

THE PAINTING THROUGHOUT THE 13TH CENTURY
IN SAINT STEFANOS OF KASTORIA

The 13th century in the region of Kastoria represents the most interesting era for the observation of the development of the Byzantine art. The devastating conquest of Konstantinoupolis by the Latins in 1204, deprived the region from the basic instructive and artistic centre and, therefore, the art itself lost its unitary character. The artistic expression, which always presented monolithic reports to the capital, should have searched to find ways to survive. However, was painting tradition, on its verge from the 12th until the 13th century, able to create the preconditions for the continuation of older achievements under particular conditions? Could the political void of the Byzantine imperial provision be covered? The research of historical sources for the particular era did not reveal many interesting elements for the political situation mainly. Kastoria was not conquered by Latins, but it was subjected under the jurisdiction of Despotatos of Ipeiros for most of the time elapsing until the battle of Pelagonia in 1259. There were, however, also periods during which it was imposed to transitory disturbances by Bulgarian raids, which after 1230¹ led to their few-month occupancy of the city². The dominant though presence of the despots of Ipeiros determined the political developments in the region. What is considered precious is the contribution of the Archiepiscopate of Achrida, which continued having its jurisdiction on an enormous region from Raskia of Serbia to the northern up to Grevena to the south. From 1207 until 1218, 15 provinces belonged to the Archiepiscopate of Achrida including the episcopate of Kastoria³ as first-throned. From 1223 and on, the provinces of Veroia and Servia⁴ were also added in this list. The role of the Archbishop, which was held by Dimitrios Homatianos from 1216 until 1234, was equally important. The width of his intellectual training as well as his ability to resolve difficult and complicat-

¹ В.Н. Златарски, *История на Българияската държава*, III, София 1940, 339-340

² *Akropolitis*, 41-42

³ I. Snegarov, *Istorija na Ohridskata Arhiepiskopija*, t. 1, Sofija 1995, 13

⁴ Pitra VII, 461: „αι μην και οτι μετα παρέλευσιν της λατινικής εξουσίας δέκα πλέον ρυέντων ενιαυτώ νκαι εξουσιαζόντων του τε βεβασιλευκότος κυρού Θεοδώρου του Δούκα και του αυταδέλφου αυτού του κρατίστου δεσπότη κυρού Μανουήλ, εν τω δεκάτω έτει την παρούσαν αγωγήν η Σχλικίνα“

ed problems is revealed through the correspondence which included ecclesiastical fathers such as the Metropolitane of Nafpaktos Ioannis Apokafkos⁵. The Metropolitane of Kastoria Konstantinos also belonged to the important group of church representatives who up to the fall of Konstantinoupolis held important positions for the patriarchate. This conclusion arises through the study of the correspondence of the bishop of Kastoria Konstantinos⁶ who was also first-throned with Ioannis Apokafkos, Metropolitane of Nafpaktos⁷. What was a major advantage as well as a favourable concurrence was the common education and service of these two persons in Konstantinoupolis. Georgios Vardanis, a leading executive of the Metropolis of Athens at the era of Michael Akominatis and later a bishop in Corfu, had also been selected in an adjacent bishopric, namely that of Grevena, up to 1220 in order to serve its throne as a Hartophylax (paperkeeper). The difficult conditions which prevailed in the regions occupied by Latins, especially in the capital, prompted many prominent intellectuals to search a suitable region where they could continue their intellectual work. The artists, in particular, could not bear the abominable behaviour of crusaders and they chose the road to immigration to countries such as Serbia and Italy or in regions belonging to the sphere of Latin influence, such as Nikaia and the Despotato in Ipeiros. Therefore, from the beginning of the 13th century and on, one may observe a tendency of returning to the values of Ancient Greek Literature and Art, which was most apparent through the maintenance of scholarly language. The high educational level of these people allowed them to handle difficult theological subjects, which required accurate and inspired answers. The participation of Kastoria's bishop in such a society of scholars was very significant for the prestige of the first-throned. This was evidently illustrated at a local synod held by Theodoros Doukas in the Achrida with the presence of Dimitrios Homatianos, in order to examine a most serious issue concerning some not regular bishops⁸. In this synod they decided the removal of bishops and their replacement by Greek ones, after the presentation of the documented views held by Kastoria's bishop⁹. Dimitrios Homatianos did not hesitate to address salutations to Kastoria's bishop for his polite and precious offer, as a fighter for justice and a person that graced by Wisdom. As for the cultivation of Dimitrios Homatianos, many conclusions are also drawn by the distichous inscription written on the seal of the Archiepiscopate "*Σωτηρίου πλήσον με χαράς, Παρθένε, Δημήτριον γης Βουλγάρων αρχιθύτην*¹⁰". An intellectual directorial

⁵ N. B. Τωμαδάκης, *Οι λόγιοι του δεσποτάτου της Ηπείρου, Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος, μητροπολίτης Ναυπάκτου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1993, 21-58.

⁶ Α. Παπαδόπουλος – Κεραμεύς, *Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της Αρχιεπισκοπής Αχρίδος*, Πετρούπολη 1905, 23-24.

⁷ Ε. Δρακοπούλου – Μ. Λουκάκη, *Ανέκδοτη επιστολή του Γρηγορίου Αντιόχου προς τον επίσκοπο Καστορίας στα τέλη του 12^{ου} αιώνα, Παρατηρήσεις στην εκκλησιαστική ιστορία της πόλης*, Βυζαντιακά 9 (1989), 134-135.

⁸ Ε. Δρακοπούλου, *Η πόλη της Καστορίας τη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εποχή (12^{ος} – 16^{ος} αιώ.)* ΧΑΕ, Αθήνα 1997, 67.

⁹ J.P. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra et Classica VI, Juris Ecclesiastici Graecorum Demetrius Chomatianus*, Ρώμη 1891, 85, 379.

¹⁰ Α. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Συμβολή*, 6

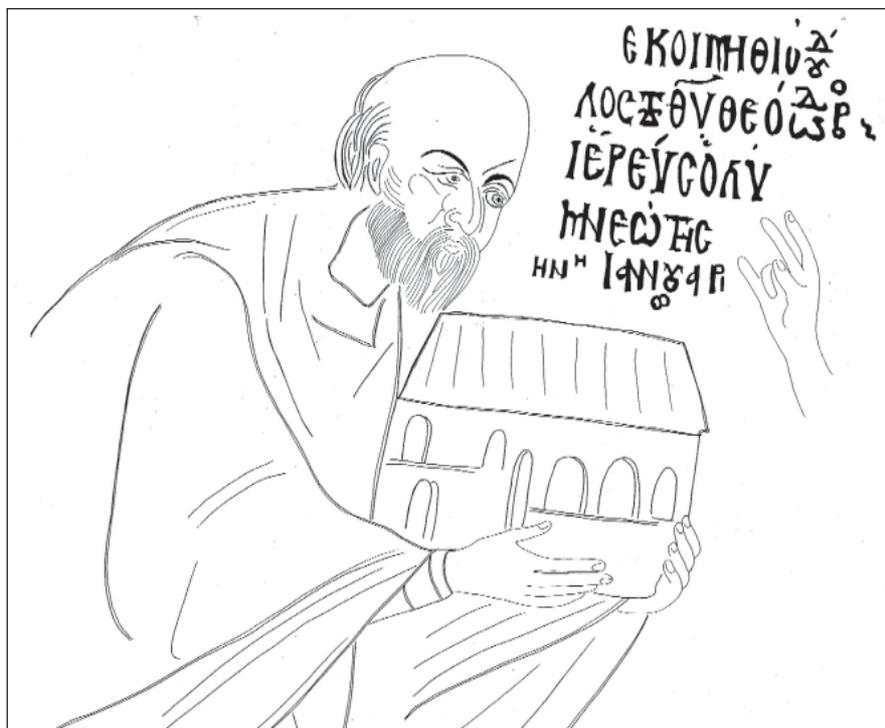


Fig. 1. Теодор Лимнеотис, Theodoros Lymneotis – ktitor (цртеж на крају текста)

was therefore operating during the era of Theodoros Doukas up to 1230 headed by Apokafkos, who at the same time played both a political role and the role of an archbishop. Under the responsibility of these intellectuals, regions such as Kastoria continued the rich tradition.

