

Anna Adashinskaya

**THE JOINT CULT OF ST. SIMEON AND ST. SAVA UNDER
MILUTIN. THE MONASTIC ASPECT**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

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Anna Adashinskaya

(Russia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Anna Adashinskaya**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2009

Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Actes de Chilandar I* – Živojinović, Mirjana, et al., ed. *Actes de Chilandar I. Des origins a 1319*. Paris: CNRS Editions, 1998.
- BZ - Byzantinische Zeitschrift
- CSHB - Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
- Danilo - [Dančić, Đure] Данчић, Ђуре ed. *Животи краљева и архиепископа српских написао архиепископ Данило и други* [The Lives of kings and archbishops, written by archbishop Danilo and the others]. Zagreb: Svetozar Galec, 1866.
- Dölger, *Regesten* - Dölger Franz, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1976.
- Domentian, *Life of St. Simeon* - [Dančić, Đure] Данчић, Ђуре ed. *Живот светог Симеуна и светог Саве. Написао Доментијан* [The Life of St. Simeon and St. Sava Written by Domentian]. Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1865.
- Domentian, *Life of St. Sava* – [Juhac-Georgijevska, Ljiljana] Јухас-Георгијевска Љиљана, ed. Доментијан. Житије Светог Саве [Domentijan. The life of St. Sava]. Belgrade: Initijal, 2001
- DOS – Dumbarton Oaks Studies
- OCA - Orientalia christiana analecta
- ODB – the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Ed. A. Kazhdan, et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Orthodox Encyclopedia – Православная энциклопедия, ed. by Church-scientific center “Pravoslavna enciklopedia.” Moscow: Pravoslavna enciklopedia, 1999-2009
- PLP - Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, ed. E. Trapp, et al. Vienna: Verlag des Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976.
- PmBZ - Die Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Ed. Ralph-Johannes Lilie et al. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1998-2002
- SANU – Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti
- SKA – Srpska Kraljevska Akademija
- Stefan - Juhac-Georgijevska, Ljiljana ed. *Стефан Првовенчани. Сабрана дела* [Stefan the First-crowned. Collected works]. Belgrade: Inicijal, 1999.
- Sveti Sava – Jovanović, Tomislav, ed. *Свети Сава. Сабрана дела* [Saint Sava. Collected works]. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1998.
- Teodosije - [Teodosije] Теодосије. *Службе, канони и Похвала* [The services, the canons and the eulogy]. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988.
- Teodosije, *Life of St. Sava* - [Dančić, Đure] Данчић, Ђуре ed. *Живот Светог Саве. Написао Доментијан*. [Life of Saint Sava. Domentian wrote] (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1860). [Theodosije of Hilandar] Теодосије Хиландарац. *Живот светог Саве* [The life of Saint Sava] ed. Ђ. Dančić. Belgrade: 1973.
- The panegyric - [Jovanović, Tomislav] Јовановић, Томислав. “Похвала светоме Симеону и светоме Сави Теодосија Хиландараца” [The panegyric to St. Simeon and St. Sava of Theodosije of Hilandar]. *Književna istorija* 5, No. 20 (1972/73): 703-778.
- TLG - Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Canon of Greek Authors and Works. www.tlg.uci.edu
- ZLU – Zbornik za likovne umetnosti
- ZRVI - Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta

INTRODUCTION

In medieval Serbia under the reign of Milutin (1282-1321) one new cult came into existence. St. Simeon and St. Sava, the founder of the Nemanide dynasty and the first Serbian archbishop, appear together as a saintly pair in charters, hymnography, hagiography, and mural and icon painting. Although both saints had already been venerated separately earlier, their joint cult was a new phenomenon which appeared at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Thus, traditionally, their association has been regarded as a part of Milutin's political activity and his new ideological program.¹ In other words, being the founders of the Church and the state and the "holy roots" of the Nemanide dynasty, St. Simeon and St. Sava were joined as the saintly ancestors of Milutin to legitimize his ruling position, which he initially received as a result of his brother's abdication and later strengthened by victory over his brother in a civil war. However, the most of the sources connected with this cult come from Hilandar and the monastic milieu, and their liturgical meaning has been underestimated. Consequently, although the political functions of the cult have been well studied, the conditions of its presence in the monasteries and the religious reasons behind the association of these saints have been given less attention. Even if they were often politically promoted, the cult of the saints in the Middle Ages were still a reality of religious life; their veneration was performed in churches and monastic communities, and the saints themselves were perceived as mediators between the earthly and transcendental realities because of their pious lives and Christian labours. Thus, in this work I am going to take a closer look at the monastic aspects of the joint cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava and, perhaps in this way understand the reasons which stood behind their association in the liturgical practice of the Hilandarian monastic milieu. In other words, the goal of this work is to reconstruct the circumstances of the origin and the development of the joint cult from the point of view of religious practices and liturgical veneration.

¹ [Desanka Milošević] Десанка Милошевић, "Срби светитељи у старом сликарству" [Serbian saints in old painting], *O Srbijku. Studije*, ed. Đ. Trifunović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1970), 178–186; [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, "Молитве светих Симеона и Саве у

An overview of the sources

The primary sources in this work fall into two groups. The first is represented by the pictorial evidence, fresco and icon painting, while the second consists of the written sources. The first group comprises joint depictions of Sts. Simeon and Sava in Serbian medieval churches (such as the *katholikon* of Hilandar monastery, rebuilt under Milutin,² King's church in Studenica,³ and St. Nicetas near Skoplje⁴) and the Athonite icon tradition (an icon of the early fourteenth century from Hilandar).⁵ As additional material I will include some monuments where St. Simeon and St. Sava are represented as part of larger dynastic compositions, including other members of the Nemanides (the narthex composition of Mileševa church,⁶ St. Simeon's chapel in Studenica⁷ and the narthex painting of Bogorodica Leviška cathedral in Prizren).⁸ Comparing these groups, I will try to answer the question of whether they both belonged to the same iconographic tradition and reflected the joint cult.

The second group of sources consists of a variety of written material: charters of King Milutin mentioning St. Simeon and St. Sava,⁹ church hymns and the eulogy dedicated to the saints as a pair, and hagiography, represented by Teodosije's *Life* of St. Sava¹⁰ and Danilo's *Life* of Milutin.¹¹ Because some of these sources (the charters and

владарском програму краља Милутина” [Prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava in the royal program of king Milutin], *ZRVI* 41 (2004): 235-250.

² Branislav Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting: The Age of the King Milutin* (Belgrade: Draganić, 1999): 351-356.

³ Ibid., 326-329.

⁴ Ibid., 343-346.

⁵ [Sreten Petković] Сретен Петковић, *Иконе Манастира Хиландара* [Icons of Hilandar monastery] (Manastir Hilandar: 1997), 47.

⁶ [Svetozar Radojčić] Светозар Радојчић, *Милешева* [Mileševa], (Belgrade: Srpska književna Zadruga, 1971), 20-21.

⁷ [Branislav Cvetković] Бранислав Цветковић, “Студенички ексонартекс и краљ Радослав: прилог датовању” [Exonarthex of Studenica and king Radoslav: addition to dating], *ZRVI* 37 (1998): 75-85.

⁸ Todić, *Serbian Painting*, 311-315.

⁹ The charter of 1299-1300 for Hilandar monastery about the cell of St. Paraskete at Tmorani (published in [Vladimir Mošin] Владимир Мошин ed. *Споменици за средњовековната и поновата историја на Македонија, I* [Monuments of the medieval history of Macedonia, I] (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija 1975): 251-260); the chrysobull of 1303-1304 for Hilandar monastery about the pyrgos Chrusia (Ibid. 297-316), the charter of 1314 for St. Stephen's monastery in Banjska ([Ljubomir Kovačević] Љубомир Ковачевић, “Светостефанска хрисовула краља Стефана Уроша II Милутина” (St. Steven's chrysobull of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin), *Spomenik SKA* 4 (1890), the charter of 1317-1318 for the Kareya cell ([Vladimir Mošin] Владимир Мошин, ed. “Акти братског сабора из Хиландара” [Acts of the brother's council in Hilandar], *Godinjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta* 4 (1939/1940): 180-184) and the charter of 1317-1321 about *adelphata* for the Hilandarian pyrgos of the Transfiguration (Ibid., 185-187).

¹⁰ [Đure Dančić] Ђуре Данчић ed. *Живот Светога Саве написао Доментијан* [The life of St. Sava, written by Domentian] (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1860), facsimile reprint, [Đurđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, ed. *Теодосије Хиландарац. Живот Саветого Сава. Издање Ђуре Данчића*

the hagiography)¹² have already been studied with regard to the joint cult, I will focus on the liturgical material, which reflects the functions of the joint cult in the monastic communities. Thus, I am going to have a closer look at the church services, the canons, and the eulogy written by a Hilandarian monk Teodosije¹³ at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Moreover, this selective approach will permit me to examine the cult as a phenomenon of church life, with its liturgical practices and purely religion meanings not touched by political ideology. On the other side, the ideological component of the cults of the saints was interrelated with the sacral one. Thus, to explain the reasons behind the newly emerging cult, it should be regarded as part of religious life as well as political propaganda. Consequently, to have a more or less true and fair view of the object of my research, I will use the charters and the hagiographic material as additional, i.e., as comparative data, to that gathered from the analysis of the liturgical poetry and the eulogy, as the charters and the hagiography have already been explored by other scholars. Finally, to answer the main question of the present work, i.e., to find the reasons for combining St. Simeon and St. Sava into a saintly pair and to understand the main functions of the cult, I am going to compare the written and visual sources.

Methods

Because my sources belong to different types, I will use different methods of historical analysis, which will help me to achieve more objective results. First of all, in

[Teodosije Hilandarac. The life of St. Sava. The edition of Đure Dančić] (Belgrade: Štamparija Crvenog krsta Jugoslavije, 1973).

¹¹ [Đure Dančić] Ђуре Данчић ed., *“Животи краљева и архиепископа српских написао архиепископ Данило и други”* [The Lives of kings and archbishops, written by archbishop Danilo and the others] (Zagreb: Svetozar Galec, 1866).

¹² [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, “Молитве светих Симеона и Саве у владарском програму краља Милутина” [Prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava in the royal program of king Milutin], *ZRVI* 41 (2004): 235-250.

¹³ Teodosije] Теодосије, “Службе, канони и Похвала” [The services, the canons, and the eulogy] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988). [Ђурђе Трифуновић] Ђорђе Трифуновић, ed., *Србљак. Службе. Канони. Акатисти* [Srbljak. Services. Canons. Akathistoi] Vol. 1 (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1970), 316-447; [Ђорђе Сп.Радочић] Ђорђе Сп. Радочић, “Теодосијев канон општи Симеону Немањи и Сави (гласа 4)” [Theodosije’s common hymn to Simeon Nemanja and Sava, in the four voices], *Južnoslovenski filolog* 20, No. 1-4 (1955-1956): 142-149; [Dimitrije Bogdanović] Димитрије Богдановић, “Београдски препис Теодосијевог “канона општег Христу и Симеону и Сави” с краја 14 века” [A Belgrade copy of Teodosije’s ‘Joint canon to Christ and Sts. Simeon and Sava’ from the end of the fourteenth century], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 33, No. 3-4 (1967): 238-243; [Tomislav Jovanović] Томислав Јовановић, “Похвала светоме Симеону и светоме Сави Теодосија Хиландараца” [Panegyric to St. Simeon and St. Sava by Theodosije of Hilandar], *Književna istorija* 5, No. 20 (1972/73): 703-778.

dealing with medieval liturgical texts the methods of close reading and interpretation¹⁴ are essential. Moreover, in the case of liturgical poetry, which usually uses topoi and hidden quotations, I suggest not just stating the fact that topoi were used, but examining the way they were adapted in the texts. Thus, one of my goals is to understand what kind of common images and metaphors were used to describe a the linking of the two saints and through this to approach the functions assigned to St. Simeon and St. Sava as a holy pair. Secondly, to reconstruct the conditions of performance of the liturgical poems and, consequently, of worshiping related to the cult, I need both to analyze the context for these texts in the manuscript tradition and to deduce evidence about the performance from the poems themselves.

Visual sources are another important source in my work. The method of iconographical analysis¹⁵ will be applied to them, i.e., a kind of critical reading of the images and their contexts. In other words, I will deduce the functions of the images from their places in wider visual programs, their contexts and ways of representing the saints. In this case the most important aspect to be clarified is the place of the images of St. Simeon and St. Sava in the church space, their relation to each other and to other personages depicted and, finally, correlations of the portraits of the saints with their inscriptions.

Besides using these philological and art historical methods I will need to relate the data from the poetic and pictorial sources with the political situation of Milutin's reign, to put them into a broader perspective of the historical context and in this way to distinguish clearly the political goals from its liturgical usage in the creation of this cult. Moreover, with the aid of comparative information from written and visual sources and the political situation I will explain the reasons which permitted this cult to receive additional ideological meanings and to be used to meet propagandistic goals.

To conclude the discussion about methods I would like to refer to the works by two authors, which are notable for their theoretical approach. Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić¹⁶ has dedicated a work to the development of a cult of King Stefan of Dečani, which is placed in the wider context of European and Serbian dynastic cults. This book

¹⁴ About close reading and interpretation of texts, see David Birch, ed., *Language, Literature, and Critical Practice: Ways of Analysing Text* (London: Routledge, 1989), 57-116.

¹⁵ About the application of the iconographical method to Byzantine painting, see the article of Kathleen Corrigan "Iconography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, R. Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 67-76.

¹⁶ [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, *Свети краљ. Култ Стефана Дечанског* [The saint king. The cult of Stefan of Decani] (Belgrade: Clio, 2007).

describes a process of making a saint in hagiography in comparison with historical data. In contrast, the book by Danica Popović¹⁷ consists of chapters dedicated to different Serbian saints and the problems of their cults. Finally, the most important for the present work is an article by Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić¹⁸ where the problem of the joint cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava was researched for the first time in wide range of sources and, moreover, their cult was identified as a specific phenomenon of Serbian religious and political life.

The background. The two cults

Before becoming a saintly pair, both St. Simeon and St. Sava were venerated separately and, moreover, their cults were the most important ones in Serbian religious life. The entire thirteenth century, from the reign of Stefan the First-crowned (1198-1228) until the coming to the throne of his grandson Milutin in 1282, was dedicated to the development of two cults, those of St. Simeon and St. Sava, as founders of the independent church and state. These cults were reflected in different types of sources: *Vitae*, church services, royal charters, the architecture of medieval Serbian monasteries and their paintings. However, only the cult of the dynasty's founder, St. Simeon, had purely dynastic connotations; St. Sava's cult initially was supported and developed by the Serbian church to a greater extent. This difference can be explained by the political situation in which St. Simeon's cult originated.

St. Simeon's cult was a purely political enterprise organized by his two sons, St. Sava and Stefan the First-crowned. St. Simeon or Serbian *Župan* Stefan Nemanja, was an important political figure of his time; by his efforts the Serbian (Raška) state was consolidated in the hands of one sovereign, the state itself received *de facto* independence from Byzantium and international recognition, the great *župan* even married his son to a Byzantine princess.¹⁹ During entire his life Stefan Nemanja supported the Orthodox church,²⁰ built monasteries,²¹ and, finally, in 1196²² abdicated

¹⁷ [Danica Popović] Даница Поповић, *Под окриљем светости. Култ светих владара и реликвија у средњовековној Србији* [Under the protection of Sanctity. A cult of saint kings and their relics in medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: SANU, 2006),

¹⁸ [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, "Молитве светих Симеона и Саве у владарском програму краља Милутина" [Prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava in the royal program of King Milutin], *ZRVI* 41 (2004): 235-250.

¹⁹ J. Kalić ed., *Историја српског народа* [History of Serbian nation], vol. 1 (Belgrade: SANU, 1981), 208-261.

²⁰ Among his multiple actions to support of the Ras bishop, Nemanja convened an anti-Bogumil council and prohibited the doctrine as heretical, [Jovanka Kalić] Јованка Калић, "Црквене прилике у српским

from the throne in favor of his second son, Stefan, the son-in-law of the Byzantine emperor. As a monk, taking the name Simeon, he went to Mount Athos, where together with his youngest son, Sava, who had taken his vows there earlier, in 1198 he founded the first Athonite monastery for the Serbian community – Hilandar.²³

The origin of St. Simeon's cult was connected with his death in 1199 and funeral in Hilandar's *katholicon*.²⁴ The most detailed description of his death appears in the text of St. Simeon's life written by Sava, who was a witness of the event.²⁵ However, this text, full of realistic details, to an even greater extent is rather reminiscent of the biography of a pious ktetor than the *Life* of a saint. Sava narrates the long illness of his father according to days and even hours: relating Nemanja's desire, on the model of famous ascetics, to die on a bast mat with a piece of stone under his head, his last will, the last prayer, the assembly of Athonite elders visiting St. Simeon before the death, and his peaceful death during the *orthros*.

According to later hagiographers of St. Simeon, Domentian²⁶ and Teodosije,²⁷ even after the translation of Nemanja's relics to Serbia, his first Hilandarian tomb was continuously venerated. The canonization procedure, however, with the participation of an assembly of Athonite elders and the *Protos* described by Domentian,²⁸ rather reflects the canonization practice of the author's time (i.e., the middle of the thirteenth century). One can suppose that the initial cult of St. Simeon originated already in Hilandar.

земљама до стварања архиепископије 1219 године" [Church events in Serbian lands before creation of the archbishopric in 1219] in *Међународни научни скуп "Сава Немањић — Свети Сава"* (Belgrade: SANU, 1979), 36-45.

²¹ He initially re-built a monastery of the Theotokos on his land near the Kosanica River. Later, in 1165, he erected the monastery of St. Nicholas not far from it; in 1170-1171 he dedicated, a monastery in Ras, so-called Đurđevi Stupovi, to St. George, who miraculously liberated Nemanja from prison, and in 1186 he built Studenica monastery, where he constructed his future tomb, see: [Vojislav Đurić] Војислав Ђурић, "Посвета Немањиних задужбина у владарској идеологији" [Dedication of Nemanja's funeral churches in ruler's ideology], in *Студеница у црквеном животу и у историји српског народа* [Studenica in church life and history of Serbian people] (Belgrade: SANU, 1987), 13-25.

²² Relja Novaković, "O datumu i razlozima Nemanjinog silaska s prestola" [About the date and the reason for Nemanja's abdication], *ZRVI* 11 (1968): 129-140.

²³ [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић, "Стефан Немања као монах Симеон" [Stefan Nemanja as a monk Simeon], in *Међународни научни скуп "Стефан Немања - Свети Симеон Мироточиви"* [International conference "Stefan Nemanja – Saint Simeon Myrrh-flowing"] ed. J. Kalić (Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, 2000) (Hereafter: "*Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi*"), 101—113.

²⁴ [Franja Barišić] Фрања Баришић, "Хронолошки проблеми око године Немањине смрти" [Chronological problem with the date of Nemanja's death], *Hilandarski zbornik* 2 (1971): 31-58.

²⁵ Sveti Sava, 174-182.

²⁶ Domentian narrates, that on the way from Holy land to Serbia, Sava visited Mont Athos, where he "venerated the tomb" of his father (Domentian, *the Life of St. Sava*, 312).

²⁷ Teodosije, 173.

²⁸ Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 130-140. [Popović], *Under protection*, 49.

The next stage of the cult's emergence was marked by the translation of St. Simeon's relics to Serbia, where they were laid down in Studenica monastery. According to Domentian, Simeon himself, on the eve before his death, asked Sava to translate his body to "the fatherland, to Studenica."²⁹ This happened in February of 1207,³⁰ when the ruling *Župan*, Stefan the First-crowned sent a letter to his brother Sava with a petition to come to Serbia, bringing with him the relics of St. Simeon. The *župan* had several reasons for this: according to Sava's and Domentian's *Vitae*,³¹ this happened because foreign enemies were attacking Serbia, although Stefan the First-crowned and Teodosije specified³² that it was caused by the revolt of Stefan's elder brother, the *Župan* Vukan, who had been passed over by his father, who transmitted the throne to Stefan.

One year after the translation of the relics, on the day of St. Simeon's memory (13th of February), myrrh started to flow from his new tomb in Studenica and several miracles occurred.³³ This was the last necessary condition for the canonization of St. Simeon Nemanja, who during this stage of his cult turned into a national saint protector.³⁴

The next stage brought the production of the texts for the cult; about 1207 Sava finished his text of Simeon's *vita* (it had been begun in Hilandar) and included it in the Studenica Typikon. Between 1207 and 1213 he also composed the Service to St. Simeon.³⁵ Before 1216 Stefan the First-crowned wrote his text about his father's life.³⁶

In contrast with Sava's text, aimed at being read in the monastic milieu of Studenica, glorifying St. Simeon mainly as a ktetor and ascetic, in Stefan's *vita* Nemanja is depicted as a real dynastic saint. The title of St. Simeon's *vita*, written by

²⁹ Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 110.

³⁰ [Ljubomir Maksimović] Љубомир Максимовић, "О године преноса Немањиних моштију у Србију" [About the year of translation of Nemanja's relics to Serbia], *ZRVI* 24-25 (1986): 437-442.

³¹ Sveti Sava, 186; Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 144.

³² Stefan the First-crowned, 72; Teodosije, 78-81.

³³ Sveti Sava, 188; Stefan the First-crowned, 76; however, later Serbian sources say that the first miracle, i.e., the myrrh-flowing had happened already in Hilandar during the first commemoration of St. Simeon (Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 130-136; Teodosije, 70-75), and the so-called Hilandarian record of St. Simeon's death – Димитрије Богдановић [Dimitrije Bogdanović] "Кратко житије светог Саве" [A short Life of St. Sava], *Zbornik Matice Srpske za književnost i jezik* 24, No. 1 (1976): 18-30). But probably, the reason for this was the continuous development of St. Simeon's cult in Hilandar and the beginnings of local tradition.

³⁴ For more details about the canonization of St. Simeon, [Popović], *Under protection*, 27-74.

³⁵ Sava, XX-XXIII, 147-192.

³⁶ [Vladimir Ćorović] Владимир Ћоровић, "Међусобни одношај биографијама Стефана Немање" [The relations between Nemanja's biographies], in *Svetosavski zbornik*, Vol. 1, ed. V. Ćorović (Belgrade, 1936), (Hereafter: *Svetosavski zbornik*), 32-40.

Stefan the First-crowned, says that the narration is dedicated to “our saint and blessed father Simeon who was a teacher and a sovereign and autocrator of his homeland – all Serbian and Seaside lands.”³⁷ He is considered St. Simeon not only as a king, appointed by God, but also as one who was born “according to the will of God and His all-pure Mother”³⁸ to reunite lost lands and “renew” the state. All the events in the text are shaped to represent the way to become a saint; it consists of parts which represent the principal milestones on the way to sanctity: becoming a ruler (the flight of his parents from the civil war, birth in a foreign land, restitution of his own lands, meeting the Byzantine emperor, building monasteries, the victory over his brothers in a civil war), “governing thanks to God and His pure Mother,”³⁹ (fighting against heresy, battles with the “bloody” Byzantine emperor, building a monastery to be buried in, donations to churches), “taking an image of angels” (becoming a monk at Studenica, coming to Mount Athos, making a pilgrimage with rich donations to monasteries, founding and building the Athonite Serbian monastery, and a monastic death in a great schema, the translation of his relics from Hilandar to Studenica). As one can see, the monastic life here represents only the last stage of becoming a saint, while the first stages were part of political life. The *vita* concludes with a panegyric and seven miracles, four of which have a state-protective character.⁴⁰

In contrast to his father, St. Sava chose a monastic way while still a young man and dedicated his entire life to religious activities. In the *Life* written by Domentian, even Sava’s birth is represented as miraculous, his aged parents conceived the child by prayer.⁴¹ Having grown up, Rastko (Sava) received from his father the territory of Zahumlje to rule, but “preparing him for God” he had run from his father to Mount Athos,⁴² where he took the monastic vows in the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimonos. Later, having moved to Vatopedi, he called his father, who had already entered a convent, to join him.⁴³ During his life in Hilandar, Sava translated Euergetis *typikon* for the monastery⁴⁴ and built a cell in Kareya, dedicated to St. Sabbas the

³⁷ Ibid., 15.

³⁸ Stefan the First-crowned, 19

³⁹ Ibid., 33

⁴⁰ For more details about different types of St. Simeon’s lives see [Ćorović], The relations, 32-34; [Popović], *Under protection*, 41-74.

⁴¹ Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 4

⁴² Ibid., 10-16.

⁴³ Ibid., 42-62.

⁴⁴ [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић, “Хиландарски и Евергетидски типик. Подударности и разлике” [Hilandarian and Euergetis typika. Similarities and differences], *ZRVI* 33 (1994): 85 – 101.

Sanctified,⁴⁵ where he established life according to the Jerusalem typikon.⁴⁶ After the death of Simeon he translated his father's body to Serbia, where he started to organize his cult, writing or continuing the *Life* of St. Simeon and the service to his father.⁴⁷ In 1217-1219⁴⁸ Sava returned to Athos, where he translated the *Nomokanon*, a collection of rules of Byzantine canon law. In 1219 in Nicea he was appointed as the first Serbian archbishop by the patriarch, Manuel Sarantenos.⁴⁹ Two years earlier his brother, Stefan, had received the king's crown from Pope Honorius III,⁵⁰ however, Sava's biographer placed this event after Sava's appointment as archbishop and described Sava himself crowning Stefan.⁵¹ After the death of Stefan in 1229 Sava went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land where he visited Jerusalem and Sabbas' Laura.⁵² On his return Sava again went to the Holy Mount, where he probably introduced some improvements in monastic life and the service of Hilandar, based on books which he brought from the Holy Land.⁵³ During his visit to Serbia, Sava found his nephews, Radoslav and Vladislav, struggling for the Serbian throne. Although Radoslav was the legal heir, Sava finally supported Vladislav. After the coronation and appointing his disciple Arsenije as archbishop, however, he left Serbia for his second pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁵⁴ During the second pilgrimage Sava also visited Syria and Egypt, but on his way to

⁴⁵ Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 102-104, commentaries of Ljiljana Juhas-Georgijevska, Ibid., 457. commentaries of Tomislav Jovanović, in Sveti Sava, XIV-XVII

⁴⁶ Commentaries of Tomislav Jovanović in Sveti Sava, XVII-XXI.

⁴⁷ Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, Jedna pozajmica u najstarijoj srpskoj crkvenoj pesmi (u Savinoj Službi Simeonu Nemanji) [One loan in the oldest Serbian church song (in Sava's service to St. Simeon)], *Slovo* 6, No. 8 (1957): 231-235; [Dragutin Kostić] Драгутин Костић, "Учешће св. Саве у канонизацији св. Симеона" [Participation of St. Sava in the canonization of St. Simeon], in *Svetosavski zbornik*, Vol. 1, 129-209.

⁴⁸ [Miodrag M. Petrović] Миодраг М. Петровић, "Свети Сава као састављач и преводилац Законоправила" [St. Sava as a composer and translator of the Nomocanon], *Istorijski časopis* 49 (2002): 27-45.

⁴⁹ Domentian (*The Life of St. Sava*, 194-200) mistakenly called him Germanos.

⁵⁰ [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, *Владарске инсигније и државна симболика у Србији од XIII до XV века* [The rulers' insignia and the state symbolism of medieval Serbia from the thirteenth until fifteenth centuries] (Belgrade: SANU, 1994), 29-30.

⁵¹ Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 248-250.

⁵² Miodrag Marković, "Značaj prvog putovanja Svetog Save u Palestinu za arhitekturu i živopis središta srpske arhiepiskopije" [The importance of the first pilgrimage of St. Sava to Palestine for architecture and painting of the Serbian archbishopric], Phd thesis, Belgrade: Belgrade State University, 1997, 148-187; Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 280-306.

⁵³ Domentian, *the Life of St. Sava*, 308. Radoslav Grujić, "Palestinski uticaji na sv. Savu pri reformisanju monaškog života i bogoslužbenih odnosa u Srbiji" [Palestinian influence on St. Sava during reformation of monastic life and church services in Serbia], in *Svetosavski zbornik*, Vol. 1, 291-293.

⁵⁴ [Svetozar St. Dušanić] Светозар Ст. Душанић, "Краљ Радослав и свети Сава" [King Radoslav and St. Sava], in *Свети Сава. Споменица поводом осамстогодишњице рођења: 1175-1975* [St. Sava. Publications on the occasion of the eight hundred anniversary of his birth: 1175-1975] (Belgrade: 1977) 310-311.

Serbia Sava died in Tarnovo in Bulgaria in 1236 and was buried there in the narthex of the church of the Forty Sebastian martyrs.⁵⁵

The veneration of Sava as a saint started soon after his death. Even during his life he performed many miracles and was respected in the Athonite milieu as a miracle-worker and monastic founder.⁵⁶ A year after his death, King Vladislav translated the relics of St. Sava from Bulgaria to Serbia, where they were venerated in Mileševa monastery in a special reliquary which stood in the narthex of the church, i.e., again here one finds the ritual of “making a saint,” consisting of the *elevatio* (opening the tomb in Tarnovo and finding the relics “uncorrupted”), the *translatio* (from Bulgaria to Serbia), and the *dipositio* into a new tomb (in Mileševa).⁵⁷ At the same time, several services were written on the new saint and the translation of his relics (it is possible that even in Trnovo a short life of the saint was written).⁵⁸

During the reign of Vladislav, a monk called Domentian was writing his text of the life of St. Sava on Mount Athos, which he finished only under King Uroš and later dedicated to him.⁵⁹ This monk was a disciple of St. Sava and probably had accompanied him on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁶⁰ Being a Hilandarian monk, he described much more attentively Sava’s hermit labors, his miracles, and Athonite life,⁶¹ than political events and political figures of that time in Serbia and almost omitted the struggles between the brothers Radoslav and Vladislav. He also partly included the life of St. Simeon in the text about St. Sava, although later, in 1263, Domentian wrote another life, dedicated to St. Simeon by order of King Uroš.⁶² Probably the main features of St. Simeon and St. Sava as a pair appeared even in the texts of Domentian:

⁵⁵ Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 342-404. Ivan Dujčev (“Saint Sabas a Tarnovo en 1235,” *Hilandarski zbornik* 4 (1978): 17-29) thinks, that Sava died in 1235, but his relics were translated in 1237.

⁵⁶ About monastery founders and their special veneration see the book of Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium. 843-1118* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 64-89. About Sava’s miracles, see Popović, *Under protection*, 97-118. The information in the text is given in accordance with this book.

⁵⁷ For more details: Ibid., 75-95.

⁵⁸ Anonymous, “Служба уснућу светог Саве” [A service to St. Sava’s death], in *Srbljak* 1: 102-103.

⁵⁹ There are two dates in different manuscript traditions of his Life of St. Sava, 1242-1243 and 1253-1254. The second date is now considered preferable - [Mihailo J. Dinić] Михаило Ј. Динић, “Доментијан и Теодосије” [Domentian and Theodosije], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 25, No.1-2 (1959): 5-12.

⁶⁰ [Dragutin Kostić] Драгутин Костић, “Је ли Доментијан био ученик Сави и сапутник по светим местима?” [Was Domentin a disciple of St. Sava and his companion during the pilgrimage?], *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 13 (1933): 933-944.

⁶¹ For more details see Popović, *Under protection*, 75-118.

⁶² [Đ. Dančić] Ђ. Даничић, ed., *Живот светог Симеона и светог Саве. Написао Доментијан*. [Life of Saint Simeon and Saint Sava. Domentian wrote] (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1865), 116-117. In the text Domentian also wrote that he was the “last disciple of blessed lord Sava.”

they are described together as ktetors of Hilandar and glorified in the two common encomia included in the *Lives*.⁶³

Thus, one can see that already in the middle of the fourteenth century in the Athonite milieu some traces of the joint veneration of St. Simeon and St. Sava can be followed. However, the joint cult itself reached its peak under the reign of Milutin.

⁶³ Domentian, *Life of St. Sava*, 96-100, 146-150; Domentian, *Life of St. Simeon*, 72-75.

1. MILUTIN'S REIGN AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The earliest evidence for the joint cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava mainly comes from the epoch of King Milutin. Teodosije, although the exact dates when he lived are unsure, probably wrote some of his works on Milutin's order;⁶⁴ the main visual representations of the saints as a pair are also dated to the time of Milutin's reign; finally, in charters issued by the king, a formula "by the prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava" can be found. Why did this cult originate or at least receive such special veneration (for example, in official charters of Raška's chancellery) during this time? The answer to this question lies in a close examination of Serbian political activities during this period and the main protagonists on this historical scene.⁶⁵

Coming to power

Milutin's rise to power started quite dramatically and unpredictably; his accession to the throne was preceded by the abdication of his elder brother, Dragutin. It happened in Deževu in 1282,⁶⁶ after Dragutin fell from his horse. One of the most important historians of that time, Archbishop Danilo, says in his *Lives of the Kings and Archbishops of Serbia*:

When this pious king Stefan was perambulating with some work, accompanied by his noblemen, near the town Jeleč he fell off his horse and broke his leg ... and at that time he sent his servants to his younger brother Milutin... That one, because he had heard about this his sickness, quickly came to him. And when he came to a place called Deževu in the area of the župa of Raška, the pious King Stefan told him: '... and you, my dear and beloved brother, take my royal crown and sit on the throne of your parent ... and defend your fatherland.'⁶⁷

⁶⁴ The problem of dating of Teodosije's life will be discussed later (see: bibliographical survey in the chapter three, below). Concerning assumptions about Milutin's order see: [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, "Свети краљ. Култ Стефана Дечанског" (The Saint King. The cult of Stefan of Decani] (Belgrade: Clio, 2007), 135-145, 162-170.

⁶⁵ Because of the mainly descriptive character of this chapter (Milutin's politics in this case is not the main area of my research) I will rely in this chapter on works of different authors about Serbian history.

⁶⁶ About the dating of Deževu council and its consequences see Danilo, 23-28; [Ljubomir Maksimović] Љубомир Максимовић, "Почеци освајачке политике" [Beginnings of conquest politics], in *Istorija Srpskog naroda* vol. 1, ed. D. Srećković, et al. (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1981), 437-449.

⁶⁷ "Семоу благочыстивоу краљу Стефану пздештоу нѣкотоу работаю съ властели своими, подь градомь Јелечемь падь съ коня и съкроуши ногу свою...и тако въ ть чась посъла слоуги свои брату своему младѣишемоу Милоутиноу ... тако слышавь о таковои болѣзни кю, тыштьно иде къ нѣмоу, и пришьдышоу кмоу въ мѣсто глаголемок Дѣжево въ области жоупы рашьскихъ... и глагола кмоу благочыстивын краљ Стефанъ: ...ты же драгын мон и любимын брате, възьми вѣнць мон царскын, и сѣди на прѣстолѣ"

As Dragutin's main reason for the decision to hand over power to his brother, Danilo points out God's will, which, being reflected in the king's illness, was recognized by Dragutin as a punishment for his sin: overthrowing his father in order to come to power.⁶⁸ Modern scholars assume that there were some additional reasons for Dragutin's abdication, however, the unpopularity of Dragutin among the nobility because he overthrew his father, a lack of military success, and the nobility's support of Milutin.⁶⁹ Even becoming a king, Milutin felt at a disadvantage in his position; he probably received power under the condition of delegating it in the future to a son of Dragutin.⁷⁰ This promise later made Milutin look for support from Byzantium and from church authorities. It became especially necessary when Dragutin's territory in the north of Serbia, which he held for private rule, increased as a result of donations from his Hungarian relatives and successful military operations against the Bulgarian feudal lords Drman, Kudelin, and Šišman, and became an independent state, oriented toward Hungary and the Western kingdoms in its policy.⁷¹

РОДИТЕЛЯ СВОЕГО... И БРАНЕ ОТЪЧЕСТВО ТВОЕ," Danilo, 23-25. Similar information about Dragutin's abdication is provided by an anonymous Latin monk who travelled though the Balkans in 1308 (*Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis: imperium Constantinopolitanum, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Ruthenia, Ungaria, Polonia, Bohemia: anno MCCCVIII exarata*, ed. O. Górka (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1916), 33) and Gregorius Pachymeres (*Georgii Pachymeris de Michaela et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, vol. 2, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn: Weber, 1835) – (hereafter: Gregorius Pachymeres, CSHB), 273-275).

⁶⁸ See Dragutin's monologue in Danilo, 24-25.

⁶⁹ [Stanoje Stanojević] Станоје Станојевић, "Краљ Драгутин" [King Dragutin], *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 45 (1936): 8; Leonidas Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe. Le kralj Milutin* (Thessaloniki: Center for Byzantine Studies, 1978), 16ff. [Maksimović], Beginnings, 438.

⁷⁰ [Vladimir Ćorović] Владимир Ћоровић, "Подела власти између Драгутина и Милутина, 1282-1284" (The division of power between Dragutin and Milutin, 1282-1284), *Glas SANU* 136 (1929): 104; Leonidas Mavromatis, *ibid.* 27. The anonymous Latin monk gives information about another condition of transferring power to Milutin – Dragutin would have received his throne back had he recovered (Anonymi Descriptio, 34).

⁷¹ The independent territory of Dragutin called Srem. He received the Macva-Bosnian banovina as a gift from his mother-in-law, Hungarian Queen Erzsébet. After securing a victory in a coalition with Milutin over Drman and Kudelin (1285) and Šišman (1291), Dragutin added Brančevo to his lands and they became almost equal in size with the possessions of his brother. For details about territories which Dragutin possessed see: [Stanojević], King Dragutin, 10; [Mihailo Dinić] Михаило Динић, "Област краља Драгутина после Дежева" [Territory of king Dragutin after Dežev], *Glas SANU* 203 (1951): 61-82. *Idem.*, "Из прошлости Срема" [From the past of Srem], in *Idem. Српске земље у средњем веку*, (Belgrade: 1978), 9. About political status of Dragutin after Dežev also see a book of [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, *Владарска идеологија Немањића* [Royal ideology of the Nemanides] (Belgrade: Clio, 1996), 118-128.

War and peace with Byzantium

Immediately after coming to power in 1282, Milutin started military operations against Byzantium, as was expected by the Serbian nobility.⁷² He captured Skoplje and some lands in northern Macedonia. The Greeks were not able to counterattack because of the death of Michael Palaeologos,⁷³ which happened on 11th of December in 1282 during the campaign. Altogether during 1282-1283 the king made three military operations against Byzantium and as a result “received by the sword a land of Skoplje and Ovčepolje and Pološko and Dabr”⁷⁴ as he himself stated in a chrysobullon given to the Hilandarian Pyrgos Hrusija. These lands were later confirmed by Andronikos Palaeologos⁷⁵ as Serbian because of Milutin’s marriage to Simonis.⁷⁶ Many of the new territories the king distributed to newly founded and renovated monasteries (Hilandar, Banjska, St. Nicetas, Treskavac, etc).⁷⁷ However, having reached the Aegean Sea near Chrystopolis, Milutin stopped his military operations against Byzantium and turned to support his brother in fighting with the Bulgarians and the Tartars.⁷⁸ Only in 1297 did Milutin again collide with the empire on the territory of Albania, which led to the defeat of Andronikos II and the beginning of peace negotiations.⁷⁹ The emperor was interested in a peace treaty because of the growing power of the Turks, preferring an alliance to

⁷² The Greek campaigns of Milutin are described in Danilo’s life (107-114). See also the article of [Stanoje Stanojević] Станоје Станојевић, “Краљ Милутин” [King Milutin], *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 46 (1937): 6; Maksimović, *Beginnings*, 440; John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 211-226; L. Mavromatis (*La fondation*, 35) assumed a later date for the beginning of the anti-Greek operation because he doubted that King Milutin could have started a war immediately after coming to power.

⁷³ PLP no. 21528.

