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“AND HE WEPT OVER JERUSALEM”: ON POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FRANCYSK SKARYNA’S ENGRA- VING OF PROPHET JEREMIAH IN *BIVLIA RUSKA**

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Summary. *The article discusses the possibilities of understanding the woodcuts of Francysk Skaryna’s Bivlia ruska from the perspective of the intellectual ‘cosmos’ in the Renaissance Europe. We shall focus on the engraving “Jeremiah the prophet of the Lord weeps while looking at Jerusalem” (ЄРЕМІЯ ПРѢКЪ ГДЕНЬ ПЛАЧЕТЬ ГЛЕДА НА ЁРУСАЛИ, Скорина Ф. Книжка рекомая плачь Еремиинъ, hereinafter: The Book of Lamentations) putting it in the context of the iconography of this biblical character in the Renaissance. The article warns against ‘inscribing’ Skaryna’s image of Jeremiah in already-prepared schemes. Leaving open the solution of the possible visual sources of Skaryna’s engravings, we would like to avoid its traditional reading, based mainly on classifications, too often subjective and artificial. Our reading of Jeremiah is based on the study of his visual representations widespread in the Renaissance Europe in the late 15th and the early 16th centuries (Albrecht Dürer’s woodcut St. Anthony Reading from 1519; Hartmann Schedel’s Liber Chronicarum, 1493; Biblia vulgare istoriata, 1490, translated by*

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N. Malermi; Biblij Czěská, w Benatkach tistěná, 1506; Bernard von Breydenbach's Sanctae peregrinationes, 1486; Werner Rolewinck's Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectens, 1473/74 and its Venetian reprints by E. Ratdolf in the 1480s, etc.). The article emphasizes the importance to frame this iconography in the philosophical and aesthetical contexts of Francysk Skaryna's epoch (by appealing to such sources as Dürer's diaries, the works of Marsilio Ficino, quotations of F. Skaryna himself, etc.). We shall examine the plot, the characteristic features of Jerusalem landscape, architecture, religious symbols, and clothes represented at Jeremiah's engraving in Bivlia ruska to seek the possible sources and inspirations of this engraving, while emphasizing its original character.

Keywords: *Francysk Skaryna, Bivlia ruska, woodcut Jeremiah the prophet of the Lord weeps while looking at Jerusalem, The Book of Lamentations, Renaissance, Albrecht Dürer, Jerusalem, Padua, Constantinople*

„Jis verkė dėl Jeruzalės“: apie galimus pranašo Jeremijo graviūros Pranciškaus Skorinos Rusėniškojoje Biblijoje šaltinius

Santrauka. *Šiame straipsnyje aptariamos galimybės suvokti Pranciškaus Skorinos Rusėniškosios Biblijos medžio raižinius iš europietiško Renesanso laikais būdingo vadinamojo „minčių kosmoso“ perspektyvos. Dėmesys bus skirtas graviūrai „Viešpaties Pranašas Jeremijas rauda žvelgdamas į Jeruzalę“ (єремїя прѣркъ гдєнь плачєть глєдє на єрусали, Скорина Ф. Книжка рекомає плач єремиинъ, toliau šiame darbe vadinama Raudų knyga) nagrinėjant šią graviūrą minėto biblinio veikėjo Renesanso laikų ikonografijos kontekste. Straipsnyje ginčijama nuomonė dėl Skorinos panaudoto Jeremijo atvaizdo atitikties jau egzistavusiems vaizdavimo stereotipams. Skorinos raižinių galimo „vaizdinio pirm-tako“ klausimas lieka atviras. Straipsnyje siekiama vengti tradicinių šio klausimo vertinimo interpretacijų, įprastai paremtų klasifikacijų argumentais, kurios pernelyg dažnai būna subjektyvios ir paviršutiniškos. Šiame straipsnyje Jeremijo atvaizdo kilmės klausimas grindžiamas renesansinėje Europoje XV a. pab. – XVI a. pr. paplitusių atvaizdų (Albrechto Diurerio medžio raižinys „Šventasis Antanas skaito“; 1519 metai; Hartmanno Schedelio Liber Chronicarum, 1493 m.; Biblia vulgare istoriata, 1490 m., vertė N. Malermi; Biblij Czěská, w Benatkach tistěná, 1506 m.; Bernardo fon Breydenbacho Sanctae peregrinatio-*

nes, 1486 m.; *Wernerio Rolewincko Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectens, 1473/74 m., ir šio veikalo Venecijoje E. Ratdolfo perspausdinti variantai XV a. 9-ajame dešimtmetyje ir t. t.*) tyrimu. Šio straipsnio autorė pabrėžia, kaip svarbu ikonografiją kontekstualizuoti, aptariant Pranciškaus Skorinos epochos filosofinius ir estetinius kontekstus: čia nagrinėjami tokie istoriniai šaltiniai kaip *Diurerio dienoraščiai, Marsilio Ficino kūriniai bei paties Skorinos raštai ir t. t. Aptariamas graviūros siužetas, tipiniai Jeruzalės peizažo bruožai, architektūra, religiniai simboliai bei rūbai, pavaizduoti Rusėniškojoje Biblijoje pateiktoje Jeremijo graviūroje ieškant galimų šios graviūros šaltinių bei ankstesnių graviūrų, galėjusių įkvėpti šį darbą, tačiau kartu pabrėžiant originalų šio darbo pobūdį.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *Pranciškus Skorina, Rusėniškoji Biblija, medžio raižinys Viešpaties Pranašas Jeremijas rauda žvelgdamas į Jeruzalę, Raudų knyga, Renesansas, Albrechtas Diureris, Jeruzalė, Paduja, Konstantinopolis.*

Opening our search for the possible origins and inspirations of the woodcut *Jeremiah the prophet of the Lord weeps while looking at Jerusalem*¹ from Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska*, we have to face two, already quite distant in time, assumptions that brought forth the centennial judgement on the similarity or even copying of the German graphic style in Skaryna's Bible. This assumption firstly was firmly outspoken by P. Vladimirov², though discussed by M. Shchakatzikhin and V. Shmatau³, then turned into a kind of tradition⁴.

- * We reserve the right to use the Belarusian transliteration of Francysk Skaryna's name, in homage to the historiographic tradition and in support of the Belarusian people.
- 1 SKORINA, Francisk *Knizhka rekomaja plach Eremiin*. Prague, 1519, f. 1.
 - 2 VLADIMIROV, Petr. *Doktor Francisk Skorina, ego perevody, pechatnyja izdaniija i jazyk*. Saint-Petersbourg Typography of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1888.
 - 3 SHCHAKATZIKHIN, Mikola. Gravury i knizhnyja azdoby u vydannjah Frantzishka Skaryny, in: *Tchatyrohsoetleze belaruskaga druku: 1525–1925*. Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1926, p. 180–227; SHMATAU, Viktor. *Belaruskaja knizhnaja bravura XVI – XVIII stagodzjau*, Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1984, p. 34–35, 59–60; Id. Italjanskijja pershakrynitzy u mastatzkim afarmlenni knig, In Maldzis, Adam; Razanau, Ales; Chamjarytzki, Vjachaslau (eds.). *Da Polazk e Niesvij a Padova e Venezia: materyjaaly urachystaha adkrytzdzia memaryjalnai doshki F. Skaryne u Paduanskim universitetsz i Pershai belarуска-ital'ijanskaj navukovai kanferentzyi*, ed., Minsk: Navuka i tekhnika, 1994.
 - 4 E.g. TUMASH, Vitaut. Wood Engravings of Duerer's Teacher in Doctor Skaryna's Trav-

V. Tumash was the first to point out specifically that at least two of the total number of five engravings of Skaryna's *Little Traveler's Book* (*Malaja podorozhnaja knizhka / Liber viaticus* of 1522), *The Baptism of Christ* and *Christ teaching in the Temple*, come from the Nuremberg woodcut shop of Johann Wohlgemut: "Offprints of those same wood engravings are to be found in the Latin and German editions of the *Chronicle of the World* by Hartmann Schedel, illustrated by Johann Wohlgemut and printed in 1493 by the famous Nuremberg printer Anton Koberger. In Schedel's *Chronicle* these wood engravings are to be found on the reverse side of page XCV"⁵. Then, again, Tumash pronounces in favor of German, Nuremberg origins of such *Bivlia ruska's* engraving as *God with three faces and the archangel Michael* from *The Book of Genesis* (Prague, 1519) thereby declaring its similarity to Dürer's "Saint Michael Fighting the Dragon" (*Apocalipsis cum figuris*, Nuremberg, 1498)⁶ (Fig. 1).

Nevertheless, despite the similarity of the image of angels, *Bivlia ruska* engraving is far from the plot that is illustrated by Dürer. Dürer is known for his talent to illustrate the sources⁷, he follows the text of the Apocalypse literally, depicting the dragon and the culmination of the battle of Michael and the

eler's Book. *Zapisy of the Byelorussian Institut of Arts and Sciences*, 1978, vol. 16, p. 3–43; NEMIROVSKIJ, Evgenij. *Francisk Skorina: zhizn' i dejatel'nost' belorusskogo prosvetitelja*, Minsk: Mastatzkaja litaratura, 1990; PUTZKO, Vasilij. Hravyyury vydannyu Skaryny – illyustratzyi nyamezkih inkunabul?, in Maldzis, Adam (ed.). *Spadchyna Skaryny; Zbornik materialau pershyh Skarynauskich chatannyau*. (1986). Minsk: Navuka i technika, 1989, p. 158–166; SHMATAU, Viktor. Partret Francyska Skaryny. *Ibid.*, p. 167–202; Id. Francysk Skaryna i Albrecht Dziurer: Prablerna pahodzhannya ikanahrafii, In Maldzis, Adam; Davydzienka, Natallia; Konan, Uladzimir (eds.). *480 hod bielaruskaka knihadrukavannia: Materyjaly Trecich Skarynauskich Čytanniaiu*. Minsk: Bielaruskaja navuka, 1998, p. 39–52.

5 TUMASH, Vitaut. Wood Engravings of..., p. 41.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 35–36; in his recent monography, Pranciškaus Skorinos Portretas. 550-ąsias gimimo metines minint / Portrait de Francisk Skorina. En commémorant le 550^e anniversaire de sa naissance (1470–2020), (The Portrait of Francysk Skaryna. To mark the 550th anniversary [1470–2020] of the publisher), Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague, nouvelle série, vol. 10. Vilnius-Prague: Lietuvių kalbos institutas (Institut national de langue lituanienne), Cercle linguistique de Prague, 2020; la 2^e édition, revue et augmentée, 2021; the 3rd edition, in Lithuanian, 2022, Ilya Lemeskin continues Tumash's assumption by putting forward the statement on the second use of the portrait of Skaryna (this woodcut was printed twice, in *The Book of Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sira* on 5 December 1517, and in *The [Four] Books of Reigns* on 10 August 1518) as a paraphrase of Albrecht Dürer's engraving of Saint Jerome (*Der heilige Hieronymus im Gehäus*, 1514).

