

APOCRYPHAL GENEALOGY IN FOURTEENTH - CENTURY SERBIA

The Serbian ruler Uroš II Milutin, who married Simonis, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II, built a church dedicated to Anne and Joachim in Studenica, known as the ‘King’s Church’ (1313-4).¹ According to the second century apocryphal *Protevangelion of James*, Anne and Joachim were Mary’s parents and one of the richest and most respectable couples of the twelve tribes of Israel.² Their social supremacy was based upon their royal origins,³ which went back to king David.⁴ Their davidic lineage and their quality as Christ’s grandparents are among the reasons of their veneration was cultivated in Byzantium, attested in a number of homilies from the eighth century onwards. For example, they are mentioned as ‘royal plantation’,⁵ and appear as following David’s example in prayer quoting passages from the Psalms.⁶ Their genealogical relationship to David entered the tenth-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, where they appear as members of royal tribes, Joachim of the tribe of David and Anne of David and Solomon.⁷

¹ Gabriel Millet, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)* (Paris, 1962), xvi; Rajko Nikolić, ‘*Natpis na Kraljevoj crkvi u Studenici*, Saopštenja, 9 (1970), pp. 76-79.

² Emile De Strycker (ed.), *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques / recherches sur le papyrus Bodmer 5 avec une édition critique du texte grec et une traduction annotée* (Brussels, 1961), p. 64.

³ The *Protevangelion* does not connect Mary’s parent to king David directly, but it is implied in the scene of Anne’s discussion with her maid, see De Strycker (ed.), *La forme*, p.70.

⁴ The fourth-century theologians Cyril of Alexandria and John Chrysostom place Mary’s birthplace in Bethlehem of Judea in order to establish a connection between Mary with the King David, who originated there, see PG 71: col. 713A (Cyril of Alexandria); PG 49: col. 354 (John Chrysostom).

⁵ PG 100: col. 1352C.

⁶ PG 96: col. 1472A.

⁷ Hippolyte Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels, 1902), p. 26; (Neophytos the Recluse) PO 16: col. 105; Konstantinos Kyriakopoulos (ed.), *Αγίου Πέτρου επισκόπου Άργους Βίος και λόγοι* (Athens, 1976), p. 24 verses 47-50, p. 26 verse 103 (‘ιερατικοῦ καὶ βασιλικοῦ γένους’); PO

In the southern wall of the nave in Studenica, Anne is standing and is holding her daughter in her right side, leaning her head towards Mary who raises her head towards her mother. To their left, the king Milutin is holding the model of the church which he brings to Anne, and Joachim stands between Simonis and Christ.⁸ As it is accustomed for church-models, they ‘were clearly intended to depict the real churches albeit in very general terms, and therefore do not allow for the reconstruction of the original as a whole’,⁹ but most importantly and what is of interest here is that the role of models is to ‘immortalize the memory of the patrons of the buildings’, and above all ‘tell the story of its [the church’s] significance for the patron or the beholder.’¹⁰ Milutin wishes to be commemorated as a patron of a church dedicated to the parents of the Virgin reflecting veneration trends in the Byzantine capital around St Anne in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Babić and Ćurčić have argued that the idea of salvation is mediated here through the intercession of ancestors.¹¹ But also, the dedication of a church to the ancestors of Mary is in accordance with the Serbian need to sanctify their dynasty,¹² and to establish their rule through the adaptation of the iconography of Christ’s genealogy, mostly expressed in the depiction of the Tree of Jesse.¹³ The exceptional promotion of Mary’s parents by the Serbian ruler is a pictorial reference of Milutin’s urge to associate himself with Byzantine emperors who succeeded the Roman emperors to the throne.¹⁴ This was of course the reason for marrying Simonis in the first place. The inscription on the façade, under the roof cornice, bears witness to Milutin’s urge to establish his dynasty through Mary’s genealogical tree and the blessing of Christ’s forefathers.¹⁵ It reads: ‘In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, I, God’s servant Stefan Uroš, great grandson of lord Simeon and grandson of King Stefan the First-Crowned, son of great King Uroš and king of all Serbian and maritime lands, have built this church in the name of the holy and righteous ancestors of Christ Joachim and Anne, in the year 1314, the 12th indiction, and have issued a charter confirming this to the church. And cursed be by God and by me he who changes this, Amen’.¹⁶

19 (1) col. [325]; PO 19 (2) col. [332]; Bonifatius Kotter (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* (7 vols, Berlin, 1988), vol. 5, p. 174.

