

From *Greece's Dostoevsky: The Theological Vision of Alexandros Papadiamandis*,  
by Dr. Anestis Keselopoulos. Translated by Dr. Herman A. Middleton.  
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## Chapter 6

### Art in Worship

#### 1. The Meaning of Liturgical Art

The Divine Liturgy unifies scattered people; the Church is not only spiritual but also has a material dimension. Through the Church's art, material things do not remain foreign, soulless, and dead, but become familiar and living. Christian faith, love, and worship of God are expressed through a variety of art forms including architecture, painting, hymnography, and ecclesiastical music. These arts are called ecclesiastical, since they were born and developed in the Church, and Byzantine because of their cultural and chronological framework.

The arts help purify man's senses through mystagogical and compunctionate communion with God. They are not paths or objects in and of themselves, but they act as a means for raising man up to God. This is why man's relationship with God defines the Church's position regarding liturgical art. In remaining faithful to this principle, the Church has always required that the arts, cultivated in Her worship, not disturb the unity and harmony of man's communion with God. Liturgical art not only helps man become sanctified during worship, but itself becomes sanctified. When art illustrates the unity, sanctification, and salvation of the members of the Church, it is itself sanctified. Liturgical art has deep roots in the rich earth of the ecclesiastical tradition. While it sweetens the senses of the pious, it is also used in the Church's Liturgy, which is why it is characterized primarily as a liturgical art.

Papadiamandis's works have a generally ecclesiastical character and liturgical orientation, and he makes reference to the art of the Church, which is tightly linked to Her liturgical practice and life. Churches and icons appear in Papadiamandis's works, and are presented in such a reverent and elegant manner that these descriptions themselves become representations, poems, and melodies that lead to the rational worship of the Church. Rather than expounding his own theories regarding art, he presents the life and tradition of the Church as they have been expressed for centuries through various art forms. The story "Sweet Kiss," for example, contains his longest description of the structure and architecture of a church:

The four walls stood, still unbroken, on a stone foundation, preserving a small coating from olden days around the southwest corner, mossy and black-green around the northeast corner. A rafter held up the roof, still bearing a few tiles and slabs, with many beams of hard chestnut wood. On the walls all around, high above the lintel of a door and on the eaves of the roof, small, beautiful painted canvasses from years past were

hung, in the shape of a large cross, in the concave of the holy altar toward the East... Another two crosses hung to the right and to the left, above the two windows of the chanters' stands, and a fourth cross hung above the doorstep of the entrance—toward the West. The old beautiful plates were all colored—azure, viridescent, yellow, and white—with branches and with flowers and with little people and with birds, done with a skillful love of beauty [*philokália*] and elegantly placed, polished like the sun, easy on the eye, heirlooms sitting up high, soundly placed in their recesses, otherworldly offerings, relics of ages past....<sup>i</sup>

Other noteworthy descriptions are found in his poetic work, especially in the four poems dedicated to the icons of the Panagia of his island.<sup>ii</sup> Even more enthralling are the descriptions of the icons and wall paintings of the churches:

The small, beautiful icon, with the pale face of the Panagia joined cheek to cheek with the pale, God-inspired face of her worshipped Babe, had an ineffable sweetness and was a perfect expression of motherly affection, a sweet fruit budding as from a bitter root, with the pains of birth combining immediately with the cares and struggles of child-raising.<sup>iii</sup>

Papadiamandis's vivid description effectively portrays the sweetness and affection of the icon without excessive discussion of technique or aesthetics. The depiction of the icon is philokalic<sup>\*</sup>—it exemplifies the love and pursuit of the heavenly beauty [*kállos*] that sanctifies man and all of creation. The icons' translation into a narrative in the story, its descriptive presentation by Papadiamandis, is on the same level. In describing an icon of the "Sweet-Kissing Mother of God," another writer—even more, another iconographer—could easily end up with a misleading or accidentally heretical description; to theologize is always a difficult and dangerous endeavor. Papadiamandis is not sidetracked into sweet emotionalisms, which would present the relationship of the Panagia to Christ as Nestorianism<sup>\*</sup> would; nor does he err toward Monophysitism, which would depreciate the human nature and attempt to present it as immaterial and disincarnate. The above passage is a good example of a balanced description that avoids the scholasticism of art historians and the absolutisms common in such descriptions.

The continuation of the story, which refers to the wall paintings of this church, is also revelatory, both for its synaxarian connections and for its presentation of the cycle of iconography in an Orthodox church. "To the right on the iconostasis was the icon of Christ and the icon of the Forerunner. To the Left, the Panagia 'Sweet-kissing Mother of God,' the

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<sup>\*</sup> In Modern Greek the word may be rendered as sensibility, good taste, and love of beauty. Here, however, Dr. Keselopoulos uses the word theologically, with its patristic meaning. In this case the word, while including the above definitions, has a deeper meaning as its understanding of the "good" and "beauty" is theological. It was used by the Church Fathers to describe the love of the good and beauty as the fruit of one's spiritual and ascetic struggle for God. Similarly, the Greek word *kállos*, which is the second part of the word *philokália*, refers to this unique heavenly beauty. *Kállos* has the sense of a beauty that is solid, essential, eternal, which springs forth from within, while the other word for beauty that is found often in ecclesiastical texts—*oratos*—suggests a passing external beauty that is often deceptive.

<sup>\*</sup> That is to say, with an over-emphasis on Christ's humanity, separating it from His divinity.

protector of mothers, and St. Stylianos, the friend and guard of infants.” On the walls there were a few more Saints “painted from ancient times”—St. Elevation, “the liberator of the pregnant,” and St. Marina, “the protector of those in anguish.” Saints George and Demetrios appear along with Saints Barbara and Kyriaki “with their Crosses and palm branches in their hands.” The monastic Saints, “Venerable Antony and Euthymios and Savvas” also appear, “with their heads wrapped,<sup>†</sup> with their white beards, their prayer-ropes, and red crosses.”<sup>iv</sup> Further along the wall is a wall painting of St. Moses of Ethiopia, whom Papadiamandis characterizes with iambic verses from his entry in the *Synaxarion*—“A man in appearance and a god in his heart.”<sup>v</sup> Moses was a robber who was sanctified, “and went to find his old fellow-workman [the Good Thief],<sup>‡</sup> that one, who, as the tradition says, the Panagia had once nursed in the desert during the flight to Egypt, during the time of the slaying of the Innocents.”<sup>vi</sup> The reference to “his old fellow-workman” is not by chance. The feast of the side-chapel of the church of the “Sweet-kissing Mother of God” on Skiathos is celebrated on the twenty-sixth of December, the feast of the Synaxis of the All-Holy Theotokos. In the Sporades and Cyclades island chains, December 26<sup>th</sup> and the days following are called the *Epilóchia*<sup>†</sup> and on the island of Pelio, during which the faithful call upon the Panagia as the protector of bed-ridden new mothers and their babes and as a helper in nursing. As a conclusion to his description of the chapel’s wall paintings, Papadiamandis recites the iambic verses from that day’s entry in the *Synaxarion*: “New virgin mother, mother who never knew a man.”<sup>vii</sup>

