
Tatjana Starodubcev
(University of Novi Sad)

SAINT LAZAROS THE PAINTER OR ON A SELDOM PAINTED CHAMPION OF SACRED PAINTINGS¹

St. Lazaros the Painter was a monk and an artist. As an ardent defender of icons, he suffered many tortures during the second period of iconoclasm and participated in missions sent to Rome from Constantinople after the re-establishing of the veneration of sacred paintings.²

A brief overview of the written sources about the saint should be provided firstly. The oldest extant testimonies originated from Rome and were recorded during his lifetime. In the regest of a letter it was noted that Patriarch Ignatius (847-858 and 867-877), to whom the epistle was addressed, sent to Pope Leon IV (847-855) Lazarus the monk and the confessor of true faith, *Lazarum monachum & fidei confessione clarum*, Λαζάρου τὸν μοναχὸν καὶ ὁμολογητὴν μετὰ γραμμάτων. However, having arrived in Rome, Lazarus found a new bishop of Rome, Pope Benedict III (855-858).³ A more eloquent account is found in the

¹ The paper is the result of research on the project supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of Serbia, no. 177036.

² For basic information about the saint, C. Mango, *Documentary Evidence on the Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47 (1954) 396-397; C. Mango, E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. Report on Work Carried Out in 1964*, *DOP* 19 (1965) 144-145; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (ODB)* 2, ed. A. P. Kazhdan, New York-Oxford 1991, 1197-1198 (A. Cutler, A. Kazhdan); L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–850): The Sources. An annotated survey*, Aldershot–Burlington VT 2001 (Brubaker, Haldon, *The Sources*) 72; L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850: A History*, New York 2011 (Brubaker, Haldon, *A History*) 396-397; L. Brubaker, *The artisanal production of second Iconoclasm (815-843)*, in: *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance*, ed. M. Kaplan, Paris 2006, 149-150; idem, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm*, London 2012, 121-122.

³ *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio XVI*, ed. J. D. Mansi, Venezia 1767, 428B-C. There is extensive literature on the reasons why the monk Lazaros was sent to Rome, cf. *Le liber pontificalis* 2, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1892, 150, note 25; Mango, Hawkins, *The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia*, 144-145; Brubaker, Haldon, *The Sources*, 72; П. Коматина, *Црквена политика Византије од краја иконоборства до смрти цара Василија I*, Београд 2014, 92, 103, and sources and literature are cited in all studies. Since this topic lies beyond the scope of this paper it will be not considered further on. Written sources will be communicated here mostly in a somewhat loose and occasionally succinct



fig. 1. The Madrid Skylitzes, the bottom image on fol. 49v.
 сл. 1. Мадридски Скилица, доња представа на fol. 49v



fig. 2. The Madrid Skylitzes, the upper miniature on fol. 50r
 сл. 2. Мадридски Скилица, горња минијатура на fol. 50r

Liber Pontificalis, which provides information on pontiffs from the time of St. Peter to the late 9th century. Its first part was compiled in the late 6th or early 7th century relying on written sources of varying reliability. From the time of Pope Silvester (314-335) it regularly drew on data from papal archives, and from the pontificate of Pope Honorius I (625-638) biographies were written by contemporaries in the papal retinue. In 857/8, according to this source, the Emperor of Constantinople, Michael III (842-867), son of Emperor Theophilus, sent to the successor of St. Peter Benedict III sumptuous gifts brought by the monk Lazaros, who was very well-trained in the art of painting, although he was a Khazar by race, *per manum Lazari monachi et picturae artis nimie eruditum, genere vero Chazarus*.⁴ Finally, in the very comprehensive letter of Pope

⁴ *Le liber pontificalis* 2, 147.22-147.24, cf. Mango, *Documentary Evidence*, 397; Mango, Hawkins, *The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia*, 144-145; Brubaker, Haldon, *The Sources*,

Nicholas I (858-867), sent to Emperor Michael III on September 28th, 865, he was mentioned in a similar way, as Lazaros the priest and the monk, called Khazar, *Lazarus presbyter et monachus, qui dicitur Chazaris*.⁵

The earliest known sources written in the Greek language originate from the 10th century. *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople*, in the rubric for November 17th, commemorates the holy father Gregory the Wonderworker, the bishop of Neocaesarea, then the holy father and confessor Lazaros the Painter (τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Λαζάρου τοῦ ζωγράφου) and, finally, holy father John Dermokaites. It says that Lazaros lived at the time of the iconoclastic emperors. Captured by the Divine Love of Christ, he strived to live a monastic life from his childhood. And he forewent every vanity, longed for poverty and gave charitable alms, and treaded an arduous path embracing abstinence and vigilance. Having achieved these great virtues, he was ordained a priest. He suffered many tortures, not only at the hands of the followers of Nestorios and Eutychios and Dioskoros, since he preached that Christ was the perfect God and the perfect man, immiscibly, constantly, immutably, but he was also subjected to many blows and afflictions by the pagan and godless iconoclasts as well, both because he worshipped images of the saints and bowed before them and because he painted them enthusiastically on panels by his own hand, thus wounding his opponents as with arrows. He was sent to ancient Rome because apostolic service on behalf of the teachings of the holy fathers and the apostles on the dogmas and traditions was entrusted to him. Then he returned. And when he was once again sent for the same cause, somewhere halfway along the road, he parted with his blessed soul and surrendered it to the Lord. His honorable body was brought back to the imperial city because of those who wished for its return and was laid to rest opposite the city in the Monastery of *Euandros*.⁶

The author known as *Theophanes Continuatus*, who continued the work of the historian *Theophanes the Confessor* during the time of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959), expressing the political views of the Macedonian dynasty, speaks extensively about Lazaros. He gives a very vivid account. 'Now because the tyrant [Theophilus] intended to eliminate from amongst men all those who painted the divine images or else, if they chose to live, that they should spit upon them and cast them on the ground and trample on them as profane things and thus save themselves, also in the case of the monk

72. The new edition of the source, R. Davis, *The lives of the ninth-century popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, Liverpool 1995, is unavailable. For a concise overview of the *Liber pontificalis*, see *ODB* 2, 1223-1224 (M. McCormick).

