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Lomonosov Moscow State University**

Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art

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For art historians, historians, students and art lovers.

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THE LEGENDARY RULER IN MEDIEVAL GUISE: FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF BELGRADE ALEXANDRIDE

The exceptional figure of Alexander the Great has been denoting the latter centuries of Ancient history for a long time. The Ruler charisma of his Hellenistic successors was largely formed on the basis of their caring about the memory of this great conqueror, and the propaganda programme of several Roman emperors relied on the idea of *Imitatio Alexandri*. The official art production eloquently testifies about this¹. Within this wide context, but also in connection with many other phenomena, primarily from the domain of popular culture, the occurrence of the so-called Pseudo Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* should be observed. This literary work, written sometime in the 4th century, certainly before 338 A. D., when its Latin translation is dated, represents one of the most distinctive biographies of Alexander the Great².

Since it was intensively modeled under the influences of fantastic and popular literary poetics³, Alexander Romance was very popular during the Middle Ages. When it comes to Byzantium, one should undoubtedly connect the outspread of this romance with the popularity of its main hero⁴. Namely, the comparison of Byzantine emperors with Alexander was insomuch common rhetorical *locus generalis* that this ancient conqueror can be treated as paradigmatic figure of Byzantine imperial ideology⁵. In this regard, the scene of *Alexander's Ascension* is distinguished, since it should apparently be understood as a kind of allegorical image of the Byzantine emperor, as evidenced by its iconography and some written sources⁶. Yet only small number of Byzantine illustrated manuscripts of Alexander Romance survived. Particularly noteworthy is the manuscript from the library of Instituto Ellenico in Venice (cod. gr. 5), where Alexander the Great is regularly represented with the insignia of Byzantine emperor. Creation of the manuscript can be reliably connected with the initiative of the Emperor of Trebizond Alexios Comnenos III (1349–1390)⁷.

The reception of Late Antique romanced biography of Alexander the Great in the context of the Western medieval culture is characterized by extraordinary complexity, especially in textual terms. Quantitative range of the phenomena under consideration is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that Alexander Romance, seen in all its versions, was the most read medieval non-theological work⁸. As in Byzantine art, the most common image of Alexander the Great in the medieval art of the West was the scene of his Ascension⁹. Multitude of manuscripts was illustrated within voluminous corpus of the western manuscripts of "Alexander literature"¹⁰. Aspiration for the integration of the ancient narrative into contemporary military context, that is into the iconography of chivalry, stands out as their basic iconographic and ideological feature. Perhaps the most representative example of the mentioned phenomenon is the Oxford manuscript of the French *Roman*

d' Alexandre created in 1344 (MS Bodley 264)¹¹. Tendency towards modernization of Alexander's figure and biography culminated in later Middle Ages. At that time, namely, chivalric guise of Alexander experienced its full legitimation – ancient ruler was included within the group of the Nine Heroes that personified chivalric ideals. Together with two pagan rulers – Hector and Julius Caesar, three biblical – Joshua, Judas Maccabeus and David, and three Christian heroes – Arthur, Charles the Great and, most frequently, Godfrey of Bouillon, Alexander was often represented in the profane art of the 14th and 15th centuries¹². Wider context of ruler's iconography in which the streamlined warrior figure of Alexander was put is characteristic of Duchy of Burgundy. Luxurious manuscripts and large format tapestries with the scenes from Alexander's life, which were ordered by Philip the Bold (1363–1404) and Philip the Good (1419–1467), are eloquent testimonies of the tendency of Burgundian dukes to identify themselves with the legendary ancient ruler¹³.

* * *

Among the multitude of illustrated manuscripts of medieval literary works devoted to Alexander the Great, there are three manuscripts of Serbian translation and adaptation of Alexander Romance – the so called *Serbian Alexandride*¹⁴. This literary work, created maybe already in the beginning of the 14th century¹⁵, has been treated in historiography, together with the Serbian version of *Romance of Troy*, as the most important Serbian medieval romance. "Specific gravity" of Serbian *Alexandride* within the context of Serbian literature is best shown by the fact that over 250 of its manuscripts survived. Equally important information is that the dates of their creation cover wide time range – from the 14th until the 19th century.

Unfortunately, only two illustrated manuscripts of Serbian *Alexandride* are preserved – Sofia manuscript (National Library "Cyril and Methodios", No. 771 (381)), created in the second quarter of the 15th century¹⁶, and still unpublished manuscript from the National library in Belgrade¹⁷. The third manuscript was also kept in the National library in Belgrade (No. 226 (757)), but it was destroyed during German bombing in 1941, along with many other invaluable materials, so today its miniatures are available only through photographic negatives which are kept in the National Museum in Belgrade¹⁸.

Bearing in mind the complexity of problems regarding the place of the figure of Alexander the Great in medieval art and culture, to which we only hinted in the introductory part, the determination of the place held by Serbian *Alexandride*'s miniatures in this wide context is imposed as a particularly important task. Comparative research is significant primarily as a way of discovering its origins, that is, iconographic sources of the miniatures. Our work is just as a contribution to that task but its scope is quite limited. Our subject is, namely, the destroyed Belgrade manuscript of Serbian *Alexandride*. We would like to focus our attention primarily on some of its iconographic features, since they represent solitary realizations within the integral corpus of illuminated manuscripts of Alexander literature, both East and West.

The iconographic origins of Belgrade miniatures have already been treated in scholarly literature. Vladimir R. Petković, the first researcher of the manuscript, thought that direct "Greek-Oriental" template for the Belgrade *Alexandride* was some manuscript from the West, probably from Italy¹⁹. Certain western influences were noticed by Mara Harisijadis, and she interpreted them as a consequence of copying of the western model, although she allowed the possibility that the model with western elements was actually some Byzantine or Slavic manuscript²⁰. Observations of Jovanka Maksimović followed in

the same vein. In her synthetic study of Serbian medieval miniatures she concluded that the miniatures of Belgrade Alexandride reflect a symbiosis of Byzantine iconography and "Late Gothic mannerism"²¹. Finally, several characteristic formal-iconographic details in the miniatures served as a solid foundation for Dragutin B. Vasiljević's conclusion about the western influences on their creation²². Our intention is just opposite to the opinion of the earlier researchers. We intend to show the unambiguous Byzantine provenance of the iconography of Belgrade Alexandride, on the example of several among its 24 miniatures.

