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SACERDOTIUM AND IMPERIUM IN LATE BYZANTINE ART

I. Sacerdotium and Imperium in Late Byzantium

It is beyond doubt that Eusebius' view that the Emperor had the power to administer the Church's affairs¹ - since he was the sacrosanct representative of God on earth and the supreme ruler of the world who controlled all human affairs, sacred or secular - defined the Byzantine political ideology. This ideology, which was reflected in Justinian's 'Novels'², remained unchanged till the end of Byzantium, although Patriarchs such as Photios³,

¹ Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, edd. A. Cameron - G. Stuart, (Clarendon Ancient History Series), Oxford 1999, especially Book IV, chapters 68-75. See also indicatively W. Enßlin, *Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaben*, München 1943; N. H. Baynes, *Eusebius and the Christian Empire*, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales 2 (1933-1934), 13-18; D.-S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, London 1960; F. Dvornik, *Emperors, Popes, and General Councils*, DOP 6 (1951), 1-23; A. J. Straub, *Constantine as Κοινὸς Ἐπίσκοπος*: Tradition and innovation in the representation of the first Christian Emperor's Majesty, DOP 21 (1967), 37-55; M.-J. Sansterre, *Eusèbe de Césarée et la naissance de la théorie 'césaropapiste'*, Byzantion 42 (1972), 131-195, 532-594; D. T. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Harvard University Press 1981; G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantine*, Paris 1996; A. H. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The policy of intolerance*, Baltimore 2002; K. R. Matschke, *Sakralität und Priestertum des byzantinischen Kaisers*, in *Die Sacralität von Herrschaft. Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume*, ed. F.-R. Erkens, (Akademie Verlag), Berlin 2002; D. Angelov, *The Donation of Constantine and the Church in Late Byzantium*, in *Church and society in Late Byzantium*, ed. D. Angelov, Kalamazoo 2009, 91-157.

² R. Schoell ed., *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Berlin 1912 [repr. 1954] vol. III, Novella 109, Epilogue, 519.35-520.7.

³ For Patriarch Photios see indicatively F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1948 [repr. 1970]; Idem, *Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm*, DOP 7 (1953) 69-97; A. Každan, Social'nye i političeskie vzgljady Fotija, *Ezegodnik Musija istorii religii i ateizma* 2 (1958), 123-132; C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, Cambridge, Mass. 1958; Β. Λαούρδας, *Φωτίου Ομιλία*, (Ελληνικά 12), Θεσσαλονίκη 1959; Β. Βλυσίδου, *Ο βυζαντινός αυτοκρατορικός θεσμός και η πρώτη ενθρόνιση του πατριάρχη Φωτίου*, Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα 7 (1978), 33-40; D.

Nicholas Mysticus⁴ and Michael Cerularius⁵ vigorously challenged the Emperor's supremacy. Besides, the power of the Episcopate rested (and rests) upon the apostolic succession, a status of authority derived from the belief that the leadership of God's earthly kingdom was primarily transmitted to the bishops through the Apostles, i.e. Christ Himself. So, the Patriarch of Constantinople appealed against the Emperor's power whenever he departed from the Christian truth or the Church's interests. In these cases the Patriarch proved himself to be defender of the faith, legitimacy and the state, especially after Michael VIII's pro-Latin actions. It is also important to remember that the *Donatio Constantini* was used to support the claims of the Late Byzantine Church leaders. According to Prof. D. Angelov, "The power claims of the Church took three distinct forms in late Byzantium. First, the Donation fostered legal arguments enhancing the standing of the clergy and the church as a corporate body vis-a-vis secular authority. Second, the Donation affected the political rhetoric of ambitious ecclesiastics who saw in it a model of imperial political conduct. Third and finally, it brought symbolic powers to the patriarch of Constantinople through the introduction of the ceremony of groom service (*officium stratoris*) in his honor"⁶.

Stratoudaki-White, *Patriarch Photios of Constantinople: His life, scholarly contributions, and correspondence together with a translation of fifty-two of his Letters*, (The Archbishop of Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources 5), Brookline, Mass. 1981; V. Laourdas - L. G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vols. 1-3, Leipzig 1983-1984; Γ. Ι. Λαμπριανίδης, *Ο Μέγας Φώτιος ως ερμηνευτής της Αγίας Γραφής*, (Ph.D), Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Αθήνα 2001; W. Treadgold, *Photius before his Patriarchate*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002), 1-17; L. D. Colda, *Patriarhul Fotie cel Mare al Constantinopolului: Contribuții la dezvoltarea Teologiei*, Alba-Iulia: Reîntregirea, 2012; Π. Κοματίνα, *Црквена политика византије од краја иконоборства до смрти цара Василија I*, Београд 2014, especially 225ff. V. Cergeș, *Saint Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople: Birth, childhood, and his ascension to the imperial court*, *Studia Theologia Orthodoxa* 60/1 (2015), 139-152.

⁴ Nicholas I was a major influence on both the domestic and foreign policies of the Byzantine Empire. See indicatively J. Gay, *Le patriarche Nicolas Mystique et son rôle politique*, *Mélanges Charles Diehl. Études sur l'histoire et sur l'art de Byzance*, Paris 1930, vol. II, 91-100; Ι. Κωνσταντινίδης, *Νικόλαος Α΄ Μυστικός (ca. 852-925 μ.Χ.)*, *πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (901-907, 912-925)*, Αθήνα 1967; F. Dvornik, *Photius, Nicholas I and Hadrian II*, *Byzantinoslavica* 34 (1973), 33-50; R. H.-J. Jenkins - L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople. Miscellaneous Writings*, (CFHB 20, Dumbarton Oaks Texts VI), Washington, D.C. 1981; Β. Βλυσίδου, *Σχετικά με τα αίτια της εκθρόνισης του πατριάρχη Νικολάου Α΄ Μυστικού (907)*, *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 11 (1997), 23-36.

⁵ For a comprehensive survey of the sources and secondary studies on Cerularius and the "Schisme" of 1054 see H. F. Tinnefeld, *Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043-1058). Kritische Überlegungen zu einer Biographie*, *JÖB* 39 (1989), 95-127; E. Chrysos, *1054: Schism?*, *Christianità d'Occidente e Christianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI)*, (Settimane di Studio dell Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo LI, 24-30 aprile 2003), Spoleto 2004, 547-571. Bibliography see also in C.-J. Cheyne, *Le patriarche 'tyrannos': le cas Cérulaire*, in *Ordnung und Aufruhr im Mittelalter. Historische und juristische Studien zur Rebellion*, ed. M. Th. Fögen, (Ius commune. Sonderhefte 70), Frankfurt am Main 1995, 1-16; E.-A. Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a doctrinal controversy*, Oxford 2010; Idem, *The Papacy and the Orthodox: Sources and History of a debate*, Oxford 2017.

⁶ Angelov, *The Donation of Constantine*, 105.

Furthermore, many important events and other factors were to change the balance of power in practice, such as the shrinking of the state and the divisions associated with political opportunism, the feeling of an impending threat to national survival, the economic woes connected with the “sinister” role of foreign traders and bankers and, eventually, the bitter religious disputes⁷. Under these circumstances, which were to result in centrifugal tendencies, the Emperor’s authority waned while, that of the Church increased⁸.

More specifically, after the civil wars the Byzantine principle of *Synallētia*’ underwent a major crisis mainly because of the Emperor’s efforts to secure

⁷ See indicatively I. Ševčenko, *The decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of its intellectuals*, DOP 15 (1961), 167-186; L. Maksimović, *Η ανάπτυξη κεντρόφυγων τάσεων στις πολιτικές σχέσεις Βυζαντίου και Σερβίας τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα*, in *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα*, (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Διεθνή Συμπόσια 3), Αθήνα 1996, 282-290; N. Necipoğlu, *The Empire challenged: Tradition, transformation and adaptation in Late Byzantine politics and society*, *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21-26 August*, London 2006, 79-81; Ср. Пириватрић, *Улазак Стефана у царство*, ЗРВИ 44 (2007), 381-406; N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. Politics and society in the Late Empire*, Cambridge 2009; J. Harris, *The End of Byzantium*, New Haven and London 2010, 46-78 et passim.

⁸ There is no consensus about this issue. See indicatively K. R. Matschke, *Politik und Kirche im spätbyzantinischen Reich. Athanasios I. Patriarch von Konstantinopel, 1289-1293, 1303-1309*, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 15 (Leipzig 1966), 479-486 [repr. *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alt und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453*, (Byzanz, Islam und Christliche Orient 2), Kovac 2008, 89-114]; D. M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Century of Byzantium*, Cambridge 1977, 17-20; Ch. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, London 1982, 214-215; M.-J. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford 1986, 286-294; T. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Η μορφή του Χριστού-Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα*, ΔΧΑΕ 17 (1993-1994), 70-76; M. Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge 1995, 560-563; D. Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*, Cambridge 2006, 351ff; Idem, *The Donation of Constantine*, 91-157; P. Guran, *L’Eschatologie de Palamas entre Théologie et politique*, *Études Byzantines et Post-byzantines* 5 (2006), 76ff; Ch. Dendrinou, *Reflections on the failure of the Union of Florence*, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 39 (2007), 135ff; N. Russell, *One faith, one Church, one emperor: the Byzantine approach to ecumenicity and its legacy*, *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 12/2 (2012), 122; A. Stavrou, *The Thessalonian discourse (c. 1380-1430): a synecdoche for developments in Late Byzantine society*, *Βυζαντικά* 30 (2012-2013), 243-265; Ch. Malatras, *Social structure and relations in fourteenth century Byzantium*, (Ph.D), University of Birmingham 2013, 170-185; E. Chatziantoniou, *Le rôle politique, social et judiciaire des archevêques de Thessalonique dans la dernière période byzantine, XIVe - premier tiers XVe siècle*, in *Villes méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge*, edd. É. Malamut - M. Querfelli, (Collection Le Temps de L’Histoire), Marseille 2014; A. Stefan Anca, *The ecumenical Patriarch as Mediator. Patriarch and emperor in the Palaiologan period*, in *The patriarchat Oecuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors frontières (1204-1586)*, *Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Sofia, 22-27 août 2011*, edd. M.-H. Blanchet - M.-H. Congourdeau - D.-I. Mureşan, (École de Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Dossiers Byzantins 15), Paris 2014, 69-80. Коматина, *Црквена политика*; See also the studies in *Zwei Sonnen am Goldenen Horn? Kaiserliche und patriarchale Macht im byzantinischen Mittelalter. Akten der Internationalen Tagung vom 3. bis 5. November 2010, Teilband I und II*, edd. M. Grünbart - L. Rickelt - M. M. Vučićić, (Byzantinistische Studien und Texte 3 und 4), Münster 2011–2013.

foreign aid by subjugating the Byzantine Church to that of the Latin West. Occasionally the Synod of Constantinople was compelled to accept a number of imperial privileges over ecclesiastical affairs⁹. On the other hand, various patriarchs and archbishops challenged the power of the Emperor by developing and promoting a new form of political theory which attributed a superior role to the leaders of the Church¹⁰. The key personalities involved in establishing the so-called 'hierocratic' ideology were Arsenius Autoreianus (†30 September 1273)¹¹ and especially Athanasius I (1289-1293, 1303-1309), both monks and Patriarchs of Constantinople¹².

⁹ V. Laurent, *Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique, l'accord de 1380-82*, RĒB 13 (1955), 5ff.

¹⁰ See Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 351ff. Cf. Stavrou, *The Thessalonian discourse*, 259-260.

¹¹ For Arsenius see indicatively I. Al. Tudorie, 'Et tementes frenum equi ipsius...'. *A new approach to the 13th-century relationship between the Byzantine emperor and patriarch*, in *The Patriarchate of Constantinople in context and comparison. Proceedings of the International Conference Vienna, September 12th – 15th 2012, in memoriam Konstantinos Pitsakis (1944-2012) and Andreas Schminck (1947-2015)*, edd. Ch. Gastgeber - E. Mitsiou - J. Preiser-Kapeller, - V. Zervan, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Bd. 41), Wien 2017, 31-46 with bibliography. See also bibliography in note no. 16.

