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РЕДАКЦИОНИ ОДБОР :

ЂОРЂЕ БУБАЛО, МИРЈАНА ЖИВОЈИНОВИЋ, ЉУБОМИР МАКСИМОВИЋ,
БОЈАН МИЉКОВИЋ, СРЂАН ПИРИВАТРИЋ, ЗОРАН РАКИЋ, ВИКТОР
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МИРЈАНА ЖИВОЈИНОВИЋ

SÉCRETAIRE DE LA RÉDACTION :

ВИКТОР САВИЋ

АМБЛЕМ: РЕЉЕФ НА КАМЕНОЈ ПЛОЧИ
ГЛАВНА ЦРКВА МАНАСТИРА ХИЛАНДАРА
ПРИПРАТА КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА, XIV ВЕК



THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WALL PAINTINGS IN THE CHILANDAR MONASTERY – ICONOGRAPHIC AND STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

ZORAN RAKIĆ

Abstract. – The paper analyses rarely depicted iconographic themes painted in the 18th-century parecclesia of the Chilandar monastery. The paper focuses on the cycles of Genesis and St Demetrios in the parecclesion of St Demetrios, the images of Serbian and Bulgarian saints and rulers and the cycles of St Sava of Serbia, the parables of Jesus Christ and the Apocalypse, painted in the parecclesion of St Sava of Serbia, the image of St Christopher Kynokefalos and the compositions of Christ with Bleeding Wounds (Fons Pietatis), the Holy Trinity represented as Christ with three heads and six arms, and the Elevation of the Holy Cross in the Church of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Virgin, as well as the Suffering and Healing of St John of Damascus in front of the Icon of the Holy Virgin, which was painted in the Church of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin. The second part of the paper analyses the stylistic features of the 18th-century paintings on the walls of seven parecclesia in Chilandar.

The 18th century was a very important period in the 800-year-long history of the Chilandar monastery. It was in this century that the most serious reconstruction and restoration works had been undertaken in the monastery since the Middle Ages. They included extensive work on rebuilding the monastery complex after a series of three big fires in 1711, 1722 and 1776, when large areas of the monastic quarters (*konaci*) were damaged, especially in the south-eastern part of the complex.¹ Apart from the restoration of the monastic quarters, several smaller churches – parecclesia – were first repaired or completely rebuilt and then their interior was painted and decorated with iconostases.

The church of the Holy Archangels (1718) and the church of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Virgin (1740) were renovated and decorated with new paintings in the

1 Љ. Стојановић, *Сџари срџски зајиси и најџисис* II, Београд 1903, по. 2414 and V, Сремски Карловци 1925, по. 7542; Д. Богдановић, *Каџалоџ ћирилских рукоџиса манастира Хиландара*, Београд 1978, 34 (по. 107), 142 (cat. no. 353), 181 (cat. no. 474); С. Ненадовић, *Хиландарски конаџи у Јужној мали џре и џосле џожара 1722. џодине*, Хиландарски

зборник 5 (1983) 215–218; idem, *Осам векова Хиландара. Грађење и џрађеџине*, Београд 1997, 290–291 et passim; idem, *Parekklesia*, in: *Chilandar Monastery, Belgrade* 1998, 170, 175; В. Кораћ – М. Ковачевић, *Манастир Хиландар. Конаџи и уџврђење*, Београд 2004, 23, 56, 58 et passim.

first half of the 18th century. The works were then intensified and in the decades to come, five parecclesia were built and decorated with frescoes and icons; these were namely the parecclesia dedicated to St John of Rila (1757), St Demetrios, St Sava of Serbia (1778/1779), the Nativity of the Holy Virgin (after 1788) and the Holy Apostles (1797). Apart from the restoration and reconstruction of these parecclesia and monastic quarters, other significant construction and artistic endeavours were also undertaken in the monastery complex – a new hospital was built in Chilandar, a drinking water fountain was placed at the entrance to the monastery, while the interior of the main church was adorned with a monumental gilded iconostasis and lavish candle holders commissioned to be made in Vienna.

The funds for such extensive projects were obtained from various sources. Considerable donations were pouring in not only from Serbian lands, with which Chilandar had long-lasting and close ties, but also from donors from the entire Balkan region, Romanian principalities and Russia. Wealthy donors from Bulgaria, whose compatriots constituted the majority of the Chilandar brethren at the time, were particularly generous. It was owing to their contributions that the parecclesia of St John of Rila, St Demetrius and St Sava of Serbia were built and decorated with paintings.²

All rebuilt or renovated churches, except for the church of the Holy Archangels, which is located in the monastic courtyard, were expertly made to fit in the complex of the monastic quarters. Mostly built in the locations where the *pyrgoi* used to stand, these parecclesia are smaller in size and have a similar spatial structure. Their simple interiors consist of three distinct areas – the sanctuary, where niches were used on the eastern wall to emphasise the main apse and the apses of the prothesis and diaconicon; the naos, with an almost square ground-plan; and, on the western side, a shallow bay connected to the vestibule, which serves as a narthex. These areas are covered with vaults and a dome rises above the nave. In the churches where it was impossible to build a dome, the central space was covered either with a groin vault (church of St Demetrios) or a flat ceiling (church of St John of Rila and church of the Holy Apostles). In short, it can be concluded that these edifices, as far as the organisation of space, building techniques and decoration style are concerned, were completely in conformity with the traditional architectural solutions of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods. The hints of the influence of the Baroque style are visible only in the curved wall surfaces in the church of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin and the church of the Holy Apostles.³

2 The monastic *Epistolarion*, compiled by the monk Spyridon in 1782, contains important information about the links between Chilandar and Bulgarian donors. The manuscript is kept in the library of the monastery Zographou (Й. Ивановъ, *Български старини из Македония, София* 1970, 488; Б. Райков – С. Кожухаров – Х. Миклас – Х. Кодов, *Каталог на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Зографския манастир в Света Гора, София* 1994, 127–128, no. 238). Cf. Љ. Стојановић, *Сѣтари срѣпски зајѣиси и најѣиси* V, no. 8109, 8436, 8533, 8551, 8641; Д. Медаковић, *Манасѣир Хиландар*

у *XVIII* веку, Хиландарски зборник 3 (1974) 41–42; С. Ненадовић, *Осам векова Хиландара*, 259–266, 272, 366–367; З. Ракић, *Цркве Светѣој Димитѣрија и Светѣој Саве Срѣпској у Хиландару*, Нови Сад 2008, 12–13, 15–16.

