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ST SAVA IN THE RELIGIOUS ART OF THE RAŠKA AND PRIZREN DIOCESE IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE OTTOMAN RULE*

The Diocese of Raška and Prizren, which was a part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate based in Constantinople in the 19th century, has received its outlines at the end of the 18th century, with the merging of dioceses of Prizren, Novi Pazar, and Skenderia-Skadar. The Diocese was expanded over the vast territory which coincided with the area of so-called Old Serbia. This term refers to the traditional Serbian territories that did not enter the borders of the new Serbian Principality, but remained south of it, and north of the Šar mountain, in the basins of Lim, Ibar, Drim and Vardar rivers. Thus, the territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was the ultimate northwestern European province of the Ottoman Empire.¹

During the 19th century, this large new diocese has undergone several territorial changes. After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, some parishes around the town of Gnjilane have fallen under the Diocese of Niš. But larger changes occurred after the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, when most of the parts of present-day Montenegro, which were parts of the Diocese Raška and Prizren, were divided among the Dioceses of Cetinje and Boka Kotorska. Also, the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was expanded with some parts of Sarajevo and Mostar dioceses a few years after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.²

Tanzimat reforms of the 19th century that aimed at all strata of the Ottoman society, regardless their slow implementation, have contributed to the great ex-

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¹ M. Jaгодић, *Српско-албански односи у Косовском вилајету (1878–1912)*, Београд 2009, 5; idem, *Нови крајеви Србије (1912–1915)*, Београд 2013, 9.

² For more details on the subject of the territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, see: И. Жена̀рју Рајовић, *Црквена уметност у Рашко-призренској епархији (1839–1912)*, Лепосавић 2016.; Жена̀рју, *Развој црквене уметности у Рашко-призренској епархији од 1894. до 1912. године*, Традиција, промене, историјско наслеђе, питања државности и националног идентитета на Косову и Метохији, ed. С. Словић (Лепосавић 2014), 201–217.



Fig. 1 St Sava, Church of the Presentation of the Virgin, Belo Polje

Сл. 1 Свети Сава, црква Ваведења Богородице, Бело Поље



Fig. 2 St Sava, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, Donje Korminjane

Сл. 2 Свети Сава, црква Успења Богородице, Доње Кормињане

pression of religious affiliations and identities of minority communities. Like others, Serbian community in the second half of the century extensively used resources of visual culture to express their identity, while complexity of their position and environment within the Ottoman borders led to the interweaving of their religious and national identification.³ For the Serbian society that has positioned the church as the backbone of the spiritual, social, political, and economic life. At the same time, it signified the precise orientation towards Serbia, which was the primary source of funding for their political, educational, and religious programs.

These relations were the basis of religious revival and development of religious art in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren. Churches were built, restored and decorated throughout the Diocese due to an elaborate system of patronage, which was a base for a church life in general.⁴ The needs of the parish communities and the principles of the symbolic organization of the sacred places affected programs of wall painting and icon painting, as well. They were used as a permitted means of identity construction that were not too evident concerning the rest of the Ottoman society, being inside the church and far from the public eye. Visual representations of the holy Serbian rulers and ecclesiastical leaders became one of the means of referring to the glorious medieval past, tra-

³ On the role of art in the construction and sustainability of national identity, see: Н. Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеја у XIX веку, Систем европске и српске визуелне културе у служби нације*, Београд 2006.

⁴ On some remarks on the patronage system in the Diocese of Raska and Prizren, see: Женарју, *Патронажни механизам и градитељска пракса у XIX веку на територији Рашко-призренске епархије, Културно наслеђе Косова и Метохије: историјске тековине Србије на Косову и Метохији и изазови будућности 2* (Београд – Косовска Митровица 2013), 519–534.

dition, continuity and legitimacy of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren.

The question of iconography

Portraits of members of the Nemanide, Lazarević and Branković ruling families are usually composed in the form of the procession or the choir of selected saintly figures in a strictly frontal posture. Such visual program substantiated authenticity of Serbian medieval legacy and direct links with the past, along with their simultaneous glorification.⁵ Their representative portraits in the 19th-century religious art were a kind of reception and a new form of preservation of the national medieval heritage.⁶ Also, Serbian saints were perceived as national heroes, so their cults and visual images led to pervasion of religious and national, as mentioned earlier, or in other words, phenomena of “nationalization of religion” and “sacralization of the nation.”⁷

In its medieval emerging, the cult of St Sava owed Sava’s relatives on the royal throne, his ecclesiastical heirs, monasteries such as Mileševa, Studenica, Žiča, and Chilandar, as well as a variety of services and canons.⁸ Active cult of St Sava gained its visual reflection in a distinctive iconographic saintly figure that suffered some changes through centuries.⁹ The medieval iconographic pattern consisted of an elongated face of St Sava with the ton-



Fig. 3 St Sava and St Simeon, Church of the Transfiguration of the Christ, Pasjane

Сл. 3 Свети Сава и Свети Симеон, црква Преображења Христовог, Пасјане

⁵ On creation of the Serbian saintly choir and its religious and political role in the Karlovac Metropolitanate, see: М. Тимотијевић, *Serbia Sacra u Serbia Sancta u барокном верско-политичком програму Карловачке митрополије*, Свети Сава у историји и традицији, ed. С. Ђирковић (Београд 1998), 387–431.