¹² For Athanasius I see indicatively H. Delehaye, *La vie d'Athanase, patriarche de Constantinople (1289-1293, 1304-1310)*, Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire 17 (1897) 39-75 (= Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine 6 (Subsidia Hagiographica 42), Bruxelles 1966, 125-149); A. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Жития двух вселенскихъ патриарховъ XIV в., Свв. Атанасия и Исидора I: Βίος και πολιτεία του εν Αγίοις Πατρός ημών Αθανασίου αρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, Жапискиј Историко-филологическаго Факултета Императорскаго С. Петербурскаго Университета 76 (Санкт Петербург 1905), 1-51; N. Bănescu, *Le patriarche Athanase Ier et Andronic II Paléologue - état religieux, politique et social de l'empire*, Bulletin de la Section historique de l'Académie Roumaine 23 (1942), 28-56; V. Laurent, *Le serment de l'empereur Andronic II Paléologue au patriarche Athanase Ier, lors de sa seconde accession au trône œcuménique (sept. 1303)*, RĒB 23 (1965), 124-139; Matschke, *Politik und Kirche*; J. Gill, *Emperor Andronicus II and the Patriarch Athanasius I*, Βυζαντινά 2 (1970), 11-20; M.-A. Talbot, *The Patriarch Athanasius (1289-1293, 1303-1309) and the Church*, DOP 27 (1973) 11-28; Eadem, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, (CFHB 7, Dumbarton Oaks Texts 3), Washington D.C. 1975; D. J. Constantelos, *Life and social welfare activity of Patriarch Athanasios I (1289-1293, 1303-1309) of Constantinople*, Θεολογία 46/3 (1975), 611-625; J. L. Boojamra, *Athanasios of Constantinople: A study of Byzantine reaction to Latin religious infiltration*, Church History, Studies in Christianity and Culture 48 (1979), 27-48; Idem, *Church reform in the Late Byzantine empire. A study for the Patriarchate of Athanasios of Constantinople*, (Ανάλεκτα Βλατάδων 35), Thessaloniki 1982; M.-A. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The posthumous Miracles of the patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite*, Brookline MA 1983; J. L. Boojamra, *Social Thought and Reforms of Athanasios of Constantinople (1289-1293, 1303-1309)*, Byzantion 55 (1985), 332-382; A. Failler, *La première démission du patriarche Athanase (1293) d'après les documents*, RĒB 50 (1992), 137-162; J. L. Boojamra, *The Church and Social Reform. The Policies of the Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople*, New York 1993; T. S. Miller S. T. - J. Thomas, *The Monastic Rule of Patriarch Athanasios I.*, Orientalia Christiana Periodica 62 (1996), 353-371; R. Fusco, *L'encomio di Teoctisto Studita per Atanasio I di Costantinopoli (BHG 194a-b). Una orazione funebre tardo-bizantina per un patriarca a metà strada fra tradizione e riforma*, Rivista di

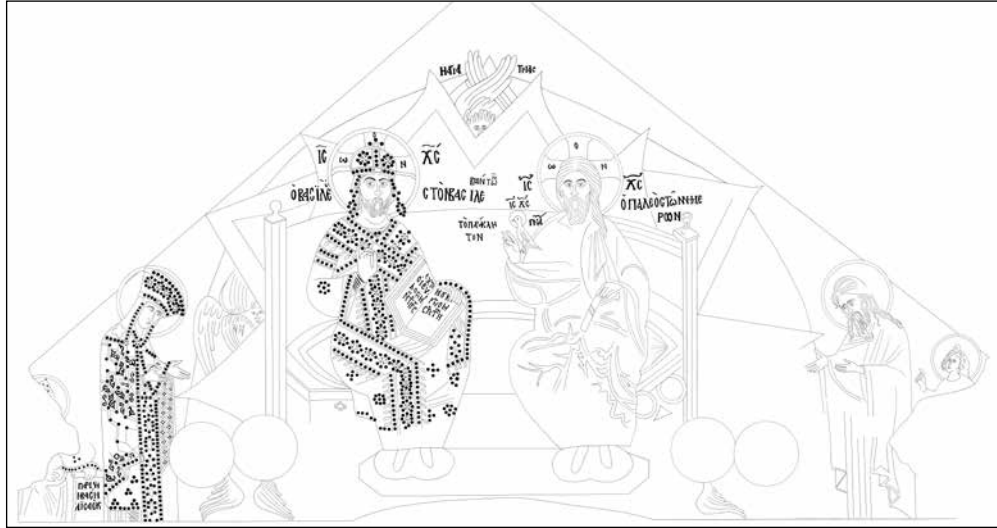


Fig. 1. Kastoria. Church of St. Nicholas tou Tzotza. The Imperial Deesis [after Sisiou, *Η καλλιτεχνική Σχολή της Καστοριάς*, fig. 13]

Сл. 1. Касторија. Црква Св. Никола ту Ђођа. Небески Двор (према И. Сисиу, Сликарска школа Касторије, сл. 13)

Many people, especially monks and church officials, were to be disappointed by Athanasius' attitude towards religious and social affairs. According to Gregoras, Athanasius abdicated from the throne of Constantinople because of

Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici n.s. 34 (1997), 83-153; A. Failler, *À propos de la promotion patriarcale d'Athanase de Constantinople*, *RÉB* 57 (1999), 237-243; A.M. Talbot, *Fact and fiction in the Vita of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite*, in *Les Vies des Saints à Byzance. Genre littéraire ou biographie historique?*, *Actes du IIe Colloque International Ερμηνεία, Paris, 6-8 Juin 2002*, edd. P. Odorico – P.A. Agapitos, (Dossiers Byzantins 4), Paris 2004, 87-101; Π. Γουναρίδης, 'Εαυτὸν ταλανίζων πένητα ἀποκαλῶν ἦν': μία σελίδα ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτικὴ ἀγιοποίηση τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀθανασίου Α', in *Οἱ ἥρωες τῆς Ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας. Οἱ νέοι ἅγιοι, 8ος-16ος αἰῶνας*, ed. E. Κουντουρά-Γαλάκη, (Διεθνὴ Συμπόσια 15), Ἀθήνα 2004, 203-214; M.S. Patedakis, *Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople (1289-1293, 1303-1309): A critical edition with introduction and commentary of selected unpublished works*, Oxford 2004. Idem, *Η διαμάχη τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀθανασίου Α' (1289-1293, 1303-1309) με τὸν κλῆρο τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (1306-1307) μέσα ἀπὸ ἑνδεκά ἀνέκδοτες ἐπιστολές*, *Ελληνικά* 56 (2006), 279-319; E. Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, *Die Hymnen des Theoktistos Studites auf Athanasios I. von Konstantinopel*, (Öst. Akademie der Wissenschaften WBS 27), Wien 2008; E. Mitsiou, *Das Doppelkloster des Patriarchen Athanasios I. in Konstantinopel: Historisch-prosopographische und wirtschaftlicher Beobachtungen*, *JÖB* 58 (2008), 87-106; M. S. Patedakis, *Athanasios I patriarch of Constantinople. Anti-Latin views and related theological writings*, in *Byzantine Theologians. The systematization of their own doctrine and their perception of foreign doctrines*, edd. A. Rigo - P. Ermilov, (Quaderni di Νέα Ρώμη 3), Rome 2009, 125-142; Idem, *The Testament of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople (1289-93, 1303-09)*, in *Byzantine Religious Culture. Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, edd. D. Sullivan – E. Fisher – S. Papaioannu, Leyden, Boston 2012, 439-451; I. Al. Tudorie, *Le patriarche Athanase Ier et les Arsénites: une letter patriarchal contre les schismatiques*, in *Le patriarchat Oecuménique*, 37-67.



Fig. 2. Skopje. Markov monastery catholicon. The Imperial Deesis [after Tomić-Djurić, *Idejne osnove tematskog programa*, fig. 443]

Сл. 2. Скопље. Марков манастир. Небески двор (према М. Томић-Ђурић, Идејне основе тематског програма, сл. 443)

a malicious deed: [...] ἐπει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔτι καὶ τὴν πατριαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ξηρόλοφον αὐτοῦ κελλίοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διέτριβε, κλέπτουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τὸ ὑποπόδιον αὐτοῦ, ὑφ' ὃ τὴν θεῖαν εἰκόνα στηλογραφοῦσι τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ταύτης τὸν τε βασιλέα Ἀνδρόνικον χαλινὸν ἐν τῷ στόματι φέροντα καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην Ἀθανάσιον ἔλκοντα τοῦτον, ὡσπερ τις ἡνίοχος ἵππον¹³.

Regardless of whether Athanasius' abdication was due to this incident or not, this vulgar joke, combined with certain choices made by the Patriarch, constitutes an indication of the Emperor's replacement by the Patriarch as the supreme ruler in the minds of the ecclesiastical community. Besides, the ecclesiastical policy of Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328) was to strengthen the authority of the Church, turning the Patriarchate of Constantinople into a hub of political and social life.

It is no accident that the first official written declaration of submission by an Orthodox emperor to the Patriarch of Constantinople was made in the year 1303 when Athanasius resumed his duties as Patriarch. The Emperor pointed out: Ταύτην (the Church) ὁμολογῶ... ἀκαταδούλωτον πάντη καὶ ἐλευθέραν διατηρεῖν... οὐ τοῦ ὕψους τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς προτιμότερον κρίνω ἢ τιμώτερον¹⁴. It is also interesting to note that Athanasius claimed in his resignation letter (1309) that Andronicus had given him rights and privileges comparable only to the privileges that Constantine the Great had granted to Pope Sylvester. Obviously, Athanasius had taken into account the *Donatio* as a model for his

¹³ Nicephori Gregorae, *Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. L. Schopen, (CSHB), vol. I. (Bonnae 1829), VII.9, 258-259.

¹⁴ Laurent, *Le serment*, 136, col. 34-39.

prelatic office¹⁵. Moreover, the address that was written in 1310 on the occasion of the termination of the Arsenite schism is also indicative of this novel view: [...] ó βασιλεύς πειθήνιος ύπάρχων τώ πατριάρχη πάντα κατὰ τήν εκείνου γνώμην έποίει και τοίς εκείνου θελήμασιν όλως ήγετο τή έκκλησία δή που τó κράτος παρέχων και ταύτη ύποτασσόμενος... Εί δεϊ ούν τὰ έλάττω τοίς μείζοσι πειθεσθαι, μείζων ή Έκκλησία ής ó Χριστός κεφαλή, ού τήν εικόνα φέρει ó πατριάρχη¹⁶. Two years later, during the patriarchate of Nephon I, Andronicus ceded to the Patriarch the rights over Mount Athos that had traditionally been held by the Emperor¹⁷. It was an act of recognition as the Holy Mountain was to be one of the most unifying factors for the Orthodox world after the disintegration of Byzantium and the Balkan kingdoms. From then on the Patriarchs were to intervene in and shape political developments, both within and outside the Byzantine dominions.

A characteristic case is that of John XIV Calecas (1334-1347)¹⁸. It is a well-known fact that he was a key player in the civil wars. He served as regent from 1341 and governor of Constantinople with increased powers, during the campaigns of Andronicus III. According to Gregoras, the Patriarch protested that “what the soul is to the body, the Church is to the imperial throne; both

¹⁵ Talbot, *The correspondence of Athanasius*, no. 112; Cf. Angelov, *The Donation of Constantine*, 111.

¹⁶ Π. Νικολόπουλος, *Ανέκδοτος Λόγος εις τον Αρσένιον Αυτορειαόν, πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, ΕΕΒΣ 45 (1981-1982), 406-461. For the Arsenite schism and its political character see I. Συκουτρής, *Περί το σχίσμα των Αρσενιατών*, Ελληνικά 2 (1929), 267-332; S. Salaville, *La vie monastique grecque au début du XIV siècle*, REB 2 (1944), 119-125; J. Gouillard, *Après le schisme arsenite. La correspondance inédite du pseudo-Jean Chilas*, Bulletin de la Section historique 25 (1944), 174-211; V. Laurent, *Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance. La fin du schisme Arsenite*, Bulletin de la Section Historique 26/2 (1945), 225-313; Idem, *Le serment*, 125ff.; I. E. Troitskij, *Arsenij i Arsenity*, (intr. J. Meyendorff), London 1973; Π. Νικολόπουλος, *Ανέκδοτον αρσενιατικόν δοκίμιον υπέρ των σχιζομένων*, ΕΕΒΣ 48 (1990-1991), 164-280; Α. Κοντογιανοπούλου, *Το σχίσμα των Αρσενιατών (1265-1310). Συμβολή στη μελέτη της πορείας και της φύσης του κινήματος*, Βυζαντιακά 18 (1998), 177-235; Tudorie, *Le patriarche Athanase Ier et les Arsénites*; Idem, *Le schism Arsénite (1265-1310): entre Akribeia et Oikonomia*, ЗРВИ 48 (2011), 133-174.

¹⁷ F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*, München 1948, no. 5; *Actes du Protaton, Archives de l’Athos VII*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, Paris 1975, 245-248 (patriarchal sigil), 251-254 (imperial chrysobull). Cf. Nicol, *Church and Society*, 19-20; D. Nastase, *Le patronage du Mont Athos au XIIe siècle*, Cyrillomethodianum 7 (1983), 78; Α. Μαυρομάτης, *Οι πρώτοι παλαιολόγοι. Προβλήματα πολιτικής πρακτικής και ιδεολογίας*, Αθήνα 1983, 36; Stavrou, *The Thessalonian discourse*, 260.

¹⁸ For Kalekas see indicatively L. Glucas, *The Triumph of Mysticism*, in *Byzantium in the Fourteenth century. Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis Jr., (Byzantina and Metabyzantina 4), Malibu 1985, passim; G. T. Dennis, *The deposition of the Patriarch Calecas*, JÖBG 9 (Vienna 1960) 51-55; Nicol, *Church and Society*, 297ff; A. Casiday, *John XIV (Kalekas). Byzantine Theology-cum-politics and the early Hesychast controversy*, in *Le patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIV–XVI siècles: rupture et continuité, Actes du Colloque International, Rome, 5-7 decembre 2005*, ed. F. Olivie, (Dossier byzantins 7), Paris 2007, 14-29; H.-M Congourdeau, *Athanase, Niphon et Jean Kalékas étaient-ils des patriarches simoniaques?*, in *The Patriarchate of Constantinople*, 125-134; Eadem, *La patriarche Kallistos Ier, les moines bulgares et le Myron*, in *Le patriarcat oecumenique*, 187-101

are one in terms of their constitution and life”¹⁹. Moreover, Calecas infuriated Gregoras, when he dressed himself in imperial insignia²⁰, as Michael Cerularius had done two centuries previously²¹. The Patriarch also annoyed the people of Constantinople by wearing a gold *kalyptra* on his head during the coronation of John V Palaeologus²².

It is worth bearing in mind that the figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, i.e. the main theme of the Deesis, were embroidered onto this head-dress. It can be supposed that Calecas’ *kalyptra* would have been similar to the crown worn by the archbishop St. Sava Nemanja portrayed in the doorway of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Peć (ca. 1375)²³. St. Sava’s crown is adorned with three medallions. The bust of Christ appears in the central one. Angels addressing supplications to Christ are depicted in the other two medallions. Incidentally, it should be observed that St. Sava is dressed in patriarchal attire, holding a large cross in the form of a bejewelled sceptre and also a *mappa circensis* related to the emperor’s *akakia*²⁴.

The tendency on the part of the Church’s rulers to assume political powers was to grow stronger after the establishment of the hesychastic theology of St. Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica and an emblematic figure of the 14th century († 1359, canonised 1368)²⁵. Hesychasm led to the further

¹⁹ Nicephori Gregorae, *Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. II, XII.3, 579.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, XIV.1, 697-698.