* * *

Miniatures of Belgrade Alexandride are formally and iconographically coherent, although not quite consistently shaped unit. Their most striking formal feature is that, besides the narrative scenes which illustrate fable of the romance, there exists quite a number of standing, mainly frontal figures of the protagonists of the romance. Regarding this feature, Belgrade manuscript is almost solitary within the whole corpus of medieval illustrated manuscripts of Alexander literature. Frontal images from Belgrade Alexandride can to some extent be connected only with two Western-European manuscripts. Four standing figures of the ancient rulers, from Kyros the Great to Octavian, are represented in the end of the extensive miniature cycle from Leipzig manuscript of *Historia de Preliis*, the medieval Latin translation of Greek Alexander Romance, from the end of the 13th century²³. Frontal, though not standing figures, represented out of the miniature cycle, but near the text where they were mentioned, are painted in the Brussels manuscript of the same work, dating from the third quarter of the 12th century²⁴.

Similarly, in the overall medieval iconography of Alexander the Great, both Eastern and Western, analogous or even related examples cannot be found for the iconographic structure of the Belgrade manuscript. This especially refers to the costume of the protagonist of Alexandride, which was a kind of fundamental iconographic means of the illuminator. Therefore, there is a need for a more detailed analysis of these, often peculiar, costumes.

Unlike images of the majority of soldiers, which are represented in extremely stylized Byzantine military equipment²⁵, equestrian image of Alexander, as well as similar soldiers' images, are exceptional regarding their iconography²⁶. From the very beginning scholars' attention was attracted by a peculiar hat, as a kind of curiosity. The majority of authors noticed similarity between it and the hat represented on the portrait of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448), which was created by famous master Pisanello during the residence of the Byzantine delegation at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-1439²⁷, as well as on the portrait of the same emperor in Sinai Psalter (Sinait. gr. 2123, 30v)²⁸. We are inclined to attribute certain smaller differences between these two examples and Alexander's hat in the Belgrade manuscript to the improvisation of the illuminator, instead of typological differentiation, since the hats of Alexander's soldiers almost entirely match the shape of the hat of John VIII. It is evidenced by characteristic vertical creases on the rims of the hats of the soldiers in the scene of Alexander's banquet, which will be discussed later in the text²⁹. Specialists in the history of Byzantine costume mainly recognize the hat of John VIII as *skiadion* (σκιάδιον) which is mentioned in the Pseudo-Kodinos treatise as an element of a costume of the higher court dignitaries and the Byzantine emperor himself³⁰. This hypothesis is not fully demonstrable since there is no precise description in the mentioned written source. However, besides etymology

(σκιά — shadow), it is strengthened by the fact that several examples analogous to the hat of John VIII are all found on the portraits of Byzantine emperors and dignitaries, except for one particular example. Those images, simultaneously, complete the list of iconographic analogies for the hat of Alexander the Great and his soldiers in Belgrade Alexandride. Thus, *skiadion* is represented on the funeral portrait of Manuel Laskaris Hatzikes in the narthex of Panaghia Pantanassa in Mystra, created in 1445³¹. In the pursuit for adequate comparative examples, one should also mention oriental costume represented in some Western-European manuscripts, which were not, until recently, treated in connection with the study of Late Byzantine costume. Person represented in the lower left corner of the miniature in the Parisian manuscript of Thomas of Saluzzo's work, *Chevalier errant*, created between 1403 and 1405 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 12559, fol. 162), also wears a *skiadion*³². As Jan Kubiski argumentatively assumed, on the basis of written sources, it is in fact a kind of a "portrait" of emperor Manuel Palaiologos II (1391–1425), who visited Paris twice, as a guest of the French king Charles VI (1388–1422)³³. On this particular occasion, we would especially like to extract an example that historians of Byzantine costume, as far as we know, have not noticed. Its importance rests especially on the fact that it definitely confirms much earlier occurrence of *skiadion*, as it is, after all, suggested on the basis of already mentioned Pseudo-Kodinos treatise. Namely, *skiadion* is represented in the already mentioned Byzantine manuscript of Alexander Romance from Venice. In the scene *Empress Kandakia sends painters to portray Alexander* (fol. 143r), painters are represented with this type of hat³⁴.

After we have hopefully determined that Alexander the Great and his soldiers in Belgrade manuscript were represented with the characteristic hat belonging to Late Byzantine court costume, we must try to identify the motifs that guided illuminator in his decision to do so. Besides the less likely possibility that it was somehow connected with one episode of Serbian Alexandride³⁵, we consider that there are lots of reasons to think that the illuminator had in mind an Eastern origin of *skiadion*. It was recently pointed out in Maria Parani's article on Late Byzantine Costume and Cultural Identity that Pseudo-Kodinos in his treatise emphasizes that *kabbadion*, *epilourikon* and *granatza*, garments of Assyrian origin well known to him, were adopted by Kyros the Great, after his conquest of Assyria. He also writes that *epilourikon* and *fakeolion* were borrowed from the Medians. The most interesting is what follows: Pseudo-Kodinos, in his aspiration to "byzantinize" these robes, creates a pseudo-historic construction. Since Alexander the Great is the successor of the Empire of Kyros the Great, and, on the other hand, Alexander is the founder of the Roman Empire, there is no reason to regard these elements of costume as non-Roman, or in terminology of nowadays, non-Byzantine³⁶. These by all means interesting details, especially if they represent an expression of widely accepted way of thinking, could be the reason for putting Late Byzantine court hat of well known Eastern origin on the head of Alexander the Great. Simultaneously, our interpretation is, indirectly, an argument for the existence of a Byzantine model for Belgrade Alexandride, since one can surely assume that these speculations on the origins of elements of the Late Byzantine costume were not known within Serbian medieval culture.