The artistic image of Kastoria after the golden era of the second half of the 12th century, with important painting totalities such as Saint Nikolaos of Kasnizti¹¹ and Saint Anargyroi¹², as it was depicted in the first decades of the 13th century, continues sharing similar characteristics. The painting creation in the city does not cease and it is based on the benign sponsoring of prominent families that played an instrumental role in the past, such as the family of Limniotes. A few decades after the sponsoring regarding the decoration of the adjacent Saints Anargyroi by Theodoros Limniotis (fig. 1) of the well-known family, during the second decade of the 13th century, another member with the same name appears, whose grave exists on the spot that his portrait is depicted, in the north-western corner of the temple. The decoration of the skylight in Saint

¹¹ T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria, Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnizti*, Upsala 1979

¹² L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo, Les fresques de Saint Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIII^e siecle*, Bruxelles 1975

Stefanos, seems to be a sponsorship of this Theodoros Limniotis¹³, a priest according to the inscription, who is holding a model of the of church offering it to Saint Stefanos who, in his turn, blesses him. Some older researchers¹⁴ do not agree with conclusion to integrate the representation in the same season as the murals on the skylight¹⁵, dating the particular representation back to late 13th century. The stylistic analysis, however, which is based on the way the face is created, leads us to a cross-correlation with the painting of the skylight. The latest researches and the complete maintenance of the painting decor of three important temples, namely Saint Dimitrios Eleousis¹⁶, Saint Stefanos and Panagia Koumpelidiki (these have painting from the first half of the 13th century), may lead us to reviewing the position of older researchers regarding the existence of a provincial centre of Kastoria in Byzantine art¹⁷ with primitive elements. The quality of the works commissioned and the selection of iconographic programs are the best testimonies to estimate the continuation of the previous powerful tradition. The painting in the catholic abbey of Panagia Mauriotissa¹⁸ and a part of the decoration of Saint Stefanos¹⁹, exhibit the parallel coexistence of two different tendencies in the artistic environment of the city. The more conservative one continues operating in the traces of a tested post Komninan style with deliberate deformities, simplicity in presenting and a dramatic character and the other which is included in a new movement ready to express monumentality and plasticity. We acknowledge, though, through these conclusions that an artistic centre with specific characteristics is being established this period in Kastoria. This becomes apparent through the procedure receiving tradition and through the treatment of old Byzantine solutions, which led to new plastic shapes. It is the intermediary stage during which the high art of Koumpelidiki²⁰ is carried, which will be presented later.

The search for novel iconographic solutions in the scenes of the Annunciation and of the Hypapante becomes perceptible in the decoration of the temple of Saint Alypios²¹, where in a stylistic point of view one may observe a particular dedication to the old values of Komninan art. Some special details in the iconography of Virgin Mary Mayriotissa and Saint Alypios, like that of the dialogue between archangel Gabriel and Virgin Mary in the scene

¹³ E. Kyriakoudis, *Monumental painting in Kastoria in the last decades of the thirteenth century and the frescoes at Arilje*, Sveti Ahilije u Arilju, istorija umetnost, Zbornik Radova Sa Naučnog Skupa, (1996), 87-90.

¹⁴ Δρακοπούλου, 88

¹⁵ T. Velmans, *Le portrait dans l'art des Paleologues*, Art et Societe a Byzance sous les Paleologues, Venise 1971, 130.

¹⁶ I. Sisiou, *The painting of the 13th century in the temple of Saint Dimitrios in Kastoria*, Niš i Vizantija, Zbornik Radova IV, Niš 2006, 265-280, Kyriakoudis, *Monumental*, 84-85.

¹⁷ В. Лазарев, *Историја Византијског Сликарства*, Београд 2004, 133

¹⁸ Στ. Πελεκανίδης- Μ. Χατζηδάκης, *Καστοριά*, Αθήνα 1984, 81.

¹⁹ Στ. Πελεκανίδης – Μ. Χατζηδάκης, 19

²⁰ For the painting in Kumbelidiki see Μαυροπούλου – Τσιούμη, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13^{ου} αιώνα στην Κουμπελίδικη της Καστοριάς*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1973.

²¹ E. Tsigaridas, *La peinture a Kastoria et en Macedoine grecque occidentale vers l'anne 1200*, Studenica et l'art Byzantin autour de l'anne 1200, Beograd 1988, 309- 313.

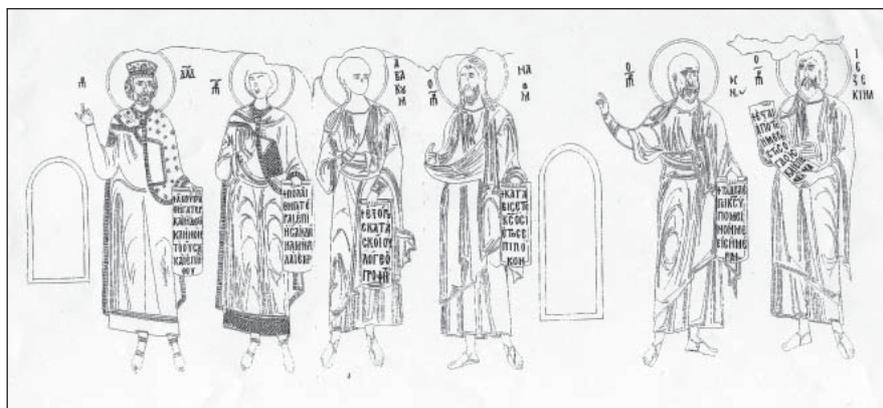


Fig. 2. Јужни зид -The Prophets – Пророци

of the Annunciation, through a text that is almost identified with both cases, reveal a particular reflection of an intellectual character regarding the role of Virgin Mary and the integration of all innovations which arise in iconography during this era.

