ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE ST. PETER ICON OF DUMBARTON OAKS
                   RECONSIDERED

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The thesis concentrates on an icon of St. Peter from
the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. The author reexamines its
present dating to the end of the 13th and beginning of the
14th centuries, and attribution to Macedonia, and suggests
that the icon be seen within the oeuvre of Michael and
Eutychius, the two preeminent artists of that time/ region.

Stylistically, St.Peter is closest to their work of
1314-17, exemplified in the frescoes from the King's Church
in Studenica and St. George in Staro Nagorichino. Iconogra-
phically, this icon finds a unique parallel in the Church of
Peribleptos, Ochrid (1295), where St. Peter is also shown
with keys around his neck.

Since the proposed attribution falls within the reign
of the Serbian King Milutin (1282-1321), the thesis
considers how the Serbian political predicaments at the time
reflect on St. Peter's image in the Church of the Savior at
Zica, restored between 1309-16, and the Church of the
Annunciation at Gracanica, built between 1311-20. These
churches, like the Ochrid Peribleptos, show the First

Apostle holding a church model above his head.

Both the keys around the neck from the D.O. icon and Peribleptos, and the churches above St. Peter's head from Peribleptos, Zica, and Gracanica, indicate a special emphasis on the role of the First Apostle.

The author further suggests that these images may reflect the ecclesiastical relationship between the Serbian and Ochrid Archbishoprics and that the D.O. icon may also be concerned with issues of church authority.

THE ST. PETER ICON OF DUMBARTON OAKS RECONSIDERED

by

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THE ST. PETER ICON OF DUMBARTON OAKS RECONSIDERED

Introduction

> I used to get things from a Greek thief, a very
> poor and very brave man, who would spend months making
> plans to steal icons from Greek monasteries... He
> showed that one to me in Munich, and even the old wood
> was lovely, exquisite to the touch. I asked him if I
> could sleep with it in my room for a night -- one must
> sleep with the things that one loves, no? -- and so I
> was able to open my eyes and see it first thing next
> morning.[1]

So spoke Michael van Rijn of "the crown of his Cyprus

collection", an icon of St. Peter (fig.1) that had found its

way to his Amsterdam establishment around 1980, after some

five hundred years of survival through the Balkan straits.

Van Rijn soon lost the icon in a debt settlement to a Dutch

businessman, who promptly advertised it in Los Angeles.[2] A

Byzantine painting of that importance did not escape

Dumbarton Oaks' notice, so the museum proceeded to buy it

and place it behind its present glass-case in the hallowed

Washington house.[3]

Before passing into this respectable realm of

presentation, the icon was published as part of van Rijn's

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[1] Michael van Rijn, an Amsterdam dealer in precious
objects, speaking during the interview by Dan Hofstadter for
the second part of a two-part report "Annals of the
Antiquities Trade", The New Yorker, July 20, 1992, p.39. I
am indebted to Professor Roger Rearick for bringing the
article to my attention.

[2] ibid.

[3] Hofstader, ibid. relates how "the museum -- unaware
that it was stolen -- had arranged to buy it." I have not
pursued the question of the icon's provenance further.

treasure-house of objects in a catalogue of murky histories that carries <u>St. Peter</u> on its cover-page.[4] Its entry into Dumbarton Oaks was noted in the institution's annual report as "the most important acquisition the Byzantine Collection has made in the past twenty years" and "the first large-scale painted icon of Byzantine date in the collection".[5] <u>St. Peter</u> was "formally unveiled" at an exhibition of Byzantine icons organized to mark its purchase, in April of 1983. Kurt Weitzmann delivered the introductory remarks, subsequently published as a small monograph that remains the only scholarly publication of the icon to date.[6] His conclusions regarding the origin and date of this major work have been accepted in its subsequent references. Most recently, the <u>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</u> re-states his judgement that the icon comes from the Balkans, probably Macedonia, and that it dates to the late 13th century.[7]

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[4] Michael van Rijn, editor, <u>Icons and East Christian Works of Art</u>, Amsterdam, 1980. The entry on the icon of St. Peter was written by Manolis Chatzidakis, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 168, pls.62, 63.

[5] <u>Dumbarton Oaks Report</u>, 1981-3, p.57. Underlining the significance of the newly-acquired work, the report discloses that the funds for the purchase were raised by selling a painting (<u>Buffet et Table</u>) by Matisse and a watercolor <u>(The Jester's Family</u>) by Picasso (<u>ibid.</u>).

[6] Kurt Weitzmann, <u>The Saint Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks</u>, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, No.6, edited by Susan Boyd, Carol Moon, and Gary Vikan, Washington, 1983.

[7] <u>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</u>, Vol. II, "Painted Icons", pp.978-9.

Impressive as it is, <u>St. Peter</u> has attracted little scholarly attention since its installation at Dumbarton Oaks. One reason could be its still unclear provenance, which is in itself a source for possible interpretive pitfalls. On a more general note, portable objects of the Byzantine era that often surface in places quite remote from those of their origin are notoriously difficult to localise. Even when dating can be narrowed to a few decades within one century, the dispersion of style(s) from the cosmopolitan centers of Byzantium and the itinerant nature of artists' practice preclude precise judgements of this nature. Thus the D.O. <u>St. Peter</u>, despite its present chronological and regional coordinates, remains an insufficiently researched object deserving further exploration of its original context.

The present investigation accepts the icon's attribution as a starting point for a closer look at artistic developments in the Southern Balkans at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries.

First, the icon is compared on stylistic basis to other images from the target area that have not been mentioned in the literature but that demonstrate the wider habitus of its style. However, as Weitzmann notes in his analysis, the "dearth of comparable icons of the period with which we are concerned" necessitates that the key-parallels be drawn from fresco painting, which, as he adds, "provides a more secure

basis for dating".[8] The problems he encountered in finding

adequate parallels in portable imagery are evident in this

thesis as well. For the most part, the D.O. icon is

compared with fixed images, which does help in terms of its

regional specification, but presents an obvious

methodological problem in that the painting styles in works

by same artists or workshops done in different media may

vary significantly. Even with this caveat, the stylistic

variants presented in the Chapter I:1 of this thesis

increase our knowledge about the place of the D.O. icon

within a certain regional style. Moreover, the closest

visual parallels to the D.O. St.Peter are invariably found

within works associated with the most prominent artistic

workshop of that region and time -- Michael (Astrapas) and

Eutychius -- which further specifies the icon's attribution.

Next, the D.O. St.Peter is discussed in terms of its

iconography. As has been observed in the literature, this

depiction of the First Apostle is exceptional by the number

and placement of identifying attributes.[9] This thesis

locates a few examples of fresco-painting from the area of

interest that exhibit an analogous emphasis on St.Peter's

identity by choice, number, and/or by placement of Petrine

atributes. They are found in the fresco ensembles within the

churches of the Virgin Peribleptos (St.Kliment) in Ochrid of

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[8] Weitzmann, St.Peter, p.13.

[9] Weitzmann, St.Peter, p.7.

1295, the Church of the Savior in Zica (fresco-layer of 1309-1314) and the Mausoleum Church of King Milutin in Gracanica (completed by 1321). All three monuments are related to the workshop of Michael and Eutychius.

While iconography can not be considered as a determining factor of attribution by itself, the fact that works from the same workshop provide significant stylistic and iconographic parallels to the D.O. St.Peter can not be overlooked when adressing the questions of its authorship.

In addition, each of these three monuments with representations of St.Peter that are, in many ways, as exceptional as the D.O. image, bears a specific cultural significance in the area and time of our interest. The re-consideration of certain theological and political concerns that inform the image-making in these churches thus points to some of the otherwise irretrievable extra-artistic dimensions of the D.O. icon such as the question of its patronage and its regionally conditioned ideological content.

Chapter I: Style and Iconography

The Apostle Peter (fig.1) is shown as a half-length
figure slightly turned to the left, his concentrated gaze
reinforcing the subtle direction of his body. He is wearing
his usual tunic and pallium,[10] of dark blue and olive green
respectively, highlighted with gold. Two attributes are
simultaneously present in his left hand, a long cross-staff
alluding to his martyrdom and a scroll tied by a red string
which resembles an imperial **chrysoboullon**.[11] His right
hand points to the scroll and recalls the **traditio legis**,
the passage of the law from Christ to him as the First among
the Apostles. The third common Petrine attribute, the keys
relative to the **traditio clavis**, are shown around the
Apostle's neck, in a decidedly unusual placement that has
been called "unique".[12]

In addition to these attributes, the apostle is
recognized through physiognomic traits -- gray-white hair
and beard (fig.2). And though he is defined through
decidedly stylized formulae such as a U-shaped wedge between

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[10] Weitzmann, <u>St Peter</u>, p.7.

[11] Weitzmann, <u>St. Peter</u>, p.7, notes: "the cross of
Peter's martyrdom has here become a liturgical object, that
is, a processional cross staff". The analogy between the
scroll and the imperial chrysoboullon is noted by
Chatzidakis, <u>Icons</u>, p.168.

[12] Weitzmann, <u>St. Peter</u>, p.7 and p.42.

his nose and the forehead, and an analytical structuring of the facial planes, every Petrine feature is articulated in an energetic manner that lends the image a "high degree of physical reality".[13] Thus, the verticality of his countenance is softened by the tufts of hair at his forehead just as the linear accents around the nose-brow junction are brought to life by the penetrating gaze of his deep-set eyes.

I:1 The Stylistic Basis of Attribution

In writing the entry for van Rijn's catalogue and placing the icon within its present parameters, i.e., in Macedonia at end of the 13th and/ or the beginning of the 14th century, Chatzidakis was guided precisely by this "physical reality": the emphasis on volume and mass, the earthy tonality, and the expressive intensity of Peter's physiognomy.[14] These elements constitute a common denominator of a Palaeologan manner of painting associated with Macedonia, exemplified, as he noted, in the frescoes from Protaton in Kariyes on Athos of around 1300 (fig.3),

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[13] Weitzmann, St. Peter, p.10. By "stylized formulae", I primarily refer to the linearist mode of facial definition which comes to the fore in the Byzantine "provinces" during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[14] Chatzidakis, op.cit., p.168 mentions that the icon shows "realistic tendencies" which "have been considred as characteristic of Macedonia".

St. Euthymius in Thessaloniki of about 1303 (fig.4) and, among portable images, in the icons of the Great Deesis in Chilandar from the middle of the 14th century (fig.5). [15]

Weitzmann broadened this earlier regional attribution by Chatzidakis to include the frescoes of Mileseva in Serbia of about 1235 as a stylistic corner-stone. [16] Pointing to certain aspects of the portrait of St. Nicholas (fig.6) indicative of a shared manner of stylization -- the "U-shaped wedge between their brows", the "ductus of the two furrows of the brow and the tripartite division of the ridge of the nose" -- he concluded that the works belong to "the same cultural area and that the dates of the two monuments cannot be far apart". [17] While the Mileseva frescoes increase the topographic options of St. Peter and provide a reasonable morphological analogy, they can not be taken as the icon's **terminus post quem**, or even as works of a close date. The rigid frontality and schematic definition of facial features set St. Nicholas firmly within the first half of the 13th c., that is, at least half a century prior to the Palaeologan vitality that characterizes the D.O. St. Peter.

The question of the icon's **terminus ante quem** remains,

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[15] Chatzidakis, ibid. The objects that serve as basis of his analysis are discussed in greater detail later in this thesis.

[16] Weitzmann, St. Peter, p.13.

[17] ibid.

likewise, unresolved. Where Chatzidakis sees its closest
stylistic analogies in the frescoes of Protaton (fig.3), St.
Euthymius (fig.4), and the Chilandar icons (fig.5),
Weitzmann objects to all three suggestions on several
grounds. He discounts the frescoes of St. Euthymius as too
damaged for a decent comparison, the frescoes of Protaton as
too expressive and exaggerated in a manner foreign to St.
Peter, and the icons from Chilandar as too "settled and
conventionalized" examples of a fully developed Palaeologan
style.[18] His parallel of choice in monumental art is the
fresco ensemble of the Trinity Church of Sopocani, Serbia,
of about 1265, and specifically, a portrait of the Apostle
Paul (fig.7) where he finds:

> ... similar degree of plasticity in the well-structured
> head, and a comparable forcefulness in the expression
> of the face; in particular there are the now-familiar
> devices used to delineate the eyebrows, the furrowed
> forehead, the U-shaped wedge into the root of the nose,
> and the oval of the cheek.[19]

I thoroughly agree, albeit with a note that the
majestic image of St.Peter from the same fresco cycle
(fig.8) would have been the comparison of my choice as it
portrays the saint in question.

In conclusion, Weitzmann's date for this icon is

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[18] Weitzmann, St. Peter, pp.16-17, for a detailed
counter-argument to Chatzidakis. I agree with his objection
regarding St. Euthymius and Chilandar, but reserve my
opinion on Protaton.

[19] ibid.

somewhat earlier than the one proposed by Chatzidakis, and

closest to Sopocani (1265), with a caveat that it may be of

a slightly earlier or later date.[20]

As for the icon's origin, he agrees with Chatzidakis'

attribution to Macedonia. Noting that Thessaloniki was the

artistic center of that region and that its art was marked

by a pronounced realistic element during the period under

examination, he nevertheless hastens to add:

> ...artists from that center worked in Ochrid and in
> many other places in Macedonia and Serbia. It thus
> seems wiser to attribute the Dumbarton Oaks icon to the
> hand of a Greek painter working in Macedonia or
> Serbia.[21]

This reference to Ochrid recalls a fresco-ensemble

unmentioned in the published references to the icon to date,

that of St. Virgin Peribleptos (today St.Kliment[22]), a key-

monument of the early Palaeologan art in Ochrid, Macedonia,

from the last decade of the 13th century.[23]

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[20] Weitzmann, St.Peter, p.17.

[21] ibid.

[22] I will be using the spelling with "K" for the Church
of St.Kliment, rather than the Latin spelling Clement. The
church was renamed in honor of this local Ochrid saint upon
the transfer of his relics to this site after W.W.II. The
two spellings appear interchangeably in the literature.

[23] Richard Hamann-Mac Lean and Horst Hallensleben, Die
Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien von 11. bis zum
fruhen 14. Jahrhundert, Geisen, 1963, is the first
publication of the Peribleptos frescoes in the West which
also lists the date of 1294/5 (based on an inscription in
the narthex). Cf. ibid.II, 3, "Ohrid, Sveti Kliment
(Peribleptos)", p.28 ff. Their study remains the most
comprehensive overview of the so-called "Milutin Schule",

The direct relevance of this fresco ensemble in regard
to the D.O. icon is iconographic and is addressed in the
appropriate section below. The less direct, but equally
significant relationship of the Peribleptos cycle to the
D.O. St.Peter pertains to the fact that this fresco ensemble
is the earliest recorded work by the studio of Michael
(Astrapas) and Eutychius, the single most important artistic
workshop in the area at this time. Known in art historical
literature at least since the 1950's discovery of the
original Peribleptos frescoes, these artists figure
prominently in discussions of nearly every major monument in
Macedonia or Serbia at the end of the 13th and the beginning
of the 14th century.[24] They either signed their works or
left iconographic and stylistic evidence of their
participation in numerous fresco programs in the area and
period to which the D.O. St. Peter has been attributed.

The closest stylistic parallels that I have located for
the D.O. St.Peter invariably point to these artists. They

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i.e., the church ensembles painted under the patronage of
King Milutin of Serbia.

[24] The frescoes were discovered after W.W.II under a
later layer of painting and were cleaned between 1950 and
1958. Cf. Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben, Die
Monumentalmalerei, for Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychius in
conjunction with Peribleptos (ibid., p.28), Virgin Ljevishka
in Prizren (ibid., p.29) St. Nicetas in Cucer (ibid., p.31)
and St. George in Staro Nagoricino (ibid., p.34). Petar
Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto na Zografite Mihailo i Eutihij,
Skopje, 1967, is the most authoritative study on their
oeuvre (in Macedonian, summary in French), also known to
Weitzmann. Cf. St. Peter p.45, for reference to Miljkovic-
Pepek's study, listed as written in Serbo-Croatian.

are found, for example, in the portrait of St. Sylvester

from the King's Church in Studenica (fig.9), restored under

the patronage of King Milutin of Serbia around 1314.[25] St.

Sylvester shares with the D.O. saint a strong mask-area,

analogously articulated through closely-set eyes, a

pronounced nose-brow junction and a general segmentation of

facial planes. In fact, Weitzmann's own terms regarding the

D.O. icon such as the "plasticity of the face", the "U-

shaped wedge", the "tripartite division of the nose", etc.,

can, just as easily, be applied to this physiognomy. The

church of St.George in Staro Nagorichino of 1317-18,

universally attributed to the painters' "second phase"[26],

shows a number of striking stylistic analogies, like the

portraits of St.Juvenal (fig.10), St. Eusebius (fig.11), or

St.Jacob (fig.12). All three are much closer to the D.O.

icon than any of the parallels presented thus far in the

literature.

The different medium necessarily affects the artist's

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[25] See G. Babic, <u>Kraljeva Crkva u Studenici</u>, Belgrade, 1987, p. 248 for a summary of the opinions regarding Michael and Eutychius as authors of the frescoes. She accepts the affirmative view, whose earlier proponents were also Radojcic and Djuric. Miljkovic-Pepek, <u>Deloto</u>, pp. 213-217 for the earliest close iconographic and stylistic comparison between Studenica and Peribleptos and his opinion that the King's Church is attributable to these masters (their workshop).

[26] Miljkovic-Pepek, <u>Deloto</u>, pp.56-62 for general background on this church. Compare to Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben, <u>Die Monumetalmalerei</u>, pp.57-60. See also Radojcic, <u>Srpska Umetnost</u>, pp.78-82.

handling of form and quality of brushwork. Yet the ensuing

changes, such as the bolder painterly gesture in the

portraits of St.Eusebius and St.Jacob and the more

expressive linear accents signal a modification of an

artistic idiom rather than a fundamental conceptual

difference.

Before proceeding into further discussion of frescoes

related to Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychius that confirm

this stylistic kinship with the D.O. St.Peter, I wish to

bring in the only portable image stylistically comparable to

it and likewise attributed to these artists: the icon of St.

