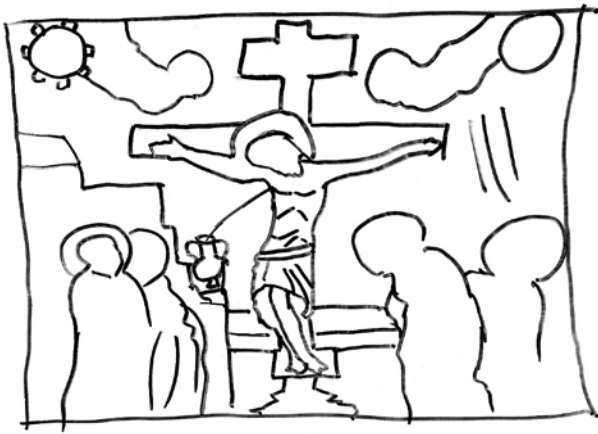Saška BOGEVSKA

THE HOLY TRINITY IN THE DIOCESE OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF OHRID IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 13th CENTURY*

Abstract: This article will discuss two representations of the Holy Trinity found within the bishopric of Kastoria, the *protothronos* of Ohrid archbishopric. The unusual representations date from the second half of the 13th century and are painted in the context of the attempts for the Union of the Churches or the controversial Lyons Union of 1274. I commence with the hypothesis that iconographically these two representations were probably introduced from Western art, since the two churches have other iconographic, architectural and sculptural elements inspired from Western artistic production. The bishopric of Kastoria was eventually in favor of the Union, which was, I believe, the official point of view of the see of Ohrid. However, it is very difficult to prove the existence of a pro-union message through the Trinity images, especially in the sense of the apparent representation of the Holy Spirit Procession. The iconography of the two Trinity images from Kastoria and Omorphokklesia remains ambiguous and manifests a complex dogmatic and artistic climate in the second half of the 13th century.

Representations of the Holy Trinity were frequently discussed in Art History and their complex theological content was often debated. My present research is concentrated on two rare representations of the Holy Trinity from the monumental art of the13th century: the first example is that of the church Panagia Koubelidiki built on the Acropolis of Kastoria and the second is that of Saint George at Omorphokklesia in the vicinity of Kastoria. The particular iconographical features of these two representations, that are the sole representations of the Holy Trinity in 13th century art

in the diocese of the archbishopric of Ohrid, were already studied. However, it is my contention that their iconography should be reconsidered. What is very intriguing about these representations is the specific moment of their appearance in art and the geographically restricted area in which they are found. They are both dated to the second half of the 13th century and they are both located within the diocese of the bishopric of Kastoria, the *protothronos* of the archbishopric of Ohrid. It seems to me that this space-time concordance is not a coincidence. Authors that studied these two representations believe that they are linked to the particular moment of the Church Union in Lyons from 1274, and that the Trinity iconography in these churches expressed the Orthodox point of view on the procession of the Holy Spirit. I think that a purely iconographical study on these two representations cannot give a clear answer on this subject, and I propose in this paper to use an interdisciplinary methodology (iconographical and historical) in order to better comprehend the Trinity representations. The present study will also discuss the politico-ecclesiastic and artistic contexts in the second half of the 13th century on the soil of the archbishopric of Ohrid and its possible connection to the Trinity representations. The main goal is to examine to which extent the politico-ecclesiastic and dogmatic preoccupations of the period have found their reflection in art.

1° Representations of the Holy Trinity in the 13th century: iconographical observations

The Holy Trinity is rarely depicted in Christian art until the 11th century[1]. In the 12th century in both

---

[1] C. Scouteris, Image, symbol and language in relation to the Holy Trinity: Some preliminary remarks, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 36 (1992), 257-271. It

Eastern[2] and Western[3] artistic production, we find examples of the Holy Trinity represented in different

is well known that the Holy Trinity was omnipresent in the early Christian writings, and some authors remarked the absence or scarce remaining of images of the Holy Trinity compared to literature evidences on this subject. The earliest Trinity representation, although very disputed, seems to be the representation of the Creation of Eve on the Lateran Museum sarcophagus, dated around 400 A. D., where three bearded men participate in Eve's creation and are identified as the Holy Trinity. A. Heimann, Trinitas Creator Mundi, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* Vol. 2, No. 1 (July 1938), 42 ff.; H. S. Francis, The Holy Trinity, *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 48/4 (Apr., 1961), 59-62. Symbolic Trinities in the representation of the Baptism, for example, are also present in early Christian period, but the anthropomorphic Trinities were painted only at the beginning of the 11th century by Anglo-Saxon artists. If we exclude a dubious representation of the Trinity in a Lorsch MS, to which the name "Trinity" has been added by another hand (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Ms Pal. Lat. 834, fol. 28), the oldest Western anthropomorphic Trinities turn out to be the one in the Sherborn Pontifical Manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. MS 943, fols. 5*v*., 6, 6*v*.); the one from the British Museum (Harley MS 603, fol. 1); and that of ca. 1050 A. D. in the Psalter of Bury St. Edmund's (Vat. Regin. Ms lat. I2, fol. 88). E. H. Kantorowicz, The Quinity of Winchester, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Jun., 1947), 76, n. 23 with bibliography.

[2] In two Byzantine manuscripts the Holy Trinity (Three identical men) is represented in the 12th century. It is the case with the representation of the Holy Trinity in the Ms. Staurou 109, the liturgical roll from Jerusalem (A. Grabar, Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), fig. 17) and the Trinity on the f. 113*v* from the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos (Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 1162). C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco (Cod. Vatic. Gr. 1162)*, Roma 1910, fig. 48; H. Omont, Miniatures des homélies sur la Vierge du moine Jacques: Manuscrit grec 1208 de la B. N. de Paris, *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures* 11 (1927), pl. XIX. This type of representations, according to some scholars inspired the western representation. O. Gillen, *Ikonographische Studien zum Hortus deliciarum der Herrad von Landsberg*, (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, Bd. 9), Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin 1931, 50, figs. 17, 18; Heimann, op. cit. n. 1, 47 ff.; A. M. D'Achille, Sull'iconografia Trinitaria Medievale: la Trinità del Santuario sul Monte Autore presso Vallepietra, *Arte Medievale* 2nd serie V/1 (1991), 49-73; S. Piazza, *Pittura rupestre medievale: Lazio e Campania settentrionale, secoli VI-XIII*, Rome 2006, 125-128.

[3] In Western art, the Holy Trinity in the form of three men/angels appears in the scenes representing the Creation from the 12th century. This is the case with the Walters Bible (monastery of Michelbeuren), the Gerhard Bible at Admont and the Gumpert Bible at Erlangen. G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei* I-II, Leipzig 1913, pl. XXIV, fig. 82, pl. XXVII, fig. 92. 3, pl. XXXIV, fig. 114. In Herrad

Fig. 1 Trinity, Church of the Virgin Koubelidiki, Kastoria, c. 1260-1280 (From: S. Pelekanidis, M. Chatzidakis, Kastoria, Athènes 1985, fig. 7 on the p.89)

forms: symbolic[4], triandric-horizontal[5], or hieratic-

of Landsberg's Hortus Deliciarum, dated in the ninth decade of the 12th century, destroyed in 1870, three identical seated male figures, are identified as 'Sancta Trinita'. A. Straub, G. Keller, *Hortus Deliciarum par l'Abbesse Herrade de Landsperg*, Strasbourg 1879-1899, fol. 8a. See also: Heimann, op. cit. n. 1, 45, fig. b; A. M. D'Achille, Un Problema di Iconografia Trinitaria tra Oriente e Occidente: l'affresco di Vallepietra e le Immagini di Faras (Nubia). Convergenze Poligenetiche o Emergenze Corradicali ?, *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Parma, 21-25 Settembre 2004. a Cura di A. C. Quintavalle*, Milano 2007, 513.

[4] On this subject see: F. Boespflug, Y. Zaluska, Le dogme trinitaire et l'essor de son iconographie en Occident de l'époque carolingienne au IVe Concile du Latran (1215), *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 147 (1994), 181-240.

[5] M. Alpatoff, La Trinité dans l'art byzantin et l'icône de Roublev, *Echos d'Orient 146 avril-juin 1927,* 150-186. The representations of the Deity in the shape of three identical men is an antic formula, reused in the Christian art. On the subject see: D'Achille, op. cit. n. 3, 511-524 especially 513; M. Mayer, The window of Testimony: A Sign of Physical or Spiritual Conception?, *Interactions: Artistic Interchange Between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period, (ed.) C. Hourihane*, Princeton 2007, 245-259. In monumental art, the representation of the Hospitality of Abraham, where the three visitors are

Fig. 2 Trinity, London Psalter BL. Ms. Harley 603, f. 1, end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century (From: F. Boespflug, Y. Zaluska, Le dogme trinitaire et l'essor de son iconographie en Occident de l'époque carolingienne au IVe Concile du Latran (1215), Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 147 (1994), fig. 4)

Fig. 3 Trinity, Suppl. Gr 52 fol. 1v, Vienna, 12th century (From: O. Mazal, Byzanz und das Abendland : Ausstellung der Handschriften und Inkunabelsammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Handbuch und Katalog, Graz 1981, 482-483, pl. 25)

esting, and already studied representation of the Holy Trinity (fig. 1)[8]. The painting in Koubelidiki occupies the vault of the narthex and its iconographic type is that of the Paternity[9]. The Father in the form of the Ancient of Days is seated on a rainbow (Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ

vertical[6]. In the church of Panagia Koubelidiki (c. 1260-1280)[7] from Kastoria there exists a very inter-

_____

named the Holy Trinity appear in Cappadocia in the middle of the 11th century: Karanlık kilise (C. Jolivet-Lévy, Aspects de la relation entre espace liturgique et décor peint à Byzance, *Études Cappadociennes*, Londres 2002, ill. 10) et Çarıklı kilise (G. Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin, Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce I*, Paris 1925, 464, pl.128; M. Restle, *Die Byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien II*, Recklinghausen 1967, ill. 206). Afterword, we find the same representation in the Chapel of Dragutin, in the Church of Saint George's Pillars, Ras (1283-1285) and in the sanctuary of the Church in Gračanica (1319-1321) (B. Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting, The Age of Milutin*, Belgrade 1999, pl. II, fig. 89; B. Todić, *Грачаница-сликарство*, Belgrade 1988, ill. 28), etc.

[6] On the vertical Trinities named Paternity see: cf. infra. n. 9. The first vertical representation of the Father holding the Crucifix with the dying Christ and the Holy Spirit as a Dove is found in the beginning of the 12th century: Gospels of Perpignan (1100) (Boespflug, Zaluska, op. cit. n. 4, fig. 5). One miniature on vellum from the Codex of Deutz of Cologne is also an early dated example (1145-1150). Francis, op. cit. supra n. 1, 59-62, fig. 1.

[7] On the date in the seventh or eight decade of the 13th century (1260-1280) that we accept also: C. Mavropoulou-Tsoumi, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στην Κουμπελίδικη της Καστοριάς*, Thessaloniki 1973, 114-117; S. Pelekanidis, M. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, Athènes 1985, 87 et 89.

[8] Mavropoulou-Tsoumi, op. cit. n. 7, 85-89; N. G. Daskalaki, *Παναγιά η Κουμπελίδικη: οδηγός του επισκέπτη*, Thessalonique 1992; S. Pelekanidis, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Πρέσπας*, Thessaloniki 1960, 100-101; I. Sisiou, Το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα στον τρούλο της Παναγίας Κουμπελίδικης και ο κοιμητηριακός χαρακτήρας του ναού, *Niš and Byzantium VI Symposium, Niš, 3 - 5 June 2007, The Collection of Scientific Works VI, ed. M. Rakocija*, Niš 2008, 246-262; Chatzidakis, Pelekanidis, op. cit. n. 7, 84.

[9] On this iconographic type see: A. Heimann, L'iconographie de la Trinité; Une formule byzantine et son développement en Occident, *l'Art chrétien* 1 (octobre 1934), 37-59; H. G. Gerstinger, Über Herkunft und Entwicklung der anthropomorphen byzantinisch-slawischen Trinitätsdarstellung des sogennanten Synthronoi-und Paternitas (Otéchestwo) Typus, *Festschrift W. Sas-Zaloziecky zum 60. Geburtstag*, Graz 1956, 79-85; S. A. Papadopoulos, Essai d'interprétation du thème iconographique de la Paternité dans l'art byzantin, *Cahiers archéologiques* 18 (1968), 121-136; M. Andaloro, La Decorazione Pittorica Medievale di Grottaferrata e il suo Perduto Contesto, *Roma Anno 1300, Atti della IV Settimana di Studi di Storia dell'arte Medievale dell'Università di Roma « La Sapienza », 19-24 Maggio 1980, a Cura di Angiola Maria*

Fig. 4 Trinity, Suppl. Gr 52 fol. 1*r, Vienna, 12ᵗʰ century
(From: O. Mazal, Byzanz und das Abendland : Ausstellung der Handschriften und Inkunabelsammlung der
Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Handbuch und Katalog, Graz 1981, 482-483, pl. 25)

YIOC)[10], holding, in his lap, a bearded and long-haired Christ (IC XC O ΘC ΗΜΩΝ). It is the second person of the Holy Trinity - the Son. The Holy Spirit (ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ) in the form of the dove, placed in a medallion of light, is in Christ's hands. Only God, the Father, has a cruciform nimbus. This kind of so-called "vertical Trinity" is quite rare in Western and Eastern art before the 13ᵗʰ century.

Representations of God the Father holding the Son (Binity) are found in Byzantine art, but the first examples of the Paternity type of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Spirit) were first executed in Western art[11]. The early occidental Paternity type of the Trin-

ity (fig. 2) differs from the Koubelidiki hieratical and frontal representation (fig. 1) so much so that authors consider it as an independent iconographical development[12].

In fact, the Koubelidiki image is iconographically closer to the miniature representation from the Vienna Codex (ÖNB, Suppl. Gr. 52, fol. 1*v*) dated to the 12ᵗʰ century (fig. 3)[13]. The Nicene/Constantinople

_____

Romanini, Rome 1983, 253-273, especially 159; Boespflug, Zaluska, op. cit. n. 4, 197-201.

[10] We give the inscriptions according to: Mavropoulou-Tsoumi, op. cit. n. 7, 85.

[11] It seems that the first representation of the Paternity type of Trinity is a miniature from London Psalter, BL. Ms. Harley 603, f. 1 dated to the end of the 10ᵗʰ or the beginning of the 11ᵗʰ century. Other representations, such as that of Codex Ostroviensis (Prague, Library of Metropolitan Chapter, ms. A 57/1, f. 83) from the second half of the 12ᵗʰ century, that of the Weingarten Monastery (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliohek, Aa 32, f. 171) from 1215, or the capital of Saint-James from Compostelle, testify the popularity of the hieratical and vertical Trinities in the Western art. See: Boespflug, Zaluska, op. cit. n. 4, 198-200, fig. 4,

pl. IIc, pl. IIIa. See also: F. Boespflug, *Dieu et ses images, Une histoire de l'Eternel dans l'art*, Montrouge 2008, 142-177.

[12] Boespflug, Zaluska, op. cit. n. 4, 198-199. One horizontal Binity which was eventually a Trinity is found in the 13ᵗʰ century Church of Tatlarin (church B), Cappadocia. C. Jolivet-Lévy, Art chrétien en Anatolie turque: le témoignage de peintures inédites à Tatlarin, *Études Cappadociennes*, London 2002, 278-284.

[13] It is a Manuscript of the New Testament, representative of the Byzantine text-type with exception for the Catholic epistles. K. Aland, M. Welte, B. Köster, K. Junack, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neues Testaments*, Berlin, New York 1994, 47; K. Aland, B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: an Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, Michigan 1995, 137. See also: Gerstinger, op. cit. n. 9, fig. 4; Papadopoulos, op. cit. n. 9, fig. 10; O. Mazal, *Byzanz und das Abendland: Ausstellung der Handschriften und Inkunabelsammlung der Öster-*

Creed is written in the beginning of the Gospel of Mathew (fig. 4). Above the text, on folio 1*v,* there is a very interesting composition. In a central mandorla the Father is represented as the Ancient of Days (.ΑΛΑΙΟ. ΗΜΕΡῶΝ [sic]) seated on the throne and holding the Son, bearded and long-haired (fig. 3). The Christ figure is holding the dove, whereas the whole composition is named "The Holy Trinity" (Η ΆΓΊΑ ΤΡΙΆC). Only the Father and the Son have cruciform halos. The Father has placed his feet on a red pillow sur-rounded by Thrones (Burning Wheels), Cherubs, Seraphims, Archangels and Angels[14]. The vision-ary character of this representation[15] is stressed by the presence of a small person on the next folio 1*r* (facing the Trinity representation) (fig. 4). Named Ὁ ΆΝΘΡωΠΟC "man" and dressed in blue habits, he raises his hands in the direction of the Trinity[16]. He is painted on the floral ground identified as "the Earth" (Ή Γῆ [sic.]). Thus, it is clear that the man is placed in the terrestrial context with the Nicene Creed inscribed in front of him, and the Trinity representation is in the ce-lestial register representing God's eternal reign. The origins of this manuscript are still under dis-cussion in academic circles. Some authors belive that the manuscript is a purely Byzantine work[17]. Others think that it was produced in the Italo-

Fig. 5 Trinity (second half of the 13ᵗʰ century) and Pentecost (12ᵗʰ century), Grottaferrata (From: S. Parenti, Il Monastero di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo (1004-1462), Orientalia Christiana Analecta 274, Roma 2005, fig. 10)

Greek communities of Southern Italy[18] just like the representation found on the east wall of the church in the Grottaferrata monastery (fig. 5)[19]. In this Italo-Greek monastery, a representation of the Holy Trin-ity of the Paternity type was painted in the second

reichischen Nationalbibliothek, Handbuch und Katalog, Graz 1981, 482-483, pl. 25, N° 384; H. Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, t. 4 Supplementum Graecum*, Vienne 1994, 97-100;

[14] The angelic powers that surround the throne of God are inspired by the Vision of the prophet Ezekiel (Ez. I, 15-21). They are frequently depicted in the Theophanic Visions in the apsidal conchs of Cappadocia. C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, Le Programme icono-graphique de l'abside et de ses abords,* Paris 1991, 16. The Burning Wheels acquire independence from the Vi-sion and represent the category of angelic powers named Thrones, the God seats. They appear also in the Last Judg-ment. N. Thierry, L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine, *Section d'Histoire de la Faculté des lettres 11* (1979), 326.

[15] Man watching God's glory with hands raised in a sign of stupefaction is common for Theophanic Visions iconogra-phy starting with Osios David's apsidal mosaics. Boespf-lug, op. cit. n. 11, 142 with bibliography.

[16] Mazal, op. cit. n. 13, pl. 25; Boespflug, op. cit. n. 11, 142, fig. 16.

[17] Heimann, op. cit. n. 9, 37-59; S. Parenti, Il Monastero di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo (1004-1462), *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 274, Roma 2005, 257. See also pre-vious scholars discussions on this subject: Papadopoulos, op. cit. n. 9, 136 n. 80.

[18] Ibidem., 134 n. 72 with bibliography. Hunger, op. cit. n.

13, 100; Mazal, op. cit. n. 13, 483.

