Ktetor portraits of church dignitaries in Serbian Post–Byzantine painting (part one)

Miljana M. Matić*

Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade

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Church dignitaries were often represented as kteoroi in Serbian painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, primarily in wall paintings and on icons. The first part of this paper discusses twelve kteoroi representations of Serbian patriarchs and metropolitanls. By analyzing the kteoroiic projects of Orthodox Serbs within the Ottoman Empire, the historical framework and description of every portrait, it explores the questions regarding not only the self-referentiality of the kteoroi from the highest circles of the clergy under the Patriarchate of Peć, the patterns and ways they wanted to be represented and remembered, but also the ideological and program context as well. Finally, this two-part study attempts to examine the question of individual and collective identity, imagery and ideas constructing the visual culture of clerical kteoroiship in Serbian Post–Byzantine painting.

Keywords: church dignitaries, kteoroi portraits, Patriarchate of Peć, archbishops, metropolitanls

Portraits as historical sources and patronage of Orthodox Serbs in the Ottoman Empire

Ktetor portraits represent an important and distinctive type of historical sources in Post-Byzantine art, which still remains understudied.1 Regarding church dignitaries, portraits are the most reliable and sometimes the only testimonies for the research of individual personalities, clothing, and insignia, giving information on the appearance of the depicted archpriests and their rank in society.2 Thanks to the inscriptions accompanying ktetor portraits, they are considered to be a unique epigraphic treasury and an important source for studying the titles of Orthodox clergy, as well as for the history of some church monuments and icons.3 Portraits also provide valuable testimonies of fundamental ideological, political and religious views of the depicted personalities and the environment in which they lived. The subject of this paper are the ktetor portraits of Orthodox church dignitaries of various ranks in Serbian painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which are here published and analyzed.


collectively for the first time.\(^4\) Originating from the long period of Ottoman rule in the former territories of medieval Serbian lands, these portraits were created under the supervision and direct orders of the highest hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church – the Patriarchate of Peć. In view of this fact, they represent authentic historical testimonies coming from the most educated and influential circles of the Serbian society of the time. The reliability of the data provided by preserved compositions largely stems from the fact that these portraits had a public function and were meant to „memorize“ certain property and legal actions, but also some crucial church decisions and historical events, and overall, the kttoric act itself.

Out of the total of twenty-four preserved kttor portraits of church dignitaries of different ranks, there are six portraits of the patriarchs of Peć, painted between 1565 and 1673/1674; six portraits of metropolitan bishops, created between 1530 and 1683/1684; five portraits of hegumenoi, dated between 1550 and 1667; three portraits of hieromonks from the period 1576–1594/1595; and four portraits of monks, dated between 1592 and 1607/1608. The first part of this study presents kttor portraits of the highest clergy – patriarchs and metropolitan bishops. The second part focuses on monastic kttor portraits (hegumenoi, hieromonks and monks), discussing at the end the issue of the category of kttorship (founding, renovation, donorship) and the imagery and ideas constructing the visual culture of clerical kttorship in Serbian Post–Byzantine painting.

A kttor usually became the person who raised, restored, and financed the painting or made a significant donation to a monastery or church.\(^5\) Restoration – a widespread form of patronage between 1557 and 1690 in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć – essentially meant repair, expansion of the church and monastery buildings, frescoing or a donation that could enable the financial upkeep or expansion of the monastery's properties. By the act of restoration, the second kttor became legally equal with the founder.\(^6\) The right to have a donor portrait was one of the essential ritual rights of kttors, thanks to which many representations have been preserved to this day. Ritual rights also included the right to a prominent place in the temple during the Divine Liturgy in the kttor's lifetime and the right to anaphora after the kttor's death,\(^7\) as well as the right to burial and tomb in the endowment and panikhida.\(^8\) Neither the loss of independence of the Serbian state nor the deterioration of circumstances under Turkish administration during the late Middle Ages put an end to the use of these kttoric rights by Serbian donors, including church dignitaries. There were periods when the kttoric activity of the clergy slightly decreased, especially between 1459 and 1557, but it never ceased: patronage and donorship activities were not discontinued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć, kttoric activity emerged in its full scope, with the concept of more explicit expression of national and Orthodox consciousness, in a mission to preserve Orthodox and Serbian identity. Kttor portraits of ecclesiastical dignitaries in Serbian Post–Byzantine painting during Turkish rule did not lose any of the features of the genre, nor did they fall behind the previous period by number.\(^9\) They appear within compositions which include patron saints, but also independently. Most of these portraits have been preserved in wall paintings, with only a few on icons.\(^10\)

### The Patriarchate of Peć in the Ottoman Empire

In June 1459, when Turks conquered Smederevo, the seat of the Despotate, the Serbian state fell under Turkish rule and lost its independence.\(^11\) The Orthodox Church no longer had its legitimate protectors – rulers and nobles – and therefore had to agree to the conditions of survival under the new regime.\(^12\) The territories of the Serbian Orthodox Church and its dioceses were subjected to the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the

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\(^4\) Clerical and lay kttor portraits dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been examined in: M. Matić, Kttorski portreti u srpskom slikarstvu XVI i XVII veka, Beograd 2008 (magister theses, Belgrade University); edem., Kttor portraits in the Serbian Post–Byzantine painting: typology and iconography, in: Science beyond boundaries 2, ed. M. Lončar-Vujnović et al., Kosovska Mitrovica 2018, 135.

\(^5\) The word kttor (ο κτήτωρ) is of Greek origin and comes from the verb κταομαι – to get, to obtain. It is used as a term referring to different types of representations of historical personalities as church patrons, founders or donors. S. Troicki, Kttorsko pravo u Viżantiji i u Nemanjićkoj Srbiji, Glas SKA 168 (1935) 83; LSSV, 336; ODB III, 1705–1706.

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\(^7\) The acquisition of the right to be mentioned – anaphora, as a means of salvation of the soul, was the main motive for donorship. This right was guaranteed to the founders of the temple, but also to other donors who later restored the monastery or made a large donation. V.

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Archbishopric of Ohrid. Nevertheless, there are indications that the clergy of the Serbian Church, even before the formal restoration in 1557, was able to express itself – although constrainedly – in the cultural sphere, in certain parts of the southern and northern regions, which enjoyed more autonomy in organizing the church life of their dioceses. There is a surviving document confirming that the Synod of the Archbishopric of Ohrid condemned Pavle, the metropolitan of Smederevo from Serbian origin, for opposing the authority of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. It seems that on that occasion he tried unsuccessfully to restore the independence of the Serbian church, but was condemned twice, in 1529 and 1532. Among the signatories of the official document of the Synodic decision, there was a number of Serbian bishops, including Nikanor, the metropolitan of the Novo Brdo diocese. The seat of the Serbian patriarchate in Peć was officially reestablished in 1557 after having suffered severe blows, losing properties that served as its main source of funding. If they paid the “jizyah” tax (Turkish poll tax), Christians, like Jews, could be granted the status of “rayah” (the general non-Muslim population) in the Ottoman Empire, where they were under the protection of the Sultan. The Orthodox population was able to practice Orthodox rites as long as they did not offend the eyes, ears, or feelings of those who belonged to “the true–faith” (Islam), especially by public rituals. The Ottoman attitude towards Christians depended primarily on the policy of “the Sublime Porte” (Ottoman Turkish سلیم‌پورت). The Porte determined the degree of independence of the Serbian Orthodox Church, delineated the borders of its jurisdiction, and confirmed the appointment of Orthodox church dignitaries, usually for the duration of one year. By purchasing a warranty document – „the Berat” – Orthodox clerics were assigned to their positions and became the Sultan’s vasals, responsible for the situation in their church and the submissive behavior of their congregation. The independence of the Patriarchate of Peć was restored in 1557, two and a half decades after Metropolitan Pavle’s rebellion, with the help of high Turkish court dignitaries of Serbian descent, especially Mehmed–Pasha Sokolović. Its borders included the vast territory from Komoran to Štip and from the Iskra River in today’s Bulgaria to the Kupa River in Croatia, stretching from Upper Hungary, north of Buda to the northern edges of present-day Albania and North Macedonia with Skadar, Tetovo, Skopje, Kratovo, and Štip. Towards the southeast, this area included Čustendil, the Rila Monastery and Samokov. The entire area of Bačka and Baranja with its surrounding territories was put under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć and the borders moved towards Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, while Brda, Montenegro had been under the Patriarchate from the beginning. Under these paradoxical circumstances, the Patriarchate of Peć ended up having a larger territory than the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, exceeding even the widest borders the Serbian Orthodox Church had had during the reign of Emperor Dušan. Taxes and alms collected from the Serbian population in the territory of the Ottoman state provided the main income source of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1557 coincided with the late Renaissance in Southern and Western Europe. It was marked by the institutional and spiritual revival of the Serbian people carried out by the Church and conducted without any major external influence. Therefore, the restoration can be said to have been one of the most interesting events in the history of modern Europe. Patriarch Makarije Sokolović was the first head of the newly restored Patriarchate. During his lifetime Makarije (1557–1571) headed over the throne to his nephew Antionje (1571–1575), who was succeeded by patriarchs Gerasim (1575–1586) and Savatije (1587), also members of the Sokolović family, ensuring the survival of hard-won religious autonomy. After the brief adminis-

