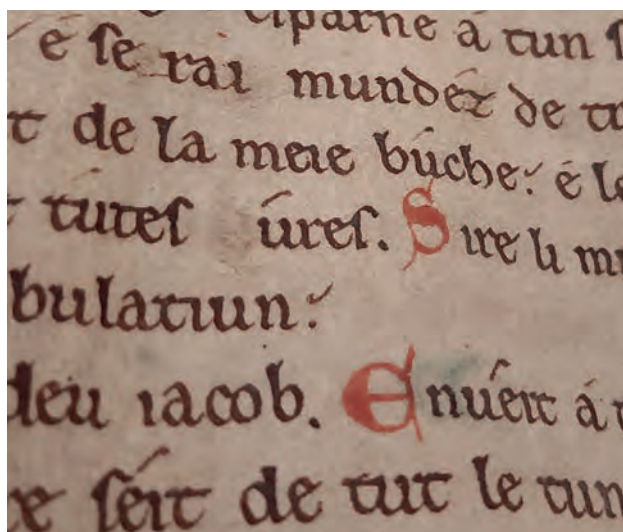
f. 54r, line 14 + line 29 + line 32; f. 54v, line 3 + line 20; f. 56r, line 38; and f. 56v, line 30. The spellings *seignur* and *segnur* are dominant in the first part of the text. Starting with f. 59, the spelling with an *o* becomes prevalent. See also the first erasure (f. 37v), where the scribe had corrected the former spelling into *segnor*.

uelté: *u > o*

f. 38r, line 21, *o\_eltet*. The scribe transformed an initial *u* in *o*, erased the straight segment of *u*, and placed a low dash to join the parts of word; f. 51v, line 1-2, *oelté*.

vou (1): *u > o*

f. 48r, line 18, *uóz*; f. 49v, line 3, *uót*. In its first occurrence (f. 41r, line 18), the term is spelled *uuz*. It is likely that in the specific case of this erasure, the scribe decided to correct *u > o*. See also f. 50r, line 36, where *uóz* is written over an extensive erasure; see also the spellings that show no trace of hesitation in f. 51r, line 30; f. 65v, line 40; and in f. 66r, line 4.

f. 40v,  
line 7

ure (1): *u > o*; *ou > u*

f. 44r, line 32, *óres*; f. 45r, line 36, *óres*; f. 45v, line 36, *óres*; f. 48r, line 12, *óres*; f. 48r, line 33, *óres*. The change *u > o* is systematic in all the occurrences. However, two other examples show that the digraph was likely pronounced differently. On f. 40v, line 7, there is *úres*. In this case, an initial letter has been deleted and it is safe to assume that the scribe's first choice had been *oures*. The same happens on f. 41v, line 21-22: *úres*. Here, the scribe might have corrected the digraph *ou* by erasing the initial *o* and afterward changing *u* into *o*. It is evident that, in the last two examples, the scribe hesitates between *u* and *o* when it occurs at the beginning of the word.

### Varia

encontre (1): *o > u*

Since the beginning, the scribe chose the *u* spelling, which dominates till the end of the text. However, there are three instances of hesitation: f. 42r, line 4-5, *encúntre*, with the probable alteration *o > u*; f. 43v, line 40, on top of an extensive erasure, where the scribe wrote *cóntré*; and f. 59v, lines 23-24, where he wrote *encóntre*, without any sign of erasures.

molt: *o > u*

Two situations from the first folios of the manuscript comprise the transformation *o > u* in the case of the adverb *molt > mult*, which is the dominant spelling in the text: f. 39r, line 27, *mult*; f. 39r, line 28, *mult*.

sul: *u > o*

On two occasions, the scribe does not write immediately *sol*, but, rather, he wrote at first *sul*, to correct it: f. 56v, line 28, *sóls*; f. 57r, line 32, *sóls*.

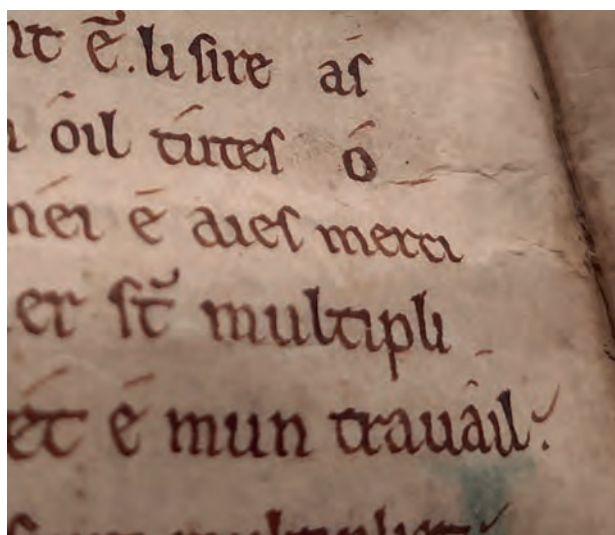
uitante: *u > o*

f. 58v, line 31, *óitante*.

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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f. 41v,  
line 21

## DENTALS IN FUTURE TENSES (AC)

A large group of erasures are determined by morphological features, particularly those pertaining to final dentals. Since the erasure and/or replacement of final dentals in nouns (and verbal nouns or adjectives) seems to be linked to the erasure of final *-z*, erasures in verbs will be separated from those in nouns. As a result, the criterion for the categories presented henceforth becomes grammatical.

The issue of dentals is mentioned in passing by Meister 1877: 67–68, based on the edition of Michel 1860. Meister notes only the merging of dentals with *-s* as *-z*, or the simplification by erasure of double consonants. No remarks concerning erasures or dentals are found in Meister's or in the review by Koschwitz 1878 either. Short pointed out that "dentals are widely preserved in *-at* and *-ad* future endings." He argued that they represent a minority in the case of forms in *-a-* (Short 2015: 30). A first observation is that the scribe decided to erase the final dental of a third person future form in a certain number of cases:

*aiuerá*, f. 58r, line 21, with traces of an erased *-t*.

*apelerá*, f. 58r, line 27.

(*n*)*aposerá*, f. 58r, line 23. The spelling (*n*)*aposerá* without erasure occurs on f. 54r, line 39

(*n*)*aprismerá*, f. 59r, line 10 + line 13 (twice). The spelling *aprismerát* can be noted on f. 50v, line 34. All occurrences show traces of an erased final *-t*.

*ardrá*, f. 45v, line 5-6. On f. 75v, line 2 + line 3, one finds *ardrá* without any trace of erasure.

*confermerá*, f. 58r, line 22.

*couéiterá*, f. 47r, line 14.

*damnerá*, f. 45r, line 7.

*degeterá*, f. 54r, line 39 (traces of a possible final *-t*).

*deliuerrá*, f. 53r, line 16-17 (with traces of an erased *-t*); f. 58v, line 13 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 59r, line 4-5 (traces of an erased *-t*). The spelling with final *-t* occurs on f. 43v, line 24 (extensive erasure) + line 36; f. 45r, line 14; f. 46r, lines 7–8. A variant with a final *-d* occurs on f. 60r, line 37.

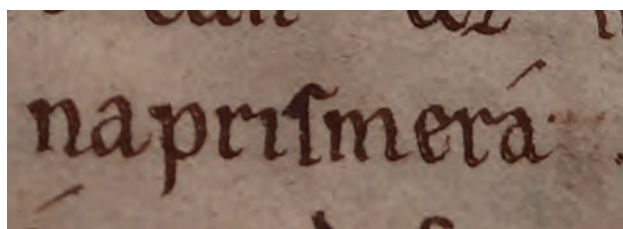
*demurerá*, f. 59r, line 3, with clear traces of *-t* under the erasure. The spelling *demurerát* can be found on f. 41v, line 20; f. 42v, line 13.

*dirá*, f. 59r, line 3, with clear traces of an erased *-t*. *Dirá* without signs of erasure appears on f. 63v, line 11.

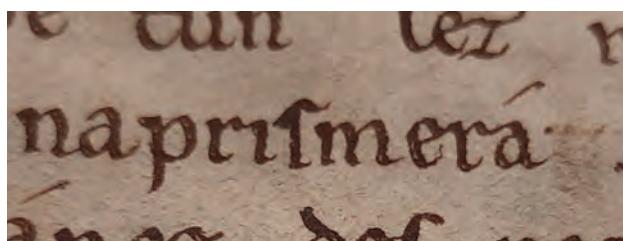
*dunrá*, f. 56v, line 37 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 57r, line 3 (also traces of an erased final *-t*). The spelling with *-t* is found on f. 37r, line 5; f. 39r, line 13; f. 44v, line 34; f. 48v, line 32; f. 49r, line 8 + line 28; f. 51v, 19; f. 52r, line 6 + line 8; f. 57r, line 19 + line 20. At the end of the text, there is *dunrád* on f. 69v, line 17. The only spelling of the type *dunrá* written without erasure occurs on f. 74r, line 21.

*enumberrá*, f. 59r, line 6, with traces of an erased *-t*.

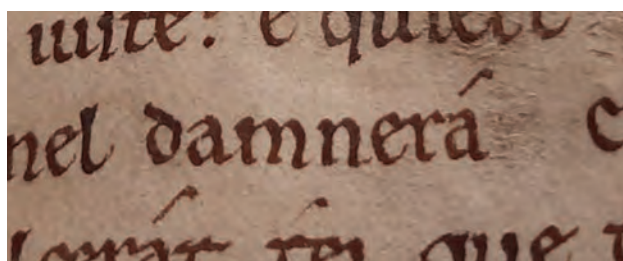
f. 59r,  
line 10



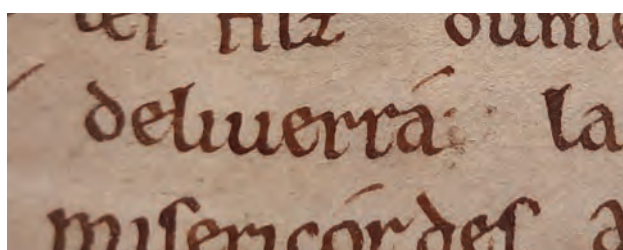
f. 59r,  
line 13



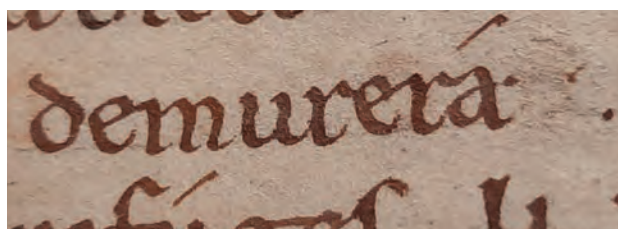
f. 45r,  
line 7



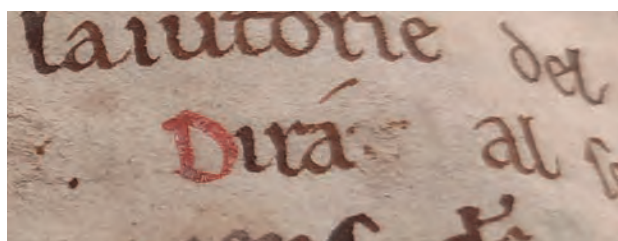
f. 58v,  
line 13



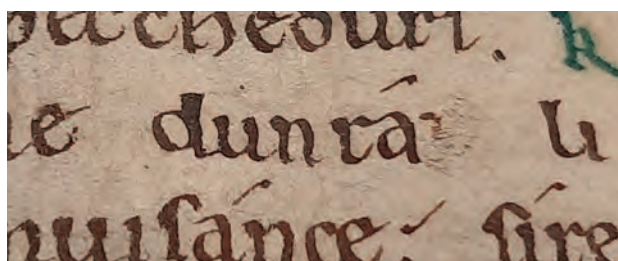
f. 59r,  
line 3



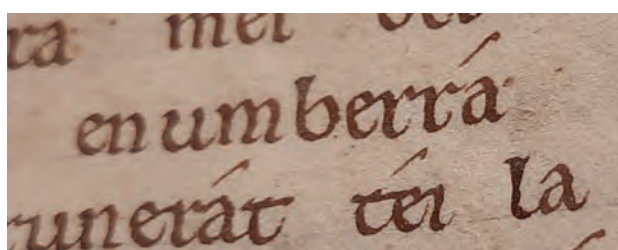
f. 59r,  
line 3

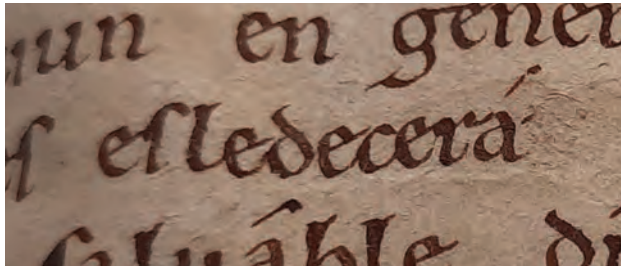
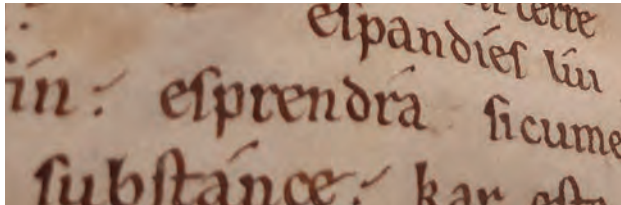
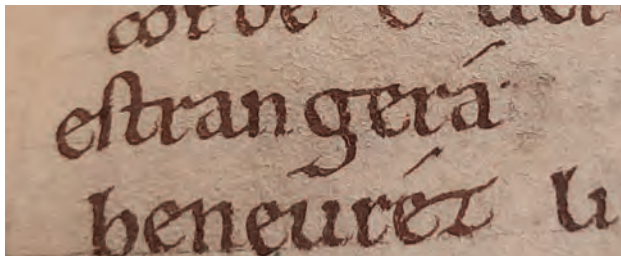
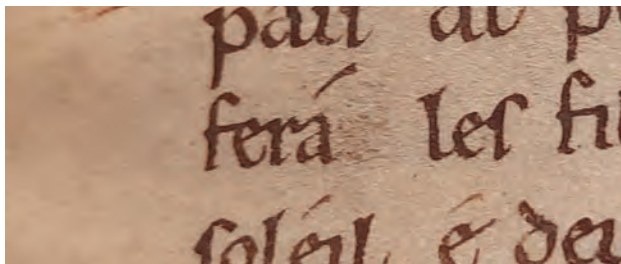


f. 57r,  
line 3



f. 59r,  
line 6



f. 57r,  
line 12f. 58v,  
line 10f. 57r,  
line 4f. 53r,  
line 9

*esledecera*\_, f. 57r, line 12, with traces of an erased *-t*. *Esledecerát* also occurs on f. 50v, line 38; f. 51r, line 12. The spelling *esledecera* without erasure is found on f. 62r, line 24.

*esprendra*\_, f. 58v, line 10, with traces of a final *-t*.

*estrangerá*\_, f. 57r, line 4, with traces of an erased *-t*.

*ferá*\_, f. 53r, line 9 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 55r, line 21 (traces of a possible *-t*). There is *ferát* on f. 37r, line 6; f. 37v, line 7; f. 44v, line 15; f. 51v, line 29; f. 52v, line 6; f. 53r, line 18. However, one finds the variant *ferád* on f. 62v, line 39. The spelling *ferá* without any sign of erasure is found on f. 72v, line 28 + line 29; and f. 74r, line 2.

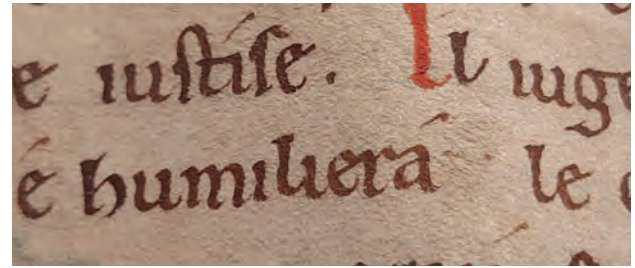
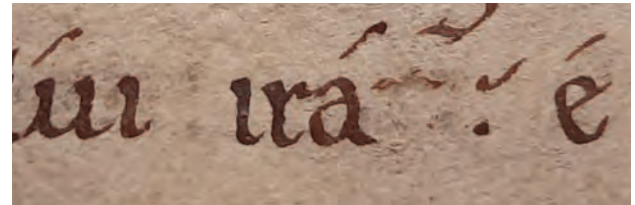
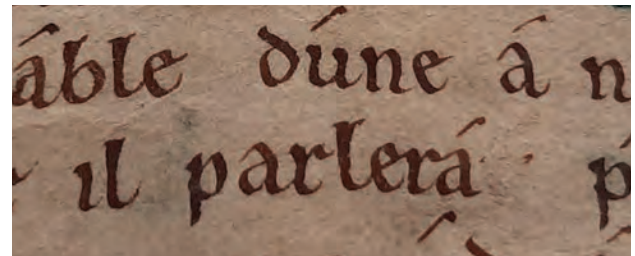
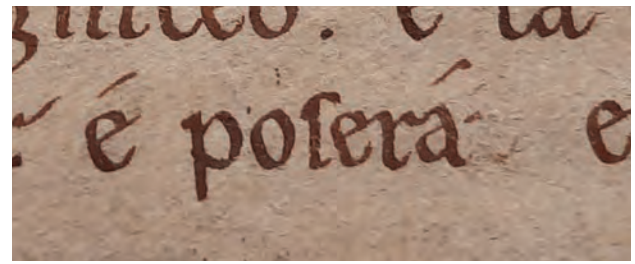
*flurirá*\_, f. 59r, line 36, with traces of an erased *-t*. The spelling *flurirád* is found on f. 74v, ligne 40; as well as *florirád* on f. 70r, line 28. *Flurirá* without traces of erasure appears on f. 61v, line 16.

*humilierá*\_, f. 53r, line 9, with traces of a probable final *-t*. There is *humilierát* on f. 49r, line 23.

*irá*\_, f. 57r, line 20, with traces of an erased *-t*. There is *irád* on f. 74v, line 18.

*oblierá*\_, f. 54v, line 1, with clear traces of an erased *-t*.

*orrá*\_, f. 59r, line 35. The spelling with final *-t* occurs on f. 37r, line 34; f. 49r, line 22; f. 51r, line 35. *Orrá* without erasure occurs on f. 59v, line 15.

f. 53r,  
line 9f. 57r,  
line 20f. 57r,  
line 14f. 57r,  
line 20

*parlera*\_, f. 57r, line 14, with traces of an erased *-t*. *Parlerát* appears on f. 45r, line 4; f. 47v, line 21. The spelling with final *-d* occurs only once, at the end of the text, on f. 72v, line 30. *Parlera* without erasure is found on f. 62v, line 38; and f. 69v, line 21.

*parmainderá*\_, f. 53r, line 9.

*perdrá*\_, f. 55r, line 22 (traces of a probable final *-t*).

*posera*\_, f. 57r, line 20, with traces of an erased *-t*.

*profiterá*\_, f. 58r, line 22.

*recunterá*\_, f. 57v, line 9, with traces of a final *-t*.

*regehirá*\_, f. 54r, line 28 (traces of a probable final *-t*). There is *regehirát* on f. 42v, line 18; and f. 47v, line 40. Towards the end of the text, one notices the spelling with final *-d*: f. 73v, line 39; f. 74r, line 2.

*repróuerá*\_, f. 53v, line 30.

*seignurerá*\_, f. 53r, ligne 12. There is *seignurerát* on f. 38r, line 39 (entirely on top of an erasure); f. 41r, line 22 (extensive erasure); f. 50r, line 7-8.

*uerrá*\_, f. 58v, line 13, with traces of an erased *-t*. The variant with *-t* is found on f. 47v, line 27 + line 28; f. 48r, line 1; f. 49v, line 30; f. 50v, line 33. *Uerrá* without any sign of erasure occurs on f. 59v, line 14; f. 65r, line 26.

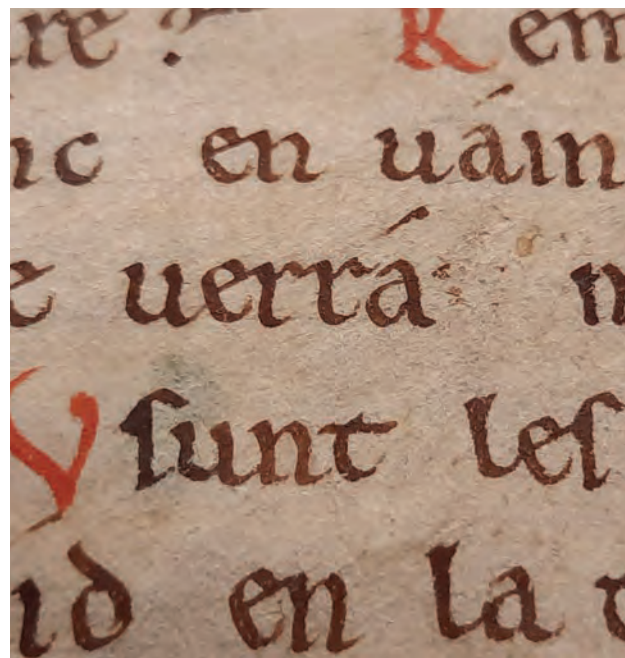
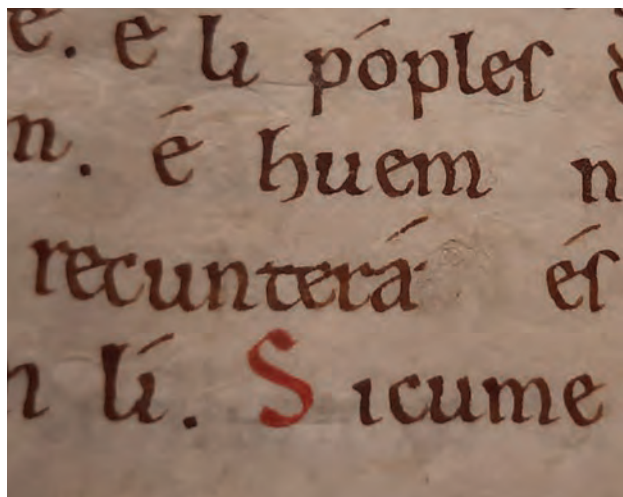
*uiuerá*\_, f. 53r, line 20; f. 58v, line 13, with traces of an erased final *-t*. One finds an occurrence with final *-t* on fol. 47v, line 27.

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
 Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
 Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,  
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Two more erasures could be linked to the issue of dentals in future tenses, but there is not enough data to support this conclusion. For instance, *contresterá*, f. 54r, line 25, the three final letters of which are written on top of an erasure. There is also *decirerá*, f. 54r, line 40, entirely written on top of an erasure. The initial choice of the scribe could have been another verb.

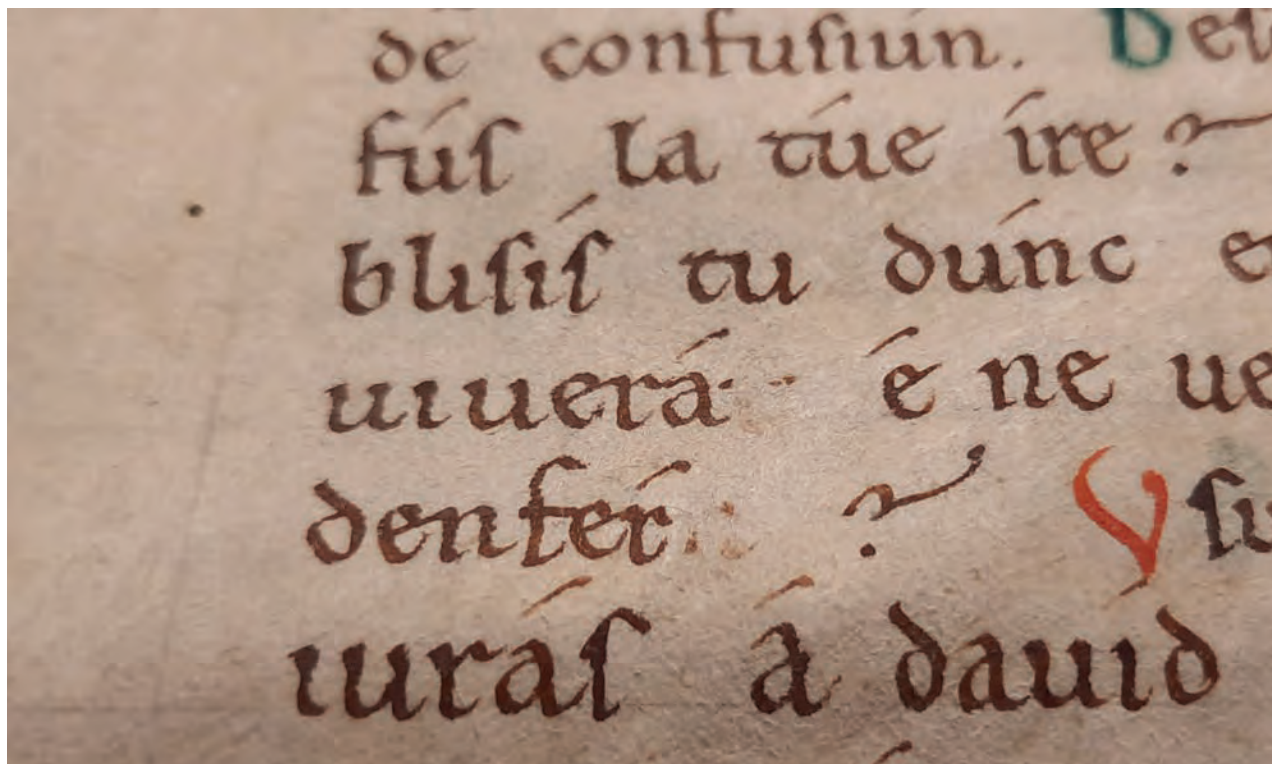
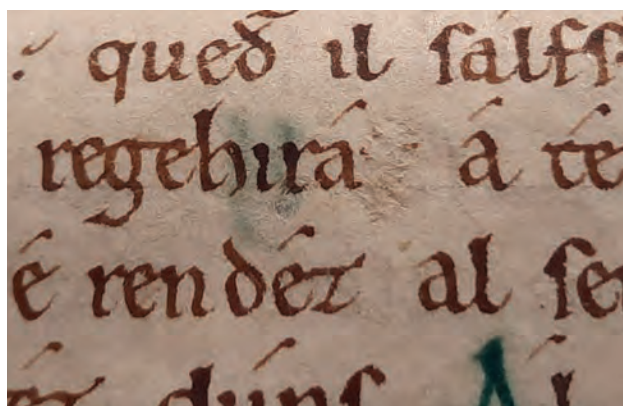
As Short pointed out, there is a deliberate effort on behalf of the scribe to intervene in the spelling of final dentals on f. 53–59 (Short 2015: 20; cf. 6–7). However, this alleged willingness to intervene starts well before f. 53. Traces of erasures are found as early as f. 45 and f. 47. See also Sneddon 1972: 69.

f. 57v,  
line 9



f. 58v,  
line 13

f. 54r,  
line 28



f. 58v,  
line 13

A RELATED PROBLEM: INTERCONSONANTAL ~~-E-~~ (AC)

Furthermore, two instances in the text concern the merger of two distinct phenomena: the erasure of a final consonant and the erasure of an interconsonantal ~~-e-~~:

*descend\_rá*, f. 53r, line 10. See also f. 38r, line 3, and f. 47v, line 39, for an occurrence with final ~~-t~~, but no vowel: *descend\_rat*. The same can be noted in *naïst\_rá* on f. 53r, line 11.

This erasure of an interconsonantal ~~-e-~~ can also be seen in other cases:

*criend\_runt*, f. 45v, line 24; *crend\_runt*, f. 48v, line 18; *crend\_rái* f. 49r, line 33; *criend\_runt* f. 50v, line 31. Nevertheless, the vowel drop does not occur in *crienderái* (f. 41r, line 30; f. 47v, line 23); *crenderái* (f. 42r, line 1; f. 49r, line 34; f. 49v, line 2); *crenderát* (f. 42r, line 5); and *crienderúms* (47r, line 24). I also noted the particular situation of *cr\_end\_rúnt* on f. 51r, line 8 (with traces of an erased ~~-e-~~). The scribe intervenes here on the stem vowel as well, in accordance with a choice that we find again elsewhere, in other instances of a future tense of the same verb, from the beginning to the end of the Douce MS 320 text.

*descend\_rat*, f. 38r, line 3.

*exard\_rát*, f. 48r, line 7 (there seems to be a trace here of an erased ~~-e-~~).

*raiend\_rát*, f. 49r, line 22. A form with a vowel drop and no erasure is found just before it, on f. 47v, line 36. On the same folio, one also finds *raiendrát* in the context of an extensive erasure.

*eíst\_rás*, f. 50r, line 24. The only other occurrence of this verbal form, without erasures, is on f. 64r, line 32.

*receu\_rái*, f. 54r, line 8. The text contains instances of

verbs in the future without a vowel drop. Here are some examples concerning verbs in the first person: *receuerái* (f. 48r, line 12; f. 65v, line 39).

*naïst\_rúnt*, f. 54v, line 23. For the spelling *naïsterunt*, see f. 59r, line 28.

*prend\_rát*, f. 47v, line 39.

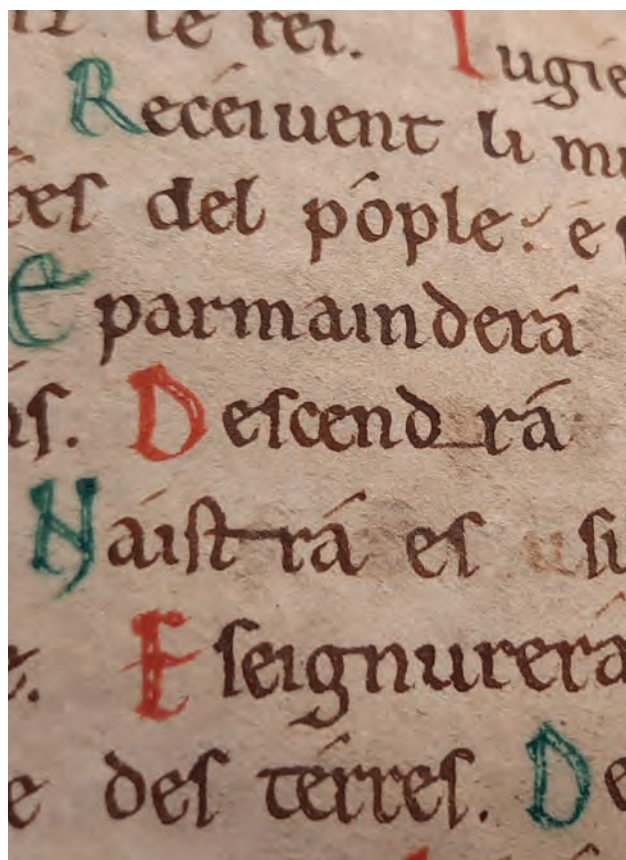
*rend\_rái*, f. 51r, line 30.

As Pope states, “two tendencies conflicted in Anglo-Norman: the tendency to efface unstressed *e* in interconsonantal position, and the tendency to develop a vocalic glide between interconsonantal groups consisting of consonant + *r* showed itself earliest and was commonest between breathed consonants and *r*; the glide development began in the later 12th century and was at first most frequent between voiced consonants and *r*” (Pope 1952: § 1290). In an initial phase, before the erasures and corrections, most of which are condensed approximately between f. 45 and f. 54, the scribe often transcribed and maintained interconsonantal ~~-e-~~. Only later he took the decision to eliminate it. (cf. Pope 1952: §1173, 1290; Sneddon 1972: 68, 97–98; Short 2015: 30–31).

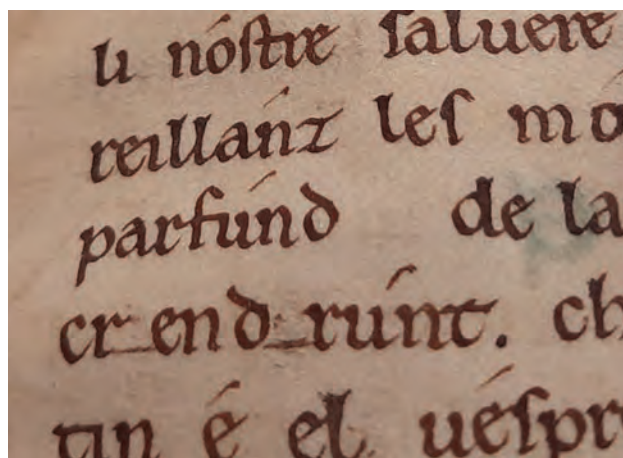
In his treatment of future tenses, the scribe made other modifications as well, some of them linked to vocalic processes influencing the development of future tenses (cf. Pope 1952: § 966–979): *esio\_rrái*, f. 42v, line 30, where he erased a probable *i*, that we find in *sesioirúnt* (f. 37v, line 14, written on top of an erasure).

Before closing this parenthesis on interconsonantal ~~-e-~~, it must be noted that one of the accents was often written above the erased letter. For instance, *descend\_rát* (f. 38r, line 3); *criend\_rúnt* (f. 45v, line 24); *crend\_rúnt* (f. 48v, line 18); and *exard\_rát* (f. 48r, line 7). The case of *receu\_rái* (f. 54r, line 8) is not that certain. Perhaps it is

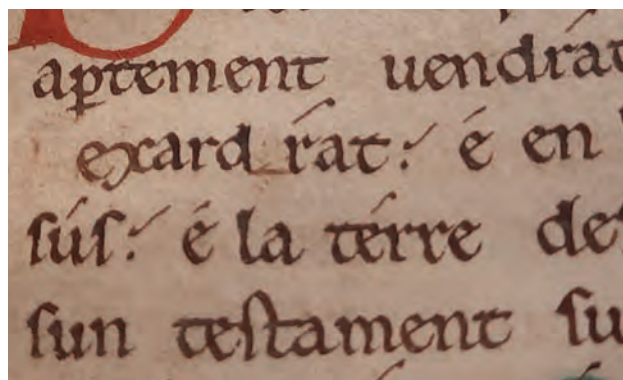
f. 53r,  
line 10



f. 53r,  
line 11



f. 51r,  
line 8



f. 48r,  
line 7

f. 38r,  
line 3

fante torceunerie: c  
la fosse que il fust  
e descend rat. **I**e  
ltisme.

tute iurn. **N**e ob  
urent munte ta  
f. e apelerums  
ie receu rai te  
habitent en  
ne uolent fel

f. 54r,  
line 8

f. 45v,  
line 24

ult e criend run  
um del seignur espe  
es. **M**ultes fesis  
ns nen e. chi sem

enfern cu il rece  
e cume multiplie  
prend rat tutes

f. 57v,  
line 39

ur ice ds destruirat  
de tabernacle: e la tue ra  
uste e cren d runt: e sur lu  
sat deu sun auedur. **M**a  
mielz ualut en sa uanitet

f. 48v,  
line 18

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
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not a question of a double accent, but that of a single  
accent which could have marked the **-e-**, and a second  
one marking the **-a-**. See *prend\_rat* (f. 47v, line 39),  
again uncertain.

DENTALS AND DOUBLE *-R-* IN THE FUTURE TENSE OF *ESTRE* (AC)

The future tense forms of 'to be' are also subject to erasures when the final dental occurs in the third person singular: *será* f. 45r, line 7; f. 47r, line 24 (*ser\_rá\_*); f. 53r, line 20+22; f. 53r, line 27; f. 55v, line 28 (clear traces of an erased *-t*); f. 56r, line 31 + line 38; f. 56v, line 9, (traces of an erased *-t*) + line 37; f. 57v, line 37 (twice); f. 58r, line 2 + line 17 + line 25; f. 59r, line 32 (clear traces of an erased *-t*) + line 36.

The spelling *serát* can be found on f. 38r, line 2 with the last three letters of which written on top of the erasure; f. 38v, line 11 (twice) (*se\_rat*) + line 35 (*se\_rat*); f. 39r, line 21 (*se\_rat*); f. 40v, line 24 (*se\_rát*); f. 43v, line 11 (*se\_rat*) + line 12 (*se\_rát*) + line 19 (*se\_rat*) + line 37 (*se\_rát*); f. 44r, line 15 (*se\_rat*); f. 44v, line 20 (*se\_rat*) + line 36 (*se\_rat*); f. 47r, line 24 (*ser\_rá\_*) + line 28 (*se\_rát*); f. 47v, line 40 (*serát* in an extensive erasure). The spelling *serád* is also used on f. 59v, line 2; f. 61v, line 34; f. 65r, line 7; f. 74r, line 19 + line 34; f. 74v, line 17. *Será* is found on f. 75r, line 2.

This list of examples also shows that on many occasions an *-r-* has been erased from the root of the verb as well. This happens not only with *serrat*, but also with *serrai*, *serras* and *serrunt*, all of which are listed below and occasionally illustrated, especially when traces of an erased double *-r-* are visible (for *se\_rat*, vide supra):

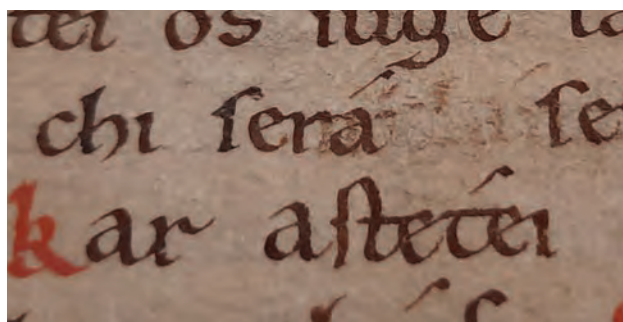
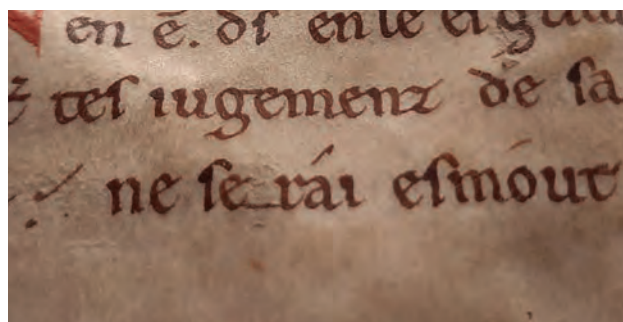
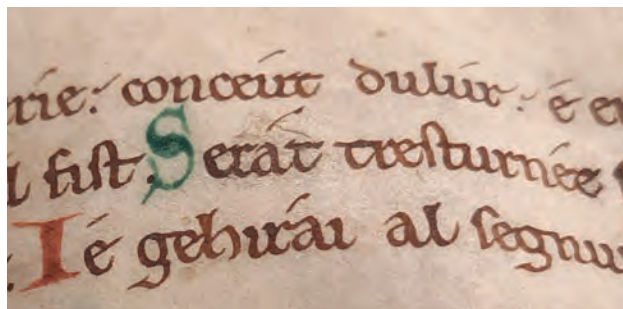
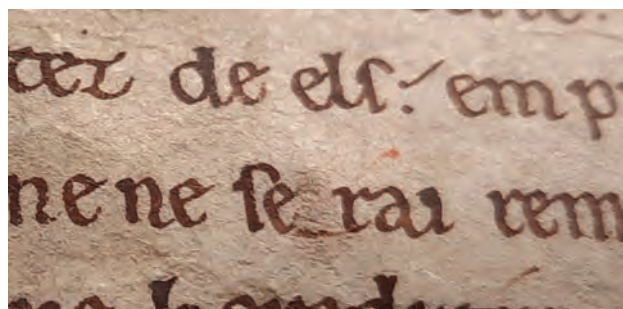
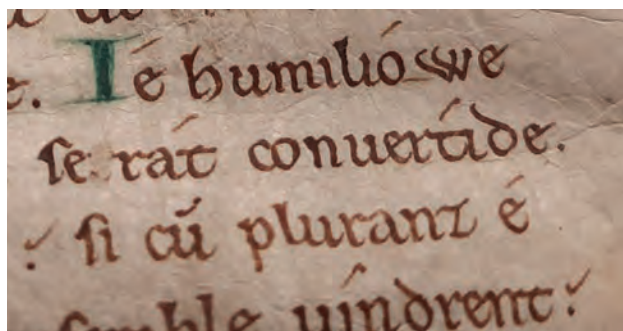
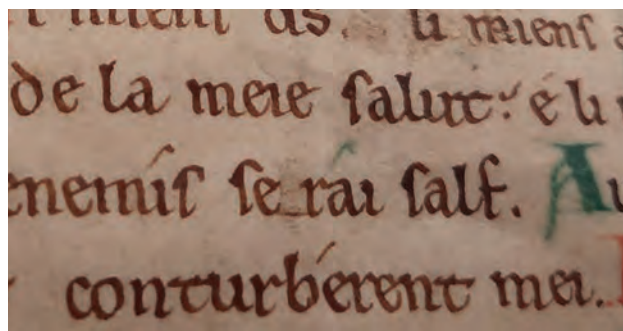
*Se\_rái*: f. 38r, line 40; f. 38v, line 38 (here the scribe for-

got to tie the two segments of the word by a low dash after erasure); 39r, line 25 (the scribe added an accent over *a* in red ink); f. 39v, line 13 + line 17 (with an accent over *a* in green ink) + line 39; f. 40r, line 6; f. 40v, line 5 (twice, with the addition of accents in red ink); f. 41v, line 30; f. 42r, line 23; f. 42v, line 14; f. 42v, line 23.

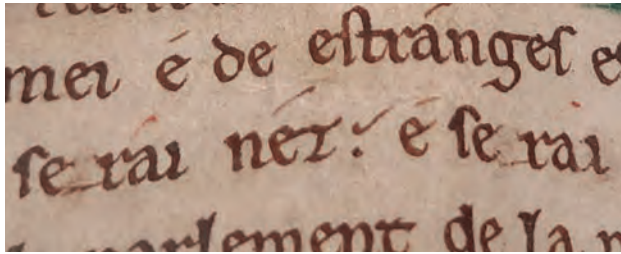
*Se\_rás*: f. 38v, line 10; f. 40r, line 2 (twice, the first case on top of an extensive erasure and with a *s* in superscript); f. 40r, line 3 (twice); f. 44v, line 13.

*Se\_rúnt*: f. 37r, line 6; f. 38r, line 16; f. 41r, line 19 + line 20; f. 41v, lines 8–9; f. 43v, line 22 + line 27; f. 44v, line 3 (here the scribe seems to place a double dash, one above and one under the erased segment) + line 19 + line 28 + line 30 + line 31 + line 32; f. 44v, line 36; f. 45r, line 2.

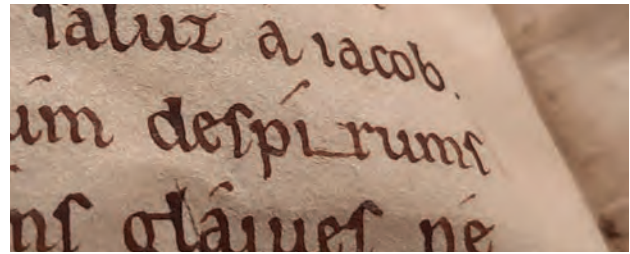
From the beginning of the text up to f. 47, the scribe has the tendency to correct such verbal forms by deleting an *-r-*. A few rare exceptions escaped his erasure campaign. Such is the case with *serrez* on f. 37v, line 39; *serrums* on f. 40v, line 12; *serrái* on f. 41v, line 33; and *serrát* on f. 42v, line 7. Instances where the scribe wrote a single *-r-* from the start occur from f. 45 onwards: *serúnt* on f. 45r, line 1 + line 5, f. 47r, line 17 (on top of an extensive erasure) + line 18 + line 19 + line 25; *serái* on f. 45v, line 20 (on top of an extensive erasure), but also on f. 46r, line 32, and

f. 56v,  
line 9f. 38r,  
line 40f. 38r,  
line 2f. 39r,  
line 25f. 44r,  
line 15f. 39v,  
line 17

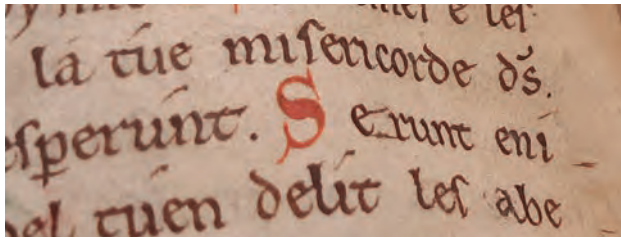
f. 40v,  
line 5



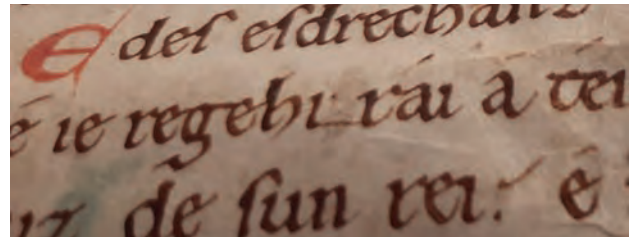
f. 46v,  
line 17



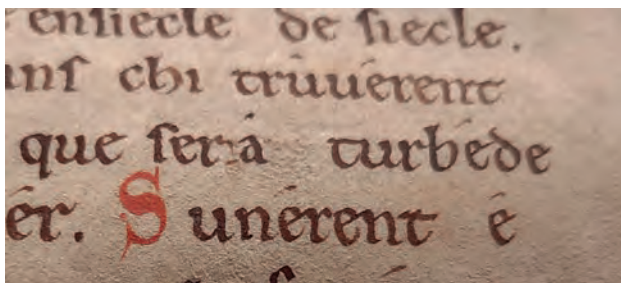
f. 44v,  
line 3



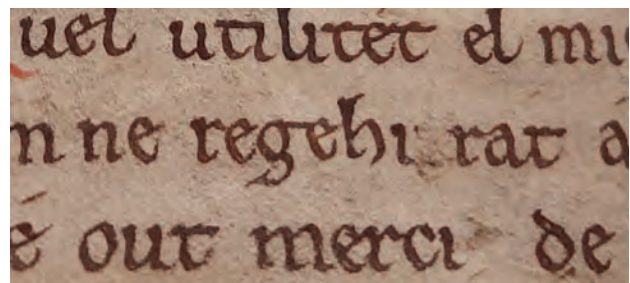
f. 40r,  
line 27



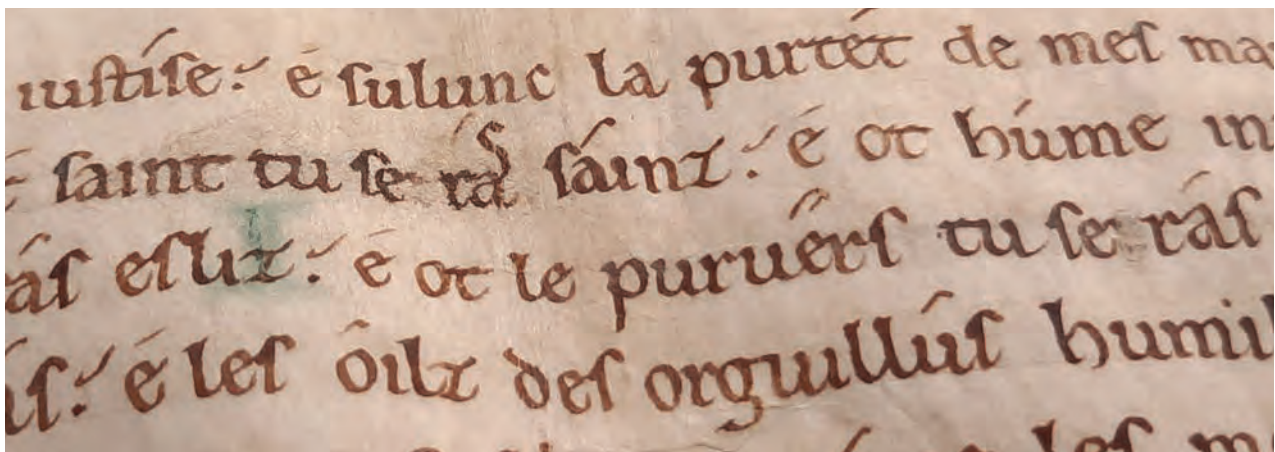
f. 47r,  
line 24



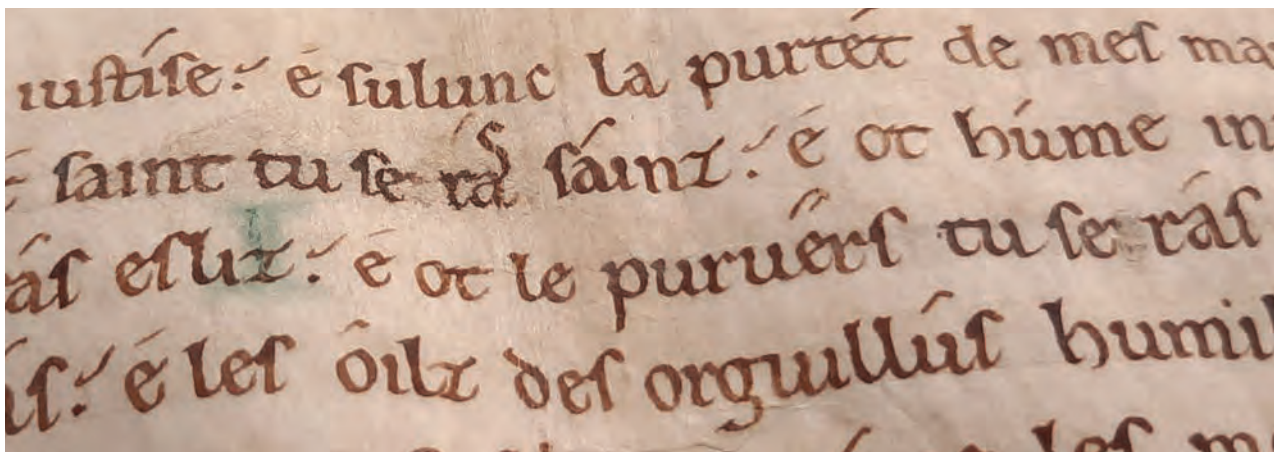
f. 42v,  
line 18



f. 40r,  
line 2



f. 40r,  
line 3



◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
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on f. 47r, line 34 (twice); *serúms* on f. 46v, line 20; *serát* on f. 47v, line 6 + line 37 + line 38 + line 40 (on top of an extensive erasure). The scribe's choice to transcribe the root of the verb with a single *-r-* becomes frequent from f. 48 onwards, with the exception of *serréiz* on f. 69v, line 17, and *serrunt* on f. 70r, line 23.

The interesting case of f. 47r, line 24, *se\_rá\_*, must also be highlighted. It marks a turning point in the treatment of the text. Not only do we find both approaches to correction in the same example, one can also note that this is the last time the scribe has to delete an *-r-*.

Sneddon pointed out that the use of *-r-* and *-rr-* in

future forms in our manuscript can be classified in three groups. The scribe uses either the single or the double form; he can use both of them; or he can decide to correct double *-rr-* to single *-r-*. In the particular case of *estre*, Sneddon's hypothesis is that the scribe could have corrected the spelling to "avoid the confusion with the verb 'to sit'" (Sneddon 1972: 64, cf. 68, 105; cf. Short 2015: 29-30). However, the transformation *-rr-* > *-r-* is also found in a future form of the verb *despire*: *despi\_rums*, f. 46v, line 17; while a double *-rr-* form can be found a few folios afterwards, in *despirrás*, f. 48v, line 9. I must also mention the case of *regehi\_rái* (f. 40r, line 27; f. 42v, line 21-22; f. 43r, line 24; f. 44r, line 21; f. 46r, line 30). This other verb is always written *regehirái* from the beginning to the end of the text, but has been erased only in the cases listed above; and in *regehi\_rat* of f. 42v, line 18.

## DENTALS IN PAST TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE (AC)

As in the case of certain third person future forms, the erasure of a final dental can concern certain past tense forms as well. In particular, this is the case for third person forms of the *a*-type weak perfect (cf. Pope 1952: §995–1009; cf. Sneddon 1972: 98–101). Once again, my survey is illustrated by the most relevant photos that show actual traces of the erased consonant on the parchment:

*amá*\_, f. 47r, line 39 (*amá* entirely on top of an erasure, space at the end of the word); f. 55v, line 17. Spellings with final *-d* on f. 38v, line 22; f. 68v, line 28. *Amá* on f. 64v, line 13; f. 68r, line 38.

*aportá*\_, f. 55r, line 11.

*aprisamá*\_, f. 57v, line 15. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 49r, line 26.

*debrisá*\_, f. 54r, line 20. *Debrisá* on f. 63v, line 30; f. 64v, line 38 (*debrisá* entirely on top of an erasure)

*debutá*\_, f. 55v, line 8–9 + line 16.

*deguerpí*\_, f. 45r, line 26 (*deguerpí*). Perfect third person singular, rendering Latin perfect *dereliquit*. The same verbal form is written with a final *-t*, *deguerpít*, on f. 45v, line 39 (< *dereliquit*) ; f. 52v, line 28 (< *dereliquit*); f. 75r, line 31. However, *deguerpít* is also used to express the past participle *derelictus*: f. 38v, line 9 (< *derelictus*

*est*); f. 44v, line 38 (< *iustum derelictum*). an *i*-type weak perfect that loses its final *-t*.

*demená*\_, f. 54v, line 33; f. 55r, line 39; f. 55v, line 8 + line 21. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 41r, line 28–29; f. 54v, line 36. *Demená* on f. 63r, line 8, f. 63v, line 19; f. 64r, line 5.

*demustrá*\_, f. 54v, line 30. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 50r, line 3.

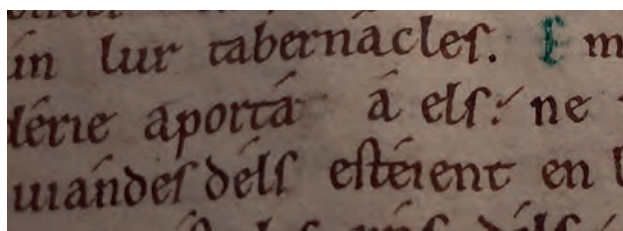
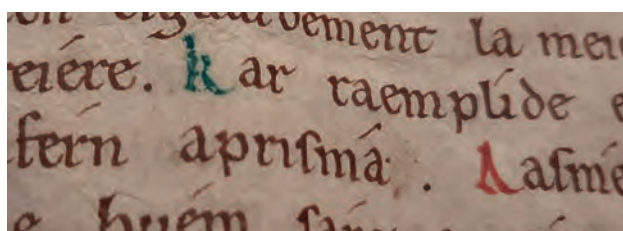
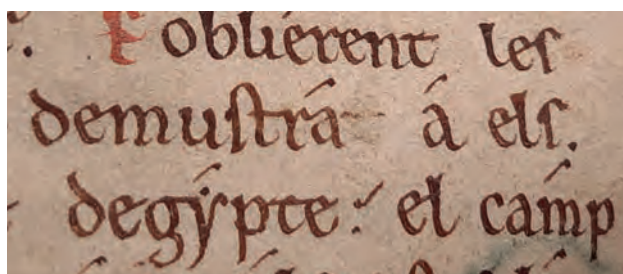
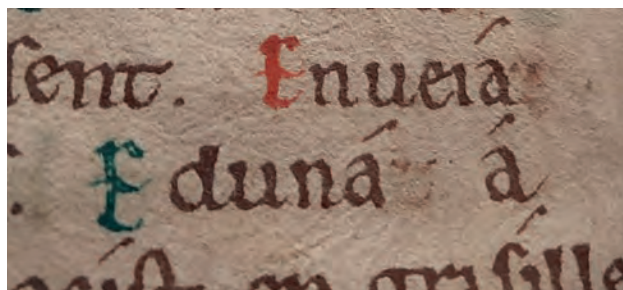
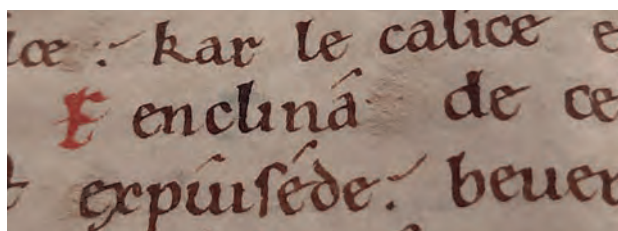
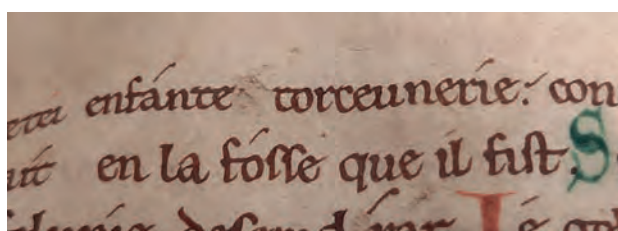
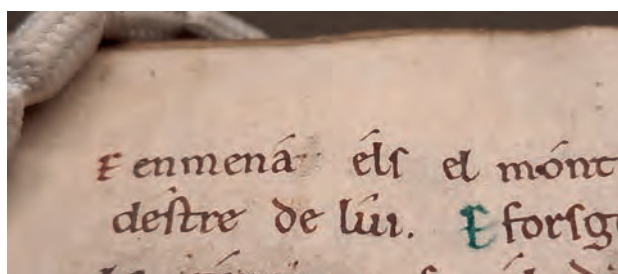
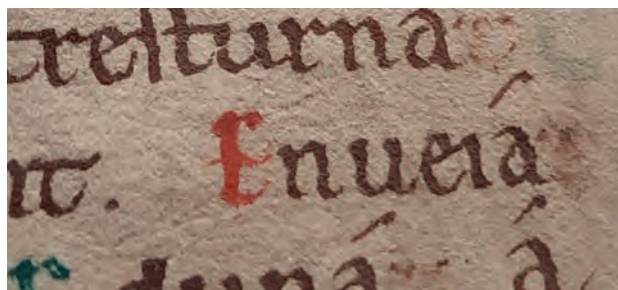
*desturná*\_, f. 56r, line 28. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 38v, line 6; f. 41r, line 16; f. 51r, line 37.

*diuisá*\_, f. 55v, line 2.

*duná*\_, f. 55r, line 6 + line 30; f. 55v, line 15. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 38v, line 40; f. 39r, line 20 + line 29; f. 39v, line 29; f. 47r, line 30; f. 49v, line 9; f. 51r, line 26; f. 51v, line 3. However, the spelling with final dental *-d*, *dunád*, is used on f. 60v, line 21; f. 63r, line 14; f. 69r, line 36; f. 74v, line 27. *Duná* on f. 62v, line 34; f. 63v, line 7; f. 65r, line 6 + line 24; f. 65v, line 23; f. 70v, line 10 + line 31.

*edifiá*\_, f. 55v, line 17. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 61r, line 23.

*encliná*\_, f. 54r, line 15. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39v, line 24. The form *encliná*, without any dental or erasure, occurs on f. 65v, line 27.

f. 55r,  
line 11f. 57v,  
line 15f. 54v,  
line 30f. 55r,  
line 30f. 54r,  
line 15f. 38r,  
line 1f. 55v,  
line 1f. 55r,  
line 29

*enfānte*\_, f. 38r, line 1, renders the Latin perfect tense *parturiit*. The same line has *enfantāt* (f. 38r, line 1), used to render the Latin perfect tense *peperit*. At the end of the text, one notices the spelling with final *-d*: *enfantād* (f. 74r, line 12, again for the past tense third person singular). It is hard to find a grammatical explanation for the presence of *-e* instead of *-a* in the verbal inflection. Perhaps it is just a matter of scribal inconsistency, determined by a confusion with the present indicative, given that the third person of the verb is *parturit*.

*enmená*\_, f. 55v, line 1.

*entendiét*\_, f. 47v, line 32; f. 48r, line 2 (*entendre*). *Entendiét* is a *dedi*-type perfect tense form. It is used here to translate Latin perfect *intellexit*. Without any traces of corrections on top of erasures, it is also used for the rendering of Latin perfect *intendit*: f. 49v, line 27; f. 54r, lines 32–33; f. 56r, line 34. According to Sneddon 1972: 99–100, certain verbs could have been conjugated either according to the *i*-type paradigm, or the *dedi*-type one. In the case of the *i*-type paradigm, the third person ending could have been *-it*. Cf. Pope 1952: §995–1009, and 1278; Sneddon 1972: 99–100; Short 2015, 28–29.

*enueiá*\_, f. 55r, line 6 + line 29 + line 33. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39v, line 29 + line 32. Spelling with final *-d*, *enueiád*, on f. 62v, line 18; f. 63v, line 34; f. 65r, line

11. *Enueiá* on f. 62v, line 9 + line 16; f. 63r, line 14.

*esguardá*\_, f. 57r, line 19. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39r, line 2–3. *Esguardá* on f. 61r, line 26 + line 27; f. 74v, line 19–20.

*exterminá*\_, f. 56r, line 15.

*forsgetá*\_, f. 55v, line 2.

*fundá*\_, f. 55v, line 18; f. 57v, line 9. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 41r, line 36–37; f. 47v, line 11.

*habitá*\_, f. 55v, line 9.

*liurá*\_, f. 55v, line 10. *Liurá* on f. 66r, line 27. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 55r, line 32.

*mandá*\_, f. 55r, line 4; f. 59r, line 14. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 43v, line 3; f. 46r, line 34–35. *Mandá* on f. 54v, line 21; f. 62r, line 39; f. 65r, line 11; f. 70r, line 33; f. 73r, line 31.

*maniá*\_, f. 55r, line 6; f. 55v, line 12. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 62v, line 25 (twice). *Maniá* on f. 55r, line 30.

*mená*\_, f. 55r, line 7 + line 39. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 75r, line 22.

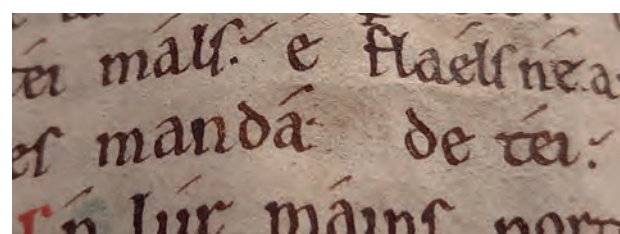
*muntá*\_, f. 47r, line 39; f. 55r, line 3 + line 13. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39, line 23 + line 25; f. 51v, line 9; f. 52r, line 5.

*ordená*\_, f. 56v, line 36.

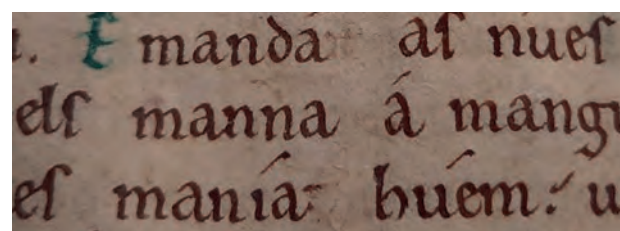
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

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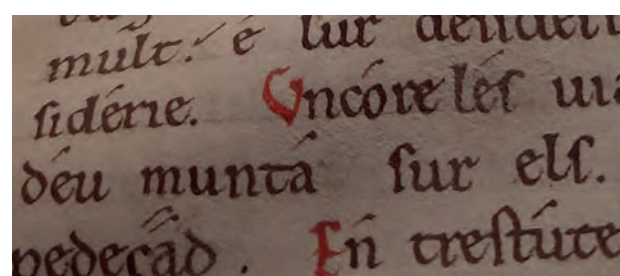
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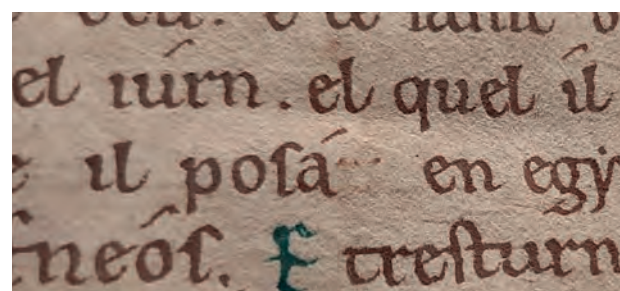
f. 59r,  
line 14



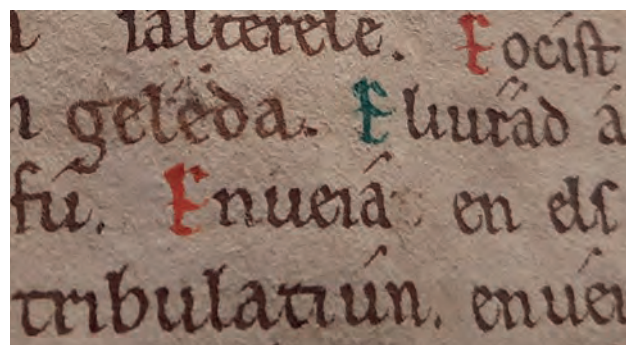
f. 55r,  
line 6



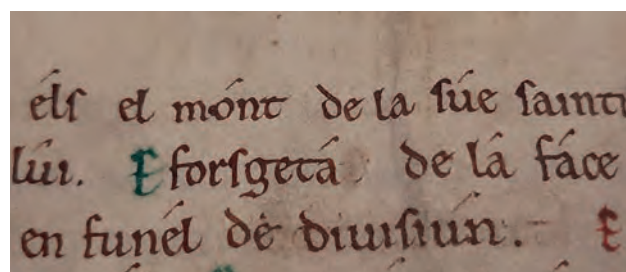
f. 55r,  
line 13



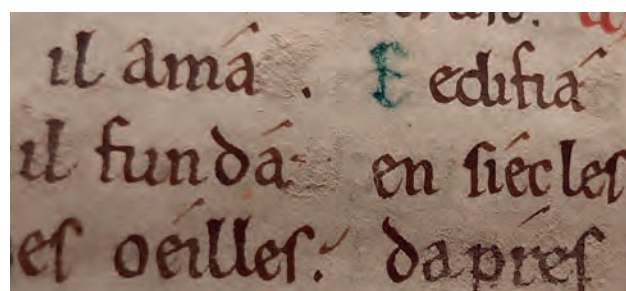
f. 55r,  
line 27



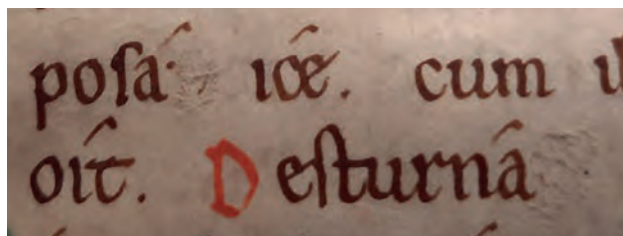
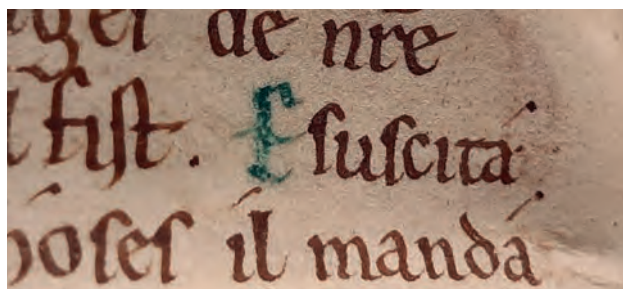
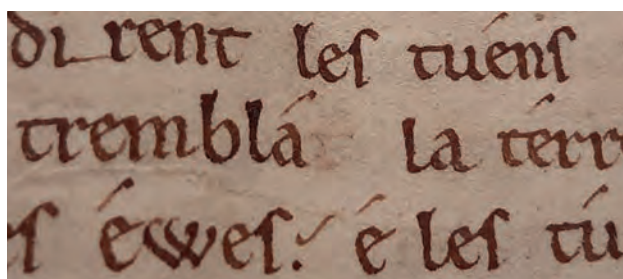
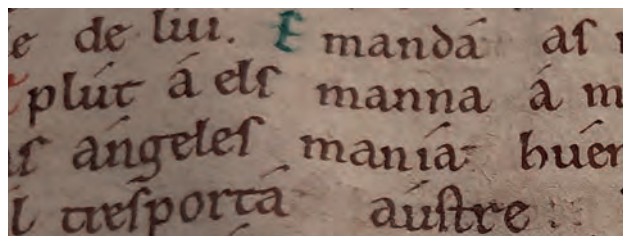
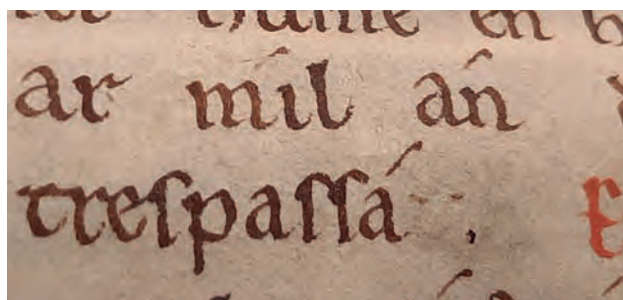
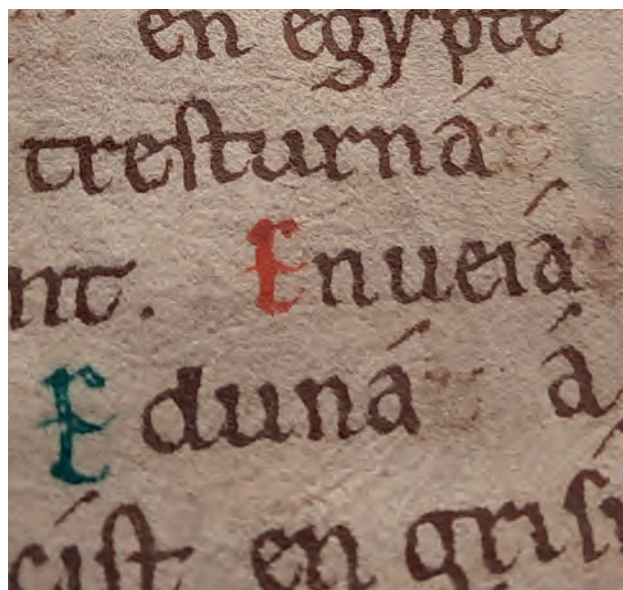
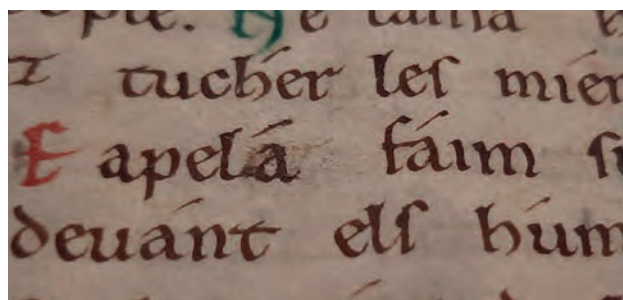
f. 55r,  
line 33



f. 55v,  
line 2



f. 55v,  
line 18

f. 56r,  
line 27f. 54v,  
line 20f. 54v,  
line 12f. 58v,  
line 23f. 55r,  
line 7f. 55r,  
line 28f. 62v,  
line 6*parmená*, f. 54v, line 32.*plántá*, f. 56r, line 17.

*posá*, f. 54v, line 21; f. 55r, line 27; f. 56r, line 27. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39v, line 26; f. 40r, line 9 + line 34; f. 47r, line 32; f. 48v, line 19; f. 51r, line 25-26. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 62v, line 17 + line 22; f. 64r, line 10; f. 73r, line 19 + line 32; f. 74r, line 17. *Posá* on f. 56v, line 36; f. 64r, line 17.

*purluigná*, f. 55r, line 2.*refusá*, f. 54r, line 34.*reposá*, f. 54r, line 26.*reproúá*, f. 53v, line 39.

*saúlá*, f. 56r, line 40. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 62v, line 31.

*suscita*, f. 54v, line 20.

*tremblá*, f. 54r, line 26; f. 54v, line 12. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39v, line 22.

*trespassá*, f. 58v, line 23. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 69r, line 34; f. 74v, line 27. *Trespassá* on f. 62v, line 8.

*tresportá*, f. 55r, line 7.

*tresturná*, f. 55r, line 28. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 51r, line 22. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 65v, line 4. *Tresturná* on f. 62v, line 19.

One last, rather particular, case is *apela* on f. 62v, line 6. There seem to be two erased letters at the end, one of which is either a *-t* or a *-z* (scribal error? especially since it is located too far from all the other erased dentals).

With the exception of two erasures found on folio 47, the survey showed that all the other instances are condensed between f. 53 and f. 59, thus confirming Short's hypothesis of "a deliberate effort, presumably on the part of the scribe-translator himself, to erase final dentals" (Short 2015: 20; cf. Sneddon 1972: 99). Competitive forms in *-t* seem to be prevalent in the first part of the text, in our case up to f. 52. In contrast, *-d* endings or the absence of a final dental occurs mainly after f. 53-59. There are, naturally, a series of exceptions. The scribe already uses the spelling *mandá* on f. 54; *liurád* on f. 55; and *amád* on f. 38. The case of *apela*, on the other hand, shows that the scribe was not immune from returning to his old spelling automatisms even after the turning point mentioned previously. He sometimes reintroduced final *-t*, but corrected it immediately.

## DENTALS IN OTHER VERBAL FORMS (AC)

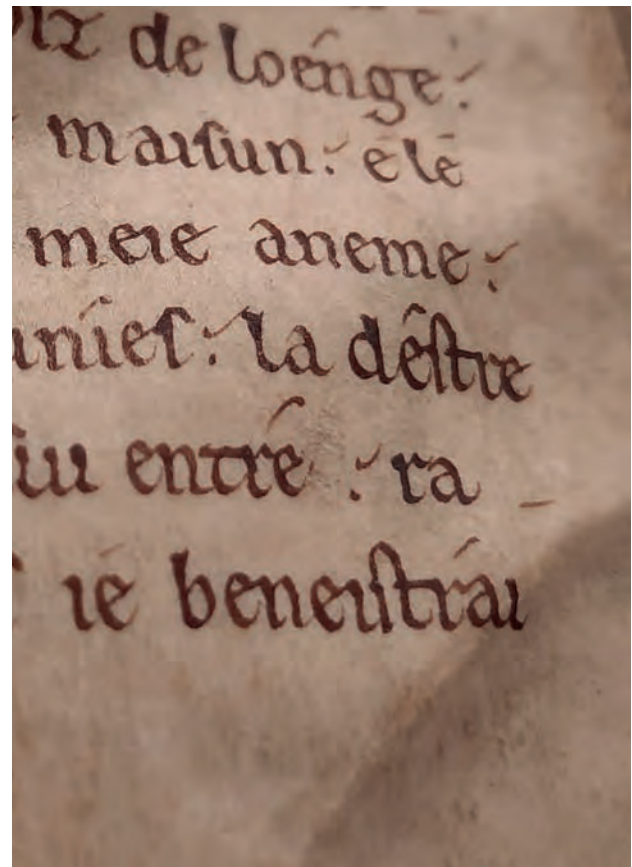
The inventory of erasures led to the identification of other situations connected to the fluctuation of final dentals in present and past tenses.

*aúne*\_, f. 45v, line 11 (*auner*). Present indicative third person singular, rendering Latin *theaurizat*.

*éentre*\_, f. 39r, line 16 (*entrer*). This present indicative third person singular translates Latin present indicative *ingreditur*. The scribe erased a final dental (probably *-t*), but he did not make the same choice for two other present indicatives on the same line: *ouřet* and *parólet*. On f. 41v, line 38, (*sui*) *entré* renders Latin *ingressus* (*sum*). In the remainder of the text, the spelling *entre* is written without erasures, and translates subjunctives on f. 53v, line 3 (rendering the first person singular of the present subjunctive *intrem*). See also the spelling *éntret* on f. 44v, line 26 (for the third person singular of the present subjunctive *intret*). And the spelling *éntred* on f. 55v, line 37 (for the present subjunctive third person singular *introeat*).

*esguárde*\_, f. 45r, line 5-6 (*esguarder*). This is an indicative present tense in the third person singular, rendering Latin present indicative *considerat*. The Latin term *considerat* is translated in the same way in another psalm, without any sign of erasure: (*n*)*esguárde* (f. 59v, line 16; the Old French spelling *esguárde* translates the Latin imperative *aspice* on f. 56v, line 39, and f. 68r, line 28).

*exálce*\_, f. 54r, line 14, (*exalcer*). This is a present indicative third person singular, rendering Latin present indicative *exaltat*. The spelling *exalcét* is used as a past participle on f. 40r, line 24 (*seit exalcét* < *exaltetur*); f. 40v, line 30 (*seies exalcét* < *exaltare*); f. 44v, line 32 (*serunt exalcét* < *exaltati fuerint*); f. 49v, ligne 12 + ligne

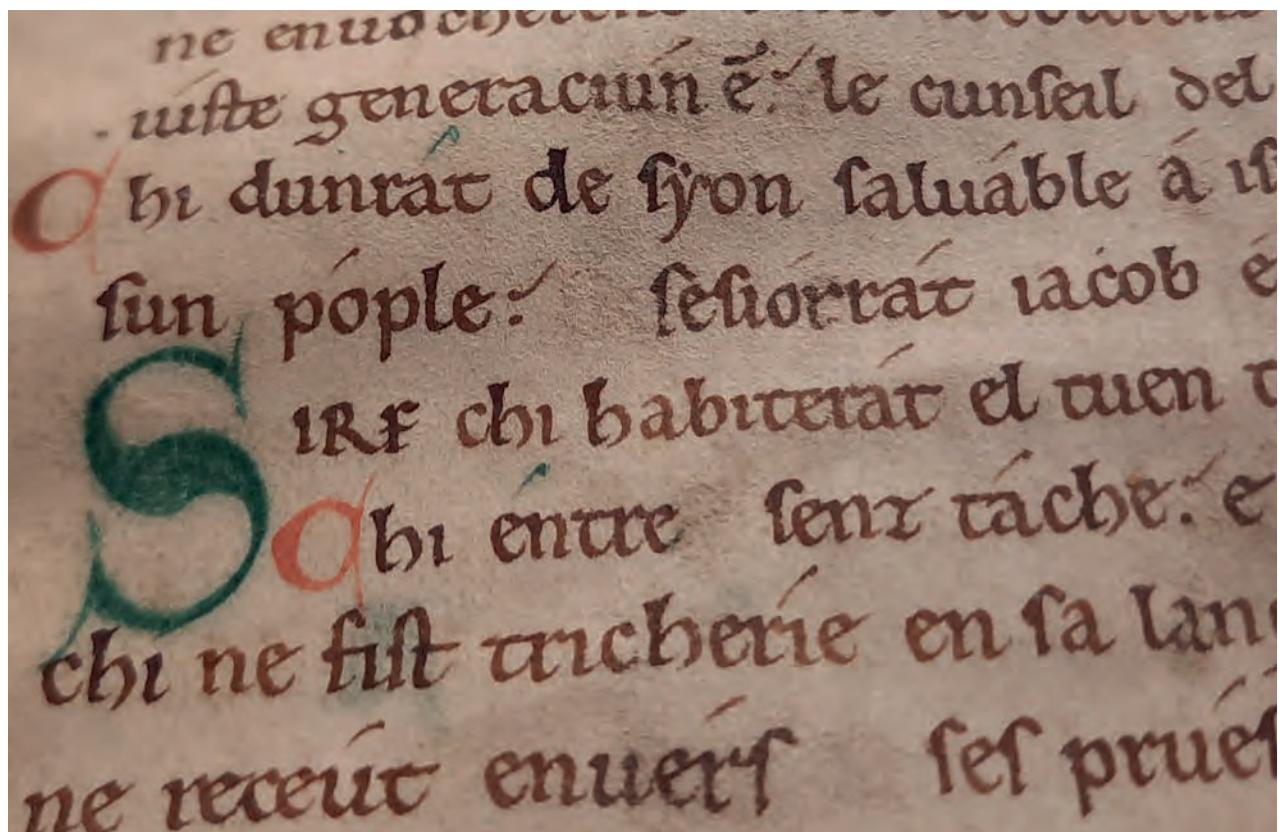


f. 41v,  
line 38

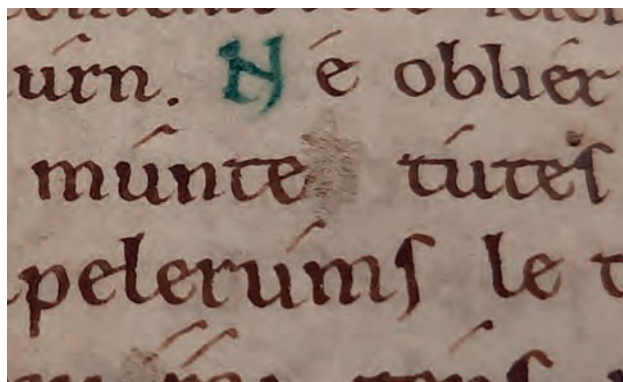
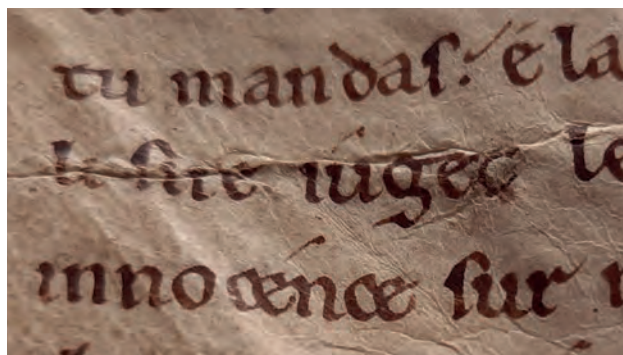
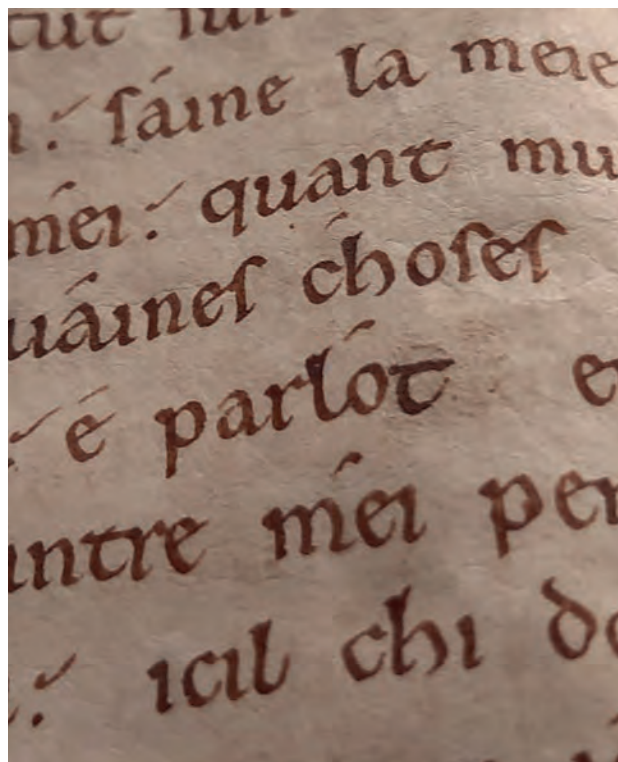
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

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f. 39r,  
line 16

f. 54r,  
line 6f. 37v,  
line 35f. 46r,  
line 14

18 (*seies exalcet / exalcét < exaltare*); f. 50v, line 34 (*serat exalcet < exaltabitur*); f. 51r, line 24 (*seient exalcét < exaltentur*). The case of f. 47r, line 34 is particularly interesting. There are two variant spellings: (*serai*) *exalcéd / exalcét < exaltabor*. The spelling *exalcéd* appears again on f. 54r, line 18 and f. 58r, line 16 (*serunt exalcéd < exaltabuntur*). As for the spelling *exalcé*, without any trace of erasure, it is used as a past participle in the following cases: f. 59r, line 32 (*sera exalcé < exaltabitur*); f. 59v, line 9 (*seies exalcé < exaltare*); f. 63v, line 40 (*exalcé sunt < exaltati sunt*); f. 64r, line 24 (*seies exalcé < exaltare*); f. 65r, line 26 (*sera exalcé < exaltabitur*); f. 70r, line 5 (*est exalcé < est exaltatum*); f. 71v, line 18 (*seient exalcé < exaltentur*).

*humilie*, f. 54r, lines 13–14 (*humilier*). Present indicative third person singular for the Latin present indicative *humiliat*.

*iüre*, f. 39r, line 19 (*iurer*). Present indicative, translating the Latin present tense third person singular *iurat*.

*munte*, f. 54r, line 6 (*munter*). Present indicative, translating the Latin present tense third person singular *ascendit*. In this particular case, given the dimension of the erasure and the scribe's tendency to write a final *-d* in this part of the manuscript, it is safe to assume that the erased consonant was also a *-d*. *Munte*, without any erasure, occurs on f. 74v, line 40.

*trespasse*, f. 45v, line 10 (*trespasser*). Present indicative third person singular, rendering Latin *pertransit* (*trespasse* without erasure occurs on f. 38v, line 15, and renders the Latin imperative *transmigra*).

*truué*, f. 56v, line 31 (*trover*). Present indicative, rendering Latin third person singular *invenit*. The same spelling is also used for the past participle on f. 45r, line 10 (*est truué < est inventus*); f. 53r, line 37 (*serunt truue < invenientur*). The spelling *truue*, without any erasure, occurs on f. 38v, line 11 as past participle

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masculine singular (*serat truue < invenietur*).

This survey confirms the hypothesis of Sneddon 1972: 96, that in the case of the present indicative “the final *t* in the 3rd person sing. is often erased in the second half of the Oxford Psalter.” However, there are situations in which the final dental was erased well before the second half of text, as well as a series of examples in which the erased final dental could have been *-d*. Cf. Meister 1877: 68–69; Short 2015: 27.

To these, one must add situations in which the erasure was followed by the insertion of a correction:

*iraisséit*, f. 69r, line 33 (*irer*). Third person singular translating Latin imperfect subjunctive *irasceret*. For the same verb, the ending in a present indicative second person plural is written on top of an erasure on f. 37r, line 35, *iraissez* (*< irascimini*).

*iüget*, f. 37v, line 35 (*iuger*). This verb in the third person singular renders Latin present indicative *iudicat*. As the ending of the present indicative third person singular could be *-e(t)*, perhaps the scribe wrote *-ed* and then erased and corrected it. Cf. Pope 1952: §891.

*parlôt*, f. 46r, line 13 + line 14 (*parler*). Imperfect indicative third person singular for Latin imperfect *loquebatur*. The spelling is written without any sign of erasure on f. 60v, line 20 (*< loquebatur*). In the two instances of lines 13 and 14 of f. 46r, the correction occupies less space than the erasure. On line 14, there are also traces of an erased *-t* in the remaining blank space. Maybe the erased variant of the word could have been *parlout*.

*uienc*, f. 45v, line 30 (*venir*). This present indicative first person singular renders Lat *invenio*.

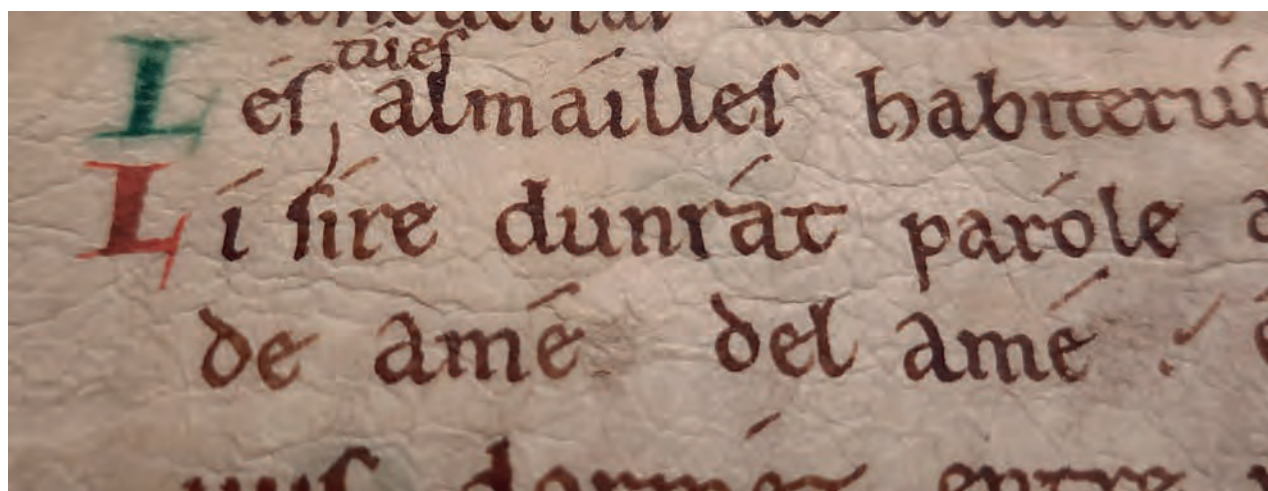
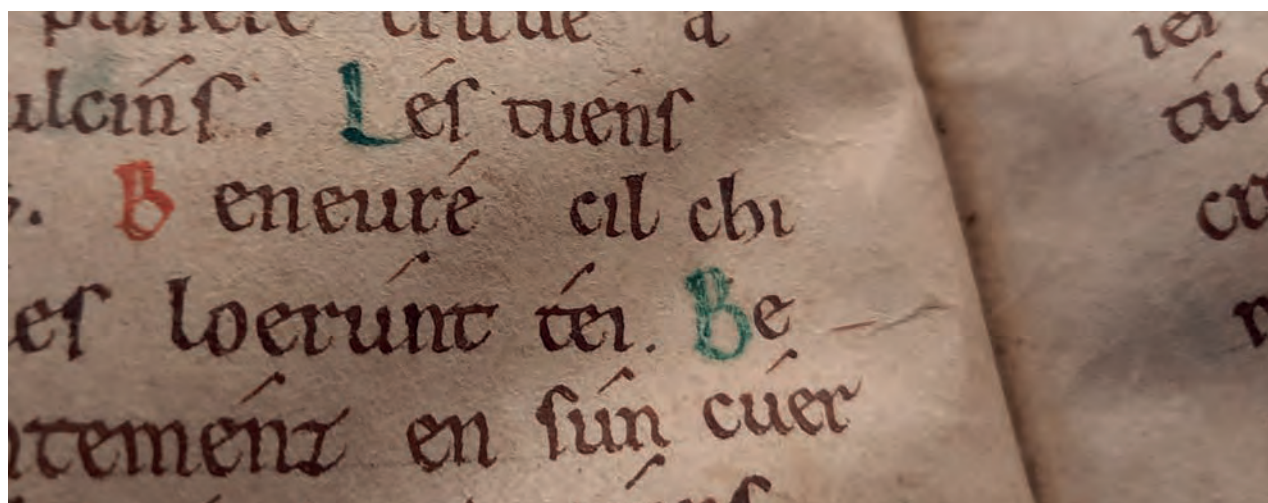
## DENTALS IN PARTICIPLES (AC)

Sneddon 1972: 102, notes that, “in common with the 3rd person sing. forms of many tenses, the final consonant of past participles is often omitted in the case of *-et*, *-it* and *-ut* forms.” Indeed, the case of *exalcé(t)* (discussed in the previous section) shows that the scribe used alternative past participles with or without a final dental. The following list of erasures shows a fluctuation in spelling final *-t* and *-d*. Certain instances from the ensuing survey also show that erasures are also linked to a final flexional *-z* from the nominative singular. The past participle declension was unstable in agreement. This is already evident from the analysis of *entré*, *exalcét*, *exalcéd*, *exalcé*, or *truué* (vide supra). Cf. Pope 1952: §1049–§1057; Sneddon 1972: 101–102, 117–120.

*amé*, f. 51v, line 20 (twice). In the phrase *Lí réis de vertúz de amé del amé* [...], it translates Latin *Rex virtutum dilecti, dilecti* [...]. The past participle renders an oblique case in the singular. On f. 50r, line 18, there is *amét* (< *dilecti*, nominative plural), and the variant *amé* (< *dilecti*, again nominative plural) on f. 56v, line 29. The spelling *améz* occurs on f. 69v, line 17 (oblique plural) and on f. 75r, line 30 (nominative singular). The scribe could have erased two final *-t*.

