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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 Thessaloniki¹. M. Chatzidakis, on the other hand, ascribes it to Mount Athos².

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 goldsmithery³, 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 century⁴.

1. Δ. Ι. Πάλλας, «Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη μετὰ τὴν Ἑλκή. Ζητήματα μεθόδου», *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 26, 1971, 239-263; idem., «Περὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην μετὰ τὴν Ἑλκήν (Μεθοδολογικά)», *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, ΜΓ, 1976, 101-211 (henceforth: Πάλλας, «Περὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς»).

2. Μ. Χατζηδάκης, «Περὶ σχολῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὀλίγα», *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 27, 1972, 121-137.

3. Μ. Καμπούρη, «Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν - Τὰ μνημεῖα», *Ἀρχαιολογία* (Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη), τεύχος 7, Μάιος 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, «Ὁ παραθαλάσσιος ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου στὴ 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 1702⁵.

The hieromonk Nikiphoros

«The Holy Virgin Lesiniotissa», a devotional icon from Lesiniotissa 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 ἔγραψεν ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης 1709. / Ἀνακαινισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Δ. Ζ. Κασόλα ἀρχιδιακόνου καὶ υἱῶν 1947)⁶.

5. Putešestvie v Meteorskie i Osoolimpijskie monastyri v Thessalii arhimandrita Porfirija Uspenskago v 1859 godu, S. - Peterburg 1896, 29; on the icon of the painter Theodore kept in Byzantine Museum in Athens see Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου, «Ἡ χριστιανικὴ καὶ βυζαντινὴ εἰκονογραφία», *Θεολογία* 26, 1955, 9, pl. 14. Πάλλας, «Περὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς», 167, note. 1, 197-198, pl. KZ-KH.

6. Σωφρόνιος Παπακυριακοῦ, «Ἡ Μονὴ Λεσινίου», *Δελτίον Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 9, 1926, 573-575. Κ. Σ. Κώστας, «Παναγία ἡ Λεσινιώτισσα», *Νέα Ἑστία* 54, 1953, 1207-1210; also the pamphlet: *Παναγία «ἡ Λεσινιώτισσα» μεταβυζαντινὴ μονὴ εἰς Παλαιοκατούναν Ἀκαρνανίας*, Πάτραι 1957, ἐπιμελεῖα Α. Γατσώρας, includes a black and white reproduction.

Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis

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 Macedonia⁷. 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»⁸. 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 littéraire, 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»⁹. 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 Gnaiusta; 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 médiocre»¹⁰. 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 Gnaiusta 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

7. Γ. Χιονίδης, «'Η ἐκ Βεροίας καταγομένη οἰκογένεια 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).

8. E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans le Macedoine*, Paris 1831, 59.

9. *Op. cit.*, 68-69.

10. *Op. cit.*, 72.

être la cause de ce phénomène: les uns disent qu'il provient de la qualité 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 commune»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 considered 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 avaient laissé la propriété de ce quartier aux chrétiens, soit à cause de l'église, 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 paternels, aussi se vantait-il d'être plus Grec que Bulgare»¹³. In Edessa Apostolis's relations and friends laid on a sumptuous meal, including trout caught by the hosts themselves, in the shade of the trees beside the waterfalls: «Les parents et les amis d'Apostoli nous donnèrent un repas champêtre, sous les ombrages qui bordent cette rivière, 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 Nicholas 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-

11. *Op. cit.*, 72.

12. *Op. cit.*, 76.

13. *Op. cit.*, 76.

14. *Op. cit.*, 79.

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 vāzrozdenski 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 (Ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου κ'ρ/Ἱγνατίου καὶ ἐπιτροπεύοντος τοῦ ἔντιμοτάτου κ'ρ Ρούση Μίσου/ἐζωγραφήθησαν παρὰ/Ἀποστόλη λογ'γιανοῦ ἐκ/πόλεως/Βωδενᾶ/1755/Μαΐου δύο). For painting these icons Apostolis received the fee of 60,000 aspers in 1766¹⁷. 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 1756¹⁸. None of this group of icons has been published¹⁹.

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.)²⁰. 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» (Ἐζωγραφήθη ἡδε ἡ εἰκὼν φίλε,/Κωνσταντίνου μὲν ἐξόδου Ἰωάννου,/Σακελαρίου τοῦ πικλήν ἐκ Κοζάνης,/Ἀποστόλη δὲ χειρὶ Βωδενιότου/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. Δελιαλῆς, «Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κοζάνης», *Οικοδομὴ* Β', Κοζάνη 1960, 261.

