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NEW JERUSALEMS IN THE BALKANS.
TRANSLATION OF SACRED SPACE
IN THE LOCAL CONTEXT

In a considerable number of medieval texts, chronicles, hagiographies, texts of encomiastic, oracular and apocalyptic genre, the capital cities of Bulgaria and Serbia, two states which played a significant role in shaping the history of the Balkans in the later Middle Ages, are often referred to in terms which liken them to Jerusalem or the Promised Land, or determine them as new Thessalonikis, Constantinoples and, indeed, new Jerusalems.

The use of such *topoi* is aimed at a social construction of meaning within the framework of historically determined cultural discourses, based on the premise that culture itself can be observed as a complex system of signs constantly open to redefinition. This implies that the approach to their more profound understanding must rely on a method based on reconceptualization of the problem of text and context. Therefore, the true object of investigation becomes the relation between text and society whose activities are perceived as a sort of behavioral text, in which that relation functions as two homologous systems of signs¹. As a result, our attention is focused on activities which produce social and cultural phenomena and objects — actually on the means by the use of which a world filled with meaning is created. Apart from texts, those means, as real as the text itself, belong to the instruments of creating sacred space or hierotopy, a phenomenon most often recognized and identified in both liturgical and historical time as *translatio Hierosolymi*².

¹ On these methodological premises see *Spiegel G.* The Past as Text, The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography, Johns Hopkins University Press 1997, passim.

² On the principles and various modes of hierotopy see: Иеротопия, исследование сакральных пространств / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. Москва, 2004, in particular the introductory text by *Лидов А. М.* Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств как вид творчества и предмет исторического исследования, с. 15–31. On the concept of liturgical and historical time see *Spiegel G. M.* Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time // History and Theory, Vol 41, No. 2 (2002), p. 149–162.

Beyond any doubt, in the eyes of *homo medievalis*, the absolute paradigm of hierotopic activity is Constantinople, the capital of the Empire and universal model through the emulation of which or through the appropriation of whose elements of identity — ranging from cults of saints and icons, and pertaining devotional practices, to visual identity — throughout history, and in particular in the later Middle Ages, especially following the events of 1204, a growing number of other points in the Christian oikoumene gains the status of center as a God-chosen and God-protected place — Arta and Nicea, Paris and Venice, Novgorod and Moscow, to name just the most prominent examples³.

Therefore, in investigating the translation of sacred space in local context, or more precisely the phenomenon of New Jerusalems in the Balkans, our attention will be focused on the modes in which Trnovo and Belgrade, capitals of Bulgaria and Serbia in the period between the end of the XII and the first decades of the XV centuries, were transformed into sacral state centers, that is the forms and instruments of hierotopy applied in each case in the aim of their likening to Jerusalem as the utmost paradigm of sacred space and also the relation between those examples and the universal prototype of *translatio Hierosolymi* realized in the capital of the Empire, Constantinople. Moreover, we shall investigate the historical connections between the two cities and their Jerusalem programs and contextualize them within the framework of the general eschatologically colored intellectual and spiritual climate of the late medieval period with expectations tied to the completion of the cosmic week and the approaching of the year 7000⁴.

Our investigation of the topic, viewed from this vantage point, has shown that in the case of Trnovo, capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire from the time of the Asen dynasty (1186–1396)⁵, the development and re-

³ On the emulation and appropriation of Constantinopolitan models in both devotional practices and the visual arts as a hierotopic device *Lidov A.* The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space // *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Papers from a conference held at the Academia di Danimarca in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome 2005, 273–304; idem.* Церковь Богоматери Фаросской. Императорский храм-реликварий как константинопольский Гроб Господень // *Византийский мир: искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. К 2000-летию христианства. Москва 2005, с. 79–108.* For underlying principles of the tendency to incorporate Constantinopolitan identity into the roots of their own among the Slavic peoples and their states see *Бадаланова-Покровская Ф. К., Плюханова М. Б.* Средневековые исторические формулы (Москва/Тырново — Новый Царьград. Текст — культура — семиотика нарратива. Труды по знаковым системам XXIII. Тарту, 1989, с. 80–94.

⁴ On these ideas *Vasiliev A.* Medieval Ideas of the End of the World // *Byzantion 16 (1942–1943), p. 462–502.*

⁵ *Дуйчев И.* Търново като политически и духовен център през късното средновековие. Археология, VIII, 3 (1966).

ception of a new Jerusalem program can be observed on several levels. One is certainly textual and it develops the eschatological context of the idea of the capital seat, a *leitmotif* of the long tradition of eschatological literature developed in the Bulgarian milieu already since the XI and in particular during the XII century. During that period a prominent role was assigned to oracular literature translated from the Greek originals at a time when it also flourished in Byzantium itself⁶. Among other things, in this initial, preparatory or pre-capital phase, these texts were used to pave the way and lay the ideological foundation of the struggle for renovation of the Bulgarian empire. This textual dimension of hierotopy reached a peak in the XIII century, following the watershed year of 1231, and its final apogee in the days of tsar Ivan Alexander in the XIV century.