*beneuré*, f. 46r, line 8 (*beneuré lé fâcet* < *beatum faciat eum*, oblique case singular); f. 56v, line 33 (*beneuré cil*

*chi habitent* < *beati qui habitant*, nominative plural). The only spelling with a final dental seems to be *beneuré* on f. 37r, line 21–22 (< *beati*, nominative plural). The spelling *beneuré* is used on f. 72v, line 6 (< *beatum*, oblique case singular) + line 7 (< *beatus*, nominative singular). It is also used in the nominative plural for the rendering of Latin *beati*: f. 43r, line 18; f. 62v, line 39; f. 66v, line 1 + line 2; f. 69v, line 22. *Beneuréz* is always used when translating Latin nominative singular *beatus*: f. 37, line 1; f. 43r, line 19; f. 43v, line 25; f. 45v, line 25; f. 46r, line 7; f. 51r, line 2; f. 56v, line 34–35; f. 57r, line 5; f. 58r, line 14; f. 59v, line 18; f. 65r, line 15; f. 69v, line 19 + line 23; f. 71r, line 5 + line 6; f. 72v, line 36. Concerning its declension, the only exception occurs on f. 72v, line 7, where *beneuré* renders a nominative singular. However, Sneddon already pointed out that “past participles and adjectives, when used as predicates, are found with and without *-s* in nom. singular” (Sneddon 1972: 118). Concerning the erasures in our survey, the photo of the second example clearly shows that the scribe omitted a final *-d*. In the first case, nevertheless, one cannot be sure if the erasure is of a final *-t* or *-z*. The scribe could have either written *beneuré* in the initial version of the text, thus following the declension; or he could have made a mistake by writing a final *-z*. *conforté*, f. 57v, line 3 (*ás conforté* < *consolatus es*, nominative singular). The scribe wished to omit a final *-d*. In

f. 51v,  
line 20f. 56v,  
line 33

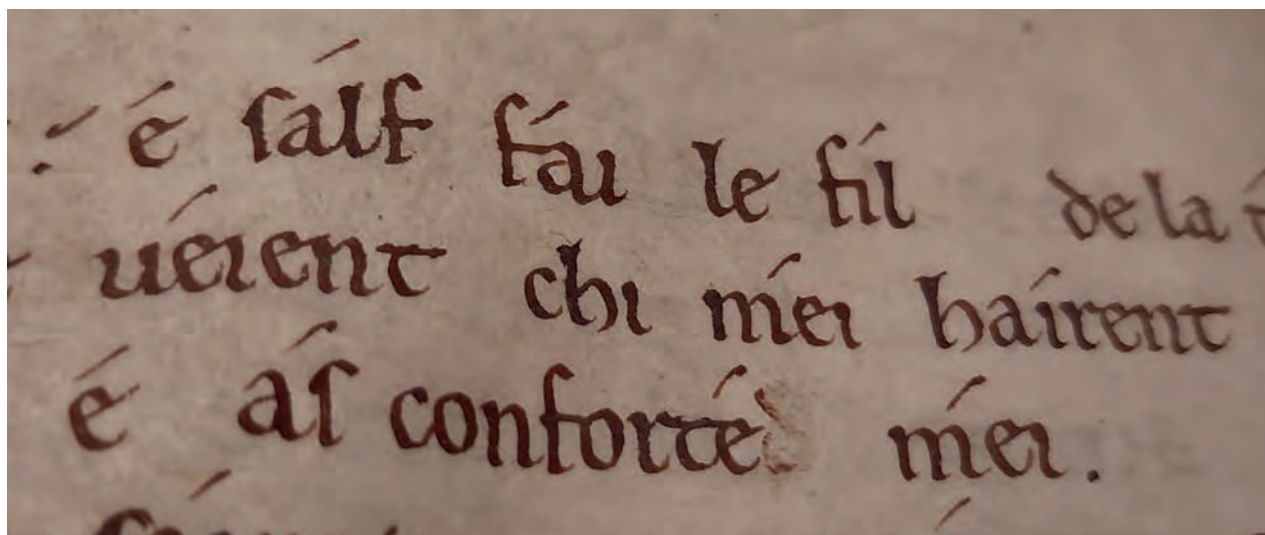
the French text, the past participle is linked to the auxiliary verb *avoir*. Therefore, as in modern French, past participles “do not agree in number or case with the subject” (Sneddon, 1972: 119). The spelling *confortét* (no-

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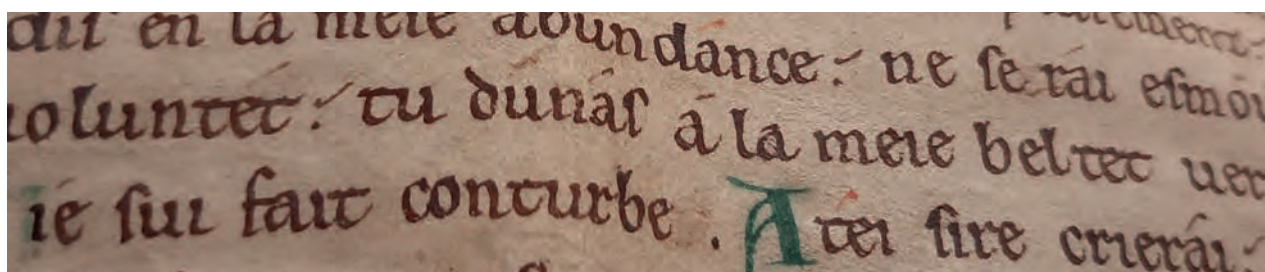
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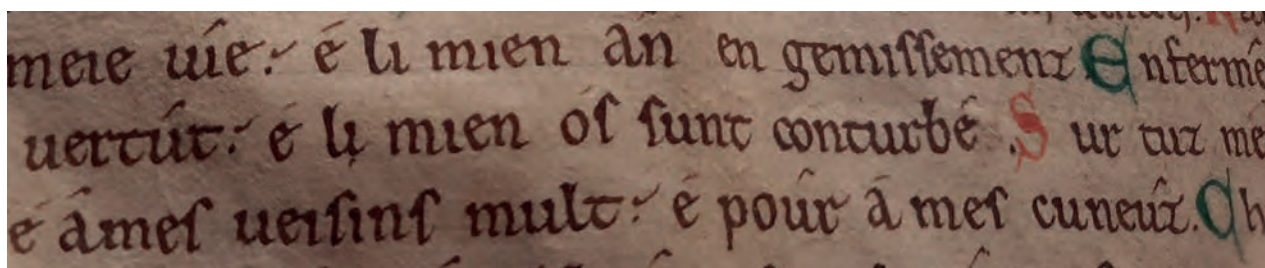
f. 57v,  
line 3



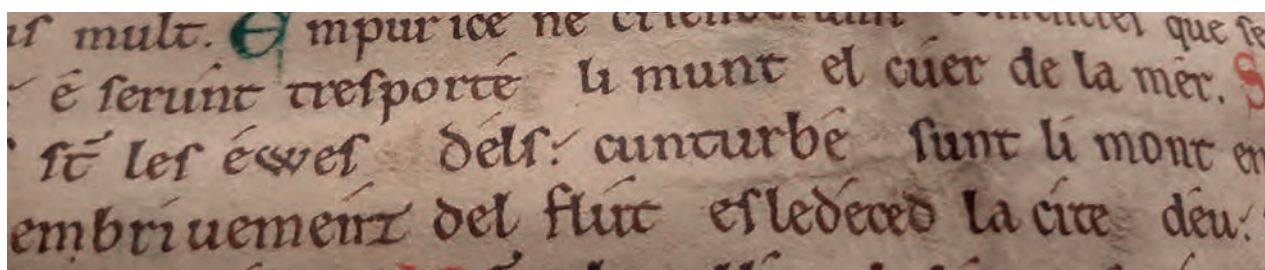
f. 42v,  
line 16



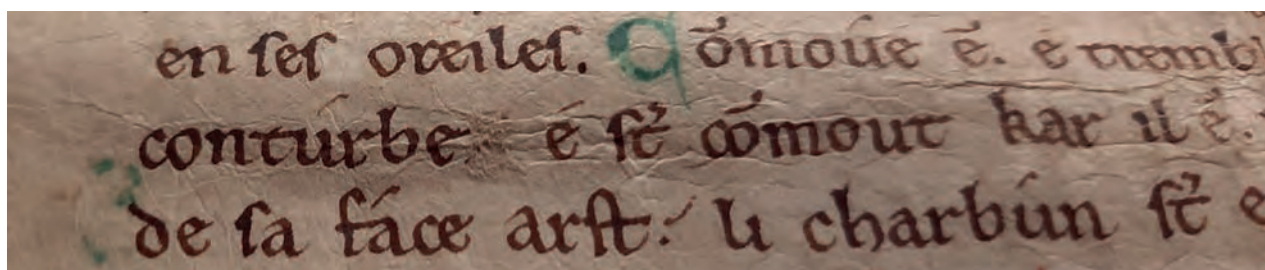
f. 42v,  
line 36



f. 47r,  
line 26



f. 39v,  
line 23

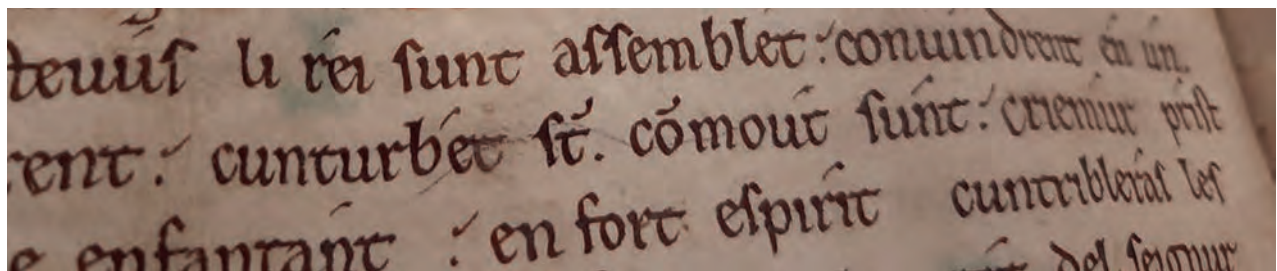


minative singular and plural) occurs on f. 38r, line 32 (*seit confortet* < *confortetur*); f. 39v, line 34 (*confortét sunt* < *confortati sunt*); f. 42r, line 20 (*séit confortet* < *confortetur*); f. 52r, line 14 (*confortét sunt* < *confortati sunt*). *Confortéd* (nominative plural) occurs on f. 69v, line 8 (*súmes confortéd* < *sumus consolati*) and on f. 72r, line 7 (*confortéd sunt* < *confortati sunt*).

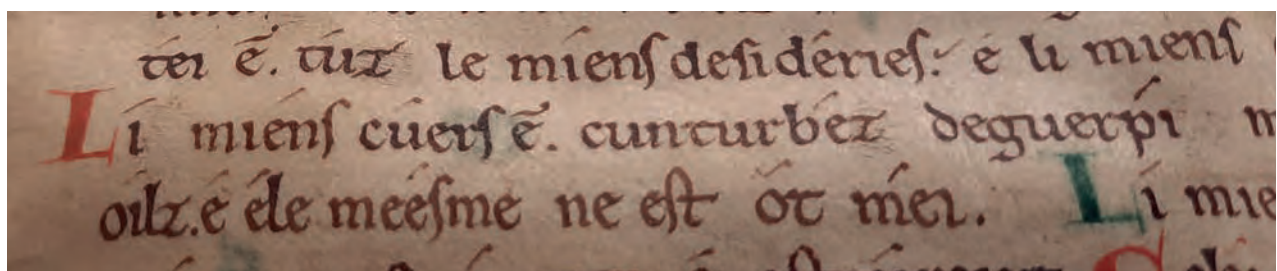
*conturbe*\_, f. 42v, line 16, *sui fait conturbe*\_ (< *factus sum conturbatus*; nominative singular) + line 36, *sunt conturbé*\_ (< *conturbata sunt*; nominative plural; maybe a final *-t*); f. 47r, line 26, *cunturbé*\_ *sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*, nominative plural; maybe an erased *-t*). In the case of f. 39v, line 23, *sunt contúrbe*\_ (< *conturbata sunt*, nominative plural) one may still see traces of an erased *-z*. In this specific situation, the Latin phrase is *fundamenta montium conturbata sunt*. Perhaps the erased final *-z* marked an agreement between the participle and the plural *montes* (oblique plural in Old French). In another example, the last letter was erased and changed into a *-t*: f. 47v, line 8, *cunturbét* *sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*, nominative plural). The same spelling, again for nominative plural, is correctly used

on f. 50v, line 36, *conturbét sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*). On other folios, the scribe used the variants *-éd/-é*: f. 56v, line 26, *seient conturbéd* (< *conturbentur*); f. 74v, line 2, *conturbé sunt*. The erased letter could have been a *-z*, perhaps a scribal mistake in the declension. However, many examples show that erasures concern dentals in nominative singulars that are replaced with final *-z*: f. 45r, line 26, *est cunturbéz* (< *conturbatum est*) + line 11, *est conturbéz* (< *conturbatur*); f. 45v, line 17, *est cunturbéz* (< *conturbatur*); f. 49r, line 6, *conturbéz est* (< *conturbatum est*); f. 49v, lines 10–11, *conturbéz* (< *conturbatus*). *Conturbéz*, without erasures, and always used as nominative singular, is found on f. 42v, line 33 (*conturbéz est* < *conturbatus est*); f. 49r, line 4 (*conturbéz súi* < *conturbatus sum*); f. 57v, line 31 (*sui conturbéz* < *conturbatus sum*); f. 64v, line 20 (*conturbéz est* < *conturbatum est*); f. 74v, line 37 (*conturbéz est*). Finally, two instances have past participles rewritten entirely on top of erasures: f. 37v, line 18, *sunt conturbét* (nominative plural < *conturbata sunt*) + line 19 *conturbéde est* (extensive erasure, feminine nominative singular < *turbata est*).

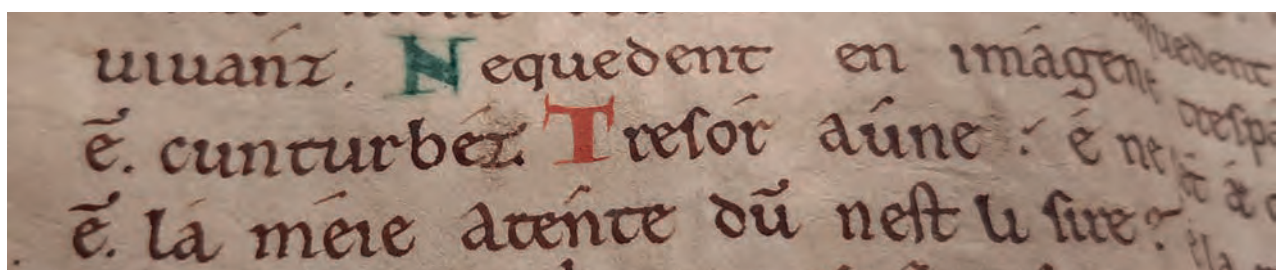
*esleué*\_, f. 45r, line 9 (< *elevatum*, oblique singular). *Es-*



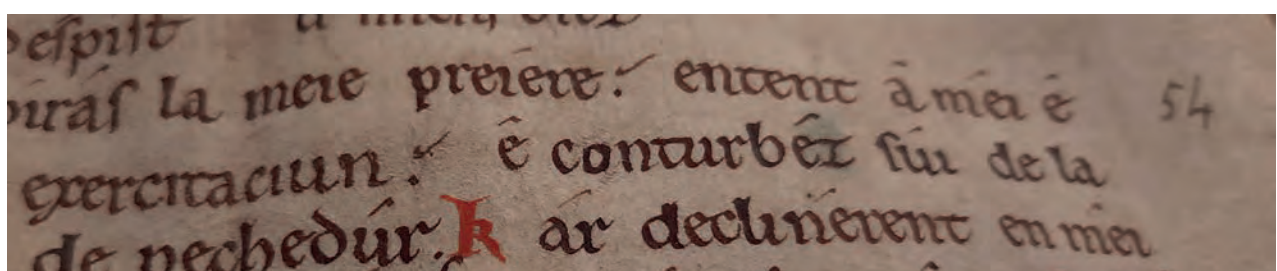
f. 47v,  
line 8



f. 45r,  
line 26



f. 45v,  
line 11



f. 49r,  
line 6

*leuét* occurs on f. 47v, line 3 (nominative plural); spelled *esleué* on f. 70r, line 5. The scribe could have erased a *-t* or a *-d*.

*espanđu*, f. 53r, line 29 (*espanđu sunt* < *effusi sunt*, nominative plural). There are traces of an erased final *-t*. *Espanđu* (*súi*), f. 41r, line 4 (< *effusus sum*, nominative singular). For the spelling *espanđu* (*ést*), see f. 55v, line 36 (< *effusus est*, nominative singular). Once again, this is an exception in the agreement of the past participle: *espanđu* (*súi*) on f. 41r, line 4, where one would expect a final *-z*.

*guardé*, f. 45r, line 2 (*serúnt guardé* < *conservabuntur*, nominative plural). The same nominative plural, without erasure, can be found on f. 66v, line 5 (< *custodiri*). The scribe probably omitted a final *-t*.

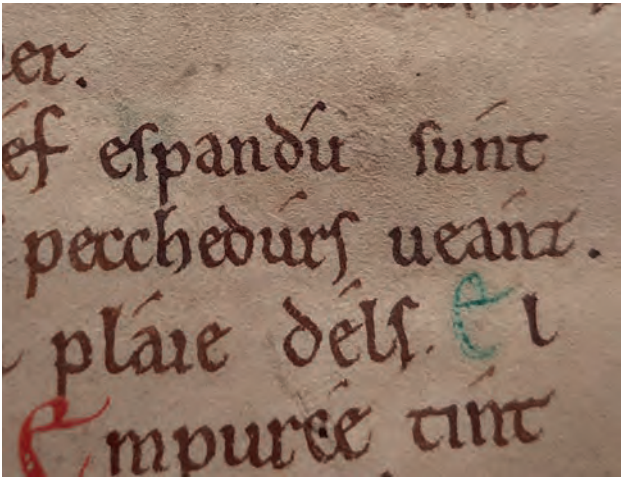
*humilié*, on f. 48r, line 39, is used for nominative plural (< *humiliata*). The variant with a final dental, *humiliet*, on f. 48v, line 8, is used for an oblique singular (< *humiliatum*). The spelling *humiliéd* is used in different ways: on f. 56r, line 37, it marks a past participle with the auxiliary verb *avoir* (*ousse* < *humiliassem*); on f. 63v, line 3 +

line 5 + line 31, it is a nominative plural (*humiliéd fúrent* < *humiliati sunt*; *humiliéd fúrent* < *humiliati sunt*; *fúrent humiliéd* < *humiliati sunt*). See also *humilie~~z~~*, f. 44r, line 17 (*estéie humiliez* < *humiliabar*); f. 45r, line 23-24 (*humiliéz súi* < *humiliatus sum*) and f. 45v, line 4 (*humiliéz súi* < *humiliatus*). The *-z* of *humiliéz*, nominative singular, is written on top of an erasure. Cf. *humiliéz* without any sign of erasure (nominative singular, *humiliéz sui* < *humiliatus sum*) on f. 57v, line 30; f. 65v, line 31 + line 36; and f. 63v, line 24 (nominative singular linked to a neuter noun, *cor: humiliéz est* < *humiliatum est*). Yet we find the variant *humilié* (nominative singular), on f. 67r, line 34 (*ié fússe humilié* < *humiliarer*) and f. 72r, line 6 (*humilié súi* < *humiliatus sum*), where the ending *-t* of singular nominative case does not occur.

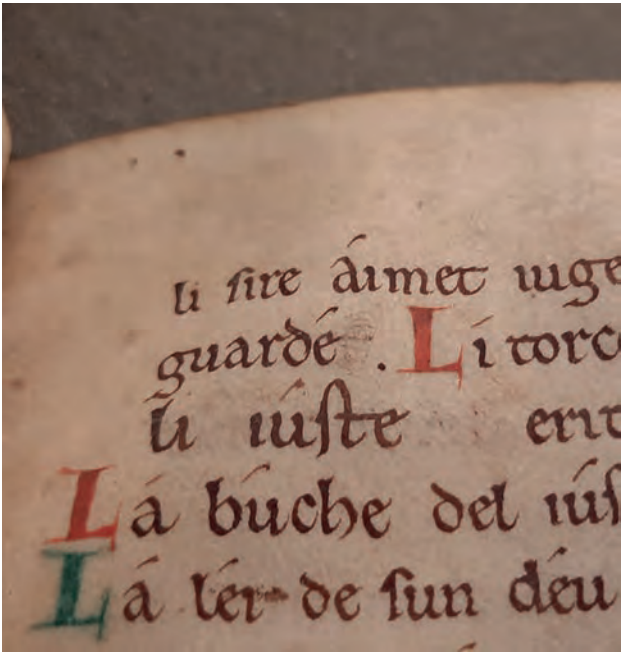
*oscuré*, f. 52r, line 36 (*seient oscuré* < *obscrentur*, nomin-

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
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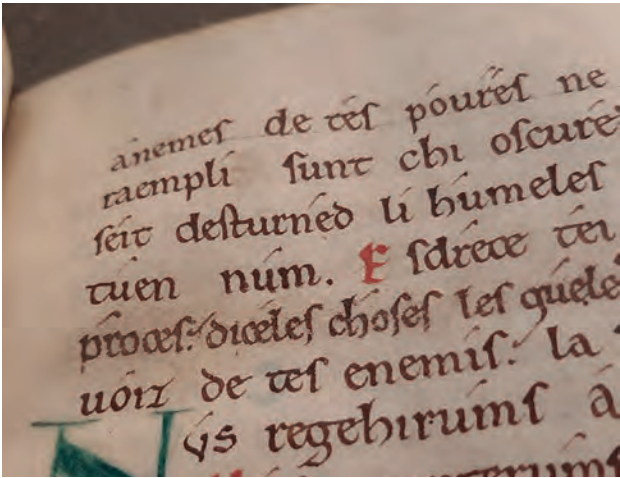
f. 53r,  
line 29



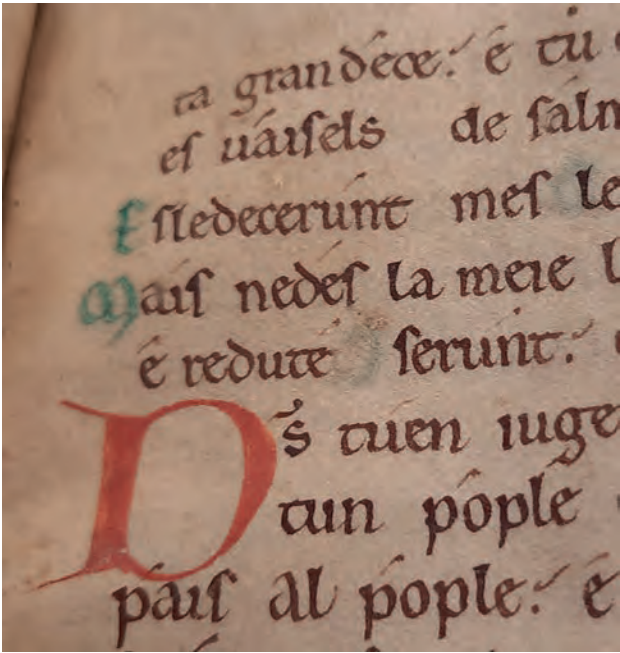
f. 45r,  
line 2



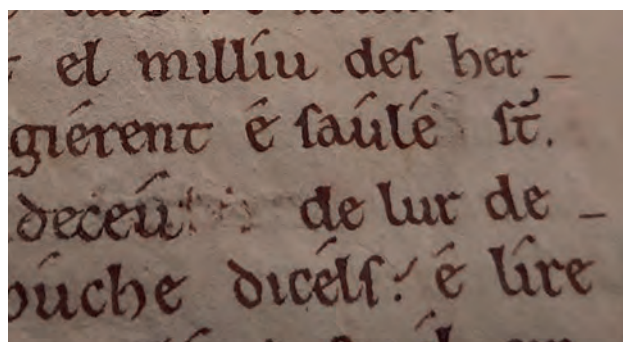
f. 54r,  
line 2



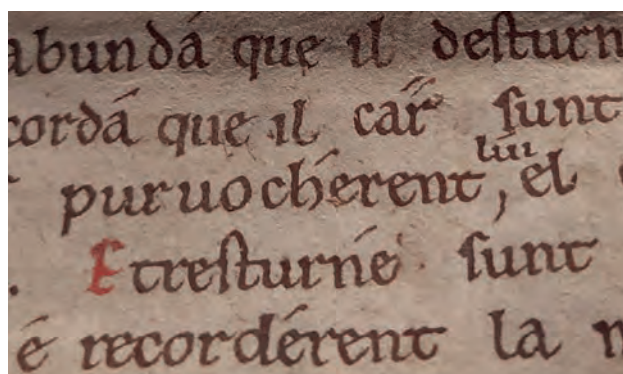
f. 53r,  
line 5



f. 55r,  
line 10



f. 55r,  
line 25



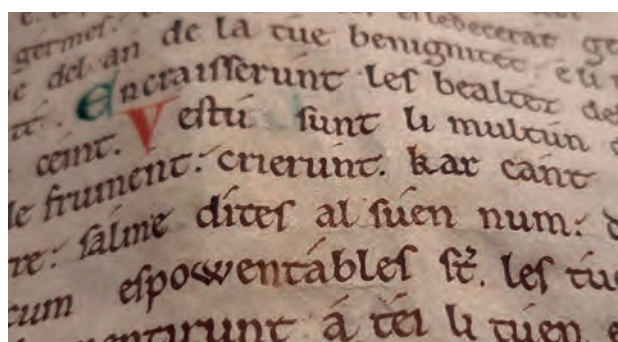
ative plural). There are no traces of an erased letter. One could simply suppose that the scribe omitted a dental (*-t* or *-d*). The only other example of this past participle is *oscuréd*, on f. 54r, line 2 (*oscuréd sunt* < *obscurati sunt*, nominative plural).

*raemplí*, f. 54r, line 2 (*raemplí sunt* < *repleti sunt*, nominative plural). This erasure still shows traces of an erased *-t*, according to the variants *raemplít* and *raemplí* used as nominative plural on f. 51r, line 3 (*serúms raemplít* < *replebimur*) + line 14, *serúnt raemplít* < *replebuntur*; f. 58v, line 36 (*raemplí súmes* < *repleti sumus*); f. 69r, line 29 (*súmes raemplí* < *repleti sumus*). The spelling *raemplíz*, for nominative singular, occurs on f. 51r, line 10 and f. 69v, line 8 (*raemplíz est* < *repletum est*).

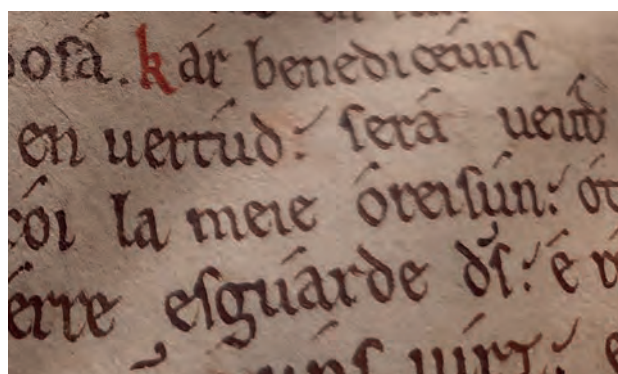
*reduté*, f. 44r, line 2 (*seient reduté* < *revereantur*, nominative plural); f. 53r, line 5 (*reduté serúnt* < *reveriti fuerint*, nominative plural). In the first case, the term is a part of the following sentence: *Seient confundút é reduté*; *li queránt la meie áne me*. There is an erasure at the end of *reduté*, as well as another one at the end of *queránt* (*vide infra*). It is possible that the scribe mistook the correct desinence for nominative plural and wrote a final *-z* in his initial transcription. The second term shows clear traces of *-t* under erasure.

*saulé*, f. 55r, line 10 (*saulé sunt* < *saturati sunt*, nominative plural). There are clear traces of an erased final *-t*. This is only one of the instances of instability in spelling the declension of past participles. For nominative plurals, the scribe used the spelling *saulé* (f. 55r, line 10 after erasure) and f. 62r, line 6 (*serúnt saulé* < *saturabuntur*); but he also spelled it *saúlet* on f. 41r, line 19 (*se\_rúnt saúlet* < *saturabuntur*); f. 44v, line 31 (*se\_runt saúlet* < *saturabuntur*); f. 50r, line 10 (*serúnt saúlet* < *fuerint saturati*). Not to mention the spelling *saúléd* (*sunt*) on f. 74r, line 12. And finally *saúlez sunt* on f. 39v, line 12

f. 51r,  
line 15



f. 56v,  
line 37



(< *saturati sunt*).

*supplanté*, f. 45r, line 5 (< *supplantabuntur*, nominative plural). Traces of a letter are visible under the erasure; it could be *-t* or *-z*.

*tresporté*, f. 47r, line 25 (*serúnt tresporté* < *transferentur*, nominative plural). On f. 64v, line 4, the same past participle is written without erasures (*seient tresporté* < *transferantur*, nominative plural). In the first example, the erased letter could be *-t*.

*tresturné*, f. 55r, line 25 (*tresturné sunt* < *conversi sunt*, nominative plural). There are traces of an erased *-d*. For nominative plural, there is also the spelling *tresturnéd*: f. 55v, line 6 (*sunt tresturnéd* < *conversi sunt*); f. 61v, line 38 (*serúnt tresturnéd* < *convertentur*). The spelling *tresturné* occurs once on f. 69v, line 33 (*seient tresturné* < *convertantur*). The spelling with final *-t* is found on f. 46r, line 2 (*seient tresturnét* < *convertantur*); f. 49r, line 40 (*serúnt tresturnét* < *convertentur*).

*vestú*, f. 51r, line 15 (*vestú sunt* < *induti sunt*, nominative plural). There are evident traces of an erased final *-z*. For nominative plurals, the scribe used *uestút* on f. 44r, line 30 (*seient uestút* < *induantur*); *uestúd* on f. 70r, line 18 (*seient uestúd* < *induantur*), and *uestú* on f. 64v, line 27 (*seient uestú* < *induantur*). *Uestúz* is used on f. 44r, line 14, for nominative singular (*estéie uestúz* < *induebar*), but the scribe had to correct the last letter to *-z*. He also used the past participle with the auxiliary verb *avoir* on f. 59v, line 1 (twice, *ád uestúd* < *indutus est*).

Before concluding this section, one must mention a particular situation on f. 56v, line 37, where there are no erasures, but the scribe corrected a final *-t* to *-d* in the past participle *ueut* > *ueud*. This shows the scribe's new tendency to use *-d* as the preferential final dental in the second part of the text.

## OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO THE PAST PARTICIPLE DECLENSION (AC)

Other erasures concern the ending of past participles:

*aemplíz*, f. 39v, lines 11–12 (*aemplíz est* < *adimpletus est*, nominative singular). The only other masculine form is *aemplí* (*serúnt aemplí* < *implebuntur*, nominative plural) on f. 62r, line 21.

*aprestéz* (nominative singular): f. 45r, line 36 (*aprestéz súi* < *paratus sum*); f. 49v, line 14, *aprestéz* (*aprestéz est* < *paratum est*). The same form, nominative singular, is also used on f. 64r, line 20; f. 65r, line 23; f. 67r, line 26. The spelling *aprestét* occurs on f. 39v, line 8 (nominative singular); f. 43v, line 8 (oblique singular).

*contristéz*, f. 44r, line 17 (< *contristatus*, nominative singular). The *u* variant *cuntristéz*, nominative singular, is used on f. 45r, line 22; f. 46r, line 37; f. 49r, line 4.

*cumparéz*, f. 47v, line 32 (*cumparéz est* < *comparatus est*, nominative singular). The same spelling is written without any sign of erasure on f. 48r, line 2.

*descuuért*, f. 39v, line 31 (*descuuért sunt* < *revelata sunt*, nominative plural). Perhaps the scribe initially made a mistake by inserting a final *-z*, then realised that the nominative plural did not take this inflection.

*enfichiéz*, f. 52r, line 10 (*enfichiéz sui* < *infixus sum*, nominative singular).

*entréz*, f. 74v, line 10 (nominative singular).

*esfacéd*, f. 64v, line 8 (*seit esfacéd* < *deleatur*). There are traces of an erased final *-e* under the erasure. Perhaps the scribe made a mistake in agreeing his past participle to the Latin feminine noun *generatio*, that precedes it, instead of agreeing it to the Latin neuter noun *nomen* that follows: *in generatione una deleatur nomen eius*. On

the same folio (f. 64v, line 10), there is also the past participle *seit esfacé* < *et peccatum matris eius non deleatur*. In these two cases, the nominative singular does not follow the declension as usual in the case of past participle used as a predicate and linked to a neuter noun in the singular (cf. Sneddon 1972: 118).

*fáiz*, f. 45r, line 21 (< *factus sum*, nominative singular); f. 47v, line 33 (< *factus est*, nominative singular) + line 37 (< *factus fuerit*, nominative singular). On f. 43v, line 3, one notices the first occurrence of the spelling *fáiz*, yet it is used as nominative plural (< *facta sunt*). The two occurrences of f. 45r and f. 47v follow. In the remainder of the text, *fáiz* is mainly used for nominative singulars. The spelling *fait* appears for the first time on f. 37r, line 6, as nominative plural, but it is also used as a nominative singular in the remainder of the text.

*fundéz*, f. 47v, line 5 (*fundéz est* < *fundatur*, nominative singular).

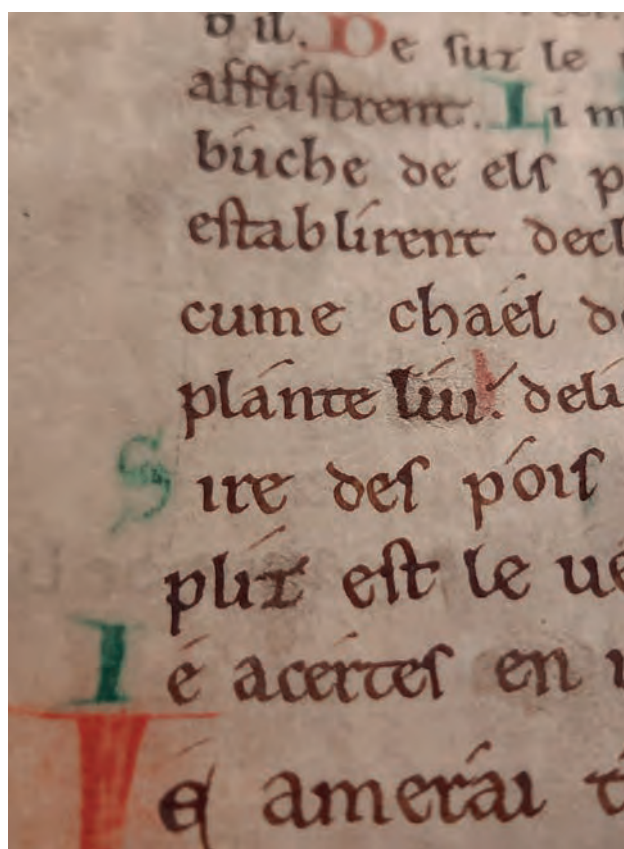
*mundéz*, f. 40v, line 5 (*serai mundéz* < *emundabor*, nominative singular).

*raémplie*, f. 53r, line 27 (*sera raémplie* < *replebitur*, nominative singular). After erasure, the last letter was replaced by *-e*. The scribe probably made a declension mistake, then realised that he needed a feminine form.

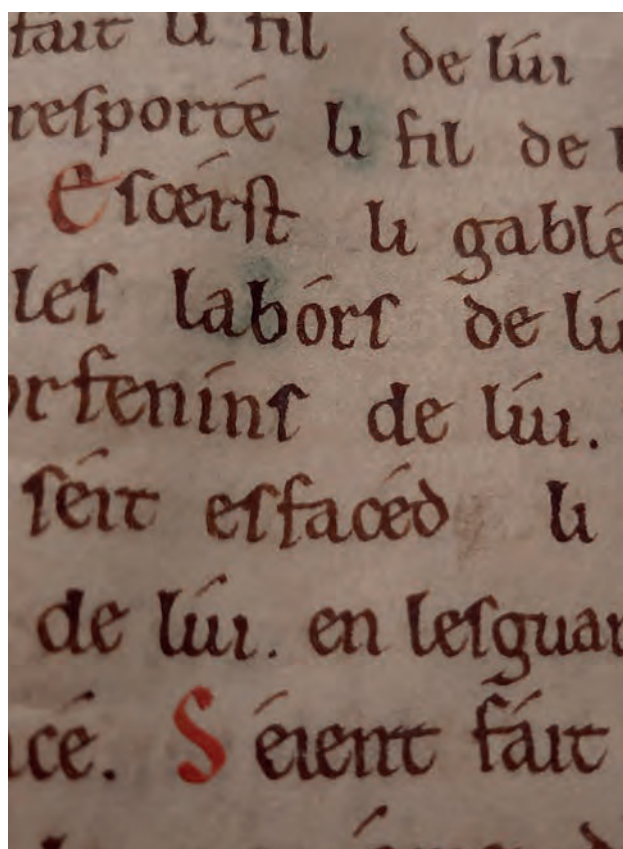
*refreidiez*, f. 45v, line 20 (*seie refreidiez* < *refrigerer*, nominative singular). The scribe could have made a declension mistake, writing a final *-t* instead of *-z*.

*tresturnée*, f. 38r, line 2 (*serat tresturnée* < *convertetur*, nominative singular). The traces of the erased letter show that the scribe could have written *-t* or *-z*, then corrected it into *-e* (feminine declension).

f. 62r,  
line 21



f. 64v,  
line 8



## MATTERS RELATED TO THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (AC)

A series of other situations concern erasures related to present participles. Sneddon 1972: 101–102 notes that the declension is followed by present participles when the focus is on their adjectival value. My survey identified several instances. The first one is:

*fuiánz*, f. 49r, line 9, *ié \_mesluignái fuiánz*  
(*< ecce elongavi fugiens*)

This correction could concern the agreement of the present participle with the subject. The scribe's correction of final *-t* to *-z* could mean that he interpreted that participle as an adjective, and thus made an agreement (nominative singular) with the subject *ié*.

*loánz*, f. 39v, line 17, *loánz enuucherái le segnur*  
(*< Laudans invocabo dominum*).

As in the previous example, the erasure and correction could be based on the same reasons.

*queránt*, f. 44r, line 3, *li queránt la meie áne me*  
(*< quaerentes animam meam*).

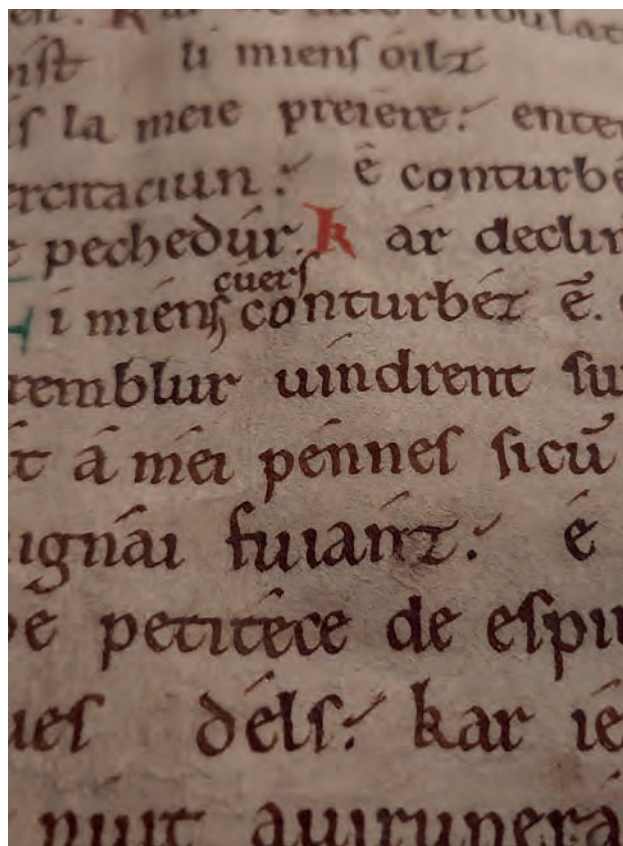
A nominative plural *-ant* is required here. On f. 46r, line 4, the same Latin present participle is written as *querant* (nominative plural) without any sign of erasure. On f. 38r, line 23; f. 41v, line 1; and f. 62r, line 33, the plural *queránz* renders Latin *quaerentes* as an oblique form. For the same present participle used with the role of a noun, the scribe follows the declension. One can argue that he made a

mistake on f. 44r, line 3, by initially writing *queránz*.

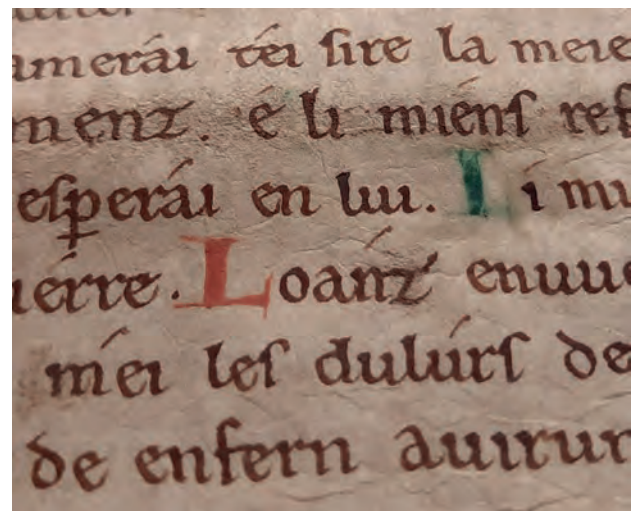
From 37r to 49v, *-anz* is mainly used to express present participles, nominative singular, or oblique plural. However, there are exceptions: on f. 42v, line 1, *Latin vox domini confringentis cedros* is rendered as *lá uóiz del segnur frainánz les cédrés*. The scribe could have chosen to agree the present participle to *vox*, thus justifying the *-anz* ending. Sneddon 1972: 117, argues that “in this case the participle may be influenced by the Latin spelling *confringentis*.” Again, on f. 44r, line 12, *esdreceánz* (on top of an extensive erasure and with the value of a noun) expresses a nominative plural. As for *defísánz* on f. 44v, line 32 (with the end letters erased and corrected, and with the value of an adjective), it renders a nominative plural too.

On the other hand, the suffix *-ant* is used to express nominative plural and oblique singular. In three instances, the present participle is written entirely on top of an erasure, but one cannot be sure that the erasure can be linked to the participle ending: f. 43r, line 32, (*l*) *esperánt* (oblique singular); f. 43v, line 27, *enqueránt* (nominative plural); f. 44v, line 35, *maldisánt* (nominative plural). Finally, in two other cases, the declension is not correct: f. 46v, line 28, *esrouánt* (value of a noun, nominative singular) + line 29, *deparlánt* and *parsúant* (value of a noun, nominative singular).

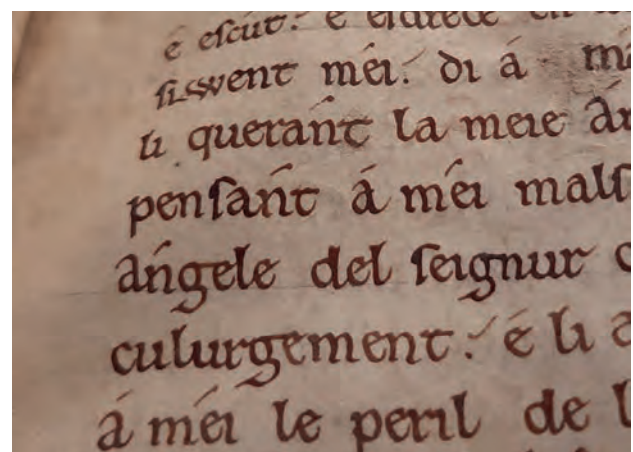
◀ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
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f. 49r,  
line 9



f. 39v,  
line 17



f. 44r,  
line 3

FINAL *-T* AND *-D* IN THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (AC)

Before proceeding to this other survey of erasures and the specific reasons behind them, a series of general observations must be made about this type of corrections in Douce MS 320:

—*t* forms are prevalent in the first part of the text;

—*d* forms are mainly present in the second part.

The erasures left blank, without any further correction, are found on f. 40-41; f. 45-47; f. 50-51; f. 53; whereas those followed by a correction occur on f. 38-39; f. 41; f. 43; f. 44-45; f. 48; f. 51; f. 55; f. 60. Such erasures often concern a final *-t* or *-d*. It is worth noting that the scribe writes those terms without a final dental in the first part of the manuscript (see *iniquité*; *pensé*). In certain cases, it appears that the scribe had problems with the declension, thus deciding to erase a final flexional *-z* instead of a final dental; or to replace a final dental with a final flexional *-z*. For these matters, see e.g., Pope 1952: §775, 794-807, 1241-1247; Sneddon 1972: 84-89; 115-117; Short 2015: 22-26; Meister 1877: 85-96.

*Erasures not followed by corrections*

All the following kinds of erasures concern feminine nouns. Sneddon 1972: 86 argued that, in the Oxford Psalter, “feminine nouns have basically the modern form, with flexional *-s* [*-z* in our case] in the plural of both cases” (cf. Pope:1952, § 801-803). In one specific situation (*salû*), the scribe hesitated in the matter of the flexional *-z* for nominative singular (cf. Meister 1877: 86-87).

*bealté*, f. 47r, line 39. This variant with erasure was used for oblique singular. There are no traces of the erased final consonant, but the declension of the word may suggest a final dental. See *béltet*, on f. 40v, line 22; *bealtét* on f. 47r, line 4; f. 48r, line 5; f. 51v, line 20; *bealtéd*, on f. 55v, line 10; *bealté*, on f. 59v, line 1; f. 60r, line 13 (nominative singular); f. 61v, line 29. There is also *bealtéz*, on f. 51r, line 14 (nominative plural).

*cîte*, f. 47r, line 27 (oblique singular). No traces of the erased end consonant are visible, but as the declension is respected, therefore one would expect a dental. *Citéz* is both used for nominative and oblique singular on f. 43r, line 12 (extensive erasure); f. 47v, line 4 + line 6 + line 10 + line 11; f. 49r, line 12; f. 49v, line 39; f. 50r, line 9 + line 23; f. 53r, line 23. *Citéd* is used on f. 53v, line 7; f. 57v, line 6; f. 61r, line 3; f. 63v, line 19; f. 64r, line 12 + line 31; f. 69r, line 17. *Cité* on f. 63v, line 16; f.

69v, line 15 (oblique singular). *Citéz* is the spelling for nominative and oblique plural on f. 38r, line 19; f. 52v, line 7; f. 71v, line 3.

*enfermeté*, f. 46r, line 10, oblique singular. No traces of the erased letter unfortunately; impossible to decide if it was a dental or a flexional *-z*. The spelling *enfermetéz* of f. 39r, line 24, and f. 61v, line 2-3, is used for nominative and oblique plural.

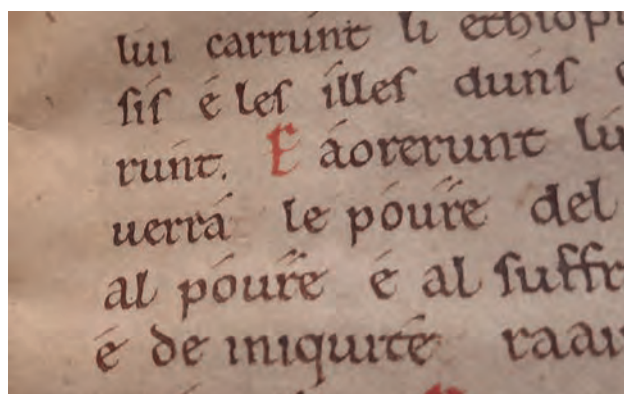
*erité*, f. 45r, line 8 (traces of an erased *-t*). The spelling is always used for an oblique singular. *Eritéd* occurs on f. 43v, line 7; f. 44v, line 29; f. 52v, line 7. *Eritéd* is found on f. 74v, line 7. The related term *heredité* shows signs of erasure on f. 47r, line 38-39; f. 50r, line 32. *Hereditét* spelled as such occurs from f. 37r up to f. 53v: f. 37r, line 17; f. 39r, line 26 + line 27 + line 28 (nominative singular); f. 42r, line 34; f. 51v, line 17. Spellings with a final *-d* start on f. 53v and are used until the end of the text: f. 53v, line 20; f. 55v, line 11 + line 20 + line 22; f. 56v, line 21; f. 59v, line 21; f. 62v, line 2; f. 63r, line 3; f. 65r, line 8 (*ereditéd*); f. 68r, line 5; f. 70v, line 10 (twice) + line 31 (twice); f. 75r, line 21. *Heredité* is found on f. 59v, line 12; f. 63v, line 1; f. 69v, line 18 (*eredité*, nominative singular).

*esté*, f. 53v, line 38 (oblique singular). It is the only occurrence of this word in the text.

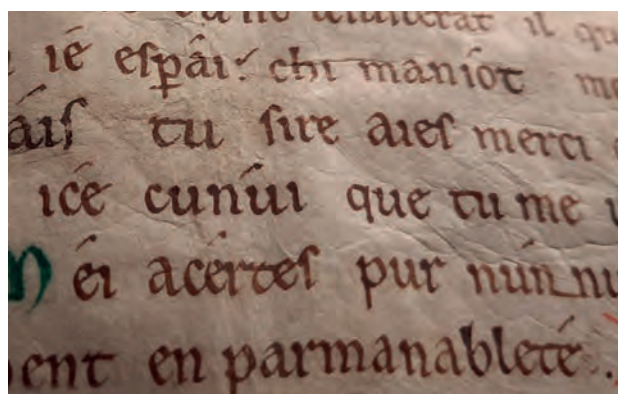
*iniquité*, f. 45r, line 37; f. 53r, line 19 (with evident traces of an erased *-t*). On f. 50v, line 29, there is *iniquité*. The word is always used here to express an oblique singular. On f. 50v, one can argue that the erased letter was *-z*. *Iniquité* is used for both the nominative and the oblique singular: f. 38r, line 1; f. 39v, line 18; 43r, line 6-7; f. 44r, line 38; f. 47v, line 23 (extensive erasure); f. 49r, line 11; f. 49v, line 34 + line 36. *Iniquitéd* on f. 58r, line 23, and f. 63v, line 31, is an oblique singular. *Iniquité*, nominative singular, but also oblique singular, is found on: f. 39r, line 39; f. 50v, line 9. The spelling *iniquitez* on f. 45r, line 19; f. 45v, line 13 + line 38; f. 50v, line 33; f. 61v, line 2, is used both for nominative and oblique plural.

*maiesté*, f. 53r, line 26 + line 27 (oblique singular). Cf. f. 42r, line 39, *maiestét* (oblique singular).

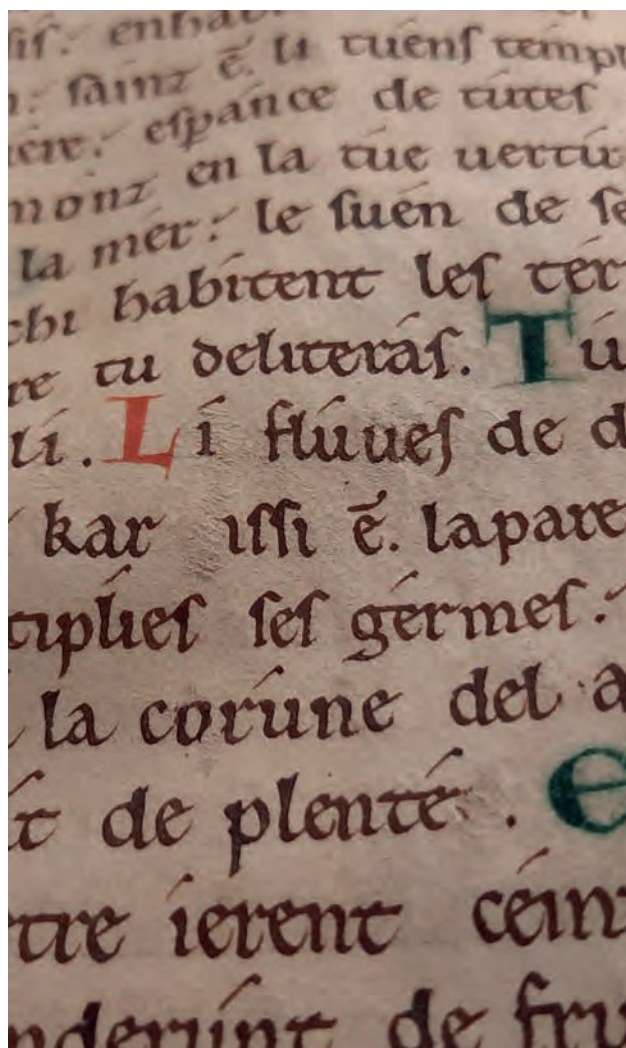
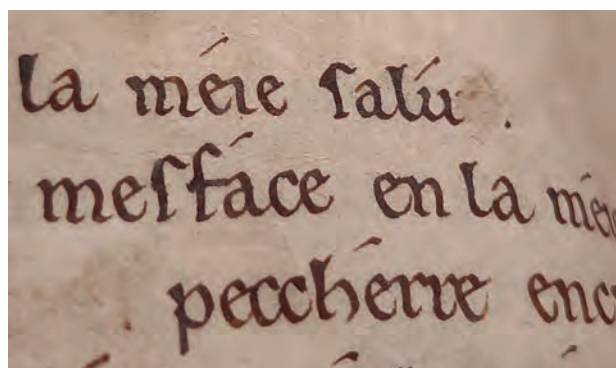
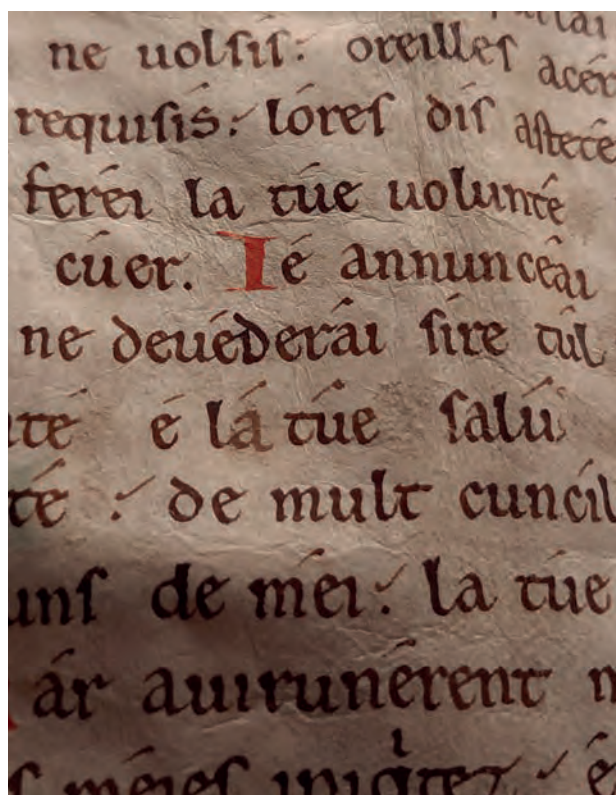
*óelté* (oblique singular), f. 45r, line 11 (with traces of an erased *-t*); f. 51v, lines 2-3. *Oeltét* (oblique singular): f. 38v, line 22; f. 51r, line 4. *Oeltéd* (nominative or oblique singular) occurs on f. 60r, line 19 + line 23; f. 60v, line 11; f. 65r, line 10; f. 67r, line 4; f. 67v, line 4; f. 68v, line



f. 53r,  
line 19



f. 46r,  
line 21

f. 60v,  
line 8f. 45v,  
line 1f. 45v,  
line 34

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2; f. 72r, line 24. *Oelté* without any sign of erasure is found on f. 68v, line 35 (nominative singular). There is also *oeltéz* on f. 39r, line 38 (oblique plural).

(*en*) *parmanableté* (oblique singular): f. 45r, line 1; f. 46r, line 21 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 47r, line 22 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 50r, line 34; f. 51r, line 23; f. 52v, line 16; f. 53r, line 27; f. 53v, line 14. *En parmanableté* is the formula transcribed by the scribe and not corrected from f. 37v, line 14, to f. 50v, line 7. He wrote *en parmanableté* from f. 54r, line 39, to f. 75v, lines 28-29 (with only one erased variant on f. 57r, line 35, *en parmanableté*). As for *en parmanableté*, without erasure, it occurs on f. 59r, line 30; f. 63r, line 31; f. 64v, line 37; f. 65r, line 11; 67v, line 21 + line 32; f. 68r, line 7.

*pensé*, f. 51v, line 38 (oblique singular). For other oblique singular uses of this term, the scribe wrote *pénse* on f. 43r, line 13; and *penséd* on f. 54r, line 37.

*plenté*, f. 51r, line 14 (oblique singular). *Plentét* on f. 41r, line 35; f. 44v, line 4; f. 48r, line 16; and *plentéd* on f. 58r, line 10; f. 60v, line 8, are used for nominative and oblique singular. Traces of an erased letter suggest the

initial transcription of a final *-t*. On f. 60r, line 20, the flexional form *plentéz* marks a nominative singular.

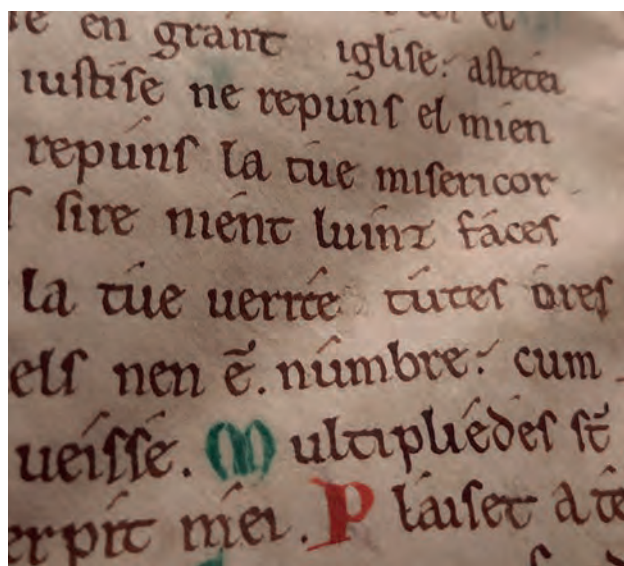
*salú*, f. 45v, line 1 + line 34; f. 50r, line 25. The example of f. 45 is a rather interesting one. On line 1, the scribe erased a final *-t*; on line 34, he clearly erased a final *-d*. The variant *salút* is used from f. 37r to f. 52v : f. 37r, line 24; f. 39v, line 16; f. 40r, line 12 + line 24; f. 40v, line 14 + line 18 + line 31-33; f. 42r, line 1; f. 43v, lines 11-12; 44r, line 2; f. 45r, line 13; f. 48v, line 5; f. 52r, line 25; 52v, line 2. From that point onwards, he uses the variant *salúd*: f. 53v à 74v : f. 53v, line 33; f. 57v, line 12; f. 58r, line 28; f. 64r, line 33; 68v, line 15; f. 71v, line 15; f. 72r, line 39; f. 72v, line 35; f. 73v, line 5 + line 18; f. 74r, line 24; f. 74v, line 31 + line 32. *Salú*, without any signs of a final consonant, occurs on f. 50r, line 37 (extensive erasure); f. 50v, line 4; f. 66r, line 23 (twice) + line 30 + line 39. The variants used in all examples (with or without final dental), nominative or oblique singulars. Last but not least, the *salúz* variant with a flexional *-z* is used for an oblique plural on f. 40r, line 28; f. 46v, line 16; f. 51v, line 30. Flexional *-z* is also used on f.

37r, line 29, for nominative singular. Thus, it is quite probable that the scribe erased a final flexional **-z** and not a final dental on f. 50.

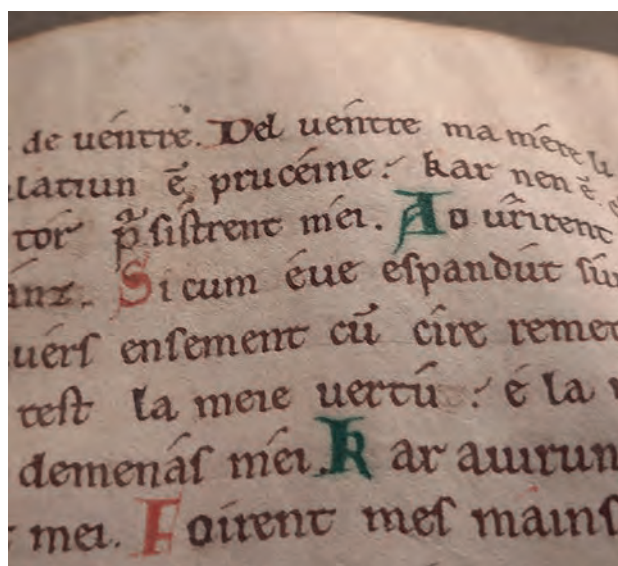
*uerité* (nominative or oblique singular), f. 45v, line 34 + line 35 + line 36 (traces of an erased **-t**); f. 50r, lines 34-35 (traces of an erased **-d**); f. 53r, line 2 (probable traces of an erased **-t**). *Uerité* without erasure is used from f. 37 to f. 49 (nominative or oblique singular): f. 37v, line 10; f. 39r, line 16; f. 41v, line 11 + line 17 + line 31; f. 42v, line 18 + line 29; f. 43r, line 15; f. 44r, line 40; f. 46v, line 6; f. 47r, line 5; f. 48r, line 36; f. 48v, line 39; f. 49v, line 9; f. 49v, line 18. The variant *uertét* occurs on f. 52r, line 24-25 (oblique singular). From f. 57 until the end of the text, the scribe wrote *uerité*d (nominative or oblique singular): f. 57r, line 3 + line 17 + line 18 + line 33; f. 57v, line 25-26 + line 36 + line 38; f. 58r, line 1 + line 6 + line 13 + line 25 + line 37; f. 58v, line 15; f. 59r, line 7 + line 23; f. 60r, line 24; f. 60v, line 3 + line 30; f. 64r, line 24; f. 65r, line 9 + line 10; f. 65v, line 7; f. 66v, line 33; f. 67r, line 8; f. 67v, line 4 + line 17 + line 22; f. 68r, line 36 + line 40; f. 68v, line 11 + line 21; f. 70r, line 20; f. 71r, line 11; f. 72r, line 11; f. 72v, line 28 + line 38; f. 74r, line 1 + line 3. Cf. *Uerité* on f. 66r, line 8 (nominative

singular). *Ueritez* on f. 38v, line 23 (nominative plural). *uertu* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 40v, line 18 + line 30; f. 41r, line 6; f. 45r, line 26; f. 47r, line 23; f. 50r, line 26 (here the scribe probably erased **-d**); f. 50v, line 16 (traces of an erased **-t**); f. 51r, line 6 (clear traces of an erased **-t**) + line 23. On f. 53v, line 33, there is an erasure followed by correction and it changes the final letter into **-d**: *uertú*d (oblique singular). As this is the turning point where the scribe starts changing **-t** into **-d**, it is safe to assume that he had initially written a final **-t**. *Uertút* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 39v, line 14; f. 40r, line 9 + line 17; f. 42v, line 1 + line 7-8 + line 15 + line 36; f. 43r, line 40; f. 43v, line 10 + line 11 + line 12; f. 47v, line 16 + line 24; f. 48v, line 34; f. 50r, line 4; f. 51r, line 19; f. 51v, line 19 + line 40; f. 52r, line 6 + line 7 + line 8; f. 52v, line 26. *Uertúd* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 54v, line 7; f. 55r, line 8; f. 55v, line 10; f. 56v, line 37 (twice); f. 58r, line 8 + line 16; f. 61r, line 31; f. 61v, line 23; f. 64r, line 34; f. 65r, line 7; f. 66r, line 25; f. 69r, line 22; f. 70v, line 28-29; f. 71r, line 13; f. 71v, line 15; f. 72v, line 13; f. 73r, line 8; f. 73v, line 11. *Uertú* (oblique singular): f. 64v, line 34 + line 35; f. 66r, line 24. *Uertúz* (oblique plural): f. 40v, line 31 (extensive

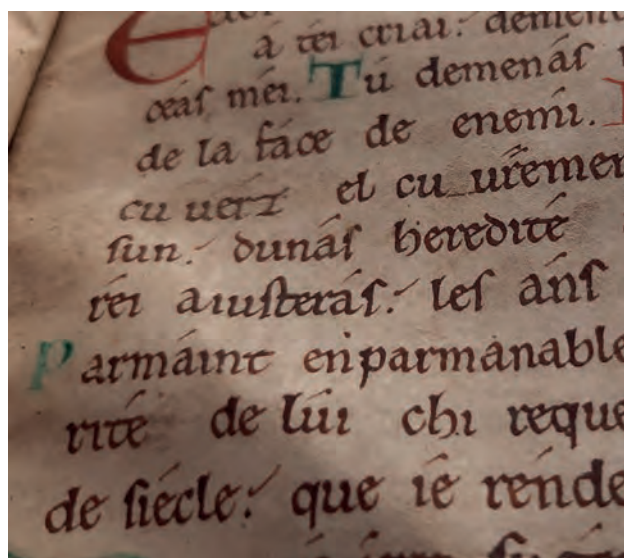
f. 45v,  
line 36



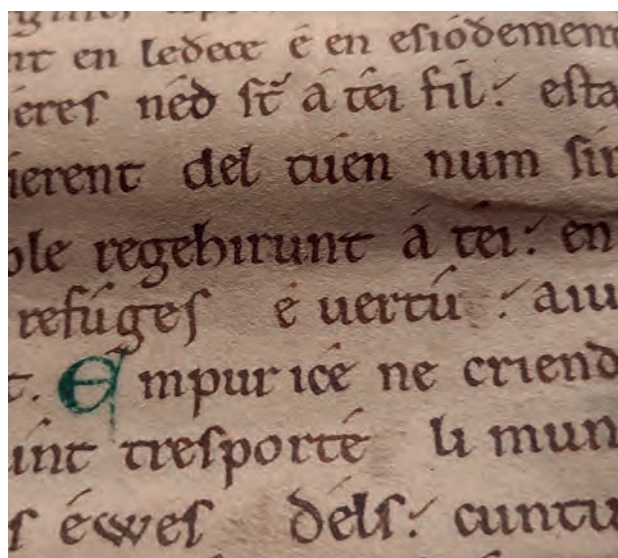
f. 41r,  
line 6



f. 50r,  
line 34



f. 47r,  
line 23



erasure); f. 41v, line 5; f. 46v, line 21; f. 47r, line 30 + line 35; f. 47v, line 11; f. 49v, line 37; f. 50r, line 24; f. 51v, line 19; f. 52r, line 17; f. 54v, line 20; f. 56r, line 6 + line 9 + line 16 + line 21; f. 56v, line 29 + line 38; f. 57r, line 4; f. 58r, line 5; f. 61v, line 25; f. 64r, line 32; f. 73r, line 28; f. 73v, line 11.

*uolunté* (oblique singular), f. 45v, line 31. *Uoluntét* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 37r, line 3; f. 37v, line 16 (extensive erasure); f. 40v, line 19; f. 42r, line 8 + line 32; f. 42v, line 13 + line 15; f. 48v, line 9. *Uoluntéd* (oblique singular): f. 53v, line 11; f. 61v, line 25; f. 64r, line 6; f. 72r, line 22; f. 72v, line 28; f. 73r, line 14; f. 75v, line 12. *Uolunté* (oblique singular): f. 66v, line 5. *Uoluntéz* (oblique plural): f. 39r, line 24; f. 61v, line 7; f. 65r, line 4.

### Erasures followed by corrections

This other category concerns nouns (and sometimes adjectives) that render Latin masculines, feminines, or neuters. Some of them figure also in Meister 1877: 86-87.

*cuuenableté*, f. 38r, line 34-35 (oblique plural). On the same folio (line 22), the term is written a second time

and in the same case, yet without any trace of erasure. Traces of the previous letter under the erasure of f. 38r point to an erased *-t*.

*fört* (adjective), f. 48r, line 7 (*fört tempeste* < nominative singular, feminine). Perhaps the scribe initially wrote a final *-z*. *Fort*: on f. 47v, line 3 (*fort déu* < nominative plural) + line 9 (*en fort esprit* < oblique singular). On f. 48v, line 36 (*li fort* < nominative plural).

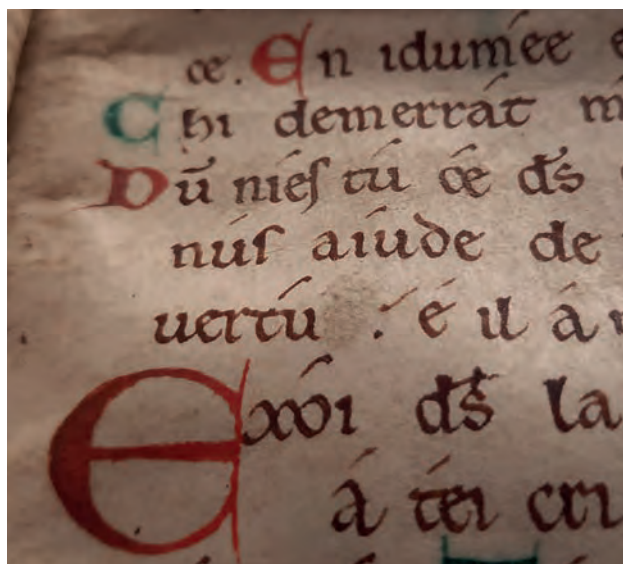
*génz*, f. 55v, line 2 (oblique plural; follows the feminine declension with flexional *-z* on plural). The scribe must have written a final dental, then erased it and replaced it with *-z*. *Génz* (oblique plural): f. 37r, line 17; f. 38r, line 18 + line 24; f. 38v, line 12; f. 40r, line 22; f. 41r, line 22 (twice) + line 22; f. 43v, line 4; f. 46v, line 12 + line 23 + line 26; f. 47r, line 34 + line 38; f. 47v, line 1; f. 49v, line 17 + line 38; f. 50r, line 1; f. 51r, line 24 + line 40; f. 51v, line 2; f. 52r, line 3; f. 53r, line 16 + line 25; f. 55v, line 29 + line 35 (twice); f. 56r, line 10; f. 56v, line

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

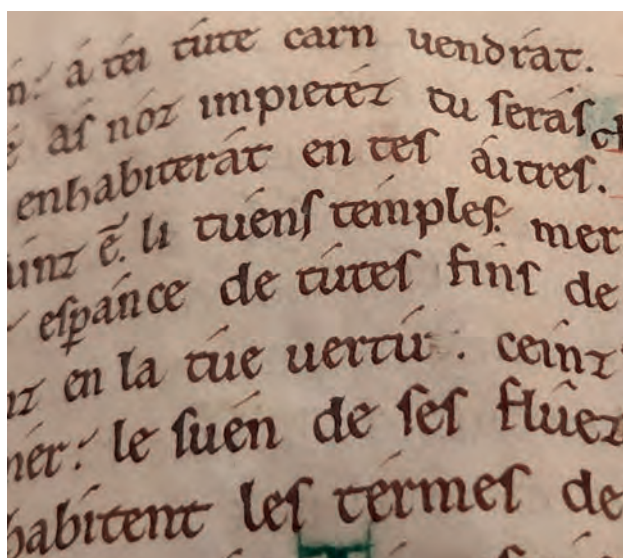
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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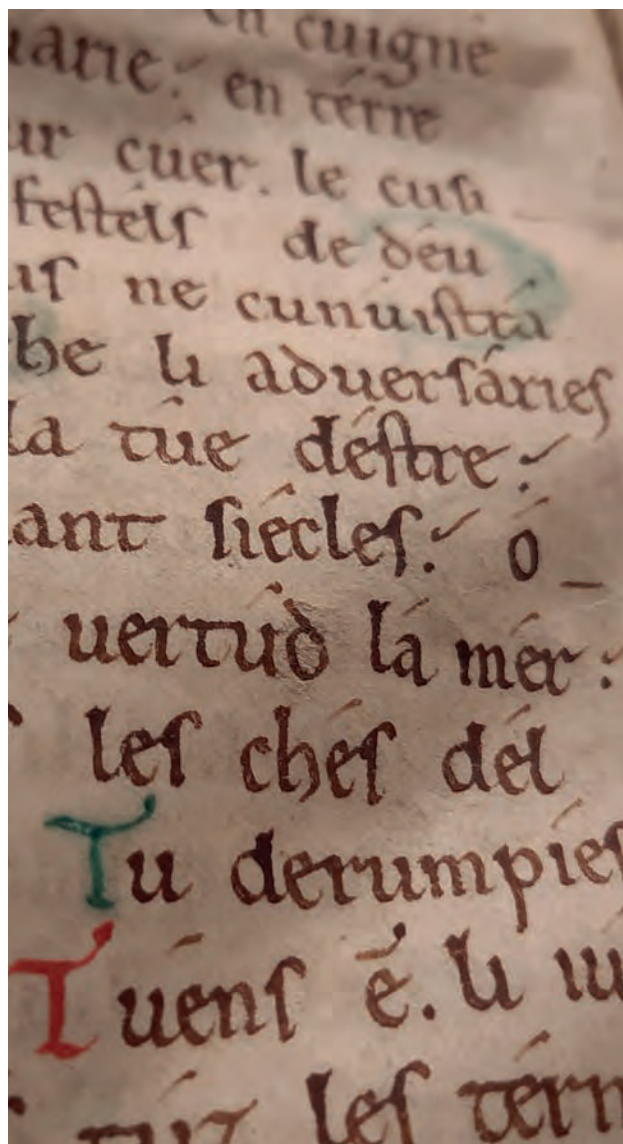
f. 50r,  
line 26

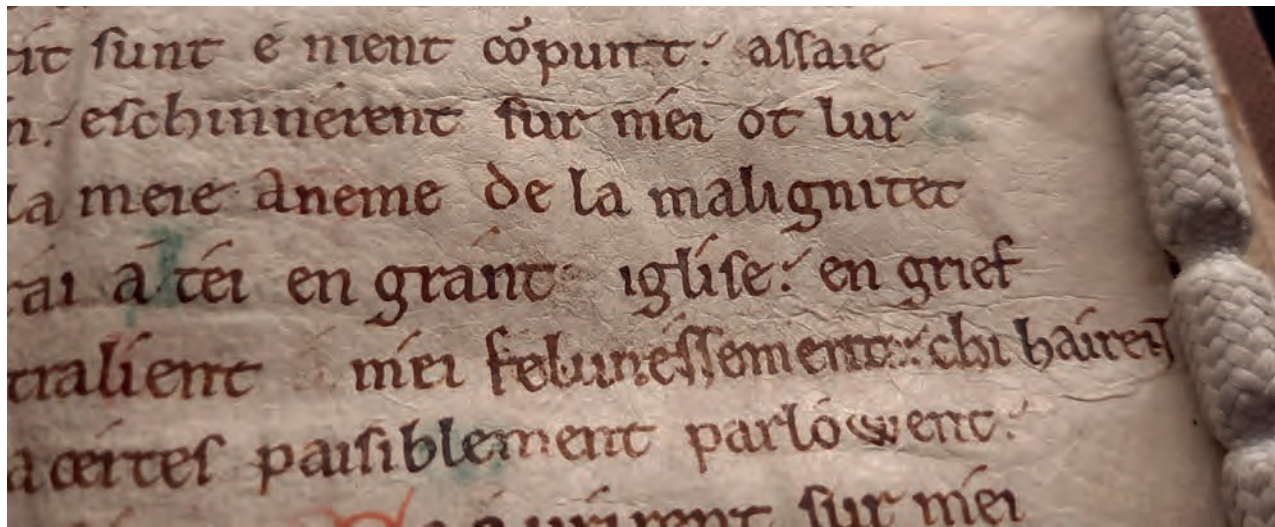


f. 51r,  
line 6



f. 53v,  
line 33



f. 44rv,  
line 21

8; f. 58v, line 16; f. 59v, line 16; f. 60r, line 10 + line 13 + line 15 + line 18; f. 60v, line 2; f. 61r, line 22; f. 62r, line 31; f. 62v, line 34; f. 63r, line 27 + line 34; f. 63v, line 2 + line 9; f. 64r, line 23; f. 65r, line 8 + line 31; f. 65v, line 9; f. 69v, line 10; f. 70v, line 8 + line 13; f. 73v, line 7; f. 74v, line 20 + line 31; f. 75r, line 18. This spelling is also used for nominative plural: f. 37r, line 10; f. 38r, line 24 + line 30 + line 33 + line 34; f. 47r, line 29 + line 36; f. 47v, line 19; f. 51r, line 7; f. 51r, line 25; f. 51v, line 1; f. 55v, line 22; f. 57r, line 30; f. 63r, line 34; f. 65v, line 8; f. 66r, line 7 + line 18. *Gént* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 43v, line 6; f. 46v, line 3; f. 56v, line 13; f. 62v, line 3 (twice); f. 63r, line 2; f. 73r, line 26; f. 75v, line 1 + line 11.

*gránt* (feminine adjective, oblique singular), f. 41r, line 17; f. 44r, line 21; f. 45v, line 32. *Gránt*, without any signs of erasure, is used on f. 48r, line 30 as a feminine adjective on oblique singular. There is also the form *grande* (feminine, nominative singular): f. 40v, line 22; f. 43r, line 7; f. 62r, line 16; f. 64r, line 23; f. 71r, line 15. The use of this variant could explain certain erasures: on f. 44r, line 21, there are perhaps traces of an ending *-de*; and on f. 45v, the erasure also concerns two letters. Only the situation of f. 41r remains uncertain.

*iugement*, f. 39v, line 38-39 (oblique plural). *Iugément*, (nominative and oblique, both singular and plural): f. 38r, line 17 + line 20 + line 29; f. 39r, line 37-38; f. 41v, line 16; f. 43r, line 38; f. 44r, line 26; f. 44v, line 1 + line 16; f. 45r, line 1 + line 4; f. 53r, line 6 + line 7; f. 54r, line 26 + line 27; f. 56r, line 26; f. 58r, line 12; f. 59v, line 21-22; f. 60r, line 26; f. 60v, line 15 + line 15-16 + line 31; f. 61v, line 6; f. 62v, line 39; f. 65r, line 9 + line 21; f. 67r, line 3; f. 67v, line 4 + line 16; f. 68r, line 17 + line 29; f. 68v, line 9 + line 14 + line 16 + line 21 + line 38; f. 69r, line 20; f. 71v, line 22; f. 72r, line 11; f. 72v, line 39; f. 73v, line 8-9; f. 75v, line 29-30. *Iugeménz*, f. 68r, line 35 (nominative singular). *Iugeménz* (oblique plural or nominative plural): f. 38r, line 39; f. 40v, line 1; f. 47v, line 15; f. 58r, line 33; f. 60r, line 34; f. 62r, line 35-36 + line 37-38; f. 66v, line 8 + line 15 + 33; f. 67r, line 8 + line 18 + line 29; f. 67v, line 35 + line 40; f. 68r, line 2 + line 13 + line 16; f. 68v, line 25; f. 73r, line 25 + line 26; f. 75r, line 12. The word renders Latin neuter *iudicium*, but has an unstable and hesitant declension (cf. Sneddon 1972: 116).

*iumént*, f. 48r, line 14 (nominative plural). It renders Latin neuter *iumentum*. The correction of the scribe (probably an erased *-z*) suggests that he made efforts to follow the declension. *Iumenz* (nominative singular or oblique plural): f. 44v, line 2; f. 47v, line 32; 48r, line 2; f. 53v, line 9; f. 55r, line 33 + line 36; f. 62r, line 4; f. 64r, line 14; f. 73r, line 13.

*núiz*, f. 53v, line 37 (nominative singular). Perhaps the scribe wished to follow the declension, but as many others feminine terms, *núit/núiz* is subject to alterations of a flexional final *-z*. The spelling *núiz* (oblique plural) is also found on f. 37v, line 22; f. 70r, line 37. *Núit* (nominative or oblique singular): on f. 39r, line 29 + line 39; f. 40r, line 31 (twice); f. 40v, line 34; f. 43r, line 21; f. 46r, line 26 + line 35; f. 49r, line 12; f. 54r, line 34 + line 38 (extensive erasure); f. 54v, line 34; f. 57v, line 12; f. 58v, line 24; f. 59r, line 24; f. 62r, line 10; f. 62v, line 30; f. 67r, line 21 + line 28; f. 69r, line 13; f. 70r, line 2; f. 70v, line 25; f. 71r, line 31 + line 32.

*mónz* (nominative singular), f. 51v, line 23 + line 24 (twice) + line 25. *Monz* (extensive erasure): f. 51v, line 24 (nominative singular); f. 56v, line 24 (oblique plural). *Monz* (nominative singular or oblique plural, with one exception only): f. 47v, line 14; f. 51r, line 6; f. 53r, line 22; f. 53v, line 21; f. 54r, line 13 + line 22; f. 56r, line 12; f. 57v, line 4; f. 59v, line 37; f. 61v, line 35 + line 39; f. 62r, line 2 + line 26; f. 65v, line 2 (nominative plural); f. 69r, line 8; f. 72r, line 33; f. 73r, line 12 + line 34; f. 75v, line 3. *Munz* (oblique plural): f. 39v, line 22; f. 48r, line 14. *Mónt* (nominative plural or oblique singular, with two exceptions): f. 46r, line 33; f. 46v, line 7; f. 47r, line 26; f. 47v, line 5 (twice, once as nominative singular); f. 55v, line 1 (twice) + line 17; f. 58v, line 20; f. 60r, line 29; f. 60v, line 9 + line 23; f. 61v, line 37; f. 62r, line 9; f. 65r, line 40; f. 69r, line 40 (nominative singular); f. 69v, line 2; f. 70r, line 33; f. 74v, line 7 + line 15 + line 20 + line 21 + line 27. *Múnt* (nominative plural or oblique singular): f. 37r, line 26; f. 38v, line 15; f. 39r, line 15; f. 41r, line 37; f. 44v, line 1; f. 47r, line 25; f. 53r, line 7.

*pechet*, f. 43r, line 19 (nominative plural). It translates Latin neuter plural *peccata*. *Pechét* (oblique singular), f. 41v, line 18; f. 48r, line 32. *Pecchét* (oblique singular), f. 43r, line 19 + line 25; f. 45v, line 30. Cf. the spelling *pechiet*, nominative singular, on f. 38v, line 11; and

oblique singular on f. 45r, line 37; f. 48r, line 33. *Pecchéd*: f. 64v, line 2 (oblique singular) + line 10 (nominative singular). *Pechié*: f. 48r, line 35 (oblique plural). *Pechié*: f. 48r, line 40 (oblique plural); f. 49v, line 36 (nominative singular). *Pecchéz* (oblique plural): f. 45r, line 19; f. 55r, line 21; f. 55v, line 34; f. 57r, line 7; f. 58r, line 35; f. 61v, line 10; f. 71v, line 29-30.

*reguárz*, f. 53r, line 31 (nominative singular). Perhaps the scribe wrote a final *-t* initially, then corrected it into *-z*, to follow the declension.

*sáinz*, f. 51r, line 4; f. 60v, line 17 (nominative singular). In both cases there seem to be traces of an erased *-t* under the correction. *Sáinz* / *sáinz* (nominative singular or oblique plural): f. 38v, line 23; f. 39r, line 23; f. 40r, line 2; f. 43r, line 26 (extensive erasure); f. 45r, line 1; f. 48r, line 8 (extensive erasure); f. 48v, line 23; f. 52r, line 8; f. 53r, line 2 (on top of an erasure); f. 55v, line 24; f. 56v, line 12; f. 57r, line 15 + line 23; f. 57v, line 4; f. 58r, line 2 + line 3 + line 19; f. 60r, line 36; f. 60v, line 14 + line 23; f. 64v, line 36; f. 66r, line 2; f. 72v, line 23 + line 26; f. 73r, line 40; f. 73v, line 1 + line 9 + line 10 + line 23; f. 74r, line 7 + line 18; f. 74v, line 15. *Sáint* / *sáint* (nominative plural or oblique singular): f. 37r, line 15 + line 26 + line 34; f. 37v, line 8; f. 38v, line 18; f. 39r, line 15 + line 33; f. 39v, line 21; f. 40r, line 2 (extensive erasure); f. 40v, line 9 + line 14 + line 34; f. 41r, line 38; f. 42r, line 25 + line 38; f. 42v, line 12; f. 43r, line 15; f. 43v, line 16 (extensive erasure) + line 26; f. 46v, line 7; f. 47v, line 2 + line 4; f. 48v, line 2; f. 55v, line 23; f. 50r, line 19; f. 51v, line 12; f. 54v, line 5; f. 55r, line 25; f. 55v, line 18; f. 58r, line 18 + line 21 + line 38; f. 60r, line 17; f. 60v, line 1 + line 23; f. 61r, line 27 + line 40; f. 62r, line 32; f. 63r, line 15; f. 63v, line 10; f. 65r, line 12; f. 70r, line 18 + line 26; f. 71r, line 10 + line 11; f. 72v, line 18 + line 31; f. 73v, line 5; f. 74v, line 1.

*túz*, f. 45r, line 25. The adjective is agreed here with a masculine, nominative singular. The width of the erasure suggests that the scribe erased two letters. Initially, he

possibly wrote *túit*, the usual form of nobimitive plural.

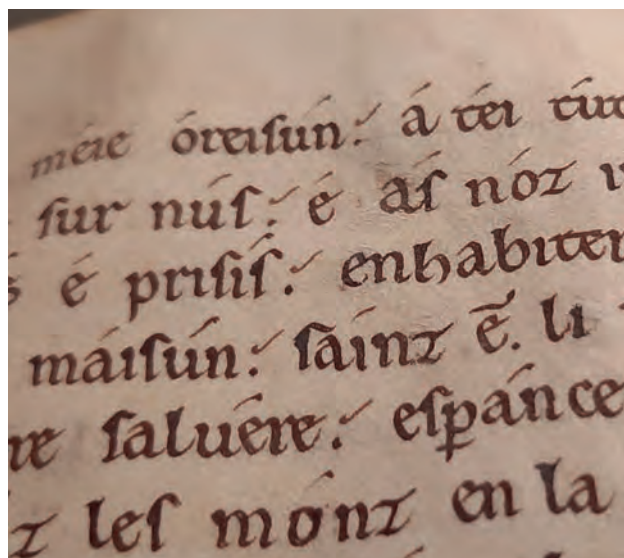
*uanitéz*, f. 45v, line 9 (nominative singular). *Uanitéz* (oblique plural): f. 42v, line 29; f. 45r, line 30; f. 45v, line 26; f. 75r, line 40. *Uanité* (oblique singular): f. 37r, line 33; f. 41v, line 32; f. 48v, line 20. *Uanité* (oblique singular): f. 55r, line 15; f. 67r, line 1; f. 71v, line 3; f. 72r, line 32 + line 37; f. 72v, line 1. *Uanité*: f. 50v, line 9 (oblique singular).

At the end of this survey of dentals in both nominal and verbal endings, it is evident that there was a turning point in the habits (or perhaps even the routine) of the scribe. For future and past tenses, this break occurs on f. 53-59. In the first part of the text, the scribe erased a final *-t* and left only the final tonic vowel; whereas in the second part of the text, he either transcribed a form ending in a vowel, or a form ending in *-d*. Erasures in other verbal forms tend to disappear after f. 56, and thus prove that the scribe managed to find a logic to those spellings. In the case of the past participle, a turning point happens on f. 57. After that folio, the scribe ceases to erase final dentals and/or correct them into *-z*. As for noun declension, the last erasure of a dental and its replacement by a correction is on f. 60, while the last erasure without correction is on f. 53. This suggests that the turning point in the transcription of dental endings occurs approximately on f. 53-60. It must be linked with other corrections made by the scribe, the turning point of which seems to occur on more or less the same folios. However, our survey is yet incomplete and provisional. The second instalment of this paper, to be published next year, will present a comprehensive diagram of all the idiosyncracies of the scribe. The diagram will provide the means to study in depth the scribe's method of translation (or adaptation), and the genetics of the text.

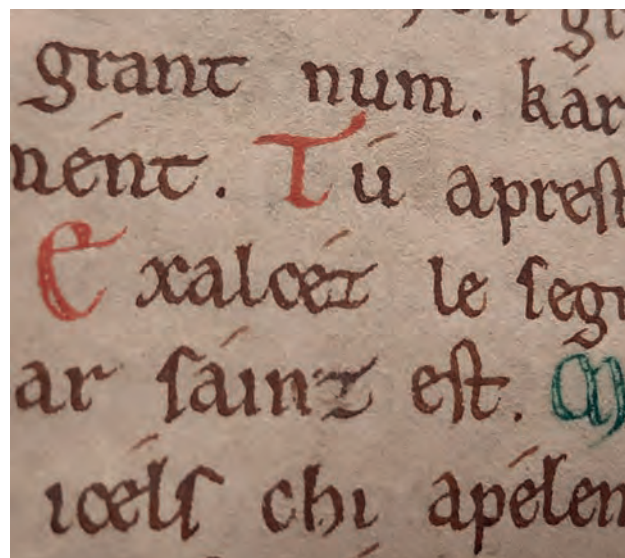
The Douce MS 320 scribe is not an unproficient speaker and writer of Old French. It is difficult (at least at this stage of our analysis) to postulate why certain translation choices were used in his initial transcription of the text. Certain erasures were clearly determined by the scribe's attempt at writing in a better language.

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,  
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f. 51r,  
line 4



f. 60v,  
line 17



## ENFER(N), IUR(N), AND CAR(N) (AC)

## Enfern

Three striking erasures concern the deletion of an *-n* in *enfer(n)* (oblique singular): f. 57r, line 37 (*enfer\_*); f. 58v, line 14 (*enfer\_*); f. 59v, line 25 (*enfēr\_*). One must note that, in oblique singular, the same term is written without any trace of erasure (and no final *-n*) from f. 71r to f. 75v: f. 71r, line 27; f. 71v, line 35; f. 73v, line 24; f. 75v, line 2. *Enfern* (oblique singular) is written with final *-n* and no erasure from the very beginning of the text until f. 65v: f. 37v, line 21; f. 38r, line 30; f. 39r, line 33; f. 39v, line 19; f. 42v, line 10; f. 43r, line 5; f. 47v, line 34 + line 35 + line 37; f. 49r, line 19; f. 57v, line 15; f. 65v, line 24 + line 28.

On f. 73v, line 39, the word has a flexional *-s*: *enfērs* (nominative singular). On f. 74r, line 14 (*enfērs*, oblique) is difficult to explain (cf. versions of Gallicanum that read here *ad inferos* or *ad infernum*). In this specific situation, the scribe could have actually translated *ad inferos*.

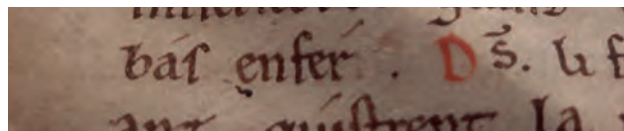
Concerning the ending *-n*, the scribe prefers this spelling at the beginning of his transcription process, but later decides to delete the final letter from f. 57r to f. 59v. This is, again, the turning point that I noticed in the spelling of final dentals. The choice of *-n* is consistent with the series of examples occurring from f. 37v to 65v, where the word is written with *-n*. However, the scribe later changed his mind and wrote it without *-n* from f. 62v to 75v. This accounts for an overlap in his spelling choices. The overlap coincides with the erasures and corrections that he made from f. 57r to f. 59v.

## Iurn

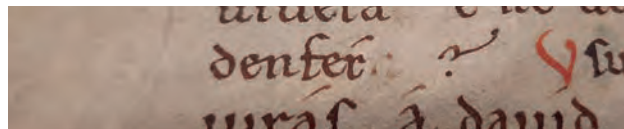
The deletion of final *-n* in the *iur(n)* follows a similar pattern. *Iur\_* (oblique singular) occurs twice on f. 50r, line 36, as part of a formula, but the erasure concerns only the first word (*de iur\_ en iurn*). In this particular situation, it is worth noting, on the one hand, that the sequence *de iur* is part of an extensive erasure; on the other hand, that a small dot still visible close to the final *-r* bears witness to an erased letter *-n*). Other erasures of the same type occur on f. 57r, line 25 + line 28 (traces of an erased final *-n*); f. 57v, line 12; f. 58r, line 15; f. 60r, line 10 (in the formula *de iur en iur\_*; which is a variant of the one from f. 50r, line 36, but both words have no final *-n* here).

*Enfer\_* with final *-n* erased (+ visible traces):

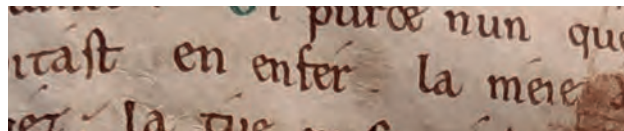
f. 57r,  
line 35



f. 58v,  
line 14



f. 59v,  
line 25



*Iúr*, written without erasures and no final *-n* (nominative plural or oblique singular) occurs on f. 38v, line 35; f. 58v, line 28 + line 30; f. 59r, line 8; f. 61r, line 6 + line 7 + line 8 + line 13 + line 17; f. 64v, line 2 + line 35 + line 39; f. 66r, line 36; f. 67v, line 15 + line 30; f. 68v, line 25; f. 69r, line 12; f. 70v, line 24; f. 71r, line 4 + line 12 + line 39; f. 71v, line 9 + line 16; f. 72r, line 32; f. 72v, line 35; f. 73v, line 20; f. 74v, line 39. The spelling *iurn* (oblique singular or nominative plural) is found on f. 37r, line 3; f. 39v, line 34; f. 40r, line 31; f. 40v, line 8 + line 17 + line 33; f. 41v, line 11; f. 42r, line 9; f. 43r, line 21 (twice); f. 44r, line 34; f. 44v, line 38; f. 45r, line 22 + line 30; f. 46r, line 7 + line 26 (twice) + line 34; f. 46v, line 20 + line 27 + line 35; f. 47v, line 23; f. 48r, line 18; f. 48v, line 13; f. 49r, line 12 + line 21 + line 31 + line 32 + line 33 + line 35; f. 49v, line 1; f. 50r, line 12 + line 33 + line 36; f. 51v, line 29 (twice, the first one on top of an erasure, also part of a repetition: *el iurn chescún iurn*); f. 52v, line 25 + line 33; f. 53r, line 4 + line 21 + line 37; f. 53v, line 1; f. 54r, line 5 + line 28 + line 33; f. 54v, line 28 + line 33; f. 55r, line 26; f. 56r, line 25; f. 57v, line 23 + line 32; f. 60r, line 3.

