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## REPRESENTATIONS OF THE VIRGIN MARY ON LEAD SEALS FOUND IN DOBROUDJA

Dobroudja is the historic region situated between the Danube and the Black Sea, in our days shared between Romania and Bulgaria. Part of the Roman Empire starting with the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, this province will be an important block building in the defensive architecture of the Byzantine Empire, after the rise of Constantinople. Situated at a relative short distance from the new capital city of the Empire, the province of *Scythia Minor* was a buffer zone, with the important role of stopping the attacks of the barbarian populations that came from north. After the fall of the Danubian *limes* due to the penetration of the Slavic populations (after *Justin II* or maybe under the reign of *Phokas*), this territory will no longer be under the influence of the Byzantine Empire for around two and a half centuries.

The sedentarisation of the Slavic people and the creation of the first Bulgarian states in this area were a direct consequence of the problems faced by the Byzantine Empire in the East, due to the Islamic expansion. Maintaining this troubled frontier province proved to be too expensive, so it was more or less abandoned. It wasn't until *Ioannes Tzimiskes*, but especially under *Basil II*, that this province is reconquered and integrated as the new *thema* of *Paristrion/Paradounavon*, which will be part of the Empire until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. (Fig. 1)

Of the 640 lead seals found on the territory of Dobroudja and dated from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, around a sixth (108) have representations of the Holy Virgin. More than half of these seals date from the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century, the rest being dated to the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century. The lack of seals between these dates and the reappearance in the 10<sup>th</sup> century is another firm confirmation for the loss of control over these territories by the Byzantine Empire. (Fig. 2) Also as a barometer to the political influence in the region, we can see that there is a peak in the number of the seals in the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, then a drop and a new rise in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is a general trend for the history of Dobroudja, reflected also in the coinage and in the circulation of the pottery. (Fig. 3)

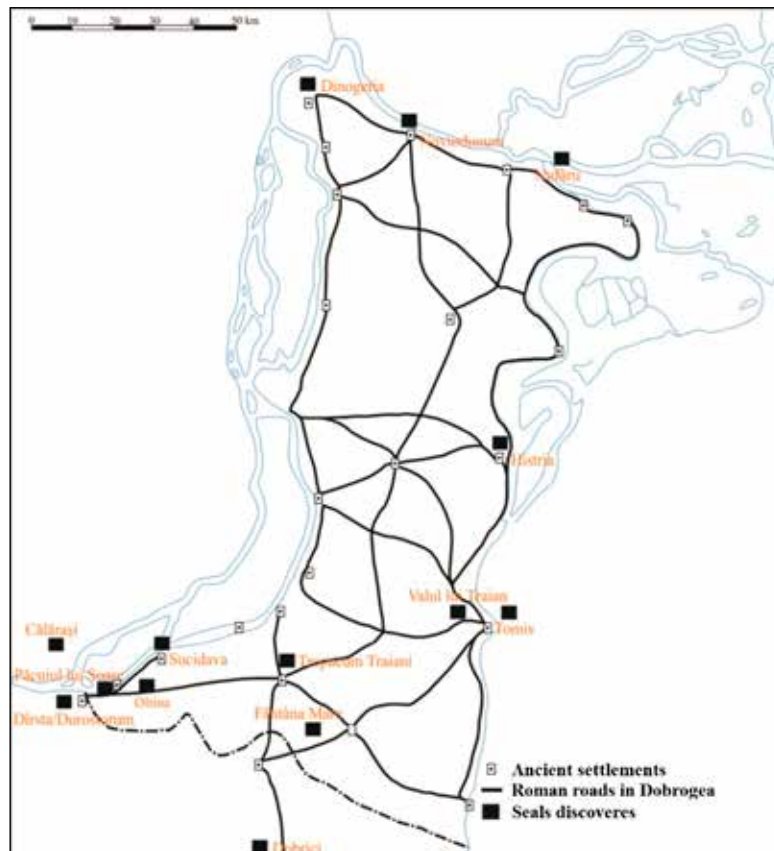


Fig. 1 Map of ancient Dobroudja

Сл. 1 Карта старе Добруџе

### *The image of the Virgin*

In 431, at the First Council of Ephesus, the Virgin is accorded the title of *Theotokos*<sup>1</sup>, marking a new stage in the growing importance of the cult of the Holy Mother of God, also supported by the devotion showed by the Empress Pulcheria. Most probably from that period onwards, the iconography surrounding Mary begins to develop to new mediums, one being the lead seals.

