

MILUTIN'S KING CHURCH :

A STUDY OF ICONOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL FACTORS
RELATING TO ITS LIFE OF THE VIRGIN CYCLE
AND ITS DEDICATION TO JOACHIM
AND ANNA

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by

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King Milutin built his tiny King's Church in the monastery of Studenica in 1313-14. Adjacent to the larger church of his great-grandfather Stephan Nemanja, dedicated to the Virgin, Milutin's choice of dedication was Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin. Since except for a small and insignificant provincial church built about 300 years earlier in Cappadocia, no other church is known to have been dedicated to Joachim and Anna predating Milutin's church,¹ this must have been a pointedly significant decision.

At this time the Serbian kingdom was involved multifariously with the problems of asserting its growing power in a world where Byzantine imperial power was declining. Milutin's choice of dedication to the ancestors of the Virgin accords with his own needs to reaffirm his noble sacerdotal ancestry: more than a century before, Nemanja and his son St. Sava, had founded the Serbian State and autocephalous Serbian Church--Milutin was now engaged in solidifying both; as Nemanja had dedicated his important monastic foundation's church to the Virgin, Milutin would dedicate his own jewel-like monastic chapel to the forebears of the Virgin.

THE TWELVE SCENES

The main decorative cycle of the King's Church portrays 12 scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The major burden of the scenes

I would say here founded by about the fact that in the Virgin cycle over the Virgin in the East never restored its earlier might ex.

any? [Not the same] Is this a correct term?

I am not quite sure that this is correct.

are they?

not really

deals with the parents of the Virgin: five show only Joachim and Anna, four show both parents and the Virgin, and three show the Virgin without her parents. All ^{these} scenes are taken from apocraphal texts. The twelve scenes are: Joachim and Anna's Offerings refused, Joachim and Anna leaving the temple, the Annunciation to Joachim, the Annunciation to Anna, Joachim and Anna meeting (the first five); the Birth of the Virgin, Joachim and Anna caressing the little Virgin, Joachim and Anna bringing the Virgin to the priests for blessing, the Presentation to the Temple (the next four); the Marriage of the Virgin, the Virgin's test by bitter waters, and the Virgin at the well.

Though by 1313, especially in the Balkans, narrative scenes of the Virgin's life were very popular as church decoration, there was as yet no single "cycle-type", so that it is significant that the first eight scenes in the King's Church at Studenica occur in the same exact order and in nearly the exact same iconographic detail as occurs in two other widely-separated ~~Patristic~~ ^{Byzantine} churches--the Peribleptos at Ochrid, built in 1294-95, and Karije Djami whose magnificent rebuilding was completed about 1320 in Constantinople. Since it is known that Milutin had personal and/or political connections with Ochrid and Constantinople, ample opportunity for artistic ties existed. Following the sixty-year hiatus of the Latin Occupation, Constantinople had again become the major epicenter for artistic activity, and since three of Milutin's other Serbian built or redecored churches bear signatures of artists who also signed the works of the Peribleptos, there are obvious artistic relationships with Ochrid.

During the ~~previous 13th century~~ ^{Balkan?} years of the Latin Occupation, a vigorous Macedonian school of art had appeared, seen in such Serbian foundations as Nemanja's Church at Studenica (1209), Mileševa (1230-36),

Do you suggest that O. is one of the artistic centers? Or simply a place where the same painters - which were?

I am not quite happy with the form (-ian?); 2) Why is Peribleptos would not agree. - Pocaecogian?

This is an interesting new idea for you so far. I have no definition?

uncertain; it is argued by many people that I might have been done in the early 50's.

and, a bit after the Occupation, Sopoćani (1265). It was during this era that Salonica, in the Despotate of Epirus, became the artistic hub. At the end of the 13th century Ochrid, some 120 miles from Salonica, seems to have established what became the tradition for Paleologic representations of the Virgin's Life, and in the Peribleptos certain themes appear for the first time on central Byzantine soil.² These themes--the dejected return of Joachim and Anna, the motif of the "spinner" next the Virgin's cradle, the caressing of the Virgin, and her first steps--seem to have originated in the Orient, as did the iconographic detail of the group of young virgins separating Joachim and Anna from the Virgin and the high priest in the Presentation scene.³ Several of these themes and iconographic details are picked up in Kariye Djami and in Milutin's King's Church.⁴