⁶ See: Макуљевић, *Средњовековне теме у српском црквеном сликарству XIX века, Прилог рецепцији националног средњовековног наслеђа у српском сликарству XIX века*, ЗЛУМС 32–33 (2003), 193–211.

⁷ Тимотијевић, *Од светитеља до историјских хероја – култ светих деспота Бранковића у XIX веку*, Култ светих на Балкану II, ed. М. Делетић (Крагујевац 2002), 113. On cults of the saints as national heroes: Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеја*, 101–106.

⁸ Д. Милошевић, *Иконографија Светог Саве у средњем веку*, Сава Немањић – Свети Сава. Историја и предање, ed. В. Ђурић (Београд 1979), 284.

⁹ On the iconography of St Sava there is extensive literature. See the latest study with the bibliography used: Д. Војводић, *Путеви и фазе уобличавања средњовековне иконографије Светог Саве Српског*, Ниш и Византија 13, ed. М. Ракоција (Ниш 2015), 49–73.



Fig. 4 St King Milutin, St Sava and St Simeon, The St George church, Stanišor

Сл. 4 Свети краљ Милутин, Свети Сава и Свети Симеон, црква Светог Георгија, Станишор

sure, full round beard, and long mustaches.¹⁰ According to the preserved visual testimonies, Serbian bishops practiced circular tonsure as a symbol of Christ's thorny wreath, starting from the St Sava until the middle of the 17th century.¹¹ As for clothing, there were models dependent on the cause of the painting and actual time, which were not strongly abandoned till the penetration of the Baroque influences. Thus, in the context of the Adoration of the Passion in the altar space St Sava was depicted like other church fathers in polystavrion with a multilayered cross pattern and with omophorion, while from the 14th century when he was painted in the nave, he was dressed in the richly decorated saksos.¹²

St Sava iconography of the Baroque epoch was preceded by a major historical event, The Great Migrations of the Serbs from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy during The Great Turkish War in 1690, and after the fall of the Habsburg Kingdom of Serbia in 1739. In 1690 the Serbs from the south were led by the Patriarch of Peć Arsenije III Čarnojević, which was approved by Emperor Leopold I as the head of the new established Orthodox Church in the Monarchy, seated in the town of Sremski Karlovci. Also, the Emperor gave certain privileges to the Serbs as new residents of the Monarchy. The second time, when the Emperor Charles VI called the Patriarch of Peć Arsenije IV Jovanović to cross the borders of Danube and Sava rivers, migrations were of much smaller extent but were important for the Serbian political faith. The Great Migrations affected many activities with the aim of highlight-

¹⁰ Милошевић, *op. cit.*, 285.

¹¹ Б. Миљковић, *Кружни постриг у православној цркви (στρογγύλη κουρά, παπαλήθρα, свеценичско гоуцъниџе)*, ЗРВИ 50/2 (2013), 993–994.

¹² Г. Суботић, *Иконографија Светог Саве у време турске власти*, Сава Немањић – Свети Сава. Историја и предање, ed. В. Ђурић (Београд 1979), 348.

ing the Serbian rights on the new territory, with reliable references on the heavenly Serbian dynasties. Two important publications emerged in the following years, *Srbljak* in 1714 and *Stematografija* in 1741.

The book called *Srbljak* was a liturgical book in the form of the Menaion, with texts for celebrations of Serbian national saints, so it was a foundation for their institutional celebration. Abbot Teofan from the Rakovac monastery was the first one to combine old liturgical texts about national saints in 1714. After his wish, the monk named Maksim wrote this book assembling services to canonized members of Nemanide and Branković dynasties. The emergence of this book was in relation with the abandonment of handwritten books and acceptance of Russian printed liturgical literature that did not contain services to Serbian saints. Later editions of this book were published in 1761, by the bishop Sinesije Živanović in Rimnik, and in 1765, by Dimitrije Teodosije in Venice.¹³ Soon, at the Council in Sremski Karlovci, in 1769, all the saints listed in *Srbljak* were declared for the holidays with strict regulations of believer's behavior, which were respected for the biggest Christian holidays, as well. However, according to the order of the Empress Maria Theresa in 1775, the Synod declared only the day of St Sava as such a holiday.¹⁴

