

ПРОБЛЕМИ НА ИЗКУСТВОТО

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ПРОБЛЕМИ НА ИЗКУСТВОТО

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Редакционна колегия:

проф. д.изк. АЛЕКСАНДЪР ЯНАКИЕВ, доц. д-р БИСЕРКА ПЕНКОВА (главен редактор), проф. ВЛАДИМИР ПЕТРУХИН (Русия), доц. д-р ВИОЛЕТА ВАСИЛЧИНА, акад. ГОЙКО СУБОТИЧ (Сърбия), проф. ДИАНА ГЕРГОВА, чл. кор. ЕЛКА БАКАЛОВА, проф. д.изк. ИВАНКА ГЕРГОВА, проф. ИНГЕБОРГ БРАТОВА, проф. д.изк. КАМЕЛИЯ НИКОЛОВА (зам. главен редактор), проф. д.изк. РОМЕО ПОПИЛИЕВ, проф. д.изк. ЧАВДАР ПОПОВ.

Адрес на редакцията:

Институт за изследване на изкуствата при БАН, списание „Проблеми на изкуството“
ул. „Кракра“ 21, София 1000. тел. 944 24 14, факс +359 2 943 30 92
E-mail: probleminaizkustvoto@gmail.com

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Информация за абонаменти в редакцията и на електронния адрес на списанието и към Маргарита Керпичиян daisy51@abv.bg.

Editorial Board:

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Contact details:

Art Studies Quarterly, Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
21 Krakra Street, 1000 Sofia, Bulgaria
phone: +359 2 944 24 14, fax: +359 2 943 30 92
probleminaizkustvoto@gmail.com

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Church of St Nicholas in the village of Dolen, The Last Judgement (detail), photo by I. Vanev

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Димитър Добрович, Среща, тефтерче с рисунки, л. 17v, НХГ, София

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Dimiter Dobrovich, Encounter, sketch pad, f. 17v, National Art Gallery, Sofia

ARTISTIC TRENDS AND AESTHETIC APPROACHES IN 18th CENTURY MONUMENTAL PAINTING. THE CASE OF THESSALY

Ioannis Tsiouris, Hellenic Open University, Trikala

Thessaly lies in central Greece and contains the prefectures of Trikala, Karditsa, Larissa and Magnesia. It occupies an extensive geographical area that takes in fertile plains, mountainous areas and coastal lands¹.

After its conquest by the Ottomans in the late 14th century², the following three centuries were marked by periods of both local development and instability, the latter as a result of the oppressiveness of the Ottoman regime and local insurrections³. In spite of all this, the development of art – particularly from the 16th century onwards, with the construction of new churches and katholika, which were decorated by great painters of the time⁴, as in the 17th century⁵, together with a considerable degree of cultural activity⁶, attests to a certain level of economic, social⁷ and cultural development, and provided an important basis for subsequent artistic development. During the 18th century the mainstays of economic life were agriculture, stockbreeding and their by-products; another important industry was sericulture, while a certain amount of metalworking also existed. Local people traded in the neighbouring areas and, according to the contemporary written sources, enjoyed close commercial ties with them⁸.

At the same time, however, the difficult living conditions created by the Ottoman occupation⁹ led to a wave of migration, as in the previous century. The main destinations were Constantinople, Thessaloniki, the Danubian principalities and central Europe¹⁰. This migration did not consist merely of Thessalians leaving the region to find work elsewhere but also of population groups moving to mountainous areas for a variety of different reasons, most of which were connected with the oppressiveness of the Turkish regime and local revolts against the Ottoman Empire¹¹. This combination of local production, with its close commercial ties with neighbouring areas, and migration¹² led to the development of local societies with their own means of livelihood and relative economic stability, despite the problems that occasionally arose. Finally, the beneficial effects that the Treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) had on the Turkish-occupied Balkans also made themselves felt in the region through the stimulation of economic growth by trade¹³.

This is the general historical background for an extensive region whose history, particularly that of the 18th century, has not yet been fully written. It was in this historical context that artistic production – in this case mural painting – developed, and indeed the evidence shows that mural painting in Thessaly experienced a remarkable flowering during the 18th century, since a total of 126 mural ensembles have already been found¹⁴, in mountainous districts, the plains and coastal areas. These ensembles are to be found in a variety of monuments, ranging from small parish churches and side-chapels to large monastic katholika¹⁵.

Architecturally, the main style followed in the monastic katholika is the 'Athonite type'¹⁶, as, for example, at the monasteries of Spiliá (1736), the Holy Trinity at Drakotrypa



Church of St. Panteleimon, Tsaritsani. Martyrdoms of saints. Detail
Царицани, ц. „Св. Пантелеймон”, мъченически сцени

(1743)¹⁷, Paou in the Pelion (1750)¹⁸ and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul at Rapsani (1778)¹⁹. This category also includes a number of parish churches, such as the Church of the Archangel Michael at Marathos (mid-18th century)²⁰.

The three-aisled basilica style is to be found in only a small number of monuments, such as the Church of St. Nicholas at Rendina²¹, the katholikon of the Domiana Monastery²² and the church at Stavros near Farsala²³.

All the other parish churches are single-nave structures, with a *hagiati* (open-sided gallery) or exonarthex. Amongst these the Church of St. George at Rendina and the Church of the Dormition at Petrochori²⁴ stand out for their choirs on the south and north sides. These constitute an architectural type that was rare both at this time and in the previous century²⁵.

One of the earliest 18th-century mural decorations in Thessaly lies in the **Church of St. Panteleimon at Tsaritsani**²⁶, which, according to the founder's inscription of 1704, was executed by the painter Ioannis²⁷. In terms of its subject-matter, the iconographic programme of this church is somewhat unusual since, apart from the Christological cycle, it also includes the Martyrdoms of the Apostles, the martyrdoms of various saints and the Virgin cycle. The painter Ioannis stands out for the frugality of his means of expression. The modelling of the faces of the tall slender figures is achieved with soft brushstrokes, without bold contrasts of light and shade, and with a somewhat 'flat' technique, which leads to the creation of faces that lack bold flesh tones or have no flesh tones at all. In contrast, the naked bodies are rendered with bold anti-realistic outlines, which lend emphasis to the individual limbs. The human figures, however, lack an organic cohesion with the surrounding space, which is occupied by soft-textured hills or buildings, whose design is usually repeated. All in all, this is a style of painting whose characteristics and 'anti-classical' tendency²⁸ may be encountered in other churches in the region, particularly those dating



Church of St. George, Rendina. North choir. The Descent into Hell and the Massacre of the Innocents.

Рендина, ц. „Св. Георги”, северна конха, Слизане в ада и Избиването на младенците

Dousikon Monastery. Refectory. The Tree of Virtue and Sin.

Трапезарията на манастира Дусикон, Дървото на добродетелта и греха, детайл

from the early 18th century, thus representing a remarkable survival of a painting current to be found in Thessalian churches dating from the second half of the 17th century.