7 PANOFSKY, Erwin. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955; DOORLY, Patrick. Dürer's *Melencolia I*: Plato's Abandoned Search for the Beautiful. *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86, No. 2 (Jun., 2004), p. 255–276.



FIGURE 1. Comparison of *Bivlia ruska* and Dürer's engravings. Left: *God with three faces*, the Book of Genesis, Prague: Francysk Skaryna, 1519, f. 1v. Right: Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Michael Fighting the Dragon* (*Apocalipsis cum figuris*, Nuremberg, 1498)

angels: “And four angels were set free, prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, to slay a third of the people” (*Revelation* 9:15). “Then war broke out in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back” (*Revelation* 12:7–9). Apparently, another scene is illustrated in Skaryna’s Bible: fallen angels expelled from heaven (and not a much more ‘spectacular’ scene with a dragon – especially if Skaryna saw the corresponding engraving by Dürer). Skaryna depicts *not* a battle with a seven-headed dragon, but the defeat of four demons (the black creatures at the bottom of the engraving). Moreover, we see four angels at Dürer’s engraving, by contrast to the three angels of *Bivlia ruska*. This iconographic type is quite common in the late Middle Ages (Isaiah, 14:12–15) and very frequently framed or combined next to the scenes of Creation in the Book of Genesis (Fig. 2).

Further, V. Tumash presents the similarity between Skaryna’s Sun/Moon signs which appear in numerous woodcuts of his Bible and Schedel’s *Chronicle* while emphasizing the fact of *already* (which could not be count as an argu-



FIGURE 2. Three-faced Holy Trinity. *Bible moralisée* (Enlumineur Vrelant, Willem), ca. 1455-1460. A frontispiece divided into seven panels; in the center: the fall of the rebel angels framed by the six days of Creation. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des Manuscrits

ment even if Skaryna actually used two woodcuts much later, in 1522) using the *Chronicle's* engravings⁸. In fact, the anthropomorphic Sun/Moon images, both in Schedel's *Chronicle* and in earlier works are deeply rooted in a context connected with Christian as well as with Neoplatonic and Hermetic aesthetics that took shape in its popularized versions during the Quattrocento, as we shall show below⁹.

V. Tumash indicates one more presumable case of Skaryna's use of Schedel's *Chronicle*: in the *Psaltyr'* (Prague, 1517) we can see the "genealogic tree of Jesus," as V. Tumash calls it, which is "no doubt drawn from the *Chronicle*"¹⁰. Schedel's *Chronicle*, indeed, contains many genealogical lines, but nowhere can we find the image of the Tree of Jesse similar to Skaryna's engraving¹¹.

8 TUMASH, Vitaut. *Wood Engravings of...*, p. 14–16.

9 In reality, we could not find the sun and the moon together (but not in conjunction as in Skaryna) in *Liber Chronicarum* except for two times: f. LXXVIr and f. CLVIIr. In both cases, the sun and the moon appear to symbolize dreadful signs when Alexander was born and the defeat of Monothelite heretics. In all other cases, the sun and the moon are presented separately, or the moon as the 'blood moon' also foretells famine and death.

10 TUMASH, Vitaut. *Wood Engravings of...*, p. 21.

11 Czech researcher P. Voit suggests the authorship of this woodcut as the Master of the New Testament, active in Prague in the late 15th – early 16th century, whilst the image of the Tree of Jesse itself represents a copy of the original cliché (in contrast with W. Deluga opinion that it was the original cliché) from the Czech New Testament (1497/1498)



FIGURE 3. Tree of Jesse. Left: “сїй єсть корєнь їїсєѡвъ”, Psaltyr’, Prague: Francysk Skaryna, 1517. Right: Israhel van Meckenem, ca. 1480–1490, ornament with the Tree of Jesse, detail, National Gallery of Art, Washinton D. C., Rosenwald Collection

However, we find almost certainly a similar image, with the main protagonists and even David playing the ‘harp’ (lyre) in ornaments of Israhel van Meckenem (ca. 1440/45–1503) (Fig. 3).

Since it has already been established¹² that Skaryna used the initial ‘U’ (‘V’) from Meckenem’s *Large Majuscule Alphabet* (*Das größere Majuskel-Alphabet*, ca. 1480–1488) ‘relooking’ it for his Cyrillic initial ‘C’¹³ (Fig. 4), it could serve as an equal argument for his ‘inspirations’ from Meckenem’s *Tree of Jesse*.

Essentially, the problems of ‘similarity’ of Skaryna’s woodcuts or even copying from Schedel’s *Chronicle* or Dürer’s works could not be assumed as a simple borrowing: iconographical presentations of such-and-such Biblical stories or protagonists is a well-established tradition, and artists throughout the

(VOIT, Petr. Výtvarná složka Skorinovy Bible ruské jako součást české knižní grafiky. *Umění*, 2014, 62/4, p. 334–353; VOIT, Petr. Novye svedenia o dejatelnosti Francyska Skoriny v Prage (1517–1519). *Vilniaus Universiteto Bibliotekos Metraštis*. 2015, p. 339–373).

12 TUMASH, Vitaut. Wood Engravings of..., p. 28–30.

13 For further reading on Skaryna’s initials, see: SHUTOVA, Olga. Francysk Skaryna’s *Bivlia ruska* as a Holistic Humanist Project: Pursuit of Knowledge and Aesthetic Ideas of the Renaissance, in Kvizikevičiūtė, Milda And Vaitkevičiūtė, Viktorija (eds.). *Theatrum libri: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe*. Vilnius: Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, 2022, p. 166–189; Id. Izuchenie intelektualnogo prostranstva ‘Bivlii’ Franciska Skoriny v kontekste Renessansa: suzhety, personalii, filosofsko-esteticheskie vliyania i oformlenie’, in Grusha, Alyaksandr (ed.). *Francysk Skaryna: daunia fakty – novyia idei*. Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka, 2021, p. 66–117.

Late Middle Ages, Quattrocento and Cinquecento paraphrased already known clichés. This similarity could suppose only continuity and common sources of Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* engravings and the German graphical design whilst the very style of Skaryna's Bible characterized by the presence of architectural details (columns, urns, arcades, entablatures, carved balconies, balustrades) as well as some other elements of the ancient tradition (garlands, putti, tritons, bucrania, centaurs), womenswear fashions, headdresses, fabrics, *is dramatically different*. All those elements which will appear later in the German tradition, in Skaryna's Bible are a testimony of the undeniable influence of the Renaissance originating from the North Italian art and Venetian editions¹⁴. Even if Skaryna's Bible was created under certain influences (a widespread practice which, with the appearance of book printing became generalized), it shows the typical Biblical plots and heroes *in actualized form of the Renaissance art*.



FIGURE 4. The initials C and U (V). Left: ПОЧИНАЮТСЯ | АКАФІСТЫ НА | ЕСЮ НЕДЕЛЮ | ПЕРЕЗ ЖИВО | НОСНОМУ ГРО | ВУ Г[О]СПАНЮ, "Little Traveler's Book", Vilnius: Francysk Skaryna, 1522, f. 1v. Center: Meckenem, van Israhel, *Das größere Majuskel-Alphabet*, Bocholt, ca. 1480–1488, f. 5, The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings. Right: *Ibid.*, detail



¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Except for two engravings and one initial discovered in the *Little Traveler's Book* by Tumash, we cannot find absolute borrowings from any work of that time, leaving to Skaryna (or more precisely, to his artist/engraver, although, in creating initials, Skaryna obviously took participation, at least at the associative level¹⁵) the presumption of originality.

While keeping this idea in mind, let us turn back to *Bivlia ruska's* Jeremiah woodcut where, once again, we find the same controversies in terms of similarities and iconological clichés.

Petr Vladimirov spoke about *Bivlia ruska's* woodcut of Jeremiah briefly and categorically: when describing Skaryna's Bible "in typographical terms," he noted that "The view of the city with the castle *was copied* [italics – O. Sh.] from the engraving of the Schedel's *Chronicle* (see view of Padua, XXIII fol., *tertia aetas mundi*), with Jeremiah being added on the right and a flame added on top of the city"¹⁶. To debate Vladimirov's opinion, Mikhail Shchakatikhin drew attention to the possible connection with A. Dürer's engraving *St. Anthony Reading* (1519) by noting that its composition "may have been conceived under its [A. Dürer's *St. Anthony*] direct influence"¹⁷ (Fig. 5).



a



b

FIGURE 5. Images of F. Skaryna's Jeremiah and A. Dürer's *St. Anthony*. Left: *Jeremiah the prophet of the Lord weeps while looking at Jerusalem* (єрємїа прѣрѣкз глѣнь плачєть глєдє на єрусали, *The Book of Lamentations*, 1519. Right: *St. Anthony Reading*, 1519. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

15 Ibid.

16 VLADIMIROV, Petr. *Doktor Francisk Skorina...*, p. 81.

17 SHCHAKATZIKHIN, Mikola. *Gravury i knizhnyja azdoby...*, p. 203.

Such an assumption about copying Dürer's masterpiece is practically impossible due to the dates. Skaryna's book *The Book of Lamentations* was published, as he writes himself, by his "commandment, labor and consideration", in 1519, which is the same year as Dürer's *St. Anthony*. Even if we suppose that A. Dürer created his engraving at the very beginning of the year, and Skaryna published *The Book of Lamentations* at the very end of 1519, the problem of dissemination makes it unlikely that Skaryna possessed a copy of Dürer's engraving. Moreover, A. Dürer himself, even in July 1520, considered this engraving to be "the new." When, in 1520, A. Dürer started his journey to the Netherlands (whilst keeping a diary recording in detail his expenses), in July he writes: "Herr Egidius, King Charles's warden, has taken for me from Antwerp the *St. Jerome in the Cell*, the *Melancholy*, and "three new 'Marys', the 'Anthony' and the 'Veronica' [italics – O. Sh.] for the good sculptor, Master Conrad, whose like I have not seen; he serves Lady Margaret, the Emperor's daughter." And again, in Antwerp (September 3 — October 4, 1520), Dürer testifies: "I gave to Wilhelm Hauenhut, the servant of my lord Duke Frederick, the Platzgraf, an engraved 'Jerome', and *the two new half-sheets, the 'Mary' and the 'Anthony'*" [italics – O. Sh.]¹⁸.

