

# To picture and to perform. The image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir (II)\*

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*The themes in the sanctuary decoration at Markov Manastir (Christ Emmanuel, Virgin Orans, Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles), whose peculiar iconographic elements reveal the mysteries of the Holy Trinity and the archpriesthood of Christ in the liturgical and theological context of the fourteenth century, are discussed in this paper. The remains of the text in the leitourgikon held by Christ the Archpriest have been re-examined. It seems plausible to assume that the inscription or a part of it referred to the opening dialogue of the anaphora. The iconographic peculiarities of individual items carried in the Great Entrance procession, modelled according to the structure of the archieratical Divine liturgy, have been reconsidered. It has been established that the way in which the large aër was carried, and its place in the procession escorting the Eucharistic gifts – which was very close to the holy offerings – followed the iconographic tradition of the Heavenly Liturgy in the dome, while the evidence for its shape and size can be found in a somewhat later liturgical source – the Patriarchal liturgical Diataxis of Dimitrios Gemistos.*

*Keywords: the church of St Demetrios at Markov Manastir, Great Entrance, Christ the Great Archpriest, aër, leitourgikon, iconography, Late Byzantine painting.*

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This paper is a continuation of an article published under the same title in the previous issue of *Zograf*. In the meantime, several papers relevant to individual thematic segments that were dealt with in the first part have been published. For the Great Entrance in the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom based on more recent liturgical sources, v. R. F. Taft, S. Parenti, *Storia della liturgia di s. Giovanni Crisostomo, volume II: Il Grande Ingresso, edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata* (AK 10), Grottaferrata 2014 (this book was inaccessible to us). The liturgical context of the aër and its relationship with the painted decoration of the sanctuary is discussed on the example of the *Thessaloniki epitaphios* by R. Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios: notes on use and context*, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 55 (2015) 489–535. Kh. Andreev, *Nadpisi s liturgien proizkhod ot oltarnoto prostranstvo na tšurkvata „Sv. Pet”r“ pri s. Berende, Palaebulgarica/Starobŭlgaristika* 39/2 (2015) 51–56 brings the inscription of the prayers of the offering of the holy gifts on the scroll of St Basil the Great in St Peter's church in the village of Berende (the second quarter of the fourteenth century); it is also an extension to the list of Bulgarian and Serbian ecclesiastical buildings in which this inscription can be found.

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## *Christ as the Great Archpriest*

In the fourteenth century, the role of Christ as a bishop was particularly highlighted in Eucharistic themes.<sup>1</sup> The impetus for this type of iconography came from the apostolic tradition<sup>2</sup> and liturgical interpretations according to which the bishop, while performing the Eucharist, was an “image of Christ”.<sup>3</sup> According to Symeon of Thessalonike, the symbolic manifestation of Christ is achieved not only through the bishop's ordination but also through the symbolism of his vestments.<sup>4</sup> Christ's patriarchal attire is a novel iconographic feature that appeared in the Palaiologan period<sup>5</sup> and it is believed to have been associated with the powerful influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the religious and political life of the Byzantine Empire at that time.<sup>6</sup>

The earliest image of Christ the Great Archpriest consecrating and blessing the Holy Gifts was designed in the sanctuary of Lesnovo (ca. 1342), immediately below the Communion of the Apostles (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> The image of

<sup>1</sup> D. Vojvodić, *O likovima starozavetnih prvosveštenika u vizantijskom zidnom slikarstvu s kraja XIII veka*, ZRVI 37 (1998) 149–150.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. The Epistle to the Hebrews (7, 1–3) and Psalm 109:4. V. J. Lécuyer, *Le sacrodoce dans la mystère du Christ*, Paris 1957, 9–20; E. Čarnić, *Arhijerej po redu Melhisedekovu*, Bogoslovlje 17 (1973) 17–43; 18 (1974) 17–46.

<sup>3</sup> V. the liturgical commentaries of Nicholas Cabasilas, cf. I. Bizau, *L'autel eucharistique dans la mystique sacramentelle et liturgique de Saint Nicolas Cabasilas*, in: *L'espace liturgique: ses éléments constitutifs et leur sens*, ed. C. Braga, Roma 2006, 71–76; and Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155, col. 709A; R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle*, Paris 1966, 213, 253; W. T. Woodfin, *The embodied icon: liturgical vestments and sacramental power in Byzantium*, Oxford – New York 2012, 116–117.

<sup>4</sup> PG 155, col. 709A. Cf. Woodfin, *Embodied icons*, 117, 191–200.

<sup>5</sup> Woodfin, *op. cit.*, 187.

<sup>6</sup> T. Papamastorakēs, *Η μορφή του Χριστού Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα*, *Deltion ChAE* 17 (1993–1994) 69–76.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to this, the earliest portrayal of Christ the Archpriest as an individual figure has been preserved in the diaconicon of Lesnovo, cf. S. Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo*, Beograd 1998, 67–68. The idea of Christ's priesthood and his sacrifice is to be found in the prothesis of the church of Psača, where Christ the priest is depicted, v. S. Cvetkovski, *Liturgiska služba na Grigorije od Nisa pred Hristos jerej od crkvata vo Psača*, *Zbornik muzeja na Makedonija, srednovekovna umetnost* 3 (Skopje 2001) 95–106, draw.



Fig. 1. Lesnovo, Christ the Great Archpriest, (photo: I. M. Djordjević)

Christ the Great Archpriest would also become part of the scenes of the Heavenly Liturgy depicted in the sanctuaries of two churches in Mistra: the prothesis of the Virgin Peribleptos (1350–1380; fig. 2) and the southeast chapel of St Sophia (1350 and 1365).<sup>8</sup> At the same time, these were the earliest examples of the Heavenly Liturgy which include the image of Christ as the Great Archpriest.<sup>9</sup> The liturgical

1, fig. 2. On the iconography of Christ as the Priest, which emerged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, v. P. Kostovska, *Ikonografskata predstava na Isus Hristos "Velik Arhijerej" vo vizantiskata umetnost od XI do XIV vek*, *Balkanoslavika* 22–24 (1995–1997) 40–43; A. Lidov, *Khristos-sviāshchennik v ikonograficheskikh programmakh XI–XII vekov*, *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 55 (1994) 187–192. For the representation of Christ the Great Archpriest in the Communion of the Apostles in the fourteenth century, v. Papamastorakēs, *op. cit.*, 67; I. Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele u doba Nemanjića*, Beograd 1994, 138, 147, figs. 14–15; V. J. Đurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, in: *Manastir Ravanica (1381–1981). Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici*, Beograd 1981, 53–60, 62–64; T. Starodubcev, *Pričešće apostola u Ravanici*, *Zograf* 24 (1995) 54, n. 14; Kostovska, *op. cit.*, 45–46.

<sup>8</sup> For the dating of the Virgin Peribleptos v. G. Babić, *Liturgijske teme na freskama u Bogorodičinoj crkvi u Peći*, in: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, Beograd 1991, 379. For the dating of St Sophia, v. M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras. The medieval city and the castle*, Athens 1985, 69. The depiction of the Heavenly Liturgy in both churches has been discussed by S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris 1970, draw. XVIIIa; M. Emmanuel, *Some notes on the iconographic programmes of two Mystra churches: Peribleptos and Hagia Sophia*, in: *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Khudozhestvenaiā zhizn' Pskova i iskusstvo pozdnevizantiiskoi epokhi*, Moskva 2008, 458–462, 466–467.

<sup>9</sup> T. Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije u kupoli – prilog proučavanju*, in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa*, Beograd–Kruševac 2002, 391, n. 38, draws our attention to the possibility that the earliest representation of the Heavenly Liturgy with Christ the Great Archpriest may be identified in the skete of St Peter of Koriša (ca. 1220? ca. 1345?). With the exception of Ravanica, the poor state of preservation of the examples of the Heavenly Liturgy in the dome offers insufficient visual evidence for the identification of the figure standing by the Heavenly altar as Christ the Great Archpriest, cf. *ibid.*, 393–397. During the fourteenth century, this iconographic theme was not limited only to monumental painting. Cf. *panagiaron* from Xeropotamou monastery, Mount Athos, v. I. Kalavrezou, *Byzantine icons in steatite*, Vienna 1985, I, 204–205; II, pl. 64, no. 131; *Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, Thessaloniki 1997, 324–325, no. 9. 5.



Fig. 2. Virgin Peribleptos, Mystras, Heavenly Liturgy (photo: I. M. Djordjević)

idea of Christ as the bishop “who offers and is offered”<sup>10</sup> is fully embodied in the sanctuary of the church of the Virgin in Modrište in Macedonia (1360–1380). Christ, as

<sup>10</sup> “Προσφέρων και προσφερόμενος...” cf. Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine liturgie*, trad. S. Salaville, Paris 1967, XLIX, 15–16, 280 (PG 150, 477C).



Fig. 3. St Phanourios at Valsamonero, The Great Entrance (photo after C. Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*)



Fig. 4. Markov Manastir, apse, Christ the Great Archpriest

the ideal priest dressed in a festive *sakkos*, is depicted in the second register in the sanctuary as serving the Holy Liturgy over Christ the sacrificial Lamb, while the most prominent bishops of the Church are con-celebrating.<sup>11</sup> A very interesting example of this theme was painted in the late fourteenth century in the church of St Stephen at Soletto (Salento, Apulia), where the sanctuary apse features an image of Σοφία ο λόγος του Θεού blessing the Holy Gifts.<sup>12</sup> In the iconographic programme of this south Italian church, the symbolic representation of the Divine Wisdom as Christ the Pre-Eternal Logos, which was at that time typical of the Balkans, was endowed with an explicitly Eucharistic meaning.<sup>13</sup> The clerical character of Christ Emmanuel is indicated by the motif of *epitrachelion*, decorated and crossed on the chest according to the Latin tradition.<sup>14</sup> Although it is symbolic in character, the image of Christ serving the liturgy in front of the Old Testament tabernacle in the sanctuary of the church of the Transfiguration in the monastery of Zarzma in Georgia (mid-fourteenth century), clearly shows the fourteenth-century iconographic tendency to highlight those elements of the image of Christ which identify Him as a bishop.<sup>15</sup>

The group of scenes that are thematically closest to the fresco in Markov Manastir certainly include the Great Entrance in the monastery of St Phanourios at Valsamonero on Crete, painted in the apse of the narthex, i.e. the chapel dedicated to the monastery's patron saint (1431; fig. 3).<sup>16</sup> This is the only depiction of the Great Entrance

which incorporates the image of Christ the Great Archpriest. Dressed in a festive patriarchal *sakkos*, Christ is greeting a single angelic procession of deacons and priests bringing the Holy Gifts in front of the altar; his right hand is raised in blessing, while the left holds a *leitourgikon*.<sup>17</sup> The depiction of Christ the Great Archpriest greeting the Holy Gifts in the Pantanassa in Mistra should also be mentioned as an example, though it dates from the seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Similar liturgical role is fulfilled by Christ the Great Archpriest in the sanctuary apse in Markov Manastir (fig. 4). The represented moment of the liturgy is precisely defined by the text inscribed on the open *leitourgikon* (figs. 5 and 6). Its poor state of preservation does not allow for an easy identification, though some fragments can still be considered a reliable hint. The fragment of the word at the end of the first line on the *leitourgikon's* second page, "...εστη..", is such an example (figs. 5 and 6). It corresponds to the word *πρηνεστη* from the Trinitarian greeting of the celebrant: *ε(λ(α)γ(ο)α(β)τ(η) γ(ο)σ(π)ο(δ)α ε(ο)γ(α) η(α)σ(ε)ρ(ο)υ ι(ε)σ(ο)υ χ(ρ)ι(σ)του η(α) λ(ο)υ(ε)ν(η) ε(ο)γ(α) η(α) ω(ν)α η(α) πρηνεστη ε(κ)ε(τ)α(ρ)ο(υ) χα(ρι)ς βο(υ)θ(η) συ ε(κ)ε(μ)η ε(κ)ε(μ)η.* (The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all).<sup>19</sup> This liturgi-

<sup>11</sup> S. Cvetkovski, *Crkva Svete Bogorodice u selu Modrištu*, *Zograf* 35 (2011) 199–203, draw. 3, fig. 5–7.

<sup>12</sup> M. Berger, *Le peintures de l'abside de S. Stefano à Soletto: Une illustration de l'anaphore en Terre de Otrante à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Age, Temps Modernes*, 94/1 (1982) 124–134, fig. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Berger, *op. cit.*, 134, 162 has suggested that *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a widespread collection of liturgical commentaries by Germanos, the eighth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, provided a source for visual representations. For the Eucharistic meaning of the image of Logos the Wisdom of God in the sanctuary, v. I. Đorđević, *Darovi Svetog duha u proskomidiji Bogorodičine crkve u Morači*, in: idem, *Studije srpske srednjovekovne umetnosti*, Beograd 2008, 193–194, 197–198.

<sup>14</sup> Berger, *op. cit.*, 132–134.

<sup>15</sup> L. M. Evseeva, *Dve simvolicheskie kompozitsii v rospisi XIV v. monastyria Zarzma*, *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 43 (1982) 134–146.