Indirectly or directly, through interpolations in Slavonic translations of the Greek originals, Trnovo is likened to Constantinople as the universal exemplar of the capital seat but, at times even more effectively, to Thessaloniki, the second city of the Empire but one of primary political and cultural influence in the Balkans and, what's more, one with its own, specific eschatological connotations. Bearing in mind the central role assigned to Thessaloniki in Bulgarian eschatological texts already in the XI century⁷, we should consider the appropriation of the Thessalonikan vehicles of sacralization — its cults, miracle working icons, role in the events tied to the end of world — at the very beginning of the history of the Second Bulgarian Empire not only as a result of the exceptional political, cultural and spiritual authority of this city in the Balkans, but also within a clearly visible and well defined eschatological context. Viewed from this point, Thessaloniki is not simply a legitimate substitute of the capital, a round-about way of *imitatio Constantinopoli* as a mode of *translatio Hierosolymi*, not only a local stand-in for Constantinople, but rather a cen-

⁶ On the eschatological context of the idea of the capital in Byzantine religio-political thought Podskalsky G. *Byzantinische Reichseshatologie*. München 1972, passim; Alexander P. J. *The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen through Byzantine Eyes // Speculum*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3 (1962), 339–357; Magdalino P. *The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda // The Making of Byzantine History / Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. by R. Beaton and Ch. Roueché, London 1993, p. 3–34. On literature of the apocalyptic-eschatological genre in Byzantium Alexander P. J. *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*. Univ. of California Press, 1985, passim, and in medieval Bulgaria Tapkova-Zaïmova V., Miltenova A. *Political Ideology and Eschatology, The Image of the "King-Saviour" and Concrete Historical Personages // Relations et influences réciproques entre Grecs et Bulgares. XVIIIe–XXe siècle. Art et littérature, idées politiques et structures sociales*, Thessaloniki 1991, 441–451; Tapkova-Zaïmova V. *Die eschatologische Literatur und die byzantinisch-bulgarischen Beziehungen // BYZANTIACA*, Τόμος 12ος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1992, 103–117, both texts with further bibliography in Bulgarian.

⁷ Tapkova-Zaïmova V., Miltenova A. *Op. cit.*, p. 448.

ter with its own eschatological and thus also sacral identity — a new Jerusalem in its own right⁸.

In texts such as the “Legend of Thessaloniki”, and even more so the “Apocryphal Bulgarian Chronicle”, ground is created for comparison between Trnovo and Thessaloniki. More importantly, they also introduce messianic ideas and the use of the chosen people topos as well as structural elements pertaining to Old Testament prophetic texts which had long since already been incorporated in Byzantine apocryphal apocalyptic literature, above all those from the Vision of Daniel referring to the four world empires. A particular trait of the mentioned eschatological-apocalyptic texts circulating in the Bulgarian milieu is the extraordinary place assigned in them to Thessaloniki which joins the list of holy cities, great universal centers constituting the itinerary on the path of the last Christian emperor, thus assuming a conspicuously eschatologically colored identity. In the “Vision of Daniel” the last emperor will start off on his Providence guided endeavor from Thessaloniki, having previously been awoken there by an angel, to go to Rome and from there to wage his final victory over the *xantha geni* at Glavnica, in western Bulgaria. Thus Bulgarian soil is seen as the actual setting for the enactment of the end of history and therefore becomes a virtual substitute of the Land of Israel. This is even more explicit in the text of “Prophecy of Isaiah”. After his visit to Rome and victory over the people of the North, the emperor, in this case named Michel as an allusion to the Boris — Michael, the first Christian ruler of Bulgaria, returns to his land which is called the New Jerusalem⁹.

On the other hand, parallel to this Thessalonikan mode of sacralization, that of Constantinople also takes on a prominent role in relevant Bulgarian texts, albeit more gradually and not always as directly. Although already in the days of emperor Kalojan Trnovo is referred to as the great city and the city of the empire, and thus, making use of the megalopolis topic, likened to Constantinople, as well as Thessaloniki, only in the time of patriarch Kalist this mode of constructing the image of the capital as an ideal city through comparison with Constantinople becomes fully transparent and unequivocal. In the text of the Vita of Theodosios of Trnovo we find

⁸ On cults and devotional rituals in Thessaloniki as translations of signature Constantinopolitan phenomena, especially those related to the Hodegetria icon, see Lidov A. The Flying Hodegetria, p. 291–292. About the principle of *substitutio* as a mode of *translatio* underlying the Bulgarian approach to Thessaloniki, i.e. relating to an archetype though the process of *substitutio*, *additio* and *generatio*, in particular in Slavic folklore, Бадаланова-Покровская Ф. К., Плюханова М. Б., op. cit., с. 82.

⁹ Търнова-Зъаимова В. Търново между Ерусалим, Рим и Цариград (Идеята за престолен град) // Четвърти международен симпозиум, Велико Търново, 16–18 октомври 1985, с. 249–265, in particular 256–258 with sources and bibliography.

mention that the imperial city of the Bulgarians is second in word and deed to the city of Constantine¹⁰.

The next phase in appropriation of Constantinopolitan identity for indelibly intertwined ideological and hierotopical purposes is, accordingly, found in the hagiographic texts created as a part of a program of *traditio reliquiarum* in the function of *traditio Hierosolymi*, underpinning the project of *translatio* or *renovatio imperii* after the Bulgarian triumph at Klokotnica in the year 1231¹¹. Thus, in the Vita of Mihail Voin Trnovo is referred to as the God-redeemed imperial city (Carigrad i.e. Constantinople) Trnovo and in the prologue to the Vita of Hilarion of Meglene as the God-redeemed and God-protected city Trnovo. In the Trnovo gospel dating from 1272–1273 there is mention of “царевградъ Търново”¹². Patriarch Euthymios, the most prominent creator of ideology in the Second Bulgarian Empire in the XIV century, relies on terms such our most glorious imperial city, the most glorious city of Trnovo, therefore on the topos of *polis vasileon*¹³. Only in the Bulgarian transcription of the Chronicle of Manassee dating from the reign of Ivan Alexander, however, is Trnovo directly referred to as New Constantinople. That passage is found in the encomiastic text exalting the flourishing and growth of Trnovo and is a direct translation from the Greek original in which the fate of the old is contrasted with the fate of the New Rome, building on the topos of withering and flourishing aimed actually at a mystical transfer of power guided by Divine Providence on the path leading to the end of the temporal world, fulfillment of history and the establishment of eschatological reality. In the Bulgarian translation, instead of the old and the new Rome, we find reference to Constantinople (Carigrad) and New Constantinople (Trnovo)¹⁴.