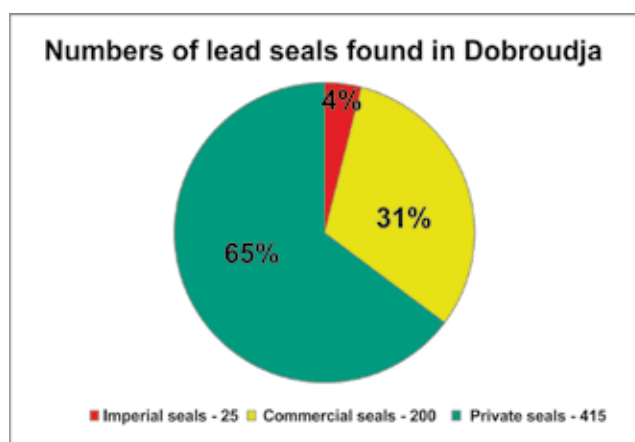
On the imperial seals, the image of the Virgin will replace that of *Nike*, but her image will be used as patron saint by all kinds of dignitaries, imperial or provincial, merchants or churchmen.

Trying to classify the representations of the Holy Virgin we first determined a classification based on the image and, where it was possible, we tried to relate it to the consecrated orthodox iconography. (Fig. 4)

<sup>1</sup> see Schaff, Philip (ed.), *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, vol. XIV. The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, New York 1916, 191-242; Davis, Leo D., *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787). Their History and Theology*, Minesota 1990, 134-170.

Fig. 2 Lead seals found in Dobroudja

Сл. 2 Оловни печати пронађени у Доброуџи



Thus, we can see that over the centuries, the most beloved depiction is the bust of the Virgin holding Christ, enclosed or not in a medallion. The Holy Mother of God holding in front of her or in her arms the Hope of humanity is, until today, one of the most venerated icons of Christianity.

Apart from this, there are several representations of the Virgin enthroned (the *Nikopoia*), the *Oranta* and even one with the *Annunciation* scene.

But we must differentiate here the early centuries (5<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup>) to the later ones. Unfortunately (or luckily, depending on the point of view), the iconoclastic periods fall exactly in the historic gap or the dark centuries of Dobroudja, making it easier for us to compare the iconography used on seals.

#### *5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries*

For the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of seals have on the reverse a block or cross monogram, which hides the name of the owner. Metric legends for this period are encountered on four imperial seals and three belonging to dignitaries, but we also have two with blank reverse. Invocations are rare – only three seals with the Θεοτόκε βοήθει and one with the Μήτηρ Θεοῦ.

The general rule for the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century is the Virgin facing the viewer, holding solemnly the infant Jesus in her arms or in front of her. The exceptions for that rule we will discuss below.

There are three main types of representation: bust, standing or enthroned.

#### *Representations of the bust of the Virgin*

The predominant representation is the bust of the Virgin, with the baby Jesus enclosed in a medallion on her chest<sup>2</sup>. She always has her head covered with a *maphorion*, sometimes even the forehead. In almost all the cases, the image has on the right and left small crosses. (Fig. 5)

<sup>2</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste România*, Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică (SCN), VIII (1984), 95-104, no. 33,

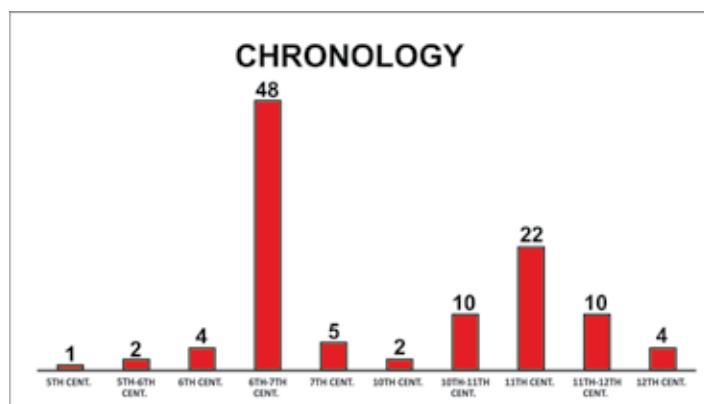


Fig. 3  
Chronology of  
lead seals with  
the representa-  
tion of the Virgin

Сл. 3  
Хронологија  
оловних печата  
с представом  
Богородице

The next in number of representations is the bust of the Virgin holding baby Jesus in her arms, in front of her<sup>3</sup>. They both face the viewer. The Virgin has her head covered with a loose *maphorion*, and is dressed with an ample *chiton*, which forms pleats around the baby. The image is generally flanked by one or two crosses. (Fig. 6)