<sup>16</sup> M. Chatzēdakēs, *Τοιχογραφίες στην Κρήτη*, *Krētika Chronika* 6 (1952) 72–75; K. D. Kalokyriēs, *Αι Βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία της Κρήτης*, Athens 1957, 97; K. Gallas, K. Wessel, M. Borboudakis, *By-*

*zantinisches Kreta*, Munich 1983, 62, 118, 126–127, 139, 143, 262, 280, 313–321, 394, 397, 410, figs. 95, 110–111, 275–281; M. Bissinger, *Kreta. Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, Munich 1995, 122, 181, 231.

<sup>17</sup> I. Spatarakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, in: idem, *Studies in Byzantine manuscript illumination and iconography*, London 1996, 300–301.

<sup>18</sup> It has already been suggested that the seventeenth century frescoes repeated the programme of the fifteenth century mural decoration, cf. M. Aspra-Vardavakē, M. Emmanouēl, *Η Μονή της Παντάνασσας στον Μυστρά*, Athens 2005, 63, fig. 23.

<sup>19</sup> Cited after a fourteenth century *leitourgikon* from Dečani, No. 123 (1395), fol. 54b. Cf. also Dečani, No. 124 (late fourteenth century), fol. 13a; Dečani, No. 125 (late fourteenth century), fol. 29b. The digitized copies of the mentioned manuscripts are held by the Department of Archaeography of the National Library of Serbia. V. also other Serbian fourteenth century liturgical manuscripts containing this prayer: Serbian Liturgical Scroll of Hilandar (No. 3/II, T 708), Serbian Service book No. 315, T376) and *Čorović 7* (University Library in Belgrade), published in: A. Jevtić, *Hristos nova Pasha: Božanstvena liturgija*, I, Beograd-Trebinje 2007, 439, 457, 462, 476. The opening dialogue of the anaphora can also be found in a Serbian liturgical source that belongs to an older pre-Philothean liturgical tradition; this is namely the Sinaitic manuscript Sin. Slav. 40/0+N (the second half of the fourteenth century), v. N. Glibetić, *The oldest Sinai sources of the Byzantine*



Fig. 5. Markov Manastir, apse, Christ the Great Archpriest, detail, leiturigikon



Fig. 6. Markov Manastir, inscription on the leiturigikon (drawing: M. Tomić Djurić)

cal unit, followed by the response of the laity in the form of short exclamations, makes part of the preanaphoral dialogue.<sup>20</sup> The letter τ in the next row, shortly followed by the letters Δ и λ, may have belonged to the following words of the prayer: ... с(в)т(а)го д(о)уха. The last letter in the same row – presumably ѳ or в, as well as the triangular shape resembling the letter Δ at the place of what is supposed to be the third letter in the next row, could have belonged to the word вѳдн. However, the preserved fragments of individual letters and words on the first page do not show such a clear picture. The latter в at the beginning of the last row could be the remnant of the word лю вѳн, whereas the fragments of the letter that follows, the bowl and the serif starting from the upper horizontal line of the inscription, might suggest the letter в, which stands at the beginning of the word в(о)рλ. (fig. 5). Finally, the individual letters in the partially preserved opening word of the prayer (в · м (or λ) ⟨τ⟩ or ⟨τ⟩ с (or о) д ε (or с) τ. ), may be brought in relation with the expected formula вл(а)г(о)д(ѳ)тъ, though this cannot be claimed with certainty. The fact that in liturgical manuscripts the word вл(а)г(о)д(ѳ)тъ most commonly appears in an abbreviated form – влѳтъ<sup>21</sup> diminishes the probability of the suggested assumption because the remaining letters in the first row do not seem to suggest the continuation of the blessing that reads г(оспод)λ в(о)рλ нашегѳ. Nevertheless, the available space on the two pages of the leiturigikon indicates that the suggested reading could have been written without abbreviations.

*Divine liturgy in cyrillic. Sin. Slav. 38/N, Sin. Slav. 39/N and Sin. Slav. 40/O+N*, Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata, 10 (2013) 123, 136. Cf. L. Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika ili Nauka o bogoslužnju Pravoslavne istočne crkve II (Svete tajne i molitvoslovlja)*, Beograd 1982, 91. The possibility that the open leiturigikon may have born the prayer for the ruler has been proposed by Ch. Walter, *Art and ritual of the Byzantine church*, London 1982, 220, n. 302 but we can't agree that this was the case. It is evidenced by the word pious, влѳгѳствн which is written with ѳ and not with ε. cf. Đ. Daničić, *Rječnik iz književnih starina srpskih*, I, Beograd 1863, 49.

<sup>20</sup> R. Taft, *The dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy. I: The opening greetings*, OCP 52 (1986) 299–324, esp. 309–316; Mirković, *op. cit.*, 91–93; Taft, Parenti, *Il Grande Ingresso*, 621–624.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Dečani, No. 124; Dečani, No. 125.

Hence, this is a formula of blessing which is used to “invoke all three persons of the Holy Trinity for various reasons: God the Son for blessing, God the Father for love, the Holy Spirit for the Communion” and to prepare the hearts of the faithful for the upcoming consecration of the Holy Gifts.<sup>22</sup> The opening greeting is one of the Eucharistic formulae in the Byzantine patriarchal and archieratical Divine liturgy.<sup>23</sup> The patriarch utters it loudly, giving the blessing to the congregation.<sup>24</sup> The same rule can be found in the rubric of Serbian *arkhieratika* (*činovnik*).<sup>25</sup> If the suggested reconstruction of the inscription is correct, we are dealing with a unique example of the initial anaphora blessing in Serbian and Byzantine wall painting.<sup>26</sup> Another similar example from the second half of the fifteenth century is known. The collective response closing the dialogue before the anaphora (дѳстѳнно и праведно ε[с]т)<sup>27</sup> is written out on the scroll of St Peter of Alexandria (who appears in two scenes: the Vision of St

<sup>22</sup> On the epiclesis, v. M. Zheltov, *The moment of eucharistic consecration in Byzantine thought*, in: *Issues in eucharistic praying*, ed. M. E. Johnson, Collegeville 2010, 263–306.

<sup>23</sup> Taft, *The dialogue before the Anaphora*, 304–305. Cf. M. Zheltov, *Arkhierieškii čin Bozhestvennoĭ liturgii: istoriĭa, osobennosti, so otnoshenie s ordinarnym (“iereškim”) činom*, Bogoslovskii sbornik 11 (Moskva 2003) 227.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Archieraticon of Dimitrios Gemistos (ca. 1380), v. A. A. Dmitrievskii A. A., *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khраниāshchikhsĭa v bibliotekakh Pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, II, Euchologion, Kiev 1901, 312.

<sup>25</sup> V. Dečani No. 126, fol. 82 recto-verso.

<sup>26</sup> Unlike the early Byzantine and modern periods, the rubrics in numerous Byzantine liturgical manuscripts, with the exception of the rule for the utterance of the blessing (εκφώνησις), do not highlight the instruction according to which the celebrant is to turn towards the west and give the blessing to the congregation, v. Taft, *The Dialogue before the Anaphora I*, 304–305. According to the Serbian leiturigikon of Dečani, No. 125 (fol. 29b, 30a), the priest was to bow after the first dialogue of the anaphora prayer, while standing next to the altar (ѳѳ страны с (в)ѳтык трапезы покланяет се). Cf. Mirković, *op. cit.*, 91.

<sup>27</sup> R. Taft, *The dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy. III: “Let us give thanks to the Lord-it is fitting and right”*, OCP 55 (1989) 64–66, 69–73.



Peter of Alexandria and the *Melismos*) in the church of St Demetrios in the Boboshevo monastery in Bulgaria.<sup>28</sup>

The painters of Markov Manastir could have found a close iconographic (though not thematic) parallel – an image of Christ as the Great Archpriest who blesses and consecrates the Holy Gifts – in the nearby monastery of Lesnovo (fig. 1).<sup>29</sup> As the meaning of the priest's blessing is associated with the involvement of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, it is possible to establish a relationship between this scene and those which depict the moment of the epiclesis.<sup>30</sup> It is, therefore, important to note that in Markov Manastir the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles, as a festive scene traditionally charged with Eucharistic liturgical meaning, was placed above the Holy Table, i.e. on the southern section of the sanctuary vault.<sup>31</sup> In order to fully understand the conceptual and thematic programme of the sanctuary apse it is important to draw attention to the following fact: the unique text of the blessing with the invocation of each person of the Holy Trinity that may be inscribed on the *leitourgikon* held by Christ the Great Archpriest, as well as the rarely depicted motif of a dove in a segment of heaven in the Descent of the Holy Spirit, which is a condensed iconographic symbol for the Holy Trinity, are pictorial and verbal references to the mystery of the Holy Trinity in the theological and

liturgical context of the fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Based on the theological decision of the Council of 1156/1157 that the entire Trinity – the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, receives the sacrifice of the Eucharist,<sup>33</sup> the Palamite theology describes the being of God as the triad essence–hypostasis–energy.<sup>34</sup> According to St Gregory Palamas, “the energies originate in the divine nature, but the divine nature is three-hypostatic and the energy manifests itself always personally: From the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit”.<sup>35</sup>

In conclusion it must be said that although several arguments based on the iconographic and programmatic features of the sanctuary support the suggested reconstruction of the inscription, the preserved fragments of individual letters and words on the first page of the *leitourgikon* do not allow to accept it with certainty. In other words, it is impossible to reliably know whether the depiction of Christ the Archpriest accompanied with an appropriate inscription on the *leitourgikon* represents merely the moment of greeting and blessing the processions with the Eucharistic gifts or it also suggests the opening dialogue of the anaphora, one of the Eucharistic formulae that followed in the sequence of the presbyteral and pontifical liturgy.

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Painted in the sanctuary, the Eucharistic themes related to Christ the Great Archpriest rendered in fresco were primarily intended for the clergy. Therefore, it is important to mention the example of liturgical cloths – *catapetasma* of the nun Jefimija of Hilandar (1399) whose iconographic content conveys the ritual of the Divine Liturgy, which takes place in the sanctuary.<sup>36</sup> The curtain in the Royal Doors with the figure of Christ, dressed in the patriarchal *sakkos* and surrounded with St Basil the Great and St John Chrysostom as concelebrants, whose scrolls feature prayers related to the Holy Eucharist, unites the image of Christ as the Great Archpriest and High Priest with the representation of the officiating bishops.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the example of the *catapetasma* of the nun Jefimija, whose liturgical function was related to the liturgical practice of an Athonite monastic community, reveals an analogy between the fresco and the liturgical cloth. The learned commissioners of the fresco programme in the church of St Demetrios in Markov Manastir must have been aware of the strong impression made on all those present in the church by the figure of Christ the Great Archpriest, visible through the open Royal Doors during

<sup>28</sup> My attention was drawn to this example by the colleague Hristo Andreev, to whom I extend my gratitude. For the inscription and its liturgical source, v. Kh. Andreev, *Addenda et corrigenda kŭm prouchavaniĭata na tri kirilski nadpisa ot Dragalevskiiĭ manastir "Sv. Bogorodica Vitoshka" i Poganovskiiĭ manastir "Sv. Iovan Bogoslov"*, *Pa-laebulgarica/Starobŭgaristika* 37 (2013) 32–33.

<sup>29</sup> Gabelić, *Lesnovo*, 67–68. On the role of a priestly blessing in the Eucharistic consecration in the liturgical commentaries of Symeon of Thessalonike, v. PG 155, 736–737. Note that the *epiclesis* could be represented through different iconographic forms, as an angel-priest carrying the paten and the chalice; surrounded by angel-deacons with *rhipidia* in the composition of the Great Entrance. Such examples, dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be found in several churches on the Peloponnesus and Crete: St George at Foutia (Peloponnesus), Holy Trinity at Agia Trias, St Anthony in the monastery of Vrontisi and St Phanourios in the monastery of Valsamonero (Crete), cf. V. Kepetzē, *Ο ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου στα Φούτια της Επιδαύρου Λιμνράς και ιδιόμορφη παράσταση από τη Θεία Λειτουργία*, in: *Αντίφωνον στον καθηγητή Ν. Β. Δρανδάκη*, Thessalonikē 1994, 508–530; I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine wall paintings of Crete, I: Rethymnon province*, London 1999, 30–34. C. Jolivet-Levy, *Images des pratiques eucharistiques dans les monuments byzantins du Moyen Age*, in: *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquite et Moyen Age)*, I, eds. N. Beriou, B. Caseau, D. Rigaux, Paris 2009, 192–193 sees an anti-Latin element in the aforementioned iconography, rooted in the distinctions between the Byzantine and Latin Eucharistic rite, which has not implied the Invocation of the Holy Spirit during the consecration of the Holy Gifts. The iconographic reference to the invocation of the Holy Spirit during the epiclesis can be found in the sanctuary of Peribleptos in Mistra, where the Ancient of Days with the representation of the Holy Spirit overhangs the image of Christ as the Great Archpriest in the Heavenly Liturgy, cf. Emmanuel, *Some notes*, 458.

<sup>30</sup> Mirković, *op. cit.*, 92; Zheltov, *The moment of eucharistic consecration*, 263–306.

<sup>31</sup> The liturgical *anamnesis* of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of fire is clearly outlined in the *epiclesis* of the earliest Eucharistic liturgy, the Jerusalem liturgy of James, cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, eastern and western*, I, *Eastern liturgies*, Oxford 1896 (reprinted 1965), 53. 29–31. Later, the practice of reading the *troparion* of the Pentecost after the invocation of the Holy Spirit was established at the liturgies of St Basil the Great and St John Chrysostom, cf. J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive rituale graecorum*, Venice 1730, 62.

