

THE MARTYR SAINT TRYPHON IN THE IMAGE OF A WARRIOR AND OTHER RARE DEPICTIONS OF THE SAINT IN RUSSIAN ART

The Russian manuscripts of the *Prologue* contain very short *lives* of the saints, which are arranged according to the yearly cycle. Sometimes these lives are accompanied by illustrations – one for every month.¹ A *Prologue* from the end of the fourteenth century, located in the collection of the nineteenth-century Russian historian Mikhail Pogodin in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (RNB, Pogod. 59),² under the entry of February 1 (fol. 280 – see **Fig. 1**) shows a unique depiction of the martyr saint Tryphon as a young warrior. Tryphon's name is marked by an inscription in large red letters. Tryphon is depicted in a short tunic and a cloak. In his right hand he holds a raised sword (the colors have peeled off, but the drawing can be discerned). In his left hand the saint holds a scabbard. His hair rises above his forehead and falls from the middle in two symmetric strands that cover the ears. Below the figure, on the left side, in spite of damage to the depiction, one can recognize the head of an old man – likely that of the defeated Satan (**Fig. 2**). A close-up view reveals his long bluish-grey hair and beard, a small mouth, the lower part of his nose with his nostrils, and – from the viewer's perspective - the right eye. The depiction of Satan as an imposing grey-haired old man is often found in Byzantine art, especially in the compositions of the Last Judgment and the Descent into Hell.

The depiction of Saint Tryphon in the image of a warrior appears to be neither a falsification nor the result of a mistake by the artist. The parchment manuscript that contains it was created in one of the leading workshops of Novgorod that produced manuscript books. One observes the special characteristics of Novgorodian art: a clear symmetry of composition, large bloc forms, sharp intersection of lines, and in places their symmetric roundedness. Another indicator is the sparse coloring where the light blue and ochre colors combine with the

¹ Е.А. Фет, *Пролог*, Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси., 1 (XI – первая половина XIV в.), Ленинград 1987, 376-381.

² Е.А. Гранстрем, *Описание русских и славянских пергаменных рукописей (Государственная ордена Трудового красного знамени Публичная библиотека имени М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина)*, Ленинград 1953, 57; *Рукописные книги собрания М.П. Погодина, Каталог*, 1, Ленинград 1988, 54-55.

ry his relics were translated from Asia Minor to the town of Kotor where the Cathedral of Saint Tryphon is located⁴.

The cult of Saint Tryphon appealed to various social groups. Possibly due to the tradition that the saint healed the daughter of the Roman emperor Gordian from possession by an evil demon, he was revered at the courts of Western Europe and Byzantium. In Constantinople five or six churches existed that were named after Saint Tryphon, one of which was founded in the sixth century by Emperor Justinian.

Emperor Leo V (886-911), and much later, Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1254-1258), dedicated eulogies to the saint. The latter monarch, who governed from Nicaea, erected a cathedral in Saint Tryphon's name there of which ruins with remnants of mosaics have survived to the present day.⁵ In the frescoes of the cathedrals of Serbia and Slavic Macedonia Saint Tryphon is often depicted close to founder portraits, which suggests that he was viewed as a protector of the noble lords who commissioned the frescoes. This underscores the aristocratic aspect of the saint's veneration.

The veneration of Saint Tryphon also strongly appealed to the agrarian population. This is evident in the holy man's association with fertility, a good harvest, and domestic animals. The latter aspect was probably connected with the tradition that during his life Saint Tryphon herded geese. Occasionally Tryphon is depicted with agricultural tools, a bird, or grapes, and sometimes he appears next to traditional agrarian saints. In Bulgaria the cult of Saint Tryphon "Zarezan", the protector of vineyards is widely disseminated. Tryphon was also venerated as a healer and an exorcist of evil spirits.