3 For more information about the architecture of the Chilandar parecclesia the walls of which were painted in the 18th century v. С. Ненадовић, *Архийекѣѣура Хиландара. Цркве и ѣараклиси*, Хиландарски зборник 3 (1974) 152–155, 163–173; idem, *Барокна архийекѣѣура XVIII века у Хиландару*, Саопштења РЗСК IX (1970) 231–241; idem, *Осам векова*

The iconostases, which reflect the best traditions of the Levantine Baroque, decorated with glittering icons and gilded carved ornaments with floral patterns, seem to be the only decoration in the small and harmonious interiors of these churches. In addition, and in line with the tradition spanning many centuries, the walls of the churches were adorned with frescoes. Before the disastrous fire, which broke out in March 2004, when more than a half of the monastery complex was burnt to the ground, the wall paintings dating back to the 18th century had been very well preserved. In the aftermath of the big fire, the frescoes in the churches of St Demetrios and St Sava, which represented the most significant whole in terms of their iconography and style, were so severely damaged that any analysis of them must rely on the existing documentation. Some damage was inflicted on the wall paintings in the church of the Holy Archangels as well.⁴

Working under a constant supervision of the Chilandar brethren, the artists who painted the interiors of the churches in the 18th century were very skilful in rendering the carefully selected themes onto the church walls. In doing this, they conformed to the centuries-old system of arranging iconographic content: the standing figures of saints were painted in the first zone; the medallions with the busts of saints were placed in the second band and on the intradoses of arches; the scenes from the lives of Christ and the Holy Virgin were depicted on the upper surfaces of the nave and the sanctuary. In addition to the standard scenes, the churches of the Holy Archangels, St John of Rila, St Sava of Serbia and the church of the Holy Apostles were decorated with scenes from the iconographic cycle dedicated to the patron saint of the church. In the parecclesion of St Demetrios, the scenes from the life of the patron saint can be seen on the south façade.

However, the artists who painted the above-mentioned frescoes also painted some compositions and figures of saints that deserve to be looked at in greater detail, not only for their specific iconography, but also because they reflect the aspirations of the individuals who commissioned them, as well as the spirit of the epoch. Some of these artistic creations were directly inspired by the works of the masters of the Cretan School who had worked in the previous two centuries and whose significant works of art were kept and preserved in the Athonite monasteries. However, there are also works which reflect the ideas and concepts typical of the Baroque, the concepts introduced in the conservative milieu of Mount Athos primarily through Ukrainian and Russian theological books, some of which were illustrated with graphic art.

The frescoes in the churches of St Demetrios and St Sava of Serbia are the most complex ensemble in terms of content and iconography.⁵ The two churches form

Хиландара, 131–134, 143–161, 188–191; idem, *Parekklesia*, in: Hilandar Monastery, 167–174; З. Ракић, *Цркве Светиој Димитрија и Светиој Саве Српској у Хиландару*, 18–22; М. Ковачевић, *Светија царска српска лавра Хиландар на Светиој Гори АѠонској. Архитектура и друѠа добра*, Београд 2015, 246–258, 314–325, 343–347, 415–425, 456–457 (with an overview of the wall paintings).

4 A report on the parecclesia damaged by the fire: В. Цамић, *Хиландарски ѡараклиси ѡсле ѡожара 2004. ѡдине. СѠање зидној сликарсѠва*, Гласник Друштва конзерватора Србије 30 (2006) 161–162.

5 For more information about iconographic and stylistic characteristics of the frescoes in the churches of St Demetrios and St Sava of Serbia: З. Ракић, *Цркве Светиој Димитрија и Светиој Саве Српској у Хиландару*, 23–75.

an inseparable whole not only because they were built one above another, but also in terms of the themes presented in the wall decorations of their interiors. The extensive cycles of the Genesis and St Demetrios were painted on the walls in the vestibule of the church of St Demetrios. The Genesis cycle (fig. 1), showing scenes from the Old Testament *Book of Genesis*, is interesting for many reasons: thematically, because this theme was rarely chosen by the artists of the Post-Byzantine period; as a narrative, because it consists of 14 scenes forming an uninterrupted frieze with numerous picturesque details; for its dramatic episode of the *Fall of the Satan*, which was added to the composition in line with the art manuals which the authors of the frescoes used for reference.⁶

The frescoes dedicated to the church patron saint, Saint Demetrios, dominate the vestibule area. His life was depicted in as many as fifteen scenes, some of which abounding in picturesque details or demonstrating unusual iconographic solutions and very specific concepts (fig. 2).⁷ This is particularly evident in the final composition of the cycle, based on the story of St Demetrios's escape from Thessaloniki to Bulgaria, after which he became the patron saint of this country (fig. 3).

The depicted event was based on the oral and written tradition, recorded by the chronicler Mavro Orbini, who relied heavily on the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates's description of the late 12th-century events.⁸ According to Choniates, after the city of Thessaloniki had fallen under the Norman rule, many citizens feared that their patron saint had revoked his protection due to their numerous sins. In order to encourage their fellow countrymen to rise against the Byzantines, two high-ranking military officials from Bulgaria, brothers Asen and Peter, decided to use the story about St Demetrios and spread the news that the saint had deserted Thessaloniki in order to stay with the Bulgarians and become their patron saint.⁹ Paisius of Hilandar accepted Orbini's version of the story and included it in his *Slaveno-Bulgarian History*. Keeping in mind that Paisius had completed writing the manuscript in Hilandar in 1762, nearly two decades before the frescoes in the church of St Demetrios were painted, the legend of the saint's flight from Thessaloniki to move to Bulgaria was very much alive in the monastery, especially among the monks of Bulgarian origin and, perhaps, even among the patrons, who were Bulgarian as well. For this reason, the legend got its artistic expression on the walls of the parecclesion dedicated to the warrior-saint.

