SOTIRIS K. KISSAS

THESSALONIAN PAINTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
A PRELIMINARY STUDY

Very little is known about Thessaloniki as an artistic centre during the period of Turkish domination. The subject has been raised recently and the answers offered are contradictory. D. Pallas maintains that the icons from Thessalonian churches which were transferred to the Byzantine Museum in Athens in 1916, and the icons from the Athonite dependencies in the city, constitute a single group with common stylistic elements; this group he attributes to Thessaloniki. M. Chatzidakis, on the other hand, ascribes it to Mount Athos.

I do not intend to go into the details of this scholarly debate, which has furthered the question considerably; but I shall attempt to consider it from a different angle by presenting a) the data which I have managed to collect concerning the Thessalonian painters of the eighteenth century and their work; b) painters who lived and worked in Thessaloniki, but were not natives of the city; and c) any other factors related to painting in the city during this period.

It is a fact that, barring what we know about embroidery and goldsmithery, we possess little or no information about Thessaloniki as a centre of architecture and painting. The historical conditions neither favoured nor even permitted the development of the Fine Arts. The needs of the city's Christian population—which was a very small proportion of the total—were satisfied for over two centuries by whatever remained in their possession after Thessaloniki fell to the Turks in 1430. A case in point is the fact that no new church was built in the city until the end of the seventeenth century.

1. Δ. Ι. Πάλλας, «Η ζωγραφική στήν Κωνσταντινούπολη μετά τήν "Αλωση. Ζη­
τήματα μεθόδου», 'Αρχαιολογικού Αελτίον 26, 1971, 239-263; idem., «Περί τής ζωγρα­
φικής εις τήν Κωνσταντινούπολιν και τήν Θεσσαλονίκην μετά τήν "Αλωσιν (Μεθοδολο­
γικά)», 'Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών, ΜΓ, 1976, 101-211 (henceforth: Πάλλας, «Περί τής ζωγραφικής»).

2. Μ. Χατζηδάκης, «Περί σχολής Κωνσταντινούπολεως δήλως», 'Αρχαιολογικού Αελ­
τίον 27, 1972, 121-137.

3. Μ. Καμπουρή, «Η Θεσσαλονίκη κατά τήν Τουρκοκρατία - Τά Μνημεία», 'Αρ­
χαιολογία (Έφιερωμα στή Θεσσαλονίκη), τεύχος 7, Μάης 1983, 50.

4. In 1699 the cathedral church of St. Demetrius was inaugurated. This church lay near sea walls. On this monument see Θ. Σ. Μαντοπούλου, «Ο παραθαλάσσιος ναός του Αγίου Δημητρίου στή Θεσσαλονίκη», Μακεδονικά 20 (1980) 175-191.
Known Painters

Gabriel and Theodore

We cannot state with certainty whether or not the painters Gabriel and Theodore were natives of Thessaloniki. They signed their names on the large icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary respectively, on the iconostasis of Thessaloniki’s old cathedral, St Dimitrio’s, which stood near the sea-wall and was burnt down in 1890. Porfirij Uspenskij, who visited this church in 1859, left us a notable, thought brief, description of it, describing the icons as local works and dating them to 1702. A certain Theodore’s signature is to be found on an icon depicting the Hospitality of Abraham — now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens — which was painted in Thessaloniki in the same period, but we have no way of establishing whether or not he bore any relationship to his namesake of 1702.

The hieromonk Nikiphoros

«The Holy Virgin Lesiniotissa», a devotional icon from Leslieiotissa Monastery near the village of Palaiokatouna in Akarnania, dates from 1709 and is the work of the hieromonk Nikiphoros of Thessaloniki. The representation is modelled on the Virgin of the Passion. The centre of the icon, with the bottom edge as its base, comprises a composition of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. It was touched up in 1947. The inscription at the bottom informs us that the icon was painted by the hieromonk Nikiphoros of Thessaloniki in 1709 and restored by D. Z. Kasolas, archdeacon, and sons in 1947 (Νικηφόρος ιερομόναχος έγραψεν έκ Θεσσαλονίκης 1709. / Άνακαινισθεΐσα υπό Δ. Ζ. Κασόλα αρχιδιακόνου και υίών 1947).


