

# The cult of Saint Zotikos Orphanotrophos and his images in Byzantium and beyond

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*St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos acquired great renown in Constantinople owing to his efforts in the establishment of two singularly important philanthropic institutions in the Byzantine Empire – Orphanotropheion (Ορφανοτροφείον) on the Acropolis of Constantinople and the Leprosarium in Pera (Golden Horn at Elaiones). The paper discusses an underexplored aspect of the veneration of St. Zotikos – his representations in art. It uses available liturgical sources, hagiographical testimonies and the scarce visual evidence to investigate and determine the reach of the cult of St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos, first in the wider framework of Eastern Christian art and then in Serbian medieval art.*

*Key words:* St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos, iconography, Byzantine art, Serbian Medieval art, Orphanotropheion, Leprosarium, Constantinople

According to Byzantine sources, St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos belongs among the notable personages of Constantinople's early history. The old Constantinopolitan tradition relates that St. Zotikos was the first orphanotrophos of the Byzantine capital. The imperial caretaker of orphans was an official associated with the Orphanotropheion (Ορφανοτροφείον) on the Acropolis of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> The figure and work of St. Zotikos are also inextricably tied to the founding of another very important philanthropic institution in the Byzantine Empire – the Leprosarium in Pera (Golden Horn at Elaiones), which provided accommodation and treatment for people with leprosy.<sup>2</sup> It is hence unsurprising that the research of the phenomenon of Byzantine hospitals, philanthropic institutions and court titles has paid due attention to elucidating Zotikos's person and work, primarily by criti-

cally examining historical sources. On the other hand, hagiographical testimonies show that he did not garner wider veneration among Orthodox Christians. This article discusses an underexplored aspect of the veneration of St. Zotikos – his representations in art. It uses the scarce iconographic and available liturgical sources to investigate and determine the reach of the cult of St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos, first in the wider framework of Eastern Christian art and then in Serbian medieval art.

## *Saint Zotikos in Byzantine liturgical and hagiographical sources*

The earliest memory of Saint Zotikos Orphanotrophos has survived in the Georgian translation of the *Lectionary of Jerusalem* dated to the early seventh or eighth century.<sup>3</sup> The Church of Jerusalem came to celebrate the memory of Saint Zotikos on December 31 and, according to the Georgian version, identified Zotikos as the “nourisher of orphans”. Another early example is the church calendar of John Zosimos (*Cod. Sin. Georg. 34*), compiled in Georgian in the tenth century, but based on fifth–seventh century prototypes from Palestine.<sup>4</sup> The Calendar compiled by the Georgian monk John Zosimos is predominantly based on late antique calendars from the Holy Land, but it also reflects the Greek liturgical tradition which was introduced in Palestine in the eighth century.<sup>5</sup> The next, central phase of the synaxaria includes several redactions of the synaxarion of the *Typikon of the Great Church*, which has been roughly dated to the mid-tenth century. They contain daily commemorations with liturgical lections and topographical information for the city of Constantinople. Two primary manuscripts of the

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<sup>1</sup> J. W. Nesbitt, *St. Zotikos and the early history of the Office of Orphanotrophos*, in: *Βυζάντιο: κράτος και κοινωνία. Μνήμη Νίκου Οικονομίδη*, ed. A. Αβραμέα, A. Λαΐου, E. Χρυσός, Αθήνα 2003, 417–422.

<sup>2</sup> For the Orphanotropheion v. T. S. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium: child welfare in the Christian empire*, Washington D. C. 2003, 51–62. On the Leprosarium v. T. S. Miller, J. W. Nesbitt, *Walking corpses: leprosy in Byzantium and the medieval West*, Ithaca–London 2014, 72–95. Cf. T. Miller, *Charitable institutions*, in: *The Oxford handbook of Byzantine studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, R. Cormack, Oxford 2008, 621–629.

<sup>3</sup> M. Tarchnischvile, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (V<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Louvain 1959, I/1, 12; I/2, 17. For a discussion of the hypothesis that the *Lectionary* reflects the liturgical situation of the Church of Jerusalem around 600 cf. N. Aleksidze, *Cult of saints*, E03474 – <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E03474>.

<sup>4</sup> G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Bruxelles 1958, 113. Cf. Aleksidze, *Cult of saints*.

<sup>5</sup> Aleksidze, *Cult of saints*.

Mateos' edition of the *Typikon of the Great Church* record a few novelties in the contents of St. Zotikos's memory. The manuscript from the library of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos no. 266, labeled P (ninth-tenth c.), in the rubric for December 31 remembers the venerable father Zotikos, presbyter and orphanotrophos (“μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ, πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφου”).<sup>6</sup> The second, *Cod. 40* from the Monastery Hagios Stavros in Jerusalem, labeled H (tenth-eleventh c.), along with December 31 reports January 8 as the date of this saint's commemoration. The liturgical lections of this manuscript provide more specific explanations for both dates: on December 31 Zotikos was commemorated at the church of Saint Paul the Apostle in the Orphanage<sup>7</sup> and on January 8 a synaxis was held in his memory at the asylum in Elaiones.<sup>8</sup> Another variation that cannot be reliably explained has been recorded in a manuscript from the same family, labeled F.<sup>9</sup> *Cod. Paris gr. 1590* (1063) mentions Zotikos in the rubric for December 30, but identifies him as a martyr (instead of a presbyter) and an orphanotrophos: “ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ζωτικοῦ, τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου”.<sup>10</sup>

Based on commemorations in liturgical synaxaria from the eighth to the eleventh century, it can be concluded that a saint called Zotikos was venerated in Constantinople and that the most comprehensive memory of him is tied to the philanthropic institution which he led with the office of orphanotrophos. Memories preserved in synaxaria, however, also identify Saint Zotikos also as a venerable father, presbyter and martyr, making his “hagiological portrait” more complex. The synaxarion of the *Typikon of the Great Church* mentions two locations in Constantinople where the cultic celebration of St. Zotikos took place – the church of St. Paul the Apostle in the Orphanage complex and an asylum in the part of the city known as Elaiones.<sup>11</sup>

The manuscripts mentioned above preserve an older edition of the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion*, meaning that the celebration has a very concise formula, including the name of the commemorated saint, possibly supplemented with brief topographical or chronological notes. Later synaxaria bear witness to a more developed hagiographical structure, with a collection of short hagiographical accounts.<sup>12</sup> *The Synaxarion of Constantinople*, probably compiled in the tenth century, records the commemoration of St. Zotikos, the Nourisher of Orphans,

on December 31 after that of the Venerable Melania the Younger of Rome. The hagiographical section contains a concise *vita*. The hagiographer reports that the Venerable Zotikos Orphanotrophos was originally from Rome; he renounced his privileges as a *magistrarianos* under Emperor Constantine the Great and, having entered the clergy as a presbyter, devoted himself to providing assistance for orphans, widows, the sick and other unfortunates. The legend recounts that there was an outbreak of leprosy around this time and, to prevent the spreading of the fatal disease, the emperor ordered that every leper was to be thrown into the sea. Guided by divine love, Zotikos requested some gold from the emperor, which he then used to bribe soldiers to hand over the sick to him; shortly thereafter he founded a leprosarium on the other side of the Bosphorus, on a hill overlooking the walls of Constantinople, which catered to their medical needs. The Venerable Zotikos was martyred during the reign of Constantius II, who is remembered as a proponent of Arianism. Having realized that St. Zotikos had used funds from the imperial treasury to provide care for the sick, the heretic emperor was furious and ordered that the priest be tied to wild mules, which proceeded to drag his body on sharp rocks until it was dismembered. While the executioners were still whipping the animals, a miracle happened – one of the mules stopped and spoke in a human voice that it was God's will that the body be buried on the hill. Seeing that, the emperor repented and asked God's forgiveness, and Zotikos's body was ceremoniously laid to rest. At the site of Zotikos's death, a spring of clean water allegedly appeared and healed many of the sick.<sup>13</sup>

The liturgical commemoration of St. Zotikos does not appear in the most famous codex of recension B of the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion* – the Menologion of Basil II (*Vat. gr. 1613*) made for Emperor Basil II c. 1000.<sup>14</sup> However, he is mentioned in the rubrics for December 31 in two synaxaria which are testimonies to the aforementioned recensions B – *Par. Gr. 1589* from the National Library of France in Paris (fol. 5) and *Vat. gr. 2046* from the Vatican Library in Rome (fol. 130–132).<sup>15</sup>

A more extensive version of *Vita Zotici* has survived in an eleventh-century menologion (*Walters 521*, fol. 50v–56, fig. 1) which belongs to the group of so-called imperial menologia – a special type of collected *vitae* probably created in the time of Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041). In it the memory of St. Zotikos (here called “the Ptochotrophos”) appears in the rubric for January 8.<sup>16</sup> In terms of its content, the first part of this text is consistent with the synaxarion *vita*. However, besides the more extensive form of the narrative, there are some

<sup>6</sup> A. A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khраниashchikhsia v bibliotekakh Pravoslavnogo Vostoka I*, Kiev 1895, 38.

<sup>7</sup> J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, X<sup>e</sup> siècle I*, Roma 1962, 169 (“Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ ἀποστολείῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου τῷ ὄντι ἐν τῷ Ὀρφανοτροφείῳ”).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 191 (“Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῷ εὐαγεῖ πτωχείῳ ἐν Ἐλεαναίς”).

<sup>9</sup> For this group of manuscripts v. Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, XX–XXIII, col. 357.

<sup>10</sup> M. Aubineau, *Zoticos de Constantinople, nourricier des pauvres et serviteur des lépreux*, AB 93 (1975) 94.

<sup>11</sup> For the oldest group of Byzantine *synaxaria* (eighth–eleventh century) that mention Saint Zotikos Orphanotrophos v. Aubineau, *Zoticos de Constantinople*, 92–95.

<sup>12</sup> A. Luzzi, *Synaxaria and the Synaxarion of Constantinople*, in: *Ashgate research companion to Byzantine hagiography II. Genres and contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, Farnham – Burlington, VT 2014, 200–202.

<sup>13</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, cols. 359–362; BHG 2481.

<sup>14</sup> A. Luzzi, ‘El Menologio de Basilio II’ y el semestre invernal de la recensio B\* del Sinaxario de Constantinopla, in: *El “Menologio” de Basilio II: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613, Libro de estudios con ocasión de la edición facsimil*, ed. I. Perez Martin, Città del Vaticano 2008, 64 (henceforth this collection of papers = *El “Menologio” de Basilio II: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613*).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* (with further bibliography). For *Cod. Vat. gr. 2046* v. [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.2046](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.2046). For *Cod. Par. Gr. 1589* v. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722151s/f12.image/>.

<sup>16</sup> For the text with a French translation and commentaries cf. Aubineau, *Zoticos de Constantinople*, 67–108; BHG 2479.



Fig. 1. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, *The Walters Menologion* (521) fol. 50v (photograph: *The Walters Art Museum: The Digital Walters*)

other differences. Thus in the Imperial Menologion the martyrdom of St. Zotikos is supplemented with information of the location where the mules stopped – the Church of St. Panteleemon. According to this account Emperor Constantius II expanded the Leprosarium established by the priest Zotikos. The concern of the Byzantine rulers for the prosperity of the Leprosarium continued in the later period. Emperor Justin II (565–571) provided this institution with funds to support the medical treatment of lepers and Emperor Maurice (582–602) had the complex rebuilt after it had suffered damage in Avar attacks. The Zotikos legend also mentions, albeit in more general terms, that many miraculous healings of leprosy occurred

at the Leprosarium. Probably the most significant historical reference is found in the final section of the account. The hagiographer describes the visits of Emperor Michael IV to this institution, emphasizing his philanthropy and empathy for the lepers and describing how he helped patients to take baths in the spring and climb out of the pool and escorted them back to their beds.

The learned Constantinopolitan poet Christopher of Mytilene (c. 1000 – after 1050 or 1068) composed calendars in classical meters.<sup>17</sup> From the second half of the twelfth century, these epigrams began to appear above

<sup>17</sup> Christopher of Mytilene, in: ODB I, 442 (A. Kazhdan).

entries for saints in synaxaria.<sup>18</sup> This poet mentions six saints for December 31, with St. Zotikos being the second, after Melania of Rome.

Πόλων συρόντων, Ζωτικὸς σκιρτῶν τρέχει.  
 Ὡι βαλβίς ἡ γῆ, τέρμα δὲ δρόμου πόλος.  
 En! distrahunt pulli feroces Zoticum,  
 Cui scamma solum, sed meta, sphaera syderum.<sup>19</sup>

There is no reference to this notable Constantinopolitan saint in the menologion of the *Typikon of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis* in Constantinople (c. 1055), whose liturgical parts have been found to share many similarities with the *Synaxarion of the Monastery of Stoudios*.<sup>20</sup> This text mentions only St. Melania of Rome, who is also commemorated on December 30, together with the martyress Anysia.<sup>21</sup> This means that the memory of Zotikos Orphanotrophos is missing from a whole group of synaxaria contained in eleventh- and twelfth-century monastery typika that emulated the Evergetis model.<sup>22</sup>

In the extensive corpus of hagiographical material included in the capital work *The Complete Menologion of the East* by Archbishop Sergios (Sergij Spasskij)<sup>23</sup> the name of the venerable Zotikos Orphanotrophos appears under four dates – December 29,<sup>24</sup> 30 and 31 and January 8.<sup>25</sup> Particularly noteworthy among these texts are the synaxarion and a few Greek menologia found in tenth- and eleventh-century Greek lectionaries (for December 31).<sup>26</sup> However, in the following chronological phase, deeper insight into the veneration of Zotikos is provided by a group of Greek liturgical books which mention this notable saint as being commemorated on December 30. These are menologia in the Gospel Lectionary of the Museum of Moscow (no. 13, eleventh–twelfth c.) and the Apostolos from the Coislin collection, National Library in Paris (no. 199, twelfth c.).<sup>27</sup> The *Jaharis Gospel Lectionary* made c. 1100 is one of the most representative examples of the group of illuminated Constantinopolitan and pa-

triarchal lectionaries with readings for the entire year.<sup>28</sup> The commemoration of St. Zotikos the Nourisher of Orphans is found in the section with the fixed calendar in the rubrics for December 31.<sup>29</sup> The same is also included in three similar manuscripts from the same group of Middle Byzantine lectionaries – those in the Vatican Library (*Vat. gr. 1156*); Venice, San Giorgio dei Greci (cod. 2); and the National library in Paris (*Suppl. gr. 1096*).<sup>30</sup>

What was the place of St. Zotikos in menologia and synaxaria in the Greek liturgical books that resulted from the Palestinian synthesis, e.g. the heavy influence of Sabaite liturgical typika on Byzantine monastic typika, which can be traced from the twelfth century?<sup>31</sup> Liturgical memories of St. Zotikos were not left out of the more relevant typika of the older Sabaitical tradition with synaxaria for the complete liturgical year, including two manuscripts of the same redaction from the late twelfth century – *Sinait. gr. 1096*<sup>32</sup> and *Sinait. gr. 1094*.<sup>33</sup> In the menologia of the *Typikon of the Lavra of St. Sabas the Sanctified*, the venerable Zotikos Orphanotrophos appears in the rubric for December 30 – in the second of these together with the martyress Anysia (“τοῦ ὁσίου Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου”), and in the first with the latter and with Melania of Rome (“τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου”). Mar Sabas’ liturgical typikon was extremely influential in the Byzantine world in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A representative of the younger traditions is the text of the *Typikon of the Lavra of St. Sabas* in *Cod. Q 740*, dated between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, now kept in the Duchess Anna-Amalia Library in Weimar.<sup>34</sup> A liturgical synaxarion for every day of the year makes up the majority of this text and hence Zotikos is here remembered together with the martyress Anysia on December 30, like in the abovementioned examples. The only difference between them is that the younger calendar describes him as the presbyter of the Orphan-

<sup>18</sup> *Ecclesiae Graecae martyrologium metricum ex Menaeis, cod. Chiffletiano, Actisque Sanctorum*, ed. U. G. Siberus, Lipsia 1727; E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, Bruxelles 1980.

