

# “Stored in the Dark” *The Fall of the Angels* in Walachia’s Iconography

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**A**MONG EMIL Turdeanu’s scientific preoccupations, the apocryphal texts represented a constant research direction, until the end of his life. The literary historian showed interest in a series of themes with eschatological values, among which that of the *fall of the angels*. The legend probably called his attention due to his mentor, Nicolae Cartoian, who analysed it in his own works, together with other Apocrypha of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>

**I**N *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* no. 2, 1982, Emil Turdeanu publishes “Le Mythe des anges déchus: traditions littéraires de l’Europe Occidentale et Orientale”,<sup>2</sup> a paper dealing with the variants of the theme from the Antiquity to the Romantic period. The results of the detailed examination he makes on the literary and folk tradition of the two Christian cultural areas were republished in the mid-90s, an edition signed together with Laetitia Turdeanu-Cartoian and edited by Mircea Anghelescu, in a project meant to facilitate the Romanian public access to the researcher’s writings published in exile.

Starting from this scientific contribution, we will focus in the following on the presence of the fall of the angels in the iconography of Muntenia and Oltenia at the end of the Middle Ages and in the modern epoch.

In order to understand the significances resulting from the artistic syntax, we will first talk about the texts that could generate visual representations of the sins of some celestial beings. The first references in this direction are those of the Old Testament, starting with some verses of the *Genesis*, where is mentioned the error that the “sons of God” made by mating the “daughters of men”:

“And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daugh-

ters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. And the Lord said ‘My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.’ There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.” (*Genesis*, 6: 1-4).

The first mistake of the angels as “sons of God” results, as we have seen, from an improper matrimonial alliance. Its outcome – the appearance of some different beings, the giants – is a combination between the celestial power, expressed by means of huge body size, and the human features. At the origin of a new species we find therefore the violation of a taboo, a breach materialized by a stigma that will feed the archetype of the giant.

Unlike the *Old Testament*, where the references to the *fall of the angels* are not extended, the non-canonical apocalyptic literature preserved an ampler text about the proscription of one of the angel communities, a writing known as the *Book of Enoch*, which survived almost completely in Ethiopian and fragmentarily in Greek.<sup>3</sup> Emil Turdeanu identifies two causes at the origin of the angelic guilt: on the one hand, the concupiscence, on the other, the knowledge, like in the case of the ancestors Adam and Eve.<sup>4</sup> There are also other mythical traditions, pertaining to the Judaic and Islamic cultural spheres,<sup>5</sup> but the Romanian traditions originate in that version.

The Ethiopian text is based upon a missing canonical version, whose content was tightly related to the already quoted verses of the *Genesis*.<sup>6</sup> It includes a petition of the sinful angels to the Divinity, submitted by the agency of a messenger, Enoch, a descendant of Adam through Seth. This request will be refused, the fallen being condemned to expiate in a place where “things were chaotic”:

“And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. And there I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then I said: ‘For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?’ Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: ‘Enoch, why dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.’ And from thence I went to another place, which

was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. Then I said: ‘How fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!’ Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: ‘Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?’ And I answered: ‘Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.’ And he said unto me: ‘This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.’”<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the fact that the narration of Enoch’s vision was not included in the Romanian manuscripts, descriptive elements regarding the angels’ guilt entered the local area by the agency of the Byzantine chronicles, being afterwards borrowed by the homiliaries or other books.<sup>8</sup> *Palia istorică* [*History Book of the Old Testament*], for instance, tells in its first pages about the impropriety of one of the angels, Lucifer, to compare himself to God. For his pride, the “shining star, son of the morning”, as he appears in Isaiah’s prophecies (*Isaiah*, 14: 12), is immediately and decisively punished with a tempestuous fall into the depths of Hell.<sup>9</sup>

The textual identity of this fallen angel is far from being unitary, as it oscillates between an angelic being subordinated to Divinity and an adversary of God the Father. In the *Book of Job* (*Job*, 1: 6-12), Satan, from the Hebrew verb *Satan* (= to oppose, to conspire against),<sup>10</sup> is a member of God’s heavenly court, who will test the upright character of the Old Testament, but only with his Master’s permission. In prophet Zechariah’s words (*Zechariah*, 3: 1-2), Satan is a creature who faces the Lord’s angel in front of the high priest Joshua.

