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**A SQUARE HEADPIECE IN THE FRAGMENT OF THE
TETRAEVANGELION (NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SERBIA,
MS 720) AND ITS PARALLELS IN SERBIAN MANUSCRIPTS
BETWEEN THE 14TH AND 17TH CENTURIES**

Three decades ago, in the spring of 1987, the National Library of Serbia purchased a part of the belongings left behind Ljubomir Kovačević (1848–1918), a well-known historian and explorer of Serbian antiquities, after his death. Along with the acquisition of several manuscripts from the holdings of the old National Library, purchased in Germany two decades before, this valuable acquisition was the major addition to the manuscript holdings of the Library, after its rich collection of nearly 1500 manuscripts had been destroyed in the German bombing of Belgrade in 1941. The collection of Ljubomir Kovačević consists of forty Serbian medieval manuscripts and manuscript fragments and two early printed books. This important group of manuscripts have not yet been fully studied and published, and the article by Biljana Jovanović Stipčević published in the 1989 issue of *Arheografski prilozi* remains the most complete source of information about them.¹

The purchased fragments include two detached folios (Ms 720), which, judging by their content, belonged to a Tetraevangelion. Damaged by moisture and inadequate storage over a long period of time, both folios are now in a very poor state of preservation. They were made of rather thick paper and, over time, they have been so much worn out, especially along the edges, that at places, parts of the margins are missing up to the beginning of the text line. Due to this, the sheets are now different in size (265–255 × 190 mm).

As the folios do not have any watermarks, the time of writing – which falls into the 1380s or 1390s – has been determined on the basis of the palaeographic features and the orthographic and spelling characteristics. Three pages of the manuscript were written out by the same hand in the Serbian Church Slavonic language, in a square half-uncial script, using free-hand strokes of

¹ Б. Јовановић Стипчевић, *Средњовековно писано наслеђе у заоставитини Љубомира Ковачевића*, Археографски прилози 10–11 (1989) 71–81. Over the past several years, the team of the Archaeographical Department of the National Library of Serbia have been investing dedicated effort in describing this group of manuscripts.



Fig. 1 Tetraevangelion (fragment), Belgrade, National Library of Serbia, Ms 720, fol. 1v, 1380s-1390s

Сл. 1 Четворојеванђеље (одломак), Београд, Народна библиотека Србије, Рс. 720, л. 1v, осамдесете-деведесете године XIV века

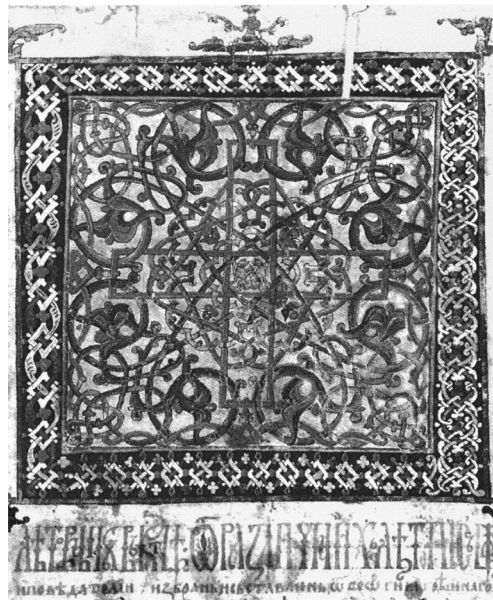


Fig. 2 Chronicle of George Hamartolos, Mt Athos, Monastery of St Panteleymon, MS 17, fol. 1, 1387

Сл. 2 Хроника Георгија Амартола, Света Гора, Манастир Пантелејмон, MS. 17, л. 1, 1387.

a quill pen. At the end of the first section, three lines of text were written out, probably by the same scribe, in large uncial letters with ligatures, in two colours (fol. 1a). The surviving folios belong to a later type of the Tetraevangelion (where the text of the Gospels is preceded by Theophylact's preface). A part of Theophylact's preface to the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 1a) and the beginning of the Gospel (fols. 2a–2b) have been preserved. The text is legible up to Matthew 1, 1–20. There is no list of chapters with their titles and the corresponding ordinal numbers in front of the Gospels, but the chapters are marked on the blank areas next to the Gospel text (outer margin fol. 2a).²

On both folios, there is a headpiece painted by the scribe, who was not, as it seems, very skilled in painting ornaments. One headpiece was drawn in sepia and the other in red ink; both were partly coloured with brown, pale green and blue paint. The entire verso of the first folio, facing the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, is occupied by a lavish square headpiece,³ whereas on the

² The author would like to acknowledge the great help of M. Ubiparip and V. Trijić (Archaeographical Department of the National Library of Serbia) in providing information about the codicological features of the manuscript fragment.