The quasi-impossibility of dates¹⁹ is reinforced by the differences in the engravings themselves. From the first sight, we can talk about a certain similarity between the two images: on both of them, the protagonists are shown seated, in long *habits*, with a book in their hands, and a city landscape is visible in the background. However, Dürer depicted not the prophet Jeremiah, but St. Anthony the Great (not to be confused with St. Anthony of Padua) peacefully reading (contrary to the 'weeping' Jeremiah of Skaryna), and concentrated on his reading, as evidenced by his crossed toes, with the traditional symbols of this saint (a cross, a bell, and a pilgrim's hat).

Considering the landscape of the city in the background of the engravings, the difference in the line of the roofs is eye-catching. In the case of Dürer's *St. Anthony* (the landscape was reused after his *Pupila Augusta*, c.1498²⁰) they are

18 DÜRER, Albrecht. *Memoirs of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries*, translated by Rudolf TOMBO, 2nd ed. Auckland: Floating Press, 2010, p. 54, 56.

19 Nevertheless, we could not overestimate this chronological factor. As I. Lemeshkin rightly notes, we cannot rule out the rate of circulation of printed material during this period: "Artistic and technical innovations, news about them, spread rapidly in the professional environment (this is also eloquently evidenced by the explosive spread of printing in Europe). Artists and art workshops had sketchbooks. Without such supporting graphic material, it would be problematic to do your job professionally, i.e. fulfill certain orders" (I. Lemeshkin, Private correspondence, March, 2023).

20 PANOFSKY, Erwin, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, p. 202.

characteristically rectangular, or, as E. Panofsky called them, ‘cubistic’: “It is not so much a landscape as an agglomeration of buildings, echoing and amplifying the shape of the main figure whose huddled form, represented in full profile, offers the aspect of an almost perfect cone. It is exclusively composed of such clean-cut stereometrical solids as prisms, cubes, pyramids and cylinders which coalesce and interpenetrate so as to bring to mind a cluster of crystals”²¹. In the case of Skaryna’s Jeremiah, the roofs are *distinctly rounded, domed*, whereas the dominant domed building on the left is *decorated with a crescent*.

Apparently, it was these two circumstances (the presence of a dome and a crescent) that caused the association of P. Vladimirov with the engraving from Schedel’s *Chronicle* depicting Padua with a domed building and a crescent in the foreground on the right. In 1926, M. Shchakatzikhin pointed out Vladimirov’s mistake and its possible reason: “Having found in Schedel’s *Chronicle* (Fol. XXIII) more or less corresponding woodcut without an inscription on it, he began to look for its interpretation in the index, and there by mistake, instead of Folio number XXIII, he took CCXIII, where the city of Padua is mentioned”²². Shchakatzikhin also spoke about the fact that this image of ‘Padua’ is in reality not on its place; the publishers must have mistakenly put it there, and not on the next Folio with the text about Damascus.

This supposition by Shchakatzikhin about the accidental inversion of two woodcuts (Padua and Damascus) explains the perplexing ‘oriental’ character of the illustration (which, once again, according to Shchakatzikhin, was supposed to represent Damascus). However, Shchakatzikhin incorrectly indicated what exactly a Christian city precedes in the description of Damascus. It is not Padua, but actually Trier. Furthermore, Vladimirov did not make a mistake with the numbering of folios because, in fact, there are *six* (!) identical woodcuts in Schedel’s *Chronicle* (a common practice for that time of the so-called ‘typical’ illustrations) representing the same typical landscape of an ‘oriental’ city with a domed temple and a crescent: Treves, f. XXIIIr (and not Padua, as Vladimirov suggested); Padua, f. XLIIIv (and not CCXIII, as Shchakatzikhin pointed out); Marseille/Massilia, f. LXIr; Metz/Metis, f. CXv; Nicaea/Nicea, f. CXCI–IIIv; Lithuania/Lituania, f. CCLXXIXv.

If Shchakatzikhin’s version could explain why a domed structure with a crescent was used to illustrate Trier (and not Padua) for the first time (out of six at total), being a result of a simple mistake, being in reality destined to Damascus, then it still does not explain the appearance of exactly the same typical *orien-*

21 Ibid., p. 201

22 SHCHAKATZIKHIN, Mikola. *Gravury i knizhnyja azdoby...*, p. 203

tal illustrations for such European Christian places as Padua, Marseille, Metz and ... Lithuania. The texts accompanying these illustrations contain the descriptions of those cities; they have corresponding inscriptions, and confusions, as in the case of Trier and Damascus – as supposed by Shchakatzikhin – are excluded (Fig. 6).



FIGURE 6. 'Oriental' Padua (left) and Lithuania (right) in Schedel, Hartmann. *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg: Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. XLIIIv and f. CCLXXIXv

Is it possible that the publishers had their own reasons for placing the 'oriental' woodcuts to illustrate these cities? Could the accompanying texts on Trier, Padua, Metz, Marseille and Lithuania give us the possible 'clues' to understanding these reasons?

For example, Schedel's *Chronicle* tells: "Trier (Treves) is an old city. It came into being 1947 B.C., in Abraham's time. It was founded by Trebeta Ninus, who was driven out of Assyria by Semiramis, the queen, and settled in the neighborhood of Germania, the land of the Germans. [...] There are many proofs of its antiquity, among them a Latin inscription discovered in our time, which mentions the above named Trebeta and Semiramis. There also may be seen a place of wonderful construction, resembling Babylonian masonry, made of baked tiles so strong that even now it is invulnerable to the enemy, and cannot be broken by any kind of implement. [...] Here also may be seen a gate made of incredibly large stones, fastened together with iron"²³.

23 SCHEDEL, Hartmann. *Liber Chronicarum*. Nuremberg: Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. XXIIIr; SCHMAUCH, Walter W., HADAVAS, Kosta, *First English edition of the Nuremberg Chronicle: Being the Liber Chronicarum of Dr. Hartmann Schedel, A. D. 1493*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, 2010.

Despite the fact that modern historians believe that the city of Trier was founded by Emperor Augustus, nevertheless, in the Middle Ages and during the late Quattrocento, there was a common opinion about its 'Babylonian origins'. In that époque, the European cities competed for anteriority of their origins putting them back to the antiquity. Trier went a step further in stipulating its origins from the even more ancient Babylon. This founding legend was reported for the first time in *Hystoria Treverorum* dated 1059–1060²⁴. During the course of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, many chronicles "paraphrased the Trebeta legend," thereby proving the 'supremacy' of Trier over other cities. This legend spread internationally, and was appreciated by Nicolas of Cusa and future Pope Pius II Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini²⁵, or again reflected in the well-known bestseller Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectens* (1st edition: Cologne: Nicolaus Götz of Sletzstat, 1473/1474, with more than 30 subsequent editions in the late 15th and early 16th centuries).

In accordance to this tradition, H. Schedel and his associates²⁶ take this 'Babylonian' version and illustrate it with a *typical oriental* woodcut. The ar-

24 GUENTHER, Hubertus. The Babylonian Origins of Trier, in: ENENKEL, Karl A. E.; OTTENHEYM, Konrad (eds.). *A The quest for an appropriate past in literature, art and architecture*. Leiden: Brill, 2019, p. 591.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 593.

26 Nuremberg at this time was not only a center of publishing, but also became an arena of intensive humanist activity. It was strengthened by the arrival in 1471 of Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller von Königsberg, 1436–1476) and the creation of his own printing house with a project to print two dozen scientific books. This event aroused the keenest interest among Nuremberg intellectuals in astronomical studies (including their practical part, astrology) and, in general, in all 'Italian' innovations, *studia humanitatis* (for example, the creation of *Poetenschule*' school of poets' under the patronage of the famous humanist, Paduan alumnus, Hans Johann Pirckheimer, 1440–1501), father of Willibald and Caritas. Soon, the Neoplatonic humanist circle appears here, resembling that of M. Ficino's and Bessarion's academies in Florence and Rome. One of the projects of this informal community was a universal world chronicle, created on the initiative and with the funding of Sebald Schreyer (1446–1520) and Sebastian Kammermeister (14??–1503), with the participation of M. Wolgemut, W. Pleydenwurff and others (for example, the famous C. Celtis, who at that time was teaching at the University of Ingolstat). The result of their project is known today under the name of Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), one of the authors of the text who, in turn, received his doctorate in medicine in 1466 at the University of Padua, a hellenophile and follower of M. Ficino's Neoplatonism. On philosophic and esthetic ideas of H. Schedel: Kikuchi, Catherine, *La bibliothèque de Hartmann Schedel à Nuremberg: les apports de Venise à l'humanisme allemand et leurs limites, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge*, 2010, vol. 122/2, p. 379–391; Zinner, Ernst, *Regiomontanus: His Life and Work*; transl. E. Brown. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1990, p. 31.

chitectural curiosities mentioned in the text (the one “resembling Babylonian masonry,” or “the gate made of incredibly large stones, fastened together with iron”), apparently represent the real *Aula Palatina* and *Porta Nigra*. Even the *Igel column* illustrated by the column with the statue, is present on the engraving thus adding ‘oriental’ atmosphere because, in Schedel’s time, these remnants were traditionally considered to be of Babylonian origins (Fig. 7).