⁵ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae VI*, edd. E. Dümmler, E. Perels, Berlin 1925, 482.7-482.8, for the contents of the entire letter, see *ibid.*, 454.9-487.24, cf. Mango, *Documentary Evidence*, 397; Mango, Hawkins, *The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia*, 145.

⁶ *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum novembris. Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice sirmondiano (nunc Berolinensi) adiectis Synaxariis selectis*, ed. H. Delehay, Bruxelles 1954² (1. ed. 1902) 231.9-234.7. For the commemorations of that day, *ibid.*, 229.10-234.10. For the Monastery of *Euandros*, on the other side of the Golden Horn, R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, première partie. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique, tome III. Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1953, 120. I owe immense gratitude to my dear colleague Dejan Dželebdžić for his help in translating the commemoration of the saint, which is very laconically written.



fig. 3. The Madrid Skylitzes, the bottom scene on fol. 50r
 сл. 3. Мадридски Скилица, доња сцена на fol. 50r



fig. 4. The Madrid Skylitzes, the upper image on fol. 50v
 сл. 4. Мадридски Скилица, горња слика на fol. 50v

Lazarus – he was then renowned for his art in depicting living things – did he decide to use force against the man. But when he found the other beyond reach of his flatteries and also beyond the reach of his understanding, having been not once or twice but many times worsted by him, he punished him with such tortures that at first his flesh ran off together with his blood and he was thought by many not to be alive at all. And after he had been confined again in prison, when Theophilus heard that, having scarcely recovered, he was employing his art to set out the forms of the saints on panels, he commanded that burning irons

should be applied to his palms. The fire burned and consumed his flesh until he passed out and lay half-dead. But he was to be preserved by Grace as a stimulus to later men. Thus, when Theophilus learned that the holy one was breathing his last, by the supplications of the empress and some others of his closer relations, he released him from prison; and he went into hiding in the church of the Forerunner called Fearful (Phoberos, τοῦ Φοβεροῦ). There, the wounds still upon him, he painted the image of the Forerunner which is preserved to our day and which works many healings. So were these things then. But after the tyrant's demise, when Orthodoxy shone forth, this Lazarus with his own hands set up on the Chalke the image of God-man Jesus Christ (τὴν ἐν Χαλκῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοανθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); and being called upon by the illustrious Theodora to grant and beseech pardon for her husband he said, 'God is not so unjust as to forget our love and pains on His behalf and prefer his hatred and exceeding madness'.⁷ Finally, John Skylitzes, a well-known historian from the second half of the 11th century, narrates about the saint. In fact, he borrows the section from the chronicle of *Theophanes Continuatus* making only minor changes, so his words will not be quoted here.⁸

As far as it is known, no other celebratory text dedicated to St. Lazaros the Painter has been preserved except for the note in the *Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople*.⁹ This, of course, does not mean that such writings did not exist. Later, the saint is mentioned in one narrative only, in *The Pilgrim Book* of Dobrynja Jadrejkovič, the future Archbishop Antony of Novgorod, in which he described everything he had seen in the Byzantine capital on his pilgrimage undertaken around 1200. He noted that the Virgin with Christ and two angels in the altar of the Church of St. Sophia had been painted by Lazaros the icon painter. The comprehensive version reads, 'И от него же Лазарь писец иконный: той перее написал во Цареграде во святей Софии во олтари

⁷ Quoted according to the translation in the new comparative edition, *Theophanis Continuati Libri I-IV*, edd. M. Featherstone, J. Signes Codoñer, Boston-Berlin 2015, 148 (in Greek), 149 (English translation), cf. the earlier edition of Greek text, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonnæ 1838, 102-104. An older English translation of this part was made by, C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs 1972, 159, cf. Brubaker, Haldon, *The Sources*, 72-73; Brubaker, Haldon, *A History*, 427, note 257 (content conveyed in brief). For concise information about Theophanes Continuatus and his work, see *ODB* 3, 2016-2062 (A. Kazhdan), on Theophanes the Confessor, *ODB* 3, 2063 (A. Kazhdan). It seems that the Church of the Forerunner called Phoberos was not mentioned in the sources, cf. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique III*, 423-457, which lists the churches and monasteries dedicated to St. John.

⁸ *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum. Editio princeps*. rec. I. Thurn, Berlin – New York 1973, 60.20-61.45 (edition in the original language); *Jean Skylitzès. Empereurs de Constantinople*, texte traduit par B. Flusin, annoté par J.-C. Cheynet, Paris 2003, 56-57 (French translation). For concise information about Skylitzes and his work, see *ODB* 3, 1914 (A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler).

⁹ No other celebratory text dedicated to him has been recorded, cf. F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Tome II*, Bruxelles 1957; idem, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Tome III*, Bruxelles 1957; idem, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Bruxelles 1969; idem, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Bruxelles 1984.



fig. 5. St. Lazaros the Painter, Dobrun

сл. 5. Свети Лазар Зограф, Добрун

святую Богородицу, держащую Христа, и два Ангела'.¹⁰ The concise version notes, 'От него Лазарь писецъ и иконный лежит. Той бо исперва написал во святей Софеи во Цареграде во олтари святую Богородицу, держаща два аггела'.¹¹ However, it has long been ascertained, based on solid evidence, that Lazaros had nothing to do with the creation of mosaics in the altar of that church, and that the story Dobrynja Jadrejkovič heard from a guide illustrates the reputation the holy painter had long enjoyed in the capital as a champion of the restoration of icon veneration.¹²

¹⁰ The earlier editions of the text were not available for consultation at the time of writing of this article. The quoted text is available at: <http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus2/Nozenija/XII/Antonij/frameset.htm>, and is based on the edition, П. Савваитов, *Путешествие новгородского архиепископа Антония в Царьград в конце XII столетия*, Санкт Петербург 1872.

