CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN POST-BYZANTINE CHURCH PAINTING
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Ever since A. Didron in 1845 in Paris published a French translation of
the painter's manual of Dionysius of Fourna (written probably between
1730 and 1734) it has been widely held that this manual constituted the
key to the Mediaeval tradition, the very recipe for Byzantine painting[1].

This opinion was strengthened when the first Greek edition appeared in
Athens in 1853. The edition was based on a 19th century manuscript, which
seems rather unreliable: It is provided with a front page according to
which the manuscript was made in 1458. At the same time it contains a
chapter on heliogravure, a gravure technique based on photography, which
was not invented until 1838. The rest of the manuscript, however, seems
to constitute a reliable copy of an 18th century manuscript. And in 1885
it was reprinted in Athens by A. Konstantinides - with the omission of
the dubious chapter on heliogravure[2].

In 1900 and 1909 a better Greek edition appeared in St. Petersburg,
published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus on the basis of another copy of
the manual[3]. Both editions are still in use as textbooks for modern icon
painters, and they are still generally seen as authentic reproductions
of the Mediaeval tradition[4].

But is it right to consider the work of Dionysius a simple codification
of the existing tradition? To answer this question I have compared Dio-
nysius' text with five older, fragmentary manuscripts which Papadopoulos
-Kerameus included in his 1909 edition under the title "Πηγαί τῆς Ἑρμη-
νείας Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐξ Ἀγράφων". The result of this comparison was that
Dionysius in fact systematized and elaborated the tradition of Orthodox
church decoration to a degree where it would be appropriate to talk of
"change" as well as of "continuity"[5].

There is, however, another painter's manual from the 18th century which,
according to my studies, is much closer to the "πηγαί" than Dionysius'
work. As no author is mentioned in any of the manuscripts it may be
called the "Anonymous Manual". It has not yet been published and conse-
quently this manual is little known, despite the fact that it probably
is a more genuine expression of the tradition than Dionysius' work[6].
If so, maybe it is the Anonymous Manual that represents the "canon of

Byzantine painting" which Didron was looking for and thought he had found in Dionysius' Manual?[7] Certainly not without modification.

It must be borne in mind that Byzantine art actually developed considerably from the final defeat of Iconoclasm in 843 to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The Turkish conquest hampered this development, but it is wrong to assume that no changes at all took place afterwards. This becomes clear if one compares the art of the Palaeologian period with Cretan art, and Cretan-influenced art at Mount Athos, from the 16th and 17th centuries[8].

In comparison with the vivid and pictoresque Palaeologian style the Cretan-Athonite style is characterized by its sharper contours, slim silhouettes, linear draperies, and restrained movements[9]. It is at the same time more bright and more dry. A typical representative of this "school" is Frangos Katellanos, a 16th century painter born at Thebes, who emigrated to Crete and later decorated churches at Athos[10].

A closer analysis of the manuals shows that it is this Cretan-Athonite style which is reproduced in the Anonymous Manual - and by and large also in Dionysius' manual. This is indicated in the manuals themselves[11], and they explicitly refer to painters such as Frangos Katellanos and Theophanes, an Athonite painter from the 15th century. The oldest painter referred to in the manuals is Panselinos, who decorated churches on Mount Athos in the 14th century[12]. It has not proven possible to find earlier sources than these.

My conclusion is that even if the Post-Byzantine art has close links back to the art of the Palaeologian period it is primarily the Athonite art of the 16th - 18th centuries and similar church decoration from other parts of Ottoman occupied Greece which is reproduced in the Anonymous Manual and further elaborated in Dionysius' Manual.

Another interesting aspect is that Post-Byzantine church decoration seems to have been fixed to a degree previously unknown in Byzantine art. Thus, one effect of the Ottoman conquest seems to have been the development of a more strict "iconographic orthodoxy".

There are several reasons for this development: First of all, secular influence on church matters almost ceased - no rich benefactors were left. And within the clergy, the monasteries, particularly those at Mount Athos,

became the most influential group.

Secondly, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 meant the failure of the Unionist Policy, the aim of which was to get help from the West through a church union with Rome. This policy had never been accepted by the lower clergy and the monks, and it stopped totally when the anti-Unionist and strictly Orthodox Gennadius Scholarius was elevated to the patriarchal throne in 1454[14].

