 Notes on Byzantine Panagiaria

Ivan Drpić*

University of Washington, Seattle

The article offers some new insights into the significance and function of Byzantine panagiaria, small-scale containers for the bread sanctified in honor of the Virgin in a rite known as the Elevation of the Panagia. This rite, it is argued, was not limited to monastic and courtly contexts or to routine liturgical observance, as is often assumed, but could be performed by the laity as well. Proposing that the use of panagiaria as personal devotional instruments was fairly common in Byzantium, the article explores the interplay between the design, materiality, epigraphic enhancement, and ritual and devotional use of these objects.

Key words: panagiaria, the Elevation of the Panagia, lay piety, epigram, Manuel Philes, performance, enkolpion

It has become commonplace to assert that medieval artworks are often decontextualized in modern publications and museum displays. In the case of Byzantine panagiaria, however, this apparent platitude bears repeating. These small-scale containers designed to hold a piece of bread, or panagia, elevated in honor of the Virgin in a parlitturgical rite cannot be properly understood outside of their ritual and devotional use. Habitually relegated to the lowly realm of the so-called “minor” or “decorative” arts—a taxonomy hardly applicable to the realities of medieval art-making—Byzantine panagiaria have never received the scholarly attention they deserve. Yet the significance of these objects and the rite in which they were employed is considerable, not least because they can help us illuminate important aspects of personal piety in Byzantium. As private devotional instruments, panagiaria call attention to such key issues as materiality, performance, and the role of the human body in religious experience.

In its most basic form, the rite of the Elevation of the Panagia consists of an act of sanctification of a loaf or particle of bread. Raising—and hence, elevating—the bread on his fingertips, the celebrant first exclaims the words, Μέγια τό ὄνομα τῆς έγνων τριάδος (“Great is the name of the Holy Trinity”), and then invokes the Virgin, Παναγία θεοτόκε, βοήθει ἡμῖν (“All-Holy Mother of God, help us”). To these two exclamationss are ordinarily added the third, Τάς αὑτής προσβελίσκος ὁ Θεός ἔλήψαν καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς (“Through her intercessions, O God, have mercy and save us”). The performance of the rite commonly incorporates the chanting of other prayers and hymns, but the gesture of elevation accompanied by the three exclamations stands at its core. Sanctified in this manner, the panagia is believed to secure the Virgin’s assistance and protection on behalf of those partaking of it.

A variety of special containers, or panagiaria, typically adorned with an image of the Mother of God, are used for the celebration of the rite. These containers may be divided into two groups. The first includes table vessels in the form of a dish, often raised on a foot and/or supplied with a lid, while the second comprises small, usually circular box-like receptacles worn around the neck as enkolpia, or pectoral pendants. One of the earliest examples of the former variety is a jasper panagiario in the Chilandar monastery on Mount Athos, attributed on stylistic grounds to the tenth or eleventh century (fig. 1). This exquisite object consists of a shallow

* drpic@u.washington.edu


2 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Greek are mine.

3 Thus far, the most complete discussion of the rite is found in: J. J. Viammas, The Elevation of the Panagia, DOP 26 (1972) 225–236. The author is, however, concerned primarily with liturgical sources and omits much narrative, legal, and poetic material. V. also C. Du Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et in usus, Lyon 1688, s.v. παναγια;

bowl mounted in silver. A finely carved half-length figure of the Virgin orans with the Christ Child emerging from the folds of her maphorion occupies the center of the bowl. Surrounding the two figures in a cruciform arrangement are diminutive busts of the four archangels – Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel. The bowl’s silver mount is composed of a rim connected to a low foot in the shape of a truncated cone by four straps. The remains of a hinge suggest that the bowl originally had a lid. For an example of the second type of panagia, we may turn to a bronze container, dated to the fifteenth century, in the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade (figs. 2–3). This panagiarion, which would have been worn as a pendant suspended from a chain, consists of two medallion-like plates hinged together. The exterior side of one of the plates bears an image of the Crucifixion. When open, the panagiarion shows the Virgin orans with the Christ Child in her bosom displayed on one plate and the three angels of the Holy Trinity, on the other. These two subjects are commonly paired on pectoral panagia; without a doubt, their choice reflects the standard exclamations from the rite of the Elevation, in which – in addition to the Virgin – the name of the Holy Trinity is invoked.