<sup>32</sup> The complex theme concerning the liturgical celebration of the Holy Trinity in the context of the Late Byzantine sanctuary programme is beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>33</sup> G. Babić, *Les discussion christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les évêques officiant devant l'Hétimasie et devant l'Amnos*, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968) 368–386.

<sup>34</sup> J. Meyendorff, *The Holy Trinity in Palamite theology*, in: idem, M. A. Fahey, *Trinitarian theology East and West*, Brookline 1977, 25–43.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 38, n. 29.

<sup>36</sup> L. Mirković, *Crkveni umetnički vez*, Beograd 1940, 10–11, fig. 1; S. Smolčić-Makuljević, *Hilandarska katapetazma monahinje Jefimije: ikonografija i bogoslužbena funkcija*, in: *Osam vekova Hilandara*, Beograd 2000, 693–701.

<sup>37</sup> Smolčić-Makuljević, *op. cit.*, 698.



Fig. 7. Markov Manastir, *The Virgin and Christ Emmanuel*

the Cherubic Hymn. The theological idea of a bishop as an 'icon' of Christ would become visually highlighted during the Great Entrance, when the celebrant, with a chalice in his hands, stood in front of the Royal Doors facing the believers. The religious feelings of the congregation were anticipated and intensified by making the central section of the painted decoration of the sanctuary's first register partially visible only in selected moments during the Holy Eucharist. By unifying the Heavenly and Earthly Great Entrance in Markov Manastir, the eschatological dimension of the Holy Eucharist, which is performed simultaneously in the historical moment and the eternal Kingdom of God, is visually highlighted.<sup>38</sup> Still, one should also remember that, though liturgical rubrics prescribe the closing of the Royal Doors after the Great Entrance, the text inscribed on the painted *leitourgikon* corresponds to the opening dialogue of the anaphora, which consists of the celebrant's greetings and the responses of the laity. Hence, though the celebrant was visually inaccessible to believers, the connection between them was achieved through the laity's vocal participation in the liturgy. By establishing a spatial and visual barrier, the altar screen augments the effect of liturgical text during the Eucharistic rite.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the same issue discussed on the example of Western altar screens, v. J. E. Jung, *Seeing through screens. The gothic choir enclosure as frame*, in: *Threshold of the sacred. Architectural, art-historical, liturgical and theological perspectives on religious screens, East and West*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel, Washington 2006, 185–214.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 193.

### *Christ the Great Archpriest and the painted decoration of the sanctuary: Christ Emmanuel and the Virgin*

The theological idea of Christ as an archpriest was also expressed through the vertical arrangement of scenes in the painted decoration of the sanctuary apse.<sup>40</sup> The images of Christ Emmanuel, the Virgin and the Communion of the Apostles are united in a conceptually and thematically harmonious whole with the iconographic ensemble in the lowest register of the sanctuary, the central section of which is occupied by Christ the Great Archpriest. In the iconographic programme of the apse, Christ's archpriesthood was highlighted through the reminiscence of the Saviour's Incarnation and the act of instituting the Eucharist.<sup>41</sup> The two forms of the Communion of the Apostles in the central register of the apse do not significantly depart from the usual iconographic scheme of the scene in Palaiologan art. However, the same does not apply to the depictions of Christ Emmanuel and the Holy Virgin. The semi-dome of the sanctuary apse is adorned with the bust of Christ Emmanuel in a segment of heaven and, below it, the standing figure of the Virgin Orans, M(HT) HP, between the archangels Michael, O APX(ATTEA) MHX(AHA), and Gabriel (fig. 7).<sup>42</sup> The Infant God is depicted against the blue background representing the sky, blessing with his both hands. The most interesting detail in the image of Christ Emmanuel is his robe: a light-coloured, almost white tunic with golden yellow trimmings around the neck and on the sleeves; the shoulders are adorned with straps of the same colour whose ends form a belt below the chest.<sup>43</sup>

The white vestment of the Infant God bears reference to Christ's death and entombment. This detail in the iconography of Christ symbolizes the shroud (*sindon*) in

<sup>40</sup> On this aspect of the monumental painted decoration in the second half of the fourteenth century, cf. Đurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, 62, n. 61.

<sup>41</sup> *Markov manastir, Sveti Dimitrija: crteži na freski*, Skopje 2012, 6–7. Cf. Vojvodić, *O likovima starozavetnih prvosveštenika*, 136, 138.

<sup>42</sup> *Markov manastir, Sveti Dimitrija: crteži na freski*, 6. A similar arrangement can be observed in Gračanica, v. B. Todić, *Gračanica, Slikarstvo*, Beograd–Pristina 1988, 80, figs. 31, 32.

<sup>43</sup> The infant Christ is dressed in a peculiar white garment in several iconographic themes: Christ Anapeson cf. B. Todić, *Anapeson. Iconographie et signification du thème*, *Byzantion* 64/1(1994) 154–157, 162–163; numerous representations of the Virgin with the Child, cf. G. Babić, *Epiteti Bogorodice koju dete grli*, *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Maticе srpske* 21 (1985) 261–174; M. Tatić-Đurić, *Ikonografija Bogorodice Strasne. Nastanak dogme i simbola*, in: eadem, *Studije o Bogorodici*, Beograd 2009, 293–298; and occasionally in the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, cf. H. Maguire, *The iconography of Symeon with the Christ child in Byzantine art*, *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 261–269. The elements of the peculiar costume of the Christ Child in the context of Christ's priesthood have been discussed by A. Lidov, *Obraz "Khrista arkhierēiā" v ikonograficheskoj programme Sofii okhridskoj*, *Zograf* 17 (1986) 5–19. The vestment of Christ Emmanuel at Markov Manastir finds a close analogy in the fresco showing the Mother of God with the Child on the western façade of the church of the Virgin *Hodegetria* at the Patriarchate of Peć above the entrance that leads from the narthex into the interior of the church. Vesna Milanović has interpreted the representation in the Eucharistic liturgical context, as Christ Amnos, cf. eadem, *O fresci na ulazu u Bogorodičinu crkvu arhiepiskopa Danila II u Peći*, *Zograf* 30 (2004–2005) 160, n. 94. The same hypothesis was put forward earlier by M. Tatić-Đurić, *Bogorodica u delu Danila II*, in: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, Beograd 1991, 407.

which his body was wrapped for the entombment.<sup>44</sup> The same idea is expressed by the *troparion* *The noble Joseph*, performed at the liturgy after the Great Entrance, while placing the Holy Gifts upon the altar.<sup>45</sup> In his description of the pontifical consecration of a church, Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonike (1416/1417–1429) paid a special attention to the design and symbolism of the bishop's vestments for that occasion.<sup>46</sup> According to his interpretation, vestments made of white linen reflect the shroud in which Christ was wrapped for the entombment, whereas the bishop's walk to the Holy Table symbolically represents Christ's burial.<sup>47</sup> Three straps are wrapped around the shroud – two over the shoulders and a third below the chest, in honour and glory of the Holy Trinity.<sup>48</sup> In previous research, the commentary of Symeon of Thessalonike on liturgical rules in the Byzantine church has been considered a reliable source for the interpretation of the mentioned elements of Christ's vestments as signs of his "high priestly" nature.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the meaning of the specific iconography of Christ draws attention to another aspect of mystagogical interpretations of the Great Entrance, related to its funerary symbolism.<sup>50</sup> Relying on an approach based on the comparison of the liturgy with events from the life of Jesus Christ, liturgists associated the transfer of the Holy Gifts from the prothesis into the sanctuary with the Passion of Christ – the Entry into Jerusalem and the road to Golgotha, which ended by laying the Holy Gifts upon the Holy Table – Christ's entombment.<sup>51</sup>

According to the common iconographic practice, Christ Emmanuel in the sanctuary was to be depicted dressed in a chiton and a himation, with a clavus on the right shoulder, no matter whether the Infant God was shown as a bust or was accompanied by the Virgin. The iconographic tradition of the seat of the Ohrid Arch-



Fig. 8. *Bogorodica Bolnička, Ohrid, The Virgin with Christ Emmanuel*, (photo: I. M. Djordjević)

bishopric stands out from the common practice. In the programme of the sanctuary at the cathedral of St Sophia (1037–1056), the idea of Christ as an archpriest is expressed through a befitting image of Christ Emmanuel dressed in the shroud wrapped with straps and incorporated into a depiction of the Enthroned Virgin Mary with the Christ Child.<sup>52</sup> This specific iconographic component played an important role in the shaping of the considerably later pictorial programme of the sanctuary at the church of the Virgin of the Hospital (Bogorodica Bolnička) in Ohrid (ca. 1368). Christ Emmanuel in a medallion on the breasts of the Virgin Mary, shown as a bust-figure in the conch of the apse, has a white tunic with a border around the neck and straps on the shoulders and below the chest (fig. 8).<sup>53</sup> In this iconographic embodiment of the Infant God, one can observe the closest analogy to the image of Christ in Markov Manastir. The observed similarities between the two frescoes are further supported by the research of Vojislav Djurić and Gojko Subotić, which shows that the painter of the older layer of frescoes in the church of the Virgin of the Hospital later took part in painting the church of St Demetrios at Markov Manastir.<sup>54</sup> This rare iconography of the Infant God was repeated by the sixteenth-century painter Onouphrios in the Prilep region, in two frescoes of the Virgin "Wider than the Heavens" with Christ Emmanuel in a medallion painted in the conchs of the sanctuary apses in the churches of the Transfiguration and St Nicholas at the monastery Zrze (fig. 9).<sup>55</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Todić, *Anapeson*, 154–155.

<sup>45</sup> Brightmann, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I, 379; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 212, 218.

<sup>46</sup> PG 155, 309–310.

<sup>47</sup> Ἐπάνω δὲ τούτων περιβάλλεται ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων σινδόνα λευκὴν, διήκουσαν ἄχρι τῶν ποδῶν, εἰς τύπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῷ σινδόνας, PG 155, 309 C.

<sup>48</sup> Καὶ τριεὶ ζώναις περιζώννυται τὴν σινδόνα εἰς δόξαν τῆς Τριάδος, *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Lidov, *Obraz "Khrista arhierieia"*, 5–19, 6; Walter, *Art and ritual*, 194, n. 144; Todić, *Anapeson*, 154 does not support that conclusion.

<sup>50</sup> Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 8, 63, n. 44, 45, 212, 217–219, 245–248; V. J. Boycheva, *L' aer dans la liturgie orthodoxe et son iconographie du XIIIe siecle jusque dans l'art post-byzantin*, CA 51 (2003) 170.

<sup>51</sup> V. the interpretations of the Church fathers: Theodore of Mopsuestia (388–392), v. F. J. Reine, *The eucharistic doctrine and liturgy of the mystagogical catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Washington 1942; Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople (715–730), v. St. Germanus of Constantinople, *On the Divine liturgy*, ed. J. Meyendorff, Crestwood – New York 1984, 86–87, and Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine liturgie*, 162–164 (PG 150, 420C). Cf. R. Taft, *In the Bridegroom's absence: The paschal triduum in the Byzantine church*, in: idem, *Liturgy in Byzantium and beyond*, Aldershot 1996, 90, n. 83; idem, *The liturgy of the Great Church. An initial synthesis of structure and interpretation on the eve of Iconoclasm*, DOP 34–35 (1980–1981) 55, 62–66, 72–75. The explicit reference to funeral symbolism is evident in the fresco of the Great Entrance at the Virgin Peribleptos, Mistra, which bears the inscription of the hymn sung during the Great Entrance on the Holy Saturday, cf. Emmanuel, *Some notes*, 462.

<sup>52</sup> The iconographic analogies are discussed in Lidov, *Obraz "Khrista arhierieia"*, 5–19, esp. 6; Walter, *Art and ritual*, 194, n. 144; A. W. Epstein, *The political content of the painting of Saint Sophia at Ohrid*, JÖB 28 (1980) 315–329.

<sup>53</sup> For a description of the fresco, albeit without any reference to the iconographic feature of Christ Emmanuel, v. C. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka*, Beograd 1980, 144–145, fig. 123. For the date of the construction and decoration of the church, v. G. Subotić, *Sveti Konstantin i Jelena u Ohridu*, Beograd 1971, 36–41.

<sup>54</sup> Subotić, *op. cit.*, 36–41 cites unpublished research results of Vojislav Djurić.

<sup>55</sup> B. Babić, *Fresko-živopis slikara Onufrija na zidovima crkava prilepskog kraja*, ZLUMS 16 (1980) 271–272 sqq; Z. Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, *Manastir Zrze so crkvata Preobrazenie i Sveti Nikola*, in: *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, ed. V. Mošin, IV, Skopje 1981, 408–409, 420–421, 426–427.