⁷⁴ “прѣхъ по мѣчѣ Скопскоу страну и Овчеполскоу и Положскоу и Дѣврьскоу и прочимъ нинѣ стране” [Vladimir Mošin] Владимир Мошин, *Споменици за средњовековната и поновата историја на Македонија, I* [Monuments of the medieval history of Macedonia, I], (Skopje: 1975), 313 – (Hereafter: Mošin, The monuments).

⁷⁵ PLP no. 21436.

⁷⁶ Alexandru Madgearu and Martin Gordon, *The Wars of the Balkan Peninsula* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 79.

⁷⁷ Danilo, 132-138; [Ljubomir Kovačević] Љубомир Ковачевић, “Светостефанска хрисовуља краља Стефана Уроша II Милутина” [St. Steven’s chrysobullon of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin], *Spomenik SKA* 4 (1890): 2-9; [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић, *Историја Хиландара, I. Од оснивања манастира 1198 до 1335 године* [History of Hilandar, I. From foundation of the monastery in 1198 until 1335] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1998), 212-220.

⁷⁸ [Stanojević] King Milutin, 5. In this way a border with Byzantium became the line from Strumica – Prosek – Priljep – Ohrid – Kroja (Mirjana Živojinović, “La frontière serbo-byzantine dans les premiers décennies du XIV^e siècle,” in *Βυζάντιο καὶ Σερβία κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ αἰῶνα*, (Athens: publisher, 1996), 57-66). Commentaries of L. Maksimović on Gregorius Pachymeres, Franjo Bariašić, Božidar Ferjančić, ed., *Византиски извори за Историју Народа Југославије* [Byzantine sources for history of the nations of Yugoslavia], vol. 6 (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut SANU, 1986), 31-33 (hereafter: *Byzantine sources*).

⁷⁹ Madgearu, Gordon, *The Wars*, 82.

losing some territory in a two-front war,⁸⁰ while Milutin was interested in external support to counter the Hungarian alliance of his brother and also to boost his international image through marrying into emperor's family and gaining recognition for his ruling position as king.⁸¹ This last was especially important in light of the conditions for his accession to power. This peace treaty was ratified by Milutin's marriage to Andronikos' daughter, Simonis.⁸² By his marriage to the princess,⁸³ Milutin opened the way for Byzantine influences: court ceremonial, titles, and administrative organization were copied in Serbia from the Constantinopolitan court. Byzantine influence was also reflected in a revival of interest in Greek literature and art.⁸⁴

The civil war. Changing politics?

In Serbia, however, Milutin's policy aimed at convergence with the empire was only partly supported;⁸⁵ the clergy and especially Mount Athos were on the king's side; the aristocracy stood for a continuation of successful invasions to keep expanding

⁸⁰ About the situation with Byzantium and the reasons for an alliance with Milutin see the book of Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1993), 112-121.

⁸¹ Mavromatis, *La foundation*, 36. About Milutin's desire to receive support from Byzantium against his brother see Georgius Pachymeres in "Historia Brevis", book 9, 31 (TLG 3142.009 according to A. Failler ed., *Le version brève des Relations Historiques de Georges Pachymères*, vols. 1-2. (Paris: IFEB, 2001/2).

⁸² Numerous publications exist about the marriage of Simonis and Milutin, see PLP no. 21398; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VII/9, (Munich: LexMA, 1995), 1922. Initially, Eudokia, a sister of Andronikos II, refused to marry Milutin. In spite of the opposition of Byzantine clerics (because of the age of the bride and it being the fourth or fifth marriage of the groom) Milutin finally married Andronikos' daughter, Simonis, who was only 6 years old. This event was described by Theodore Metochites, who played the role of the emperor's contact man in this political alliance and established all the conventions of the agreement. He visited Serbia five times and left a description of his mission (published by L. Mavromatis, *La fondation*, 89-119, commented on by V. Đurić in *Byzantine Sources* vol. VI, 77-143).

⁸³ Milutin had three or four wives before Simonis. First he married Serbian women, later (1282-1283) a daughter of a Thessalian aristocrat, Johannes I Angelos; in 1283-1284 Hungarian Princess Erzsébet, who was a daughter of István V; he divorced with her in 1284 to marry Anna Terter, daughter of Bulgarian Tsar Georgi I Terter, which lasted until the start of negotiations with Byzantium in 1298. Later Anna was given as a hostage to Constantinople (Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2218), see the commentaries of L. Maksimović on Gregorius Pachymeres in *Byzantine sources*, VI, 40-42, 59-60 and the commentaries of S. Ćirković on Nikephoros Gregoras in *Ibid.*, 169. Also about Milutin's marriages in connection with the legitimacy of Milutin's son, Stefan see Marjanović-Dušanić, *The Saint King*, 206-212.

⁸⁴ Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 250-255. [Đorđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, *Стара српска књижевност* [Old Serbian Literature] (Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, 1994), 194-207, 216-236. Christopher Walter, "The Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gracanica," in *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle. Symposium de Gracanica* (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 1978), 183-185, 199-200.

⁸⁵ The dating and interpretations of the events in this subchapter, unless specially stated in the footnotes, are given in accordance with: Marjanović-Dušanić, *The Saint King*, 221-232 and Dinić, *The relations*, 56-68.

Serbian-controlled territory, and finally, his mother, Jelena of Anjou, and her party were strongly against this alliance.⁸⁶

In 1300 or 1301 a civil war started between Dragutin and Milutin; a Latin monk visiting Serbia in 1308 was a witness to this continuous conflict.⁸⁷ Not having received help from Byzantine Empire, busy with defending its frontiers from the Alans and the Turks,⁸⁸ Milutin decided to enlist the support of the pope and Western rulers. Negotiations about Milutin coming to Catholicism started under Pope Benedict XI, whose letter of 1303-1304 expresses congratulations to Milutin.⁸⁹ In 1308 Milutin concluded a treaty against Byzantium with Charles Valois,⁹⁰ who had married Catherine de Courtenay, daughter of the titular emperor of Constantinople, Philippe de Courtenay,⁹¹ and therefore claimed his right to Byzantine territories. Meanwhile, the new pope, Clement V (1305-1314),⁹² insisted on the Union and Milutin promised him to accept Catholicism (perhaps he was also influenced by his mother, whom he visited in 1306);⁹³ thus, the pope even sent a monk, Grgur, from Kotor to Milutin's court as a confessor. However, the coalition with Charles Valois quickly split up and papal missionaries sent to Serbia in 1309 returned without results. Thus, a Serbian-Western

⁸⁶ After the death of her husband Jelena of Anjou led independent politics with a pro-Catholic orientation and ruled her own province, which included Zeta, Skadar, Konavlje, and Trebinje – [Miloš Blagojević] Милош Благојевић, “Српско краљевство и државе у делу Данила II” [Serbian kingdom and “states” in the writings of Danilo II], in *Архиепископ Данило II и његово доба* [Archbishop Danilo II and his epoch], ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1991), 143-145 - hereafter *Archbishop Danilo*.

From the point of view of Danilo II's successor, the reason for the war was that Dragutin wanted to put his son on Raška's throne (Danilo, 357). About the reasons for and chronology of the war see the article of [Mihailo Dinić] Михаило Динић, “Однос између краља Милутина и Драгутина” [The relations between kings Dragutin and Milutin], *ZRVI* 3 (1955): 56-68. Latin monk's evidence, *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, 34.

⁸⁸ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 124-131.

⁸⁹ Dinić, *The relations*, 62.

⁹⁰ The text of the treaty was signed in Milutin's name by two of his representatives. The main content was a union between the two kings; Milutin promised to come with his troops anytime and anywhere, his ally called him to fight with Andronikos II and capture Constantinople. He also agreed to stand against any enemies of Charles. For this help Charles confirmed Milutin's possessions in Macedonia, see Leonidas Mavromatis, “Le de Milutin entre Byzance et l'Occident,” *Byzantion*, 43 (1973): 138-150, text 126-128 ; [Vladimir Mošin] Владимир Мошин, “Договорот на крал Урош II Милутин со Карло Валоа од 1308 година за поделбата на Византиска Македонија” [The treaty of king Uroš II Milutin with Charles Valois of 1308 for the division of Byzantine Macedonia], in *Idem*, *The monuments*, Vol. 2, 417-443.

⁹¹ Web page of Foundation for Medieval Genealogy (<http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/LATINEMPERORS.htm>) (accessed May 16, 2009).

⁹² About Clement V see the work of Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and James Sievert, *The Papacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 199-213.

⁹³ During this visit Milutin issued a charter to the abbacy of Maria on Ratac island on 15 March, 1306, see: [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, “Повеља краља Милутина опатији Свете Марије Ратачке” [A charter of king Milutin to the abbacy of Maria of Ratac], *Stari srpski arhiv* 1 (2002): 13-29.

coalition existed for just five years and did not bear fruit. L. Mavromatis⁹⁴ even supposed that all the contact with the papacy and the treaty with Valois were just nominal and rather a ploy to prevent Western allies from supporting Dragutin during the civil war. Even while involved in this Western coalition, in 1308 Milutin received a chrysobullon from his Byzantine father-in-law confirming Milutin's donations to monastery of St. Nicetas near Skoplje.⁹⁵

Reuniting with the Empire

During all this period, however, (starting in 1302) Milutin's policy was under the influence of Andronikos II's second wife Eirene (Yolanda of Monferrat), the mother of Simonis, who wanted to receive royal dignity for her sons.⁹⁶ Initially she tried to convince her husband to apportion them parts of the empire's territory, but, not having achieved success, she decided to put one of her sons on the Serbian throne, using sterility of her daughter as an excuse. Both her sons returned from Serbia, however, because of the "rigorous climate."⁹⁷ One can judge the strength of her influence based on Gregoras' note that Andronikos was "scared of her tongue and more than this, that she can raise against the Romans her son-in-law, namely, the king of Serbia."⁹⁸ To achieve an impressive impact the empress sent Milutin a great deal of money and expensive gifts.

⁹⁴ Mavromatis, "Le Serbie", 120-137. Another strong piece of evidence that Milutin's actions toward the West were not serious is a description of his territory by an anonymous Latin monk, who reports that the Catholics in Serbia are "cruelly persecuted," *Anonymi Descriptio*, 35; about the negative characteristics of the Serbian land and the poor relations between Serbs and Catholics, see also pages 30-37. This report, aimed to oppose Latin missionaries and escalate confrontation, has led some authors to suppose that from the beginning of the fourteenth century new tendencies arose in Serbian political and social life in contrast to the previous peaceful co-existence of the Orthodox and Catholics, see [Boris N. Florya] Борис Николаевич Флоря, "Болгария и Сербия на пути к конфронтации с латинским миром" [Bulgaria and Serbia on the road to confrontation with the Latin world], *Исторический вестник* 5 (2000) – text on the web page of Sedmitza <http://www.sedmitza.ru/text/438165.html> (accessed May 16, 2009).

⁹⁵ About this lost chrysobullon see the article of [Miodrag Marković] Миодраг Марковић, "Прилози за историју Светог Никите код Скопља" [Additions to history of St. Nikitas near Skoplje], *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004): 117-124.

⁹⁶ PLP, no. 21361. The following conclusions about the relations between Milutin and Eirene are based on information from Nicephorus Gregoras (I. Bekker and L. Schopen, ed. *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, 3 vols. CSHB (Bonn: Weber, 1:1829; 2:1830; 3:1855), 233-244 (hereafter: Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*).

⁹⁷ Ibid. 244. S. Marjanović-Dužanić (*The Saint King*, 238-239) thinks that this invitation of Eirene's sons happened after the revolt and blinding of Milutin's son, Stefan.

⁹⁸ "δειλιῶν τὴν τε γλῶσσαν αὐτῆς καὶ τό γε μείζον, μὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἐκπολεμῶσιν γαμβρὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, λέγω δὴ τὸν Κράλην Σερβίας, Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia* 237.

Although during military operation of 1309 Milutin captured Štip in Macedonia and confronted the Byzantine army on the border of his lands,⁹⁹ as early as 1311 he returned to the alliance with Byzantium and helped his father-in-law in Thrace against the Turks under the command of Halil.¹⁰⁰ And after victory of the alliance part of the Serbian troops joined the Byzantine army for war with the Turks in Asia Minor.¹⁰¹ After victory over the Turks near Gallipoli in 1312, Milutin gave part of his troops (2000 Cumans)¹⁰² to Michael IX.¹⁰³

At this time, Milutin's brother Dragutin was drawn into conflicts around the Hungarian throne.¹⁰⁴ Probably because of that and also the weak position of Jelena of Anjou,¹⁰⁵ who was the main adherent of a Western orientation for Serbia, Dragutin lost his chance for the territory of Raška, which permitted Milutin to finish the civil war. Most scholars date the end of war to 1311, but L. Mavromatis argues that it actually finished only in 1314 with the death of Jelena of Anjou.¹⁰⁶ In the life of Dragutin there is a story about Danilo's mission of 1310 to negotiate between Dragutin and Milutin:

And king Uroš, the brother of this God-lover king Stefan, sent to him [Danilo], telling him gentle words with the letter: O, my lord and father, beg you with the name of God, quickly come to us with all the monks of the Holy Mount. And when he heard this news, my eminent lord quickly came ... and [Milutin] having consulted a lot with him, sent him to his beloved brother king Stefan... And when this eminent one came to his honoured court in Debrec, in a land, called Srem, he announced him the words of his brother... and the eminent archbishop Danilo again return to high king Stefan Uroš, made all, that he wanted, and gave him letters,

⁹⁹ Živojinović, "La frontiere serbo-byzantine," 57-66.

¹⁰⁰ In Byzantium during the first decade of the fourteenth century many wars were fought with the Alans, the Catalans and the Turks. The whole seventh book of Gregora's "Roman history" is dedicated to these campaigns (the follow information is based on his book Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*, 214-282. For dating the events see the book of Mark C. Bartusi, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204 – 1453* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 67-85). At the beginning of the fourteenth century Byzantium lost almost all of Asia Minor and only Nicea, Nicomedia, Sardis, Philadelphia, Magnesia, Herakleia, and Smirna remained in Andronikos' hands (Gregorius Pachymeres, vol.2 CSHB, 390), in 1302 imperial armies were defeated by the Turks near Magnesia and Nicomedia. Andronikos decided to invite trained troops of the Catalans from Sicily, headed by Roger de Flor, to turn the Turkish attacks, but after the victorious campaign of 1304, the Catalans, not having received enough reward, started to plunder Greek territories in Thrace. Michael IX led an army of the Tourkopouls against the Catalans, but they defected to the enemy and from 1305 both armies together were devastating Thrace and Macedonia. Some years later (1307-1309), the Catalans went to Thessaly, while the Turks stayed in Macedonia under the command of Halil; coming across the Byzantines near the Hellespont, they held Thrace.

¹⁰¹ Commentaries of S. Ćirković on Nikephoros Gregoras: *Byzantine Sources*, 184-188.

¹⁰² Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 2344 (1312) and 2346 (1313); Danilo, 145-148.

¹⁰³ PLP no. 21529.

¹⁰⁴ Dinić, The relations, 64-68; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 255-260.

¹⁰⁵ About 1306 she took vows in the monastery of St. Nicholas in Skadar (Danilo, 84) and her territories were inherited by Milutin's son Stefan (Marjanović-Dušanić, *The Saint King*, 225-232).

¹⁰⁶ Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe*, 65-67.

which were written by his brother, and told all, what his brother had committed to tell him.¹⁰⁷

Immediately after this Danilo returned to Hilandar and resigned from his position as *hegoumenos*; this gives scholars grounds for dating this visit to the year 1310.¹⁰⁸ Another short remark about the event can be found in writings of Danilo II's successor. Describing Danilo's governing in Banjska, the author explains that the monk was called by Milutin to keep his unfinished monastery at Banjska and the treasury because the nobility had abandoned the king. Having installed Danilo as a bishop:

he [Milutin] risen goes against his brother with war, although he didn't want it, because all his nobility had given up with him, but God ... gave unexpected help to this pious one. In that year of his grief many troops of Tartar and Turkish and Alanian nations delivered up, coming to him. And going with them he won over those who were fighting with him.¹⁰⁹

As one can see, Milutin won thanks to Turkish troops, which could have taken place only after his victory over Halil in 1311. Another testimony comes from colophon of the Jerusalem typikon, written by Archbishop Nikodim in 1319:

When a great strife because of temptation of the old malefactor and discord was between my lord the high king Uroš and his brother, King Stefan, and I was than the *hegoumenos* of honorable monastery Hilandar of the Holy Theotokos, which is in Holy Mount, by the wish of the both brothers and the council of Serbian land I was sent to New Rome... And I accept spiritual consolation and humility and unity, to be united brothers together, according to the words of God-Father, and whole Serbian land.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ “посъла къ нѣмоу благочыстивын краль Стефанъ Оурошъ, братъ сѣмоу христороуководному кралоу Стефану, глаголю кмоу глаголы любовныи писаниимъ рекыи: господи мои и отче, молимъ ти се о имени божии, скоро почыштавъ се приди къ намъ съ вѣсьми чрьныци Светыи Горы. И сию вѣсть слышавъ, господинъ мои прѣосвещеннии иде тышътно...и много вѣштании сътвори съ нимъ, посла и къ възлюбленному си брату Стефану кралоу...и тако пришедышоу сѣмоу прѣосвещенному въ славныи дворъ кго Дверьць въ земли рекомѣ Срѣмѣ...възвѣсти кмоу глаголы брата кго ... и прѣосвещеннии архиепископъ Данииль и паки идее къ прѣвысокому кралоу Стефану Оурошу въса съвершивъ, кинко хотѣнии кго бысть ... и вѣдасть кмоу книги кинко писании брата кгон паки кинко имъ нарѣчиавъ извѣшта кмоу” (Danilo, 44-45).

¹⁰⁸ [Radomir Popović] Радомир Поповић, “Архиепископ Данило II и управљање црквом” (Archbishop Danilo II and ruling of the Church), in *Archbishop Danilo*, 92.

¹⁰⁹ “самъ же выставъ иде противу брату свою не хоте, вси бо великоименити кго вѣхоу отъметъни; нъ богъ...томуу благочыстивому ненадѣяноу помощь дарова. Въ тѣ бо годъ скръби кго многыи вонскы кзыка татарска и тоурска и пашьска пришедыше прѣдаше се кмоу; и съ тѣми шѣдъ отыкъти насилни боруштинъ кго” - Danilo, 359.

¹¹⁰ “бывши оубо нѣкои распрѣвели по искоушению стараго злодѣя, и разньствоу бывшоу между господиномъ ми прѣвысокимъ кралемъ Оурошемъ между братомъ моу кралемъ Стефаномъ, мнѣ же тогда соуштоу игуменуу чьстнаго монастыря светыи Богородице Хиландара, иже въ Светѣи Горѣ, изволеникъ шбою брату и своеръпскихъ земле посланъ быхъ въ нови Римъ,...приемъ же оутѣшении доуховно и

In this inscription Andronikos II, Michael IX, and Andronikos III are also mentioned as “czars” whom Nikodim visited in Constantinople. Thus, juxtaposing all this evidence, one can assume that Danilo played the role of mediator between the two brothers, executing the function of “ambassador” in negotiations and later his invitation to Banjska, which preceded the end of war, was not accidental. In a situation when “all his nobility had given up on him,” Milutin needed some external support, which was given to him from the church milieu, from Hilandar, where he was a *hegoumenos* from 1307/1308 until 1310.¹¹¹ To defeat his brother Milutin did not use not troops of the Serbian nobility, but mercenaries, which reflects the attitudes of this class toward Milutin’s new policy as neutral or opposed and its support of Dragutin’s pro-Western orientation. The conflict did not end with the battle, which Milutin won; as is clear from Nikodim’s text that there was a need for some third party intervention, which became Constantinople. Again the Hilandarian role was important – a *hegoumenos*, Nikodim himself, was sent as an ambassador.¹¹²

The Athonite “ministry of foreign affairs”

In this period Hilandar was a kind of “ministry of foreign affairs” for Serbia in its relations with the Byzantine state. During Milutin’s reign Hilandar became a very rich monastery, which is attested by many charters granted by Byzantine emperors (Andronikos II and Michael IX), confirming the monastery’s possessions given by Milutin in newly conquered territories in Macedonia.¹¹³ The land granted to the monastery after Milutin’s successful military operations brought income, but to raise the position of the monastery in the Athonite community they needed to have Byzantine approval for these possessions: Hilandar started to rise in the hierarchy of the Athonite

смиреник и кѣньство к же кѣньствовати по словесѣ бо҃гоуѣца братама вѣкоупѣ и вѣѣн срьпсѣѣн земли”- [Ljubomir Stojanović] Љубомир Стојановић ed., *Стари српски записи и натписи* [Old Serbian inscriptions and colophons] (Belgrade: 1902), no. 52, 22-24 - (Hereafter, *Zapisi*) – dating of the visit varies from 1311 to 1314 – see footnote 335 of this work.

¹¹¹ Danilo (continuator), 338-339 (appointment of Danilo); Živojinović, *History of Hilandar*, I. 130

¹¹² S. Kisas puts this visit of Nikodim in 1311 and suggests that the real reason behind it was an agreement about succession to the throne of Serbia; Demetrios Palaeologos, one of sons of Yolanda could be proposed as an heir (see above). Thus, Kisas puts the blinding of Stefan in 1311 and all the negotiations were the consequence of Stefan’s revolt. ([Sotirios K. Kisas], Сотиріос К. Кисас “Данило II и Солунска околина” [Danilo II and Thessaloniki region], in *Archbishop Danilo*, 37-38).

¹¹³ *Actes de Chilandar I*, nos. 11-47.

monasteries only after Milutin's marriage to Simonis (1299).¹¹⁴ As early as 1299 Andronikos confirmed all the properties which Milutin had granted to Hilandar.¹¹⁵ In 1299-1300 Milutin was invited to Thessaloniki, where Andronikos II made important donations to the monastery, made a composite charter of captured territories,¹¹⁶ and gave many other documents concerning the monastery's and its *metochia*'s exemption from taxes.¹¹⁷ This may explain the pro-Byzantine orientation of the monastery and its support of Milutin as a kind of vested interest.

There is no evidence about the Athonite position toward Milutin's alliance with the Western coalition and the pope, but one would expect it to have been strongly negative. In his writings Danilo cursed Michael Palaeologos for the Union with the Catholic Church even more than contemporaneous Byzantine historians.¹¹⁸ In 1307 the Catalans came to the Kassandria peninsula close to the Holy Mount and started attacking the monasteries, including Hilandar.¹¹⁹ There is no direct evidence in the text of Danilo's successor of when exactly Danilo was installed as *hegoumenos* of Hilandar,¹²⁰ but uncanonicalness of his appointment gives some scholars reason to suggest that Danilo, as the king's agent, was appointed by Milutin and Archbishop Jevstatije to defend Hilandar from the Catalans, which he did for "three years and three months,"¹²¹ personally heading the defense and renovating fortifications. In 1308,

¹¹⁴ The signature of Hilandarian *hegoumenos* Stefan in 1287 was written after those of Vatopedi, Esphigmenou, Xeropotamou, Docheiariou and Karakalla (P. Lemerle et al. ed. *Actes de Laura*, in *Archives de L'Athos*, vol. VIII (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1977), no. 79), but in 1316 *hegoumenos* Nikodim later affixed those of Lavra, Iviron and Xeropotamou, but before Docheiariou and Karakalla (P. Lemerle et al. ed. *Actes d' Esphigmenou*, in *Archives de L'Athos*, vol. VI (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1973), no. 12). About the same fact -

¹¹⁵ Chrysobullon of 1299 about properties in Athos and Macedonia - *Actes de Chilandar I*, no. 17, 167-171. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2215.

¹¹⁶ *Actes de Chilandar I*, no. 13; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2214.

¹¹⁷ Concerning exemption from taxes of the inhabitants of Lozikon, Strymon, etc. (Alexander Soloviev, "Un inventaire de documents byzantins de Chilandar," *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov* 10 (1938): no. 17; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2215), exemption of *metochia* (Soloviev, *Un Inventaire*: nos. 11-12), and other fiscal immunities (Soloviev, *Un Inventaire*: no. 32). These documents have not survived and are known only from the inventory of Slavonic acts, see: Mirjana Živojinović, Preface in: *Actes de Chilandar I*, 43. In 1300 Milutin received the village Kastrin, five "parts" of Kontogrikou, and confirmation of lands in Tmorani from Andronikos for Hilandar (*Actes de Chilandar I*, no. 19, 175-177; Živojinović, Preface, 44; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2229).

¹¹⁸ [Božidar Ferjančić] Божидар Ферјанчић, "Архиепископ Данило II и Византија" [Archbishop Danilo II and Byzantium], in *Archbishop Danilo*, 9-10. Danilo, 110.

¹¹⁹ About the Catalan campaigns and sieges of Hilandar see the book of Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1972), 211-222, 232. Gregorius Pachymeres, CSNB, 651. [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић, "Житије архиепископа Данила II као извор за ратовања Каталанске компаније" [Life of Danilo II as a source for battles of the Catalan campaign], *ZRVI* 19 (1980): 251-273.

¹²⁰ Danilo, 338.

¹²¹ Danilo, 354; [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић, "Светогорски дани Данила II" [Athonite days of Danilo II], in *Archbishop Danilo*, 76.

expecting another siege by the Catalans, he transferred all the gold and treasury of the monastery to Milutin in Skoplje, but on his return Danilo found the monastery under siege; giving the Catalans a large amount of gold which he had received from Milutin, he relieved the siege.¹²² After the victory over the Catalans, Danilo left the position of *hegoumenos*.¹²³

The pro-Byzantine orientation of Hilandar during Milutin's contacts with the Western Church and states is apparent; this period of the king's policy is not reflected in Danilo's writings at all. The reunion of Milutin and Andronikos II was fruitful for the monastery, however. The emperor's chrysobullon of 1313 assigns possession of the village of Koutze on Strymon to Hilandar.¹²⁴

The anti-Byzantine attitudes of the Serbian nobility, which became evident during the last stage of the conflict with Dragutin, took the form of a plot headed by Milutin's son, Stefan, about 1314. According to Danilo's description, nobility from the territory of Zeta, which was governed by Stefan, persuaded him with "crafty advice" to lay a plot to mount a coup d'état.¹²⁵ Putting down Stefan's revolt, Milutin blinded him and sent him to Constantinople, where Stefan spent seven years in the monastery of Pantocrator. The lack of an heir for the Serbian throne made Eirine cherish hopes of installing her son there. Probably because of this, during her visit to Drama in 1316, she presented Hilandar with territory for a mill in the village of Handak, hoping for future support from the monastery, but she died at the end of the year.¹²⁶ Discussion about an heir proceeded, however, because before January of 1316 Hilandarian monks with *hegoumenos* Nikodim visited Constantinople again (although the goals of this visit are unknown), possibly because of developing negotiations. Then Andronikos II gave the monks the right to use water for irrigation on their Thessalonikan *metochion*, and after this (January 1316) the emperor approved this right again and gave them some possessions in Kalamaria.¹²⁷ Probably the monks again played the role of mediators

¹²² Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 221. About the Catalan campaigns and Danilo's acts for defense of the monastery see the account in Danilo's life (Danilo, 341-355).

¹²³ Živojinović, *History of Hilandar*, 131.

¹²⁴ *Actes de Chilandar I*, no. 29, 203-207; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2348.

¹²⁵ For a description of the conspiracy and the subsequent discovery of the plot and punishment, see: Danilo, 124-126. Blinding and years in Constantinople, 163-164. Also about the blinding of Stefan and his years in Constantinople see Marjanović-Dušanić, *The Saint King*, 237-252.

¹²⁶ Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2376. Živojinović, Preface, 150.

¹²⁷ Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 2385 -2386.

between Serbia and Constantinople because of the death of Dragutin¹²⁸ and the renewal of the question of succession to the throne.

In 1317-1318 Andronikos confirmed possessions of Hilandar by chrysobulla and added some new donations near Thessaloniki: the villages of Georgela, Eunouchou, Leipsochorion, Malouka, Zdrabikion, and also two vast grazing lands in Kassandria.¹²⁹ The importance of the Athonite monks in the question of Stefan's return can be seen from the writings of Danilo's successor. He starts Stefan Dečanski's life with his blinding and imprisonment in Constantinople.¹³⁰ To return home, Stefan wrote a letter to Danilo, who at that time was bishop of Hum, spending his time in the Kareya cell on Mont Athos.¹³¹ Stefan asked him to be a mediator in his relations with his father and to help with his return. Danilo, gathering a council of Hilandarian monks, wrote to Archbishop Nikodim (another former Hilandarian monk and *hegoumenos*)¹³² asking him for assistance. Danilo, the Hilandarian elders, and Nikodim together convinced the king to forgive his son.

In 1321 *hegoumenos* Gervasije went to Constantinople to inform the emperor about problems, which the monastery was having with the *metochion* granted by Andronikos in Kalamaria. He committed to Thessalonikian Metropolitan Jeremy and the *kephalon* of the city, Manouil Laskaris, to reconcile the differences between the monastery and clergy of St. Sophia, holders of the neighboring territories.¹³³ This visit may have been connected with the petition of the emperor to the Serbian king about military defense in the war with Andronikos III, which was in full swing.¹³⁴

Another confirmation of Hilandar's importance for Serbian politics in Milutin's epoch is the fact that two Serbian archbishops during this time were former Hilandarian *hegoumenoi*. Thus, according to Danilo's successor, Archbishop Sava III (1309-1316)¹³⁵ was: "a fosterling and disciple of Holy Mount... And there he was a mentor of the beloved-of-God convocation of the honoured monastery Hilandar."¹³⁶

¹²⁸ Dragutin died after taking vows as the monk Theoktist in 1316; his lands passed under control of his son Vladislav, see: Stanojević, *King Dragutin*, 17.

¹²⁹ *Actes de Chilandar I*, nos. 34 (232-238), 42 (265-270); Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 2390, 2416.

¹³⁰ About the imprisonment and the return of Stefan to Serbia, see Danilo, 163-170.

¹³¹ Danilo, 169. Živojinović, *History of Hilandar*, 114.

¹³² He headed the monastery in 1310-1316, Živojinović, *History of Hilandar*, 231.

¹³³ Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2457.

¹³⁴ Nicol, *The last centuries*, 150-165, esp. 153-155.

¹³⁵ [Đoko Slijeprčević] Ђоко Слијепчевић, *Историја српске православне цркве* [History of Serbian Orthodox Church], vol. 1 (Munich: self-edited, 1962), 164.

¹³⁶ "Светыи Горѣ бѣ въспитаник и наоученик... тамо бо бысть наставъникъ богомъ изволеному събору славнааго монастыра Хиландара" (Danilo, 325).

After his death Milutin even tried to establish his confidant, Danilo, as an archbishop, but the Serbian church council seems to have decided in favour of another Athonite monk, Nikodim (archbishop 1317-1324). He was also a *hegoumenos* of Hilandar immediately after Danilo.¹³⁷ Danilo himself was appointed as an archbishop only after Milutin's death in 1324.¹³⁸

The late pious years

Possibly in his later years Milutin was thinking about taking the vows, at least there are some facts which suggest this. In Gračanica monastery, built in 1315-1321,¹³⁹ a small room (catechumen) is placed in the western part of the naos on the upper level. Such spaces were used by monks or church founders for their voluntary retirement from the world and seclusion in the walls of the church to live an eremitic life.¹⁴⁰ Another piece of evidence comes from the *Life* written by Danilo;¹⁴¹ here the king, “desiring the celestial things,” prays to God: “I have already reached the senility of my days, but, O, Lord, the king of time, give me, your slave, a holy and righteous man after my own heart, who can instruct me until the end of my days to perceive the fear of You and hold it in my sad heart.”¹⁴²

Further, he called an Athonite monk, Nikodim, to head the Serbian church, asking him about spiritual guidance and exemplifying it with the Barlaam and Josaphat story¹⁴³ and Sava's spiritual guidance of his brother Stefan, who finally became a monk.

¹³⁷ Slijepčević, *History of Serbian Orthodox Church*, vol. 1, 165.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹³⁹ [Slobodan Ćurčić] Слободан Ћурчић, *Грачаница. Историја и архитектура* [Gračanica. History and architecture] (Belgrade: Mnemosyne, 2003), chapters “Gračanica kao mauzolejska crkva kralja Milutina” [Gračanica as a burial church of king Milutin] and “Odnos između Gračanice i Banjske” [Relations between Gračanica and Banjska].

¹⁴⁰ [Čedomila Marinković] Чедомила Маринковић, “Прилог проучавању катихумена у српским средњовековним црквама” [Addition to study of catechumen in Serbian medieval monuments], *Nasleđe*, 3, No. 4 (2006): 91-100; [Slobodan Ćurčić] Слободан Ћурчић, “Смисао и функција катихумена у позновизантијској и српској архитектури” [The meaning and function of catechumen in late Byzantine architecture], in *Manastir Žiža – zbornik radova* ed. G. Subotić (Kraljevo: 2000), 83-93. S. Ćurčić also assumes that Milutin's tomb could have been under the catechumen in Gračanica, but his conclusions seem questionable, taking into account direct evidence about Banjska as Milutin's burial church.

¹⁴¹ Danilo, 151-153.

¹⁴² “се въ старости дѣнии моуѣ ксѣмъ, нѣ господи цароу вѣкомъ, даждь мнѣ равноу твоюмоу по срьдцоу моуѣ моужа света и праведьна, иже наставитъ ме до коньца страхъ твои въспримъ и дрѣжати въ срьдци моуѣ оунылоу” (Danilo, 151).

¹⁴³ About the role of the Barlaam-Josaphat legend in Serbian history (as an example for Simeon-Sava's relations and their imitation by Milutin) see the work of Vojislav J. Djuric, “Le nouveau Joasaph,”

Adducing a text of Milutin's appeal to Nikodim, Danilo quotes a letter of Sava from Domentian's *Life of St. Sava* calling his father to Mount Athos and promising him personal salvation and spiritual dignity: "Come, a good shepherd of a flock, given to you by God, assimilate to your lord Christ, the commander of shepherds."¹⁴⁴ Another quotation about teaching "the fear of Lord"¹⁴⁵ also implies a direct comparison with Simeon Nemanja, usual counseling in monastic life.¹⁴⁶

Throughout his life Milutin founded churches and monasteries; medieval Serbian sources list more than forty of them.¹⁴⁷ In his late projects, such as Banjska¹⁴⁸ and Hilandar,¹⁴⁹ he turned to the imitation of his ancestors. Thus, Hilandar stood out not only architecturally, but also politically. He decided to rebuild the church of St. Simeon and St. Sava and become a new ktetor of the monastery; at the same time it was an act of personal piety, a gift to the monastery which helped him a great deal, and one of his ambitious political projects. In this way one can see that not only was Milutin's policy strongly influenced by Hilandar, but also his personal life; or, even better to say, his personal preferences and reliance on the monastery moulded his politics.

Milutin died 29 October 1321,¹⁵⁰ but Hilandar kept its political importance in Serbian politics, especially after the marriage of the new King Stefan to a relative of the Byzantine emperors, Maria Palaeologina.¹⁵¹ In a chrysobull of 1324, issued by Andronikos II to Hilandar,¹⁵² Stefan was called, just like his father – "son-in-law of my imperial dignity," which means that the model of the relationship: Serbian king – Hilandar – Constantinople had not changed. The same can be said and about the

Cahiers archéologiques 33 (1985): 99-109 and Marjanović-Dušanić, *Royal ideology*, 234-246, esp. 242-243 (about Milutin).

¹⁴⁴ "приди, пастироу добрин богодарованааго ти стада, подове се владыцѣ своѣмоу Христу пастирель начальникоу" (Danilo, 153), for the same text see: Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 58.

¹⁴⁵ About this quotation as a reference to Barlaam-Josephat's legend see Marjanović-Dušanić, *Royal ideology*, 234-246.

¹⁴⁶ About the fear of God as a monastic virtue see: Jeremy Driscoll, *Steps to Spiritual Perfection: Studies on piritual Progress in Evagrius Ponticus* (New York: Newman Press, 2005), 137-139.

¹⁴⁷ [Sima Ćirković] Сима Ћирковић, "Унутрашња политика краља Милутина" [The domestic policy of King Milutin], in *Istorija Srpskog naroda* vol. 1, 465. Danilo, 129-140.

¹⁴⁸ According to Danilo, Banjska was founded "after the fashion of Holy Theotokos of Studenica" (Danilo, 151).

¹⁴⁹ Hilandar was founded by St. Simeon and St. Sava together in 1198 and rebuilt by Milutin in 1317-1321, Živojinović, *History of Hilandar*, 39.

¹⁵⁰ [Stanojević], *King Milutin*, 33.

¹⁵¹ PLP, no. 21395.

¹⁵² Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2505.

Hilandar-Serbia relationship; Danilo, the former *hegoumenos* of Hilandar, was elected archbishop in 1324.¹⁵³

Before addressing the question posed at the beginning of this chapter about the reasons for the development of Sts. Simeon and Sava's cult during Milutin's reign, I will summarize some information and emphasize the most important facts for future discussion. The political atmosphere of this period was quite unstable, which was especially reflected in struggles for succession to the throne, in which not only members of Serbian Nemanide dynasty participated, but also some Byzantine aspirants. Starting from the end of thirteenth century Byzantium played the most important role in the policy of the Serbian state and influenced its domestic affairs because of kinship relations between emperor's family and the Nemanides. In this situation of domestic instability and continuous interaction with the empire, Hilandar monastery and its members performed the duties of ambassadors and mediators, representing the interests of the state of Raška and Milutin himself in the international field as well as in domestic conflicts, which probably permitted the monastery to make some profit. In return, the king took care of the monastery, presented it with land possessions, donations, new buildings, and spent money for its defense during the Catalan campaign. Consequently, in Hilandar, which was the main center of Sts. Simeon and Sava's cult, a specific milieu formed which combined politics with piety, the upholding of Serbian national interests with an orientation to Byzantine culture, which resulted, finally, in a new literature and artistic tradition in Serbian culture.

¹⁵³ Živojinović, *History of Hilandar*, 163.

2. ICONOGRAPHICAL MEANINGS OF ST. SIMEON AND ST. SAVA DEPICTIONS

Bibliographical survey

In Serbian art history the problem of the joint cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava has already attracted the attention of several scholars. Initially this question was raised by M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, who compiled a list of dynastic compositions in Serbian medieval painting where one can find depictions of both saints.¹⁵⁴ She assumed that the cult of St. Simeon originated as a dynastic one and had a courtly character, while St. Sava's cult was developed in a monastic milieu and was later associated with the cult of the founder of the dynasty. Moreover, as a place where this might have happened she pointed out Žiča monastery,¹⁵⁵ a dynastic coronation church built in the first quarter of the thirteenth century under the auspices of the first Serbian king, Stefan, and St. Sava himself as the first Serbian archbishop. Thus, M. Ćorović-Ljubinković underlines the dynastic component and state-protective character of the joint cult, bringing separate depictions of St. Simeon and St. Sava alone into the same list with large dynastic ktetorial compositions.

Later, D. Milošević¹⁵⁶ specified the problem of separate depictions of only St. Simeon and St. Sava and collated them with surviving texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (i.e., with works of Domentian and Theodosije), denoting timeframes of the cult's origin as late thirteenth – early fourteenth century. In this way she came to the conclusion that Hilandarian texts strongly influenced these paintings and played the most important role in the making of the joint cult. She continued the list of well known monuments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with later frescoes and icons which also reflected the unification of the cult.

B. Todić also emphasized the dynastic meaning of joint Sts. Sava-Simeon images where they were depicted as “saint ancestors, teachers of the true faith, whose

¹⁵⁴[Marjana Ćorović-Ljubinković] Марјана Ћоровић-Љубинковић, “Уз проблем иконографије српских светитеља Симеона и Саве” [On the problem of iconography of Serbian saints Simeon and Sava], *Starinar* N. S. 7-8 (1956-1957): 77-89 (Hereafter: [Ćorović-Ljubinković], “On the problem”).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 87.