In St John’s *Revelation* (12:9) he is the devil (gr. *diabolos*=“opponent”, “accuser”<sup>11</sup>, “slanderer”, “divider”<sup>12</sup>), the “great dragon” and “that ancient serpent”, hurled down to the dark with his angels.<sup>13</sup>

The observations grounding this incursion in the Romanian iconography are the result of the analysis of thirty two representations of the *fall of the angels* from the church and monastic complexes of Oltenia and Muntenia decorated in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Since when does this representation date in the local visual geography and how did it get here?

The first insertion in the mural painting of Walachia occurred in the last decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, on the occasion of the adornment of the church of Hurezi, by Constantinos, Ioan, Andrei, Stan, Neagoe and Ioachim.<sup>14</sup> Part of the wall decoration of the porch, together with other eschatological topics like the *Last Judgement*, the *Psalms 148-150*, the *Parable of Dives and Lazarus*, this scene was

placed on the western tympanum, where it will remain for most of its occurrences. Constantinos, a Greek painter, was the one who brought it in the iconography of the Brâncoveanu period, who would have met it, probably, in the religious architecture of Epirus.<sup>15</sup>

At Hurezi, the *fall of the angels* is arranged on three levels. The first presents *God the Ancient of Days*, in a semicircle, blessing with his right hand, while holding in the left the cruciferous globe. He wears white bright clothes, attesting his omnipotence, like in Daniel's vision: "As I looked, thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days took his seat. His clothing was as white as snow; the hair of his head was white like wool." (*Daniel*, 7: 9).<sup>16</sup>

Lower, at the second level, Archangel Michael is shown in semi-profile, with his sword up in a fighting position, the sheath at his belt, and a disc in his left hand. The inscription with the monogram X on the disc recommends Michael as a messenger of Christ (etymologically, an archangel – gr. *arxaggelos* – is the foremost messenger, the most important mediator between divinity and humanity).<sup>17</sup> He is wearing soldier clothes, and a cloak hanging from the shoulders, attributes that confirm his belonging to the celestial hierarchy of archangels.<sup>18</sup> On his both sides there are groups of angels, on their bended knees, holding their arms to their chief. The delimitation with the next level is made by a range of white spherical clouds, meant to clearly cut between the groups that are faithful to God and those that were not.

Considering the force of influence and the prestige that the painting of Hurezi will have later in the post-Brâncoveanu environment of the schools of church painters, we can understand why the scene of the fall of the angels will be borrowed, more or less faithfully, in the artistic programs of the churches in the centuries to come.

The last level of the scene descends from the heights of the sky into the turbid depths of a formless world. From the rolls of clouds, the foolish angels fall to the dark. The painter from the monastery of Vâlcea shows them in several phases of their metamorphosis: four of them are just starting to fall, the angelic physiognomy has not yet disappeared; some of them, in their transition to the demonic corporality, still wear the vestments of the hierarchy they come from; finally, others have already become the creatures of the night, dark, with red beards, sharp claws, horns and bat wings. The sidereal flight gives up its place to the heavier soaring of the winged mammal that penetrated, since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the malefic bestiary of Western Europe.<sup>19</sup>

The progressive transformation of angels is prescribed in the post-Byzantine painter's manuals, like in the famous 18<sup>th</sup> century one by Dionysius of Fourna.<sup>20</sup>

In the lower part of the image, the earth opens like a huge mouth, ready to swallow the chained demons, mentioned in the *Epistle of Jude*: "And the angels

who kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.” (*Jude*, 1: 6)

The angels’ fall seems to reach the climax in this verse, where the guilty ones are intended for maximal penance – expiation not in the gloom, but more, lower, “under darkness”.