³ Проучавање српске рукописне књиге. Поводом пет и по деценија Одељења за археографију Народне библиотеке Србије (catalogue of the exhibition), Београд 2016, fig. on p. 66. A brief description of Ms 720 and its ornamentation: Б. Јовановић Стипчевић, *op. cit.*, 77.

recto of the second folio, the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew is highlighted by a less elaborate rectangular headpiece, without a framing band, showing the title in decorative lettering and a large interlace initial. While the smaller headpiece, composed of five chained circles interlaced with diagonals and semicircular segments and embellished with granules, plant burgeons along the sides and a large blue flower at the top, is a common solution in the line of Serbian 14th–17th-century manuscript ornamentation that would later be identified by scholars as the *Balkan style*, the headpiece on the first folio is far more interesting, not only for its elaborate ornamental scheme but also as one of the earliest surviving examples of this type of ornaments in the painted decoration of Serbian manuscripts. The text to follow seeks to describe it, determine its origins and typological identity, and track the influence of this type of ornamental headpieces on the manuscript illumination of the centuries to follow, until the decades surrounding the Great Migration of the Serbs.

The elaborate interlacing of the headpiece develops around a cross. Between the arms of the cross, tendrils radiate and each of them forms two scrolls with ornamental half-palmettes and corner knots. The intersection of the arms is highlighted by a flower with multi-coloured petals and a double rosette (the inner rosette is accentuated with brown and the outer with green paint), combined with twisted eight-shaped ornaments. The entire ornamental field, which consistently conforms to the principles of symmetry, is framed with a simple brown band. Floral ornaments extend to all four corners; the upper corners feature stylized half-palmettes, whereas the lower ones are filled with a bud and a Sassanid palmette. At the top, the headpiece ends in an ornament resembling a Sassanid palmette; at the bottom, a hand is depicted as if holding the entire composition. The design relies on a simple colour scheme, with the background rendered in pale green and sepia watercolour, while green or blue lines run in the middle of the bands, mostly left in natural paper colour.

The decorative schemes of large square headpieces are common in the painted decoration of Serbian medieval and post-Byzantine manuscripts. The square-type headpieces filled with an elaborate, symmetrically arranged interlacing where several geometric shapes are superimposed one over another, accentuated with a particular colour and framed with floral motifs, originated in Byzantine art. Eclectically designed, this type combines ornamental elements inherited from ancient Oriental cultures (Sassanid palmette), classical antiquity (composition schemes found in mosaics), Byzantine legacy (especially the so-called *luxuriant* style, typical of illumination between the ninth and 12th centuries) and Islamic art, as well as artistic crafts (carpentry, textile, calligraphy and metalwork in particular). This is evidenced by ornamental fields in some 12th- and 13th-century manuscripts, rendered largely in the traditions of the *luxuriant* or the so-called enamel-like style: Tetraevangelia from the Athonite monasteries of Dionysiou (no. 4) and Iveron (no. 55), Berlin State Museum (gr. 66), Czartoryski Collection in Krakow (no. 1870), Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (W 528), Russian State Library in Moscow (gr. 9), the copy from Manchester, etc.⁴ The solution found in the Belgrade fragment, with a cross as the pivotal

⁴ The illumination of this group of manuscripts was analyzed in detail by H. Bu-

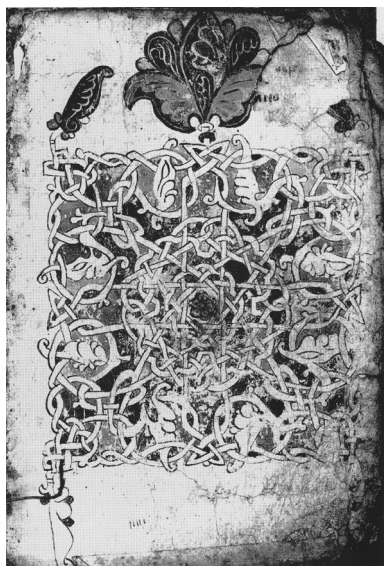


Fig. 3 The Belgrade Alexandrida, former National Library in Belgrade, No. 226/757, fol. 73, late 14th century (destroyed 1941)

