

EPITAPH IN ROMANIAN, RUSSIAN, POLISH AND LITHUANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Rezumat: Epitaful în istoriografia rusă, poloneză și lituaniană

Articolul analizează succinct realizările istoriografiei române, ruse, poloneze și lituaniane referitoare la epitafuri. Sunt trecute în revistă cele mai valoroase lucrări ale istoricilor, etnografilor și folcloriștilor ce se referă la această problemă.

Abstract: *This study briefly analyzes achievements of Romanian, Russian, Polish and Lithuanian historiography referring to epitaphs. There are reviewed most valuable scientific materials of historians, ethnographers and folklorists referring to this problem.*

Résumé: L'építaphe dans l'historiographie Roumaine, Russe, Polonaise et Lituanienne

Cette étude analyse succinctement les réalisations de l'historiographie roumaine, russe, polonaise et lituanienne faisant référence à des építaphes. L'auteur y passe en revue les plus importantes œuvres des historiens, des ethnographes et des folkloristes qui font référence à ce problème-là.

Keywords: *epitaph, cemetery, grave, tomb inscriptions, historiography, funeral, Moldova, Romania, Poland, Russia, Lithuania*

Introduction

Changes of the emphases in historical research with the prominence of the emotional-affective side have generated new issues and approaches. Among them it is included the research of the death image, hereafter, the relationship between the living and the dead, a theme which study could deepen the understanding of many parts of the daily lives of the past centuries generations and help define the role of man in history.

The epitaph is one of the major sources in the research of attitudes toward death. Funerary inscriptions, in prose or verse, apparently reflecting the historical volatility of human attitudes toward death and a reflection of ways to express pain, eschatological understanding of different ages, which reveal in themselves not only religious, theological manifestations, but also simple humane. Researchers of philology, history and anthropology fields have sought to give a definition and an

explanation of the origin of the word “epitaph”, which is the focus or the secondary subject of numerous scientific contributions. According to the Encyclopedic Dictionary, an epitaph originates from Greek Language: *ἐπιτάφιος* Epi-taphios “from, above, along-the tomb” - literally “from the slab” and it is a short text that honors the deceased, including a praise of the deceased or a moral judgment¹. This article will present Romanian, Russian, Polish and Lithuanian historiography, whose central theme is the epitaph.

Argumentation

Romanian historiography. In Romanian historiography, in the research epitaph, we highlight several distinct periods:

- I) the second half of the nineteenth century - early twentieth century;
- II) between the wars;
- III) 1960-1989;
- IV) post-communist period (1990-2012).

The first period is characterized by the appearance of the epitaph in the horizon of the Romanian historiography in collections of inscriptions and documents², which combine notes and inscriptions gathered from monasteries, churches, etc. These collections will form the basis for future studies, articles and monographs. Chronology of the research area ranged from Daco-Roman to modern times.

The early twentieth century, in Bucharest, the historian Gr. Tocilescu created an anthology especially of the Latin funerary inscriptions since Thraco-Dacian world, analyzing them and publishing their text³. Sometime later the prominent historian Nicolae Iorga, besides numerous notes from Romanian churches, published also the inscriptions from the tombstones inside or near the investigated churches, without making an interpretation of them in terms of epoch mentality or the information it contains, except for the genealogical ones⁴. Nevertheless, all these will be an

¹ *Dicționar enciclopedic* [Encyclopedic Dictionary], Cartier, 2003, p.297.

² *Uricariul sau colecțiune de diferite acte care pot servi la istoria românilor* [Uricariul or collection of different documents that may serve to Romanian history], publ. de Th. Codrescu, vol. IX, Iași, 1887; Melchisedec, *Notițe istorice și arheologice adunate de pe la 48 mănăstiri și biserici antice din Moldova (Historical and archaeological notes collected from 48 ancient monasteries and churches in Moldova)*, București, 1885.

³ Tocilescu Gr., *Monumentele epigrafice și sculpturale ale Muzeului Național de Antichități din București* [Epigraphic and sculptural monuments of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest], București, 1902. About the activity of publication of funeral inscription initiated by D. Pappasoglu, see *Introduction*, in *Inscripțiile medievale ale României* [Romanian medieval inscriptions]: Cu studiu introductiv, repertoriu cronologic, note explicative, indicații bibliografice și indici : *Orașul București*. Vol.1 (1395 - 1800) de Al. Elian (coord.), C. Bălan, N. Ciucă, O. Diaconescu, București, 1965, p.28-36.

⁴ Iorga N., *Inscripții din bisericile României* [Inscriptions in churches in Romania], fasc. I-II, vol. XV-XVI, București, Editura Minerva, 1905-1908. See Iorga N., *Zece inscripții de*

irreplaceable source of epitaphs structure research and of information it contains.

While examining the history of Christianity Vasile Pârvan mentioned “the knowledge of actual spiritual life, not in its forms, but in its spirit, can be obtained only starting from the Daco-Roman origins...”⁵ amid the evidences of continuity listing the inscriptions, including the tomb ones, whose text he published, generally in notes, accompanied by necessary explanations.

The second stage (between the wars) is one in which interest epitaphs coincided with research institutions of worship. In the context of the examination of old churches in Bessarabia the historian Ștefan Ciobanu presents the cemeteries around them and describes the tombstones in terms of appearance. Also, he published the epitaphs from the stones⁶. In the same context scores the work of P. Mihailovici.

Since the 60's of the twentieth century the epitaph had sequentially reappeared in historians' researches, especially in the collections of inscriptions. During this period (1960-1989) emphasize the importance of the epitaph as source in research genealogies, social life, but most focus on appearance and artistic sculptural composition of tomb stones. Among them it is mentioned the study of Elian Alexander⁷, the work *Medieval inscriptions of Romania*. The city of Bucharest⁸, the study of R. Cristescu, about medieval tombstones in Bosnia⁹ and that of Kara I. Schwartz, “Hebrew Inscriptions in Piatra Neamt (1677-1800)” etc¹⁰. The theme was

mormînt ale Mavrocordaților [Ten tomb inscriptions of Mavrocordats], in „Analele Academiei Române”, Mem. Secț. Ist., seria III, tom. 20, 1938.

⁵ Pârvan V., *Contribuții epigrafice la istoria creștinismului daco-roman* [Epigraphic contributions to the history of Daco-Roman Christianity], București, 1911, p.XII.

⁶ Ciobanu Ș., *Biserici vechi din Basarabia* [Old Churches of Bessarabia], in „Comisiunea monumentelor istorice”, Chișinău, 1924, p.1-70.

⁷ Elian Al., *Epigrame funerare grecești în epoca fanariotă* [Greek funerary epigrams in the era of Phanariot], in „Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie”, vol. I, 1956, p. 333 - 334.

⁸ *Inscripțiile medievale ale României* [Romanian medieval inscriptions]: *Cu studiu introductiv, repertoriu cronologic, note explicative, indicații bibliografice și indici : Orașul București. Vol.1 (1395 - 1800)* de Al. Elian (coor.), C. Bălan, N. Ciucă, O. Diaconescu, București, 1965.