The painting of Saint Stefanos on the skyline of the central declivable, as a second layer on an older destroyed 9th century one, bears uniform characteristics, which mostly appeared after the maintenance of the murals²². The iconographic program occupies all the walls of the skylight. On the dome of the arch the three ages of Christ are depicted. On the upper layer 14 prophets are depicted, who are laid out in pairs and who are the following: (southern wall-fig.2) David (fig.3), Solomon, Avvakoum, Naoum, Sofonias and Iezekiil, (western wall-fig.4) Aaron and Zaharias, (northern wall-fig.5) Aggaios, Ioil, Daniel, unknowable, two unknowable ones with texts in the blinds of Isaias. On the Eastern wall of this layer and exactly opposite the two prophets of the western wall, at the same height the first scene of the Dodekaorton (twelve feasts) of the Annunciation is depicted. The iconography of Dodekaorton is developed along

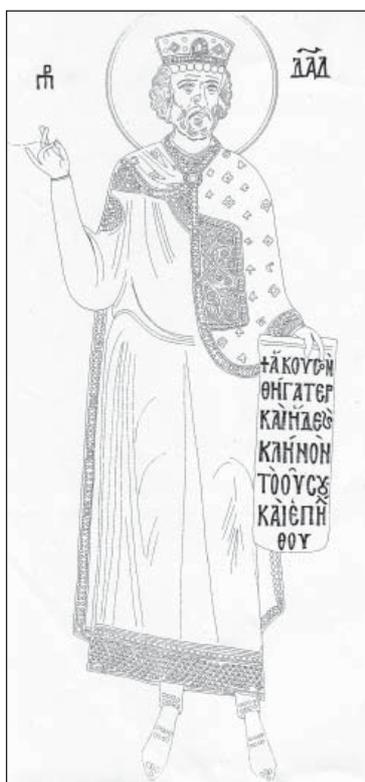


Fig. 3. Јужни зид-The Prophet David – Пророк Давид

²² The crew for mural conservation was constituted by: Olga Iljopoulou, Mjhalis Zilas, Maria Papakonstantinou, Helen Kriventsi, Aphrodite Patika, Christos Antoniadis, Christos Pantazis and Charalampos Tselios, whom I cogratulate for their impeccable and meticulous work.

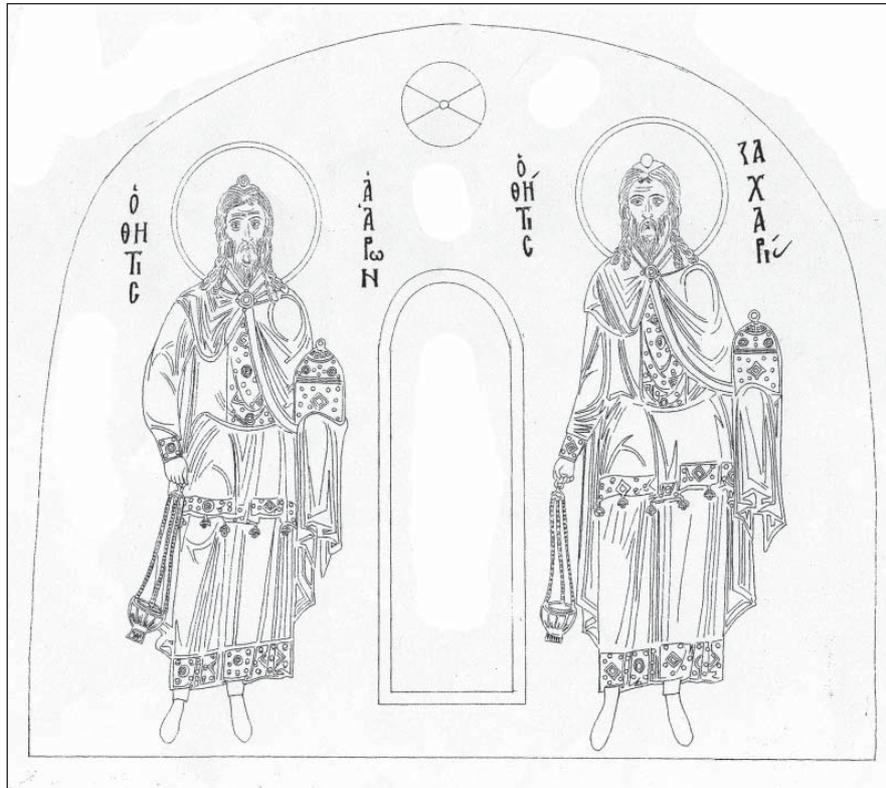


Fig. 4. Западни ѕид – The prophets – Пророци Арон и Захарије

with six other scenes in the lower layer (southern wall) Nativity (fig.6) – The Presentation of Christ in the temple (fig.7), (western wall) Raising of Lazarus (fig.8), (northern wall) The entry into Jerusalem (fig.9) – Anastasis (fig.10), (Eastern wall) Annunciation (fig.11)-Transfiguration (fig.12).

The program on the dome of the arch

The program on the dome which through its position and its function replaced the cupola resulted from older decorative examples on higher spots of the temple: it brought, however, choices which ideologically raised another topic²³. The ecclesiastical circles of Kastoria had already showed through the illustration of the temple of Saint Anargyroi that they could handle difficult topics with a dogmatic content.

The decoration on the dome of the skylight with the depiction of three ages of Christ in the higher spot of the temple constitutes an infrequent phenomenon. Individual depictions of each person separately have been presented in

²³ Т. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλλου των ναών της Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου στη βυζαντινή χερσόνησο και την Κύπρο*, Αθήνα 2001, 187-245.



Fig. 5. Северни ѕид – The Prophets – Пророци

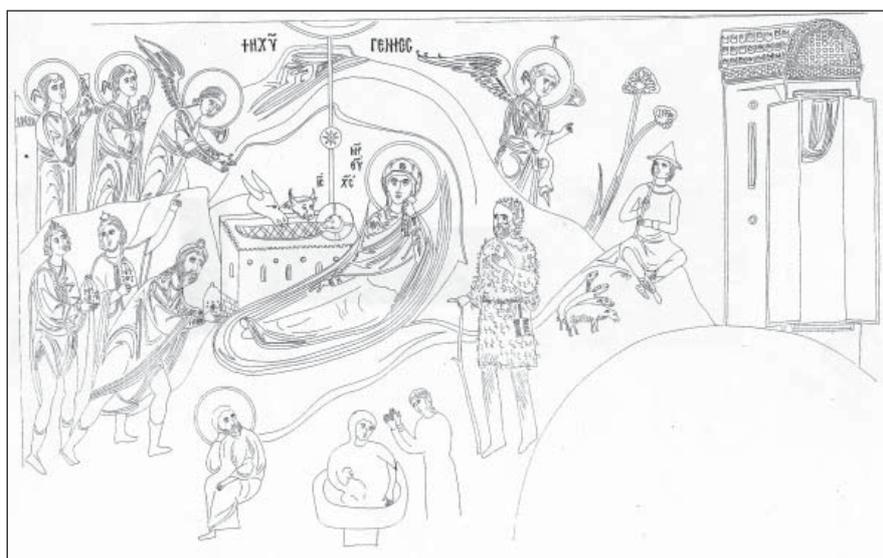


Fig. 6. Јужни ѕид – The Nativity of the Christ - Рођење Христово

older Byzantine monuments on different spots of the temple²⁴ as well as in the space of Kastoria²⁵. According to the perceptions of interpreters of the Christian church, the higher departments of the temple depicted the divine residence to which the faithful ones addressed their prayer, expecting salvation. What was usually depicted on the dome was Christ Pantocrator²⁶, the Lord of All, who

²⁴ Д. Барђиева-Трајковска, *За тематската програма на живописот во Нерези*, Културно наследство 22-23, (1995-96), Скопије 1997, 7-24.