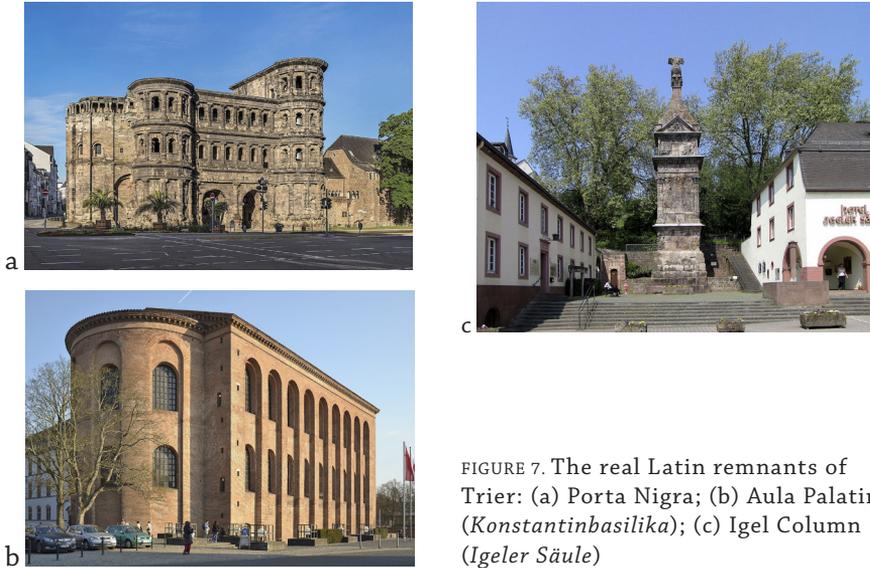


FIGURE 7. The real Latin remnants of Trier: (a) Porta Nigra; (b) Aula Palatina (*Konstantinbasilika*); (c) Igel Column (*Igeler Säule*)

Following Trier, other cities having ‘oriental’ connotations were endowed by the same characteristic ‘oriental’ image. For example, Padua was founded by the legendary Trojan Antenor, and, in the description of its architecture, there are actually domes²⁷ that correspond to the engraving with the domes already available to the publishers. Metz (Metis) is “formely Mediomatricus being the central mother of the region up to Trier,” which we have already mentioned²⁸. For Nicaea (urbis Nicaeae), a city in Asia Minor, the illustration is placed expressively at the page with the text on “Expedition for the Relief of Jerusalem Made in the time of Pope Urban the Second in the Year 1094 (*Expeditio xpianus [christianus] pro liberanda Hierosolima facta tpe [in tempore] Urbani Secundi*,

27 SCHEDEL, Hartmann. *Liber Chronicarum...*, f. XLIIIv.

28 Ibid., f. CXv.

Anno 1094)²⁹. Marseille “was built in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah by the Phocaeans, [...] there came in ships from Asia into the Tiber young men called Phocaeans, who [...] then migrated into the land of Gaul, and [...] built Marseille.” The text also mentions important elements of Marseille that meet the ‘criteria’ of our ‘oriental’ woodcut: the Rhone River, along which they “sailed to the hinterland beyond the sea,” “a promontory at the mouth of the Rhone”, “a well-fortified castle,” “the preservation of cities by walls,” and even “the very beautiful temple to Apollo of Delphi”³⁰ – all of this was in stock and matched the already existing plate. Finally, Lithuania. The *Chronicle* emphasizes the brutal nature of this country (see the story about Sindrigal and his bear), exoticism (piquant matrimonial details)³¹, pagan beliefs (such as serpents, fire, or the sun being worshipped), the presence of the “Hussite heresy” which the authors of the *Chronicle* associate with Manicheanism (*manicheorum imitat infamia*)³², as well as its remoteness in the east (which is evidenced by the map given below, after F. CCXCIX, where Lithuania is eloquently positioned as the ‘Orient’), which thoroughly justifies the presence of a crescent.

Thus, in the *Chronicle*, woodcuts ‘type’ with domes designate ‘oriental’ cities, which, either by their location, or by their origin, or by manners, fell under the characteristic ‘oriental’³³.

This observation about the domes excludes specific, *non-type woodcuts with domed buildings* in Schedel’s *Chronicle* for iconic Christian cities: Rome, f. LVIIv–LVIIIr (with its majestic Vatican Palace/*Palatium Pape*, Colosseum, the ancient marble sculptures of the Dioscuri, or Horse Tamers, the Church of Santa Maria Rotonda / *Maria Rotu[r]da*); Constantinople, f. CXXIXv and CXXXr (with *Saint Sophia* / *Sancte Sophie* and the ancient columns); Florence (with the recognizable dome of Florence Cathedral by Filippo Brunelleschi, f. LXXXVII) and Venice, f. XLIIIv and XLIIIr, well-known for its Byzantium-style architecture and domes (Fig. 8)

29 Ibid., f. CXCIIIv.

30 Ibid., f. LXIr.

31 Ibid., f. CCLXXXr.

32 Ibid., f. CCLXXXr.

33 The same trend is observed in numerous editions of the already mentioned Werner Rolevinck’s *Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectens* (1st edition: Cologne: Nicolaus Götz of Sletzstat, 1473/1474): e.g. in the Venice edition by Erhard Ratdolf, 1481, the same identical illustration with the domes is used for Nineveh, f. 5r; Roma, f. 13r and F. 49v; “*Nabuchodonosor subuerit Hierusalem*”, f. 14r and “*Hierusalem reedificatur*”, f. 17v; “*Bisantium civitas*”, f. 14v; “*Antiochie*”, f. 40v.

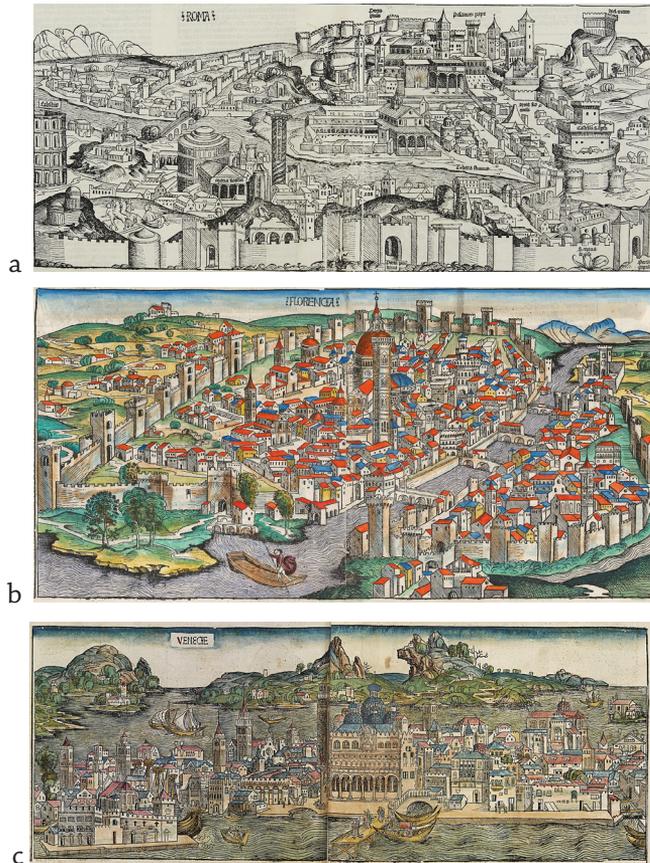


FIGURE 8. Original images for Christian cities with the domes in Schedel's Chronicle: (a) Rome; (b) Florence; (c) Venice

Schedel's *Chronicle* has several more unique, *non-type engravings with domes*, intended, this time, for the *true oriental cities*: Babylon (f. XXIIIv) and Jerusalem (f. XVIIr, f. XLVIIIr, f. LXIIIv, f. LXIIIr, f. LXIIIv). The image for Jerusalem was borrowed from Bernhard von Breydenbach's (1440–1497) pilgrimage book³⁴ (illustrated by Erhard Reuwich, 1445–1505), translated and reedited many times (with at least 12 editions between 1486 and 1522). Breydenbach's *Pilgrimage* contains fold-out sheets with illustrious maps of Venice and Jerusalem (Fig. 9).

34 BREYDENBACH, Bernhard von, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*. Mainz: Erhard Reuwich, 1486.

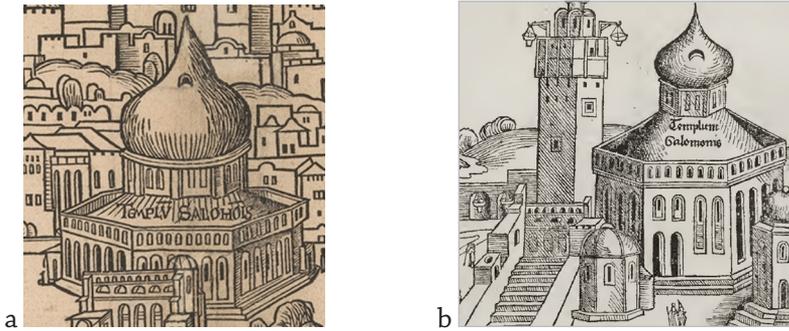


FIGURE 9. Images of Jerusalem with the inscription *Templum Salomonis* and the inverted crescent on the dome: (a) Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, 1486 edition from the Metropolitan Museum (in this edition, the Jerusalem view is placed between folios CXLII and CXLIII); (b) Schedel's *Chronicle*, f. XLVIIIr

Since it is Jerusalem that is directly related to Skaryna's *The Book of Lamentations*, we should examine the images of this city in more detail. As Shchakatzikhin rightly noted, "if the author of Skaryna's woodcut [in *The Book of Lamentations* – O. Sh.] had really used Schedel, then it would be completely inexplicable why he would have borrowed the type of a city taken purely by chance – whether that be Padua or any other city [and we can add here in parenthesis 'Trier', 'Metz', 'Nicaea', 'Marseille', or even the more relevant for Skaryna 'Lithuania' – O. Sh.] – while Schedel's *Chronicle* has the specific woodcut with a view of Jerusalem (Fol. XVII, *secunda etas mundi*), which was exactly what Skaryna needed in this case"³⁵ (Fig. 10).

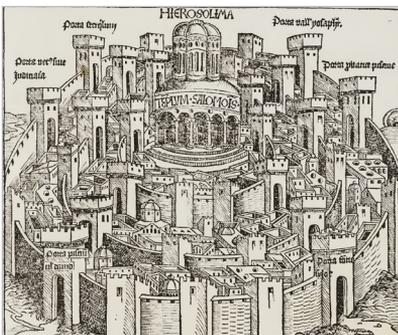


FIGURE 10. One of Jerusalem's views in Schedel's *Chronicle*, f. XVIIr

35 SHCHAKATSIKHIN, Mikola. *Gravury i knizhnyja azdoby...*, p. 203.

This assumption by Shchakatzikhin, even if not conforming to reality, however, still needs a clarification. The fact is that the authors of the Chronicle in depicting Jerusalem followed a millennial tradition that had developed in the Christian iconography. The Biblical Temple built by Solomon, destroyed by the Babylonians, and then again rebuilt by Zerubbabel and reconstructed by Herod, was one of the most stunning architectural constructions in the ancient



FIGURE 11. The 15th century images of the *Templum Domini* (The Dome of the Rock as the ancient Temple of Solomon): (a) *Biblia Übers. aus dem Lat. Mit Glossen nach der Postilla litteralis des Nicolaus de Lyra, Vorrede und Register*, Köln: Bartholemäus von Unckel, Heinrich Quentell, ca. 1478–79: “Solomon shows to Sabba the Temple” (in fact, the Dome of the Rock here has as many as 7 crescents); the same woodcut is repeated in Koberger’s Bible (Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 17 II 1483, f. CLXII); (b) Bianco, pseudo Noè, *Viaggio da Venetia al Sancto Sepulchro et al mo(n)te Sinai piu copiosame(n)te descrito de li altri con disegni de paesi, citade, porti (et) chiesie (et) li santi loghi con molte altre santimonie che qui si trovano designate et descrite come sono ne li luoghi lor propri (et)c*, Venezia: Niccolò Zoppino e Vincenzo Di Paolo, 19 IX 1518, frontispiece, with an inverted crescent on the dome; (c) *The Marriage of the Virgin*, Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, 1504, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; (d) *Destrucio Iherosolime*, Schedel’s *Chronicle*, f. LXIIIv and f. LXIIIr, the burning *Templum Salomonis* is represented as the Dome of the Rock with a crescent

world, which was firmly imprinted in the mass culture and human subconscious even after Titus and Vespasian demolished it in 70 AD. The temple was thought to have been built over the Foundation Stone which supported the Ark of the Covenant. After invading Jerusalem, the Muslims built there their first Mosque, while later in the 7th century they rebuilt in the majestic octagonal shrine that is called today the *Dome of the Rock* (Fig. 12). As Pamela Berger puts it: “By the 9th century, the *Dome of the Rock* had been conflated in the popular imagination with the ancient [Jewish – O. Sh.] sanctuary, and, from then on, the Jewish Temple was rendered in imagery as a polygonal or circular structure with a dome, even though literate Christian and Jews knew that the Bible had described the Temple as rectangular in plan”³⁶. When the crusaders occupied Jerusalem, they, like everyone else, identified the site of the Dome of the Rock as that of the Ancient Temple and consequently called the building the *Templum Domini*³⁷ (Fig. 11).