Fig. 9. St Nicholas at the monastery Zrze, *The Virgin with Christ Emmanuel*, (photo: T. Starodubcev)

Two interesting examples of Christ Emmanuel dressed in a white tunic with straps across the chest and around the waist can be found in the church of the Holy Trinity at Sopoćani (1264/1265). The infant God, placed in a medallion on the breasts of the half-length figure of the Holy Virgin at the top of the niche in the east wall of the prothesis, wears a *sakkos* over a white tunic with an ornament on each sleeve and; the sleeves of the *sakkos* are trimmed with pale ochre fabric adorned with dark red tendril-like ornaments. Over the *sakkos*, red straps are wrapped along the shoulders and they most probably form a belt below Christ's chest (fig. 10). This peculiar iconographic detail was probably intended to highlight the theological idea of Christ as the High Priest.<sup>56</sup> A similar conceptual and thematic ensemble was painted at Sopoćani, in the niche in the east wall of the chapel of St Simeon Nemanja. It includes a half-length figure of the Virgin of the Sign, and, underneath, a depiction of Christ as the sacrificial Lamb surrounded by angel-deacons. Christ Emmanuel in a medallion on the breasts of the Virgin Mary wears an ochre tunic with red straps on the shoulders which are probably wrapped as a belt below the chest.<sup>57</sup> In a slightly later example, showing the Virgin with a bust of Christ Emmanuel in an unusual cup, painted in the apse of the church of St Alypius in Kastoria (1420s), the episcopal attire of the Infant God bears a direct reference to the archpriesthood of the Incarnate Son of God.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> M. Tatić-Đurić, *Ikona Bogorodice Znamenja*, Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 13 (1977) 18, fig. 7; B. Živković, *Sopoćani. Crteži fresaka*, Beograd 1984, 30; V. J. Đurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd 1991, 153.

<sup>57</sup> Živković, *op. cit.*, 32. Cf. Đurić, *op. cit.*, 143–144.

<sup>58</sup> E. Tsigaridas, *H χρονολόγηση των τοιχογραφιών του ναού του Αγίου Αλυπίου Καστοριάς*, in: *Ευφρόσυνον, Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδακί*, II, Athens 1991, 649, fig. 351, dated the frescoes to the last decades of the fourteenth century. Cf. also Tatić-Đurić, *Ikona Bogorodice Znamenja*, 5, n. 2. V. also M. Paissidou, *Jesus Christ Emmanuel – priest. Interpretation of a 14<sup>th</sup> century depiction at Castoria*, *Izkustvo-vedski cheteniã*, Sofiiã 2007, 156–160, 610.



Fig. 10. Sopoćani, prothesis, *The Virgin with the Christ Child*

Symeon of Thessalonike's text on the ritual of the consecration of a church further prescribes that a bishop should cover his hands with cloth – like cuffs united with the shroud: *Καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ δὲ ὁμοίως. μανδύλια περιτίθεται, ὡς μανίκια ἠνωμένα τῇ σινδόνι.*<sup>59</sup> The border on the ends of the sleeves of Christ Emmanuel in the semi-dome of the apse at Markov Manastir corresponds to the cloth – cuffs described by Archbishop Symeon. This detail is not common in the iconography of the Infant God dressed in a white tunic, but it is not very rare, either.<sup>60</sup> This element of Christ's vestment could also be compared to *loria*, i.e. the bands at the end of the sleeves of the *sticharion*, symbolizing the fetters that bound Christ in his Passion.<sup>61</sup>

Beneath the image of Christ Emmanuel, there is a monumental figure of the Virgin praying (fig. 7).<sup>62</sup> On the right side of her halo there is a red medallion, which is a typical way of framing customary sigla of the Mother of God.<sup>63</sup> A same medallion must have been depicted on the left wall, which is now damaged. Under her feet, traces of a purple *suppedion* can be observed, overpainted with a wooden pedestal. She has a blue robe with ochre stripes and a red maphorion. Before proceeding to an analysis of the image, we will briefly present some observations concerning its present state of preservation, which has not been a subject of scholarly attention. Several elements are noteworthy: the white circle next to Christ's hands and on the right side of his halo, a white stain formed by the irregular quadrangular shape on the right side of the Virgin's halo which resembles a white cloth, as well as the

<sup>59</sup> PG 155, 309C.

<sup>60</sup> The cuff band can be found in the aforesaid representation of the Virgin with the Child in the niche of the prothesis at Sopoćani, cf. Tatić-Đurić, *Ikona Bogorodice Znamenja*, 18, fig. 7; cf. Đurić, *Sopoćani*, 134.

<sup>61</sup> For the interpretations of Patriarch Germanos and Symeon of Thessalonike, v. Woodfin, *Embodied icon*, 15, n. 42.

<sup>62</sup> On the popularity of this iconographic type of the Virgin Mary in the sanctuary programmes of Late Byzantine monumental decoration, v. R. Ousterhout, *The Virgin of the Chora. An image and its contents*, in: *The sacred image: East and West*, eds. L. Brubaker, R. Ousterhout, Urbana 1995, 91–109.

<sup>63</sup> View the representations of the Virgin in the apses of tree fourteenth-century churches in the territory of the Ohrid Archbishopric: the Virgin of the Hospital, Ohrid; St George in Rečica and the chapel dedicated to St Gregory the Theologian, in the church of Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid, cf. C. Grozdanov, G. Subotić, *Crkva svetog Đorđa u Rečici kod Ohrida*, *Zograf* 12 (1981), fig. 4; Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo*, 138, draw. 36, fig. 122.



unusual arrangement of colours on her clothes. The blue colour of the dress extends over a half of the back side of the red maphorion, and, in the upper section, on the surface of the fabric between the neck and the waist, making it difficult to distinguish the boundaries of the two garments. Furthermore, it is observed that the blue colour on the maphorion extends with the same width and significantly lesser intensity on both sides of the dress, falling on the *suppedion*. One gets the impression that the described blue surfaces belong to the same entity. Accordingly, the image of the Virgin Mary in the apse must have originally been different. The figure of the Virgin certainly extended up to the top of the conch, as evidenced by the preserved remains of her original halo and two medallions with the sigla around the halo and the hands of Christ Emmanuel. Parts of dress from the original image of the Virgin Mary – a white handkerchief on the right side of the new halo and a part of the red maphorion with fringes below her arms and next to the wings of both archangels – resurfaced over the new fresco layer. The artists most probably painted the new scene in the secco technique, and that was the reason why the original layer resurfaced over time.<sup>64</sup> This also explains the vague colour transitions in the dress of the Virgin, where the blue colour of her robe in the original image prevails on a great part of the surface occupied by the red maphorion on the new layer. Accordingly, based on the fresco's present state of preservation, it may be concluded that the original concept of painted decoration in the conch of the apse included a monumental figure of the Virgin Orans, standing on a purple *suppedion*. The traces of the original maphorion show that it reached the half height of the bowing archangels' halos, which suggests two possibilities. First, it may be assumed that the adorant archangels were not foreseen in the original concept of the scene because the outstretched maphorion did not leave enough space in the conch of the apse for another two figures to be depicted. However, it is indeed possible that the archangels accompanied the Virgin in the original painting; in that case, their heads and the front part of the body must have covered a part of her maphorion. We may assume that the dimensions of the Virgin Mary's figure were the main reason why the original, iconographically rather common solution of the apse scene was given up. This concept resulted in a huge scene extending too high, whose proportions were in discord with the size relations among individual figures and scenes in the sanctuary. In order to mitigate this, the painter may have subsequently decided to place a half-length figure of Christ Emmanuel in the semi-dome of the apse, thereby shortening the space available for the new figure of the Virgin.

In some rare details of dress, this image departs from common depictions of the Virgin Mary in the sanctuary apse. The lower part of her dress is adorned with a rare motif of three vertical golden yellow stripes. They are placed in the middle and on the edges of her dress, extending from the waist to the bottom hem.<sup>65</sup> Although

this is an element that does not belong to the usual set of motifs associated with depictions of the Virgin in the apse, the painters of Markov Manastir could have relied on earlier examples that show this interesting iconographic detail, such as the fresco showing the Virgin with Christ, Archbishop Danilo II and St Nicholas on the western facade of the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at the Patriarchate of Peć;<sup>66</sup> or the Virgin in the conch of the apse in Lesnovo.<sup>67</sup> The painter of Markov Manastir employed the same iconography in one of his earlier works – the depiction of the Virgin in the apse of the church of St George at Rečica near Ohrid.<sup>68</sup> The mentioned motif of the Virgin Mary's dress highlights the episcopal insignia known as the *potamoi* (ποταμοί, 'rivers').<sup>69</sup> In bishop's attire, this ornament symbolizes the blessing of God.<sup>70</sup> In the work of the Late Byzantine liturgist Symeon of Thessalonike, the symbolism of these 'rivers of blessing' is rooted in the words from the Gospel (Jn 7:38) "Whoever believes in me, as Scripture has said, rivers of living water will flow from within them."<sup>71</sup> In the context of the programmatic and iconographic concept of the sanctuary at Markov Manastir it is noteworthy that this extract from John's Gospel was read on the feast of Pentecost.<sup>72</sup> As we learn from the *typikon* of the Serbian Archbishop Nikodim (1319), the Homily of St. John Chrysostom which contains the interpretation of the "river of the Water of Life", was also read during the Matins of the same feast.<sup>73</sup> A detailed interpretation of the liturgical insignia in the dress of the Virgin Mary is offered by Vesna Milanović,<sup>74</sup> who rightly emphasizes the importance of pneumatological and Christological aspects, or the association between the symbolism of Christ's blood and the Holy Spirit.<sup>75</sup> There is yet another iconographic detail which deepens the Eucharistic mean-

59, 60, 63, 67, 68, 70, 94–95, 97–98, 100, 103, 107, pl. I, has already drawn attention to the images of the Mother of God which contain the motif of the vertical bands on her tunic and date from the period before the Iconoclasm.

<sup>66</sup> Milanović, *O fresci na ulazu u Bogorodičinu crkvu*, 144, 160, fig. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Gabelić, *Lesnovo*, 66, fig. 13.

<sup>68</sup> Grozdanov, Subotić, *Crkva svetog Đorđa u Rečici*, 74.

<sup>69</sup> Ornamental vertical bands (*clavi*) appeared already in secular tunics of late antiquity. According to abundant liturgical sources, since the twelfth century, these ornamental stripes (*potamoi*) were strictly associated with episcopal vestments. V. T. Papas, *Liturgische Gewänder*, in: RbK, V, Stuttgart 1993, 744; V. J. Djurić, *Les docteurs de l'Église*, in: *Ευφρόσυνον, Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζιδάκη*, I, Athens 1991, 133; Woodfin, *Embodied icon*, 15.

<sup>70</sup> On the origin and the meaning of the *potamoi* on episcopal *sticharia*, v. A. A. Dmitrievskii, *Stavlennik*, Kiev 1904, 262, 288–289, 322–324; L. Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika I*, Beograd 1982<sup>3</sup>, 125.

<sup>71</sup> PG 155, col. 256C, 712C; St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The liturgical commentaries*, ed. S. Hawkes-Teeples, Toronto 2011, 103, 173.

<sup>72</sup> Djurić, *Les docteurs de l'Église*, 133–135.

<sup>73</sup> PG 59, 283–288; *Tipik arhiepiskopa Nikodima*, II, ed. Đ. Trifunović, Beograd 2007, 165a, 165b; L. Mirković, *Heortologija*, Beograd 1961, 232–233.

<sup>74</sup> Milanović, *O fresci na ulazu u Bogorodičinu crkvu*, 157–160.

<sup>75</sup> In *Historia Ecclesiastica*, St Germanos interpreted the *potamoi* on the bishop's *sticharion* as the image of "the blood which flowed from the side of Christ", *St. Germanus of Constantinople on the Divine liturgy*, 66–67. According to Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonika the *potamoi* signify the gifts of teaching of the Holy Spirit, as well as and also the streams of our Saviour's blood, PG 155, col. 256; St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The liturgical commentaries*, 171.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. additionally painted portraits of two rulers in Gračanica, executed in the secco technique (ca. 1321), v. D. Vojvodić, *Doslíkani vladarski portreti u Gračanici*, Niš i Vizantija 7 (2009) 251–265; Todić, *Gračanica*, pl. XXVII.

<sup>65</sup> N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografiiā Bogomateri*, I, Sankt-Peterburg 1914, 19, 25, 32, 35, 64–67, 86–90, 170, 177, 191, figs. 5, 9–14, 46, 49,

ing of the image of the Virgin. The white handkerchief,<sup>76</sup> stuck at the waist on the right side of the Virgin's robe, may be interpreted as the *encheirion*, a towel carried at the waist by the clergy during the liturgy and used to wipe the hands.<sup>77</sup> During the further development, this ecclesiastical insignia took the form of the *epigonation*. It symbolizes the *lention* – a linen cloth wrapped around Christ's waist at the Last Supper when washing the disciples' feet. In the surviving written sources, the *encheirion* and *epigonation* are mentioned as episcopal insignia.<sup>78</sup> The symbolism and the function of the towel stuck at the Virgin's waist highlight the Mother of God's relationship with both the historical New Testament sacrifice and the liturgical, Eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>79</sup>

Through the language of iconography, the symbolism related to rituals performed by the clergy unites the images of Christ Emmanuel in the conch of the apse and Christ the archpriest in the lowest register.<sup>80</sup> The Eucharistic and ecclesiological symbolism of these peculiar details of the Virgin's dress, which highlights the idea of the Virgin as a symbol of the Church, also confirms that various elements in the sanctuary apse of Markov Manastir

<sup>76</sup> On the motif of the handkerchief in the iconography of the Virgin, v. I. M. Djordjević, M. Marković, *On the dialogue relationship between the Virgin and Christ in eastern Christian Art. Apropos of the discovery of the figures of the Virgin Mediatrix and Christ in the naos of Lesnovo*, Zograf 28 (2000–2001) 44–47. Various aspects of the handkerchief as an attribute of the Virgin have been also discussed by Milanović, *O fresci na ulazu u Bogorodičinu crkvu*, 160–161; A. Lidov, *The priesthood of the Virgin in Byzantine iconography*, XX Congrès international d'études byzantines, Pré-actes, III, Communications libres, Paris 2001, 427; idem, *Sviāshchenstvo Bogomateri v vizantijskoj ikonografii: Illiūstratsiā teksta ili obraz-paradigma*, in: *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Ideiā i obraz. Opyty izucheniā vizantijskogo i drevnerusskogo iskusstva*, ed. Ė. S. Smirnova, Moskva 2009, 207–211.