The second book mentioned, *Stematografija*, was of great importance for the determination of Baroque iconography used in all Serbian environments, in the Ottoman Empire, Habsburg Monarchy, and Serbia as such. It is a copperplate book made in 1741, in the engraving workshop of Thomas Mössmer in Vienna, by the painter and engraver Hristifor Žefarović, upon political ideas of the Patriarch Arsenije IV and his secretary and poet Pavle Nenadović the Younger. It is designed in the form of heraldic collection with 29 images of South Slavic rulers and saints, portraits of Arsenije IV and Tzar Dušan and poems dedicated to Arsenije IV and the author Žefarović.¹⁵ The painter, originating from the Greek-Tzinzar environment, was educated under the influence of Italo-Cretan painting of the seventeenth century and pictorial forms of late Byzantine art. Sainly images he made for *Stematografija* upon these influences, and according to wishes of Arsenije IV as a patron, made this book one of the most influential painter's manuals in the religious art of the Balkans in the modern times. It was also since the painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fournas, which was the one that was the most used,



Fig. 5 St Sava, St Nicholas church, Kosovska Kamenica

Сл. 5 Свети Сава, црква Светог Николе, Косовска Каменица

¹³ Тимотијевић, *Serbia Sacra u Serbia Sancta*, 394–395.

¹⁴ Л. Павловић, *Култови лица код Срба и Македонаца (историјско-етнографска расправа)*, Смедерево 1965, 299. М. Грујић, *Култ Светог Саве у Карловачкој митрополији XVIII и XIX века*, Богословље, год. X, св. 2–3, Београд 1935, 13; Тимотијевић, *op. cit.*, 395.

¹⁵ Д. Давидов, *Стематографија, бакрорезна књига Христофора Жефаровића и Томаса Месмера*, Српска стематологија: Беч 1741, Нови Сад 2011, 25.



Fig. 6 St Sava and St Arsenije, Church of Holy Archangel Michael, Veliko Ropotovo

Сл. 6 Свети Сава и Свети Арсеније, црква Светог архангела Михаила, Велико Ропотово

did not contain instructions for representation of national saints. Nineteenth-century painters from the Balkans used Žefarović's images as templates which they later incorporated into their transcripts of the most famous Hermeneia.¹⁶ Thanks to well-known artists from the vicinity of Debar, active in the South Balkan's, we can nowadays see portraits of Serbian national saints not only in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren but in many neighboring dioceses.¹⁷

Among all the Serbian national saints, being the founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the first Serbian archbishop, St Sava was one of the most popular in religious art. His cult spread from the Mileševa monastery and was particularly highlighted during the restorations of the monastery, while it was still in the Dabro-Bosnian Diocese. Also, strong centers of his cult were formed in monasteries of Chilandar and Holy Trinity in Pljevlja, where his holy left hand was housed.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ц. Грозданов, *Утицај Христофора Жефаровића на стварање македонских мајстора XIX века*, Западноевропски барок и византијски свет, ed. Д. Медаковић (Београд 1991), 217–224; *idem*, *За влијанието на Христофор Жефарович врз делата на Дичо Зограф и Аврам Дичов*, Уметноста и културата на XIX век во Македонија, студии и прилози, ed. Ц. Грозданов (Скопје 2004), 95–119; Е. Мутафов, *Поглед врз двете ерминици на Дичо Зограф*, Зборник Средновековна уметност 3 (2001), 276–277; М. Георгиевски, *Опис на новооткриената ерминија од досега непознатиот македонски зограф Павел Стојановиќ од Галичник од 1869 година*, Културно наследство 10–11 (1987), 130; *idem*, *Опис на три новооткриени еминици од XIX век*, Зборник Средновековна уметност 1 (1993), 218.

¹⁷ On the activity of these painters, so called zogographs see: Makuljević, *The 'Zograph' Model of Orthodox Painting in Southeast Europe 1830–1870*, *Balkanica* 34 (2003), 385–405; Женарју, *Дебарски зографи на Косову и Метохију*, *Саопштења* 44 (2012), 207–227.

¹⁸ Павловић, *Култови лица*, 65–68; The cult of St Sava was also spread in Russia, as well as in Bulgaria where he died. See: С. Петковић, *Свети Сава Српски у старом руском сликарству*, Српски светитељи у сликарству православних народа, ed. С. Петковић (Нови Сад 2007), 7–31; *ibid*, *Представе Светога Саве Српског у бугарској уметности XVI и XVII века*, Српски светитељи у сликарству православних народа, 32–43.