Matthew (fig.13), presently in the Ochrid Museum of Icons,

located in the courtyard of Peribleptos.[27]

Its pose (face in three-quarter view, body turning

towards his left), as well as its concept of form and

volume, mirror the ones exemplified by our St.Peter. Beyond

the formulaic devices such as the U-shaped wedge and the

tripartite division of the nose (fig.14), this icon shows

the same energetic modelling of planes, the use of bright

highlights to enliven the skin-surface and accentuate the

facial mass, the same dynamic brush-strokes that animate the

body and the drapery, creating an engaging linearist mode

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[27] For Michael and Eutychius as icon painters, see
Miljkovic-Pepek, "L'evolution des maitres Michel et
Eutychios comme peintres d'icones", Jahrbuch der
Osterreichischen Byzantinischen Gessellschaft, XVI, 1967,
and ibid., "La Collection Macedonienne d'Icones du XIe au
commencement de XV siecle", XXXIII Corso di Cultura
sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna, 1986.

that never falls into placid stylization.[28]

The analogy between St.Peter and St.Matthew extends to their color value as well. Both are painted from a palette of subdued intensity, with earthy olive-hues for the flesh and an overall tonal sombreness broken up by white highlights and selective golden accents.

In their totality of effect, these saints share the tension between a naturalist inclination and the Byzantine canon of representation: they speak both the universal and a vernacular language of the empire. Thus, they reflect their place in an area that is, at once, a province of Constantinople, and a force in its own right.

I:2 The Problem with St. Peter's Iconography

The Dumbarton Oaks portrait of the saint, though thoroughly Byzantine in style, is unusually dense in terms of its attributes. Yet, it is not their presence, but their arrangement, that pronounces his role in a manner extraordinary for the Orthodox East.[29] As noted earlier,

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[28] The dissimilar segmentation of the two saint's facial planes, most notably their foreheads, is done for purposes of physiognomic individualization. For other portraits of St. Peter that show a segmentation-pattern akin to the saint's forehead in the icon, see figs. 31 and 32.

[29] Weitzmann's statement about the uniqueness of this image in terms of the attribute placement (keys around his neck) remains unchallenged in the literature. Cf. Susan A. Boyd, Holy Image, p.177. The upcoming publication of Linda Safran "The Image of St. Peter in South Italy", Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies,

he carries a scroll and a cross-staff in his left hand, while his right one is left free to point beyond his assigned frame. The migration of his third attribute -- the keys -- from his hands to this "exceptional" place around his neck could be dictated by reasons of profound simplicity. Indeed, added to the scroll and the staff, they would make for a rather awkward clutter -- Peter would be lost for his very signifiers. Yet, the "practical" solution does not answer a more fundamental question: why does this St.Peter need so many attributes in the first place?

This question has thus far not been addressed in the literature on the icon. The famous 6th c. encaustic panel from Sinai (fig.15) provides a good parallel for the cross-staff that becomes increasingly rare in the post-iconoclastic representations of St.Peter in the East. The keys and the scroll, often in the saint's left hand, survived the "holy image" controversies, although the Byzantine image of the First Apostle omits the keys with much greater frequency than is the case in the medieval West.[30] In the icon medium in the East, the scroll and the

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Moscow, 1992, uses Weitzmann's study of the D.O. icon as a point of departure in a discussion of a different set of problems of the Petrine imagery and, likewise, does not mention other representations of the saint with "keys around the neck".

[30] Carolyn Kinder Carr, Aspects of the Iconogaphy of St. Peter in Medieval Art of Western Europe to the Early Thirteenth Century, Ph.D. Diss., Case Western University, 1978, has done the most comprehensive study of Peter's iconography in the West. Unfortunately, there is no

keys do appear in a number of 13th c. Sinai examples defined

as "despotic", that is, icons set beneath the epistyle and

between the columns of the iconostasis within the "Grand

Deesis" composition (fig. 16).[31] The format and the

disposition (three-quarter turn of the body) of the D.O.

saint readily suggests an analogous placement.[32] The fact

that there is no companion-panel with St.Paul, or that there

are no other extant icons of comparable style and execution

that could have belonged to its original composition,

eliminates most of the possible contextual clues to this

density of attributes.

The Sinai icons marked by the scroll-and-keys motif

vary the number of keys and the manner in which they are

held: a 13th c. icon of a Venetian master working in Sinai

shows Peter with two keys on a string (fig.17)[33], while the

above-mentioned example (fig.16) shows three instead of two

keys hung on a ring; in any case, the keys firmly remain in

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comparable study for the Byzantine canon of his image but
one might look in Guillaume de Jerphagnon, La Voix des
Monuments, Paris / Brussels, 1938. Carr notes that while
the keys are almost always present in the West, Peter is
rarely shown with them in the East after the schism
(ibid.,p.15).

[31] Weizmann, St. Peter, pp.34-39 for detailed
discussion and reproductions.

[32] The icon measures 93.1 x 61.3 x 2.9 cm. The
despotic Sinai icons are similarly large-scale, one of them
(fig.16) even larger than the D.O. St. Peter (close to 1m.
in height). Cf. Weitzmann, St. Peter, p.23.

[33] Weitzmann, p.25, fig.25; for the icon-beam, fig.32.

Peter's hand, with the scroll.

In the monumental art of Byzantium, the keys are generally two in number and also held in the saint's left hand (fig.18). The one remarkable exception is found in Peribleptos where St.Peter from the southern zone of the naos (fig.19) carries three keys on a string around his neck. To the best of my knowledge, this is a unique instance in Byzantine monumental art, and the only parallel to the keys-around-the-neck of the Dumbarton Oaks St. Peter.[34] The Peribleptos saint has three keys while the saint from the icon two, a possible difference in meaning but a unique correspondence in placement. In addition, he holds a church model above his head, emphatically paraphrasing the controversial exegesis of Matthew (16:19) about the **Petros** as the **petra** of the Christian faith.[35] With his hands occupied by the church, the keys logically "migrated" around his neck -- could be the simple reason.

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[34] Barbara Evans, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Maryland, has also pointed to the keys-around-the-neck parallel between the D.O. St.Peter and Peribleptos and has presented her conclusions at a public symposium. I learned of her research through an oral communication in the Spring of 1992, having already written a paper on this topic which contains my initial observations. That paper has been in the icon file at the Dumbarton Oaks since the Summer of 1991, when I discussed my findings with Steven Zwirn, Associate Curator of the Byzantine Collection. That our independently conducted research resulted in such a convergence of findings is significant in itself.

[35] For discussion of Matthew 16:19, see beginning of Chapter IV: The Church above his Head -- the Keys around his Neck.

Yet again, why this re-iteration of the saint's identity,
when the church itself would be sufficient for that purpose?

The omission of Peribleptos from the existing
literature on the D.O. St.Peter is mystifying in light of
the notable stylistic parallels between this icon and other
works attributed to its artists (figs.9-13), and the unique
iconographic parallel this church provides for the D.O.
image. My present intent is to remedy this by examining the
icon's style in the context of the work of Michael
(Astrapas) and Eutychius and the artists possibly associated
with their studio.

Chapter II: <u>St.Peter</u> and the Oeuvre of Michael and Eutychius

II:1   <u>St.Peter</u> and Related Icons

In the domain of portable images, I have already

mentioned what I believe to be the closest known parallel to

the D.O. <u>St.Peter</u>: the icon of <u>St.Matthew</u> from Ochrid

(fig.13). This icon was published in 1954 as a work of

Eutychius and dated to the 1290's.[36], an attribution

generally accepted in the literature.[37] Incised into the

plaster ground-base at the bottom right of this panel is an

inscription that has been read as **"tou autou tou Petrou"**

(fig.20) and interpreted as an homage to an iconographic

model by a certain "Peter", appropriated by the author of

this icon.[38] <u>St.Matthew</u> is linked with Peribleptos on

stylistic grounds, while its reference to "Peter" has been

additionally taken to suggest that the other icons painted

for this church appropriated models from the same unknown

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[36] Miljkovic-Pepek, "Avtorite na nekolku Ohridski ikoni od XII-XIV vek, Eutihije ili Mihailo?", Glasnik na Muzejsko-Konzervatorsko Drustvo, Skopje, 1954, p.34, pp.46-47, pl.V.

[37] Djuric, <u>Ikone</u> p.78. Cf. Volbach, <u>Byzanc und der christliche Osten</u>, Berlin, 1968, p. 272, for iconographic and stylistic parallels with the evangelical portraits in the Cod. Theol. gr.240 from Vienna.

[38] Miljkovic-Pepek, "Pisuvanite podatoci za zografite Mihailo Astrapa i Eutihij i za nekoi nivni sorabotnici", <u>G.I.N.I.</u>, Skopje, 1960 pp.158-162 and also <u>Deloto</u>, pp. 219-220. He cites A. Frolow's analysis of "signatures" along the margins of the Menologion of Basil II (eg."tou zografou Mihael", " tou Mihael", or simply "tou autou") and his opinion that the various names were homages to the authors of the iconographic models, rather than indicating different illuminators.

artist.[39]

Here I would like to point to another, thus far
unnoticed possible connection. We know that the forceful
St.Peter in the southern zone of the church naos (fig.19)
has its literary source in Matthew 16:19. Logically, if a
part of the church program translated in visual terms the
Biblical exegesis according to Matthew, and if its Grand
Deesis included evangelical portraits, St.Matthew would be a
prime candidate.[40] Though the meaning of the plaster
incision in this icon is open to debate -- signature or an
homage -- it is a textual record of authorship. At the same
time, Michael and Eutychius, whose names have, indeed, come
down to us through fresco-inscriptions, seem to have
indulged in conceptual puns beyond mere signatures. Thus,
it has been suggested that two possible self-portraits of
the artists appears side by side on the northern part of the
central altar space of Peribleptos, in the row of bishop-
saints (fig.21), beneath the guise of St.Michael the
Confessor (a 9th c. Bishop) and St.Eutychius (a 6th c.

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[39] Miljkovic-Pepek, Pisuvanite, p. 161.I am using
zograph (Gr. painter) to distinguish between the artist
whose model was used and the painter of the icon.

[40] The fresco-decoration of Peribleptos is
insufficiently studied in terms of its literary sources,
despite the major work by Miljkovic-Pepek (Deloto). A
monograph on Peribleptos is yet to be written. See
Miljkovic-Pepek, Pisuvanite, p.161, for his note that the
Deesis composition may selectively include some of the
apostles (evangelists).

Patriarch of Constantinople).[41] Though daring, the
hypothesis is tenable in view of the fact that neither of
these two saints is normally included in bishop rows.[42]

This premise of a personal intervention with _text_ and
image alike provides another circumstantial link between the
icon of St.Matthew and the church program. The cryptic **"tou
autou tou Petrou"** reads "of self of Peter" or "by Peter
himself". With the wall fresco of St.Peter painted "after"
Matthew 16:18 and 16:19, the icon of St.Matthew painted
"after" Peter may not necessarily refer to appropriation of
an iconographic model from a "Peter". Instead, it may be
another relationship-reversing pun, an intellectual code
akin to the one with the bishop name-sakes. This pattern of
the artists' source-reference, self-documentation, as well
as self-reference, ought to be kept in mind when considering
the puzzling cluster of symbols in the D.O. _St.Peter_.[43]

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[41] Tsvetan Grozdanov, "Sv. Mihailo i Sv. Eutihije u
crkvi Bogorodice Perivlepte", _Zograf_, No.3, 1969, pp.11-12.
He notes that Michael could not assume the guise of the
archangel and that the said 9 c. bishop was the only one of
that name. For Eutychius, the choice of the Constantinople
Patriarch was logical: among the saints of that name, he was
the only one of the appropriate class (the others were
mostly martyrs).

[42] Grozdanov, "Sv. Mihailo i Sv. Eutihije...", p.12,
stresses that the inclusion of the Bishop Michael is unique
to this ensemble, and that the Patriarch Eutychius appears
very rarely, and only in extremely elaborate bishop rows
such as in Gracanica and Decani (both Serbian churches dated
to the first half of the 14th cent).

[43] Though the above-discussed ideas of Grozdanov and
Pepek are not provable, the discovered signatures of the
artists are taken at face value by most scholars as intended

Turning to other icons whose current state precludes a close stylistic comparison to the D.O. St. Peter, but that are plausibly linked with the Peribleptos iconostasis, one notes another curious and provocative analogy. The D.O. icon has these maximum dimensions: H.93,1 cm., W.61,3 cm., Th.2.9 cm.[44] The icon of the Virgin from the presumed central three-panel portion of the Grand Deesis, and discovered in the Peribleptos attic, measures the same: H.93 cm., W.61 cm, Th.3cm.(fig.22). Miljkovic-Pepek has noted several still legible features of this highly damaged piece: an intense tonality of the green underpainting, a pronounced modelling of the eye-socket that segments the surrounding musculature, an energetic use of highlights to define the cheeks, but also -- a rather dynamic surface handling that signals an application of fresco-painting technique in the icon medium; characteristics which, in his opinion, define the painting style of Michael and Eutychius around the time of Peribleptos (c.1295).[45] Needless to say, our St.Peter exhibits the painterly approach and tonality shared by St.

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self-documentation. Other works linked with Michael and Eutychius, discussed below, demonstrate their self-referentiality.

[44] In actuality, the icon has been trimmed approximately 5 cm. along its left edge. See Dumbarton Oaks Museum icon file for this information, and Weitzmann, St. Peter, fn.19, p. 44.

[45] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, p.218. He gives the dimensions without their decimal points, obviously not so significant in this case.

Matthew and this icon fragment. The two other panels that may have formed the central portion of the "Grand Deesis" in Peribleptos, Christ and St.John the Baptist, are damaged beyond any possibility for the most rudimentary of stylistic analyses, yet, they also come from the church attic and have identical dimensions to those of the Virgin and St. Peter.[46]   The icon of St. Matthew (fig.13) measures 106 x 56.5 cm.; longer and narrower than the three Deesis panels, it was probably flanking the left side of the Royal Doors that led to the sanctuary. Allowing for a speculation that the Dumbarton Oaks St. Peter was within this iconostasis, it would have been placed either next to the Virgin above the architrave, or below, flanking the left side of the Royal Doors, in either case accompanied by his counterpart, St.Paul, turned to the left.[47]

II:2 St.Peter and the Frescoes of Michael and Eutychius

Examples of monumental art that define the greater

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[46] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, p. 218, tells that the one is identified as "Christ" solely on the basis of a faint cross-inscribed halo, while the other had traces of long hair and hairy body (or body covering), identifying it as "John the Baptist".

[47] See Weitzmann, St. Peter, p. 33 for arrangements of Peter and Paul panels within iconostases and fig.32 for the extended Deesis of the 13th cent. icon-beam from Sinai. If St. Peter were below the main Deesis composition, to the left of the doors, St. Matthew would possibly be on his right side, and another evangelist would be to the left of St.Paul.

stylistic family of the D.O. St.Peter have already been
mentioned.[48] In addition to the portraits from Studenica
and Staro Nagorichino, (figs.9, 10, 11, 12), I now wish to
point to selected frescoes associated with the oeuvre of
Michael and Eutychius that I judge as being stylistically
related to our icon and that may help refine its parameters
of origin.

The earliest comission of these masters, the fresco
cycle of Peribleptos, does not, despite its unique
iconographic parallel, provide compelling stylistic
comparisons. The portrait of St.Kliment from the church naos
(fig.23) does suggest a similar underlying concept of form,
exemplified through the tendency towards segmentation of
facial planes, the concentration on the mask area, and the
continuous gesture that counters the urge towards realism by
a nearly abstract linearism. Yet, its dynamic articulation
creates a rather dissimilar surface effect from that in the
D.O. St.Peter.

With the fresco layer of the Church of the Savior in
Zica painted under the Serbian Archbishops Eustatius II
(1292-1309) and Sava III (1309-1316), one comes closer to
the D.O. icon. The portrait of St.Paul on the arch of a
tower vault (fig.24) possesses the intense emotion and
concentrated gaze that recall the same, if slightly subdued

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[48] Cf. I:1 The Stylistic Basis for Attribution.

qualities of the D.O. St. Peter.[49]

Following chronologically after Zica are the frescoes from the two already mentioned monuments, the King's Church in Studenica (fig.9) and the Church of St. George in Staro Nagorichino(figs. 10, 11, 12). Among fixed images within the oeuvre of Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychius, these fresco cycles offer the closest parallels to the D.O. St.Peter.

In the church of St. Nicetas in Cucer, near Skopje, c.1320, attributed to the painters on basis of signatures[50], one finds physiognomic definitions such as that of the Prophet Elisha in the barrel of the dome (fig.25) that exhibit the structuring of the facial planes and expressive curve of form characteristic of the D.O. icon.

Back in Serbia, the Mausoleum church of King Milutin in Gracanica, Kosovo, c.1318-21, whose relationship to Michael and Eutychius has been periodically asserted and denied (the current view being in the affirmative) carries comparable figural representations such as the evangelical portraits

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[49] M. Kasanin, Dj. Boskovic, P.Mijovic, Zica: Istorija, Arhitektura, Slikarstvo, Belgrade, 1969, fig.187 and pp.26-27. See also S. Radojcic, Srpska Umetnost u Srednjem Veku, Belgrade, 1982, p.80, for his definite attribution of these frescoes to "Astrapas", which he dates to 1311.

[50] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, pp.51-53 for the date of St. Nicetas, placed then in 1315-16 but adjusted subsequently to 1320 and confirmed most recently in "O Poznatim i Anonimnim Slikarima koji su stvarali u prvim decenijama XIV veka na teritoriji Kosova i Metohije", K.M.Z., I, Belgrade, 1990, p.59.

set in four pendentives (fig.26) in one of the domes of this complex quincunx.[51]

Moving to Grecian Macedonia, it is useful to recall a few examples that confirm the larger habitat of the style under observation. A Noah from Protaton, Athos, (fig.27) brings to mind the Staro Nagorichino Jacob (fig.12), just as St. Nicholas (fig.28) relates to the faces from Peribleptos by its nearly cubist volume. Here one sees that styles belonging to an earlier and a later phase of Michael and Eutychius co-exist within a single context. However, the Protaton frescoes are not attributed to these masters despite their transparent stylistic links. They are traditionally believed to be painted by a Thessalonikian painter of legendary renown: "Panselinos".[52]

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[51] Branislav Todic, Gracanica: Slikarstvo, Belgrade 1988, is the first monographic study of this church. He firmly believes that Michael and Eutychius were actively involved in the fresco-painting of 1318-21, with a large participation of their studio. See pp.232-3 for a breakdown of the frescoes done by the principal masters and by their collaborators. Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, p.234, also relates specific scenes to M. and E. Cf. also Vojislav Djuric, Vizantijske Freske u Jugoslaviji, Belgrade, 1978, p.52 and p.205.