That all three churches relied on Oriental apocraphal sources rather than Western, is found in their representation of the scenes of the Offerings, in which Joachim and Anna appear. Specification that both the Virgin's parents took part in this event occurs among other embroideries in the 6th century Syrian version of the 2nd century apocraphal Book of James,⁵ which states only that Joachim, "an exceedingly rich and pious man" took offerings to the temple. These 6th century Oriental texts elaborated on the earlier Greek Protoevangelium in an attempt to stress the descent of the Virgin (conceived through divine intervention),⁶ from the royal house of David so that special care was taken to give prominence to Anna her mother.⁷

HISTORY OF THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN

Although the Cult of the Virgin had begun among the early Church Fathers after the Council of Ephesus in 431 which established that the mother of Christ was also Theotokos (Holy Mother of God), there is no (description of) any pre-iconoclastic churches in Byzantine areas decorated

No. From 431 it was an almost generally accepted teaching of the whole church.

Am I wrong in saying that these apocraphal were known in the West too?

KARIYE

with stories of the Life of the Virgin--inspite of the fact that many churches were dedicated to the Virgin during this time and Justinian himself had in the 6th century dedicated a Constantinopolitan church to St. Anne, in a place of honor near the great palace of Constantine.⁸ In Rome just prior to and during the iconoclastic controversy, frescoes in Santa Maria Antiqua were created showing the meeting of Joachim and Anna, as well as the Nativity of the Virgin and the three Holy Mothers--Elizabeth, Anna, and Mary--holding their saintly babies.⁹ In the late 9th or early 10th century the Cappadocian chapel of Kizil Cucer--dedicated to Joabhim and Anna--for the first time on Byzantine church walls represented the cycle of the Life of the Virgin.¹⁰ It was not till the 11th century Macedonian Renaissance that the introduction of scenes from the Virgin's Life begin to enter the formal repetoire of accepted Byzantine monumental iconography. Especially on Greek and Slavic soil, churches such as Daphne, Hosias Lukas and Nea Moni based their dominant iconographic cycles on liturgical practices rather than on any narrative intention. Only in the 12th century did monumental narrative cycles, grouping together elements of various provenance, begin to flourish--again not in Constantinople but in outlying Greek, Georgian and Balkan areas.¹¹

FEASTS OF THE VIRGIN

It is not certain when exactly the Twelve Great Feasts of the Virgin became firmly established in Byzantine liturgical practice although literary evidence indicates that by the 10th century they had all been officially celebrated. Up to Justinian's time, there was only one Mariological Church Feast in Byzantium. Celebrated as a memorial to St. Mary and occurring around Dec. 25, it was related to the canonical texts of the Annunciation to the Virgin and the Nativity of Christ. Procopius states in De Aedificiis that Justinian renamed this memorial feast the Feast of

the Annunciation and pushed the date back nine months to March 25 with the precise object of recognizing the miraculous role of the Virgin in the birth of Christ. In fact all subsequent Feasts of the Virgin were devised as events paralleling those in the life of her Son.¹² These later Feasts were all taken from apocraphal rather than canonical texts.¹³

It was most likely in Constantinople that, following the revocation of Iconoclasm, the traditional images and compositions illustrating the Great Feasts originated, diffusing themselves throughout the realm during the 10th and 11th centuries.¹⁴ Although no extant manuscripts of the 10th century show the complete cycle of the Twelve Great Feasts of the Virgin, the late 10th century Constantinopolitan Menolog of Basil II illustrates in narrative form various scenes from her life which were by then also Great Feasts. Not till after the turn of the 11th century did complete Church Cycles appear in patristic and biblical literature, especially in the Gospel Lectionaries which would have been carried by the deacon in the Little Entrance of Divine Liturgy.¹⁵ During the course of the 11th century apparently liturgical programs were laid out by learned clerics without regard for any special medium of representation, so that an interrelating of manuscript miniatures, icons and monumental decorations resulted.¹⁶

EVANGELIST
LISTARIES

2 dx
not
under-
stand
this.