A different manifestation of painting may be observed in the **Church of St. George at Rendina** (1719), where the thematically rich iconographic programme²⁹ stands out mainly for the existence of the band depicting a series of martyrdoms. This choice of theme is not rare in post-Byzantine mural painting in Thessaly since it occurs in a considerable number of monuments built in the previous century, while its origins should be traced in the Late Byzantine era³⁰. As for its stylistic characteristics, the fine features of the faces, with the peculiar trait of the carefully drawn slit eyes, the dark underpainting and the naked limbs that almost stand out in relief, intensified by the linearity of the drawing, the bold movements of the figures, the rich and boldly depicted folds of the garments, the Palaeologan-style buildings and prismatically shaped mountains, and even the calligraphic rendering of the inscriptions, produce a result that exudes an aura of sophistication and sumptuousness. These observations also apply to the wall-paintings in the **Church of St. Nicholas at Rendina** (1725)³¹. The decoration of the two monuments is, as a whole, stylistically uniform, a fact which leads to the conclusion that the two anonymous painters who executed these works were apprentices in the same workshop – that of the painter John at the katholikon of the Rendina monastery (1625)³². The evident connection between the apprenticeship of these two painters and the work and tradition of the painter Ioannis in the katholikon of the Rendina monastery shows the strong influence that his painting exerted in the region, although his artistic origins are still unknown. It is clear, however, that the painters' background led them to blend the styles of the two dominant schools of the 16th century (the Cretan School and the School of North-Western Greece) and also continuously to seek and use new iconographic types, which had the effect of constantly renewing his style.

During the same period (1727) the **refectory of the Dousikon Monastery at Trikkala** was decorated³³. Amongst the other scenes depicted in the iconographic programme, which survives in a fragmentary state, can be found representations of the Tree of Virtue and Sin³⁴ and the Crucified Monk, scenes which are relatively uncommon in Orthodox painting. The iconographic type of the Crucified Monk³⁵ is a simplified copy of the Cologne engraving by Michel Birbaum (first half of the 17th century)³⁶. It occurs in a similar iconographic schema in the Rendina Monastery in the Agrapha Mountains (first half of the 18th cent.)³⁷ and in the Hurez Monastery in Romania³⁸. The scenes in the refectory are characterised by a harmony in the drawing and a balanced rendering of the individual elements. While his attention is concentrated on the faces and the naked limbs, with their luminous and rough surfaces, the painter also takes pains to provide a detailed depiction of the garments and objects of everyday use, combining features from the painting tradition of Macedonia and northern Thessaly, as well as elements from the painting in the katholikon of the same monastery and also Western art.

Dousikon Monastery. Katholikon. Narthex of the chapels. Creation of the World. Detail

Католиконът на манастира Дусикон, притвор на параклиса, Сътворението на света, детайл





St. Panteleimon Monastery, Aghia. Katholikon. In Thee Rejoiceth. Detail

Агѝа, католиконтъ на манастира „Св. Пан-телеймон“, „О, тебе, радуется“, детайл



Rendina Monastery. West front of the Katholikon. The Wheel of Life

Манастира Рендина, западна фасада, Колелото на живота



Spiliá Monastery. Katholikon. Virgin Mary Neopalimaya Kupina

Манастирът Спилион, католикон, Богородица Неопалима купина

In the narthex of the chapels of the Katholikon at the **Dousikon Monastery** (1739)³⁹, which was decorated by the painter Constantine, it is possible to observe a relative survival of an artistic tendency in 17th-century Thessalian painting, visible in the Vitoumá Monastery at Kalambaka (1600), which is characterised by extensive use of the colour white⁴⁰. The painter displays an eclecticism in his choice of iconographic types for the different scenes. Most of the iconographic schemata in his depictions are based on Cretan models, in the form they had attained by the 18th century, while certain others, such as the Creation of the World, derive from loans from Western painting⁴¹. There are also allusions to Byzantine models, as well as a depiction of the relatively uncommon scene of the Dormition of Hosios Ephraim the Syrian⁴². The studied combination of bold colours, the use of white and his elaborate portrayal of personal portrait features produce a truly remarkable result⁴³.

During this period the Katholikon of the **Monastery of St. Panteleimon at Aghia** (1721)⁴⁴ was painted by the painter-monk Daniel⁴⁵ from the Peloponnese. The rich iconographic programme includes the Christological cycle, the Life of the Virgin Mary, scenes from the Old Testament, depictions of hymns and martyrdoms of saints.

His work is characterised by an affectation in his choice of expressive means, which is evident in the extremely tall and slender figures and oval-shaped faces, the bold movement and rich drapery. It also stands out for the refinement of the portrait features. These features of Daniel's painting differ from those of the painting in the region's monuments as a whole since his aesthetic views, as manifested in his work, derive from the tradition of Peloponnesian painting⁴⁶. He himself does not appear to have exerted a significant or discernible influence on later painters. However, the mere fact that he worked on such a large monument so far away from his native area shows just how much his aesthetic views were accepted by his patrons.

At the same time, there are a number of works from the first half of the century that exhibit the tendency to return to 14th-century models⁴⁷. These mural ensembles are to be found in the chapels of the Rendina Monastery in the Ag-

rapha Mountains. Both in the **Chapel of the Holy Apostles** and the **Chapel of the Holy Cross**⁴⁸ the tendency towards a revival of Palaeologan models is both pronounced and successful, testifying to the work of experienced painters. In addition, the depiction of didactic themes, such as Kairos⁴⁹, the Wheel of Life⁵⁰ and the Ladder of Divine Ascent⁵¹, has been carried out in a way that accords with the instructions laid down in Dionysios of Fourná's *Hermeneia*⁵². The stylistic and iconographic features of these works suggest that they should be attributed to painters working in Dionysios of Fourná's circle⁵³.

At this time there appeared the first representatives of a group of painters with principally Romanian influences and contacts, whom modern researchers regard as belonging to the 'Aghia Workshop', which was to last for about ninety years⁵⁴. Thus, in the Katholikon of the **Spiliá Monastery** (1736)⁵⁵ worked the painter Theodore, who, in a series of inscriptions mainly on portable icons, stated that he originated from Aghia near Larissa and came from Bucharest. The iconographic programme follows the established pattern for churches of similar architectural design, but exhibits certain peculiarities, the most important of which is the programme in the dome, where the Preparation of the Throne and fifteen pre-schismatic Popes are depicted⁵⁶. This programme does not appear in any post-Byzantine churches in Greece but only in a certain number in Romania⁵⁷, which probably influenced the unknown painter. Moreover, other elements in the decoration, such as the depiction of the Virgin Mary Neopalimaya Kupina⁵⁸, and other features in portable works like the portable icon of the Virgin Mary, lead us to suppose that the painter had direct knowledge of numerous Romanian and, more generally, Slav iconographic themes⁵⁹.

However, particularly after the middle of the century, and with greater frequency, the presence and work of painters from other parts of Greece may be observed. Thus, in 1755 we find the painters Nicholaos and Alexios from Ioannina decorating the small **chapel at the Sparmós Monastery**⁶⁰ on Mt. Olympus. Exponents of a local tradition in the Epirus region⁶¹, they became accepted in the conservative monastic environment of the Thessalian monastery. Their fellow-



Sparmós Monastery. Chapel of St. Charalambos. The Crucifixion.

Манастирът Спармос, параклис, „Св. Хараламби”, Разяятие



Church of the Taxiarchis at Miliés in the Pelion. The Wheel of Life.

Милиес в Пилеон, ц. „Св. Архангели”, Колелото на живота



Monastery of SS Theodore, Rapsani. Katholikon. The Betrayal.