Сл. 3 Београдска Александрида, Београд, бивша Народна библиотека, бр. 226/757, л. 73, крај XIV века (уништена 1941)

Fig. 4 Tetraevangelion, Belgrade, Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, No. 276, fol. 14, mid-15th century

Сл. 4 Четворојеванђеље, Београд, Архив Српске академије наука и уметности, бр. 276, л. 14, средина XV века



motif and an unambiguous symbolic meaning associated with the Flowering Cross, does not have direct parallels in Byzantine manuscripts, although fairly similar headpieces, with an interlaced pattern in a basically cross-shaped form, can be seen in a number of codices (Dionysiou 4, fol. 15, Berlin, gr. 66, fol. 103, Krakow no. 1870, fol. 6 and 74, Iveron 55, fol. 70, etc.).⁵

In Serbian manuscript tradition, this type of headpiece can be traced back to the second half of the 14th century. The earliest surviving examples can be found in the *Munich Serbian Psalter* (Bavarian State Library, Cod. slav. 4),⁶ *Chronicles of George Hamartolos* (the codex copied for Vuk Branković in 1387 in the monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren, presently kept in the library of the Athonite monastery of Saint Panteleimon),⁷ the *Belgrade Alexandride* (*Romance of Alexander*; the illustrations are known only from photographs, as the codex held by the Belgrade National Library was destroyed in

chtal, *Studies in Byzantine Illumination of the Thirteenth Century*, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 25 (1983), 27–102.

⁵ H. Buchtal, *op. cit.*, figs. 19, 34, 51, 53, 73.

⁶ *Der Serbische Psalter*, Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Textband unter Mitarbeit von S. Dufrenne, S. Radojčić, R. Stichel, I. Ševčenko, Herausgegeben von H. Belting, Wiesbaden 1978–1983, I, 336–337 and II, fol. 8.

⁷ A.-E. N. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic Manuscripts of Saint Panteleimon Monastery (Rossikon) on Mount Athos*, Thessaloniki – Los Angeles 1981, 47, pl. for Ms. 17 (fol. 1). The ornamental scheme of the headpiece was discussed in detail in A. Цурова, *Към въпроса за заставките – матрици в славянските ръкописи*, in: *Афон и славянският мир*, Сборник 1, Свята Гора Афон 2014, 277–291.



Fig. 5 Miscellany of Vladislav the Grammarian, Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, III a 47, fol. 424, 1469

Сл. 5 Зборник Владислава Граматика, Загреб, Архив Хрватске академије знаности и умјетности, III а 47, л. 424, 1469.

Fig. 6 Kumanica Tetraevangelion, Belgrade, Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, No. 69, fol. 13, early 16th century

Сл. 6 Куманичко четворојеванђеље, Београд, Архив Српске академије наука и уметности, бр. 69, л. 13, почетак XVI века



bombing in 1941),⁸ and, as the only surviving piece of decoration, in a somewhat later Tetraevangelion (mid-15th century), held by the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) under accession number 276.⁹ Somewhat later, in the second half of the 15th century, this type would yield particularly imaginative solutions, marked by the precision of drawing, the unparalleled delicacy of colours and confidence in rendering the composition, in the representative headpieces painted in the codices written out by Vladislav the Grammarian¹⁰ and his successors. On the pages of voluminous manuscripts copied by this famous calligrapher, and especially in the 1469 Miscellany (Zbornik), presently held by the Archive of the Croatian

⁸ М. Живковић, *Орнаменти Београдске Александриде*, Саопштења РЗСК XLVII (2015) 27–28, 37–38, figs. 9–10.

⁹ Ј. Максимовић, *Српске средњовековне минијатуре*, Београд 1983, 70, fig. 28.

¹⁰ Vladislav the Grammarian has been the subject of numerous publications. His work and character are the most extensively covered in the monograph: Г. Данчев, *Владислав Граматик, книжовник и списател*, София 1969. Cf. Ј. Максимовић, *op. cit.*, 133–134; М. Вълкова, *Ръкописните сборници на Владислав Граматик в Рилската библиотека. Техноложично проучване на украса*, in: *Културното наследство на Рилския манастир – състояние и перспективи на проучването, опазването и реставрирането му*, София 2009, 165–178.