Papadiamandis asserts the freedom of the iconographer, a freedom that enables him to present themes that, while not specifically based on the *Synaxarion* of the Church, expresses the iconographer’s eschatological expectation. An example of this may be seen in the presentation of the military Saint, St. Mercurios, who appears in his deep helmet, armor, gaiters, and shield and “pierces the cadaverous transgressor, sitting upon his throne, with his spear.” The anonymous iconographer, living during the Turkish occupation and anticipating the final victory of the Orthodox against every persecutor and conqueror, has the martyr Mercurios (who lived during the years of Decius and Valentos, in the third century) killing Julian the Apostate (who lived at the end of the fourth century). This gives the impression that the iconographer is unlettered and ignorant of basic chronologies and events of history. It is more likely, however, that he is not ignorant of them but intentionally goes beyond them, proving that he knows the language and canons of iconography. Just as “the *Synaxarion* does not simply recite events of the lives of the Saints, but expresses and interprets them,”<sup>viii</sup> Byzantine iconography “does not depict, but...reflects on its subjects.”<sup>ix</sup> The goal in both cases is not the presentation of historical fact on the surface but the truth hiding behind it. This basic principle allows iconographers to express the faces and bodies of the Saints “otherworldly, immaterially, supernaturally, and schematically—that is to say, included in the framework of a general type, which exhales piety and expresses not the natural face of the Saint but the eschatological form of his divinized existence.”<sup>x</sup>

The meaning of the Church’s architecture and painting is deeply theological; they prove to be divine art that transfigures the Church into an earthly heaven where the heavenly

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<sup>†</sup> The wrapping of their heads indicates that they were desert-dwellers.

<sup>‡</sup> According to the tradition of the Church, that “fellow workman” was the Good Thief on the cross next to Christ (Luke 23:40-43).

<sup>†</sup> This word signifies days of celebration after a birth.

God dwells and moves. At the same time, the represented Saints, all the faithful, and the material things of the church unite together, participate, and concelebrate in worship. In “A Pilgrimage to the Kastro,” Papa-Phrangoulis travels to the chapel of the Nativity of Christ in the Castle with his convoy to serve the Liturgy, and Papadiamandis takes the opportunity to describe the divine beauty of the church:

The entire church was aglow, and in the dome the Pantokrator shone down with majesty and grandeur. The gilded and finely-carved icon screen glimmered, with its beautiful icons in the finest Byzantine style and the great icon of the Nativity, “Where the Virgin sits imitating the cherubim,” in which the figures of the divine infant and immaculate Mother sparkle exquisitely and the angels, magi and shepherds appear life like; one thinks that the gold actually shines, the frankincense wafts fragrantly and the myrrh sends forth its comfort—to the extent that if pictures could speak one would expect at any moment to hear “Glory to God in the highest!” At the centre of the church hung a great, many-armed brass candelabrum encircled by another in the shape of a crown, which was adorned with icons of the prophets and apostles. It was beneath this glimmering assemblage that in the old days the rite of holy matrimony for Christian couples was celebrated. And all round, the figures of the martyrs, saints and confessors covered the walls, still, dispassionate in their bearing, the blessed inhabitants of Paradise, who focused their gaze straight ahead, as if they were clearly beholding the Holy Trinity...

In the apse of the sanctuary, high up, hovered the Virgin “Wider than the Heavens,” crowned by angels. Lower down, around the altar, stood in silent solemnity the sweet-smelling figures of the great Fathers of the Church, the Brother of the Lord, Basil, Chrysostom, and John the Theologian, and they seemed on the brink of great gladness, as if about to hear once again the prayers and hymns of the Eucharist that they themselves had composed, inspired by the Holy Spirit. All around them, both in the sanctuary and in the nave of the church, were depicted with admirable skill the cycle of the twelve great feasts, the ranks of angels, the slaughter of the Innocents, the Righteous residing in the bosom of Abraham, and the thief who confessed Christ on the cross...

But when the priest emerged to chant “Come, Faithful, behold where Christ is born,” the figures of the saints on the walls seemed to delight; “Let us follow whither the star leads” the priest continued and Kyr-Alexandris, filled with enthusiasm, took up the long rod and set the candelabrum swinging with all its candles alight. “The angels hymned there without ceasing,” and the whole church trembled from the thunderous voice of Papa-Frangoulis when he chanted with passion: “Saying, ‘Glory to God in the highest,’ to the one who was born today in a cave...,” and the painted angels that encircled the Pantokrator high up in the dome bent their ears to hear the familiar strains.<sup>xi</sup>

The description begins with the most tangible things and concludes with the significance and meaning that they take on in their particular liturgical space and time. The judgments regarding the artistic/aesthetic value are only as many as are necessary to present the divine beauty of the holy figures. In this, as in other similar descriptions, the references to the historical and

chronological problems are infrequent. Papadiamandis, who had an inborn sensitivity to divine beauty, systematically avoided the aesthetic or purely scientific treatment of the icons—as is clearly witnessed by his work—though he was quite capable of also approaching his subject historically, as his studies and historical novels show. This reveals his general stance regarding liturgical art, which was for him, finally, a stance towards life.<sup>xii</sup>

## 2. The Theology of the Icon

In the passages of the short story “A Pilgrimage to the Kastro” quoted above, the whole church—with its architecture, wall paintings, Saints, and faithful—becomes an icon of the Incarnation of the Son and Word of God. At the same time, all that is officiated there—the whole service, hymns, typicon, lighting of the vigil lamps and incense, the movements of Papa-Phrangoulis, and the chanting of Alexandros the chanter—reveal the same incarnational reality in a different way. Art serves worship, and worship internally enlightens art from different angles, bringing out its meaning. “The whole mystagogy is like an icon of a body that lives as Christ taught us, in all of its parts from the beginning to the end; between them there is an order and harmony that guide our thought and vision...”<sup>xiii</sup> In this concelebration of all things, even the “many-armed brass candelabrum,” the “gilded and finely-carved icon screen,” and all the other material things of the church concelebrate, and the contribution of every particular element, person, and object is understood properly in the liturgy of the Eucharist of God.

Through Papadiamandis’s descriptions, it becomes clear, not only how the church is built or how icons are painted but also in what atmosphere they thrive and grow. The architecture, wall-paintings, and icons of the church of the Nativity of Christ in the Castle speak in a soundless voice while the voice of Papa-Phrangoulis and the sound of the chanted melodies illustrate another, invisibly seen, icon. In Papadiamandis’s description, both individuals and things, people and art, take on their true dimensions and achieve their full potential in the Church. The colors can speak and the faithful at prayer can paint and chant, with their every movement “representing the Cherubim”—all these things taking place “without some bodily organ speaking, but as if using the absence of movement as a source of a beautiful sound.”<sup>xiv</sup>

An additional three descriptions of portable icons reveal our author’s way of approaching the Orthodox icon. The first refers to *Trímorphi*, the well-known composition of the Deisis where Christ is painted and under Him the Panagia and the Forerunner are in a stance of supplication:

[H]er gaze remained intentionally fixed on the lamp burning before the icon of the Three Holy Figures that she had received as her dowry, depicting Christ in the middle, standing erect, blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left, with his gentle expression, his beauteous form, his slightly parted fair beard, his blue raiment and red seamless robe. To Christ’s right was the Holy Mother of God, to his left St. John the Baptist, both bowing with arms crossed at either side of the Lord.<sup>xv</sup>

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<sup>x</sup> A verse taken from the hymn sung immediately prior to the Great Entrance in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

The second description refers to the icon of the Panagia with Large Eyes, found in the beautifully preserved chapel of the same name, which celebrates its feast on the Saturday of the Akathist: “Firstly, he lit the vigil lamps of the Panagia with Large Eyes. It was a large, ancient icon of the Theotokos, with sharp features and a face twice the size of a regular one, with large, very large eyes, and with Christ, a babe with a very large head, wearing a gilded robe, radiant, ‘who coverest [Himself] with light as with a garment.’”<sup>xvi</sup>

The third description, of the *Pepoikilméni*,<sup>7</sup> the icon of the Dormition of the Panagia of Kechria, proceeds along similar lines. In describing it, Papadiamandis simultaneously gives information regarding the hymnographers of the two canons of the feast.