²¹ Theodor Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch (1185–1190) points out the arrogance shown by Michael I by taking on one of the imperial insignia (purple shoes) and then claiming the right to appoint or dismiss an emperor, according to the Western model (Γ. Α. Πάλλης – Μ. Ποτλής, *Σύνταγμα των Θείων και Ιερών Κανόνων*, Αθήνα 1852, vol. I, 148–149. See also Tudorie, *Et tementes frenum equi ipsius*, 39-40.

²² Ioannis Cantacuzeni, *Eximperatoris Historiarum*, ed. L. Schopeni, (CSHB), vol. II., III.39, 218. See also Β. Στεφανίδης, *Η των αυτοκρατορικών ενδυμάτων του Βυζαντίου επίδρασις επί των αρχιερατικών αμφίων: Η παλαιά και νέα θεωρία*, Θεολογία 21/1 (1950), 19-25 22-23.

²³ See indicatively Μ. Ραδужко, *Престо светог Симеона*, Зограф 28 (2000), 78-79, fig. 12; Т. Стародубцев, *Сакос, црквених достојанственика у средњовековној Србији*, Византијски Свет на Балкану 1 (Belgrade 2012), 527; Κ. Μ. Vapheiadēs, *Sacerdotium and Regnum in Late Byzantium: Some notes on the ‘Imperial Deēsis’*, American Journal of Arts and Design 2/4 (2017), 80, fig. 1.

²⁴ It is worth noting that St. Symeon’s description of the emperor’s attire after his anointment matches the appearance of St. Sava in his’ portrait: *Ὁ δὲ γὰρ βασιλεὺς, μετὰ τὸ χρυσοσῆναι καὶ εὐλογηθῆναι ἀρχιερατικῇ χειρὶ, καὶ τὸ στέμμα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς, καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν εἰς δεῖγμα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ τὴν ἀκακίαν, ὅπερ χοῦς ἐστὶν ἐν μανδύλῳ, σημαῖνον τὸ φθαρὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς...* (PG 155, 356)

²⁵ The literature on St. Gregory Palamas and his hesychastic theology is enormous. See indicatively J. Meyendorff, *Les debuts de la controverse hésychaste*, Byzantion 23 (1953), 87-120; Idem, *Introduction à l’étude de Grégoire Palamas*, (Patristica Sorbonensia 3), Paris 1959; G. Podskalsky, *Zur Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus*, Ostkirchliche Studien 16 (1967), 15-32; J. Meyendorff, *St. Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, Crestwood, New York 1974; Idem, *Mount Athos in the fourteenth century*, DOP 42 (1988), 157-165; Α. Ε. Tachiaos, *Le mouvement hésychaste pendant les dernières décennies du XIV^e siècle*, Κληρονομία 6 (1974), 113-132; L. Glucas, *The Hesychast controversy in Byzantium in the fourteenth century: A consideration of the basic evidence*, (Ph.D), Los Angeles

dominance of monasticism in social and political life, as well as the further strengthening of the Episcopate at the expense of the Emperor's authority²⁶. According to Prof. A. Stavrou²⁷, the hesychastic discourse "was a continuation of the tendency cultivated in the previous period that suggested the submission of the imperial authority to the ecclesiastical one".

A contingent of Athonite monks including the future patriarch Callistus I (1350-1353, 1355-1363) - during whose patriarchate Palamas' teachings were officially sanctioned (Council of 1351) - arrived in Constantinople in 1342 with the aim of assisting in the reconciliation of John Cantacuzene and the emperor John V Palaeologus²⁸. However, a few years later Callistus gave his firm support to John Palaeologus, despite the fact that he had already become patriarch with the assistance of Cantacuzene. Because of the issue of the succession to the throne, he resigned from his office in 1353. One year later, however, John V Palaeologus retook the throne, removing the usurper Matthew, son of John Cantacuzene. After that Callistus returned to the patriarchal see²⁹. In the

1975; G. K. Bonis, *Gregorios Palamas, der letzte der grossen byzantinischen Theologen (1296-1359)*, *Θεολογία* 50/1 (1979), 7-21; D. Angelov, *Hesychasm in Medieval Bulgaria*, *Bulgarian Historical Review* 17/3 (1989), 41-61; C. N. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantine Humanism and Hesychasm in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Synthesis or antithesis, reformation of revolution?*, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς* 80/768 (1997), 309-324; G. Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien, 865-1459*, München 2000; A. M. Ammann, *Die Gottesschaou in palamitischen Hesychasmus. Ein Handbuch der byzantinischen Mystik*, Würzburg 2002; A. Δεληκάρη, *Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Σιναΐτης. Η δράση και η συμβολή του στη διάδοση του Ησυχασμού στα Βαλκάνια: Η σλαβική μετάφραση του βίου του κατά το αρχαιότερο χειρόγραφο*, (Ελληνισμός και Κόσμος των Σλάβων 6), Θεσσαλονίκη 2004; K. Heyden, *The two Epistulae III of Palamas to Akindynos: The small but important difference between authenticity and originality*, *Studia Patristica* 96 (2017), 511-520.

²⁶ See Glucas, *The triumph of Mysticism*, 114-115 et passim. Cf. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Η μορφή*, 72; P. Guran, *Eschatology and political theology in the last centuries of Byzantium*, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 45/1-4 (2007), 77, 84-85.

²⁷ Stavrou, *The Thessalonian discourse*, 260-261.

²⁸ See Λ. Μαυρομάτης, *Το Άγιον Όρος κατά τον 14^ο αιώνα*, in *Ο Άθως στους 14^ο – 16^ο αιώνες* (Αθωνικά Σύμμεικτα 4), Αθήνα 1997, 14-15; Δεληκάρη, *Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Σιναΐτης*, 33.

²⁹ For Patriarch Callistus see indicatively Вл. Мошин, *Св. Патријарх Калист у српска Црква*, *Гласник Српске православне Цркве* 9 (1946), 192-206; E. Κουρίλας, *Το κέντρο των αρχαίων ησυχαστών. Η Σκήτη του Μαγουλά εν Άθω και ο πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος ο Α΄*, *Αγιορείτικη Βιβλιοθήκη* 18 (1953), 127-134, 199-207, 275-282, *Αγιορείτικη Βιβλιοθήκη* 19 (1954), 15-22; A. Failler, *La déposition du patriarche Calliste Ier (1353)*, *REB* 32 (1973), 5-163; Δ. Β. Γόνης, *Το συγγραφικόν έργον του Οικουμενικού πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α΄*, Αθήνα 1980; Ch. Hannick, *Patriarch Kallistos als Hymnograph*, *JÖB* 40 (1990), 331-348; X. Βουρουζίδης, *Ο οικουμενικός πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος Α΄*, *Σέρρες* 2002; N. Παπαδημητρίου-Δούκας, *Κάλλιστος Α΄ και Άγιον Όρος*, *Θεολογία* 76/2 (2005), 719-729; Δεληκάρη, *Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Σιναΐτης*, 31-63; K. Παϊδάς, *Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι και αιρετικοί στο Βυζάντιο κατά τον 14ο αιώνα. Επτά ανέκδοτες ομιλίες του πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, (Κείμενα Βυζαντινής Λογοτεχνίας 6), Αθήνα 2011, 31-45; Idem, *Editio princeps of an unedited dogmatic discourse against the Barlaamites by the patriarch of Constantinople Kallistos I'*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 105/1 (2012), 117-130; Idem, *Οι 'κατά Γρηγορά' Ομιλίες του πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, Αθήνα 2013; Idem, *Μία ανέκδοτη ομιλία περί Δανείου του πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, in *Αντικλήσιωρ. Τιμητικός*



Fig. 3. Meteora. Great Meteoron cathedral. The Imperial Deesis. Detail [after Georgitsoyanni, *Les peintures murales*, fig. 14]

Сл. 3. Метеори. Велики Метеор католикон. Царски Дензис. Детал (према Е. Георгитсојани, *Les peintures murales*, сл. 14)

meantime, he had been deposed by the hierarchs of the Synod (1354), who pointed out that [...] οὐδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ ἡ βασιλεῖς ἀναγορεύειν τε καὶ μετατιθέναι, ἢ μάχεσθαι καὶ διεκδικεῖν, ἢ ὄλως ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων. Ἠλευθέρωται γὰρ ἄνωθεν Χριστοῦ χάριτι ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ὀφείλει, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὑπερέχουσαι τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμβουλεύειν... καὶ δέχεσθαι καὶ στέργειν καὶ στέφειν, ὡς ἔθος, καὶ εὐφημεῖν πάντα τὸν ἀναγορευθέντα βασιλέα. Ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν... καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ποτέ³⁰. It is obvious that this passage alludes to the political actions of Callistus, who had shortly before had no hesitation in excommunicating the Serbian tsar Stefan Uroš Dušan.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Patriarch's acquisition of secular powers seems to have reached a crucial point during the reign of John V Palaeologus, since in 1380-1382 he convoked a synod in order to specify the Emperor's competence in administering the affairs of the Church³¹. The patri-

Τόμος Σπύρου Ν. Τρωϊάνου για τα ογδοηκοστά γενέθλιά του, Αθήνα 2013; Congourdeau, *La patriarche Kallistos Ier*; Idem, *Secular Life's behaviours and debauchery among Nuns. An unedited homily by the patriarch of Constantinople Kallistos I.*, ЗРВИ 32 (2015), 343-356.

³⁰ A. Failler, *La deposition du patriarche Calliste Ier (1353)*, RĒB 32 (1973), 5-163. Cf. Δεληκάρη, *Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Σιναΐτης*, 35-41.

³¹ See Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, 316; D. M. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*, Cambridge 1993[second edition], 462-463; Russell, *One faith, one Church*, 125-126. For the text see Laurent, *Les droits de l'empereur*, 5-20.

Fig. 4. Mount Athos.
Xēropotamou monastery.
‘Pulcheria’s disk’ [after
Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους,
no. 9.5 (K. Loverdou-
Tsigaridas)

Сл. 4. Света Гора.
Манастир Ксиропоταму.
Диск Пулхерије. (према
Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους,
9.5 (према К. Ловерду-
Тсигарида)



arch Nilus (1380-1388) and the Synod drew up a deed in nine articles which, however, concern administrative matters: the sacral aspects of the Imperium are not mentioned, nor the vital imperial privileges, i.e. the right to convoke an ecumenical council and the right to appoint the Ecumenical Patriarch, though these two rights could be taken for granted. In any case, the view that the Emperor's power emanated from the Patriarch himself is apparent in the context of the deed in question.

However, it was not only Late Byzantine patriarchs, but also archbishops, such as those of Ohrid and Thessalonica, who became involved in political and social issues. Like their counterparts in Constantinople, they played a prominent role in civic affairs and in promoting a higher role for the Church's ruling class³². Of these archbishops, it was St. Symeon of Thessalonica (1416/17 - †1429), the author of an informative history of events in Thessalonica from 1387 to 1422 and best known for his commentaries on the Liturgy, who was to establish the so-called “hierocratic ideology”³³.

³² See indicatively Chatziantoniou, *Le role politique*, with bibliography.

³³ Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 392, 415-416. For St. Symeon of Thessalonica see indicatively I. M. Φουντούλης, *Το λειτουργικόν έργον του Συμεών του Θεσσαλονίκης*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1966; D. Balfour, *St. Symeon of Thessalonica: A polemical Hesychast*, *Sobornost* 4/1 (1982), 6-21; Idem, *Saint Symeon of Thessalonike as a historical personality*, *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28 (1983), 55-72; G. T. Dennis, *The Late Byzantine metropolitans of Thessalonike*, *DOP* 57 (2003), 260-261; S. Hawkes-Teeple, ed., *St. Symeon of Thessalonika, The Liturgical Commentaries*, (Studies and Texts 168), Toronto 2011; Stavrou, *The Thessalonican discourse*, 263-265; Ch. Kappes, *A new narrative for the reception of Seven Sacraments into Orthodoxy: Perer Lombard's Sentences in Nicholas Cabasilas and Symeon of Thessalonica and the utilization of John Duns Scotus by the Holy Synaxis*, *Nova et Vetera* 15/2 (2017), 465-501.



Fig. 5. Lesnovo. Holy Archangels Monastery. Christ the-High Priest [after Popovska-Korobar, Lesnovo manastir, fig. p. 19

Сл. 5. Манастир Лесново. Христ Велики Архијереј. (према В. Поповска-Коробар сл.19)

not expect the Byzantines to treat the relationship of Emperor and Patriarch as a matter of conflicting or opposing institutions³⁷. Nevertheless, a number

It is well known that Symeon was a central figure in the political life of Thessalonica since he was much involved in civic duties, advising the city's governor and presiding over civil tribunals. As certain scholars have already pointed out³⁴, Symeon had constantly challenged imperial authority by claiming that the imperial power had to be completely dependent on the power of the Church: *Καὶ τὸ «εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, Δέσποτα» οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ λέγουσι, μαρτυροῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς δι' αὐτῶν εὐφημεῖται, ὁ καὶ τὴν εὐσεβῆ βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καταστησάμενος. Διὸ καὶ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς φέρων, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς εὐφημεῖται, μᾶλλον δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ Χριστὸς³⁵*. What Archbishop Symeon says in short is that the bishop takes the place of Christ as both High Priest and Great King on earth, given that Christ has already established both the devout kingship and prelacy. Evidently, these two powers formed and realized by Christ are strongly connected with the person of every single bishop through God's grace³⁶.

II. Church policy and art in the Late Byzantine period

It is no wonder that the increasing power of the Church and its political role in the Late Byzantine period came to be expressed through art. Certainly, according to Prof. I. Kalavrezou, "we cannot

³⁴ Dennis, *op. cit.*, 261; Angelov, *The Donation of Constantine*, 115-117; Tudorie, *Et tementes frenum equi ipsius*, 44, note 62.

³⁵ PG 155, 292D, 293A. See also Hawkes-Teeples Sj, *op.cit.*, 165ff.