[19] On the Grottaferrata decoration see: G. Matthiae, *Gli af-freschi di Grottaferrata e un'ipotesi cavalliniana*, Rome 1970; C. Bartelli, La Mostra degli affrechi di Grottafer-rata, *Paragone* 21, N° 249 (1970), 91-101; Andaloro, op. cit. n. 9, 253-287; M. Berger, Les peintures de l'abside de S. Stefano à Soleto, Une illustration de l'anaphore en Terre d'Otrante à la fin du XIVᵉ siècle, *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, 94-1 (1982), 149-151; A. M. Giannella, Il Mosaico della Dis-cesa dello Spirito Santo a Grottaferrata, *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 40 (1986), 187-214; V. Pace, La Chiesa Abbaziale di Grottaferrata e la sua Decorazi-one nel Medioevo, *Atti del I Colloquio: Fatti, Patrimoni e Uomini Intorno all'abbazia di S. Nilo nel Medioevo, Grottaferrata 1985, Bollettino della Badia greca di Grot-taferrata* 41 (1987), 47-87; M. Andaloro, Polarità Byzan-tine, Polarità Romane nelle Pitture di Grottaferrata e la sua decorazione nel Medioevo, *Fatti, Patrimoni e Uomini Intorno all'Abbazia di S. Nilo nel Medioevo (Atti del Col-loquio internazionale 26-28 aprile 1985)*, Grottaferrata 1988, 47-87; H. L. Kessler, Una Chiesa Magnificamente

Fig. 6 Detail of the Dormition in Koubelidiki
(From: S. Pelekanidis, M. Chatzidakis, Kastoria, Athènes 1985,
fig. 10 on the p.90)

half of the 13th century: the Father is holding the Son and the Son the Holy Spirit. The three persons have a cruciform nimbus, and for some authors this is an iconographic motif that stresses their divine unity[20]. These vertical and hieratical representations are considered to be the illustration of the procession of the Holy Spirit for some scholars[21] or the sign of spiritual paternity for others[22]. Since the Church Schism of

1054, one of the main conflicts that opposed the two Churches was the procession of the Holy Spirit; the theologians of the Eastern Church teach that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and Latin Church theologians defend the doctrine that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, constituting the famous *filioque* controversy[23]. In the Vienna Codex, the Father and the Son have a cruciform nimbus, but not the Holy Spirit, which is a sign of certain hierarchy amongst the three persons. Is it the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son? This illumination is painted in connection to the text of the Nicene/ Constantinople Creed, but the *credo* is inscribed without the *filioque* formula[24], which complicates the interpretation of this representation. The office of the Trinity Feast seems to have been composed in the West already by the 10th century and spread very fast throughout medieval monastic communities[25]. Greek monks in Grottaferrata were also spiritually attached to Rome, and had accepted the Roman symbol of the faith and *filioque* in the first half of the 13th century[26]. Thus, according to some

Ornata di Pitture, *San Nilo, Il monastero Italo-Bizantino di Grottaferrata 1004-2004. Mille anni di Storia, Spiritualità e Cultura*, Roma 2005, 73-90; Parenti, op. cit. n. 17, 257.

[20] H. C. Kessler, Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum: Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium, *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms, and Regional Traditions*, ed. W. Tronzo (*Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 1*), Bologna 1989, 135-144; H. C. Kessler, L'antica Basilica di San Pietro come Fonte e Ispirazione per la Decorazione delle Chiese Medievali, *Fragmenta Picta: Affreschi e Mosaici Staccati nel Medioevo Romano (Catalogue of an exhibition at the Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome, 1989-90)*, Rome 1989, 45-64, especially 61(decoration that express the Church Union); Parenti, op. cit. n. 17, 258.

[21] Kessler, Caput et speculum op. cit. n. 20, 143. See also: M. Paisidou, Η ανθρωπόμορφη Αγία Τριάδα στον Άγιο Γεώργιο της Ομορφοκκλησιάς Καστοριάς, *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα*, Thessaloniki 2001, 380-383. Others are opposed to this "*filioquiste*" interpretation. H. Belting, Stilzwang un Stilwahl in einem byzantinischen Evangeliar in Cambridge, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*

28 (1975), 229-230.

[22] Kantorowicz, op. cit. n. 1, 85; Papadopoulos, op. cit. n. 9, 136.

[23] The bibliography on the *filioque* disputes in different periods is very abundant. See for example the most recent studies with bibliography: Th. Alexopoulos, Die Argumentation des Patriarchen Gregorios II. Kyprios zur Widerlegung des Filioque-Ansatzes in der Schrift De Processione Spiritus Sancti, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 104 (2011), 1-39; A. E. Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy*, New York 2010; T. Alexopoulos, *Der Ausgang des Thearchischen Geistes: eine Untersuchung der Filioque-Frage anhand Photios' „Mystagogie", Konstantin Melitiniotes' „Zwei Antirrhetici" und Augustins „De Trinitate"*, Göttingen 2009; P. Gemeinhardt, *Die Filioque-Kontroverse zwischen Ost - und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter*, Berlin / New York 2002, etc.

[24] See: G. L. Dossetti, *Il Simbolo di Nicea e di Constantinopoli, Edizione Critica*, Rome, Fribourg, Basel, Barcelona, Vienna 1967, 226 ff.

[25] Rome finaly inscribed this Feast in the Church calendar in 1334. Boespflug, op. cit. n. 11, 168 with bibliography.

[26] In one liturgical text for the Sunday of the Pentecost used in the monks' rites of the monastery the *filioque* formula is inscribed. The text dates from the first half of the 13th century. The Holy Trinity in the Grottafrerrata Church is painted above a fragmentary representation of the Pentecost, executed in mosaics and dating from the 12th century. The link between these two representations is established

Fig. 7 Dormition of the Virgin, manuscript from Ancient Collection Dyson Perrins, 12th century
(From : M-L. Therel, Le triomphe de la Vierge-Eglise : Souces historiques, littéraires et iconographiques : A l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis, Paris 1984, fig. 12)

scholars, in Grottaferrata and in the Vienna Codex (figs. 3 and 5), the procession of the Holy Spirit is represented by the Latin formula of *Patre Filioque*[27].

_____

through the rays emanating from the dove of the Trinity, reminiscent the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles. The first two apostles, seated on both sides of the empty throne, are St. Peter and St. Andrew, the founders of the Western and Eastern Church. Parenti, op. cit. n. 17, 231, 256 et 258. On the latinisation of the Greek monasteries in South Italy in the 13th century see: A. Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie Méridionale post-byzantine, Une acculturation en douceur*, Rome 2009, 510 ff. Trinity is a part of the Pentecost scene in the church of San Stafano of Soleto, dated after 1370, where the Son, painted on the Father's breast, is sending, together with the Father the Holy Spirit as a Dove upon the Virgin's and apostles' heads. The same subject is painted a little bit later in 1394 at Santa Caterina, Galatina. M. Berger, A. Jacob, *La Chiesa di S. Stefano a Soleto: Tradizioni Bizantine e Cultura Tardogotica*, Lecce 2007, 15 et 26 n. 29, figs. at the p. 94. p. 26.

[27] Parenti, op. cit. n. 17, 258.

In the Koubelidiki image, only the Father has the cruciform nimbus. Is it possible to consider that this image represents the Eastern comprehension of the procession of the Holy Spirit? Does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father through the Son as some Eastern Church Fathers claim?[28] It is quite difficult to propose a solution to this problem merely on an iconographic basis. Since the origins of the prototype for this kind of representations is always debated, and the iconographical analysis provides uncertain conclusions, it is useful to understand the Koubelidiki image in its context.

In the Vienna Codex, the Trinity is found at the beginning of the New Testament, immediately before the Gospel of Matthew that starts with the genealogy of Christ. It is thus possible to associate God's paternity with the representation of the Father holding the Son and the Holy Spirit. I presume that the context of the Koubelidiki representation is the same as in the Vienna Codex[29]. The Church of Kastoria is dedicated to the Mother of God, and a cycle of her life is represented below the Trinity image[30]. In Koubelid-

_____

[28] In the Nicene/Constantinople Creed, the Spirit proceeds only from the Father (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον). Nevertheless, some Eastern Church Fathers, used the formula "proceeds from the Father through the Son" (διὰ του Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον). Already St. Basil used the expression "διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ" in his Treaty on the Holy Spirit. Saint Basile le Grand. *Sources chrétiennes* 17 bis (1968), 408-409. See also the formula used by St. Maximus the Confessor in his *Quæstiones ad Thalassium* LXIII. PG. 90, 672 C. Saint John Damascene in his *Dialogus contra Manichæos* 5 says: « [ὁ Πατὴρ] ἀεὶ ἦν, ἔχων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐτοῦ Λόγον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον ». PG. 94, 1512 B. See also J. Damascene, De fide orthodoxa, PG. 94, 849A; P. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes Von Damaskos* IV, Berlin/New York 1981, 354; B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes Von Damaskos* II, Berlin/New York, 36; J. Damascène, La Foi Orthodoxe, *Sources Chrétiennes* 535, 206-207. During the 7th Ecumenical Council in Nicaea from 787, St. Tarasius the Patriarch of Constantinople, defends the same formula: « τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον » (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 12, Graz 1960, 1122 D; E. Lamberz, *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, Concilii Actiones I-III*, Berlin 2008, 236). See the bibliography: cf. supra n. 23.

[29] S. A. Papadopoulos had already interpreted the Vienna and Koubelidiki representations in the context of spiritual paternity, but only the iconographic analogies. Papadopoulos, op. cit. n. 9, 134-136. He was not interested in the relation between the image and the text in the Vienna manuscript, neither in the relation between the Trinity representation in Koubelidiki and the other scenes in the narthex of the church.

[30] Scenes that are represented in the narthex are: the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and the Presentation of the Virgin in

Fig. 8 Cattolica, Stilo (Calabria), Assomption of the Virgin, 15th century (From: F. Burgarella, A. Cilento, Bisanzio in Sicilia e nel Sud dell'Italia, Udine 2006, fig. at the p. 90)

Fig. 9 Trinity, church of Omorphokklesia, 13th century, (From: M. Paisidou, Η ανθρωπόμορφη Αγία Τριάδα στον Άγιο Γεώργιο της Ομορφοκκλησιάς Καστοριάς, Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα, Thessaloniki 2001, fig. 3)

iki it is thus clear that the narthex glorifies Christ's family: his Father, his mother Mary, his grandparents Joachim and Anne, etc[31]. This hypothesis is supported by the epithet given to the Ancient of Days, named explicitly "the Father" (Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ). This is quite a curious epithet in Byzantine art since the Father cannot be represented: his hypostasis as an old man bears usually the epithet "Ancient of Days"[32]. God's Fatherhood in the Koubelidiki image (fig. 1) seems to be the dominant message. However, God revealed himself as the Father only after the Christ's

incarnation, after the manifestation of Christ as the "only begotten Son", the one who reveals the name of God as Father[33]. This representation seems to be an explicit illustration of John 1, 18: "No one has seen God at any time; the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, He has made Him known". But the incarnation could not be possible without the Holy Spirit who descended upon the Holy Virgin, playing the crucial role in God's embodiment. The New Testament insists on the universal Paternity of God and on the fact that through Christ, every human can be "adopted" as God's child. In Ephesians 1,5 it is said: "He (God) predestined us to be adopted as his sons through Jesus Christ, in accordance with his pleasure and will". In this sense, the founder of the Koubelidiki Church possibly considered himself as God's child and hoped to be saved through Christ because "we are God's children now, and what we will be has not yet appeared; but we know that when

---

the Temple, the Trial by Water, and the Betrothal. The only Christological scene in the narthex, is the Entrance to Jerusalem. See: Chatzidakis, Pelekanidis, op.cit. n. 7, 85, 86.
[31] See the complex representation of the Holy Family developed in Western art. B. Newman, Holy Trinity and Holy Family in the late Middle Ages, *Visions of the Other World in Medieval Literature, Religion & Literature* 31/1 (Spring 1999), 77-101, but also: Kantorowicz, op. cit. n. 1, 73-85.
[32] On the God's Hypostasis see: K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, The Icons (from the sixth to the tenth century)*, Princeton/ New Jersey 1976, 41-42 pl. XVIII, LXII-LXIII; I. Sinkević, *The church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi: Architecture, Program, Patronage*, Wiesbaden 2000, 40-43; I. Sisiou, Ο Παλαίος των Ημερών ως Ξεχωριστή εικονογραφική σύλληψη του ζωγράφου Ονούφριου στην Καστοριά, *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* 44 (2007), 537-547, etc.

---

[33] J. Behr, Calling upon God as Father: Augustine and the Legacy of Nicaea, *Orthodox Readings of Augustine, A. Papanikolaou, G. E. Demacopoulos (ed)*, New York 2008, 161-163.

Fig. 10 Detail of the tricefalous Trinity, Omorphoklesia
(From: M. Paisidou, Η ανθρωπόμορφη Αγία Τριάδα στον Άγιο Γεώργιο της Ομορφοκκλησιάς Καστοριάς, Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα, Thessaloniki 2001, fig. 4)

he appears we shall be like him, because we shall see him as he is" (1 John 3, 2). The eschatological character of these verses is in perfect line with the function of the Koubelidiki church, presumably a private funerary chapel[34].

If the occidental origins of the Trinity iconography in Koubelidiki are difficult to prove and the Holy Spirit Procession is not explicitly shown, I do believe that this image was painted in a moment of intense Eastern-Western iconographical exchange. After the Fourth Crusade, Western penetration in art and architecture appeared in numerous provinces such those of the Greek islands and the Peloponnesus[35]. In the

Western Balkans, the presence of the Via Egnatia[36], the road that initially connected the Adriatic Sea and Epirote coast to Constantinople was a means of artis-

---

[34] Sisiou, op.cit. n. 8, 246-262.

[35] See for exemple: M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediter-ranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, New York 2001; H. E. Grossman, *Building Identity: Architecture as Evidence of Cultural Interaction between Latins and Byzantines in Medieval Greece*, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (January 1, 2004), available on: http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3152042; J. Durand, Innovations gothiques dans l'orfèvrerie byzantine sous les Paléologues, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), 333-354; H. E. Grossman, Syncretism Made Concrete: the Case for a Hybrid Moreote Architecture in Post-fourth Crusade Greece, *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in*

Honor of Cecil L. Striker, ed. by J. J. Emerick, D. M. Deli-yannis, Mainz am Rhein 2005, 65-73; M. Georgopoulou, Gothic Architecture and Sculpture in Latin Greece and Cy-prus, *Byzance et le monde extérieur: contacts, relations, échanges: Actes de trois séances du XXᵉ Congrès interna-tional des Etudes byzantines, Paris, 19-25 août 2001, (dir.) M. Balard, E. Malamut, J-M. Spieser,* Paris 2005, 225-253; J-B. de Vaivre, Ph. Plagnieux (dir.), *L'art gothique en Chypre,* Paris 2006; M. Altripp, Der Westliche Einfluß in Byzanz am Beispiel Neutestamentlicher Ikonographie, *37 Kölner Mediaevistentagung, Internationales Kolloquium, Byzanz Knotenpunkt, 14 September 2010, A. Speer, P. Steinkrüger (eds)*, to be released soon, etc.

[36] On the Via Egnatia, see: E. G. Leonard, *Les angévins de Naples,* Paris 1954, 13 ff.; A. Ducellier, *La façade mari-time de l'Albanie au Moyen Age, Durazzo et Valona du XIᵉ au XVe siècle*, Thessalonique 1981, 25 et 76 ff.; V. Bitra-kova-Grozdanova, Прилог за Via Egnatia на делницата Lychnidos-Pons Servilii, *Лихнид 6* (1988), 37-52, fig. 14; E. A. Zachariadou, Marginalia on the History of Epirus and Albania (1380-1418), *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 78 (1988), réimprimé dans Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans ch.* XII, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Aldershot/Burlington 2007, 195

Fig. 11 Santo Stefano Soleto, Trinity and Pentecost, 1370-1385
(From: M. Berger, A. Jacob, La Chiesa di S. Stefano a Soleto: Tradizioni Bizantine e Cultura Tardogotica,
Lecce 2007, fig. at the p. 26)

tic transfer (via sketches, manuscripts or art objects) between East and West[37]. The road started at Dyrrachium and Avlona and continued through Ohrid towards Thessaloniki and Constantinople. Apart from the importation of Western iconographic elements, the presence of a Latin population[38] in the region that

commissioned works by Byzantine artists[39] was also a potential means of artistic penetration. Latin com-

---

ff.; N. Oikonomides, The Medieval Via Egnatia, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium, ch. XIII, Variorum Collected Studies Series*, Aldershot 2004, 9 ff. etc.

[37] See some art objects probably of Western provenance here below (cf. infra n. 88-90). It seems that Venetians dominated commerce in the different harbors of the Ionian Islands and of Epirus. At least as early as the time of Emperor Manuel Comnenos (1143-1180), they had the right to travel for commercial purposes in Epirus and to have specific buildings in some towns of Epirus. These rights were confirmed by Michael I of Epirus in 1210. P. Magdalino, Between Romaniae: Thessaly and Epirus in the Later Middle Ages, *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204, (ed.) B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, D. Jacoby*, London 1989, 143; B. Osswald, The Ethnic Composition of Medieval Epirus, *Imaging frontiers, contesting identities, ed. S. G. Ellis, Lud'a Klusakova*, Pisa 2007, 142-131. See also: L. Safran, Exploring Artistic Links Between Epiros and Apulia in the Thirteenth Century: The Problem of Sculpture and Wall Painting, *Proceedings of the International Symposium "The Despotate of Epirus" (Arta 27-31 May 1990)*, Arta 1992, 453-474.

[38] The presence of the Venetians and Genoans is attested in Epirus, but also the presence of Catholic clerks. Osswald, op. cit. n. 37, 142-131; Magdalino, op. cit. n. 37, 103-104. It is worth mentioning that in 1254, le magister Nicolas from Dyrrachium, who was a hellenophone clerk, was named on the see of Crotone (Calabria) by the Pope. He was a prouniate bishop of Epirote origin, who received his education in Latin schools. Peters-Custot, op. cit. n. 26, 453 n. 106, 454 n. 107. Exchanges of clerks between Italy and Epirus were present in the 13th century.

[39] For instance, the church of the Holy Savior in Rubik (1272), contemporary Albania, has an inscription in Latin and a decor in the Italo-Byzantine style. It seems that the church was used by Benedictine monks. In another church in Albania, Santa Veneranda-Balldren another inscription in Latin is dated in 1462. G. Hoxha, L. Përzhita, F. Cavallini, *Monumente historike të kultit të Krishterë në Dioqezën e Lezhës – Monumenti sotrici di culto cristiano della diocesi di Lezha*, Lezhë 2007, 139-146. On the Latin presence in Albania see: A. Ducellier, La présence latine sur les côtes albanaises du XIe au XIIIe siècle: modalités et conséquences, *Eupsuhia: Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, Paris 1998, 209-223; A. Ducellier, *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise, Xe-XVe siècles*, London 1987. On the Latin influence in the Byzantine architecture of the 13th century see: Ch. Bouras, The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture, *The*

missioners had certainly imposed some iconographic solutions unknown to Greek artistic circles. It is unknown whether the donor of the paintings, who was a Greek-Kastorian aristocrat[40], or the program designer or the artists who worked in this church was behind the iconography for the Trinity representation. The names of the artists are unknown, as are their origins, but other Western iconographic elements are found in the Koubelidiki program. For instance, in the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin, the Christ figure holds the Virgin's soul and both are enclosed in a medallion and are ascending towards the sky (fig. 6), which is not the usual way to represent the Dormition in Byzantine art[41]. The image closest to our representation is that of the manuscript from the Dyson Perrins Collection from the 12th century (fig. 7)[42] and the one from the Cattolica at Stilo in Calabria, dating from the 15th century (fig. 8)[43]. Another important element is that the church of Stilo is, from an architectural point of view, comparable to the church of Koubelidiki. This is a fact that confirms, once more, the circulation of architectural

Fig. 12 Basilica Santa Caterina, Galatina, Trinity and Pentecost, 1394 (From: M. Berger, A. Jacob, La Chiesa di S. Stefano a Soleto: Tradizioni Bizantine e Cultura Tardogotica, Lecce 2007, fig. at the p. 94)

solutions and iconographical elements between these two territorial entities (Southern Italy and Macedonia)[44]. Maybe the Koubelidiki painters were working for both Latin and Greek clients or had access to Western art objects which permitted them to introduce or to reinterpret this new iconographic solution in regional art. The Paternity type of the Trinity did not become popular in Byzantine art later on[45], but it

---

Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World, ed. A.E. Laiou, R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington 2001*, 247-262. See also: Z. Gavrilović, Between Latins and Greeks: Some Artistic Trends in Medieval Serbia (13th-14th Centuries), *Studies in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Art*, London 2001, 110-124, etc.