In the 12th century, as a direct result of the formalizing of the Twelve Great Feasts of the Virgin, many illustrated homilies appear based on them. Ranging in provenance from Jerusalem, Athos, Sinai, Venice and Constantinople, perhaps the best known, originating in the first half of the century, is the manuscript containing six homilies of the monk Jacobus of Kokkinobaphus. The two extant copies of this Constantinopolitan manuscript--lavishly illustrated--¹⁷ show scenes from the textual material on the Conception, the Nativity, the Presentation, the Marriage and the Annun-

ciation to the Virgin. Since the multiple, almost comic-strip-like, miniatures seem not to relate directly to the accompanying text, or even to come from the apocraphal texts, it has been surmised that these sermons as well as the miniatures, were somehow connected with contemporary Byzantine Church dramatic homilies.¹⁸

Appearing also in the 12th century, such widely-scattered important churches as St. Marks in Venice, Neredica and Vladimir in Russia, the Church of the Virgin in Monreale, Odalar Camii in Constantinople and Nerezi and Kurbinovo in Macedonia, chose Life of the Virgin scenes as dominant elements in their decoration. In these 12th century churches, the narrative, not the liturgical, character shines forth. Especially in the Macedonian frescoes there seems to be a new deep-felt emotional expressiveness, and crude peasant faces seem to play real parts. Is it possible that in the monumental provincial church decorations, a connection could also have been made with contemporary dramatic homilies performed either by several priests or by a combination of priests and lay people?¹⁹ Apparently by 1389--during which year a Russian traveler to Constantinople made a brief, matter-of-fact-comment about having seen in Hagia Sophia a presentation of "The Three Children in the Firey Furnace"--such liturgical celebrations had become commonplace.²⁰ Philippe de Mezierers, responsible for Pope Gregory XI's adoption of the Orthodox Presentation to The Temple Feast in the West in 1372, described the detailed dramatic text he submitted to the Pope as having been of 12th century Cyprian origin but based on both a celebration and a "Representatio" going back to the Fathers of the Church.²¹

In the 13th century years of Latin Occupation, increasing interest in St. Anne's role as mother of the Virgin is manifest in such churches as Castoria's Hagios Stephanos and Tirnovo's Forty Martyrs.

Here single standing figures of St. Anne carrying the Virgin, and St. Anne

Give 14
12th c
more

T. is in
Bulgarian
not under
the rule
of Castoria?

of what?

walking are presented.²² With the advent of the Palaeologues the Peribleptos, Ochrid, St. Achille, Arilje (1279), the Church of the Virgin, Gradac (before 1276), and the Metropole, Mistra (1291-98), announce in full or partial cycles the stepped-up Macedonian fondness for Life of the Virgin narrative cycles. Painted in what has been called "Serbian Style", which had begun tentatively as far back as 1018 with Santa Sophia in Ochrid, their frescoes are characterized by a lively seriousness in which strikingly realistic details and somewhat jerky angular movement is present. Milutin's church at Studenica shows a mature and varietal version of this style.

ARTISTS AND STYLE

Blossoming into fullness in the 14th century, this "Serbian Style" has been variously analyzed. Partly contingent on the three Greek signatures--Michael, Astrapas, Eutybios--found for the first time on the frescoes of the Preblijptos at Ochrid and subsequently either together, paired, or singly on three of the Milutin churches in Serbian lands, authorities have pronounced it to be 1) a distinctly Serbian style,²³ 2) a Greek style transplanted during the Latin Occupation to Salonica,²⁴ or 3) a partly Slavic and partly Constantinopolitan style.²⁵ Seen outstandingly in Milutin's churches, the style has been dubbed that of "Milutin's Atelier" by Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben on the basis of the royal patronage which imported the three artists into already existing Serbian royal workshops. Carrying their theory farther, H. & H. see iconographic evidence, in the representations of the Komesis, for Bogorodica Ljeviska in Prizren's having preceded the church in Ochrid, which they would redate 1310-11.

The scholarly debate is further complicated by the three artists' names which are signed, of course, in Greek. Radojčić, among others, considers the three names denote three separate artists; Myngoupolos

Of all these examples, only Ochrid is in Macedonian.

Has nothing to do with the school.

X By whom?