¹¹ А. М. Лидов, *Реликвии Константинополя*, in: *Реликвии в Византии и древней Руси. Письменные источники*, ed. А. М. Лидов, Москва 2006, 205.

¹² Mango, *Documentary Evidence*, 396-397. For the basic range of different opinions on the issue, С. Costea, *Lazarus the Painter*, *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art. Serie beaux-*

Depictions of St. Lazaros have been preserved, first of all, in the luxuriously decorated manuscript of Skylitzes' chronicle kept in Madrid and widely known as the *Madrid Skylitzes*. It was made sometime after the middle of the 12th century, probably in Sicily, and contains a kind of concise cycle of the saint. Four scenes are depicted. In the bottom image on fol. 49v (B) the saint stands before Emperor Theophilos. Their hand gestures show that they are engaged in conversation, to which two young men placed behind the emperor bear witness (fig. 1). Fol. 50r depicts: first the burning of Lazaros' palms in the presence of the emperor and two young men, and then the saint sitting in a dungeon in the upper miniature (A) (fig. 2), and Lazaros painting an icon of the Virgin with Christ in the church of the Forerunner in the bottom scene (B) (fig. 3). Finally, the conversation between the saint and Empress Theodora is painted in the upper image on fol. 50v (A). They are both seated and behind them are men standing, in a larger group by his side and only three beside her (fig. 4). In all of these miniatures Lazaros is depicted with gray hair and beard. His hair is straight, short and thick, and his beard is rounded, sometimes with a slightly spiked tip. He is clad in monastic garb, an ochre tunic and a dark-brown cloak, while his habit is dark-red only in the last scene.¹³

The impression is that St. Lazaros the Painter was very rarely painted in medieval Eastern Christian churches. There are only two known examples of his images from the times before the final downfall of Byzantium and the gradual fall of most of the states under its cultural influence into Turkish hands. In the narthex of the Church of the Annunciation in Dobrun Monastery, painted in 1343, he is located in the second register which contains medallions with the busts of saints, mostly bishops. He is painted on the southern wall in the western bay, among the holy bishops, between Theophilos in the east and Maximos in the west and below them are the portraits of the founder *župan* Pribil and his sons Stefan and *župan* Petar. The remains of the inscription can be discerned next to the image of the saint and they have been read as $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\lambda\iota\ \lambda\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \eta\zeta\upsilon\tau\pi\alpha\phi\iota$. He is shown as a balding man with gray, short and straight hair and a mid-length beard parted in the middle. Dressed in monastic robes, he blesses with his right hand and holds in his left hand an icon with discernible contours, perhaps the remnants of a bust of Christ (fig. 5).¹⁴ In the Church of the Ascension

arts, Tome XLVI, Bucarest 2009, 11-12.

¹³ Cf. A. Grabar, M. Manoussacas, *L'illustration du Manuscrit de Skylitzés de la Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid*, Venice 1979, 43-44, figs. 46-48; Ch. Walter, *Saints of Second Iconoclasm in the Madrid Scylitzes*, REB 39 (1981) 310-311, 316-317, 318, figs. 1i-2i; *Johannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum. Codex Matritensis graecus Vitr. 26-2 (Fascimile edition)*, Athens 2000, fol. 49v-fol. 50v; V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden 2002, 93-94, 331-332, Figs. 115-118. In all miniatures Lazaros has an ochre-colored halo, unlike the Emperor and the Empress, whose halos are dark green with red frames. An example of his image which would be older than these miniatures has been mentioned in literature. Namely, it was stated that Lazaros the Painter was shown in the lower row of busts of saints on the chalice with handles of Emperor Romanos II (959-963), *The Treasury of San Marco Venice*, ed. D. Buckton, New York – Milano 1984, 133 (M. E. Frazer). However, the saint depicted on the chalice is wearing bishopric vestments, which indicates that he is St. Lazarus, the bishop of Cyprus (cf. *ibid.*, illustration on page 131).

¹⁴ С. Радојчић, *Зографи. О теорији слике и сликарског стварања у нашој старој*



fig. 6. St. Lazaros the Painter,
Ravanica

сл. 6. Свети Лазар Зограф,
Раваница

fig. 7. St. Lazaros the Painter, Voronet
сл. 7. Свети Лазар Зограф, Воронец





fig. 8. St. Lazaros the Painter, Great Lavra, the Chapel of St. Nicholas
 сл. 8. Свети Лазар Зограф, Велика Лавра, параклис Светог Николе

in Ravanica Monastery, the endowment of Prince Lazar's whose decoration was completed around 1385, the saint is represented in full figure together with holy monks and hermits in the first zone of the western bay. He is located on the southern end of the western wall, and next to him are Sts. Theodore of Studios, Stephen the Younger and perhaps Athanasios of Athos. He is portrayed with grayish hair and beard. His hair is dense, straight and reaches the ends of his ears and his beard is mid-length and almond-shaped. The saint is clad in monas-

уметности, Зограф 1 (1966) 11-12, note 41-42; И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, Београд 1994, 145; М. Поповић, *Средњовековни Добрун*, *Старинар* LI (2003) 106, ill. 12; Д. Милосављевић, *Средњовековни град и манастир Добрун*, Београд – Прибој 2006, 202, 203, Т. LXI (provides a reading of the inscription and mentions that the saint holds a prepared wooden panel on which he is to paint an icon); S. Tomeković, *Les saints ermites et moines dans la peinture murale byzantine*, Paris 2011, 55 (notes that he holds an icon with the representation of a person which is no longer discernible).