Fig. 7 St Sava, St Arsenije and St Prohor of Pčinja, St Demetrios church, Dobrotin

Сл. 7 Свети Сава, Свети Арсеније и Свети Прохор Пчињски, црква Светог Димитрија, Добротин

The usual image of St Sava from the Post-Byzantine era implies portrait with his father, the Grand Prince Stefan Nemanja, canonized under the name of St Simeon the Myrrh-streaming. While his father was always painted as a monk, St Sava was dressed as archbishop, both almost always in frontal postures. In the 19th century, St Sava was celebrated even as a patron of education, and his first portrait of an educator, which completely separated his cult from the cult of his father St Simeon, dates back to the end of the 16th century, and is painted in the Church of St Peter and Paul in Tutin, in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren.¹⁹ Nineteenth-century religious art in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren did not entirely abandoned mutual image of father and son, but introduced the new image of Saint Sava with his successor on the church throne St Arsenije, and further promoted his representative portrait.

Representative portrait of St Sava dressed in splendid vestments of the archbishop was his dominant image in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren in the last century of the Ottoman rule. As in the previous centuries, his clothes were painted following the current forms of clothing, repeating contemporary appearance of archbishops of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. His saintly physiognomy in that time ranged from the standardized image of gray-haired old man to the image of the first Serbian archbishop in a somewhat younger age, with brown hair and beard. Brown hair and beard occur even in the famous medieval portrait in the Mileševa monastery, but the motive of tonsure is entirely lost in the religious art of the 19th century. Such a solution was certainly influenced by St Sava's portrait in the *Stematografija*, which was, on the other hand, created upon Chilandar iconogra-



Fig. 8 St Sava, detail, St Nicholas church, Priština

Сл. 8 Свети Сава, детаљ, црква Светог Николе, Приштина

¹⁹ М. Ђоровић-Љубинковић, *Уз проблем иконографије српских светитеља Симеона и Саве*, *Старинар*, Орган Археолошког института 7–8 (1956–1957), 81, нап. 24. On the cult of the St Sava as an educator, see: Макуљевић, *Уметност и национална идеја*, 102–103.



Fig. 9 St Sava and St Arsenije, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, Orahovac

Сл. 9 Свети Сава и Свети Арсеније, црква Успења Богородице, Ораховац

phy in the 17th century, when a young St Sava was commonly painted along with his father, St Simeon.

Wall painting

As in the time of the renewal of the Patriarchate of Peć in the 16th century, in the 19th-century images of St Sava found their place on the iconostases and in the first zone of wall paintings in church naves and altars.²⁰ In previous centuries of the Ottoman rule, images of St Sava and St Simeon were often painted in the western part of the church, as an echo of the medieval procession of the Nemanides, and occasionally on the north wall of the nave or in choir conches.²¹ While in the church art of the renewed Patriarchate of Peć, double portraits of St Sava and his father were inevitable, it was not the case in the 19th century.²² Also, apart from the altar and the first zone of the nave, the image of St Sava was painted among the

figures in the second nave zone.

In the 19th century religious art in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, images of St Sava in the first painted zone of naves were the most common. On the southern or northern wall, among other saintly figures, St Sava was depicted in Belo Polje near Peć, and near Gnjilane in Pasjane, Stanišor, Veliko Ropotovo, and Kosovska Kamenica. The iconographic pattern of the saint in archbishop vestments was modeled with notable differences in depictions of some attributes, details, and physiognomy.

Painters from Debar depicted the independent youthful figure of St Sava in churches of the Presentation of the Virgin in Belo Polje (Fig. 1) and Dormition of the Virgin in Donje Korminjane near Kosovska Kamenica (Fig. 2). In Belo Polje, he is painted on the northern side of the central column, which is located on the north side of the nave, and signed as the first Serbian archbishop (сѣын сѣвва ѿ: архїепїскопъ сѣбскн).²³ The saint is portrayed with long dark brown hair and a beard of the same color, which is divided at the bottom with one shorter strand. He is dressed in full episcopal vestment, made of green sticharion, epi-

²⁰ Суботић, *op. cit.*, 345; Петковић, *Зидно сликарство на подручју Пећке патријаршије 1557–1614*, Нови Сад 1965, 69, 161–214.

²¹ Суботић, *op. cit.*, 344.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ This image of St Sava was published in: Женарју, *Зидно сликарство у цркви Успења Богородице у селу Доње Кормињане*, Баштина 37 (2014) 301.