It had been ten years since I had kissed the old venerable icon of the Dormition, where are painted on either side, on two upper sections, holy Cosmas (that superb poet of the *Pepoikilméni*)<sup>xvii</sup> [and] the divine Damascene, opening two wide volumes, toward the bottom of the icon, in which two troparia are written—“the Mortal Lady, but supernaturally also Mother of God” and “As a living being rightly receiving heaven within....”<sup>xviii</sup>

Papadiamandis’s descriptions of icons do not focus on their history and technique but affirm the essential and personal relationship that the faithful may have with them. They express the canonical formulation of Orthodox theology regarding icons that was fixed during the period of Iconoclasm and that came into conflict with the scholastic-ethical-didactic understanding of the icon that prevailed in the West.<sup>xix</sup> The icon is regarded as a means of ascent and not as an autonomous object. According to Orthodox teaching, the proper understanding of the icon comes through its connection with the Church’s Christological dogma.

While Papadiamandis does not disdain historical knowledge or aesthetic evaluation (his own work witnesses to his rich sensitivity),<sup>xx</sup> he does disagree with making art into an autonomous value in itself. In the three descriptions discussed above, there is a relationship established with the icon through prayer and worship. The same may be seen in “Easter Chanter,” where Papa-Dianelos and the women who travel with him appear before the icons with the same prayerful and worshipful stance. Their relationship to the icons is not aesthetic but liturgical. When they enter into the church, “to trim the wicks, pour oil into the icon lamps, and cross themselves fervently. An inexpressible joy and sweetness welled up within them.”<sup>xxi</sup> For this reason, they feel a living relationship with the persons represented in the icons:

The face of Christ the Lord, to the right of the Royal Doors, shone with divine light. To the left, the face of the Lady Mother of God, holding her Holy Infant, was bright with unspeakable bliss. The countenance of the Holy Baptist, with one curl of hair quivering upwards as if it had remained on end at the touch of the brutish executioner who severed the venerated head of the greatest man ever born of woman, radiated a

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<sup>7</sup> This is the fifth Saturday of Lent.

<sup>8</sup> It is the first word of the katavasias (the first troparion sung in a given ode of a canon) for the Dormition of the Theotokos. The same name was given to an icon of the Dormition in the country chapel of Kechria on Skiathos. The word first appears in ecclesiastical literature in Psalms 49:10 and 144:14; these psalms are used in priestly prayers during the *proskomidi*.

mystical joy at the side of Him upon whose hallowed head he had been permitted to lay his hands in consecration.<sup>xxii</sup>

With their liturgical ethos and prayerful relation to the icons, Papa-Dianelos and the simple women “preach Christ our true God and honor His Saints in words...in churches, in images.”<sup>xxiii</sup> The focal point of Papadiamandis’s work is always the person and personal relationship.

Many icons are considered by Christians to be miracle-working and living. They bear witness to the life and resurrection that the grace of God bestows, not only on the souls of the Saints but also on the clothing or objects that they used and in the icons in which they are represented. For this reason they can speak through signs and miracles, not only to the faithful but also to the distrustful and unbelievers. Papadiamandis, without taking shelter in positions, arguments, and apologetic theories, presents his personal faith and certainty in his description of the icon of St. George of the Monastery of Zographou on the Holy Mountain:

The icon of St. George, made “without hands” from the bloody gore of the slaughter of the Martyr, is preserved there, where, because a bishop didn’t believe the story, he checked it with his hands to test it and was rightly punished for his boldness. When he placed his finger on the icon, his finger stuck to it, and he was forced to cut off his finger so that he might be saved through repentance, weeping in the church of the Saint. This icon is there and the finger remains visible on the icon, after so many years.<sup>xxiv</sup>

Papadiamandis believes that intellectual training is not necessary to understand the icon; rather, one needs to have a personal relationship with it. This belief is revealed in other stories as well, through his presentation of simple people who truly converse and communicate with the icons. The represented persons—the Saints—become familiar persons, like relatives of the faithful. In “The Watchman at the Quarantine Colony,” it is recounted that Skevo “knelt before her *Panagítsa*,<sup>†</sup> the small silver *Panagítsa* about the same size as the tender forehead of an innocent three year old girl. She knelt before her St. Nicholas, the one that had traveled along with her husband on his trips, a companion swimmer and savior of those at sea.”<sup>xxv</sup> Skevo’s husband, Captain Gialis, had brought from Russia a small icon of St. Nicholas “wearing a crown and the silver *epigonátion*,<sup>‡</sup> and holding the Gospel; it was an image about the same size and shape as a pocket Gospel book.”<sup>xxvi</sup> His relationship with it is completely personal. The captain had sunk three times at sea, and, each time, this icon (though it was kept back in the dressing room with a vigil lamp burning before it) was found at his breast, as if it were saying to him, “As a Saint, I’m saving you. Save me as an heirloom.”<sup>xxvii</sup> Feeling an unusual lightness while swimming, he seemingly sailed on the waves and rose above the fear of his crew and thus survived.

In Papadiamandis’s descriptions, icons do not simply help the memory to recreate persons or events from the past, but they also create and impose a sense of presence. They bring the faithful into a personal relationship with the represented Saints. “Eyes and lips and heart...need...to venerate and embrace the icons.”<sup>xxviii</sup> In his short stories, Papadiamandis uses tangible examples to illustrate the Church’s teaching on icons. This teaching includes that of St.

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<sup>†</sup> This is the diminutive form of the word Panagia.

<sup>‡</sup> It is a square made of cloth that a bishop wears while serving in Church.