²⁵ In the temple of Saint Anargyroi, there are also the three persons on the Eastern wall. In Saint Nikolaos of Kasnizti, the Ancient of Days is depicted in the narthex and the Pantocrator in the northern wall.

²⁶ N. Γκιολές, *Ο βυζαντινός τρόλλος και το εικονογραφικό του πρόγραμμα*, Αθήνα 1990, 43,

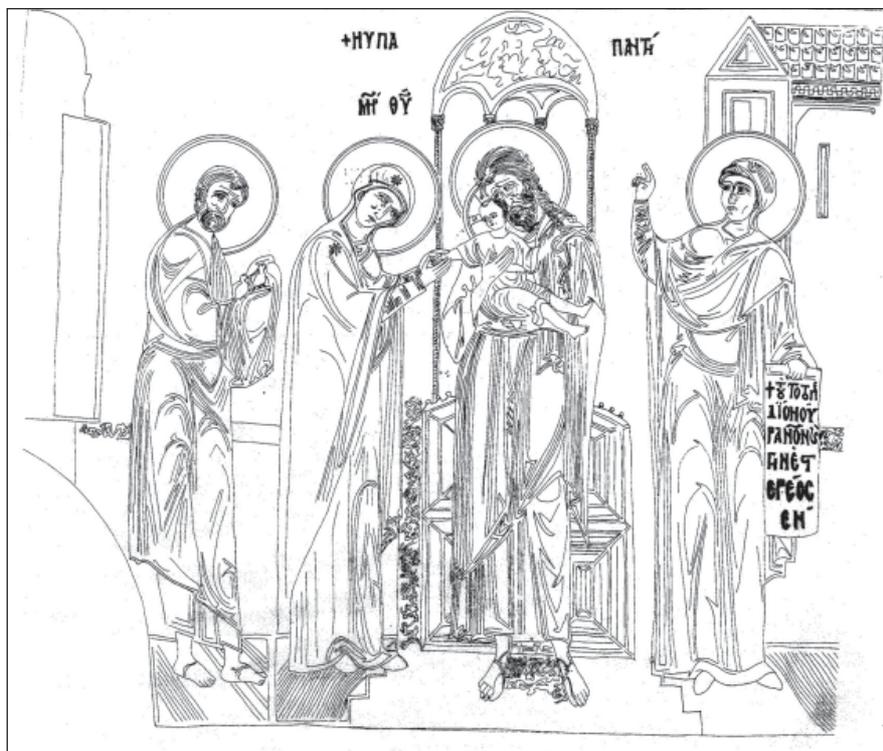


Fig. 7. Јужни ѕид – The Presentation of Christ in the Temple – Сретење

from this position supervised the human species. The title is addressed to Christ as the second person of the Saint Trinity.²⁷ The Pantocrator was presented and was revealed to people through the speeches and the visions of selected prophets and through his incarnation and his presence on the earth. The Pantocrator as the first person of Christ on the dome of Saint Stefanos, who is depicted in a chest angle keeping the Gospel, is the most usual depiction at the post Byzantine period²⁸. It has suffered partial destruction and the features of his face are not well discerned.

The second person of Christ, Ancient of Days, is depicted on the middle of the dome and has the characteristics of prophet Daniel's description (7-9). We encounter a depiction of eternity for the first time on the miniature of Paris. gr. 923²⁹, where a text of Kingdom is iconized saying: "The father source of all... the son a perfect image of God". On another miniature of the 10th cen-

²⁷ T.F Mathew, *The transformation symbolism in Byzantine architecture and the meaning of the Pantokrator in the dome*, Church and People in Byzantium, Birmingham 1990, 202..

²⁸ S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des coupoles dans les eglises du monde byzantin et postbyzantin*, L'information d'histoire de l'art 5 (Paris 1965), 189-195..

²⁹ A.Grabar, *La representation de l'intelligible dans l'art byzantin*, Actes du VI congres international d'etudes byzantines, Paris 1951, 131..

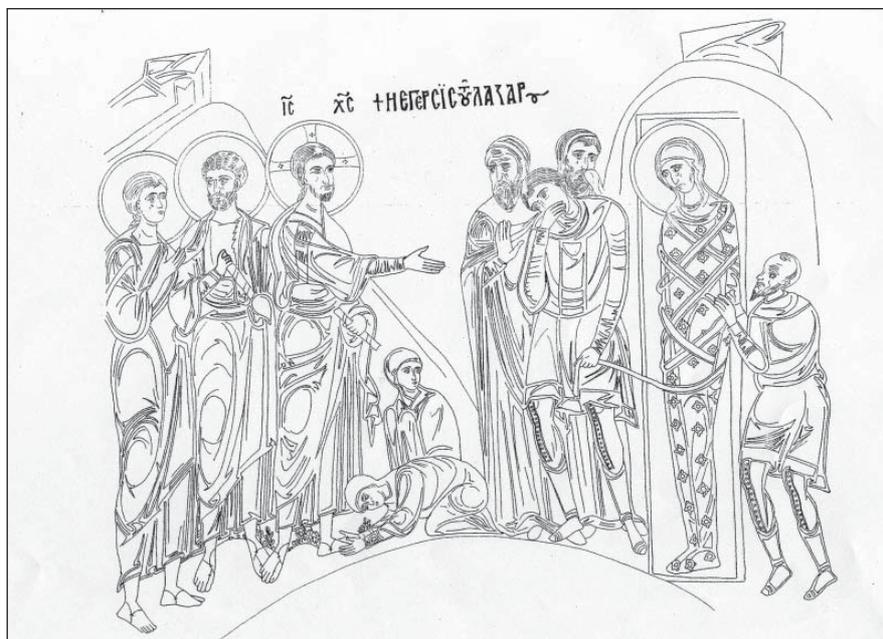


Fig. 8. Западни зид – The Raising of Lazarus – Вакрсење Лазара

tury in the code, Paris gr. 64, in the entry of the corresponding Gospel of John, three figures are painted, Ancient of Days in the centre, on the left with a beard Christ Pantocrator and Christ at a young age on the right. Also, a proportional depiction is encountered in the small Gospel of the Dionysus abbey (1059)³⁰. Ancient of Days acquires a symbolic and functional importance, particularly after the dogmatic disputes of the 11th and 12th century regarding the two natures of Christ and the three substances of the Saint Trinity. In the person of Ancient of Days the concepts of Father God and incarnated Son are united and the two persons are identified. Thus, the indivisibility of the Saint Trinity³¹ is also proved. The subject matter with his three persons and their relation with the prophets is encountered in declivable temples without a cupola after the 14th century³². In Saint Stefanos the diversity is described, as seen by prophets, while an allusion is made to Trinitism.

The third person, Christ Emmanuel supplements the complete conception for the message of a common depiction. On the person of Christ Emmanuel, the god appears among the persons as the humblest human symbol, as a sacrifice.

³⁰ *Οι Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους, Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, Α, Αθήνα 1973, 164, 434

³¹ V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics from the XVI Century*, London 1966, 124.

³² For different versions on the program of domes cf. Ц. Грозданов, *Охридско зидно сликарство XIV века*, Београд 1980, 162-165, Г. Суботић, *Охридска сликарска школа XV века*, Београд 1980, 173-174, В.Ј. Ђурић, *Раваницки живопис и литургија*, Манастир Раваница, Споменица о шестој стогодишници, Београд 1981, 50-51.