Fig. 10 St Sava, St Nicholas church, Novi Pazar

Сл. 10 Свети Сава, црква Светог Николе, Нови Пазар



Fig. 11 St Sava, St Nicholas church, Končul monastery

Сл. 11 Свети Сава, црква Светог Николе, манастир Конул

trachelion, red sakkos decorated with white crosses and gilded bands along the edges, golden epimanikia (or cuffs), white omophorion, a pectoral cross, epigonation (or palitza) and the miter on his head. He is blessing with his right hand, while holding the open book in his left hand, with written verses from the Gospel of John *ῥεγε Ἰῶ ἀντὶ ἐσσι πάστῆρς добрыи дѣшш свю полагаѣ за овцы* (Jn. 10, 14).

Group of painters consisting of Avram Dičov, Zafir, Todor, and Spiro, all originating from Debar's villages, decorated above mentioned church in Donje Korminjane in 1875. The figure of young St Sava, with short brown hair and beard, is located, along with images of St Spyridon and Nicholas in the porch along the south wall of the church. The baroque ornamentation is emphasized by floral motives on all the visible parts of the vestments, such as sakkos, omophorion, and epigonation which at the same time are adorned with golden edges. As usual, while giving a blessing with his right hand, in his left St Sava holds an open book with the words from the Chapter 10 of the Gospel of John.

In churches in villages Pasjane and Stanišor, near Gnjilane, St Sava is depicted in a pair with St Simeon (Fig. 3, 4). In the church of the Transfiguration of the Christ in Pasjane, painter Konstantin Jovanović from Galičnik placed St Sava on the north wall of the nave, while painting whole church at the very end of the 19th century. It is a representation of older saint with gray hair parted in the middle and long gray spiky beard with long moustaches. He has no miter on his head, but his omophorion and all the edges of the vestment have lavishly gilded bands.

The St George church in Stanišor was painted by famous Dimitrije Andonov Papradiški from Veles in 1904. As a part of the mural program, St Sava is represented on the northern nave wall, flanked by the figures St Simeon and St King Milutin. He is dressed in the green sticharion with gilded edges and



Fig. 12 St Sava, St Demetrios church, Mitrova Reka

Сл. 12 Свети Сава, црква Светог Димитрија, Митрова Река



Fig. 13 St Sava, St Nicholas church, Štitare

Сл. 13 Свети Сава, црква Светог Николе, Штитаре

golden sakkos decorated with baroque floral ornaments. Across the white omophorion decorated with crosses, he has golden cross and a panagia. The luxury of robes is also accentuated with golden miter on his head and Episcopal crosier in his left hand. Under the miter we notice shorter gray hair, while his beard is also gray, and it's thick, slightly shorter and truncated. St Sava is shown with peaceful face, looking into the distance.

In churches of St Nicholas in Kosovska Kamenica and Holy Archangel Michael in nearby Veliko Ropotovo, Saint Sava is painted in pair with his successor on the church throne St Arsenije (Fig. 5, 6). Avram Dičov, who decorated the church in Kosovska Kamenica in 1905, painted the figure of St Sava as a part of the choir of national saints in the first zone of the nave. He is placed on the south wall, next to the St Arsenije who is signed as Serbian patriarch (свѣтый Арсенна патрїархъ сербскн). St Sava has worried face and physiognomy of a senior man with long grey hair and long and rounded grey beard. His sumptuous vestment is extensively decorated with floral motives and consists of blue sticharion, reddish epitrachelion with white fringes, decorative red sakkos, and blue omophorion. The motive of a cross is displayed on the epigonation, while St Sava on his chests has a chain with unusual medallion also with a cross. On his head there is lavish miter, in his right hand the blessing cross and a crosier in his left. The crosier has serpents on top which are the symbol of Christ's wisdom possessed by an archbishop.²⁴ All national saints in Kosovska Kamenica

²⁴ Тимотијевић, *Портрети архијереја у новијој српској уметности*,

are painted in individual chambers filled with several symbolic objects. St Sava is placed next to the table with white drapery and closed gold-plated Gospel. Above this table, there is a window and a dark drapery behind the saint.

St Sava and St Arsenije are once more depicted together in the church in Veliko Ropotovo, on the southern wall of the altar bay (Fig. 6). Since the middle ages, we can track this practice of painting St Sava in the holiest part of the church, as a part of the scene Officiating Church Fathers. The inclusion of figures of the national archbishops into this kind of murals was a part of the strategy of highlighting the continuity and legitimacy of national church.²⁵ Here is St Sava depicted without a miter, with long gray hair that is combed straight down the middle. His long grey beard begins above ears, and he has moustaches also. The saint is blessing with his right hand while holding an unrolled scroll with the words „Г҃ДЫ ВС҃ДРЖИТЕЛ҃Ю ѿДН҃~ ..Ъ С҃҃ЫН ПР҃ИЕДИКАН“. He wears a green sticharion, red epitrachelion, red sakkos and a blue omophorion. Cuffs and epigonation are golden in color, and all parts of the vestment have gilded bands along the edges. As we said, both figures of St Sava and St Arsenije are part of the Officiating Church Fathers scene which is placed in the apsidal conch. There was a place only for the images of St Basil the Great and St John Chrysostom in the apse, so figures of other church fathers are painted on the walls surrounding the conch. St Spyridon, St Gregory the Thelogian are on the northern side, while figures of St Athanasius of Alexandria, St Nicholas and the two national saints are on the opposite southern side.