¹⁵⁶ [Desanka Milošević] Десанка Милошевић, “Срби светитељи у старом сликарству” [Serbian saints in old paintings], *O Srbijaku. Studije*, ed. Ђ. Trifunović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1970), 178–186.

work was continued by their descendants.”¹⁵⁷ Finally, conducting research on the late Macedonian tradition of St. Sava-St. Simeon images, C. Grozdanov¹⁵⁸ noticed that all the early depictions of this type appeared in Macedonia at Hilandarian *metochos* (churches belonged to the monastery), and concluded that there were some Athonite influences. He still grouped together the images, however, where the saints played the role of intercessors for other members of Nemanide dynasty and Serbian rulers and those where the joint saints were represented among other monastic saints. Hence, as one can see, Serbian scholars tend to bring together all the iconographies where St. Simeon and his son appeared together, without distinguishing whether they are represented separately or with other members of the Nemanide family. Generally these saints are perceived as part of dynastic compositions, and therefore their joint cult is seen as a dynastic one.

It seems to me that two separate traditions of St. Simeon and St. Sava’s iconography existed in medieval Serbia. The first, probably the earliest, was associated with the court dynastic cult of St. Simeon as a founder of the state and the dynasty and, consequently, as a saint-founder and protector of the Nemanides. In this case, St. Sava, as a founder of the Serbian church, could be added to St. Simeon’s figure, but it was not obligatory. The second case, which I am going to distinguish from other iconographies, implies separate representations of the saints, sometimes included in groups with other famous monks. Because my research is dedicated to the problem of the cult’s origin, I will focus just on earliest examples from Milutin’s time, but facing problem of the existing historiographic tradition, I see the need to compare these two iconographical types which I would like to distinguish. In other words, I propose to show which depictions of the saints reflect their joint cult and which ones represent them as just two saints among other canonized Nemanides.

¹⁵⁷ [Branislav Todić] Бранислав Тодић, “Репрезентативни портрети Светога Саве у средњовековном сликарству” [Representative portraits of St. Sava in medieval painting], *Međunarodni naučni skup “Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji i tradiciji”* (The international conference: “Saint Sava in Serbian history and tradition”) ed. S. Ćirković (Belgrade: SANU, 1998) (Hereafter: “*Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji*”), 242.

¹⁵⁸ [Cvetan Grozdanov] Цветан Грозданов, “Свети Симеон Немања и свети Сава у сликарској тематици у Македонији” [Saint Simeon Nemanja and Saint Sava in painting subjects of Macedonia], in *Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi*, 319-342.

Dynastic compositions

Already in earliest representations of St. Simeon as a saint he was accompanied by his son, the first Serbian archbishop, Sava. But this unification of the saints did not always have the same meaning, rather it can be called occasional or corresponding with one or another iconographical situation where one or another ideological message was expressed.

Mileševa monastery

On the fresco painted in 1222-1228¹⁵⁹ on the northern wall of the inner narthex of Mileševa monastery church (pl. 1), St. Simeon and St. Sava head a procession of Nemanides family members (Stefan the First-crowned, his sons, King Radoslav and Vladislav, carrying a model of the church), but differently from their relatives, who are turning in three-quarter view and depicted with extended hands, St. Simeon and St. Sava are haloed and depicted frontally. However, the inscription near the figure of St. Sava marks him as “сѣын бѣносац и ѡтѣцъ нашъ сава први архіеппъ всехъ рашкихъ и диоклитѣскихъ земль снъ сѣаго симеѡна немане,”¹⁶⁰ i.e., just the same way as the rest of Nemanja’s descendants, emphasizing his entitulation and family relations with St. Simeon.¹⁶¹ Probably, Simeon was here already depicted as a saint, while Sava was alive in 1228.¹⁶² B. Todić suggests some explanations for marking Sava as a “saint” and “god-bearer”; this inscription does not mean canonization and veneration as a saint, but is rather a reference to Sava’s position in church hierarchy, his being clothed with sacred authority.¹⁶³ Being closer to the Heavenly Arbiter because of

¹⁵⁹ About the dating of the Mileševa frescoes see: [Sreten Petković] Сретен Петковић, “Настанак Милешева” [The origin of Mileševa], in *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda* [Mileševa in the history of the Serbian people], ed. V. J. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1987), 2-7, and [Gordana Babić] Гордана Бабић, “Владислав на ктиторском портрету у наосу Милешева” [Vladislav on the donors’ composition in the naos of Mileševa], *ibid.*, 14.

¹⁶⁰ “St. god-bearer and our father Sava, the first archbishop of all Raska and Diocletia lands, son of St. Simeon Nemanja.”

¹⁶¹ About the rest of the procession see Gordana Babic, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris: Klincksieck 1969), 129; [Desanka Milošević] Десанка Милошевић, “Иконографија светог Саве у средњем веку” [Iconography of St. Sava in the Middle Ages], in *Sava Nemanjić – Sveti Sava*, 288.

¹⁶² Sava died in Trnovo while returning home from pilgrimage to Holy land in 1235, see Ivan Dujčev, “Saint Sabas a Trnovo en 1235,” *Hilandarski zbornik* 4 (1978): 17-29.

¹⁶³ [Todić], Representative portraits, 228-229. Ćorović-Ljubinković thought that St. Sava was haloed to underline his special church status as an argument for Vladislav’s commitment to power, to prove the legitimacy of his coming to the throne because St. Sava crowned Prince Vladislav, who came to power by dethroning the rightful heir, his brother Radoslav. In such a way the saints could also be joined here or

their church status, as bishop and monk, both Nemanja and Sava here were mediators for their family members with a figure of Christ (now lost).¹⁶⁴ Thus, as one can see, in this composition their unification is explained by intercession for their relatives, i.e., their associated depiction is demanded as a part of a longer line of Nemanides, whom Simeon, as the saint, and, Sava, as the archbishop, protect before the face of Christ.

Radoslav's chapel in Studenica monastery

In Studenica, about 1230, in a south chapel of the narthex of King Radoslav (pl. 2-3), a kind of dynastic composition was created embodying the ideological and political program of that epoch.¹⁶⁵ For the first time this space was wholly dedicated to the cult of the founder of the dynasty, St. Simeon. Its decoration consists of his life cycle in the upper row of frescoes and two processions of family members in the lower row. Thus, one of processions headed by St. Simeon includes rulers (his son, Stefan the First-crowned – both in monk's clothing because they died as monks – and his grandson, King Radoslav). The second procession, headed by St. Sava, the first Serbian archbishop, represents his heir to the throne, Archbishop Arsenije, appointed by Sava himself, and the monk Sava, the grandson of St. Simeon Nemanja, who later also became an archbishop. These processions are depicted similarly; secular rulers turn to a founder of the state, the ecclesiarchs turn to a founder of the church. All these relationships between members of the dynasty are expressed in the long inscriptions next to the figures, which mention their kinship relationships and positions in the church and state administration. Posed face to face, these two processions consisted of dynasty members representing two branches of power – political and ecclesiastical – and they received their power from God by the intercession of the saint who also a

political reasons, i.e., Sava's support of Vladislav, see [Ćorović-Ljubinković], On the problem, 77. In this case, the interpretation of S. Marjanović-Dušanić (The Saint King, 153-154, footnote 201), who assumes that the pair of saint is unified as “an evidence of juxtaposition in harmony of spiritual and secular power” seems a bit exaggerated, because St. Simeon is depicted as a monk even without a crown, as the case of Studenica. But still, I agree that here “the pair of saints... intercedes for rulers from Nemanides dynasty” (ibid.).

¹⁶⁴ [Milošević], Iconography of St. Sava in Middle Ages, 288; Branislav Todić (Бранислав Тодић, “Представе св. Симеона Немање наставника праве вере и добре владе, у средњовековном сликарству” [Depictions of St. Simeon as tutor in orthodoxy and good rule in medieval painting], in *Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi*, 297) thinks that a figure of the Theotokos may have stood between St. Simeon and Christ.

¹⁶⁵ For more details about this chapel and its iconography, see Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles*, 129-146; Vojislav J. Đurić, “La symphonie de l'État et l'Église dans la peinture murale en Serbie médiévale,” in *Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji*, 205-207; [Adashinskaya Anna] Адашинская Анна, “Припрата короля Радослава в монастыре Студеница: истоки и источники культа святого Симеона Немани.” [The narthex of King Radoslav in Studenica monastery: Origins and Sources of St. Simeon Nemanja's cult.] MA thesis. Moscow: Moscow State University, 2008.

founder of the dynasty. In that connection it must be mentioned that St. Simeon and Stefan, being clothed in monastic robes, have diadems on their heads, which emphasized their positions as rulers. Thus, this fresco painting expresses visually the idea of the harmony of the State and Church in Serbia, where two branches of power resided in the hands of one family. In this way St. Simeon and St. Sava are unified, or better to say opposed, as representatives of these two branches, and consequently, their roles are to establish a legitimate lineage and that is why they could not be represented just as a pair: a representation of other legitimate dynastic members is demanded to express the idea of inheritance in a dynasty.

The cathedral of Bogorodica Ljeviška

In Milutin's time the same idea of two branches of power was represented in the narthex of a town cathedral, the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (pl. 4), constructed between 1306-1309.¹⁶⁶ The fourteenth-century frescoes in Bogorodica Ljeviška were painted by an artist who signed them as Astrapa, probably the same Michael Astrapas¹⁶⁷ whose name appears in other churches of Milutin. The narthex of the church represents a gallery of the members of the Nemanide dynasty. The west wall is dominated by the portrait of St. Simeon, the dynastic founder, depicted as a monk directly above the main portal. He is flanked by his two sons – St. Sava as an archbishop to his right, and Stefan the First-Crowned as a Serbian king to his left. From both sides this dynastic composition continues with younger members of the dynasty and heirs of the archbishop's throne. Behind Sava, continued on the southern wall, archbishops are depicted: Arsenije, Sava II, Joanikije I, Jevstratije I, Jakov and Jevstratije II. Behind King Stefan the First-crowned, on the western wall, is a portrait of Stefan Dečanski, the son of king Milutin, depicted here as crown prince, holding the scepter in his hands. On the eastern wall, from both sides of the entrance to the naos, are represented King Milutin in imperial Byzantine-modeled clothing and a portrait of his father, King Uroš I, of whom only the inscription is preserved. As can be seen, St. Simeon and St. Sava here are also included in a huge dynastic composition, the main goal of which is to

¹⁶⁶ Draga Panić, Gordana Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1975), 18-19; 58-63.

¹⁶⁷ Vojislav J. Đurić, Gordana Babić, *Srpska umetnost u srednjem veku* [Serbian Medieval art] (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1997), 26. About Michael Astrapas: PLP, no. 1595. [Soteriou Kissas] Сотерис Кисас, "Солунска уметничка породица Астрасас" [Thessalonikian artistic family Astrapas], *Zograf* 5 (1974): 35-37.

demonstrate the legitimacy of power transmission between the members of the Nemanides dynasty and church heirs. Moreover, St. Simeon is represented as a founder of both dynastic branches, at the same time a ruler and a monk; this idea is represented visually in the displacement of his figure above the entrance, between church and state hierarchs, whom he blesses with both hands. Consequently, in this propaganda-oriented composition in the city cathedral, Milutin did not refer to St. Simeon and St. Sava as a pair of saints, nor as his mediators. Here their appearance together is more or less separable and unthinkable without other members of the dynasty.

As a small addition to this dynastic group one monument may be mentioned where the depictions of the both saints have not survived, but are known. This monument dates to short period of Dragutin's rule (1274-1282) and is called Đurđevi Stupovi. Here, on the northern wall of the narthex, the portrait of the king was accompanied by St. Simeon and St. Sava, whose depictions have not survived. The composition is known from descriptions of travelers, but the texts are not long enough to reconstruct it completely.¹⁶⁸

So, in monuments with dynastically-oriented programs, the appearance of St. Simeon and St. Sava happened without joining them into a pair; they were separated as representatives of two branches of power. Moreover, to accomplish the iconographical "projects" in all these monuments some additional depictions of other members of the Nemanides' dynasty were needed. In other words, it is not possible to say that the joint cult of the two saints had dynastic implications because its traces are not found in dynastic compositions.

Monuments, reflecting the joint cult

If, as was stated above, the joint cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava is not reflected in dynastic compositions and did not originate in burial churches of the early

¹⁶⁸ For more details, see [Oliver Tomić] Оливер Томић, "Ликови краља Драгутина у српском средњовековном сликарству" [Images of King Dragutin in Serbian medieval painting], *Račanski zbornik* 3 (1998): 72-73. In Gilferding's description: "On the entrance into church near a place, where, as it is told, Nemanja was locked into a cave, a great painting of his liberator St. George on a white horse was made. On the wall in the church besides numerous images, is made an image of Nemanja (St. Simeon) and his son St. Sava. The latter is depicted with long light-brown beard," Aleksandr F. Gilferding, *Putovanje po Hercegovini, Bosni i Staroj Srbiji* (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 115-116. According to Okunev's description, who visited this church later and did not see the figures of the saints, the inscription "СѢ СИМЕОНЪ НЕМ..." placed on the northern part of the eastern wall of the narthex on a new layer of plaster. - [Nikolai L. Okunev] Николай Львович Окунев, "Столпы Святого Георгия: Развалины храма XII в. около Нового Пазара," [Pillars of St. George near Novi Pazar], *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 1 (1927): 238.

Nemanides, than another place of origin should be found. It seems to me that this place was Hilandar, where the saints were unified as ktetors and founders of the monastic community, but not as members of the same dynasty.

An icon of St. Simeon and St. Sava from Hilandar monastery

Probably the earliest visual evidence of the joint cult of Sts. Simeon and Sava comes from Hilandar monastery. Here one icon (pl. 5) is kept depicting these two saints. St. Sava is wearing a *sticharion* (the under robe)¹⁶⁹ with an *epitrachelion* (an embroidered ribbon on a neck of a priest, hanging to below the waist), a *polystavrion* (a kind of *phelonion*, an upper dress, with multiple crosses, worn by bishops until the end of the thirteenth century) with an *omophirion* (a long ribbon with crosses on the shoulders of a bishop), an *epigonation* (a piece of fabric near the right thigh) is seen on his right side; in his left hand he holds a closed book, while he points at image of the Theotokos, placed above, with the right hand. As a greater schema monk, Simeon is wearing,¹⁷⁰ a brown *mandion* (under robe), a *kukulion* (cowl) and a *pallion* (cloak); he holds an unrolled scroll, where now one can find a Greek text – δεῦτε τέκνα ἀκούσατέ μου φόβον κυρίου διδάξω, which probably replaced a Slavonic one.¹⁷¹ The icon can be dated to the end of the thirteenth – beginning of the fourteenth century according to its inscription. The icon was noted for the first time by the Serbian art historian S. Radojčić, who put it in the group with some later Hilandarian examples of the same iconography and supposed that thanks to such icons from Hilandar, the associated depiction of St. Simeon and St. Sava became more popular in the fourteenth century.¹⁷² Problems arose with dating this particular early example because of its quite strange condition; the figures of saints were repainted by a Greek artist in the seventeenth

¹⁶⁹ On church dress see: [Lazar Mirković] Лазар Мирковић, *Православна литургија* [Orthodox Liturgica] (Belgrade: Serbian Orthodox church, 1965), 124-125 (*sticharion*), 127-128 (*epitrachelion*), 128-129 (*phelonion* – *polystavrion*), 131-132 (*omophirion*), 129 (*epigonation*).

¹⁷⁰ About differences in minor and greater schema and their costumes see: ODB, 3, 1849.

¹⁷¹ Usually, being depicted with an unrolled scroll, St. Simeon is accompanied with the text of Psalm 33 (“Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord”), Grozdanov, St. Simeon Nemanja and St. Sava, 321. This text probably originated from writings of Domentian, who, describing the ceremony of Nemanja taking his vows, ascribed a speech to Simeon Nemanja, just entering religion, that started with the words: “**ПРИДЕТЕ ЧЕДА И ПОСЛОУШАЙТЕ МЕНЕ, И СТРАХОУ ГОСПОДЬНЮ НАОУЧΟΥ ВЫ**” (Domentian, *the Life of St. Simeon*, 45). The same phrase can also be found in Teodosije’s Joint canon for the eight voices (second voice, second song). Consequently, these words on Nemanja’s scroll usually refer to his monastic way; as the first Nemanide ruler to entered religion and he showed the way for his successors. See also the comments of Marjanović-Dušanić, *Royal ideology*, 234-246.

century, while the golden background and inscriptions remained unchanged from its original time. This happened because a renovation was made when the icon was put into a silver casing and, consequently, it only touched the images and not the inscriptions.¹⁷³ Thereby, the background inscriptions (**САВА АРЪХИЕПИС(К)ЪП(Ъ) СРЪПЪСКИ** and **(СИМЕ)ОНЪ (Н)ЕМАНА**),¹⁷⁴ a half-figure of the Virgin with Child (in the iconographical type of Nicopea) and even some old outlines of the figures are preserved from the original painting. Additional evidence of the icon's relatively early date (in comparison with other icons of the same saints) is an iconographical pattern of St. Sava, who is represented clothed in a *polystavrion*. As has been noted by Serbian scholars,¹⁷⁵ from the depiction at the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška (1310) onwards St. Sava was more often (but not exclusively) clothed in a *sakkos* (the upper robe of bishops, with small sleeves, which replaced the *polystaurion* at the end of the thirteenth century)¹⁷⁶ according to a new Byzantine trend in church vestments.

As S. Radojčić¹⁷⁷ noted, the joint iconography had a continuous tradition on Mount Athos, where icons of Sts. Simeon and Sava associated were painted from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, later replaced by engravings with the same iconography.¹⁷⁸ On all these depictions (with one exception on a Romanian icon which belongs to a local tradition) St. Sava is placed on the right side of an icon (the left for a viewer) and St. Simeon is on the left. From the point of view of the medieval viewer¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² [Svetozar Radojčić] Светозар Радојчић, “Хиландарски иконе светог Саве и светог Симеона – Стевана Немање” [Hilandarian icons of St. Sava and St. Simeon – Stefan Nemanja], *Glasnik. Službeni list Srpske pravoslavne crkve* 34, 2/3 (1953): 30-31.

¹⁷³ [Sreten Petković] Сретен Петковић, *Иконе Манастира Хиландара* [Icons of Hilandar monastery] (Manastir Hilandar: 1997), 47, images 146-147.

¹⁷⁴ Radojčić supposed that the inscription near St. Simeon should be read as “**СВЕТИ СИМЕОНЪ (ПРАДЕД) (КРА)ЛА (СТЪФА)НА**” (Svetozar Radojčić, *Hilandarian icons*, 30), but I cannot see a place for such a long inscription; probably he read the last letters of Simeon's name, **-МАНА-** written in two rows, as the endings of two separate words.

¹⁷⁵ Ćorović-Ljubinković, On the problem of iconography, 86; Todić, Representative portraits, 234.

¹⁷⁶ Mirković, *Orthodox Liturgica*, 130.

¹⁷⁷ [Svetozar Radojčić], 31.

¹⁷⁸ The next icon after this one is dated to the late fourteenth century and kept in the National Museum of Fine Arts, Belgrade. In the fifteenth century one icon of these saints originated in Romania (now in the Bucharest Museum of Fine Arts), where this iconography was taken from Serbia with the Serbian princess Despina (married to Neagoe Basarab), who is also depicted as a ktetor near Sts. Simeon and Sava, see Corina Nicolescu, *Icones roumaines*, (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1971), 34, ill. 9; and idem., “Princesses serbes sur la throne des Principautes Roumaines,” *ZLU* 5 (1969): 115. About late icons from Mount Athos and others see: [Dejan Medaković] Дејан Медаковић, “Историјске основе иконографије св. Саве у XVIII веку” [Historical grounds for St. Sava's iconography in the eighteenth century] in *Sava Nemanjić*, 397-405; and [Petković], *Icons of Hilandar*, 50, 60, 151-152, 178.

¹⁷⁹ The hierarchical principles of Byzantine painting demanded that everything that was more important or closer to a viewer in time or in space should be placed on the right side (the left side for a viewer), [Boris Uspensky] Борис Успенский “Правое” и “Левое” в иконописном изображении” [“Right” and

it meant, that St. Sava as an archbishop was more important in the church hierarchy than St. Simeon, who was just a monk. In this way, Hilandarian icons reflect a perception of Sts. Simeon and Sava from an ecclesiological point of view as they fit into the church hierarchy, but not in dynastic or family order, where St. Simeon was the father of Sava (i.e., was more important).¹⁸⁰ In later Athonite tradition, Sts. Simeon and Sava are also usually marked as Hilandarian saints (as, for example, on the frescoes of Vatopedi -- τοῦ χιλανδαρίου), but not as Serbian national saints,¹⁸¹ which also reveals the Athonite veneration of them as founders of Hilandar.

I would also like to emphasize that here Sts. Simeon and Sava are accompanied by the Virgin as their protectress, placed on the top icon field instead of the more usual figure of Christ in this place. It may underline their belonging to an Athonite monastic community, being under the wardship of the Theotokos.¹⁸²

The King's Church in Studenica

This monument is dated to 1313-1314 according to an inscription on the external wall of the apse of chapel of Joachim and Anna.¹⁸³ Here one can find two quite interesting ktetorial compositions (pl. 6-7) in the lowest row of fresco paintings on the southern and northern walls. On the southern wall, King Milutin with a model of the church, and his wife, Simonis, are depicted separated from the figure of Christ with an open Gospel by two figures of His ancestors, Anna with the small child Mary in her arms and Joachim with a rolled up scroll. There are also five symmetrical figures on the opposite wall, thus, the parents of the Virgin correspond with two figures of Milutin's

“left” in icon depiction], in Idem. *“Семіотика искусства”* [Semiotics of Art] (Moscow: jazyki slavyanskih kultur, 2005), 297-303.

¹⁸⁰ A similar idea of reversing a natural order of things, when old Simeon became a spiritual son of his natural child, Sava, can be found in the writings of Teodosije – “The laws of Nature are inverted ... because the father in flesh and in gray-hairs of wisdom, you was a disciple of you son in the spirit of meekness” (Canon for the eight voices, the first voice, the first song, the second troparion), Teodosije, 330.

¹⁸¹ About this later tradition see the work of [Sotiris Kisas] Сотирис Кисас, “Представе светог Саве Српског као ктитора манастира Ватопеда” [Depiction of St. Sava Serbian as ktetor of Vatopedi monastery], *ZLU* 19 (1983): 187-188.

¹⁸² About cult of the Virgin on Mount Athos see the article of Kriton Chryssochoidis, “The Portaitissa icon at Iveron monastery and the cult of the Virgin on Mount Athos,” in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing: 2005), 133-144.

¹⁸³ “Въ имѣ оца и сѣна и сѣго дѣха. азъ рабъ вѣжи стефанъ. зрошъ. правнѣкъ сѣго гѣа смевна. и вѣнѣкъ прѣвовѣнчаннаго краля стефана сѣнъ великаго кѣа зроша. и кѣа всѣхъ срѣскихъ земель и поморскихъ. създахъ си храмъ въ имѣ стѣю праведникѣ и прародителю хѣвѣ ивакѣма. и анны. в лѣт. 5.мѣ.кѣ. нѣндикта .кѣ. и всѣа таже приложѣхъ семѣ стѣомѣ храмѣ и з хрисѣволѣ пиѣхъ кто ли се прѣтворѣ. да ѣс проклѣтѣ ѣтѣ бѣа и ѣтѣ мене грѣшнаго аминѣ. създа жѣ се си храмъ съ потрѣжденѣмъ архѣимандрѣта и протосѣнгелѣ

ancestors, St. Simeon and St. Sava, depicted offering their hands to the Theotokos holding the Christ child. The Saviour, accepting the prayers of the saints, responds to them with a glance and a blessing gesture. As was noted by G. Babić,¹⁸⁴ the figures of the ktetors and the royal couple are painted with unusual frontality, wearing the entire regalia and inscribed with their complete titles, including, in the case of the queen, a reference to her double royal origin: **КОМНИНИ ПАΛΕΩΛΟΓΙΝΙΑ**. In the ktetorial inscription, Milutin, also emphasizing his royal and holy forefathers as well as the dedication of the church to his “progenitors,” says:

I, the servant of God, Stefan Uroš, the king of all Serbian and Seaside lands, the great-grandson of saint lord Simeon, the grandson of the First-crowned king Stefan, the son of great king Uroš, created this church in the name of the sainted righteous ones and progenitors of Christ, Joachim and Anna.¹⁸⁵

At the same time, the idea of salvation through the intercession of ancestors is expressed in this entire iconographical system “from the cupola to the ground.”¹⁸⁶ Thus, in this way (the unusual dedication of the church itself to Christ’s ancestors, insisting on the holy king’s origin, depicting the ruling couple with regalia and titulatures and the symmetrical disposition of two pairs, St. Simeon and St. Sava and Joachim and Anna), Milutin both underlined the legitimacy of his power, inherited from his holy forefathers, and alluded to parallels in the lineage system between the Nemanide dynasty and the genealogy of Christ.

In Serbian art an iconographic formula of the intercession with Christ of dynastic saints for members of the dynasty was already developed; such examples may be found in Radoslav’s chapel at Studenica and in the narthex painting at Mileševa. In the case of the King’s Church, however, the role of Milutin’s protectors play Christ’s ancestors, Joachim and Anna, whose depiction, as S. Ćurčić¹⁸⁷ has pointed out, corresponds “as a pendant” with the figures of Milutin’s sainted forefathers on the

ИГЪМЕНА ІУВАНА”- quoted according to Rajko Nikolić, “Natpis na Kraljevoj crkvi u Studenici” [Inscription on the King’s church in Studenica], *Saopštenja* 9 (1970): 76-79.

¹⁸⁴ [Gordana Babić] Гордана Бабић, *Краљева црква у Студеници* [King’s Church in Studenica] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1987), 186.

¹⁸⁵ Rajko Nikolić, Natpis, 299.

¹⁸⁶ About the iconographical system of the King’s Church and salvation “through ancestors,” see Babić, *King’s Church*, 186.

¹⁸⁷ Slobodan Ćurčić, “The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica,” *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973): 194.

opposite wall. In such a manner Milutin, “through his own saintly ancestry, stems from the divine lineage of Christ.”¹⁸⁸

Indeed, the ideological concept aimed at the legitimization of Milutin’s coming to the throne, expressed through the underlying his holy origin and parallelism between the Nemanides and Christ’s genealogy, takes an important place in the entire iconographical system of the King’s Church, as was described by G. Babić and S. Ćurčić. But on the other side, after their analysis one question remains unanswered, i.e., why were St. Simeon and St. Sava not put directly into the same procession with Milutin, as had already happened in another dynastic composition at Mileševa, where these saints headed the line of Nemanide family members; Why were they depicted turned to the Theotokos instead of being turned toward Christ in advocacy for their ruling heir?

It seems to me that Sts. Simeon and Sava’s relative separation from Milutin and association with the Virgin resulted from their veneration as Athonite saints. In fact, their prayers logically are addressed to Her, as protectress of the Holy Mount. Moreover, Mary here is depicted in the iconographical type of the Hodegitria, and some icons of the same iconographical type from the early Nemanides time (the end of the twelfth - beginning of the thirteenth centuries) may be found at Hilandar monastery (Pl. 8), venerated as heritage from Sts. Simeon and Sava.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, St. Simeon and St. Sava’s cult at Hilandar was connected with an image of the Virgin of Hodegitria type.¹⁹⁰ According to the vita of St. Simeon, written by St. Sava, just before the death the saint asked his son to bring him an icon of the Virgin “to draw my last breath in front of it.”¹⁹¹ During Milutin’s time, when the catholicon of the monastery was rebuilt, a pair of iconostasis icons from 1260 (Pantocrator and the already mentioned Hodegitria) were replaced by another pair of the similar iconography (Pl.9), and in this

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ I.e., a painted Hodegitria icon of the third quarter of the 1260s with Christ on Her right hand and more similar to this case, a mosaic Hodegitria icon of 1200 with Christ on Her left hand giving a blessing, Sreten Petković, “*Icons*,” 21, ill, 65-66 and 69-71.

¹⁹⁰ [Marjana Tatić-Đurić] Марјана Татић-Ђурић, “Из наше средњовековне мариологије: Икона Богородице Евергетиде” [From our medieval Mariology: An icon of Theotokos Euergetis], *ZLU* 6 (1970): 13-33. Although, I disagree with the author concerning her main idea about the iconographical type of the Euergetis icon, the facts connected with Hodegitria icons at Hilandar that she collected are enough to make a conclusion about special veneration of this iconographical type at the Athonite monastery.

¹⁹¹ [Saint Sava] *Свети Сава, Сабрана дела* [Collected works], ed. T. Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna Zadruga, 1998), 180. It can be also supposed that the fourth biographer of St. Simeon, the Hilandarian monk Theodosije, also referred to the icon of the Virgin with Christ when he wrote about Nemanja’s death: “and joyfully looked at all-pure image of Christ and of all-pure His Mother” (“и

case Virgin's icon again was of the Hodegitria iconographic type (although it was signed "ελεουσα") with Christ on Her left hand, i.e., of the same type that in King's Church.¹⁹²

In such a way, being associated in one compositional group, St. Simeon, St. Sava, and the Virgin represent a kind of Hilandarian iconographical bloc, incorporated into the entire program of the King's Church. Keeping their place in this developed system of meanings, as has been shown by Serbian scholars, this separate group also has its own significance, the Athonite saints play the role not just of king's holy ancestors, but generally as protectors and intercessors for all people with the Theotokos. Therefore, I think that this particular monument represents a transitional stage of the cult, moved by King Milutin from an Athonite milieu to Serbia, where it merged into a dynastic cult of holy ancestors.

Hilandar ktetorial portraits

Hilandar monastery¹⁹³ was one of the most important places for Serbian self-identity in the Middle Ages. It was founded by St. Simeon and St. Sava together in 1198 and became a kind of representative of the Serbian state on Byzantine territory. By building this monastery on Athos, equally with the Russian, the Bulgarians, and the Georgians, the Serbs demonstrated their belonging to the Byzantine commonwealth¹⁹⁴. At the same time, under the Nemanides dynasty Hilandar was a sort of "ministry of foreign affairs" in relations with the empire resolving controversial issues.¹⁹⁵

The first church in the monastery was built by Sts Simeon and Sava to contain a new tomb of Nemanja, however, his relics were transported to Serbia by St. Sava and laid down in Studenica monastery.¹⁹⁶ When the *katholikon* was rebuilt under the reign

весело зре къ прѣчистомуу ѡбразуу христовуу и къ прѣчистои его матери") – Theodosije, *Life of St. Sava*, 58.

¹⁹² About these icons from Milutin's time see: Sreten Petković, *Icons*, 25, images 74-75.

¹⁹³ In this subchapter, I rely on research by some Serbian scholars because I was not able to see the monument myself.

¹⁹⁴ Dimitry Obolensky wrote about the idea of a "Byzantine commonwealth," *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453*, (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), esp. 202-237. Concerning the middle-Byzantine idea of "commonwealth" Jonathan Shepard wrote: "The Byzantine Commonwealth 1000-1550," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Volume 5: *Eastern Christianity*, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3-52.

¹⁹⁵ [Ljubomir Maksimović] Љубомир Максимовић, "Хиландар и српска владарска идеологија" [Hilandar and Serbian ruler ideology], in *Osam vekova Hilandara* [Eight centuries of Hilandar], ed. V. Korać. (Belgrade: SANU, 2000), 9-16.

¹⁹⁶ As his biographers told (Sava, 184-188; Stefan, 74-76; Domentian, *Life of St. Sava*, 142-152; Domentian, *Life of St. Simeon*, 98-101; Teodosije, *Life of St. Sava*, 81-84), the body of St. Simeon was

of Milutin in 1317-1319,¹⁹⁷ the place of the tomb in the renovated church more or less reflected the previous one.¹⁹⁸ The tomb itself continued to be venerated even after translation of Nemanja's relics, as "being sanctified"¹⁹⁹ by having contained the body of the saint. From Domentian's writings it is known that St. Sava, on his way back from the Holy Land to Serbia in 1230, came to Hilandar to "adore ... the tomb of Saint Simeon."²⁰⁰ Probably, about 1209 on Mount Athos a legend originated telling that the myrrh flowing from St. Simeon's relics happened initially not in Studenica, but in Hilandar.²⁰¹ This idea was later supported in texts of Domentian and Theodosije,²⁰² which reflects both continuity in veneration of the Hilandarian tomb after the translation of the relics and development of the saint's cult directly connected with the monastery. Another, quite later, fact of the tomb's veneration is a visit by Czar Dušan to Athos about 1347-1348, when he "kissed and adored a holy shrine of *his* ancestor saint Simeon, flowing with myrrh."²⁰³

After the renovation King Milutin ordered for Greek masters to execute fresco paintings about 1321.²⁰⁴ These frescoes contain two ktetorial compositions and the pair of St. Simeon and St. Sava exists in both. The problematic issue concerning Hilandar's

transported to Studenica on the eighth year after his death, i.e., about 1206, as suggested by [Ljubomir Maksimović] Љубомир Максимовић, "О године преноса Немањиних моштију у Србију" [About date of translation of Nemanja's relics to Serbian], *ZRVI* 24-25 (1986): 437-442.

¹⁹⁷ [Miodrag Marković, Vilijam T. Hosteter] Миодраг Марковић, Вилијам Т. Хостетер, "Прилог хронологији градње и осликавања хиландарског католикона" [Additions to questions of chronology of building and painting of the Hilandar *catholicon*], *Hilandarski zbornik* 10 (1998): 201-220.

¹⁹⁸ The problem of the authenticity of the present traditional place of Hilandarian St. Simeon's tomb was noted by D. Vojvodić; he assumed, based on the tradition of placing Serbian rulers' tombs into the southwestern corner of a church and St. Simeon's tomb in Studenica, that the tomb was situated in the same place in the initial Hilandarian *catholicon*, [Dragan Vojvodić] Драган Војводић, "Хиландарски гроб светог Симеона Српског и његов сликани програм" [Hilandarian tomb of St. Simeon the Serb and its painting program], *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004): 46-47.

¹⁹⁹ [Danica Popović] Даница Поповић, "Сахране и гробови у средњем веку" [Burials and tombs in Middle Ages], in *Manastir Hilandar* ed. G. Subotić (Belgrade: SANU, 1998), 206. Also the same idea, expressed by Theodosije, concerning tombs of St. Simeon and St. Sava – "гробъ вашихъ свѣтлыныхъ и чудодѣиствыныхъ, покланяюще се любовию цѣлоуѣмъ, постничьскими бою ваю телеси осветивъше се исцѣлѣньми и обогатише се" – "your light and miracle-making tombs, venerating we are kissing with love, because they were sanctified with your hermit bodies and feathered with curing" – Panegyric, 757.

²⁰⁰ Domentian, *the Life of St. Sava*, 312. – "и тоу поклонив се... гробу светого симеона".

²⁰¹ About so-called "Hilandarian record," where the fact of flowing myrrh from St. Simeon's relics took place in Hilandar, see: [Danica Popović] Даница Поповић, *Под окриљем светости. Култ светих владара и реликвија у средњовековној Србији* [Under protection of Sanctity. A cult of saint kings and their relics in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: SANU, 2006), 48-49. Concerning re-dating of this text to the time after the translation of the relics to Studenica, see Vojvodić, Hilandarian tomb, 31-34.

²⁰² Domentian, *the Life of St. Sava*, 130-136; Theodosije, 70-73.

²⁰³ Actes de l'Athos, V, Actes de Chilandar, Deuxieme partie, Actes slavs. Publie par L. Petit et Ber. Korablev, Amsterdam: 1975, 502 (#40).

²⁰⁴ Marković, Additions, 209, Vojislav Djurić, "Les portraits de souverains dans le narthex de Chilandar. L'histoire et la signification," *Hilandarski zbornik* 7 (1989): 109-112.

frescoes is the repainting of 1804,²⁰⁵ when all the images were covered by a new layer of colour with preservation of the iconographical scheme. Because of this “restoration” some inscriptions were rewritten and the painting had been dated by the earlier date.²⁰⁶

The first portrait (pl. 10-11) placed above the tomb of St. Simeon at the southeastern corner of the naos includes a figure of St. Simeon (ὁ ἅγιος Συμεών...), painted on the western side of the pilaster, St. Sava ((ὁ) ἅγιος Σάβας καὶ κτήτωρ), King Milutin (Στέφανο(ς) ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) τοῦ θε(οῦ) πιστὸ(ς) Οὐρεσις κράλις καὶ κτήτωρ) and St. Stefan (ὁ ἅγιος Στέφανο(ς) Προτομάρτιρο(ς), behind him. All the figures stand with their hands extended in the same prayer gesture, turning to the East. Therefore their prayers run to God through the intercession of different saints, standing (or depicted) on the route between the tomb and the altar. The first among these saints is St. Nicholas, who “shares” the same pilaster with St. Simeon, being depicted on the southern side. This saint to whom Nemanja dedicated one of his first churches at Kuršumlja, stands frontally with an open book where the words from Matthew’s Gospel (5:16) are quoted: “εἶπεν ὁ Κ(ύριος) οὕτω λαμψάτω το φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν.”²⁰⁷ M. Marković assumed that St. Nicholas could be a part of ktetorial composition and the words in his book could refer to the ktetors.²⁰⁸

Other distinctive²⁰⁹ features of this composition are: an archaic type of composition, absence of insignia of the king’s power, and a purple pillow under Milutin’s legs, shorter inscriptions near the figures (i.e., without mentioning the governed lands and entire entitulation), and displacement of the king’s wife by the king’s personal saint patron, Stefan. At the same time, differing from some Nemanides dynastic processions, like those at Radoslav’s chapel in Studenica or at Mileševa, here all the personages with the same gestures and movements have the same rank, i.e., Sts. Simeon and Sava are depicted just as the first ones in the procession, but not as objects of veneration. Moreover, St. Sava and Milutin, and possibly St. Simeon, were inscribed with the same status – ktetors - and text typical for other dynastic compositions, such as

²⁰⁵ Vojvodić, Ktetorial portraits, 249.

²⁰⁶ Marković, Additions, p. 204.

²⁰⁷ “Let your light so shine [before men]” – these words from the Sermon on the Mount were addressed by God to the Apostles.

²⁰⁸ [Miodrag Marković] Миодраг Марковић. “Првобитни живопис главне манастирске цркве” [The initial painting of the main monastery church], in *Manastir Hilandar* ed. G. Subotić (Belgrade: SANU, 1998), 236.

²⁰⁹ These features were already mentioned in the article of D. Vojvodić (Ktetorial portraits, 46-52), but without the proper conclusion. In opposition with my opinion the author thinks, that here the role of St. Simeon, as “forebear of the dynasty” is “to intercede his descendant and entire his nation with saints and God” (Ibid., 52).

“the son of..., the grandson of...”, does not accompany Milutin’s and Sava’s portraits. It seems to me that all these features indicate replacement of the idea of dynastic continuity and legitimate inheritance of power, which were very frequent in Nemanides ktetorial portraits, with the idea of ktetorial unity. In other words, all three personages, St. Simeon, St. Sava, and Milutin are depicted here as persons who built or rebuilt the church, but not as political figures or relatives.

