

УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ВЪРХНА АНТРОПОЛОГИЧЕСКА ШКОЛА



# «На одно крыло — серебряная, На другое — золотая...»

Сборник статей памяти Светланы Рябцевой

*Под редакцией  
Р. А. Рабиновича и Н. П. Тельнова*

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# **‘ONE HER WING IS SILVER, THE OTHER ONE IS MADE OF GOLD...’**

Selected papers in memory of Svetlana Ryabtseva

*Edited by  
R.A. Rabinovich and N.P. Telnov*



KISHINEV  
2020

*Памяти*  
**Светланы Станиславовны Рябцевой**  
*посвящается*



*In memory of Svetlana Ryabtseva*

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M. P. Kruk

## Double-Sided Encolpion with the Virgin and Child and Three Saints in the Collection of the Princes Czartoryski in Krakow

**Keywords:** Byzantium, Hilandar, Simonopetra, Czartoryski, encolpion, St. Sabbas, St. Sava, St. Simeon, minor arts

**Ключевые слова:** Византия, Хилендар, Симонопетра, Чарторийские, энколпион, св. Саббас, св. Савва, св. Симеон, миниатюры

M. P. Kruk

### Double-Sided Encolpion with the Virgin and Child and Three Saints in the Collection of the Princes Czartoryski in Krakow

One of the most precious Byzantine objects in the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow is the double-sided pendant in the form of a carved wooden medallion (9.8 × 7.2 × 1.5 cm) with a refined openwork filigree silver-gilt mount studded with pearls and garnets (inv. no. MNK XIII-475). There is a depiction of the Virgin and Child on the front and of three saints with a temple model on the back. Its features suggest that it was made in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, probably in one of the monastic centers on Mount Athos, perhaps at Simonopetra or — even more plausibly — at Hilandar; and all the more so if the figures depicted in the medallion actually are St. Sava, the first Serbian Archbishop, and St. Simeon, his father and the first Serbian king.

M. P. Kruk

### Двусторонний энколпион с изображениями Богородицы с младенцем Иисусом и Трех Святых из коллекции князя Чарторийского в Кракове

Одним из самых ценных предметов византийского искусства в Музее князя Чарторийского в Кракове является двусторонняя подвеска в форме вырезанного из дерева медальона (9,8 × 7,2 × 1,5 см) с украшенным изысканной ажурной филигранью серебряно-позолоченным креплением, усыпанным жемчугом и гранатами (инв. № MNK XIII-475). Она украшена изображением Богородицы с младенцем Иисусом на лицевой стороне, и Трех Святых с моделью храма — на оборотной. Характеристики изделия предполагают, что оно было изготовлено во второй половине XVIII века, вероятно, в одном из монастырских центров горы Афон. Возможно, в Симонопетре, или, даже скорее — в Хилендаре; это тем более вероятно, если фигуры на оборотной стороне медальона изображают св. Савву — первого архиепископа Сербии, и св. Симеона — его отца и первого короля Сербии.

One of the most precious Byzantine objects in the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow is the double-sided pendant in the form of a carved wooden medallion (9.8 × 7.2 × 1.5 cm) with a refined openwork filigree silver-gilt mount studded with pearls and garnets (inv. no. MNK XIII-475)<sup>1</sup> (fig. 1—3). There is a depiction of the Virgin and Child on the front and of three saints with a temple model on the back. The beautiful work represents the group of Eastern devotional jewelry belonging

to the area of interest of Svetlana S. Ryabtseva (see e.g. Рябцева 2005).

As established by Michał Myśliński in reference to the several dozens of Byzantine gems in the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum that were examined in the course of the research programme of the Scientific Research Committee (KBN), it is usually impossible to reconstruct their provenance before their acquisition to museum holdings (Myśliński 2006: 229).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During the renovation of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow, it was exhibited at the display “The Past’s Tribute to the Future. The Collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation at the Muzeum Nadwiślańskie in Kazimierz Dolny” in 2016, and since July 2019 it has been exhibited at the permanent exhibition at the Czartoryski Museum in Puławy. The object has not yet been analysed or published.

<sup>2</sup> The grant from the Polish Committee for Scientific Research (KBN) “was implemented in two stages, from 1995 and from 2000 under the leadership of prof. dr hab. Anna Różycka-Bryzek from the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University, with the main contractor dr Michał Myśliński from the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) in Krakow” (Myśliński 2003: 109). The author has repeatedly published short reports on the project: (Myśliński 1999: 185—190; 2003: 109—111; 2006: 229—233).



**Fig. 1.** Double-Sided Encolpion, The Collection of the Princes Czartoryski in Krakow, MNK XIII-475: Virgin and Child.

**Рис. 1.** Двусторонний энколпион, коллекция князя Чарторыйского в Кракове, MNK XIII-475: Богородица с младенцем Иисусом.