It is well known that the Elevation of the Panagia was performed in monastic refectories after a meal and, occasionally, during the Divine Liturgy or the Matins. As we learn from pseudo-Kodinos, the rite was also incorporated into imperial ceremonies. On Christmas Day, following a repast in the palace, a piece of bread, laid in a clean vessel, and having said the thanksgiving, namely, “Blessed be God who nourishes us from our youth,” we elevate it, saying first, “Great is the name of the Holy Trinity,” and following this, “All-Holy Mother of God, help us.” Evidently, the Elevation of the Panagia was performed by the laity as well in the private space of their homes.

A hortatory letter addressed by Symeon of Thessalonike to his spiritual flock provides an important piece of information regarding the veneration of the panagia in the context of the so-called popular piety. Admonishing women in his diocese to raise their children in the Lord and keep them away from divinations and magic charms, Symeon offers some pious advice:

Sources substantiate the archbishop’s statement and, in particular, shed further light on the popularity of the rite among the laity. In a series of questions dealing with various doctrinal, legal, and ritual issues, which the Serbian King Stefan Radoslav (1228–1233) addressed to the famous canonist Demetrios Chomatemos, archbishop of Ohrid (1216/1217–ca. 1236), one concerned the rite of the Elevation. “From which source,” the king asked, “did we, the Christians, inherit the practice of elevating the panagia after a meal?” Christ himself, Chomatemos explained in his answer, had established the custom of giving thanks to God at the end of a meal, which the holy fathers subsequently enhanced and elaborated.

They prescribed that, in addition to the customary thanksgiving after a meal, we cut a piece of bread and place it in a clean vessel, and having said the thanksgiving, namely, “Blessed be God who nourishes us from our youth,” we elevate it, saying first, “Great is the name of the Holy Trinity,” and following this, “All-Holy Mother of God, help us.”

A letter of 1419, sent by the metropolitan Photios of Kiev and all Russia (1408–1431) to the clergy of Pskov, confirms the currency of this practice in late medieval Russia. Cf. Sterligova, Pskovskoe serebrinnoe blíudo, 383.
Fig. 2. Pectoral panagiarion (exterior), fifteenth century, bronze, 6 x 5.5 cm, Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade (photo: Rajko Karišić)

If you wish to protect and save them, make the sign of the cross upon them and bring them to the holy churches and sanctify them with the sacraments; also fortify them with phylacteries, <namely> the bread elevated in the name of the All-Holy <Virgin>, the figure of the cross, and the holy images on sacred enkolpia, for they chase away all adversaries. Invested with enduring spiritual agency, the Panagia was clearly employed as a potent prophylactic device among the laity. There is enough evidence to suggest that, at least during the late Byzantine era, the Virgin’s bread also acquired a sacramental dimension. Legal documents of this period record that, aside from being excommunicated, accused criminals and murderers were not allowed to receive the antidoron, or blessed bread distributed to the faithful at the end of the Divine Liturgy, nor to drink the hagiasma, or holy water, but they were permitted to partake of the panagia after a meal. In fact, in instances of unforeseen need, the panagia could function as a substitute for the Eucharist. Direct evidence for this is found in the Logos eucharistērion by John Eugenikos (died after 1454/1455), delivered after this renowned churchman and writer had survived a shipwreck. Eugenikos’ remarkable account of the shipwreck merits closer scrutiny as it contains a detailed description of the performance of the Elevation in circumstances of extreme danger and anxiety.

As an opponent of church union, Eugenikos left the Council of Ferrara-Florence at an early stage in the negotiations and on his way back to Byzantium embarked on a ship in Venice. On the night of 15 October 1438, the ship was caught in a violent storm off the Adriatic coast near Rimini. Sensing impending doom the passengers aboard could do nothing but cry and beat their chests. Eugenikos recounts how he took a loaf of bread from one of his desperate travel companions and, taking off his headgear, kneeled down on the deck and started to pray in a loud voice, invoking the Virgin’s protection. Clearly, he set out to perform the Elevation of the Panagia. He began by reciting the customary exclamations, to which he added other prayers and psalms, ardently kissing and venerating what he calls the holy images on the body of the Mother of God), a clear indication that, on the model of the Eucharist, the elevated bread came to be identified with the body of the Virgin. Gradually, Eugenikos’ companions started to approach him, one by one, and confess...
their sins without the least restraint. When their confessions were heard, Eugenikos addressed them.

