Policy and prophecy. The legend of the Last Emperor and the iconography of the ruler crowned by angels in Wallachia

Elisabela Negrău*

“George Oprescu” Art History Institute, Romanian Academy, Bucharest

The article analyses the occurrence of the iconography of the ruler crowned by angels in Wallachia in the mid-sixteenth century, a late revival of a Byzantine iconographic model with no examples known in Wallachia prior to this date. In the nave of the infirmary chapel of Cozia Monastery (1543), voivode Radu Paisie is depicted crowned by an angel blessed by Saint Methodius of Patara, an iconographical hapax. The key for decoding the scene is provided by the Pseudo-Methodian Apocalypse, where a coronation by angels episode is found in the legend of the Last Christian Emperor. The frescoes were made in a political climate when anti-Ottoman war plans intensified in Central Europe following the occupation of Buda. Keywords: the legend of the Last Emperor, Pseudo-Methodian Apocalypse, Byzantine apocalyptic literature, donor portraits, coronation iconography, infirmary church of the Cozia monastery, sixteenth-century painting

The Romanian voivodates of Wallachia and Moldavia, from their foundation in the mid-fourteenth century up to the 1830s, were ruled by voivodes who in theory bore the Byzantine title of “autocrat by the grace of God”. However, enjoying most of the time only internal autonomy and lacking full independence in foreign affairs, they never assumed, along with this title, the Byzantine insignia of full autocracy in iconography – i.e. the kamelaukion-type crown with a closed top and the nimbus, limiting themselves to illustrating their ruling dignity in portraits by wearing an open-top type of crown and being blessed by the hand of God holding the scroll of the Divine Law. In the mid-sixteenth century, an old iconographical element of the Byzantine imperial tradition suddenly appears: for the first time, a Wallachian ruler is depicted crowned by an angel, an agent of the blessing hand of God the Lawgiver. This study analyses the context of this late emergence of a Byzantine imperial iconographical model in Wallachia and its possible reasons.

On the occasion of the completion of the wall paintings in the infirmary church of the Cozia Monastery in Wallachia, a Slavonic inscription painted in the narthex recorded that “[... this holy church, dedicated to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, was founded in the days of John voivode and of his son Marko voivode, and of his grace Metropolitan Varlaam, under the hegoumenos Hilarius the hieromonk. And again I, the servant of Christ, hieromonk Maxim the Magister (major), who was also a teacher (učitel), <i>pray</i> to be for my rest. Painted by the very sinful David the painter and by his son Raduslav in the year 7051.” The inscription mentions only the Byzantine year as the completion date of the frescoes, but the presence in the narthex of a portrait of Stroe the protospatharios, who held this dignity starting from 18 May 1543, suggests a precise dating of the frescoes to the summer of 1543. The two painters who signed the frescoes, David and Raduslav, scrupulously recorded the names of the officials of the time but if and how each of those contributed to the foundation is unclear, leading to different interpretations. A common older opinion was that voivode Radu Paisie had been the main founder and the hieromonk Maxim of the Magister may have been the “teacher” (<i>učitel</i>) of the iconographic program. Others have lately speculated that hieromonk Maxim might have been the real initiator of the foundation and/or of the paintings, who wanted to remain inconspicuous and whom the voivode Radu and the protospatharios Stroe, whose portraits were depicted in the church, helped with donations. This last interpretation may be more correct, as we shall see from the further analysis of the donor portraits.

The voivode Radu Paisie – by his birth name Peter – is painted in the nave holding a model of the church.

1 C. Bălan, Inscripții medievale și din epoca modernă a României. Județul istoric Vâlcea (sec. XIV–1848), București 2005, no. 371; I. Iancovescu, Picturile de la bolnița mănăstirii Cozia, Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei – Seria Artă Plastică 2 (2012) 171, cat. no. 6 (the inscription in Slavic). The Byzantine year 7051 corresponds to the interval between 1 Sep. 1542–31 Aug. 1543.

2 For spatharios Stroe of Orboești v. N. Stoicescu, Dicționar al marilor dreptători din Țara Românească și Moldova: secolele XIV–XVII, București 1971, 93–94.

3 The interpretation of the inscription in this tract belongs to C. L. Dumitrescu, Pictura murală din Țara Românească în veacul al XVI-lea, București 1978, 16–17.

4 Iancovescu, Picturile, 161.

5 He was an illegitimate son of the Wallachian voivode Radu the Great. Radu was his patronymic, and Paisie, his name while he lived as a monk and abbot at Curtea de Argeș Monastery, prior to becoming voivode.

