This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 PL © Copyright by Uniwersytet Warszawski Katedra Studiów Interkulturowych Europy Środkowo-Wschodniei & individual articles to their Authors



doi: 10.32612/uw.2543618X.2023.pp.9-23

Przegląd Środkowo-Wschodni, 8, 2023
ISSN 2543-618X elSSN 2545-1324

Nr art. 20230801

Data przesłania: 18.03.2023 Data akceptacji: 18.04.2023

Marius Tărîță

marius.tarita@historyinstitute.md https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1538-5292

Ornaments and frontispieces of Old Moldavian manuscripts

Ornamenty i frontyspisy starych rekopisów mołdawskich

W tym tekście autor porusza zagadnienie ornamentów i innych dekoracji (np. litery otwierające szczególne paragrafy) w rękopisach mołdawskich XV wieku. Główną cechą tych rękopisów w dekoracjach był geometryzm. Choć niektórzy z badaczy pisali o stylu rumuńskim, tak naprawdę on był specyficzny szkołom klasztornym z Mołdawii. Te rękopisy występowały w Siedmiogrodzie i na Rusi Czerwonej. Analizie poddano reprodukcje z rękopisów mołdawskich przechowywanych w Bibliotece Narodowej w Warszawie i Centralnej Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Cluj-Napoca. Dla porównania, ale także dla uhonorowania nieznanych mistrzów iluminacji, są odwołania do rękopisów suczawskiego, siedmiogrodzkiego, "nowogrodzkiego" i połockiego.

Słowa kluczowe: słowiański, mołdawski, rękopisy, ornamenty, XV wiek

The ornaments and frontispieces are a separate chapter in Palaeography. It deals with the motives that appear on the front pages of the manuscripts and also in the text where a new unit (e.g., chapter, paragraph) begins. These characteristics are usually proper to the manuscripts that are more expensive from the material point of view. Several times it also implies the skills of the monks who worked on them. In the case of the 15th century, it appeared a special inclination in using as much as possible colourful titles and different ornaments. Generally, in the

Moldavian writing of manuscripts existed two periods with expansive development of ornaments. The first one refers to the 15th century and continues through the 16th. I would pay attention to it in the present study. The second is much shorter, linked with the personality of the Metropoly Anastasie Krymka. His school emerged at the beginning of the 17th century¹.

The article is dedicated to the observations of some of the Russian pre-1914 scholars who focused on manuscripts, as well as to remarks of N. Iorga, E. Turdeanu, H. Stahl, Damian P. Bogdan and others. The paragraphs are dedicated to ornaments and frontispieces, a few miniatures of the political personalities and the initials and ligatures.

In the attachments I would reproduce ornaments, initials and ligatures from different Slavonic and Romanian-Slavonic² manuscripts, reachable in digital versions on the e-pages of the National Library in Warsaw and Central University Library from Cluj-Napoca.

The Romanian Slavonic and South-Slavonic manuscripts occupied a certain place in the research of Russian historians of the late 19th century and early 20th century. One of them, A. Sobolevsky, while analysing the miniatures mentioned:

It seems that the Russian manuscripts of 15th and 16th centuries, have, all of them, those frontispieces and initials which are known from South-Slavonic and Moldavian manuscripts. The frontispieces represented by interlocking rings and black initials are very frequent, while the floral frontispieces and initials are very rare³.

¹At the National Library in Warsaw can be consulted at least one of these manuscripts. It is very rich in miniatures. See for example the manuscript under call number Rps 12178 III ("Ustaw jerozolimski") also available on POLONA page.

² In Romanian historiography, since the contribution of P. Panaitescu (who published a Catalogue of Slavonic and Slavonic-Romanian manuscripts in the collections of the Library of the Romanian Academy in 1959), it is consecrated the term Romanian-Slavonic. As one can see in present article, some of the Russian historians used simply the term of Romanian. I would prefer the use of Moldavian, as indicating the emergence in the area of the Moldavian late medieval state. The same suggestion would be also for Wallahian. In what concern the charts, the Western historians use these two last denominations.