Another type of bust is the *Hodigetria*, represented on two seals. On one of them, the Virgin, holding the baby on her left and slightly bended towards him, is flanked by palm leaves<sup>4</sup>. On the other, the baby is on her right (the *Hodigetria Dexiokratousa*), but the image is not so clear<sup>5</sup>. However, these might be one of the earliest representations of the *Hodigetria* as we know it. (Fig. 7)

45; I. Barnea, *Unedierte byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Tomis- Constanța*, Pontica, 25 (1992), 281–296, no. 13, 19; I. Barnea, *Sceaux byzantines inédits de Dobroudja*, Studies in Byzantine Sigillography (SBS), 4 (1995), 97–100, no. 1, 5, 7; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din Dobrogea*, Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie (SCIVA), 47 (1996), 215–220, no. 1, 5; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului Național de Antichități din București*, SCN, XI (1997), 183–190, no. 3, 5, 7; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (I)*, ИЗВЕСТИЯ НА НАРОДНИЯ МУЗЕЙ-ВАРНА (ИНМВ) 19 (34) 1983, 97–110, no. 2; W. Knechtel, *Plumburi bizantine*, Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române (BSNR), XII, 24 (1915), 80–97, no. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; H. Metaxa, *Plumburi de marcă de la Tomi*, Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice (BCMI), VIII (1915), 31–35, no. 4; E. Paraschiv-Grigore, D. Ene, *Un sigiliu romano-bizantin descoperit la Nufăru, jud. Tulcea*, SCIVA, 67, 3–4 (2016), 331–337; Paraschiv-Grigore, Eugen, *Un sigiliu de plumb al legiunii a XI-a Claudia*, Cercetări Arheologice (CA), XXIV (2017), 187–190.

<sup>3</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine de la Noviodunum (II)*, SCN, VI (1975), 157–162, no. 4; I. Barnea, *Sceau de Constantin IV, empereur de Byzance trouvé à Durostorum*, Revue Roumaine d'Histoire (RRH), 20, 4 (1981), 625–628, no. 1; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste România*, SCN, VIII (1984), 95–104, no. 22, 23, 27, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41; I. Barnea, *Unedierte byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Tomis-Constanța*, Pontica, 25 (1992), 281–296, no. 14, 16, 18, 22, 24bis; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (I)*, ИНМВ 19 (34) 1983, 97–110, no. 1.

<sup>4</sup> I. Barnea, *Noi sigilii bizantine de la Dunărea de Jos*, SCIVA, 17, 2 (1966), 277–297, no. 4.

<sup>5</sup> V. Culică 1975, *Plumburi comerciale din cetatea romano-bizantină de la Izvoarele (Dobrogea)*, Pontica, 8 (1975), 215–262, no. 128.

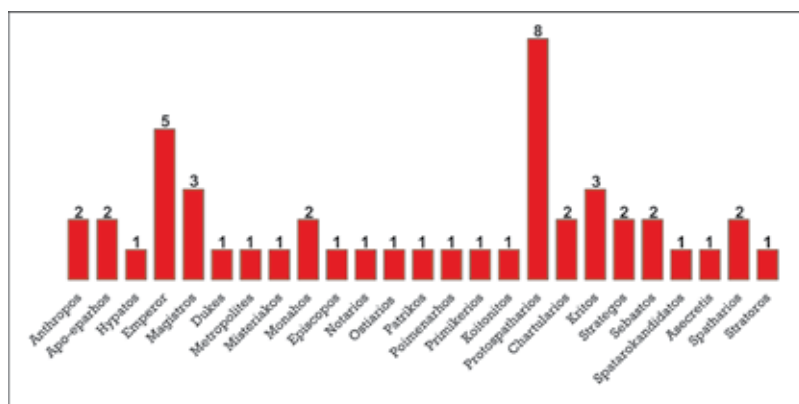


Fig. 4 Types of dignitaries using the image of the Virgin on their seal

Сл. 4 Типови достојанственика који користе лик Богородице на свом печату

Another rare representation is the bust in *Platytera* form. The Virgin *Oranta* faces the viewer, with the image of Christ in a large circle in front of her, representing her womb. The seal is dated at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and belongs to *Kyriakos*, an *apo hypaton* whose seals appear in Crimea and probably in Constantinople<sup>6</sup>. (Fig. 8)

There are a few representations of the Virgin without the child, but here we have some doubts, due to the conservation state of the seals, as well as the quality of the photos<sup>7</sup>. (Fig. 9)

#### Representations of the Virgin enthroned

The enthroned Virgin (the *Nikopoia*) appears on four seals, of which two belong to the emperor *Maurikios*. On three of the seals<sup>8</sup>, those imperial included, the Virgin, veiled and dressed with an ample cloak, is sitting on a throne which is hidden by her garment, holding the baby in her lap, both facing the viewer. The scene is flanked by large crosses on the imperial seals and for the third one with crosses and palm leaves.