6 The votive-like composition was believed to illustrate the voivode’s status as the founder (Dumitrescu, Pictura, 17). However, the
(fig. 1), accompanied by his wife, Lady Ruxandra, and by Marko, his eldest son and co-ruler (fig. 2). Both Radu Paisie and Marko are portrayed crowned by an angel. The depiction has a different structure from the votive compositions commonly used in Wallachia in the first half of the sixteenth century: the voivode holds the church alone and not together with his wife or even with his co-reigning son. Although the portraits should be understood as a unitary group, Marko and Lady Ruxandra, together with the youngest daughter Zamfira, do not seem to actively participate in the presumptive votive act; they do not hold painted dedicatory inscription in the narthex fails to clearly indicate the contribution of the voivode, only mentioning that the work was made “in the days of Radu Paisie’s reign”.

Handheld crosses in votive portraits are usually interpreted as symbols of keteroship (ibid., 53).
Paisie and the young armed saint Lupus placed in front of the group led by the young Marko are turned towards the interior of the church and are depicted in ostensive bellicose positions. The two are the only figures in the mural ensemble wearing body armour and engaged in martial gestures, with the other martyrs being depicted in court garments.

Saint Methodius, the only holy bishop depicted in the nave, is turned to the nearby silhouette of Radu Paisie and, holding the Gospel in one hand, makes the sign of blessing towards the voivode. Also Saint Theodosius, the sole holy monk inserted into the register of martyrs, is turned towards the western wall and blesses the group in front of him, formed by Marko, Lady Ruxandra, and Zamfira. The saint holds a phylactery with the inscription: "If you want to save yourself, cease the empty talk (praznoslovie) and love the truth," a paraenetic text which seems to refer specifically to the young voivode Marko, but also to the two female family members.

The presence of a bishop in the nave, although not completely unencountered in Byzantine and early post-Byzantine painting, is nevertheless unusual. Moreover, Saint Methodius of Patara, likely the one and the same with Methodius of Olympus, is a hierarch rarely represented per se other than in synaxaria and in the registers of busts of holy hierarchs in sanctuaries. He is not always easily recognizable either, as inscriptions sometimes ab-

8 Iancovescu, Picturile, 169, cat. no. 46.
9 A similar paraenetic role seems to be fulfilled also by St. Josophat, depicted on one of the window jambs in the narthex.

10 St. Jerome in: De viris illustribus. Liber ad dextrum Praeefecto Praetorium (cap. 83) refers to Methodius as Bishop of Olimpus (Ly- cia) and subsequently of Tury, martyred in the later persecutions (ca. 311), PL XXIII, col. 727-728. In a sixth-century treatise attributed to Leontius of Byzantium (De sectis, act III, 1), Methodius is mentioned for the first time as the bishop of Patara, a title which will be recorded in all later Byzantine menologia, PG LXXXVI/1, col. 1213-1214. V. also F. Diekamp, Ueber den Bischofsitz des hl. Martyrers und Kirchen- vatets Methodius, Theologische Quartalschrift 109/3 (1928) 285-308. Also v. Methodius of Olympus in: ODB II, 1354 (B. Baldwin). Metho- dius Olimps in: The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. E. L. Cross, E. A. Livingstone, Oxford 2005, 1080 (n.a.) believes that the assertion that he was the bishop of Tyre and Patara is incorrect.
breviate his name to simply Methodius, making him easily confoundable with Methodius of Constantinople or Methodius the Apostle of the Slavs.

Methodius of Patara/Olympus was by no means an obscure figure in the Byzantine world. He wrote famous treatises against Origen\(^\text{11}\) and some of his homilies, like those for the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and for the Synaxis of Symeon and Anne, were copied in numerous manuscripts on Mount Athos.\(^\text{12}\) A famous prophecy foretelling the fall of Constantinople, containing the legend of the Last Liberator Emperor of Christendom prior to the end of the world, a text written in Syria in the early seventh century,\(^\text{13}\) seemingly in a Christian community with a strong link to Late Judaism,\(^\text{14}\) was falsely attributed to Methodius of Olympus (in the Syriac text) and respectively to Methodius of Patara (in the Greek translation).\(^\text{15}\) The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Method-

\(^{11}\) V. S. P. N. Methodii episcopi et martyrii. Opera omnia, in: PG XVIII, col. 2–220. V. also Mensis Iunius in: H. Delehaye, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi (propylaeum ad acta sanctorum novembris), Bruxelles 1902, col. 757–758.