Two other erasures concern the flexional final *-z* (nominative singular and oblique plural): *iúrz*, f. 45v, line 8 (traces of an erased letter); f. 40r, line 31 (extensive erasure); f. 46v, line 12. The spelling *iúrz* from f. 37v, line 39 to f. 75r, line 16, is used as oblique plural. In the following instances it is used as nominative singular: f. 44v, line 24; f. 53v, line 36; f. 56v, line 40; f. 58v, line 23; f. 61v, line 16; f. 66r, line 33; f. 71r, line 32; f. 75v, line 21.

The spelling in *-n*, except for *iúr* on f. 38v, line 35, is the preferential choice of the scribe in the first part of the text. It is worth noting that the erasures are found at a turning point in the text (f. 50r to 60r), where the scribe changes *iurn* to *iúr*. The example of *iúrz* shows that the scribe followed the declension in this occurrence too.

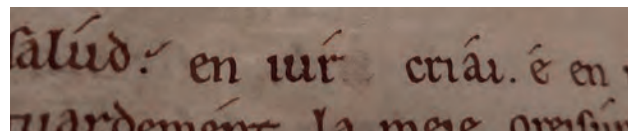
## Carn

On f. 56v, line 31, the scribe erases *-n* in *cárn* (*cár\_*, nominative singular). The spelling *cárn* is used both for nominative and oblique singular on f. 39r, line 32; f. 42r, line 32; f. 45r, line 18 + line 23; f. 49r, line 35; f. 50v, line 14; f. 51r, line 1; f. 53v, line 13; f. 61r, line 11; f. 64v, line 23 (*cárn*).

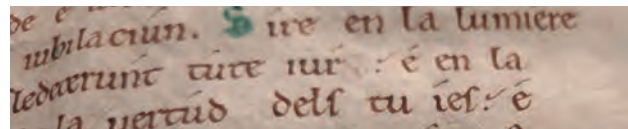
*Cár* (nominative and oblique singular) is found on f. 55r,

*Iúr\_* with final *-n* erased (+ visible traces):

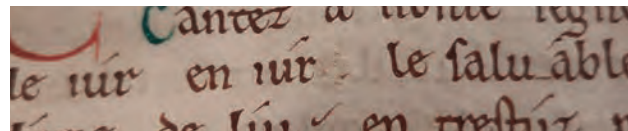
f. 57v,  
line 12

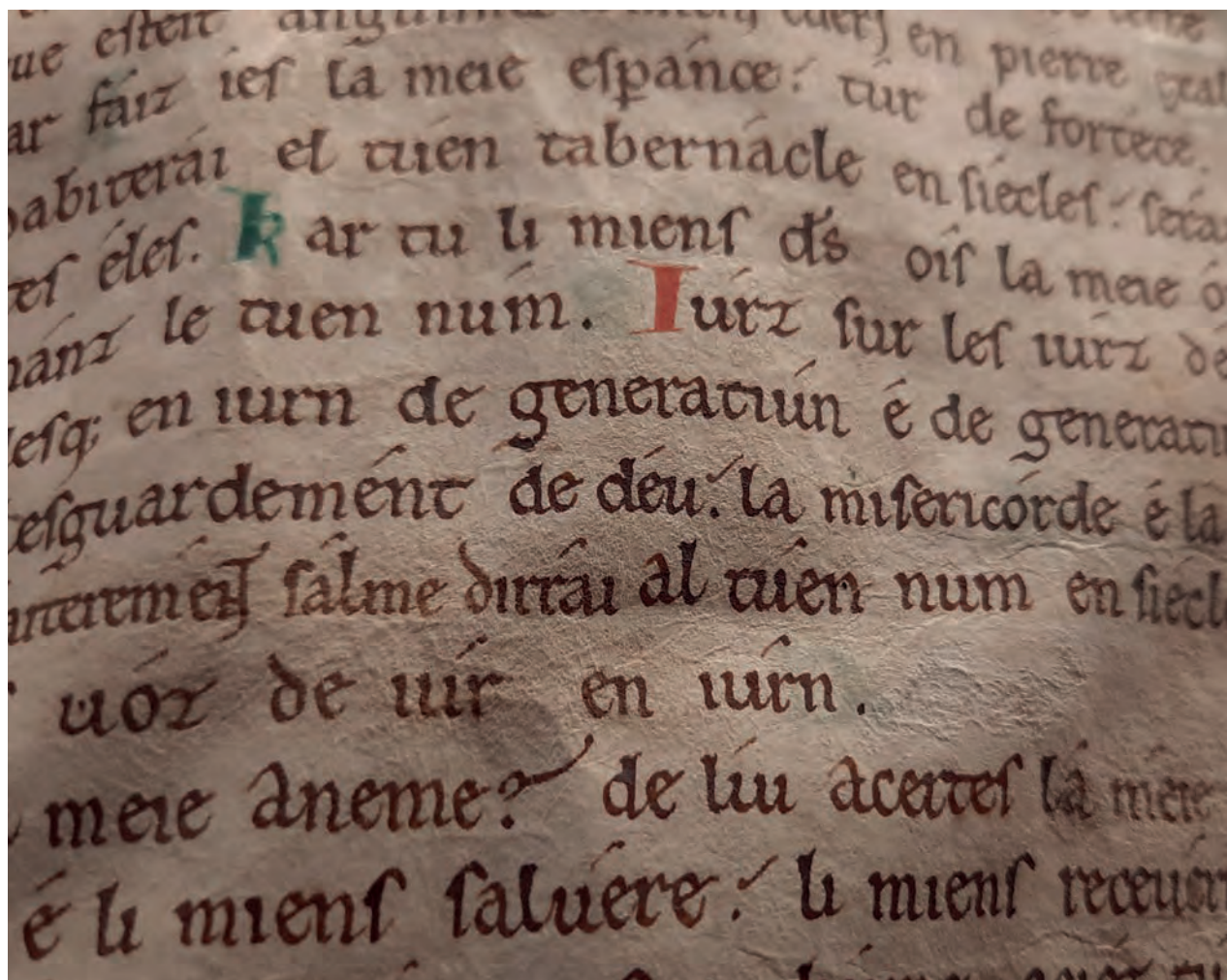


f. 58r,  
line 15

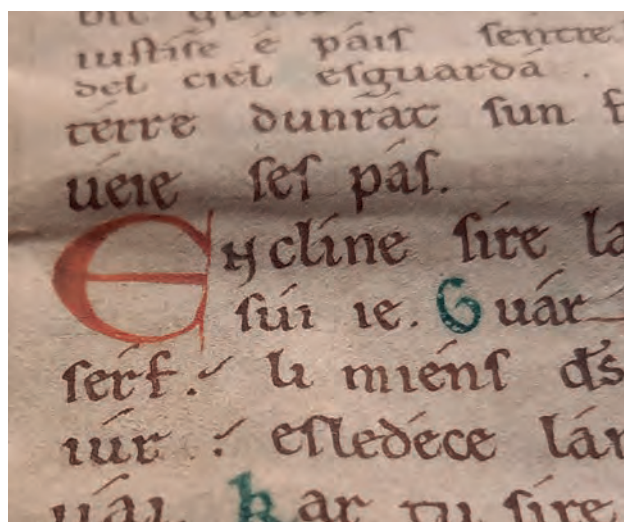


f. 60r,  
line 10

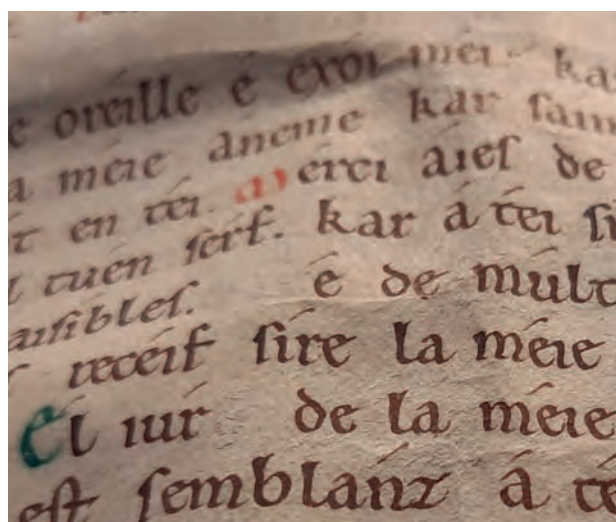




f. 50r,  
line 36



f. 57r,  
line 25



f. 57r,  
line 28

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,  
University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

line 23 (that is, on the folio before the erasure); f. 72v, line 31. On f. 42r, line 3, plural *carns* translates an oblique plural (just as in other cases after it). Yet on the next occurrence (f. 48r, line 17, on top of an erasure), the plural becomes *carz*: *Mangerai ie dunc les carz*. The same plural

is written as such on f. 55r, line 8. The last example of a plural can be found on f. 68r, line 15, where *carz* is not written on top of an erasure. However, on f. 55v, line 24, our scribe wrote the flexional *-z* on top of an erasure: *carz*.

This short discussion of *carn* is less conclusive than the other two (*enfern* + *iurn*) in the matter of final *-n*. The occurrences of the word are rarer. Nevertheless, one notes that the erasure appears in the same group of folios concerned by the erasure of a final *-n*.

## KAR, QUAR, AND KER (AC)

Another type of erasures concerns the adverbial conjunction *car*, written in various manners on the first folios of the text (more or less until f. 40r). The word gradually stabilises as *kar* and does not change spellings in the remaining folios of the Douce ms 320.

*Kar* seems to be the choice of the scribe (written as such, without erasures) on f. 37r, line 28; f. 37v, line 10; f. 38r, line 40; f. 38v, line 22 + line 23 (twice); f. 39r, line 22; f. 39r, line 33; f. 39v, line 23; f. 40v, line 20 + line 23 + line 24 + line 28 + line 29. This spelling is therefore well known to the scribe and he kept it thoroughly until the end of the manuscript. However, there are instances in which the same scribe preferred a different spelling.

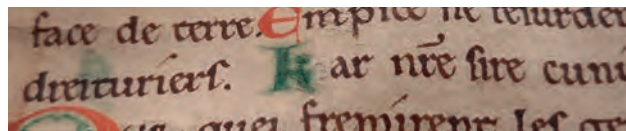
The first three times when the scribe corrects this word in his copy, on the first folio (f. 37r–v), he scrapes off a space of two letters and replaces the erased segment with a single letter *k*. Given the frequency of the spelling *quar* on the same first two folios of Douce ms 320 (f. 37v, line 3 + line 4 + line 18 + line 20 + line 24; f. 38r, line 5 + line 7 + line 16 + line 23 + line 24 + line 31 + line 36), it is safe to assume that the scribe had written *quar* on f. 37r, line 9 + line 27 and on f. 37v, line 1. Furthermore, in the specific case of f. 37r, line 27, where the first letter of the word was written in minuscule, traces of an initial *q*– are still visible on the margins of the erasure. According to the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, this spelling is rather frequent, along with *qar*, *qare*, *quare*, and *quer* in texts of the 12th and 13th centuries.

A second type of erasure concerns *kar* written on top of an erasure *k\_r* or *k\_*. There are ten instances in which the erased middle letter of this word was certainly *e*, thus the initial spelling must have been *ker* (f. 39r, line 11 + line 12; f. 39v, line 2 + line 34 + line 36 + line 37; f. 40r, line 3 + line 4 + line 5 + line 8). Two more erasures could also hide a reading *ker*. In these two cases, even though the final *-r* is also written on top of an erasure, this could be due to a clumsy movement of the blade. The scribe possibly damaged the final letter of the word in the process of scraping off *e* and had to write it again.

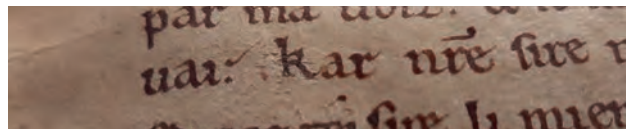
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,  
University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

*Kar* written on top of an erased *quar*:

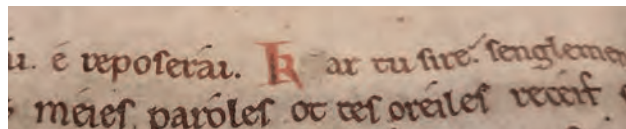
f. 37r,  
line 9



f. 37r,  
line 27

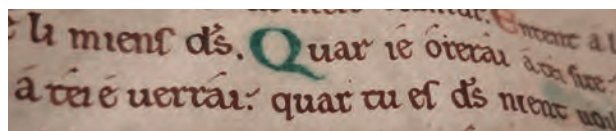


f. 37v,  
line 1

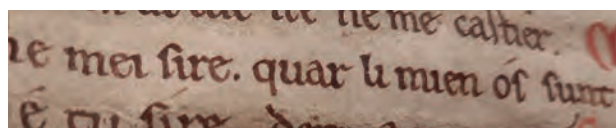


This *ker* spelling is used on three folios separated from a bilingual psalter, now at Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1, dated mid-12th century, not long after Douce ms 320. The Maidstone scribe used only once the spelling *kar* (f. 3ra, Ps 68:17). All the other thirteen instances use *ker* (Ps 55:13; Ps 56:2; Ps 57:3; Ps 58:4; Ps 58:8; Ps 58:10–11; Ps 58:17; Ps 58:18; Ps 59:4; Ps 68:18; Ps 68:27; Ps 68:34; Ps 68:36). This suggests that the spelling *ker* by the Douce scribe was frequent at the time, just as

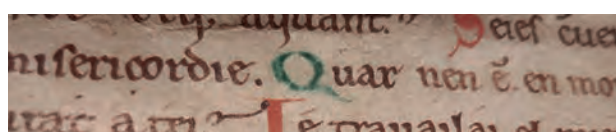
The use of *quar* on the first two folios (no erasures):



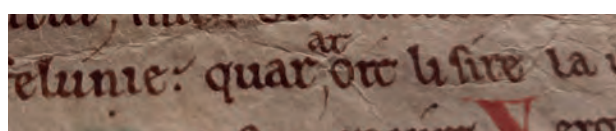
f. 37v,  
lines 3–4



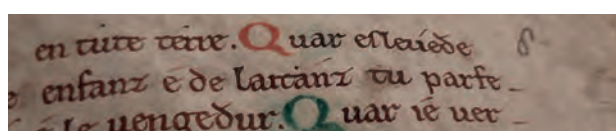
f. 37v,  
line 18



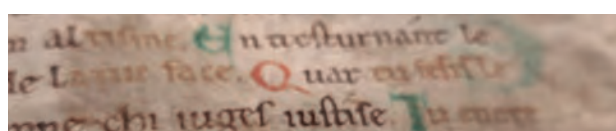
f. 37v,  
line 20



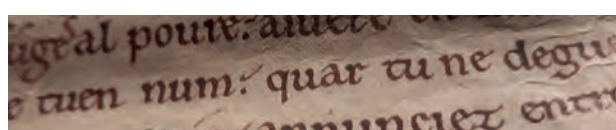
f. 37v,  
line 24



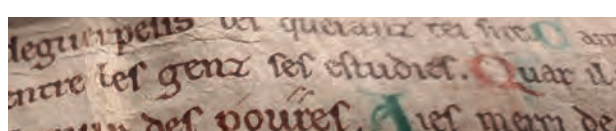
f. 38r,  
lines 5–7



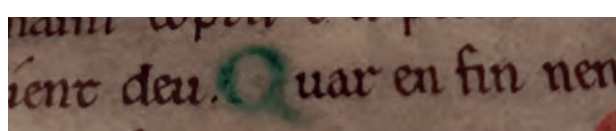
f. 38r,  
line 16



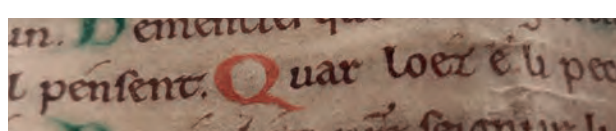
f. 38r,  
line 23



f. 38r,  
line 24



f. 38r,  
line 31



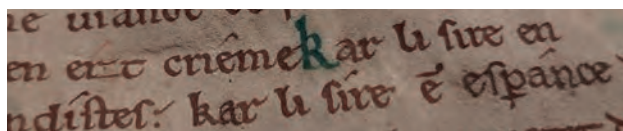
f. 38r,  
line 36

kare, kaar, kaer, car, care, char, kor, and quore.

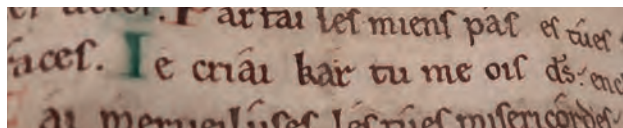
There are several other erasures on top of which the word *kar* was written on the first folios of Douce MS 320: f. 37v, line 13 (*icels kar il entariérent téi síre*) + line 15 (*chi aiment le tuén núm ; kar tu beneisterás al iúste*); f. 38v, line 6 (*Kar il dist\_ en sun cuer*) + line 17 (*Kár lesquels chòses tu parfesís il destrui-*); f. 39v, line 38 (*ne felunessement ne fíjs cóntre le mien deu. Kar túit li sun iuge-*); f. 42v, line 34

*Kar* with *a* written on top of an erased *e* (*ker*):

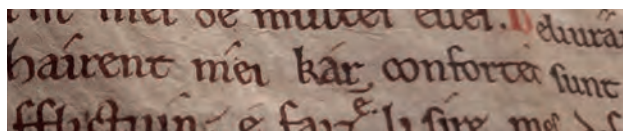
f. 39r,  
lines 11–12



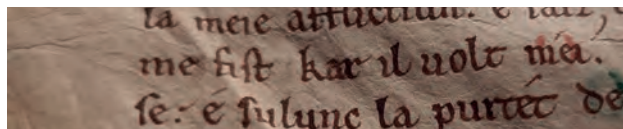
f. 39v,  
line 2



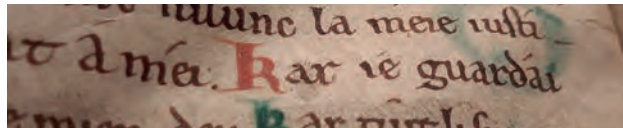
f. 39v,  
line 34



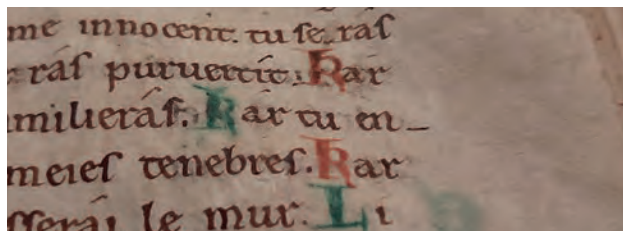
f. 39v,  
lines 36



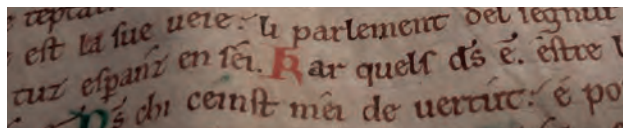
f. 39v,  
line 37



f. 40r,  
lines 3–5

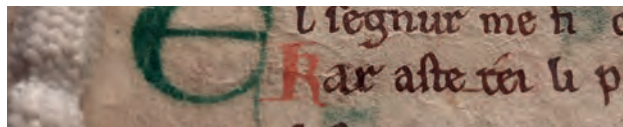


f. 40r,  
line 8

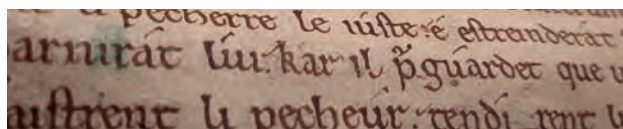


*Kar* with *-ar* written on top of *-er* (clumsy erasure?):

f. 38v,  
lines 16



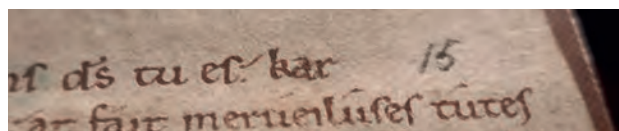
f. 44v,  
lines 23



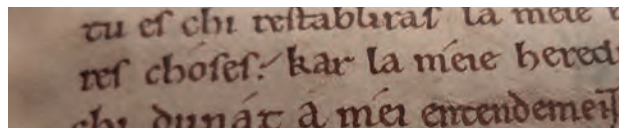
(*é li miéns uéntres. Kar defist en do-*); f. 43v, line 3 (*Kar il meésme*). However, all of them are part of longer rewritings and concern issues of phraseology. For the time being, one can only assume that the use of three consecutive spellings on f. 37r–40r (and reaching perhaps as far as f. 44v) bear witness to the scribe's initial wavering, before a spelling automatism falls into place. For further details, see the facsimiles of ff. 37r and 37v, where certain cases are treated in context (with reconstructions).

Unclear cases of *kar* (on top of an erased *ker*):

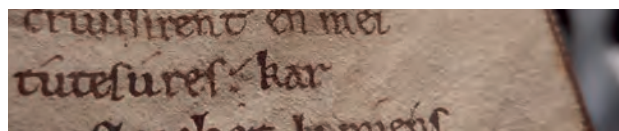
f. 39r,  
line 22



f. 39r,  
line 28

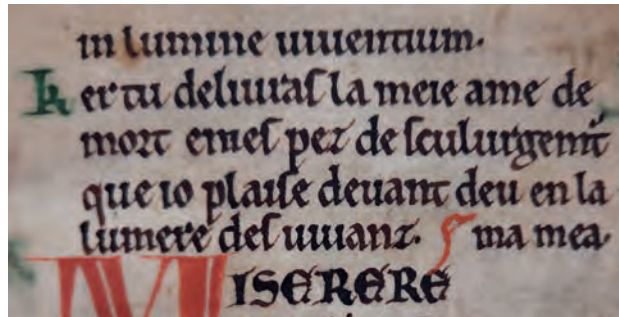


f. 39r,  
line 30

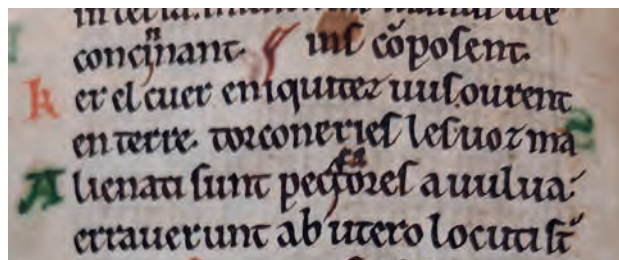


Close-ups of Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I.). The spelling *ker* on f. 1rb, line 2 (Ps 55:13); f. 1vb, line 3 (Ps 57:3); f. 2rb, line 6 (Ps 58:18). Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023. Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.

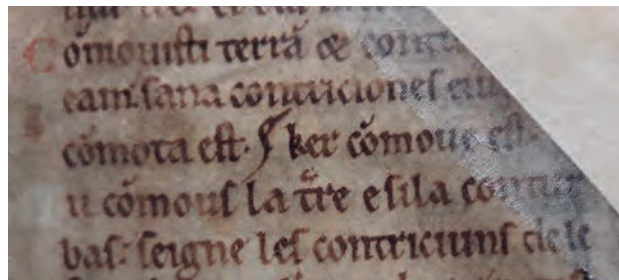
Kent,  
f. 1rb,  
line 2



Kent,  
f. 1vb,  
line 3



Kent,  
f. 2rb,  
line 6



## QUER &gt; CUER (AC)

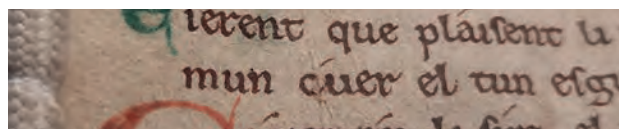
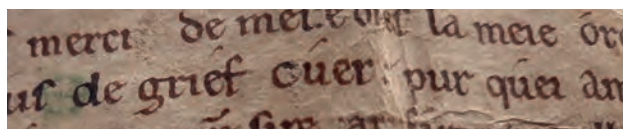
Cuer(s) modified from a previous quer(s) with the scraping off of the perpendicular bar of **q** is obvious in a great number of examples up to f. 43v: f. 37r, line 33; f. 37v, line 10 + line 37 + line 38; f. 38r, line 14; f. 38v, line 6 + line 8 + line 35; f. 39r, line 1 + line 16 + line 38; f. 40r, line 39; f. 40v, line 7 + line 11 + line 19; f. 41r, line 39; f. 41v, line 23 + line 30; f. 42r, line 5 + line 13 + line 21 + line 27 + line 32; f. 43r, line 16 + line 34; f. 43v, line 6 + line 9. This

Quer becomes cuer (the initial letter is half erased):

variant change is also pointed out by Sneddon (1972: 18). The most evident situations are shown in the accompanying photos.

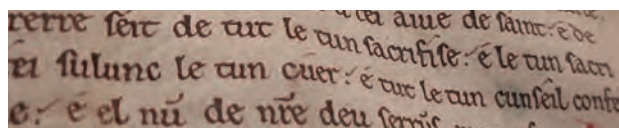
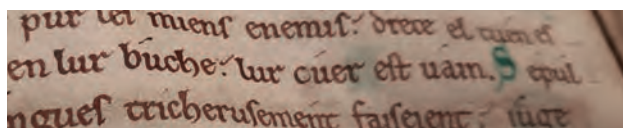
Other instances are not certain. There are, on the one hand, those which are part of longer erasures: *il díst en sun cuer* (f. 38r, line 40); *li miéns cuers* (f. 39r, lines 31-32); *escalfá li miéns cuers* (f. 45v, line 5); *anguissiéz li miéns cuers* (f. 50r, line 28). On the other hand, the porosity seen on certain parts of various folios can be due to a varying number of factors that look very similar to erasures. Such cases occur on f. 37r, line 36 + line 38; f. 38v, line 13 +

f. 37r,  
line 33



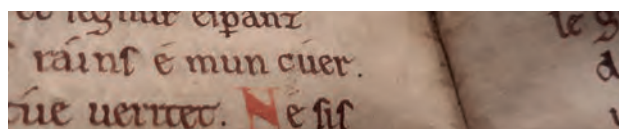
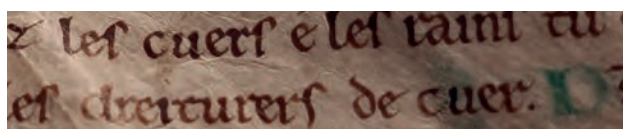
f. 40v,  
line 07

f. 37v,  
line 10



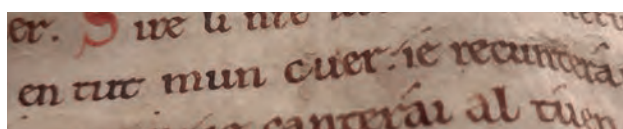
f. 40v,  
line 11

f. 37v,  
lines 37-38



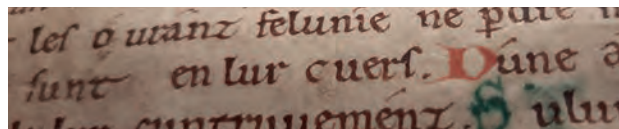
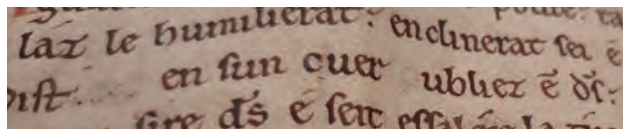
f. 41v,  
line 30

f. 38r,  
line 14



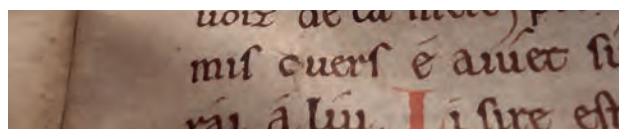
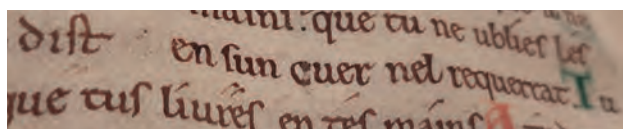
f. 42r,  
line 21

f. 38v,  
line 6



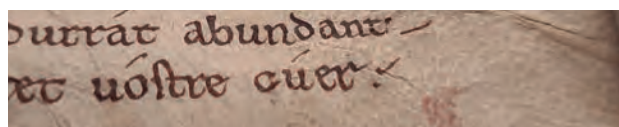
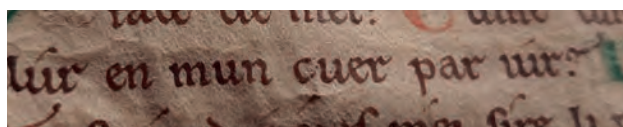
f. 42r,  
line 27

f. 38v,  
line 8



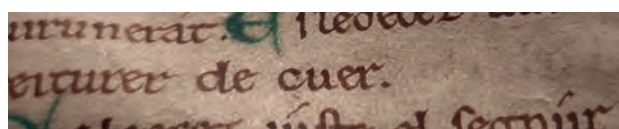
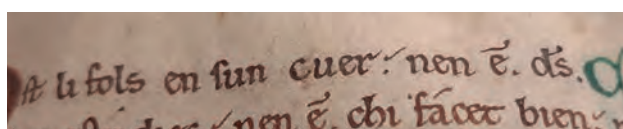
f. 42r,  
line 32

f. 38v,  
line 35



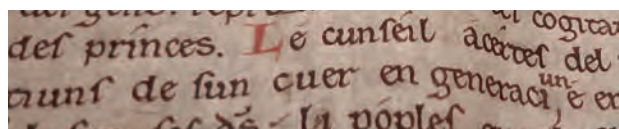
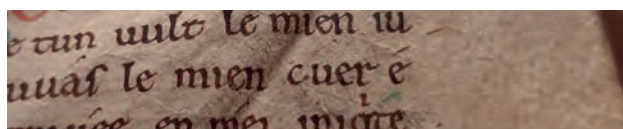
f. 43r,  
line 16

f. 39r,  
line 1



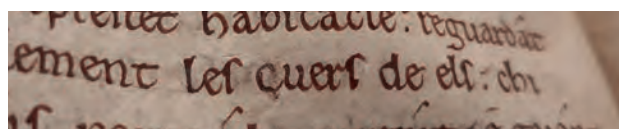
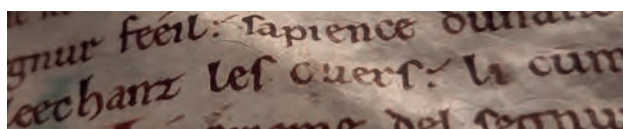
f. 43r,  
line 34

f. 39r,  
line 38



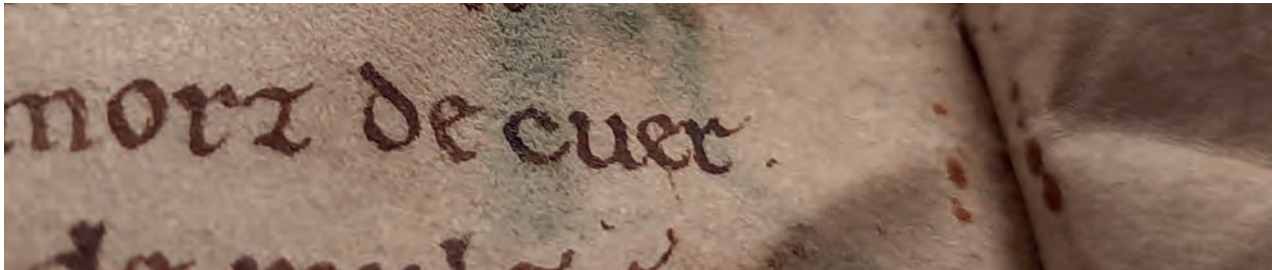
f. 43v,  
line 6

f. 40r,  
line 39



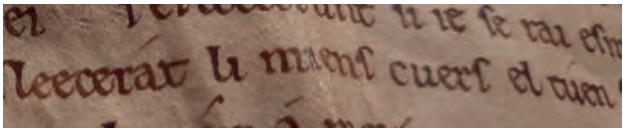
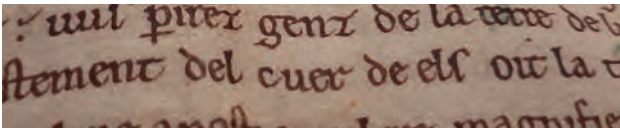
f. 43v,  
line 9

f. 42v,  
line 38  
(first  
certain  
spelling  
cuer in  
the text)



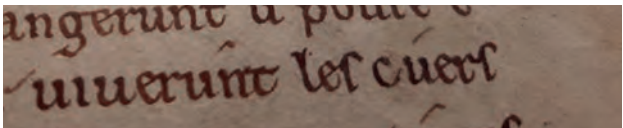
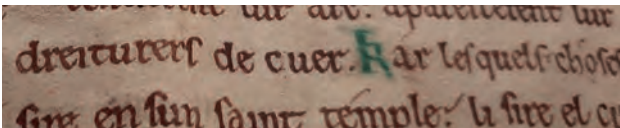
Cases of *cuer* in which the erasure is not certain:

f. 38v,  
line 13  
(porosity  
due to  
folding?)



f. 38v,  
line 39  
(porosity  
due to  
folding?)

f. 38v,  
line 17  
(incon-  
clusive  
case)

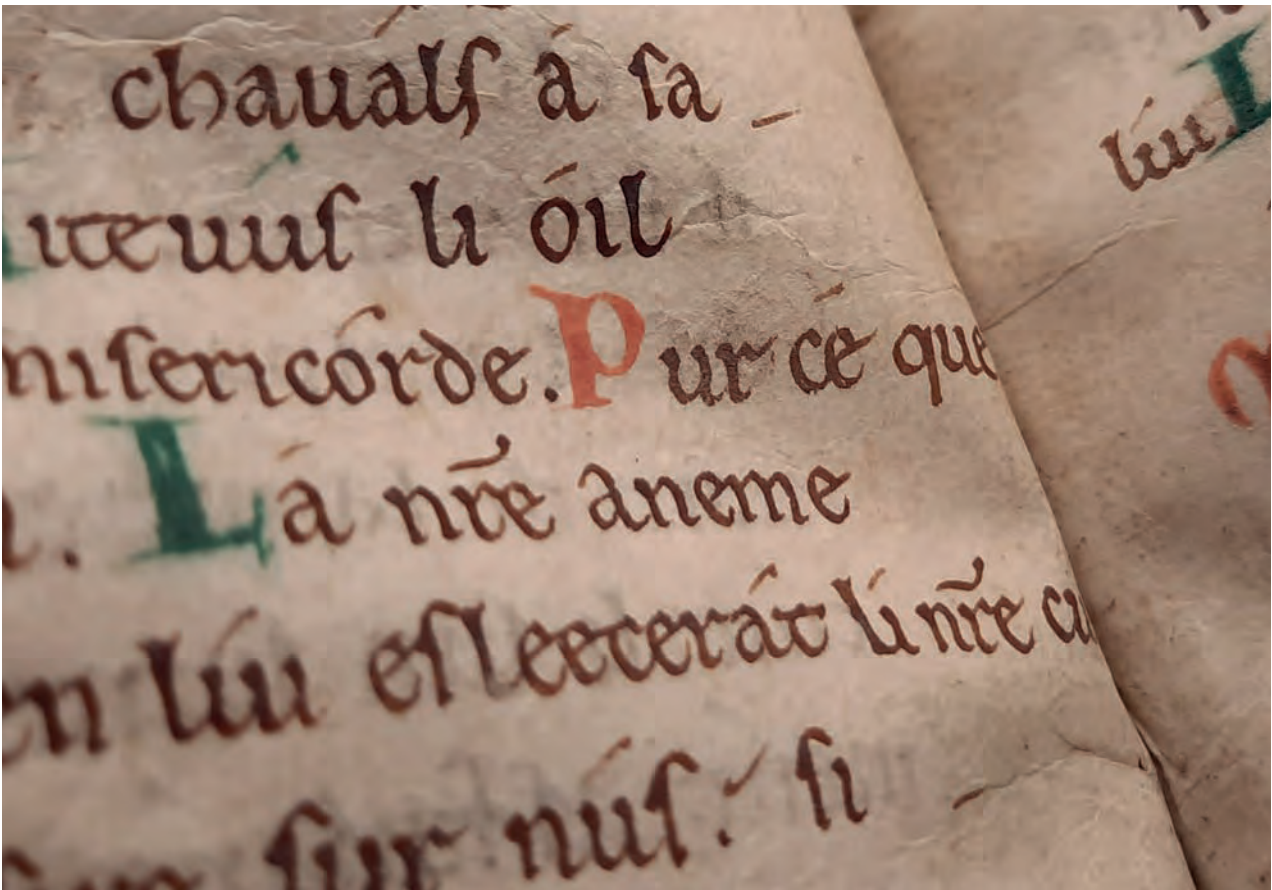


f. 41r,  
line 19  
(incon-  
clusive  
case)

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
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line 17 + line 25 (twice); f. 41r, line 19; f. 42v, line 38. One of these causes can be identified with the folding of the Psalm translation quires at a historical date, previous to the binding of the current manuscript. This is clearly the case on f. 38v, line 39.

The first time the scribe wrote unequivocally *cuer*, with no sign of erasure, is on f. 42v. A second one, on f. 43v, line 15, has the sequence *li nostre cuer* written in the margin of the folio. Since these words surpass the average length of the other lines on the folio, and since the last letters of *cuer* are buried into the spine of the codex, this is clearly an addition made during the revision process (for more cases of the same type, *vide infra*). Throughout the remaining part of the manuscript, *cuer* is the only spelling used by the scribe.



f. 43v,  
line 15

## MAIS vs ACERTES (AC)

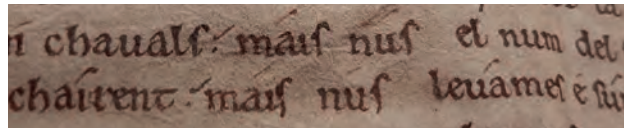
In several erasures, corrections concern a syntactic group made up of *mais* + subject, which renders the Latin syntactic group subject + *autem*. The first one occurs on f. 40v, line 15: *mais nús* on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nús el num del segnur de nostre déu apelerúms* (cf. Lat *nos autem in nomine domini dei nostri invocabimus*). The second time it appears in the line below: f. 40v, line 16, where *mais nús* was written on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nús leuámes é súmes esdrecét* (cf. Lat *nos autem surreximus, et erecti sumus*). In both situations, *mais* is part of an extensive erasure. Other examples follow on f. 42r, line 16, where *mais nostre síre* was written on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nostre síre receút méi* (cf. Lat *dominus autem assumpsit me*); but also f. 43r, line 1, in *Máis ié en téi esperái* (cf. Lat *Ego autem in te speravi domine*). It is worth noting that in the same psalm, a few lines earlier, a different translation choice was used for the same Latin group: Lat *ego autem in domino speravi* was rendered as OFr *Ié acertes el segnur esperai* (f. 42v, line 30). Moreover, at the end of the same psalm, Lat *Ego autem dixi in excessu mentis mee* is once again rendered as *Ié acértes dis el trespás de la méie pênse* (f. 43r, lines 12-13).

Another example of *mais* on top of an erasure is visible

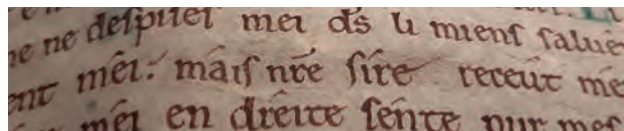
- ◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
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University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

*Mais* + subject possibly in place of subject + *acertes*:

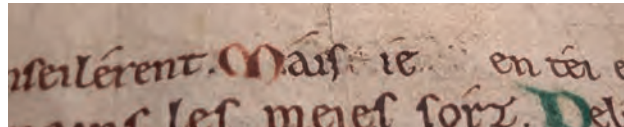
f. 40v,  
lines  
15–16



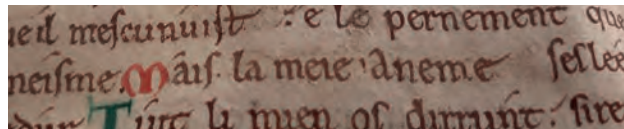
f. 42r,  
line 16



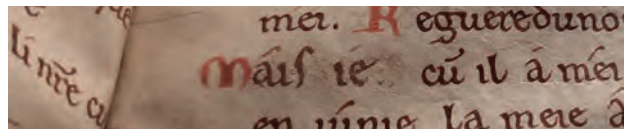
f. 43r  
line 1



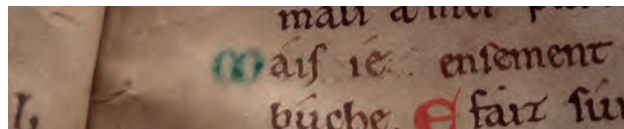
f. 44r,  
line 9



f. 44r,  
line 14



f. 45r,  
line 31



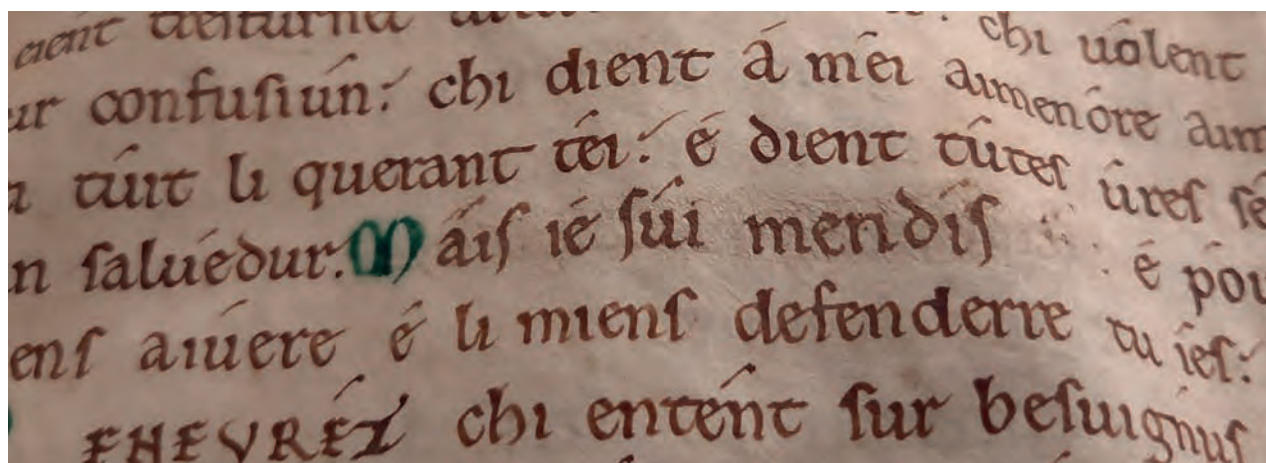
on f. 44r, line 9, where the longer sequence *Mais la meie aneme* was written on top of an erasure in the phrase *Máis. la meie aneme seslécerat el seigneur* (cf. Lat *Anima autem mea exsultabit in domino*). On the same folio, line 14, *mais ié* was written on top of an erasure in *Máis ié cum il á mei füssent moléste* (cf. Lat *Ego autem cum mihi molesti essent*). On f. 45r, line 31, the erasure occurs once again at the beginning of the line, just as in the previous example: *Máis ié ensement cum súrz nen oðéie* (cf. Lat *Ego autem tamquam surdus non audiebam*). On f. 46r, line 5, the erasure is longer, a sign that the syntactic change affects not only the neighbouring words, but a larger group: *Máis ié súi mendís é póûre*. Here, in the space between *mendís* and *é*, one still catches a glimpse of the letters left by the verbal form *sui*, which would be in the right place if the initial translation choice was *acertes*, which follows to the word order of Gallicanum (*Ego autem mendicus sum et pauper*). This is further supported by the fact that the majuscule *M* in *Mais* is written on top of the same extensive erasure; traces of a previous accent can be seen above the letter *a* in *mais*.

Certain erasures occur in compound phrases where the text source (a variant of Gallicanum) must have used a participle noun + *autem*: f. 43r, line 32: *mais lespéránt* (cf. Lat *sperantem autem*); f. 43v, line 27: *mais li enqueránt* (cf. Lat *inquirentes autem*); f. 44v, line 19: *mais li sustenant* (cf. Lat *sustinentes autem*; a few lines further down, Lat *Man-sueti autem hereditabunt terram* is rendered as OFr *Lí suéf acertes eriterúnt la térre*; and Lat *Dominus autem irridebit eum* becomes OFr *Máis li síre escharnirát lúi*). Last but not least, there is also f. 44v, line 35 with *mais lí maldísánt* (cf. Lat *maledicentes autem*). There is ample proof that all these corrections on top of erasures were intended to replace an expression which used *acertes* instead of *mais*.

In addition to these erasures, one should note that there are two situations in which the OFr formula participle noun + *acertes* mirrors Lat verbal noun + *autem*, in the absence of any trace of erasure. The first one is on f. 39r, line 19: *les cremanz acertes le segnur glorifié* (cf. Lat *timentes autem dominum glorificat*). The second one is on f. 57v, line 30: *exalcéz acértes. humiliéz súi. é conturbéz* (cf. Lat *exaltatus autem, humiliatus sum et conturbatus*). However, f. 69v, line 6 bears witness to OFr *Máis les declinánz*, without any trace of erasure, which renders Lat *Declinantes autem in obligationes*. This suggest that the scribe had both types of expression in mind.

Apart from the situations noted on erasures, the Latin syntactic group noun + *autem* is rendered in the exact same ways throughout the entire text: sometimes as *mais* + subject, sometimes as subject + *acertes*.

Here are the examples illustrating the first choice: f. 37r, line 14 (OFr *Mais ie sui establít réis de lúi sur syon*; cf. Lat *Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion*); f. 37r, lines 24-25 (OFr *Máis tu sire ies li miens receuérre*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine susceptor meus es*); f. 37v, line 7 (OFr *mais ie en la multitude de la tús misericordie*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in multitudine misericordie tue*); f. 38v, line 39 (OFr *mais ie en la tús misericordie esperái*; cf. Lat *ego autem in misericordia tua speravi*); f. 45r, line 2-3 (OFr *Máis li iúste eriterunt lá térre*; cf. Lat *Iusti autem hereditabunt terram*); f. 45r, line 6 (OFr *Máis li sire ne deguépirá*; cf. Lat *Dominus*

f. 46r,  
line 5

*autem non derelinquet*); f. 46r, line 18 (OFr *Máis tu sire aies merci de méi*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine miserere mei*); f. 48v, line 20–21 (OFr *Máis ié sicume olíue frúit portánt en la máisun déu*; cf. Lat *Ego autem sicut oliva fructifera in domo dei*); f. 49r, line 30 (OFr *máis ié espererái en téi sire*; cf. Lat *ego autem sperabo in te domine*); f. 50r, line 10 (OFr *Máis ié canterái la tûe fortéce*; cf. Lat *Ego autem cantabo fortitudinem tuam*); f. 52v, line 31–32 (OFr *Máis ié tûtes óres espere-rái*; cf. Lat *Ego autem semper sperabo*); f. 54r, line 17 (OFr *Máis ié annuncerái en siécle*; cf. Lat *Ego autem annuntiabo in seculum*); f. 55r, line 21 (OFr *Máis il est . merciâbles*; cf. Lat *Ipse autem est misericors*); f. 55v, line 40 (OFr *Mais nus li tuéns póples*; cf. Lat *Nos autem populus tuus*); f. 56v, line 7 (OFr *Máis uus sicume húmes murréz*; cf. Lat *Vos autem sicut homines moriemini*); f. 59r, line 30 (OFr *máis tu altísmes en parmanableté sire*; cf. Lat *tu autem altissimus in eternum domine*); f. 60r, line 13 (OFr *máis nóstre sire fist les ciéls*; cf. Lat *Dominus autem celos fecit*); f. 61r, line 18 (OFr *Máis tu sire en parmanableté parmáins*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine in eternum permanes*); f. 61r, line 35 (OFr *máis tu parmáins*; cf. Lat *tu autem permanes*); f. 61r, line 36 (OFr *máis tú un meésme iés*; cf. Lat *tu autem idem ipse es*); f. 64v, line 27 (OFr *máis li tuéns sérs sesledecerá*; cf. Lat *servus autem tuus letabitur*); f. 66v, lines 25–26 (OFr *máis li tuéns sérs estéit trauaillé*; cf. Lat *servus autem tuus exercebatur*); f. 67r, lines 36–37 (OFr *máis ie en tut mun cuér escércherái*; cf. Lat *ego autem in toto corde meo scrutabor*); f. 67v, line 8 (OFr *máis ié serái trauailliez*; cf. Lat *ego autem exercebor*); f. 67v, line 19 (OFr *máis ié ne deguerpi les tuéns comandeménz*; cf. Lat *ego autem non dereliqui mandata tua*); f. 69v, line 13 (OFr *Máis uenánz uendrúnt ót esledement*; cf. Lat *Venientes autem venient cum exultatione*).

Many other situations illustrate the formal / functional type of translation, in which the Latin word order was followed accordingly (subject + *acertes*): f. 39v, line 13 (OFr *Ié acértés en iustise apparistrái al tun esguardement*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in iustitia apparebo conspectui tuo*); f. 40v, line 34 (OFr *Tú acértés en saínt habítes*; cf. Lat *Tu autem in sancto habitas*); f. 40v, line 36 (OFr *Ié acértés súi uérm é nient húem*; cf. Lat *Ego autem sum vermis et non homo*); f. 41r, line 10 (OFr *Tu acértés sire ne esluignerás tá aiúe de méi*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine ne elongaveris auxilium tuum a me*); f. 41v, line 38 (OFr *Ié acertes en la meie nun núsánce súi entré*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in innocentia mea ingressus sum*); f. 42v, line 14 (OFr *Ié acértés dis en la meie abundánce*; cf. Lat *Ego autem dixi in abundantia mea*); f. 44v, line 3 (OFr *Lí fil acertes des húmes*; cf. Lat *Filii autem*

*hominum*); f. 45r, line 12 (OFr *Lí torcenús acértés deperirúnt ensémbre*; cf. Lat *Iniusti autem disperibunt simul*); f. 45r, lines 37–38 (OFr *Lí mien enemí acértés uíuent*; cf. Lat *Ini-mici autem mei vivunt*); f. 45v, line 35 (OFr *Tú acértés sire niént luínz fáces*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine ne longe facias*); f. 46r, line 20 (OFr *Méi acértés pur nún\_nuisance receús*; cf. Lat *Me autem propter innocentiam suscepisti*); f. 48r, line 19 (OFr *A pecchedúr acértés dist deus*; cf. Lat *Peccatori autem dixit deus*); f. 53v, line 32 (OFr *Deus acértés li nóstre réis deuant siécles*; cf. Lat *Deus autem rex noster ante secula*); f. 55r, line 19 (OFr *Lí cuérs acértés dicels ne estéit dreiturérs ot lúi*; cf. Lat *cor autem eorum non erat rectum cum eo*); f. 64r, line 39 (OFr *ié acértés orówe*; cf. Lat *ego autem orabam*); f. 65v, line 8 (OFr *Lí nóstre deus acértés el ciél*; cf. Lat *Deus autem noster in celo*); f. 65v, line 36 (OFr *ie acértés humiliéz súi mult*; cf. Lat *ego autem humiliatus sum nimis*); f. 71v, line 31–32 (OFr *ólie acértés de peccheúr ne encraissará le mien chiéf*; cf. Lat *oleum autem peccatoris non impinguet caput meum*).

All these findings are consistent with the hypothesis that the scribe of Douce ms 320 wrote *acertes* when the Latin word was *autem* and later changed some of them into *mais*. The scribe also rendered *autem* as *mais*, from the start, on f. 37r to 69v; he corrected sporadically *acertes* into *mais* from f. 40v to f. 46r; and he left *acertes* uncorrected from f. 40v to f. 71v. The main reason for these erasures seems to be a need to avoid repetition, as pointed out by Sneddon in her article:

There would seem to be a definite attempt in O to avoid the excessive use of *acertes*, and this is achieved by sometimes translating *autem* and *enim* by *mais* and *kar*, and altering the word order (...). (Sneddon 1978: 399; cf. Sneddon 1972: 20, 111).

This need is manifested by the rendering of *autem* as *mais*. Erasures are a testimony to the method that the scribe was perfecting. Sneddon compares examples from Oxford and Arundel Psalters. This comparative work, extended to all types of erasures, will be dealt with in the second instalment of the present article. For the time being, several cases show that the Arundel scribe makes the same corrections and in the same places as the scribe of Douce ms 320. In anticipation of the comparison that lies ahead, the alternating use of *mais* + noun / noun + *acertes* could be simply of a stylistic nature.

HESITANT RENDERINGS FOR LATIN *-TIO* (AC)

The scribe did not know how to deal with this category of Latin borrowings into the French vernacular, at least not from the start. His hesitant renderings *-tiun* or *-ciun*, written on top of an erasure, can suggest that he probably used several suffixes until he focused on some of them.

For instance, on f. 52r, line 38, the term *(l)abitatiun* is written on top of an extensive erasure (*labitatuun dëls de-serte*). *(H)abitatiun* is written without any trace of erasure on f. 41v, line 36; f. 54r, line 20; f. 57v, line 10. From f. 63 onwards, the word becomes *habitaciun(s)*, as on f. 63v, line 19; f. 64r, line 12; f. 64v, line 5; f. 73v, line 23.

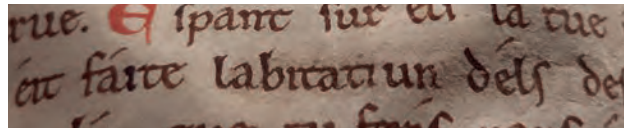
Similarly, on f. 37r, line 36, *compunctiun* is written on top of an extensive erasure, as part of a sequence *aiez compunctiun*, the letters of which are packed in the little available space (and with an abbreviation). Yet *compunctiun* is written without any trace of erasure on f. 50r, lines 16-17.

This also happens to *consummatiun* on f. 50r, line 7. Nevertheless, the letters of the word are not crammed in. *Consummatiun* is written as such, without erasures, on f. 50r, line 7, that is, on the exact same line. On f. 67v, line 29, there is also *consummaciun*.

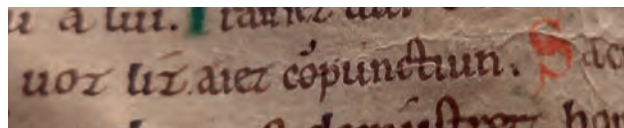
As for *contriciun*, it is written on top of an erasure on f. 39r, line 8. Given the size of the erasure, one could guess that the previous word must have been much longer, composed of many more letters. Yet again, *contriciuns* is writ-

Erasures with *-ciun* / *-tiun* suffixes:

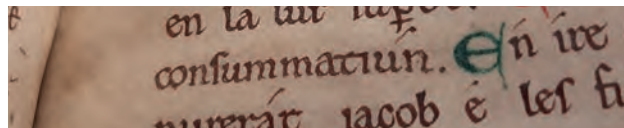
f. 52r,  
line 38



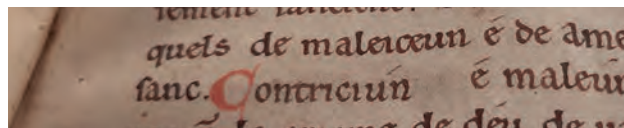
f. 37r,  
line 36



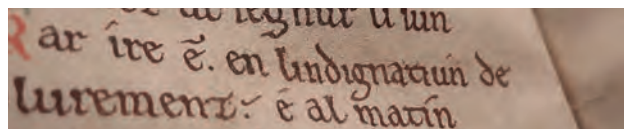
f. 50r  
line 7



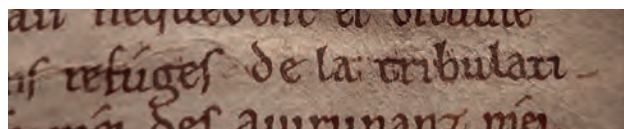
f. 39r,  
line 8



f. 42v,  
line 12



f. 43r,  
line 27



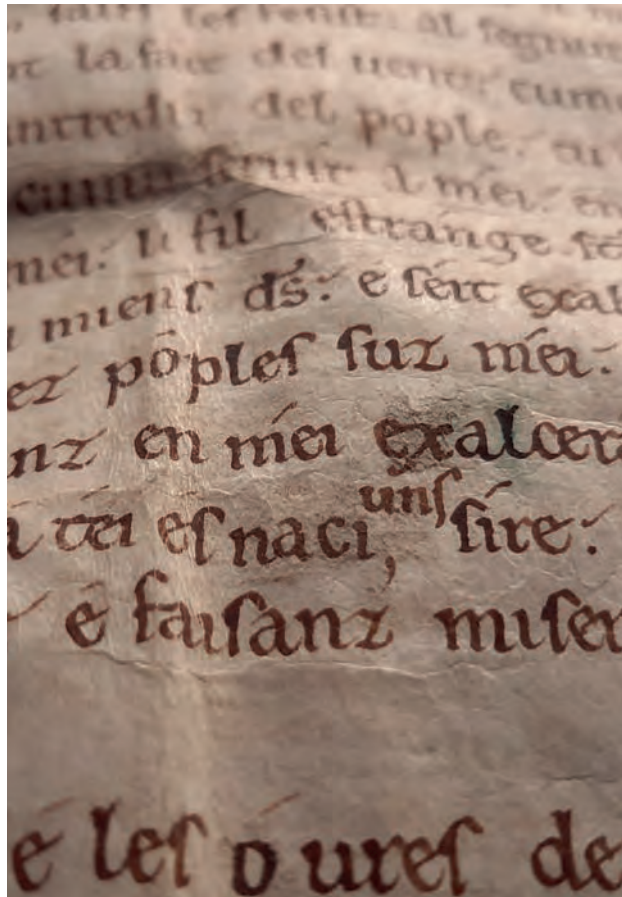
ten without erasure on f. 50r, line 15.

On f. 42v, line 12, *(l)indignatiun* is also transcribed on an extensive erasure as part of *en lindignatiun de lui*. The sequence *en lindignatiun de*, written on the same line, is crammed in, while the word *de* crosses into the inner margin of the folio. However, on f. 55r, line 34 (twice), and on f. 57r, line 9, one may read *indignatiun*, without any erasure; while on f. 61r, line 16, and f. 74v, line 24, the word is written as *indignaciun*.

Finally, *tribulatiun* is on an extensive erasure (*refuges de la tribulatiun*) on f. 43r, lines 27-28. In the specific case of this erasure, the word *refuges* may seem tightly written (for *refuges*, see the section dedicated to this word), but the rest of the text is stretched, particularly in the sequence *de la*, as if the erased text had more letters than the correction. With regard to the word *tribulatiun* itself, it should be noted that the erasure stops before the *-i-* of the suffix. Furthermore, the final *-un*, which is written on the following line, was not erased. It must therefore be assumed that the scribe had previously written a word already ending in *-un* (in which case *-i-* would have been added after the erasure), or perhaps a word ending in *-iun*. However, from f. 37r to f. 59r, the spelling *tribulatiun* appears on numerous occasions. On the other hand, we find *tribulaciun* on f. 64r, line 15 + line 33; f. 65v, line 29; f. 66r, line 13; f. 68v, line 1; f. 71r, line 17; f. 72r, line 1 + line 25; f. 74v, line 39.

Before proceeding to the analysis of these general situa-

The particular erasure of *nace*? (now *naciuns*):



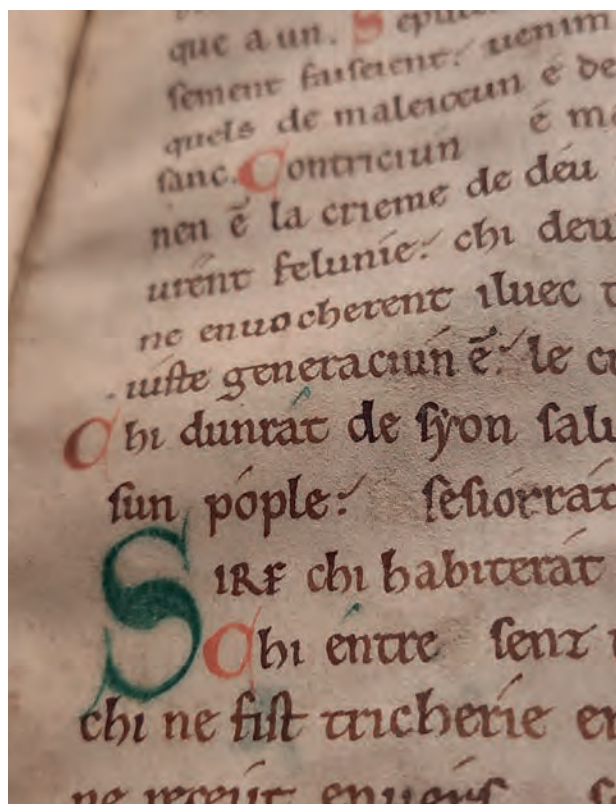
f. 40r,  
line 27

tions, special attention must be given to two other words, the transcription of which made the scribe even more hesitant. On f. 40r, line 27, he wrote *naciuns* on top of an erasure. It is evident that the initial form of the word, before the erasure, must have occupied the space of the first four letters, while the sequence *-uns* was written above the line during the correction process, as there was no more available space. The word *naciuns* appears again on f. 64v, line 39, but there is no erasure there.

By far, the most interesting treatment is that of the word *generaciun*. On f. 38r, line 40, *generaciun* is part of an extensive erasure (*en generaciun senz mal*). It appears again on f. 39r, line 12 (*generaciun est*). Smaller erasures occur on f. 41v, line 1 (*generaciuns*); f. 43v, line 6 (twice: *generaciun* / *generaciun*); f. 54v, line 26 (twice: *generaciuns* / *generaciun*), and f. 65r, line 17 (*generaciun*). The latter is particularly interesting, on account of the position of the erasure, which concerns only the letter *-i-* and suggests that the scribe could have written either *generaceun* (thus mixing up two competitive variants found in the text) or perhaps *generace* (provided that the right half of the letter *-u-* and the entire letter *-n* were written in the blank spacing between the words, as documented by the test in the image below). Only *-i-* and the left half of the letter *-u-* could be written on top of the erasure, thus documenting the use of *generace*.

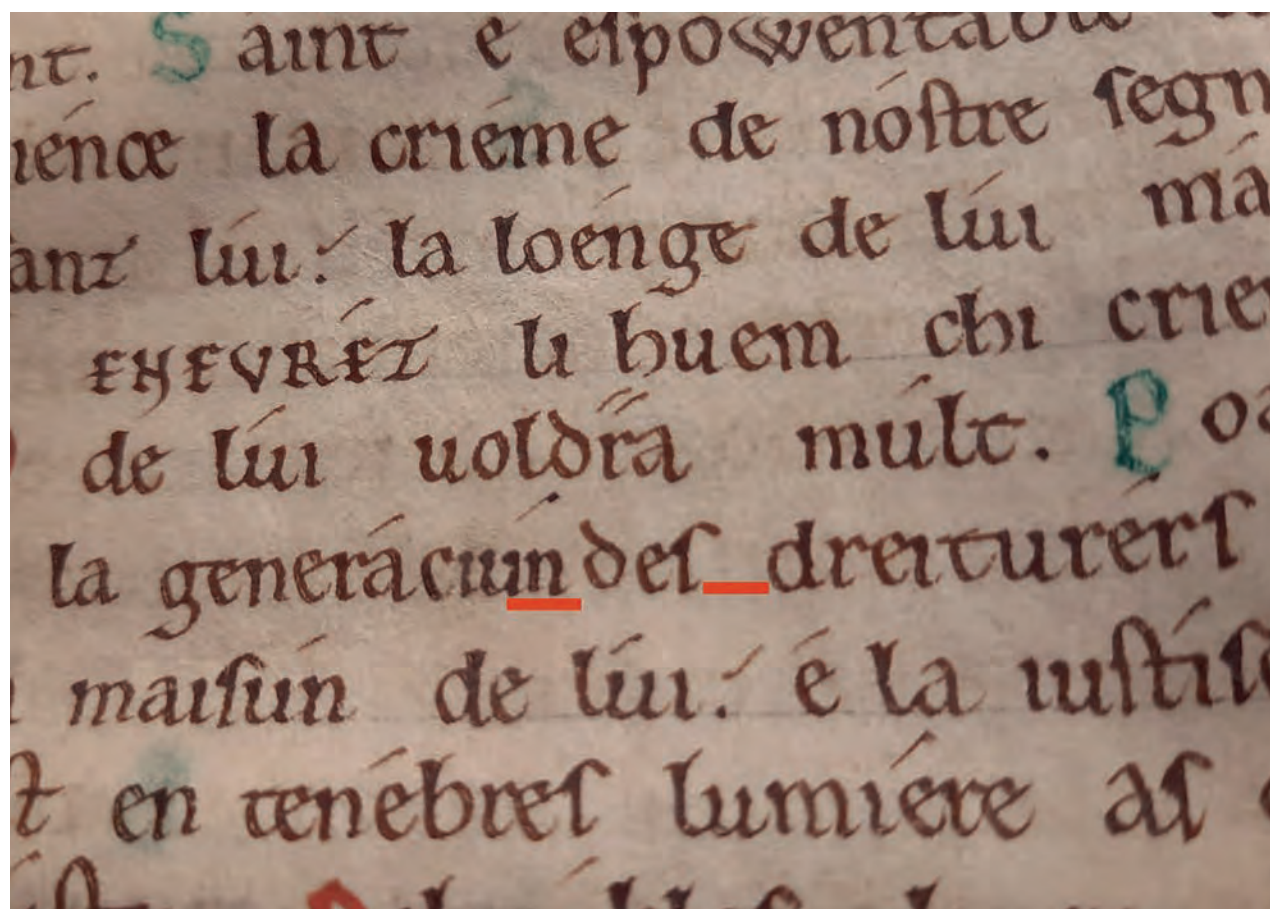
Four other cases (out of the eight already mentioned erasures) would equally be explained if the initial spelling of the word were *generace*. In the case of f. 39r, line 12,

The particular erasure of *generace*? (+ spacing):

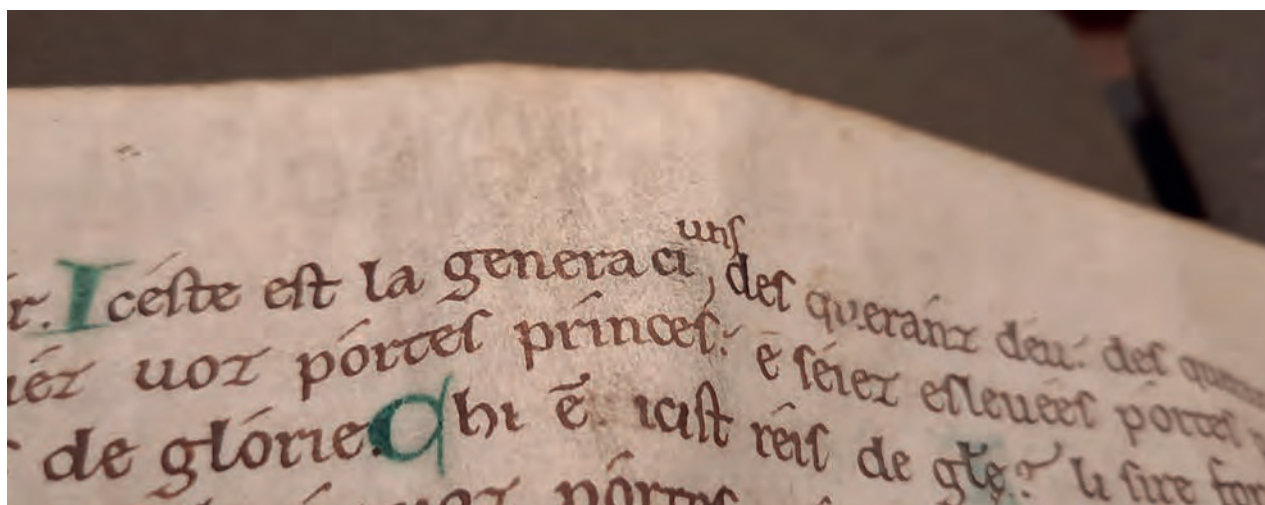
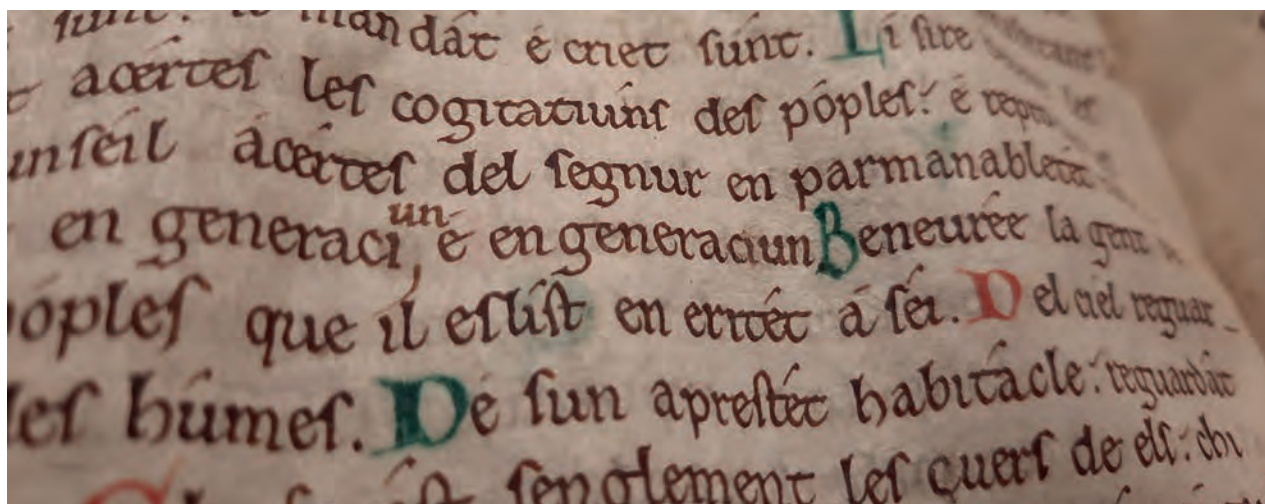


f. 39r,  
line 12

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f. 65r,  
line 17

f. 41v  
line 1f. 43v  
line 6

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
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–*iun* and the abbreviated *est* occupy the exact same space as an –*e est*, reconstructed as *generace est*, written in full. On f. 41v, line 1, –*uns* was written above the line, while the erasure concerns a single letter, now replaced by –*i*–, suggesting that the initial spelling was indeed *generace*. Next, on f. 43v, line 6, both erasures of the same word had the initial spelling *generace*. The first one was corrected in the same manner as the case of f. 41v, line 1, while the second one was dealt with as the one from f. 65r, line 17.

The remaining cases are ambiguous, with the entire word written on top of an erasure, such as in the cases occurring on f. 54v, line 26, where *generaciuns* and *generaciun* are difficult to interpret. *Generace* or *generasse* is nevertheless attested since the second half of the 12th century (e.g., *Et entour lui teus generace / Qui li rendent et gré et grace*, v. 6127–6128 in Gauthier d'Arras' *Eracle*, c.1154; ed. Raynaud de Lage 1976, 188–189). The word was probably created according to the same pattern as modern French words *préface* (< Lat *praefatio*) or *dédicace* (< Lat *dedicatio*) and had the meanings '(1) race, lineage, descent' or 'crowd (of people)' according to *DEAFél*. If this is the case, perhaps the same reconstruction can be applied to *naciuns* on

f. 40r, line 27, the initial spelling of each could cover only four letters. Even though the form *nace* or *nasse* is not attested by any dictionary, the correction follows the same pattern as those of *generace* > *generaciuns* on f. 41v, line 1, and f. 43v, line 6 (first example).

The ending –*ace* could also explain an unattested form *indignace* rapidly corrected into *indignatiun* on f. 42v, line 12, thus requiring a rewriting of the preposition *de*, which crosses now into the inner margin of the folio. However, this is just speculation, as it does not explain the erasure of the preposition *en* that precedes *lindignatiun*.

Leaving aside words such as *compunctiun*, (*h*)*abitaciun*, and *tribulaciun*, corrected in extensive erasures and difficult to reconstruct, the ending –*ace* does not explain the erasures later corrected into *contriciun* (more letters in the initial spelling) or *consummatiun* (more or less the same amount of letters). Since the scribe rendered *sanctificatio* as *saintificatiun*–*ciun* on f. 55v, line 1, and f. 70r, line 18 + line 29, but also as *sainteſement* on f. 60r, line 14 + line 39, and f. 65r, line 38, perhaps the initial ending of *contriciun* and *consummatiun* could be –*ment*.

AS PREVIOUSLY NOTED, there is a break in the spelling of *tribulatiun*, written as such from f. 37r to f. 59r, and *tribulaciun* from f. 64r to f. 74v. This –*c*– and –*t*– feature may seem less revealing from a grammatical point of view. Still, it is extremely relevant as to the idiosyncracies of

the scribe and to the chronology of his waverings.

A quick look at the specific features of *compunctiún* and *contriciún*, on f. 50r in particular, where *-ciun* and *-tiun* occur at the same time, certifies that the scribe used both forms indiscriminately. However, when confronting them with other examples (*indignatiún*, *tribulatiún*, *consummatiún*, *habitatiún*), one notes that the use of the *-t-* variant tends to occur before the turning point of f. 59. After this folio, the scribe starts favouring the spelling *-c-*. This is amply demonstrated by the inventory of spellings for *cogitatiún(s)*, a word written without any sign of erasure throughout the text. On f. 37v, line 12; f. 43v, line 4 + line 6; f. 45v, line 27; f. 49r, line 36; and f. 54r, lines 27-28 (twice), the word is written with *-t-*. After f. 59, the spelling changes into *cogitatiún(s)* with *-c-*: f. 59r, line 27; f. 59v, line 17; f. 68r, line 13; f. 71r, line 21; f. 71v, line 3; f. 72v, line 36; and f. 74r, line 10.

There are many more examples of words spelled with *-t-* in the first part of the manuscript and *-c-* after f. 59: *temptatiun* on f. 40r, line 6 / *temptaciún* on f. 60r, line 3; *fornicatiún* on f. 53v, line 15 / *fornicaciún* on f. 63r, line 40; *miseratiuns* on f. 45v, line 36 / *miseraciúns* on f. 61v, line 4; as well as f. 67v, line 6; and f. 72v, line 17; *adinuentiúns* on f. 54v, line 5; f. 56r, line 35 / *adinuenciúns* on f. 73v, line 21; *saintificatiún* on f. 55v, line 1 / *sanctificaciún* on f. 70r, line 18 + line 29; *abominatiún* on f. 57v, line 21 / *abominaciúns* on f. 75r, line 33.

With few exceptions, words ending in *-tiun* occur often before f. 59: *significatiún* (f. 50r, line 17); *afflictiún* (f. 39v, line 35; f. 46v, line 32); *corruptiun* (f. 39r, line 34; f. 42v, lines 17-18); *refectiun* (f. 41r, line 28); *subsannatiún* (f. 44r, line 19; f. 46v, line 25; f. 55v, line 27); *oblatiun* (f. 45v, line 29; f. 48v, line 11); *fluctuatiún* (f. 49r, line 28); *congregatiún* (f. 50v, line 6; f. 52r, lines 1-2; f. 53v, line 19); *predicatiún* (f. 53v, line 17); *commotiuns* (f. 51r, line 26); *retributiún* (f. 40v, line 3); *conturbatiún* (f. 43r, line 10); *contradictiún* (f. 43r, line 11; f. 56r, line 8 + line 30; f. 63r, line 32); *uociferatiún* (f. 43r, line 37); *meditatiún* (f. 45v, line 5; f. 47v, line 21); *supplantatiún* (f. 46r, line 18); *propositiún* (f. 47v, line 23; f. 54v, line 17); *assumptiún* (f. 58r, line 18); *conso-*

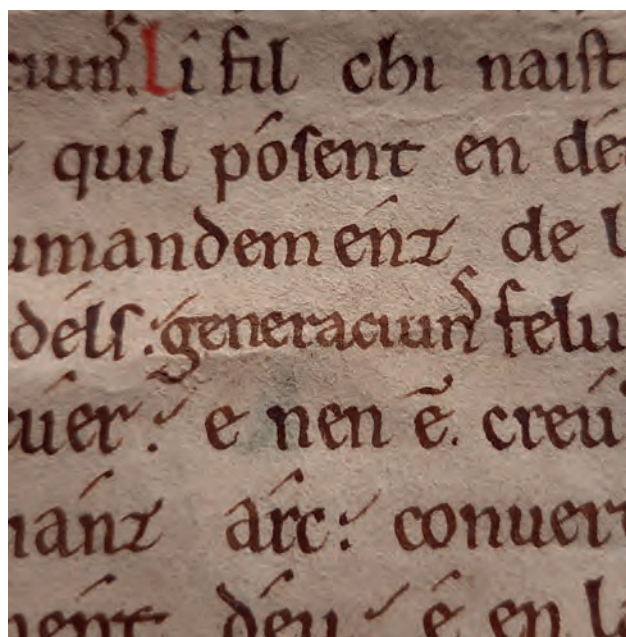
*latiúns* (f. 59v, line 27); *dilectiún* (f. 64r, line 40); *resurrectiún* (f. 71r, line 21); *imperfectiún* (f. 71r, line 38).

Similarly, *-ciun* is most frequent in the second part of the manuscript, from approximately f. 59 onwards: *peticiuns* (f. 40v, line 13; line 44v, line 14); *uituperaciun* (f. 42v, line 39); *exercitaciun* (f. 49r, line 4); *peregrinaciún* (f. 67r, line 20); *perdiciún* (f. 57v, line 26; f. 63v, line 35; f. 75v, line 21); *iubilaciún* (f. 58r, line 14); *preuaricaciúns* (f. 60v, line 35); *dominaciún* (f. 61v, line 27; f. 72v, line 22); *peticiún* (f. 63r, line 14); *congregaciún* (f. 63r, line 16; f. 65r, line 3); *iustificaciún(s)* (f. 66v, line 6 + line 9 + line 14 + line 17 + line 22 + line 26 + line 27 + line 30 (twice) + line 36; f. 67r, line 13 + line 20 + line 22 + line 29 + line 31 + line 36 + line 39; f. 67v, line 10 + lines 14-15 + line 26 + line 27; f. 68r, line 7 + line 12 + line 20 + line 33 + line 39; f. 68v, line 4 + line 15 + line 34); *commociún* (f. 69r, line 9); *redempciún* (f. 70r, line 3); *dormitaciún* (f. 70r, line 13); *deprecaciún* (f. 71v, line 15; f. 72r, line 6); *excusaciúns* (f. 71v, line 29); *saluaciún* (f. 74v, line 25).

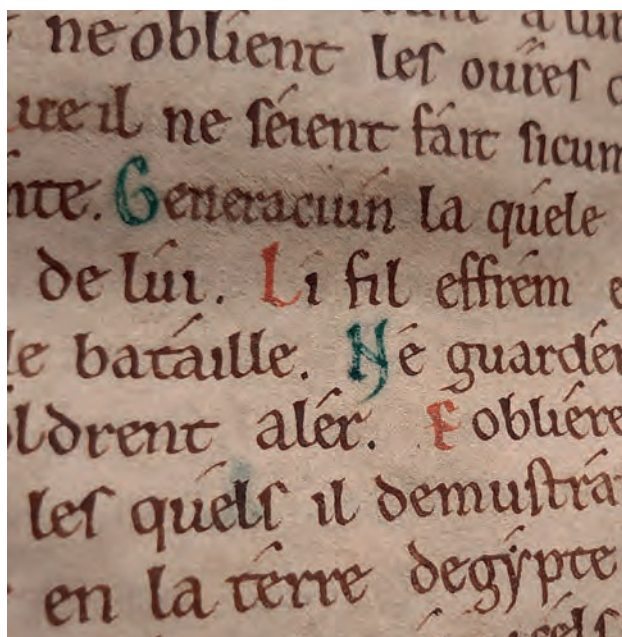
Still, there are other waverings in the text as well. On f. 41r, line 40, the scribe wrote *beneiceún* with a tiny erasure visible under *-ic-*; while on f. 40v, line 20 + line 23, and f. 44v, line 39, the same spelling *beneiceún* is written without erasure. Perhaps the erasure in the first case is related to a variant spelling such as *benediceún*, which occurs on f. 37r, line 30, and f. 56v, line 36. However, there is also *beneicún*, on f. 64v, line 13-14; f. 69v, line 36; f. 70r, line 34; f. 72v, line 26.

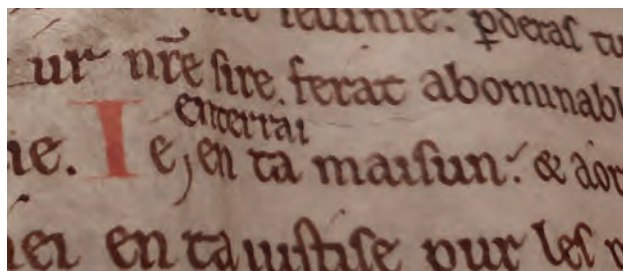
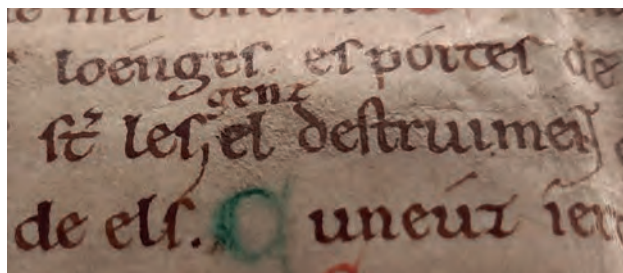
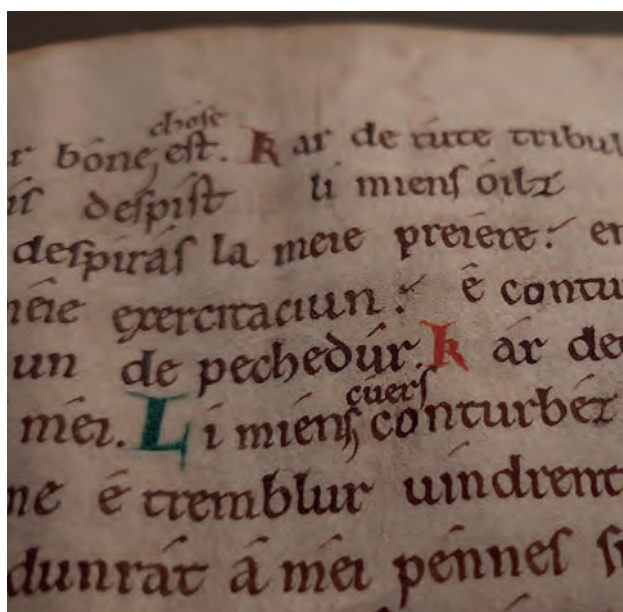
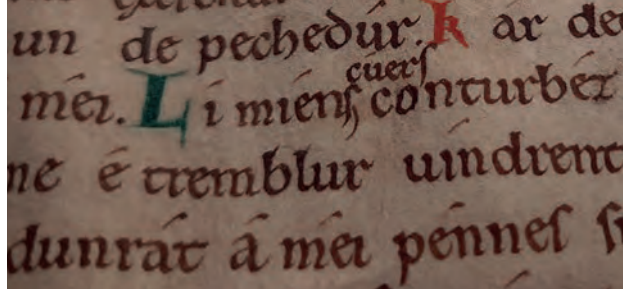
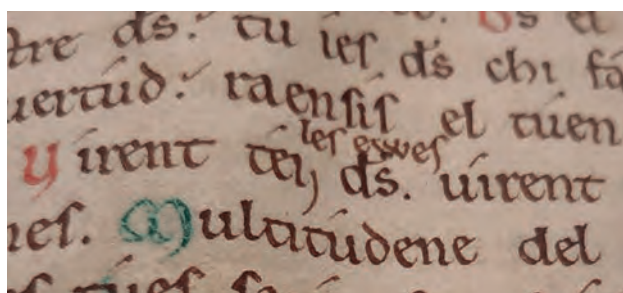
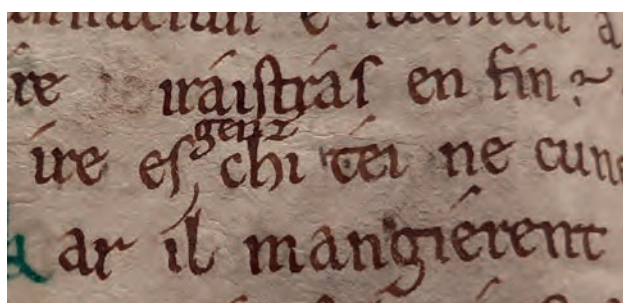
These additional variant endings are randomly encountered in other parts of the text: *maledictio* is rendered as *maleiceun* on f. 38v, line 1; and *maleicún* on f. 64v, line 13 + line 14. *Redemptio* is *raencéun* on f. 47v, line 26, but also *raencún* on f. 65r, line 11. Finally, *cantatio* becomes *canceún* on f. 52v, line 23. Consequently *-ceun* seems to be a proper alternative for *-tiun* in the first part of the manuscript, while *-cun* is an alternative for *-ciun* towards the end.

f. 54v  
line 26 (1)



f. 54v  
line 26 (2)



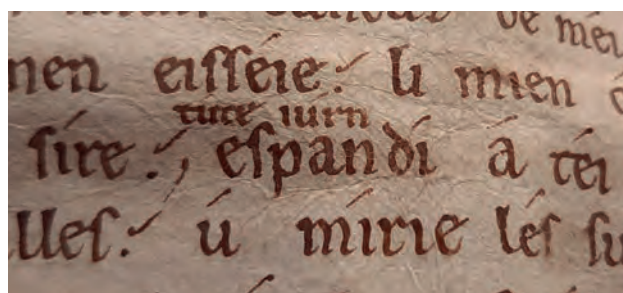
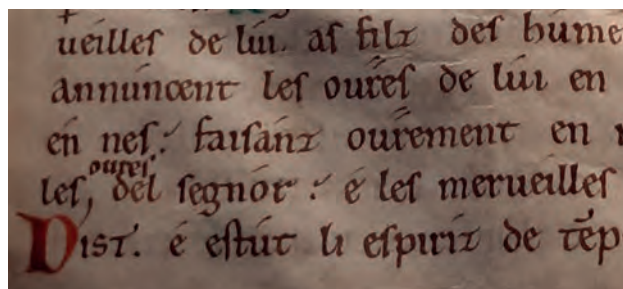
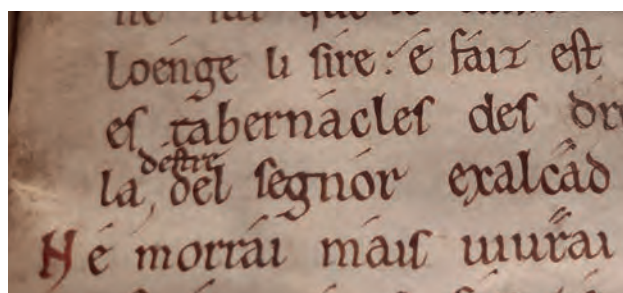
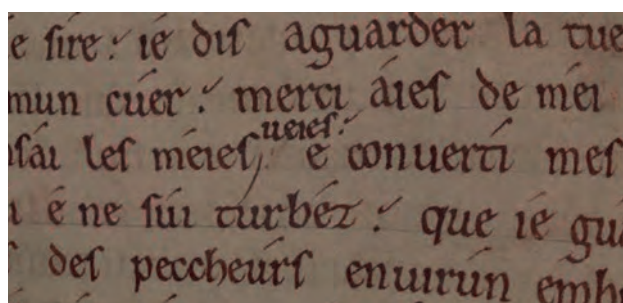
f. 37v  
line 8f. 38r  
line 28f. 49r,  
line 1f. 49r,  
line 6f. 54v  
line 8f. 55v  
line 29

### ODD ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS (VA)

Many words were absent from the initial copy of the text, words which were inserted later. It is hard to believe they were unnoticed during the translation process. It is safer to assume that they point to the existence of a vernacular antigraph. I do not include in this category the subsequent insertion of missing definite or indefinite articles, prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, negations, or other less consequential words—going as far as the absence of the verb 'to be', which can equally be due to an elliptical type of clause (or expression).

Certain errors, including longer ones, such as f. 57v, line 23 (*tute iurn* inserted in the sequence *Je criai á téi sire* ; \ *tute iurn/ espanði á téi les meies máins*), can be interpreted as errors of translation, given their inessential syntactical usage, and cannot be considered definite proof of a copy.

Insertions (some based, some not) on a antigraph:

f. 57v,  
line 23f. 63v,  
line 39f. 66r,  
line 25f. 67r,  
line 25

This applies to absent nouns without equivalent in the Latin text, inserted later by the scribe in the interline, such as *chóse* on f. 49r, above line 1, in the sequence *kar bone \chóse/ est*, where Gallicanum had only *quoniam bonum est* (Ps 53:8). Distinctively, the repetition of certain words can equally lead to errors in translation, such as *les ewes* on f. 54v, line 8, which was inserted in the sequence *uient tei \les ewes/ deus uient tei les ewes*, where Gallicanum had *Viderunt te aque deus viderunt te aque et timuerunt* (Ps 76:17). Finally, one can imagine a situation in which a translator skipped certain nouns, provided that they were followed by a relative clause that played the syntactic part of a subject: on f. 55v, line 29, where *genz* was inserted in the sequence *éspant la tûe íre es \genz/ chi téi ne cuneurent* (cf. Gallicanum *Effunde iram tuam in gentes que te non nouerunt*; Ps 78:6).

However, there are five peculiar situations in which key elements of the phrase were missed in translation, being inserted later, during the revision process. For instance, it is hardly possible to argue that the Oxford Psalter was an autograph translation of the Latin St Albans Psalter when the word *genz* was inserted in the sequence *enfichees sunt les \genz/ el destruiment que il firent* on f. 38r, line 28. Here,

*genz* is the object of the verb. Missing it in an autograph translation would be nearly impossible.

The same occurs on f. 37v, line 8 (*enterrái* is inserted in the sequence *ié \enterrái/ en ta maisun*); f. 49r, line 6 (*cúers* inserted in the sequence *lí miéns \cúers/ conturbéz est*); f. 63v, line 39 (*oures* inserted in the sequence *les \oures/ del seignór*); f. 66r, line 25 (*déstre* inserted in the sequence *la \déstre/ del seignór exalcád méi*); f. 67r, line 25 (*ueies* inserted in the sequence *ié purpensái les méies \ueies/ e conuertí mes piez*; perhaps on account of a similar shape of the letters in *ueies* and *meies*).

These situations concern essential words whose absence is unexplainable in a translation process. Definite articles are there, but nouns are not. The first person pronoun in the singular is there, but the verb is absent. Such types of omissions are perfectly explainable when one transforms an interlinear gloss into a prose text. The scribe would not be able to pay equal attention to all the words, concentrating mostly on the transformation of said gloss into actual prose.

ANOTHER ESSENTIAL PIECE OF EVIDENCE is the transformation of an **L** majuscule into an **I** majuscule via the erasure of the right part of the initial letter on f. 72r, line 3 (*Le esguardowe > Ie esguardowe*). This strongly supports the idea that the scribe was copying from a source, as he mistook the first person personal pronoun in the singular (*je*, written as *le*) with the masculine definite article in the singular (*le*), without paying attention to the meaning of the entire phrase.