On the fourth seal, the baby Jesus is held on the left, the Virgin slightly bended towards him and the image is framed with palm or olive branches<sup>9</sup>. (Fig. 10)

<sup>6</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din nordul Dobrogei*, Simpozionul de Numismatică, dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima unire a românilor sub Mihai Voievod Viteazul, Chişinău 20–30 mai 2000, Bucureşti (2001), 103-108, no. 5.

<sup>7</sup> I. Barnea, *Unedierte byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Tomis- Constanţa*, Pontica, 25 (1992), 281–296, no. 23; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecţia Muzeului national de Antichităţi din Bucureşti*, SCN, XI (1997), 183-190, no. 2, 3.

<sup>8</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecţia Muzeului de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste România*, SCN, VIII (1984), 95-104, no. 39; C. Chiriac, *Sigilii dobrogene inedite. I*, Arheologia Moldovei, XXXV (2012), 233-242, no. 1; W. Knechtel, *Plumburi bizantine*, BSNR, XII, 24 (1915), 80-97, no. 3.

<sup>9</sup> H. Nubar, *Un sigiliu bizantin descoperit la Histria*, SCIVA, 15, 1 (1964), 81-83.

### *Representations of the Virgin standing*

The earliest representation of the Virgin is the *Oranta*, for which we have two seals. On one of them she is flanked probably by two angels, as she raises her hands to the sky praying<sup>10</sup>. The second one (which is a little uncertain) shows a veiled figure, with the feet slightly apart and the hands raised to the heavens in a classical praying pose<sup>11</sup>. (Fig. 11)

Another standing representation is the Virgin holding the child in front of her, both facing the viewer. This image appears on three seals, one of which has the name of the emperors *Heraclius* and *Heraclius Constantine*<sup>12</sup>. The Virgin wears an ample long-sleeved dress and a *maphorion*, which forms pleats around the baby. On the imperial one, the dress is carefully pleated in the lower half. All the images are flanked by large crosses.

A special representation is the Virgin standing in half profile, turned towards the baby Jesus that she holds with both arms on her left. She wears long *chiton* and *maphorion* and the image is sometimes flanked by one or two crosses. It is an interesting representation – the Virgin is clearly looking at the child in her arms<sup>13</sup>. This may also be a prototype for the *Hodigetria*, or even for *Eleousa*. (Fig. 12)

Finally, a rarer representation is the scene of Annunciation. It is the classical image in which the Virgin is standing, raising her right hand towards the Archangel Gabriel, which stretches his right arm towards her, delivering God's Word. The scene is circled by palm leaves<sup>14</sup>. (Fig. 13)

### *10th-12th centuries*

After the iconoclastic periods, the representations of the Holy Virgin become more and more “emotional”<sup>15</sup>, meaning that the humanly relation between the mother and the child are more clearly expressed. For our seals, this means for example the introduction of the *Eleousa* type.

<sup>10</sup> I. Barnea, *Unedierte byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Tomis- Constanța*, Pontica, 25 (1992), 281–296, no. 8.

<sup>11</sup> W. Knechtel, *Plumburi bizantine*, BSNR, XII, 24 (1915), 80-97, no. 22.

<sup>12</sup> I. Barnea, *Plombs byzantins de la collection Michel C. Soutzo*, Revue des Études Sud-Est Europeenes (RÉSEE) 7, 1 (1969), 21–33, no. 14 (*Heraclius*); I. Barnea, *Sceaux byzantines inédits de Dobroudja*, SBS, 4 (1995), 97–100, no. 5a, 5b.

<sup>13</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine de la Noviodunum (II)*, SCN, VI (1975), 157-162, no. 3; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste România*, SCN, VIII (1984), 95-104, no. 36, 42, 48; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din Dobrogea*, SCIVA, 47 (1996), 215–220, no. 6; W. Knechtel, *Plumburi bizantine*, BSNR, XII, 24 (1915), 80-97, no. 21.

<sup>14</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste România*, SCN, VIII (1984), 95-104, no. 24.