⁹ Cristescu E., *Considerații despre pietrele funerare din Bosnia medievală* [Considerations about the Bosnian medieval tombstones], in „Studii și comunicări de istoria artei”, Seria artă plastică, București, 1969, p. 219-228

¹⁰ Kara Schwartz I., *Inscripții ebraice din Piatra Neamț (1677-1800)* [Hebrew inscriptions in Piatra Neamț (1677-1800)], in „Memoria Antiquitatis”, 1, 1969; Braniște M., Diaconescu I., *Vechile cruci de piatră din cuprinsul și vecinătatea orașului Pitești* [Ancient stone crosses of content and neighborhood of Pitesti], in „Mitropolia Olteniei”, XVI, 1964, nr.1-2, p. 39-50; Diaconescu I., *Reliefuri și inscripții pe cruci de piatră feudală în nord-vestul Ungrovlahiei* [Reliefs and inscriptions on feudal stone crosses in northwestern Wallachia], in „Glasul bisericii”, XXVIII, 1969, nr. 7-8, p. 853-881; Bălașa D., *Cruci de piatră în Țara Românească catagrafiate în anul 1832* [Stone crosses in Tara Romaneasca registered in 1832], in „Mitropolia Olteniei”, XXIV, 1972, nr. 1-2, p. 92-104, nr. 5-6, p. 408-452; Popescu

continued by G. Cantacuzino in “Les tombes Bogomiles découvertes en Roumanie et des rapports avec les leurs communautés et hérétiques byzantines balkaniques”¹¹. Researchers N. Gudea and V. Lucăcel, in the context of inscriptions and sculptural monuments of history and art museum examination in Zalău, underlines the importance of funerary inscriptions, which “bring... great wealth of people’s names, functions, attributes and titles, which show a part of the social life appearance”¹². In addition to publishing inscriptions, the authors examine funerary monuments (altars, medallions, aedicule, reliefs, and funerary stars) in Roman Dacia, making the description of their appearance, size and composition.

The period after 1989 is characterized by new research directions, the research in terms of cultural and historical anthropology. The study of the epitaphs in this period is present and focuses on two directions: a) detecting, deciphering and publishing epitaphs, b) research, defining and examining various aspects of epitaphs. It is worth mentioning the historical Transylvanian school that stood out in terms of research on attitudes toward death in general, and research on epitaph, in particular, publishing both thematic studies and chapters in general works¹³.

In 1994 in the collection “Inscriptions of medieval and modern age Romania” appeared the work of I. Cara and S. Cheptea, which is part of a project initiated in the Institute of History and Archaeology “A. D. Xenopol” and aims to publish

Petre, *Inscripția de pe piatra de mormânt a lui Radu de la Afumați* [The inscription on the tombstone of Radu from Afumați], in „Studii și articole de istorie”, XXIX, 1975, p.69-74. The Epitaph see in *Inscripțiile antice din Dacia și Scythia Minor* [Ancient inscriptions in Dacia and Scythia Minor], colecție îngrijită de D. M. Pippidi și I.I. Russu, seria prima - *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. I adunate, însoțite de comentarii și indice, trad. în românește de Ioan I. Russu, București, E. A., 1975, Prefață de St. Pascu; vol. II trad. în românește și comentarii de Grig. Florescu și Constantin C. I. Russu și alții, București, 1977; vol. III/2, adunate, comentarii, indice de Ioan I. Russu, București, 1980; *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor* [The inscriptions in Scythia Minor], vol. I, culese, traduse, comentarii, indici, M. Pippidi, București E. A., 1983 (seria a 2-a); vol. II, trad. comentarii de Iorgu Stoian, indici de Alex. Suceveanu, București, E. A., 1987.; *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor* [The inscriptions in Scythia Minor], publicate de către D. M. Pippidi, București, 1983.

¹¹ Cantacuzino G., *Les tombes des Bogomiles découvertes en Roumanie et leurs rapports avec les communautés hérétiques byzantines et balkaniques*, in *Actes du XIV-e Congrès international des études byzantines*, Bucarest, 6-12 septembre 1971, II, Bucarest, 1975.

¹² Gudea N., Lucăcel V., *Inscripții și monumente sculpturale în muzeul de istorie și artă Zalău* [Inscriptions and sculptural monuments in the Museum of history and art of Zalău], Zalău, 1975, p.6.

¹³ Albu I., *Monumentul epigrafic la sașii transilvăneni în context central-european* [Epigraphic monument of Transylvanian Saxons in the central-european context], Sibiu, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga”, 1999; Idem, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt (1651-1711)*, Sibiu, Editura Tipomar, 1999; Ardevan R., Hica I., *Inscriptions de Napoca (Inscriptions of Napoca)*, in „Acta Musei Napocensis”, nr.37/1, 2000, p. 243-252.

inscriptions from Iași¹⁴. In the same year C. Balan published medieval inscriptions and some of modern age of Argeș County. In the context of the examination of the burial stone in Ruda, in May 1601, the author mentions that “I open a new perspective on the dramatic events that occurred...”¹⁵, that shows the importance of such sources as the epitaph.

In the Daco-Romanian Funerary collective works, in two chapters the tomb is the subject of research, although viewed from different angles (funerary monument, a mirror reflection of provincial society and ethnic groups through the rite, ritual and funerary monuments). The historian Alexandru Stănescu aims to decipher the significance of funerary reliefs and broached the relationship between text and image in the funerary moment¹⁶. The described funeral stars are divided into several groups: iconic stars presenting portraits of deceased and their family, the stars with funeral banquet representation, stars with symbols on the occupation of the dead, star decorated with zoomorphic and vegetable ornaments and symbols. The author concludes that “those who put epitaphs of awareness that both body and soul disappear from our world, but what remains is the name chiseled on stone”¹⁷. Ana-Maria Sămărghișan presents a phonetic, morphological, philosophical research of 12 versified inscriptions from Dacia, emphasising that this is a beginning of a scientific approach¹⁸. Catherine Wolff put forward the problem of dating three inscriptions from Dobrogea, concluding that they relate to Marcomanic war period¹⁹.

The same volume includes the research of Irina and Sorin Nemeti, who used funerary inscriptions as a source for locating settlers of Thracians and Illyrians in Roman Dacia²⁰, and the research of Eduard Nemeti, who identifies the Moors from Dacia in the funerary texts from Tibiscum and Micia²¹.

A series of articles and studies about epitaph relate to Mihaela Grancea, for

¹⁴ Andronic Al., Neamțu E., Cheptea S. (ed.), *Inscripții medievale și din epoca modernă a României. Orașul Iași*. [Medieval and Modern Inscriptions of Romania. Iasi] Fasc. I. Cara I., Cheptea S., *Inscripții ebraice* [Hebrew inscriptions], Iași, 1994, p.XVI-XVIII. In 1989 I. Cara published the inscriptions; see Cara I., *Inscripții funerare ieșene* [Funerary inscriptions in Iași], in “Revista culturii mozaic”, București, 18 ianuarie 1989.

¹⁵ Bălan C., *Inscripții medievale și din epoca modernă a României. Județul istoric Argeș (sec. XIV-1848)* [Medieval and modern inscriptions of Romania. Arges historic County], București, 1994, p. 9.

¹⁶ Stănescu Alexandru, *Monumentul funerar: text și imagine* [The funerary monument: text and image], în *Funeraria Dacoromana: Arheologia funerară a Daciei Romane*, coord. Mihai Bărbulescu, Cluj- Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003, pp. 107-122.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p.120.

¹⁸ Sămărghișan Ana-Maria, *Poezia funerară în Dacia* [The funeral poetry in Dacia], in *Funeraria Dacoromana*, pp. 170-195.

¹⁹ Wolff Catherine, *Interfecti a latronibus*, în *Funeraria Dacoromana*, pp. 205-214.

²⁰ Nemeti Irina, Nemeti Sorin, *Tracii și ilirii* [The Thracians and the Illyrians], în *Funeraria Dacoromana*, pp. 394-349.