**Fig. 2.** Double-Sided Encolpion, The Collection of the Princes Czartoryski in Krakow, MNK XIII-475: Three Saints.

**Рис. 2.** Двусторонний энколпион, коллекция князя Чарторыйского в Кракове, MNK XIII-475: Трое Святых.

The same applies to the group of Byzantine encolpions, including the analysed object. The nature of these devotional objects, small precious items decorated with stones seems to indicate that they could have been acquired by the Czartoryski family from a single source at a similar time, but this has not been established yet.<sup>3</sup> They could have been purchased on the Paris antique market.<sup>4</sup> Some of them have been described in published catalogue notes (Grotowski, Kruk, Paszkowski 2001: 58—59) and articles (Kruk, Salomon 2011: 231—36). In the 1954 inventory card of the object, it has the inventory number XIII-475 and its former number is cited: I-850 [KI (inventory card) 1954].<sup>5</sup> The latter number was assigned to the encolpion in the *Museum Cata-*

*logue of Varia* (Pol. *Katalog muzealnych różnych*, 1934) (*Katalog muzealnych...* 1934: cat. 850) with the additional number 595, with which it was said to have been recorded in the 1899 catalogue. However, this 19<sup>th</sup>-century catalogue, titled the *Inventory of the Princes Czartoryski Collections* (Pol. *Inwentarz Zbiorów XX. Czartoryskich*), contains the oldest known description of the piece complete under the number 657 (and the number 850 written in the adjacent column) (*Inwentarz Zbiorów...* 1899: cat. 657).<sup>6</sup> The entries in both catalogues are almost identical, with one significant difference regarding the identification of the object's material. The 1934 *Inventory* described the encolpion as: "A large silver-gilt medallion, with filigree; decorated with grenades and pearls, on both sides. Inside, in the circles, wood-carved depictions of religious subjects," while the 1899 catalogue — as: "A larged silver-gilt medal-

<sup>3</sup> Query conducted at the Artistic Crafts Department of the Czartoryski Museum and the Czartoryski Library.

<sup>4</sup> For example, the medallion (inv. no. MNK XVIII-153a) was purchased by Edward Goldstein in Paris, where in the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Athos crosses appeared on the antique market, sold by E. Segregadis — Kruk 2010: 14.

<sup>5</sup> The card contains basic data of the object, without dating, and the opinion of Yuri Pyatnitsky, quoted below.

<sup>6</sup> The *Inventory...* was the Volume I of the first collection of the Czartoryski Museum that included artistic crafts, hence the format of its inventory numbers: I-657. The medallion was recorded in the *Book of Aquisitions* of the National Museum in Krakow under the number MNK Cz. 2017.



**Fig. 3.** Double-Sided Encolpion The Collection of the Princes Czartoryski in Krakow, MNK XIII-475: view on the inscription.

**Рис. 3.** Двусторонний энколпион, коллекция князя Чарторыйского в Кракове, MNK XIII-475: надпись.

lion, with filigree; decorated with grenades and pearls, on both sides. In wax.” The last information is intriguing, since both the 1934 *Catalogue* and the 1954 inventory card describe the medallion’s material as wood, which means that a correction has been introduced in comparison with the oldest record of 1899. Byzantine artists liked to use diverse materials which have not always been easy to identify, as exemplified by another pendant (inv. no. MNK XIII-514), for which, as revealed in the course of analyses, organic material, likely animal horn, was used (Grotowski, Kruk, Paszkowski 2001: 58—59); or the encolpion MNK XIII-517 made of soapstone, one of the most popular materials in the Middle Byzantine era (Kruk, Salamon 2011: 231—36).

The work is currently presented at the permanent exhibition “The Past’s Tribute to the Future. Collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation” at the Czartoryski Museum in Puławy, the town where the historical relics collected by Izabela Czartoryska were presented for the first time before their transfer to Krakow.<sup>7</sup>

The parts carved in wood are visible through the narrow openings of the mount that frames the figures but limits the visibility of the background which depicts — both on the front and on the back — a kind of wall with openwork semi-circular window openings. Chiselled incisions have been made by a skilful and confident hand, the robe folds multiply in a very dense rhythm of parallel lines with emphasised crucial details that permit to identify the persons. Mary’s head is covered with a veil with incisions suggesting lace

trimming, while Christ’s robe has stripes on the tunic (Lat. *clavi*) and a supporting belt. The figures of saints are distinguished by their omophorions with multiple crosses. Two of the saints face each other, supporting a model of a two-tiered rotunda situated between them: the bishop in the middle holds the book of the Gospel in his right hand, while the other demonstrates the cross. The figures are depicted frontally, but their faces — in profile. The mount features stylised floral motifs including twisting sprouts, heart-shaped flowers and small and large buds.

