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## **EMERGENCE OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH IN RELATION TO BYZANTIUM AND ROME<sup>1</sup>**

In this paper we aim to analyze and present preliminary thoughts concerning the multifaceted process of the emergence of the Serbian church in the 13th century, with focus on the Roman origin of the Serbian royal crown, and how such an event shaped the identity of the newly established Church in Serbia. St. Sava's first hagiographer - Domentijan, gave an account of a specific „Oration about the true faith“ which was delivered before the roman-appointed king of Serbia. The Oration itself is vested in Byzantine theological thought and the heritage of the Ecumenical councils.<sup>2</sup> It should also be examined whether such a text actually had its roots in previous Byzantine theological treatises composed in the 11th and 12th centuries. Literary and rhetorical shaping of such a narrative in St. Sava's *Life* alludes that both the *kingdom* and the *church* in Serbia worked together in establishing both poles of secular and spiritual power in the state. Moreover, taking such historical contexts into consideration the emergence of the Serbian church should be analyzed in its relations both towards distant centers of Byzantium (Nicaea) and Rome, but also with more focus on the neighbouring polities and ecclesiastical centers falling under Rome's spiritual authority, in Hungary and the maritime bishoprics of Bar and Dubrovnik. From the invented story about the conversion to Orthodoxy of the Hungarian king Andrew II by St. Sava after the establishment of the Serbian church, as presented by Sava's second hagiographer - Theodosios, although given from a more remote time, it appears that the emergence of the Serbian church should be viewed in a broader outlook, transcending the old and superfluous scheme of relations between East and West, Byzantium and Rome, and should be placed into a wider frame of political and ecclesiastical relations and networks which existed in the regions of Southern and Central Europe in the first half of the 13th century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This paper presents the results of research within the project *Christian Culture in the Balkans in the Middle Ages: Byzantine Empire, Serbs and Bulgarians from IX to XV Century*.

<sup>2</sup> Доментија, *Живот светога Саве*, изд. Ђ. Даничић, Београд 1865, 233-43.

<sup>3</sup> See for example the ideas expressed in: V. Stanković, *Putting Byzantium Back on the Map*, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 32/33 (2016/2017), 399-405; idem, *Rethinking the*

What we aim to present here is an attempt which is not an easy task, since we often lack sufficient narrative or documentary sources which might provide an in-depth picture of the emergence of the autocephalous Church in the Serbian lands and portray its place in a wider network of connections with various polities and ecclesiastical centers which pervaded the Balkans during the 12th and 13th centuries. First of all, contemporary Serbian narrative sources, mostly the two lives of St. Sava are vested in a specific ideological veil created in order to support the new Nemanjić dynasty than to provide historical information of the processes which took place during a specific segment of time. However, a new reading of these sources is a most valuable contribution towards a new understanding of this topic of Serbian medieval history.

The making of the Serbian church organization in the hinterland, under the rule of Serbian grand zhupan Stefan Nemanja was preceding the work of St. Sava later in the first half of the 13th century. Several church and monastic foundations of grand zhupan Stefan Nemanja prepared the terrain and gave a specific foundation to the future autocephaly of the Church in Serbia. In such a context, the foundation of the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos with its typikon and autonomy certified by the Emperor Alexios III Angelos in two imperial charters addressed to Sava and Symeon Nemanja makes a crucial point in the process of the founding of the Serbian church, contrary to the argumentation of M. M. Petrović who argued that it was the typikon of the autonomous Studenica monastery in the *independent* state of Serbia under the rule of Stefan the First-crowned that placed the foundation for the autonomy of the Church in Serbian lands.<sup>4</sup> However, the relative vicinity of Mount Athos to Constantinople made it possible for church-men like Sava to frequently travel from Athonite monasteries to the imperial city and solve various issues with the head of the Constantinopolitan church and the Empire. In such a way, these men managed to become more closely introduced with the typika of the Constantinopolitan