²¹ Nemeth E., *Maurii*, în *Funeraria Dacoromana*, pp. 447-449.

whom the epitaph is one of the priority directions of investigation. Among the first articles published by her is “Romanian Orthodox Epitaph from the totalitarian regime, source of attitudes toward death investigation”²², which emphasizes the epitaph as a research source and provides their classification. In “Sapantian Epitaph and life celebration” the researcher examines the evolution of the epitaph in the cemetery of Săpânța²³. The theme has been continued in “Social Time and Life in the Epitaphs from Săpânța”, “L’Epitaphe de Săpânța et la celebration de la vie” and “Aspects of analysis of funerary monuments in the Communist period”²⁴. The problem of praising the hero in epitaphs since 1989 and the rhetoric of heroic death has been another segment of Mihaela Grancea research²⁵. At the core of these studies the author sees the collective memory instrumentation around places of memory. Namely the epitaph as a place of memory, the nature of such a document in the cemeteries of Bucharest and Timișoara, categories and emotional burden that they bear are discussed in Mihaela Grancea's articles²⁶. The same researcher published an article in collaboration with Emöke Csapo, the epitaphs being examined in terms of the “Great

²² Grancea Mihaela, *Epitaful românesc din perioada regimului totalitar, sursă pentru investigarea atitudinilor referitoare la moarte*, [Romanian Epitaph during the totalitarian regime, the source for investigating attitudes about death], in Mihaela Grancea (coord.), *Reprezentări ale morții în Transilvania secolelor XVI-XVII*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Casa Cărții de Știință, 2005, p. 239-303; Idem, *Aspecte ale analizei monumentelor funerare din perioada comunistă* [Aspects of the analysis of the communist memorials] în *Media Res*, coord. Andi Mihalache Adrian Cioflâncă, Iasi, Ed. Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2007, p. 571-581; Grancea M., *Epitaful românesc ortodox din perioada regimului totalitar, sursă de investigație a atitudinilor în fața morții* [Romanian Orthodox Epitaph during the totalitarian regime, a source of investigation of attitudes towards death], in “Caietele de Antropologie istorică”, nr. 1-2, (5-6), Cluj-Napoca., 2004, p. 180-200

²³ Grancea M., *Epitaful săpânțean și celebrarea vieții* [The epitaph from Săpânța and the celebration of life], in *Murire și moarte în România secolelor XIX-XX, Lucrările conferinței Naționale*, Alba Iulia , 11-12 octombrie 2007, coord. Marius Rotar, Corina Rotar, pp.91-99.

²⁴ Idem, [Social Time and Life in the Epitaphs from Săpânța] in *Philobiblon*, vol. XIII, Cluj, 2008, p. 304-328; Idem, *L’Epitaphe de Săpânța et la celebration de la vie*, in *Death and Society. Transdisciplinary studies*, ed. M. Grancea, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2008, p.215-264; Idem, *Aspecte ale analizei monumentelor funerare din perioada comunistă* [Aspects of the analysis of the communist funeral monuments], *Media Res*, coord. A. Mihalache, A. Cioflâncă, Iași, Ed. Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2007, p. 571-581.

²⁵ Idem, *Retorica morții eroice în epitaful revoluționarilor din Decembrie' 89* [The rhetoric of heroic death in the revolutionary Epitaph on December '89], in *Revoluția română din Decembrie 1989. Istorie și memorie*, coord. B. Murgescu, Iași, Polirom, 2007, p. 45-67. Idem, *Retorica despre moartea eroică în epitaful lui Decembrie' 89* [The rhetoric of heroic death in Epitaph on December '89], in *Discursuri despre moarte în Transilvania secolelor XVI-XX*, volum editat de M. Grancea și A. Dumitran, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, pp. 502-525.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

transition”²⁷. Following analysis of 74 epitaphs of the nineteenth century identified in Házsongárd cemetery in Cluj, these ones are classified according to several criteria: by the way death is represented; affirmation system of the family affects; praise of political and cultural figures; heroes praise, the way it occurs or not the faith expressed in fasting etc²⁸.

The subject was partially discussed in several works²⁹. Among them we can remark “Religious sentiment in Romanians” by Doru Radoslav, who mentions the epitaphs in the context of expressing the religious view and burial habits³⁰.

The historiography from Moldova left this subject behind. There is no special work related to the epitaphs. However, we should note that the inscriptions from the tombstones and crosses were published in monographs and articles, without being discussed in terms of collective mentalities.

A funeral inscription of Oriental origin dated in the fourteenth century was the subject of research of a historian from Bucharest Nicolae Eugen, which describes a tombstone and translates the inscription on it, mentioning that it was discovered by researchers from Moldova Pavel Bârnea and Tatiana Riaboi³¹.

A whole chapter in Petru Lucinschi's work “Life and Death” is referred to cemeteries and epitaphs³². He had an overview of the epitaph's history, which in his opinion have their origin in Greece, spread on the territories of Roman Empire, then in Byzantium, being enriched with quotations from biblical teachings. After reflecting on the place and the role of the cemetery in the life of a community, with quotations

²⁷ Grancea M., Csapo E., *Poarta „Marii Treceeri” sau perspectiva asupra morții reflectate de epitaful maghiar din Cimitirul Házsongárd în Clujul secolului al XIX-lea* [Gate “Great Transitions” or perspective on the death reflected in Hungarian epitaph from Házsongárd cemetery in Cluj in nineteenth century], in Mihaela Grancea (coord.), *Reprezentări ale morții în Transilvania secolelor XVI-XVII*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Casa Cărții de Știință, 2005, p. 150-161.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp.153-154. În același timp articolul respectiv a fost recenzat de Tudor Roșu, care pe lângă părțile pozitive a propus și apariția unor note explicative / bibliografice la unele informații, vezi, Roșu Tudor, *Istoriografia românească asupra morții. Studiu de caz* [Romanian historiography over death. Case Study], in *Murire și moarte în România secolelor XIX-XX, Lucrările conferinței naționale Alba Iulia, 11-12 octombrie 2007*, coord. Marius Rotar, Corina Rotar, Cluj- Napoca: Accent, 2007, p.41.

²⁹ Vasiliu L, *Monografia cimitirului Eternitatea* [Monograph of cemetery Eternity], Iași, Ed. Cronica, 1996, Covacef P., *Cimitirul viu de la Sulina* [Brightly cemetery in Sulina], Constanța, Ex Ponto, 2003

³⁰ Radoslav R., *Sentimentul religios la români* [The religious sentiment to Romanians], Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p.185-190.

³¹ Nicolae Eugen, *Inscripția funerară din secolul al XIV-lea descoperită la Orheiul Vechi în 1986* [The Funerary inscription from the XIVth century discovered in 1986 in Old Orhei], in *Simpozion de Numismatică*, Chișinău, 26-28 noiembrie 2003, Comunicări, studii și note, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2005, p. 81-88

³² Petru Lucinschi, *Viața și moartea* [The life and death], Chișinău, 2003.

from sacred works and description of some epitaph and cemeteries from Romania, the author defines the “epitaph”, focuses on the history of the epitaph spread and brings more examples of epitaphs from contemporary Moldova, then some of them from Russian history of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Among researches with a scientific interest for cemeteries and gravestones of Bessarabia we can highlight the ones of the priest Emanuil Brihuneț. The first articles had the task “to interest and draw the attention of the society towards these ancient monuments which disappear in time”³³. The Priest researches the memorials, focusing on the ethnographic aspect, on the sculptural motive, etc³⁴. The importance of these articles is not only in the presentation of cemeteries as social-cultural spaces and burial law in the eighteenth century in Russia, in the nineteenth century in Bessarabia, and the classification of columns in two types: Funeral and Memorial, but also the publication of a series of epitaphs, which serve as sources for further research³⁵.

Among those who have published epitaphs from Moldovan cemeteries are registered the historians Sergiu Tabuncic and Valentin Constantinov³⁶. The first study refers to stone crosses from Oxentea, whose inscriptions have been deciphered. In the second study referring to Orlińki family, the authors found several well maintained tombstones in the village Ruseni in the nineteenth century, deciphering only two inscriptions from the stones of Bolesław Orlińki, who died in 1892 and Anastasia Pavlovna Strencovscaia, who died in 1897, indicating the location and current status of the slabs.

A series of works on the history of the village or places of worship also have published inscriptions from cemeteries³⁷. Among them we quote the monograph

³³ Brihuneț E., protoiereu, *Stâlpi de piatră din zona Orheiului vechi* [Stone pillars in the Old Orhei area], in “Revistă de Etnografie, Științe ale Naturii și Arheologie. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Național de Etnografie și Istorie Naturală a Moldovei”. Serie nouă, volumul 5 (18), Chișinău, 2005, p. 62.