Рапсани, католиконът на манастира на св. Теодоровци, Предателството на Юда

countrymen from Kalarrytes, the brothers Stergios and Ioannis, worked in the **Chapel of Aghioi Pantes** (All Saints) at Kalambaka (1766)⁶². Also, the painters Constantine and Michael from Chioniades in Epirus⁶³ were to work at the **Church of St. George at Oxynieia** (1779)⁶⁴ and in the katholikon of the **monastery at Desi near Trikkala** (1798)⁶⁵. By and large, these painters accepted the influences of Western painting, very often uncritically, creating ensembles that fail to achieve a harmonious fusion of these influences with the Byzantine tradition⁶⁶.

In this different, though stylistically similar, climate we may place the anonymous painters who decorated the **Church of the Great Archangels at Miliés in the Pelion** (1774)⁶⁷. The three-aisled basilica situated in the centre of the village has an extensive iconographic programme which, apart from the Christological and Virgin cycles, includes vita and martyrdoms of saints, scenes from the Old Testament, hymns such as the Ainoi and didactic scenes such as the Wheel of Life. The intensely sweet base colours of the figures, the bold and expressive movements, the rich folds of the garments and the general decorative tendency, elements that derive from Western influences, are combined with iconographic types that come mainly from the Byzantine tradition and display individual Western influences that were understood and consciously accepted by the painters of the basilica. The same climate⁶⁸ is evident in other works too, such as the frescoes in the katholikon of the **Monastery of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul at Rapsani** (1778)⁶⁹ on Mt. Olympus, the work of anonymous painters.

At the same time, the legacy of the work of Dionysios of Fourná can be observed in the work of most of the painters active in the region, although it is most faithfully followed by the painters George Georgiou and George Anagnostou, descendants of his circle, in a series of mural ensembles, such as that in the **Church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary at Farsala** (1786)⁷⁰. Evidence of the tendency to return to 14th-century models is limited in their work and the iconographic types faithfully follow the instructions laid down in Dionysios of Fourná's Hermeneia.

Finally, also of interest is the case of the painter Constantine in the narthex of the katholikon of the **Petra Monastery** (1789)⁷¹. The iconographic and stylistic features of his work reveal a capable painter who was aware of the achievements of painting in Romania. In addition, he was also aware and made use of contemporary engravings, particularly those of Zefarovic, as may be seen in the depiction of the Zoodochos

Pege⁷². Furthermore, the iconographic programme includes one of the two representations of St. John's Apocalypse that exist in Thessaly⁷³.

Most of the monuments in the region, therefore, during the century under examination here, have relatively limited surface areas available for mural decoration. However, a small number of monuments, chiefly katholika, does exist with surface areas large enough to allow painters to lay out extensive iconographic programmes⁷⁴. Yet even in the cases of small churches, it is possible to observe a reduction in the size of the scenes so that as many scenes as possible could be included.

The examination of the decoration of the churches covered by this study has shown that iconographic programmes underwent a coherent development, with each programme being adapted to the architectural limitations of the building it was intended for. The representations are usually placed in thematically autonomous bands and are separated by a purple frame, in accordance with the most conventional practice in post-Byzantine fresco painting. As a general observation, it is possible to recognise an attempt to create a structured iconographic programme based chiefly on the Christological and Virgin cycles, together with an emphasis on the devotion of the Virgin Mary, mainly through depictions of her Life and the Akathistos Hymnos. In addition, the painters usually adapt their programmes to the limitations of each building in a creative way, as, for example, in the katholikon of the Monastery of Kosti (1759), where, for reasons of space, the Annunciation has been omitted and has been replaced by the corresponding scenes in the Akathistos Hymnos⁷⁵. Furthermore, in some churches a certain laxity may be observed in the selection of scenes for the conches of the choirs since the practice of depicting the Transfiguration and the Descent into Hell, which had been almost customary since the 16th century, has not been followed. For example, in the Spiliá Monastery the Aghioi Pantes and the Descent into Hell are depicted, while the Transfiguration and the Massacre of the Innocents are depicted in the Monastery of Kosti and the Crucifixion and the Transfiguration in the Monastery of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul at Rapsani.

Apart from the regular iconographic themes, a certain variety may be observed in the selection of individual themes, which stems both from the desires of the patrons and also the limitations imposed by the size of each church. The most frequent cycles are the Dodekaorton, with an emphasis on the Passion



Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary at Stavros near Farsala. View of the west wall

Ставрос до Фарсала, ц. „Въведение Богородично”, западна стена



Petra Monastery. Narthex of the katholikon. Zoodochos Pege
Манастирът Петра, нартексът на католикона, Живоносен източник

cycle, the vita of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, and the Akathistos Hymnos. In addition, it is possible to observe a constant quest for, and use of, uncommon iconographic themes, which indicates a constant artistic quest for material both from Western art and Slavic Orthodox art. A typical example of this is the depiction of the pre-schismatic Popes of Rome in the bases of the domes of the katholika at the Drosato Monastery (1734) and the Spiliá Monastery (1737) – a feature indicating an anti-papal stance⁷⁶–, the depiction of the Wheel of Life⁷⁷, the Tree of Virtue and Sin⁷⁸ and the Virgin Mary Neopalimaya Kupina and, finally, the depiction of Alexander the Great⁷⁹.

The particularly rich artistic production that Thessaly experienced during the 17th century, coupled with the high standard of the painters of that period, contributed to the creation of both works and workshops that influenced a considerable number of the mural paintings executed in the same region in the 18th century. The examination of the mural decoration of a considerable number of churches in the region has shown that the influence of local 17th-century painters' workshops continued to make itself felt until at least the fifth decade of the 18th century⁸⁰. This continued influence, however, is not evident in all of the churches constructed in the first few decades of the century but is only occasionally present, which indicates not only the increasing discontinuity but also the tendency on the part of patrons to be more selective and the change that occurred in their artistic criteria. Even though

we are ignorant of the names and places of origin of most of these painters, we may assume that they originated, or at least carried out most of their professional activity, in Thessaly, and this is because of the strong influence that earlier mural ensembles in the region obviously had upon them.

Another group of monuments led to a renewal of the local painting tradition through the recall of painters from other areas or the acceptance by local painters of artistic trends that had hitherto been unknown in the region. In addition, in the second half of the century an increase may be observed in the number of painters who serve a local apprenticeship and move about in bands in search of work. In fact, very often these painters decorated the mansions of wealthy clients using secular themes, with the result that they became conversant with the tendencies of contemporary secular painting⁸¹. This led to the parallel use of secular themes and decorative motifs in religious painting, since the observable desire for a narrative form of art is directly connected with the aesthetic views of the patrons, as expressed in the decoration of their homes. The intensely sweet earth underpainting of the figures, the attempt to achieve a realistic rendering of the events depicted and to create a third dimension, the use of Western-style architectural settings and the decorative desire, with its use of baroque, rococo and even Islamic designs, constitute the common characteristics of most painters of the second half of the 18th century, and particularly the latter part. However, it should be noted that there is a lack of works with strong Western iconographic and stylistic influences. This is probably due to a certain 'conservatism'⁸² in the outlook and aesthetic views of the patrons or the painters themselves, which, while leading to renewal and a quest for new

Church of St. George, Lefki. Alexander the Great
Лefки, ц. „Св. Георги”, Александър Велики



elements unknown in Thessalian painting, meant that these things were pursued through a continuation of the Byzantine tradition, as was expressed in the large mural ensembles of the 16th and 17th centuries. Any Western elements that may be found in their works may be regarded as forming an organic part of tradition, within the context of the general aesthetic views of the time.