[40] Sisiou, op.cit. n. 8, 246-262.

[41] This is also the opinion of other authors, who believe that Western elements are present in the Trinity and Dormition images in Koubelidiki. Mavropoulou-Tsoumi, op. cit. n. 7, 60-63, 85-89; Chatzidakis, Pelekanidis, op. cit. n. 7, 85 and 89, fig. 5 on the p. 88, fig. 7 on the p. 90 and fig. 10 on the p. 91; E. Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς τη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Εποχή (12ος -16ος αι.), Ιστορία - Τέχνη - Επιγραφές,* Athens 1997, 69, 92. On the Koubelidiki's Dormition see: J-H. Moitry, *Structure et évolution du schema iconographique de la Dormition de la Vierge dans la peinture Murale byzantine jusqu'au XVe siècle*, Mémoire de Maîtrise de l'Université Paris IV, soutenu à Paris 1982, sous la direction de S. Dufrenne, 187-188. On the Dormition scenes in South Italy see: M. De Giorgi, *La Dormizione di Maria nel Mezzogiorno Medievale: Iconografia e Fonti Liturgiche*, Ph. D. at Birmigham University 2002, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo – Spoleto, to be released soon.

[42] The same iconographic type exists on the Wroclaw tympanon in Poland. M-L. Therel, *Le triomphe de la Vierge-Eglise: Souces historiques, littéraires et iconographiques: A l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis,* Paris 1984, 57, fig. 12.

[43] F. Burgarella, A. Cilento, *Bisanzio in Sicilia e nel Sud dell'Italia*, Udine 2006, fig. at the p. 90. Same scheme is used in the Dormition image in the church San Francesco delle Monache at Aversa, in the crypt of San Francesco at Irsina, etc. M. De Giorgi, Una *Dormitio Virginis* angioina poco nota ad Aversa: il caso di San Francesco delle Monache, *Ottanta anni di un Maestro, Omaggio a Ferdinando Bologna, F. Abbate (ed),* Naples 2006, 97-106; Eadem., La Dormizione della Vergine nella Pittura Medievale di Puglia e Basilicata, *Puglia tra Grotte e Borghi. Insediamenti Rupestri e Insediamenti Urbani: Persistenze e Differenze*, *Atti del II Convegno Internazionale sulla Civiltà Rupestre, Savelletri di Fasano, 24-26 Novembre 2005, E. Menestò (ed)*, Spoleto 2007, 191-220.

[44] On this subject see: C. Bozzoni, Lettura di un monumento: la Cattolica di Stilo, *Calabria Byzantina, Civiltà Bizantina nei Territori di Gerace e Stilo, Atti dell'IX Incontro di Studi Bizantini (Locri-Stilo-Gerace, 6-9 Maggio 1993)*, Soveria Mannelli 1998, 383- 394, especially 388-389.

[45] The Paternity type became popular to certain extent in Russian art in later centuries, but the Byzantine examples are not found again. Gerstinger, op. cit. n. 9, 79-85.
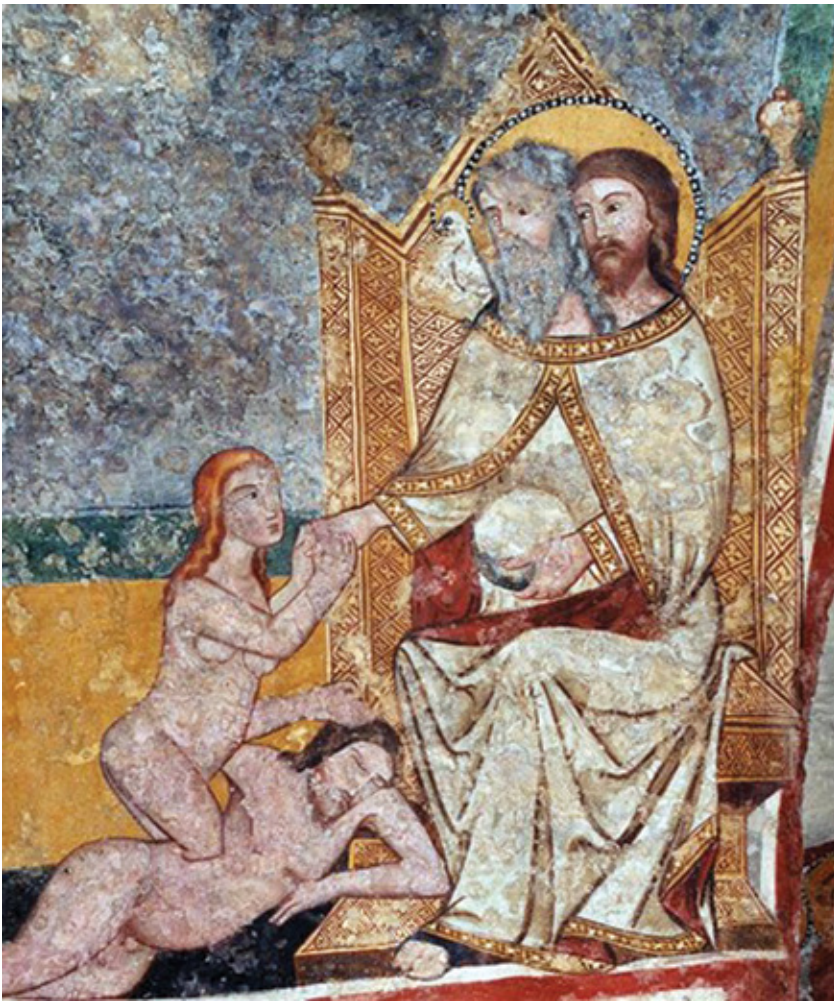
Fig. 13 Santa Croce Andria, Napoli, 14ᵗʰ century

inspired one common type of Trinity representation in the West[46].

The second 13ᵗʰ century representation of the Holy Trinity is located in the church of Saint George at Omorphokklesia (near Kastoria)[47]. The church was founded in the 11ᵗʰ century and, in the 13th century,

it received an additional exonarthex and side annexes[48]. The dedicatory inscription of the church was studied and commented on several occasions, but it seems that the inscription was repainted and dates later than the decoration of the interior[49]. The inscription from Omorphokklesia mentions the brothers *kyrs* Nicephoros, John and Andronikos from the very noble family of Netza. Since the date of this dedicatory inscription is erroneous in Omorphokklesia, the exact date of the paintings is difficult to provide. Authors admit that the paintings in the church date from the period of

---

Monastery of the Panagia Mavriotissa near Kastoria (H. Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrida, Geschichte und Urkunden*, Leipzig 1902, 119-120), where the portrait of Michael VIII is executed. Some paintings survive also in the bell tower of the church of Omorphokklesia and one inscription from 1699 mentions John Stefanou, a native from Moschopolis and "protoscholos" of Kastoria's metropolitan Dionysus Mantoukas (1693-1719). E. G. Stikas, Une église des Paléologues aux environs de Castoria, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958), 100, 108. This inscription testifies to the permanent relations between Kastoria and Omorphokklesia.

[48] S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches*, Vienna 1992, 48. D. M. Nicol thinks that the whole construction dates from the end of the 13ᵗʰ and the beginning of the 14ᵗʰ century. In his opinion, the presence of the belfry in front of the Western façade was introduced in Byzantine architecture by the Crusades and was an entirely Frankish solution. Nicol, op. cit. n. 47, 98-99. E. G. Stikas thinks that the architectural form of the church has nothing to do with some monuments from Arta mentioned by D. M. Nicol, but it seems very close to the churches in Ohrid region such as St. Clement and St. Naum. Stikas, op. cit. n. 47, 100-104. See also: I. Sisiou, The painting of Saint George in Omorfoklisia, Kastoria and the scene of the Koimisis of the Virgin Mary, *Niš and Byzantium III Symposium, Niš, 3 - 5 June 2004, The Collection of Scientific Works III, ed. M. Rakocija*, Niš 2005, 279-291.

[49] The inscription gives the date of 1286/87, but it does not match with the time of the mentioned emperors. The names of Michael IX and his wife Maria are quoted in the inscription, but they got married only in 1294/95. Drakopoulou, op. cit. n. 41, 90-92; N. Giannopoulos, Ὁ ἐν Γραλίστῃ (παρὰ τὴν Καστορίαν) βυζαντιακὸς ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ξύλινιν ἀνάγλυφον τοῦ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 4 (1923), 93-95; P. Tsamisis, *Ἡ*

---

[46] The Paternity scheme was used for a Trinity type named "Throne of Grace" (Father with the crucifix and the Holy Spirit). See: Boespflug, Zaluska, op. cit. n. 4, 200-207, pl. II a-c; pl. III a-d; M. Mallory, An Early Quattrocento Trinity, *The Art Bulletin* 48/1 (March 1966), 85-89; Francis, op. cit. n. 1, 59-62; G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art 2, The Passion of Jesus Christ,* London 1972, figs. 411-414, 425; M. S. Calo Mariani, Rappresentare il Mistero. Immagini della Trinita in Puglia fra Medioevo e Rinascimento, *Tolleranza e convivenza tra Cristianita ed Islam. L'Ordine dei Trinitari (1198-1998). Atti del Convegno di Studi per gli ottocento anni di fondazione (Lecce, 30-31 gennaio 1998), M. Forcina P. N. Rocca (eds),* Galatina 1999, 9-27.

[47] The medieval name of the village was Kalista or Galista and it is mentioned as a parish of the episcopate of Kastoria in post 15ᵗʰ century documents. D. M. Nicol, Two churches of Western Macedonia, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 49 (1956), 96. In 1684 the village "Kalista from the Kastoria eparchy" was attached as a "stavropegion" to the

Byzantine domination over the region (after 1261)[50], but an earlier date should not be excluded, in my opinion[51].

A surprising representation of the Holy Trinity is painted on the vault of the narthex (figs. 9 and 10). A man dressed in a white habit is seated on the throne, giving a blessing with his two hands, surrounded by a luminous mandorla. The inscription identifies the man as Jesus Christ (IC XC). The most unusual detail of this representation are the three heads emerging from the man's neck. The head of the bearded and old men is placed in the middle, on his right is the head of an infant and on the left, the head of a dove (fig. 10). These heads, surrounded by three intersecting haloes, represent the three hypostases of the Trinity: the Son (infant), the Father (the old man) and the Holy Spirit (the dove). The iconographic specificities of this representation have already been discussed[52], and it is worth mentioning the antique origins of the tricefalous representations[53]. The first representations of the Christian three-headed Trinity are conserved in Western art[54]. Since no Byzantine examples from an earlier date are known, it is logical to look for the possibility of Latin or other inspirations for the Omorphokklesia solution.

Scholars already noted that a three-faced deity exists in the Slavic culture, and M. Paisidou discussed the eventual Bogomil inspiration for the Omorphokklesia representation[55]. Little is known about the Bogomil heresy from primary sources because almost all of their writings are now lost. Byzantine writers mention that they belive in a tricefalous God[56], but almost nothing has survived from Bogomil artistic produc-

Καστοριὰ καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα της, Athens 1949, 124; Nicol, op. cit. n. 47, 96-105; Stikas, op. cit. n. 47, 100-112; Kalopissi-Verti, op. cit. n. 48, 48-49; Sisiou, op. cit. n. 48, 279-292.

[50] D. M. Nicol dated the paintings in 17th century and the construction of the church in the 13th in the Palaiologoi time. Nicol, op. cit. n. 47, 98, 101-102. E. G. Stikas dates the paintings between 1295-1317. Stikas, op.cit. n. 47, 104 and 106-107. D. Mouriki thinks also that the Omorphokklesia paintings stylistically should be dated earlier than the dedicatory inscription. She compares the style of these paintings with those of the catholicon of the Olympiotissa at Elason in Thessaly (dated c. 1300). D. Mouriki, Stylistic trends in Monumental Painting of Greece at the beginning of the Fourteenth century, *L'art byzantin au debut du XIVe siècle, Symposium de Gračanica 1973, ed. S. Petković*, Belgrade 1978, 69. S. Kalopissi thinks that the paintings should be dated to the end of the 13th century or earlier. She points out that the dedicatory inscription seems repainted, because a thin layer covers the original inscription. She thinks also that, paleographically, the letters from the dedicatory inscription and the letters written on the paintings, are not the same. Kalopissi-Verti, op. cit. n. 48, 49. E. Kyriakoudis mentions also the thin layer of later mortar on the inscription. E. Kyriakoudis, Monumental Painting in Kastoria in the Last Decades of the Thirteenth Century and the Frescoes at Arilje, *Свети Ахилије у Ариљу – историја, уметност, Зборник радова научног скупа,* Belgrade 1996, 93. I. Sisiou, presumes that the paintings must have been executed in 1296/97. Sisiou, op.cit. n. 48, 283. See also the stylistic analysis and the dataing between 1270 and 1280 proposed by: Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, 387-392.

[51] The same donors from the Netza family are mentioned in the now ruined church of the Taxiarches in the nearby village of Tsouka, which gives the date of 1255 and mentions instead of John, a certain Jacob. The date of this inscription also poses a chronological problem; the names of Andronicus II (1282-1328), his wife Irene and his son Michael IX with his wife Mary are also mentioned. Kalopissi-Verti, op. cit. n. 48, 48-49 with bibliography. In these two inscriptions (Omorphokklesia and Tsouka) the voluntary *damnantio memoriae* seems to have been performed; the original names of the rulers were replaced with the names of Andronicus II's family. Who were the rulers whose names were erased is difficult to tell. Michael VIII? Theodore Lascaris? John III Vatatzes? Michael II? Asen II? On the subject of *damnatio memoriae* see: A. Milanova, V. Vachkova, T. Stepanov (ed), *Memory and Oblivion in Byzantium*, Sofia, 2011.

[52] Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, 373-394; Sisiou, op.cit. n. 48, 279-292.

[53] Authors think that this kind of representation was familiar in ancient Rome (ex. God Janus), but also in Slavic religious cults. R. Pettazzoni, The Pagan Origins of the Three-Headed Representation of the Christian Trinity, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946), 135-151.

[54] It is a case in Gospels Von Burry Saint Edmund (c. 1120-1140), Ms. 470 from Brussels Library (c. 1200), Ms. 791 from Pierpont Morgan (c. 1220). The formula is also present later in Western art as in the Isidore Chronicle from Seville (14th century), the one from the Hamilton Bible and the Vat. Lat. 350 (middle of the 14th century). Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, figs. 6, 10, 11. Tricefalous representations of the Holy Trinity exist in later centuries in Post-Byzantine art as already pointed out by M. Paisidou, but they are rather rare. It is the case with the three-headed angel in Chilandar monastery (repainted in 1803/04) and the angel from Saint-Phanourios-Balsamoneron Monastery, Crete (1428/31). Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, figs. 14 et 15. The tricefalous Trinity is also represented on an icon of the Virgin with prophets (1607-1628), painted by the priest Stamatios and found at Patmos. M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos, Questions of Byzantine and Post-byzantine Painting*, National Bank of Greece, English edition, Athens 1985, fig. 113 pl. 163. On this icon, the Trinity has three faces, is named Ὁ Παλαιὸς τῶν Ἡμερῶν, is crowning the Virgin and is releasing the Holy Spirit.

[55] Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, 391-392.

[56] The monk Euthymius Zigabenus was charged by the Emperor Alexius I Comnenos (1081-1118) to investigate the Bogomil heresy. He wrote the famous *Panoplia Dogmatica* and in his *Narratio* he describes the Bogomil

tion and it seems impossible to find a direct link between the Omorphokklesia tricefalous representation and the Bogomil heresy. Therefore, iconographic inspiration for this representation, in my opinion, should be looked for in Western art.

The Tricefalous God at Omorphokklesia is represented in all His glory, dressed in a white habit, surrounded by Cherubs and Thrones, and sitting on the throne as a *Majestas Domini*: the Eternal and timeless God. The Patriarch Joseph (1267-1275) defines the Trinity in this manner: "Trois personnes de même nature dans une union sans confusion, et une divinité à trois caractères dont la distinction ne comporte absolument ni séparation ni division, Père, Fils et Esprit-Saint. Le premier, inengendré, est cause unique; le Fils de même nature et l'Esprit remontent donc à l'unique principe et cause, le Père, d'où, sans commencement, éternellement et au-delà de toute cause et raison, ils émanent ensemble comme rayons jumeaux, l'un par génération, l'autre par procession"[57]. In this vein, the

---

comprehension of God: "Then, when he (Jesus Christ) had fulfilled the duty laid upon him, he returned to the Father (Ascension) and sat at his right hand on the throne of Satanael (the angel who seconded God in the creation of the World), who had been cast down. Then he returned whence he came, and was dissolved back into the Father, in whose womb he had been enclosed in the beginning. When he taught his disciples in the world, he gave them the Holy Spirit, that is, the apostolic teaching. Now the Father is presented as something with three faces, a monstrous being; the middle one is of human shape, from which man was created, 'according to His image and likeness' (Gen. 1.26). From each of the Father's temples shines forth a ray, that of the Son to the right and the Spirit to the left. So finally the Father becomes three-faced; before he had only one face". J. Hamilton, B. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies In The Byzantine World c. 650 - c. 1450*, Manchester and New York 1998, 206. The Omorphokklesia tricefalous representation is not particularly orthodox and seems to be exactly the Bogomil "monstrous being" condemned by Byzantines. The Bogomil movement was still existent in the 13th century, especially in the Second Bulgarian kingdom and at time of Asen II (1218-1241/42), and even the Nicaean Patriarch Germanus II was concerned. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: a Study in Balkan neo-manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948, 230 ff, 250. Pope Innocent III was also preoccupied with Bogomil movement, and Gregory IX continued his predecessor's efforts by encouraging Bela IV in 1238 in his wars *contra gentem apostatricem, populum blasphemantem, haereticos videlicet et schismaticos terrae Assani, ipsumque Assanum Dei et Ecclesiae inimicu*. I. Dujčev, II Francescanesimo in Bulgaria nei secoli XIII e XIV, *Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo* 1 (1965), 396. The Serbian king Stephan Dragutin solicited Papal support in 1288 against dualists who were infesting his realm. A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium* 1/I, Rome 1863, 12-13, 22, 77 ff. All these events demonstrate the importance of this movement in the Balkans.
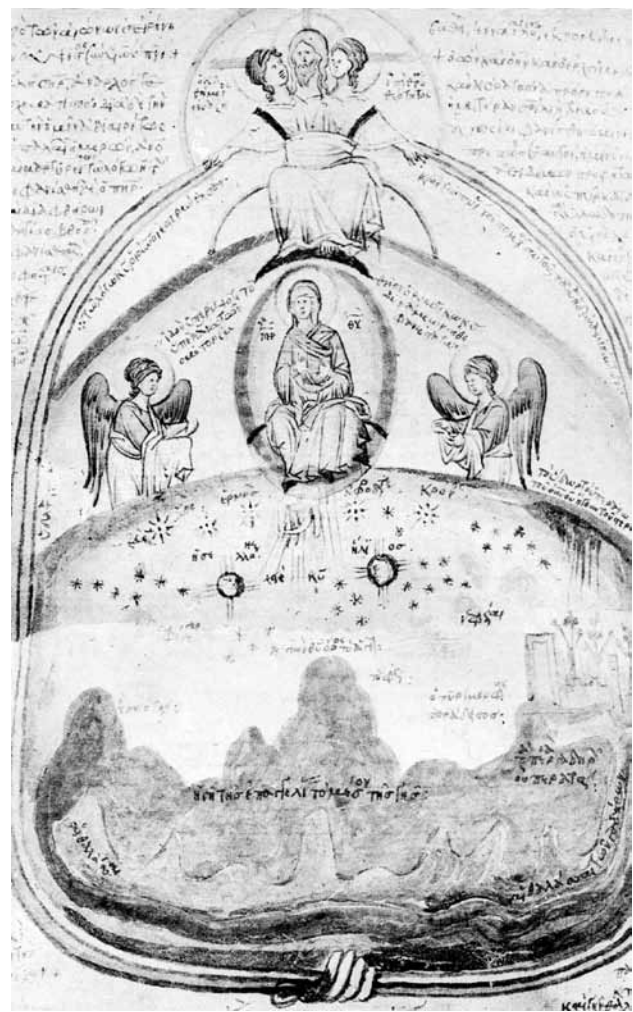

Fig. 14 Orbis Christianus, Marciana Library of Venice, ms. gr. Z, 516 (=904), fol. 158v. (From: I. Furlan, Codici Greci Illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana IV, Milano 1981, pl. 45-47)

Holy Trinity at Omorphokklesia evokes God, united in one substance, who is represented by a unique body, and the two heads emerging from the God's neck should be the two rays emanating from God, the Father, one ray by generation (the Son) and the other ray by procession (the Holy Spirit). The Father in this image seems to be the principal source of the Divinity.