⁸ Millet, *La peinture* (1962), pl. 70, fig. 2.

⁹ Maria Cristina Carile, ‘Memories of buildings? Messages in Late Antique Architectural Representations’, in Angelike Lymberopoulou (ed.), *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings. Studies presented to Leslie Brubaker* (Farnham, 2011), p. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹¹ Gordana Babić, *Kraljeva srkva u Studenici* (Belgrade, 1987), p. 186; Slobodan Ćurčić, ‘The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica’, *ZRVI*, 14/15 (1973), p. 194.

¹² Ljubomir Maksimović, ‘Οι Άγιοι Σέρβοι βασιλείς’, in Eleonora Kountoura-Galake (ed.), *Οι ήρωες της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας: οι νέοι άγιοι, 8ος-16ος αιώνας* (Athens, 2004), p. 114.

¹³ Michael D. Taylor, ‘A Historiated Tree of Jesse’, *DOP*, 34 (1980-1981): p. 165.

¹⁴ Slobodan Ćurčić, ‘The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica’, *ZRVI*, 14/15 (1973): pp. 192, 194.

¹⁵ Ćurčić, ‘The Nemanjić’, pp. 193-4.

¹⁶ Nikolić, ‘Natpis’, pp. 76-79.

Milutin's piety expressed to Mary's forefathers is explained as an act of incorporating Byzantine religious practices which was the result of the infiltration of Byzantine culture to Serbia and as a demonstration of power. He, alike the Byzantines, had been bestowed the right to rule, not only by Christ, but by his apocryphal forefathers. It contrast to what it has been argued, that Mary's parents are 'rare patrons',¹⁷ it seems that Milutin chose the couple because of the widespread veneration of Anne and Joachim in Byzantium by the fourteenth century. Already in the thirteenth-century, the court official Theodore Hyrtakenos in his praise of 'The Paradise of St Anne' wonders who does not know the 'pious' and 'full of grace' Joachim and Anne, a 'truly holy couple'.¹⁸

More analytically, the cult of St Anne in Byzantium was largely based on the notion that she was a barren mother of a child very important for the Christian dogma. In the *Protevangelion*, Anne compares herself to sterile biblical women who alike her, conceived a child at an advanced age. In saints' lives after the eight century, a number of female saints called Anne make their appearance, such as Anne of Leukate and Anne after Euphemianos.¹⁹ Mothers of saints are also called Anne, for example the mother of St Philaretos (possibly) in the first half of the eighth century,²⁰ of St Euthymios the Younger (+898),²¹ of St Theophano,²² of Nikolaos of Oraia Pege (+965-1054),²³ and of Christodoulos who built the chapel of St Anne in Patmos in the eleventh century.²⁴ Some of these women appear to have difficulties in procastination, so they pray to the Virgin Mary to cure their sterility and fulfil their wishes. Mary's ability to cure sterility of every woman is a belief that circulated not only in hagiography but also in material culture and was based on the fact that she herself cured her mother's sterility. An epigram written on a Marian icon dedicated – as Pentcheva suggests – by Theodora Komnene (niece of Manuel Komnenos) to the Virgin, refers to the salvation of Anne by her daughter. The epigram is a plea for a child: 'In the past, O Maiden, by being wondrously born, you extracted Anne from the affliction of bareness'.²⁵

¹⁷ Branislav Cvetković, 'The icon in context: Its functional adaptability in medieval Serbia', in Mirjana Detelić and Graham Jones (eds), *Saints of the Balkans* (Donington, 2006), p. 46.

¹⁸ Jean François Boissonade (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis* (reprint of the Paris edition, 1829-1844) (3 vols, Hildesheim, 1962), vol. 3, p. 12. For a translation of Anne's description of her garden, see Mary-Lyon Dolezal and Maria Mavroude, 'Theodore Hyrtakenos' Description of the Garden of St. Anna and the Ekphrasis of Gardens', in Antony Littlewood and Henry Maguire and Joachim Wolschke-Buhlmann (eds), *Byzantine Garden Culture* (Washington D.C., 2002), pp. 105-158.