³⁶ Cf. Guran, *Eschatology and political Theology*, 79, 85

³⁷ I. Kalavrezou, *Imperial relations with the Church in the art of the Komnenians, in Byzantium in the 12th Century. Canon Law, State and Society*, ed. N. Oikonomides, (Society of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Diptycha – Paraphylla 3), Athens 1991, 26.

of iconographic programs demonstrate an intention to glorify the supremacy of Church ministrants, such as the program of the so-called “cross of Michael Cerularius” (1057/8?) and of the Vatican Psalter gr. 752 (1058/9), long before the Palaeologan era³⁸ as well as the program in the dome of the Church of Christ the Saviour in Thessalonica (mid 14th c.)³⁹ and in the Vatican Sakkos (late 14th c.), which will be discussed below. A series of iconographical themes emerged during the 14th century⁴⁰ which are of an eschatological-triumphal character and are closely connected with the conception of the Davidic descent of Christ and, by extension, His kingly status, as well as the authority of the Church’s leaders over Christian society. Four of them are of vital significance: the iconographical theme of the “Imperial Deesis”, the theme of Christ as High Priest and King of Kings (*Rex Regnantium*), the theme of “All Saints” (*All Hallows’ Day*) and that of the “Enthroned Above, Entombed Below”.

II.A The iconographic theme of the “Imperial Deesis”

An extensive Imperial Deesis lies in the narthex of the catholicon of the Treskavac Monastery, Prilep (1334-1343/46)⁴¹. A figure of Christ dressed in imperial attire, such as the loros and mitra, is situated in a medallion in the upper section of the north dome. The depiction bears the inscription: Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστός) ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Βασιλευόντων [Jesus Christ the King of all Kings]. A huge throne surrounded by angels with a codex (evangel) over it is depicted in the lower zone. The Virgin Mary, also in royal attire, is portrayed on the right

³⁸ See J.-H. R. Jenkins - E. Kitzinger, *A cross of the Patriarch Cerularius with an art-historical comment*, DOP 21 (1967), 233-249. For the Psalter see I. Kalavrezou – N. Trahoulia N. – Sh. Sabar, *Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter gr. 752*, DOP 47 (1993), 195-219.

³⁹ See Τ. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλλου των ναών της παλαιολόγιας περιόδου στη Βαλκανική χερσόνησο και την Κύπρο*, Αθήνα 2001, 164-165; E. Κουρκουτιδου-Νικολαΐδου, *Ναός του Σωτήρος Χριστού, Θεσσαλονίκη*, Αθήνα 2008, 88-115.

⁴⁰ See indicatively T. Velmans, *Le role de l’Hésychasme dans la peinture murale byzantine du XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, in *Ritual and Art: Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter*, ed. R. Armstrong, London 2006, 183-226.

⁴¹ See indicatively С. Радојчић, *Старо српско сликарство*, Београд 153-155; Ц. Грозданов, *Христос Цар, Богородица Царица. Небесните сили и светите војници во живописот од XIV и XV век во Трескавец*, [= *Студиум за охридскиот живопис*, Скопје 1990, 132-149]; Guran, *Les implications théologico-politiques*, 44-49; С. Смолчић-Макуљевић, *Царски Деусис и небески и двор у сликарству XIV века манастира Трескавац, програм северне куполе приправе цркве Богородициног успења*: у: *Трећа југословенска конференција византолога*, (Београд – Крушевац 2002), 465, n. 10; Idem, *Цркве и приожници у Охридската Архиепископија краља Дучана*, *Зограф* 40 (2016), 73-84; I. Σίστιου, *Μια άγνωστη σύνθεση στον Άγιο Νικόλαο του Γζότζα Καστοριάς. Συνένωση δύο σημαντικών θεμάτων της Βασιλικής Δέησης και της Αγίας Τριάδας*, in *Αφιέρωμα στην μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2001, 529-531, fig. 11; Idem, *Η καλλιτεχνική Σχολή της Καστοριάς κατά τον 14^ο αιώνα*, (Ph.D), Πανεπιστήμιο Δυτικής Μακεδονίας, Φλώρινα 2013, 210-211, 352-353; M. Глигорјевић-Максимовић, *Сликарство XIV века у манастирз Трескавацу*, *ЗРВИ* 42 (2005), 109-113, figs. 28-35. A. Vasileski, *The Monastery of Treskavec. The most significant values of the cultural and natural heritage*, Skopje 2016, 21-22.



Fig. 6. Mount Athos.
Dionysiou monastery.
Icon of "All Saints"
[after *Velmans, La*
Dimanche, fig. 5]

Сл. 6. Света Гора.
Манастир Дионисиу.
Икона «свих светих»
(према Т. *Velmans, La*
Dimanche, fig. 5)

side of the throne, bowing her head in reverence and extending her hands for mercy before Christ. King David is depicted on the opposite side of the throne. Ranks of angels have been laid out in the south part of the zone. Standing figure of military saints and martyrs are situated beneath the cupola. They have been positioned in a three-quarter view with their hands raised towards the Christ-Emperor.

This is the first instance in which the constituent parts of this particular subject are fully developed. The completeness of this Imperial Deesis indicates that it probably emerged at an earlier date, but in the areas under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Ohrid. It should be pointed out that Ohrid was already a great centre of cultural production in the time of Demetrius Chomatenus and also a source of innovative or revived iconographic subjects, such as that of the Holy Trinity⁴². However, it is very likely that the Imperial Deesis was fully developed and in wide circulation just before or soon after the capture of the

⁴² See indicatively Μ. Παϊσίδου, *Η ανθρωπόμορφη Αγία Τριάδα στον Άγιο Γεώργιο της Ομορφοκκλησιάς Καστοριάς*, in *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίτσα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2001, 373-393; S. Bogevska, *The Holy Trinity in the Diocese of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the second half of the 13th century*, *Patrimonium* 3 (2012), 143-175.

city of Ohrid by Stefan Dušan (1334), when the local bishopric, being under the control of the Serbian ruler, was obliged to assert its territorial integrity and independence⁴³.

Obviously, the above-mentioned iconographic theme in the narthex of the Treskavac church alludes to the Second Coming of Christ. Indeed, Christ is dressed as Emperor before the throne of His Judgement Day. The Virgin-Empress and prophet David are not the sole participants in this act of supplication but also the celestial powers and the (military) delegates of the earthly Church⁴⁴. In addition, the inscription *The King of all Kings* clearly refers to the apocalyptic texts, such as that of Daniel (Dan. 2, 37 and 47) and that of John (Rev. 17, 14 and 19, 16). So it can be assumed that the meaning of the theme of the Imperial Deesis is an eschatological one. However, the emphasis on the royal status of Christ is open to interpretation.

A magnificent version of the Imperial Deesis is to be found on the pediment of the east wall of the Church of St. Nicholas *tou Tzotza*, Kastoria (Mid 14th c.) (fig. 1)⁴⁵. Christ the-Emperor and God the Father [the Most Ancient of Days], who bears the Holy Spirit on his right arm, are seated together on a luxurious throne. They are depicted against a huge mandorla flanked by the celestial powers and also by the Virgin Mary, clothed in royal garments, and John the Baptist. Both the Virgin Mary and John beseech the Holy Trinity for mercy. God the Father, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit are surrounded by a nimbus and bear the inscription *Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς*. Another accompanying inscription reads: *Ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν βασιλευόντων* [The King of all Kings]. The open codex held by Christ the-Emperor includes a quotation from the Bible: *[Δ]εῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν [ἡ]τοιμασμένην ἡμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* (Mat. 25, 34). The composition is completed with the figures of the prophets David and Daniel, arranged in the corners of the triangular frame of the picture. David carries a scroll with a quotation from Psalm 44(45) concerning the Virgin Mary as a queen, while Daniel's scroll bears a quotation from his book: *Ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου οἱ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν...* (Dan. 7, 9-14).

This representation is laid out in the upper section of the east wall of this single-aisled church, i.e. on its most prominent part, since the subject concerns the glory and power of the Holy Trinity in heaven and on earth. It should be

⁴³ See indicatively A. Δεληκάρη, *Η Αρχιεπισκοπή Αχριδών κατά τον Μεσαίωνα. Ο ρόλος της ως ενωτικού παράγοντα στην πολιτική και εκκλησιαστική ιστορία των Σλάβων των Βαλκανίων και του Βυζαντίου*, (Ελληνισμός και Κόσμος των Σλάβων 12), Θεσσαλονίκη 2014, 210ff. It should be noted that S. Radojčić has pointed out the presence of a portrait of Stefan Dušan in the exonarthex of the catholicon of Treskavac Monastery (15th c.) (*Πορτραίτη српских владара у средњем веку*, Beograd 1996 [second edition], 123).

⁴⁴ Cf. the comment by St. John Chrysostom: *Ἄνω στρατιαὶ δοξολογοῦσιν ἀγγέλων, κάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίαις χοροστατοῦντες ἄνθρωποι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἐκμμοῦνται δοξολογίαν... κοινή τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων συγκροτεῖται πανήγυρις* (PG 56, 97).

⁴⁵ See indicatively E. Τσιγαρίδας, *Τοιχογραφίες της περιόδου των Παλαιολόγων σε ναοὺς της Μακεδονίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1999, 251-283; Idem, *Καστοριά. Κέντρο ζωγραφικῆς την ἐποχῆ των Παλαιολόγων (1360-1450)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2016, 78-80, 87-91, pl. 10 [E. Tsigaridas dates the wall-paintings to between 1360 and 1380]. For the mural see Σίσιου, *Μία ἀγνωστὴ σύνθεση*, 511-536, des. 1, 2, figs. 3-6; Idem, *Η καλλιτεχνικὴ Σχολή*, 207, 215-216, 354-355, pls. 13, 21.

emphasized that the majesty of the Holy Trinity is realized in the person of Christ the-Emperor, who is also the lamb sacrificed for the sake of mankind. Again, all the details of the composition and of course the inscriptions and quotations from the Bible suggest the eschatological character of the Imperial Deesis. However, this is also evidence of the connection between the subject and the Liturgy, given this particular subject is situated above the altar and the Melismos scene, and that the words mentioned from the Bible also appear in the Cherubic Hymn of the Vespers service on Holy Saturday, which also has an eschatological character⁴⁶. It should also be stressed that I. Sisiou has claimed that the portrait of Christ the-Emperor in the Church of St. Nicholas *tou Tzotza* is based on the portrait of Stefan Dušan in the Lesnovo Monastery (1349), and thus dates the wall-paintings to immediately after Dušan's coronation (1346)⁴⁷. Obviously, this view suggests a connection between the subject of the Imperial Deesis and the political aims of King Stefan Dušan.

Another monumental and extensive Imperial Deesis is to be found in the lower zone of the north wall of the catholicon of the Markov Monastery near Skopje, which is dedicated to St. Demetrius (1376/7 or 1380/1)⁴⁸ (fig. 2). In this wall-painting Christ the-Emperor is enthroned upon the celestial powers. Two angels, whose arms are outstretched in a gesture of supplication, flank the figure of Christ. He is also flanked by the Mother of God, who is clothed in royal attire, John the Baptist, the prophet David and a series of other saints dressed in princely attire.

Given that the iconographic program of the catholicon of the Markov Monastery is full of liturgical and political meanings⁴⁹, the appearance of Christ the-Emperor, accompanied by the members of His sacred retinue, conveys a multi-layered symbolic message to the viewer. The enthroned figure of Christ the-Emperor located near the prothesis entrance is evidence of the eschatologi-

⁴⁶ Παπαμαστοράκης, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλλου*, 156. Σίσιου, *Μια άγνωστη σύνθεση*, 532.

⁴⁷ Σίσιου, *op. cit.*, 524-527, 534. This view is not accepted by E. Tsigaridas (*Καστοριά*, 91).

⁴⁸ For the monastery and its wall paintings see indicatively Ј. Мирковић – Ж. Татић, *Марков Манастир*, Београд 1925, 35-41; Ј. Мирковић, *Да ли се фреске Маркова манастира могу тумачити житијем св. Василија Новог?*, *Старинар* 12 (1961), 77-90; К. Балабанов, *Новооткриени портрети на кралот Марко и кралот Волкашини во Марковиот манастир*, *Културно Наследство* 3 (1967), 47-65; В. Ј. Ђурић, *Марков манастир – Охрид*, *Зборник матице српске за ликовне уметности* 8 (1972), 131-160; Ц. Грозданов, *Охридско жидно сликарство од XIV века*, Охрид 1980, 121-150; Idem, *Ζωγραφισот на Охридскаја архиепископија*, *Студии*, Скопје 2007, 273-291; Guran, *Les implications théologico-politiques*, 50-53; B. Svetković, *Sovereign portraits at Markov Manastir revisited*, *Ikon* 5 (2012), 1-8. M. Marković, *Observations on the oldest known icons of the Monastery of King Marko (I). The issue of the patronage of Helena Dragaš and the inscription on the shield of St. Demetrios*, *Зорграф* 37 (2013), 147-167; K. M. Vapheiadēs, *Painting work systems in the fourteenth century: The case of Markov manastir*, *Βυζαντινά* 33 (2013-2014), 289-317; Idem, *Υστερη βυζαντινή ζωγραφική. Χόρος και μορφή στην τέχνη της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 1150-1450*, Αθήνα 2015, 351-354; M. Томић-Ђурић, *Идејне основе тематског програма живописа цркве светог Димитрија у Марковом манастиру*, (Ph.D), Белграде 2017, 592-603; Eadem, *фреске Марковог манастира*, Белграде 2019.

⁴⁹ See Томић-Ђурић, *Идејне основе тематског програма*.

cal meaning of the Great Entrance and of the symbolism of the Cherubic Hymn sung at Matins on Holy Saturday⁵⁰. He is the King of all Kings who, accompanied by the celestial court and his saints, approaches the altar to be slaughtered for the salvation of the faithful⁵¹.