The third, and in my view, most important reason is that after the disappearance of the Byzantine state, the Orthodox Greek community needed other ways of national identification, and a strict continuation of Orthodox tradition seemed a natural way to meet this need.

Strange enough this Orthodox identity was never threatened by the Turks – they rather favoured it, as a barrier against the West. It was the West that was the preeminent menace to Orthodox identity. And Western influence was strong in those parts of the past Empire which were now under Venetian rule. However, the situation was not the same all over the scattered Venetian possessions.

In Crete the traditional Greek element still had a strong position. Here, there were still Greek noblemen and merchants who were rich enough to act as sponsors for icon painting[15]. A particular kind of "diglossia" developed where Greek painters might operate in a traditional or Italianized style according to who paid for the paintings[16].

In the Ionian Islands, and in Cyprus after the direct Venetian take-over in 1489, the situation was different. Here, religious art became almost totally Westernized[17].

Of course the Catholic Church did not stop its pressure on the Orthodox. And it found new ways of influence.

Because Greek schools were now lacking, the Jesuits exploited the situation to establish schools of their own within the Ottoman Empire. Thus Jesuit schools were founded at Pera and Smyrna, and even at Mount Athos. They made many converts to the Catholic faith and gave rise to a renewal of the Unionist movement within the Orthodox Church[18].

In the 16th century another religious force appeared in the West: Protestantism. At the outset an alliance between Protestants and Orthodox

seemed natural: they were both enemies of Rome. But when the Lutherans
and Melanchton took the initiative to find a common denominator for both
churches as a basis for unification, the Greek Church felt very embarras-
sed and in the end had to maintain that in a number of questions it had
to oppose Protestant views just as strongly as it had to oppose Catholic
doctrines[19]. A reconciliation turned out to be impossible, and in some
places, e.g. in Transylvania, Protestants even tried to make converts
among the Orthodox[20]. Thus, particularly in the 17th century, the Ortho-
dox Church came under double fire from the West.

Also in the artistic field the West was on the offensive. The most signi-
ficant example is the Greek Doxaras in Venetian-occupied Zante (Zakynthos),
who founded a painter's school where he propagated a totally Italianized
icon painting on canvas, and translated the painter's manual by Leonardo
da Vinci into Greek[21]. Italian-influenced painting even spread to Tur-
kish-occupied territory in Epirus[22].

The development of the Orthodox painter's manuals can be seen as a counter-
move against this trend[23]. But in my opinion, the two 18th century manuals
differ in their tactics: The Anonymous Manual merely tries to record tra-
dition as it was, whereas the Dionysian one represents a more "offensive"
approach; it systematizes and regularizes church art, and even includes
motives of Western origin, but executed in the traditional Byzantine style.
Thus Lutheran woodcuts of the Apocalypse have inspired Dionysius' descrip-
tion of the Great Whore carrying the Papal mitre[24]. In this way elements
of Lutheran iconographic polemics against Rome were adopted by the "offi-
cial" Orthodox art.

It is likely that the painter's manuals had a stabilizing effect on Ortho-
dox church art within Ottoman territory. But it would be difficult to
ascertain which of the manuals was the most influential, as the two manu-
als in many respects are very similar to each other[25].

In the 19th century, however, Western influence increased, particularly in
the liberated Hellenic kingdom. The Ottoman subjugation, which had tied
the suppressed Orthodox people together, had been removed. A new state had
appeared as a focus of national identification. In addition to this the
new government was dominated by people from the West who preferred another
style[26].

Officially sponsored church art was now influenced by Classicism, Romanticism, Naturalism and similar styles typical of Western art of the period[27]. But in general the monastic centres did not accept new trends, and tradition was upheld at the ecclesiastical painter's schools.

The appearance of the printed editions in Greek of Dionysius' Manual must, in my view, be seen as a consequence of this conservative, monastic environment which had an interest in keeping and futhering the Orthodox tradition[28]. The Russian translation of Dionysius' Manual from 1868 should probably serve the same function[29] (even in Russia traditional art in the Russo-Byzantine style was pressed by Western-influenced art and in fact only survived in some villages[30]). But what was the reason for the French, the German, and the English translations[31]?