¹⁹ PMZ 140 # 448.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 458 Katerina Nikolaou, *The woman in the middle Byzantine period. Social models and everyday life in the hagiographical texts* (Athens, 2005), p. 70.

²² Nikolaou, *The woman*, pp. 72, 44; Delehay (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 314.

²³ Nikolaou, *The woman*, p. 72.

²⁴ Era L. Vranouse (ed.), *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της Μονής Πάτμου. Α', Αυτοκρατορικά-Διπλωματική έκδοσις-γενική εισαγωγή - ευρετήρια - πίνακες* (Athens, 1980), p. *9.

²⁵ Bissera V. Pentcheva, 'Epigrams on icons', in Liz James (ed.), *Art and text in Byzantine culture* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 126, 209 (Appendix): 'Στείρα πρὶν Ἀννα-σὺ δέ

Apart from Mary, there are cases in hagiography where St Anne becomes the saint to address in order to resolve fertility problems. St Theodora of Kaisareia (tenth century) was born after her parents had for long time been sterile. According to her biographer, when Theodora reached an appropriate age, she was dedicated to the monastery of St Anne in Rigidion. When her mother conceived, the hagiographer wrote that she ‘accepted the grace of Anne the mother of the Theotokos’.²⁶ St Thomais of Lesbos prayed for a child not to Mary but to St Anne, and her parents’ story is compared to that of Anne and Joachim.²⁷ The prayer to Anne for a child is confirmed by material evidence as well. Eleventh- and twelfth-century engraved intaglios and cameos depicting the Medusa include images of St Anne holding Mary.²⁸ They usually bear the ‘hystera formula’, a phrase which reads: Ὑστέρα μελάνη μελανόμενη...’ (= Womb, black, blackening...), or the name of the saint.²⁹ The ‘hystera formula’ intended to exorcise demons from the womb,³⁰ and the Medusa with the heads in the form of snakes is connected with the seven female demons that appeared to King Solomon in the apocryphal ‘Solomon’s Testament’.³¹ According to Bolus or Pseudo-Demokritos (3rd -2nd century B.C.), snakes were regarded very dangerous for a pregnant woman because if she stepped over a snake she would miscarry.³² Moreover, it is more or less common to find saints who were born from women who could not conceive or were too old for childbirth.³³ The infertility of a saint’s parents, a frequent commonplace in hagiography, has its roots in the biblical motif of barren parents, who at long last bear a holy child such

τεχθεῖσα ξένως στειρώσεως τὴν θλίψιν ἐξήρας, κόρη’.

²⁶ Nikolaou, *The woman*, p. 43.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

²⁸ Anastasia Bakaloude, ‘Αποτροπαϊκά φυλακτά της πρώτης βυζαντινής περιόδου: Η λειτουργία των απεικονίσεων και των επωδών. Ο ρόλος των Χριστιανών Αγίων’, *Byzantina*, 19 (1998): p. 212.

²⁹ Jeffrey Spier, ‘Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and their Tradition’, *JWI*, 56, (1993): pp. 28-30. For the date of this intaglio in the middle Byzantine period, see *ibid.*, pp. 31, 56 no 56 and pl. 5a.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³¹ ‘Καὶ ἦλθον πνεύματα ἑπτὰ συνδεδεμένα καὶ συμπελεγμένα... ἡ Ἀπάτη... ἡ Ἐρις... ἡ Κλωθὴ... ἡ Ζάλη... ἡ Πλάνη... ἡ Δύναμις... ἡ Κακίστη.’ Chester Charlton McCown (ed.), *The Testament of Solomon, edited from manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 31-2.

³² Wilhelm Gemoll (ed.), *Nepualii fragmentum Περὶ τ(ν κατὰ ἑντιπάθειαν καὶ συμπαθειαν et Democriti Περὶ συμπαθει(ν καὶ ἑντιπαθει(ν* (Striegau, 1884), section 40: ‘Γυνὴ ἔγκυος ὄφιν οἰονδηποτοῦν ὑπερβάσα ἐκτιτρώσκει’. Nevertheless, inscriptions from ancient Greek oracles point to the fact that snakes facilitated conception, see Louise Wells, *The Greek language of healing from Homer to New Testament times* (Berlin and N. Y., 1998), p. 34.