John of Damascus, who points out that icons are “unquenchable preachers teaching, in a soundless voice, those who see them”<sup>xxxix</sup> and how the Christian, simply by seeing one icon, can find his salvation. He reminds us of the mindset of the Fathers who first confirmed the value of icons: “Because not all people know the same amount of letters and because not many spend time in reading, the Fathers agreed that, as at the common table [it is easy for all to eat], these things should be written on icons, for quick remembrance.”<sup>xxx</sup> This is affirmed by St. Nilos the Ascetic, who points out that it is possible for “those who do not know letters, observing the painting, [to] remember the true servants of the True God, who served Him by doing good works.”<sup>xxxi</sup>

Through Papadiamandis’s stories, the relationship between theology and iconography is expressed. The interpenetration<sup>7</sup> and inherence between the truth that an icon expresses and the divine beauty that it offers becomes tangible. The patristic tradition points out that just as the “word of history comes to the mind through listening, to the same extent, iconography, like silent writing, shows the same thing through imitation.”<sup>xxxii</sup> In this way, iconographers, the painters of the Church who “consent to unite with the divine beauty,”<sup>xxxiii</sup> now portray through icons the Truth that was hypostatically incarnated through the Theotokos and was dogmatically formulated by the Fathers of the Church in the Ecumenical Councils. In the Church, all these things take place with the power and enlightenment of the Holy Spirit and are different revelations of the Incarnate Word of God. Just as one must be endowed with spiritual senses to become a partaker of the mystery of the Incarnation, to know Christ, and to be initiated into the “mystery of theology,”<sup>xxxiv</sup> the same is necessary for one to be able to discern and understand the divine beauty of the icon. As theology is not a science—not even a holy science, as it is often called—but the mystery that mystagogically guides man to what is above nature and above the senses, in the same way, the icon is not a simple work of art or a religious painting but an inalienable and holy liturgical vessel that sanctifies man and brings him into immediate contact with the grace and hypostasis of the represented Saint. As St. Theodore the Studite notes, “the icon exists and is seen and is venerated because of its relationship to the prototype.”<sup>xxxv</sup>

### 3. Turning Liturgical Art into Museum Pieces

In his discussion of the icon and, more generally, the vessels used in worship, Papadiamandis expresses his views on another important issue affecting this type of liturgical art—its exploitation and conversion into museum pieces. In short, he considers whether, and to what extent, it is permissible for the icon to be deprived of its liturgical function by becoming part of a museum exhibit. The extent to which he disagrees with Greece’s exploitation of its Byzantine wealth and its transfer from the churches to the museums is shown in “Easter Chanter,” where he clearly articulates the dangers of such a conception of liturgical art and warns against it.

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<sup>7</sup> A theological term used to describe the way in which the three Persons of the Holy Trinity co-exist in the one Godhead. The word is also used to describe the way in which the two natures of Christ co-exist within His one Person.



The beloved disciple,<sup>7</sup> too, was there still, rejoicing in the Resurrection, although lines of care furrowed his high forehead, caused by the foreknowledge that a shameless church robber would shortly seize him from his setting and carry him off to Athens to place him not in a church and a place of sacrifice and a sanctuary, not in a place for oblations, but in a Museum. Almighty God! a Museum, as if Christian worship had ceased to be practiced in this country, as if its vessels belonged to a buried past, objects of curiosity!... Have pity on them, Lord!<sup>xxxvi</sup>

About seventy years after “Easter Chanter” was written, Zisimos Lorentzatos—bearing an exceptional theological perception, though not considered an “official” theologian—speaks in the same way about art and displays the same intuition of the dangers that threaten it. It is not by chance that he shares the same point of view as our author as regards art, for he also lives, moves, and breathes the same tradition:

Another question, which is worthy of amazement (and that no one has noticed), is the purely aesthetic or historical stance that we hold as regards the living tradition of Orthodox iconography, Byzantine and Modern. It comes from our lack of participation in the tradition. As we do not participate in the spiritual content of the icon, which painting serves, we are left with the painting (art for art’s sake or the history of art). The art-lover and *Kunthistoriker* take over from the faithful lover of icons. We boast, for instance, how [Greece] is the first country in the world to have a Byzantine museum. This makes us, somehow, pioneers—we imagine—in the scientific branch of Byzantine studies. Truthfully, we should be saddened.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Scholars assert that these words refer to the new understanding of Christian art introduced during that period by George Lampakis (1854-1914), founder of the Christian Archeological Society (1885) and the Byzantine Museum and lecturer of Christian and Byzantine Archeology at the Theological School of Athens.<sup>xxxviii</sup> Using the authority his titles and positions<sup>8</sup> gave him he organized (at Zappeio)<sup>9</sup> in 1891 a large exhibition of religious paintings of the Bavarian court and of the Roman Catholic Loudovikos Theirsios (Triersch) and supplied propaganda for their propagation, believing their Nazarene/pre-Raphaelite style to be an “improved Byzantine school” appropriate for Orthodox churches.<sup>xxxix</sup> Lampakis’s affiliation with this painting is easy to explain. On the one hand, he had a position in the courtly environment where the conventional emotional painting of the past century found wide approval, those paintings that had already infested Russia and were being brought en masse from there to Greece. On the other hand, he was immediately connected with the Greek Nazarenes—who had studied mainly in Munich—among whom was his brother Emmanuel. The same year that “Easter Chanter” was published (1893), the collection of the Christian Archeological Society was transferred to the National Archeological Museum, so it would be available to the wider public.<sup>xl</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> That is, St. John the Evangelist.

<sup>8</sup> He was special secretary to the Russian-born Queen Olga. [Au.]

<sup>9</sup> An exhibition area in Athens.

It was natural that Papadiamandis would object to this situation. It was completely foreign to his sense of the tradition and of art. He objected both to the distortion of Orthodox ecclesiastical art by the addition of foreign elements and to its conversion into museum pieces. There was no response to either part of his objection, at least not in his day. It was probably deemed unnecessary. For many years, this protest would echo as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, or else be considered as naive provincialism. The whole of Orthodox Greece—including the Holy Mountain—seemed to accept and cultivate the modern renaissance religious art, architecture, and painting. Athens and other cities even incorporated modern European music into worship. Today the bibliography dedicated to Byzantine and ecclesiastical art has enjoyed an unprecedented development, which is attested to by the splendid published volumes that display the great artistic achievements of Byzantium. Similarly, renaissance-style icons, which most iconographers painted until recently and were often passed out as gifts to the children of the catechetical schools, have begun to disappear. Though a century has passed, today one can finally speak of the vindication of Papadiamandis, who fought for faithfulness to Orthodox ecclesiastical art and tradition.

Regarding the conversion of ecclesiastical art and objects into museum pieces, the situation in Greece is not very optimistic. The State, along with the Office of Archeology of the Cultural Ministry, insists on keeping splendid Byzantine churches as archeological areas, forbidding the continuation of worship there, so as to reap the benefits of the income from their use as museums. For the same reason, it takes these churches' icons to enrich the Byzantine Museum. At the same time, however, the position of the official Church is not clear. In Papadiamandis's day, many ecclesiastical leaders hurried to congratulate and help the founder of the Byzantine Museum by giving gifts of icons and holy objects. A brief look at the news in the Bulletin of the Christian Archeological Society during this period is enough to show the truth of this statement. At that time, no one spoke out to share the grief of Papadiamandis, which flowed from his deep ecclesiastical consciousness.<sup>xli</sup>

Many years later, now that Byzantine art has become fashionable, objections are raised to the predatory tactics of the State. Sadly, however, these objections do not spring from theological insight, but from a desire for publicity or to exploit this art for material gain. Thus, we have reached today's contradictory situation, which shows the extent of our theological stupor. The official Church often refuses to relinquish icons and liturgical vessels for their safekeeping in museums on the grounds that they make up—rightly, of course—objects of its divine worship. At the same time it rushes to place those very objects in ecclesiastical museums of the Metropolises.<sup>\*</sup> The phenomenon also appears when monasteries that find themselves in a period of reconstruction and growth come up against the refusal of the ecclesiastical museum (of the metropolis to which they belong) to return old icons or other holy vessels to them, which they had taken from the monastery during periods of depopulation or decline. They would prefer that these be found “not in a church and a place of sacrifice and a sanctuary, not in a place for oblations, but in a Museum.”<sup>xlii</sup>