The representation at Hurezi has its predecessors in the mural post-Byzantine complexes of Epirus. On the Ioannina Island, at the Philanthropinon Monastery, George and Frangos Condaris introduced in the outer narthex, by the paintings of 1542, the theme of the *angelic sin*.<sup>21</sup> The models of the two Theban brothers for the episode in question are divergent: on the one hand, this is about the tradition of the local painting where the Cretan school had a decisive influence, on the other hand this is about sources of occidental inspiration. The calm of the Cretan compositions brought in the frescoes of the region by the well-known artist Theophanes of Crete, contrasts with the agitation and visual disorder from the segment of the fall proper, originating in some Italian engraving circulating at the time.<sup>22</sup> *The fall* will be chosen in 1603 to decorate part of the refectory of the Dionysiou monastery. In the establishment whose painting was entrusted to Zorzis, the manner of representation will be much closer to the Byzantine canon, inspiring order and symmetry.<sup>23</sup> The variant in the Athonite establishment, with Christ as high priest, surrounded with several angel hierarchies<sup>24</sup> celebrating Lucifer’s banishment<sup>25</sup>, will not reach the Wallachian iconography. Zorzis represents Satan with the same vestments before the fall, according to the Byzantine principle of not resorting to too many figures and elements from the negative sphere.<sup>26</sup> No wonder that the painters of the modern period will choose the variant of Philanthropinon, as it corresponded much better to the Orthodox artistic context of the Balkans, to the taste for asymmetry, variance, narrative, increasingly clearer in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

When it comes to models, the narratives at Hurezi, foretelling a new time, when “each layer will produce and promote a specific art”<sup>27</sup> are inconsistently invoked. The influence on the worship establishments of the centuries to come is seen in the fact that Brâncoveanu’s monastery borrowed the scene of *God Ancient of Days* and not that of Christ, according to the indications of the Painter’s Manual.<sup>28</sup> We will therefore see the Heavenly Father at Stoenеști, Pitaru, Aninoasa, București-Mântuleasa, Golești-Badii, Titireciu, Breasta, Urșani, Târgu-Cărbunești (Cojani), Milești, Căinenii Mici (Saint Nicholas). In an ample study dedicated to the Byzantine iconography, Constantine Cavarinos says that, in spite of the fact that it presents the figure of an old man with a white beard, the representation sends to the second hypostasis of the Trinity, that is Christ, and not to God the father. Explanations in this vein are brought by the hymnody of the Orthodox

Church, where one might find verses like: “In an infant body, the Ancient of days is miraculously seen today and to the Temple He is brought”.<sup>29</sup> The identification with the first hypostasis of the Trinity occurs in the Greek area, in frescoes, icons or even iconography works.<sup>30</sup> It will continue in the mural painting at us, where the aureole of the Ancient of Days is not inscribed with the cross, Christ’s sign, but with the Father’s triangle.<sup>31</sup>

At the Valea monastery, in the county of Argeș, the incarnated Word is not included in the centre of the first semicircle, but in its right, while in the left the painter placed an angel with phylactery, to balance the composition. In the 1820 fresco of the Tetoiu church, the presence of the divinity was marked by the inclusion of the triangle with the all-seeing eye.