³ А.И. Соболевскій, *Славяно-Русская палеографія. Курсъ первый*, С-Петербургъ 1901, с. 47.

An important and synthetic view on Moldavian ornaments was formulated by A. Yatsimirsky in 1905. He remarked that in the 15th century, Slavonic manuscripts in Moldavia appear with expansive ornaments covered with gold. In the world of the animals – the teratological ornament is replaced by vegetation or in the majority of cases with Geometric figures. "The simplest Moldavian-Wallahian ornament consists of three circles the middle point of which are situated on one line. Each string enters with a radius into the next one"4. This image became more and more complicated, having newly added lines. Up to the moment when it became difficult to distinguish what is represented in detail. Yatsimirsky remarked with regret that this type of ornament disappeared at the beginning of the 18th century being displaced together from the Slavonic language by the native language of Romanians which was up to that period in hutch. As observation has to be added that Sobolevsky has seen the Moldavian manuscripts beside those South Slavonic, while in the detailed approach of Yatsimirsky, it became clear that the Moldavian-Wallahian style was a huge one. Unfortunately, Yatsimirsky had an encyclopaedist approach and dealt with too many issues. His upper remarks are an exception which appeared as a parenthesis in the technical overview of a Slavonic-Romanian manuscript from 1649 in which he remarked on the specific ornaments.

Some interesting remarks on ornaments belong to A.I. Nekrasov. At a session of the Slavic Commission in 1909 he read the report "The Ornament of the Slavonic published books in 15th-16th centuries"⁵. In his opinion, the Romanian⁶ frontispieces belonged to the group of the frontispieces of the Venetian editions. There were versions of the same style: "extremely tangled knit of the belts, in which it is quite difficult

⁴ А. Яцимирскій, *Славянскія и русскія рукописи румынскихь библиотекъ*, С-Петербургь 1905, с. 377–378.

 $^{^5}$ 109 заседаніе 10 декабря 1909 г., "Древности. Труды славанской Коммисіи Императорского Московскаго Археологическаго Общества", Москва 1911, томъ V-й, с. 50–54.

⁶ Nekrasov did not use the term Moldavian or Wallahian, but only Romanian.

to distinguish the Geographic diagram. From belts are drawn offspring in the form of buds or little leaves, which recall the Gothic stylization of the plants. (...) It seems that the Romanian frontispieces have developed from those Geometric Byzantine-Slavic, being possibly influenced also by German ornament"⁷.

A.I. Nekrasov concluded that the ornament of the German Renaissance has penetrated the Slavonic editions. These were executed with wooden stamps, "and spread from North-West to South-East; the geometrical Slavonic-Byzantine ornament can be seen in the manuscripts of the 15th century and got a specific remaking in Romania and in typical Romanian forms has spread from South-East to North-West among the South Slavs (in a circuit which remained closed)"8.

Also, at least a hypothesis has to be mentioned in the opinion of Mircea Tomescu (1968). The Geometric motives which are the fundamental element of the frontispieces of the manuscripts of the monk Gabriel⁹ and his successors, "direct to the Romanian popular art. The ring and the geometric figures are known in the wooden popular sculpture"¹⁰.

In his handbook I.D. Negrescu focused on the frontispieces of the manuscripts. Leading attention received the manuscript of Nicodim. He remarked on the ornaments of "floral and zoomorphic types — which decorate the frontispieces, and the very little semiuncial in which it is written. Everything in this manuscript is different than in the Moldavian

⁷ 109 заседаніе 10 декабря 1909 г..., с. 51.

⁸ 109 заседаніе 10 декабря 1909 г..., с. 53. N. Iorga considered that the Moldavian frontispieces came from Slavonic-Byzantine manuscripts, and that these manuscripts are the copy of the Byzantine synthesis with all the elements which it contains. N. Iorga, *Scrieri despre artă*, p. 234–235.