Fig. 9. Северни ѕид – The Entry into Jerusalem – Улазак у Јерусалим

According to Maximus the Confessor, Logos is also the one offered to sacrifice. The age of the child expresses the incarnation made during the “days”, that is to say in time. The references to the properties of the Creator shape his substance as well. The logos of reality is the logos of the personal action of God, the already made logos. The logos of the icon is the personal-logical acceptance of the logos of reality by humans, it is the reasonable way in which the logos of man meets and reveals the logos of things³³. In the temple of Saint Panteleimonas in Nerezi³⁴ the program of the four cupolas, surrounding the central person of Pantocrator, is dedicated to Christ Logos³⁵ through the persons of Emmanuel, Ancient of Days, Angel of the Great Counsel and Christ the Great Archpriest. In Saint Stefanos, the three persons, due to its particular architecture, are assembled in the central arch, but they have a similar content.

The figures of prophets³⁶ decorate the upper layer, which is found precisely under the dome and plays the role of a supposed cupola drum³⁷. Fourteen prophets are depicted in total. The southern wall depicts the following layout:

³³ 33 Μάξιμος ο Ομολογητής (Maximus the Confessor), *Περί διαφόρων αποριών*, 13, P.G. 90, 293D – 296A

³⁴ Д. Барђиева-Трајковска, *За тематската програма на живописот во Нерези*, 7-24

³⁵ М. Татић-Ђурић, *Мистични логос и његова слика*, *Balkanica XXV-1*, Beograd 1994, 308.

³⁶ Lj. Popović, *Compositional and theological concepts in four prophet cycles in churches selected from the period of king Milutin (1282-1321)*, *Cyrrillomethodianum VIII-IX*, Thessaloniki 1984-85, 283-317.

³⁷ Т. Παπαμστοράκης, *Η σημασία των προφητών στον τρούλλο της Παναγίας του Άρακος και οι αντίστοιχες περιπτώσεις της Παναγίας Μυριοκεφάλων και της Παναγίας στη Veljusa*, *ΑΔ 40* (1985), 213-230.

David, Avvakoum, Solomon, Naoum, Sofonias and Iezekiil. On the Western one Aaron and Zaharias are illustrated and on the northern one Aggaios, Ioil, Daniel, the fourth being almost destroyed (his blind is by no means distinguished), and two unknowable ones whose blinds contain texts of the prophet Isaias (...POI KAI EGEPΘΗΣONTAI ... TH ΓΗ) (ΥΙΟΣ ΕΛΩΘΗ-SON WAS SEEN). Turning to each other as if they are conversing, they extend their blinds to the spectator transmitting their messages. The choice of prophets and texts in their blinds has a particular importance because according to it they enabled the authors of the iconographic program to express specific theological messages through the icons³⁸. The particular texts, as it appears, have a relation either with the three persons of Christ or with the particular scenes that are depicted under the prophets and particularly with the Descent to Hades.

The David, first clockwise the southern wall, is turning to Solomon. The text in David's blind writes: ΑΚΟΥΣΟΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΗΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΗΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΟΥΣ ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΗΛΑΘΟΥ (Psalm. 44, 11) which refers to the Annunciation of Virgin Mary, and so does the text of Solomon ΠΟΛΛΑΙ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΕΣ ΕΠΗΣΑΝ ΔΗΝΑΜΗΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΙ ΕΚΤΗ (Solom. Paroim. 31, 29). Avvakoum is turning to Naoum and the text of his blind writes: ΕΞ ΟΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΕ Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ (prayer, Avvakoum verse 3) and refers to the incarnation of Christ Logos. Avvakoum is usually depicted on the drums of cupolas of Byzantine churches keeping a blind with one of his two texts³⁹. The text of Naoum writes: ΚΑΤΑΒΙΣΕΤΕ ΚΣ ΟΣ



Fig. 10. Северни зид – The Anastasis – Силазак у Ад

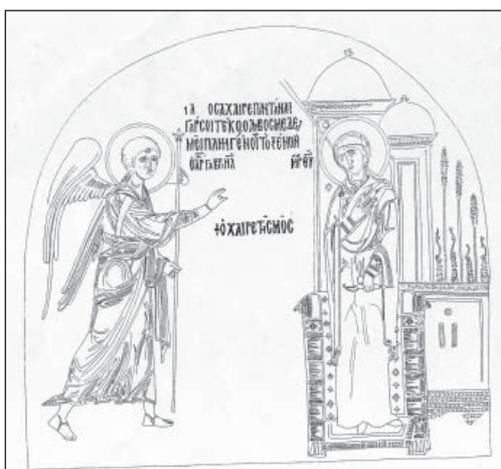


Fig. 11. Источни зид - The Annunciation – Благовести

³⁸ A.-M. Gravgaard, *Inscriptions of old Testament Prophecies in Byzantine Churches, A Catalogue*, Copenhagen 1979, Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the period of king Milutin (1282-1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII-IX (Thessalonique 1984-1985), 283-298.

³⁹ Ch. Walter, *Iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk*, REB 47.1989), 251-260.

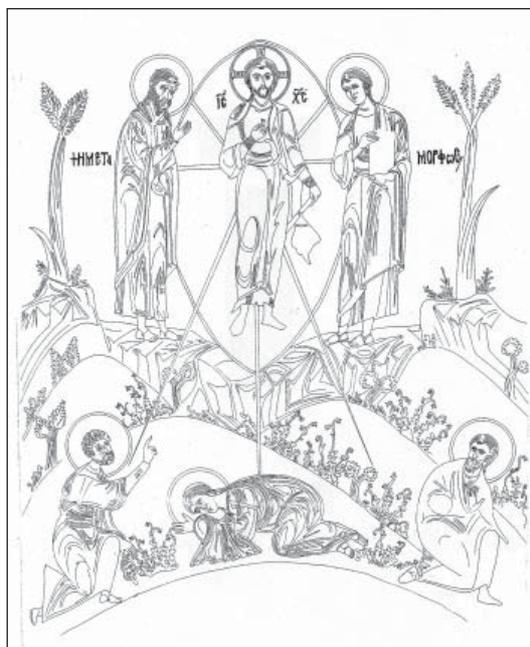


Fig. 12. Источни ѕид – The Transfiguration
– Преображење-

ΙΕΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΚΟΝ (Psalm, 71, 6), and refers to the Birth of Christ. The prophet Sofonias is turning to Iezekiil and his text writes: ΤΑΔΕ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΥΠΟΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΜΕ ΕΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ (Sof. 3, 8) which refers to the Resurrection of Christ, like the text of Iezekiil ΕΣΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΓΔΟΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΚΕΙΝΑ (Iezek. 43, 27).