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*Position of Serbia Within the Byzantine Oikoumene in the Thirteenth Century, Before and After the Fall: The Balkans and Byzantine World Before and After the Capture of Constantinople in 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. Stanković, Landham MD 2017, 91-102, and in: idem, *The Character and Nature of Byzantine Influence in Serbia (from the End of the Eleventh to the End of the Thirteenth Century): Reality-Policy-Ideology*, Serbia and Byzantium, eds.: M. Angar, C. Sode, Frankfurt am Main 2013, 75-93. Also, the chapter "Byzantine Ideal", in: C. Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World, 988-1146*, London 2012, 10-46. On the problem of shaping history according to well established notions and boundaries in the specific fields of Byzantine, Western European or Slavic studies: idem, *Reimagining Europe: Discussing Rus' in a Wider Context*, Russian History 45 (2015), 206-207.

<sup>4</sup> М. М. Петровић, *Студенички типик и самосталност Српске цркве*, Београд 1986. In his Chrysobulle issued in June 1198 to the former grand zhupan Stefan Nemanja - monk Symeon, and his son, monk Sava, Emperor Alexios III Angelos first states that his "document" is given after the plead of the above mentioned men. The emperor then states that he gives the Hilandar monastery *complete freedom*, and *places them under the governance of the former grand zhupan and now monk Symeon and his son, monk Sava [...] as independent and self-governing (αὐτοδέσποτον καὶ αὐτεξούσιον) monastery*. Cf. Actes des Chilandar I, 108-109. See also: V. Stanković, *Stronger than it Appears? Byzantium and its European Hinterland After the Death of Manuel I Komnenos*, Byzantium, 1180-1204: 'The Sad Quarter of a Century?', ed. A. Simpson, Athens 2015, 43-44.

monasteries and in fact to be recognized as persons legitimate and competent to deal with such issues, as certified in the *Life of Sava* in several places, and other contemporary sources.<sup>5</sup>

Theoretical and nominal adherence to the Byzantine theological model did not confine the Serbian polity strictly to what were mostly parts of the once unified Byzantine Empire - to Nicaea and Epirus, after the first fall of Constantinople, but through Sava's pilgrimage to the Holy Land Serbian dominions stood in real connection with the distant centers of Christianity in the Near East which were themselves politically separated from Constantinople for many centuries and with their own specific influence which could pervade the Serbian society in the distant Balkans. The image of Sava's concelebration of the Divine Liturgy with the Patriarch Athanasios of Jerusalem, which was intentionally and willingly stressed several times in the narrative about Sava's *Life* points to not just superficial and theoretical bonds of the established Serbian church with these traditional centers of Christianity, but to personal links of the Serbian court and Church with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> How were these connections made, what stood in the forefront of their creation are questions which were until now rarely asked and even more rarely attempted to be answered. This might be one direction of future research on the foundations in the complex process of the emergence of the Serbian church. Sava's pilgrimage to the holy places and even specific marking of Serbian presence in the Holy Land either by ktetorship, or buying property and establishing Serbian foundations in or around Jerusalem is clearly a process of making and establishing the new Serbian church in the wider ecclesiastical community of the Orthodox East.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the act of St. Sava's concelebrating of the Divine Liturgy with the Patriarch of Jerusalem in the Holy Sepulchre was a supreme act of acknowledgement of the legitimacy and autocephaly of the Serbian church. In that sense, the Serbs were able to meet and accept the granting of autocephaly in Nicaea in 1219. by the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople with previously established deep and even personal links with holy places, saintly figures, and church hierarchs of the Eastern Church, which could not have been put in

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Доментијан, *Живот Светога Саве*, изд. Ђура Даничић, Биоград 1865, 160-161, 166-167; *Путешествје новгородскога архјепископа Антонја вЪ ЦарьградЪ*, изд. Павла Саввантова, Ст. Петербург 1872, 39, 29 - 40, 3. В. Станковић, *Стефан Немањић и његов брат Сава у списима Димитрија Хоматина*, Византијски свет на Балкану I, уред. Ј. Максимовић, Б. Крсмановић, Р. Радић, Београд 2012, 117.