### Iconography

The medallion’s front features the image of the Mother of God holding the Child in Her arms; they look at each other. Christ raises His right hand in the gesture of *benedictio graeca*. His tunic girded with the waist belt, resembles to some degree the characteristic type of Roman tunic with two stripes connected to the belt often present in the late Paleologian icons from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is to be found in the *Mother of God Eleusa* from northern Greece,<sup>8</sup> the icon of the *Mother of God Glykophilousa* from Zakynthos,<sup>9</sup> the so-called *Mother of God of Volhynia*.<sup>10</sup> It is noteworthy that such an outfit is usually present where the body of Jesus is particularly expressively bent, and He is pictured as a playing child, often turning His back to the viewer, like in the icon in a Roman Cath-

<sup>8</sup> *Mother of God Eleusa*, icon, around 1400, 88 × 55 cm, in the church of Mother of God of Phaneromene — Papazotos 1995: cat. 67. As indicated, works of similar style were produced in Kastoria and its vicinity in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>9</sup> *Mother of God Glykophilousa*, second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, 105 × 78.5 cm, Zakynthos, Byzantine Museum, inv. no. 113 — Baltoyanni 1994: cat. 22, pl. 43. The work is one of the most beautiful examples of Cretan painting.

<sup>10</sup> *Mother of God with Jesus*, 2<sup>nd</sup> half 15<sup>th</sup> century, 85 × 48 cm, icon brought from the church of the Protection of the Holy Mother in Lutsk in 1962, Kiev, Державний музей українського образотворчого мистецтва, now: Національний художній музей України, inv. no. И-41 — Kruk 2000: cat. 10 (with bibliography). The icon was regarded in the literature of the 1960s and 1970s to be the oldest, dated to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Давне Українське ...1988: inv. no. Ч-414, 22: dated to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), and more recently — even to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Лужницькій 1984: 160). Considering a certain dryness of style and strong linearity shared with numerous post-Byzantine works, especially Cretan ones, and — in the context of Volhynia — the similarities with the excellent icon of *Christ* from Rzeczyca (Ukr. Річниця), believed to be a late work of a Greek painter from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century (Icon, 141 × 102 × 3.5 cm — Пуцко 1995: 6) or from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Сидор, Скрентович 1987: 29, fig. 1), it seems reasonable to follow V. Putsko who shifts its dating closer to 1500 (Пуцко 1995: fig. on p. 7).

<sup>7</sup> For the latest study of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, opened after years of renovation as a branch of the National Museum in Krakow: Plonka-Balus, Koziara 2019.





**Fig. 4.** Zacharije Orfelin (Захарија Орфелин). SS. Peter and Paul and vision of church in Sremski Karlovci. Print, 1770, 54,0 × 37,0 cm, Beograd, National Museum (after Davidov 2006. Fig. 115).

**Рис. 4.** Захарија Орфелин. Святые Петр и Павел и вид церкви в Сремски Карловицы. Печать, 1770 г., 54,0 × 37,0 см, Белград, Национальный музей (по Davidov 2006. Fig. 115).



olic church in Naxos.<sup>11</sup> As pointed out by Chrysanthos Baltoyianni, this scheme used to be repeated in Cretan icons of the 15<sup>th</sup> century that followed the pattern known from the 14<sup>th</sup>-century icons of *Mother of God Pelagonitissa* preserved in the monasteries of Mount Sinai and in Dečani (serb. Дечани) (Baltoyianni 1994: 136). In this context, a somewhat unclear position of Jesus' body in the analysed medallion is remarkable. The head is pictured in profile, but the body is turned — it seems as if the head were placed directly upon it, and the neck appears invisible. On the other hand, however, there is no doubt that the Child gives the benediction with His right hand, and so this body position should be interpreted as frontal, probably like in another Ruthenian icon from Volhynia within the borders of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth — from Mezhyrich (Pol. Międzyrzecz Ostrogski, Ukr. Межиріч).<sup>12</sup>

In order to interpret the religious content of the medallion, it is essential to identify the three saints depicted on the back. Since this question has so far raised doubts, three existing interpretations will be presented and discussed.

I. A preliminary opinion on the iconography of the back of the medallion was expressed by Yuri Pyatnitsky from the Hermitage, expert in late and post-Byzantine art. The opinion is included in the inventory card of the object (see note 8). In his opinion, the temple model is supported by Sts Peter and Paul, and the other figure should be identified as St. John. Identification of Sts Peter and Paul seemed tempting, as it is confirmed by many late and post-Byzantine analogies (fig. 4). The subject of many, especially the so-called Italo-Greek or Cretan icons, are the two apostles, Sts Peter and Paul in frontal position, holding the temple model between them, but also sometimes embracing each other, which could be explained by the reconciliatory ideas guiding the painter who sought for subjects shared by the traditions of both Churches or civilisations. An interpretation of this depiction, often repeated in icons of that period intended for the Italian market, has recently gained one more intriguing interpretation — as an alleged postulate of the unification of both rites, which was particularly intensively pursued at that time. Maria Vassilaki summed up simply that one of the potential sources of the populari-

ty and development of this entire painting movement that connected the East with the West were the pro-union tendencies, including those inspired by the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), which could have been specifically manifested in the diffusion of the icons with the Apostles Peter and Paul embracing each other, e.g. in the icons by Angelos Akotantos (ca. 1425–50) (Vassilaki 2016:115).<sup>13</sup>

It is believed that the images of the two apostles were exhibited during the Council in the main meeting hall, and their skulls were shown to the public on the two sides of the Bible. According to another account, their symbols — the keys and the sword — were placed in front of the altar (Vassilaki 2016: 119).