During the Byzantine period (through the fifteenth century) in Russia, the cult of Saint Tryphon was less known than in the Byzantine world. Tryphon's cult in Russia was relatively narrow and, judging from written sources, the saint had few altars dedicated to him. The index of the 1963 catalog of the icon col-

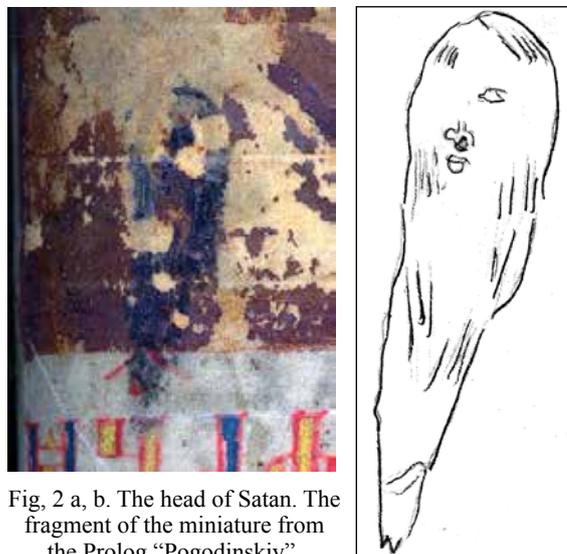


Fig. 2 a, b. The head of Satan. The fragment of the miniature from the Prolog "Pogodinskiy".

Сл. 2. а, б. Глава Сатане. Фрагмент минијатуре из Пролога „Погодински“.

⁴ Д. Прерадовић, *Преноси реликвија из Византије на Јадрану у периоду између VI и IX века*, Ниш и Византија, Једанаести научни скуп, Ниш, 3.-5. јун 2012, Зборник радова, XI, уредник М. Ракоција, Ниш 2013, 197-200.

⁵ S. Gabelić, *op. cit.* 108.



Fig. 3. St. Tryphon. The miniature from the Prolog "Typografskiy", Novgorod, end of the fourteenth – beginning of the fifteenth century. Moscow, Russian State Archive of the ancient documents, fund 381 (Sin. typ.), cod. 162, fol. 229

Сл. 3. Св. Трифун.
Минијатура из Пролога „Типографски“, Новгород, крај XIV – почетак XV века. Москва, Руска државна архива древних списа, фонд 381 (Sin. тип.), cod. 162, fol. 229

lection of the Tret'iakov Gallery does not name a single representation of Saint Tryphon⁶, and the icon collection of the Russian Museum only contains rare examples.

In a Novgorodian *Prologue* from the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century, which is found in the Tipografskii Collection (Moscow, Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Tip. 162), the saint is depicted as a young martyr (Fig. 3).⁷ He is holding a small cross, and his cloak is lined with fur in the same manner that can be observed in depictions of Saints Boris and Gleb. Tryphon's facial features and hair resemble those of Saint Demetrius of Thessalonica.

A calendar icon from the end of the fifteenth century, which is located in the Hermitage, also features Saint Tryphon as a young martyr under the entry of February 1. His appearance, however, is somewhat modified. The saint's fluffy

⁶ В.И. Антонова, Н.Е. Мнёва, *Государственная Третьяковская галерея, Каталог древнерусской живописи, Опыт историко-художественной классификации*, Москва 1963.

⁷ *Каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг XI – XIV вв., хранящихся в ЦГАДА СССР*, 2, Москва 1988, 248-250 (кат. 129).



Fig. 4. St. Tryphon, Mother of God, Symeon the God-Receiver. Detail of the Calendar- icon for the February, fifteenth century. From the collection of Feodor Kalikin. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage

Сл. 4. Св. Трифун, Мајка Божија, Симеон Богопримац. Детал са календара, иконе за месец фебруар, XV век. Из збирке Феодор Каликин. Санкт-Петербург, Државни Ермитаж.



Fig. 5. Apostles Peter and Paul, blessed Dios, martyr Tryphon. The icon from the region of Ngorod, fifteenth century. St. Petersburg, Russian Museum

Сл. 5. Апостоли Петар и Павле, благословени Диос, мученик Трифун. Икона из региона Новгород, XV век. Санкт-Петербург, Руски музеј

hair is symmetrically arranged and covers his ears (Fig. 4)⁸. As a result, the image of Tryphon resembles less that of Saint Demetrius of Thessalonica and more so that of Saints Florus and Laurus.

In Russia the figure of Saint Tryphon most often appears in the art of the northern regions and is connected with agrarian cults. In this context Tryphon is grouped with other saints in religious images. For example, in the late-fifteenth-century icon “The Apostles Peter and Paul, the venerable Dios, and the martyr Tryphon,” located in the Russian Museum,⁹ Tryphon is depicted next to the martyr Dios whose veneration was connected with water, springs, and the discovery of well water. In this instance Tryphon’s outward appearance also resembles that of Florus or Laurus (Fig. 5).