The liquidation of most of Greece's monasteries and the confiscation of their possessions was undertaken during the years when Otto was king. It was then considered necessary to gather the icons and liturgical vessels into museums to save them from smugglers of

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<sup>\*</sup> The Metropolis is where the Metropolitan (bishop) of an area is located. The Metropolis in Greece is a spiritual and cultural center that often also has an ecclesiastical museum.

antiquities and antique dealers. Papadiamandis was not ignorant of this problem. In “Sweet Kiss,” he discusses the “relics of ages past, those things saved from theft and from various plundering. Alas! Little safer than from the mania of new archeology and of the illicit antiquities trade.”<sup>xliii</sup> In “Disenchantress,” he writes with the same anguish:

The chapel of the Saint had fallen into decline and pitiful neglect, for religious piety had greatly declined since that time. Only two oily and deteriorating icons were on the decaying iconostasis.... The icons of the Panagia and of the Honorable Forerunner had disappeared. Perhaps they had been taken by the hands of those that love antiquities or by the lovers of Byzantine art.... There were only two vigil lamps half-broken or cracked.... The altar and the table of oblation, naked and without cover, were completely dusty.... The sanctified chapel...was no longer used.<sup>xliv</sup>

His pain is manifold. He refers to the devastation of the church, the removal of the icons, the coat of lime over the wall paintings, the decay and neglect of the icons that remained, the rotting of the iconostasis, but, more than anything else, he refers to the fact that the chapel has been left without worship. This is the cause of all the rest of its devastation, plundering, and ruin, for it “arouses the mania of today’s archeologists and of the illicit antiquities trade.”<sup>xlv</sup> Papadiamandis is not ignorant of, nor does he want to ignore, the problem of endangered icons and liturgical objects in abandoned churches. However, his position regarding the problem is different. He believes that “the mania of archeologists and of the illicit antiquities trade are two sides of the same coin, that is, of the de-sanctification of the object of worship and of its change into an alien element—to an exhibit item that obeys the rules of aesthetics and art history or a trade commodity.”<sup>xlvi</sup>

For Papadiamandis, ecclesiastical treasures and liturgical art are not only witnesses of the past but also bearers of a living tradition. The old churches are not archeological areas, nor are old icons archeological objects with only memorial value. Papadiamandis deftly portrays how unified the Orthodox tradition is in all its expressions of art and of life. The natural place for the icon continues to be the church, where it acts as an organic element and not as an autonomous aesthetic value. Even on purely scientific grounds, the icon that is moved to the museum is wronged, as it loses the presuppositions necessary for its interpretation. For example, an icon of the Lord taken from an iconostasis and placed in a museum could not be properly interpreted, as its position in the church and on the iconostasis would be unknown, as would its relation to worship. Its description would be necessarily limited to its artistic-historical elements or to trite touching words, while one’s relationship with it could not become a relationship of participation, unable, in that setting, to surpass the relationship of the simple visitor or spectator.

Papadiamandis argues that the icon functions properly when it is used liturgically. Conversely, when it is cut off from its environment, it is reduced to an object, a sum of lines, colors, and forms—possibly perfect from an historical or technical perspective, but empty of that which differentiates it from the exhibits of secular art surrounding it. The goal of the icon is to guide the pilgrim to transcend it, to guide him beyond the phenomena and what is meant, the symbols and representations. If the icon limited the faithful to the icon itself or to its particular elements—to its form, color, aesthetic, history, and technique, that is, to the created

world—it would be an idol and would not have been worth the struggles made and the blood shed for its restoration. The liturgical icon is a contact with and a fruit of the Incarnation of the Word, witness and guide to the theosis of man.

#### 4. The Falsification of Liturgical Art

##### The Authentic and The False Ethos of Orthodox Art

In 1889, Papadiamandis's article, "The Nine-Hundredth Anniversary of the Great Lavra" was published.<sup>xlvii</sup> In this text, he notes that "the inherited distortion of the religious life, from the viewpoint of art" is not simply a change of style and technique in ecclesiastical painting.<sup>xlviii</sup> He asserts that this change is the result of a deeper decay, which deforms the Orthodox *phrónima* and the liturgical ethos of a people. The building of a church or the painting of an icon reveals not only the ethos of the architect and iconographer but also of the particular liturgical gathering—or of the whole Church—that accepts it. There is an essential relation and correspondence between the ecclesiastical-liturgical ethos and the representational (*eikastikó*) style of art. In Papadiamandis's day and earlier, the liturgical community built the church according to its needs and abilities, while its wall paintings were usually painted, not by an iconographer-businessman, but by someone who had fasted and had asked for the enlightenment of God for this work. There was even a living tradition of people who built the churches, painted the wall-paintings, created mosaics, composed hymns and melodies, shaping soulless matter with spirit, with the sense of the Liturgy and of co-liturgy. These people would not individually improvise or idolize their inspirations but expressed the life of the Church as a Body, as a liturgical community that was guided by the Holy Spirit. Just as priests served the sacrifice of Christ on behalf of the people, the architects, builders, painters, poets, and hymnographers of the Church served in the same way, practicing their sacred art as a spiritual ministration.

In the ecclesiastical community of Skiathos, there was a living liturgical tradition and a genuine eucharistic ethos. There were people such as "the blessed Athanasios Kephalas, from Epiros, a spiritual struggler, well-educated, fluent in many languages, eloquent, and a painter" who painted the beautiful icon of the Panagia "Sweet-kissing Mother of God."<sup>xlix</sup> Such strugglers knew how to live and paint as Orthodox Christians. The contemporary practice of entrusting the construction of a church to a contractor and its adornment to industrially made icons, iconostases, and stalls, was completely foreign—and unacceptable—to the tradition that Papadiamandis represents. The lumps of cement, which people today imagine to be "Byzantine style churches" and copies of the church of the Holy Wisdom,<sup>\*</sup> were not common then. One reason for this was that the people who were "hard-working, ground down, poverty-stricken, burdened with peasant chores and scattered in hamlets and villages, lacking as they did the funds to build large and resplendent churches, instead built numerous less pretentious ones."<sup>1</sup> Another reason was that those people had a sense of the originality and uniqueness of every building and did not neglect the unbroken development and inexhaustible diversity of Byzantine architecture, which never built two churches exactly the same. Similarly, they did not

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<sup>\*</sup> This is the most famous church of the Byzantine era, built by the Emperor Justinian in fifth century Constantinople.

have a slavish attachment to one particular school of painting, nor did they disdain the painting of the united, unbroken, and continuous Orthodox tradition that in every era was able to express dogma in its own style. They would never have been able to interpret the senseless and mechanistic transfer of icons and wall paintings from other places and periods as traditionalism in liturgical art. They would not have considered unchecked improvisation to be the mark of their freedom, nor would they have affirmed the audacity of the inspiration of the moment. Ecclesiastical art occupies a place in tradition where faithfulness and freedom interpenetrate one another, are in harmony with one another, and include one another. The dynamic relationship between this faithfulness and freedom requires creative members of a living ecclesiastical community, which makes possible the continuity and creation of the tradition.<sup>i</sup>

In Athens, however, there was a different situation. Orthodox sensibilities as regards ecclesiastical art and decoration had begun to lapse, especially in the large churches. Simplicity and authenticity in art were usually exchanged for luxury clothed in bad taste. In one of his articles, Papadiamandis vehemently points out the danger of the distortion of liturgical art. He notes that many Christians of that era preferred going to church in small chapels rather than in the large and luxurious churches. However, he does not regard this demanding piety of the faithful as unwarranted, especially when one considers that extravagance is completely forbidden and unacceptable in churches.