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A strong foothold for the Serbian Orthodox Church to sustain itself under foreign rule lay in its heritage. The Patriarchate of Peć was not as old or as prominent and influential as the Greek church, but it was so deeply rooted that no conqueror, not even the Turks, managed to undermine or eradicate it. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Serbian people were not abandoned by their spiritual leaders, on the contrary. After 1557 the cults of canonized Serbian saints – members of the ruling houses of Nemanjić, Hrebeljanović and Branković, were fostered and nurtured, as well as various phenomena of aristocratization, the institutionalization of the ikonokrat, patronage, local customs, and the support of artistic activity in general. The Turkish authorities did not oppose the renovation of Orthodox edifices if there was evidence that the church had existed from ancient times, i.e. from the time of Mehmed the Conqueror. In practice, the kotor would usually address the kadi (much more rarely the Sultan) and ask him to allow a temple to be repaired or rebuilt on old foundations. Ottoman laws were strict only in cases of severe regulation violations. Otherwise they tended not to interfere with any construction activities, and after 1557 the Serbian church began to fully exploit this possibility.

There is only scarce evidence found in sixteenth-century records written by different diplomats and travelers of the limited education of the priests they had met. These travelers’ impressions, often providing one-sided and superficial observations, can be taken as reliable only in the case of low-ranking clergy, although even some members of this clerical stratum tried to expand their knowledge. The authorities of the Serbian church were aware of the fact that the general level of education of the lower clergy was not satisfying, so they made efforts to improve it. By contrast, the monastic circles, from which the high clergy was recruited, tended to be much more cultured and learned. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the period of the rise of Serbian monasticism. It was then that learned Serbian monks of the highest rank assumed the role of spiritual revival in the sixteenth century was rooted in small villages. The scope of the restoration and the

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25 B. Đurđev, Uloga srpske crkve u borbi protiv osmanlijske vlasti, Pregled 1 (Sarajevo 1953) 35–42; ISN III, 1, 214–335 (R. Samardžić).
28 He was executed in Istanbul on October 14, 1614, and his grave is close to the Yeni–gate (Yeni Mevlevihane Kapusu). Ruvarac, O pečkim patrijarhisima od Makarija do Arsenija III, 19–20, 29–30, 49–59, 107–109; Tomić, Pečki patrijarhi Jovan, 142; Samardžić, Srpska pravoslavna crkva u XVI i XVII veku, 73.
30 Samardžić, Srpska pravoslavna crkva u XVI i XVII veku, 86–93.
31 Ibid., 93–101.
33 The kadi gave his consent once he was convinced, based on old charters or the testimony of two Muslims, that the church had existed before the conquest. After that, a board of Muslims would go to the site of the ruined church and accurately determine the extent of the renovations or the size of the renovated church. S. Petković, Značno slikarstvo na području Pečke patrijarhisije 1557–1614, Novi Sad 1965, 48; idem, Morača, 77–78; idem, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, Beograd 1995, 65–66. About the relations of Islam to the Christian edifices v. Zirojević, Crkve i monastiri, 15–24.
35 P. Matković, Poluovanja po Balkanskom puštu XVI veka, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 62 (1882) 60.
36 Priests had their own schools (at the monasteries), where they learnt to read and write. C. Mijatović, Pre trista godina: prilog k izučavanju izvora za istoriju našeg naroda, Glasnik SUD 36 (Beograd 1872) 195, 212–213; Petković, Značno slikarstvo, 35; D. Radojičić, Razvojni luk stare srpske književnosti, LMS 385/4 (1960) 342–343.
revival of artistic activity it had brought have shown that among the clergy there were many who rewrote, translated and created original works, raised churches, looked after wall paintings and the creation of religious art.

**Identity, self-referentiality and ktetorship**

For they will be made holy who observe holy things in holiness, and those who have been taught them will find a defence.

Wisdom 6, 10 (NRSV)

From the total of twenty-four ktetor portraits of church dignitaries painted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most originate from the period 1557 – 1690. Only two portraits – of one metropolitan and one hegoumenos – date from the first half of the sixteenth century, a crisis period before the renewal of church independence. These two portraits were done in the icon painting technique. After 1557, we can notice the emergence of a sort of restored „new spiritual aristocracy“ gathered around the Church and a return of the shattered reputation of the Serbian people and its leaders. The ability of Christians for ktetoric endeavors was proportionate to the economic prosperity of specific regions of the time. The importance of ktetors from a broad layer of the clergy gradually increased, especially in the case of the high dignitaries of the Serbian church.38 Among the portraits of the highest clerics, ktetor portraits of patriarchs and metropolitans are prevalent, with no surviving donor portraits of bishops.

**Patriarchs of Peć**

The patriarchs of Peć showed exceptional concern for ktetoric undertakings of various kinds, leading by example and inspiring the lower clergy and their flock.39 In fact, in the age of the restored Patriarchate of Peć, the personality of the patriarch stood at the center of the efforts to preserve and cultivate the medieval heritage of the Orthodox church and Serbian state. However, only a few of them were portrayed as ktetors during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As many as three out of the eight preserved Post-Byzantine representations of Serbian patriarchs depict Makarije Sokolović (1557–1571) – „the great renovator“ of the Patriarchate of Peć.40 Antonije Sokolović (1571–1575) and Maksim (1655–1674) were also painted in the patriarchal ornate. All these representative ktetor portraits were created in the period between 1565 and 1673/1674. All available evidence suggests that after the restoration Serbian patriarchs – except for the first patriarch Makarije – were elected at a council.41 Orthodox authorities did not interfere in his election, but the sultan needed to formally verify his appointment by a berât decision of the Council. The payment of 100,000 akçes (Ottoman coins) for his confirmation and a regular annual tax of 2,000 ducats guaranteed not only the free confession of the Orthodox faith, but also ensured that the patriarch personally acquired various rights as the bearer of the spiritual authority and legal government of the Orthodox population.42 The patriarchs often visited their flock in the most densely populated dioceses and were highly respected.43 It can be inferred that patriarchs, as bearers of specific rights not only in the church but in legal affairs as well, were fairly affluent, and this would have allowed them to pursue artistic endeavors.44

Makarije Sokolović (1557–1571), the first patriarch of the restored Serbian Church, was represented as a ktetor in the wall paintings of the Patriarchate of Peć Monastery (1565), as well as the monasteries of Budisavci (1568) and Gračanica (1570). Becoming a patriarch and ascending to the throne of St. Sava in the Patriarchate of Peć, Makarije found the seat of the Serbian Orthodox Church in a devastated state.45 It had been more than two centuries since the last major works had been undertaken in the complex. The exornathex in front of all three Peć churches seems to have been in the worst state of repair since Makarije first started its reconstruction and re-frescoing. The restoration of the paintings in the exonarthex was completed on September 8, 1565.46 In the inscription above the northern entrance, Patriarch Makarije described his undertaking as „the restoration of the Holy throne and the Great Church.“47 His portrait is painted church, the largest Council hall. It is known that bishops were chosen concurrently, which is supported by the fact that the Ecumenical councils and the Council of St. Simeon of Serbia were represented there. N. Radović, Srpski državni sabor i srednjem veku, Beograd 1940, 49–50; V. Ćubrilović, Srpska pravoslavna crkva pod Turcima od XV do XIX veka, ZFF 5 (1960) 167; V. J. Đurić, S. Ćirković, V. Korać, Pečka patrijaršija, Beograd 1990, 261; Mrđendić, Srpska pravoslavna crkva u XV i XVII veku, 53–54.

42 The extent to which the patriarchal rights were greatly demonstrated is shown by the fact that only the Imperial Court of Trial in Istanbul could judge the patriarch in case of a committed offence, and without the knowledge and approval of the patriarch they were not allowed to incarcerate any priest subordinated to him. Ćubrilović, Srpska pravoslavna crkva pod Turcima, 177–178.