Academy of Sciences and Arts (CASA) in Zagreb, one can find all major ornamental concepts of this type of headpiece, which, *summa summarum*, conform to five basic schemes.¹¹

The painters of ornaments in Serbian 16th- and 17th-century books usually adopted this type of headpieces through a group of manuscripts created in the circle of Vladislav the Grammarian. In addition to numerous other examples, the sumptuous headpieces in four manuscripts – the Tetraevangelia from the monasteries of the Holy Trinity of Pljevlja, Pakra and Dečani, as well as the Commemorative Book (*Pomenik*) of the Dečani Monastery – copied and ornamented by Dimitrije Daskal, one of the best Serbian calligraphers and illuminators of the second half of the 16th century, are a particularly illustrative confirmation that the mentioned solutions were used as models.¹² Over time, the same type of decorative designs, in more or less elaborate variants, some of which were created under a certain influence of Islamic art,¹³ were widely accepted throughout the Balkans and in the Athonite scriptoria, where they survived until the 18th century.¹⁴

The sumptuous square headpieces similar to the one painted in the fragment from the collection of Lj. Kovačević, where a cross acts as the backbone of the composition, combined with floral interlacing forming a complex system of

¹¹ For more information see: В. Павловић, *Порекло заставица у рукописима Владислава Грамматика*, Археографски прилози 21 (1999) 315–332.

¹² On the work of Dimitrije Daskal: З. Ракић, *Димитрије Даскал – српски писар и илуминатор друге половине XVI века*, Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор LXXIX (2013) 163–178.

¹³ The influence of Islamic art on the ornaments of Serbian manuscripts was the most extensively discussed in: З. Јанц, *Исламски елементи у српској књижи*, Зборник Музеја примењене уметности 5 (1961) 27–43, and Z. Rakić, *Islamic Influence on Illumination of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Serbian Manuscripts*, El Prezente. Studies in Sephardic Culture, vol. 7, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva 2013, 217–224. Cf. Л. Станкова, *Ислямски мотиви в украсата на ръкописната книга през XV–XVII век*, Изкуство и контекст, София 2008, 26–36; A. Džurova, L. Stankova, *Motifs irano-persans et islamiques dans l'art chrétien des Balkans à l'époque postbyzantine*, in: *Integrazione, assimilazione, esclusione e relazione ethnica* (a cura di A. Pavan e G. Giraudo) vol. IV, Venezia 2012, 6–21.

¹⁴ The origins and the geographic distribution of this type of headpiece in medieval and post-Byzantine manuscripts have been repeatedly discussed by A. Dzhurova (*Славянският тип орнамент в гръцките ръкописи от XVI–XVII век*, in: *Българският шестнадесети век*, София 1996, 699–714; *La Synthèse slavo-byzantine dans les manuscrits grecs dits de "grand luxe", créés en Valachie et en Moldavie aux XVI^e–XVII^e siècles*, in: *The Greek Script in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research. International symposium, Athens 2000, 499–521; *Към въпроса за заставките – матрици в славянските ръкописи*, in: *Афон и славянский мир*, Сборник 1, Свята Гора Афон 2014, 277–291) and Z. Rakić [*Орнаментика четворојеванђеља бр. 6 у манастиру Хиландару и бр. 263 у Библиотеци Српске патријаршије*, Зборник Народног музеја XXI-2 (2014) 85–98; *Орнаментика Четворојеванђеља бр. 25 и Триода бр. 24 у библиотеци атонског манастира Светог Пантелејмона*, Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор LXXX (2014) 161–174; *Заставице Четворојеванђеља бр. 33 и 69 у библиотеци манастира Хиландара*, in: *Peribolos. Зборник радова посвећен академику Мирјани Живојиновић*, Београд 2015, 485–494]. The listed studies cite previous bibliography.