³⁴ Idem, *Sculptura pietrelor de mormânt din secolul al XVIII-lea-începutul secolului al XIX-lea în ocolul Nistrului de Jos*, [The Sculpture of tombstones in the eighteenth century-early nineteenth century in the Lower Dniester fold], in „Tyragetia. Istorie. Muzeologie”, serie nouă, vol.II (XV), Chișinău, 2006, p.439-450; Idem, *Monumente comemorative medievale târzii din spațiul pruto-nistrean* [Late medieval memorial monuments in the Prut-Dniester area], in „Tyragetia. Istorie. Muzeologie”, serie nouă, vol.II(XVII),nr.2, Chișinău, 2008, p.179-193.

³⁵ Idem, *Istoria și tradiția exploatării cimitirelor din Republica Moldova* [The history and the tradition of exploitation of cemeteries in Moldova], in *Diversitatea expresiilor culturale ale habitatului tradițional din Republica Moldova. Materialele Conferinței Internaționale*, Chișinău, 2-7 august 2007, Chișinău, Cartdidact, 2007, pp. 173- 184.

³⁶ Constantinov V., Tabuncic S., *Inscripțiile de pe crucile de piatră de la Oxentea* [The inscriptions from the the stone crosses at Oxentea], in „Revista de Istorie a Moldovei”, nr.3, 2005, p.70-72; Idem, *Urme poloneze în trecutul satului Ruseni* [The Polish traces in the past of village Ruseni], in „Analecta Catolica”, III, 2008, p. 337- 341

³⁷ Stavilă V., *Mereni. Monografia unui sat răzeșesc* [Mereni. Monography of a village of

dedicated to Căpriana Monastery, that besides many other inscriptions the ones from the tombstones are published too, for example, the one from the baker's grave Dumitru Buzu of 1607, or from the tomb of Metropolitan Bănulescu-Bodoni³⁸.

Thus since nineteenth century the epitaph has been ranked in Romanian historiography, which was first presented as a source of research, and in recent years it was multidisciplinary approached. An increased attention in terms of phonetic, philosophical, anthropological analysis enjoyed the ancient and contemporary inscriptions, leaving in shadow the ones from medieval and modern age.

Russian historiography. Russian historiography can be classified into several stages:

I) The nineteenth-century and early twentieth century, characterized by presenting the descriptions of epitaph in the context of the funeral ceremony, religious institutions, and special research tomb inscriptions.

II) 50-80 years of the twentieth century, which drew attention to the appearance of tombstones, etc.

III) 1991 – 2012, a real boom of epitaph historiography, which is presented in terms of architecture, religious, historical, literary, etc.

Epitaphs appeared in the horizon of Russian scientists since the late eighteenth century, being published in genealogy works, but more thorough studies can be seen in the second half of the nineteenth century – beginning of the twentieth century³⁹.

freeholder], Chişinău, 2004; Ciobanu V., Ciuciulea. *Istorie*, Chişinău, 2007

³⁸ Eşanu V., *Inscripții* [The inscriptions], in *Mănăstirea Căpriana (sec. XV-XX). Studiu istoric, documente, cărți, inscripții și alte materiale*, Chişinău, Pontos, 2003.

³⁹ *Выписка о кончине царя Иоанна Алексеевича и церемониял его погребения в Московском Архангельском соборе* [An extract of the death of Tsar Ioan Alexeevits and his burial ceremony in the Moscow Cathedral of the Archangel], in *Собрание государственных грамот и договоров*. - М., 1828. - Т. 4. - С. 650-656; *Аладын Е. В. Православное Волковское кладбище* [The Orthodox cemetery Volkovskoye]. - СПб., 1847; *Амфилохий (архимандрит). Надгробные памятники иноверцев, найденные в 1870 г. в Московском Даниловом монастыре* [Gravestone monuments of heterodox, found in 1870 in the Moscow Danilov Monastery], in “*Чтения в Обществе любителей духовного просвещения*”, М., 1871, № 10, с. 37-42; *Надгробная надпись у могилы Анны Титовой в Санкт-Петербурбском Большие-охтинском кладбище 1776 г.* [Tombstone inscription at the grave of Anna Titova in Over-Ohtinsk Cemetery of St. Peterberburg, 1776], in „*Русский Архив*”, М., 1866, с. 988-984; *Надписи Троицкой Сергиевой лавры собранные Архимандритом Леонидом (The inscriptions from Trinity St. Sergius Lavra collected by Archimandrite Leonid)*. - СПб., 1881. - 98 с [Надгробные надписи, с. 36-42]; *Надгробная плита. Василий Кириллович Тредьяновский* [The tombstone. Vassily K. Tredianovsky], in „*Русская старина*”, 1890, Т. LXVII, сентябрь, с. 528; *Турай Э. Ф., Надпись на могиле царя Василия Ивановича Шуйского 1612 г* [The inscription on the tomb of Tsar Vasily Shuysky, 1612], in „*Русская старина*”, 1890, Т. LXV, январь, с. 91-92; *Щепкин В. Н., Описание надгробий (собрание I-е)* [Description of tombstones], in *Отчет Исторического музея за 1906 год*.

Among them we note the work of V. Saitov, who gathered tomb inscriptions from the cemeteries of Petersburg from seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, being a precious source in the research of the given problem⁴⁰.

In terms of archaeological, architectural and artistic image the epitaphs returned in Russian historiography in many works of the years 50-80 of the twentieth

Приложение, М., 1907; Щепкин В. Н. *Описание надгробий (собрание 2-е)* [Description of tombstones], in *Отчет Исторического музея за 1911 год. Приложение*, М., 1913; *Замечательная надгробная надпись* [A wonderful epitaph], in "Русский архив", 1901, Кн. III, № 9, с. 127-128 (Надгробная надпись на могиле А. М. Скоропадской, жены ген.-аншефа Ю. Г. Ливена. Село Дунайцы Глуховского уезда Черниговской губ.); Александров Н. *Солотчинский монастырь* [The monastery Solotchinsky], in "Исторический вестник", Т. 85, 1901, № 7, с. 251-266; Белокуров С. А., *Надгробные плиты XVI в. в селе Образцово Московской губернии* [The tombstones in the the XVIth century in the village Obraztsova of Moscow Province], М., 1911; Ашик В. А., *Памятники и медали в память боевых подвигов русской армии в войнах 1812, 1813 и 1814 годов и в память Императора Александра I* [Monuments and medals to commemorate the military exploits of Russian army in the wars of 1812, 1813 and 1814 and in memory of Emperor Alexander I], СПб., 1913, 393 с. (Из содержания: Памятник на могиле французов в Москве павших в 1812 году, с. 54-55; Братская могила в Красном, с. 78, 382; Памятники на могилах русских воинов павших при осадах Данцига, с. 114-115; Могила князя П. И. Багратиона на Бородинском поле, с. 276, 362; Усыпальница фельдмаршала князя М. Б. Барклая-де-Толли в имени Бенгоф Феллинского уезда Лифляндской губернии, с. 278-280; Храм-памятник над прахом генерал-майора Я. П. Кульнева в селе Кульнев (Ильзенберг), с. 295-297; Надгробный памятник наказного атамана графа Матвея Ивановича Платова в Новочеркаске, с. 395; Могила полковник Бибикова в Вильно, с. 319; Гробница генерал-лейтенанта И. С. Дорохова в городе Верее, с. 319; Могила генерал-майора Т. Д. Иловайского П-го в Вильно, с. 320; Могила генерал-лейтенанта Ланского в Гродно, с. 320; Могила генерал-адъютанта барона Ф. К. Корфа в Орле, с. 320; Могила у м. Придуйска, у деревни Гвоздово, д. Перевоз, м. Водзы, с. Жетошизне и в селе Свалне - могила генерала Денисова, с. 320-321; Памятник на могиле генерала от инфантерии графа К. Ф. Толь, с. 321; Надгробный памятник в городе Можайске, с. 322; Памятник князя Б. В. Галицина в селе Вяземы, с. 322; В селе Старом - могила капитана А. Г. Огарева, с. 322; Памятники в Москве на могилах и могилы деятелей и героев эпохи 1812 года, с. 323-324; Надгробный памятник генерал-лейтенанту Д. П. Неверовскому, с. 361-362; Памятник на могиле первого смоленского историка Мурзакевича, с. 367; Надгробный памятник генералу А. П. Ермолову и его отцу Петру Алексеевичу в Орле в Троицком храме, с. 392-393; Братская могила в Малоярославце, с. 393).