These tendencies can also be observed in the oeuvre of Nikolaos Tzafouris, a well-known Cretan painter, active in Candia in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and at the same time closely connected with Angelos' workshop (Vassilaki 2016: 120–121). One of the works attributed to him is a triptych with the Mother of God representing the *Madre della Consolazione* type, with St. Peter and St. Paul embracing each other on the left wing and St. Stephan and St. Lawrence on the right wing (private collection in London) (Vassilaki 2016: fig. 12). Maria Vassilaki emphasised that the character of this painting was also the result of the double identification of Angelos and many other artists. Though Venetian by origin, Angelos was Orthodox; his wife was Elena Marmara from Crete. For such people — who identified themselves both as Cretan and Venetian — the union of the Churches could create an opportunity to really unite the two populations living side by side in Crete (Vassilaki 2016: 124).

II. While the medallion in discussion repeats the compositional scheme with the two saints supporting the temple, the above identification cannot be maintained by reason of the inscription “Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΑΒΒΑΣ” (Saint Sabbas), visible above the figure in the middle, referring either to one of the most famous fathers of Middle Eastern monasticism or to St. Sava (Sabbas), the Serbian Archbishop (fig. 3). St. Sabbas of Jerusalem is traditionally held as one of the founders of the Great Lavra near Jerusalem, later named after him: Mar Saba, a name that became widespread in the Middle and Late Byzantine era. While there is a slight possibility that there are other descriptions on the medallion's rim, perhaps referring to the other two saints, it cannot be verified, since at the present moment the mount cannot be dismantled. The direct observation of the medallion,

<sup>11</sup> *Mother of God Glykophilousa*, icon, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, 90×70 cm, Naxos, church of the Mother of God of Perpetual Succour — Drandaki 2002: cat. 32, pl. 60.

<sup>12</sup> *Mother of God and Jesus*, icon, 16<sup>th</sup> century, Mezhyrich, Holy Trinity Monastery (Kruk 2011: cat. and fig. 26).

<sup>13</sup> More on this topic: Kruk 2019: 295–99.

as well as photographs taken at a sharp angle on 8 February 2020, seem to suggest that there are no other inscriptions on the medallion besides the visible ones.

St. Sabbas of Jerusalem was the founder of numerous monasteries, the author of a typikon with liturgy dedicated to the communities he created. Sabbas came to Palestine from Cappadocia towards the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and founded a system of lavras including the largest one, the Great Lavra (Mar Saba), contributing to the fact that the population of monks reached several thousand in the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. When St. Sabbas arrived in Palestine, six lavras already existed in the Judaean Desert and along the Jordan River (Patrich 1995: 7), and he himself became acquainted with the monastic life of several communities. In the context of the iconography of the scene in question, it is worth to highlight the tradition that obliged monks to grow a beard, which was first attributed to the regulations of the Fathers in Scethis, and then adopted as a binding monastic rule (Patrich 1995: 14). In the initial period, Sabbas was a student of Euthymios, with whom he shared admiration for the aforementioned Fathers, especially Arsenius, tutor of the Emperor's sons, Arcadius and Honorius. He gradually became the architect of the cenobitical life combining the Egyptian Antonian system with the Cappadocian Basilian system, which would become the most significant feature of Palestinian monasticism (Patrich 1995: 47–48). A dense network of lavras emerged in the Cedron Valley which were connected by roads one with another, as well as with Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The first stage of the construction of the complex was the construction of the Great Lavra in the years 483–486 during the rule of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Martyrius (478–486), who already knew Sabbas at the time when the latter stayed with Euthymios. Every monk joining the congregation could count on favourable conditions — there were around 70 disciples in the beginning and Sabbas was their leader, guide and mentor (*V. Sab.* 16, 100,6) (Patrich 1995: 61).

The fame of both the monastery founder and the Sabbaites monks systematically reached Constantinople, and even more so other monastic centres (See: Kruk 2019: 265–72): “[...] for through him this desert was to become a city” (*V. Sab.* 6, 90.8–10; Quotation for Patrich 1995: II). Monks from the Great Lavra supported the iconodules who were associated with the monastery anyway, like St. John of Damascus or St. Cosmas of Maiuma. Theodore, the abbot of Constantinople's Studios monastery, searched for support of the Great Lavra in a letter to hegumenos Basil (809), in the struggle with the iconoclastic patriarch and em-

peror (he also adopted, with certain changes, the Sabbaites *Typikon* as part of the reform of monastic life, modifying it for the needs of cenobitic life) (Patrich 1995: 330). Mar Sabas was also the original monastery for the brothers Theodorus and Theophanes, the Grapti, the herolds of the veneration of Mary and icons, “stigmatised” for this reason. And they were probably depicted, along with Theodore the Studite, in the two famous icons of the *Triumph of Orthodoxy* in the row of saints famous for the fight against iconoclasm, underneath the imperial couple of Theodora and Michael III and the Patriarch Methodius (843–847).<sup>14</sup> It can be assumed that it was mainly due to contacts between the key monasteries of that period leading the fight against iconoclasm that the figure of St. Stephen the Hymnographer — otherwise unrelated — emerged in the iconography of Ruthenian icons.<sup>15</sup>