As it appears, it is God’s will that we should die in this way. But since we do not have here a particle of the divine body and blood of the Lord, the sanctification of the soul and the last provision for the journey, instead, if you agree, we shall use this ‘bread’, which is out of necessity the symbol of the All-Holy <Virgin>, in sincere faith.21

An ersatz communion ensued and everyone partook of the bread. Eugenikos records that he carefully placed the remaining morsel of the panagia in his bosom. When, following the sinking of the ship, in which more than one half of the passengers perished, a rowboat crammed with those who escaped drowning finally reached the coast near a place to which he refers as Portoloro, Eugenikos took the morsel out of his bosom and distributed it among the survivors. He incidentally informs us that, while in his bosom, the morsel was lodged in a gold panagiarion with a representation of the Virgin, suspended on his chest along with two other pendants. As he relates, at one point during the storm, as the rowboat was being tossed around by huge waves, I pulled the so-called enkolpion from my bosom, which were my only possessions that had survived, because they were always with me, suspended around my neck, this cross made of rock-crystal, an image of the Mother of God in the gold hemisphere [i.e. panagiarion] that sheltered some of the sacred things [i.e. the remaining morsel of the panagia] inside, and a relic of the gloriously triumphant virgin Barbara in another <enkolpion>, fervently kissing and praying <to them>.22

It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Eugenikos used his panagiarion for the performance of the Elevation on the storm-beset ship. Be that as it may, his Logos indicates that one of the functions – if not the main function – of pectoral panagia was to provide a portable shelter for the sanctified bread.23 I shall return to this point shortly.

It is often assumed that, in the course of the later Middle Ages, panagia such as the one described by Eugenikos came to be associated specifically with high church officials.24 They became an insignia of bishops, but also of archimandrites and other prominent clergymen, ceremonially worn on the chest.25 It is notable, however, that in Eugenikos’ account his gold panagiarion figures not so much

---

21 Παλαιολόγια και πελοποννησιακά, 288: τούτο ἦν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔστι, ἐνδέχεται τούτο δέ τεῦχε τὸ ζῆν ἐκμετάρθη, οὐδὲν δὲ μερίς ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ δυσποτικοῦ καὶ θείου οὐρανοῦ και ἁμαρτίας, ἀγαθοῦ νομοῦ καὶ κοσμοπολιτικοῦ θρόνου, ἄνετο τούτο τι τοῦ τόπου τις ἀνάγκης τῆς Παναγίας, εἰ δέκει, χρησίμωθα τῷ παράν ἐνσύστεω εὐλαβείας.
24 The “prelatic” pectoral panagiarion is not to be confused with the so-called panagia, a pendant also worn on the chest by members of the episcopate. The latter term encompasses a variety of pectoral pendants, typically in the form of small icons showing the Virgin, Christ, a saint, or one of the major feasts. The preponderance of images of the Virgin on these objects probably accounts for the fact that they came to be uniformly designated by the term panagia. V., e.g., E. Golubinsky, Istoriiia russkoi Tserkvi, I/2, Moscow 1881, 236–237; Oikonomaké-Papadopoulou, Εκκλησιαστικά άγαριά, 27.
as an emblem of office – and one should recall that, at the time of the shipwreck, he was a deacon and nonomphylax at the patriarchate – but rather as an intimate devotional object. Note that Eugenikos did not wear the enkolpia and his two other enkolpia displayed, as it were, on his chest, but underneath his garments, close to the body, as enkolpia were normally worn in Byzantium. What is more, like the performance of the Elevation, the handling or wearing of panagia was by no means a prerogative of the clergy. Indeed, I would argue that the use of panagia as personal items, private devotional tools as well as objets d’art, may have been fairly common in Byzantium.