But the key of the iconographic sequence of the fall is in the hands of the “chief princes” (*Daniel 10: 13*), he governs the whole image, in semi-profile, with his wings fluttering. If the Divinity does not reveal its face in all the identified mural complexes, Michael cannot be absent in any of these, as he is the representative of the celestial hierarchy the closest to the Glory of God. His very name – *Who is like God?* – an interrogation stating the divine uniqueness, shows his privileged status and demonstrates his humbleness;<sup>32</sup> at the Valea monastery, the aureole of the archangel inside which a triangle is inscribed, reproduces the divine nimbus from the higher level, a confirmation of the power he represents. He is the redeeming messenger, the defender of believers and the one who warns about the obligation to be wakeful, not to repeat the fault of the disobedient angels<sup>33</sup>. “Stand aright, stand with fear ...”, these words are written on the phylacteries of the frescoes of Goleștii-Badii, Titireciu, Urlueni, Tetoiu, Bărbărești-Iernatic, Râjlețu-Govora, Milești, Sâmburești, Târgu-Cărbunești, Căinenii Mici, Homorâciu. The authority on the groups of rebelled angels is contained in the ascendant position of the sword, a consistent feature of the archangel, visible in other iconographic scenes as well, like the one at Ostrov, Olt (1787) or that of Copăceni, Vâlcea (1804), on the banderol of which painters Manole and Dinu din Gorj wrote: “He who unclean enters the church /By the sword will be cut”.

The most interesting part of the narratives that transposes in art the theme of the *fallen angels* is probably reflected in the last iconographic level. In this area, one finds most of approaches, as it can be observed from the collection of analysed representations. The visual pattern of Hurezi, where the transformation of angels is gradually represented, is maintained in several cases, with the difference that the three phases of the metamorphosis were reduced to two in the churches of Sărăcinești, Stoenesti, Goleștii-Badii, Valea, Otetelișu, Sâmburești sau Bârsești. In other places of Muntenia and Oltenia – at București-Mântuleasa, Titești, Preajba de Pădure, Urlueni, Ciurești, Corbi – the transformation is a closed action, establishing a definitive fracture between the angel hierarchy and the dark warriors.

At Breasta, the Archangel Michael's competence to keep the latter away was replaced with the liturgical function of the celestial groups, so that the demons do not appear any more on the western tympanum of the porch.

In its occurrences, the nothingness uses a diverse chromatic scale, from ochre to reddish, from light greys to dark browns. As far as the sizes are involved, the Byzantine manuals insist on the representation at a reduced scale of the negative characters compared to the heroes of the sacred art.<sup>34</sup> In the case of the Romanian architecture, the suggestion is not observed in all 19<sup>th</sup> century churches, like for instance at Ciurești, Corbi or Bărbătești-Iernatic.

The geometry of the world “under dark” sometimes includes, in the depths imagined by the Romanian painters, Lucifer's distorted silhouette, the leader of the angelic rebellion. Thus, the individualized Satan records two occurrences. In the porch of Valea monastery he was represented on the southern wall, in the middle of the lower level, with higher sizes than his servants, his body in nuances of ochre, the dorsal position underlining his condition of creature deprived of divine grace. His insertion in the meridian area of the image, in a straight line from the representation of the highest point of the skies, establishes a perfect antinomic relation between the heights of the good and *mundus subterraneus*. The second presence is earlier than the one in the church of Argeș and can be found at the Stoenesti-Drugănești church (1724). The differentiation with the group of the damned is made again at a morphological level – Lucifer is bigger than the rest of the demons and is coloured in ashy-grey – as well as at a syntactic level – his position being where on other occasions the painters will represent the mouth of the Leviathan (see the image of Bărbătești-Iernatic).

For the artists of the modern period, the devil bodies represent an occasion to practise creativity. The Luciferian swarming – quite suggestively expressed in the painting of the Mântuleasa church or, later, in that of Pleșești – stimulated the representations of the collective mental state, ready to put into circulation detailed descriptions of some angels' failure.

“And there were so many falling, that the earth grew dark of devils. But God ordered for the earth not to welcome them, because He was afraid they might kill the humans, so the earth opened under them, and they fell into the glooms of Hell. They kept on falling for three days, until the sky grew empty of them. Then, angel Gabriel<sup>35</sup> raised his right hand, so that each devil should stay where the moment of the blessing caught him. So they all stood still where they were: some in the depths of the earth, others on earth, others in waters, others in the air, some their heads down, others writhing, so in all possible ways”.<sup>36</sup>

The best work, both stylistically and compositionally, is that of the church of Urșani, founded by the frontier police chief Ioan Urșanu. Several painters worked here too as the inscriptions on the outer and inner walls of the estab-

ishment attest.<sup>37</sup> Unlike at most of the churches, the Hurezi monastery included, at Urșani the scene of the fall was placed on the north wall of the narthex, in the higher level, above some episodes about the life of the Mother of God and about Jesus' public life.