[52] This is first mentioned in the Hermeneia by Dionysius of Fourna completed between 1729-33. This painting manual singles out "Panselinos" as a model whose style is to be diligently studied and emulated by aspiring young artists. See Paul Hetherington's introduction to the English translation: "The Painter's Manual" of Dyonisius of Fourna, 1981, Oakwood Publications reprint, 1989. V.T. Georgievskii, Panselinos, Moscow, 1913, is the first to reproduce some of the Protaton frescoes. Xyngopoulos, Manuel Panselinos, Athens, 1956, publishes some of the frescoes in an artist's rendition, not photographs. Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, is the first to publish black/white

The major Serbian center within this monastic community, Chilandar, also belongs to this style-radius. Consider the somewhat damaged visage of St.Eustatius from the **katholikon**, (fig.36)[53] with his elongated face and high forehead, his tripartite nose, and his full mustache/beard that frames the lower portion of the face quite like in <u>St. Peter</u>.[54]

Beyond the fact that most of these works are attributed to Michael and Eutychius (or to their workshop), they often appear under the "Macedonian" denominator as exponents of the brand of naturalism and expressiveness associated with Thessaloniki, the center of artistic production in Macedonia. Unfortunately, it appears that as the master-painters followed the "widening gyre" of their commissions, the center indeed "could not hold", at least not in a way firmly demonstrable today.[55] The only monument in

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photographs.

[53] First reproduced by Djuric, "Hilandarski zivopis iz doba Kralja Milutina", <u>Hilandarski Zbornik</u>, No.4, 1978, fig. 10. It was discovered with a whole set of frescoes, painted under King Milutin's patronage (c.1310-1320), during the church cleaning in 1970. Djuric relates them to the frescoes of St.Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki, (to the better of the two masters), whose **ktytor** was also Milutin. I believe that their stronger linearism and expressiveness put them closer to Protaton and Vatopedi than to St. Nicholas Orphanos.

[54] The "literature" consists of Chatzidakis and Weitzmann; S. Boyd does not suggest any other comparisons.

[55] Borrowed from Yeats' "Second Coming", for its apt evocation of a similar social and cultural dissolution: "The center can not hold / Mere anarchy is loosed upon the

Thessaloniki of comparable value for our purposes is the
almost illegible fresco-cycle of St.Euthymios.[56] The
Churches of the Holy Apostles and Nicholas Orphanos, the
best preserved Palaeologan monuments of the turn of the
century in this city, do stand on their own, but are no
match for the best work of Thessalonikian luminaries such as
the legendary "Panselinos" or Michael and Eutychius.[57]

Even this cursory enumeration of monuments succeeds in
illustrating that: a) the stylistic parallels to the D.O.
St. Peter that have been presented in the literature are by
no means either the only, or the closest ones; b) its style
alone can not be considered a sufficient basis for its
attribution to a region/time period/workshop.

In other words, artistic tendencies reflecting this
brand of naturalism are detectable over a wide region and
even within a single painted ensemble there are style-
varieties allowing selective comparisons that could place
the icon anywhere between 1290 and 1320. The icon's
localisation to "Macedonia" on stylistic grounds is,

world".

[56] The most comprehensive analysis of this ensemble is
the Ph.D. Dissertation of Thalia Gouma-Peterson, The
Parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessalonika, Princeton
University, 1964.

[57] For recent discussions of these frescoes, see
Christine Stephan Ein Byzantinisches Bildensemble: die
Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki,
Ph.D. Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1986, and Annas Tsitouridou,
Ho Zographikos daikosmos tou Hagiou Nikolaiou Orphanou ste
Thessalonike, Vyzantina mnemeia:6, Thessaloniki, 1986.

likewise, unsatisfactory, and involves the rather problematic question of a "Macedonian" school of painting within the Palaeologan period. Though its complexity requires a separate study, a case of scholarly dispute at a time of pioneering attempts at regionalization of Byzantine art is illustrative of the shortcomings of such style-based generalizations. I am referring to Xyngopolous' studies of the "Macedonian" painting in the fifties that identified certain distinctive features of the regional artistic practice[58] and the ensuing criticism of Underwood, who remarked that, by the same criteria, the mosaics and frescoes at Kariye Djami and "most of what is known of Constantinopolitan art of the Palaeologan period" would be equally "Macedonian".[59] Underwood's criticism was not directed against regionalization per se, but against surface-analyses of morphology that exclude issues of "proportions, drapery treatment, postures, and quality of movement in the figures".[60]

David T. Rice has addressed the "Macedonian" issue in a more complex fashion to arrive at some intriguing but still

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[58]Xyngopolous, Andreas, _Thessalonique et la peinture macedonienne_, Athens, M. Myrtidis, 1955 and _Manuel Panselinos_, Athens, Athens Editions, 1956.

[59] Paul Underwood, _Manuel Panselinos_, a review article, _Archaeology_, X, 1957, pp. 215-16.

[60] Underwood, _ibid._ These are his specific objections to Xyngopolous' study but they also address a frequent practice in stylistic analysis.

problematic distinctions. In his definition, the sense of
severity and overall somberness, as well as concentration on
intense emotion, are taken as features of the "Slavic" icon
painting versus the "Greek" style which is characterized by
brilliant, enamel-like hues.[61] Within such "national"
parameters, Michael and Eutychius are seen as exponents of a
"Slav" aesthetics, while the second Macedonian branch is
represented by certain monuments in Thessaloniki and Athos
that are essentially spiritual and allied to Constantinople,
without the extremes of emotion of the inner Balkans.[62]
While Rice does not propose a Slavic "nationality" for these
artists, he maintains that even if they were Greeks from
Thessaloniki, the Slavic character of their work is due to
their training and patronage.[63] Perhaps his distinction,
basically along the lines of cosmopolitan vs. provincial
aesthetics, does hold up in general terms. If the deep
chromaticism and emotional intensity of the D.O. St. Peter
were read as a "national" distinction, that would further
support its placement within a Slavic realm, if not by the
artists' origins, then certainly by their patronage.

Miljkovic-Pepek has recently discussed the "Macedonian"
issue in Palaeologan art in terms of its narrative and

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[61] D.T. Rice, Icons and their Dating, London, 1974,
p.33.

[62] D.T. Rice, Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase, New
York, 1968, p.111.

[63] ibid.

explicative tendencies. In an article dealing with the
earliest examples of monumental art in Macedonia (Ochrid,
10th and 11th c.), he relates their narrative character to
the nature of the teaching of St.Kliment of Ochrid, aimed
towards an explication of theological complexities to the
relatively young Christian Slavs.[64] He quotes the 11th
century Ochrid Archbishop Theophylactos, who defined the
role of St.Kliment, the most revered local saint, in the
following terms:

> Because there were not even eulogies in the Slavic
> tongue, he found means and destroyed the rock of
> ignorance with his work. He created simple and clear
> sermons for all church feasts that contain nothing deep
> and overly wise, but are intelligible even to the
> simplest of minds. With these he nourished the souls of
> the simpler ones, nursing with milk those who could not
> take solid food...[65]

The relationship between this "explicative" nature of
ministry and our icon is clear, for although Miljkovic-Pepek
focuses on the earliest fresco-programs among the Slavs, he
implies that "explication" is an operative principle in the
later monuments as well, including Peribleptos. In short,

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[64] Miljkovic-Pepek, "The Genesis of the Narrative,
Explicative, and Educational Artistic Substrate in the
Frescoes of the Macedonian Slavs", Kliment Ohridski i
Ulogata na Ohridskata Knizevna Skola vo Razvitokot na
Slovenskata prosveta, Skopje, 1989, pp. 286-292. Kliment of
Ochrid transformed the original Glagolotic alphabet created
by Cyril and Methodius, simplifying it and adapting it to
the phonetic system of the Slavs. He is universally revered
among the users of this new, Cyrillic alphabet: Macedonian
Slavs, Serbs, Bulgarians, Russians.

[65] Theophylactos' vita of Kliment, 22:66, as cited by
Miljkovic-Pepek, Genezata, pp.289-90.

the various qualifiers of Macedonian art in terms of its "drama", "realism", and "expressiveness", are insufficient without this awareness of the medieval literary tradition in Macedonia, centered in and around Ochrid from Kliment onward, that insisted on preserving the vernacular character of the Slavic literacy. The D.O. St.Peter is decidedly within this tradition as well: his signs are stated categorically, targeting a vernacular culture through a corresponding stylistic idiom.

This thesis about the icon's placement within a Slavic realm is, however, easily problematized by frescoes attributed to artists such as Panselinos that bear a stylistic proximity to the D.O. St.Peter and appear, by all counts, to have been done by a Greek artist (Panselinos) working for Greek patrons. The following resume of some recently proposed explanations of this paradox may help clarify why St.Peter is stylistically attributable both to the studio of Michael and Eutychius, and to Panselinos.

II:3   St.Peter between Astrapas and Panselinos

The alternative signature of Michael (Astrapas) is, like the **nom de plume** of the unknown artist (Panselinos), an astronomy-derived epithet. The name Astrapas is recorded first in Peribleptos, on the attributes of two frescoes of

warrior saints: St. Mercurius and St. Demetrius.[66] The

sword of St. Mercurius is inscribed: **heir mihael tou astrapa**
[67], evoking the idea of the artist as a divine instrument,

while St. Demetrius bears the signature on his mantle:

mihael heir zographyzon(tos) astrapa.[68] Though the sword-

inscription has been a source of controversy regarding the

artist's identity, the reading "the hand of Michael of

Astrapas", with Astrapas as a nick-name of Michael, prevails

in the literature.[69] The word **"astrapa"** refers to the

"lightning" quality of the master's work, although a recent

etymological reading has restricted its meaning to

"shining", "brilliant", or "quick".[70]

The etymology of the attribute "Panselinos" was as

elusive as the supposed artist's oeuvre until a publication

of a 14th century lunar theory treatise by the Thessalonian

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[66] St. Mercurius is depicted on the west side of the
north-western pillar and St. Demetrius on the east side of
the south-western pillar in the nave.

[67] See Miljkovic-Pepek, Pisuvanite, p. 142 for the
inscription.

[68] Transcription and explanation of Sotirios Kissas,
"Solunska umetnicka porodica Astrapa", Zograf, 5, 1974,
p.36.

[69] T. Grozdanov, Studii za Ohridskiot Zivopis, Skopje,
1990, pp. 86-87, for a recent discussion of the conflicting
interpretations. The preeminent advocate of the view that
Michael and Astrapas were two separate entities, in addition
to Eutychius, was S. Radojcic, Majstori Starog Srpskog
Slikarstva, Belgrade, 1955, pp.19-36.

[70] Kissas, Porodica Astrapa, p.36, fn. 10, for a
detailed analysis of the etymology and the grammatically
plausible options.

Demetrius Trinclinius. In this text, there is a section on
the depiction of the moon surface where the author mentions
a familiar name:

> therefore appears there some black shadow; and because
> I remembered the best among the writers (**grapheos**) of
> our time which Thessaloniki has... him of the surname
> Astrapa (**ton tes astrapes eponymon**), I say Hariton,
> John (**femi haritonymon**), we could hardly see... what is
> the shape of the black on the moon: that it is black...
> something like this thing drawn here in
> black...(fig.30) [71]

The word **grapheos** was read, at first, as a reference to a
"painter" and further, to Astrapas from Peribleptos.[72]
This interpretation was later modified to suggest that John
Astrapas was a noted **grapheos** (writer) related by being part
of the same Thessaloniki family to the **zographos** or **istorio-
graphos** (painter) of that last name from Peribleptos.[73]
Miljkovic-Pepek has, moreover, connected this treatise with
Panselinos[74], pointing to the possibility that the drawings

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[71] A. Wasserstein, "An unpublished treatise by
Demetrius Trinclinius on Lunar Theory", <u>Jahrbuch der
Osterreichischen Byzantinischen Gessellschaft</u>, 16 (1967) pp.
153-174.

[72] <u>ibid</u>.

[73] Kissas, <u>Porodica Astrapa</u>, p.36, claims that if
Trinclinius wanted to identify a painter, he would have used
either the term zographos or **istoriographos**, but that,
instead, emphasized the writing, (re-productive) aspect of
Astrapa's activity: **grapheos**.

[74] Miljkovic-Pepek, "Prilog kon soznanijata za
Solunskoto poteklo na slikarskata familija Astrapa i za
moznoto poistovetuvanje na zografot Mihailo Astrapa so
Panselinos", <u>Godisen Zbornik na Filozofskiot Fakultet na
Univerzitetot vo Skopje</u>, 1979-80, pp.209-218.

in Trinclinius' treatise that attempt to depict "the whole
surface of the moon" -- **panselinos** -- could be a likely
origin of this name. With the medieval equation between
nomen and **omen**, and with John Astrapas as a possible
relative to Michael Astrapas (the artist), the latter name
could, in light of the newly-acquired family reputation,
mutate from Astrapas into Panselinos.[75]

Thalia Gouma-Peterson's recent discussion of the style
of St.Euthymius links this program again with the heroic
phase of Palaeologan painting exemplified by Peribleptos and
Protaton.[76] She actually proposes that some of the same
painters worked at St. Euthymius, the Protaton, and
Peribleptos, and that they included, besides Michael and
Eutychius, another Astrapas, as well as Panselinos. Like
Kissas and Miljkovic-Pepek earlier, she also questions the

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[75] Miljkovic-Pepek, Astrapa/Panselinos, pp. 215-217 for
a detailed analysis of this problem. His daring suggestion
is justifiable because not a single inscription with the
name Manuel Panselinos has appeared in the church ensembles
attributed to that artist. Pepek showed deep reservations
about the historicity of Panselinos earlier in his career,
and proposed that the frescoes of Protaton and Lavra were
closely related to M.and E. Cf. Deloto, pp.203-205 for a
discussion on "Panselinos".

[76] "The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymius
in Thessaloniki: patrons, workshop, and style", The Twilight
of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in
the Late Byzantine Empire, Princeton, 1991, pp.11-129.
Though the author states that part of her intention is to
remedy the previous scholarly "oversight" of the
relationship between Peribleptos and St.Euthymius, their
workshop connections were discussed already by Miljkovic-
Pepek in 1967, Deloto, p.226, who observed that one of the
two distinctive hands in St. Euthymius had a close affinity
to the Michael and Eutychius style from Peribleptos.

historical veracity of "Panselinos", and argues for a common
authorship of the monuments traditionally ascribed to
different workshops.[77]

The very fact that the Dumbarton Oaks St.Peter finds
excellent stylistic counterparts in works that the
literature attributes to Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychius,
to Panselinos, or in those of contested authorship between
the two workshops, is a further argument, beyond their
common "celestial" evocation, for a connection between these
famous pseudonyms. At the same time, this eliminates the
possibility of a firm attribution of this icon to a single
artist, though both its style and extraordinary quality of
execution point to a principal figure in the Astrapas/
Panselinos sphere. The question that ought to be addressed
at this point is how the icon fits within the Petrine image
of the monuments discussed thus far, and whether this can
further illuminate its specific topos.

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[77] Gouma-Peterson, St. Euthymius, pp.123-4.

Chapter III: The Evolving Petrine Physiognomy

The earliest known portraits of the Apostle Peter by
Michael and Eutychius are in Peribleptos in the church naos
(fig.31) and narthex (fig.32) respectively. Both are more
forcefully naturalistic, and of a nearly classical solidity
that characterizes this first phase of Michael/Eutychius
work and distances it from the sophisticated stylization of
the icon. Individual large-scale renditions of St. Peter
appear in several monuments brought into this discussion,
most often on church pillars, accompanied by his expected
counterpart -- St. Paul.

In the Church of the Savior in Zica, St.Peter, shown on
the arch of the northern wall of the exonarthex, immediately
recalls the Peribleptos apostle both by his heroic scale and
his emphatic gesture: he also supports a church-model above
his head (fig.33). The face of the apostle from St.George
in Staro Nagorichino (fig.34) preserves the same Petrine
type, but is equally removed from the elongated physiognomy
of the D.O. icon and from the segmented volumes of the
"Peters" in Peribleptos and Zica (figs.31, 32, 33). In the
Church of the Dormition, Gracanica, the iconic portrait of
the saint (fig.35) differs from his narrative one (fig.36)
which I note here as the third instance where St.Peter is
holding the church above his head, completing the
chronological line from the first signed ensemble of Michael

and Eutychius in Peribleptos (c.1295) to this last
commission of King Milutin (c.1220-21).

In St. Nicetas, the "eyeless" St.Peter on a pillar in
the church naos (fig.37) relates through his rounder yet
well-defined face, his full hair and beard, and his nearly
identical gesture of the pointing right hand, to the
Gracanica standing apostle (fig.35).

The apparent variations in these Petrine portraits may
be a reflection of changes in the painters' style or, just
as likely, of the lack of specific models. In other words,
the artistic idiom of Michael (Astrapas), Eutychius, and
Panselinos appears to have been a "work in process" that
evolved away from the cosmopolitan canon but lacked a fixed
artistic ideal.

These inconsistencies are concretely demonstrated in
the varieties of Petrine hair-types, a feature that
Weitzmann elaborates upon in his study of the icon. Namely,
he describes the style of the Dumbarton Oaks saint's hair as
a somewhat modified Roman "role-type" (fig.38).[78] Positing
that the Roman type (defined by this hair-style) was a
convention that connoted the idea of the Papal primacy,
Weitzmann suggests that the Byzantine artists suppressed it
in favor of hair-style varieties, including the roll-type
hair of the icon.[79] He maintains that the Roman type was

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[78] Weitzmann, St. Peter, p. 21, and his figs. 17-19.

[79] Weitzmann, ibid., pp.25-26.

consciously avoided after the 11th century schism between

the East and West (1054) but that it never really died out,

either because of artists imported from the West, or maybe

because the Byzantine artists did not feel tied to a

tradition.[80] Among the programs under our consideration,

there are a few examples of the Roman type Peter, in certain

narrative contexts such as the **Koimesis** from Studenica of

c.1314 (fig.39), and the "Dormition of the Virgin" from St.

Nicetas of c.1320 (fig.40) with a modified but still

recognizable roll-type hair. The Roman type was doubtlessly

known and used in the same area before the 11th century

schism, as seen in the "Communion of the Apostles" from

St.Sophia in Ochrid,(1040-1045),(fig.41), but it maintained

a currency even afterwards, judging from the surviving

examples of the following centuries such as St.Peter from

the "Ascension" in the church of St.George in Kurbinovo,

(c.1190), (fig.42).[81] The same tight curls of the Roman

hair-type are clearly preserved in 13th century portraits of

the saint in Serbia, such as the fragment of the "Healing of

the Blind" from the older layer of frescoes in Virgin

Ljeviska (fig.43) and the Communion scene in the Church of

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[80] ibid., p.24.