<sup>19</sup> *Ecclesiae Graecae*, 450.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A. M. Pentkovskii, *Evergetidskii monastyr' i imperatorskie monastyr'i v Konstantinopole v konce XI – nachale XII veka*, VV 63 (2004) 76–88; idem, *Studiiskii ustav i ustavy studiiskoi tradicii*, Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii 5 (2001) 69–80.

<sup>21</sup> R. H. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: September–February*, Belfast 2000, 373–375; idem, *Indexes for The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, Belfast 2007, 16.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. e.g. *Le typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex messinensis gr. 115, A. D. 1131*, ed. M. Arranz, Roma 1969, 89.

<sup>23</sup> Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov Vostoka II*, Vladimir 1901, 397, 398.

<sup>24</sup> Recorded only in the recension of the *Typikon of Constantinople*. Cf. *ibid.*, 397.

<sup>25</sup> Recorded as Zotikos, only in one manuscript: *Hlud.* 35. Cf. *ibid.*, 35.

<sup>26</sup> Menologion in a Greek gospel lectionary from Jerusalem (tenth century); menologion in a Greek apostolos, Moscow Theological Academy (eleventh–twelfth century); Greek synaxarion or prologue (eleventh century); menologion from a Greek gospel lectionary, The Legacy of Nanni family, National Marciana Library in Venice (eleventh century). Cf. Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov I*, 99; 106, 110; 293; II, XIII–XXVIII.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 112–113, 120–121.

<sup>28</sup> J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: the story of a Byzantine book*, New York 2009 (with further bibliography).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 102. For the characteristics of the menologia in the *Jaharis Lectionary* and the references to the Great Church and Constantinopolitan commemorations v. *ibid.*, 22–41.

<sup>30</sup> M.-L. Dolezal, *The middle Byzantine lectionary: textual and pictorial expression of liturgical ritual*, Chicago 1991 (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago), 322 (appendix II).

<sup>31</sup> Notable works in the extensive literature on the Sabaite tradition include: *The Sabaite heritage in the Orthodox Church from the fifth century to the present*, ed. J. Patrich, Leuven 2001. For typika v. A. Lossky, *Die griechischen sabaitischen liturgischen Typika – ihre kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung und Stellung zwischen Palästina und Konstantinopel*, in: *Orientierung über das Ganze: liturgische Vielstimmigkeit der Ökumene und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, ed. A. Gerhards, T. Chronz, Berlin–Münster 2015, 55–72.

<sup>32</sup> Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie III*, 37. Cf. A. Lossky, *Le typicon de saint Sabas Sinaiticus graecus 1096 (douzième siècle). Présentation d'un projet d'édition*, in: *Rites and rituals of the Christian East*, ed. B. Groen, D. Galadza, N. Glibetić, G. Radle, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2014, 293–302.

<sup>33</sup> A. Lossky, *Le Typikon Byzantin: édition d'une version grecque partiellement inédite: analyse de la partie liturgique*, Strasbourg 1987 (doctoral dissertation, University Marc Bloch), 183.

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed description of the *Cod. Q 740* v. T. Chronz, *Beobachtungen am griechischen Typikon Q 740 in Weimar*, Ostkirchliche Studien 63 (Würzburg 2014) 125–147. For the specific aspects of the *Cod Q 740* cf. D. R. Fittipaldi, *The Typikon of Mâr Saba in the XIII century or what and when to read in the monastic Byzantine liturgy*, *Temas Medievales* 23 (Buenos Aires 2015) 89–113.



Fig. 2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Florentine cartographer Cristoforo Buondelmonte, Map of Constantinople, 1422 (after: *Description des îles de l'archipel*, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris)

age (“Μηνὶ ... τοῦ ὁσίου Ζωτικοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Ὀρφανοτροφείου”).<sup>35</sup> St. Zotikos’s memory also appears under the same date in a younger Jerusalem typikon – MS 456 of the Moscow Synodal Library written in 1297 at the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi.<sup>36</sup> Contemporaneous menaia from Greek-speaking territories show that there was little interest in the local Constantinopolitan saint and that hymnographical elements were usually left out of his memory. St. Zotikos is commemorated in the menaion for December of the Moscow Synodal Library, orig-

inally written at the Athonite monastery of Docheiariou, whose services are consistent with those of the Jerusalem Typikon.<sup>37</sup> This manuscript preserves the Greek original of his canon, in the plagal fourth (eighth) mode, without the acrostic which would become more common in services in Slavic menaia, including modern ones.<sup>38</sup>

According to a Venetian edition of a Greek *menaion* from 1551, the memory of the Constantinopolitan presbyter and orphanotrophos is grouped together with those of

<sup>35</sup> I am indebted to my colleague Diego Rodrigo Fittipaldi for kindly providing this piece of information found in *Cod. Q 740*, which he is currently preparing for publication in a critical edition.

<sup>36</sup> Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov I*, 177; *Sistematischeskoe opisanie rukopisei Moskovskoi Sinodal'noi (Patriarshei) biblioteki I. Rukopisi grecheskie*, ed. Arhim. Vladimir, Moskva 1894, 392–393.

<sup>37</sup> Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov I*, 175; II, XXI (M. 447).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* Irmos: “σωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ”; Beginning: “Ἀνοθεν ἐλλαμφοθῆναι”. Cf. E. Παπαηλιοπούλου-Φωτοπούλου, *Ταμείον ανεκδότων βυζαντινῶν ασματικῶν κανόνων, seu Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Orientis Christiani I*, Αθήνα 1996, 139. Cf. also Zotik Siropitate!, in: *Pravoslavnaia entsiklopediia* 20, Moskva 2009, 391–392 (E. E. Makarov).

the martyress Anysia and Melania of Rome, and is to be performed during Compline on December 30. Unlike the two martyresses whose canons are read on the same day during Orthros, the celebration of St. Zotikos is not accompanied by any special hymnographic compositions.<sup>39</sup> Instead, in *menaia* the memory of St. Zotikos is accompanied only by the abovementioned epigram written in honor of the Constantinopolitan saint by Christopher of Mytilene.<sup>40</sup>

A late version of the legend of St. Zotikos (BHG 2480) belongs to the corpus of Palaiologan *vitae*.<sup>41</sup> Constantine Akropolites (d. 1324), a Byzantine intellectual, *megas logothetes* (1305/1306 – ca. 1321) and one of the most prolific hagiographers of the early Palaiologan period composed the *Logos to the Holy and Wonder-Working Zotikos*.<sup>42</sup> This hagiographical text has been found in *Codex Ambrosianus H. 81 Suppl* (fol. 1–11), a manuscript which contains the opus of Constantine Akropolites. The most important difference compared to the earlier versions of the Zotikos legend is the addition of three post mortem miracles after the account of the saint's martyrdom (chap. 16–19). Although both *vitae* – in the *Synaxarion* and the *Imperial Menologion* – mention that after the saint's death the Leprosarium continued to be a place where lepers were miraculously healed thanks to the intercession of St. Zotikos, it is only Akropolites's version that includes more specific episodes. The narrative recounts the healing of the members of a Khazar Jewish family in Constantinople and the eunuch John who resided in the Leprosarium because he suffered from the holy disease, i.e. leprosy. They were cured after bathing in the spring and pouring oil from the tomb of St. Zotikos.<sup>43</sup>

Unlike the two older versions, a late version of the legend recounted in the *Akropolites Vitae* also contains some historically very well-founded, expanded descriptions of the political situation in Constantinople that eventually resulted in Zotikos's martyrdom (chap. 9–11). The appearance of a large number of people infected with leprosy has been explained by the demographic growth of Constantinople's population in the time of Emperor

Constantine and the large influx of settlers from the provinces into the new capital.<sup>44</sup> The information that some of the powerful around the emperor were jealous of Zotikos – which also appears in the *Synaxarion* version – is explained by Akropolites in the context of the civil unrests caused by the burden that Zotikos's philanthropic activities made on the city's purse. The last historical factor emphasized by Akropolites is Emperor Constantius's religious conviction and his official endorsement of the Arian creed. The *Akropolites vitae* differs from two older versions of the Zotikos legend in that it uses the popular *Sylvester legend*, a story about Constantine's baptism, as a literary source for describing that the campaign against lepers originated from imperial and city officials (chap. 7).<sup>45</sup>

All three of these hagiographical writings offer information on St. Zotikos and his cult in Constantinople over the centuries. Although St. Zotikos is normally designated as Orphanotrophos in synaxaria, menologia and *menaia*, it is very interesting to note that none of the three versions of *Vita Zotici* associates him with the founding of the Orphanage, but rather with establishing a leprosarium outside the city walls on a hill facing Constantinople on the north shore of the Golden Horn at Elaiones (the area later known as Pera, fig. 2).<sup>46</sup> However, the hagiographer of the longer version from the *Imperial Menologion* explains in chapter 12 the administrative and legal regulation of the relationship between the leper asylum and the Orphanage, as part of the account of the alleged foundation of the Orphanage of Saint Paul by the imperial couple Justin II (565–571) and Sophia.<sup>47</sup>

It should be noted that these legends date from no earlier than the eleventh century. Comparing the *Vita Zotici* from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the *Imperial Menologion*, Michel Aubineau came to conclusion that there was no direct connection between them, but that the contents of both legends were based on the same, older source, allowing the hypothesis that an older version of his *vita* did indeed exist.<sup>48</sup> Similar conclusions were reached by Thomas Miller, who demonstrated that “the *Akropolites vitae*, the *Synaxarion Epitome* and the *Menologion vitae* are all independent witnesses of the Zotikos legend”.<sup>49</sup> He showed that Akropolites did not use earlier versions as models but more probably copied or added new elements, in accordance with the rules of rhetoric, to the same eleventh-century archetype or one similar to it.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately almost nothing has been preserved of the old hagiographical texts for the month December, as Ehrhard showed in his capital work dedicated to the vast corpus of Greek hagiographical manuscripts.<sup>51</sup> It has been noted that the so-called concise *vita* of St. Zotikos is in fact far more

<sup>39</sup> Μην Δεκέμβιος. Το παρόν Μηναίον ετυπώθη..., Βενετία 1551 (December 30). Cf. A. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Σχεδιάσμα περί των λειτουργικών μηναιών*, VV 1 (1894) 341–344.

<sup>40</sup> Based on the printed editions of *menaia*. Cf. *Μηναία τοῦ ὄλου ἐνιαυτοῦ* II, Ρώμη 1889, 740 (Zotikos); *Μηναιὸν δεκεμβρίου Διορθωθέν το πρὶν ὑπὸ Βαρθολομαίου Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ* XII, Βενετία 1863, 242 (Zotikos); *Ανθολόγιον...* I, ed. Ph. Vitali, Ρώμη 1738, vξέ (Zotikos); Νικόδημος ο Αγιορείτης, *Συναξαριστὴς τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* I, Ἀθήνησι 1868, 353 (Zotikos). Cf. E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, Rome 1966, 114.

<sup>41</sup> For the Palaiologan hagiography v. A. M. Talbot, *Hagiography in Late Byzantium (1204–1453)*, in: *The Ashgate research companion to Byzantine hagiography I. Periods and places*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, London 2011, 173–190.

<sup>42</sup> For the text with an English translation and commentaries v. T. S. Miller, *The legend of Saint Zotikos according to Constantine Akropolites*, AB 112 (1994) 339–376. For Constantine Akropolites v. D. M. Nicol, *Constantine Akropolites: a prosopographical note*, DOP 19 (1965) 249–256.

<sup>43</sup> Miller, *The legend*, 344–345 hypothesizes that Akropolites based the three stories of posthumous miracles on an unknown eleventh or twelfth century text. The possibility that these stories date from the author's own time is discussed in: S. Efthymiadis, *Greek Byzantine collections of miracles. A chronological and bibliographical survey*, Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies 74/1 (1999) 208; idem, *Late Byzantine collections of miracles and their implications*, in: idem, *Hagiography in Byzantium: literature, social history and cult*, Farnham 2011, 241.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte: Der christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur*, Graz–Vienna–Cologne 1965, 47. For more details in the context of *vitae* cf. T. S. Miller, *The birth of the hospital in the Byzantine Empire*, Baltimore 1985, 68–88.

<sup>45</sup> For the *Sylvester legend* v. A. Kazhdan, *Constantine imaginaire: Byzantine legends of the ninth century about Constantine the Great*, Byzantion 57 (1987) 196–250.

<sup>46</sup> Miller, *The legend*, 371.

<sup>47</sup> Aubineau, *Zoticos de Constantinople*, 83.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 88–92.

<sup>49</sup> Miller, *The legend*, 343.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 344.

<sup>51</sup> A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* I, Leipzig 1937, 509–521.



Fig. 3a. Dumbarton Oaks collection, Seal of the brothers of St. Zotikos, obverse: St. Zotikos (photograph: Dumbarton Oaks, Online Catalogue of Byzantine Seals)



Fig. 3b. Dumbarton Oaks collection, Seal of the brothers of St. Zotikos, reverse (photograph: Dumbarton Oaks, Online Catalogue of Byzantine Seals)

extensive than other, generally even briefer *vitae* in the Synaxarion. Such an exception could have been made for a local saint who was particularly popular in Constantinople.<sup>52</sup> Zotikos's *vita* in the Baltimore Menologion (*Walters 521*) also seems to have had special importance. Parallels between events and actors in the hagiographical narrative and the biographical data about Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041) support the hypothesis about the emperor's personal involvement in the selection of this text. Michael IV himself suffered from both epilepsy and dropsy, and according to Michael Psellos he was particularly sympathetic to leprosy sufferers; his major projects included works on the Kosmidion Monastery, dedicated to the holy anargyroi Kosmas and Damianos, and the founding of a hospice called "Ptochotropheion".<sup>53</sup> It is important to note that the text in the Baltimore Menologion represents the only known source which refers to St. Zotikos as "the Ptochotropfos".<sup>54</sup> The *Akropolites vitae* indicates the revival of the cults of older saints in the late thirteenth–early fourteenth centuries.<sup>55</sup> Constantine Akropolites was one of the *literati* from the time of Andronikos II (1282–1328) who dedicated hagiographical panegyrics to prominent saints venerated for their healing cults and efforts in the field of Constantinople's medical and charitable facilities.<sup>56</sup>

With the exception of the synaxarion *vita* preserved in several elaborate recensions of the Synaxarion of the Great Church (Synaxarion of Constantinople), each of

the other two versions of *Vitae Zotici* is known via a single manuscript. Taking into account the known circumstances of their writing, it can be inferred that St. Zotikos seems to have enjoyed remarkable prestige and veneration primarily in Constantinople, and that the continuity and revival of his cult were encouraged by imperial and intellectual circles.