18. N. Π. Δελιαλῆς, *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. Λιούφης, *Ἱστορία τῆς Κοζάνης*, Ἀθήναι 1924, 280 and Α. Σιγάλας, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πνευματικὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἐλληνικῶν κοινοτήτων τῆς Μακεδονίας, Α' - Ἀρχεὶα καὶ Βιβλιοθήκαι Δυτικῆς Μακεδονίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1939, 37.

(ἤρωε)

Παρθενικῆς μέγα ἄεισμα, φαάντατον τεῖχος ἀπάντων
 παιδοτόκος κούρη, μήτηρ ἄλεκτρε μόνη

(λεγεῖον)

Γούνασι σοῖς βασίλεια πιτυεῖ Κωνσταντῖνος
 Τόν γε δέδεξο τεαῖς ἀγκαλίδεσσι τύνη

(λαμ)

Σοὶ πᾶσα φύσις οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς κόρη
 Αἶνον προσάδει μητροπάρθενε μόνη

(βεῖον)

Σοὶ Κωνσταντῖνος λιπαρὸν κάμπτει γόνυ
 Σέβας κομίζων ἄπλετον τῇδ' εἰκόνι

(εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα)

Φύσις μὲν ἄπνουν δεῖξέ σ' εἰκῶν τῇ ὕλῃ
 Γραφίς δ' ἔμπνουν δεῖξέ σ' ἡμῖν τῇ τέχνῃ.

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 Divorion for the spiritual salvation of his parents; it is dated February 25, 1768 ('Ἡστορήθη ἡ παρούσα εἰκὼν διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ δαπάνης τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἡλιοῦ τοῦ Μπογδάνου ῥέκαλη/τοῦ ἐκ διβώρου καὶ ἀφιερῶθη διὰ ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας τὸν γονέων αὐτοῦ. 1768 φεβρουαρίου 25). Outside this panel, in the bottom right-hand corner, there is Apostolis's signature (ἀποστόλης); 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 Paionia 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 earlier²¹. 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 (113×77 cm., pl. IIb); 2. the icon of the Virgin Mary (same size); 3. the icon of the Archangel Michael (219×78 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» [Χεῖρ Μιχαήλ τοῦ ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης, καὶ) Γεωργίου τοῦ ἐκ Βουκουρεστίου/καὶ) ἐπιτηρητῆς Εὐστάθιος Χ(ατζη)νικολάου. ΑΨΞ/ Αὐγούστου: α:] The founding inscription is over the entrance to the main body of the church, and its text 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 Kouloukos and his wife Kyriako to their memory. August 1, 1760» [Ὁ θεῖος οὗτος καὶ πάνσεπτος νάρθηξ τῆς ἱερᾶς / μονῆς τῶν παμμεγίστων Ταξιάρχων Μιχαήλ/καὶ Γαβριήλ ἀνηστορίθη καὶ ἐκαλλωπίσθη διὰ συνδρομῆς / ἐξόδου τε καὶ δαπάνης τοῦ τιμιωτάτου κυρίου Χατζηνικολάου Κουλτούκου καὶ) τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ Κυρ(ιά)κουσ εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν. / ἐν ἔ(τει) ΑΨΞ Αὐγούστου α; pl. IVb]²².

These frescoes form a very important eighteenth-century group, which remains virtually unpublished²³. 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.

23. A. Protič, «Sveta Gora i balgarskoto izkustvo», *Balgarski Pregled*, god. I, kniga 2, Sofija 1929, 262 uses the right date 1760. Vasiliev, *Živopis*, 478 uses the

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 (Σωματικῶς μορφωθῆναι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, / ὁ τὸ πρὶν ἄσωματος εὐδοκία πατρικῇ, / μὴ ἀπανηγάμενος μορφῆς, / ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν θεῖον ἐκτύπωμα. / Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίου μοναχοῦ. / Διὰ χειρὸς, Μιχαὴλ Θεσσαλονικαίου / Σωτήριον ἔτος ΑΨΠΣ ἐν μηνὶ 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 Protič. 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.

24. K. Ζήσιος, «Ἐπιγραφαὶ χριστιανικῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἑλλάδος», *Βυζαντις Α'*, 1907, 437; Δ. Σισιλιάνος, «Ἑλληνες ἀγιογράφοι μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν», Ἀθήναι 1935, 140; Φ. Πιομπίνος, «Ἑλληνες ἀγιογράφοι μέχρι τὸ 1821», Ἀθήνα 1979, 168. On a stylistic analysis of the icon see Παλάς, «Περὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς», 203-204 with black and white reproductions (pl. ΑΕ-ΑΣΤ). My sincere thanks to my colleague Aem. Giaouris for photographing the icon published here.