⁹ The famous monk from Neamt monastery is known for his brilliant copies of religious manuscripts. Among them is also a bilingual Greek-Slavonic one. Samples from the last one were published by Ioan Bianu – Evanghelia slavo-greacă scrisă în Mănăstirea Neamţului din Moldova de Gavriil Monachul la 1439, Bucureşti 1922.

¹⁰ M. Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi pînă la 1918*, București 1968, p. 23.

manuscripts"¹¹. Unfortunately, the descriptivist style of Negrescu was not followed by theoretical conclusions as A.I. Nekrasov did. Even if sometimes subjective, every opinion expressed in that age which seems to be the Classic of the Romanian studies on old manuscripts could have been useful today.

Some researchers believed that there was also a specific type of ornamentation at the Neamt monastery. It was a geometric concept, a system of rings, "pervaded by groups of two diameters in the form of X, as two parallel strings" This makes it possible to identify many manuscripts that circulated outside the territory of medieval Moldavia (or were used as models). Examples also include Transylvanian manuscripts from the 15th-16th centuries. An example of frontispieces can be found in Attachment 1.

Miniatures of political personalities

Generally, there is no unanimous opinion on miniatures in the Moldavian manuscripts. The category of miniatures related to the important moments in Gospels is a huge one. It is not the subject of the present study. I will focus only on miniatures of political personalities of this century.

A different approach to the influence and origin of miniatures was taken by Ion Bănățeanu (1966). He took into account the perspective of art history and popular art.

Concerning the Romanian miniatures from 14^{th} , 15^{th} and 16th centuries, it was sad, but without conclusive proofs, that they had some influence of Byzantine miniatures. The last one came to us through Serbian and Bulgarian manuscripts (but he does not enumerate these opinions, some of which may be skipped involuntarily by nowadays scholar – A/N). But

¹¹I.D. Negrescu, *Limba slavă veche*, București 1961, p. 74.

¹² M. Dan, O. Filipoiu, Contribuții la istoria legăturilor culturale dintre Moldova și Transilvania în orînduirea feudală. Un manuscris slav translvănean din 1511, "Mitropolia Moldovei și a Sucevei", 1963, anul XXXIX, nr. 1–2, p. 56.

the most impressive in this state is the skill with which were worked all these ornaments of the manuscripts. Their authors have worked with thoroughness and patience. The draw and the colours are so adequate (...) These actions required really the silence of the monk's cell. They inspired the lettering and ornaments of the published books, being up to now a source of inspiration for our decorative art. Among these manuscripts of high artistic value, from that age, remained the Gospel in cover of silver of St. Nicodim. It was finished in 1405 at the Prislop monastery, and has an extremely beautiful calligraphy and a remarkable decoration and others¹³.

There are also specific miniatures depicting Moldavian politicians of that century. The most known in this category is a miniature of the voivode Stephen (IV) the Great – he is on the knees, in the *Four Gospels* from the Humor Monastery (1473). This seems to be a motive of Western European influence. Byzantine rulers in such depictions usually remained upright¹⁴.

Another example is the miniature of the Ioan Tăutu the logothete which appears in *Psalter* written after 1475¹⁵. This manuscript was remarked on by I. Sokolov in 1883. The logothete is Byzantine – he is dressed in a Court costume of Greek inspiration at the neck of his skirt hat National seams *This shows that the national clothes were not*

¹³ I. Bănăţeanu, *Aspecte mai de seamă ale artei religioase româneşti și sârbeşti între secolele al XIV-lea și al XV-lea*, în "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", 1966, an LXXXIV, nr. 7–8, iulie–august, p. 800. On the other hand, N. Iorga considered this Gospel as being of "Balcanic type". The letters were "round, petty, pounded, as used by South Slavs". N. Iorga, *Scrieri despre artă*, p. 228.

¹⁴This fact made N. Iorga to suppose that the miniaturist was a Westerner. N. Iorga, *Scrieri despre artă*. p. 236.