The second ktetorial composition (pl. 12-14) is situated on the eastern wall of the inner narthex. It is still not completely restored; some its parts are covered by nineteenth-century paintings, which have preserved the iconography. Here, above the entrance to the naos, is represented the Theotokos with the Child, sitting on the throne and adored by two angels. On pilasters on both sides of Her stand St. Sava and St. Simeon Nemanja, whose original inscription has survived - “ο α(γιος) Συμεω(ν) ο Νεεμαν (και) κτη(τωρ).” Behind them on the southern and northern sides two groups are depicted: Andronikos II the Palaeologos (Ανδρόνικος ἐν Χ(ριστῳ) τὸ Θ(ε)ῳ πιστός βασιλεύς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ρωμαιῶν ο Παλαιολόγος) and King Milutin (Στέφαν ἐν Χ(ριστῳ) τῳ Θ(ε)ῳ πιστός Ουρέσις κρᾶλης κ(αὶ) περιπόθετος γαμβρός τοῦ κρατέου κ(αὶ) ἁγίου βασιλεως Ανδρόνικου τοῦ Παλαιολογ(ου) κ(αὶ) κτήτωρ τῆς ἁγίας μονῆς ταυτῆς) accompanied by St. Stefan - on the south and royal heirs, Andronikos III the Palaeologos, Stefan of Dečani and the young, the future czar, Dušan (replaced in later painting with John VI Kantakuzinos²¹⁰) – on the north. The ktetorial dedicatory inscription, placed under southern part of composition, was rewritten²¹¹ in 1804 and

²¹⁰ About identification of historical personages: Djurić, *Les portraits*, 109-110. Djurić supposed (*Ibid.*, 119-121), that portraits of Stefan of Dečani and Dušan were added later, in the 1330s.

²¹¹ According to Marković (Additions, 206, footnote 23) some parts the text are a kind of paraphrase of the original phrases, but the structure is unchanged. For our study is important the second part of it: “БОГОНОСНИИ И ПРЕБЛАЖЕННИИ ОТЦЫ НАШИ УЧИТЕЛЫ И НАСТАВНИЦЫ ВСЕА СЕРБСКІЕ ЗЕМЛЫ, НОВЫИ МИРОТОЧЕЦЪ СѦМЕИИИЪ ПРЕПОДОВНЫИ СО ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫМЪ СЫНОМЪ СВОИМЪ СѦВВОЮ, ПЕРВЫМЪ АРХІЕПИСКОМЪ ВСЕА СЕРБІИ, ЛЮБОВІЮ БОЖЕСТВЕННОЮ РАЗГЛАШЕИИ, МНОГИМЪ ТРѦДОМЪ И ПОТОМЪ ВОЗДВИГОША УТѦ ОСНОВАНІА ЦЕРКОВѦ ВО ИМА ПРЕСВѦТЫА БОГОРОДИЦЫ, ВЪ МѦСТѦ СЕМЪ, ЗОВОМУИЪ ХИЛАНДАРЪ. ПО ВРЕМЕНИ ЖЕ НЫНѢ, МИЛОСТІЮ БОЖІЕЮ ПРИИДЕ И НА МНѢ ПО НАСЛѢДІЮ ОТЕЧЕСТВА МИ СЕРБСКОЕ КРАЛЕВСТВО, МНѢ СТЕФАНУ ОУРОШУ, ЗЕТУ ГРЕЧАСКАГО ЦАРА АНДРОНИКА, ТЩАЩЕМУ СѦ МНОЖАЕ УТѦ ПРЕЖДЕ МЕНЕ БЫВШИХЪ АЖЕ ПРАРОДИТЕЛЕИ И РОДИТЕЛЕИ НАШЫХЪ НЕДОКОНЧАННАА ИСПОЛНИТИ, ЕЛИКѦ ВУДЕТЬ ХОТѢНІЕ ВЛАДЫКЫ МОЕГО ХРИСТА БОГА, ЦЕРКОВЪ УБО ТѢСНУ СѦЩІЮ РАЗОРИХЪ, И СІЮ НОВІЮ ВОЗДВИГОХЪ, И ПОДПИСАХЪ ВО ИМА ПРЕСВѦТЫА НАШЕА БОГОРОДИЦЫ И ЧЕСНАГО СѦ ВЪВЕДЕНІА. Но, ѡ владычице, приими ѹбогое мое приношеніе, и моли сына твоего и бога нашего, да не лишитъ мене царства своего...” – quoted from [Mošin], *The monuments*, Vol. I, 304.

contains some mistakes, which led historians to discuss the date of the monastery renovation for several years.²¹²

This complex composition consists of three scenes. The central part is an adoration of the Virgin, which includes the two first ktetors, whose pointed gestures refer to the Theotokos. The southern group combines ideas of delivering power with the second ktetorial right.²¹³ Here, both the emperor and the king are depicted with their whole regalia, entitulation, and indication of family relations,²¹⁴ however, the scene itself represents the moment of Andronikos giving Milutin a chrysobullion (a scroll with three golden seals), confirming the Serbian right to own the monastery, which indicated the hierarchical relations between the Byzantine and Serbian rulers as sovereign and dependent, the latter building a monastery on the lands of the former.²¹⁵ The same idea of Byzantine-Serbian relations as a hierarchy of kings had already been expressed in connection with Hilandar monastery in the Hilandarian charter of St. Simeon Nemanja: “(God) confirmed Greeks as emperors, while Hungarians as kings ... granting our great-grandfathers and our grandfathers possession of this Serbian land.”²¹⁶ Probably it was borrowed from Byzantine political ideology, which considered all kings as a kind of family headed by a *pater familias*, a Byzantine emperor; other monarchs, depending on the significance and might of their states, were placed as close or distant relatives.²¹⁷ In the time of Milutin it received a special treatment, because for the second time in history (after Nemanja’s son Stefan the First-crowned), a Serbian ruler became a son-in-law of a Byzantine emperor. At the same time Andronikos himself edited a lot of

²¹² About these debates see the historiography, written by M. Marković, Additions, 201-204. The problem arose around last letter “swa” (6801 year from the Creation, 1293), which does not fit with historical events, because Milutin became “son-in-law” of Andronikos Palaiologos only in 1299. Generally the most accepted date is the finishing of all renovation works between July and 29 of October 1321 (Djurić. *Les portraits*, 109-112). Recently M. Marković (ibid., 207-208) supposed, that “swa” should be read instead “swa,” which dates the monument more precisely with from 1st of September to 29th of October of 1321.

²¹³ Concerning primarily and secondary ktetorial right wrote Marko Popović, “Les funérailles du ktitor—aspect archéologique,” in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, Vol. 1, ed. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 99-121 (esp. 118-120).

²¹⁴ Vojislav Djurić. *Les portraits*, 106-108.

²¹⁵ Branislav Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting: The Age of the King Milutin* (Belgrade: Draganić, 1999), 60.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 54: “ БОГ БЛАГОСЛОВИ К И ДАСТЬ ИМЪ ВЛАСТЬ НА ВСѢИ ТВАРИ ... ОУТВЕРДИ ГРЪКЕ ЦАРМИ А ОУГРЕ КРАЛЬМИ .. ДАРОВА НАШИМЪ ПРАДѢДОМЪ И НАШИМЪ ДѢДОМЪ ВЕЛАДАТИ СЮ ЗЕМЛОВЪ СРЪБЪСКОВЪ ”

²¹⁷ About this Byzantine concept more detailed see in articles of George Ostrogorsky, “The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35/84 (Dec., 1956): 1-14. Franz Dölger, “Die ‘Familie der könige’ im Mittelalter,” in Idem, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 34-69 and Herbert

charters with some land gifts to the Serbian monastery and confirmations of Serbian charters,²¹⁸ where Milutin granted the monastery with lands captured from the empire during his campaigns of 1284 to 1292. The third group also represents an idea of a legitimate inheritance of power; here the heirs of the both ruling houses are depicted with their full regalia, indicating their status. The son of Milutin, Stefan of Dečani, is inscribed as a ktetor, which implies that a ktetorial right was also regarded as a kind of legacy. As may be seen in this composition, St. Simeon and St. Sava are not linked with dynastic groups with strictly political iconography; they are even visibly separated from these two groups, being placed on pilasters. Moreover, scenes on the north and the south do not demand the existence of such an additional iconographical meaning as intercession of saints with the Virgin, being dedicated to problems of the legitimacy of power and its inheritance. However, all three parts are also unified in the same composition, placed above the southern group scene of Wisdom Hath Builded Her House (Proverbs 9, 1-18)²¹⁹ in terms of ktetorial activity and church building by this way Sts. Simeon and Sava address their prayers to the Theotokos as first founders and saints, while Milutin builds his ktetorial right on their precedent.

For the composition of the central part with two ktetors and the Virgin can be found a parallel in painting of thirteenth century from Russia. This is so-called “Svenskaya” icon of the enthroned Theotokos with Antonije and Theodosije from Kievo-Pecersakaya Lavra (now is in the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow).²²⁰ This is the earliest depiction of Laura’s founders from 1288; they are placed on sides from the Virgin (Antonije from right and Theodosije from left), who holds Christ-child, blessing the saints with both hands. The both saints wear great-schema costumes and hold scrolls with texts about monastic life (“**МОЛЮ ВЫ ОУ БОГА ДЕРЖИМЪСЯ [...] ВЪЗДЕРЖАНЬЕ И НЕ ЛѢНИМЪСЯ И [...] А БО О СѢМ Г [...] Д ПОМОЩНИКА**” and “**ВЪ [...] ЮЮ ВЪ ВЪКЪ ПОМИЛУ**”).²²¹ In this case they are also joint as founders of a

Hunger, “State and Society in Byzantium,” in Idem. *Epidosis. Gesammelte schriften zur byzantinischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: Editio Maris, 1989), 251-252.

²¹⁸ [Sima M. Ćirković] Сима М. Ћирковић, “Хиландар и Србија” [Hilandar and Serbia], in *Manastir Hilandar* ed. G. Subotić (Belgrade: SANU, 1998), 35-36.

²¹⁹ About representation of this proverb and Milutin as Solomon wrote Branislav Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting*, 60.

²²⁰ “Каталог Государственной Третьяковской Галереи, Древнерусское искусство X - начала XV века” [Catalogue of the State Tretyakov Gallery. Old Russian art of the tenth – the beginning of the fifteenth century] (Moscow: GTG, 1995), 70-71 (Cat. 16).

²²¹ “I beg you, children, to keep to God [...] moderation and we shouldn’t be lazy [...] because in it God (will?) help us” and “Have mercy upon us” – these texts were repainted on the scrolls a bit later (about XIV century), but they could replace the same ones. (Ibid., 71).

monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, and as the ktetors of the Kievo-Pecherskaya Laura. This icon and one story from Pechorian Paterikon, which also informs about creation of associated icon of these saints,²²² are the earliest evidences of their veneration. Probably, canonization and unification of Sts. Antonije and Teodosije, as in case of Sts. Simeon and Sava, happened in the monastery, founded by them and immediately was reflected in visual sources. In this way one can assume, that the iconographical representation of enthroned Virgin, surrounded by two saint ktetors was typical for joint cult of saint monastery founders.

The same concepts of ktetorship and legislation as separate, but interdependent activities, which were noticed in narthex' painting, can also be found in the dedicatory inscription, which is sharply divided into two parts similar in its structure with diplomatic acts. The first part looks somewhat like an arenga, narrating about the beauty of the church and the necessity for being pure in heart to reach the kingdom of heaven, while the second part is similar to the main part of charter (exposition + disposition), where two separate blocks of ideas can be found: the first one connected with Sts. Simeon and Sava and the second one written with the name of Milutin. St. Simeon and St. Sava are glorified here as the first ktetors, founders of the church, and at the same time as religious teachers.²²³

god-bearing and the most blessed our fathers, teachers and tutors of all Serbian land, the new myrrh-flowing venerable Simeon with his beloved son Sava, the first archbishop of all Serbia, kindled with divine love, with a great deal of labour and sweat built from the ground the church in the name of the most holy Theotokos, in the place called Hilandar,

The second ktetor here underlines the legitimacy of his power ("now, after some time, by the grace of God, I Stefan Uroš, have inherited from fathers Serbian kingdom"), his kin relations with Greek emperor ("son-in-law of the Greek emperor Andronikos"), continuity in

trying to fulfill many things, which were left over after having lived before me my forefathers and fathers, as my sovereign Christ God

²²² The fourth chapter of the Paterikon tells about greek painters, who came to hegoumenos Nikodim and told about two elders, who called them from Constantinople to paint a church, when the hegoumenos showed to the guest an icon of Antonije and Theodosije (who "прежде во і лѣт отъидоша свѣта цео" – "already ten years ago came from this world"), the Greeks recognized their visitors. – Electronic Publications of the Institute of Russian Literature of Russian Academy of Science (<http://www.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4945>).

²²³ About calling St. Simeon as a teacher see an article of B. Todić, *Depictions of St. Simeon*, 295-304. The author thinks that this expression refers to both, guarding of orthodoxy and showing the good way for descendants, becoming a monk.

wants it, I destroyed the church because of it being narrow, and have built this new one, and have painted it in the name of Theotokos and Her honorable presentation,

and applies for intercession to the Theotokos (“But, O, our Lady, accept my humble offering and beg your Son and our Lord not to deprive me of His kingdom”). Thus, St. Simeon and St. Sava again, just as in paintings, are considered the first ktetors and unified because of this, while political implications and concepts are connected with the figure of Milutin, who regarded Hilandar as an inheritance of the Nemanides, permitting them to receive the intercession of the Virgin and salvation at the Last Judgment.

As a result the iconographical conception, standing behind Hilandarian paintings and ideology, reflected in the dedicatory inscription, demonstrates, that St. Simeon and St. Sava primarily were venerated, and consequently unified into the joint group, here as first ktetors, building the monastery together and glorifying it with their sanctity and miracles, starting with myrrh flowing from Nemanja’s relics. In Hilandar they were always inscribed as ktetors, without long dynastic entitulations, and in the dedicatory text just their building activities are mentioned; thus, they were regarded as ideal founders, showing, as “teachers”, the way of salvation for their descendants through ktetorial activities. At the same time, in the whole complex of Hilandarian monuments, King Milutin is depicted as a pious ruler, a dependent of the emperor, following the ideal ktetorial example established by the first founders on his way to salvation.

St. Nikitas church near Skopje

The church of St. Nikitas was built by Milutin in 1299-1300 on the site of a ruined monastery which had been founded by an unknown ancestor (probably by Stefan Nemanja).²²⁴ The territory where the monastery is situated was captured by the Serbian king during his military campaign against Byzantium in 1282 – 1284. After making a peace treaty and marrying Simonis in 1299, Milutin held these territories as the dowry of his Byzantine wife.²²⁵ Because of this, all the actions concerning the granting of land belonging to this territory made by Milutin were formally approved by his father-in-

²²⁴ About all the dates concerning history of the monastery are published by [Miodrag Marković] Миодраг Марковић, “Прилози за историју Светог Никите код Скопља” [Additions to history of St. Nikitas near Skoplje], *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004): 63-128. About re-foundation under Milutin see pages 93-110.

²²⁵ Madgearu, Gordon, *The Wars*, 79.

law, Andronikos II Palaeologos, who issued confirming charters. About the end of 1307 or the beginning of 1308, Milutin granted this monastery as a metochion for newly founded Hilandarian pyrgos, Chrusia,²²⁶ but already in 1321, because of exchanging of properties between Hilandar and the pyrgos, the monastery of St. Nikitas became the possession of the Athonite monastery.

As was noted by B. Todić,²²⁷ a ktetorial portrait of King Milutin is absent from the church, although it is known that he was at least the donor of the monastery building. Todić offered two possible explanations for this – either King Milutin was not a ktetor of the church building itself, or he had already died before the church was decorated. Later, M. Marković²²⁸ suggested that the paintings were ordered not by the king himself, but by the monks of Hilandar when St. Nikitas became the property of the monastery after 1321, and the absence of Milutin's portrait is explained by his death. According to Marković, a possible ktetor on the frescoes could be Danilo, future bishop Danilo II, who was then a *hegoumenos* of Hilandar. Consequently, the painting can be dated to 1321-1324, i.e., by the time slot between painting of the Hilandar katholikon and Danilo's appointment as archbishop.

The frescoes were executed by a famous team under leadership of Thessalonikian painter Michael Asurapas,²²⁹ whose signature was found on the shield of St. Theodore Tyron.²³⁰ The most distinctive feature of their iconographical program is adherence to iconographical pattern of the Hilandarian katholikon, expressed in the disposition of scenes on the walls and the presence some rare subjects, such as Christ

²²⁶ Marković, Additions to history, 117-124. Edition of surviving Greek original of Chrysobullon of Michael IX Palaiologos, confirming properties of St. Nikitas monastery – see: *Actes de Chilandar I*, 172-175; Dölger, *Regesten*, n. 2624. Concerning granting the monastery to the pyrgos is preserved in a Slavonic translation of chrysobullon of Andronikos II (*Actes de Chilandar I*, 298-300; Dölger, *Regesten*, n. 2313; [Mošin] The monuments, Vol. I, 319-323) and Summary charter of Milutin, including quotations from his granting chapter to Chrusia (Ibid., 301-316).

²²⁷ Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting*, 346.

²²⁸ [Miodrag Marković] Миодраг Марковић, “Хиландар и живопис у црквама његових метоха – пример светог Никите код Скопља” [Hilandar and paintings in churches of its metochions, the example of St. Nikitas near Skoplje], in *Peta Kazivanja o Svetoj Gori* ed. M. Milosavljević (Belgrad: Prosveta, 2007), 186-190.

²²⁹ About other monumete from Skopska Crna Gora, painted by this team see: [[Miodrag Marković] Миодраг Марковић, “Уметничка делатност Михаила и Евтихија: Садашња знања, спорна питања и и правци будућих истраживања” [Art activity of Michael and Eutychios: nowadays knowledge, dabatable questions and directions for future research], *Zbornik narodnog muzeja* XVII/2 (2004): 104-106.

²³⁰ Branislav Todić, “Signatures des peintres Michel Astrapas et Eutychios. Fonction et signification,” in *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίτσα* (Thessaloniki, 2001), 648.

the Unsleeping Eye and the Presentation of the Virgin without a Mariological cycle.²³¹ For this reason the ensemble could not be dated earlier than the one in Hilandar.

In the church of St. Nikitas the figures of Sts. Simeon and Sava (pl. 15) are placed on the western part of northern wall, where they are situated among a row of famous monks and ascetics, occupying the first range of painting on the western wall (St. Athanasie of Athos, St. Arsenie, St. Paul of Thebes, St. Anthony, St. Euthymie, St. Sabbas, St. Theodore the Stoudion, St. Stephen the New) and western part of the northern wall (besides them also St. Theodosios Koinobites)²³² St. Simeon is depicted in the monastic closing of the Great Schema holding an unrolled scroll with the words of Psalm 33 (see above). St. Sava wears a sticharion with striped sleeves, a sakkos with crosses, and an omophorion hanging from his left hand; holding a closed codex, he gives a blessing with his right hand. It is quite interesting that the text on Nemanja's scroll was written in Slavonic, while the rest of scrolls are inscribed in Greek. In this case one can suppose the existence of an established iconographical pattern which was transmitted onto the wall by Greek painters. Probably the quite unusual choice of monastic saints, including St. Athanasie of Athos, can explain the implicit ideological message of St. Simeon's and St. Sava's representations. Being put into the same row with famous founders of monastic communities, these two saints were compared with other famous examples. Moreover, the Slavonic text on Nemanja's scroll in this connection gets an additional meaning; he is going "to teach" his "children," i.e., Serbians coming to Hilandar, how to live a monastic way of life.²³³ In this way, St. Simeon and St. Sava, again united as ktetors and founders of the Athonite monastery, represent the Serbian monastic community among famous holy ascetics.

As M. Marković has stated, this exact iconography was influenced by Hilandar, where the joint cult of the saints already existed. I completely disagree with the author, however, who marked this composition as "the earliest surviving example of a particular iconographical decision".²³⁴ It seems to me that the joint cult was formed in the Hilandarian milieu quite a bit earlier, and such examples as the King's Church at Studenica and the Hilandarian katholikon itself (apart from the non-dated icon from

²³¹ [Marković], Hilandar and paintings, 180-186.

²³² Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting*, 345.

²³³ Almost the same meaning can be found in canon in eight voices of Theodosije, where he on behalf of hilandarian monastic community writes: "We'll come, following the spiritual lamp, Simeon, ... calling up: Come, children, listen to me, taken by the fear of the Lord and love, you'll receive forgiveness for sins, which you made". – Theodosije, 140.

²³⁴ [Marković], Hilandar and paintings, 180-181.

Hilandar) demonstrate the process of its development and elaboration. The example of St. Nikitas, however, belongs to a special iconographical type, where St. Simeon and St. Sava are depicted not just as ktetors, but as ascetics and founders of a monastic community without any of the dynastic implications which in some measure existed in monuments ordered by Milutin. I think that this purely monastic iconography already existed on icons (such as icon of thirteenth-fourteenth century from Hilandar), which can explain the case with the Slavonic text on Nemanja's scroll (see above), but, surely, its translation from minor monuments to fresco painting became possible only in absence of a direct royal ktetor from the Nemanide dynasty, as King Milutin was.

In sum, in Serbian medieval painting there were two different types of representations of St. Simeon accompanied by St. Sava. The first one had dynastic content, but did not imply the unification of the two saints; the connections between them were rather occasional. The second group had a Hilandarian origin and always preserves some reference to this monastic community, where the both saints were venerated as monks and ascetics. As was shown in the analysis of the iconographies of different monuments where St. Simeon and St. Sava are present as a joint group, the main reason for this unification lay in their common monastic foundation of Hilandar. In other words, they are glorified as the first ktetors of this Athonite monastic Serbian community, "teachers" showing the way of salvation to those who desired to be a monk.

However, King Milutin adopted this joint cult and the iconography and included it in wider iconographical projects, such as the King's Church and Hilandar, where this pictorial pattern (St. Simeon in ascetic clothing with a scroll and St. Sava as a bishop with a codex) received some additional meanings, being put into iconographical structures with dynastic meaning. In some monuments, such as the Hilandarian icon or St. Nikitas' church, however, this joint iconography preserves its initial purely monastic significance.

3. THE JOINT CULT IN LITURGICAL PRACTICES

Bibliographical survey

The joint cult of Sts. Simeon and Sava in the textual sources is mainly represented in writings of Teodosije of Hilandar, who wrote a life of St. Sava, three canons, and the encomium to the joint saints, and two services to them separately.²³⁵ Another important source for the cult are the charters of King Milutin, issued for Hilandar and Banjska monastery,²³⁶ and, finally, in the Life of King Milutin, written by Danilo II,²³⁷ one can find important evidence about the king's attitude toward the saints.

The question of the joint cult in the writings of Teodosije implies two problems, and both of them were touched on mainly by Serbian scholars. The first concerns the dates of Teodosije's life and consequently of his works, and the second concerns his methods of writing and, in my case, his ways of making literary images of Sts. Simeon and Sava.

The first problem has a rich research tradition in Serbian scholarship,²³⁸ because in Teodosije's writings there is no direct chronological evidence, and moreover, some of his works bear the name of his predecessor, Domentian. Thus, when Đ. Dančić²³⁹ published the first edition of Teodosije's *Life of St. Sava*, he used a manuscript where this text was attributed to Domentian, and therefore published it under the name of the

²³⁵ For general information about Teodosije and his writings see [Dimitrije Bogdanović] Динитрије Богдановић, *Историја старе српске књижевности*, [History of old Serbian literature] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1980), 140-172; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865-1459* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 376-386, 455-466; 517-521.

²³⁶ [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić] Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, "Молитве светих Симеона и Саве у владарском програму краља Милутина" [Prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava in the royal program of king Milutin], *ZRVI* 41 (2004): 235-250. Because the charters are not the theme of my present work, but just supporting materials, I am not going to make here a bibliographical overview of the publications, dedicated to them, for further details see the last section of the present chapter.

²³⁷ For general information about Danilo II and his writings see Stanislaus Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter. Vol. 2: Danilo II. und sein Schüler: Die Königsbiographien*. (Graz: Styria, 1976), esp. 3-47 and collection of articles Vojislav Đurić, ed. *Архиепископ Данило II и његово доба* (Archbishop Danilo II and his epoch) (Belgrade: SANU, 1991). Because writing of Danilo I am going to use just as addition material, here I am not going to make here a bibliographical overview of the publications, dedicated to the writings, for further details see the last section of the present chapter.

²³⁸ Already in the nineteenth century P. Schaffarik introduced Teodosije's works for scholarly use, but dated them to the eighteenth century. See Pavel J. Schaffarik "Übersicht der vorzüglichsten schriftlichen Denkmäler älterer Zeit bei den Serben und Südslawen," *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur* 53 (1831): 1-58 – cited in [Đorđe Sp. Radojičić] Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић, "О старом српском књижевнику Теодосију" [About old Serbian writer Teodosije], *Istorijski časopis* 4 (1954): 13-14.

²³⁹ Живот Светога Саве. Написао Доментијан. На свијет издало "Друштво Србске Словесности" трудом Ђ. Данчића [Life of Saint Sava. Domentian wrote. Published by "Association of Serbian literature" under editorship of Đ. Dančić] (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1860), 1.

latter. Indeed there are two manuscript traditions: one, where text is marked as “written” by Teodosije and “told” by Domentian,²⁴⁰ and the second one, where the *Life* is “written by Domentian.” Consequently, this brings up the question of priority between these two authors.

The first step on the way to dating the works of Teodosije was made after discovering the earliest copy of his *Life of St. Sava*, rewritten in 1335-1336 by the monk Theodul. Unfortunately, the manuscript itself and copies made by Serbian philologists in the nineteenth century are lost, but based on their descriptions and some surviving photos, it is possible to conclude the authenticity of the manuscript.²⁴¹ In this way Teodosije’s writings were placed between 1263 and 1338.

Later S. Stanojević²⁴² assumed that Teodosije’s *Life of St. Sava* can be dated before 1292. His opinion was based on the writer’s description of Žiča monastery, which was demolished by the Tartars in 1292. Dragutin Kostić²⁴³ noted the mention of the Sava River as a border of Serbian lands in the *Life*. This river was a frontier of Dragutin’s territory from 1284 until 1316, but he argued with S. Stanojević, thinking that the phrase about Žiča means that Teodosije visited Serbia between 1284 and 1292, but he wrote later.

P. Petković²⁴⁴ assumed, that “written by Teodosije” means that he was a miniaturist who illuminated the text of Domentian. This hypothesis was partly supported by V. Mošin,²⁴⁵ who agreed that Teodosije was a painter, but, he continued, also a writer who reworked Domentian’s text. Mošin identified Teodosije with a person who is mentioned together with Theodul in Hilandarian charters of 1318 and 1327, who

²⁴⁰ “Сказаніе прѣп(одо)бнымъ Домнтіаномъ инокомъ и прѣзвитеромъ монастырь Хиланда(рь) нарица’емаго съписано же Девдосіемъ мнихомъ.” About meaning of “съписано” and “сказано” in regard to Teodosije’s work see: [Nikola Radojčić] Никола Радојичић, “Два Теодосија Хиландарца” [Two Teodosijes of Hilandar], *Glas Srpske akademije Nauka*, 218 (1956), 6-7.

²⁴¹ About manuscript of Theodul, its history, dating and photos see [Đorđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, “Теодулов препис Теодосијевог живота светог Саве” [The copy of Theodosian ‘Life of St. Sava’ made by Theodul], *Hilandarski zbornik* 4 (1978): 99-107.

²⁴² [Stanoje Stanojević] Станоје Станојевић, “Када је Теодосије писао Живот Св. Саве” [When did Teodosije write the Life of St. Sava?], *Južnoslovenski filolog* 7 (1928-1929): 201-204.

²⁴³ [Dragutin Kostić] Драгомир Костић, “Када је Теодосије писао Живот Св. Саве” [When did Theodosije write the Life of St. Sava?], *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 13 (1932-1933).

²⁴⁴ Vladimir Petković “La légende de Saint Sava de Serbie dans l’ancienne peinture serbe,” *Bulletin de Académie des lettres*, 1 (1934): 37-38.

²⁴⁵ [Vladimir Mošin] Владимир Мошин, “Старац поп Теодосије и хиландарска „братија начелна” [Elder priest Teodosije and Hilandarian “main brothers”] *Južnoslovenski filolog* 17 (1939): 189-200, cited in [Đorđe Sp.Radojčić] Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић, “О старом српском књижевнику Теодосију” [About old Serbian writer Teodosije], *Istorijski časopis* 4 (1954): 24-25.

was head of the Transfiguration *pyrgos* in 1327-1347. N. Radojčić²⁴⁶ supposed that Teodosije was a predecessor of Domentian and wrote his works immediately after the translation of St. Sava's relics (i.e. after 1237).²⁴⁷ But Đorđe Sp. Radojičić,²⁴⁸ publishing the text of the canon in the fourth voice, dated it to 1310, the time of Catalan and Turkish sieges of Hilandar. M. Dinić,²⁴⁹ comparing the evidence of Teodosije and Domentian about Byzantium and the Latin kingdom, concluded that in contrast to Domentian, Teodosije wrote his work after the reconquest of the empire in 1261. A kind of conclusion in this theme was made by D. Bogdanović,²⁵⁰ who characterized Teodosije as an author of Milutin's epoch, who, at the end of the thirteenth century in Hilandar wrote the *Life of St. Sava* based on the text of Domentian, with whom Teodosije could even have been contemporary for an indefinite interval. However, even now different authors offer various opinions about the dating of Teodosije's works, thus, I. Špadijer, dealing with writings dedicated to St. Peter of Koriša, suggests that Teodosije made them in the late thirteenth century.²⁵¹ I. Špadijer has also contributed to the study of manuscripts with writings of Teodosije, especially those containing his liturgical texts and poems.²⁵²

²⁴⁶ [Nikola Radojčić] Никола Радојичић, "Два Теодосија Хиландарца" [Two Teodosijes of Hilandar], *Glas Srpske akademije Nauka*, 218 (1956) 1-27.

²⁴⁷ About St. Sava's death and translation of his relics see: [Danica Popović] Даница Поповић, "Мошти светог Саве" [Relics of St. Sava], in Idem., *Под окриљем светости. Култ светих владара и реликвија у средњовековној Србији* [Under protection of Sanctity. A cult of saint kings and their relics in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: 2006), 75-95.

²⁴⁸ [Đorđe Sp. Radojičić] Ђорђе Сп. Радојичић, "Теодосијев канон општи Симеону Немањи и Сави, гласа 4" (Theodosije's common hymn to Simeon Nemanja and Sava, on four voices) *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XX, 1-4 (1955-1956): 138-141.

²⁴⁹ [Mihailo J. Dinić] Михаило Ј. Динић, "Доментијан и Теодосије" [Domentian and Teodosije]. *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 25/1-2 (1959): 5-12

²⁵⁰ [Dimitrije Bogdanović.] Димитрије Богдановић, "Предговор" [Preface], in Теодосије, *Житије светог Сави* [Teodosije, Life of St. Sava] (Belgrade: 1984), VII-XL.

²⁵¹ [Irena Špadijer], Ирена Шпадијер. "Култ светитеља и настанак службе" [Cult of saints and origins of services]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku*, 53 (1997), 80-85. I am grateful to the author, who discussed with me her ideas, presented in her still undefended doctoral thesis.

²⁵² Idem. "Стилско јединство у службама Теодосија Хиландарца" [Stylistic unity in Teodosije Hilandarac's services]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 32/2 (1984): 253-265. Idem., "Култ светитеља и настанак службе" [Cult of saints and origins of services]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku*, 53 (1997), 80-85. Idem. "Трагом светогорских преписа Теодосија Хиландарца" [In the wake of athonite copies of Teodosije Hilandarac's works], *Osam vekova Hilandara*, 381-386. Idem. "Крајегранесија Теодосија Хиландарца" [Acrostic of Teodosije Hilandarac], in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa. Beograd-Kruševac*: 2002, 149-155. Idem., "Химнографски жанр и богослужбена пракса – Теодосијеви канони светоме Симеону и светоме Сави" [Hymnographical genre and liturgy practice. Teodosije's hymns to St. Simeon and St. Sava]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku* 63 (2003): 343-351. Idem. "Теодосијева служба Сави у бугарским рукописним збиркама" [Teodosije's service to St. Sava in Bulgarian collections of manuscripts], *Bugaraska i Srbija u krugu vizantijske civilizacije. Zbornik referata sa bugarso-srpskog simpozijuma, 14-16 septembra 2003, Sofija*. Sofia: 2005, 365-374. Idem., "Најстарији преписи Теодосијеве Службе

A kind of separate problem concerning Teodosije is his preface to the *Life of St. Sava*, and its relations with the preface to the *Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified* by Cyril of Scythopolis. S. P. Rozanov²⁵³ proposed that Teodosije reworked this text and used it for his life of St. Sava. In the same text of Teodosije, M. Bašić,²⁵⁴ however, supposed that a phrase (“Life of the most-blessed Sava, who now newly has shined forth on our generation”)²⁵⁵ of the preface refers to a real event of 1290, when the Tartars, attacking Peć monastery, retired, and as a consequence he assumed that this was an allusion to a miracle described at the end of the *Life*. But the point of view about rewriting of Cyril of Scythopolis’ text dominated until recently, when D. Kenanov discovered that Teodosije just used some motifs from Cyril’s writings, but mainly wrote the text himself. Teodosije’s preface was later included in manuscripts as a preface to the *Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified* in the Russian tradition.²⁵⁶

Another problem concerning the writings of Teodosije is the structure of his services and style of his church poetry. Đ. Trifunović,²⁵⁷ dealing with the problem of relations between church poetry and the development of cults, regarded making church hymns as a final stage of any cult. He showed the dependence of Serbian church poetry on Byzantine church practice and defined the topoi which were common for both Greek and Serbian literature of thirteenth-fifteenth century. In this way he marked the existence of topoi in poems of Teodosije and showed his connections with Byzantine poetry generally. Later, I. Brajović²⁵⁸ had a closer look at the services of Teodosije, comparing his *akolouthia* to Sts. Peter of Koriša, Sava and Simeon. She noticed that the topoi are almost the same for the three saints, whom she considered as belonging to different types. She came to the conclusion that the stylistic unity of these three services is a result of the common motifs and topoi in Teodosije’s personal style.

светом Симеону Мироточивом” [The oldest copy of Theodosije’s service to St. Simeon Myrrh-pouring], *Starob’lgarska literatura* 33-34 (2006): 100-105.

²⁵³ [S.P. Rozanov] С. П. Розанов, “Источники, время составления и личность Феодосиевской редакции Жития Саввы Сербского” [The sources, time of work and personality of the author of Theodosian redaction of St. Sava’s Life], *Izvestija Otdelenija russkog jazyka i slovesnosti* 16/1 (1911): 136-184, cited in [Dimitr Kenanov] Димитър Кенанов, “Славянска метафрастика” [Slavonic Metaphrastics] (Sofia: Žanet-45, 2002), 92.

²⁵⁴ [Milivoje M. Bašić] Миливоје М. Башић, “Старе српске биографије” [Old Serbian Biographies] (Belgrade: Makarije, 1924), XVII-XVIII.

²⁵⁵ “всьблаженнаго Савы иже нынѣ ново въ наше рѣды просїавшаго... житїа” - Teodosije, 1.

²⁵⁶ [Dimitr Kenanov] Димитър Кенанов, “Славянска метафрастика” [Slavonic Metaphrastics] (Sofia: Žanet-45, 2002), 91-102.

²⁵⁷ [Đorđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, “Стара српска црквена поезја” [Old serbian Church poetry] in *O Srbijku. Studije*. ed. Đ. Trifunović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1970),

The problem of the joint cult of St. Simeon and Sava in Serbian literature did not attract much attention until very recently. Certainly historians of Serbian literature made some general remarks on the existence of the cult in Teodosije's writings, but nobody until S. Marjanović-Dušanić²⁵⁹ specified it as a separated problem and made the overview of all possible sources. Thus, D. Bogdanović represented the problem on the material of liturgical poetry of Teodosije and came to conclusion, that in these texts "an idea of an inseparable glorification of the pair of ancestors of Serbian land was in the picture."²⁶⁰ The scholar regarded St. Simeon and St. Sava as "the founder of the state... and the renovator of the Church."²⁶¹ As one can see this idea was quite close to those, which were expressed Serbian art historians such as M. Ćorović-Ljubinković²⁶² and D. Milošević.²⁶³ In her turn basing on the mention a pair of St. Simeon and St. Sava in the charters of King Milutin and his successors, S. Marjanović-Dušanić divided these sources into two groups (before and after the civil war with Dragutin), according to the place of the mention in the *sanction* or in the *expositio*. She defined the functions of the cult in the first group as "Heavenly defense of king's conquests... and all the fatherland,"²⁶⁴ while in the second group (after the civil war) Sts. Simeon and Sava as the saint ancestors of the king became a guarantee of legitimacy of his power. However, joining of the saints in liturgical poetry the scholar also explains with political goals.²⁶⁵ She considered works of Teodosije as ordered by Milutin for the centenary celebration of Serbian kingship. I agree with this author concerning the questions of the Lives²⁶⁶ written by Teodosije, that's why I am not going to analyze them in the present work, but as for the writing of the church poetry I see some other explanations, than the royal order.

²⁵⁸ [Irena Brajović] Ирена Брајовић, "Стилско јединство у службама Теодосија Хиландараца" [Stylistic unity in the services of Teodosije of Hilandar], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 32/2 (1984), 253-265.

²⁵⁹ [Marjanović-Dušanić] "Prayers", 235-250. Idem. *Владарска идеологија Немањића*, [Royal ideology of the Nemanides] (Belgrade: Clio, 1996), 131-132; 160-165; Idem. *Свети краљ. Култ Стефана Дечанског* [The Saint King. The cult of Stefan of Dečani] (Belgrade: Clio, 2007), 148-158, 167-169.

²⁶⁰ [Bogdanović,], [Preface], XXII.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² [Marjana Ćorović-Ljubinković] Ћоровић-Љубинковић, "Уз проблем иконографије српских светитеља Симеона и Саве" (On the problem of iconography of Serbian saints Simeon and Sava), *Starinar*, N. S., 7-8 (1956-1957): 77-89.

²⁶³ [Desanka Milošević] Десанка Милошевић, "Срби светитељи у старом сликарству" (Serbian saints in old painting), in *O Srbijku. Studije*. [About Srbijak. Studies] ed. Ђ. Trifunović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1970), 178-186

²⁶⁴ [Marjanović-Dušanić] "Prayers," 238.

²⁶⁵ [Marjanović-Dušanić], *The Saint King*, 153-158.

²⁶⁶ About the Life of St. Sava see Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "L'altérité" dans le témoignage des récits hagiographiques serbes: l'exemple des Vies de Théodose," *ZRVI* 45 (2008), 191-203.

B. Bojović dedicated to the joint cult some pages in his book about Serbian royal ideology, thus, he considered “binding of the two saints as a personalized symbol of unity of the Church and the state,”²⁶⁷ but unfortunately he confined himself to the statement of fact as a foregone conclusion.

In this way one can see that the services and church poems were not studied properly from the point of view of liturgical usage of to the joint cult of St. Simeon and Sava. Moreover, the scholars, who dealt with the cult on the basis of religious literature, paid attention to dynastical meanings in the writings of Teodosije, regarding St. Simeon and St. Sava only as “holy roots” of the Nemanide dynasty, but nobody regarded their veneration as a part of liturgical practice in Hilandar monastery. Sometimes, like in the case of I. Brajović this led to partial wrong conclusions about the content of the texts (being convinced of the domination of dynastical meanings in the cult of St. Simeon and Sava she was not able to explain the similarity of the motives differently than the personal style). Consequently, I am going to regard the following questions in the writings of Teodosije: how was the joint cult worshiped in Hilandarian community? What kind of meanings and functions did it have for it? What kind of specific liturgical practices did it receive?

The liturgical poems, reflecting the joint cult

From the Byzantine to the Slavonic Church Service: Rites, Books, Regulations

Byzantine church service was a dynamic entity, which had constant and variable parts. The content of both of them were being changed and developed in Byzantium in different epochs.²⁶⁸ The invariable part is contained in the so-called *euchologia*²⁶⁹ and

²⁶⁷ Boško I. Bojović, *L'idéologie monarchique dans les hagiobiographies dynastiques du Moyen Age serbe*, OCA (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995) 417-447 (quoted 419); 459-470.