⁸ А.С. Косцова, *Древнерусская живопись в собрании Эрмитажа, Иконопись, книжная миниатюра и орнаментика*, Санкт-Петербург 1992, кат. 74, илл. с. 202, 204.

⁹ State Russian museum, inv. ДР/Ж 1433. Unpublished.



Fig. 6. St. martyrs Eustathios Placidus and Tryphon. Fifteenth century. Petrozavodsk, Museum of the fine arts of Karelia

Сл. 6. Ст. Мученици Еустахије Пластида и Трифун. XV век. Петрозаводск, Музеј ликовних уметности из Карелије

Another example, a northern icon from the village Pjal'ma (now in the Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Karelia) presents Saint Tryphon as a middle-aged man with a short beard together with the martyr Eustathios Placidus.¹⁰ This representation entirely breaks with the hagiographic tradition, which asserts that Tryphon died a martyr's death at age seventeen (**Fig. 6**). In the Karelian icon both saints hold vessels – possibly filled with a remedy against invasive insects, as folk beliefs crediting Saints Eustathios, Julian, and Tryphon with the ability to protect harvests from plights of this type suggest.¹¹ The rendering of Eustathios Placidus is remarkable since according to tradition, he was a warrior and even a military leader. The depiction of this martyr and of his companion Tryphon as protectors of the harvest recall the imagery of Saints Cosmas and Damian as twin-healers.

Along with those of other martyrs, Russian icons also display images of Saint Tryphon as a young martyr on the border frames that surround the

central composition. This is the case in a sixteenth-century icon of Saint George from the Russian Museum, where the main image is surrounded by a series of frames that feature saints with popular appeal.¹² The upper row of frames depicts the Prophet Elijah, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Blasius of Sebaste. The bottom row is made up of images of Archdeacon Stephen, an unknown middle-aged martyr, and Saint Paraskeva Piatnitsa. The middle register contains the already familiar combination of the venerable Dios and Saint Tryphon (**Fig. 7**). Another icon from the same museum, which depicts Saint Athanasius of Alexandria, shows a seven-part Deesis composition in the upper register. The frames on the sides of the icon display the following pairs of holy figures: Prophet Elijah and Blasius, Archdeacon Stephen and Demetrius of Thessalonica, and Kosmas and Damian. The bottom row of images from left to right consist of Saints Florus, Paraskeva Piatnitsa, Barbara, Catherine, Anastasia, Laurus, and Tryphon.¹³

¹⁰ Museum of Fine Arts of Republic Karelia, inv.И-316.

¹¹ Э.С. Смирнова, *Животисъ Обонежъя XIV-XVI веков*, Москва 1967, 40-42, 110, илл. 17.

¹² Unpublished. Inv. ДРЖ-1410.

¹³ Unpublished. Inv. ДРЖ-1204.



Fig. 7. St. Tryphon with the falcon. Russian icon from the eighteenth century. Private collection

Сл. 7. Св. Трифун са соколом. Руска икона из XVIII века. Приватна колекција

In the sixteenth century, when Russia's contacts with the Orthodox world and Europe revived, the veneration of Saint Tryphon changed profoundly. Tryphon's name appeared in Russian life more often. Whereas before that time few people were named after the saint,¹⁴ in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century the name Tryphon became popular. Starting in the first half of the sixteenth century, many monks adopted the name Trifon, some of whom

¹⁴ Tryphon, bishop of Rostov, is named in 1314 in the late legend only (according to the documents, at that time the bishop of Rostov was Prokhor). Tryphon, bishop of Lutsk (Western Russia), is mentioned in 1331 and 1335. Tryphon, archbishop of Rostov, died 1468.



Fig. 8. Riccardo Brudaglio. St. Tryphon. Wooden sculpture from 1783. Church in Adelfi near Bari (Italia, Puglia)

Сл. 8. Рикардо Брудаљо. С. Трифун. Дрвена скулптура из 1783. Црква у Аделфи близу Барија (Италија, Пуглиа)

became celebrated for spreading the Orthodox faith in the Russian borderlands.¹⁵ Moreover, Tryphon's name also appeared in historical legends.