The unique characteristic of Christian churches is their modesty and sublimity. Poverty does not preclude this characteristic.... Forgeries and things made of fake-gold, which you see in some Athenian churches, are insidiously and audaciously imported, completely unauthorized, by uneducated and tasteless people, so-called wardens of these churches; they should have been stopped.<sup>li</sup>

Papadiamandis senses that the genuine divine beauty, the Church's *philokália*, has no relation to the interference of these wardens or of many today who rush to supply churches with the most luxurious holy vessels and furniture they can find. These theologically indefensible and aesthetically unacceptable interventions into the physical space of the church come into opposition, as much with the principle of the ancient Greek tradition ("We create things with divine beauty [though] with little money"<sup>liii</sup>) as with the practice of the Fathers of the Church.<sup>liiii</sup> When, however, the tradition is not lived properly and when an authentic liturgical life is absent, it follows that there will not be genuine art. The absence of this life witnesses to an ecclesiological crisis that, in turn, deteriorates into formalism and the demise of all living forms and expressions of art.

### Church Hymnography and Music

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<sup>i</sup> Creation and tradition are often regarded as diametrically opposed, though in the Orthodox understanding they are not only complementary but also completely necessary for the life and survival of one another. As Dr. Keselopoulos explains, through Papadiamandis's faithfulness to and living within the Church's tradition, his own work was permeated with the tradition and became an authentic expression of it—his work is simultaneously traditional and creative.

Papadiamandis argues that ecclesiastical poetry (hymnography) and the music of the Church were created together. Living during a period when the first calls were made for translations of the hymns of the Church and the first symptoms of the Europeanization of ecclesiastical music appeared, he was tireless in his struggle for the preservation of hymnography and music within the framework of the Orthodox tradition. With sobriety and a critical disposition, he confronts the intellectuals who had studied in Europe and been influenced by the Enlightenment. With the same stance, he confronts the spirit of secularism that had begun to assault the worship of many churches in Athens. The advocates of the popular language (Demotic Greek) maintained that the ecclesiastical hymns had to be translated into the popular idiom, supposedly so they would be comprehensible to the people. These advocates ignored the fact that the language of ecclesiastical poetry makes up only one of the symbolic aspects of Orthodox worship, while all ecclesiastical arts and liturgical actions together make up, as symbols, the language of worship in the broadest meaning of the word. All attempts that are limited to the translation of hymns or other liturgical texts (out of a desire for intellectual understanding) without a simultaneous attempt to live the other symbolic means with which the Liturgy is connected remain irresolute and ineffective. Papadiamandis asserts that, were one to attempt to translate a troparion into the common language, he would realize that that language—so able to express the heroism and love songs of the people—is cold, “unto apparent death, for the troparia.”<sup>liv</sup> Still, he does not reject the composition of new hymns, as long as they have the necessary presuppositions. “Without the existence and bestowing of inspiration,” it is impossible “for life to be breathed into a place where the soul is missing.”<sup>lv</sup>

Papadiamandis maintains that the hymns of the Church become dear and familiar to the ears of the faithful when combined with the traditional music of the Church, which helps to make the language of the hymns comprehensible even to the illiterate. The words of the holy Gospels, accentuated with this music and melodic reading, become more accessible to the ear and thus penetrate deeper into the hearts of those listening. For this reason, the language in which the Gospel and hymns of the Church are written has the unique honor throughout all the world of remaining, at least in hearing, still living after two thousand years.<sup>lvi</sup>

Papadiamandis argues, furthermore, that the melodic way of reading in Church is the most ancient practice and authentically Greek, being descended from the ancient tragedies. Westerners then borrowed this form to create their Gregorian church music. This way of enunciation, which extends the sentence and all the syllables, imitates the sermon and the voice of the preacher.<sup>lvii</sup> While it is common for the Epistle to be recited in a variety of keys and pitches, the Gospel is recited simply and plainly. In Papadiamandis’s ecclesiastical consciousness, the melody used in melodic reading is consonant with the tradition of the Church. Some modernists of his era rashly criticized it as nasal and distasteful, so they found some priests who were convinced by their suggestions, abolished the melodic way of reading, and read the Gospel passages loosely. Since this style of liturgical reading is not the tradition of the Church, Papadiamandis suggests that those in authority, the bishops in each area, prohibit this novelty.<sup>lviii</sup>

Grounded in the Greek ecclesiastical and musical tradition, our author argues that, in every ancient and modest music “the melody reigns, while the rhythm serves.”<sup>lix</sup> The ancient melodists of the Church arranged the rhythm as subservient to the melody, which appears very

clearly in the *Prosomoia*,<sup>l</sup> creating the melody before adapting the words to the rhythm. A modern musician could not accentuate an ancient hymn better than the poet who wrote both its words and melody.<sup>lx</sup>

During the time of the Peloponnesian War, everyone in Athens was modernizing their music, seeking what they considered to be richer and more perfect melodies and criticizing the older ones as simple and inferior. Plato, however, deplored this tendency in his contemporaries and vigorously preached that this innovation was a debasement and corruption of music.<sup>lxi</sup> Papadiamandis appeals to this example to point out the pathology of his era concerning this question. The tendency of many of his contemporary Orthodox Greeks to imitate the Europeans and to betray their own tradition made them ridiculous, even in the eyes of those whom they wanted to emulate. Papadiamandis perceptively refers to one such circumstance:

I don't recall which one of our own [people], two years ago, it seems to me, sent to the son of one of the leaders of Europe, and an admirer of Greece, some European piece he had written—a waltz, I think, or a polka, or I don't know what. The good prince received the gift and replied to him in a way that more or less meant, "Good, thank you, blessed one; but don't you know how to write something of your own to send me, something Greek, native? I'm saturated with European music." From the publication of the prince's letter...it is not clear if he [the composer] understood the subtle lesson.<sup>lxii</sup>

Another example of this pathology may be seen in the argument that the Byzantines did not use four-part harmony in their ecclesiastical hymns because they were unaware of it. Four-part harmony, they argued, is a newer discovery. They believed that if the Byzantines had known it they would have ushered it into worship. The adherents of these arguments also implied that there might, in fact, have been four-part harmony in Byzantium of which historians were not aware. Papadiamandis maintains that newer does not mean better. He even cites a more modern type of music that echoes the form of Byzantine music—the operetta, where the main characters principally sing arias, while the orchestra only keeps the drone note. Any polyphonies of the choir, he says, are on the periphery, while the arias make up the center and axis.

