

**THE ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY  
OF HRISTOFOR ZEFAR'S<sup>1</sup>  
SAINT NAHUM DEPICITIONS**

Hristofor Zefar depicted Saint Nahum of Ohrid four times in his oeuvre: in 1737 in a wall painting in the main church of the Monastery of Bođani (Bodjan, Serbia)<sup>2</sup>, and in three engravings – first in the collection entitled *Stemmatographia* in 1741<sup>3</sup>, then in two independent representations in 1743<sup>4</sup>. The former ones received a Church Slavonic inscription, whereas the latter two Greek ones.

The earliest surviving image, the fresco in Bođani (fig. 1.) can be found in the lunette of the recessed northern widow of the nave<sup>5</sup>. In this wall painting Nahum is portrayed in full-length, in frontal position as a solemnly professed monk in a monastic habit (rason, esorason, belt, mandias, analavion, kouku-

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<sup>2</sup> О. Микић, *Христофор Жефаровић и живопис манастира Бођана, Дело Христофора Жефаровића* (Нови Сад, Галерија Матице Српске, МСМЛХI, 1961), 8. Presumably Zefar, who painted the walls of the church in Siklós between 1739 and 1740, also depicted the Saint of Ohrid there, though those mural paintings have not survived (*ibid.*, 9).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>4</sup> The earlier hagiographic engraving was commissioned by Nahum Bikerasz, and it has only one known print, which can be found in the Hungarian Orthodox Museum. It will be published and described in detail in the Catalogue of the present author's *Ohridi Szent Naum magyarországi kultusza, mint az etnikai identitás megőrzésének megnyilatkozása (The Cult of Saint Nahum of Ohrid in Hungary as a Manifestation of the Preservation of Ethnic Identity)*, currently in manuscript. The second engraving was also made by Zefar in Vienna. Based on the above-mentioned earlier representation and commissioned by Mikhail Gotounisz, it is well-known in the literature of the field. One of its earliest publications: Д. Давидов, *Христофор Жефаровић, први српски бакрорезац, Дело Христофора Жефаровића* Галерија (Нови Сад, Матице Српске, МСМЛХI, 1961), 46, 103.

<sup>5</sup> Its sketch is published in: Б. Живковић, *Бођани, Цртежи фресака, Споменици српског зидног сликарства XVIII века*, with an "Introduction" by Лепосава Шелмић (Нови Сад, Галерија Матице Српске, 1988), 41, figure 46.

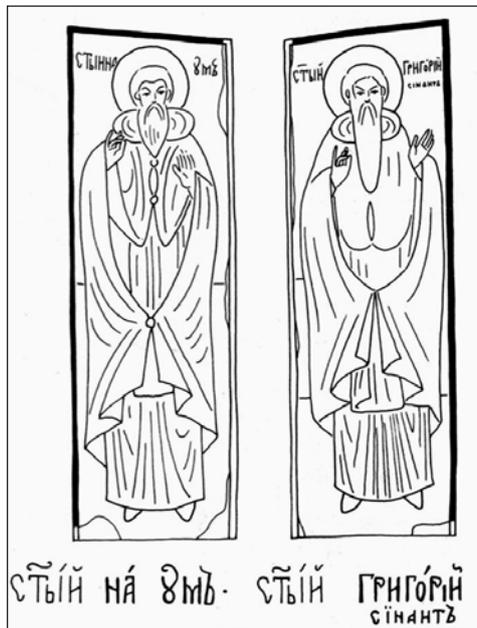


Fig. 1 Saint Nahum and Saint George of Sinai, Sketch of a wall painting, 1737. (Hristophor Zefar), Monastery of Bođani. [Живковић (1988), 41, fig. 46]

Сл. 1) Свети Наум, Св. Ђорђе на Синају  
Скица зидног сликарства. 1737. (Христифор Жефаровић). Манастир Бођани. [Живковић (1988), 41, сл. 46]



Fig. 2 Saint Nahum and Saint Clement, Despotic icon. 1711. (Constantinos zo-graph), Iconostasis, Monastery of Saint Nahum, Ohrid. [Грозданов (1983), plate XIV].