The frescoes in the first zone of the church of St Sava of Serbia also reveal a very

6 Idem, *Црква Свејої Димитрија у Хиландару*, in: *Трећа казивања о Светој Гори*, Београд 2000, 240–241, 246; idem, *Цркве Свејої Димитрија и Свејої Саве Српској у Хиландару*, 26, 37–38, figs. 61–69.

7 Idem, *Циклус њајрона у хиландарском њараклису Свејої Димитрија*, in: *Осам векова Хиландара – историја, духовни живот, књижевност, уметност и архитектура*, Београд 2000, 575–584.

8 М. Орбин, *Краљевство Словена*, Београд 1968, 256–257; *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 371.

9 For more details on the role of the St Demetrios cult in the Asens' uprising: И. Дуйчев, *Въстанието на Асеновци и култът на св. Димитрия Солунски*, in: *Проучвания върху българското средновековие I*, София 1945, 44–51; V. Tărkovala-Zaimova, *Quelques représentations iconographiques de Saint Démétrius et l'insurrection des Assénides – première scission dans son culte "oecuménique"*, *Byzantinobulgaria V* (1978) 261–267; И. Божилков, *Фамилията на Асеновци (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, София 1985, 27–28; *ibid*, *Асеновци: Renovatio imperii bulgarorum et graecorum*, in: *Седем етюда по Средновековна история*, София 1995, 153–162.

specific concept. At this place, the images of numerous Serbian archbishops – from the first archbishop St Sava and his successors, Arsenije and Sava II (fig. 4), images of Serbian kings – from King Stephen the First-Crowned to King Milutin, followed by Emperor Dušan and Prince Lazar, are accompanied with the images of Bulgarian rulers and priests, including the most revered Bulgarian saint – St John of Rila. The images of the rulers who had been initiated into monastic orders were grouped on the northern wall, together with the most prominent Christian monks who had served as their role models. The line of the images finishes with the image of St Simeon of Serbia, painted next to the iconostasis and facing the image of St Sava, painted on the southern wall.¹⁰

Such an array of Serbian and South-Slavic saints and rulers had never been painted in a church before. Their solemn and idealised images reflected the conceptual trends that had emerged several decades earlier, to reach culmination in the mid-18th century, in the circles close to Patriarch Arsenije IV Šakabenta. These trends were based on the ideas of historical continuity with the glorious past, expressed in the paintings through the images of the medieval rulers and the clergy, as well as on the bold vision of the united and completely liberated Illyricum – the Balkans. This vision was expressed in the images of Serbian and Bulgarian saints painted together on the church walls.¹¹

In expressing their ideas visually, the artists were inspired by the most significant ideological manual of the Metropolitanate of Sremski Karlovci (Karlowitz) – the famous *Stemmatographia* – printed by Hristifor Džefarović (Khristifor Džefarovich) and Thomas Mesmer in Vienna in 1741,¹² as well as by the well-known *Slaveno-Bulgarian History*, written by the monk Paisius. However, the Džefarović-Mesmer *Stemmatographia* which, apart from the section on heraldry, also contained a gallery of the portraits of South-Slavic saints, the majority of whom were ruler saints, did not serve only as the conceptual pivot for the artists to draw upon in creating their iconographic units. They used the illustrations in the book as direct templates for their paintings. For this reason, the figures on the southern wall of the church of St Sava of Serbia were painted wearing lush robes typical of clergymen and rulers.¹³

It was not accidental that the upper zones of the church contained the scenes from both the hagiographic cycle of St Sava (fig. 5–6) and Jesus Christ's Parables (fig. 7–8). The life of the church patron saint, St Sava of Serbia, was depicted in six successive compositions which, placed on the surfaces of the southern and northern walls, above the band with the standing figures and the busts of saints, dominate

10 З. Ракић, *Цркве Светиої Димитрија и Светиої Саве Српскої у Хиландару*, 47–48, figs. 88–94.

11 For more information about the conceptual basis of the depictions of Serbian rulers and saints: Д. Медаковић, *Национална историја Срба у светлостии сакралне уметностии новијеј доба*, in: *Путеви српског барока*, Београд 1971, 71–84; М. Тимотијевић, *Serbia sancta и Serbia sacra у бароком верско-политичком програму Карловачке митрополије*, in: *Свети Сава у српској историји и традицији*, Београд 1998, 387–430.

12 Д. Давидов, *Српска графика XVIII века*, Нови Сад 1978, 132–134, 280–285 (with a complete earlier bibliography). Cf. the facsimile edition of the Džefarović-Mesmer's book: *Стематографија. Изображеније оружју илиричских* (ed. Д. Давидов), Нови Сад 1972.

13 Moreover, the distribution of the images of South Slavic saints and rulers on the church walls follows the order given in *Stemmatographia* (pp. 1–8) [Cf. Ц. Грозданов, *Портрети на светиителите од Македонија од IX–XVIII век*, 244–245; З. Ракић, *Цркве Светиої Димитрија и Светиої Саве Српскої у Хиландару*, 54 (no. 121)].

the space below the dome.¹⁴ It is obvious at first glance that the depiction of all events from the life of St Sava seek to imitate the frescoes on the walls of the nearby refectory painted by the renowned artist and monk Georgije Mitrofanović in 1621/1622.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the brethren of Hilandar had the last say in the selection of the scenes. Their choice became final after it had been decided that the rite of initiation into the monastic order would be carried out in the recently built church dedicated to St Sava, the most revered monk among the Hilandar brethren. This may be the reason why the short iconographic cycle presented only the events which were most directly referring to St Sava's process of becoming a monk – receiving his parents' blessing to let him go hunting after he had already decided to leave the mundane world and go to Athos, a dramatic episode of his escape to Mount Athos, and the scene depicting the act of taking the monastic habit in the Rousikon monastery. This cycle is followed by the scenes of Sava meeting his father, who also became a monk, in the Vatopedi monastery, and the resurrection of his brother Stefan, after which Stefan took monastic vows.