During the Muscovite period the cult of Saint Tryphon also drew the attention of members of the royal court. During this period a legend arose about how Saint Tryphon helped Boyar Trifon Patrikeev, a falconer of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, find a lost falcon that was used for hunting.¹⁶ Presumably in memory of this occurrence (in the middle of the sixteenth century, no earlier), a church in the name of Saint Tryphon was erected in the Naprudnaia District of Moscow, which still exists today.¹⁷ Among the church's frescoes an image of Saint Tryphon on a horse with a bird, now located in the Tret'iakov Gallery, survived.¹⁸ Along with the fresco, an icon belonging to the church, which features an analogous composition, also survived.¹⁹ Judging from

their style, both works date from the seventeenth century.

¹⁵ The blessed monk Tryphon of Pechenga christianised the northern tribe of Iopari (saami); took monastic vows in 1532, died 1583. Tryphon, the bishop of Khutynskiy monastery in Novgorod, mentioned 1608. The blessed monk Tryphon of Viatka, enlightener of the peoples of Ural, died 1612. The blessed monk Tryphon of Gorodets-Lug, died 1612. The hermit Tryphon of Solovki, died around 1617.

¹⁶ *Жития святых, на русском языке изложенные по руководству Четьих-Миней Дмитрия Ростовского*, кн. 6, Москва 1905, 15.

¹⁷ *Памятники архитектуры Москвы, Территория между Садовым кольцом и границами города XVIII века (от Земляного до Камер-Коллежского вала)*, Москва 1998, 181-182; А.Л. Баталов, *К вопросу о происхождении крещатого свода в русской архитектуре XVI века*, София, Сборник статей по искусству Византии и Древней Руси в честь А.И. Комеча, Москва 2006, 63-64

¹⁸ В.И. Антонова., Н.Е. Мнёва, *op. cit.*, 2, кат. 514. Регр.: А.И. Некрасов, *Древнерусское изобразительное искусство*, Москва 1937, 294, илл. 203.

¹⁹ Н.В. Малицкий, *Древнерусские культы сельскохозяйственных святых по памятникам искусства*, Известия Государственной академии истории материальной культуры, XI/10, Ленинград 1932, 18-19, илл. 5.

The iconography of Saint Tryphon on a horse with a bird became dominant in Russian icon painting (Fig. 8). Although possibly this image reflects traces of his cult as a soldier, this iconography developed late and does not include any depiction of weapons or armor. As the Russian historian Nikolai Malitskii stated in 1932, the cult of Saint Tryphon in royal circles was influenced by the life of this holy man of ancient times: his occupation as a geese herder gave rise to the tradition of depicting him with a bird.²⁰ The visual representation of Saint Tryphon with a bird can also be found in post-Byzantine Greek iconography. There the bird resembles a dove – the symbol of the Holy Spirit, but, if one trusts Malitskii's opinion, the bird represents neither a dove nor a hunting falcon but rather a goose.



Fig. 10. Perseus cuts the head of Medusa. Sixth century B.C. Marble relief from the temple in Selinunt, Sicily. Palermo, National museum

Сл. 10. Персеј одсеца главу Медузи. VI век пре н.е. Мермерни рељеф из храма у Селинунту, Сицилија. Палермо, Народни музеј

This raises the issue which aspects of Saint Tryphon's cult possibly served as the basis of his depiction as a young soldier. Clues to this question can be derived from a short *troparion* to the martyr Tryphon, which, although rarely, can be found in the oldest Russian *Prologues*, including the Novgorodian *Lobkovskii Prologue* of 1262 (State Historical Museum, Khlud. 187). The *troparion*, which precedes a short *vita* of the saint, contains the following passage: «Подвизи твои разаряють моучительство, память вссияние спасение миру, овемии же диявола посрамляеши, овемии же грехы прогониши. Сего ради, Труфоне преславне, песньми тя похваляемъ».²¹ The Slavic text of the *troparion* is based on a Greek text known from the twelfth-century *Synaxarion* in the Vatican Library, Vat.gr. 2046.²² The existence of such a *troparion* along with episodes in the text of the *vita*, which deal with the young saint's victory

²⁰ Н.В. Малицкий, *op.cit.*, илл. 3.

²¹ *Славяно-русский Пролог по древнейшим спискам*, Синаксарь (житийная часть Пролога краткой редакции) за сентябрь-февраль, I. Текст и комментарии, под ред. В.Б. Крысько. Москва 2010, 698.