One reason undoubtedly was the increased interest in the Middle Ages, one of the side-effects of Romanticism. Besides, there was a scholarly interest among the art historians. But also outside ecclesiastical and scholarly circles an interest in the Byzantine tradition developed. For the first time since the Middle Ages Western artists started to imitate Byzantine art[32]. It was particularly the brilliant mosaics of the Justinian period which in the first instance attracted Western attention, and their style was copied, e.g. in William II's Germany[33]. But the decorative style of the mosaics further had an influence on "l'art nouveau"-artists like the Austrian Gustav Klimt[34]. In the West the attitude towards the religious image was gradually changing from a wish to depict the holy persons as normal human beings in naturalistic surroundings – so to speak, to get heaven down to earth – to a longing for ascending into the heavenly sphere, for bringing Man to God instead of the opposite. Here the icons represented a fascinating tradition for the transgression of the material world – the icon as a channel to God[35]. And on the artistic level their unworldly appearance corresponded well with the new trends within painting and design, which too were characterized by the departure from Naturalism and the development of more symbolic and abstract ways of expression.

This Eastern influence was not limited to the artistic sphere, but led also to an increasing interest in the Orthodox Church, which even began to win proselytes among Christians of other denominations. Schools of icon painting in the traditional style appeared , and to most of the ap-

prentices icon painting became not just a means of artistic expression, but was primarily made to serve a religious purpose. To-day schools of icon painting are found in several countries - often based on one of the Western translations of Dionysius' Manual. Very active groups of Western icon painters are found, e.g. in Finland and the United States[36].

In this connection tensions have at times arisen among the icon painters concerning the right way of painting. Most modern icon painters strongly disapprove of any Western element. The painting has to be truly Byzantine, and the source for this is primarily Dionysius of Fourna[37]. A modern manual in icon painting thus explicitly tells the artist how to avoid Naturalism[38].

Thus the old battle between change and continuity in Orthodox ecclesiastical art goes on even to-day, a token of the close relationship between art and religion in the Orthodox world[39].

1 A. Didron, Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine, avec une introduction et des notes .. traduit du manuscrit byzantin, Le Guide de la Peinture par Dr Paul Durand, Paris 1845 (reprinted New York, 1963).
   The translation is based on a manuscript made especially for Didron at Mount Athos in 1843, because the monks were unwilling to sell him their own copies of the manual, cf. the preface, pp. XXIII-XXVI. This manuscript is now in the Biblioteque Nationale in Paris (Suppl.Grec.1301).
   About the dating of the manual, see Paul Hetherington's translation, The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fourna, London 1974, p. II.

2 Ἑρμηνεία τῶν ζωγράφων, ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ζωγραφίαν, ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἱερομονάχου καὶ ζωγράφου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ τῶν Ἀγράφων (συγγραφεῖσα ἐν Ἄθωνι τῷ 1458). Νῦν τὸ πρῶτον τύποις Φ. Καραμπίνι καὶ Κ. Βάφα, 1853. Reprinted in Athens in 1885 "ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκδότου Ἀνέστη Κωνσταντινίδου, ἀποβαλόντος ἐκ τοῦ κειμένου μόνον τὸ περὶ ἡλιοτυπίας κεφάλαιον τοῦ Ψευδο-Ἱεροθέου".
   The manuscript in question was sold by the forger Konstantinos Simonides to Paul Durand in 1847. It became part of the collections of the Library of Chartres (No. 1755) and was burnt in 1944 during an air raid, cf. Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, Départements, Tome XI, Chartres 1889.
   About the falsifications of Simonides see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 1909 (cf. note 3b below), pp. ε'-η' and ιδ'-κε' - and Vasile Grecu, Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei, in: Byzantion 9, 1934, pp. 681-682, note.

