

## SOTIRIOS KISSAS

### ICONS OF A KOZANI MENOLOGION

There are preserved in the public library of Kozani four small double icons of representations from the menologion which belonged originally to the church of St. Nicholas in the same town. The icons, of dimensions  $0.28 \times 0.21$  m., are painted in tempera on linen cloth coated with plaster. These are set in wooden frames and a protective covering of glass and make a kind of rotating lectern. The artist depicts in 32 representations of four scenes each on both the front and rear panels, the main feast days of the year beginning with the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8) and ending with the Dormition of the Virgin (August 15). The inscriptions on the icons are all in Slavic<sup>1</sup>.

#### *Icon I (Front panel)*

1. The Nativity of the Virgin (Sept. 8). Inscription: Sēp. i. roždestvo B̄ci.
2. Exaltation of the True Cross (Sept. 14). Inscription: id. vozdvizénie č̄tnago k̄r̄ta.
3. St. John the Theologian (Sept. 26), St. Paraskevi (October 14), St. Demetrius (Oct. 26). Inscriptions: k. s̄ty ṽIōán b̄slov. ōk, dī. s̄tāa Paraskīva. k̄z. s̄ty Dimitriē.
4. Congregation of the Archangels Gabriel and Michael (Nov. 8). Inscription: Noem. i s̄bor arhag Ġ' ki Mihaīl.

#### *Icon I (Rear panel)*

5. Presentation of the Virgin (Nov. 21). Inscription: Noem. ka. vove-dénie B̄ci.

1. N. P. Delialis, *Συλλογή παλαιοχριστιανικῶν καὶ μεταγενεστέρων μνημείων τῆς Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Κοζάνης μετ' εἰκόνων καὶ φερμανίων εἰς τὸ τέλος* [*A Collection of Early Christian monuments and Later Documents found in the Public Library of Kozani, with illustrations and Firmans Appended*], Thessaloniki 1955, pp. 9, 10, No. 26, fig. 18 where the scene of the Annunciation is published (hereafter cited as N. P. Delialis, *Συλλογὴ Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*). I wish to express my thanks to N.P. Delialis for his invaluable help and cooperation in the course of my stay in Kozani. I also wish to thank my friend Argyris Kountouras for his assistance, my friend and colleague Gojko Subotić who provided the photographs of the icons published here, and my friend and colleague Dušan Tasić who was responsible for the printing of the photographs.

6. St. Savvas (Dec. 5), St. Nicholas (Dec. 6), St. Catherine (Nov. 24). Inscriptions: Dikm. e. s̄ty. Sáva. z. s̄ty Nikoláe. Noem. kd. s̄taa "Eka-  
terina.

7. SS Eugenius, Eustratius, Mardarius, Auxentius, and Orestes (Dec. 13). Inscriptions: Dekem. gī. s̄ti 'Evgénie, s̄ty Evstrátie, s̄ty Mardárie, s̄ty Ažéntie, s̄ty "Ōrestъ.

8. Nativity of Christ (Dec. 25). Inscriptions: Dik. ke. Róždenie.

*Icon II (Front panel). (Pl. 1).*

9. St. Stephen the Protomartyr (Dec. 27), SS Athanasius and Cyril (Jan. 18). Inscriptions: Dekm. kz. s̄ty Stéfán arhidiakon. Gen. ii. s̄ty 'Aθa..., ...y Kiril.

10. Circumcision of Christ (Jan. 1). Inscription: Gen. a. "Ōbrězanie H̄vo.

11. The Epiphany (Jan. 6). Inscription: Gen. z. stáę Bgojžvle...

12 St. John the Baptist (Jan. 7). Inscription: Gen. z. ty 'Ióán Pr̄tč.

*Icon II (Rear panel)*

13. St. Theodosius (Jan. 11), SS Anthony and Stylianus (Jan. 17). Inscriptions: ...āi s̄ty Θεodosie. zi. s̄ty Antónie. s̄ty Stilianъ.

14. St. Theodore of Tiron (Feb. 17), St. Haralampis (Feb. 10). Inscriptions: Dek. k... s̄ty Θεόδωρ Tiron, i s̄ty Haralápie. The saint lacking an inscription is Ignatius (Dec. 20).

15. SS Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great (Jan. 30). Inscriptions: an. i. Στις Grigóriē h̄goslv. Στι 'Ióán zltoit. Σty Vasilie vel...

16. Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Feb. 2). Inscription: Fe... Srětenie Ġdne (Pl. 2).

*Icon III (Front panel)*

17. The 40 Martyrs of Sebaste (March 9). Inscription: Ma. θ...m̄enko.

18. The Annunciation of the Virgin (March 25). Inscription: Mar. ke. bl̄gověš-tenie Ġei (Pl. 3).

19. The Raising of Lazarus. Inscription: Vos̄krsenie Lazarevo.

20. The Entry into Jerusalem. Inscription: Cv̄tonósia.

*Icon III (Rear panel)*

21. The Crucifixion. Inscription: ...pétie H̄vo.

22. Resurrection of Christ. Inscription: Voskrsenie H̄vo (Pl. 4).

23. The Sunday of Thomas. Inscription: N̄dlę Ōōm̄ina.

24. St. George (April 23), St. Pachomius (May 15). Inscriptions: Ap. kg. s̄ty Ġiēorgie velikom̄enъ. Ma. "ei. s̄ti Pahómie.

*Icon IV (Front panel)*

25. SS Constantine and Helen (May 21). Inscriptions:  $\overline{\text{Sty}}$  Konstadin.  $\overline{\text{staa}}$  Elena.  
 26. Ascension of Christ. Inscription: Voznesenĭe  $\overline{\text{Gdne}}$  (Pl. 5).  
 27. The Holy Trinity. Inscription:  $\overline{\text{Staa}}$   $\overline{\text{Trca}}$ .  
 28. The Sunday of All Saints. Inscription:  $\overline{\text{Ndlĕ}}$  vseh  $\overline{\text{styh}}$ .

*Icon IV (Rear panel)*

29. Congregation of the Twelve Apostles (June 30). Inscription: .... Sobor  $\overline{\text{styh}}$  vi  $\overline{\text{aptolb}}$  (Pl. 6).  
 30. St. Athanasius the Athonite (July 12), St. Procopius (July 10), the Prophet Elijah (July 20). Inscriptions: Iun. vi  $\overline{\text{styh}}$  A $\overline{\theta}$ anásĭe A $\overline{\theta}$ onski. ĭ.  $\overline{\text{styh}}$  Prokopĭe. k.  $\overline{\text{styh}}$  p ... (Pl. 7).  
 31. Transfiguration of Christ (Aug. 6). Inscription: Av.  $\overline{\text{z}}$ . Pre $\overline{\text{o}}$ bra-  
 ženĭe  $\overline{\text{Gdne}}$ .  
 32. Dormition of the Virgin (August 15). Inscription: Av.  $\overline{\text{e}}$ . Uspenĭe  $\overline{\text{Bci}}$ .

The description of the icons makes obvious the order in which the scenes were painted. The depictions run from left to right. Upon completion of the representations on the upper frieze, the artist next moved to the lower frieze and began again from the left. It is only on the back panel of Icon II that the painter completes a cycle, that is, from the upper left he moves to the upper right panel after completing the lower frieze. There is an inconsistency in the order of the scenes in four places only: St. Catherine (Nov. 24) is placed after St. Nicholas (Dec. 6), St. Ignatius (Dec. 20) falls after St. Stylianus (Jan. 17), St. Theodore of Tiron (Feb. 17) precedes St. Haralampis (Feb. 10), and St. Athanasius the Athonite (July 12) precedes St. Procopius (July 10). The scenes, each complete in itself, are surrounded by a narrow band of geometrical designs.

## COMMENTS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY

The feast days of the church (the menologion) as a subject for fine arts is a very early theme dating from the fourth century A.D. From the time of the church of St. George in Thessaloniki through the centuries down to the Russian icons of the 17th century, representations from the menologion adorn churches in mosaics and frescoes, illuminated manuscripts and icons<sup>1</sup>. Depending upon the space available, scenes

1. For the menologion in fine arts see P. Mijović, *Menolog. Istorijsko-umetnička istraživanja*, Belgrade 1973 (hereafter cited as P. Mijović, *Menolog.*).

from the menologion may be depicted in a large cycle of feast days or include only a few selected feast days of the year. The icons of Kozani were in all probability for certain church holidays, displayed on their respective dates for worship by the congregation. The arrangement of the Kozani scenes recalls the iconographic style of the Paleologan period. But it is more than likely that in this instance the artist used illuminated manuscripts for his models. This becomes obvious when the Kozani icons are compared with those representations found in an Oxford codex (Oxon. Bodleian gr., Th. f. 1)<sup>1</sup>. The fact that gold lining is used in both would support such a contention.