#### *The memory of St. Zotikos in the Constantinopolitan tradition and history*

Insight into liturgical sources from the eighth to the fourteenth century shows that St. Zotikos was celebrated as the first orphanotrophos, presbyter, benefactor of the poor, and the founder of the hospital for lepers in Constantinople. This is also how the older Constantinopolitan tradition remembers St. Zotikos, and the contents of his cult are attested by information in different written sources, including some much older ones than the extant hagiographical evidence.

The earliest testimony of Zotikos is preserved in an imperial novel issued by Leo I in 472 to confirm privileges and rights to the orphanotrophos Nikon, the keeper of the Constantinopolitan Orphanage at the time. The same sentence goes on to state that the same rights would apply to all who would later occupy this position and bear the title traditionally believed to have been established by Zotikos of blessed memory.<sup>57</sup> In a younger legal act issued in the seventh century, Emperor Herakleios even more specifically mentions the Orphanage as the Orphanotropheion of Zotikos.<sup>58</sup> Although these early legal acts contain no reference to Zotikos's efforts to establish a leper hospital, later Byzantine sources associate him with two philan-

<sup>52</sup> Aubineau, *Zoticos de Constantinople*, 88.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Psellos. *Chronographia* IV, English trans. as *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, New York 1966, 96–97, 105–107.

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion on this question v. N. Patterson Ševčenko, *The Walters 'Imperial' menologion*, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 51 (Baltimore 1993) 58. Cf. eadem, *El 'Menologio de Basilio II' y los 'Menologios imperiales'*, in: *El "Menologio" de Basilio II: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613*, 236–237.

<sup>55</sup> Talbot, *Hagiography*, 176–179.

<sup>56</sup> He composed one *enkomion* in honor of St. Sampson the Xenodochos, a physician, who founded probably the oldest hospital in Constantinople. His *vita* is also found in *Codex Ambrosianus H.81 suppl.* (fols. 152v–169v). Cf. T. S. Miller, *The Sampson hospital of Constantinople*, *BF* 15 (1990) 101, 102, 103, n. 1; idem, *The birth of the hospital*, 198.

<sup>57</sup> *Corpus juris civilis I. Institutiones. Digesta*, ed. T. Mommsen, P. Krüger, Berlin 1928, 3.34 (35), ("rebus . . . ad curam Niconis viri religiosissimi presbyteri et orphanotrophi vel ad eos, qui post eum loco eius successerint, pertinentibus ad similitudinem Zotici beatissimae memoriae, qui prius huiusmodi pietatis officium invenisse dicitur").

<sup>58</sup> Novel 4: Γ. Ράλλης, Μ. Ποτλής, *Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών κανόνων* V, Αθήνησιν 1855, 240.

thropic institutions – the leprosarium in Pera and the Orphanotropheion on the acropolis of Constantinople, both of which were administratively led by the *orphanotrophos* (the guardian of orphans).<sup>59</sup> The report that Emperor Justin II (565–571) ordered regular financial contributions to be paid by the Orphanotropheion to Zotikos’s leprosarium appears only in *Vitae Zotici*. This is, however, confirmed in a younger novel issued by Leo VI (886–912),<sup>60</sup> leading to the view that the administrative connection between these two institutions had been established by the time of Justin II.<sup>61</sup> The *Kletorologion of Philotheos*, a very detailed ninth-century document with a list of government officials, also informs us about the Orphanage’s administrative hierarchy. Under the orphanotrophos are listed two subordinate officials – the *chartoularioi* of the orphanage and the *chartoularioi* of the Zotikos leprosarium.<sup>62</sup>

The tradition of Zotikos as the founder of the Orphanage lived on in later times. Admittedly, some deviations did occasionally occur, for example in the four-volume collection of historical notes, stories and legends about Constantinopolitan antiquities known as the *Patria of Constantinople* (Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως).<sup>63</sup> In his note made in the late tenth century, the unknown compiler of this work attributes the founding of the Orphanage of St. Paul, as well as of St. Zotikos in the same complex, to Justin II (565–578) and his wife Sophia, who allegedly appointed *protovestiaros* Zotikos as its custodian.<sup>64</sup> Already the following passage briefly relates the information which also appears in the *vita* of St. Zotikos about his role in the founding of the Leprosarium in Constantinople: “Under Constantius II (337–361) the son of Constantine the Great, the patrician and *protobestiarios* built dwellings for the brethren in Constantinople, bestowing upon them sufficient foods and vestments...”<sup>65</sup> Despite its remarkable importance as a comprehensive urban history of medieval Constantinople, the *Patria* (Πάτρια) is nonetheless a picture of popular traditions nurtured among the inhabitants of the capital. Besides, mistakes have been known to happen in the process of collating and compiling a large number of older sources. For example, it has been reliably ascertained that the described place in the text about the founding of the orphanage is a misinterpretation of the work of Theophanes, a ninth-century Byzantine historian, who reports that Emperor Justin II and his wife Sophia erected the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Orphanage complex, which in fact dates from an earlier period.<sup>66</sup>

The timeframe of Zotikos’s philanthropic program (care for larger numbers of orphans as well as lepers) has

also been the subject of academic study based on known facts and extant sources. In view of the fact that the text of the act issued by Leo I (472) refers to more than one previous emperor, it proves that Zotikos had established the Orphanotropheion no later than the reign of Theodosius II (408–450), possibly earlier.<sup>67</sup> The dating of Zotikos’s martyrdom given in *Vitae Zotici* has also been considered in the context of historical circumstances, which suggest a significant development of Christian *xenones* (medical hospitals) and *xenodocheia* (hospices) and their evolution into philanthropic and charitable institutions during the years of the Arian controversy (325–380).<sup>68</sup>

Throughout their long, rich history the most important Byzantine charitable establishments preserved the memory of their founder – St. Zotikos, suggesting the need for a brief overview of their character and history (fig. 2). Founded in the fourth century on the Acropolis of Constantinople, the Orphanotropheion was the city’s principal asylum for homeless children. In time Zotikos’s Orphanotropheion gained primacy among all other philanthropic institutions of the empire, keeping this status until the fall of Constantinople in 1204.<sup>69</sup> The complex administrative structure of this institution, the wide range of its philanthropic services and the duties of its director are attested by information in the sources up to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Orphanotropheion had the status of an independent ecclesiastical establishment of the capital. According to legislation issued by Leo I<sup>70</sup> and confirmed by Justinian I seventy years later, the Orphanage and all its dependent institutions enjoyed the same rights and privileges as “The Great Church” of Hagia Sophia.<sup>71</sup> Evidence collected from lead seals dated from the seventh to the ninth century show that some *orphanotrophoi* also held secular court titles. The close ties of the officials who directed Zotikos’s Orphanage to the imperial court are attested by the leading role they were assigned in the ceremony of Palm Sunday described in the *Book of Ceremonies* (*De ceremoniis*) – a rich source of the Byzantine imperial ceremonial compiled and edited by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (905–959). According to the *Ordo* the entrance of the *orphanotrophos* to the Triklinos, the palace throne room, opened this ceremony. The guardian of orphans led the procession that participated in the official reception and included, among others, six directors of the oldest hospitals of Constantinople.<sup>72</sup> The change in the status of the Orphanotropheion was one of the consequences of the fiscal policies of Nikephoros I (802–811), which made it a state institution. In line with this novelty, the *orphanotrophos* became a state

<sup>59</sup> Nesbitt doubts that the same person could have begun his career with the title of orphanotrophos and ended it as the founder of an orphanage. Cf. Nesbitt, *St. Zotikos*, 417–422; idem, *The orphanotrophos: some observations on the history of the office in light of seals*, *Studies in Byzantine sigillography* 8 (2003) 52–53.

<sup>60</sup> Léon VI. *Le Sage: Les Nouvelles. Texte et traduction*, ed. P. Noailles, A. Dain, Paris 1944, 377–378.

<sup>61</sup> Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 55.

<sup>62</sup> N. Oikonomides, *Préséance. Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles: introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire*, Paris 1972, 123. Cf. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 182–183.

<sup>63</sup> *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* II, ed. Th. Preger, Leipzig 1907. For English translation cf. *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: the Patria*, trans. A. Berger, Cambridge, MA – London 2013.

<sup>64</sup> *Scriptores* II, 235 (3, 47). Translation: *Accounts*, 167.

<sup>65</sup> *Scriptores* II, 235 (3, 48). Translation: *Accounts*, 167.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 52–53.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 52 (with sources).

<sup>68</sup> The hypothesis that Zotikos lived in Constantinople during the reign of Constantius II is expounded in: Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 55–62; idem, *The birth of the hospital*, 68–88. For a discussion of the hypothesis that Zotikos belonged to the Arian Christian communion in Constantinople cf. Miller, Nesbitt, *Walking corpses*, 77–79.

<sup>69</sup> The Orphanage of Zotikos has occasionally been identified in Byzantine sources as that of Paul, after the church of the apostles Peter and Paul built by Justin II within the complex of the Orphanotropheion. V. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 177; J. Herrin, *Margins and metropolis: authority across the Byzantine Empire*, Princeton 2013, 284.

<sup>70</sup> Léon VI, 377–378. Cf. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 55.

<sup>71</sup> Justinian granted the same privileges to the Hospital of Saint Sampson. Cf. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 178 (with sources).

<sup>72</sup> *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae. Le livre des cérémonies* I, ed. A. Vogt, Paris 1967, 160–162 (text); 167–169 (commentary), (Book I, ch. 41). Cf. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 179–180.





Fig. 4. Rome, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613), fol. 286 (after: *El Menologio de Basilio II*)

official.<sup>73</sup> This change of status, however, did not have an impact on the appointment of orphanage directors, who continued to be recruited from the clergy even after 811.<sup>74</sup> In the Komnenian period, under imperial patronage the Orphanotropheion became the largest philanthropic institution of Constantinople, expanding the range of its charitable services: in addition to caring for orphans, it now also offered accommodation for the poor and disabled. Based on a description provided by the Byzantine princess Anna Komnena in the *Alexiad*, we know that her father, Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118), restored and expanded the ancient complex on the acropolis of Constantinople.<sup>75</sup>

After the Crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and during the Latin rule of the capital, many Byzantine philanthropic institutions were destroyed. Most were not rebuilt after the restoration of the Empire in 1261. According to the Byzantine historian George Pachymeres (1242–c.1310), Michael VIII restored only the grammar school at the Orphanotropheion.<sup>76</sup> A poem by Manuel Philes in honor of an *orphanotrophos* named Tryphon Kedrenos written c. 1320 and a letter by the historian Nikephoros Xanthopoulos dating from the same period and addressed to an unnamed *orphanotrophos* indicate that

the Orphanage still provided philanthropic services.<sup>77</sup> The Orphanotropheion is believed to have closed sometime between 1320 and 1347, during the period of Byzantium's civil wars. Evidence of this is found in the so-called *Treatise of the Offices* by Pseudo Kodinos, where it is stated that the *orphanotrophos* is an ancient and honorary title which does not refer to the director of a philanthropic institution or to any specific administrative function.<sup>78</sup>

The most extensive information about the location and appearance of the Orphanage dates from the Komnenian period, when – according to Anna Komnena's descriptions – the complex was renovated and significantly expanded.<sup>79</sup> Disregarding some exaggerations about the size of the complex, no doubt added with the purpose of rhetorically glorifying her father Alexios's exalted achievements, we learn that the ancient orphanage and the church of St. Paul stood on the acropolis, in the monumental heart of Constantinople. At that time and possibly earlier, the spatial structure of the Orphanage consisted of a church on the citadel surrounded by a group of two-storey buildings. The precise location of the Orphanotropheion remains unknown, but archaeological evidence discovered so far provides grounds for several hypotheses which are, however, impossible to verify without a systematic exploration of the sites. Three sites for the Orphanage have been suggested so far – the northeastern side of the hill where the capital with the inscription “Of

<sup>73</sup> In the *Kletorologion of Philotheos*, the orphanotrophos appeared as the fifty-sixth government official. Cf. Oikonomides, *Préséance*, 103.

<sup>74</sup> E.g., one of the most notable directors of the Orphanage was John the Paphlagonian, brother of Michael IV (1034–1041), who served in this role as a monk. Cf. Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 186.

<sup>75</sup> *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E. R. Sewter revised with introduction and notes by P. Frankopan, London – New York 2009, 451–454 (15.7.3–6).

<sup>76</sup> *Georgii Pachymeris De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri XIII*, I, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1835, 283–284 (4.14). Cf. also Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 195.

<sup>77</sup> *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita*, ed. E. Martini, Naples 1900, 47–51 (poem 43); Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 207.

<sup>78</sup> R. Macrides, J. A. Munitiz, D. Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court: offices and ceremonies*, Farnham – Burlington, VT 2014, 109, n. 248, 301, 306, 311.

<sup>79</sup> *Alexiad*, 451–454 (15.7.3–6); *Ioannis Zonaras. Epitome historiarum III*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Bonn 1897, 744–745.



Fig. 5. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 282v (photograph: DVL: Digital Vatican Library)

Demetrios the *orphanotrophos*” has been excavated;<sup>80</sup> the large complex of Byzantine structures east of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum;<sup>81</sup> and finally the eastern acropolis terrace, the area that later became the Second Court of Topkapı Sarayı.<sup>82</sup>

The other prominent philanthropic institution of Constantinople, Zotikos’s leprosarium, also continued to operate and develop under imperial patronage, in part owing to its administrative connection with the Orphanage regulated in sixth-century imperial ordinances. Notable figures associated with them include Nikephoros, a distinguished Christian author from the period of Iconoclasm, who served as the supervisor of both the Zotikos Leprosarium and the Orphanotropheion before acceding to the patriarchal throne in 806.<sup>83</sup> The restoration undertaken by Emperor Maurice (582–602), recorded only in the Zotikos legend, was followed from the tenth century on by significant expansions of the Zotikos Leprosarium under the patronage of Byzantine emperors Constantine VII (905–959) and John Tzimiskes (969–976).<sup>84</sup> After it had suffered damage in an earthquake in the eleventh century, Emperor Romanos III (1028–1034) restored the

<sup>80</sup> C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 2004, 33–34, n. 66, 71.

<sup>81</sup> R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin. Première partie. Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat oecuménique III. Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1953, 413–414.

<sup>82</sup> K. Dark, A. Harris, *The Orphanage of Byzantine Constantinople: an archaeological identification*, BS 66 (2008) 189–201.

<sup>83</sup> Miller, *The orphans of Byzantium*, 181.