<sup>6</sup> Sava had traveled to the Holy Land twice in a relatively short time span of some 15 years. His first travel to Jerusalem and concelebrating of the Divine Liturgy at the Holy Sepulcher with the Patriarch Athanasios of Jerusalem happened probably soon after he was consecrated archbishop of the Serbian church, while the second pilgrimage took place after his abdication from the archbishopric throne. Both descriptions in his *Life* by Domentijan are directed towards creating an image of their relationship as mutually devoted and equal in context of their ecclesiastical authority. Cf. Доментијан, *Живот Светога Саве*, 266 et passim.

<sup>7</sup> As archbishop, St. Sava clearly had a motif of establishing Serbian ecclesiastical and spiritual presence in the Holy Land by buying property in Jerusalem, and making donations in Bethlehem and to the monastery of St. Sabbas, and even founding a Serbian monastery near Jerusalem dedicated to Apostle John the Theologian. Cf. Доментијан, *Живот светога Саве*, 266-267, 269-270, 273.

motion during St. Sava's first pilgrimage in the Holy Land if they were not established previously, prior to his consecration for the archbishop of the Serbian church.<sup>8</sup> However, when reading the sources, these processes are hardly visible from the perspective of St. Sava's personal feats, which were placed in the forefront of the narration, but were in fact more public, and socially engaged in context of a wider ecclesiastical community of the Eastern Church and its four patriarchal sees, and the centers of political power in the Balkans and Asia Minor. A rhetorical remark by Theodosios in his version of St. Sava's *Life* still resonates this view of St. Sava's extensive activity in obtaining autocephaly for the Church in Serbia. Namely, St. Sava didn't achieve his consecration and the autocephaly of his throne in a lawless manner like a tyrant or by enticement, he didn't ask but he was asked by the emperor to accept the archbishop's dignity, implying his interaction with other relevant factors of political and ecclesiastical powers in the wide region of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>9</sup>

A clear political background in context of the Serbian royal crown given to Stefan Nemanjić by Pope Honorius III in 1217 is more obvious, and the *Life of St. Sava* by Domentijan is explicitly portraying the actions of the two brothers, Sava and Stefan Nemanjić in compliance of their mutual struggle to secure the royal crown from the Roman church for the new Serbian state of the Nemanjić's.<sup>10</sup> Domentijan is explicit in one place of St. Sava's *Life* about the mutual struggle of brothers in a total political and ecclesiastical aspect of the founding of the Serbian kingdom. First, he paraphrases the letter of Archbishop St. Sava to Pope Honorius III where the Archbishop of Serbia professes his own independence towards Rome asking for the blessing of the royal crown by the successor of the Apostles - the Roman Pontiff.<sup>11</sup> What is of interest here is that St. Sava reminds the Pope that in the Serbian state-traditions the Kingdom of Duklja, which was under Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction from previous centuries, represents a reality in the new Serbian state of the Nemanjić dynasty at least on an ideological level and was obviously appropriated in the political thought of the first Nemanjić rulers. Thus it is not a coincidence that he founds the Serbian bishopric of Zeta in the maritime lands at the very place where previously Latin tradition existed, thus connecting in a specific way the newly founded Serbian church with the older tradition of Christianity which flourished in those parts even from the 4th century onward. This directly contradicts the

<sup>8</sup> At one place in the *Life* Domentijan recapitulates Sava's deserves for his *fatherland*, and points that he had *founded the path to Jerusalem and the Sinai, and to every place where the name of God is mentioned* already as a monk on Mount Athos, before becoming the archbishop of the Serbian church. Cf. Доментијан, *Живот светога Саве*, 131.

<sup>9</sup> Теодосије Хиландарац, *Живот Светога Саве*, изд. Ђ. Даничић, приредио Ђ. Трифуновић, Београд 1973, 132.

<sup>10</sup> Доментијан, *Живот светога Саве*, 245-248. We have dealt with the analysis of St. Sava's letter to Pope Honorius III in: Д. Марјановић, "Срби, мој народ, Христови су, не папини" - Однос Светога Саве према папству 13. века у светлу једног новог апокрифа, Осам векова манастира Милешева I, Милешева 2013, 45-59.