The scene showing the Death of St Sava in Tarnovo partially disrupts the narrative because, chronologically, it should have been painted last. However, it was painted on the central, most prominent surface of the northern wall. The monastic brethren and their intentions may have been the reason for such an arrangement of the scenes. At the time when the church walls were decorated with frescoes, the monks from Bulgaria, the country of origin of the church donors, were the majority in the monastery. It is commonly known that St Sava's visit to Tarnovo was very important for the town's prestige,¹⁶ while the saint's unexpected death in this town was understood by the locals as the sign that God himself had chosen the capital of Bulgaria for this event.¹⁷ These circumstances contributed to the strengthening of the cult of Saint Sava among the Bulgarians and added to the importance and good reputation of Tarnovo. The decision of the Hilandar brethren to include the scene of St Sava's death in the old Bulgarian capital in the cycle of paintings depicting his life should be viewed as the reflection of the above-mentioned beliefs – they hoped that in this way they would re-enforce the significance of Tarnovo and emphasise the close ties between Bulgarians and the greatest Serbian saint.¹⁸

14 The most in-depth analysis of the iconography of the cycle dedicated to St Sava of Serbia in this parecclesion can be found in: Z. Rakić, *The Cycle of the Patron-Saint in the Church of St. Sava in Hilandar*, in: Международната научна конференция, посветена на 100-годишнината от рождението на проф. Иван Дуйчев, Годишник на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“. Център за славяно-византийски проучвания „Иван Дуйчев“ София 2011, 185–193, 460–472.

15 For more information about Mitrofanović's frescoes depicting the life of St Sava: G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, Paris 1927, pl. 105–109; В. Р. Петковић, *Лејенда Св. Саве у сџаром живојису срјском*, Глас СКА CLIX, Београд 1933, 5–76; D. Milošević, *Die Heiligen Serbiens*, Recklinghausen 1968, 38–46; З. Кајмаковић, *Георгије Митрофановић*, Сарајево 1977, 238–

255; Г. Суботић, *Иконографија светиога Саве у време турске властии*, in: Сава Немањић – Свети Сава. Историја и предање, Београд 1979, 352–354; З. Ракић, *Зидно сликарство XVII века*, in: Манастир Хиландар, Београд 1998, 263–264, 266. The scenes in this cycle depicting St Sava's stay in the Tarnovo monastery are analysed in: I. Dujčev, *Saint Sava à Tŭrnovo en 1235*, Хиландарски зборник 4 (1978) 23–27.

16 И. Дујчев, *Светии Сава у бујарској иџиорџији*, in: Сава Немањић – Свети Сава. Историја и предање, 443 – 453; *ibid*, *Saint Sava à Tŭrnovo en 1235*, 18–19.

17 Е. Бакалова, *Жиџејни циклус Светиога Саве у Рилском манаџиру*, in: Осам векова Хиландара, Београд 2000, 489.

18 The cycle dedicated to St Sava's life, painted in the parecclesion of St Sava and St Simeon

The decision to conduct the rites of initiation into the monastic order in the Church of St Sava entailed a peculiar selection of scenes from the Parables of Jesus Christ: the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Good Shepherd, the lost sheep and the shepherd who returned it to its flock, the sower, the narrow and wide doors, the wise and foolish virgins, and the parable of the people who see a speck of sawdust in other people's eyes, but do not notice the log in their own eyes. The compositions depicting the parables, given their Baroque highly moralising and didactical content, were meant to serve as instruction for the monks. Their presence on Mount Athos and in Chilandar in the late 18th century was the reflection of the theological ideas originating from Ukraine and expressed in the compendia of pastoral theology.¹⁹ These theological books, which drew upon similar Western European texts written at the time, were disseminated all over the Orthodox world throughout the 18th century. Some of them reached the monasteries of Mount Athos, including Chilandar.²⁰ Each parable painted on the walls of the church dedicated to St Sava of Serbia expresses a moral inspired by such sermon compendia. There is certain correlation between the Parables of Jesus Christ listed above and the concepts of monastic virtues expressed in a much older document which was of an even greater relevance for the monks of the Chilandar monastery – *Chilandar typikon*. It contains instructions regulating the day-to-day life of the monastic community and explicitly refers to the same parables.²¹

In painting the parables, the artists drew upon different sources. Apart from following the instructions given in the most renowned art manual of the time – *Hermeneia* by Dionysios of Fournā – and using the woodcut illustrations in sermon books as models, the artists also used the engravings from the illustrated *Biblia Ectypa* (*Pictorial Bible*), which was very popular at the time. The illustration of the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was painted in identical form two decades later, in the parecclesion of the Holy Apostles.²²

The series of unusual iconographic solutions ends in the vestibule of the church of St Sava. Until the beginning of the 20th century, this area showed fourteen scenes from the Apocalypse cycle. This series of images, inspired by dramatic and visionary words of St John of Patmos, was included relatively late in the religious iconography of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The crucial reason for this lied in the fact that St John's text had not been included in the canonical texts of the Orthodox Church before the 14th century.²³ To illustrate this complex theme, and lacking their

of Serbia in the Rila monastery in 1846, is the evidence that he was venerated there (E. Бакалова, *Житијени циклус Светиога Саве у Рилском манастиру*, 489–493).

19 For more information about the representations of the Parables in Serbian 18th-century painting and their correlations with the Ukrainian compendia of pastoral theology: M. Тимотијевић, *Иконографија њарабола у српском барокном сликарству и украјински њројоведнички зборници*, Зборник за ликовне уметности Матице српске 26 (1990) 159–187. Cf. M. Тимотијевић, *Српско барокно сликарство*, Нови Сад 1996, 412–432.

20 J. Радовановић, *Руске и румунске шћам-ћане књиће XVII века у библиотеци мана-*

стира Хиландара, Археографски прилози 2 (1980) 229–302 (cat. no. 62, 64, 70, 71 and 74).