The painter of the icons moves within the limits of Byzantine and post-Byzantine iconography. The Athonite interpretation as propounded by Dionysius of Fournas was well known to the artist. But in certain instances one observes deviations from the established iconographic types. On these instances I will dwell at length.

In the Kozani icons, St. John the Baptist is portrayed as «an angel of the desert». He blesses with one hand and with the other holds an open scroll with the text: *Pokaite... približi... tvo...* In the same hand he holds a vessel with Christ the Lamb. Lower on the same icon but on a smaller scale are depicted scenes from his life: the Annunciation of Zacharias, the Nativity of the Baptist, and his beheading. This scene is a copy of corresponding Russian icons<sup>2</sup>.

The portrayal of the All Saints scene on the Kozani icon is identical with that of «Heavenly Jerusalem». In the lower part of the scene, in Paradise, is represented the righteous thief with the cross on his shoulder, and opposite him are seated three patriarchs with Abraham in the centre holding the souls of the righteous in the form of a child in swaddling clothes<sup>3</sup>. The central composition is contained in a circular nimbus and is identified by the inscription «ΕΑΕΜ». Christ in glory is seated

1. P. Mijović, *Menolog.*, p. 205, fn. 182, where the older bibliography may be found. From the codex have been published scenes from the life of St. Demetrius. See A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἡ εἰκονογραφικὸς κύκλος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου* [*The Iconographic Cycle of the Life of St. Demetrius*], Thessaloniki 1970, pp. 16-34, pl. I-III. I thank my colleague P. Mijović for his kindness in making available a microfilm of the codex.

2. Mirjana Tatić-Djurić, «Ikona Jovana Krilatog iz Dečana», *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu* 7, Belgrade 1973, p. 49.

3. This is probably influenced by the representation of the Dormition of the Virgin where Christ holds the soul of his mother who is depicted as an infant in swaddling clothes.

as the king above the seraphs and is carried aloft by the angelic host. The glory is encircled by the symbols of the Evangelists. To the right and left the Virgin and the Baptist lead the Apostles in prayer for the salvation of mankind. Below, Adam and Eve, on their knees on either side of the prepared throne, are surrounded by choirs of high priests. Lower still in the scene are depicted all the righteous in two bands led by SS Constantine and Helen who hold the cross. In the corners above, the prophet-kings David and Solomon are represented from the waist up holding open scrolls containing texts that are undecipherable.

The late distinguished scholar G. Millet, in his fine study of the Vatican Dalmatic<sup>1</sup>, made an iconographic analysis of the representation of All Saints. In the scene are depicted the righteous after the Second Advent. How closely this representation is related to the worship of the dead becomes evident from the fact that it is found in churches that have some association with the dead. The very old church of All Saints was built in Constantinople at the close of the 9th century by Emperor Leo VI the Wise near the church of the Holy Apostles as a mausoleum for his wife Theophano<sup>2</sup>. The same scene is depicted on other monuments associated with the dead such as at Bačkovio in Bulgaria<sup>3</sup>, at Vrontohio<sup>4</sup> near Mistra and in the chapel of St. Demetrius at Vato-pedi built in 1721<sup>5</sup>. The church of All Saints in Constantinople has not survived, but one can be sure that it contained the oldest representation of All Saints. It is in this church, perhaps, that one should seek the original depiction from which the representations of the Vatican Dal-

1. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus, images et croyances*, Paris 1945 (hereafter cited as G. Millet, *La Dalmatique*).

2. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin III - Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969, pp. 389-390. Cf. Glanville Downey, «The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers IX-X* (1956), 301-305. The church was built in 894 A.D. at the earliest.

3. E. Bakalova, «Freski cerkvi-grobnicy Bačkovskogo monastirja i vizantijskaja živopis' XII veka», *Vizantija, Južnye Slavjane i drevnaja Rus', zapadnaja Evropa, Sbornik statej v čest' V. N. Lazareva*, Moscow 1973, 216-218, fn. 3; *idem*, *Stenopisite v kostnicata na Bačkovskija manastir* (avtoreferat), Sofia 1973, pp. 15-16.

4. G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris 1910, pl. 97<sub>3</sub>; G. Millet, *La Dalmatique*, p. 30; A. Xyngopoulos, *Σχεδιάσμα της θεησκευτικής ζωγραφικής μετά την "Αλωσιν"*, [An Historical Sketch of Religious Art after the Fall of Constantinople], Athens 1957, p. 307, (hereafter cited as A. Xyngopoulos, *Σχεδιάσμα*).

5. A. Xyngopoulos, *Σχεδιάσμα*, pp. 306-308, pl. 67<sub>1</sub>.

matic are copied<sup>1</sup> and the icon to which a poem of Maximus Planudes<sup>2</sup> refers. The type found in the Vatican Dalmatic is repeated with minor variations in the post-Byzantine period<sup>3</sup>.

The epigram of Manuel Filis regarding «Εἰς δευτέραν παρουσίαν μὴ ἔχουσαν ἐκεῖσε ποσῶς κόλασιν» may well refer to a representation of a variation of the original scene<sup>4</sup>. In this portrayal, all the choirs of the righteous are present, and within the gold and silver borders of the icon other scenes are depicted as one may conclude from the verses «Φραγμὸν δὲ συνθεῖς ἐκ χρυσαργύρου πέριξ καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν ὀργανώσας τὰς βάσεις». Perhaps Filis meant by the expression «τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰς βάσεις» the scenes of the twelve major feast days which at this time were the basis of every iconographic programme. On the other hand one should not exclude the possibility that Filis' expression refers to a depiction such as that of the Russian icon of the early 16th century which conveys in paint the interpretations of Šestodnev of the text of Cyril the Philosopher referring to the days of the week. According to this text, the Descent into Hell symbolizes the entire week, the Congregation of the Archangels corresponds to Monday, the Baptism to Tuesday, the Annunciation to Wednesday, the Bathing of the Feet to Thursday, the Crucifixion to Friday, and All Saints to Saturday<sup>5</sup>.

1. For illustration see G. Millet - Hélène des Ylouses, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin*, Paris 1945, pls. CXXXV-CLI.

2. Max Treu, *Maximi Planudis epistulae*, Breslau 1890, p. 93. Cf. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique*, p. 9.

3. In addition to the illustration in G. Millet, *La Dalmatique*, pp. 7, 80, see also the illustration of Stavronikita monastery (Agapi Karakatsanis, *Oi eikónes tῆs 'Ierῶs Monῆs Stavrounikita* [Icons of the Holy Monastery of Stavronikita], published by the National Bank of Greece, Athens 1974, pp. 131, 132, fig. 51), of the monastery of Dionysiou, (M. Chatzidakis, «Les débuts de l'école crétoise», *Μνημόσνον Σοφίας Ἀνωτάτης*, Venice 1974, fig. 13, 2), the collection of Lihačev (N. V. Lihačev, *Materialy dlja istorij russkogo ikonopisanija* I-II, St. Petersburg 1906, No. 49 of 1604 and the inscription: Τῶν Ἀγίων Πάντων ὁ θεῖος χορός), of St. Menas of Heracleion (A. Procopiou, *La peinture religieuse dans les îles ioniennes pendant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, n. p. 1939, pl. I), in All Saints of Zante, a work by Elias Moschos (A. Xyngopoulos, *Σχεδίασμα*, fig. 59<sub>1</sub>), of the museum of Recklinghausen (*Ikonomuseum Recklinghausen*, Recklinghausen 1965, nos. 220, 221), and of Russian painting of the 16th century of All Saints (E. Smirnova-S. Yamshchikov, *Old Russian Painting, Oboneznye Painting 14th-18th Centuries*, Leningrad 1974, fig. 24). Examples multiply in the 18th century.

4. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina* I-II, Paris 1855-1857, photocopy reprint Amsterdam 1967, vol. II, pp. 278-279. Cf. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique*, p. 9.

5. V. N. Lazarev, *Moskovskaja škola ikonopisi*, Moscow 1971, p. 50, fig. 80.

The representation of All Saints is associated in significance with «Heavenly Jerusalem» which represents the abode of all the righteous. In the early portrayals of the heavenly Jerusalem, among the choruses of the righteous one finds the chorus of All Saints<sup>1</sup>.