rosettes, volutes and heart-shaped segments, was, judging by the surviving examples, particularly popular among the copyists and commissioners of Serbian manuscripts. The earliest known examples are found in the already mentioned manuscripts: *Chronicles of George Hamartolos*, *Belgrade Alexandride* and *Tetraevangelion* no. 276 from the SASA Archive. Furthermore, the same type of headpiece, though with a more complex scheme and revealing a certain influence of Islamic ornamentation, can be found in the 1469 Zagreb Miscellany of Vladislav the Grammarian.¹⁵ It became especially popular in the ornamentation of luxuriously adorned, mainly altar *Tetraevangelia* from the 16th-century: *Kumanica Tetraevangelion* (early 16th c., SASA Archive, no. 69),¹⁶ *Pankratije's Tetraevangelion* (1514, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, no. 354),¹⁷ the *Tetraevangelia* of Studenica (second quarter of the 16th c., treasury of the Studenica Monastery)¹⁸ and Mileševa (second quarter of the 16th c., Library of the Serbian Patriarchate, no. 69),¹⁹ the one from the Austrian National Library (Cod. slav. 1) made in the mid-16th century,²⁰ the *Tetraevangelion of Dijak (scribe) Vlatko* (ca. 1550, Holy Trinity of Pljevlja, no. 38),²¹ the *Tetraevangelia* of Lesnovo (second half of the 16th c., CAZA Archive, III b 8),²² Bešenovo (Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church)²³ and Krušedol (1570s, Library of the Serbian Patriarchate, no. 432),²⁴ the *Tetraevangelion of Starac (Elder) Roman* (1579, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, no. 353),²⁵ Hilandar Codex no. 6 (1590s),²⁶ the *Tetraevangelion* (late 16th c., Library of the Serbian Patriarchate, no. 263),²⁷ two manuscripts copied and ornamented by Dimitrije Daskal in the second half of the 16th century— the *Tetraevangelia* of Ravna Reka

¹⁵ J. Максимовић, *op. cit.*, 133, fig. 77.

¹⁶ S. Radojčić, *Stare srpske minijature*, Beograd 1950, 51, pl. XL-d; M. Харисијадис, *Куманичко четворојеванђеље*, Зборник Музеја примењене уметности 9–10 (1966) 52, fig. 8.

¹⁷ М. Тимотијевић, *Манастир Крушедол II*, Београд 2008, pl. 67.

¹⁸ Ј. Проловић, *Студеничко четворојеванђеље*, in: *Студеница и византијска уметност око 1200 године*, Београд 1988, 525–533, figs. 1, 3.

¹⁹ М. Харисијадис, *Минијатуре и орнаменти четворојеванђеља Р. 69 Библиотеке Патријаршије у Београду*, Зборник Музеја примењене уметности 8 (1962) 52–54, fig. 7.

²⁰ G. Birkfellner, *Glagolitische und Kyrillische Handschriften in Österreich*, Wien 1975, II/13; Ј. Проловић, *op. cit.*, 526, fig. 20.

²¹ С. Петковић, *Манастир Света Тројица код Пљеваља*, Београд 1974, 97, fig. 52.

²² V. Mošin, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije I–II*, Zagreb 1952–55, 137–138, no. 81, fig. 85.

²³ S. Radojčić, *op. cit.*, 50; Ј. Проловић, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.

²⁴ З. Ракић, *Минијатуре сликара Лонгина у четворојеванђељу број 432 Библиотеке Српске патријаршије у Београду*, Саопштења РЗЗСК XLI (2009) 131, 133, fig. 5.

²⁵ М. Тимотијевић, *op. cit.*, pl. 72.

²⁶ З. Ракић, *Орнаментика четворојеванђеља бр. 6 у манастиру Хиландару и бр. 263 у Библиотеци Српске патријаршије*, 93, fig. 3.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 94, fig. 7.



Fig. 7 Dečani Tetraevangelion, Dečani monastery, No. 19, fol. 65, 1550s

Сл. 7 Дечанско четворојеванђеље, Библиотека манастира Дечана, бр. 19, л. 65, шеста деценија XVI века

and Dečani (no. 19),²⁸ the Gospel Lectionary from Iveron,²⁹ *Hopovo Tetraevangelion* from 1662,³⁰ etc. The same type of square headpiece with an interlacing pattern developing around a cross was painted in other liturgical books: the *Lesnovo Psalter* (16th c., Belgrade University Library),³¹ *Praxapostolos of Hieromonk Danilo* (Hilandar no. 103, 1662), *Orahovica Leitourgikon* (1635, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Legacy of R. Grujić, no. 84),³² as well as in the ornamentation of printed books (e.g. *Psalter with Supplements*, printed at Cetinje in 1494, and the 1552 *Belgrade Tetraevangelion*).³³