As for the question of the selection of painters by patrons, despite the lack of written sources, the fact that painters from so many different locations evidently worked in Thessaly during the 18th century indicates not only the strong financial standing but also the existence of certain demands on the part of local patrons, who not only provided local painters with work but also appear to have used certain criteria in selecting them. The good education that some of these patrons had received enabled them to accept new and original iconographic themes or the revival of Palaeologan types, while at the same time they regarded painting as being a means of reacting against Catholic propaganda, as is illustrated by the depiction of pre-schismatic Popes or the detail of the dove beholding God the Father in the scene of the Holy Trinity, though this does not mean that they reacted against the adoption by some painters of Western, chiefly stylistic, elements. In the 18th-century mural decoration of Thessaly's churches, therefore, it is possible to observe a transition in Orthodox art from conservative works, which were iconographically and stylistically based on the Byzantine tradition, as this had been preserved in the 16th and 17th centuries, to the gradual adoption of aesthetic views inspired by Western art, without this meaning that the works lost anything of their Orthodox character.

* This article is based on a paper read at the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia 22–27 August 2011: „Artistic Trends and Aesthetic Approaches in 18th century Monumental Painting in Thessaly (Greece)”, Proceedings – Abstracts of Free Communications, V. III, Sofia, 2011, 386.

Notes:

1 Sivignon, M. La Thessalie. Analyse géographique d'une province Grecque. Lyon, 1975.

2 The Ottoman conquest did not occur all at once but in gradual stages over a period extending from the late 14th c. to the first few decades of the 15th c., Savvides, A. Τα προβλήματα για την Οθωμανική κατάληψη και την εξάπλωση των κατακτητών στο Θεσσαλικό χώρο. – Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο, 28, 1995, 33ff.; Idem. Μία κάτοψη της Τουρκοκρατούμενης Θεσσαλίας και τα προβλήματα της έρευνας. – Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο, 33, 1998, 149ff.

3 For the history of Thessaly from 1454 up until the 16th c. see Beldiceanu, N., P. Nasturel. La Thessalie entre 1454/55 et 1506. – Byzantion, 53, 1983, 104ff. See also Bichta, C., C. Michalakakis. Τα Τρίκαλα του 16^{ου} αιώνα: Μία οικονομικοκοινωνική προσέγγιση με βάση τους κανονισμούς. – Trikalina, 20, 2000, 293ff., with relevant bibliography.

4 For example, at the monasteries of St. Nicholas Anapausas (Sofianos, D., E. Tsigaridas. The Holy Monastery of St. Nikolaos Anapafsas, History – Art. Trikala, 2003, 31ff.), the Great Meteoron (Chatzidakis, M., D. Sofianos. Το Μεγάλο Μετέωρο. Ιστορία και Τέχνη. Αθήνα, 1990, 37ff.; Deriziotis, L. Πρώτη „Επίσκεψις” της αγιογραφίας του 16^{ου} αιώνα εις την Θεσσαλίαν. – Dans: La Thessalie. Quinze années de recherches archéologiques 1975-1990. Bilans et Perspectives. Athènes, 1994, V. 2, 413ff.), Varlaam (katholikon 1548, Lite 1566) (Garidis, M. La peinture murale dans le monde Orthodoxe apres la chute de Byzance (1450-1600) et dans les pays sous domination étrangere. Athenes, 1989, 184-85; Semoglou, A. Le decor mural de la chapelle Athonite de Saint. – Nicolas (1560). Application d'un nouveau langage pictural par le peintre Thebain Frangos Catelanos. (Presses Universitaires de Septentrion) Ville-

neuve d'Ascq, 1999, 129-30 (naos); Chatzouli, G. Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος της Λι τής του Καθολικού της Μονής Βαρλαάμ. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής του 16^{ου} αιώνα. Ioannina, 1998, 55ff. (unpublished doctoral dissertation); Dousikon (1557) (unpublished monument); Roussanou (1561) (Garidis, M. La peinture murale..., 170) and Korona (1587) (Vitaliotis, I. Le vieux catholikon du Monastere Saint Etienne aux Meteores. La premiere phase des peintures murales. Paris, 1998, 413-417 (unpublished doctoral dissertation). See also the churches of St. John the Baptist at Rapsani (1546) (unpublished monument) and St. Nicholas Neos (‘Kerasas’) at Aghia (1587) (unpublished monument).

5 For 17th-century painting in Thessaly see Sambanikou, E. Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του παρεκκλησίου των Τριών Ιεραρχών της Μονής Βαρλαάμ στα Μετέωρα (1637). Trikala, 1997; Vitaliotis, I. Op. cit., 10ff.; Sdrolia, St. Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Πέτρας (1625) και η ζωγραφική των ναών των Αγράφων τον 17^ο αιώνα. Volos, 2012, 27ff. (unpublished doctoral dissertation); Triviza, St. – E. Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος του καθολικού της μονής Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου Βυτουμά Καλαμπάκας (1600). – Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, Πρακτικά. Volos, 2009, 567ff.; Tsimbida, E. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στο Κεφαλόβρυσο Αγίας (1638-9) και η εντοχία ζωγραφική του 17^{ου} αιώνα στην επαρχία Αγίας. Volos, 2011 21ff (unpublished doctoral dissertation).

6 Nimas, Th. Η εκπαίδευση στη δυτική Θεσσαλία κατά την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του Θεσσαλικού Διαφωτισμού. Thessaloniki, 1995.

7 Lawless, R. The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly During Ottoman Rule. – In: Carter F. W. (ed.) A Historical Geography of the Balkans, επιμέλεια έκδοσης. London, 1977, 509ff.

8 For the local economy see Moraros, C. Les échanges en Thessalie la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle jusqu' aux premières decennies du XIXe siècle (1750-1820). – In: La Thessalie. Quinze années de recherches archéologiques, 1975-1990, Bilans et Perspectives, V. 2. Athènes 1994, 461ff.; Petmezas, S. S. Patterns of Protoindustrialization in the ottoman Empire. The Case of Eastern Thessaly, ca. 1750–1860. – The Journal of European Economic History, 19 (1990), 575ff.

9 Kiel, M. Das Türkische Thessalien. Etabliertes Geschichtsbild versus Osmanische Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Entmythologisierung der Geschichte Griechenlands. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, No 212. Göttingen, 1996, 109ff.

10 Antoniadis-Bibikou, E. Ερημωμένα χωριά στην Ελλάδα: ένας προσωρινός απολογισμός. – In: Η Οικονομική δομή των Βαλκανικών χωρών στα χρόνια της Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας (1ε? - 1θ? αι.). ed Sp. Asdrachas. Athens, 1979, 216ff.; Petmezas, S. S. Op. cit., 587.

11 Vacalopoulos, A. La retraite des populations grecques dans les regions eloignees et montagneuses pendant la domination Turque. – Balkan Studies, 4, 1963, 265ff.