Thus, in the process of sacralization, as seen already on the textual plane, Trnovo relies equally on universal and local, Balkan instruments. Other structural elements of its hierotopy share the same orientation although they are notably more Balkan than universal, as demonstrated by the appropriation of the cult, dedication of churches to and presence of miracle working icon of St. Demetrios from Thessaloniki in Trnovo. The very beginning of the struggle of Ivan and Petar Asen for the renovation of the Bulgarian Empire is tied to the cult of St. Demetrios¹⁵.

¹⁰ *Idem*, 257, with sources.

¹¹ Божилев И. Седем етюда по средновековна история, София 1995, 182–194.

¹² Търкова-Зъаимова В., op. cit., p. 258, with sources.

¹³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁵ On the significance of the cult of St. Demetrios during the first decades of the Second Bulgarian Empire see *Obolensky D.* The Cult of St. Demetrios of Thessaloniki in the History of the Byzantine-Slav Relations // *Balkan Studies*, Vol. XV, no. 1 (1974), p. 3–20; *Tapkova-*

According to the writing of Niceta Choniates, with an aim to gather the Bulgarian people in an uprising, Ivan I Asen and his brother Theodore Petar raised “a temple in the name of the great martyr Demetrios” in Trnovo. In front of the people gathered there, probably on the occasion of church dedication, the two brothers made public the news that Almighty God, in divulging his will through saint Demetrios, poured his blessings on the leaders of the uprising and the Bulgarian people and thus guaranteed a fate of freedom and independence to the Bulgarian state. A signal and token of Divine will is, according to Choniates, and based on the fundamental medieval concept of miracles as historical realities, seen in the fact that the Lord's martyr Demetrios had left Thessaloniki and his temple therein, as well as the Byzantines themselves, and had crossed over to the Bulgarians to be their aide and guardian in their actions. These words of Choniates actually refer to precise historical circumstances and events tied to the fall of Thessaloniki to the Normans on August 24th, 1185. Ivan Asen did not hesitate to seize that moment and spread the word that the martyr and thaumatourgos of Thessaloniki abandoned his city and shrine and joined the Bulgarians and moved to Trnovo¹⁶. Proof of this Divine Presence, the *shekinah*, in Trnovo as a matter of Divine Providence, was found in the icon of saint Demetrios which had been saved from fire and transferred to Trnovo from Thessaloniki as well as the newly erected temple of the saint in that city¹⁷. The uprising of the two Asen brothers, and thus the state and its capital which issued from this uprising, thus received the prerequisite spiritual and ideological foundation and support.

Another “locally” intoned element of hierotopy of the Bulgarian capital is also the gathering there, already in the days of Ivan I Asen and his brother Kalojan, of relics of local Balkan saints such as St. Hilarion of Meglene, Micheal Voin and St. Philotea. What's more, a particular role is assigned to the relics of St. John of Rila, another high ranking Balkan saint whose cult is associated with the reestablishing of continuity between the First and Second Bulgarian Empire. As we have already mentioned, the idea of God-protected and God-chosen status of Trnovo is carefully nurtured and further evolved during the XIII century. The key element in its reliquary aspect is again tied

Zaimova V. Quelques représentations iconographiques de Saint Démétrius et l'insurrection des Assenides — première scission dans son culte “oecuménique” // *Byzantinobulgarica* V (1978), passim.

¹⁶ Божилев И. Семейството на Асеневци (1186–1460), генеалогия и просопография. София, 1994, p. 28–29, including the written sources.

¹⁷ This icon was later transferred by the emperor Isaac II Angelos to his palace in Constantinople, as described in laudatory verse by Theodore Balsamon; Гюзелев В. Чудотворна икона на св. Димитър Солунски в Търново през 1185–1186 г. // Материали на научната конференция посветена на 70-годишнината на проф. д-р Любен Прашков, София 2006, 36–39. For the church of St. Demetrios in Trnovo see *Мижатов К.* Архитектурата в средновековна България. София, 1965, с. 198.

to the watershed year 1231 and the translation to Trnovo during the reign of Ivan II Asen of the relics of St. Petka, another most highly revered Balkan saint, and perhaps also those of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo¹⁸. At that time St. Petka joined St. John of Rila as the main holy guardian of the capital, the emperor and the Bulgarian Empire. In that vein and for that purpose, the cults of those two holy recluses were strengthened by the cult and relics of St. Peter, the sanctified Bulgarian emperor, ruler of the First Bulgarian Empire, son of tsar Simeon and grand-son of Boris — Michael¹⁹.

Such a choice of relics of local (Balkan — Bulgarian — national) saints was certainly determined by the actual historical and political events and circumstances and their availability but just as much, naturally, by the royal ideology of the Asen dynasty which made use of cults from the territory of the First Bulgarian Empire as one of the vehicles it relied on in order to incorporate the old, or First (Empire), into the new, or Second (Empire), and demonstrate their supposedly unbroken continuity²⁰. Other means were, for example, the use of ancient, even pre-Christian Bulgarian epigraphic monuments as *spoliae* in the churches of Trnovo²¹.