The tendency of some Orthodox to imitate Western confessions by introducing musical instruments into the churches, led Papadiamandis to write an article giving the Orthodox interpretation of the often-misinterpreted psalm verse, "Praise Him with stringed instruments and flutes."<sup>lxiii</sup> He points out that many passages from the Old and the New Testament are interpreted allegorically. The hymnographers of the Church interpret the praising of God "with stringed instruments and flutes" as praising Him, "to the sound of the cymbals of our pure lips, of the harmonious harps of our hearts, of the sweet-sounding trumpets of our uplifted minds."<sup>lxiv</sup> Referring to our liturgical and Biblical tradition, Papadiamandis asks those who disagree with him to consider the passage read during the Divine Liturgy of Great Saturday, in which Babylonian music is described as containing "trumpets and guitars, sambuca<sup>l</sup> and harp, and all types of musical instruments" while it conversely describes the Three Children

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<sup>l</sup> These are set melodic pieces used for liturgical hymns. The same melodic piece may be used a number of times each week, though the words of the hymn change according to the Saint or feast celebrated on any given day.

<sup>l</sup> A triangular musical instrument with four strings.

hymning God “the three as if from one mouth.”<sup>lxv</sup> Papadiamandis also challenges those who, nostalgic for the Renaissance and the ancient Greek tradition, reject Byzantine music as supposedly not Greek. He argues that even if it were possible to scientifically prove that Byzantine music was identical to the music of the ancient Greeks, the reformers would still reject it. He continues by arguing that appreciation and feeling for something as graceful as Byzantine music only comes naturally to those who are either uncomplicated or refined. The Greek pseudo-aristocracy lost its simplicity long ago, while it never managed to reach some degree of refinement. Papadiamandis concludes that, “In any case, Byzantine music is as Greek as it needs to be. We neither want it to be, nor do we imagine it to be, the music of the ancient Greeks. But it is the only authentic [music] and the only existing [music]. And for us, if it is not the music of the Greeks, then it is the music of the Angels.”<sup>lxvi</sup>

Originality in traditional ecclesiastical arts must be faithful to the first forms of this art. The development of the tradition does not need to result in its subversion and betrayal, nor does adherence to the tradition result in immobility. Rather, it is fullness of life. Papadiamandis knew this principle of art well. “The Church,” clergy and laity, “has an accepted form, which no one is able to violate without being punished, and She categorically forbids every novelty, either in architecture and painting and in the rest of the church’s decoration or in music and other [aspects] of the liturgy.”<sup>lxvii</sup> He cries out against the novelties that were occasionally made—and that would, later on, become a general phenomenon—in this exhortation: “Cultivate the dignified Byzantine tradition in worship, in the decoration of the churches, in music, and in painting.”<sup>lxviii</sup> This principle coincides with Plato’s understanding of tradition and art.<sup>i</sup> Unlike those then—and now—who admire and extol as “originality” the emergence of individuality and innovations, Plato counsels “do not innovate...against the order.”<sup>lxix</sup> The self-effacement and humility that this conception of artistic creation requires coincides with Christ’s admonition, “For whosoever will save his life shall lose it,”<sup>lxx</sup> and with the classic words of St. John of Damascus, “I say nothing from my own thoughts,”<sup>lxxi</sup> while he was simultaneously making truly original compositions. Papadiamandis does not belong to the chorus of blind “lovers of Byzantine art,”<sup>lxxii</sup> but to the liturgical tradition that this art serves. He does not have an aesthetic or emotional relationship to art, but a spiritual one, which is why he easily understands those things that others find difficult to comprehend—that “God is the Absolute Being and, as such, must necessarily be worshipped.”<sup>lxxiii</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> *Ápanta*, vol. 3:73–74.

<sup>ii</sup> “At the Panagia of Kechrea,” “To the Panagia of Kounistra,” “To the Panagia of Doman,” and “To the Little Panagia in the Turret,” see *Ápanta*, vol. 5:30–35.

<sup>iii</sup> “Sweet Kiss,” *Ápanta*, vol. 3:75.

<sup>iv</sup> Osios Poemen the ascetic is also there, whom the iconographer presented as holding a scroll, where the following words are written, “Poemen did not give birth to children,” as well as his answer to Anthipatos, before he judged as regards the innocence or fatal judgment of his innocent nephew, “If you

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<sup>v</sup> For more on this, see Constantinos Cavarnos’s book, *Plato’s Theory of Fine Art*.



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find him guilty, punish him; though if innocent, do as you like” [With the sense, “do as you should, I will not demand it,” thus leaving the correct action to the conscience of the person. [Tr.]] Both are taken from the entry in the *Synaxarion* of the Saint (*Menaion*, August 27) and reveal the profound relationship between Orthodox iconography and the synaxarian tradition. In the consciousness of the faithful, in particular those of Skiathos, Osios Poemen was the guard of the innocent and of children.

<sup>v</sup> *Menaion*, August 29.

<sup>vi</sup> Matthew 2:16.

<sup>vii</sup> See “Sweet Kiss,” *Ápanta*, vol. 3:76. Compare the *Menaion* of December 26. The relationship between hagiography and iconography, as well as between the *Synaxarion* and iconography, emerges in another of Papadiamandis’s descriptions as well, where is described a “sweet and most pleasing icon of St. Kirykos, a three-year-old child held by the hand of his mother, St. Ioulitta.” The persecutor, Alexandros, tries to tempt the child with gifts and sacrifices and, through the child, his mother. The child, however, shouting at his mother, spits in the face of the tyrant, stammering through his lips the name of Christ. Then the tyrant, furious, throws him from the marble stairs and “shattered his tender head, created to bear a martyr’s crown.” [See “A Pilgrimage to the Kastro,” *Ápanta*, vol. 2:294.]

<sup>viii</sup> Mantzaridis, *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>ix</sup> See more on this question in Constantine Kalokyris, *I Ousia tis orthodoxou Agiographias*, (Athens, 1960), 15.

<sup>x</sup> Mantzaridis, *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>xi</sup> “A Pilgrimage to the Kastro,” *Ápanta*, vol. 2:293–295. [*The Boundless Garden*, 124–127.]

<sup>xii</sup> See Demetrios D. Triandafilopoulos, “O Aléxandros Papadiamandis kai i Téchni tis Orthoxías,” in the vol., *Phóta Olóphota* ed. Nicholas D. Triandafilopoulos (Athens: Ellinikó Logotechnikó kai Istorikó Archeío, 1981), 83.

<sup>xiii</sup> St. Nicholas Kavalas, *Interpretation of the Divine Liturgy*, PG 150, 372B.

<sup>xiv</sup> Diadochos Photikis, *Visions*, 56, SC 5, 177.

<sup>xv</sup> “Fey Folk,” *Ápanta*, vol. 2:491. [*The Boundless Garden*, 240.] For a similar description of the same icon see the story “The Happenings at the Mill,” *Ápanta*, vol. 4:520–521.

<sup>xvi</sup> “The Epidemics,” *Ápanta*, vol. 3:549.

<sup>xvii</sup> Compare Cosmas Maïoumas, Canon for the Dormition of the Theotokos, canticle 1, hirmos, which begins with the words, “Thy sacred and renowned memorial, O Virgin, is clothed in the embroidered [*pepoikilméni*] raiment of divine glory....” [Translation: Mother Mary, Ware, 514.]