6. Σωφρόνιος Παπακυριακός, «Η Μονή Λεσινίου», Δελτίον ’Ιστορικής και ’Εθνο­λογικής ’Εταιρείας 9, 1926, 573-575. Κ. Σ. Κώνστας, «Παναγία ή Λεσινιώτισσα», Νέα ’Εστία 54, 1953, 1207-1210; also the pamphlet: Παναγία «Η Λεσινιώτισσα» μεταβυ­ζαντινή μονή εις Παλαιοκατοίκων’ Άκαρναίας, Πάτρας 1957, επιμελεί Α. Γαντσώρη, includes a black and white reproduction.
Around the middle of the eighteenth century, Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis, a Bulgarian painter from Longos in Vodena (Edessa), who lived and worked in Thessaloniki, began his career as an artist. The French consul Esprit-Marie Cousinéry (1786-1793) knew him and took him along as an aide on his journey in Western Macedonia. Let us see what the French diplomat has to say about this artist. At the start of the journey, Cousinéry describes his retinue thus: «un janissaire, un domestique, et un peintre bulgare, nommé Apostoli, natif de Vodina, ancienne Edesse, furent mes compagnons du voyage». In Veria the French traveller was received by the scholar Vikelas, a friend of the Greek-educated Bulgarian painter: «un ami d'Apostoli, nommé Vikela, nous reçut dans sa maison, avec de grandes marques de cordialité. Il s'était rendu savant dans la langue grecque littérale, et il avait cela de commun avec son ami, qui, quoique Bulgare, l'avait apprise dès sa plus tendre enfance. Cette conformité de goûts était un des causes de leur amitié». In Naoussa Cousinéry and his entourage stayed at the house of Apostolis's sister, who was married to a local Greek: «Apostoli, absent depuis longtemps de son pays, avait une soeur mariée à un Grec de Gniausta; cette femme et son mari nous reçurent avec de grandes démonstrations de joie. L'aisance paraissait partout dans cette maison; et quoiqu'elle fût très modestement meublée, nous y trouvâmes deux lits destinés aux étrangers, usage commun chez tous les Grecs d'une fortune même très modeste». The French traveller does not omit to note here the painter's opinion that the Greek women of Naoussa were more beautiful than the women of Edessa. This is a significant observation, as it indicates the degree of familiarity between the two men: «Apostoli m'avait annoncé que je trouverais à Gniausta les femmes généralement belles, tandis qu'à Vodina, son pays natal, je ne verrais que des figures très ordinaires: c'est en effet ce que je reconnus. On ne conçoit pas, dans le pays, quelle peut être la différence entre les femmes de Naoussa et celles d'Edessa».

7. Γ. Χιονίδης, 'Η έκ Βεροίας καταγομένη οικογένεια Βικέλα', Μακεδονικά 7 (1967) 212. The author dates Cousinéry's visit to Veria in 1763 which I doubt. The journey should have taken place during the period Cousinéry was a consul 1786-1793 (first period).
être la cause de ce phénomène; les uns disent qu'il provient de la qua-
lité des eaux, pures et limpides à Gniausta, et saumâtres à Vodina;
d'autres prétendent que cette différence vient de ce que chez les Grecs
la race est plus belle, et chez les Bulgares généralement plus commu-
ne»11. In Edessa Apostolis gave the French consul general information
about the bishop's residence and was received by his acquaintance
the metropolitan, who offered him fatherly advice, for he was con-
sidered to be more of a Greek than a Bulgarian: «Apostoli me dit que
le kiosque appartenait à l'archevêché; il m'ajouta que les Turcs ava-
ient laissé la propriété de ce quartier aux chrétiens, soit à cause de l'é-
glise, soit pour éviter le bruit de trois grandes cascades qui en sont
très voisines»12. Farther on, Cousinéry notes: «Notre première visite
fut pour le vénérable Métropolite, de qui Apostoli avait reçu des soins
patriotes, aussi se vantait-il d'être plus Grec que Bulgare»13. In
Edessa Apostolis's relations and friends laid on a sumptuous meal, in-
cluding trout caught by the hosts themselves, in the shade of the trees
beside the waterfalls: «Les parents et les amis d' Apostoli nous don-
nèrent un repas champêtre, sous les ombrages qui bordent cette rivi-
èrle, et nous firent jouir du plaisir d'y manger des truites pêchées
sur les lieux mêmes»14. Both K. Mladenov15 and A. Vasiliev16 have
written commentaries on the information provided by Cousinéry.
The latter, moreover, considers that Apostolis may well have done
the sketches which decorate the French diplomat and traveller's book.
It would be more correct to say that the book's copperplate engravings
were based on Apostolis's sketches.