A hierotopic phenomenon of particular interest is the micro and macro topography of Trnovo and its surroundings whose sacral points are arranged in a system of concentric circles and display toponyms such as Sveta gora or Lobna skala thus alluding to Sion or Golgotha. As many as sixteen monasteries were built in the environs of the capital in the period between the end of the XII and the end of the XIV century and, together with the churches and monasteries within the city, they comprise the sacred topography of Trnovo and the spiritual ramparts of the capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire. It also seems important to note the disposition of these sacral focuses in and around the capital. Except for the shrines of John of Rila and Michael Voin, the centers of whose cults were located on Trapezica or within Carevac, the main places of cult which housed the relics of those saints who were of utmost significance for the Divine protection of the Bul-

¹⁸ Поповић Д. Реликвије свете Петке: *gloria Bulgariae — gloria Serviae* (Relics of St. Petka: *gloria Bulgariae — gloria Serviae*) // Под окриљем светости. Култ светих владара и реликвија у средњовековној Србији (Under the Auspices of Sanctity. The Cult of Holy Rulers and Relics in Medieval Serbia), Београд 2006, с. 271–293, in particular 278–279 with bibliography.

¹⁹ It is especially significant to note that in Trnovo, in certain aspects, the cults of St. Peter and St. Petka acted as substitutes of the Constantinopolitan cults of the holy emperor Constantine and the Virgin; Биљарски И. Покровители на Царството, Св. цар Петър и св. Параскева-Петка. Софија, 2004, с. 25–32, 68.

²⁰ Божилев И. Седем етюда по средновековна историја.

²¹ Such is the case with the epigraphic monument bearing the inscription of Han Omurtag from the church of the Forty Martyrs in Trnovo; Бешевлиев В. Първобългарски надписи, Софија 1979, с. 192–193.

garian Empire and capital, were located in Novi grad, at the foot of Carevac. Among them, the church of the Forty Martyrs assumed a special position as the shrine and cult center of several holy guardians of the Empire, such as St. Hilarion of Meglene and in particular Agia Paraskevi. It may also have served as the imperial mausoleum²².

All in all, the spatial disposition of sacral focuses in and around the capital forms a scheme of concentric circles around a pivotal point towards which everything gravitates and from which everything emanates and that scheme underpins the idea and image of an ideal city. Thus, the centrality inherent in the idea of Jerusalem is materialized also through the ideal concentric scheme of dispersal of sacral points which together produce a net, a matrix of the sacred space of the capital. They also mark the endpoints of the spreading or emanation of that sacrality, of the area covered by Divine protection, dotting its perimeter as sentinels for those residing within or gateways to the “heavenly city” for those entering the sacred space of the capital, marking the dividing line between sacred and profane space.

On the other hand, the Jerusalem program of Belgrade from the days of despot Stefan Lazarević (1402–1427), although closely related to that of Trnovo²³, appears to have more universal pretensions, or better said, to rely on universal rather than on locally determined means, vehicles of hierotopy. It is in its essence and from the outset very Constantinopolitan. Its emulation of Constantinople as a means of sacralization is corroborated by a considerable number of phenomena in its hierotopy: the dedication of the city to the Virgin, the presence of her miracle working icon of the Hodegetria type, and possibly even relics related to Mary, visions of her intercession and protection in the skies above the city, but above all the presence of imperial relics of the highest rank, namely those of the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, and the holy empress Theophano²⁴.

As for topography, in the text of the despot's Vita the entire city is referred to as *eptalophos polis*, a notable Constantinopolitan epithet, while the location of its metropolitan see with the church of the Dormition of the Virgin is, in accordance with its dedication, likened to the Valley of Kidron and

²² Алексиев И. Бележки за ранната история на трновските манастири // *Studia protobulgatica et medievalia europensia*. Велико Търново, 1992, с. 189–198.

²³ Relics of St. Petka were translated from Bulgaria to Serbia and encomiastic rhetoric developed within the Trnovo literary school was adopted in the Serbian milieu through the engagement of Constantine the Philosopher from Kosteneč as the author of the highly learned and sophisticated text of the despot's Vita. For the history and function of the translation of relics of St. Petka from Bulgaria see Поповић Д., op. cit.

²⁴ Ердељан Ј. Београд као Нови Јерусалим. Размишљања о рецепцији једног топоса у доба деспота Стефана Лазаревића (Belgrade as New Jerusalem. Reflections on the Reception of a Topos in the Age of Despot Stefan Lazarević) // *Зборник радова Византолошког института* XLIII (2006), p. 97–110, in particular 103–105.

Gethsemane. Thus, although it is not the first sacral focus of the Serbian medieval state, Belgrade, as opposed to its monastic predecessors in that role — Chilandar, Studenica and Žiča, is the first such center created on an urban matrix and with a program of hierotopy focusing not on national but rather universal cults, a locus envisaged as the point of salvation drawing all the nations of the oikoumene²⁵.

Such a concept of Belgrade as the capital of the Serbian state in the days of despot Stefan Lazarević is only one constituent part of a broader phenomenon of appropriating Constantinopolitan models as instruments in the process of sacralization of the entire space of his state aimed at welcoming the eschatological reality expected to arrive with the year 7000. Relying on a time honored encomiastic scheme used in rhetoric to exalt the features of lands and cities ever since antiquity, which, among other things such as the location, topography, natural features of the terrain and activities and merits of the population always includes a laudatory mention of the climate and the air²⁶, Constantine the Philosopher at the very beginning of the despot's Vita lays down the foundations of the concept of Serbia and Belgrade as its nucleus which, according to the *pars pro toto* principle, function as substitutes of each other, as a place of sublimation of time and space, a nucleus from which everything stems and towards which everything gravitates.