Сл. 2) Свети Наум и Свети Климент  
Деспотска икона, 1711. (Константин зограф). Иконостас, Манастир Св. Наум, Охрид. [Грозданов (1983), табла XIV].

lion), with a halo around his head. Zefar is likely to have used the throne icon<sup>6</sup> of the Saint Nahum Monastery by Lake Ohrid (Ohridsko) painted in 1711 (fig. 2.) as the archetype for the garments, but he might as well have been acquainted with Nahum's earliest depiction in the Bogorodica Church in Zaum<sup>7</sup>, a wall painting made in 1361<sup>8</sup> (fig. 3.), in which the saint is vested similarly. The mandias bound together at knee-height first appeared in the seal (fig. 4.) of the Saint Nahum Monastery dating from the second half of the seventeenth century<sup>9</sup>, which can now be found in Sofia<sup>10</sup>. In the fresco of Bođani Nahum's right hand

<sup>6</sup> Published in: Ц. Грозданов, *Портрети на светителите од Македонија од IX до XVIII век*, Скопје, 1983, plate XIV.

<sup>7</sup> Zaum is not far away from Ohrid and the Monastery of Saint Nahum.

<sup>8</sup> Its sketch is published in: Ц. Грозданов, *Свети Наум охридски*, Скопје, 1995, 39, fig. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Its sketch is published in: Ц. Грозданов, *Портрети на светителите од Македонија од IX до XVIII век*, 200, fig. 65.

<sup>10</sup> The artefact is kept in the Patriarchal Museum.



Fig. 4 Saint Nahum, The seal of the Monastery of Saint Nahum. 17<sup>th</sup> century. Patriarchal Museum, Sophia (Photo: National Museum, Sophia).

Сл. 4) Свети Наум, Печат манастира Светог Наума. XVII век. Патријаршијски музеј, Софија (Фото: Народни музеј, Софија).

Fig. 3 Saint Nicholas, Saint Clement, Saint Nahum, Saint Stephen. Sketch of a wall painting. 1361. Bogorodica Church, Zaum. [Грозданов (1995), 39, fig. 26].

Сл. 3) Свети Никола, Свети Климент, Свети Наум, Свети Стефан. Скица зидног сликарства. 1361. Богородичина црква, Заума. [Грозданов (1995), 39, сл. 26].

is raised in blessing and his left is represented in the orans position. The earliest depiction of Nahum raising his hand in the orans position is the mural painting in Zaum.

The essence of monastic life is that the professed monk leaves his former, secular self behind to be able to devote his whole being to following Christ<sup>11</sup>. These ideas are expressed by the individual items of the solemnly professed monk's habit worn by Nahum. I have written in detail about their symbolism in

<sup>11</sup> T. Imre, *Az ókeresztény szerzetes-eszmény tartalma és gyakorlati megvalósítása a keresztény Keleten (The Meaning and Practical Realisation of the Early Christian Ideal of the Monk in the Christian East, 1968, manuscript), 7.*

All translations from non-English sources are mine, with the help of the Hungarian translation in the case of Slavic and Greek sources. Translator's note.



Fig. 5 Saint Nahum and Saint Nicodemus, Engraving from *Stemmatographia*. 1741. (Hristophor Zefar). [Грозданов (1983), 230, 84].

Сл. 5) Свети Наум и Свети Никодим, Гравира из Стематографије, 1741. (Hristophor Zefar). [Грозданов (1983), 230, 84].

my study published in the volume *Niš and Byzantium IV* in 2006<sup>12</sup>, so let me give only short references here. The length of the rason reminds its wearer that he commits his entire being to the denial of his former self, the esorason worn over it is an emblem of being enrobed in a new man, the belt refers to killing the body and renewing the soul. The mandias is the robe of a man undertaking an angelic life. The koukulion encourages partaking in Christ's suffering, the analavion hanging down in the front is emblematic of the idea that whoever is clad in Christ's death, shall also partake in his resurrection.

The Christian interpretation of the orans position inherited from pagan antiquity is manifold: the hands stretched out during prayer evoke the sufferings of the Christ. The depiction of martyrs in this position shows that they have already triumphed over their ordeals. The figure in the orans position refers

to the blest soul having found the "certainty of salvation"<sup>13</sup>.