21 Свети Сава, *Хиландарски ћићићик*, in: Сабрани списи, Београд 1986, 43, 44, 47, 67, 69, 71, 85.

22 Д. Медаковић, *Манасћир Хиландар у XVIII века*, fig. 60.

23 For the Apocalypse cycle see: Ф. Буслаев, *Свод изображений лицевых Апокалипсисов по русским рукописям с XVI по XIX века*, Москва 1884, passim; H. R. Willoughby, *The Elizabeth Day Mc Cormick Apocalypse*, vol. I, Chicago 1940, passim; L. Reau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien II-2, Nouveau Testament*, Paris 1957, 663–726; E. Kirschbaum (ed), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Bd. 1, Rom–

own templates, Post-Byzantine artists, primarily the masters of the Cretan School, reached for the models from the West and found inspiration in the famed woodcut illustrations of the Apocalypse authored by Albrecht Dürer and his followers.²⁴ Having adapted a series of Dürer's woodcuts made in 1498 to conform to the taste and beliefs of their Orthodox patrons, Greek painters used them as templates to depict the Apocalypse on the walls of the Athonite monasteries as early as the 16th century.²⁵

The only composition from this cycle that could be seen in the vestibule of the St Sava's church before the fire, was the illustration of the tenth chapter of the Apocalypse (fig. 9). It showed an angel with a face like the sun, with clouds wrapped around his thighs and legs painted as the pillars of fire. The angel was standing, with his right foot on the sea, and his left foot on the ground. There was a book in his hands which he was offering to St John of Patmos.²⁶ The iconographic scheme of this scene indicates that the entire Apocalypse cycle was painted according to the instructions given in the *Hermeneia* by Dionysius of Fournas.²⁷

The frescoes painted in the church of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Virgin also contain several interesting iconographic solutions.²⁸ The unusual half-figure of St Christopher Kynokephalos (dog-headed) was painted in the first zone of the northern wall (fig. 10).²⁹ The veneration of St Christopher, dating back to the mid-fifth century, resulted in several iconographic types of this saint.³⁰ Though Saint Christopher had been represented in the art of the Eastern Christianity as a young martyr or a warrior, the images of the saint with the head of a dog have become common since the 15th century.³¹ This iconographic type was influenced by the saint's hag-

Freiburg–Basel–Wien 1994, 124–150 (with earlier literature); С. Петковић, *Апокалипса Јована са Пајмоса у српском сликарству XVI и XVII века*, in: *Откривење (Апокалипса) светог Јована Богослова*, Београд 1996, 86–94.

24 The influence of Western European templates on the iconography of the Apocalypse in post-Byzantine painting was analysed in the following studies: L. H. Heydenreich, *Der Apokalypsen-Zyklus im Athosgebiet und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Bibelillustration der Reformation*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* VIII, Heft 1–2, Berlin 1939, 1–40; J. Renaud, *Le cycle de l'Apocalypse de Dionysius. Interprétation byzantine de gravures occidentales*, Paris 1943; P. Huber, *Athos. Leben, Glaube, Kunst*, Zürich 1969, 365–383; А. Чилингинов, *Влияние Дюрера и современной ему немецкой графики на иконографию поствизантийского искусства*, in: *Древнерусское искусство*, Москва 1975, 325–342.

25 З. Ракић, *Цркве Светиої Димитрија и Светиої Саве Српској у Хиландару*, 68 (with earlier literature).

26 *Ibidem*, 68, fig. 139.

27 М. Медић, *Ерминија о сликарским вештинама Дионисија из Фурне*, in: *Стари сликарски приручници III*, Београд 2005, 340–363.

28 The extensive study of the parecclesion: З. Ракић, *Црква Покрова Пресвете Богородице у Хиландару*, in: *Четврта казивања о Светој Гори*, Београд 2005, 164–194.

29 *Ibidem*, 175–176, fig. 15.

30 F. Werner, *Christophorus*, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* V, col. 496–508 (with earlier literature). For more details about the iconography of St Christopher in Serbian medieval wall painting: И. М. Ђорђевић, *Свети Христифор у српском зидном сликарству средњеј века*, *Зораф* 11 (1980) 63–67. Cf. Љ. Стошић, *Свети Христифор: од Христифороса до иславој демона*, in: *На размеђу Истока и Запада*, Београд 1999, 175–182.

31 The most significant papers on the iconography St Christopher Kynokephalos include: Z. Ameisenova, *Animal-headed Gods, Evangelists, Saints and Righteous Men*, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 12 (1949) 42–45; W. Loeschke, *Sanctus Christophorus canineus*, *Festschrift Erwin Redslob*, Berlin 1955, 33–82; W. Loeschke, *Neue Beiträge zur Darstellung des kynokephalen heiligen Christophorus in Osteuropa*, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 5 (1957) 38–59; H. Michaelis, *Zur Christophorus-Forschung*, *Akten des XI Intern. Byzant. Kongress*, München 1960, 370–375;

ographies in Greek synaxaria. According to these sources, Saint Christopher was born in a barbaric tribe of dog-headed cannibals and giants. Only after the saint had prayed to God did he receive the gift of speech and human form, and later he became a follower of Jesus Christ.³² The representation of St Christopher in the church of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Virgin can be fully explained by the fact that St Christopher was revered as the protector from illnesses, while the church itself was built next to the monastery hospital.

The iconographic content of the majority of the scenes in the church of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Virgin is standard, except for the three rarely depicted scenes located in the sanctuary – Christ with Bleeding Wounds, the Holy Trinity represented as Christ in half-figure with three heads and six arms, and the Elevation of the Holy Cross, which deserve an in-depth analysis.³³ The image of Christ with his blood running from his wounds and collected in bowls by two angels, also known as *Fons Pietatis* (fig. 11), originates from the Western European art of the Late Middle Ages. Inspired by the religious literature of the epoch, which interpreted the five wounds of Jesus Christ as the sources of charity, wisdom, mercy, love and life, this composition appeared in several iconographic forms between the 15th and the 18th centuries.³⁴ It became widely used mostly owing to Dutch engravings, the copies of which were used in the graphic design of Ukrainian liturgical books.³⁵ It is a well-known fact that one copy of the Ukrainian liturgy book containing such illustrations was kept in the library of the Chilandar monastery as early as the 18th century.³⁶ Therefore, it may be concluded that the artists had taken the *Fons Pietatis* motif from this codex and then they transferred it, with minor alterations, onto the wall of the Chilandar church.