²⁶⁸ The description of service books and their contents is here given for the middle Byzantine period (*post* the ninth century), i.e., for the time, when the service was adopted by Slavs. By this time the Stoudite liturgical reforms, which had already taken place in Constantinople, made the Constantinopolitan tradition very similar with Jerusalemite one. Consequently, the structure of divine service was shaped according to the similar set of books. For a more detailed account of ninth-century Byzantine liturgy see Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite. A short history* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 52-78; Miguel Arranz, “Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine, Byzance, Russie; Essai d'aperçu historique,” in *Liturgie de l'Eglise particuliere et liturgie de l'Eglise universelle*, BELS 7 (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976), 45-46. About so-called Stouditian synthesis, see Thomas Pott, “La réforme liturgique byzantine. Étude du phénomène de l'évolution non-spontanée de la liturgie Byzantine,” BELS 104 (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 99-129.

horologia,²⁷⁰ The *Oktoechos*²⁷¹ includes different hymns for every day of the week for an eight-week period. Saints' lives are added to texts of the *Oktoechos* hymns from the *menaia*²⁷² and *menologia*,²⁷³ where they are arranged according to a calendar or types of saints, and readings from the *aparakos Gospel (evangelion)*²⁷⁴ and *praxapostolos* (a lectionary).²⁷⁵ Regulations on the use of services, hymns and lives from the *menologia* for each day when more than one saint was celebrated were included into a liturgical *typikon*. The *Oktoechos* was replaced during the Lent and the weeks from Lazarus' Saturday until the first Sunday after the Pentacost by the Fasting and Festal *Triodia* (or *Pentakostarion*).²⁷⁶

Throughout the Byzantine Middle Ages, services in church remained dynamic; it was not static or unchangeable and individualized. "Texts were coming in and coming out, being combined according to requirements, liturgical themes and needs of a cult, sometimes by a singer, sometimes by a writing group."²⁷⁷ In this way, *menologia* and *menaia* were the most variable Byzantine (and later Slavonic) the content of which permits to add new authorial writings following, e.g., the canonization of new saints, while the content of the *triodion* can also differ depending on the *typikon* tradition also in one or another monastery.²⁷⁸

The Byzantine-style service became part of Slavic culture in the ninth century together with the translations of the main service texts by Cyril and Method and their

²⁶⁹ *Euchologion* – a book of prayer, used for the principal church services (vespers and *orthroi* with liturgy) – see: ODB, 738.

²⁷⁰ *Horologion* – a book of prayer, used for secondary church services (hours, *mesonyktikon* and *apodeipnon*) – see: ODB, 947.

²⁷¹ *Oktoechos* – a book of hymns (canons, *stichera* and *kathismata*) for daily *orthroi*, vespers and Saturday *mesonyktikon* – see: ODB, 1520.

²⁷² *Menaion* – set of twelve liturgical books for each month with hymns and lections pertaining to feasts and saints, arranged according to a calendar year – see: ODB, 1338.

²⁷³ *Menologion* – a collection of saints' lives, arranged according to a calendar year – see: ODB, 1341.

²⁷⁴ *Evangelion* – a book of readings for every day from the Gospels – see: ODB, 761.

²⁷⁵ *Praxapostolos* – a book of readings for every day with non-gospel texts – see: ODB, 1712.

²⁷⁶ ODB, 2118-2119.

²⁷⁷ [Dimitrije Bogdanović] Димитрије Богдановић, "Најстарија служба светом Саве" [The oldest divine service to St. Sava], *Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost* 30 (1980): 45.

²⁷⁸ About variations in the *Triodion* see Norbert Cappeluyns "Le Triodion. Étude Historique sur sa Constitution et sa Formation," Dissertation (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1935). The main content of the *Oktoechos* was already shaped by the ninth century, see Dorotei Getov and Maria Yovcheva, "The Unedited Oktoechos Canons for Prophets and Martyrs in the Byzantine and Slavonic Tradition," *Byzantinoslavica* 66 No. 1-2 (2008): 139-166, although in the Slavonic tradition the contents of the *Oktoechoes* can be a little bit different because of the existence of translations of versions from different times, see [Olga Krashennikova] Ольга Крашенинникова, "Ранневизантийские источники славянского Октоиха XIII – XIV вв." [Early-Byzantine sources of Slavonic Oktoechos of thirteenth-fourteenth century], in *Гимнология: Материалы Международной научной конференции "Памяти протоиерея Димитрия Разумовского,"* vol. 1, No. 11, ed. E. Lozovaya (Moscow: Moskovskaya Konservatoriya, 2000), 114-121.

disciples.²⁷⁹ The Serbians entirely adopted Byzantine church rite in the period of building their autocephalous church (from the twelfth century onwards).²⁸⁰ in the beginning of thirteenth century. St Sava himself reformed the church rite by means of translating the Constantinopolitan Theotokos Evergetis *typikon*²⁸¹ and adapting it for two Serbian monasteries – Hilandar (on Mount Athos) and Studenica. St Sava was also the author of the first Serbian writing in verse to be performed in church; he composed the first service to St Simeon Nemanja, using as a sample the Byzantine service dedicated to St Simeon the Stylite.²⁸² Together with the creation of these new Serbian saints, certain Byzantine hymnographic genres of church poetry were introduced to and developed in Slavonic language (*troparia, kondakia, stichera*); they soon were included in the structure of daily services.²⁸³ The further development of church rite in Serbia is connected to the translation of the Jerusalem *typikon* and its adoption at Hilandar monastery during the first half of the fourteenth century.²⁸⁴ It seems as if the

²⁷⁹[Dimitrije Bogdanović] Димитрије Богдановић, “Византијски књижевни канон у српским службама средњег века,” [The Byzantine literary canon in Serbian services in the Middle Ages] in *O Srbijaku*, 104. [Tatjana Subotin-Golubović] Татјана СубОТИН-ГОЛУБОВИЋ. “Византијска химнографија и српска литургијска књижевност” [Byzantine hymnography and Serbian liturgical literature], *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku* 53 (1998):71–72.

²⁸⁰Bogdanović, Ibid. 108-109.

²⁸¹ The word “typikon” in the Byzantine tradition has two different meanings: a liturgical typikon and a monastic typikon. The first one (like Typikon of the Great Church) contains a list of lections for church services, arranged according to the liturgical calendar. The second is a set of rules regulating monastic life in cenobitic monasteries, as well as its liturgical services. Because there were no monastic orders in Byzantium, consequently each monastic community needed its own rules. The Euergetis typikon belonged to the second type (see John Thomas, “Documentary Evidence from the Byzantine Monastic Typika for the History of the Evergetine Reform” in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Queen’s University, 1994), 246-273. Unfortunately, St. Sava translated only the administrative part of the Euergetis *typikon*, which contains only some instructions concerning specific church rites, therefore it is not known for sure about certain service texts which were used with this typikon (about St. Sava’s translation see: [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић “Хиландарски и Евергетидски типик, подударност и разлике” [Hilandarian and Euergetis typika. Similarities and differences], *ZRVI* 33 (1994): 85-102). However, recent research of Tatjana Subotin-Golubović [Татјана СубОТИН-ГОЛУБОВИЋ], “Прилог познавању богослужења у Српској цркви крајем XIII века” [Addition to the knowledge about the Serbian church service at the end of the thirteenth century], *Hilandarski zbornik* 10 (1998): 155.) showed that service Serbian menaia of that period mostly followed the calendar of the Euergetis typikon.

²⁸² [Đorđe Sp. Radojčić] Ђорђе Сп. РадОјЧИЋ, “О првој српској црквеној песми - о Савиној служби Симеону Немањи” [About the first Serbian church poem – about Sava’s service to St. Simeon Nemanja], *Zbornik radova SANU* 17 (1952): 1-7.

²⁸³ For needs of the new cults (of St. Simeon and St. Sava) different church services were written celebrating the death and translation of relics of the new saints, in addition some new services to traditional saints (such as Sts. Cyril and Methodius and St. Paraskevi) were created in the Slavonic language, following Byzantine patterns see [Stefan Kožuharov] Стефан КОЖУХАРОВ, “Типологические параллели между византийской и славянской гимнографиями” [Typological parallels between Byzantine and Slavonic Hymnographies], in *Славянские культуры и Балканы* [Slavonic cultures and the Balkans], Vol. 1, (Sofija: BAN, 1978), 254-260.

²⁸⁴ There were two different Serbian independent translations of Jerusalem typikon: of Constantinopolitan pattern (Typikon of archbishop Nikodim, 1317-1324) and of Athonite pattern (so-called Romanov typikon, 1331-1337) see: [Lazar Mirković] Лазар МИРКОВИЋ, “Типик архиепископа Никодима”

composition of church services and canons, dedicated to St Simeon and St Sava and written by the Athonite monk Teodosije, belonged to this Athonite reform movement – although their creation might in fact pre-date the translation of the *typikon*. Teodosije's services follow the Jerusalem structure, i.e., they include small and great vespers with *paroimia*, *agrypnia* (vigils) and *orthroi* during which, in addition to a canon dedicated to the Theotokos, two canons were sung to a celebrated saint.²⁸⁵

The structure of Teodosije's services

Teodosije wrote altogether six texts dedicated to performance in church: three *akolouthia*²⁸⁶ (to St. Simeon, St. Sava and St. Peter of Koriša) and three canons²⁸⁷ (a joint canon to Christ the Saviour, St. Simeon and St. Sava,²⁸⁸ a joint canon to St. Simeon and St. Sava in eight voices,²⁸⁹ and a joint canon to St. Simeon and St. Sava in the

[Typikon of archbishop Nikodim], in *Типик архиепископа Никодима, књига друга* [Typikon of archbishop Nikodim, Vol. 2], ed. Ђ. Trifunović (Belgrade: 2007), XXXI-XXXIII. Probably some instructions from Jerusalem typikon were introduced into Serbian church rite as far back as by St. Sava himself after his pilgrimage to Holy land - see: [Pribiša Simić] Прибиша Симић, “Рад Светог Саве на осавремењивању богослужења у Српској цркви” [Work of St. Sava on modernization of church service in Serbian church], in *Sveti Sava – spomenica*, 181-205.

²⁸⁵ [Irena Špadijer] Ирена Шпадијер, “Химнографски жанр и богослужбена пракса – Теодосијеви канони светоме Симеону и светоме Сави” [Hymnographical genre and liturgy practice. Theodosije's hymns to St. Simeon and St. Sava] *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku* 63 (2003): 345.

²⁸⁶ All the divine offices of a saint or feast in the order of the day, see John Goggin, “Acolouthia,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1913), 105-106.

²⁸⁷ The canon was a special genre of Byzantine and Slavonic hymnography which came into use in the seventh century. It consists of nine odes, sometimes called songs, based on the Biblical canticle, but the final ode is taken from the Magnificat and Song of Zechariah from the New Testament. The content of each song, even in later canons, contains some allusions to the biblical model. It became customary to omit the second canon (it survived only in canons for Great Lent) based on Moses' hymn of wrath, and later canons usually have only eight odes, although the numbering from first to ninth was kept. Each ode was written in the same metre corresponding to the hirmos or first verse, which sets the pattern and for which a melody was composed. The hirmoi for canons were collected in special books called Hirmologia and writers selected hirmoi from various existing patterns, each with its own mode and tone. This chosen hirmos was indicated in the beginning of each ode by its first line. It became customary to add a verse in honour of the Theotokos at the end of each ode; later the Theotokion became an integral part of the ode and acrostic. From the eighth century onwards canons were often written in an acrostic and the first letter of each verse of odes formed a sentence, usually an iambic line, with the addition of the author's name. The earliest canon in the Greek tradition was written by St. Andrew of Crete in the seventh century (the Great Canon for Great Lent), see Henry Julius W. Tillyard, *Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (London: The Faith Press, 1923), 19-34; Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 198-228.

²⁸⁸ **Каноуѣ ѡбцы Спасоу Христоу и светому Свмешноу и Савѣ Ѧведѡсна монаха** [The joint canon to Christ the Saviour and St. Simeon and St. Sava of Teodosije, the monk] (hereafter: CSS) in [Dimitrije Bogdanović] Богдановић, Димитрије, Београдски препис Теодосијевог “канона ѡпштег Христу и Симеону и Сави” с краја 14 века” [The Belgradian copy of Teodosije's “Joint canon to Christ and Sts. Simeon and Sava” from the end of fourteenth century], *Prilozi za knjevnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 33/3-4 (1967): 238-243; and in Serbian translation, in Teodosije, 119-130.

²⁸⁹ **Канони ѡбци на осам гласов, преподѡвним и богоносним ѡцем нашим, Симеону новому мироточцу и светителю Саве чудотворцу, учителима српским. Похвала преподѡвному Симеону и благодарная песня светителю Саве, творение Теодосия инока и презвитера**

fourth voice).²⁹⁰ In all the texts, dedicated to the memory of St. Simeon and St. Sava one can find indications of their joint cult. Teodosije's two services dedicated to Sts. Simeon and Sava separately also include some poetic pieces venerating them as a pair, and his three joint canons are organized around this cult. But in comparison with charters and the *Life*, these services and canons were directly aimed at the Hilandar monastic community and were used during specific monastic rites such as vigils.

Services of Teodosije follow the Jerusalem structure with vigil,²⁹¹ which implies the largest number of *stichera* for every saint. They include a small vesper,²⁹² as well as a night service (*agrypnia*), which consists of a great vesper during which *paroimia* are read, and an *orthros* with liturgy, as will be discussed below. The distinctive feature of this type of service is the addition of two canons dedicated to the saint of the day (Simeon or Sava) to one canon dedicated to the Theotokos drawn from the *Oktoechos*, i.e., during the *orthros* three canons were performed instead of two. From the literary point of view the canons of these *akolouthiai* have a very refined organization: every first canon contains an acrostic, while the second canons are thematic, i.e. they are

манастира нарицаемаго Хиландар [The joint canon in the fourth voice]. Published in Serbian transliteration in, *Srbljak*. Vol. 1, 316-447 and in Serbian translation in Teodosije, 131-200. Further in the text SS8 with following numbers, marking a position of a canon in the sequence, an *ode* and a *troparion*. Unfortunately, during writing this work I was able just to check some phrases in “Srbljak” edition, but mainly used the Serbian translation of this canon

²⁹⁰ Канонъ общій светлымъ ктиторомъ сръбскимъ Свмемнѣ мироотцоу и светителю Савѣ чудотворцѣ, списанъ крѣ Феодосіемъ священноинокомъ. Гласъ 4. [The joint canon to saintly Serbian ktetors, Simeon myrrh-flowing and saint Sava, the miracle-maker, (re?)written by Teodosije, the hieromonk. The fourth voice] (further in the text SS4 with following numbers, marking a position of an ode and a troparion.) published in [Đorđe Sp.Radojčić] Ђорђе Сп. Радочић, “Теодосијев канон општи Симеону Немањи и Сави (гласа 4)” (Teodosije’s common hymn to Simeon Nemanja and Sava, in the four voices), *Južnoslovenski filolog* XX/1-4 (1955-1956): 142-149; in Serbian – Teodosije, 201-208.

²⁹¹ Vigils were connection between great *vespers* and *orthroi*. Byzantine authors themselves distinguished the existence of the *vigil* as a specific feature of the Jerusalem typikon, thus Nikon of Black Mountain says that in the contrast to the Jerusalem typikon in the Stoudition and Athonite rules for the performance of vigils are not provided “neither on a feast nor on Sunday” - (“Regulations of Nikon of the Black Mountain” in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders’ Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas, Hero A. Constantinides Hero [Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000]: 390). Although in later non-Jerusalem typika of the second half of the eleventh century (like the Euergetis *typikon*) night services exist, they are shaped differently compared to the case here, i.e., they do not include a *vesper* into *vigil* (thus, they do not have a small *vesper*), and called not *agrypnia* but *pannychis*, see “Typikon of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God Evergetis,” in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*: 478; for the Greek text of the Euergetis Synaxarion – [Alexei A. Dmitrievskiy] Алексей А. Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока* [Descriptions of liturgical manuscripts kept in libraries of the Orthodox Orient], vol. 1 Typika. (Kiev: Tipografiya Korchak-Novickago, 1895), 620-621.

²⁹² Small *vespers* originated in later versions of Jerusalem typika because of performances of *vigils*, joining *vespers* with *orthroi*, thus the first *vespers* was performed before the evening meal and the second one as a part of the *vigil*, see [Alexei Pentkovskiy] Алексей Пентковский “Иерусалимский типикон в Константинополе в Палеологовский период” [The Jerusalem typikon in Constantinople in Palaeologian period], *Журнал Московской Патриархии* 2003, no. 5: 81.

dedicated not to a saint generally, highlighting his specific feature (myrrh-flowing in the case of St. Simeon, miracle-working in the case of St. Sava).²⁹³ However, writing his services Teodosije certainly alluded to the first Serbian liturgical work, written by St. Sava, especially concerning the service to St. Simeon: in the second canon, he verbally quoted from Sava's work the *hirmoi* from the fourth through ninth odes.²⁹⁴

Teodosije's services also included the with a blessing of the bread were also included after the great vesper,²⁹⁵ which also marks these services as belonging to the Jerusalem type. In both services *idiomela* (самогласны) *stichera*, performed during the *litia*, contain two parts, venerating the saint of the day (Simeon or Sava) separately, followed by a veneration of both of them as a saintly pair.²⁹⁶ However, even according to the Jerusalem *typikon* the *litia* was only performed on great feast days and specially venerated saints, moreover, during *litia* the first *stichera* were dedicated to a saint or a feast of the church.²⁹⁷ Thus, one can see that in Teodosije's services St Simeon and St Sava were specifically venerated as a pair: they appeared as a kind of patron saints, although the *katholikon* of Hilandar itself was dedicated to the Presentation of the Theotokos. The same strange case of a strong connection of St Simeon and St Sava with the dedicatory day of Hilandar monastery can be observed in a late, but very significant piece of evidence – the third song of the joint canon to St. Simeon and St. Sava – the third song of the joint canon to St. Simeon and St. Sava in the fourth voice was traditionally sung in Hilandar during the liturgy of the second day of the celebration of the Theotokos' Presentation.²⁹⁸ Thus, the only possible explanation for such combination of the monastery's dedication and the saints' joint veneration is that St. Simeon and St. Sava were venerated in the monastery as a joint pair of *ktetors*, who had founded this church of the Presentation.

²⁹³ Teodosije, 54-77 (Simeon), 92-117 (Sava); about the acrostics of Teodosije, see: [Irena Špadijer] Ирена Шпадијер, "Крајегранесија Теодосија Хиландарца" (An acrostic of Teodosije of Hilandar), *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa. Beograd-Kruševac*: 2002, 149-155. About the acrostic in Byzantine and Slavonic traditions see Orthodox Encyclopedia, vol. 2, 63-65.

²⁹⁴ Commentaries of Biljana Jovanović-Stipčević in Teodosije, 289.

²⁹⁵ Teodosije, 46, 84

²⁹⁶ Teodosije, 46-48 (Simeon) and 84-85 (Sava).

²⁹⁷ About the dedication of first *litia stichera* and *litia* processions on local saints' days see: [Mihail Skaballanovich] Михаил Скабалланович *Толковый типикон* [Explanatory typikon] (Moscow: Sretensky monastery, 2004): 491-492; [Dimitry Ogickyi] Дмитрий Огицкий, "Выход на литию (из прошлого нашего богослужебного Устава)" [Procession for *litia* (from the history of our Typikon)], *Журнал Московской Патриархии* 1998, no. 8: 74.

Teodosije's canons: Usage, structure, performance

The usage of the services and canons can be judged based on some surviving markers in the texts and the context for Teodosije's writings in manuscript tradition. Concerning the services there is nothing unexpected, because all of them were parts of *menaia* collections, written either on Mount Athos or in Serbia or Bulgaria.²⁹⁹ The joint canon in eight voices survives in four manuscripts on Mount Athos. There are two collections of hymns and two manuscripts from the eighteenth century, organized as collections of church poetry of different origins, which in the Serbian tradition received the name "Srbljak".³⁰⁰ The earliest manuscript³⁰¹ is a *troparion* of *menologion* with so-called "Bogorodičnik"³⁰² dating to the fourteenth century, with additions from the sixteenth, containing Teodosije's text. The *Troparion* contains *troparia* for both St Simeon (folio 36v) and St Sava (folio 31r), which, probably, was a reason to add Teodosije's canon to this manuscript. Another "Bogorodičnik,"³⁰³ where Teodosije's canon is transmitted from folio 166r onward, is dated to the seventeenth century. In

²⁹⁸ [Đorđe Sp. Radojčić,] Ђорђе Сп. Радочић, "Теодосијев канон општи Симеону Немањи и Сави, гласа 4" [Theodosije's common hymn to Simeon Nemanja and Sava, in four voices] *Južnoslovenski filolog* 20, No. 1-4 (1955-1956): 139.

²⁹⁹ For more details see [Irena Špadijer] Ирена Шпадијер, "Трагом светогорских преписа Теодосија Хиландарца" [In the wake of athonite copies of Theodosije of Hilandar's works], *Osam vekova Hilandara*, 382; Idem, "Теодосијева служба Сави у бугарским рукописним збиркама" [Theodosije's service to St. Sava in Bulgarian collections of manuscripts] in *Bugaraska i Srbija u krugu vizantijske civilizacije. Zbornik referata sa bugarsko-srpskog simpozijuma, 14-16 septembra 2003, Sofija* [Bulgaria and Serbia in the circle of Byzantine civilization. Collection of articles from the Bulgarian-Serbian symposium, 14-16 September, 2003] (Sofia: 2005), 365-374; Idem, "Најстарији преписи Теодосијеве Службе светом Симеону Мироточивом" [The oldest copy of Theodosije's service to St. Simeon Myrrh-pouring], *Старобългарска литература* 33-34 (2006): 100-105.

³⁰⁰ This collection was published in the eighteenth century by another Athonite monk Teodosije; all the following editions of Teodosije's canons are based on this text, see [Đorđe Trifunović] Ђорђе Трифуновић, "Белешке о делима у Србљаку," [Remarks about works in "Srbljak"] in: *O Srbljaku. Studije* [About Srbljak, Studies], 286-287.

³⁰¹ [Dimitrije Bogdanović] Димитрије Богдановић, *Каталог ћириличких рукописа манастира Хиландара* [Catalogue of Cyrillic manuscripts of Hilandar] (Belgrade: SANU, 1978), 148 (no. 375).

³⁰² *Troparion* is the collection of *troparia* or church hymns to saints organized according to the liturgical calendar. "Bogorodičnik" is a collection of eight canons or eight times on seven canons which should have been sung during *compline* either every day or every Sunday for the eight weeks of the *Oktoechos*. These texts, included into the *Oktoechos*, are written by John Damascinus and dedicated to the Theotokos – for more details see: [Mihail Zheltov] Михаил Желтов, "Каноны Божией Матери в ежедневном молитвенном правиле христианина" [Canons to the Theotokos in the daily prayer rule of a Christian], in *Богородичник. Каноны Божией Матери на каждый день* [Bogorodičnik. Canon for the Theotokos for every day] (in print), see also <http://thapsinos.livejournal.com/21422.html>. [Nina B. Zahar'ina] Нина Борисовна Захарьина, "Песнопения – Осмогласники в древнерусских нотированных рукописях" (Hymns in eight voices in Old Russian notated manuscripts), in *"Источниковедческое изучение памятников письменной культуры"* ed. G. P. Enin, N. A. Efimova (St. Petersburg: Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, 1990), 3.

³⁰³ Bogdanović, *Catalogue*, 124 (no. 277).

scribe's colophon, placed on folio 199r, the manuscript is referred to as a "soul-saving prayer collection", with "canons for the saintly ktetors."³⁰⁴

Teodosije's canon in eight voices is a refined and complex work. Actually, it follows the Oktoechos' structure, i.e., it consists of eight canons of different voices, each of eight odes. The canon of the first voice has all the *hirmoi* from the canon on the Dormition, here every *troparion* (including those pertaining to the Theotokos) starts with the same word with which the *hirmos* of the ode starts (*figura etymologica*).³⁰⁵ Every next ode from the third till ninth has its own acrostic, which finally are summed up into a small poem of petition to God from author's name.³⁰⁶ Every ode here consists of four *troparia*, every first one is dedicated to the saints as a pair; the second to St Simeon; the third to St. Sava; the fourth and last to the Theotokos.

It is noteworthy that a canon of this type (in eight voices, or as a sequence of canons) is a quite unusual occurrence in Byzantine and Slavonic³⁰⁷ hymnography, because of its complicated structure. Even more rarely such works were performed. To the best of my knowledge there is only limited evidence for the performance of the entire sequence of canons, dedicated to saints,³⁰⁸ as in case of the eight-voice canon for St Demetrios of Thessaloniki, written by Symeon the Thessalonian archbishop³⁰⁹ (died in 1429), preserved (with some marginalia) in one manuscript only.³¹⁰ About another sequence of canons, written by Joseph the hymnographer³¹¹ (died in 883) to St Nicholas,

³⁰⁴ "Сни светы и доушеспасительнии молебник ... преписа и канони светым ктиторм" – Ibid.

³⁰⁵ See commentaries of Biljana Jovanović-Stipčević in Teodosije, 301. About structure of the canon see also Trifunović, Old Serbian church poetry, 49.

³⁰⁶ See: [Špadijer], Acrostic, 151-152. The acrostic was a typical usage in Byzantine and Slavonic hymnography and often contained the name of the author and his petition to God about giving inspiration. About the Byzantine acrostic see Wilhelm Weyh, "Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung," *BZ* 17 (1908): 1-69. About the slavonic tradition of the acrostic see [Georgi Popov] Георги Попов, "Новооткрити химнографски произведения на Климент Охридски и Константин Преславски" [Newly discovered hymnographical works of Kliment of Ohrid and Constantine of Preslav], *Български език* 1982/1: 1-26. Idem. "Акростих на Константин Преславски" [An Acrostic of Constantine of Preslav], *Кирило-Методиевски студии* 2 (1985): 126-128.

³⁰⁷ Another rare example of such a sequence is the *Oktoechos* of Kliment of Ohrid, which was partly translated from Greek: [Olga A. Krashennikova] Ольга Александровна Крашенинникова, *Древнеславянский Октоих св. Климента архиепископа Охридского* [Old-Slavonic Oktoechos of St. Kliment of Ohrid] (Moscow: Jazyki slavyanskikh kultur, 2006).

³⁰⁸ Here I am not going to deal with problems connected with festival canons such as the canons of John of Damascus for Eastern and Christmas. For details about the possible performance of festival canons see Christian Hannick, "Performance of the Kanon in Thessaloniki in the Fourteenth century," in *Studies in Eastern chant* ed. D. E. Conomos (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988), 137-152.

³⁰⁹ PLP, no. 27057.

³¹⁰ About Symeon's canons see Louis Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1926), 58-60; [A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus] Α. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, "Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάλεκτα," *BZ* 8 (1899): 77-78.

³¹¹ *PmBZ*, no. 3454.

all that is known is based on indirect evidence; however, since only some voices of it were preserved in collections of hymns it can be safely assumed that it was not executed in its entirety.³¹² In both cases the saints, venerated with canons, were widely known and their cults were deeply developed.³¹³ In the case of Teodosije's canon it is placed together with the canon for the Theotokos and the parallelism in the structures of both texts is obvious; the canon on the Theotokos also consists of eight voices. This parallelism may imply that Teodosije's hymn was also sung together with the canons on the Theotokos; in any case the existence of so complex a hymnographical structure allows to safely infer that the joint cult of St Simeon and St Sava had already reached a fairly developed stage.³¹⁴

Equally, the joint canon of the fourth voice is complex in structure. Here, like in case of the first canon of the canon in eight voices, *figurae etymologicae*³¹⁵ are used (i.e., all the *troparia* including *Theotokian* of every ode start with words from the same stem as the first word of the respective *hirmos*). And again, the *troparia* of the odes share the same structure with the canon in eight voices (to the pair of St Simeon and St Sava and the Theotokos). The canon survives (besides two manuscripts of "Srbljak") in three manuscripts. Psalter with ordinance of 1408,³¹⁶ which contains the canon from fol. 196v, has a manifold content: the text of the Psalter is followed by the *troparion* of *menologion* with troparia to St Simeon and St Sava (foll. 121r–178r), a *kanonikon* with *akathistoi* collection (foll. 178v–187v), including *parakletikai* of different canons to the Theotokos (foll. 187v–191v), the canon on run of soul of St Andrew of Crete (fol. 230r–236v), an *Oktoechos* (from fol. 237) and some readings. Two other manuscripts are from the sixteenth century:³¹⁷ a *kanonikon*, which also consists of different hymns and prayers and a *horologium* with *kanonikon*, where the canon is included into the *horologion* part.

³¹² About the surviving part of Joseph's canons wrote Liverij Voronov (Ливерий Ворнов, "Святитель Николай - ревнитель и защитник Православия" (Saint Nicholas – devotee and defender of Orthodoxy), *Журнал Московской Патриархии* 6 (1961): 71-72).

³¹³ In the case of Joseph's canons personal devotion also played a part because thanks to St. Nicholas Joseph was delivered from prison: Nancy Patterson-Sevčenko, "The Role of a Ninth-Century Hymnographer in Shaping the Celebration of Saints," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* ed. L. Brubaker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 105.

³¹⁴ On the literary complexity of this work see: Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865-1459* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 459-460.

³¹⁵ About *figura etymologica* in Teodosije's writings: [Trifunović], Church poetry, 49; [Špadijer], Hymnographical genre and liturgy practice, 346.

³¹⁶ Bogdanović, *Catalogue*, 76 (no. 87).

³¹⁷ Bogdanović, *Catalogue*, 143 (*Kanonikon* no. 356, from fol. 391r starts SS4); 219 (*Horologion* no. 631, fol. 36v-40v contain SS4).

The earliest copy of the joint canon of the fourth voice was considered Damian's *Oktoechos* (or *Parakletikes*³¹⁸) of the middle of fourteenth century.³¹⁹ But as I. Špadijer recently discovered, this manuscript does not contain the canon, but separate canons to the saints from Teodosije's services (the first ones from St. Simeon's and St. Sava's services).³²⁰ However, because of its early date and its content, this manuscript is still interesting for us; it consists of the entire *Oktoechos* to which some texts connected to the ktetorial practices of Hilandar were added. Thus, from fol. 229r starts a canon in four voices to the feast of the Presentation (the dedication of the Hilandar *katholikon*), foll. 234v–241r are occupied by a canon to the Theotokos (the protectress of Athos) in two voices, while the next folia are dedicated to canons from the services in honor of the ktetors (i.e., St Simeon and St Sava) before the manuscript concludes (fol. 253ff.) with *stichera* “непорочна агница” (the immaculate lamb) on the Presentation of the Theotokos.

The joint canon to Christ the Savior, St. Simeon and St. Sava survived in manuscripts from Mount Athos,³²¹ being always a part of serves celebrated in veneration of St. Simeon (Parisian cod. slav. 21, Belgradian and Pljevaljjan manuscripts)³²² or St. Sava (manuscripts from Dečani and Krk monasteries and MS Moscow, Chludov 151).³²³ each of which consist of entirely written *hirmos*, *troparion*, appealing to Christ, one or two troparia to St Simeon and St Sava, one or two penitential *troparia* and one dedicated to the Theotokos. In its content the canon represents prayers of sinners with some allusions on the Last Judgment in the two last odes.³²⁴ One of the distinctive features of the text is the usage of forms of the first person singular and plural, such as “мене” (to me), “мон” (mine), “нась” (us), “нашихъ” (us) etc., which, perhaps, indicates a rather personal attitude towards the

³¹⁸ [Olga A. Krashennikova] Ольга Александровна Крашенинникова, “Октоих и Параклит: к истории двух названий одной литургической книги” [Oktoechos and Parakletes: to history of two names of the same book], *Герменевтика древнерусской литературы*, 6, No. 2 (1993): 398-406.

³¹⁹ Bogdanović, *Catalogue*, 89-90 (no. 126).

³²⁰ [Irena Špadijer] Ирена Шпадијер, “Химнографски жанр и богослужбена пракса – Теодосијеви канони светоме Симеону и светоме Сави” [Hymnographical genre and liturgy practice. Theodosije's hymns to St. Simeon and St. Sava], *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku* 63 (2003): 349-351.

³²¹ For more details about the manuscripts see [Bogdanović], Belgradian copy, 231-237.

³²² About this group of manuscripts wrote Irena Špadijer (Ирена Шпадијер. “Најстарији преписи Теодосијеве Службе светом Симеону Мироточивом” [The oldest copy of Theodosije's service to St. Simeon Myrrh-pouring], *Старобългарска литература* 33-34 (2006): 100-105).

³²³ [Irena Špadijer], In the wake of athonite copies, 383.

³²⁴ Teodosije, 127-129.

apocalyptic theme and towards the petition about intercession from St Simeon's and St Sava's side.³²⁵

About performance of the canons one can also judge based on the *typikon*'s instructions or marginal notes surviving in the manuscripts. Thus, in a *menaion* for the month of February now in Belgrade (Archive SANU № 3) dating c.1380/90,³²⁶ the joint canon to Christ and St Simeon and St Sava is placed on foll. 60r-63v was part of the/a service to St Simeon, altogether occupying foll. 54v-75r. In the text the canon itself is marked as performed “на агрипный” (during *agrypnia*),³²⁷ which means that either during a vigil (*agrypnia*, joining vesper and *orthros*) there were four canons during the *orthros*, or that this particular canon was sung in between vesper and *orthros*.³²⁸ Although canons were typically performed as part of the *orthros*, sometimes in the Stoudite tradition³²⁹ they existed as a part of another nocturnal service (the so-called *pannychis*, where a vesper was not included). Probably, on Mount Athos a tradition of singing canons during vigil as well as during *orthros* was preserved; at least it seems to have been a common Athonite tradition judging by evidence of early eighteenth century pilgrim V.S. Grigorovich-Barskyi.³³⁰

³²⁵ About correlation of the usage the first person and personal attitude toward themes in hymnography wrote Nikolai Uspenskij (Николай Успенский, “Святой Роман сладкопевец и его кондаки” [Saint Romanos Melodus and his kontakia], *Журнал московской патриархии* 1967, No. 1: 63—68, also see http://www.krotov.info/history/06/uspen_n4.html). About the same fact in Slavonic tradition - Georgi Popov, Acrostic of Constantine of Preslav, 127.

³²⁶ [Bogdanović] Belgradian copy, 228-229.

³²⁷ CSS, 238. In the same way the canon was sung also in St. Sava's service - [Špadijer], In the wake of athonite copies, 383.

³²⁸ Such cases are described in connection with the Athonite tradition by Nikolai Uspensky for padding of time during vigils (Николай Дмитриевич Успенский, *Чин всеобщего бдения на православном Востоке и в Русской Церкви* [Rite of agrypnia on Orthodox Orient and in Russian Church] (Moscow: Liturgicheskaya Biblioteka, 2004), 365 - http://www.seminaria.ru/divworks/pdf/uspensky/vsen/uspen_vsen05.pdf).

³²⁹ The usage of the canon during the night services can be found in both *typika*, composed by St. Sava. In the Hilandarian *typikon* discussing possible solutions for performance of *pannychis* and commemorations for dead monks – “да уставляють се утьлоучени канони панахыдахъ дневны да не боудеть то повелѣваемы іако іаще кін уть братик да ндетъ и да поють за мрътвыхъ изволите. а прочіи да поють въ параклитницѣ въ законѣноу панахидоу” [so, canons during pannychis of a day are disregarded .. to avoid this, we order: if some of the brothers is going to sing for the dead, they are permitted; but the rest of the brothers should sing a pannychis, prescribed in Parakletikes], – Sava, 106. In the Kareya *typikon* Sava prescribed only Saturday night vigil – “Τὸ σαββάτῳ ἑσπέρας νὰ γίνεταὶ ἀγρυπνία μετὰ τὸν εὐλογητὸν τὸ τρισάγιον καὶ ὁ πεντηκοστός, ἔπειτα ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀγρυπνίας” [On Saturday evening the office of the vigil should be held with the opening *antiphon*, the *trisagion*, and the fiftieth psalm, followed by the canon of the vigil] - Philipp Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), 186. Translation - *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 1335. Similarly in the the Synaxarium of Euergetis monastery (Dmitrievskiy, Descriptions of liturgical manuscripts, 263, 320, 263, 320, 364, 382, 404, 446, 480, 487, 496, 541, 585, 607-608, 624) some feasts are celebrated with vigils with canons.

³³⁰ “Каноны нигдеже вне чтут, но всегда поют, и на утрени и на повечернице” [But canons are never read, but always sung during an *orthros* as well as *complin*] – [Vasiliy G. Grigorovich-Barskyi] Василий

As it can be concluded from the analysis of the context for Teodosije's hymns, they either became part of private monastic reading (*kanonika, horologion*),³³¹ or, more interesting in the present context, were transmitted jointly with/alongside hymns to the Theotokos or with services to the saints. In the latter case these joint canons are included in a kind of hymnographical ktetorial program (in the case of manuscript no. 277 from Hilandar the joint canon called "Canon for the saintly ktetors") together with liturgical poems to the Protectress of the Holy Mountain (as, for example, in the case of obvious structural parallelism of Bogorodičniks of eight canons and eight-voice canons). Probably, this joining of St Simeon's and St Sava's cult and veneration of the Theotokos was a result of glorifying them, again, not as dynastic saints, but as Athonite monks, who founded the monastery dedicated to the Virgin. Moreover there are two pieces of evidence for the inseparability of the saints' cult already just in exploration of the manuscripts. First of all, a number of manuscripts with separate service either to St. Simeon or to St. Sava include the joint canon to Christ Saviour and both saints. Secondly, at that time the tradition of certain texts dedicated to both saints (Damian's *Oktoechos*) already originated.³³² Finally existence of such a complex form as the canon in eight voices (sequence of canons) indicates an already developed stage of the cult.

Another possible testimony about joint canons can be deduced from inscription of 1353 in Romanov Typikon,³³³ where an author complains about non-proper execution of ktetor's memories. Just after introduction of the *typikon*, where St. Simeon and St. Sava are called "ktetors of this holy monastery" (which proves the idea of St. Simeon and St Sava's veneration as founders, although from a later date), he describes a proper litia with "singing vesper in wheat" (blessing of breads), which usually prescribed by the typikon on days of ktetor's memories. But, he continues, some brothers, even "before us", didn't perform it properly, which he discussed with a

Григорьевич Григорович-Барский, *Первое посещение Святой Афонской Горы* [The first visit to the Holy Mountain] (Saint-Petersburg: 1884), 89.

³³¹ About private monastic readings wrote Margaret Mullett ("Typika and Other Texts," in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries* ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: BBT, 2007), 195-199) and Judith Waring ("Literacies of Lists: Reading Byzantine Monastic Inventories," in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* ed. C. Holmes and J. Waring (Boston: Brill, 2002), 165-186.

³³² Later this tradition will be independently developed in the specific group of manuscripts, published by Stefan Kožuharov (Стефан Кожухаров, "Един рядък случай на химнографска компилация в неизвестен параклис за Симеон Неман и Сава Србски" [One rare case of hymnographical compilation in unknown paraklis to Simeon Nemanja and Sava Serbian], *Zbornik istorije književnosti* 10 (1976): 41-51) and discussed by Irena Špadijer (In the wake of athonite copies, 384).

³³³ [Lazar Mirković] Лазар Мирковић, "Романов типик" [Romanov typikon], *Zbornik Matice Srpske za društvene nauke* 13-14 (1956): 53-54, the whole text cited in Serbian translation in Trifunović, Old

hegoumenos and “than some people insisted and told to sing for all (ktetors) together.” Probably, this idea to sing for ktetors together, i.e. to join celebration of their memories into one service, somehow implies performance of these joint canons, which was the only possible device to unify the memories of two ktetors in one day. Because the author refers to an earlier tradition (“before us”), one can assume, that Teodosije’s hymns were aimed for new tradition of unification of the saints or at least were adapted to it.