FIGURE 12. The contemporary Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem

By virtue of being a man of the Renaissance Dr. Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514)³⁸ certainly knew how the Bible (Ezekiel 40–48) describes the Temple of Solomon; the Cronicle even illustrated it with the appropriate diagrams giving the visionary *Templum Salomonis* executed as a medieval structure, with gothic windows and doors (Fig. 13).

36 BERGER, Pamela. *The Crescent on the Temple: the Dome of the Rock as Image of the Ancient Jewish Sanctuary*. Leiden: Brill, 2012, p. ix.

37 Ibid., p. x.

38 Cf. CUSHING DUNIWAY, David, A Study of The Nuremberg Chronicle, in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 35, № 1 (First Quarter, 1941), p. 17–34; KIKUCHI, Catherine, La bibliothèque de Hartmann Schedel à Nuremberg: les apports de Venise à l’humanisme allemand et leurs limites. *Les Mélanges de l’École française de Rome - Moyen Âge (MEFRM)*, 2010, 122/2, p. 379–391.

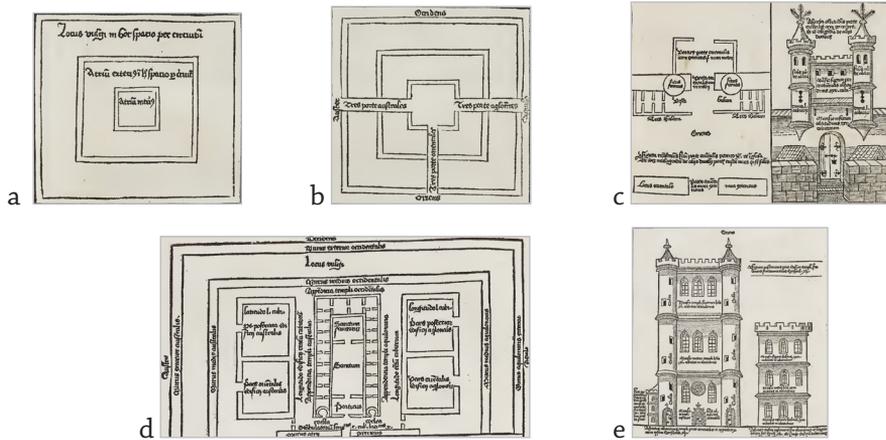


FIGURE 13. Building of the temple (*De Edificatione templi*) in Schedel's *Chronicle*, f. LXVIr andv: (a) "The first figure of the temple edifice as shown to Ezekiel over the mountain" (*Prima figura edificii templi ostensa Ezechieli super montem*); (b) "The second figure to facilitate understanding" (*Secunda figura ad facilius capiendum*); (c) "The succeeding two figures represent the ornamentation of the Gate" (*Sequentes duae figurae ornatum portae repraesentant*); (d) "Ground plan of the posterior Gate" (*Figura posterioris partis edificii templi secundum lineas fundamentales Ezechielis XII*); (e) "Elevation of the east gate with appendages" (*Aspectus altitudinis templi portae orientalis et appenditorum secundum ipsum Ezechielem XII*), and the North Edifice (*Aspectus edificii aqulonarum secundum altitudinem et longitudinem secundum Ezech. XII*)

However, when they needed a realistic image for Jerusalem and its Temple, the *Chronicle's* editors deliberately took a ready-made and widespread model of the Muslim Temple (as shown above, from Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*), i.e., a depiction of the contemporary to them Jerusalem, known from recent pilgrimages, with the *Templum Salomonis* in the form of the *Dome of the Rock* (Fig. 14).



FIGURE 14. Destruction of Jerusalem (*Destructio Iherosolime*), Schedel's *Chronicle*, f. LXIIIv and LXIIIr

Moreover, the publishers emphasized their *contemporary* point of view with the text (“O how lamentable and shameful it is that the Saracens, enemies of the Cross, should hold the Temple of Solomon in which the Lord often preached”³⁹ while subsequently claiming the future victory of Jesus (the image of Jesus tempted by Satan from Luke 4:5–9, is placed on upper left), Fig. 15.



FIGURE 15. Jesus and Satan in Jerusalem, Scheidel's *Chronicle*, f. LXIIIv, detail

To recapitulate: while they were well aware that the ancient Biblical Temple was not round or octagonal, but rather *rectangular*, still, by giving diagrams of its original ‘visionary’ design, when the need arose *to update* it in a modern sense, the publishers deliberately went on to present it as the Dome of the Rock.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the *Bivlia ruska*. In the Third Book of Kings, we see the rectangular temple of Solomon, in full accordance with the biblical text translated by Skaryna himself and, therefore, well known to him (Fig. 16).

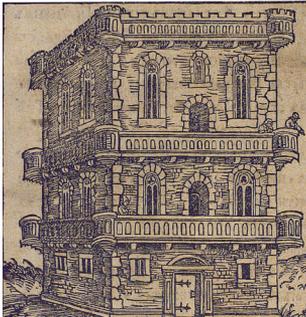


FIGURE 16. The model of the Temple according to Solomon (Взоръ хр[а]мъ г[р]ѣбна ѿ саломона деланого), Skorina, F. *The Books of Reigns* (Третии книги цар[ст]вѣ), Prague, 1518, f. 133r

39 SCHEDEL, Hartman. *Liber Chronicarum...*, f. LXIIIv; BULLEN, Henry Lewis. *The Nuremberg Chronicle or The Book of Chronicles from the Beginning of the World, the most Famous of German Picture Books of the Fifteenth Century, printed in the Free City of Nuremberg in Fourteen Hundred & Ninety-three: Its Background, its Provenance, its Creators, its Patrons, its Illustrations and its Literary plan: with a Leaf from the First Latin Edition*. San Francisco: Printed for the Book Club of California by John Henry Nash, 1930.

However, when it becomes necessary to show an *actualized* image of the city Jerusalem being destroyed, Skaryna, unlike the Nuremberg publishers, does not use the widespread contemporary images of Jerusalem and the Temple as the Dome of the Rock – this is quite obvious if comparing the landscape on Skaryna’s *Jeremiah weeping*. Instead of the Dome of the Rock and it being surrounded by rectangular Romanesque-looking buildings, his Jeremiah sits against the backdrop of *numerous domed buildings and towers*.

In the private correspondence, I. Lemeshkin drew our attention to the same method of actualization of the biblical story in the engraving of 1518 *Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, conquers Jerusalem* (НАБѢХОНОСОѢ ЦАРЬ БАВИЛОСКИЙ ДОВЫВАЕЪ ЁРУСАЛИМА, *The Books of Reigns (Книги четвертыи цар[ст]въ*, Prague, 1518, f. 183), where the Emmaus Monastery of the New Town of Prague is identified⁴⁰. In this case, the actualization (Emmaus Monastery depiction as the center of Jerusalem) may have been associated with a real event: the reform of the city government in Prague on the 30th of August 1518, which is also apparently confirmed by the analysis of the colophons in the *Bivlia ruska* (from “in the Old City of Prague” to “in the Great City of Prague”)⁴¹.

Skaryna actualizes *The Book of Lamentations* with an image of an event that marked the minds of intellectuals of the late Quattrocento – the fall of Constantinople in 1453. This historic rupture led to a massive migration, mostly to Italy, of Byzantine scholars, philosophers, grammarians, politicians and theologians⁴². Exodus from Constantinople greatly contributed to the revival

40 NEMIROVSKIJ, Je. L. *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer*, in 7 Bänden (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1996–2007). Band III, 1998, p. 119; VOIT, P. *Novye svedenia o dejatelnosti Francyska Skoriny v Prage*, p. 350; LEMESKIN I., VOIT, P. *Skorina ir Ćekija. Rusėniškoji Biblija*, in: NARBUTAS, Sigitas (ed.), *Pranciškaus Skorinos “Rusėniškajai Biblijai” – 500*. Vilnius: Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, 2017, p. 66–67.

41 LEMESHKIN, I. *Biblia Przhskaja (1488) i Bivlia ruska Franciska Skoriny*. Mesto pechatania, in: edited by Grusha A. I. (ed.), *Francysk Skaryna: asoba, dziejnaszt’, spadchyna*, Minsk: Belarускаia navuka, 2017, p. 160–161.

42 Guy Picarda was the first to express this hypothesis speaking about the importance of the Constantinople event for the Renaissance when emphasizing the context of Cabala and the Cabbalistic character of Skaryna’s writings: “The fall of Constantinople in 1453, together with the conquest, of Grenada by the Spaniards in 1492, precipitated the movement of Byzantine, Jewish and Morisco scholars into Central and Western Europe. With them came new attitudes and fresh ideas, rooted in an ancient and often forgotten past, including Helleno-Islamic philosophy and Hebrew Cabalistic mysticism. The study of Plato (Arab. “Flatun”) and the Platonists was renewed in the Florentine medical circle of Marsiglio Ficino (1433–1499), who extended the scope of Renaissance research by his

of the Greek studies in Europe which became an important vector in the development of the Renaissance. The Greek language, Greek manuscripts, ideas of the Palaeologan Renaissance brought to the Italian soil, the famous confrontation between Averroists (the 'old' interpretation of Aristotle by Averrois) and Neoplatonists (the 'new' Platonic Academy of George Gemistus Plethon, c. 1360–1452, and then Marsilio Ficino, 1433–1499, in Florence, Academy of Cardinal Bessarion, 1403–1472, Neoplatonist thinker and patron of the arts and sciences in Rome⁴³) were of paramount importance to the Italian humanist thought of the late Quattrocento⁴⁴.