Signed and dated works by Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis

The eight large icons on the iconostasis of the Church of St Nicho-
las in Kozani were painted by Apostolis. These icons are of: 1. Christ
(128×91 cm., pl. Ia); 2. the Virgin Mary (same size, pl. Ib); 3. St Ni-

15. K. Mladenov, «Edin ranoprosveten bălgarin ot Voden», Zora, number 6598
(16.6.1941).
16. A. Vasiliev, Za bălgarskata živopis prez XVIII v., Paisij Hilendarski i
negovata epoha 1762-1962, Sofija 1962, 489 (henceforth: Vasiliev, Živopis) idem,
Bălgarski văzrozdenski majstori, Sofija 1965, 301.
cholas (same size); 4. St John the Baptist (same size); 5. the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (119×69 cm.); 6. Saints Constantine and Helen (same size); 7. the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (121×64 cm.); 8. the Three Hierarchs (same size). On St Nicholas’s throne there is an inscription in lower-case letters to the effect that these icons were painted by Apostolis Longianos of Vodena during the prelacy of Ignatios and the wardenship of Roussis Misos; it is dated May 2 1755 (‘Αρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Θεοφιλέστατου κύρ/’Ιγνατίου καί ἑπιτροπεύοντος τοῦ
/ἐντιμοτάτου κύρ ’Ρούσι Μίσου/ἐξωγραφήθησαν παρά/’Αποστόλη λογ/’Ιωά-
νυ έκ/πόλεως/Βωδενά/1755/Μαίου δύο). For painting these icons Apostolis received the fee of 60,000 aspers in 1766. Another work by Apostolis, part of the same commission, is a small icon of St Nicholas (54×43 cm.) on the prie-dieu in St Nicholas’s Church, for which he was paid 1,800 aspers in 1756. None of this group of icons has been published.

Another work by Apostolis is the icon of the Virgin Mary surrounded by the twenty-four scenes of the Akathistos Hymn, from the family iconostasis of the scholar Constantine John Sakellariou of Kozani (88×71 cm.). At the bottom, to the right and left of the Virgin’s throne, there is the commissioner’s inscription, a poetic composition by John Sakellariou himself in four lines of iambic twelve-syllable verse: «This icon, friend, commissioned by Constantine, son of John Sakellariou of Kozani, was painted by the hand of Apostolis Vodeniotis. August 14, 1766» (Έζωγραφή Ηδέ ή εἰκόνα, φίλε,/Κωνσταντίνου μέν εξόδου Ίωάννου,/Σακελαρίου τού πίκλην έκ Κοζάνης,/’Αποστόλη δέ χειρ Ἡ/Βωδενιώτου/1766 Αὐγούστου 14). In a separate panel beneath the Virgin’s feet there is another poem by Sakellariou; it consists of five couplets, two in heroic-elegiac and two in iambic verse dedicated to the Mother of God, and one in iambic verse dedicated to the icon:

17. N. Π. Δελιαλής, «Συμβολαί εἰς τὴν εκκλησιαστικὴν Ιστορίαν τῆς Κοζάνης», Οἰ-
κοδομή Β', Κοζάνη 1960, 261.
18. N. Π. Δελιαλής, ibid., 258.
19. They are mentioned only in: S. Kissas, «Icons of a Kozani Menologion», Balkan Studies 17 (1976) 112.
20. Mention of the icon and publication of the last verse is made in: S. Kissas, ibid., 112. On John Sakellariou see Π. Ν. Διούφης, Ιστορία τῆς Κοζάνης, ΑΘΕΑΜ 1924, 280 and Α. Σιγάλας, 'Από τὴν πνευματικὴν ζωήν τῶν ἐλληνικῶν κοινοτήτων τῆς
Μακεδονίας, Α' - 'Αρχεία καί Βιβλιοθήκαι Δυτικῆς Μακεδονίας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1939, 37.
Yet another signed work by Apostolis is the icon of the Virgin Mary (88×53 cm., pl. IIa) from the church of St George in Thessaloniki, which is a dependency of Grigoriou Monastery on Mount Athos. In a special panel below the representation an inscription informs us that the icon was commissioned by Elias Bogdanos Rekalis of Divoron for the spiritual salvation of his parents; it is dated February 25, 1768 (Ήστορήθη ή παρούσα είκών διά συνδρομής και δαπάνης του δούλου του Θεού Ήλιου του Μπογδάνου ρέκαλη/τού εκ διβώρου και άφιερώθη διά ψυχικής σωτηρίας τον γονέον αύτοΰ. 1768 φεβρουαρίου 25). Outside this panel, in the bottom right-hand corner, there is Apostolis’s signature (άποστόλης); the minuteness of the letters makes it barely legible.

Unsigned and undated works by Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis

Among this artist’s earliest known works (c. 1750) are two icons from the iconostasis of the Holy Virgin «Goumenissa», at Goumenissa in Paonia in the nome of Kilkis. They are an icon of Christ (90×64 cm., pl. IIb) and an icon of St Dimitrios (82×61 cm.); they both belong to the same group and are attributed to Apostolis for stylistic reasons.

Another icon, of the Holy Virgin of the Source of Life, from the Church of the Virgin Mary Lagoudiani in Thessaloniki (8.45×5.75 cm., pl. IIIa), is also ascribed to Apostolis for reasons of style. It is a fairly early icon, dating from c. 1750.
Stylistic reasons again lead us to attribute to Apostolis Vodeniotis three icons from the iconostasis of the Church of the Great (Nea) Virgin Mary in Thessaloniki, which must be dated to 1763 or earlier. We are inclined to accept the date of 1763, having identified the hand of this painter in the inscription on the icon of the Archangel Michael. This group comprises: 1. the icon of Christ (113 x 77 cm., pl. IIIb); 2. the icon of the Virgin Mary (same size); 3. the icon of the Archangel Michael (219 x 78 cm).

**Michael of Thessaloniki**

In 1760 the painter Michael of Thessaloniki, together with George of Bucharest, frescoed the narthex of the Church of the Archangels at Arbanasi in Bulgaria. They signed their names in an inscription written on a scroll held open by two hands above the door inside the north wall (pl. IVa). The text of the inscription runs as follows: «By the hand of Michael of Thessaloniki and George of Bucharest. Overseer, Eustathios Chatzinikolaou. August 1, 1760» [Χειρ Μιχαήλ τοῦ έκ Θεσσαλονίκης, καὶ Γεωργίου τοῦ έκ Βουκουρεστίου, ἐπιτηρητῆς Εὐστάθιος Χατζηνικολάου. Αὐγούστου α;]. The founding inscription is over the entrance to the main body of the church, and its texts is as follows; «This divine and most venerable narthex of the holy Monastery of the Great Archangels Michael and Gabriel was painted and embellished at the expense of the most honourable Chatzinikolaou Koul toukòs and his wife Kyriako to their memory. August 1, 1760» [Ὁ θείος οὕτως καὶ πάνσεπτος νάρθηξ τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς των παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχῶν Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ ἀνήστηκε καὶ ἐκκαλύπτηθη διὰ συνδρομῆς /ἐξόδου τε καὶ δικαιῶς τοῦ τιμιωτάτου κυρίου Χατζηνικολάου Κουλτουκοῦ καὶ τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ Κυρίακου εἰς μνήμην αὐτῶν, /ἐν ΑΨΞ Αὐγούστου α;].