It is worth noting in this regard that in the will of the skouterios Theodore Sarantenos, drawn up in 1325, a gold panagia turns up in the long list of objects – mostly icons, precious-metal vessels, belts, rings, and the like – which the testator donated to his foundation, the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Berroia. The absence of liturgical utensils from the list strongly suggests that the donated items, including the panagia, were not specifically commissioned for the monastery but rather came from Theodore’s personal collection of luxury artifacts.

That panagia were popular among members of the Palaiologan élite is further indicated by the epigrammatic oeuvre of Manuel Philes (died after 1330), a tremendously prolific poet whose pen catered to a host of aristocratic patrons, including members of the imperial family. Philes composed nearly a dozen epigrams on panagia. The fact that none of these poems contains a reference to a specific patron may suggest that Philes was occasionally writing, so to speak, on spec. In the majority of instances, however, precise references to iconography and, especially, to the materials used leave no doubt that the poet had specific objects in mind. Thus, in an epigram on a silver panagia with a
golden medallion of the Virgin in the center, the brilliance of the precious metals as well as the panagiaion’s circular shape and figural decoration prompted an imaginative cosmological interpretation of the object.

This plate seems to be an image of heaven; for it carries the gold circle like a Sun, and the Virgin in the center like the Earth/Land of God, from which grows the soul-sustaining fruit [i.e. Christ].

Aside from gold and silver, Philes’ poetry attests to the use of other materials for manufacturing panagia such as wood or semiprecious stones. In addition, at least one of his epigrams was meant to accompany a pectoral panagiaion. This was an unusual object that combined two functions: it was a container for the Virgin’s bread that also served as a reliquary of Christ’s blood.

I carry the bread of the Virgin on the breast. Eat, O soul hungry for salvation. Whenever you are thirsty, drink incorruption which the holy blood of Christ pours for you. Behold, what a strange table and guests! And I myself am a splendid host here, presenting the Lord’s blood as a drink.

And I myself am a splendid host here, Behold, what a strange table and guests! Whenever you are thirsty, drink incorruption which the holy blood of Christ pours for you. Eat, O soul hungry for salvation.

Panagia for a period of time. Enshrined within the object together with the blood of Christ – a pairing that would inevitably bring to mind Eucharistic associations – the panagia itself approaches the status of a relic.

None of the panagiaria recorded in Philes’ epigrams has come down to us, but several preserved specimens feature comparable poetic inscriptions. The earliest among them appears to be a silver-gilt pectoral container formerly in the collection of Dr. Christian Schmidt in Munich, dated to the tenth or eleventh century (figs. 4–5). Measuring a mere 3.2 x 2.6 cm, this diminutive object consists of two circular plates hinged together and supplied with a suspension hoop. Engraved on the convex front plate is a rather crude image of the Virgin orans. The back plate, which is flat, bears a dodecasyllable couplet that invokes the Virgin’s protection on behalf of the wearer.

O Mother of God, you who carry the bread of life [i.e. Christ], protect the one who carries you from every harm.

Andrews Rhoby, who has recently published this piece, identifies it as an aartophorion, that is, a container for the Eucharistic bread, but the object’s shape, iconography, and inscription leave no doubt that this was a pectoral panagiaion. The reference to Christ as the “bread of life” (cf. John 6:32) composed to be inscribed on panagia. This list must remain provisional, as a full critical edition of the Philean corpus is still a desideratum.

Fig. 6. Panagiarion of Alexios Komnenos Angelos, fourteenth century, steatite, diameter 9 cm, formerly in the Panteleemon monastery, Mount Athos.
found in inscriptions on language and imagery, as we shall see below, are commonly meant to hold a particle of the Eucharistic 6:35 and 6:48) does not necessarily mean that the object was mirroring. These elegant verses deploy a trope common in epigrammatic poetry: the object is presented as a riddle, a visual enigma that calls for a verbal interpretation. In elucidating its meaning, the verses make reference to the object’s medium, design, and ritual use. As Kalavrezou has observed, the imagery of vegetation was inspired by the green color of steatite, which prompted a comparison of the receptacle with a meadow and of the row of prophets surrounding the central medallion with plants. The themes of the Incarnation and nourishment, on the other hand, point to the object’s ritual function – the rite of the Elevation and its affinity with the Eucharist. The verses, in fact, stage the viewer’s encounter with the object within a ritual context, linking it specifically