In the religious wall painting in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, two more images of St Sava are standing out, both placed on the northern wall in the second zone of the nave. The first one was painted by Kostadin Krstev from Veles in 1862, in the church of St Demetrios in the village called Dobrotin (Fig. 7). St Sava is set next to the St Arsenije and St John of Rila, and above the figures of St Stefan the First-Crowned and St Despot Stefan. The first Serbian archbishop wears ceremonial clothing in the color of old gold, with golden miter, panagia and a Gospel with gilded covers. Two years after this mural program was made, another painter, known as Zograph Josif, decorated church of St Stephen in Velika Hoča. In this church, St Sava is placed among eight church fathers depicted as frontal half-length figures. Extreme damages of the painted surface made their identification very difficult, but the signature next to the head of St Sava can be read.

Icon painting

At the time of the renewal of the Patriarchate of Peć, when figures of St Sava and St Simeon were indispensable in the wall painting, they start to appear on the iconostases among the icons in the first tire called Sovereign. There are numerous examples, firstly on the iconostases in parecclesions in

Западноевропейски барок и византијски свет, 162.

²⁵ Макуљевић, *Црква Светог архангела Гаврила у Великом Градишту*, Велико Градиште 2006, 3. On the painting of local bishops in the altar area, see: C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, London 1982, 221–225.



Fig. 14 St Sava, St Nicholas church, Gnjilane

Сл. 14 Свети Сава, црква Светог Николе, Гњилане

the Chilandar, and then in Herzegovina in 17th and 18th centuries.²⁶ Equally, Serbian saints are painted on icons on the iconostases in the 18th-century churches of Metropolitanate of Karlovci.²⁷ In the last century of the Ottoman Empire in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, the first Serbian archbishop was very often painted on iconostases. His figure could be seen among icons placed on the first tier, as well as on icons in the upper zones, usually next to the icons of other Serbian saints, depending on the general iconostasis program.

One of the earliest 19th-century examples in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren certainly is the icon with the double portrait of St Sava and St Simeon, on the iconostasis of St Demetrios parecclesion in the church of the Dečani monastery.²⁸ It is a work of Simeon and Aleksije Lazović from 1813, placed in the first tier, which represents St Sava in the luxurious vestment of contemporary ecclesiastical leaders. Here we can see the definite iconographical model which will be dominant in the icon painting, according to which St Sava is depicted with brown hair and beard, with a miter on his head, and dressed according to his rank and contemporary ecclesiastical clothing regulations. The

young archbishop of the Serbian church was depicted, also in pair with his father, on the iconostasis in the St Nicholas church in Priština (Fig. 8). This icon, made by still unknown and very talented painter in 1843, was placed in the second tier of this icon screen among numerous icons of saintly pairs.²⁹ These pairs of holy women, physicians, warriors, church fathers, and national saints, were part of the repertoire that was aligned with contemporary liturgical celebrations and donor's requests.

We find images of young or middle-aged St Sava, with brown hair and beard, on the iconostases in churches of Orahovac (Fig. 9), Novi Pazar (Fig. 10), Končul monastery (Fig. 11), Mitrova Reka (Fig. 12), Štitare (Fig. 13) and Šitkovo. An unknown painter who created iconostasis in the church of The Dormition of the Virgin in Orahovac in the middle of the 19th century painted

²⁶ Петковић, *Зидно сликарство*, 82, нап. 67; Д. Медаковић, *Историјске основе иконографије Св. Саве у XVIII веку*, Сава Немањић – Свети Сава. Историја и предање, 400.

²⁷ Медаковић, *op. cit.*, 401–402.

²⁸ This icon was published in: Р. Станић, *Сликарска заоставитина Симеона и Алексија Лазовића у Дечанима*, Саопштења 24 (1992), 246

²⁹ This icon was destroyed along with entire iconostasis and church interior in an attack of Albanian extremist in 2004.

an icon representing St Sava and St Arsenije in the second tier. It is a line that consists of icons of the Great Feasts, Theodore the Tyron and Demetrios, Holy Three Hierarchs, St Trifun and Panteleimon, and St Cosmas and Damian. Archbishopric pair is depicted in similar vestments, with miters and crosiers, where St Sava is adorned with a panagaia, and St Arsenije with a pectoral cross. St Sava is represented as a younger man with brown beard and hair to his shoulders, while his inheritor is an old man with long grey hair and beard.