\(^{12}\) For a commentary on Hypapante or the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (fourteenth century, Protaton and Esphigmenou) v. Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos, ed. S. Lambros, Cambridge 1895, 8, cat. no. 5714, 178, cat. no. 2089/8. On Symeon and Anne (fourteenth century, Docheiariou and fifteenth century, Karakallou) v. ibid., 239, cat. no. 2743/16, 242, cat. no. 2752/21, 136, cat. no. 1579/7.

\(^{13}\) P. J. Alexander, The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, ed. D. deF Abrahamse, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1985, 13–60.

\(^{14}\) Idem, The Medieval legend of the last Roman emperor and its messianic origin, JWCI 41 (1978) 9. An earlier form of this legend which was later reformulated in the Christian milieu influenced by Jewish Messianism can be traced to the Prophecies of the Tiburtine Sibyl (ibid., 14–15).

\(^{15}\) The multiple Greek recensions of the text were indexed in: BHG III, 10–11, no. 2036 a–f. The first critical edition of the entire manuscript evidence was made available by A. Lolos, Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodius, Meisenheim am Glan 1976. A comparative analysis of the various manuscript editions is available in: Alexander, The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, 13–60. Fragments of texts were published in English translation by B. McGinn, Visions of the end: apocalyptic tradition in the Middle Ages, New York 1979. V. also A. Pertusi, Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo: significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Constantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente, Roma 1988, 111–127.
Fig. 7. Perhondi, Church of St. Nicholas, nave, the eastern wall above the sanctuary apse. Eschatological scene, the Last Emperor awoken by angels (?)

Fig. 8. Venice, Marciana Library, Gr. VII, 22, fol. 155v, Chronographia of Georgios Klontzas, the coronation by angels of the Last Emperor
ius was one of the few works of apocalyptic literature that was largely accepted by the Byzantine Church. In the late Byzantine period, a reference to the eschatological prophecies of Methodius of Patara was included in the synaxarion of his service, officiated on June 20th, as a recognition of the text’s authority,16 which was perceived as derived from and congruent with the Book of Daniel.17

The Apocalypse of Saint Methodius was widely disseminated from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in Byzantium and the Balkans, in the context of the Tatar invasion18 and then of the Ottoman conquest,19 whereas its prophecies appeared to coincide with the times of adversity and tribulations that marked the last centuries of Byzantium.20 The eschatological prophecies and the exegesis of the Bible shaped a framework of historical writing structured on the seven ages and four empires model of world history derived from the Old Testament Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation, which had a great influence on the Byzantine chroniclers like Joannes Zonaras and Constantine Manasses, whose chronicles were widely spread in the Balkans and continued to be copied even after the fall of Byzantium.21 History was read through a eschatological lens, a fact that fuelled a strong belief that the sultan’s empire existed through God’s grace because of the sins of the Christians.22 By expressing the belief that the defeat which the Christians had experienced contained a divine lesson, eschatological literature offered hope in the promise of God’s salvation. Pseudo-Methodius’ story of the last Christian emperor who would defeat the Muslims and bring forth an age of peace prior to the end of the world23 thus gained an even deeper meaning and greater popularity after the fall of Constantinople.24

The Apocalypse of Saint Methodius inspired other Byzantine eschatological writings: the Vision of Daniel,25 the Vision of Andrew Salos,26 Pseudo-Chrysostom,27 and the Oracle of Emperor Leo the Wise.28 One of the earliest versions of the Vision of Daniel, dating from the ninth century, tells that the emperor of Byzantium who will release the Christians from the Ishmaelites will be appointed and crowned by angels29. The mutual influences between these texts resulted, from the thirteenth century on, in an interpretation of the coronation of the last emperor excerpt from the Vision of Daniel in the text of Pseudo-Methodius.30

Despite its popularity, the Last Emperor legend had very rarely been a source of inspiration for artists in Byzantium prior to the fall of Constantinople. In the monastery church of St. Nicholas in Perhoni (near

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16 V. Măgurelă Ionțiu, Parăc Nicolae Floarea păpă lustru văzut în văzură, Venetia 1820, 83: ‘This true servant of God, archpriest and martyr, left us scriptures, fruits of his struggles, full of knowledge and spiritual benefits, and prophesised purely on the future things, on the changes of kingdoms, the battles of tongues, the perishing of cities, the orthodoxy and heretic emperors, the end of the world, the Antichrist and his kingdom and the general corruption of the last humans; all these were foretold by this godly man’ (our translation).