<sup>15</sup> I. Kalavrezou, *Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became „Meter Theou“*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* vol.44 (1990), 165-172; H. Maguire, *Body, Clothing, Metaphor: The Virgin in Early Byzantine Art*, *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium* (eds. L. Brubaker and M.B. Cunningham), New York, 2016, 39-52.

Also, the growing cult of the Virgin is reflected by a higher number of seals in which she appears alone. The general rule for these centuries is the predominance of the bust representations and that on almost all the seals she is now framed by the words *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ*, which will remain the norm to this day. The quality of the execution is also much better in this later period.

We can differentiate several types of representation.

#### *Representations of the bust of the Virgin with the infant Jesus*

The popular bust with Christ in medallion continues to this late period. The Virgin, veiled and wearing a *chlamys*, is facing the viewer. The image is framed by the letters that read *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ*<sup>16</sup>. (Fig. 14)

The Bust of the Virgin holding Christ in front of her, both facing the viewer becomes rarer, we only have three images<sup>17</sup>. (Fig. 15)

In exchange, new images appear, like the now well established *Hodigetria*. The infant Jesus is held by the left arm of the Virgin, and she points with her right hand towards him. The image is framed with the *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ* initials<sup>18</sup>. This is, until today, one of the most beloved icons of the Orthodoxy. (Fig. 16)

Another new image is the *Eleousa*. The mother and child are facing one another, or only the infant Jesus is looking to His mother, touching His face against hers<sup>19</sup>. This image is developed in art from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>20</sup> and remains a popular icon to this day. (Fig. 17)

The *Platytera* also becomes more popular on the seals. The Virgin *Oranta* praying with her hands raised, with the image of Christ in a large circle in

<sup>16</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie*, CN, 4 (1982), 169–176, no. 3; I. Barnea, *Unedierte byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Tomis-Constanța*, Pontica, 25 (1992), 281–296, no. 6; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului Național de Antichități din București*, SCN, XI (1997), 183–190, no. 10; I. Jordanov; *Heuzdadenu Vizantijski Olovni Pechati Om Silistra (IV)*, ИНМБ 28 (43) 1992, 229–245, no. 14, 15; E. Paraschiv-Grigore, *Un sigiliu romano-bizantin descoperit la Fântâna Mare, jud. Constanța*, SCIVA, 68, 1–4 (2017), 139–148.

<sup>17</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine de la Durostorum–Dorostolon*, Pontica, 15 (1982), no. 9; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie*, Cercetări Numismatice (CN), 4 (1982), 169–176, no. 9; I. Jordanov; *Heuzdadenu Vizantijski Olovni Pechati Om Silistra (IV)*, ИНМБ 28 (43) 1992, 229–245, no. 19.

<sup>18</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine de la Durostorum–Dorostolon*, Pontica, 15 (1982), no. 8; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine inedite din Dobrogea*, Pontica, 16 (1983), 263–272, no. 5; C. Chiriac, *Două sigilii bizantine inedite de la Noviodunum (Isaccea, jud. Tulcea)*, Arheologia Moldovei, XXV (2004), 271–273, no. 1; P. Diaconu, *Points de vue sur l'organisation ecclésiastique au Bas–Danube (x<sup>e</sup>–xi<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, DACIAN. S., XXXVIII–XXXIX (1995), 449–452.

<sup>19</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine inedite din Dobrogea*, Pontica, 16 (1983), 263–272, no. 5; I. Barnea, *Sceaux byzantins du nord de la Dobrouja*, RESEE 23, 1 (1985), 29–35, no. 4; I. Jordanov; *Heuzdadenu Vizantijski Olovni Pechati Om Silistra (IV)*, ИНМБ 28 (43) 1992, 229–245, no. 17.

<sup>20</sup> I. Kalavrezou, *Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became „Meter Theou“*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* vol.44 (1990), 165–172.

front of her – an allegorical representation of her womb. Her head is covered, sometimes she wears a *chlamys*, and the image is framed by the letters Μήτηρ Θεοῦ<sup>21</sup>. (Fig. 18)

#### *Representations of the bust of the Virgin without the infant Jesus*

As we stated before, in contrast with the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Virgin appears more often alone, without the baby Jesus.