³³ Liz James, ‘Art and Lies: Text, image and imagination in the medieval world’, in Antony Eastmond and Liz James (eds), *Icon and Word: the power of images in Byzantium : studies presented to Robin Cormack* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 160.

as Isaac, Samuel, and John the Baptist.³⁴ Stephen the Younger, Peter of Atroa,³⁵ St Theophano or in a later period the monk Nikolaos (eleventh century), all had mothers named Anne who had difficulties in conceiving.³⁶ However, scholarship has stressed that hagiography expressed a social problem of the time. Nikolaou notes that the recurrence of the name Anne in hagiographies is not haphazard and it is commonly associated with women facing the problem of sterility,³⁷ and Pitarakis sees a clear connection between St Anne and problems of sterility within the Byzantine society.³⁸ In the case of St Anne, sterility issues was from the ninth century onwards attached to the saint's cult making her name equivalent to treatment of sterility.

The relationship between Byzantine rulers and St Anne begins in the sixth century when Justinian I builds a church to her in Constantinople.³⁹ Prokopios provides no description of the church of St Anne in the Deuteron but the tenth-century writer/editor of the *Patria of Constantinople* tells us that it was a three-aisle church of great size (τρίκλινος, παμμεγεθέστατος).⁴⁰ After Justinian, Basil I is also credited with the reconstruction of a church dedicated to the same saint in Trebizond. It is the oldest surviving church in Trebizond and according to an extant inscription it was rebuilt by a provincial governor under Basil I and his sons Leo VI and Alexander in 884/5.⁴¹ Bryer and Winfield hold the view that the 'restoration of St Anne in Trebizond is somehow connected to the activities in the Byzantine capital'.⁴² Basil's son, Leo VI, built a chapel inside the Great Palace which according to *Continuator of Theophanes* was next to the bedroom of Leo's wife: 'Another (room) lies at the foot of it (the empress's vestiary), is divided into two rooms, and approaches the chamber of the Augusta (= the Mousikos). Here, Leo, the Christ-loving emperor, built a chapel of St Anne and this was erected on four Bithynian columns and white Prokonnesian marble on the floor. To the walls, Bithynian slabs. But this, as I said, approaches the chamber of the Augusta.'⁴³ A tenth-century miracle account performed in the church

³⁴ Valerie Karras (trans.), 'Life of St. Elisabeth the Wonderworker', in Holy women of Byzantium: ten saints' lives in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Holy women of Byzantium: ten saints' lives in English translation* (Washington, D.C., 1996), p. 123, n. 29.

³⁵ Vitalien Laurent, 'La vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa', SubsHag, 29 (1956), p. 69.7-8; PMZ 138 # 446.

³⁶ Nikolaou, *The woman*, pp. 29-30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁸ Brigitte Pitarakis, 'Female piety in context: understanding developments in private devotional practices', in Maria Vassilake (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God: perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 156-7.

³⁹ Immanuel Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, CHBS 48 (Bonn, 1838), p. 185.

⁴⁰ Theodor Preger (ed.), *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1989), p. 232.

⁴¹ Antony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos* (Washington, D.C., 1985), p. 218.

⁴² Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments*, pp. 218-219.

⁴³ Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 146.18-19. 'ἕτερον δὲ πρὸς πόδαζ τούτου ἐστίν, εἰς δύο μὲν δόμους διήρημένον, τῷ Ἀγούστιακῷ δὲ πλησιάζον κοιτῶνι ἔνθα καὶ Λέων[...] εὐκτῆριον τῆς ἁγίας Ἀννης ἐδείματο [...]. ἀλλά τοῦτο μὲν τῷ τῆς Ἀγούστηζ πλησιάζει

of Pege, reflects Leo's anxiety about a male heir when his wife Zoe visited the church because she had problems conceiving, and soon after she gave birth to Constantine.⁴⁴ Tougher notes that Leo's desire for a male heir 'tends to dominate accounts of his reign, for his quest for an heir led him into conflict with the church and resulted in his excommunication'.⁴⁵ The emotional distress after the death of his third wife Eudokia Baiane and shortly after of his son Basil, is reflected in the life of Patriarch Euthymios (907-912), where it is said that Leo experienced 'inconsolable grief'.⁴⁶