And so Mar Saba became one of the leading centres of spiritual life beside the monastic centre on Mount Athos, and St. Sabbas of Jerusalem (439–532) began to be depicted in wall paintings (Santa Maria Antiqua, 8<sup>th</sup> century), icons, miniatures (*Menologion of Basil II*, 10<sup>th</sup> century) and later in Orthodox church prints with the scenes of his life and miracles in fields on the borders, as one of the greatest patrons of cenobitical life.<sup>16</sup> (fig. 5).

<sup>14</sup> *Triumph of Orthodoxy*, icon dated to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., wood, tempera (Chatzidakis 2001: fig. 31). On the website of the British Museum (BM), it is described as a capital work, that is, painted in Constantinople, and sized 39×31×5.3 cm, acquired for the collection in 1988 — [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=61272&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=61272&partId=1). (See Cormack 2000: cat. no. 32, 340–41). Figures in this icon can be recognised on the basis of the more legible inscriptions in the Cretan icon which was likely produced as its copy: *Triumph of Orthodoxy*, Crete, dated to c. 1500, wood, tempera, 36.4×31×1.9 cm, Emiliou Velimezis collection — Chatzidakis 1998; 2001: cat. no. 5. To the left of the glorified Hodegetria icon are: Empress Theodora and Emperor Michael III, to the right — Patriarch Methodios, Bishop Theodore, monk Theodosios and another monk with the initial letters ‘Teo...’. Below is a row of saints who fought against iconoclasm, including St. Theodosia, an unidentified figure, a monk with the anabolas, probably St. Ioannikos, an unidentified figure, Theophanes the Confessor (?) holding the icon of Christ in the centre together with Theodore the Studite, then Bishop Arsenios leading four monks. Based on a publication by N. Chatzidakis, R. Cormack (2000) has identified them as the brothers Theodorus and Theophanes ‘the Branded’ (Gr. *graptoi*), and Theophylaktos and Arsakios — Kruk 2007: fig. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Kruk 2004: 129–154; Kruk 2019: 265–269.

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. <https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2017/07/07/saint-savvas/>. Biography of St. Sabbas was recalled by Joseph Patrich: Patrich 1995: 37–48.





**Fig. 5.** Kyrillos (Cyril). Saint Sabbas, the Sanctified. Engraved at Mount Athos by Kyrillos, printed on cloth, 14.XI.1847, Krzeszów (Lower Silesian Voivodeship in Poland), The Benedictine abbey.

**Рис. 5.** Кирилло (Кирилл). Св. Савва Освященный. Гравировка Кирилла на горе Афон, отпечатана на ткани, 14.XI.1847, Крешув (воеводство Нижняя Силезия, Польша), аббатство бенедиктинцев.

St. Sabbas was given the epithet “the Sanctified” by the author of his hagiography — Cyril, and the name stuck. Like St. Euthymios, he was believed to have a special charisma and be surrounded by an aura of holiness in his lifetime, having performed numerous miracles, and was also said to be endowed with the gift of prophecy (Patrich 1995: 279—80). Therefore, it is necessary to point out the precedent depictions in which he appears with other monastic Fathers. The famous ones are the frescoes in Asinou, Cyprus from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, where St. Sabbas was depicted with St. Euthymios and St. Anthony. He was probably also among the saints in the tomb in Kastellion, although his name has not been preserved (Patrich 1995: 284). He appeared again with St. Euthymios and St. Anthony on the silver procession cross, from Asia Minor according to Cyril Mango, and preserved in the Cleveland Museum. The image of St. Sabbas is in the very centre of the cross; at the end of the left beam, in the medallion, are St. Anthony and St. Euthymios; on the right side — St. Ephrem the Syrian and St. Hilarion, and at the bottom were the unpreserved figures of St. Arsenios and St. Abramios. The cross itself was dedicated to St. Sabbas, as commissioned by Nicholas the monk, founder of the monastery in Galistine.<sup>17</sup> At the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and in the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Theodore Studite ordered for his church at Studios a series of wall paintings of 24 saints, including holy monks: St. Theodore of Sykeon, St. Anthony the Great (of Egypt), St. Hilarion, St. Euthymios and the Palestinian St. Sabbas, as well as the founders of the monasteries in the capital: St. Dalmatos and Dios (Hatlie 2007: 407—10).