The feast day of the Congregation of the Twelve Apostles is an extremely interesting portrayal, for Peter and Paul as the leading apostles hold in their hands a model of the church<sup>2</sup>. Peter and Paul are here depicted as founders of the church just as many other mortals are portrayed with the model of the church in their hands, offering it to Christ, who is seen above them in a semicircle of clouds.

The Exaltation of the True Cross in the older examples is a simple representation in which is seen the patriarch Macarius raising the cross between two deacons<sup>3</sup>. At a later date, numerous figures are added to the scene and the latter representation is similar to the Athonite manual of painting, except that St. Constantine is not mentioned<sup>4</sup>. The influence of the individual portrayals depicting SS Constantine and Helen on either side of the cross is obvious.

The scene of the Congregation of the Archangels which is of special interest from an iconographic point of view has been recently analysed and examined in detail<sup>5</sup>.

1. Chrysanthi Mavropoulou-Tsioumis, «Παράσταση τῆς ἑπουρανίου Ἱερουσαλήμ» στὸ χειρόγραφο 762 τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου», [«Representation of 'eavenly Jerusalem' in MS 762 of the monastery of Vatopedi»], *Κληρονομία* 6 (1974), 105-111, with figure at end of article.

2. One of the oldest examples is the representation in the lower part of the scene of Nicholas Ritzos from the old church of Sarajevo (V.J. Djurić, *Ikônes de Yougoslavie*, Belgrade 1961, pl. LXXXII). Also an illustration from the Jan Stewart collection: Antony Bryer, «From Damascenus to Tzanes. Some Cretan painters 1453-1669», *Apollo* 84 (July 1966), 13, fig. II. For this information I am grateful to my colleague M. Tatić-Djurić. And lastly, I cite the painting of the priest Victor Kerkyreos (A. Xyngopoulos, *Σχεδιασμα*, p. 218), the painting of the Serbian artist of the mid-17th century Andrija Rajčević, *Slikarstvo u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji od. 12. do 18. veka*, Belgrade 1974 (Catalogue of the exhibition for the 130 years of the National Museum of Belgrade), fig. 51, and the early 17th century fresco in the church of the Archangel Michael in Arandjelovo (Sr. Petković, *Zidno slikarstvo na području Pečke Patrijaršije 1557-1614*, Novi Sad 1965, p. 202). I do not cite all examples but reserve these for a future article.

3. P. Mijović, *Menolog*, pp. 180, 183, 184, 186, 193, 194, 260, 287, 318, 344, 346.

4. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἐρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* [An Interpretation of Painting], St. Petersburg 1909, pp. 170-171.

5. G. I. Vzdornov, «Συναξίς τῶν Ἀρχαγγέλων», *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 32 (1971), 157-183.

St. Stylianus of Paphlagonia is depicted holding an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes<sup>1</sup>.

#### COMMENTS ON STYLE

The background of the icon is differentiated by the use of two colours, with green in the lower half and gold in the upper. This is also the case in portrayals of individual figures and the intention behind such differentiation is to emphasize the setting in which the figures stand. Other scenes are dominated by landscapes and buildings that have lost their Byzantine simplicity and economy and betray certain Western influences or a baroque character. Especially significant is the fact that the painter is well acquainted with the graphic arts, the principles of which he utilizes in his attempt to convey a reasonably well planned perspective. Examples of such perspective are seen in the pulpit in the scene of the Exaltation of the True Cross, the building painted behind Simeon in the Presentation at the Temple, the ciborium of the building in the representation of the Holy Trinity, the various roofs of the buildings, the household objects in the Nativity of the Virgin, and so on.

The faces of the figures are executed in an expressive manner with the projecting features emphasized in brighter colour. Here the basis is the contrast between shade and light and the line disappears completely. Ochre is the fundamental tone of colour. The eyes are carefully executed in a way that conveys the emotions of each figure vividly. Each figure has its own special character and any kind of repetition is studiously avoided. Only in the depiction of the hair and beard does the artist revert in certain instances to the graphic method.

The green or gold line dominates in the pleats of the garments and robes. The use of lighter planes is in most instances very effective. The artist reverts to the habitual technique of graphic depiction which he cannot avoid. He thus gives the effect of shade by using the traditional graphic technique of dense crossed or parallel lines.

The present state of the icons makes difficult a more accurate evaluation of their artistic technique. But one can safely assume that the painter of these icons was in his period an outstanding technician and unlike his contemporaries who repeated the sterile techniques of the traditional school. The icons of Kozani are in fact very fine examples of the 18th century.

1. See *Ikonenmuseum Recklinghausen*, Recklinghausen 1965, Nos. 331 and 464.



## BACKGROUND OF THE ICONS

The Slavic inscriptions on the icons, and this in a geographical area wherein the existence of Slavic monuments is minimal, makes problematical the tracing of the origin of these icons. They are certainly not Russian, as the inscriptions and the technique show: the inscriptions belong linguistically to the Southern Slav idiom and are influenced by the popular language. Certain errors, as when the Slavic C is replaced by the Greek sigma, and the use of Greek words such as «H ΕΛΕΜ», would indicate an artist who was also acquainted with the Greek language.

Another important factor helpful for the identification of the unknown painter is that he was well versed in the graphic arts. The close association of the migrant merchants of Kozani and the town of Servia with Christopher Žefarović or Žefar has been ascertained. In the period in question, the artist Žefar was versed in all the fine arts and especially copper-plate engraving, and one may well assume that he was responsible for the Kozani panels. These icons, which must have been made specially for the church of St. Nicholas of Kozani round about 1730, are among the earliest works of Žefarović and were executed before the artist's departure for the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć, and at all events before the wall-paintings of the Bodjani monastery (1737).

On the other hand, the character and technique as found in the figures of the icons bears no relation to the known mature works of Žefarović. Yet this should not conflict with the proposed identity of the artist of the Kozani icons, for the latter were his earliest and least mature works where the traditional type and techniques were applied. They were painted for the use of a conservative public unaccustomed to innovations in technique, as is evidenced by the decoration of the church of St. Nicholas<sup>1</sup>.

Christopher Žefarović was born in all probability in Doiran at the end of the 17th century. He left his parents, the priest Demetrius and his mother Georganna, as well as his brother Prodan, in about 1730 for the Metropolitanate of Belgrade-Carlowitz with a stopover at the Serbian patriarchate of Peć, in the company of some of his younger relatives.

1. The wall-paintings are unpublished. The inscription of the restoration and the decoration of the church has been published by N.P. Delialis, *Συλλογή Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*, pp. 19-20. Worthy of note is the presentation of SS Clement and Naoum in the frescos. Their popularity was widespread in Kozani. See also the painting of St. Naoum and St. Marina in N.P. Delialis, *op. cit.*, p. 10, No. 29.

The precise date of his departure for the north is not known, but he was by 1734 in Belgrade. Not a single work by Žefarović in the early period is extant. In the period dating from the frescos of the Bodjani monastery (1737) until his death in Moscow (18 September 1753), Žefarović was the dominant figure in the artistic milieu of the Balkans and was the official painter of the Metropolitanate of Carlowitz, the political policy of which he supported with his first works in copperplate engravings. He titled himself «τῶν Σερβῶν κοινὸς ζωγράφος», «τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν τοῦ γένους κοινὸς ζωγράφος», «Ἰλλυρικο-Σερβῶν κοινὸς ζωγράφος», and «τῆς κοινότητος τῶν Ἰλλυρικο-Ρασσιανῶν ζωγράφος»<sup>1</sup>.

The purpose of this study is not to examine the national origins of the painter, about which much has already been written. Yet it should be pointed out that he was not a Greek, this being precluded by the names of his mother and brother which are purely Slavic<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand one should not exclude the possibility that he was the offspring of a mixed marriage, his father, for example, being Greek. But one thing is certain. His entire family spoke Greek and his nephew Daniel Žefarović, who was adopted by his uncle Christopher and became his heir, was acquainted with Greek<sup>3</sup>.

This study will deal briefly with those works of Žefarović which are associated with the Serbian church and people. Then will follow an examination of his relationships with the Greeks and finally his association with the town of Kozani.

1. Lazar Mirković - Ivan Zdravković, *Manastir Bodjani*, Posebna izdanja Srpske Akademije nauka CXC VIII, Belgrade 1952, pp. 19-20 (hereafter cited as L. Mirković - I. Zdravković, *Bodjani*).