It is important to remember that the subject of the Divine Liturgy in the form of the Great Entrance is depicted within the central apse of the bema. In this case Christ the-High Priest, situated on the central axis of the composition, is waiting for the Gifts borne ritually by both groups: the Hierarchs on the left and the deacon-priest angels on the right, i.e. by both the earthly and celestial Church at the same time⁵². Therefore, while the wall-painting of the Divine Liturgy at the Markov Monastery is simply a depiction of what actually takes place during the procession of the Gifts, the theme of the Imperial Deesis emphasizes the triumphal presence of the eschatological Christ. It is a pictorial reminder of the eschatological character of the offered Gifts since the Bread and Wine are about to be actually transformed into the Body and Blood of Christ, outside any time-frame. At that moment we receive a tangible vision of the Last Judgement and an experience of the heavenly Kingdom of Christ⁵³.

Nevertheless, the double allusion to the Great Entrance, with Christ portrayed as enthroned Emperor in the nave but close to the prothesis apse and Christ the-High Priest in central apse of the bema constitutes - among other things mentioned by P. Guran⁵⁴ - a reference to the dual authority of the Church's rulers.

The Imperial Deesis is also depicted in the south-east corner of the old catholicon of the Great Meteoron monastery, Thessaly (1483/4) (fig. 3)⁵⁵. In this case the enthroned figure of Christ the-Emperor is surrounded by the inscription Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κριτὴς δίκαιος [The King of all Kings and the Righteous Judge]. Christ's head is surrounded by a nimbus and also by an octagonal aureole around it. He is flanked by the interceding figures of the

⁵⁰ See indicatively H.-J. Schultz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie. Glaubenszeugnis und Symbolgestalt*, (Sophia. Quellen östlicher Theologie, Bd. 5), Freiburg 1964 [= στα ελληνικά, Αθήνα 1998], 81, 82.

⁵¹ Мирковић, *op. cit.*, 88-90; Guran, *op. cit.*, 51-52. Cf. W. T. Woodfin, Orthodox liturgical textiles and clerical self-referentiality, in *Dressing the part: Textiles as propaganda in the middle ages*, edd. K. Dimitriva – M. Goehring, Turnhout 2014, 40. For the Great Entrance see indicatively Schultz, *op. cit.*, 77-81, 235-240; R. E. Taft Sj., *The Great Entrance. A history of the transfer of the Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200), Rome 1975; Idem, *The Liturgy of the Great Church: An initial synthesis of structure and interpretation on the eve of Iconoclasm*, DOP 34-35 (1980-1981), 45-7.

⁵² Cf. R. E. Taft Sj., *The living Icon. Touching the transcendent in Palaiologan iconography and Liturgy*, in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557). Perspectives on Late Byzantine art and culture*, ed. T. Sh. Brooks, (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia), New York, New Haven, and London 2006, 55-56.

⁵³ Cf. Guran, *Eschatology and political Theology*, 6.

⁵⁴ R. Guran, *Les implications théologico-politiques de l'image de la 'Deesis' à Vornonnet*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 44 (2005), 51-53.

⁵⁵ See E. N. Georgitsoyanni, *Les peintures murales du Vieux Catholicon du monastère de la Transfiguration aux Metéores (1483)*, Athènes 1993, 272-275, pl. 14, 87-89.



Fig. 7. Thessalonica. Vlatadōn monastery. Chapel of St. Gregory Palamas. The “Enthroned Above, Entombed Below” [after G. Fousterēs Foto Archive]

Сл. 7. Солун. Манастир Влатадон. Параклис Св. Григорија Паламе. Горе на Трону, доле на гробу (према Г. Фустериса архив)

Virgin Mary, this time not clothed in imperial attire, and John the Forerunner. The Virgin Mary turns towards the throne of Christ, holding an inscribed scroll in her right hand. The scroll bears a dialogue whose different parts are distinguished by different colours. In this dialogue the mother of God expresses her sympathy for the people and beseeches her Son to be merciful. Christ initially rejects, but then finally gives in to his mother’s supplications⁵⁶.

It is important to mention that the “diaconicon” in the nave takes the form of an enclosed chamber because it was the entrance to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. So the figure of Christ the-Emperor has been painted on the west façade of the west wall of the “diaconicon” just before the south-east corner of the nave. Christ is also depicted as the Mann of Sorrows (Utmost Humiliation)⁵⁷ on the opposite side of the nave, i.e. in the prothesis apse. Obviously, these two pictures of Christ set on both sides of the altar are intended to exalt both Christ’s majesty on the Day of the Last Judgement and also the power of the Suffering Christ over life and death.

The eschatological meaning of the subject of the Imperial Deesis, as defined above, is demonstrated even more clearly in a number of icons and iconostasis beams. A triptych icon from the Church of the Prophet Elijah, Veroia

⁵⁶ See I. M. Đordjević – M. Marković, *On the dialogue relationship between the Virgin Mary and Christ in East Christian Art. A propos of the discovery of the figures of the Virgin Mediatrix and Christ in the naos of Lesnovo*, Зорпаф 28 (2001-2001), 13-47.

⁵⁷ This apse was overpainted in the late 18th century.

(mid 14th c.) depicts the theme in question⁵⁸. Jesus Christ is seated on a throne dressed in imperial attire and insignia and surrounded by the ranks of angels. Among them, the archangels Michael and Gabriel may be discerned. The Virgin Mary, clothed in imperial garments too, and the prophet David flank Christ. Both, the Virgin Mary and David, are depicted as intercessors before the frontally depicted figure of Christ the-Emperor. Judging by another triptych - that at Struga (c. 1500)⁵⁹, which is decorated with the Second Coming of Christ but also the enthroned figure of Christ the-Emperor in the central panel - the lost side panels of the Veroia triptych would have been painted with the rest of the Second Coming scene. Yet another similar case is to be found in the Flaska's kellion at Karyes on Mount Athos. The iconostasis beam of the kellion is decorated with an Imperial Deesis (c. 1526)⁶⁰. The enthroned Christ, dressed in imperial and prelatial attire, is flanked not only by the Queen Virgin Mary and John the Baptist but also by the enthroned Apostles, which may be regarded as a visual allusion to the Last Judgement connected with the funereal use of the kellion.

The above-mentioned cases attest to the multi-layered symbolic meaning of the Imperial Deesis. However, there is no consensus among scholars regarding the literary sources of this subject⁶¹. Also, the emergence of the subject and

⁵⁸ According to Th. Papazotos (*Βυζαντινές εικόνες Βέροιας*, Αθήνα 1995, 62-63, pl. 76), this icon features the Psalm verse: *Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen* (Ps. 44(45), 10) which occurs on David's scroll. This biblical verse could be used as a source of this subject. However, the verse emphasizes the Virgin-Queen, not Christ the-King, who is the main subject of the Imperial Deesis. See also X. Μαυροπούλου-Γσιούμη, 'Παρέστη η βασίλισσα εκ δεξιάν σου': Βυζαντινή εικόνα στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Βέροιας, in *Μνείας χάριν. Τόμος στην μνήμη Μαίρης Σιγανίδου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1998, 141-147.

⁵⁹ See В. Поповска Коробар, *ОхридскоСтрушки иконописни траги од втората половина на XV век*, *Patrimonium* 3/7-8 (2010), 300-302, 304, fig. 14; E. Negrău, *Deësis in the Romanian painting of the 14th – 18th centuries. Themes and meanings*, *Revista Teologică* 93/2 (2011), 70, fig. 10.

⁶⁰ This beam is now located on the east wall of the 'archontariki' of the Chilandar Monastery. See G. Subotić, *Η καλλιτεχνική ζωή στο Άγιον Όρος πριν την εμφάνιση του Θεοφάνη του Κρητός*, in *Ζητήματα μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής στη μνήμη του Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, ed. E. Δρακοπούλου, Αθήνα 2002, 75-76, fig. 5.

⁶¹ For an overview of the literature on this subject see note 48. See also Мирковић, *Да ли се фреске Маркова манастира*, 89-90; Радојчић, *Старо српско сликарство*, 153-155; Ch. Grigoriadou, *L' image de la Déesis royale dans une fresque du XIV^e siècle à Castoria*, *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International d'Études byzantines, Bucarest 6-12 Septembre 1971*, vol. II, Bucaresti 1974, 46-52; Грозданов, *Зинописот на Охридска архиепископија*, 5-19, 132-150; Παπαμαστοράκη, *Η μορφή*, 74ff; Μαυροπούλου-Γσιούμη, 'Παρέστη η βασίλισσα', 141-147. С. Grozdanov, *Une variante de l' image du Christ Roi des rois et Grande Prête dans l'art post-byzantin (d'après les exemples de l'archevêché d' Ohrid)*, in *Ζητήματα μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής*, 253-270; Παπαμαστοράκης, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλλου*, 154-156; Negrău, *Deësis in the Romanian painting*, 64-81; Guran, *Les implications théologico-politiques*; Глигоријевић-Максимовић, *Сликарство XIV века у манастиру Трескавацу*, 109-113. Varheaiades, *Sacerdotium and Regnum*, 79-83; A. Kriza, *The Royal Deesis. An Anti-Latin image of Late Byzantine art*, in *Cross-Cultural interaction between Byzantium and the West, 1204–1669: Whose Mediterranean Is It Anyway?*, ed. A. Lymberopoulou, New York and London 2018, 272-290.

its dissemination through the lands of the Archdiocese of Ohrid⁶² is not documented. Of course, it is well known that Ohrid experienced political and administrative instability from the end of the 12th century. Its status was constantly disputed by all sides - Byzantines, Serbs and Ottomans - during the 14th century. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the Imperial Deesis appeared in this period since these circumstances were to prove decisive for the establishment of a theme which attested to the lack of a strong and stable central authority. However, it is also well known that the 14th-century archbishops of Ohrid, such as Nikolaos (after 1334 - before 1365)⁶³, willingly accepted not only Dušan's authority but also the supremacy of the Serbian Church, which even at that time was independent of Constantinople (= April 9 1346). So, on the other hand, the normal relations between the Serbian ruler and the Archbishop of Ohrid in the middle of the 14th century rather weigh against the assumptions made above regarding the emergence of the Imperial Deesis theme.

However, whatever the case may be, what is worth mentioning is that the triumphal content of the Imperial Deesis' theme is defined by the double eschatological meaning of Christ's presence in the Divine Liturgy: He is both the King of all Kings slaughtered for mankind's sake and also the great Judge of mankind. This triumphal concept runs through the liturgical texts, especially the Cherubic Chant sung at the Great Entrance on Holy Saturday: *Let all mortal flesh keep silence and stand with fear and trembling and take no thought for any earthly thing, for the King of kings and the Lord of lords is approached to be slaughtered and given as food for the faithful. Before Him go the choirs of the angels with all authority and power, the many-eyed Cherubim and the six-winged Seraphim which cover their faces and cry out the hymn, alleluia*⁶⁴.

⁶² For the history of the Archdiocese of Ohrid see indicatively H. Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Ahrida. Geschichte und Urkunden*, Leipzig 1902 [repr. 1980]; I. Снегаров, *История на Охридската архиепископија*, vol. I: *От основаването и до завладяването на балканския Полуостров от Турците*, София 1924 [repr. 1995]; Δ. Α. Ζακυθινός, *Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν των Εκκλησιών Αχρίδος και Ιπεκίου*, Μακεδονικά 1 (1940), 429-458; I. Κονιδάρης, *Συμβολαί εις την εκκλησιαστικήν ιστορίαν της Αχρίδος*, Αθήνα 1967; G. Prinzing, *Entstehung und Rezeption der Iustiniana Prima-Theorie im Mittelalter*, *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (1978) 269-287; Gautier, *Théophylacte d' Achrida*; Ναξίδου, *Εκκλησία και Εθνική Ιδεολογία*; Ε. Κωνσταντίνου-Τέγου-Στεργιάδου, *Η Αρχιεπισκοπή Πρώτης Ιουστινιανής. Συμβολή στη διερεύνηση του προβλήματος*, (Ph.D), Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη 2001; E. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon von Ohrid (1037-1056). Leben und Werk (mit Texten seiner bisher unedierten asketischen Schrift und seiner drei Briefe an den Papst)*, Bamberg 2007; Δεληκάρη, *Η Αρχιεπισκοπή Αχριδών*; E. Naxidou, *The Archbishop of Ohrid Leo and the ecclesiastical dispute between Constantinople and Rome in the mid 11th century*, *Cyrrillomethodianum* 21 (2016), 7-19. See also the papers in *Византијски свет на Балкану*, (Византолошки Институт, САНУ), Белграде 2012, vol. I, part I.

⁶³ For Nikolaos and his relationship with the secular power see indicatively Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, 84-85. E. N. Κυριακούδης, *Ο αρχιεπίσκοπος Αχρίδας Νικόλαος και η κτητορική του δραστηριότητα στα μέσα του 14^{ου} αιώνα*, *Црквене Студије*, *Годишњак Центра за црквене студије* 1 (2004), 309-334; Δεληκάρη, *op. cit.*, 222-236.

⁶⁴ Mother Mary, Archiman. Kallistos Ware (trans.), *The Lenten Triodion*, St. Tikhon's Seminary Press 2002, 41, vers. 25. R. Taft has already testified that the interpretation of the procession of the Great Entrance and the deposition of the Gifts became in the Late Byzantine period the axis around which the symbolic structure of the Liturgy turned (*The*

It is well known that the services and Liturgy of Holy Saturday are considered to have been influential in forming the Late Byzantine iconography⁶⁵. A good example of what the Great Entrance signifies is the iconographic program of the Athonite panagiaron known as “Pulcheria’s disk” (late 14th c.) (fig. 4), which probably derives from an as yet unknown dome⁶⁶.

A full-length Virgin Mary, in the form of the *Blachernitissa*, is sculpted in the centre of the disk (inscription: *Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ Μεγάλη Παναγία* [Mother of God the Megalē Panagia]). She is flanked by two angel-deacons swinging a censer. The central medallion is surrounded by an inscription containing the Cherubic Hymn. Two unequal zones of horseshoe arches full of figures encircle it. The celestial Great Entrance is depicted in the first zone of relief decoration. Christ is dressed only in patriarchal attire but with an akakia in his left hand. He is portrayed twice, at the beginning and at the end of the procession. Between the two figures of Christ stands an altar with Christ the-Lamb upon it (inscription: *Ὁ Ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* [The Lamb of God]). A Deesis lies in the second zone of relief decoration. Two angels and the Apostles are depicted on their knees against the throne of the Second Coming (Hetoimasia). The throne is set along the axis of the composition, as is the altar below it.