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:

Ἄθλητανάκτων καὶ ἀρχιεροσίων
 Μόν(η) κ(αὶ) ἀ(γ)νή, Παρθένε τὴν εἰκόνα
 ἦν τῷ σῷ ἀνήγειρα οἶόν τι δῶρον
 εὐμενῶς ὀνόματι προσδεξαμένη,
 τῷ υἱῷ σου πρέσβευε λύσιν μοι δοῦναι
 τῷ σῷ, πταισμάτων, οἰκέτῃ Ἀντωνίῳ
 θεία τετρακτὺς, κυκλοῦσα Παναγίαν,
 Ἄναξ μέγιστε, καὶ θεῖε Κωνσταντῖνε,
 σὺν Νικολάῳ Μυρέων τῷ Προέδρῳ
 Χαραλάμπει τε καὶ θείῳ Ἀντωνίῳ
 τῇ Παρθένῳ πρέσβευε ἵνα πρεσβεύῃ
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνεθεμένου
 ἔμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ταύτην ἱστορηκότος
 ᾧ κλῆσις Μιχαὴλ πατρὶς Θεσσαλονίκῃ.

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 dormition; *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 wardenship of Stoikos the goldsmith and at their own expense» (ΑΨΕΓ ΜΑΗΟΥ 5 ΕΧΡΥCΩΘΗ ΤΟ ΤΕΜΠΛΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑC ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΠΑΝΟCΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΘΕCΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΧΡΥCΑΝΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΙC ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΒΕΡΡΟΙΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΟΝΤΟC ΚΥΡ CΤΩΔΙΚΟΥ ΧΡΥCΟΧΟΟΥ δαπάνη δὲ τῶν ιδίων; pl. 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 reconmmendation 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, «Τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη βενετικὸν προξενεῖον καὶ τὸ μετὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐμπόριον τῶν Βενετῶν», *Μακεδονικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* 1912, 235-236. The phrase of the document «...τοῦ... δεσπότη Κυρίου Θεοδοσίου εἰς 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 ἀναγραφὰς μητροπολιτῶν Θεσσαλονίκης», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 1903, 258.

26. Γ. Α. Στογιόγλου, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη πατριαρχικὴ μονὴ τῶν Βλατάδων*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, 262.

27. Ν. Π. Δελιαλῆς, «Ἱστορικὸν ἔγγραφον ἀφορῶν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης», *Μακεδονικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* 1938, 199-202; Μ. Καλλινδέρης, *Τὰ λυτὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς δημοτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης 1676-1808*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1951, 51-54; Γ. Α. Στογιόγλου, *op. cit.*, 269-270.

to the subsequent priest Makarios, hegumen of the Vlattadon Monastery (1771-1775)²⁸.

Hadži-Djordje Petrović

In 1797 Hadži-Djordje Petrović came to the well-known Serbian Dečani Monastery from Thessaloniki (ГРАДЪ СЕЛАНИКЪ) and painted sixty-nine icons. The note is taken from the monastery's memorial register²⁹, but we have not yet managed to locate this work.

Anonymous painters

The correspondence between the Serbian Patriarch of Peć, Mojsije Rajović (1712-1725) and the Metropolitan of Sremski Karlovci, Vićentije Popović, contains much interesting information about the work of two Thessalonian painters in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Peć³⁰. 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»*³¹. When the artists arrived at Peć from Thessaloniki, the patriarch wrote to the metropolitan asking him to fulfil 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-*

28. Γ. Α. Σογιόγλου, *op. cit.*, 260-263.

29. Vl. Petković-Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, I, Beograd 1941, 14.

30. R.M. Grujić, «Pisma pećskih patrijarha iz drugog i trećeg decenija XVIII. veka», *Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* LI, 1913, 126-127; O. Mikić, *Hristofor Zefarović i živopis manastira Bodjana, Delo Hristofora Zefarovića*, Novi Sad 1961, 8; D. Medaković, *Srpska umetnost u XVIII veku*, Beograd 1980, 52; Sr. Petković, *Pećka patrijarsija*, Beograd 1982, 7.

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

32. *Op. cit.*, 127.

33. *Op. cit.*, 127.

34. *Op. cit.*, 127-128.