<sup>77</sup> Ch. Walter, *Pictures of clergy in the Theodore psalter*, REB 31 (1973) 231–232, fig. 3; idem, *Art and ritual*, 21–22; Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika*, 129–130. The earliest representations of the *encheirion* appeared in the miniature paintings of the Menologion of Basil II (979–984), cf. N. Thierry, *Le costume épiscopal byzantin du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les peintures dates (miniatures, fresques)*, REB 24 (1966) 310–315. The liturgical use of a linen cloth is evidenced in a fresco from the church of Faras, Nubia (1003–1036) which shows a local bishop and the Virgin with the Child holding a white linen cloth in their hands. Another example from the same period can be found in the first basilica of San Clemente in Rome. This is an image of St. Clement as a celebrant with an *encheirion* in his hands, cf. Lidov, *Sviāshchenstvo Bogomateri*, 209, fig. 19–20. Cf. also L. Rodley, *Hallaç Manastir. A cave monastery in Byzantine Cappadocia*, JÖB 32 (1982–1983) fig. 8.

<sup>78</sup> T. Papas, *Studien zur Geschichte der Messgewänder im byzantinischer Ritus*, Munich 1965, 131; Woodfin, *Embodied icon*, 17–18.

<sup>79</sup> Very few eleventh and twelfth century depictions of this white linen cloth in Eucharistic themes have come down to us. The most distinctive iconographic feature of the icon from Mount Sinai showing the Communion of the Apostles is the handkerchief in Christ's hands, while in the church of the Virgin Forbiotissa, Assinou, Cyprus, the handkerchief is laid on the Holy Table. The same white linen cloth is also depicted on the Holy Table in the Last Supper in the crypt of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, cf. Lidov, *Sviāshchenstvo Bogomateri*, 210, figs. 21–23; A. Cutler, J.-M. Spieser, *Byzance médiéval 700–1204*, Paris 1996, 276, fig. 223. Cf. Milanović, *O fresci na ulazu u Bogorodičinu crkvu*, 161.

<sup>80</sup> These theological and liturgical meanings could also be expressed using condensed iconographic idioms, most commonly on liturgical objects. By placing a half-length figure of Christ the Great Archpriest on one side and a half-figure of Christ Emmanuel on the other side of two *rhipidia* from 1594, kept in the monastery of St John Prodromos near Serres, Byzantine artists established a connection between iconography and liturgical practice, cf. *National museum of history. Catalogue*, ed. R. Rousseva, Sofia, 2006, 127, no. 126.

are mutually related within a common thematic framework.<sup>81</sup> The comparison between the Mother of God and the Church and the theme of receiving the blessing of Christ's archpriesthood was expressed through metaphors in hymnography and homiletic poetry dedicated to the Virgin Mary. For example, Epiphanius of Cyprus referred to Theotokos as “the priest and the altar at the same time, who offers to us Christ the bread of heaven for the redemption of sins.”<sup>82</sup> The words of Patriarch Tarasios († 806), who called the Holy Virgin “the ministrant of the Archpriest”, belong to the same liturgical context.<sup>83</sup> George of Nikomedeia used a poetical motif: “Temple of God, she enters the temple” to refer to Mary as a temple.<sup>84</sup> The sermons of John of Damascus and Andrew of Crete offer an interesting perspective for the analysis of the meaning of the figure of the Virgin in the apse of Markov Manastir. They describe Mary as a link between the priestly lineage of Israel and the priesthood of her Son.<sup>85</sup>

The meaning of the discussed iconographic themes in the sanctuary, which is rooted in the ecclesiological postulates and Eucharistic theology also, highlights the importance of the episcopal ministry. The iconographic content of the frescoes conveys the idea of bishops as the bearers of Christ's pontifical blessing.

### *Liturgical objects in the Great Entrance*

The design, the way of handling and the place of the large ecclesiastical liturgical cloth carried by two concelebrants in the angelic procession of the Great Entrance on the south side of the sanctuary apse has been attracting the attention of researchers, raising numerous issues related to the iconographic and liturgical content of the scene (fig. 11).<sup>86</sup> The comparison with representations of

<sup>81</sup> M. J. Milliner, *The Virgin of the Passion. Development, dissemination, and afterlife of a Byzantine icon type*, Princeton 2011 (unpublished PhD thesis), 115–129, explores the association of Mary and the Temple and the idea of Mary as a priest in several textual sources: Protoevangelium of James, the Gospel of Luke (2: 22–38) and the earliest Life of the Virgin. The author's observation also includes poetical motifs referring to Mary as a priest. For a discussion of the Eucharistic elements and priestly implications in the Byzantine iconography of the Mother of God, v. Lidov, *Sviāshchenstvo Bogomateri*, 195–218.

<sup>82</sup> PG 43, col. 497A.

<sup>83</sup> PG 98, col. 1500B.

<sup>84</sup> PG 97, 803.

<sup>85</sup> PG 96, 669A (John of Damascus, *Sermon one on the Nativity*); PG 97, 812B (Andrew of Crete: *Sermon one on the Nativity*). Cf. also. Milliner, *op. cit.*, 124–125.

<sup>86</sup> The identification of the large liturgical veil has been a matter of dispute. It is on the basis of the *Diataxis* of Demetrios Gemistos that Lazar Mirković put forward the hypothesis that two angel-deacons are holding the omophorion, v. L. Mirković, Ž. Tatić, *Markov manastir*, Beograd 1925, 31–34, figs. 34–37; L. Mirković, *Da li se freske Markova manastira mogu tumačiti životijem sv. Vasilija Novoga*, Starinar 12 (1961) 281, figs. 71–75. According to the patriarchal *ordo* of the Great Church, written about 1380, the procession is led by a deacon bearing the *trikerion* and *omophorion* of the patriarch, v. PG 155, 236 A-B, 724, 728 A-B; Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, 310–311; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 210–213; V. Larin, *The dikerion and trikerion of the Byzantine pontifical rite. Origins and significance*, OCP 74 (2008) 417–430. Ioannis Spatharakis later published the frescoes of the Great Entrance from Crete and brought to our attention a unique representation of a liturgical cloth which may have been more likely identified as an omophorion. This is an oblong, white piece of cloth adorned with black stripes at the bottom which hangs from the shoulder of a concelebrant angel-deacon in the Great Entrance in St Phanourios, Valsamonero, v. idem, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*,



Fig. 11. Markov Manastir, angel-deacons with an aër

the aër, which frequently appear in the scenes showing the *Melismos* surrounded by officiating bishops and the Heavenly Liturgy,<sup>87</sup> clearly shows that the type of fabric

301, fig. 11. The colour photograph of the fresco has been published in C. Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst der Späten Palaiologenzeit auf Kreta. Kloster Brontisi im Spannungsfeld zwischen Konstantinopel und Venedig*, Leiden 2011, fig. 120. For this element of the bishop's attire, v. R. F. Taft, S. J., *Toward the origins of the small omophorion*, in: *Ecclesiam aedificans. A 70 éves Keresztes Szilárd püspök köszöntése*, ed. I. Ivancsó, Nyíregyháza 2002, 25–37; Woodfin, *Embodied icon*, 15–16. Cf. also *Omophorion*, in: *Byzantine antiquities. Works of art from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries of the Moscow Kremlin museums. Catalogue*, Moscow 2013, 466, cat. no. 102 (A. S. Petrov). An opposite interpretation has been offered by J. D. Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient*, Brussels 1936, 75, 189–190, who has identified the painted decoration in the southern section of the apse as the *Epitaphios* Procession at the Holy Saturday Orthros. Although Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 206, n. 96 shares Stefanescu's opinion, he suggests that the frescoes might be a result of the confusion of rites: the Great Entrance and the *Epitaphios* Procession. C. Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, Zograf 11 (1980) 83–85, leaves no doubt that the frescoes show the Great Entrance, though he doesn't make any further reference to the depicted liturgical textile. According to Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 299, the angel-deacons carry the aër on their heads and, accordingly, the fresco is a depiction of the Great Entrance. Such a conclusion is further supported by the inclusion of the Eucharistic gifts in the scene. The same interpretation is offered by Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije u kupoli*, 392.

<sup>87</sup> Boycheva, *L'aër dans la liturgie orthodoxe*, 175. Cf. H. Schilb, *Byzantine identity and its patrons. Embroidered aeres and epitaphioi of*



Fig. 12. Gračanica, Heavenly Liturgy, angel-deacon with an aër

depicted in those scenes is the same as that in our example.<sup>88</sup> Unlike the scene in Markov Manastir, in other examples of the ceremonial aër, the symbolism of passion inherent in the Great Entrance is emphasized by the dead body of Christ.<sup>89</sup> However, though the development of figural decoration on aërs can be traced back to the late thirteenth century, purely ornamental decoration or a plain-coloured background with a cross in the centre persisted until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>90</sup> This is also confirmed by the pictorial practice. The large aër with the representation of Christ's dead body became a mandatory element of the iconography of the Heavenly Liturgy of the sixteenth century.<sup>91</sup>

Liturgical sources prescribe more than one way in which the aër is to be carried, depending on its size. The *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos describes a medium-sized aër that can be carried in two ways by a deacon in the procession of the Great Entrance. While preparing for the transfer of the Eucharistic gifts from the prothesis into the sanctuary, the priest puts the aër upon the deacon's left shoulder (τῷ ἀριστερῷ ὤμῳ τοῦ διακόνου). Further in the text it is indicated that the aër can also be laid across

*the Palaiologan and post-Byzantine periods*, Bloomington 2009 (unpublished PhD thesis) 20–55.

<sup>88</sup> Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 299 argues that the aër in Markov Manastir belongs to an older type of this liturgical veil, lacking figural decoration. Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, 88.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. the representations of the aër in the Virgin Peribleptos, Mistra; Vrontisi monastery, Crete, v. Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 299; Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, 80–81; and in the church of St Nicholas at Ramača, v. Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije u kupoli*, 394, 401. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike informs us that in accord with the symbolism of Christ's shroud, the aër could very often bear the image of the dead Christ, v. PG 155, 288A, 728B; cf. St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The liturgical commentaries*, 127. For further discussion on the subject, v. also Mirković, *Crkveni umetnički vez*, 13–14; idem, *Dve srpske plaštanice iz XIV stoleća u Hilandar*, *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 11 (1932) 116–117. Mirković has pointed out that these liturgical veils were carried in the pontifical Divine Liturgy since the fourteenth century.

<sup>90</sup> E. g. the angel-deacon in the Great Entrance at Valsamonero (1431). The aër on his head is red with an ochre cross in the central section of the cloth, v. Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 301, fig. 12; Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, fig. 120.

<sup>91</sup> Boycheva, *L'aër dans la liturgie orthodoxe*, 173–176; N. Gkiolles, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Διονυσίου στο Άγιο Όρος*, Athens 2009, 15. Cf. Schilb, *Byzantine identity and its patrons*, 57; Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 299.