tic robes and blesses with his right hand. An icon with the bust of Christ is in his left hand. He has been identified owing to this detail, since the letters of the inscription indicating his name have been washed off (fig. 6).¹⁵

The other known images of the saint originate from the times after the final fall of Constantinople, i.e. from the 16th century. Therefore, they will be mentioned only briefly. The main features of his appearance should be indicated right away. His hair and beard are grayish. His hair is dense, sometimes with a receding hairline. It is usually short and only occasionally descends down the neck. His beard is of a medium length and in rare cases divided into two wisps. He is dressed in monastic garments.¹⁶ In the refectory of the Great Lavra Monastery, built in 1527 and decorated with frescoes soon afterwards, he is represented in the southeastern room in the painted calendar together with St. Gregory the Wonderworker of Neocaesarea, who is mentioned as the first saint commemorated on November 17th.¹⁷ Saint Lazaros can be seen in the composition of All Saints between Sts. Kyriakos and Antony the Great on the façade of the southern apse of the sanctuary of the Church in Voronet Monastery in southern Bukovina painted in 1547. He holds a brush in his right hand and in his left a scroll with an inscription stating that he had knowledge of the art of painting and that he had painted (ΕΒΔΕΛΞ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΕ ΚΥΔΟΖΕΣΤΕΟ ΠΗΣΑΧ) (fig. 7).¹⁸ He is again shown in the Monastery of Great Lavra, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas built by the southern wall of the katholikon, decorated by the painter Frangos Katelanos in 1559/1560. His figure is located in the lower register of the southern wall, at the western end, and next to him to the east there is a representation of Luke the Evangelist. The hallmarks of his profession are even more pronounced there. Namely, he is shown with a painting brush tucked behind his right ear, holding another brush in his right hand and a pigment box and an icon with the bust of Christ in his left hand (fig. 8).¹⁹ During the decoration of

¹⁵ Б. Живковић, *Раваница. Цртежи фресака*, Београд 1990, 33, 36, they are listed as Sts. Theodore of Stoudios, Theodosios, Stephen the Younger and Antony; М. Беловић, *Раваница. Историја и сликарство*, Београд 1999, 146, 178, they are recorded as Sts. Theodore of Stoudios, unidentified, Stephen the Younger and Antony; Т. Стародубцев, *Српско зидно сликарство у земљама Лазаревића и Бранковића I*, Београд 2016, 164, 166; *ibid.* II, Београд 2016, 38-39, Sts. Lazaros the Painter, Theodore of Stoudios, Stephen the Younger and Athanasios of Athos (?) are recognized. The inscription by the image of St. Lazaros has not survived.

¹⁶ Despite the fact that the account in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* mentions that he was ordained as a priest, he was not represented as a hieromonk with an epitrachelion in any of the known examples.

¹⁷ Ν. Τούτος, Γ. Φουστέρης, *Ευρετήριο της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Όρους 10ος-17ος αιώνας*, Αθήνα 2010, 89, 91, Σχ. 2.5.4, αρ. 159.

¹⁸ Costea, *Lazarus the Painter*, 11-16, a study discussing this depiction, written sources about the saint and possible reasons for his representation there. He is named only as St. Lazaros with no epithet.

¹⁹ Μ. Χατζηδάκης, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830), Τόμος 1*, Αθήνα 1987, 5; *idem*, *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830), Τόμος 2*, Αθήνα 1997, 77, πίν. 27; Τούτος, Φουστέρης, *Ευρετήριο*, 76, 78, Σχ. 2.2.1, αρ. 133. St. Luke does not have any hallmarks of a painter. As an apostle, evangelist and bishop, he has a chiton and a himation and an omophorion and blesses with his right hand while holding a book in his left.

the narthex of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1565, the saint was represented in the painted calendar behind St. Gregory the Wonderworker in the western part of the vault above the fourth aisle of the eastern bay. Since he is placed behind a hillock, only his bust is visible. His hair is gray and short, and his beard of medium length is divided into two wisps.²⁰ The saint is also depicted in the Church of the Holy Trinity near Pljevlja, painted by Strahinja the Priest in 1592. He is represented among the busts of saints in the second zone, beside St. Paul the Confessor in the northern part of the eastern wall. Saint Lazaros holds an icon with the image of Christ in both hands.²¹ In the inscriptions by those later images, the saint is marked as a *zographos* (ζωγράφος) in Greek examples, and as a painter (ЖИВОПИСАЦЬ) or an icon painter (ИКОНОПИСЬЦЬ) in Serbian ones.

Regardless of the fact that, judging by the extant images, he was rather rarely portrayed, he had a fairly fixed appearance.²² The differences observed in the examples produced over a long time span are minor. In the *Madrid Skylitzes* he is white-haired with a short beard, and later on he has brown hair with some gray strands and a mid-length beard. In the older manuscript he is shown painting an icon of the Virgin with Christ.²³ In younger frescoes, if holding an icon, Christ is shown on it. There is no preserved example of the saint's representation with an icon of St. John the Forerunner, which is mentioned as his work of miraculous healing properties by *Theophanes Continuatus* and John Skylitzes. Given the nature and purpose of these writings, they probably had no influence on the design of the iconography of the saint. Therefore, the information they give, that it was Lazaros who made the image of Jesus Christ on the Chalke Gate, was certainly no impetus for representing the icon of Christ in the hands of the saint. After all, that scene is not even featured in the Madrid manuscript. On the other hand, the text in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* records that Lazaros painted the images of the saints on panels. On the basis of

²⁰ П. Мијовић, *Менолог. Историјско-уметничка истраживања*, Београд 1973, 366, sch. 70, pl. 265.