---

[57] … Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἐν μιᾷ φύσει πρὸς μίαν ἀσύγχυτον συνάφειαν ἑνιζόμεναι, καὶ μία θεότης ἐν τρισὶ χαρακτῆρσιν ἀτμήτως πάντη καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως τὴν διαίρεσιν ἔχουσα , Πατήρ, Υἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁ μὲν ἀγέννητός τε καὶ μόνον αἴτιος ὁ συμφυὴς δὲ ἄρα Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰς μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν ἀναφερόμενα, τὸν Πατέρα, ἐξ οὗπερ ἀνάρχως καὶ ἀϊδίως καὶ ὑπὲρ αἰτίαν καὶ λόγον ὡς ἀκτῖνες δίδυμοι | συνεξέλαμψαν, ὁ μὲν γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ ἐκπορευτῶς, οὐ χρόνου τινός, οὐ τομῆς, οὐ πάθους κατὰ τὴν ἄρρητον γέννησιν καὶ τὴν ἀνέκφραστον ἐκπόρευσιν μεσιτεύσαντος. It is a response to Michael VIII given by the Patriarch Joseph that concerns the propositions of Latins for the Union. V. Laurent, J. Darrouzes, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277),* Paris 1976, 154-157.
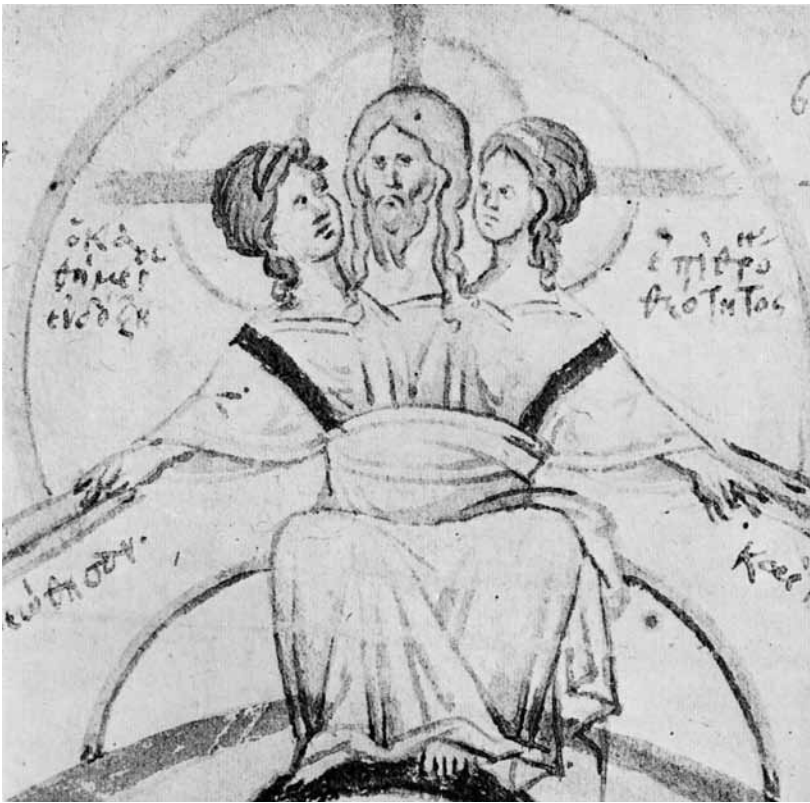
Fig. 15 Trinity, Marciana Library of Venice, ms. gr. Z, 516 (=904), fol. 158v. (From : I. Furlan, Codici Greci Illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana IV, Milano 1981, 44 ff. pl. 46)

scene is more frequently employed in occidental art: the Father and the Son are sending the Holy Spirit to the disciples (figs. 11 and 12)[61]. M. Paisidou discussed the association of the Omorphokklesia trifacial Trinity with the representation of the Pentecost, and concluded that the Trinity representation stresses the Orthodox point of view on the Trinity: the three hypostases are indivisible, but the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father[62]. The Father is in the middle as a central figure giving the benediction and the two other persons are associated to him in order to demonstrate their divine unity, but the Holy Spirit is emanating only from the Father's neck and has no direct connection with the Son (represented as an infant). Is this iconographic element expressing the Orthodox point of view on the procession of the Holy Spirit? Associated with the Pentecost scene, the Trinity is found mainly in the context of sending and not only the procession of the Holy Spirit. Christ himself spoke about this in John 15, 26: "But when the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceed forth from the Father, he will bear witness about me". Thus it seems that the Trinity image in the Pentecost scene in Omorphokklesia express John's verse: the Spirit is sent to the apostles from the Father and the Son, but it proceeds only from the Father, which is the Orthodox perspective on the relations between the three persons in the Trinity.

What is also important for the Omorphokklesia Trinity is its association with the scene of the Pentecost, painted in the lunette of the vault. In this *post-resurrectionem* context, the Trinity would represent the God reunited after Christ's Ascension on the right of the Father (Acts of Apostles 2, 32-33)[58]. Traditionally, in the Byzantine iconography of the Pentecost, the Holy Spirit descends upon the apostles from the sky segment[59]. Sometimes, the throne of Hetoimasia, with or without the Dove, is painted in the upper register[60], but the presence of the Trinity in the Pentecost

---

[58] Psalm 109/110, 1; Epistle to Colossians 3, 1; First Epistle of Peter 3, 22, and Epistle to Hebrew 10, 12.

[59] On the iconography of the Pentecost scene see: A. Grabar, *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge I,* Paris 1968, 615-627; L. Hadermann-Misguich*, Kurbinovo, Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle,* Paris 1975, 175-181; E. Georgitsoyanni*, Les peintures murales du vieux catholicon du monastère de la Transfiguration aux Météores (1483),* Athens 1993, 174-177; G. Passarelli*, Icônes des grandes fêtes byzantines,* Paris 2005, 207-227; C. A. Chavannes-Mazel, Paradise and Pentecost, *Reading Images And Texts Medieval Images And Texts As Forms Of Communication, Papers From The Third Utrecht Symposium On Medieval Literacy,* ed. Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert, Utrecht, 7-9 December 2000, Turnhout 2005, 121-160.

[60] As in Par. Graec. 510, fol. 301 (end of the 9th century), the Pentecost from Kılıçlar Kilise Göreme (9th century), the

Pentecost from Hosios Loukas (11th), the one from Saint-Marc from Venise (12th) (P. N. Ozolin, *Православная иконография Пятидесятницы,* Moscou 2001, ill. 25, 78, 83, 84; Restle, op. cit. n. 5, fig. 275), in the Saint George's Pillars in Serbia (1175) (I. M. Djordjević, On the scene of the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles at Đurđevi Stupovi at Ras, *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* 38 (1999/2000), 239-255, fig. on the p. 243), etc. The early Sinai icon from the 7th century is the only Eastern Pentecost representation to have the anthropomorphic representation of God in the Pentecost scene. Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, fig. 5.

[61] On the presence of the Holy Trinity in the Pentecost images see: E. Leesti, The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary, *Gesta* 28/2 (1989), 205-216; Berger, Jacob, op. cit. n. 26, ill. 15 and 63. See other Trinity representations in Western manuscripts, reproduced in: Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, figs. 6, 10; Boespflug, Zaluska, op. cit. n. 4, fig. 13, pl. VII c, etc.

[62] Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, 386-387.

Authors who analyzed the Koubelidiki and Omorphokklesia images think that the prelates of Ohrid defended the Orthodox position on the *filioque* question during the Union Controversy of the Lyons Council of 1274[63]. I have slightly different opinion on the subject of Ohrid's position in the Union debate and I will expose my arguments in the following pages. Before examining the politico-ecclesiastic situation in the region, I will briefly comment the Omorphokklesia representation in its context.

The church of Omorphokklesia was a monastic foundation[64], and as in the church of Koubelidiki, we find the representation of the Trinity in the narthex[65]. The narthex of Omorphokklesia conserves the previously mentioned representations of the Trinity, the Dormition of the Virgin and a series of portraits of the holy monks[66]. I think that the presence of the holy monks and the Pentecost scene in the narthex of Omorphokklesia is in conformity with the monastic function of this church[67]. A highly interesting piece of in-

formation about the celebration of the Pentecost feast in the narthex[68] is found in the 12th century typicon of the Kasoulon monastery. It says: "It should be known that on Pentecost Sunday after the Divine Liturgy we do not go to the refectory, but we eat the blessed bread and have only one cup of wine in the narthex of the church. After vespers, the signal for the refectory is struck, and we enter the refectory and eat what the grace of the Holy Spirit has provided for us"[69]. The Eucharistic rites were performed on the Feast of the Pentecost in the narthex of this monastery, but what is more interesting for us, is that the monastery of Kasoulon was a Greek monastery near Otranto in southern Italy. In 1266, during the rule of Charles of Anjou, this monastery was reconsecrated and put under Papal Authority[70]. Is there a direct connection between Omorphokklesia monastery and the monasteries in southern Italy? Information on this subject is very scarce and it is impossible to confirm the direct link, but it is worth mentioning that the tricefalous type of Trinity was particularly popular in 14th century miniatures and churches of Naples[71] (fig. 13) and in 15th century occidental art in general[72].

As for the Byzantine examples, one particularly interesting image should be mentioned since it has not been studied in the context of tricefalous Byzantine representations (fig. 14). This representation appears in a Greek manuscript, conserved in the Marciana

---

[63] M. Paisiou thinks that the decor of Omorphokklesia is influenced by the Church Union polemic before and after 1274, but she thinks that the archbishop of Ohrid Konstantin Kabasilas, was hostile to Michael VIII and to the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, since his family was close to Despotate of Epirus, the enemy of the Nicaean emperors. Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, 391-392. I. Sisiou thinks that the decor was inspired by the Union controversy and he thinks that the scenes express the anti-Union feelings of the clerks in the archbishopric of Ohrid during the reign of Andronicus II. He also thinks that Konstantin Kabasilas disliked the Nicaean emperors and the Patriarch. Sisiou, op. cit. n. 48, 283-286.

[64] See: M. Paisidou, Η κτητορική παράσταση και η χρονολόγηση των εξωτερικών τοιχογραφιών του Αγίου Γεωργίου Ομορφοκκλησιάς, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 24 (2003), 223-230.

[65] It is worth mentioning, that in the Western monumental Art, the Holy Trinity is painted in the sanctuary, for exemple in Grottaferrata or San Stefano. See cf. supra. n. 26. The Epiklesis (the invocation of the Holy Spirit that descends to the bread and transforms it into the body of Christ) is celebrated in the sanctuary. The messages of the Grottaferrata and San Stefano images should rather be Eucharistic. See: Berger, op. cit. n. 19.

[66] In the narthex of the church of Omorphokklesia, St. John the Baptiste is painted along with seven holy monks: Joasaph, Barlaam, Chariton, Stephen the Younger, Theodore Stoudite, Poimen and St. Andrew from Crete. Mouriki, op. cit. n. 50, 69; Stikas, op. cit. n. 47, 104-105, pl. VI-IX; S. Tomeković, *Les saints ermites et moines dans la peinture murale byzantine*, ed. L. Hadermann-Misguich, C. Jolivet-Lévy, Paris 2011, ill. 74, 91.

[67] On the presence of the holy monks in monastic foundations: J. Nikolić-Novaković, Ликови монаха и пустиножитеља у цркви манастира Леснова, *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* 33 (1994), 165; I. Djordjević, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба*

Немањића, Belgrade 1994, 75-77; Tomeković, op. cit. n. 66, 199-225.

[68] It is worth mentioning that during the Vespers of the Pentecost Sunday Feast, the same as for other Great Feasts, a *litie* is celebrated in the narthex of the churches. P. Mercenier, *Prière de églises de rite byzantin II/2,* Prieuré d'Amay-sur-Meuse 1939, 366.

[69] J. Thomas, A. Constantinides-Hero, G. Constable, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection,* Washington 2000, ch. 7, 1325.

[70] Ibidem., 1319-1320.

[71] For example in Santa Croce from Andria in Napoli, but also in a number of manuscripts from the middle of the 14th century painted on the court of Anjou. Heimann, op. cit. n. 1, 48-49, pl. VI-VII.

[72] Boespflug, op. cit. n. 11, 232 ff. See for example an important number of manuscript illustration of the Tricefalous Trinity in the French National Library Collection in Paris, published at the site Madragore (Espagnol 544, fol. 1 from the 15th century; Français 914, fol. 11*v* from the 15th century; Latin 1156B, fol. 163 circa 1430) (http://mandragore.bnf.fr). See also the tricefalous Trinity representations in the Book of Hours (KB 135E 18, fol. 33*r* from 1460-1480), and the Gospel from c. 1475-1500, fol. 2*r* (MMW, 10 C20) both from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (National Library of the Netherlands), published at: http://collecties.meermanno.nl/handschriften/.

Fig. 16 Crucifixion, church of Omorphokklesia
(From: E. Kyriakoudis, Monumental Painting in Kastoria in the Last Decades of the Thirteenth Century and the Frescoes at Arilje, Свети Ахилије у Ариљу –историја, уметност, Зборник радова научног скупа, Belgrade 1996, fig.20)

Library of Venice, ms. gr. Z, 516 (=904), and composed of few Treatises on Geography, Music and Cosmology[73]. On f. 158*v* dated to the 14th century a quite unusual scene of the *orbis christianus* is represented. In an oblique mandorla held by God's hand, the sky is represented in the upper register and the Earth in the lower one. On the top of the composition, in a luminous cruciform mandorla, a man on a rainbow with three heads is featured (fig. 15). The head of an old bearded man is painted in the middle along with two others that are youthful. The creature represents the Trinity, blessing the world below his feet. An inscription on the both sides of the Trinity says: ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δόξῃ ἐπὶ θρόνῳ θεότητος. It is a liturgical verse (4th Ode) recited on the saint's feast on different dates (the 8th of January, 19th of July, 2nd, 11th and 24th of November, etc)[74], and glorifies the Throne of God.

In the central register of the composition, the Virgin Mary (ΜΡ ΘΥ) is represented enthroned in a luminous mandorla and adorned by two angels (fig. 14). Below the Virgin the hand of God (χεὶρ κυρίου) is painted, blessing the starry sky and surrounded by five planets (Ζεὺς, ἄρης, ἑρμῆς, ἀφροδίτης, κρόνος), the Sun (ἥλιος) and the Moon (ἡ σελήνη), the light (τὸ φῶς) and the clouds (νεφέλια). In the last register the Earth is represented with Mount Sinai in the middle (Σιὼν θεου ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον), the promised land (ἡ

γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας) along with the center of the Earth (τὸ μέσον τῆς γῆς). On the right section, there is a fortified city that represents Paradise (ὁ πυρίμορφος παράδεισος), and in the lower register, the oceans (αἱ θαλάσσαι τῶν Γαδηρῶν) are depicted[75].

It is clear that in this representation the three-headed Trinity is painted in the context of the eternal reign of the *Creator Mundi*, a context frequently associated with the Tricefalous Trinity representations from the West (Ms. 791 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Hamilton Bible, Santa Croce from Andria, etc.)[76]. At Omorphokklesia, the three-headed Trinity is, in fact, the Creator of the World and the Omnipotent Master of it, all its people and the nations from the Pentecost scene being anointed by the Holy Spirit are participating in the Christian Œcumene and glorifying the eternal God. Aside from the ambiguous message on the Spirit procession, which is difficult to analyze merely based on the iconographical elements, the message of the Omorphokklesia composition, in my opinion, expresses the idea of the Christian Œcumene.

---

[73] I. Furlan, *Codici Greci Illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana IV,* Milano 1981, 44 ff. pl. 45-47.
[74] See: I. Nikolaidou (ed.), Μηναίον, Athens 1905.

[75] See the complete description: I. Furlan, *Codici Greci Illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana IV*, Milano 1981, 44-45. Dated to the 14th century and conserved in Venice, it seems that the tricefalous God in this miniature was inspired by Western images as are, we believe, later tricefalous representations in Byzantine art mentioned previously. Cf. supra n. 54.
[76] Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, figs. 10-12. See also: Heimann, op. cit. n. 1, 45 ff, pl. 6 a-c, pl. 7 c.

In this church, aside from the Trinity representation, there are other elements inspired by the Western artistic production. I. Sisou had already studied the representation of the Dormition in this church and pointed out one detail which appears, for the first time, in Byzantine art: the Virgin is ascending toward the open doors of Heaven in a mandorla held by two angels[77]. He writes that the Dormition of the Virgin was extremely popular in Constantinople during the reign of Andronicus II Palaiologos and that this iconographic solution was invented in the capital inspired by Damascene works[78]. I agree that the Dormition of the Virgin and whole Marian cult were extremely popular after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261[79], but I think that the detail with the Assumption of the Virgin comes from Western art; the Resurrection of the Virgin's body being commonly represented in the West since the 12th century[80]. The innovations in Dormition scenes were principally found on the soil of Macedonia and Serbia[81], and not in Constantinople or its surroundings, which demonstrates the increase in relations between these regions and the West.

Another Western import in the Omorphokklesia iconographic program is found in the scene of the Crucifixion (fig. 16). A vase with two handles placed on a mural, is painted close to the Crucifix. The blood and

Fig. 17 Crucifixion, a vase painted below Christ's legs Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Division occidentale Latin 943 fol. 4v, 10th century

the water spurting from the Christ's rib are collected in a receptacle. Usually, in Byzantine examples of the Crucifixion scene, the blood is collected by a personification of the Church, and to my knowledge, the iconographic scheme used in Omorphokklesia is an *unicum* in Byzantine art[82]. The presence of the personification of the Church filing a chalice with Christ's blood is found in art already in the 9th century and has a clearly Eucharistic significance[83]. The first examples of the Crucifixion with a vase as isolated iconographical element, situated below the Christ's

---

[77] Sisiou, op. cit. n. 48, 286 ff.

[78] Ibidem.

[79] It must not be forgotten that Michael VIII entered Constantinople in 1261 on the day of the Virgins' Dormition. Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques II, ed. A. Failler, transl. in French V. Laurent, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 24/1, Paris 1984, 216 n. 5. Even before 1261, the Feast seems particularly important since the Nicaean Emperor Theodore Lascaris wrote himself a text dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, which was found with the texts composed by Konstantin Kabasilas. C. Grozdanov, О светом Конатантину Кавасили и Његовим портретима у светлу нових сазнања, Зборник Радова Византолошког Института 44 (2007), 319.

[80] In Western miniatures we find the first examples of the Virgin's assumption in corpse. P. Miljković-Pepek, *Делото на зографите Михаило и Еутихиј*, Skopje 1967, fig. 39. Already in 12th century, on the western tympanum of the Senlis Cathedral, we found two representations: the Dormition and the Assumption of the Virgin; the soul of the Virgin is elevated in the sky by angels in the first image and the body of the Virgin is also elevated in the sky by angels in the second. Therel, op. cit. n. 42, pl. I fig. 1, see other examples at pl. IV fig. 5, pl. VIII fig. 12, pl. IX fig. 13, etc.