[81] Grozdanov, "Etudes approfondies de Kurbinovo entre
le XIIe et le XVe congres international d'etudes byzantines.
Publication d'une monographie complete", pp.9-21, in
T.Grozdanov and L. H. Misguich, Kurbinovo, Skopje, 1992, is
a very useful overview of the literature on Kurbinovo and
its iconographic and stylistic parallels.

the Apostles in Pec (fig.44). In the icon medium, the best known example is the splendid Serbian icon from the Vatican Treasury, where the Roman-type curls were discovered around St. Peter's forehead after the removal of a later overpaint (fig.45).[82]

These examples allow a deduction that is along the lines of Weitzmann's theory on the conscious modelling of Peter's hair in Rome and Byzantium, even though the import of this Petrine feature in terms of adherence to one of the two church canons remains insufficiently specified.[83]

What one can conclude, however, from this selection of Petrine hair-types in the Balkans is that by the late 13th century, Byzantine hair-types were definitely preferred in iconic contexts: either individual portraits that frequently included images of St.Paul as pendants[84] or in descriptive representations (the Peribleptos Peter/Rock image) which could include other figures but clearly focused on the first

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[82]. First published after its cleaning by W.F. Volbach, "Die Ikone der Apostelfursten in St. Peter zu Rom", Orientalia Christiana Periodica, VII, No.3-4, 1941, pp.480-499.

[83] A recent analysis of this characteristic does, however, confirm Weitzmann's distinction. Cf. Linda Safran, "The Image of St. Peter in South Italy", op.cit. who has shown a marked absence of the Roman type hair in a sampling of 13th c. Petrine portraits from South Italy and related this to a contemporary anti-latin polemic in defense of the full hair/beard to conclude, by the criterion of hair-style, that South Italy was closer to being a Byzantine, rather than Latin artistic and cultural province.

[84] Cf. Zica, where St.Peter and St. Paul appear on the two pillars of the orthern wall of the exonarthex, fig.51.

apostle. In scenic portrayals, Peter's hair could lapse back to the Roman model (figs. 39, 40), possibly due to his lesser symbolic impact.

The hair-type may well be an indicator of the ideological aspects of the Petrine imagery in the Balkans in the period under our examination but is, in itself, not particularly illuminating in respect to the D.O. icon of the Apostle. His coiffure is closer to the Roman type hair than is the case with the contemporary non-narrative renditions of the First Apostle (figs. 31-37), yet, is not clearly following the Roman model.

The fact that the "keys-around-the-neck" motif remains its most exceptional attribute warrants a more detailed examination of the only other instance of its recurrence in Peribleptos. As stated earlier, any ideological reading of the D.O. icon has to rely on extra-artistic aspects of comparable works whose contexts are well established. By examining the manner in which the pictorial codes within such works are employed in service of particular theological and political concerns, the symbols that qualify the D.O. St. Peter may become less ambivalent.

Chapter IV: The Keys around his Neck -- The Church

above his Head

And I say also unto thee, That
thou art Peter, and upon this rock
I will build my church; and the gates
of hell shall not prevail against it.(16:18)

And I will give unto thee the
keys of the kingdom of heaven: and
whatever thou shalt bind on earth
shall be bound in heaven: and what
soever thou shalt loose on earth
shall be loosed in heaven. (16:19)

In Matthew's exegesis, these two consecutive verses
tell how the first apostle receives, in St.Augustine's later
words, **"potestatum ligandi solvendique peccata"**, the power
to save sinners through the church founded on him.[85] The
historical controversy of these sentences is as old as their
first commentaries.[86] The following lines from a late
medieval hymn to Peter illustrate their full impact:

> **Petrus petra derivatur/ Petra Christus/
> qua fundatur/ Stabilis ecclessia.**[87]

They also summarize one of the major reasons for the great
schism of 1054 between the East and West, the **Petrus / petra**

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[85] St. Augustine, <u>Joannis Evanelium</u> P.L. 35: 1973-74.
Cf. Kinder Carr, <u>Iconography of St.Peter</u>, p.55.

[86] J.A. Burges, <u>A History of Exegesis of Matthew 16:17-
19</u> (from 1781 to 1965), Michigan, 1976, for a bibliography
of about a thousand works.

[87] "Petrus petra", AH 34. 190-191, in J.Szoverffy,
"Mirror of medieval culture: St. Peter hymns of the middle
ages", Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and
Sciences, New Haven, 1965, p.308.

equation which may well be the most decisive misreading,

mistranslation, and misinterpretation of Christian

doctrine.[88] Whether or not an Aramaic version of Matthew

16:18 contained the word-play **Cephas** and **kepha** and whether

or not the Greek **Petros** : **petra** was indeed meant as an

equation between the two remains under debate.[89] It is

clear, however, that the Byzantines downplayed the Petrian

attributes and that the image of St.Peter thus defined

emphasized his primacy, which they did not deny, but

understood in a manner that conflicted with the Roman

interpretation.[90]

The discomfort of Orthodoxy with this contested issue

extends to this time, despite the sophisticated

rationalizations for certain potentially compromising

historical realities. Thus, a visitor to the Ochrid

Peribleptos these days can not see the Peter with the keys

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[88] C. Karagounnis, Peter and the Rock, Berlin, 1990,
philologically de-constructs the Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek
versions of Matthew 16:18. He questions the validity of
petra (rock): **petros** (stone) distinction, points to the fact
that the non-existence of actual Aramaic version of 16:18
where **petros** = **kepha** problematizes the entire notion of a
significant word-play between **Cephas** and **kepha** (ibid, pp.26-
30), and lists early sources that do not show this equation
(eg. a Palestinian Lectionary with **Petros** and **kepha**, p.34).

[89] ibid., pp.34-36.

[90] See J. Meyendorff et al., The Primacy of Peter,
Aylesbury, Bucks, 1963, especially his essay "St. Peter in
Byzantine Theology", pp.7-30, for an illuminating analysis
of the Latin and Eastern understanding of the concept of
primacy. See also the citations of Photius and Symmeon of
Thessalonika below.

around his neck and church above his head (fig.19). An

elaborate baldachino that houses the sarcophagus with the

relics of St.Kliment is placed in front of the southern wall

of the naos exactly where St.Peter stands on Hades.[91]

The portrayal of St.Peter in the Peribleptos was first

discussed by Radojcic, who suggested a certain western

influence on the basis of the church-model held by the

apostle.[92] However, it was not an art historian but a

scholar of Church-Slavonic who came up with a much bolder

analysis. The gist of Fran Grivec's 1955 article **Na sem**

Petre is worth repeating for its brilliant argumentation:

a) The 11c. Glagolitic Evangelliarum Assemani has a
distinctive translation of Matthew 16:18 = **na sem Petre** (on
this Peter), rather than the near normative Church Slavonic
version: **na sem kamene** (on this rock). The Assemani version
was written in Ochrid or around it and remained in this town
until the 14 c.

b) The patron saint of Ochrid was Kliment (d. 916), whose

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[91] During my 1992 visit to Ochrid, I was told by the
representative of the Macedonian Patriarchy from whom I
received permission to photograph the frescoes in
Peribleptos that indeed "they (the Macedonian Orthodox
church) do not like that Peter... for the problems that he
has caused them in respect to the Latin church, for the fact
that the Catholics have used him to claim their historical
influence in Ochrid... for the manner in which he asserts
the apostolic primacy."

[92] S. Radojcic, <u>Majstori Starog Srpskog Slikarstva</u>,
Belgrade, 1956, p.23. While Peribleptos is a centralized
church that follows the trends of the Middle Byzantine
architecture, the church-model held by St.Peter combines a
basilika plan with a dome. The 9th century cathedral church
of Ochrid, St.Sophia (basilika culminating in three apses)
could have been the intended reference to this church model.
For illustrations of Peribleptos and St.Sophia, see Hamann-
Mac Lean and Hallensleben, <u>Die Malerschule</u>, p.122 and p.161
respectively.

sermons venerated Pope Clement of Rome as successor of St.Peter. Kliment would be instrumental in promulgating the Assemani version of Matthew 16:18.

c) The Ochrid Archbishopric maintained a precarious autocephalous status, in no small part through a strong cult of St. Kliment. Across from St.Peter in the Peribleptos naos is not his logical counter-part: St.Paul, but a full-figure depiction of this most revered local saint. St.Clement of Rome was equally venerated in Ochrid through the cult of St.Kliment, and in this case, through the potent St.Peter who recalled his Roman authority.[93]

That this line of thought was felt as being potentially

problematic for the hallowed **topos** of the Ochrid

Archbishopric, is evident from the exceptionally cursory

references to Grivec's article in the later literature on

the subject.[94] It seems that, to this day, scholars are

wary of the implications of his thesis, forgetting that the

Petrine primacy does not automatically imply an allegiance

to the Roman Catholic faith. Indeed, Byzantine

ecclesiastical writers recognized the special role of Peter,

like Photius who wrote of him as "the chief of the apostolic

choir", "the rock of the church", the "keybearer of the

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[93] Fran Grivec, "Na sem Petre", <u>Slovo</u>, No.4-5, Zagreb, 1955, pp.24-41.

[94] Miljkovic-Pepek, <u>Deloto</u>, gives the earliest and most open acknowledgement: "...it appears that Fran Grivec is quite close to the truth in interpreting this iconographic ensemble", although he relegates this to his footnote #366, p.73. Grozdanov places this Peter on the cover of his 1990 collection of essays <u>Studii</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, but he merely states that "...Grivec interprets this image in the context of the Church Slavonic translation of Matthew 16:18, and relates it to the etymology of the name Peter (rock)", <u>ibid</u>. p.98, skipping <u>the main point</u> of the 1955 article.

kingdom of heaven".[95] As late as the 15th century, Symmeon
of Thessalonika wrote that "...this (Roman) primacy is not
harmful to the church...", as long as the Roman bishops
would prove their "faithfulness to the faith of Peter..."[96]

The Peribleptos fresco should, therefore, be seen in
this wider, pragmatically interpretive context. Its
perceived theological compromise, currently hushed behind
the baldachino of St.Kliment, becomes less controversial in
light of the politically motivated maneuvers of the Ochrid
church at the time of its commission.

St.Peter's strategic position in relation to St.Kliment
is further illuminated by their respective companion
figures. To the left of the first apostle stands his
brother Andrew (fig.19), while to the left of St.Kliment
stands a 13th century Ochrid archbishop Constantine
Kabasilas (fig.46). These full-scale figures enrich the
relationship between the two main participants of the
theological sub-text. The placement of Andrew next to his
brother in such proximity to the sanctuary is exceptional.

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[95] Photius, Homily :1, in Meyendorff, Byzantine
Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes, p.97; "The
Schism Between East and West" pp.92-102 for a discussion of
the different understandings of the primacy.

[96] Symeon of Thessalonika, Dialogus contra haereses,
P.G. 155:120 AB, in Meyendorff, Theology, p. 100. He
stresses that the enlightened Byzantine authors approached
this issue without the prejudices characteristic for the
anti-Latin polemicists, i.e., that the notion of Petrine
primacy depended on the context in which it was discussed
(ibid. pp.99-101).

The first two apostles appear together in Byzantine churches
in scenic contexts such as the Ascension in Kurbinovo
(fig.42) or with other full-figure portraits of the apostles
in the apsidal areas such as in Cephalu but, to the best of
my knowledge, they are never accorded the prominence of
joint appearance so close to the sanctuary as in
Peribleptos.[97]   The presence of St.Andrew is explicated by
his special apostolic role among the Slavs, the veneration
of his relics in Constantinople as pendant to those of
SS.Peter and Paul in Rome, his regional connection with
Thessaloniki and the territory of Macedonia, and the
significance of his cult in the Eastern church in
general.[98]   Further more, the Peribleptos Andrew carries in
his left hand the scroll-staff combination which is so
pronounced in the D.O. St.Peter. In fact, the cross-staffs
held by the respective figures are nearly identical.[99]   The
gestural, narrative stance of the Peribleptos St. Peter is

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[97] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, p.75 mentions the Kurbinovo
and Cephalu examples specifically for their iconographic
analogies to Peribleptos, i.e., the presence of attributes
with both saints.

[98] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, p.76, brings all of these
aspects of Andrew in his analysis. The major source on his
special role among the Slavs is the study of Francis
Dvornik, The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the
Legend of the Apostle Andrew, Dumbarton Oaks Studies: IV,
Washington, 1958.

[99] I am indebted to Dr. Marie Spiro for this
observation, as well as for the note that in the Ascension
scene from Kurbinovo (fig.57), St. Andrew carries a very
similar staff again.

thus further compounded (aided) by Andrew who completes the portrayal of his brother by holding these Petrine attributes. By contrast, the iconicity of the D.O. St.Peter, coupled with a similar need for explication, resulted in a greater synthesis of his signs.

The figure of Constantine Kabasilas (fig.46) is identified by an inscription: **konstantinos arhiepiskopos bulgarias**.[100] Although the name Constantine Kabasilas appears twice in the lineage of Ochrid archbishops, the second Constantine was the only one among the 13th c. archbishops represented in monumental art, attesting to his strong local cult.[101] The reasons for this singular veneration were manifold. He took part in the Palaeologan conquest of Ochrid (1259) as a powerful ally to the Nicaean Emperor Michael VIII, which terminated the rule over Ochrid

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[100] R. Ljubinkovic, "Humsko Eparhisko Vlastelinstvo i Crkva Svetog Petra u Bjelom Polju", Starinar, IX-X, Belgrade, 1957/8, p.117 is among the first to propose this identity. He emphasizes that this is the first representation in Macedonia /Serbia of an archbishop wearing a sakos, a type of garment that becomes prevalent in the 14c. depictions of archbishops and which substitutes the earlier - **polistavrion**. The **sakos** heightens the ecclesiastical rank of Kabasilas. Until the 14c., it was a parade cloak worn only by patriarchs, received directly from the emperor (ibid.)

[101] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, pp.76-7, for the 13 c. churches in Ochrid and elsewhere (eg. Staro Nagorichino), that include him in their programs. Cf. O.D.B.:II, p.1087 for other prominent members of the Kabasilas family.

by the Despot of Epirus.[102] He glorified the Ochrid

literati SS. Kliment and Naum, particularly St. Kliment to

whom he referred as "the fortification and pillar of the

church", thus perpetuating the single most important cult in

Ochrid.[103] Kabasilas' veneration of St. Kliment supports

Grivec's thesis about the liturgical presence of the

Assemani version of Matthew 16:18 in Ochrid until the 14th

century. Last but not least, Peribleptos was built by the

megalos etaireiraches Progonos Sgouros, who, like Kabasilas,

was of Noble Albanian background.[104]

In conclusion, the four saints convey a theological and

political message of both local and universal dimensions.

St. Peter (the apostolic prince) = St. Kabasilas

(instrumental for returning Ochrid to Nicaean rule and re-

asserting its archbishopric status through the decree of

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[102] T. Grozdanov, <u>Ohridskoto Zidno Slikarstvo od XIV
vek</u>, Ochrid, 1980, part I, pp. 9-23 for the position of the
Ochrid archbishopric at this time. Kabasilas was the
archbishop of Ochrid whose brothers occupied distinguished
positions in the court of Michael II of Epirus and fought on
his side, a reason why he was imprisoned by Theodore
Laskaris II of Nicaea. Upon Laskaris's death in 1258,
Michael VIII usurped the Nicaean throne (<u>O.D.B.</u> II, p.1367)
and used Kabasilas for his anti-Epirote campaign in
Macedonia. Cf. Grozdanov, <u>ibid.</u>, pp.10-11.

[103] Ivan Snegarov, <u>Istorija na Ohridskata
Arhiepiskopija</u>, Sofija, 1923-32, p.281, for a **canon** by
Kabasilas in honor of St. Kliment. Miljkovic-Pepek, <u>Deloto</u>,
p.77, fn.389, suggests that there were two **canons**.

[104] Miljkovic-Pepek, <u>Deloto</u>, pp.44-6 on the inscription
above the church door that designates the donor and his
relating of Progonos Sgouros to the Albanian family of
Scura.

Michael VIII Palaeologus[105]). St. Andrew (**prokletos**, the
first-called), the missionary among the Slavs = St. Kliment
("equal to the apostles" and "thirteenth apostle"[106]), the
first disciple of Cyril and Methodius, and the literary
missionary among the Slavs, credited with the transformation
of the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic alphabet.[107]

The ideological content of this conceptual mirroring,
nevertheless, does not explain St. Peter's uniquely scenic
portrayal. Behind the apostle appears Christ (fig.47),
indicating that he had charged Peter with the church he now
holds. Prostrate beneath his feet is the personification of
Hades, pierced by St. Michael who stands below Christ. The
three keys around St. Peter's neck resonate with this potent
synthesis of images. Traditionally, they are understood as
a conceptual extension of Peter's power to bind and loose
(symbolized by two keys), manifesting his power over Heaven,

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[105] Michael VIII issued a special decree (prostagma) on
Nov. 8, 1272, that denied the autocephalous status to the
Serbian and Bulgarian churches and placed them under the
Greek Archbishopric of Ochrid, as Basil II had done upon his
conquest of 1018. In reality, the Serbian and the Bulgarian
churches maintained their independence, and were only
nominally subordinated to Ochrid. Cf. Ostrogorsky, History,
p.457.

[106] Snegarov, Ohridskata Arhiepiskopija, p.279, cites
another 13th c. Ochrid Archbishop, Demetrios Chomatenos for
Kliment's equation with the apostles and the archbishop
Gregorius ibid. p.284, for Kliment's epithet as the
thirteenth apostle.

[107] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, p.77, for this quadrivium
of characters.

Hell, and Earth.[108] Medieval hymns to Peter support this

interpretation:

> "**suscipit ex merito/ deitatis primus amator/
> discere amantinos/ Acherontis frangere trados/
> et virtute potens/ regnorum ferre
> tridentem...**"[109]

The fresco composition succinctly conveys this

tripartite but all-encompassing authority. **Hades** is the

infernal part, **Petros** is the the terrestrial aspect of this

power, while the church above his shoulders designates the

heavenly part, the faith entrusted to the rock by the still

visible Christ. Hades is conquered by Peter and the angel

alike (common triumph), with Christ and his church

appropriately raised to their (common) higher plane. Hell,

Petros, and Heaven, are thus integral aspects of Peter's

portrait.