⁴⁰ *Петербургский некрополь или справочный исторический указатель лиц, родившихся в XVII и XVIII столетиях по надгробным надписям Александро-Невской лавры и упраздненных петербургских кладбищ* [The necropolis of Petersburg or historical reference index of persons born in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, the inscriptions by tomb of Monastery Alexander Nevsky in St. Petersburg and abolished cemeteries]/ Сост. Владимир Сaitов, Москва: Унив. тип. (М. Катков), 1883

century⁴¹. The archaeological researches on the epitaph excelled in the 70's, and have been reflected in the articles of N. Sheliapina⁴². Another “admirer” of the theme is M.

⁴¹ Николаева Т. В., *О некоторых надгробных надписях XV-XVII вв. Загорского музея-заповедника* [About some tombstone inscriptions in XV-XVII centuries. Museum Reserve Zagorski], in „Советская археология”, 1958, № 3, с. 170-179; Алпагов М. В., *К истории русского надгробия XVIII в.: Канова и Мартос* [The history of Russian gravestones from the XVIIIth century.: Canova and Martos], in *Этюды по истории русского искусства*, М., 1967, Т. 2, С. 32-39; Кучкин В. А. *Захоронение Ивана Грозного и русский средневековый погребальный обряд* [Burial of Ivan the Terrible and Russian medieval burial rite], in „Советская археология”, 1967, № 1, с. 289- 295; Антипин Г. Г., *Художественные надгробия, 1914-1969: Справочник-путеводитель по Новодевичьему кладбищу при музее “Новодевичий монастырь”* [Artistic headstones, 1914-1969: A Handbook -Guide to the Novodevichy cemetery at the Museum “Novodevichy Monastery”], М., 1970; Аренкова Ю. И., Мехова Г. И. *Донской монастырь: Историко-архитектурный очерк* (Monastery Donskoy: Historical and architectural sketch)/ Науч. ред. В. И. Балдин, М., 1971; Ермонская В. В. *Советская мемориальная скульптура (к истории становления и развития русского советского художественного надгробия)* [The Soviet memorial sculpture (to the history and development of the Soviet Russian artistic gravestones)], М., 1979; Шилов В. В., *Надгробные плиты с надписями из Серпухова* [The tombstones with inscriptions from Serpukhov], in “Советская археология”, 1979, № 3, с. 214-226; Ермонская В. В., Нетуахина Г.Д., Попова Т. Ф. *Русская мемориальная скульптура: К истории художественного надгробия в России XI - начала XX в.*[Russian memorial sculpture: The history of Russian art tombstones of XI - beginning of XXth century.], М., 1978, 311 с; Гиршберг В. Б., *Надписи из Георгиевского монастыря. (По материалам наблюдений Музея истории и реконструкции Москвы. 1949 г.)* [The inscriptions from the Monastery St. George. (According to the observations of the Museum of History and Reconstruction of Moscow. 1949)], in *Археологические памятники Москвы и Подмосковья. Вып. 5. М., 1954.*; Гиршберг В. Б., *Материалы для свода надписей на каменных плитах Москвы и Подмосковья XIV-XVII вв.* [Materials for a set of inscriptions on stone slabs in Moscow and the Moscow Region in the XIVth - XVIIth centuries], in *Нумизматика и эпиграфика*, Т. 1. М., 1960; Гиршберг В. Б., *Материалы для свода надписей на каменных плитах Москвы и Подмосковья XIV-XVII вв.* [Materials for a set of inscriptions on stone slabs in Moscow and the Moscow Region in the XIVth - XVIIth centuries.], in *Нумизматика и эпиграфика*, Т. 3. М., 1962; Турчин В. С., *Надгробные памятники эпохи классицизма в России: типология, стиль, иконография* [Gravestone monuments of classicism in Russia: typology, style, iconography], in *От средневековья к Новому времени: Материалы и исследования по русскому искусству XVIII - первой половины XIX века*, М., 1984, с. 211-228.

⁴² Шеляпина Н. С., *Надгробия XIII-XIV вв. из раскопок в Московском Кремле* [Tombstones from the XIIIth – XIVth centuries from excavations in the Moscow Kremlin], in “СА”, 1971, № 3; Шеляпина Н. С., *Надгробия митрополитов Киприана и Фотия в Успенском соборе Московского Кремля* [Tombstones of Metropolitans Cyprian and Photius in the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin], in “СА”, 1973, № 4.

Artamonov, which examines the epitaph in the research of necropolises⁴³.

Among Russian researchers who have discussed the epitaphs stands L. Beleaev, which besides his work “Русское средневековое надгробие” does a research of tombstones of archaeological aspect, aspect-sculptural, artistic aspect, etc. in numerous articles⁴⁴. The researcher examines another facet of the tombstones, the symbolic one⁴⁵, noting that the epitaphs are unique sources for research of religious imaginary and artistic taste of the population. Among them the white stones stand out, which came into use in North-West Russia in the thirteenth century and have been well kept until the end of the seventeenth. It was emphasized not only the information provided in the inscription, but also the compositions from these stones, which showed interest in terms of representations of the afterlife or funerary customs. One approached issue was, in many of these stones, the lack of the cross representation – the symbol of Christianity. The later appear only on tombstones from the eighteenth century in complicated compositions including Golgofa with the crucifix. Following

⁴³ Артамонов М. Д., *Ваганьково (Отечественные некрополи)* [Vagankovo (Native necropolis)], in “Памятники отечества”, 1983, № 2(8), с. 134-139; idem, *Кладбище Донского монастыря (Отечественные некрополи)* [Cemetery of the Donskoy Monastery], in “Памятники Отечества”, 1986, № 1(13), с. 95-104; idem, *Московские некрополи* [Moscow cemeteries], in “*Вся жизнь*”: (Армянское кладбище), 1997, № 1(2), с. 18-19, № 2(3), с. 18, (Немецкое кладбище в столице России), 1997, № 3(4), с. 18-22; idem, *Московский некрополь* [The Moscow cemetery], in *Ритуал прощания (Обряды, традиции, информация, исторические обзоры, справки, нормативно-правовые акты, ритуальные услуги)*. Издание первое московское, 1997, Вып. 1, с. 48-63.

⁴⁴ Л.А.Беляева, *Русское средневековое надгробие (Russian medieval tombstone)*, М., 1966; idem, *Русское средневековое надгробие: Белокаменные плиты Москвы и Северо-Восточной Руси XIII–XVII вв.* [Russian medieval tombstone: White stone slabs in Moscow and the North-Eastern Russian from the XIIIth – XVIIth centuries.], М., 1996. idem, *Древние монастыри Москвы (кон. XIII - нач. XV вв.) по данным археологии* [The ancient monasteries of Moscow (late XIIIth - beg. XVth cc.) according to archeology], in *Материалы и исследования по археологии Москвы / Отв. ред. Г. К. Вагнер. Т. 6, М., 1994, 310 с. (сведения о монастырских некрополях)*; idem, *Лиценциат при дворе Иоанна Грозного (надгробие Каспара фон Эльферфельдта на древнейшем кладбище иноземцев в Москве)* [Bachelor's degree at the court of Ivan the Terrible (tombstone of Caspar von Elferfeldta on the ancient cemetery of foreigners in Moscow)], in “*Российская археология*”, 1997, № 1, с. 140-150; idem, *Некрополь древнего Коломенского: Материалы и исследования* [The necropolis of the ancient Kolomna: Materials and Research], Вып. 2, 1991, с. 45-57, idem, *Орнамент надгробной Москвы XIII-XVII вв.: Формальный и семантический анализ* [Ornament tombstone Moscow from the XIIIth – XVIIth centuries.: Formal and semantic analysis], in “*Славянская археология*”, 1990; *Раннесредневековый город и его округа. Материалы по археологии России* [Early Medieval city and county. The materials on Russian archeology], М., 1995, Вып. 2, С. 195-200.