[81] Like in Sopoćani, Saint-George from Staro Nagoričino, Saint-Nicetas, etc. V. J. Djurić, *Сопоћани*, Belgrade 1963, pl. XXVII, figs. at the page 130-131; B. Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting, The Age of Milutin*, Belgrade 1999, figs. 27, 55, pl. XXXIV; Miljković-Pepek, op. cit. n. 80, figs. 41-42.

[82] On the iconography of the Crucifixion in Byzantium see: G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV, XV et XVI siècles*, Paris 1960, 396-460, fig. 482 (venetian painting from the middle of the 14th century with a vase close to the crucifix); Schiller, op. cit. n. 47, 88-158; Hadermann, op. cit. n. 59, 147-152; D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios I, II*, Athènes 1985, 130-132; A. Kartsonis, The Emancipation of the Crucifixion, *Byzance et les images, dir. A. Guillon et J. Durand*, Paris 1994, 151-187, etc. We found the vase as isolated iconographical motif also in Dečani, but the Christ's blood is not collected in it (my notes).

[83] The Church filling up a chalice with the blood of Christ ap-

Fig. 18 Crucifixion, Adam collecting the Christs' blood Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Division occidentale, Latin 12054 fol. 148 v., 13th century

feet, appear in occidental art in the 9th century[84]. According to G. Schiller, this vase symbolizes the cup of the Passion (fig. 17) announced in the Gospel of Luc (22, 42) and in Psalm 116/115, 13[85]. However, later in Occidental art two iconographic variations appear on this subject: sometimes it is Adam the Protoplast who is collecting Christ's blood (fig. 18)[86] and

sometimes it is Joseph of Arimathea who is holding the vase (fig. 19). The last mentioned iconographic solution is connected to the legend of the Holy Grail. According to the legend, Joseph of Arimathea caught Christ's blood while Christ was still on the Cross in a cup used by Jesus during the Last Supper. The sacred vessel traveled to Britain, where we lost its trace until the 12th century[87]. Occidental examples represent the vase in the hands of Joseph, and I have not found an example that is iconographically close to that of Omorphokklesia (an isolated vase collecting the blood and water from Christ's rib). Perhaps, the legend of the Holy Grail arrived on the soil of the Western Balkans and inspired the representation of the Crucifixion in the church of Omorphokklesia. It is worthwhile to further investigate this subject on another occasion.

One last element from the church of Omorphokklesia that offers a link to Western art is the monumental wood carving of St. George[88], conserved in a niche of the south wall of the iconostasis (fig. 20). Wooden

---

pears in art in the 9th century. Schiller, op. cit. n. 47, 106-107.

[84] A wall painting from the Carolingian period (3rd quarter of the 9th century) from the crypt Saint Maximien, Trier, represents a vase just below the Crucifix. In this image two servants nail Christ's feet to the cross, which is a unique motif of this kind in that period. See other examples as well in: Schiller, op. cit. n. 47, figs. 347, 356, 358, 365, 372, 378, 380, 387, 479.

[85] This verse is recited at communion office and has eucharistic significance. Schiller, op. cit. n. 47, 101, 105-106.

[86] In Western art, sometimes Adam is the one who catches the blood of Christ in a vase (Schiller, op. cit. n. 47, figs. 478-479), and in one particular image found in the 14th century church of Saint-George, Pološko (Macedonia), it seems that Eve is painted with a vase in front of the Virgin and the Cross. Z. Gavrilović thinks that maybe this

figure is not Eve as others believe so, but the personification of the Marah waters. Z. Gavrilović, Eve or the Waters of Marah at Pološko, *Zograf* 25 (1996), 51-55 with bibliography. However it seems that a particular imagery in which Mary is shown with Eve lying at her feet was very popular (eighteen surviving paintings) in Central Italy between c. 1335 and 1445. A. Dunlop, Flesh and the Feminine: Early-Renaissance Images of the Madonna with Eve at Her Feet, *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 25 No. 2 (2002), 129-147. Maybe there was a certain occidental inspiration for the Pološko image also, since its décor dates from the same period (1342-1345). On the Pološko church see also: A. Ristovska-Popova, *L'église Saint-Georges de Pološko (Macédoine), Recherche sur le monument et ses peintures murales XIVe et XVIIe siècle*, PhD. at École Pratique des Hautes Études, November 2010, supervisor. prof. C. Jolivet-Lévy.

[87] The legend continues forty years after Christ's resurrection. Joseph arrived in Britain with the sacred vessel, which was preserved in a mysterious castle till the 12th century when Arthur's knights began the quest for the Holy Grail. The legend tells us also about the arrival of Perceval or Galahad in the castle and the vision of the maiden with a Grail. Numerous authors have studied this legend. See for exemple: R. S. Loomis, The Irish Origin of the Grail Legend, *Speculum* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Oct., 1933), 415-431; W. Roach, Transformations of the Grail Theme in the First Two Continuations of the Old French "Perceval", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Vol. 110, No. 3 (Jun. 27, 1966), 160-164; D. Scavone, Joseph of Arimathea, the Holy Grail, and the Edessa Icon, *Arthuriana* Vol. 9, No. 4 (winter 1999), 1-31; P. McCracken, The Poetics of Sacrifice: Allegory and Myth in the Grail Quest, *Rereading Allegory: Essays in Memory of Daniel Poirion, Yale French Studies* 95 (1999), 152-168, etc.

[88] A wooden sculpture in monumental dimensions (2, 86 x 0, 68 m.), representing St. George still stands on the South

sculpture is rather rare in Byzantine art, but in this region, we found several relief icons from the 13th century and another wood carving from Ohrid that represents St. Clement (13th century)[89]. The St. Clement sculpture (fig. 20) is considered to be of Western influence and execution[90] and it is stylistically close to that of St. George. In my opinion, the wooden sculpture of St. George was probably brought to the church of Omorphokklesia at the time of its decoration and is probably also an Occidental work.

In summary, both the Koubelidiki and Omorphokklesia churches present elements that link these monuments with Western art, especially in the treatment of the Dormition scenes, the Trinity images, wooden sculpture, and even in architecture[91]. From

the iconographic point of view, the Trinity images in Koubelidiki and Omorphokklessia are close to Western artistic production, but I believe that the iconographical method of analysis do not give a satisfactory result regarding the dogmatic implications of these representations. Is there any clear intention to represent the Orthodox or the Latin comprehension of the relation between the three persons of the Trinity? It is quite difficult to tell. In order to better understand these representations, I belive that a preview of the political and dogmatic context in the region of Western Macedonia in the second half of the 13th century is essential.

2° The archbishporic of Ohrid in the middle of the 13th century

Authors that have studied the Trinity representations from the Kastorian bishopric consider that they were painted in the climate of Union of the Churches from 1274 and that the archbishopric in Ohrid was opposed to the Emperor's politics on this question[92]. It is worth mentioning that the two representations of the Trinity are found on the soil of the Kastorian bishopric, the *protothronos* of the archbishopric of Ohrid[93]. What is interesting for our study is to understand the political and dogmatic climate in the region and its eventual connection to the Trinity images.

The late antique Episcopal see of Ohrid, was promoted in the second decade of the 11th century to an autocephalous archbishopric and had been granted exceptional privileges by the Byzantine Emperor Basil

---

side of the naos. N. Giannopoulos, Ὁ ἐν Γραλίστῃ (παρὰ τὴν Καστορίαν) βυζαντιακὸς ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ξύλινιν ἀνάγλυφον τοῦ Ἀγ. Γεωργίου, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 4 (1923), 95; N. Moutsopoulos, Το ξύλινο ανάγλυφο του αγίου Γεωργίου στον ομώνυμο ναό της Ομορφοκκλησιάς και ορισμένες ξυλόγλυπτες εικόνες της περιοχής, *Κληρονομιά Θεσσαλονίκη, Πατριαρχικόν Ἴδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν* 25 (1993), 34-44; A. Petkos, Ανάγλυφη εικόνα του Αγίου Δημητρίου από την Ομορφοκκλησιά Καστοριάς, *Μακεδονικά* 32 (2001), 339-354. M. G. Sotiriou presumes that the Omorphokklesia sculpture dates from the 12th-13th century. M. G. Sotiriou, La sculpture sur bois dans l'art byzantin, *Mélanges Ch. Diehl II*, Paris 1930, 180. E. G. Stikas thinks that the sculpture was executed in the 15th-16th centuries, but he mentions other 13th century wood icon in relief from this church, the icon of St. George, conserved nowadays in the Athens Museum. Stikas, op. cit. n. 47, 109, n. 33. It seems that these two wood objects, St. George's monumental sculpture and the relief icon were commanded for this church in the same period, in the 13th century.

[89] C. Grozdanov, *Портрети на светителите од Македонија IX-XVIII век*, Skopje 1983, 51-52, pl. II.

[90] It seems that the gothic sculpture arrived on the Adriatic coast (in Albania and in Zeta) in the 13th century. C. Grozdanov, Св. Климент и Св. Наум во уметноста на Македонија и на Охридската Архиепископија, *Papers from the Conference « Saints Clement and Naum of Ohrid and the Contribution of the Ohrid Spiritual Centre to Slavonic Literacy and Culture », held on 13-15 Septembre 1993*, Skopje 1995, 33. On the St. Clement icon see: M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Средњевековни дуборез у источним облсатима Југославије*, Belgrade 1965, 40-41, pl. VII-IX; Z. Ličenoska, Релјефната икона на Свети Климент Охридски, *Papers from the Conference « Saints Clement and Naum of Ohrid and the Contribution of the Ohrid Spiritual Centre to Slavonic Literacy and Culture », held on 13-15 Septembre 1993*, Skopje 1995, 213-221 with bibliography.

[91] It should be also noted that the church has a rectangular bell tower on the Western façade, which is an element considered to be introduced in Byzantine architecture from the West. Nicol, op. cit. n. 47, 97-98; cf. supra n. 48. See

also examples on the Dalmatian coast: Stikas, op. cit. n. 47, 102 n. 6.

[92] Other authors presume that Ohrid prelates were not supporting the Michael VIII politics on the Church Union. Mavropoulou-Tsoumi, op. cit. n. 7, 85-89; Sisiou, op. cit. n. 8, 246-262, especially 247-248; Paisidou, op. cit. n. 21, 391-392; Sisiou, op. cit. n. 48, 283-286.

[93] In the 13th century, the title of *protothronos* appears as an epithet for the Kastoria bishops. Kastoria bishopric was thereby elevated in rank to first place among all bishoprics in the Ohrid diocese, and the Kastoria bishops had a privilege to sign just after the Ohrid archbishop. I. Snegarov, *История на Охридската Архиепископия (оть основаването й до завладѣването на Балканския полуостровь оть Турцитѣ) t. I*, Sofia 1924, 166.

[94] Basil II granted exceptional rights to the archbishopric of Ohrid in the three chrysobulls from 1019-1020: the archbishop of Ohrid was appointed by the Emperor to whom he was directly obedient. Thus he did not report to the Œcumenical Patriarch and had a superior position (even before the Oriental Churches) in the Church hierarchy. S. Novaković, Охридска Архиепископија у почетку XI века, Хрисовуље цара Василија II од 1019 и 1020 год.

Fig. 19 Crucifixion, Joseph from Arimathea collecting the Christs' blood, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Division occidentale, Français 120, fol. 520, 15th century,

II[94]. In that period, the diocese covered a massive territory (fig. 21): from the Adriatic Sea on the West to the Black Sea on the East, and its borders reached almost the Danube on the North and Thessaly on the South[95]. The boundaries of the Ohrid diocese changed constantly in the next centuries; sometimes the geo-political fluctuations are difficult to follow, especially in the 13th century when numerous political and ecclesiastical crises occurred. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204[96], the see of Ohrid was probably placed under Roman ecclesiastical authority, and

Kastoria was governed at least three times by Latin bishops (1210, 1211, 1215)[97]. Soon after, Ohrid and its environs entered the Epirote State (1216-1235; 1257-1259)[98]. The Epirote governors wanted to be considered as legitimate successors of the Byzantine emperors and the ecclesiastical organization within its borders ignored the Patriarchate of Nicaea for a certain time declaring itself autonomous[99]. When the Epirote ruler, Theodore Angel, conquered Thessaloni-

---

(географијска истраживања), *Глас Српска Краљевска Академија* 76 (1908), 1-62; F. Granić, Црквеноправне глосе на привилегије цара Василија II Охридској Архиепископији, *Гласник Скопског Научног Друштва* 13 (1934), 1-10; Gelzer, op. cit. n. 47; Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 52-63; G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'État Byzantin*, Paris 1996, 336-337. The original Basil II chrysobulls were not found, but the rights of Ohrid were confirmed in 1272 by Michael VIII Palaiologos. E. Naxidou, An Aspect of the Medieval History of the archbishopric of Ohrid: its Connection with Justiniana Prima, *Byzantinoslavica* 64 (2006), 158 n. 28.

[95] A. Ducellier, *Byzance et le monde orthodoxe*, Paris 1997, 253; Granić, op. cit. n. 94; T. Živković, *Црквена организација у српским земљама. Рани средњи век*, Belgrade 2004, 178-179, 182.

[96] On the Fourth Crusade see the bibliography in: A. P.

Kazhdan (ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* t. 1, New-York/Oxford 1991, 557-560. See also: G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, P. Schreiner (ed), *Quarta Crociata, Venezia - Bisanzio - Impero Latino I/II*, Venezia 2006.

[97] Snegarov, op.cit. n. 93, 99.

[98] Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 99, 101; D. M. Nicol, The *Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1957, 1 ff.; A. D. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical controversy between the kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217-1233)*, Thessaloniki 1973, 3 ff.; P. I. Zavoronkov, Первый поход Иоана III Ватаца на Фессалонику (1243 г.) и смерть Ивана II Асеня (1242 г.). Проблемы датировки, *Византийский временик* 60 (85) (2001), 69-74; R. J. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History, Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Oxford 2007, 215 ff.

[99] In the reign of Michael I Comnenos Doukas Angel but also in the reign of Theodore Doukas, the Church of Epirus stopped to be obedient to the Patriarchate of Nicaea. Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 39-48.

ki the autocephalous archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrius Chomatianos, crowned him in 1227[100] and the see of Ohrid became the leading ecclesiastical organization in Epirus[101]. On several occasions, the extreme political circumstances imposed the deliberate submission of the Epirote Church to Rome[102]. The archbishopric of Ohrid was also obedient to the Bulgarian Patriarchate of Trnovo (1235 - 1241/42)[103] as well as the Nicaean Patriarchate (c. 1241/42 - 1334)[104], events that demonstrate the political instability of this period. The turnaround in Ohrid's ecclesiastical history of the 13th century was the Nicaean reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 and the addition of the Ohrid diocese to the newly restored Byzantine Empire.

In the 13th century, discussions (more or less serious) for Church Union were held on the initiative of the Nicaean emperors Theodore I Lascaris, John III Doukas and Theodore II Lascaris[105]. Michael VIII Palaiologos[106] continued the rapprochement to Rome having been certainly inspired by the constant thread of Latin kingdoms over the fragile Byzantine Empire. As soon as he reached the imperial throne, he wrote to Pope Urban in 1262 and once again in 1263, offering his terms and preparing a council for the Church Union[107]. Urban IV died in 1264 and the Union project was re-actualized with the election of the Pope Gregory X (1271-76). It finally occurred in 1274 at Lyons, but was extremely unpopular in Byzantium and provoked numerous conflicts amongst church prelates and monks[108].

But what was the archbishopric of Ohrid's stance on the Union Controversy? I consider that this problem should be examined closely and is linked to the activity of at least four Ohrid archbishops from the second half of the 13th century: Jacob Proarchios, Konstantin Kabasilas, Theodore Kerameas and his successor whose name is not conserved in the documents. The exact dates of their activities as archbishops are difficult to establish.

[100] Gelzer, op. cit. n. 47, 11-12; Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 207-210; Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 4; V. Tapkova-Zaimova, L'archevêché autocéphale d'Ochrid, Ses relations avec le patriarcat de Constantinople et les autres Églises dans les Balkans, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 29 (2007), 423-424; Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 59 ff, 72-74. What is worth noting is the presumed right of the archbishop of Ohrid to crown emperors. The first mention of this practice is found as early as 1078, when the *dux* of Dyrrachium, Nicephorus Basilakios, who revolted against the Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates, and wanted to be crowned by the archbishop John Lampinos of Ohrid. The archbishop refused to proceed with the coronation. V. Tapkova-Zaimova, The Du Cange Catalogue, *State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium, ed. V. Gjuzelev and K. Petkov,* Sofia 2010, 231. In 1346 the Ohrid archbishop Nicolas together with the Patriarch of Peć and the one of Trnovo crowned also the Serbian king Dušan. Gelzer, op. cit. n. 47, 14-15; Ostrogorsky, op. cit. n. 94, 544-546; M. A. Purković, Српски патриарси средњег века, *Гласник Скопског Научног Друштва* 15/16 (1936), 304-306; P. A. Pechayre, L'archevêché d'Ochrida de 1394 à 1767, À propos d'un ouvrage récent, *Échos d'Orient* 35 (1936), 185.

[101] On the ecclesiastical organization of the Epirus see: Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 40-43.

[102] This was the case in the time of Michael I Doukas Angel who placed his Church twice under Roman protection, and Theodore who did it once in 1218. Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 26; Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 55.

[103] Probably from 1235 to 1241/42, when John Asen II conquered this territories. Tapkova-Zaimova, L'archevêché autocéphale d'Ochrid, op. cit. n. 100, 432 with bibliography. John Asen II had ambitious plans for the Bulgarian Church. He approached the Patriarchate of Nicaea and in 1234 he promulgated the Trnovo Church in Patriarchate. Demetrius Chomatianos contested this decision because Ohrid Church lost territories. Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 143-152; В. Ferjančić, Аутокефалност Српске Цркве и Охридска Архиепископија, *Сава Немањић-Свети Сава, Историја и предање,* Београд 1979, 68.

[104] According to George Akropolites, John III Vatatzes conquered a large portion of Macedonia and Thessaloniki in 1241, after the death of Asen. Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 215-216, 235-238, 250 n. 29; Ducellier, op. cit. n. 36, 168. From 1257 to 1259 Ohrid and its region are once more in the Epirus hands and afterwards they enter definitely in the Nicaea (1259-1261) and in Byzantine Empire (after 1261). Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 356-360; Snegarov, op. cit. supra n. 93, 153-154; D-J. Geanakoplos, The battle of Pelagonia, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953), 120-121. In 1239,

according to A. D. Karpozilos, the Church Schism between Epirus and Nicaea was finished. Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 95.

[105] In 1220, the Nicaean Emperor, Theodore I Lascaris, had already worked on the Church Union. See: Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 54-55 with bibliography. In 1234 an Union discussion was held in Nicaea and the presence of Nicephore Blemmydes was noted. In 1250 another Council was held in Nympheum. In 1253/54, a delegation sent by John III Doukas arrived in Rome to meet the Pope Innocent IV. In 1255/56 negotiations between Theodore II Lascaris and the Pope Alexander IV were on and a Papal delegation met the Emperor in Thessaloniki in 1256. M. Stavrou, Le premier traité sur la procession du Saint-Esprit de Nicéphore Blemmydès, Présentation, édition critique et traduction annotée, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 67 (2001), 49-54 with bibliography.

[106] On the imperial lineage of Michael VIII see: V. Laurent, La généalogie des premiers Paléologues, *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 125 ff., 130-149. See also: D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282: a Study in Byzantine-Latin relations,* Cambridge 1959; D. M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles de Byzance 1261-1453,* Paris 2005, 61-111.

[107] A. E. Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy*, New York 2010, 134.

[108] D. Nicol, *The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274, Studies in Church History VII*, Cambridge 1971, 113 ff.