Regarding its costume, the second portrait of Alexander in Belgrade Alexandride, is also unique within his medieval iconography³⁷. Very similar is the image of one of his generals, Emperor Antioch³⁸. They both wear *kabbadion*³⁹ and mantle⁴⁰, and their peculiar caps should be identified as *fakeolion* (φακεώλιον) from Pseudo-Kodinos treatise⁴¹. Certainly, the most famous image of *fakeolion* is found on the portrait of Theodor Metochites

in Chora monastery⁴². Many similar Serbian examples have already been noticed in earlier researches⁴³. However, in our opinion, one particular, quite distinctive scene should be mentioned. Namely, there is the greatest degree of formal compatibility, and in some cases of decoration, between the costume of Alexander in Belgrade manuscript and in the images of saintly warriors represented in the so-called *Heavenly Court* in several Serbian and Byzantine Churches, such as Treskavac (1334–1335)⁴⁴, Zaum (1361)⁴⁵, Markov manastir (1376–1381)⁴⁶, and, especially, the image of Saint Alexander from the church of Saint Athanasius του Μουζίκη in Kastoria (1383–1384)⁴⁷. Special importance of these figures, besides the fact that they are often represented with *kabbadion* and mantle, rests on the fact that they represent closest formal comparative examples to the images of Alexander and Antioch, too. This is witnessed by an interesting detail. Namely, the magic ring on Alexander's portrait, represented as a kind of illustration of a specific episode from the romance⁴⁸, has a rather peculiar position – not on his finger, but on his frontally represented palm. Such a position coincides with the way the ceremonial sticks were represented on some scenes of the Heavenly court. In our opinion, Alexander's posture as a whole, as well as frontal positions of all other standing figures of protagonists of Belgrade Alexandride, is best understood if they are viewed in direct dependence upon the figures of the Heavenly Court. Unlike the narrative scenes, standing figures from Belgrade manuscript are, thus, directly borrowed from monumental art and not from some kind of an older manuscript. Also, one can conclude that the images of Alexander and Antioch are shaped to fit an image of Late Byzantine court dignitary. It would be wrong to recognize Serbian noblemen's costume on their images, as it was often done⁴⁹.

The images of Emperor Senchos and unidentified emperor⁵⁰ should also be read in the same iconographic context. Some scholars tried to interpret the shape of their crowns, with Gothic trefoil decoration, as an indication of Western influences on the Belgrade manuscript illustrations⁵¹. However, it was just opposite. In the pursuit of the adequate comparative examples, one can find primarily Eastern Christian analogies. One of the most relevant images is certainly the portrait of Ivan Asen, the son of Bulgarian emperor Ivan Alexander, represented in his famous Gospels from the British Library (Add. MS 39627). A similar crown was also represented on the portrait of the emperor's son-in-law, *despot* Constantine⁵². These crowns, in fact, completely correspond to the description of despot's *stematogirion* in Pseudo-Kodionos text⁵³. Similar wreath, with the addition of *perpendoulia*, is represented on the portrait of Jovan Dragušin from Pološko⁵⁴. Actually, the latter example is even more adequate, regarding its shape and pearl decoration. It seems, therefore, that crowns from Belgrade Alexandride should be recognized as Byzantine *stematogirions*. Their Gothic decoration is probably another example of illuminator's improvisation. In our opinion, it should be observed in certain accordance with Serbian rulers' insignia traditions – with the circumstance that Serbian medieval rulers are sometimes represented with crowns of western type⁵⁵. On this occasion, we can illustrate it with Young King Dušan's portrait in the Church of Saint Demetrios in Patriarchat of Peć⁵⁶, or with portraits of King Stefan Dečanski and Young King Dušan from the Church of Saint Stephen in Duljevo monastery⁵⁷.

The miniature image of musicians on folio 34v of Belgrade Alexandride⁵⁸, together with rather different, adequate image in Sofia manuscript⁵⁹, is a solitary representation of a profane celebration in Serbian medieval art. Despite this fact the examples most similar to it in iconography and formal characteristics are found in religious mural painting. In general, compositional similarities are observed on a scene from the fresco cycle

of Last Psalms in Transfiguration Chapel of Rila Monastery, which is a foundation of King Dušan's *protosebastos* Hrelja dating from 1334-1335⁶⁰. Given all this, it is wrong to insist on a documentary character of the miniature, as some of historians thought⁶¹. Similarly, scholars tried to explain the very occurrence of the miniature of musicians as a visual expression of certain elements of Serbian medieval court culture, which is also a wrong interpretation⁶². Basically, the conclusion about certain degree of potential correlation between musical miniature in Belgrade manuscript and court celebrations can not be definitely excluded. However, the nature of that connection is, as it seems, wrongly interpreted.

On the next miniature, with the scene of a banquet, on folio 35r⁶³ western or chivalric influences were also noticed⁶⁴. However, this interpretation is contested by formal structure of the image and its iconographic features. Regarding its frontal perspective, it corresponds to many Byzantine images of banquets, such as The Last Supper or Marriage at Cana⁶⁵. Consequently, it is similar to the same scene represented in Byzantine Venetian manuscript⁶⁶. Architectural backdrop is even more eloquent proof of Byzantine provenance of the image as a whole, although its elements were wrongly recognized as Western⁶⁷. Though it basically corresponds to general structural principles of Late Byzantine painted architecture⁶⁸, there may be a possibility to understand it as an image of a specific building. Namely, the image of Saint Demetrios basilica in Thessaloniki, on the scene with *Saint Demetrios defending the city from Cumans* in Dečani⁶⁹, is very similar to the building represented in Belgrade manuscript regarding its basic structure – three-aisled basilica with a tower. While the naturalistic guise of the basilica in Dečani has served as an additional proof of the Thessalonikian origin of Dečani painters⁷⁰, in the case of the banquet scene in Belgrade Alexandride we can not surely advocate a similar conclusion. Still, we are inclined to believe in the existence of a Byzantine model for it, which, above all, is definitely proved by the fact that the soldiers represented on these miniatures wear *skiadions*.