Evidently, the Great Entrance on the panagiaron, in its celestial form, is closely connected with the Second Coming of Christ, granted that every single Liturgy is suggestive of Christ’s majesty and His power to be the King and Judge of the universe and, at the same time, the lamb slaughtered on behalf of humanity. This fact is of great significance because it has to do with a development not only in the concept of the Great Entrance but also in the meaning of the Imperial Deesis since the heavenly kingdom of Christ is combined with His will to be present in each and every Liturgy administered by the leaders of the Church.

II.B Iconographic variations of the theme of Christ the-High Priest and King of all Kings

The trend for the Late Byzantine Church leaders to usurp secular powers is confirmed not only by portraits of pralates like that of St. Sava in Peć, where

Liturgy of the Great Church, 54).

⁶⁵ See Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 216-219. Cf. M. Марковић, *Прилог проучавању утицаја канона велике суботе на иконографију средњовековног сликарства*, ЗРВИ 37 (1998), 167ff. Indeed, the inscription *Βασιλεὺς των Βασιλεόντων* [King of all Kings] that occurs in the wall-paintings possibly came from the Cherubic Hymn sung in the procession on Holy Saturday.

⁶⁶ See I. D. Ștefănescu, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient I*, Bruxelles 1932, 72-73, pl. XXXVII; Schultz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie*, 171; I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine icons in steatite*, Wien 1985, 204-205; *Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους*, (exhibition catalogue), Θεσσαλονίκη 1997, no. 9.5 (Κ. Λοβέρδου-Τσιγαρίδα). Cf. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλλου*, 147-148.

he stands holding imperial insignia, or by the emergence of the iconographic theme of the Three Hierarchs, but also by certain developments in the iconography of the Imperial Deesis⁶⁷.

It is a well known fact that Christ as an isolated figure in sacerdotal vestments appeared in the middle Byzantine period. However, a variation of Christ's priesthood appears in the first quarter of the 14th century in which Christ is clothed in patriarchal attire⁶⁸. Good examples of this development are the figure of Christ the-High Priest on the façade of the Church of St. John the Baptist near Serres (first half of the 14th c.), and the similar figure at the Lesnovo Monastery (1346/47) (fig. 5). Here Christ is portrayed as an isolated bishop-like figure with His right hand stretched out in a gesture of blessing. He is also dressed in an omophorion and a sakkos decorated with the busts of the Apostles and Evangelists⁶⁹. In the Church of the Virgin Mary in the village of Modrište (1360-1380), Christ is situated between the great Hierarchs of the Church, whose hands are extended towards Him in a gesture of supplication. Christ the-High Priest is also portrayed on the sanctuary curtain of Chilandar Monastery (1399)⁷⁰. Another variation of the same subject is to be found in the churches of St. Nicholas Orphanos or Orphanon, Thessalonica (1310-1320)⁷¹

⁶⁷ It is not a revival of a 13th-century iconographic theme as P. Guran has pointed out (*Les implications théologico-politiques*, 60).

⁶⁸ On the subject of Christ the-Priest or High Priest see A. M. Лидов, *Образ 'Христу-архιερεя' в иконографической программе Софии Охридской*, Зограф 17 (1986), 5-20; Idem, *L'image du Christ-Prélat dans le programme iconographique de Saint-Sophie d'Ohride*, *Arte Christiana* 79 (1991), 245-250; Idem, *Christ as Priest in Byzantine Church decoration of the 11th and 12th centuries*, *Acts, 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Selected papers*, Moscow 1991, vol. III: *Art History, Architecture, Music*, Shepherdstown WV, 1996, 158-170; G. Dagron, *Jésus prêtre du Judaïsme: le demi succès d'une légende*, in Λειμών. Studies presented to Lennart Rydén on his sixty-fifth birthday, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Uppsala 1996, 11-24; Παπαμαστοράκης, *Η μορφή*; A. M. Lidov, *Byzantine Church decoration and the Great Schism of 1054*, *Byzantion* 68 (1998), 387-405; Guran, *op. cit.*, 44-47; A. Popova, *The representation of Christ as the Great Archpriest and King in the decoration of St. George at Pološko*, *Patrimonium* 10 (2015), 161-169; Vapheiadēs, *Sacerdotium and Regnum*; Idem, *Η τέχνη της δουλείας και η δούλη τέχνη, 15^{ος} -17^{ος} αι. Η «κρητική» ζωγραφική ως τεκμήριο της μεταβυζαντινής πολιτικής θεωρίας και Ηθικής*, Αθήνα 2017, 249-253.

⁶⁹ See indicatively С. Радочић, *Лесново*, Београд 1971, fig. 18; С. Габелић, *Манастир Лесново. Историја и сликарство*, Београд 1998, fig. 10; Б. Поповска-Коробар, *Лесново манастир. Св. Архангел у св. Габриил Лесновскиј*, Скопје 2000, fig. p. 19.

⁷⁰ For the Serres monument see indicatively Α. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Προδρόμου παρά τας Σέρρας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1973, pl. 15. For the mural in Modrište see indicatively С. Светковскиј, *Црква свете Богородице у селу Модриусту*, Зограф 35 (2011), 193-209. For the veil of Chilandar monastery see indicatively G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantine*, Paris 1947, 76-78, pl. CLIX; D. Bogdanović – V. J. Đurić, - D. Medaković, *Chilandar*, Belgrade 1978, 120; Woodfin, *Orthodox liturgical textiles*, 36-39, fig. 7. Another variation of the same subject occurs in the bema of the Church of St. Alypios at Kastoria (1360-1380). Christ-Emmanuel depicted in front of the Virgin Platytera is dressed in a phelonion decorated with crosses (polystavrion). See M. Paissidou, *Jesus Christ Emmanuel - Priest. Interpretation of a 14th-century depiction at Kastoria*, *Изкусмдобедск Четения* (2007), 156-160.

⁷¹ See indicatively Α. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού Θεσσαλονίκης*, (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 4), Αθήνα 1964, fig. 74; Α. Τσι-

and St. George at Pološko (1343-1345)⁷². In these cases Christ the-High Priest, situated in the conch of the central apse in the scene of the Communion, is dressed in prelatric garments and an imperial lorus as well.

This last variation was to prove instrumental in an important development of the Imperial Deesis. In the Church of Christ the Saviour located on the Volkhovets River at Kovaljevo, Novgorod (1380), an Imperial Deesis is depicted above the left door of the bema and, not coincidentally, next to the Transfiguration scene. The enthroned Christ is dressed in both imperial and hieratic attire and insignia. The Virgin Mary, also clothed in imperial garments, stands at Christ's side in a posture of supplication⁷³. The same iconography is to be found in an icon at the Dormition Cathedral in the Kremlin (first half of the 15th c.)⁷⁴ and in the iconostasis beam of the kellion of Flaskas on Mount Athos (c. 1526)⁷⁵.

The double status of Christ is clearly represented in the aforementioned examples, implying at the same time the union of political and religious authority in the bishop's office. However, it is important to note that the theme of the Imperial Deesis, with Christ dressed either only in imperial attire or in both imperial and prelatric vestments was to spread in monuments of the Slavic or Slavic-speaking Balkan territories, and especially those of the Archdiocese of Ohrid⁷⁶. In contrast, the iconographic theme of Christ the-High Priest and King of all Kings, either in the form of an isolated bust (with or without a crown) - such as in the case of the Patmos icon attributed to Andreas Ritzos (second half

τουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη*, (Κ.Β.Ε, Βυζαντινά μνημεία 6), Θεσσαλονίκη 1986, 73-76, pl. 13.

⁷² Ποποβα, *The representation*, 161-169.

⁷³ The church was built at the behest of Ontsifor Zhabin (1345) but its decoration (1380) was paid for by Afanasij Stepanovič and his wife Maria. See indicatively В. Н. Лазарев, Ковалевскја роспис и проблема Јужнославјанских свјазеи в Русској жинописи XIV века, (Ежегодник Института Историји Искусства 1957), Москва 1958 [= Idem, Русская средневековая живопись-статии и исследования, Москва 1970), 251ff; Idem, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics*, London 1966, fig. 74; Παπαμαστοράκης, *Η μορφή*, 75; С. Grozdanov, *Une variante de l'image du Christ Roi des rois et Grande Prête dans l'art post-byzantin (d'après les exemples de l'archevêché d'Ohrid)*, in *Ζητήματα μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής*, 256; Guran, *Les implications théologico-politiques*, 54-55; S. Dmitrieva, *The depictions of warrior saints in frescoes of 1380 at the church of the Holy Savior in Kovaliovo. Whether Balkan masters painted the Novgorod church?*, *Zograf* 33 (2009), 121-135.

⁷⁴ See indicatively Lazarev, *Kovalevskaja rospis*, 262, fig. pp. 271-273; Παπαμαστοράκης, *op. cit.*, 75-76, figs. 5-8; Woodfin, *op. cit.*, 40-43, fig. 10.

⁷⁵ See note 60.

⁷⁶ Such as in Treskavac monastery (1484) (Смолчић-Макуљевић, *Манастир Трескавац*, 69-76) and in the triptych at Struga (c. 1500). See Grozdanov, *op. cit.*; Guran, *op. cit.*, 56-58;

of the 15th c.)⁷⁷ and that of the triptych icon at Ohrid (c. 1500)⁷⁸ - or in the form of an enthroned figure surrounded by saints, was to spread mostly in Macedonia and the rest of continental and island Greece. It must be said that in all these cases Christ is described as High Priest and King of all Kings despite the fact that He is clothed only in patriarchal attire.

It is beyond doubt that the concept of Christ as King and High Priest has been based upon the Jewish traditions, which were always in force in Byzantium⁷⁹. Also, the figure of Christ as both Priest and King clearly implies the union of the two powers, the secular-political and sacred-religious, in the head of the Church and should be attributed to the prestige of the throne of Constantinople, which had grown stronger as a result of the reaction to the pro-Western policy of Late Byzantine emperors⁸⁰.

As for the question of why the subject of Christ the-High Priest and King of all Kings, especially as an isolated figure but without visible imperial insignia, should appear just before or immediately after the Fall of Constantinople, the answer should be sought in the socio-political conditions and ideological tendencies of the time, which led to the weakening of the Emperor's authority compared with that of the Episcopate. Also, the historical circumstances in the Late Byzantine and early Ottoman periods were to further impel the Orthodox Church towards a process of centralisation, the protection of its identity and also the adoption of political ideas and activities. In this, the absence of a Christian political leadership, especially after the Fall of Constantinople, combined with the gathering of the Orthodox community around the figure of the Ecumenical Patriarch, was to confer a political role on the Church's ruling class. The occupant of the throne of Constantinople became an important state figure with multiple powers, a fact that was borne out by his subsequent civic, political and diplomatic activities⁸¹. So it is evident that the isolated figure of Christ the-High Priest and King of all Kings without visible imperial insignia was to suggest the new role of the Patriarch under Ottoman rule.

As for the diffusion of the theme mostly in continental and island Greece and not in the Slavic countries, I would say that this was due to the strong iconographic tradition of the Archdiocese of Ohrid. It is not without significance that the quotation from Matthew's Gospel (25, 34), which we have already come across in the wall-painting of the Imperial Deesis in the Church of St. Nicholas *tu Tzotza*, concerns the faithful, who are to be rewarded by inheriting the eternal kingdom of God. On the other hand, the first part of the biblical quotation in the Patmos icon (= *Ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστι ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ*

⁷⁷ The bust of Christ covers the entire surface of the icon. Christ bears on his head a crown of western type. He is also dressed in patriarchal attire and holds an open codex. See M. Χατζηδάκης, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Πάτμου. Ζητήματα βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς*, Αθήνα 1977, no. 15, pls. 19, 83. See also Παπαμαστοράκης, *op. cit.*, 76, fig. 9; Guran, *op. cit.*, 58; Βαφειάδης, *Ἡ τέχνη τῆς δουλείας*, 250.

⁷⁸ Grozdanov, *Χριστὸς Цар, Βογοροδιμα Царуца*, 144-145; Idem, *Une variante*, 257-258, fig. 3; Guran, *op. cit.*, 55; Negrău, *Deësis in the Romanian painting*, 68, fig. 3.

⁷⁹ See about Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, 223ff.

⁸⁰ Παπαμαστοράκης, *op. cit.*

⁸¹ See indicatively Βαφειάδης, *op. cit.*, 255-257.

κόσμου [τούτου ἦν] (John 18, 36)), combined with that from the Mass⁸², testifies to the highly liturgical and also eschatological character of the subject in question by combining Holy Communion with the experience of the Kingdom of Heaven.

II.C The iconographic theme known as “All Saints” (All Hallows’ Day)

The iconographic theme known as “All Saints” (*All Hallows’ Day*) is considered to have been formed in the Paleologan era, according to information given by Manuel Philis and Maximus Planudis⁸³. This representation is closely connected with the subjects examined above and especially the theme of the Last Judgement.

The oldest example of the “All Saints” theme is to be found in the catholicon of the Virgin Hodegetria at Mistra, Laconia (1321/22). The subject is depicted on the walls of the single-aisled north-west chapel of this church⁸⁴. Christ is portrayed in the dome surrounded by four cherubim and again in the conch of the east wall flanked by the beseeching figures of the Mother of God and John the Baptist. In the last case Christ is set against a mandorla, seated in the arch of Heaven with his hands outstretched in a gesture of blessing (inscription: Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, ὁ Σω[τήρ] [Jesus Christ the Savior]. Groups of hierarchs, prophets, Apostles, saints and martyrs are represented in orderly fashion on the remaining surfaces of the chapel’s walls. An inscription in the arch of the conch, a theotokion from the funeral service, interprets the context of the chapel’s program: ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΚΟΥΣΗΣ ΣΕ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)Ε ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ, ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ, [ΙΕΡΑΡΧΩΝ, ΟΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΑ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ] ΣΟΥ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ [At the prayers of her who gave you, birth, O Christ, of your Forerunner, of the Apostles, Prophets, Hierarchs, Ascetics, of the Just and of all the Saints, give rest to your servant who has fallen asleep]. Another inscription on the west wall reads: ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ [All Saints].