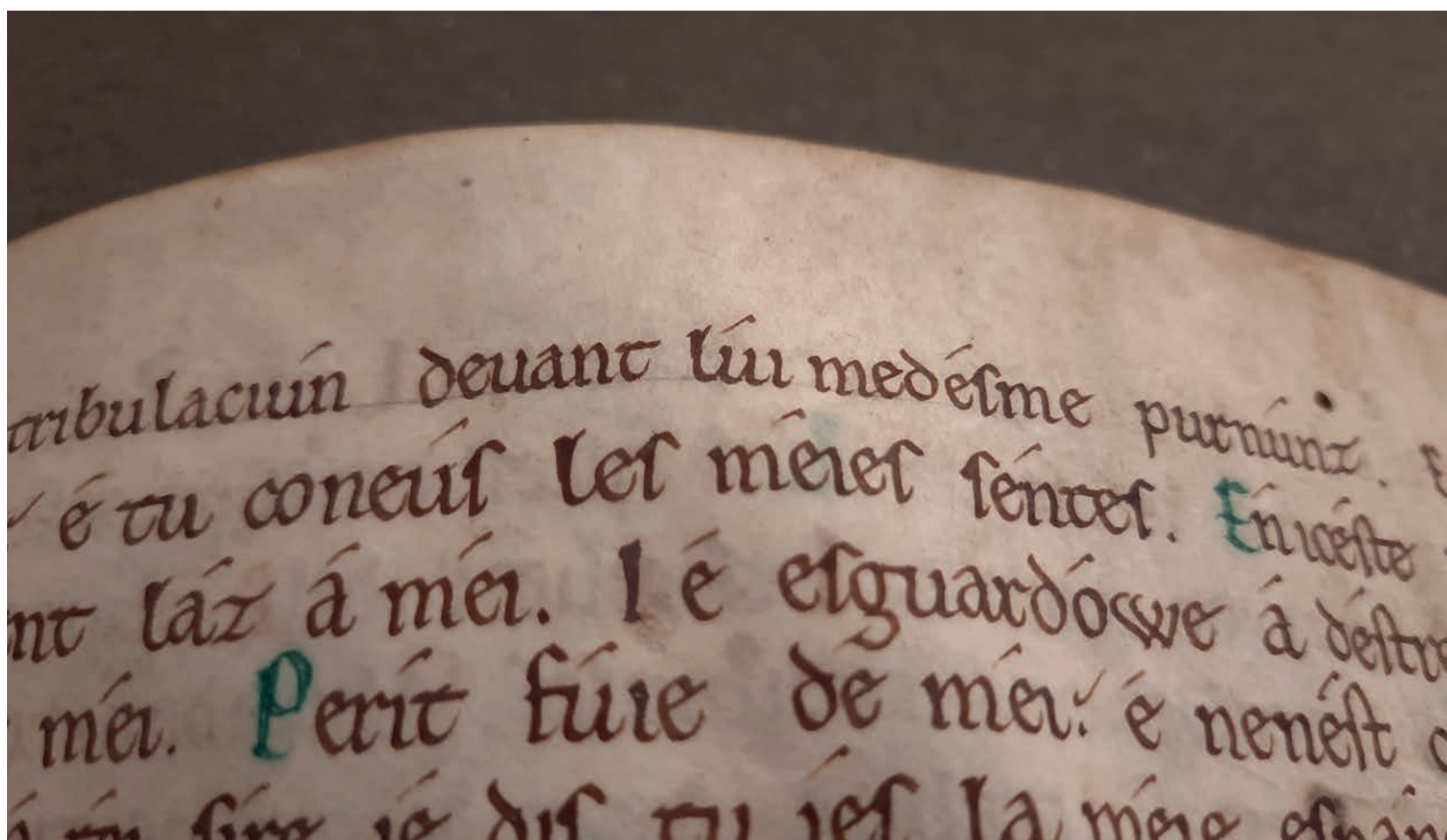
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

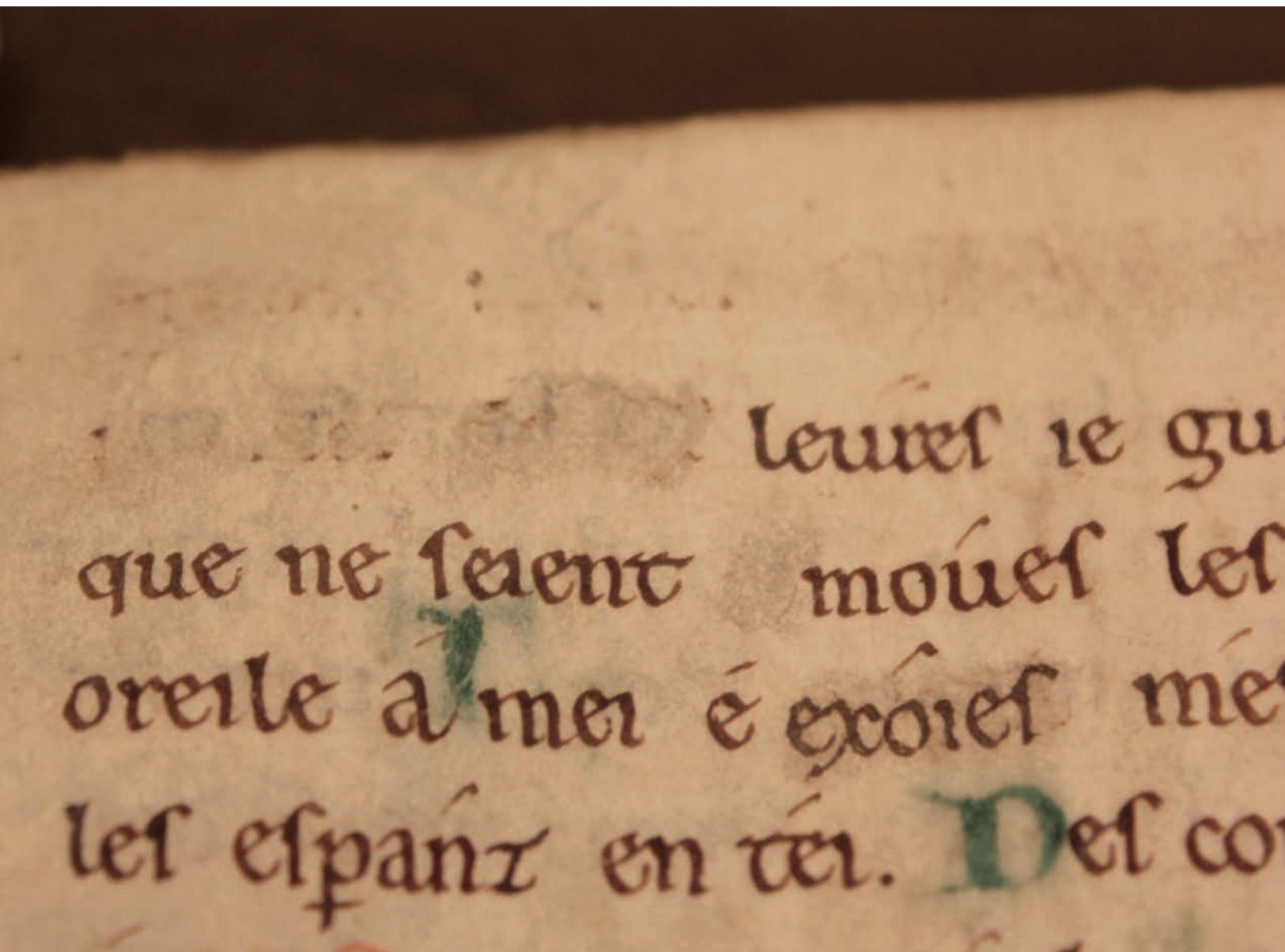
Facing page: insertions based (or not) on a source text.

Below: **Le** > **Ie** on f. 72r, line 3.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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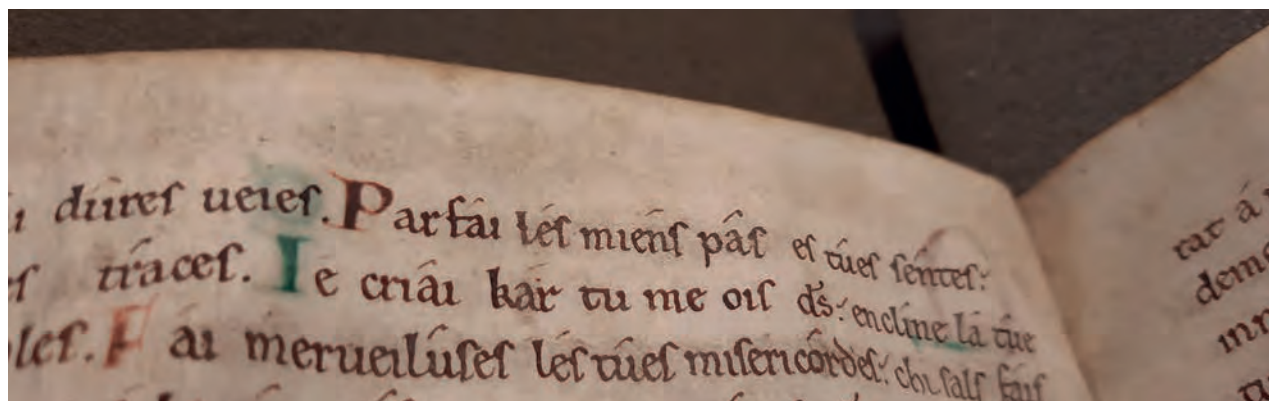




◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 39v.  
 Above: Three erased words at the beginning of line 1 and the left part of the extensive erasure of line 0.  
 Below: Extent of the erasure of line 0 to the right.  
 Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
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A RATHER ODD ERASURE occurs at the beginning of f. 39v. The first line up (line 0), completely erased, was added to the regular 40 lines of each folio. Since it is copied above the first ruling line of the page, it is hard to consider it is an omission during the translation process.

The second line (now line 1) also presents a problem, as its first three words have been erased. However, the first



erased word started with a straight descender which is still visible, the only possible choice being *p-*. The second word was either *les* or *ses*, as testified by the height and lower serif of its first letter, as well as the imprint of *-e-* and final *-s* on the remaining parchment. As for the third word, it started with the sequence *le-* (the upper part of these two letters is still visible on the folio) and ended with an *-s*, the upper and lower serifs of which are still visible to the naked eye. Given the space it occupies on the line, the third word had six letters: *le\_\_\_\_s*.

Since the fourth word of line 1 in the initial version (now the first word on the folio) reads *leuēs* ('lips'), it is highly probable that the word preceding it (the third one erased) was also *leures*. The scribe must have made an eye-skip. Nevertheless, the last group of words on the preceding folio (f. 39r) is *pur les paróles de tes*, none of which fits as such in the sequence of three erased words of f. 39v.

Besides, the scrapping of line 0 goes as far above as the possessive adjective *miens* of line 1. It must have been a rather long text sequence, but not as long as to account for a complete additional line written during the first stage of transcription. However, the remaining space available on line 0 presents no erasures and there is no trace of a majuscule at the beginning of line 1 either, therefore line 0 cannot be the end of text unit in the initial transcription of the text. The blank space at the end of line 0 suggests that the erased words of the latter could only be transcribed later, during the revision process, probably in connection or as part of the same problem as the eye-skip of line 1, in a situation rather similar to the one that we see on f. 69v (*vide infra*). Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct any letter from line 0, except for a line accounting for an *n-*, *m-*, or *u-* at the beginning of its second word, above the erased *le\_\_\_\_s* of line 1. Alas, this is too vague to make any supposition or reconstruction.

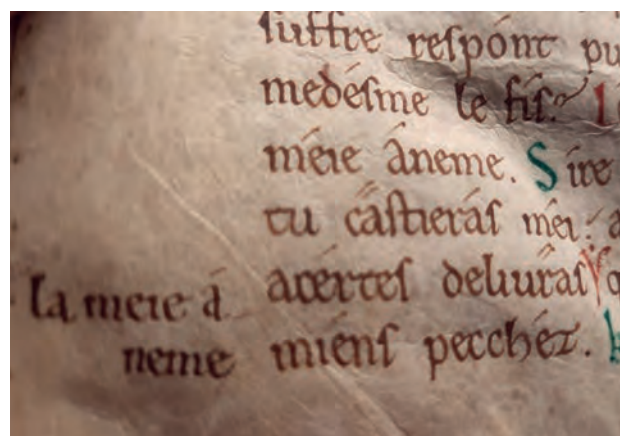
Comparisons with codices from the same manuscript tradition are not helpful either. The word sequence is more or less the same in Arundel MS 230 (f. 18r), Cotton MS Nero C IV (f. 51vb), and other versions. As a result, the only possible explanation is that the scribe made an

eye-skip, transcribing a sequence of words that made no sense, tried to repair it by writing more words on an additional line 0, and finally decided to erase it and the first three words of line 1 in order to fix the text.

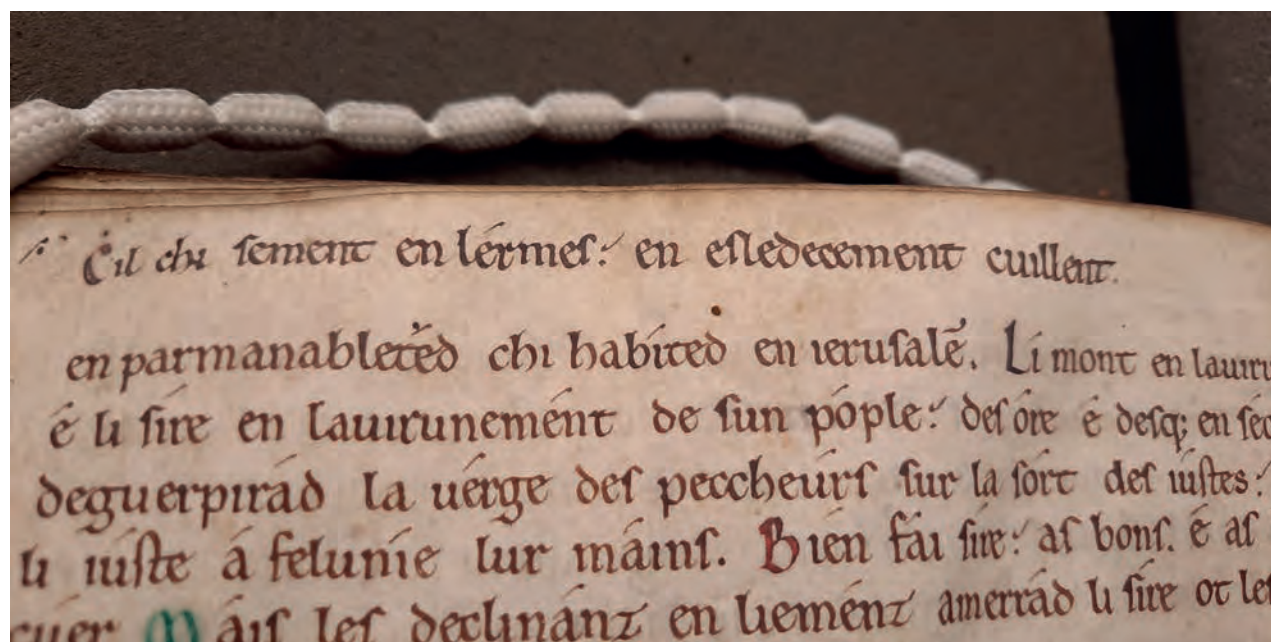
On f. 69v, another eye-skip made him miss the first half of an entire verse, which he later transcribed above the first line, as another line 0.

ANOTHER SITUATION OCCURS ON f. 73v, in the margin of the last two lines (39–40) of that folio, where the scribe inserted *la meie áneime* because he had no place to write it in the interline of the main text. Also, the three words formed too long a sequence to be rewritten on top of an erasure, packed in little space available. However, the three additional words form the object of *deliurer*, which is a transitive verb. It is almost impossible to skip them during the translation process, as the phrase would not make sense. The best explanation is that the scribe followed an interlinear gloss sprinkled here and there above a Latin text written in large letters, and that he repaired bits and parts of his copy while revising it.

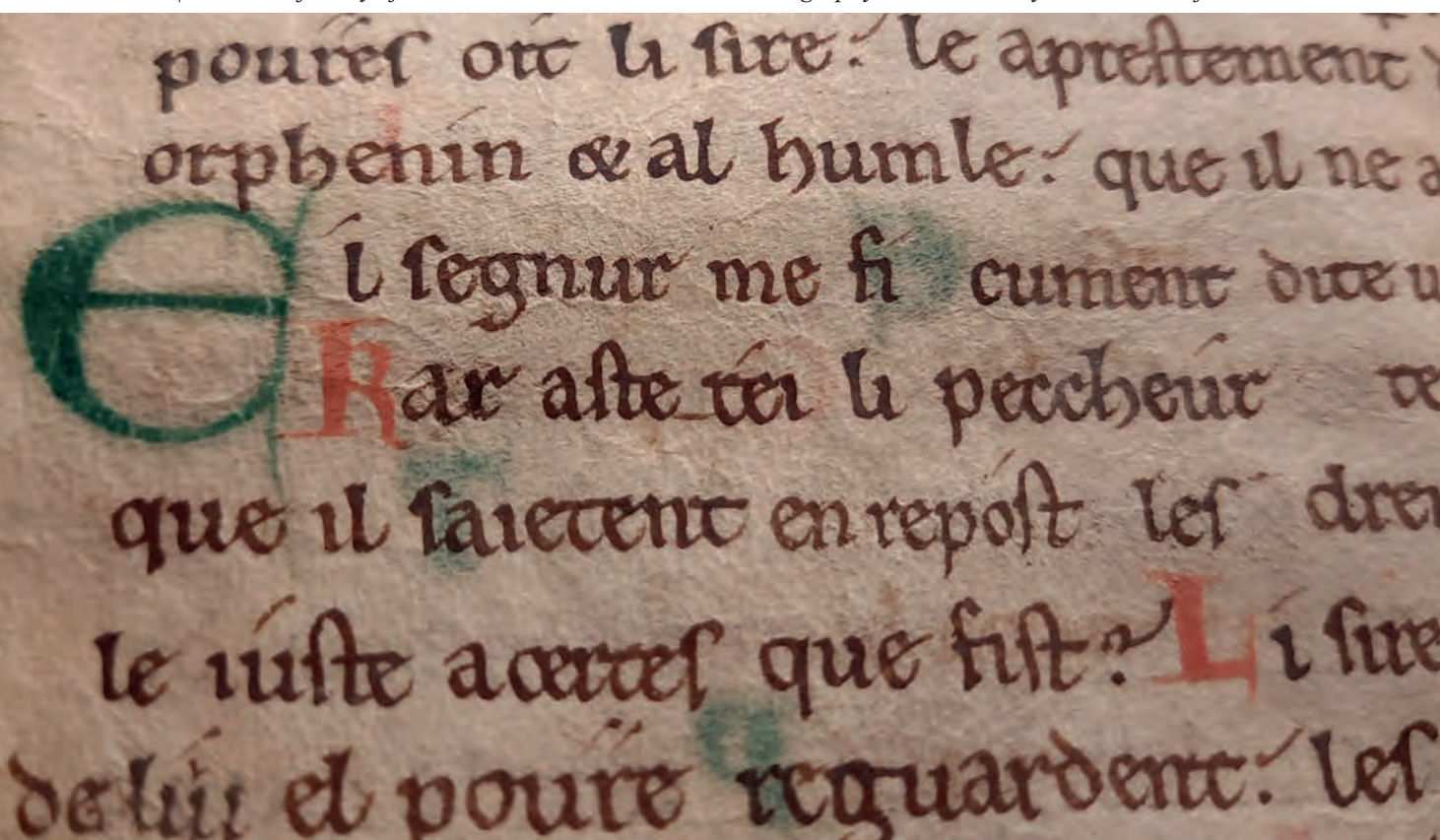
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f. 73v,  
lines 39–40



f. 69v,  
line 0

f. 38v  
line 16

## CORRECTIVE USES OF THE LOW DASH (AC)

The fact that OFr *aste téi* on f. 38v, line 16, was mistaken for OFr *aste tei* (Fr *hâte-toi* 'you hurry up!') instead of the deictic particle ('behold!') is another piece of evidence that the scribe was copying from a source that he did not always understand well. During the revision process, the scribe made a correcting low dash (with a more diluted type of ink) and united the two segments of the word (which the scribe of the Winchester Psalter also writes as two words). This is a common phenomenon, occurring on erasures. It will not be listed here, as it concerns only the deletion of a single letter in various words.

A series of accidents are also related to material features of the copy. The scribe used low dashes to join segments of words separated by parchment holes: f. 42r, line 6 (*requer\_râi*); f. 58r, line 7 (*moue\_mént*); f. 63r, line 25 (*exo\_írent*). A similar situation occurs on f. 57r, line 23, where *Guár\_de* was written as such due to a cut in the folio. Also, on f. 73r, line 33, a low dash was later inserted in *d\_é* because the scribe probably disliked the wide spacing between the two letters.

However, a series of low dashes clearly fall in the same category as *aste\_téi* from f. 38v and can be explained only by a misunderstanding of the source text leading to transcription errors in the copy.

No traces of erasure can be noticed in *de\_currát* on f. 37r, line 6—no material limitations of the parchment surface either, yet the prefix is written as a preposition. He wrote *de\_getement de póphe* on f. 40v, line 37, with the first *de* interpreted once again as a preposition, not a prefix. As for *la\_uirunement* on f. 48r, line 7, the scribe probably believed, at least initially, that he was writing a

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

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definite article followed by a noun, without any trace of ellipsis; then he changed his mind later. On f. 50v, line 21, *co\_uřement* is probably a distraction error or a separation in the source that could have already split the word. On f. 55r, line 9, the final reading is *em\_pennéz*, but his initial choice must have been *en\_pennéz*, with a correction of *-n-* in *-m-*, as well as a low dash transforming the preposition to a prefix. Next, he probably had a preposition (*cun/cum*) + noun in mind when he wrote *cun\_út* on f. 59r, line 18; and a preposition + verbal noun on f. 59r, line 34, where one reads *es\_dreceánz*. Finally, on f. 71r, line 40, the text has *a\_mí*. Instead of writing *ami* 'friend', the scribe probably mistook it for a phrase based on the preposition *a*, and corrected it later. All these cases concern the use of prepositions, articles, and particles. The special situation of *aímen\_óre aímen\_óre* on f. 52v, line 12, was already analysed. It suggested that the scribe probably read *ore* either as a conjunction or as the verb *orer* ('pray amen').

Other low dashes occur in odd places, perhaps linked (or not) to the scribe's misunderstandings of the source. There is the wavering *ploude\_chóse* on f. 73r, line 15, where the scribe wrote, on the exact same line, the exact same sequence without any low dash, as separate words. There is also the unclear situation of *resplendí\_rent* on f. 54v, line 11. This needs to be interpreted in comparison with a f. 60r, line 28, where the scribe wrote once again *resplendí\_rent*, but the low dash was transcribed on top of an erasure, due to a spelling error.

desq; es lignedes de ses pères: e  
uém cū il en hōnur fust nel  
z: e semblanz fāz est nel  
sire des deus parlāt: e  
desq; al dechedement:  
uendrat: li nre ds e n  
t: e en la uirunement  
erre desseuer sun po  
nent sur sacrisies. **E**  
erre. **O**i li mient po  
tuent ds ie sui. **N**

f. 48r  
line 7

ie. eissi en sainte ch  
e glorie. **K**ar miel dre  
unt tē. **E**issi beneist  
s mains. **S**icume de  
r leures desledecet  
sur mun lit. en mat  
**E**el co uirement  
es tē: mei receut  
ie. il enterrunt  
aue: parties de

f. 50v  
line 21

um ne porra il e pām d  
urice oit nre sire e p  
unta en ist. **K**ar il  
e de lui. **E** mandā  
**E**plūt ā els manna  
as angeles mania  
**I**l trespōrtā ault  
plūt sur els sicum  
sels em pennēz.  
li tabernacle

f. 55r  
line 9

in? **O**bliera ā auer  
cordes? **E**ie dis. ore cu  
emembrere fui des oure  
ent de tel merueilles.  
uentiuns serai trauail  
e li nōstre ds: tu iet  
la tue uertūd: raensi  
ioseph. **Y**irent tē<sup>les</sup> d  
abyssines. **M**ultitū  
**K**ar les tues saiet  
**R**esplendirent les

f. 54v  
line 11

## EXTENSIVE ERASURES = LINES IN A SOURCE? (VA, AC)

A casual look at the extensive erasures of Douce MS 320 shows gripping patterns that occur with certain frequency, almost mechanical, mostly in the first section of the text, where the scribe was preoccupied with mending initial choices that seemed somewhat faulty later on in the transcription process, when he had perfected his method. Yet when one tries to understand the nature of those gripping patterns, most of them look as if erasures had been determined by pure chance. An exception to this apparent rule of aleatory erasures is the presence of the possessive adjective in the singular. This occurs rather frequently on extensive erasures. Some examples are also linked with the more general issue of word order. It is therefore quite probable that the issue of the possessive adjective is actually an issue related to word order.

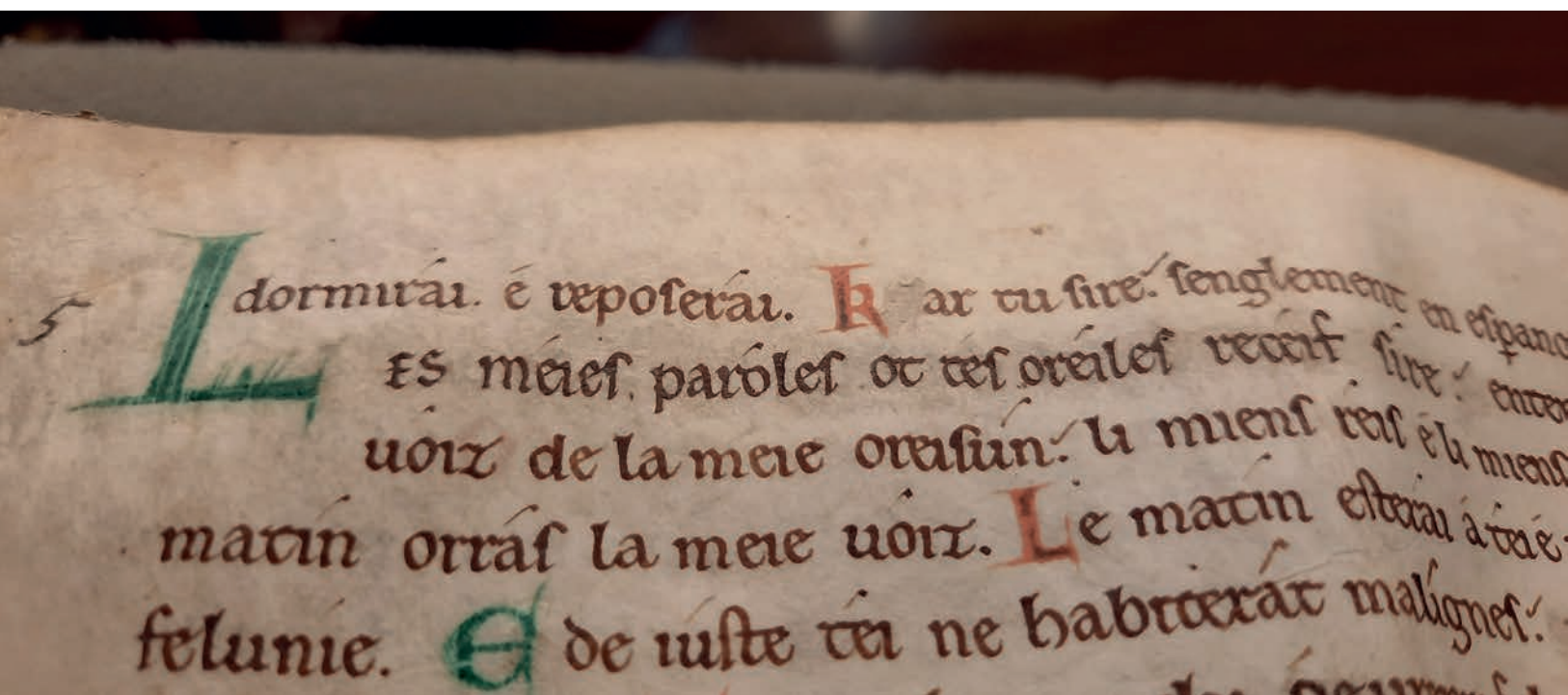
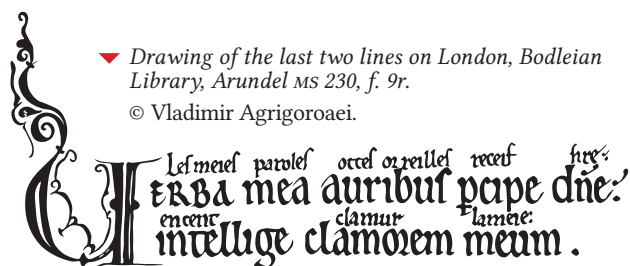
However, the number of characters written on top of 'extensive erasures' can vary. Therefore, it can hardly be related to the lines of vernacular text in an alleged manuscript source of Douce MS 320. The best explanation is given by the rather fixed number of characters in the corresponding Latin text of *Gallicanum*, as if the vernacular text's rhythmicity was not determined by its own structure, but by the structure of a Latin text.

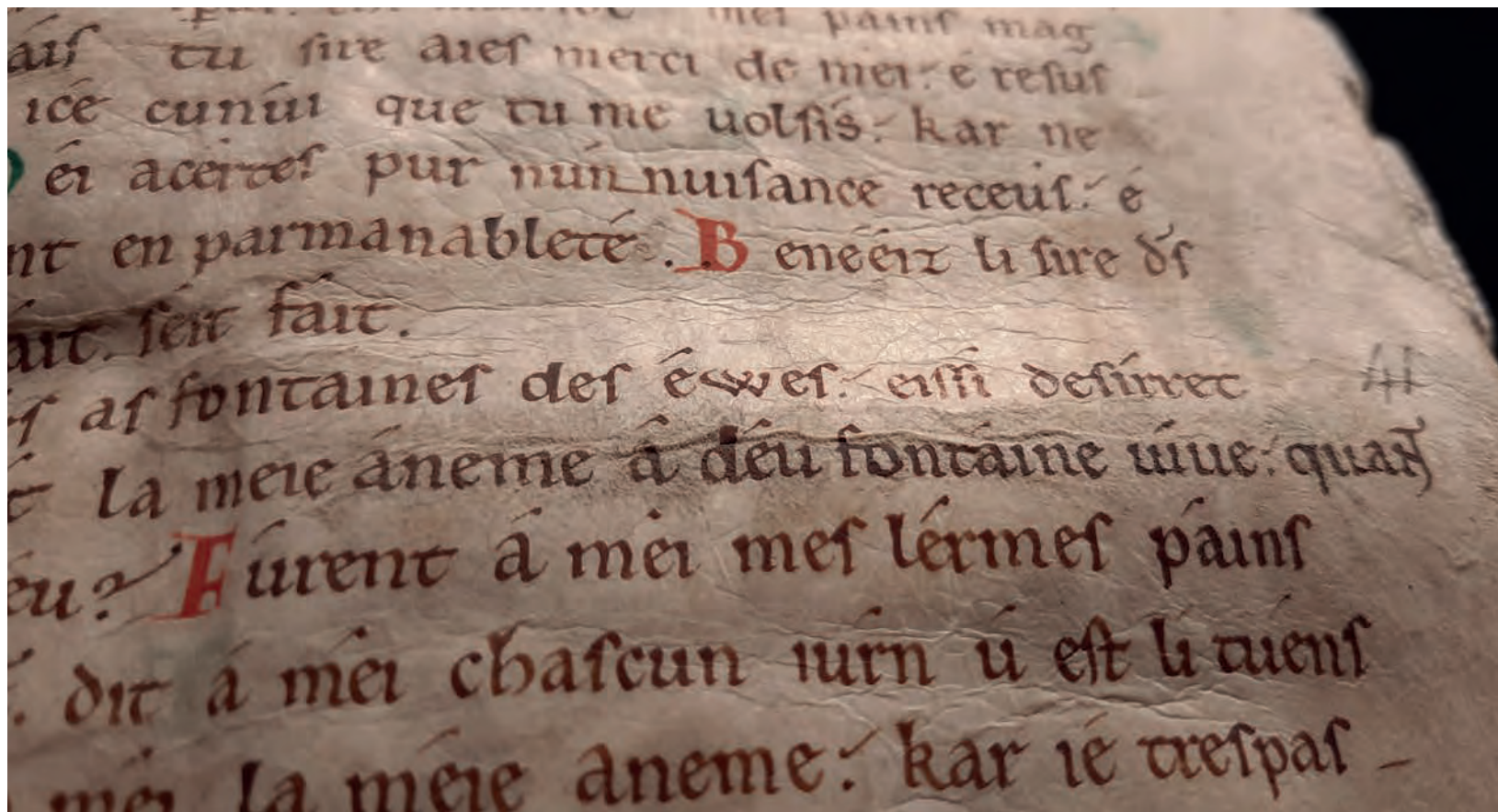
MacBain and Busby have already used Old French texts in their analyses of scribal memory, specifically in situations where scribes made progressive or regressive repetitions of lines or couplets, probably because they had copied the text several times and had learned part of it by heart (MacBain 1987; cf. Busby 2002, 2:85-86). In the specific case of 13th century poems, the textual unit recognised and repeated by scribes is both oral (a verse) and visual (a line on a column of a folio). In our case, this textual unit occurs in a translation context and should be explained accordingly. This is where the issue of a certain rhythmicity of Latin words comes into play. Indeed, extensive erasures in Douce MS 320 could

be based on lines from a Latin psalter, therefore corresponding to transcription units, that is, sequences of words that scribes memorised before transferring them to the manuscript they write. Nevertheless, our scribe is not memorising Latin words; they seem to be vernacular phrases. As a result, the rhythmicity of erasures in Douce MS 320 is perhaps determined by the interplay of Latin and vernacular segments in a source that had texts in two languages, and the vernacular ones were transcribed in the interline.

The hypothesis that this situation can be found in an interlinear gloss is supported by the fact that the number of characters in the principal text (in Latin) looks stable, since it was the first text to be transcribed in the source manuscript (and because it would be the main text of that codex), whereas the number of characters in the vernacular interline varies depending on translation choices. Since this leads to condensed or extended spacing of letters, there is no way the number of characters in an interlinear vernacular gloss can be stable, because it is not autonomous. It cannot have the same number of characters from one line to the next, simply because the gloss does not structure the manuscript. Stability characterises only the Latin text, which is principal text of that codex.

We took notice of this pattern in four cases where parallels could be established between Douce MS 320 and Arundel MS 320. Even though the word order and lexical choices of the Arundel gloss were not always those of the





- ◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.  
Facing page: the extensive erasures of Douce, f. 37v and 46r.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,  
University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.
- ▶ Drawing of London, Bodleian Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 45v.  
© Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Sei lar lamoie aneme a deu fontaine uiue.  
S ituit anima mea ad dñm fontē uiuū:  
quāto ueniam & apparebo ante  
faciem dei. T ubi est deus tuus.

Douce prose, the erasures of the latter manuscript were in tune with the interlinear glosses of the former, as if the source of Douce ms 320 was based on a Latin codex that had exactly the same number of characters in that line as the version of the Arundel Latin text.

On Douce ms 320, f. 37v, line 2, the extensive erasure fits the number of words from the gloss of Arundel: (L)*ES méies . paróles . ot tes oréiles recéif síre*. Incidentally, the Old French text is the same in Douce and Arundel (cf. Arundel ms 230, f. 9r). However, the following examples will show that this is mere coincidence. The essential thing in this particular case is that the Latin characters extend exactly over the same amount of space, that is, a single line—*VERBA mea auribus percipe domine*.

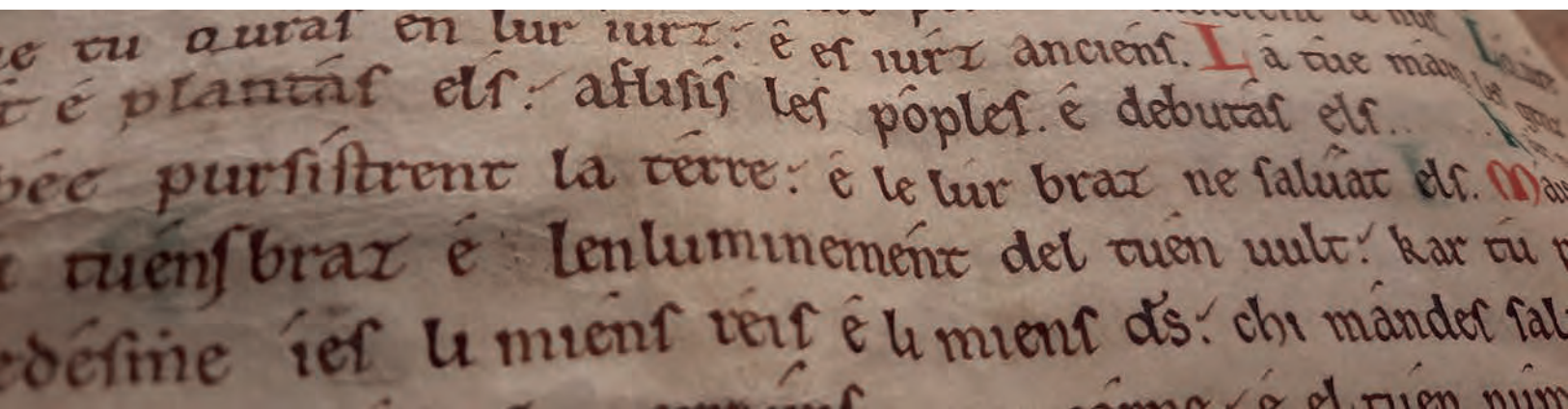
A second example can be found in Douce ms 320 on f. 46r, line 24. This corresponds to the width of the Latin text in Arundel ms 230, f. 45v. Certainly, the vernacular text is rather different (Douce reads here *Sezelât la meie aneme a deu fontaine uiue*, with the first word not on top of an erasure), and another one (*quant*) added in the margin, as if the initial version of the sequence would have been much shorter. The erasure covers the space of a Latin line in Arundel, that is, *Sitiuit anima mea ad*

*dominum fonte uiuum*. If the scribe wanted to correct the word order of a source (perhaps in connection with the possessive adjective), he would have not needed to erase and rewrite the first word; only the remaining part.

A third example is *aflisis les póples . é debutás els*, on f. 46v, line 13, of Douce ms 320. This corresponds to the Latin line *afflixisti populos et expulisti eos* from Arundel ms 230, f. 46v, and the vernacular text (again) has the same structure in both manuscripts. This time the corrected text seems to be reduced in comparison with what was initially written, before the erasure.

The fourth striking example can be found in Douce on f. 57r, line 10: *Dum ne te irastrás tu enparmanableté á nus ; ú* is the spitting (vernacular) image of the Latin line from Arundel, f. 86v, that reads *Nunquid in eternum irasceris nobis; aut*, to the point that even the erasure ends with the conjunction, but does not concern the remaining part of the text. In this passage, the Arundel French gloss is divergent, for it reads *Nient unces en parmanabletet curuces tu a nus ; u*, which is a text, the structure of which cannot be compared with what we find in Douce. The Latin principal text is once again the best explanation.

Coincidences linking the Latin text of Arundel ms 230



<sup>latue ma in lesgez depöiet et plantas els:</sup>  
**M**anus tua gentes dispendit & plantasti eos:  
<sup>afflis les pöples et debutas els.</sup>  
 afflixisti populos & expulisti eos.

◆ Drawings of London, Bodleian Library, Arundel MS 230, f. 46v (above) and 86v (below).

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<sup>Hier unces en parmanableter curuces tu anus:</sup>  
**N**unquid in eternum irasceris nobis: aut  
<sup>u extendas la tue ire degeraciun</sup>  
 extendes iram tuam a generatione in  
<sup>engaciun</sup>  
 generationem.

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320 and print-screens of London, Bodleian Library, Arundel MS 230.

Above: The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 46v, line 13.

Below: The extensive erasure of Douce, 57r, line 10.

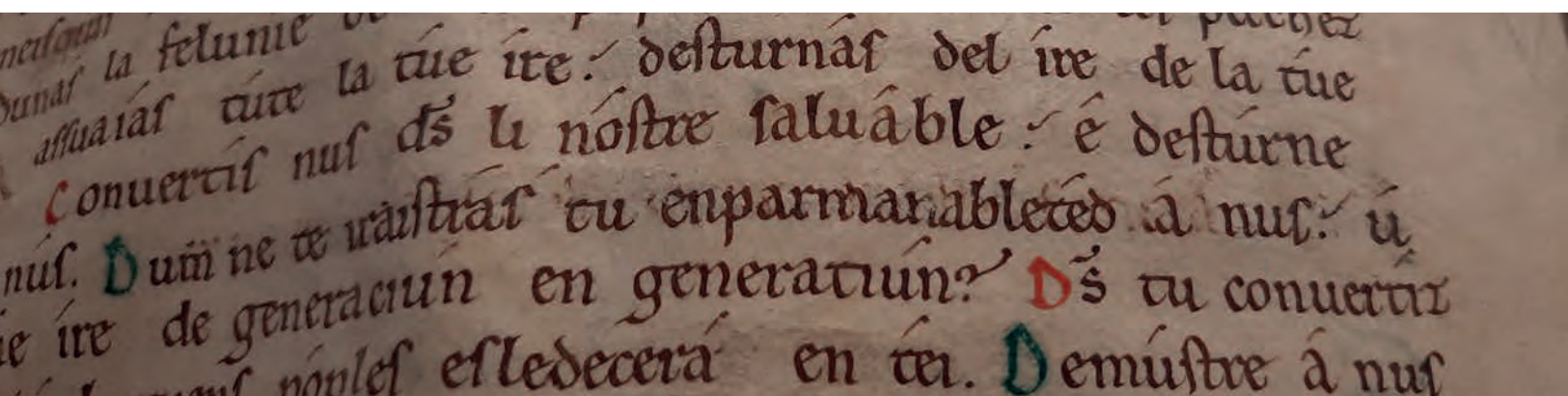
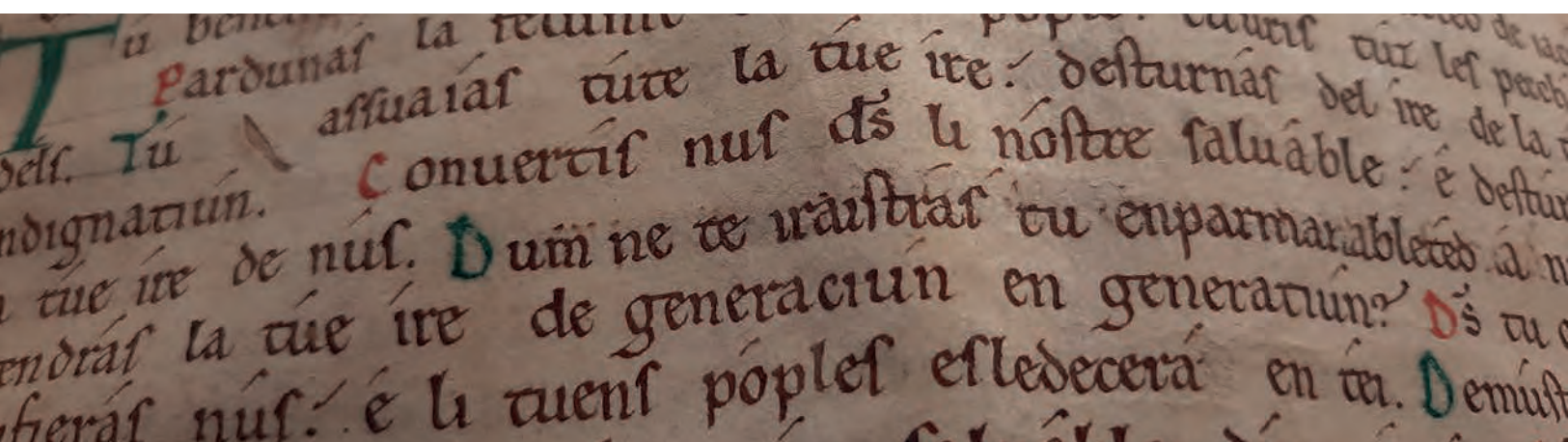
Facing page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, 41r.

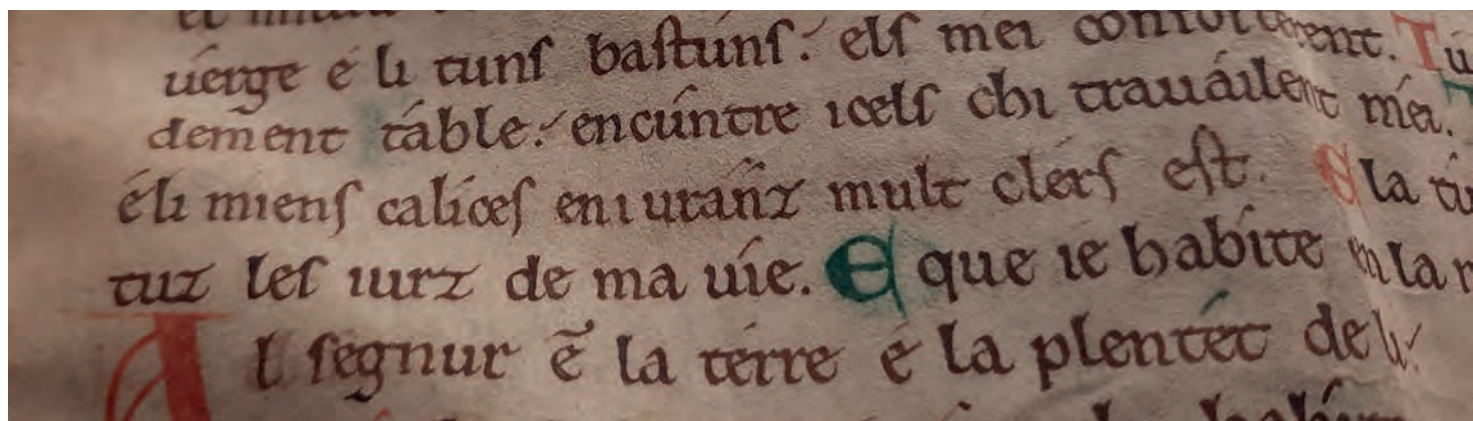
(down): The extensive erasure of Douce, 41r, line 22.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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with the erasures of the vernacular text of Douce MS 320 are naturally an exception. They cannot occur in every instance, simply because (even when various manuscripts present the same Latin text, written in large characters of the same height and width), variations always occur. Certain abbreviations will be present or absent in one or the other, and so on. However, when imagining the most





basic reconstructions, with few letters more or few letters less in the line, the erasures of Douce seem once again to follow a Latin text with interlinear gloss, to the letter.

Consider the erasure of Douce, f. 41r : *é li mien calices eniurānz mult clérs est*. If we look at Arundel, f. 26r-26v, we read :

Lat. *Impinguasti in oleo caput meum; et*

Fr. *Tu en olie mun chief encraisas ; et*

Lat. *calix meus inebriant quam preclarus est.*

Fr. li miens calices eniuranz kar mult clers est.

Douce reads on one line *Tú encaissás én olie mun chéf* and on the next line the rewriting on erasure *é li mien calices eniuränz mult clérs est*. In the first part of the sentence, Douce reverses the word order of Arundel (or another presumed source, for that matter, cf. *infra*), as if the scribe wished to be closer to the order of the Latin words. In the remaining part, we assume that he had

written a variant that did not suit him, which he corrected later. The odd thing is once again that the length of the erasure corresponds to Latin phrasal units as they might appear in a line from a source manuscript which, in our opinion, contained both the Latin text (in large letters) and a vernacular gloss (in small letters).

Take another example from the same f. 41r, this time on line 22 (Ps 21): *e il meeéme seignurerát sur les génz* . *Mangérent* é aórérent tuit li crás dé la térre . In Arundel, f. 25v-26r, we find :

Lat. *Quoniam domini est regnum ; et ipse*

Fr. *Kar del seignur est le regne ; et il*

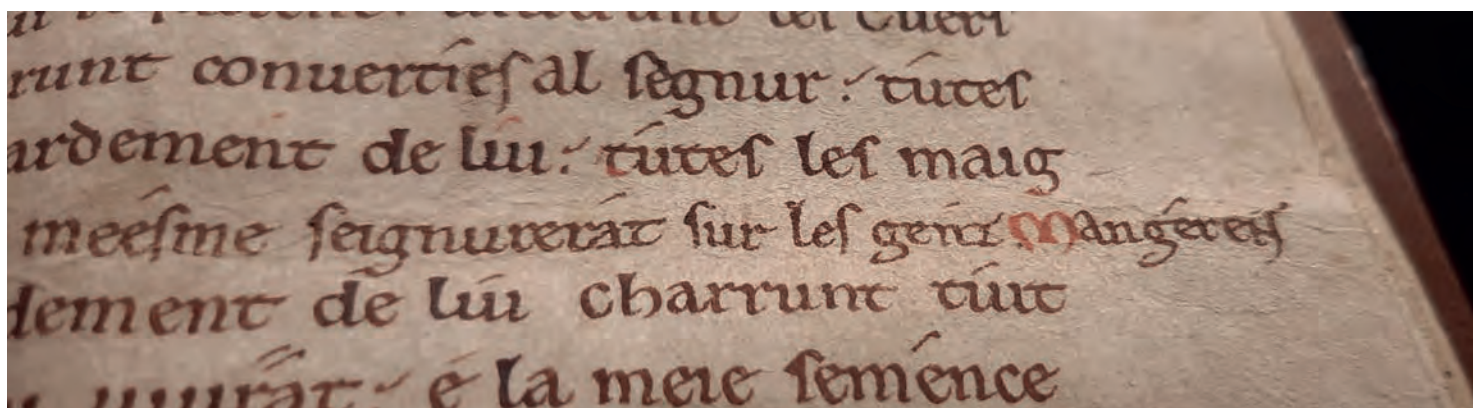
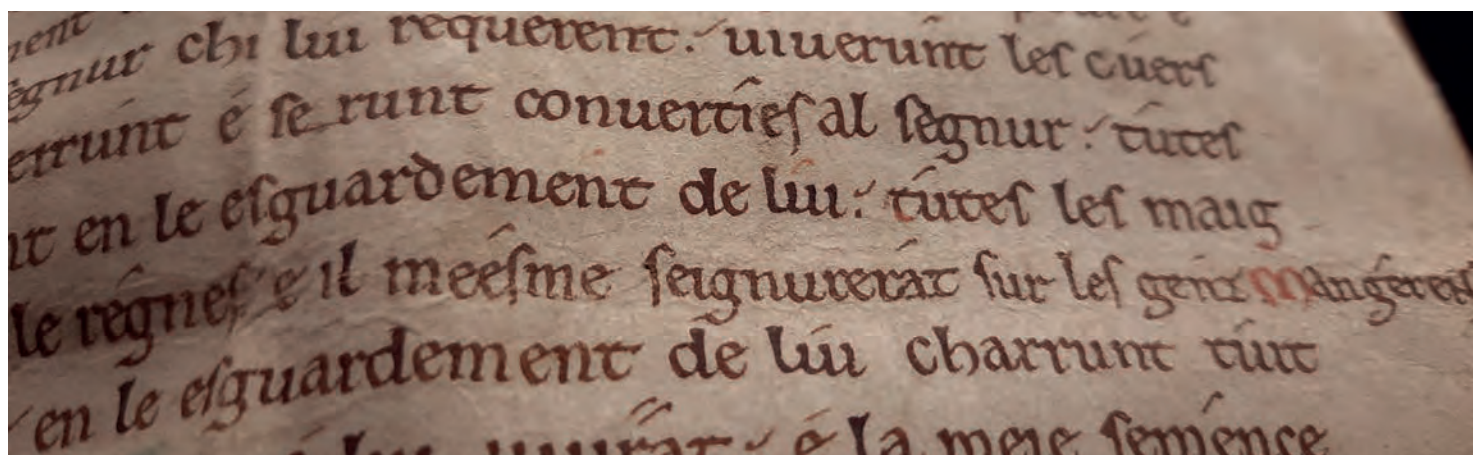
Lat. *dominabitur gentium.*

Fr. seinurirat des genz.

Lat. *Manducauerunt et adorauerunt omnes*

Fr. *Mangerent et aurerent trestuit*

Lat. *pingues terre* ; [...]



chi descendent en terre. Et la meie aneime a lui iurāt: e la seruirāt a lui. Annuncēe iert al segnur la lignee chi auerunt li ciel la sue iustise: al pōple chi naisterāt le quel li sire guuērne mei. e nule chose ne desiēt a mei. en lūu aluāt. Sur le eue de refection nurrīt mei: ma aneime iert mei sur les sentes de iustise: pur sun num. Rar'

li cras de la terre. Et la meie aneime a lui iurāt: e la meie semence en terre. Annuncēe iert al segnur la lignee chi auenir est: e annuncie iustise: al pōple chi naisterāt le quel fist li sire. e mei. e nule chose ne desiēt a mei. en lūu de pasture iluec mei de refection nurrīt mei: ma aneime conuertit. Demer de iustise: pur sun num. Rar iaseit ce que ie i'ra'

Fr. li cras de la terre; [...]

In the case of our erasure, it is quite possible that the Douce scribe initially wrote something similar to what we find in the Arundel, which is not very faithful to the Latin text in this passage either; and that he then changed his mind by correctly translating *ipse* by *meésme*, and by better rendering the concept of *gentium* with *sur les génz*. The presence of *mangerent* on the erasure is probably due to the presence, in the source, on the same line, of the sequence *et ipse dominabitur gentium. Manducauerunt*.

Next, the erasure of 41r, line 27, reads *Lí sire guuērne méi. é nule chose ne desiēt a mei; en lúi de pasture ilúec méi aluát*. In Arundel, f. 26r, the text is:

Lat. Dominus regit me PSALMVS DAVID

Fr. Li sire guuerne mei

Lat. et nichil michi deerit; in loco

Fr. et nule chose a mei ne desert; en liu

To explain the erasure in Douce, one can assume that the Latin title of the psalm took up a bit more space in the first line of that first psalm verse:

Dominus PSALMVS DAVID

regit me et nichil michi deerit

in loco [...]

In this case, perhaps the Douce scribe had transcribed the same French variant as Arundel. For the moment, we

Cil chi sement en lermes: en esledecement cuillent. en parmanableted chi habited en ierusalē. Li mont en lauru e li sire en laurunement de sun pōple: des ore e desq; en sec dequerrad la uerte des peccheurs sur la sort des iustes.

have assumed that the Oxford scribe was both a scribe in the strict sense of the term, but also an adapter, anxious to present a text close to the Latin source. It is possible that in this case our copyist tried a different translation, but then changed his mind and thought that the one in his source was better than his own.

Leaving aside conjectures such as the paragraph above, there are other arguments that point in the direction of an interlinear gloss. All this is supported by the eye-skip of f. 69v, already discussed (*vide supra*). There, the scribe had missed the first half of an entire verse, which he later transcribed above the first line, as another line 0. If this was indeed a skip of a line, and if such a line would have roughly more or less 40 characters with spaces, then the source could be an interlinear gloss (similar to Arundel MS 230), not a bilingual version on two columns where lines like these reach 30 characters on average with spaces (see the Maidstone fragments or Cotton MS Nero C iv). This is further supported by the length of the odd erasure at the beginning of f. 39v. The first line up of that folio (line 0) was completely erased, but it had been added to the regular 40 lines of each folio. We have already argued that it is rather difficult to interpret this as part of a regular translation process. Since its length fits that of f. 69v, line 0, and since the number of characters also corresponds to those of interlinear glosses, not bilingual manuscripts with Latin and vernacular on separate columns, it is safe to assume that the situations of f. 39v, line 0, and f. 69v, line 0, are related to the issue of extensive erasures discussed in this section of the present article. Furthermore, the double erasure of f. 39v occurs at the beginning of a verso, that is, once the ink from the recto had dried and the scribe could turn the page. The eye-skip was possibly determined by a pause in the process of copying.

A large part of these extensive erasures correspond to visual units that the scribe was transcribing from the source, using his short-term/working memory in similar processes as those of charter scribes (cf. Korkiakangas 2022). The process is not very different from the ones attested during Late Antiquity, when Greek scribes used to copy small units of text, between three and

seven syllables. This was proven by a careful analysis of re-inkings and changes occurring in baselines (cf. Schwendner 2021, 337–338). The only thing that changed was an increase in the number of characters (and words), probably as a result of the introduction of spaces between words in the late seventh century.

Our research has identified many more erasures which could be based on this visual segmentation of the source text. When we extended these reconstructions to many other situations, the conclusion was that the Latin text of the prototype had a variation in line width that did not surpass an average of 3–5 letters in comparison with the Latin text of Arundel MS 230. When this occurs, it is probably due to different abbreviations. Sometimes the words (or part of those words) transcribed at the beginning or at the end of certain lines are not written on top of an erasure, as the scribe must have been preoccupied with word order and those terms were already fixed. Nevertheless, just like Arundel MS 230, this reconstructed Latin source had verses written on independent lines, with rare exceptions in which two verses would be copied one after another, separated only by majuscules.

Among the source-lines erased entirely and rewritten in Douce MS 320, we counted four other examples of erasures and all seem to be determined by reworkings of the word order. The first one occurs on f. 38r, line 19, where the French text reads *Les espédes del enemí defistrent en fin* and corresponds to Arundel MS 230, f. 12v (Lat. *Inimici defecerunt framee in finem*; Fr. *Del enemí defistrent les espedes en fin*). This is one of many instances where Ian Short's assertion that the Douce scribe did a word-to-word translation is confirmed (cf. Short 2015: 31–37). Yet there are oscillations on a scale ranging from formal/functional to dynamic equivalence, and they cannot be determined by a "doctrinal explanation" related to the scribe's "veneration... of the Holy Writ" (Short 2015: 36). This conjecture has little to do with the actual translation process.

On f. 38r, line 28: *enfichees sunt les génz el destruiment que il firent*—with *génz* written in small letters above the line, corresponds to Arundel, f. 13r (Lat. *Exultabo in salutari tuo; infixi sunt / gentes in interitu quem fecerunt*).

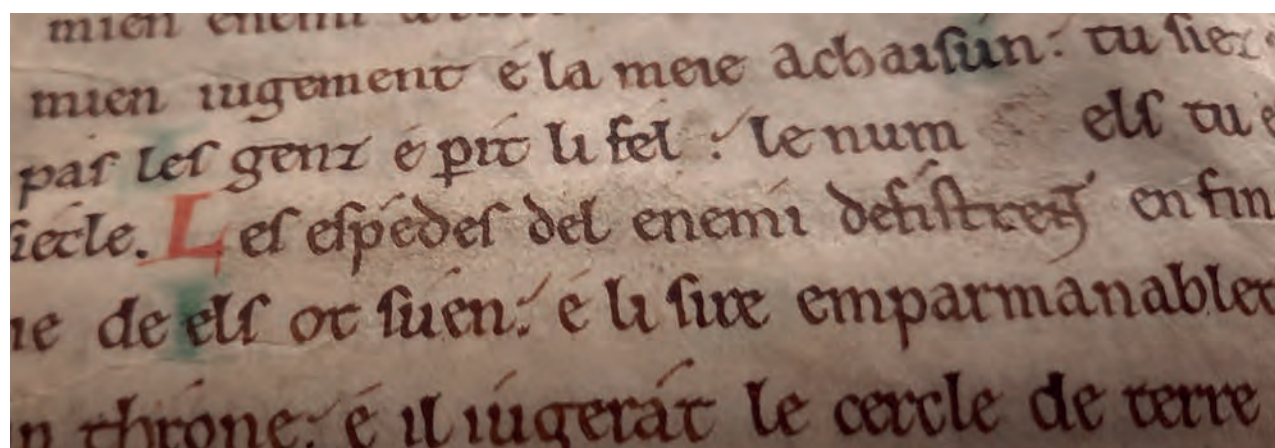
On f. 38v, line 17: *Kâr lesquels choses tu parfesis il destrui strent; le iuste a certes que fist ?*—where *-strent* is written in the right-hand margin, below, would fit Arundel's f. 14v–15r (Lat. *-tos corde. Quoniam que perfecisti / destruxerunt; iustus autem quid fecit ?*) reconstructed as a simple line *Quoniam quae perfecisti destruxerunt*, if *quoniam* were abbreviated *qm*.

Last but not least, on f. 39v, line 3: *Fâi merueilûses lés tûes misericôrdes; chi sals fâis les esperânz en téi* (with *salf*

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320. Facing page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 41r, line 27; (down): The correction of the eye-skip in Douce, f. 69v, line 0. This page (below): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 38r, line 19.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

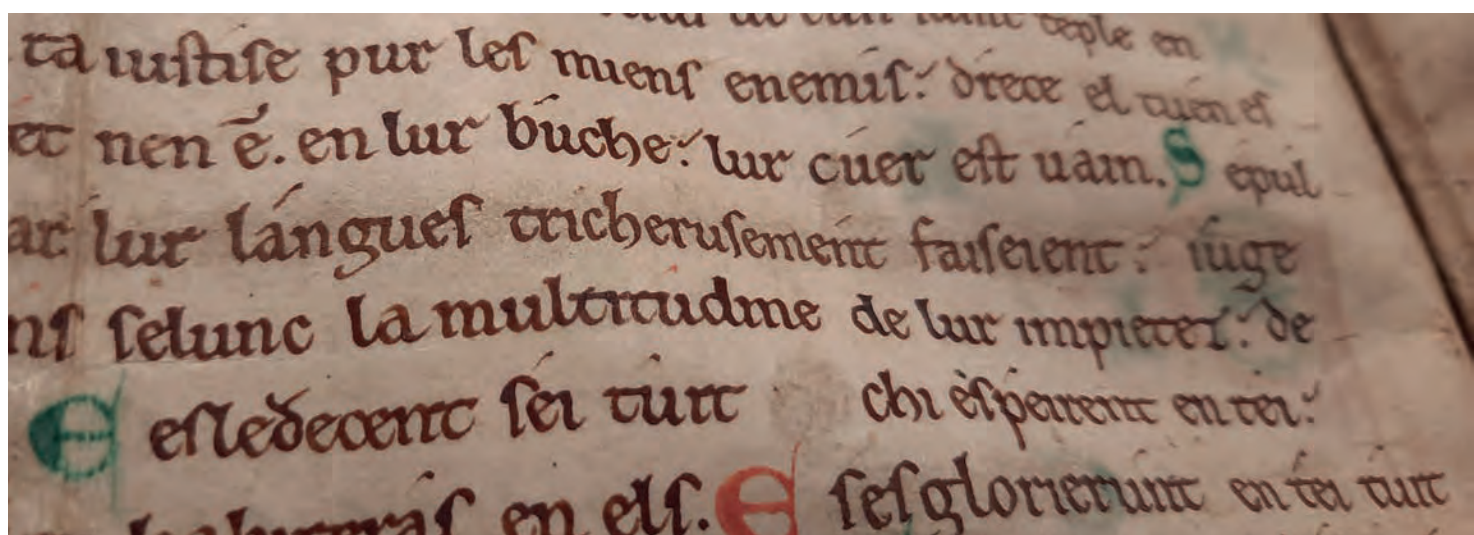
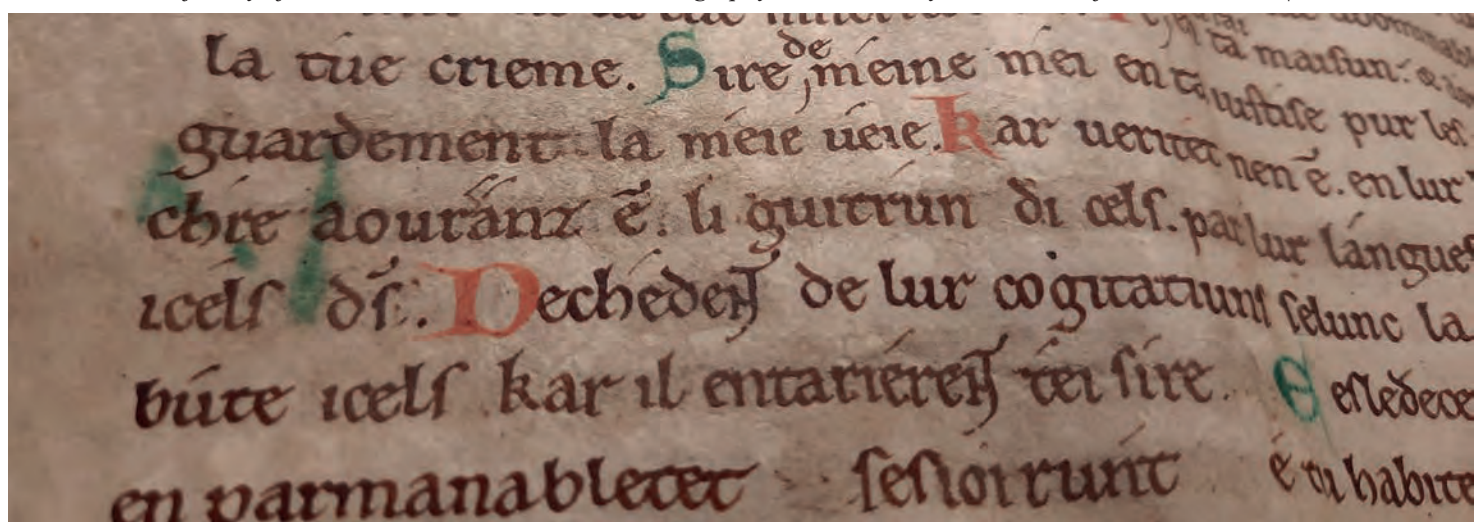
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abitat en syon. annuncie  
 eordar. ne ubliat mie la clament des pources. **A**ies mout de  
 militet de mes enemis. **O** bi effalces mei des portes de  
 les tuens loenges. es portes de la fille syon. **I**e mes  
 nfichees fit les <sup>gens</sup> el destruimens que il firent. **E**n west la  
 li piez de els. **Q**uneuz iert li sire iugement faisan  
 e. **S**eient turnet li pecheur en en

e. trespasse el munt si cume passer.  
 re. apareilerent lur saietes en quere.  
**K**ar lesquels choses tu parfesis il destru  
 mple. li sire el ciel sun siet. **L**i oil **P**stres  
 demandent les fiz des humes. **L**i

dures ueies. **P**arfai les miens pas es tues sentes.  
 traces. **I**e criai kar tu me ois ds. encline la tue  
 e. **F**ai merueilleuses les tues misericordes. chi fals fauf  
 a la tue destre. garde mei si cu purnele de  
 cueure mei. de la face des feluns chi mea



◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.  
Facing page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 38r, line 28; (middle): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 38v, line 17; (down): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 39v, line 3. This page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 37v, lines 10–11.  
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.  
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and *fais* probably rewritten on top of a sequence which was briefer initially), corresponds to Arundel, f. 18v: *Mirifica misericordias tuas; qui saluos / facis sperantes in te*, if the reconstruction allows once again a minor variation of characters.

The examples of f. 38r, line 28, and f. 38v, line 17, could represent rewritings, with the inclusion of more terms absent from the initial version of the text in Douce MS 320. There is an excess of words that begs for a coherent explanation (not only here, but elsewhere as well). This excess cannot be linked to the structure of a Latin text in the source, only to the scribe's simplifications of the vernacular gloss in the initial phase of his transcription. This would explain why he did not have enough space to fit in all the words in during the rewriting and had to go overboard, into the margin. As for the examples of f. 38r, line 19, and f. 39v, line 3, they seem to be mere reshufflings with a different word order. Once the scribe

erased the initial version of the text, his rewritings are neatly transcribed, occupying the same space as the initial phrases from before the erasure. Even though the mechanics of the two categories of examples are determined by the memorisation of the lines of Latin text that shape the copy units, the actual reasons for the corrections on top of erasures are rather different.

There are situations in which copy units corresponding to two lines in the underlying structure of a Latin text have been erased one after another. On f. 37v, lines 10–11 now read: *Sépúlchre aouranz est. li guitrün di cels. par lur lāngues tricherusement faiseient*. Cf. the Latin text of Arundel, f. 9v: *Sepulchrum patent est guttur eorum; / linguis suis dolose agebant; iudica*. An explanation could be that both sequences presented problems, or perhaps the scribe had made a mess of the sentence comprising the two copy units, therefore, the mending required even more erasures. Further down the same folio (f. 37v, line 17) Douce MS 320 reads: *SIRE ne me arguer en tá fuirür; ne en la tñe ire ne me castiér*. Cf. Arundel, f. 10r: *DOMINE ne in furore tuo arguas me; neque in ira tua corripas me*. In this other example, the Arundel text is rather different: *Sire ne en ta forsenerie constreignes mei; ne en ire la tue castier mei*. It is hard to tell if the Douce scribe wished to diverge from the source material or simply reshuffled a bad word order of his transcription. Both options are valid (and one cannot exclude the third possibility of both being correct at the same time).

icels d's. **D**echedeſ de lur cogitaciun  
 bûte icels kar il entatiereſ dei ſire  
 en parmanabletet. ſeſnoitunt  
 chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu  
 de la tue bone uoluntet  
**S**ir ne me arguer en ta futur  
 de mei ſire quar ie ſui enferm. ſaine  
 meie aneme. conturbede e. mult  
 e deliure ma aneme. ſalf me ſai pur  
 remehre ſer de rei en enfern a certel

corunas nuf.  
 ta futur. ne en la tue ire ne me caſtier.  
 enferm. ſaine mei ſire. quar li mien os ſunt  
 e. mult. e tu ſire deq; aquant.  
 ſai pur la tue miſericordie. Quar nen e.  
 a certel chi gehitac a rei? **E**t travailai  
 de mes lermes mun lit

The fact that the first half word on f. 37v, line 10 (*Sépúl-*), and the first word on line 17 (*SIRE*) were not erased shows once again that the scribe's intention is often uneven. In this situation, he wished to keep close to the word order of the Latin text (or perhaps to that of the source, if indeed the latter was an interlinear gloss).

Last but not least, there is a category of erasures of variable length that occurs always at the end of a verse and can correspond to the end of a line written incompletely in the source—by incompletely we refer to the fact that the remaining part of that line was probably left blank. This explains the various lengths, since Psalm verses have various sizes. On f. 39v, lines 14–15, for instance, we read: *li sire li miens firmamenz . é li miens refüges . e li miens deliuerere*. This corresponds to Arundel

f. 19r: *Diligam te domine fortitudo/ mea; dominus fir-  
mentum meum et/ refugium meum; et liberator meus*, but the text can also be reconstructed as:

*Diligam te PSALMVS DAVID  
domine fortitudo mea ; dns fir-  
mam'tu' meu' et refugiu' meu'  
et liberator meus.*

In such a case, the erasure would concern a copy-unit of a line and a half. But there is something else of great interest in this lines. Why did the Douce scribe leave all that blank space after *fir-*? It is evident that by the time he was copying the first verse of a new psalm (*Ié amerai téi...*) he realised that he had forgotten to write the end line of the previous psalm. It could well be that that line was thrown further down at the end of another verse, and marked by a pilcrow, just like Arundel does every now and then. When the scribe realises the error, he stops copying the remaining lines of the first verse from the new psalm, transcribes the end of the previous psalm and marks it with a pilcrow, then returns to his transcription by copy-units and leaves the line with the blank space to help readers identify the structure of the text. Consequently, the fact that he wrote only *fir-*, not

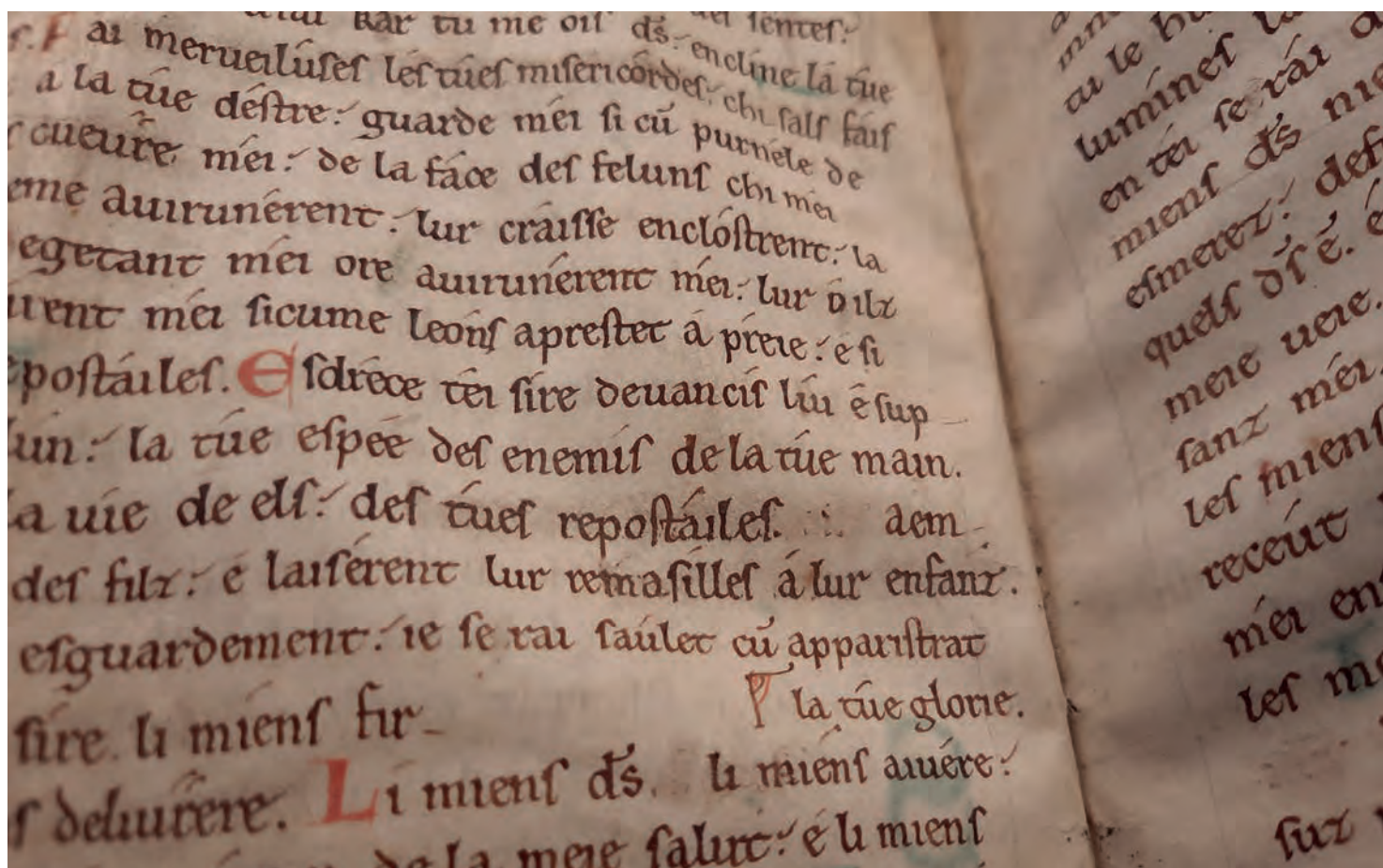
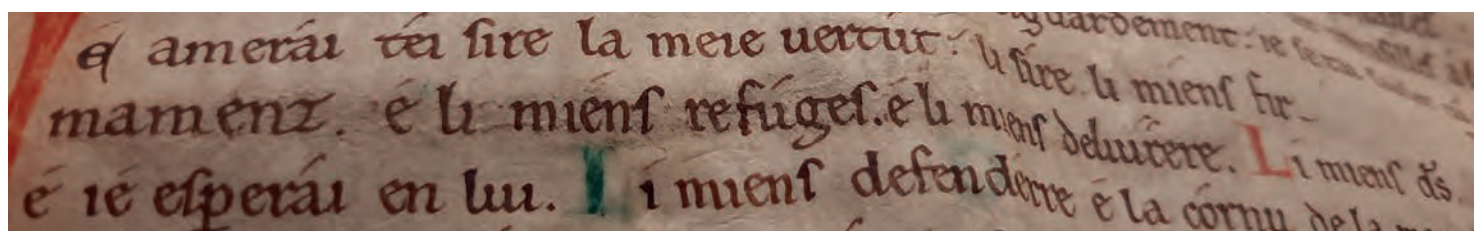
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

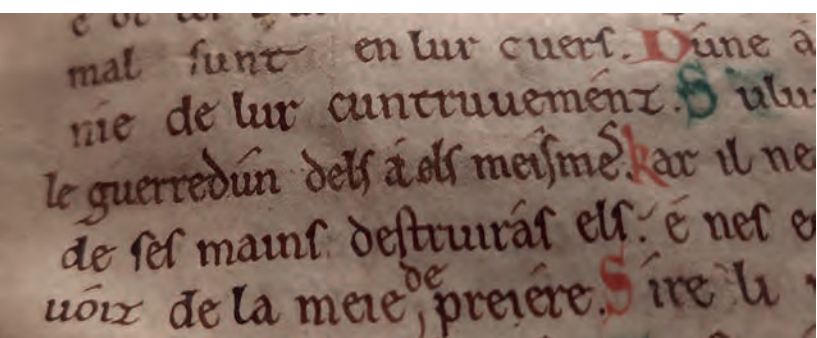
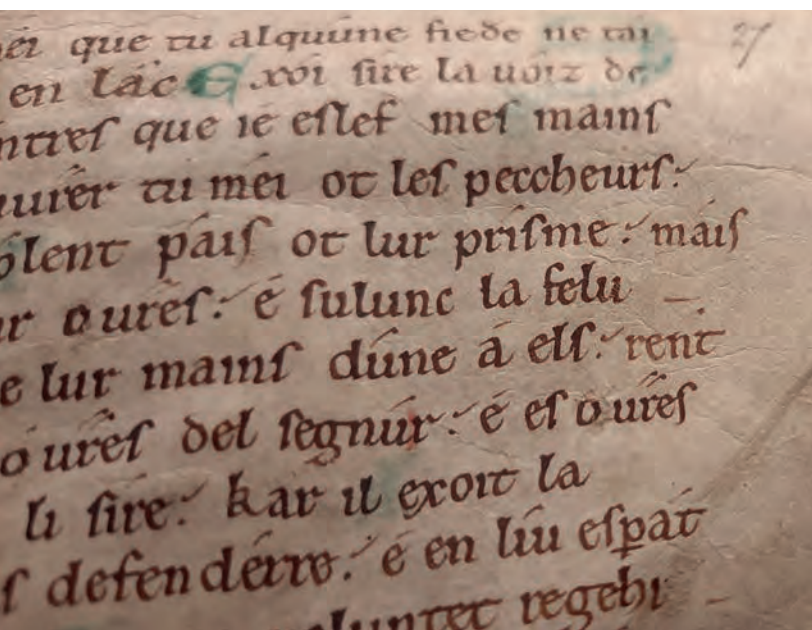
Facing page (up + down): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 37v, line 11.

This page (down): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 39v, lines 15 + the issue of the end of the previous psalm on line 14.

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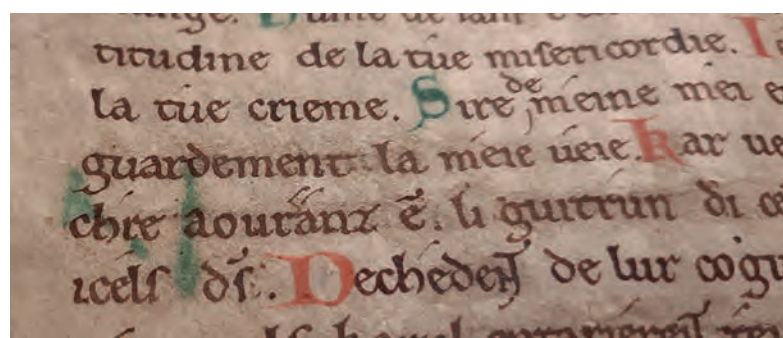
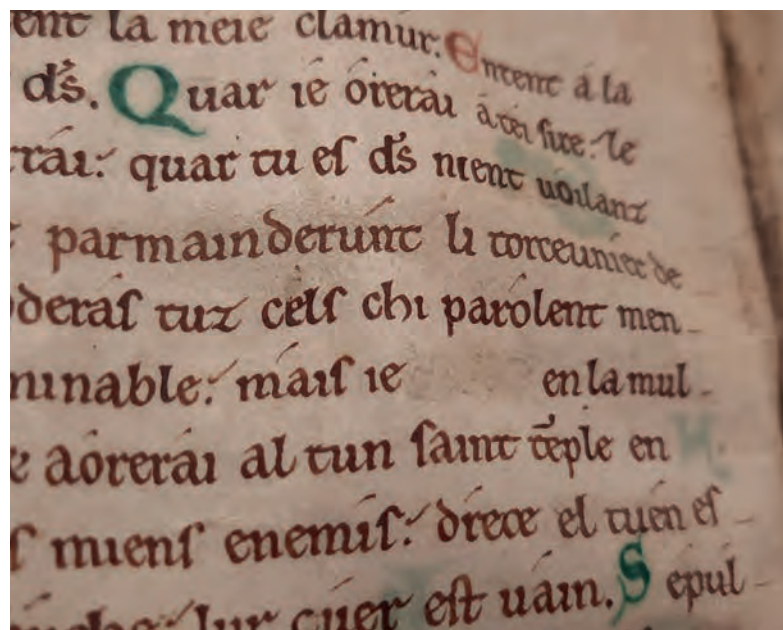
the entire word, at the end of that line, is further proof that he operated by copy-units.

Another example occurs on f. 42r, line 29, where we read: *rént le guerredún dels á els meismes*.—with the final *-s* of *meismes* written in superscript. Cf. Arundel MS 230, f. 30r: *Secundum opera manuum eorum tribue illis; redde retributionem eorum ipsis*. The erasure could be determined by the initial rendering of *ipsis*, that is, by the absence of *meismes* in the initial translation. And the lines of the source could be reconstructed as:

*S'c'd'm op'a manuum eor' tribue illis;  
redde retributionem eorum ipsis*

In this case, it is evident that the verb *rént* was written at the end of the previous line (line 28) during the revision process, probably about the same time as the correction on top of an erasure from line 29. It is safe to assume that the verb *rént* had been written initially at the beginning of line 29 (traces of his accentuation are still visible in the upper part of the erasure, above the initial *g*-in *guerredún*), but the scribe had no place to insert *meismes* in an already crowded line. Therefore, he pushed all words up one position, until he created enough space to include the missing term.

The last example of this type presented here is that of f. 37v, lines 9–10: *drée el tuén esguardement la méie uéie*. Cf. Arundel, f. 9v: *Domine deduc me in iusticia tua propter inimicos meos; dirige in conspectu tuo uiam meam*. The Arundel vernacular gloss is very different from the Douce prose in this passage: *drece esguardement el ton uoie la moie*. Yet the reconstruction of the Latin source suggests



#### ◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

(left): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 42r, line 29.

(right): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 37v, lines 9–10.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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that it could have had a corresponding final line:

*Domine deduc me in iusticia tua  
propter inimicos meos; dirige  
in conspectu tuo uiam meam*

The fact that *uéie* is not part of the erasure is not surprising, since the scribe does this many times with words located at the beginning or at the end of these copy-units, probably because he considers that he can solve the issue by making smaller erasures. Could it be that the Douce scribe initially wrote a nonsensical formula such as that of the Arundel just in the case of *esguardement el ton*? It is quite tempting to make this conjecture, especially since *el tuen* of the previous line is also written on top of an erasure. In that case, *es-* at the end of line 9 was written in the blank space of the margin left by the initial version of the scribe.

It is perhaps high time to try a more complex reconstruction of a larger passage. The middle section of 37v (second half of Ps 5 and beginning of Ps 6) can become a proper case study, since many lines have been almost entirely erased there, four of which have already been discussed. For comparison, we include the transcription of the same passage in Douce MS 320 (erasures marked

in yellow) and the one of the Latin and French text of Winchester Psalter, to prove that the source's lines cannot fit those of bilingual manuscripts on two columns. It should also be noted that we do not yet attempt to reconstruct the initial version of the Douce MS text in this first instalment of our paper, only its correlation with the Latin lines in its probable source manuscript. We included the text of Douce in the interline just to make it easier to correlate its erasures with the wording of the re-

constructed Latin source. A proper reconstruction of the vernacular text will be done, only when all phenomena related to erasures will be analysed in detail.

At the beginning of the passage, there is no reason to change the arrangement of Ps 5:8 from the Arundel. The Douce source could have had the same structure on two lines. However, we reconstructed a version with two minor abbreviations, to show that such variations could occur, and that they do not change the interpre-

### ***Oxford Psalter's largest erasure group*** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 37v):

la tûe crieme . Sire deméine méi en ta iustise pur les miens enemís ; dréce el tuén es  
guardement la méie uéie . Kar uerité nen est . en lur búche ; lur cúer est uáin . Sépúl  
cré aouráinz est . li guitrún di cels . par lur lánques tricherusement faiseient ; iúge  
icéls deus . Dechédent de lur cogitatiuns selunc la multitudíne de lur impietez ; de  
dúte icels kar il entariérent téi síre . E esleðecent séi túit chi espéirent en téi ;  
en parmanabletet sesioirúnt é tu habiterás en els . E sesglorierúnt en téi túit  
chi aiment le tuén núm ; kar tu beneisterás al iúste . Síre sicume . délescút  
de la tûe bóne uoluntét córúnás nús .  
Sire ne me arguer en tá fuírúr ; ne en la tûe íre ne me castiér . Merci áies  
de mei sire quar íe sui enferm ; sáine mei sire . quar li mien ós sunt conturbét E lá  
meie áneime conturbéde est . mult ; é tu síre deque aquant ? Seies cunuertit síre  
é deliure ma aneme ; salf me fáí pur la tue misericordie . Quar nen est en mort chi

### ***Winchester Psalter Latin column***

(London, BL, Cotton MS Nero C IV, f. 47r-v):

Introibo in domum tuam ; adorabo ad  
templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo .  
Domine deduc me in iustitia tua propter  
inimicos meos ; dirige in conspectu  
tuo uiam meam .  
Quoniam non est in ore eorum ueritas ;  
cor eorum uanum est .  
Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum  
linguis suis dolose agebant ; iudi-  
ca illos deus .  
Decidant a cogitationibus suis secundum mul-  
titudinem impietatum eorum expelle eos ;  
quoniam irritauerunt te domine .  
Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in æternum  
exultabunt et habitabis in eis .  
Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt  
nomen tuum ; quoniam tu benedices iusto .  
Domine ; ut scuto bone uoluntatis  
tue coronasti nos .  
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me ;  
neque in ira tua corripas me  
Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus  
sum ; sana me domine quoniam contur-  
bata sunt ossa mea .  
Et anima mea turbata est ualde ; et  
tu domine usquequo .  
Conuertere domine et eripe anima meam .  
saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam .  
Quoniam non est in morte qui memor sit tui ; in  
inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi .

### ***Winchester Psalter Old French column***

(London, BL, Cotton MS Nero C IV, f. 47r-v):

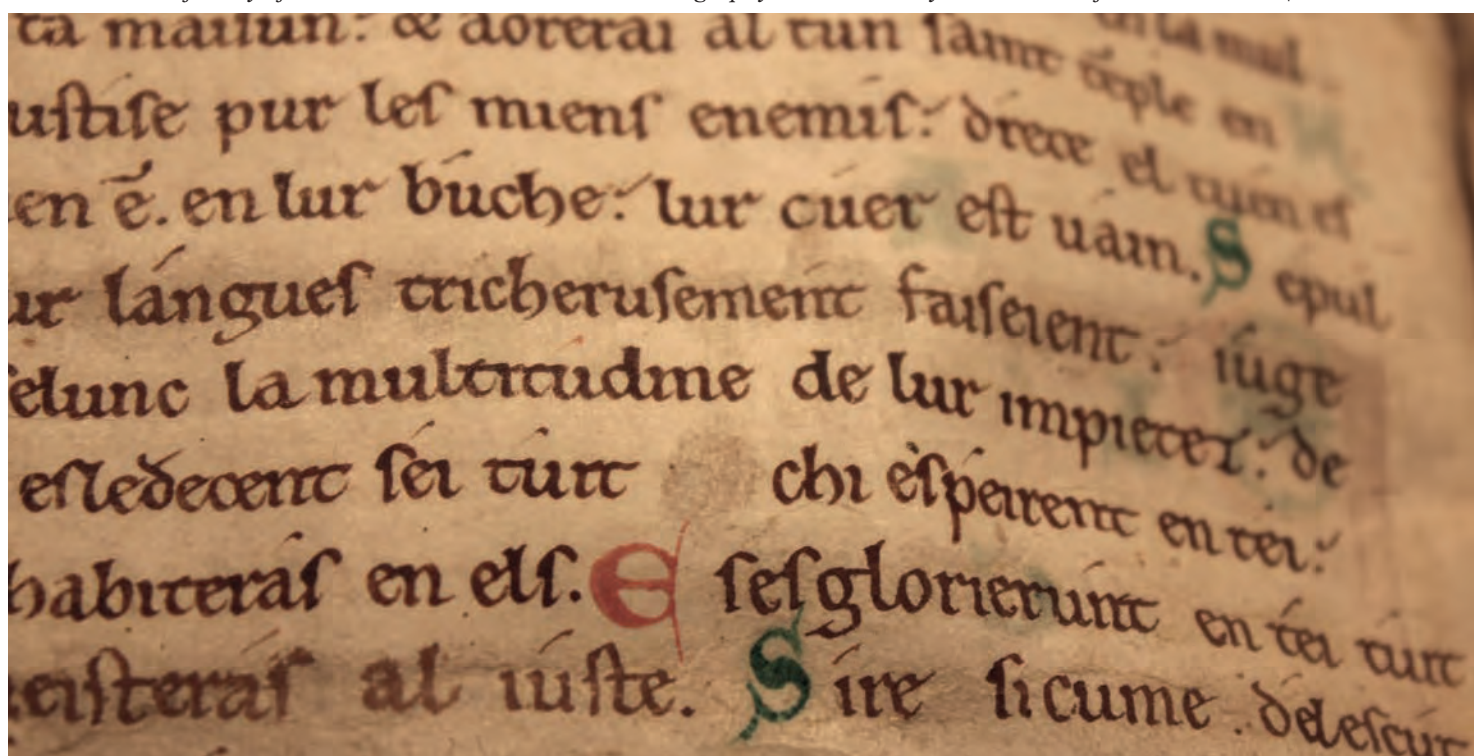
Ieo enterai en ta maison ; e aoreraí el  
tun saint temple en la tue crieme .  
Sire demeine mei en ta iustice pur  
les miens enemís ; drece el tuen es  
guardement la meie ueie .  
Kar uerited nen est en lor buche ;  
lur cuer est uain .  
Sepulchre aouranz est li guitrún  
di cels ; par lur langues tricheruse  
ment faiseient iuge cels deus .  
Decheent de lur cogitatiuns . selonc la  
multitudine de lur impietez debut  
icels ; kar il entarierent tei sire .  
Esleecent se tuit ki espeirent en tei . en  
parmanabletet sesioirunt e tu habiteras en els .  
ses glorierunt en tei tuit ki aiment le  
tuen num ; kar beneistras al iuste  
Sire si cume del escut de la tue bone  
uolunted coronas nos .  
Sire ne me arguer en ta fuírúr . ne  
en la tue íre ne me chastier .  
Merci aies de mei sire kar ieo sui enferm ;  
saine mei sire kar li mien os sunt  
conturbet .  
E la meie aneme conturbéde est mult ;  
e tu sire desqueaquant ?  
Series conuertit sire e de liure maneme ;  
salf me fai pur la tue misericorde .  
Kar ne . est . en mort ki remembre seít de  
tei ; en enfern acertes chi gíhírat a tei ?

la tue crieme. **S**ire, <sup>de</sup>meine mei en ta iust  
 guardement la meie uieie. **K**ar ueritet nen  
 chre aouranz ē. li guitrūn di oels. par lur  
 icels d's. **D**echeden de lur cogitaciūn sel  
 būte icels kar il entariēreſ tēi sire. **E**  
 en parmanabletet sesioirunt ē tu h  
 chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu bene  
 de la tue bone uoluntet corūas n

tation. Next comes a passage that was already discussed, followed by the case of Ps 5:10 + Ps 5:11 (also mentioned in passing). Those two verses would follow one another, thus explaining the extensive erasure that follows and the problems posed by word order in its rewriting. If the scribe copied textual units as they appeared in the source (and only later changed his method), then this complex passage would lead him to make a series of choices that he would regret at a later stage. In the next verse, the erasure of *Dechédent* is probably related to flexional issues, not to word order, but the longer erasure

at the end could be linked to a probable line in the Latin text of the source. In Ps 5:12, the erasure of *sesioirunt* (cf. Latin *exultabunt*) concerns a lexical matter and no other problems can be noticed. For no other reasons than just to show that variation is always possible, we redistributed some characters (the prepositions French *en* / Latin *in*) from one line to another. However, in the next textual unit, the extensive erasure of the second part of the verse (which corresponds to the actual end of the verse Ps 5:12) could be the result of bad choices in the adaptation of the source, especially if the transcription unit to which

en parmanabletet sesioirunt ē tu habit  
 chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu beneste  
 de la tue bone uoluntet corūas n  
**S**ir ne me arguer en ta futur ne en  
 de mei sire quar ie sui enferm. saine me  
 meie aneme conturbēde ē. mult ē tu  
 e deliure ma aneme. salf me fāi pur la tue  
 remēbriere seit de tēi en enfern a certel chi g



◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 37v.