Certainly in relation to the author of the inscription Teodosije represented an earlier tradition. On the other side Teodosije’s following the services of the Jerusalem structure gives a good indication as to their dating. Although the first entire translation of the Jerusalem *typikon* into Slavonic was made only in 1317 to 1324 (see above), it can be assumed that some regulations came to Hilandar already in the beginning of the century after Nikodim’s first visit to Constantinople in 1314.³³⁴ Probably, the adaptation of this *typikon* in Hilandar could have started even earlier with translations of different Greek texts.³³⁵

Concerning the auditorium of the texts one can judge on references to church community, performing the services, which are preserved in these liturgical poems themselves: “those races of pious ones, and especially rightful flocks of hermits, whom you beautifully had gathered in churches, in which your memory is being venerated by them, let be saved from any misfortune by your prayers, Simeon and Sava”³³⁶. Because, mainly the text refer to Hilandarian monastic community, it may be concluded, that these texts are aimed on performance there. Multiple direct references to Mount Athos show it as a place of Simeon’s and Sava’s spiritual reunion, their monastic exploits³³⁷

serbian Church, 16-17. Because here the inscription is given in translation into Serbian, I am not going to quote this text.

³³⁴ In colophon to his *typikon* Nikodim writes: “**у**бою братоу и свор сръпскыи землѣ посланъ выиу въ нови Римъ, в царьски градъ, тогда царствоу правоврноу цароу къръ Андрейоникоу Доуцѣ Ангелоу Комнѣноу Палешлогоу и сыноу кгоу цароу къръ Мнханоу и вьноукоу кго цароу къръ Андрейоникоу правештоу же прстоуль всьленескын патриахоу царя града къръ Нифоноу, тьгда же тоу соуштоу и патриаху светаго града Иеросалима ... и оуставъ троудолубьзнын тѣхъ моужи дръжештихъ типикъ по обычаю светаго града Юросалима по оуставоу светаго Сави поустынежителя прикъмъ же” ([Stojanović], *Zapisi*, no. 52, 22-24). Sotirios Kisas dated this visit see with 1311 - the beginning of 1312 (Сотириос К. Кисас, “Данило II и Солунска околина” (Danilo II and Thessaloniki region), in *Archbishop Danilo*, 37). Another dating (1313-1314) is supposed by Mirjana Živojinović, *History of Hilandar*, I, 132).

³³⁵ [Dimitrije Bogdanović,] Димитрије Богдановић, “Предговор” [Preface], in Теодосије, *Житие светог Сави* [Teodosije, Life of St. Sava] (Belgrade: 1984), XXII-XXXVI.

³³⁶ Simeon’s service, Slavoslovie - Teodosije, 76; similarly – SS8, 1,8,1; 6,5,1; 8,8,4.

³³⁷ Simeon’s service, the first canon - Teodosije, 61; similarly – SS4, 6,1.

and gathering the monastic flock (“in your fence your children are gathered”³³⁸), Simeon’s myrrh-flowing and the place of their continuous veneration (“You built a church to the Parent of One of Trinity, ... where we, your people glorify Christ, venerating your memory”³³⁹ or “Save... your encomiasts in your church”³⁴⁰). In the canon on eight voices these references to Hilandar very often are encountered in the *Theotokia*, obviously, because of dedication of the monastery to the Virgin: “Keep from enemies’ attacks, o, Empress, the monastery, which Simeon and Sava, your servants, built and dedicated to *You*.”³⁴¹ Comparing miracle power of St. Simeon’s relics with wrath of God, who punished defilers of the Tabernacle, Teodosije asks St. Simeon “to make the same for your flock with defilers of the church of shrine of *your* relics” and St. Sava “not to leave your flock for plundering.”³⁴²

The main motives and themes in the canons

To understand the functions of the joint cult in Athonite monastic community one needs to have a closer look at the texts, dedicated to the saints, themselves.³⁴³ It is possible that the main motives of Teodosije’s hymns are represented to some extent with *topoi*, common phrases, migrating from one liturgical poem to another, and borrowed from Byzantine literature.³⁴⁴ But the way how the author uses them, however, is individual in a large measure and depends on his goals and conditions of liturgical usage.

One of the most important functions of these saints is their teaching,³⁴⁵ even in the title of the Canon in eight voices they are called “teachers.”³⁴⁶ This function implies

³³⁸ SS8, 6,3,1

³³⁹ Simeon’s service, the first canon - Teodosije, 62.

³⁴⁰ SS8, 3,5,3

³⁴¹ SS8, 2,4,4; similarly – SS8 4,3,4; 7,3,4; 8,6,4; 8,7,4; 8,8,4

³⁴² SS4, 9, 2/3, similarly – SS8, 2,4,4

³⁴³ Although some *topoi* and motives were already described by Đ. Trifunović (Old serbian Church poetry, 24-80) and I. Brajović (Stylistic unity), I think, that they didn’t receive necessary analysis, especially concerning the joint cult. The main goal of Trifunović’s work was to define main motives, characterizing generally Serbian church poetry, but in my case, I’d like to emphasize specific motives for the joint cult.

³⁴⁴ About *topoi* in Byzantine literature and rhetoric see Margaret Mullett “Rhetoric, theory and the imperative of performance: Byzantium and now,” in *Rhetoric in Byzantium* ed. E. Jeffreys (Aldershoot: Ashgate, 2003), 155-159.

³⁴⁵ SS8 1,4,1; 1,6,3; 1,9,3; 3,8,1; 4,1,1; 4,3,1; 5,4,1; 6,9,1; 7,4,1 etc.

³⁴⁶ Typically, in Slavonic tradition by this epithet were called Cyril and Methodius (see: [Malyshevskij] Малышевский “*Святые Кирилл и Мефодий первоучители славянские*” (Saint Cyril and Methodius, first teachers of the Slavs) (Kiev: 1886), 88-90), because of their missionary activity (see: Joseph Schütz “*Die Lehrer der Slawen Kyrill und Method: Die Lebensbeschreibungen zweier Missionare*” (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1985). However, in Serbian tradition Sts. Simeon and Sava also received it in connection with their church status. Thus, bishop Grigorije the second in his inscription in copy of Sava’s Nomokanon called

instruction of the “faithful in virtue”³⁴⁷ as well as fighting against heresies.³⁴⁸ Spiritual guidance³⁴⁹ is another frequent motive in veneration of the holy pair. They “having settled in the shelter of silence, Mount Athos, ... showed a way to salvation for many people.”³⁵⁰ Sava was “a pillar of faith” and “example,” who “sacrificed himself” with long life in a desert,³⁵¹ while Simeon plays a role of a guide on the way of virtue in labour and feat.³⁵² Both saints are also glorified as a “foundation for church”, given by Christ, and “mentors in faith,” they instructed “us (monks) in the way of salvation and edified in the faith.”³⁵³

Probably, the most frequent metaphor for both saints is shepherds. Concerning the flock Teodosije implies, depending on a context, either a monastic community (for example, the verse “Theotokos, in your name Simeon and Sava gathered the flock of your Son”³⁵⁴ refers to the community of Hilandar, dedicated to the Virgin), or the Christian community of Serbia³⁵⁵ (“O, Simeon, God-bearer, o, Saint Sava, Serbian praise and adornment, shepherds and teachers,”)³⁵⁶ however, sometime this difference is not so obvious, probably, on the author’s intention. Sava is considered as a “shepherd”, who “having gathered many those, who wanted to be saved, took them to Christ,”³⁵⁷ Simeon alone plays a role of “intercessor for his flock,” and they both are praised as a way of salvation for “flock of pious people.”³⁵⁸

One of the most general topoi in hymnography is intercession³⁵⁹ for those, who “are glorifying memory”³⁶⁰ of the saints also received its place in Teodosije’s writings:

“teachers” any high church dignity (“оУЧИТЕЛЬСКИИ САНЬ ПРѢДРЪЖЕ ВСАКЪ ОУБО ОУЧИТЕЛЬ, РЕКОУЖЕ КЪПИСКОПЪ ИЛИ ПРЕСВУТЕРЪ ИЛИ НИИ КТО”) – [Stojanović], *Zapisi*, 17. About comparison between St. Sava and Cyril and Methodius see [Vojislav Đurić] Војислав Ђурић, “Свети Сава Српски — нови Игњатије Богоносац и други Кирилл,” (Saint Sava Serbian – the new Ignatius the God-bearer and the second Cyril) ZLU, 15 (1979), 98-100.

³⁴⁷ SS8,1,1,1,

³⁴⁸ Simeon’s service, the first canon - Teodosije, 64. Similarly – SS8, 1,3,3; 5,1,3; 6,3,3;

³⁴⁹ About spiritual guidance for entire Serbian church poetry see Trifunović, Old serbian Church poetry, 70-71.

³⁵⁰ SS8, 6,5,1;

³⁵¹ SS8, 3,9,3; 6,7,3; 7,4,3; 8,8,1.

³⁵² SS8, 1,1,2

³⁵³ SS8, 3,1,1; 2,4,3; similarly – 5,1,1; 5,6,1; 5,7,1; 7,1,3; 7,4,1; 8,3,1 etc.

³⁵⁴ SS8, 1,1,4

³⁵⁵ Surely, this cult had in Hilandar community certain national features. Hilandar itself often was called “monastery of the Serbs” – for example in chrysobullon of Michael VIII Palaeologos (*Actes de Chilandar I*, no. 10; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2031) chrysobullon of Michael IX (*Actes de Chilandar I*, no. 20; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2617) etc.

³⁵⁶ Service to St. Simeon, Glory, 3rd voice

³⁵⁷ SS8, 3,4,3, similarly – SS8, 3,2,2; 3,8,1; 5,4,3; 5,6,3; 6,4,1 etc.

³⁵⁸ SS8, 8,4,1; 4,3,1

³⁵⁹ Trifunović, Old Serbian Church poetry, 26

³⁶⁰ Service to S. Simeon, 42, 43

“O, fathers and good shepherds, blessed Simeon and saint Sava, when you are now standing by Trinity, pray for our souls to be redeemed.”³⁶¹ Ministering of saints’ memory in the hymns, which were performed by the monastic community, was a condition of future salvation: “Let sins to be forgiven to those, who are venerating your memory with love.”³⁶² However, in canons of Teodosije this mediating function to Christ for a monastic community or for the believers is juxtaposed with their function as defenders from real earthly enemies. In this way they save life and souls of believers, being for them at the same time a “cover”³⁶³ from “attacking solders”³⁶⁴ and from “demons”³⁶⁵ and defenders to God.

Thus, the main theme of the Joint canon of fourth voice is a petition about help and defense in fighting with external hostiles and internal sins – “visible and invisible enemies.”³⁶⁶ Teodosije asks to “defend the flock from captivity and exasperation”, to “save from violence of hostiles and attack of enemies.”³⁶⁷ The same appeal for help is addressed to Theotokos and Christ – “cover with divine mantle... your slaves” and “save from hands of those, who insult us.”³⁶⁸ Here the author directly ask for salvation of Hilandarian community and the monastery itself, where the saints performed their monastic labours (“and here you acted as a hermit”³⁶⁹). Moreover, the *kondakion*, which usually expresses historical or dogmatic meaning of a celebrated feast,³⁷⁰ the saints are glorified as “invincible advocates in battles” miracle-workers, who defend “their own people”.

Here the motives of defense from earthly dangers are juxtaposed with salvation from spiritual dangers, and again Sts. Simeon and St. Sava are asked to intercede to God for “those, who are venerating you.”³⁷¹ Probably, this spiritual intercession was

³⁶¹ Service to St. Simeon, - Teodosije, 48, 61.

³⁶² Service to St. Simeon, - Teodosije, 56.

³⁶³ SS8, 3,6,1

³⁶⁴ SS8, 1,7,1; 2,3,2; 3,4,1; 4,4,1; 5,1,1; 5,4,1; 6,3,2; 6,7,1; 7,6,3; 8,9,2.

³⁶⁵ SS8, 1,7,2; 2,9,2; 3,2,2; 4,3,2; 5,1,1; 5,1,2; 5,9,3 etc.

³⁶⁶ SS4, 5,4; similarly – SS4, 6,2; 8,2

³⁶⁷ SS4, 1,2/3; similarly – SS4, 3,3; 4,3; 6,2;

³⁶⁸ SS4 3,1; 4,4; similarly – 5,1; 5,4;

³⁶⁹ SS4, 6,1.

³⁷⁰ [Natalia V. Ramazanova] Наталия Васильевна Рамазанова, “Кондак в древнерусской рукописной традиции XI-XVII вв.” [Kontakion in Old Russian manuscript tradition of eleventh-seventeenth centuries], in *Источниковедческое изучение памятников письменной культуры* ed. G. P. Enin, N. A. Efimova (St. Petersburg: Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, 1990), 14.

³⁷¹ SS4: 3,3; 4,1; 4,2, and the entire seventh ode.

important also as earthly defense, because the attacks of enemies were considered as God's punishment for sins.³⁷²

The third troparion of the seventh ode gives a clear reference to conditions of performance of this canon and answered the question who are these people, whom St. Simeon and Sava are defending: "O Sava, ... you built a monastery to the Most-Pure Mother and led here many people, who will be saved and now beg Christ to keep it non-demolished for ever."³⁷³ Consequently it is obvious, that the canon was aimed to performance in Hilandarian community and written for asking the saint patrons of the monastery to defend it. Moreover, the situation, described in the canon (defense of the monastery from besieging enemies), perhaps, reflects the real historical situation – attacks of the Catalans of 1307-1310 years.³⁷⁴

Simeon is asked to defend his "property" from "depredation,"³⁷⁵ which, probably, refers to Hilandar monastery itself, built by the saint. Similarly, appeals to Theotokos to defend the monastery "non-demolished" appeared in the canon on eight voices.³⁷⁶ Thus, it affords ground for dating the canon to Christ and the saints with the period of 1307-1310 and to suppose, that the canon in eight voices is later work, because here this motive also exists, although it doesn't predominate. This situation can be explained, if one assumes, that to write so impressive work as consequence of canons, Teodosije collected motives from his previous works.

Oppositely with the canon of the fourth voice, the canon to Christ, Simeon and Sava mainly dedicated to intercession for souls of prayers – "Standing by the Lord Christ with other blessed, pray Him ... to disdain our sins and to lead us to penitence."³⁷⁷ The last odes of the canon even contain some apocalyptical motives. The seventh ode refers to the beginning of St. John's vision (Apoc. 4:4-6; 5:1-2): "When the

³⁷² Similarly in works of Byzantine authors all the misfortunes and invasions were regarded as punishment for sins of an emperor and the nation, it concerns Arab conquest of seventh century (Walter Emil Kaegi "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38/2 (1969): 139-149), barbarian invasions of eleventh and twelfth centuries ("*Michaelis Attaliothae Historia*", ed. I. Bekker. CSHB (Bonn: Weber, 1853), 96-97; Paul Magdalino "*Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine Kaiserkritik*," *Speculum* 58, No. 2 (1983): 331-332) and the fall of Constantinople of 1453 (Georgios Sphrantzes chapter 23, 5 – TLG 3143.001 according to "*Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401-1477*" ed. V. Grecu, (Bucharest: Academia Republicae Romanicae, 1966); Steven Runciman, "*The fall of Constantinople, 1453*" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 19-20).

³⁷³ SS4, 7,3.

³⁷⁴ Here in my point of view I come over to opinion of Đ. Sp. Radojčić ([Radojčić] Theodosije's common hymn, 140) about dating this work with period of the Catalan sieges, although it also was considered just as poetical topoi - Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters*, 376-377.

³⁷⁵ SS4, 3,2.

³⁷⁶ SS8, 2,4,4; 7,3,4.

³⁷⁷ SSC, 6,3; similarly – 1,4; 3, 3/4; 4, 4/5; 7,3.

thrones will be set and the books of deeds will be opened.”³⁷⁸ The eighth ode alludes onto Apoc. 19:11-16 and 14:14-19: “Sword, shining from Heavens, drunk with blood, and a flying sickle, which was seen by a prophet, and you wrath onto sinners, o, Lord, ... turn from us,”³⁷⁹ while the last ninth ode without any textual reference to the Book of Revelation depicts image of the Last Judgment: “Heavens with angels are terrified, earth with peoples shakes, resents, the Hell will be smashed, all the creature with fear are being transformed.”³⁸⁰ Probably, these somber moods and appeals for intercession for sinners were caused by some historical events, on which in one place the text alludes. Thus, the third *hirmos* of the sixth ode contains prayer for “our lord” or according to some copies – “czar,”³⁸¹ asking God to “maintain him in Orthodoxy,” which can refer to events of 1306-1308, when king Milutin was in negotiations about accepting the Catholicism. It is well known, that monasteries of Athos were in a strong opposition with the Catholic Church,³⁸² apparently, the same reaction on Milutin’s actions can be expected and from Hilandarian milieu. Consequently, this allusion gives us a ground for dating the text.

Venerating St. Simeon and St. Sava as a monastic pair, Teodosije insists not on familiar, but on spiritual kinship of the two saints. Thus, one of the most frequent motives is their refusal from relations with family for achieving the perfect monastic life – “dissolution of blood love.” In this way Sava is depicted as “extinguishing fire of parental love, escaping from the world and the world-holder, ... flourishing like a tree near spiritual springs.”³⁸³ In his turn, Simeon “abandoned the fatherland” and “being

³⁷⁸ SSC, 7, 4.

³⁷⁹ SSC, 8,5.

³⁸⁰ SSC, 9,5.

³⁸¹ SSC – in edition of D. Bogdanović, (Belgradian copy), 241 – here in apparatus criticus are given both versions – “господина” and “цара”. Using the word “czar” in application to Milutin, who was just a king occurs sometimes in works of this period. Being under influence of Byzantine tradition, archbishop Danilo and his continuator in some places added to Milutin’s actions an epithet “czarski” (from “czar”) or comparing him with czar – Danilo, 96, 108, 142-144, 155, 329. About Byzantine influence of court terminology of Milutin’s time - [Božidar Ferjančić] Божидар Ферјанчић, “Архиепископ Данило II и Византија” (Archbishop Danilo II and Byzantium), in *Archbishop Danilo*, 14-15.

³⁸² Position of Mont Athos toward the Union with Catholicism can be developed from their answer (so-called *ἐπιστολὴ ὁμολογητικὴ* – confessional letter) on the prosthagma of Michael VIII Palaeologos (Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1999), where Athonite monks told about mistakes and misinterpretations of the Roman church (azymes, filioque, liturgy, oikonomia and Petrine theory). In the end of the letter they called the emperor “βασιλεὺς ἁγίε καὶ θεόδομητε αὐτοκράτωρ” and advice to avoid an influence of the false doctrine. The council of Lyon of 1274 led to conflicts on the Holy Mont between the Orthodox and Uniates monks, which were resulted openly a bloodshed in Zograph monastery when 26 monks died. During this conflict many monasteries were demolished and monk abandoned them. – see: [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић, “Света гора и Лионска унија” [The Holy Mont and the Lyon Union], *ZRVI* 18 (1978): 141–153;

³⁸³ SS8, 1, 8, 3. Similarly – SS8, 1,8,3; 2,3,3; 2,7,3; 3,6,2; 6,4,1; 7,9,1.

called by God” as a “new Abraham” came to an alien land.³⁸⁴ Moreover, the motive of alienation and coming into strange lands becomes a condition of leading spiritual life and refusal from the previous status and family bounds.³⁸⁵ To built a monastic community, Simeon “for *our* benefit... alienated from *your* family and children.”³⁸⁶ Sava “rejected his carnal parents.”³⁸⁷ This alienation from fatherland and family is contrasted with new citizenship in heavenly realm, which was achieved by following to Christ, i.e. through monastic life: “Abandoning all earthly things, you followed King of all, and because of it you are now citizens of Heavenly Jerusalem.”³⁸⁸

Another motive, reflecting the stopping of familiar bounds is inverting of natural order of father-son relations, when Simeon, who was Sava’s father became his spiritual son: “The laws of Nature are inverted ... because the father in flesh and in gray-hairs of wisdom, you was a disciple of you son in the spirit of meekness.”³⁸⁹ This discipleship is essential part of monastic life,³⁹⁰ connected with the vow of obedience, which in case of Sts. Simeon and Sava change natural order in family (father-son) on natural order in monastic community (practiced monk – new monk): “In senility you, Simeon, are obedient to your son in hermitage,” Simeon came to the monastery, “having a son as a guide in spiritual exploits,” While Sava “born spiritually that one, who had born *you* physically.”³⁹¹

It is noteworthy that in the canons Teodosije uses vegetative metaphors, which usually refers to dynastical and family relations in Serbian hagiography and diplomatics,³⁹² in a different way. Here all the vegetative metaphors (root, fruit, tree, offshoot, vine) are connected with the theme of faith, which brings spiritual fruits.

³⁸⁴ SS8 - 1,6,2; 3,1,2;

³⁸⁵ Some similar motives can be found also in Slavonic services, dedicated to Sts. Cyrill and Methodius, which, probably, had some impact on Teodosije ((Emile Tachiaos, “L’origine de Cyrille et de Méthode. Vérité et légende dans les sources slaves,” *Cyrillomethodianum* 2 (1972-1973): 120-121). However this hypothesis needs some further research.

³⁸⁶ Service to St. Simeon, - Teodosije, 44.

³⁸⁷ SS4, 1,3; similarly - SS8, 4,9,3.

³⁸⁸ SS4, 8,4; similarly – SS8, 4,3,4. etc.

³⁸⁹ SS8, 1,9, 2; similarly – SS8, 2,5,3; 5,7,2; 7,3,3; etc.

³⁹⁰ About connection of discipleship and obedience vow in monastic community see: The encyclopedia of religion, vol. 10 ed. M. Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 37. Jennifer L. Hevelone-Harper, *Disciples of the desert. Monks, laity and spiritual authority in Sixth-century Gaza* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 55.

³⁹¹ St. Simeon’s service - Teodosije, 45, 61, 77. Similarly – SS8, 7,9,1; 8,6,1; 8,6,3.

³⁹² For example: in the charter of king Milutin for the cell in Kareya ([Vladimir Mošin], ed. Владимир Мошин “Акти братског сабора из Хиландара” [Acts of brother’s council in Hilandar], *Godinjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta* 4 (1939/1940): 182) or in Domentian’s writings („god-fearing offshoot of your loins“ – Life of St. Sava, 42).

Thus, Sava “planted a vine of faith” and “enrooted a tree of life in heart of believers.”³⁹³ And even Teodosije uses a comparison Simeon/Sava – Root/offspring, he adds, that the offspring gives “fruits of God”³⁹⁴

Refusal by the saints of their royal dignity is compared with their perfect monastic life. To emphasize this opposition Teodosije uses metaphore of dream/reality, where “worldly power and worldly beauty” appear as “deceptive dreams”, which should be “abandoned” to become a saint.³⁹⁵ Although, in this case, only Simeon was vested with a real authority, the motive of abandoning royal dignity was applied to both protagonists: “Simeon and Sava, possessing the earthly kingdom, abandoned it, following *Your Son, Christ*.”³⁹⁶

The perfection of monastic life, according to Teodosije, implies two main aspects – imitation of Christ and humility. *Imitatio Christi*³⁹⁷ was a common place in medieval literature and culture,³⁹⁸ but the ways of execution of this imitation were different.³⁹⁹ Teodosije represented following to Christ as leaving a royal dignity for monastic life. Thus, Simeon “abandoning earthly rule,... followed his Lord,” the same motive also is related with Sava,⁴⁰⁰ but in his case it does not predominate. Theme of humility and connected with it motive of tears and self-exhaustion by fasting, prayers and labours more often correlates with image of St. Simeon, whose self-humiliation in “angelic image” is set against his royal dignity before taking vows. For more impressive description of Simeon’s hermit achievements Teodosije uses a paradox, comparing his old age and youngling fervidity in monastic life.⁴⁰¹ The dept of St. Simeon’s humility is proved by comparison him St. Anthony and emphasizing his old age.⁴⁰²

Multiple images of light⁴⁰³ and, consequently, enlightenment are placed in the text. This playing with meanings (light/enlightment), probably, was inherited from the

³⁹³ SS8 2,8,3; 4,1,3; Similarly – 4,1,3; 6,6,1; 6,9,1.

³⁹⁴ SS8 7,7,3; similarly – SS8, 5,8,1; 3,9,1; 2,8,2.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 52, 66.

³⁹⁶ SS8 – 4,3,4; similarly – SS8, 3,6,2; 4,3,4; 4,4,2; 4,9,3; 5,8,3; 8,5,1 etc.

³⁹⁷ About expression “Follow Christ” as a topos – Trifunović, Old serbian Church poetry, 24.

³⁹⁸ Irénée Hausherr “L’imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine” in Idem. *Études de spiritualité orientale*, 217-242.

³⁹⁹ About Christ ideal and kingship see: [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić], Royal ideology of the Nemanides, 247-264.

⁴⁰⁰ For Simeon - SS4, 4,2; for Sava - for example, SSC 4,3.

⁴⁰¹ Service to St. Simeon - Teodosije, 44, 60.

⁴⁰² SS8, 5,3,2; 6,8,2 – tears; SS8, 6,7,2 - paradox; SS8 8,7,2 – St. Anthony; SS8 8,5,2 – angelic monk; similarly – SS8 2,6,1; 3, 8,2; 4,8,2; 4,8,3; 6,4,1 etc.

⁴⁰³ SS8, 2,1,1; 2,1,2; 2,5,1; 2,6,1; 3,8, 3; 4,5,1; 5,4,1; 5,7,1; 6,7,1 etc. As light metaphors as topoi of sanctity - Trifunović Old serbian Church poetry, 72.

Hesychasm.⁴⁰⁴ Teodosije calls his protagonists “suns,” “stars,” “lamps.” Simeon was “enlightened” by “speeches” of his son.⁴⁰⁵ Enlightenment represents a metaphor for preaching activity of St. Sava (“by preaching of word, miraculous shining, you have enlightened your people”) or for fighting with heresies (“You more brightly, than sun, enlightened country of your people, initially darken with darkness of heresies”).⁴⁰⁶ Sts. Simeon and Sava also were enlightened by a divine light, which permitted them to lead their people to God.⁴⁰⁷

There are some motives, which are characteristic for St. Simeon and Sava separately. Simeon is venerated as almsgiver, who “bought eternal things for earthly ones” and “lend to God,” dealing alms among the poor. The relations between the almsgiver and the almsman rest on biblical phrase of Solomon “He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again” (Proverbs, 19:17): an almsgiving was considered as paying to God and gaining of spiritual riches and salvation.⁴⁰⁸

The main characteristic of St. Sava is his preaching activity, which was compared with prophetic gift, accepted from the Holy Spirit.⁴⁰⁹ At the same time, the impact of his sermons made people to follow him and Sava “led them to God”, that’s why he was compared with a “good helmsman” and a “divine trumpet”⁴¹⁰

The main difference between the two saints is their ecclesiastical status: while St. Simeon was a great-schema monk, i.e. belonged to the regular clergy, St. Sava achieved an archbishop position, i.e. belonged to the secular clergy and priesthood. Therefore they are sometimes juxtaposed as ideal images of monkhood and priesthood: “a great hermit... who showed profundity of humility and Sava, a church hierarch, who led people to God... from an abyss of sins.”⁴¹¹ Sava is depicted as a head of church “adorned with robe of priesthood” (SS8,1,1,3), while St. Simeon, as “a model for monks” (SS8, 5,5,1). Particularly this technique of juxtaposing of the two saints was

⁴⁰⁴ About connection, of Hesychast ideas with metaphors of light – see: Dirk Krausmüller, “The Rise of Hesychasm” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 5: Eastern Christianity*. Ed. M. Angold. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 101-126, esp. 123 D. Kenanov considers these motives as borrowed from Bulgaran literature tradition of Kliment of Ohrid ([Kenanov], Slavonic Metaphrastics, 41).

⁴⁰⁵ SS8, 8,8,3

⁴⁰⁶ Service to St. Simeon - Teodosije, 61-65, heresies - SSC, 3,4.

⁴⁰⁷ SS8, 4,5,1.

⁴⁰⁸ Alice Mary Talbot, “The Devotional Life of Laywomen,” in *Byzantine Christianity* vol.3 ed. D. Krueger (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 214-215.

⁴⁰⁹ SS8, 1,4,3; 1,7,3; 3,3; 4, 5,3.

⁴¹⁰ SS8, 6,7,1; 8,3,1; 8,9,3.

comfortable for the canon on eight voices, which structure (troparion, dedicated to both saints together, - troparion of Simeon – troparion of Sava – Theotokian) disposes to such a comparison: Simeon, “adorned with humility”, “showed a way” for “monk”, while Sava, “adorned with dress of priesthood”, confirmed a “church” with “teaching.”⁴¹²

Simeon and Sava also represent two types of miracle-workers: myrrh-flowing and miracle maker. Myrrh-flowing is often describes as a prize for good monastic life of the former ruler and at the same time as weapon against demons, and as miracle, “releasing from misfortunes.”⁴¹³ It is also a sign of “divine grace”, which witnesses about existence of Heavenly kingdom.⁴¹⁴ Miracles of Sava are considered as evidence of his spiritual strength, which give him ability to protect his venerated.⁴¹⁵

However, by these differences the saints are not separated, but juxtaposed; they together represent specific types of sanctity, which augment each other. In the same way, as a bishop and a monk, St. Simeon and Sava are depicted on icons of an Atonite tradition, which belong to the same monastic imaginary, that the canons. The unification of the saints is made with aid of joint metaphors and images, like “angels” or “fathers” and using the dualist grammatical forms. This unification received additional meanings, when the unifying expression “**Двонца**” (pair/twain) is placed in nearby of the word “**Троица**” (Trinity).⁴¹⁶ In this way the saints were compared in their sticking together with the most perfect kind of unity, God Himself.

Consequently the motives and *topoi*, which Teodosije uses in the canons, characterize Simeon and Sava as a monastic pair, whose unity is established on their spiritual relations and opposed to their blood ties, this opposition is made with aid of the paradoxical inverting of the natural order father-son. Thus, the saints represent two ecclesiastic statuses (the monk and the priest), the almsgiver and the preacher, the saint flowing myrrh and the miracle-maker, but at the same time they are consolidated as teachers, spiritual guides, shepherds, intercessors, defenders from internal and external enemies and enlighteners. To show the perfection of their unity, Teodosije compares “pair” of St. Simeon and St. Sava with Divine Trinity. Here we can also explain the

⁴¹¹ SS8, 2,6,1.

⁴¹² SS8, 1, 2/3.

⁴¹³ Teodosije, 44, 50. SS4, 5,2.

⁴¹⁴ SS8, 4,5,2; 4,9,2.

⁴¹⁵ SS4, 5,3

⁴¹⁶ Like in case: SSC, 8, 3

stylistic unity of all poetical pieces of Teodosije, noticed by I. Brajović.⁴¹⁷ The scholar considered that Teodosije just used the same topoi for different type of saints (St. Simeon, the dynast, St. Sava, the founder of the Church and St. Peter of Koriša, the hermit) because of his personal style, but as it seems to me, the topoi are the same, because the saint belonged from the point of view of Teodosije to the same type, the saint hermits.

The encomium

The encomiastic tradition came to the Slavs from Byzantium, where it was directly inherited from late antique rhetoric with its complicated literal devices and elaborated imagery.⁴¹⁸ Usually they were included into sermons on saints and delivered on their feast days, replacing the readings from saint's life.⁴¹⁹

The earliest Slavonic encomia came from Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and were written in Ohrid's literary school, such as encomia on popular saints (St. Cyril, St. Nicholas, Archangels, St. Elias and St. Demetrius) etc., written by Clement of Ohrid.⁴²⁰ It is possible, that these sermons substituted for the full-length lives, which had not been yet translated. The first encomium to the joint saints also derives from this tradition, i.e. "Encomium to Sts. Cyril and Methodius," written by Clement himself or in his milieu.⁴²¹ In this text the saints are venerated with the same epithets as St. Simeon and

⁴¹⁷ [Irena Brajović] Ирена Брајовић, "Стилско јединство у службама Теодосија Хиландараца" [Stylistic unity in the services of Teodosije of Hilandar], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 32/2 (1984): 253-265.

⁴¹⁸ Byzantine rhetorical education was based on learning the antique authors and reading the handbooks in rhetoric of Hermogenes of Tarsus, Menander of Laodicea and Aphthonios, the writers of the late Antiquity. The encomia, praising, dedicated to great people, usually were composed according to rules, given in the book of Menander, i.e. they followed the biography of a person were divided into chapters (country and nation of a person, his family, his birth, his physical appearance, his education, his way of life, his deeds, his fate and comparisons). Already Cappadocia fathers applied this structure to sermons and orations, venerating saints. From eleventh century onwards encomia started to be written on behalf of private individuals and at the same time they became widely used in church services. Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Rhetoric in Byzantium" in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric* ed. I. Worthington (Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 166-183. Also about Byzantine panegyrics on saints and the transmission of the genre to the Slavs see Speros Vryonis, "The Panegyrics of the Byzantine Saint," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981), 196-228, esp. 214-215.

⁴¹⁹ The eulogy could also coincide in length with a whole sermon or saint's life (see: Julia Alissandratos, "Medieval Slavic and patristic eulogies" (Florence: Casa Ed. Le Lettere, 1982), 1), as it was, for example in case of St. Demetrius encomium, written by the emperor Leo VI and delivered by him in church of St. Sophia on the day of the saint. This text completely followed the encomiastic structure and included, besides introductory praising and application to audience, a story of life and passions of St. Demetrius. (Theodora Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 132.)

⁴²⁰ About "Encomium to St. Cyril" see Julia Alissandratos, op. cit., 10. See also [Clement of Ohrid] Климент Охридски, "Събрани съчинения" [Collected works], Vol. 1, ed. B. Angelov etc. (Sofia: BAN, 1970).

⁴²¹ [Konstantin Mečev] Константин Мечев, "Климент Охридски и общото похвалното слово за Кирил и Методий" [Clement of Ohrid and the common encomium on Cyril and Methodius], in

St. Sava later: “apostles”, “teachers” and “illuminators.” Probably, this work could have some impact on Teodosije.⁴²²

The earliest example of this genre in Serbian medieval literature is Eulogy to St. Simeon, written by St. Sava⁴²³ and included into Life of St. Simeon, written by Domentian.⁴²⁴ This text is a processing of the Eulogy to Kagan Vladimir, written by Kievan metropolite Hilarion.⁴²⁵ Perhaps, it is the earliest text, venerating the cult of St. Simeon, because here his myrrh-flowing and the translation of his relics are not yet mentioned. Thus, it could be composed by St. Sava, being in Hilandar, and used for commemoration of the ktetor on the day of his death.⁴²⁶ In this text St. Simeon is venerated as a new “apostle”, who “converted ... the entire fatherland” and “built churches of Christ,” “a good shepherd and a commander of salvation”, who “showed verity”, “a disciple of God”, who accepted Christ, not being a witness of the Gospel events, “a teacher”, who “abandoned the earthly kingdom, looking for the heavenly kingdom” and “came to the Holy Mount, following Christ” and “resemble Him.” Sava here introduced some metaphors, which became common for praising St. Simeon – “Heavenly man, earthly angel”, “intercessor for heavenly goods.”⁴²⁷ Probably, Sava also wrote non surviving oration on St. Simeon’s death.⁴²⁸

A short eulogical piece is present also in St. Simeon’s life, written by St. Stefan.⁴²⁹ It consists of two parts, organized in anaphorical structure. The first one, starting with “How shall I call you?”, lists majority of possible images for comparison – “an apostle,” “who renewed his people with strength of Holy Spirit”; “a martyr” “a teacher... enlightened the universe”; “a warrior... with an armour of cross”; “a prophet

Климент Охридски. Сборник от статии по случай 1050 години от смъртта му (916-1966) ed. B. Angelov (Sofia: BAN, 1966).

⁴²² This problem of impact of Cyrilo-Methodian tradition on Teodosije needs further independent research, which is not the goal of the present work.

⁴²³ [Dragutin Kostić] Драгутин Костић, “Ко је саставио Похвалу св. Симеону, сачувану у Доментијановом Житију св. Симеона” [Who did compose an eulogy for St. Simeon, survived in Domentian’s Life of St. Simeon], *Glas SKA* 161 (1932): 139-181.

⁴²⁴ Domentian, Life of St. Simeon, 29-41.

⁴²⁵ [Nestor M. Petrovskij] Нестор Мемнович Петровский, “Илларион, митрополит Киевский и Доментиан иеромонах Хиландарский,” [Hilarion, the metropolite of Kiev and Domentian, hieromonk of Hilandar] *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии наук*, 13/4 (1908): 159-169. [Dimitr Kenanov] Димитър Кенанов, “За сръбската агиография от XIII-XIV век” [About Serbian Hagiography of thirteenth-fourteenth centuries], *Proglas* 2(1994): 37-38.

⁴²⁶ [Dragutin Kostić] Драгутин Костић, “Учешће св. Саве у канонизацији св. Симеона” [Participation of St. Sava in canonization of St. Simeon], in *Svetosavski zbornik* vol. 1 (Belgrade: SKA, 1936), 171.

⁴²⁷ Domentian, Life of St. Simeon, 37.

⁴²⁸ [Đorđe Sp. Radojičić] Ђорђе Сп. Радојић, “Служење Доментијаном у литургијне сврхе у XIV веку” [The work of Domentian in the liturgy of fourteenth century], *Južnoslovenski filolog* 21 (1955-1956): 153-154.

⁴²⁹ Stefan, 92-98.

in his fatherland”; “a hermit”. This text represents a typical example of synkrisis, which was one of the main rhetorical devices in composing of encomia in Byzantine.⁴³⁰ The second part is built on the pattern of Akathistos hymn with anaphors of “Rejoyce”, this eulogy glorifies St. Simeon with help such biblical metaphors as “a ladder (Gen. 28:11–19; Akathistos, oikos 2) for people to Heaven” and “a vine of good-fruits (John, 15, 1-5).” Probably, this text should have finalized the Life, but later a description of another miracle was added after it.

For the first time St. Simeon and Sava were unified in texts, written by Domentian. Both his Lives, of St. Simeon and of St. Sava, contain a joint encomium to the saints. It is important in our case, that this text in both lives is placed just after the story of Sava’s visit of Constantinople, where he asked the emperor about giving him Hilandar and “confirmation” of monastery status and after that Sava and Simeon delivered the right for the monastery to a great župan Stefan and “his children after him.”⁴³¹ The life of St. Sava contains also a second encomium, which is placed after Sava’s departure from Mount Athos with the relics of his father. The main goal of this text, which is very similar with the previous one is to show the way of transportation of the grace from Hilandar to Serbia, passing “glory of God to the children of their fatherland.”⁴³² These *encomia* are again organized anaphorically; every sentence here starts with “both are...” In this way Domentian unifies the saints as working together for “enlightenment” and “salvation” of their “western motherland” and intercession for “the entire world”. Here Domentian collected all the *topoi*, which later would be used by Teodosije: apostles, “citizens of Heavenly Jerusalem”, “Heavenly men, earthly angels”, “lamps”. In life of St. Simeon the encomium is a little bit longer and has a short conclusion about spiritual service of the saints to God by their monastic life and humiliation.⁴³³ As one can see, being joint for the first time these saints immediately received a paradigm of veneration, which would be developed, but not changed, i.e. they are glorified as ktetors of Hilandar, who built it, formally gave to it a status of monastery with emperor’s chrysobullon and singing it away to their ruling relative, provided their future descendants with a ktetorial possession,⁴³⁴ and consequently

⁴³⁰ Henry Maguire, “The Art of Comparing in Byzantium,” *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 95.

⁴³¹ Domentian, Life of St. Sava, 96-100; Domentian, Life of St. Simeon, 72-75.

⁴³² Domentian, Life of St. Sava, 146-150.