Whether as a simple bust<sup>22</sup> or as *Oranta*<sup>23</sup>, she has a veil that sometimes covers her forehead and is most often wearing a *chlamys*. The image is framed by the letters forming Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, but for the earlier ones we also find the Θεοτόκε βοήθει invocation. (Fig. 19)

#### *Representations of the Virgin enthroned*

Compared to earlier representations, now the Virgin sits on a large throne with a high backrest, holding the baby in her lap. We have only three seals with this image<sup>24</sup>, one of which is an imperial one, belonging to *Konstantinos X Doukas*, and on which the Virgin wears royal clothing. (Fig. 20)

<sup>21</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigiliul unui ierarh al Rosiei în așezarea de la Garvăn*, Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (SCIV), 7, 1–2 (1956), 189–197, no. 1; I. Barnea, *Noi sigilii bizantine de la Dunărea de Jos*, SCIVA, 17, 2 (1966), 277–297, no. 18; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine inedite din Dobrogea (II)*, Pontica, 18 (1985), 235–248, no. 7; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine inedite din Dobrogea (III)*, Pontica, 23 (1990), 315–334, no. 18; I. Barnea, *Sceaux byzantines inédits de Dobroudja*, SBS, 4 (1995), 97–100, no. 12; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (II)*, ИНМВ 21 (36) 1985, 98–107, no. 19; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (IV)*, ИНМВ 28 (43) 1992, 229–245, no. 16; I. Valeriev, *A new lead seal of Gregorios Kamateros*, Pontica, 47 (2014), 557–561.

<sup>22</sup> I. Barnea, *Noi sigilii bizantine de la Dunărea de Jos*, SCIVA, 17, 2 (1966), 277–297, no. 19; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie*, CN, 4 (1982), 169–176, no. 4; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine inedite din Dobrogea (II)*, Pontica, 18 (1985), 235–248, no. 8; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine inedite din Dobrogea (III)*, Pontica, 23 (1990), 315–334, no. 13; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului Național de Antichități din Biscurești*, SCN, XI (1997), 183–190, no. 11; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (II)*, ИНМВ 21 (36) 1985, 98–107, no. 3; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (III)*, ИНМВ 24 (39) 1988, 88–103, no. 4, 5, 7, 14; P. Papahagi, *Sceaux de plomb byzantins inédits trouvés à Silistrie*, Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen (RHSEE), VIII, 10–12 (1931), 299–311, no. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.

<sup>23</sup> N. Bănescu, *O colecție de sigilii bizantine inedite*, Analele Academiei Române Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice (AARMSI), Seria III, Tomul XX, Mem. 5 (1938), 115–126, no. 8; I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine inedite din Dobrogea (III)*, Pontica, 23 (1990), 315–334, no. 15; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (I)*, ИЗВЕСТИЯ НА НАРОДНИЯ МУЗЕЙ-ВАРНА 19 (34) 1983, 97–110, no. 18; I. Jordanov, *Неиздадени Византийски Оловни Печати От Силистра (III)*, ИНМВ 24 (39) 1988, 88–103, no. 20.

<sup>24</sup> I. Barnea, *Sigilii bizantine din colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie*, CN, 4 (1982), 169–176, no. 5; I. Barnea, *Sceaux byzantines inédits de Dobroudja*, SBS, 4 (1995), 97–110, no. 17; the third one not published.



*Representations of the Virgin standing*

Standing representations are also scarce. We have only two seals, both with the *Oranta* pose, one where the Virgin is alone<sup>25</sup> and the other with the Baby in a large circle in front of her – the *Platytera* type<sup>26</sup>. Both of the images are flanked by the letters forming Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. (Fig. 21)

*Conclusion*

Though the lead seals analyzed in this paper may represent a stage in the archaeological research, the number is still enough to formulate some conclusions. The cult of the Virgin starts to gain an increased importance from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards and the iconography on seals follows closely the general trends in art. The solemn representations from the Late Roman period will gradually transition to more affectionate ones. Also, as in art, the Holy Virgin will begin to dissociate from the image of motherhood, as shown by the representations of her without Christ. Thus, she will consolidate her role as the *Intercessora/Agiosoritissa*, the one towards whom us, the sinners, direct our prayers, so she can speak for us in front of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

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## ПРЕДСТАВЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ НА ПЕЧАТИМА ПРОНАЂЕНИМ У ДОБРУЦИ

Овај рад има за циљ анализу више од сто позноримских и византијских печата из Добруце (од 5. до 12. столећа) на којима је изведена слика Богородице. Почев од 5. века, представе Богородице постају широко распрострањене. Скоро једна шестина печата откривених у Добруци имају представе Богородице, тако да је реч о једном од најраспрострањенијих представа у овом региону. Ова студија анализира и начине представљања Богородице, стилске приступе и хронолошке, упоређујући сличне представе од 5. до 7. као и од 10. до 11. века, нарочито узимајући у обзир развој иконографије Богородице.

<sup>25</sup> I. Jordanov; *Неиздадени Византијски Оловни Печати От Силистра (IV)*, ИИМВ 28 (43) 1992, 229–245, пр. 2.