The western wall depicts the prophets Aaron and Zaharias holding lamps in their hands, what they constitute a pre-iconisation of Virgin Mary. They are depicted opposite the Annunciation of Virgin Mary. The northern wall, on its left, portrays the prophet Agkaios turning towards Joil and he is holding a blind with a text writing: ΕΛΑΛΗΣΕΝ ΚΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΜΩΣΙ ΕΝΩΠΙΟΣ ΕΝΩΠΙΩ (Exode 33, 11), which refers to the scene of the Visitation. The text of Ioil writes: ΤΑΔΕ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΚΣ ΤΑ ΤΑΙΚΝΑ ΣΙΟΝ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΑΙ ΕΦΡΕΝ (Ioil, 2, 23). Daniel⁴⁰ is depicted with short clothing and this is the reason why he is easily recognized. Unfortunately, his head has been destroyed and no more identificatory elements are apparent. It maintained a stable standard in the Byzantine art⁴¹. In his blind the following text is inscribed: ΕΓΟ ΔΑΝΗΝΑ (Ε)ΘΕΩΡΟΥΝ ΕΩΣ ΟΥ ΘΡΟΝΟΙ ΕΤΕΘΗΣΑΝ (Daniel 7, 9) which is relevant to the Ancient of Days.

The text of the fifth prophet, as we realise, is by Isaias from the saved part: ... ΡΟΙ ΕΓΕΡΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ while in its usual form it is: ΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΝΕΚΡΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΕΡΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΡΑΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΓΗ and refers to the Anastasis.

The two words from the text of the last prophet ΥΙΟΣ ΕΔΩΘΗ (THE SON WAS SEEN) bear a relation with the text of Isaias ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΕΓΕΝΝΗΘΗ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΟΘΗ ΗΜΙΝ (A SON WAS BORN FOR US AND GIVEN TO US) (9-6), refer to the scene of the Annunciation with which the prophet Isaias is connected, who prophesizes the birth of Emmanuel as well. There is a central idea for the presentation of the specific prophets, which links them with the persons of Christ. The group of prophets that has been selected is not an acci-

⁴⁰ In the description of Orlandos, he does not provide the right text Daniel is holding in his blind A. Orlandos, ABME, vol. Δ, Athens 1938, 120-121.

⁴¹ J. Lowden, *Illuminated prophet books. A Study of Byzantine manuscripts of the Major and Minor prophets*, University Park and London 1988, 56-57, 62.

dental one. This is proved by the symbolism of messages written in the blinds and which leads us to the connection with the remainder representations of the intermediary arch and of the skylight.

The figures of the prophets in their ancient attire have a monumental character. The largeness of their body has a vigorous physique, which is achieved through the attribution of the corrugations. His movements are calm and faithfully attribute the mission of the discussion among them per pairs.

The scenes of the Dodekaorton (Twelve Feasts)

Out of the twelve scenes of the great feasts, seven have been selected in Saint Stefanos. Two on the Eastern wall (Annunciation-Transfiguration), likewise on the southern one (Nativity-Presentation of Christ) and so on the northern (The Entry into Jerusalem -Anastasis) and two also on the western (Raising of Lazarus). The iconography of the Dosekaorton in Saint Stefanos is a meticulous one. A general economy is observed in the elements of composition, which impose solutions similar to other monuments of Kastoria.

The circle of the great feasts opens with the scene of the **Annunciation (Ο ΧΑΙΡΕΤΗΣΜΟΣ)**⁴², on the Eastern wall of the skylight and closes with the scene of Metamorphosis on the Eastern one. The archangel Gabriel is depicted in an imposing movement towards Virgin Mary, holding a sceptre in his left hand, whereas he stretches his right one in a gesture of discussion to the Virgin Mary. His physiognomy is projected on a dark blue background, while the ground is graded in green shades. On the right, Virgin Mary is depicted standing in front of a throne without a back, slightly turning towards the archangel. Her right hand is raised in front of her chest in a gesture of surprise, while in the left one she is holding the distaff and the spindle. The symbolism of the Annunciation scene with the incarnation of logos, is described best by texts that are written between the archangel Gabriel and Virgin Mary: Α...ΟΣΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΑΝΤΑΝΑΞ ΓΑΡ ΣΟΙ ΤΕΚΟΣ ΘΑΜΒΟΣ ΜΕ ΔΕΣΜΕΙ ΠΛΗΝ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΤΟ ΞΕΝΟΝ. This text looks like an inscription of the season, like those written by Ioannis Apokafkos. The title of the scene is entered a little lower: THE SALUTATION. The explanation of the particular scene with the aid of texts is an old habit of Kastorian artists, which is observed in the temple of Saint Anargyroi in several scenes, in Saint Alypios⁴³ and in Panagia Mavriotissa⁴⁴. In the Annunciation scene, a similar dialogue, not identical though, exists in the two aforementioned temples⁴⁵. The introduction of such innovations through the citation of explanatory texts paints the real picture of agitation that emanated from the discussions on the person of Christ. The intellectual circles of Kastoria felt the need to respond through the iconography for the correctness of the doctrine and the artists transferred these reflections to their work.

⁴² J. J. M. Spieser, *Liturgie et programmes iconographiques dans Travaux et Memoires*, 11, 1991, 575-590.

⁴³ E. Tsigaridas, *La peinture*, 310

⁴⁴ E. Δρακοπούλου, *Η πόλη*, 39.

⁴⁵ I. Βαραλης, *Παρατηρήσεις για τη θέση του Ευαγγελισμού στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο*, ΔΧΑΕ, 4 τ.19 (1996-97), 201-220, H. Hadji, *The Presentation of Annunciation in the church of Saint Alypios in Kastoria, Niš and Byzantium III*, Niš 2005, 293-298

The Transfiguration (Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ)⁴⁶ follows the familiar traditional type. On the top of the mount Thabor, Christ is depicted dressed in white between the prophets Ilias and Moses, who is holding the plates of the law. The apostles Peter, John and Jacob are depicted below, in dramatic postures as usual in the late 12th and 13th century. The inscription reports the title of the representation the ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ, whereas near the nimbus of Christ there are abbreviations ΙΣ ΧΣ. What is dominant in the composition is the figure of Christ, who is depicted upright and frontal, blessing with his right hand and holding a closed blind in his left. He is surrounded by oval glory which is crossed by bundles of beams beginning from his body and leading to the other persons of the scene. Regarding the organisation of the scene the Metamorphosis stands closer to Saint Nikolaos of Kasnitzi.

*The Nativity of Christ (Η ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗ)*⁴⁷

Virgin Mary is depicted in the centre lying on a mattress and leaning on the elbow of her left hand, in which she is holding a handkerchief. She is glancing forward, towards the spectator looking away from the manger where Christ is found swaddled. The composition the Η ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗ (JESUS CHRIST NATIVITY) is given in a cave around which and in various levels of the ground the remainder familiar episodes are developed. On the right bottom is the bath. Joseph is depicted on the left, who is thoughtfully watching the bath. The wise men are depicted a little higher, while in the last level are that are lauding. On the right there are the two shepherds, the old one of whom, upright, is looking at the cavern, whereas the young one is depicted seated in a comfortable posture playing his fife. The dominant physiognomy throughout the scene is Virgin Mary.

The organisation of the composition is based on older models which are found in Saint Anargyroi and Kurbinovo⁴⁸, Saint Nikolaos of Kasnitzi⁴⁹ and Nerezi⁵⁰ and in the abbey of Latomos outside Kastoria⁵¹.

⁴⁶ On the iconography of the Transfiguration cf. W. Kronig, *Zur Transfiguration der Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (München-Berlin 1956) 162-179, K. Weitzmann, *A metamorphosis icon or miniature on Mt. Sinai*, *Старинар*, H. C, XX – 1969, Београд 1970, 415’4121.