⁴⁵ Idem, *Древнерусское надгробие: мир семантических загадок* [Old Russian tombstone: the world of semantic mysteries], in „Живая старина”, nr.3, 1996.p.36-39.

some investigations it was found that the wooden cross was placed alongside the grave stone, as in the Rule 73 of the Congress in Halkida the cross was forbidden to be represented horizontally. This prohibition does not consider Russia, where various forms of the Cross have been used, including the “hidden” one. After analyzing several tombstones Beleav concludes that the ledgers of Northwest Russia draw their origin from Roman stones. In 2006 a continuation and a deepening of the theme appeared in the work of synthesis “Русское средневековое надгробие XIII-XVII вв.”⁴⁶, the tombstones being examined under another aspect than archaeological, or as a monument of medieval iconography. The ledgers are considered a historical source, putting into circulation hundreds of new monuments in northern and northeastern European side of Russia. The researcher continues with case studies and contemporary issues⁴⁷.

Another specialist in this area is Tatiana Tsarikova, indicating that the epitaph is known since antiquity. She also says that, until the 30's of the twentieth century, books were published on necropolis of some cemeteries and particular cities, inscriptions were not always fixed. But they are sources and evidence of feelings and sufferings caused by the moment of “farewell” with the loved one⁴⁸. As the researcher mentioned, the epitaph in verse appeared in Russia in 1740. The historic-literary work of the researcher is a reference in Russian historiography⁴⁹.

The 90's of the twentieth century is characterized by a number of studies, articles and monographs on the subject⁵⁰. Among the epitaph researchers is V.

⁴⁶ *Русское средневековое надгробие XIII-XVII вв.* [Russian medieval tombstone from the XIIIth – XVIIth centuries] / Под. ред. Л.А. Беляева, Вып. 1. М.: Наука, 2006, 359 с.

⁴⁷ Л. А. Беляев, *Лapidарная эпиграфика Москвы XV-XVII вв.: современные проблемы* [Lapidary epigraphy of Moscow in XV-XVII Centuries: Current Issues], in “Российская археология”, № 1, Январь-Март 2007, с. 133-142.

⁴⁸ Царькова Т., *Русские стихотворные эпитафии* [Russian poetic epitaphs], Воскресенье, сс. 51-53.

⁴⁹ Idem, *Русские стихотворные эпитафии. Источники, Эволюция. Поэтика* [Russian poetic epitaphs. Sources. Evolution. Poetics.], Санкт-Петербург, 1999.

⁵⁰ Анситис В. Я., *Рижское братское кладбище* [Riga common cemetery], Рига, 1990; *Александрo-Невская лавра: Проспект* [Alexander Nevsky Lavra: Prospect]/ Сост. Ю. М. Пирютко. Л., 1991; Гоберман Д., *Еврейские надгробия на Украине и в Молдове* [Jewish Tombstones in Ukraine and Moldova] (*Шедевры еврейского искусства. Серия альбомов, посвященная сокровищам искусств в странах СНГ. 4*), М., 1993.; Вахрина В. И. *Монастырский некрополь* [Monastical necropolis], in Вахрина В. И., *Спасо-Яковлевский Дмитриев монастырь в Ростове Великом* [Holy Jacob Dimitriev monastery in Rostov Veliky], М., 1994, с. 89-94; Виденева А. Е., *Некрополь ростовского Спасо-Яковлевского монастыря* [The necropolis of Holy Jacob Dimitriev Monastery from Rostov], in „Сообщения ростовского музея”, Вып. 6, Ростов, 1994, с. 78-112; Бушуев А. Е., *Надгробия Яновых из некрополя Троице-Сергиева монастыря* [The Tombstones of Yanov from the necropolis of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery], in *Сергиево-Посадский музей-заповедник. Сообщения 1995*, М., 1995, с. 31-37;

Vishnevskii, who is concerned with Troitse-Sergiev monastery addresses the problem of inscriptions in several studies⁵¹. A prehistory of the inscriptions on tombstones in Russia is presented in the study of S. Franklin⁵².

After 2002 in the Russian Federation articles, communications and studies referring to tomb inscriptions began to appear more often⁵³. The researcher A.

Кладбищенская литература (Эпитафии XVIII века) [Cemetery Books (Epitaph from the XVIIIth century)], in Шубинский С. Н., *Исторические очерки и рассказы*. [Historical essays and short stories], М., 1995 (Клуб любителей истории Отечества), с. 278-280; Краско А. В., *Церкви - семейные усыпальницы как источник генеалогической информации (на примере Санкт-Петербургской епархии)* [The Church - family tomb as a source of genealogical information (for example, the Diocese of St. Petersburg)], in „Известия Русского генеалогического общества”, СПб., 1996, Вып. 5, с. 73-75; Компанец С. Е., *Надгробные памятники XVI - первой половины XIX вв.* [Gravestone monuments of the XVIth - first half of the XIXth century], М., 1990; Лавренев Б. А., *Вторичное погребение Потемкина* [Secondary burial of Potemkin], in “Памятники Отечества”, 1991, № 2(24), с. 154-155; *Русский зарубежный некрополь: Российская императорская гвардия на кладбище Сент-Женевьев-де-Буа* [Russian foreign Necropolis: The Russian Imperial Guard at the cemetery of Sainte-Genevieve-des-Bois], in Публикация В. Г. Бартневского и Е. З. Кузьмук, in “Русское прошлое: Историко-документальный альманах”, Кн. 4, СПб., 1993, с. 343-349; Фомин С., *Некрополь Кантемира в России* [The necropolis of Cantemir in Russia], in “Кодры”, 1993, № 5, с. 226-240; Курганова Н. М., *Надгробные плиты из усыпальницы князей Пожарских и Хованских в Спасо-Евфимиевом монастыре Судалы* [The tombstones from the tomb of Prince Pozharsky and Khovanskys in St. Euthymius Monastery from Sudaly], in “Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. Ежегодник 1993”, М., 1994; Николаева Т. В., *Новые надписи на каменных плитах XV-XVII вв. из Троице-Сергиевой лавры* [New inscriptions on stone slabs from the XVth – XVIIth centuries of the Trinity-Sergius Lavra], in “Нумизматика и эпиграфика”, Вып. 6, М., 1996, с. 207-257; Плещанова И. И., *Керамические надгробные плиты Псково-Печерского монастыря* [Ceramic tombstones of the Pskov-Pechersk Monastery], in “Нумизматика и эпиграфика”, М., 1996, Вып. VI, с. 149-206; Украинский Г. В., *Стихотворная эпитафия из Макарьёво-Желтоводского монастыря* [The verse epitaph of Makarievo-Zheltovodsk monastery], in “Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. Ежегодник 1991”, М., 1997, с. 27-30.

⁵¹ Вишнеvский В.И., *Новые находки средневековых надгробий некрополя Троице-Сергиева монастыря* [New finds of medieval tombstones of the necropolis of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery], in *Тр. по истории Троице-Сергиевой Лавры*. М., 1998., Idem, *Средневековые белокаменные надгробия некрополя Троице-Сергиева монастыря (находки 1998–1999 гг.)* [Medieval white stone tombstone necropolis of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery (finds 1998-1999)], in *Сергиево-Посадский музей-заповедник. Сообщения 2000*, М., 2000; idem, *Об одном типе надписей на надгробиях Троице-Сергиева монастыря* [One type of inscriptions on the tombstones of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery], in *РСН*, М., 2006.

⁵² Франклин С., *К вопросу о предьстории русских надписных надгробий* [On the prehistory of Russian Inscribed Gravestones], in *РСН*, М., 2006; Franklin S., [On the Pre-History of Inscribed Gravestones in Rus'], in “Palaeoslavica”, 2002, V. X, № 1.