* * *

Finally, something has to be said on the problem of dating of the manuscript. Using the most trustworthy method – paleographic and linguistic analysis of the fragments of the remaining text, seen on photographs, Radmila Marinković considered that the manuscript dated “from the second half of the 14th century, if not even from the time of Dušan”⁷¹. Argumentation for more precise dating was proposed by Jovanka Maksimović. She noticed great similarity between the ornament on folio 73 r in Belgrade Alexandride⁷² and the ornament in the manuscript of Chronicle of Georgios amartolos, created in 1387 on the request of the Serbian nobleman Vuk Branković. This manuscript was created in the scriptorium of the Archangels monastery near Prizren, the burial place of Emperor Dušan⁷³. That is why she believed that Belgrade Alexandride was created just in the Archangels monastery and dated from the 9th decade of the 14th century⁷⁴. It is interesting to notice that there exists another connection between the Archangels monastery and Belgrade Alexandride, regarding another ornament of the manuscript. Namely, ornament on folio 44r⁷⁵ corresponds to the ornament on mosaic floor in the exonarthex of Archangels monastery⁷⁶. There is also another indicative detail. The 15th century manuscript of Serbian Alexandride, which is closest to Belgrade manuscript in regards to the text, was found just in the environment of Prizren⁷⁷. If this hypothesis on the dating and the place of creation of manuscript is acceptable, it simultaneously means that Belgrade Alexandride was also

ordered by Vuk Branković, since he ruled Prizren from 1378 to 1396⁷⁸. However, this presumption cannot be accepted without further research⁷⁹. On the other hand, dating of the manuscript to the 9th decade of the 14th century could be in accordance with the fact that saint warriors from the church of Saint Athanasios in Kastoria (1383–1384) are the closest comparative examples to the images of Alexander and Antioch from Belgrade Alexandride in terms of iconography and even some characteristic decorative details⁸⁰. One should also bear in mind that the Byzantine Alexander Romance from Venice, in which the *skiadion* is represented for the first time in visual arts, is widely dated to the period from 1349 to 1390. On the basis of these few remarks, we think that the most grounded conclusion is that Belgrade Alexandride was created in the 9th or, possibly, the last decade of the 14th century.

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ЛЕГЕНДАРНЫЙ ПРАВИТЕЛЬ В СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫХ ОДЕЖДАХ: ОБ ИКОНОГРАФИИ БЕЛГРАДСКОЙ АЛЕКСАНДРИИ

Настоящая работа посвящена миниатюрам старейшей рукописи т.н. Сербской Александрии, погибшей при немецкой бомбардировке Национальной библиотеки в Белграде в 1941 г. Хотя об этих миниатюрах существует обширная литература, некоторые важные вопросы остаются нерешенными. Мы сосредоточились на нескольких характерных деталях иконографии миниатюр, в особенности — на костюмах главных героев Александрии.

С одной стороны, можно расширить круг сравнений для анализа этих деталей, что позволяет лучше понять их значение. Аналогии можно найти, в основном, в константинопольском придворном костюме, но также и в некоторых сербских фресках. При этом, мы придаем особое значение выявлению причин, стоящих за появлением этих особых иконографических деталей.

Рассматриваемый материал позволяет задать вопрос: была ли Белградская Александрия скопирована с более ранней рукописи? На этот вопрос можно ответить, что прототипом старейшей сербской рукописи Александрии несомненно была некая византийская рукопись, но это относится только к некоторым миниатюрам. Высказывавшиеся ранее предположения о присутствии неких западных влияний в этих миниатюрах не находят подтверждения. Дополнительный, хотя и не решающий аргумент, может быть выдвинут в пользу другой высказывавшейся ранее гипотезы о том, что рукопись была создана в скриптории монастыря Архангелов близ Призрена в девятом десятилетии XIV в.

Примечания

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¹⁰ For the survey of manuscripts: D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus* cit.

¹¹ About this manuscript: S. K. Davenport, *Illustrations Direct and Oblique in the Margins of an Alexander Romance at Oxford*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), pp. 83–95; M. I. Cruse, *The “Roman d'Alexandre” in MS Bodley 264: Text, image, performance*, Ph.D. dissertation, New York University 2005. All miniatures are available on the web page of Bodleian library: <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl264>

¹² R. S. Loomis, *Verses on the Nine Worthies*, in *Modern Philology* 15 (1917), pp. 211–219; H. C. Marillier, *The Nine Worthies*, in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 61 (1932), pp. 13–19; J. J. Rorimer, M. B. Freeman, *The Nine Heroes Tapestries at the Cloisters*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 7/9 (1949), pp. 243–260; D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus* cit., pp. 123–127 (Appendix I. Alexander among The Nine Worthies).

¹³ For the more detailed account cf. J. Ch. Smith, *Portable Propaganda-Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold*, in *Art Journal* 48/2 (1989), pp. 123–129; A. R. Suri, M. Stucky-Schürer, *Alexandre le Grand et l'art de la tapisserie au XVe siècle*, in *Revue de l'Art* 119 (1998), pp. 21–32; B. Franke, *Herrscher über Himmel und Erde. Alexander der Grosse und die Herzoge von Burgund*, in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (2000), pp. 121–169, figs. 2–4, 9–11.