The conceit, however, may go beyond this christological

universal. One of the earliest commentators on Matthew

16:19, Origen, relates the three keys to virtues that open

the gates of Heaven, an interpretation repeated by the 11th

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[108] Cf. Kinder Carr, _Iconography of St. Peter_, pp.15-18,
for sources on this interpretation and examples in Western
art that display three keys. She does not have a single
example of keys around Peter's neck, which underscores the
uniqueness of this fresco and the D.O. icon. The earliest
commentators on the three keys are Honorius de Autun and
Yves de Chartres (both 12 c.), interpreted by E. Male as
heaven, earth, hell, (_ibid._, p.17). This is the generally
accepted view in the literature.

[109] "Aetheros Patres", AH45a 168f, in J.Szoverffy,
Mirror, p.335.

century Ochrid Archbishop Theophylactos:

> For the heavens are also called virtues, of which the
> keys are good works. For we enter by working as if
> opening through certain keys into each one of the
> virtues.[110]

The role of Theophylactos for the ecclesiastical
history of Ochrid is considerable. Aside from his prolific
literary output, he had a great import on the church
doctrine with his tolerant attitude towards the Latins and
his opposition to the idea of the schism.[111] This should
be remembered with regard to the position of the Ochrid
archbishopric during Constantine Kabasilas and the political
rule of Progonos Sgourus.

At the same time, the local presence of Theophylactos
does not necessarily mean that the three keys on Peter's
neck were primarily conceived as a symbol of the three
theological virtues: hope, faith, and love. One problem in
terms of establishing their specific meaning is their
uniqueness in this number within the oeuvre of Michael and
Eutychius. Even among earlier and later church programs in

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[110] Linda Safran, who brought to my attention the Origen
and Theophylact commentary, proposes this interpretation for
the 3-key images of St. Peter in South Italy and supports it
with several dated manuscripts of Theophylact's writings
that attest to his popularity in that area. She also
suggests that the 3-key iconography of St. Peter in South
Italy "could represent a revival of an early East Christian
tradition in the face of rapid Latinization" (ibid. p.7 of
her article in manuscript form).

[111] For a summary on Theophilactos, Cf. O.D.B.:
II,p.2068.

Macedonia and Serbia that I have been able to study, there
is but one other example of St. Peter with three keys: the
apsidal area of the cave church of SS. Peter and Paul in
Konsko, near Ochrid (fig.48).[112]

The number "3" may signal both the three realms and the
three theological virtues; the one does not deny the other.
As mentioned above, the Peribleptos St. Peter is a literal
bridge and barrier between realms whose respective extents
are defined by his corporeality: the church -- Heaven and
the trampled demon -- Hades. In this highly illustrative
context, the three keys may represent a condensed symbolic
re-enforcement of the three dimensions of the apostle's
reign. However, Peter's violent self-assertion over Hades
suggests that they may also refer to the cardinal virtues.

The act of trampling is in itself a multi-valent unit
of meaning that may contribute to our understanding of the
keys and the church. Its exceptional quality has received
only one serious scholarly notice, an article by Christopher
Walter who sought its iconographic sources in earlier
examples of triumphal imagery.[113] Pointing to several

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[112] I am grateful to Vasil Trajkovski of the Republican
Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Skopje
for bringing this example to my attention and for the
photograph of the wall which allowed me to mention it here.
The church frescoes have not been studied. I accept here the
date suggested by Trajkovski: first quarter of the 14th c.,
i.e., following Peribleptos.

[113] Christopher Walter, "The Triumph of Saint Peter in
the Church of St. Kliment at Ohrid and the Iconography of
the Triumph of the Martyrs", _Zograf_, 5, 1974, pp. 30-35.

illuminations from the 12th c. **Menologion** by Simeon

Metaphrastes that combine the image of trampling and lance-

piercing found in the fresco, he notes that the saints shown

piercing the emperors who persecuted them are thus avenging

their martyrdom.[114] Their significance, like that of

St.Peter from Peribleptos, is doctrinal, rather than

historical: the triumph of the faith/church. The closest

"trampling" parallel to the Peribleptos scene is the Chludov

Psalter, fol.51, (fig.49) where Peter tramples over Simon

Magus, paraphrasing the victory of the Patriarch Nicephorus

over John the Grammarian, the last Iconoclastic

Patriarch.[115]

The Peribleptos fresco is demonstrably within this

repertory of victories over persecution, iconoclasm, and

calumny, that denote the triumph of the true faith. The

Chludov psalter is its strongest iconographic parallel and

indeed, its emphasis on "trampling" images, including the

one of Christ trampling Hades in the illustration of the

Anastasis forces one to consider whether this Greek

manuscript (or copies thereof) were not among the

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[114] Walter, _ibid._, is the first publication of Vatican
graecus **1679**. Five different illuminations with this
trampling iconography are listed: f.80, f.137, f.160,f.336,
and f.3.

[115] Walter, _Triumph_, pp.33-4. A variant of this scene
occurs in the Pantocrator Psalter from Athos, fol.64r,
(fig.61). Cf. Andre Grabar, _L'iconoclasme Byzantine: le
Dossier Archaeologique_, Paris, 1984, p.290, fig.152.

iconographic sources for the Peribleptos Peter.[116]

However, I would like to single out the theme of **simony**, for

which John the Grammarian is condemned in the Chludov

psalter and which the fol. 51 illustrates by its very direct

juxtaposition between Peter's triumph above and that of the

Patriarch Nicephorus below (fig.49).[117] The "heresy of

Simon" is the buying or selling of an ecclesiastical office,

applicable to liturgical, judicial, or administrative

services.[118] Peter from Peribleptos confronts his own past

simony: his trampling of Hades recalls his defeat (denial of

Christ) but also his subsequent victory over Simon Magus.

His defense of the true faith corresponds to the depth of

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[116] See M.P. Kondakov, Miniaturi Greceskoi Rukopisi
Psaltiri IX vjaka iz Sobranija A.I. Hludova, Moscow, 1878,
pl.10, for the first publication of the illumination of the
Anastasis from this Psalter. The upper register shows Christ
trampling Hades, while the lower one, a parallel scene of
Christ with Adam and Eve triumphant over Hades.

[117] Kathleen Corrigan, Visual Polemics in the Ninth
Century Byzantine Psalters, Cambridge U.P., 1992, pp.27-29
for the most recent discussion of the Chludov psalter. She
points to the fact that the text on f.51 comes from Psalm
51:9, "Behold the man who made not God his strength and
trusted in the abundance of his wealth, and strengthened
himself in his vanity", as a reference (by means of
typological pre-figuration) to the acts of Peter against
Simon Magus.

[118] O.D.B.: III, p.1901. The Heresy of Simon was most
clearly formulated in the Acts of the Second Council of
Nicaea: "Therefore with our whole heart and soul we
anathemize collectively and distributively all evil-minded
heretics as the seeds of tares, followers of Satan, and
soul-destroying teachers, from their abandoned head Simon
Magus to their most execrable tail." Cf. Corrigan, Polemics,
p.28 for this citation and its relationship to John the
Grammarian.

his denial and is confirmed in this ultimate victory of a Simon against a Simon.

His mirror-image, Constantin Kabasilas (fig.46), is shown triumphant in 1295 on the opposite wall. Is there a deeper parallel between his dignified stance and the apostle's determination?

The Archbishop Kabasilas had been imprisoned by Michael Laskaris of Nicaea (1258), who rightfully questioned the loyalty of this member of the distinguished Albanian family, whose two brothers had fought on the side of the Epirote Despot. Michael VIII realized the benefit of having him as an ally and used him in his conquest of Ochrid (1259) -- return to the true faith.[119] Kabasilas, thus expiated from his simony, was reinstated as a ruler over an archdiocese that was made even stronger by the decree of 1272.[120]

And then came the Council of Lyons (1274) where Michael the VIII signed a union with the Church of Rome, within which Ochrid was again guaranteed a special status that could match its claims as the **Justiniana Prima**.[121] This

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[119] Cf. Grozdanov, Ohridskoto Zidno Slikarstvo, pp.9-23 for the background to these events.

[120] Ostrogorsky, History, p.457.

[121] Ostrogorsky, History, p.460 for the political threat of Charles of Anjou to Byzantium that led Michael VIII to this union. It was concluded at the Council of Lyons on July 6, 1274. Cf. J.M. Hussey, The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire, Oxford, 1986, pp. 229-235. The Grand Logothete Georgi Acropolites demanded that the Serbian and the Bulgarian churches be declared illegal and subordinated to the Ochrid Archbishopric, the successor of Justiniana

intended union between Michael VIII and Charles of Anjou never worked.[122] On the contrary, already at the beginning of the reign of Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-3) there was an open hostility and a total Byzantine denouncement of Michael VIII as a heretic.[123]

The Ochrid church retained its true faith and status under Andronicus but with a definite awareness of the gradual increase of Anjou strongholds in Albania and the penetration of Latin dioceses into its western territories. The Albanian nobleman Sgouros, the **ktytor** of Peribleptos, must have been attuned and responsive to this flux.[124]

The portrait of Kabasilas, a preserver of the cult of St. Kliment, is a legacy of a Byzantine master-mind, whose

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Prima established by Justinian and the Pope Vergilius. Grozdanov, <u>Ohridskoto Slikarstvo</u>, pp.10-11. Cf. <u>O.D.B.</u>: III, pp.1514-15.

[122] John Fine Jr. <u>The Late Medieval Balkans</u>, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1987, p.186 ff "Negotiations with Rome" for the deep inner opposition to this union in Byzantium.

[123] D. Nicol, <u>The Last Centuries of Byzantium</u>, N.Y., 1972, pp.100-103.

[124] The Ochrid archbishopric lost some of its territories to the Serbian King Milutin, a growing menace from the north, especially after his conquest of Skopje in 1282. See Leonidas Mavromatis, <u>La Fondation de l'Empire Serbe: le Kralj Milutin</u>, Thessaloniki, 1978, pp.30-34 for this expansion. Grozdanov, <u>Ohridskoto Slikarstvo</u>, pp.12-13, stresses the growing presence of the Catholic church in Albania and the loyalty of the local nobility to Charles of Anjou, both around the time of the Council of Lyons and later. The Archdiocese of Durazzo was the Catholic center in Albania, with a number of other bishoprics set up in the 14 c. that wrestled ever-greater territories from Ochrid. Cf. Fine, <u>Medieval Balkans</u>, pp.187-8.

conceit could be read in three different ways. In the anti-Latin environment fostered by Andronicus II, Kabasilas could be seen as a preserver of Orthodoxy. In a more unionist climate, he could recall the bridge between Epirus and Nicaea, as well as the Council of Lyons. And, in 1320, when the Latin rule in Albania and western Macedonia was strengthened to the extent that Rome nominated a bishop for Ochrid, the juxtaposition of Kabasilas to St. Kliment could be seen as a testimony of his adherence to Rome.[125]

Yet, there remains one more figure, that of Macarius, "the Archbishop of **Justiniana Prima** and all of Bulgaria", as he is identified in the inscription above the church portal[126], an obscure entity in the Ochrid church history remembered chiefly for his role in a significant political matrimony. Namely, in 1299, four years after the dedication of Peribleptos, he wedded King Milutin to Simonis, the five-year-old daughter of Andronicus II.[127] This brings us back to Serbia, the major agent at this historical junction whose position between Rome and Byzantium is vital to the

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[125] Grozdanov, Ohridskoto Slikarstvo, p.13 for the Papal nomination of the Dominican Nicholas as the first titular Catholic Archbishop. He remained in Avignon, awaiting better circumstances to go to Ochrid.

[126] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, pp.44-45.

[127] See Mavromatis, L'Empire Serbe, pp.50-53. He cites Pachymeros (II, 276 & 285) who tells that "the appropriate religious ceremony was celebrated by Macarios, metropolite of Ochrid".

issue of primacy discussed thus far. Before proceeding further, let me point to the pertinence of this issue for the D.O. St.Peter.

The Peribleptos Apostle, the only comparable representation of the saint with keys around his neck, is, as the extensive discussion of its iconography demonstrates, imbued with theological and political significance. His pairing with Andrew and their juxtaposition to Kliment and Kabasilas is, doubtlessly, an afirmation of the role of the Ochrid Archbishopric within the Byzantine Church hierarchy.

Despite the lack of knowledge about the original context of the D.O. icon, the ideological references within the Peribleptos Apostle that reflect in his emphatic portrayal suggest that this icon of St.Peter from the same geographic region and, moreover, attributed to the same workshop, is likely a political signifier as well. The D.O. St.Peter is decidedly "regal" in terms of his designators. The keys, the Bishop's cross-staff and the scroll resembling an imperial **chrysoboullon**[128], bespeak of authority over two realms, matters of faith and matters of state.

In the Peribleptos, it was Andrew who carried the Bishop's cross-staff, identical to the one in Peter's hand, thus adding to the ecclesiastical authority of the set of images. In the icon, the conjunction of the cross-staff and scroll is reinforced by the conjunction of the keys,

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[128] Chatzidakis, St.Peter, p.168.

signifying the inseparable, dual power of the First Apostle.

The different number of keys carried by St.Peter from Peribleptos and the apostle from the D.O. icon may be an issue of symmetry. Namely, while the Peribleptos Apostle is defined by means of three realms that reflect in the three keys, the D.O. saint matches the cross-staff and the scroll by the two keys around his neck. Thus, despite the inconsistency in number of keys, these two images conform to a common principle of organization of symbols within a larger unit of meaning.

The political reading of the Peribleptos Peter is possible because of the explicit conflation of historical data and theological universals in its greater whole[129]. The iconic representation of St.Peter has no such parameters. Yet, if there is one iconographic aspect of the D.O. icon that can be related to historical realities of its proposed area of origin, it is the Bishop's cross-staff with its insistence on ecclesiastical authority.[130]

Having established that the D.O. icon belongs within the Michael and Eutychius radius of works, and knowing the geographic locations of their major comissions (Milutin's Serbia), we can now turn to the two other examples within

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[129] I am refering to the juxtaposition of characters in the naos discussed earlier.

[130] The cross-staff is clearly an exceptional attribute of the First Apostle in the Byzantine East at this time. Cf. Weitzmann, St.Peter, for the assortment of icons of St.Peter without this attribute and figs. 15-20 above.

their oeuvre that, likewise, focus on the issue of
ecclesiastical authonomy and authority in the area under
examination.

Chapter V : St. Peter and the Serbian Church

V:1 Political Background

The two parallels to the Peribleptos iconography
regarding the First Apostle, in Zica and Gracanica, are
directly related to the patronage of a Slav King whose
fourth marriage to a Byzantine bride was sanctified by a
church figure from Ochrid. We do not know if Milutin and his
bride passed through Ochrid on their way to Thessaloniki,
where the wedding was celebrated,[131] but we do know that
this Serbian ruler eagerly employed Michael and Eutychius,
and possibly other members of the Astrapas family, in the
many churches erected or restored during his ambitious
reign.[132]

This unprecedented scale of building for posterity
matched Milutin's political expansionism that can not be
rationalized by a feudal land-grabbing motivation alone. An
equally powerful driving force was his self-fashioning as an
heir to the Nemanyid dynasty that reached the threshold of
its greatest historical relevance during his reign. A
summary of some major major events from its history helps

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[131] Mavromatis, l'Empire Serbe, pp.36-51.

[132] The 14 c. Serbian Archbishop Danilo II in his Vita
of Milutin attributes fifteen churches to him, of which only
seven are positively identified: Chilandar, Virgin Ljeviska,
Gracanica, Staro Nagorichino, Studenica, St. Nicetas and
Banjska. Curcic, Gracanica: King Milutin's Church and its
Place in Late Byzantine Architecture, London, 1979, pp.6-7
with the earlier bibliography on Milutin's patronage.

explain the political and cultural profile of this great

Serbian king and his pattern of patronage.

The dynasty, founded by Stephan Nemanya (1167-1196),

was fraught with ecclesiastical ambiguities from its very

start.[133] The first heir, Stephen **Prvovencani**[134] (1217-

1228), received a crown from the Pope to whom he pledged

his loyalty.[135] No sooner had he become a Latin king, than

his brother Sava, back from Mount Athos[136], left for Nicaea

to seek from the exiled rulers of Constantinople the

establishment of an autocephalous Serbian church with a

[133] Cf. O.D.B.:III, pp.1871-2 for a summary on medieval
Serbia. The Catholic Encyclopaedia, New York, 1911, v.13,
pp.732-736 gives this account: "Stephen I, Nemanja, who was
a catholic, maintained amicable relations with the popes in
ecclesiastico-political affairs... Nevertheless, the Greek
Orthodox Church grew constantly stronger in the eastern part
of the country, although in this era a sharp distinction
between the Churches of the Eastern and Western empires had
not yet appeared. In 1196 Stephen abdicated in favour of
his eldest son and retired to the monastery of Chilandar,
which he had founded on Mount Athos." (ibid,p.732) He died
there in 1199-1200 (Ostrogorsky, History, p.409).

[134] Prvo-vencani = Serbian "first-crowned".

[135] Cf. Catholic Encyclopaedia, p.732 about the crown
received from Honorius III. Cf. Sima Cirkovic, Srpska
Pravoslavna Crkva, 1219-1969, Belgrade, 1969, pp.38-39.

[136] Sava was a monk who had spent several years on Mount
Athos but returned to Serbia in 1217 with the relics of the
father to help his two brothers, Stefan and Vukan,
reconcile. A civil war had been waging between them since
the abdication of their father in 1196 (O.D.B.: III,
pp.1948-9).

pledge of loyalty to the East.[137] He returned as the first

Serbian Archbishop in 1219.[138]

The following Nemanyid rulers shifted their loyalties

among Epiros, Bulgaria, and Manfred of Sicily until they

realized that the Greek re-conquest of Constantinople (1261)

firmly established the Palaeologan dynasty (Michael VIII) as

ruler of the Byzantine empire, their most powerful southern

neighbor.[139] This pattern of Serbian behavior clearly

showed their capacity to switch sides according to the

changing political currents within the contested East. Thus

when Michael VIII sent his emissaries to sign the unionist

treaty with Pope Gregory X at the Council of Lyons in 1274,

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[137] Cirkovic, Srpska Pravoslavna, p.39, states that the Nicaean patriarch Manoilus Saratinos and the emperor Theodore Laskaris happily granted this status to the Serbian church. The new lands under its jurisdiction were a gain gotten at the expense of the Ochrid church which was, as he points out, the religious center of the Epirote Greeks (the enemies of Nicaea). Cf. Fine Medieval Balkans, pp.116-117.