These frescoes form a very important eighteenth-century group, which remains virtually unpublished. The representations are arranged

21. On one of the icons there is the inscription about the gilding of the iconostasis which was done in 1763 (see here, p. 474, pl. VIb).
22. The reading of the name of Hatzinikolaou’s wife is not certain. We read Κυριάκους. The lettering could be the popular name Κυριάκω of the original name Κυριακή. The photos of the monument are the work of my dear colleague Evangelos N. Kyriakoudis to whom I am grateful.
in four zones, the first comprising female saints, the second martyrs in medallions, the third the Akathistos Hymn, and the last the Apostles. The east side is devoted to the archangels, the church's patrons (pl. Va), and on the keystone of the arch, on a starry ground, angels are depicted holding glories containing the Father of Light, Christ Emmanuel (pl. Vb), St John the Baptist, and the Virgin Mary as the Platytera ton Ouranon (Wider than the Heavens). It is easy, I think, to distinguish the work of each of the two painters.

Michael the Thessalonian

The icon of Christ Pantocrator is from the Cathedral of Mystra; it dates from 1786 and according to its inscription is the work of Michael the Thessalonian (Σωματικώς μορφωθήναι το καθ' ήμας, /ό το πριν ἀκώματος εὐδοξία πατρικῆ,/ μή ἀπανγάνει πορφυρῆς, /έχρισατο ήμῖν θείου ἔκτυπον./ Δέσις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ 'Αντωνίου μοναχοῦ, / Διά χειρός, Μιχαήλ Θεσσαλονικαίου/ Σωτήριον έτος ΑΨΠ8 έν μηνί Μαρτίου)\(^{24}\). It is now preserved in the Mystra Museum (no. 1469). This painter must probably be identified as his namesake Michael of Thessaloniki, who had painted the narthex of the Church of the Archangels at Arbanasi twenty-six years before. At present this relationship is evident from the use of a Baroque panel for the inscriptions of both monuments and from the style of the letters of the inscriptions.

Michael the Thessalonian unquestionably painted the icon of the Virgin Mary (86×66 cm.) containing scenes of miracles worked by Saints Constantine, Nicholas, Charalampes, and Anthony, from the Church of the Holy Virgin Lagoudiani in Thessaloniki. The saints are portrayed in Baroque panels in the four corners, while the miracles are shown in sixteen medallions grouped elliptically around the central wrong date 1761. The right date is also used by D. Medaković, «Manastir Hilandar u XVIII veku», Hilandarski zbornik 3, 1974, 62 (henceforth: Medaković, «Hilandar») following Protić. Another bibliography of the monument is that of A. Tschilingirov, Die Kunst des christlichen Mittelalters in Bulgarien, Berlin 1978, 369. See there plates 288-292, too. Tschilingirov uses the erroneous date 1761.

subject. Next to the representations of the saints inscriptions on a white ground scenes of the miracles are noted. Below the Virgin’s feet, in a Baroque panel (pl. VIa) there is an epigraph in iambic twelve-syllable verse. The text is written in such a way that the first verse of the second column follows the first verse of the first column, and so on. The text of the inscription is as follows:

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'Αθλητανάκτων καὶ ἄρχιεροσίων
Μόν(η) x(αί) ἄ(γ)νή, Παρθένε τὴν εἰκόνα
ὕν τῷ σῷ ἄνήγειρα οἷόν τι δῴρον
εὐμενῶς ὄνοματι προσδεξαμένην,
tῷ υἱῷ σου πρέσβευε λύσιν μοι δοῦναι
τῷ σῷ, πταισμάτων, οἰκέτῃ Ἀντωνίῳ
θεία τετρακτύς, κυκλούσα Παναγίαν,
"Ἀναξι μέγιστε, καὶ θείε Κωνσταντῖνε,
σὺν Νικολάῳ Μυρέων τῷ Προέδρῳ
Χαραλάμπει τε καὶ θείῳ Ἀντωνίῳ
τῇ Παρθένῳ πρέσβευε ἐνα πρεσβεύῃ
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνεθεμένου
ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ταύτην ἱστορηκότος
ὁ κλήσις Μιχαήλ πατρίς Θεσσαλονίκη.
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According to their inscriptions, the medallions depict: upper left: Miracles of St Constantine: a. Vision of the Apostles and baptism; b. The sign of the Cross in the sky; c. The war against Maxentius and the victory; d. The Translation of the saint’s relic to Constantinople; upper right: Miracles of St Nicholas: a. The donation of silver by the poor man; b. The saint’s tonsure; c. The slapping of Arius; d. The saint’s dornition; lower left: Miracles of St Charalampes: a. The saint before the eparch; b. The saint is spitted through the breast and burnt in a fire; c. The king and the eparch hanging invisibly in the air and Galene praying to the saint; d. The saint surrenders his soul before being beheaded; lower right: Miracles of St Anthony: a. The transformation of the demons into wild beasts and the appearance of the Lord from Heaven; b. The saint castigates the demon concerning the silver tray and he vanishes; c. The transformation of the demon into a kind of man and donkey; d. The saint surrenders his holy soul.
Chrysanthos, Archimandrite of the Metropolis of Thessaloniki, and Makarios, Deacon from Veria

From the inscription on the icon of the Archangel Michael, which also serves as the north wing of the iconostasis of the Great Virgin Mary of Thessaloniki, we learn that: «On May 9, 1763 the iconostasis of the Church of the Great Virgin Mary was gilded by the hand of the Most Reverend Archimandrite of the Metropolis of Thessaloniki, Chrysanthos, and the Holy Deacon Makarios of Veria, during the warden-ship of Stoikos the goldsmith and at their own expense» (ΑΤΞΓ ΜΑΗΟΥ 5 ΕΧΡΥΚΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΤΕΜΙΛΑΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΠΑΝΟΙΚΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΧΡΥ΢ΑΝΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟΙΔΑΚΟΝΟΙΟΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΒΕΡΡΟΙΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΤΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡ ΣΤΩΙΚΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΟΥ δαπάνη δε των ιδιων; πλ. VI b). The expression «by the hand» and the fact that gilding was an artist's job leads us to form the tentative conclusion that these men were in fact both painters. Archimandrite Chrysanthos is well known in the ecclesiastical history of eighteenth-century Thessaloniki. On March 29, 1766, as the delegate of the Metropolitan Theodosios, who was away in Constantinople with Thessalonian notables, Chrysanthos signed a letter of recommendation for the Greek interpreter at the Venetian consulate, Laskaris Kyritzis25. On July 13, 1775, he signed the financial report of Vlattadon Monastery, in his capacity of the representative of Bishop Damaskinos of Thessaloniki, who was away at the time in Constantinople26. On July 22, 1783, he signed a report concerning the relationship between the archdiocese of Thessaloniki and the Vlattadon Monastery27. We know nothing at all about Deacon Makarios from Veria; he may bear some relationship

25. Σπ. Π. Λάμπρος, «Τό εν Θεσσαλονίκη βενετικόν προξενείον καί τό μετά τής Μακεδονίας ήμερών των Βενετών», Μακεδονικά 'Ημερολόγια 1912, 235-236. The phrase of the document «...τού... δεσπότου Κυρίου Θεοδοσίου είς βασιλεύουσαν ἀποδημήσαντος does not mean, as Λάμπρος (ibid., 234) thinks, that the bishop died. About Theodosios, who became the ecumenical Patriarch after 1769, see Μ. Ι. Γεδεών, «Σημειώσεις εἰς ἁγιαρτήματα μητροπολίτων Θεσσαλονίκης», Έκκλησιαστική 'Αλήθεια 1903, 258.


27. Ν. Π. Δελιάλης, 'Ιστορικῶν ἔγγραφων ἀφορῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, Μακεδονικά 'Ημερολόγια 1938, 199-202; Μ. Καλλινδέρης, Τὰ λυτὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς δημοτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης 1676-1808, Θεσσαλονίκη 1951, 54-54; Γ. Α. Στογιόγλου, ορ. ειτ., 269-270.
to the subsequent priest Makarios, Hegumen of the Vlattadon Monastery (1771-1775)\textsuperscript{28}.