2. This view is supported by Maria Theocharis in her article «Περὶ νέας πραγματείας τῆς τεχνικῆς τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς τέχνης» [«New Study of the Techniques of Post-Byzantine Art»], *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 48 (1973), 77, fn. 19 (hereafter cited as Maria Theocharis, «Περὶ νέας πραγματείας»).

3. The artist's nephew, a son of his brother, by name George Žefarović, who was a painter himself, had studied in Vienna and died in the same city at an early age. See Nikola Kusovac, «Georgije Žefarović, prvi školovani slikar i grafičar kod Srba», *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske (ZLU)* 4 (Novi Sad 1968), 299-305. After the death of George, the painter adopted his sister's son Daniel. The latter, although he had received his schooling in Hungary at Šopron and in Vienna, spoke fluent Greek as appears from a document of 1764 in the Carlowitz archives (Sremski Karlovci). As heir to the painter, he settled a difference that the late painter had with Gerasimos, archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre. D. Davidov very kindly made this information available and it is to him that I owe the illustrations with the depictions of the towns of Elbasan, Moschopolis and Berat, as well as a Serbian translation of Žefarović's will, for which I am very grateful.

The wall-paintings of the monasteries of Bodjani in Bačka (1737) make up the first monumental work of Žefarović. Their importance for Serbian painting cannot be overemphasized, for the work in them charts new horizons and gives us the first monument in which painting breaks away from traditional art<sup>1</sup>.

Of the artist's second monumental work, the frescoes in the Orthodox church at Šikluš (1739), nothing has survived since the church was subsequently destroyed by fire. But various notes in surviving documents and two letters of the artist are of special significance from another point of view as well, for they refer to his relationships with certain Greeks of the diaspora, about which more later in the narrative<sup>2</sup>.

After 1740, Žefarović abandoned wall-painting and icons and began working in earnest at a kind of fine art known as graphics. His artistic productions are associated with the political policies of the Metropolitanate of Carlowitz which he served. His first copperplate engraving, «Sveti Sava sa srpskim svetiteljima doma Nemanjina» (1741)<sup>3</sup> and his second work, «Izobraženije oružij iliričkih», the so-called «Stematografija» served the aims mentioned above<sup>4</sup>. In 1742, Žefarović published

1. L. Mirković - I. Zdravković, *Bodjani*; Olga Mikić, «Hristofor Žefarović i živopis manastira Bodjana», *Delo Hristofora Žefarovića*, Galerija Matice srpske, Novi Sad 1961, 7-22 (hereafter cited as O. Mikić, «Žefarović i živopis»); Dejan Medaković, «Hristofor Žefarović», *Letopis Matice srpske* 389, vol. 2, Novi Sad 1962, 234-239; O. Mikić, *Bodjani*, Belgrade-Novı Sad 1964; Radmila Mihajlović, «Uticaj zapadnoevropske umetnosti na srpsko slikarstvo XVIII veka», *ZLU* 1 (Novi Sad 1965), 225-235; Miodrag Kolarić, «Osnovni problemi srpskog baroka», *ZLU* 3 (Novi Sad 1967), 235-275; Radmila Mihajlović, «Bodjani i Biblija Piskatora», *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu IX-1* (Belgrade 1967), 279-294; *idem*, «Bodjani i Biblija Johana Ulriha Krausa», *ZLU* 6 (Novi Sad 1970), 73-84; Dejan Medaković, «Hristofor Žefarović», *Srpski slikari XVIII-XX veka*, Novi Sad 1968, 9-21. At the monastery of Bodjani there has been opened a museum in memory of Žefarović and his times on permanent exhibition. See *Memorijalni muzej «Hristofor Žefarović i njegovo doba» u manastiru Bodjanu*. Elaborat stalne postavke sastavio Dr. Dinko Davidov, Novi Sad 1974, wherein is cited, pp. 33-36, the basic bibliography for the monastery and the artist.

2. A. Ivić, *Arhivska gradja o srpskim književnim i kulturnim radnicima 1740-1880*, Belgrade-Subotica 1926, pp. 1-2 (hereafter cited as A. Ivić, *Arhivska gradja*); Dejan Medaković, «Hristofor Žefarović u Šiklušu», *Putevi srpskog baroka*, Belgrade 1971, 281-284. Cf. O. Mikić, «Žefarović i živopis», 9-10.

3. Dinko Davidov, «Hristofor Žefarović, prvi srpski bakrorezac XVIII veka», *Delo Hristofora Žefarovića*, Galerija Matice srpske, Novi Sad 1961, 23-64, with the older bibliography on the painter (hereafter cited as D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac»). For the above engraving see p. 39 and illustrations on pp. 93 and 94.

4. *Stematografija-Izobraženije oružij iliričkih*. Izrezali u bakru Hristofor Žefarović i Toma Mesmer 1741, priredio Dr. Dinko Davidov, Novi Sad 1972.

a book, *Poučenije svetiteljskoje k novo postavljennom jereju*<sup>1</sup>. In 1743 were issued the engravings «Sv. Kuzman i Damjan»<sup>2</sup> and «Vaznesenje Hristovo»<sup>3</sup> and the book *Kanon voskresni*<sup>4</sup>. In 1744 the artist brought out the engraving «Životni izvor blagodeti»<sup>5</sup> a work that was not commissioned but which he produced for the market. The same year he published for the cathedral of Carlowitz the book *Privilegija* dealing with the privileges the Austrian Empire had granted to the cathedral<sup>6</sup>. In 1746 appeared the engravings «Sv. car Uroš», «Sv. knez Lazar», «Sremski svetitelji», «Bogojavljenje», and «Sv. Nikola»<sup>7</sup>. The following year came the copperplate engraving «Sv. Jovan Zlatousti», which has not survived, and the unpublished «Obraz presvjatija Bogomateri sušče v protatje, v Svjatoj Gori Atonstjej»<sup>8</sup>, followed in 1748 by the book *Opisanije Jerusalima*<sup>9</sup>, in 1751 the engravings «Vavedevje» and «Raspeće Hristovo»<sup>10</sup>, and finally in 1753 the engraving «Sv. Stefan Štiljanovič»<sup>11</sup>. Undated is his engraving «Novi Jerusalem» which should be placed after 1746, the year of his supposed return from Jerusalem<sup>12</sup>.

Moreover, two school books, a primer and a grammar, are ascribed to Žefarović<sup>13</sup>. Also ascribed to him are a copper engraving of the monastery of Chilandari<sup>14</sup>, a chalice covering of Pavle Nenadović<sup>15</sup> and several icons of Branjina<sup>16</sup>.

1. D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 55.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46 and fig. p. 102.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 47 and fig. p. 104.
4. Lazar Čurčić, «Nepoznati 'Kanon voskresni' Hristofora Žefarovića», *ZLU* 4 (Novi Sad 1968), 309-316.
5. D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 47-48 and fig. p. 105; Dejan Medaković, «Žefarović i Sveta Gora Atoska», *Putevi srpskog baroka*, Belgrade 1971, 257-263.
6. D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 54.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50 and figs. pp. 106-110.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 60.
9. *Opisanije Jerusalima*. Izrezao u bakru Hristofor Žefarović 1748, priredio Dr. Dinko Davidov 1973, Novi Sad 1973 (hereafter cited as D. Davidov, *Opisanije*).
10. *Idem*, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 51, 52 and figs. pp. 113-114.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 53 and fig. p. 116.
12. *Idem*, *Opisanije*, pp. 38-40 and fig. p. 39.
13. *Idem*, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 55.
14. *Idem*, «Manastir Hilandar na bakrorezima XVIII veka», *Hilandarski Zbornik* 2 (Belgrade 1971), 152-155, figs. 1-3. The engraving was made in 1755 after the death of the artist, by Thomas Mesmer, his close colleague and collaborator. He used the artist's old designs.
15. *Idem*, «Iz istorije srpskog bakroreza XVIII veka I», *ZLU* 1 (Novi Sad 1965), 241-244, figs. 1-3.
16. P. Vasić, «Ikone Hristofora Žefarovića u Branjini», *Politika* [the Belgrade

Of the works of Žefarović cited above, of special interest is the inscription of the lost engraving «Sv. Jovan Zlatousti» which has been published by Lj. Stojanović<sup>1</sup>. As D. Davidov correctly observes, the inscription proves that the painter admits using a foreign model for the work<sup>2</sup>. The fact that an identical inscription is found on a copperplate engraving of the Russian artist Ivan Zubov (1709) would indicate that Žefarović may well have copied the Russian's work. This is significant from two other points of view as well. Firstly, it indicates the respect and admiration shown by the artists of this period for the works of Constantinople, and secondly, that the Greek synaxaria or lives of saints containing the characters of Elpius the Roman were a source for artists in the period of Ottoman rule. The inscription reads as follows:

Ὁ δrevnyę zĕlo ikōny v' Konstantinopoli napisennyę sei svetago Īōanna Zlatoustagō obrazъ tisenĭem mĕdĭnimъ inogda izobrazi sę, jemuže izvĕstnō soglasujut grečeskię mĕsecoslovi, idĕže toi opisuet sę: malymъ vozrastomъ, velikuju glavuju, širokimъ i morskovatimъ čelomъ, očesi vnutrъ v' glublennymi, smirenymi že i blagopriatnymi, vpadšimъ licemъ suhosti radi, rĕdkuju, kratkoju i prosĕdoju bradoju.