43 Wherever patriarch went, he was riding on a horse, had his own escort composed of priests and laymen, and during the shepherd’s visits there was also an armed escort, which was usually made of a small detachment of janissaries, given to them by Turkish authorities or of comrades of domestic people. Mrđendić, Srpska pravoslavna crkva u XVI i XVII veku, 59.

44 Among the most important rights of the patriarchs are the right to appoint and replace bishops (with the consent of the Council and prior notification of the sultan), to manage church estates, to collect the appropriate taxes from the people, priests and monks, to confirm the rules of the guilds formed by the believers, those who die without a will, etc. Ćubrilović, Srpska pravoslavna crkva pod Turcima, 169; R. Grujić, Pravoslavna srpska crkva, Beograd 1995, 89; Radonić, Rimski karijus, 165; Zravojević, Crkve i manastiri, 35; S. Trčković, Srpska crkva sredinom XVII veka, Glas SANU 320/2 (1980) 61 sqq.

45 Đurić, Ćirković, Korać, Pečka patrijaršija, 242–244.

46 Until the frescoes and the donor inscription were thoroughly examined it was thought that the frescoing was completed in 1561 (SSZN, no. 6310; Petković, Zidno slikarstvo, 119, 162–163; idem, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, 63).

47 Petković, O freskama XVI veka iz priprate Pečke patrijaršije i njihovim slikarima, Saopštenja 16 (1984) 58, fig. 2.

38 Petković, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, 5–6; idem, Art and patronage in Serbia during the early period of Ottomans rule (1450–1600), 410–414.


40 Makarije is mentioned as the „second donor of this Holy family“ in the Peć patriarchate Commemoration book. Ruvarac, O pečkim patrijarhima od Makarije do Arsenija III, 29.

41 It is assumed that at the time of patriarch Makarije, bishops may have been elected in the exonarthex of the Peć patriarchate.

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on the eastern wall, on the north side of a pilaster (Fig. 1). The entrances to all three churches of the Peć complex are on this wall: the Church of St. Demetrius on the north side, the Church of the Holy Apostles in the middle and the Virgin Hodegetria on the south side. The pilaster, with the portrait of the patriarch „the Renovator“, is located on the north side of the entrance to the Church of St. Demetrius. The patriarch is shown turning to the right,
towards the Mother of God represented on the adjacent pilaster. In his hands Makarije carries a painted model of the Peć exonarthex – his endowment, and a scroll with the text of his prayer: „Master [Despotes] of mine, Jesus Christ, the Power, and the Substance, the Father and the Emperor without beginning, receive this little offering of mine, and give us Your great benevolence of eternal good. By the prayers of the One who bore You, the Mother, and of all the saints who pleased You“ – Ἐλαττ(α)δ(ο)ς τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν Θεοῦ Θεόν και Φίλον τῆς εὐλογίας τῆς ἀιώνιας χρόνου. Προσευχήσεις τῶν ὀνείρωσε ἡ Θεοτόκε παραρέμενε τοις ἀγίοις. 48

Fig. 2. Patriarch Makarije Sokolović (1568), Budisavci Monastery (photo: D. Vojvodić)

48 Despotes, meaning: Master, Sovereign Lord, Lord Jesus Christ.
Danilo III, and Sava V). All of these medieval church archbishops, gathered around St. Sava of Serbia. Six archbishops are depicted behind Christ Pantocrator, on the eastern wall, southern from the entrance to the Church of the Holy Apostles: Arsenijević, Jordanije, Sava II, Jovanikije I and Jevstatiije II. Six patriarchs are represented on the same eastern wall, towards the north (Joanikije, Sava IV and Jefrem) and the north wall, towards the west (Spiridon, Danilo III, and Sava V). All of these medieval church dignitaries were shown frontally, dressed in ornate sakkos and with halos, as saints.

In the Budisavci Monastery, a metochion of the Patriarchate of Peć, Makarije Sokolović is shown as a ktor on the southern wall of the nave, in the first zone, holding the model of the single-dome Church of the Transfiguration in his hands (Fig. 2). He is signed in the inscription as „the Archbishop and the renovator of the Serbian [Throne] after its devastation and the ktoros of this holy temple“ – (ποιησας την εικονομην αναληθη και την ιεροπλιθυνθη και ονομασθη). Makarije is depicted as a corpulent person, grey-bearded and grey-haired, with his hair descending to his shoulders; he is shown bareheaded, without a miter, only with a tonsure. He is dressed in the formal vestments of an archpriest: an ochre sakkos with embroidered phytomorphic and geometric motifs, richly decorated with pearls along the edges, and a large omophorion. Beneath the sakkos, the sticharion, epitrachelion and embroidered dark red sakkos, with his ends decorated with pearl ribbons. He is wearing a large white omophorion over the sakkos, and a sticharion, epitrachelion and embroidered dark red sakkos. The patriarch is addressed Christ Despot on his head, there is a miter decorated with pearls and a large white omophorion over the sakkos, and a sticharion, epitrachelion and embroidered dark red sakkos. The patriarch is addressed Christ Despotos, asking him to receive „his small offering“, trusting in the mediation of the Most Holy Virgin.

Makarije’s title is written around his face, reemphasizing the fact that it was him who restored the Patriarchate: „Makarije, the Most Reverend Patriarch and the restorer of this Holy Throne“ – Ἰς μεταρρυθμιστής Πατριάρχης και ερυθτής τοῦ Ἁγίου θρόνου. Makarije is shown as an aged, grey-bearded and grey-haired man dressed in a sticharion, epitrachelion and embroidered dark red sakkos, with his ends decorated with pearl ribbons. He is wearing a large white omophorion over the sakkos, and on his head, there is a miter decorated with pearls and precious stones. Makarije’s representation is included in a row of twelve Serbian medieval archbishops and patriarchs, gathered around St. Sava of Serbia. Six archbishops are depicted behind Christ Pantocrator, on the eastern wall, southern from the entrance to the Church of the Holy Apostles: Arsenijević, Jordanije, Sava II, Jovanikije I and Jevstatiije II. Six patriarchs are represented on the same eastern wall, towards the north (Joanikije, Sava IV and Jefrem) and the north wall, towards the west (Spiridon, Danilo III, and Sava V). All of these medieval church dignitaries were shown frontally, dressed in ornate sakkos and with halos, as saints.

In the Budisavci Monastery, a metochion of the Patriarchate of Peć, Makarije Sokolović is shown as a ktor on the southern wall of the nave, in the first zone, holding the model of the single-dome Church of the Transfiguration in his hands (Fig. 2). He is signed in the inscription as „the Archbishop and the renovator of the Serbian [Throne] after its devastation and the ktoros of this holy temple“ – (ποιησας την εικονομην αναληθη και την ιεροπλιθυνθη και ονομασθη). Makarije is depicted as a corpulent person, grey-bearded and grey-haired, with his hair descending to his shoulders; he is shown bareheaded, without a miter, only with a tonsure. He is dressed in the formal vestments of an archpriest: an ochre sakkos with embroidered phytomorphic and geometric motifs, richly decorated with pearls. Christ on the throne is depicted frontally near the ktoros, on the west side of the southeast pilaster. Makarije’s right hand holds the church model presented as his Gift to the Lord and a white scroll. On the scroll is inscribed the text of a prayer, starting with a red initial letter: „Oh Master [Despotos], merciful Lord Jesus Christ, the Son and the Logos of the living God, to You, the Permissive Sovereign Lord, I am praying: receive this little offering of mine as You have received the two mites of a widow“ – ενωθησονται μετα αὐτῆς τῷ Βασιλείῳ τῶν Πάντων ΄ΕΙΣΕΙΤΑΝ ιῶτα ἡμεῖς τῷ Βασιλείῳ τῶν Πάντων. Christ is depicted frontally near the ktoros, on the west side of the southeast pilaster. Makarije’s right hand holds the church model presented as his Gift to the Lord and a white scroll. On the scroll is inscribed the text of a prayer, starting with a red initial letter: „Oh Master [Despotos], merciful Lord Jesus Christ, the Son and the Logos of the living God, to You, the Permissive Sovereign Lord, I am praying: receive this little offering of mine as You have received the two mites of a widow“ – ενωθησονται μετα αὐτῆς τῷ Βασιλείῳ τῶν Πάντων ΄ΕΙΣΕΙΤΑΝ ιῶτα ἡμεῖς τῷ Βασιλείῳ τῶν Πάντων.
located on the southern pilaster of the eastern wall of the exonarthex. The painting is severely damaged from the shoulders up, so the inscription is preserved only beside Metropolitan Dionisije, marked with a halo: Δήμικ. Makarije is the leading figure; he is dressed in a sticharion, epitrachelion and a white sakkos, richly decorated with a motif of crosses inscribed in a circle and pearls, over which he wears an omophorion. In his right hand Makarije holds a scroll with the text of a prayer addressing the Lord and pleading with Him to „look at us and this sacred temple“: „You, Our Lord, whose power is inexpressible, and glory unachievable, whose grace is endless, and love for men unspeakable, You Master [Despotes] alone, by Your partaking in the sufferings of others, look at us and to those who are praying with us great mercy and Your generosity“ – γενικοί δόξα κατα το χριστιανήματα, κατα τον εορτασμόντα τον θεόν, και ευτυχίας και του θαυμάσιου στάσιμον, και γενικοί δόξα κατα το χριστιανήματα, κατα τον εορτασμόντα τον θεόν, και ευτυχίας και του θαυμάσιου στάσιμον, και ευτυχίας και του θαυμάσιου στάσιμον, και ευτυχίας και του θαυμάσιου στάσιμον, και ευτυχίας και του θαυμάσιου στάσιμον.