¹⁴ There is a translation into modern Serbian language: *Roman o Aleksandru (Aleksandrida)*, in: *Roman o Aleksandru Velikom. Roman o Troji*, ed. R. Marinković, Beograd 1988, pp. 69–170. The same author edited the critical edition: *Srpska Aleksandrida*, ed. R. Marinković, Beograd 1985. The fundamental study is: R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida. Istorija osnovnog teksta*, Beograd 1969, with a valuable review and comments of previous historiographic production. Cf., also: D. Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*, Beograd 1980, pp. 230, 231; M. Kašanin, *Srpska književnost u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1990², pp. 49–51.

¹⁵ Within the historiography, *terminus ante quem* of the creation of Serbian Alexandride is equalled with the mention of Alexander the Great in the “*Lives of the Serbian kings and archbishops*” (1337–1340), written by archbishop Daniel II and his pupils. For the latest commentary on this subject: J. Redjep, *Aleksandar Veliki i kralj Milutin: srpska Aleksandrida i Danilov zbornik – paralele*, in *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 47 (1999), pp. 19–34, especially pp. 29–34; Ead., *Stare srpske biografije*, Novi Sad 2008, p. 67. However, it has been rightly warned that one should bear in mind the fact that comparison of the ruler with Alexander was specifically suggested in the Byzantine rhetorical textbooks: N. Radošević, *Danilo II i vizantijska dvorska retorika*, in *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, ed. V. J. Djurić, Beograd 1991, p. 250.

¹⁶ For this manuscript: A. Grabar, *Le roman d'Alexandre illustré de la bibliothèque de Sofia*, in *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris 1928, pp. 133–188; A. Божков, *Българската историческата живопис*, София 1972, pp. 129–136; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature*, Beograd 1983, pp. 75, 131–132; *Sofijska ilustrovana Aleksandrida. Fototipsko izdanje*, Beograd 1987.

¹⁷ The only art historian who mentioned this manuscript was: M. Harisjadis, *Dva rukopisa Narodne biblioteke u Beogradu, Prizrensko jevandjelje i Beogradska Aleksandrida*, in *Godišnjak Narodne biblioteke*,

1960, p. 84, note 23. The author announced the publishing of miniatures, but she never managed to do so. That is why all later researchers didn't discuss the miniatures of this manuscript. We are preparing their publishing. For the description, see: Lj. Štavljanin-Djordjević, M. Grozdanović-Pajić, L. Cernić, *Opis ćirilskih rukopisa Narodne biblioteke Srbije, I*, Beograd 1986, p. 41.

¹⁸ The important works on this manuscript are: V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride u Narodnoj biblioteci beogradskoj*, in *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 17/1 (1937), pp. 77–80; S. Radojčić, *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama*, in *Umetnički pregled* 5 (1938), pp. 138–141; S. Radojčić, *Stare srpske minijature*, Beograd 1950, pp. 46–47; S. Matić, *Opis rukopisa Narodne biblioteke*, Beograd 1952, pp. 179–180; J. Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja balkanskih Slovena*, Beograd 1953, pp. 79–80; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa Narodne biblioteke cit.*, pp. 84–89; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida cit.*, pp. 64–115; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature*, pp. 47–49, 109–110; D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus cit.*, p. 45; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride*, in *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 15/2 (1994), pp. 13–31; S. Dufrenne, *Les miniatures slaves méridionales du XIV^e siècle dans le contexte byzantin*, in *Proučavanje srednjovekovnih južnoslovenskih rukopisa*, ed. P. Ivić, Beograd 1995, pp. 104–105, 107–108.

¹⁹ V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride cit.*, pp. 77–80.

²⁰ M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa cit.*, pp. 82–89.

²¹ J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature cit.*, p. 49.

²² D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride cit.*, passim.

²³ D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus cit.*, p. 54.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; C. Gaspar, F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, I, Paris 1984 (1937), pp. 88–89, pl. XVIII b.

²⁵ V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride cit.*, p. 78; S. Radojčić, *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama cit.*, p. 139–140, and figure on page 139; J. Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja cit.*, fig. 46; S. Radojčić, *Stare srpske minijature cit.*, pl. XXXIV; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa cit.*, p. 85, fig. 14; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida cit.*, p. 69, pl. VI; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature cit.*, fig. 113; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride cit.*, p. 19, fig. 6.

²⁶ V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride cit.*, pp. 77–78; S. Radojčić, *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama cit.*, p. 139, fig. on page 138; S. Matić, *Opis rukopisa Narodne biblioteke cit.*, fig. 2; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa cit.*, p. 85, fig. 10; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida cit.*, p. 68, pl. II; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride cit.*, p. 17, fig. 2.

²⁷ For Pisanello's medallion: J. A. Fasanelli, *Some Notes on Pisanello and the Council of Florence*, in *Master Drawings* 3/1 (1965), pp. 36–93; V. Juren, *A Propos de la médaille de Jean VIII Paléologue par Pisanello*, in *Revue numismatique* 6/15 (1973), pp. 219–225; I. Spatharakis, *Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden 1976, fig. 20–21; *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans, New York 2004, pp. 535–536, cat. no. 321; S. Lazaris, *L'Empereur Jean VIII Paléologue vu par Pisanello lors du concile de Ferrare-Florence*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 29 (2007), pp. 293–394. Pisanello's sketch for the medallion also survived: *Byzantium. Faith and Power cit.*, pp. 532–534, cat. no. 319. On the basis of this medallion a bronze bust of emperor was created, attributed to Antonio Filarete (1400–1446) or Donatello (1386–1466): *ibid.*, cat. no. 320. Similarity between Alexander's hat and the hat of John VIII was noticed by: S. Radojčić, *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama cit.*, p. 140, and his conclusions were accepted by: M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa cit.*, p. 86; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature cit.*, p. 49; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride cit.*, p. 17.