⁵³ Массалитина Г.А., Болдин И.В., Бессонова Т.Ф., *Комплекс белокаменных надгробий*

Panchenko says about representations in the collective mentality linked to the crosses' image on the graves⁵⁴. He asserts that the crosses on the graves were “holy objects” for the community, endowed with miraculous qualities.

N. Chabarova, the researcher from Grodno writes about the epitaphs of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, noting that the word epitaph was taken in Russian from French⁵⁵. The military epitaph has been studied by O. Postnov, asserting that it is an insufficiently researched topic and has addressed the subject by comparing the image of military heroes with the image and ambitions of the clergy⁵⁶.

We can ascertain that Russian historians, archaeologists, linguists and

XVI-XVII вв. Воротынского Спасо-Преображенского монастыря. Материалы к своду надгробных памятников средневековой Руси [The complex of white stone tombstones from the XVIth – XVIIth centuries from the Vorotynsky Monastery. Materials from the tombstones roof of medieval Russia], in *Труды регионального конкурса научных проектов в области гуманитарных наук, Выпуск 4, Калуга, 2003, с. 26-49*; **Болдин И.В., Массалитина Г.А., Бессонова Т.Ф., Белокаменные надгробия XV-начала XVIII в. Пафнутьев-Боровского монастыря** [White tombstones from the XVth - the beginning of the XVIII-th century. Pafnutiev-Borovsky monastery] *Материалы к своду надгробных памятников Средневековой Руси, in Труды регионального конкурса научных проектов в области гуманитарных наук, Выпуск 8, Калуга, 2007, с. 130-150*; **Вишневецкий В.И., О некоторых особенностях средневековых надгробий Троице-Сергиева монастыря (По материалам археологических исследований 2001 г.)** [Some features of medieval tombstones of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery (According to archaeological research in 2001)], in *Троице-Сергиева лавра в истории, культуре и духовной жизни России. Материалы III Международной конференции, Сергиев Посад, 2004, с. 99–101*; **Авдеев А.Г., Древнерусские эпитафии как исторический источник** [Old Russian epitaphs as a historical source], in “**Преподавание истории и обществознания в школе**”, 2002, № 2, с. 69; *Idem, К вопросу о надгробии преподобного Андрея Рублева*, [On the question of tomb of Andrei Rublev], in *Материалы III Международной конференции. Сергиев Посад, 2004 с. 99–101*; **Векслер А.Г., Беркович В.А., Монастырские и церковные кладбища XVI–XVII веков: плиты из сборов Центра археологических исследований г. Москвы (1989–1997 гг.)** [The monastery and church cemetery XVI-XVII centuries: plates of fees Archaeological Research Center of Moscow (1989-1997)], in *РСН, 2006*; **Папин И.В., Некрополь Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря** [The necropolis of Kyril-Belozersk Monastery], in *РСН, М., 2006*; **Станюкович А.К., Звягин В.Н., Черносивтов П.Ю. и др., Усыпальница дома Романовых в Московском Новоспасском монастыре** [Tomb of the Romanovs in Moscow Novospasskoe monastery], *Кострома, 2005*.

⁵⁴ **Панченко А. А., Почитание каменных крестов на Северо-Западе России** [The veneration stone crosses in the North-West Russia], in “**Живая старина**”, пг.3, 1996. p.40-43

⁵⁵ **Чабарова Н.А., Эпитафии XIX- начала XX века** [The epitaphs of the XIXth - early XXth century], *Витебск, с. 434-436*.

⁵⁶ **О. Г. Постнов, Русская военная эпитафия XVIII - начала XIX вв.** [Russian Military Epitaph of the XVIII-th – XIX-th centuries], in *Военное прошлое государства Российского: утраченное и сохраненное. Материалы Всероссийской научно-практической конференции, посвященной 250-летию Достоянного зала, Часть 3, СПб., 2006, с. 38-42*.

ethnographers have addressed the epitaph in many aspects, investigating the origin, the evolution, the significance and the symbolism of funerary inscription in Russia. Anthologies of the epitaphs have been prepared, but field for new researches has been also left, which certainly will follow.

Polish and Lithuanian historiography. The epitaphs theme and the tombstones appeared in the sight of Polish and Lithuanian historiography since the nineteenth century⁵⁷. In the rare book section of the libraries of the Academy of Sciences and of the research institutes are held several manuscripts relating to the epitaph⁵⁸. Epitaphs were subjects of analysis in the early twentieth century, but a larger look it took in the second half of the same century⁵⁹.

After 1990 the tomb inscriptions increasingly become subject of research not only historical but anthropological, cultural, architectural too. The epitaphs are classified, read-in and through them trying to give a picture of funeral pomp⁶⁰. In the

⁵⁷ Tyszkiewicz E., *Groby rodziny Tyszkiewiczów* [The graves of family Tyszkiewiczów], Warszawa, 1873; Wójcicki K. W., *Cmentarz Powązkowski pod Warszawą* [Powazki Cemetery in Warsaw], t. 1-3, Warszawa, 1855-1858; Mochnacki M., *Nad mogiłą*, [Above the grave], in „Przegląd Tygodniowy”, 1885, nr 4; Rymkiewicz F., *Karolina Proniewska*, in Rymkiewicz F., *Po ziarnie. Zbiorek pamiątkowy*, wyd. J. Prusinowski, M. Krupowicz, Wilno 1861. Jucewicz L. A., *Gory i groby olbrzymie w Litwie* [Mountains and giant tombs in Lithuania], in „Tygodnik Petersburski”, XV, 1837.

⁵⁸ Śnieżko A., *Cmentarz ewangelicki* [Evangelical Cemetery], in Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, Dz. Rękopisów, 16 151/11; Śnieżko A., *Cmentarze mlenskie. Cmentarz bernardyński*, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu [Cemeteries mlenskie. Bernardyński Cemetery, National Library of the Department of the Ossolińskich in Wrocław] Dz. Rekopisów, 16 150/11; Lazarowicz A., *Nagrobki i nadpisy* [Tombstones and overwritten], Centralna Biblioteka Akademii Nauk Wilnie, Dział Rekopisow, F9-2212; Lazarowicz A., *Kosciol pod wezw. s'w. Michala Archaniola w Wilnie. Napisy nie zamieszczone w zbiorze E. T. ogloszonym w N 1 Teki Wilenskiej za rok 1857* [Church under call. sw. Michael the Archangel in Vilnius. Subtitles not included in the set of ET, announced in N 1 Teki Vilnius' for the year 1857], Centralna Biblioteka Akademii Nauk Wilnie, Dz. Rekopisow, F9-2211; Uzieblo L., *Napisy nagrobne osób pochowanych na cmentarzach Wilna* [Inscriptions graves of people buried in the cemeteries of Vilnius], Centralna Biblioteka Akademii Nauk Wilnie, Dz. Rękopisow, F151-120-180.

⁵⁹ Mitosek Z., *Literatura i stereotypy* [Literature and stereotypes], Wrocław, 1974; Nicieja S. S., *Cmentarz Łyczakowski we Lwowie w latach 1786-1986* [Łyczakowski Cemetery in Lviv during 1786-1986], Wrocław, 1988; Sulima R., *Miedzy placzem a milczeniem* [Between crying and silence], in „Regiony” 1989, nr 1; Sulima R., *Od inskrypcji nagrobnej do prozy psychologicznej* [From the grave inscription to psychological prose], in „Regiony” 1983, nr 3; Bystroń J. S., *Napisy*, in *Tematy, które mi odradzano*, Warszawa, 1980.

⁶⁰ Ciechanowicz J., Kosman B., Kosman M., *Na wilenskiej Rossie* [At the Vilnius Russia], Poznan 1990; Cieślak K., *Kościół - cmentarzem. Sztuka nagrobna w Gdańsku (XV-XVIII w.)* [Church - Cemetery. Arts grave in Gdansk (XV-XVIII centuries)], Gdańsk, 1992; Długosz K., *Inskrypcje nagrobne z Pomorza Zachodniego w ujęciu językoznawczym* [Tombstone inscriptions of West Pomerania in linguistic terms], Szczecin, 1991; Durejko

last twenty years the issue was discussed at several congresses of Thanatology⁶¹. The situation is different now in Poland, where the tombstone has become a subject of intense research from the perspective of several scientific disciplines, and perhaps the most interesting aspect is present in the antropo-thanatological history.