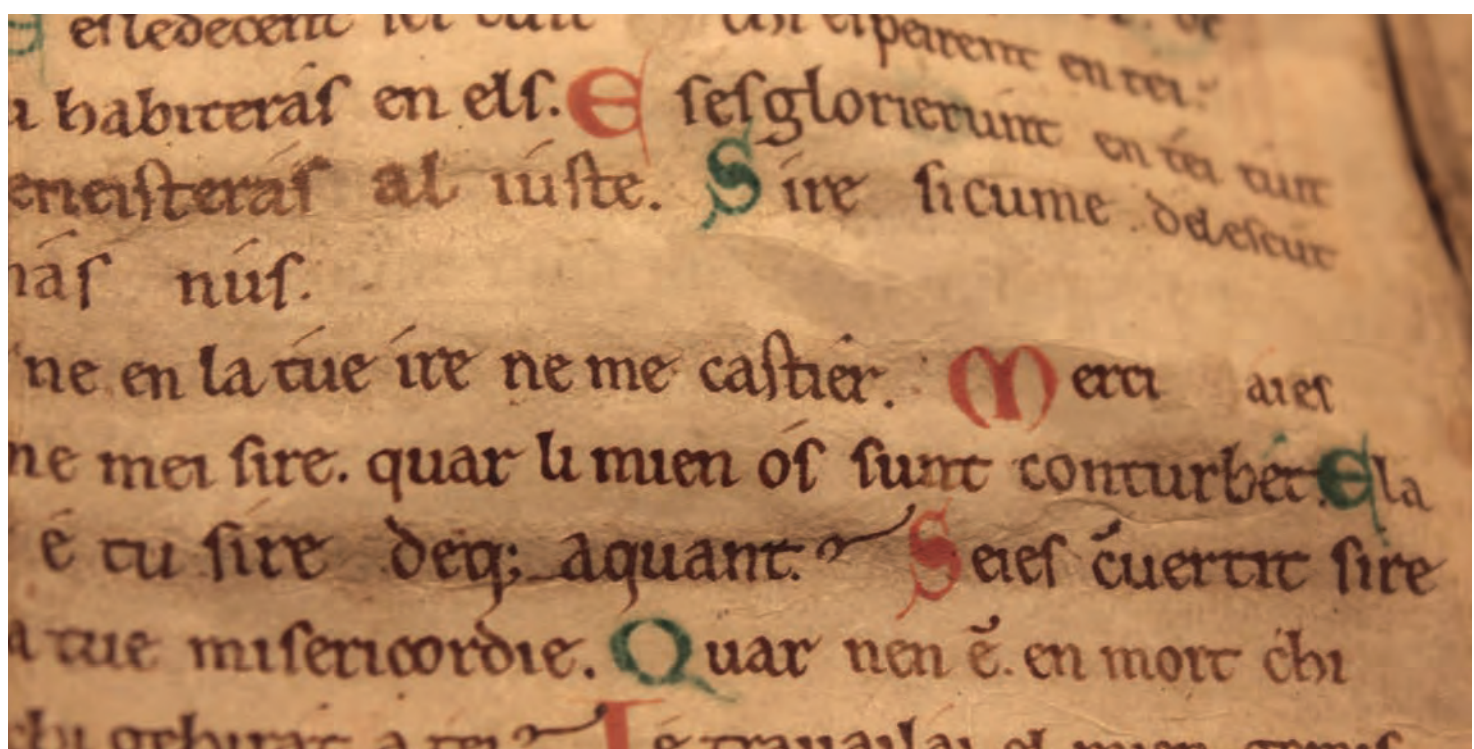
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

le tuen nûm belonged was separate from the copy unit of the verb that precedes it (also erased together with *qui*). As for the next erasure, it concerns half a line from Ps 5:13 and is related to the issue of the possessive adjective. This is where Ps 5 ends.

At the beginning of Ps 6, there is no need to rearrange

the lines; we moved Latin *me* just to show that variation is possible and that the layout of Arundel is not the only one that the source could have had. The fact that the two lines of Ps 6:2 were entirely erased and rewritten perhaps point to problems in the phrasing of the vernacular gloss of the source. In point of fact, the Arundel gloss presents such odd arrangements of syntax, and the Douce scribe could have faced real challenges if and when he set out to adapt an interlinear source text. This perfectly justifies the erasure of the two lines. Moving on to Ps 6:3, we made a minor redistribution of the abbreviations in the two



**L**dormirai. é reposerai. **K**ar tu sire. s'englement en espance establis mei.  
**E**s meies parolés. ot tes oreilles receif sire. entent la meie clamur. **E**ntent á la  
 uoiz de la meie oreisun. li mient réis é li mient d's. **Q**uar ie oierai á téi sire. le  
 matin orrai la meie uoiz. **L**e matin esteraí á téi uerraí. quar tu es d's nient uolanz  
 felunie. **E** de iuste téi ne habiterat malignes. **ne ne parmaiderunt li torceunier de**  
 uant tel oilz. **T**u haís tuz chi oeuert felunie. pderas tuz cels chi parolent men-  
 ceunge. **H**ume de sanz. é triche ur n're sire. ferat abominable. mais ie. .... en la mul-  
 titude de la t'ue misericordie. **I**e <sup>enterrai</sup> en ta maisun. & adorerai al tun saint temple en  
 la t'ue crieme. **S**ire, méme mei entra iustise pur les mient enemis. drece **el tuen es**  
**guardement**. la meie uie. **K**ar ueriter nen é. en lur buche. lur cuer est uain. **S**epul-  
 chre aouranz é. li gurtrun di cels. par lur langues tricherusement faisaient. iuge  
 icels d's. **D**echedei de lur cogitaciun felunc la multitudine de lur impietez. de  
 buce icels kar il entarieres téi sire. **E**stedecent sei tuit chi espèrent en téi.  
 en parmanablece. **s**esloirunt é tu habiteras en els. **E**sesglorierunt en ta tuit  
 chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu **benesteraí al iuste**. **S**ire sicume delectur  
 de la t'ue bone uoluntet **corunas nus**.  
**S**ire ne me arguer en ta furur. ne en la t'ue ire ne me castier. **M**erci aies  
 de mei sire quar ie sui enferm. saie mei sire. quar li mien os sunt conturbet. **E**la  
 meie aneme **conturbete é. mult é tu sire deg. aquant**. **S**ies cuertit sire  
 é deliure ma aneme. **s**alf me fai pur la t'ue misericordie. **Q**uar nen é. en mort chi  
 remembre seic de téi. en enfer a ceter chi gehurat á téi? **I**e trauailai el mien gemis-  
 sement. lauerai par sengles nuitz mun lit. de mes lermes mun lit aruserai. **T**urber  
 é. de furur. **mien oilz. enuierai** entre tuz mes enemis. **D**eseurez de mei tuit chi  
 uurez felunie. **quar** <sup>at</sup> **dit li sire** la uoiz del mien plurement. **O**it li sire la mei preiere.  
 li sire la meie oreisun receut. **V**ergundissent é seient conturbet forement trestuit li mien  
 enemi. **seies cuertit** é uergundissent mult igneusement.  
**S**ire <sup>li</sup> mient d's en téi espai. **s**alf me fai de tuz parsuanz mei. é deliure mei.  
**Q**ue alquune fiede ne rauisset si cume leun la meie aneme. deméneces que nest  
 chi reamier ne chi **s**alf face. **S**ire li mient d's si ie fis ice. si é felunie el meies mainf.  
**S**i ie rendi asquerredunanz á mei males choses. **dechiede** par deserte de mes ene-  
 mis uainf. **P**arseuer li enemis la meie aneme é coprenget. é defult en terre la mei  
 uie. é la meie glorie en puldre deméint. **E**sdrexe téi sire en la t'ue ire. é seies effal-  
 cez el deuisset de mes enemis. **E**t esdrexe téi sire li mient d's el cumandement que  
 tu mandas. é la synagoga des poples aurunerat téi. **E**pur uesti en hait repaire.  
 li sire iuge les poples. **I**uge mei sire sulunc la meie iustise. é sulunc la meie  
 innocence sur mei. **C**onsumedesert lordeet des pecheurs é adreceras le iuste. escer-  
 chanz les cuers é les raint tu d's. **L**a meie drete aurtorie del seignor. chi salfs  
 fait les dreiturers de cuer. **D**s dreiz iugerre forz é suffranz. dum ne se **curuce** il  
 par sengles iurz? **S**i uuf ne serrez conuertit sa espede crollerat. sun arc tendit.  
 & apareilat le. **E**t en lui aprestat les uaisels de mort. sel saietes asardanz fist.

lines of this biblical verse, so that they fit the structure of the two erasures in Douce. If Arundel was based on another gloss, this would also explain why *maaneme* was written above *animam* and nothing was written above *meam*—because the formula was taken from a source and not adapted on the spot. This concludes the case study.

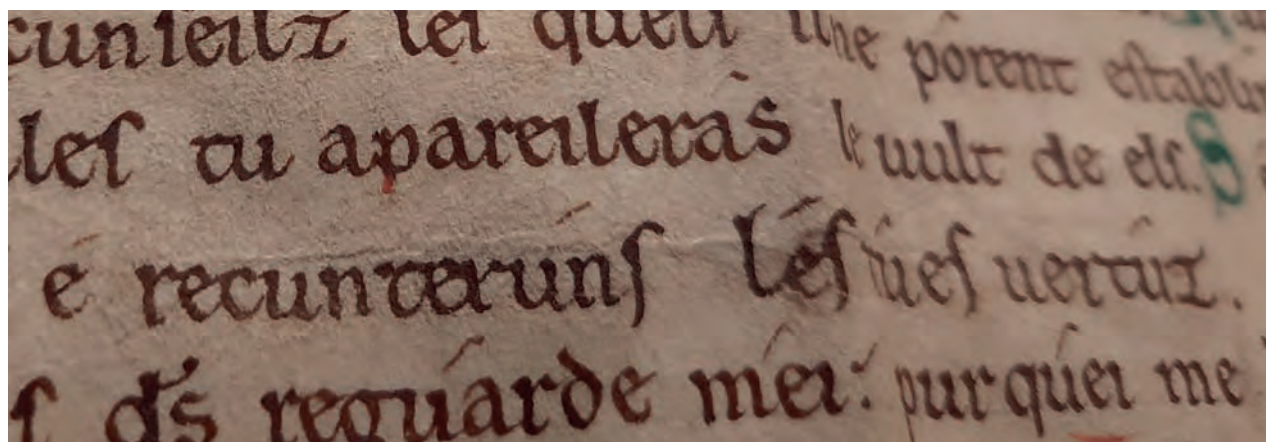
**Arundel Psalter interlinear gloss** (London, British Library, Arundel MS 230, f. 9v-10r):

Jo enterai enta maisun enta aureraí al  
Introibo indomum tuam ; adorabo ad  
temple saint tun en creme latue  
templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo .  
Sire de meinne mei en iustise en ta pur  
Domine deduc me iniusticia tua propter  
les enemis mens drece esguarde ment  
inimicos meos ; dirige in conspectu  
el ton uoie lamoie dees coels uain est .  
tuo uiam meam ; ¶ eorum uanum est .  
Kar nen est en buche de icels ueritet ; quor  
Quoniam non est in ore eorum ueritas ; cor  
Sepulcre auranz est li guntur dicels ;  
Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum ;  
par langues lur tricherusemenz demenoent iuge  
linguis suis dolose agebant ; iudica  
Dedechedent cogitaciun de lur ; selunc  
Decidant acogitationibus suis ; secundum  
la multitudine impietate de lur  
multitudinem impietatum eorum  
debute icels ; kar il ascharnirent tei sire .  
expelle eos ; quoniam irritauerunt te domine .  
et es selecent sei tuit ki espereirent en tei ; en par manabletet  
Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in eternum  
se lecerunt et tu habiteras en els .  
exultabunt et habitabis in eis .  
Et ses gloriesent en tei tuit ki eiment  
Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt  
nun le ten ; kar tu beneistras a iuste .  
nomen tuum ; quoniam tu benedices iusto .  
Sire sicume de lescut bone uolentet delatue  
Domine ; ut scuto bonę uoluntatis tuę  
curunas nus .  
coronasti nos . PSALMVS DAVID  
Sire ne en ta forsenerie constremnes mei ;  
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me ;  
ne en ire latue castier mei . li men .  
neque in ira tua corripas me . ¶ mea  
Merci aies de limen sire mei kar enferm io sui  
Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum ;  
saine mei sire kar contur bet sunt os  
sana me domine quoniam conturbata sunt ossa  
Et lamoi aneme con turbet est mult ; et tu  
Et anima mea turbata est ualde ; et tu  
sire deque aquant ? Latue  
domine usquequo . ¶ tuam  
Seies conuertit sire et deliure maaneme  
Conuertere domine et eripe animam  
salf mei fai pur misericordie .  
meam ; saluum me fac propter misericordiam .

**Reconstruction of the possible Latin lines  
in the source of Douce MS 320:**

[Lé enterrái en ta maisun ; et aórerái] ?  
Introibo in domum tuam ; adorabo  
[al tun saint temple en la tûe crieme .] ?  
ad templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo .  
[Sire deméine méi en ta iustise] ?  
Domine deduc me in iusticia tua  
[pur les miens enemís ; dréce] ?  
propter inimicos meos ; dirige  
[el tuén esguardement la méie uéie] ?  
in conspectu tuo uiam meam ;  
[Kar uerité n'en est . en lur búche ;] ?  
Quoniam non est in ore eorum ueritas ;  
[lur cúer est uáin. Sépúlchré a-] ?  
cor eorum uanum est . Sepulchrum pa-  
[ouránz est li guitrún di cels par lur lánques] ?  
tens est guttur eorum ; linguis suis  
[tricherusemément faiseient ; iúge icéls deus .] ?  
dolose agebant ; iudica illos deus.  
[Dechédent de lur cogitatiuns selunc]  
Decidant a cogitationibus suis ; secundum  
[la multitudine de lur impietez ;] ?  
multitudinem impietatum eorum  
[debúte icels kar il entariérent téi síre .] ?  
expelle eos ; quoniam irritauerunt te domine.  
[Esleðcent séi túit chi espéirent en téi ; en] ?  
Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in  
[parmanabletet sesioirúnt é tu habiterás en els .] ?  
eternum exultabunt et habitabis in eis.  
[E sesglorierúnt en téi túit chi aiment] ?  
Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt  
[le tuén núm ; kar tu beneisterás al iúste .] ?  
nomen tuum ; quoniam tu benedices iusto .  
[Sire sicume . délescút de la tûe bóne uoluntét] ?  
Domine ; ut scuto bone uoluntatis tue  
[córúnás nús .] ?  
coronasti nos . PSALMVS DAVID  
[Sire ne me arguer en tá fuirúr ;] ?  
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas  
[ne en la tûe íre ne me castiér.] ?  
me ; neque in ira tua corripas me .  
[Merci áies de mei sire quar íe sui enferm ;] ?  
Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus  
[ ] ? [sáine mei sire . quar sunt conturbét .] ?  
sum ; sana me domine quoniam conturbata  
[li mien ós] ?  
sunt ossa mea.  
[E lá meie áneme conturbéde est . mult ; é tu] ?  
Et anima mea turbata est ualde ; et tu  
[síre deque aquant .] ?  
domine usquequo.  
[Seies conuertit síre é deliure ma aneme ;] ?  
Conuertere domine et eripe animam meam ;  
[salf me fáí pur la tue misericordie.] ?  
saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam .

f. 40v,  
line 31



Getting back to the analysis of individual examples, it is worth noting that on f. 40v, line 31, Douce MS 320 reads: *nus canterums é recunteruns les tues uertuz*. The Arundel vernacular gloss presents a similar vernacular text based upon a Latin text with a slightly different layout of the lines: *Exaltare domine in uirtute tua; canta-/bimus et psallemus uirtutes tuas* (f. 24r). Perhaps the text of the Latin source used by the Douce scribe could have had the following layout:

*Exaltare domine in uirtute tua;  
cantabim' et psallem' uirtutes tuas*

On f. 47v, lines 39–40, Douce reads: *Kar láneme dé lúi en lá uie de lúi meésme serát benedéite*. The Latin text of Arundel has (f. 51v): *Quia anima eius in uita ipsius benedi-/cet; confitebitur tibi cum benefece*. Its vernacular gloss is once again rather similar to Douce.

On f. 49v, line 5, Douce's sequence *que ié pláise deuant déu en la lumière dés uiuánz* can be interpreted in comparison with the lines of Latin text in Arundel, f. 58r: *Quoniam eripuisti animam meam de/ morte. E pedes meos de lapsu; ut placeat/ coram deo in lumine uiuentium*, especially since the translation of Douce is similar to that of Arundel in this passage. However, minor adjustments

need to be made and the reconstruction of the passage in the presumed source of Douce could be:

*Quoniam eripuisti animam meam  
de morte et pedes meos de lapsu; ut  
placeat coram deo in lumine uiuentium.*

Coincidentally, this would also be the last line-unit of the entire psalm.

There is another example on f. 51r, line 34. Douce has here: *A lúi par lá meie búche criái; é esledeceai desúz ma lánque*. In Arundel, f. 65r, the Latin text is: *Ad ipsum ore meo clamaui; et exultaui /sub lingua mea* (displaced above, in a different line). The reconstruction of a possible source for Douce is:

*Ad ipsum ore meo clamaui; et exultaui  
sub lingua mea*

And the translation choices seem very similar to those of Arundel.

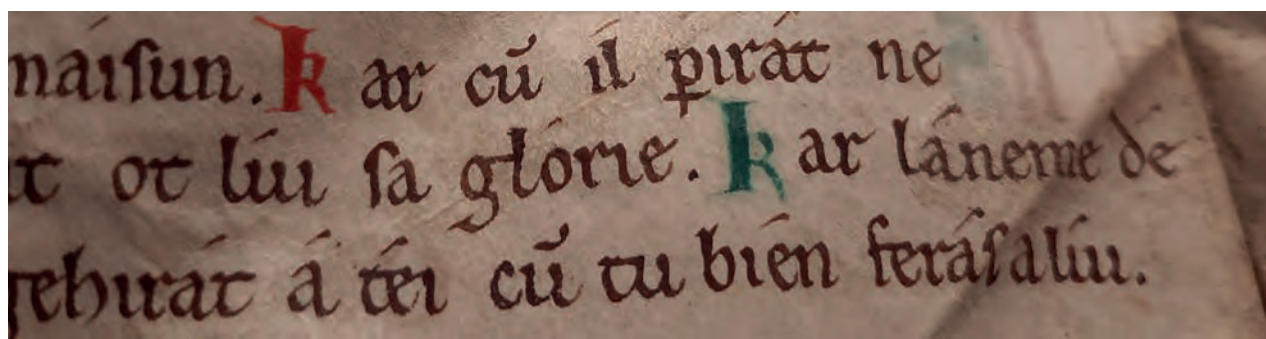
On f. 55r, line 28, Douce reads: *é les sús meruéilles el*

◀ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

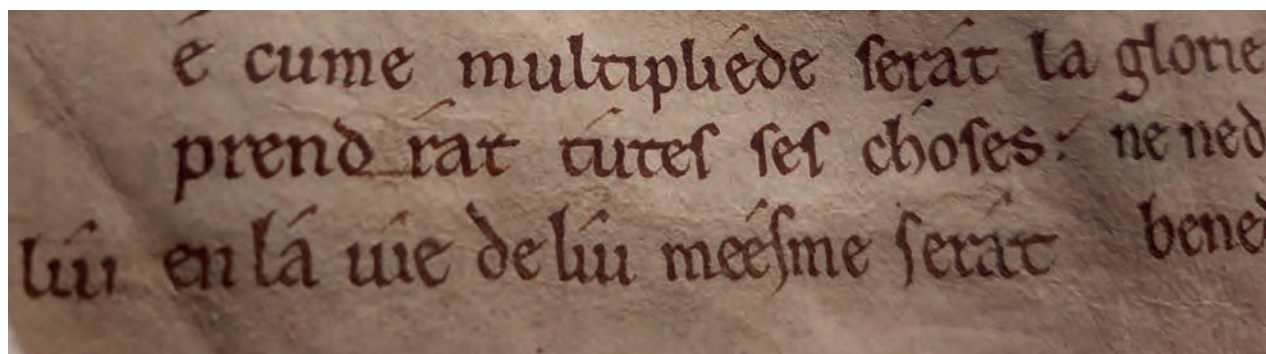
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence cc-BY-NC 4.0.

f. 47v,  
line 39

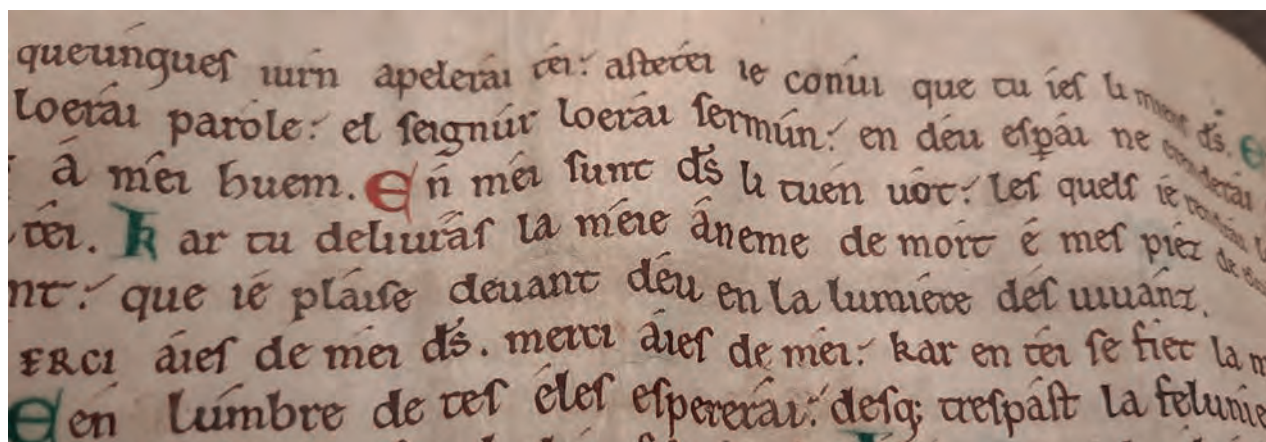


f. 47v,  
line 40

f. 47v,  
line 39



f. 47v,  
line 40

f. 49v,  
line 5

*cāmp* de tafneós. Cf. Arundel, f. 80r: *Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua; e prodigia sua in campo taphneos*. For once, nonetheless, there is a difference in the vernacular text: *Sicume il cum il posat*. As for the reconstruction of the source, it could be:

*Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua;  
et prodigia sua in campo taphneos*

Finally, on f. 55r, line 37, Douce has: *E ferit chescūne chōse premiēr engendrée en la tēre d'egýpte*. Cf. Arundel's Latin text, 80v: *Et percussit omne primogenitum in terra egypti; primitias omnis laboris eorum*. Leaving aside the fact that the Old French translation seems once again close to the Arundel gloss, the reconstruction of the lines in the source could be:

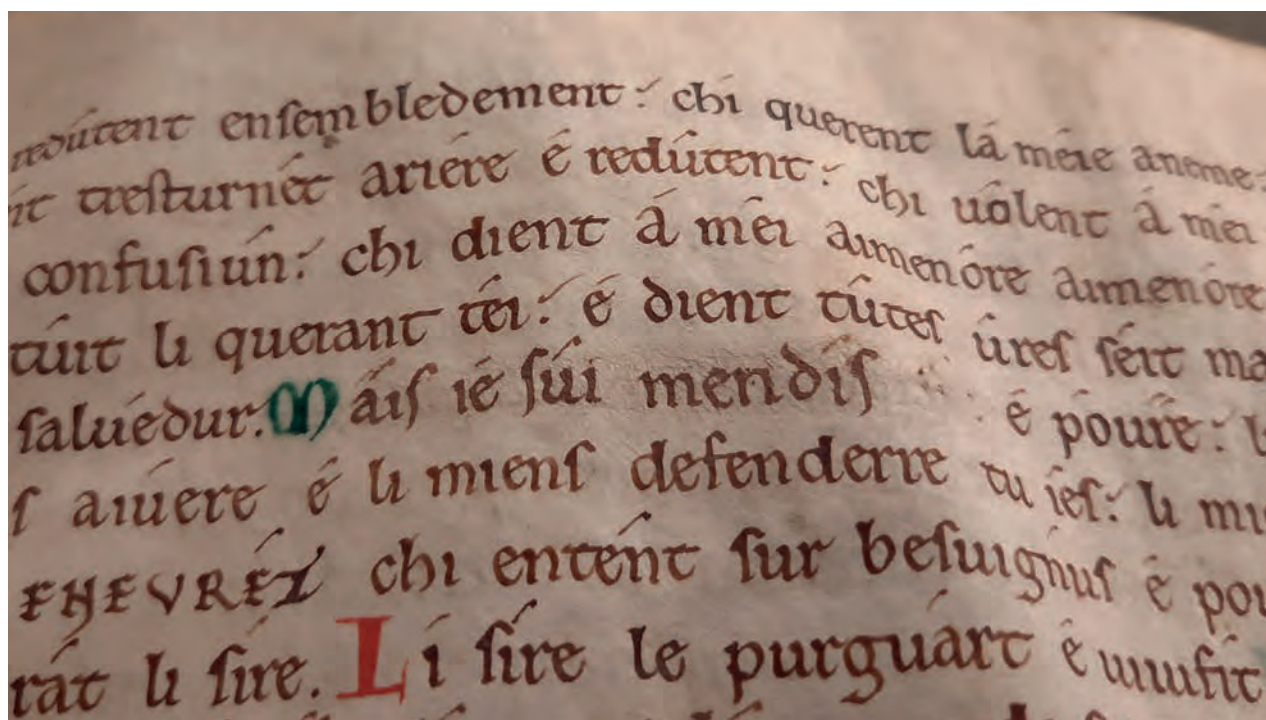
*Et percussit omne primogenitum  
in terra egypti (...)*

However, not all extensive erasures can be included in this category, because the scribe certainly operated with other types of segmentation as well. The reading of an entire line was practical and saved him time and effort, but he probably relied on other segmentations of the source too, either syntactical or in accord with punctuation. For instance, on f. 46r, line 5, Douce has a phrase written on

top of an erasure: *Mâis iē sūi mendis é pōūre*. The Arundel gloss is similar to the Douce prose and corresponds to the Latin text (f. 44v): *Ego autem mendicus sum et pauper; domi-/nus sollicitus est mei*. It is probably related to the issue of *mais* and *acertes* (*vide supra*).

Sneddon 1972: 110-112, has already analysed the issue of word order, arriving at the conclusion that "although the Latin word-order may be retained in French and the phrase remain comprehensible, it may never the less be altered." She tried to explain changes in word order in relation to conjunctions, pronouns, and possessive adjectives. This is indeed correct. Sneddon's observation that Arundel and Douce stem from a shared source (Sneddon 1972: 178) also seems to be correct.

In our opinion, the scribe of Douce MS 320 used as a source a Latin manuscript with a vernacular interlinear gloss written in smaller characters. His goal was the transformation of said gloss into a prose text. However, he was undecided about the proper translation choices for certain passages. Sometimes he modified the source material, sometimes he followed it faithfully, depending on the complexity of the problem, on his ability (or inability) to rephrase, and on many other factors. This will be analysed in the next instalment of this paper.

f. 46r,  
line 5

## PRELIMINARY FINDINGS (VA, AC)

The first instalment of this paper cannot provide conclusions based on a partial analysis of the erasures in Douce ms 320. Proper conclusions will be drawn only at the end of the next instalment, when the study of erasures will be completed. For the time being, the preliminary results of our partial study (to be confirmed or rebutted by further research) is that the transcription process was done in stages, two of which are obvious beyond any doubt. In the first part of the text, after much hesitation, the scribe gradually defined his method and settled on certain spellings and on how to render the word order in vernacular. In the second part of the vernacular version of the Psalms, a certain degree of hesitation is still present, but to a lesser extent, because the method was defined. The exact separation between the two parts is hard to pin down, for the scribe took various decisions at different stages of the text transcription.

That the process was gradual and decisions were taken step by step is evident from the fact that the scribe took a minor decision rather quickly, at the end of the first three folios. On f. 40r he stopped correcting *quar* and *ker* into *kar*. Four folios later, on f. 43v, he settled for a solution on the issue of *quer* corrected into *cuer*. In other instances, the scribe probably gave up erasing and correcting. The fact that he rendered Lat *autem* as OFr *mais* from f. 37r to 69v, corrected *acertes* into *mais* between f. 40v–46r, and finally left *acertes* uncorrected from f. 40v to f. 71v is proof of such resignation. Similarly, the erasures concerning double *-rr-* do not occur after f. 47. The scribe was in search of a method; he had to perfect it gradually, since there were too many things to be taken into account. In the specific case of interconsonantal *-e-*, he came up with a decision only after several hesitations on f. 45–54. This interval corresponds to the beginning of an actual turning point in several categories of erasures and corrections.

For instance, the scribe's hesitation in the transcription of vowels and digraphs seems to end on f. 55–56. Four other corrections on top of erasures of this type occur on f. 56v–57r (*sul* > *sol*), f. 58v (*uitante* > *oitante*), f. 60r (? > *curucez*), and f. 70r (> *aorerums*), but they are rare exceptions. In the case of dentals in future and past tense verbal forms, the turning point occurs on f. 53–59. This

was amply discussed at the end of the section on dentals, where it was also noted that it can be linked to a turning point in the spelling of past participles (f. 57) and nouns ending in dentals (f. 60), thus leading to the conclusion that the scribe experimented and finally settled the issue of dentals when he transcribed f. 53–60. By that point, he took the decision to enforce irrelevant idiosyncrasies as well. The majority of the spellings with *-tiun* or *-ceun* occur before f. 59r, whereas *-ciun* and *-cun* are preferred after. Similarly, the deletion of an *-n* in *car(n)*, *enfer(n)*, and *iur(n)* occurs respectively on f. 56v, f. 57r–f. 59v, and f. 57r–60r. Extensive erasures stop on f. 57r. There are only two on f. 61r and 75v, but they are not very large and cannot be linked to the issue of lines in the Latin source, only with word order. Folios 55–60 are therefore the segment of the text where he had found his method.

The fact that the corrective insertions of words or segments of words occur throughout the entire text of the Psalms suggests that they cannot be related to his hesitations but rather to the fact that he is adapting a source, making eye-skips and other errors that all scribes commit when working with a source. Also, the extensive use of erasures and corrections in the first part of his transcription of the Psalms is not related to his variable degree of acquaintance with the textual tradition of certain Psalms, but to an overall pattern of rewriting. Therefore, our two main hypotheses are as follows: first, that the scribe focused on making a pre-existing text more fluid—a hypothesis that was amply dealt with in the sections focusing on the extensive erasures, the corrective uses of the low dash, and the odd additions and corrections; and secondly, that the scribe took care to convert certain dialectal features into a more continental or high-prestige variety of language. This does not explain the relationship between ms Douce 320 and Arundel ms 230, the text of which was certainly not the source of Douce. Our preliminary findings cannot support a full and thorough discussion of the issues in the Arundel manuscript before its own erasures have been analysed. However, it can be argued that the unnatural word order found in Arundel ms 230 follows the pattern of several glosses that are known in Old English literature (vide infra). In this type of equation, Douce would represent a possible prosification of a gloss.

## OLD ENGLISH PRECEDENTS (VA)

The thing that makes the interpretation of the filiation of Arundel ms 230 and Douce ms 320 extremely difficult is their back-and-forth consonance and dissonance. Some passages resemble to the letter, and there are passages which could not be more dissimilar. Neither of the two manuscripts can be the copy of the other. Ecdotics might suggest that they could both be linked to a third manuscript, but this explanation does not take into account translational issues. We need to address the manner in which the rewriting of glosses shapes new texts. This is common in Old English glosses to the Psalms, a textual tradition the last exemplars of which partly coincide with Arundel and Douce (cf. Toswell 2014 for an introduction to Old English Psalms and psalters). Old English glosses rarely use the word order of the vernacular language (Crowley 2000 for one rare situation); they are mostly tributary to Latin. It is also worth noting that vernac-

ular glosses could have been one of the tools for the standardisation of the Old English language in late 10th century Winchester under bishop Æthelwold, as part of the Benedictine Reform (Gneuss 1972; cf. Gretsches 2001; Gretsches 2005; Lendinara 2019: 87–92). Since the translations of the Bible could have played a similar role in the evolution of Old French (e.g., Trenel 1904), the comparison is worth investigating.

Concerning Old English Psalter glosses, there still remains a general tendency to divide them into two groups. Research rather speaks of a “network of relationships” between *Group α* of Old English psalter glosses and *Group δ* (cf. Pulsiano 1991). It was argued that one cannot understand the links between them if they are edited alone (cf. Pulsiano 1992 for the proposal of a joint edition of all glosses). According to Philipp Pulsiano, the only solution would be to present them in a collective form (see the concordance of Pulsiano 2001 for a posthumous

first volume in a planned series of four).

Leaving aside the links with an Old English metrical psalter (O'Neill 2016; cf. Toswell 1997) and the issue of dialectal implications (cf. Kitson 2002; Kitson 2003; Ogura 2006), both features being less interesting in the current framework, my presentation starts with the first group of texts, *Group α* (for the use of  $\alpha$  and  $\delta$  in reference to manuscript groups instead of individual manuscripts, see Schabram 1965, 23, *passim*; Gretsche 1999, 17–21; cf. Lendinara 2023: 338). *Group α* consists of its namesake codex *A* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A i; manuscript *B* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27; and another independent apograph known as *C* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 1. 23). The relationship between the three is complex, yet all are early texts, dating back to 9th century, 10th century, and c.1000 respectively. In spite of various attempts made at identifying an *Urtext*, filiation remains rather unclear, much like in the case of the Old French Psalters known as Oxford and Arundel with the addition (or not) of Orne and Maidstone (e.g., Pulsiano 1996 for the complex links between *C* and *A*).

Most manuscripts in *Group δ*, on the other hand, are of a later date. Despite the fact that *D* (London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B v) is also early, dated to mid-10th century, the other glosses were compiled in early 11th-century: *L* (London, British Library, Additional MS 37517, in a 10th-century codex); mid-11th century—*G* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii); mid- or third quarter of the 11th century—*F* (London, British Library, Stowe MS 2) and *H* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C vi); second half of the 11th century—*J* (London, British Library, Arundel MS 60); or 11th–12th century—*K* (Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 150, in a manuscript dated to the second half of the 10th century). Filiation is once again problematic. And there is also a version *I*, Lambeth Psalter from the first half of the 11th century (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427), which contains different glosses with many mixed readings from *Group α* and *Group δ*, as well as corrections and revisions.

The same could be said about the Old English gloss of the Eadwine Psalter (E—Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, mid–12th century). Its basis could be a version of *Group α*, while corrections to its Old English text could be made on the basis of *Group δ* (e.g., Lindelöf 1904; cf. O'Neill 1992: 126—who identifies Vespasian Psalter (*A*) and Regius Psalter (*D*) as models for the base of the text and corrections respectively). Nevertheless, given the presence of several scribes working on the Old English text, not to mention double glosses (i.e., two glosses given for the same Latin word), the issue of these corrections is intriguing. Many corrections look like they were made as spontaneous interventions (Zagórska 2020a; Zagórska 2020b). A different situation concerns the Salisbury Psalter (*K*) of *Group δ*. *D* being the base, the glossator of *K* probably chose to eliminate the poetical renderings of *D* and his choices fell sometimes too close to those found in various glosses from *Group α* (cf. Lendinara 2021: 192–196).

In most cases, peculiar variations and similitudes within *Groups α, δ*, or in between the two groups are stuck in the basic causality dilemma. However, research seems to be focused mainly on the relationship between the appar-

tuses of glosses. Pictured in the form of a deterministic chain of transmission, glosses are expected to move from point  $\alpha$  to point  $\delta$ , or vice-versa. This happens because they are seen as independent from the Latin text to which they adhere, an idea inherited from the nineteenth century—the century of dictionaries, national philologies, and national identities. Lendinara 2002a: 249–254 (with examples) pointed out that a gloss should not be readily taken as a translation of its Latin lemma. Glosses cannot be used as the lemmata of a modern dictionary, to be mined for renderings to use in a translation. Such a choice apparently ignores the specific circumstances that link *lemmata*—i.e., clusters of words in a source text—and their *interpretamenta*—clusters of glosses corresponding to such *lemmata*. By the same token, treating a gloss (and its meaning(s)) as a word within a prose translation is likewise off the mark. The said *lemma* and *interpretamentum* form a cluster. It is my personal opinion that an edition which meets this requirement is the partial one by Pignatelli, Lavrentiev (s.a.)—who edited the Latin and Old French glosses of Arundel MS 230.

There is also the issue of double *interpretamenta* in vernacular glosses. The entries of glossaries with *interpretamenta* drawn from different sources woven together by scribes can operate as interpretation networks of their respective *lemmata* (cf. Lendinara 2002a: 257–265). Another category comprises glosses, the *interpretamenta* of which stem from the former. A bridge is thus built between the two glosses (*lemma 1* + *interpretamentum 1* and *lemma 2* + *interpretamentum 2*) (Lendinara 1992a). This and other features of the *interpretamenta* (and their origin once detected) makes so-called errors of translation entirely irrelevant in the discussion of many glosses. Glossators did not have just the source text in mind. Their work was multifaceted, anchored in both source texts and glossaries (Lendinara 1992b; cf. Lendinara 2012). For instance, as regards Psalter glosses, the “errors” of the *K* gloss (i.e., Salisbury Psalter) are none other than a diorthosis type of rewriting based on a Romanum gloss, but with the help of commentaries and additional works (Lendinara 2021). Viewed in light of the above-mentioned instances, the so-called errors of language or translation in the Old French Arundel Psalter might be the result of a similar method of glossing. When Arundel MS 230 breaks with Douce MS 320 or presents odd rephrases of a clusterial nature, this happens because its interlinear gloss is not an actual translation, but only the adaptation of source material in order to fit the purpose devised by (or for the use of) the glossator.

When historical analysis is applied to the corpus of Old English interlinear glosses to the Psalms, none of them can be considered a prose translation (for a prose translation of the Psalms, see the Old English text of Psalms 1–50 in an 11th-century Canterbury manuscript—Paris, BnF, f. lat. 8846; Psalms 51–150 have a verse translation in the same manuscript). The tradition started rather early, at the end of the 7th century. It characterised Germanic languages as a group—not only Old English, but also Old High German, Old Frisian, and it spread as far as Scandinavian lands (Lendinara 2002b; cf. Bremmer 2007; Grauwe 1990 for Old Frisian). Old Franconian glosses to the Psalms from the 10th century were also part of the same phenomenon (cf. Kyes 1969 for an edition).

Furthermore, a recent book by Blom proves beyond doubt that the culture of glossing flourished upon an “early medieval paratextual network” (Blom 2017: 4). This network connected several Western-European non-Romance languages in the span of six long centuries, and it created its own system of verbal and non-verbal expression (syntax marks, punctuation, and layout must be taken into account too). Moreover, the Psalms were central in the development of glossing. This is amply demonstrated by Blom 2017.

Blom identified three types of glosses. The first one concerns “substitution glosses [that] replace a lemma from the principal text with another term in order to provide more or less exact lexical equivalents or perceived equivalents.” They can be divided in SUB1 “glosses which provide a synonym or translation of a noun (phrase), verb (phrase), preposition(al phrase), adverb, or conjunction;” SUB2 “substitution glosses which provide an explanatory replacement” (some [...] derived from the commentary paratext in the margin of the manuscript); and SUB3 those that provide a paraphrase of a lemma, “more difficult to fit into a taxonomy.” (Blom 2017: 29–32). This corresponds to the peculiar mechanics of complex translation clusters analysed in the recent *Translation Automatisms* volume (Agrigoroaei, Sasu, Voleková, Svobodová, Korondi, Ungureanu, Gînsac 2023). Old English interlinear glosses to the Latin Psalms often belong to this category of substitution glosses.

The second category postulated by Blom includes “supplement glosses [that] elucidate the morphology and syntax of the principal text by supplying additional clarifying forms, often repeated, or otherwise deduced, from context.” These are hard to identify in Old French glosses, as they are bereft of any evident uses for language acquisition and educational hermeneutics. They can be “complete constituents, words or a group of words that function as a single syntactic unit, such as an object, a subject, or a phrase, added to a sentence in the principal text.” Supplement glosses divide into SUP1 “gloss [that] supplies a constituent,” and SUP2 gloss that “supplements a constituent.” Syntax marks can belong to this subcategory. Blom notes that “non-verbal glosses are especially common in Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, consisting of combinations of abstract signs (dots, commas, and dashes) and letters to explicate the syntactic context of a lemma.” (Blom 2017: 32–34).

Blom’s last category consists of “commentary glosses provid[ing] new information to and elucidate[ing] a given lemma, but without substituting or supplementing the principal text.” He further notes that “defining this category and the relation between commentary glosses, scholia and commentary proper is problematic, which results in these terms often being used interchangeably.” He then divides them into four subcategories: COM1 “provide lexical or etymological commentary”; COM2 “provide commentary on morphology and syntax; COM3 “provide variant readings or other text-critical information,” and COM4 cover glosses that “give explicative commentary, for example on exegesis or historical background.” (Blom 2017: 34). This corresponds to a situation that we also noted, namely that of glosses of an exegetical nature that “can be similar to the contemporary translation technique known as ‘description’—i.e., replacing a

term or an expression with a description—and ‘amplification’” (Agrigoroaei, Sasu 2023: 37, with translational bibliography in the footnotes). Blom’s categories 1 and 3 can be found in Old French texts—substitutions and commentaries, that is, linguistic variation or the implications of exegesis. Blom’s second category, that of supplement glosses, is hard to find in Old French glosses, as it is related to the peculiar interest for grammar that we see in the “early medieval paratextual network.” The co-existence of *glossae collectae*, class glossaries, and alphabetical glossaries, as well as the presence of Old English glosses in Latin grammatical texts suggests that language acquisition and hermeneutics were interwoven to a certain degree (e.g., Lapidge 1982; Gneuss 1990; Gneuss 1993; Lendinara 2020). Furthermore, a similar interest in grammar, glosses (some on Psalms), and glossaries characterises Celtic languages (e.g., Bauer, Krivoshchekova 2022; cf. Best 1936; Law 1982; Holtz 1983; McNamara 2000; Bauer 2017; O’Sullivan 2021).

Since it was repeatedly pointed out that Old English glosses were an instrument for teaching, even though the precise dynamics of Anglo-Saxon pedagogy are not fully grasped (Lendinara 2002c; cf. Stanton 2002), one must also note that the 11th and 12th centuries saw a shift in the evolution of the contents of libraries, the responsibility for which did not lie with the Norman Conquest, but with a Western-European cultural trend that started earlier. The essential place occupied by grammatical and educational works characterising the period before the 11th century was gradually overtaken by patristic works and commentaries (Webber 1997; cf. Thomson 1986). The decline of Old English translations or glosses (such as those from the Lambeth and Eadwine Psalters) coincides with this decline of grammatical and educational works, whereas the interest in patristic works and commentaries underpins the rise of glosses to (and translations from) the Psalms in the Old French literature of the 12th century. In the second part of the 12th century, a generation after the emergence of Old French translations of (and glosses to) the Psalms, vernacular commentaries to the same book of the Bible were made. The First French Commentary to the Psalms, written in four instalments on the Continent c.1165, was soon copied in many Anglo-Norman manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries, its only extended copy being located in England: the three manuscripts of Durham, Cathedral Library, MSS A.II.11–A.II.13) (for this text, see Gregory 1990).

That the Old French written tradition did not have a penchant for grammar is evident from the inventory of 12th-century texts. Yet there has always been a peculiar category of Anglo-Norman texts of a didactical nature, mostly poems, many of which belong to the wider corpus of biblical adaptations (see two cases concerning the Psalms: the First French Metrical Psalter, studied by the *PSalterRATIO* ANR project—London, British Library, Harley MS 4070 + Additional MS 50000; and the *Miserele* poem in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 431—edited

► Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, f. 10v.

*The Old English gloss is transcribed on the text of Romanum (second column), whereas the Old French one on Hebraicum (first column).*

Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge



**VERBA**  
mea  
audi  
domine. intel-  
lige murmur  
meum. adverte  
ad vocem clamo-  
ris mei.  
Rex meus &  
deus meus.  
quia te depre-  
cor. Domine  
ma-  
ne  
audies uocem  
meam. mane  
parabor ad  
te. & contem-  
plabor. Quo-  
nam  
non es deus  
uolens impieta-  
te tu. nec habi-  
tabit iuxta te  
malignus.  
neque pma-  
nebunt in iustu

**VERBA**  
mea  
audi  
domine. intel-  
lige murmur  
meum. adverte  
ad vocem clamo-  
ris mei.  
Rex meus &  
deus meus.  
quia te depre-  
cor. Domine  
ma-  
ne  
audies uocem  
meam. mane  
parabor ad  
te. & contem-  
plabor. Quo-  
nam  
non es deus  
uolens impieta-  
te tu. nec habi-  
tabit iuxta te  
malignus.  
neque pma-  
nebunt in iustu

In finem pea que bedicatem  
consequuntur p clamor  
vox eccle.  
bus pape do-  
mine. intelli-  
ge clamorem  
meum. in ca-  
de uoci oratio-  
nis mee. rex  
meus & deus  
meus. Quo-  
nam ad te ora-  
bo domine  
mane. & exau-  
dies uocem mea-  
ne. astabo tibi  
& uidebo. qm  
non deus uo-  
lens  
iniquitatem  
tuas. Non ha-  
bitabit iuxta  
te malignus.  
neque pma-  
nebunt in iustu

**VERBA**  
mea auribus  
pape domi-  
ne. intellige clamorem meum.  
In tende uoci orationis mee.  
rex meus & deus meus. Quo-  
nam ad te orabo domine.  
mane exaudies uocem mea-  
ne. astabo tibi & uidebo.  
quoniam non deus uolens  
iniquitatem tuas. Neque ha-  
bitabit iuxta te malignus.  
neque pmanebunt in iustu

In finem pea que bedicatem  
consequuntur p clamor  
vox eccle.  
Trima oro. Verba: oris pfa-  
modia. Clamorem. cordis affe-  
ctum. id exaudi orationem.  
ecce t de eod.  
om ad te. o. huc usq; oro ut  
audiat. huc iat. intellectus eoz que  
impediunt aduendū dñi. i.  
ut se exaudiat cognoscat. priqñ  
ipsum uolens audiri. dixit exaudi.  
in q ipsa uocatione ostendit. f. ea  
ligat mēcellas seculi. seruat se  
nūde qd cupit. 7 tñ spāt. seruat  
qñ nūdeat. qd ad huc. nox pec-  
catorū. Dic g. quia ad te. o. idē. q.  
tante ē ad que orabo: mane. e. u. m.  
nī innotet qm peccata fecerūt. f. ea  
finita uidebūt. Mane finit tenebrarū.  
innotet lucē q sep crescat. ut nec in-  
apientes excludant. lūc g pri dñi.  
Exaudi: totan clamauit. 7 qñ nē.  
audita: seruat qd opponat tñfure  
ut audiat. l. supi exaudita. ē. f. nī  
intelligit se audiat. q. nī dñi uidet  
auditorē. 7. ē. Exaudies. i. intelligit  
me audiat. Et in hoc mane: nī ero  
horari: f. astabo. & scia qd. ē. deum & placere iniquitatē nūquā ueniunt. Et ppter  
astat dō ut ptes qui pur: 7 h mane. mox ut tenebras desat. 1. t.

**HEBR.**  
**ROSI.**  
De cometa jam storran  
Dyllicne leoman haps  
cometa se storra 7 on  
englicf hinc man nemo  
se feaxeda storra he hinc  
acpō seldan ymbe  
pela pinta 7 honne  
for portacne.

**Gall.**



by Grange 2015; many more texts of this category were written both in England and on the Continent; see e.g., Sansun of Nantuil's *Proverbs*, Évrât's *Genesis*, etc.). Such texts precede and underpin the rise of Anglo-Norman glossaries and grammars in the 13th century (cf. Hunt 1991), as the latter represents a specific group of texts with tight insular dynamics.

It is therefore safe to assume that French culture ended up assimilating local cultural trends after a while, but this was a hesitant process. Full cultural assimilation was not possible at the very beginning of the occupation; only stimulus diffusion, that is, achieving similar results with different means. Since the earliest manuscripts in the corpus of Old French psalters are either proper translations (Douce) or glosses based on the *lemma-interpretamentum* pattern (Arundel), I believe that the Arundel gloss should be interpreted along the same lines as the Old English glosses to the Psalms. When stating this, I am not defending the view of Howlett 1996. I am merely referencing several instances where Old French texts are based on Old English precedents (e.g., Agrigoroaei 2020). Perhaps the best example is the *Comput* of Philippe de Thaon (c.1113/1119), one of the first (if not *the* first) Old French poem of the aforementioned didactic group. The odd genre and subject of Philippe's poem can be linked to the fact that computistical works, a fashionable type of texts before the Conquest, continued to thrive in England after 1066 (cf. Lendinara 2007: esp. 92–102, for various computistical works).

This is where a comparative look at Old English and Old French translations and glosses to the Psalms bears interesting fruit in a number of respects. Anglo-Norman textual tradition formed during the 12th century, which represented not only a decline but also the end of the Old English tradition of glosses. Still, there are other similarities to be taken into account in connection with the pattern of *lemma-interpretamentum*. Perhaps the most interesting feature are the so-called “glossary words,” that is, words that occur only in the limited frame of certain interlinear glosses. Defined as ‘morphological borrowings’ or ‘structural replicas’ (Kornexl 2003: 206; cf. Lendinara 2019: 93–94), they are the by-product of an etymological approach to glossing that can be noticed in Old French examples, too. Leaving aside the case of the Oxford Psalter or of the Arundel Psalter, the etymological formations of which will be analysed in the next instalment of this paper, I will present an example that was already analysed in a recent publication.

I argued that the rendering of Lat *pusillus* as OFr *petringneth* in the Old French gloss of the Eadwine Psalter's Psalm 151 must be interpreted along the same lines as the translation choice *peterinés* that renders Lat *pusillus* in the anonymous Walloon translation of saint Bernard's *Sermones in annum* (Agrigoroaei 2023: 123, 125). The translation choice is one and the same, even though the word is not attested elsewhere in the corpus of Old French texts; different translators came up with identical etymological formations as a result of identical trans-

lation strategies (extreme functional equivalence). The presence of such tailor-made words in Old English glosses, often in connection with Latin realia (Lendinara 2012: 967–974) suggests that they cannot be extracted from their *lemma-interpretamentum* setting, to be included in actual dictionaries of the old language. This is indeed the case of *petringneth*, which should not have been included in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*—on the one hand, because *petringneth* is a structural by-product of a *lemma-interpretamentum* cluster, being the vernacular answer to Lat *pusillus*; on the other hand, because this word formation is not Anglo-Norman, since an identical formation occurred in a Walloon text of the same period.

I do not share the opinion that vernacular *interpretamenta* from interlinear glosses should be studied in complete isolation from actual prose translations, some of which are based on similar or identical translation strategies. The fact that OFr *peterinés* occurs in a prose translation is proof enough that the situation is more or less the same. Instead, I have already argued that extreme-functional translation strategies in the vernacular texts of the 12th century did not operate between high-prestige sources and low-prestige target texts. The juncture of diglossia and bilingualism created four main language categories between the source text and target text: ‘high-prestige and low-prestige Latin, high-prestige and low-prestige Romance, with an infinity of intermediate degrees’. The translator (or glossator) adapted a text ‘from a high variety of the Latin language to a high variety of French, passing through a low-prestige type of Latin’ (*latin haut et bas, roman haut et bas, avec une infinité de degrés intermédiaires, [...] d'une variété haute de la langue latine à une variété haute du français, par l'entremise d'un latin en variété basse*; Agrigoroaei 2016: 297). In my own opinion, ‘glossary words’ could be the result of a certain aesthetic of translation, based on an extreme functional translation strategy.

This aesthetic is evident only in a handful of Old French texts, most of which can be traced back to 12th-century England. Apart from the aforementioned translations and glosses to the Psalms, the group includes the translation of the book of Judges (made for Norman Knights Templar), and that of the four books of Kings, both of them made in the second part of the 12th century (cf. Curtius 1911; Albon 1913; Ham 1937; Nobel 2015). In a literary context that favoured verse adaptations, it is possible that this minority of translations based on extreme functional translation strategies could have been influenced by Old English models, just as certain texts from Wallonia and Lorraine show that a similar approach to an extreme functional translation strategy could have been influenced by German models (Agrigoroaei 2011, 1: 527–537).

The best illustration of the manner in which Old French took off by the exact time that Old English was gradually dying out is none other than Eadwine Psalter. Its Old English composite gloss was written in the interline of Romanum, while the Old French gloss—independent from the text of the Oxford Psalter (see the demonstration in Agrigoroaei 2023)—was transcribed in the adjacent column of Hebraicum. However, there are other types of encounters as well (see again Agrigoroaei 2019).

◀ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, f. 10v.

The Old English gloss is transcribed on the text of *Romanum* (penultimate column), whereas the Old French one on *Hebraicum* (last column).

Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge

l'ur deus recout mei.  
**L**audabo nomen dei cum cantico  
 & magnificabo eum in laude.  
**T**o loerau le num de deu o cham  
 e magnifierai lui en loenge.  
 nouell. **E**t placebit deo sup utulū: cor  
 nua producentem & ungula  
**E**plaurat a deu sur ueel nuuel  
 cornes fors menant e ungles.  
**V**ideant paupes & letentur: q  
 re dei. & uiuet anima ura.

tot mot non capere  
 er oi les poures li sire e les liez  
 ne despist.  
**L**audent illum celi & terra: ma  
 re & omnia reptalia in eis  
**L**es celi e terre mer e tu  
 tes choses rampantes en ds  
 m deus saluam faciet syon: &  
 edificabuntur ciuitates iude.  
 er ds salue fera syon e ierusalem  
 deus saluam faciet syon: &

## MAIDSTONE FRAGMENTS: TRANSCRIPTION (VA)

From Douce MS 320 and Arundel MS 230 stems the entire group of bilingual psalters on two columns, the evolution of which seems simple, but no research into their links has been made. Among these psalters, one witnesses an odd transformation that could be related not to bilingual psalters as a group, but to the (again) unclear filiation of Douce and Arundel. This other psalter was mentioned earlier, in the section concerning *ker* as a spelling for *car*.

The codex is now lost, but three leaves are still in the Kent County Archives of Maidstone, file Fa Z 1. The local catalogue of manuscripts states that the free folios were in the possession of Faversham Borough Records, “where they presumably had been used as wrappers, covers, and so forth” (Freeth 1974: no pagination). Since the dossier of fragments from the Faversham Borough Records comprises three other items (two leaves from a biblical concordance of the late 14th-century; three leaves from a Sarum Missal, 15th century; and two leaves from a Missal, also dated 15th century), it is quite possible that they originated in the Benedictine St Saviour’s Abbey of Faversham (founded 1147/8) and were pillaged or dismembered during the dissolution of the monasteries. Faversham Abbey was dissolved in 1538. At the time of the writing of the Maidstone psalter fragments (mid-12th century or second half of the same century according to Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 108, who quote the opinion of Michael Gullik and argue that the manuscript could have been written at Christ Church, Canterbury), Faversham Abbey was Cluniac and subject to the authority of St Augustine’s Abbey (Canterbury), not Christ Church (also Canterbury). Cf. Dobson, Edwards 2010, 96–97. Yet this means that a direct line of transmission of the manuscript could have been either Canterbury, where many manuscripts of the times were produced, or the network of English monasteries.

The fragments contain the biblical verses Ps 55:7–Ps 59:10 and Ps 68:15–70, and are sufficient to identify the Old French text with an avatar of the aforementioned tradition (cf. Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 108). The layout gives the false impression that the Maidstone psalter could have been similar to double psalters. Yet even though the text is transcribed on two columns, it no longer presents two autonomous texts. The Latin and French verses alternate within each column, and paragraph breaks mark linguistic change. Perhaps the hierarchy of languages dictates that Gallicanum had to be copied first, followed by the Old French translation. However, the size of the letters in the French text is the same as that of the characters of the Latin one, therefore it is hard to argue that the two languages are different in status, at least from the point of view of the layout.

The size of the codex (280 x 185 mm) is comparable to that of other bilingual psalters belonging to the Anglo-Norman tradition, such as the palimpsest of Copenhagen (*Universitetsbiblioteket Arnsmagnasanske Samling* 618 4°), especially since the fragments date to the same period. Yet despite similitudes with Douce MS 320 which link them in the same textual tradition, the three leaves

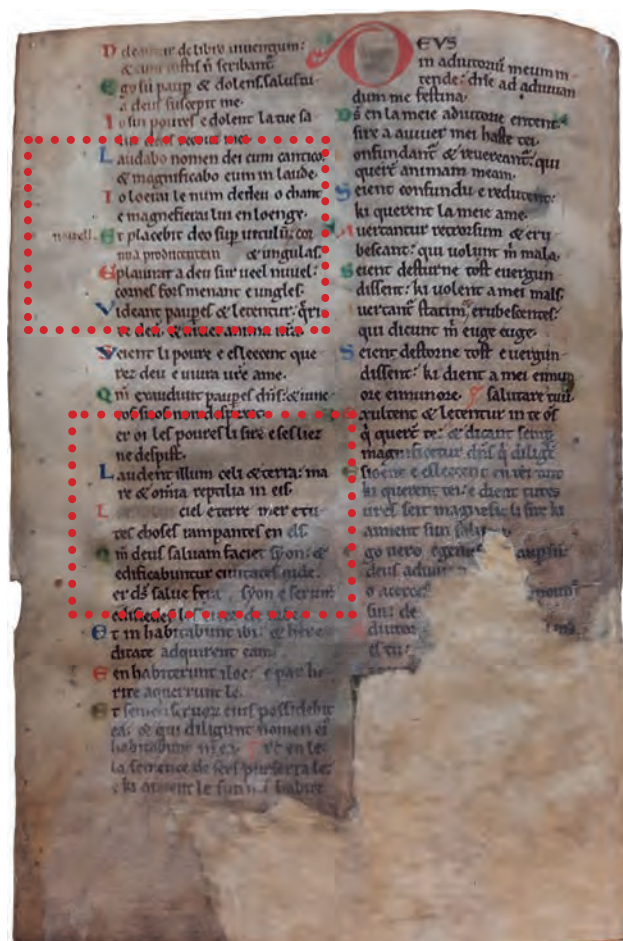
present a text which is a little different than what one finds in bilingual psalters based on Douce MS 320. It is therefore not certain that the Maidstone fragments represent a witness marking the transition to another category of bilingual (or trilingual) psalters. This transformation would seem natural if it were indeed dictated by the strict symmetry of the two-column arrangement, which would in turn testify to ‘the reader’s greatest ease for establishing linguistic correspondences’ (*la plus grande commodité de lecture pour établir des correspondances linguistiques*; Ruby 2010: 180).

An analysis of the translation strategies (or rewriting / *diorthosis*) from the Maidstone fragments is scheduled for the next instalment of the current experimental paper. For the time being, only a basic transcription of the text is provided in this last section of the first instalment. I must also note that references to folios can be confusing, as they were not properly assembled. The second folio’s recto is in fact its verso. Folios 1 and 3 form a bifolium, that used to be part of the same quire as folio 2. There are also traces of minor erasures, rewritings, writings in spaces initially left blank by the scribe, and a series of marginal notes that must also be taken into account.

◆ Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I): f. 3v (last folio in the (and two details on the facing page)

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023.

Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.



**Maidstone Fragments**

[text of the first fragment]

- Ps 55:7a** <sup>[f. 1ra]</sup> Enhabiterunt e se responderunt ; il meisme le mien talum agaiterunt .
- Ps 55:7b** *Sicut sustinuerunt animam meam pro nichilo saluos*  
**+ Ps 55:8** *facies illos ; in ira populos confrin* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *ges* .  
 Sicum il sustindrent la mei ame ; pur nient salf les feras en ire les poples freindras .
- Ps 55:9a** *Deus uitam meam nunciaui tibi ; posuisti lacrimas meas in conspectu tuo* .  
*Deus* la meie uie nuncei a tei ; tu posas mes lermes el tuen esguardement .
- Ps 55:9b + Ps 55:10a** *Sicut et in promissione tua ; tunc conuertentur inimici mei re* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *trorsum* .  
 Sicume en la tue pramesse ; lores serunt tresturne li mien enemi arere .
- Ps 55:10b** *In quacumque die inuocauero te ; ecce cognoui quoniam deus meus es* .  
 In quel quunques iurn apelerai tei ; eite tei io cuni . que tu es li miens deus .
- Ps 55:11** *In deo laudabo uerbum [in] domino laudabo sermonem [in] deo speraui . non timebo [...]ciat michi homo* .  
 [E]n deu lo[e]rai p[.....] / nel lo[.....] / espera[.....]
- Ps 55:12** *[I]n m[e] ..... / de[.....]*  
 [E]n [.....] / l[.....]
- Ps 55:13** *[.....] / [.....] / [.....]* <sup>[f. 1rb]</sup> *in lumine uiuentium* .  
 Ker tu deliuras la meie ame de mort e mes pez de sculgerment que io plaise deuant deu en la lumere des uiuanz .  
 [text division]
- Ps 56:2a** *MISERERE mei deus miserere mei ; quoniam in te confidit ani* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *ma mea* .  
 Merci aies de mei *deus* merci aies de mei ker en tei se fie la mei aneme .
- Ps 56:2b** *Et in unbra alarum tuarum sperabo ; donec transeat iniquitas* .  
 E en lumbr de tes eles esperrai ; desque trepast la felonie .
- Ps 56:3** *Clamabo ad deum altissimum ; deum qui benefecit michi* .  
 Io crierai al deu altisme ; deu ki bien fist a mei .
- Ps 56:4a** *Misit de celo et liberauit me ; dedit in opprobrium conculcan* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *tes me* .  
 Il en[u]eia del ciel e deliura mei duna en reproce les calcanz mei .
- Ps 56:4b + Ps 56:5a** *Misit deus misericord[iam] suam et ue[rit]atem suam ; et eripuit animam [me]am de medio catulorum le[onum] ; dormiui conturbatus* .  
 [Enueia] *deus* la sue misericorde e sa [ueritet e] deliura la meie ame [del mi...] des ch[ael]s des lions . [.....]nturbez .
- Ps 56:5b** *[Fili] homin[um] de[nt]es eorum ar[ma] et sagi[te] ; et lingua eorum [gladius] ac[utus]* .  
 [.....] d[ent] d[e]ls ar[m]es ..... l[a] l[angu]e dels [.....]
- Ps 56:7a** *[.....] [.....]* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *gloria tu[a]* .  
 [.....] <sup>[f. 1va]</sup> en tute terre la tue glorie
- Ps 56:6** *Laqueum parauerunt pedibus meis ; et incuruauerunt animam meam* .  
 Laz apresteren a mes pez ; e incurberent la meie ame .
- Foderunt ante faciem meam foueam ; et inciderunt in eam* . **Ps 56:7b**  
 Foirent deuant la meie face fosse ; e enchairont en li .
- Paratum cor meum deus paratum cor meum ; cantabo et psalmum* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *dicam* . **Ps 56:8**  
 Apretez est li miens cuers *deus* ; aprestez est mis cuers io canterai é psalme dirrai .
- Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cithara ; exurgam diluculo* . **Ps 56:9**  
 Esdrece tei sire meie glorie ; esdrece tei sater e harpe io leuaria <sup>[> displaced]</sup> ainz iorn .
- Confitebor tibi in populis domine ; et psalmum dicam tibi in gentibus* . **Ps 56:10**  
 Io regehirai a tei en poples sire ; e salme dirrai en gent .
- Quoniam magnificata est usque a[d] celos misericordia tua ; et usque a[d] nubes ueritas tua* . **Ps 56:11**  
 [K]er magnifée est de[...] as [c]el[s] la tue misericorde e [..... nu/]es la [t]ue uerite .
- Exaltare s[uper] cel[os] deus [et super om/]nem terram glor[ia] tua* . **Ps 56:12**  
 Seies esalce s[u]r les c[iels] deus e sur] tute terre l[a] tue g[lorie] .  
 [text division]
- SI VERE [..... /] u[.....] iudica/]te fi[lii] .....* **Ps 57:2**  
 [.....] / [.....]
- [Etenim corde iniquitates operamini]* <sup>[f. 1vb]</sup> *in terra ; iniusticias manus uestre concimant* . **Ps 57:3**  
 Ker el cuer eniquitez uus ourent en terre . torconeries les uoz ma <sup>[> displaced]</sup> ins composent .
- Alienati sunt peccatores a uulua ; errauerunt ab utero locuti sunt falsa* . **Ps 57:4**  
 Estrange sunt li pecheour de naisance ; foleerent de uentre par <sup>[> displaced]</sup> lerent falses coses .
- Furor illis secundum similitudinem serpentis ; sicut aspidis surde et obturantis aures suas* . **Ps 57:5**  
 Furur est a els selunc la semblance de serpent ; sicume del surd serpent estupanz ses oreilles .
- Que non exaudiet uocem incantancium ; et uenefici incantantis sapienter* . **Ps 57:6**  
 La quele nen norra la uoiz des enchantanz sagement .
- [D]eus conter[e]t dentes eorum in ore ipsorum ; [mo]l[a]s l[eo]num confringet dominus* . **Ps 57:7**  
*Deus* det[rib]lera les denz dels en la buch[e] d[e]ls meimes les ioes des [.....]s[.....]i[.....]n[.....]a li sire .
- [Ad nihil]um [d]euenient tanquam [aqua de]currens i[n]t[er]dit arcum* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *suum* <sup>[> displaced]</sup> *donec infirmantur* . **Ps 57:8**  
 [.....] de[u]end[run]t sic[u]me euue [.....] ent]ende sun arc [....] [.....]
- [.....] [.....] [.....]* **Ps 57:9**  
 [.....] [.....] [.....]
- [.....] [.....] [.....]* **Ps 57:10**  
 [.....] <sup>[f. 2va]</sup> [.....] si]cume uiande issi [.....]ez icels .

- Ps 57:11** [Letabitur] iustus cum uiderit uin[dictam] ; manus suas lauabit in [san]guine peccatoris .  
[Esl]eeceera li iuste cum il uerra ueniance ; les sues mains leuera el sanc del peccheor .
- Ps 57:12** [E]t dicet homo si utique est fructus iusto ; utique est deus iudicans eos in ter<sup>[>displaced]</sup>ra .  
E dirra li huem si acertes est fruit al iuste acertes est deus iuianz els en terre uiuant .  
[text division]
- Ps 58:2** ERIPE ME de inimicis meis deus meus ; et ab insurgentibus in me libera me .  
Deliure mei de mes enenemis li miens deus ; e des esdrecauz encontre mei deliure mei .
- Ps 58:3** Eripe me de operantibus iniquitatem ; et de uiris sanguinum salua me .  
Deliure mei des ouranz iniquite e des homes de sanc salue mei .
- Ps 58:4** Quia ecce ceperunt animam meam ; irruerunt in me fortes .  
Ker eite tei il pristrent la meie aneme embruierent en mei li <sup>[>displaced]</sup>fort .
- Ps 58:5** [N]eque iniquitas mea neque peccatum meum ; domine sine iniquitate cucurri et direxi .  
Ne la meie felunie ne li miens pecchez sire ; sanz iniquite curu e adrecai .
- Ps 58:6a** Exurge in occursum meum et uide ; et tu domine deus uirtutum <sup>[>displaced]</sup>deus israel .  
Esdrece tei el mien contrecors e uei ; e tu sire deus de uertuz ; deus israel .
- Ps 58:6a** [I]ntende ad uisitandas omnes gentes ; non miserearis omnibus qui <sup>[f. 2vb]</sup>operantur iniquitatem .  
Entent a uisiter tutes genz ; nen aies merci de tuz ki ourent felu<sup>[>displaced]</sup>nie .
- Ps 58:7** Conuertentur ad uesperam et famem patientur ut canes ; et circuibunt ciuitatem .  
Il serunt conuerti al uespre e faim sufferunt cume chiens ; e auiru<sup>[>displaced]</sup>nerunt la cite .
- Ps 58:8** Ecce loquentur in ore suo ; et gladius in labiis eorum quoniam quis audiuit .  
Eite tei il parlerunt en lur buche e glaiues es leures de els . ker li <sup>[>displaced]</sup>quels oit .
- Ps 58:9** Et tu domine deridebis eos ; ad nichilum deduces omnes gentes .  
E tu sire les escharniras ; a neent demerras tutes genz .
- Ps 58:10** Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam ; quia deus susceptor  
**+ Ps 58:11** meus deus meus misericordia eius preueniet me .  
La meie fortece a tei guarderai ker deus li mien receuere ; li miens deus la misericorde de lui deuancera mei .
- Ps 58:12a** Deus ostendit michi super inimicos meos ; ne occidas eos nequando obliuiscantur populi mei ;  
Deus demustre a mei sur les miens enemis ne ocies els que aucune fiee ne oblient li mien pople .
- Ps 58:12b** Disperge illos in uirtute tua ; et depone eos protector meus domine .  
Despant els en la tue uertu ; e depose els sire li mien defendere .
- Ps 58:13a** Delictum oris eorum sermonem labiorum ipsorum ; et comprehendantur in superbia sua .  
Les mesfaiz de lur buche la parole de lur leures e seient compris en la <sup>[>displaced]</sup>lur superbe .
- <sup>[f. 2ra]</sup> Et de execratione et mendatio ; annunciabuntur in consummatione ; in ira consummationis et non erunt .  
E de execration e mencunge annuncie serrunt en consummation . <sup>[>line left blank]</sup>
- Et scient quia deus dominabitur iacob ; et finium terre .  
En ire de consumation e nen erent e saurunt que deus seignioriera iacob e les fins de terre .
- Conuertentur ad uesperam et famem patientur ut canes ; et circuibunt <sup>[>displaced]</sup>ciuitatem .  
Serunt conuerti al uespre e faim sufferunt ; a cume chens e auirunerunt la cite .
- Ipsi dispergentur ad manducandum ; si uero non fuerint saturati et murmurabunt .  
Il serunt esparpeille a manger acertes ne serunt saule e mur<sup>[>displaced]</sup>murerent .
- Ego autem cantabo fortitudinem tuam ; et exaltabo mane misericordiam tuam .  
Mais io canterai la tue force e essalcerai par matin la tue mi<sup>[>displaced]</sup>sericorde .
- Quia factus es susceptor meus ; et refugium meum in die tribulationis mee .  
Ker tu es faiz li miens receuere e li miens refuies el iorn de la me<sup>[>displaced]</sup>ie tribulation .
- Adiutor meus tibi psallam . quia deus susceptor meus es ; deus meus misericordia mea .  
Li miens adiuuere a tei cantærai ker deus tu es li mens receuere ; li miens deus la meie misericor<sup>[>displaced]</sup>de .  
[text division]
- DEVS REPPVLISTI NOS et destruxisti nos ira <sup>[f. 2vrb]</sup>tus es et misertu[s] .....  
Deus tu debutas nus e [.....] / nus irez es e as merci [.....]
- Commouisti terram et contu= / eam ; sana contriciones eiu[s] quia / commota est .  
[T]u commous la terre e si la conturbas ; seigne les contriciuns de le <sup>[>displaced]</sup>ker commoue est .
- Ostendisti populo tuo dura ; potasti nos uino compunctionis .  
Tu demstras al tuen pople dures choses abeuras nus del uin de compunction .
- Dedisti metuentibus te significationem ; ut fugiant a facie arcus .  
Tu dunas as cremanz tei signification que il fuient de la face del arc .
- Vt liberentur dilecti tui ; saluum fac dextera tua et exaudi me .  
Purco que seient deliure li tuen amet ; salf me fai par ta destre e oi mei .
- Deus locutus est in sancto suo ; letabor et partibor siccimam et conuallem tabernaculorum metibor .  
Ieus parla en sun saint io mesleecera i et departirai siccima ; e la ualee des tabernacles mesuera i .
- Meus est galaad et meus est manases ; et effraim fortitudo capitis mei .  
Miens est galaad miens est manases e effraim la fortece de <sup>[>displaced]</sup>mun chief .
- Iuda rex meus ; moab olla spei <sup>[>displaced]</sup>mee .  
Iude li miens reis ; moab le pot de la meie spee .
- In idumeam extendam calcia[mentum meum ...]

Ps 58:13b  
+ Ps 58:14  
a(-b)Ps 58:14  
(b)-c

Ps 58:15

Ps 58:16

Ps 58:17a

Ps 58:17b

Ps 58:18

Ps 59:3

Ps 59:4

Ps 59:5

Ps 59:6a

Ps 59:6b +  
Ps 59:7

Ps 59:8

Ps 59:9a

Ps 59:9b +  
Ps 59:10a

Ps 59:10b

## [text of the second fragment]

**Ps 68:15** [.....] <sup>[f. 3ra]</sup> *me et de profundis aquarum .*

Oste mei del fanc que io ne seie enzliche de cels ki hairent mei e des parfundece des eues .

**Ps 68:16** *Non me demergat tempestas aque neque absorbeat me profundum ; neque urgeat super me puteus os suum .*

Ne me plunge tempeste deue ne ne transglute mei la parfundece ne ne constrainne sur mei li puiz sa buche .

**Ps 68:17** *Exaudi me domine quoniam benigna est misericordia tua ; secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice in me .*

Exoi mei sire kar benigne est ta misericorde selunc la multitudene de tes merciz esguar <sup>[> displaced]</sup> de mei .

**Ps 68:18** *Et ne auertas faciem tuam a p[er]uero tuo ; quoniam tribulor uelociter exaudi me .*

E ne desturner la tue face del tuen enfant ker io sui triblé isnelement oiez mei .

**Ps 68:19** *Intende anime mee et libera eam ; propter inimicos meos eri <sup>[> displaced]</sup> pe me .*

Entendez a la meie amme e deliu[re li p]ur les miens e nen[.....] mei .

**Ps 68:20** *T[u]c[is] [.....]et[ ]confu[s]i[onem] ..... reuer[en]-[t]iam <sup>[> displaced]</sup> meam .*

[.....] e ma / [.....] reuer[en]ce .

**Ps 68:21a** *In conspectu tuo sunt omnes q[ui] / [.....] / [.....] / [.....] / [.....] / [.....]*

**Ps 68:21b** <sup>[f. 3rb]</sup> *Et sustinui qui simul contristaretur et non fuit ; et qui consolaretur et non inueni .*

E io suztinc ki ensemblement o mei tristast e ne fu ; ki ne confortast e nel truuai .

**Ps 68:22** *Et dederunt in escam meam fel ; et in siti mea potauerunt me <sup>[> displaced]</sup> aceto .*

E dunerent en ma uiande fel ; e en la meie sei abeurerent mei <sup>[> displaced]</sup> de aïsíl .

**Ps 68:23** *Fiat mensa eorum coram ipsis in laqueum ; et in retributiones et in scandalum .*

Seit fait la lur table deuant els en laz e en guerredons e en <sup>[> displaced]</sup> scandle .

**Ps 68:24** *Obscurentur oculi eorum ne uideant ; et dorsum eorum semper in curua .*

Seient obscure li oil dels que il ne ueient ; e le dos de els tute ueie en curue .

**Ps 68:25** *Effunde super eos iram tuam ; et furor ire tue comprehendat eos .*

Espant sur els la tue ire ; e la furor de la tue ire comprengne els .

**Ps 68:26** *Fiat habitatio eorum deserta ; et in tabernaculis eorum non sit qui inhabitet .*

Seit faite le habitacion de els deserte ; e en lur tabernacles ne seit <sup>[> displaced]</sup> ki i habite .

**Ps 68:27** *Quoniam quem tu percussisti persecuti sunt ; et super dolorem uulnerum meorum addiderunt .*

Ker celui que tu feris parseuurent e sur la dolor de mes plaies aiusterent .

*Appone iniquitatem super iniquitatem eorum ; et non intrent in iustitiam tuam .*

**Ps 68:28**

E pose felunie sur l[a] felunie de els e ne [..]tre[.] en [l]a tue iustice .

<sup>[f. 3va]</sup> *Deleantur de libro uiuentium ; et cum iustis non scribantur .*

**Ps 68:29**

*Ego sum pauper et dolens . salus tua deus suscepit me .*

**Ps 68:30**

Io sui poures e dolent la tue saluz deus recout mei .

*Laudabo nomen dei cum cantico ; et magnificabo eum in laude .*

**Ps 68:31**

Io loerai le num de deu o chant e magnifierai lui en loenge .

*Et placebit deo super uitulum nouellum ; cornua producentem et ungulas .*

**Ps 68:32**

E plaisirat a deu sur ueel nuuel ; cornes fors menant e ungles .

*Videant pauperes et letentur ; querite deum . et uiuet anima uestra .*

**Ps 68:33**

Veient li poure e esleecent querez deu e uiura uostre ame .

*Quoniam exaudiuit pauperes dominus ; et uinctos suos non desepxit .*

**Ps 68:34**

Ker oi les poures li sire e ses liez ne despist .

*Laudent illum celi et terra ; mare et omnia reptilia in eis .*

**Ps 68:35**

Loent lui ciel e terre mer e tutes choses rampantes en els .

*Quoniam deus saluam faciet syon ; et edificabuntur ciuitates iude .*

**Ps 68:36a**

Ker deus salue fera syon e serunt edifiedes les citez de iude .

*Et inhabitabunt ibi ; et hereditate adquirent eam .*

**Ps 68:36b**

E enhabiterunt iloc ; e par herite aquerrunt le .

*Et semen seruorum eius possidebit eam ; et qui diligunt nomen eius habitabunt in ea .*

**Ps 68:37**

[E] la semence de sers purserra le ; e ki aiment le sun num habite <sup>[> displaced]</sup> runt en le .

[text division]

<sup>[f. 3vb]</sup> *Deus in adiutorium meum intende ; domine ad adiuuandum me festina .*

**Ps 69:2**

Deus en la meie adiutorie entent ; sire a aiuer mei haste tei .

*Confundantur et reuerentur ; qui querunt animam meam .*

**Ps 69:3**

Seient confundu e redutent ; ki querent la meie ame .

*Auertantur retrorsum et erubescant ; qui uolunt michi mala .*

**Ps 69:4a (-b mixed)**

Seient desturne tost e uergundissent ; ki uolent a mei mals .

*Auertantur statim et erubescantes ; qui dicunt michi euge euge .*

**Ps 69:4b**

Seient destorne tost e uergundissent ; ki dient a mei eimunore eimunore .

*Exultent et letentur in te omnes qui querunt te ; et dicant semper magnificetur dominus qui diligunt <sup>[> displaced]</sup> salutare tuum .*

**Ps 69:5**

Esioent e esleecent en tei tuit ki querent tei ; e dient tutes ures seit magnefie li sire ki aiment sun salu[.]r .

*Ego uero egenus [et p]auper sum ; deus adiua [me .]*

**Ps 69:6a**

Io acertes [.....] poures sui ; de[us] [.....]

*Adiutor [.....]r meus es tu ; [.....]*

**Ps 69:6b**

Li m[iens] [.....]

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heritage



patrimoine



אברהם בן אברהם  
ה'תק"ל חמ"א  
ב'תקל"ב כ"א  
ד'תקל"ג כ"א  
ה'תקל"ד כ"א  
ו'תקל"ה כ"א  
ז'תקל"ו כ"א  
ח'תקל"ז כ"א  
ט'תקל"ח כ"א  
י'תקל"ט כ"א



# *The Evolution of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community Reflected in Funerary Art: A Proposed Model for Researching Jewish Cemeteries*

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RÉSUMÉ: Les cimetières juifs constituent une source précieuse d'informations sur l'évolution des communautés auxquelles ils ont appartenu, sur leur orientation rituelle par rapport aux courants du judaïsme traditionnel ou moderne, et sur les interférences entre juifs et chrétiens, en particulier lorsque l'enquête porte sur l'art funéraire et la structure des épitaphes. L'exemple du cimetière juif d'Alba Iulia appartient à la deuxième catégorie, puisqu'il s'agit d'une communauté dotée d'une tradition remarquable, qui a également influencé son adhésion à l'orientation orthodoxe, mais qui a reçu au fil du temps des influences de type réformiste, qui ont conduit à des attitudes plus ouvertes à l'égard des nouvelles idées. C'est pourquoi la perspective historique de la première partie de l'étude, qui s'appuie sur les sources documentaires les plus importantes identifiées (plans du cimetière et ancien registre des sépultures établi en plusieurs étapes par la communauté), analyse les tendances dans l'évolution de la communauté et les changements dans la structure des épitaphes ou le type de monuments funéraires à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. En revanche, les analyses épigraphiques et artistiques, stylistiques et typologiques des deux autres parties de l'article, sont plus strictement circonscrites, pour être convaincantes, et se réfèrent à une sélection de pierres tombales datant du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et de la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. La différence typologique et stylistique entre les monuments du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour lesquels on peut noter des similitudes avec les pierres tombales d'autres cimetières européens inventoriés (et au moins une partie de ceux du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle), est évidente. Des formes clairement baroques caractérisent certains monuments édifiés vers le milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, tandis que des formes néogothiques caractérisent la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce qui témoigne de retards importants dans leur réception. Le contenu des inscriptions a également changé au cours de la deuxième période, reflétant une plus grande sensibilité dans le cas des épitaphes dédiées aux enfants décédés, ce qui est également corroboré par la délicatesse des symboles accompagnant le texte. Le but de l'article est de mettre en évidence le degré d'orthodoxie dans l'orientation rituelle de la communauté à travers une analyse épigraphique et stylistique. La réponse à cette question est affirmative si l'on considère la période historique d'environ deux siècles et demi qui va de l'établissement de la communauté jusqu'à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cependant, au cours des dernières décennies de ce siècle, des éléments sont apparus qui annonçaient une diversification des orientations, comme le montre le profil des monuments funéraires placés pendant cette période dans le secteur historique du cimetière et les profils d'autres secteurs.

MOTS-CLÉS: Alba Iulia ; cimetières juifs ; épitaphes ; linguistique ; typologie et stylistique.

REZUMAT: Cimitirele evreiești sunt o prețioasă sursă de informație despre evoluția comunităților cărora acestea le-au aparținut, despre orientarea lor rituală, raportată la curentele iudaismului tradițional ori ale celui modern, și despre interferențele dintre evrei și creștini, mai ales atunci când investigația vizează arta funerară și structura epitafurilor. Exemplul cimitirului evreiesc din Alba Iulia se încadrează în cea de-a doua categorie, fiind vorba despre o comunitate cu o tradiție remarcabilă, fapt ce a și influențat adeziunea ei la orientarea ortodoxă, dar care a receptat în timp influențe de tip reformator, care au determinat atitudini mult mai deschise față de noile idei. Tocmai de aceea, perspectiva istorică din prima parte a studiului, care se bazează pe cele mai importante surse documentare identificate (planuri ale cimitirului și un registru vechi al înmormântărilor redactat în mai multe etape de comunitate), include exemplificări ale tendințelor de evoluție a comunității și de modificare a structurii epitafurilor ori a tipului monumentelor funerare de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea. În schimb, analiza epigrafică și cea artistică, stilistică și tipologică din celelalte două părți ale articolului, pentru a fi convingătoare, sunt mai strict circumscrise, făcând referire la o selecție a pietrelor funerare datând din secolul al XVIII-lea și din prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Diferența tipologică și stilistică între cele din secolul al XVIII-lea, pentru care pot fi sesizate similarități cu pietre tombale din alte cimitire europene inventariate, și cel puțin unele

◀ Fig. 1. The tombstone with topographic number M 35 in the C sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.

Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

dintre cele secolul al XIX-lea este evidentă. Forme baroce clare caracterizează unele dintre monumentele edificate spre mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea, iar cele neogotice pe cele de mai târziu, de la sfârșitul aceluiași secol, ceea ce probează serioase întârzieri în receptarea lor. Conținutul inscripțiilor s-a modificat și el în cea de-a doua perioadă, reflectând o mai mare sensibilitate în cazul epitafurilor dedicate defuncțiilor copii, acestea fiind susținute și de delicatețea simbolurilor care însoțesc textul. Obiectivul articolului a fost cel de a evidenția, prin intermediul analizelor epigrafice și stilistice, măsura în care orientarea rituală a comunității a fost cea ortodoxă. Răspunsul la această întrebare este afirmativ, dacă avem în vedere perioada istorică de circa două secole și jumătate scursă de la constituirea comunității și până spre finele secolului al XIX-lea. Dar în ultimele decenii ale acestui secol au început să apară elemente care anunțau o diversificare a orientărilor, probată de profilul monumentelor funerare amplasate în această perioadă în sectorul istoric al cimitirului și al celor din celelalte sectoare ale sale.

CUVINTE CHEIE: Alba Iulia; cimitire evreiești; epitafuri; lingvistică; tipologie și stilistică.

The extreme poverty of systematic investigations is a paradoxical characteristic of Romanian historical research regarding the possibilities for researching Hebrew funerary monuments in the Romanian space. In fact, apart from the monograph devoted by Silviu Sanie to the earliest Jewish cemetery in Siret,<sup>1</sup> no other approaches address this complex topic. In the introduction to his work, Sanie referred to the usefulness of researching these cemeteries, as the demographic information regarding social structures, anthroponymy, or religious currents that such an investigation could provide<sup>2</sup> reflects the evolution of the owners' communities to a greater extent than that of Christian cemeteries, which were much more exposed to changes over time given the reuse of funerary lots.

A similar motivation was the basis of the research program carried out for almost a decade in the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia. It involved a multidisciplinary investigation, of a historical, topographical, and linguistic nature. It also intended the cemetery's indispensable restoration and preservation, which may explain the duration of the program. In preparation for reviewing this research, prompted by the conclusion of the project *Conservation and Restoration of Monumental Funerary Stones in the Jewish Cemetery in Alba Iulia, Romania*, financed by the United States Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation and carried out through the National Union Museum of Alba Iulia, this article proposes a model for researching Jewish cemeteries, correlating historical, epigraphic, and artistic dimensions. The question we started from, with important suggestions from Rudolf Klein's recent synthesis on the Jewish metropolitan cemeteries in Central-Eastern Europe,<sup>3</sup> was whether the Orthodox ritual affiliation of the community is reflected in the drafting and the content of epitaphs, as well as in the artistic characteristics of funerary monuments. To avoid subjective interpretations, we selected a fairly consistent number of funerary monuments from the old sector of the cemetery, which we analysed from an epigraphic and artistic viewpoint.<sup>4</sup> The historical perspective, however, includes a wider period of time. It aims to identify the trends of the community's evolution and their reflection in funerary art until the end of the modern era. The examination of these trends, identified through the analysis of documentary sources and observation of the changing typology in these monuments and inscriptions, should be continued with an epigraphic and artistic analysis carried out on equally consistent groups of monuments from the newer sectors of the cemetery. This would also allow for a statistical substantiation of the hypotheses formulated. The complexity of these analyses meant that they could not be carried out within a single study, except based on a random selection of a number of monuments, influenced

by the authors' subjective choice, but this could not have provided equally sound results.

### Preliminaries: the religious affiliation of the Jewish community in Alba Iulia

Despite the ambiguity of the term "Orthodoxy," designating both the European Jewry's reaction to the signs of modernization and secularization at the beginning of the emancipation era, and a set of forms specific to traditional Judaism,<sup>5</sup> it is often used without distinction to denote the ritual affiliation of some Jewish communities. We also have a more general meaning of the term in mind in this article, given that traditional forms of expression prevailed in the Jewish community of Alba Iulia prior to the Congress of the representatives of the Jews from Transylvania and Hungary held in Pest (1868-1869), after which the Jewish community opted for affiliation with the Orthodox communities.<sup>6</sup>

This option corresponded to the orientation of the rabinate in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the appointment of Ezekiel Paneth, in 1823, on the recommendation of the rabbi of Pressburg (today Bratislava), Mosheh Sofer, initiator of the Orthodox reaction in North-eastern Hungary, seemed to attract the Jewish community in Alba Iulia to the side of Orthodoxy.<sup>7</sup> Ezekiel Paneth became, indeed, the earliest representative of Hasidism in Transylvania, being later revered as *tzaddik*. But the disputes provoked by the election of his successor in 1845 suggested that reformist ideas had permeated the Jewish community in Alba Iulia to some extent. Sources from this period reflect its openness to linguistic and cultural integration, influenced by the example of the Jews in Hungary, after they had received the right to settle in the cities in 1840.<sup>8</sup>

The following decades witnessed persistent disputes between the supporters and opponents of reforms, whose positions were consecrated by the decisions of the Congress of 1868-1869 and the Congress of the Orthodox communities of 1870. These led the Neolog and Orthodox movements of the communities in Hungary to become official, and the *status quo ante* was granted to those that did not fit into either of the first two.<sup>9</sup> The explanation why the community of Alba Iulia embraced the Orthodox movement,<sup>10</sup> much like most of the Transylvanian communities, despite the reformist intentions of Abraham Friedman, the rabbi of that period, has to do with the community's social and professional structure, but also with its remarkable traditionalism. Indeed, the community was reluctant to accept renewals, such as the use of a language other than Yiddish in worship, the choir, or the modification of the synagogue's interior architecture by eliminating the central location of the *bimah*.<sup>11</sup> The community's

attitude towards education is illustrative. Thus, after the first attempts to establish a school in German, marked by financial difficulties and the community's preference for a strictly religious education in Yiddish, a state elementary school was opened in 1857 as a result of the provision of the Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction to limit private Jewish education. However, this provision was soon perceived as a danger for the preservation of Jewish religious identity, due to the supervision of the education being attributed to the Roman Catholic bishop in 1858. In this context, the influence of the Orthodox rabbi Hillel Liechtenstein even led to schools closing in Cluj and Șimleu Silvaniei.<sup>12</sup>

There are two other episodes in the history of the Jewish community of Alba Iulia that require additional clarifications. The first concerned the construction of the second synagogue between 1874 and 1883 (demolished in 1983, as part of the systematization project of the area). This was the so-called "Spanish" synagogue, built according to the Neolog rite, which could also mean that the central position of the bimah was eliminated in 1908. Between 1892 and 1908 there was a choir in this synagogue, and electric lighting was introduced. Later, in the 1930s, after it was designated by the community as a winter synagogue, a grille (*mehitza*) was added to the women's gallery, in order to adapt it to the ritual requirements of an Orthodox synagogue.<sup>13</sup>

The second episode was the establishment of an autonomous Orthodox association in 1908, at the initiative of Samuel Paneth, descendant of Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth, accused by the incumbent rabbi, Alexandru Fischer, of intending, by virtue of the right of inheritance, to obtain a second position as a rabbi. Two statements made in the context of this dispute are worthy of attention: the one by which the community contested the statement of the signatories of the request for the establishment of the association regarding the *Neolog orientation* of the Jewish community in Alba Iulia, and the one by which Rabbi Fischer considered that the settlement of the tensions in the community and the *avoidance of Hasidism* could be achieved by attaching the community to the organization of Orthodox Jewish communities.<sup>14</sup>

The difficulty of imposing schooling in the vernacular languages delayed the cultural and linguistic assimilation of the Jews in Alba Iulia, but could not prevent it. Its later achievement can be traced through the process of the gradual Germanization and Hungarianisation of names, or through the transition to Hungarian as the language of instruction in the Jewish school after 1890 – a fact that was not an exception for the Orthodox communities.<sup>15</sup> Its culminating point was the manifestation of the ideal of ennoblement among the Jewish elite members, which the Hungarian government favoured after the compromise of 1867, attributing to it a deep national significance.<sup>16</sup> For the community of Alba Iulia, we have two such examples of families affirmed through their activity in the economic sphere: Glück of Maros-Váradja, with a diploma awarded to the landowner Mór Glück from Vințu de Jos and his successors in 1879, and Jónás of Berve, with a diploma awarded to landowner and manufacturer Adolf Jónás and his successors in 1897.<sup>17</sup>

This evolution, traced here in its essential lines, did not lead to the loss of the Jewish character of the cemetery

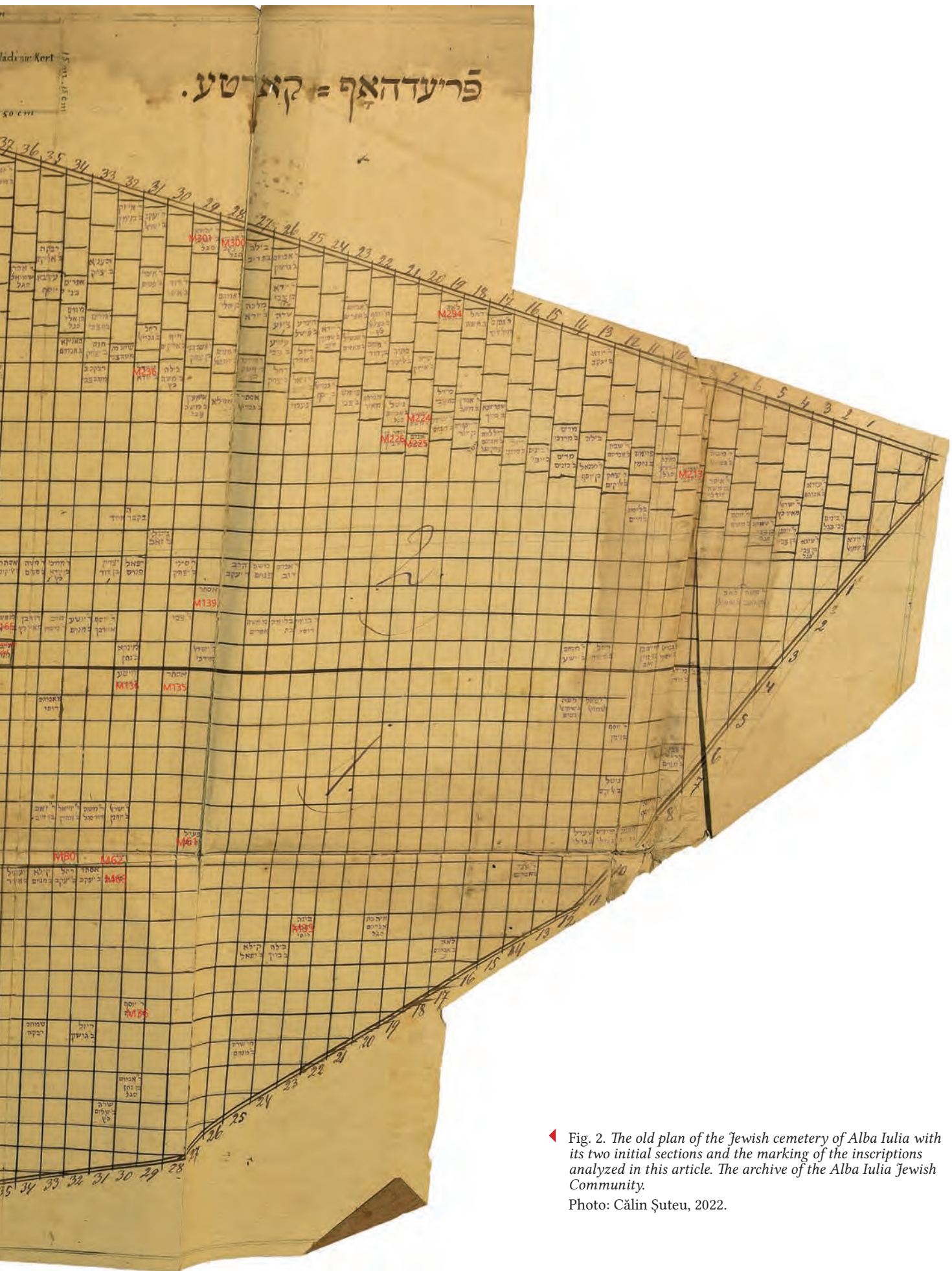
in Alba Iulia. Characteristic of metropolitan funerary ensembles,<sup>18</sup> but also of others that were influenced by the evolution of the urban context and architecture (for instance, the cemeteries in western Transylvania, in urban centres with a significant Jewish population and of a similar age, but of a Neolog rite, such as Arad or Timișoara), such a transformation was not completely absent even here. This can be observed in the typology and artistic realization of funerary monuments, in the inscriptions, or in certain landscape features. The tendency to integrate the host communities, culturally and linguistically, following the gain of civil rights, meant that some members would stand out in the community. The most obvious examples were the families who built monumental vaults at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the next century, or the families who started ordering more expensive funerary monuments from workshops or warehouses outside Transylvania. It is true that, on the whole, the Orthodox character of the cemetery and the community was maintained, even if, as suggested above, it was no longer predominant.