²² A. Luzzi, L. Perria, *Un Sinassario-Tipico italogreco sui generis: il Vat.gr. 2046*, Calabria bizantina, Civiltà bizantina nei territori di Gerace e Stilo, Soveria Manelli 1998, 155-164.

over the forces of evil, may well have given rise to the appearance of the iconography of the saint as a soldier. This iconography visibly embodies the idea of Saint Tryphon's victory over the forces of evil and over the beheaded Satan.

In this context one should also point out the Byzantine tradition of depicting Saint Tryphon near or even in the same row with holy warriors, such as in the frescoes of Lagudera on Cyprus, and Sopocani and Resava (Manasija)²³ in Serbia. In these cases Saint Tryphon seems to be associated with warriors because of the nature of his heroic feat – his struggle with evil. The frescoes in question show the warriors sometimes with weapons and sometimes without them, but Tryphon is always represented as a martyr, without war attributes. Such iconographic juxtapositions demonstrate the definite semantic connection between the warrior images and the iconography of Tryphon.

If one considers the text of the *troparion* dedicated to Saint Tryphon, as well the varied depictions of the saint – surrounded by warriors or in one row with them, one may conclude that the iconographic theme of Tryphon as a soldier or warrior reflects not the saint's historical but his symbolic image.

Western European associations with Saint Tryphon suggest another set of motives that might have played a role in the creation of the figure of Saint Tryphon in the image of a soldier/warrior. Some argue that the Saint Tryphon's cult was introduced in the West during the iconoclastic period by fleeing monks.²⁴ Already in the tenth century a church named after Saint Tryphon existed in Rome, and another one (in Trastevere) contained a piece of his relics according to twelfth-century sources. A third Roman church is attested in the fourteenth century, and a fourth one seems to have existed in the sixteenth century. Cathedrals of Saint Tryphon also existed in Palermo and Ravello on Sicily, and the saint's veneration was particularly widespread in the Adriatic region where impulses for his cult, coming from Italy, the eastern shore, and Kotor, which cherished Tryphon as a special protector, merged.

Kotor, where Byzantine artistic traditions met Western ones, provides crucial evidence for the iconographic development of Saint Tryphon's image. In this city, which housed the relics of Saint Tryphon, the saint was depicted following the canon of Western Gothic art, i.e. as a young soldier, dressed in a short tunic and a cloak, but without armor. He holds a model of the city of Kotor with its fortifications and the cathedral building. With his right hand he is raising a sickle in such a firm manner that the instrument appears as a weapon of war.²⁵ Depictions of this type symbolize Saint Tryphon's intercession for the Christian town and his determination to defend it against its enemies.

²³ Andréas Nicolaïdès, *L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre, Etude iconographique des fresques de 1192*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50. Washington 1996, fig. 105; Војислав Ј. Ђурић, *Византијске фрески у Југославији*, Београд 1975, цв. табл. XXXIX; В. Джурич, *Византијские фрески, средневековая Сербия, Далмация, славянская Македония*, Москва 2000, илл. с. 297.

²⁴ Ј. Максимовић, *Которски цибориј из XIV века и камена пластика суседних области*, Српска академија наука и уметности, посебно издања CCCXLV [Оделење друштвених наука 38], Београд 1961.

²⁵ В. Ђурић, *Готичко сликарство у Византији и код Срба уочи турских освајања*, Зограф 18, Београд 1987. С. 51-52. Илл. 13 (с. 51): Saint Tryphon as the protec-

The development of Saint Tryphon's iconography due to the blending of Western and Eastern traditions must be ascribed foremost to sailors and merchants both from Venice and Slavic Kotor. These social groups were particularly drawn to both the cults of Saints Tryphon and George, the latter of whom was revered not only as a martyr and passion-sufferer, but also as a victorious soldier. Later on, in the fifteenth century, in Venice the so-called Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone detta di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni was founded, for which Vittore Carpaccio painted portraits of its patron saints, including one of Tryphon.²⁶

Later artefacts connected with the Apulian shore of the Adriatic are particularly important for the development of Saint Tryphon's iconography. The small town of Adelfi, located not far from Bari, developed into one of the largest centers of the veneration of Saint Tryphon, whose fame in this region grew even more after Apulia was saved from the horrific plague epidemic of 1656 through the saint's intercession. A wooden statue of Saint Tryphon featuring the saint as a young warrior, which was created in 1783 by the sculptor Riccardo Brudaglio, became the focus of the yearly celebration of Tryphon's feast, which in the West falls not on February 1 but on November 10 (**Fig. 9**). There are many other late works that depict the saint in the same manner.