\textit{Hadži-Djordje Petrović}

In 1797 Hadži-Djordje Petrović came to the well-known Serbian Dečani Monastery from Thessaloniki (Greek: Θεσσαλονίκη) and painted sixty-nine icons. The note is taken from the monastery’s memorial register\textsuperscript{29}, but we have not yet managed to locate this work.

\textit{Anonymous painters}

The correspondence between the Serbian Patriarch of Peć, Moj-sije Rajović (1712-1725) and the Metropolitam of Sremski Karlovci, Vičentije Popović, contains much interesting information about the work of two Thessalonian painters in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Peć\textsuperscript{30}. The patriarch intended to construct a new iconostasis in the church and the metropolitan had promised him financial assistance. In a letter to the metropolitan, dated February 18, 1722, and sent from Novi Pazar, the patriarch wrote, among other things: «Concerning your noble intention and your promise to assist the Great Church with the iconostasis, we shall write to you as soon as the artists arrive. We are expecting them any day now»\textsuperscript{31}. When the artists arrived at Peć from Thessaloniki, the patriarch wrote to the metropolitan asking him to fulfill his promise. The letter was sent from Studenica Monastery on April 30, 1722, and reads as follows: «My lord and dear brother, let it be known to your Holiness that now, in the third week after Easter, the painters from Thessaloniki have arrived, one a Bulgarian monk and the other a Greek layman, and each accompanied by an apprentice. And since everything has long been ready for the execution of the iconostasis, we have begun work, with the help of God and in the name of your brotherhood, in strict accordance with your expressed reasonable intention. Therefore, as the elemental wisdom of the Fa-

\textsuperscript{28} Α. Στογιόγλου, op. cit., 260-263.
\textsuperscript{29} Vl. Petković-Dj. Bošković, Manastir Dečani, I, Beograd 1941, 14.
\textsuperscript{31} R. M. Grujić, op. cit., 126.
ther, the Lord Jesus, and the virtuous fount of grace the Holy Paraclete has spoken to your heart and directed the sagacious power of your mind towards this aim, we therefore beg you now to fulfil the benevolent promise of your intention; and fraternally to direct here again our emissary, his Holiness Arsenije Jovanović, Metropolitan of Ras. May the Lord, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and end of all blessings, grant that we may successfully complete this task which has begun so well»32. There is a postscript to this letter in the form of a short note on a separate sheet of paper: «And take heed, brother; we have not reached an agreement with the artists about the iconostasis, for they are asking a great deal of money. But we have sent one of our own men to Thessaloniki to buy all the necessary paints and pay the expenses, so that we need pay the artists only their fee. We believe that it will all amount to some 1,000 piastres, if not more. For the time being, we have sent 300 piastres for paints alone»33. It seems that the metropolitan kept his word and sent the promised financial aid to the Patriarchate of Peć, judging by the letters of thanks sent to him by the Metropolitan of Ras Arsenije Jovanović (October 19, 1722) and by the Patriarch himself, Mojsije Rajović (December 31, 1722)34, We know no further details.

Fortunately, however, the greater part of the Peć iconostasis has been preserved to the present day — sixteen icons and the Royal Donors. They form a collection of impressive quality. The two large icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary date from 1724 according to their inscriptions, and were the gift of Archimandrite Josif Vojnović35. The stylistic unity of the paintings indicates that the two Thessalonian artists remained in the Peć district until 1724, when the two large icons were completed. These two icons (164×111 cm.) portray Christ as the King of Kings and Pontifex Maximus with the Evangelists in the four corners (pl. VII), and the Virgin Mary with four prophets in the corners (pl. VIII). The smaller icons (all but one measuring 50×35 cm.) are as follows: 1. the Birth of the Virgin Mary; 2. the Presentation of

35. Once again I thank sincerely prof. M. Medić for his invaluable help in the photographing of the icons at the National Museum of Belgrade where the iconostasis had been brought for maintenance and cleaning. The photography was done by my friend and colleague Dušan Tasić whom, warmly, thank.
the Virgin Mary; 3. the Annunciation; 4. the Nativity; 5. the Purification (pl. IXa); 6. the Baptism of Christ; 7. the Transfiguration of Christ; 8. the Raising of Lazarus (cpl. IXb), 9. the Crucifixion and the Descent from the Cross (127×81 cm.—this icon should be in the middle of the upper row); 10. the Descent into Hell; 11. the Pentecost; 12. the Ascension; 13. the Dormition of the Virgin Mary; 14. the Virgin Mary, as the Protector of all Christians. On the Royal Doors, within medallions formed of vines, are portrayed the Annunciation, the Evangelists, and the prophets David and Solomon.