Fig. 13. The church of the Virgin Hodegetria, Patriarchat of Peć, Heavenly Liturgy, angel-deacon with an aër

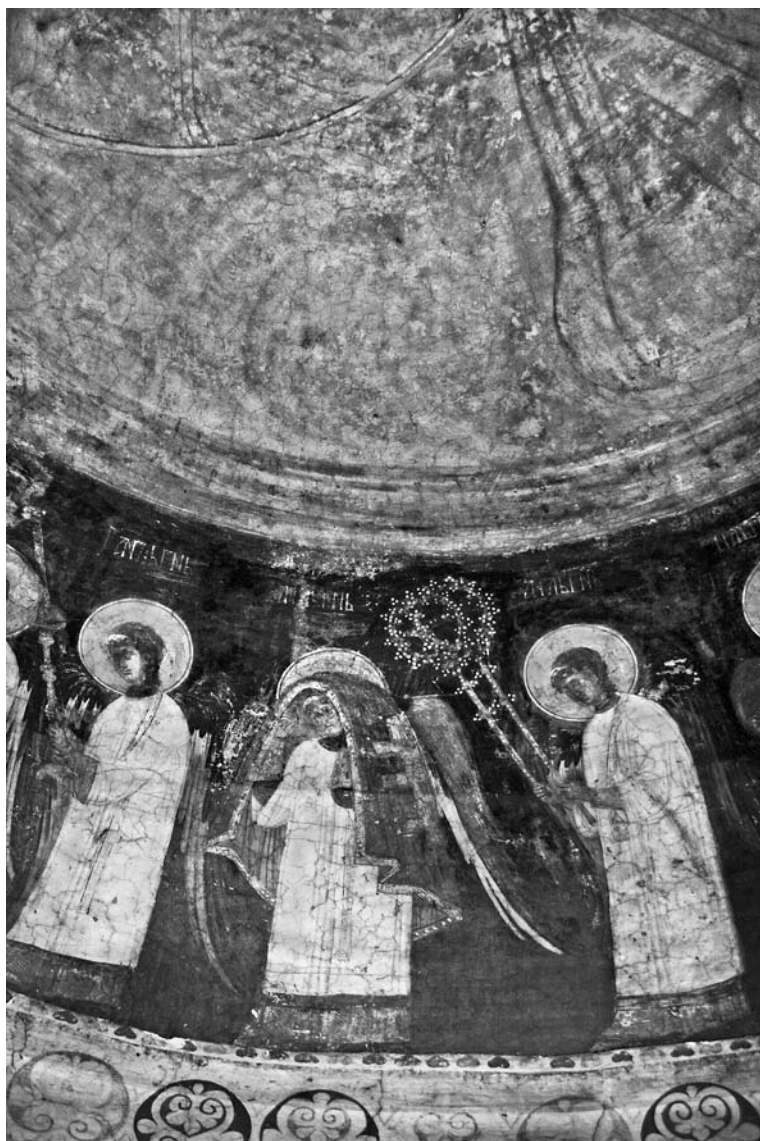


Fig. 14. Dečani, Heavenly Liturgy, angel-deacon with an aër

the Eucharistic gifts on the Holy Table.<sup>92</sup> Additional information regarding the design and handling of these liturgical textiles is provided by depictions of the Heavenly Liturgy. In Gračanica (1321; fig. 12) the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at the Patriarchate of Peć (before 1337; fig. 13) and Dečani (before 1345; fig. 14) angel-deacons with the aër across their left shoulder are either greeting the procession of the Great Entrance or they are a part of it.<sup>93</sup> The aërs on the back of angel-deacons in the church of St Nicholas in the monastery of Great Lavra (Mount Athos, 1560) and the *katholikon* of Dochiariou (Mount Athos, 1568) actually lie across their shoulders.<sup>94</sup> Although they date from a later period, it is still possible that these frescoes reflect an older Athonite liturgical practice. A similar liturgical context may also be established for the preserved examples of Byzantine liturgical textiles, such as the Thessaloniki *Epitaphios* (ca. 1300).<sup>95</sup> The evidence that the aër could have been handled differently can be found in a fifteenth-century *euchologion* from the Great Lavra. According to it, the aër should hang from the forehead of the deacon to his back (ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου ἕως τῶν νώτων

<sup>92</sup> P. N. Trempelas, *Ἄι τρεῖς λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας*, Athens 1935, 10. Serbian *leitourgika* follow Greek sources. According to them, the priest lays the aër on the deacon's left shoulder (ПОЛГАЈЕЪ НА ЛѢВОМЪ РАМѢ ДІАКОНУ), v. *Dečani* No. 125, fol. 25b.

<sup>93</sup> For the Heavenly Liturgy in Gračanica, v. A. L. Townsley, *Eucharistic doctrine and liturgy in late Byzantine painting*, *Oriens christianus* 58 (1974) 148–150, fig. 15; Todić, *Gračanica*, figs. 7–9; Ch. Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός. Οι συλλειτουργούντες ιεράρχες και οι ἄγγελοι-διάκονοι μπροστά στην Ἁγία Τράπεζα με τὰ Τιμία Δῶρα ἢ τον Ευχαριστιακὸ Χριστό*, *Thessalonikē* 2008, 119. For the same scene in the church of the Virgin at the Patriarchate of Peć, v. G. Babić, *Liturgijske teme na freskama Bogorodičine crkve u Peći*, in: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, Beograd 1991, 378–382 figs. 1–3. For Dečani, v. M. Marković, *Program živopisa u kupoli*, in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Građa i studije*, Beograd 1995, fig. 2. The iconography of scenes in all of the three churches is described by Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije u kupoli*, 386–388.

<sup>94</sup> G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos I. Les peintures*, Paris 1927, pls. 118. 2, 218. 2, 219. 3, 232. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios*, 503–520.

both shoulders: the priest takes the aër from “the deacon's shoulders” (ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων τοῦ διακόνου) to cover with it



κρεμαμένου τοῦ ἄερος).<sup>96</sup> This liturgical practice is confirmed by several examples in painting. The depiction of an angel-deacon in the procession of the Great Entrance in the church of St Phanourios in Valsamonero on Crete (1431; fig. 3) conforms to this scheme: the angel-deacon carries *ripidia* in his hands, while his head and shoulders are covered with a medium-sized red *aër* with an orange cross.<sup>97</sup> As far as the size of the *aër* is concerned, the first depiction of a large *aër* carried by an angel-deacon above his head most probably appeared in Dečani in the Heavenly Great Entrance (fig. 14).<sup>98</sup> In this, somewhat more casual way of handling the *aër*, the textile covers the head of the deacon falling over his shoulders.

The design of the *aër* and the way of carrying it are illustrated in great detail on a fourteenth-century *panagiarion* from the Monastery of Xeropotamou on Mount Athos.<sup>99</sup> Among the figures of concelebrant angels, who are placed in fields framed by arcades and are approaching Christ the Archpriest in front of the Holy Table in the procession of the Great Entrance, a frontally depicted figure of an angel-deacon with the *aër* stands out. The cloth spread out above his head wraps his shoulders and back, while he holds it at the edges.<sup>100</sup> Similarly to the hands of the angel-deacon in Markov Manastir, his hands do not touch his face but are slightly detached from the body. In addition to similarities between the fresco in the Mrnjavčevićs' foundation and the elements of the image on the Athonite *panagiarion*, it is also possible to establish iconographic parallels with examples from Serbian churches. A comparison with the depiction in Dečani (fig. 14) shows that the *aër* carried by the angel-deacon on the head actually has the same dimensions as the cover carried by two heavenly concelebrants in Markov Manastir (fig. 11). This choice in the foundation of the Mrnjavčevićs could be explained by the painter's reliance on a specific form of rite or iconographic templates known and available to him. A slightly later example from nearby Ohrid shows that we are dealing with a local iconographic peculiarity. In the procession of the Great Entrance in the Heavenly Liturgy in the church of Sts Constantine and



Fig. 15. *Sts Constantine and Helen, Ohrid, angel-deacons with an aër, (photo: I. M. Djordjević)*

Helen, two angel-deacons are carrying an *aër* without figural decoration in the same way as those in Markov Manastir (figs. 15 and 16).<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, unlike the example from Ohrid, which shows a proper way to carry an *aër* of large dimensions, in Markov Manastir we find an unclear detail. A part of the main celebrant's hand is depicted on the outer side of the *aër*. Such a position is not possible, having in mind that the fabric is shown falling over the shoulders and back of both angels.

Liturgical sources, accompanied by selected visual evidence, show that over time, the *aër* increased in size, due to which the way in which it was carried changed. Once it became larger, the *aër*, which had previously been laid upon one or both deacon's shoulders, had to be carried on the head, and in some cases, it even had to be carried by two (or more) deacons above their heads.<sup>102</sup> However, this does not preclude the possibility that several different *aërs* and covers were used simultaneously. In the Heavenly Great Entrance in Dečani, one can see angel-deacons who carry *aërs* on the left shoulder, but also above their heads. The comprehensive and detailed depiction of several stages of the Great Entrance in the sanctuary of Markov Manastir confirms this liturgical practice. Bearing in mind that the final stage of the prothesis rite and the anticipation of the Great Entrance are shown in the prothesis of the *katholikon*, the cloth with non-figural decoration that covers the shoulders St Stephen the Protodeacon, who waves the censer over the body of the deceased Lord lying on the Holy Table, can be identified as an *aër*.<sup>103</sup> Along with angel-deacons, the participants in the procession of the Great Entrance also include holy deacons – most probably St Lawrence and St Romanos the Melode, depicted in the niche of the diaconicon (fig. 17).<sup>104</sup> In addition to usual attributes (cross, *artophorion*,

<sup>96</sup> Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, 610. For an English translation, v. D. E. Conomos, *Byzantine trisagia and cheroubika of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A study of late Byzantine liturgical chant*, Thessaloniki 1974, 36.

<sup>97</sup> Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 301, fig. 12. The colour photograph of the fresco has been published in Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, fig. 120. The *kalymmata* that cover the patens on the heads of angel-deacons in the procession of the Great Entrance in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos at Mistra look the same, v. Spatharakis, *op. cit.* fig. 16.

<sup>98</sup> Marković, *op. cit.* The position of the angel-deacon in the Heavenly Great Entrance in the *katholikon* of Hilandar (ca. 1321, retouched in 1803/1804) is such that it is impossible to determine whether he holds a holy vessel or grips the *aër* with his hands, v. W. T. Hostetter, *In the heart of Hilandar. An interactive presentation of the frescoes in the main church of the Hilandar monastery on Mt. Athos*, Tuskegee 1999 (CD-ROM). V. also M. Marković, *The original paintings of the monastery's main church*, in: *Hilandar monastery*, ed. G. Subotić, Belgrade 1998, 221–242. Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios*, 515, interprets this example as a transitional form from the medium-sized *aër* carried together with the holy vessels towards the expansive Great Aër.

<sup>99</sup> Kalavrezou, *Byzantine icons in steatite*, I, 204–205, II, pl. 64, no. 131; *Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁποῦς*, 324–325, no. 9. 5. Cf. B. Miljković, *Srpski panagijar iz Vatopeda*, *Zograf* 49 (2012) 358–359. On the uses of the *panagiarion*, v. I. Drpić, *Notes on Byzantine panagiarion*, *Zograf* 35 (2011) 51–62.

<sup>100</sup> Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios*, 516–517.

<sup>101</sup> Subotić, *Sveti Konstantin i Jelena u Ohridu* (drawing of the frescoes D. Todorović, 3B).

<sup>102</sup> Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 210, n. 109. Cf. Schilb, *Byzantine identity and its patrons*, 58.

<sup>103</sup> Trempelas, *op. cit.*, 9; M. Tomić Djurić, *To picture and to perform: the image of the Eucharistic liturgy at Markov Manastir (I)*, *Zograf* 38 (2014) 124–125, fig. 1. Cf. Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios*, 506–508.

<sup>104</sup> Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 85. Due to iconographical similarities, the possibility that the first deacon is St Euplos should not be rejected. This saint is also depicted with longer hair combed behind the ears, where strands become slightly thicker and



Fig. 16. Sts Constantine and Helen, Ohrid, Heavenly Liturgy, (drawing: D. Todorović)



Fig. 17. Markov Manastir, diaconicon, holy deacons – most probably St Lawrence and St Romanos the Melodist

censer) held in their hands, both holy deacons have an *aër* on their left shoulder.<sup>105</sup> It is depicted as a narrow piece of red textile with gold-embroidered floral ornaments rendered in the fresco technique, just like in the *aër* shown on the shoulder of St Stephen the Archdeacon.

Based on the mentioned facts, it can be concluded that a large *aër* in Markov Manastir was painted respecting the ceremonial actions of the Patriarchal Eucharistic Liturgy. As opposed to the *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos and several other *diataxeis* related to the presbyteral liturgy, according to which the main celebrant alone takes the *aër* from the deacon's shoulder to cover the Eucharistic gifts with it, the corresponding rubric in the patriarchal and archieratical liturgical *Diataxis* of Dimitrios Gemistos (ca. 1380) unambiguously refers to the large size of this liturgical cloth. It stipulates that all concelebrants, archpriests, priests and deacons shall take part in holding the *aër*, singing the troparion Noble Joseph, while the patriarch places chalices and patens on the Holy Table.<sup>106</sup>

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Nevertheless, what makes it complicated to reach the final conclusion is the place given to the *aër* in the ceremonial procession of angels. The rules of the pontifical liturgy require that the deacons who carry the large *aër* with the image of Christ in the tomb on their heads be

wavy. V. Lesnovo (cf. Gabelić, *Lesnovo*, fig. 17); Zaum (cf. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo*, 110), Nova Pavlica (cf. T. Starodubcev, *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo u doba Lazarevića i Brankovića (1375–1459)*, II, *Katalog*, Beograd 2007 (unpublished PhD thesis) 36.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios*, 511.

<sup>106</sup> Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, 310; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 244, n. 122.

located at the very rear of the procession because the paten and the chalice are covered with it only after they are laid upon the Holy Table.<sup>107</sup> However, this rule was not always respected in the depictions of the Heavenly Liturgy and the celebrant angles who carried the large *aër* could occupy various places in the procession.<sup>108</sup> It seems that an older iconographic tradition of the Great Entrance has a more important role in understanding the place of the large cover in the scene in Markov Manastir. An analysis of the complex type of the Heavenly Liturgy in the dome reveals certain regularities in the layout and order of the solemn procession, which artists generally followed.

The group greeted by an angel-deacon with a censer, in front of the heavenly altar, is almost always headed by an angel waving *ripidia*, followed by those carrying *aërs* and the heavenly concelebrants with the Eucharistic gifts. The depictions of the strictly hierarchically ordered procession with the holy gifts in Gračanica (fig. 12) and the church of the Virgin at the Patriarchate of Peć (fig. 13) conform to this scheme.<sup>109</sup> *Aërs* vary in size and shape. The fabric is most commonly red, often adorned with a cross; it may cover the shoulder and the arm of the angel-deacon in several ways (Gračanica, Peć), but it may also be placed upon the head and held with the hands (Dečani). Based on the presented evidence it may be concluded that the layout of the heavenly part of the Great Entrance in Markov Manastir followed well-known iconographic schemes. Similarly to somewhat earlier examples from the same century, the heavenly concelebrant with the paten on his head is shown behind the angels with *ripidia*, a candle and the *aër*.<sup>110</sup> Examples that are consider-

<sup>107</sup> Taft, *op. cit.*, 210–213.