Thus, Byzantine emperors had associated themselves with the construction of a church to St Anne already from the sixth century onwards and by the tenth century emperors are known to have dedicated monuments to the saint because she facilitated pregnancy. This custom is buttressed also by the tenth-century *Patria of Constantinople*. Firstly, according to the text, Justinian II built the church of St Anne in the Deuteron after his wife got pregnant and had a vision of the saint.⁴⁷ Secondly, in order for the editor of the *Patria* to explain the name of the monastery of Spoude (= haste), he recounts the following story: The pregnant wife of Leo III, Anne, was returning from Blachernai and while she was going down to the house of a protospatharios she gave birth in that spot. Later she bought the house and called it the 'Monastery of Haste'.⁴⁸ Thirdly, in the same story the empress is credited with the construction of another church called 'ta Annes' (of Anne), the location of which is not known.⁴⁹ Fourth, a century later, Theophilos' wife, Theodora, while coming back from the Blachernai realized she was pregnant when her horse flinched, which motivated her to build the church of St Anne in the Dagestheas area, the bath of which is located in the proximity of the Tetrasyon.⁵⁰ As Janin argues, we cannot know whether there is a link between all the monuments mentioned in the *Patria* about St Anne and whether they all relate to the same monument.⁵¹ But the connection between pregnancy and Anne is clear.

κοιτώνι, ὡς ἔφαμεν'. For translation of this part, see Cyril Mango, *The art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: sources and documents* (Toronto and London, 1986), p. 205.

⁴⁴ AASS November 3: 879 C : 'Καὶ ἡ Ἀύγουστα Ζωὴ φεύγουσα [...] καὶ περὶ τέκνων ἀγωνιώσα ὑπόμνησιν ἔλαβε περὶ τῶν τῆς πανάγνου θαυμάτων καὶ πλέγμα τι ἐκ μεταξὺς ἰσομήκης τῆς εἰκόνας τῆς θεομήτορος [...] διαμετρήσασα καὶ περιζωσάμενη τοῦτο, τῇ προμηθείᾳ ταύτης Κωνσταντίνος τὸν ἀοίδιμον βασιλέα συνέλαβεν'.

⁴⁵ Shaun Tougher, *The reign of Leo VI (886-912): politics and people* (Leiden, 1997), p. 37.

⁴⁶ Patricia Karlin-Hayter, 'Vita S. Euthymii', *Byz*, 25-27 (1955-7), pp. 68-9: 'ἀπαρὰ μύθητος θλίψις γενομένη τῷ βασιλεῖ'. See also Tougher, *The reign*, p. 151, n. 94.

⁴⁷ Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 244; Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn, 1988), pp. 524-5.

⁴⁸ Berger notes that there was a monastery of Haste mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p.: 525 n. 107.

⁴⁹ Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 251; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 525.

⁵⁰ Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 232; Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe-VIIe siècles)*, (Paris, 1985), p. 60.

⁵¹ Raymond Janin, 'Etudes de topographie byzantine', *EO*, 36 (1937), p. 150.

In the examples quoted above, it is shown that from the early Byzantine period, St Anne was associated with the imperial family and from the tenth century onwards her quality as healer of sterility passed on to imperial women. Byzantine empresses and emperors reached long before the commission in Studenica to St Anne in order to secure a heir to the throne.

Moreover, church dedications and texts do not constitute the only indications from which we deduce that St Anne had deeply infiltrated into the cultural expressions of the imperial family. In terms of iconography, Mary's parents were included in works commissioned by donors who if they did not belong to the imperial family, they were member of the Byzantine elite.

The *Synaxarion of Basil II* (Vat.gr. 1613) is the oldest surviving Constantinopolitan work to include Mary's parents.⁵² It dates around 986 and contains scenes from the early life of Mary and two standing portraits of Anne and Joachim.⁵³ The iconic images of Mary's parents in this liturgical work is justified by the tenth-century introduction of the feast of St Anne and Joachim on 9 September in Constantinople as we read in the ninth-century *Kalendarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the tenth-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.⁵⁴ In *Synaxarion of Basil II*, aristocratic motifs are drawn from the imperial life as one observes in the scene of Mary's Nativity where maids bring gifts to Anne after she has given birth to Mary.