The opposite wall, across Makarije Sokolović, shows one of his patron saints, St. Macarius the Roman. Antonije and Dionisije are dressed the same: both of them are wearing a sticharion, epitrachelion, phelonion with crosses (polystavrion), and a large omophorion. All three donors are shown in prayer, turned towards Christ in the Deesis, who was painted in the first zone on the west side of the southeastern pilaster of the east wall. The upper part of his representation is damaged. In his hand Jesus holds an open Gospel book with the text: „This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you “ (J 15, 12, NRSV).

60 According to: Todić, op. cit., 260, drawing XXVII.
61 Todić, op. cit., 256, n. 17.
62 According to: Todić, op. cit., 250.
bian patriarchs Joanikije and Jefrem were painted (on the wall between the central and eastern niche of the northern wall), as well as those of Archbishop Sava I, Arsenije II and St. Simeon the Myrrh-Gusher (on the eastern wall, north of the northeast pilaster).63

The same three archpriest figures signed as „the donors of this temple” – 
htitori s(ve)t(a)go hrama sego
– with Patriarch Makarije Sokolović in the middle, were painted in the exonarthex of the church Banja near Priboj in 1573/1574, on the northern wall (Fig. 4). This kte
toric–historical composition commemorates the handover of the throne of the Patriarchate of Peć.65 Makarije was shown in the middle as a former patriarch, withdrawing from the throne of the Archbishopric of Peć, as indicated in the inscription: „The Most Reverend Serbian patriarch kyri Makarije renounces his holy throne” – 
pryws(ve){en JI patrJarhq srqbskJF kyri makarJe 5 prydaFt s(ve)tJi prystolq svoi 5.

He is depicted as a grey-bearded old man in mo
nastic garments, dressed in a solemn olive–grey cassock,
with a black monastic cap with long ends on his head. In his left hand, Makarije holds an omophorion, a miter and a Gospel Book and is shown handing them to the new patriarch and his successor Antonije, while blessing with the right hand.67 The new Patriarch Antonije is shown facing Makarije, standing with his hands crossed on his chest. He is signed as: „By the grace of God the Most Reverend patriarch of the whole Serbian land and the Littoral, kyri Antonije” – 
po m(i)loJi b(o)/Jei pryws(ve){en JI patrJarhq vqsei srqbskJF zemlqI i pomorskJe 5 kV Ér(q) antonJe.

Antonije is dressed in a sticharion with broad vertical stripes – potamoi („rivers”), sakkos, and wears epimanikia and a large omophorion. The trio of ktetors (the two patriarchs and Metropolitan Dionisije) occupies the central position on the northern wall and is surrounded by a single figure from the left and the right. The selection of saints displayed around the ktetors is well thought-out. On the right side of Metropolitan Dionisije the representation of hierodicon Makarije the New Martyr, Patriarch Makarije's personal patron saint.69 Next to the newly elected Patriarch Antonije is a damaged representation of a holy archpriest (Jefrem?) „of Peć", followed by the portraits of the old ktetor Stefan of Dečani and St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the church.71 The scene of the handing over the throne

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63 In Gračanica only archierarchs canonized as saints were represented. Petković, Zidno slikarstvo, 172; Babić, op. cit., 333; Petković, Slikarstvo spoljašnje priprate Gračanice, 210–211; Todić, Gračanica: slikarstvo, 245–261; Petković, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, 37, 303, 305–311, 317–326.
67 For an explanation of this kte
68 Ibd., 272.
69 The representation of Makarije the Hierodicon in Banja was identified by Šakota, O ktkorskoj kompoziciji u priprati manastira Banje kod Priboja, 53–55; Pejić, Manastir Sveti Nikola Dabarski, 131, 271.
70 Pejić, Manastir Sveti Nikola Dabarski, 131, 272.
71 Ibd., 272.
Matić M. М.:

Ktetor portraits of church dignitaries in Serbian Post-Byzantine painting (part one)

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had the power of a historical document, a confirmation and an announcement of the performed act. This public announcement is additionally empowered by the remarkably long historical inscription on the west wall, which offers a detailed account of two events that had occurred at the Church of St. Nicholas of Dabar: Patriarch Makarije’s renunciation of the throne and the ordination of his successor, Metropolitan Antonije.\textsuperscript{72} The inscription informs us that in Banja Patriarch Makarije performed the ceremony of the ordination of Dionisije as the Metropolitan of Novo Brdo, Janjevo and Kosovo, with his seat in Gračanica (1564), and that Dionisije suddenly died five years later (October 15, 1569). Also, after having spent fifteen years on the patriarchal throne, Makarije withdrew from office on Sunday, September 10\textsuperscript{th}.\textsuperscript{73} This served to indicate that Patriarch Antonije had been legally elected to the throne of the supreme head of the Serbian church.\textsuperscript{74}

Speculations aside, at this time it cannot be confirmed that Savatije, „the Patriarch of Peć and all Serbs“ was represented as a ktetor at the Piva Monastery between 1604 and 1606, although he founded the Church of the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos.\textsuperscript{75}

The last ktetor portrait of a Serbian patriarch in a seventeenth-century composition is represented among the wall paintings of the Church of St. Nicholas at the Patriarchate of Peć Monastery (1673/1674).\textsuperscript{76} It depicts Archbishop Maksim (1655–1674), whose grave and sarcophagus are also located in this church.\textsuperscript{77} The ktetoric composition is shown in the first zone of the southern wall. Jesus Christ, St. Nicholas and Patriarch Maxim are shown from east to west. The representation of the ktetor (Fig. 5), described in the inscription as „the Most Reverend Patriarch Maksim“ – ἐν Θεμίστῳ ἐν Θεσσαλονικῇ πατριαρχὸς ἀναγέννησαν ἅγιος Μάκιμος – occupies the southern wall of the nave. His portrait is severely damaged, but the long hair ends of the old archpriest are still visible, as well as his eyes and parts of the face. His clothes are somewhat better preserved: a sophisticated brocade sakkos with golden ornaments and pearled golden ribbons, white sticharion, omophorion, and miter decorated with pearls and precious stones. The patriarch holds a scroll in his right hand in front of himself. However, the text of his supplication has almost completely faded. His left hand is outstretched in prayer. The patriarch is turned towards St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the church, who is shown interceding with Christ in the advocacy position. Both the patron and the ktetor were shown with halos. St. Nicholas (antityny nikonate)\textsuperscript{79} is dressed in a white sticharion and a sakkos with dark red crosses and leads Maksim while praying to Christ and advocating in his favor, as indicated by the position of his hands. Christ – Ἰησοῦς Χριστός – receives the intercession of St. Nicholas and the supplication of the patriarch, stands frontally and blesses while holding the Gospel book. Framed with a red painted ribbon, the ktetoric composition is singled out and emphasized, but at the same

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 128–130, 270–271, fig. 83. Lj. Stojanović brings the inscription under the year „around 1330“ noting that it dates from the time of Patriarch Antonije (SSZN, no. 4935).

\textsuperscript{73} Pejić, Manastir Sveti Nikola Dabarski, 109.

\textsuperscript{74} Rabić, op. cit., 176.

\textsuperscript{75} Matić, Udovičina lepta: metafora ktitorskog daru, 773–774, n. 45–47.