<sup>108</sup> The angels carrying the *aër* with the image of dead Christ in Ramača are in the middle of the procession, cf. Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije u kupoli*, 403; the author draws attention to the fact that this church, founded by a nobleman, was decorated by a group of local painters. Accordingly they may have not been familiar either with the artistic trends in the capital or with the solemn processions of the pontifical Divine Liturgy. In the aforementioned example, i.e. the church of Sts Constantine and Helena in Ohrid, the angels carrying the *aër* are depicted twice, in the middle and at the end of the procession, cf. Subotić, *Sveti Konstantin i Jelena u Ohridu* (drawing of the fresco D. Todorović, 3B, 4).

<sup>109</sup> Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije u kupoli*, 386–387.

<sup>110</sup> In sixteenth-century depictions of the Heavenly Liturgy, when it became common to place a large *aër* with an image of the deceased Christ at the end of the procession, the shoulders of the angel-deacons with candles or *ripidia* who headed the procession with the Eucharistic gifts were wrapped with a small *aër* adorned with the image of Christ in the grave. Such examples can be seen in the Athonite frescoes from the *katholikon* of Dochiariou and the church of St Nicholas in the monastery of Great Lavra, v. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos I*, pls. 118. 2, 218. 2, 219. 3, 232. 2. V. also the Great Entrance in the church of St Archangel Michael on Rhodes (sixteenth c. ), M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Στο Θάρη της Ρόδου: Ο ναός και οι τοιχο-*



ably distant in space and time from those discussed in this paper prove that we are dealing with a generally accepted model. The scene in Markov Manastir finds its important analogy in the procession of the Great Entrance in the monastery of Vrondisi on Crete (1420–1430), which extends along the southern and northern sides of the vault above the bema. Three celebrant angels on the south side are carrying a large *aër* adorned with the dead body of Christ, proceeding towards the east, behind the angel-deacon who is carrying candles.<sup>111</sup> In the Heavenly Great Entrance in the apse of the narthex dedicated to St Phanoourios in Valsamonero on Crete (fig. 3), Christ, shown as a priest in front of the altar, is approached first by two angel-deacons with candlesticks, then by an angel-deacon with a white cloth across the left shoulder (most probably an *omophorion*) and *ripidia* in his hands, followed by another angel-deacon with a red *aër* on his head, who also holds *ripidia*.<sup>112</sup> The *aër* is one of the objects that accompanied the Eucharistic gifts in the Great Entrance.

Due to the need to adjust the iconographic pattern of the Heavenly liturgy to the space and the thematic framework of the lowest register in the sanctuary, the painters of Markov Manastir had to make certain departures from the model. These may be observed in the composition of the first group of heavenly concelebrants approaching Christ the Archpriest. The purpose of placing the angel-deacon with *ripidia* in the second plane was undoubtedly to emphasize the two figures holding a large *aër* above their heads. Bearing in mind that in the Late Byzantine period painting did not seek to illustrate ritual but to highlight its significance, we may assume that the intention behind depicting the large *aër* – which was regularly used in the pontifical liturgy since the fourteenth century,<sup>113</sup> in such a prominent place in the sanctuary apse was to duly emphasize its importance.



Fig. 18. Markov Manastir, angel-priest with chalice

was not uncommon among the objects that escorted the Holy Gifts in the iconography of the Heavenly Liturgy.<sup>116</sup> It is carried by celebrant angels in major examples from the fourteenth century: *panagiaron* from the Monastery of Xeropotamou on Mount Athos,<sup>117</sup> frescoes from the Patriarchate of Peć,<sup>118</sup> Dečani<sup>119</sup> and Ravanica.<sup>120</sup> The low base and two stems of the liturgical vessel closely correspond in shape to the *krater*, the vessel used for mixing water and wine.<sup>121</sup> What prompts the attention is

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The chalice in the hands of an angel-priest<sup>114</sup> stands out by its size, shape, lavish decoration and the absence of a cover (figs. 18).<sup>115</sup> A liturgical vessel of such a design

γραφίες της Μονής του Ταξιάρχη Μιχαήλ, Athens 2006, 130–131, figs. 34a, 35a.

<sup>111</sup> Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 296, figs. 3–4; Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, 80–85, figs. 23, 24.

<sup>112</sup> Spatharakis, *op. cit.*, 301, fig. 12. The colour photograph of the fresco has been published in Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, fig. 120.

<sup>113</sup> Mirković, *Dve srpske plaštanice*, 116–117.

<sup>114</sup> The rule that only a priest is permitted to carry the chalice was defined in the Philotheos' *Diataxis*, v. Trempelas, *Ἄι τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 9.

<sup>115</sup> A chalice of a similar shape and size can be found in the scene of the Communion of the Apostles, e. g. Staro Nagoričino, St. Nikita near Skoplje. M. Lee Coulson, *Old wine in new pitchers. Some thoughts on depictions of the chalice in the Communion of the apostles*,

in: ΛΑΜΠΙΔΩΝ. *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη*, ed. M. Aspra-Varvadakē, I, Athens 2003, 149, 151–153, has suggested that this type of vessel can be identified as a *stamnos*, a wine container. For the shape, decoration, material and function of the chalice in Byzantine rite, v. B. Pitarakis, *La vaiselle eucharistique dans les Églises d'Orient*, in: *Pratique de l'eucharistie dans l'églises d'Orient et d'Occident*, I, 318–324.

<sup>116</sup> Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 206–213.

<sup>117</sup> Kalavrezou, *Byzantine icons in steatite*, II, pl. 64 (no. 131); Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios*, fig. 14.

<sup>118</sup> Babić, *Liturgijske teme*, 378–382, figs. 1–3.

<sup>119</sup> M. Čanak-Medić, B. Todić, *Manastir Dečani*, Beograd 2005, fig. 259.

<sup>120</sup> Đurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, 66–67; B. Živković, *Ravanica. Crteži fresaka*, Beograd 1990, 8–9.

<sup>121</sup> On the iconography of *krater*-like vessels in the Late Byzantine monumental paintings, v. Coulson, *Old wine in new pitchers*, 145–156. Few liturgical vessels from the Late Byzantine period have been preserved in monastery treasuries, v. A. Ballian, *Liturgical implements*, in: *Byzantium. Faith and power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans, New York 2004, 118. For the design of the *krater* in the Middle Byzantine period, v. an example from Novgorod (twelfth century), v. *The glory of*

the content of the cup: three triangular particles of consecrated bread.<sup>122</sup> It is observed that the particles are covered with semicircular lines in a very light shade of grey and red. We assume that they were meant to suggest that the cup was filled with the liquid consisting of water and wine (figs. 18 and 19).<sup>123</sup> The uncovered chalice was most probably intended to suggest another important issue of the liturgical Eucharistic practice: the *zeon* rite.<sup>124</sup> According to the *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos, hot water infused with the Holy Spirit was added into the chalice during the prothesis rite and before the communion.<sup>125</sup> The mixing of water and wine symbolizes the blood and water that flowed from Christ's wound and it demonstrates the Orthodox Church's doctrine of the incorruptibility of Christ's body.<sup>126</sup> In this context it is very important to draw attention to an eleventh-century liturgical source which describes the rite in which water is mixed with wine before Communion (the *zeon* rite) according to the rules of the Great Church.<sup>127</sup> Namely, in the manuscript *Protheoria* 36, it is explained that before the elevation of the Lamb, a small amount of warm water is poured into *kraters* (κρατήρες) or chalices (ποτήρια) placed on the Holy Table.<sup>128</sup>

It seems that the scene in Markov Manastir was largely influenced by the interpretation of Nicholas Kabasilas, who stressed the ecclesiological and pneumatological symbolism of the *zeon* rite. The famous fourteenth-century Byzantine liturgist interpreted the practice of pouring hot water into the chalice as the Eucharistic Descent of the Holy Spirit.<sup>129</sup>

Three triangular particles cannot find an appropriate visual analogy. Along with them, several tiny particles of different shapes can be observed in the left half of the liturgical vessel (fig. 18). Only two examples can be taken into consideration. The first example is a fragment of the complex liturgical composition depicted in the sanctuary of the aforementioned church of the Holy Trinity at Agia Trias, Crete; a few particles of bread can be seen in the chalice standing on the altar to the right of the paten (fig.

20).<sup>130</sup> A closer analogy in terms of iconography can be found in the Heavenly Liturgy in the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at the Patriarchate of Peć. A partially covered chalice in the hands of the angel-deacon, who approaches the western Holy Table in the angelic procession, contains four particles (fig. 13). The largest among them has a regular, round shape, while the remaining three are smaller and different in shape.

The uncovered chalice in the hands of an angel-priest in Markov Manastir, with particles covered by visible traces of wine and water, along with the *zeon* rite, were probably meant to draw attention to those parts of the Eucharistic rite which were directly related to it. The Lamb is broken in four pieces (IC, XC, NI, KA), which are placed onto the paten to form a cross. The symbolic unification of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is performed by the priest who puts the IC particle into the chalice. After pouring warm water into the chalice (the *zeon* rite), celebrants take the Communion with the Holy Blood and the Holy Body (the crumbled XC particle).<sup>131</sup> After the Communion of celebrants in the sanctuary, and before the Communion of the faithful, NI and KA particles are also put in the chalice. Along with them, all particles consecrated during the prothesis rite are removed from the paten and placed in the chalice, where they are united with the Lord's body.<sup>132</sup> Hence, the chalice used in the Communion of Faithful contains three pieces of the Lamb and the particles consecrated during the prothesis rite. This custom was commented by Symeon of Thessalonike,<sup>133</sup> and instructions can also be found in Serbian fourteenth-century *leitourgika*.<sup>134</sup> While highlighting that the faithful receive Communion only from the pieces of the Lamb, the Orthodox Church interprets the joining together of the particles consecrated during the prothesis rite and the Body of Christ as an act of receiving the divine blessing from Christ.<sup>135</sup> However, the major problem to this hypothesis is the omission of the *kalymma* and a spoon, which are also mentioned in the *leitourgikon*.

Another possible interpretation for the rare motif from Markov Manastir remains in the sphere of speculation and can not be proven. Nevertheless, it is based on a contextual analysis of the painted decoration of the sanctuary apse. By their shape and number, the three equilateral triangles suggest the Holy Trinity.<sup>136</sup> This impression is further supported by the vertical contextual relationship between the scenes, i.e. by the fact that the trinitarian symbol in the form of a dove is also particularly highlighted in the scene of the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon

*Byzantium. Art and culture of the middle Byzantine era A. D. 843–1261*, eds. H. C. Evans, W. D. Wixom, New York 1997, 293, cat. no. 197. For the hypothesis that the angel-priest holds a *hydria*, a water container, in his hands, v. Betancourt, *The Thessaloniki epitaphios*, 511.

<sup>122</sup> The unique representation of a triangular particle symbolising the Virgin placed on the paten to the left of the *Amnos* can be found in the church of Holy Trinity, Agia Trias, Rethymno, Crete, cf. Spatharakis, *Byzantine wall paintings of Crete*, I, 14, pl. 1b, n. 14.

<sup>123</sup> The old photo from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade (Inv. No. 1629B) shows that there were more lines in the chalice. I owe my gratitude to my colleague Dubravka Preradović who willingly provided me with the photo and allowed me permission to publish it.

<sup>124</sup> On the *henosis* and the *zeon* in the Byzantine liturgical sources, v. R. Taft, *Water into wine. The twice-mixed chalice in the Byzantine Eucharist*, *Le Museon* 100 (1987) 323–342.

<sup>125</sup> Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 3. 13. On the rules pertaining to pouring warm water into the chalice before Communion in Serbian *leitourgika*, v. Dečani No. 123, fol. 71 a-b; Dečani No. 125, fol. 28b, 39a; Dečani No. 126, fol. 122b, 123a.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The liturgical commentaries*, 205–206.

<sup>127</sup> Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 199–200; Taft, *Water into wine*, 339–340.

<sup>128</sup> PG 140, col. 464.

<sup>129</sup> PG 150, 452B; Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine liturgie*, 206–210.

<sup>130</sup> Spatharakis, *Byzantine wall paintings of Crete*, I, 15, 1b.

<sup>131</sup> Similarly, several pieces of the XC particle in the Communion of the Apostles with the Holy Bread in the central register of the sanctuary apse in Markov Manastir are depicted as triangles.

<sup>132</sup> Dečani No. 125, fol. 38 b–42a.

<sup>133</sup> PG 155, 284–285; St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The liturgical commentaries*, 223–231.

<sup>134</sup> V. liturgical manuscript *Ćorović 7* (University Library in Belgrade), published in: Jevtić, *Božanstvena liturgija*, I, 490, n. 49.

<sup>135</sup> PG 155, 284–285; St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The Liturgical Commentaries*, 229.