12 On the contacts between wealthy Thessalian emigrants and their home towns during the 18th century there is unfortunately a shortage of direct information. One example of such a contact is that between Christos Menexes, a merchant from the Agrapha region living in Thessaloniki, and the Korona Monastery, to whom he donated books (Vacalopoulos, A. Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού (Τουρκοκρατία 1669-1812). – In: Η οικονομική άνοδος και ο φωτισμός του Γένους. V. 4. Thessaloniki, 1973, 501). See also the references in letters by the hieromonach Athanasios, brother of Anastasios Gordios, to the names of wealthy Thessalian emigrants who did a great deal for their home towns (Kolias, J. Αθανάσιος Ιερομόναχος ο εζ Αγράφων (1656-1719). Η επιστολογραφία του. – Mesaionika kai Nea Hellenika, 3, 1990, 15ff.). Also, for emigrants who distinguished themselves in other areas during the 18th century but for whom no information exists in respect of any benefactions they may have made to their home towns see Mamoni, K. Αγραφιώτες στη Φιλιππούπολη. – Mnemosyne, 9 (1982-1984), 171ff.

13 Vacalopoulos, A. La retraite des populations grecques..., 157ff.

14 Monumental painting in 18th-century Thessaly has not been studied in its entirety, except for the Agrapha region (Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρικας (1758) και η μνημειακή ζωγραφική του 18^{ου} αιώνα στην περιοχή των Αγράφων.

- Athens, 2008, 15ff.). The frescoed 18th-century churches of Thessaly have been recorded as part of the post-doctoral research conducted by the present author (Tsiouris, I. Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Post-Byzantine Art, 'Pythagoras II' Research Programme, School of Philosophy, University of Ioannina, 2006-2007).
- 15 Since, on account of their large number, it is impossible to present all of these monuments in the present study, only the most representative of them will be presented.
- 16 For the 'Athonite type' of church see Mamaloukos, St. A Contribution to the Study of the „Athonite. Church Type of Byzantine Architecture”. – *Zograf*, 35, 2011, 39ff., with earlier bibliography.
- 17 Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 36; Karatzoglou, G. Η Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας (Σκλάταινας). – *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την άλωση*, 2 (1982), 139ff.
- 18 Unpublished monument.
- 19 Unpublished monument.
- 20 Giannitsaris, G., N. Vryniotis. Ο ιερός ναός Αγίων Ταξιαρχών Μαρμάθου Αγράφων. – *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την άλωση*, 6 (2002), 57ff.
- 21 Tsiouris I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 48.
- 22 For the architecture of this church see Vryniotis, N., G. Giannitsaris. Ιερός ναός Παναγίας Δομνανών. – *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την άλωση*, 5 (1998), 71ff.
- 23 Unpublished monument.
- 24 Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 25 and 29, respectively.
- 25 Examples of this type are the Church of the Dormition at Rendina (17th c.) (Kanellos, K. Το μοναστήρι και οι εκκλησίες της Ρεντίνας. Athens, 1993, 51ff) and the katholikon of the Monastery of St. Athanasios at Eratyra near Kozani (1797) (Stefanidou-Fotiadou, E. Το καθολικό της Μονής του Αγίου Αθανασίου στην Εράτρυρα (Σέλιτσα). – *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την άλωση*, 2 (1982), 21ff., with an analysis of this architectural type and relevant examples).
- 26 Unpublished monument.
- 27 Unfortunately, we possess no other information about the painter John as his work has not yet been studied. However, according to another founder's inscription, ten years later (1714) he was to collaborate with the painters Stergios and Demos in the Chapel of St. Paraskeve at the Church of St. Panteleimon at Tsaritsani (unpublished monument). In addition, he should be identified with the painter Ioannis who, together with Rizos and Athanasios, decorated the esonarthex of the katholikon of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Meteora in 1692 (unpublished monument).
- 28 The term 'anti-classical' has been used to define a group of ensembles of paintings – chiefly wall-paintings – which diverge from the achievements and traditions of the two dominant schools of the 16th century (the Cretan School and the School of North-Western Greece) and which are influenced mainly by Post-Byzantine art in Macedonia. However, these monuments can not be accurately defined or categorised by the term 'anti-classical' as its use here is premature. On this subject see Chatzidakis, M. Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIV^e siècle. Les recherches sur l' evolution du style. – In: *Actes du XIV^e C.I.E.B.*, Bucarest 6-12 Septembre 1971, Bucarest, 1974, 153; Vitaliotis, I. Op. cit., 397; Sdrolia, St. Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Πέτρας..., 368; Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 316. This tendency continued during the 17th century and may be found in quite a few early 18th-century monuments, such as the Chapel of the Aghioi Anargyroi in the Church of St. George at Tsaritsani near Elassona (1706) (unpublished monument) (Koumoulidis, J., L. Deriziotis. Op. cit., 106), the Church of St. Paraskeve at Vatsouniá (1708) (Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 318) and the Church of St. Paraskeve at Anavra (1710) (unpublished monument).
- 29 For the church's iconographic programme see Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 323ff.
- 30 In monumental painting it appears in the 13th century in the narthex of the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Veliko Tirmovo and at Gračanica (1322) (Mijović, P. Menologe. Recherches iconographiques. Institute Archeologique, Monographies n° 10. Beograd, 1973, 396ff.).
- 31 Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 327.
- 32 For the painter Ioannis and the painting in the katholikon of the Rendina monastery see Sdrolia, St. Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Πέτρας..., 375ff.
- 33 Tsiouris, I. Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος της Τράπεζας της Ιεράς Μονής Δουσίκου Τρικάλων (1727). – *Trikalina* 27 (2007), 347ff.
- 34 This scene constitutes an iconographic unicum as, according to the research to date, it does not occur in any other mural painting in Greece. For its iconography see Tsiouris, I. Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος της Τράπεζας..., 354, with relevant bibliography.
- 35 For this scene see Seebohm, A. The Crucified Monk. – *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996), 61ff.
- 36 Ibidem, 92, pl. 24. The engraving resembles a description of the theme given in the Painter's Manual by Dionysios of Fourná (Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά. Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης, Α? έκδοση υπό Παπαδοπούλου Κεραμέως Α. Αθήνα, 1909, επανέκδοση Εκδόσεων Σπανού, 209-11).
- 37 Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 351, fig. 356.
- 38 Seebohm, A. Op. cit., pl. 26.
- 39 Unpublished monument.
- 40 For the painting at the Vitoumá Monastery see Τριβυζά, Ε.Σ. Ο Τοιχογραφικός Διάκοσμος του καθολικού της μονής Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου Βυτουμά Καλαμπάκας (1600). – In: *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας*, 2, 2006, 567-583.
- 41 See a similar representation in the work of the painter Theodoros Poulakis (Rigoroulos, I. Φλαμανδικές επιδράσεις στη μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική. Vol. 2, Athens, 2006, 167ff.).
- 42 For this scene see Martin, J. The Death of Efraim in Byzantine and Early Italian Painting. – *The Art Bulletin*, 33, 1951, 217ff.; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou, E. Παραστάσεις Κοιμήσεως Οσίων και Ασκητών 14ου και 15ου αιώνα. – *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 42, 1987, Μέρος Α? - Μελέτες, 1994, 99ff.; Acheimastou-Potamianou, M. Η Κοίμηση του οσίου Εφραίμ του Σύρου σε μια πρόωμη Κρητική εικόνα του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών. – In: *ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΝ. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη. Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου αρ. 46, V. 1. Athens, 1991, 41ff.*
- 43 Similar features may be seen in the Church of the Dormition at Petrochori, which was also decorated by Constantine (Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 329).
- 44 The katholikon is of the Athonite type and was built in the 16th century. Its wall-paintings, however, which have not yet been studied, date from 1721. For the architecture and iconographic programme of the katholikon see Koumoulidis, J., C. Walter. *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments at Aghia in Thessaly, Greece: The Art and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon*. London, 1975, 17f.
- 45 For the painter Daniel see Chatzidakis, M. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1453-1830). V. I. Athens, 1987, 207; Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 376. To the same painter may be attributed the mural decoration in the Church of Christ at Aghia (Koumoulidis, J., L. Deriziotis. *Churches of Aghia in Larisa*. Athens, 1985, 129, pl. 1).
- 46 Garidis, M. La peinture murale..., 258ff.; Chatzidakis, M. Classicisme et tendances..., 82ff.; Proestaki, X. Η παλαιά μονή των Ταξιαρχών στο Στεφάνι Κορινθίας. – In: *Ανταπόδοση. Μελέτες Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής αρχαιολογίας και τέχνης προς τιμήν της καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δεληγιάννη – Δωρή*. Athens, 2010, 393ff. with relevant bibliography.
- 47 On this tendency see Xyngoropoulos, A. Σχεδιάσμα ιστορίας της θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής μετά την Άλωση. Αθήνα, 1957, 305-10; Tsigaridas, E. Οι τοιχογραφίες του ναού της Νέας Παναγίας Θεσσαλονίκης και το κίνημα επιστροφής του 18^{ου} αιώνα στην παράδοση της τέχνης της „Μακεδονικής Σχολής”. – *ΣΤ? Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο „Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη. Οθωμανική περίοδος 1430-1912”*. Thessaloniki, 1994, 315ff.
- 48 Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας..., 346ff.
- 49 Antonopoulos, E. Καιρός και Βίος: Η χριστιανική επιλογή ανάμεσα στην ευκαιρία και τη σωτηρία. – *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής*

Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, 49-50, 1994-1995, Μέρος Α? – Μελέτες, 247ff., pl. 62β.

50 Antonopoulos, E. Τροχόν κυλίσματα: Ηλικίες του ανθρώπου. – In: ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ στον Καθηγητή Μίλτο Γαρίδη (1926-1996). Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, Τομέας Αρχαιολογίας, v. Α?. Ioannina, 2003, 17ff.

51 For the iconography of St. John's Ladder of Divine Ascent see Martin, J. The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus. Princeton, 1954, which contains examples mainly from the Byzantine era.

52 Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά... , 209ff.

53 For Dionysios of Fournas see Kakavas, G. Dionysios of Fournas. Artistic Creation and Literary Description. Leiden, 2008, 61ff.

54 For the Aghia Workshop see Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας... , 299.

55 Ibidem, 366.

56 Ibidem, 67, fig. 387.

57 Cf. the representations in the monasteries of Cepturoaia (1529), Gura – Motrului (1653/1832), Surpatele (1701) and Govora (1711) (Stefanescu, I. La Peinture religieuse en Valachie et Transylvanie. Depuis les origines jusqu' au XIX siecle. Album. Paris, 1930; Texte. Paris, 1932, pls. 30, 86.1, 63 and 33.2, respectively).

58 Onasch, K., A. Schnieper. Ikonen Fuszination und Wirklichkeit. Freiburg, 1995, 174-175.

59 To the 'Aghia Workshop' also belongs the painter Theodore who painted the katholikon of the Drakotrypa Monastery (1758) (Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας... , 53ff.). His work displays both an eclecticism and a high level of training in his selection and rendering of iconographic themes.

60 Unpublished monument.

61 For 18th-century painting in Epirus see, for example, Konstantios, D. Προσέγγιση στο έργο των ζωγράφων από το Καπέσοβο της Ηπείρου. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής στην Ήπειρο τον 18^ο και το α' μισό του 19^{ου} αιώνα. Αθήνα, 2001, 26ff.; Idem. Χορηγία και Τέχνη στην Ήπειρο την περίοδο της ύστερης Τουρκοκρατίας. – Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 20 (1998), 409-416.

62 Unpublished monument.

63 On the Chioniades painters see Makris, C. Χιονιάδες ζωγράφοι, 65 λαϊκοί ζωγράφοι από το χωριό Χιονιάδες της Ηπείρου. Athens, 1981.

64 Unpublished monument.

65 Unpublished monument.

66 Cf. similar features in the painting in the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary at Rizoma near Trikala (1763) (unpublished monument) and the Church of St. Demetrius at Platanos, also near Trikala (1765) (Trivnyza, E. Παρατηρήσεις στον τοιχογραφικό διάκοσμο του ιερού ναού Αγίου Δημητρίου στον Πλάτανο Τρικάλων (1765). – Trikalina 27 (2007), 321ff.).

67 Unpublished monument.

68 Cf. the stylistically similar painting in the narthex of the katholikon of the Monastery of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel at Arbanassi (1760) (Tsiouris, I. The Illustration of the Akathistos Hymnos on the Narthex Walls of the Catholicon of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel Monastery in Arbanassi, Bulgaria (1760). – In: Liuben Praschkov –restavator i izkustvoved. Materiali ot nauch-

nata konferencia, posvetena na 70-godishninata na prof. dr Liuben Praschkov, 14-15.12. 2001. Sofia, 2006, 145ff.).

69 Unpublished monument.

70 Unpublished monument. The painters' work has not been fully studied. The same individuals also painted the katholikon of the Proussos Monastery (1785), the Church of the Panaghia at Stavros near Farsala (1786), the katholika of the Domiana Monastery and the Monastery of the Prophet Elijah at Aghia Triada in the Municipality of Ktimenion (late 18th cent.), and the Church of the Archangel Michael at Marathos (1791) (on the church's architecture see Giannitsaris, G., N. Vryniotis. Ο ιερός ναός Αγίων Ταξιάρχων... , 57ff.). For the work of these two painters see Chatzidakis, M. Έλληνες ζωγράφοι... , 163; Paliouras, A. Το Μοναστήρι της Παναγίας στον Προυσό. Athens, 1997, 63ff.; Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας... , 360ff.

71 The katholikon of the Petra Monastery was painted in 1664 (Sdrolia, St. Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Πέτρας... , 87ff.). For the narthex see Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας... , 353.

72 Davidof, D. Srpska grafika XVIII veka. Novi Sad, 1978, 265, pls. 47-49; Thierry, N. Sur une icone inedite de la Vierge Source de Vie. – Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 22 (2001), 333ff.

73 According to the research so far, the only post-Byzantine representations of the Apocalypse in Thessaly are to be found in the katholikon of the Spiliá Monastery (1737) in the Agrapha Mountains and the katholikon of the Petra Monastery (Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας... , 369 and 354ff., respectively).

74 For example, the churches of St. Panteleimon at Tsaritsani and St. George and St. Nicholas at Rendina, the katholika of the Drakotrypa, Domiana, Paou and Spiliá monasteries, and the Church of the Archangel Michael at Marathos.

75 Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας... , 103.

76 On this subject see Ibidem, 66.

77 Antonopoulos, E. Τροχόν κυλίσματα... , 17ff.

78 Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της Τράπεζας... , 354.

79 For the depiction of Alexander the Great in monumental painting see Tsiouris, I. Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας... , 309, with relevant bibliography. Cf. an identical representation in the Church of St. George at Kastrí near Aghia (2nd half of the 18th cent. – unpublished monument).

80 For the local 17th-century painters' workshops see above, fn. 5. 81 For the subject of contemporary secular painting see Garidis, M. Διακοσμητική ζωγραφική. Βαλκάνια – Μικρασία, 18^ο – 19^ο αιώνας, Μπαρόκ και Ροκοκό, Ανατολίτικη και Βυζαντινή κληρονομιά. Athens 1996, 17ff.