⁴⁷ For the iconography of the scene K. Kalokyris, *Η Γέννησις του Χριστού εις την βυζαντινήν τέχνην της Ελλάδος*, Athens 1956, P. I. Nordhagen, *The integration of the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds in Byzantine art*, *Actes du XXIIe congres international d’histoire l art* (Budapest 1969), Budapest 1972, 253-257, idem *The Origin of the washing of the Child in the Nativity Courage*, *BZ* 54/2 (1961), 333-337, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Les representations de la Nativite du Christ dans l’art de l’Orient chretien*, in: *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, MCMLXXIX, 1, Ghent 1979, 11-21.

⁴⁸ Haderman-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 109-118.

⁴⁹ Πελεκανίδης-Χατζιδάκης, 54-55.

⁵⁰ I. Sinkević, *The church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi*, Wiesbaden 2000,

⁵¹ Ε. Τσιγαρίδας, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Λατόμου Θεσσαλονίκης και η ζωγραφική του 12^{ου} αιώνα*, ΕΜΣ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1986, 33-60..

*The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*⁵² (Η ΥΠΑΙΤΑΝΘΗ)

The presence of the infant in the hands of Virgin Mary or Simeon constitutes the criterion with which the scene may be distinguished in two iconographic types. Types A with Christ in the hands of Virgin Mary, is regarding as the prevailing one until the early 14th century. However, it becomes apparent that type B with Simeon holding the infant, meets with great spread from the middle of the 12th century, as it occurs in Saint Stefanos and Saint Alypios. The most interesting figure in an iconographic perspective is the prophet Anna daughter of Fanouil, who betokened the divine origin of the infant. Two details. The first one has relation with the hegemonic gesture of his right hand that is extended in a dynamic movement, so that the content of the prophecy becomes more tangible. In Holy Lukas of Fokida, Anna has a more passive attitude that corresponds to older tradition. A second detail betrayed by a more ancient perception is that the left hand is covered by the maphorium. ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΗΝ ΕΣΤΕΡΕΩΣΕΝ. The older work, in which Anna is holding an open blind with the same inscription is the picture of Sina with Virgin Mary in the type of Kukkotissa prophets and other Saints (late 11th – early 12th). Equal interest is presented by the tender posture of Christ in the embrace of Simeon, an element that exists in Bačkovo⁵³ and in Stara Ladoga⁵⁴. In Saint Stefanos the Presentation (Fig. 5) has the basic characteristics of the same scene in Saint Nikolaos of Kasnitzi, but there Simeon is standing in the left side.

The Raising of Lazarus (Η ΕΓΕΡΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ)

In the representation of the RAISING of LAZARUS, Christ is imposingly depicted on the left, with his right hand in a speech position, while with his left he is holding a closed blind. Behind him his two students are depicted, Peter being first. On the legs of Christ are the sisters of Lazarus. On the right one may find the sarcophagus on Lazarus is standing upright waiting for the slave to unfold his shroud, who is closing his nose due to the stench. An impression is caused by the physiognomy of the fourth slave with intense features on his face, displayed on the other side of the sarcophagus. Such a simple presentation of the scene is also found in Saint Anargyroi and in Kurbinovo.

⁵² For the iconography of the scene cf. Α. Ευγγούπουλος, Υπαπαντή, ΕΕΒΣ 6.1929), 328-339, D. C. Shorr, *The iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple*, Art Bul 28.1946), 17-32, h. Maguire, *The iconography of Symeon with the Child in Byzantine Art*, DOP 34-35 (1980-1981), 261-269.

⁵³ For the painting in the Bačkovo see E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica*, Sofia 1977.

⁵⁴ Lazarev, *Old Russian*, 107.

The Entry into Jerusalem (Η ΒΑΪΟΦΩΡΟΣ) ⁵⁵

On the left side the arrival of the Lord and his students is depicted and on the right their welcome by the Jews. Christ is illustrated in the first level, seated sidelong on a white beast of burden which has his long neck stretched upwards. He is looking at the Jews exploratorily. His right hand is in a form of speech and with his left one he is holding a closed blind. Peter and John behind him seem to be discussing. In the right part of the scene which is not completely saved, the Jews are depicted, waiting for the Messiah with faces that show impatience. The group of Jews is supplemented by a child climbing on a palm tree. The entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 6) is limited to the essential persons that compose the scene, like most monuments of the Komninian period.

The Anastasis (Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ) ⁵⁶

The scene symbolizing the redemption of man from the original sin is inspired by the cryptic Gospel of Nicodemus. In the symmetric composition, the painter skilfully stressed the main figures and placed them in space. The centre of the scene is dominated by Christ dressed in white, calm and frontal, holding Adam by the hand, while with he is holding the double cross of the Resurrection with the others. In the left group headed by Adam, Eva and on the behind upright Avel are also depicted. The right side portrays David, Solomon and behind them saint John the Baptist. This scene also bears the basic elements that were established in the 12th century.

The figures of the three ages of Christ, provide samples of well done and meticulously worked treatment of the portable icon type, with all the characteristics of an academic art that has standardised the characteristics of the 12th century, even the protruded pupils of the eyes, the linear attribution of hairiness, as well as the soft chiaroscuro with green shades, one that survives in early 13th century.

The scenes of the Dosekaorton are characterised by a homogeneous style and a high artistic quality. Each composition separately is dominated by a calm rhythm, as well as the structure of each human figure. The main characteristic of the scenes is their size, two scenes occupying an entire wall, without separating films and refer to the effort to attribute the monumentality. Also, the few-people frugal and strictly structured composition, with tall figures, noble and without exaggeration and with a wide and soft creation on the faces, foreshadow a disposal for change regarding post Komninian art. Aspectology contributes to the cleanliness of forms. The figure of Christ in all scenes does not have the severity of older monuments of Kastoria. The face emits a sweet melancholy, while his particular characteristics, which are achieved with the soft creation and the

⁵⁵ For the representations of Entry into Jerusalem cf. cf. T. Velmans, *Observations sur l'emplacement et l'iconographie de l'entrée a Jerusalem dans quelques eglises de Svanetie (Georgie)*, in : Rayonnement grec. Hommages a Charles Delvoye, Bruxelles 1982, 471-481.

⁵⁶ For the scene of Descent to Hades cf. E. Lucchesi Palli, *Anastasis*, RbK I, 142-148, A.D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis, The making of an Image*, Princeton 1986.

thorough care of the beard, create a separate portrait. In harmony with the face of Christ, the one of Virgin Mary is done as well, particularly in the scene of the Birth, where her look is turned to the spectator, bears the important message of the incarnation. Certain elements which the artists of Saint Stefanos keep from the Komninan style, appear mainly in the scene of the Annunciation, where aspectology in the costume of archangel Gabriel reminds the aerial presentation of Saint Anargyroi as well as the conservative posture of Virgin Mary. Some other faces, like that of Saint Peter with its intense lines, in the scenes of the Rising of Lazarus and Vaioforos, contain several elements of the Komninan art. The creation of plasticity in the face may be the greatest qualification demonstrated by the painters of Saint Stefanos and it is what differentiates them. The stylistic analysis can be based on the characteristics of individual figures, which have a progressive treatment and a full interest in the attribution of largeness. The bodies of the Saints have an embossed form and their proportions present an elongation, which is not apparent though, because the treatment of clothing enables us to observe their anatomy better.