¹⁵ This Psalter had a tumultuous destiny. For a long time, it was preserved at the Munkach monastery and in the Soviet age was sent to the Ethnography Museum in Uzhhorod. Ioan Tăutul appears in charts between 1475 and 1510. I would mention that another manuscript of I. Tăutul also had a pilgrim destiny. In February 1492 the diac Isayah has written a Miney on paper. This one was gifted by Ioan the logophete to the Humor monastery. At some moment it reached the Ossoliński Library in Lyoy.

ignored even in the attire of high-rank dignitary¹⁶. It has similarities with the portrait at the Bălinești church, painted before December 6, 1499¹⁷.

E. Turdeanu had a specific opinion concerning this miniature. He considered that:

Ion the Logophete is not the same one with Ion Tăutul. This is because the last one always signed Ion Tăutul. Anyway, the hypothesis may be admitted because one does not have another logophet named Ioan in the 15th century. And the skills of calligrapher of Tăutului and his love for saint books can be seen also from other witnesses¹⁸.

Under the portrait of Tăutul is written—"Oh, Lord, accept an offering of your servant Ioan the logophet"¹⁹. It would be important to check the fact if this manuscript is still held in the collections of the Uzhhorod Ethnographic Museum.

Initials and ligatures

One of the first Romanian manuscripts, which is usually mentioned because its initials is those of the Nikodim (of Tismana) from 1405, is a Wallachian Slavonic manuscript. I.D. Negrescu explained that its initials are:

weaved and knitted stalks, with leaves and flowers on them, Garland professionally knitted to flowers, or merges of large exotic leaves. One time, in the case of K-ey with which begins the Mark's Gospel, a peacock

¹⁶ Carmen Ghica, *Vel logofătul Ioan Tăutu, cea mai veche miniatură a unui dregător*, "Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică", 1958, tom 15, nr 1, pp. 116–117.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

¹⁸ E. Turdeanu, *Manuscrisele slave din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, "Cercetări Literare", București 1943, V, p. 180.

¹⁹ Carmen Ghica, *op.cit.*, p. 114. A photocopy is published at p. 115, and at p. 117 an enlarged fragment. See also Anna Adashinskaya, *Moldavian votive portraits with scrolls: toward rhetorical techniques applied in art of the late 15th–early 17th centuries*, "Revue Roum Hist Art", 2017–2018, LIV–LV, p. 10, p. 20 fig. 18. Also see the paragraph of Turdeanu on this manuscript in *Oameni și cărți de altădată*, București, 1997, p. 104–105.

climbs a Garland. The elegant curves of his neck and tail complete the lines of the character²⁰.

An exact explanation of the nature of the motives which were dominant in Romanian-Slavonic manuscripts belongs to V. Brătulescu.

These were inspired from the form of the characters in the text:

this is why the images in the Slavonic texts used more the lines and its derivates, combined between them as the elements of a knitting. (...) This expansion of specific motives was a result of the use of the Cyrillic writing. The same way the Greek alphabet was harmonized with Floral motives (among the most spread was the Lily flower motive) and with those Zoomorphic combined frequently with those floral²¹.

Examples of initials can be found in Attachment 2.

Stahl H. and Damian P. Bogdan noticed that especially the letters I and A used as initials (with floral motives, red ink, golden ink) have accents. But this did not mark the tonic accent, "but probably an influence from Greek alphabet"²².

The ligatures are a complementary chapter which make the Moldavian manuscripts even more elegant. E. Kaluzhnyatsky cited the observation of V. Schepkin in "Archiv für Slavische Filologie" (vol. XXV, p. 109):

the ligatures had the mission to connect from capital letters the row with the help of abbreviations and embeauty through and uninterrupted ornament. And really, any Slavonic manuscript of Romanian origin you look through, in everyone one can find more or less enjoyable models of such type of writing²³.

²⁰ I. D. Negrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 75. He refers to the study of E. Lăzărescu and I.R. Mircea, *Manuscrisele*, In: *Studii asupra tezaurului restituit de URSS*, Bucureşti 1958, pp. 230–231. Unfortunately, it remains unclear why E. Turdeanu appreciated the floral motives from this manuscript as "unskillful". E. Turdeanu, *Oameni şi cărți de altădată*, Bucureşti 1997, p. 11–12.