I do not understand this phrase.

and Miljkovic-Pepie, however, see Michael and Astrapas as one and the same person.²⁶ In any case both stylistically and nationalistically² the problems are as yet unsolvable and rage on as a scholarly tempest in a teapot. The undeniable facts are that among the five churches commissioned by Milutin, Prizren is signed by Astrapas alone; St. Nikita at Čučer, not definitely dated but placed between 1307-20, is signed by Eutychios and Astrapas; the King's Church, 1313-14, is not signed; St. George, Staro Nagoričino, 1316-17, is signed by Eutychios and Astrapas; the (cloister) church at Gračanica, 1318-21, is not signed. *RC-pha & this*

Taking into account the complications of style along with certain indisputable historical facts, I shall attempt to draw conclusions from both factors which lead me to support David Talbot Rice's conclusions regarding the style of Milutin's chapel at Studenica. Namely that: Milutin, high-spirited in his acquired rank as son-in-law of the Byzantine Emperor, confident in his fast-accumulating new national wealth, and intrepid in his recent military and political successes, imported from Constantinople at least the overseeing artist for his masterwork, the King's Church.

HISTORICAL FACTS

MILUTIN *3 years later* Milutin coming to the throne in 1282, ~~had~~ resumed the Serbian territorial expansion begun by Nemanja a century earlier. In the first year of his rule the new king invaded Macedonia and took Skoplje from Byzantium. Once securely ensconced in the important central city, Milutin continued to rattle his sabres while making frequent attacks on Byzantine borders. *the 2nd Balkan Empire to C* Though declining in power, Andronicus II decided on a military counterattack in 1297. In this adventure he was rewarded by failure. *1297* Bloodied but uncowed, pressed by the Turks at home, the ~~and~~ emperor decided on a new tack. A lasting peace could be achieved by peaceful means as well as military, so he offered to the already thrice-married Serbian upstart the hand of his widowed sister, Eudocia. When the erstwhile queen

of Trebizond refused to wed such an outlander, Andronicus offered Milutin instead the hand of his daughter, Simonis, who being only five-years-old could not refuse.²⁷

Theodore Metochites, leading scholar-statesman of Constantinople, was dispatched on at least five separate visits to arrange the political details of the royal winter-spring marriage. This trusted friend of Andronicus II--some years later sent to ^{Revolusi} Solonica to spy on Simonis' mother, Andronicus' estranged second wife--has left written record of his impressions.²⁸ Whereas the Byzantine ambassadors sent to Milutin's father, Uros I, had been scandalized by the primitiveness of the Serbian court in 1266, Metochites reported that Milutin's court was luxuriously appointed, and that Milutin presented himself in sumptuous garments brilliant with gold, precious stones and pearls designed in Byzantine style.²⁹

As dowery Milutin was to have peacefully and permanently the ^{Spel?} recently-conquered lands north of the Ochrida-Prilep-Stip line. Following his marriage to Simonis in 1299, an intensification ^{at} of Byzantinization already ^{incorporated} ~~in~~ in the court, began to flourish formally throughout the entire realm. For the first time within Serbian borders Milutin instituted the Byzantine administrative Pronoia; taxes and dues became similar to those levied by the Emperor; certain uniquely remarkable imperial governmental functions, including the Kephali, were adopted.³⁰

The lavishness of court, costume, ceremony, church rebuilding and decorating could well be afforded by Milutin. While Nemanja's 12th century Serbia had been economically undeveloped and poor, during the 13th century rich mineral deposits had begun to be explored and mined. By the middle of the century silver, ^{-well known as is Rome this-} lead, copper and iron were being seriously exploited, ^{again, they to be important & Serbia have been for} and Serbia entered the western European economy through the ports of Dubrovnik and Kotor. That this western-derived financial gain

was shared at least in small measure with the East, is observed through a Chrysobull of 1313, drafted by Nicephorus Chumnus in Constantinople, which mentions in the preface that military help had been received from Milutin in the form of some 2000 mounted troops to be used against the Turks.³²

Testimony to the growing international stature of Milutin is further demonstrated by the fact that his ^{lower 2/3} mother-in-law, Irene of Montferrat, having quarreled with Andronicus and now residing in her original home Salonica, sought to secure the succession to the Serbian throne for one of her sons. ~~Since~~ her marriage to the Byzantine emperor had lost to them her inherited titular crown of Thessalonica, her new son-in-law's expanded realm seemed to offer a possible substitute. The artful scheme apparently fell through not because Milutin objected but because the prince did not relish the more primitive life of Serbia.³³ That Milutin was not affronted by the Byzantine Empress's proposal is attested to by the fact that Prizren, his first rebuilt church in his newly-acquired territory, honors Irene with a regal portrait placed on a westernmost ^{PIER} column in the main naos. Here Milutin's mother-in-law appears facing [?] towards the apse, sharing her column with Christ and St. Peter who face only toward the north and [?] east respectively.³⁴