The twelfth-century homilies of the monk James of the Kokkinobaphos monastery in Bithynia, strongly emphasize the noble origins of Mary's parents. As stated, royalty is supported by the *Protovangelion* but details in the Kokkinobaphos illustrations were apparently drawn from local aristocratic practice. In this work, the high social status of the possible patron Eirene Sevastokratorissa,⁵⁵ who wished to present herself as an upstanding member of the Byzantine elite as well as to exalt her *εὐγενεία* (origin from a good family),⁵⁶ constructed on social values that Komnenian ideology buttressed.⁵⁷ The wealth of Joachim and Anne produces iconographical details that supported the exceptional origins of the patron and associate her with Mary's family.

⁵² Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident* (2 vols, Bruxelles, 1992), vol.1, pp. 37, 92; Gordana Babić, 'Sur l'iconographie de la composition "Nativité de la Vierge" dans la peinture byzantine', *ZRVI*, 7 (1961), pp. 169, 175;

Henri D. Chirat, 'La naissance et les trois premières années de la Vierge dans l'art byzantin', in *Memorial J. Chainé* (Lyon, 1950), p. 89.

⁵³ Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 92.

⁵⁴ Stefano Antonio Morcelli (ed.), *Menologion ton euangelion heortastikon sive Kalendarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Bibliotheca* (2 vols, Rome, 1788), vol. 1, p. 19 : 'ΜΗΝΗ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ Θ ΕΙC ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΙΩΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΝΗC'; Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 30, 841.

⁵⁵ Linardou herself leaves space for differentiation 'there is no indisputable proof to affirm this', see Kalliroe Linardou, Reading two Byzantine illustrated books: the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts (Vaticanus graecus 1162 and Parisinus graecus 1208) and their illustration (Ph.D. Thesis, unpublished) (Birmingham, 2004), p. 286.

⁵⁶ Paul Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 320.

⁵⁷ Linardou, *Reading*, p. 27.

The luxurious details in the Kokkinobaphos homilies is superseded in the mosaics of the Chora monastery (Kariye Camii). It is the only surviving example in Constantinople to contain such a large number of scenes from the Mariological cycle and one of the most expanded Marian cycles in Byzantine art. In the iconographical programme of this cycle St Anne receives a role, which she is not very often given in Byzantine art, that of a female aristocrat whose wealth is demonstrated through iconography, such as indoor and outdoor architectural details and garments.⁵⁸ In the scene of Mary's Nativity for example, three maids approach Anne to offer their gifts after the birth of Mary. One maid brings to Anne a small blue vial, the second maid brings another vessel with golden and red bands and the last one holds a flat dish of food, which she is about to place on a golden table,⁵⁹ in contrast to earlier representations where the table is bare.⁶⁰ Parani notes that glass objects are included in fourteenth-century Nativity scenes such as that at the Church of Sts Joachim and St Anne at Studenica,⁶¹ but she sees a difference with representations of Mary's Nativity in the middle Byzantine period, when maids carried ceramic bottles and not glass vessels. This may indicate that luxury glass objects had become readily available in the Balkans during the late Byzantine period, yet remained valuable enough to be given as high-status gifts.⁶²

The *Protevangelion* supported Joachim's and Anne's exceptional social and financial status and permitted members of the Byzantine elite to associate themselves with the once under-estimated apocryphal couple. This affiliation was desired either by emperors such as Basil II (*Menologion*), or members of the Byzantine court such as Eirene Sevastokratorissa (Kokkinobaphos homilies) and Theodore Metochites (Chora monastery). The attachment of the aristocracy to works where Anne is included continues the early and middle Byzantine attitude of emperors who constructed religious establishments dedicated to St Anne. As a progenitor of the Virgin and defendant of Christ's Incarnation, Anne was assimilated to the religious imagery (and not only) of the imperial court, which appropriated her social and economic background recounted in the *Protevangelion*. The iconography of the Kokkinobaphos homilies and the monastery of Chora aim at glorifying the genealogy of Christ from his maternal side which is why the treatment of Anne as a Byzantine aristocrat is conveyed through Mary to her mother. For the Byzantine imperial family and the aristocracy, St Anne and her biological bond to Mary and Christ, was a form of genealogical continuation that emboldened legitimate succession approved

⁵⁸ Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, pp. 74, 109. However, identification of the buildings with actual ones is out of the question.