<sup>84</sup> *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannis Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, 449 (6.18). For John Tzimiskes v. *The history of Leo the Deacon*, trans. A. M. Talbot, D. F. Sullivan, Washington D.C. 2005, 148–149 (6.5).

leprosarium and added new buildings.<sup>85</sup> Finally, in the twelfth century, Emperor John II Komnenos significantly expanded the accommodation facilities for those suffering from leprosy and provided supplies to support more inpatients at the hospital.<sup>86</sup> The memory of the holy founder of the leprosarium has survived in the form of an orans image of St. Zotikos on the obverse of a twelfth-century lead seal which once belonged to this institution and is now kept in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (no. 55. 1. 5006).<sup>87</sup> Of special importance for understanding, albeit not fully, how the Zotikos asylum was governed is the inscription on the obverse of the seal reading: *Seal of the brothers of Saint Zotikos* (Σφραγ[ις] ἀδελφῶν τοῦ ὁσίου Ζωτικῶυ). It refers to the leper residents as a group, whose representative could have been authorized to use this seal in the name of all patients of the Zotikos Leprosarium (fig. 3a, 3b).<sup>88</sup> The reputation of this hospital for leprosy sufferers, as well as the pious memory of its founder, was still alive in the early thirteenth century. This is attested by the fact that c. 1200 it was visited by Dobrynja Jadrejkovič, subsequently Antony, Archbishop of Novgorod, during his pilgrimage.<sup>89</sup> The Russian pilgrim recorded that St. Zotikos lay in a hospital “beyond Ispigas, on a hill”. This is followed by a short excerpt from *Vitae Zotici* and then the report that at the site of the martyr’s death a church had been built and next to it a home for the infirm.<sup>90</sup>

In the time after the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, Byzantine sources no longer mention the Zotikos Leprosarium at Pera (Galata), which was at the time a Genoese trading colony in the Byzantine capital.<sup>91</sup> There is no evidence that Emperor Michael VIII restored the leper asylum in Pera, although this would have been unsurprising since he did partially reestablish the Orphanotropheion.

### *Representations of Saint Zotikos in the art of Byzantium, Wallachia and Georgia*

Although liturgical sources record the veneration of St. Zotikos much earlier, the most important factor in the spread and popularity of the cult of this Constantinopolitan saint was the compilation of the Synaxarion of the Great Church in the tenth century. It was only then, mostly in calendar illustrations, that St. Zotikos began to be rep-

<sup>85</sup> Ioannis Zonaras. *Epitome historiarum* III, 580–581 (17.12). Cf. Miller, Nesbitt, *Walking corpses*, 36.

<sup>86</sup> E. Kislinger, *Zur Lage der Leproserie des Pantokrator-Typikon*, JÖB 42 (1992) 171–175. Cf. Miller, Nesbitt, *Walking corpses*, 36, 46.

<sup>87</sup> V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l’Empire byzantin V. L’Église*, Paris 1963, no. 1916; *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of art V. The East (continued), Constantinople and environs, unknown locations, addenda, uncertain readings*, ed. E. Mc Geer, J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, Washington D.C. 2005, no. 62.1.

<sup>88</sup> For a discussion of this seal v. Nesbitt, *St. Zotikos*, 420, n. 6; Miller, Nesbitt, *Walking corpses*, 133–134.

<sup>89</sup> *Die Kniga palomnik des Antonij von Novgorod*, ed. A. Jouravel, Wiesbaden 2019, 332–333, 361.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 332–333.

<sup>91</sup> Miraculous healings of leprosy in the Palaiologan period were recorded in the monastery of the Life-giving Spring (Zoodochos Pege). V. poems of Manuel Philes and accounts of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. Cf. *Manuelis Philae carmina* II, ed. E. Miller, Paris 1857, 25–26 (poem 11), 390–393 (poem 30); Miller, Nesbitt, *Walking corpses*, 37 (with sources and bibliography).



Fig. 6a. Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Menologion* (Gr. theol. f. 1.), fol. 23r (photograph: Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries)

resented in Byzantine art.<sup>92</sup> Rather unusually, Zotikos was not included in the *Menologion* of Basil II (*Vat. gr. 1613*, c. 1000), which contains miniatures and the accompanying synaxarion text for feasts celebrated from September through February, usually more than one feast per day.<sup>93</sup> However, fifteen miniatures lack an accompanying text, and two of them lack both text and title.<sup>94</sup> Those with no notations whatsoever include the miniature of the second feast for December 31, which shows a saint with graying short hair and beard, dressed in a chiton and himation and holding a scroll (fig. 4).<sup>95</sup> Based on his iconographical features and the date of his feast in the calendar, Sirapie Der Nersessian has identified him as the prophet Obadiah.<sup>96</sup>

A framed miniature accompanies *Vita Zotici* in the Baltimore *Menologion* (*Walters 521*, fol. 50v–56, fig. 1) – an illustrated collection of Byzantine saints' lives for the

<sup>92</sup> For illustrated calendars v. N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Synaxaria and menologia*, in: *A companion to Byzantine illustrated manuscripts*, ed. V. Tsamakda, Leiden–Boston 2017, 319–327.

<sup>93</sup> *El "Menologio" de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio* (*Vat. gr. 1613*), facsimil, Madrid 2005.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. A. Zacharova, *Los ocho artistas del 'Menologio de Basilio II'*, in: *El "Menologio" de Basilio II: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613*, 131, 190, n. 3.

<sup>95</sup> *El "Menologio" de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio*, fol. 286.

<sup>96</sup> Prophet Obadiah is celebrated on November 19, but in four synaxaria he is commemorated on December 31. Cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Remarks on the date of the Menologium and the Psalter written for Basil II*, *Byzantion* 15 (1940–1941) 116. However, this identification is difficult to accept because Obadiah was already shown under November 19, and with a very different appearance. Cf. *El "Menologio" de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio*, fol. 192. Furthermore, there are no known examples of repetition in this illustrated manuscript. This identification has been accepted in recent studies on this manuscript. Cf. *ibid.* For the hypothesis that the unidentified saint represents Apostle Timon, who is commemorated on December 30 or very rarely December 31. Cf. *Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vat. gr. 1613) I*, Torino 1907, 78, n. 4. This saint is also already shown on December 30. Cf. *El "Menologio" de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio*, fol. 284.



Fig. 6b. Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Menologion* (Gr. theol. f. 1.), fol. 23r, detail (photograph: Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries)

month of January, which belongs to the group of so-called Imperial menologia created in the time of Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian.<sup>97</sup> The marked iconographical and stylistic similarity with the solutions from the *Menologion* of Basil II makes a large number of these examples almost faithful copies of the miniatures in the older manuscript.<sup>98</sup> However, this is not the case with the miniature of St. Zotikos (fol. 50v), for which there was no direct model to replicate. Consistently following the hagiographical text about St. Zotikos's martyrdom, in a highland landscape the artist showed a pair of saddled, galloping mules dragging the lifeless body of an older saint with short white hair and beard and his eyes closed, wearing a light brown tunic. In the left corner, by a tree is the spring which, according to legend, appeared on the spot where the saint's eye fell out. The composition also includes an executioner, who is shown behind a hill, brandishing a whip. Nancy Ševcenko has found that the artist based his concept of the iconographical scheme on the miniature representing the martyrdom of St. Orestes in Basil's *menologion*.<sup>99</sup>

St. Zotikos labeled as Orphanotrophos also appears alongside Melania of Rome in the Synaxarion section of the Lectionary in the Vatican Library (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156*) from the latter half of the eleventh century – one of several surviving middle Byzantine lectionaries decorated with images (fig. 5).<sup>100</sup> In this manuscript commemorations of saints are illustrated

<sup>97</sup> For a description of the manuscript v. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand II*, 566–567; III, 392–393; I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of dated illuminated Greek manuscripts to the year 1453 I*, Leiden 1981, 74, no. 306. For the study of the manuscript v. F. Halkin, *Le mois de janvier du 'Ménologe impérial byzantin'*, *AB 57* (1939) 225–236. For the date of the illuminated imperial menologia v. A. Zakharova, *Miniatures of the Imperial Menologia*, *Nea Rhome. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 7 (2011) 131–137.

<sup>98</sup> Patterson Ševčenko, *The Walters 'Imperial' Menologion*, 43–64; eadem, *El 'Menologio de Basilio II'*, 231–259.

<sup>99</sup> Patterson Ševčenko, *The Walters 'Imperial' Menologion*, 48–49, figs. 16, 17.

<sup>100</sup> For *Vat. gr. 1156* v. Dolezal, *The middle Byzantine lectionary*, 230–251 (Synaxarion text), 270–290 (Synaxarion decoration).



Fig. 7. Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Calendar icon for December, detail, December 31 (by permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt, photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai)

by small figures next to their names and dates of celebration, within the column of the text. St. Zotikos is depicted as an older man with a receding hairline and a white, short beard tapering towards the center. He is dressed as a patrikios – in a long white robe with a red cloak over it, and holding a cross in his left hand.<sup>101</sup>

The texts of Synaxaria and even “imperial” Menologia continued to be copied throughout the Byzantine period, but from the end of the twelfth century they no longer had illustrations. An exception is the Menologion from the Bodleian Library in Oxford (*Gr. theol. f. 1.*), created c. 1330, which is believed to have been commissioned by Demetrios I Palaiologos, the despot of Thessalonica.<sup>102</sup> Each page of this remarkable work features four miniatures on a gilded background with commemorations for saints and feasts from September through August. The illustration for December 31 shows a rugged landscape

with three half-length figures, two female and one male (fig. 6a). Only St. Melania of Rome has been identified so far based on the legend.<sup>103</sup> In the foreground an older saint with white, short hair, a receding hairline and white beard is shown in the orans position, wearing a blue robe and an olive green cloak (fig. 6b). The appearance of this saint is fully consistent with the representations of St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos in older illustrated manuscripts.<sup>104</sup> Therefore we believe that this example can be added to the small group of this Constantinopolitan saint's images.

Synaxarion and Menologion illustrations, consisting of figures of saints and individual scenes of martyrdom, are found also in a somewhat different iconographical and liturgical context – in so-called calendar icons.<sup>105</sup> The synaxarion tradition represented by the Menologion of Basil

<sup>103</sup> Hutter, *Corpus*, 13, fig. 41.

<sup>104</sup> The same opinion is expounded in: E. Negrău, *Menologul de la Cozia. Iconografie și inscripții*, Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei 8 (București 2018) 137.

<sup>105</sup> On the possible influence of the Synaxarion and Menologion illustration on calendar icons v. Patterson Ševčenko, *Synaxaria and menologia*, 326; eadem, *Marking holy time: the Byzantine calendar icons*, in: eadem, *The celebration of the saints in Byzantine art and liturgy*, Farnham 2013, 51–61.

<sup>101</sup> For a color reproduction v. the digital edition of the manuscript – [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1156](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1156), fol. 282v.

<sup>102</sup> I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften, Oxford, Bodleian Library II*, Stuttgart 1987, 1–33 (text); II, Nr. 1, figs. 1–105 (images). Facsimile edition and commentary: *Menologion de Oxford: Ms. Gr. th. f. 1 I–II*, ed. C. López Menaza, 2006–2007.



Fig. 8. Wallachia, Cozia, Menologion, December 29–31 (by permission of “G. Oprescu” Art History Institute, Romanian Academy, photograph courtesy of Elisabeta Negrău)

II underwent some changes in the calendar concept of an other medium – its adaptation to the spatial constraints of an icon meant that not all saints could be shown; instead only the most important among them were selected. The fact that St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos appears as the second saint celebrated on December 31 in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* contributed to his presence in all icons that include the month of December. The selection also depended on the shape of the icons, which could range from a diptych to a series of separate panels for every month. Byzantine calendar icons have survived only in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai.<sup>106</sup>

There are four sets of these icons, all of them dated to the eleventh or twelfth century. After a survey of the entire contents of the hagiographical illustrations in the Sinai icons, just one new image of St. Zotikos has been found. Based on his iconography and the accompanying inscription (Ζοτικὸς), he can be reliably identified on an unpublished icon for December belonging to a twelve-panel series from c. 1200, now placed on twelve marble pillars in the basilica of the Sinai monastery (fig. 7).<sup>107</sup> He is shown here as an older, white-haired martyr with a receding hairline and a shorter beard tapering towards the center, dressed in a red robe and a blue cloak and holding a scroll in his left hand and a now destroyed cross in his right. He stands between St. Anysia and St. Melania, as the penultimate figure in the sixth row of the icon.

<sup>106</sup> Notable works in the extensive literature on the Sinai icons include: Γ. Σωτηρίου, Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Εικόνες της μονής Σινά I–II*, Αθήνα 1956–1958, I, figs. 131–145; II, 115–120; K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine miniature and icon painting in the eleventh century*, in: idem, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine manuscript illumination*, ed. H. Kessler, Chicago 1971, 281–313; R. S. Nelson, *Menologion diptych with Feast scenes*, in: *Holy image, hallowed ground. Icons from Sinai*, ed. R. S. Nelson, K. M. Collins, Los Angeles 2006, 195, cat. no. 30; N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Menologion icon for august*, in: *ibid.*, 197, cat. no. 31; G. Galavaris, *An eleventh century hexaptych of the Saint Catherine’s Monastery at Mount Sinai*, Venice–Athens 2009; G. R. Parpulov, *Mural and icon painting at Sinai in the thirteenth century*, in: *Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and liturgy at St Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel, R. S. Nelson, Turnhout 2010, 378–384.

<sup>107</sup> From this set the icons for January–June and August have been published: Σωτηρίου, *Εικόνες της μονής Σινά I*, figs. 126–130; II, 117–119; K. Weitzmann, *Icon programs of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries at Sinai*, ΔΧΑΕ12 (1984) figs. 37, 39; Patterson Ševčenko, *Menologion icon for august*, 197, cat. no. 31. A photograph of the icon for December was made available to me for analysis by courtesy of Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

Menologion cycles continued to develop in wall painting even much later, not in Byzantium but in neighboring realms, primarily Serbia.<sup>108</sup> The reason for mentioning the only surviving example of an image of Zotikos in a calendar from the Wallachian monastery of Cozia (c. 1391) is that the synaxarial source of this Slavic cycle was not Bulgarian or Serbian, but most probably Constantinopolitan.<sup>109</sup> Pavle Mijović discerned two female figures in the panel for December 31– Melania of Rome and an unknown martyress.<sup>110</sup> However, after the frescoes were cleaned, their contents became easier to distinguish: next to the holy nun, there is a martyr dressed in patrician garments – a blue robe and a red cloak. He has been identified by Elisabeta Negrău as St. Zotikos (fig. 8).<sup>111</sup> Although his face is destroyed, the short, brown or graying hair and a shorter beard are consistent with the characteristics of the Constantinopolitan saint commemorated on this date.

Not only was St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos absent from the usual system of Byzantine church decoration, no example of an individual figure of this Constantinopolitan saint is known to appear in groups of martyrs or physicians featured in the most important and most extensive painted programs of the middle Byzantine period. Older scholars believed that St. Zotikos was represented in the southwestern compartment below the gallery in the church of St. Sophia in Kiev, frescoed owing to the efforts of Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise, probably in 1043–1046.<sup>112</sup> However, recent conservation explorations have uncovered a graffito accompanying the image of the aging, white-haired and short-bearded saint, allowing his identification as St. Sabas the Sanctified.<sup>113</sup>

This situation changed little in the later period. In view of the Constantinopolitan identity of Zotikos’s cult, the churches of the capital or works by painters educated there seem slightly more promising. Not many paintings created

<sup>108</sup> Cf. P. Mijović, *Menolog: istorijsko-umetnička istraživanja*, Beograd 1973.

<sup>109</sup> Negrău, *Menologul de la Cozia*, 117–146.

<sup>110</sup> Mijović, *Menolog*, 356.

<sup>111</sup> Negrău, *Menologul de la Cozia*, 137.

<sup>112</sup> G. N. Logvin, *Sofiiā Kievskaiā*, Kiev 1971, fig. 171.

<sup>113</sup> N. V. Gerasimenko, A. V. Zakharova, V. D. Sarab’iānov, *Izobrazheniā sviātykh vo freskakh Sofii Kievskoi. Zapadnoe prostranstvo osnovnogo ob’ema pod khorami*, Iskusstvo khristianskogo mira 11 (Moskva 2009) 209, 240–241, fig. 45.