It is also noteworthy that zoomorphic motifs were sometimes incorporated in this type of headpiece. They were common in the tradition of the Old Church Slavonic books, especially those copied in the late 12th century and throughout the 13th century, with painted ornaments rendered in the spirit of the teratological style (*Hexameron of Hilandar*, *Radomir's Psalter*, *Dragan's Menaion*, *Bologna Psalter*, *Hilandar Tetraevangelia* nos. 8 and 12, etc.).³⁴ The vitality of this archaic type of teratological headpiece throughout the post-Byzantine period is evidenced by headpieces in several codices – the *Festive Menaion of the priest Gavriilo* from Hilandar (No. 250), copied in 1670; the *Psalter of the Beočin monastery* (1654, Museum of the

²⁸ Р. М. Грујић, *Пакрачка епархија. Историјско-статистички преглед*, in: *Споменица о Српском православном владичанству пакрачком*, Нови Сад 1930, 42–43, fig. 17; Д. Богдановић, Љ. Штавланин-Ђорђевић, Б. Јовановић-Стипчевић, Љ. Васиљев, Ј. Цернић, М. Гроздановић-Пајић, *Опис ћирилских рукописних књига манастира Високи Дечани I*, Београд 2011, 63–66; Б. Тодић, М. Чанак-Медић, *Манастир Дечани*, Београд 2005, fig. 96; З. Ракић, *Димитрије Даскал – српски писар и илуминатор друге половине XVI века*, 165–166, 168–169, fig. 7.

²⁹ Ђ. Трифуновић, *Словенски рукописи у манастиру Ивируну на Светој Гори*, Библиотекар XX, 5 (1968) 429, pl. IV.

³⁰ S. Radojčić, *op. cit.*, 49–50, pl. XXXVII.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 51, pl. XL-c.

³² Љ. Стефоска-Васиљев, *Два илуминирана литургијска рукописа из манастира Ораховице*, Библиотекар XX, 5 (1968) 486, fig. 1.

³³ Д. Медаковић, *Графика српских штампаних књига XV–XVII века*, Београд 1958, 91, 164, 191, figs. VII-2, CX-2.

³⁴ Valuable contribution to the study of teratological headpieces showing facing beasts enclosed in interlacing bands was provided by S. Radojčić [*Elemente der westlichen Kunst des frühen Mittelalters in der ältesten serbischen Miniaturen*, Actes du XVIIe Congrès international d'histoire de l'art, La Haye 1955, passim; *idem*, *Насловна страна Хиландарског шестоднева из 1263. године*, Хиландарски зборник 2 (1971) 69–91, figs. 2, 3, 5–7, 11] and A. Dzurova [*Към въпроса за славянската тератология*, Археографски прилози 17 (1995) 19–37, figs. 1, 3, 4].

Serbian Orthodox Church, no. 350), and the Oktoechos acquired at Mount Athos in 1663 (Library of the Serbian Patriarchate, no. 421) – which are almost identical to the mentioned 13th-century examples.³⁵

Once adopted from older manuscripts, the same animal motifs became part of the ornamental schemes of large square headpieces in the books of the post-Byzantine period. One of the earliest representative examples was painted in 1469, in the Miscellany of Vladislav the Grammarian (CASA Archives, III a 47),³⁶ to subsequently appear, in various variants, in Serbian and Bulgarian 16th- and 17th-century codices: the already mentioned Tetraevangelia from Pakra and Dečani (no. 19), the Tetraevangelion from the SASA Archive (no. 350), the Tetraevangelia of Hopovo, Bešenovo,³⁷ Slepče and Lovča, and Gospel no. 64 from the Sofia National Library,³⁸ as well the Tetraevangelia (Cod. slav. 1 and 7) from the Austrian National Library in Vienna.³⁹

Analyzed within the framework of numerous similar examples, the headpiece in the manuscript fragment no. 720 from the National Library in Belgrade stands out for several distinct features. Along with the meticulous rendering of motifs and the complexity and elaborateness of their composition – which certainly implies a previous development, the paths of which are not fully known to us, it is important to highlight that the headpiece, together with the almost contemporary example from the *Chronicles of George Hamartolos*, is one of the early, if not the earliest solution of this type in Serbian manuscript heritage. It is also noteworthy that this is the earliest surviving headpiece of this type included in the painted decoration of a Tetraevangelion, the liturgical book in which it



Fig. 8 Tetraevangelion of Starac (Elder) Roman, Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, No. 353, fol. 88, 1579

Сл. 8 Четворојеванђеље старца Романа, Београд, Музеј Српске православне цркве, бр. 353, л. 88, 1579.