Fig. 20 Wood sculpture of St. George in Omorphokklesia, wood sculpture of St. Clement from Ohrid, 13th century

Archbishop Jacob[109] (named Proarchios[110]) was probably the predecessor of Kabasilas and not his successor as some scholars that have studied the hierarchy of the archbishopric of Ohrid have supposed[111]. There are a lot of historical lacunae in the life and carreer of Jacob, but few studies have helped to examine his biography and his role in the troublesome period of the middle of the 13th century. It seems that around 1222, Jacob Proarchios was a Greek monk[112] in the monas-

tery of Saint Melece at Cithaeron situated south of Thebes in Boeotia[113]. Jacob did not seem to be particularly attached to the Epirote kings since in one text he complains of the destruction of the monastery of Saint Melece by the soldiers of Theodore I Angel Doukas Comnenos (1215-1230), the Epirote governor. We do not have a lot of information on his ecclesiastical career and the date of his ascension to the see of Ohrid is always debated. Some authors consider that Jacob Proarchios was placed on the throne of the see of Ohrid in 1240[114]. We know that in 1239/40 Nicephore Blemmydes was in Thessaly and Macedonia sent by John III Vatatzes to look for manuscripts, and he received a proposition for the vacant see of Ohrid[115]. Blemmydes refused the position and some

[109] Gelzer, op. cit. n. 47, 12-13; Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 211-212; S. G. Mercati, Iacobi Bulgariae archiepiscopi Opuscula, *Bessarione* 21 (1917), 73-89, 208-227, reprinted in: *Collectanea Byzantina tom. I, a cura di A. A. Longo, Bari 1970,* 66-98; S. G. Mercati*, Sulla vita et sulle opere di Giacomo di Bulgaria, Actes du IV Congrès International des études byzantines, Sofia 1934 published in Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare 9 (1935), 165-176* reprinted in*: Collectanea Byzantina tom. I, a cura di A. A. Longo,* Bari 1970, 99-113; I. Dujčev, Un nouveau témoignange de Jacques de Bulgarie, *Byzantinoslavica 21* (1960), 54-61.

[110] See: Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 109, 105; Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 46.

[111] Gelzer, op. cit. n. 47, 12; E. Golubinskij, *Краткій очеркъ исторіи православныхъ церквей болгарской, сербской и румынской или молдо-валашской*, Moscou 1871, 125; Snegarov, op.cit. n. 93, 212.

[112] Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 109, 104; Dujčev, op. cit. n. 109, 56-58; Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 46-47.

[113] Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 46. The monastery was dedi-

cated to St. Melece, a famous medical saint from the 11th century from the Mount of Myopolis, probably the native region of Jacob. Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 109, 105.

[114] A. Failler chose this date by analyzing Georges Pachymeres. Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 602 n. 3.

[115] J. A. Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes, A Partial Account*, Louvin 1988, 20-23; F. Bredenkamp, *The Byzantine Empire of Thessaloniki (1222-1242)*, Thessalonique 1996, 251. M. Stavrou thinks that the see of Ohrid was vacant at the time and that since Blemmydes did not take this position, it is possible that Jacob occupied it. He also expressed his doubts as to whether Jacob was in Ohrid in 1240 since the city was under Bulgarian control. Stavrou, op. cit. n.

authors consider that, since the Ohrid see was vacant, it was given to Jacob[116]. However, in 1240, the Bulgarian king, Asen II, controlled Ohrid and the see of Ohrid was probably obedient to the Patriarchate of Trnovo at this moment[117]. Since the Bulgarians were enemies of Nicaea it is rather difficult to understand the circumstances in which Jacob Proarchios could take the see of Ohrid at this moment. What is also important to notice is that Blemmydes had a proposition for the see of Ohrid from Michael II, the Epirote leader, and not from the Emperor of Nicaea or Asen II. On the other hand, why would Michael II propose a vacant see of Ohrid, which was no longer within his boundaries, to a Nicaean diplomat? The Church of Epirus was obedient to the Nicaean Patriarchate from c. 1239 and the Schism between these two Churches seemed to have been terminated at that moment[118]. A political peace was also arranged between the two parties[119]. Since the see of Ohrid was previously in the Epirote State (before 1235) and had a leading role in it, maybe Michael II wanted to offer the prestigious see of Ohrid (once reconquered?) to Blemmydes as proof of his good will and peaceful intentions toward Nicaea[120]. In any case, it seems that the political situation in 1240 did not permit the ascension of Jacob Proarchios to the see of Ohrid.

The situation in the region from 1241/42 to 1246 was quite confused. According to George Akropolites, John III Vatatzes conquered a big part of Macedonia in 1241/42, after the death of Bulgarian king, Asen[121]. In 1242/43 the relations between Nicaea and Epirus were in decline. John III Vatatzes conquered Thessaloniki and pushed John, the son of Theodore Comnenos Doukas[122], to exchange his imperial insignia for those of a despote[123], which means that the

Epirotes (John the king of Thessaloniki and his father Theodore Comnenos) recognized the authority of Nicaea. John III Vatatzes probably gave the region of Ohrid to Theodore Comnenos Doukas sometime between 1241/42 and 1246, most likely as a proof of his confidence and as a pledge of his peaceful intentions[124]. Akropolites recounts that in 1246, the regions of Pelagonia, Ohrid, Prilep, Vodena (Edessa), Staridola and Strovos (Ostrovos) were held by Theodore Comnenos Doukas[125]. In my opinion Jacob Proarchios was placed at the head of the Ohrid archbishopric in this very moment, around 1246[126]. Thus, it seems that Jacob was a Nicaean archbishop on the territory held by Epirotes who obeyed Nicaea. We should not forget that Jacob was quite bitter because of the destruction of his monastery by Theodore, who now became ruler in his diocese. In circumstances that are not very clear, Jacob was obliged to flee Ohrid a short time after he took the throne and found refuge in Thessaloniki[127]. The reason for Jacob's departure from Ohrid is difficult to understand, but once again, the contemporary political situation may provide an explanation. John, the despot of Thessaloniki, was succeeded by his brother the despot Demetrius, who was unpopular in Nicaea and, in 1246, Emperor John III took Thessaloniki from the Epirotes and left Andronicus the *megas domestikos*, and the father of Michael VIII, as governor of the city[128]. The fact that archbishop Jacob left Ohrid to be sheltered by the Nicaean *megas domestikos*, would suggest that he was well acquainted with the Emperor of Nicaea and he was appointed to the see of Ohrid by John III Vatatzes with the approval of the Epirotes[129]. Once the relations between Nicaea and Epirus became

---

105, 47 and n. 26.

[116] Cf. supra n. 115.

[117] Tapkova-Zaimova, L'archevêché autocéphale d'Ochrid, op. cit. n. 100, 432 with bibliography.

[118] Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 95.

[119] Bredenkamp, op. cit. n. 115, 250-252.

[120] Ibidem., 261-262.

[121] R. Macrides and others date the death of Asen II on the 24th of June 1241. Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 214 n. 13. P. I. Zavoronkov dates the death of Asen II in the summer 1242. Zavoronkov, op. cit. n. 98, 74. The same opinion: Bredenkamp, op. cit. n. 115, 252.

[122] On the complex personality of Theodore Comnene Doukas, the ruler of Epirus from 1215 to 1230, the king of Thessaloniki from 1227/28 to 1230, the uncle of Michael II of Epirus and the father of John and Demetrius the kings of Thessaloniki, see: K. Barzos, *Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών, Τόμος Β',* Thessaloniki 1984, 548-637.

[123] R. Macrides dates the military intervention of John Vatatzes to 1241 (Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 215), but P. I. Zavornkov place it reather in the summer 1243. Zavoronkov, op. cit. n. 98, 69-74, especially 72.

[124] John III sent Theodore to persuade his son John, the king of Thessaloniki, to recongnise Nicaean authority. Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 215-216; 244 n. 9; Bredenkamp, op. cit. n. 115, 265-266.

[125] Theodore Angel had the region of Ohrid till 1230 (date of his defeat at the battle of Klokotnica), when Ohrid passed to the Bulgarians. R. Macrides concludes that he restored the region sometime thereafther, without proposing a date. Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 242 and 244 n. 9.

[126] S. G. Mercati had already proposed this date for the Jacob's ascension on the throne. Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 109, 100-101.

[127] In Jacob's text, written in honour of Andronicus *megas domestikos* he relates the fact that he ran away from Ohrid and was hosted by Andronicus in Thessaloniki. Mercati, Iacobi Bulgariae archiepiscopi op. cit. n. 109, 73.

[128] Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 215-216, 235-238; Bredenkamp, op. cit. n. 115, 266-271.

[129] See: cf. supra n. 127. Theodore Doukas Angel who held the region of Ohrid in 1246 and the Empress Eirene, the wife of John III Vatatzes were also relatives. See: Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 217 n. 4.

[130] The marginalia of the manuscript mentions that the

Fig. 21 The territory of Ohrid Archbishopric in 1020
(From: D. Rizov, Българите в техните исторически, етнографически и политически граници, carte N° VI)

strained, after the capture of Thessaloniki, Jacob fled from Ohrid and Theodore.

I. Dujčev had published a document (grec. 181 Public Library of Leningrad) permitting him to establish that in October 1248 Jacob was still the archbishop of Ohrid because he gave two manuscripts to the monastery of St. Clement (maybe from Ohrid) and signed with his usual signature as archbishop[130]. Was Jacob an archbishop in exile in 1248, or did he return to Ohrid after his short stay in Thessaloniki? According to Akropolites, from 1246 to 1252, Kastoria and Devolis (south of Ohrid) were held by Petraliphas, the brother-in-law of Michael II, who left this territory to John III Vatatzes in 1252[131]. R. J. Macrides wrote that

Ohrid was also under Petraliphas's control, or more likely, Goulamos's (from Albanon) and was ceded to John III Vatatzes by negotiation with these men and not with Michael II[132]. Things are not very clear. Akropolites does not mention Ohrid as one of the territories held by the Epirotes and it is also possible that the city remained in Nicaean hands, and in that case, the document from 1248 attests that Jacob returned to Ohrid and continued his ordinary activities in the climate of tolerable Epiro-nicaean relations[133].

---

archbishop of Ohrid offered this book in memory of his family: his father Isaias, the monk; his mother Kali; probably his brothers Michael and Theodore; and his sisters Maria and Xenia, the nun. The archbishop signed: † Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Βουλγαρίας Ἰάκωβ | Κῦρ Ἰάκωβος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος [sic]. Dujčev, op. cit. n. 109, 54-61.

[131] Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 250-251 n. 44.

[132] Ibidem., 251 n. 44.

[133] Michael II from Epirus and John III Vatatzes tried to strengthen their peace with marriage alliances. The arrangement between the two parties is mentioned by Akropolites and is dated between 1248 and 1250. The son of Michael II - Nicheporos was supposed to marry Maria, the nieces of John III. But, the marriage was delayed because Michael II rose up in revolt against John III and Akropolites says with the help of Theodore his uncle. This revolt provoked a new campaign of John III in the Western lands in the winter of 1252/53. In this campaign Akropolites writes that John III arrived in 1252 in Thessaloniki and continued to Vodena. Theodore Angel had just fled from there and went to his nephew, the despot Michael II. Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 249-251. However, it seems

In 1252/1253 John III Vatatzes undertook a new offensive in Macedonia and visited the territories newly captured from Michael II. Akropolites quoted Ohrid, Devolis and Kastoria among the cities visited by the Emperor[134]. It seems that at this very moment (around 1253) Jacob received the Emperor, John III Vatatzes, and pronounced a speech of praise, that was published by G. Mercati[135]. M. Stavrou writes that Jacob was still archbishop of Ohrid at that moment[136], which is probable. John III Vatatzes's visit to the region and the presence of the archbishop of Ohrid at that moment was possibly an occasion to discuss the Union of the Churches since in 1253/54; John III intensified his exchanges with the Pope Innocent IV[137]. In 1253, a Roman delegation arrived in Nicaea for discussions with the Emperor and the Patriarch Manuel II. John sent a letter to the Pope in which he proposed to accept the primacy of the Pope in exchange for Constantinople and its Patriarchate[138]. The Patriarch Manuel II himself wrote to the Pope in the summer of 1253[139]. In autumn 1254, the Pope received the delegation of Byzantine bishops, but at the end of the year, the death of all the protagonists interrupted the dialogue; Manuel II died the 1st of November, John III Vatatzes died on the 3rd of November and Innocent IV on the 7th of December[140]. Theodore II Lascaris became the new Emperor and Alexander IV became the new Pope[141]. Theodore II Lascaris, already at the beginning of 1255, sent a delegation of dignitaries to Rome, and afterwards received the Pope's legates in Thessaloniki (October-November 1256)[142]. According to the accounts of the Unionate Patriarch John Beccos[143], a letter from Nicephore Blemmydes[144], treating the question of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, was addressed to Jacob, the archbishop of Ohrid, and another on the same subject was adressed to the Emperor, Theodore[145]. The autograph manuscript of the Blemmydes letter with the name of the recipient is not conserved, but scholars believe that a version of the letter published by L. Allati in the 17th century might be a copy of the letter that Blemmydes sent to Jacob[146]. It is quite certain that Blemmydes sent this letter during Jacob's archiepiscopate sometimes between 1246 and as later as 1256, which is the possible date of Blemmydes retirement to his monastery[147]. The letter probably dates from 1255, as M. Stavrou proposes[148]. Since we do not have any writings from Jacob on the question of the Church Union, we can only speculate on his perspective on this question. According to M. Stavrou, if Jacob was a recipient of the letter of Blemmydes, it appears that the two men had close relations and had similar perspectives on the question of the Procession of the Spirit and the ecclesiastical Union with the Latins[149]. Some scholars think that the Blemmydes interpretation of the Procession of the Holy Spirit is "Latinizing", "Latinophrone" or

that between 1248 and 1252 efforts for stabilization of the political conflicts between Nicaea and Epirus rulers were carried, and that Jacob could go back to Ohrid. Vodena was mentioned as a part of Theodore Comnenos's possessions in 1246 and in 1252 he flew from that town to his nephew. It seems that between 1246 and 1252, he remained governor of Vodena while Petraliphas held Kastoria and Devolis and Goulamos held Albanon.

[134] Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 251 n. 44.

[135] Mercati, Iacobi Bulgariae Archiepiscopi op. cit. n. 109, 93-97. On the date of this speech see: I. Dujčev, Die Letzten Jahre des Erzbischofs Iakobos von Achrida, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 42 (1943-49), 377-383. See also: Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 48.

[136] Ibidem., 48.

[137] See: cf. supra n. 105.

[138] See: Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 51-53 with bibliography.

[139] Ibidem.

[140] Ibidem., 53 with bibliography.

[141] Theodore Lascaris was crowned Emperor at the end of the 1254 (on the Christmas day 1254). Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 158.

[142] Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 54-55 with bibliography.

[143] PG 141, 976D-977A. See: M. Stavrou, Le théologien Nicéphore Blemmydès (1197-v. 1269), figure de contra-
diction entre Orthodoxes et Latinophrones, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 74 (2008), 172.

[144] PG 142, 533-565.

[145] George Pachymeres mention also that John Beccos consulted a letter that Blemmydes sent to Jacob that starts with the words "Ἔστι μοι πάθος ὅπερ ἐξαγγελῶ" and another to the Emperor Theodore Lascaris. Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 602. Letter published by L. Allati starts with this expression precisely. L. Allati, *De Ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis, perpetua consensione libri tres. Ejusdem dissertationes De Dominicis et hebdomadibus graecorum et De Missa praesanctificatorum, Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Jodocum Kalcovium,* 1648, coll. 715-716.

[146] The manuscript version of the text does not mention the recipient of the letter, and the name of the archbishop of Ohrid is quoted in the first edition of the text by Leonis Allati in the 17th century. In the Leonis Allati book on the Western and Eastern Church affaires, he treats the Church Union and the querrels between the two churches. Allati, op. cit. n. 145, coll. 715-716. M. Stavrou analyses the letter and thinks that the recipient of the letter was a very prestigious bishop and through comparaison with the contemporary sources that evoke this letter (the patriarch John Beccos and Pachymeres), he deduced that Jacob was the reciepient of this text on the Holy Spirit. For the critical study of the Blemmydes letter, see: Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 39-141, especially 40-45.

[147] I. Dujčev thinks that the letter was adressed to Jacob in 1253/54. Dujčev, op. cit. n. 109, 56. M. Stavrou dates the lettre in the beginning of 1255. Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 50-55.

[148] Ibidem.

[149] Ibidem., 48.

[150] Stavrou, op. cit. supra n. 143, 169 note 21.

"ambivalent" and others believe that it is in perfect line with the pneumatological tradition of the Greek Church Fathers[150]. It seems that Blemmydes sincerely wanted to reconcile the Greek and Latin Churches[151]. One thing is quite certain concerning Jacob: he was particularly attached to the Nicaean emperors (he wrote an allocution to John III Doukas) and he probably was obedient to them in all respects. The friendship between Jacob and Nicephore Blemmydes, and the grateful words of Beccos for Jacob give us some basis on which to consider Jacob Proarchios as an ally of John III and Theodore Lascaris in their attempts for Church Union.

The discussions with the Pope failed and Blemmydes retired to his monastery[152], probably at the same moment as Jacob did. Patriarch Beccos recounts that Jacob dedicated all his love to God and chose to retire to Mount Athos[153]. S. G. Mercati believes that *terminus post quem* for Jacob's retirement to Mount Athos was the death of Andronicus, the *megas domestikos* and ruler of Thessaloniki[154], because Jacob wrote an Monôdia and few poems in his memory[155]. The date of Andronicus's death is not certain[156], but it probably happened in 1247/1248[157], which is the *terminus post quem* for Jacob's retirement. As I have already written, the speech that Jacob wrote for John III Vatatzes can be dated to 1253. John III Vatatzes died in 1254 and I believe that Jacob remained on the see of Ohrid when the new Emperor, Theodore Lascaris, ascended the throne. He probably received a letter from Blemmydes treating the procession of the Holy Spirit around 1255 and some time after Jacob retired to Mount Athos[158]. A part the Monôdia for Andronicus Palaeologos, the allocution for the basileus John III Doukas Vatatzes, the text on the destruction of the

monastery of St. Melece, Jacob also wrote one text on the Dormition of the Virgin, which shows once more the popularity of the Feast of the Dormition in the 13th century[159].

Konstantin Kabasilas probably succeeded Jacob to the throne of the see of Ohrid in 1255/56, but the exact date of his appointment is unknown[160]. It seems that the Kabasilas family originated from Illyricum[161]. Scholars think that Konstantin began his ecclesiastical career as the bishop of Tiberioupolis (Macedonia) in 1220[162], and he ascended to the metropolitan see

---

[151] Ibidem., 177-178.

[152] Probably c. 1256. See Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 54 n. 55.

[153] PG 141, 976D-977A. Golubinskij, op. cit. n. 111, 125.

[154] S. G. Mercati thinks that once on Mount Athos, he became higoumene of the Great Lavra monastery. Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 107, 101, 106. This is not the opinion of I. Dujčev and M. Stavrou. Dujčev, op. cit. n. 109, 59; I. Dujčev, Die Letzten Jahre Des Erzbischofs Iakobos von Achrida, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 42/2 (1943-49), 379-38; Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 49 n. 35.

[155] Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 47.

[156] After the death of Andronicus in Thessaloniki, Jacob relates that his corps was transferred in Nicaea and buried in the Mausoleum of the Palaeologoi dedicated to Archangel Michael. Mercati, Iacobi Bulgariae Archiepiscopi op. cit. n. 109, 79-80; Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 109, 105, 108, 111-112.

[157] Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 243 note 6 with bibliography.

[158] I. Dujčev places his retirement in late 1253. Dujčev, op. cit. n. 109, 58.

[159] On his works see: Mercati, Iacobi Bulgariae Archiepi-

scopi op. cit. n. 109, 66-98; Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 109, 99-113.