\textsuperscript{76} A small one-naved church dedicated to St. Nicholas was erected by Archbishop Danilo II next to the southern wall of the Church of the Virgin Hodigitria between 1330 and 1337. The inscription above the entrance door (from the inside) states that the frescoing of the church was commissioned and by Patriarch Makarije of Peć at the end of 1673 or before the fall of 1674. Z. Rakić, Radul: srpski slikar


\textsuperscript{78} According to Rakić, Radul: srpski slikar XVII veka, 143.

\textsuperscript{79} Inscription according to: Rakić, op. cit., 143.
time it is a part of a more complex thematic program: St. Simeon and eminent archpriests of the Serbian Church Archbishop Danilo II, Arsenije and St. Sava are shown on the opposite, northern wall. The archbishops are shown dressed in sakkoses, holding Gospel books and blessing, while St. Simeon wears a dark monastic robe.  

80 Đurić, Ćirković, Korać, op. cit., 302; Rakić, op. cit., 143.  

81 Đurić, Ćirković, Korać, op. cit., 302–304; Petković, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, 60; Rakić, op. cit., 57, 143–150.  

Fig. 6. Metropolitan Nikanor’s icon of Jesus Christ with the Apostles, iconostasis of the Gračanica Monastery (around 1530) (photo: author)  

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All patriarchs and archbishops represented as ketrors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are dressed in sakkoses.  

82 Serbian archierarchs of the highest rank were represented wearing sakkos from the beginning of the fourteenth century. V. LSSV, 556; T. Starodubcev, Sakos crkvenih dostojanstvenika u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji, in: Vizantijski svet na Balkanu II, ed. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović, R. Radić, Beograd 2012, 523–550. For more details
rje Sokolović is shown wearing a sticharion with potamoi, epimanikia, epitrachelion, sakkos, a large formal omophorion, and a miter. He is dressed in the same clothing in his endowment Budisavci – where he is represented somewhat less formally, without a miter on his head. In Gračanica, Makarije is again wearing a sakkos decorated with crosses inscribed in a circle. At the Church of St. Nicolas in Peć Patriarch Maksim is depicted in the most representative ornate, wearing a sticharion with potamoi, epitrachelion, epimanikia, sakkos, large omophorion, and miter. Only patriarchs Makarije Sokolović in the exonarthex of the Patriarchate of Peć Monastery and Maksim in the Church of St. Nicholas were represented wearing a miter on their heads. Makarije is holding a miter in the Banja Monastery, as well as an omophorion and a Gospel book, as the hallmarks of archbishop’s authority, while renouncing his throne in favour of Antonije, the new patriarch.

All these portraits of Serbian archbishops (patriarchs) were created during their lifetimes. There are two notable posthumous historical portraits of Serbian patriarchs, who were not represented as kytors, dating from the seventeenth century. Patriarch Jovan of Peć was painted in 1618 in the Church of St. Demetrius in the Patriarchate of the Peć complex (Fig. 18), dressed in a sticharion with potamoi, epitrachelion, sakkos, and a large omophorion, with a Gospel book in one hand and an inscribed scroll in the other. Another Peć patriarch, Pajsej, was painted by zographos Jovan in 1663 on an icon now kept at the National Museum in Ravenna (inv. no. 4490) (Fig. 19); the painting was commissioned by kyr Stojan the Belgrader. He is depicted bareheaded, with a tonsure, wearing a sticharion, epitrachelion, epigionation, phelonion and a large omophorion.

Metropolitans

After the renewal of the independence of the Serbian Orthodox Church – the Patriarchate of Peć, it was first necessary to establish an internal organization of the Patriarchate’s activity. Following the example of St. Sava, the first archbishop of the independent Serbian Church – the Patriarchate of Peć, after 1557 Makarije Sokolović divided the entire territory under his jurisdiction into dioceses, and protopopies and parishes. It is assumed that over forty metropolitanates and dioceses entered the Peć Patriarchate. There are six kytor portraits of Serbian metropolitanas dating from the period 1530 – 1683/1684. Like patriarchs, both metropolitans and bishops were the bearers of berats and enjoyed certain privileges within their dioceses. The Ottoman Empire, as a Muslim theocratic state, accepted church leaders as the main representatives of the subjugated Christians. Like the patriarchs, the metropolitanas were also recognized as the governing leaders of the Serbs. Among others, they had the right to dispense justice in marital and inheritance disputes of Orthodox Christians, as well as in disputes that did not come under kadi jurisdiction.
The oldest portrait of a Serbian metropolitan from the sixteenth century dates from around 1530, the time before the Patriarchate of Peć regained its independence. The depiction in question is the small-scaled donor portrait of Nikanor, the metropolitan of the Novo Brdo diocese, a well-educated and assertive personality. According to available data, his donorship is associated only with the Gračanica Monastery, the seat of his diocese. Nikanor is considered to be the keter of the first–layer wall painting corpus in its exonarthex, performed between 1528 and 1551. Around 1530, he had commissioned the monumental icons of the Virgin with Christ and of Christ with the Apostles (Fig. 6), where he was represented. An Oktoechos from the fifth to the eighth tone (with a donor portrait of Metropolitan Nikanor on the second page) was printed on his commission in Gračanica in 1539 and a wood-carved and fitted benediction cross was made for him in 1551 (Fig. 15). Also, some books had been copied for Nikanor: the Ordinal Menaion for October (1535) and the Ordinal Menaion for June (around 1550) were bought by him for the Gračanica Monastery in 1545 and in 1535 the Ordinal Menaion with prologue hagiographies for August and the Ordinal Menaion for December (Academy for Sciences and Arts in St. Petersburg). Although Nikanor was a dignitary of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, which used Greek as its official language, he promoted the parallel use of the Serbo–Slavonic language and proved to be particularly dedicated to commissioning works of art.

Metropolitan Nikanor (Fig. 7) is represented on the lower edge of the monumental icon of Christ on the throne with the Apostles (dimensions 143 × 117 × 10 cm, tempera on panel, plastered linen and canvas), which the metropolitan donated for the iconostasis of the Gračanica Monastery – the seat of his diocese – together with an icon of the Virgin Enthroned with prophets. These large icons, richly gilded, one of which bore his portrait, were meant to commemorate Nikanor’s consecration as metropolitan. A large figure of Jesus Christ the Savior Enthroned occupies the center of the icon with the donor portrait. Twelve apostles painted on the icon frame stand on his left and right side. In the upper field, Christ the Ancient of Days is depicted in a mandorla, between

87 Nikanor is assumed to have been the donor of the wall paintings in the exonarthex of the Gračanica Monastery around 1530. Petković, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, 7; ISBN III/2, 344. About Metropolitan Nikanor, v. R. Grujić, Prva štamparija u Južnoj Srbiji 1539. godine na Kosovu polju u manastiru Gračanici, Glasknik SND 15–16 (1936) 84–86; R. Ljubinković, Dve gračanice ikone sa portretima mitropolita Nikanora i mitropolita Viktora, Starinar 5–6 (1954–1955) 130–135; Đurić, Ikona o hirotoniji gračaničkog mitropolita Nikanora, 297–317; M. Matić, In the search of chronological, iconographic and stylistic parallels to icons from monastery Slepče, 137–138, figs. 2–4;


92 Grujić, Prva štamparija u Južnoj Srbiji, 84–86; V. Mošin, Rukopisi manastira Gračanice, SKM 1 (1961) 32–33, 36–39. All of these books contain inscriptions mentioning Metropolitan Nikanor. Greek inscriptions on frescoes in the Gračanica exonartex were not strange to Nikanor, who was obviously obedient to the Archbishop of Ohrid. The fact that his Oktoechos was printed in Serbo–Slavonic in the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid suggests that the clergy was also allowed to use this language. Grujić, Prva štamparija u Južnoj Srbiji, 88–90.

93 According to: Đurić, Ikona o hirotoniji gračaničkog mitropolita Nikanora, 297.

94 According to: Đurić, op. cit., 298.

Nikanor was also known for his endowment, the church of Christ the Savior in the village Smira. Đurić, op. cit., 312.