Leposava. Selmić has pointed out that the wall paintings of Bođani display a harmonious symbiosis of Post-Byzantine and contemporary Western painting<sup>14</sup> mixed with influences from Athos. The character of Nahum is an example of the latter, since the orans position and the mandias bound together at knee-height, referring to the life of a hermit<sup>15</sup>, are frequent motifs of saints' depictions from Athos and highlight the ascetic features of a monk's life. Although Zefar uses the iconographic models of Ohrid in the wall painting of Bođani, his Nahum is a generalised figure of the solemnly professed monk without any

<sup>12</sup> N. Márta, *The iconography of Saint Naum in the icons of the workshop of Ráckeve, Niš and Byzantium*. Symposium IV (Niš, 3-5 June, 2005). The Collection of Scientific Works IV, ed. Miša Rakocija (Niš, 2006), 325-342.

<sup>13</sup> V. László, *Az ókeresztény művészet szimbólumai (Symbols of Early Christian Art)*, (Budapest, 1988), 190.

<sup>14</sup> Л. Шелмић, *Introduction*, [Б. Живковић, *op. cit.*, 4].

<sup>15</sup> N. Márta, *op. cit.*, 330, footnote 39.

references to Nahum's personal history which would distinguish him for example from the Saint George of Sinai depicted in the lunette of the opposite recessed window<sup>16</sup>. The depiction of both saints is highly stereotypical.

The publication of Hristofor Zefar's *Stemmatographia* in 1741 was subsidised by the church. Through evoking the great figures of Serbian culture it was aimed at strengthening the national self-awareness of the Serbs, a nation living partly under Ottoman authority, partly in a foreign land, the Hungarian Kingdom. Zefar's product of graphic printmaking was meant to be a propaganda tool of this thought.

In *Stemmatographia*, similarly to the wall painting in Bođani Saint, Nahum<sup>17</sup> (fig. 5.) is depicted in full length, but only the lower half of his body is in frontal position, whereas his bust is turned a little bit inwards, towards his companion. He wears the habit of the solemnly professed monks without the analavion and the forehead part of his *koukulsion* is adorned with a cross, which is an accessory of this item and a reinforcement of the symbolism inherent in the *koukulsion*<sup>18</sup>. Medieval examples<sup>19</sup>, the throne icon of Ohrid or Zefar's own work in Bođani might also have served as models for the habit.

Nahum is holding the grip of his monk's staff in his right hand and an open scroll in his left. Zefar might have borrowed this feature from the first depiction of Nahum holding a monk's staff, the despotic icon of Ohrid. The first image of Nahum with an open scroll appears in the wall painting of the Church of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in Vithkuq (Albania), which is dated somewhat roughly to the period between 1626 and 1728<sup>20</sup>. The inscription of the scroll held in Nahum's hand in *Stemmatographia* is the following: „ИЖЕ СОТВОРИТ И НАУЧИТ СЕИ ВЕЛИИ НАРЕЧЕТСА“ (“Great is he who creates and teaches. Revere him!”)

Nahum's depiction in the baroque-like representation is stereotypical, his position and garments are identical with those of Nicodemus portrayed next to him. Zefar presents the generalised image of the wandering-teaching-evangelising monk in Nahum, despite the fact that his iconographic archetypes are linked to the Monastery of Ohrid, the most important location of the cult of Saint Nahum. Neither did it concern Zefar that he represented Nahum next to a local saint, Nicodemus, who was canonised by Joasaph, Archbishop of Ohrid, not long before the publication of *Stemmatographia* and whose hagiography was also included in the *Akouluthia* of Moschopolis<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Its sketch is published in: Б. Живковић, *op. cit.*, 41, fig. 46.

<sup>17</sup> Published in: Ц. Грозданов, *Портрети на светителите од Македонија од IX до XVIII век*, 230, fig. 84.

<sup>18</sup> N, Márta, *op. cit.*, 330, footnote 41.

<sup>19</sup> For example the wall painting in Zaum, its sketch is published in: Цветан Грозданов (1995), 39, fig. 26.

<sup>20</sup> R. Lozanova, *Images Slavic Saints in Moschopolis and Vithkuqoi (Albania)*, Годишник на Софийския Университет Св. Климент Охридски (Център за славяно-византийски проучвания Иван Дуйчев, том 92 [11], 2002), 333, fig. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Ц. Грозданов, *Портрети на светителите од Македонија од IX до XVIII век*, 233-234.