Perhaps not only out of respect but also out of gratitude did the Serbian king include the Byzantine Empress in his first redecorating project; for it is assumed that Astrapas, Michael and Eutybios who came to Milutin after their work in the Peribleptos in Ochrid, came from Salonica, Irene's home city, and doubtless it was with her imperial sanction that they were permitted to cross into Serbian land. Since it was Ochrid's archibishop Makarios who had celebrated Irene's daughter, Simonis', wedding to Milutin, it is also possible that the Serbian king learned of these painters through the intermediary of the prelate of the

* What do you mean
by the "prelude of D."?
D. has never been the
cathedral of O.

*
Peribleptos whose style-setting frescoes had been completed only four years earlier.³⁵

CONCLUSIONS DERIVED FROM HISTORICAL FACTS
AND FROM STYLE

Since the signed frescoes of Milutin's fourth church, Staro Nagoričino, occur after those of his chapel at Studenica, it is possible that Astrapas and Eutychios filled the interval between their work on (1307-09) the dated church at Prizren (signed to be sure only by Astrapas) and St. George (1316-17) at Staro Nagoričino, at the undated but signed St. Nikita at Čučer. Placed broadly between 1307 and 1320, St. Nikita could have been decorated before, after--or simultaneously with Milutin's chapel if different artists were involved. Since Astrapas, Eutychios and Michael were, quite proudly, ranking artists worthy of at least three royal commissions--one of which occurred after Milutin's King's Church--the problem arises of why it was that in Milutin's Church (itself) ^{IN STUDENICA} their famous signatures did not appear. If the royal patron thought so well of his Salonica-imported artists that he used and re-used them in his building projects before and after Studenica, why do their Virgin's Life Ochrid-initiated scenes appear in the King's Church but not their names? Looking more closely at the style of the chapel dedicated to St. Joachim and St. Anna, and at the high repute surrounding Milutin at the time it was built, circumstantial evidence seems to point to a logical answer.

Wanting to do justice to its placement as a suitable companion-piece to Nemanja's important foundation church and thus honoring his great-grandfather as well as Serbia's venerated national saint, Sava, Milutin could well have decided to surpass the Salonican artists and impress his entire realm by extending his patronage to imperial Byzantium. His political and personal status in Constantinopolitan affairs and his stepped-up Byzantinization at home would have kept Milutin in touch with

Not
2nd

the artistic as well as the political events of note in Constantinople. He would have surely heard of his father-in-law Andronicus' projected rebuilding of the Chora. *What part did Andronicus play in the restoration of Chora?*

Though evidence indicates that Naryje Djami's expansive re-designing under Theodore Metochites took place between 1315 and 1320, it is not likely that Andronicus' indefatigable imperial Logothete could have assumed the heavy expenses required by his appointment to ktetor, or new founder, of the ancient Chora till after 1308.⁵⁶ Imperial appointment to ktetorship involved the assumption of financial and personal responsibility for endowing a monastery or renewing an old pre-existing one; by accepting such responsibility, the ktetor in a special sense assumed proprietary rights to the monastery, sometimes claiming the privilege of inheritance rights.⁵⁷

In 1309, the earliest it is likely that Metochites' active career would have permitted him to accept appointment to ktetor of the Chora, Milutin would have just completed his first rebuilt church at Prizren. Still four years before the King's Church was begun, the growingly-selfconfident Serbian king might well have been inspired to himself take on the responsibility of becoming ktetor of his saintly ancestors' Studenica foundation. Having some years earlier been personally involved with impressing the prestigious Byzantine imperial ambassador, he might well have decided to again equal or outdo whatever the Constantinopolitan ktetor might attempt. Why not? He was now of even higher rank than Metochites. He was the Emperor's son-in-law and the king of a country powerful enough to make advantageous territorial and marriage bargains with the greatest empire in the world. He was, in fact, so prominent that he could donate to the greatest imperial army in the world 2000 horse troops when it was sore pressed by the Turks. Historical facts indicate that it would have been possible

Never mind from now on; he could afford it.

for Milutin to import artists from the imperial capital for his prize church. Stylistic quality reinforces the historical circumstantial evidence.