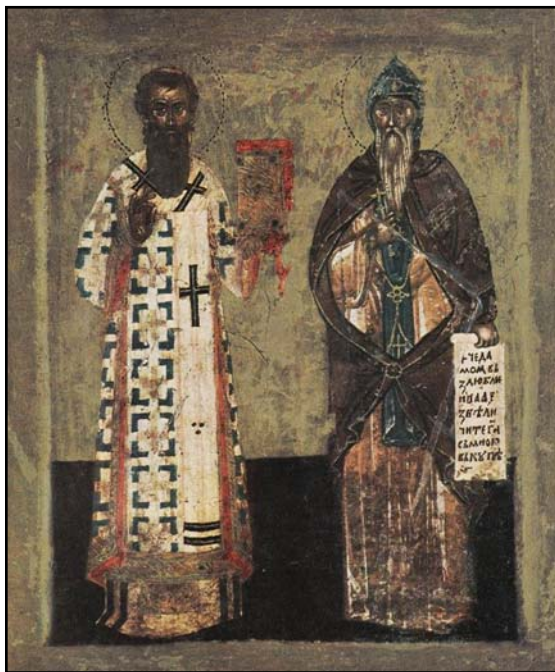
It can be presumed that the famous literary works, i.e. *Life of St. Euthymios* and *Life of St. Sabbas* (mid-6<sup>th</sup> century) by Cyril of Scythopolis (524—599), as well as *The Meadow* by John Moschus (550—619), who visited the regions of the Middle East in order to collect legends about monks, had great impact on the formation of the iconography of the sainted Fathers of monasticism. Monastic life flourished in Palestine towards the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and three monks from Cappadocia, but active in Judaea, that is, Euthymios, Theodosios and Sabbas played a great role in this phenomenon (Nowogórski 1995: 25). When deciding who, apart from Sabbas, could have been pictured in the medallion, in my view we should take into account Joseph Patrich’s opinion that the characteristic feature of Palestinian monasticism was the conjunction of

the Cappadocian and Egyptian traditions, which is confirmed in the middle Byzantine iconography by the pairing of St. Eustathios and St. Anthony in the aforementioned frescoes from Asinou and the cross from Cleveland (which may not, by that token, be from Asia Minor, but rather from Syria or Palestine). Thus, the model of the ideal lavra — symbolizing both its material and spiritual vision — would be supported by St. Sabbas and probably St. Euthymios, and they would not be accompanied by St. Theodosios but St. Anthony the Great. It is interesting that in the frescoes in Lublin (1418) the Fathers from the Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian circles were depicted side by side (Różycka Bryzek 2012: 127—28). The medallion’s conjunction of the seemingly unrelated themes of the holy patron of Middle Eastern monasticism with the image of Mary could evoke the idea of the fortress of iconodules and heroes defending the honour of Mary as the Mother of God, who actively opposed the destructive power of iconoclasm that also undermined the legitimacy of veneration of Marian images.

III. The third option — the most plausible one — would be to identify the middle saint as St. Sava (Sabbas), the Archbishop of Serbia (c. 1175—1236) (See Knoen, Squarr 1976: col. 298—300; Lechner 1976: col. 296—98). The episcopal robe of the central figure would be the decisive feature (the two other saints wear monastic mantles). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Serbian St. Sava was also a priest and was extremely popular and well-known in Orthodox iconography. He was born as Rastko, the son of the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja (c. 1113—1199) and left his secular duties to join the religious of Athos, then stayed longer at the Vatopedi monastery, and at Serbian Hilandar, where his father died as one of the monks, bearing the name of Simeon. Simeon was canonised at his son’s instigation in 1209. St. Sava contributed to the recognition of the autocephaly of the Serbian archbishopric and became its first superior. St. Sabbas of Jerusalem was not a bishop, so this detail appears to indicate that the central figure depicted in the medallion could be his spiritual successor and namesake, who also worked on the typicon, founded numerous monasteries and wrote multiple and important liturgical texts. It can be assumed that his own monastery may have been interested in promoting the memory of their patron saint, who could hold the model of the temple together with his father, St. Simeon, as depicted on a masterfully crafted encolpion like many others issued by the monastery workshops. Both monks often appeared in the frescoes of Serbian Orthodox churches in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, for instance in Mileševa, in the church of Our Lady of

<sup>17</sup> Analysis of the cross: Mango 1988: 41—49. See Kruk 2019: 270—271.





**Fig. 6.** Sts Simeon and Sava. Icon, 15<sup>th</sup> c., tempera on wood, 32.5 × 26 cm. Belgrade, National Museum (after Weitzmann et al. 1966: cat. and fig. 201).

**Рис. 6.** Святые Симеон и Савва. Икона, XV век, темпера по дереву, 32,5 × 26 см. Белград, Национальный музей (по Weitzmann et al. 1966: cat. and fig. 201).



**Fig. 7.** Zacharije Orfelin (Захарија Орфелин). St. Sava Serbian and St. Simeon holding a temple model. Print, 1780, 54.0 × 37.0 cm. Rijeka, Orthodox church (after Davidov 2006: fig. 136).

**Рис. 7.** Захария Орфелин. Св. Савва Сербский и св. Симеон держат модель храма. Печать, 1780 г., 54,0 × 37,0 см. Риека, православная церковь (по Davidov 2006: fig. 136).