In the heights of the sky, the *Ancient of Days* rules from a circle hemmed with globular clouds; from the compositional nucleus, rose rays irradiate in all directions, showing the power of spiritual expansion of the centre. Below, Michael with his wings spread, announces on his trumpet the implacable verdict of the rebelled groups' fall into the dark. To the right of the archangel, young angels, in white clothes,<sup>38</sup> confirm the justice and irrevocability of the divine sentence. Another range of clouds separate the world of perfect harmony from the demonic decay. The limes throw out the eternal kingdom the guilty angels, who helplessly contemplate their involution. At Urșani, the gradation of the metamorphosis reaches the climax; through the bright tunics fallow or dark red lambs gushed out. If at Hurezi, the bat wings replaced the angel ones, here they disappear for good, the falling being so much more painful. Paws with pointed claws change the regnum of these beings; the hair becomes corns, the delicate chins transform into caprine ends. The faces were imagined in profile, conserving the Byzantine art principle to represent demons incompletely.<sup>39</sup> The piling of rolling bodies amplifies the impression of apocalyptic chaos. The insistence upon details corresponds to the interest that the painters of the church of Vâlcea proved in the phytomorphic decoration, visible all over the sacred area. This is undoubtedly another proof for the taste for ornament that enters the worship establishments with the Brâncoveanu painting, where the spaces between the iconographic sequences are not left empty any more.<sup>40</sup>

## Conclusions

**T**HE DEPICTIONS of the *fall of the angels* in the religious architecture of Wallachia synthesize the journey of the Romanian sacred art from the end of the medieval period until the late modernity. Inside this iconographical topic, the orthodox artistic source, the one that makes up the backbone of the local sacred art, is mixed in a harmonious way with the series of western elements that arrived here either through intermediaries or in a direct manner. Going beyond the cultural encounter between the east and the west, the topic of the angelic sin found in churches of Muntenia and Oltenia are the convincing proof that the relations with the visual models assimilated in the *long duration* were rethought inside the Romanian territory, attesting the existence of a singular artistic discourse at the south of the Carpathians.



## **Annex**





## Notes

1. Nicolae Cartoian, *Cărțile populare în literatura română*, edited by Alexandru Chiriacescu, prefaced by Dan Zamfirescu, with an afterword by Mihai Moraru, vol. II (București, 1974), 47-49.
2. Emil Turdeanu, “Le Mythe des anges déchus: traditions littéraires de l’Europe Occidentale et Orientale”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, II, 1982, 73-117, taken up in Mircea Angheliescu (ed.), *Studii și articole literare* (București, 1995), 3-48.
3. Ibid., 3. *The Book of Enoch* was written in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C., most likely in Hebrew or in Aramaic, being then translated into Greek. From Greek it was translated in Latin and Ethiopian; the complete text was preserved to nowadays only in this last language. Cf. the Introduction by W. O. E. Oesterley, in *Cartea lui Enoh*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., transl. from English by Alexandru Anghel (București, 2010), 13. (The English translations used in the text are taken from 1917 R. H. Charles translation of the *Book of Enoch*, available on <http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/boe/boe024.htm> – *translator’s note*.)