²¹ С. Петковић, *Манастир Света Тројица код Пљеваља*, Београд 1974, 57-58, 132, 133, no. 32, pl. 31; idem, *Манастир Света Тројица у Пљеваљима*, Пљевља 2008, 57-58, 142, 143, no. 32.

²² In *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fourna*, composed around 1730 on Mount Athos, he is not mentioned among the holy monks. He is recorded in the chapter on the calendar as the only saint commemorated on November 17th, and is described as old, long-bearded and bald, cf. М. Медич, *Стари сликарски приручници III*, Београд 2005, 486 (in Greek), 487 (in Serbian), for the dating of the manual see *ibid.*, 26-33.

²³ Christopher Walter is of the opinion that the iconographic type of St. Luke painting the Mother of God with the Child might have served as a model to the painter of the miniature and that the theory that St. Lazaros was depicted that way because of the tradition that he painted the Virgin with the Child recorded by Dobrynja Jadrekovič cannot be sustained, so he assumes that the narrative about Lazaros as the painter of the famous Virgin with Christ might have been taken from some lost hagiography of the saint, Walter, *Saints of Second Iconoclasm*, 311. On issues related to whether the mosaic of the Virgin Mary with Christ Child in the semi-dome of the altar apse in the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople completed in 867 should be considered as a work of Lazaros the Painter, with a warning that Dobrynja Jadrekovič recorded a tradition he had heard, with cited sources, especially those related to contemporary church politics, which point out that the story is not trustworthy, see Mango, Hawkins, *The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia*, 142-148, with sources and literature.

its content, leading the reader quite laconically through the events of different times, it can be assumed that it was composed by summarizing an extensive text dedicated to the saint, perhaps a lost hagiography.²⁴ It is possible that the commemoration in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* or some lost text written in honor of the saint provided the impetus for the icon with the image of the Savior to become a usual feature in the iconography of St. Lazaros. Even in the concise note in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* one can find lines on the hypostatic union in the person of Christ and the relationship of his two natures, the central issue in the theological debates about icons. Finally, it remains unknown whether he had been shown holding the icon of Christ in his hands earlier, before the age of the Palaiologoi. The steadiness of the appearance of the saint and the icon with the image of the Savior in his hands as his usual feature, indicate that he was depicted more often than the extant examples suggest.

If one assumes that his images were painted in the times preceding the epoch of the Palaiologoi and that they were much more numerous, it is still clear that he was represented less often than other holy monks who advocated the veneration of icons, such as John of Damascus, Stephen the Younger, Theodore of Stoudios, Ioannikios, Theodore and Teophanes Graptoi²⁵ and Andrew 'in Krisei'.²⁶ On the other hand, one should bear in mind that there are many monks and hermits who, whether they died as victims of torment or in peace, became canonized and received hagiographies describing their undertakings in the struggle for sacred images²⁷ for which there are no indications that they

²⁴ Based on sound arguments Walter assumes that *Theophanes Continuatus*, and Skylitzes after him, relied on a *Vita* of St. Lazaros, although none have been preserved, Walter, *Saints of Second Iconoclasm*, 310, 311, 317, a hypothesis accepted by Vasiliki Tsamakda, Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle*, 332. Indeed, the note in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* concisely summarizes numerous events which took place at different times so it is difficult to follow the life of the saint based on its content, which suggests that this account represents extracts from a more extensive text, probably a hagiography.

²⁵ Cf. Tomeković, *Les saints ermites et moines*, 29-32, 43-44, 49, 51, 235, 237, 238, 247, figs. 34-37, 49-51, 88-94, 90-94, 96-97, 105, 108, 109, 124, with earlier literature.

²⁶ The cult and representation of the saint have been studied recently in Д. Павловић, *Култ и иконографија двојице светих Андреја са Крупа*, ЗРВИ 49 (2012) 214, 215-217, 227-234.

²⁷ On holy monks and hermits who were defenders of icons, based on their *Vitae*, I. Ševčenko, *Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period*, in: *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. University of Birmingham. March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer, J. Herrin, Birmingham 1977, 113-129; K. M. Ringrose, *Monks and Society in Iconoclastic Byzantium*, *Byzantine Studies. Études Byzantines* 6/1-2 (1979) 130-151; E. Patlagean, *Sainteté et Pouvoir*, in: *The Byzantine Saint. University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. S. Hackel, London 1981, 88-105; M.-F. Auzépy, *Les saints et le Triomphe de l'Orthodoxie*, in: *Οι ήρωες της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας. Οι Νέοι Άγιοι, 8ος – 16ος αιώνας*, ed. E. Κουντούρα-Γαλάκη, Αθήνα 2004, 17-29; Brubaker, Haldon, *The Sources*, 206-232. In the above studies, based on the *vitae* of the saints of the first and second iconoclasm, Lazaros the Painter is not mentioned. He is listed in the research studies that include memories recorded in the synaxarion, A. P. Kazhdan, A.-M. Talbot, *Women and Iconoclasm*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84-85/2 (1993) 405-407 (the catalog of the commemorations of saints from the age of iconoclasm in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Con-*