³⁵ З. Ракић, *Минијатуре српских рукописа XVI и XVII века у библиотеци манастира Хиландара*, Хиландарски зборник 10 (1998) 323, fig. 35; М. Харисијадис, *Илуминација рукописа XVII века исписаних или набављених на Светој Гори за манастире у српским земљама*, Хиландарски зборник 4 (1978) 175–176, fig. 15; *Свет српске рукописне књиге XII–XVII век* (catalogue of the exhibition), Београд 2016, 432–434, fig. 136.

³⁶ Ј. Максимовић, *op. cit.*, colour fig. 75.

³⁷ Р. М. Грујић, *op. cit.*, fig. 17; З. Ракић, *Димитрије Даскал – српски писар и илуминатор друге половине XVI века*, 165–169, fig. 7; Љ. Васиљев, *Каталог изложбе копија орнаментике српских средњовековних ћириличних рукописа XIII–XVI века*, Београд 1980, pl. 90; S. Radojčić, *op. cit.*, 49–50, pl. XXXVII, XXXIX-b

³⁸ М. Стојанов, *Украса на славянските ръкописи в България*, София 1973, fig. on p. 92, 121, 129.

³⁹ Ј. Проловић, *op. cit.*, figs. 13, 20–21.

would most frequently appear in the centuries to follow. Finally, the great similarity between some chronologically and spatially distant examples raises an interesting and important issue – that of the possible existence and widespread distribution of patterns (i.e. templates) for copying used by the illuminators of the time.⁴⁰ This has been another reason for dedicating a separate paper to this recently published headpiece.

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КВАДРАТНА ЗАСТАВА У ОДЛОМКУ ЧЕТВОРОЈЕВАНЂЕЉА (НАРОДНА
БИБЛИОТЕКА СРБИЈЕ, Рс 720) И ЊЕНЕ ПАРАЛЕЛЕ У СРПСКИМ РУКОПИСИМА
ОД XIV ДО XVII ВЕКА

Студија је посвећена опису, одређењу порекла и типолошке припадности заставе насликане на полеђини првог од два сачувана листа Четворојеванђеља које је датирано у осамдесете-деведесете године XIV века. Прилог се такође бави утицајем који је таква врста орнаменталног заглавља имала у илуминацији српске рукописне књиге током наредна три столећа, све до деценија око Велике сеобе. Застава је испуњена сложеним, симетрично организованим преплетом у чијој се основи налази крст од којег се зракасто шире вреже градећи двоструку розету, низ увојака с декоративним полупалметама и угаоне чворове. Еклектично решен, такав тип квадратне заставе обједињује орнаменталне елементе баштињене из прастарих оријенталних култура (сасанидске палмете), античке уметности (композиционе схеме познате с мозаика), византијског наслеђа (посебно из тзв. *раскошног* стила, особеног за илуминацију IX–XII века) и исламске уметности и уметничких заната (ћилимарства, израде текстила, калиграфских остварења и радова у металу). У српској рукописној традицији он је познат од друге половине XIV столећа – најстарији сачувани примери изведени су у *Минхенском српском псалтиру*, *Хроници Георгија Амартола* и *Београдској Александриди* – а нарочито популарност стекао је у сликаном украсу богато опремљених напрестолних четворојеванђеља исписаних у XVI и XVII столећу. Раскошно квадратно заглавље у фрагменту Рс 720, с окосницом у виду крста комбинованог с флоралним преплетом, уз оно сасвим слично, насликано у готово исто време у *Хроници Георгија Амартола*, представља једно од раних, ако не и најраније познато такво решење орнаменталне схеме заставе у српској рукописној баштини. Уз то, оно се може сматрати и најстаријим сачуваним примером тог типа заставе у сликаном украсу четворојеванђеља, богослужбене књиге у којој ће се у потоњим временима, а нарочито током XVI и XVII века (о чему сведоче бројни поменути примери), најчешће и јављати.

⁴⁰ The hypothesis concerning the ornamental templates copied mechanically by scribes in monastic scriptoria was first put forward by S. Radojčić [*Stare srpske minijature*, 58–59; *Уметнички споменици манастира Хиландара*, Зборник радова Византолошког института 3 (1955) 170]. Cf. et З. Ракић, *Српска минијатура XVI и XVII века*, Београд 2012, 38–40, 42.