<sup>26</sup> I. Barnea, *Sceaux byzantines inédits de Dobroudja*, SBS, 4 (1995), 97-110, no. 20.

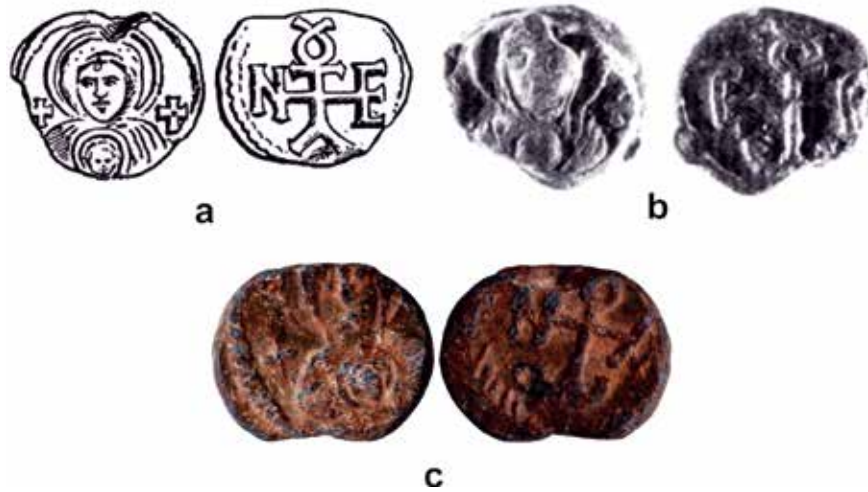


Fig. 5 Representations of the bust of the Virgin with Christ in medallion (a. Knechtel 1915, no. 15; b. Barnea 1995, no. 7; c. Paraschiv-Grigore 2017, 139–148)

Сл. 5 Представа попрсја Богородице са Христом у медаљону



Fig. 6 Representations of the bust of the Virgin holding Christ (a. Barnea 1984, no. 27; b. Barnea 1984, no. 38; c. Barnea 1975, no. 4)

Сл. 6 Представа попрсја Богородице која држи Христа



Fig. 7 Representations of the Virgin Hodigetria (Barnea 1966, no. 4)

Сл. 7 Представа Богородице Одигитрије

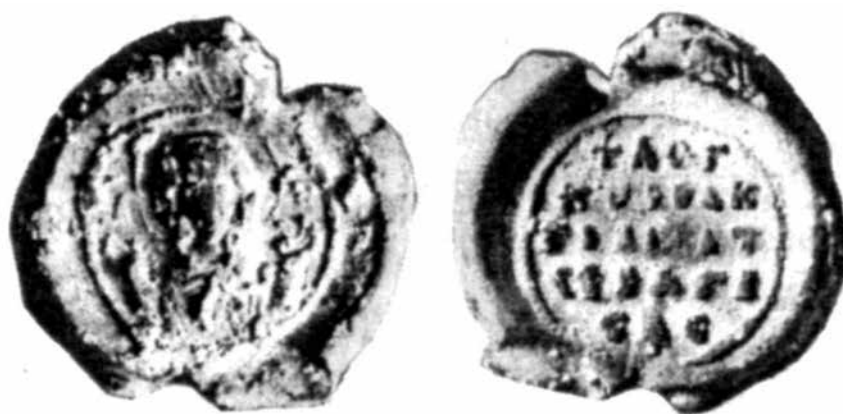


Fig. 8 Representations of the Virgin Platytera (Barnea 2001, no. 5)

Сл. 8 Представа Богородице Платитере



Fig. 9 Representations of the Virgin without infant Jesus (a. Barnea 1997, no. 3; b. Barnea 1992, no. 23)

Сл. 9 Представа Богородице без Христоса



Fig. 10 Representations of the Virgin enthroned (a. Nubar 1964, 81–82; b. Knechtel 1915, no. 3; c. Chiriac 2012, no. 1)

Сл. 10 Представа Богородице на престолу



Fig. 11 Representations of the Virgin *Oranta* (a. Barnea 1992, no. 8; b. Knechtel 1915, no. 22)

Сл. 11 Представе Богородице Оранте



Fig. 12 Representations of the Virgin standing, holding the infant Jesus (a. Barnea 1995, no. 5a; b. Knechtel 1915, no. 21; c. Barnea 1975, no. 3)