The now lost steatite panagiarion of Alexios Komnenos Angelos from the Panteleimon monastery on Mount Athos exemplifies how inscribed verse may bring together figural imagery, materiality, and ritual action in a web of associations (fig. 6). The date and provenance of the panagiarion have been debated, and this is no place to tackle these issues. I should say, however, that I subscribe to a fourth-century date proposed by Ioli Kalavrezou, although I am slightly skeptical about her identification of the owner – or, less likely, donor – of the panagiarion with Alexios III Komnenos, Emperor of Trebizond (1349–1390). The two poetical inscriptions that adorn this exquisitely carved receptacle fail to mention Alexios’ title; such an omission would be highly unusual, if the owner/donor was indeed an emperor. Of the two inscriptions, one encircles a medallion with the Virgin and Child in the center.

O Mother without a husband, O Virgin nourishing an infant, may you protect Alexios Komnenos Angelos. The other inscription runs along the panagiarion’s lobed border.

A meadow and plants and light with three rays. The stone is the meadow, the phalanx of prophets are the plants, the three beams are Christ, the bread, and the Virgin. The Maiden lends flesh to the Logos of God, and Christ by means of bread distributes salvation and strength to Alexios Komnenos Angelos.
to the performance of the Elevation. This is evident from the explicit reference to the bread, the elevated panagia, the presence of which is not only seen as integral to the object’s meaning, but also represents an essential visual and material aspect of the object. If the imagined – or, indeed, prescribed – reading of the inscription coincides with the performance of the rite, then the question arises as to whether the inscription may have been actually integrated in the rite and chanted or recited by the celebrant.

This intriguing proposition is, of course, impossible to prove, but it is plausible, not least because of a certain open-endedness of the rite of the Elevation which seems to have allowed considerable freedom to the celebrant. At this juncture, it should also be pointed out that epigraphic texts were commonly read aloud by the Byzantines. As several scholars have convincingly argued, silent reading was not a standard practice in Byzantium. This is especially true of verse inscriptions, for their poetic form virtually demands oral delivery. The dynamic, rhythmical structure of an accentual meter – the meter of choice in Byzantine epigrammatic poetry – can be neither understood nor appreciated if it is heard. Specific occasions for such performative engagement with inscribed objects, however, have not been explored. As far as epigrams found on artifacts related to the cult are concerned, I wish to propose that the liturgy in the broadest sense may have provided a context for their recitation and that the rite of the Elevation might be a good example of this practice.

Like other liturgical objects, panagia is often feature inscriptions directly borrowed from the rite. The inscription running along the silver-encased lip of the jasper panagliari on from the Chilandar monastery (fig. 1) quotes a theotokion which in most versions of the rite follows immediately after the three standard eulogies:

Your womb became a holy table, having the heavenly bread, Christ, our God, from which all who eat will not die, as <he> the Nourisher of all has said, O Mother of God. Similarly, the bronze pectoral panagiai from Belgrade (figs. 2–3) features the Old Church Slavonic version of the celebrated Marian hymn Axion estin, the chanting of which is, too, commonly incorporated in the rite. Specially composed – or reused – poetic inscriptions were, in a sense, an alternative to such liturgical quotations that would have appealed to a more sophisticated audience. Their function, however, was essentially the same. In both cases, inscribed words echo ritual performance. It is no accident that epigrams on panagiai are often couched in a decidedly liturgical language. Consider, for instance, the following epigram attributed to John Eugenikos:

Your womb full of divine grace, O Maiden, mystically carried a radiant table, carrying Christ, the heavenly and firm bread of life, which all who eat will not die.

These verses obviously represent a direct paraphrase of the theotokion “Your womb” from the rite of the Elevation adapted to the format of a dodecasyllable tetrastichon.