### Brief historical landmarks

The existence of an organised Jewish community in Alba Iulia dates back to the first half of the seventeenth century, when the city was the capital of the Principality of Transylvania. Under two donation charters issued by Prince Gabriel Bethlen in 1623 and 1625, the Jews were awarded the right to settle here, to practise free trade and bring different commodities from Constantinople, to pay the same taxes as other foreigners settled in the Principality, to practise their religion freely, based on their own rites, provided they did not disturb others, and to keep their own apparel, so as not to disgrace the garments of the Christians.<sup>19</sup> The first who arrived were Sephardic Jews. Coming from the Ottoman Empire, they managed to establish at least two components of community life: the synagogue and the cemetery. For more than two centuries (until the middle of the nineteenth century) the city remained the only place where Jews enjoyed the right to live although not to own property, first under the protection of the prince and, starting with the eighteenth century, under that of the Roman-Catholic Bishopric of Transylvania. Gradually, Jewish communities emerged in other towns of the Principality as well, but their members remained under the jurisdiction of the rabbi of Alba Iulia.<sup>20</sup>

The history of the first Jewish community from the seventeenth century and the first years of the following century may be reconstituted only with difficulty due to the scarcity of sources.<sup>21</sup> These become somewhat more generous from the eighteenth century on, when the main community institutions are attested: the sacred confraternity (*Chewra Kadisha*, in 1730)<sup>22</sup> and the rabbinate. The first rabbi (in fact, *dayan* and first-judge) was Abraham ben Isaac Russo (1736-1738), a Sephardic Jew from Belgrade, who inaugurated the Pinkas' in 1736, originally written in Hebrew and later in Yiddish.<sup>23</sup> His successors, who actually performed the rabbinical function, were Ashkenazi Jews (except for Iohanan ben Itzhak, 1758-1760), starting with Iosef Reiss Auerbach (1742-1750), originally from Poland.<sup>24</sup> This fact reflects the gradual change in the origin of community members by in-





◀ Fig. 2. The old plan of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia with its two initial sections and the marking of the inscriptions analyzed in this article. The archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community.

Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2022.

creasing the share of Ashkenazi Jews from Northern Europe, but also from the West. After 1754, with Shalom Zelig ben Shaul Kohen (1754-1757), the Rabbi of Alba Iulia also served as High Rabbi of the Principality (*Landesrabin*), and after 1764, with Benjamin Zeev Wolf (1764-1777), the position became life-long, at the request of the community.<sup>25</sup> Between 1879 and 1947 when the institution of the rabbi ceased to exist in Alba Iulia, his authority was limited to the territory of the county of Alba.

The existence of a location for the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia was first mentioned in 1637, when “Josef the Jew” bought a piece of land from the supreme town judge János Csizmaczia Makai, in exchange for the price of 4 florins.<sup>26</sup> Its probable location can be retraced thanks to an investigation from 1780, therefore a few years before the release of the copy of the original sale deed, an investigation exploited by Imets Jákó at the beginning of the last century. According to it, the Jewish cemetery was located in the area bounded to the east and west by the former streets of the medieval town *Nagy-* and *Kis-Oláh*, corresponding to *Csűrök utcza* from the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries, and to the south by *Nagy Lippa* or *Malom utca*, which also appeared under this last name in the sale deed of 1637.<sup>27</sup>

After the integration of Transylvania in the Habsburg Empire, Emperor Charles VI started to build a bastion fort in Alba Iulia which required the repositioning of the medieval city to the east of its former location. The oldest plans of the city that actually record the location of the Jewish cemetery date from this time, first as a burial place for the Jews (*Juden Begräbnis*), in 1752,<sup>28</sup> and later in 1804 and 1858 as a proper cemetery (*Jüdischer / Israelitischer Friedhof*),<sup>29</sup> located at the outer border of the fortress’s north-eastern esplanade. Information recorded in the 1804 plan mentions the purchase of the cemetery land from the city in 1764,<sup>30</sup> and it probably represents the result of the intention to reconfirm the purchase deed from the previous century; this may explain the way the cemetery was recorded in the 1752 plan. Due to its placement outside the perimeter of the city, the cemetery was not affected by the sanitary reform of Emperor Joseph II implemented in Transylvania through the decree of 1 December 1788. The cadastral plan from the second decade of the twentieth century attests to the location of the cemetery on *Csűrök utcza* (Sheds’ Street, today Vasile Alecsandri).<sup>31</sup> At this time, the cemetery occupied the area between topographic numbers 2083/1/2 and 2073.<sup>32</sup> This fact is also proven by the documents of litigation from the early 1940s,<sup>33</sup> when the leadership of the “Chewra Kadischa” Pious Reunion had to justify its demand to exclude the Reunion’s properties from the provisions of the so-called “Romanisation decree.”<sup>34</sup>

In conclusion, it can be safely assumed that the current cemetery on Vasile Alecsandri Street has been operating on the same site for about four centuries.

### The main documentary sources

The documentary sources for research on the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia are two plans of the cemetery datable to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one of which was further completed with the evolutions of the last century.<sup>35</sup> The oldest one probably represents a reconstitution of the cemetery configuration from the mid-

nineteenth century based on the location of gravestones and their inscriptions (Fig. 2). It depicts the original configuration of the cemetery, also illustrated by the nineteenth-century plans of the city. Organised in 71 rows oriented east-west, the plan is divided into two sectors by a north-south median line, in the direction of which is also marked the location of the two graves of the rabbis from the first half of the nineteenth century venerated as *tzaddikim*: Menachem ben Iehuşua Mandel (Mendel) (1818-1823), the previous *dayan* of the rabbinical court for 24 years, and Ezekiel ben Iosef Paneth (1823-1845). A *terminus ante quem* for its drafting can be the plan of the so-called “cemetery of the family of Joseph Mendel” (*Mendel József családi sir kert*), a piece of land of around 15 ordinary parcels, a provision of the donation he made in 1875.

This plan was attached to the first register of deaths, with entries made originally for commemorative reasons, of which there are only fragments left.<sup>36</sup> The most consistent part of this register was completed on the same date along with the cemetery plan. This initiative must have been prompted by the period’s debates about the civil emancipation of the Jews, which connected the granting of such rights with the imposition of duties. Thus, the law of 1840, the result of the debates in the Diet of Hungary, opened the gates of all the cities in Hungary to the Jews, except the mining cities. Thus, the Jews had the right to establish factories and to practise trade and commerce, being required instead to adopt stable surnames, to record new-borns in matriculations overseen by rabbis, and to write documents and contracts in the languages used in the country.<sup>37</sup> Even if the Transylvanian Jews were granted such rights as late as 1859-1860, as the trend towards the liberalisation of the political regime of the Austrian Empire was underway, these rights had also been previously invoked in the memoirs of the Transylvanian Jews.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, the imposition of said duties preceded the granting of rights. This is the only way to explain the fact that such registers of births, marriages, and deaths began to be filled in from the beginning of the 1850s in the standardised form required by the authorities. The oldest preserved of the communities in the former Alba County used models printed at first in German then also in Hungarian, in printing houses from Transylvania or Hungary.<sup>39</sup> However, although they used similar printed forms,<sup>40</sup> they differ from the register kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia community by the language of writing (German and Hungarian for the former, Hebrew, including for the printed rubric, for the latter) and by the method of recording the names of the deceased (with the first and last name, according to the official provisions, in the first, and with the patronymic, according to the Hebrew tradition, in the last). This proves that the register in question was the result of the community’s desire to preserve the specificity of the cemetery, conferred by the observance of halachic norms, although it was drawn up in the same context as those requested by the authorities. Initially completed topographically for the already existing graves at the time when the plan was drawn up, the records then adopted the chronological approach. The succession of these recordings illustrates the gradual expansion of the cemetery towards the south (with two new areas, 3 and 4).

The second plan shows all five sectors of the present cemetery ("A", "B", "C", "D", and "E") which frame the initial sector ("C") (Figs 3-4). It was drawn up after the extension of the cemetery following the donations made by Moses Mendel and Joseph Mendel in 1874 and 1875.<sup>41</sup> The latter reserved for his burial, his male-line descendants, and up to the third generation for the female-line descendants the parcel known until today as "Mendel's Garden". Here the records from the old layout were also copied and then filled in the names of the more recently deceased until the late twentieth century.

The plan is organised in rows oriented east-west and columns oriented north-south, the former being numbered in ascending order, for sectors C (here, with 75 rows), B (from row 76 to 96) and A (from row 97 to 110), and separately for sectors D (from row 1 to 16) and E (from row 17 to 39). The columns are numbered distinctly for each sector, with Roman numerals (XXXI for A, XXIX for B, XLVII for C, X for D, and XXI for E). The graves of Rabbis Menachem ben Yehoshua Mandel and Ezekiel ben Josef Paneth are also recorded in lines 36 and 37, but now housed in the ohel built in 1879.<sup>42</sup> "Mendel's Garden" can be observed here at the southern end of the "main road" (*Haupt-Weg*), which separated sector C from the new sectors D and E.

Unlike the sketch from the initial plan, it is a bit smaller in size (14.20 x 11.20 m, compared to the maximum designed sizes of 17.50 x 16.20 m), however with a higher number of parcels (30). Near it there is the *Rav Fischer Garten*, a parcel circumscribing the tomb of Rabbi Alexandru Fischer (1892-1932) (Fig. 5). In time, this road has lost its importance.

The alley which separates sector C from sector B remains the most imposing, and is much closer to the access into the cemetery; to its left are located the monumental vaults belonging to the families Glück, Friedmann, Schreiber and Iónás. A secondary visitors' alley divides sector C, inviting a minute's silence before the tomb of Rabbi Paneth. The tombless parcels on the northern part of sectors D and E are today occupied by houses and gardens.

These records, except for the most recent ones, are also found in the last part of the funerals' register, where all names are doubled in Latin characters and the order of writing no longer follows the order typical of Hebrew books. It actually reflects the topographic image of the cemetery at the time the second plan was drawn up. Its role as a record-keeping tool was taken over by a new register, with a typed format and rubrics in Hebrew.<sup>43</sup> Designated in the alphabetic index as *új könyv* (new register),<sup>44</sup> it contains the record of deaths starting in 1936 and continuing until 2006, comprising the surname and first name of the deceased, their town of origin, the date of death, the place of the grave according to the second plan of the cemetery (sector, row, and column) and probably the date of placement of the tombstone plus the related costs.

Entries are written in German, Hebrew (for the names of the deceased and the date of death) and Romanian (for the name of the towns). Between 1963 and 1968 entries in Hebrew grow scarcer, they disappear entirely 1995, and are sometimes replaced by comments in Romanian, while the location of the grave is rarely mentioned after 1965.

## The number of the funerary monuments and the Jewish cemetery's evolution

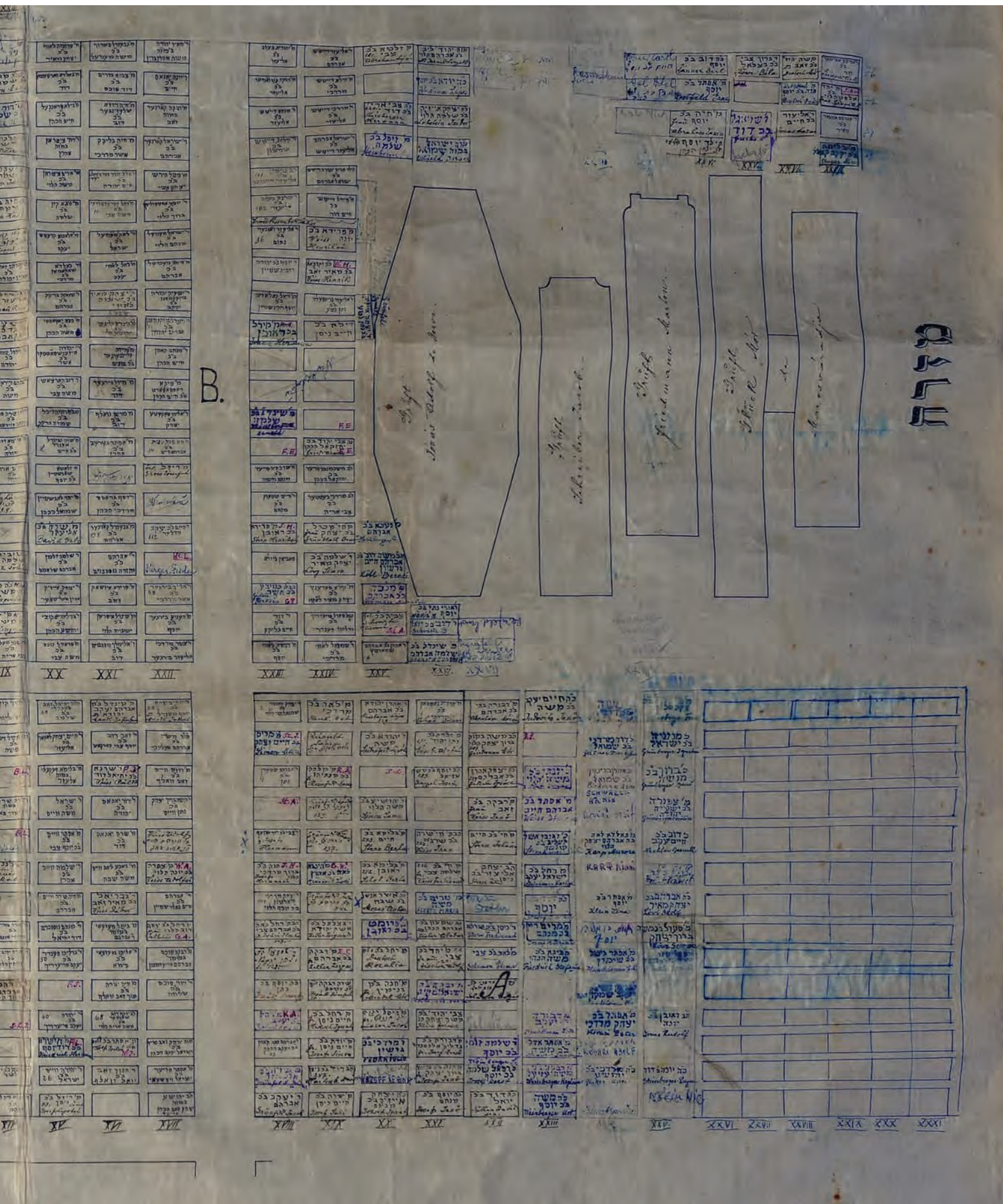
The research of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, a monument of great historical and memorial value, was launched in 2014, by the Department of History, Archaeology, and Museology of the 1 December 1918 University. This cemetery represents one of the many "places of memory" that can no longer fulfil their mission, as the number of community members here decreased dramatically after World War II. According to statistical data from 2007, out of the 810 Jewish cemeteries recorded in Romania, over 750 are situated in townships where there are no more Jews.<sup>45</sup> Under these conditions (without taking into account vandalism attempts), we can observe a wide range of attitudes – ranging from indifference to accountability – of today's mostly non-Jewish communities towards the heritage of the communities that have disappeared or are almost extinct, but who had previously shaped the identity profile of the community as a whole. To this are added the transformations undergone by the city of Alba Iulia during the pre-modern period, which led to the disappearance of all confessional cemeteries and to their replacement by the current municipal cemetery. Only the Jewish cemetery, with a documented history of almost four centuries, remained in its location. Therefore, its current configuration enables the reconstruction of its evolution over time.

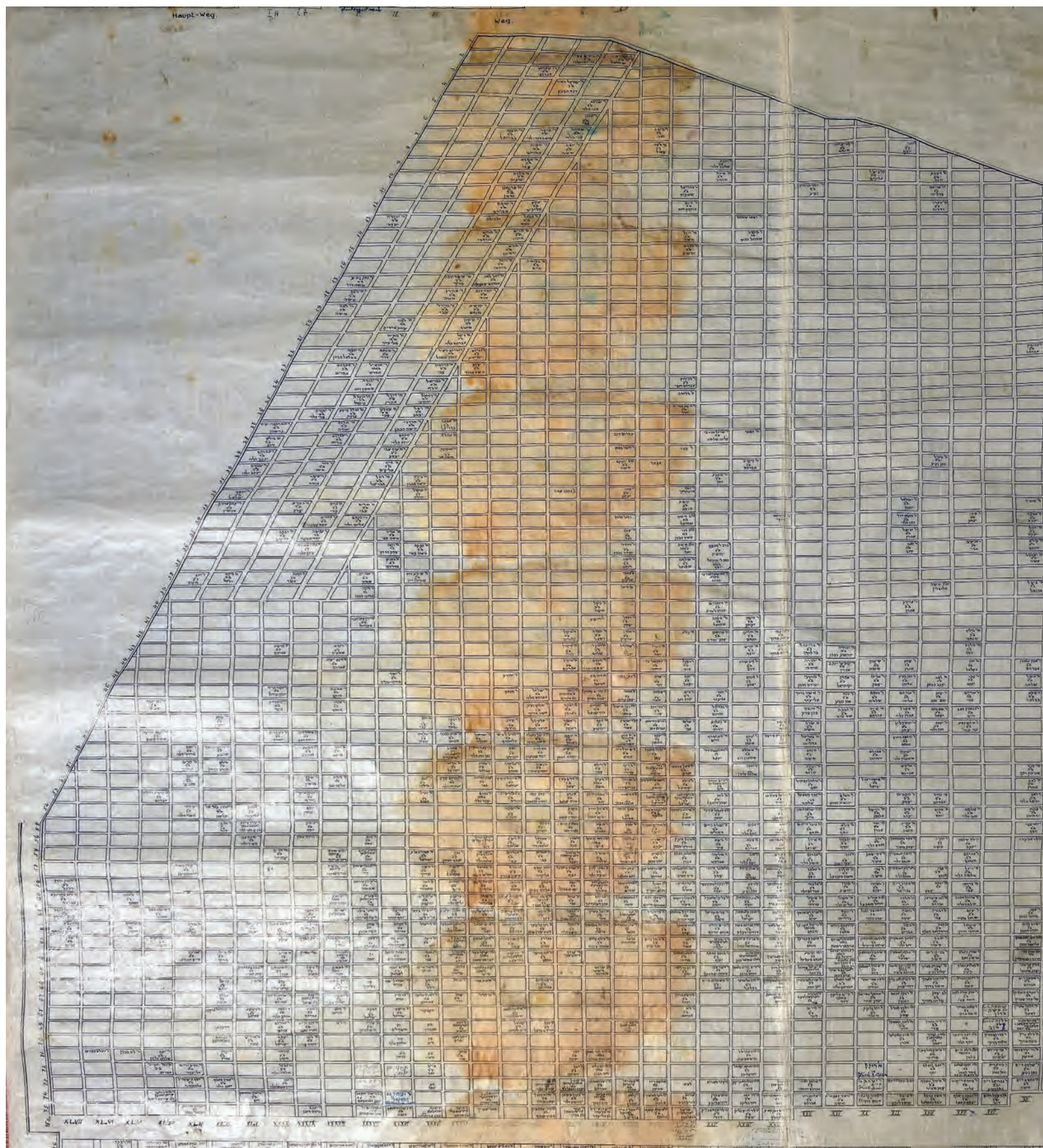
The research programme considered the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia as a priority. Its topographic marking, coordinated by Eng. Dr. Tudor Borşan, and a full inventory of the old sector ("C") were performed according to a technical sheet for each monument. The description of each tombstone comprises the typological classification, size (height, measured from the ground level), the language used in the inscription, the identification of the symbol (where it was possible) and the preservation status. Dr. Călin Şuteu took high resolution photographs of each monument described, including of those fragmented or destroyed. In the resulting inventory, the succession of tombstones is based on their position in the field.

913 tombstones were inventoried in two stages (Fig. 6).<sup>46</sup> Out of these, 129 (about 14.13%) are fallen to the ground or fragmentary. Therefore, simple forms predominate. Baroque and Neo-classical influences visibly characterise the later types. This could be explained by increased financial possibilities for some of the members of the community, who could afford to commission tombstones made of more durable and costly materials (marble, granite) than the limestone used until then, or who could turn to stone masonry workshops and tombstone warehouses from outside of Transylvania that made or sold more elaborate works than those of the local craftsmen. This was the case with some monuments purchased from the warehouse of Ábrahám Adolf Heimlich in Budapest,<sup>47</sup> the first one in 1900, for Zsigmond Munkácsy, Jakab Baruch and Heléna Lobstein (born Politzer) (Figs 7a-b, 8a-b, 10), or those acquired for Rézi Jonas, in 1896, from the warehouse of Handel and Komorner in Budapest<sup>48</sup> (Figs 9a-b), and for Moses Mendel, in 1886, from the warehouse of Arnold Kohn in Budapest (Figs 11a-b).<sup>49</sup> The higher costs came with attempts to standardise the monuments typologically. Tombs surrounded

▲ Fig. 3. The second plan of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia, detail with sectors A and B. The archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community.

Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2022.





▲ Fig. 4. The second plan of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia, detail with sector c. The archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community. Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2022.



with wrought iron fences like that of Fani Baruch (born Jónás) from 1886 (Fig. 12) and monumental family vaults started to appear outside of the old sector of the cemetery. Those of the noble families Jónás of Berve and Glück of Maros-Váradja were built very probably in 1902 or shortly before.<sup>50</sup> For the other two, belonging to Jacob Schreiber and Marton Friedmann, there are no indications as to dating (Figs 15a-e). During the twentieth century, funerary shapes were standardised and simplified using concrete. Therefore, the historical part of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia represents a rarer case of typological coherence in relation to its evolution over time.

The tendency towards integration in the host communities, manifested particularly after civil emancipation was secured (in 1867) also contributed to the changing appearance of the monuments. Thus, in bigger cemeteries like the one in Alba Iulia, the older areas can be told apart from the newer ones, where there are numerous obelisk-type monuments and inscriptions doubled in Hungarian and German on the back of the tombstones, or even with the text being written exclusively in these languages. Romanian began to be used as a language accompanying Hebrew or on its own after the Second World War.

Besides the types of monuments, the shape and content of the epitaphs offer further clues about the evolution of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia.<sup>51</sup> The initial simplicity of the first datable tombstones, erected in the eighteenth century, is characterised by the lack of a distinct high-relief field and the absence of ornaments. However, there are more particular epitaphs with beautiful symbols that accompany the inscription texts, but these are a particularity of the nineteenth century. Texts written in German and Hungarian on the back of the tombstones started to appear after 1850, without replacing the main epitaph in Hebrew, as it happened in other areas. The oldest identified inscriptions (aside from some inscriptions for which dating is imprecise, but which most probably date from a later time,<sup>52</sup> are as follows: an inscription in German, from 1858, dedicated to Heinrich Lemberger,<sup>53</sup> and one in Hungarian, from 1882, dedicated to Rezső Klármann<sup>54</sup> (Figs 13-14).

Overlaying the oldest plan of the historical sector, datable around the middle of the nineteenth century, the current configuration of the cemetery suggests its evolution over time. In the northern part, numbered 1 on the plan, there are the oldest tombstones identified, datable between the middle of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the following century. In the second part, to the north-east, they date from the middle of the nineteenth century. The tombs of Rabbis Mandel and Paneth were located on the margins of the two areas and probably at the border of the old cemetery. After having received some land for the expansion of the cemetery, burials were mostly made in the southern and south-eastern areas, trying to respect the old alignment of the rows. The newer monuments, with epitaphs doubled in German and Hungarian, started to appear here in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

The burial area expanded towards the south-eastern limit of the sector at around the same time, but this is only partially recorded in the second plan of the cemetery.

Towards the end of the period, these recordings were completely discontinued. We identified here 225 tombstones distributed on 37 of the 47 rows of the old sector. The oldest tombstone identified dates from 1870, and the most recent one from 2003. The monuments erected in this period illustrate the contemporary history of the Jewish community in Alba Iulia, through the family names of the deceased.

## The funerary inscriptions:

### A historical-linguistic analysis

An analysis of the form and content of the inscriptions is the only way to establish or disprove the validity of the interpretations we have put forward. For this purpose, we selected 39 inscriptions dating from the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, which we considered representative of the evolution of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia until the period of emancipation:<sup>55</sup> m 6, m 15, m 30 double, m 35, m 36, m 61, m 62, m 63, m 73, m 75, m 80, m 81, m 82, m 83, m 90, m 97, m 102, m 106, m 107, m 109, m 112, m 113, m 114, m 135, m 136, m 139, m 165, m 213, m 224, m 225, m 226, m 236, m 294, m 300, m 301, m 345, and two located in the ohel (the burial chapel of Rabbis Ezekiel Paneth and Menachem Mendel, m 900). Of these, eight (m 63, m 80, m 81, m 97, m 135, m 136, m 139, m 345) are from the eighteenth century, one is a double inscription (m 30), twelve belong to married women (m 30 left, m 35, m 73, m 83, m 90, m 97, m 112, m 136, m 139, m 213, m 236, m 294), two are of unmarried young women (m 61, m 82), four are of children (m 62, m 135, m 225, m 226), and one inscription belongs to a young girl (m 135).

Each inscription will be treated individually, from a linguistic and historical point of view, but we will also make comparisons between them, trying to ascertain the possible genealogical links between the deceased and to answer to the following questions (among others): to what extent can the study of Jewish funerary inscriptions help us determine the historical evolution of the cemetery in Alba Iulia?; what are the typical expressions of Jewish funerary monuments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?; to what extent did they evolve and was there a gender and age distribution of burials?

To begin with, it should be noted that almost all the inscriptions under consideration in this article, whether of the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, begin with the stereotypical formula, the acronym "פ.נ." (*pei nun*), which comes from the Hebrew expression *poh nitman* (masculine) (פה נטמן) and *poh nitmena* (feminine) (פה נטמה). This can be translated by the equivalent, "here is buried". The acronym can also be translated as *poh nikbar* / *poh nikberah* (masc. פה נקבר / fem. פה נקברה "here is buried"). In this article we have opted for the first translation פ.נ. (*p.n.*), *poh nitman* (masc.), *poh nitmena* (fem.) ("here is buried").

At the end of the tomb inscriptions, each time the biblical expression appears in the form of the acronym תנצ"ה (*thaw, nun, tzadeh, beith, hei*) (נשמתה צורה בצרור החיים) (*Thehyi nishemathah tzerurah bitzeror hachayym*), in the feminine and the masculine variant (*Thehiy nishematho tzerurah bitzeror hachayym*) (נשמתו צורה בצרור החיים); this has been translated, into English, as follows: May her / his soul be bound up in the bond of ever-

lasting life. In Romanian we have opted for the poetic version *Fie-i sufletul veşnic*. The Hebrew expression is taken from 1 Samuel 25:29, when Abigail, asking David to spare the life of her husband Nabal, tells David that, in the event of the king's death, "my lord's (David's) soul will be bound securely in the bundle of the living by the Lord your God."

The first inscription investigated, m 6 (Fig. 16), belongs to an unmarried young man<sup>56</sup> (בחור *bahur* in Hebrew), Abraham Aba (אברהם אבא), son of Zeev (זאב), who died and was buried on Friday, the eve of the Sabbath, on 12 Iyyar 5579 / Friday, 8 May 1819. One point that deserves our attention is that if the burial took place on the Friday before the holy day of the Sabbath, the burial must be held on the same day or postponed until Sunday, the first day of the week, because burials are absolutely forbidden on the Sabbath.

Like all inscriptions dedicated to men, m 6 also mentions that Abraham Aba's father, Zeev, was "respected" or "honoured" (Hebrew *kevod*<sup>57</sup> כבוד). The inscription also contains the acronym "ז.ל." (Hebrew ל.ז.) which comes from the expression זכרוננו לברכה (*zikhrono livrakhah*, "of blessed memory"), associated with the remembrance of the dead. Zeev, the father of Abraham Aba, was a descendant of the tribe of Levi in Israel, who was responsible for helping the priests in the temple, which is why the inscription calls him "the priests' helper" *segan lekohen* (סגן לכהן), by the acronym "ס.ל." (ל.ס.). Obviously, in the absence of the temple in Jerusalem, this term was exclusively symbolic. Later the acronym became the surname Segal. The symbol of the inscription, a hand holding a warp, specific to the Levites, confirms that Abraham Aba belonged to this family.

m 15 (Fig. 17) is the inscription dedicated to Ya'akov, son of Yehuda Levi, who died on 8 Sh'vat 5569 / Wednesday, 25 January 1809. The symbol of the inscription, the tree of life, separates the acronym "פ.נ." (*pei nun*). The inscription begins with the biblical phrase, taken from the book of Job, chapter 1, verse 8, *yish tham weyashar* (איש תם וישר), "a righteous and honest man." In this case too, after the patronym we find the acronym "ז.ל." (*zikhrono livrakhah*, "of blessed memory"). Like Abraham Aba's father (m 6), Ya'akov's father was also a member of the Levite family, although in this case the symbol of the jug no longer appears. Importantly, the inscription is partially indecipherable, so we used the burial register to identify the year of death.<sup>58</sup>

A special case is the double inscription m 30 (Fig. 18), which marks two graves, in close proximity, of a husband and wife, who died within a short period of time and whose tombstones were joined. On the right-hand side of the inscription is the husband, Mordekhay (died on 11 Menachem Av 5582 / Monday, 21 June 1822), and on the left-hand side the wife, Reizel (died on 23 Kislev 5583 / Saturday 7 December 1822).

The husband, Mordekhay, bore the same name as the wife's father, but the latter also had the honorary title of *kohen-tzedek*<sup>59</sup> (כהן צדק, "priest of righteousness"), being a descendant of the priests of Jerusalem. Returning to the analysis of the inscription, in the case of the husband it is not limited to the expression *yish tham weyashar* but continues with the expression found in Job 1:8 *yireh Elohim*<sup>60</sup> (יראה אלהים, "with fear of the Lord"), which un-

derlines the pious behaviour of the deceased. The inscription notes an interesting fact: Israel, Mordekhai's father, was a native of Pulitz (Poelitz, a town in Northern Bohemia), and later settled in Alba Iulia. Israel's name is written in a peculiar way, by joining the last letters *aleph* (א) and *lamed* (ל), which is explained by reasons of linguistic economy and lack of space for writing or to avoid using a divine term as in the expression *yireh Elohim*, which has been rendered by the same graphic device.

The wife, Reizel, who died almost six months after her husband's passing, is called *yishah chashuvah hatzenuah wehachasudah* (אשה חשובה הצנועה והחסודה), "an important woman, honest and graceful". These expressions can also be found on the tombs of other ladies in the cemetery of Alba Iulia, as in other Jewish cemeteries.

The symbol surrounding the acronym פ"נ, is the laurel wreath; in the case of both husband and wife, the wreath is associated with victory and thus eternal salvation.

As far as dating is regarded, since the inscription M 30 is fragmentary in the lower part, on both sides, left and right, the death register was used to establish the Hebrew year.<sup>61</sup>

M 35 (Fig. 1) is the inscription of the lady (*marat* מרת in Hebrew) Buena (who died on 10 Cheshvan 5562 / Friday, 16 October 1801), daughter of the first great spiritual leader of the Alba Iulia community, Abraham Russo, buried at M 345 (Fig. 49). He was the first Sephardic rabbi of Alba Iulia, coming from the Ottoman Empire, between 1736 and 1738; he bore the title of *hachakham hagadol* (החכם הגדול, "great sage"), a fact confirmed by the inscription.

The inscription states that Buena was *esheth chayl hayishah hakevodah* ("a diligent woman, a respected woman"): אשת חיל האשה הכבדה

It should be noted that Buena, following her death on the eve of the holy Sabbath evening, was buried on the same Friday, the sixth day in Judaism.

Also noteworthy is the lack of the symbol on the tombstone (both for Buena, M 35, and Abraham Russo, M 345), given that for the Sephardim they are more sober. Furthermore, the text of the inscription has been preserved quite well due to the fact that the tombstone was fallen face down and the text of the inscription has not been directly subjected to environmental erosion. Furthermore, the writing shows an oblique, ascending layout, from right to left, in the direction of the Hebrew script, which is unusual, but somehow follows the atypical shape of the stone.

Interestingly, Abraham Russo's daughter (M 345), Buena (M 35) is buried at a considerable distance from her father, which seems to show that after more than half a century (in 1801), the cemetery was extended to the east (in the direction of the present-day Vasile Alecsandri Street) and that, in particular, daughters were buried at a distance from their fathers (at least in the case of Sephardic Jews). It is possible that the grave of Abraham Russo (died on 6 Cheshvan 5499 / Monday, 20 October 1738) is part of what we generically call "the cemetery core", in the area of the future ohel of Rabbi Paneth, where other inscriptions from the mid-eighteenth century can be found.

Stylistically, the inscription from the early eighteenth century differs from those of the following century by

its lack of allusions to biblical verses such as Job 1:8. Moreover, there is no information about Abraham's father (although we learn from other sources that the father's name was Yitzchak), nor are there any established formulas mentioning נפטר ונקבר (*niftar weniqbar*, "dead and buried"). These are replaced by the poetic expression הלך לעלמו ("went to the everlasting life," *halach leolamo*).

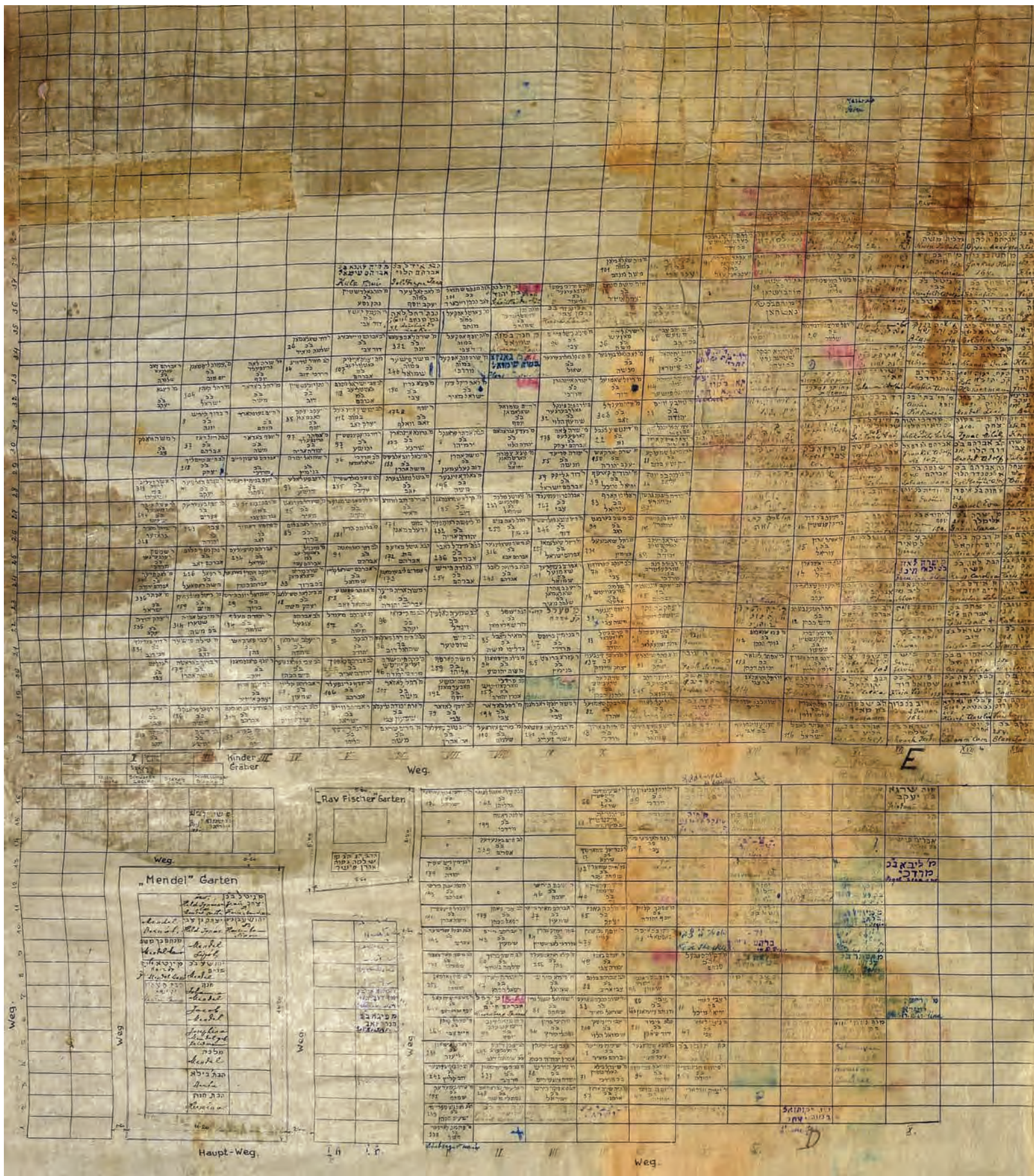
According to the M 345 inscription, Abraham Russo bore the titles *hachakham hagadol*, *morenu harav werabenu* ("the great sage / our teacher, Rabbi, and our judge") which confirms the previous sources. Although he was the community's first judge (*dayan*) and opened the community's *pinkas*, Abraham Russo did not have the full powers of a rabbi because he had to consult the rulings of a court (*beth-din*) in Belgrade regarding all halakhic decisions. Interestingly, according to some sources, he had to support himself by selling brandy, because the small Sephardic community in Alba Iulia in the eighteenth century could not support him financially for his services to the community.

The novelty of our research is the identification of the inscription of this leader of the Jewish community of Alba Iulia in the cemetery, and especially the fact that we propose a different date of Abraham Russo's death than Ana Maria Caloianu, author of a monograph of the Jewish community of Alba Iulia. Mrs. Caloianu mentions 6 Sivan 5499 as the date of death,<sup>62</sup> while the inscription together with the burial register<sup>63</sup> mentions the date 6 Cheshvan 5499 / Monday, 20 October 1738. We therefore propose the later date of death, that is 20 October 1738.

M 36 (Fig. 19) preserves a medallion with the star of David (*magen David*) surrounded by two lions, the symbols of the tribe of Judah. This tomb belongs to a certain Yosef, son of Yonah. The inscription contains the same established expressions: *poh nitman* ("here he is buried"), *yish tham weyashar* ("an honest and righteous man"), *kevod* ("respected"). These are followed by the name of the deceased, Yosef, and the patronymic, Yonah, preceded by the Hebrew words *ben harav* (בן הרב "son of Mr."). As for the date of death, it is given as Wednesday, the New Iyyar Moon, year 564, which is the last day of the previous month of Nisan (30 Nisan). *Rosh Chodesh Iyyar* (New Iyyar Moon) is celebrated on two days, the last day of the month of Nisan and the first day of the month of Iyyar. In contrast, the cemetery register mentions 28 Iyyar,<sup>65</sup> which corresponds to a Wednesday. The inscription can therefore be dated to Wednesday, 11 April 1804.

M 61 (Fig. 22) mentions a young woman or girl named Perl (English Pearl), which is a Yiddishised or German-influenced form of the Sephardic (Judeo-Spanish) form of the anthroponym Pearl – in Hebrew it is Peninah or Margalith. Her father was a Sephardic Jew, a fact which is indicated separately on the inscription (הרב נתן נטע ספרדי), *kevod harav Nathan Neta sefarady*, "the respected Mr. Nathan Neta the Sephardi", which shows that in the mid-nineteenth century the majority of Jews in Alba Iulia were Ashkenazi Jews, and some Sephardic Jews had adopted Germanised, Yiddish-influenced names.

The young age at which Perl died is marked in the inscription by the special expression *habethulah rakah beshanim* (הבתולה רכה בשנים), "the maiden young in years / tender in years". The date of the death of Perl, daughter



▲ Fig. 5. The second plan of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia, detail with sectors D and E. The archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community. Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2022.



of Natan Neta the Sephardi, was 9 Kislev 5602 / Monday, 22 November 1841.

M 62 (Fig. 23) is an inscription of a child named Sinai, son of Yitzchak, who died on 4 Nisan 5601 / Friday, 26 March 1841. Again, as in M 61, we find the expression, but in the masculine form, *rakh beshanim* (רַחַב בְּשָׁנִים<sup>66</sup>) together with the adjective “child” (*hayeled*, הַיֶּלֶד). Thus, Sinai is *harakh beshanim hayeled* (“young child of few years / a tender child”). The symbol is beautifully executed, a tree (of life) supported by the lions of Judah, affronted.

Inscriptions M 61, M 62, and others in the vicinity show that in the nineteenth century children and young people were buried in a special area in the older part of the cemetery, where eighteenth-century inscriptions are found, often at a distance from other members of their family.

The oldest inscription translated to date is M 63 (Fig. 24).<sup>67</sup> Although previously published, we propose a new translation in the collective volume, and in this article, we mention the main aspects. Thus, the M 63 grave is now attributed to Tuvyah, son of Arye, who died on 16 Cheshvan 5473 / Tuesday, 15 November 1712. Consequently, the cemetery was already functional at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is also interesting that the text of the inscription is not a standard one, as there is a stylistic inversion; the father’s name is mentioned first and then the son’s name, *hayish hayashar ben kevod harav / Arye kevod harav Tuvyah* (“the honest man / son of the respected Mr. / Arye, the respected Mr. Tuvyah”):

[הַיִּישׁ הַיָּשָׁר]  
בֶּן (כְּבוֹד) הָרַב (הַיָּשָׁר)  
אֲרֵי (כְּבוֹד) הָרַב (הַיָּשָׁר) טוֹבִיָּה<sup>68</sup>

The M 63 inscription is small, like the eighteenth-century inscriptions, and the symbols are completely missing. Interestingly, the inscription begins with *poh nitman* (פֹּה נִיטְמָן) and probably ends with the acronym תְּנַצֵּב (Thehiy nishematho tzerurah bitzeror hachayyim, “May his soul be bound up in the bond of everlasting life”). Consequently, these beginning and ending expressions represent a very old Jewish tradition, preserved in many cases in Jewish cemeteries to this day.

The burial register<sup>69</sup> only preserves for M 63 the name of the deceased, Tuvyah, with no mention of the year of death, which means that at the time this register was written in the late nineteenth century, the inscription was almost indecipherable.

For the inscription M 73 (Figs 25a-b), also previously published in a 2021 article, we propose some changes regarding the translation in the aftermath of the stone’s its cleaning. The most important revision is that the father of the deceased Feiga,<sup>70</sup> is not from Beltz (בֵּעֶלֶץ),<sup>71</sup> Galicia, but is actually called Betzalel (בֶּצֶלֶל),<sup>72</sup> a name also confirmed by the burial register.<sup>73</sup> In addition, Feiga is not *miuchedeth* (מִיּוּחֶדֶת, “important”), but “descendant of chosen origin” (*miucheseth*, מִיּוּחֶסֶת), so the new transliteration and translation preceding the name of the deceased is: *yishah / chashuvah wetzenuah / wemiucheseth marath Feiga* (“an important and honest / woman / and a descendant of chosen origin”):

אִשָּׁה  
חַשׁוּבָה (ה) וְצִנּוּעָה  
וּמִיּוּחֶסֶת מִ(רַת) פִּיגָא

It is noteworthy that Feiga came from a family of rabbis. The father, Betzalel, bears the title of *harabeinu hatzadik*

(הַרְבֵּנוּ הַצַּדִּיק, “our righteous rabbi”), and after the patronymic the expression *zekher tzadik livrakhah* (זִכְרֵךְ לְבִרְכָּה, “be blessed the memory of the righteous”) appears in the form of the acronym זִצְל”ל (“z. tz.l”). This expression contains, in addition to the typical *zikhronoh livracha* expressions, the appellation *tzadik* (righteous), specific to people considered to have strictly observed the precepts of the Law.

The symbol associated with the M 73 inscription is the menorah, the Hebrew six-armed candlestick, alluding to the ladies’ responsibility to light candles on Shabbat evening.

The inscription M 75 (Fig. 26) is dedicated to Aharon’s daughter, Leah,<sup>74</sup> called *yishah chashuvah wetzenuah wehachasidah / atereth baalah hayiqarah marath*, “an important and honest, and pious woman, / the crown of her husband, the dear lady”:

אִשָּׁה חַשׁוּבָה וְצִנּוּעָה וְהַחֲסִידָה  
עֲטֶרֶת בַּעֲלָהּ הַיְקָרָה

In addition to the attributes previously found for other deceased ladies, the novelty is the expression *atereth baalah* (עֲטֶרֶת בַּעֲלָה, “her husband’s crown”). The symbol of the raised hands, together with the presence of the menorah, indicates that Leah came from a family of priests (*kohanim*), although this is not explicitly stated in the text of the inscription. The father’s name, Aharon, seems to indicate this. Furthermore, the burial register,<sup>75</sup> after the patronymic of the deceased, mentions in cursive Hebrew and in Yiddish that the name of Leah’s husband was Moshko and he was a *mohel* (he performed circumcision) (*Eshet rabi Moshko der mohel*, “the wife of Moshko the mohel”, אִשֶּׁת רַבִּי מֹשֶׁקָא דֶּעַר מוֹהֵל).

Another old eighteenth-century inscription is M 80 (Fig. 27). It is a simple one, containing no decoration. It belongs to Elyiaqim, son of Elyahu, who died on 16 Menahem 5499 / Tuesday, 20 August 1739. It preserves the already known expressions for gentlemen, *hayish hayashar / wehatham harav rabi* (“the righteous and the honest man / the respected Mr.”):

הַיִּישׁ הַיָּשָׁר  
וְהַתָּם הָרַב (רַבִּי)

The expression *harav rabbi* can be translated as “Mr. Rabbi”, but since we don’t have other expressions such as *morenu harav* (“our teacher the rabbi”), we preferred the translation “the respected gentleman”, as in the case of *kevod harav*.

M 81<sup>76</sup> (Fig. 30) belongs to the eighteenth century, as do M 63, M 80, and M 345, already reviewed. In this case too there are no symbols, the text is stylistically different from the nineteenth century, and there is no mention of the father of the deceased Moshe, as there is in the case of inscription M 345, by Abraham Russo. The text mentions that the deceased was from Lublin, which demonstrates the presence of Ashkenazi Jews from Poland by 1740, the date of death.<sup>77</sup>

As in the case of the M 345 inscription, the expression *halach leolamo* (“went to everlasting life”, הלך לעלם) appears here too, instead of *niftar weniqbar* (נִפְטָר וְנִקְבָּר, “dead and buried”).

Beyla,<sup>78</sup> the young virgin (*betulah*, הַבְּתוּלָה), daughter of Rabbi Menahem Mendel (*bath kevod harav rabbi*, מְנַדֵּל מִנְחֵם מִנְחָם), is buried at M 82 (Fig. 27). The inscription is beautifully decorated with a basket of

flowers separating the acronym פ"נ ("p.n", *poh nitmenah*).

The text mentions the date of death (ט"ו באדר) (ט"ו באדר) *shenifterah beyom geulah*, "who died on the day of salvation", 20 Sivan. This date is a special one in the history of the Jewish community, becoming a day of fasting, one in which the sufferings of the medieval pogroms or even the Holocaust are remembered. Thus, the date of 20 Sivan is linked to several instances: the pogrom of Blois, France, 1171, when 31 Jews were murdered on charges of ritual murder; in remembrance of the Jews murdered during the Crusades in Europe; the Jews massacred by Bogdan Chmielnicki in Ukraine (1648-1649) are remembered; this date also commemorates the deportation of 500 000 Jews from Hungary and the occupied territories of Transylvania, killed in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camps.<sup>79</sup>

As for Menachem ben Yehoshua Mendel, Beilah's father, he was the rabbi known as Menachem Yakov Yosef. He was appointed *rav hamedinah* in 1818 and held this position until his death on 23 Tevet 5583 (12 January 1823) in Alba Iulia.<sup>80</sup> Prior to this position he was *dayan* (rabbinical judge) and deputy rabbi in Alba Iulia from 1794 to 1818 under the name Menachem Yeshua Mendel.<sup>81</sup> Beyla, the young unmarried daughter of Menachem Mendel, died two and a half years after her father, on 6 June 1825.

Speaking of Rabbi Menachem Mendel's grave, it is located in the current burial chapel (*ohel*) of Rabbi Eliezer Paneth (M 900), more precisely on the right side of the latter's grave.

Below is the transcription, transliteration and translation of Menachem Mendel's inscription.

#### Transcription

פ"נ (ה) (נמנח)  
אדונינו (מ) (ורנו) והרבי  
המורה הגדול (מ) (ורנו) ה(רב) מנחם  
בן (ה) (רב) יהושע שני(פטר)  
בשבת קדוש ו(קבר) ביום  
א (ערב) ראש ח(דוש) שבט  
שנת תקפ"ג לפ(רט) ק(טן)  
ת(ה) (נ) (שמתו) צ(רורה) ב(צרור) ה(חיים)

#### Transliteration

*Poh nitman / adoneninu morenu werabeinu / hamorenu  
hagadol morenu harav Menachem / ben harav Yehoshua  
sheniftar beshabat kodesh weniqbar beyom / rishon erev  
rosh chodesh Sh'vat / shenat 583 / lifrat qatan / Thehiy  
nishematho tzerurah bitzeror hachayym /*

#### Translation

Here is buried / our Master, our Teacher and our Rabbi / the great Teacher, our teacher and rabbi Menachem / son of Mr. Yehoshua, who died on holly Shabbat and was buried on / Sunday, on the eve of the new moon Sh'vat / year 583<sup>82</sup> / of the minor era / May his soul be bound up in the bond of the everlasting life. /

The inscription M 83 (Fig. 29), of Malkhah,<sup>83</sup> daughter of Yosef, bears a medallion similar to the inscription M 75, except that on M 83 there is no six-armed menorah (as on M 75), but only a three-armed candlestick and two raised palms symbolising the blessing of the candles on Shabbat evening. The text of the inscription specifically mentions the day of death as Tuesday (the third day in

the Hebrew calendar, *yom gimel*, י"ג, because this was considered a good day, associated with the idea of resurrection, since in the first book of the Bible, Bereshit / Genesis 1:10, 12 *yom shelishy* / the third day is twice called *ki tov* ("because it is good").

M 90 (Fig. 31) was previously published.<sup>84</sup> It belongs to Leea daughter of Ya'akov, a priest (*kohen*). She died on 26 Cheshvan 5504 / Sunday, 19 November 1843. An interesting linguistic aspect is that the verb *niftereth* (נפטרה "she dies") is in the present tense and not past tense as it usually appears.

M 97 (Fig. 32) presents an interesting situation. It originally has a broken off lower part, but, after lifting and collating, the text of the inscription is now legible – albeit partially. We have turned to 2014 volume<sup>85</sup> for a full translation of the text.

Here again the symbol is a menorah, but with 4 arms, separating the acronym פ"נ (*poh nitmenah*, "here she is buried"), a symbol indicating that this tomb belongs to a lady. Perl, the daughter of Aharon haLevi, one of the descendants of the assistants of the priests in the Jerusalem Temple, died on 13 Kislev 5560 / Wednesday, 11 December 1799. The text of the inscription retains several epithets, some of which have not been found in our analysis so far: *esheth chayl yirath / HaElohim thithalel hayishah / hachashuvah* ("a diligent woman with fear of / the Lord, she shall be praised / the important woman"<sup>86</sup>):

אשת חיל יראת  
ה(אלהים) תתהלל האשה  
החשובה

M 102 (Fig. 33) belongs to a Sephardi Jew named Sason, who died in old age<sup>87</sup> (referred to in the inscription by the Hebrew noun *hayashish*, "the old man", הישיש). The inscription mentions the titles *hachakham hagadol*<sup>88</sup> ("the great scholar", ה(חכם) הגדול), probably a Torah scholar without having held the office of rabbi. New expressions appear here in addition to the expressions taken from the book of Job 1:8, as we have seen prior, *yish tham weyashar* ("a man of integrity and righteousness"). At this point of our research, we have not identified anything similar in other inscriptions in Alba Iulia, such as *halakh / nakhechuth evel yagyia / khapaw amelu bepalo* ("he went away, / the time of mourning came, / his arms laboured in his work"). Given the allusions to Sason's labour he probably distinguished himself through a craft that involved physical exertion:

איש תם וישר הלך  
נכחות אבל יגיע  
כפיו עמלו בפועלו  
ה(חכם) הגדול

In addition, the burial register mentions that Sason was the father of a certain Yechezkel (ב' יחזקאל) (אבא של ר').<sup>89</sup>

The following analysed inscriptions M 106, M 109, M 113, and M 114 belong to families of priests (*kohanim*) or Levites, and some of them were Sephardi; the inscriptions are in close proximity to the *ohel* of Ezekhiel Paneth and Menachem Mendel.

M 106 (Fig. 34) belongs to a young man named Yehuda, son of Mr. Yehoshua *hakohen*,<sup>90</sup> who died on 24 Menachem Av 5605 / Wednesday, 27 August 1845. Noteworthy are the Hebrew expressions *habachur harakh niqetaf / beabo shaqat* ("the tender young man, died before his time, he

rested”, באבו שקט / (ה)ר]ך נקטר / (ה)בחור. These (*niqetaf beabo*) are taken from the book of Job 8:12<sup>91</sup> and adapted, and the word *shaqat* (“he rested” שקט) probably renders the physical suffering of this young man, caused by some ailment, or his death.

The particular sadness of the family is highlighted by the expressions *evel kaved*, אבל כבד (“heavy mourning”). Furthermore, the name of the month in which Yehudah’s death occurred, as Menachem Av, instead of Av, can be translated as “consolation of the father”. In addition, the text of the inscription states that the young man was also an unmarried teenager, in Hebrew *avrakhuth* ((אבר)כוח).

The appearance of the tombstone is also interesting; over the vertical stone (*matzevah*) there is a triangular shaped body like the very old tombs in Jerusalem, in the valley separating the Old City and the Mount of Olives, from the Hellenistic period, or even like some tombs in the Nabataean area of Petra in Jordan. These triangular stones on the tombstones are called *nephesh* (“soul”), alluding to the possible ascension of the soul to the Lord.

M 107 (Fig. 35) is the inscription of Yekutiel Ya’akov,<sup>92</sup> son of Aharon. The text mentions that Yekutiel was *yish tham weyashar weyire Elohim / kevod harav* (“a righteous and honest man and with fear of the Lord / the respected Mr.”):

איש תם וישר וי (רא) א (להים)  
כ(בוד) ה (רב) יקותיאל יעקוב בן / מו(רנו)

The last two letters in the third line of the inscription present some difficulty in translation, since they can be read as either *בה* (*ben harav*, “sons of Mr.”) or *מו* (*moreinu*, “our teacher”). We have adopted the latter, as Yekutiel’s father, Aharon, had a similar title to the rabbis.

In the following we will discuss the inscriptions M 109, M 113, and M 114. Inscriptions M 109 (Figs. 36a-b) and M 113 (Fig. 40) contain the funerary inscription of Yehudah, son of Mordekhay Katz (*kohen tzedek*), who died on 16 Tamuz 5573 / Wednesday, 14 July 1813. The difference between the two funerary monuments resides primarily in shape and position: the inscription M 109 is arranged horizontally, above the ground, in the shape of a sarcophagus,<sup>93</sup> while the inscription M 113 is vertical, a *matzevah*. The text on M 109 is found on two sides of the stone arranged horizontally, and is simple, without symbols. The first part of the text takes the space up to the acronym *ז.ל*, “*z.l.*” (*zikhrono livrakha*, (ל)ברכה) and then continues on the second side, up to the end, from *niftar weniqbar* (“he died and was buried”). Note that the deceased was the son of a descendant of the priests of Jerusalem, a *kohen*, but the inscription is marked only with the acronym *כ”צ* (*katz*,<sup>94</sup> *kohen tzedek*, in translation “priest of righteousness”). Another interesting point, the name of the deceased is written on M 109 יהודה (*Yehudah*).

As for M 113, it is placed on the upper edge of the inscription M 109 and contains, in addition to M 109, a symbol of raised hands (“the blessing of the priests”) which demonstrates Yehudah’s membership to the priestly order (*kohanim*). This inscription was probably executed after M 109, as a result of its deterioration or possibly as a result of the influence of a new trend in nineteenth century funerary practices, when the horizontal arrangement of gravestones was no longer common. Otherwise, the text of inscription M 113 is identical to that of inscription M 109. Therefore, in our opinion, the two tombstones

► Fig. 6. Drone photograph of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, with the stages of the research marked.

Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

M 109 and M 113 belong to the same deceased, Yehudah,<sup>95</sup> son of Mordekhay Katz.

As for M 114 (Fig. 41), it also contains the symbol of the raised hands, but with the addition of a crown (of the Torah) supported by the two hands. The deceased, Mordekhay, was undoubtedly a *kohen* (priest). He was the son of Yehuda *hakohen*, according to the inscription, and died on 23 Iyyar 5608 / Friday, 26 May 1848, being buried on Sunday.

#### Transcription

שנפטר ביום ו ע (רב) ש (בת) ק (דש)  
כג ימים לחדש אייר שנת תרה  
לפ (רט) ק (טן) ונקבר ביום א

#### Transliteration

*sheniftar beyom hashishy erev shabbath qodesh / 23  
yamim lechodesh Iyyar shenath 608 / lifrat qatan  
weniqbar beyom rishon /*

#### Translation

who died on Friday eve of the holy day of Shabbath / on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the month of Iyyar in the year 608 / after the small calculation and was buried on Sunday. /

Interestingly, the name of the buried, Mordekhay, seems to be the same as Yehudah’s father, buried at M 109 / M 113. The burial register sheds light on this case, as his name is written in Roman letters with the number 11 (*Rabbi Mordekhay ben harav Yehuda hakohen 11*). On the same page another *Rabbi Mordechai ben harav Yuda hakohen 1* appears, but without mentioning the date of death.<sup>96</sup> It is possible that the first was the grandfather and the second Mordekhay was the grandson, born after the grandfather’s death and therefore named after the grandfather. Therefore, *Yehuda ben Mordekhay Kohen Tzedek* (M 113), who died on 30 June 1817, may have been the son of the first Mordekhay (who probably died in the eighteenth century and whose possible grave is M 180) and the father of the second (buried at M 114). Simply put, the deceased at M 113 (Yehudah) is very possibly the father of the deceased M 114 (Mordekhay).

M 112 (Fig. 39) is the grave of a pious and generous lady named Breindel, daughter of Gedalyahu, who died on 5 Kislev 5596 / Thursday, 26 November 1835. The gravestone, devoid of any symbol, has a rather extensive text, which is worth recalling, even in part.

#### Transcription

פ (ה) נ (טמנה)  
אשת חיל יראת ש (מייים)  
המכובדת והיקרה  
גמלה חסד וטוב מ (רת)  
בריינדל ב (ת) ה (רב) גדליהו

#### Transliteration

*Poh nitmenah / esheth chayl yirath Shamayym /  
hamekhubedeth wehayiqarah / gamelah chesed wetov  
marath / Breindel bath harav Gedaliyahu /*

#### Translation

Here is buried / the hardworking God-fearing woman / respected and dear / who did acts of charity and kindness Mrs. / Breindel daughter of Mr. Gedaliyahu. /



Also interesting is the explicit mention that she was buried the next day *weniqberah* / *lemachoratho* (למחרתו / ונקברה), due to Mrs. Breindel's special status.

Next comes the analysis of three mid-eighteenth-century inscriptions, M 135, M 136, M 139. They are all simple, devoid of symbols, and relatively small in size.

At M 135 (Fig. 37) and M 139 (Fig. 42) are buried two figures named Esther, in the first case a girl, daughter of a supposed David haLevi, and at M 139, a woman, daughter of Yitzchak. In both cases, the name Esther, אסתר, appears on the same page of the burial register, but without mentioning the patronymic or the date of death.<sup>97</sup> This can be explained by the excessive deterioration of these inscriptions at the end of the nineteenth century, when the register was written, and the impossibility of reading them (which makes the work done in the restoration camps in Alba Iulia, by recovering these eighteenth-century texts, even more valuable).

In the first case, the M 135 inscription contains only two lines and does not retain the final stereotypical phrase *Thehiy nishemathah tzerurah bitzeror hachayym* ("May her soul be gathered into the bond of the living"). The text is hardly legible and we can only assume the

father's name, David, from the family of the Levites. At the same time, we do not know the exact date of death, but the moon Elul is visible. Another problem is the year, since the last letter may be *yud* (י), the equivalent of 10 or *yud dalet* (יד), the equivalent of 14. We propose the reading 5514, תק"ד. Consequently, the date of Esther's death may have been between 1 Tishrei 5514, which was Saturday, 29 September 1753, or 29 Elul 5514, which was Monday, 16 September 1754.

Tomb M 139 is definitely that of a lady (*marath* in Hebrew), Esther, daughter of Yitzchak, who died on 11 Cheshvan 5513 / Thursday, 19 October 1752. The text of the inscription is simple. Esther is not given any epithet, as is the case in most of the inscriptions we have surveyed, she is simply called *hayishah Esther* (האשה אסתר), "the woman Esther".

Mrs. Witiye, daughter of Mr. Abraham, who died on Shabbat,<sup>98</sup> 4 Cheshvan 5509 / 26 October 1748 was buried at M 136 (Fig. 38). She is called *hayishah hatzenuah* ("righteous woman", האשה הצנועה). An interesting aspect is the use of the poetic expression *halkhah leshalom* ("she went in peace", הלכה לשלום) instead of the more familiar expression *nifterah* ("she died").



▲ Fig. 7a-b. The tombstone of Zsigmond Munkácsy – overview and detail with the mark of warehouse.

Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2014.

► Fig. 8a-b. The tombstone of Jakob Baruch – overview and detail with the mark of warehouse.

Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2014.

Below is the full transcription, transliteration, and translation of the inscription M 165 (Fig. 43).<sup>99</sup>

#### Transcription

פ(ה) נ(טמן)  
הרבני  
המופלא מ(ורנו) ה(רב)  
משה ב(ן) מו(רנו) ה(רב)  
יואל ז(כרנו) ל(ברכה) שהלך  
לעולמו ב יג  
ניסן שנת תר"ב  
לפ(רט) ק(טן)  
ת(ה)י נ(שמתו) צ(רורה) ב(צרור) ה(חיים)

#### Transliteration

Poh nitman / harabani / hamufla morenu harav / Moshe  
ben morenu harav / Yoel zikhronoh livrakha shechalakh /  
leolamo [yom] shelyishi 13 / Nisan shenath 602 / lifrat  
qatan / Thehiy nishematho tzerurah bitzeror hachayym /

#### Translation

Here is buried / exceptional rabbi / our teacher, the rabbi /  
son of our teacher, the rabbi / Yoel, of blessed memory,  
who went/ to eternity on Tuesday 13 / Nisan year 602 /  
of the minor era.<sup>100</sup> / May his soul be bound up in the  
bond of everlasting life. /

The inscription belongs to Rabbi Moshe, son of Yoel, who died on March 24, 1842. Here too the expression “who went to the everlasting life” (*chalach leolamo* לעולם לעולם) appears instead of *niftar* (“he died”). It is worth mentioning that the text of the inscription does not contain the word *yish* (“man”), but *harabani* / *hamufla* (“exceptional rabbi”, הרבני המופלא), doubled by the rabbinic titles *morenu harav* (“our teacher the rabbi”), which confirms the rabbi status of the deceased. Furthermore, Moshe’s father, Yoel, was himself a rabbi (הרב יואל), *Moshe ben morenu harav* / *Yoel*, “Moshe, son of our teacher, the rabbi / Yoel”). As for the symbol, two laurel leaves, these are placed under the acronym פ”נ *poh nitman*).

M 213 (Figs. 44a-b), a simple gravestone with no symbol, is currently in a tilted, unrestored position, and broken on the upper right side. The translation is based on the image from Eugen Glück’s archive (1988).<sup>101</sup> As will be seen, the text of inscription M 213 contains all the typical expressions for ladies mentioned above.

The following is a transcription, transliteration, and translation of the inscription.

#### Transcription

פ(ה) נ(טמנה)  
האישה החשובה והצנועה  
מרת אסנא בת הרב צבי  
ז(כרונה) ל(ברכה) שנפטרה ונקברה  
ביום ו' ע(רב) ש(בת) ק(דוש) כט ימים  
לחדש אייר בשנת תר  
לפ(רט) ק(טן)  
ת(ה) נ(שמתה) צ(רורה) ב(צורר) ה(חיים)

#### Transliteration

*Poh nitmenah / hayishah hachashuvah wehatzenuah / marath Esna bath harav Tzvi / zikhronah livrakhah shenifterah weniqberah / beyom shishy erev shabat kodesh 29 yamim / lechodesh Iyyar beshenath 602 / lifrat qatan / Thehiy nishemathah tzerurah bitzeror hachayyim /*

#### Translation

Here is buried/ the important and pure woman / Mrs. Esna, daughter of Mr. Tzvi / of blessed memory, who died and was buried/ on Friday, on the eve of the holy day of Shabat, day 29 / of the month Iyyar, year 602 / of the minor era.<sup>102</sup> / May her soul be bound up in the bond of everlasting life. /

The M 224 (Fig. 45) gravestone is large, made in a special way, and resembles the nearby inscription M 272. The upper part of the funerary monument bears the symbol of the Temple curtain (*parokhet* in Hebrew) or the curtain covering the Torah altar in the synagogues (the shrine where the Torah scrolls are kept). This symbol probably also has some neoclassical influences.

This monument was dedicated to Sason,<sup>103</sup> “scholar” (*maskil* in Hebrew) a follower of the Jewish Enlightenment *Haskala* movement<sup>104</sup> which sought the integration of Jews into European culture and their emancipation, with an emphasis on the study of secular disciplines and the languages of the countries where the Jews lived. Sason’s father, named Moshe, was a Sephardi (*Moshe hasefaradi*, משה הספרדי) meaning that the majority of the Jewish community was Ashkenazi and there were fewer Sephardi Jews in the mid-nineteenth century. The text of the inscription is quite extensive and contains some expres-



▲ Fig. 9a-b. The tombstone of Rézi Jonas – overview and detail with the mark of warehouse.

Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2023.

sions that we have not encountered in other inscriptions surveyed to date.

After the phrase *poh nitman* follows the phrase *haadam hagadol* / *mot akhزاری afal shoshan* / *bisrunu ba'anu lo chamalat* / *haadam hagadol hakevod harav hamaskil Sason* / *ben harav rabi Moshe hasefaradi*.

#### Transcription

ה(אדם) ה(גדול)  
מות אכזרי עפ על שושן  
בשרנו באנו לא חמלת  
ה(אדם) ה(גדול) הכ(בוד) ה(רב) המשכיל ששון  
ב(ן) ה(רב) ר(בי) משה הספרדי

### Translation

The great man / the cruel death [appear] even in joyful moments / our flesh was not [showed] compassion / the great man, the respected Mr. Sason, the maskil / son of Mr. Rabbi Moshe the Sephardi. /

The words of the epitaph mention a possible sudden death which also occurs “in moments of joy”; moreover, by repeating the phrase *haadam hagadol* (“the great man”), the prestige of this scholar, Sason, is stressed. The words *ben harav rabbi Moshe* could emphasise that Sason’s father Moshe was the rabbi of the Sephardi Jews, or it is possible that this expression is a respectful one and is equivalent to *kevod harav* (“distinguished / respected gentleman”).

The next two inscriptions analysed (M 225 and M 226) belong to children. The texts emphasise the particular suffering of the family, and the motif is identical on both gravestones, the tree with a broken branch, a favourite symbol for the deceased children.

The words of the epitaph dedicated to Abraham, Yehoshua’s son (M 225, Fig. 48) who died on Sunday, 29 February 1852, are special and mark both the parental love for the child and the heart-breaking grief that gripped the family at the time of the tragedy: *Avraham nechmad bemoladetkha / ben yaqir hayit leavothekha / rabim hylilut al motekha / haadam hagadol moreinu harav hamot qechatan* (“Abraham, nice at his birth / loved son by his parents / many howls [were] on his death / the great man, our teacher, the Rabbi, death is like a groom /”).

אברהם נחמד במולדתך  
בן יקר היית לאבותך  
רבים היילול על מותך

ה(אדם) ה(גדול) מ(ורנו) ה(רב) המות קחתך

The parents’ love for Abraham is underlined by epithets such as *nechmad* (“nice”, “cute”) and *yakir* (“dear”, “beloved”). Yehoshua is also assimilated to rabbis, but again it may be more of an honorific title, as in the case of Moshe in M 224. The text seems to confirm to the father that “death is like a son-in-law”, is inevitable, and Yehoshua is likened to the righteous Job, whose children die, but who remains righteous before the Divine.

M 226 (Fig. 46) belongs to Yitzkhaq, the son of Moshe Baruch, the Sephardi. Like other Sephardi Jewish inscriptions, it does not contain any standard text at all: *elem nechmad rakh beshanym / Yitzkhaq ben Moshe Baruch sefaradi / halakh [hatach] bederekh hayesharah / watzorah keavo qetafihi* (“the nice young man, with tender years / Yitzkhaq, son of Moshe Baruch, the Sefard / he was hurled on the right path / and was gathered to his parents like in a drop /”).

פ(ה) נ(טמן)  
עלם נחמד רך בשנים  
יצחק בן משה ברוך ס(פרדי)  
הלך [הטח] בדרכ הישר(ה)  
וצורה כאבו קטפהו

Yitzkhaq<sup>105</sup> was probably a teenager (*elem nechmad*, “nice young man”) when he died unexpectedly. Poetic words (*watzorah keavo qetafihi*, “and was gathered to his parents as in a drop”), not found in other inscriptions, replaced the more familiar *niftar weniqbar* (“he died and was buried”).



► Fig. 10. The tombstone of Heléna Lobstein (born Politzer) – overview; the mark of the warehouse is inscribed in the upper right corner of the plinth.

Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2014.

► Fig. 11a-b. The tombstone of Moses Mendel – overview and detail with the mark of warehouse.

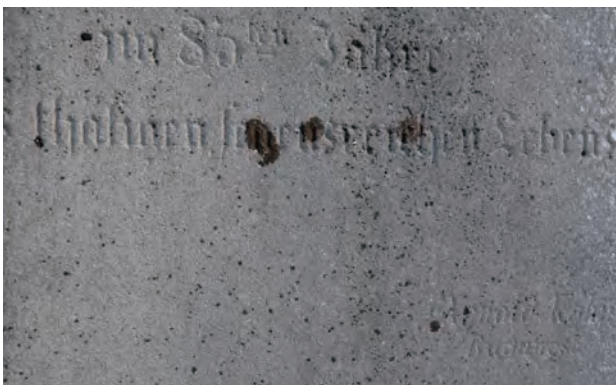
Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2023.

Grave M 236 (Fig. 47) is one of the few researched so far that explicitly mentions the epithet *zeke nah* (“old woman”). It belongs to Beyla, the daughter of a descendant of the Jerusalem Temple priests (*kohanim*), named Moshe, who died on Shabbat, 14 Elul 5600 / Saturday, 12 September 1840, and was no doubt buried the following day, although this is no longer mentioned in the text of the inscription.

The tombstone M 294 (Figs 20a-b) is quite special, the text inscription is arranged in a circular pattern around a seven-armed menorah, above which a star is depicted. Although this is not mentioned, it is not excluded that Mrs. Leah,<sup>106</sup> Moshe’s daughter, was a follower of the modern *Haskalah* (“Jewish Enlightenment”) movement. We argue this idea by the overlapping of the symbol of the star (symbol of modernism and enlightenment) over that of the menorah (symbol of tradition), but also because the text is arranged atypically, in a circular manner, far from the textual tradition of other funerary inscriptions (where the text is arranged horizontally).

### Transcription

מרת לאה  
ב(ת) ה(רב) משה



הלכה  
לעולמה  
בכד אלול שנת תרא לפ(רט) ק(טן)  
ת(הי) נ(שמתה) צ(רורה) ב(צרור) ה(חיים)

#### Transliteration

*Marath Leah / bath harav Moshe / halkhah / leolamah /  
be 24 Elul shenat 601 / lifrat qatan. / Thehiy nishemathah  
tzerurah bitzeror hachayym /*

#### Translation

Mrs. Leah / daughter of Mr. Moshe / who went / to etern-  
ity / on 24 Elul year 601 / of the minor era<sup>107</sup>. / May her  
soul be bound up in the bond of everlasting life. /

The texts of the inscriptions M 300 (Figs 21a-b) and M 301 (Figs 50a-b) are special because they represent the  
tombs of two brothers, Abraham (M 300) and Yehuda (M 301), sons of Ya'akov the Levite. They died within a short

time of each other, almost a month apart. Abraham on 4 Tevet 5603 / 7 December 1842 and Yehuda on 8 Sh'vat 5603 / 9 January 1843. They came from a family of Levites, confirmed by the symbol of the urchin, in the case of M 300, supported by the lions of the tribe of Judah, and in M 301 by a hand. Interestingly, in terms of symbolism, in M 300, a dove (symbol of the soul going to the Lord) also appears above the vessel in the lower part of the inscription, and in the upper part, two birds with leaves in their beaks, probably alluding to the two brothers who were separated by death but buried nearby.

The texts of the inscriptions M 300<sup>108</sup> and M 301<sup>109</sup> are below.

#### Transcription of M 300

ת(הי) נ(שמתו) צ(רורה) ב(צרור) ה(חיים)  
פ(ה) נ(טמן)  
איש תם  
וישר עסק תמיד  
במלאכת הק(ו)ד(ש) ה(ר)ב(ר) (בי)  
אברהם ב(ו) ר(בי) יעקב  
הלוי ז(כרוננו) ל(ברכה) שנפטר  
ונקבר יו(ם) ד טבת  
שנת תרג ל(פרט) ק(טן)

#### Transliteration

*Thehiy nishemathoh tzerurah bitzeror hachayym. / Poh  
nitman / yish tham / weyashar asaq tamid bemalachet  
haqodesh harav rabi / Avraham ben rabi Ya'aqov / halevi  
zikhronoh livrakhah sheniftar / weniqbhar yom 4 Tevet /  
shenat 603 lifrat qatan. /*

#### Translation

May his soul be bound up in the bond of everlasting life. /



▲ Fig. 12. The tombstone of Fani Baruch (born Jónás).  
Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2023.

Here is buried / a righteous / and honest man, always preoccupied / with holy things, Mr. Rabbi / Avraham, son of Mr. Ya'akov / the Levite, of blessed memory, who died / and was buried on 4 Tevet / year 603 of the minor era. /<sup>110</sup>

#### Transcription of M 301<sup>111</sup>

פ(ה) נ(טמן)  
א"ש  
תם וישר  
ר(בי) יהודא ב(ן) הר(ב)  
יצקוב הלוי ז(כרונו) ל(ברכה)  
שנפ(טר) ונקבר ח  
שבט שנת תרג  
ל(פרט) ק(טן) ת(הי) נ(שמטו) צ(רורה) ב(צרור) ה(חיים)

#### Transliteration

*Poh nitman / yish/ tham weyashar / rabi Yehuda ben harav / Ya'akov halevi zikhronoh livrakhah / sheniftar weniqbar 8 / Sh'vat shenat 603 / lifrat qatan. Thehiy nishemathoh tzerurah bitzeror hachayym /*

#### Translation

Here is buried / a righteous and honest / man / Mr. Yehuda, son of Mr. / Ya'akov, the Levite, of blessed memory / who died and was buried on 8 / Sh'vat year 603 / of the minor era.<sup>112</sup> May his soul be bound up in the bond of everlasting life. /

We conclude our epigraphic presentation with a translation of the funerary inscription of Rabbi Yechezkel (Eze-

kiel) Paneth (Figs 51a-c),<sup>113</sup> found on the left side of the *ohel* (burial chapel, M 900).<sup>114</sup>

#### Transcription

מראה יחזקאל  
ויאמר (י)ה(וה) אל יחזקאל צא אל הבקעה  
ושם אראה אליך ה(כבוד) הר(ב) הרב הגאון  
המ(אור) הג(דול) המפורסם החריף ונקי בגל  
ובנסתר חכם הכולל מ(ורנו) הר(ב) יחזקאל  
ב(ן) הרב מ(ורנו) הר(ב) יוסף אשר הנהיג כתר  
הרבנות בחברי ב(ית) ד(ין) פה ומדינה ז(יכרונו) כ(בוד) זה רב  
שנה ותתבקש בישיבה של מעלה  
ביום א ד בח(ול) המועד פסח שנת תרה  
לפרט יעלזו חסידים בכבוד ירננו  
על משכבותם  
ת(הי) נ(שמטו) צ(רורה) ב(צרור) ה(חיים)

#### Transliteration

*Mar'eh Yechezkel / wayomer Adonai el Yechezkel el habeq'ah / wesham ere'eh eleycha hakevod harav rabi hagoon / hameor hagadol hamefursam hacharif waneqi benegel / uvenistar chakham hakolel morenu harav Yechezkel / ben harav morenu harav Yosef, asher hinahig keter / harabanut behavrei beit din poh we medinath zikhronoh kevod esrim ushtayim / shana utitwakesh beyeshivah shel ma'alah / beyom rishon 4 chol hamoed Pesach shenath 605 / lifrath ya'alzu chasidim bekevod yiranenu / al mishkevotam / Thehiy nishemathoh tzerurah bitzeror hachayym /*

#### Translation

Mar'eh Yechezkel / And God said to Yechezkel, go to the plain / and there I will see you,<sup>115</sup> the respected Mr, the rabbi Gaon<sup>116</sup> / the great, special, pure, and sharp light who is revealed / and the great wisdom he concealed, our teacher, rabbi Yechezkel / son of Mr. Yosef, our teacher, who drove the crown / of the rabbinate and of the members of the rabbinic tribunal here and in the country, of blessed memory, 22 / years and who was called to the great yeshivah / on Sunday, the 4th intermediate days of Pesach, year 605<sup>117</sup> / of the minor era, 'the pious will exult in glory /; they will sing praises on their beds',<sup>118</sup> / May his soul be bound up in the bond of everlasting life. /

The funerary inscription of the great Rabbi Yechezkel (Ezekiel) Paneth is, as expected, large, and the text contains numerous appellations attesting to the great respect of the Jewish community for the rabbi, as well as his role in the emancipation of the Jews of Alba Iulia, but also of Transylvania. Among these epithets we mention: "the great, special light" (*hameor hagadol hamefursam*), "the rabbi's crown" (*keter harabanut*), "our teacher, the rabbi" (*morenu harav*).

Moreover, the text also includes two Bible verses, the first from the book of Ezekiel 3:22 (*wayomer Adonai el Yechezkel el habeq'ah / wesham ere'eh eleycha*, "And the Lord said to Ezekiel, 'Get up and go out to the plain, and there I will speak to you'"), where the rabbi is associated with the prophet, whose name he bears, and the words refer to the moment of the theophany when the prophet is given the task of proclaiming the words of the Lord to the Jewish community, no easy task, as the context of chapter 3 of the book of Ezekiel shows, as are the difficulties of the rabbi in communicating with at least part of the Jewish community in various parts of Transylvania.<sup>119</sup>



▲ Fig. 13. The earliest gravestone with a duplicate inscription, in Hebrew and German, identified in Sector c. The German text on the back of the gravestone is as follows: HEINRICH / LEMBERGER / geboren in BELED / in UNGARN / im Jahre 1786 / gestorben in FELVINTZ / am 21<sup>ter</sup> Juni 1858.

Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2014.



▲ Fig. 14. The earliest gravestone with a duplicate inscription, in Hebrew and Hungarian, identified in Sector c. The Hungarian text on the back of the gravestone is as follows: Itt nyugszik / Szeretett atyánk galaczi / KLÄRMANN REZSŐ / (RUDOLF) / Meghalt 1882 Augusztus 19.

Photo: Daniel Dumitran, 2014.

The second text, alluding to the rabbi's death, is placed at the bottom of the inscription and is taken from Psalms 149:5 (*ya'alzu chasidim bekevod yiranenu / al mishkevotam*, "Let his faithful exult in glory; let them sing for joy on their beds"). The Hebrew word *chasidim* ("believers") may allude to the rabbi's closeness to the Hasidic pietistic movement. Ezekiel Paneth, during the time he lived in Linsk (Poland), became close to this movement and especially to Menachem Mendel of Rimanov,<sup>120</sup> to whom he was a disciple.

The rabbi's departure to the eternal life is expressed metaphorically, "and he was called to the great yeshiva" (*utitvakesh beyeshivah shel ma'alah*), so death can seem like a heavenly reunion of the hasids.

Following the epigraphic analysis, it is observed that the eighteenth-century inscriptions<sup>121</sup> are simple, devoid of ornamentation, and the text is not standardised, as is the case with nineteenth-century inscriptions. In both periods, stereotypical forms like *poh nitman* (masc.) / *poh nitmena* (fem.) are found at the beginning, and at the end, the expression *Thehiy nishematho* (masc.) / *nishematha* (fem.) *tzerurah bitzeror hachayyim* is present, taken from 1 Samuel 25:29.

However, there are other textual differences. In the eighteenth century, the name of the deceased's father is not always included,<sup>122</sup> and the expression *niftar wenikbar* ("died and was buried") is sometimes replaced with the phrase *halakh leolamo* ("went to eternity").<sup>123</sup> In the case

of the oldest inscription, M 63, there is an inversion between the patronymic name Arye and the deceased's name, son of Tuvyah, who died in 1712.

The structure of nineteenth-century inscriptions typically included, after the acronym פ"נ (*poh nitman* / *poh nitmena*), the word *yish* (for men) or *yishah* (for women). Usually, on the next line, the word אישה (*yishah*, "woman, wife") was followed by various epithets such as חשובה (*chashuvah*, "esteemed") and sometimes together with הצנועה (*hatzenuah*, "modest"). At other times, after the word אישה (*yishah*), expressions from biblical verses were included, such as Proverbs 31:30, "a God-fearing woman is to be praised", אשת חיל יראת ה' היא תתהלל (*esheth chayl yirath HaElohim hiy thithhalel*). The epithet *chayl* ("diligent") is followed, in the case of inscription M 35 for Buena, the daughter of Avraham Russo, by another epithet, *hakevodah* (הכבודה, "respected"). In other instances, such as the double inscription M 30, the expression *yishah chashuvah hatzenuah wehachasudah* is found (האשה הצנועה והחסידה) "an important woman, the honest and pious").

Following the previously mentioned epithets, the name of the deceased woman is mentioned after the title מרת (*marath*, "Mrs."), and in the case of unmarried women, הבתולה (*habethulah*, "virgin").<sup>124</sup> Then, the name of the deceased's father is mentioned, often following the word בת (*bath*, "daughter" [father's name]). In both the inscriptions for deceased ladies and deceased gentlemen, after the word *bath* ("daughter") or *ben* (בן, "son"), the acronym





◆ Fig. 15. The family vaults in the B sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
 a-b. The Jónás family vault – overview and detail with the year of construction.  
 c. The Schreiber family vault.  
 d. The Friedmann family vault.  
 e. The Glück family vault.  
 Photos: Dumitran, 2023.

כה (kaf hei) follows, abbreviating the expression כבוד הרב (kevod harav, “respected Mr.”), although originally rav (רב) means “rabbi.” In cases where the deceased’s father was a rabbi (harav, הרב) or held other honorary titles such as moreinu (מורנו, “Our Teacher”) or rabeinu (“Our Rabbi”), these titles were mentioned after the word bath (“daughter”) or ben (“son”).

Returning to the form of the inscriptions dedicated to men, the epithets are much more limited in expression compared to those found in the case of women, such as tham weyashar (תם וישר, “righteous and honest”), to which sometimes yire Elohim (ירא אלהים, “with fear of the Lord”) is added. These appreciative words are taken from the biblical Book of Job, chapter 1, verse 1. In the case where the deceased was an unmarried young man, instead of the expression kevod harav, the word

habachur<sup>125</sup> (הבחור, “the young man”) appears, sometimes accompanied by the word hachashuv (החשוב, “the important one”), a term that can also accompany the word yish.

After the honorary titles and patronymic, the expression zikhrono livrakhah (זכרונו לברכה, “of blessed memory”) followed, concluding the text with sheniftar weniqbar (שנפטר ונקבר, “passed away and was buried”). Then, the day, month, and year of death according to the Hebrew calendar were mentioned, alongside the expression lifrat qatan (לפרט קטן, “of the minor era”). This indicates that the year on the inscription is not fully written and lacks the digit 5 from the year 5000 (the letter tav, ת).

Regarding inscriptions dedicated to children, they demonstrate a particular delicacy of the text, expressing the grief of bereaved families, as observed in מ 62 (harakh beshanim hayeled, “a young of few years”), מ 225 (ben yaqir hayit leavothekha, “loved son by his parents”), מ



▲ Fig. 16. The tombstone with topographic number M 6 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

226 (*elem nechmad rakh beshanym*, “the nice young man, with tender years.”)

In the mid-nineteenth century, more extensive texts emerge, incorporating expressions beyond those mentioned earlier, as seen in inscriptions like M 224 (*mot akh-zari af al shoshan / bisrunu ba’anu lo chamalat*, “the cruel death [appears] even in joyful moments / our flesh was not [showed] compassion”) and M 225. The texts also exhibit a different spatial orientation, as observed in M 294.

Regarding inscriptions dedicated to community figures, such as that of Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth, they contain biblical verses associated with the image of the rabbi, such as Ezekiel 3:22, where the rabbi is compared to the prophet with the same name. The words mentioning the rabbi’s death are taken from Psalm 149:5, where the pious or *hasidim* are mentioned, alluding to the rabbi’s training within the Hasidic tradition during his youth.

Regarding the placement of inscriptions within the cemetery, they demonstrate that the cemetery was already in use at the beginning of the eighteenth century (M 63) and gradually expanded towards the east (the present-day Vasile Alecsandri Street). It is noteworthy that near the M 63 inscription (the oldest known inscription in the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia), to the right of the current path leading to the *ohel* of Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth (and also to the right of the chapel), other inscriptions



▲ Fig. 17. The tombstone with topographic number M 15 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

from the first half of the eighteenth century can be found, some of which were already mentioned in this article (M 135, M 136, M 139).

The arrangement of children’s graves is interesting; many of them are distant from the family plots, located in the older section, some even in proximity to inscriptions from the eighteenth century, even though the deceased children are from the nineteenth century.<sup>126</sup>

Another situation worth mentioning, comparing the placement of the grave of Buena (M 35, deceased in 1801) with that of her father, Avraham Russo (M 345, deceased in 1738),<sup>127</sup> reveals that daughters were buried at a distance from their fathers, but wives could be buried near their husbands, as observed in the case of the double inscription M 30 (of spouses Mordekhay and Reizel, who passed away in a short time interval). Sometimes, as seen in the inscriptions M 300 and M 301, brothers could be buried nearby, especially if the death occurred suddenly. The situation of inscriptions M 109 / M 113 and M 114 shows that sons could be buried near the gravesite of their father, especially if they were *Kohanim* or Levites.

### The funerary monuments: Artistic, stylistic, and typological characteristics

Since ancient times, the grave and the grave marker have been fundamental components of the community and the



▲ Fig. 18. The tombstone with topographic number M 30 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.



▲ Fig. 19. The tombstone with topographic number M 36 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

collective remembrance. Monuments, regardless of their grandeur, could not fully bear their mnemonic burden, not being able to record all the qualities, achievements, or aspirations of the deceased, as there were physical memorial limits.<sup>128</sup>

The classification of funerary monuments from a certain area, from a typological point of view, is extremely difficult because their share is not uniform, and they differ from one craftsman to another, from the craftsman's preference for certain types of pieces, from the ease with which they can be made, etc. However, there are some aspects that must be taken into account when analysing such pieces, and one of the main criteria that must be taken into account is the orientation, vertical or horizontal (on the ground or floor, depending on their positioning).

If the monuments placed horizontally present only a few distinct types, in the case of the vertical ones things get slightly more complicated, their diversity being more obvious. In Jewish cemeteries, the placement of funerary monuments was well established and there was no priority according to social status, especially in the early period of the existence of Transylvanian Jewish cemeteries. Thus, according to the typology and construction manner of the funerary monuments, we can easily identify the characteristics of the funerary complex, the

evolution of a cemetery being closely related to the integration of a community into the society it belongs to.

The Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia offers, through the impressive number of funerary monuments, an extremely clear picture of the evolution of funerary art. The corroboration of elements of monument typology, their symbolism, and the evolution of the decoration gives us an image of the development of the cemetery.

Jewish funerary monuments, the *matzevah*, offer the image of a simple grave marker, in the form of a stela, a vertical funerary monument, which was initially notable for its sobriety, simplicity, and relatively small dimensions. Such types of funerary monuments<sup>129</sup> can be found especially in the old part of the cemetery, especially in sector c. However, the composition of a funerary monument oftentimes stands out especially through the plinth (or base, as the case may be) and the actual body of the funerary monument. This aspect differs according to the typology of the piece, the vertical monuments being different from the horizontal ones. There are exceptions in vertical monuments, especially in the case of the most complex ones, but their structure respects to some extent the distinction between the plinth and the monument itself. There are instances where the monuments were carved as one block and others with a distinct trunk, base, and plinth. In this case, the situation differed depending



▲ Fig. 20a-b. The tombstone with topographic number M 294 in the C sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.

a. Photo by Călin Șuteu, 2014; b. Photo from 1988, © Arhiva Centrului pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România, Fund I, file no. 104.

on the typology.<sup>130</sup> In the case of old pieces, the plinth is often missing or its place is taken by a simple base, processed to support the piece vertically. In other cases, the piece (especially the piece falling in the typology of crosses) has a support base on which the body of the monument is mounted.

In its composition, the tombstone usually has a field for decoration and one for inscriptions. Often, the field intended for decoration is positioned in the upper part of the monument, and the epitaph in the lower part.<sup>131</sup> There are cases where the decoration is present both in the upper and lower part, right at the base of the epitaph, or there are ornaments that can interlace with the text of the epitaph. For eighteenth-century monuments where the field of decoration is missing, it is replaced by the פ"נ inscription (*pei nun*).

From the point of view of the share occupied by the text and the symbolic field, there is no rule. However, the economy of spaces intended for the inscription and the symbol was extremely well thought out. The lack of exuberant decoration was dictated by the sobriety of funeral monuments. However, the adoption of new ways to construct the monuments, and a more special decoration can be observed along with the evolution of the community and its integration in the local society. There

is a differentiation between decoration and symbol, as well as between the decoration and the elements used especially with a structural role, as is the case of the cornice. With the evolution of the funeral art and the development of the stone workshops, funeral monuments become increasingly elaborate, some of them becoming true works of art. The analysis of the funeral pieces from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia reflects a gradual evolution of the funeral pieces, with commemorative monuments being distinguished by the stateliness of ornamental elements.

A special aspect involves taking over architectural decorative elements in the elaboration of funerary pieces. If the situation is simpler as far as horizontal funerary monuments are concerned, when we discuss the vertical pieces, except for the actual body of the monument, the lower and upper parts present structural elements inspired by architecture. Thus, the base of the monuments can be either a small foundation or a plinth, or a plinth completed with a well-defined pedestal, and the upper part is occupied by the pediment and/or cornice, often decorated in the style of the time, with neo-Gothic influences or elements, or with various profiles.<sup>132</sup> Also, there are elements taken from architecture that have only a decorative role, pilasters or engaged columns, consoles or acroters being frequently used. Stylistic details, typical of a particular period, can also be found in the composition of some funerary pieces, such as, for example, palmettes, shells, volutes, etc. The structural role of architectural elements taken from buildings is obvious, save for those with a strictly decorative role.