The graphic illustrations in the Ukrainian books also influenced the composition *The Elevation of the Holy Cross* (fig. 12). The composition represents four angels carrying the Holy Cross up to the skies. The prototype of this iconographic solution, which clearly shows the influence of the Western European Baroque art, can be found in the engravings of the *Regia Via Crucis* compendium, published in Antwerp by Benedictus van Haeften. Chilandar artists used the Ukrainian version of the book with copied illustrations as a model for their paintings. The copy of this

W. Loeschke, *Neue Studien zur Darstellung des tierköpfigen Christophoros*, Erste Studien-Sammlung, Recklinghausen 1965, 37–88; L. Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen in südos-teuropäischen Volksdichtung*, München 1968.

32 *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, Bruxelles 1954, col. 667–670. For different versions of the legend of St Christopher Кynokephalos: L. Kretzenbacher, *op. cit.*, passim; Љ. Стошић, *Свeйи Христoфop: од Христoносцa до њoслaвoј дeмoнa*, 175–176, 178–179; И. Кызласова, *Русская икона XIV–XVI вв.*, Ленинград 1988, 92–93; З. Ракић, *Црква Покрова Пресвeйше Бoјoрoдицe у Хиландару*, 176, 192 (no. 30).

33 З. Ракић, *Црква Покрова Пресвeйше Бoјoрoдицe у Хиландару*, 177–178, figs. 16–18.

34 For depictions of *Fons Pietatis* in Western

European art: Maj – Brit Wadel, *Fons pietatis*, Göteborg 1969; E. M. Vetter, *Die Kupferstiche zur Psalmodia Eucaristica des Melchor Prieto von 1622*, Münster 1972, 293–340; J. B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands. Heaven on Earth*, Leiden 1974, 466–470. Cf. et Д. Медаковић, *Предстaвa Христoсa кaо “Fons Pietatis” у српскoј умeјнoстии*, in: Барок код Срба, 218–225; М. Тимођeвић, *Српско барокно сликарство*, 390–391 (contains examples from Serbian 18th-century art).

35 Д. Медаковић, *Предстaвa Христoсa кaо “Fons Pietatis” у српскoј умeјнoстии*, 222, 224.

36 This is the Liturgical Book, published by the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra in 1737 (Д. Медаковић, *Предстaвa Христoсa кaо “Fons Pietatis” у српскoј умeјнoстии*, 224–225; З. Ракић *Црква Покрова Пресвeйше Бoјoрoдицe у Хиландару*, 193, no. 37).

book had already existed in the monastery library.³⁷ The fact that the relics of the Holy Cross were kept in Chilandar fully explains the presence of this topic in the church of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Virgin.³⁸

The unusual half-figure of Jesus Christ with three faces and six arms, which he uses to bless the people (fig. 13), emphasises the inseparable unity of the Holy Trinity in a picturesque and popular manner. This iconographic type of the Holy Trinity, well-known in the earlier Byzantine and Western art, has its roots in the pagan Hellenistic tradition and the representations of three-headed, anthropomorphic deities from the myths of Oriental nations.³⁹ The Holy Trinity with three faces or heads placed on one body was a common theme in Italian art between the 15th and 17th centuries. Despite the fact that such representation of God the Father, Son and the Holy Ghost had been condemned by the Council of Trent, and then forbidden by the decree issued by Pope Urban VIII, it continued to exist in the Baroque art, especially in the engravings of the Antwerp School.⁴⁰ The three-faced image of the Holy Trinity was painted in Byzantine and Medieval Serbian art as well, but it became popular in the Post-Byzantine period, especially in Greece and Russia. Several examples of this iconography can be found in the Serbian art of the 17th and 18th centuries.⁴¹

The cycle depicting the life of St John of Rila was notably reduced in the frescoes painted in the spring of 1757 in the small parecclesion dedicated to this patron saint. The Life of St John of Rila, the most prominent Bulgarian saint, was presented in six episodes, painted in the naos, in the second zone of the southern, western and northern walls. The cycle consists of the following compositions: St John of Rila Attacked by Robbers, St John Sitting inside a Tree and Holding the Infant St Luke in His Arms, St John Healing the Sick, St John in the Desert, Praying to God, The Ascension of St John of Rila, and The Translation of the Relics of St John of Rila. It is obvious at first glance that the scenes do not deviate from the older iconographic patterns of the St John of Rila cycle painted in Bulgaria. The number of the scenes in this cycle, compared to the cycles represented in 17th-century Bulgarian icons, was indeed halved, but their iconographic solutions indisputably reveal similarities between them.⁴²

To wrap up the outline of the iconographically interesting representations in the 18th-century wall paintings of the Chilandar churches, the author of this paper

37 This is the emblematic compendium *Царскій путь креста господня вводящій в животь вечный*, published in 1709 by Ioann Maksimovich, the archbishop of Chernigov. The engravings found in the Ukrainian edition, designed after the prints in Van Haefsten's compendium (1653), influenced the baroque paintings in the Orthodox world (М. Тимотијевих, *Српско барокно сликарство*, 212).

38 С. Петковић, *Свешћеничелске моштии и сликарство Хиландара*, in: *Осам векова Хиландара*, 632.

39 R. Pettazzoni, *The Pagan Origins of the Three-headed Representation of the Christian Trinity*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* IX (1946) 135–151; R. M. Grujić, *Ikonografski motiv sličan induskom trimurtiu u*

staroj srpskoj likovnoj umetnosti, in: Tkalčićev zbornik I, Zagreb 1955, 99–108.