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 Milj, 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

36. D. Ruvarac, *Srpska mitropolija Karlovačka oko polovine XVIII veka*, Sremski Karlovci 1902, 109; O. Milanović-Jović, «Ikonostas Nikolajevske crkve u Irigu», *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 5, Novi Sad 1969, 159; Medaković, «Hilandar», 28.

37. D. Ruvarac, *op. cit.*, 88; Medaković, «Hilandar», 28; I. Šelmić, «Novi podaci o zografu Stanoju Popoviću», *Rad vojvodjanskih muzeja* 26, Novi Sad 1980, 178.

38. The icons were published by Marjana Lesek, «Stara crkva u Sremskoj Mitrovici i njen ikonostas», *Rad vojvodjanskih muzeja* 6, Novi Sad 1957, 261-262, pl. 4, 5.

by a different route³⁹. 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 1916⁴⁰; b) some 150 icons in the city's churches, and the collection owned by the Metropolis of Thessaloniki⁴¹; c) some seventy icons from the Athonite dependencies in the city⁴²; d) the excellent group of frescoes in the Church of the Great Virgin, which has been recently discovered and cleaned and dated to c. 1730⁴³; 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 area⁴⁴.

9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities Thessaloniki

39. Πάλλας, «Περὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς», 192-205.

40. Πάλλας, «Περὶ τῆς ζωγραφικῆς», 192.

41. Information from the Archives of the 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities as well as from my personal files.

42. Δ. Ι. Πάλλας, «Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη...», *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν 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.

43. The renovation of the Church was undertaken in 1727. See *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* Ε', 1905, 37 (Γ. Λαμπάκης).

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.



Ia. Kozani, cathedral church of St. Nicholas. Icon of Christ. Work of Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis (1755).



Ib. Kozani, cathedral church of St. Nicholas. Icon of the Virgin. Work of Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis (1755).



IIa. Thessaloniki, Dependency of St. George of the Gregoriou Monastery. Icon of the Virgin. Work of Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis (1768).



IIb. Goumenissa, church of the Virgin the Goumenissa. Icon of Christ. Work of Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis (circa 1750).



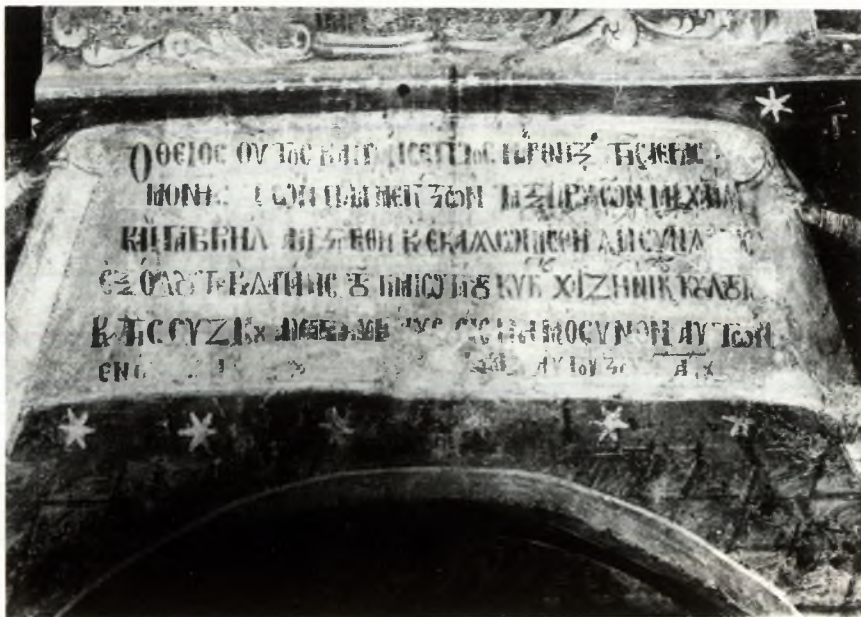
*IIIa. Thessaloniki, church of the Virgin Lagudiane.
Icon of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege. Work of Apostolis
Longianos Vodeniotis (circa 1750).*



*IIIb. Thessaloniki, church of the Great Nea Panagia.
Icon of Christ. Work of Apostolis Longianos Vodeniotis
(1763 or earlier).*



IVa. Arbanasi, Narthex of the church of the Archangels (1760). Inscription bearing the names of painters.



IVb. Arbanasi, Narthex of the church of the Archangels (1760). Inscription of the donor.