The English translation reads as follows:

Using as a model a very old painted icon in Constantinople, on this copper engraving is portrayed the face of St. John Chrysostom, which follows to the letter the Greek synaxaria wherein he is described: short in height, large-headed, with a wide and furrowed brow, eyes set deeply in their sockets, a calm and pleasant gaze, a lean and dried face, and a sparse beard, short and already white with age<sup>3</sup>.

The fact that Greek artists from Thessaloniki worked at the Serbian patriarchate of Peć in the early 18th century is well known. Thence the artists went farther north to work in the cathedral of Carlowitz.

newspaper] (21 May, 1967); *idem*, *Doba baroka, studije i članci*, Belgrade 1971, pp. 145-147.

1. Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi II*, Belgrade 1903, p. 154, No. 2937.

2. D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 50.

3. H. Delahaye, *Propylaeum ad acta sanctorum Novembris. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Brussels 1902, photocopy reprint Brussels 1954, col. 219-220. For the contribution of Elpius the Roman see M. Chatzidakis, «Ἐκ τῶν Ἑλπίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου» [*On Elpius the Roman*], *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 14 (1938), pp. 393-414. For an excerpt in English see Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series*. Ed. by H.W. Janson, New Jersey 1972, pp. 214-215. The Slavic text contains all the information in the lives of the saints but in a different order.

Žefarović followed the same route<sup>1</sup>. Most scholars who have studied the works of the artist believe that Žefarović was already a mature painter by the time he had arrived in the north and that he must have studied painting somewhere in the south, or more specifically, on Mt. Athos<sup>2</sup>. Such a supposition is further supported by the research of Maria Theocharis, thanks to which an important work of the artist has come to light: an interpretation of the artist's craft<sup>3</sup>. It is as yet too early to determine where the artist obtained his sources for the manual. He was familiar with the *Original Guide to Painting* of Panayiotis Doxaras, the translation of the *Trattato* of Leonardo da Vinci by the same painter (1720, 1724), and the sources for the *Manual of Painting* by Dionysius Fournas; yet in other cases he produces an original method (such as the use of enamel). In all likelihood, Mt. Athos was the spiritual and cultural centre from which Žefarović received his inspiration.

Soon after his arrival in the north, he met with Greeks of the diaspora for whom he executed works in Pest in 1733, if in fact the information concerning the Greek monk and painter who came from Belgrade refers to him<sup>4</sup>. From the Serbian parishioners of the church of St. George in Pest he collected a sum of eight florins for his works and considerably more from the Greek and Albanian merchants who had commissioned him to undertake works<sup>5</sup>.

Žefarović in 1739 decorated the church of Šikluš. The artist neglected to record the name of the donor of the church, P. Karastanković, the man who contributed to the costs of the decoration. In retaliation, the donor erased the inscriptions from the church by applying plaster to them, and he had hired henchmen apply fifty strokes of the rod to the unfortunate painter's back. This quarrel referred to in a document as the «Greek wrangle» may have had other causes<sup>6</sup>. In the two letters of the artist (of 20 April and 13 June 1740)<sup>7</sup>, the only donor to be mentioned by name was Hatzi-Yurtzios, a Greek of the town of Servia who later was to order an engraving for his native country. The fact that only his name is cited would indicate his distinguished position in the

1. O. Mikić, «Žefarović i živopis», 8.

2. D. Medaković, *Žefarović i Sv. Gora*, pp. 260 ff.; O. Mikić, *ibid.*

3. Maria Theocharis, «Περὶ νέας πραγματείας».

4. O. Mikić, «Žefarović i živopis» 10-11.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

6. O. Mikić, «Žefarović i živopis», 9.

7. See p. 103, fn. 2.

community and the high regard which the senior church leaders had for him. It may be that Žefarović used Greek inscriptions in the church and this was yet another reason for Karastanković's rage<sup>1</sup>. The first letter of Žefarović is of importance because it mentions the names of people for whom he had worked earlier, including the Bishop of Budimium, the Bishops of Bačka and Temišvar, the Patriarch of Peć in Belgrade, and the monk Alexius of the monastery of Grabovac<sup>2</sup>.

When, after 1740, Žefarović preoccupied himself exclusively with copperplate engravings and embroidery, his regular clients were the wealthier Greeks of the area. The inscriptions of these latter works were in Greek and the subject matter consisted of those saints who were specially honoured in the southern provinces.

His copperplate engraving «St. Theodore of Tiron and St. Theodore: the *Stratelates*» was paid for by Daniel Hatzı-Yurtzios of Serbia, referred to above, and was donated to the two monasteries of Serbia in Macedonia<sup>3</sup>. The engraving was printed in Vienna in 1741.

His «St. Nicholas» (Vienna 1742) for the orthodox church of Kesketmet is dedicated to the memory of his parents and to Rısis Athanasios from Kozani<sup>4</sup>.

His «St. John Vladimir the Myrrhovletes» (Vienna 1742), produced for the monastery of the saint at Neocastro (Elbasan), was paid for by the curate Papa-Constantine and paid for by Adamis Demus, Rısis Argentis. and Theodore Papa-George Mandoukas. In the etching below are depicted the towns of Moschopolis, Elbasan and Berat (Plates 8, 9, 10). Below these towns is written, in parallel Greek and Old Church Slavonic, a brief life of the saint written by his companions, which was printed in Moschopolis in the same year<sup>5</sup>.

1. P. Kolendić has reached such a conclusion in what is still a basic work for Žefarović, «Džefarović i njegovi bakrorezi», *Glasnik Istorijškog društva u Novom Sadu* IV, Novi Sad 1931, 38.

2. Letter of April 20 published by A. Ivić. Cf. also O. Mikić, «Žefarović i živopis», 9-10.

3. D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 39-40 and fig. p. 95. Cf. also M. Theocharis, *op. cit.*, p. 82, pl. II. For the monasteries of Serbia to which the engraving is dedicated see A. Xyngopoulos, *Tá μνημεία τῶν Σεργίων* [*The Monuments of Serbia*], Athens 1957, pp. 75-89 (the church of SS Theodore). It is difficult to identify the second monastery. It may refer to the hermitage of SS Theodore near Serbia (A. Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-115).

4. D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 43-44, and fig. p. 100. Cf. M. Theocharis, *op. cit.*, p. 82, pl. III.

5. D. Davidov, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45 and fig. p. 101. Cf. M. Theocharis, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

The copperplate etching «St. Naoum of Ochrid» (Vienna, 1743) was commissioned by the Greek merchant Michael Gotounis and is dedicated to the monastery of the same name at Ochrid. In a sweeping view found below the scenes, round the monastery of St. Naoum in Ochrid are discerned the following communities and towns: Ochrid, <sup>1</sup>Elsian, Pestiani, Trapezintsa, the monastery of Naoum, Livanistia and Episcopi, all to the left. On the right are seen Pogradec, Starova, Sebistia, the monasteries of Panteleimon, Prodromos, and Moschopolis (Pl. 11)<sup>1</sup>.

Žefarović in 1745 made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land<sup>2</sup>. Thanks to a journal kept by the monk Silvestar Popović, details of the trip made by the artist from Belgrade to Thessaloniki are known, as well of his stay in that city. Excerpts of the manuscript were published before World War II<sup>3</sup>. With the aerial bombing of the National Library of Belgrade, this manuscript, together with so many other valuable sources for the history of the Serbian people, was unfortunately destroyed. Žefarović was very much at home in Thessaloniki. With his companions he visited a Venetian galley anchored in the harbour where the party was entertained by Jacob, the captain of the ship. This happened on the third day of his stay in the city. On that same day he conducted his friends on a tour of the churches of Thessaloniki<sup>4</sup>. After Thessaloniki, Žefarović left his party and there is no further reference to his travels. It is assumed by some scholars that he never in fact visited Jerusalem, but remained in Thessaloniki for a considerable period after which he returned to Vienna the following year<sup>5</sup>.