Сл. 12 Представе Богородице која стоји која стоји поред Христа детета

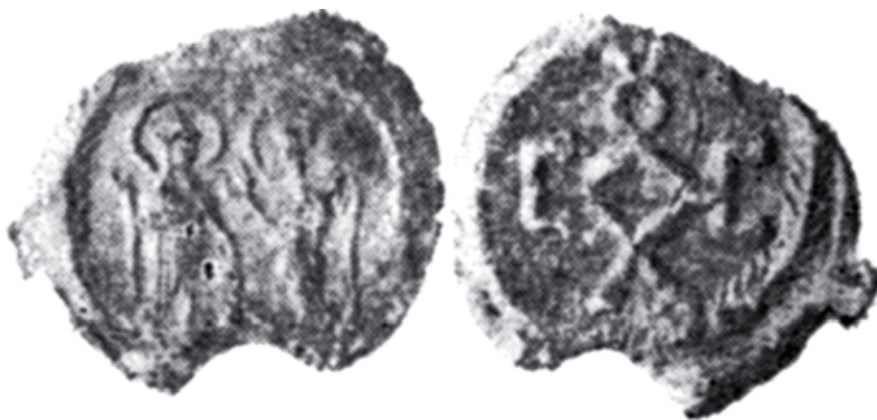


Fig. 13 Lead seal with scene of Annunciation (Barnea 1984, no. 24)

Сл. 13 Оловни печат са представом Благовести



Fig. 14 Representations of the bust of the Virgin with Christ in medallion (a. Barnea 1985, no 4 b. Paraschiv-Grigore 2013, 159–166)

Сл. 14 Представа Богородице са Христом у медаљону



Fig. 15 Representations of the bust of the Virgin holding Christ (a. Barnea 1982, nr. 9; b. Iordanov 1992, nr. 19)

Сл. 15 Представа Богородице са Христом



Fig. 16 Representations of the Virgin Hodigetria (a. Chiriac 2004, no. 1; b. Diaconu 1995, 449–452; c. Barnea 1982, no. 8)

Сл. 16 Представа Богородице Одигитрије



Fig. 17 Representations of the Virgin Eleousa (a. Iordanov 1992, no. 17; b. Barnea 1985, no. 4)

Сл. 17 Представа Богородице Елеусе



Fig. 18 Representations of the Virgin Platytera (a. Iordanov 1985, nr. 19; b. Iordanov 1992, no. 16; c. Barnea 1995, no. 12; d. Barnea 1985, no. 7; e. Barnea 1956, no. 1)

Сл. 18 Представа Богородица Платитера

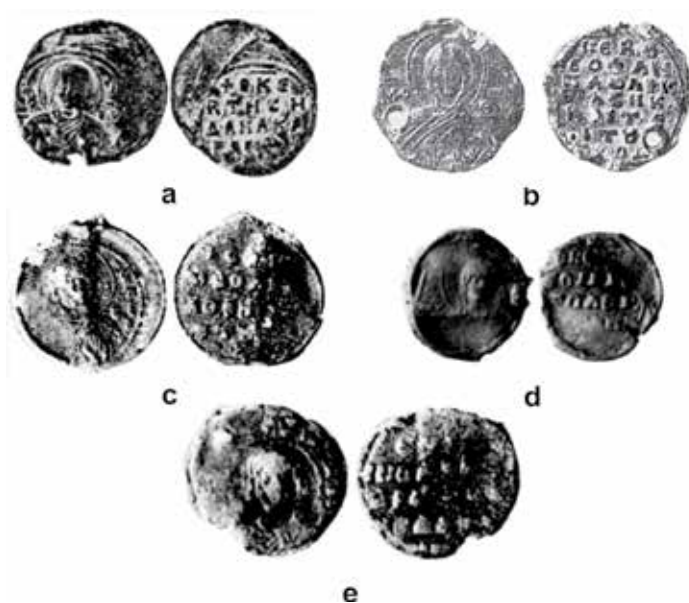


Fig. 19 Representations of the bust of the Virgin without infant Jesus (a. Bănescu 1938, no. 8; b. Barnea 1985, no. 8; c. Iordanov 1988, no. 4; d. Iordanov 1985, no. 3; e. Iordanov 1988, no. 5)

Сл. 19 Допојасна представа Богородице без Христа



Fig. 20 Representations of the Virgin Enthroned (a. Barnea 1995, no. 17; b. Barnea 1982, no. 5)

Сл. 20 Представа Богородице на престоу



Fig. 21 Representations of the Virgin *Oranta*, standing (a. Iordanov 1992, no. 2; b. Barnea 1995, no. 20)

Сл. 21 Представа стојеће Богородице Оранте