Ljevič in Prizren, or the royal church in Studenica (1313—14), as well as in the icon from that period preserved in Hilandar, repainted in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Knoben, Squarr 1976: col. 299)<sup>18</sup>, and in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century icon from the National Museum in Belgrade.<sup>19</sup> (fig. 6).

Particularly important, also due to the presumed dating of the medallion, is the composition with the Serbian St. Sava and St. Simeon both holding a temple model in the engraving by Zacharije Orfelin (Захарија Орфелин) of 1780 (Davidov 2006: cat. 86, fig. 136) (fig. 7). The print has been preserved in the Orthodox church in Rijeka, and was created at the instigation of Athanasius Terpik, a Hilandar monk; its replica has survived at the Hilandar monastery. The attribute of both figures are crowns lying at their feet, signifying their resignation from secular power in favour of spiritual vocation. St. Sava is described as the

Serbian archbishop, and St. Simeon as the Serbian tsar. The model in their hands should be interpreted as the Hilandar monastery. St. Sava wears episcopal vestments and a miter on his head and gives a blessing with his right hand, while Simeon is dressed in monastic clothing and holds a cross in his left hand.

The figure of the monk standing behind Sava remains mysterious. Is he the spiritual patron St. Sava, e.g., St. Sabbas of Jerusalem, or rather someone else? In the popular depictions of the Nemanjić family tree, almost all figures wear royal attires and carry crowns on their heads. The only exceptions are St. Sava and St. Simeon, distinguished either by being placed in the centre of composition — as in the print by Zacharije Orfelin of 1765, in which St. Simeon wears a religious attire and holds a scroll, staff and a cross (Davidov 2006: cat. 96, fig. 157)<sup>20</sup> — or at the bottom of the family tree — as in the 1708 print from Dečani (serb. Дечани) (Davidov 2006: fig. 183). As a rule, they were also paired as patrons of not only the Hilandar monastery, but also the

<sup>18</sup> In the apse of the church in Peč from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, St. Sabbas was next to the liturgy Fathers: St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom (Knoben, Squarr 1976: col. 298).

<sup>19</sup> *Sts Simeon and Sava*, icon, 15<sup>th</sup> c., temp. on wood, 32.5 × 26 cm, Belgrade, National Museum (Weitzmann et al. 1966: cat. and fig. 201).

<sup>20</sup> The so-called *Srbijak*, or a set of images of Serbian tsars, princes, despots and archbishops.

one in Studenica — as in the graphic panorama of 1740 with the bust of the Mother of God on top (Davidov 2006: cat. 111, fig. 136). Therefore, St. Simeon as the first Serbian king, and St. Sava as the first Serbian Archbishop ideologically cemented this type of compositional schemes, additionally tied with the image of the Mother of God, to whom these monasteries usually were dedicated. In Andrej Pavlov's print of 1817, they jointly raise the image of the Mother of God over the Hilandar monastery (Davidov 2006: cat. and fig. 328; Davidov et al. 2004: fig. at p. 154). (fig. 8).

### Artistic Environment and Dating

According to Yuri Pyatnitsky, the encolpion can be considered a Balkan work from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. One could attempt to indicate the origin of the work more precisely — as from the monastic environment of Mount Athos. Similar items were produced at the monasteries of Iviron, Simonopetra and Hilandar. From the Serbian Hilandar monastery comes, for example, the diptych by Uglješa Despotović with the image of Mary enthroned with Jesus surrounded by prophets, in an expensive mount decorated with filigree and gemstones, dated to 1368—69 (Petković 1999: fig. 65). The Iviron monastery is linked with the blessing cross dated to 1593—1615, similarly set with stones, probably garnets and pearls alternately, embedded in bezels (i.e., just like in the Krakow medallion), with stylised floral motifs in the background (Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997a: cat. 9.41). Certain fragments are developed similarly in this type of works — for instance, parallelly arranged strands of hair — but the garment folds have a slightly different arrangement. The Krakow object displays greater simplification and rhythm of the folds that are arranged parallelly, which makes it resemble the Serbian work, but other features, such as the motif of freely outlined flowers on the robe of the bishop in the middle, indicate much later analogies.

Similar folds can be found, for instance, in the figure of St. George killing the dragon in the double-sided encolpion from the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Belgrade (Музеј примене уметности), dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and attributed to an unknown workshop in Serbia (Радојновић 1974: cat. 1, fig. on p. 80). Its back side features a depiction of the Mother of God and Jesus with St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist. However, while there are certain similarities in the medallion's style and execution, it is two times smaller and its silver mount, with more modest decoration, is devoid of additional inlays, which was characteristic for the majority of works of this type.



**Fig. 8.** Andrej Pavlov. St. Sava Serbian and St. Simeon, print, 1817 (after Davidov, Miodragović, Todorović 2004: fig. 32).

**Рис. 8.** Андрей Павлов. Св. Сава Сербский и св. Симеон. Печать, 1817 г. (по Davidov, Miodragović, Todorović 2004: fig. 32).