[160] Some scholars think that he became archbishop in 1246. Gelzer, op. cit. n. 47, 12; L. Thalloczy, K. Jiriček, M. Sufflay, *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis Illustrantia: Annos 344-1343 tabulamque geographicam continens* I, Vienna 1913, 51; Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 160. Kabasilas is mentioned in Durazzo in January 1246 in a document published by: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ΔΥΡΡΑΧΗΝΑ, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14 (1905), 568-570. Thus, it seems that in 1246, Kabasilas was still metropolitan of Dyrrachium. S. G. Mercati thinks that Kabasilas came to the see of Ohrid only in 1250 and stayed at least until 1261. Mercati, Sulla Vita e Sulle Opere op. cit. n. 109, 105. K. Nihoritis thinks also that he was at the see of Ohrid in 1250. K. Nihoritis, *Ανέκδοτη ελληνική ακολουθία προς τιμήν του αρχιεπισκόπου Αχριδών Κωνσταντίνου Καβάσιλα, Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα*, εκδ. Αντ. Σταμούλη, Θεσσαλονίκη 2001, 358. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus and I. Snegarov mention an anonymous document issued by an unknown archbishop of Ohrid in the month of June, eighth indictus (1250?). They attribute this document to Kabasilas, who, in their opinion, should have already been the archbishop of Ohrid. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας* I, Bruxelle 1963, 474-476; Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 211. This document is attributed to Jacob Proarchios by M. Stavrou, and I agree with his opinion. Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 49 n. 34.

[161] I. Snegarov thinks that he was perhaps an Illyrian from Epirus, and that he was close to Michael II, the Epirote ruler. Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 211 n. 3. Others think that his family was from Dyrrachium. Thalloczy, op. cit. n. 160, 51. Some authors propose the city of Ohrid as his native town. One letter from Chomatianos to a friend, Constantin bishop of Strumica (Tiberioupolis), who originated from Ohrid or lived for a lengtht of time in Ohrid, is also preserved, but there is no mention of the Constantin's family name in this letter. J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, t. VI, Paris 1891, col. 517-586. J. Gouillard, identifies Constantine from this letter to Konstantin Kabasilas and concludes that Kabasilas had origins in Ohrid or that he had lived in Ohrid for a length of time. A. Baudrillart, A. de Meyer, E. van Cauwenbergh (eds), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques t. 11*, Paris 1949, 13-14.

[162] He signed two canons dedicated to the fifteen martyrs of Tiberioupolis. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάλεκτα. Ἀλφάβητος Οὐρανοῦ μαγίστρου, *Byzanti-*

of Dyrrachium before 1235[163]. He was a person close to the archbishop of Ohrid Demetrius Chomatianos (1220-1234/36), and was probably a partisan of the autonomous Church of Epirus[164]. What is particularly interesting is the correspondence between Kabasilas as metropolitan of Dyrrachium and Demetrius Chomatianos as archbishop of Ohrid. Dyrrachium, the entrance point of the Via Egnatia[165], was a city permanently exposed to occidental influence. Kabasilas as metropolitan of this city had to communicate with the Latin population and in his correspondence he poses questions to Demetrius Chomatianos and the bishop John of Kitros, concerning Latin religious practices[166]. For example, he wants to know whether

he should consider the unleavened bread used by Latins as holy; whether Greek Orthodox ecclesiastics can continue to ordain Latin priests; whether the Latins can be buried in Orthodox churches and have their funerary and commemorative services held inside and vice-versa. He wanted to know also whether a Greek priest could pray in a Latin church if invited and whether he could give communion to Latins[167]. The questions posed by Kabasilas reflect the multi-religious and multi cultural character of the city, but what is more surprising in this correspondence are the answers of Demetrius Chomatianos and John of Kitros, who seem particularly open-minded on questions of the ritual differences between Latins and Greeks. For instance, they respond that only the dogmatic questions on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and the use of unleavened bread are the major differences between the Greeks and the Latins[168], and they advise Kabasilas to tolerate the distribution of the azyms and to consider them holy, to authorize the Latin funerary rites in Greek churches, and to continue with the ordination of the Latin priests. From this correspondence, it is clear that Kabasilas was in direct contact with the Latin population, their rites and beliefs, and he encouraged religious tolerance[169]. We

---

nische Zeitschrift 8 (1899), 76; L. Petit, Le Monastère de Notre Dame de Pitié en Macédoine, *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople* 6 (1900), 96; Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 211 n. 3. On his episcopal career see: K. G. Pitsakis, Personae non sunt multiplicandae sine necessitate. Nouveau témoignages sur Constantin Kabasilas, *Zwischen Polis Provinz und Peripherie, Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur, Herausgegeben von Lars. M. Hoffmann unter Mitarbeit von Anuscha Monchizadeh*, Wiesbaden 2005, 491 ff. et surtout 512.

[163] The sole proof that Konstantin Kabasilas occupied the see of Dyrrachium is his correspondence with Demetrius Chomatianos (c. 1217-1235), who died in 1235, and a certain John from Kitros. According to J. Gouillard, Kabasilas was on the ecclesiastical see of Dyrrachium c. 1230. A. Baudrillart, A. de Meyer, E. van Cauwenbergh (eds), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques t. 11*, Paris 1949, 13-14. The Prosopographisches Lexikon gives also the date before 1235 for his metropolitan function in Dyrrachium. E. Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palailogenzeit 5*, Vienna 1981, N° 10097. Scholars think that Konstantin Kabasilas - bishop from Strumica and Konstantin Kabasilas - metropolitan from Dyrrachium are the same person, which is plausible. Golubinskij, op. cit n. 111, 125; Petit, op. cit. n. 162, 96; Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 211 n. 3; Thalloczy, op. cit. n. 160, 51; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, op. cit. n. 162, 76-78; Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 93; Karpozilos, op. cit. n. 98, 79. See also: C. Grozdanov, Прилози познавању средновековне уметности Охрида, *Зборник за Ликовне Уметности 2* (Нови Сад) (1966), 200-201; Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 359 n. 5; Grozdanov, О светом Конатантину op. cit. n. 79, 322.

[164] Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 93.

[165] In 1225, Theodore Comnenos Doukas took Dyrrachium and Corfu from the Venetians. These cities entered into Ohrid's diocese. Ducellier, op. cit. n. 36, 149 ff. According to I. Snegarov the Albanian coast enter in c. 1258 in the territory of the Sicilian King Manfred, in 1272 enters the territory of Charles from Anjou, but in 1281 became part of the Ohrid archbishop diocese. Snegarov, op.cit. n. 93, 128; Ducellier, op. cit. n. 36, 230.

[166] G. Ralles, M. Potles, Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν Κανόνων t. 5, Athens 1855, 403-406; 430-436.

[167] Scholars thought that some of the responses to Kabasi-

las were sent from John, bishop of Kitros. J. Darrouzès, Les Réponses canoniques de Jean de Kitros, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 31 (1973), 319-334. A. Pavlov taught that John of Kitros is a bishop that lived in the 14th century and the confusion in the recipient of the letters was been made by a copyist. A. Pavlov, Кому принадлежать каническіе ответы, авторомь которыхь считался Иоаннь, епископь китрскій (XIII въка)?, *Византийский временникъ* 1 (1894), 493-502; A. Baudrillart, A. de Meyer, E. van Cauwenbergh (eds), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques t. 11*, Paris 1949, 13. Recently the opinion that possibly both of these authors sent their responses to Kabasilas according to some already-existing nomocanonical work is also expressed. V. Katsaros, Ἀνέκδοτο «σημείωμα διαζυγίου» του 13ου αιώνα από τον κώδ. Vat. Gr. 1891 και το πρόβλημα του συντάκτη, επισκόπου Κίτρους Ιωάννου, Μνήμη Λίνου Πολίτη, Thessaloniki 1983, 53-63. See: W. Hartmann, K. Pennington, *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, Washington 2012, 202-203.

[168] See: Ralles, Potles, op. cit. n. 166, 404, 431-432, 434.

[169] The tolerance of Demetrius Chomatianos toward the use of unleavened bread is striking. In the same moment c. 1231, in Nicosia, 13 monks of the Kantara monastery were put to death by the Latins. According to the text of *Martyrion Kyprion* they were involved in a discussion with the Dominican friar Andrew, in the course of which they condemned the use of unleavened bread by the Latins in the Sacrament of Holy Communion and even called the Latins heretics because of their use of azyms. M. Hinterberger, A neglected tool of Orthodox Propaganda?, *Greek, Latins and Intellectual History 1204-1500*, ed. M. Hinterberger

know for certain that before 1259[170], Konstantin Kabasilas was at the healm of the archbishopric of Ohrid. His ascension to the archiepiscopal throne of Ohrid probably occurred in 1255/56[171]. Relations between Epirus and Nicaea from 1254 to 1256 appear to have been peaceful and stable. Theodore Lascaris was rather occupied with the rebellion of the Bulgarians[172]. While Theodore Lascaris was in the region, Theodora - the wife of the ruler of Epirus Michael II Angel - arranged a marriage between her son Nicephoros with the daughter of Lascaris, Maria. The marriage was concluded in October 1256 and the Epirote party left Dyrrachium and Servia as a marriage gift to the Nicaeans[173]. Kabasilas was probably still metropolitan of Dyrrachium at this moment and probably participated in the marriage negotiations between the Epirote and Nicaean parties. Since the town of Dyrrachium passed over to Nicaean hands in 1256 and the see of Ohrid was vacant, Kabasilas surely seized the occasion and arranged his transfer. Thus, at this very moment, changes to the sees of Ohrid and Dyrrachium occurred. Jacob left the throne of Ohrid and Kabasilas undertook it. The new metropolitan of Dyrrachium became a man named Chalkoutzes[174].

However, soon after his ascension to the see of Ohrid, Theodore II Lascaris arrested Kabasilas (c. 1257) and sent him to prison in Nicaea until his release in 1259[175]. Kabasilas was suspected of treachery and of close collaboration with the governors of Epirus. As other scholars have determined, Emperor Theodore Lascaris had surely a good reason to arrest him, since Kabasilas's two brothers had important positions at the court of Epirus and since Kabasilas was a close collaborator of Demetrios Chomatianos, the archbishop of Ohrid who crowned the King of Epirus[176]. We know that Theodore II Lascaris continued the negotiation for the Union of the Churches in 1255/56, and that in 1256, a delegation from Pope Alexandar IV met the Emperor in Thessaloniki[177]. It is impossible to know whether Konstantin Kabasilas was consulted regarding the question of the Chruch Union, and what his point of view was on these matters since no documents have survived.

What is very interesting for Kabasilas's career during his stay in prison was that Michael Palaiologos, the future Emperor, was also imprisoned in Nicaea[178]; he had been suspected by Theodore Lascaris of treacherous intentions. Michael was liberated in 1258 after the death of Theodore Lascaris, and Kabasilas was freed in 1259 when he proved his loyalty to Michael VIII during the capture of Ohrid by the forces of John II Palaiologos, Michael VIII's brother. Akropolites states that the former archbishop helped John II to conquer the city without a fight[179]. After this, Kabasi-

---

[170] Cf. infra n. 175.

[171] E. Golubinskij thinks that Kabasilas - bishop of Strumica and Kabasilas – the metropolitan of Dyrrachium are the same person, but he thinks that Kabasilas-archbishop of Ohrid is another homonym. Golubinskij, op. cit n. 111, 125. R. Macrides thinks that he was archbishop in the time of Theodore II Lascaris (1254-58). Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 358 n. 5. See also: Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 211. According to Pachymeres, in 1256 the town of Dyrrachium was in Nicaean hands, and in this moment a new metropolitan was appointed, a certain Chalkoutzes. Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 44-45. It is thus clear that Kabasilas left the metropolitan see of Dyrrachium before this moment. The identification of Kabasilas - bishop of Strumica and Kabasilas - metropolitan of Dyrrachium as the same person as Kabasilas - archbishop of Ohrid is today accepted by the scholars. See: Pitsakis, op. cit. n. 162, 491 ff. with bibliography.

[172] Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 158 ff.; Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 297 ff.

[173] Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 160.

[174] According to Pachymeres, Michael VIII Palaiologos asked Chalkoutzes the metropolitan of Dyrrachium to pray for him in Thessaloniki just before his arrestment in 1257. Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 46-49.

[175] The Nicaean governor of the Western Provinces was in that moment George Akropolites. The Nicaean Emperor, Theodore Lascaris, asked Akropolites to arrest Kabasilas. The arrest is presumed to date from this time even though Akropolites does not mention it until two years later. Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 356, 358-359; Gelzer, op. cit. n. 47, 12; Thalloczy, op. cit. n. 160, 51; Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 160-161.

[176] Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 160.

[177] Stavrou, op. cit. n. 105, 49-54 with bibliography.

[178] Michael Palaiologos was first arrested for treason in 1253 by John III Vatatzes, and released in 1254, just before the death of the Emperor. Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 36-37 n. 5. In the summer of 1257 Michael Palaiologos was sent by Theodore Lascaris in the Western provinces of the Empire of Nicaea to help the governor of the province, George Akropolites, who had begun to lose territories in the offensives of Michael II Angel. Michael II attacked Prilep where Akropolites was present and captured the city. Akropolites was arrested and sent to Arta as a prisoner. Other towns and fortifications in Western Macedonia were also conquered from Michael II. Thessaloniki stayed in the Michael VIII hands, but Lascaris summoned him once more to Nicaea and put him in prison. He stayed in prison probably until the summer of 1258 when Theodore Lascaris died. Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 165-166; Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 46 - 60; Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 332 ff.

[179] Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 356; C. Grozdanov, *Охридското зидно сликарство од XIV век*, Ohrid 1980, 9; Nicol, op. cit. n. 98, 176-177.

[180] Akropolites states that after Michael VIII "took hold of

---

et C. Schabel, Leuven, Paris, Walpole 2011, 139 with bibliography. This example testifies that somewhere else, the religious conflicts between Latins and Greeks were much more pronounced.

las once more took up the governance of the see of Ohrid and was appointed to this position by Michael VIII[180].

It is unknown whether Kabasilas had an active role in the preparation for the Council of Lyons, since the date of his death is uncertain and the ascension of his successor to the throne of Ohrid is also unknown. However, several pieces of information about the relation between Kabasilas and Michael VIII and the exceptional rights that were granted to the Church of Ohrid just before the Union, suggest that the prelates of Ohrid supported the Union in 1274.

Kabasilas was surely familiar with Latin culture since he spent some time on the metropolitan throne of Dyrrachium, the port city and the starting point of the Via Egnatia where Western merchants arrived with their commodities[181]. It is presumed that he was the commissioner of the wooden sculpture of St. Clement of Ohrid, of supposed Latin production (fig. 20). Did he comission the sculpture from the Latin merchants in Dyrrachium or from artists that were already installed in the Balkans? An answer is impossible. Not only Kabasilas was beholden to Michael VIII for his position and liberty, but the two men had common interests to defend: Kabasilas wanted to consolidate his see - he had already lost a part of his diocese in favor of the Churches of Serbia and Bulgaria - and Michael VIII wanted to neutralize these two states as they were a constant threat to Byzantium and were dangerously close to Charles of Anjou, who displayed clear anti-Byzantine intentions[182]. Michael VIII tried to make alliance with the Serbian king Stefan Uroš Nemanja and proposed to give his daughter Anna to Milutin, the second son of the king[183]. Negotiations were held until 1271-72, when the Byzantine princess arrived in Ohrid but didn't continue her trip to Serbia[184]. At that moment, Michael VIII knew that his alliance had failed, but the fact that the princess travelled to Ohrid suggests the possible role of the archbishop of Ohrid in this

episode. Was Konstantin Kabasilas still the archbishop of Ohrid at that moment? If the answer is yes, then Kabasilas and Michael VIII found a way to neutralize Serbia. In 1272/73, Michael VIII confirmed the rights of the archbishopric of Ohrid over the territory that was annexed by the Serbian Church and was previously in the diocese of Ohrid[185]. The archbishopric of Ohrid received a chysobull from Michael VIII with all the privileges that had been granted to it two centuries before by Basil II (fig. 21). The name of the archbishop is not conserved in the chrysobull. Was it a historical lacunae or a deliberate omission? Perhaps, the archbishop of Ohrid died shortly before the redaction of the chrysobull. If the see of Ohrid was vacant, it is understandable that the Emperor did not mention the name of the archbishop at that specific moment. I fear that the response to this question will remain open for the time being, since the date of Kabasilas's death remains a mystery. According to some scholars, it must have occurred in the seventh decade of the 13th century, and probably before 1274[186]. He

_____

манастыря Сватой Екатерины на Синаъ 1, Saint Petersburg 1911, 542-554. On the exact date of Michael VIII chrysobull see: A. E. Müller, Zur Datierung des Chrysobulls Michaels VIII. für Ochrid: nicht August 1272, sondern Juli 1273, *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur,* Wiesbaden 2005, (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 7), 427-432. One aspect of the Michael VIII's personal history is quite interesting. Pachymeres mentions that during the reign of Michael VIII, the corpse of the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctone was discovered in the ruins of the church of Hebdomon. Michael VIII demanded the transfer of the Emperor's body and a solemn funeral for his predecessor. Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 174-176. Later, during the Scythian threats in Macedonia and Thrace, Andronicus II, the son of Michael VIII wished to transfer the corpse of his father Michael VIII to the Monastery of the Savior in Silivri (Selymbria) and to place it opposite the tomb of Basil Bulgaroctone. Georges Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 120-123. Thus, it seems that the two emperors that granted exceptional rights to the archiepiscopate of Ohrid were supposed to lie in the same church.

[186] The *terminus post quem* for his death is an inscription found on the icon of the Christ Pantocrator from the Virgin Peribleptos church, and hold in the Ohrid Museum. The inscription that mentions the commissioner Konstantin Kabasilas bears the date 1262/63. V. J. Djurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie,* Belgrade 1961, 83-84, N°2, pl. II; Pitsakis, op. cit. n. 162, 496. The *terminus ante quem* are the paintings in the Saint John church from Kaneo (1280-1290), where he is painted in the procession of the church fathers as a saint, which means that he was already dead and canonized by that time. There are five portraits of St. Kabasilas identified: at Saint-John Kaneo (1280-90), at the Virgin Peribleptos (1295), and the Small Saints-Anargyres (middle of the 14th) (all three in Ohrid), at Staro Nagoričino (1317-18) and in Protaton (16th century). Grozdanov, Прилози

_____

the imperial sceptre, he rescued and restored all those who, for whatever reason, had been imprisoned by the Emperor Theodore or had been neglected in some other way ..." Macrides, op. cit. n. 98, 351.

[181] On the Via Egnatia see: cf. supra n. 36.

[182] Ostrogorsky, op. cit. n. 94, 476, 479 ff.; Grozdanov, op. cit. n. 179, 12. At this moment the Angevin presence was prominent on the Albanian coast and the aspiration of Charles of Anjou to the throne of Constantinople was evident. Ducellier, op. cit. n. 36, 230.

[183] S. M. Dinić, Komes Constantinus, *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* 7 (1951), 1-2; E. Malamut, Les reines de Milutin, *Byzantinische Zeitchrift* 93 (2000), 491.

[184] See: cf. supra n. 183.

[185] B. N. Beneševič, *Описание Греческихь рукописей*

was canonized soon after his death (during Michael VIII's reign), his feast was fixed on the 18th of October[187] and he was represented in several churches in Ohrid (already at the end of the 13th century), at Staro Nagoričino and at Mount Athos[188]. It is rather tempting to date the death of Kabasilas's to 1272/73, during the time of the chrysobull of Michael VIII and just before the Lyons Council.