82 By the term 'conservatism' in this particular case we are referring more to the attempt to continue the Byzantine tradition, as expressed in the work of Dionysios of Fournas, than to the sterile rejection of any imported element in art. On this subject see Triantafyllopoulos, D. "Πρόοδος" και "Συντήρηση" στο πεδίο της εκκλησιαστικής και θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής. Η περίπτωση του 18^{ου} αιώνα, Ίδρυμα Γουλανδρή – Χόρν: Όψεις της Βυζαντινής Κοινωνίας αρ. 13, Αθήνα 1993, 25ff.

SUMMARIES

LITURGICAL PLANNING: WHERE AND HOW THE FAITHFUL PRESENT THEIR OFFERINGS

Stanislav Stanev

The article deals with the issue of where and how the fifth and sixth century congregations presented their offerings. The observations of Th. Mathews on *Ordo Romanus Primus* have been drawn and his reconstruction of the presentation of offerings in the early Roman churches has been adopted: it was during the mass when the faithful handed over their offerings in the *senatorium* and the *matroneum* (fig. 3). Two churches in Greece are regarded in the light of the early Roman liturgical planning: *the basilica of Lechaion* in Corinth and the *Basilica B* in Nikoipolis (fig. 2). Comparatively, the information of *Codex Barberini Gr: 336* has been considered as well as what is known about the skeuophylakia of the churches in Constantinople. The outcome of the latest archaeological explorations of Hagia Sophia provides wider opportunities for exploring the function of the skeuophylakion. Coloured slabs as those inlaid in church floor (fig. 8), mark a π -shaped enclosed space (fig. 6). It signifies the areas of access for the congregation, coming into the skeuophylakion to hand over their offering to the deacons. The opportunities for physical enactment of passing and receiving the offerings as well as writing down the names in the liturgical diptych are discussed. Both the archaeological data about the functioning of the skeuophylakion of St. Eirene church (fig. 5), as well as the reconstruction after written sources of the skeuophylakion of Blachernae church, which according to C. Mango was in the southern part of the transept (fig. 8), are thoroughly examined. The chamber in the north-eastern corner of a church nearby the city of Sliven, studied in 1960–1961 (fig. 1) and groundlessly declared a baptistery, is being considered. It is argued that it has been used as a skeuophylakion.

UNKNOWN MEDIEVAL MURAL FRAGMENTS FROM ANCHIALUS

Alexandra Trifonova

During digs (2012) at the medieval necropolis in Palaiokastro (Παλιόκαστρο)

locality of the ancient city of Anchialus (Αγκιάλος, now Pomorie), led by archaeologist M. Daskalov, a number of fragments of wall paintings were unearthed, which were later handed over to the Museum of History of Pomorie for keeping. The murals happened to get into the necropolis as a result of the demolition of a nearby church, remaining undiscovered for the time being, where those were laid as a token of deep respect.

The condition of the fragments of the wall paintings, which consist of two painting layers, is poor, as they have been broken into many small pieces. The first layer (of the late tenth or the early eleventh century) dates to the days of Bulgarian domination over the region and includes fragments of a female face, most probably the Most Holy Mother of God, a foot and two decorative elements. The second layer (of the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century) is of the Byzantine period and includes an image of a saint, hands put together for prayer, as well as a number of Greek letters from various inscriptions. In both cases we are talking about accomplished icon-painters, who were supposedly assigned right from the capital of Byzantium, Constantinople or who have at least been taught and have honed their skills at Constantinopolitan art workshops. It is most natural, given the specific geographical location of Anchialus: its location at the seaside and proximity to Constantinople, as well as the fact that the Ecumenical Patriarch in the end-twelfth century was born in Anchialus, which undoubtedly made it easy to enhance the relations with the Byzantine capital.

TECHNIQUE AND TECHNOLOGY OF THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MURALS AT THE CHURCH OF STS PETER AND PAUL, THE ORLITSA METOCHION

Milan Mikhailovich

The Orlitsa metochion with the Church of Sts Peter and Paul is 18 km to the west of the Monastery of Rila. The murals in the church are among the just a few extent ensembles of the late fifteenth century. Their dating is suggested by an inscription over the entrance

in the west wall of the naos, which tells that the painting was done in 1491. Of the medieval paintings, only eight scenes have been entirely preserved. Some of the researchers attribute these murals to the group of works by the icon-painters from Kratovo.

The publication presents the results of the study of the end-fifteenth-century wall paintings conducted for the time being. All the constituent elements – ground, plaster and painted layer – were analysed for the purposes of the research. A number of physico-chemical tests were conducted to establish the structure, the chemical composition and the stratigraphy of the wall paintings under consideration. The plaster is of lime with a lot of fibre filler (straw), applied in one layer. The medieval icon-painter has strictly observed the traditional stages in the work with tempera technique. The painting shows significant thickness and coverage. The underpainting ground of the flesh areas were applied (proplasma), then came the development of the forms (glykasmos) through making them lighter or darker and applying the highlights to paste. Following the tests conducted, the palette of pigments used was also established. Those were typical of the medieval icon-painters. Some of them have been applied on the wall in their pure form and others have been mixed to obtain richer shades.

ХУДОЖЕСТВЕНИ ТЕНДЕНЦИИ И ЕСТЕТИЧЕСКИ ПОДХОДИ В МОНУМЕНТАЛНАТА ЖИВОПИС НА XVIII ВЕК. ОСОБЕНОСТИ В ТЕСАЛИЯ

Йоанис Циурис

Тесалия е обширен район в централна Гърция с множество планински и равнинни местности. През XVIII в. жителите ѝ се занимават предимно със земеделие, животновъдство и търговия и благодарение както на търговията, така и на емиграцията, поддържат връзки с Истанбул, с Дунавските княжества и с Централна Европа. Като се започне с най-ранния стенописен паметник от този период – църквата „Св. Пантелеймон“ в с. Царицани от 1704 г. и се стигне до най-късния – главната църква в ма-

настира „Преображение Господне“ в с. Агия от 1797 г., до нас от този регион са достигнали множество стенописни ансамбли в различни паметници – от енорийски църкви до манастирски католиконии.

Главно през първата половина на века повечето майстори на стенописи следват горе-долу дословно традицията, в която са били обучавани, без да се влияят особено от художествени тенденции, чужди на местната традиция, макар да я обогатяват с доста индивидуални иконографски и стилистични черти. Още през четвъртото десетилетие на века обаче, започва възраждане на местната живописна традиция, като или биват наемани иконописци от други места, или тесалийските майстори възприемат тенденции, непознати дотогава в този район. По онова време повечето стенописци са от Епир, Аграфа и Агия край Лариса (Агийското ателие) и в творбите им се усеща иконографското влияние на критската школа и на школата на Северозападна Гърция, както и познание на гравюрите. Същност при някои от тях, като живописците от Агийското ателие и Константин от манастира Петра (1784), се долавя влиянието на творби от целите Балкани. Освен това у мнозина от тях се усеща и въздействието на Дионисий от Фурна, най-вече у Георгиос Георгиу и Георгиос Анагносту (втората половина на XVIII в.).