Monsignor Luigi Stangarone, the Catholic author of one of the monographs on the veneration of Saint Tryphon in Southern Italy, notes that such depictions of the saint underscore the theme of Saint Tryphon's struggle with evil because he is represented as a heavenly warrior, a defender of Christianity.²⁷ But neither Western medievalists nor Byzantinists seemingly have studied the iconography of Saint Tryphon. The representation of Saint Tryphon as a soldier in a fourteenth-century Novgorodian *prologue* shows that such a tradition must have existed, traces of which have yet escaped scholars. Possibly this tradition goes back to Western prototypes.

One should remember that just like Tryphon, Saint Demetrius of Thessalonica during his life had not been a soldier but was revered as a warrior posthumously. Saint Demetrius was the protector saint of Thessalonica just as Saint Tryphon was considered to be the defender of Nicaea and the heavenly protector of Kotor. The veneration of Saints Demetrius and Tryphon underwent a similar historical development.

It is possible that the iconography of Saint Tryphon encountered in the miniature of the *Pogodinskii Prologue* was prompted by an ancient theme of a hero's victory over the personification of evil²⁸ (**Fig. 10**). Nevertheless, although depictions of a warrior defeating the forces of evil go back to a classical tradition, in Christian art they receive new meaningful expressions.

tor of Kotor, the fresco of the church of Mother of God (or St. Basil) in Stolive, Boka Kotorska, around 1451.

²⁶ Guida d'Italia. Venezia. Ed. 3. Milano 1985, 578-579

²⁷ Monsignor Luigi Stangarone, *La storia di San Trifone*, 1995 (www.Santrifone.it/storia-e-culto.html)

²⁸ See: D.E. Strong, *Antičke umeni*, Praha 1970 (transl. from engl.), fig. 37 (c. 61); Ю.Д. Колпинский, *Искусство Эгейского мира и Древней Греции*, Москва 1970, илл. 126 а.

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МУЧЕНИК СВЕТИ ТРИФУН У ЛИКУ РАТНИКА И ДРУГИ РЕТКИ ПРИКАЗИ
СВЕТИТЕЉА У РУСКОЈ УМЕТНОСТИ

Мученик Трифун се посебно поштује у балканским земљама и на Јадранској обали где се у цркви у Котору чувају његове мошти. Руска уметничка дела могу бити од користи за боље разумевање традиције његовог поштовања. Култ Светог Трифуна постојао код Руса још од средњег века, док још није спадао међу најпопуларније светитеље. Фигура младог мученика са крстом смештена је на крај XIV века, Пролог Типографски из Новгорода (Москва, Руска државна архива древних списа, Збирка Синодске типографије, под. 162) под 1. фебруар. Наилазимо на слику Светог Трифуна на руским иконама из XV века, из северних провинција. Предмети које држи и особе које га прате наводе нас на претпоставку да је његов култ био раширен међу сељацима. Поштовање Светог Трифуна у Русији добија већи значај тек од XVI века, када је постала позната легенда о Трифуну који је помогао да се пронађе изгубљени соко кога је цар Иван Грозни користио за лов. Од тада па надаље име Светог Трифуна је нашироко познато у Русији. Ово име је давано многим монасима познатим по проповедању хришћанске вере у удаљеним паганским земљама Русије у то време (на пример, Трифун из Виатке, Трифун из Печенга).

Остале особености поштовања Светог Трифуна налазе се на његовом приказу у другом Прологосу из Новгорода (Санкт-Петербург, Народна библиотека Русије, Збирка Погодина, под. 59) с краја XIV века. Свети Трифун је приказан као млади ратник у краткој туници и химатиону, са подигнутим мачем. Рукопис је написан и осветљен у значајном скрипторијуму у Новгороду, тако да се неке особине приказа не могу објаснити као недостатак компетенције уметника. Треба напоменути да постоје статуе Светог Трифуна из XVIII - XIX века на италијанској Јадранској обали, које га представљају као ратника. Вероватно се ми овде бавимо (мада то је само хипотеза) ретким примером креативности у иконографији, где атрибути светитеља не одговарају подацима датим у хагиографским објашњењима његовог живота већ симболичној интерпретацији његовог лика као борца против зла.