I would consider two episcopal encolpions from the Simonopetra Monastery, dated to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a close analogy to the encolpion in discussion (Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997b: cat. 9.57; Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997c: cat. 9.58) (fig. 9; 10). Similarities can be observed in both the manner of depicting the prophets in the wooden relief of the medallion and in the subtle openwork decoration of the mount involving filigree and rhythmically embedded pearls. The first object is made of wood with the use of silver, enamel, glass paste stones and beads, and the other one — also of wood, in the mount of silver-gilt, gemstones and enamel. The objects are of similar size as the Krakow encolpion: dia. 9 cm and 15×9.2 cm, respectively. Both are double-sided: the first one has a Marian theme on the front: *Mother of God Surrounded by Prophets*, and a Christological theme on the back: *Christ Surrounded by Apostles*. The other medallion has *Annunciation* on the front, and *St. George Killing the Dragon* on the back.

It was therefore a frequent practice to combine Marian themes with Christological themes, or with images of more popular saints. As determined by Yota Iconomaki-Papadopoulou, Marian themes contained a context pointing at the apo-



**Fig. 9.** Double-Sided Encolpion: Mother of God Surrounded by Prophets / Christ Surrounded by Apostles, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c., diam. 9 cm. Athos, Monastery of Simonopetra (after Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997: cat. 9.57).

**Рис. 9.** Двусторонний энколпион: Богородица в окружении пророков / Христос с апостолами. 2-я половина XVIII в., диам. 9 см. Афон, монастырь Симонопетра (по Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997: cat. 9.57).



**Fig. 10.** Double-Sided Encolpion: Annunciation / St. George Killing the Dragon, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c., 15 x 9.2 cm, Athos, Monastery of Simonopetra (after Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997: cat. 9.58).

**Рис. 10.** Двусторонний энколпион: Благовещение / св. Георгий убивает дракона. 2-я половина XVIII в., 15 x 9,2 см. Афон, монастырь Симонопетра (по Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997: cat. 9.58).

theosis of the Act of Incarnation, suggested by the use of floral motifs referring to the idea of the Tree of the Jesse, which could be combined with, e.g., the subject of the *Hymns of Prophets*.<sup>21</sup> It should be emphasised that such an idea is also expressed in the medallion without the mount from the MNK collection, in which the Tree of Jesse is surrounded by six scenes from the Gospels (Kruk 2010: 14f). The researcher pointed out that wooden encolpions from that period are characteristically carved in a way that resembles rather engraving than sculpting. What is more, while discussing two other similar works from the Protaton monastery, the scholar expressed the opinion that objects of this type, generally dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, were made in monastic centres in the Balkans, and the intensive use of filigree is characteristic for pendants from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to

the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Iconomaki-Papadopoulou 1997: 364—65).

The conclusions presented by the scholar can be related to the encolpion in discussion. Its features suggest that it was made in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, probably in one of the monastic centres on Mount Athos, perhaps at Simonopetra or — even more plausibly — at Hilandar; and all the more so if the figures depicted in the medallion actually are St. Sava, the first Serbian Archbishop, and St. Simeon, his father and the first Serbian king.

### Postscriptum

After having prepared the text for print, I asked prof. Alexander Musin for advice about the third person in the medallion. Initially he supposed it could be St. Nicholas, but finally decided that, in his opinion, it is almost certainly the monk Theodosios Koinobites (ca. 424—529). Indeed he cooperated with St. Sabas against monophysitism in Palestine although his coenobium had dif-

<sup>21</sup> About the iconography of this topic: Kruk 2017: 53—68.



ferent, more hierarchical system of administration (Patrich 1995: 355): “It was the desert monks led by Sabas and Theodosius who set the tone and dictated to Patriarch John the position to be adopted in defense of Orthodoxy” (Patrich 1995: 44). He appeared with St. Sava and St. Simeon next to each other on the north wall of the church of St. Nicetas near Skopje (1321—1324). “Being put unto the same row with famous founders of monastic communities Simeon and St. Sava, again united as ktetors and founders of the Athonite monastery, represent the Serbian monastic community among famous holy ascetics” (Adashinskaya 2009: 47 and fig. 15).

Another Theodosius called of Hilandar (d. after 1348), an Author of canons in honor of both saints in Greek, caused that not later than in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Hilandar a liturgical worship was born in honor of Saint Sava and Simeon, which could have led to Greek liturgical tra-

dition where both saints were inseparably connected with each other in difference to the Slavic tradition (Темчин 2012: 604). He was also the Author of St. Sava’s life (end of the 13<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century; Wolski 2012: 54), which, along with others, was re-developed in Greek by Genadius, a former metropolitan of Aleppo in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Темчин 2012: 598).

St. Simeon and St. Sava were in effect depicted in two ways: “The first one had dynastic content, but did not imply the unification of the two saints” and the second of “Hilandarian origin and always preserved some reference to this monastic community, where both saints were venerated as monks and ascetics [...] glorified as the first ktetors of the Athonite monastic Serbian community [in Hilandar], “teachers” showing the way of salvation to those who desired to be monks” (Adashinskaya 2010: 92).

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