Another enigma from the lists of the hierarchy of the archbishops of Ohrid exists for Kabasilas's successor. Pachymeres mentions in 1273 a certain archbishop of Ohrid, Kerameas, who hosted the brother of Michael VIII, John II Palaiologos, after his victory in the battle against the Latins at the gulf of Bolos[189]. It appears that the archbishop was in Thessaloniki at that moment and had his quarters there; he dressed and nursed the wounded companions of John II[190]. J. Darrouzes, followed by others, identified Kerameas the archbishop of Ohrid along with archbishop Theodore Kerameas[191] whose testament from 1284 was conserved in the Archives of the Lavra Monastery[192]. Editors of the Testament think that Theodore Kerameas was the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, who at one time was deposed from his throne[193]. The two archbishops Kerameas cited in two contemporary sources (1273 Pachymeres and 1284 Testament in Lavra) showed that they both had tight links to Thessaloniki; the first was probably settled in Thessaloniki in 1273 when he received John II Palaiologos, and the second left all his property to the monastery of the Christ Savior Pantodynamos in Thessaloniki that he had previously founded. Also, a major part of Theodore Kerameas' possessions and witnesses are from Thessaloniki. In my opinion, these two Kerameas can be identified as the same person. In the beginning of the Testament, Theodore stated that he was an archbishop deposed from his see for an unknown reason[194]. Further on we learn also that a part of his properties were confiscated on imperial request (probably Michael VIII's), but also that he wishes to live his monastery to the Emperor Michael probably Michael IX, who had been born in 1277 and associated to the throne at age of five[195]. If we follow the opinion of J. Darrouzes, that this archbishop was in fact the archbishop of Ohrid who was deposed by the Emperor Michael VIII from his see, had his properties confiscated and returned to his native town Thessaloniki; we should place his dismissal somewhere before 1273, the date when he received John II Palaiologos in Thessaloniki[196]. Following this hypothesis, it seems that he ascended to the throne of Ohrid in 1272 or at the beginning of 1273, and certainly after Kabasilas's death. We do not know the precise role of the archbishop of Ohrid in the preparation of the Church Union at Lyons (1274) because documents are missing. However, the moment of Kerameas dismissal, just before the Union, suggests a conflict between the two men (Emperor and archbishop) precisely on this question[197]. It is probable that the Emperors' arguments regarding the Union did not convince Kerameas and that this is why Michael VIII dethroned him and confiscated his possessions. He returned to Thessaloniki and later that year received John II Palaiologos, the brother of Michael VIII who, at that moment, did not have his brother's affection[198]. Kerames died shortly after

op. cit. n. 163, 51-52, 199 ff.; Grozdanov, *Портрети* op. cit. n. 88, 97-53, 78, pl. III, ill. 12; P. Miljković-Pepek, *Пештерната црква Свети Еразмо крај Охрид*, Skopje 1994, 51, fig.14, ill. 10; C. Grozdanov, Охридскиот архиепископ Прохор и неговата дејност, *Студии за Охридскиот Живопис*, Skopje 1990, 153; Grozdanov, О светом Конатантину op. cit. n. 79, 313-324.

[187] Pitsakis, op.cit. n. 162, 495 n. 15. His service was published by: Nihoritis, op. cit. n. 160, 345-372.

[188] On his portraits see: cf. supra n. 186.

[189] Pachymeres, *op. cit. n. 79,* 432 n. 1; A. Failler, Pachymeriana quaedam, *Revue des études byzantines* 40 (1982), 196 ff.

[190] Ibidem.

[191] J. Darrouzès, Compte rendu du P. Lemerle (alii.) Archives de l'Athos, Actes de Lavra II et III, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 38 (1980), 298; Failler, op. cit. n. 189, 196-199; G. Kiourtzian, The monolithic Marble Sarcophagus (ΒΕ 95α, β, γ / ΑΓ 1560 α, β, γ) in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 7 (2000), 38-42; G. Kiourtzian, Épigraphie et photographie, retour sur un sarcophage Thessalonicien, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 66 (2008), 221-231. I am highly thankful to Konstantin Vetochnikov for his bibliographical suggestions on Theodore Kerameas.

[192] P. Lemerle, *Archives de l'Athos, Actes de Lavra II,* Paris 1977, 27 ff.

[193] Ibidem., 28-30. This opinion was fallowed by: E. Trapp (ed), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* 5, Vienna 1981, 172, N° 11638.

[194] Ὁ οὐκ οἶδ'ὅπως τῆς λαχούσ(ης) με ἐξωσθεὶς ἀρχιεπισκοπ(ῆς) ἐλάχιστο(ς) τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ δοῦλο(ς) Θεόδωρο(ς) ὁ Κεραμέας. Lemerle, op. cit. n. 192, 30·

[195] Emperor was seven years of age when the Testament was written. Lemerle, op. cit. n. 192, 30. The Emperor was proclaimed *basileus* at age of five, but he received the crown only in May 1294. D. M. Nicol, *Les derniers siècles de Byzance (1261-1453),* Paris 2005.

[196] Failler, op. cit. n. 187, 196-199.

[197] As A. Failler already suspected, if Kerameas was the archbishop of Ohrid in 1273, he was probably involved in the preparation of the Lyons Union. Failler, op. cit. n. 189, 198-199. Kerameas asked in his Testament in 1284 (afther the Michael VIII death) for the restitution of his books. Lemerle, op. cit. n. 192, 31-32. Maybe he was rehabilitated at that moment by the new Emperor, Andronicus II Palaeologos.

[198] Pachymeres quoted that John had already lost the battle at Neai Patrai against the ruler of Thessaly John Doukas. He was so afraid of his brother's reaction that he changed

1284 at his monastery, and we have one final piece of information about him engraved on the marble sarcophagus conserved in the Museum of Thessaloniki: he died and was burried in Thessaloniki[199].

It appears that Kerameas was not archbishop for very long, and in 1273 he was already back in his native town[200]. The other certainty is that the succesor of Kerameas was indubitably in favor of the Church Union because the Byzantine delegation at Lyons defended the archbishop of Ohrid`s interests before the Pope, recalling that the archbishopric of Ohrid was a papal foundation[201]. In fact, the archbishopric of Ohrid considered itself a legitimate successor of Justiniana Prima, the bishopric founded by Justinian and Pope Vigilius[202]. With the Michael VIII chrysobull, the Ohrid diocese was also supposed to restitute his boundaries from the time of Basil II (fig. 21). The Byzantine delegation's request at Lyons could not have been possible if the archbishop of Ohrid had not supported the Union. We do not have the name of the Kerameas's successor, but it seems that the arch-bishop of Ohrid was a staunch ally of Michael VIII in all affaires concerning ecclesiastical policy, including the Union.

Another argument supports this hypothesis: we should not ignore the portraits of Michael VIII painted at different points of the Via Egnatia and on the soil of Ohrid's archiepiscopal diocese. His first portrait, probably commissioned by Konstantin Kabasilas seems to be the one found in a small cave church dedicated to Saint Erasmus near Ohrid and dated to 1259/60 when Michael VIII was not yet an Emperor in Constantinople[203]. Another imperial portrait was also identified in the church of the Virgin Mavriotissa in Kastoria (1261-64)[204]. One inscription that glorifies Michael VIII exists at Saint-Nicolas in Manastir (1270/71)[205] in the Pelagonian diocese[206]. The date of this inscription is close to the Michael VIII chrysobull to the archbishop of Ohrid. Theodore Kerameas mentions in his Testament that he had books that were (in 1284) in the hands of Demetrius, the bishop of Pelagonia and he asked for their restitution[207]. It seems that his books were also seized by Michael VIII and given to the Pelagonian bishopric where the inscription praising Michael VIII was written. Thus, it seems that the Pelagonian bishop was also a sympatiser of Michael VIII. The last portrait of the Emperor was painted near the Council of Lyons in the church of the Virgin in Apollonia (1272-74/75)[208]. All these portraits prove the presence of the Emperor's

his despotic insignia with ordinary clothes. Pachymeres, op. cit. n. 79, 432 n. 1; Failler, op. cit. n. 189, 196.

[199] Kerameas's marble sarcophagus was discovered and is now exposed at the Thessaloniki Museum of Byzantine Culture. It seems that Kerameas died in his monastery and the brothers honnoured their founder with an expensive marble sarcophagus. In the inscription of the epitaphios, there is a rare mention of the Holy Trinity. Kiourtzian, The monolithic Marble Sarcophagus op. cit. n. 191, 39; Kiourtzian, Épigraphie et photographie, op. cit. n. 191, 221-231.

[200] Failler, op. cit. n. 189, 196-197.

[201] N. Radojčić, Свети Сава и автокефалност српске и бугарске цркве, Глас Српске Краљевске Академије 189 (1939), 224 ff. especially 226-227 (text in Latin); Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 157-161; Grozdanov, op. cit. n. 179, 10 n. 12; Grozdanov, Прилози op. cit. n. 163, 205-207; Miljković-Pepek, op. cit. n. 186, 21-22.

[202] The Emperor Justinian founded in 535 the archbishopric of Justiniana Prima, whose dioceses included the territory of Dacia (provinces Praevalis, Pannonia Secunda, Moesia Superior, Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Mediterranea et Dardania), and for a very short period the diocese of Macedonia II. Granić, op. cit. n. 94, 1-3. Ohrid was never in the territory of Justiniana Prima being in the province of Epirus Nova. C. Grozdanov, Охрид и охридската архиепископија во XIV век, Историја 1 (1980), 161; E. Naxidou, An Aspect of the Medieval History of the archbishopric of Ohrid: its Connection with Justiniana Prima, Byzantinoslavica 64 (2006), 153 ff. The first mention of Justiniana Prima in the title of the Ohrid archbishops dates from 1157 (Acts of the Council in Constantinople). Tapkova-Zaimova, L'archevêché autocéphale d'Ochrid, op. cit. n. 100, 420-421; A. V. Popović, Титулатура охридског архиепископа у писмима Димитрија Хоматијана, Зборник Радова Византолошког Института 38 (1999/2000), 279-285; Pechayre, op. cit. n. 100, 184; Ferjančić, op. cit. n. 103, 71.

[203] For this date see: S. Bogevska, Les églises rupestres de la région des lacs d'Ohrid et de Prespa milieu du XIIIe – milieu du XVIe siècle, PhD at University of Paris I defendet on the 30th of October 2010, supervisor: C. Jolivet-Lévy, in preparation for publication, Brepols Publishers.

[204] T. Papamastorakis, Ἕνα εικαστικό εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η΄Παλαιολόγου: Οι εξωτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της μονής της Μαυριώτισσας στην Καστοριά, Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας π. 4, τ. 15 (1989/90), 233.

[205] In the inscription of the St. Nicolas Church in Manastir (1270/71) apart from the Emperor Michael VIII, a certain John who was deacon and referent of the archbishopric of Ohrid is also mentioned. F. Barišić, Два грчка натписа из Манастира и Струге, Зборник Радова Византолошког Института VIII/2 (1964), 16; H. Melovski, Натписи и записи од византиско и поствизантиско време, Skopje 2009, 21 ff. with bibliography.

[206] The Ohrid archbishopric had 11 bishoprics after the Palaiologos recapture of the region: Ohrid, Kastoria, Devolis, Glavanica, Kanina, Pelagonia, Meglen, Slanica, Greben, Strumica and Vlaška. Snegarov, op. cit. n. 93, 193, 195.

[207] Lemerle, op. cit. n. 192, 31-32.

[208] H. Buschhausen, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien, Vienna 1976, 146-147. On the Michael VIII dedicatory inscriptions in other provinces see: V. Foskolou, "In the Reign of the Emperor of Rome...": Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Palaiol-

persona on the soil of the diocese of Ohrid and suggest that the prelates of Ohrid supported his policies.

*   *   *

It is quite difficult to give an answer to the question of Kastorian bishopric's perspective on all these questions. It is worth mentioning that the bishopric of Kastoria was governed at least three times by Latin bishops in the 13th century (1210, 1211, 1215) and the see was the *protothronos* of the Ohrid archbishopric. None of the names of Kastoria's prelates are mentioned in the sources from the second half of the 13th century. However, it is certain that the two Trinity representations could not have been unknown to the bishop, especially the one from Koubelidiki, placed on the Acropolis of Kastoria[209]. The portrait of Michael VIII in the Mavriotissa Church from 1261-64 also confirms the Emperor's legitimacy in the town. The church of Omorphokklesia was a parish of the Bishop of Kastoria possibly already in the middle of the 13th century, and its Trinity representation was probably known to Kastoria bishop also. In my opinion, the two Trinity representations of Kastoria bishopric were painted in the period of troubles between 1255/56 and 1282 (during the reigns of the archbishops Jacob, Kabasilas, Theodore Kerameas or his successor), when attempts for the Union of the two Churches were being carried out and when the East-West iconographic exchange had reached its highest point. The representations of the Trinity in Kastoria would not be reproduced afterwards in Byzantine art, which stresses the importance of the historical moment for their creation. In my opinion these images reflect the ecclesiastic and cultural climate of the Union without explicitly taking a stance on the *filioque* controversy; in the church of Koubelidiki it seems that the Universal Paternity of the God is the leading message and, in the church of Omorphokklesia, it is rather the message of the Christian Œcumene (people from the Pentecost scene) united before the Holy Trinity. We can imagine that Kastoria's prelates and governors owed their obeisance to the archbishop of Ohrid and to the Byzantine Emperor even on the question of the Uniate policy. Thus, the clear pro-Orthodox or anti-Union messages, especially regarding the question of the Procession of the Spirit are rather absent in the Trinity representations. In my opinion, the iconographic solution for the Koubelidiki and the Omorphokklesia Trinity representations are inspired from Western artistic production, at the moment of the intense debates over the intercourse between the Tree Persons of the Trinity, but they do not give a definitive or radical answer to the Eastern-Western disputes about the relation between the Son and the Spirit.

---

ogos, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας π.* 4, τ. 27 (2006), 455-462.

[209] E. Drakopoulou thinks that maybe the commissioner of the Koubelidiki paintings was the Bishop of Kastoria and that he had connections with Constantinople. Drakopoulou, op. cit. n. 41, 69, 91-92.

Сашка БОГЕВСКА

СВЕТОТО ТРОЈСТВО ВО ДИЕЦЕЗАТА НА ОХРИДСКАТА АРХИЕПИСКОПИЈА ВО ВТОРАТА ПОЛОВИНА ОД 13ᵀᴴ ВЕК

Резиме

Авторот на овој труд се бави со иконографска анализа на две необични претстави насликани на територијата на Костурската епархија. Станува збор за две претстави на Светото Тројство кои датираат од втората половина на 13 век: една од нив е насликана во припратата на Света Богородица Кубелидики во Костур а другата се наоѓа на сводот на припратата во црквата Свети Ѓорѓи Оморфоклисија (Калишта). Претставите на Светото Тројство се веќе познати и доста дискутирани во научната јавност, а нивната интерпретација се врзува со догматската полемика на Источната и Западната Црква во врска со излегувањето на Светиот Дух. Источната Црква проповеда дека Светиот Дух излегува само од Отецот, додека пак Латинската Црква смета дека Светиот Дух излегува од Отецот и Синот, што е така наречената *filioque* полемика. Тоа е една од причините за Црковната Шизма од 1054 година и една од основните препреки за црковно помирување. Иконографската анализа на овие претстави кои се необични за византиското уметничко творење, води кон заклучокот дека истите трпат западни влијанија во нивно обликување. Двете цркви имаат и други иконографки елементи кои се потенцијално инспирирани од западните уметнички текови, а кои авторот ги напоменува (Вознесување на телото на Богородица, присуството на амфора во сцената на Распетието, присуството на дрвени скулптури, итн). По иконографката анализа, авторот заклучува дека периодот во кој се насликани претставите на Светото Тројство е период на силни уметнички размени меѓу Истокот и Западот, најверојатно преку Виа Егнација, пат кој овозможувал директни комерцијални врски меѓу Италија, албанскиот брег и внатрешноста на Балканскиот Полуостров. Фактот дека претставите се насликани во втората половина на 13тиот век, време кога византиските владетели во повеќе наврати се обидуваат да остварат Црковна Унија со Рим, наведе повеќе автори да го поврзат појавувањето на овие две претстави на Светото Тројство со дискусијата околу *filioque,* секогаш актуелна кога двете Цркви прават обиди за обединување. Според авторите кои ги анализирале овие две претстави, Светото Тројство од Кубелидики и Оморфоклисија најверојатно ја изразуваат ортодоксната позиција во спорот, што според нив била и официјален став на Охридската Архиепископија, а со тоа и на Костурската епархија (Костур е прототрон на Охридската архиепископија). Авторот на овој труд се согласува со другите автори дека овие две претстави се поврзани со преговорите за Унија од втората половина на 13ᵀᴴ век, но верува дека официјалниот став на Охридската Архиепископија не бил категорички против Унијата.

Имајќи предвид дека иконографската анализа на претставите не дава конечни резултати што се однесува до излегувањето на Светиот Дух (ортодоксно или католичко сфаќање на хиерархијата меѓу трите хипостази), авторот навлегува во историска анализа на политиката на Охридската Архиепископија од втората половина на 13ᵀᴴ век со цел да ја надополни интерпретацијата на овие претстави. Разгледани се архиепископските дејствувања на четворица охрдиски архиепископи: Јаков Проархиј, Константин Кавасила, Теодор Керамеас и неговиот неидентификуван наследник. Во времето на сите овие архиепископи, никејските владетели Јован III Ватац, Теодор Ласкарис и Михајло VIII водат помалку или повеќе сериозни преговори со Рим кои ќе бидат крунисани со Лионската Црковна Унија од 1274. Авторот ги разгледува историските прилики кои ги наведуваат охридските архиепископи верно да им служат на византиските владетели па дури и по прашањето на Црковната Унија. Авторот предлага попрецизно датирање на архиепископувањата на Јаков (околу 1246 - 1255/56), Константин Кавасила (1255/56 -1257; 1259 - околу 1272/73), Теодор Керамеас (1272/1273) и неговиот следбеник (1273 - 1284). Историските прилики анализирани

од страна на авторот наведуваат на заклучокот дека Охридските Архиепископи од втората половина на 13тиот век ја поддржувале политиката на византиските императори, а кога тоа не било случај биле едноставно симнувани од престолот (Теодор Керамеас на пример). Фактот дека Охридската Архиепископија добила исклучителни права со повелбата на Михајло VIII од 1272/73 и дека Михајло VIII ги бранел правата на охридстa Архиепископија во Лион а го оспорувал легитимитетот на Српската и Бугарската Црква говорат за наклонетоста на владетелот кон оваа институција. Присуството на владетелските портрети на тлото на Охридската архиепискиопија пак говори за наклонетоста на охридските архиепископи кон владетелската политика.

Многу е поделикатно де се даде одговор за ставот на Костурските прелати во спорот со Унијата. Ниеден епископ од Костурската епархија не е спомемат во изворите, но очигледно е дека претставите на Светото Тројство од Костур и Оморфоклисија не можеле да му бидат непознати на костурскиот епископ. Малку е веројатно дека истиот му откажувал послушност на охридскиот архиепископ и на византискиот владетел, имајќи ја предвид агресивната политика на Михајло VIII кон противниците на Унијата. Костур бил во 13тиот век во повеќе наврати под директна латинска црковна управа, портретот на Михајло VIII сеуште ја краси јужната фасада на црквата Мавриотиса во Костур, а латински иконографски, архитектонски и вајарски елементи се често присутни во тој период во Костур. Од овде, се чини дека и Костурските прелати му биле верни поданици на Михајло VIII. Во ваквите политички околности, авторот смета дека експлицитна против унијатска порака не било возможно да се изрази преку претсавите на Светото Тројство. Јасно е дека истите се појавуваат во време на полемики околу хиерархијата меѓу трите Божји хипостази, но нивната догматска содржина останува прилично нејасна. Авторот смета дека истите не треба да се разберат во смисла на излегување на Светиот Дух. Во црквата Богородица Кубелидики, која и е посветена на Мајката Божја, се чини дека акцент е ставен на Божјото татковство. Хипостазата на Отецот во оваа црква е наречена ПАТНР што е необичен епитет во византиското сликарство. Во црквата значи се велича Христовото родословие, неговиот Отец, неговата мајка Марија, неговата баба Ана, дедо му Јоаким, итн. Во црквата во Оморфоклисија пак, Светото Тројство е претставено над претставата на Педестницата. Последнава има многу често екуменски карактер поради присуството на народите врз кои слегува Светиот Дух. Авторот смета дека во оваа црква, Светото Тројство е претставено како семоќен Бог, креатор на светот кој ги благославува сите христијански народи помазани од Светиот Дух.

Овие две претстави нема да добијат артистичко наследство во Византија и поради тоа авторот смета дека се контекстуално врзани со политичко-црковните случувања од средината на 13тиот век на тлото на Охридската Архиепископија.