In 1748 Žefarović published the *Holy Sights of Jerusalem*, which was the Greek edition of the *Opisanije Jerusalima*<sup>6</sup>.

The following year saw the printing of the copperplate engraving «The Merciful Virgin» commissioned by George Rusis and donated to the monastery of the Spelaiotissa in Tzumerka<sup>7</sup>.

1. D. Davidov, *op.cit.*, pp. 46-47 and fig. p. 103. Cf. M. Theocharis, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

2. D. Davidov, *Opisanije*, pp. 34-38.

3. Svetozar Matić, «Silvestar Popović, putopisac 18. veka», *Glasnik Istoriskog društva u Novom Sadu* III, vol. I, Novi Sad 1930, 30-38.

4. *Ibid.* p. 34. The manuscript is important for both the political and ecclesiastical history of Thessaloniki, for it refers to certain events such as the death of the son of the French consul, and so on.

5. D. Davidov, *Opisanije*, p. 38.

6. Antonije-Emil Tahiaos, «Jedno malo poznato delo Hristofora Žefarovića», *Istorijski časopis* XIV-XV, Belgrade 1966, 347-360 (hereafter cited as A.-E. Tahiaos, «Jedno delo Žefarovića»).

7. D. Davidov, «Žefarović bakrorezac», 50-51 and fig. p. 111. Cf. M. Theocharis, *op. cit.*, p. 83, pl. V.



In 1751 appeared his «Descent into Hell» with a bilingual inscription. The donors were the brother Peter and Michael Papa-Constantine, who dedicated the work to the Holy Sepulchre<sup>1</sup>.

In 1752 the engraving «Our Lady the Alasonitissa or Olympiotissa» (Vienna 1752), was commissioned by John Zdravkos of Kozani and donated to the monastery of Olympiotissa<sup>2</sup>. The copperplate of this work has not survived, and it was known only from an offprint which had been in the National Museum of Belgrade<sup>3</sup>. There is yet another example, executed by the same artist in colour, for Constantine Sakellariou, a Kozani literatus of the 18th century who occupied the house now owned by the Evangelou Diafa brothers<sup>4</sup>. Beneath the inscription on the print are depicted in panorama Siatista, Alason, Servia, Tzernitsaki, the monasteries of Elasona and St. Dionysius, Kozani, and lastly, Thessaloniki (Pl. 12). In the Thessaloniki panorama is seen the city's sea-wall, behind which are discerned the rotunda of St. George, the church of St. Demetrius, the upper town and another monastery beyond the city limits (Pl. 13, fig. 1). The artist recalls his visit to Thessaloniki by depicting a small galley floating on the peaceful waters of the Thermaic gulf.

That same year, the plate of the monastery of St. Savva, taken from the Description of the Holy Places of Jerusalem, was printed separately and on a large scale. This had been commissioned by Constantine George Kotsas, an archon of Kozani, for distribution to the faithful<sup>5</sup>.

Žefarović was not only a talented engraver but an outstanding worker in embroidery. All his embroideries, irrespective of the nationality of those who ordered such works, have Greek inscriptions. Most of the embroideries executed by Žefarović are found in Rumania<sup>6</sup>. In

1. D. Davidov, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and fig. p. 112. Cf. M. Theocharis, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

2. D. Davidov, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53 and fig. p. 115. Cf. M. Theocharis, *op. cit.*, p. 84, pl. VI. Miodrag Jovanović, «Žefarovićeva gravira 'Bogorodica Olimpijska' i 'Biblija Ectupa'», *Zbornik muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 8, Belgrade 1962, 85-89.

3. Index number of engraving 144. I thank my colleague Vanja Kraut for permission to photograph this as well as Miodrag Jovanović, to whom I owe the photographs. And I am grateful to Dragomir Todorović for the sketch of Thessaloniki.

4. For Sakellariou see Panayiotis N. Lioufis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Κοζάνης* [*History of Kozani*], Athens 1924, p. 280; A. Sigalas, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πνευματικὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἐλληνικῶν κοινοτήτων τῆς Μακεδονίας, Α' - Ἀρχεῖα καὶ Βιβλιοθήκαι Δυτικῆς Μακεδονίας* [*The Cultural Life of the Greek communities of Macedonia, I - Archives and Libraries of Western Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 1939, p. 37.

5. A.-E. Tahiaos, «Jedno delo Žefarovića», 350-351.

6. Dobrila Stojanović, «Vezovi Hristofora Žefarovića», *Delo Hristofora Že-*

Greece are found an embroidered Epitaphios in the monastery of Our Lady Olympiotissa<sup>1</sup>, a stole (epitrachelion) in the monastery of Vatope-di<sup>2</sup>, and a bishop's vestment (sakkos), that comes from Meleniko<sup>3</sup>, in the Byzantine Museum of Athens.

The ties between Žefarović and the Greeks were not limited to the orders of works of art. Žefarović was not only an artist, he was an enterprising merchant, of his works as well as of other items, books etc.

From this point of view his will is an important document because it refers to his dealers in various cities. Among them are many Greeks. In Jerusalem, his works are sold by Jerasimos, archimandrite of the Holy Sepulchre; in Bucharest by Hadjiantoniou; in Temišvar by Ioannis Hrysinos; and in Moscow by Constantinos Paraskevas.

Also from his will we learn that he had ties with Christakis Constantinopolitis and to a certain Laskarakis of unknown forename<sup>4</sup>.

Žefarović's ties with Kozani are especially difficult to unravel in detail in view of the fact that his works which most certainly existed in the town have perished. The copperplate print «Our Lady the Alasotissa or Olympiotissa» found in the residence of Constantine Sakellariou strongly supports such a contention. Athanasios Ruisis, Constantine George Ruisis, John Zdravkos, and Constantine George Kotsas all came originally from Kozani. To these names should be added that of Daniel Yurtzios of Serbia who, as has been pointed out, had from very early on a close association with the artist.

Kozani at the close of the 17th century and in the early 18th had developed rapidly into a bustling town and soon became the cultural, commercial and, later (in 1745), the ecclesiastical centre of the region after the transfer of the bishop's see from Serbia. In 1721 the cathedral of St. Nicholas was built in the town and in 1730 it was decorated by the Jannina

*farovića*, Galerija Matice srpske, Novi Sad 1961, 65-76 with the older bibliography (hereafter cited as D. Stojanović, «Vezovi»).

1. E. Skouvaras, 'Ολυμπιούτισσα, Περιγραφή και Ίστορία τῆς μονῆς, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων, Ἔργα ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου (1336-1900) [*Description and History of the Monastery of Olympiotissa, Catalogue of Manuscripts, Historical Notes, Divine Service of Our Lady Olympiotissa, Documents from the Archives (1336-1900)*], Athens 1967, pp. 47-54, figs. 29, 30 and inserted colour plates 6-8.

2. D. Stojanović, «Vezovi», 68.

3. M. Theocharis, *op. cit.*, pl. I.

4. The will of Zefarović was brought to light by N. M. Petrovskij, «K biografii Hristofora Žefarovića», *Izveštija vtorogo otdelenija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk 1910*, kn. II, 197-302. The text has not yet been published. As pointed out, D. Davidov has made available a Serbian translation.

artists and brothers Nicholas and Theodore<sup>1</sup>. The decorative work in the church became even more inspired when the town became a bishopric. The business ledger of the bishopric of Kozani provides a lucid picture of these activities as well as listing the contributions of the citizens of Kozani to the church<sup>2</sup>. Among the *objets d'art* found in Kozani at present, there exists not a single autographed work by Žefarović. These works, embroideries and prints have disappeared or have been destroyed. Those cited in the studies by N. Delialis represent but a small fraction of the works that once existed<sup>3</sup>.

Certain objects referred to in the ledger may well have been made by Žefarović. There is an «embroidered golden gate with Christ», a «stole embroidered in gold with the bathing of the feet», and a «white bishop's pallium in gold with embroidered figures»<sup>4</sup>. The ledger also records a «cloth imprinted with a scene of Mt. Athos»<sup>5</sup>. This latter work should have come into the possession of the church of St. Nicholas some time between 1748 and 1752. As far as is known, in this period no copperplate engraving with the subject of Mt. Athos had been issued<sup>6</sup>. Whether it is the Žefarović print «*Obraz presvjatija Bogomateri sušce v protatje, v Svjatoj Gori Atonstjeje*» or another, is impossible to say.