4. Ibid.
5. For the variant of Satan's fall following the refuse the adore Adam, see Turdeanu, 4-5.
6. Claude Gilbert-Dubois, "Naissance du mythe des Anges révoltés", in *Mythologies de l'Occident* (Paris, 2007), 305.
7. *Cartea lui Enoh*, op. cit., 58-59. [*The Book of Enoch*, chap. XXI.]
8. Cartoian, 48.
9. "This day the sky was adorned with all ornaments, and afterwards, dark and gloom, and it was deprived of the beauty of the sky, as he thought and said in his heart: 'I will ascend above the heights of the clouds and I will make myself like the Most High' and as soon as he thought that, in God's wisdom he was expelled from the hierarchy of angels and instead of light, he should live in the dark and of the angelic beauty he was deprived." See *Palia istorică*, philological study, linguistic study and edited by Alexandra Moraru and Mihai Moraru (București, 2001), 102.
10. Arvind Sharma, "Satan", in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 13 (New York, 1995), 82.
11. Ibid., 81.
12. Danielle Fouilloux, Anne Langlois, Alice Le Moigné, Françoise Spiess, Madeleine Thibaut, Renée Trébuchon, *Dicționarul cultural al Bibliei. Referințe iconografice, literare, muzicale și cinematografice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (București, 2006), 251.
13. In a Christian Apocrypha from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the demons' leader is Beelzebul (= "Lord of the flies", cf. Sharma, 82), the only one that remained of the group of the rebelled. See *Testamentul lui Solomon. Regele, demonii și zidirea Templului*, novel translation from ancient Greek, with an introduction by Ștefan Colceriu (București, 2010), 70.
14. Cf. the inscription published in the volume edited by Constantin Bălan, *Inscripții medievale și din epoca modernă a României. Județul istoric Vâlcea (sec. XIV-1848)* (București, 2005), 543.
15. Corina Popa assumes that the Greek painter might have come from Epirus or Thessaly, but that he had worked for the establishments of Mount Athos. See "Pictura murală a bisericilor de la Hurezi și orizontul cultural al epocii brâncovenești", 147 and note 102 from chap. "Pridvorul", 242, in Corina Popa, Ioana Iancovescu, *Mănăstirea Hurezi* (București, 2009).
16. Constantine Cavarinos, *Ghid de iconografie bizantină*, transl. from Engl. by Anca Popescu, edited by Ștefan Ionescu-Berechet (București, 2005), 173.
17. For the etymology, see Aurélien Le Maillot, *Les anges sont-ils nés en Mésopotamie? Une étude comparative entre les génies du Proche-Orient antique et les anges de la Bible?* (Paris, 2009), 23; for the interpretation of the angelic symbols, see Cavarinos, 206-207.
18. The description of the way in which the archangels should be represented can be found at Dionysius of Fourni, *Erminia picturii bizantinei*, ed. by C. Săndulescu-Verna (București, 2000), 67; Elie Miron Cristea, *Iconografia și întocmirile din interiorul Bisericii Răsăritene* (Sibiu, 1905), 83.
19. Jean-Paul Clébert, *Bestiar fabulos. Dicționar de simboluri animaliere*, transl. by Rodica Maria Valter and Radu Valter (București, 1995), 174; Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Evul Mediu fantastic*, transl. by Valentina Grigorescu (București, 1975), 126-127.