Among the cosmological motifs which Constantine the Philosopher builds upon in order to create an image of the land and its capital as phenomena shaped by Divine Providence, imitating ideal prototypes, a place of special significance is given to the rivers Danube and Sava. The Danube is foremost in this respect as it is likened to Phison, one of the four rivers of Paradise, while the Sava, according to this text, numbers among the 36 rivers chosen among all in the universe. Having their confluence at the foot of the despot's capital, they imbue his land with the blessings of Eden. Thus, Serbian land and its capital as its semiological substitute are defined as the *locus amoenus* chosen from the origins of time, from the time of Divine Creation, to be filled with paradisaical blessing, to be heaven on earth. That image is rounded off by comparing this land with the church of the Lord (“А живот у читавој тој земљи је као црква божја” / And life in this entire land is like the church of the Lord)²⁷ and with Mt. Sinai²⁸, the *locus* of *translatio legis* and of life in accordance with Divine law (“...по Христу врши се закон” /

²⁵ *Idem*, p. 103.

²⁶ Радошевић Н. *Laudes Serbiae*, Зборник радова Византолошког института XXIV–XXV (1986), p. 445–451, in particular 447.

²⁷ Филозоф К. Житије деспота Стефана Лазаревића / Гревео Л. Мирковић, приредила Г. Јовановић. Београд 1989, p. 79.

²⁸ *Idem*, p. 80.

after Christ the law is obeyed)²⁹, through which the Lord divulges his presence in the terrestrial ambit and his covenant with the chosen people.

In that context, the activities of despot Stefan in Serbian lands, and especially in his capital city, are seen as a part of the Divine Plan, a realization of the promise, a renovation of the covenant between God and the New Israel. Moreover, in several instances in the Vita, more precisely in the prologue, the despot himself is compared to Moses, a phenomenon which, among other things, is associated with the actualization of an archaic concept of the ruler as the spiritual and temporal leader of the (chosen) people, i.e. of the *rex et sacerdos* idea. All together, this is contextualized within the framework of the eschatologically colored spiritual climate of the XV century in expectation of the year 7000, the completion of the cosmic week, the approaching of the end of the world, the Second Coming and renewal or, better yet, the sealing of the final covenant between God and (New) Israel³⁰.

More precisely, the comparison drawn between despot Stefan and Moses is aimed at pointing out the fundamental characteristics of such a ruler, those being the gift of *sophia*, understood as both the ability to understand Divine mysteries and as diplomatic prowess, as well as the gift of prophecy. Because the second passage of the introductory acrostych of the Vita speaks of Moses, the archetype of despot Stefan, as the law giver and the architect of the Tabernacle, made after the celestial image, the *eikon* and likeness of the entire *oikoumene*, the Serbian ruler thus assumes the identity of the great and Divine cosmographer, of the one to whom by will of Divine Providence the mysteries of creation and order of the world have been disclosed³¹.

Further on in the text of the Vita, it becomes quite clear that one of two key modes of realization of that Divine Plan, an *opus* which reflects the order of the *oikoumene*, is the despot's feat of raising and setting up of the capital city of Belgrade as a New Jerusalem, modelled after the universal center, the capital of the Empire³². In that sense, the text of the Vita empha-

²⁹ Loc. cit.

³⁰ Cf. *Георгиева Н.* Житието на Стефан Лазаревич от Константин Костенечки и царската словесна иконография през XV век, Българският петнадесети век // Сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XV век. София, 1993, с. 161–180. On the renovation of the covenant, the idea of *renovatio* and its relation with the ideas of the end of the world *Magdalino P.*, op. cit.

³¹ *Филозоф К.*, op. cit., p. 73; *Георгиева Н.*, op. cit., p. 163.

³² The identity of Constantinople as New Jerusalem was constructed and augmented continually and gradually, throughout the existence of the Byzantine capital and bibliography on the various aspects and historical stages of this phenomenon is indeed vast. In this instance, therefore, we would like to point out some fundamental texts on this problem which are crucial for understanding it from a hierotopic point of view: *Alexander P. J.* The strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine eyes // *Speculum*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, July 1962, p. 339–357; *Mango C.* Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism // *Journal of the War-*

sizes that despot Stefan populated his capital with many nations, which is underlined less as a historical fact resulting from favorable commercial regulations and tax exemption agreements and far more as a part of an all-encompassing plan of enlightening and uplifting the city “да се као за Јерусалим и за њега могло узгласити и рећи: Узведи околу очи своје и види сабрана ти чеда (Ис. 49, 18) / so that, as for Jerusalem, one could say: Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather themselves together, and come to thee (Is. 49,18)”³³.

Thus, Constantine the Philosopher with entirely clear intentions of creating an image of the Serbian capital as an *umbilicus mundi*, of emphasizing the universal values of this place and the universal program on which the essence of its identity as a capital it is based, points out that “... од свију околних земаља непрестано из дана у дан почеше долазити (становници) и убрзо се тај град веома густо насели. Али уколико већи биваше, утолико се дугоруки (тј. деспот) не насићаваше. Њима још и од својих земаља преписа, сабра и насели (га), као Јеремија некад у Јерусалим / ...from all the surrounding lands constantly from day to day inhabitants began to pour into it so that soon that city became very densely populated. But the bigger it grew, the more the long armed (i. e. despot) insatiable became. To them from his own lands he added, he gathered and populated it, as Jeremiah did once in Jerusalem”³⁴. What's more, “...више (од осталих) градова овај чуваше и снабдеваше свима потребама, као царски дом / ...more than (other) cities he kept this one and supplied it with all the necessities, like the dwelling of the king”³⁵, thus implying and identification with the dwelling of the King of Heaven, the King of Kings, Paradise, Jerusalem, and, at the same time, with Constantinople in which the imperial residence itself, *hieron palation*, *theophylakton palation*, stands as the sublimate of the city, the entire Empire, the oikoumene³⁶. Parallel to that, in the text of his