<sup>xviii</sup> The one begins, “*Gynaiká se thnitín, all’ yperphyós kai Mitéra Theoú,*” and the second, “*Axíos os émpsyhón se ouranón ypedéxanto...*” “The Richly Decorated Icon of the Mother of God,” *Ápanta*, vol. 4:333. Compare John of Damascus, Canon for the Dormition of the Theotokos, canticle 1, troparion 2.

<sup>xix</sup> See, “The Christmastide Hobgoblin,” *Ápanta*, vol. 4:545. Even further, for the icon as a means of the expression of the faith and life of the Church, as well as for its anthropological character, see Demetrios Tselengidis, *I Theología tis Eikónas kai i Anthropologikí Simasia tis* (Thessalonica, 1984), 77 and following. In addition, for the pedagogical aspect of the icon in the Eastern Church, where this is always understood as mystagogical guidance and direction, see K. Grigoriadis, *Ai Theologiká Proypothéseis tis Didaktikís tón Thriskevtikón* (Athens, 1971), 124 and following.

<sup>xx</sup> An example can be found in the story “The Dead Traveler” (*Ápanta*, vol. 4:342), where he provides a historical account of the finding of, as well as an analytical description of, the icon of the Panagia of Kounistras (or Knistriotissas) whose feast is the same day as the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple, November 21.

<sup>xxi</sup> *Ápanta*, vol. 2:524. [*The Boundless Garden*, 274.]

<sup>xxii</sup> *Ibid.* [*The Boundless Garden*, 274.]

<sup>xxiii</sup> *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*.

<sup>xxiv</sup> “My St. George!” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:188–189.

- xxv “The Watchman at the Quarantine Colony,” *Ápanta*, vol. 2:576.
- xxvi *Ibid.*, 544–545.
- xxvii *Ibid.*
- xxviii John of Damascus, *On Icons*, 3, PG 94, 1332B.
- xxix *Ibid.*, 1, PG 94, 1268A, “I saw a God in human form and my soul was saved.”
- xxx *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 4, PG 94, 1172B.
- xxxi Epistles 2, *To Eparchos Olympiodora*, 61, PG 79, 577D–580A.
- xxxii Herman of Constantinople, *Epistle to Thomas, Bishop of Klavdioupolis*, 4, PG 98, 172C.
- xxxiii Kontakion of the Sunday of Orthodoxy.
- xxxiv See doxastikon of Matins of the Sunday of the Holy Fathers.
- xxxv *Antirritikos*, 3, PG 99, 433A. Also see Archimandrite Vasilios (present abbot of the Monastery of Iveron), *Theologikó Schólío stis Toichographíes tis Ierás Monís Stavronikíta* (Athens: Domos Publications, 1987), 11–12.
- xxxvi *Ápanta*, vol. 2:524. [*The Boundless Garden*, 274–275.]
- xxxvii “*Aléxandros Papadiamántis*—Penínta Chrónia apó tó Thánatό tou,” from the journal, *O Tachydrómos*, 7 January 1961. Re-published in the volume *Aléxandros Papadiamántis*, Prologue and Epilogue by Nicholas D. Triandaphilopoulos (Athens, 1979), 224.
- xxxviii See Nicholas D. Triandaphilopoulos, 177 and following.
- xxxix George Lampakis, *Katálogos tís en Zappéio Ekthéseos, itoi agiographiká érga Theirsiou...*, (Athens, 1891). Compare the exhibition of his own works in *Deltión Christianikís Archaíologikís Etaireías* (DCAE), 1st period (1892), vol. 1:89 and following; 116 and following. A bibliography of Theirsios is included in D. Papastamos’s *I Epidrasi tís Nazarínis Sképsis stí Neoellinikí Ekklisiastikí Zographiki* (Athens, 1977), 71 and following. For the term “scuola bizantina migliorata,” which was prior to the time of Theirsios, see A. Xyggopoulos, *Schediasma tís Thriskevtikís Zographikís metá tin Álosin* (Athens, 1957), 278 and following. For all of this, see Demetrios Triandaphilopoulos, 193.
- xl See Demetrios Triandaphilopoulos, 193.
- xli *Ibid.*, 184.
- xlii “Easter Chanter,” *Ápanta*, vol. 2:524. [*The Boundless Garden*, 275.] Also see Demetrios Triandaphilopoulos, 184.
- xliii *Ápanta*, vol. 3:74.
- xliv *Ibid.*, 309.
- xlv Demetrios Triandaphilopoulos, 179.
- xlvi *Ibid.*
- xlvii See *Ápanta*, vol. 5:155–158.
- xlviii *Ibid.*
- xlix *Ápanta*, vol. 3:75.
- l “At St. Anastasa’s,” *Ápanta*, vol. 2:353. [*The Boundless Garden*, 190.]
- li “The Epitaphios and the Resurrection in the Villages,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:119.
- lii Thucydides, *Histories*, 2, 40, vi. 1–5.
- liii See, for example, John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. Sermon 50*, PG 58, 508: “not goldsmiths or silversmiths are the church, but the celebration of angels.”
- liv “Excerpts of Thoughts,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:237.
- lv *Ibid.* It is worth noting that those then regarded as amateur poets were more interested in Nietzsche and Ibsen than “in their own rusty native things,” 237–238.
- lvi That is to say, through the daily use of Greek in the Church’s liturgical texts. [Tr.] *Ibid.* See also, Archimandrite Sophrony (Sakharov), *We Shall See Him As He Is* (Essex, England: Holy Monastery of St. John the Forerunner, 1992), 373–376.
- lvii Mark 16:15. When used, this way of enunciation is in the plagal of the fourth or grave mode.

lviii “Excerpts of Thoughts,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:238.

lix “Great Week in Athens,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:170.

lx It is unquestionable that if Kassiani's melody for the hymn “Lord, in many sins,” was still preserved, that it would be the most perfect. Because such an original does not exist, the oldest existing composition, though not as old as the original melody, is preferable and regarded as more perfect than any newer melody. [Kassiani was one of the most celebrated Byzantine poets and hymnographers. She lived during the ninth century. (Tr.)]

lxi See *Laws*, 700a–701b.

lxii “Great Week in Athens,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:175–176.

lxiii Psalm 150:4. The article was published in the newspaper, *Akrópoli*, on April 3, 1892.

lxiv Cosmas Maïoumas, Canon for the Dormition of the Theotokos, See *Menaion*, August 15, canticle 7, troparion 2 [Translation: Mother Mary, Ware, 521.]

lxv See Daniel 3:5. Knowing that the voice of symbols contributes to the comprehension of the Church's truths more than theories or rhetoric, Papadiamandis asserts that “the Church has symbolism, and symbolism speaks more eloquently than rhetoric.” “Great Week in Athens,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:176.

lxvi “Excerpts of Thoughts,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:240.

lxvii “The Epitaphios and the Resurrection in the Villages,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:119–120.

lxviii “Priests of the Cities and Priests of the Villages,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:198.

lxix *The Republic*, 424b.

lxx Matthew 16:25.

lxxi *Fount of Knowledge*, PG 94, 525A.

lxxii See “Disenchantress,” *Ápanta*, vol. 3:309.

lxxiii “Peter and Paul, the Foremost Among the Apostles,” *Ápanta*, vol. 5:127.