3 a) Dionysius of Fourna: Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης ἐκ χειρογράφου τοῦ ιη' αἰώνας ἐκδοθεῖσα κατὰ τὸ πρωτότυπον αὐτῆς κείμενον ὑπο Α. Παπαδοπούλου-Κεραμέως. Τεῦχος πρῶτον ἐκτυπωθέν δαπάνῃ τοῦ μακαρίτου Gr. Th. Tchlitschev, St. Petersburg, 1900; κ' + 128 pp.
   b) Dionysius of Fourna: Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης καί αἱ κύριαι αὐτῆς ανέκδοτοι πηγαί, ἐκδιδομένη μετά προλόγου νῦν τό πρῶτον πλήρης κατά

τό πρωτότυπον αὐτῆς κείμενον ὑπο Α. Παπαδοπούλου-Κεραμέως, St. Petersburg, 1909, να' + 351 pp.

The only difference between the 1900 and the 1909 edition is the inclusion into the latter of five "πηγαί", cf. below, note 5.

The Dionysius-manuscript on which Athanasius Papadopoulos-Kerameus has based his transscription and edition is from the 18th century and is kept in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad as Cod. Gr. 708. It is the same manuscript as Paul Hetherington has used for his translation of the manual into English (cf. note 1).

4 Cf. for instance a standardwork on Byzantine art such as D. Talbot Rice, "Byzantine Art", Pelican Books, 4th edition revised and expanded, 1968, p. 321: "But even at a later date good work was at times still produced, thanks to a great extent to the soundness of rules handed down originally by tradition and subsequently in the form of a written work called the Painter's Guide. This was compiled by a monk named Dionysius of Fourna who appears to have lived at the end of the fourteenth century, though it is quite probable that it was founded on an earlier original."

5 The contents of the five "Πηγαί τῆς Ἑρμενείας Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐξ Ἀγράφων" are as follows (according to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 1909, p.353):
   A' παράρτημα: Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης, περιέχουσα τά τε μέτρα καὶ χρώματα τοῦ Πανσελήνου, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ νατουράλε, καὶ τὰ σαρκώματα τοῦ Θεοφάνους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χρησιμεύοντα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τέχνην
   B' παράρτημα: Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τοῦ τοίχου, ἤτοι περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ ἱστορίζῃς εἰς τὸν τοῖχον
   Γ' παράρτημα: Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἱστορίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ περὶ σχημάτων καὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκ πολλῶν παλαιῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν ἱστορισμένων συλλεχθεῖσα
   Δ' παράρτημα: Βιβλίον τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης, περιέχον τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ της θεοτόκου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προφητευθέντα καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων τὰς ἡλικίας καὶ τὰ εἴδη τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τριχῶν, πῶς δεῖ γράφειν αὐτούς, καὶ ἕτερα πλεῖστα ἀναγκαῖα τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης καὶ ὠφέλιμα
   E' παράρτημα: Ἱστορία τοῦ ναοῦ
These five fragmentary manuals were all edited in Russian in 1867 translated after a Greek copy (Len. Cod. Gr. 255) made by the archimandrite Porfyrij Uspenskij in Jerusalem in 1850:
P. Uspenskij:
   a) Ермения или наставление в живописном искусстве, написанное, неизвестно нем, вскоре после 1566 года. In: Труды Киевской Духовной Академии, 1867, III, pp. 139-192
   b) Книга о живописном искусстве Даниела священника 1674 года. In: Труды Киевской Духовной Академии, 1867, IV, pp. 463-508
Of the original manuscripts only Cod. Hag. Taph. 214 including Δ and E and dated 1674 is still to be found in Jerusalem. According to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 1909, p. 353, A, B and Γ were copied from manuscripts from the end of the 16th century.

6 The Rumanian scholar Vasile Grecu described and named the "Anonymous Manual", and he edited parts of some Greek and Rumanian manuscripts belonging to the "Anonymous" family in the following articles:
Vasile Grecu: Versiunile românesti ale Erminiilor de pictura bizantină. In: Codrul Cosminului 1, 1924, pp. 105-174
Vasile Grecu: Contributii la studiul izvoarelor manualului de pictura bizantină. In: Inchinare lui N. Iorga cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 60 ani, Cluj 1931, pp. 189-195

Vasile Grecu: Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei. In: Byzanti-
on 9, 1934, pp. 675-701
I have made an edition of the entire "Anonymous Manual", based on three
Athenian manuscripts from the 18th-19th century (Benaki 35, 40 and 173),
which I hope to publish soon together with a discussion of the genuine-
ness of the tradition. The first dated manuscript of the manual is from
1735 (now at the National Museum in Budapest).