Fig. 9. Georgia, Tsalenjikha, Church of the Saviour, St. Zotikos (after: Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantijskoj zhivopisi*)

after the restoration of the Empire in 1261 have survived in Constantinople. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that in the closing decades of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century a number of artists emigrated from Constantinople to calmer areas – the Despotate of the Morea, Georgia, Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia. Hence churches frescoed by Greek painters from Constantinople, such as those in Mystras, Novgorod or Georgia, are important for assessing various aspects of Constantinopolitan art.

The only known individual image of a saint called Zotikos from the Late Byzantine period is found in the Church of the Savior at Tsalenjikha, Georgia (1384–1396), whose building was commissioned by the grand duke of the Kingdom of Georgia Dadiani Vameq I (1384–1396). This important work of Georgian medieval art shows direct ties with the artistic tradition of Constantinople. Based on the dedicatory inscriptions in Greek and Georgian, we learn that this Georgian ruler invited Manuel Eugenikos, a painter from Constantinople, to adorn his church with frescoes.<sup>114</sup> Manuel and his assistants frescoed the spacious cruciform church, creating a rich thematic program which

largely remains well-preserved.<sup>115</sup> A number of saintly figures are grouped in the western arm of the cross. St. Zotikos is located on the pilaster of an arched opening leading into the southwestern corner bay (fig. 9).<sup>116</sup> He is shown as a middle-aged man with graying short hair and a rounded beard, wearing patrician garments – a dark red robe with a white cloak with small red ornaments draped over his left shoulder, and holding a cross in his right hand. His appearance largely corresponds to the iconography established for Zotikos Orphanotrophos in the eleventh century. However, next to the name written in Georgian, there is no epithet to definitively determine his identity, which suggests a need for additional caution. Since multiple martyrs called Zotikos are known in Christian history, all of whom belong to different martyr groups, the possibility that one of them was pictured here needs to be taken into consideration. On September 13 the church remembers the martyrdom of Gordian, Makrobios, Elias, Zotikos, Lucian and Valerian, who were executed c. 320 in the city of Tomis during the reign of Emperor Licinius.<sup>117</sup> Their martyrdom is shown in the Menologion of Basil II, but since the title mentions only Gordian and Makrobios with companions, the two of them presumably represent the entire group – the older saint with his head cut off and the younger with an executioner drawing a sword above him.<sup>118</sup> In another extant example, Zotikos (identified in the inscription) appears as a representative of this group of saints. This is the case in a menologion illustration from Dečani, which shows the beheading of two martyrs wearing cloaks and robes.<sup>119</sup> October 21 is the feast day of the martyrs Gaios, Dasios and Zotikos, who were drowned in Nicomedia in 303.<sup>120</sup> A miniature in Basil's menologion represents two drowned martyrs in the sea, a young, beardless one and a middle-aged, bearded one; a third young man is being carried by an executioner on his back (fig. 10).<sup>121</sup> Menologion illustrations in monumental painting offer just one example of a representation of these three martyrs – that in Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317). The accompanying inscription, however, is not consistent with the fresco which, due to an obvious mistake, shows a male half-length figure and two female figures in flames.<sup>122</sup> December 23 marks the commemoration of the Ten Cretan Martyrs (Theodoulos, Saturninos, Euporos, Gelasios, Eunikianos, Pompios, Agathopous, Basilides, Evarestos), including a young martyr called Zotikos.<sup>123</sup> The cult of these martyrs was, unsurprisingly, very well-developed in Crete, and so their individual images often appear in Cre-

<sup>115</sup> For the painted program of the church v. I. G. Lordkipanidze, *Rospis' Tsalendzhiha. Khudozhnik Kir Manuil Evgenikos i ego mesto v gruzinskoj srednevekovoj monumental'noj zhivopisi*, Tbilisi 1992; H. Belting, *Le peintre Manuel Eugenikos de Constantinople, en Géorgie*, CA 28 (1979) 103–114. For a drawing of the frescoes v. Tsalenjikha. *Wall paintings in the Saviour's Church*, Tbilisi 2011.

<sup>116</sup> The figure of St. Zotikos is recorded only in: *Tsalenjikha*, 174–175. For a color reproduction of the fresco v. V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantijskoj zhivopisi*, Moskva 1986, fig. 537.

<sup>117</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 40–41; Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov II*, 281.

<sup>118</sup> *El "Menologio" de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio*, fol. 33.

<sup>119</sup> S. Kesić-Ristić, D. Vojvodić, *Menolog*, in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Građa i studije*, ed. V. J. Đurić, Beograd 1995, 379, T. III, 3.

<sup>120</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 154; Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov II*, 326.

<sup>121</sup> *El "Menologio" de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio*, fol. 127.

<sup>122</sup> Mijović, *Menolog*, 265.

<sup>123</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 337–340; Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov II*, 392.



Fig. 10. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613), fol. 127, Martyrdom of Sts. Gaios, Dasios and Zotikos, October 21 (after: *El Menologio de Basilio II*)

tan churches.<sup>124</sup> The commemoration of the group arrested

<sup>124</sup> For representations of the Ten Martyrs of Crete v. I. Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine wall paintings of Crete*, Leiden 2001, 61, 88, 91, 98, 103, 104, 112, 120, 122, 128, 159, 164, 171, 178, 195; idem, *Byzantine wall-paintings of Crete I. Rethymnon province*, London 1999, 28, 39, 89, 134, 137, 138, 233, 239, 257, 283, 337; idem, *Byzantine wall paintings of Crete II. Mylopotamos province*, Leiden 2010, 9, 102, 116, 117, 127, 129, 132, 133, 134, 154, 160, 172, 271, 319; I. Spatharakis, T. van Essenberg, *Byzantine wall paintings of Crete III. Amari province*, Leiden 2012, 89, 91, 106, 125, 133, 205, 206, 234, 270, 206; V. Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Er-*

and martyred in Nicomedia during Diocletian's reign (Victor, Zotikos, Zeno, Akindynos, Caesarius, Severian, and others) takes place on April 20 (April 18 and 22).<sup>125</sup> However, they are not among the more important saints com-

*zengelkirche in Kakodiki. Werkstattgruppen, kunst- und kulturhistorische Analyse byzantinischer Wandmalerei des 14. Jhs. auf Kreta*, Wien 2012, 130, 144, 146, 147, 148, 216–218, 227, 231, 234, 235, 252, 305.

<sup>125</sup> Delehay, *Synaxarium*, col. 617–618; Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyi mesiatseslov II*, 113, 115, 118.



Fig. 11. Serbia, Monastery of Gračanica, Menologion, April 18, half-length martyr figures of St. Zotikos and others (photo courtesy of BLAGO)

memorated on that day and hence almost do not appear in menologion illustrations (fig. 11).<sup>126</sup> The last martyr group with a member called Zotikos is celebrated on August 22. This group is led by St. Agathonikos and includes his companions Princesps, Theoprepios, Akindynos, Severian, Zeno and Zotikos, martyred in Maximian's persecutions in Thrace and Bithynia.<sup>127</sup> The beheading of St. Agathonikos is pictured in the menologion of Cozia.<sup>128</sup> He is the only saint from this group who acquired wider veneration and whose individual depictions can be found in the painted programs of medieval Orthodox churches (Church of St. Nicholas in the village Manastir, Mariovo, Kahiye Djami, Dečani).<sup>129</sup>

Besides the Ten Cretan Martyrs and Agathonikos, none of the martyrs in these groups developed an individual cult and the only traces of their iconographical veneration are the abovementioned, sporadic menologion illustrations. The iconographical tradition shows that, with the exception of highly venerated groups whose

<sup>126</sup> See the illustration for April 18 in the Gračanica menologion. Cf. B. Živković, *Gračanica. Crteži fresaka*, Beograd 1989, IV/7. Cf. also a photo of the Blago Fund - <http://www.blagofund.org/Archives/Gracanica/exhibits/digital/s1-w1e5/s1-w1e5-25.html>

<sup>127</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 913–915; Arhiepiskop Sergij, *Polnyi mesiatseslov* II, 254.

<sup>128</sup> Negrău, *Menologul de la Cozia*, 148.

<sup>129</sup> For the Church of St. Nicholas in the village Manastir, Mariovo v. P. Kostovska, *Mačeničkite dopojasja vo Sveti Nikola, vo Manastir, Mariovo*, Zbornik. Srednovekovna umetnost 6 (2007) 12–13. For Kahiye Djami v. *The Kariye Djami III. The frescoes*, ed. P. A. Underwood, New York 1966, 157. For Dečani v. M. Marković, *Pojedinačne figure svetitelja u naosu i paraklisisima*, in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Građa i studije*, ed. V. J. Đurić, Beograd 1995, 258.

all members were routinely painted, saints martyred as a group were represented outside calendars by the first-mentioned member or at most two holy martyrs.<sup>130</sup> A brief insight into the liturgical and visual evidence of the saintly commemoration of all saints called Zotikos makes it clear that only the orphanotrophos of Constantinople enjoyed wider veneration. None of his namesake martyrs seem to stand out in terms of relevance and they are therefore highly unlikely to appear in individual images. This is attested by the selection of saints painted in the western part of the church. Five holy figures are shown on the arch between the western arm of the cross and the southwestern corner bay. Below Zotikos there is a saint named Menas; in the bottom zone – the hermit Onoufrios; and Sts. Onesiphoros and Porphyrios (November 9) facing them. To allow more comprehensive insight into the group of saints shown in this part of the church, let us mention those pictured on the opposite side, on the soffit of the arch leading into the northwestern corner bay: Lawrence, Eugene, Ephrem the Syrian (half-length figure, January 28), Mardarios, Alexander (of Thessalonica?, November 9) and St. Kodratos (half-length figure<sup>131</sup>) – a di-

<sup>130</sup> For a discussion of this question v. M. Marković, *Predstave Sv. Pavla Kajumskog i Sv. Nikite Gota na vizantijskom litijskom krstu iz zbirke Džordža Ortiza u Ženevi*, in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa*, ed. Lj. Maksimović, N. Radošević, E. Radulović, Beograd-Kruševac 2002, 487–512.

<sup>131</sup> Besides the apostle Kodratos (or Quadratus, September 22), there are multiple martyrs of the same name. Cf. Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 67, 1113.



verse group of saints mostly consisting of martyrs as well as some famed Eastern hermits.<sup>132</sup> Rather unusually, the youthful face of St. Menas seems inconsistent with the medieval artistic tradition, which portrays both Menas of Egypt (November 11) and his namesake Menas Kallikellados (December 10) as old.<sup>133</sup> Another deviation from the established practice is that neither of them is shown with his companions – Victor and Vincent or Eugraphos and Hermogenes.<sup>134</sup> Another group of martyrs (December 13) is also incomplete, with only two of its members shown (Mardarios and Eugene) and three left out (Eustratios, Auxentios and Orestes). Furthermore, Sts. Onesiphoros and Porphyrios are pictured with swords,<sup>135</sup> while the holy archdeacon Lawrence (August 10) appears as a martyr. There is no apparent direct link between Zotikos and the other saints in the described group. However, the role of the so-called calendar system of arrangement should not be overlooked. If the hypothetical identification of St. Alexander of Thessalonica is correct, all of these martyrs have their feast days in November and December. Finally, in view of all known facts about the commemoration and iconography of Zotikos Orphanotrophos, as well as Manuel Eugenikos's Constantinopolitan roots, the hypothesis that the figure in the Georgian church represents Zotikos of Constantinople seems the most credible.

\*

All of the above allows some conclusions about the cult of St. Zotikos in Byzantium and his representations in the art of the Byzantine era. Although St. Zotikos acquired great renown in Constantinople owing to his efforts in the establishment of two singularly important philanthropic institutions, his veneration in the capital does not seem to have inspired the spread of his cult beyond the city. The fact that there are no churches dedicated to this saint and no testimonies of his relics<sup>136</sup> suggests the absence of some key elements that would have allowed his cult to be consolidated and widely disseminated.

Visual evidence also shows that the veneration of this saint had little impact in art. However, a survey of his few surviving visual representations does allow us to distinguish some of his iconographical characteristics. Conceptualized in the eleventh century, the main iconographical model survived until the end of the fourteenth

century.<sup>137</sup> With minor iconographical variations (age, shape of beard), St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos is shown as a short- and white-haired old or middle-aged man with a white, short beard. Despite the fact that his *vita* describes this martyr as a presbyter, throughout the Byzantine era he is always represented in the martyrial iconographical form. Finally, important indications of the endurance and spread of the cult of St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos are provided by his images from the late fourteenth century, in Orthodox lands with ties to Byzantium and its spiritual and artistic legacy.

### *The veneration of St. Zotikos and his images in medieval Serbia*

In the thirteenth century the liturgical system in Serbia was harmonized with the Evergetis model of devotional service.<sup>138</sup> This is attested by diverse liturgical material, a very important type of liturgical source being *menaia* – hymnographic collections containing services for the fixed annual cycle. A notable example is MS 608 from the Hilandar collection – the earliest complete *menaion* for December, copied in the late thirteenth century. There is no mention of St. Zotikos in this manuscript, which is unsurprising since the calendar of this *menaion* is almost fully consistent with the synaxarion of the Evergetis Typikon.<sup>139</sup> However, whether St. Sava of Serbia (at the turn of the thirteenth century) had the liturgical part of the Evergetis Typikon, including its menologion, translated for the needs of the typika of Hilandar and Studenica remains an unresolved question in Serbian scholarship.<sup>140</sup> There are only two extant younger Sinaite liturgical collections with a Serbo-Slavonic translation of the “Evergetis Synaxarion” – *Sin. slav. 14/N* (second half of the thirteenth century) and *Sin. slav. 2* (second half of the fourteenth century).<sup>141</sup> Thus, the emergence of the synaxarion in the Serbian church cannot be fully elucidated based on our current knowledge. However, the evidence of liturgical books that drew on the complete Evergetis synaxarion is important, as it leaves little doubt that the menologion of the famed Constantinopolitan monastery was spreading in Serbian monasteries during the thirteenth century.

There is a noticeable change in the heortological contents of liturgical synaxaria of the Serbian translations of

<sup>132</sup> Lordkipanidze, *Rospis' Tšalendzhiha*, 83, 91, 201, fig. 62; *Tsalenjikha*, 174–175.

<sup>133</sup> For the cult and iconography of Menas of Egypt and Menas Kallikellados v. M. Marković, *O ikonografiji svetih ratnika i o predstavama ovih svetitelja u Dečanima*, in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Građa i studije*, ed. V. J. Đurić, Beograd 1995, 611–614.

<sup>134</sup> The identification of St. Menas is confounded by the fact that St. Hermogenes and St. Vincent have been identified further along, on a surface above the northern arch. Cf. *Tsalenjikha*, 174–175.

<sup>135</sup> Delehay, *Synaxarium*, col. 205. Cf. Lordkipanidze, *Rospis' Tšalendzhiha*, 201, fig. 62; *Tsalenjikha*, 174–175. For the representations of these martyrs v. Marković, *Pojedinačne figure*, 259, n. 178; B. Todić, *Slikarstvo u doba kralja Milutina*, Beograd 1998, 307, 323, 352.