Impressive in their calm and serious stateliness, the graceful

second zone figures of Anna and her baby facing the Virgin and Child at the west end of the King's Church naos, are close cousins to the Chora's outer narthex mosaics of the Holy Mothers and their children--and still closer cousins to the frescoed Virgin and Child in the parecclesion.

In none of Milutin's Astrapas-Eutychios-Michael churches do such single and dignified figures appear.³⁸ In both Constantinople and Studenica the Virgin stands frontally, pensively gazing out at the viewer, tenderly holding the holy baby in the traditional Hodegetria pose; Anna solemn and sadly gazing off into space is presented in three-quarter-view, curving her head protectively over that of the upward craning head of her little Mary. If anything, Milutin's Sant Anne is a more successful figure than that of the Chora where the head and neck jut out almost awkwardly, confined somehow by the curve of the architectural niche above. In both Byzantine and Serbian varieties Anna's and the Virgin's softly modelled shadows defining the curved chins, the sharp hooked noses, the downward curved indication of the round fleshy pad under the lower lip (of both mosaic and painted saints) are almost identical when allowance is made for their different media.

Striking too is the resemblance between the frescoed Christ standing next the Virgin and two donor Serbian saints, Sava and Nemanja, and the Chora parecclesion frescoed Christ of the Anastasias. Here again appear the long hooklike nose, the downward curving soft pad of flesh beneath the lower lip and--especially clearly--the sharply indicated deep half-moon shadows under the brooding great eyes.

by no means
is the first
to do so

Good

This is a special problem. Read the illuminating circle soon by S. Mandić.

While these sets of spiritual holy kinfolk seem to be closely related in geographically-separated churches, the Serbian family groups in Milutin's church return in style to their native familiar Balkan-style: Sts. Sava and Simon, though clearly realistic portraits, are flat and linear; Milutin's regal and dazzlingly bedecked portrait appears as it does at Arilje, Prizren, Nagoričino and Graničica: flat though obviously a lifelike rendering of the linearly-defined aging face.

Turning to the scenes of the Life of the Virgin at the King's Church, the same startling resemblance exists between the frescoed head of Eve in the Chora Anastasias and the painted head of the reclining St. Anne^{giving birth} in Studenica. In both, the three-quarter-turned faces show a heavily shadowed squared-off jawline, deeply shadowed curving hollows under the eyes, wide-bridged long straight nose, downward curving line indicating the fleshy pad under the downturned mouth. Both broodingly sad faces are haunting and unforgettable as they strain to rise from the grave into newlife, and to give birth to a new miraculous life.

The same squared-off jaw, clearly defined hollows under the sad eyes, wide-bridged straight nose, curving fleshy pad under the severe mouth appear in the Chora's frescoed Virgin Eleousa in the south-east curve of the parecclesion bema. It is indeed she that Milutin's St. Anne and little Mary fresco most closely resemble. Though again the jutting-out neck of the Constantinopolitan figure appears awkward, in comparison to Milutin's more gently curved one, the heavy robes with their delicate fringes over the left arm, are nearly copies of one another even down to the sparkling golden star placed at the shoulder joint.

The Anastasias of Milutin's church, though obviously of much smaller physical dimensions, has long been noticed to bear a close resemblance to that in the Chora: the dynamism of the central Christ, the

* Give a reference here (Studenica) Pg. 114

Rather general face.

Is this or is it?

face of the resurrected Adam, the group of the three crowned kings standing beneath the battered St. John. Differing in placement and details of figure groups and fallen hell's gates, nevertheless the overwhelming impression of the two geographically wide-spaced churches is of monumental power and thrust.

Still other similarities—of space organization, delicately fantastic architectural backdrops, dignity of expression—exist between the decorations of the Chora and those at Studenica. Here the cramped, crowded effect of ponderous architecture is not felt as it is in the other Milutin "Serbian-style" churches. Though Milutin's figures are still lively and often peasant-like, a new sense of dignity pervades. Could it be that these resemblances between specific important figures as well as mood and dynamics in the King's Church and in the Chora, came about because Milutin had provided a proving ground for imperial Constantinopolitan artists in Serbia before the work on the Chora had begun? Both historically known facts and stylistic evidence indicate that it could be so.

Do you mean M.S. or H.C. figures in M.S. churches?