Đinoski brothers painted St Sava in the St Nicolas church in Novi Pazar while working on its decoration in 1875. We find him on the icon in the central liturgical tire, along with other most respected Christian saints, and at its smaller copy placed just under. This smaller copy was made for the veneration of the saint depicted on the much bigger icon. Under all the icons in this liturgical row of the iconostasis, there is a metal rail that serves for attaching of their smaller copies.

The iconostasis in Novi Pazar is one of the major in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, having ten monumental icons in the primary liturgical zone. St Sava is represented on a neutral background, dressed in a rich vestment with many details. He has a green sticharion, purple epitachelion, red sakkos and a light blue omophorion. His sakkos is ornamented with gilded floral elements and decorated with the golden band which is applied on the omophore as well. The epigonation is made in a combination of blue and gold colors, with an image of a seraph with six wings. Among richly decorated insignia there are golden miter on the St Sava's head, a long wooden and carved crosier with serpents in his right hand, and the engolpion with the image of Christ Emanuel. In his left hand, St Sava holds open book with the words from the Chapter 10 of the Gospel of John. He is painted with a straight face expression, having a long brown beard and a wavy brown hair with highlighted grey hairs behind the right ear.

A smaller version of this icon that was made for veneration shows somewhat older saint, with even more serious facial expression and more prominent gray strands of his hair and beard. It is a half-length figure dressed in a simple red sakkos with green cuffs and white omophore with red crosses. St Sava wears a golden miter, blesses with his right hand and carries a Gospel in his left hand.

Most of the images of St Sava in the northwestern parts of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren were made by a group of painters from Dičić family in 1901–1902, in the monastery of Končul and village churches of Štitkovo, Mitrova



Fig. 15 St Sava, St Sava church, Kosovska Mitrovica

Сл. 15 Свети Сава, црква Светог Саве, Косовска Митровица

Reka and Štitare.³⁰ In Končul and Šitkovo he is painted in the central zone, and in Mitrova Reka and Štitare he is painted in the second tire of iconostases. On all these icons he is shown as an archbishop with brown hair and beard, dressed in the same manner, in the vestment that consists of blue sticharion with red epitrachelion, over which is red sakkos with white omophorion decorated with the cross pattern, and with gilded cuffs and bands along the edges. On these icons, St Sava blesses with his right hand while carrying a book in his other hand. As usual, the book contains written words from the Gospel of John (Jn. 10, 14).

In the church of the Annunciation in Šitkovo, the St Sava icon is placed on the northern side of the central zone, while the icon of St Simeon is on the other side just as it is in the St Nicholas church in Novi Pazar. In the church of St Nicholas in the Končul monastery, the icon of St Sava is among central icons, but on the southern end. Very often, among festive icons on iconostases in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren we find icons of saints which were solemnly celebrated in the local community. In the church of St Demetrios in Mitrova Reka, an image of St Sava is placed in among icons of Holy Archangel Michael, St Nicholas, Entry into Jerusalem, St Peter, the Resurrection of Christ, and St Paul. Festive zone of icons in the church of St Nicholas in Štitare is flanked by icons of St Sava and St Simeon.

St Sava as elderly archbishop with gray hair and beard is depicted on iconostases in Berevce, Gnjilane (Fig. 14) and Kosovska Mitrovica (Fig. 15). The iconographic pattern applied in the St Petka church in the village Berevce near Gnjilane, refers to the beginning of 20th century and the activity of the Dičić family workshop. Still, we notice several differences compared to above-mentioned examples, like the age of the saint, details such as long crosier instead the Gospel and the background that is not neutral but represents interior with drapers.

Dimtirije Andonov Paradiški painted two icons of St Sava in an idealized interior with prominent columns. Both icons are monumental and placed in the central liturgical zones on the iconostases in churches of St Nicholas in Gnjilane and St Sava in Kosovska Mitrovica. Large-scale iconostasis in Gnjilane was made in 1901, and it consists of eight icons in the central tire. Besides essential icons of the Christ the Pantocrator, Virgin, St John, and the patron of the church, there are icons of the Cover of the Virgin, St Sava, St Simeon and Holy Trinity. St Sava is dressed in vestment in vivid colors, with a blue sticharion, red epitrachelion, green sakkos decorated with roses, white omophore with crosses and an epigonation with the image of the Christ. Of usual insignia he has golden e adorned with painted medallions, golden crosier, and a panagia and pectoral cross on his chests. Golden miter and crosier are attributes of St Sava's Episcopal dignity repeated on the icon Papradiški painted in 1914–1915 in Kosovska Mitrovica. Here, his full vestment is white, with golden bands along the edges.