95 Petković, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, 314–315; Đurić, Ikona o hirotoniji gračaničkog mitropolita Nikanora, 312.
two cherubs. On the lower edge of the icon, on the right side, there is a unique donor composition of Metropolitan Nikanor in the symbolic act of ordination (consecration) to the metropolitan rank. From the feet of Christ – and (οριων) ε γενεσιον (ος ελθον) – flies an angel, bringing the miter to Nikanor, who is facing him. He is not looking at the unfolded scroll in front of him nor at the flying angel dressed in a light red phelonion, which covers his hands. The inscription in red letters describes him as "The Right Reverend Metropolitan Nikanor" – ἡ γένεσις εἰς ελθόν (ος ελθόν) ὅ τι ἐλθόν. He is not looking at the unfolded scroll in front of him nor at the flying angel dressed in a light red phelonion, which covers his hands. The inscription in red letters describes him as "The Right Reverend Metropolitan Nikanor" – ἡ γένεσις εἰς ελθόν (ος ελθόν) ὅ τι ἐλθόν. He is not looking at the unfolded scroll in front of him nor at the flying angel dressed in a light red phelonion, which covers his hands. The inscription in red letters describes him as "The Right Reverend Metropolitan Nikanor" – ἡ γένεσις εἰς ελθόν (ος ελθόν) ὅ τι ἐλθόν. He is not looking at the unfolded scroll in front of him nor at the flying angel dressed in a light red phelonion, which covers his hands. The inscription in red letters describes him as "The Right Reverend Metropolitan Nikanor" – ἡ γένεσις εἰς ελθόν (ος ελθόν) ὅ τι ἐλθόν. He is not looking at the unfolded scroll in front of him nor at the flying angel dressed in a light red phelonion, which covers his hands. The inscription in red letters describes him as "The Right Reverend Metropolitan Nikanor" – ἡ γένεσις εἰς ελθόν (ος ελθόν) ὅ τι ἐλθόν.

Fig. 9. Viktor, the Metropolitan of Novo Brdo, detail (photo: author)
phal Tale of Afroditian, is depicted as an older man holding a scroll with a text about the coming of Jesus Christ to Earth and His sinless embodiment. Propius was the priest of Eirene’s temple, which was located near the Imperial Palace. This story concludes that the Persians were the first to find out about Christ. Đurić, Ikonografski mislitelji i pisatelji v starata bălgarska zhivopis, Sofia 1978; Đurić, op. cit., 303 with literature in n. 15.

106 As previously mentioned, next to Patriarch Makarije Sokolović, Metropolitan Antonije of Herzegovina and Metropolitan Dionisije of Novo Brdo were also represented in the exonarthex of the Gračanica Monastery (1570) (Fig. 3).
Both of them are depicted wearing phelonions with crosses (polystavrions) and omophorions. Antonije is shown with a long brown beard and dressed in a white polystavrion with dark blue crosses, with the addition of an epigonation. Dionisije is depicted with a mid-length, rounded brown beard, with his head falling to his shoulders; he is wearing a white polystavrion with dark brown crosses and a sticharion decorated with potamoi ("rivers"). With both donors, the end of the omophorion is thrown over their left hand which is holding the Gospel book, while their right hand pointing towards Jesus. The distinction in the status of the three archpriests in this donor composition is reflected in their clothes: Makarije is wearing a sakkos, and Dionisije and Antonije polystavrions.

In the exonarthex of the Banja Monastery near Priboj (1573/1574), within the composition on the north wall, Metropolitan Dionisije was represented next to the former patriarch Makarije Sokolović (Fig. 4). He is signed as: “The Right Reverend Metropolitan of Novo Brdo kyt Dionisije” – βασιλεὺς εἰς Μητροπολίτην Νέου Βρόδου, κύριον Διονύσιον.107 Dionisije is depicted as a red-haired adult in his mid-forties, with a tonsure and long curly hair descending to his shoulders. He is dressed in a phelonion with an omophorion and epigonation, holding a closed Gospel Book in his right hand and outstretching the left hand in a praying gesture.

A small-scale donor portrait of another Serbian metropolitan, Viktor, was painted at the bottom of the central field of St. Fevronia the Righteous Martyr (96.2 x 67.3 x 4 cm, tempera on canvas impregnated on wood) (Fig. 8).108 This massive icon was made in 1607/1608 on his wishes.109 Around the central figure, from top to bottom and from left to right, eleven scenes of St. Fevronia’s torture were painted.110 As the kktor, Viktor (Fig. 09) is shown kneeling back–bent in the lower left corner, by the throne, with his hands outstretched in a gesture of prayer, and looking at St. Fevronia. Around his face is inscribed in red letters: „The Right Reverend Metropolitan of Novo Brdo, kyt, Viktor”: Αἱ δεκαοκοσίαν εἰς Μητροπολίτην Νέου Βρόδου.111 The metropolitan is portrayed as a man of mature age, semibald, red-haired and red-bearded. His garment is damaged, but judging by the remaining fragments he seems to have been dressed in a golden–white polystavrion with blue crosses and an omophorion, with epimanikia and a sticharion with potamoi. Looking upwards, he is kneeling with both hands outstretched in prayer. In front of him, beneath the suppedaneum of St. Fevronia, lies a scroll with a damaged, scratched and semi-legible inscription: „Servant ... donated ... receive this donation ... the smallest” – μητροπολίτης Νέου Βρόδου, αὐτός ἐμοί δωδεκαοκοσίας ἐξετελέσας ἐπήκοον τοῦ δώρου αὐτοῦ.112 It is certain that there was a special symbolism to Metropolitan Viktor's patronage of this icon, maybe to commemorate an important event, which could justify the unusual choice of the patron saint, never represented in Serbian icon painting before.113 Since St. Fevronia is a well-known personage in Russian icon painting, Metropolitan Viktor’s choice, as well as some features of coloring, has been interpreted as a sign of his direct or indirect contacts with Russia.114 The beginning of the seventeenth century was the time when in Serbia the hagiography of St. Fevronia was transcribed, her icon painted and when Metropolitan Viktor placed himself under her protection.115 There is another testimony of Viktor’s donorship. Sometime earlier, in 1592/1593, he gifted a bowl in silver gilt to the Dečani Monastery in memory of the late elder Petronije (Fig. 16).116

Simeon Ljubibratić, Metropolitan of Belgrade, was the kktor of upbuilding and frescoing (1683/1684) of the Parekklesion of St. John the Forerunner in Belgrade. His portrait is represented in front of the entrance, on the southern side of the pilaster located in the narrow corridor (Fig. 10).117 He is described in Greek as „the Most Reverent Metropolitan Ljubibratić, Metropolitan of Belgrade, detail (photo: M. Marković)
end Archbishop of Belgrade, kyr Simeon": Πανιέροιτατος ἄρχοιεπικος πάωτης μητροπόλεως Πελιαρδης<ου> Σεμεων. Metropolitan Simeon is represented in a strictly frontal position as a middle-aged man with a narrow face, brown hair and a brown beard of medium length. The hair falls in separate wisps on the shoulders and is semi-grey, like his mustaches and beard. There is no halo around the head of Metropolitan Simeon. The respectable donor wears the vestment of an archbishop: a sticharion, epitrachelion with the dark cross-like motifs and a violet sakkos decorated with crosses. At the top of the metropolitan’s right knee, there is a sewed-on golden piece of fabric of a rhomboidal shape, not unlike an epigonation, and decorated with the image of Christ Emmanuel, who is shown blessing with his hands. Over his sakkos Simeon is shown wearing a large white omophorion and is semi-grey, like his mustaches and beard. There is no halo around the head of Metropolitan Simeon. The respectable donor wears the vestment of an archbishop: a sticharion, epitrachelion with the dark cross-like motifs and a violet sakkos decorated with crosses. At the top of the metropolitan’s right knee, there is a sewed-on golden piece of fabric of a rhomboidal shape, not unlike an epigonation, and decorated with the image of Christ Emmanuel, who is shown blessing with his hands. Over his sakkos Simeon is shown wearing a large white omophorion with crosses, and he has a golden miter decorated with precious stones on his head (Fig. 11). The frontal position and the act of blessing with the right hand are unusual for the portraits of archpriests in general, especially metropolitans. The portrait of Metropolitan Simeon was positioned below the scenes from the cycle of St. John the Baptist, and his namesake St. Simeon was painted on the opposite wall. The church model of the parekklesion in the left hand of ktetor Simeon represents a simple one-nave structure viewed from the southwest, without any of its real architectural features: there is a dome with openings in the tambour, while in reality, the naos is vaulted by a blind dome. Metropolitan Simeon’s ktetor portrait combines the iconography of representative portraits of archpriests and the model of ktetor portraits of the holy founders of Athonite monasteries in which the donors were also depicted strictly frontally, with their endowment in the left hand, while holding a scroll or cross in the other hand.