40 M. Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne. Histoire de Dieu*, Paris 1843, 559–560; A. Hackel, *Die Trinität in der Kunst*, Berlin 1931, 19, 99–100; E. Wind, *Pagan Vestiges of the Trinity*, in: *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, London 1967, 241–255; М. Тимотијевих, *Српско барокно сликарство*, 305.

41 З. Ракић, *Црква Покрова Пресвете Богородице у Хиландару*, 194 (no. 45–47).

42 The most detailed description of the cycle can be found in: И. Гергова, *Стенописите в хиландарския параклис „Св. Йоан Рилски“*, Светогорска обител Зограф III, София 1999, 338–353.

would like to mention the scene The Suffering and Healing of St John of Damascus in front of the Icon of the Holy Virgin, painted in the parecclesion of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin in the last decade of the 18th century (fig. 14). The scene illustrates the legend about the origin of the Icon of the Three-Handed Holy Virgin. Persecuted for his veneration of icons, the famous religious poet John of Damascus was sentenced to having his right hand cut off at the wrist as punishment. Mutilated, upon returning home, he prayed in front of the icon of the Holy Virgin, begging her to restore his hand. His prayer was granted and his severed hand was miraculously restored. To show his gratitude, St John had a silver hand made as votive offering and placed it on an icon of the Holy Virgin. Later, he took the icon to the Palestinian monastery of St Sabbas the Sanctified, where it had been kept until the early 13th century, when St Sava of Serbia brought it to Serbia. Soon afterwards, the miraculous icon found its way to the Chilandar monastery, where it has been venerated as the most holy treasure ever since.⁴³

The authors of the frescoes in the 18th-century Chilandar parecclesia demonstrated their commitment to the achievements of the art of earlier periods both in terms of iconographic solutions and stylistic concepts. Loyal to the Byzantine tradition, and engaged by the monasteries to work in an extremely conservative environment which cherished its own, unique artistic style, they accepted a few artistic novelties introduced by the Cretan School, and treated the influence of the Baroque with extreme caution, reducing them to decorative details.

In short, these modest painters were typical protagonists of an art which, having exhausted all its potential, was desperately trying to hide the lack of inspiration and its creative impotence by repeating endlessly the same, outdated forms and by insisting on the pronounced decorative side of its creations. All artists were Greek – they were travelling painters (*zografai*) who came to Athos mostly from north-western Greece or from the region which is now located in southern Albania. The hints of their origin can be found in the stylistic characteristics of the frescoes, as well as in the lines written on the frescoes, mostly in Greek, but with many orthographic errors.

The Byzantine tradition is most evident in the work of the author of the frescoes in the church of the Holy Archangels (fig. 15). This painter found the ideal of beauty in the images of the saints painted four centuries earlier by Manuel Panselinos, the legendary painter of the Protaton church in Karyes, as well as in the frescoes in several Athonite monasteries painted by the famous painter Theophanes the Cretan in the mid-16th century. A disciplined hand at drawing, harmonious composition, bright colours and a pronounced sense for detail are the fundamental characteristics of the painter's technique.⁴⁴ The frescoes in the church of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Virgin,⁴⁵ with their more robust treatment of the form and less refined colours, represent a transition to the group of five fresco ensembles painted in the Chilandar parecclesia in the second half of the 18th century.

43 С. Петковић, *Црква Рођења Пресвете Богородице у Хиландару*, Црква. Календар Српске православне патријаршије за 1998. годину, 68–74.

мић, *Зидно сликарство XVIII века йараклиса Свeйтих арханђела у манастџиру Хиландару*, Саопштења РЗЗСК XXXIX (2007) 127–148.

44 For more information about the stylistic and iconographic analysis of the frescoes cf.: В. Ца-

45 З. Ракић, *Црква Покрова Пресвете Богородице у Хиландару*, 182–185.

Typical examples of these ensembles include the frescoes in the churches of St Demetrios and St Sava of Serbia (fig. 16–17). They were painted by the artists from an art workshop in Korçë in Epirus, led by two experienced and well-known painters, brothers Constantine and Athanasius, who also painted the *katholika* of two Athonite monasteries – Philotheou and Xeropotamou. Focusing more on the content than on the beauty of the form, the painters used a simplified artistic expression characterised by simple and monotonous compositions, the use of basic colours which are occasionally disharmonious and devoid of more refined modulations, as well as by the pronounced graphicism, coupled with clearly visible drawing errors.

The images of the saints, with their contours emphasised, are lacking in detail and characterisation; their movements are rigid, and the faces seem to repeat. The robes, with schematised plaits, which do not always match the posture or the physical form of the saints, only add to the impression that we are looking at coloured drawings. In some scenes, the figures are moving in barren landscapes, filled with cone-shaped cliffs. An occasional tree, a turf with flowers or a simple edifice are the only indicators of real life in the otherwise unreal landscapes.⁴⁶

Similar, though not identical, concepts of style are evident in the frescoes painted in the church of St John of Rila (fig. 18). A recent hypothesis that the frescoes were painted by the brothers Constantine and Athanasios cannot be accepted without reserve. It requires an in-depth analysis of the ensemble in question and the comparison with other works of the two *zografoi* from Korçë.⁴⁷

Apart from these masters, who were almost entirely devoted to the traditions of Post-Byzantine art, there were other *zografoi* with an entirely different understanding of style, and more inclined to painting in the spirit of the Levantine Baroque, who were engaged by the Chilandar brethren at the end of the 18th century to paint the parecclesia dedicated to the Nativity of the Holy Virgin and the Holy Apostles (fig. 19–20). Their approach is mostly reflected in the picturesque forms of the architectural scenes, the abundance of floral ornamentation and, as far as the images of the saints are concerned, a careful modulation of the complexion and lush drapes on the saints' robes, particularly in the frescoes of the four Evangelists, who were painted as sitting on the lavish Baroque-style thrones.⁴⁸

Nonetheless, the wall paintings in the 18th-century Chilandar churches generally leave a good impression on the observer. The positive effect is mostly the result of their vivid colours, a naive, almost joyful narrative, picturesque details and colourful ornamentation expressed in the lavish robes of the saints, covered with big

46 Idem, *Цркве Светиої Димитрија и Светиої Саве Српској у Хиландару*, 70–75 (the frescoes in both parecclesia are attributed to Constantine and Athanasios, the two *zografoi* from Korçë). The most detailed study on their activities on Mount Athos: Γ. Τσιγάρας, *Οι ζωγράφοι Κωνσταντίνος και Αθανάσιος από την Κορυτσά. Το έργο τους στο Άγιον Όρος (1752–1783)*, Αθήνα 2003 (the author omits the wall paintings and icons in the Chilandar churches from the description of the works of the two *zografoi* on Mount Athos).