In the works of Žefarović which are associated with the towns of the southern provinces, the expressions describing the elders and the benefactors as contained in the inscriptions, such as «most helpful and

1. N. P. Delialis, *Σύλλογή Δημοτικής Βιβλιοθήκης*, pp. 19-20.

2. N. P. Delialis, «Τὰ οικονομικά τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Κοζάνης τῶν ἐτῶν 1746-1782» [*Finances of the church of St. Nicholas of Kozani in the years 1746-1782*], *Οἰκοδομή* 2 (Kozani 1960), 217-272 (hereafter cited as N. P. Delialis, «Οἰκονομικά 1746-1782»; *idem*, «Τὰ οικονομικά τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Κοζάνης τῶν ἐτῶν 1782-1802» [*Finances of the church of St. Nicholas of Kozani in the years 1782-1802*], *Οἰκοδομή* 3-4 (Kozani 1964), 331-415 (hereafter cited as N. P. Delialis, «Οἰκονομικά 1782-1802»).

3. N. P. Delialis, *Σύλλογή Δημοτικής Βιβλιοθήκης*; *idem*, «Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κοζάνης» [*Contributions to the ecclesiastical history of Kozani*] II-«Ἄμφια χρυσοκέντητα ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου» [*Gold-embroidered vestments from the holy church of St. Nicholas of Kozani*], *Οἰκοδομή* 1 (Kozani 1958), 18-19, figs. 1-12. During my stay in Kozani in July 1974, I recorded 14 unpublished icons of the 18th century in the church of St. Nicholas. A small icon (0.38 × 0.28m.) of a representation of the Maccabees with their mother Solomone and their teacher St. Eleazar is very similar in technique to the icons of the menologion.

4. N. P. Delialis, «Οἰκονομικά 1746-1782», 253.

5. *Idem*, «Οἰκονομικά 1782-1802», 351, 352, 373.

6. P. M. Mylonas, *Athos and its monastic institutions through old engravings and other works of art*, Athens 1963.

most honourable» are much the same as those used in the various documents relating to the towns, as, for example, in the ledger of the Kozani bishopric<sup>1</sup>. The names of the towns themselves betray the influence of the common language as in the names of the Virgin and of the saints. The Mother of God is referred to as «Alasonitissa», and St. Naoum is cited as Naoumis in an unpublished engraving of 1755<sup>2</sup>. When a systematic study of the *objets d'art* found in Kozani is made, a more complete picture of the cultural life of the town in the 18th century will emerge. There is little doubt that Christopher Žefarović not only enjoyed the great esteem of the inhabitants of Kozani but that his work exerted a major influence on the development of the art language of certain local artists such as Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis<sup>3</sup>. The innovations of Žefarović made a deep impression on the Greeks of the diaspora as well as on the intellectuals of the towns of northern Greece who were men of broad intellect and fine tastes. A small example of this good taste is the verse of Constantine John Sakellariou describing a painting executed by Apostolis Vodeniotis in 1766: «Φύσις μὲν ἅπνουν δεῖξέ σ' εἰκῶν τῇ ὕλη Γραφή δὲ ἔμπνουν δεῖξέ σ' ἡμῖν τῇ τέχνῃ»<sup>4</sup>.

Certain observations concerning the portrayals of the towns as depicted in his copperplate engravings make convincing the argument that Žefarović was well acquainted with the towns he portrays in the

1. N. P. Delialis, «Οἰκονομικὰ 1746-1782», 220, 225, and «Οἰκονομικὰ 1782-1802», 331, 353, 414. The general formula is «the most honorable clergy and beneficent leaders».

2. Dimensions 0.68 × 0.56 m. It is found in the church of St. Athanasius of Kozani. In the centre is portrayed the Virgin with child and to the left in separate borders arranged vertically from top to bottom St. John the Theologian, St. Athanasius the Great and St. Naoum. To the right are St. John the Baptist, St. Cyril and St. Christopher. The inscription reads as follows: «Αὕτη ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐχαλκοχαράχθη διὰ δαπάνης τοῦ κυρίου Ἰωάννου Κυριακῆ ἐκ πόλεως Κοζάνης, καὶ ἀφιέρωθη παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονέων, διὰ συνδρομῆς Παρθενίου πρωτοσυγγέλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῶν δούλων σου Χριστοδούλου, Ναοῦμ καὶ Δημητρίου. 1755. Ματοῦ 20 Βιέννη».

3. Known from the unpublished icons of St. Nicholas of Kozani dated 1755. Also his is a fine icon of the Virgin with scenes from the Akathyst hymn encircling her, in the residence of the Diafas brothers where there is also a copperplate engraving, «Our Lady the Alasonitissa». According to N. P. Delialis, his icons are also found in the treasure room of the monastery of Zavorda.

4. See note 3. The inscription is unpublished and consists of five couplets of varying metres. The first four are dedicated to Our Lady and the last couplet here cited, «to the icon».



Plate 1. Icon II (Front panel).



Plate 2. «Presentation of Christ in the Temple».





*Plate 3. «The Annunciation of the Virgin».*



*Plate 4. «Resurrection of Christ».*





Plate 5. «Ascension of Christ».



Plate 6. «Congregation of the Twelve Apostles».



*Plate 7. «St. Athanasius the Athonite, St. Procopius, the Prophet Elijah».*



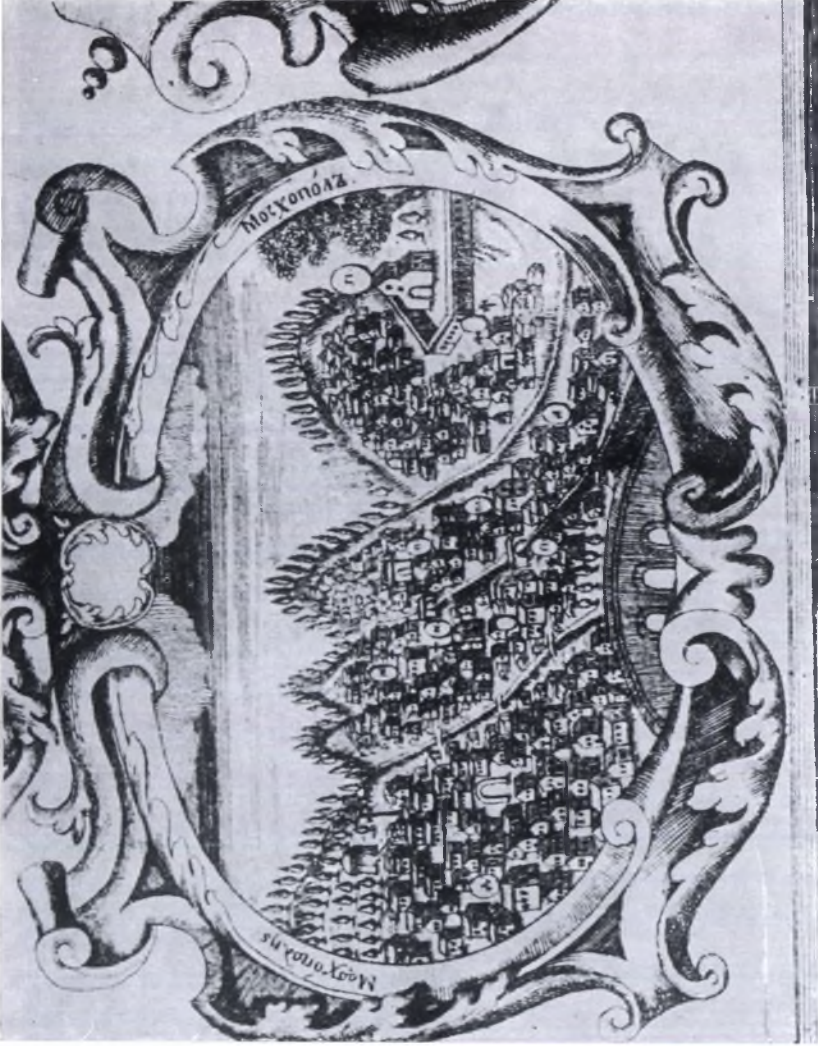


Plate 8. Moschopolis. From the engraving by Žefarović «St. John Vladimír the Myrkhovletes» (1742).