17 C. Mango, The legend of Leo the Wise, ZRVI 6 (1960) 71–72.

18 The fourteenth-century Bulgarian translation of the Methodian Apocalypse – Ms. 38 (Synodal Library, Moscow, written in 1345 for Tsar Ivan Alexander), identifies the peoples of Gog and Magog with the Tartars (cf. V. M. Istrin, Otkrivenie Mefodii Patarskogo i apokrificheskii vidiennii Danila v vizantioiskoi i slavno-russkoi literaturii, Ispolovanie i teksty I, Moskva 1897, 172).

19 V. for instance, the early sixteenth-century Moldavian Chronicle of Bistrița (1359–1512), Ms. Sl. 649 (The Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest), a copy of the Chronicle of Manasses containing also excerpts from Pseudo-Methodius and the Apocalypse of Andrew Salos [E. Dragnev, Literatura profetico-escatologică bizantină în Țările Române (sec. XV–XVI). Note preliminare, in: Tradiții istorice românești și perspective europene, ed. S. Șipos, D. O. Cepraga, I. Gumenă, Oradea–Chișinău 2015, 176–178, 185–186].

20 M.-H. Congourdeau, Byzance et la fin du monde. Courants de pensée apocalyptiques à Byzance sous les Paléologues, in: Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople, ed. B. Lellouch, S. Yerasimos, Paris 1999, 55–97; eadem, Textes apocalyptiques annonçant la chute de Constantinople, in: Constantinople 1453: Des Byzantins aux Ottomans, ed. V. Déroche, N. Vatin, Paris 2016, 983–1024.

21 B. A. Todorov, Monks and history: Byzantine chronicles in Church Slavic, in: Translating the Middle Ages, ed. K. L. Fresco, C. D. Wright, Farnham 2012, 151–152 et passim. Manasses circulated and largely influenced the locally composed Romanian chronographies of the seventeenth century (v. D. Mihăescu, Cronografiele romanesti, București 2006).

22 Cf. C. Mango, Byzantineism and romantic Hellenism, JWCI 28 (1965) 30; idem, Phanariots and the Byzantine tradition, in: The struggle for Greek independence, ed. R. Clogg, London 1973, 56–57.

23 McGinn, Visions of the end, 71–72; A. Kraft, The last Roman emperor topos in the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, Byzantion 82 (2012) 236–237, 248.

24 Mango, Byzantiumism, 34–36.

25 Alexander, The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, 61–95.

26 L. Ryden, The Andreas Salo Apocalypse: Greek text, translation, and commentary, DOP 28 (1974) 197–261.

27 Alexander, The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, 72–76.

28 Mango, The legend of Leo the Wise, 59–93.

29 Ibid., 61; Kraft, The last Roman emperor topos, 236–237, 248.

30 Kraft, The last Roman emperor topos, 237–239.
Berat), founded c. 1317 by the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, on the tympanum above the triumphal arch there is an image which appears to depict a sleeping emperor who is awoken by an angel that points him towards the preparing court of the Last Judgment (fig. 7). The scene was interpreted as a condensed illustration of the legend of the Last Christian Emperor.31

31 R. Rousseva, The legend of the last emperor and an unpublished eschatological scene from St. Nicholas Church in Perhoni village (Albania, 14th century), Niš and Byzantium 6 (2008) 231–243, figs. 3–4. For the church's construction date and its kтетor v. K. Giakoumis, A. Christidou, Image and power in the age of Andronicos II and III Palaiologos: imperial patronage in the western provinces of Via Egnatia, in: Via Egnatia revisited. Common past, common future, Driebergen 2010, 79–80, figs. 7–11.

It was in the two centuries after the fall of Constantinople and in the context of the Ottoman menace that eschatological literature, in the variant of the Oracles of Leo the Wise, attained its greatest popularity through a large production of manuscript copies.32 Some of them were illustrated. The first manuscript (Paris, Codex Bute, private collection) was made in Crete by the painter Georgios Klontzas in 1575–1577, shortly after the victory of Lepanto;33 a more lavish copy of it, seemingly subsequent,