47 И. Гергова, *Стенописите в хиландарския параклис „Св. Йоан Рилски“*, 348–349.

48 С. Петковић, *Црква Рођења Пресвете Богородице у Хиландару*, 72–74; Љ. Шево, *Зидно сликарство у њараклису Светиих айосиола у Хиландару*, in: *Осма казивања о Светој Гори*, Београд 2013, 205–237 (particularly 236–237). The stylistic features of the Chilandar 18th-century frescoes are elaborated in a synthetic study: Љ. Шево, *Српско зидно сликарство 18. вијека у византијској њтрадицији*, Бања Лука 2010, 179–188.

flowers and the bands decorated with pearls and precious stones. The spaces between the medallions with the painted busts of the saints were also decorated with floral ornaments. And last, but not the least important, the halos of the figures in the first zone, which were rendered in some churches in relief and with gilded floral ornamentation, also contribute to the desired impression of luxury.

The fresco ensembles painted in seven Chilandar churches during the 18th century, though less valuable than the works of the medieval artistic heritage, still represent significant works of art of the particular epoch and the environment in which they were created. The interesting choice of themes, as well as the specific and quite unusual iconographic solutions, undoubtedly contributed to their significance in the Athonite art of the period.

Any present evaluation of the achievements of the 18th-century painting in Chilandar should take into account not only its artistic characteristics, but also the significance of these fresco-ensembles in terms of their impact on general culture. Even today, and despite the fact that they were partly damaged in the fire, these works of art – along with other iconographic and construction endeavours undertaken in Chilandar throughout the 18th century – show the persistent efforts of the monks to preserve the continuity of art even in difficult times and to decorate their monastery with all means available to them, in line with the prevailing taste of the epoch in which they lived.⁴⁹

49 The paper is an extended version of the communication presented by the author at the 10th International Conference of the Mount Athos

Center Mount Athos in the 17th and 18th centuries: *From the Post-Byzantine to Contemporary times*, held in Thessaloniki, 9–11 October, 2015.

У историји Хиландара XVIII век представља раздобље током којег је манастир, након неколико пожара, доживео једну од својих највећих обнова. Током тог периода осликани су параклиси Светих арханђела (1718), Покрова Богородице (1740), Светог Јована Рилског (1757), Светог Димитрија и Светог Саве Српског (1778/79) и Рођења Богородице и Светих апостола (1788, 1797). Мада су приликом њиховог осликавања сликари следили устаљен систем распоређивања иконографског садржаја, каткад су уносили и извесне сцене и светитељске фигуре занимљиве не само због карактеристичних иконографских решења већ и зато што одражавају стремљења својих поручилаца и дух епохе којој припадају.

У том погледу најзанимљивији ансамбли налазе се у црквама Светог Димитрија, у чијем су предворју били приказани опширни циклуси Стварања света и светог Димитрија, и у цркви Светог Саве Српског, где су насликане композиције из циклуса Светог Саве Српског и Христових парабола, као и низ српских и бугарских владара и светитеља. Такав избор био је условљен барокном морализаторско-дидактичном тематиком и оновременим идејама о ослобођеном и уједињеном Балкану и историјском континуитету са славном прошлошћу. Низ иконографских особености у цркви Светог Саве завршава се у њеном предворју где су некад биле представљене композиција *Све шћо дише нека хвали Госиода* (Пс. 148–150) и четрнаест сцена из циклуса Апокалипсе.

Фреске у цркви Покрова Пресвете Богородице такође показују неколико занимљивих иконографских решења: у првој зони насликана је допојасна фигура светог Христофора са псећом главом, док се у олтару налазе три ретко приказиване представе – *Христѡа којем крваре ране (Fons pietatis)*, Свете Тројице у облику Христа са три лица и шест руку и композиција *Уздизање часној крстѡа*. На крају овог сажетог прегледа поменута је композиција *Сѡрадање и исцељење светѡи Јована Дамаскина ѡпред иконом Бѡгородице*, приказана у параклису Рођења Богородице, на којој је илустрована легенда везана за настанак чудотворне хиландарске иконе Богородице Тројеручице.

Приврженост тековинама старе уметности аутори фресака у хиландарским параклисима XVIII века – претежно путујући зографи из северозападне Грчке и јужне Албаније – исказали су не само кроз иконографска решења већ и преко стилских схватања. Одани византијској традицији и ангажовани у једној изразито конзервативној средини, они су од критских сликара прихватили тек понеку новину док су према утицајима барока, сведеним на декоративне детаље, остајали веома опрезни. Типична остварења у тој групи јесу фреске у црквама Светог Димитрија и Светог Саве Српског, дело сликарске радионице из Корче у Епиру предвођене познатим сликарима Константином и Атанасијем. Усредсређени више на садржај него на лепоту облика, ти мајстори су се служили поједностављеним сликарским језиком. Њихове композиције карактеришу упрошћена ре-

шења, декоративност, једноличан колорит и наглашен графицизам. Поред тих мајстора, који су готово у потпуности били привржени традицијама поствизантијског сликарства, требало би напоменути да су крајем XVIII века у параклисима Рођења Богородице и Светих Апостола били успешни зографи другачијих стилских схватања, делимично окренутих ка тековинама левантинског барока.

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2. CHILANDAR, CHURCH OF ST DEMETRIUS, ST DEMETRIUS SAVES THE TOWN FROM ATTACK OF THE SLAVS



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ИЗДАЈЕ:
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