²¹ See V. Brătulescu, *Ornamentica manuscriselor slavone...*, p. 479.

²² H. Stahl, Damian P. Bogdan, *Manual de paleografie slavo-română*, București 1936, p. 30.

²³ Е. Калужняцкій, *Kuppuловское письмо у Румынъ*, с. 10. Also, he expresses the opinion that for the first time the ligatures have appeared on the charts of the Romanian voivodes. And that beside these existed monograms.

In fact, beside the complex explanation of E. Kaluzhnyatsky, the ligature had a simple utilitarian role – they marked the beginning of a new paragraph. In the texts one can frequently find letters much larger and more adorned, which replace the nowadays spaces and marking a new paragraph of a document²⁶.

This text does not have specific conclusions because its purpose was to pay attention to an issue that is unattended by scholars nowadays. The Moldavian initials, ligatures and frontispieces still wait for a separate catalogue. And the Slavonic manuscripts of Ruthenia or Lithuania do deserve such a synthesis and totalisation as well. That is why I have also chosen to reproduce among the samples, some initials from Russian and Western Slavonic manuscripts.

 $^{^{24}}$ V. Schepkin defined ligature next way – a decorative Cyrillic writing which has as purpose to tie a row into one continuous and homogenous ornament. This purpose is also achieved by abbreviations and various types of beauties. В.Н. Щепкин, *Русская палеография*, с. 44.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, cc. 18–19.

²⁶ H. Stahl, Damian P. Bogdan, Manual de paleografie..., p. 30.

Bibliography

Sources

- Gospel from Rusul Birgaului (1511), Museum of Cluj Metropoly, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
- [Four Gospels, Moldavia (known also as "Tetra suczawska")], National Library in Warsaw, call number Rps BOZ 04.
- [Golden Stream, Polotsk?], National Library in Warsaw, call number Rps BOZ 91.
- [Zbiór pouczenij Efrema Syryjczyka i innych Ojców Kościoła, Novgorod Vielky], National Library in Warsaw, call number Rps BOZ 99.
- Pandekts of Antioch, National Library in Warsaw, call number Rps BOZ 110.

Publications

- 109 zasedanie 10 dekabrâ 1909 g., In: "Drevnosti. Trudy slavanskoj Kommisii Imperatorskogo Moskovskago Arheologičeskago Obŝestva", tom" V-j (izdan" pod" redakciej A. A. Pokrovskago dhjstv. člena Obŝestva i sekretarâ Slav. Kommissii), Moskva, Sinodal'naâ Tipografiâ, 1911. [109 заседаніе 10 декабря 1909 г., In: "Древности. Труды славанской Коммисіи Императорского Московскаго Археологическаго Общества", томъ V-й (изданъ подъ редакціей А. А. Покровскаго дрйств. члена Общества и секретаря Слав. Коммиссіи), Москва, Синодальная Типографія, 1911].
- Adashinskaya Anna, *Moldavian votive portraits with scrolls: toward rhetorical techniques applied in art of the late 15th-early 17th centuries*, "Revue Roum Hist Art", Serie Beaux-Arts, 2017–2018, LIV–LV, p. 3–45.
- Âcimirskij A., Slavânskiâ i rusckiâ rukopisi rumynskih" bibliotek", S-Peterburg" 1905 [Яцимирскій А., Славянскія и русскія рукописи румынскихь библиотекъ, С-Петербургъ 1905].
- Bănățeanu I., Aspecte mai de seamă ale artei religioase românești și sârbești între secolele al XIV-lea și al XV-lea, "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", 1966, LXXXIV, nr. 7–8.
- Brătulescu V., Ornamentica manuscriselor slavone provenite de la mănăstirea Moldovița și aflate la mănăstirile
- Dan M., Filipoiu O., *Contribuții la istoria legăturilor culturale dintre Moldova și Transilvania în orînduirea feudală. Un manuscris slav translvănean din 1511*, "Mitropolia Moldovei și a Sucevei", 1963, XXXIX, nr. 1–2, p. 55–64.
- Dragomirna, Sucevița și în alte părți, "Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei", 1963, XXXIX, nr. 7–8, p. 473–501.