⁸² F.-E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. vol. I, *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford 1896, 328, v. 5-7.

⁸³ Manuelis Philae, *Carmina*, ed. E. C. Miller, Parisii 1857, 278-279 (IV. Codex Vaticanus, *Eis δευτέραν παρουσίαν μη ἔχουσαν ἐκεῖσε ποσῶς κόλασιν*); Maximi monachi Planudis, *Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu, Breslau 1890, II, 93. The iconographic subject of “All Saints” is supposed to have come into being in the 11th century, in a miniature of the famous evangelistarium Dionysiou 587. See *Οἱ Θεσσαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρου*. *Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, Αθήνα 1973, vol. I, fig. 215; T. Velmans, *La Dimanche de Tous les Saints et l’icône exposée à Charleroi (cat. No. 32)*, Byzantion 53 (1983), 19, fig. 1. On the subject in question see G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus, images et croyances*, Paris 1945, 1-6; Idem, *Broderies religieuses*, 67-68; Velmans, *op. cit.*, 17-35.

⁸⁴ G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra. Matériaux pour l’étude de l’Architecture et de la peinture en Grèce aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Paris 1910, pls. 96, 97; S. Dufrenne. *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris 1970, 45-46; Velmans, *op. cit.*, 21-23; M. Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς, η μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο*, Athens 1987, 64-66; P. Ετζέογλου, *Ο ναός της Οδηγήτριας του Βροντοχίου στον Μυστρά. Οι τοιχογραφίες του νάρθηκα και η λειτουργική χρήση του χώρου*, (Πραγματεία της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών 67), Αθήνα 2013, 27-28.

Given that the chapel is of a funereal character, in particular a mausoleum for the abbot Pachomius which also served as a resting-place for the ruler of Sparta Theodore I Palaeologus (†1407), the theme of “All Saints” obviously constitutes an epitome of the Last Judgement. Christ the Saviour is portrayed in the conch as the great and incorruptible Judge of mankind. At the same time He is depicted in the dome, seated upon the throne of heaven as the awarder of crowns to the righteous.

Another representation of the same iconographic theme occupies the front of a patriarchal sakkos in the Vatican Treasury known as the “Dalmatic of Charlemagne” (second half of the 14th c.)⁸⁵. The Communion of the Apostles is depicted in two parts on the abbreviated sleeves of the dalmatic. In each of these episodes Christ the-Priest administers the sacred gifts, i.e. the wine and the bread. There is but one picture on each side of the vestment. On the back is embroidered the Transfiguration of Christ, a fact which indicates the vestment’s connection with a Patriarch or high-ranking archbishop supporting the hesychastic movement. The subject of “All Saints” is depicted on the front of the vestment. Christ, labelled as *the Resurrection and the Life* (John, 11, 25), is seated on the arch of heaven. He is surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists and flanked by the lamenting Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. On the open codex held by Christ are written the words: *Δεῦτ[ε] οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ π(α)τρός μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν* (Mat. 25, 34). Ranks of angels flank the Instruments of the Passion pictured above Christ’s head and groups of saints arrayed below with their hands in a gesture of supplication glorify Christ’s majesty. Outside the circular composition is depicted Abraham gathering into his bosom the souls of the righteous. On the other side, at bottom right, the Good Thief is portrayed carrying his cross.

The theme of “All Saints” arranged on the front of a hieratic vestment clearly demonstrates a different meaning to that which normally occurs on wall-paintings because it is an emblem of the bishop’s authority over the social and political life of the faithful. Moreover, the circular composition emphasizes Christ as the centre of all things celestial or secular⁸⁶.

The “All Saints” theme also occurs in an icon of Dionysiou Monastery (late 15th c.)⁸⁷ (fig. 6). Christ’s majesty occupies a dominant position in the centre of the circular composition. Christ is not dressed in imperial attire. However, He bears a crown of western type. The glory of the Holy Cross and

⁸⁵ See Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican*; Idem, *Broderies religieuses*, 67-71, pls. 135-151; Velmans, *La Dimanche*, 23, fig. 4. For the multiple meanings of this sakkos see the brilliant studies of Prof. W. T. Woodfin (=Late Byzantine liturgical vestments and the iconography of sacerdotal Power, Urbana-Champaign 2002, 104-106, 171) and of Prof. I. Drpić (= *Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis. Parisinus Graecus 1242 revisited*, DOP 22 (Washington, D.C. 2008), 243-245, figs. 11-12).

⁸⁶ St. Paul said: [...] *All things have been created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together. And he is the head of the body, the church.* (Colossians 1: 16-18).

⁸⁷ M. Chatzidakis, *Les débuts de l’école crétoise et la question de l’école dite italo-grecque*, *In memoria di Sofia Antoniadis*, (Biblioteca di Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantinidi 6), Venezia 1974, [= *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine*, Variorum Reprints IV, London 1976], 183, pl. II’ 2; Velmans, *La Dimanche*, 24, fig. 5.

the Instruments of Passion are depicted above His head. Beneath Christ's footstool is depicted the Hetoimasia (Preparation of the Throne). Adam and Eve are situated on each side of the throne in a posture of supplication. The Virgin Mary and John the Baptist flank the Lord. Groups of saints are located around the mandorla of Christ the-King. Below the circular composition are depicted, from right to left, the donor, the Good Thief carrying his cross and Abraham seated on a throne with a boy in his arms. Behind him lies a group of boys clothed in white tunics, i.e. the souls of the righteous. Two prophets, Solomon and Daniel occupy the upper corners of the icon. They hold open scrolls with quotations from their books: *Δίκαιοι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσιν... διὰ τοῦτο λήμψονται τὸ βασιλείον τῆς εὐπρεπείας* (Sap. 5, 15-16) and *Ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου οἱ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν...* (Dan. 7, 9-14).

The aforesaid icon, which is probably based on earlier monumental examples, incorporates the meaning of the subject of "All Saints" by adding a crown on the head of Christ and two prophets whose quotations lay emphasis on the eschatological context of the theme: Christ is the real King who provides the faithful with the realm of grace. But it is apparent that this celestial realm can only be gained through the Church leaders' proper administration of the spiritual and social life of the Christian community⁸⁸.

II.D The iconographic theme of the "Enthroned Above, Entombed Below"

The iconographic theme of the "Enthroned Above, Entombed Below" is simply a literal, visual rendering of the hymn sung at Matins on Holy Saturday and attributed to Mark, Bishop of Hydrus (Otranto): *Enthroned above, entombed below, the heavens and infernal regions comprehending, O my Saviour, are shaken by Thy death, for beyond all understanding Thou wert seen dead and with the life that was in the beginning*⁸⁹.

This short hymn has a multi-layered theological content, expressing both the identification of the earthly (dead) Christ with the Eternal Word and the paradox of His death: Although Christ's body lies within the grave, at the same time He is seated on his heavenly throne.

Perhaps not coincidentally, the earliest known representation of this hymn is to be found on the west wall of the chapel at the Vlatades Monastery, Thessalonica (ca. 1361), dedicated to St. Gregory Palamas (not to St. Paul) (fig. 7)⁹⁰. Christ is portrayed against a mandorla raising his hand in a gesture of

⁸⁸ Cf. Taft, *The Living Icon*, 59. It is worth pointing out that certain 15th-century epitachelia connected with high-ranking clerics of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, including Patriarch Joachim I (1498-1502, 1504), are decorated with an abbreviated variation of the "All Saints" theme. See K. M. Vapheides, *Epitachelia with three-figure medallions from Mount Athos. Chronological topics*, Cahiers archéologiques 51 (2003-2004), 159-168.

⁸⁹ E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. I., Città del Vaticano 1960, vol. I, 134.

⁹⁰ For the parekklesion and the its dedication to St. Gregory Palamas see Γ. Φουστέρης, *Καθολικό της μονής Βλατάδων: λανθάνοντα ιστορικά στοιχεία στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του παρεκκλησίου*, in *Κτίτωρ. Αφιέρωμα στον δάσκαλο Γεώργιο Βελένη*, edd. I. Δ. Βαράλης – Φ. Καραγιάννη, Θεσσαλονίκη 2017, 435-451 with bibliography. For the Vlata-

blessing. The mandorla is supported by three cherubim. Below, the mouth of a cave is depicted, from which hang three lamps. An open sarcophagus with the dead Christ swaddled within it is visible in the cave. The inscription reads: Ἄνω Σὲ ἐν θρόνῳ, καὶ κάτω ἐν τάφῳ [Enthroned Above, Entombed Below].

It is worth recalling that the iconographic program of the catholicon, dedicated to the Transfiguration of Christ, and of the chapel, dedicated to St. Gregory Palamas, testifies to the devotion paid to St. Gregory and, of course, the complete acceptance of his hesychastic teachings by the brothers Dorotheus and Mark Vlatades, Palamas' faithful companions⁹¹. Palamas is portrayed twice: in the catholicon, as a bishop, and in the chapel amongst the great theologians of the Church St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory Nazianzus. The four saints are depicted on the pendentives, seated in front of a lectern. Palamas' association with the Church's leading theologians and St. John Chrysostom in particular - since Palamas' life had been associated with that of John Chrysostom already before his death⁹² - reinforces the emblematic character of his thought and actions.

It is worth noting that the hierarchs just mentioned - whose iconography was developed in the second half of the 14th century - were greatly honoured by St. Gregory Palamas. This honour is revealed in many of his writings, such as a letter he penned to Acindynus. In this letter Palamas points out that the splendour of God can be partaken of and shared. He goes on to note: *Τὸ δὲ μερῖζεσθαι τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς οὐσίας ὁ Χρυσόστομος ἀποφαίνεται πατήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ λαμπρότης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἔστω ἐφ' ἡμᾶς..., λαμπρότητα Θεοῦ ἰδεῖν καὶ παθεῖν, φησὶν ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος, καὶ ὁ ἀπαστράπτων τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ*

don mural see Марковић, *Прилоз*, 167-171, fig. 1; A. Semoglou, *Notes sur les peintures murales de la chapelle sud (Saint-Paul) du catholicon du monastère des Vlatades à Thessalonique*, Βυζαντικά 20 (2000), 353-354 (mistakenly dated by the author to the 16th c.); K. M. Βαφειάδης, *Το εικονογραφικὸ θέμα 'Ἄνω σε ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ κάτω ἐν τάφῳ'*, Μακεδονικά 33 (2003), 217-241, especially 218, fig. 1; Cf. Φουστέρης, *op. cit.*, 448.

⁹¹ For the these ktetors see O. Taftali, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris 1913, 192-193; Γ. Θεοχαρίδης, *Οἱ ἰδρυταὶ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη μονῆς τῶν Βλατάδων*, in *Πανηγυρικός τόμος εορτασμοῦ τῆς ἐξακοσιοστής ἐπετείου τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμά, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, 1339-1359*, ed. Π. Χρήστου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1960, 49-70; Γ. Α. Στογιόγλου, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη πατριαρχικὴ μονὴ τῶν Βλατάδων*, (Ανάλεκτα Βλατάδων 12), Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, 56-65; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine, II. Les églises et les monastères de grands centres byzantins*, Paris 1975, 356-358; M. L. Rautman, *Ignatius of Smolensk and the Late Byzantine Monasteries of Thessaloniki*, RĒB 49 (1991), 147-148; Dennis, *The Late Byzantine Metropolitans*, 257; P. Odorico, *L'Acropole de Thessalonique et autres lieux de la ville: des lectures et des questions*, Βυζαντινά 25 (2004-2006), 35.

⁹² See indicatively Sh. E.-J. Gerstel, *Civic and monastic influences on Church decoration in Late Byzantine Thessalonike*, DOP 57 (2003), 235-337; Θ. Γιάγκου, *Ἡ εορτὴ του ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Παλαμά καὶ ἡ τιμὴ του ἁγίου στην Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων*, in *Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Ἡ ἱερὰ Πατριαρχικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, Πρακτικὰ Θ' Διεθνούς Ἐπιστημονικοῦ Συμποσίου, 12-14 Ὀκτωβρίου 1995*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2005, 73-89; Φουστέρης, *Καθολικὸ τῆς μονῆς Βλατάδων*, 445-452.

ἀδιάδοχον φῶς κατὰ τὸν μέγα Βασίλειον, τοὺς αὐτοῦ μετέχοντας, ἄλλους ἡλίους ἀπεργάζεται θείους⁹³. This passage illustrates Palamas' respect for the Three Hierarchs portrayed in the dome of his chapel.

Yet why should the theme of the “Enthroned Above, Entombed Below” appear in a mural decoration dedicated to Palamas? St. Gregory Palamas himself had already observed that: [...] Ὁ δὲ ναός οὗτος ἐκείνου τοῦ σπηλαίου (Christ's tomb) τύπος ἐστί, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πλέον ἔχει τοῦ τύπου, ἄλλο σχεδὸν ἐκεῖνο ὑπάρχων· ἔχει γὰρ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τίθεται τὸ σῶμα τὸ Δεσποτικόν, τὸ ἐνδότερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πανίερρον τράπεζαν. Ὅστις ἐνδιαθέτως ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ὄντως καὶ θεοδόχον τοῦτο σπήλαιον προστρέχει... οὐ μόνον ἐπιγνώσεται τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς θεοπνεύστους Γραφῆς λόγους... ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῶς ὄψεται τὸν Κύριον... Ὁ γὰρ μετὰ πίστεως βλέπων τὴν μυστικὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ προτιθέμενον ἄρτον τῆς ζωῆς, αὐτὸν ὄρα τὸν ἐνυπόστατον Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ... καὶ μέτοχος αὐτοῦ γίνεται καὶ ἔνοικον ἐαυτῷ κτᾶται⁹⁴. In Palamas' view, the church building is a symbol of the cave where Christ was buried. But the altar in particular represents the Holy Sepulchre and, at the same time, is the place in which Christ himself is administered to the faithful so that they might see the Word of God in His glory. So it is not surprising that this particular iconographic theme is located opposite the altar. Furthermore, it is depicted in a chapel whose construction was probably due to the cult of Palamas' relics. That being said, the liturgical meaning of the theme of the “Enthroned Above, Entombed Below” is transformed into a funereal but triumphal one: Palamas' death established his glory in heaven. At the same time, his tomb constitutes the real throne of his holiness.