Vestments, attributes and insignia

Among the portraits presented in this paper, it is possible to distinguish representations of ktetors holding the model of their foundation (the exonarthex of the Patriarchate of Peć, Budisavci, the Parekklesion of St. John the Forerunner at Hilandar) and supplicatory donor portraits (Gračanica, Banja, the Church of St. Nicholas at the Patriarchate of Peć Monastery). When depicted as ktetors in the fresco technique, the high clergy of the Serbian church are regularly shown in a three-quarter praying position, while the gesture of blessing appears exclusively on their representative portraits. Two metropolitans depicted on icons as donors were shown in the kneeling position. Some patriarchs and metropolitans were represented with a scroll (Makarije Sokolović, Maksim, Nikanor, Viktor) and the model of the endowment as their attribute (Makarije, Simeon). In frescoes, metropolitans were often depicted holding a closed Gospel book in one hand (Antonije and Dionisije in the Gračanica Monastery, Dionisije at St. Nicholas of the Dabar Monastery).

The clothing of metropolitans in ktetor portraits consists of a sticharion (sometimes with potamoi), epitrachelion, epimanikia and phelonion (most often polys tavrons) with an omophorion. It should be noted that only metropolitan Simeon Ljubibratić was painted wearing eastern ramparts of the Hilandar Monastery. V. Korač, M. Kovačević, Manusvit Hilandar: konaci i utvrđenja, Beograd 2004, 18, 20–21; Dionisopulos, op. cit., 274.

121 This detail was noticed by: Vojvodić, Donor portraits and compositions, 259; Dionisopulos, op. cit., 174, 274.


123 According to N. Dionisopulos (op. cit., 111, figs. 73, 74). The author lists examples of this iconographic formula on the icons of St. Athanasius of Athos (1668), which is preserved in Great Lavra, and St. Simon of Athos, the founder of the Simonopetra Monastery (second half of the seventeenth century).
ing a sakkos with a large omophorion and a miter on his head, but this was in accordance with his title of archbishop. Other metropolitans are depicted bareheaded, except for Metropolitan Nikanor, to whom a flying angel brings the miter as the mark of God-given authority. The patriarchs of Peć, when represented with a miter, as well as in the case of Metropolitan Simeon of Belgrade, are wearing a high closed miter decorated with pearls and precious stones (Fig. 1, 11, 12). There are almost no elements that allow differentiation between the archbishop’s and metropolitan’s miter. The appearance of the miters of Belgrade metropolitans in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries is known to us based on the examples kept at the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church. A mid-fifteenth century miter is entirely embroidered, with pearls (Fig. 12), and the miter of Joakim, the Metropolitan of Belgrade and Srem, bears an inscription dated 1607. It has a metal construction with semi-precious and precious stones on the outside, and is embroidered and decorated with pearls (Fig. 13). There is another embroidered miter in the Museum collection, which was donated by Ekaterina (Bačanji, the widow of Despot Stevan Berislav) to a certain Metropolitan Longin in 1547 (Fig. 14).

When portrayed as ktetors, metropolitans were signed as „Right Reverend“ and patriarchs as „the Most Reverend“ (първопатриарх), in most cases named as „Patriarch“ rather than „Archbishop“. Only in the Budisavi Monastery Makarije Sokolović was marked as „The Archbishop“, which was also the case in the ktetor inscription above the entrance door in Budisavi. Serbian archbishops were titled as „the Most Reverend“ already in the southern chapel of King Radoslav in the Studenica Monastery, so it is quite certain that the official title was determined in the time of King Radoslav in the Studenica Monastery, so it is quite certain that the official title was determined in the time of King Radoslav in the Studenica Monastery, so it is quite certain that the official title was determined in the time of

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127 There is evidence that besides patriarchs some metropolitans wore a sakkos in the thirteenth century. Piltz, op. cit., 19.
128 Metropolitan Nikanor receives the miter with his hands covered (manum velata), which is associated with the belief in the divine origin of authority and the supernatural value of certain parts of the robe and crown. J. Kovačević, Srednjovekovna nošnja balkanskih Slovena, Beograd 1953, 234, 237 (with older literature and sources); Grabar, L’empereur dans l’art byzantin, 113, 116–117.
130 This miter (inv. no. MSPC 1145) belonged to Maksim, Metropolitan of Belgrade, and was a gift of Katarina Kantakouzene Branković, the wife of Count Ulrich of Celje. L. Mirković, Starine fruškogorskih manastira, Beograd 1931, 26, Pl. XXV, 1; L. Mirković, Crkveni umetnički vez, Beograd 1940, 36, Pl. XVII, fig. 2; D. Stojanović, Umetnički vez u Srbiji od XIV do XIX veka, Beograd 1959, 39, fig. 21; Piltz, op. cit., Pl. 188; Byzantium: faith and power (1261–1557), 304–305, cat. no. 179.
131 At the foot of the miter (inv. no. MSPC 1145) there is an inscription mentioning „the Right–Reverend Metropolitan Joakim of Belgrade“: s Ja mitra bla/ennoga i vqsewsve{ennoga mitropolita byligradM i srymou kVr IwakVÉma sqtvori se vô lyto z I. r. i. eI (inscription according to Mirković, Crkveni umetnički vez, 29, Pl. XXXXI, fig. 2).
132 The miter bears the inv. no. MSPC 5131. The cross on its top seems to have been added later on. Mirković, Starine fruškogorskih manastira, 28, Pl. XXXI, fig. 1; idem, Crkveni umetnički vez, 36, Pl. XVII, fig. 1; Stojanović, op. cit., 60, no. 40.
133 The title „Most Reverend“ was in use from the second decade of the thirteenth century, the time of St. Sava. M. Jugović, Titule i potpisi arhiepiskopa i patrijaraha srpskih, Bogoslovlje 9/3 (Beograd 1934) 256–257 sqq. (up to 264); Popović, Memoria pečkog patrijarha Maksima, 119–121.
of St. Sava of Serbia. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this rule was observed, but new elements were introduced into the patriarch’s title – names of different provinces, countries, and peoples. Thus the title of Makarije Sokolović, always containing the epithet „Most Reverend”, seems reminiscent of the older forms of patriarchal titles: „The first patriarch after the second restoration of this holy throne of all the Serbian lands, the western Littoral and of the northern areas”, „The universal father and teacher and the Patriarch to all Serbs and Bulgarians and of the western Littoral and of the northern areas and others”, „The Archbishop of Peć and Patriarch of all Serbs and of the northern regions and others”. The epithet „Right Reverend” was borne by Metropolitan Antonije of Hercegovina and Metropolitan Dionisije of Novo Brdo in the Gračanica Monastery, as well as Metropolitan Dionisije in Banja, as well as Novo Brdo metropolitans Nikanor and Viktor on the icons of Christ with the Apostles and St. Fevronia. Simeon Ljubibratić was signed as „archbishop”, attributed to Belgrade metropolitan.

Judging by the ktetor portraits of the highest church dignitaries – the archpriests – patriarchs and metropolitans, the clerical circular tonsure was still in use in the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. It can be seen 137 For other inscriptions mentioning Makarije’s title: Jugović, op. cit., 259–261; Pejić, Makarije Sokolović – titule i slike, 183–191. Makarije was the first of the Peć patriarchs who was also called „the Patriarch of the Bulgarians”. Since then, this appellation was always a part of the title of the patriarchs of Peć until the abolition of the Patriarchate. V. Marković, La Macédoine, a-t-elle été considérée comme pays bulgare par les Serbes du moyen âge?, Paris 1919, 41; Jugović, op. cit., 261 sqq.; Popović, Memoria pećkog patrijarha Makzima, 119–128; Pejić, Makarije Sokolović – titule i slike, 185–186.


Matić M. М.:

Ktetor portraits of church dignitaries in Serbian Post–Byzantine painting (part one)

on the ktetor representations of Patriarch Makarije in Budisavci, Metropolitan Nikanor of Novo Brdo, as well as on the donor portrait of Bishop Dionisije in Banja near Prijboj. Metropolitan Viktor of Novo Brdo, because of his bald head, does not seem to have a tonsure. When depicted as ktetors all archpriests were shown with a halo, except Metropolitan Simeon Ljubibratić. Generally speaking, the way Metropolitan Simeon was depicted wearing sakkos and a miter, without a halo – is rather unusual for the seventeenth century, but was to become common in portraits of the highest clergy in the eighteenth century. Also, a different iconographical tradition on Mount Athos allowed the monks – including higher clergy – to be represented without a nimbus.

The program contents and the ideological background of the ktetor portraits of the highest clergy

With no factors to allow state consolidation, a new core of national ideology was formed within the Serbian Orthodox Church soon after 1557. The patriarchs of Peć were the leading figures directing the development of the nation’s spirit by fostering the cults of medieval Serbian rulers, as well as the cults of holy Serbian archbishops and patriarchs. The most important contents of fresco and icon paintings were communicated through the language of the image. In this regard, ktetor portraits were used to confirm the legitimacy of the authority of a chosen archpriest as the one who bears the Lord’s blessing.