Fig. 6 Saint Nahum with Scenes of his Life, Engraving. 1743. (Hristophor Zefar). From the Church of Miskolc, Orthodox Museum, Miskolc (Photo: Mihály Dömötör).

Сл. 6) Свети Наум и сцене из његовог живота, Гравира, 1743. (Христифор Жефаревић). Из цркве Мишколц, православни музеј, Мишколц (Фото: Михаљ Домотор).



Fig. 7 Saint Nahum with Scenes of his Life, Engraving. 1743. (Hristophor Zefar – Thomas Mesmer). From the Church of Miskolc, Orthodox Museum, Miskolc (Photo: Mihály Dömötör).

Сл. 7) Свети Наум и сцене из његовог живота, Гравира, 1743. (Христифор Жефаревић - Томас Месмера). Из цркве Мишколц, православни музеј, Мишколц (Фото: Михаљ Домотор).

Zefar produced two hagiographic engravings of Nahum in 1743 in Vienna; one (fig. 6.) verifiably for Nahum Bikerasz, a commissioner from Hungary<sup>22</sup>, and another (fig. 7.) as a compilation of this engraving and one of Saint Nicholas<sup>23</sup>.

As opposed to the previous representations, the engravings depict exclusively the saint of Ohrid. Unlike in Bođani, in the central composition of the Bikerasz engraving (fig. 8.) Nahum is not portrayed as an iconic figure but in a completely different manner: depicted in full length in a landscape setting, he is not in frontal position, but rather turned right, towards his church. His habit resembles that of Bođani, but his mandias is not bound together in the front<sup>24</sup>. His right is raised in blessing and his left is pointing at his church represented on a smaller scale in the background.

<sup>22</sup> The inscription of the engraving mentions the commissioner. The inscription will be published in: Nagy Márta (2011).

<sup>23</sup> Nagy Márta (2011).

<sup>24</sup> Master Zefar obviously does not want to emphasise here the ascetic lifestyle of Saint Nahum of Ohrid.

In the iconography of Saint Nahum the church appears first as an attribute in the throne icon of Ohrid<sup>25</sup>. However, Zefar borrows it only as a motif, as he applies it in a completely different manner. While in the icon of Ohrid Nahum is holding the model of his church, Zefar portrays a real church in a real setting. The Byzantine attitude of founding-offering is replaced by a patronising gesture directed at the church. It is not only the movement that is new in Zefar's iconography, but also the form of the hand and arm. It is not the hand of a living man, like the right of Nahum, but a rigid hand relic. The representation of a relic hand as a part of a living body is an unusual motif, with no analogy, as far as I know. At the time of working on the engraving Zefar was living in Vienna<sup>26</sup>, where he must have got acquainted with the reprints of the medieval Heiltumbuchs that documented medieval relics, among them numerous hand relics<sup>27</sup> (fig. 9.). These must have influenced Zefar. These representations depicted the hand relic in a shrine, separate from the body. However, Zefar depicted it as a part of the living body. The motif ensemble created in this manner allowed Zefar to demonstrate glaringly that the already deceased saint does still patronise his church by his relic from the heavenly fields, since he is pointing at it with nothing but that hand. The triple temporal plane of the saint's veneration resides in this motif. The past is represented by the living Nahum, who does not live on earth any more; however, his relic re-presents him on earth – that is the present. Present and past foreshadow the future<sup>28</sup>, since Nahum's relic hand pointing at his church indicates that he will also patronise it in the future.



Fig. 8 Saint Nahum, Central composition of fig. 6.