burg and Courtauld Institutes, Vo. 28 (1965), p. 29–43; *Magdalino P.*, op. cit.; *Congourdeau M.-H.* Jérusalem et Constantinople dans la littérature apocalyptique // *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 18, 125–136; *Flusin B.* Les reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle et leur passé impérial à Constantinople // *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, Paris 2001, p. 20–31; *Лидов А. М.* Мандилион и керамион как образ-архетип сакрального пространства // *Восточно-христианские реликвии* / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов, Москва, 2003, с. 249–280; *Ousterhout R.* Sacred Geographies and Holy Cities: Constantinople as Jerusalem // *Иеротопия, Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и древней Руси* / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов, Москва, 2006, с. 98–111.

³³ *Филозоф К.*, op. cit., p. 102–103.

³⁴ *Loc. cit.*

³⁵ *Филозоф К.*, op. cit., p. 103.

³⁶ *Вомпайр Ж.* La ville de Constantinople vue a travers le Livre des Ceremonies // *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople. L'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age*, Colloque du Département d'Etudes Medievales de l'universite de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV). Paris, 1986, p. 235–246, esp. 243.

Vita all the doings of the despot and he himself is compared most directly to *isoapostolos* and his own feats in the city of his name³⁷. Therefore, the Serbian ruler enacts that which is the prerogative of the basileus, he is *philopolis*, by his merits *renovatio urbis* is brought on and the grace of God resides in his land. His state and its capital is, thus, a new house of the Lord, a new Sion, ideas which had long before the time of Stefan Lazarević lain at the core of political ideology of the Empire of the Romaioi and been a part of the mystical connection, of the platonic love between the basileos and Constantinople as a reflection of the Lords love for Jerusalem³⁸.

More than through anything else, however, it appears that the intention of despot Stefan to set up Belgrade as a universal center, conceptually truly a New Constantinople, itself a New Jerusalem, is disclosed most directly and undoubtedly through the nurturing of the cult and the presence of the relics in the Serbian capital of the Byzantine empress Theophano, celebrated as the guardian of the Serbian sceptre³⁹, and, even more importantly, of the first Christian emperor himself. Namely, among the numberless and priceless treasures of the Moscow Kremlin, there is a silver reliquary of luxurious workmanship dating from the beginning of the XV century and decorated with the words of the troparion dedicated to emperor Constantine in the Serbian redaction of Old Slavonic. In it lies the right hand of the holy emperor Constantine. From what is known of the history of this holy relic, it reached Moscow in 1558, as a gift of the Oikoumenical patriarch Jeremiah II to the Russian tsar Fyodor Ivanovich, from Constantinople, where it had previously arrived as a part of the spoils of war which sultan Suleiman the Magnificent had brought with him from Serbian lands in 1521. Immediately after, it was bestowed upon the Oikoumenical patriarch Jeremiah I⁴⁰. Being a relic of the highest rank, attested also by the fact that once in Moscow it was kept in the imperial palatine Church of the Annunciation which, already at the close of the XVI century, could be compared to the treasuries of the Byzantine emperors in number, choice and esteem of its sacred commodities, there can be little doubt that during its sojourn in Serbia it had not been kept in the despot's capital, possibly in the palatine chapel of Belgrade's Upper Town. What's more, in Belgrade in those days the typically Constantinopolitan joint celebration of the dynastic saint of the Macedonians and the first Christian emperor could have been revived⁴¹.

³⁷ *Филозоф К.*, op. cit., p. 102.

³⁸ *Ahrweiler H.* L'ideologie politique de l'empire byzantin. Paris, 1975, passim; cf. also *Bompaire J.*, op. cit., p. 244–245, based on the analysis of the text of *De ceremoniis*.

³⁹ *Марјановић-Душанић С.* Династија и светост у доба породице Лазаревић: стари узори и нови модели // Зборник радова Византолошког института XLIII (2006), 77–95.

⁴⁰ *Моршакова Е. А.* Ковчег для десницы святого царя Константина // Христианские реликвии в московском Кремле / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. Москва, 2000, с. 126–128.

⁴¹ On the celebration of St. Theophano together with the holy emperor Constantine in Constantinople see *Majeska G. P.* The Body of St. Theophano the Empress and the Convent of

The presence of the relics of the first Christian emperor in Belgrade additionally raises numerous and exceptionally interesting and significant questions related to their function and reception in the Serbian milieu of the time. It is clear that they must have been the key element of the reliquary program of the Serbian capital envisaged for the purpose of assimilation of Belgrade to the Constantinopolitan prototype and by that mode the ideal of New Jerusalem. Their general meaning and significance was, naturally, present long since in medieval political thought in which the emperor Constantine represents the embodiment of the ideal ruler while the topos of New Constantine was a part of Serbian ideology also before the time of despot Stefan⁴². However, the text of Stefan's Vita and other contemporary texts once again offer the key to understanding the specific and special place given to Constantine within the framework of the Jerusalem program of Belgrade, from the point of view of the general spiritual and intellectual climate of the late Middle Ages and the personal spiritual habitus of the despot himself.