The specific ideological context was included in the soteriological and eschatological contents of the program in the endowments of Patriarch Makarije. Three ktetor portraits of Makarije Sokolović, with surrounding context, show that these ideological dominants existed in the second half of the sixteenth century. After almost a century of absence, they reappeared at the endowment of Maksim, one of the last Serbian patriarchs of the seventeenth century. The idea of continuity in the election of the heads of the Serbian Church and the endurance and continuance of its autonomy was emphasized by painting a row of figures of Serbian bishops, archbishops and patriarchs – both deceased and living, including ktetor portraits. The presentation of the archpriests in a row was a well–known formula. Instructing painters to portray him next to his predecessors on the patriarchal throne, Makarije positioned his portrait in the gallery of almost all of the highest dignitaries of the Serbian church from the first and most important, St. Sava, to the last patriarchs of the fifteenth century, each of them marked with a halo. This served to symbolically formulate the notion of the Patriarchate of Peć as the Pantheon of the Serbian Church. In Budisavci, the row of archpriests consists of archbishops Arsenije, Nikodim, and another damaged figure. In the Gračanica Monastery were represented archbishops Sava and Arsenije, and patriarchs Joanikije and...
The program of frescoes in the exonarthex of the Gračanica monastery is still dominated by eschatological themes. The intercession of the Virgin – the patron of the church and the one who pleads for humanity at the Last Judgment, were especially underlined in the context of the donor composition.\textsuperscript{149} Related to that is the representation of Deesis composition in the uppermost zone of the eastern wall, where again the Mother of God intercedes in behalf of

\textsuperscript{148} Jefrem.\textsuperscript{148} The program of frescoes in the exonarthex of the Gračanica monastery is still dominated by eschatological themes. The intercession of the Virgin – the patron of the church and the one who pleads for humanity at the Last

\textsuperscript{149} Petković, Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku, 322–323.
both the righteous and the sinful. The Deesis is positioned in the lower zone, in front of the columns where the central place belongs to Christ and the Virgin, St. John the Fore-runner and the Twelve Apostles. The three donors – Makarije, Antonije, and Dionisije – are shown addressing Christ in the Deesis not only by their posture but also through the words on the scroll in Patriarch Makarije’s hands. The arch-priests seem to have been painted in the exonarthex of the Banja Monastery near Priboj, on the north wall, but it is not possible to determine the exact meaning of this composi-
tition because of the frescoes are heavily damaged. It could be said that the intention of the new donors was to present themselves as renovators who have protected this important sacred place from falling into ruin.\(^{150}\) This is also the only kтетор composition where the iconography serves to commemorate a contemporaneous ecclesiastical and historical event, the public presentation of the newly appointed Archbishop Antonije. By placing him at the center of the composition, the old kтетор of the temple St. Stefan of Dečani and the patron saint of the church St. Nicholas were also included.\(^{151}\) Surviving representations of patriarchs dating from the seventeenth century are much scarcer, so there is also a notable lack of iconographic compositions of arch-

\(^{150}\) Babić, op. cit., 334.

\(^{151}\) Patriarch Jefrem of Peć was painted next to the new Patriarch Antonije. Cf. Pejić, *Manastir Svetog Nikole Dabarskog*, 131–132.
priest rows. In the Church of St. Nicholas at the Patriarchate of Peć complex (1673/1674) the eschatological idea, associated with the funerary aspect, was emphasized by the donor composition which included Patriarch Maksim and St. Nicholas approaching Christ in the Deesis. The most prominent medieval clerics: archbishops Danilo II, Arsenije, Sava I, with St. Simeon Nemanja were represented on the opposite north wall, next to the Mother of God Mediatrix – also a part of the Deesis. Patriarch Makarje is thus associated with the Pantheon of his holy predecessors, who are blessing from the opposite wall and recommending him to Christ.

All of the ktetor portraits of the highest clergy of the Patriarchate of Peć are directly related to the idea of the salvation of the soul, so the program around them always has an unambiguous soteriological basis, to which other meanings can be added, especially eschatological. The donor act always represents a material pledge for the acquisition of permanent anaphora and is a means of salvation at the Last Judgement. On the two icons with donor representations the Tree of Serbian rulers at the cathedral church of St. Nicholas in Orahovica (1594), where twelve Serbian archbishops, from Sava I, to Joanikije II, are also represented alongside sixteen members of the House of Nemanjić. Babić, regarding intercession of St. Nicholas, v. N. Gagova, 39–63; Konst- antellou, Papanikolaou, Byzantine donor portraits like mirror images?, 19. Regarding the eschatological meaning of church art and its strong correlation to the Bible: T. Rakićević, Legal basis for symbolism disappearance in sacral art (Abolition of regulations that were not good [Ezek 20, 25]), Teme 41/4 (Niš 2017) 1060–1063.


They were considered to be the most important donors in the Patriarchate of Peć. Đurić, Ćirković, Korać, Peška patrijaršija, 302. About this type of Virgin and her supplication: I. Đorđević, M. Marković, On the dialogue relationship between the Virgin and Christ in East Christian art, Zograf 28 (2000–2001) 13–48. By displaying the highest clergy of the Patriarchate of Peć as donors in wall paintings and on icons – alongside highly venerated Christian saints and esteemed historical figures of Serbian patriarchs (archbishops) and metropolitan – a visual expression of the ktetor’s right was achieved, at the same time emphasizing the idea of the spiritual unity of the earthly and heavenly church. This church is unified by the holy rites and faith in Jesus Christ in the Eschaton, by the prayers of the holy predecessors and successors who will continue to commemorate them, making one Body and one Spirit.

(to be continued)

152 The traditional row of archieparchs is concised in the composition the Tree of Serbian rulers at the cathedral church of St. Nicholas in Orahovica (1594), where twelve Serbian archbishops, from Sava I, to Joanikije II, are also represented alongside sixteen members of the House of Nemanjić, Babić, op. cit., 333–334.


157 Popović, Srpsi vladarski grob u srednjem veku, 170.


160 Đurić, Ìkonâ o hirotomiji građaničkog mitropolita Nikanora, 301–302.

161 Radovanović, Jedinstvo nebeske i zemaljske crkve, 62–63.
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Petković S., Artistic activity and the struggle for survival of the Serbian Church during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Balkan studies 24/2 (Thessaloniki 1983) 617–630.


Petković S., Art and patronage in Serbia during the early period of Ottoman rule (1450–1600), Byzantinische Forschungen 16 (Amsterdam 1990) 401–414.


У првом веку под турском влашћу, а посебно након обнове самосталности 1557. године, Пећка патријаршија на себе преузима најзначајније ктиторске подухвате. У околностима непостојања самосталне српске државе и владара, истовремено се унутар Цркве и око ње формира круг ктитора клирика и лаика. Ктиторски портрети црквених достојанственика у српском поствизантијском сликарству током турске власти нису изгубили ниједну од одлика жанра, нити по свом броју заостају за портретима насталим у претходном раздобљу. Црквени достојанственици често су били приказивани у својству ктитора у уметности XVI и XVII века, посебно у зидном сликарству и на иконама. Од укупно двадесет четири сачувана ктиторска портрета црквених достојанственика различитог ранга, шест је портрета пећких патријарха, насталих између 1565. и 1673/1674. године, шест портрета митрополита, насликаних између 1530. и 1683/1684. године, шест портрета митрополита, насликаних између 1530. и 1683/1684. године, пет портрета игумана, датираних између 1550. и 1667. године, три портрета јеромонаха из раздобља 1576–1594/1595. и четири портрета монаха, насталих између 1592. и 1607/1608. године. У првом делу овог рада издвојени су ктиторски портрети српских патријарха (архиепископа) и митрополита, укупно дванаест њих.

Уз преглед историјских околности и опис сваког портрета, анализиране су титуле, натписи, одећа и инсигније. Обрађена су питања која се тичу ктиторства православних у Османској империји, иконографије ктиторских портрета – са приношењем задужбине у виду модела храма и без ње, као и питања идеолошког и ширег програмског контекста. Сразмерно економском оснаживању одређених области, раста је могућност црквених достојанственика за предузимање ктиторских подухвата. Иако се зна да је институција ктиторства у време османске власти преживела све чинове клира, сачувани ктиторски портрети исключиво приказују црквени достојанственике из редова монаха, од најнижа до највише рангираних – патријарха и митрополита. Ово не чуди, имајући у виду чињеницу да највеће заслуге за преображај духовног и културног живота Срба током XVI и XVII века припадају образованом монаштву.