The two painters of Saint Stefanos murals, the first of whom worked the scenes of the Dodekaorton and the second one the three ages of Christ and the prophets, were aware both of the iconography of Kastoria and of the working manner of Saint Nikolaos of Kasnitzi artists. They are differentiated compared to them, since they are adapted to the new conditions created by the fall of Konstantinoupolis. They seek new ways of expression without having the disposal to change many things in iconography. They change, however, the atmosphere with their cheerful colours, which are more impressive and open, juxtaposing them with the glorious sorrow of the faces. The brightness of these colours was not distinguishable at the time when the album of P. Pelekanidis⁵⁷ on Kastoria was perhaps printed and that is why the quality of this painting⁵⁸ was not much appreciated. What the artists cared for was the monumentality, which they achieve both in the presentation of a suitable largeness of the prophets, and in the individual figures in the representations. The composition has been particularly studied, as the way in which they include the painted architecture is a masterly one. The scenes do not need to be delimited with the usual film. This is done through the buildings, which define the end of each scene. This happens between the Birth and the Visitation as well as between the Vaioforos and the Descent to Hades. The landscape also contributes to the acquisition of a proportionality of the representations. It has no depth and contributes to the distribution of the participants of the scene in a balanced way.

The short presentation of the skylight painting confirms⁵⁹ the conclusion that the murals of Saint Stefanos bear relation to the artistic production of

⁵⁷ Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καστορία*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1953, 89-95.

⁵⁸ The painting of Saint Stefanos has been dated by E. Tsiagaridas in the passage from the 12th to the 13th century (Abbey of Latomos, 167) from Haderman - Misguich, circa 1200 (*La peinture monumentale tardocomnene et ses prolongements au XIIIe siecle*, Actes XV, the, 225-284), by M. Hatzidakis in late 12th to early 13th century (Πελεκανίδης-Χατζηδάκης, 18-19), by P. Pelekanidis in the second half of the 13th (Πελεκανίδης-Χατζηδάκης, 11) and by T. Velmans in the late 13th century (*La peinture*, 144).

⁵⁹ Unfortunately, during the preparation of this paper, the doctoral thesis-monograph on Saint Stefanos by Nikolaos Siomkos had not been published yet, so as to include his documented perspectives on the particular layer of painting.

Kastoria. We cannot agree with opinions that classifying them within insignificant creations, which added nothing new to the development of Byzantine art⁶⁰. They share all the characteristics betokening the advent of the monumental painting of Koumpelidikis and are works to which the Limniotes and the bishop of Kastoria Konstantinos contributed. Moreover, it should be pointed out that during the era of Theodoros Doukas, an important effort is made for the contact with the ancient Greek literature and art. This period, in our opinion, must not be other than from 1216 until 1225.

Иоанис Сисиу

СЛИКАРСТВО XIII ВЕКА У СВ. СТЕФАНУ У КАСТОРИЈИ

Тринаести век за територију Касторије има посебно значење јер представља једну епоху преко које можемо да пратимо развој византијске уметности. После конзервације сликарства на централном броду цркве Св. Стефана, тамо где се налази други слој, показао се један интересантан квалитетан ансамбл. На своду небески програм је посвећен Христу Логосу са ликом Пантократора, Старца Дана и Христа Емануила. Скупина од четрнаест пророка на зидовима правоугаоног простора показује симболику порука исписаних на њиховим свицима која се доводи у везу са композицијама Великих празника насликаним на зидовима испод њих.

Велики празници приказани су са седам сцена. Циклус почиње Благовестима насликаним на источном зиду, а затим се даље развија кружно: Рођење Христово и Срећење су представљени на јужном, Васкрсење Лазара на западном, Улазак у Јерусалим и Силазак у Ад на северном и Преображење на источном зиду. Празнични циклус карактерише у целини сажето ликовно приповедање и избегавање свих детаља. Монументалношћу сцене асоцирају на остварења комнинсог периода.

На северозападном делу наоса постављена је ктиторска композиција Теодора Лимнеотиса. Састављена је од фигура ктитора на левој и патрона храма на десној страни. Теодор Лимнеотис носи у левој руци модел храма. Покретом препоручује га у заштиту Св. Стефана. Портрет је обележен натписом који уз ктиторово име доноси информацију да је он био сахрањен на истом месту.

Према нашем мислењу Теодор Лимнеотис је био ктитор овог сликарства и то између 1216. и 1225. године.

⁶⁰ Лазарев, *Историја византијског сликарства*, 134..



Црква Св. Стефан, Срећење



Црква Св. Стефан, Преображење,
св. Илија



Црква Св. Стефан, Срећење,
св. Симеон



Црква Св. Стефан, Преображење



Црква Св. Стефан,
Улазак у Јерусалим



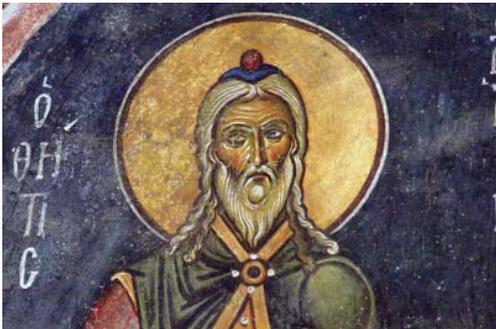
Црква Св. Стефан, Преображење,
св. пророк Мојсије



Црква Св. Стефан, Пророк Захарија



Црква Св. Стефан, Пророци Наум и Језекиљ



Црква Св. Стефан, Пророк Арон



Црква Св. Стефан, Благовести

Црква Св. Стефан, Васкрсење
Лазарево

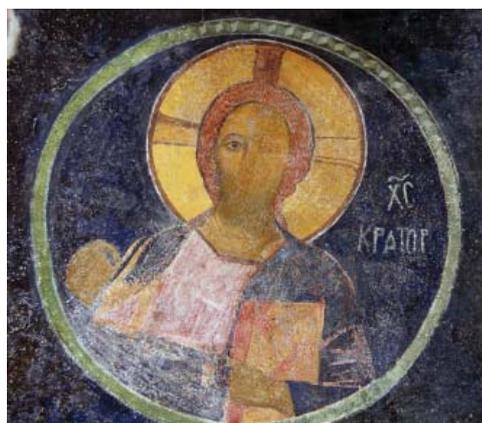
Црква Св. Стефан, Рођење Христово



Црква Св. Стефан, Пророк Давид



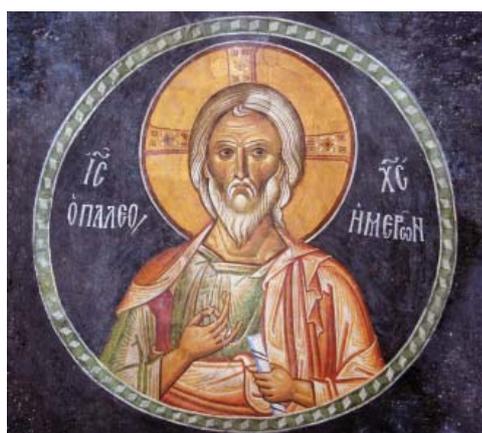
Црква Св. Стефан, Христ Емануел



Црква Св. Стефан, Христ
Пантократор



Црква Св. Стефан, Силазак у ад, Адам



Црква Св. Стефан, Старац Дана