The text of the Vita speaks of the despot's personal ascetism, of life at his court which was practically conducted in accordance with monastic rules, of his continuous contacts with the Sinaites and his explicit desire to trace a path leading towards celestial Jerusalem⁴³, which is all very indicative of the highly eschatologically colored spiritual concepts of this Serbian ruler. In addition to that, the presence in Belgrade of holy fools, and Stefan's direct contacts with them⁴⁴, and, finally, his own text entitled “О будућим временима” (“On Future Times”)⁴⁵, actually a translation of prophecies attributed to the Byzantine emperor Leo VI the Wise, testify of his preoccupation with mysticism and eschatological texts in particular. Because such texts which announce the end of the world and of which, as we have just seen, Stefan Lazarević, was well aware, assign a key role to the messianic figure of the last Roman emperor who, on the other hand, is often identified precisely with the first Christian emperor of Rome⁴⁶ — we can rightly presume what a prominent significance for his entire state and himself personally was invested in the fact that the right arm of the one who would be engaged in securing the final triumph of the Lord and his Second Coming was kept in Belgrade as the ultimate warranty of salvation. Moreover, according to the genealogy expounded in the text of his Vita, despot Stefan is directly de-

St. Constantine // *Byzantinoslavica* 38 (1977), p. 14–21; *Dagron G.* Theophano, les Saints-Apotres et l'eglise de Tous-les-saints // *Symmeikta* 9 (1994), p. 201–218.

⁴² *Марјановић-Душанић С.* Владарска идеологија Немањића, Београд 1997, с. 287–302.

⁴³ *Филозоф К.*, op. cit., p. 99–100, 103.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, p. 128.

⁴⁵ Антологија старе српске књижевности (XI–XVIII века) / Избор, преводи и објашњења Ђ. Сп. Радојичић. Београд, 1960, с. 135–137.

⁴⁶ *Alexander P. J.* The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition, с. 151–184.

scended from Constantine the Great⁴⁷, which, while yet another topos, a an unprecedented phenomenon in the biographies of previous Serbian rulers and an element indicating his own personal identification with the messianic persona of the last — fist Christian emperor.

At the same time, this process of sacralization, of translation of sacred space by all the various means, was perceived as a political instrument, a true shield of divine protection against imminent Turkish threat. In the act of translating and mapping of sacred space, in asserting the occurrence and circulation of divine presence throughout the despot's land, other places, alongside Belgrade, also played an important role. Belgrade, politically certainly of utmost importance, together with its holy mountain located in its immediate vicinity, on Mt. Kosmaj, marks the northernmost point of that hallowed ground. Its southern perimeter is marked by Kruševac, Kalenić, Ljubostinja and other sacral focuses of so-called Morava Serbia⁴⁸ while its ideal center, so to speak, could be located in Manasija itself, despot Stefan's mausoleum or, in the words of Constantine the Philosopher, that other city which has the path towards celestial Jerusalem and is its likeness⁴⁹.

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НОВЫЕ ИЕРУСАЛИМЫ НА БАЛКАНАХ:
ПЕРЕНОСЕНИЕ САКРАЛЬНЫХ ПРОСТРАНСТВ
В КОНТЕКСТЕ МЕСТНЫХ ТРАДИЦИЙ

В значительном количестве средневековых текстов (хрониках, житиях, сочинениях панегирических, пророческих и апокалипсических) столицы Болгарии и Сербии, двух государств, игравших важную роль в формировании балканской истории в позднем средневековье, часто упоминаются в сопоставлении с Иерусалимом или Землей Обетованной, или их характеризуют как новые Салоники, Константинополь или, собственно, новые Иерусалимы. Использование таких топосов направлено на построение социальных смыслов в рамках исторически заданных культурных дискурсов, основанных на допущении, что сама культура может рассматриваться как сложная система знаков, постоянно

⁴⁷ *Филозоф К.*, op. cit., p. 81.

⁴⁸ On Kalenić in this context *Стевовић И.* Каленић. Богородичина црква у архитектури позновизантијског света (Kalenić. Virgin's Church in the Architecture of the Late Byzantine World). Београд, 2006; *idem*, Late Byzantine Church Decoration as an Iconic Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem: the Case of Kalenić, in this volume.

⁴⁹ *Филозоф К.*, op. cit., p. 103.

открытых для новых определений. Это предполагает, что более глубокое понимание может опираться на метод реконцептуализации проблемы текста и контекста. Следовательно, истинным объектом исследования становится отношение между текстом и обществом, деятельность которого может рассматриваться как своего рода поведенческий текст, в котором эти отношения функционируют как две гомологические знаковые системы. В результате наше внимание фокусируется на деятельности, которая производит социальные и культурные феномены и объекты — а именно на средствах, с помощью которых мир наполняется заново созданными смыслами. Помимо текстов, эти смыслы, не менее реальные, чем сам текст, относятся к числу инструментов построения сакрального пространства или иеротопии, феномен, исторически зафиксированный как *translatio Hierosolymi*.

Вне всякого сомнения, с точки зрения *homo medievalis*, абсолютной парадигмой иеротопической деятельности был Константинополь, столица Империи и универсальный образец, через подражание которому или через усвоение некоторых элементов идентичности которого (начиная с культа святых и заканчивая визуальным сходством) на протяжении всей истории и, в частности, в позднем средневековье (особенно после событий 1204 г.), все большее количество точек христианской ойкумены присваивало статус центра богоизбранного и находящегося под особым покровительством Бога. Некоторые наиболее известные примеры — Арта и Никея, Париж и Венеция, Новгород и Москва.