⁵⁹ Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Iconography of the cycle of the life of the Virgin', in *The Kariye Djami. Studies in the art of the Kariye Djami and its intellectual background* (4 vols, London, 1975), vol. 4, p. 176.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 176, n. 75; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 109, n. 2.

⁶¹ Maria Parani, 'Representations of Glass Objects as a Source on Byzantine Glass: How Useful Are They?', *DOP*, 59 (2005), p. 5.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

by God. Legitimacy was a central tenet of the Byzantine political ideology and this notion is propagated through Mary's genealogical relationship to Christ and Anne.

This notion was taken up by Eastern European rulers who not only received and imitated Byzantine customs but also became interested in embellishing the visual collateral of the Byzantines as far as Mary's parents are concerned. King Milutin incorporated all the majesty attributed to the apocryphal parents of Mary and gave it its most completed form. It would not be unreasonable to argue that he projected the status of the veneration of Mary's parents by taking it a step forward, as there is no evidence that a dedication of such scale was ever made in Constantinople.

Finally, Cvetković has correctly suggested that Uroš II Milutin dedicated a church to Sts Anne and Joachim in order for Simonis to bear a child, as this would make the son heir to both the Byzantine and the Serbian throne.⁶³ This point of view is strengthened by the fact that the healer saints Kosmas and Damian are included in the panel under discussion. Damian in particular 'is painted literally turned to queen Simonis, pointing at her with his medical instrument. Cosmas too is shown entirely in profile, with his right arm stretched towards the king, almost touching him with the shard end of his medical instrument.'⁶⁴ Milutin calls for the help of healer saints to establish his succession to the Byzantine throne, and legitimize it through Mary's forefathers. Considering that Serbian art was largely influenced by Byzantine artistic trends and if we accept that art is a response to political, religious and social developments, then what Milutin was successful in showing us, is his need to infiltrate into the line of Byzantine emperors who had been associating themselves with St Anne from the sixth century onwards and were seeking her help in solving sterility from the tenth century onwards.

Ирини Пану

АПОКРИФНА ГЕНЕАЛОГИЈА У СРБИЈИ ЧЕТРНАЕСТОГ ВЕКА

У науци је добро познато да је српски краљ Урош II Милутин био ожењен Симонидом, ћерком византијског цара Андроника II, као и да је неколико година потом постао ктитор цркве Светих Јоакима и Ане у Студеници. Рад има за циљ указивање на идејну подлогу посвете цркве Светом Јоакиму и Ани, познатије као Краљева црква (1313/14). У раду се указује на идеолошке обрасце и разлоге из којих је краљ Милутин одабрао управо Богородичине родитеље као патроне храма. Анализиране су и композиције посвећене Светом Јоакиму и Ани на јужном зиду цркве. Закључено је да је српски краљ прихватио цариградски концепт владарске идеологије. Избор патрона

⁶³ Cvetković, 'The icon in context', p. 46; Branislav Cvetković, 'König Milutin und die Parakklesiai des Hl. Joachim und der Hl. Anna im Kloster Studenica', *Balkanica*, XXVI (1995), pp. 256-7.

⁶⁴ Cvetković, 'The icon in context', p. 47; Cvetković, 'König Milutin', p. 259-260.

храма је у директној вези са цариградским култом, будући да су још од шестог века бројни храмови посвећени Светој Ани од када се у књижевним изворима представља као заштитница трудница и породиља у царској породици.

Abbreviations

Balcanica	Review of the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Byz	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études Byzantines
Byzantina	Byzantina annual review of the Byzantine Research centre, Aristotle University of Thessalonikē
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EO	Echos d'Orient
JWI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
PMZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
PG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
Saopštenja	Republicčki zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture
SubsHag	Subsidia hagiographica
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog instituta