The so-called *Prisca theologia* which would embrace all the knowledge of humanity beginning with Zoroaster (for Plethon), Hermes Trismegistus (for M. Ficino) and Plato and culminating in the Christianity first appeared in works of G. Plethon, and was later developed by M. Ficino. It became a major point of the Renaissance intellectual thought. Although not directly, but we can still capture several of its echoes in Skaryna's *Prefaces to the Biblia ruska*.

In his *Skazanie* to the First Book of Genesis, Skaryna says: "Whoever from the philosophers could understand that the Lord by his only word created from nothing everything visible and invisible, to their father Aristotle saying 'nothing creates nothing'. But we, Christians, having perfect faith in Almighty God in the Trinity, who created Heaven and Earth in six days, and this is the essence"⁴⁵. This name of Aristotle coming from Skaryna was always perceived as a proof of his erudition or even his commitment to Averroism (reinterpretation of Aristotle). However, a *close reading* of this phrase gives us the following: (1) Skaryna does not classify himself as a follower of Aristotle (they *vs.* us); (2) Skaryna was against Aristotelianism and Averroism which considered that

translation of the Corpus Hermeticum, a work attributed to the semi-mythical Egyptian priest and supposed contemporary of Moses, Hermes Trimegiscos," in: PICARDA, Guy. *Francis Skaryna and the Cabala*: [Manuscript]. London, Anglo-Belarusian Society Archives, 1992, p. 20, 66.

43 For example, Cardinal Bessarion was the patron of such astronomers and mathematicians as G. Purbach and J. Regiomontanus.

44 On the role of Byzantine scholars in Italy, cf.: MONFASANI, John. *Renaissance Humanism, from the Middle Ages to Modern Times*, Routledge, 2016; Id. *Byzantine scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and other émigrés*. Selected essays, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995.

45 In the original: "Кто убо от филозофовъ могъ поразуме | ти Абы господь богъ словомъ своимъ, низшего сотво | рилъ вся видимая иневидимая. Старейшине ихъ | Аристотелю глаголющу, Знисчего ничтоже бысть. | Мы пакъ хрестиане зупольную веру имамы, Все | могущего вотроици единого бога, вшести днехъ сот | ворившего Небо и землю, И вся еже суть внихъ", in: SKORINA, Francisk, *Skazanie vopervye Knigi Moiseovy rekomye Byt'a*, Prague, 1519, f. 8.

it is impossible to create “the visible and invisible” out of nothing; (3) Skaryna, unlike Aristotle, advocates the *ex nihilo* principle, which was at the very center of fierce discussions between the supporters of Aristotle (Averroists) and Plato (in the renewed interpretation by Marsilio Ficino). “That God produced the world from nothing by his infinite power” (*infinita virtute mundum produxit ex nihilo*), wrote M. Ficino in his preface to Plato’s *Timaeus*⁴⁶.

“Marsilio Ficino of Florence, a man of extraordinary intelligence..., and now a prince among Platonic doctors,” as the *Nuremberg Chronicle* calls him⁴⁷ gives us himself a possible key to understanding Skaryna’s sign ‘sun-moon’ which is present in his Jeremiah engraving and so many others in the *Bivlia ruska*. Ficino concludes his *Preface (Argumentum)* to his illustrious translation of Hermes’s *Pimander*⁴⁸ with the words: “But the divine light of Mind never infuses the soul, unless the soul itself is turned toward the Mind of God, as the *moon toward the sun*”⁴⁹. Taking the sun as a symbol of centrality which “is filled with the world-soul, and our intellectual soul comes to us from the sun, bringing life”⁵⁰, Ficino develops this visual analogy when further talking about the moon as the sun’s mirror (this thought as a common thread for his writings, was even an object of special work: *Liber de sole. Liber de lumine*, Firenze: Antonio Miscomini, 1493, cap. XI). As today’s authority on Ficino Valery Rees puts it, “This gives especial

46 FICINO, Marsilio. *Platonic theology*. Latin and English, translated by Allen, Michael J. B., edited by Hankins, James. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006, vol. VI, book 18, p. 82–83.

47 SCHEDEL, Hartman. *Liber Chronicarum...*, f. CCLVIV.

48 In this sense, it is no coincidence that the “Foreword of Doctor Francysk Skaryna from Polotsk to the Books of the First Kingdoms” mentions Hermes Trismegistus (SKORINA, Francisk, *Predoslovie doktora Francyska Skoriny s Polotska v Knigi pervye tsarstv*, Praga, 1518, f. 1v).

49 In the original: “Diuino itaque opus fst lumi | ne vt folis luce folem ipsum intueamur. Lumen vero | diuine mentis nunquam infunditur anime nisi ipsa (ceu | luna ad folem) ad dei mentem penitus conuertatur”, in: FICINO, Marsilio, *Contenta in hoc volumine Pimander: Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate dei. Marsilio Ficino interprete*, Paris: J. Lefèvre d’Étaples, 1505, f. 3v. This translation of the legendary Hermes Trismegistus by Marsilio Ficino was first published in Treviso in 1471 as *Pimander, Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate* by Geraert van der Leye/Gherardo de Lisa and won a great success among the intellectuals all over Europe (24 editions in 1471–1641): MAHÉ, Jean-Pierre, *La Renaissance et le mirage égyptien*, in Van Den Broeck, Roelof and Van Heertum, Cis (eds.). *From Poimandres to Jacob Böhme: Gnosis, Hermetism and the Christian Tradition*. Amsterdam: Brill, 2000, p. 371.

50 REES, Valery, *Seeing and the Unseen: Marsilio Ficino and the Visual Arts*, in Hub, Berthold and Kodera, Sergius (eds.), *Iconology, Neoplatonism, and the Arts in the Renaissance*. Routledge, 2023, p. 89–120.

potency to his use elsewhere of the image of moon as mind, for if the moon's light is the light of the sun reflected, the light of the mind is a reflection of God's light"⁵¹.

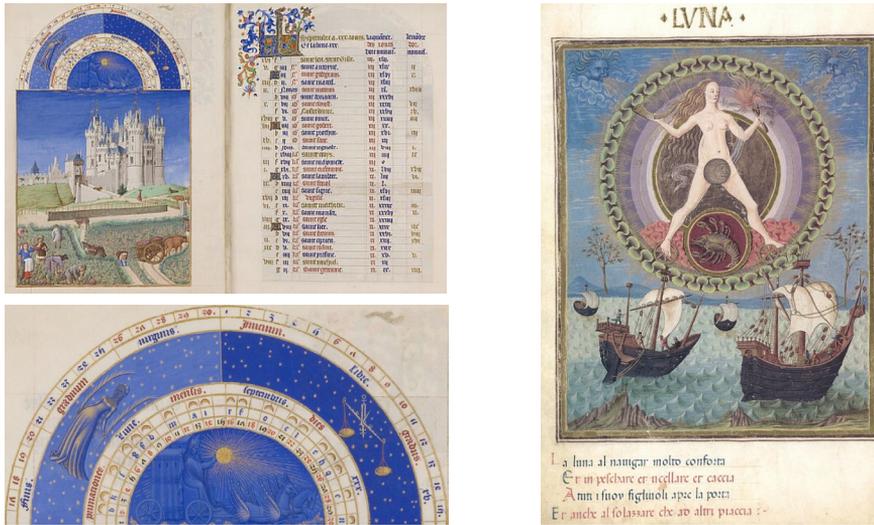


FIGURE 17. Astrological connotations of the Sun and the Moon. Left: September, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, first half of the 15th century, frères de Limbourg. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, 0065 (1284), f. 9v–10r. Below: Ibid., detail. Right: *Sphaerae coelestis et planetarum descriptio*, ca. 1450, Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, Italy

The images of celestial luminaires with human faces as a reference of the human soul and the mind of God became the visualized motto for the Renaissance intellectuals⁵². This intellectual transition in collective imagination was prepared by the late medieval époque when sun/moon symbolism was connected with astrology and where the sun and the moon as figural cosmic symbols regu-

51 Ibid.

52 This interpretation of the 'solar-lunar' sign and common in Skaryna's period as the embodiment of Neoplatonic ideas of the convergence of the human mind (moon) with the divine wisdom (the sun) correlates with the idea expressed by Picarda in 1992 about the possible proximity with Francis of Assisi's canticle *Brother Sun and Sister Moon* which created a 'typical' base for such images (PICARDA, Guy. *Francis Skaryna and the Cabala...*, p. 7).

larly appear in manuscript astrological guides as well as in devotional books⁵³ (Fig. 17).

The pages of the astrological manual meticulously show celestial bodies in different houses and their influences on their ‘children’: “The moon is very comforting in sailing. And in fishing and birding and hunting. It opens the door to all its children. And also in amusement that others like”⁵⁴.

Likewise, one of the most recognizable manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (early first half of the 15th century) opens prayer cycles with a calendar containing the astrological data for each month (as the golden number, the Sunday letter, the number of days in the month, the name of the saint, the number of light hours and minutes for each day are written in separate columns). This information is traditional, albeit very accurate, for medieval calendars. The astonishing thing which completely ‘stands out’ of the tradition is that each table is preceded (on the left) by a full-page miniature containing the astrological signs of the zodiac for each month, and, in the very center of the celestial spheres, the chariot of Apollo carrying the Sun is proudly floated.

With the spread of the Neoplatonic discourse into the intellectual life of the end of the Quattrocento and the beginning of the Cinquecento, the most prominently traditional representations of the Crucifixion change connotations: “The angels relate to God as the stars to the Sun. But the soul alone relates to God as the Moon to the Sun. So nothing prevents the soul from descending from the divine and apprehending the divine, and yet from being moved by its own nature and from being able always to be moved and to live”⁵⁵. In profoundly

53 The personification of the sun and the moon, known since pagan times, was ‘adapted’ through the Roman tradition (for example, Tauroctony frescos and reliefs) by the early Christian art which echoed the canonical story of the Crucifixion: “It was now about noon, and darkness came over the whole land until three in the afternoon, for the sun stopped shining. And the curtain of the temple was torn in two” (Luke 23: 44–46). Up to the early 15th century, the anthropomorphic sun and moon are almost obligatorily present as “Christ’s eternal mastery of the world, are engraved at the top on either side of the Cross and underline the universal significance of the event at Golgotha and its timeless truth” (SCHILLER, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian art*. Vol. 2: The passion of Jesus Christ. London: Lund Humphries, 1972, 2nd edition, p. 8).