Следовательно, исследуя перенос сакрального пространства в местном контексте или, более точно, феномен Новых Иерусалимов на Балканах, мы сосредоточим внимание на том, как именно Тырново и Белград, столицы Болгарии и Сербии в период с конца XII до первых десятилетий XV в., были преобразованы в сакральные государственные центры, то есть на формах и инструментах иеротопии, применимых к каждому конкретному случаю приближения к Иерусалиму как абсолютной парадигме сакрального пространства, а также на отношениях между этими примерами и универсальным прообразом *translatio Hierosolymi*, реализованным в столице империи, Константинополе. Более того, мы будем исследовать исторические связи между двумя балканскими городами и их программами Иерусалимов, поставив их в контекст общей эсхатологии, придававшей специфический колорит интеллектуальному и духовному климату позднего средневековья (ожидания, связанные с завершением космического цикла и приближением 7000 года).

Наше исследование темы, рассматриваемой со столь выгодной точки обзора, показало, что в случае Тырново, столицы Второго Болгарского царства при династии Асеней (1186–1396), развитие и восприятие иерусалимской программы можно изучать на нескольких уровнях.

Конечно, один из них — текстуальный, на нем происходит развитие эсхатологического контекста идеи стольного града, *лейтмотива* длинной традиции эсхатологической литературы, бытовавшей в болгарской среде уже с XI в. и особенно распространившейся в XII в., достигшей пика в XIII в., причем водоразделом является 1231 г., а затем эта литература пользовалась большой популярностью во времена царя Ивана Александра в XIV в. Прямо или косвенно, через интерполяцию в славянских переводах греческих оригиналов, Тырново сопоставлялось с Константинополем как универсальным образцом стольного града, а порой еще более откровенно — с Салониками, вторым городом Империи, имевшим непосредственное влияние на Балканы и обладавшим собственными своеобразными эсхатологическими коннотациями.

Таким образом, как это видно в текстуальном плане, в процессе сакрализации Тырново использовались как вселенские, так и местные, балканские инструменты. Другие структурные элементы его иеротопии имеют ту же ориентацию, хотя они заметно более балканские, чем вселенские, как это видно на примере присвоения культа, посвящения церквей и присутствия чудотворных икон св. Дмитрия Солунского в Тырново, а также собирания там реликвий местных балканских святых, таких как св. Илларион Мегленский, Михаил Воин и св. Параскева. Более того, особую роль приписывали реликвиям св. Иоанна Рильского, еще одного балканского святого высокого ранга, чей культ ассоциировался с установлением преемственности между Первым и Вторым Болгарскими Царствами. Иеротопический феномен, представляющий особый интерес, — это микро- и макротопография Тырново и его окрестностей, чьи сакральные точки образуют систему концентрических кругов и включают такие топонимы, как Света гора или Лобна скала, что является прямыми параллелями Сиона и Голгофы. В период с конца XII по конец XIV вв. вокруг столицы было выстроено не менее шестнадцати монастырей; вместе с храмами и монастырями внутри города они составляют сакральную топографию Тырново и духовные бастионы столицы Второго Болгарского Царства.

С другой стороны, иерусалимская программа Белграда со времен деспота Стефана Лазаревича (1402–1427), хотя и была тесно связана с программой Тырново (реликвии св. Параскевы были перенесены из Болгарии в Сербию, и панегирическая риторика развивалась в традициях тырновской литературной школы, усвоенной сербским обществом благодаря приглашению Константина Костенечского как автора высокоученого и изощренного текста жития деспота), кажется, имела более универсалистские притязания. Подражание Константинополю в качестве средства сакрализации подтверждается значительным количеством феноменов белградской иеротопии: посвящение города Богородице, при-

существование ее чудотворных икон иконографического типа Одигитрии (возможно, еще и реликвий, связанных с Богородицею), видения ее покровительства и небесной защиты города, но прежде всего — появление имперских реликвий высшего ранга, связанных с первым христианским императором Константином Великим, святой императрицей Феофаной (женой Льва VI Мудрого, династического святого Македонии).

Что касается топографии, в тексте жития деспота весь город определяется как *epitalophos polis* — весьма примечательный константинопольский эпитет, в то время как местоположение митрополии связано с церковью Успения Богородицы, посвящение которой напоминает о долине Кедрон и Гефсимании. Таким образом, хотя Белград и не является первым сакральным фокусом сербского средневекового государства, поскольку ему предшествовали в этой роли монастырские центры — Хиландар, Студеница и Жича, все же был первым подобным центром-городом, имеющим иеротопическую программу, сфокусированную больше на национальных, чем на вселенских культах, он стал средоточием спасения, собирающим национальное самосознание всей ойкумены.

Представление о Белграде как о столице Сербского государства во времена деспота Стефана Лазаревича являлось лишь одной составляющей более широкого феномена усвоения константинопольских образцов в качестве инструментов для сакрализации всего пространства государства, направленной на подготовку к принятию эсхатологической реальности в преддверии 7000 г. В то же время, этот процесс рассматривался как политический инструмент, истинный щит божественного покровительства в виду турецкой угрозы. В переносе и картографировании сакрального пространства, в утверждении божественного присутствия на землях, находившихся под властью деспота, существенную роль играли и другие места, помимо Белграда. Этот город, с политической точки зрения наиболее важный, в сочетании с расположенной в непосредственной близости от него священной горой Космай, обозначал самую северную точку благословенной земли. На южном рубеже ее отмечали Крушевац, Каленич, Любостин и другие сакральные точки так называемой Моравской Сербии, а ее идеальный центр должен был находиться в Манасии, где был построен мавзолей в честь деспота Стефана; используя слова Константина Костенечского, это был тот град, из которого начиналась тропа к Небесному Иерусалиму.