⁴³³ Domentian, Life of St. Simeon, 74-75.

⁴³⁴ This action of Simeon and Sava should be regarded in a context of *charistike* movement (when abandoned monasteries were given by emperor or patriarch to private benefactors for reparation) and following rise of great independent monasteries in the middle Byzantine period – see: John Philip

which showed them a way to salvation. Precisely because of it this pair was called “teachers”, as teaching a way for following Christ as monastery foundation. On the other side they were considered as “illuminators” of the fatherland, transferring the grace from the monastery to all Serbian land.

Thus, when Teodosije wrote the encomium, he was aware of the previous eulogian tradition, but in the difference with it, his text is not a short eulogy, but a real encomium, composed according to rules of this genre and containing hagiographical parts.⁴³⁵ It consists of three parts, an introduction, separated praising of the saints, initially St. Simeon and after that – St. Sava, and finally, a proper glorification them as a pair. The introductive part⁴³⁶ is dedicated to themes of a spiritual meal, juxtaposing of church and profane life and types of sanctity. Probably, it was either completely translated (or rewritten from translation) from some Greek original, either composed of different quotations of Greek authors.⁴³⁷

There are some facts, which led me to this conclusion. First of all, in the manuscript tradition⁴³⁸ after final of this introductory part a scolia “*зач(ело)*” (beginning),⁴³⁹ that can allude on more or less separated initial existence of these two parts of the text. Moreover, the themes of a spiritual meal and words as a dish, being touched in the introduction, are completely abandoned in the course of text and didn’t affected it content at all. There are also some stylistic differences between the

Thomas, *Private religious foundations in the Byzantine Empire* DOS 24 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), 214-243.

⁴³⁵ About the difference between eulogy and encomium in Slavonic literature see: Julia Alissandratos, op. cit., 7-18. Generally, eulogy was shorter and included just praising, while encomium followed elaborated Byzantine rhetorical structure and included biographical information about a saint.

⁴³⁶ Panegyric, 706-716.

⁴³⁷ Unfortunately, this theme demands additional research, which is not a goal of this work, at this point I can just assume some facts about this introduction. Oppositely to my point of view, D. Kenanov supposes, that this introduction consists of some motives, borrowed from commentaries of Nicetas of Heraclea on the forty third oratio of Gregorius Nazianzenus (on the death of St. Basil), but mainly it was composed by Teodosije himself – see: [Dimitr Kenanov] Димитър Кенанов, “*Славянска метафрастика*” (Slavonic Metaphrastics) (Sofia: Žanet-45, 2002), 35, footnote 10; 39, 93, footnote 9. However, I disagree with the author, as defined below, concerning usage of Nicetas’ text for this particular place in the introduction (Panegyric, 710-711), although, Teodosije, probably, quoted other parts of the same Oratio and its commentaries in another place of the introduction, dedicated to spiritual meal. Compare: “εἴπερ ἄρτος Ἀγγέλων λόγος, ᾧ ψυχὰὶ τρέφονται καὶ ποτίζονται, Θεὸν πεινώσαι καὶ ζητοῦσαι τροφήν οὐ ῥέουσιν οὐδ’ ἀπιόουσιν,” Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae* (orat. 43), 36, 2 (see: TLG 2022.006 according to edition F. Boulenger, “*Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée*”. (Paris: Picard, 1908) 58-230) - “if that is to say, a word is an angelic food, by which souls are fed and drunk” and “пищюу бѡ аггелскоу пиcаніѡ, словеса нарицають, имже доуша внимающіи оумомъ, наслаждають се” – “writings call words angelic food, a soul drinking in them with mind, delights” (Panegyric, 707).

⁴³⁸ See commentaries about comparison of manuscripts for publication in Panegyric, 704-705; 774.

⁴³⁹ Panegyric, 716.

introduction and the rest, while in the beginning the author of speech refers to an audience in second person pluralis,⁴⁴⁰ in the rest of the text he identifies himself with listeners and uses first person-speech (sometimes even in singularis).⁴⁴¹ Moreover, occurrences, described in this preface (a hippodrome and street actors) belong to reality of Constantinople before the Latin occupation,⁴⁴² but not to the reality of an Athonite monk in the fourteenth century. In any case this usage of motives or quotations from classical church fathers was aimed on stronger impression upon listener with the aid of rhetoric. The rest of introduction, dedicated to types of sanctity⁴⁴³ has the similar function with the first part of eulogy, written by Stefan the First-crowned - to show sanctity of his protagonists Teodosije explains which types of it they embodied.

The second part of the encomium starts with a short introduction, where the author demonstrates reasons for Sts. Simeon and Sava's sanctity and explains the believers the benefits of the praising of the saints. Thus, the saints followed God and that's why He glorifies and praises them, while believers should follow the example of the saints and the encomium can help them to find the way, "affecting their souls."⁴⁴⁴ Such a non-smoothly duplication of introduction also can be a proof of additional character of the first part. Further two separated pieces of hagiographical character (dedicated to St. Simeon and St. Sava separately) are placed. Writing about St. Simeon, Teodosije, as he explains in the text, used a life of the saint, probably, composed by Domentian:⁴⁴⁵ "Because ...of long distance of years, which separates us ... we can't say about all his deeds, but we know, what we read in his life."⁴⁴⁶ In this part the same motives, which one can find in liturgical poetry of Teodosije, are present: St. Simeon is glorified as a pious ruler (an "illuminator" of the land of his nation, who "expelled

⁴⁴⁰ "Доуховнѣю вамъ прѣдѹговлающи трапѣзоу," (preparing for you a spiritual meal), "снѹ же словесноу трапѣзоу ... вамъ съставляю" (this wordly meal ... I am making for you), "видите ли" (do you see) etc.

⁴⁴¹ "ныне нами хвалими" "не постизаю" "похвалоу глаголю" (Panegyric, 716, 718, 739) "глаголю" "прославлю" (Panegyric, 716, 718) etc.

⁴⁴² ODB, 934-936, 2031; [Sergei A. Ivanov] Сергей Аркадьевич Иванов, "Пыль арены взметать..." ["Showers of dust over their chariots"], *Отечественные записки* 2006/6, 36.

⁴⁴³ Panegyric, 714-716, here different types of saints are mentioned with their main characteristics: martyrs, hermits, almsgivers, virgins, illuminators (apostles).

⁴⁴⁴ Panegyric, 717.

⁴⁴⁵ Domentian's life of Simeon is the most probable candidate for this role, because of some reasons. Firstly, his text usually accompanies writings of Teodosije in manuscript tradition. Secondly, the structure of this part of panegyric follows the text structure of Domentian (ruling years – monastic life – myrrh-flowing), which differs from St. Sava's life (without myrrh-flowing). While the text, written by the third hagiographer, Stefan the first-crowned, was not popular on Mont Athos, because it doesn't exist in Hilandar manuscripts.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 718.

heresies” and “built churches”), as a hermit (“the humble one,” “abandoning of world” for monastic “deeds in desert”) and a myrrh-flowing saint. To this myrrh-flowing Teodosije pays more attention, than to Simeon’s life itself. It can be explained by the writer following to so-called “hilandarian legend;”⁴⁴⁷ according to it the miracle happened not in Studenica, as it was described by Stefan the First-crowned, but in Hilandar. He even refers to experience of his listeners to prove the importance of the event:

many of you have listened and some even saw... and these witnesses of your god-loving souls are more important, than our badly written speech.⁴⁴⁸

Teodosije finalizes St. Simeon’s biography with a short poem, organized with syntactical anaphora: “Yesterday he was ... today we”, where the protagonist is glorified for his monastic deeds: pilgrimage, humiliation, and love to God.

The biography of St. Sava starts with motive of inverting of natural order, which also exists in the canons: “a son in body, but a father in spirit.” This theme represents Simeon’s and Sava’s relations as monastic ones. Sava’s life also is not represented in details, but replaced with main topoi, found in his biography; the writer emphasizes his miraculous birth (“obtained by a prayer”), virginity (“adorned with virginity”), withdrawing from the world, hermit life (“a child of a desert”), teaching and illuminating (“teacher, ... equal to the Apostles”), pilgrimages and spiritual and physical labours (“as a workful bee”).⁴⁴⁹ But Sava’s miracles Teodosije describes again in more details, comparing the protagonist with the Apostles and Christ, as being able to resurrect a deceased and to stop a storm, which gives a reason to call Sava “equal to Apostles.”

The third part of the encomium is dedicated to “praising the saints together.” It mainly consists of poetical pieces with anaphoric structure and presents the most poetically elaborated part of the text. The author himself calls it “binding of words” (“**словесно съплетениѣ**”), which refers to a special literature technique, developed primarily in Slavic Athonite monastic communities and connected with spiritual practices of Hesychasm.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁷ This legend originated earlier, it was already present in texts of Domentian. For details see: [Dragutin Kostić], *op. cit.* 148-167; [Danica Popović] Даница Поповић, *Под окриљем светости. Култ светих владара и реликвија у средњовековној Србији* [Under protection of Sanctity. A cult of saint kings and their relics in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: 2006), 27-40.

⁴⁴⁸ *Panegyric*, 720.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 724-736.

⁴⁵⁰ The connection of Hesychasm and style of “binding of words” was mainly studied by D. Lihachev ([Dmitrij S. Lihachev] Дмитрий С. Лихачев, “Некоторые задачи изучения второго южнославянского влияния в России” [Some goals of research of the second South- Slavonic influence on Russia] in *Idem*.

It starts with call for praising the saints: “Come, fathers and brothers,”⁴⁵¹ which obviously refers to a monastic community. This appeal, full of joy and jubilation, is addressed to monks to venerate the feast with a service and singing, which are considered as “gifts” to the saints and God. The next anaphoric piece is built on the model of Akathistos hymn, i.e. every verse starts with an exclamation “Rejoice.”⁴⁵² Sts. Simeon and Sava initially are venerated by turns, in the verse one after another, and then together as “fathers” and “pair,” i.e. here Teodosije used the same device, that in his canons. The main motives are also repeated. Simeon is compared with “vine”, whose “fruit” is Sava, while Sava, “a child of praying” and “fruit of desert,” spiritually “born to God multiple children.” Sava, “a teacher, equal to the Apostles,” preached about the Gospels, while Simeon, “listening the sound of the Gospel,” followed Christ. Sava, “a father for his father,” as “a teacher” set on a right way Simeon, “a son of his son,” who was monastically obedient to Sava’s prayers even after the death.⁴⁵³ Thus, one can see that the motives of every verse flow out one of another, creating complicated consequence of meanings, which final goal is to present the saints with a beautiful gift of reverence. The common verses are built on paradoxes, the saints are “roots of true piety” and at the same time “grapes of Christ,” who “bear the single soul in two bodies”⁴⁵⁴ and as a “pair” intercede with Trinity.⁴⁵⁵ Consequently, the specific features of the saints as a pair are their “agreement of opinion” in a way of people’s salvation. There is one interesting moment here, being unified Simeon and Sava are called “fathers” as monks, at the same time among their common deeds “crowning of king” is also mentioned, although only Sava took part in this event.⁴⁵⁶

The further development of joint veneration is given in a consequence of anaphoric verses, where the author on behalf of monastic community appeals directly to the saints.⁴⁵⁷ These verses are organized on juxtaposing “we” (the community) and “you” (the saints). Generally here one can come across with the same motives, that in

Исследования по древнерусской литературе (Leningrad: Nauka, 1986), 17-51). However, some scholars consider this style as development and Antique and Byzantine rhetoric tradition. [Malik I. Mulić] Малик И. Мулић “Плетение словес и исихазм” [Binding of words and Hesychasm], *Radovi zavoda za slavensku filologiju* 7 (1965): 141-156.

⁴⁵¹ Panegyric, 740-741.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 742-746.

⁴⁵³ Here is an allusion on an episode from Life of St Sava, when myrrh from St. Simeon’s tomb started to flow after Sava’s prayer (Domentian, Life of St. Sava, 154-156; Teodosije, Life of St. Sava, 86-88).

⁴⁵⁴ The same metaphor of two bodies with one soul one can find in texts dedicated to Sts. Cyril and Methodius – see [Kenanov], Slavonic Metaphrastics, 41.

⁴⁵⁵ Here Teodosije, perhaps, makes play with similarity of words “двоица” (Pair) and “троица” (Trinity).

⁴⁵⁶ Domentian, Life of St. Sava 248-252; Teodosije, Life of St. Sava, 143-145.

canons and other parts of the encomium; however, in this case they are elaborated more inventively: the same motive with some variations is placed in different verses. Thus, the most frequent motives are: suns or lamps, enlightening the fatherland, rivers or springs, giving to drink from the truth, teachers and apostles, showing the way. Among the themes, however, are encountered some not so usual; for example, the themes of gathering of a “monastic flock” and retirement from the world interleaves with some national and even royal motives, such as “coronation of ruling ones” and “coming of holy relics” of the saints, which “bless the land of *their* people.” Therefore one can see that in this text the cult of St. Simeon and Sava appeared with some national implications, in other words the saints are glorified not only as hermits, who led people to God by founding the Athonite monastery, but also as defenders of their nation and land. Quite similar motives can be found also in a colophon of manuscript, written in the monastery of Holy Apostles of Peć. This book, containing Sava’s Nomokanon (a collection of the church law), was written in 1305 by the scribe Grigorije II, the bishop of Raška, a former Hilandarian elder.⁴⁵⁸ Thus, this Athonite monk, being appointed on an administrative position in the Serbian church, emphasizes a role of St. Sava as a protector of a state and king’s power:

This holy writing in our language came to world with labour and strong love and desire of lord Sava, consecrated from his youth, pious and holy and the first archbishop of all Serbian land, the son of blessed our father Simeon, the first teacher of all Serbian land. This pious archbishop renovated the kingship as well as sanctified it in the all Serbian land.⁴⁵⁹

However, pointing out on the family relations between the saints, Grigorije didn’t refer to their role as king’s predecessors or founders of a dynasty. He rather added some national meanings to veneration of the saints as teachers and spiritual guides.

The encomium ends with the author’s explanations about benefits of venerating the saints.⁴⁶⁰ Here Teodosije widely uses an antithesis⁴⁶¹ as a rhetoric device, i.e. to

⁴⁵⁷ Paneguric, 747-758.

⁴⁵⁸ About Grigorije’s biography see: [Živojinović], *History of Hilandar*, I. 133.

⁴⁵⁹ “Изиде же на свѣтъ нашего кзыка божьствнок се писаник потыцаникм и любовию мною и желаникм из’ млада освещен’наго богочестиваго и прѣвсвещен’наго и прѣваго архиепископа всек сръбьцѣи землк курь Савы, сына прѣподовнаго вца Симеона, прѣваго наставника всеи сръбьцѣи земан. Съ же благочестивын архиепископъ и кралевство шенови и освети ѿ въ сръбьцѣи земли.” - [Stojanović], *Zapisi*, 17.

⁴⁶⁰ Panegyric, 759-774.

emphasize importance of Simeon and Sava he opposes them to other historical figures. Thus, he listed some roman emperors (Nero, Diocletian, Maximian), who didn't stay in the memory of the following generations because of their cruel deeds, while Simeon and Sava, as pleasers of the Lord, are alive after death in Heavenly kingdom and are commemorated with praising. So, they can "provide with help" their commemorators during the Last Judgment. In the final of the encomium Teodosije, summarizing the main ideas of the text, directly appeals to Simeon and Sava, as "the most-honored, wonderful and *single-souled* pair" of "apostles, miracle-workers, shepherds and teachers" and on behalf of the community, using the pronoun "we", he asks the saints to intercede for "their children" and to pray God for "*their* fatherland." And again he turns to some dynastical concepts, adding to his entreaties a petition about maintaining on ruling positions "a branch of your family" to defend from hostile nations. And finally, the author asks to defend the flock, gathered by the saints (i.e. monastic community), and himself from "spiritual wolves."

About performance of this encomium some indirect evidences exist in the text itself and in the tradition of manuscripts. In the part, dedicated to St. Simeon, Teodosije wrote: "and we are praying,... commemorating him,"⁴⁶² thus one can assume, that the text was read on the day of St. Simeon. The additional proof to this is the fact, that Teodosije himself wrote only Life of St. Sava, however, traditional service demanded reading of every saint's life after orthros,⁴⁶³ and thus this encomium could replace Life of St. Simeon. In the manuscript tradition of the text it is always joint to Life of St. Sava, written by Teodosije,⁴⁶⁴ but sometimes, to these texts a life of St. Simeon, written by Domentian is added, like it was in case of Tah Marko's manuscript of 1370-1375⁴⁶⁵ or later tradition of Srbljaks.⁴⁶⁶ However, one of the main specific features of the encomium is that in the difference with liturgical poems of Teodosije here direct references to Hilandar are almost absent (except the last paragraph, where Teodosije prays about himself). Instead of it the encomium includes one quite strange verse, where a house of Holy Trinity is mentioned: "Your house deservedly is called Holy

⁴⁶¹ About methods of using antithesis in Byzantine rhetoric see Henry Maguire, "Byzantine rhetoric, Latin drama and the portrayal of the New Testament" in *Rhetoric in Byzantium* ed. E. Jeffreys (Aldershot:Ashgate, 2003), 219.

⁴⁶² Panegyric, 722.

⁴⁶³ For example, in the end of Teodosije's Canon of fourth voice is written: "After the end of agrypnia is reading ... of saint's life" –SSC, 243.

⁴⁶⁴ See commentaries of T. Jovanović in Panegyric, 704.

⁴⁶⁵ See: Dimitrije Bogdanović, the *Catalogue*, 128-129 (no. 298).

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 191 (no. 505), 266 (no. 787).

Trinity, because you made with yourself, the living men, a church for God.”⁴⁶⁷ Taking into account multiple references to monastic community, placed in the text (such as “among us, monks,”)⁴⁶⁸ and the glorification of the hermit way of life, one may assume that the encomium was written for a monastery dedicated to Holy Trinity. There are two churches, dedicated to Holy Trinity, which already existed in times of Milutin: church of Holy Trinity in Sopočani monastery in Serbia and another one with the same dedication near Hilandarian pyrgos of Transfiguration on Spasova Voda on Mount Athos, the place, where Teodosije’s predecessor monk Domentian wrote his Life of St. Sava. Both of them, however, were built in time of king Uroš⁴⁶⁹ and there is no evidence about a special veneration of St. Simeon and St. Sava in these churches. Consequently, this problem remains without solution.

From monastic veneration to royal ideology

The link between Hilandarian monastic culture and Serbian national ideology in veneration of Sts. Simeon and Sava, probably, was made by a Hilandarian monk Danilo,⁴⁷⁰ the future archbishop Danilo II (1324-1337),⁴⁷¹ who was living in Serbia during 1311-1314 as a hegoumenos of newly founded monastery Banjska. This monastery was intended as a future burial place of king Milutin⁴⁷² and, perhaps, here Danilo started to write Milutin’s life.⁴⁷³ Danilo was important political figure of this

⁴⁶⁷ Panegyric, 749.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 762.

⁴⁶⁹ [Oliver Tomić] Оливер М. Томић, “Хиландарски скит Свете Тројице на Спасовој Води” [Hilandarian skete on Spasova Voda], *Hilandarski zbornik* 9 (1997): 173-278. [Vojislav Đurić] Војислав Ђурић, *Сопочани*. [Sopočani] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1963). It is worthwhile to say as an argument in favour of Sopočani monastery, that one of the manuscripts, containing the encomium was kept in a library of this monastery, (see commentaries Tomislav Jovanović about manuscripts in Panegyric, 705), but on the other side, for the church of Holy Trinity near the pyrgos of Transfiguration Milutin in 1317-1321 bought some adelphta and issued a charter, which includes a formula “by prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava” – see: [Vladimir Mošin], ed. Владимир Мошин “Акти братског сабора из Хиландара” [Acts of brother’s council in Hilandar], *Godinjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta* 4 (1939/1940), 185-187.

⁴⁷⁰ About Danilo’s works as implementation of national and royal ideology see: [Marjanović-Dušanić], *The Saint King*, 162-170.

⁴⁷¹ [Radomir Popović] Радомир Поповић. “Архиепископ Данило II и управљање црквом” [Archbishop Danilo II and ruling of the Church] in “*Archbishop Danilo*”, 89-95.

⁴⁷² Danilo, 151 “повелѣниѣмъ господина прѣвысокаго краля Стефана Оуроша на съхранениѣ и на покон блаженому кго тѣлеси” (on command of high lord king Stefan Uroš for burial and rest of his blessed body).

⁴⁷³ Commonly accepted for beginning of writing is 1317. Danilo himself continued the texts before 1324 - : Gordon McDaniel, Предговор [Preface], in *Данило Други. Животи краљева и архиепископа српских. Службы* [Danilo II. The Lives of kings and bishops of Serbia] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988), 22. However, the arenga of St. Stefan’s chrysobyllon correlates with the Life of Milutin from Danilo’s collection - [Vladimir Mošin], Владимир Мошин, “Житије краља Милутина према архиепископу

time, and, probably, came to Serbia to play a role of a mediator in conflict between Dragutin and Milutin in 1310.⁴⁷⁴

In the first part of “Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops”, written by Danilo himself,⁴⁷⁵ there are two episodes, reflecting Sts. Simeon and Sava’s cult. The first one is a description of miracle, happened near Ždrelo⁴⁷⁶ (1291), when column of fire, descending from Heavens, protected the monastery of Holy Apostles in Peć from Tartar troops:

The Lord showed them a great sign of fear through the prayers of His pleasers, saints Simeon and Sava and archbishop of Christ Arsenije, laying down here, in the house of Sts. Apostles... a great column of fire came down from Heavens ... and igneous men in human images, also with armors in their hands ...were reaping their troops⁴⁷⁷

The second episode directly refers to king Milutin himself; when Serbian state was in the face of war with Tartarian khan Nogai, the king sent ambassadors to the khan and appealed to Sts. Simeon and Sava with prayer:

My lords, blessed father Simeon and lord Sava, with boldness approaching the Lord, don’t despise my prayers and don’t give to hands of foreign enemies your motherland, having inherited it you reinforced it immovably with your prayers; when you were in bodies, you took care about it and now being alive even after death, don’t leave me, your sinful slave.⁴⁷⁸

Данилу II и Милутиновој повељи – аутобиографији” [Life of King Milutin according to Danilo II and Milutin’s charter-autobiography], *Zbornik istorije knjevnosti* 10 (1976), 109-134.

⁴⁷⁴ Danilo (continuator), 43-46. Stanislaus Hafner described Danilo’s political career and his role in creation of national royal ideology, in “*Serbisches Mittelalter. Vol. 2: Danilo II. und sein Schüler: Die Königsbiographien*” (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria, 1976), 26-50, esp. 26, 30. About image of Dragutin in Danilo’s writings see: 51-92.

⁴⁷⁵ About division of Milutin’s life between Danilo and his continuator and the reasons for changing the author see: Gordon McDaniel, Предговор [Preface], in *Данило Други. Животи краљева и архиепископа српских. Службы* [Danilo II. The Lives of kings and bishops of Serbia] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988), 12-24.

⁴⁷⁶ A village with the same name Ždrelo (Albanian Zhdrellë) placed near entrance to Rugovska cluse not far from Peć - see: “*Art of Kosovo: the sacred land*” ed. G. Subotić (New York: Monacelli Press, 1998), 251.

⁴⁷⁷ “БОГЪ ВЕЛИКОЖЪ ЗНАМЕНИКЪ СТРАХА ПАВИ ИМЪ МОЛИТВАМИ ОУГОДНИКЪ СВОИХЪ СВЕТААГО СИМЕОНА И САВЫ И АРХИКРЕТА ХРИСТОВА АРСЕНИИТА ЛЕЖАШТААГО ТОУ ОУ ДОМОУ СВЕТИНЬХЪ АПОСТОЛЬ... СТАЛПЪ ОГНЬНЬ ВЕЛИКЫН СЪХОДЕШТЬ ОТЬ НЕВЕСЕ, ...И МОУЖИКЪ ОГНЬНЫ ОБРАЗЫ ИМОУШТЕ, ТАКОЖДЕ И ОРОУЖИЯ ИМОУШТЕ ВЪ РОУКАХЪ СВОИХЪ... ЖЕНЪАХОУ ПЛЪКИ НИХЪ” (Danilo, 117). About dating of the event see: [Ljubomir Maksimović], *Beginnings*, 443.

⁴⁷⁸ “ГОСПОДИ МОИ, ПРЕПОДОВЬНЕ ОТЬЧЕ СИМЕОНЕ И КИРЬ САВО, ДРЪЗНОВЕНИКЪ ИМОУШТА КЪ ВЛАДЫЦѢ, НЕ ПРЕЗРИТА МОЛКНИИ МОКГО, И НЕ ПРЕДАДИТА ВЪ РОУКЫ ИНОПЛЕМЕННИКЪ ОТЬЧЕСТВИИ ВАЮ, КЮЖЕ НАСЛѢДОВАВША И ОУТВЕРДИСТА НЕПОКОЛѢНИМО МОЛИТВАМИ ВАЮ, ВЪ

In the both episodes the saints play the role of defenders of the fatherland from the foreign enemies; the same function earlier in thirteenth century was attributed to St. Simeon alone in Serbia⁴⁷⁹ and in the fourteenth century to the saint pair, but in Hilandar monastery.⁴⁸⁰ Probably, in Hilandarian tradition a national aspect of the joint cult also appeared, at least the last episode of St. Sava's Life Teodosije describes a military miracle of the saints with very similar connotations: salvation of Serbian army; defending of the fatherland by prayers, provoking appearance of miraculous creatures;

Their fatherland together, namely, blessed Simeon and all-holy Sava, save, defending from invasion of enemies, and secure Serbian land by prayers to God; and nobody from another tribe will rule, but only from their tribe, delivering kingdom from father to son and from son to son. And angels of god in their appearances appear in front of gathered Serbian troops, sent for help in battles from God by their prayers, because many warriors told: we saw saint Simeon and saint Sava in front of the troops, riding on horses, the first on in humility of his monastic dress and the second one, adorned by his bright episcopal dress. They with prayers to God prevented many enemies to capture their Serbian motherland, putting them to shame.⁴⁸¹

To this miracle, he, probably, also briefly referred in his canon in eight voices in verses: "they beat off the troops of enemies with a redoubtable appearance."⁴⁸² Even, perhaps, in all cases, Teodosije and Danilo might describe the same miracle with variations, because in Teodosije's text this miracle is attached in the very end of the text

тѣлеск нбо прѣжде соушта болѣста за нк нынк же и по смърти жива не оставита мене грѣшнаго раба ваю." Danilo, 121.

⁴⁷⁹ Thus, according to Sava's text of St. Simeon's life, the king Stefan asked him to return their father's "blessed relics" to the country from Hilandar monastery to protect Serbia from foreign enemies (Sava, 186). The same - Domentian, 144.

⁴⁸⁰ The idea of protection of Hilandar from enemies is the most obvious in Teodosije's Joint canon of fourth voice (Teodosije, 201-208). About this see section "The main motives and themes" of the present chapter.

⁴⁸¹ Teodosije, life, 216-217 "отъчество же свое убо коупно Симеонъ, глаголю, прѣподобныи и всьсвештенныи Сава, къ богоу молитвами срьбскою землю оутврждають, и отъ нашествіа противниихъ възбраняюще съблюдаютъ, и никтоже инъ иноколѣбны въ срьблїихъ угосподи се, тѣчю отъ племена ихъ, отъць сыноу и сынъ сыноу краљство прѣдающе. Ивѣдаютъ же се и прѣдъ плъквы срьбскыхъ скѹптрїи въ видѣнїи вѣраза ихъ божїи аггели, на помощь въ бранехъ молитвами ихъ отъ бога послаемыи, ако многымъ отъ воинствѣныхъ глаголати: (видѣхомъ) светаго Симеона и светаго Саваоу прѣдъ плъкоу на кѹнїихъ пздештихъ, и ового оубо въ смѣрени иночьскаго одѣанїа, ового же въ свѣтла светитьскы оукрашена. Многыхъ же противныхъ иже на отъчество ихъ на срьбскою землю подвижшихъ се молитвами къ богоу посрамлени отъвратише..."

⁴⁸² SS8, 6,7,1; similarly – SS8, 9,8,2.

without any additional information about place and conditions of the event and without compositional binding with the previous events. The text of life ends with description of translation of St. Sava's relics to the new tomb and the miracle starts with "there were many miracles,"⁴⁸³ however the miracles of Sava already were described in the text before⁴⁸⁴ and this particular one even doesn't have any connection with new tomb of St. Sava, which could be the only reason to add it after description of the translation. This could lead us to a conclusion about a potentially later addition of this miracle, which was a common practice for hagiography.⁴⁸⁵

The images of saints riding on horses, in this miracle could be influenced by images of Boris and Gleb, who sometimes depicted also as equestrians. The earliest example of this iconography of Sts. Boris and Gleb comes from 90s of the twelfth century (reliefs of St. Demetrius church in Vladimir)⁴⁸⁶ and it became very popular in the fourteenth century (the icon of 1340s from the Assumption cathedral of Moscow⁴⁸⁷ and the icon from Novgorod of 1377.)⁴⁸⁸ As a written source for this iconography can be assumed a combination of two episodes from "Life of Alexander Nevsky," where initially Boris and Gleb appeared on a boat to Pelugij, and later Heavenly army helps Alexander during the battle on Chudskoe lake.⁴⁸⁹ Another possible source is the legend about Sts. Boris and Gleb's visit to Constantinople reconstructed by D. Ainalov.⁴⁹⁰ St.

⁴⁸³ Teodosije, life, 216.

⁴⁸⁴ About Sava's miracles see: [Danica Popović] Даница Поповић, *Под окриљем светости. Култ светих владара и реликвија у средњовековној Србији* (Under protection of Sanctity. A cult of saint kings and their relics in Medieval Serbia) (Belgrade: SANU, 2006), 106-113; [Marjanović-Dušanić], *The Saint King*, 129

⁴⁸⁵ However, it is possible that a phrase "всьблаженнаго Савы иже нынѣ ново въ наше рѣды просїавшаго... житїа" (Life of the most-blessed Sava, who now newly has shined forth at our generation) – Teodosije, 1, refers to this miracle, which gives two possibilities, either the introduction and conclusion were added together later, either this warrior miracle was written at the same time with the entire text – M. Barišić, *op. cit.*, XVII-XVIII. Or on the other side the both pieces of Teodosije's text refer to another event – [Marjanović-Dušanić], *The Saint King*, 156.

⁴⁸⁶ [Georgij Vagner] Георгий Карлович Вагнер, *Скульптура Древней Руси, XII в.: Владимир. Боголюбово* (Sculpture of Old Russia, twelfth century: Vladimir, Bogoljubovo) (Moscow: Institut archeologii AN SSSR, 1969) 244, 246-248.

⁴⁸⁷ [Engelina Smirnova] Энгелина Сергеевна Смирнова, *Иконы Северо-Восточной Руси* (Icons of Northern-East Rus') (Moscow: Severnyj palomnik, 2004), 175.

⁴⁸⁸ Idem. "Живопись Великого Новгорода. Каталог" [Painting of Velikyj Novgorod. Catalogue] (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), no. 20, 219-221.

⁴⁸⁹ "Житие Александра Невского" (Life of Alexander Nevsky) in "Библиотека литературы Древней Руси" (Library of Old Russian literature) Vol. 5 ed. D.S. Lihachev (Saint-Petersburg: Nauka, 1997), 515-572.

⁴⁹⁰ [Ekaterina Endolceva] Екатерина Ендольцева "Проблема ранней иконографии святых Бориса и Глеба: (Комментарии к неопубликованной работе Д. В. Айналова "Легенда о поездке Бориса и Глеба в Царьград")" [The problem of early iconography of saints Boris and Gleb. (Commentaries to unpublished work of D.V. Ainalov "Legend about Sts. Boris and Gleb's visit to Cargrad")] in *Искусство Древней Руси и его исследователи* (Saint-Petersburg: SPGU, 2002), 216-217.

Boris and Gleb were quite popular in Serbian orthodox literature,⁴⁹¹ but their iconographical tradition came to the south Slavs from Constantinople.⁴⁹² In the fourteenth century there are some data about Athonite connections with Russia, and the most important evidence in our case is Danilo's visit of Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon on Athos during the Catalanian campaign of 1308.⁴⁹³

However, on Greek territories also existed a strong tradition of depiction some warrior saints (St. George, two Sts. Theodoros, St. Menas, St. Demetrios and even St. Sergius and Bacchus) as equestrians. For example, frescoes of the thirteenth century in Panagia Koumbelidiki in Kastoria St. Menas is depicted on horse on the northern wall⁴⁹⁴ or some icons of paired saints from Sinai monastery: diptych of St. George and St. Theodoros of the eleventh century,⁴⁹⁵ St. Theodore and St. Demetrios of the Crusade Time,⁴⁹⁶ and St. George and St. Theodore of the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁹⁷ Generally, this iconography is considered as developed under Crusader influence, but S. Gerstel⁴⁹⁸ strongly argued for existence of a Greek tradition separately. Consequently, the depiction of St. Simeon and St. Sava as equestrians, even just as a literature occurrence, might be influenced by both tradition, Russian and Greek.

In these both cases of Danilo and Teodosije some dynastical motives originated following up national ones: defending the Serbian lands Sts. Simeon and Sava keep them under power of their family as a pledge of peace. As it seems to me, these dynastical allusions, almost invisible in hymnography, intended for monastic usage,

⁴⁹¹ [R. Pavlova] Р. Павлова "Сведения о Борисе и Глебе в южнославянской письменности XIII-XIV вв." (Evidences about Boris and Gleb in South-Slavonic literature of thirteenth-fourteenth centuries). *Palaeobulgarica*, 1988/4: 26-40.

⁴⁹² [Ivan Đorđević] Иван Ђорђевић, "Представе светих Бориса и Глеба у Милешеви" (Depictions of Sts. Boris and Gleb in Mileševa) in *Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji*, 295-307.

⁴⁹³ [Živojinović] *History of Hilandar*, I. 130; about Danilo's visit to St. Panteleimon also tell two chrysobulla of Andronikos II of 1311, supplying documents of the monastery, lost during the siege of the Catalans (Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 2333-2334, P. Lemerle etc. ed. *Archives de L'Athos, XII. Actes de Saint-Pantéléemôn*, (Paris: 1982), n. 10.

⁴⁹⁴ [Chrysanthi Mauropoulou-Tsioumi] Χρυσάνθη Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στην Κουμπελίδικη της Καστοριάς" [Painting of the thirteenth century in Panagia Koumbelidiki in Kastoria] (Thessaloniki: 1973), 26.

⁴⁹⁵ Robert S. Nelson, Kristen M. Collins, ed. *Holy image, Hallowed ground: Icons from Sinai*, (Los Angeles: the J. Paul Getty museum, 2007), 132-133.

⁴⁹⁶ Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader art in the Holy Land: from the Third Crusade to the fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 327-330, pl.5 no. 40/386.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 139, no. 94/1463.

⁴⁹⁸ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* ed. A. E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh, (Washington: DOS, 52, 2001), 264-303.

appeared in more official genre of hagiography,⁴⁹⁹ including some elements of state propaganda, as continuation of national motives. But even in this case the image of the saints still preserves some traces of monastic imaginary: miracles were executed not by the saints directly, but through interceding with God; not the saints themselves appeared in front of troops, but angels in their images and finally in description of Teodosije they appeared in dresses, typical for hilandarian iconography – monastic clothing for Simeon and episcopal one for Sava. But in comparison with Teodosije, who placed after description of the miracle a long prayer-petition for “us” (Serbians), Danilo directly connected the defending functions of the saints with royal ideology, putting into mouth of Milutin prayers toward the saint about defending of fatherland. Moreover, Danilo avoids here any dynastical connotations in question of delivering of power, for which I see two reasons. Firstly, being a mediator in conflict between Milutin and Dragutin, Danilo could try to keep out of problems of demising of the crown, which was one of the reasons of civil war between brothers (see Chapter 2 of this work), in his writings, aimed to depict Milutin as a pious king. The second reason concerns the fact, that the elder son of Milutin and his successor, Stefan, was sent to Nogai as a hostage,⁵⁰⁰ about what Danilo informs a reader; probably, in this situation, delivery of power from father to son was not a subject of Milutin’s prayer.

The same tendency of shifting to national ideology in veneration of St. Simeon and St. Sava one can find also in charters of king Milutin, which were issued mainly for Hilandar.⁵⁰¹ In the follow charters one can find a formula “by prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava” or a damnation of a charter prescriptions’ breaker on behalf of the saints: the charter of king Milutin for Hilandar monastery about the cell of St. Paraskeue at Tmorani (1299-1300),⁵⁰² the chrysobull of king Milutin for Hilandar monastery about the pyrgos Chrusia (1303-1304),⁵⁰³ the charter of king Milutin for St. Stephen monastery in Banjska (1314),⁵⁰⁴ the charter of king Milutin for Kareya cell (1317-

499 Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, ““L’altérité” dans le témoignage des récits hagiographiques serbes: l’exemple des Vies de Théodose”, *ZRVI*, 45 (2008), 191-205. Stanislaus Hafner emphasized, that Danilo’s works were intended to describe official political point of view, but not historical sequence of events (“Serbisches Mittelalter” Vol. 2, 30-31).

⁵⁰⁰ About this see: [Marjanović-Dušanić], *The Saint King*, 212-216.

⁵⁰¹ Concerning charters of king Milutin, issued to Hilandar I rely on research of Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić - [Marjanović-Dušanić] *Prayers*, 235-250.

⁵⁰² [Mošin], *The monuments I*, 251-260.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.* 297-316.

⁵⁰⁴ [Ljubomir Kovačević] Љубомир Ковачевић, “Светостефанска хрисовуља краља Стефана Уроша II Милутина” (St. Steven’ chrysobullon of king Stefan Uroš II Milutin), *Spomenik SKA* 4 (1890).

1318)⁵⁰⁵ and the charter of king Milutin about adelphata⁵⁰⁶ for the Hilandarian pyrgos of Transfiguration (1317-1321).⁵⁰⁷ Thus, among the documents only the charter for Banjska monastery was not issued for Hilandar or its metochia, however, Athonite trace may be found even here: Danilo during his term in office of Banjska's hegoumenos participated, probably, in composition of this charter.⁵⁰⁸ Consequently, all the diplomatic documents, containing mentioning of St. Simeon and Sava are one way or another connected with Hilandar.

According to the classification by Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, these charters fall into two groups. In the first one Simeon and Sava are mentioned in the *sanctio* of the documents, the most formalized part, which contains damnation of a person, offending against prescriptions of a document.⁵⁰⁹ Three charters belong to this group: the document about the cell in Tmorani, another one about the pyrgos Chrusia and the chrysobullon of Banjska. In the first two a breaker of prescriptions is damned by Theotokos of Hilandar and the saints, while in the last one the Virgin is replaced by St. Stephan, who was a patron of the monastery. As one can see, just like in case of King's church in Studenica, the Hilandarian icon or the canons, St. Simeon and St. Sava are unified with the Virgin as founders of Her monastery and they all play a role of Hilandar's spiritual defenders. The way of unifying of the saints with St. Stephan is very similar, which can be explained by following a model, established in Hilandarian charters. In the charter about the pyrgos Chrusia Sts. Simeon and Sava, however, are mentioned twice. Besides the *sanctio* they also appear in the *narratio* (or the first part of

⁵⁰⁵ [Vladimir Mošin], ed. Владимир Мошин “Акти братског сабора из Хиландара” (Acts of brother's council in Hilandar), *Godinjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta* 4 (1939/1940): 180-184. [Dragić M. Živojinović] Драгић М. Живојиновић, “Интерполирана хрисовуља краља Милутина за Карејску келију Светог Саве” (The interpolations of chrysobullon of king Milutin form Kareya cell of St. Sava). *Stari srpski arhiv*, 5 (2006), 11-41. For additional details of relations the pyrgos and the monastery see [Dragić M. Živojinović] Драгић М. Живојиновић, “Хрисовуља Стефана Уроша II Милутина Карејској келији светог Саве из 1317/1318. године и однос келија – манастир у светлу аделфата” (The chrysobullon of King Stefan Uroš Milutin for the cell of St. Sava in Kareya and relations of the cell and the monastery in light of the adelphaton), *Prilozi za knjevnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 68-69 (2002-2003), 111-121.