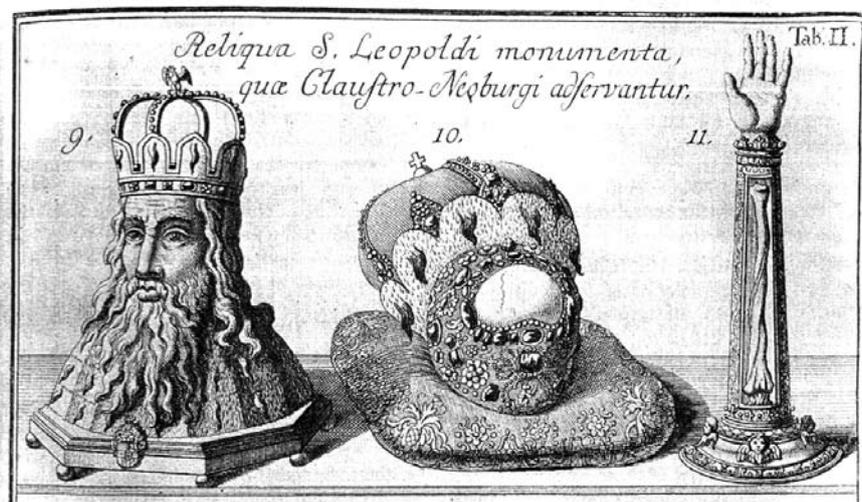
Сл. 8) Свети Наум, Централна композиција сл. 6.

<sup>25</sup> Published in: Ц. Грозданов, *Портрети на светителите од Македонија од IX до XVIII век*, plate XIV.

<sup>26</sup> Zefar lived in the imperial town from 1740 [*Дело Христофора Жефаровића* (Нови Сад, Галерија Матице Српске, MCMLXI (1961), 76].

<sup>27</sup> *Der Heilige Leopold. Landesfürst und staatssymbol* (Stift Klosterneuburg 30. März – 3. November 1985), Catalogue No. 583, 585, etc.

<sup>28</sup> B. Gábor, Szentisztelet. Bevezető gondolatok, (Veneration of Saints. An Introduc-



Kat.-Nr. 583

Fig. 9 Saint Leopold's Hand Relic, Engraving. 1760. (Georg Nicolai). Stiftsbibliothek, Klosterneuburg, [Der Heilige Leopold (1985), Catalogue No. 583].

Сл. 9) Реликвија руке Светог Леополда, Гравира, 1760. (Georg Nicolai). Stiftsbibliothek, Klosterneuburg [Der Heilige Leopold (1985), Catalogue No. 583].

Thus there is a very strong emphasis on the patronising role of the saint in the Nahum figure of the central composition.

This strange combination of motifs has another reading, too. There are references to numerous miracles (the taming of a bear, the exorcism of evil spirits from the possessed, etc.) in Nahum's hagiography, and the folk legends about him also speak about the wonders he worked. In Christianity the working of miracles is primarily associated with the hands. The miracle-worker's prayer is accompanied by a gesture of the hands, which also indicates that he intercedes for the people turning to him. Early-Christian representations depict saints' hands in gold<sup>29</sup>. Zefar, who is likely to have learned painting in Thessaloniki<sup>30</sup>, must have known the mosaic of the golden-handed Saint Demetrius from the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the church of the same name.

Nahum's hand can also work miracles. But the engraving is black and white, Zefar could not colour Nahum's hand gold in it. However, by highlighting it among the parts of the living body, by representing a part of the living body as a relic, he could still draw attention to the miracle-working hand.

While the episodic scenes of the despotic icon of the monastery of Ohrid serve as models for four of the side compositions<sup>31</sup>, there is no iconographic

tion) *Szentisztelet*, ed. Barna Gábor (Szeged, 2001), 14.

<sup>29</sup> For example the icon *Virgin with Child* (609), published in: Belting, Hans, *Kép és kultusz (Image and Cult)*, (Budapest, 2000), 39, figure 8.

<sup>30</sup> О. Микић, *op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>31</sup> These are the following: *Harnessing a Bear instead of an Ox*, *Healing the Possessed*, *Dormition of Saint Nahum*, *Saint Marina* [Ц. Грозданов, *Портрети на светите-*



Fig. 10 The Monastery of Ohrid with the surrounding settlements, From fig. 6.

Сл. 10) Манастир Охрид са околним насељима, из сл. 6.

archetype for the others, their construction can be attributed to Zefar. Four of these have a historic core<sup>32</sup>. Professor Grodzanov postulates that the textual forerunners of the remaining side compositions consist in monastic stories, which could have been told to Zefar by Constantinos, the igumen of the monastery<sup>33</sup>.