were depicted in Eastern Christian painting. The existence of a hagiography of St. Lazaros can be hypothesized with a fair degree of reliability. However, no such text has been found in ancient manuscripts, which suggests that it was not often copied, i.e. that the cult of the saint was not particularly widespread. He is absent even from other writings testifying to the struggle for sacred images. He is not mentioned among the saints in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, which is read on the first Sunday of Great Lent, the Sunday of Orthodoxy, when the Church commemorates the assembly gathered in the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople on March 11th, 843, marking the end of iconoclasm.²⁸ The same is the case with the writings narrating the circumstances in which the decision on the restoration of the veneration of icons was made, as well as on the absolution of Emperor Theophilos, in which St. Lazarus played an important role according to *Theophanes Continuatus* and John Skylitzes. These are the texts that are supposed to have been written at the time of the Macedonian dynasty, *The narration on sacred and miraculous icons, and how and why the Holy Great and Ecumenical Church of God adopted celebrating the feast of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of the Holy Lent each year* (Διηγησις διαλαμβάνουσα περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων καὶ ὅπως καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν παρέλαβε τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν ἐτησίως τελεῖν τῇ πρώτῃ κυριακῇ τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν ἢ ἁγία τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῆ καὶ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ),²⁹ *Vita with encomium of Blessed and Holy Theodora*

stantinople, for St. Lazaros, *ibid.*, 407).

²⁸ The *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* was published and studied by, J. Gouillard, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: Édition et commentaire*, Travaux et mémoires 2 (1967) 1-313, for the commemorations of holy champions of icons, *ibid.*, 51, 53, about the listed persons, *ibid.*, 142-147. On this event and the feast, see *ODB* 3, 2122-2123 (P. A. Hollingsworth, A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler); Коматина, *Црквена политика*, 38-54, with sources and literature.

²⁹ The narration is labeled as 1734, cf. Halkin, *Bibliotheca II*, 272; idem, *Auctarium*, 179; idem, *Novum Auctarium*, 202. It was first published according to an unidentified manuscript by, Fr. Combefis, *Graeco-latinae patrum Bibliothecae novum auctarium* 2, Paris 1648, 715A-743A (unavailable edition). It has recently been published according to the manuscript Atheniensis Metochii 48 from the 15th century, with comparison with the earlier edition provided in the critical apparatus, by, Д. Е. Афиногенов, „Повесть о процени императора Феодила“ и Торжество Православия, Москва 2004, 90-114 (in Greek), 91-115 (Russian translation). He explores the genesis of the text, expresses the opinion that the key source was the Chronicle of George Hamartolos, and that based on these two compositions the *Vita of the Empress Theodora* BHG 1731 and two versions of the *narration on the absolution of Emperor Theophilos* BHG 1732 and BHG 1733 were created and dates its composition to the time after 867 (*ibid.*, 78-88, esp. 84). He notes that the monk Lazaros, referred to by *Theophanes Continuatus*, was not mentioned there (*ibid.*, 75).

the Empress (Βίος συν έγκωμίώ τής μακαρίας καί άγίας Θεοδώρας τής βασιλίδος)³⁰ and *The narration on the absolution of Emperor Theophilos* (Δήγησις ψυχοφελής πάνυ περι Θεοφίλου).³¹

On the one hand, bearing in mind that only a few of the many holy monks and hermits champions of holy images are found in monumental painting;³² that the *Vita* of St. Lazaros has not been preserved, which suggests that it was not often copied; that he was not mentioned in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* nor in the writings recounting the decisions concerning the restoration of the veneration of icons and on the absolution of the Emperor Theophilos, except for the historiographical works of *Theophanes Continuatus* and John Skylitzes, it is hardly surprising that the images of the saint are very rarely found in art. On the other hand, in view of his renown and the fact that he was the only known painter of the period of the struggle for the veneration of sacred images and after

³⁰ Α. Μαρκόπουλος, *Βίος τής αυτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας (BHG 1731)*, Σύμμεικτα 5 (1983) 249-285, esp. 257-271, with the text published according to the manuscripts British Museum Add. 28270 completed on August 3rd, 1111 (B), Messina, Bibl. Universitaria, San Salvatore 30 of 1307. (S) and Vatic. gr. 2014 from the 13th century (V), *ibid.*, 255-256, for the English edition of the *Vita*, see M. P. Vinson, *Life of St. Theodora the Empress*, in: *Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot, Washington D. C. 1998, 361-382 (the *Vita* was published based on a manuscript kept in Gothenburg, Sweden somewhat earlier by, F. Halkin, *Deux impératrices de Byzance. II l'impératrice sainte Théodora (+867)*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988) 28-34). The time of creation of the text can not be accurately identified, so possible datings range from the period after 867 to the beginning of the 11th century, Markopoulos, *Βίος τής αυτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας*, 251-255; Vinson, *Life of St. Theodora*, 355. The composition is labeled as 1731, cf. Halkin, *Bibliotheca II*, 271; *idem*, *Auctarium*, 179; *idem*, *Novum Auctarium*, 201.

³¹ The text with a preface was published based on two manuscripts, the British Museum Add. 28270 from 1111 and Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid O. 86 from the 14th century by W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, St. Petersburg 1891, III-XIX, 19-39. For the absolution, see *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches, Fasc. II et III. Les registres de 715 à 1206*, ed. V. Grumel, J. Darrouzès, Paris 1989, 64-65, N. 414, 415. About the narration see A. Markopoulos, *The Rehabilitation of the Emperor Theophilos*, in: *Byzantium in the Ninth Century. Dead or Alive?, Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996*, ed. L. Brubaker, Aldershot 1996, 37-49, with a dating to the 10th century, *ibid.*, 48-49. Markopoulos believes that the first steps towards Theophilos' rehabilitation were taken under the Amorion dynasty, but that the main efforts were made from the late 9th to the late 10th century, which is reflected in the numerous texts composed in that time span, *ibid.*, 42, for those writings, *ibid.*, 42-49. The first version is labeled as 1732, and the second as 1733, cf. Halkin, *Bibliotheca II*, 271-272; *idem*, *Novum Auctarium*, 201-202.