<sup>11</sup> Theological and ecclesiological aspects of this Sava's letter were analyzed in: А. Јевтић, *Из богословља Светога Саве*, Свети Сава. Споменица поводом осамстогодишњице рођења, Београд 1977, 170.

traditional understanding which assumes that St. Sava established an Orthodox bishopric in the maritime lands in order to confront the Latin jurisdiction and its possible intrusion to the hinterland. To support such an outlook, we might add here a short quotation of Stefan the First-crowned personal literary work - *the Life of grand zhupan Stefan Nemanja*, where he defines his father's double baptism - Latin and Orthodox, as his fulfilment of both the Old Testament which symbolizes the Latin church, and the New Testament, which symbolizes the Orthodox church, by stating: *from both breasts you have suckled milk*.<sup>12</sup> As it is obvious here, it is an idea of mutual pervasion and fulfilment of the entire tradition of once united Christendom in the life of Stefan Nemanja, which his two sons were aware of and which they utilized in order to build a specific ideology of the newly founded Serbian church and *kingdom*. Domentijan actually emphasized this point when he portrayed the compliance of the two brothers, or rather, the two poles of power in 13th century Serbia: *rejoicing in mutual joy they remained well in the Lord, both burning with the blessing of the Holy Spirit towards the law and for the holy faith, and for the founding of the holy and great Archbishopric, which they conceived with great love*.<sup>13</sup> A clear statement of mutual struggle and compliance resonates from these words, which is on the other hand witnessed by the final outcome of the process of establishing a single society and a state which had its kingdom and autocephalous Church, not showing any religious strife between the two poles of ecclesiastical jurisdictions between the maritime regions professing Latin tradition and the hinterland which was vested into Orthodox definitions of faith.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it becomes understandable why there is no mention of St. Sava's re-crowning of the first Serbian king after the *Roman path* towards the royal crown, which is encountered only in Theodosios's recreation of the event later, at the beginning of the 14th century, under different circumstances in relation to Rome, and the Union of Lyons. In the context of the *making* of the Serbian church in the 13th century, this might

<sup>12</sup> According to my knowledge, this is the only comprehensive interpretation of this passage provided until now, recently given by Zoran Đurović in the draft version of his paper: "Потискивање сећања на католике: случај св. Стефана Првовенчаног" (Suppressing the remembrance of Catholics: Case of St. Stephen the First-crowned).

<sup>13</sup> Доментијан, *Живот светога Саве*, 228. This image of mutual striving towards a common goal by the two brothers might be taken as a promotion of a desired imagery which Domentijan and the main branch of the Nemanjić dynasty of his time wished to promulgate. However, other relevant sources and details from the *Lives* of St. Sava and Symeon Nemanja confirm such relations between the two brothers as a historically truthful narrative.

<sup>14</sup> Therefore, there is no ground to conclude that the so-called *council against the Bogumils* convened by grand zhupan Stefan Nemanja, as described in his *Life* by his son Stefan Nemanjić (Стефан Немањић, *Житије светога Симеона*, Београд 1999, 32-36) was in fact an anti-Latin council in Serbia, as argued in: М. М. Петровић, *Свети Сава на Жичком сабору 1221. године и латинска јерес*, *Историјски часопис* 45-46 (1998-1999), 21-24. and Ђ. Јанковић, *Епископија Србија Дубровачке и Барске архиепископије у светлу археолошких података*, *Осам векова манастира Милешева I*, Милешева 2013, 227-249. Contrary to this argumentation see: Марјановић, *Однос Светога Саве према папству 13. века*, 50-53; З. Ђуровић, *О тези Миодрага Петровића да су богомили из српско-византијских средњовековних извора Латини*, *Теолошки погледи* 47 (2014), 349-404; D. Marjanović, *The Term τρισκαράτος in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Literature*, *Limes Plus* 2 (2016), 109-128.

be a crucial point, since the later *Life of Sava* by Theodosios, due to significant alteration of the ecclesiastical relations between Constantinople and Rome around the year 1274. and the Union of Lyons decidedly changed the outlook of the Church in Serbia towards Rome - the Latins, which cemented the perception of the Serbian church towards the West and rearranged notions of St. Sava's relationship the Latin church in a completely new way, distorting a historically more objective image which can still be recreated in his *Life* by Domentijan.<sup>15</sup>