Zefar depicts these legends and miracles in a typical Macedonian environment; he also uses local national costumes (for example a cylinder-like headwear complete with a tassel dangling from a long string, long tight boots, etc.) and draws an exact image of the monastery (figure 10.). He gives a topographically exact representation of Lake Ohrid, the River Drim streaming next to the monastery, and the surrounding settlements<sup>34</sup>: on the eastern shore of the lake the towns Ohrida, Pestiani, Trapzitsa, Zaum, Elsian and Livanistia, on the western one Semistia, Puraets, Starova and the Church of Saint Panteleimon<sup>35</sup>. Even the image of Moschopolis, quite distant from Lake Ohrid, appears in Zefar's representation. In short, he connects Nahum's figure to the place, to the Macedonian landscape. He does so because for his commissioner of Macedonian origin<sup>36</sup>,

*лите од Македонија од IX до XVIII век, 242].*

<sup>32</sup> The following ones: The King Orders the Saint to Heal his Daughter, The Saint is Put to Jail, The Saint Baptises the Princess, The Saint is Persecuted by Bogomils [Ц. Грозданов, *Свети Наум охридски*, 179].

<sup>33</sup> Constantinos at that time was the Archimandrite of the Monastery of Saint Nahum in Ohrid [Ц. Грозданов, *Свети Наум охридски*, 180].

<sup>34</sup> Their detailed description in: Nagy Márta (2011).

<sup>35</sup> The names of the settlements are the Hungarian versions of the contemporary town names to be found in the Bikerasz-engraving [Nagy Márta (2011)].

<sup>36</sup> The Macedonian origins of Nahum Bikerasz and his birth in Moschopolis are proved by the archival documents of the census in 1770 (*The Archives of Borsod-Abaúj-*

Nahum Bikerasz – a man bearing the name of his patron saint – it was extremely important to emphasise that Saint Nahum came from his homeland. It is also expressed by the fact that Nahum Bikerasz did not simply make Zefar represent his hometown, Moschopolis, in the engraving, but also named it in its inscription:

„Η ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ ΕΙΚΩΝ ΑΥΤΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΞ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΝΑΟΥΜ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΟΥΜΑΤΟΥΡΓΟΥ. ΣΥΝ ΔΡΟΜΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΤΙΜΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΣΗΜΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ, ΝΑΟΥΜ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΟΥΛ ΜΠΗΚΕΡΑ ΕΚ ΜΟΣΧΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ. ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΗ ΠΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΑΟΥΜ ΑΨΜΓ /έπιστasia χριστ: ζεφαρ.)”

(“This icon of our Holy Father, the miracle-working Nahum with the wonders surrounding him [was made] with the support of the holiest Archimandrite Constantinos and on the expenses of Master Nahum, the son of the most respectable and worthiest Saul Bikeras[sz] from Moschopolis, and was offered by him to the Monastery of Saint Nahum. 1743. Under the supervision of Hristofor Zefar.”)

For the Macedovlach individual living in a strange land, the engraving, as a means for the veneration of the saint from the old mother country in the new homeland, also embodies the interconnection of the old mother country in Macedonia and the new homeland in Hungary. This is also expressed by such other factors as the choice of the master, Zefar, since he is also a Macedovlach coming from Nahum’s homeland<sup>37</sup>, or the mentioning of the igumen, Archimandrite Constantinos, who subsidised the production of the engraving in its inscription. In Constantinos’s contribution the mother country’s feedback also realised itself: it is an expression of how important the fellow-Macedovlachs living in a strange land were for the old mother country<sup>38</sup>.

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*Zemplén County* IV. 501/b. XI. I. 67): „Paul Nahum, approximately 58, Macedonian, Orthodox, but not in communion. Married. Born in the Macedonian provinces, in the town of Moschopolis. Well-built, proportionate, short-necked, round-faced, of high colour...”

<sup>37</sup> *Дело Христофора Жефаровића* (Нови Сад, Галерија Матице Српске, МСМ-LXI, 1961), 76.