▲ Fig. 21a-b. The tombstone with topographic number M 300 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
a. Photo by Călin Șuteu, 2014; b. Photo from 1988, © Arhiva Centrului pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România, Fund I, file no. 104.

The situation is different for horizontal monuments. The coffin-type monuments are provided with a quadrangular elevation in the form of a slab with the same extended body of the upper part which is mostly conical, rounded.

The stylistic analysis of funerary monuments is a useful aspect in corroboration with the analysis of epitaphs. In order to exemplify the manner a stylistic evolution outlines, the 39 selected pieces will be further analysed.

A particular aspect that can be traced through the stylistic analysis of funerary monuments is the standardization in certain periods of time and the preference for certain types of monuments, as well as their defining elements. The eighteenth century is characterised by a more accentuated sobriety of the monuments and a lack of symbols carved into the body of the tombstones. Another aspect identified and worth mentioning is the difference between the stone used in the eighteenth century and the stone used in the following two centuries, noting the superior mechanical resistance of the former. The sedimentary rock used predominantly used for the funerary monuments is a local limestone from local quarries

(Ighiu, Ampoița, Țelna, etc.), but its mechanical strength in the quarry differs depending on the exploited area. If there are quarries that were systematically exploited (such as Ighiu), other areas of provenance had open and unorganised quarries (such as Ampoița).

Until the seventeenth century, decorative motifs on gravestones were rare. It is only afterwards that the custom of decorating tombs with symbols appears. These symbols become dominant elements of the composition related to the inscription field.<sup>133</sup>

The end of the eighteenth century brought changes in the symbols represented. New symbols appeared, such as the menorah, the candelabrum with three or five arms, and less common themes, such as griffins, began to be used. The symbols lost their meaning over time, but the related nineteenth-century pieces still retained their spiritual charge. However, during the same century, elements with a strictly decorative role appeared, in combination with religious symbols. The monuments became ever more individualised in terms of their stylistic and typological structure.

The M 6 monument (Fig. 16), made of sedimentary rock, contains the two fields, the inscription and the decoration. The incised field of the inscription is set within a frame. In the upper part of the tympanum, the symbol framed by the inscription *poh nitman* is superimposed over it. The symbol – a right hand represented holding



▲ Fig. 22-24. The tombstones with topographic numbers M 61, M 62 and M 63 in the M sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.

Photo: Călin Şuteu, 2014.

a jug – is religious and is specific to the Levites. The funerary piece has a high-relief console, with a receding profile. Its role is decorative and structural, as it is meant to protect the lower fields.

M 15, a *matzevah*-type monument (Fig. 17), is also divided into two fields, that of the inscription and that of the decoration, framed by a straight profile in the lower area. This continues in the form of a receding cornice in the area of the field dedicated to the decoration. The decoration is also framed by the initials of the typical Hebrew inscription *p.n* – פ"נ, the symbol representing a weeping willow, a palm tree or the tree of life. All these are often used in Jewish symbolism. The stylised manner of achieving the decoration makes it impossible to precisely identify the decoration. Known in specialised literature as *Salix Babylonica*, called the tree of delight or the tree of sighs, the willow signifies grief, unhappiness, and mourning in the Western tradition. The Latin name of the tree refers to the psalm where the Jews lament their fate in captivity of Babylon under the shade of the willows.<sup>134</sup> The representation of the tree on funerary monuments has a spiritual character associated with the Jewish religion. The archetype is God's planting of the tree of life in the middle of Eden.<sup>135</sup>

The word “willow” designates, in the holy book, a tree from the Salicaceae family which includes this type of tree, as well as the poplar. The poplar twig was used by Jacob for magical purposes.<sup>136</sup> Requiring the presence of water to grow, the willow was found especially near rivers and lakes, and thus became a symbol of life. Also, this tree is known because of the speed with which it develops, other phytomorphic decorative elements in the Bible being likened to this symbol. In the parable of the eagle from the Book of Ezekiel, the vine sprout grows like a willow.<sup>137</sup> According to a Christian legend, the willow received both its shape and the tearing of its leaves from

the guilt and shame felt over the use of the branches to hit Jesus during the crucifixion episode.<sup>138</sup> The central meaning of the weeping willow is that of life, growth, and fecundity. The willow branches brought from the church on Palm Sunday, after the Christian tradition, took the place of olive or palm branches from other areas.<sup>139</sup>

The palm tree, a fruit tree that grew near water, had already been synonymous with height and abundance in biblical times. The existence of such a tree meant the presence of water, a meal always ready and rest in its shade. This tree became the symbol of Judea, where palm trees are common. The palm tree also represented the productive Judea, the blessed Judea, and the palm motif was represented very often on the walls, doors and pillars of the Tabernacle and the Temple. The palm thus has a double meaning, as the symbol of Judea and as the symbol of abundance and plenty.<sup>140</sup> The palm branch was used in religious processions, symbolising dignity, royal honour, jubilation, and victory.<sup>141</sup> Jesus was welcomed in Jerusalem with palm branches, and the palm tree appears as the tree of life in certain representations. Although it is not featured so often, it is considered a symbol of the martyrs.<sup>142</sup>

The manner of construction of the M 15 monument shows a slight clumsiness in rendering the profile, as well as in the manner of carving the decoration. This may lead us to think of the possibility that apprentice craftsmen made the sculptural composition.

M 30 (Fig. 18), although without a field of richly elaborated decoration (this being supplemented by the acronym “here lies”, framed by two olive leaves), is different in terms of the typology of a double star, with a field of inscriptions framed by a straight profile, having a cornice in relief with a receding profile. This typology is often found in the case of spouses or brothers, but also in the case of other degrees of kinship (parents and children).

The funerary monument M 35 (Fig. 1), a piece that was originally in a secondary position, having fallen to the ground, presents a special feature due to the extremely



▲ Fig. 25a-b. The tombstone with topographic number M 73 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
a. Photo by Călin Șuteu, 2014; b. Photo from 1988, © Arhiva Centrului pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România, Fund I, file no. 104.

careless carving, executed in an amateurish way. The verticality of the piece is off-centre, tilted to the right, in an unnatural angle. The cornice framing the undecorated inscription also presents a profile made without the care typical of experienced stonemasons.

Otherwise, M 36 (Fig. 19) offers a much neater manner of construction, despite all the errors in the profiled cornice. The funerary monument shows traces of writing calculated by observing the drill holes, and the upper area of the decoration offers a more complex decoration, the Star of David framed by two facing lions. The Star of David is also known as Magen, Magen David, Seal of Solomon or Shield of David. According to legend, David, originally a shepherd and future king of the Jews, had such a shield in the fight with Goliath, although the origin of this symbol precedes this legendary episode, being also present in Neolithic ornamentation. The hexagram or six-pointed star is made up of two superimposed equilateral triangles, one pointed up (symbol of masculinity) and one pointed down (symbol of femininity). The corners of the star symbolise the days of creation, and the hexagon inside symbolises the Sabbath.<sup>143</sup> The symbol became the emblem of Judaism, being represented on the flag of Israel. Most of the time, the Star of David appears on gravestones for male deaths.<sup>144</sup>

Animal characters either symbolise religious events or may refer to the patronymic name of the deceased. Many popular patronymics translated from Yiddish indicate animals often found on Jewish gravestones.<sup>145</sup>

The image of the lion has the highest frequency in funerary art. The richness of the symbolic meaning of this animal is extremely complex. The lion becomes the symbol of the tribe of Judah. Among the Jews, the symbol can also be correlated with the name of the deceased, being represented as such for the deceased named Leib, Yehuda-Leib or Yehuda.<sup>146</sup> Although in art, in general, the lion is often represented fighting, but also at rest,<sup>147</sup> in funerary art the representation of these animals is alone, lying on their paws, in a rampant position or facing another lion. When facing, they usually frame another symbol. The representation of the king of animals has as



▲ Fig. 26-27. The tombstones with topographic numbers M 75 and M 80 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia. Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

main meanings power, justice, and kingship. In Jewish art it appears as an expression of the power of God and the Torah, of hope in the afterlife and in the resurrection.<sup>148</sup>

M 61 is one of the pieces in the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia that stands out due to its typology (Fig. 22). Although it is a vertical piece, the pediment is triangular, with a trapezoidal profile. The construction is not exceptional, but the piece stands out by the way of framing the decoration with an excised frame, the motif used being the olive leaf, which in the upper area is doubled by another phytomorphic motif, in the closing area of the cornice.

The M 62 monument remains one of the most well-preserved funerary pieces in the historical area of the cemetery (Fig. 23), the precision of the profile and the carving of the decorative motif (the olive tree framed by two facing lions) indicating the work of a skilled carver with extensive experience, as well as artistic talent. The writing of the inscription is also neat and proportional.

As for the M 63 monument, quite degraded, it does not present any particularities. It lacks decoration, and the piece is simple, without any technical specificity, reminiscent of pieces from the early period of the Jewish cemetery (Fig. 24). Due to erosion in the upper part, we cannot say with certainty whether it had a cornice, as the entire area that would have been dedicated to this element does not present any traces of support. By analogy with similar pieces from the eighteenth century, we would lean towards the hypothesis that it did not.

M 73 is a *matzevah*-type funerary piece with a receding profile and an inscription field enclosed in an incised frame (Figs 25a-b). The decorative motif represents a five-branched candelabrum, a symbol often used in Jewish funerary art. Another symbol, the menorah, the current coat of arms of Israel,<sup>149</sup> is the seven-branched candelabrum and is one of the most common symbols of the Jews. Being one of the objects of worship made before the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem, it is ubiquitous in religious rituals. It first appears in the Bible in the scene where Moses is being told to make a seven-branched candelabrum. In the Bible it is identified with a candlestick, having practically the same meaning.<sup>150</sup> The meaning



◆ Fig. 28-34. The tombstones with topographic numbers M 82, 83, 81, 90, 97, 102 and 106 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

of the menorah is also related to the Babylonian tree of light.<sup>151</sup> The number seven, the number of branches of the menorah, is a holy, complete number, which represents God and the world.<sup>152</sup> God has created the world in seven days, seven becoming practically a cycle of time. For the Jews, only the seventh day has a name, the other days being only numbered.<sup>153</sup> In other instances, the menorah represented the seven planets that were known at that time. Another symbol would be that of gold, a solar metal, related to the brightness given off by the torches of the candelabrum.<sup>154</sup>

The candlestick, or sometimes just a torch, is intended for the man who, more often than not, can no longer find his way in the dark. Regardless of the nature of the torch, the light represents God's help that protects man in any situation.<sup>155</sup>

The M 75 monument shows a much more detailed composition of the way the fields were framed (Fig. 26). The part dedicated to the inscription is enclosed by a frame in the form of a shield in relief, a rendering found in a series of pieces in the cemetery belonging to the nineteenth century. The body of the piece is rendered with a concave lateral delimitation between the field of the inscription and that of the decoration, which is framed by a semi-circular cornice decorated with volutes. The demarcation between the fields is also made by two parallel geometric ornaments. The decoration is a stylised seven-branched menorah framed by two hands, a symbol that represents the blessing of the Shabbat candles. The man-





▲ Fig. 35-36a-b. The tombstones with topographic numbers M 107 and M 109 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.



▲ Fig. 37. The tombstone with topographic number M 135 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.



▶ Fig. 38. The tombstone with topographic number M 136 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.



◆ Fig. 39-43. The tombstones with topographic numbers M 112, 113, 114, 139 and 165 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.

Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.



▲ Fig. 44a-b. The tombstone with topographic number M 213 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.

a. Photo by Călin Șuteu, 2014; b. Photo from 1988, © Arhiva Centrului pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România, Fund I, file no. 104.

► Fig. 45-47. The tombstones with topographic numbers M 224, 226 and 236 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia. Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

▼ Fig. 48. The tombstone with topographic number M 225 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia. Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.





ner of rendering the decoration is simplistic, the decoration being highly stylised.

M 80 is a simple piece, without decoration, with a field of the inscription protected by a cornice (Fig. 27), while M 81 presents a special feature, being a rectangular piece that gives the impression that it has been reused in the construction of the funerary monument (Fig. 30).

One of the outstanding pieces from a stylistic point of view is M 82, both in terms of the artistic manner of rendering the field of the decoration (a fluted bowl with handles having a bouquet of flowers in the centre) and the careful manner of carving the profile of the cornice or the inscription (Fig. 28). A special feature is the preservation of the red and blue pigment in the decoration area.

The M 83 monument is another piece that, despite pronounced deterioration, offers a different manner of rendering the decoration (Fig. 29). The motif used is that of a three-branched candlestick and the blessing of the candles, an extremely common element. The symbol is similar to that of M 75. However, the non-anatomical manner of rendering the hands should be noted, compared to the much more elaborate representation of the menorah. The profile of the cornice, composed of three receding profiles, the middle one being a much more accentuated torus, is rendered with much more care by the craftsman. The inscription field is also enclosed in an incised frame.

◀ Fig. 49. The tombstone with topographic number M 345 in the C sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.

Photo: Călin Șuteu, 2014.



M 90 is one of the few funerary monuments to feature the symbol of a griffin (Fig. 31). Besides depictions of the animal in its entirety or just the head, there are many images of fabulous monsters born from the combination of real elements of various animals. Thus, anatomical parts of the lion were often used in the representation of griffins, chimeras or sphinxes, in association with parts of other animals. The most commonly perpetuated image of the griffin in funerary art combines the body of a lion with the head and wings of an eagle. This representation embodies wisdom or vigilance.<sup>156</sup>

In our example, the griffin is associated with a phytomorphic motif. The griffin is represented in the upper part of the central inscription *poh nitmenah* ("here lies"), this time made by excision. The field of the inscription is bordered in the lower part by a three-branched candlestick. The upper part is closed by a cornice with a double receding profile.

The fragmented M 97 piece, with a profiled semi-circular cornice, presents a decoration with a five-branched menorah enclosed by the acronym *poh nitmenah*. The decoration is excised, being framed by the background, the field of the entire inscription being in the foreground (Fig. 32).

M 102 is a neatly executed funerary piece, with the field of the inscription different from that of the decoration by their distinct placement (Fig. 33). The field of the inscription is framed, and the closing of the frame in the upper, trefoil area, is different from that of the representations so far. The symbol is represented by a phytomorphic decoration, a bouquet of vines, united centrally and tied with



▲ Fig. 50a-b. The tombstone with topographic number M 301 in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia.  
a. Photo by Călin Șuteu, 2014; b. Photo from 1988, © Arhiva Centrului pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România, Fund I, file no. 104.



◀ Fig. 51a-c. The two tombstones inside the ohel of Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth (topographic number M 900) in the c sector of the Jewish cemetery of Alba Iulia, with details of the tympanum and upper ornament of Rabbi Paneth's tombstone. Photos: Daniel Dumitran, 2014.



a possible ribbon or string. The piece features a carefully crafted cornice with a straight closing.

The M 106 monument is atypical, moving from the classic *matzevah* form to an obelisk-style monument in two parts, the lower one in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped protected by a cornice, with a pyramidal piece placed on top, preceding the typical obelisk-type monuments (Fig. 34). These types of monuments are signs of interfaith cultural assimilation.

M 107 shows a classical *matzevah* monument with a profiled cornice and two fields. The symbol used is the Star of David, which centrally frames the abbreviation *poh nitman* (Fig. 35).

Two special monuments, related to each other this time, are M 109 and M 113, being used side by side and keeping the same double inscription (Fig. 36a-b and Fig. 40). M 109 has the coffin type, or sarcophagus, with the inscription rendered on both sides, framed within a coat of arms. The vertical piece, M 113, of the *matzevah* type, is a simple piece, with a symbol of the blessing of the *kohanim*, framed by a profile in the form of a torus. The cornice is profiled and the inscription incised.

The M 112 monument is a particular one, primarily due to the chosen typology, with a circular pediment framed by two acroteria decorated with stylised palmettes (Fig. 39). The manner of construction is much more complex, the piece having a base, a trunk, and a pediment. The quality of the stone is greater compared to the quality of locally-sourced stone, although it is also a sedimentary rock.

M 114 presents a *matzevah*-type piece, in the manner of those represented this far, with two fields and a carefully elaborated symbol. It does not follow the anatomical pattern, representing the blessing of the *Kohanim* with a crown overlay. The cornice is receding (Fig. 41).

The M 135 monument is different in the manner of its carving. It is much more massive, and is located in an area of the cemetery where a greater share of this type of monuments can be noticed (Fig. 37). The field of decoration is missing, and the inscription is framed by a band extending the cornice, without interruption. The M 136 piece is also a monument without decoration. It is small, but has a cornice (Fig. 38). The M 139 piece is a simple monument, without decoration or cornice (Fig. 42).

Another particularly elaborated funerary monument is M 165 (Fig. 43). Its geometry is impressive, being composed of the base, the trunk of the monument and a triangular pediment. The decoration is strictly ornamental. It is composed of two leaves that merge centrally, above the field of the inscription in the background. The inscription and the decoration are framed by two side bands that give the impression of supporting the upper part of the monument. The triangular pediment in turn includes a triangular plan, which has the acronym *poh nitman* in the centre.

M 213, a fragmentary monument, without decoration, with a partially legible inscription, presents a particularity due to the presence of a fragment of the inscription incised in the background, in a quadrangle frame of small dimensions (Figs 44a-b). This aspect could highlight an initial mistake in the writing of the inscription, later corrected by the craftsman, who straightened the plan of the characters and rewrote the inscription.

The M 224 piece, belonging to a special typology of funerary monuments in Jewish cemeteries, is a complex monument (Fig. 45). The piece includes the base, the trunk in the shape of an hourglass, as well as the upper part, which originally might have had a fir tree or flower bud in the upper extremity, or a simple decoration in the shape of a sphere.<sup>157</sup> The decoration of the piece is complex, presenting carved elements both in the upper and the lower registers. In the upper register, a detached draping can be observed on both sides, while in the lower part there can be either a geometric or a zoomorphic decoration (by representing snakes), which frames a phytomorphic decoration. The whole piece is framed by a band ending in geometric volutes in the upper register.

Funerary monument M 225, dated 1852, following the *matzevah* type of the period, is a vertical slab ending with a triangular tympanum (Fig. 48). The manner of carving the inscription is particularly careful, artistically made, reflecting the special skilfulness of the craftsman. The field of the inscription frames a broken olive branch, and the piece benefits from a cornice with a listel profile, geometric, continued with the framing of the field of the inscription.

M 226 is a piece that impresses through the manner it was executed, but similar to other pieces in that area, the geometry of the profile, otherwise imperfect, offering a very special image of the monument. The field of the decoration is represented by a broken olive branch (Fig. 46).

M 236 is a funerary piece in a poor state of preservation, and unfortunately the field of the decoration is deeply affected. However, a profiled cornice can be observed. Two volutes made with great care can be noticed on its two closing sides (Fig. 47).

M 294 is one of the most distinctive pieces of the historical sector C of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia (Figs 20a-b). It is the only piece identified so far having central decoration (the seven-branched menorah) and an inscription framing this symbol on all four sides. The menorah is superimposed by a star or a flower with six stylised petals. The geometric and careful manner of crafting the menorah, as well as the layout of the space, suggest that a stonemason with some experience designed this funerary piece. The cornice is a receding one.

Another complex piece is M 300 (Figs 21a-b). It is richly decorated, with a field of double decoration, both in the lower part (where two facing lions holding a bowl are shown) and in the upper part, where a solar representation is carved framing a flower, and two representations of birds can be seen on its two sides. The field of the inscription is framed by a straight profile. In the upper part, a cornice that is continued downwards can be distinguished.

The M 301 monument, one of the pieces salvaged from the state of collapse, preserved fragmentarily, had a complex representation of the decoration, with precise symbols: the right hand holding a vessel on top of which a stag was represented, framed by two phytomorphic motifs). The *poh nitman* inscription was represented on the side of the stag, the space of the pediment being thus very well chosen for the integration of all the symbols. The cornice is double and continues to the base of the monument (Figs 50a-b).

M 345, partially fragmentary, shows a simple, undecorated piece, with a field of the inscription delimited

by a continuous lateral band that takes the place of the cornice (Fig. 49).

The commemorative monument erected in memory of the well-known Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth, who died in 1845, housed inside the *ohel* built later, offers an image of the monuments much closer to the original image (Fig. 51c). Most funerary monuments were covered with various pigments, applied by brush. The monuments inside the *ohel* provide a detailed picture of Jewish funerary monuments. Most of the time, the characters of the inscription were written in black, and blue, ochre or grey are confined around the symbol. However, in the present case we can also distinguish later interventions on the monument by repainting the inscription. The monument dedicated to Ezekiel Paneth is of the *matzevah* type, with a well-defined field of decoration and inscription. The piece is made of a single block, but retains a profiled base, the trunk, and an upper tympanum intended for the symbol, which is a hand holding the *Torah* or a prayer book (Fig. 51a). The manner of construction the piece as a whole is extremely neat, the proportions of the cornice profile that frames the upper extremity of the piece are rigorously drawn, and the volutes closing the cornice are mirrored, preserving the proportions.<sup>158</sup> The field of the inscription is framed laterally by two bands in the form of added columns that each present a phytomorphic motif (a flower) in the form of a small capital. Between the field of the inscription and that of the decoration there is a small belt in the form of a band decorated with geometric motifs. The top of the tympanum is decorated with a geometric motif, a sphere ornamented at the base with a crown (Fig. 51b).

Next to Rabbi Paneth's tomb there is another tomb, that of Rabbi Menachem Mendel, who died in 1823 (Fig. 51c). The funerary piece is simple, without a symbol, with the inscription doubled in the field intended for decoration. The piece is decorated with a receding profiled cornice. A special aspect of this monument is related to the visibility of the lines drawn for carving the characters, proof of the attention of the master stonemason tasked with carrying out the work.

In conclusion, the characteristics of the evolution of Jewish funerary art can be observed with the passage of time. If in the first part of the cemetery's existence the monuments used were strictly of the *matzevah* type, following a classical construction pattern, without complex defining elements, characterised by simplicity and sobriety, with the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the following century, a series of different decorations, elements from architecture or elements strictly intended to beautify the monument started to be adopted. The manner of construction starts to be much more fitting and qualitative, and the rocks used tend to be more and more diverse.

Starting here, it is possible to consider the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia as a *cemetery of the future*,<sup>159</sup> being more than a classic cemetery and offering information on the history of a community through those buried there, the deceased who were part of a society and contributed to its development. The visitor can readily access this information, marking the fusion of the past with the digital future. The image of funerary art as a whole can reveal a series of information related to the community it belongs to. Analysing the monuments from an artistic point of view can provide, for example, a broader image of his-

torical stonemasonry and its execution by either skilled craftsmen or others less so. The care for the construction of a funerary monument often highlights the importance of the person commemorated or their social status. In addition to inscriptions, which have an elementary role for funerary monuments, symbols are often the elements that convey information about those who were buried, especially related to their occupation.

## Conclusions

Jewish cemeteries offer a precious source of information regarding the evolution of the communities related to them, their ritual affiliation, or the interactions between Jews and Christians, especially when the investigation concerns funerary art and the structure of epitaphs. Reflecting the community's adherence to the currents of traditional Judaism such as Hasidism, in the case of the cemetery in Siret researched by Silviu Sanie,<sup>160</sup> or to those of modern Judaism, when the perspective of the analysis is broader as is the case of Felicia Grigorescu's work dedicated to Jewish cemeteries in north-western Romania,<sup>161</sup> this relationship is all the more complex and the larger the scope of this case study.

The example of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia falls into the second category, that of a community with a remarkable tradition. This influenced the community's adherence to the Orthodox rite, which nonetheless received reforming influences over time, leading its most prominent members to be much more open to new ideas. Precisely for this reason, the historical perspective in the first part of the study includes examples of the community's evolution trends and of the modified structure of the epitaphs or the type of funerary monuments used since the end of the nineteenth century. By contrast, the epigraphic, artistic, stylistic, and typological analysis in the dealt with in the subsequent part of this study is more strictly circumscribed, referring to a selection of tombstones dating from the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Even so, the typological and stylistic difference between the former, for which similarities with tombstones from other inventoried European cemeteries can be observed,<sup>162</sup> and at least some of the others is clear. Obvious baroque forms characterise some of the monuments built towards the middle of the nineteenth century,<sup>163</sup> and the neo-Gothic ones built even later, towards the end of the same century. This indicates notable delays in the reception of such forms.<sup>164</sup> The content of the inscriptions also changed in the second period, providing details in several cases, and reflecting, as pointed out, a greater sensitivity in those epitaphs dedicated to deceased children, which are also supported by the delicacy of the symbols that accompany the text (*ex. gr.* M 62, M 225, M 226 – Figs 23, 48, 46).

The epigraphic analysis proves the validity of the hypotheses formulated regarding the territorial evolution of the historical sector of the cemetery, starting from its initial core, from the eighteenth century,<sup>165</sup> probably also delimited by the mound of earth visible in the aerial photograph, and reflected in the first plan of the cemetery, and continuing with the expansion directions of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the next century. It brings to light interesting new details regarding the existence of some form of segregation in the case of children's graves, which was maintained in the later period, even if there are exceptions.

A more special case in terms of its significance is offered by M 112, dedicated to Mrs. Breindel, the daughter of Gedalyahu (Fig. 39), which was placed in the immediate vicinity of the tomb of Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth, in an area reserved for the tombs of priests, evidently disturbing Yehudah's horizontal tombstone of 1813 (M 109, Figs 36a-b), which led to its cracking. Her social position and the family's desire to highlight her piety may explain this unusual placement of the tomb.

The proven usefulness of documentary sources for supplementing the information gathered through field research should also be emphasised, especially of the old register of the deceased drawn up by the community, whose significance has been established. Compiled from the data provided by the epitaphs probably around the middle of the nineteenth century, it serves today to sup-

plement it, as it was inevitably reduced due to the deterioration of the tombstones over time.

The objective of this article was to highlight, through epigraphic and stylistic analyses, the extent to which the community's ritual affiliation was the Orthodox one. The answer to this question is affirmative, if we consider the almost 250 years that passed from its establishment until the end of the nineteenth century. In the 1800s, elements that announced a diversification of options began to appear, as proved by the profile of the funerary monuments placed in the historical sector during this period and in the other sectors of the cemetery. Therefore, it would be indispensable for this research, which is only a first step, to continue in the near future, in order to achieve the major objective of the complete reconstruction of the community's history, based on these testimonies recorded in stone.

## Notes

1 Sanie 2000. For the catalogue of the old cemetery in Siret see <https://www.jgaliciabukovina.net/225377/cemetery/siret-old-jewish-cemetery>, accessed in 5.01.2023.

2 Sanie 2000, p. 14.

3 Klein 2018, p. 403-423.

4 The texts of the inscriptions of an even more important number of monuments will be published in the catalog annexed to the volume which will appear at the conclusion of the project, in the first part of the following year; among the inscriptions selected for this article, those reproduced with full transcription and translation are not included in this catalog.

5 Lange, Freud-Kandel 2005, p. 5, 93. See also Klein 2018, p. 67-68.

6 Gyémánt 2000, p. 97; Caloianu 2006, p. 62. For the Congress of Pest, see Horel 1994, p. 25-42.

7 Catherine Horel speaks of the antagonism between the communities of Pest and Pressburg, in other words between the partisans of modernisation and the followers of strict Orthodoxy (Horel 1995, p. 110-111). For Mosheh Sofer, see Michael K. Silber, "Sofer, Mosheh," in Hundert 2008, and Horel 1995, p. 112-114; for a short biography of Ezekiel Paneth, Michael K. Silber, "Paneth, Yehezkel," in Hundert 2008.

8 In the petition they addressed to the Diet of Transylvania, in 1842, the leaders of the Israelite Company in Alba Iulia, speaking on behalf of all the Israeli inhabitants of Transylvania and the annexed parts, promised to set up national schools and to progress, through Hungarianisation, just like the other members of society in exchange for being granted civil rights. Gyémánt, Benjamin 1999, p. 289, no. 314.

9 Carmilly-Weinberger 1996, p. 57-58; Gyémánt 2000, p. 84-86, 97; Karady 2004, p. 165-166.

10 In 1883, according to the new statute it adopted, the community in Alba Iulia had the *status quo ante* affiliation, without being different from the Orthodox communities. Caloianu 2006, p. 62-63.

11 These renewals had been condemned in the meeting of the Orthodox rabbis from the north-east of Hungary in Nagymihály (today Michalovce, in Slovakia), convened by Rabbi Hillel Lichtenstein, who had been active in Transylvania in Marghita and Cluj. An opponent of Rabbi Friedman, he nevertheless exerted a certain influence on several Transylvanian communities. Carmilly-Weinberger 1994, p. 112-113; Michael K. Silber, "Lichtenstein, Hillel," in Hundert 2008.

12 The existence of two Jewish schools, teaching in Hebrew and German, is mentioned for the year 1846. In 1850, Chief Rabbi Abraham Friedmann obtained the consent of the community to open a school in German with four teachers paid from a

fund made up from the contributions of the parents and then supplemented with the sums collected for the Jews in Palestine, whose removal from the country was forbidden by the imperial government, but it seems that this commitment was not respected for too long, the Chief Rabbi communicating to the authorities the dissolution of the school, in the year 1854. The state school inaugurated in 1857 had two teachers. Gyémánt 2000, p. 89, 92-93. See also here, p. 94-95, details of the conflicts between the Chief Rabbi and the leadership of the community after 1860, when the former regained control.

13 Caloianu 2006, p. 211-213, 297. According to Carmilly 1991, p. 49, the construction of the synagogue was started by the Sephardim in 1874 and completed by the Ashkenazim in 1886.

14 Caloianu 2006, p. 75-77; as well as, p. 78-79, about the continuation of the dispute until the legalization of the existence of the Orthodox Prayer Association by the decision of the Ministry of Religion in 1921.

15 Caloianu 2006, p. 296. Karady sheds light on the Jews' national assimilation and cultural integration in the Austrian monarchy and in Hungary, as part of the dualist Monarchy 2004, p. 165-172.

16 Horel 1995, p. 232-238, for outlining the problems of assimilation through education and the ideal of ennoblement with regard to the case of Hungary.

17 MNL.KSZKML, *Királyi könyvek*, vol. 70, part 1, p. 369-373, and p. 706-710.

18 See the observation of Klein 2018, p. 403.

19 Eskenazy 1995, p. 102-103, no. 119.

20 Gyémánt 2000, p. 45-46.

21 Carmilly 1991, p. 44, estimates the number of Jews settled in Alba Iulia at 20-25 families. Although there was no actual measure to expel the Transylvanian Jews, one may speak of the interruption of the existence of the first community and of a (re) organization of the community institutions from the eighteenth century. See a similar case of the two Jewish communities from Vienna, in Walzer 2011, p. 13.

22 Caloianu 2006, p. 248-249.

23 Spielmann 1988, p. 78-82, no. 97; Carmilly 1991, p. 47-48. The last author mentions the disappearance of the community book at the end of World War II; its contents are only known based on the articles published by Mathias Eisler in the *Sinai* review between 1928 and 1931.

24 Carmilly 1991, p. 48; Neumann 1996, p. 106.

25 Neumann 1996, p. 106-107; Caloianu 2006, p. 215-246. For further information, see Tercatin, Herşcovici 2008, *sub voce*.

26 Mandl 1937, p. 95-96, no. 113, the authentication of the deed of sale from 6 September 1637, issued by the Chapter of Alba Iulia on 7 September 1785.

27 Jákó 1908, p. 30, 32, and no. 35 from the attached plan, based on the city plan drawn up by Giovanni Morando Visconti in 1711.

28 Makkai, Szász 1986, fig. 307.

29 Anghel, Josan 1998, p. 281-300.

30 "N.ro 56. Jüdischer Friedhof gehört der Juden, so ihn anno 1764 von den Stadt gekauft haben." Anghel, Josan 1998, p. 296 and fig. 2.

31 Gyulafehérvár DN. IX 7 bi., no. 2616/914, Alba Iulia Municipality. The map of this section of the 9th district of the city (Bitofadomb = Gallows' Hill, according to the cadastral plan of the city (Arhiva Oficiului de Cadastru și Publicitate Imobiliară Alba, w. no.) was completed on 23 March 1914.

32 The actual cemetery lay from no. 2083/1/2 to number 2079; the last two numbers (2080 and 2079) represented the area where the cemetery extended in the late nineteenth century (according to corpus VI, no. 405, f. 99, Arhiva Centrului pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România, abbreviated as CSIER Archives); the other numbers were occupied by the mortuary house, three other houses and the related land.

33 The request was addressed to the Ministry of National Economy – the State Sub-secretary for Colonisation and Evacuees – The Romanianisation Centre on 22 April 1941 by Alexandru Springer, president of the "Chewra Kadischa" Reunion (*loc. cit.*, f. 2); The certificate issued by the Alba Iulia mayor, Dumitru Bogdan on 7 September 1943 which certifies the actual use as a cemetery of the land between topographic numbers 2083/1/2 and 2081, *loc. cit.*, f. 43.

34 This is Law-Decree no. 842 dated 28 March 1941 on the transfer to the state assets of the Jewish urban properties belonging to individuals and companies or other civil enterprises, *loc. cit.*, f. 2r.

35 Both are kept in the archive of the Jewish Community of Alba Iulia.

36 The register is a *colligatum* consisting of two parts, the first smaller, possibly fragmentary, with a manuscript rubrication, the second more consistent, with the printed rubrication and the visible typographical mark. Subsequent page numbering begins with the end, disregarding the specifics of Hebrew books.

37 The article of law XXIX/1840, adopted by the Hungarian Diet and confirmed by the emperor in an amended form. Gyémánt, Benjamin 1999, p. 243-246, no. 287.

38 Gyémánt 2000, p. 162, 192-193.

39 In the collection *Registre de stare civilă de la parohii* kept at the Alba County Directorate of the National Archives, the oldest identified are two registers of births, one register of marriages and one register of deaths, started in 1850 for the community of Alba Iulia (nos. 244, 245, 249, and 252).

40 The typographic mark of the registry in the community archive ("Druck von Moritz Burian, Budapest") can be found in a similar form in the death register of the Teiuș community: "Bedruckt und zu haben bei Moritz Burian, Buchdruckerei u. Buchhandlung, Budapest, Marokkanerhaus." *Registre de stare civilă de la parohii*, no. 2514a.

41 According to the complaint filed in 1944 by the leadership of the "Chewra Kadischa" Pious Reunion to the Minister of Justice against the decision to expropriate the properties owned by the Reunion in Alba Iulia. In both cases the original donation papers for the land with topographic numbers 2079 and 2080 were missing and reference was made to the protocol of the Reunion from 1873-1887 where they were recorded on 6 April 1874 and 22 April 1875. Corpus VI, no. 405, f. 99, CSIER Archives; see also corpus I, no. 440, f. 5, authenticated copy of Joseph Mandel's donation for the benefit of the Reunion dated 12 June 1876. The property of *Joseph Mendel* is marked on the layout from 1858 under no. 26.

42 Michael K. Silber, "Paneth, Yehezkel", in Hundert 2008.

43 The register is kept in the archive of the Jewish Community

of Alba Iulia and contains the typographical mark: *Tip. Albert, Cluj*.

44 The handwritten alphabetical index, also kept in the archive of the Jewish Community of Alba Iulia, contains references to the pages of the old register (the last section of it) and to those of the new register.

45 *Memoria cimitirelor evreiești* 2007, p. 6.

46 In the first stage, 676 tombstones were inventoried, the result being the publication of a first catalog of them (Dumitran, Șuteu, Borșan 2014), and in the second another 237, of which 12 represented completions of the first inventoried sector.

47 Tolnay 1898, p. 370.

48 Janszky 1894, p. 278.

49 *Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék* 1880-1881, p. 405.

50 In the case of the Jónás family vault, the year is inscribed in the medallions depicting the Tablets of the Law above the drum windows, although the oldest tomb inside is earlier, from 1901. For the Glück family, 1902 is the year of the burial of Mór Glück, who built the vault.

51 For the manner in which inscriptions were written and names transcribed according to the religious affiliation of the community and the cultural context in which it evolved, see Klein 2018, p. 408-409.

52 This is related to three tombstones located in the old part of sector c, the first with a text limited to the name of the deceased (*LEONORA ARNSTEIN*), the second with an inscription in German (*Hier ruhet / mein theures Kind / Julie Lazar / ihres Alters 2 Jahre. / Gebaut von ihren Vater*), and the third, the only one that may be older, with a name only partially legible, *[RI?]*KA JAKOBI and the year 18\_8. According to the Hebrew inscriptions, the first tombstone dates from 1865, and the other two are extremely difficult to read.

53 The German text on the back of the gravestone reads: *HEIRICH / LEMBERGER / geboren in BELED / in UNGARN / im Jahre 1786 / gestorben in FELVINTZ / am 21ter Juni 1858*.

54 The Hungarian text on the back of the gravestone reads: *Itt nyugszik / Szeretett atyánk galaczi / KLÄRMANN REZSŐ / (RUDOLF) / Meghalt 1882 Augusztus 19*.

55 The full translation of the inscriptions mentioned in this article will be published by Mega Publishing House in a collective volume dedicated to the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, as part of a project supported by the Embassy of the United States of America. This translation was made by Lucian-Zeev Herșcovici and Claudiu Stoian. In this article we will only partially reproduce the Hebrew translation, unless otherwise noted. Some inscriptions (M 62, M 63, M 73, M 81) were previously published by Herșcovici 2021, p. 91-94, but in the forthcoming volume from Mega Publishing and in this article we will use the revised translation. The identification of the inscriptions refers to the numbers assigned to them during the topographical measurement of the old sector of the cemetery. See also above, note 4.

56 Abraham Aba (M 6) is one of the few young men mentioned as such in inscriptions researched to date.

57 In most inscriptions where the Hebrew noun *kevod* ("respected", "worthy", "honoured") appears, it is rendered by the acronym "k" (the Hebrew letter qof, כ).

58 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 41.

59 The text of the inscription mentions the acronym ק"צ (kof, tsadi for *kohen-tzedek*).

60 The expression *yireh Elohim* appears as the acronym ירא".

61 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 337, 390.

62 For more on the life of Avraham Russo see Caloianu 2006, p. 215-216.

63 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 452.

64 The text of the inscription mentions the acronym ב"ה (beth hey) for *ben harav*. This expression can also be rendered by "the

rabbi's son", but in this case and in similar ones, special titles are also needed to confirm the rabbi status of the deceased or his father.

65 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 412.

66 The expression *rakh beshanim* is found in the Bible, in the Book of Proverbs 4:3 "For I too was a son to my father, still tender, and cherished by my mother", but also in other rabbinic commentaries such as, Shemoth Rabah (*av bechokhmah werakh beshanim*, "younger than the age, but great in wisdom"). The M 62 inscription was initially published by Herşcovici 2021, p. 92.

67 The M 63 inscription was previously published by Herşcovici 2021, p. 94. In the volume, soon to be published by Mega Publishing House, Lucian-Zeev Herşcovici, and Claudiu Stoian have proposed a different translation, following the cleaning of the inscription and subsequent identification by C. Stoian in the cemetery plan, confirmed by the burial register.

68 The Hebrew words written in square brackets are reconstructed by analogy with other cases, because in that place the inscription is illegible. Round brackets were used to fill in acronyms or abbreviated words.

69 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 414.

70 Died on 6 Tevet 5590/ Friday, 1 January 1830.

71 Herşcovici 2021, p. 92.

72 In the Bible, in the Book of Exodus 31:1-6, and in chapters 36 and 39, we find Betzalel, the craftsman who builds the utensils in the Tent of Meeting from the time of Moses, including the Ark of the Covenant. His name has been interpreted in rabbinic literature as being "in the shadow of the Lord", receiving the divine spirit.

73 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 376.

74 Deceased on 16 Menachem Av 5608 / Tuesday, 15 August 1848.

75 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 396.

76 The inscription was originally published by Herşcovici 2021, p. 93-94, and this article does not propose another translation.

77 Moshe of Lublin died on 26 Tamuz 5500 / Tuesday, 21 July 1740.

78 Beyla died on 20 Sivan 5585 / Monday, 6 June 1825.

79 Yehuda Shurpin, "Why the Fast on 20 Sivan? What is Tach veTat?," in *Jewish History – Miscellaneous*, [https://www.chabad.org/library/article\\_cdo/aid/5548614/jewish/Why-the-Fast-on-20-Sivan.htm](https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/5548614/jewish/Why-the-Fast-on-20-Sivan.htm), accessed in 23 November 2023.

80 Gyémánt 2004, p. 67.

81 See Caloianu 2006, p. 219, 222, 269, 351-352.

82 5583 of the major era. Gregorian date: Saturday, 11 January 1823. Menahem died on Saturday, January 11, 1823 (28 Tevet 5583) and was buried on Sunday, the next day, January 12, 1823 (29 Tevet 5583, the eve of the new month Sh'vat).

83 Malkhah died on 8 Tamuz 5580/ Tuesday, 20 June 1820.

84 Herşcovici 2021, p. 93.

85 Dumitran, Şuteu, Borşan 2014, p. 60.

86 The book of Proverbs 31: 30: "a God-fearing woman is to be praised."

87 The date of the death of Sason, Moshe's son, was 7 Adar 5577 / Sunday, 23 February 1817.

88 *Hacham chagadol* appears as the acronym ה"ה (hey" hey).

89 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 350.

90 A descendant of the Jerusalem Temple priests.

91 "While still growing and uncut, they wither more quickly than grass".

92 Yekuti'el Ya'kov died on 19 Tevet 5590 / Thursday, 14 January 1830. The inscription is damaged at the bottom, so the year of death is taken from the burial register. Instead, in the register, the month of death is noted as Friday, 19 Shevat 5590 / 12 Ja-

nuary 1830, probably a transcription error as it is Friday and not Thursday as the text of the inscription indicates. The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 411.

93 The sarcophagus shape of the tombstone was specific to Sephardi Jews in a period before the eighteenth century. See Marcin Wodziński, "Tombstones", in *YIVO Encyclopedia* 2010, <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Tombstones>, accessed in 23 November 2023.

94 Later the acronym Katz becomes a surname.

95 It is interesting that in the funeral register (The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 411) it appears written Yehuda (יהודה) and not Yehudah (יהודא).

96 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 391.

97 The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 452.

98 Certainly, Witiye was buried the next day, Sunday, even though it was not mentioned in the inscription.

99 The inscriptions: M 165, M 213, M 224, M 225, M 226, M 294 were translated exclusively by C. Stoian.

100 5602 of the major era. Gregorian date: Tuesday, 24 March 1842.

101 Dumitran, Şuteu, Borşan 2014, p. 111.

102 5602 of the major era. Gregorian date: Friday, 9 May 1842.

103 Sason died on October 17, 1849 (the beginning of the new month Cheshvan, in Hebrew *Rosh Chodesh Cheshvan*).

104 Shira Schoenberg, "Modern Jewish History: The Haskalah," *Jewish Virtual Library: A Project of AICE*, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/modern-jewish-history-the-haskalah>, accessed in 23 November 2023.

105 Deceased on 26 Tevet 5612/ 1852. The inscription is damaged at the bottom, consequently the date of death has been reconstructed from the burial register (The old register of burials kept in the archive of the Alba Iulia Jewish Community, p. 412).

106 Leah died on 24 Elul 5601/ 10 September 1841.

107 5601 of the minor era. Gregorian date: 10 September 1841.

108 M 300 was translated by Lucian-Zeev Herşcovici.

109 M 301 was translated by Claudiu Stoian.

110 5603 of the minor era. Gregorian date: 7 December 1842.

111 The text of the M 301 inscription was translated with the help of archival images by E. Glück (1988), published in Dumitran, Şuteu, Borşan 2014, p. 152, because of the preserved but fragmentary state of the present.

112 5603 of the major era. Gregorian date: 9 January 1843.

113 About the rabbi Ezekiel Paneth, see Michael K. Silber, "Paneth, Yehezkel," in Hundert 2008.

114 The funerary inscription of the rabbi Ezekiel Paneth was translated by C. Stoian.

115 Ezekiel 3:22.

116 The title *Gaon* (pl. *Geonim*) was originally borne by the head of the rabbinical academies of Persian Babylon (Sura and Pumbedita) from the sixth to the eleventh centuries. The last Gaon was a certain Hai of Pumbedita, who died in 1038. In the case of Yechezkel the title of Gaon was an honorary one, attesting that he was a great Talmudic scholar.

117 Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth died on 20 Nisan 5605/ Sunday 27 April 1845 (the fourth intermediate day of Pesach).

118 Psalms 149:5.

119 See the case of the community of Tăşnad of submitting to Paneth's authority as Chief Rabbi of Transylvania (Caloianu 2006, p. 224).

120 Menahem Mendel of Rimanov (1745-1815) was one of the founders of the Hasidic movement in Galicia, he was a conservative, being against the clothing renovation of the Jewish community, but he was also concerned that the Chewra Kadi-scha should be honest and not ask for exorbitant amounts at the time of death. See Morris M. Faierstein, "Menaḥem Mendel of

- Rimanov”, in *yivo Encyclopedia* 2010, [https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Menahem\\_Mendel\\_of\\_Rimanov](https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Menahem_Mendel_of_Rimanov), accessed in 23 November 2023.
- 121 M 63, M 80, M 81, M 97, M 135, M 136, M 139, and M 345.
- 122 As is the case with M 81 (though the city of origin of the deceased, Lublin, is mentioned) and M 345.
- 123 The inscriptions M 81 and M 345.
- 124 See M 61, of the young maiden Perl, daughter of Nathan Neta, the Sephardi, who died in 1841.
- 125 See M 6 of Abraham Aba, son of Zeev Segal, who died in 1819.
- 126 See M 62 of the boy Sinai, son of Yitzchak, deceased in 1841, placed closely to M 63, tomb of Tuvyah, son of Arye, deceased in 1712.
- 127 The placement of these two graves also demonstrates the expansion of the cemetery towards the south, with M 35 being very close to the current fence towards Vasile Alecsandri Street, and M 345 in proximity to the *ohel* of Rabbi Paneth.
- 128 Olea 2023, p. 78; Arrington 2018, p. 7.
- 129 Compositions of this kind can be distinguished throughout the early area of the cemetery, but we can observe a series of small differences related to the manner of crafting the decorative elements: simple funerary monuments, with a cornice, framed by a band without profiling, pieces with or without a symbol.
- 130 Olea 2023, p. 104-105.
- 131 Grigorescu 2013, p. 46.
- 132 Olea 2023, p. 106.
- 133 Łoziński 2016, p. 279-280.
- 134 Ciobotă *et al.* 2012, p. 228.
- 135 Łoziński 2016, p. 281.
- 136 Genesis, 30, 37; Cocagnac 1997, p. 136.
- 137 Ezekiel 17, 5-6.
- 138 Antonescu 2016, p. 228.
- 139 Antonescu 2016, p. 358.
- 140 Romanoff 1943, p. 435.
- 141 Romanoff 1943, p. 438.
- 142 Ciobotă *et al.* 2012, p. 228.
- 143 Antonescu 2016, p. 350.
- 144 Grigorescu 2013, p. 54. About the origin, evolution and meanings of this symbol, see Scholem 1949, p. 243-251, and Hasan-Rokem 2016, p. 78-89.
- 145 Łoziński 2016, p. 282.
- 146 Sanie 2000, p. 255.
- 147 Meyer 1988, vol. I, p. 71.
- 148 Sanie 2000, p. 259-260.
- 149 Badrus 2006, p. 91-93.
- 150 Grigorescu 2013, p. 50.
- 151 Badrus 2006, p. 92.
- 152 Takács 1986, p. 155.
- 153 Takács 1986, p. 155.
- 154 Cocagnac 1997, p. 24-25.
- 155 Cocagnac 1997, p. 23. About the types, representations and role of the menorah in Antiquity, see Hachlili 2013, p. 292-324.
- 156 Cocagnac 1997, p. 114.
- 157 When some of the tilted pieces were restored to a vertical position, such structural elements were discovered in a secondary position, but for now their provenance could not be established.
- 158 These aspects are often neglected in the case of other monuments in the old area of the cemetery, which provides clear evidence that the piece commemorates an important person of the community.
- 159 Sabra, Troyer 2018, p. 110-121.
- 160 Sanie 2000, p. 293-294.
- 161 Grigorescu 2013, *passim*.
- 162 See Haller 2003, with several similar examples of tombstones from the eighteenth century: p. 242, 252, 253, 257, 262, 271, 272, 276, 277, 288, 311-313, 317-319, 326, 338, and 339.
- 163 M 224 from 1849, among those included in our selection (Fig. 45), comparable to M 272, but also to M 217, today destroyed: see Dumitran, Șuteu, Borșan 2014, p. 138 and 113, archive photograph taken by Eugen Glück, in 1988, for the second monument. M 236 is a little earlier, from 1840, also included in our selection (Fig. 47), but much more poorly preserved.
- 164 Probably not by chance, one of the first monuments is M 419, from 1896, mentioned above as one of the examples of funerary monuments purchased from warehouses in Budapest (Fig. 9a-b). See, in this regard, the observations of Rudolf Klein about the delay in the reception of Christian architectural forms by the Orthodox, as compared to the Neologues (Klein 2018, p. 67-68).
- 165 For the possibility of the anepigraphic horizontal tombstones in this area being earlier, see Dumitran 2016, p. 694.

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debates



débats



# Contemporary Representations of Ktetors in Romanian Churches

## A Debate (Part 1)

### Contributors

Ana Dumitran (AD) | Luiza Zamora (LZ)  
Laura Jiga-Iliescu (LJI) | Vladimir Agrigoroaei (VA)

### FOREWORD (VA)

The Histories and Film Festival in Râșnov (FFIR—*Festivalul de Film și Istorie la Râșnov*) held its fifteenth edition from 18 to 27 August 2023. ‘Radicalisation’ was the main theme of the festival, namely the fact that “our society seems less and less open to balanced dialogue; everyone defends and imposes their own truth and nuances disappear.” *Museikon* organised a debate on the topic ‘Contemporary votive depictions—from Stephen the Great to the ktetors of our days’ (*Tablouri votive contemporane – de la Ștefan cel Mare la ctitorii de azi*) in the Old Church of Râșnov (dedicated to Saint Nicholas), on Wednesday 23 August 2023.

As the title shows, the discussion focused on a social and cultural phenomenon with roots in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. Ana Dumitran led a guided tour of the historical monument (10–11 a.m.). The debate started at 11 a.m., lasted two hours, and generated a dialogue between the public and Laura Jiga Iliescu (anthropologist and ethnologist, Institute of Ethnography and Folklore ‘Constantin Brăiloiu’ of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest), Luiza Zamora (art historian, *Asociația 37*, Bucharest), Ana Dumitran (historian, National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia), and Pr. Gabriel Herea (art historian, National Muse-



▲ The church of Saint Nicholas in Râșnov in the morning before the guided tour and the debate.

Credits: Alexandra Bordeianu.

◆ Poster of the fifteenth edition of the Histories and Film Festival in Râșnov (facing page) and poster for the debate ‘Contemporary votive depictions—from Stephen the Great to the ktetors of our days’ (below).





um of Bucovina, Suceava)—whose presentation concerned the Moldavian votive depictions dated to the time of Prince Stephen the Great (1457–1504). The debate was moderated by Vladimir Agrigoroaei (medievalist, Centre for Medieval Studies, Poitiers).

Votive scenes, that is, the portrayal of ktitors (in other words founders, donors, or patrons), have a specific significance in the decoration of Orthodox churches. In scriptural terms, ktitors are those persons who use their own possessions for the benefit of the Church. The word itself is anchored in a passage of the Acts of the Apostles 4:34, where *κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν* means ‘possessors

of lands or houses’. To quote the entire passage from the King James Version (Acts 4:33–35), during the early days of Petrine Christianity in Jerusalem, “with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles’ feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.” This is the main reason for the depiction of real persons as donors or founders in the mural decoration of Eastern-Rite churches. Through their ktetorship, said persons partake in the worship of Christ.

Their representation became less and less common in the decoration of Orthodox churches when Western culture gradually displaced Post-Byzantine trends in the nineteenth century. It was not as much a matter of secularisation as a matter of formal and stylistic codes. During modern times, the ktetor’s figure did not disappear entirely, her/his name was still present in votive inscriptions, but the depiction proper grew more and more scarce, as ktitors played a somewhat marginal role. Further displacements were possibly determined by the totalitarian milieu of the second half of the twentieth century. During the times of Romanian National-Communism (from the early 1960s to 1989), the political discourse mimicked tradition and usurped ecclesiastical language to the point that industrial plants, public buildings, or blocks of flats were defined in terms of ktetorship(s). See e.g., ‘the time of great ktetorships that adorn with a wondrous wreath of solid foundations and prestigious achievements the entire face of the Romanian motherland’ (*Scânteia tinerețului*, 30 January 1988: 3—[...] *timpul marilor ctitorii ce îmbracă cu o minunată cunună de trainice zidiri și prestigioase împliniri întreaga față a pământului românesc*); there are sixteen instances of the words *ctitor* (ktetor) and *ctitorie* (ktetorship) in the six pages of this newspaper issue. Propaganda also spoke of a ‘Golden Age’ (*Epoca de Aur*), a final stage in the development of a socialist-communist Romania. As a result, the actions of the dictatorial couple





formed by Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu—‘ktitors of modern socialist Romania’ (*ctitori ai României socialiste moderne*) were described as craftsmanship or ktetorship. The couple even received offerings (*prinos de recunoștință*), just like Chronos, creator of the Golden Age in Hesiod’s Works and Days. As for the misappropriation of the ecclesiastical and liturgical language (and that of religious symbolism), they ended up permeating the public discourse, leading to strange reverberations in Post-Communist Romania, when and where the fusion between the sacred and the profane could not be undone.

Taken at face value, this fusion translated to several odd manifestations, such as the fact that contemporary ktitors no longer know what a votive portrait is, i.e., that it represents the act of charity by which the church

◆◆ Photos taken during the debate at Râșnov.  
Credits: Alexandra Bordeianu.

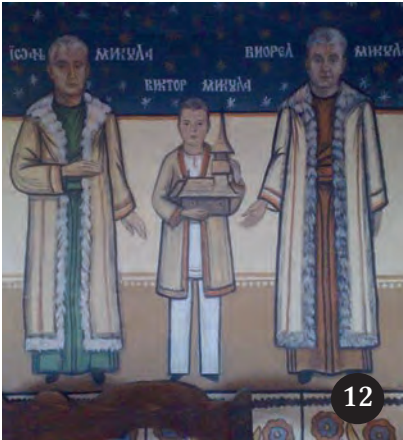
was built; nor do they understand the Christian humility of old portraits. As for the canon and what canonical representations could be, this too seems to shrouded in mystery. There is confusion between the votive scene and the family picture. Imbued with the images and vocabulary of the ‘70s and ‘80s, the depictions of contemporary potentates on church walls bless the onlookers and usurp the prerogatives of the Divine. Since newspaper journalists are shocked ktitors dressed in ties and suits, a more palatable choice was found in the ‘parachronistic’ representation, which gradually gained ground and was able to become the new canonical votive portrayal. In



this enforcement of Post-Byzantine aesthetic, ktetors are dressed in historical (or traditional) clothes, they appear in character in order to soften their image, so as not to shock the eye of the contemporary beholder. However, this type of representation is equally unnatural.

The experiment that *Museikon* presented in Râșnov was based on discussions dating as far back as 2018. It addressed the issue from an anthropological and art-history point of view. Because all examples are new and fresh, they are situated in a grey, borderline area between academic research and sociological essay. The subject matter is too recent and remains too fluid to be dealt with objectively. It needs to be analysed in essays and case studies, the first of which are published in the current instalment of the debate. Further instalments will welcome more contributions in the next issue of *Museikon*.

- ◆ (1) *Businessman Gheorghe Becali and his family depicted as ktetors (of the church and village) in the church of Vadu Roșca-Vultur (Vrancea County).*
- (2) *Dan Ilie Morega, county prefect and member of various political parties, depicted as ktetor in the church of Saint Elijah at Padeș (Gorj County).*
- (3) *Journalist Titus Stoichițoiu and family, depicted as ktetors in the cemetery church of the Dormition of the Mother of God at Cocoreni (Gorj County). Photo dated 2010.*
- (4) *Laurențiu Nistor depicted in the church of Bejan (Șoimuș, Hunedoara County). The inscription above his depiction reads "[...] 1990–2008, mayor of the commune, MP since 2008."*
- (5) *Mayor Mihai Alexa and family, depicted as ktetors in the church of the Heroes' Cemetery at Podu Iloaiei (Iași County).*
- (6) *Mayor Constantin Constantinescu, depicted as ktetor in the church of the Resurrection of the Lord and Saint Catherine the Great, located in the courtyard of the Emergency Hospital in Bârlad (Vaslui County).*



(7) Businessman Gheorghe Grădinaru and family, depicted as ktetors in the church of Saint Paraskevi at Vadurile (Iana commune, Vaslui County).

(8) Businessman Gheorghe Becali and family, ktetors of Pantokrator Monastery in Drăgănești-Vlașca (Teleorman County).

(9) USA businessman Mihai Chiriac and wife Katica Chiriac depicted as ktetors in the White Church at Baia (Suceava County—historical monument).

(10) Mayor Petre Pârvu depicted as ktetor in the church of Saint Filip at Zimnicea (Teleorman County).

(11) Businessman Gelu Tofan and family, depicted as ktetors in the church at Dămideni (Românești commune, Botoșani County).

(12) Businessmen Ioan and Viorel Micula with Victor Micula, depicted as ktetors in the church of Cucuceni, close to Ghighișeni (Bihor County—historical monument).

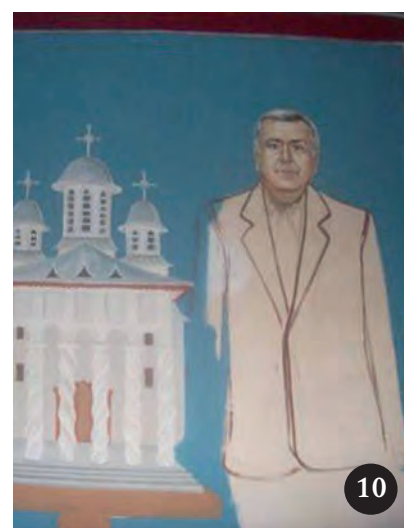
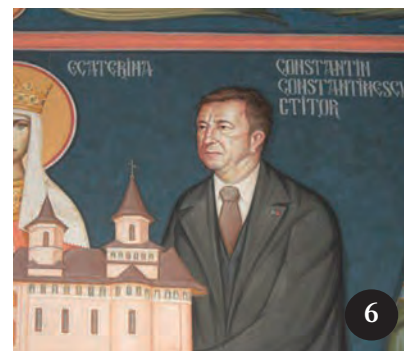
(13) Mayor Toader Silea and his daughters, depicted as ktetors in the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God at Stulpicani (Suceava County).

(14) Mayor Stoian Vasiliu and the archbishop of Banat Ioan Selejan, depicted as ktetors in the church Tomnatic (Timiș County—the depiction was later repainted and the mayor was replaced by a group of characters).

(15) Businessmen brothers Vasile, Dumitru, and Ion Creștin with their families depicted as ktetors in the church on Barbu Văcărescu Street in Bucharest.

(16) Businessman Pavel Sângeorzan depicted as ktetor in a painting that used to hang in the church of Coșbuc (Bistrița-Năsăud County).

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Д. Д. ПОСЛОНЬ

НИКОЛАЕ МИКОСЕТИ



## KTETORS TODAY—ANY DIFFERENT FROM KTETORS PAST? (LZ)

Do the ktetors of today have the same motivation for their actions? Is this motivation any different from that of the great rulers and boyars of past times? Or that of the free peasants and the petty Third Estate? Do their representations shock us simply because they are our contemporaries? Because they are painted in present-day clothes? Or because they are imitations of photographs?

Perhaps the lack of temporal distancing makes us more demanding of them and more tolerant or admiring of those 200 years ago. Perhaps the achievements of those depicted in past ages also influence the way we see them. Perhaps the political charge, the incoherence of public expression, the morality we perceive at a first glance, the social noise of those of today displease us and we tend to confine them to an area of ridiculous and unnatural manifestations, even though they act no differently than their forebears did.

To consider the act of ktetorship or foundation only from the point of view of the godliness of the founder or

donor undermines our understanding of their motivation to build. While reading unbiased chronicles (documents from past times) and by paying equal attention to present times, one can notice and even become aware of the fact that the motivation of a ktetor does not spring exclusively from the strength of faith or from the desire to please the Divine. It is often a social act, the most visible form of devotion, intended at the same time to keep alive among the people the name of the person who had sufficient means to play the ktetor's role. A social indicator. A position in society. An example.

Once the privilege of those at the top of the hierarchy—rulers, boyars, and rarely high prelates, the right to become a ktetor gradually gains in democracy against the backdrop of ever-changing economic relations and the change in mentalities that accompanies them. Thus, those who 'go through all the trouble of the world'—as old texts tell us—to acquire a dignitary status and a title of nobility through it, in turn legitimise their new status in the eyes of those from among whom they have risen by erecting a church—whether of wood, or stone, by contributing to the painting of churches, to the purchase of liturgical paraphernalia and to other means designed to adorn them, depending on the financial means at their disposal. What matters is that the new status is marked by the whole array of gestures that those of times past and of higher rank have established and turned into tradition.

As I wrote three years ago, 'the formal assumption of the

◀ *Praporshchik officer Nicolae Milcoveanul, Church of the Annunciation and All-Great Taxiarchs, Urși (Vâlcea County). Ktitors Ion Danciu and priest Constantin 1757, 1792, 1843. Painters Gheorghe, Nicolae, and Ioan of Urși.*

▼ *Church of Saint-Nicholas, Schela-Cornetu (Gorj County). Ktitors Dinu Hârș, Dumitru Beuran, Barbu Balmâși, Alex Moșilă, 1829, 1856.*

Credits: Luiza Zamora.





▼ Church of Saint-Nicholas, Schela-Cornetu (Gorj County).

◄ Church of the Holy Emperors, Ciungetu (Vâlcea County), 1861, painted by Nicolae Bunesu.

Credits: Luiza Zamora.

act of ktetorship by those with little schooling but much imagination, resulted in the depiction of their faces in the pronaos of the church, wherever the financial means of the donors allowed for this to happen; this was the most accessible and visible way to take on the role of founder and the new status acquired thus before the community' (Zamora 2019: 317—*Preluarea formală a actului de ctitorire de către cei cu puțină carte, dar cu multă imaginație s-a tradus, acolo unde condiția materială a donatorilor a permis, în zugrăvirea chipului în pronaosul lăcașului, aceasta fiind forma cea mai accesibilă și vizibilă de marcarea a calității de ctitor și a noii condiții pe care o dobândește astfel în fața comunității*).

The votive scenes of our Modern Times and Modern People are no longer traditional, but they are not very different from those in the old churches, either. This combination of the new image and the old hypostatisation formula underpins the usual pattern that often depicted the main donors holding the mock-up of the church, along with all their rabble. The old hierarchy of characters was based on kinship, status, or the importance of their contribution. They were no longer merely displayed in a frieze. Spatial convention was overcome, 'as the face of each and every one of the ktetors had to be immortalised'. 'Since the space of the church was not always very generous, portraits had to climb up the vaults, in the western lunettes, or climb down and cross into the lower register of the nave, taking the place of decorative friezes, or escalating the space above a door. When the

donor was not one of the rich new peasants, his portrait was outlined within the scene and treated in the manner of the easel painting' (Zamora 2019: 318— [*... deoarece chipul fiecăruia trebuie să rămână imortalizat, iar cum spațiul bisericii nu este întotdeauna foarte generos, portretele lor urcă pe boltă, în timpanele de vest, ori coboară și trec în registrul inferior al naosului, luând locul frizei decorative, ori urcă deasupra unei uși. Când donatorul nu face parte din rândul moșnenilor ridicați, portretul său este delimitat în cadrul scenei și tratat în maniera tabloului de șevalet*).

The division between these old habits and the new ones of today is not that great. Intentions are not that different, either. Little does it matter that new ktetors insert themselves in old settings, that the votive depiction is of contemporary donors who contribute with various means to the well-being of the church, or that the newly built houses of God are adorned with decorations alike or unlike those of old times, either festive or traditional. The distance between Our times and Their times is not so great, and the intentions are not very different. These representations of founders and the insertion or attachment of contemporary ones to an already-existing votive scene is a consequence to the fact that they contribute with various means to the progress of the church. As a result, they can be painted in clothes like those of the ages, festive or traditional, in the newly built houses of God. Only the quality of certain representations is perhaps intriguing due to the church painter's lack of skill and style. Yet even this can be a choice of the new builders, who no longer seem to be necessarily interested in the quality of the craftsmanship, in its accuracy, in tradition, but rather in their own image and in their own presence on the walls of the church, in the sight of all, in whatever form. Discrepancies are rather stylistic; the essence of the gesture remains the same.



## Case Study 1

## MAGLAVIT OR THE UNDERTONES OF THE ACT OF DELETING A VOTIVE DEPICTION (LJI)

Being both an act of individual piety and an expression of the authority and social prestige of the donor-ktitor, the votive depiction on the wall of a church fits the anthropological paradigm of the exchange of gifts actualised here through double communication: with the Divine, whom the ktitor thanks for a prayer fulfilled or who is encouraged to forgive the ktitor's sins, and/or with the social group to which the donor belongs. This portrayal of the faces of the founders, most often together with their families, and accompanied by the names they bear, resonates with the Romanian Orthodox notion *pomelnic*—that is, a list of names of the living or deceased mentioned by the priest at mass or in prayers, the reading of which is correlated with the mention of the names of those chosen to be with God at the end of the Last Judgement. These representations render them present in the sacred space of the church. As a result, the ktitors and their families are present for all the services celebrated there, being permanently contaminated with beneficial sacredness. In the current essay, which is devised as a preamble to a larger study, I will refer only to the specific situation where the portrayal of a person was removed from the votive scene.

The portrayed face of the ktitor is not the face of a saint mediating the communication of the faithful with God, nor is the votive image an icon manifesting a *presentia in absentia* type of dialectic between a prototype and the image that embodies it. However, the image acts as meto-

nymy linking the identity of the person, the person's name, and the figurative gaze that enshrines them. In this logic, the damage to the painted face almost magically causes damage to the material, living body of the person represented in the image. In religious and soteriological terms, the effects of erasing the name or blackening the face of a person depicted in a votive scene target the fate of the soul after death: she/he will not appear before God.

The case of Iliaș Rareș is well known. His conversion to Islam in 1551 led to the deletion of his name from *pomelnics*—such as the one in the church of St Paraskevi at Târgu Frumos, from votive inscriptions, from liturgical books—such as a copy of the Gospels donated by Iliaș himself to Probota Monastery, a book that later reached the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and about which Emil Turdeanu noted that 'it was written by order of Prince Iliaș Rareș, whose unworthy name was erased from this inscription by the same scribe who wrote the vehement apostrophe from the Gospels of Voroneț, that is, by deacon Mihail (Turdeanu 1997, 316: [...] *s-a scris din porunca*

▼ Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Baia (Suceava County). Depiction of Iliaș Rareș.  
Credits: Vlad Bedros.

► Church of the Probota Monastery (Suceava County). Votive scene with the family of Petru Rareș. The face of Iliaș Rareș was blackened.  
Credits: Vlad Bedros.





domnului Iliș Rareș – al cărui nevrednic nume l-a șters și aici din inscripție același pisar care a redactat apostrofa vehementă din Tetraevangheliarul de la Voroneț – de diaconul Mihail). As for his votive depictions, it is worth mentioning the one in the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God at Baia, where Iliș was represented as a child. It is not without significance that Iliș, who became Mehmet Beg, was not completely removed from the votive depiction of Probotă (ktetorship and burial place of his own father, Petru Rareș), but, ‘as a curiosity, unique in Moldavian painting, Iliș’s face was blackened and his name erased, as acts of *damnatio memoriae*’ (Sinigalia s.a.: 35: *ca o curiozitate, unică în pictura lui Moldova, chipul lui Iliș a fost înnegrit, iar numele său șters, ca acte de damnatio memoriae*).

At a certain point, the hypostasis of any votive depiction incorporates previous actions altering the meaning of the original painting, the authors and underlying reasons of which are hard to decrypt outside their cultural, political, and religious contexts. If those changes were made in the distant historical past, only complementary documents can help decipher this palimpsest. The ktetorship of churches and the execution of votive depictions are both active phenomena in nowadays Romania, having their own compositional and material features that tell us more about the times we live in. Far from the artistic refinement of medieval predecessors, contemporary votive paintings obey similar, albeit not entirely coincidental, rationales to those of times past. Their interest lies in that they also participate (now as then) in processes that lead to their own transformation, indirectly reflecting specific contextual situations that regulate the relationship between the founders, the place of worship, and the community it serves. In other words, votive depictions contain a hidden ‘story’ that can be decrypted only partially by

appealing to an external justifying complex, which is either expressed narratively or with by other means.

The following observations are strictly based on a corpus of online sources. For the time being, they are not complemented by field research—scheduled in the near future, in order to articulate the direct component of the on-site reality with the media narrative. I will briefly discuss a case whose protagonist is a famous businessman in contemporary Romania, owner of a football team and founder of several churches—thus implicitly a beneficiary of several votive depictions. One of them was found in Maglavit, a place with a strong resonance in the recent religious past, as this was the stage of an epiphany that would have happened in 1935, the receiver of which was Petrache Lupu, a local shepherd. At that time, although the faithful pilgrims would have donated money for the erection of a church, it could not be built. Locals, whose memories were recorded by journalists, argue that the money would have been stolen (cf. e.g., Marica s.a.).

After the long hiatus of communist-atheist totalitarianism in Romania, the narrative thread of the place seems to have resumed. Gheorghe Becali, a businessman, took on the role of beneficiary of divine communication and consequently undertook the missionary responsibility of erecting the place of worship. During a recent documentary series dealing with the miracle and the local church (*Enigmele României*, History Channel, 29 October 2023), he stated: ‘I was told to go to Maglavit, where God appeared on Romanian soil’ (Bejan 2023: *Mi s-a spus să mă duc la Maglavit, acolo unde s-a arătat Dumnezeu pe pământul României*). Journalists next indicate that ‘the businessman, who also owns the FCSB sports club, was interviewed in the making of this episode because he is directly involved in the story’. He confessed that ‘the investment made in the church built in that place cost him 2,000,000



▼ Main church of Maglavit Monastery (Dolj County).

Depiction of businessman Gheorghe Becali in the first murals (left-hand image). The repainting of the votive composition (right-hand image).

Source: <https://www.stirilekanald.ro/> (among other places where the two photos can be found)

euros' (*investiția făcută în biserica ridicată în acel loc l-a costat 2.000.000 de euro*). Digging through media material, one learns that 'in Dolj [County], at Maglavit, the famous place of pilgrimage from the interwar period, where God appeared to the shepherd Petrache Lupu, a proud cathedral was built after the fall of the communist regime. Among those who contributed to the adornment of the holy place was the patron of the Steaua [football] team, Gigi Becali. He paid a church painter, named Nițu Roman, from Lugoj, Timiș County, who worked on the interior frescoes of the cathedral' (Ghițeanu 2012: [...] *în Dolj, la Maglavit, celebrul loc de pelerinaj din perioada interbelică, acolo unde ciobanului Petrache Lupu i s-a arătat Dumnezeu, s-a ridicat o mândră catedrală, după căderea regimului comunist. Printre cei care au contribuit la înfrumusețarea sfântului lăcaș a fost și patronul echipei Steaua, Gigi Becali. El a plătit un pictor bisericesc, Nițu Roman pe numele său, din Lugoj, județul Timiș, care a lucrat frescele din interiorul catedralei*). In line with the paradigm of the exchange of gifts that I wrote about at the beginning of this essay, the ktetor thus responded to the deity who had granted him a request: 'I offered this amount after the Red-Blues [i.e., the football team] beat Betis Sevilla in the former UEFA Cup in 2006, score 3–0' (Savin 2021: *Suma a oferit-o după ce roș-albaștrii au învins-o pe Betis Sevilla în fosta Cupă UEFA, în 2006, scor 3–0*). Since he himself commissioned the interior painting, in 2009 he was painted 'with 22 karat gold leaf' in a votive depiction (Savin 2021: [...] *cu foiță de aur de 22 de karate*). Compared to other votive scenes where he appears with his family, the businessman is alone at Maglavit. He is depicted standing, with the miniature of the church in his left hand, pointing with his right hand to the miniature, and looking ahead. Also missing are the holy characters to whom the ktetor must offer the church, according to the votive pattern, thus subordinating himself to the divine authority. The picture was displayed on the left hand-side of the entrance wall. Although he was only part of the miracle that led to the foundation of the church and not the actual ktetor of the

material building, Petrache Lupu was also represented standing to the right side of the same entrance.

In 2009, the portrait of the businessman was white-washed. The reasons given are contradictory. The founder himself provides the following explanation: 'the Maglavit church cost me two million euros, and after he painted me, the man [i.e., the painter] wanted another 5,000 euros. And I didn't give it to him anymore. So he splashed paint on it. Now I don't know if he did it again' (Savin 2021: *Biserica de la Maglavit m-a costat două milioane de euro și, după ce m-a pictat, omu' a mai vrut încă 5.000 de euro. Și eu nu i-am mai dat. Așa că a stropit-o cu vopsea. Acuma nu știu dacă a mai refăcut-o*). A second explanation originates in the local community and expresses the dissatisfaction of the beneficiaries of the sanctuary with the financial behaviour of the ktetor, since he no longer qualified as a full ktetor, therefore he could not be the main character of a votive painting. Finally, the paintings would have been removed since they were not subject to the validation of the Painting Commission of the Romanian Patriarchate. The new iconographic programme has been revised: Petrache Lupu no longer occupies the wall to the right of the entrance door alone, he is instead joined by four hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church and by a fifth person—a layman, probably a donor as well. As for the businessman who had started the foundation, he is no longer depicted in a votive posture. Instead, Becali's half-length portrait was painted on a side wall, alongside two standing hierarchical figures.

Leaving aside the anecdotal undertones of this story, retold here without any intention to cast doubt on the devotional meanings assumed by the ktetor (initially rewarded by the representation of the donor with the church in his hand), and leaving aside the transfer of the ktetor's portrayal to a side wall as well, it can be argued that the deletion of the votive depiction is the result of a process of social negotiation from which the soteriological intent or, on the contrary, the fear of *damnatio memoriae*, seem to be evacuated.

## Case Study 2

## A 'CHURCH PAINTER' IN ZLATNA AND LUPȘA (AD)

The issue (or problem) of contemporary votive depictions is not directly related to a social class and its cultural or religious expectations, as is occasionally implied by the articles one reads in Romanian media. I believe it has deep roots in the complex cultural expectations of Orthodox believers. The case study that I will present in the following pages supports this interpretation.

*Formula AS* magazine published its issue 1218 in 2016. In this issue, the journalist Valentin Iacob interviewed the painter-restorer Nicolae Sava, whom he commended in the introduction as 'one of the greatest painters and restorers of churches in Romania today [...], UNESCO expert in restoration [...], one of the fathers of mural painting restoration in Romania' (Iacob 2016: *unul dintre cei mai mari pictori și restauratori de biserici ai României de azi [...] expert UNESCO în restaurare [...] unul dintre părinții restaurării picturii murale din România*). In order to inform the reader on the specific profession of the interviewee, the first question focused on the finer points of the art of restoration. Here are a few excerpts from the answer: 'The true restorer follows the 'Venice Charter'. The first point there is *primum non nocere*, that is, do no harm to the painting or object. [...] The second principle is reversibility. Everything you do should be easily removed; you should not inflict any trauma to the painting. The third criterion is that the materials you use should be weaker than the originals, they should deteriorate before the original' (Iacob 2016: *Restauratorul adevărat se conduce după 'Carta de la Veneția'. Acolo primul punct este primum non nocere, adică să nu faci rău picturii sau obiectului. [...] Al doilea principiu este reversibilitatea. Dacă ai făcut ceva, să poată fi îndepărtat ușor, să nu aduci traume picturii. Al treilea criteriu este ca materialele pe care le folosești să fie mai slabe decât originalele, să se deterioreze înaintea originalului*).

Among the many churches Nicolae Sava linked his name to, and to which he should have applied the principles proclaimed with emphasis and conviction, are the wooden church of Lupșa Monastery and the stone church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Zlatna, both in Alba County (Romania). The work was carried out in 1996–1998, probably in parallel. In order to discover the full extent of the consequences of his involvement, I will provide a brief outline of the history of the two monuments.

The church in Zlatna has earned the reputation of 'the only Romanian place of worship where the Gothic style is a substantial influence' (Fleșer 2001, 144: *unicul lăcaș de cult românesc la care se remarcă atât de substanțial aportul stilului gotic*). The analysis of its planimetry and the 1424 date mentioned in a *Schematism* of the Uniate Church in 1900, a time when the church was Greek-Catholic, led to its classification as a fifteenth-century church. The Gothic features were explained as a creation of Saxon craftsmen allegedly paid by the local community (cf. Vătășianu 1959, 256; the community is documented since 1437). This idyllic interpretation was called into question by archaeological research during the restoration of the Zlatna church in the 1990s. Archaeologists found the relics of a church

rather different from the present one: a short basilica with three naves, a square sanctuary followed to the east by the central apse, framed by two apses at the eastern end of side naves (Fleșer 2001, 144). During its Romanesque phase, the church was not only built by Saxon craftsmen, but it probably served the needs of the ethnic German colony of Zlatna. The decreasing number of German colonists in the fifteenth century probably led to the takeover of the church by Romanians, with or without the help of the most important knezes of the area—the Căndeia of Lupșa.

The simultaneous transformation into a church both Gothic and Orthodox can indeed date back to the first half of the fifteenth century, even if the year 1424 cannot be taken for granted. The church was reduced to its central part, consisting of a square recessed apse and a rectangular nave with two bays covered with ogival vaults. It is impossible to tell whether the craftsmen were local or foreign, but the materials used were at least partly recycled from buildings then in ruins, as evidenced by a moulding that decorates the apse vault, which was carved from a stone that still bears a fragmentary Latin inscription. In 1696 the nave was shortened by the erection of a bell tower, on the ground floor of which a pronaos was arranged. The cross shape of the present-day church, with the addition of chapels to the North and South, could also date to that period (Greceanu, Cristache Panait 1966, 729).

The history of these last two stages was summarised in 1744 in the inscription painted on the north pillar of the triumphal arch, uncovered during a repainting programme undertaken by the painter Anton Zeiler from Blaj in 1937. Its text, from which the first line is missing, reads as follows: '[...] they built this holy church, first with the pronaos up to the mid-wall, with all the expenses paid by lord Stanislas Hraboru and lady Anca, and for this work shown above fifteen hundred florins were

▼ Exterior view of the church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Zlatna (Alba County), seen from the belltower of the adjacent church of Saint-Nicholas.

Credits: Ana Dumitran.



paid; and when they died, it remained unfinished. And in the year 1696, lord Dobra Anghel and lord Iacov Ioanăș then started to build it at their own expense, the vault of the pronaos and the tower; and the payment was made [...] ([...] s-au zidit această sfântă biserică, dintâi cu tinda până la mijlocul zidului, cu toată cheltuiala dumnealui jupanului Stănilav Hraboru i jupanița ego Anca, și pântru acest lucru cât arată mai sus s-au aflat cheltuiala cinjsprăzece sute de florinți; și murind, au rămas neisprăvit(ă). Iar la an 1696 atunceea s-au apuca(t) jupanu Dobra Anghel și cu jup(a)nu Iacov Ioanăș și au zidit-o cu toată cheltuiala dumnealor: bolta tinzii și turnul; și s-au făcut cheltuiala [...]). The remaining part of the text (at least two and a half lines) is lost.

The chronicle continues on the south pillar: 'In 1744, lord Roșca Ion died and left two hundred and 50 florins to the church for the painting of this holy church, so that he could be ktitor and be mentioned at the holy liturgy. This holy church was painted in the days of Her Highness Queen Maria Theresa [\_\_\_\_ one line missing \_\_\_\_] (be)ing bishop the Venerable [...] [I]nnocent of Sadu [...]; the troubled and urging ktitors of this work in the erection of the altar and the painting of the church were Priest Ivan and Priest Peter' (În an 1744 au răpăosat jupânu Roșca Ion și au lăsat bisearecii doao sute și 50 de florinți pentru zugrăvitu aceștii sf(in)te bisea(ri)ci, ca să fie ctitor și să(-l) pomenească la sfânta liturghie. Zugrăvitu-s-au această sfântă biseerică în zilele înălțatei crăesie Mariei Tereziei [\_\_\_\_ one line missing \_\_\_\_] (fi)nd vlădica [...] (I)nochientie de Sadu [...]; ostenitor și îndemnător și ctitor acestui lucru la ziditul oltariului și la zugrăvitul bisearecii au fost Popa Ivan i sin ego Popa Pătru).

The second part of the inscription suggests that the last changes made to the church were the addition of a new apse beyond the east wall of the existing one, which became the new templon, and its complete painting. In 1937

and later in the 1990s, mural fragments dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were found under the eighteenth century layer. The most extensive late-medieval scene of this type is an Elevation of the Holy Cross painted on the northern wall of the nave, whereas the most controversial one is the Crucifixion scene, now on the iconostasis, originally as the eastern wall of the apse. The fifteenth-century dating was argued by Virgil Vătășianu (1932–1938, 431–438) and Vasile Drăguț (1970, 64–65) based on its archaic features. It would be the only representation of the Crucifixion in medieval Romanian painting displayed in the sanctuary apse. Although highly unusual, this is supported by the direct repainting of the scene, colour over colour, by the anonymous 18th-century craftsman.

Nicolae Sava's questionable restitution of these fragments of Old Romanian art (see the treatment of the Crucifixion scene) was completed by the repainting of the entire church, as he professed not being an adept of 'museum' restoration, which would be acceptable only in the decadent and secularised West, where old churches would be fit only to attract tourists. In the same interview referred to at the beginning of the current essay, Nicolae Sava explains his own artistic contribution as a result of the fact that 'in our country the Church is alive. [...] How can one then not treat restoration functionally, leave the saints unaccomplished and unfinished on the walls of a church? To deny one's specific, national trait? There is nothing commercial in our ecclesiastical art. It is part of daily life, part of ministry. That is why I both restore and paint churches in the Orthodox spirit. In res-

▼ Church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Zlatna (Alba County). The votive inscription of 1744 painted on the north and south pillars of the triumphal arch.

Credits: Anca Crișan, 2014.





▲ Church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Zlatna (Alba County). Crucifixion scene and saints, 2014.

▼ Church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Zlatna (Alba County). Elevation of the Holy Cross.

Credits: Anca Crișan, 2014.



toration, I have to follow the painter who painted there before. To forget myself. How many have that strength and fortitude? Yet I am sure good times will come. Young people are joining in and they have the courage to continue what we started' (Iacob 2016: *la noi biserica este vie*. [...]) *Cum poți atunci să nu tratezi funcțional restaurarea, să lași sfinții neîmpliniți și neîntregiți pe pereții unei biserici? Să-ți negi trăsătura ta specifică, națională? Arta ecleziastică la noi nu e comercială. Face parte din trăirea zilnică, din slujire. De aceea, eu fac și restaurarea, și pictura de biserici în spirit ortodox. Iar în restaurare trebuie să mă pliez pe pictorul care a pictat acolo înainte. Să uit de mine. Câți au puterea și tăria asta? Dar sunt sigur că vor veni vremuri bune. Vin tineri care au curajul să continue ceea ce am*

*început noi*).

The restoration was so 'functional' that it included the creation of a votive depiction, hidden in a tower room which is inaccessible to both the faithful and tourists wandering through Zlatna. Accompanied by the local protopresbyter, Viorel Porcar, and embarrassed perhaps by his own boldness—at least in the face of inquisitive eyes, Nicolae Sava introduced himself as a 'church painter'. He and the protopresbyter hold the model of the church both literally and clumsily, thus taking the place of the





actual ktetors. The only silver lining is that he used weak materials, which have already begun to disintegrate, so at least the second and third principles of restoration have been respected. The first principle is unlikely to have ever been taken into account.

Among other similar situations that Nicolae Sava mentions in the track record included in the 2016 interview, the ultimate piece of evidence of this odd contemporary-votive type of restoration is his 'contribution' to the adornment of the monastery church at Lupșa (also Alba County, Romania). Re-established in 1991, the local

monastic settlement traces its roots back to the early fifteenth century, when a certain Monk Mountain is mentioned in a document of 1427 (*apud Rusu et al.* 2000, 163). The monastery was probably founded under the patronage of Cândeș knezes from nearby Lupșa, and it had to have a place of worship, no doubt a wooden one, possibly located on the spot where the present-day wooden church stands. For this reason, the authors of a Greek-Catholic 1900 jubilee *Schematism* opted for a 1429 dating (*Șematism* 1900, 518), taken for granted in later historical writings, for reasons that have never been explained (Metăș 1936, 152–153; Cristache Panait 1987, 85–86; Porumb 1998, 213–215).

The Lupșa monastery church poses a very different set of problems. The fragility of the building material—wood—required the periodic rebuilding of its component parts, especially the roof, but also the raising of the wooden walls, and the addition of the tower. This happened in the eighteenth century at the earliest. The dating of the ceil-

► *Tower of the church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Zlatna (Alba County). Votive scene depicting painter Nicolae Sava and the local priest Viorel Porcar.*

Credits: Ana Dumitran, 2012.

▼ *Wooden church of the Lupșa monastery (Alba County).*

Credits: Anca Crișan, 2014.



SAVA NICOLAE  
PICTOR BISCALICESC

IERON. GHELASIE  
TEPES  
STARCTUL  
SF. MIHAILAI  
+ LUPSA



ANUL 1850



- ◀ Modern votive depiction in the church of Lupșa.  
Credits: Ana Dumitran, 2012.
- ▲ Last Judgement composition painted on the western façade of the wooden church at Lupșa before its whitewashing.  
Credits: Ana Dumitran, 2003.
- ▼ Modern votive inscription painted in the same church.  
Credits: Ana Dumitran, 2012.

ing is certain—1694, when it was painted by two Unitarian Szeklers from Sângeorgiul Trascăului (now Colțești, Alba County, Romania). The portals were redone in the nineteenth century, when the windows were also widened, and the exterior and interior were plastered. The only clue to the antiquity of the monument is its 1694 painting; the iconostasis donated in the seventeenth century by the unknown couple Demetrius and Rosanda—painted by an artist from the Wallachian milieu of the

reign of Matthew Basarab (1632–1654); and the Gospels once kept in the monastery—written in the scriptorium of Putna Monastery in Moldavia, during the reign of Stephen the Great (second half of the fifteenth century), now kept at the Cluj Branch of the Romanian Academy Library (Porumb 1998, 215).

‘Church painter’ Nicolae Sava inflicted real trauma on this church. The sobriety of the old decoration brought to light the beauty of the iconostasis painting, which is now lost and very difficult to reverse. Sava painted the interior in colours that I would personally characterise as morbid and lacklustre. He even began to paint the exterior, creating a bizarre Last Judgement on the western façade. Groups of deceiving prophets, Ottomans, ruthless rich people, Nazi and Communist officers, the Dalai Lama, and martial arts practitioners await their sentence on the wall of the modern (and possibly medieval) monument.



It is unclear who stopped the horrific progress of the so-called ‘restoration’. Sava’s Last Judgement remained in plain sight for twelve more years. The western façade wall was whitewashed only in 2010, when the church had to be saved from the attack of a *merulius lacrimans* fungus. Inside, nevertheless, and to the right of the entrance portal, another votive depiction travesty is still visible to this day. The oversized figure of the ‘church painter’ joins that of the abbot of the time. For once, the man of the cloth holds the church alone and watches over the monastic community. Nicolae Sava chose to hold a brush and watch over a community of disciples.

He did not leave any records whether or not traces of an old painting, damaged by time, had been discovered on the walls, something that would justify the existence of a new parietal decoration. Perhaps the church was never painted, except for its ceiling, which did not prevent it from being—in its many centuries of existence—as alive as a fully-painted church. It is unclear why it could not remain undecorated until the new church was erected. The old one could have had a commemorative and touristic role, as it finally did. If the repainting was indeed imperiously requested of him by the new owners, the role of

the much-acclaimed restorer (and UNESCO expert) would have been precisely that of a defender of the manner in which the venerable place had survived the passing of time. In this Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr ‘Church Painter’, there is no ‘strength and fortitude’ to forget oneself and remain anonymous, as did the painters of old, with whom Mr Hyde liked so much to be compared.

▼ Iconostasis and ceiling of the monastery church of Lupșa.

Credits: Anca Crișan, 2014.



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# À propos d'un livre récent

## *Vision de Varnava: Întăleptului Varnava minunată arătare a vederii lui cu pildă tuturor*, édition et étude de Dana Shishmanian, Alba Iulia / Cluj-Napoca, Muzeul Național al Unirii / Mega, 2023, 256 p.

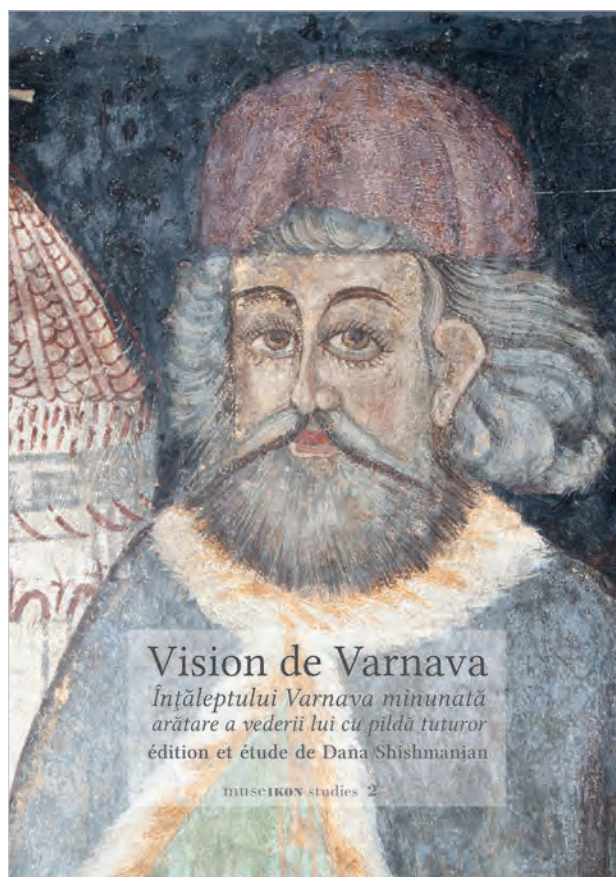
Nagy Levente

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest (HU)

Dans le fonds de manuscrits et livres anciens de la Bibliothèque Astra de Sibiu se trouve un petit codex conservé sous la cote CMR-44. Écrit en langue roumaine, avec des caractères cyrilliques, le codex contient deux textes : la plus ancienne et complète copie de l'ouvrage *Divanul sau Gâlceava Întăleptului cu lumea sau Giudețul sufletului cu trupul* ('Le divan ou la dispute du sage avec le monde ou le jugement de l'âme avec le corps') du prince Dimitrie Cantemir, publié à Iași en 1698 ; ainsi qu'une *Întăleptului Varnava minunată arătare a vederii lui cu pildă tuturor* ('Du sage Varnava miraculeuse apparition de sa vision avec enseignement pour tous' ou, plus simplement, 'La vision de Varnava'), un poème composé de paragraphes-strophes de 4 à 5 lignes, disposés en nombre de 4 ou 5 par page, ayant un rythme très variable et une rime loin d'être parfaite.

Le codex a été décrit pour la première fois par Ștefan Pașca (1943),<sup>1</sup> puis mentionné à plusieurs reprises par d'autres philologues roumains – Mircea Avram (1970),<sup>2</sup> Eugenia Crișan (2009).<sup>3</sup> Cependant, jusque-là, aucune tentative n'avait été faite pour étudier de manière approfondie ce manuscrit, et plus particulièrement le deuxième texte qu'il contient : quand et par qui il aurait été rédigé ; s'agit-il d'une œuvre originale ou d'une traduction ; qui pourrait en être l'auteur ? Or, Dana Shishmanian a enfin réussi à trouver des réponses à de telles questions. En effet, avec beaucoup d'ingéniosité philologique, l'auteure a prouvé de manière convaincante que le modèle direct de 'La Vision de Varnava' était l'œuvre du poète hongrois Nyéki Vörös Mátyás (1575–1625), intitulée *Dialogus, azaz egy kárhozatra szállott gazdag test és léleknek siralommal teljes egymással való keserves panaszkodó beszélgetések* ('Dialogue, à savoir conversation amère et plaintive entre le corps et l'âme d'un riche condamné').