54 In the original: “La luna al navigar molto conforta | Et in pescare et ucellare et caccia | A tutti i suoi figliuoli apre la porta | Et anche al sollazzare che ad altri piaccia” (*Sphaerae coelestis et planetarum descriptio*, ca. 1450, Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, Italy).

55 FICINO, M. *Platonic theology*, Vol. I. Books 1–4, Book III chapter 1: 16, p. 231 (first published: Ficino, Marsilio, *Platonica theologia de immortalitate animorum*, Florence: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 1482).

Renaissance Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the last image of the crucified Christ depicts not only God the Father and the dove of the Holy Ghost representing the Trinity, but *also* the anthropomorphic sun and moon (Fig. 18).



FIGURE 18. Petrarca, Francesco. *Trionfi* (comm: Bernardo Lapini da Siena) e *Canzoniere* (comm: Franciscus Philelphus and Hieronymus Squarzafricanus), *Triumphus Divinitatis*. Rev: Gabriel Bruno and Girolamo Centone. Venice: Petrus de Plasiis, Cremonensis, In two parts, dated: I) 10 May 1491; II) 1 Apr. 1492. T. 1: *Trionfi*, f. 119v, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

This amalgam of the Christian teaching with the ancient knowledge and aesthetics of the Antiquity, despite seeming paradoxical, is still progressive and constantly present in the Renaissance intellectual life⁵⁶. In the *Book of Intellect* by Charles Bovelles, we find its visual incarnation and textual explanation: “Divine face spreads his divine light and embodies both in the angelic intellect, ‘pure and unmixed like the Sun in its final appearance’, and the human intellect which is ‘mixed and specifically affected by the Moon’”⁵⁷ (Fig. 19).

Given the impact that the Byzantine culture had on the spread of Neoplatonism (and the spread of the solar-lunar symbolism as its embodi-

56 On the visual influences of Ficino’s teaching see: GOMBRICH, Ernst. *Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought*, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1948, vol. 11, p. 163–192; TOUSSAINT, Stéphane. Sangallo, Ghirlandaio, Ficino ou le Soleil de Santa Trinita. *Academia: Revue de la Société Marsile Ficin*, 2018, XX (2018), p. 111–131.

57 BOVELLES, Charles. *Liber de intellectu. Liber de sensu. Liber de nichilo. Ars oppositorum. Liber de generatione. Liber de sapiente. Liber de duodecim numeris. Epistole complures. Insuper mathematicum opus quadripartitum. De Numeris perfectis. De Mathematicis rosis. De Geometricis corporibus. De Geometricis supplementis*, Parisiis: Henrici Stephani (Henri Estienne the Elder), 1510, f. 2v.

ment), there is nothing surprising in the fact that Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* depicts the recently fallen Constantinople as the "fallen city" of Jerusalem⁵⁸. Here, in the engraving *Jeremiah the prophet of the Lord weeps while looking at Jerusalem*, symbolism of landscape is employed with – apparently – Hagia Sophia decorated with a crescent, the very Skaryna's sign of Sun/Moon, which was so frequently placed on the top of his Bible compositions, is situated at the bottom, at the feet of Jeremiah, and even the sun and the moon themselves seem to be expressing their grief.

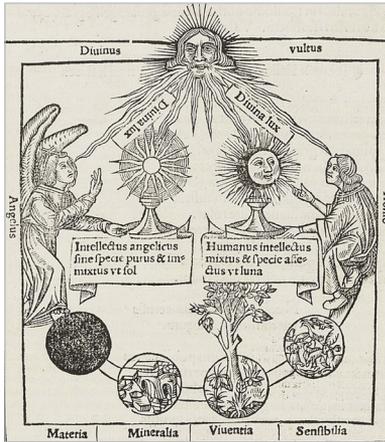


FIGURE 19. The image of the intellect. Bovelles, Charles, *Liber de intellectu. Liber de sensu. Liber de nichilo. Ars oppositorum. Liber de generatione. Liber de sapiente. Liber de duodecim numeris. Epistole complures. Insuper mathematicum opus quadripartitum. De Numeris perfectis. De Mathematicis rosis. De Geometricis corporibus. De Geometricis supplementis*, Parisiis: Henrici Stephani (Henri Estienne the Elder), 1510

The fall of Constantinople inspired the artistic imagination during the century. Constantinople was called the New Jerusalem, and merely a few years after the fall, it appears in the religious paintings of the Italian painters Andrea Mantegna⁵⁹, Vittore Carpaccio⁶⁰ or Jacopo Bellini replacing the real Jerusalem⁶¹ (Fig. 20).

58 We meet the first supposition that *Bivlia ruska's* engraving of prophet Jeremiah illustrates the fall of Constantinople in Picarda's unpublished work already cited above; his supposition was based primarily on Cabbalistic interpretation of Skaryna's "heraldic device and emblem of the Shekinah" (PICARDA, Guy. *Francis Skaryna and the Cabala...*, p. 66).

59 VICKERS, Michael. Mantegna and Constantinople, *The Burlington Magazine* 883, 1976, CXVIII, p. 687.

60 GENTILI, Augusto. *Le storie di Carpaccio. Venezia, i turchi, gli ebrei*, Venezia: Marsilio, 1996, p. 182.

61 DRAKOPOULOU, Eugénie. Représentations De Constantinople Après La Chute: Prolongements Idéologiques: *La Revue Historique. Institut de Recherches Néohelléniques*, 2004, Vol. I, p. 89–112, p. 94.



a



b



c

FIGURE 20. Constantinople as Jerusalem in the paintings of the late Quattrocento – early Cinquecento Italy: (a) *Agony in the Garden / La Prière au jardin des oliviers*, Andrea Mantegna, 1457–1459 (part of the San Zeno Altarpiece, Basilica di San Zeno, today in the Musée des Beaux-arts, Tours), detail; (b) *The Agony in the Garden*, Andrea Mantegna, c. 1455–1456, The National Gallery, London, detail; (c) *The Sermon of St. Stephen*, Vittorino Carpaccio, 1514, Louvre, Paris, detail

In fact, Skaryna’s woodcut illustrating the grief of Jeremiah over the imminent destruction and fall of Jerusalem does not depict Jerusalem with its actualized as the Dome of the Rock *Templum Domini Salomonis* and the rectangular buildings surrounding it, but the city *the description of which we find in the same Schedel’s Chronicle*. This description includes “fine tall buildings to such an extent that strangers coming there were so astonished at its appearance that they regarded it not merely as the home of mortal sinners but of the celestials as well,” and “the cathedral of Sophia ... worthy of universal admiration, ... built with wonderful skill and of costly materials”⁶² (Fig. 21).

It is this text that detailed Skaryna’s Jeremiah with a majestic three-storied temple with high thin-domed columns reminiscent of the famous columns of Constantinople. A similar description, with “majestic domed Saint Sophia” and “countless tall columns”⁶³ can be found in the manuscript of Cristoforo

⁶² SCHEDEL, Hartman. *Liber Chronicarum...*, f. LXXIXv.

⁶³ *Description des Isles de l’Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti; Version grecque par un ano-*

Buondelmonti who traveled to Istanbul, the Aegean Islands and Cyprus, and composed *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, or *Book of Islands* in 1420, which was widely circulated and translated⁶⁴ (Fig. 22).

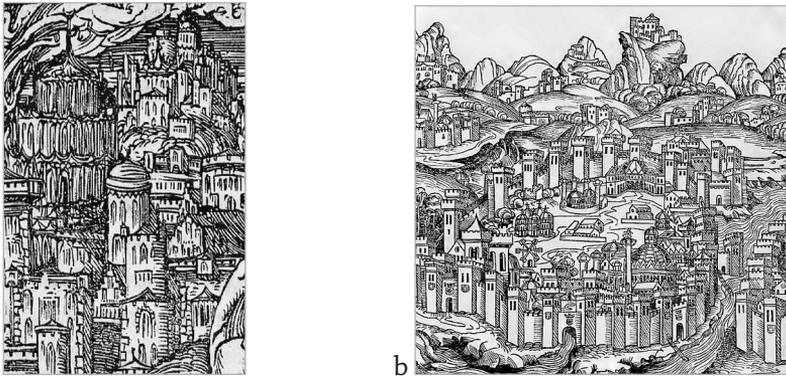


FIGURE 21. The landscape of Constantinople in Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* and Schedel's *Chronicle*: (a) "And he wept over Jerusalem" (ερεμιά πρὸς γῆνὴν πλάττει γλεῖδα μα ἱερουσαλη), detail; (b) *Constantinopolis expugnatio a turchis*, Schedel's *Chronicle*, f. CCXLIXr

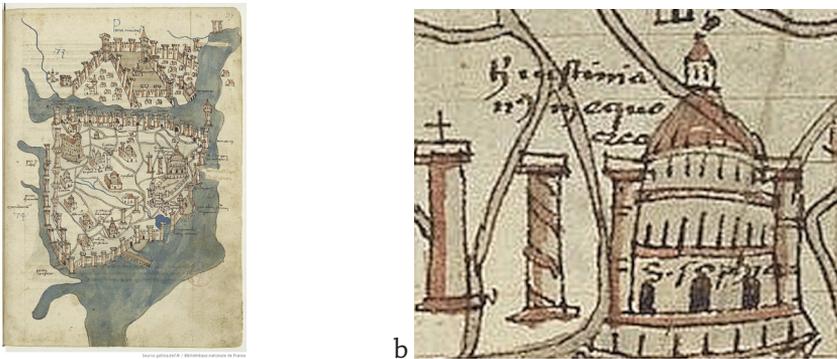


FIGURE 22. *Constantinopolis civitas*, in Buondelmonti, Cristoforo, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*: (a) MS, circa 1465–75, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. 37v; (b) Ibid., detail with Saint Sophia

nyme. Publiée d'après le manuscrit du sérial avec une traduction française et un commentaire par Emile Legrand. L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes; 4^{ème} série, vol. 14, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897, p. 241–246.

⁶⁴ THOMOV, Thomas. New information about Cristoforo Buondelmonti's drawings of Constantinople, *Byzantion*, 1996, vol. 66, №. 2, p. 431–445.

By virtue of reflecting the Renaissance aesthetics and sensibility, greatly influenced by the Italian editions, *Bivlia ruska* followed the trend depicting Constantinople as Jerusalem with “Byzantine motives” which corresponded to the taste for ‘orientalism’ and the actual cultural context after the fall of the Byzantine civilization⁶⁵, while actualizing this event with great mastery.