7 On Didron's ideas of Dionysius giving the very canon for Byzantine art
and the original background for Western art see his introduction (especi-
ally pp. XLII-XLIV) to "Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne" (cf. note 1).

8 On Late-Byzantine art in Crete see Klaus Gallas, Kreta, Köln 1985, p. 74.
On Cretan-influenced art on Mount Athos see Sotiris Kadas, Mount Athos,
Athens 1980, p. 162, and for a valuation of the same, see Heinrich Brock-
haus, Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern, Leipzig 1924, p. 165.
    For examples of Late-Byzantine church decorations on Mount Athos see
Gabriel Millet, Monuments de l'Athos 1, Les Peintures (Monuments de l'Art
Byzantin V), Paris 1927.

9 On the "Cretan-Athonite" style see Manolis Chatzidakis, Études sur la
peinture postbyzantine, London 1976, ch. I, p. 12.

10 On Frangos Katellanos see A. Xyngopoulos, Σχεδίασμα ἱστορίας τῆς θρησ-
κευτικῆς ζωγραφικῆς μετά τήν ἄλωσιν, Athens 1957, pp. 113-126 and passim.

11 Examples of references to Cretan art in the manuals:
    In Dionysius' Manual: Πῶς νά δουλεύης Κρητικά, Papadopoulos-Kerameus,
        1909, p. 34
    In the Anonymous Manual: ἑτέρα ἑρμηνεία εἰς τί κριτικῶν εἰς τά αὐτά
        μέτρα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, Benaki 35, p. 147

12 There is a reference to Frangos Katellanos in the dedication inscription
for churches indicated in the Anonymous Manual, e.g. in Benaki 35, p. 71.
    Panselinos is mentioned alone in the preface of Dionysius' Manual (cf.
Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 1909, p. 3), while both Panselinos and Theophanes
are mentioned as models in the Anonymous Manual (e.g. Benaki 35, p. 1).
    Panselinos is said to have decorated the church of Protaton on Mount
Athos in the early 14th century; Theophanes has decorated the katholikon
of Megale Laura (1535) and of Stauronikita (1546), and Frangos Katella-
nos the chapel of St. Nicholas in Laura, on Mount Athos.

13 There is a so-called painter's manual from the 11th century written by
a man named Elpius - now in Bibliotèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds Coislin
298, ff. 68-71v, and edited by Manolis Chatzidakis, "ἐκ τῶν "Ελπιου τοῦ
Ρωμαίου", in: 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, ἔτος Δ', 'Αθῆναι 1939 (Ma-
nuel de paintres ou portraits physiques d'Adam à Nicéphore de Constanti-
nople). But Elpius' manual only deals with the facial appearance of some
holy persons, their measures and ages.
    In Vita St. Pancratii from the 8th century we hear about two apostles
who were sent out as missionaries together with a bible and a *manual* on
how to decorate the churches with scenes from the New and the Old Testa-
ment, but no trace of this manual (if it has ever existed) is left. Cf.
Cyril Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453, New Jersey 1972,
Sources and Documents, p. 137.

14 For Gennadius see Steven Runciman, The Great Church in Captivity, Cambridge 1968, p. 168ff.

15 Manolis Chatzidakis, *op.cit.*, ch. I, p. 12

16 About the "diglossia" in Cretan art see Manolis Chatzdakis, *op. cit.*, ch. IV, p. 197ff.

17 On the Westernization of Ionian art see Manolis Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, ch. I, p. 14f.
    On the Westernization of Cypriotic art see David Talbot Rice, The Icons of Cyprus, London 1937, pp. 43-59.

18 About the Jesuit movement and its achievements in the Balkans see Steven Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 230ff.

19 On the relations between Protestants and the Orthodox Church see Steven Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-258.

20 For the situation in Transsilvania, see Marius Porumb, Pictura Românescǎ din Transsilvania (Die rumänische Malerei in Siebenbürgen), I, Cluj-Napoca 1981, pp. 147-152.

21 For Doxaras see Andreas Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.* (note 10), pp. 344-346; for his manual in Greek see Maria Theocharis, Περί νέας πραγματείας τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς τέχνης, in: Πρακτικά τῆς 'Ακαδημίας 'Αθηνῶν, Athens 1973.