<sup>136</sup> According to written sources the relics of another St. Zotikos, celebrated on August 22, have been preserved and venerated at Daphnusia, on the Bithynian coast of the Black Sea. Cf. PG CCXX, col. 221D (*Vitae S Andreae*); F. Auzépy, M. Kaplan, B. Martin-Hisard, *La chrétienté orientale du début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Textes et documents*, Paris 1996, 152.

<sup>137</sup> It is interesting that the *Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Furna* offers no guidelines for his appearance, only describing his death according to his *vita*. Cf. M. Medić, *Stari slikarski priručnici III. Erminija o slikarskim veštinama Dionisija iz Furne*, Beograd 2005, 491.

<sup>138</sup> Đ. Trifunović, *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova*, Beograd 1990, 345–348; T. Subotin-Golubović, *Prilog poznavanju bogoslužjenja u srpskoj crkvi krajem XIII veka*, HZ 10 (1998) 153–177.

<sup>139</sup> Subotin-Golubović, *Prilog*, 153–177; eadem, *Hilandar 608 (minej za decembar) – vesnik promena u liturgijskom životu srednjovekovne Srbije*, in: *Scala paradisi: akademiku Dimitriju Bogdanoviću u spomen*: 1986–2016, ed. A. A. Turilov et al., Beograd 2018, 375–397.

<sup>140</sup> M. Živojinović, *Hilandarski i Evergetidski tipik. Podudarnosti i razlike*, ZRVI 33 (1994) 85–102. For the earliest synaxaria used in the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos and the Serbian milieu v. V. Savić, *Srpski prevod “Evergetidskog sinaksara” u dva sinajska rukopisa*, ZRVI 53 (2016) 210–217.

<sup>141</sup> The heortological content of the month of December in both Sinaite manuscripts remains underresearched and unpublished. Cf. Savić, *Srpski prevod “Evergetidskog sinaksara”*, 209–235. Cf. also I. C. Tarnanidis, *The Slavonic manuscripts discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai*, Thessaloniki 1988, 134–141 who dated *Sin. slav. 14/N* to the first half of the thirteenth century.



Fig. 12. Serbia, Monastery of Gračanica, St. Zotikos (photo courtesy of BLAGO)

the Jerusalem Typikon – the typikon of Archbishop Nikodim (1318/1319) and Roman's Typikon (*Ms. slav. Wuk 49*, 1331). While the former suggests Constantinople's liturgical influences, the second represents an Athonite variant of the Jerusalem Typikon. To this list belongs another menologion of the Jerusalem Typikon – *MS SASA 294*, dating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In all three the memory of St. Anysia and the venerable Zotikos (the Presbyter) is on December 30, when the service for the feast day and the saints is held, and the *vita* of the venerable Melania is read to mark the occasion.<sup>142</sup>

The memory of St. Zotikos does not consistently appear in the menologia of various fourteenth-century liturgical books (apostoloi, evangelistaries, tetraevangelia, psalters). In these concise synaxaria the last days of December are often missing or the entries for December 30 and 31 contain only memories of the more important female saints – Anysia and Melania of Rome.<sup>143</sup> For ex-

<sup>142</sup> On the synaxarion of Nikodim's typikon v. L. Mirković, *Tipik arhiepiskopa Nikodima II*, ed. Đ. Trifunović, Beograd 2007, fol. 75b. With minor differences, the synaxarion of Roman's Typikon is consistent with that of Nikodim's typikon. Cf. *ibid.*, LIV; P. B. Simić, *Hilandarski tipik monaha Romana 1331. godina*, Kraljevo 2010, 125. For synaxaria of the Jerusalem Typikon *SASA 294* v. *Mesecoslov Jerusalimskoga tipika. Rukopis Arhiva SANU*, ed. V. Savić, Niš – Manastir Sopoćani 2007, 44 (fol. 87b).

<sup>143</sup> For the purposes of this article synaxaria in several fourteenth-century manuscripts from the Dečani collection (National Li-

ample, we have found the memory of St. Anysia and the venerable Zotikos in two liturgical manuscripts from the Dečani collection – the Horologion and synaxarion (*Dečani no. 107*) and the Horologion and typikon (*Dečani no. 108*).<sup>144</sup>

Evidence of the veneration of St. Zotikos is provided by younger *menaia* composed based on the liturgical rules of the Jerusalem Typikon. In manuscripts no. 37 (1380–1390, with sixteenth-century additions, fol. 252v–262v) and 38 (third quarter of the fourteenth century, fol. 195v–204r) from the Dečani collection, the feast day of St. Zotikos, as well as that of St. Anysia and Melania of Rome, is on December 30.<sup>145</sup> The structure of the service to these saints is almost the same in both manuscripts: at Vespers only *irmoi* to the two martyresses are sung; at Compline the service is held and the canon (mode 8) read in honor of St. Zotikos;<sup>146</sup> at Orthros canons are read for St. Anysia and St. Melania. This reveals that the service to St. Zotikos was moved from Orthros to Compline, probably to allow all three saints to be commemorated on the same day. The canon to St. Zotikos has a full form and consists of nine chants, with all troparia dedicated to this martyr and presbyter of Constantinople.

The synaxarion *vita* of this Constantinopolitan martyr is included in *prologues* of the older redaction for the full year, shaped and reworked in Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh century and translated into Serbian in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.<sup>147</sup> In the earliest Serbian prologue, the Prologue of Constantine of Mokissos (*JAZU III c 6*), from a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscript of the Rascian recension, the venerable Zotikos is mentioned on December 31.<sup>148</sup> In a younger prologue, the so-called Lesnovo Prologue from 1330 (*SASA Archives no. 53*) the *passion of the holy martyr Zotikos Orphanotrophos* appears as the third on December 31, after St. Melania and Timon, one of the Seventy Apostles (fol.101r–102r).<sup>149</sup>

Of particular importance for the topic under consideration is the emergence of prologues with verses in the Serbian milieu. This was a younger redaction of synaxaria of Constantinopolitan provenance which was

brary of Serbia) have been examined: Evangeluary (no. 4); Apostolos (no. 25), Apostolos (no. 26), Apostolos (no. 27). For descriptions of these manuscripts v. D. Bogdanović et al., *Opis ćirilskih rukopisnih knjiga manastira Visoki Dečani I*, Beograd 2011, 12–15, 82–91. Cf. also *The Gospel of Nikola Stanjević* from the mid-fourteenth century (*Chil. 14*). Cf. *Rukopisno četvoroevangelje Nikole Stanjevića*, fototipsko izdanje, Beograd 2007.

<sup>144</sup> For a description of the manuscript v. Bogdanović et al., *Opis*, 443–450.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 117–122.

<sup>146</sup> *Dečani no. 37* (fol. 254r–256v); *Dečani no. 38* (fol. 196v–198v).

<sup>147</sup> On the history of the *prologue* v. V. Mošin, *Slavenska redakcija prologa Konstantina Mokisijskog u svjetlosti vizantijsko-slavenskih odnosa XII–XIII vijeka*, Zbornik Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije 2 (Zagreb 1959) 18–24. Cf. *Velikie Minei Chety, sobrannyye vserossiiskim mitropolitom Makariem*, Dekabr', dni 25–31, Moskva 1912, 680g. (There is only mention of St. Zotikos without the synaxarion *vita*).

<sup>148</sup> V. Mošin, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije I. Opis rukopisa*, Zagreb 1955, no. 111, 157–162. Quoted after: Simić, *Hilandarski tipik*, 252.

<sup>149</sup> For basic information on the manuscript v. D. Bogdanović, *Inventar ćirilskih rukopisa u Jugoslaviji (XI–XVII veka)*, Beograd 1982, 84, no. 1147.



Fig. 13. Serbia, Monastery of Gračanica, northern wall of the naos, St. Hyacinth, St. Blaise Vukolos, an unidentified saint, St. Tryphon, St. Zotikos, St. Lucian (photo courtesy of BLAGO)

formed in two stages – in the first half of the eleventh century, Christopher of Mytilene composed the verses that precede the *vitae*; later on, they were revised by Maurice, a deacon of the Great Church in the second half of the twelfth century. The earliest Slavic translations of Greek prologues with verses were written in the Serbian recension in the early fourteenth century. The translation of prologues with verses has been rightly dated to the reign of King Milutin (1282–1321) and associated with the liturgical reform implemented in the Serbian church at that time. A new type of prologue was introduced into the Serbian milieu together with the liturgical models of the Jerusalem Typikon.<sup>150</sup> A survey of fourteenth-century winter prologues with verses shows that the synaxarion *vita* of Zotikos the Nourisher of Orphans regularly appears in them, along with the opening verses (December 31) (*Nikoljac* no. 34,<sup>151</sup> *Peć* no. 56,<sup>152</sup> *University Library* no. 16,<sup>153</sup> *Dečani* no. 54<sup>154</sup>).155

<sup>150</sup> D. Bogdanović, *Dve redakcije stihovnog prologa u rukopisnoj zbirci manastira Dečani*, *Uporedna istraživanja* 1 (Beograd 1975) 35–72. Cf. T. Subotin-Golubović, *Kalendari srpskih rukopisa prve polovine XV veka*, ZRVI 43 (2006) 175–176.

<sup>151</sup> Prologue with verses for the second part of the year (September–December), 1350–1360, fol. 153r–154v (“ПАМЕТ СВЕТАГО МОУГЪННИКА ЗОТИКА СИРНИДЪПНАТЕЛА”). For basic information on the manuscript v. Bogdanović, *Inventar*, 85, no. 1158. The manuscript was examined based on a photograph kept at the Department of Archaeography of the National Library of Serbia.

<sup>152</sup> Prologue with verses for the second part of the year (September–December), fol. 265v–266v. For basic information on the manuscript v. Bogdanović, *Inventar*, 86, no. 1167. The manuscript was examined based on a photograph kept at the Department of Archaeography of the National Library of Serbia.

<sup>153</sup> Prologue with verses for the second part of the year (September–December), 1360–1370, fol. 172 (“ПАМЕТ СВЕТАГО МОУГЪННИКА ЗОТИКА СИРНИДЪПНАТЕЛА...”). For basic information on the manuscript v. Bogdanović, *Inventar*, 85, no. 1160.

<sup>154</sup> Prologue with verses for the second part of the year (December–February), 1394, fol. 83v–86r [“ПАМЕТ СВЕТАГО МОУГЪННИКА ЗОТИКА СИРНИДЪПНАТЕЛА...”). For basic information on the manuscript v. Bogdanović, *Inventar*, 85, no. 1166; Bogdanović et al., *Opis*, 183–189.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. also Prilep prologue with verses (September–February, c. 1385). Cf. Simić, *Hilandarski tipik*, 252.

Liturgical and hagiographical sources suggest that in the Serbian milieu Zotikos the Nourisher of Orphans was not celebrated as a saint until the fourteenth century. It was around this time that the earliest images of a saint named Zotikos began to appear in King Milutin’s churches. In view of the fact that menologia began to be painted in Serbian monumental painting in churches whose kเตอร์ was King Milutin and that the wider context of their emergence can be traced, among other things, to the liturgical reform of Archbishop Nikodim (1317–1324), there are reasons to assume that St. Zotikos was represented in menologia illustrations, especially because menologia cycles from the 1310s tend to have a larger number of commemorations per day. However, the date of December 31 seems to have been left out in the Church of St. George in Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317)<sup>156</sup> and in the Annunciation Church of Gračanica (c. 1320) the winter months have been completely destroyed.<sup>157</sup> As for younger examples, the date of December 31 is known to have been painted only in Dečani (up to 1343), but the image has been destroyed.<sup>158</sup>

Michael Astrapas (Μιχαήλ Αστραπάς), the son of the Thessalonian painter Eutykhios (Ευτύχιος), painted St. Zotikos in two endowments of the Serbian king Stefan Uroš Milutin – in Gračanica (fig. 12) and in the Church of St. Niketas near Skopje (figs. 14, 15), which was frescoed after the king’s death (c. 1324). The first of these images, in Gračanica, is located in the northern wall of the naos and belongs to a long series of half-length martyr figures covering the entire second zone of frescoes (fig. 13).<sup>159</sup> The frontal image shows the saint as an aging man with white, short, wavy hair combed behind his ears and a white, relatively short beard. The image is not particularly well-preserved, but the softly curled strands of his beard

<sup>156</sup> Mijović, *Menolog*, 270; B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino*, Beograd 1993, 82–83.

<sup>157</sup> Mijović, *Menolog*, 294.

<sup>158</sup> Kesić-Ristić, Vojvodić, *Menolog*, 392, T. VIII.

<sup>159</sup> Živković, *Gračanica*, V/3–4.



Fig. 14. North Macedonia, the Church of St. Niketas near Skopje, St. Zotikos, St. Galaction and an unidentified saint (photograph: Miodrag Marković)

suggest that it probably tapered towards the center. He is shown in patrician clothing: a pale purple tunic and a pale olive cloak with a gold decorative cloth with red geometrical ornaments on his chest. He holds a cross in his right hand, while his left is covered by the cloak. There is the inscription  $\sigma(\kappa\epsilon)\tau\iota$  /  $\text{зотикъ}$  [St. Zotikos], but no epithet.

At the Church of St. Niketas near Skopje there is a standing figure of St. Zotikos  $\sigma <\alpha>\gamma(\text{ιο})\varsigma$  /  $\text{Ζωτηκός}$  covering the arched eastern wall of the uppermost fresco zone in the southwestern bay.<sup>160</sup> His face is heavily damaged, prohibiting a well-grounded consideration of the iconographical characteristics. Based on parts that can be seen in old photographs of the fresco – some of his brown hair – he seems to be a younger or middle-aged man (fig. 15). Like in Gračanica, St. Zotikos is here represented as a martyr, wearing a simple, white, long underdress with a red band at the hem and a dark red cloak. In his raised right hand he holds a cross, while the left is obscured by the cloak.

Besides these images, in Serbian medieval art St. Zotikos is known to be represented only in the Church of St.

Demetrios at Markov Manastir near Skopje (1376/1377) – the endowment of King Vukašin and his son King Marko – where he was included in the gallery of busts of holy healers arranged on the western pair of capitals.<sup>161</sup> In this “most concise” bust version, the garments of St. Zotikos are not fully shown: a simple red cloak completely covers the robe underneath and his arms, which are laid along the body. His appearance here suggests some changes in the facial typology that had become well-established in the images of St. Zotikos. At Markov Manastir he is shown as a middle-aged man with dark brown hair combed behind his ears and a shorter beard tapering towards the center and bifurcating into two strands. Like in other cases, the image is accompanied by the inscription  $\sigma <\alpha>\gamma(\text{ιο})\varsigma$  /  $\text{Ζωτικός}$  (fig. 16).