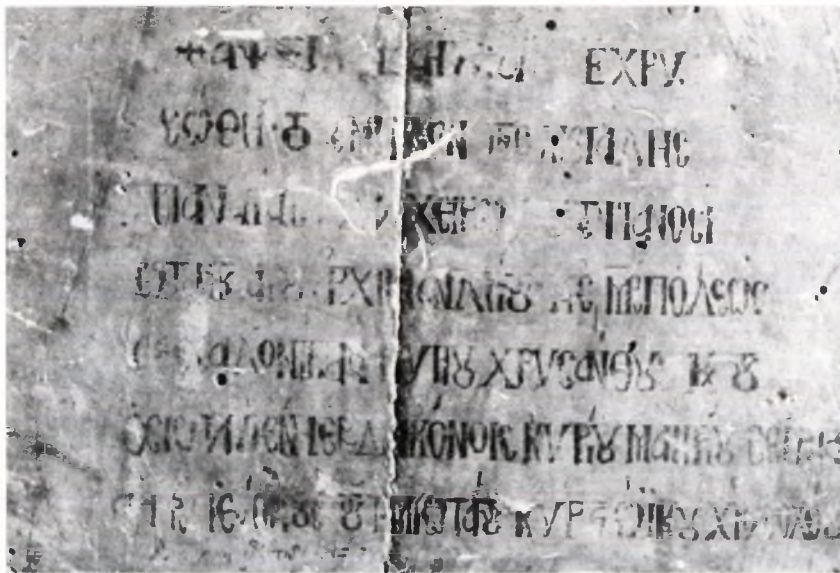
v a. Arbanasi, Narthex of the church of the Archangels (1760). East wall, The Gathering of the Archangels. Work of Michael the Thessalonian.



Vb. Arbanasi, Narthex of the church of the Archangels (1760). Arch detail, Christ Emmanuel. Work of Michael the Thessalonian.



Via. Thessaloniki, church of the Virgin Lagudiane. Icon of the Virgin with scenes of the Life of four saints. The inscription. Work of Michael the Thessalonian (circa 1785).



VIb. Thessaloniki, church of the Great (Nea) Panagia. Icon of the Archangel Michael. Inscription on the gilding of the iconostasis (1763).



VII. Peć, church of the Holy Apostles. Iconostasis, Icon of Christ. Work of anonymous Thessalonian painters (1724).



VIII. Peć, church of the Holy Apostles. Iconostasis, Icon of the Virgin. Work of anonymous Thessalonian painters (1724).



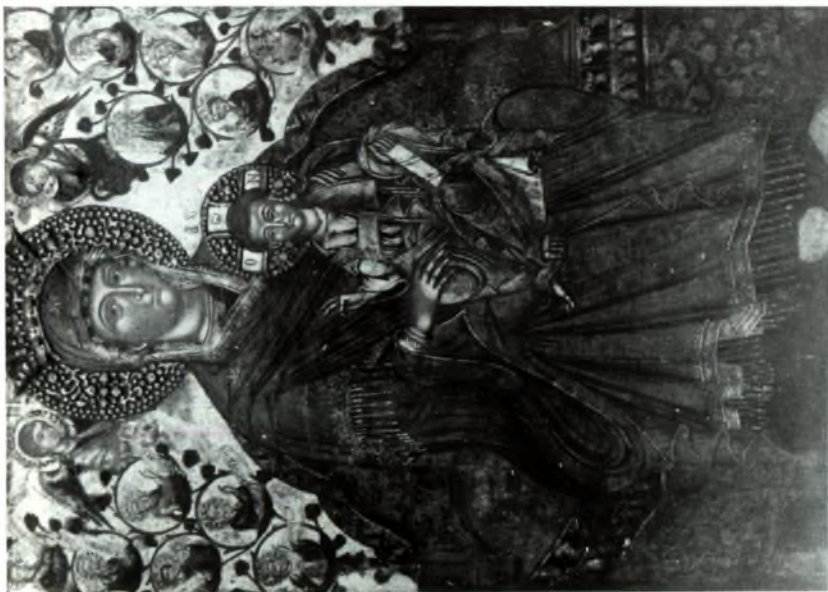
IXa. Peé, church of the Holy Apostles. Iconostasis, icon of the Purification of Christ. Work of anonymous Thessalonian painters (1722).



IXb. Peé, church of the Holy Apostles. Iconostasis, icon of the Raising of Lazarus. Work of anonymous Thessalonian painters (1722).



Xa. Sremska Mitrovica, Srem Gallery. Icon of Christ. From the church of St. Stephanos. A Holy Mountain work bought in Thessaloniki (circa the second decade of the 18th C.).



Xb. Sremska Mitrovica, Srem Gallery. Icon of the Virgin. From the church of St. Stephanos. A Holy Mountain work bought in Thessaloniki (circa the second decade of the 18th C.).