In inscriptions displayed on two closely related panagiai, one in the Museo Nazionale in Ravenna (fig. 7) and the other in the Chilandar monastery (fig. 8), both tentatively dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century, poetry and ritual seamlessly coalesce. Perhaps manufactured in the same workshop, the two objects share a similar design, with a depiction of the Virgin orans in the central medallion and a circular row of holy figures – and, in the case of the Chilandar panagiai, two feast images as well – placed under arches. Both panagiai, moreover, feature the inscription θεοτόκε, βοήθή ἡμῖν (“All-Holy Mother of God, help us”) from the rite of the Elevation, inscribed – along with several cryptograms – on the medallion of the Virgin. In addition, their rims are adorned by the same epigram, selected in all likelihood from a manuscript anthology.

The metaphorical imagery of the epigram refers to a vision described in Isaiah 6:6–7:

Then flew one of the seraphim to me, having in his hand a burning coal which he had taken with tongs from the altar. And he touched my mouth, and said: ‘Behold, this has touched your lips; your guilt is taken away, and your sin forgiven.’

In Byzantine exegesis, Isaiah’s vision was customarily interpreted as a prefiguration of the Logos incarnate carried inside Mary’s womb or held in her hands like a burning coal. With
its use of terms such as labis, anthrakōdēs, and pyrrphoros, the language of the epigram is strongly reminiscent of liturgical hymns, especially those associated with the Feast of the Presentation of Christ into the Temple, which often elaborate upon the motif of the Infant Jesus nestled in Mary’s hands or the language of the epigram is strongly reminiscent of liturgical hymns. 

To give but one example, a sticheron chanted at the Little Vesper of the feast proclaims:

As the coal foreseen by the divine Isaiah, Christ in the hands of the Theotokos, as if with a pair of tongs, is now presented to the Priest. 68

In the epigram on the Ravenna and Chilandar panagia, as in the sticheron, the word labis, which can mean “a pair of tongs” but also “communion spoon,” carries in and of itself strong Eucharistic connotations. In the epigram, however, the “burning coal-like bread” held by the Virgin refers not only to Christ, the Eucharistic sacrifice, 69 but also to the elevated panagia, a notion highlighted by the absence of Christ from the depiction of the Virgin orans in the central medallion on both objects. During the celebration of the rite of the Elevation, the panagia would be placed directly above the medallion and hence quite literally embraced by the Virgin’s outstretched arms. 70 The celebrant performing the rite would in turn mirror this gesture by holding the panagiarion or raising the panagia in his hands, as if with a labis. The vessel, its imagery, the bread, and the ritual action would thus enter into a dialogue, complementing and reinforcing each other in a synergy triggered by the inscribed verses. Is this proof that the epigram on the two panagia was integrated in the performance of the rite? Certainly not. But it must be admitted that the epigram’s message would have been meaningful only in the ritual context. 

The evidence presented in this essay regarding the rite of the Elevation and the use of panagia in Byzantium is admittedly sparse. Some questions, accordingly, must remain open. How widespread was the rite among the laity? Were women perhaps allowed to elevate the panagia? 71 Did the use of panagia as personal devotional objects become more common only in the Palaiologan period? 72 What seems certain, however, is that the veneration of the Virgin’s bread played a more significant role in Byzantine piety than previously assumed. Sanctified through the act of ritual elevation, the panagia was a potent spiritual instrument, a special kind of food that one consumed, but also stored, cherished, and worn about the body for its protective powers. The adoption of the rite of the Elevation by the laity must be seen as an aspect of the ever-increasing devotion to the Mother of God in Byzantium. Whether it also reflected the decline in lay communion remains to be explored. In contrast to the early Christian era, when it was customary for everyone attending the celebration of the Divine Liturgy to partake of the Eucharist, the laity in Byzantium rarely communicated. Although, in theory, any Christian could approach the Lord’s Table every day, granted that he or she was properly prepared through fasting and prayer, laypeople in general did not take communion more than a few times per year, typically on important feast days. 73 As Robert F. Taft puts it, “Holy Communion, meant to be the common ecclesial sharing in the commonly offered gifts, ultimately devolved into an act of personal devotion.” 74 Since, as we have seen, the elevated panagia could function as a substitute for the Eucharist, it is not inconceivable that partaking of it may have been seen as an alternative form of communion.


Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi. Enkolpia d’archéologie byzantines nischen Klöstern byzantinische Zeugnisse zu Metrik und Rhythmik Geburtstag pitanja srpskog kralja Stefana Radoslava (S., S. S., Ηαγιασμός της Θεότοκος Ο Χῶρος τοῦ Οἴνου στὴν βυζαντινὴ ὑπηρεσία, Svetosavski zbornik, I/2, Moscow 1881).


Krumbacher K., Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453), Munich 1897.

Lambros S., Ο Μακρόσχος κινδιός 524, Νόει Εκθεσιακήνος 8 (1911) 2–9, 123–192 [Lambros S., Η Markianos kíndis 524, Neos Hellenémnonén 1911 (1) 2–9, 123–192].


Maas P., Der byzantinische Zwillstilf, Biz. 12 (1903) 278–323.


Bellesle o vizantijevim panagiijarima

Ivan Drpić

Vizantijevi panagiijari, specijalne posude za obavljanje čina tзв. uznošenja panagiјe, obreda u koјem се komad хлеба освећује у чашти Богородице, нису при-
влечили већу пажњу израђивача. У жељи да се маћар делимично попуни таја праћине, у раду се износе нека запажања о значају и употреби тих предмета.

Добро је познато да се чин узношења панагије обавља у манастирима, за третом, а повремено и при-
ликом бошњења, на јутрењу или литургијама. На осно-
ву Псевдо-Кодиновог описа о церемонијама се зна да је обред обављан и на византијском двору. Неколико маће познатих канонских, наративних, правних и поетских извора, међутим, недосмислено потврђује да обред није био везан исклучиво за монашку и дворску средину, нити за богослужење у цркви. Узношење панагије прак-
тиковали су и мирјани, било у својем дому, после обеда, било у некој другој прилици, на пример у случају невоље и опасности. Поред тога, Богородичном хлебу причи-
сивана је профилактичка моћ, а у извесним ситуацијама могла је послужити и као замена за пречиште.

Чин се да је и употреба панагијара у Византији била знатно раширенија него што се досад претпостављало. Поред трезних панагијара у облику круглих плит-
ких посуда, у употреби су биле и напрени панагијари у виду минијатурних кутија-дигитика, коришћени, између осталог, за похрањивање Богородичног хлеба. Та панагијари епископи нису били привилегија црквених великохостојника, као што се често наводи. Носени уз тело, они су представљали предмет штовања и извор ду-
ховне заштите у оквир конкретних потреба.

Фигурална декорација панагијара следи мање више уобичајену иконографију, усмерену на лици Бо-
городице, с Младенцем или без њега, окружен пророчи-
ма, светитељима или анђелима. Код напрених панагијара Богородичнилик обично је комбинован с представом старозаветне Тројице. Уз фигуралне представе, на панагијарима се често налазе и написи, било да је реч о инвокацијама и молитвама из чина узношења, било о поетским натписима, то јест епиграмима. Због оцретних различитости између обреда освећења Богородичног хле-
ба и евангелија, у епиграмима, укључујући и оне који нису сачувани in situ, често се даје поетски израз тема-
ма оваошлоње и евангелијске жртве. Њихов поетски језик понекад је непосредно заснован на формулима из чина узношења. У раду се износи претпоставка да су епиграми носени на панагијарима могли бити читани у оквиру обављања овог чина и на тај начин укључени у обред.

Drpić I.: Notes on Byzantine Panagiatoria


Radoković B., Sina plastika u staroj srpskoj umetnosti, Beograd 1977.


Toussaint G., Blut oder Blendwerk? Orientalische Kristallhakons in mittel-
alterliche Kirchenschulen, in: … das Heilige sichtbar machen. Dom-

Trembelas P. N., Ας τράγος ο ταραγηνυ κατ’ ις εις ΄Αθινας κώδικας, Ath-


Uspensky T., Artosania Panagia, Izvestia Russkogo arkeologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopolie 8 (1902) 249–263.

YanniNis J. J., The Elevation of the Panagia, DOP 26 (1972) 225–236.

61