Nineteenth-century religious art in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren cherished the double portrait of father and soon, and at the same time promoted

³⁰ Женарју, *Благовештењска црква у Штиткову*, Милешевски записи 10 (2014), 99–116; eadem, *Црква Светог Димитрија у Митровој Реци*, Баштина 39 (2015), 265–278.

individual representative portrait of St Sava and the image with his successor on the church throne St Arsenije. The iconography of the 19th century, based on the saintly image from Žefarović's *Stematografija*, often implied luxurious Episcopal vestment and physiognomy of St Sava that ranged from the image of gray-haired old man to the image of the first Serbian archbishop in a somewhat younger age, with brown hair and beard. Regardless of these iconographic differences, a portrait of St Sava had eminent role in the identity construction of the Ottoman Serbs during the 19th century. Visual representations of the holy Serbian rulers and ecclesiastical leaders became one of the means of referring to the glorious medieval past, tradition, continuity and legitimacy of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren.

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СВЕТИ САВА У ЦРКВЕНОЈ УМЕТНОСТИ НА ТЕРИТОРИЈИ РАШКО-ПРИЗРЕНСКЕ ЕПАРХИЈЕ У ПОСЛЕДЊЕМ ВЕКУ ОСМАНСКЕ ВЛАСТИ

Током XIX и почетком XX века, положај Срба унутар Османског царства, тежње за осамостаљивањем и придруживањем матици, имплицирали су промишљеност у конструкцији идентитета путем визуелне културе. Једно од средстава позивања на традицију, континуитет и легитимитет српске цркве, и истовременог визуелног конструисања верског и националног идентитета у Рашко-призренској епархији било је сликање светих српских владара. Као први српски архиепископ и канонизовани припадник владарске куће Немањића, Свети Сава је имао истакнуто место у црквеној уметности XIX и почетком XX века. У тексту су анализирани портрети Светог Саве, настали у последњем веку османске владавине у зидном сликарству и иконопису на територији Рашко-призренске епархије.

Током XIX и почетком XX века у Рашко-призренској епархији преовлађује репрезентативни портрет Светог Саве у раскошној архијерејској одежди. Као и у претходним вековима, одежда се слика у складу са актуелним одевним формама, понављајући изглед оновремених архијереја Васељенске патријаршије. Приказ светитељске физиономије креће се од стандардизоване представе седог старца до сликања првог српског архијереја у млађој животној доби, смеђе косе и браде. Нововековни зографи су обрасце за сликање Светог Саве, као и осталих српских светитеља, преузимали из чувене Жефаровићеве Стематографије, и уносили их у своје преписе још чувенијег сликарског приручника Дионисија из Фурне.

У претходним вековима османске власти Свети Сава и Симеон често су сликани у западном делу храма, као одјек средњовековних поворки Немањића, а повремено и на северном зиду или певничким конхама. У XIX веку се више не инсистира на приказу оца и сина, а осим у олтару, или првој зони наоса, представе Светог Саве могле су се наћи и у другој зони наоса. На јужном или северном зиду, у хорovima светитеља, Свети Сава је приказан у Белом Пољу код Пећи, Пасјану и Станишору код Гњилана, Косовској Каменици. Доминантан је иконографски образац по којем је светитељ сликан у архијерејској одежди, при чему су разлике приметне у физиономији, приказима фризура и браде, као и деловима одежде. У црквама Светог Николе у Косовској Каменици и Светог архангела Михаила у Великом Ропотову, Свети Сава је насликан у пару са Светим Арсенијем. У зидном сликарству Рашко-призренске

епархије истичу се и две представе Светог Саве у другој зони наоса, на северном зиду у црквама у Добротину, поред Светог Арсенија и Јована Рилског, и у Великој Хочи, у склопу поворке осморице исподпојасних фигура архијереја.

У Рашко-призренској епархији први српски архиепископ је у последњем веку османске власти често сликан и на иконама које су се налазиле на иконостасу. Његов лик могао се наћи на престоним, али и на иконама у вишим зонама, најчешће поред икона других српских светитеља, у зависности од општег програма иконостаса. Представе Светог Саве у млађој или средњој животној доби, са смеђом косом и брадом, срећу се на иконостасу параклиса Светог Димитрија у Дечанској цркви, као и у црквама у Приштини, Ораховцу, Новом Пазару, манастиру Кончулу, Митровој реци, Штитарима и Штиткову. Са друге стране, на Светог Саву као архијереја дуге седе косе и браде налазимо на иконостасима у Беревцима, Гњилану, Косовској Митровици.