[138] Cirkovic, Srpska Pravoslavna, p.39. Cf. Fine, Medieval Balkans, p.117. This first double-crossing in the Nemanyid history was in effect a double-crowning as well, as the new Archbishop legitimized his brothers' rule according to the Byzantine rites. On the crowning, see Ostrogorsky, History, p.431, n.2, and Radojcic, XII Congres International d'Etudes Byzantines, Ochride, Belgrade, 1961, p.102.

[139] O.D.B.:III, p.1872 for a summary on their respective orientations. Cf. Cirkovic, Srpska Pravoslavna, p.40, about the turning of the heir of the First-Crowned towards the Epirote Despotate and the Ochrid Archbishop Chomatianos, "the embittered opponent to the Serbian Archbishopric". Even Sava I maintained contacts with pro-Catholic Greeks. Cf. Slijepcevic, Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve, Munich, 1962, pp. 73-76.

the Serbs were conspicuously absent.[140] As noted above, at this Council, the Serbian and Bulgarian churches were subordinated to Ochrid **(Justiniana Prima)**[141]

The Serbian absence in Lyons was a rejection of the unionist policy for reasons of faith, or so we learn from the Serbian Archbishop Danilo II (1324-1337), in his denouncement of Michael VIII.[142] Was this so?

The ruler of Serbia at the time of the Lyons Council was Stephen Uros I who had fought on the side of the anti-Byzantine coalition in the Battle of Pelagonia (1259), defeated by this Palaeologan Emperor, and had lost some of the earlier Serbian holdings in Macedonia.[143] Moreover, in a world of matrimonies concluded and annulled according to political goals, we have to remember the marriage between Stephen Uros I and the Catholic Princess Helen of Valois, a Franco-Serb contract of significant bearing on the politics

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[140] Cirkovic, <u>Srpska Pravoslavna</u>, p.41 stresses how the Lyons talks were conducted at the expense of the Serbs, and that the Byzantine Tsar denied the legitimacy of their church.

[141] Slijepcevic, <u>Srpska Pravoslavna</u>, p.145, stresses this and insists again that "the Serbian church could not be coerced into the Lyons unionist council".

[142] In Danilo's words, Michael VIII "separated himself from the Christian faith, and took the faith of the Latins". (Cirkovic, <u>Srpska Pravoslavna</u>, pp.41-42).

[143] Ostrogorsky, <u>History</u>, pp.447-449 about the anti-Byzantine coalition: Despot Michael II of Epirus, Manfred of Sicily, William of Villehardouin of Achaia recognized as a ruler of the Latin Achaia, Euboea, and Athens, and Stephen Uros I.

of Serbia for over half a century.[144]   The Serbian absence

from the ill-fated Lyons union should be seen in light of

these circumstances.   With a Valois noble woman at home and

a powerful Anjou ally in Southern Italy and Sicily, the

ambitious Uros I saw no reason to support a treaty aimed at

securing the territorial integrity of a Byzantium threatened

by his own designs of aggrandizement.

Aware of the import of family ties, Michael VIII

offered his own daughter Anne to Milutin, the younger of the

Serbian princes, but the attempt resulted in a failure.[145]

The Serbs remained an open enemy of the Byzantine state,

justifying their territorial conquests by portraying Michael

VIII as a "friend of the Devil".[146] It was Michael's son,

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[144] Ostrogorsky, History, p. 455 for the significance of
this marriage, at least from 1267, when Charles of Anjou
became a king of Sicily and Naples and began his anti-
Byzantine campaign. Stephen Uros I was a strong ally who
could pursue his own expansionist politics towards Byzantium
by helping the Anjou interests. Helen of Valois exerted her
influence in Serbia long after the death (1277) of her
husband, and throughout the reign of her sons Dragutin and
Milutin.   See Mavromatis, L'Empire Serbe, pp.65-67.

[145] Laiou, Constantinople & Latins, p.28, about the
delegation led by the Patriarch of Constantinople (1271-2),
and the mutual dislike of the parties.   The older Prince
Dragutin had married a daughter of the King of Hungary who
had also forged a marriage alliance with Charles of Anjou
(1269).   Michael VIII took Anne of Hungary as a bride for
Andronicus II in 1272, but with no effect on the Serbian
designs. (ibid., pp.27-28) Cf. Fine, Medieval Balkans,
p.185, about Milutin's marriage to the daughter of John of
Thessaly who was also in Charles' coalition of 1273.

[146] Mavromatis, L'Empire Serbe, p.35, cites Danilo II
who rationalized the Serbian occupation of Northern
Macedonia upon Michael's death in 1282 as a just defeat of
an infidel and traitor to Christianity (unionist).

Andronicus II, who finally appeased Milutin with the five-year old Simonis, in a marriage that in effect legalized the Serbian claims over Macedonian territories that had been under attack for some twenty years.[147] This marriage angered a variety of people, for personal, ethical, but, mostly, for political reasons. The Patriarch John XII resigned, calling the union a disgrace.[148] Helen of Valois, Milutin's catholic mother, intensely disliked this new tie between her younger son and the Orthodox camp,[149] while Dragutin started a civil war against Milutin in 1300 which was to last until their mother's death.[150]

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[147] Laiou, Constantinople, pp.28-9, for the alliance between the Serbs and Anjou and their war against Byzantium in 1282, and the persistent Serbian attacks on Byzantine holdings in Macedonia until 1299 (ibid., and pp.93-4). Andronicus gave the contested territories to Milutin as a dowry with Simonis in order to avert a full-scale war(ibid, pp.99-100); Cf. Mavromatis, l'Empire Serbe, p.45.

[148] Laiou, Constantinople, pp.99-100. She also lists the other parties that opposed this marriage for clearly political reasons, such as the Bulgarians and the Greek state of Thessaly (ibid., p.98) Cf. Mavromatis, L'Empire Serbe, pp. 36-38 for the complex manner in which this fourth marriage of Milutin was made ecclesiatically legal.

[149] Slobodan Curcic, "Political and Cultural Conditions in Serbia under King Milutin", Gracanica, London 1979, p.8, mentions her absence at the wedding. His older brother, Dragutin, had clearly Latin leanings, supported by the fact that Belgrade (his main city) had a Catholic Bishop nominated in 1295. Cf. Mavromatis, l'Empire Serbe, p.22, regarding these ties with the Papacy, and ibid, pp.24-25 for Helen's favoring of Dragutin.

[150] Mavromatis, l'Empire Serbe, 53-56 and passim. Mihailo Dinic,"Odnos izmedju kralja Milutina i Dragutina," ZRVI, 3 (1955) pp.49-80 is the most thorough examination of the conflict between the brothers by a Serbian scholar. Cf. Fine, Medieval Balkans, pp.256-257, for the nature of this

Among those who rejoiced was Yolanda-Irene of Montferrat, the second wife of Andronicus II and the mother of Simonis.[151] She and Andronicus II were in the infant's retinue and celebrated this marriage in Thessaloniki.[152] However, her own designs for this union diverged from the dynastic goals of her husband. Namely, since she had been unsuccessful in persuading Andronicus to divide the empire in feudal fiefdoms for her sons, the marriage of her daughter to Milutin opened a new, northern option: their future offspring could rule Thessaloniki separately from Constantinople.[153] In 1303, four years after this marriage, she left Constantinople and established herself in Thessaloniki as a semi-sovereign regentess, showering her Serbian son-in-law with honors that dismayed the

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war which was probably episodic and restricted to marginal areas.

[151] Laiou, *Constantinople*, pp.45-48 for a summary re this marriage between the Montferrats, who considered themselves the natural heirs of the kingdom of Thessaloniki (since a decree dating from the Fourth Crusade) and Andronicus II, who by marrying Yolanda-Irene in 1284, received this kingdom as her dowry. Anna of Hungary, his first wife, had died in 1281.

[152] Laiou, *Constantinople*, pp.98-9 and Mavromatis, *l'Empire Serbe*, pp.51-3. That this marriage was of primary importance for the Byzantines is clear from the negotiations preceding it, led by the illustrious Theodore Metochtites who was received by Milutin in Skopje in 1299 (Mavromatis, p.43).

[153] Laiou, *Constantinople*, p.48 about Yolanda's insistence on division of the empire among her sons.

Constantinople Emperor and the ruling elite.[154]

Unfortunately, Milutin's eagerness to secure an heir through Simonis, certainly encouraged by Yolanda, resulted in what Gregoras called "a divine retribution" that left this child childless.[155] When Yolanda realized that Simonis would never bear the much-desired son, a sharp change occurred in her plans. Serbia was still contested between Milutin and his older brother, and without a son from his Byzantine wife, his claims as a carrier of a dynastic line were fast slipping away,[156] so she sent her two sons to Milutin's court in ultimately failed visits

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[154] Mavromatis, l'Empire Serbe, p.59 about her move to Thessaloniki and her immediate contacts with the Latin rulers of Greece and with Serbia. Cf.Laiou, Constantinople, pp.229-233. Regarding her treatment of Milutin, Nicephor Gregoras (I. 241-2) reports that she even "placed on the head of her son-in-law a crown...almost identical to the one worn by her husband Andronicus". (Vizantijski Izvori 6, 1986, pp.176-177). Cf. Mavromatis, l'Empire Serbe, pp.60-61 and Laiou, Constantinople, pp.230-231.

[155] Gregoras (I, 244) reports that the king had intercourse with Simonis when she was only eight, so she could not bear children (Vizantijski Izvori 6, p.177). Mavromatis, l'Empire Serbe, p.38 for the condition that this marriage was not to be consummated until Simonis reached the legal age of twelve in 1306. I believe that there is a connection between Yolanda's arrival in Thessaloniki and the premature consummation of this marriage.

[156] Due to a disabling accident, Dragutin had abdicated in favor of Milutin in 1282, but under the condition that his son would inherit the Serbian throne (Curcic, Gracanica, p.7) Milutin's own son from a previous marriage, the future Stefan Decanski, was not favored as a successor to the throne. See Fine, Medieval Balkans, pp.258-260.

intended to groom them as potential Serbian heirs.[157]

With this historical background in mind, the ambiguities of Milutin's artistic legacy that pertain to the role of the First Apostle in Serbia become much more understandible.

V:2 St. Peter in Zica and Gracanica

It is notable that the two Petrine images in Serbia that relate to the naos portrait of the Apostle from Peribleptos and to the D.O. icon are in Zica and Gracanica. The former church was originally founded by King Stephen the First-Crowned as the seat of the Serbian Autocephalous church around 1221.[158] The later church was built as a mausoleum for King Milutin and was completed by 1321, a full century later.[159] Yet, the patronage of King Milutin is not restricted to Gracanica alone. The fresco program where one finds St. Peter holding a church above his head in Zica (fig.41) was painted during his reign, as part of a major

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[157] Nicephor Gregoras (loc.cit.), <u>Vizantijski Izvori</u>, 6, pp.178-9 tells of the visits of Demetrius and Theodore. Apparently, both were well-received by the King but could not cope with the "cruel and unpleasant nature" of Serbia. Cf. Laiou, <u>Constantinople</u>, p.231 also Nicol, <u>The Despotate</u>, p.55.

[158] Fine, <u>Medieval Balkans</u>, pp.118-119 for discussion of the Founding Council in Zica in 1221 which also endorsed the Synodic of Orthodoxy.

[159] Curcic, <u>Gracanica</u>, pp.138-139.

restoration of the monastery under the Archbishop Eustatius
II undertaken between 1292-1309, which continued under his
follower Sava III (1309-1316).[160]

Situated further North and East than any other earlier
Serbian foundation, Zica was vulnerable to attacks from
hostile forces. When the Bulgarian army invaded this part
of Serbia in 1253, the seat of the Archbishopric was
permanently transferred to the church of the Holy Apostles
in Pec, but to no avail: Zica was demolished during a second
invasion in 1290.[161] Among the surviving fragments of the
earlier layer is a full-figure portrait of St.Peter from the
southern transept (fig.50) that exhibits a definite Roman
hair-type, which is interesting in light of the Latin
blessing of Stephen the First-Crowned and the Nicaean root
of the Serbian Archbishopric under Sava.[162] The First
Apostle was re-stated prominently during the 14th century
restoration. He appears on the northern wall of the
exonarthex, directly across an equally fierce St. Paul who

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[160] The major source on Zica is the monographic study by
Milan Kasanin, Djurdje Boskovic and Pavle Mijovic, Zica:
History, Architecture, Painting, Belgrade, 1969. The three
authors wrote the respective chapters with summaries in
English that furnish most of the information pertinent to
the present discussion. For this date, Kasanin, ibid.,
pp.26-27.

[161] Kasanin, ibid.

[162] Mijovic, Zica, p.222, for the cultural significance
of Zica, particularly after the most important relic sent by
Stephen Nemanja from Chilandar to his mausoleum church in
Studenica -- fragments of the true cross -- was transferred
to this monastery.

responds to Peter's church by elevating his book above his head. (figs.24, 33) It has been proposed that the exceptional connection between Peter and the church refers to the words spoken by the Patriarch Germanos to Sava I, as he gave him the power "to unbind and bind the errors of humans sins", but that the keys around Peter's neck, so emphatic in Peribleptos and in the D.O. icon, are consciously avoided because of their allusion to Roman primacy.[163] The fundamental problem with this view is that it justifies what is present by denouncing what is absent, forgetting that Peter's keys as an attribute are far more permissible and normative in Byzantine art than the church-model.

The entire exonarthex serves as a narrative on the theme of church-foundation (fig.51). Peter and Paul are pillars that define the founding charter (wall) of Zica, inscribed below the two halves of the scene of the "Forty Martyrs". The northern pendentive illustrates the scene "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children", (Matthew, 18:3).[164] The southern pendentive illustrates the "Christmas Hymn" which shows among its celebrants the personifications of the Cave and the Cradle holding their attributes above their heads just

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[163] Mijovic states: "In Zica it was doubtlessly remembered that the Constantinople Patriarch Germanos gave to Sava... the power to...etc."(Zica, p.186).

[164] Mijovic, Zica, p.186.

as the two apostles do, but even more important is a group

of figures that include King Milutin and the Archbishop Sava

III. This scene has been interpreted as a representation of

the triumphal return of Milutin's army sent to aid

Andronicus II against the Turks in 1312.[165] The theme of

true faith has thus come full circle, supported by the two

apostles that connect and carry it around the wall, from

Matthew 18:3 to Peter and Paul, to the Purgatory of the

Forty Martyrs, concluding with the climactic celebration of

Christmas and the Serbian church.[166]

Beyond this assertion of cultural/political self-

determination, the narrative functions as a conscious

reflection upon the, and distancing from, Peribleptos. As we

know, Sava I obtained the autocephalous status for the

Serbian church from the Nicaean Greeks at the direct expense

of their Epirote brethren.[167] Namely, Michael Doukas and

later, Theodore Comnenos Doukas, were a rapidly growing

power in Epiros and Thessaly against the Latin rulers of

Constantinople, but did not intend to keep their nominal

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[165] Mijovic, Zica, pp.192-194. Because of this
historical reference, this portion of the exonarthex program
is dated to 1313-14, (ibid.pp.26-27). Cf. Mavromatis,
l'Empire Serbe, p.70 for this aid to Andronicus and Nicol,
Last Centuries p. 146, for the victory over the Turks at
Gallipoli in 1312 and Milutin's role in it.

[166] Mijovic, loc.cit., also notes the interconnection of
the scenes in function of this greater theme.

[167] Fine, Medieval Balkans, pp.116-120.

allegiance to the Byzantine emperor in Nicaea.[168] Their

eyes were turned towards Ochrid and the Archbishop of

Justiniana Prima Demetrios Chomatianos as the ecclesiastical

authority for Epirus.[169] The intense objections of

Chomatianos against the creation of the Serbian

Archbishopric are clear from his references to Sava I as a

lowly monk given to worldly ambitions whom he threatened

with excommunication.[170] We know from the decrees of

Manuel VIII of 1272 and the Lyons Council of 1274 that the

rift between Ochrid and Serbia persisted throughout the 13

century, yet the marriage contract between Serbia and

Byzantium in 1299 was officiated at by the Archbishop of

Justiniana Prima, in an ultimate gesture of reconciliation.

I therefore believe that when Eustatius II renovated the

monastery of Zica, the first seat of the Serbian

Archbishopric, the portrait of St.Peter from Peribleptos was

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[168] Nicol, <u>Despotate</u>, pp.3-5 for the actual creation of the rival Byzantine Empire in exile by these Epirotes.

[169] Theodore Doukas captured Ochrid in 1217 and established Demetrius Chomatianos as an Archbishop, identified by nationality as a Bulgarian. At a synod independent from Nicaea (1219), Chomatianos played a crucial role in insisting on the creation of an independent church of Epiros which would also exercise power over Serbia. Cf. Hussey, <u>Orthodox Church</u>, pp.209-211. Just a few years after the establishment of the Serbian archbishopric, Chomatianos crowned Theodore Comnenos Doukas as an Emperor of the Romans (and in effect, King of Epiros). Cf. Nicephor Gregoras, I: 26, 5-16, with commentaries in "Uloga Ohridskog Arhgiepiskopa u Miropomazanju Teodora Angela", <u>Vizantijski Izvori</u>, 6, pp.154-5.

[170] Ostrogorsky, "Pismo Dimitrija Homatijana Svetom Savi", <u>Svetosavski Zbornik</u>, 2, Belgrade, 1938, pp.97-107.

very much present in his mind. Although the Serbian church
was still paying lip-service to Ochrid in matters of
ecclesiastical authority, the Apostle from Zica strongly
evoked both a past and a present national autonomy.[171] The
keys in Zica may be absent for more than one reason. As
mentioned earlier, they could have been omitted for
exegetical purposes.[172] More likely, however, the keys are
absent for other conceptual reasons. The two saints are
literally and figuratively pillars of this foundation,
symbols of the church and the gospel, accordingly. They are
personifications, just like the Cave and the Cradle figures
in the Christmas Hymn. St. Peter in Zica does not reflect
the greater narrative in the manner exhibit3ed by his
counterpart in Peribleptos, nor does he occupy a comparable
place within the program. However, though the exclusion of
the keys may not be primarily a political gesture, the
church above Peter's head is an undeniable sign of defiance
on part of the Serbian ecclesiastical elite to the Ochrid

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[171] The emancipation of the Serbian church from Ochrid
did not take place until King Dusan's establishment of a
Serbian Patriarch in 1346 in Skopje, who crowned the new
Serbian Tsar Cf. Ostrogorsky, History, pp.523-4,
Slijepcevic, Srpska Pravoslavna, p. 172, and also Branko
Panov, Srednovekovna Makedonija, III, Skopje, 1985, pp.89-
95. For Dusan's rule, see George Christos Soulis, The Serbs
and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dusan (1331-
1355) and his Successors, Washington, 1984.