The brief overview of the extant visual representations of saints named Zotikos in Serbian medieval painting requires some additional explanations, although reliable conclusions about these examples become much easier after a survey of the iconography of St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos in Byzantine, Wallachian and Georgian art. While Serbian examples show some inconsistencies, primarily in terms of the saint’s age, there is an obvious constancy of the main iconographical type. In the two completely preserved images, the older one in Gračanica and the younger one in Markov Manastir, Zotikos is shown as an aging or middle-aged man with sharp facial features, wavy hair combed behind the ears and a shorter beard tapering towards the center. As for their relationship with other representations of Zotikos in Orthodox art, the Gračanica image seems remarkably similar to that at Tsalenjikha. As for his age and hair color, it bears repeating that the menologion illustration of Cozia shows St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos with dark brown hair and a short beard. This Wallachian example confirms that in the Late Byzantine period emerged a “younger” iconographical variant of St. Zotikos, providing more grounds to identify the image in St. Niketas and Markov Manastir as St. Zotikos. Furthermore, the absence of the epithet in inscriptions accompanying his image is hardly unique to these Serbian examples – quite the contrary, in fact: these and other examples in Orthodox art show that in the Byzantine era the name of the Constantinopolitan presbyter and martyr was not followed by the distinctive epithet Orphanotrophos or its Slavic calque “Siropitateľ”. On the other hand, this can also be seen as an indirect confirmation of the hypothesis that Zotikos of Constantinople was the only saint of that name to be individually portrayed in Byzantine art and thus did not require an epithet to distinguish him from any namesakes.

Besides all of the above, the programmatic context of the representations of St. Zotikos in Serbian art needs to be taken into account. In Gračanica, he is the ninth in a series of eleven saints grouped together in the first martyrial ensemble in the second fresco zone on the northern wall of the naos (fig. 13). The first (unidentified) martyr on the northern wall (looking from the west) is followed by Sts. Julitta and Kyrikos (July 15); St. Nicholas the New (May 9); St. Hyacinth (July 3); St. Blaise Vukolos (February 3); an unidentified saint; St. Tryphon (February 1); Zotikos is followed by St. Lucian (June 3) and St. Eudoki-

<sup>160</sup> M. Marković, *Sveti Nikita kod Skoplja. Zadužbina kralja Milutina*, Beograd 2015, 104, 187, 190, 194.

<sup>161</sup> L. Mirković, Ž. Tatić, *Markov manastir*, Novi Sad 1925, 66; *Markov manastir, Sveti Dimitrija. Crteži na freski*, Skopje 2012, 26; M. Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira*, Beograd 2019, 438–440, fig. 222.



Fig. 15. North Macedonia, the Church of St. Niketas near Skopje, St. Zotikos, (photo courtesy of Legacy of Nikola Tasić)



Fig. 16. North Macedonia, Church of St. Demetrios at Markov Manastir near Skopje, St. Zotikos, (photograph: Đorđe Đoković)

mos (July 31).<sup>162</sup> St. Zotikos is shown here in the company of prominent martyr saints who were often painted in Orthodox churches (Sts. Julitta and Kyrikos, St. Tryphon) and many of whom are found in other endowments of King Milutin's. For example, Michael Astrapas painted Nicholas the New, Hyacinth, Lucian and Eudokimos in Staro Nagoričino and the last of these also in the King's Church; an image of St. Blaise Vukolos appears in Milutin's endowment in Thessalonica – the church dedicated to St. Nicholas Orphanos (1410s).<sup>163</sup> The only problem that could arise in establishing the identity of St. Zotikos is an image of St. Lucian, a holy martyr commemorated on September 13 together with his companions Gordian, Makrobios, Elias, Zotikos and Valerian.<sup>164</sup> There is, however, little reason to pursue this line of thought, since none of the martyrs in this group were painted individually, while only the cult of St. Lucian, a martyr from Nicomedia (June 3), had a more relevant mark in iconography (Dečani, Resava).<sup>165</sup> The second group, further along the northern wall, shows some of the martyrs of Sebaste (Sisinnios, Severian, Heraklios, Eutychios).<sup>166</sup> Therefore, in view of the iconographic characteristics of St. Zotikos in Gračanica, this image can be conclusively said to represent the martyr, presbyter and orphanotrophos of Con-

stantinople, while the place assigned to him in the thematic program of the church emphasizes the martyrial aspect of his cult.

As mentioned above, in the Church of St. Niketas near Skopje St. Zotikos belongs to the thematic program of the southwestern corner bay. Next to the standing figure of this Constantinopolitan saint in the uppermost zone (northern wall) there are three extant busts of unidentified bishops, while martyr busts are placed on the arches between the western pair of pillars – below St. Zotikos are St. Galaction (November 5) and an unidentified saint (fig. 14), while St. Sozont (September 7) and St. Varus (October 19) appear as their counterparts on the northern side of the church.<sup>167</sup> In this consideration of the programmatic concept of the western part of the church, it is important to note that the nearby first register of the southwestern bay features the figures of the three most prominent holy healers: Kosmas, Damianos and Panteleemon. This content and layout of individual images shows that, in addition to highlighting the martyrial aspect of St. Zotikos's cult, there was a tendency to programmatically bring his figure closer to those of the holy physicians.

At Markov Manastir St. Zotikos belongs to a clearly defined thematic-programmatic ensemble on the western capitals with images of saints venerated for their healing of both body and soul, an ability facilitated not only by their medical training but also by their wonderworking powers (figs. 17, 18). In addition to St. Zotikos, the

<sup>162</sup> Živković, *Gračanica*, V/3–4; Todić, *Gračanica*, 83.

<sup>163</sup> Todić, *Slikarstvo*, 323, 327, 348.

<sup>164</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 40–41; Arhiepiskop Sergii, *Polnyĭ mesiatsĕslov* II, 281.

<sup>165</sup> Marković, *Pojedinačne figure*, 256, 262, fig. 8.

<sup>166</sup> Todić, *Gračanica*, 83.

<sup>167</sup> Marković, *Sveti Nikita*, 187, 190, 194, figs. on p. 187, 197.



Fig. 17. North Macedonia, Church of St. Demetrios at Markov Manastir near Skopje, western pair of capitals (photograph: Đorđe Đoković)

southern capital is adorned with the busts of St. Sampson, St. Diomedes, Sts. Kosmas and Damianos of Rome, St. Simeon Stylites the Younger and Sts. Cyrus and John. The northern capital features images of St. Thecla, St. Mary Magdalene, the martyrs Julitta and Kyrikos, Simeon Stylites, St. Paraskevi, and probably St. Marina.<sup>168</sup>

Although the spatial connection between St. Zotikos and the holy unmercenaries in St. Niketas has a clear programmatic character, Zotikos's image was given special programmatic importance at Markov Manastir and hence this example will be discussed in more detail. As mentioned above, here he is shown with St. Sampson the Hospitable and St. Diomedes (fig. 18). St. Sampson the Hospitable was a priest from a prominent Roman family, but his cult is associated with Constantinople, where he – as reported in his *vita* – devoted himself to offering medical help and charity at a hospital built for him by Emperor Justinian in gratitude for his miraculous healing of the ailing emperor (commemorated on June 27).<sup>169</sup> Covering various written sources and visual representations of St. Sampson in the wide timeframe of Eastern Christian art, Tatjana Starodubcev has offered a critical overview of the emergence and evolution of his cult in the Byzantine capital, carefully analyzing the saints shown together with this eminent holy physician.<sup>170</sup> The example from Markov Manastir belongs to

the group of younger religious monuments where Sampson was almost routinely shown together with St. Diomedes (the Church of St. Achillius in Arilje; the Church of Saint Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonica; Gračanica; the katholikon of Hilandar; the narthex of the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria, Vrontochion Monastery, Mystras, before 1322; the katholikon of the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos). She explains that some similarities in the *vitae* of the two saints, as well as the insufficiently known intertwining of holy cults in the later period, seem to have been reflected in the selection of the depicted saints.<sup>171</sup> More specifically, Diomedes, a martyr in Nicaea who lived in Diocletian's time, was a priest learned in the medical arts and known for his spiritual and physical healings (commemorated on August 16). His martyrdom was located at the Virgin's Church next to the Golden Gate and the particles of the Nicene martyr's relics were kept at the Monastery of New Jerusalem in Constantinople, which later sources refer to as the Monastery of St. Diomedes and which is known to have survived until the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>172</sup>

These doctors and presbyters – all of them associated with many cases of miraculous healing – were highly venerated in Constantinople, the city that was also home to the religious structures that housed their relics. The interconnectedness and overlapping of their cults is also evident in Late Byzantine hagiography. The hagiographi-

<sup>168</sup> Markov manastir, *Sveti Dimitrija*, 26–27, 33, 42.

<sup>169</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 773–776.

<sup>170</sup> T. Starodubcev, *Lekar i čudotvorac. Poštovanje svetog Sampsona Stranoprince i njegove predstave u srednjovekovnom istočnohrišćanskom slikarstvu*, *Zograf* 39 (2015) 25–46.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 25–33, 38–39.

<sup>172</sup> Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 901.5–901.29. Cf. Starodubcev, *Lekar i čudotvorac*, 38–39.



Fig. 18. North Macedonia, Church of St. Demetrios at Markov Manastir near Skopje, St. Sampson, St. Diomedes, St. Zotikos (photograph: Đorđe Đoković)

cal works of Constantine Akropolites, who composed the panegyrics to St. Zotikos and St. Sampson in the years when the frescoes of Milutin's churches were created, bear witness to this.<sup>173</sup>

Based on the surviving monumental frescoes of medieval Serbia, these ideas do not seem to have been reflected in the thematic ensembles featuring holy physicians, which is understandable in view of the fact that these works were little known beyond Constantinopolitan intellectual and court circles. On the other hand, the artists who frescoed Markov Manastir could have found the model for their depiction of St. Zotikos in an older church with an extensive group of holy unmercenary representations, such as Grigorije's gallery of St. Sophia in Ohrid, where several busts next to St. Sampson are missing.<sup>174</sup> This hypothesis is not entirely unfounded since the painters whose artistic views stylistically and iconographically shaped the majority of the painted ensemble in Markov Manastir were educated in Ohrid, learning their craft alongside the artists who had frescoed this ensemble (Grigorije's gallery) toward the end of the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>173</sup> V. n. 56.

<sup>174</sup> Above the capitals of the three three-light windows and on the upper parts of the pilasters separating them, on the western side of Grigorije's gallery are representations of Kosmas, Damianos, Pantelimon, Hermolaos, Cyrus and Sampson. The space above the capital next to St. Sampson and on the next pilaster has no surviving fresco decorations. It has been rightly assumed that between St. Cyrus and Samson an image of St. John would be expected; above the pilaster there was enough space to continue the series with another three half-length figures. Cf. C. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka*, Beograd 1980, drw. 25, 92.

<sup>175</sup> M. Radujko, *Autorski rukopis i istorija umetnosti: živopis spratnih odaja narteksa i trema Svete Sofije ohridske i zidno slikarstvo Ohrida i susednih oblasti*, Zograf 35 (2011) 155–184; Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira*, 492–501, 518–523.

Regardless of this possibility, the example of Markov Manastir is particularly significant not only because it represents one of the few surviving images of St. Zotikos the Nourisher of Orphans in Serbian medieval art but also due to the programmatic meaning assigned to it. As I have tried to show in this paper, in Markov Manastir the reflections of St. Zotikos's cult are skillfully directed towards the creation of a clearly defined group of saints, while in Gračanica and St. Niketas near Skopje his image was placed in a far wider programmatic context, emphasizing the martyrial aspect of his cult.

\*

The background of the painters should also be taken into account when considering the reasons for the appearance of St. Zotikos in Serbian art. Michael, who frescoed King Milutin's churches with his assistants, was a distinguished painter from the Thessalonian family of Astrapas, while King Marko employed artists from Ohrid to fresco his endowments. An analysis of the few surviving images of St. Zotikos in a wide geographical area reveals that the iconographical characteristics of this saint, formulated in Constantinople in the eleventh century, changed little over time and that the basic type, with some iconographical variations, survived in Serbian time into the Palaiologan period. This would suggest that the main iconographical type, like the cult itself, emanated from Constantinople. Therefore it seems less likely that the Thessalonian artists had a role in the selection of St. Zotikos, while this possibility cannot be fully ruled out in the case of the Ohrid painters trained in an artistic center that preserved the Constantinopolitan tradition. However, any final conclusions must take into account the fact that all three images of St. Zotikos in Serbian art are the works of Greek paint-

ers. Furthermore, there is an unambiguous link between Constantinople and Thessalonica – the two largest artistic centers of the Byzantine Empire and there is no reason to doubt the hypothesis that those distinguished Thessalonian artists could have been recommended to King Milutin by his father-in-law, Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. Hence one of the possible explanations could be summarized as follows: the emergence and representation of St. Zotikos in Serbia came from the involvement of Greek painters.

Finally, a brief overview (based on the available sources) of the attitude of fourteenth-century Serbian rulers of medical and charitable institutions seems pertinent. In this matter they followed the Byzantine tradition, adopted in Serbian lands already in the time of St. Sava of Serbia.<sup>176</sup> Only examples that could add to the wider picture of the time when representations of Zotikos Orphanotrophos appear will be highlighted here. The fact that he was married to the daughter of Andronikos II Palaiologos must have been an important factor in King Milutin's decision to establish a hospital at the famed Monastery of St. John the Forerunner (Prodromos) in the Constantinopolitan quarter of Petra. The hospital was known among the Rhomaioi as the King's Xenon (ξενὼν τοῦ κράλη).<sup>177</sup> Milutin is believed to have founded it shortly after the fire that in 1308 engulfed the part of the capital from the Kynegos Gate (Gate of the Hunters) to the Prodromos monastery. The king's patronage ensured funding for this institution, while the Byzantine emperor renounced his own and confirmed Milutin's ownership rights over it. Besides the Serbian hospital, in the fourteenth century the renowned Prodromos monastery in Petra (τῆς Πέτρας) included a public school and later also an academic institution – the Mouseion of the Xenon (Μουσεῖον τοῦ Ξενῶνος), where medicine was studied.<sup>178</sup> Notably, it was at this monastery that the Typikon of St. Sabas of Jerusalem was kept. According to Archbishop Nikodim, it was brought to Serbia in 1319 and translated into Serbian to become known as the Typikon of Archbishop Nikodim, whose role and contents have been discussed above.<sup>179</sup>

It was again Constantinople that provided the model for the hospital at the Dečani Monastery. The main contributing factor in this was probably the captivity of Stefan of Dečani (1322–1331) at the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, where he might have become fa-

miliar with the functioning of the renowned monastery hospital.<sup>180</sup> Owing to Gregory Tsamblak, King Stefan's biographer who left a testimony about the monastery hospital, we are able to provide some details that have been described as very important for our knowledge of the treatment of leprosy in the Late Byzantine period.<sup>181</sup> The author reports that there was a special ward for the treatment of those whose "faces [were] consumed by boiling blood, after the flesh had peeled off, and after their fingers had broken off from the adjacent bones and split from the integral organism".<sup>182</sup>

To recapitulate, some conclusions can be inferred based on the above-presented evidence. The main factor in the emergence of individual images of St. Zotikos in the Serbian milieu was probably his liturgical commemoration in the fourteenth century. Although his cult never developed to become more relevant in medieval Serbia, manuscript heritage shows that his *vita* was routinely copied in prologues with verses and that the services dedicated to him in *menaia* also contained a canon. On the other hand, Greek artists commissioned by Serbian rulers King Milutin and King Marko contributed to the emergence of representations of St. Zotikos in Serbian churches.

Despite their scarcity, these images of St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos represent reliable evidence of interest in this saint among the Serbs in the fourteenth century. Serbian examples acquire special importance when seen in the wider context of the research of Zotikos's cult in Byzantine art. Among them, the solution from Markov Manastir seems particularly programmatically noteworthy – an isolated yet knowledgeably preserved memory of the Constantinopolitan saint at the sunset of the Byzantine era.