³² In order to examine the relationship between monasticism and society during the period, Kathryn Ringrose singled out 55 *Vitae* from the rich hagiographical heritage of the saints who lived at that time and the extant evidence bears witness that the texts dedicated to them were created until the 10th century (Ringrose, *Monks and Society*, 135-136 and note 12), while Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot listed the commemorations of the saints from the period of iconoclasm recorded in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople*, where one can observe 37 monks and among them 29 defenders of icons out of 65 saints (Kazhdan, Talbot, *Women and Iconoclasm*, 405-407). Representations of only seven holy monks, i.e. eight including St. Lazarus, have been noticed in fresco painting.

the final victory of the iconodules,³³ he seems to have remained on the fringes compared to other featured champions of the same cause. Finally, the question arises as to why only two examples made in Serbia during the epoch of the Palaiologoi are known from the times before the final fall of Constantinople. It is tempting to hypothesize that the practice of representing the saint at that very period was influenced by the iconodulic arguments used as the grounds of the spiritual doctrine of Christ's transfiguration in the disputes of the hesychastes and their adversaries.³⁴ However, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis, especially in view of the image in the narthex in Dobrun, decorated in 1343, before the final resolution of the disputes in 1347. The paintings in that space have an unusual program which warrants careful consideration. Such an impetus cannot be recognized in his representation in the church in Ravanica either. It could be assumed that he was depicted in order to join two more frequently painted iconodule holy monks, Theodore of Stoudios and Stephen the Younger. In addition, it should be noted that the figure of St. Lazaros is located above the prearranged tomb of Prince Lazar, the founder of the church, and that he could have been placed there as his namesake. In that case, however, another open question arises: why Christ's friend St. Lazarus, the bishop of Cyprus, who was better known than the founder's namesake painter, was not represented instead.³⁵ There is no indication that St. Lazaros the Painter was particularly venerated in Serbia in the 14th century. A concise commemoration based on the one in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* is found in winter verse

³³ Cf. Mango, Hawkins, *The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia*, 145.

³⁴ L. Lukhovitskij, *Historical Memory of Byzantine Iconoclasm in the 14th c.: the case of Nicephoros Gregoras and Philotheos Kokkinos*, in: *Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium*, *Byzantinisches Archiv*, Band 25, ed. S. Mariev, W.-M. Stock, Boston–Berlin 2013, 205–226. For concise information on hesychasm see *ODB* 2, 923–924 (A. Papadakis).

³⁵ The essential study on the iconography of St. Lazarus of Cyprus still remains, Ch. Walter, *Lazarus a bishop*, *REB* 27 (1969) 187–208. The holy monk Lazaros of Mount Galesios could have been painted there as well. For example, he was depicted in the narthex of the katholikon of Hilandar Monastery frescoed between 1320 and the autumn of 1321 and repainted in the 19th century (Б. Тодић, *Српско сликарство у доба краља Милутина*, Београд 1998, 354; М. Марковић, *Првобитни живопис главне манастирске цркве*, in: *Манастир Хиландар*, ed. Г. Суботић, Београд 1998, 232, for dating, М. Марковић, В. Т. Хостетер, *Прилог хронологији градње и осликавања хиландарског католикона*, *Хиландарски зборник* 10 (1998) 201–217). A holy monk sometimes identified as Lazaros was represented in the Church of the Transfiguration at Kovalevo in 1380 (Л. И. Лифшиц, *Монументална живопись Новгорода XIV–XV веков*, Москва 1987, 506; А. П. Греков, *Фрески церкви Спаса Преображения на Ковалеве*, Москва 1987, 90, илл. 63, 66, 119; Tomeković, *Les saints ermites et moines*, 301 (although she does not mention this example among the depictions of the holy painter, who is the only monk named Lazaros in the catalogue of saints, cf. *ibid.*, 55, 239), all three refer to him as the holy monk Lazaros, while, С. О. Дмитриева, *Фрески храма Спаса Преображения на Ковалёве в Новгорода 1380. года*, Москва 2011, 140, 155–156 and the illustration on p. 67, note the saint as unidentified and indicate that he could not be identified as Lazaros of Cyprus or as Lazaros of Mount Galesios). Later representations of St. Lazaros of Mount Galesios will not be mentioned in this study. For concise information on the saint, who was born around 981 and died on November 7th 1053 see *ODB* 2, 1198 (A. Kazhdan), with sources and literature.

synaxaria of that time.³⁶ It also remains unclear why he was later depicted twice in the Monastery of Great Lavra. The premise that this was done because the particles of the saint's relics were kept at the monastery cannot be substantiated by any written or oral evidence.³⁷ Finally, given that the appearance of the saint was rather stable from the oldest extant miniatures and since he was similarly depicted in Serbia in the period of the Palaiologoi and in different regions of the Balkans later on, in the period of Turkish rule, it can be assumed that his cult and representation spread from one center, from Constantinople, where his iconography was established, and that he had been painted both more often and starting from an earlier date than the preserved examples reveal.