Присъствието на такова множество стенописци с различна художествена подготовка води до създаване на редица произведения, които до голяма степен са показателни за основните тенденции, възникнали в православната стенна живопис през същия период. Трябва да се отбележи обаче липсата на творби с изразно западно влияние както в иконографско, така и в стилистично отношение. Изборът им вероятно е бил съзнателен и води до възраждане и търсене на характерни особености, нови за живописца по онова време, но възникнали благодарение на приемствеността във византийската традиция и намерили израз в големите стенописни ансамбли от XVI и XVII в. Освен това всички западни елементи, които могат да се проследят в творбите им, би трябвало да се смятат за органична част от традицията и за присъщи на основните естетически концепции на епохата.

Следователно в стенописната украса от XVIII в. в тесалийските църкви е

възможно да се проследи преход на православното изкуство от консервативни творби, които в иконографско и стилистично отношение се основават на византийската традиция във вида ѝ, запазен през XVI и XVII в., към постепенно усвояване на естетически схващания, вдъхновени от западното изкуство, без това да означава, че тези творби са изгубили православната си същност.

THE CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS IN THE VILLAGE OF DOLEN, GOTSE DELCHEV REGION

Vladimir Dimitrov

The Church of St Nicholas in the village of Dolen, the region of Gotse Delchev, was completed in 1837. On several representations, the years of painting, 1887/88 are inscribed alongside names of donators.

The entire interior of the church is painted. The most interesting in the wall-painting programme is the selection of saints, divided into two major groups: warrior saints and female saints. A representation of St Mamante is among the particularities of the murals as the saint is depicted as a warrior rather than as a shepherd, which is quite unusual iconographically. The iconographic programme includes also traditional to Bulgarian monumental painting of the period of the National Revival images of Sts Cyril and Methodius. In additional compartment, the images of some of the most venerated in the Balkans saints are painted: St Modestus, St Spyridon and St Stylianus. The group of the warriors includes St George, St Demetrius, St Procopius, St Theodore Tyro, St Minas, St Eustatius, St Tryphon. Of the female martyr saints, St Catherine, St Nedelia and St Petka are represented and Michael the Archangel is by the side entrance to the church. Like in the churches in the villages of Teshevo, Zlatolist and Beliovo, *The Last Judgement* was painted here by the same icon-painters.

The iconostasis of the Church of St Nicholas in the village of Dolen has three sections adorned with predominantly floral patterns. Some of the tableaux beneath the sovereign tier are occupied by scenes from *The Hexameron*. The door to the diaconicon features *The Victims of Cain and Abel*, while the door to the prothesis is occupied by the scene of Archangel Michael wrestling the rich man's soul.

The best part of the icons were either

lost or moved from their initial places; part of the extant icons in the sovereign tier as well as the small icons are by the same icon-painter, who failed to sign them. There has been an icon of Jesus by Sergy Georgiev in the church, but it is now lost.

Though showing some differences compared with the murals of other churches by the same group of icon-painters, judging by the reoccurring subject matters and saints in the programme of this church, I'd reaffirm the assumption made in the book on the brothers icon-painters Minovs that this monument has been painted by the brothers Marco and Theophil and they could have teamed up with their uncle Milos Yakovlev and one of the latter's sons.

ANTIMODERNITY, TOURISM AND SOUVENIR IMAGES: DIMITAR DOBROVICH

Angel V. Angelov

The author analyzes the relationship between tourism and visual images that functioned as souvenirs in Rome in 1840-1870's. The souvenir images informed a collective idea of the social life in Rome which could be called „tourist imaginary.”

Souvenir images corresponded to the official antimodern policy of the Papal State. Production and dissemination of visual images in the middle of the nineteenth century was part of a network linking the technical resources, infrastructure, people, attitudes, services, capitals, legislation, increased security (including elimination of robbery), and fixing the time zones in Europe.

The author argues that the works of then living in Rome painter Dimitar Dobrovich was part of a huge production of exotic images nourishing the touristic imaginary. Dobrovich's paintings present peasants and labour activities untouched by modern social changes. Poverty, toil, malaria are excluded from the „frame.” The result is ahistorical idealization.

Modernity, rightly, has been defined through the images of the cities and industrialized nature in the 19 c. But modernity also includes its opposite. Rome in the late eighteenth century to the 1870s presents exemplary the antimodernity. The antimodern images in the 19 c. were possible because of the existing of modern forms of life. Idealized, ahistorical images of people's lives (harmony with nature, „para-

dise" spots, carefree human being, and unchanged forms of life) were elements of this antimodern ideology that was artistic, political, social, economic, religious, and philosophical.

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE: TRANSMISSION AS REDUCTION OF OBLIVION. ONE MORE THING ABOUT IDENTIFICATION

Mila Santova

Cultural reproduction in the area of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) would not, as a rule, take place where (especially if addressing those forms of culture, defined as „traditional“), knowledge and skills are not been transferred from man to man mostly through diachronic forms of getting the information across. This sets the special value of transmission with the ICH – a heritage, which exists, as a rule, in uncodified forms and is unthinkable without the living man's active presence.

An analyses of the provisions of a fundamental international document, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 shows that: the notion of transmission as training is an integral part of the preservation and in this respect with the safeguarding of the ICH; the document focuses on the transmission within communities and groups, that are specific subjects of the ICH, especially safeguarded under the Convention; essential

is the diachronic transmission of information to the major subjects of protection under the Convention.

Theoretically, the problems related to the transmission refer to the major topic of memory. Transmission is defined as „transmitted memory“, knowledge of culture. The notion of collective memory is involved in this process, seen as inherent to the collective subject, as a collectively conditioned framework. But then, collective memory interpreted as cultural memory is applicable to the insight into traditional oral cultures. The transmission/memory issue brings to the fore the problem of oblivion. „Cultural oblivion“ reduces the information, sorting out or rather filtering it. Images are being constructed in the process of reduction. These images underlie identification.

From the thus outlined point of view, two quite different fieldwork examples are addressed, originating from different European cultures and relating to the transmission issue in different ways.

**ARTMANDU '2012:
EARTH | BODY | MIND**
Andronika Martonova

The second edition of Artmandu (or KIAF – Kathmandu International Art Festival, 25 November – 21 December 2012, Kathmandu, Nepal) was themed Earth | Body | Mind. The event focused on the connection between environment and arts. How do artworks

treat the global as well as human ecosystems, climate change and the ozone hole and respond sensitively? Curators from Asia and Europe selected 90 artworks from 35 countries by 101 artists (painters, sculptures, photographers, illustrators, working in the fields of video installations, live performances, digital and plastic arts, etc.). The sole Bulgarian entrant was *Biotope* by artist Slav Nedev (an auteur project of an installation in urban environment) and an auteur video titled *After* by Andronika Martonova and Radostina Neikova, Screen Arts Department, Institute of Art Studies, BAS screened within the three-day Art Symposium held on the sidelines of the festival.

KIAF seeks to become an Asian centre of eco-arts and of the concepts of connective aesthetics. Nepal is a bridge of a kind connecting Tibet to India. It boasts a plenitude of sites of religious art, facing the challenge of rethinking, preserving and promotion of its cultural heritage. Nepalese artists are quite interesting, ingenious and innovative in the context of contemporary art, blending the traditional iconography with modern Western trends, topics, images and even with Pop Art. They, however, find it difficult to display their artworks both at home and abroad. Artists are vital to Nepal, because under a Maoist government, hostile to freedom of media and speech, they struggle to resist and democratise the society.