²⁸ I. Spatharakis, *Portrait cit.*, pp. 51–52; H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der Spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Heidelberg 1970, pp. 87–90, fig. 52; V. J. Djurić, *Gotičko slikarstvo u Vizantiji i kod Srba uoči turskih osvajanja*, in *Zograf* 18 (1987), pp. 46–47, fig. 1; R. S. Nelson, *The Italian Appreciation and Appropriation of Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts, ca. 1200–1450*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), p. 229; *Byzantium, Faith and Power cit.*, p. 533, fig. 319.1. Sinai miniature portrait of John VIII was mentioned as an analogy for the hat represented in Belgrade Alexandride in: M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa cit.*, p. 86, note 52; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature cit.*, pp. 17 and 49, note 39.

²⁹ These details are best seen on the photograph published in: R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida cit.*, pl. XI.

³⁰ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966, pp. 132, 141, 145, 147–149, 151, 153–166, 180, 195, 207–208, 227; *Skiaidion*, in: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium cit.*, III, p. 1910; M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)*, Leiden 2002, p. 70; B. Popović, *Visoke kape-klobuci iz manastira Resave i turban Teodora Metohita*, in *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 19/2 (2010), p. 95. The hat of Constantine the Great on the image of *Battle at Milvian Bridge* in St. Francis in Arezzo, painted by Piero della Francesca, was modeled just on Pisanello's medallion: M. Vickers, *Some Preparatory Drawings for Pisanello's Medallion of John VIII Paleologus*, in *The Art Bulletin* 60/3 (1978), p. 423, figs. 13, 14.

³¹ S. T. Brook, *Commemoration of the Dead: Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration*, Ph. D. Diss., New York 2002, pp. 350–355, pls. 9.3, 9.4; *Byzantium, Faith and Power cit.*, p. 532, note 2; M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing Reality of Images cit.*, p. 70, Pl. 73.

³² J. Kubiski, *Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (Cit  des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master)*, in *Gesta* 40 (2001), pp. 163–169, fig. 1.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ A. Xyngopoulos, *Les miniatures du roman d' Alexandre le Grand cit.*, pl. 170.

³⁵ That is, the episode of meeting with Olympias, where it is said that Alexander's noblemen were dressed in emperor's caps. *Роман о Александрѣ* cit., p. 164.

³⁶ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Trait  des Offices* cit., pp. 205, 207, 218–219; M. G. Parani, *Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume*, in *Jahrbuch der  sterreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), pp. 122–123.

³⁷ V. R. Petkovi , *Minijature Aleksandride* cit., p. 78; S. Radoj ci , *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama* cit., pp. 139–140, fig. on page 139; J. Kova evi , *Srednjovekovna nošnja balkanskih Slovena* cit., fig. 46; S. Radoj ci , *Stare srpske minijature* cit., pl. XXXIV; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 85, fig. 14; J. Marinkovi , *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., p. 69, pl. VI; J. Maksimovi , *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature* cit., fig. 113; D. B. Vasiljevi , *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 19, fig. 6.

³⁸ V. R. Petkovi , *Minijature Aleksandride* cit., p. 78; S. Radoj ci , *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama* cit., p. 140; J. Kova evi , *Srednjovekovna nošnja balkanskih Slovena* cit., fig. 48; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 85, fig. 15; R. Marinkovi , *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., p. 69, pl. VII; D. B. Vasiljevi , *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 20, fig. 7.

³⁹ For the *kabbadion*: Pseudo-Kodinos, *Trait  des Offices* cit., pp. 146–166, 200, 219–220, 274; M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing Reality of Images* cit., pp. 57–61; Ead., *Cultural Identity and Dress* cit., p. 106. For Serbian examples: B. Popovi , *Odevanje i kićenje*, in: *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama srednjeg veka*, ed. S. M. Dušani , D. Popovi , Beograd 2004, pp. 383–384; A. Niti , *Tkanine i kostim u srpskom slikarstvu XIV i prve polovine XV veka – poreklo i razvoj stila*, in *Niš i Vizantija* 2 (2004), p. 328.

⁴⁰ D. B. Vasiljevi , *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 19, recognizes Alexander's and Antioch's vestment as a "skaranikon". This name was frequently used by researchers of Byzantine costume, but it was shown recently, on the basis of more accurate analysis of written sources, that it was a terminological confusion. It resulted from the alleged identification between *skaranikon*, from Pseudo-Kodinos treatise, and *skaramangion* from Middle-Byzantine era. According to convincing interpretation, *skaramangion* was in fact a Byzantine vestment of Persian origin, with extremely long sleeves, which could cover arms. One should especially stress that it wasn't, as some scholars believed, a part of ceremonial costume. Cf.: T. Dawson, *Oriental Costume at the Byzantine Court. A Reassessment*, in *Byzantion* 76 (2006), p. 102; B. Cvetkovi , *Prilog prou avanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima – γρνάτζα λαπάτζας*, in *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 34 (1995), p. 146, note 18, 19; M. G. Parani, *Cultural Identity and Dress* cit., note 44.

⁴¹ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Trait  des Offices* cit., pp. 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 200, 227; M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing Reality of Images* cit., p. 70; Ead., *Cultural Identity and Dress* cit., p. 109; B. Popovi , *Visoke kape-klobuci* cit., pp. 97–99.

⁴² P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, New York 1966, I, pp. 42–43, II, Pls. 26–29; R. G. Ousterhout, *The Art of Kariye Camii*, London 2002, p. 119, fig. on page 118.

⁴³ S. Radoj ci , *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama* cit., p. 140; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 86; D. B. Vasiljevi , *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 19, fig. 6b.