<sup>136</sup> In this context, it is noteworthy that Symeon of Thessalonike, in one of his commentaries, interpreted the composition of the bread from which the Lamb is cut as a symbol of the Holy Trinity, cf. PG 155, 265; cf. St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The liturgical commentaries*, 189.



the Apostles (discussed in the previous section of the paper), depicted on the south side of the sanctuary's vault, above the procession of angels in the Great Entrance. In this context, it is interesting to point out another liturgical and theological connection between the *zeon* rite and the feast of the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles; according to Serbian fourteenth and fifteenth-century *leitourgika*, the priest performs the *troparion* from the Canon at Pentecost (Odes 3, 4), which is attributed to St John of Damascus, while the deacon is pouring warm water into the Holy Chalice.<sup>137</sup>

### *The Officiating Bishops in the diaconicon*

The last segment of the liturgical and Eucharistic ensemble is placed in the diaconicon. The participants in the liturgical service of bishops, the texts on their scrolls, as well as their liturgical order were identified and interpreted by Cvetan Grozdanov (fig. 21). The texts on the scrolls were selected with the intention to highlight the most important sections of the Divine Liturgy according to John Chrysostom and thereby supplement the scene in the sanctuary with textual content.

The first in the line is St Gregory of Nyssa whose scroll is inscribed with the prayer uttered by the priest during the Cherubic Hymn: *никто же юс достоннь сведавшнх се павтвскѣмн похотѣмн* (No one bound by worldly desires and pleasures is worthy to approach).<sup>138</sup> It marks the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful, which also includes the Great Entrance. Although the prayer of the Cherubic Hymn is very common in depictions of the liturgical service and is in many examples inscribed on the scroll St Basil the Great, no case has been recorded where it is associated with the image of St Gregory.<sup>139</sup> Such a solution in Markov Manastir was certainly determined by the central thematic unit in the sanctuary – the Great Entrance, in which the most important bishops of the church were depicted. The next bishop in the line is St Spyridon, *сп(...)*и(...). He is holding a scroll with the text of the prayer of the catechumens *г(о)спод(и) б(о)ж(е) наш(е) н(а) в(ы)соких(и)х(и) жив(ы)х(и) н(а) с(в)ѣр(е)на(х) призна(е)* (O Lord our God, who dwells on high and regards the humble of heart),<sup>140</sup> which is uttered after the prothesis rite and before the Great Entrance. Numerous examples show that the text of this prayer was not associated with bishops according to a specific rule.<sup>141</sup> The last two bishops were painted

on the wall that separates the diaconicon and the naos. St Clement, *ΚΛΗΜΗΣ*, has a scroll with the text of the Prayer behind the Ambo, uttered by the priest after the communion, at the end of the liturgy of the faithful *β(λα)ρ(ο) σ(α)ρ(ν)η β(λ)α(γ)ρ(ο)β(ε)σ(ι)τι(ε) ρ(ο)σ(π)α(δ)η . . .* (Lord, bless those who praise You...)<sup>142</sup> Although the title next to the figure of this saint does not contain the corresponding topographical reference, his features confirm that this is the holy Bishop of Ohrid.<sup>143</sup> The procession of bishops ends with the image of St Blasios, *ο αγιος κλας(ς) . . .*, and the text of the prayer inscribed on his scroll – “fulfilment of the law” marks the end of the liturgy, *ис(с.)ънне (с.) закон(а) (с.) п(р)о рокъь*.<sup>144</sup> The text of this prayer was very rarely inscribed and there are only two more known examples in temporally and geographically distant monuments – Arilje (1295/1296)<sup>145</sup> and the Church of the Holy Cross in Valamonero on Crete (fifteenth century).<sup>146</sup>

The patron of the town and the Archbishopric of Ohrid – St Clement († 916), found his place among the most respected holy fathers of the church.<sup>147</sup> As exemplified by numerous painted portraits, in the fourteenth century, the veneration of this saint was widespread even beyond the boundaries of his diocese – in old Rascia, Kosovo and Metohija, northern Macedonia.<sup>148</sup> In his analysis of St Clement's portraits in the broader context of fourteenth-century painting, Dragan Vojvodić has stressed the special programmatic role of the depiction of St Clement in the Liturgical Service of Bishops in Markov Manastir.<sup>149</sup> Such a choice could have been the result of a desire of the *ktetor* or an adviser from ecclesiastical circles. The relations that King Marko maintained with the centre of the Ohrid Archbishopric should not be neglected: he commissioned a group of painters from Ohrid to paint his endowment.<sup>150</sup> In any case, this solution could be analyzed in the context of King Marko's state ideology: in accordance with the geopolitical circumstances and eth-

<sup>137</sup> V. liturgical manuscript *Ćorović 7* (University Library in Belgrade), published in: Jevtić, *Božanstvena liturgija*, I, 489, n. 44. Cf. Goar, *Eūchologion*, 62. On the introduction of this *troparion* from the Canon at Pentecost, (Odes 3, 4), v. Trempelas, *Αι τρεις λειτουργιαι*, 137–138.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Brightmann, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 318. 4; G. Babić, Ch. Walter, *The inscriptions upon liturgical rolls in Byzantine apse decoration*, REB 34 (1976) 271 (12); Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika* II, 82; for the inscription v. Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 84.

<sup>139</sup> For the frequency of the text from this prayer and its place in Byzantine and Serbian churches (eleventh–fifteenth centuries) v. Babić, Walter, *The inscriptions*, 273–278; Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 223–224; Andreev, *Nadpisi*, 57–58. Andreev, *Addenda et corrigenda*, 35–42.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Brightmann, *op. cit.*, 315. 12; Babić, Walter, *The inscriptions*, 271(8); Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika* II, 79; for the text on the scroll, v. Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 84.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Babić, Walter, *The inscriptions*, 273–278; Kōnstantinidē, *op. cit.*, 222.

<sup>142</sup> Brightmann, *op. cit.*, 397. 29; Babić, Walter, *The inscriptions*, 271(28), 273–278; Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika* II, 122. Cf. Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 85; Kōnstantinidē, *Op. cit.*, 227; Andreev, *Nadpisi*, 71–75.

<sup>143</sup> D. Vojvodić, *Predstave sv. Klimenta Ohridskog u zidnom slikarstvu srednjovekovne Srbije*, in: *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu*, I, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović, R. Radić, Beograd 2012, 155.

<sup>144</sup> Brightmann, *op. cit.*, 344. 22; Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika* II, 122–123.

<sup>145</sup> D. Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija u Arilju*, Beograd 2005, 138, n. 1018.

<sup>146</sup> Kōnstantinidē, *op. cit.*, 227–228.

<sup>147</sup> On the inclusion of the less-familiar bishops among the concelebrating Church fathers see Kōnstantinidē, *op. cit.*, 140–141; S. Gerstel, *Beholding the sacred mysteries: programs of the Byzantine sanctuary*, Seattle–London 1999, 24–25.

<sup>148</sup> For the development of the iconography of St Clement of Ohrid v. C. Grozdanov, *Pojava i prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog u srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, ZLU 3 (1967) 47–69; idem, *O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog u ohridskom živopisu XIV veka*, ZLU 4 (1968) 101–117. V. especially Vojvodić, *Predstave sv. Klimenta Ohridskog*, 145–167; the author presents the examples which led him to the conclusion that the earliest Serbian portraits of St Clement of Ohrid have survived on the territory of old Rascia and Metohija.

<sup>149</sup> The holy bishop from Ohrid was painted in such a prominent place in only one more Serbian church – Staro Nagoričino. Another example can be found in the neighbouring region, in the church of St. Athanasios in Kastoria (1384/85), cf. Vojvodić, *Predstave sv. Klimenta Ohridskog*, 160–161; Kōnstantinidē, *op. cit.*, 141, fig. 239.

<sup>150</sup> C. Grozdanov, *Ohrid i Ohridskata arhiepiskopija vo XIV vek*, *Istorija*, 10/1 (1980) 174–181.

nic structure of the population, both the cults of Serbian saints and those originating from Byzantine territories were nurtured.<sup>151</sup> Accordingly the text of the Prayer behind the Ambo, which prays for the inheritance of God, the fullness of the Church and peace to priests, the ruler and the people, could reflect the expected intercession of this highly revered local saint, St Clement of Ohrid.<sup>152</sup>

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In her analysis of the body of Byzantine and Serbian monuments from the Komnene and Palaiologan periods, Chara Konstantinidi has distinguished several systems according to which liturgical texts on the scrolls carried by bishops were arranged. Through these texts, the Eucharist was presented in two ways: either as a series of suc-

cessive liturgical moments or as individual units.<sup>153</sup> As it has been previously mentioned, the complex and rather detailed composition in the sanctuary of Markov Manastir was designed so as to unite and chronologically link several Eucharistic-liturgical themes; from the offering of the Holy Gifts, through the Great Entrance, to the final part of the Holy Liturgy and dismissal prayers.<sup>154</sup> The actual performance of the archieratical liturgy is multiply reflected in the fresco. Along with the central figure of Christ the Archpriest and the earthly procession of the Great Entrance shaped as the hierarchical concelebration, other features of the archieratical form are also present. The reminiscences of the ceremonial washing of hands by the bishop after the Great Entrance are contained in the ewer with water and a basin in the hands of angel-deacon, while the size and the way in which the aër is carried correspond to the description of the large aër in the *archieratikon* of Dimitrios Gemistos.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. V. J. Đurić, *Markov manastir – Ohrid*, Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti 8 (1972) 157.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Brightmann, *op. cit.*, 397. 29; Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika* II, 122.

<sup>153</sup> Kōnstantinidē, *op. cit.*, 147–158.

<sup>154</sup> Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 85.

#### ЛИСТА РЕФЕРЕНЦИЈИ – REFERENCE LIST

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## Слика и обред: представа Свете евхаристије у Марковом манастиру

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У евхаристијским темама XIV века истакнуто је архијерејство Христово. Када је реч о групи композиција тематски најблиских фресци у Марковом манастиру, једини Велики вход који садржи и фигуру Христа Архијереја јесте онај насликан у апсиди припрате, капели посвећеној светом Фанурију, у истоименом манастиру у Валсамонери на Криту (1431). Јединствену анђеоску поворку ђаконa и јереја са часним даровима Христос у свечаном патријаршијском сакосу благословом десне руке дочекује испред олтарa, док у левој држи служабник. Сличну литургијску улогу испуњава и Христос Велики архијереј у олтарској апсиди Марковог манастира. Тренутак архијерејске литургије о којем је реч одређен је текстом у приказаном служабнику. Његова скромна очуваност не омогућује лаку идентификацију, али поједини фрагменти ипак се могу сматрати поузданим трагом. Такав пример јесте део речи на крају првог реда друге странице служабника – «тн. Он би одговарао речи *ргi;estiE* из почетног благослова анафоре, којом се „призивају од сваког лица Пресвете Тројице разна добра, од Бога Сина благодет, од Бога Оца љубав, а од Светог Духа причешће“. Уколико је предложена реконструкција натписа исправна, реч је о јединственом примеру текста почетног благослова анафоре у српском и византијском зидном сликарству.

Учење о Христовој првосвештеничкој служби исказано је и вертикалним устројством представа у оквиру апсидалне декорације. Свештеноејствена симболика језиком иконографије обједињује ликове Емануила у конхи апсиде и Христа Првосвештеника у најнижој зони. Повезаност елемената унутар тематског оквира олтарске апсиде Марковог манастира потврђује и евхаристијско-еклисиолошка симболика особених детаља на одећи Мајке Божије, која наглашава идеју о Богородици као симболу цркве.

За разумевање изгледа и места великог покривача у Великом входу у Марковом манастиру важна

је старија иконографска традиција. Преглед развијених представа Небеске литургије у куполи указује на одређене правилности у распореду и поретку свечане поворке, којих су се сликари углавном придржавали. Групу што је анђеоски ђакон с кадионицом дочекује пред небеским олтаром готово увек предводи анђеоски маше рипидама, потом анђели са аерима, за којима следе небески саслужитељи са евхаристијским даровима. На тај начин, уз поштовање строгог хијерархијског поретка, поворка са светим даровима представљена је у Грачаници, Богородичиној цркви у Пећи, Дечанима. Аери нису увек исте величине и облика. Тканина најчешће црвене боје, неретко декорисана мотивом крста, на неколико начина прекрива раме и руку анђела ђаконa (Грачаница, Пећ), а он ју је могао држати и преко главе (Дечани). На основу изложеног може се закључити да је поредак небеског дела Великог входа у Марковом манастиру обликован по узору на познате иконографске обрасце. Као и на нешто старијим примерима из истог столећа, небески саслужитељ с патеном на глави следи тек након анђела са рипидама, свећом и аером. Када је реч о величини великог аера, она пак одговара правилима оновремене архијерејске литургије, описане у рубрици литургијског правилника Димитрија Гемистоса (око 1380).

Ниска стопа и две дршке непокривеног литургијског сасуда великих димензија у рукама анђела свештеника највише одговарају изгледу кратера (*krater*), посуде која је служила за мешање воде и вина. Могуће је да њен садржај – три троугаоне честице и још неколико веома малих у мешавини вина и воде – указује на обред теплоте, као и на друге делове евхаристијског обреда који су с њим у вези.

Последњи сегмент литургијско-евхаристијске целине налази се у ђаконикону. Учесници у литургијској служби архијереја чине сложену и опширну композицију, која свету евхаристију излаже као низ хронолошки обједињених литургијских тренутака.