³⁶ The texts in the following manuscripts of winter verse synaxaria (September – December) were checked: Nikoljac 34, from 1350/1360, fol. 84r-84v (for basic data on the manuscript see, Д. Богдановић, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославији (XI – XVII века)*, Београд 1982, 85, no. 1158), University Library in Belgrade UB 16, from 1360/1370, fol. 82r (*ibid.*, 85, no. 1160), Peć 56, from the last quarter of the 14th century, fol. 167r-167v (*ibid.*, 86, no. 1167). The text in the later Menaion with synaxaria for November in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, SASA 287, from 1470/80, fol. 123r-123v, was reviewed also (*ibid.*, 63, no. 782). A comparison of the texts in three 14th-century manuscripts (Nicoljac 34, UB 16 and Peć 56) reveals that they rely on the note in *The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople*, which they bring in a similar concise form, but they differ in their choice of words. Namely, the texts in Nikoljac 34 and Peć 56 are almost identical, while the one in UB 16 uses different wording, which indicates that they are transcripts of two different variants, i.e. translations. There is no text on the saint, but only a brief memory of his name entered in an earlier non-verse synaxarion, the well-known Synaxarion of Lesnovo, SASA 53, from 1330, fol. 65v (*ibid.*, 84, no. 1147). Texts written in the Serbian recension of the Church Slavonic language use various epithets by his name and records the memory of ЛАЗАРЪ НКОННИКА (SASA 53), ЛАЗАРЪ ЖНЕТОПИСЦА (Nicoljac 34), ЛАЗАРЪ ЗУГРРАФА (УБ 16), ЛАЗАРЪ ЖНЕАГО ПИСЦА (Peć 56), ЛАЗАРЪ ЖНЕОПИСЦА (SASA 287). It should be borne in mind that the inscription by the saint's image in Dobrun has been read as СТЫ ЛАЗАРѦ НЗУГРРАФЪ, while there were no clearly visible traces of his inscription in Ravanica.

³⁷ For example, his *leipsana* are not mentioned in later texts on the relics kept at the monastery, cf. Д. Аврамовић, *Света Гора са стране вере, художества и поветнице*, Београд 1848, 102-103; *Путеводитель по св. Афонской Горе и указатель ея святынь и прочих достопамятностей, с 31 видом монастырей, скитов и картою Афона, издание восьмое, Афонского Русскаго Пантелеимонова монастыря*, Москва 1903, 179-180. On the influence of the relics kept at monasteries on the selection of the represented saints, on the example of Hilandar, С. Петковић, *Светитељске мошти и сликарство Хиландара*, in: *Осам векова Хиландара. Историја, духовни живот, књижевност, уметност и архитектура, Међународни научни скуп, Октобар 1998*, ed. В. Кораћ, Београд 2000, 629-637.

Татјана Стародубцев
(Универзитет у Новом Саду)

СВЕТИ ЛАЗАР ЗОГРАФ ИЛИ О ЈЕДНОМ РЕТКО СЛИКАНОМ БРАНИТЕЉУ СВЕТИХ СЛИКА

Свети Лазар Зограф је као ватрени бранитељ икона претрпео многа мучења у време другог периода иконоборства, а након успостављања поштовања светих слика учествовао је у посланствима која су из Цариграда упућена у Рим.

Најстарији очувани писани извори о њему настали су за његова живота и потичу из Рима. У њима се помиње као монах и исповедник праве вере, као монах веома добро обучен у сликарској вештини, иако је Хазар пореклом, односно као презвитер и монах.

Најранији познати грчки извори о светоме потичу из X века. У *Синаксару Цариградске цркве* је у одељку за 17. новембар уписана памјат преподобног исповедника Лазара зографа у којој је сажето изложен његов живот. Осим те белешке, колико је познато, није се сачувао ниједан други прославни састав у част тог светог. То, наравно, не значи да такви списи нису постојали. Опширно о њему говори писац познат као *Теофанов настављач*. Он доноси веома живо казивање, у којем помиње да је монах Лазар насликао лик Претече који чини многа исцељења и да је израдио лик Христа на Халки. Тај одељак, уз незнатне измене, преузима *Јован Скилица* (друга половина XI века).

Доцније светог помиње само *Добриња Јадрејкович*, будући новгородски архиепископ Антоније. Он је забележио да је Лазар иконописац у цркви Свете Софије насликао у олтару Богородицу са Христом и два анђела. Међутим, одавно је показано то да Лазар није имао никакве везе са израдом мозаика у светилишту те цркве, те да прича коју је Добриња Јадрејкович око 1200. чуо од неког водича указује на углед који је свети сликар дуго уживао у престоници као борац за поштовање икона.

Представе светог Лазара очувале су се, најпре, у раскошно украшеном рукопису познатом као *Мадридски Скилица*, израђеном након средине XII века, вероватно на Сицилији. Ту се налази својеврстан сажети циклус о светом, који се састоји од четири сцене (сл. 1-4). Стиче се утисак да је свети Лазар Зограф веома ретко приказиван у средњовековним источнохришћанским црквама. Из времена пре коначног слома Византије и постепеног потпадања већине држава под њеним културним утицајем под власт Турака, данас су позната само два примера – у припрати храма у Добруну (1343, сл. 5) и у цркви у Раваници (око 1385, сл. 6). Остали припадају временима након коначног пада Цариграда и потичу из XVI века (трпезарија Велике Лавре; фасада цркве у Воронецу, сл. 7; параклис Светог Николе у Великој Лаври, сл. 8; припрата Пећке патријаршије; припрата храма Свете Тројице код Пљеваља). Без обзира на то што је веома ретко сликан, он је имао прилично постојан изглед. Разлике које се запајају на примерима насталим у прилично великом временском распону веома су мале.

У *Мадридском Скилици* он слика икону Богородице са Христом. На млађим фрескама, уколико носи икону, на њој је, по свој прилици, приказан Христос. Могуће је да су белешка у *Синаксару Цариградске цркве* у којој се говори и о Христовој ипостаси и односу његових двеју природа или неки изгубљени спис у част светог пружили основа за то да иконица са ликом Спаситеља постане уобичајена у иконографији светог Лазара.

Како је изглед светог био прилично постојан још од најстаријих сачуваних минијатура и пошто је он слично приказиван у време Палеолога у Србији и касније у доба турске власти у различитим подручјима Балкана, може се претпоставити да су се његово поштовање и представљање ширили из једног средишта, из Цариграда, где је уобичена његова иконографија и да је, по свему судећи, био сликан и чешће и раније него што очувани примери сведоче.