⁴⁴ M. Gligorijevi -Maksimovi , *Slikarstvo XIV veka u manastiru Treskavcu*, in *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* 42 (2005), pp. 111–112, figs. 33–35; S. Smol i -Makuljevi , *Carski Deizis i Nebeski dvor u slikarstvu XIV veka manastira Treskavac. Ikonografski program severne priprate crkve Bogorodi inog Uspenja*, in *Tre a jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa*, ed. Lj. Maksimovi , N. Radoševi , E. Radulovi , Beograd-Kruševac 2002, pp. 467, 470–471, figs. 4, 6

⁴⁵ C. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka*, Beograd 1980, p. 106, drawing 27.

⁴⁶ Id., *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, in *Zograf* 11 (1982), figs. 5, 7–8 (reprinted as: *Od ikonografijata na Markoviot manastir*, in Id., *Živopisot na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija. Studii*, Skopje 2007, pp. 271–291).

⁴⁷ S. Pelekanidis, *Καστορία, I, Θεσσαλονίκη* 1953, πν. 151a, 152β; V. J. Đuri , *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1974, pp. 100–101, fig. 115; Id., *Mali Grad – Sveti Atanasije u Kosturu – Borje*, in *Zograf* 6 (1975), p. 39, fig. 22. Some of these analogies were mentioned in M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 86; D. B. Vasiljevi , *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 19.

⁴⁸ This ring has magic effect. Namely, there is an episode in Serbian Alexandride when Alexander, during his bunk from Darius' palace, put "the ring of Ethiopian Empress Kleopatra, which he was given in Troy" on his finger, and became invisible: *Roman o Aleksandru* cit., p. 112.

⁴⁹ S. Radoj ci , *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama* cit., p. 141, concluded that the illuminator of Belgrade Alexandride gave "correct description of costume", that is, that the costume directly resembles "costume of our nobility from the 14th century". Neither of the latter scholars questioned this remark.

⁵⁰ V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride* cit., p. 78; S. Radojčić, *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama* cit., p. 140; Matić, *Opis rukopisa* cit., fig. 1; J. Kovacević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja* cit., fig. 47; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 85, fig. 16, 20; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., pp. 69, 70, pls. VIII, XII; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., pp. 20, 22, figs. 8, 12.

⁵¹ D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 20, note 66.

⁵² L. Živkova, *Četvoroevangelieto na car Ivan Aleksandr*, Sofija 1980, pl. II; Similarity was noted in: M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 86.

⁵³ However, in Pseudo-Kodinos text four *kamarions* are mentioned in the connection with despotes only if he is the emperor's son at the same time, and only one *kamarion* if he is the emperor's son-in-law (Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices* cit., p. 275). Nevertheless, on Constantine's wreath one sees four *kamarions*, although he was Ivan Alexander's son-in-law. About the insignia of *despotes* cf. also: D. Vojvodić, *Vladarski portreti srpskih despota*, in *Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost*, ed. V. J. Djurić, Despotovac 1995, p. 86.

⁵⁴ C. Grozdanov, *Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (I)*, in *Zograf* 14 (1983), pp. 64–65, fig. 4 (reprinted as: *Istoriskite portreti vo Pološko (I)*, in *Id. Živopisot* cit., pp. 111–133); I. M. Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele u doba Nemanjića*, Beograd 1994, pp. 147–148.

⁵⁵ On the western crowns on portraits of Serbian rulers cf., especially: D. Vojvodić, *Srpski vladarski portreti u manastiru Duljevu*, in *Zograf* 29 (2002–2003), pp. 151–152.

⁵⁶ V. Korać, V. J. Đurić, S. Cirković, *Pečka patrijaršija*, Beograd 1990, fig. 130; B. Todić, *Srpske teme na freskama XIV veka u crkvi Svetog Dimitrija u Peći*, in *Zograf* 30 (2004–2005), pp. 136, 137, fig. 9.

⁵⁷ D. Vojvodić, *Srpski vladarski portreti* cit., p. 151, figs. 1, 2, drawings 2, 4, 6. Exactly the existence of only one trefoil adornment on the crown of unidentified emperor testifies that the intention of the illuminator wasn't to show a specific kind of crown. Improvisation of the illuminator is witnessed also by the way of application of gothic adornments – without organic connection with the wreath.

⁵⁸ D. Kostić, *Starost epskog pesništva našeg*, in *Južnoslovenski filolog* 12 (1933), drawing on page 73 (a part of the miniature); V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride* cit., p. 78; S. Radojčić, *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama* cit., p. 141, fig. on page. 140; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 85, fig. 19; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., p. 69, pl. X; R. Pejović, *Predstave muzičkih instrumenata u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 1984, pp. 38, 68, 70, 71, 72, 80, 101, 102, 111, 113, 115, 124, 127, 138, fig. 87; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., pp. 21–22, figs. 10, 10a (a copy); S. Bojanin, *Zabave i svetkovine u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 2005, pp. 304–305, fig. 46.

⁵⁹ *Sofijska ilustrovana Aleksandrida* cit., pl. 6.

⁶⁰ L. Praškov, *Hrehovata kula*, Sofiya 1973, fig. 63–68. The similarity was noticed by: D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 22.

⁶¹ R. Pejović, *Predstave muzičkih instrumenata u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* cit., p. 38.

⁶² D. Kostić, *Starost epskog pesništva* cit., pp. 72–74; S. Bojanin, *Zabave i svetkovine* cit., pp. 304–305.

⁶³ V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride* cit., p. 78; S. Radojčić, *Minijature u srpskim Aleksandridama* cit., p. 141 with fig. on the same page; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 85, fig. 18; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., p. 70, pl. XI; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., pp. 22–23, fig. 11; S. Bojanin, *Zabave i svetkovine* cit., pp. 304–305, fig. 4a.

⁶⁴ S. Radojčić, *Stare srpske minijature* cit., p. 47.