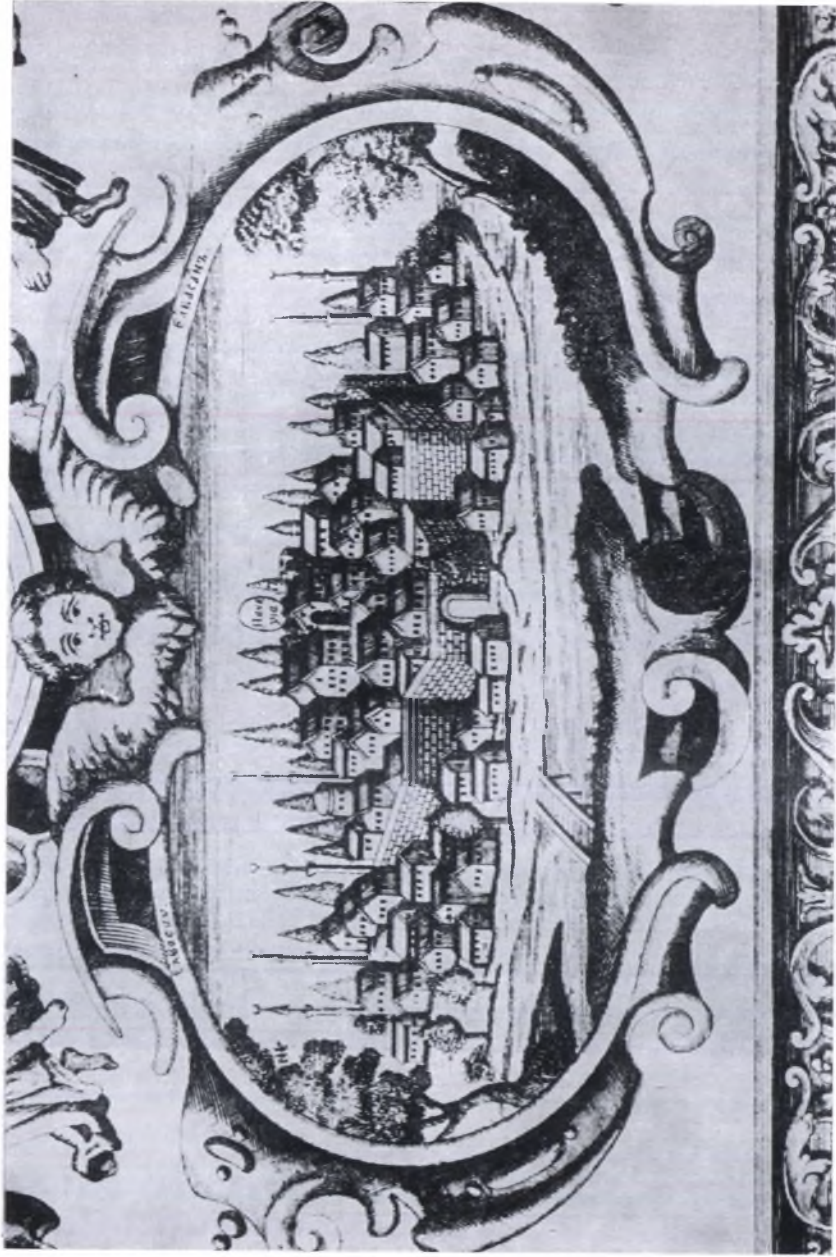


Plate 9. Elbasan. From the engraving by Žefarović «St. John Vladimir the Myrrhoteles» (1742).





Plate 10. Berat. From the engraving by Žefarović (St. John Vladimir the Myrrhobletes) (1742).

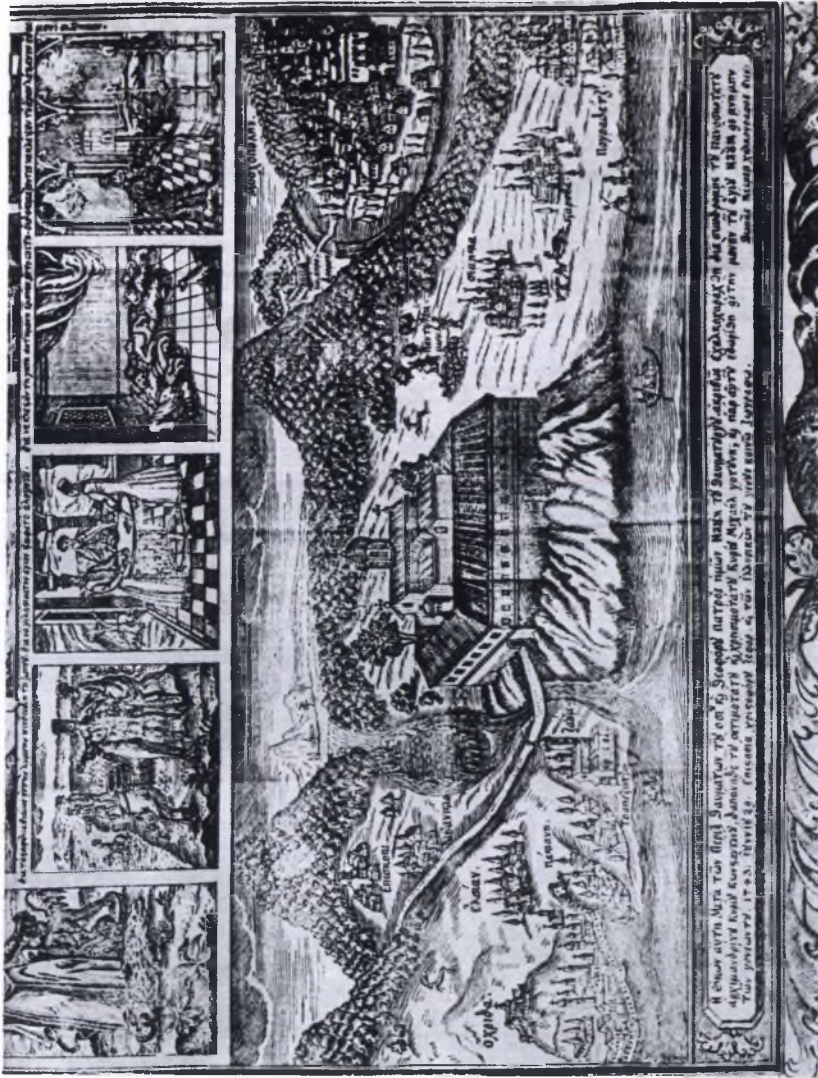


Plate 11. Panoramic view of the region of Ochrid. From the engraving by Zefarović «St. Naoum of Ochrid» (1743).





Plate 12. Panoramic view of Western Macedonia. From the engraving by Žefarović «Our Lady the Alasonitissa or Olympiitissa» (1752).





*Plate 13. Thessaloniki. (Detail from plate 12).*





Figure 1. Thessaloniki (sketch). From the engraving by Žefarović «Our Lady the Alasonitissa or Olympiotissa» (1752).



etchings. It is in this region of the Balkans that one should seek the works of his earlier period. It is my contention that the icons in the public library of Kozani are works of this period and were executed before the artist left for the north. The iconographic programme of the scenes corresponds with the calendar of feast days of the guilds of Kozani as outlined in the synodical letter of Bishop Ignatius written in 1768<sup>1</sup>. The removal of the icons from their frames in the future may well reveal the signature of the painter and the names of the donors which in accordance with artistic tradition were usually recorded<sup>2</sup>.

A final comment should be made regarding a certain characteristic of the works of Žefarović. This is both traditional and contemporary, and is an art that reflects the quest of its creator for new horizons, yet with feet firmly rooted in the tradition. It is art that responded to the needs of the inhabitants of the Balkans in the 18th century. Žefarović's art cannot be defined within the limits of a nation, although he may have produced more works for one race than another. Arguments about his national origins should not detract from the Balkan nature of his creations. The Orthodox peoples of the Balkans struggled to keep alive their faith and Žefarović's contributions to this struggle were many and unstinted.

1. Michael A. Kalinderis, *Αἱ συντεχνίαι τῆς Κοζάνης ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας* [*The Guilds of Kozani during Ottoman Rule*], Thessaloniki 1958, p. 21, fn. 2 and 22.

2. In the words of the artist himself, «in painting... it is the custom of the painters to record the names of the donors... if someone were to pay me for a small icon I am obliged to put in his name». See A. Ivić, *Arhivska gradja*, p. 1.