Studies regarding the tombstone verse and inscriptions in Poland, from literary-cultural perspective were initiated and carried out by the historian of literature-Jack Kolbuszewski, a remarkable specialist in the research of epitaphs from the cemeteries of Lithuania and Poland⁶². The researcher gathers an imposing number of tomb poems, analyzing them and presenting them in a poem collection⁶³. In the same year the researcher deepens his studies⁶⁴.

Another work that summarizes the epitaphs of the Roman Catholic cemetery in Minsk has been elaborated by Czerniawska Tamara and Alexander Jaroszewicz, presented in the collection "Cmentarz not dawnych Kresach Wschodnich Rzeczpospolitej"⁶⁵.

A., *Napisy nagrobne na Rossie*, in „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis”, Wrocław, 1992; Jackiewicz M., *Wileńska Rossa. Przewodnik po cmentarzu (Vilnius Ross. Guide to Cemetery)*, Olsztyn 1993; Malachowicz E., *Cmentarz na Rossie w Wilnie [Rossa Cemetery in Vilnius]*, Ossolineum, 1993; Malachowicz E., *Wilno. Dzieje, architektura, cmentarze (Vilnius. Acts, architecture, cemeteries)*, Wrocław, 1996; Słoka E., *Z dziejów romantycznej problematyki śmierci: poeta i jego grob [The history of the romantic problems of death: the poet and his grave]*, in „Prace Literackie”, XXXIV, Wrocław, 1995.

⁶¹ *Materialy I Krajowej Konferencji Tanatos '97*, [The materials of the first National Conference of Thanatos '97], red. J. Kolbuszewski, Wrocław, 1997; *Materialy II Krajowej Konferencji Tanatos '98* [The materials of the second National Conference of Thanatos '98], red. J. Kolbuszewski, Wrocław 1998; *Materialy III Krajowej Konferencji Tanatos '99* [The materials of the III National Conference of Thanatos '99], red. J. Kolbuszewski, Wrocław 1999.

⁶² Kolbuszewski J., *Wiersze z cmentarza. O współczesnej epigrafice wierszowanej* [Poems from the cemetery. About epigrafice contemporary verse], Wrocław, 1985; Idem, *Cmentarz jako tekst kultury* [Cemetery as a cultural text], in *Przestrzenie i krajobrazy*, Wrocław 1994; idem, *Cmentarz w Albrechticach* [Cemetery in Albrechtice], in *Przestrzenie i krajobrazy*, Wrocław 1994; idem, *Notatki epigraficzne* [Notes epigraphic], in „Annales Silesiae”, XXIV, 1994; idem, *Pejzaż semiotyczny pogranicznych cmentarzy* [Landscape semiotic frontier cemeteries], in *Pogranicze jako problem kultury*, Opole 1994.

⁶³ *Co mnie dzisiaj, jutro tobie. Polskie wiersze nagrobne* [What I am today, tomorrow you. Polish poems graves]. Zebrał, wyboru dokonał, wstępem i objaśnieniami opatrzył J. Kolbuszewski, Wrocław, 1996.

⁶⁴ Kolbuszewski J., *Cmentarze* [Cemeteries], Wrocław 1996; idem, *Eschatologia i megalomania. O polskiej barokowej wierszowanej epigrafice nagrobnej* [The eschatology and megalomania. The Polish baroque verse epigrafice tombstone], in „Przegląd Humanistyczny” 5, 1997; idem, *Z dziejów polskiej pieśni pogrzebowej. Uwagi o pieśniach katolickich* [From the History of Polish dirge. Notes on the Catholic songs], in „Literatura i Kultura Popularna”, V, Wrocław 1996; idem, *Z głębokim zalem... O współczesnej nekrologii* [With great regret ... The contemporary nekrologii], Wrocław, 1997; Kosman M., *Cmentarze dawnego Wilna* [Cemeteries of the old Vilnius], Toruń, 1994.

⁶⁵ Czerniawska T., Jaroszewicz A., *Rzymsko-katolicki cmentarz kalwaryjski w Mińsku na Białorusi* [The Roman Catholic Calvary Cemetery in Minsk, Belarus], Warszawa, 1996.

The destructive effects of the time have changed with years the inscriptions, becoming less and less legible. These concerns were often expressed in a variety of journals. Among the contemporary researchers of tombstones inscriptions in Vilnius the first can be considered Antoni Lazarowicz - writer, poet and research worker of the past. The study was based on contemporary epigraphic material, collected over three years in the cemeteries of Vilnius and around Vilna (Vilnius, Salcininkai, Trotsky) - inhabited by a considerable number of Polish people. For comparison purposes there were used the inscriptions on tombstones in other cemeteries, far from Vilnius.

Among the works on epitaphs and cemeteries of Lithuania and Rzeczpospolita we mention those of Wolonczewski M., Velius N., Giedrene R., Girininkiene V., Vysniauskaite A., Patackas A., Šimulis A., Butrimas A., and Girininkas A., who generally or partially addressed the epitaphs in different ways⁶⁶.

Conclusions

Inscriptions on tombstones have been examined by historians, archaeologists, sculptors, philologists from different perspectives and using different research tools. Recently the interest increased among historians, folklorists, philosophers, ethnographers and ethnologists who treats inscriptions on tombstones as an important contribution to national history, as a valuable study of epochs' mentality, of linguistics and folklore. The epitaph as a source and a subject of historical and anthropological investigations will continue to raise the scientific interest of researchers.

New trends in contemporary historiography, publishing of new epitaphs opens the perspectives for work and multifaceted approach of the important historical source-epitaph. Comparative studies will allow the individual and specificity of epitaph of the Romanian space compared with other regions and countries epitaph.

⁶⁶ Dundulienė P., *Lietuvos etnologija* [Lithuanian ethnology], Vilnius, 1991; Giedriene R., *Senajo nekrokulto apraiška XX a. lietuvių, kapines ir jų priežiūros papročiuose* [Old necro cult manifestation of the twentieth century in Lithuanian cemeteries and their customs], in *Senieji tikejimai naujausių tyrinėjimų, šviesoje*, Vilnius, 1977; Giedriene R., *Senųjų tikejimų apraiškos XX a. lietuvių laidojimo papročiuose* [The old beliefs of the manifestations of the twentieth century in Lithuanian burial customs], in *Lietuvos TSR Aukštųjų mokyklų mokslo darbai*, „Istorija”, XVI (2), 1976; Kasperavičiūtė A., Surwilo J., *Zarzecze. Cmentarz Bernardyński* [Zarzecze. Bernardine Cemetery], Wilno 1997; Girininkienė V., Paulauskas A., *Vilniaus Bernardinų kapines* [The Bernardine cemetery], Vilnius, 1994; Wolonczewski M., *Maskoliams katalikus persekiojant* [Muscovites Catholics prosecuting], Kaunas, 1929; Velius N., *Laidotuvių vainikų uzrasai-naujo lietuvių tautosakos žanro svarbiausieji bruožai*, in *Lietuvos TSR Mokslif akademijos darbai*, A serija 2 (59) t. (1977); Velius N., *Senoves baltii pasauležiura. Struktūros bruožai* [Ancient Baltian worldview. Characteristics of the structure], Vilnius, 1983; Vysniauskaite A., *Laidotuvių papročiai Lietuvoje XIX a.-XX a. pirmaisiais dešimtmečiais* [Burial customs in Lithuania from the XIXth - the first decades of the XXth centuries], in *Is lietuvių kultūros istorijos*, Vilnius 1961, t. II; Vysniauskaite A., *Mirties samprata lietuvių liaudies tikejimuose* [The death concept of Lithuanian folk belief], in „Liaudies kultura”, 1993, nr 2.