The posture of Jeremiah and his face express suffering while looking at the town. The iconography of a prophet sitting with a book, apparently sad, near a



FIGURE 23. The images of St. Anthony and Prophet Jeremiah in the late 15th and early 16th centuries: (a) *De Santo Anthonio*, ca. 1480–85, in *Livre d’heures*. Blackburn collection, f. 31, Robert Lehman Collection (1975.1.2467), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; (b) *Jeremia flevit desolatione Ierusalem*, in Mielot, Jean, *Miroir de l’humaine salvation*, ca. XV B., f. 16v. La Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly; (c) *Incomencia et libro de le lamentatione de Iheremia propheta*, in *Biblia vulgare istoriata*. Venetia: Giovanni Ragazzo, 1490; (d) *Jeremiass prorok*, in *Biblij Czěská, w Benatkach tistěná*. Venice: P. Lichtenstein, 1506

65 OLSCHKI, Leonardo. Asiatic Exoticism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance. *The Art Bulletin*, 1944, Vol. 26, No. 2, p. 95–106.

city (or even, as in the case of a miniature from the French *Miroir de l'humaine salvation*, Jerusalem with the Temple of the Rock as the *Templum Solomonis*) by the 16th century was largely widespread as a type. The images of Prophet Jeremiah (and St. Anthony, due to the already mentioned 'suspicions' of the similarity of Skaryna's Jeremiah with Dürer's St. Anthony) was so notorious that both A. Dürer (it is worth noting that Dürer turned away from the usual image of the temptation of St. Anthony, and depicted him according to the iconographic type of Jeremiah) and F. Skaryna could use the idea (Fig. 23).

Therefore, weeping over the city, with a book in his hands, Jeremiah was a common iconological type (contrary to St. Anthony rather depicted being tempted by demons, without the city backdrop). At the same time, the landscape of the city, which meant Jerusalem, was 'actualized' by the contemporary



FIGURE 24. 'Oriental' head-dressings in Italian paintings: (a) Benozzo Gozzoli (*Corteo dei Magi*, 1459–1462, Cappella dei Magi, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence); (b) Domenico di Bartolo (frescoes for Pilgrim's Hall in the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala, 1439–1444, Siena); (c) Perugino (*Saint Bernardino curing Nicola di Lorenzo da Prato, attacked by a bull*, 1473, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia); (d) Vittore Carpaccio, *St. Stephen is Consecrated Deacon*, 1511, Staatliche Museen, Berlin), details

views of the authors. Jeremiah from the *Czech Bible* is sitting and facing rectangular walls. The background landscape of Dürer's Anthony shows his native gothic roofs. The dramatically different landscape of Skaryna's Jeremiah also 'actualizes' the city, but depicts the domes of Constantinople, the columns and St. Sophia crowned with a Muslim cross symbolizing its conquest in 1453.

The same 'actualization' proceeds for Jeremiah's habits in the *Bivlia ruska*. Despite the apparent similarity with Dürer's *Anthony*, the Jeremiah of Skaryna does not wear a hooded monastic habit. Jeremiah is dressed in a sort of cloak that completely covers him, and a very peculiar 'cap'. Notably, the head-dressing of the 'traditional Jeremiahs' shown above was a kind of turban that appeared, of course, due to the fashion for 'orientalism'.

'Turban-shaped' and similar exotic head-dresses can be found in large numbers in the Italian paintings and books of the late Quattrocento – early Cinquecento (Fig. 24).

These examples (as well as numerous others) show not only the variety of the 'oriental' types, but also reveal the real characters behind them. Besides the well-known members of the Medici family on the fresco *The Journey of the Magi* by Gozzoli, we find Georgios Gemistos Plethon, Giovanni Argiropulo, Theodor Gaza and other prominent Greek scholars⁶⁶. These 'types' were intended to present well-known contemporary personalities as biblical (i.e. 'oriental' in form) figures.

We could also find the same 'orientalism' in incunables, for example, in the already mentioned Breidenbach's *Peregrinationum* which shows *Sarracenis* et *Grecis*⁶⁷ (Fig. 25).

Skaryna's Jeremiah has a completely different head-dress, in contrast both to the occidental monastic hood of Dürer's St. Anthony and the 'exotic' oriental turbans of the 'Saracens', as well as to the habits of the 'Greeks'. His head-dress is similar to the Phrygian cap, but with a circular curving-up brim. This hat is a Greek version of the Jewish cone-shaped hat called *pileus cornutus*⁶⁸ which was widespread from the 12th to the 17th centuries⁶⁹.

66 RONCHEY, Silvia. *L'enigma di Piero: L'ultimo bizantino e la cruciate fantasma nella rivelazione di un grande quadro*, Milano: Rizzoli, 2006, p. 110–179.

67 BREYDENBACH, Bernhardus de. *Sanctaru[m] peregrinationu[m] in montem Syon ad venerandu[m] xp[ist]i sepulcru[m] in Ierusalem atq[ue] in monte[m] Synai ad diua[m] virgine[m] et matre[m]*, Mainz: Erhard Reuwich and Peter Schöffers], 1486, f. 64r and 66v.

68 LIPTON, Sara. *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999, p. 16.

69 LUBRICH, Naomi. *The Wandering Hat: Iterations of the Medieval Jewish Pointed Cap*. *Jewish History*, 2015, Vol. 29, No. 3/4, p. 203–244.

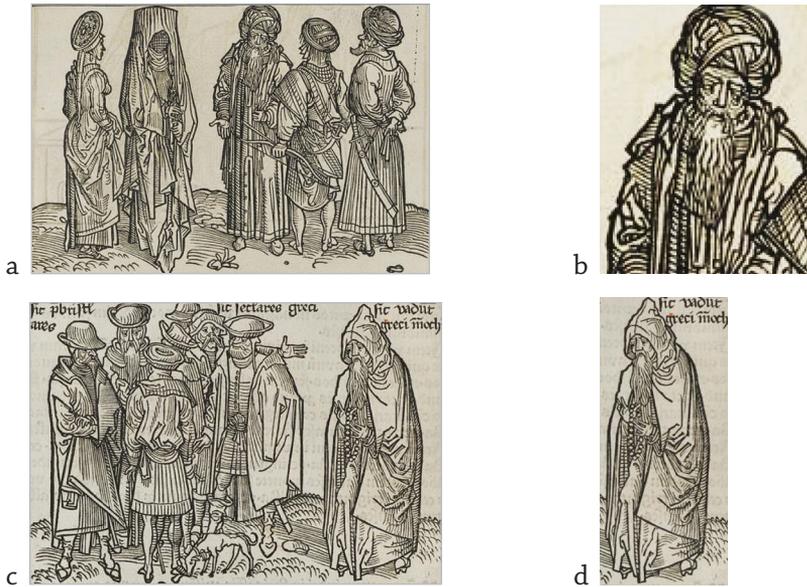


FIGURE 25. Oriental types in Breidenbach's *Peregrinationum*, 1486: (a) 'Sarracenis' (F. 64r), (b) 'Sarracenis', detail (F. 64r); (c) 'De grecis quorum etiam plures sunt in Jerusalem', f. 66v; (d) 'Greci inochi', f. 66v, detail



FIGURE 26. Sandro Botticelli *The Adoration of the Magi* (*Adorazione dei Magi*, c. 1475, Palazzo degli Uffizi, Florence)

We can find an almost identical hat in the famous painting by Sandro Botticelli *The Adoration of the Magi* with the exotic 'oriental' décor which was so dear to the aesthetes of the Renaissance. One of the characters to the right who

had come to see child Jesus right next to the figure considered to be the image of Botticelli himself is wearing exactly this type of the ‘Greek’ hat (Fig. 26).

This character was identified by S. Ronchey as a famous Greek emigrant, philosopher, member of the Byzantine delegation at the Florence Council, Theodorus Gaza (ca. 1398 – ca. 1475)⁷⁰.

This head-dress depicted by Botticelli on the illustrious Greek scholar greatly resembles Jeremiah’s cap from the *Bivlia ruska* and represents an additional argument in favor of the ‘Byzantine version’ of the actualization of the biblical story by Skaryna.

Long time ago, L. Barazna spoke about the emotional component of this woodcut of the *Bivlia ruska*: “If you look closely at the engraving ‘Jeremiah the prophet of the Lord weeps looking at Jerusalem’, it seems that the artist survived the event depicted in the engraving and accurately conveyed his emotion”⁷¹.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 caused a shock for the intellectuals of that époque, thereby also changing the intellectual landscape of the Renaissance, bringing to the fore the ideas of mastering the ancient (Hermetic) heritage and Neoplatonism – which echoed in Skaryna’s *Prefaces*. The fantasist landscape of the domed cathedral and the tall thin columns chosen by Skaryna was apparently inspired by the textual description of Constantinople in Schedel’s *Chronicle*, along with the common imagination on Constantinople as Jerusalem during the late Quattrocento and the early Cinquecento period, with a crescent moon on the dome of the temple as a symbol of its breakaway from Christian civilization. The shape of Jeremiah’s head-dress in the *Bivlia ruska* perfectly corresponds to the image of the learned Byzantines who emigrated to Italy.

Representations relative to the imaginative Jerusalem and Constantinople, the ‘Byzantine trends’ which were common during this period of the Renaissance in Europe, give us the ‘clues’ for understanding the *Bivlia ruska*’s Jeremiah woodcut. Even if we prefer to leave the interpretation of Skaryna’s Jeremiah, which is obviously original by its character, open, these ‘clues’ still suggest the ‘atmospheric pressure’ of numerous images and ideas of Skaryna’s époque.

70 RONCHEY, op.cit., p. 123.

71 BARAZNA, Lyavon. Hravyyur Francyska Skaryny. 2nd ed. Minsk: Belarus’, 1990, p. 50.

1. BARAZNA, Lyavon. *Hravyury Francyska Skaryny*. Minsk: Belarus', 1990.
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4. BREYDENBACH, Bernhard von, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*. Mainz: Erhard Reuwich, 1486.
5. BREYDENBACH, Bernhardus de. *Sanctaru[m] peregrinationu[m] in montem Syon ad venerandu[m] xp[ist]i sepulcru[m] in Ierusalem atq[ue] in monte[m] Synai ad diua[m] virgine[m] et matre[m]*, Mainz: Erhard Reuwich and Peter Schöffers], 1486.
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7. CUSHING DUNIWAY, David, A Study of The Nuremberg Chronicle, in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 35, № 1 (First Quarter, 1941), p. 17–34.
8. *Description des Isles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti; Version grecque par un anonyme*. Publiée d'après le manuscrit du sérial avec une traduction française et un commentaire par Emile Legrand. L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes; 4ème série, vol. 14, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897.
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