On February 15, 1733, the overseer of the Metropolis of Sremski Karlovci noted that on the iconostasis of St Nicholas’s Church at Irig there were: «four large and excellent icons brought from Thessaloniki depicting the Saviour, the Virgin Mary, St John, and St Nicholas». These icons have not survived36.

On January 30 the same overseer noted that among the other ecclesiastical vessels of the Church of St Stephen at Sremska Mitrovica there were: «... on the iconostasis the Twelve Apostles, an icon of the Saviour, and one of the Virgin Mary, donated by the nobleman Milić, a pilgrim to the Holy Sepulche; in the Athonite style, these icons are from Thessaloniki and are of great artistic value...»37. From this group the great icons (96×71 cms) of Christ (pl. Xa) and the Virgin Mary (pl. Xb)38 have survived and are now to be found in the Srem Art Gallery at Sremska Mitrovica (nos. 1 and 2). This testimony is of great value because apart from anything else it shows Thessaloniki as a commercial centre for Athonite icons.

The aim of this paper has been to answer the question of whether or not painting was going on in Thessaloniki during the eighteenth century. From the evidence we have presented—though without analysing it, of course—the answer would appear to be a ready affirmative. D. Pallas has already reached the same conclusion, though
by a different route\textsuperscript{39}. An analysis of the work of the Thessaloniki painters and its place within the general artistic framework of the Balkans as a whole will be the subject of future research. The material which has to be examined comprises: a) over 400 icons from Thessaloniki which have been in the Byzantine Museum in Athens since 1916\textsuperscript{40}; b) some 150 icons in the city’s churches, and the collection owned by the Metropolis of Thessaloniki\textsuperscript{41}; c) some seventy icons from the Athonite dependencies in the city\textsuperscript{42}; d) the excellent group of frescoes in the Church of the Great Virgin, which has been recently discovered and cleaned and dated to c. 1730\textsuperscript{43}; e) the eighteenth-century Painting on Athos. There are, moreover, sound reasons for believing that this material will increase considerably as research proceeds in Macedonia.

The aims of future research will be mainly three-fold: a) to evaluate Thessaloniki as an artistic centre in the eighteenth century; b) to deal with the city’s relations with the spiritual and artistic centre of Mount Athos; c) to evaluate Thessaloniki’s artistic relations with the Orthodox Slav peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. We hope very soon to be able to present the findings of our research in this area\textsuperscript{44}.

\textit{9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities Thessaloniki}

\textsuperscript{39} Πάλλας, «Περί τῆς ζωγραφικῆς», 192-205.
\textsuperscript{40} Πάλλας, «Περί τῆς ζωγραφικῆς», 192.
\textsuperscript{41} Information from the Archives of the 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities as well as from my personal files.
\textsuperscript{42} Δ. Ι. Πάλλας, «Η ζωγραφική στήν Κωνσταντινούπολη...», 'Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον' 26, 1971, 258, note 104. There are 24 icons dating to the 18th. c at the church of St. Charalambos, a dependency of the Mt. Athos monastery of Simonopetra about which I am preparing a tract.
\textsuperscript{43} The renovation of the Church was undertaken in 1727. See Δελτίων τῆς Χριστιανικῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας Ε’, 1905, 37 (Γ. Λαμπάκης).
\textsuperscript{44} We are preparing a doctoral thesis on the painting of Thessaloniki in the eighteenth century for the Faculty of Philosophy of the Belgrade University.
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IVa. Arbanasi, Narthex of the church of the Archangels (1760). Inscription bearing the names of painters.

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