⁵⁰⁶ An adelphaton in Byzantium and Serbia was an annual pensions for one monastery brother, for more details see [Mirjana Živojinović] Мирјана Живојиновић, “Аделфати у Византији и средњовековној Србији” [Adelphata in Byzantium and medieval Serbia], *ZRVI*, 11 (1968), 241-270.

⁵⁰⁷ [Mošin], Acts, 185-187.

⁵⁰⁸ [Vladimir Mošin], Владимир Мошин, “Житије краља Милутина према архиепископу Данилу II и Милутиновој повељи – аутобиографији” [Life of King Milutin according to Danilo II and Milutin's charter-autobiography], *Zbornik istorije knjevnosti* 10 (1976), 109-134.

⁵⁰⁹ About sanction and its role in Serbian charters see: [Stanoje Stanojević] Станоје Станојевић, “Студије о српској дипломатици, X. Санкција” (Studies of Serbian diplomatics, X. The Sanctio), *Glas SKA* 102 (1922), 1-5, 27-47.

the *expositio*),⁵¹⁰ where the king explains that he “received by the sword a land of Skoplje and Ovčepolje and Pološko and Dbr with help of *my* saint lords, Simeon and Sava.”⁵¹¹ Thus the saints are represented here not only as defenders of Hilandar, but also as helpers in receiving the property for the monastery. The second group comprises charters, where a formula “by prayers of St. Simeon and St. Sava” appeared in the *expositio* of the charters, which means that intercession of the saints became “a source of sovereign power of an actual kingship,”⁵¹² in other words the saints are represented as a guarantee of legitimacy of king’s power. Two charters, which make up this group, the first one for Kareya cell and the second one about adelphata for the pyrgos of Transfiguration, have partly the same *arenga* and the *expositio*, including the place, where the formula is used.⁵¹³ In other words the remade charter for Kareya cell includes some interpolations from the charter for the pyrgos of Transfiguration. Thus, in the beginning of the exposition proclamation about saints’ support to king and his regime is stated:

When my kingship was independently ruling in the land of my fatherland with the Grace of God and prayers of His holy pleasers Simeon and Sava, of whose root I am an offshoot...⁵¹⁴

Moreover, the *arenga* of this chrysobullon for the Kareyan cell is also partly similar with the charter of archbishop Nikodim of 1321, and both these documents were composed for Milutin by a hilandarian elder.⁵¹⁵ There is another reference to St. Simeon and St. Sava in this piece of the *arenga*, telling the story of St. Sava; here the saints are mentioned as ktetors again in the context of foundation of Hilandar:

And (Sava) made a great fence, by building the church of the Most-Pure Theotokos, the Holy of Holies, called Hilandar; teaching God-similar men in a spiritual rule and commanding, he made a shelter for salvation of people of his fatherland and

⁵¹⁰ [Stanoje Stanojević] Станоје Станојевић, “Студије о српској дипломатици, VIII. Експозиција” (Studies of Serbian diplomatics, VIII. The Expositio.), *Glas SKA*, 96 (1920), 117-139.

⁵¹¹ “и поспѣшъствъ:ваникъмъ свѣтыю ми господиноу Симеоу и Савы прѣкъхъ по мѣчѣ Скопскоу страноу и Овчеполскоу и Положскоу и Дьбрьскоу и прочимъ инее стране” - [Vladimir Mošin], *Monuments*, I, 313.

⁵¹² [Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić], *Prayers*, 244.

⁵¹³ [Dragić M. Živojinović], *The interpolations of chrysobullon*, 29.

⁵¹⁴ “кралквствоу ми милостию Божию и молитвами Угодникоу Его Симеоу и Сави, ихъ же корене света азъ грѣшнии втраслъ ксмъ, и господствоующи ми въ земли втчества моего самодръжавно” - [Mošin], *Acts*, 182, 185.

⁵¹⁵ [Trifunović, Đorđe] Трифуновић, Ђорђе. “Ко је састављач аренге повеље краља Милутина, 1317-1318” (Who did compose an arenga of Milutin’s charter of 1317-1318), *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 27 (1961), 243-244 – cited in [D. M. Živojinović] *The chrysobullon of King Stefan Uroš Milutin for the cell of St. Sava in Kareya*, 114.

for us, sinners, and for all, willing salvation, who then and now are being saved with prayers of our holy fathers Simeon and Sava.⁵¹⁶

Being placed in the *arenga*⁵¹⁷ this text became a part of motivation of a legal decision, stated in the charter, in other words there are two facts, which made the king to present the cell in Kareya with adelphata: 1) Hilandar is a place for salvation of Serbian nation and 2) it was founded by king's predecessors, Simeon and Sava, who defend Milutin's kingship with their prayers. In this way the saints play a role not only teachers of the way of salvation, but also a guarantee of political power and national protectors.

Consequently, one can assume, that in the late period of Milutin's rule St. Simeon and St. Sava started to be venerated not only as protectors of the monastery and its ktetors, but also as defenders of Serbian state and nation. And in later diplomatics they even were referred as a guarantee of legitimacy of king's power, being his predecessors. The situation, similar with transferring of cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava from monastic use to diplomatic sphere (still diplomatic, even if they are documents addressed to the monastery) one can observe in case of pictorial sources, namely in King's church in Studenica. In a similar way purely monastic iconography of the saints being included into a royal, dynastical program received some additional meanings as king's predecessors, but still preserves their Athonite specific, being depicted together with the Theotokos.

In sum, basing on surviving text, venerating Sts. Simeon and Sava as a pair one can see some specific features of the cult:

1) St. Simeon and St. Sava were joint and continuously venerated in Hilandar monastery as the pair of ktetors and founders, which is obvious from the analysis of the context of Teodosije's canons (co-existence of the Theotokian hymns and those dedicated to the saints) and ways of their performance (on the monastery's dedication

⁵¹⁶ “и створи уградоу велику, храмъ прѣсвѣтѣ Богородице свѣта свѣтихъ, монастырь нарицаѣми Хиландаръ насадивъ, богоподобникъ моуже правилоу доуховномуу ноучивъ и наказавъ, пристанище створи спасению своего утѣчества людѣмъ и намъ грѣшнымъ и всѣмъ хотещимъ спасти се, иже тогда и до нынѣ спасаютъ се молитвами свѣтѣю утѣцоу нашею Сѣмеона и Савы” - [Dragić M. Živojinović], The interpolations of chrysobullon, 18.

⁵¹⁷ About function and meaning of the arenga see [Stanoje Stanojević] Станоје Станојевић, “Студије о српској дипломатици, V. Аренга” (Studies of Serbian diplomatics, V. The Arenga), *Glas SKA*, 94 (1914), 192-229.

day or on saints' days with the *litia*). The number and complexity of church poetic texts shows the existence of a strong liturgical tradition of venerating the saints, already quite developed in the time of Milutin. Thus, the saints were glorified not only with services, but also with canons and an encomium and, moreover, all these works were intended for performance, as direct and indirect evidence shows. Based on metatextual references, one can assume that these liturgical works were written specifically for the Hilandarian community.

2) Based on the analysis of Teodosije's church poetry, comparison with Byzantine and Athonite liturgical practices, and historical events, it is possible to establish a kind of relative chronology for these texts. Thus, taking into account an appeal to God to "maintain... our lord in Orthodoxy" which occurs in the canon to Christ, Simeon and Sava, this text can be dated to 1306-1308, when Milutin was in negotiations about accepting Catholicism. The canon in the fourth voice can be dated to 1307-1310 because of the references to the Catalanian sieges. Both services to St. Simeon and St. Sava can acceptably be dated after 1313 (or 1311, depending on Nikodim's visit to Constantinople), because they both follow the Jerusalem structure of services, which was caused by the translation of the typikon. Finally, the canon in eight voices, as a work containing motifs placed in other poems separately, should be dated the latest.

3) One can deduce specific features essential for the joint cult, such as: unity, established on spiritual relations and opposed to blood ties, inverting of the natural order of father-son relations, depiction of the two saints as representative of two ecclesiastic statuses (the monk and the priest) and two types of sanctity, the saint flowing myrrh and the miracle-maker. As for unifying metaphors, Sts. Simeon and Sava were venerated as teachers, spiritual guides, shepherds, intercessors, defenders from internal and external enemies, and enlighteners. To show the perfection of their unity, Teodosije compares the "pair" with the divine Trinity. Moreover, Teodosije used the same *topoi* for all three saints, to whom he dedicated the canons as a result of similarity in their sanctity; he considered Sts. Simeon, Sava, and Peter of Koriša as outstanding hermits.

4) In contrast with liturgical poems Teodosije's encomium in many respects relies on Byzantine rhetorical tradition as well as on Serbian literary predecessors of this genre. For veneration of the saints he uses the paradigm established in Domentian's writings as well as in his own canons, but from the literary point of view the encomium

is a highly complex creation, influenced by the practice of “binding of words.” Its main goal was to make a great impact on listeners. The introductory part, probably, was translated from Greek or composed of quotations of different Greek authors. Possibly, this text might have replaced a life of St. Simeon. A specific feature of the encomium is the existence of national and political motives, thus, this text can be dated to the time of Hilandar’s active participation in Serbian political life, i.e., the 1310s. Considering the theory of S. Marjanović-Dušanić⁵¹⁸ about the centenary celebration of Serbian kingship and the Church, I even can assume that royal motifs originated in this text under the influence of royal propaganda. Also, it is possible that it was written for a community of a monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

5) The shift from purely monastic veneration to the addition of national and dynastic aspects in the cult can be observed in the writings of Danilo, the life of Sava written by Teodosije, a late charter of Milutin, and a colophon of Grigorije II, written in Hilandar. Probably this was caused by the growing role of Hilandar monastery in the politics of Serbia after 1308 and reunification with Byzantium. In this period Hilandar took part in domestic and foreign negotiations and Hilandarian monks, being agents of the king, were appointed to important ecclesiastical positions.

6) Considering that Teodosije’s canons represent quite a developed stage of the joint cult, it can be deduced, that the cult originated earlier. Its traces can be found in Domentian’s writings as short eulogia. It is pparent that the saints were joined in the monastery because of their ktetorship and venerated as Hilandarian defenders and spiritual guides. A cue for this is a short account of Domentian, who wrote that Sava built chambers in the name of his father and his own name in Vatopedi monastery.⁵¹⁹ Maybe this athonite practice of St. Simeon and St. Sava’s joint veneration even started during their lives, when they were widely known on Mount Athos as eminent hermits and ktetors?

⁵¹⁸ [Marjanović-Dušanić], “Prayers,” 240.

⁵¹⁹ Domentian, *The Life of St. Sava*, 74.

CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE FURTHER RESEARCH

To conclude my analysis I'd like to emphasize some important points and ideas, which were found in this work. First of all, I think I can give an answer on the main question of the research. Thus, St. Simeon and St. Sava were associated as founders of Hilandar monastery, because of their ktetorial activity.

As for the conditions of the cult, it was embodied in mural painting, icons, liturgical poems, charters, the eulogy and the lives. Moreover, there are obvious parallels in the meanings between the pictorial and the written sources. Thus, in difference with the pictorial tradition developed in Serbia and represented in royal dynastical compositions with more, than two members of the Nemanides, in Hilandar the separated depiction of St. Simeon and St. Sava as a pair can be found (the icon of the early fourteenth century; the compositions in Hilandar's katholikon; St. Niketas's church near Skoplje). These iconographies of "Hilandarian" type, being slightly different in their overtones (ktetorial one in the naos of Hilandar and monastic one in the church of St. Niketas), have the same intention to represent the holy pair as eminent monks and the ktetors of the monastery.

Similarly, in the liturgical poem written by Teodosije, the two saints were venerated as hermits, teachers, spiritual guides, shepherds, intercessors, defenders from internal and external enemies and enlighteners. To represent the relation between the two saints as a purely monastic relation of the spiritual son and the spiritual father Teodosije used some iterative motives as inverting of the natural family order by the vow of obedience (Simeon is obedient to his spiritual father who happens to be his biological son), depiction of the two saints as representatives of two ecclesiastic statuses (the monk and the priest) and two types of sanctity, the saint flowing myrrh and the miracle-maker. Moreover, the image of the two saints as representatives of monks and priests appears also in the pictorial sources, where St. Simeon and St. Sava are vested consequently as a great-schema monk and an archbishop.

Another evidence of Hilandar's participation in the development of the cult is the joining of the saints with the Theotokos as the protectress of the Holy Mount. On the icon from Hilandar the Virgin is placed above the saints in the medallion, in King's church the saints turn to Her standing figure and in the narthex of Hilandar they stand from both sides of Her throne. The analysis of performance of Teodosije's canons gives

the similar evidences. The performance of *litia* for the days of Simeon and Sava indicates them as a kind of church saints, although the church of Hilandar itself was dedicated to the Presentation of the Theotokos. The third song of the joint canon to St. Simeon and St. Sava in the fourth voice was traditionally sung in Hilandar during the liturgy of the second day's celebration of the Theotokos' Presentation. In the manuscript tradition the canon to St. Simeon and St. Sava on eight voices accompanied eight-voices Bogorodičniks.

This joining of the saints with the Virgin is explained by one of the function of their cult, St. Simeon and St. Sava were unified and venerated as ktetors, who built together the church to the Theotokos, gathered monks in Her monastery and became the defenders of the monastery after their death. Thus, on the portraits of the Hilandarian katholikon the saints were inscribed as “κτίτωρ” and similarly they are called in the title of the canon on the fourth voice (the common canon to the holy ktetors),⁵²⁰ and in the colophons of manuscript no. 277 from Hilandar and of Romanov typikon. Moreover, one of the main motives of the canon on the fourth voice is a petition to help and to defend the monastery and its community from spiritual and earthly enemies. Multiple direct references to the Mount Athos in Teodosije's canons give a hint that these texts are aimed at being performed there and written specially for Hilandar.

The consequence of the canons, the panegyric and, what is more important, the direct and indirect evidences about their performances indicate the highly developed stage of the cult. This permits to assume, that the joint veneration of the saints originated in the monastery, even before Milutin's time, at least in writings of Teodosije's predecessor, Domentian, some traces of such worship can be already found (the common encomia to the saints, placed in the both Lives of St. Simeon and St. Sava). I even may suggest that the saints started to be regarded with reverence as two holy elders on the Holy Mount during their life.

The popularity of the cult together with the importance of Hilandarian monks in the domestic and foreign politics probably made king Milutin use the cult for his ideological needs. Thus, the depiction of the holy pair is placed into the highly elaborated dynastic program of King's church in Studenica (1313-1314), where the saints, being juxtaposed with the parents of Christ, are depicted as holy ancestors of the king. In a similar way a shift from the purely monastic veneration to additional national

⁵²⁰ “Канонъ общій свѣтымъ ктиторомъ” - Đorđe Sp.Radojčić, Theodosije's common hymn, 148.

and dynastic meanings in the cult can be observed in written sources of the 1310s (the life of Milutin, written by Danilo II and Milutin's charters to Transfiguration pyrgos of 1318-1321 and to Kareya cell of 1317-1318) and two non-dated sources (the Life of St. Sava, written by Teodosije and his encomium). In case of the Lives the saints became the defenders of the fatherland from the enemies, while in case of the charters and the encomium – the guarantee of legitimacy of king's power and its defenders. However, even having received these additional national and dynastical meanings, the cult preserves its Athonite, monastic specificity: in the scene of the warrior miracle in Teodosije's life the saints are vested in monastic and priestly costumes, in King's church they are depicted together with the Theotokos, in the *arenga* of the charter to the Kareya cell Simeon and Sava are mentioned as intercessors for monks, "fenced" in Hilandar monastery.

This process of adding the new aspects to the cult can be explained by two factors. On the one side, an ascending role of Hilandar in foreign and domestic politics is one of the possible explanations. The Athonite monks started to play a mediating role in Serbian-Byzantine relations, which is proved by several charters that were issued to the monastery both by the king and the emperor, by land possessions given to the monastery by empress Eirene, desiring to make one of her sons a Serbian king, and by visits of the Hilandarian ambassadors to Constantinople for meetings with the emperors. Moreover, Milutin invited the Athonite monk Danilo to be a mediator in the conflict with the king's brother, Dragutin. Finally, the important evidence of Hilandar's role is the appointment of Athonite monks in Milutin's epoch to chief positions in the Church hierarchy: archbishop Sava III, archbishop Nikodim, Danilo as a bishop of Hum and Grigorije II, bishop of Raška, - all they came from the Holy Mount.

Another possible explanation was offered by S. Marjanović-Dušanić,⁵²¹ she suggests that the content of the cult changed after 1314, when Milutin secured a victory over Dragutin, but at the same time he blinded his son and sent to Constantinople and in this way Milutin broke the rules of succession. He needed to legitimize his power and a new order of succession, that's why he referred to the saints as good roots of the dynasty and on the other side, the king himself started to renovate old Nemanide monasteries. In this case I think that the both explanations don't contradict and just complement each other.

⁵²¹ [Marjanović-Dušanić], "Prayers," 244-245.

As for some additional observations, made in this work, I'd like to bring to notice a kind of relative chronology, established for Teodosije's church hymns. Thus, taking into account an appeal to God to "maintain... our lord in Orthodoxy," which occurs in the canon to Christ, Simeon and Sava, this text can be dated with 1306-1308, when Milutin was in negotiations about accepting the Catholicism. The canon in the fourth voice can be dated with 1307-1310 because of the references to the Catalan sieges. Both services, to St. Simeon and St. Sava could be dated after 1313 (or 1311, in dependence of Nikodim's visit to Constantinople), because they both follow the Jerusalem structure of services, that was caused by the translation of the typikon. Finally, the canon on eight voices, as a work containing motives placed in other poems separately, should be dated with the latest date.

In this way one can conclude, that St. Simeon and St. Sava were unified as a pair of saints because of their ktetorial activity, as Hilandarian monks, who built the monastery together and defended it after their death as saints. This cult originated in the Athonite milieu and was represented in liturgical practices and painting. The saints were perceived as teachers and spiritual guides, showing the way to salvation through monastic labor.

On the later phase of cult's development it received additional national and dynastic aspect and St. Simeon and St. Sava continuing to be venerated as hermits, became defenders of the fatherland and the kingship. However, the later development of the cult can show, that these two functions of the holy pair will be separated between Serbia (dynastic) and the Holy Mount (monastic). For example, on Athos the tradition of painting icons with the pair of the saints will preserve an iconography of the fourteenth century⁵²² and the saints will be inscribed as "τοῦ χιλανδαρίου."⁵²³ And oppositely, in Nova Pavlica (1381-1386) in Serbia they will be represented as patrons of Serbian state, being inscribed like "сърпски" (Serbian)⁵²⁴

⁵²² [Svetozar Radojčić] Светозар Радојчић, "Хиландарски иконе светог Саве и светог Симеона – Стевана Немање" [Hilandarian icons of St. Sava and St. Simeon – Stefan Nemanja], *Glasnik. Službeni list Srpske pravoslavne crkve* 34, 2/3 (1953): 30-31.

⁵²³ About this later tradition see work of [Sotiris Kisas] Сотирис Кисас, "Представе светог Саве Српског као ктитора манастира Ватопеда" [Depiction of St. Sava Serbian as ktetor of Vatopedi monastery], *ZLU* 19 (1983): 187-188.

⁵²⁴ [Branislav Živković] Бранислав Живковић, *Павлица: цртежи фресака* [Pavlica: graphics of frescoes] (Belgrade: Republički zavod za zaštitu spom enika, 1993), 3.

Directions for the further research

Here I would like to propose the theme for the further research. Thus, to understand the reasons behind the Serbian joint cult is not enough to study it hermetically on Serbian material without a wider perspective or a general context. And one of the most important tools for achieving such a goal is to compare. As it seems for me, historical anthropology⁵²⁵ can not provide with a solid factual ground, so, I prefer to regard here only situations of historically possible influences or direct parallels.

The cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava was not the only joint cult, which originated in monastic communities. Probably for the same reasons there were joint also other couples of eminent hermits in case of Kievan Lavra and Iviron monastery. These two groups of the saints seem to be the closest parallels to the cult of St. Simeon and Sava.

Iviron was founded by Georgian aristocrats St. John of Holy Mount and his son St. Euthymius of Holy Mount⁵²⁶ in 960s. These saints were venerated immediately after their death, their common Life was written by their disciple, St. George of Holy Mount,⁵²⁷ who also headed the monastery after the death of St. Euthymius, and, probably was the first organizer of their cult. Besides writing of their Life he also translated their relics to the *katholikon* of Iviron and rebuilt the church (in this way he is also considered as the second ktetor of the monastery). After his death St. George quickly started to be worshipped and was joint to the founders of the monastery. At least in his Life, written shortly after his death, there is evidence about painting on order of the Georgian patriarch an icon of the saints, where St. Euthymius and St. George were depicted on sides from the enthroned Theotokos with “Christ in Her hands.” According to the description is icon depicted the saints in the same iconography that is presented on the narthex of Hilandar (the Theotokos with St. Simeon and St. Sava above the entrance) and on the thirteenth century’s icon of Kievan Lavra (the Theotokos with St.

⁵²⁵ [Aaron Ja. Gurevich] Аарон Яковлевич Гуревич, *Историческая антропология: проблемы социальной и культурной истории* [Historical anthropology: problems of social and cultural history], *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 7 (1989): 71-78.

⁵²⁶ “Житие блаженных отцов наших Иоване и Эптиме и известие достойного жительства их, написанное убогим Гиоргием иеромонахом” (The life of our blessed fathers Iovane and Eptvime and the word about their honorable living, written by Giorgi, the hieromonk), translated from Georgian by I. Zateishvili, *Simbol* 34 (1995): 357-374; 36 (1996), 281-298 (Портал-Credo.ru), <http://portal-credo.ru/site/print.php?act=lib&id=40> (accessed May 20, 2009).

⁵²⁷ [Georgi Mtsire] Георгий Мцире. “Житие и подвижничество святого и блаженного отца нашего Георгия Святогорца” (Life and selfless devotion of our holy and blessed father Giorgi of Holy Mountain) in Полные жизнеописания Святых Грузинской Церкви (Complete Writing of the Lives of Georgian Saints) trans. and ed. [Micheil Sabinin (Sabinashvili)] Михаил Сабинин (Сабинашвили), (GeorgianWeb.com), <http://www.georgianweb.com/religion/ru/giorgi.html> (accessed May 20, 2009).

Antonije and St. Theodosije). Besides this similarity there are also some common metaphors for these Georgian saints and St. Simeon and St. Sava: “teachers,” “apostles,” “enlighteners,” motive of alienation and comparison with Abraham. Thus, one can see that the ktetorial cults in both cases received a similar worshipping expressed in the writing of common Lives, common hymns and the joint depiction of the ktetors (the described icon and also frescoes of Bačkovovo and Ahtala).⁵²⁸ And again as it is obvious from joining the second ktetor (St. George) to the saint pair of the first ones (St. John and his son St. Euthymius), the saints were venerated together not because of their blood relations, but because of the common ktetorial activity and common type of sanctity (hermits).

A very similar case of veneration of a pair of ktetors was already described in the chapter dedicated to painting, but here I should like to remind about this case. The two eleventh century’s ktetors and founders of Kievo-Pecersakaya Lavra, St. Antonije and St. Theodosije were venerated together and the earliest proofs of this worship are in both cases connected to paintings. These are: an icon (Theotokos with the saints)⁵²⁹ of the thirteenth century from Kievo-Pecersakaya Lavra (now in the State Tretyakov Gallery) and the description of another icon, depicting the saints together, found in the Pechorian Paterikon.

It is worth to be noticed, that St. Antonije also took vows on the Mount Athos and introduced Athonite rules in the Kievan monastery.⁵³⁰

Thus, in both cases described above one can find a lot of similarities with the case of veneration of St. Simeon and St. Sava. First of all the three groups of the saints received the same iconography (two saints, accompanying the Theotokos on the throne): the Serbian saints in Hilandar, the Georgian ones in Iviron, the Russian ones in the Kievan Lavra. All these groups of saints were founders of monasteries, dedicated to the Theotokos, which can explain this iconography and give to a scholar a hint about the reasons of their joining (as monastic ktetors) and the place of the origins of their

⁵²⁸ About literature and pictorial tradition see details [Ts. Kurkidze, N. Chichinadze] Ц. Курцикидзе, Н. Чичинадзе “Евфимий Святогорец” (St. Euthymius of Holy Mount) in Православная энциклопедия (the Orthodox encyclopedia), Vol. 17 (Moscow: RPC, 2008), <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/187800.html> (accessed May 20, 2009).

⁵²⁹ “Каталог Государственной Третьяковской Галереи, Древнерусское искусство X - начала XV века” [Catalogue of the State Tretyakov Gallery. Old Russian art of the tenth – the beginning of the fifteenth century] (Moscow: GTG, 1995), 70-71 (Cat. 16). See also the foot note 223 of the third chapter of the present work.

⁵³⁰ [Oleg V. Tvorogov] Олег Викторович Творогов, “Житие Антония Печерского. Предисловие” [The Life of Antonije Pechorski. The Preface], in Библиотека литературы Древней Руси [Library of Old Russian literature], Vol. 10 ed. D.S. Lihachev (Saint-Petersburg: Nauka, 2000), 573.

cults (the monastery, founded by them). However, these similarities lead to a new problem: to the joint cults of monastic founders and their goals and functions, which demands a further analysis.

Another cult, unifying those of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the first Slavonic teachers, who were widely venerated in the Balkans,⁵³¹ is quite close to the Hilandarian case. The writings⁵³² composed about these saints surely influenced Teodosije.⁵³³ Similarly with the saint Slavonic teachers St. Simeon and St. Sava were called “illuminators,” “teachers,” “lamps,” etc. This theme also demands another research. Being called in Teodosije’s writings “apostles,” Simeon and Sava were compared with the Disciples of Christ; among them at least two holy pairs were venerated separately: St. Peter and St. Paul⁵³⁴ and St. John and his disciple St. Prochoros.⁵³⁵

However, the phenomenon of joining saints together can be understood only in a wider context. Thus, as it was represented by an example with a miracle, described by Teodosije, the cult of St. Simeon and Sava was probably influenced by pictorial material of St. Boris and St. Gleb’s cult. Being portrayed as equestrians, Simeon and Sava in this situation, unusual for monastic saints, received additional functions as state defenders from foreign enemies. Perhaps this role of the holy pair has some connections with the new Serbian ideology, developed in the late period of Milutin’s reign. On the other side, although being a monastic pair, St. Simeon and St. Sava still came from royal family and were founders the Church and the state in Serbia, which was reflected in their separate cults and on the late stage in additional dynastic and state protective functions of the joint cult itself. In this respect the cult can be compared with the dynastical cult of holy Hungarian kings, St. Stephen, St. Emeric and St. Ladislav, which

⁵³¹ [Boris N. Florya, Anatolij A. Turilov, Sergei A. Ivanov] Борис Николаевич Флоря, Анатолий Аркадиевич Турилов, Сергей Аркадиевич Иванов, *Судьбы кирилло-мефодиевской традиции после Кирилла и Мефодия* [The fate of Cyrilo-Methodian tradition after Cyril and Methodius] (Saint-Petersburg: Aletheia, 2000), 123–128.

⁵³² St. Cyril and St. Methodius are glorified together in the common hymns and the panegyric, for further details see publication of Georgi Popov (Георги Попов, “Служби за Кирил и Методий” [Services to Cyril and Methodius] *Kirilo-Matodievaska enciklopedija*, vol. 3 (Sofia: BAN, 2003), 652–666); [Konstantin Mečev] Константин Мечев, “Климент Охридски и общото похвалното слово за Кирил и Методий” [Clement of Ohrid and the common encomium on Cyril and Methodius], in *Климент Охридски. Сборник от статии по случай 1050 години от смъртта му (916–1966)* ed. B. Angelov (Sofia: BAN, 1966), 279 – 291.

⁵³³ [Vojislav Đurić] Војислав Ђурић, “Свети Сава Српски — нови Игњатије Богоносац и други Кирил” [Saint Sava Serbian – the new Ignatius the God-bearer and the second Cyril], *ZLU* 15 (1979): 98–100.

⁵³⁴ Engelbert Kirschbaum, *The Tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1959).

⁵³⁵ Derek Krueger, *Writing and holiness: the practice of authorship in the early Christian East*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 37–41.

was actively developed in the time of Charles Robert of Anjou in Hungary,⁵³⁶ i.e. in the same epoch with Milutin's rule. In this case one can find even direct influences, because of the common borders of the two countries, a multiple family alliances between the Nemanides and the Arpads and finally, because of the similarity of the political situation (the both kings aimed the development of the cults on legalization of the inheritance of the thrones). In this way there are several ways for further studies and all they will permit to understand better such a complicated problem as sanctity.

⁵³⁶ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy rulers and blessed princesses: dynastic cults in medieval central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 295-330.

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1. Mileševa monastery (1222-1228), a procession of the Nemanides family members





2. Radoslav's chapel in Studenica monastery (about 1230), a procession of the Nemanides family members (southern wall)



3. Radoslav's chapel in Studenica monastery (about 1230), a procession of the church hierarchs (northern wall)



4. Cathedral of Bogorodica Ljeviška (1306-1309), a procession of the members of the Nemanides dynasty (western wall)



5. An Icon of St. Simeon and St. Sava from Hilandar monastery (end of 13th – beginning of 14th century)



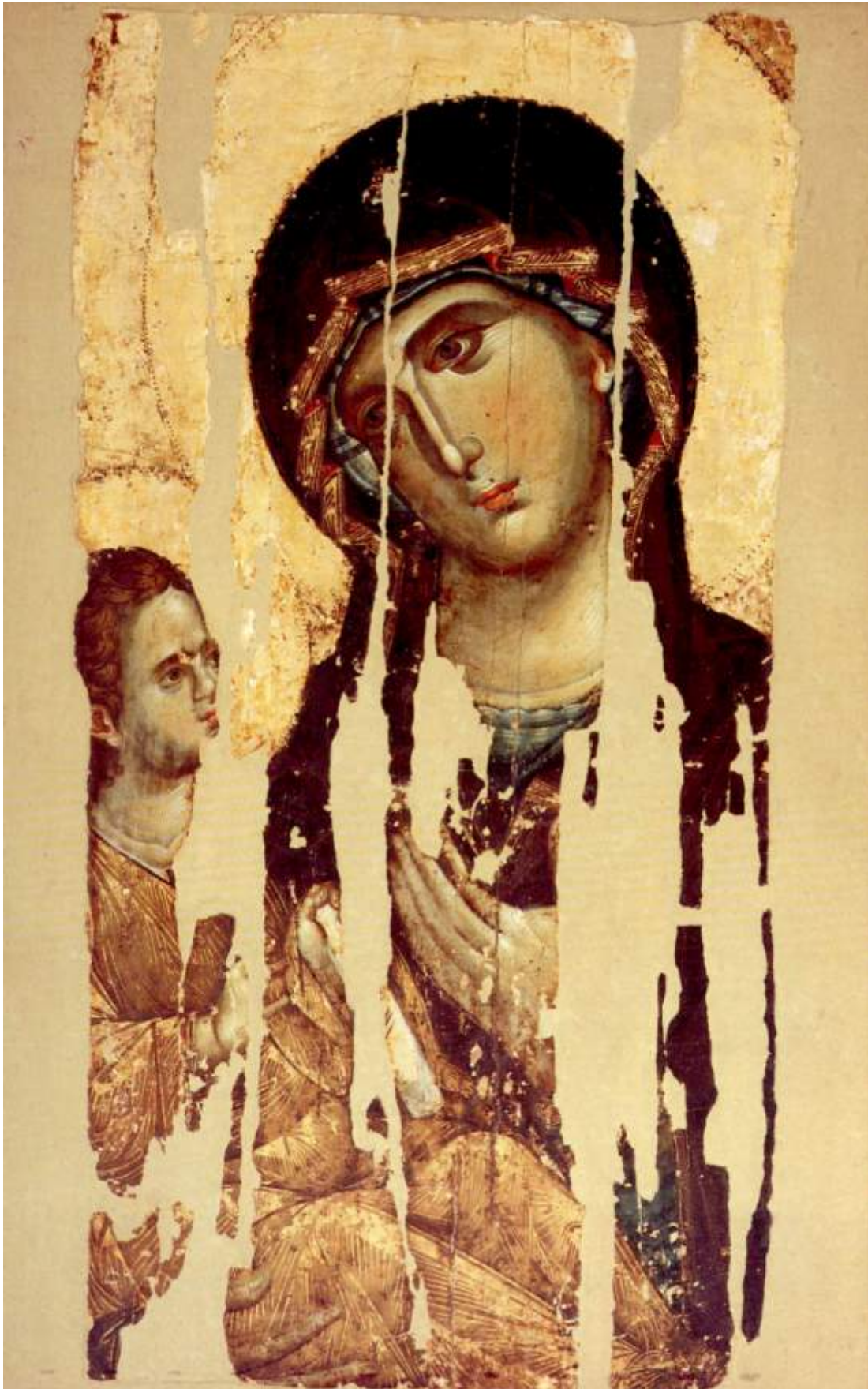
6. King's church in Studenica (1313-1314), St. Simeon, St. Sava and the Theotokos.(northern wall)



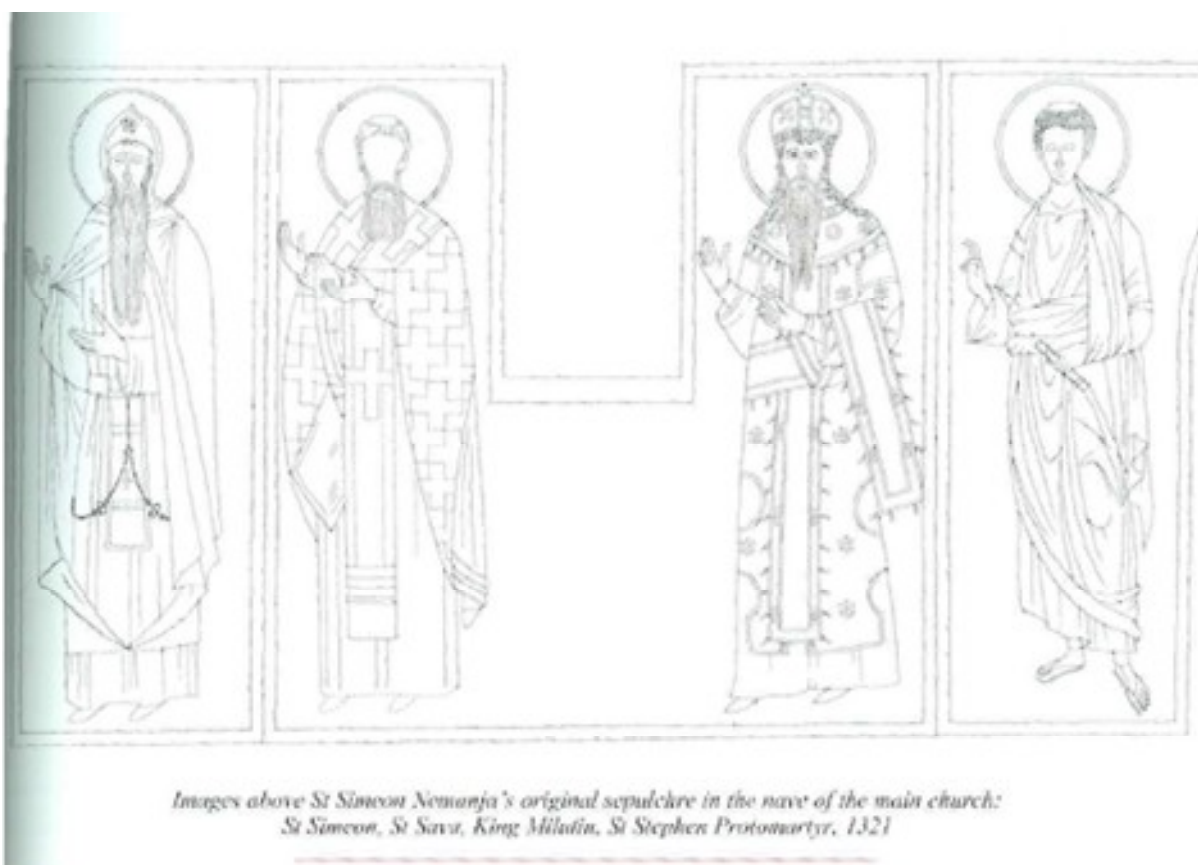
7. King's church in Studenica (1313-1314), Simonis, king Milutin, Joachim and Anna and Christ (southern wall)



8. Two Hodegitria icons from Hilandar (about 1200)



9. Hodegitria icons from Hilandar. (about 1260)



10. The Presentation cathedral, Hilandar (1321). St. Simeon, St. Sava, king Milutin, St. Stephen (southern wall)



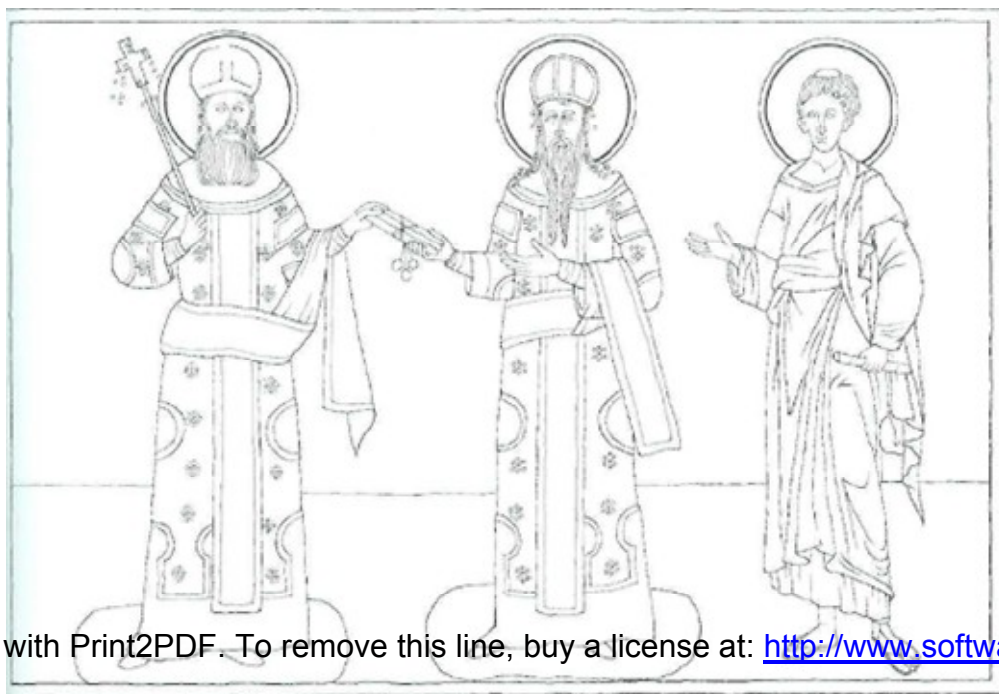
11. The Presentation cathedral, Hilandar (1321). St. Simeon,(southern wall)



12. The Presentation cathedral, Hilandar (1321). Composition in the narthex, St. Simeon and St. Sava with the Teotokos (repainted in the nineteenth century)



13-14. The Presentation cathedral, Hilandar (1321). Composition in the narthex, Andronikos II king Milutin and St. Stephan





15. St. Nikitas' church near Skopje (1321-1324). St. Simeon, St. Sava and St. Theodosios Koinobites (northern wall)