Until now, we have attempted to present the newly founded Church in Serbia as a foundation which stood in both ideological and real connections with two different traditions which it attempted to unite in its own existence. The Byzantine world, shattered by the Fourth Crusade was definitely well present in the everyday political relations of the Serbian ruling court, which we would leave aside in this paper, although it definitely deserves to be considered in a more detailed research which will be done in the future. The shattered Byzantine polity was in a way overcame by St. Sava in his relationship with Orthodox poles of power in Jerusalem, however, not undermining the links with the imperial court of the Lascarids in Nicaea, and the Angeloi in the Despotate of Epirus. These links existed, but were not the only, if most crucial ones in the East. Serbian church had built its personal connections and networks in the very heart of Christendom, in Jerusalem, and with the patriarch of the Mother of Churches being a co-celebrant of the Sacred Mysteries with the Serbian archbishop Sava. On the ideological or rather ecclesiological level, this was maybe the crucial point in connecting the Serbian church with the *Jerusalem tradition* in the long history of Christianity, while the more political issue of *autocephaly* was linked with the patriarchs of Constantinople, exiled in Nicaea at the time, and the emperor of Nicaea.

However, there is one more direction towards which we could assess the place and role of the Church of Serbia in the 13th century, which both touches the issue of its foundation and relation with the Latin West. Namely, already in the 12th century, Serbian grand zhupans entered into close connections and family alliances with the Hungarian court, entering thus in the very center of wider political events which shaped the vast region of Middle, Western and Southern Europe. The daughter of the Serbian grand zhupan Uroš I - Helen, was married to the Hungarian king Bela II, while the ecclesiastical aspect of these relations can be discerned through founding of the monastery of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in Hungarian lands at some point in the second half of the 12th century, by the palatine Beloš, son of the Serbian grand zhupan Uroš I, who later

<sup>15</sup> It has been generally accepted that such a literary shift in the Serbian sources, explicitly, in the *Life of St. Sava* by Theodosios, regarding the hostile attitude towards the Latins, was in fact caused by the Union of Lyons, after which even the autocephaly of the Serbian church was endangered and under new pretensions from Rome. In such a political climate a new ecclesiastical or spiritual sensibility appeared, which is evident in Theodosios's re-arrangement of Domentijan's material in the *Life of Sava*. See: Б. Миљковић, *Житија светог Саве као извори за историју средњовековне уметности*, Београд 2008, 142, n.475; И. Шпадијер, *Хронолошки оквири књижевног рада Теодосија Хиландарца*, Прилози КЈИФ 76 (2010), 12-14.

became the grand zhupan of Serbia.<sup>16</sup> As Hungarian palatine, Beloš appears to have been an influential political figure in the wide geographical region which spread through South-East and Central Europe, expanding his political power even to the Russian principalities and their ruling elites.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting that Beloš's governance over Serbian land as grand zhupan for a short period of time is almost uncertified in the sources of any provenance, as well as the internal organization of the Serbian lands under his rule. Beloš died sometime between 1163. when he was mentioned for the last time in the Hungarian sources, and 1198. when he was mentioned as deceased in the letter of Pope Innocent III. Yet, the new Nemanjić dynasty already in the same year when the Pope wrote about Beloš's abbey of St. Stephen, managed to find the financial, political and ecclesiastical means to found a self-governing Serbian monastery on Mount Athos. It is a strange state of circumstances that in a short time-span of some three decades Serbia with its ruling elites becomes a polity powerful or significant enough to obtain Byzantine imperial recognition for the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos and include itself into a wider ecclesiastical relations of Eastern Christendom, while not neglecting the connections with Rome and its traditions as well, in the western parts of its dominions, while, in the previous decades, during Beloš's rule, it hardly was under the attention of Constantinople, but stood in tight political and probably ecclesiastical relations with the Hungarian court.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, Hungarian kings as rulers loyal to the spiritual authority of the Roman church inevitably felt the consequences of the emergence of the Serbian church directly in Serbia in the early 13th century. This is maybe the most uninvestigated point in the general terms of the theme, yet it deserves to be investigate here at least from the aspect of Serbian narrative sources from the 13th and early 14th century, which echo the early period of the establishment of the Archbishopric of the Serbian lands.