If it were protested that an importation of such important artistic magnitude into the Serbian court, should have eliminated what is obviously in so many details still overwhelmingly "Serbian Style", it could also be argued that an infusion of imperial artistic blood into the already vigorous provincial style would only have diluted, not erased it. Still the coarse peasant types would exist. The Communion of Apostles in the apse are still the same familiar, un-nimbed communicants as had appeared over and over in Serbian lands from Sopoćani on. The heavy-hipped massive figure style of Ochird, Prizren, Čučer and Staro Nagoričino is still present. Livliness and strong emotion still predominates over the more subdued atmosphere from the East.

Earlier. In Studenica 1209.

Don't quite understand this.

What does make you think that there was any a woman? What did it produce?

The difference is between the portraits, some are

If as few as one Constantinopolitan master-mainter had been borrowed from Andronicus II's imperial workshop to oversee Milutin's little jewelbox chapel, enough artistic blood from the capital of Byzantium would have been infused to account for the peculiarly un-serbian characteristics in it. The dissimilarities of style seen in: Nemanja's family and the two Holy Families standing side by side and facing each other in Milutin's entry--the puzzling cohabitation of rough-hewn and elegant figures in the Life of the Virgin scenes--new new spacial freedom supplied to older Serbian formats--could be accounted for by differences in background and training of the imperial guests and the provincial hosts at work together in Studenica.



*Too strong
not the best one.*

Milutin's choice of patron saints, Joachim and Anna, came out of his strong sense of historic and sacred mission as Serbian torch-bearer. Descended from a long line of kingly saints, now he was also the son-in-law of the Byzantine emperor. The emperor's wife had sought his help for her sons. The emperor himself had sought his help militarily. Powerful and wealthy in his own right he was a monarch mighty enough to suggest that as Joachim and Anna related to the Virgin, so Nemanja and St. Sava somehow related to himself ~~and his imperial Eastern bride~~. To show how much things had changed in the century intervening between Stephen Nemanja and Stephan Uroš II, known as Milutin, the crusty old Serbian king could even import from the world's most powerful capital city the world's most brilliant artists.

I am not sure if these contemporaries of deserve such a compliment - But Sava's masters were, half a century earlier, the best monumental painters of the time.

FOOTNOTES

¹Janin lists six Constantinopolitan churches dedicated to St. Anne built from Justinian's reign to the mid-ninth century, but none to both Joachim and Anna (Janin, p.35-38). Lafontaine-Dosogne lists only one church, the chapel at Kizil Cucer, among all the monuments preceding Milutin's church, as having been dedicated to the Virgin's parents. (Lafontaine-Dosogne, pp.35-46).

²Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire Byzantin et en Occident (Bruxelles: Palais des Academies, 1964), p. 192.

³Ibid.

⁴Lafontaine-Dosogne, plates. In Karyie Djami, The First Steps appear, and in both Karyie Djami and the King's Church, the Caressing of the Virgin. The motif of the "spinner" (associated with the Greek myth idea that the Fates presided over every birth), has in both Milutin's church and K.D. become an attendant behind the cradle.

⁵Lafontaine-Dosogne, p.137, n3. Besides certain details involving Joachim and the Twelve Tribes of Israel, special mention is made, of the death of Joachim and Anna--placed as having occurred after the presentation of the Virgin to the Temple when she was 12 years old.

⁶Lafontaine-Dosogne, p.61.

⁷Lafontaine-Dosogne, p.62.

⁸R. Janin, La Geographie Ecclesiastique de l'empire Byzantin (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969), p.39.

⁹Lafontaine-Dosogne, pp.36-37. In the papacy of John VII (705-707), St. Anne was represented carrying the little Mary; in that of Paul I (757-767), the two Joachim and Anna scenes were painted--together with representations of the three Holy mothers and their children.

¹⁰Lafontaine-Dosogne, p.37.

¹¹Lafontaine-Dosogne, pp.190-91.

¹²Lafontaine-Dosogne, pp.24-25.

¹³Ibid. p.25.

¹⁴Ibid. p.189 n3.

¹⁵Kurt Weitzmann, "11th Century Miniatures and Icons", XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies (London:Oxford University Press, 1967), p.217.

¹⁶Weitzmann, p.223.

¹⁷Vat.Gr.1162 contains 73 miniatures; Paris Gr.1208 contains 68.