32 Mango, The legend of Leo the Wise, 78 sqq.
33 The manuscript was written by Francesco Barozzi for the Venetian noble Giacomo Foscarini. V. its facsimile edition, Les oracles de Léon le Sage illustrés par Georges Klontzas: la version Barozzi dans le Codex Bute, ed. J. Vereecken, L. Hadermann-Misguich, Venice 2000.
is the Bodleian Barocci 170.34 Before them, there were the also Cretan Bodleian Gr. Laud. 27, written and illustrated in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century35 and the Bodleian Barocci Gr. 145, dating from c. 1573–1575,36 less elaborate precursors of Klontzas’ miniatures. Klontzas also wrote and illustrated in 1590–1592 a Chronography (Marcianus Gr. VII. 22), whose text was based on the Apocalypse of St. Methodius and the Oracle of Leo the Wise;37 from both, the Cretan painter used extensive quotes in his work to support his belief in the historical significance of the Holy League’s massive victory against the Ottomans at Lepanto in 1571.38 The Chronography contains the only known example of an illustrated version of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius’ narrative that exists today.39 It also displays a depiction of a coronation by angels of the last emperor of the Christians, whom Klontzas, in his enthusiasm for the Holy League’s victory, identified with Pope Pius V (fol. 155v; fig. 8). The scene was not illustrated only by Klontzas; it was already present in previous miniatures illustrating the same scene in the Oracle of Leo the Wise.40 Crowning angels also appear in depictions of the emperor with a scythe and a rose described in the fifth Leonine oracle41 – and labelled by Klontzas in his Chronography as Sultan Suleiman42 (figs. 9, 10), all very possibly stemming from earlier manuscript illustrations that have not survived.

The appearance of the crowning angel at Cozia has been speculated upon as having been dictated by Radu Paisie’s obsession with proving his legitimacy as a ruler, as a result of the consecutive plots organized against him by several pretenders to the throne in 1536, 1538 and 1539.43 However, this new element did not appear in the years when the complots were happening in quick succession, but towards the end of his reign, as late as 1543, when his power had been already consolidated. It was also argued that, since Radu Paisie seems to have been the first Wallachian ruler crowned at the Patriarchate of Constantinople (1535), the appearance of the crowning angel at Cozia would have underlined his privileged situation.44 But, if the introduction of the crowning angel detail had indeed been determined by his coronation at the Patriarchate of Constantinople, it would have naturally occurred starting...
ing with his first portraits and not in the latter years of his reign. Moreover, some historians have attributed this iconographical element to the involvement of Lady Milica Despina Branković, the daughter of the Serbian despot Jovan Branković, widow of the Wallachian voivode Neagoe Basarab and mother-in-law of Radu Paisie. However, if it had been due to Lady Milica Despina, the coronation by angel's iconography would have probably been adopted immediately after Radu Paisie's marriage to Despina's daughter Ruxandra, in 1535, and not so much later. Nevertheless, his portrait painted in 1536 at Curtea de Argeș Monastery, the foundation of Neagoe Basarab and Lady Despina, displays no coronating angels.

The mural paintings at Cozia, with their emphasis on the depicted warrior saints in martial postures standing in front of the voivode's portrait, coincided chronologically with a significant shift in the foreign policy of the voivode Radu Paisie starting with 1542. The first part of his reign was consequently disturbed by the attempts of several pretenders to take his throne, which he succeeded in keeping with the help of the Supreme Porte. The voivode showed a constant attitude of submission to the Ottomans: in 1540, he was forced to cede the Danube port of Brăila to the Sultan, and in the autumn of 1541, Radu crossed Transylvania and assisted the Ottoman army during the ongoing siege of the city of Buda. But after two years in the service of the Ottoman Empire which brought heavy losses to Wallachia, Radu Paisie turned decisively against the Supreme Porte. As a war between the Holy Roman and the Ottoman empires was being planned following the fall of the Kingdom of Hungary, in a letter of January 1543 the voivode promised to King Ferdinand of Habsburg help against the "infidel Turks". Ferdinand responded with similar promises of military support.

Fig. 12. Gračanica Monastery, entrance to the nave. Coronation of King Milutin and Queen Simonida

46 Dumitrescu, Pictura, 52.
47 The voivode married Lady Ruxandra when he acceded to the throne (Dumitrescu, Pictura, 51, n. 65).
the year 1544 the voivode's war plans were still unknown to the Porte, and the Sultan helped Radu to regain the throne after a short encroachment of a pretender, against whom the voivode came "with a lot of Turks and Tatars", managing to suppress his opponent.52 The changing of Radu Paisie's policy in favour of Ferdinand of Habsburg was finally discovered by the Ottomans at the beginning of the next year, leading to his removal from the throne in March 1545 and his exile to Egypt.