We know of the objections of the King Emeric of Hungary to Pope Innocent III regarding Stefan Nemanjić's requests for the blessing of the royal crown for Serbian lands. It is obvious that Roman Pontiffs had to respect the place and role

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<sup>16</sup> Beloš's endowment is mentioned by Pope Innocent III in his letter to the bishop of Kalocha in 1198. Cf. PL 214, 234C - 235B. For the ubication of this monastery see: J. Maglovski, *Beloš's Abbey of Stephen the Archdeacon - Refugium Dombo and Banoštor*, Byzantine World in the Balkans I, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović, R. Radić, Belgrade 2012, 77-95 (In Serbian). Cf. J. Калић, *Жупан Белош*, ЗРВИ 26 (1997), 61-81. Pope Innocent III's *inconsistent* policy towards the maritime regions under Vukan's rule who found his support for the creation of the Church organization under Rome's jurisdiction and spiritual authority, and his unwillingness to repeat such policy in Serbia under Stefan the First-crowned, is addressed in: Stanković, *Stronger than it Appears?*, 46-47.

<sup>17</sup> Калић, *Жупан Белош*, 68-70.

<sup>18</sup> Throughout the *Life of St. Sava* Domentijan mentions Sava's personal ktetorship and rebuilding of churches and monasteries on Mount Athos, and together with his father, Symeon the Monk. As a monk, Sava had built new churches in the Vatopaedi monastery, and together with his father in Karyes. According to Domentijan, he had also re-established two large monasteries on Mount Athos - Xeropotamou and Karakalou. These were all markings of Serbian political and ecclesiastical presence on Mount Athos which placed Serbia and the Serbian church in a wider society of the Byzantine world and its polities. See: Доментијан, *Живот светога Саве*, 183-184.

of the Hungarian king in the hierarchy of political powers in Europe of the 13th century. Thus, Serbs had to wait from 1202 to 1217 in order to receive the papal blessing for the royal crown. Even after the event of Stefan's coronation, political consequences of such an act towards Hungary led towards possible confrontation. The well known mission of St. Sava and his meeting with the Hungarian king Andrew II was portrayed in a very interesting manner by Domentijan and Theodosios, but with significant differences in the latter's narrative. Basically, both Sava's biographers tell a story of the Hungarian king becoming a loyal servant of the Serbian archbishop, while the initial motif of the story - the act of preventing the Hungarian hostile attack against Stefan the First-crowned, being changed when the narrator displays a story of the Hungarian king's conversion to Orthodoxy. According to the earlier writer Domentijan, St. Sava met Andrew II in a mission of negotiating peace between the Serbian and Hungarian kingdom. St. Sava managed not only to persuade the king to abandon his intention to attack Serbia, but also managed to *catch the king like Christ our Lord had caught the persecutor of the holy who believe in Christ our true God. So did this disciple of his Lord by his might and terrible wonders and godly words, and by the hook of Gods words and sweet tongue and by the kind bounds of the apostolic love catch this king. And he bound him like a fast helmsman of those who are wavered by waves, and brought him to the true harbor, and made him a partaker of a truthful table of the heavenly supper.*<sup>19</sup>

Unlike Domentijan, who states that Andrew II of Hungary had partaken in the Holy Mysteries with St. Sava (while the king's conversion to Orthodoxy is only vaguely alluded in this narrative), who made the king *a partaker of a truthful table of heavenly supper* - writing his *Life* of St. Sava later in the 13th century, after the Union of Lyons, Theodosios gives a distinctively different image of the relationship of St. Sava of Serbia and king Andrew II, thus, changing the image of the Serbian church in its relation to Rome in the age of Sava Nemanjić, at the same time re-creating past events in a desirable manner of the late 13th century Serbia. Now, the accent is placed on the schism between the Orthodox and Latin church, and thus emphasis placed on the *Latin heresy* of the Hungarian king, whom St. Sava introduces to the Orthodox Christian faith through Andrew's renouncing of the *Latin faith* and only then does the king partake in the Sacred Mysteries:

*By the teaching of the saint he renounced the heresy, the Latin faith which he had followed, and all the evil and shameful heresies which the holy, catholic and apostolic Church had renounced and the holy Ecumenical councils anathematized he also anathematized and renounced and promised to keep the Orthodox faith as the saint had taught him. [...] and after he re-established him completely with the Orthodox faith, he admitted him to receive from the most holy body and honorable blood of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ.*<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Доментијан, *Живот светога Саве*, 248-257.

<sup>20</sup> The entire account of St. Sava's meeting with the Hungarian king is obviously dependant on the earlier story given by Domentijan, but Theodosios reworked those parts of the narrative which could highlight the difference between the Orthodox and Latin positions in faith matters. Cf. Теодосије, *Живот светога Саве*, 152-160.



At least on an ideological level, in Serbia, and probably for its internal use, there existed an idea of widening of the authority of the Serbian church towards Central European regions and of asserting of its autocephalous status, while in the maritime regions of Serbia there obviously existed a modus of co-existence with the ecclesiastical centers under direct jurisdiction of Rome. The Union of Lyons endangered the autocephaly of the Serbian church, which only shows that its existence was linked with many and various centers of power, whether it was Nicaea, Ohrid, Rome or even Jerusalem or Alexandria, these relations being diverse and multifaceted. Only in correlation to these networks of ecclesiastical and political authority can the Church in Serbia be understood truly and comprehensively in its emergence, shaping and later re-making of its ecclesiastical identity.

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#### НАСТАЈАЊЕ СРПСКЕ ЦРКВЕ ИЗМЕЂУ ВИЗАНТИЈЕ И РИМА

У овом раду желели бисмо да укажемо на неколико примера који би додатно осветлили процес настанка Српске аутокефалне цркве у 13. веку у ширем политичком и културном, као и еклисиолошком контексту који обухвата не само релације Србије између Византије и Рима, већ и да укажемо да су Свети Сава Немањић, његов отац - Свети Симеон Мироточиви као и први српски краљ из династије Немањића, Стефан, поставили Србију у шире оквире европског и источно медитеранског културно-политичког круга. У том процесу издвајамо неколико кључних тачака на које указујемо у раду. То су: оснивање манастира Хиландара као независног манастира у оквиру шире православне заједнице под врховном влашћу и старањем византијског цара; Савина поклоничка путовања у Свету Земљу и широм Блиског Истока и специфичне личне везе које је успоставио са најзначајнијим центрима Источног хришћанства - у Јерусалиму, Александрији и Антиохији и са њиховим патријарсима. Ктиторство и задужбинарство, пре свих Светог Саве на Атосу и у Светој Земљи као чин обележавања српског присуства у ширим еклисиолошким оквирима Источног хришћанства. Контакти архиепископа Саве и његовог брата, великог жупана Стефана Немањића са римским папом Хоноријем III, као и богословско литерарно уобличавање ових веза у житију Светог Саве од Доментијана - и у правцу српско-мађарских релација, такође у контексту односа према римском обрасцу хришћанства, литерарно представљање реалних односа Стефана Првовенчаног и Светог Саве са мађарским краљевима, и начин на који су они представљени у два Савина житија од Доментијана и Теодосија. Из ових сегмената које смо одабрали да анализирамо, стиче се шира слика о *настајању* Српске цркве у различитим контекстима који обухватају погледа на шире, међународне, чиниоце са којима су Свети Сава, Симеон и Стефан Првовенчани сарађивали, и начин на који се у унутрашњој употреби уобличавала слика о Српској цркви и Светом Сави као њеном првом архиепископу у односу према овим центрима политичког и духовног ауторитета на широком простору Источног Медитерана и западног света са којима је Србија њиховог доба била у географском, културном и политичком додиру.