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<sup>176</sup> Cf. R. Katić, *Bolnica Svetog Save u manastiru Studenica*, in: *Osam vekova Studenice*, ed. episkop žički Stefan, Beograd 1986, 201–207.

<sup>177</sup> M. Živojinović, *Bolnica kralja Milutina u Carigradu*, ZRVI 16 (1975) 105–116; *Xenon of the Kral*, in: ODB III, 2209 (A.-M. Talbot); Miller, *The birth of the hospital*, 23, 139, 158, 174, 193, 195–197, 206. Cf. also M. Marković, *Zapažanja o najstarijim ikonama iz Markovog manastira (I)*, Zograf 37 (2013) 151, n. 21.

<sup>178</sup> Živojinović, *Bolnica kralja Milutina*, 113.

<sup>179</sup> SSZN I, 22, no. 52. The Petra Monastery also had in its possession three *menaia* (*Theol. gr.* 132, *Hist. gr.* 66 and *Theol. gr.* 138 – for March, April and May) created owing to the efforts of Queen Simonida (née Simonis Palaiologina) after October 1321, now kept at the National Library in Vienna. Cf. H. Hunger, O. Kresten, *Archaisierende Minuskel und Hodegonstil im 14. Jahrhundert. Der Schreiber Theoktistos und die κράλαινα τῶν Τριβαλῶν*, JÖB 29 (1980) 187–236.

<sup>180</sup> Grigorije Camblak, *Književni rad u Srbiji*, ed. D. Petrović, Beograd 1989, 53.

<sup>181</sup> Miller, Nesbitt, *Walking corpses*, 38, 69–70, 92.

<sup>182</sup> Grigorije Camblak, *Književni rad u Srbiji*, 69.



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## Култ светог Зотика Сиропитатеља и његове представе у Византији и земљама византијског културног круга

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У цариградској традицији и историји негује се, све до позновизантијског периода, успомена на светог Зотика као оснивача две најзначајније добротворне институције у Византијском царству – Сиротишта (Орфанотрофејон) на акропољу Цариграда и Лепрозаријума у Пери (Елеона, Златни рог), који је пружао смештај и негу оболелима од лепре.

На основу помена у литургијским синаксарима од VIII до XI века може се закључити да је свети по имену Зотик поштован у Цариграду и да је најпотпуније сећање (30. и 31. децембар) на њега везано за добротворну установу којом је управљао са титулом *орфаноџирофа* (сиропитатеља). Синаксарски помени, међутим, идентификују светог Зотика и као препо-

добног оца, презвитера и мученика, што усложњава његов „хагиолошки портрет“. У *Синаксару Цариградске цркве* (X век) укратко је у рубрици за 31. децембар представљен живот светог Зотика, док је опширнија верзија *Vita Zotici* забележена у тзв. царским менолозима из XI века (Волтерс 521 из Балтимора, 8. јануар). Обе легенде саопштавају да је Зотик пореклом из Рима и да се одрекао привилегија титуле *magistrianus* коју му је доделио цар Константин Велики посветивши се свештеничком позиву и бризи о сирочади-ма, болеснима и немоћнима. Житије даље казује да је у време избијања лепре у Цариграду цар Константин наредио да се сви оболели баце у море како би се спречило ширење заразе. Вођен дожанском љубављу Зотик је затражио новац од цара којим је омогућио да се спречи страдање лепрозних, након чега је основао Лепрозаријум са друге стране Босфора. Зотик је страдао у време Констанција II, по чијој наредби је његово тело везано између две дивље муле и, након што је вучено по земљи, растргнуто. Док су егзекутори и даље бичем гонили животиње десило се чудо – једна од мула се зауставила и проговорила, исказујући људским гласом Божију вољу да се тело Зотика сахрани на брду. Видевши то цар се покаја и затражи опроштај од Бога, а тело Зотиково сахрани уз највеће почасти. Познија верзија легенде о светом Зотику (ВНГ 2480) припада корпусу *vitae* из времена Палеолога и саставио ју је Константин Акрополит. Његово *Слово светом и чудотворном Зоџику* садржи описе три чуда која су се десила у Лепрозаријуму након страдања његовог оснивача. Сва три хагиографска дела пружају податке о светом Зотику и његовом култу у Цариграду кроз векове. Иако је свети Зотик означен увек као орфанотроф у синаксарима, менолозима и минејима, занимљиво је да ниједна од све три верзије *Vita Zotici* не помиње његову повезаност са Сиротиштем.

Сећање на светог Зотика као орфанотрофа, свештеника, оснивача болнице за лепрозне у Цариграду забележено је у различитим писаним изворима, међу којима су поједини знатно старији од најранијих сачуваних хагиографских сведочанстава, а најмлађи потичу из XIV века.

Иако је поштовање светог Зотика забележено у литургијским изворима и знатно раније, ширењу и популарности култа овог цариградског светитеља највише је допринело састављање *Синаксара Цариградске цркве* у X веку. Тек од тада, и то углавном у оквиру календарских илустрација, свети Зотик почиње да се приказује у византијској уметности. Најранија ликовна представа налази се на минијатури уз *Vita Zotici* у Волтерс менологу 521 (8. јануар) – илустрованој збирци житија византијских светих за месец јануар, који припада тзв. царским менолозима и који је састављен у време цара Михаила IV Пафлагонца. Доследно се држећи хагиографског текста о мучеништву светог Зотика, сликар је приказао у брдовитом пејсажу пар оседланих мула у галопу, за које је привезано беживотно тело старијег светитеља седе кратке косе и браде, затворених очију. Следи синаксар јеванђелистара *Vat. gr. 1156* из друге половине XI века. Ту је свети Зотик означен као орфанотроф насликан поред свете Меланије Римске у оквиру илустрације за

31. децембар – као старији човек са залисцима, седе краће браде која се сужава на средини, одевен у одећу патриција. И у позном примеру илустрованих менолога – оксфордском рукопису *Gr. theol. f. 1* из око 1330. године – налази се илустрација за 31. децембар. До сада је на основу легенде идентификована само света Меланија Римска. У првом плану је старији светитељ, седе кратке косе са залисцима и седе браде, приказан у ставу оранта, у плавој хаљини и маслинастом огртачу. Описани лик светог по свему одговара начину на који је приказан свети Зотик Орфанотроф у старијим илустрованим рукописима. Стога сматрамо да се овај пример може додати групи малобројних представа овог цариградског светог. Нова представа светог Зотика идентификована је међу хагиографским илустрацијама менолошких икона из манастира Свете Катарине на Синају. Тај свети се може поуздано идентификовати на основу иконографије и пратећег натписа (Ζοτῆκος) на необјављеној икони за децембар која припада целини од дванаест панела из око 1200. године. Реч је о старијем мученику седе косе са залисцима и краће браде која се сужава ка средини, одевен у црвену хаљину и плави огртач; у левој руци држи свитак, а у десној је носио крст, данас избрисан. Он стоји између свете Анисије и свете Меланије, као претпоследња фигура у шестом реду иконе. Међу менолошким циклусима у зидном сликарству представа светог Зотика сачувана је једино у оквиру илустрације за 31. децембар у влашком манастиру Козија (око 1391).

Свети Зотик Орфанотроф не само да није био део уобичајеног система декорације византијских цркава, него није забележен ниједан пример укључивања самосталне представе овог цариградског светитеља у низове мученика или лекара у најзначајнијим, уједно и најбогатијим сликаним програмима средњовизантијског периода. Ни у каснијем периоду то се битније није променило. Једина самостална представа светог с именом Зотик у позновизантијској епохи налази се, према нашим сазнањима, у цркви Светог Спаса Цаленциха у Грузији. Њен ктитор, велики војвода Грузијског краљевства Дадјани Вамек I (1384–1396) позвао је цариградског сликара Манојла Евгеника да фрескама украси цркву. Изглед светог Зотика, фигуре која се налази на пиластру лучног пролаза ка југозападном угаоном травеју, у приличној мери одговара иконографији установљеној још у XI веку за Зотика Орфанотрофа. Међутим поред имена светог исписаног на грузијском нема епитета који би прецизније одредио његов идентитет. У раду су размотрена литургијска и визуелна сведочанства о светитељском прослављању свих мученика са именом Зотик, након чега је утврђено да је само цариградски орфанотроф уживао значајније поштовање, те стога сматрамо да највише поверења треба поклонити претпоставци да је у грузијској цркви насликан управо тај свети Зотик.

На основу претходно изнетог могу се донети извесни закључци о култу светог Зотика у Византији и представама овог светог у уметности византијске епохе. Иако је свети Зотик због својих заслуга у оснивању две изузетно значајне добротворне установе у Византијском царству стекао велики углед у Цариграду,

изгледа да поштовање које му је указивано у престоници није значајније утицало на ширење његовог култа. Чињенице да овом светом нису посвећиване цркве, те да нема сведочанстава о његовим реликвијама указују на то да су изостали неки од кључних садржаја култа који би допринели његовом учвршћивању и успешном ширењу. И визуелна сведочанства показују да прослављање овог светог нема значајнијег одјека у уметности. Ипак на основу прегледа малобројних сачуваних ликовних представа могу се издвојити њихове иконографске одлике. Главни иконографски тип осмишљен у XI веку одржао се све до краја XIV века. Уз мање иконографске варијетете које се односе на облик браде и старосно доба, свети Зотик Орфанотроф приказује се као седи старац или средовечан човек са седом кратком косом и седом краћом брадом. Иако је према житију овај мученик служио као презвитер, он се током византијске епохе увек приказује у иконографском облику мученика. На крају, треба додати и то да су значајни показатељи трајања и распрострањености култа светог Зотика Цариградског његове ликовне представе у позном XIV столећу, у православним земљама које су биле повезане са Византијском државом и њеним духовним и уметничким наслеђем.

Значајна сведочанства о поштовању култа светог Зотика Цариградског пружају његове ликовне представе у средњовековној српској уметности. Увид у литургијске и хагиографске изворе показује да светитељско прослављање Зотика Сиропитеља није било заступљено у српској средини пре XIV века. Тек се од од тог времена, у црквама краља Милутина, јављају и прве ликовне представе светог који је означен као Зотик. Солунски сликар Михаило Астрапа насликао је светог Зотика у две задужбине краља Милутина – Грачаници и Светом Никити код Скопља. Прва, грачаничка представа приказана је на северном зиду наоса и припада дугом низу допојасних представа мученика које испуњавају целу другу зону живописа. Фронтално постављен светитељ приказан је у старијој доби – са седом кратком таласастом косом, зачешљаном иза ушију и седом краћом брадом. Његов лик није најбоље сачуван али благо увијене власи браде показују да се она највероватније сужавала ка средини. Представљен је у одећи патриција. У цркви Светог Никите код Скопља стојећа фигура светог Зотика заузима највишу зону живописа лучно завршеног источног зида југозападног травеја. Његово лице је веома оштећено, што онемогућава поуздано разматрање иконографских особености. На основу онога што је сачувано на старим фотографијама – а то је део косе смеђе боје – могло би се закључити да је реч о млађем или средовечном човеку. Као и у Грачаници свети Зотик је насликан као мученик, одевен у једноставну белу дугу доњу хаљину са црвеном траком при дну и огрнут мркоцрвеним плаштом. У десној, подигнутој руци он држи крст, а леву држи испод огртача. Свети Зотик је у српском сликарству средњег века насликан још само у цркви Светог Димитрија у Марковом манастиру код Скопља (1376/1377) – задужбини краља Вукашина и његовог сина Марка – где је уврштен у галерију попрсја светих врача смештених на запаном пару капитела. Његов изглед указује на извесне про-

мене у типологији лика који се усталио на старијим српским представама светог Зотика. Он је приказан у средовечном добу, са тамносмеђом косом зачешљаном иза ушију и краћом брадом која се сужава ка средини и раздваја у два прамена. Као и у другим примерима његов лик прати натпис о α(γί)ος / Ζωτικός.

Иако се у српским примерима јављају одступања, првенствено у погледу старосне доби приказаног светитељског лика, може се запазити постојаност основног иконографског типа. На две целовито сачуване представе, грачаничкој и млађој из Марковог манастира, Зотик је приказан као старији, односно средовечни мушкарац, оштрих црта лица, са таласастом косом зачешљаном иза ушију и краћом брадом која се сужава ка средини. Ако се осврнемо на одлике других Зотикових ликова у православној уметности, сличност се нарочито може уочити између представа тог светог у Грачаници и Цаленцихе. Када је реч о старосној доби и боји светитељеве косе, ваља се подсетити да је у менолошкој илустрацији у Козији свети Зотик Орфанотроф приказан са тамносмеђом косом и кратком брадом. Овај влашки пример потврђује да се у позновизантијској епохи јавља и „млађа“ иконографска варијанта светог Зотика, због чега се са више сигурности може говорити о идентитету светог Зотика у Светом Никити и Марковом манастиру. Томе треба додати и то да се по одсуству епитета у натписима који прате Зотиков лик српски примери не разликују од других у православном сликарству – напротив, сви заједно они показују да се у византијској епохи уз име цариградског презвитера и мученика није писао атрибут Орфанотрофос, односно Сиропитељ, по ком је био препознатљив. Са друге стране на то би се могло гледати и као на додатну потврду да је цариградски Зотик једини светитељ са тим именом који се самостално сликао у византијској уметности.

На крају у раду је посвећена пажња и програмском контексту представа светог Зотика у српској уметности. У Грачаници је он девети у низу од једанаест светитељских ликова, груписаних у првој целини мученичких представа у другој зони фресака на северном зиду наоса (свети Кирик и Јулита, свети Трифун, свети Никола Нови, свети Јакин, свети Власије Вукол итд). У Светом Никити су поред стојеће фигуре овог цариградског светог у највишој зони сачувана три попрсја неидентификованих архијереја, док су у нижој зони попрсја мученика распоређена на луковима (свети Галактион, свети Созонт). При сагледавању програмске целине западног дела храма важно је истаћи да су у најнижој зони југозападног травеја насликана три најзначајнија света врача – свети Козма, Дамјан и Пантелејмон. Такав садржај и распоред појединачних светитељских представа показује да је поред мученичког аспекта култа светог Зотика постојала и намера програмског приближавања његовог лика представама светих врача. Свети Зотик у Марковом манастиру припада јасно дефинисаној тематско-програмској целини на западним капителима коју чине свети поштовани због својих исцељења и тела и душе, вршених не само захваљујући медицинском образовању већ и чудотворним моћима (свети Сампсон, свети Диомид, свети Козма и Дамјан из Рима, свети Симеон Дивногорац, свети Кир и Јован итд).

На основу свега што је наведено може се извести неколико закључака. На појаву самосталних ликовних представа светог Зотика у српској средини највише је могло имати утицаја светитељско богослужбено прослављање у XIV веку. Иако је реч о светом чији се култ никада није значајније развио у средњовековној Србији, рукописно наслеђе показује да је његово животије редовно преписивано у стиховним пролозима и да службе њему посвећене у минејима садрже и канон. Иако малобројне, представе светог Зотика Си-

ропитатеља су поуздано сведочанство да је у једном раздобљу током XIV века постојало интересовање за култ овог цариградског светог код Срба. Особиту важност српски примери имају када се сагледају и на широј основи проучавања одјека култа светог Зотика у византијској уметности. Међу њима се у програмском смислу издваја решење из Марковог манастира – усамљено али зналачки очувано сећање на цариградског светитеља на измаку византијске епохе.