The representation of Saint Methodius of Patara blessing the voivode Radu Paisie crowned by an angel at Cozia appears, thus, all the more interesting as there is no reason for his presence in the iconographic context other than as an allusion to the Methodian Apocalypse. However, although the text had circulated in Bulgaria, Serbia and on Mount Athos since the thirteenth and fourteenth century,53 no such manuscript or any of its related apoca-

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52 Nicolescu, Domnia lui Radu Vodă Paisie, 211–214.
53 V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, A. Miltenova, Vizantiitskie proroche-

54 But the Pseudo-Methodian text, along with the Vision of Daniel and the Vision of Andrew Salos, was copied in the sixteenth century in Moldavia – Sl. Ms. 649 (the first part of the sixteenth century, The Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest), Sl. Ms. 309 (ca. 1547–1556, The Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest) and Sl. Ms. 741 (ca. 1544–1561, The National Archives of Romania, Bucharest) – cf. A. Mareș, Moldova și cărțile populare în secolele al XV-lea – al XVII-lea, in: Făvurastră darurilor. In memori-

55 For the translation from the end of the eighteenth century, fol. 18r–v, v. G. Ștrempel, Catalogul manuscriselor românești IV: B. A. R. 4414–5920, București 1992, 104, no. 4731. A fragment is also found in a late eighteenth century miscellany, fols. 46–48v (idem, Catalogul manuscriselor românești II: B. A. R. 1601–3100, București 1983, 39, no. A. Miltenova, Historical and apocalyptic literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria, Sofia 2011, 218–256.

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Fig. 13. Snagov Monastery, near Bucharest, 1563, nave, western wall, voivode Petru the Younger, his brothers and his mother Lady Chiajna
hieromonk Maxim the Magister, the presumed advisor of the iconographical program or, and founder of the church, depending on how we read the dedicatory inscription, had had contacts with Mount Athos, where the Pseudo-Methodian Apocalypse had circulated. The whole iconographical program of the Cozia infirmary church indicates its creators’ familiarity with late Byzantine and early post-Byzantine iconography, and the frescoes reveal conspicuous connections with Mount Athos and Meteora.

On the occasion of Radu Paisie’s alliance with the Christian powers, Maxim probably intended to dedicate an iconographical enkomion to the ruler, using as a source

1701). Nineteenth century manuscripts: 1808, fols. 230–234v (idem, Catalogul II, 452, no. 3092), 1825–1828, fols. 295v–309 (idem, Catalogul II, 296, no. 2509), 1832, fols. 256–261v (idem, Catalogul manusci- selor românești III: B. A. R. 3101–4413, București 1987, 56, no. 3229), 1837, fols. 134v–145 (idem, Catalogul II, 81, no. 1852), 1853, fols. 30v–35 (idem, Catalogul manusci- selor românești I: B. A. R. 1–1600, București 1978, 355, no. 1515). The text circulated in the eighteenth and nineteenth century also in a few Greek manuscripts (v. C. Litzica, Catalogul manusci- selor grecești I, București 1909, no. 754, 502, no. 758, 504; M. Caratașu, Catalogul manusci- selor grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române III, București 2004, no. 1087, 41–42, no. 1181, 169–170).

56 V. for example, a fifteenth-century miscellany from St. Paul Monastery on Mount Athos, brought to the Moldavian monastery of Neamț in the eighteenth century – Ms. Sl. 135, The Library of the Romanian Academy, fols. 351v–365v (idem, Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R. P. R. I, București 1959, 166–168; I. R. Mircea, Repertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantins et slaves, Sofia 2003, 132). A sixteenth-century manuscript containing the prophecies of Leo the Wise and Methodius of Patara was preserved at Grigoriou, Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos, 48, cat. 578/27. Seventeenth-century excerpts of Pseudo-Methodius at Xeropotamos (ibid., 217, 2581/2), and Koulohumos (ibid., 298, 3290/2). An eighteenth-century one at Grigoriou (ibid., 49, 581/3).

57 I. Iancovescu, De nouveau sur les peintures de l’église-bolnitza du monastère de Cozia, RRHA 48 (2011) 3–12.

the emperors’ painted portraits that one could still see in the Athonite catholicons. The frescoes at Cozia seem to interweave multiple sources, such as fourteenth-century portraits of rulers coronated by angels from the Balkans, but possibly also the tradition of representation of the emperor crowned by angels from the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts of the Oracle of Leo the Wise. The portrait was depicted in the church dedicated to St. Peter – the patron of the voivode, newly built in the voivodal monastery of Cozia. The iconographer intended to put an emphasis on the ruler, which is probably why the other members of the family, including the heir Marko – although he is also represented crowned by an angel – were separated from his portrait. The crowning angel next to St. Methodius blessing appears to be a key element taken from the Pseudo-Methodian legend of the Last Byzantine Emperor and used in an unconventional manner to emphasise the Wallachian voivode Radu Paisie as a virtual vanquisher of the Muslims and saviour of the Christians, in a time which many were seeing as fulfilling the prophecies of Pseudo-Methodius’ narrative that only five sultans were destined to rule over Constantinople, with the contemporary Suleiman I being the fourth. The iconographical reference to the legend of the Last Emperor seems to be as elusive and equivocal as the content of the dedicatory inscription; allusion and ambiguity may have been occasional style strategies of the iconographer in an uncertain political context.