[172] Mijovic, Zica, p.186 stresses: "since the Catholic
exegesists claimed that Christ's words on the binding and
loosing after Peter referred to his successors, i.e., the
Roman Popes,", the keys which are "so very pronounced" in
Ochrid have been avoided.

rival and demonstrates that Michael and Eutychius (and their studio) design their images through careful calibrations and adjustments in service of patrons' specific purposes.

The case with Gracanica is equally intriguing for its potential ideological dimensions. The church was erected amidst political controversies which were at least partially responsible for the ten-year span between the setting of its foundation and its completion, 1311-1321.[173] 1311 was a year of certain convergences: the conflict for dynastic succession in Serbia was at its peak, and Milutin's relationship to his mother-in-law from Thessaloniki was extremely cordial, lowering the already weak chances for Dragutin to reclaim the throne for his successors.[174]

To make matters even more complicated, a special King's council composed of Milutin, Dragutin, their mother Helen and Sava III decided to donate a church dedicated to St. Stephen to the Banjska monastery around 1313 to be the future mausoleum for Milutin! [175] The two intended mausoleums could not be further from one another. Banjska consciously mirrored the Romanesque architecture of Studenica (the foundation of Stephen the First-Crowned), while Gracanica was an extravagant emulation of the most current Byzantine architectural tendencies. As Curcic has

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[173] Curcic, _Gracanica_, pp.138-9.

[174] _ibid._, pp.138-9.

[175] _ibid._, pp.134-5.

observed, Banjska may have been a "calculated concession" to the party of Dragutin and Milutin's mother who clearly resented what they perceived to be a Byzantinization of Serbia.[176] Since Gracanica was the actual mausoleum in 1321, its emphasis on St. Peter may be an important clue to the last word of Milutin[177].

This is especially true for our target-image, one of a set of scenes in the highest zone of the northern wall of the naos that together convey the idea of the apostolic primacy.[178] The thematic composition of these individual "frames" is particularly intriguing with respect to Peter's encounters with the church (Matthew, 16:18)(fig.36) and Ananias (Acts, 5:1-5)(fig.52). Painted on a single pendentive, they are merely mechanically separated by a window that perforates their middle section. Semantically in full rapport, the first scene "demands" by showing Christ's faith in St. Peter as the rock of his church, while the second one "responds" by showing Peter triumphant over

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[176] ibid., p. 136.

[177] Although its elaborate fresco-cycle fits the general trend towards a greater descriptive detail at this stage of Palaeologan art, the density of some of the scenic solutions for the first Apostle is still striking.

[178] In addition to "Peter, you are the rock" scene, we find separate "frames" of Christ reading in the temple, Christ asking the apostles about himself, St. Peter and Ananias and, lower on the same wall, a scene illustrating the moment when Christ ordains Peter as "the shepherd of his sheep"(fig.65). Cf. Branislav Todic, Gracanica: Slikarstvo, Belgrade, 1988, p.166. This is the only thorough study of the fresco program of this church.

Ananias as an actual proof of the power of that faith.[179]

The iconographic relationship between Peribleptos and Gracanica regarding **petros : petra** has been duly noted.[180] The Gracanica scene is accompanied by the inscription: "**ti jesi petre kamen i na tebja s'zdi ... c'rk'v moju**"[181] in which Peter (**petre**) is clearly identified with the rock (**kamen**), which is a further support for Grivec's thesis.[182]

However, the Peribleptos reflections in terms of visual metaphors contained in this "frame" do not end here. We saw that the Peter/Church and Peter/Ananias scenes function as two halves of a whole, and that the iconographers of Gracanica clearly looked at Peribleptos in visualizing Christ's "translation" of authority over Peter.

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[179] As Todic notes, the apostolic scenes are an extension of Christ's miracles, the apostles themselves being the repeated, i.e., extended Christ. Gracanica, pp.166-7.

[180] Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto, pp.72-74 was the first to mention St. Peter from Gracanica. To the best of my knowledge, there has been no other discussion or reproduction of this scene until Todic's monograph in 1988!

[181] lit. "you are Peter and on you I built my church".

[182] Grivec was, unfortunately, not aware of this fresco at the time (1955). Todic, Gracanica, pp.166-7 does credit him in acknowledging that "this type of image was due to the unusual translation of the Greek text in old-Slavonic" but relegates this discussion to a foot-note. He entirely avoids the political dimension of Grivec's thesis. It is symptomatic that after his discussion of the literary source of this scene (Matthew 16:18), he brings up St.John Chrysostomos with his commentary that Christ did not mean to build the church on Peter but on the faith (ibid.pp.166-7).

What of the scene with Ananias itself? The story goes
that he had sold a possession and kept back part of the
price. Upon Peter's question, "Ananias, why hath Satan
filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost and to keep back
part of the price of the land?" (Acts 5:3) and the
pronouncement that <u>his</u> sin was not against men, but against
God, Ananias "fell down, and gave up the ghost" (Acts 5:5),
and then was buried by the witnesses.[183] Peter embodies
the "Holy Ghost" and its law (shown by the **traditio clavis -
-** the transfer of the scroll from Christ in the first half
to Peter in this second half).

In Peribleptos, Peter was triumphant over Hades, Satan,
Simon. This triumph is almost replicated on a visual, and
completely repeated on a symbolic level in Gracanica.
Although the earlier formal synthesis has become a
juxtaposition, the image components have been retained
together with their operative principle -- contrast.

As mentioned earlier, the underlying theme of the
higher zone in the northern wall of Gracanica is that of
"translation" of Christ's power over his disciples but, I
would like to add, with special emphasis upon Peter. He is
singled out for his acts, both before and after the

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[183] Todic, <u>loc.cit.</u>, stresses that the translation of
the Holy Ghost from Christ onto the Apostles is given a
special prominence on this northern wall. Peter/Church and
Peter/Ananias are actually below it. He does not note the
"holy ghost" insistence in the text (Acts 5:1-5), although
his general observation on the theme is correct.

Pentecost.[184] "Translation" and "succession" concerned Milutin deeply during the building of Gracanica, evident from the eschatological emphasis of the ensemble, and never more clearly than in the "Tree of Jesse" which has here become a "Tree of the Nemanjyd" dynasty (fig.53).[185] And, to underscore Milutin's claims to the crown even further, the same wall where Peter/Church and Peter/Ananias stress the apostolic succussion contains in its bottom register another portrait of the aged king directly across Simonis (fig.54).

The psychological impetus behind Gracanica was Milutin's need to assert his dynastic right, just as the Serbian church at this time was emancipating itself[186] but made conscious references to ideological codes appropriated from Ochrid.

On a final note, although several artists' hands worked on the Gracanica frescoes, there is a consensus that Michael

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[184] Peter's role is underscored by the number of scenes devoted to him and to his roles. Cf. Todic, Gracanica, pp.85-86. The cycle of the Apostle's deeds is extremely rare in Byzantine art. Cf. Vladimir Petkovic "Jedan ciklus slika iz Decana", Glasnik Skopskog Naucnog Drustva, VII-VIII, Skopje, 1930, pp.83-89 for this cycle in the monastery of Decani (c.1350).

[185] Cf.Todic, Gracanica, pp.172-175 for a detailed discussion. Gracanica is the first instance where the "Tree of Jesse" motif was appropriated so boldly for the Nemanjyd purposes.

[186] Sava I in the Tree of the Nemanjyds is wearing a **sakos** Cf. Ljubinkovic, "Humsko Eparhisko", pp.116-117 about the iconographic significance of this garment that becomes a mark of archbishops' portraits in Serbia only in the 14th c.

and/or Eutychius are behind what are universally considered to be the most accomplished sections of the program.[187] Milutin's death in 1321 seems to have terminated this tremendous artist/patron relationship. Nothing beyond his commissions culminating in Gracanica indicates that these artists enjoyed the kind of employment afforded to them by the magnanimous king. Shortly after 1321, Simonis returned to Constantinople, took the veil at the convent of St. Andrew in Krisei, and remained with her father, serving as his confidant until his death.[188]

V:3 Final Remarks on St. Peter and Serbia

The preceding discussion focused on the ideological implications of image-construction in Serbia. The frescoes from Zica and Gracanica were singled out for their exceptional emphasis on the First Apostle among extant Petrian images dated to the reign of King Milutin, and for their stylistic and iconographic relevance to the icon of St. Peter from Dumbarton Oaks. Against possible readings that might see these frescoes as exponents of a shared Western bias, i.e., apostolic primacy signallling a deference to Rome, I have proposed that their stress on St.

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[187] Todic, Gracanica, pp.232-5 about this discussion. See also Miljkovic-Pepek, Deloto pp.233-4 for his estimate, later taken up by Djuric, Freske, p.52 and p. 205.

[188] O.D.B.: III, p.1901.

Peter is made for specific dynastic goals. In addition, the conscious iconographic references to St. Peter from Peribleptos reflect the love-hate relationship between the Archbishopric of Ochrid, **Justiniana Prima,** and the Serbian church striving for its self-definition between West and East.

One might object to such narrowly based deductions, yet Simon Peter has an undeniable theological weight in Serbia long before the proposed date of the D.O. icon, which makes its political reading all the more necessary.

The oldest extant Serbian church is **"Petrova crkva"** (church of St. Peter) near today's Novi Pazar, at the center of the first medieval state of Serbia, Rascia. Its earliest mention is in the charter of Basil II (the Bulgar-slayer) of 1020 which authorized Ochrid's jurisdiction over the existing Serbian bishoprics.[189] According to one tradition, the church was founded by Titus, Paul's disciple, a legend apparently used by Sava I when he sought an autocephalous status for the Serbian church in 1220.[190] Another tradition says that the founders were the king of **Dioclee** Belo Pavlimir and his Latin allies who celebrated

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[189] J. Neskovic and R. Nikolic, L'Eglise Saint-Pierre pres de Novi Pazar, Belgrade, 1987, p.5. They also list the other Serbian bishoprics given over to Ochrid by this charter: Barnicevo, Nis, Belgrade, Sirmium, Skopje, Prizren, Lipljan. Note that Gracanica was the cathedral church of Lipljan! See Todic, Gracanica, p. 165 and Curcic, Gracanica, p.134-5.

[190] Neskovic/Nikolic, Saint-Pierre, p.6.

their victory over the ruler of Rascia by raising a church dedicated to the first apostle.[191] These legends, notable for their polar opposition, demonstrate that already with the oldest church in Serbia, St. Peter was a key-player for the Orthodox and Latin propaganda alike.

Another mark of Peter's prominence in Serbia is in the courtyard of Zica: a small church dedicated to Peter and Paul erected, according to a local legend, for services and worship during the building of the larger structure.[192] One last striking association between the first apostle and the **fundamenum ecclessiae** in Serbia not mentioned thus far is in the Church of St. Peter in Bijelo Polje. The donor's composition from the church narthex shows a ruler presenting the first apostle with the church model (fig.56).[193] The church was restored around 1320-1, with Danilo II as the Bishop of Hum before he became an archbishop in 1324, which, together with the developed palaeologan style discernible in

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[191] Reported in ch. XXVII of the chronicle of Dukljanin, of the Archbishopric of Bar, end of 12 c. Cf. R.Ljubinkovic, "Quelques observations sur le probleme des rapports artistiques entre Byzance, l'Italie Meridionale et la Serbe avant le XIII siecle", X Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna, 1963, pp.191-5 and Neskovic /Nikolic, Saint-Pierre, p.6.

[192] See Boskovic, Zica, p.217.

[193] The most thorough study of this church (its architecture) is the Ph.D. Dissertation of Dragan Nagorni, Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje (Montenegro): Ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Serbischen Architektur, Munchen, 1978.

its fragments, supports the dating of the frescoes to 1319-21.[194] Although the identity of the donor remains open to discussion, this exceptional scene of church-presentation at the very end of Milutin's reign demonstrates the special place of St. Peter even in far outposts of the Serbian kingdom such as the fiercely contested Bishopric of Hum, abolished after 1333.[195] It also reinforces the thesis that any St. Peter with a church-model within the medieval Serbian kingdom at this time in history has strong political implications.

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[194] Nagorni, Die Kirche, pp.49-51. Cf. Todic, Gracanica, p.215, who also places St.Peter from Bijelo Polje in the range of Milutin's last foundations.

[195] Ljubinkovic, "Humsko Eparhisko", pp.118-120 and Nagorni, Die Kirche, 50-53, for the periods of Hum's subordination to the Serbian (Orthodox) and the Latin churches from the Adriatic coast, respectively. Cf. Fine, p.201.

Conclusion

The representation of St. Peter in the icon from Dumbarton Oaks is consonant with the manner in which the image of the First Apostle is emphasized in the Southern Balkans at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries. Its grandeur and superior execution leave no doubt that it was commissioned by a major patron and executed by a first-rate artist. Based on the stylistic and iconographic parallels discussed above, and on its previously accepted dating and regional origin, I am convinced that it should be placed within the **oeuvre** of the Astrapas family. We have seen that the style variants within the works attributed to the "Milutin Malerschule"[196] allow a number of options for more specific dating of the D.O. piece. Despite the note on its correspondence in terms of size and style to the panels from the Peribleptos ikonostasis, its portable character and absence of any other surviving icon that can be considered as its companion-piece make any further educated guesses highly speculative. Judging from its style alone, I would place it within the second phase of the Astrapas/ Panselinos work, close to the fresco cycles of Studenica and Staro Nagorichino (1314-18).

In terms of its iconography, I suggest that its

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[196] The term of Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben <u>Die Monumentalmalerei</u>.

symbols: the keys, the scroll, the cross-staff, convey a theological message comparable to the ones discussed with regard to Peribleptos, Zica, and Gracanica. As noted earlier, the D.O. St.Peter has an inseparable authority over matters of church (cross-staff) and state (scroll as **chrysoboullon**), mirrored by the two keys around his neck. And, if there is one geo-political entity where matters of church and state are inseparable at this time, it is medieval Serbia. The Nemanyid kings asserted their dynastic rights by ecclesiastical authority from the creation of the Archbishopric in 1220 to the culmination of this self-fashioning by the establishment of the First Serbian Patriarchate under King Dushan in 1346.[197]

This, combined with the fact that Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychius become almost exclusively Milutin's artists after their first major work in Peribleptos, suggests that St.Peter should be seen within the context of his patronage.

In conclusion of this open-ended argument, I wish to bring in another curiosity about Peter's place in the Balkans: Simonis. She was born to Andronicus II and Yolanda of Montferrat in 1294, if, in fact, she was only five when she married Milutin in 1299. Pachymeres writes that Andronicus and Yolanda feared for the infant's life, as two or three other daughters of the emperor had already died in

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[197] O.D.B.II: p.1872.

infancy.[198] Therefore, "an experienced and good woman"
advised Andronicus that twelve candles of equal length be
lit before twelve icons, each a portrait of one of the
apostles.[199] Psalms were sung before the icons, until all
the candles burned out, except for one. The girl was named
after the apostle whose candle burned the longest -- Peter.
From then on, Simonis was considered to be under his
protection, for he had saved her life at birth.[200]

Simonis may be one last accessible clue to our icon.
She had been saved by Peter as a child and now she was
wedded to Milutin, whose desire for an heir left her
childless.[201] Did the repentant king ask one of his artists
to paint the saint-protector of his wife, hoping for some
miraculous salvation of his dynasty? Or could it be that
before leaving Serbia in 1321, Simonis asked one of the
artists who had painted so many churches, including
portraits of herself, to paint an icon of her saint that
would keep her safe on her return to Constantinople?
Unfortunately, whatever candle could have illuminated us has

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[198] Pachymeres, II, 276-277, cited by Laiou,
Constantinople, p.96. She mentions that this was probably a
common treatment (magic). She also cites M. Treu's edition
of Dichtungen des Metochites, A, verses 571-578. This whole
episode is mostly relegated to her footnotes.

[199] ibid.

[200] ibid.

[201] This refers to the premature consummation of their
marriage. Cf. Vizantijski Izvori, 6, p.177.

long since melted into obscurity.

Appendix: The Southern Balkans during King Milutin/
Notation of Major Monuments according to
Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben (1963:1).