20. "Heaven, with Christ sitting on his throne like a King, holding the Gospels open, which read: 'I beheld Satan as lightning falling from heaven'. Around him the choirs of angels stand in fear, and Michael stands in the midst and showing Christ to the other choirs, says on a scroll: 'Let us stand proudly, let us stand in fear. Let us come and worship God our King'. Below them are mountains and in the middle of them a great chasm, with 'Tartarus' written above it, and the army of Lucifer is hurled down out of heaven. The angels that are higher among those that are hurled down are shining, while other angels low down are darker and they become darker still further down; below they are half devils and half angels, and further down still they are completely black and benighted devils, while beneath them all inside Tartarus the demon Lucifer, blacker and more accursed than all, lies prone and looks upward." Cf. *Erminia picturii bizantine*, 67. (The English translation taken from Dinoysius of Fournà, *The Painter's Manual*, Sagittarius Press, London, 1974, Engl. translation by Paul Hetherington, 130 (88).)
21. Miltiadis-Miltos Garidis, *La peinture murale dans le monde orthodoxe après la chute de Byzance (1450-1600) et dans les pays sous domination étrangère* (Athènes, 1989), 173.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
23. *Ibid.*
24. The description and role of the angel hierarchies at Saint Dionysius Aeropagite, *Opere complete*, translated, prefaced and notes by Dumitru Stăniloae (București, 1996), 23-29.
25. For other representations of Satan's fall in the Orthodox iconography, see Hilandar monastery (1622) and other establishments in Smiljka Gabeliač, "The Fall of Satan in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art", *Zograph*, no. 23/1993, 65-73.
26. Cavarnos, 200. See also Smiljkei Gabeliač's reproductions, 68-69.
27. Daniel Barbu, "Arta brâncovenească: semnele timpului și structurile spațiului", in Paul Cernovodeanu, Florin Constantiniu (eds.), *Constantin Brâncoveanu* (București, 1989), 261.
28. See note 19.
29. Cavarnos, 174.
30. Cavarnos says that this identification could also be found in Dionysios of Fournà's *Painter's Manual*. In the 2000 Romanian edition, it is not preserved. See Cavarnos, 176 and *supra*, Dionisie din Furna, 67.
31. In the painting of Hurezi, Stoenеști-Drugănești (1724), Aninoasa (1730) and Căinenii Mici (1846), the aureole of the *Ancient of Days* is star-shaped.
32. For the role played by Archangel Michael in the Byzantine area, see Ovidiu Victor Olar's book, *Împăratul înaripat. Cultul Arhanghelului Mihail în lumea bizantină* (București, 2004).
33. See "Soborul Mai Marilor Arhistrategi Mihail și Gavriil și al tuturor cereștilor, fără de trupuri, Puteri", in *Proloagele. Viețile sfinților și cuvinte de învățătură pe luna noiembrie* (Craiova, n. y.), 24.
34. See *supra*, note 24.
35. In this folk legend, the one who is given powers over the legions of fallen angels is Archangel Gabriel, and not Michael, like in the religious canonical writings or in Apocrypha.

36. Marcel Olinescu, *Mitologie românească. Cu desene și xilografuri de autor*, edited and prefaced by I. Opreșan (București, 2001), 68.
37. *Dinu zugrav sudu Gorj, 7134* (= 1805-1806), cf. the inscription in the outer painting. See also Victor Brătulescu, “Biserici din Vâlcea, II”, *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, yr. XXX, fasc. 93, July-September, 1937, 99; inside signed Milcu, Gheorghe and Preda din Gorj, cf. Bălan (ed.), 529.
38. In Byzantine art, the angels close to the glory of Lord are represented in white clothes, like Christ in the hypostasis of The Ancient of days. See I. D. Ștefănescu, *Iconografia artei bizantine și a picturii feudale românești* (București, 1973), 192.
39. Cavarnos, 17.
40. For the artistic innovations in Brâncoveanu painting, see Popa, Iancovescu, 99-144 and Cornelia Pillat, “O pictură târzie brâncovenească la biserica din Stoenești-Drugănești”, *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, series *Artă Plastică*, t. 17, no. 1, 93-111.

### Abstract

#### “Stored in the Dark.” *The Fall of the Angels* in Wallachia’s Iconography

The article analyses one of the topics that were examined from a literary perspective by Emil Turdeanu during his scientific career. Following the footsteps of the well known Romanian researcher, the current study focuses on the same topic of the *fall of the angels*, but from an iconographical point of view. The geographical area is Wallachia, a place where the subject was often encountered during the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Our aims are to identify the origin of the representation of the *fall of the angels* on the Romanian territory, the significance of its introduction in the wall paintings, sources of inspiration in the area, as well as the evolution of the topic during approximately two centuries.

### Keywords

Fallen angels, iconography, wall paintings, Orthodox church, Wallachia