A notable, though not literal, variation of the same theme, which was not to be repeated, is to be found in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptus at Mistra, Laconia (second half of the 14th c.)⁹⁵. Christ is portrayed as the Man of Sorrows⁹⁶ in the lower zone of the prothesis' apse (extensively damaged). A peculiar representation of the Holy Trinity lies above the dead Christ. God the Father is represented against a mandorla flanked by two cherubim. The Holy Spirit as a dove lies beneath his foot. Beneath this is a picture of the Celestial Liturgy. Christ, in the form of a High Priest, is set behind an altar ciborium accompanied by angel-deacons⁹⁷.

Although this composition is clearly of a liturgical character, being connected as it is with the Matins of Holy Saturday, the appearance of Christ the-

⁹³ J. Meyendorff, *Une lettre inédite de Grégoire Palamas à Akindynos*, *Θεολογία* 24/4 (1953), 572, vers. 5-12.

⁹⁴ PG 151, 272c-d.

⁹⁵ See Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, pl. 113.2; S. Dufrenne, *Images du décor de la prothèse*, *RÉB* 26 (1968), 297-298, fig. 1; Eadem, *Les programmes iconographique*, 14-15, fig. 62. Cf. Schultz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie*, 171-172.

⁹⁶ See H. Belting, *An image and its function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium*, *DOP* 34-35 (1980-1981), 1-16; D. Simić-Lazar, *Le Christ de Pitié vivant. L'exemple de Kalenić*, *Зорграф* 20 (1989), 83-94; M. D. Tomić-Đurić, *The Man of Sorrows and the Lamenting Virgin: The example at Markov Manastrir*, *ЗРБИ* 49 (2012), 303-329.

⁹⁷ An early form of this variation occurs in the prothesis conch of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the patriarchal complex at Peć (c. 1250).

High Priest above the Man of Sorrows deserves comment. The double depiction of Christ should be understood in the context of the divine paradox: Although Christ might lie dead in the tomb as a man slaughtered for the salvation of mankind, at the same time He is also in the glory of Heaven as the second person of the Holy Trinity. This context emphasizes the inconceivable authority of Christ as *the One Who both offers and is offered, the One Who is received and is distributed*⁹⁸. However, the authority of Christ the-High Priest is vested in the bishop since he is the official dispenser of the divine body of God.

The next instance of this iconographic is to be found in the Church of the Virgin Mary in the village of Zeugostasi near Kastoria (1432)⁹⁹. The mural set over the prothesis conch is severely damaged. Today all that is visible is the lower part of Christ enthroned in heaven, together with the dead Christ in an open sarcophagus covered by a ciborium and flanked by two angels. The “Enthroned Above, Entombed Below” theme also occurs above the altar in the Church of St. Nikitas at Čučer (1484?)¹⁰⁰. Christ is seated on His celestial throne with his hands raised in blessing. His garments are white. Beneath this, Christ’s dead body is visible in an open sarcophagus. A group of surprised angels has been painted on the right-hand side of the composition.

The iconographic theme of the “Enthroned Above, Entombed Below” - which is supposed to be Athonite in origin (M. Marković) - constitutes a literal, visual rendering of the hymn by showing Christ both in glory in the upper part of the composition and also in a sarcophagus within a rock sepulchre in the lower part¹⁰¹. However, this hymn and, of course, its visual form are full of a triumphal symbolism, which is intended to exalt Christ’s majesty on the day of His Second Coming and to underline the divine nature of the King of Glory. It also reveals an eschatological dimension of the power of the Suffering Christ over life and death and of what Christ offered in hanging upon the cross for humanity.

However, regardless of what this iconographic theme reveals about Christ, it provides evidence of the bishops’ authority by laying emphasis on the triumphal symbolism of the altar. St. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (†1429), like Palamas before him, observed that: [...] *καὶ θυμᾶ* [the bishop] *εὐθὺς τὸ θυσιαστήριον κύκλω, ὅτι θρόνος τοῦτο Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνάπαυσις. Καὶ αὐτὸν*

⁹⁸ Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 317.

⁹⁹ See E. Τσιγαρίδας, *Συμβολὴ στη χρονολόγηση των τοιχογραφιών του ναοῦ της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στο Ζευγοστάσι Καστοριάς*, in *Φίλια Ἐπη εἰς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν, διὰ τα 60 ἔτη του ανασκαφικοῦ του ἔργου*, (Βιβλιοθήκη της ἐν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 103), Αθήνα 1989, vol. III, 334-338; Θ. Παπαζώτος, *Δημήτριος, ὁ ιστοριογράφος των τοιχογραφιών του 1431 της Παναγίας στο Ζευγοστάσι Καστοριάς*, *Ιστοριογεωγραφικά* 5 (1993-1994) 165-167; I. Σίσσιου, *Οἱ μεμονωμένες μορφές Ἁγίων στο ναὸ της Παναγίας Ζευγοστασίου Καστοριάς*, *Ниш и Византија* 13 (2015) 341-366.

¹⁰⁰ See Марковић, *Прилог*, 171-174, fig. 2; Βαφειάδης, *Το εικονογραφικὸ θέμα ‘Ἄνω σε ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ κάτω ἐν τάφῳ’*, 218-219, fig. 3. See also M. Марковић, *Свети Никита код Скопја. Задушница краља Милутина*, Београд 2015, 228-229.

¹⁰¹ See Dufrenne, *Images du décor de la prothèse*; Марковић, *Прилог*, 167-179; Βαφειάδης, *op. cit.*; Idem, *Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ στο Ἅγιον Ὄρος στις ἀρχές του 17^{ου} αἰῶνα. Ὁ ζωγράφος Δανιὴλ μοναχός*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2008, 86-90.

τυποῖ, τὸν Χριστὸν ἐσφαγμένον καὶ ζῶντα, καὶ νοητῶς ἐκεῖσε θυόμενον κείμενον, καὶ ἀπαύστως ἱερουργούμενον, καὶ τὸν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου Θεοῦ, τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς καθέδραν Χριστοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς σημαίνοντα¹⁰².

According to Symeon, the altar is not only the place where Christ is administered but it *is* Christ himself who is slaughtered for mankind but also alive on his heavenly throne. If, therefore, the altar *is* Christ in his celestial kingdom and at the same time the place where he is administered, it becomes apparent that the bishop's authority is more substantial, unchallenged and universal than that of any secular ruler¹⁰³. Although this concept was based on earlier Church traditions, it effectively became stronger after the pro-Western policy of the Palaeologan emperors and, especially, just before and immediately after the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439)¹⁰⁴. In this case the theme of the "Enthroned Above, Entombed Below" obviously served as a reminder not only of what really takes place in the Liturgy but also of the supremacy of the episcopate in terms of authority over political or earthly affairs.

The preceding analysis showed that a number of iconographic programs and themes of a triumphal-eschatological character, which emerged or evolved in the Late Byzantine period are indicative not only of a liturgical revival but also of an ecclesiastical policy independent of the imperial one and a political concept that attributed a superior role to the leadership of the Church. This fact is also demonstrated by certain texts or historical events of the period. Indeed, hesychastic theology, in conjunction with the powerful influence of the monks over the Church and Christian society, was instrumental in this. Moreover, Hesychasm was to be a driving force behind the dominant role of monastic mysticism in both the state and society through the way it gave rise to a controversy on two essential questions: that of whether the Western way of understanding God was incompatible with that of the Eastern Church, and that of whether the authority of the episcopate was or should be greater than that of the state. It is possible that this new religious experience of God and this new way of thinking about the episcopal office and its duties affected religious iconography in different ways¹⁰⁵. It is no coincidence that the enthroned figure of Christ the-Emperor

¹⁰² PG 155, 292D, 293A.

¹⁰³ According to R. Taft, "The sanctuary receives within itself the Bishop, who represents the God-man Jesus, whose almighty powers he shares" (*The Living Icon*, 59).

¹⁰⁴ For the issues concerning the ecclesiastical Schism between East and West and for the consequences of the Florence Union in Byzantium see indicatively J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge 1959; G. Alberico ed., *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/39-1989*, Louven 1991; P. Vitti ed., *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439*, vols 2, Florence 1995. See also the papers in M.-H Blanchet. – F. Gabriel ed., *Réduire le Schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident (XIIIe – XVIIIe siècle)*, (Collège de France – CNRS Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 39), Paris 2013.

¹⁰⁵ We are obliged to notice that the connection of analyzed themes with Gregory Palamas' theology is not yet documented expect that of "Enthroned Above, Entombed Below". Besides, according to prof. I. Drpić, "the hesychast movement could not and did not develop a unified attitude toward the visual arts" (*Art, Hesychasm, and Visual exegesis*, 247. Cf. A. Strezova, *Hesychasm and Art. The appearance of new iconographic trends in Byzantine and Slavic lands in the 14th and 15th centuries*, Australian National University Press, Camberra

flanked by the celestial powers or the figure of Christ the-High Priest and King of all Kings holds a dominant position in the above mentioned iconographic programs and themes. Christ's royal status, however, is closely connected with His will to be administered by the bishops, i.e. the Church leaders. Therefore, every single bishop, and especially the Patriarch, represents Christ on earth not only by administering His will of dispensing His body in the Liturgy but also by administering the spiritual and social life of the Christian community, especially after the weakening of the Emperor's authority as a result of the adoption of pro-Western policies and the impending overthrow of the Christian Empire.

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СВЕШТЕНИШТВО И ЦАРСТВО У КАСНОЈ ВИЗАНТИЈСКОЈ УМЕТНОСТИ

Познати је аспект Евсевија Кесаријског у односу на право аутократора да управља црквом - јер је он једини представник бога у земљи, али упоредо и врховни владар, који доноси одлуке за све што има везе са друштвом, црквена и цивилна - одредио је и политичку идеологију византинаца. Та идеологија остала је недирнута до краја византијског царства.

Међутим у доба Палеолога политичка подела и ослабљеност византијског царства, финансијске невоље и религијски сукоби доводиће до центрифугалне тенденције. У контексту тих трендова моћ световног владара је била све слабија у односу на црквену која је била све јача и на крају до неке мере замењује и власт цара. Упоредо црквена политика Андроника II Палеолога повећава престиж цркве чинећи патриархат Цариграда стубом политичког и друштвеног живота. Заиста, тенденција цркве да освоји политичку област биће ојачана након успостављања исухастичке теологије и амблематичног лика Григорија Палама. Коначно, чини се да ће Евсевијева теорија, иако чврсто утемељена на теорији, у пракси бити доведена у питање са стране посебних архиерејима из 14. и 15. века.

Претходна анализа показала је да бројни иконографски програми и теме, који су се појавили или развијали у касним византијским годинама, не указују само на оперативни интензитет, већ и на црквену политику, еманципирану царевом моћи. О овој чињеници сведоче и конкретни историјски догађаји тог периода, као и текстови. Заиста, исухастичка теологија помоћи ће промени управљања политичком стварношћу расправљањем о два суштинска питања: (а) да ли је западњачки начин разумевања Бога компатибилан са властима источне цркве и (б) да ли је ауторитет Цркве, то јест бискупа, била или је требала бити већа од државе. Врло је вероватно да је Божје тихо искуство и нови начин размишљања о моћи бискупа и његовим дужностима утицао на верску иконографију на различите начине. Није случајност да овде устоличени облик Христа цара у пратњи небеских сила или облика Христа Великог свештеника и Краља краљева доминира овде приказаним сликовним програмима и темама. Треба, међутим, напоменути да је Христова краљевска способност уско повезана с Његовом вољом да

2014, 63). For the controversial issue regarding the relationship between Hesychasme and Art see indicatively M. Vasić, *L'hésychasme et l'art des Serbes au moyen âge, Recueil Théodore Uspenskij*, vol. I, Paris 1930, 110-123; A. E. Tachiaos, *Hesychasm as a creative force in the field of Art and Literature*, in *L'art de Thessalonique et de pays Balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle*, ed. D. Davidov, Belgrade 1987, 120. Velmans, *Le rôle de l'Hésychasme*; Drpić, *op. cit.*; Strezova, *op. cit.*;

омогући сваком бискупу да управља Његовим телом у свакој Литургији. Међутим, Симеон Солунски, као и његов претходник Григорије Палама, већ су нагласили да света трпеза није само место на којем се Христово тело жртвује ради верника, већ је и сам Христ, који живи на небу престола. Али ако је света трпеза сам Христ и његов престо у свакој литургији, тада постаје јасно да је моћ патријарха и бискупа битно важнија и универзалнија од моћи земаљског цара.

Сваки патријарх или епископ замењује Христа на земљи, не само тако што је управљао Његовим Телом у божанској литургији, већ и управљајући духовним и друштвеним животом хришћанске заједнице. Сходно томе, сваки патријарх или епископ, будући да је Христов викар и глава земаљске Цркве, такође је особа која по службеној дужности има овлашћење и моћ да суди и управља људским бићима, према Симеону Солунском. Ова моћ свештеника, далеко трајнија и неуништива од силе световних краљева, биће предуслов за њихово присвајање политичких моћи, посебно после слабљења империјалне моћи у 14. веку као резултат прозападне политике палеолога и предстојеће уништење хришћанског царства од стране Османлија