In Byzantium and the Balkans, the representation of a coronation by angels was not very common in frescoes. The original variant, in which the act is performed by Christ directly, was used more frequently. The coronation by angels became nevertheless a motif used in Bul-

Fig. 14. Snagov, detail with a coronating angel from the portrait of Lady Chiajna, daughter of Lady Elena Branković of Moldavia, niece of Lady Milica Despina and spouse of voivode Mircea the Shepherd
Fig. 15. Călăiu Monastery, 1594, nave, western wall, voivode Michael the Brave crowned by an angel

The depiction at Cozia inspired by Pseudo-Methodius’ text demonstrates that the elites of Wallachia in the first half of the sixteenth century were preoccupied with the same general eschatological feeling which had also led Western Europeans to revisit eschatological prophecies and apocalyptic literature following the fall of Constantinople and for at least a century afterwards. The origins of the motif of the coronation by angels in Wallachia are intricate; they are linked with the political climate of the time, when a coalition around the Holy Roman emperor against the infidel Ottoman Turks was hoped for and awaited by the Wallachian voivode. But the Christian crusade ideal in Europe against the infidels had already begun to fade by the 1530s following the conquest of Hungary, the siege of Vienna episode in 1529, and particularly with the disturbance generated by the birth of Protestantism, which made a potential large European coalition against the Ottoman Empire less achievable at that point. It was only Pope Pius V who managed to reignite the idea for a short time with the conclusion of the Holy League for the Mediterranean in 1571.

The iconographical innovation introduced at the infirmary church of Cozia in 1543, although created for a specific moment and person, had a rather long posterity in Wallachia due to its easy adaptability. After the mid-sixteenth century, the coronation by angels motif was detached from the prophetic and eschatological framework elaborated at Cozia and came to be used to support the idea of political dynasty, becoming the standard for the iconography of the Wallachian ruler up to the end of the sixteenth century (figs. 13–15) and inspiring the iconography of the ruler also in the seventeenth century. As a motif which aptly illustrates the idea of a Christian ruler elected and sanctified by God and the manifestation of the divine will in history and in political affairs for that matter, it could develop multiple significations concerning historical and eschatological expectations in the minds of its contemporaries, which is why the temptation to provide a precise and exclusive interpretation of it is more often than not slippery ground for the art historian.

Coronations by two angels were illustrated on the coronation dinar minted by Tsar Stefan Dušan in 1346 and are found painted in the ossuary of Bachkovo (Tsar Ivan Alexander; fig. 11) and at Ljubostinja (with the two angels also holding weapons which are being handed to Despot Stefan Lazarević), while coronations by one angel had also appeared earlier, at Gračanica (fig. 12). Like the Serbian painters, who adjusted the Byzantine model to their own ideological climate and artistic preferences, the painters of the Cozia infirmary church seem to have made a particular adaptation of older iconographic models.

Fig. 15 © Dragan Bosnić; Fig. 13 © Father Silviu Cluci; Fig. 14 Ioan Popa.