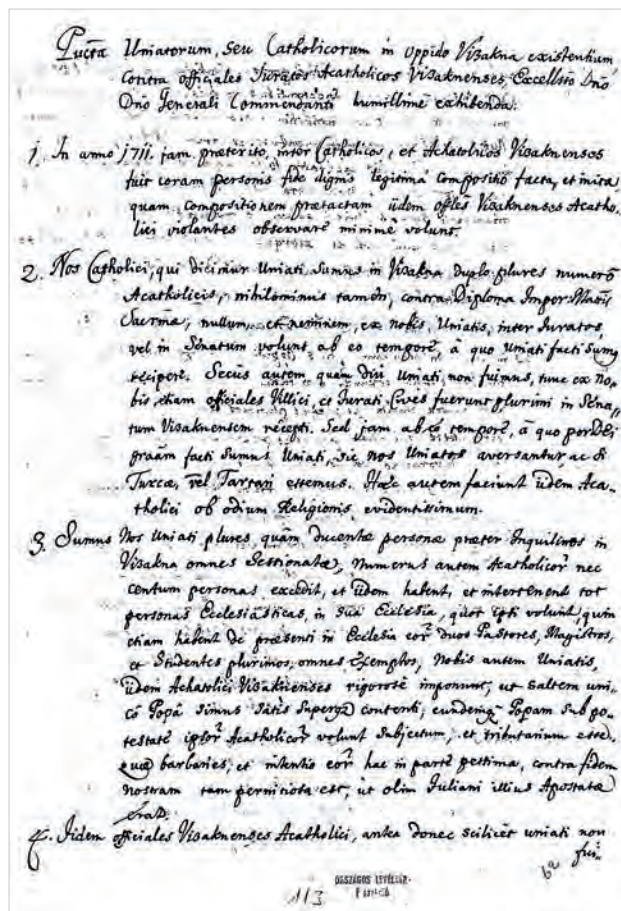
Ce *Dialogus* a joui d'un grand succès dans son temps. Il a été édité huit fois ; il a également été traduit et réécrit en croate par le poète Matija Magdalenic (1611–1677). En 1623, il a été publié à Prague sous la forme d'un livre à part ; puis il a été réédité à Vienne en 1625, 1633 et 1636. Une cinquième édition est ensuite parue à Oradea, en 1642. C'est cette édition qui aurait été utilisée par le protopope roumain Ioan Zoba (intellectuel ecclésiastique de la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle) pour sa traduction datée, d'après la note du paragraphe final de la Vision de Varnava (*din nașterea înpelițerei lui Dumnezeu cu laudă noao în anul cest nou, în mîia, și șase sute, și șapte zeci* 'de la naissance de l'incarnation de Dieu, avec louange



▲ Couverture du livre de Dana Shishmanian.

nouvelle, en cette nouvelle année, mille six cent soixante-dix'), de 1670.

Sous sa forme actuelle, le poème se présente comme une copie réalisée par le pape Ioan de Vizocna (Ocna Sibiului, Salzburg, Vizakna) en 1703. Cette figure est connue des historiens roumains pour avoir été l'un des onze protopopes à avoir apposé leur signature sur le premier acte d'adhésion en faveur de l'union avec Rome : notamment la lettre du 10 juin 1697 adressée par le métropolite Théophile au cardinal autrichien Leopold Kollonich, archevêque primat de Hongrie. Toutefois, ce geste d'adhésion n'avait pas empêché le pape Ioan de s'adresser au voïvode de la Valachie, Constantin Brâncoveanu, pour



▲ Document de 1713 (Gubernium Transylvanicum).  
Source: Archives Nationales de Hongrie, F 324.

obtenir une aide matérielle afin de rénover son église paroissiale (fondée par le voïvode Mihai Viteazul à la fin du xvr<sup>e</sup> siècle) qui, ayant subi un incendie dévastateur, fut reconstruite entre 1696 et 1701.

Or, en copiant, en 1703, le *Divan* du prince Cantemir et *La Vision du Varnava*, Ioan de Vizocna a non seulement rendu un grand service à l'histoire culturelle roumaine, mais il a également montré qu'il était un éminent intellectuel roumain de l'époque. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, il semblait que nous ne disposions plus d'aucune information sur ce personnage, si ce n'est la date de sa mort, survenue en 1723. Toutefois, je voudrais ouvrir une petite parenthèse et attirer l'attention sur une collection de documents où l'on peut encore découvrir quelques informations importantes sur l'activité sociale, religieuse et même politique du pope Ioan. Il s'agit notamment d'une enquête réalisée par le Gubernium de Transylvanie (*Gubernium Transylvanicum*) en 1713 à Ocna Sibiului, dont les procès-verbaux et les rapports rédigés la commission se trouvent dans les Archives Nationales de Hongrie, dans les fonds du *Gubernium Transylvanicum* (F 324). Plus précisément, cette enquête avait été rendue nécessaire par l'opposition entre les autorités municipales et les habitants roumains de la ville. Les Roumains soutenaient qu'ils avaient pris part aux fonctions municipales, mais que depuis l'union religieuse ils en étaient désormais exclus, car les habitants hongrois et saxons de la ville étaient soit des calvinistes, soit des luthériens. Les Roumains n'avaient qu'un seul juré au conseil municipal : leur prêtre qui, lui aussi, était obligé de payer des

impôts. Or, ce prêtre n'était autre que le pope Ioan de Vizocna, qui avait accusé les dirigeants hongrois de la ville de toute une série d'actes illégaux (détournements de fonds, malversations, etc.). L'une des accusations portait, notamment, sur le fait que le juge de la ville et les jurés du conseil municipal avaient pris de force un tonneau de vin à la paroisse roumaine, sous prétexte que le pope Ioan vendait du vin clandestinement. En raison de cette saisie, le mécontentement des Roumains de la ville s'était manifesté par des émeutes locales que seule une commission d'enquête avait réussi à calmer. Le pope Ioan de Vizocna était donc au cœur des événements et des tensions sociales provoquées par l'union des Roumains de Transylvanie avec Rome, union à laquelle, comme nous l'avons vu, le pope avait adhéré dès le début. Ce fonds de documents mériterait sans doute d'être étudié et édité dans son intégralité, car nous apprendrions non seulement de nouvelles informations sur le pope Ioan, mais également sur les premiers impacts, dans l'ensemble de la société transylvanienne, de l'union des Roumains avec Rome.

Mais qui d'autre – demande Dana Shishmanian – pourrait être l'auteur de la *Vision de Varnava* sinon le protopope Ioan Zoba ? Après avoir examiné toutes les possibilités et passé en revue l'activité de tous les intellectuels roumains de Transylvanie de l'époque (tout compte fait peu nombreux : Mihai Halic, Gheorghe de Daia, Stefan Kajoni), Dana Shishmanian est arrivée à la conclusion qu'un seul personnage pourrait réellement être l'auteur du poème : le protopope Ioan Zoba de Vinț. D'après l'auteure, le patronyme de Zoba dériverait probablement du hongrois *szoba*, équivalent du *soba* roumain, au double sens de 'pièce' et de 'four, poêle, installation de chauffage'. Ioan avait un frère, Oprea ; les deux avaient été anoblis, avec tous leurs descendants, par le même diplôme ; et la famille eut une lignée ramifiée et abondante, certaines branches ayant émigré, au cours des xviii<sup>e</sup> et xix<sup>e</sup> siècles, vers la Slovaquie, la Pologne, l'Allemagne et les États-Unis. À propos de cette famille, je voudrais mentionner ici le fait que, au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle, il y avait aussi un autre prêtre en Transylvanie qui portait un tel nom. Il s'agit de *Franciscus Zoba Petri*, l'un des boursiers (*alumnus*) du prince Gabriel Bethlen à l'Université de Heidelberg en 1620 (il s'inscrivit le 28 juillet) et, un an plus tard (le 20 octobre 1621), à l'Université de Wittenberg. Après son retour en Transylvanie, il fut pendant un certain temps professeur au collège nouvellement créé par le prince Gabriel Bethlen à Alba-Iulia (*Collegium Academicum*) ; puis il devint prêtre et protopope de Dej. En 1634, il participa au synode convoqué par l'évêque calviniste de Transylvanie, Geleji Katona István. Ce synode fut convoqué en 1634 car John Dury (1599-1680) théologien, bibliothécaire et pasteur iréniste d'origine écossaise avait envoyé une lettre à Geleji en demandant l'opinion de l'évêque transylvain sur la possibilité de l'union entre luthériens et réformés. Pour répondre à la lettre de Dury, le 7 février 1634, Geleji convoqua un synode à Alba-Iulia. Dans la réponse synodale (qui avait été signée, en plus du protopope Franciscus Zoba, par Johannes Piscator, Johann Heinrich Alsted et Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld), Geleji présentait toute l'idéologie de l'irénisme concernant les articles fondamentaux et théologiques de la foi. En ce qui concerne les Roumains orthodoxes, les participants du synode avaient affirmé que si la discipline était rétablie et l'union était réalisée parmi les Protestants, les églises orientales finiraient par se joindre automatique-

ment à ce nouveau christianisme protestant.

Or, nous n'avons aucune preuve que Franciscus Zoba et le protopope Ioan Zoba soient issus de la même famille ; mais étant donné que ce nom de famille (*Zoba*) était à l'époque assez rare en Transylvanie, on ne peut pas exclure cette possibilité. Il serait opportun de mener des recherches dans cette direction, car s'il pouvait être prouvé qu'il existait des liens familiaux entre Franciscus Zoba et Ioan Zoba (un lien père-fils, par exemple), cela signifierait que cet érudit exceptionnel qu'était Ioan Zoba n'était pas sorti de nulle part, mais qu'il appartenait, au contraire, à une véritable famille d'intellectuels.

Sans aucun doute, le protopope de Vinț est la personnalité la plus complexe du monde intellectuel roumain de Transylvanie dans la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Étant un adversaire déclaré des métropolitains Sava Brancovici et Ioasaf, il n'était pas difficile d'être défini, sous la plume des certains historiens célèbres – Nicolae Iorga (1915),<sup>4</sup> Ștefan Meteș (1935),<sup>5</sup> etc. – comme un philo-calviniste. Cependant, les opinions sur Zoba sont récemment devenues plus nuancées et la figure philo-calviniste s'est peu à peu transformée en celle d'un 'homme responsable envers ses pairs, un orthodoxe sincère et un prêtre soucieux de la justesse de chaque geste et de chaque parole prononcée à l'autel, à la chaire ou dans un cadre funéraire cérémonial' – Ana Dumitran (2016).<sup>6</sup> Il n'empêche que l'identité religieuse de Zoba demeure difficile à cerner : il a traduit un viatique moral et quelques sermons d'auteurs puritains ; puis il a fait imprimer un *Moltăvnic* orthodoxe d'après une source slave, en intercalant toutefois, dans la préface de ce livre de prières, des idées théologiques qui ont été largement disputées par les représentants cartésiens du coccéanisme et de l'orthodoxie calviniste des années '70-'80 du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Transylvanie. Encore, en 1670, lorsque le calvinisme devenait une religion quasi officielle en Transylvanie, il a traduit le poème de l'érudit catholique Nyéki Vörös Mátyás.

Ce dernier avait fait ses études théologiques au collège des Jésuites de Trnava (Slovaquie), puis était devenu scribe à la chancellerie royale hongroise (d'abord à Prague puis à Vienne). Il fit également un voyage à Rome, où il acheta quatre volumes du Torquato Tasso. Bien qu'il ait été actif pendant la Contre-Réforme, il n'était pas un catholique intransigent et était également un poète talentueux – ce

qui explique que ses œuvres furent également diffusées par des imprimeurs protestants. En l'occurrence, l'édition de 1642 du *Dialogus* (qui était très probablement la source utilisée par Zoba) sortit de l'imprimerie de Szenci Kertész Ábrahám, rattachée à l'église réformée d'Oradea. Bien que le modèle méditatif d'Ignace de Loyola soit présent dans le *Dialogus*, le poème est néanmoins neutre d'un point de vue confessionnel. Cela se voit également dans l'édition protestante d'Oradea, où le texte du *Dialogus* est imprimé sans aucune modification ; mais où un autre poème de Nyéki (*Penitentiara indult szívnek könyörgése*, 'La prière du cœur, qui partait vers la pénitence'), au caractère catholique plus prononcé, est réécrit de telle manière que ses caractéristiques confessionnelles en ressortent plus atténuées. Zoba, pour sa part, choisit de suivre de près le modèle hongrois et n'intervient pas, dans sa traduction, afin de ne pas en modifier le contenu confessionnel. En parcourant l'excellente édition de Dana Shishmanian – qui publie en facsimilé le texte original du codex CMR-44, transcrit le texte, et ensuite le compare avec la version hongroise de Nyéki – le lecteur s'en rendra aisément compte. Une telle édition, sous forme imprimée, n'était pas facile à réaliser. C'est tout à l'honneur de la maison d'édition du Musée National de l'Union de Alba Iulia, et de la maison d'édition Mega d'avoir entrepris cette tâche ardue.

L'ouvrage a été publié dans le cadre du projet ORTHPOL – *Orthodoxies and Politics: The Religious Reforms of Mid-17th Century in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe* financé par le Conseil Européen de la Recherche (ERC), dont l'objectif principal est d'étudier les phénomènes réformateurs apparus dans les églises de rite grec-oriental au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est un projet réellement novateur, alimenté par un nombre croissant de nouvelles sources à étudier ; par l'approfondissement de certaines sources et de certains événements déjà connus ; ou bien par des recherches visant le prisme des activités de certains personnages tels que Kyrillos Loukaris, Pierre Mohyla (Petru Movilă) etc., qui prouvent qu'après la Réforme Protestante et la Renaissance Catholique, il y eut également des mouvements réformateurs au sein des églises de rite grec. La nouvelle découverte philologique de Dana Shishmanian est une parfaite illustration de ce phénomène. Je suis persuadé que le poème de Ioan Zoba, publié par l'auteure dans une édition impeccable et richement illustrée, ouvrira à l'avenir de nouvelles pistes de recherche.

## Notes

1 Pașca 1943, p. 119-124.

2 Avram 1970, p. 11, 15.

3 Crișan 2009, p. 54-57.

4 Iorga 1915, p. 275, 278.

5 Meteș 1935, p. 402.

6 Dumitran 2016, p. 15.

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Avram 1970—Mircea Avram, *Carte românească manuscrisă*, Sibiu, Biblioteca Astra, 1970.

Crișan 2009—Eugenia Crișan, « Patrimoniul sibiian. O carte manuscrisă din Ocna Sibiului », *Transilvania*, 131 (2009, nr. 3).

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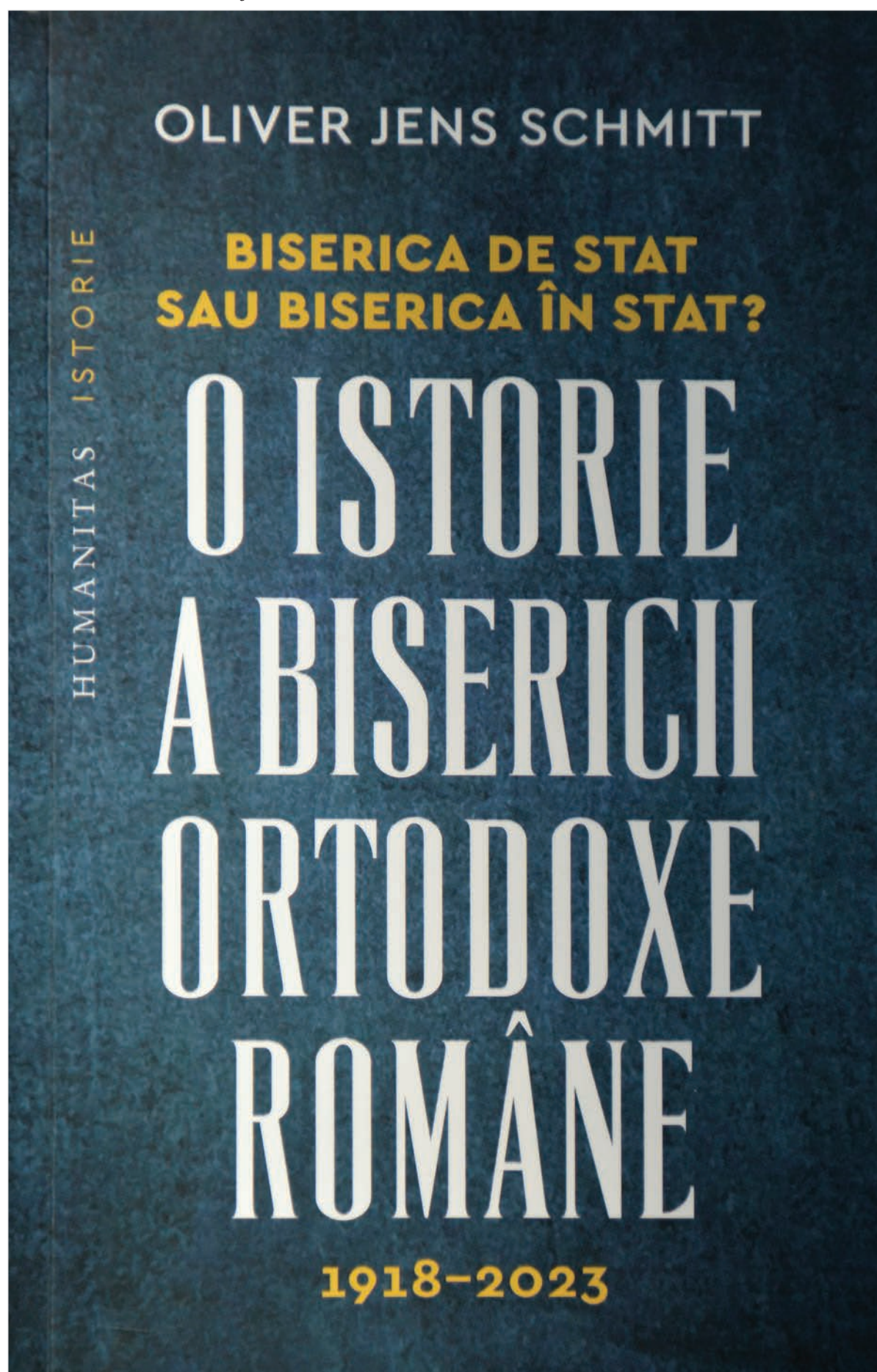
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Alessia Chapel (Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale / CÉSCM UMR 7302, Poitiers—CNRS).



# Book Reviews

Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Biserica de stat sau biserica în stat? O istorie a Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2023), 457p.

## Contributors

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### REVIEW 1 (CS)

Romanian book publishers (especially Humanitas Publishing) have recently released a number of books that capture national attention, becoming the central topic of professional debates, institutional disputes, and intensive, often heavily fueled press coverage. Among these is a Romanian language monograph, *Biserica de stat sau biserica în stat? O istorie a Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1918–2023* [‘State Church or Church in the State? History of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1918–2023’], by Oliver Jens Schmitt, a Swiss historian living and conducting research in Vienna, Austria. He is a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Director of *Das Institut für die Erforschung der Habsburgermonarchie und des Balkanraumes der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [‘Habsburg Empire and Balkan Research Institute’].

The book became a bestseller within weeks, but also caused a huge public outcry, receiving sharp criticism from the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Academy. The release of the book and the attacks it faced can only be understood together, so it is worth considering the arguments and positions of both sides, as they shed light on significant phenomena that extend beyond this case study from Romania. The reception of the book reflects one of the crucial methodological dilemmas of Romanian historiography: the limits and aims of deconstructivism in historiography and the interpretation of complex, historical institutions in the nation-building processes in contrast with nationalist approaches in Romanian history writing.

This author’s books are often associated with nationwide controversies, as demonstrated by the scandal caused in Albania by his book on Skanderbeg.<sup>1</sup> In this volume, Schmitt claims that Skanderbeg’s mother, Voisava Kastrioti, might have been of Serbian origin. The ethnic affiliation of these figures turned national myths often leads to such significant offenses and collective ruptures in the region that some countries even change their names, as seen in the recent history of North Macedonia due to the ‘Macedonian’ or ‘Greek’ identity of Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> Schmitt, as a Byzantinologist and Balkan expert, is aware of this. He recognizes the ‘misery of the Central and Eastern European states,’ as Istvan

Bibó argued, and the peculiarities of the semi-periphery and inter-imperality of the region, where the inviolability of national myths and heroes serves as the foundation for collective security and Andersonian imagined communities.<sup>3</sup> In his books, Schmitt deconstructs these elements that contribute to national unity and imagined collective identities in Eastern Europe (persons, events, institutions). He primarily does so as a historian, relying on sources and academic literature, but sometimes, subjectivity is given too much space in his texts: many statements lack references, and without corroborating sources, the reader cannot verify their credibility. Like Lucian Boia and many other Romanian representatives of deconstructive historiography, Schmitt demythologises by creating new myths.<sup>4</sup> He writes fluently, as a talented author who occasionally makes strong, controversial statements, but he does not exaggerate or base his work solely on that. Therefore, it is often challenging for the untrained reader to determine where the historian’s knowledge based on sources ends and where the subjective interpretation of an intellectual closely associated with Western institutions begins. In other words, it is a genuine challenge to determine where history ends and metahistory begins in Schmitt’s work. By metahistory here I mean the notion of Hayden White: textuality, as tool or perhaps, even agent (or at least: *actant*—from Bruno Latour) in historical narratives and identity-formation plays a crucial role in Central-Eastern Europe even in the twenty-first century.<sup>5</sup>

In his latest volume, Schmitt examines the largest church in Romania, the Romanian Orthodox Church (hereafter referred to as BOR—*Biserica Ortodoxă Română*). The starting thesis and question revolve around the extent to which BOR can be considered a state church or a church within the state in its post-1918 history. The author aims to explore how the power dynamics between the state and the Orthodox Church have evolved over the past century. In this volume, Oliver Jens Schmitt briefly delves into the prehistory of BOR (p. 31–57), providing a detailed analysis of the conditions prior to 1918, the radically different traditions of the fragmented Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvania, the Romanian principalities, and the Russian and Austrian territories. The issues of inter-imperialities are rarely discussed here, even if this notion and the overall issue was recently analysed as one of the key-terms in the historical understanding of the region.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently (p. 57–80), Schmitt thoroughly

◀ Cover of the book.

examines the role played by BOR in the 1918 unification of Romania, as one of the key moments in the modern nation-building, often interpreted as a final act of a historical judgment and long-awaited historical utopia: he introduces the main actors and demonstrates how Orthodox Church leaders suddenly change their opinions between 1916 and 1918 (Miron Cristea, for example, was still loyal to the Hungarian cause in the war in 1916). He highlights that the newly expanded Romanian Kingdom faced extensive challenges after 1920 when it had to confront not only the religious diversity of ethnic minorities but also the religious dissonance within the united country. In 1920, the Romanian speaking population was divided between Greek-Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Orthodox Christianity from the Russian world, requiring the establishment of a unified voice and church policy. The author primarily emphasizes the process of forced and suddenly created national unity, often artificial and fraught with conflicts, through the clash between BOR and the Greek-Catholic Church from Transylvania, as a living, politically active and culturally more visible heritage of the Hungarian and Habsburg times. Strangely, the book scarcely addresses the BOR's role in the Romanization of Szeklerland, the urban reconfiguration of Transylvanian cities, the distribution of church properties, or the complex and strained relationship with Catholic and Protestant churches.<sup>7</sup> BOR played a nation-unifying role in the establishment of Greater Romania in 1920, but this relationship was not always free of conflict. Schmitt extensively draws upon a vast body of scholarly work, incorporating the contributions of numerous young and talented researchers, such as Lucian N. Leuştean, Ovidiu Olar, Andreea Kaltenbrunner, Konrad Petrovsky, Marian Pătru, Tamás Sárándi, or Ionuț Biliuță, often in surprising ways (quoting from unpublished doctoral theses, of course, with the authors' permission).<sup>8</sup> Although Oliver Jens Schmitt speaks perfect Romanian, it is unclear from the introduction whether he himself wrote this volume in Romanian, or if it was translated.

Almost every page features a story where we encounter blemishes on the history of BOR: the inseparable relationship between the Iron Guard and the church is analysed through selective citations and publications of the notable theologian Dumitru Stăniloae, Metropolitan Antim Nica, and the later Patriarch Teoctist Arăpașu (p. 80–133). The author also sheds light on the sexual harassment perpetrated by Nicodim Munteanu, Octavian Goga's anti-Semitism, and writes critically about Miron Cristea, the first patriarch who later became the prime minister (p. 133–188). These names become the subject of an unsparing critical analysis, although these figures had previously been the subject of panegyrics in Romanian scholarly literature, with few historical monographs or contextual analyses. Oliver Jens Schmitt repeatedly mentions in the preface that he could not always rely on adequate sources since many details and chapters of BOR's history had not been thoroughly analysed yet, especially when it comes to the Ceaușescu era (1965–1989). Monographs on patriarchs and leaders of BOR are typically works by ecclesiastical publishers and authors, often presenting the life of a patriarch or metropolitan with selective methodology and lacking sources. Therefore, Oliver Schmitt was confronted with a difficult situation writing his book: on the one hand, he had to gather thousands of documents covering a century of history, and on the other hand, he had to harness a vast body of relevant scholarship, preferably both the emic and ethic

literature. However, such an endeavour is not feasible for a single author in one volume, as it exceeds capabilities, space, and time. Oliver Jens Schmitt 'solves' this methodological problem by collecting the main works written by the above-mentioned young authors and historians along with some contemporary sources (such as letters and memoirs of politicians and patriarchs) and synthesizes them in a comprehensive, historical study. Writing a hundred years of history in just 400 pages is no small feat, but it requires extreme selectivity. In Schmitt's book, the history of the Orthodox Church appears as an indictment of sorts, depicting it as an exploiter, opportunist, and parasite in its relationship with state power.

For all these reasons, it is perhaps not surprising that the official reactions from BOR and from the president of the Romanian Academy (Ioan Aurel Pop) were vehement, and reviews were equally strongly worded. Critics put forward that Schmitt is anti-Church, that his style echoes the era of Marxism and Stalinist historiography, and that with his deconstructivism he intentionally opposes Orthodoxy, which played a crucial role in the establishment of Romanian national unity, culture, education, and the social system.

As mentioned, the conflicting parties (nationalist historiography vs. Western deconstructivism) reveal not only the specific problems of Romanian historiography but also the depth of collective wounds that the field of Romanian historiography is currently unwilling to confront, or that only a few have dared to address in recent years. Since Schmitt's book has already been purchased by thousands, BOR and the Academy rightfully see this volume as a rapidly spreading source of danger that stands in opposition to their own worldviews. Oliver Jens Schmitt boldly albeit superficially taps into a deep collective heritage of trauma, unspoken experiences of the twentieth century, and the radically changing world of our contemporary society. His book and its Romanian public reception confirm the troubled and raw dimensions of collective wounds in Central-Eastern European societies, still haunted by the weight of historical trauma and the past.<sup>9</sup>

Oliver Jens Schmitt's book is far from being a 'perfect' work of historiography. It would be difficult use it as an exemplary model of thoroughness and scholarly referencing at an academic level. However, as a public outreach scientific work, it reaches depths and touches upon topics that Romanian historiography and collective mentality will eventually have to address, stimulating Romanian and international scholarship for further, in-depth research for several case studies which were not discussed in detail by the author.

## Notes

- 1 Schmitt 2009.
- 2 Nikolovska 2017; Pavlaković, Bădescu 2019.
- 3 Kazharski 2022, 17–18. See also Zarycki 2014.
- 4 On the metahistories of Lucian Boia see Gáll, Kosztur 2016.
- 5 White 2014.
- 6 Parvulescu, Boatcă 2022.
- 7 Juhász 1935–1944.
- 8 For example, in the case of Sárándi Tamás' dissertation.
- 9 Máté-Tóth 2022.

## REVIEW 2 (DU)

'It is not the times under man, but poor man under the times'

*Iară nu sunt vremile supt cârma omului, ci bietul om supt vreme.*

(Miron Costin, *De neamul moldovenilor, din ce țară au ieșit strămoșii lor*, late seventeenth century)

In May 2023, Romanian historians and (social) media were animated by the book of Swiss-Austrian historian Oliver Jens Schmitt (born in Switzerland and President of the History Section of the Austrian Academy of Sciences), a book dedicated to the history of the last century and a half of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

The question in the book's title (Church of the State or Church in the State?) reveals from the outset the perspective from which the author wishes to analyse the history of the Orthodox Church—that of its relationship with politics, in its various declinations—regimes, parties, and ideologies. The hypothesis on which the volume is based is the continuity of ideas, visions, practices, and biographies that has characterised the majority church in Romania throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, despite breaks caused by the brutal changes in political regimes.

For Oliver Jens Schmitt, the history of the last century shows a Romanian Orthodox Church dominated by nationalism, centralism, anti-Westernism, populism or pro-Russianism, pathologies of identity that have morphed depending on the political contexts: during the (inter)war period, in the form of ultranationalism with anti-Semitic overtones, which translated into support for dictatorial or fascist regimes such as the Royal Dictatorship of Carol II or the Legionary-Antonescu dictatorship (the National Legionary State); during the communist period, by anti-Western, pro-Soviet and pro-Ceaușescu autocratic nationalism attitudes; and after 1989, by the support for populist, anti-reformist and pro-Russian political forces.

This red thread of positions adopted by the majority church throughout its history is the strong argument the author uses to justify his bold attempt to synthesise more than a century of complicated history. However, the way in which Oliver Jens Schmitt built his synthesis reveals certain methodological shortcomings and interpretative approximations that undermine his approach. In the author's favour, it should be pointed out that syntheses by their very nature involve simplifications and extrapolations, precisely in order to give coherence to the reconstructive effort. It is therefore natural to disregard certain events and highlight others, especially when we are dealing with over a century of history full of controversial phenomena and antagonistic totalitarian regimes.

In short, it is not the intention of summarising a century of turbulent history in a single volume that is open to criticism, but the methodology and the premises on which this synthesis was built. Mihai Ghițulescu<sup>1</sup> and Csaba Szabó<sup>2</sup> have raised valid criticisms of the inherent weaknesses of the attempt to synthesise the contemporary history of the Orthodox Church in a single volume.

First of all, it is worth highlighting an aspect that falls within the competence of author Oliver Jens Schmitt. Although a specialist in the history of the Balkans (including the medieval and pre-modern past of the Orthodox Churches) and the socio-political history of inter-war Romania, Oliver Jens Schmitt is not an established

historian of the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the twentieth century, and even less so of the communist period. This is reflected above all in the lack of documentary research in the archives dedicated to the recent past. To compensate for this, the Swiss-Austrian author exaggerates the argument that the Church's archives are not open to researchers. In fact, the Church's archives are virtually inaccessible to the public, partly because they have never been catalogued and partly because of the cumbersome procedures required to study them. This does not justify why historian Oliver Jens Schmitt has not made a documentary effort, especially since the Church's past can be studied through the archives of the former *Securitate* (kept at the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives—CNSAS), containing files on hierarchs, priests, monks and theologians persecuted by the communist political police, and through the National Archives funds (Ministry of Culture and the Arts, Department of Culture, etc.) dedicated to the Orthodox Church.

In the same vein of honest criticism, it should be borne in mind that syntheses cannot constitute the exclusive expression of unbiased documentary research, if only because the complexity of the twentieth century makes this impossible. Volumes covering such a long period are naturally built on secondary literature as well, and, implicitly, with the efforts of other researchers. However, the lack of one's own direct documentary effort, even for short segments of history, undermines our ability to discern the perspectives offered by the authors of secondary literature, since the direct study of primary sources introduces us to the spirit of the period and gives us a chance to understand the pitfalls that the documents and their authors placed before us. Only in this way can we honestly assess the views of other scholars, especially when they diverge.

The way in which historian Oliver Jens Schmitt resolves this interpretive dilemma, validating the studies of some scholars at the expense of others, accurately reflects the danger of a lack of documentary research: in an effort to validate his hypothesis—the red thread of the Orthodox Church's reprehensible positions (nationalism, anti-Semitism, anti-Westernism, pro-Russianism), Mr. Schmitt credits scholars who support his preconceived notions, while discarding as 'favourable to the Orthodox Church' that research which contradicts or amends his vision. In short, Oliver Jens Schmitt constructs his methodological tools not on the basis of factual reality, which he is unable to explore due to a lack of documentary research, but on the basis of the personal, sometimes ideological, positions of the researchers whose work he uses by reference.

These two methodological shortcomings, the lack of familiarity with the archival documents of the communist period, and the use of secondary literature validated according to the author's prejudices, form an interpretive trap that historian Oliver Jens Schmitt fails to avoid: the prevalence of the political evaluation of the individual, mainly through the grid of ideological labels. This is, moreover, a common pitfall of historical analyses, which must take into account the dynamics of a biography and evaluate it within the troubled political contexts unfolding in the background, rejecting a static view that would section a condemnable biographical fragment and extrapolate it as defining the entire destiny of the individual.

An eloquent example of the danger of overestimating the value of ideological labels is provided by historian Oliver

Jens Schmitt's treatment of the 'legionary problem' in its various declinations—the fascist activism of Orthodox priests in the inter-war period, participation in the anti-Semitic policies of the Antonescu regime, or the political motivations of clerics opposed to communism. In this register, the thesis that Oliver Jens Schmitt seeks to demonstrate is the Orthodox clergy's consistent adherence to Legionary ideas which influenced their positions at different stages of history (the interwar period, the Second World War or the communist period). In arguing this thesis, Schmitt overestimates the involvement of a part of the Orthodox clergy in the Legionary movement, as well as their participation in the high points of the legionary organisation's popularity (the funerals of Ionel Moța and Vasile Marin, for example). On the one hand, he minimises the fact that only a minority of priests were legionaries and, on the other, he avoids a nuanced analysis of the depth of individual Legionary identity.

When studying the turbulent 1930s and 1950s, historians should bear in mind that the label 'legionary' covers a multitude of identities and, implicitly, various degrees of adherence to legionary ideas: From priests who were 'legionary commanders', to priests with ranks and positions in the legionary nation-state, to theologians (future priests) who were active in legionary youth organisations without engaging in political activism as such, to priests who were part of anti-communist resistance groups alongside other legionaries who did not adhere to this political identity. In assessing these positions, which do not exhaust the vast array of political attitudes, we must also take into account the possibility of individual identity recalibrations, according to different borderline experiences or spiritual options. Regardless of their degree of adherence to legionary ideas, however, the *Securitate* labelled them as legionaries in order to justify their political repression. To peddle the same simplistic and implicitly ideological view is to undermine the analytical effort to recover and understand history.

The inability of Mr. Schmitt to avoid this interpretive trap is difficult to explain, given that he has published excellent research on interwar fascism—*Corneliu Zelea Codreanu: Ascensiunea și căderea Căpitanului* ['Corneliu Zelea Codreanu: The Rise and Fall of the 'Captain'] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2018), where he analyses in depth the internal workings of the legionary organisation. To leave one possible answer in the realm of speculation, we can ask whether Oliver Jens Schmitt has fallen into the trap of the observer who structures reality according to the way he observes it. In other words, has his study of the legionary phenomenon led him to see legionaries everywhere, even where they are not? These questions, although seemingly rhetorical, are answered in specific cases where historian Oliver Jens Schmitt misplaces the political identity of some Orthodox clerics.

The example of labelling Father Gherasim Iscu as legionary is relevant in this respect and deserves to be thoroughly examined to illustrate how the use of secondary literature without direct consultation of primary sources can lead to false conclusions, especially when the analytical effort is compromised by the preconception that an anti-communist Orthodox monk is naturally open to legionarism. The case of Iscu is all the more counterintuitive because the oral and written recollections of the communist prisons he was held in and where he eventually died (in Târgu Ocna penitentiary, in 1951) do not mention him as belonging to any organisation or having

any political identity.

In the subchapter on 'The Orthodox Church and the Shoah', when speaking of priests sent to Transnistria as missionaries, Oliver Jens Schmitt states that 'some were legionaries sent by force, such as the abbot of Tismana, Gherasim Iscu' (p. 181), without citing any document or author to support this claim. Intuitively, because in this subchapter Mr. Schmitt makes extensive use of Ionuț Biliuță's historical research, I have consulted Biliuță's paper on 'Christianisation' of Transnistria: Romanian Orthodox Clergy as Beneficiaries, Perpetrators, and Rescuers during the Holocaust;<sup>3</sup> on p. 25, Ionuț Biliuță states that the government forced priests or monks to go to Transnistria, "such as the abbot of the Tismana monastery, Hieromonk Gherasim Iscu, a known legionary sympathiser." In the content of the reference note, Ionuț Biliuță mentions the title and quotations from a 1942 document from the Ministry of Cults and the Arts, which refers more to the bureaucratic dimension of Gherasim Iscu's activity in Transnistria than to his political decisions ('Ieromonah Gherasim Iscu to the Minister of Cults and the Arts, ANR, MCA Fund, file 106/1942, p. 99. The state's plans for Gherasim Iscu were approved by Metropolitan Nifon Criveanu. See Pr. Constantin Brânzea to the Minister of Worship and Arts, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 103'). Moreover, it is unlikely that an official document from 1942 referencing Gherasim Iscu's bureaucratic activity would make note of his legionary sympathies at a time when such affiliations would have attracted repression from the Antonescu regime.

However, to go beyond this register of speculation fuelled by incomplete documentary references, it is worth looking at how the communist regime viewed Gherasim Iscu. Gherasim Iscu was arrested in September 1948 for his support of the anti-communist resistance in Oltenia and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in June 1949. In a document (the interrogation reports of 4 April 1949) drawn up at the end of the investigation into the 'Iancu Carlaonț' group, of which Gherasim Iscu was a member, he is explicitly mentioned as having 'no political background'.<sup>4</sup> Also, in Gherasim Iscu's criminal record, the section 'political activity in the past and present' simply states 'apolitical'.<sup>5</sup>

To sum up, Ionuț Biliuță's euphemistic and inconsistently documented statements on Gherasim Iscu—'a known legionary sympathiser'—is taken and emphasised by Oliver Jens Schmitt, for whom the abbot of Tismana is a 'true' legionary. This roundabout way of quoting, to which Gherasim Iscu falls victim (the memorial consequences of the accusation of being a legionary being among the most serious), is refuted by the *Securitate* documents themselves; paradoxically, the *Securitate* would have had every interest in making Gherasim Iscu into a legionary in order to justify repression, but it did not do so, stating that he had 'no political past'.

The case of mislabelling Gherasim Iscu could also be understood as a material error inherent in a historical synthesis of such magnitude, since it was impossible for the author to check each source in detail. However, the case of Gherasim Iscu is not just the expression of a bibliographical oversight, but the result of the paradigm in which Oliver Jens Schmitt projects anti-communist resistance and the clerics involved in it.

Thus, on p. 280, he states that 'the spiritual movement against communism in Romania was not exclusively religious, but derived in part from the most powerful poli-

tical and religious mass movement, legionarism' and, furthermore, that 'the strongest spirit of resistance in the ecclesiastical sphere arose from a combination of legionarism and hesychasm. Not conformist hierarchs, but legionaries and their sympathisers played a decisive role in the formation of a spiritual resistance in many places'.

To describe the resistance to communism as legionary in nature and to imply that the legionaries played a decisive role is difficult to understand, especially since the author himself, on p. 273, referring to a study by the historian Adrian Nicolae Petcu (*Dictionary of Romanian Orthodox clerics and lay confessors in communist detention*),<sup>6</sup> states that '67 out of 202 former clerical political prisoners analysed were legionaries or communists'. Thus, the assertion that the spiritual anti-communist resistance was of legionary nature is devoid of historical logic, since only a third (not even half) of the clerics sentenced to political imprisonment had a Fascist political pedigree (of legionary origin or from the A. C. Cuza faction).

In the same vein of ideological simplifications lies Schmitt's claim that the encounter between legionarism and hesychasm was the basis of spiritual resistance to communism. And the phenomenon that Mr. Schmitt uses to illustrate this idea is the 'Burning Bush'. Established authors on the subject, such as Marius Vasileanu, George Enache, Adrian Nicolae Petcu, Cristian Vasile or Ioana Ursu, describe the 'Burning Bush' as a spiritual and cultural communion between clerics (Sandu Tudor, Benedict Ghiuș, Sofian Boghiu, Vasile Vasilache, etc.) and laymen (Alexandru Mironescu, Vasile Voiculescu, Alexandru Elian, Ștefan Todirașcu, etc.) in search of spiritual fulfilment, detached from any political activism, which represented a model of spiritual survival and, implicitly, of opposition to communism at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s.

Instead, Oliver Jens Schmitt places the Burning Bush at the confluence of 'the political-spiritual heritage of the Legionary Movement' (p. 246) and Russian Orthodox mystical influence (p. 247). How the author constructs the argument of the two influences (Legionary and Russian) is worth a closer look in order to understand his interpretive approaches and, ultimately, his documentary shortcomings.

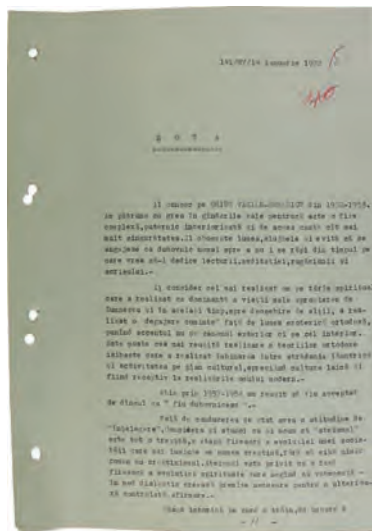
At the beginning of p. 250, Mr. Schmitt abruptly states: 'The main characters of the Burning Bush had a rather troubled past. Ionuț Biliuță<sup>7</sup> lists the following people with a legionary past among the protagonists of Romanian hesychasm: Arsenie Boca, Ioan Iovan, Mihaela Iordache, Ilie Cleopa, Benedict Ghiuș and Arsenie Papacioc'.

Each of the names mentioned deserves a separate analysis in order to verify the validity of the claim that members of the 'Burning Bush' and representatives of Romanian hesychasm had a legionary past: (1) Arsenie Boca, first of all, was not a member of the Burning Bush. This is proven both by the testimonies of those who participated in the meetings of the Burning Bush and by research on the subject. Nor was he a legionary, as shown by the documents of the Antonescu secret services, who investigated Arsenie Boca precisely to verify this accusation. Nor did the Communist Securitate label him as such. (2) Ioan Iovan had no links with the Burning Bush. Moreover, in the controversy over the liturgical practices of Vladimirești, he was on the opposite side of the argument to Father Daniil Sandu Tudor (the mentor of the Burning Bush). Ioan Iovan also had no political affiliation or involvement. His association with the Legionary

movement (reinforced by the *Securitate* because it served repressive purposes) was made in light of his connection to Mother Superior Mihaela Iordache, a former legionary activist (sister of Legion leader Nicoară Iordache), and to the fact that Iovan sheltered Legion fugitives in Vladimirești. (3) Mihaela Iordache had no connection with the Burning Bush. After having been active in the Legionary movement in her youth, she entered the convent of Vladimirești. She is also not known as a representative figure of Romanian hesychasm. (4) Ilie Cleopa was not a member of the Burning Bush; as for the accusation of belonging to the legionaries, Oliver Jens Schmitt is the first to make such an assertion, the abbot of the monasteries of Slatina and Sihăstria being recognised exclusively for his spiritual life, far from any political involvement. Moreover, the way in which Oliver Jens Schmitt concludes that Ilie Cleopa was a legionary is an example of the shortcuts the author takes in citing his sources. Ionuț Biliuță's work from which Schmitt borrows the perspective and information on the names listed above does not state that Ilie Cleopa was a legionary, but that he was the abbot of the Slatina monastery, where there happened to be legionary monks;<sup>8</sup> (5) Benedict Ghiuș was one of the founders of the Burning Bush. The accusation of him being a legionary was defamatory and bore criminal consequences that clouded his destiny. The fact that in his youth he had been close to theologians with legionary sympathies, with whom he had signed a "manifesto" on the spiritual renewal of the Church, brought him the label of legionnaire, which was then reinforced and manipulated by the *Securitate*. But Benedict Ghiuș was never a legionary, not even by association, much less by manifestation; (6) Arsenie Papacioc, without being an 'official' member of the 'Burning Bush', had marginal links to the group (rather to some of its members) and was sentenced to the Burning Bush compound. However, researchers on the subject make a distinction between the Burning Bush group and the Burning Bush lot (the members of the two groups were not identical, the lot being a creation of the *Securitate* in accordance with its repressive interests). In terms of political identity, Arsenie Papacioc was the legionary mayor of Zărnești, and after the legionary uprising, having been imprisoned in Aiud, he detached himself from the political struggle and began an authentic Christian life, which was later fulfilled by his decision to enter monasticism.

Of the six names mentioned, only two (Mihaela Iordache and Arsenie Papacioc) are known to have been legionaries. Also, only two (Benedict Ghiuș and Arsenie Papacioc) had links with the Burning Bush, and only Benedict Ghiuș, a founding member of the group, was directly linked to it, while Arsenie Papacioc was only part of the group set up by the *Securitate*.

If, as far as the contribution of legionary ideology and characters to the spiritual model of the Burning Bush is concerned factual arguments are approximated to the point of falsification, in the case of Russian mysticism influence, Oliver Jens Schmitt overemphasises the importance of the meeting between the members of the Burning Bush and monk Ioan Kulighin and Metropolitan Nicolae of Rostov, who had taken refuge in Romania (at the monastery of Cernica) during the Second World War. Although he himself mentions that the founding moment of the Burning Bush took place in Chernivtsi in 1943, Oliver Jens Schmitt ignores this crucial detail which testifies to their preoccupations of coagulating a spiritual



▲ Fragment from the investigation report of April 4, 1949, on the conclusion of the investigation into the "Iancu Carlaonț" group, of which Gherasim Iscu was member, where the investigator explicitly states that Gherasim Iscu had no political affiliation.

CNSAS Archive, Penal Fund, file no. 4, vol. 1, f. 11.

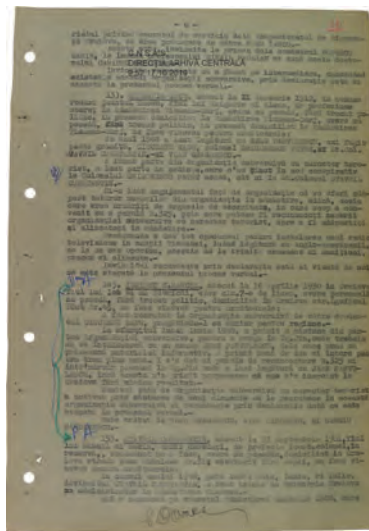
Fragment from the informative note (January 14, 1975) from the surveillance file of Benedict Ghiuș, where the informant gives a spiritual account of Ghiuș.

CNSAS Archive, Informative Fund, file no. 2214, vol. 6, f. 15.

community of intellectuals; this is vital for the understanding the development of the Burning Bush, however, despite mentioning the Chernivtsi moment, Schmitt ends up emphasising the role played by the subsequent meeting with the two Russians clerics in 1945–1946. Moreover, the final argument that Oliver Jens Schmitt uses to support the thesis of Russian influence on the group is his crude reference to a remark initially made by Andrei Pleșu. In the original text—the preface to André Scrima's work—*Timpul Rugului Aprins* ['Time of the Burning Bush'] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2010)—Andrei Pleșu states: 'The Antim group was the last episode of true sobornicity of our Church, during the years of the communist dictatorship. Great intellectuals and great monks communicated and 'communed' there, in an unbelievable inner freedom, while the authorities decided to define the spirit in terms of criminal punishment'.<sup>9</sup>

This statement, quoted in Cristian Vasile's work—*Biserica Ortodoxă Română în primul deceniu comunist* ['The Romanian Orthodox Church during the First Communist Decade'] (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2005),<sup>10</sup> was transformed in Mr. Schmitt's book into the idea that 'the Burning Bush did not have a widespread impact on society. However, in a period of spiritual restriction, it gave a group of important intellectuals—and, after 1989, Romanian society—the certainty that there were oases where, according to Andrei Pleșu, *sobornost* ('sobornicity') was lived, a social concept borrowed from nineteenth-century Russian religious philosophy, which expresses the totality of clergy and laity as a community'. (p. 253)

Apart from the fact that historian Cristian Vasile, whom Schmitt quotes at the end of the paragraph, does not mention anything about Russian philosophy, it is astonishing how Oliver Jens Schmitt interprets Andrei Pleșu's words, extrapolating the Slavic origin of the word 'so-



bornicity' into a concept of nineteenth century Russian religious philosophy, in order to emphasise its influence on the 'Burning Bush'. It is worth pointing out that the idea of laity and clergy forming a community is by no means a Russian philosophical innovation, but the constitutive essence of the Christian church from its beginnings to the present day. The fact that Oliver Jens Schmitt does not use the work of André Scrima, a participant in the 'Burning Bush' meetings, one of the fundamental volumes for understanding the subject, may be an explanation, albeit partial, for his approximate interpretations.

As for the 'Russian influence' not only on the 'Burning Bush' but also on the Romanian Orthodox Church in its history, this thesis is one of Oliver Jens Schmitt's interpretative recurring motifs, in support of which he overestimates the moments of convergence between the two Churches (the beginning of communism instauration in Romania) and approximates influences that have origins diverging from the Russian one. For example, in the introduction, Mr. Schmitt states that "ecclesiologically (the Romanian Orthodox Church—hereafter ROC) was repeatedly influenced by other Orthodox traditions, especially the Russian tradition" (p. 11) and that 'the social policy of the 'Red Patriarch' Justinian Marina was influenced both by Romanian developments in the interwar period and by the ideas of Russian *Narodnism* (*Poporanism*) in the nineteenth century'. (p. 12)

If the first statement can be easily amended in light of (post)Byzantine tradition, consolidated in the period of the Phanariot reign, when it influenced the ecclesiology of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the statement on the influence of *Narodnism* on Justinian Marina and the reasoning behind it is all the more difficult to understand, since, on p. 22, Oliver Jens Schmitt bluntly states that 'The social apostolate of the ROC in the first decades of communism cannot be understood without the Western-inspired church social policy of the inter-war period, carried out by Patriarch Justinian's mentor, Bishop Varolomeu Stănescu'.

Moreover, in an effort to argue Russian influence, Oliver Jens Schmitt downplays the centuries-old dispute of tense relations between the two Churches, which has been at the forefront of Bessarabia's dramatic destiny (from its annexation by the Tsarist Empire in 1812, which led to the extensive Russification of the Bessarabian Church, to the canonical dispute in the Republic of Moldova in the post-Soviet period, without forgetting the tragic episodes of 1940 and 1944, when Bessarabia once again slipped under Soviet control).

In his effort to argue the pro-Russianism of Romanian Orthodoxy, Oliver Jens Schmitt resorts to statements that contradict reality when, referring to the position of the Orthodox Church towards the Council of Crete, in order to underline the oscillation between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Russian Church, he states that 'the ROC hesitated for a long time whether to participate or not' (p. 378), although the Romanian Patriarchate was one of the open supporters of the reunification of Crete. The sheer number of articles in the ROC news agency<sup>11</sup> detailing its positions and contribution to the Crete Synod bear witness to this.

In his conclusion as well, the author makes brutal statements that lack nuance and, above all, solid arguments, which undermines the transparency of his research: 'Today the ROC sees itself led by the aggressive policy of the Moscow Patriarchate, which, as in Stalin's time, is

striving for hegemony in the Orthodox world'. (p. 406)

The author's detailed analysis of these problematic approaches to the 'legionary problem' (the case of Gherasim Iscu and the 'Burning Bush' group) as well as the "question of Russian influence" does not exhaust the changeable interpretations found in the volume; a detailed evaluation of the factual errors has been made by Dorin-Demostene Iancu in his extensive 43-page review.

At the same time, there is the possibility that the critical assessment of Oliver Jens Schmitt's work will turn into a list of errors, which, taken out of the overall context of the book, would lead to the pitfall of "not seeing the wood for the trees". Because Mr. Schmitt's synthesis, albeit affected by approximate interpretations and sometimes altered by an inquisitorial perspective on the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church, has the merit of bringing to the attention of the public (lay or theological) and researchers (close to the Orthodox Church or not) a dramatic reality of the twentieth century: the collaboration of the Church with political power also had serious side effects, especially in totalitarian times, which severely affected the Church's commitment to the message of the Gospel.

In conclusion, the fact that Oliver Jens Schmitt's approach has so many rectifiable points (some of which have been presented above) should not discourage public and historiographical debate on the position of the Orthodox Church in the past century. This is precisely why, in spite of the approximate and sometimes moral-

istic interpretations of the Swiss-Austrian historian, the sensitive issues in the history of the Church (the inauspicious relationship with political power, regardless of the era and ideologies, the appeal of extremist and anti-Semitic ideas to some of the clergy, the collaborationism during the communist regime or the impure approaches of the clergy to the politicians of the post-Communist transition) are valid topics that need to be researched, documented, without preconceptions and ready-made conclusions.

## Notes

- 1 Mihai Ghițulescu 2023, 7.
- 2 Szabo 2023, 105.
- 3 Biliuță 2020.
- 4 CNSAS Archive, Penal Fund, file no. 4, vol. 1, f. 11.
- 5 IICCMER, s.v. Iscu Gherasim [online [https://www.iiccmr.ro/fise-matricole-nou/?drawer=Fise%20matricole%20penale%20-%20Detinuti%20politici\\*I\\*I%2005.%20Isa%20-%20Izvoranu\\*Iscu%20Gherasim](https://www.iiccmr.ro/fise-matricole-nou/?drawer=Fise%20matricole%20penale%20-%20Detinuti%20politici*I*I%2005.%20Isa%20-%20Izvoranu*Iscu%20Gherasim), Accessed 20.08.2023].
- 6 Petcu 2017.
- 7 Biliuță 2021, 7.
- 8 Biliuță 2021, 7.
- 9 Scrima 2010, 16.
- 10 Vasile 2005, 189.
- 11 Basilica [online <https://basilica.ro/category/biserici-ortodoxe-surori/sfantul-si-marele-sinod/>, Accessed 20.08.2023].

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Linguistic supervision:

Ileana Sasu (Interactions culturelles et discursives / ICD EA 6297, Université de Tours, Tours).







**echoes**



**échos**



# *Exotic Ecdotics and Semiotics*

*The Purpose and Usefulness of Textual Criticism  
for Hardly Editable Manuscripts*



FESMAR



International conference organised between the projects ANR *PSALTERATIO* (FR),  
ERC *OrthPol* (AT), and UEFISCDI *roPSALT* (RO), with the help of FESMAR (FR)

Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, Poitiers

**8-10 June 2023 / SALLE CROZET**

Tommaso Barini da Modena: *Saint Jerome* (c1352). Detail from a larger scene painted a fresco on the second column from the left in the nave of the Dominican church of Saint-Nicholas in Treviso (Northern Italy). Credits: Vladimir Agorovoi / 2013.



An event in the context of the ERC research project ORTHPOL - Orthodoxy and Politics (Grant agreement no 950287)



This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitization, CNCS/CCCEI - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-2939, within PNCDI III.

# Exotic Ecdotics and Semiotics

## The Purpose and Usefulness of Textual Criticism for Hardly Editable Manuscripts

International conference,  
CÉSCM Poitiers, 8-10 June 2003

Thursday / 8 June 2003

9:00–9:45 / Vladimir Agrigoroaei (CNRS / CÉSCM):  
Welcome address.

Session 1 (chair: Stephen Morrison)

9:45–10:15 / Elizabeth Solopova (University of Oxford):  
*Editing Middle English treatises on the translation of the Bible.*

10:15–10:45 / Ileana Sasu (University of Tours/ICD):  
*Mapping the lives of Saint Audrey: 29 manuscripts and four languages across 1000 years.*

10:45–11:15 / Elisa Marcadet (University of Tours):  
*A dysfunctional family of manuscripts: the six versions of the 'Surtees Psalter'.*

Session 2 – organised by ERC OrthPol  
(chair: Ana Maria Gânsac)

11:30–12:00 / Freimut Löser (University of Augsburg):  
*Caught between... Editing a 14th century German Proverbia/Ecclesiastes Commentary with too few manuscripts and too many sources.*

12:00–12:30 / Octavian-Adrian Negoită, Ovidiu Olar (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): *A preacher's workshop: Editing the sermons of Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris (†1638).*

12:30–13:00 / Ovidiu Olar (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): *The trilingual liturgical manuscripts of a Wallachian archbishop (mid-17th century).*

14:00–15:30 / Visit 1: Baptistery 'Saint-Jean': Claire Boisseau (University of Poitiers / CÉSCM).

Session 3 (chair: Elizabeth Solopova)

15:30–16:00 / Kateřina Voleková (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague): *The Old Czech New Testament glossed (1426) as an editorial challenge.*

16:00–16:30 / Katarzyna Jasińska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow): *Publishing Latin lexicographic works with vernacular glosses.*

16:45–18:00 / Round Table for a future 'Tower of Bibles' Project: (1) Administrative aspects, organised by Vladimir Agrigoroaei (CNRS / CÉSCM) and Marie Arousseau (CNRS / University of Poitiers).

7-10  
June  
2003  
Poitiers  
CESCM

**Exotic Ecdotics and Semiotics**

*The Purpose and Usefulness of Textual Criticism for Hardly Editable Manuscripts*

A conference organised by the projects  
ANR PSalteRATIO (FR), ERC OrthPol (AT),  
and UEFISCDI roPSALT (RO).

**O**NCE UPON A TIME, in the era of pure philology, the publication of critical editions used to be the final stage of research in the field of textual criticism. Now, in the era of post-philology, Lachmannian and Bédierist models, neo-Lachmannian or 'New Philology' approaches, and other ecdotic methods coexist and create a world where traditional editions no longer rule. In truth, traditional(ist) approaches have cornered editions into a blind spot. The latter ceased to be a means to an end. They became nothing else than self-reliant proofs of expert learning.

This upheaval is partly due to the fact that contemporary editions have lost their relevance in the eyes of the once plentiful general public. The lack of training of the contemporary public condemns textual criticism to the exclusive context of academia. Add to this the mixed effect of deconstructivism. Despite the fact that the interests of linguists, philologists, and historians often diverge, all of them tend to use more or less the same electronic tools when it comes to digital humanities, but they are rarely inclined to discuss and debate them. Interest in the material aspect of written texts have gradually blurred the fine line drawn between "documents" (texts which meet basic needs in communication) and "monuments" (those texts that edify their readers culturally), to the point that one can hardly distinguish medieval or early modern literature from the large body of old written texts. As a result, the debate no longer concerns the literary or practical nature of a text. Deconstructivism has led to a disorienting ecdotic chaos, particularly in the case of texts and manuscripts that testify to a certain degree of complexity.

Even though they are situated at very different ends of the ecdotic spectrum (philology vs. genetic editing, neo-Lachmannian, or sociocultural standpoints), with dissimilar stakes in the textual criticism debate, the three projects organising this conference share the same preoccupation with the almost impossible task of preparing a convenient edition for several types of manuscripts or texts, on account of their heavily illustrated character, plurilingual nature, or shapeshifting layout. As a result, instead of addressing the issue from within, a decision was taken to gather a large and diverse corpus of problematic situations (with or without connection to digital humanities), in order to stake out the complexity of the conundrum.

This will lead to a debate about the manner(s) in which philologists, historians, or linguists can or should deal with complex manuscripts and texts, specifically in case studies ranging from the first uses of vernacular languages in the translations and adaptations of sacred texts in Western Europe until the late uses of similar vernacular rewritings in the Eastern Mediterranean and Southern Europe at the beginning of the Early Modern Era.

You are wholeheartedly invited to join us in Poitiers, on 7-10 June 2003, for our presentations and round tables.

Vladimir Agrigoroaei (Poitiers)  
Ana Maria Gânsac (Iasi)  
Ovidiu Olar (Vienna)



### Friday / 9 June 2023

Session 4 (chair: Vladimir Agrigoroaei)

9:00–9:30 / Xavier-Laurent Salvador (Sorbonne Paris North University) : *La représentation numérique des 'Bibles historiques' (textes historiques et poétiques) : enjeux numériques et culturels.*

9:30–10:00 / Élise Boillet (CNRS/CÉSR Tours) : *Les textes bibliques en italien du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle : pourquoi et comment les étudier.*

10:00–10:30 / Cinzia Pignatelli (University of Poitiers/CÉSCM) : *La malédiction du Psautier d'Arundel ? Une histoire d'éditions interrompues.*

10:30–11:00 / Stephen Morrison (University of Poitiers/CÉSCM) : *Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 103 - the Middle English 'Jacob's Well' - an apparently straightforward manuscript, but is it?*

11:15–13:00 / Round Table for a future 'Tower of Bibles' Project: (2) Scientific aspects (conceptual), organised by Vladimir Agrigoroaei (CNRS / CéSCM).

14:00–15:00 / Visit 2: 'Notre-Dame-la-Grande': Cécile Maruejols (University of Poitiers / CéSCM).

Session 5 – organised by UEFISCDI roPSALT (chair: Ovidiu Olar)

15:00–15:30 / Ágnes Korondi (ELKH–NSZL Fragmenta et Codices Research Group, Budapest / 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza University', Iași): *Vernacular variants of a Latin text with no critical edition: Evasion or innovative approach?*

15:30–16:00 / Ion-Mihai Felea ('Alexandru Ioan Cuza

University', Iași): *Neither normalized, nor diplomatic: Editing the Slavonic text from the early bilingual Romanian Psalters.*

16:00–16:30 / Ana Maria Gînsac ('Alexandru Ioan Cuza University', Iași): *Language alternation in the 16th century Slavonic-Romanian texts: Editorial challenges and functions.*

16:45–18:00 / Round Table for a future 'Tower of Bibles' Project: (3) Scientific aspects (practical), organised by Vladimir Agrigoroaei (CNRS / CéSCM).

### Saturday / 10 June 2023

Session 6 (chair: Ileana Sasu)

9:00–9:30 / Andrea Giraudo (University of Torino): *A manuscript, a fragment, two versions, and many glosses. Editing the Old French 'Romanz des trois anemis'.*

9:30–10:00 / Corentin Delattre (University of Poitiers/CÉSCM) : *'Text colony' dans une compilation médiévale. Pour une étude du 'Computus Graecorum et Latinorum'.*

10:00–10:30 / Samantha Molinaro (University of Poitiers/CÉSCM) : *Dilemmes ecclésiastiques : le corpus du troubadour Raimbaut d'Aurenga.*

10:45–12:00 / Round Table for a future 'Tower of Bibles' Project: (4) Outreach, organised by Vladimir Agrigoroaei (CNRS/CéSCM).

12:00–12:15 / Vladimir Agrigoroaei (CNRS/CéSCM), Ana Maria Gînsac ('Alexandru Ioan Cuza University', Iași), Ovidiu Olar (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): *Conclusion.*



# HANDS-ON WORKSHOP

ALBA IULIA | ROMANIA  
20-23 JUNE | 2023



*Religious art,  
visual culture and  
collective identities  
in Central and  
South-Eastern Europe  
(16<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century)*



European Research Council  
Excellence by the European Commission



ROMANIA

VISUAL CULTURE, IDENTITY  
AND PERFORMANCE  
TRANSFER AND RECEPTION OF  
BALKAN RELIGIOUS ART IN THE BALKANS  
AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN  
(16<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century)



MUSEUL  
NATIONAL  
AL UNIRII  
ALBA IULIA



UNIVERSITATEA  
1 DECEMBRIE 1918  
DIN ALBA IULIA

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MUSEUL  
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ALBA IULIA



UNIVERSITATEA  
1 DECEMBRIE 1918  
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## Day 1

Tuesday 20 June 2023

10:00 – 12:00

**Opening of the exhibition  
"Russian icons from Transylvania"**

14:00 – 15:30

**Emerging Topics in  
the RICONTRANS Project**

Chair: Nenad Makuljević

Yuliana BOYCHEVA

Reception of Western-Style Russian Icons in the Balkans: Written Sources and Material Evidence (18th-19th c.)

Cristina COJOCARU

Icons by Tikhon Ivanov in Romania: Signed and Assigned Works

Dumitrița Daniela FILIP, Cristina CARȘOTE, Elena BADEA

New Insights into the Phenomenon of the Transfer and Reception of Russian Icons in Transylvania from Interdisciplinary Research within the RICONTRANS Project. A Conservation-Restoration Perspective

15:30 – 16:00 Break

16:00 – 17:30

**Challenges of Russian Icons Restoration in  
RICONTRANS**

Chair: Cristina COJOCARU

Dumitrița Daniela FILIP, Cristina CARȘOTE, Elena BADEA

Reconstructing the Old Technique of Wooden Icon Painting in Transylvania (18th-19th centuries). Insights into the Materials and their Provenance

Marta KLUS

Travel Triptych, Russian Icon, 1594. Aspects revealed during the Restoration

Florina IANCU

Examination and the State of Conservation of eight Russian Icons from the 19th century

ALBA IULIA | ROMANIA | 20-23 JUNE | 2023

**HANDS-ON WORKSHOP**Religious art, visual culture and collective identities in Central and South-Eastern Europe (16<sup>th</sup> - early 20<sup>th</sup> century)

## Day 2

Wednesday 21 June 2023

9:00 – 11:00

**Cross-Cultural Exchanges and  
New Iconographic Themes I**

Chair: Atanasia VĂEȚIȘI

Ovidiu OLAR

From the Moscow Kremlin to Dragomirna Monastery: The Captain of the Heavenly Host

Mihail K. QARAMAH

When Latin Rites become Orthodox: Military Liturgical Services in the Trebnik of Peter Mohyla and the Romanian "Molitfelnic"

Alexandru BABOȘ

Assembling a 250-piece Puzzle: The Icon Art of Alexander Ponehalsky

Radu NEDICI

An Artistic Melting Pot: The Building Site of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Blaj in the late-1740s

11:00 – 11:30 Break

11:30 – 13:00

**Russian Influences in  
Balkan Religious Art**

Chair: Yuliana BOYCHEVA

Alexander PREOBRAZHENSKII

Russian Traces in the Icon Painting of Vojvodina (first half of the 18th century)

Irena ČIROVIĆ

Serbian Church Painting and Russian Influences at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries: The Work of Dušan Obrenović

Ana KOSTIĆ, Ivana ŽENARJU RAJOVIĆ

Diffusion and Reception of Russian and Western European Art Influences in the late 19th century Serbian Religious Art: The Case of the Work of Živko Jugović

13:00 – 15:00 Break

15:00 – 16:30

**Cross-Cultural Exchanges and  
New Iconographic Themes II**

Chair: Elisabeta NEGRĂU

Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ

"Spiritual Ray" in the Monastery of St. Joakim Osogovski

Jerzy OSTAPCZUK

Woodcut Illustrations to the Gospel text in Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia. Part 1: Lviv editions

Waldemar DELUGA

Kyivan Academy and New Ideas and Iconography in Post-Byzantine Art in Central Europe

16:30 – 17:00 Break

17:00 – 18:00

**Ukrainian-Romanian Cultural  
Exchanges**

Chair: Szilveszter Terdik

Mirosław Piotr KRUK

The two-sided Icon-Banner from Maramureș in a Polish Private Collection

Policarp CHIȚULESCU

Printed Books – A Bridge between Worlds and Cultures. A Few Highlights regarding the Circulation of Ukrainian Books in Wallachia

## Day 4

Friday 23 June 2023

Excursion for participants to

Blaj, Greek-Catholic Cathedral and

Cluj-Napoca, The Museum of Cluj Metropolitan Church

## Day 3

Thursday 22 June 2023

9:00 – 11:00

### Book Influences in Icon Painting

Chair: Waldemar DELUGA

Szilveszter TERDIK

Liturgical Book Illustrations as Painting Prototypes

Sándor FÖLDVÁRI

Western and Byzantine Interferences in the Orthodox Book Ornaments: The Case of Heart of Jesus in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Marija LAKIĆ

Influences of Russian Printed Liturgical Books on Aleksije Lazović's Painting Education

Mihaela VLĂSCĂANU

Rethinking Tradition and Individualism as Key Traits of Jacob Orfelin's Style – A Case Study on Iconostasis Painting in the Historical Banat

11:00 – 11:30 Break

11:30 – 13:00

### Russian Religious Artefacts in the Balkans

Chair: Ovidiu OLAR

Mihai-Alex OLTEANU

Gifts of the Russian Tsars in the Heritage of the Metropolitanate of Moldavia and Bucovina

Nadezhda CHESNOKOVA

Western European Artefacts as Russian Gifts to Orthodox Monasteries of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and the 17th centuries (according to archival documents)

Vuk DAUTOVIĆ

Secular Luxuries in Sacral Use: Transformation and Migration of Artistic Objects from imperial Russia

13:00 – 15:00 Break

15:00 – 16:30

### Russian Icons in New Context

Chair: Alexander PREOBRAZHENSKII

Elisabeta NEGRĂU

A Korsunskaya Icon in Wallachia: The Wonderworking Icon of the Mother of God of Nămăești Monastery

Teodora BRADIĆ

Russian Iconostasis in the Church of the Shroud of the Holy Virgin in Radljevo

Atanasia VĂETIȘI

Monastic Schools of Painting in the Romanian Principalities (end of the 18th-middle of the 19th c.) and the Role of the Russian Icon in their Stylistic and Iconographic Approaches

16:30 – 17:00 Break

17:00 – 19:00

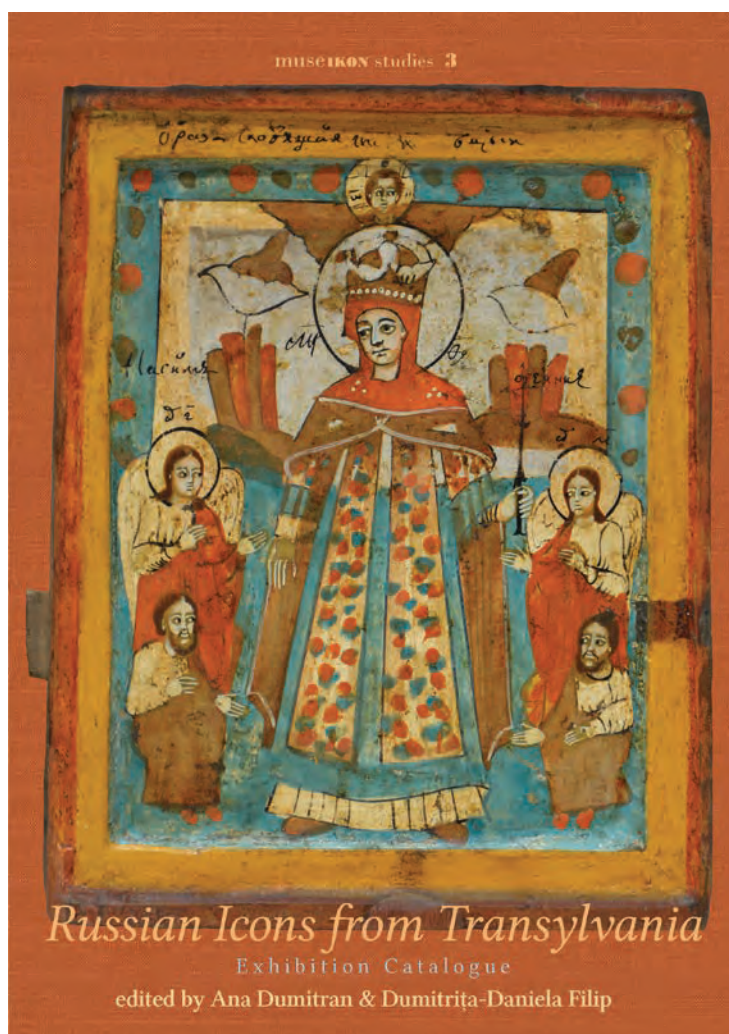
### Workshop: Ruthenian/Ukrainian Features in Transylvanian Icon Painting

Ana DUMITRAN

Ruthenian Features in Transylvanian Icon Painting between the 15th and 18th centuries

Natalia KOMASHKO

Icon Painters and Icon Production of Kholuy in the middle of the 18th century (based on archival documents)



Vladimir Agrigoroaei,

*The Culture of Latin Greece:*

*Seven Tales from the 13th and 14th Centuries,*

'East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450' / 86

Leiden: Brill, 2023

<https://brill.com/>

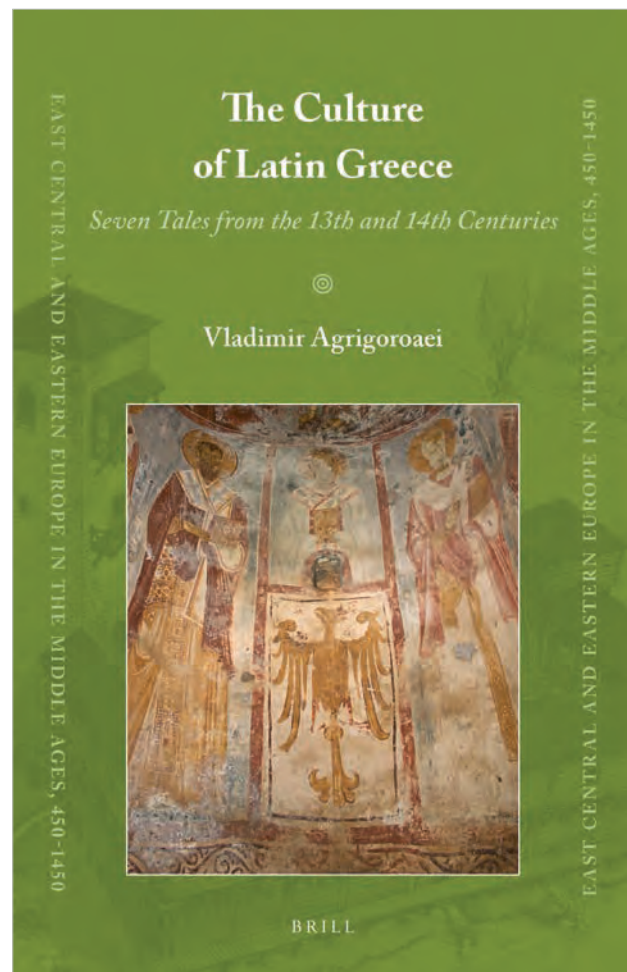
The artistic and literary maze of Latin-occupied Greece cannot be analysed by a conventional approach. Follow the author and the historical protagonists of his tales in a journey through a fragmentary shape-shifting corpus, from the medieval translations of Aristotle to pornographic animal tales carved on church columns. The book explains how art and literature were intertwined, how they evolved from the times of Nicetas Choniates to those of Isabella of Lusignan, and under what influences. It is based on the assumption that history is a form of literature, as they both share an "arbitrary distribution of emphasis" (Isaiah Berlin).

(...) The book is made up of two different types of 'threads', woven and tied together through case studies. The first type of threads are the six narratives themselves, that is, the tales of Michael Choniates, William of Morbeka, Anna of Villehardouin, Angelo Clareno, Isabella of Lusignan, and Nicholas da Martoni. They provide a chronological progression of the corpus, even though each tale is interrupted from time to time by short analyses and by references to other chronological periods, for a better contextualization of each example.

The narratives are a pretext, not the chief interest of the book. They strive to achieve a plausible reconstruction, favouring the use of primary sources, both historical and literary, depending on the nature of the scene. Literary texts are used for scenes of everyday life, while historical ones appear in event-driven sections of the narrative. These sources are either quoted or paraphrased (...).

Consequently, the actual book cuts across the narratives. The mosaic is organised into another type of threads, based on topics. These topic-based threads explore themes and subjects that are essential to the understanding of the cultural exchanges between West and East in the time of Frankokratia. Some threads are long and complex in nature: the status of biblical vernacular texts (from 12th century France until the end of the 14th century). Other subjects, such as the use of the Trojan story (from a literary point of view) or the pairing of saints Peter and Paul (iconographical in nature), are less complex, but just as frequent. In certain cases, for example the uses of the legend of saint Denis, these threads explore both literary and iconographical issues, spanning from the beginning of the book to the very end, as an effect of its momentum in the epilogue. Other threads are medium-to-very-short, occurring in one, two, or three chapters, where the topic is explored. They are intertwined with the narratives: the characters of the tales provide an individual perspective on that particular topic at a certain moment in time, for a certain group, or in a certain geographical area. This is what the book is actually made of.

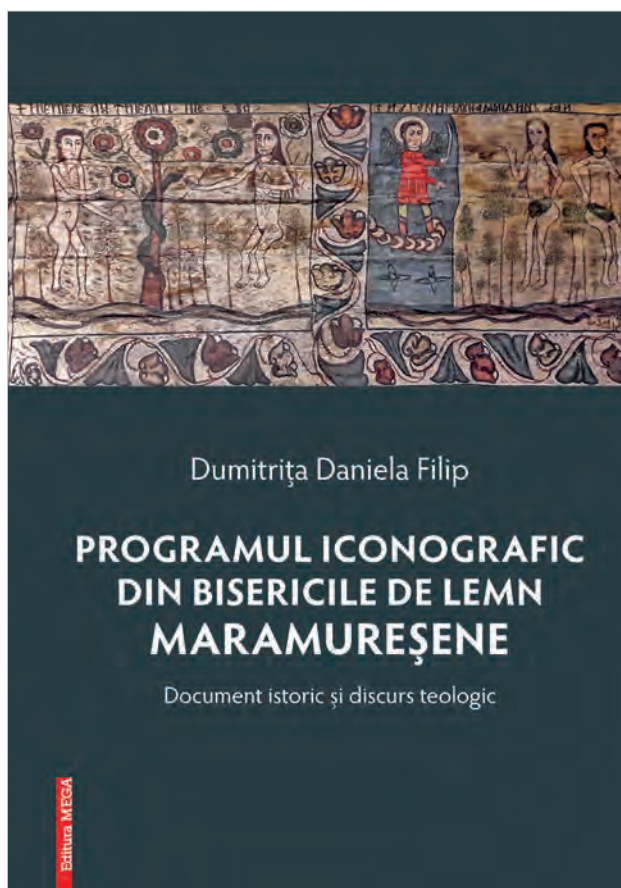
When narratives and topic-based threads need to be linked for greater cohesion, case studies interrupt the narrative in the form of tightly woven knots. They represent developments of topic-based threads, being built upon references presented in the preceding chapters, as a consequence of the dissemination of those topics throughout the book. Since the chief interest of the book is not



epic penmanship, but the analysis of cultural paradigms through those topics, whenever important situations occur, case studies can cluster in the form of conglomerates. I beg for my readers' indulgence in the matter of this lack of resourcefulness (...).

A handful of 'Easter eggs' are also thrown in, carefully disseminated through the narrative. Their purpose is literary, to tighten the fabric of topic-based threads and narratives. In one of those 'Easter eggs', Isabella of Lusignan and Manuel Cantacuzene paraphrase the lyrics of a song by Bob Dylan and its translation-adaptation by Dionysis Savvopoulos. The scene anticipates the conclusion of the chapter, where the two songs are used in a comparison that explains the manner in which cultural swaps act from one period to another. Last but not least, the use of dialogue is another literary gimmick deployed in the book, but it is never based on my own imagination. Dialogues are based on, paraphrased, or quoted from the literary and historical sources of the same period. In retrospective, when the book was almost finished, I came to realize that my subconscious had probably mimicked the *Palimpsest* of Imre Tóth, a mesmerising collage-book of 'dramatic dialectics' that entranced my teenage mind, despite me not being able to understand it at the time. In this way, the vividness of ancient historiography was reconciled with the modern obsession for quotations, yet none of them were used in order to obtain an effet de vérité. The mixture of old and new aesthetics only aimed at attaining the fullest degree of falsifiability, in order to create (as stated previously) alternative scenarios that took into account the complexity of medieval culture

(excerpts from p. 40–43).



Dumitrița Daniela Filip  
*Programul iconografic  
 din bisericile de lemn maramureșene*  
 (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2023), 294p.  
<https://edituramega.ro/>

*Pictura parietală maramureșeană, precum și icoanele pictate pe suport mobil au fost cercetate de către istoricii de artă din perspectiva și cu metoda istoriei artei, adică s-a pus accentul pe analiza formelor, pe atribuiți, datare, pe tehnica de lucru, iar nu pe conținutul de idei, pe teologia icoanei. Iconografia ca metodă de cercetare pune accentul pe valoarea semiotică a imaginilor (...) adică pe decriptarea mesajului teologic transmis prin arta liturgică și prezentarea conținutului de idei comunicate pe cale vizuală, non-verbală.*

*Metoda analizei comparative a evidențiat faptul că iconografia din bisericile rămase neunite (...) e similară cu cea din bisericile maramureșene devenite unite sau consemnate ca unite în actele oficiale. Diferențele tematice care există s-au datorat unor particularități pe care arhitectura fiecărui edificiu o are, personalității zugravului, gustului comanditarilor și altor factori. Schimbările tematice de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului următor au constat în introducerea în programul iconografic a unor scene noi, cu caracter eshatologic. Ele confirmă faptul că programul iconografic a fost în continuă adaptare la contextul istoric. Putem*

*vorbi, astfel, de o teologie „în facere”.*

*(...) Analiza contextului istoric a fost esențială pentru a identifica transpunerea și receptarea unor evenimente și mentalități, a structurii și ierarhiei sociale și a altor aspecte ale vieții cotidiene în iconografia vremii. Ea a avut ca obiectiv central problema autorității bisericești în Maramureș, de la primele tentative de propagare a unirii în până la canonizarea episcopiei de Muncaci, moment care a închis cercul instabilității create de schimbările dese de la vârful ierarhiei bisericești superioare și de tranziția de la o confesiune la alta. (...) Programul iconografic conține câteva scene și teme care pot fi puse pe seama acestor schimbări, și anume prezența pustnicilor pictați în altar, incluși în registrul ierarhilor, și lipsa portretului ierarhului. Aceste detalii pot fi indicii că monahii au devenit sursa de autoritate în Biserica locală, datorită experienței duhovnicești și a implicării lor în viața socială, în momentele de criză bisericească.*

*De asemenea, evidențierea legăturii dintre Triod și conținutul programului iconografic și influența covârșitoare pe care acesta a exercitat-o asupra picturii maramureșene sunt alte elemente de noutate cu care lucrarea vine în întâmpinarea cititorului, confirmând sinergia dintre imnografie, iconografie și arhitectură.*

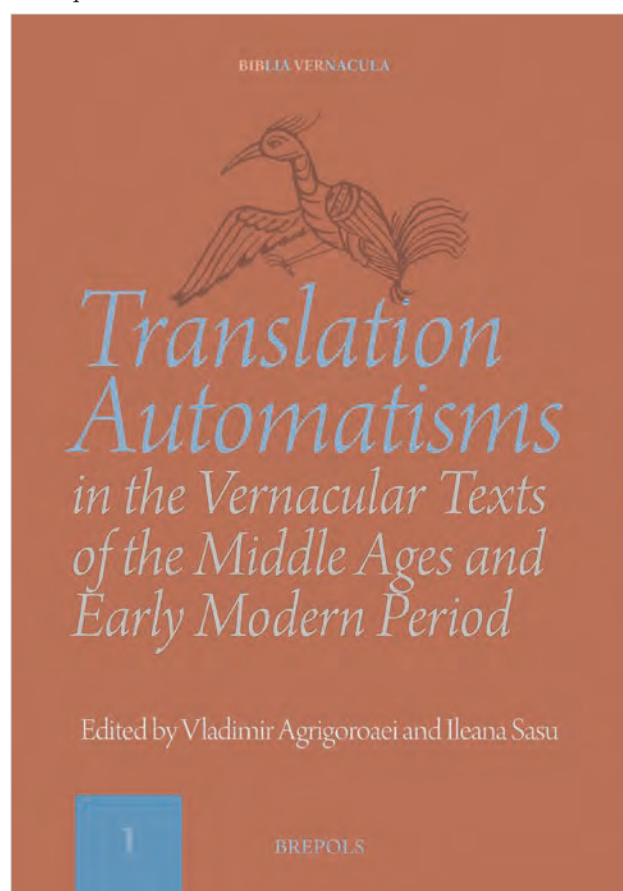
(excerpts from p. 29-30, 229-230, 232)

The wall paintings of Maramureș and the painting of portable icons have been studied by art historians with an emphasis on the analysis of forms, attributions, dating, painting technique, and less on the content of ideas or on the theology of the icon. Iconography as a research method emphasises the semiotic value of images (...), that is, decoding the theological message conveyed through liturgical art and the presentation of the content of ideas communicated visually, non-verbally.

The method of comparative analysis revealed that the iconography of non-Uniate churches (...) is similar to that of the Uniate churches of Maramureș or to those churches recorded as such in official documents. Thematic differences could be a result of the architectural features of each building, the personality of the painter, the cultural tastes of the patrons, and other factors. The shift in themes at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the following century consisted in the introduction of new scenes of an eschatological nature into the iconographic programme. They confirm that the iconographic programme was constantly adapted to the historical context. We can thus speak of a theology 'in the making'.

(...) The analysis of the historical context helped examine events, mentalities, social structures or hierarchies, and other aspects of everyday life in the iconography of the time. It focused on the issue of ecclesiastical authority in Maramureș, from the first attempts to propagate the Union with Rome until the establishment of the bishopric of Munkács, thus closing the loop of instability determined by frequent changes at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the transition from one confession to another. (...) The iconographic programme comprises several scenes and themes that can be attributed to these changes, namely the depictions of hermit saints in the hierarchs' register of the sanctuary decoration, and the absence of a portrayal of the hierarch. These features suggest that the monks became the source of authority in the local Church, in light of their spiritual experience and their involvement in social life at times of ecclesiastical crisis.

The book also highlights the link between the Lenten Triodion and the contents of the iconographic program, as well as the overwhelming influence that this link exerted on Maramureș painting—a fresh approach confirming the synergy between hymnography, iconography and architecture.



The volume deals with the issue of translation automatisms in early vernacular texts (before 1650), focusing on the novel concept of 'translation clusters', first defined in machine translation theory, but equally considering a wider array of situations that involve 'translation units', 'language automatisms', 'culturemes', and 'formulaic borrowings' in vernacular texts. Contrary to contemporary languages, where translation units, clusters, and automatisms appear frequently, due to the commanding effect of standard language varieties or dialects, the vernacular idioms of the Middle Ages and Early Modern period are often pluricentric, thus restricting the presence of automatisms to a string of particular cases wherein diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, and diaphasic variants align in a similar manner in two otherwise different translations. This is a fundamental topic for philology, as it can explain accidents that ecdotic methods tend to mistake for variant readings of a single 'redactio'. The volume aims to determine the organic interplay between three main situations in which common coincidences between translations or texts occur: 1) what is common to two or more translations or adaptations as a result of a transfer of textual units from one text to another (quotations, diorthoses, formulas); 2) what is common because of the existence of a common source text (translation clusters, based on translation units); 3) what is simply fixed, innate, and unchangeable in the target language (language automatisms, often coinciding with translation units as well). Its chapters are declined focusing on several dozens of vernacular languages and even more case studies, the majority of which deal with biblical translation, one of the main points of origin for contemporary translation studies as well. The format of the chapters encourages divergent points of view, in order to push the boundaries of philology, translation studies, and 'vernacular theologies'.

Vladimir Agrigoroaei, Ileana Sasu (eds.)  
*Translation Automatism in the Vernacular Texts of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*,  
 'Biblia Vernacula' / vol. 1  
 Turnhout: Brepols, 2023  
<https://www.brepols.net/>

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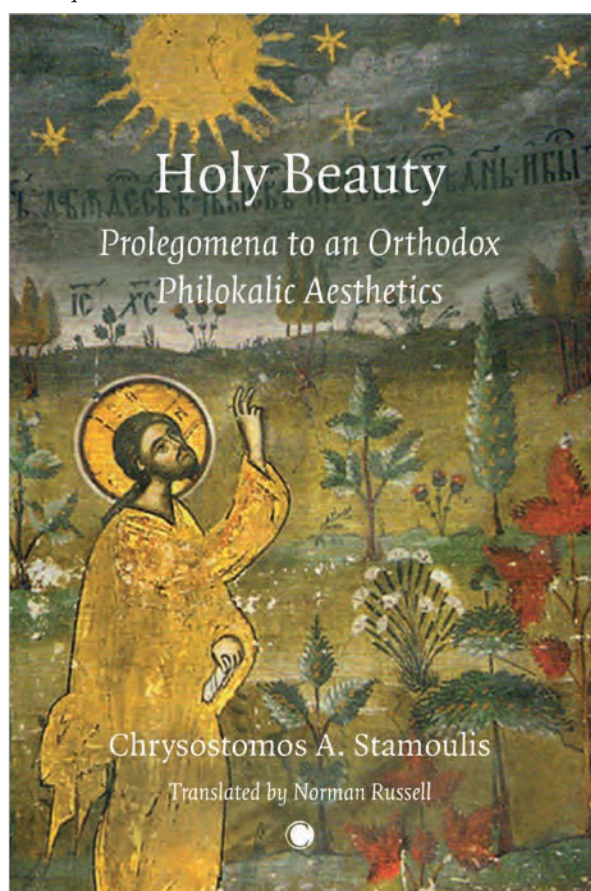
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Chrysostomos A. Stamoulis

*Holy Beauty:*

*Prolegomena to an Orthodox Philokalic Aesthetics*

translated by Norman Russell

(Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2022)

xx+236p

<https://www.jamesclarke.co/>

In the modern Orthodox context, the understanding of philokalia as the perception of the world's beauty not only as pointing to a transcendent reality but as already filled with it, has been obscured by contemporary notions of aesthetics that disconnect beauty from the true and the good. Recently, however, there has been a renewed interest in theological aesthetics. The book of Chrysostomos Stamoulis is a thorough presentation of the Eastern Orthodox understanding of aesthetics. He brings into dialogue a plethora of voices, from Church fathers to contemporary theologians, from poets, a novelist and a literary critic to a Marxist political theorist, from a philosopher to ascetic elders. In the course of discussing with his fellow Greek Orthodox how they can re-appropriate their patristic and Byzantine heritage within the context of modernity or even postmodernity, the author also shares insights with the Western reader into a world shot through with divinity, a world that, if only we could see it with enargeia, with clarity, as it really is, would raise us, as he says, to communion with the whole of creation and through creation with God. (p. x-xi)



Mihail K. Qaramah

*„Rugați-vă neîncetat” (1 Tes. 5, 17). O istorie a Ceasurilor mici din ritul bizantin*

Liturgica 19

(Cluj-Napoca: Renașterea, 2022)

314p

<http://renasterea-cluj.ro/>

The book takes us through the successive stages of the development of the Horologion, starting with the earliest accounts contained in ancient church orders and ending with the medieval Byzantine Horologia, which preceded the standardisation of the formularies in the sixteenth century with the appearance of printed editions. It also discusses the origins and evolution of the Inter-Hours and Great Hours (for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, the Eve of the Nativity and of Theophany), of the so-called Paschal Hours and those of the Pentecost. However, the book focuses mainly on the Greek sources of the Horologion and does not discuss the development of the Hours according to the Slavonic liturgical material. The study is primarily a diachronic one, so that the mystagogical commentary of the Hours plays a secondary role in this discussion. Thus, only the essential theological-symbolic meanings that have influenced the evolution of the Hours and represent their theological foundation are examined. It is important to note that the book also takes in consideration the issue of liturgical reform.

Oana-Lucia Dimitriu, *Ilustrația cărții românești vechi din secolul al XVIII-lea în colecțiile Bibliotecii Academiei Române. Gravura*, 3 vols: vol. I, *Țara Românească* / vol. II, *Moldova și Transilvania* / vol. III, *Centre tipografice externe* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2023), 540+512+174p.

<http://www.ear.ro/>

În cercetarea sa autoarea a consultat 400 de exemplare din patrimoniul Bibliotecii Academiei Române, întocmind un catalog pe cât de util, pe atât de așteptat, cu 295 de gravuri cu foi de titlu, 730 de frontispicii și subspicii, 305 letrine, 141 gravuri de steme. (...) Observațiile sale sunt prețioase, făcute în legătură cu dinamica tiparului, care cunoaște o creștere exponențială într-a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea, mai ales cele privitoare la un anume specific provincial, cu o Țară Românească a tradiției și o Moldovă a suflului occidental (...). În chip firesc, pe aceeași linie occidentalizantă, s-a aflat decorația de carte din Transilvania (...). Un aspect interesant al studiului de față este schițarea unui grup cosmopolit de artiști-tipografi de la Antim Ivireanu din Georgia la ruso-polonezul Mihail Stribitki, de la Ioan de Efes și Mitrofan Gregoras din Dodona la Ioanichie Bacov, acestor note cosmopolite adăugându-li-se exoticele cărți karamanlidica (în turcă cu caractere grecești).

(Acad. Răzvan Theodoreescu, *Cuvânt înainte*, vol. I, p. 9)

The author's research analysed 400 copies of the Romanian Academy Library, compiling a useful and long-awaited catalogue, with 295 engravings on title pages, 730 frontispieces and subpieces, 305 initials, and 141 engravings of coats of arms. (...) Her observations are of immeasurable worth, they concern the dynamics of printing, which experienced an exponential growth in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially phenomena linked to a certain degree of provincial specificity. They show the more traditional features of Wallachia and the Western inspiration of Moldavia (...). Naturally, the book decoration of Transylvania follows the same West-



ernising pattern (...). An interesting aspect of the present study is the identification of a cosmopolitan group of artist-typographers—from Anthim the Iberian of Georgia to the Russian-Polish Mikhail Stribitsky, and from John of Ephesus and Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodona to Ioannikios Bacov. The exotic karamanlidica books (written in Turkish with Greek characters) are another cosmopolitan feature taken into account.









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