⁶⁵ However, in terms of certain formal features – domination of drawing and stylistic rudimentary, this miniature is similar to the image of banquet in Byzantine manuscript of the *Book of Job* in National Library in Paris (Par. gr. 135), which was illuminated in Mystras in 1362 by some Western-European illuminators: T. Velmans, *Le Parisinus Grecus 135 et quelques autres peintures de style gothique dans les manuscrits grecs à l'époque des Paléologues*, in *Cahiers Archéologiques* 17 (1967), figs. 11, 21. For this manuscript cf. also: J. M. Andrews, *Imagery in the Aftermath of the Crusades: A Fourteenth-Century Illustrated Commentary On Job* (Paris, B. N., ms. graecus 135), Ph.D. dissertation, University of California 2002; C. Alcalay, *Le Parisinus graecus 135: Un Hommage à Jean Cantacuzène? Etude historique d'un Livre de Job du XIVe siècle*, in *Byzantion* 78 (2008), pp. 405–480. This similarity was noticed in: M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 88.

⁶⁶ A. Xyngopoulos, *Les miniatures du roman d'Alexandre le Grand* cit., pl. 109.

⁶⁷ D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., p. 23.

⁶⁸ Cf., for example: T. Velmans, *Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues*, in *Cahiers archéologiques* 14 (1964), pp. 193–216; A. Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor u slikarstvu srednjovekovne Srbije*, Novi Sad 1970; E. Dimitrova, *Spiritual Architects. The Construction of Architectural Backdrops in the Work of Some Painting Studios from the 14th Century*, in *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009), pp. 227–250.

⁶⁹ B. Todić, M. Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani*, Beograd 2005, pp. 404, 406, fig. 326.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

⁷¹ R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., p. 73.

⁷² V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride* cit., p. 79; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 85, fig. 25; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., p. 71, pl. XVII; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature* cit., p. 25, fig. 17.

⁷³ L. Cernić, *Pisari gračaničkog (lipljanskog) prologa-mineja*, in *Arheografski prilozi* 1 (1979), p. 154, fig. 12.

⁷⁴ J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature* cit., p. 110.

⁷⁵ V. R. Petković, *Minijature Aleksandride* cit., p. 79; M. Harisijadis, *Dva rukopisa* cit., p. 85, fig. 21; R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., p. 71, pl. XV; D. B. Vasiljević, *Minijature beogradske Aleksandride* cit., fig. 15.

⁷⁶ S. Nenadović, *Dušanova zadužbina manastir Svetih Arhandjela kod Prizrena*, Beograd 1966, fig. 71, 96. Otherwise, the occurrence of ornament under consideration can be traced from the 12th century. We find it on the glass from Tatar-Pajardzik (B. П. Даркевич, *Светское искусство Византии* cit., илл. 361) as well as on a silver cup from Sicily (C. Oman, *Two Siculo-Norman Silver Cups*, in *The Burlington Magazine* 101 (1959), p. 350, fig. 59; B. П. Даркевич, *Светское искусство Византии* cit., илл. 362). Considering other Serbian analogies, cf. M. Corović-Ljubinković, *Srednjovekovni duborez u istočnim oblastima Jugoslavije*, Beograd 1965, pp. 56, 71, pl. XIV–XV, XXIX/B, XXX, XXXI; B. Vulović, *Ravanica. Njeno mesto i uloga u sakralnoj arhitekturi Pomoravlja*, in *Saopštenja* 7 (1966), pp. 115–116; V. Han, *Duborez Srbije, Makedonije i susednih zemalja u svetlu ornamentike Moravske škole*, in *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, ed. V. J. Djurić, Beograd 1972, p. 326; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature* cit., p. 110.

⁷⁷ For this manuscript: R. Marinković, *Srpska Aleksandrida* cit., pp. 116–164.

⁷⁸ M. Dinić, *Oblast Brankovića*, in Id., *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1978, pp. 149, 161, 166. For more informations about Vuk Branković cf. Lj. Kovačević, *Vuk Branković (1372–1398)*, in *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 10 (1888); I. Božić, *Neverstvo Vuka Brankovića*, in *O knezu Lazaru*, Beograd 1975, pp. 223–240; M. Spremić, *Brankovići — oblasni gospodari Košova*, in *Sveti knez Lazar. Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici Kosovskog boja*, Beograd 1989, pp. 121–130; M. Suica, *Vuk Branković i sastanak u Seru*, in *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 45 (2008), pp. 253–265.

⁷⁹ Affirmative answer to this important question could be imposed, if one accepts the hypothesis of Gordana Babić that the ktetor of Veluč monastery was Mara, wife of Vuk Branković. She argued her thesis by the fact that their portraits are painted in the naos of the church together with the portraits of Prince Lazar and Princess Milica (G. Babić, *Vladarske insignije kneza Lazara*, in *O knezu Lazaru* cit., pp. 72–75). The frescoes of Veluč and miniatures in Belgrade Alexandride demonstrate great stylistic affinity (S. Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo*, Beograd 1964, p. 170; V. J. Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* cit., p. 96) However, the thesis of Gordana Babić has been rejected by later scholars: B. Todić, *Prilog boljem poznavanju najstarije istorije Veluča*, in *Saopštenja* 20–21 (1988), pp. 67–76; V. J. Djurić, *Društvo, država i vladar u umetnosti u doba dinastije Lazarević-Branković*, in *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 26 (1990), p. 25; B. Cvetković, *Novi prilozi proučavanju ktitorske kompozicije u Ravanici*, in *Saopštenja* 26 (1994), p. 44; S. Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1997², p. 125 (a commentary of S. Petković for the second edition of the book)

⁸⁰ Cf. note 47. Besides almost identical shapes and decoration of fakeolions of Saint Alexander from Kastoria and Alexander the Great in Belgrade Alexandride, the attention should be paid to the great similarity between the shape of the mantle of the Emperor Antioch in Belgrade manuscript and compatible examples from the Kastoria church.