DENKMÄLERKARTE

Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei
in Serbien und Makedonien

Politische Grenzen
nach Ostrogorski, Byz.Handb.I2

— — — Grenze des Königreichs Stephans
des Erstgekrönten um 1223
.... Grenze des Königreichs Milutins
(1282–1321)
///////// Zarenreich Dušans (1331–1355)

0   50   100 km
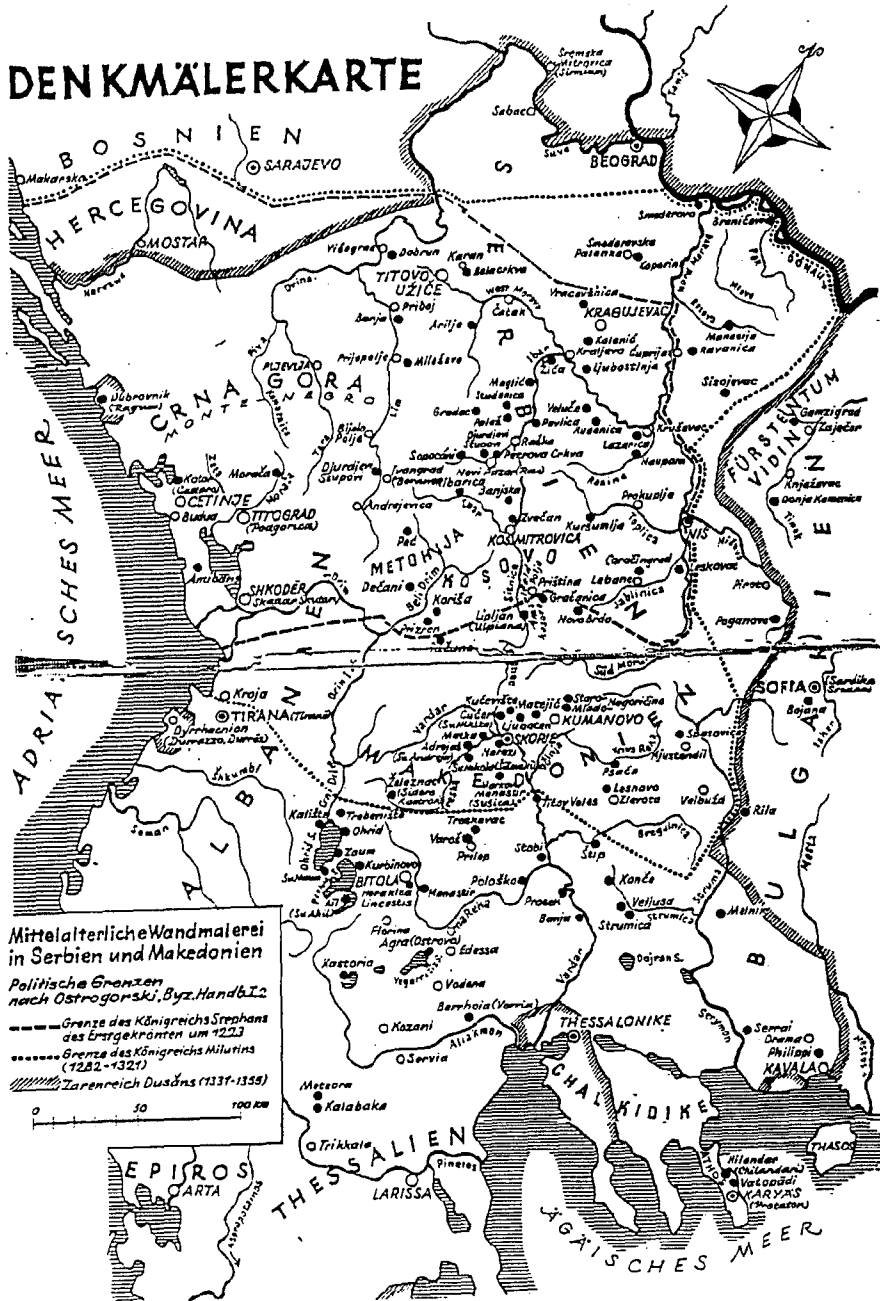
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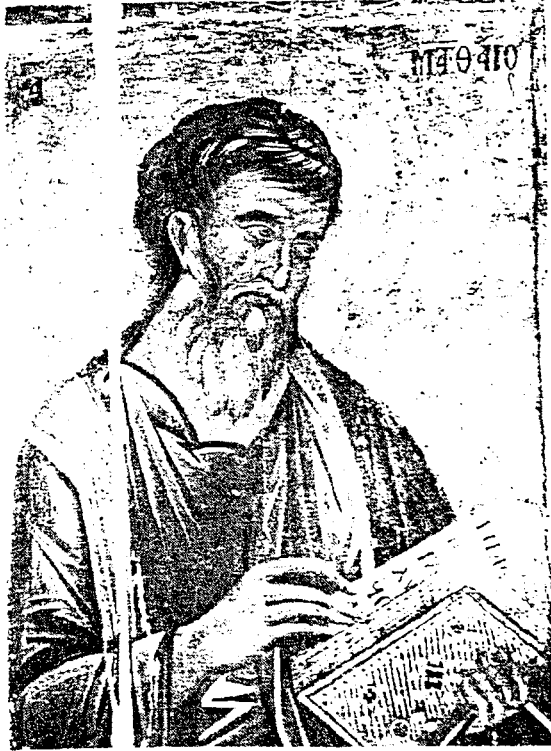
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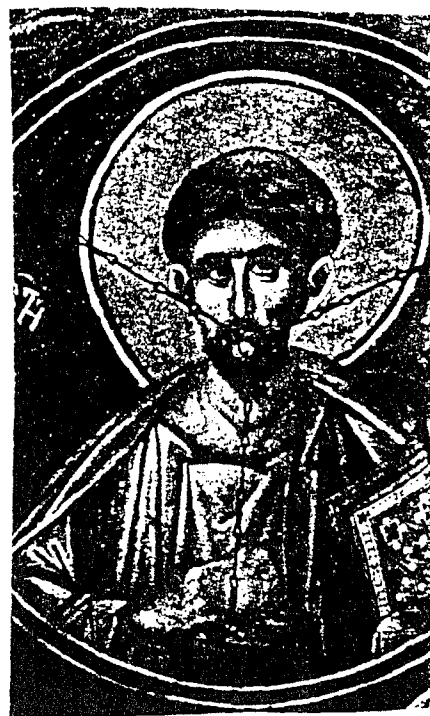
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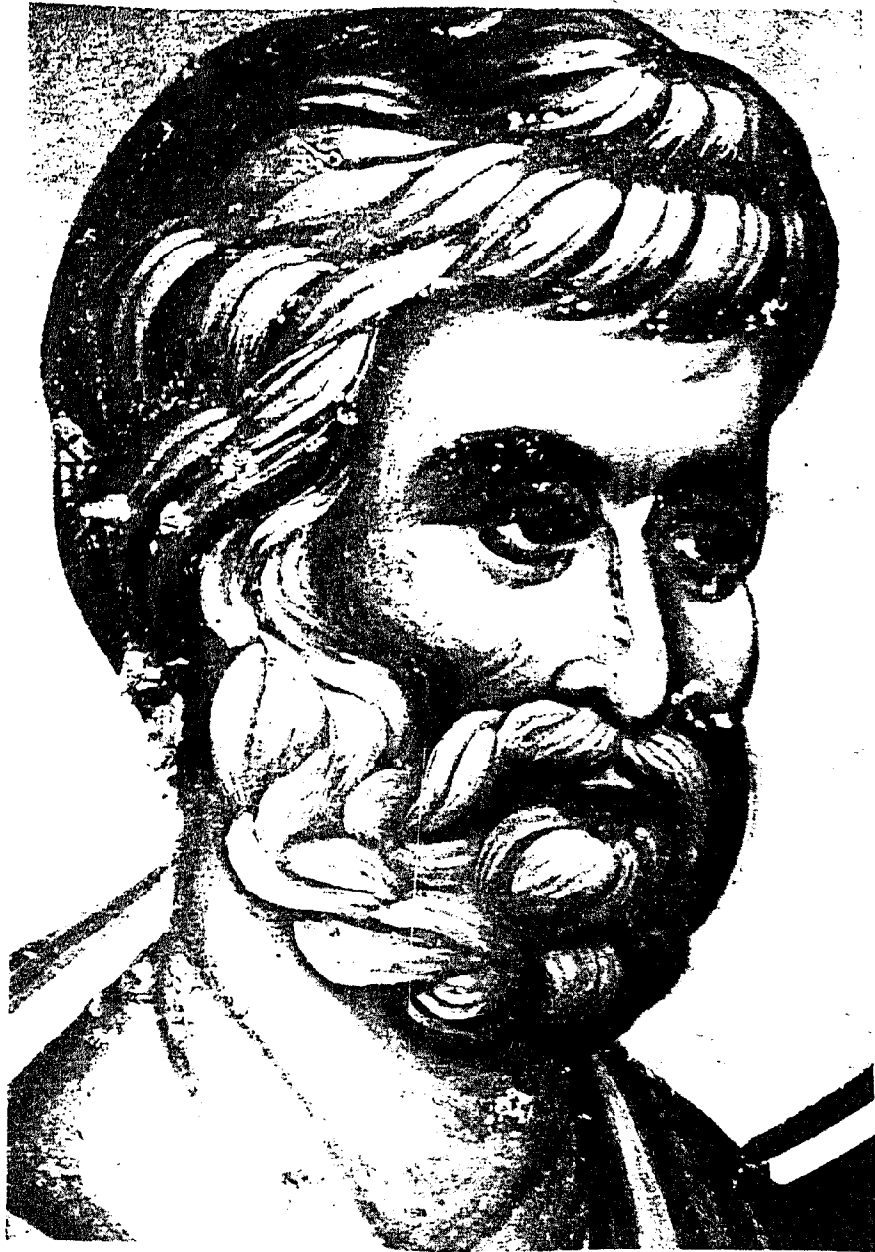
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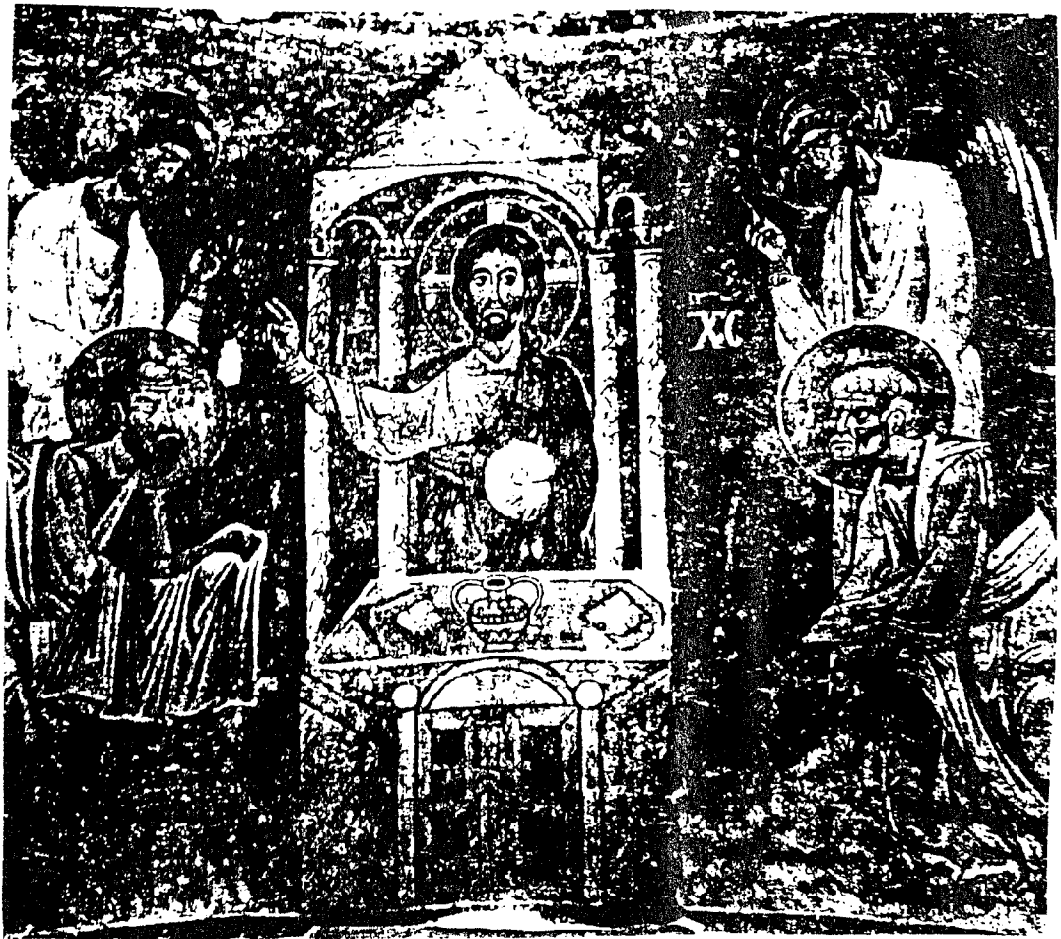
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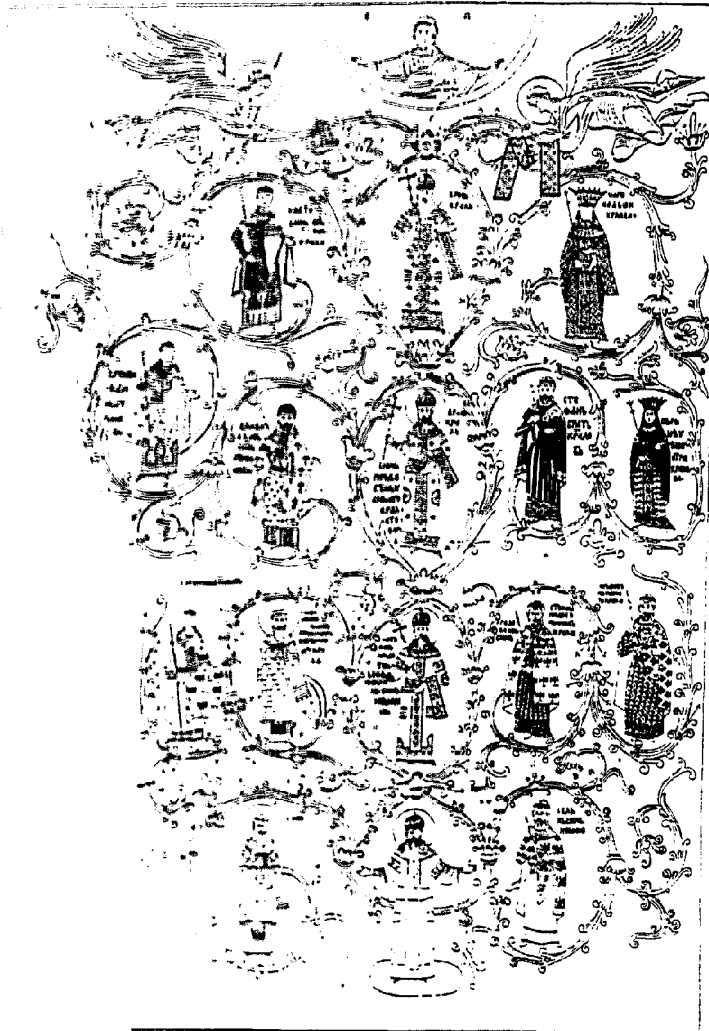fol.51 / Grabar (1984) 151.

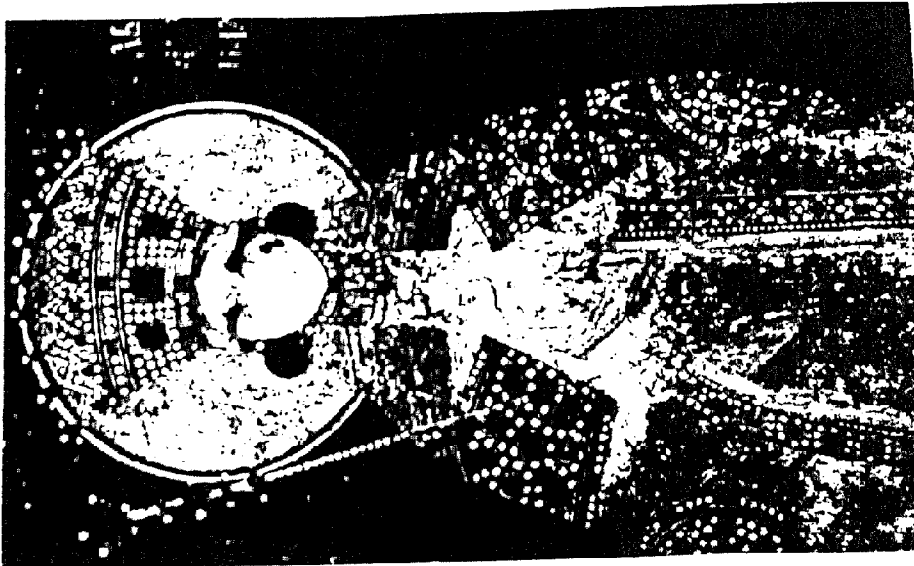50. St. Peter. Fresco (Southern transept); Zica (13th c.)
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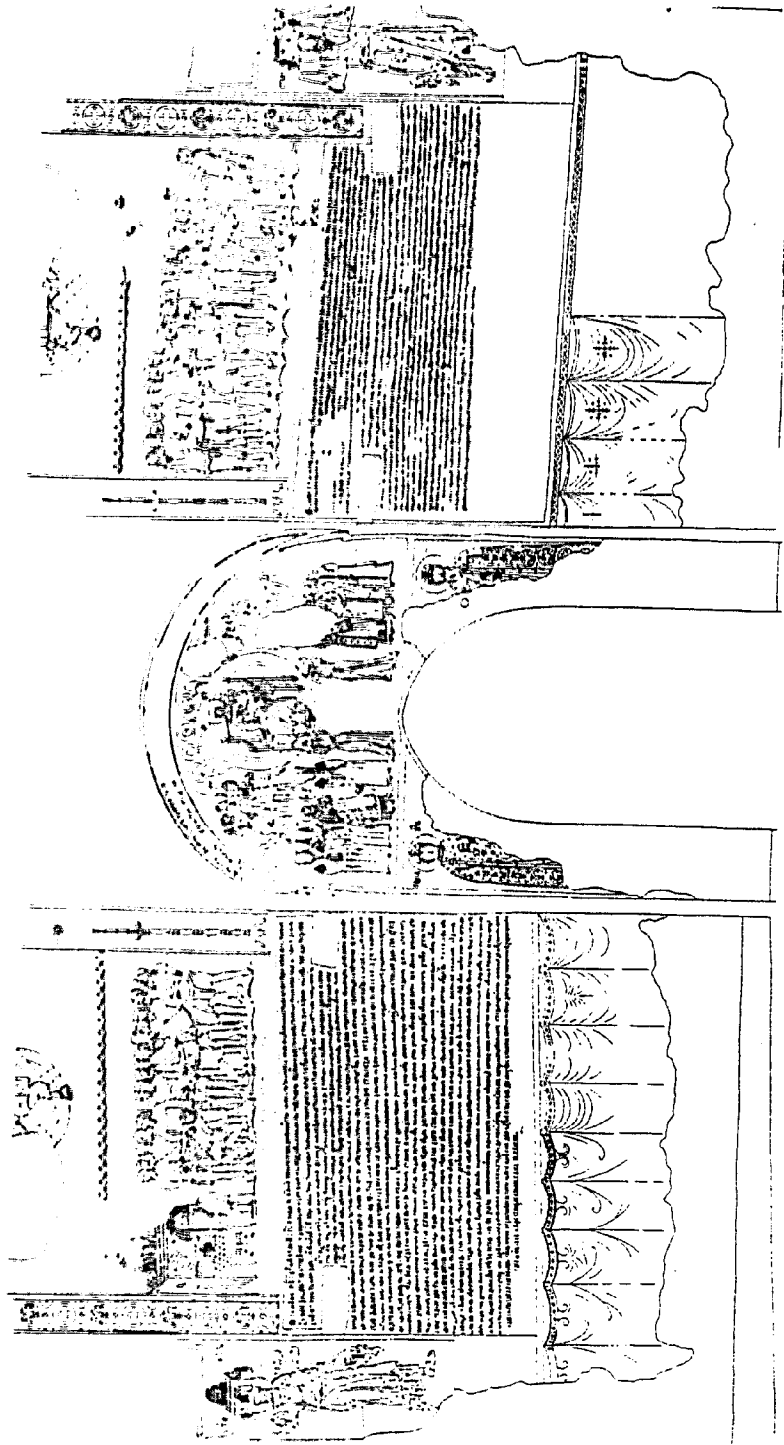
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