FOOTNOTES CONTINUED

¹⁸George La Piana, "The Byzantine Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple and a Latin Religious Pageant," Late Classical and Medieval Studies In Honor of Alfred M. Friend (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 261-271.

¹⁹George LaPiana, "The Byzantine Theatre", Speculum, XI (April, 1936), p. 177. LaPiana suggests dramatic devices as well as rhetorical ones were employed in moral and doctrinal polemics from the 4th century. Actual "acting" of Encomia--involving Byzantine liturgies--he suggests began in the 5th or 6th century. (p.178). Frowned upon during Iconoclasm, the 13th century Christos Paschon could well be a copy of a 10th century dramatic presentation. (p.186).

²⁰Milos M. Velmirović, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XVI, 1962. p.353.

²¹La Piana, "Byzantine Iconography of the Presentation...", p.264.

²²Lafontaine-Dosogne. p.44.

²³David Talbot Rice, Byzantine Painting--The Last Phase (New York: The Dial Press, 1968), p.110. Lazarev, Hamann-MacLean and "most of the Yugoslav scholars" take this view.

²⁴Ibid. Xyngopoulos and Prokopiou are in the forefront of these.

²⁵Rice, Byzantine Painting, p. 112. Rice feels Prizren and St. Nikita Cucer are from Salonica-Serbian lands, while the unsigned Milutin churches at Studenica, Gračanica and Dečani show a gentler style indicative of a true Byzantine painter who could have been imported from Constantinople by Milutin's imperial new wife Simonis.

²⁶Rice, Byzantine Painting, p.109. In the Peribleptos all three signatures appear somewhat ambiguously--Eutychios along the belt of St. Procopios, and on the sword of St. Mercury "the hand of Michael of Astrapas". The grammatical construction of the Michael-Astrapas signature has been interpreted as meaning either one or two artists. In Prizren--generally accepted as dated: 1307-09--Astrapas' signature appears alone, and taken with the ambiguity of the Peribleptos' signatures, Rice concludes that Astrapas was probably the eldest and likely the master of the times. Since Rice sees Astrapas' style as closer to that of Constantinople than the style of either Michael or Eutychios, he concluded that Milutin could have called Astrapas alone across the border for the first building project carried out at Prizren. Xyngopoulos and Milković-Pepić, however, on stylistic as well as the ambiguity of the signatures at Ochrid, see Michael Astrapas as one and the same person.

²⁷George Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, trans. by Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), pp.435-436.

FOOTNOTES CONTINUED

²⁸ Ihor Sevcenko, "Theodore Metochites, Chora et les courants intellectuels de l'époque", Art et Société a Byzance Sous Les Paleologues (Venise: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Hellenique d'etudes Byzantines et Post-Byzantines de Venise--N.4, 1971), p. 21.

²⁹ George Ostrogorsky, "Problemes des relations byzantino-serbes au XIV siecle", XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.42.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ B. Krekić, "La Serbie entre Byzance et l'Occident", XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 64.

³² Ostrogorsky, History of Byzantine State, p.420.

³³ Ostrogorsky, History, p. 427.

³⁴ Richard Hamann-MacLean, Horst Hallensleben, Die Monumental Malerei in Serbien und Macedonien von 11 bis zum Fruen 14 Jahrhundert (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz, 1963), diagramatic plan 23.

³⁵ Vojislav J. Djuric, "L'art Paleologues et l'Etat serbe. Role de la Cour et de l'Eglise serbes dans la premiere motie du XIV siecle", Art Et Societe a Byzance Sous Les Paleologues, p. 183.

³⁶ Paul A. Underwood, The Karyie Djami, Bollingen Series LXX, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), Vol. 1, p.15.

³⁷ Underwood, p. 12.

³⁸ Lafontaine-Dosogne, p.192 n.1 and p.212. Interestingly the standing single holy figures in Studenica and Karyie Djami bear close resemblance also to the standing St. Anne and little Mary in Salonica's St. Nicholas-Orphalin, dated also to 1313-14. Founded by the Byzantine grand hétériarque Progonos Sgouros who was also related by marriage to Andronicus II, it is not inconceivable that Sgouros shared with Milutin talents of imported Constantinopolitan artists supplied by imperial sufferance.

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2. Tenpaly (1)

3. THIERRY, N + M

THIERRY
4. THIERRY NIGB & HIND (1)

5. Tenpaly & Bous.