22 Italian-influenced art in Epirus is mentioned in Manolis Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, ch. I, p. 24.

23 It is too limited to see Dionysius' manual as a counteract to Doxaras' treatize only – such as the Italian art historian Sergio Bettini does in his article on the manual, Per un' edizione critica del manual del monte Athos di Dionisio da Furna, in: Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto de Scienze, Lettere ed Arti 1940-41, p. 187. The Westernizing trend was much broader, just like the reaction against it. (Bettini's point is generally that all Post-Byzantine art goes back to the art of the Italian Renaissance and does not follow an unbroken Byzantine tradition.)

24 On this specific motive see P. Hetherington, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 48, note 6. – For the application of the Lutheran woodcuts of the Apocalypse in Post-Byzantine art see Ludwig Heydenreich, Der Apokalypsen-Zyklus im Athosgebiet und seine Beziehungen zur Bibelillustration der Reformation, in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 8 (1939), pp. 1-40 (particularly p. 23).

25 The motives of the Anonymous Manual are also found in the more elaborate manual of Dionysius. Thus, it is only possible with certainty to ascribe a church decoration to Dionysius' Manual in the cases where the decoration contains motives which are not found in the Anonymous one.

26 The first king of the new Hellenic state, Otto (1833-1862), was a German, the son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. The second king, George I (1863-1913), was a Dane, the son of King Christian IX of Denmark.

27 For instance the Metropolis Church in Athens, an eclectic style mixture built 1843-1862 by the Danish Architect Theophilus Hansen with the

assistance of his elder brother Christian.

28 The forger Simonides (cf. note 2) actually visited Mount Athos and noticed the increasing interest in keeping the tradition.

29 Porfyrij Uspenskij: Ермения или наставление в живописном искусстве составленное иеромонахом и живописцем Дионисием Фурноаграфитом 1701-1733 год, Kiev 1868, 250 pp. (also appeared in Труды Киевской Духовной Академии, 1868, in vol. I, II and IV).

30 For the relation between Byzantine and Western-influenced icon painting in Russia during the 17th century, see John Stuart, The Flowering of Moscow 1460-1700, in: Art Treasures in Russia, London 1970, p. 79-80; for the survival of original Russian-Byzantine icon techniques in the villages see Tamara Talbot Rice, Russian Icons, New York 1966, p. 25 ff.

31 French translation: A. Didron, Manuel d'iconographie etc. (cf. note 1), Paris 1845
   German translation: G. Schäfer: Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς. Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos aus dem handschriftlichen neugriechischen Urtext übersetzt mit Anmerkungen von Didron d. Ä. und eigenen von Godeh. Schäfer, Trier 1855 (reprinted 1960 without the annotations)
   English translation: A. Didron, Christian Iconography; or, the History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. Translated from the French by E. J. Millington, and completed with additions and appendices by Margaret Stokes, London 1886 (two volumes)

32 From 1898 to 1903 an Austrian artist, K. Jobst, even decorated a Rumanian church in typical Byzantine style using the Dionysian Manual, cf. Vasile Grecu, Darstellungen alt-heidnischer Denker und Schriftsteller in der Kirchenmalerei des Morgenlandes, in: Bulletin de la Section Historique, tome XI, Bucarest 1924, p. 66.

33 For instance the mosaics of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in Berlin, executed in the 1890s, which are reminiscent of the imperial mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna.

34 See for instance the frieze in the dining room of the Palais Stocklet, Bruxelles, made by Klimt in 1904 after a visit to Ravenna in 1903.

35 Cf. St. Paul's Letter to the Romans, 1.20: "ever since the creation of the world, his invisible nature, namely his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made".

36 E.g. the St. John of Damascus Association of Orthodox Iconographers, Iconologists and Architects, in California.

37 According to the scholar John R. Barns of the St. John of Damascus Association.

38 Robert de Caluwé, Ikonenmalerei (übersetzt von Hans Balfer), Rosenheim 1984

39 A good example of modern Orthodox painting is the illustrated painter's manual Ἔκφρασις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου εἰκονογραφίας ὑπὸ Φωτίου Κοντουγλοῦ, τόμος Α' - Β', Athens 1978.