<sup>38</sup> Zefar’s engravings were also taken to the old mother country and copied there: for example the 18<sup>th</sup>-century image entitled *Saint Nahum with Scenes of his Life*, to be found in the Saint Nicholas Gerakomija Church in Ohrid, was also made on the basis of Zefar’s engraving, just like an etching of similar topic made in 1849, a print of which is currently kept in the Monuments Office in Ohrid. Both objects are published in: Цветан Грозданов, “Утицај Христофора Жефаровића на стварање македонских мајстора XIX века,” *Западно-европски барок и византијски свет. Зборник радова са научног скупа одржаног од 10. до 13. октобра 1989* (Уредник: Медаковић, Дејан., сл. 4, Београд, 1991), pictures 3, 1. Zefar’s engravings also served as archetypes for masters working in Hungary, for example for the iconographer of the despotic icon (cc. 1760) for the iconostasis of the Saint Nahum Chapel in Miskolc [Nagy Márta (2011), Catalogue No. 11.] or for the master from Ráckeve who made the great hagiographic icon (cc. 1770) in Hódmezővásárhely [Nagy Márta (2011), Catalogue No. 14].

Thus the main current of the present reading of this artefact is suggested by the central thought of Hristofor Zefar's 1743 engraving of Saint Nahum, by the interconnection of Saint Nahum's role as a patron and the Macedonians' emotional attachment to the old mother country: for the Macedonians living in a foreign land Saint Nahum's support means not only the Saint's protection and patronage, but also those of the old mother country<sup>39</sup>.

### Conclusion

Zefar depicted Nahum four times, using three different iconographies. In Bođani, following archetypes from Ohrid, he represents Nahum as a generalised figure: a saint of spiritual strength. The proselytiser-missionary Nahum figure of Stematographia, which was also formulated on the basis of archetypes from Ohrid, is similarly stereotypical and generalised. In neither case was Saint Nahum depicted for his own self, but rather as a decorative element in a larger system of wall paintings or a member of a legion of saints.

In contrast, in the engravings of 1743 Nahum appears as the sole figure in the composition, in an iconography different from all earlier ones and constructed for the occasion. The commissioners of these engravings are not institutions (like a monastic community) but private individuals: the objects were made for purposes of private devotion. In the Nahum figures of the two engravings Zefar – complying with the commissioners' wishes – highlighted the attitude of patronage and Macedonian bonds. This is what distinguishes the cult of Saint Nahum in Hungary from all other saints' cult. For the veneration of Nahum is not simply the veneration of a saint, the reflection of the emotional bonds with the old mother country appears as an additional feature in it.

### Матр Нађ ИКОНОГРАФИЈА И ИКОНОЛОГИЈА ПРЕДСТАВЕ СВ. НАУМА ХРИСТИФОРА ЖЕФАРОВИЋА

Христифор Жефаровић је четири пута насликао Св. Наума Охридског у свом опусу: 1737. године на фресци у главној цркви манастира Бођани (Бођани, Србија), и у три гравуре-у збирци под називом Стематографија из 1741, и у две независне представе у 1743. Године.

Четири представе значе три иконографије. У Бођанима, по узору на охридске архетипове, он представља Наума као генерализовану појаву: светца велике духовне снаге. Просветитељско-мисионарска фигура Наума у Стематографији, која је такође

<sup>39</sup> It must be mentioned, however, that from the Westernised manner of the engravings (central perspective, plastic shapes and bodies, the features of western period styles – Baroque and Neo-Classicism) the altered tastes of Orthodox believers living in a foreign environment and, ultimately, their assimilation might be inferred. This assimilation to be traced in fine arts, however, was not total, since – as it has been demonstrated – the westernised artefact is also a representation of a saint from the old mother country.

формулисана на основу охридских архетипова, на сличан начин стереотипна и генерализована. Ни у једном случају Свети Наум није приказан сам за себе, већ као декоративни елемент у већем систему фресака или као члан поворке светитеља. Насупрот томе, у гравирима из 1743. Наум се појављује као једини фигура у композицији, у иконографији се разликује од свих ранијих приказа и конструисан је за ту прилику. Наручиоци ових гравира нису институције (као манастирска заједница), већ физичка лица: предмети су направљени за потребе личног обожавања. У погледу фигура Наума у две гравире је Жефаровић - у складу са жељама наручиоца, истакао однос патрона и повезаност са Македонијом. То је оно што разликује култ Светог Наума у Мађарској од култа свих других светаца. Поштовање Наума није једноставно поштовање светитеља, већ и одраз емотивне везе са отаџбином се појављује као додатна функција.