Ghica Carmen, *Vel logofătul Ioan Tăutu, cea mai veche miniatură a unui dregător*, "Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică", 1968, tom 15, nr. 1, pp. 114–118.

Iorga N., Les arts mineurs en Roumanie, Bucarest 1934.

Iorga N., Scrieri despre artă, București 1968.

Lăzărescu E., Mircea I. R., Manuscrisele, In: Studii asupra tezaurului restituit de URSS, Bucuresti 1958.

Mircea I.-R., Cel mai vechi manuscris miniat din Țara Romaneasca: Tetraevanghelul popii Nicodim, "Romanoslavica", 1966, p. 203–221.

Negrescu I. D., Limba slavă veche, București 1961.

Ŝepkin V.N., Russkaâ paleografiâ, Moskva 1967 [Щепкин В.Н., *Русская палеография*, Москва 1967].

Sobolevskij A.I., Slavâno-Russkaâ paleografiâ. Kurs" pervyj, S-Peterburg" 1901 [Соболевскій А.И., Славяно-Русская палеографія. Курсъ первый, С-Петербургъ 1901].

Stahl H., Bogdan Damian P., Manual de paleografie slavo-română, București 1936.

Tomescu M., *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi pînă la 1918*, București 1968.

Turdeanu E., Manuscrisele slave din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare, "Cercetări Literare", București 1943, V.

Turdeanu E., Oameni și cărți de altădată, București 1997.

Ornaments and frontispieces of old Moldavian manuscripts

In this text, the author addresses the issue of ornaments and other decorations (e.g. letters opening particular paragraphs) in Moldavian manuscripts of the 15th century. In general, the main feature of these manuscripts in decoration was geometricism. Although some of the researchers wrote about the Romanian style, it was specific to monastic schools from Moldavia. These manuscripts were found in Transylvania and Red Ruthenia. Reproductions from Moldavian manuscripts stored in the National Library in Warsaw and the Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca were analysed. For comparison, but also to honor the unknown masters of illumination, there are references to Suceava, Transylvania, Novgorod and Polotsk manuscripts.

Keywords: Slavic, Moldavian, manuscripts, ornaments, 15th century

Attachment 1. Simple frontispiece and frontispiece of the Gospel of Mathew

(Moldavian manuscript from Suchava (1455?–1505?), National Library in Warsaw)



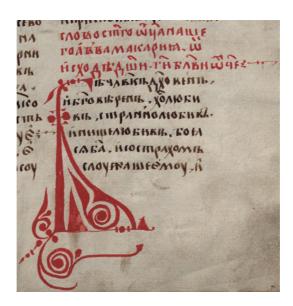


Vegetal motives and interconnected circles in the second one. The colors used also are a characteristic of the Moldavian style.

Attachment 2. Examples of initials of Slavonic manuscripts (mid-15th century-early 16th century)



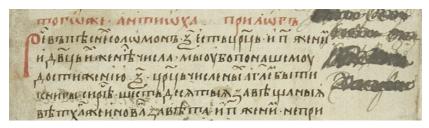
Initial in the Transylvanian manuscript of 1511 (Metropoly Museum in Cluj)



Large initial in the manuscript which was in use in Polotsk in 15th century. National Library in Warsaw, Rps BOZ 091.



Initial from the manuscript Rps BOZ 099, National Library in Warsaw.



Initial from the manuscript Rps BOZ 110, National Library in Warsaw.

Attachment 3. The title containing the name of Theofilakt differently written in the Moldavian manuscript from Suchava and Transylvanian manuscript from Rusul Birgaului





In the second case is used Greek omega instead of o, "ak" which is linked in first case, is written separately in the second. The a at the end of the name is different in both cases. Mathew is differently abbreviated in both cases.

Attachment 4. Examples of ligatures as classified by H. Stahl and Damian P. Bogdan