59 T. Kambourova, Le don surnaturel de la couronne: images et interprétations, Zograf 32 (2008) 56, 58.
60 Ibid., 56. More recently, S. Marjanović-Dušanić, D. Vojvodić, The model of empire – the idea and image of authority in Serbia (1299–1371), in: Byzantine heritage and Serbian art II, ed. D. Popović, D. Vojvodić, Belgrade 2016, 305–314.
61 J.-E. Schnapp, Prophéties de fin du monde et peur des Turcs au XVᵉ siècle – Ottomans, Antichrist, Apocalypse, Paris 2017, 165–224; A. Pippidi, Visions of the Ottoman world in Renaissance Europe, New York 2013, 20. El Greco, like Klontzas, also allegorized the victory of the Holy League in conjunction with the eschatological theories of the time. Cf. A. Blunt, El Greco’s “dream of Philip II”: an allegory of the Holy League, JWCI 3/1–2 (1939–1940) 58–69.
62 Pippidi, Visions of the Ottoman world, passim; G. Poumardère, Pour en finir avec la Croisade. Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles, Paris 2004.
63 Cf. Dumitrescu, Pictura, passim.
64 Voivode Matei Basarab at Arnota Monastery (1641–1644) and voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu at the Holy Trinity court chapel in Măgureni (1693–1694) and at the Hurezi monastery church (1694). Cf. C. Pillat, Pictura murală în epoca lui Matei Basarab, București 1980, fig. 3; E. Negru, Cultul suveranului sud-est european și cunul Tâni Rominești. O perspectivă artistică, Iași 2011, 117–120; eadem, C. Cojocaru, Sfântul cuvios Păpușia-Pârvu zugravul. Tradiție și modernitate în arta brâncovenescă, București 2017, 110.
65 Illustration Copyright: Fig. 1–2 © Dan Dinescu; Fig. 3–6, 15 © Elisabeta Negru; Fig. 7 © Era Xhaferaj; Fig. 8–9 © Mary Simpson Williams; Fig. 10 © Oxford Bodleian Library; Fig. 11 © Richard Mortel; Fig. 12 © Dragan Bosnić; Fig. 13 © Father Silviu Cluci; Fig. 14 Ioan Popa.
Политика и пророчанство. Легенда о последњем цару и иконографија владара кога крimitе ињего у Влашкој

Елизабета Неграу
Институт за историју уметности „Г. Опреску“, Румунска академија, Букурешт

Рад истражује појаву стари византијске иконо- графије у Кнежевини Влашкој крајем првог поствизан- тијског века: представу владара кога крниме анђео. На западном зиду наоса болничке капеле владара које крниме анђео постали су уобичајени програма сликарства. Присуство портрета спатарија у византијској иконографији у Влашкој оне први пут јавља на овој фресци. Свети Методије из Патара уз свети Методије из Патаре је у византијској иконографији представљен са високим бинарима у неким кодексима апокалиптичког текста, али у другим кодексима настари Козија из 1543, мада настала како би одгово- рила потреби свестра монархије. Војни иконографски контекст нашао је критски сликар Георгије Клоцас, после по- строења Лепанта. "Пророчанство" цара Лава Мудрог из XV и XVI века.

Г. Опреску, "Иконографија владара у Влашкој". Грађа и споменик владара које крниме анђео у Влашкој, 1543. године, укључује видове портрета спатарија и сакралних светила у бољишкој капели, у којој се принц као ктитор ве- ђу по први пут на овој фресци.

Свети Методије из Патаре је један од најзначајнијих извора иконографије у Влашкој. Његово присуство на овој фресци укључује не само портрете спатарија него и иконографију црвених ратника. Пресудно је у разматрању епизоде крунисања владара анђелом у болничкој капели, у којој се у то време поменути састав и даље био преписан. Изгледа да је текст Псеудо-Методијева Апокалипса била позната и чита- вање те сцене крунисања. Међутим, није познато да је Псеудо-Методија послужио као надахнуће за уоблича- њем схватањима антиосманског предложака за фреску дошао са Свете Г оре, где то је био главни идејни творац иконографије у Кнежевини Влашкој крајем првог поствизан- тијског века: представу владара кога крниме анђео. Присуство портрета спатарија у византијској иконографији представљен са високим бинарима у неким кодексима апокалиптичког текста, али у другим кодексима настари Козија из 1543, мада настала како би одгово- рила потреби свестра монархије. Војни иконографски контекст нашао је критски сликар Георгије Клоцас, после по- строења Лепанта. "Пророчанство" цара Лава Мудрог из XV и XVI века.

Наши изтраживање осматраца процеса прихва- тања и реинтерпретацију византијске апокалиптич- не литературе у политичкој клими средине XVI века. Оно пружа анализу менталитета и атмосфере периода прежетих есхатологијом и аспирацијом усмереном ка иконографији стварања и борбе против Агарена. Оно пружа анализу менталитета и атмосфере периода прежетих есхатологијом и аспирацијом усмереном ка иконографији стварања и борбе против Агарена. Оно пружа анализу менталитета и атмосфере периода прежетих есхатологијом и аспирацијом усмереном ка иконографији стварања и борбе против Агарена.

Иконографска новина у болничкој капели манастира Козија из 1543, мада настала како би одгово- рила потреби свестра монархије. Војни иконографски контекст нашао је критски сликар Георгије Клоцас, после по- строења Лепанта. "Пророчанство" цара Лава Мудрог из XV и XVI века.

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